10

10 ORIENTATION--information especially likely to be needed by users of a file as a frame of reference for understanding the materials classified elsewhere; organization of the file, special coding decisions, and evaluation of the file.

GUIDE TO THE NE6 BELLACOOLA FILE

[The Bellacoola (a corruption of the word "bilxula" by which name they are known to the Kwakiutl) are a small tribe living along the coasts of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm at about 52° north latitude in British Columbia, and along the Bella Coola River which empties into North Bentinck Arm. Subdivisions of this tribe are the Talio, Kimsquit and Dean River peoples.

The eight sources, all in English, which comprise this file, deal with this tribe in the period prior to 1924 before socio-cultural acculturative effects and influences brought about a complete breakdown of the aboriginal Bellacoola culture complex.

The two primary sources for this file which give the most complete introduction to Bellacoola society are 1 and 2: McIlwraith. While these two sources concentrate on religion, social organization, the potlatch, rank, the Kusiut society and its ceremonials, and mythology, there is also a great deal of information to be found in these works on warfare, games and stories, the life cycle, medicine, magic and taboo and sorcery. 2: McIlwraith also contains four appendices, with some limited data on material culture (olachen processing, canoe construction, preparation of cedar bark, and manufacture of paint), string figure construction, lists of native fauna and flora, and a Bellacoola-English vocabulary list. Source number 6: Boas in this file also presents a brief general survey of Bellacoola culture and might

GUIDE TO THE NE6 BELLACOOLA FILE

possibly be read by the researcher for a general background prior to his perusal of sources 1 and 2: McIlwraith with their more detailed data. 3: Smith deals with the importance of magic and sorcery in the society (also covered in 1: McIlwraith and to some extent in 6: Boas). 4: Smith is a brief comparative study of the Bellacoola and Carrier Indians (NE 7) regarding beliefs concerning insects found in the common environment. 5: Smith deals with another important aspect of Bellacoola ethnography, that of the use of native medicine concocted from various plants, animals and other materials in the environment (see also sources 1, 2, 3 and 6). This source also gives comparative data for the Carrier (NE7), Gitksan (Tsimshian NE 15), Sekani (NE14) and Chilcotin (NE8). 6: Boas presents a general survey of the Bellacoola as they existed in the latter part of the nineteenth century, with emphases on names and locations of settlements, "gentes," secret societies (see also sources 1, 2, 7 and 8), the potlatch, customs related to the life cycle, religion and shamanism (see also sources 1, 2, 3, and 7), warfare and medicine. 7: Boas while dealing primarily with a resumé of some of the basic Bellacoola myths and native cosmology, also presents data on spirits and gods, the shaman, beliefs about animals (see also 4: Smith), village names and locations (see also sources 1, and 6), and the secret societies. 8: Boas deals basically

GUIDE TO THE NE6 BELLACOOLA FILE

with the secret societies and the potlatch, and is primarily a repetition of the information given in 6: Boas on these aspects.

The topics best covered in this file are social organization, religion, the secret societies and their ceremonials, the potlatch, rank, mythology and Bellacoola stories. Data on material culture are seriously lacking, with only some minor accounts being given in 1: McIlwraith (Appendix A), and 6 and 7: Boas, the last two sources of which briefly illustrate and describe some of the special dance masks used in the ceremonies of the secret societies. Information on kinship is also lacking in this file, with most of the data available being found in 1: McIlwraith, and 6: Boas.

Special marking decisions are as follows:

Potlatches--556
Potlatches at which dead visit--769
Potlatches to validate (receive) a name--553, 425
Name transferral in marriage (at engagement, at marriage or rebuying ceremonies)--553, 425
"Rebuying" of wife by her family--583
Investment through gifts given which are expected to be returned with interest--426

GUIDE TO THE NE6 BELLACOOLA FILE

Insults--558, 578
"Power" connected with human essence on clothing, blood, etc.--789
Mythological tally posts and wash basins--773, 777
Totem poles--778, 211
"Ceremonial chastity"--785, 831
Sisaok Siki--575
"Chiefs" or men of prestige and wealth at potlatches--622
Ancestral family--614.]

Processed in 1965

McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PREFACE

THE term Bella Coola can be applied to the Indians who formerly occupied more than twenty villages on the lower Bella Coola River in central British Columbia, to their near kinsfolk on the Kimsquit River, and to those living at the head of South Bentinck Arm. Disease and changed conditions consequent upon the coming of the white man have so reduced their numbers that the last two groups of settlements have been virtually abandoned, while only one village remains in the Bella Coola valley. This is located on a reserve near the mouth of the river, and its four hundred inhabitants comprise practically all the survivors of what was once a tribe of several thousand people, with a distinctive language and culture of their own.

The material contained in this monograph was collected in this one village many years ago for the National Museum of Canada.[1] I was in the field during two periods that extended from March to August, 1922, and from September, 1923, to February, 1924. My field notes were worked up and the completed manuscript submitted to the Museum in 1926. Since that time it has suffered various vicissitudes. Recommended for publication by the Chief of the Anthropological Division, it passed through the hands of various editors; questions were raised about its size and the suitability of detailed studies of social anthropology in a government publication, and by the time these matters were adjusted, funds for extensive publications were unavailable and the manuscript was put aside. Since the aim of the investigation was to record, as far as possible, the sum-total of the complex and interwoven social life of the Bella Coola, I did not think it desirable to prepare short articles[2] summarizing different aspects, preferring to await an

[1] Then the Victoria Memorial Museum.

[2] The only exception was a short article on Bella Coola supernatural animals published in the Ontario Annual Archaeological Report for 1924-25, pp. 17-27.

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CHAPTER I

LOCATION AND ENVIRONMENT

Location—Bella Coola Villages—Tribal Organization—Neighbouring Tribes

Location

"BELLA COOLA" is the common designation of those Indians who, until a few years ago, inhabited the valley of the Bella Coola River in central British Columbia. Boas has recorded[1] that the name is a mis-pronunciation of *Bilxula*,[2] a Kwakiutl word of doubtful origin which white pioneers assumed to be the appellation of the people in question. There is no term in their own language to include the groups treated in this monograph. Linguistically, the Bella Coola form an isolated island of Salish-speaking people, separated from others of the same stock by tribes of Athapascan and Kwakiutl lineage.[3] Culturally, they belong to the central section of the North Pacific coast area.[4]

The Bella Coola River rises among the mountainous uplands of central British Columbia. Its two main branches fall rapidly, about forty-five miles from the sea, into two deep gorges which unite, some five miles farther on, to form the valley of the Bella Coola. Down this the river rushes in serpentine curves (see Plate 5). Too shallow and too rapid for the use of large boats, even if such had been known to the Bella Coola, it serves to bear their dug-out canoes, each hewn from some mighty cedar. The valley is never wider than two or three miles and is hemmed in by lofty snow-capped moun-

[1] *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians* (Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, 1898), vol. II, part 2, p. 25. Repeated reference will be made to this work, and when Boas is quoted without further description, the reference will be to this memoir.

[2] Pronounced *Bilxwula* by a Kimsquit man endeavouring to quote a Kwakiutl.

[3] Boas, p. 26.

[4] Clark Wissler, *The American Indian* (2nd ed., New York, 1922), p. 227.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

stream, on which the salmon-weir rested, was carried away.[10] 361

The following village may be included with the above: [173]

(27) *Nuxeq:* on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, to the east of the creek that flows into it at Green Bay. This long-deserted village was built so close to the ocean that high tides reached almost to the houses. According to one informant, the name was derived from that of the first chief sent down from above to that spot; while another connected it, etymologically, with *Nuxx*, the name of the barren district some four and a half miles up the valley of the creek. In recent years this village site has been used only as a summer camp. [173]

The name given to the Bella Coola valley is *Nuxálk*; that given to the inhabitants of the valley, excluding those of village no. 27, is *Nuxálkmx*.[11] 101 103

Two points must be considered with regard to the above list of towns: In the first place, can it be regarded as an accurate list, or do the towns belong to the realm of mythology? In the second place, are the customs and beliefs of the inhabitants of the different towns sufficiently similar to be described without reference to local differences? 128 173 361

The first question is difficult to answer. The Bella Coola undoubtedly consider the existence of these towns to be an historical fact, but so do they regard the peopling of the earth by men created in the land above. Nevertheless, the above list appears to be substantially correct. The Bella Coola, although now collected into a single village, still remember their ancient homes. One man, for example, stated as a matter of course that he was a man of *Snuloli*. Further inquiry elicited the information that he had been born at *Sinxl*, where his father had moved at the time of the smallpox epidemic. It later appeared that my informant's father was born at *Tcmxtl*, had married there, and that it was his father who had moved [164] [166]

[10] This explanation may be only legendary.

[11] Boas, p. 69, states that *Nuxálk* is only applied to the lower villages of the valley. All the writer's information was contrary to this view. [114]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

128 from *Snaöli*. My informant's grandchildren regard them-
173 selves as *Snaöli* boys, and their names are embodied in myths
361 of that village, although their forbears have not lived there
166 for five generations. There is no reason to suppose this case exceptional. Other instances were obtained of movements of people from one village to another at earlier times, and there seems no cause to doubt the general accuracy of these. Names
[554] embodied in the origin myths of different towns are used as prerogatives and have been potent factors in keeping their memory alive. Uncertainties and inaccuracies there must be in the foregoing list, but on the whole it appears to be fairly reliable, since few contradictions were received from different informants.

128 Accounts obtained of the same ceremonies from the descen-
184 dants of people of different villages were found in most cases to be identical. There were a few differences in custom between
[790] the people of *Staur* and those of the other upper valley towns on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the lower valley on
[101] the other. These will be mentioned when necessary, but on the whole the inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley can be considered as a tribal entity.

114 Boas (p. 48) gives a list of Bella Coola towns which agrees
361 fairly well with the above. Among his villages are included *Pe·ɛsb* (no. 4), *Nalqstkwan·e* (no. 7), and *Nuxálxm* (no. 16).[11] All the older people agreed that these are the names of streams, though settlements located on them may have been known by the same designations. Names of the five villages recorded by Boas, nos. 6, 8, 9, 19, and 24, were not known by several old men questioned on the subject.

101 The villages of the Bella Coola valley did not form a political
619 unit; each was independent. A common language was spoken throughout and the inhabitants of the different towns recog-
[631] nized that their origins and customs were similar. This was
[197] also recognized to be the case with regard to the people living on South Bentinck Arm, and at the head of Dean Channel.

[11] Using in each case the spelling of this monograph.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Indians from both of these areas were interviewed and it was found that, except for minor details in certain beliefs, their customs were identical with those of the Bella Coola proper. Accordingly, in this monograph, the term "Bella Coola" will be taken to include the inhabitants, not only of that valley, but of South Bentinck Arm and the head of Dean Channel. Those living on South Bentinck Arm will be referred to as *Tăl'o* people, the Bella Coola term for them; those of Dean Channel as Kimsquit, the name by which they are generally known. It is an anglicized form of the word *Kimpĕnut*, meaning "Canyon," by which the Bella Bella designate the people of Dean River.

VILLAGES ON SOUTH BENTINCK ARM

(18) *Sănlia:* on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the point that marks its junction with North Bentinck Arm. Food was obtained from an ocean fish-trap.* Long deserted except as a summer camp.

(19) *Qawĕlst*, "Island": east side of South Bentinck Arm, slightly north of the island opposite the Hot Springs on the west side of the fiord. The town took its name from this island. In summer the numerous inhabitants lived immediately opposite it, at a place where they had an ocean salmon-trap; in winter they moved to a fortified spot at the base of a mountain slightly farther to the north. This village was blotted out by a landslide one spring long ago, and the few survivors were unable to re-establish it.

(20) *Tsaulmem:* on the east side of the fiord about four miles above the last-named. A small town, whose inhabitants lived on the catch from their ocean fish-trap; it was recently deserted.

*Ocean fish-traps work as follows:—A pen is made by a series of stakes, into which the salmon enter at high tide. It is then closed and, as the falling tide leaves the mud, the impounded fish can be scooped out by hand or in hand-nets.

*Mackenzie did not visit either South Bentinck Arm, or Kimsquit, but it will be convenient to continue the use of asterisks to mark those towns which are said to have been inhabited at that time.

h:McIlwraith E-3 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NE6

174 reliable traditions of Carrier settlements there. The probable explanation is that the Bella Coola formerly extended over the area, either in actual fact or according to mythology, but were supplanted by the Carriers.

175 The Dean River is called *Nalsl*, and the generic name for the people of the Dean valley is *Satolmp*. About eighty years [101] ago a smallpox epidemic so reduced the villages on the Kimsquit that the survivors abandoned them and moved to the [164] Dean. At that time a certain Kimsquit man is believed to [731] have said: "We will take their places and kill even their dogs."

Since that time, the joint settlement has suffered one [164] epidemic after another, until a mere handful of the people [98] survive, and they are almost entirely descended from the Kimsquit River immigrants. Within the last few years, these have requested permission from the Bella Coola to abandon Kimsquit entirely and live among them. The two groups have [628] always been on the best of terms, but the Bella Coola have not forgotten the fate of the Dean River people and have been unwilling to admit the Kimsquit survivors.

Villages on the Kimsquit River, Sá·tsl

361 *(aa) *Sá·tsl*: this large and important town, at the mouth of the river, was deserted at the time of the smallpox epidemic.

*(ab) *Nawulc*: this settlement can be grouped with the last-mentioned, although situated on the shore of Dean Channel, at the site of the present Manitou Cannery, six miles away. No meaning of the name is known.

Tribal Organization

619 The subject of this monograph is the people of the above forty-five villages. They will be referred to as a *tribe*, and as this term is customarily limited to a political unit, a brief justification for its use is necessary.

342 Each Bella Coola village consisted of a single row of houses, 361 built along the shore of a river or the ocean. The front doors

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bellabella NE5

THE *ułämx* [1] [A]

BB
BC
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361
[164
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197]

Before the smallpox epidemic, about 1865, there were towns on the fiords and villages of Dean Channel between Kimsquit and Bella Bella. The inhabitants were called *ułämx* by the Bella Coola, and *ułaitx* by the Bella Bella. Their settlements were at Elcho Harbour, Green River, Cascade Inlet, and at several unidentified places. Their language is said to have differed slightly from that of the Bella Bella, but the people themselves married freely with both Kimsquit and Bella Bella, thus forming a connecting link between these tribes.

A list of *ułämx* towns was obtained from one old man, who claimed to be a descendant of the people. It was impossible to verify this information, and since he himself was not an ideal informant, the following can be regarded only as approximately correct.

(1) *Ālko:* at Elcho Harbour.

(2) *Kulde·t:* on a fiord one mile above the last-named.

(3) *Ālłhk* or *Yuqwa·t:* on a river three miles above the preceding.

(4) *Nuwaisä·x:* on a river two miles above the preceding.

(5) *Nuxqatl:* on a fiord three miles above the preceding.

(6) *'Omłłom:* on a fiord three miles above the preceding.

(7) *Ṣuxwlk:* on a river two miles above the last-named and thirty miles below Kimsquit.

According to the old man from whom the above list was obtained, *Nuxwlst*, at Kimsquit, recorded earlier as village no. 45, was also populated by *ułämx* people. There was so much intermarriage between the two groups that it is now impossible to ascertain whether the inhabitants not only of *Nuxwlst*, but of *Ṣuxwlk* as well, were predominantly Kimsquit or *ułämx*.

BC
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[648]

The open plateau in which the Bella Coola River rises has always made travel possible for long distances, so that not only

1 [A "Bellacoola term for the people of mixed Bellabella - Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel" - See 2: McIlwraith, cat. 116, p584 - Analyst]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NF6

the neighbouring Carriers, but Chilkotin as well sometimes descended to the valley. On the coast, though the dense underbrush prevented travel along the shore, the long fiords, sheltered from the open Pacific, were ideal for the use of canoes.[10] Comparatively lengthy journeys were neither difficult nor uncommon. The *Tāl-ie* people were usually on amicable terms with the inhabitants of Rivers Inlet, and the Kimsquit with the Kitlobe. The Bella Coola were accustomed to attend potlatches at Alert Bay and Fort Rupert,[11] Knight's Inlet, and Bute Inlet, receiving their hosts, in turn, at Bella Coola. On the other hand, there was little friendly intercourse with the northern tribes, of which the Kitkatla especially were dreaded by the residents of the central coast. Until recent years the Bella Coola had no direct knowledge of other Salish-speaking peoples, although some of the Chilkotin told them of a tribe living far to the south, in the interior, whom they encountered in some of their wanderings and used to term *Nuxālkmx*, recognizing the similarity between their language and that of the Bella Coola. A few years ago several Bella Coola attended a boarding-school and were amazed to find that many of their words were understood by fellow-students from Chilliwack.

To sum up: The Bella Coola were in close contact with the neighbouring coastal tribes, with the members of which they felt themselves to have cultural affinities. They recognize that they have received many ceremonial rites from their neighbours, and must have adopted other elements of culture which they now consider indigenous. It is probable that certain Bella Coola customs must likewise have been transmitted to other tribes, but such lie without the scope of this monograph. The outlying villages were in close contact with foreign neighbours, and tended to assimilate elements of their culture, but, on the whole, the Bella Coola present a tribal unity with distinctive local customs, falling within the general pattern of coastal culture.

[10] For types of canoes, see Appendix A.
[11] The principal Kwakiutl villages.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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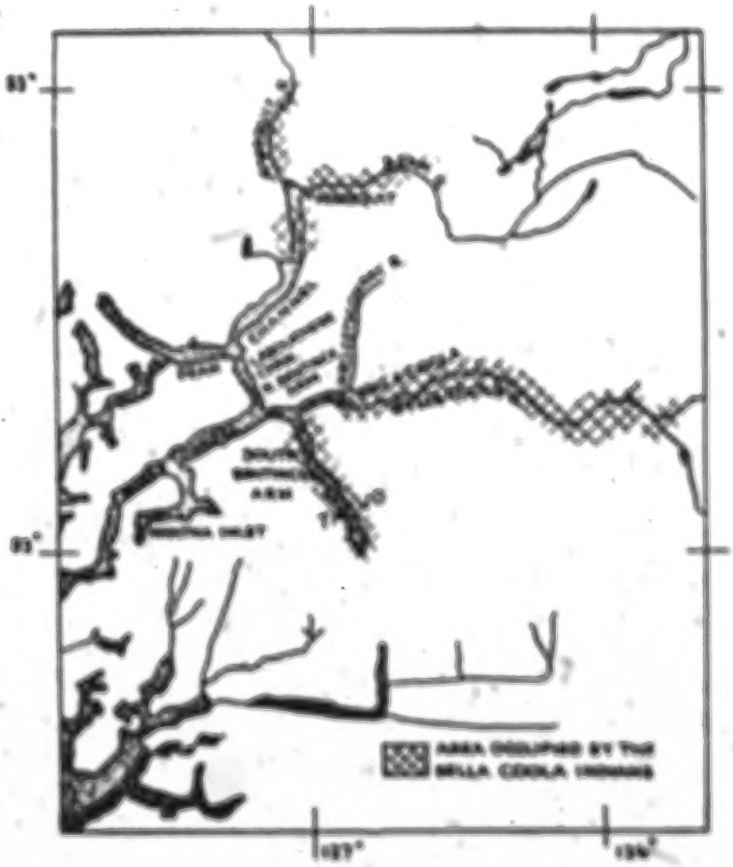

Map of the Bella Coola area

[P. X]

[192]

Ayant: Locality near *Snaa* where berries are plentiful.
A'yaq: Chief living at *Tal'o* in the beginning of time.

A

aa'lal'a: One of the *a'alt* dances.
aas: I, first person singular.
'ac: Hearing eggs when brought into house ready for preparation as food.*

[262]

B

Ababal': Supernatural animal.
*Babit**: One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
ba ji'ka: To guess, as done by the uninitiated at a Mystery dance.
Badzopmalaxtoa or *Badzopmalaxtoa*: Kwakiutl supernatural being.
[225] *bdbl'*: Lamprey.
Bdbma: *Kwiat* name of a *Stalia* man.
bdzoa i: Abalone shell.
Bdzomdzb: Influential Kwatna woman who died about 1870.
[292] *bdpal*: Ball-capped hat worn by chiefs.
[292] *Bla'gmas*: A Kitamaat company.
Bla'smas: *Snaa* man mentioned in an ancient story.
bnjb: Supernatural, man-like creature.

D

[821] [772] *da xaxg***/*da xa xaxg***: The sky, regarded as the lower side of a land inhabited by supernatural beings.
Dabdzb alaxs: 1—"The Comer," synonym for *Nankynem*.
2—The *kwiat* prerogative of seeing *Nankynem*.
Dabdzbxm, "The Ever-Comer": Synonym for *Nankynem*.
Dabdzbxmatm: Supernatural being who awaits *Nankynem*.
Dabdzbxmas: Supernatural dog salmon resident in the land above.
[601] *di bmlmatx di xmix*: Niece's husband.
di bmlmatx ni xakxm: Aunt's husband.
Dagam'nalt: One of the first men to settle at *Alpalaal* in the beginning of time.
dakla: Archaic term for *kwiat* Breaker.*
[824] *dankb*: Frayed cedar-wood, as used for tinder.
[372] *dankbxl*, plural, *dankbxlaxm*: Son, term used in direct address for an adult.
[601] *Dankp*: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Dji Ainamtl, "The Slave Owner": Designation of the supernatural woman *Kwatna*.
[101] *Djalaxmo*: Collective term applied to the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples of the mainland.
Djaadja xa: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
*Dakxang***: Chief of abalone-shell people on the lower Fraser in the beginning of time.
*Dakxang***: One of the first men to settle at *Snaa* in the beginning of time.
Dakxpas: One of the first women to settle at *Tal'o* in the beginning of time.

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*This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.
**This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEb Bellacoola NEb

#192 *cautcmap*, "Come and eat": Invitation to the *hahaiai* to assemble in a chief's house.
cuala: House beams.
cut-ca: Messenger bearing invitation to a potlatch.
[952] *dakkiac*: Massage.
[585] *dakkiwat*: 1—Presents, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter visit his house on the wedding day.
[431] 2—Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's kinsmen prior to her repurchase.
[518] *dawaqlat*, "The Throwing Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders": Said of the repayment by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's kinsmen.
dewalkate: 1—Returning-cum.
2—The destruction of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.
Ewilipalim: One of the names of the supreme god.
ipdemaciac: Notification, by pressure on the foot, to a chief to go to the meeting-place.
[201] *indiaam*: The employment of frosted stick-bowing.
[533] *Inlaw-aam*: Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.
iniskapamen, "The Hearing": Syuwayn for *ainiamen*, q.v.; this is a Kimsquit term only.
i-pimat: *Kwistam* rite in which the performer appears to be burnt to death.
i-pnachum: The cooking of *hahaiai* masks on the fire.
Ipsnat, "Far from the River": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
[847] *iswat*: Abortion.
i-wacila, "Disappointed": said of the supernatural beings called by a *wa'a* dancer who arrive too late for the potlatch.

ulac: Slave from the lower Fraser owned in Kimsquit during the last century.
[101] *ulnakamy*: Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.
ulnakhakamen: Half-brother or half-sister.
[601] *uncli*: 1—Man.
2—Son; term used by old person in direct address to adult.
3—Husband.
[614] *uncliaam*: Male relative of same maternal family.
uncliiwa: Woman who performs men's work.
[601] *uncliqam*: Single brother in a family with several sisters.
uncmchi, plural, *uncmchiki*: Small boy, especially son; term used in indirect address.
[431] *uplaiki*", "Working Clothes": Presents given by the relatives of the future bride
[584] to the kinsmen of the future bridegroom at the first announcement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.
[821] *uskiwaat*: Cold wind of the mornings, semi-anthropomorphized.
usnip: Bella Bella term for the *usnap*.
[563] *usnap*: Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEG Bellacoola NEG

*192 *nalsinuis:* Synonym for *qemo-o*, the large cone-shaped nasal whistle.
[534] *Nalqa-lut:* Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nalqa-lut: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nalqatstuaw-e, "Nearest River": River flowing from the north into the northern corner of the head of North Bentinck Arm. The Anglicized form is Nalkatacomay.
*[103] *na'nqalsis:* Stone supernaturally born from another at sea level.
[823] *Nemsis-a:* *xatsap* village.
Newalult, "The Mother of Dogs": Name given to a Bella Bella woman in an ancient story.
Nuyalt: Bella Coola valley.
●[101] *Nuyalhmq:* Inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley.
Nuyem: *Kaxist* name of a *Sisaa* man.
Nusem: Name of a female composer.
Nupémalsis, "The Light Giver": One of the names of the supreme god.
nupu: Light.
Nusim: *Kaxist* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Nusimatlsis: *E'ape* name of a Kimsquit man.
Nupmalmmaw-a, "Stick-Breaker": Name taken by daughter of the first settlers at *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
[825] *nuxtcuxuk:* Mountain goat with long hair on its chest.
nuxtimat, "The Silent Night": The hushed assemblage of *Indaxist* after departure of a Cannibal.
[227] *nuxtuxsta:* Cross-piece which holds open mouth of sinchon net.
Nuxwalt: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
[585] *nuxwalxlaxm:* Public promise by the parents of bride and bridegroom on the wedding night that names will be provided for resultant children. This is
[425] combined with an oration of origin myths. The term is also used for a similar promise of rights to hunting grounds, although the granting of this is automatic.
[828] *Nuya:* Mountain near *Sisaa*.
nuyalxlakmat: Person who wanders away from home in dependency.
Nuyal-alsis: One of the first women to settle at *Tal-is* in the beginning of time.
Nu'yus-isim: Land of salmon.

O

o'alpum: Kimsquit term for *o'kill*, orchis.
O'l': Kwatna lad mentioned in an ancient story.
[824] *okal:* Grass with edible roots growing on tide-flats.
[262] *Okpamap:* Valley pre-emptied by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Olplimat: Herald who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
oly: 1—The *kaxist* prerogative of something.
2—Bad, *adjective*.
Olsta-i: *Kaxist* name of a *Sisaa* man.
Oltiyaya, "The Worthless One": Name assumed by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[825] *Olxlakmat*, "The One that Changes Itself": Supernatural name of spring salmon.
[264] *'omatlil':* Assemblage of the people for food of any kind.

Z:McIlwraith E-5 (502-524) 1948
NEH Bellacoola NEH

Saiaiil: Thunder, anthropomorphized.
Saiyaiac: *Kwakiutl* name of a Kimsquit man.
saiaiic: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property.
se-ilaiiaiac: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kwakiutl* dance; the term is also applied to generous gifts instead of food.
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal.
se-iiac: Cannibalistic incubus.
se-iiiaiac: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
sakhalaiac: Profession of *kwakiutl* sorcerers.
sakhaaiac: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him.
sual: Sockeye salmon.
Sawalpamalala Alpanaw: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sawawamalala: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land otters.
Sewalkan or *Sewalkanlaiac*: One of the names of Mount *Stuqkalu* as chief.
Sewawinaxa, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Sisaa* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sexa, *sexaiac*, *sexai*, *sexaiac plural*, *sexaiac-ic*: Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
se-ilc: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Sexlac: Village on point between North and South Bentinck Arm.
Sexlpamac: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Se-lac: Death, anthropomorphized.
sakhi: Whatever, anyhow.
Se-ioll: 1—Kimsquit River.
2—Village near the mouth of the river.
Se-ichamy: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley.
sechmalu: Bath.
Se-ilamaac-i: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
seme: Pillow.
semalist, "Pillowman": *Kwakiutl* ceremonial at which no call is present.
sepi, *sepaiac*, *sepiac*: Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family.
Sepiac: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story.
sickan: Bracken.
siemaac: Tide flats.
sakhjalk: Hours.
Sehalaiac: That part of *Sisaa*'s which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Sawlall: Village on Kitlope Inlet.
Sawlaiac-i: Part of a peculiar repository.
sawqualalaiac, "Lilac Salmon": The so-called "Blue Salmon," probably steel-head salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
se'ioma, "Running Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this.
sachalaiac: Leader of sorcerers.

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[125]

Sakakit: Mountain on west side of the Kimsquit River.
sala-k'ulmx-ham: One of the river sculpins.
saxakmlk: To gather cedar-bark.
Sisiutsa: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning
Sisul: One of the first women to settle at Silverson Pass in the beginning of time.
Sklalim, "Water Trail": Locality, perhaps village, on the upper Kimsquit River.
[101] *Sneklmp*: Generic name of the inhabitants of the Dean valley.
Snemik: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
Snemkw: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Snuly: Mountain at Kimsquit which was in human form in the beginning of time.
snulmxulmxut: Meeting of the water supernatural beings to discuss commercial matters at the winter solstice.
soalem: Provender provided by the supreme god for the first settlers in the beginning of time.
sna'ama: Mud.
soatsa: Person or object which is taboo.
Sontsamax: Evil supernatural being.
Spaxalem, "Maker of Good Weather": Supernatural name of dog salmon.
sulhmem gil mmx: Term of opprobrium applied to a child whose father does every his mother.
spalem: Sawmen's law.
Sun-hamsata-x: Part of a peculiar repository.
spin: Female lover, especially a polygamist.
spinem: Male lover.
Spuqi-ut: One of the first women to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
spum: The burning birth of light.
[98] *sustem*: Commercial chastity.
[99] *sustmulyut*: The state of practising commercial chastity.
sustmum: Power engendered by commercial chastity.
syak: 1—Sunrise.
2—Racial name of a Bella Coola man.
Sydmlyamu-x: Part of a peculiar repository.
sxim: Cedar-bark cord.
Sxlmulem: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Sxmu-ximik: Immoral supernatural women.
sxlil: Alkaloids.
Sxlyamu-x: Chief of the dogs in the beginning of time.
[98] *Sqaim*: 1—Hemosphendin, a supernatural being.
[76] 2—Man who performs women's work.
[82] *sqamamsu kiil*: Life, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
[105] *Sul'ini*, South West: A supernatural being.
Sulsi, "Angry Moon": First moon after the winter solstice.
sulsul: Poltergeist supernatural creature that travels with the War-Party of the Tribe.
sulsumk, "The Left Side," in the language of giants. The word has two meanings:
[99] 1—Carved human figure set up by a shaman near the round of grass which is thrown on a fire.
2—Nickname bestowed on a man.

APPENDIX D

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Sympaxulus: Supernatural children guarded by the hermaphrodite in the land above.
Syuxil: Name taken by a *Sisaa* man in the beginning of time.
xtimqumil: Place in stream or river where a salmon has just jumped.
xtimsiwa: Name created upon earth.
xtimqimil: Dam.
xtmi: Water-right receptacle made from the internal organs of a mountain goat.
Xwadzayanu, "Wipe Sweeps Away the Food": First name after the winter solstice.
xwemalp, "Tears": Preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch.
xwi'Mmdzu, "Short-lived": Rhetorical term used with reference to the death of a young chief.
xpyemi: An adolescent girl, not yet subject to the full taboos of womanhood.

[825] [415] [605] [431] [195]

Y

Ishkin: Cave.
Ist: 1—Son, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for lads unrelated to the speaker.
2—Mountain sulfur.
Yaishwada: 1—One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Swalk'a* in the beginning of time.
yaisewash: Desertion of husband by his wife.
Ano: Dorsal fin of a fish.
yatsalap: Heavy kind of copper.
yelsewas: Tournament between rival villages.
Yil'ds: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Generic name applied to all villages on South Bentinck Arm.
Yilsdzu-a: *Bespeak* name embedded in a *Swalk'a* origin myth.
Yemimsdz-pim, "The Breather": One of *Tlesquitim-a*'s names and hence a deity series given to shamans.
Yemelsu: *Sisaa* man mentioned in an ancient story.
yipimsewas: The moving abroad of invitations to a memorial potlatch.
Ispin: Forest consisting of dense underbrush between big trees.
Ispul: Blackberry-color-back gull.
ya-s: 1—Red arrow.
2—Weapon, invisible to mortals, with which a wolf kills his prey.
Yaw, nsaitin, Yaiaw: 1—Designation of supreme god used in prayer.
2—Father, name used by child.
Ishmalp: Water-lily.
Yagwalt: Land inhabited by the Kwakiutl.
Yaskwasu: Leading chief of *Skqulkul* and reputed founder of the village.
Yaqalmum: Bella Coola chief living in the last century.
Ishin: Type of sea-going canoe with bow and stern elevated.
ximdzu'a: 1—White-fronted goose.
2—Type of sea-going canoe carved from the bark.
Isnaw: Husband (at indemnities: My husband).
yamal: Rivet.
Yamsmalin: Chief who came to Cape Mudge in the beginning of time and later moved to Bella Coola.

[601]

[586] [825] [628] [101]

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[601] [824]

[829] [601]

Sc Smith E-9 (1920-1921) 1925
NES Bellacoola NEA

SYMPATHETIC MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE BELLACOOLA

By HARLAN I. SMITH

MANY OF the Bellacoola Indians today believe in sympathetic magic and witchcraft, after over a hundred years of contact with white men. Most of them live within hearing of the bells of the mission church, and the government school. Not a few of the men take logging contracts; some of them build and operate motor boats; many of them join the fishing fleets of the salmon canneries; most of the women work in the canneries; and all deal at the white men's stores.

The Bellacoola lived at the heads of the long inlets half way up the Pacific Coast of Canada and in the tributary Bella Coola valley. Now, numbering perhaps two hundred and fifty, they, with the exception of a few families, are concentrated on one reservation at the mouth of the Bella Coola river. The Bella Coola valley has been called the Norway of Canada. This was where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada overland, reached the sea.

Aboriginally, the Bellacoola were of the North Pacific Coast culture of America, which is characterized by the extensive use of red cedar and sea products, particularly salmon, the making of graceful, sea-going canoes, each hewn from a single cedar, the erection of large rectangular houses made of cedar planks, with carved house posts and totem poles, lack of pottery, and expertness in carpenter work, carving, and painting. This culture belongs to the barbaric area, but the Bellacoolas were nomadic to a certain extent. The art of the area was that best known from the paintings and carvings of the totem poles, largely of conventionalized animal forms. The life centred around a very highly developed social organization, an extensive and powerful financial system, and property rights to names, rituals and honors. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. They

E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE9
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

MATERIA MEDICA OF THE BELLA COOLA AND NEIGHBOURING TRIBES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

By Harlan I. Smith

INTRODUCTION

This paper describes the materia medica of four tribes of British Columbia, the Bella Coola of Bella Coola valley, the Gitksan of Skeena river, the Carrier who live in the territory behind both of these tribes, and the Sikani of the headwaters of Peace river. Among the Bella Coola the medicines are largely family possessions known to a few individuals only, so that two families may have different remedies for the same specific complaint; but this is not the case among the other tribes. Everywhere magical practices enter largely into the treatment of disease, but are not touched upon in this report. It was impossible for the Indians to diagnose many of their maladies, so that the identifications given here are in many cases conjectural.

Most of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1920-22, by Joshua Moody, apparently a full-blood Bella Coola Indian, born about 1868. As he did not speak English he gave the data in Chinook jargon, which has been interpreted and arranged in logical order. Joshua is an Indian scientist with great knowledge of the local plants and animals. He remembers when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in Bella Coola valley, and when the inhabitants saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently he can recall the old Bella Coola material culture before it was much affected by European ideas.

Some of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1922-23 by the late Captain Schooner, also, apparently, a full-blood, born about 1848, who used the Chinook jargon. Alec Davis, Alexander Clickman, Louie Hall, and other Bella Coola Indians likewise gave information and corroboration.

Most of the information relating to the Southern Carrier Indians of Tikatlos was secured during 1920-1922 from Charlie West, alias Pretty Charlie or Handsome Charlie, a native of that place, born about 1871. Charlie used the peculiar form of broken or pidgeon English commonly employed for communication between the whites and the Carrier and Chinook Indians of this region.

The information about the Sikani and the Northern Carriers of Hagwilget is from stray field notes kindly supplied by Mr. D. Jenness.

The information relating to the Gitksan was secured in 1925-26 from the late John Fowler and Abraham Fowler of Kitwanga, Luke Fowler and Job Robinson of Hazelton, with additions and corroboration from a few others, all old Gitksan Indians, apparently full-blood. The information was secured mainly in English, although Abraham Fowler used also the Chinook jargon.

The method the writer employed was to submit specimens of the plants to his informants and question them concerning all their uses. Of the information thus obtained only the medicinal portion has been presented here. The plants were later identified by Mr. M. O. Malte, of the National Museum, Ottawa.

B
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B
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C
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6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Since the end of the last century they have dwindled down in numbers, and a few only of their once populous villages are still inhabited, namely, Sâteq, at the head of Dean Inlet; Nûtl'x'l, at the mouth of Salmon River; Nuqa'lkн (which embraces five villages, at the mouth of Bella Coola River; Stû'in, twenty-eight miles up Bella Coola River; and Tâ'lio, at the head of South Bentinck Arm. The dialect of Nûtl'x'l and Sâteq differs slightly from that of the other villages. The following is a list of their ancient villages, most of which are still inhabited at certain seasons, although not regularly :— 161 361 [197] 103 361

1. Sâteq.
2. Nûtl'x'l. The tribe of this place is called Sôtalxмн.
3. Nuqa'lkн, embracing the villages K·ômkô'tza and Stakê'etl on the north side, Pê'isxla and Nutnô'intakônê on the south side of the river.
4. Sxaqtl.
5. Tsômô'otl.
6. Snû't'xlê.
7. Nû'knita.
8. Axx'nanê.
9. Nuk·â'aqmats.
10. Taqoaqk·â'nê.
11. Nû'ak·'xlst.
12. Nûtltlê'iq.
13. Stû'in, twenty-eight miles from the sea.
14. Snû'tl'xlatl. Nos. 4 to 14 are situated along Bella Coola River, and are given as they are met with in ascending the river.
15. Slâ'aqtl, at the confluence of Bella Coola and Driver (?) Rivers.
16. Tâ'lio, at the head of South Bentinck Arm, embracing K·'oa'pq, Tâ'lio, Nû'ik', A'stq.
17. K·oâ'tlna, at the bay of that name in the southern entrance of Bentinck Arm. On the north entrance of Bentinck Arm were the Kiltê'itl, but it is doubtful whether they belonged to the Bilquła or to the Hê'iltsuk. The latter call the people of Dean Inlet Ki'mkuitq. [101]

Each of these tribes is subdivided into gentes, which appear to be arranged in exogamic groups. I learnt the names of the following gentes, which bear the names of their ancestors :— 614

Gentes of the Nuqa'lkмн:

1. Tok·oâ'is (=looking down on his family).
2. Spuqpuqô'lxmq; Qê'mtsloa name: Mâ'lakyilatl (see p. 413).
3. Sistlqêlâ'aq.
4. Kx'hâqk·aua.
5. Pô'tlna.

Gentes of the Nuak·'x'lstxмн:

1. Tl'ak·anmô'ot.
2. K·ôoqôtlâ'nê.
3. ?

Gentes of the Tâlio'мн:

1. Ialo'stimôt (=making good fire); Qê'mtsloa name; T'â't'xntâit (=a cave protecting from rain).
2. Spatsâ'ilt.
3. Tsaqoâ'akyas.
4. Ha'mtsîl.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEÁ Bellacoola NEÁ

102
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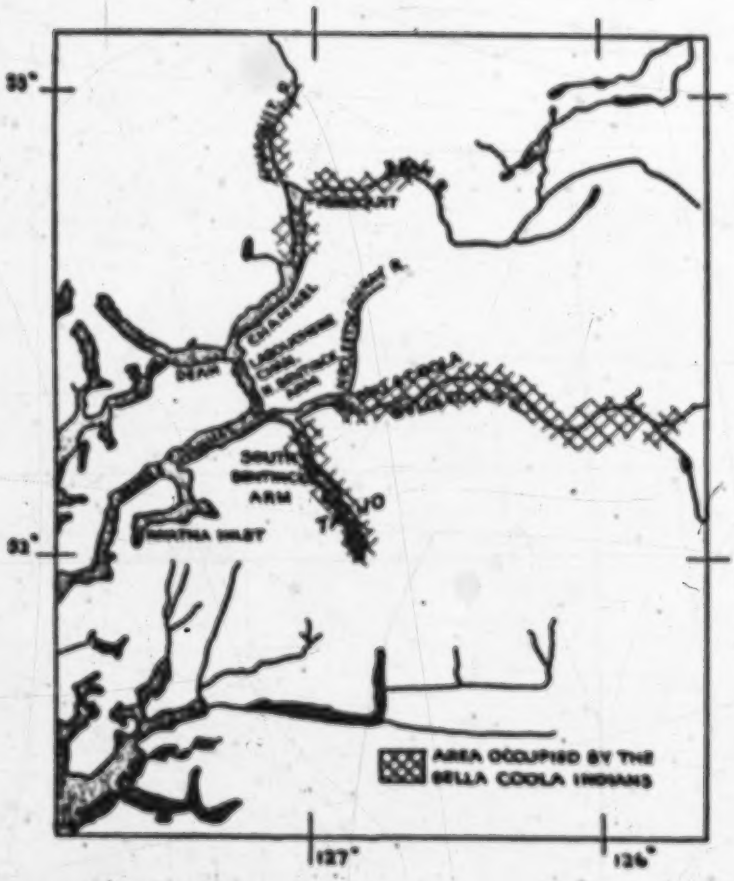
131
133



Map of the Bella Coola area

[facing p. 1]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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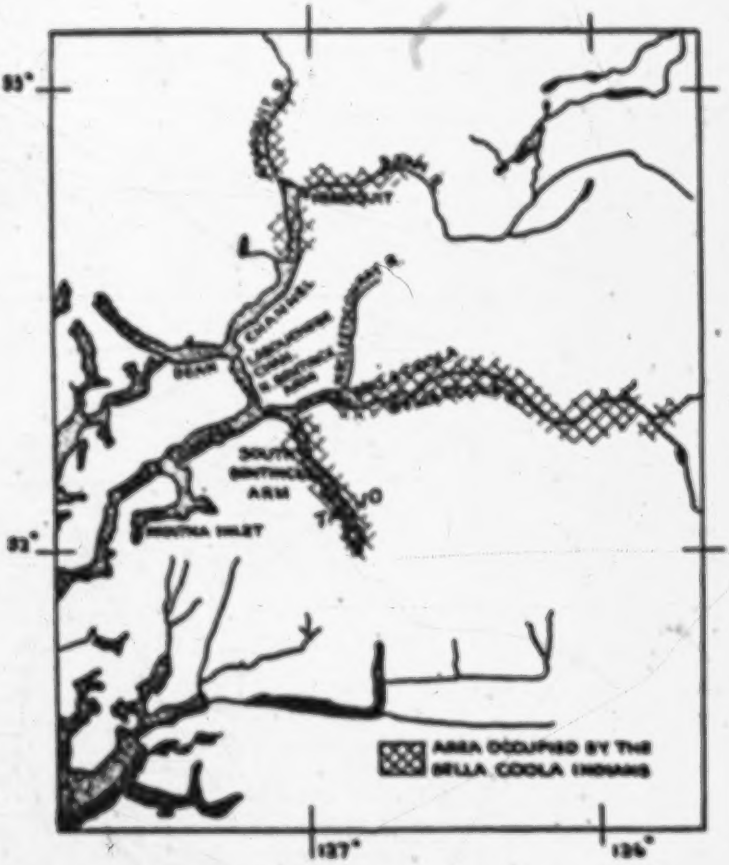

Map of the Bella Coola area

[P. X]

Ethnol E-4, 5 (1952-1960)1952
NE11 Nootka NE11
Quileute NR16
Kwakiutl NE10
Bella Coola NE6
NSK
102
103
131
133
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102
131

[19]

From map prepared by W. A. Newcombe for the Provincial Museum, Victoria, B. C.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

102
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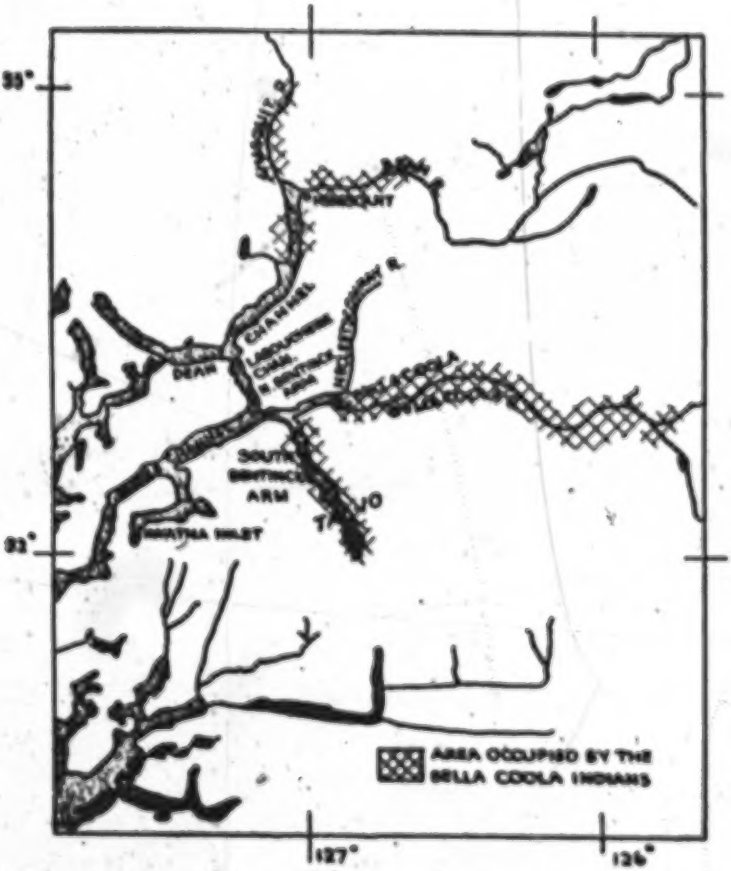

Map of the Bella Coola area

[facing p. 1]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

kenzie, making his memorable overland trip to the Pacific, records coming upon Indian villages at every few miles of his course. Boas describes the way in which the inhabitants of each of these claim to be descended from one group of ancestors. 173 361 175

Though it is impossible to estimate the former population of the Bella Coola valley with any degree of accuracy, it must have been in the thousands. In 1922 there were surviving rather more than three hundred individuals, who live in one village on an Indian reserve near the north bank of the Bella Coola River, about a quarter of a mile from the sea. In the last century the tribe was stricken with smallpox, and since then consumption, venereal disease, measles, and other diseases of the white man have taken their deadly toll. Changed conditions of life and decay of the rich ceremonial around which centred their interests in the old days are also contributory factors in their decline. Within the last few years, however, the population has begun to increase. 161 [164] [177] [182]

Bella Coola Villages

The following list of Bella Coola villages was obtained. In an effort to learn which had been deserted in recent years, the writer always asked whether or not a town was occupied at the time of Mackenzie's visit, an event of such great interest to the grandparents of the older people that the memory of it is still preserved. Villages said to have been occupied at that time are marked with an asterisk. 361 [124] [175]

Three rivers empty into the head of South Bentinck Arm, which is about one mile in width (see Plate 7). The Bella Coola, flowing from the east, enters at the southern edge, and the *Nulqatskwa-e* winds in from the north to the opposite angle of the head of the fiord. This stream, "The Nearest River" of the Bella Coola, so-called because of its proximity to the sea, is shown on maps as the Necleetsconnay. Between the mouths of these two is the *Pe-ssb*, a small stream rising 133 [103]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE4 Bellacoola NE4

stream, on which the salmon-weir rested, was carried away.[10] 361

The following village may be included with the above: [173]

(27) *Nusxeq:* on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, to the east of the creek that flows into it at Green Bay. This long-deserted village was built so close to the ocean that high tides reached almost to the houses. According to one informant, the name was derived from that of the first chief sent down from above to that spot; while another connected it, etymologically, with *Nusx*, the name of the barren district some four and a half miles up the valley of the creek. In recent years this village site has been used only as a summer camp. [173]

The name given to the Bella Coola valley is *Nuxálk*; that given to the inhabitants of the valley, excluding those of village no. 27, is *Nuxálkmq*.[11] 101 103

Two points must be considered with regard to the above list of towns: In the first place, can it be regarded as an accurate list, or do the towns belong to the realm of mythology? In the second place, are the customs and beliefs of the inhabitants of the different towns sufficiently similar to be described without reference to local differences? 128 173 361

The first question is difficult to answer. The Bella Coola undoubtedly consider the existence of these towns to be an historical fact, but so do they regard the peopling of the earth by men created in the land above. Nevertheless, the above list appears to be substantially correct. The Bella Coola, although now collected into a single village, still remember their ancient homes. One man, for example, stated as a matter of course that he was a man of *Swabil*. Further inquiry elicited the information that he had been born at *Sxaxl*, where his father had moved at the time of the smallpox epidemic. It later appeared that my informant's father was born at *Tsmoal*, had married there, and that it was his father who had moved [164] [166]

[10] This explanation may be only legendary.

[11] Boas, p. 69, states that *Nuxalk* is only applied to the lower villages of the valley. All the writer's information was contrary to this view. [114]

Mullowaith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NE6

773 823 ago the tide came further up the rivers than at present and did not recede so far. This statement was made by an intelligent old man who said that the change had taken place during his own life-time.

773 833 One of Raven's most important alterations to *Ālquntām*'s intentions was with regard to the sexual act.

In the beginning of time, the organs of women were on the forehead, those of men on the palm of the hand, and intercourse was effected by a man rubbing his hand across a woman's brow. Raven feared that children would not result from this practice and accordingly altered the organs of both sexes to their present positions. In order to teach mankind the sexual act he then chose a woman and held intercourse with her, telling her that if the practice were carried out secretly and vigorously a child would be born. And nine months later the woman gave birth to an infant. Raven told the first inhabitants of the world that he wished them to have issue; they consequently held intercourse frequently and begat many children until their descendants filled the Bella Coola valley.

The attitude of the Bella Coola towards this story is identical with their beliefs concerning Raven as the cause of death. "Yes," they say, as they repeat the above story in answer to a question, "Raven taught our ancestors how to have children."

773 [183] One side of their nature implicitly believes any story handed down from the distant past, but few today are sufficiently naïve actually to credit it. The more sophisticated frankly disbelieve, or pretend to do so. Doubt also exists with regard to [129] Raven as originator of linguistic differences. The Bella Coola state that *Ālquntām* intended only one language for the whole world, but Raven thought that this would lead to trouble and used his power to teach the ancestors of every tribe their special speech.

Many inventions and beliefs are attributed to Raven without any accompanying myth. It is said that almost all geo- [103] graphical names are those bestowed by him on places reached in his travels. It was Raven who taught men how to bait [226] hooks on long lines to catch black cod; it was Raven who first

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

539 to the cave and greeted their long-lost brother affectionately. Though
575 he, too, was delighted at the reunion, he said but little, and for two days told them nothing of his experiences. They remained in camp and on the third night *Ăłkwi* told his brothers that he had obtained supernatural hunting powers. The following morning the four went out and killed so many mountain goats that the cave was filled with their carcasses. Their good fortune was amazing. *Ăłkwi* sent one of his brothers to invite to the cave not only the people of Kimsquit but of the whole countryside as well. While he was absent on this errand, the remaining three prepared and smoked the meat, taking care to preserve the leg bones.

Within two weeks the guests began to assemble. *Anokokwăłs* was a good place for a ceremony because *Ăłkwi* had decorated it with paintings after its roof had opened to show him the upper regions of space.[11] When all the people had arrived, the host gave a mountain goat leg-bone to each, asking every recipient to beat time with it. Then *Ăłkwi* danced
[535] a *nuṣqual* dance, imitating the one he had seen done by the goat. After performing, he unfolded the story of his adventures and finished by giving away valuable presents of smoked meat and goat grease. Thus was initiated this particular *nuṣqual* dance.

In later years, *Ăłkwi* had such phenomenal success in hunting that by distributing the spoil he was able to create and confirm for his youngest
[551] brother the name, *Nuṣhkwaltmi*, "The One Who is Always Successful." This has since been transmitted from one generation to another. *Ăłkwi*, too, is responsible for the name of Mount *Tcepinăł*, "Leg-Bones." On
[103] one occasion he killed a large number of mountain goats on the mountain and left their leg-bones, *tcepinăł*, piled together near the spot. He instructed everyone to refer to the mountain by that name, which has since been done.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY

575 A few words should be said about the reputed early history
578 of the *a'alk* society. Its members seem always to have been on the best of terms with the *ṣṣaak*, and there is no mention of feuds between these two organizations. On the other hand, there is said to have been constant friction with members of the *kusiut* society.[12] The latter comprises a large number of individuals bound together by the possession of supernatural

[532]

[11] These paintings are said to be still in existence, and the sister of one informant claimed to have seen them.

[12] This point is elaborated in vol. II, chap. x.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

*539 Many people landed on this mountain from on high, among others the chief *Nazmût-a* or *Ẽpômai*. He had brought with him from above a house, called *Kémdzoxq** which, when set up on this earth, grew so large that all the owner's family and descendants could live within. Outside the door, *Nazmût-a* had caused the erection of a totem-pole, *Nutlaqêl*. Within dwelt Echo, an incessant talker, who was very clever at learning languages; his rolling voice reverberated through the house and the whole countryside. This being acted as herald and summoned people to a dance by using the word *Nazmalika*; whenever a descendant of *Nazmût-a* [539A] gives a potlatch he makes a mask with an ever-changing mouth to represent Echo.

Not long after the completion of the house and totem-pole *Nazmût-a* set out one evening to fish for salmon with the aid of torches, taking with him his infant son and several followers. During their absence a snow-slide wiped out the town, killing all the inhabitants except one slave who concealed himself within the hollow totem-pole. The slide was due to the mountain being angry at the totem-pole, carved to represent him as he was before he changed to mountain form. When the survivors returned to their buried village they at once set about rebuilding it. In time, as the people increased in numbers, it again became prosperous. They built a fish-weir to supply their wants, using tools of stone obtained from Mount *Nazqalst*. *Ãlkwi*, the son of a *Stsaq* chief, married *Nazmût-a*'s daughter, *Shmoulte-a*, and *Nazmût-a* moved to *Ẽpqo-ts*.

Other narrators provided a little further information about *Nazqalst*. While still in human form, he wore a flat-topped hat with broad brim around which ran two snakes. After he had been changed to stone as a mountain, several individuals looked down on him from above and chose his slopes as a landing-place, thus making him their crest. The first to do so is said to have been a man named *Ojômai*.

FRAGMENT OF AN ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nuliax*[13]

In the very beginning of time, before the sky was made, *Ãlqantin* sent down to *Nuliax* three brothers and their two sisters. The names by which the men have been remembered are *Mîtsoq**, *Kémdzoxq**, *Sawmuthe*, and the women, *Sawmuse-a* and *ushumse-i*. They came to earth as golden eagles, bearing the beaver as food. The youngest sister refused to change her form, and wandered around in a semi-human condition, becoming frenzied at the slightest excuse. At length her die- [103]

*Related by Joshua Hendy.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

gusted brothers and sister united to get rid of her; she became petrified in the valley which still bears her name, and which still has an evil reputation as the coldest place in the vicinity of Bella Coola. Thence come the cold winds.

Ałqastow instructed his carpenters to construct *Sowq*'. They set about their task, but failed to use any supporting posts so that when all was completed, except a small section in the east, it fell. When the carpenters recommenced their work, they took care to erect uprights to bear the weight, and thus were able to construct the sky as it is today. When it was finished, the supports were removed. Only those living at *Nałhas* witnessed this disaster, and from it they took their names. *Kemłsowq*' was the name of this first *Sowq*' that fell.

According to another informant the first settler at *Nałhas* was *Dudzowq*', who had also the name *Xowowłaix*. He came to earth in the form of a beaver, bringing a salmon-weir as means of obtaining sustenance.

FRAGMENT OF AN ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nałhas*[26]

Among the first people who came down to earth at *Tsawat* was a stone man, who brought with him a sword as a present from the supreme deity. As a result of this gift the *Tsawat* were constantly practising the art of war, and always ready to start hostilities; their settlement was a hotbed of trouble. One of these people, *Łłtsaxłła* by name, wearied of constant strife, determined to set out and find a new home for himself. After considerable travelling he reached *Nałhas* where he settled down among the inhabitants of that village. He had brought with him a young boy who in time married a woman from *Łłałła*, and became the father of many children.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Ełsaq*[27]

In the beginning *Wisqaił* came to earth as a man on Mount *Naya*, near *Ełsaq*. He seated himself on the mountain top and slid down to the valley, clearing a smooth track as he went, which is still here like the path of a landslide. He was all alone and built for himself a house of evergreen boughs, *łwaił*, to which he gave the name *Kwałałał*. After sojourning there for some time he decided to marry; so he set off up the valley to find out if there were any people living above him. He travelled

[26] Related by *Łłaxałł*, a poor informant.
[27] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

778 539 latch, and the only vacant spot was the central seat behind the fire. Retainer after retainer was sent after someone, until finally the wondering human heard a steady thump, thump, approaching. It was the Mesatche Nose *swaxy*, travelling on his single arm, like a looper caterpillar, his head balanced precariously on top while the thump came every time that he brought his fist to the floor. On his entry, the paintings of fish and marine animals, with which the walls and boxes were covered, came to life and cavorted around as if mad, but when the chief took his seat behind the fire they returned to their pictorial form. From this experience the Bella Bella man obtained a *xaxa* name and myth.

778 (3) The Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel where the mysterious power is that of a snake.

(4) A ledge of rock projecting over the water at a point on the west side of Dean Channel about nine miles below Kimsquit.

(5) *Ełnqulx*: On the south side of Burke Channel, a few miles above Kwatna Inlet.

(6) *Swawak*: On South Bentinck Arm, at a spot where the water penetrates far under a ledge of rock.

(7) *Nakilt-ate*: On the east side of South Bentinck Arm, where an enormous spider has been changed to stone. The many colours of its body can be plainly seen amid the numerous holes in the vicinity.

(8) The Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.

778 539 823 109 (9) Mount *Nuqulit*, the highest mountain in the Bella Coola valley, belongs to the same category, since in the beginning of time it was a man.

He, *Nlaukiwit*, (which means "Too Heavy" in the sense of "so important") came to earth from above at Cape Mudge and decided to visit Bella Coola. He walked through the land to the site of the present Mount *Nuqulit*, wearing a high hat around which crawled two snakes whose heads often crossed. From where he stood, he saw the lofty mountain *Łqoi* in the Carrier country, and resolved to visit it. At that distant period this peak was a human being and from him *Nlaukiwit*

1:Mc:Ilwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

obtained two wives, the name of one being *Thiola*. He returned to Bella Coola with them. [778]

Nänalkwitl knew that presently he was fated to become immobile, a seat of petrified power. Since he was able to select where this was to be, he chose the site of Mount *Nuxpalst*, midway in the Bella Coola valley, as a convenient place to overlook the doings of men. Before he transformed himself into this mountain, he determined that he would have people visit him; accordingly he changed his axe, *Nuxkmidjuxta*, which he carried concealed beneath his blanket, into *xpalst*, a stone much used for axes and adzes. Until the introduction of white man's tools his wish was gratified; people came from far and near to obtain the necessary material. [530] [823] [103] [316]

The human origin of the mountain is still remembered, since it is often spoken of by its chiefly names, *Nänalkwitl* and *Thiola*, relics of its existence as a man. This story is regarded as an origin myth, and as such might have been included in vol. I, chap. vi.

This mountain is regarded with awe by the Bella Coola on account of its great height, but it seems to lack most of the characteristics ascribed to other places where power has been petrified.

(10) On one of the mountains above Cascade Inlet there used to be a stone eagle with outstretched wings which came to this earth with the first people, but was petrified one day when drying its wings after fishing. About 1860 part of its beak fell away. A change in the condition of any of these places had long been regarded as an omen of misfortune, so the epidemic of smallpox that soon after ravaged the coast was not unexpected. [778] [164] [787] *

(11) *Ällsmos*: An unidentified spot where a *sminq* of the mountain was petrified. At this place there is a small pool which is the repository (II, p. 8) of a certain *kusiut* dancer.

(12) *uxpekam*, "The Walker," the name both of a supernatural being and the spot where it is localized. This is not far from the glacier that lies near the junction of the trails from *Swaäli* and *Tälco*; it is the largest one in the vicinity of Bella Coola and is said to move its position. The being is in some way connected with it, hence the name. [776]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

WHY WINTER COMES

*539 In the beginning, five people came to earth as golden eagles at a point
756 above the present site of Firvale. Their names were *Ałkuny*ʷ,
*787 *Kəmałuny*ʷ, *Sexwnałx*, *Sexwnu-a*, and their sister, *utlumu-i*. This woman had enormous power which she used malignly, attracting storms, and doing other evil things. So her four brothers threw her two miles down the valley into the narrow ravine where the old foot-trail used by the Carriers leaves the Bella Coola valley and goes up the mountains to
[103] reach the rolling interior country. This barren gorge is known to this day as *utlumu-i*, and it is subject to the most severe winds in the whole district. Here the woman lived and bore a son, whose name has been forgotten.

At this time four brothers living in *Xemqa-ts*, depressed by a serious dispute with their father, decided to leave home, never to return. They set off up the valley, following the only trail. It so happened that *utlumu-i* had sent her son down to collect ocean food, and the four brothers met the youth on the way. After he had answered their questions as to where he was going and why, one of the brothers suggested that they bury him in a large, dry hole. They did so, covered him with branches and earth, and then continued their journey eastward. Presently they saw the house of *utlumu-i*, into which they peered through a crack in the wall. The woman did not see them, but at once became aware of their presence, and bade them enter through the door. In reply to her questions, they told her whence they had come, and then she asked them if they had seen her son.

"No," answered the four.

"That is strange," said *utlumu-i*. "There is only one trail up and down the valley."

The brothers still denied having met the boy, but she became suspicious and accused them of having killed him. She felt under her clothing for a small pump which she always carried concealed near her groin, and worked it until the house began to grow cold. As she continued, it grew colder and colder, until an icy wind swept the brothers into a corner, where they fell to the floor, numb and helpless. One retained sufficient consciousness to gasp out a confession, when she asked again what they had done with her son, adding that he was still alive, though they had hidden him in the ground. *utlumu-i* then stopped the cold and built up her fire, so that the brothers gradually recovered their strength. As soon as they were able she sent them back to exhume her son and bring him back to her.

In her delight at his safe return she said:

*About thirty-five miles up the Bella Coola valley, a short distance below *Snaw-*.

2: McIlwraith NE6 Bellacoola NE6
103, 192, 551, 773, 776

/For a Bella Coola-English vocabulary which includes place names, personal names, and names of spirits, gods, mythological characters and places, see category 116, pp. 573-630./

2:34:Dorsey R-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

[The Dance of Thunder]

the uninitiated are expelled. If several *tsakoiar* in the same village are peoplgis of Thunder, each makes a circuit independently, but they agree to meet afterwards in the house of one of their number. Here all members of the society assemble for a meal provided hurriedly by X, or to a number of meals if several have Thunder as patron; in this case there is no pooling of food. The marshals take the opportunity of giving their customary admonitions, as if it were midwinter. Next the singers combine their ideas and hent out a new song of which the theme is Thunder who never rests; it is worded as if X were speaking and describing what his patron is doing. This song is sung and resung until all present have learnt both tune and words. If there are several *tsakoiar* with Thunder as patron, a song is made for each and practised in the same manner.

When all is ready, one of the heralds calls in the uninitiated. Each song is sung to the accompaniment of beating sticks while a dancer performs. Instead of X, this is an old man or woman who has not had a call for many years. Often the *tsakoiar* selected is so old that he or she can dance only with the support of a stick; no reason could be learnt for this surprising deviation from the usual practice. If several songs have been composed, a new dancer performs to each. After the last dance the uninitiated are expelled and the *tsakoiar* soon follow. Since no call has come, it follows that it is of a ceremonial, though not of a sacred nature, and does not take the regular course of winter dances. It is said to "make good the path of Thunder," the term employed being identical with that used for the dance on subsequent after the burning of the masks.

Nothing more need be said about the Thunder dance, except to give the following origin myth:

Long ago, long before the white man came to this land, but still longer after the first settlement, four brothers left Kimsquit to hunt mountain goats on Mount Pingalski, near the Kimsquit River.* It was September

*The mountain in the header on Bump-Lake Mission Mountain, for short remember the fab in question and it is said that long ago, in the very beginning of time, a salmon hatchery purified there.

(2) Brought from above as a present from *Ḵpaxnaxw*.
(3) One of the dancer's first ancestors.
(4) Combined themes such as this, referring both to the approaching potlatch and the dancer's origin myth, are common at potlatches and feasts.

598*

uwlā'a Song Used for Ḵmoqsnaxw of Kimsquit(a)

A *Ḵpiyawalaxw* | *chmaqamaxyālaka* | *ḵwawa'ulaka* | *ut'ānwāḵālaxw*
Formerly the people who lack prerogatives will envy(2) when I possess. Because

dmamaxyālaxw | *dawlā'wulaka*
it increases sexually, it is *uwlā'a*(1).

[*musician's comment*]

B *Ḵawā'ḵmax ulāwulaka* | *Pusqāla'ulāwut* | *'ut'ut'ānwaq'ālaxw*
In the beginning there came down | *Pusqāla'ulāwut*(4) | with his crest(1).

Ḵlamaxwsqā'a | *ugwaqamaxwālaxw* | *uwulaxw ulā*
He were himself | on the south | of the "Heavy Goat"(3).

[*musician's comment*]

C The last part has been forgotten(5).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 38a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pakhoot.
(b) The word *uqam*, which is translated as *crest*, is used only for the dances of ancestral prerogatives which can never be attained except by those who are members of the ancestral family concerned. [424] [614]
(c) It was impossible to obtain literal translations of the subdivisions.
(d) A name which *Swanton* (I, p. 152) took for himself on earth. It is claimed that the composers of this song erred in using this designation.
(e) *Swanton* came down to the Kimsquit River, but the grandfather phoning represents the sentiment that men and stream come together.
(f) The Kimsquit River is sometimes named *Ḵ'ulāwu* on its name on chief. This designation was obtained by *Swanton* from Bella Bella, with his marriage to a woman of that tribe, and borrowed by him on the river. [103] [424]
(g) This song was used during the winter of 1923-4 and nearly led to friction. It is claimed that the right to the name *Ḵmoqsnaxw* was lost to a Kimsquit man who failed to return it. The borrower has been dead many years, but when his son presented to dance, one of the singers who was related to the original holder refused to take part in the singing. [578] [424] [424]

Pudzilum Song Used for a Kimsquit Man(a)

A *uwulāwulaqa* | *ulāwulawulāqax* | *ulāwuwulāwulā* | *ulāwuwulāwulā*
I have obtained | the ancestral right | which displayed | my forefathers(2).

[*musician's comment*]

(a) Xemsh came down from above with *siyuyuyut* in the beginning of time; he had the prerogative of dancing at weddings. 533*

(b) Sulaqa likewise came down with *siyuyuyut*, bringing the same prerogative as Xemsh. 585

(c) The rest of this song has been forgotten. [773]

Fragmentary and short as are these songs, they are more elaborate than many used at weddings. These frequently contain no words, merely an ancient tune accompanied by humming and meaningless choral interjections.[4] [424]

SHAMING SONGS

Songs of this type are sung by the singers while the principal performer dances; in this respect, they resemble *sisaok* compositions and differ entirely from the abbreviated and individualistic wedding songs. Though used primarily to shame a runaway husband or wife, one is sometimes employed on other occasions. 533* 586 578 [585]

Song Used for Nelqwna(e), a Kimsquit Woman(f)

A Yalakaiy | *dalima* | *Mistelos* | *sulnaistus* | *dämnalteaiya'a*
How too much | looted | *Mistelos(e)* | further, | he has taken with her

nalmaalachumul | *dämnalteaiya'a*
my child, *Tsalmaaklu(d)*, | he has taken with her(e). [103]

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Ituuqlaiwut* | *sewdstämmtsuli* | *iksi dämutsaists*
Be brave, | mothers(*f*), | when I speak of your ugliness(g);

ulaklakhumuq | *wanusfudätsakmyali*
you have had much trouble, | your breasts have become long and pendant.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) This word means "The one (feminine) with the very hairy pudenda." The woman in question had run away from her husband and the nickname was conferred on this shaming *Hailyakam* rite. [551] [553]

[4] Two examples of such wordless songs were collected. They are song VII D 2a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard, and song VII D 3a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*533
586
578
[103]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 35a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) That is: *Mistsles* has looted too much. He was the seducer of *No-ḳwa*.

(*d*) This ancestral name is one of the designations of Mount *Nusḳalst*.

(*e*) This repetition merely adds force to the complaint of the aggrieved husband. It was impossible to obtain an accurate translation of each subdivision.

(*f*) Referring to old women in general.

(*g*) In this second part, the theme changes from the specific plaints of the aggrieved husband to his condemnation and criticism of the whole female sex. Such combinacions are common in shaming songs, and are often accompanied by a change of tune.

Song Used for Nulkitl(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A Dixsloks	*dixwältliwatom*	*diqwaltemkdjutl*
Being poverty-stricken(*c*)		has come to this rite

nulkaiyaitldai
Nulkitl(d).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Dishyämäsilum	*wasqilisilals*	*dlukaiyäk'*
All the foul expressions used by men are applicable to(*e*)		the crippled

yasilias
Silias(f).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) This song was sung by women to shame *Nulkitl* who had deserted his wife. It was the work of a feminine composer, *Naxom*.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 38b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.

(*d*) Any weakness is picked upon in a shaming song. *Nulkitl* must have failed to perform rites of any kind, and the feminine mockers chose to deride him for this instead of his faithlessness.

(*e*) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.

(*f*) *Silias* was one of the regular Kimsquit singers who had shown especial aptitude in the insertion of obscene expressions to songs used by men to deride faithless women. The women apparently considered this a good opportunity to voice their general disapproval by coupling his name with that of *Nulkitl*. *Silias* had suffered a broken arm when fighting and it had been badly set.

Song Used for Som(a), a Kimsquit Woman(b)

A Wastälpatstdjalatlawalt	*aiyaqyäsyamsudzais*
Do not talk too much in a proud manner(*c*),	*Som,*

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

714 and one was held up by the bow paddler as the craft neared the
726 shore to protect him and those behind from arrows and stones cast by slings. When not in use, shields were laid away in boxes with some white substance resembling flour.[9] On the
[103] shore of the fiord below Bella Coola, opposite Winter Bay, there are some boulders of the same white tint; even now these are often spoken of as "The Shields of the Bella Coola." It is said that hostile raiders, seeing them, used to remark that they had reached the outposts of Bella Coola.

726 The same lack of leadership shown during preparations for a war was evident during hostilities. The so-called leader had
701 little authority over his men, who could desert and return home
703 at any time. Lack of martial ability among their own chiefs
[648] sometimes led the Bella Coola to place themselves under the
[642] authority of a Bella Bella in a way which would be impossible for a war-like people. Frequently such divided leadership led to disaster, and is the surest proof that the Bella Coola were not as aggressive or bellicose as other coastal tribes.

726 Except when attacking the Carriers, all raiding parties
[533] embarked in canoes and followed a definite order of procedure
[703] handed down from the past. In the stern of each craft sat the captain, a chief, who, as the craft was leaving, began to sing his *xe-tla* song, keeping time to it with the beats of his paddle; the recounting of the glories of their ancestors was supposed to encourage the warriors. Instead of leaving simultaneously, a rendezvous was often chosen down the fiord, and the expedition finally moved off from there when all the canoes had arrived. While still in friendly territory, a flotilla proceeded
726 openly. A small amount of dried salmon and water was car-
789 ried by a war party and morsels of the former were eaten at intervals. The bow-man took as much food and drink as he thought could be consumed at one sitting, put a fragment of dried salmon in his mouth, chewed it four times on the same side of his mouth as he was paddling, and swallowed it. Then

[9] Some undetermined substance said to have had protective or preservative qualities.

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925

NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

B 825 [103]

A fly which does not bite, perhaps the house fly among the Bellacoola, was called Mammish, and was said to lay its eggs on fish and fish eggs. The place called Numammish was so named because the people thought they saw flies and they said *mammish*, but when the supposed flies fell they were seen to be toads.

C 825

Among the Ulkatcho, this fly was called Asthuz, and was said to lay its eggs on salmon. To keep off flies of all kinds and mosquitoes the blossoms of the cow parsnip, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx, called Goosss in Ulkatcho, were put in oil of the eulachon fish or any kind of oil and the mixture was put on the body. Every food that was smoked was smoked so that flies would keep away from it. Flies were not used as fish bait.

C [824] [251] [226]

B 825

The Gad-fly, *Tabanus* sp.? probably *sonomensis* O. G. of the family *Tabanidae*, which is commonly called horsefly, is numerous when the horses come down to Bella Coola from the interior. Among the Bellacoola it is called Silt lay estl. It is said to lay its eggs in the backs of the caribou in July, and these hatch into "worms." The face and eyes, being pretty, were used long ago as a pattern for a picture which was painted on fine boxes. There was no story of this fly.

B [552]

C 825

Among the Ulkatcho, this gad-fly is called Clez co, and a smaller one is called Clez cho yaz, *yaz* signifying small. Once I was told that no medicine was used to keep off the gad-fly, but on another occasion that cottonwood gum with oil was used. Apparently for his own amusement, my Ulkatcho Indian informant held one of these flies by the abdomen inside his mouth and made it buzz.

C [824] [751]

B C 825

Two kinds of little black biting fly, horse fly (*Symphoromyia* sp.?) apparently considered as one, are called Skikpie estl in Bellacoola. They are called Clez cho yaz in Ulkatcho *yaz* signifying small.

The Black fly, *Simuliidae*, among the Bellacoola is called Ticos cosee and Alk co ok hotl.

Among the Ulkatcho it is called Whuchu, while Tuih is the name of black flies, mosquitoes, and no-see-ums. All these were kept off with a smoke smudge made with a fire of any kind of wood on which were put such things as green, wet, or rotten wood,

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Since the end of the last century they have dwindled down in numbers, and a few only of their once populous villages are still inhabited, namely, Sâtaq, at the head of Dean Inlet; Nûtl'a'l, at the mouth of Salmon River; Naqa'lkn (which embraces five villages, at the mouth of Bella Coola River; Stû'in, twenty-eight miles up Bella Coola River; and Tâ'lio, at the head of South Bentinck Arm. The dialect of Nûtl'a'l and Sâtaq differs slightly from that of the other villages. The following is a list of their ancient villages, most of which are still inhabited at certain seasons, although not regularly:—

1. Sâtaq.
2. Nûtl'a'l. The tribe of this place is called Sûtalxmx.
3. Naqa'lkn, embracing the villages K'ûmkû'ûts and Stskû'ûtl on the north side, Pû'ûsla and Natai'ûstakûnt on the south side of the river.
4. Sanqtl.
5. Tsûmû'ûtl.
6. Sûû'l'ûlû.
7. Nû'kûsla.
8. Ass'nanû.
9. Nûk'ûû'aqûsla.
10. Tsûnûk'ûû'nû.
11. Nû'ûk'ûlst.
12. Nûtûlû'ûq.
13. Stû'in, twenty-eight miles from the sea.
14. Sûû'l'ûlatl. Nos. 4 to 14 are situated along Bella Coola River, and are given as they are met with in ascending the river.
15. Stû'aqtl, at the confluence of Bella Coola and Driver (?) Rivers.
16. Tâ'lû, at the head of South Bentinck Arm, embracing K'ûs'pû, Tâ'lio, Nû'lû', A'ûtû.
17. K'ûû'lûs, at the bay of that name in the southern entrance of Bentinck Arm. On the north entrance of Bentinck Arm were the Kûû'ûl, but it is doubtful whether they belonged to the Bîqûla or to the Hû'ûmk. The latter call the people of Dean Inlet Ki'ûkûnûq.

Each of these tribes is subdivided into gentes, which appear to be arranged in exogamic groups. I learnt the names of the following gentes, which bear the names of their ancestors:—

Gentes of the Naqa'lkmx:

1. Tsk'ûû'ûs (=looking down on his family).
2. Sqûqûû'ûmq; Qû'ûtsûs name: Mâ'ûkyûlatl (see p. 415).
3. Sûûlqûlû'ûq.
4. Ks'ûûqû'ûûs.
5. Pû'ûlûs.

Gentes of the Nûk'ûû'ûstûmx:

1. Tû'ûk'ûûmû'ûû.
2. K'ûûqûûlû'ûû.
3. ?

Gentes of the Tâlû'ûmx:

1. Ûû'ûûmûû (=making good fire); Qû'ûtsûs name; Tû'ûtûûkûû (=a cave protecting from rain).
2. Sûûû'ûû.
3. Tûûûû'ûkyûs.
4. Ûû'ûtûû.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

776 The Thunder-bird and his companions appear in the kō'siut ceremonial.
573 When they enter the house, a dancer appears who carries an instrument in
[534] the shape of a bird-rattle (Plate XI, Fig. 7), which is provided with holes in its lower side, and has a loose back. This implement is filled with cedar-bark and eagle-down, and is shaken by the dancer. The eagle-down is thus made to fly about in the house, symbolizing the wealth and power of the Thunder-bird.

IV.

184 In the preceding pages, I have summarized the principal features of
773 Bella Coola mythology, which are characteristic of the traditions of the whole tribe. Besides these, there are other groups of traditions which are very conflicting. One reason for the existence of numerous contradictory traditions must be looked for in the peculiar social organization of the Bella Coola. In former times, when the tribe was populous, the Bella Coola inhabited a great many villages. The inhabitants of each village are considered the descendants of a number of mythical ancestors who were sent down by Sun. Each of these village communities has traditions of its own, which are its property, and which are not well known to the rest of the tribe. Many of these traditions refer to the origin of our world, and for this reason a number of the most important myths differ in various villages. Indications of such conflicting ideas may be found in the traditions recorded in the preceding pages. To make this subject clear, it is necessary to describe somewhat fully the traditions belonging to a number of village communities. Before recording these traditions I shall enumerate the villages of the tribe.
103 The following list is the result of repeated inquiries. In it the names and
361 locations of the villages are given in consecutive order from the mouth of
773 Bentinck Arm upward along Bella Coola River, and the names of the mythical ancestors of the village communities have been ascertained.

Village.	Location.	Ancestors.
1. Q'ul'ana	At the bay of this name.	
2. Sō'ula	At the entrance of South Bentinck Arm.	Tōtsnā'ma.
3. Hanū'q'	On South Bentinck Arm.	Szmalutā'k'ns, Nusqos'-xlaē, Sz'ists, and their sister E'ns'xlana.
4. Pō'tsula	At the entrance of the valley opening on the south side of the mouth of Bella Coola River.	Sts'homa, Yuyō'k', Mentsi'i, Sisū'k.
5. Ancqō'ns	The present division at the north side of Bella Coola River, near its mouth.	Iuyō'yōt, Xōmsē'mes-nem, Smenala'k, and their sister Lanqō'ntsa.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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361
773

Village.	Location.	Ancestors.
6. Ownex mik'ep	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 5.	
7. Tx'e'ix tskume	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 6.	
8. Selku'ia	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 7.	
9. Sa'qia	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 8.	
10. Stok c'ii.	South side, near mouth of Bella Coola River.	Q'ic'i.
11. Q'o'mqhth	South side, near mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 10.	Xe'mlex, Ot'mq'omkik'a, and their sister Nemi'ma.
	(Nos. 4-11 jointly are called Nuxa'lk.)	
12. Semai.	About one mile above Nuxa'lk.	Yoxo'Kumia, Amax'mlix, Sema do'ola, and their sister Nook i'mat.
13. Tsemo'ot.	On Bella Coola River, above No. 12	Xo'ak ila, Tcexemmk ai'x, and their sister Sauik'ema'ls.
14. Sod'i'yle	On Bella Coola River, above No. 13.	Cuk lai'x.
15. Nok i'is	On Bella Coola River, above No. 14.	Cxamtmo'ma.
16. Nosd'ixem	At junction of Nosd'xem and Bella Coola Rivers.	Qaoxnok ma'ne.
17. Ast'nanq	On Bella Coola River, above No. 15.	E'mack ia or Atq'exa'.
18. Nuqd'exmats	On Bella Coola River, above No. 17	Anutapak emdai'x, Ieya'pot, one more man, and their sister
19. Tsanxqd'ne	On Bella Coola River, above No. 18.	
20. Nawq'ia	On Bella Coola River, at foot of Mount Nawq'a'ni, above No. 19.	Tomi'ik'ma.
21. Nulad'ia	On Bella Coola River, above No. 20.	Sxanxumlai'x, Sa'nxmai, Nimeel'ai, and their sister Qamamds'qa.
22. Sed'ia	28 miles above mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 21.	Atlia cadi ia ii Nowx t'aix, Sewa'ma, Xe'mlxem Amax'ma, Kewmd'a, Nutwqd'ex, and their sister Kumkwa'ma.
23. Sod'i'elai.	On Bella Coola River, above No. 22.	
24. Sid'aai.	On Bella Coola River, above No. 23.	
25. Q'ne'ya	At head of South Bentinck Arm.	
26. Sd'ika	" " " "	
27. Asa'ia	" " " "	
	(Nos. 25-27 jointly are called Ta'lin.)	
28. Sdoxi.	At mouth of Salmon River, Dean Inlet.	
29. Sdoq	Dean Inlet.	

7:Boas E.5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE5 Bellacoola NE5

361 773 It is very remarkable, that, besides the ancestors of the villages enumerated here, the Bella Coola state that the Sun created a number of men whom he sent down to a mountain on Skeena River, and that they become the ancestors of a part of the Tsimshian. Another group of men was sent down to Bute Inlet, and later on migrated to Bella Coola River. The names of these villages and men are as follows:—

[103]

Village.	Ancestors.
Nuup'pes (Skeena River)	Tsqa'mnem, A'nnet, Nnel'ya, and three under K'imlqa'n.
Nx'es (Bute Inlet)	Nnanokem, Annetma'nem, Spd'a-pestnem, Tlmonk'a.

The full traditions relevant to them will be found at the end of this chapter. Each of these ancestors, when sent down to our world, received a salmon-weir, which was placed across the river at the locality where they built their village. I shall now relate a number of traditions of the various villages.

Tradition of Nx'ela.

680 In the beginning our world was dark. At that time Totem'ex descended from heaven, and reached our world on a mountain near the river Wa'k'i-tsmpi (Fraser River). Here he built a house, in which he lived in the company of the Raven. The latter had a black canoe which was called "Raven." The two resolved to travel in order to find people. They descended the river until they came to the sea. After some time they reached a house which was covered inside and outside with abalone shells. The totem-post of the house was also covered with shells. It shone like the sun. They saw a canoe on the beach, and this too was completely covered with abalone shells. A chief, whose name was Pulsant'mx ("abalone man"), invited them to enter his house. As soon as Totem'ex reached this place, the sun rose. If he had not found the place of the abalone chief, there would be no sun. Totem'ex did not wish to stay. He looked at the house, and saw something turning about on top of it. When they came nearer, he saw that it was a Mink, which was running about on the roof. Many people were inside the house. When Totem'ex approached and saw the beautiful canoe, he wished to have it. He offered the chief their canoe in exchange. This offer was accepted, and Totem'ex travelled on with the abalone canoe. The Raven stayed with the abalone chief. Totem'ex continued his travels, following the course of the sun. First he travelled southward, and came to the post which stands in the west of our world. From here he travelled on, and reached the copper country, which is situated

[pp. 51–113 not processed]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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membering, and rendering of songs; in 1923 it was found that Jim Pollard (see Plate 4) alone had a sufficiently accurate memory to act as announcer. As more and more men wished to perform, he found himself unable to keep the texts in order, and asked me to join the choir as prompter. I held this position for the rest of the winter, taking a full part in every ceremony. Although the old customs had broken down enormously, this actual participation enabled me to understand the winter dances in a manner impossible from mere description. Later on, phonographic records were made of many of the songs used, thus preserving specimens of the fast disappearing music. 125 796 887 [126]

My intimate association with the Bella Coola enabled me to collect the material here presented which, having been verified and reverified, I have every reason to believe is correct. Nevertheless, it has one serious defect owing to the lack of acuteness of my ear. I found it almost impossible to differentiate certain sounds; in fact, I sometimes recorded the same word with different spellings. Consequently, I cannot guarantee the accuracy of the native terms used in this monograph. Moreover, I was entirely unable to analyze proper names, which would have been of great value in understanding the attributes of supernatural beings. 128 109

When writing up field notes, the realization of my own inefficiency in the recording of sounds tempted me to rely upon the spelling of Boas whenever possible. After considerable hesitation, I rejected this course for the following reason. Ethnological work falls into two categories, descriptive and comparative. This monograph is of the former type, based on actual work in the field and the inclusion of any material from another source would destroy its originality. I believe that a descriptive work should consist exclusively of the author's own research, and I have adhered to this principle in spite of the advantages which would have followed the use of Boas' linguistic terms. For the same reason no attempt has been made to compare the customs and beliefs of the Bella Coola with those of other tribes, although this would undoubtedly have shed 128

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produced here. I can only place on record my deep obligation and gratitude to each of these four. Dr. D. Jenness, who succeeded Dr. Sapir, was most co-operative. In Bella Coola, I was treated with uniform kindness by the white inhabitants, particularly Mrs. Clayton, Mr. and Mrs. Bert Robson, and Mr. and Mrs. Andy Christensen. 000 [127]

Finally, and most important of all, I wish to express my appreciation to the Bella Coola themselves. Without their generous, kindly and helpful co-operation, this book could never have been written. I came as an uninvited stranger; they treated me as a friend and a guest; and I left with intense regret. My chief friends were Joshua Moody, Captain Schooner, and Jim Pollard, but I was also greatly assisted by Mr. Willie Mack, Mr. and Mrs. Tallio Charlie, and Mr. and Mrs. Lame Charlie. To a host of others I am indebted in only a slightly less extent. The aid and friendship of these men and women is one of my pleasantest memories, and one which I wish to record in all gratitude and appreciation. [115]

In the actual publication of this complicated manuscript, I have likewise been fortunate in receiving co-operation and help. The University of Toronto Press accepted it for publication during the war, facing—and overcoming—the inevitable shortage of materials and of skilled craftsmen. Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining the type for phonetic symbols; to avoid undue duplication all native words, whether proper or common names, have been printed in italics. It is a tribute to the Press that it has completed the work. I am especially indebted to several former members of the editorial staff: Mrs. Hewitt, who supervised the initial editing, and her assistants, Mrs. Hackett and Mrs. Bunk. Mr. Weir, foreman of the composing room of the Press, has surmounted endless difficulties with enthusiasm and ingenuity. I am also grateful to Miss Harmer, Associate Editor, who took the responsibility for final production details. Mr. Burns, General Manager of the Press, and Professor Brown, Editor, have both been helpful and co-operative throughout. 128 [104] 000

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PHONETIC KEY[1]

VOWELS

a, as in *father*
ä, as in *hat*
e, as in *fate*
i, as in *pique*
o, as in *note*
u, as in *rule*
ə, as in *but*
ɛ, as in *met*
ɪ, as in *hit*
ʊ, as in *put*
ə, obscure vowel like *a* in *idea*
°, exponent vowels, voiced but slighted in enunciation. The same device is used for consonants slighted in enunciation.

CONSONANTS

p, t, k, l, m, n, s, w, y, h, ng as in English
q, velar *k*
p', t', k', q', aspirated surds
p̄, t̄, k̄, q̄, glottalized stops
ḳ, anterior palatal *k*
ḡ, anterior palatal *ḡ*
b, d, intermediate between surd and sonant
d̄, glottalized intermediate
dj, as in *jam*
c, as *ch* in *chief*
ł, spirantal *l*
ł̄, *t + ł*
ł̄, glottalized *ł*
x, as in Scottish, *loch*
ɣ, velar *x*, as in German, *auch*
ɣ, anterior palatal *x*, as in German, *ich*
r, peculiar *r* sound, apparently velar.

·, for example, *a·*, or *r·*, indicates lengthening of preceding vowel or consonant
', indicates a glottal stop
', indicates aspiration
', indicates accentuation of the syllable so marked.

[1]Based on the simpler system described in *Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages*, (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 66, No. 6, Washington (1916), pp. 1-7).

[2]The *r* sound was used only by one old man and several of his children and grandchildren.

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and other relatives of their mothers as to their fathers. It was taken as a matter of course that a child had full rights in the village of his mother, and from her, as from her relatives, he likewise received various prerogatives. Thus each child was a member of a bilateral social group. From actual residence in his father's village he tended to be more intimately associated with him and his brothers than with his mother's relatives, but this did not prevent him from visiting at the home of the latter, where he was received as a member of that village. Through the bestowal of prerogatives by his mother and the members of her family, his relationship with them was further emphasized. Such a child was, in fact, a full member of two groups. 775

When the members of the second generation married and beget children, each of these could have been a member of four groups; that of his father's father, father's mother, mother's father, and mother's mother. The Bella Coola believe that there were approximately forty-five groups of first settlers, corresponding to the forty-five towns, and it is obvious that if the system of intermarriage had continued for a few generations, a man would have been a member of each of these first groups. They assume that their first ancestors came to this earth far more than a few generations ago, and yet at the present time no one claims to be a descendant of more than eight of these first groups, and most claim descent from only two or three. In part this can be explained by forgetfulness, though a Bella Coola would regard this statement as heresy. The residence of a man in the village of his father has tended to emphasize relationship with the ancestral group that first populated that village, and there is no doubt that actual relationship, through the mother, with the members of other groups must in many cases have been forgotten in the course of generations. The term *ancestral family*, *mamaxts*, is used in this monograph to designate those individuals who believe themselves to be descended from one of the first groups that populated this earth. [614] [611] [614] [104]

1777 from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not dif-
424 ficult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking,
551 even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella
575 Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella
[779] prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time of the coming of the white man. There has since been general decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situation is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the investigator.

428 *Sacred* names are willed and inherited in the manner already
551 described for other prerogatives. The type of dance, and the
575 time of use, will be described in the following section of this chapter.

The Potlatch

* 556 It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank
128 among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a number of features which, logically, should have been postponed until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has been made to lessen reference to non-ritualistic features by the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chieftainship and the *sacred* society. Other ideas will require rather lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems preferable to the use of many foot-notes, its only alternative.

General Observations

● 184 In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "pot-
* 556 latch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents,
[431] and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella Coola, such distribution of gifts is necessary at every ceremonial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most important of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach, the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

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monograph the term "potlatch" will be limited to this, the *hem*.

Every Bella Coola is, or should be, able to recount how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god, *Alquntám*, caused his ancestors to be created in his house in the land above, whence they were sent down to populate the earth. A creation legend of this type is a man's most treasured possession.[1] Most myths describe the adventures of these first people, how they prospered in the Bella Coola country until they were able to invite to their homes guests from far and near, to whom they showed what they had achieved, through the assistance of *Alquntám*, or of some other supernatural being. In so doing they were carrying out *Alquntám*'s wishes. He told some of these first people that if they accumulated much wealth, in those days chiefly food, there was danger that the provisions first stored would rot, hence they should cut away the bottom of the pile and present it to other men and women. The Bella Coola term for "to cut out that which is rotten" is *hêl*, hence the origin, according to their belief, of the word *hem*, which thus has the significance of "a giving away of long accumulated goods which otherwise might rot."

By the splendour of his gifts each of the first people able to give a potlatch (*hem*), spread the knowledge of his name and fame to the towns whence his guests had assembled. Further, those who had received dances from *Alquntám* were able to demonstrate them. In course of time those who had first given potlatches died, but on taking their fathers' names, the sons, or other descendants, endeavoured to uphold the parental tradition by inviting guests from afar and giving them valuable presents. At such a ceremony the family history, or family myth, was recounted, so that the donor of a potlatch not only increased his own prestige, he incorporated therewith the traditions of his parent. This is the essence of the potlatch as carried out today.[2]

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[1] Examples of these are given in vol. I, chap. vi.

[2] We have found conditions to be the present time throughout, although the potlatch is not now carried out in its entirety.

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556 wards and forwards sway the contestants with shouting and merriment, and those who have failed to carry away their boxes of food hasten to remove them out of the danger zone. It is a time of licence, and even one of the most influential chiefs may be struck by the ram or his food scattered without consideration. The ram is driven back, but those who bear it steer the log so that instead of passing out through the door it strikes the front wall, shattering some of the boards with their old paintings. With a shout they drive forwards again until part of the wall at the back of the house is likewise destroyed. Then those within the house gain the mastery and the log is carried outside, dragging its struggling bearers with it. They drop the log and return inside as if nothing untoward had occurred. This destruction of the house walls is a necessary preparation for their replacement with new paintings on new boards. When quiet has been restored a herald stands up.

"Listen!" he cries. "Ye chiefs, ye wives of chiefs, and ye commoners, soon we shall hear the supernatural beings."

533 Then the singers* beat out the tune of any *kusiut*. He whose
535 song it is begins to dance, using the type of which he has the
575 prerogative, but as the supernatural being with whom he has
556 a ceremonial affinity is not present, the dance is not considered sacred. As soon as one *kusiut* has finished, the tune of another is beaten, and he too dances. The singers change from *kusiut* to *kusiut*, and please themselves about the order in which they shall dance, also about how many shall perform. This continues until late in the night. Then they beat out a *nasek* tune and the member of that society to whom it belongs performs his dance, a non-sacred affair, like those of the *kusiut*. One after another dances as his or her tune is beaten out, until dawn approaches. Meanwhile several *nasek* have been sent outside

*Throughout in this monograph the term "singer" will be used as a translation of the Bella Coola word, *nuxiut*. The singers sit together behind the fire. It is their duty to remember the tune and text of every song; to beat out this tune for every dancer and to accompany him by singing the words of his song.

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ever object was desired, and then set in a window of his house so that the sun could fall on one uncovered end. The owner firmly believes that this stone has brought him money on various occasions, and will do so again, though whether he expects the coins to be found inside of the wrapping, or merely to come to him in the course of trade is questionable. According to Bella Coola belief, they ought to appear beside the stone, but as this man attributes any good fortune to it, he never has any difficulty in proving its powers. 777 823

This stone is also used as a means of increasing the efficacy of prayer. When its owner washes ceremonially in the river before eating in the morning, he rubs it over his body as if it were soap and requests it to make him strong, make him well, grant him his desires, and so forth. [515] [789]

Shamanism

More important to the Bella Coola than any other manifestation of the supernatural is that power which makes an individual either an *ätakwala* or an *äskankats*. The former is a person who, owing to ability granted him by a supernatural being, is able to perform miraculous feats, especially in curing the sick; the latter is one with similar powers obtained from a ghost.[1] It is impossible to translate either of these terms accurately; the designation "shaman" is accordingly used in this monograph to describe both types of supernaturally endowed individuals. The most common and most important method of obtaining such power is from a living supernatural being; a person receiving the boon in this manner will be termed "shaman," and one empowered by a ghost will be known as "shaman from the dead." 104 ● 756 * [787] * [788]

The Bella Coola believe that long ago men were so much more powerful than at present, and so close to the supernatural, that all were virtually shamans. The prowess and adventures 956 * 773 558

[1] Ghosts are, of course, supernatural, but as the Bella Coola distinguish between shamans whose powers are derived from these two sources, it is convenient to follow their example.

2: McDowell: E-5 (1922-1924) 1945
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PHONETIC KEY*

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VOWELS

a, as in *father*
ä, as in *bar*
a, as in *fate*
i, as in *pique*
e, as in *ate*
e, as in *rule*
e, as in *bar*
o, as in *out*
o, as in *hit*
o, as in *pur*
ə, obscure vowel like *a* in *ahead*
*, apparent vowels, valued but slighted in enunciation. The same device is used for consonants slighted in enunciation.

CONSONANTS

p, t, k, l, m, n, s, w, y, h, ts as in English
g, velar g
q', t', k', c', aspirated stops
p, t, k, q, glottalized stops
ł, uvular palatal ł
ł, uvular palatal ł
ł, d, intermediate between voiced and unvoiced
d, glottalized intermediate
dl, as in *jam*
c, as *ch* in *chief*
l, spirantal l
ll, l + l
ll, glottalized ll
x, as in Scottish, *loch*
x, velar x, as in German, *ach*
x, uvular palatal x, as in German, *ich*
x, peculiar r sound, apparently velar.

*, for example, a, or e, indicates lengthening of preceding vowel or consonant
', indicates a glottal stop
', indicates aspiration
', indicates accentuation of the syllable so marked.

*Based on the simpler system described in *Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages*, (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 66, No. 6, Washington (1916), pp. 1-7).

*The *y* sound was used only by one old man and several of his children and grandchildren.

[199]

575 more difficult dramatic rites in which failure would lead to the
796 unwilling learning the mysteries of the society, the matter is
824 debated at length. The writer was present at one meeting held for this purpose, with regard to a performance which had not been carried out for over thirty years. An air of solemnity was evident throughout, as if each present realized the gravity of the topic. The prospective dancer explained what he wished to do, then anyone was at liberty to comment, and most of those present took advantage of it, the marshals speaking last of all. The influence of each speaker depended in part on the [854] type of *hactsa* dance which he himself had given, and in part on his general status in the community as chief or otherwise, an intangible position dependent on public estimation rather than upon functional rights. In this case, after considerable discussion, it was decided that the dancer could proceed with his arrangements. But if there should be any doubt as to the would-be performer's ability, the marshals have no hesitation in prohibiting his intended rite, and they often do so later if rehearsals show that it is unlikely to be successful.

Refusal of permission to perform occurs only in case of the more difficult dances, which include the Cannibal, Scratch, Breaker, Fungus and *Eucinnu*. Members of the society whose prerogatives are for one of these types are considered as having greater importance than those who can merely sing of some minor deity-person; yet all are equally members of the *hactsa* society, which is not graded according to the performances of its members.

575 Many of the more difficult dances require weeks of pre-
796 paration, when it is sometimes said that the dancer has disappeared to the land above. When he returns they usually conclude in four nights, the time taken by those of a simpler type. Each of these nights is known by an unremarkable name, and, as it will be necessary to use these throughout, it may assist the reader to summarize the ritual which takes place on each. It can be assumed that it is a simple dance, that is, one without elaborate preliminaries.

[104]

[Lit. of the Kwakiutl dance - Kwagu'ał]

The first night is *kumhlaic* or *kumimem*.[1] This is when the call comes to a prospective dancer. This may be heralded by whistling from above, made by a *hactar* sent with a whistle to a neighbouring mountain for the purpose, by a thud on the roof, likewise produced by an accomplice, or by no intimation whatever. The dancer utters a low call, sometimes begins to walk in circles with bent head, or to act in some other peculiar manner, while a whistle sounds repeatedly. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house and a herald informs the village that something strange has come upon the dancer. The *hakactar* gather in his house, and four times help him by the frenzied, but regular, beating of sticks. Then the singers sing a song previously prepared, the words describing either his person or the land above. After listening closely, the *hakactar* join in and rehearse it until it is familiar. The dancer may or may not perform; if he is inclined to the steps, he does so for practice. If the hour is not too late, the singers may choose, purely for practice, to beat out a number of the songs of those *hakactar* who have already performed during the ceremonial season. A meal, provided by the dancer and his family, is then served. The singers now beat out the dancer's song once more and he dances, concluding the evening's performance. Novices and those who have already performed during the season take up their abode in the dancer's house, where they remain for the ensuing four days and nights.

The second day is *nactactlaqa*.[2] Quite early in the morning a herald calls the *hakactar* to the dancer's house, an invitation accepted by as many as wish to do so. A second song is usually composed and practised in the same manner as on the previous evening. Several *hakactar* are sent to the forest to cut wood for masks, the number of sections required depending upon the number to be used. In the evening all members of the society assemble to practise the songs.[3] The making of the masks

[1] Literally, *cohol*, *Dendrobium*.

[2] The term *gal nagu* is sometimes used for the time occurring on the day [illegible].

[3] The rehearsal of the second is sometimes postponed until this time.

R: McIlwraith II-5 (1922-1923) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

The making of the masks

is allotted to different *hahaiat*, usually in accordance with the dancer's wishes, although a marshal normally gives out the actual tasks. The dancer, or one of his relatives, bestows presents on each person to whom work is allotted. The evening of maximilian is called *mellimakun*.

The third day is *qutca*. Those to whom mask making has been entrusted assemble early in the dancer's house to start their work. About noon they are provided with a meal, to which other *hahaiat* may be invited. By late afternoon, when most of the work has been accomplished, the chips are carefully swept up and burnt, and the house tidied, ready for the uninitiated who will be invited during the evening. On either this day or the one preceding, a platform, with raised sides, is built behind the fire on which the dancer can conceal himself and where he is supposed to remain during the remainder of the four days. About dusk the *hahaiat* are called in; the singers take their places behind the fire, Cannibals, Breakers, and Scratchers are in one of the back corners, where a screening enclosure may have been constructed for them, and the remainder group themselves without distinction around the walls. In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, one or more of the masks may be displayed, suspended from a sloping pole behind the fire. If the singers think it necessary, they may practise the dancer's two songs once more. Then the uninitiated are called in, taking their places near the doorway. The singers beat out one of the dancer's songs and he dances in time to it, and the same is repeated for his second song. After some delay, which appears to be one of the requisites of every *hahaiat* performance, the singers strike up the songs of either a novice or a *hahaiat*, especially one who has already had a call during the ceremonial season, and the one thus summoned dances to his two songs. Late in the season, when many *hahaiat* have performed, only one song may be used, to prevent the ceremony dragging out to an interminable length, and songs of previous years are omitted. In any case, the ritual lasts for most of the night. When all have danced, the

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uninitiated are expelled, with the exception of the *sisaá* to whom, as guests, a meal is served. Then they too leave and the *kukusiut* eat together. Finally, the singers strike up one of the dancer's songs, and he dances to it to end the evening's rites. 575* 796

The fourth day is *nakusam*, "That Which Is Opened." During the day the carpenters work to complete the masks, and towards dusk the house is again put in order. The *kukusiut* are summoned again to practise the songs, if necessary, and always to arrange who shall wear the masks, a matter left to the marshals and the carpenters. Then the uninitiated are called in to see the masked figures and watch any dramatic representation. After their exclusion, the masks are burnt. Then the *kukusiut* gather outside the dancer's house where his song is sung once more to send his call back above. Frequently another *kusiut* now receives a call, so that the *nakusam* of one dancer is likewise the *kustāmem* for another. The *kukusiut* assemble in the latter's house, but the uninitiated are not allowed to return to that from which they have been ejected until the platform-enclosure has been destroyed at the end of the season. [104] [532] [533] [532]

A word might be said about *kusiut* paraphernalia, although much of this will have to be described in detail for special dances. Boas gives illustrations of a large number of *kusiut* masks and gives such an admirable description of them that little need be added. They are carved from the solid wood, the larger of beech, the smaller of alder, and each carpenter endeavours to make a striking effigy of the being portrayed. *Kwātkwātsair* is present at every dance and has become so well standardized that she can always be recognized. This is true, also, for Thunder, Echo, the *kaokas*, the Laugher, the Hermaphrodite, and a few other supernatural beings, but so much variation occurs in others that even a *kusiut* of much experience cannot always tell what being is represented. The masks are painted, and sometimes the designs indicate the being, even though the carving fails to do so; verisimilitude is 575* 796 532 [114] [824] [776]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*575 quarry into a converging "v" of hunters, or someone may lie
*796 down as bait to attract the Cannibal so that the other lurking
787 pursuers can secure him. No effort is spared to make the man-hunt realistic. Then they carry the captive, struggling and biting, to the canoes and set out for the village. The preliminaries are lengthened or cuttailed until the tide is favourable for the navigation of the craft; about two hours is the usual time consumed. When in mid-stream, the cry, *ye* ··, is again raised; the supposed Cannibal has once more escaped! All this time X himself has been hiding in or near the village, and he now appears. Instantly the *kukusiut* left in the neighbourhood set off in pursuit, those returning on the canoes hurry their passage and join the chase. After a struggle they succeed in capturing X and bringing him to the village.

The Cannibal acts like a demoniac animal, struggling, kicking, and biting as if his adventures had entirely destroyed his reason. He drags his captors, a number of strong *kukusiut*, to the various houses, and they are barely able to restrain him within the doorways and to force him out, biting and raving at them. A skilful actor is able to impress the uninitiated to a considerable extent, and of course he is supported by his associates. When every house has been visited, X is carried back to his own and a herald summons all the *kukusiut* to cure him. The uninitiated are allowed to crowd near the door to watch.

The assumption is that X has had the nature and instincts of an animal enter into him; if this cannibalistic incubus[11] can be driven out by beating time, he will be restored to sanity. Two long, thin sounding-boards have been prepared previously,
[534] as well as a number of birch sticks with which the *kukusiut* beat time. One man stands up to lead the drummers, and the sticks rise and fall in unison with his movements, in the manner previously described. At first X prowls around the house,

[11] This expression will be used henceforth as an interpretation of *ai-ikma*, the power in form of an animal which, having entered a man, compels him to eat strange foods.

[778]
[104]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

ca'qua'c: String figure.
Sukwaxuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sqqlel'c*: Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sukwaxa'a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sulitsa*: Rock crystal used in *kwiat* initiation rites.
[822] *sulma sisimelel*: River net for salmon.
Sumalod: Echo.
Sumsqlaic: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Sumsqualqlaxaic, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Tsimsqhlaxa'a*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Sialaxlac*: Ancestral name created on earth by a *Komqa'a* man.
Siadam, "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[825] *siaksa'a*: One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
[805] *Siakaxa di Ana'kwaulaxts*, "The Coming of *Ana'kwaulaxts*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
siaqla: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Si'ciakla'*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Si'cwai ul, "The Time for Eating Coho Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *si'illelel*: Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of marriage is broached.
[431] *si'iptam*, "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Siami*, "Sun Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Siapmi*, "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Siskamuk, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
● [104] *siki*, "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kwiat* and *nusut* rites.
Sikilkum: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Sipaq*, "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sismulwalkla: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.
Sismulqat: Ancestral name of a *Xnaa* man.
Siksum: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
[226] *Siha*: Celebrated composer.
siliway: Salmon-weir.
sinaxpu'ac: *Nusut* head-dress.
[827] *sinlaxis*: Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
[761] *si nipadjaxsimqac*: Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Sinpaxu: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[805] *Sinsawak*, "Time for the Use of Chicken Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[726] *Sinskiwaid*, "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Siswalkalaxa: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

ENTOMOLOGY AMONG THE BELLACOOLA AND CARRIER INDIANS

By HARLAN I. SMITH

B 131

THE Bellacoola Indians live in the Norway of Canada, about midway of the Pacific Coast, where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada, reached the sea; that is, about half way between Vancouver and Prince Rupert. Their country is around the head of the inlets about sixty miles in from or east of Ocean Falls and the usual route of the steamers up and down the coast. This inland passage is with few exceptions protected by the outer fringe of islands. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. The people are of the typical North Pacific Coast culture, characterized by the extensive use of red cedar and sea products, especially salmon, huge houses of split cedar planks with carved house posts, and totem poles, and immense seagoing canoes dug out of cedar. They were expert carpenters and had a peculiar art, especially in painting and carving, largely of conventionalized animal forms—a valuable contribution to the art of the world. This art may become of great financial value to the manufacturers of this country as well as a magnet capable of exploitation to bring in tourists with money from foreign lands. These Indians had a very highly developed social organization, many dramas and rituals, and a complex financial system popularly known as the potlatch.

B 105

C 101 [131]

The Carrier Indians of Ulkatcho, on the other head, live in the high plateau of the semi-arid region, perhaps 75 miles northeast of the Bellacoola. They differ from the Bellacoola in language, appearance, and culture perhaps as much as do the Turks from the English. They had a less realistic art, which was largely geometric and pictographic, highly conventionalized and symbolic. Their social organization and financial system also were less highly developed.

B C 114 104

From time to time during 1920-1923 inclusive, I have secured from both these peoples data about their use of materials. Part

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925

NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

of these data refer to insects, and may be of interest to entomologists, although my spelling of Indian words is very problematical, because some of the sounds I can neither hear nor make, and I am unable to record adequately many of those that I can hear. The data here given are preliminary to a complete working over of my notes, but are believed to be nearly complete.

Insects apparently were not so well observed by the Bellacoola as were useful mammals and plants, the stinger of the bumble-bee, for instance, being supposed to be in its mouth. Few insects had names, that is, mainly those which were used or which troubled the Indians. Insects were not used for food, and honey was unknown until after the coming of the white man. The head of the *gad-fly was used as a pattern in painting designs, the nest of the* yellow-jacket in sympathetic magic or witchcraft, and "fly spit" was said to be good for sores. They had a story about the bumble-bee.

Among the Ulkatcho also observation of insects was weaker than that of mammals and plants, and they apparently had names for only a few insects, those which troubled them. Ant lyon pits and its method of taking prey were known. Insects were of no use to the Ulkatcho whatever. An instance was observed of an Indian smoking himself with a buzzing fly held in his mouth. They employed smudges, fish oil, gum of the cottonwood, and blossoms of cow parsnip with oil to protect themselves from mosquitoes, black flies and no-see-ums, and smoke to protect foods from flies.

The Ant lyon, among the Ulkatcho, is called Kinoolkats. It is said to be numerous at Ulkatcho, but that it was useless and that there was no story about it. My informant voluntarily showed me the pits made by the larvae of this insect and, catching ants for the purpose, demonstrated its well-known method of taking its prey.

The grasshopper (Dvikepiwi), that makes a noise by rubbing its wings together when it flies, was called Tolcus, among the Ulkatcho.

"Fly spit," that is the material surrounding a nymph of a spittle insect, also known as a frog hopper (Cercopidae), is said

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

the shore of the Pacific in 1791. As a result of this intercommunication between the Bilqula and Tinneh it is found that houses essentially similar to those of the Coast Indians in mode of construction and ornamentation, though smaller and less skilfully built, occur far inland on the upper waters of the Salmon and Blackwater Rivers; while, on the other hand, the practical identity of some points in the mythology of the Bilqula with that of the Tinneh of the interior is a clear instance of reciprocal influence.

The second part of the report will be found to contain the most complete series thus far obtained of anthropological measurements relating to the tribes of the North-West Coast, with a discussion by the author of the data which these afford, in which several points of value are brought out and important suggestions are made for further inquiry. In this connection it must be mentioned that the committee are much indebted to the courteous and enlightened liberality of Major J. W. Powell, Director of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, who has permitted Dr. Boas to incorporate with the measurements obtained in British Columbia those made by him in Washington and Oregon under Major Powell's directions. It has thus been possible for Dr. Boas to give to his treatment of this subject a comprehensive character, which could not otherwise have been obtained, by enlarging the scope of his discussion so as to include the more or less intimately related tribes of the Pacific States with those of the Province of British Columbia itself.

Third Report on the Indians of British Columbia.
By Dr. FRANZ BOAS.

104 The following alphabet has been used in the report:—

The vowels have their continental sounds, namely: *a*, as in *father*; *e*, like *a* in *mate*; *i*, as in *machine*; *o*, as in *note*; *u*, as in *rule*.

In addition the following are used: *ä*, *ö*, as in German; *d*=*ow* in *how*; *gwa* in *Roger* (Leguine's *q*).

Among the consonants the following additional letters have been used: *g'*, a very guttural *g*, similar to *gr*; *k'*, a very guttural *k*, similar to *kr*; *q*, the German *ch* in *bach*; *x*, the German *ch* in *ich*; *c*, between *q* and *x*; *rwah* in *shore*; *s*, as *th* in *this*; *tl*, an explosive *l*; *dl*, a palatal *l*, pronounced with the back of the tongue (dorso-apical).

THE BILQULA.

105 The Bilqula, who are generally called Bella Coola, are the most northern tribe belonging to the Salish family. They are separated from the tribes speaking allied languages by the Chilcotin (of the Tinneh stock) in the interior, and on the coast by the Kwakiutl. Their language is—considered grammatically—more closely related to the dialects of the Coast Salish than to those of the tribes of the interior. A number of terms referring to the sea and sea-animals are the same in Bilqula and in the dialects of the Gulf of Georgia; so that we may safely assume that the two groups of tribes were at one time closely related, and that the Bilqula were differentiated from this group. They inhabit the coasts of Bentinck Arm and Dean Inlet, as shown on the map accompanying the sixth report of the committee, and extend far up Bella Coola River. Since the end of last century they

115 Schooner lacked the mental acumen of Joshua and Jim, but
177 he revealed himself as a tribal patriarch, proud of his family's
[153] history and eager to assist his grandchildren and great-grandchildren, but feeling himself lost and helpless in the struggle before them. With sadness, but without bitterness, he used to speak of the approaching end of Bella Coola culture, and his words brought home the tragedy which the spread of civilization brings to so many, and the responsibility resting upon the white people as a whole.

153 Until an intelligence test is devised to correlate the mental
115 ability of the white man with that of the native, it is impossible to compare the two scientifically. None the less, the *writer deliberately expresses the opinion that Joshua Moody* and Jim Pollard are two of the most brilliant men he has met in any walk of life. They are undoubtedly the most able of the Bella Coola; others have only slightly less ability, while the mass of the population compares favourably with an
178 average white community. Their ability, however, is definitely conditioned by their conservatism. Absolute trust in the traditions of their ancestors has checked speculation, as the established explanation is never questioned; new inventions, unauthorized by custom, have been regarded as almost sacri-
[624] legious; the force of public opinion, while valuable as a deterrent to anti-social practices, has effectively restrained innovations. The Bella Coola are a good example of a community where development has been atrophied by extreme conservatism fostered by religious beliefs.

•105 Taking into account the material obstacles, the achievements of these people have not been insignificant. In former
[322] times, provided only with tools of stone and untempered copper, they built graceful canoes, made watertight boxes, hewed planks from mighty cedars, and erected large houses which called for considerable engineering skill. Judged by
[532] white standards, their carving and painting lacked artistic deli-
[535] cacy, but it required no mean ability to portray crest designs to meet their own standards. Passing from the purely mechanical

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

to the aesthetic, their skill in dancing and dramatics is noteworthy: no one who has witnessed a native dance can fail to have been impressed by the performance of the participants and the stage-craft of the carpenters. The fact that no system of writing had ever been devised has prevented the establishment of a native literature, but the practice of passing down an extensive folklore by word of mouth shows their narrative powers as well as their faculty for remembering details. At present it is difficult to appreciate what must have been their energy in earlier times when they faced the struggle for existence, armed with stone tools. Abundant salmon gave them adequate food, but only when weirs had been built with great labour. Though game was plentiful, the hunter was equipped with nothing more formidable than a bow and arrow. The simplest task required patience and skill undreamed of by the average white man. If the reader will allow his imagination to carry him backwards two hundred years, he will realize that the mere provision of food and clothing necessitated constant effort and ceaseless exertion.

Hand in hand with many admirable characteristics, the Bella Coola display others which strike the white man as unprepossessing. A first impression is the untidiness of their houses. Exteriorly, they are often fairly neat, but confusion reigns within. Clothing, instead of being hung up, is left lying on the floor; bed-coverings are piled carelessly; dirty dishes cover the tables; dogs and children swarm over the floor; flies abound; all is dirty and slovenly. The house itself may be uncompleted; a window lacks glass and has been boarded up; the roof leaks, or the steps are falling down. Nor are the surroundings more attractive. There is one struggling flower-bed in the village, but elsewhere the houses are surrounded by wastes of mud where horses and cattle wander, dogs prowl, and children play. In the distance the mountain peaks rise in splendour, but near at hand all is squalid and unkempt.

They are only slightly more particular about their personal appearance. Dirt does not distress them. They wash octa-

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bella coola NEA

group. The moral code is not concerned with animals. The life of the Bella Coola would be unbearable to most white people, yet they find it far from unpleasant. They sigh at present conditions, but there is much to amuse them notwithstanding. If several people are talking together, one is sure to hear bursts of laughter every few minutes. It takes little to interest them; a story they have heard a hundred times, the troubles of a neighbour with his wife, the eccentricity of a white man, the stupidity of the investigator, any of these is enough to cause a hearty laugh. When collecting information, it was constantly necessary to joke with them; the most feeble witticism was enough, but they lost interest in the work unless kept smiling. Their sense of humour is not refined; jests about sexual matters are common and are enjoyed alike by men, women, and children. It is not that their tastes are perverted, but rather that they have no reticence in discussing this topic, so they find it easy to see the ludicrous aspects of a subject which is ever near the surface in their minds. They have no hesitation in poking fun at their friends; a successful practical joke, such as hiding the writer's tobacco, is enough to fill them with amusement. If the victim shows temporary resentment, the glee of his friends is complete, and shrieks of laughter usually terminate the trick.

Unless the white man who comes to live among the Bella Coola is unusually broad-minded, he is at first repelled by the dirt and unsightliness prevailing everywhere; even the people themselves seem unnatural. He finds it difficult to realize the sincerity of their religious beliefs, and the manner in which these influence their daily lives is hard to grasp. The potlatch system appears so grotesque that it seems to reflect a psychology diametrically opposed to his own. The force of public opinion on personal conduct is almost incomprehensible. Gradually, however, he begins to understand the reasons underlying Bella Coola life. The potlatch becomes intelligible when regarded as a means of achieving fame; constant attention to supernatural beings is natural considering the firm conviction

4: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

of their environment; the guiding force of public opinion is seen as a check on individual license, fostered or inculcated by the ties which hold together extended families and make it impossible for a man to lead an isolated life where others will not be affected by his actions. If the white man is willing to receive new ideas, he will learn much from the comments of the Bella Coola on his own customs. Many have been to Victoria or Vancouver, and they feel that the contrasts of wealth observable in such big cities are atrocious; they ask how this is compatible with Christianity. They feel that it is unnatural for a man not to receive support from his cousins of all degrees; that the hoarding of wealth for the mere gratification of personal desires is selfish; that the selling of land is extraordinary; and that failure to ascribe every incident to supernatural causes is sacrilegious. These differences of viewpoint on so many matters explain the first impression of strangeness. A careful investigator comes to realize that he is among a people who fundamentally differ but slightly from his companions, though outwardly they have little in common. With respect to love, ambition, parental affection, sense of honour, pride, intelligence, even humour and vanity, the Bella Coola are essentially similar to ourselves. Unfortunately, these characteristics are expressed in ways unintelligible and often repellent to the casual traveller. If he will only look beneath the surface, he will find a people who are neither saints nor sinners, but essentially human, with the faults and follies as well as the elements of strength and wisdom which comprise, as Kipling puts it, "Man in a world of men."

The coming of the white civilization has been cataclysmic to the Bella Coola. Within two generations they have been reduced to a mere handful; instead of living in scattered villages, roaming the mountains for game and fishing at will, they now dwell in a single settlement and the taking of animals and fish is subject to law; the introduction of metal tools and mechanical appliances has revolutionized their mode of life; new foods, new clothing, new furniture has altered their living conditions; fermented drink has presented a factor unknown

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1923
NEA Bellacoola NEA

SYMPATHETIC MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE BELLACOOLA

By HARLAN I. SMITH

MANY OF the Bellacoola Indians today believe in sympathetic magic and witchcraft, after over a hundred years of contact with white men. Most of them live within hearing of the bells of the mission church, and the government school. Not a few of the men take logging contracts; some of them hunt and operate motor boats; many of them join the fishing fleets of the salmon canneries; most of the women work in the canneries, and all deal at the white men's stores.

The Bellacoola lived at the heads of the long inlets half way up the Pacific Coast of Canada and in the tributary Bella Coola valley. Now, numbering perhaps two hundred and fifty, they, with the exception of a few families, are concentrated on one reservation at the mouth of the Bella Coola river. The Bella Coola valley has been called the Norway of Canada. This was where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada overland, reached the sea.

Aboriginally, the Bellacoola were of the North Pacific Coast culture of America, which is characterized by the extensive use of red cedar and sea products, particularly salmon, the making of graceful, sea-going canoes, each hewn from a single cedar, the erection of large rectangular houses made of cedar planks, with carved house posts and totem poles, lack of pottery, and expertness in carpenter work, carving, and painting. This culture belongs to the hardest area, but the Bellacoolas were nomadic to a certain extent. The art of the area was that best known from the paintings and carvings of the totem poles, largely of conventionalized animal forms. The life centred around a very highly developed social organization, an extensive and powerful financial system, and property rights to names, rituals and houses. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. They

5; Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NEB Bellacoola NEB

105

are apparently more recent comers to the coast than their neighbors and have not fully adopted the coast culture.

The following examples of sympathetic magic and witchcraft, collected during 1920 to 1921 among the Bellacoola, illustrate the extent of their belief in this direction. 114 121

Most of this information was given me by the late Captain Schooner, born about 1848, and Joshua Moody, born about 1848, both apparently full-blood Bellacoola Indians. Neither of them spoke English and both gave me the data in Chinook jargon, which I have endeavored to interpret and arrange in logical order, but have tried to render in as nearly as possible the Indian mode of thought, feeling and expression. Schooner was a pagan gentleman. Joshua has great knowledge of plants and animals, and is a Bellacoola scientist, but his great ambition and jealousy, combined with his disparity in giving up his own people's customs and adopting a very thin veneer of Christianity, color his statements relating to beliefs, although his plant and animal data have always withstood cross examination and comparison with the data supplied by other Indians. Alec Davis and Mrs. Willie Mack told of the toad. They do not talk English and spoke to me in Chinook jargon. Only the accounts about the grizzly bear skin and the bracelet of beaver skin, which were given me by Mrs. Stonsiger, were told in English. 115 [191] [191]

The material was not given as accounts of magic or witchcraft, but rather as part of the data regarding the properties of plants and animals of which I was endeavoring to collect as complete information as possible. 114 121

Joshua, who is even younger than Captain Schooner, remembers the time when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in the Bella Coola valley, and when they saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently these men remember the old Bellacoola beliefs before they were much, if at all, affected by European ideas. 114 115

It will be noticed that magic among the Bellacoola is considered of use both for beneficial and injurious purposes, and that the materials giving effect to it are of both plant and animal origin. 787 794

G: Smith R-5 (1920-1923) 1923
NBS Bellacoola NBS
Carrier NB7

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By HARLAN I. SMITH

B 134

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B 105

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The Carrier Indians of Ulkatcho, on the other hand, live in the high plateau of the semi-arid region, perhaps 75 miles northeast of the Bellacoola. They differ from the Bellacoola in language, appearance, and culture perhaps as much as do the Turks from the English. They had a less realistic art, which was largely geometric and pictographic, highly conventionalized and symbolic. Their social organization and financial system also were less highly developed.

B 105

From time to time during 1920-1922 inclusive, I have secured from both these peoples data about their use of materials. Part

6:Boas E-5 (1884-c.a. 1890)1892
NEB Bellacoola NEB

[99] the shore of the Pacific in 1793. As a result of this intercommunication between the Bilqula and Tsimsh it is found that known essentially similar to those of the Coast Indians in modes of construction and ornamentation, though smaller and less skilfully built, were for inland on the upper waters of the Skeena and Blackwater Rivers; while, on the other hand, the practical identity of some points in the mythology of the Bilqula with that of the Tsimsh of the interior is a clear evidence of mutual influence.

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By Dr. Franz Boas.

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In addition the following are used: ä, ö, as in German; *dowse* in *how*; *ower* in *flower* (Lepsius's ȯ).

Among the consonants the following additional letters have been used: g', a very guttural g, similar to *gr*; k', a very guttural k, similar to *kr*; g, the German ch in *buch*; ṅ, the German ch in *ich*; ṅ, between g and ṅ; *ewah* in *show*; g, as th in *this*; ḡ, an explosive l; ḡ, a palatal l, pronounced with the back of the tongue (*dorso-apical*).

THE BILQULA.

[105] The Bilqula, who are generally called Bella Coola, are the most northerly tribe belonging to the Salish family. They are separated from the tribes speaking allied languages to the Chinook (of the Tsimsh stock) in the interior, and on the coast by the Kwakiutl. Their language is considered generically—more closely related to the dialects of the Coast Salish than to those of the tribes of the interior. A number of terms relating to the sun and sun-animals are the same in Bilqula and in the dialects of the Gulf of Georgia; so that we may safely assume that the two groups of tribes were at one time closely allied, and that the Bilqula were differentiated from this group. They inhabit the valleys of Dean Inlet and Dean, Inlet, as shown on the map accompanying the sixth report of the committee, and extend far up Bella Coola River. Since the end of last century they

I.

105 The Bella Coola are a small tribe inhabiting the coasts of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm, two long and narrow fords situated in about latitude 52° north, in British Columbia. Their habitat extends along Bella Coola River, which empties into North Bentinck Arm. The name "Bella Coola" is a corruption of the word "Bilxula," by which name the tribe is known to the Kwakiutl. There is no term in their own language embracing all the tribes speaking the Bella Coola language. It seems that at a former time the tribe was quite populous; but, owing to various epidemics and the introduction of other diseases, its numbers have dwindled down, so that at the present time it has been reduced to only a few hundred souls. The
105 149 language spoken by the tribe belongs to the Salishan family, more particularly to the group of dialects spoken along the coasts of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia. The great similarity between the Bella Coola and the other Coast-Salishan dialects leads me to assume that at one time the tribes speaking these dialects inhabited contiguous areas. At the present time the Bella Coola are separated from other tribes speaking Salishan languages by a considerable stretch of country, which is inhabited by tribes of Athapascan and Kwakiutl lineage. Vocabulary and grammar have been highly modified, particularly by an extensive elision of vowels. The relation of their language to the other dialects of the Coast Salish is similar to that of the Tillamook, another language belonging to the Salishan family, which is spoken on the coast of Oregon, in an area separated from the rest of the Salishan territory by the district inhabited by the Chinook.

105 Physically the Bella Coola bear evidence of long-continued contact with
144 the northern Coast tribes, and also with the Athapascan tribes of the interior. Evidently intermarriages have been quite frequent, so much so that their present physical appearance differs considerably from that of the southern Salishan tribes, of whom they form a branch. The same is true in regard to their customs and beliefs, which differ fundamentally from those of the southern Salishan tribes.

121 In the present paper I shall describe the mythology of the Bella Coola, and discuss its development.

II.

114 Our previous knowledge of the mythology of this tribe is based on studies made by Adrian Jacobsen, Philip Jacobsen, Gosken, and the writer. In 1886 I published a few brief notes on their traditions.[1] Gosken pub-

118 [1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1886, p. 446.

1: McIlwraith, Thomas F. The Bella Coola Indians. Vol. 1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948.

Pp. xxi, 763; preface; map; phonetic key; 24 plates.

Yale: C55 2291

/This source, vol. 1 of two volumes, is a "classic" in the field of ethnographic writing, and was compiled by the author, a well-known ethnologist, from extensive notes taken in the field during his two visits to the Bellacoola from March to August 1922, and from September 1923 to February 1924. The source attempts to record as far as possible the sum total of the Bellacoola culture complex and interwoven social life before the complete breakdown of the society had taken place, a definite factor to be considered in any data collected after 1924. After a short section on the location of the Bellacoola and their natural environment, the author strikes off on rather lengthy discussions of religion, social organization, rank (including much detailed information on the potlatch system), an additional chapter on other aspects and features of the potlatch, Bellacoola mythology as revealed in their origin myths, the life cycle from birth to marriage,

D: McIlwraith, Thomas F.

death, relations with the supernatural and various stories illustrating the same, and a final chapter on medicine, magic and taboo, which includes among other things "cures" for anything from baldness to whooping cough. This chapter also includes valuable data on sorcery.

Despite the well-rounded and highly detailed presentation of Bellacoola social organization, religion, etc., as outlined above, the source lacks information on the material culture of the people. Appendices and an index will be found in the second volume of this work, appearing as D: McIlwraith in this file. :: Analyst/

Field Date: 1922-1924
Analyst: John Belasle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1963

2. McIlwraith, Thomas F. The Bella Coola Indians, Vol. 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948.

Pp. xi, 672; phonetic key; 22 plates; map; 4 appendices; index.

Yale: C55 229 2.

/This source, volume 2 of two volumes, is a continuation of the previous source (1: McIlwraith), and deals in great part with the role of the Bella Coola Kusiut society -- its membership (including initiation and disciplining of members), its social role, its origin myths, and its elaborate winter ceremonials. Additional chapters provide information on warfare, games, stories, and the Bella Coola people themselves -- their physical appearance, modal personality, and adaptability to culture change. Four appendices conclude the work, the first of which (A) presents what little data are given in the entire source on material culture, dealing with the taking and processing of olachen, Bellacoola canoes, preparation of cedar bark, and the manufacture of paint; the second (B) with the construction of string figures; the third (C) presents a useful list of native flora and fauna along with their scientific binomials; and finally the fourth (D)

2: McIlwraith, Thomas F.

gives a lengthy Bella Coola-English vocabulary list. An index covering the contents of both volumes 1 and 2 will be found at the end of this source. /

Field date: 1922-1924
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1964-1965

3: Smith, Harlan I. Sympathetic Magic and Witchcraft Among the Bellacoola. American Anthropologist, n.s., Vol. 27, pp. 116-121. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1925.

Yale: Nk10 Am37 N.27 cop. 2.

[This source discusses briefly the importance of magic and sorcery in Bellacoola society. The data were obtained by the author primarily from two native informants during the years 1920-1923. Information may be found in this source on: (1) magical practices used to make a child grow up to be a good dancer, industrious, a swift berry picker or a strong man; (2) curing lung troubles by magical means; and (3) magical control of natural elements (river erosion, rain). Various types of sorcery are also discussed. It is interesting to note in this source that both in their magical practices as listed above and in sorcery, the Bellacoola make abundant use of animals and plants as integral parts of the various rituals of magic.]

Field date: 1920-1923 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Analyst: John Beierle Processed in 1964-1965

4: Smith, Harlan I. Entomology Among the Bellacoola and Carrier Indians. American Anthropologist, n.s., Vol. 27, pp. 436-440. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1925.

Yale: Nk10 Am37 II.27 cop. 2.

/This very brief source presents a comparative study of Bellacoola and Carrier beliefs concerning a number of insects commonly found in the environment. The information contained in this paper was obtained by the author from native informants during the years 1920-1923./

Field date: 1920-1923
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1964

5: Smith, Harlan I. Materia Medica of the Bella Coola and Neighbouring Tribes of British Columbia. National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 56, pp. 47-68. Ottawa: F. A. Acland Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1929.

Yale: Se4 38 56

/This source contains a very complete coverage of the plants, animals and other materials used by the Bellacoola, Carrier (NE7), Gitksan (Tsimshian NE15), Sekani (NE14), and Chilcotin (NE8) for medicinal purposes. --Analyst/

Field date: 1920-1923
Analyst: Millicent Kim

Evaluation: Ethnographer-5
Processed in 1963

6: Boas, Franz. Third Report on the Indians of British Columbia. Report of the Sixty-First Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science Held at Cardiff in August 1891, pp. 408-449. London: John Murray, 1892.

11 text figures; 4 folding tables; many other tables; errata.

Yale: A66 19 61.

/This source presents a general summary of Bellacoola society as it existed in the latter part of the 19th century. Data presented pertain to: names and locations of settlements, Bellacoola "gentes" and their totems, secret societies and the potlatch, customs regarding birth, puberty, marriage and death, religion and shamanism, warfare and medicine. Information on material culture is generally lacking in this work, but several examples of Bellacoola representative art as exemplified in the dance masks of the secret societies are illustrated in the text./

Field Date: 1886-ca. 1890
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1964-1965

7: Boas, Franz. The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians. Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 2 (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol. 1, 1898-1900), pp. 25-50, 114-127. New York, 1900.

6 and plates.

Yale: 59 095 2.

/This source presents a resumé of some of the basic Bellacoola myths, including a brief study of native cosmology. In addition to the above, some incidental information may also be found in this source on spirits and gods, the shaman, beliefs about animals, village names and their locations, and the sisau'k' and k'ē'sut societies. The author concludes the source with a theoretical discussion on the development of the mythology of the Bellacoola.

Pp. 51-113 of this source, which deal with the individual myths of specific villages rather than with the mythology of the Bellacoola as a whole, have not been processed.

111 7: Boas, Franz. NE6 Bellacoola--2

Six end plates provide excellent illustrations of the various representative masks used in Bellacoola ceremonials. /

Field Date: 1886-ca. 1890 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Analyst: John Beierle Processed in 1964-1965

8: Boas, Franz. The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians, Based on Personal Observations and on Notes Made by Mr. George Hunt. Report of the U. S. National Museum under the Direction of the Smithsonian Institution, for the Year Ending June 30, 1895, pp. 311-738. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1897.

51 plates; 215 text figures; musical texts.

Yale: A52 67 1894/95.

/Only pp. 646-651 of this source, which relate to the Bellacoola, have been processed. It presents some limited information on Bilqula (Bellacoola) secret societies and the potlatch, but is practically a word for word reproduction of the author's earlier work on this phase of Bellacoola ethnography, for which see 6: Boas, pp. 412-417. One basic difference between these two sources, however, is the fact that in his earlier work (i.e., 6: Boas), the author uses the terms "gens" and "gentes", while in the present paper he substitutes in their place the words "clan" and "clans."/

Field Date: 1886-ca. 1890 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Analyst: John Beierle Processed in 1964-1965

[illegible]

SOCIETIES AND SOCIOLOGY

Location—Bella Coola Villages—Tribal Organization—Neighbouring Tribes

Location

"BELLA COOLA" is the common designation of those Indians who, until a few years ago, inhabited the valley of the Bella Coola River in central British Columbia. Boas has recorded[1] that the name is a mis-pronunciation of *Bilxula*,[2] a Kwakiutl word of doubtful origin which white pioneers assumed to be the appellation of the people in question. There is no term in their own language to include the groups treated in this monograph. Linguistically, the Bella Coola form an isolated island of Salish-speaking people, separated from others of the same stock by tribes of Athapascans and Kwakiutl language.[3] Culturally, they belong to the central section of the North Pacific coast area.[4]

The Bella Coola River rises among the mountainous uplands of central British Columbia. Its two main branches fall rapidly, about forty-five miles from the sea, into two deep gorges which unite, some five miles further on, to form the valley of the Bella Coola. Down this the river rushes in an uninterrupted course (see Plate 1). Few shallows and no rapids for the use of large boats, even if such had been known to the Bella Coola, it serves to bear dead logs and canoes, which have come from some neighbouring valley. The valley is narrow, rather than wide, as those who visit it lamented to by lofty snow-capped mountains.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] — [illegible] — [illegible] and [illegible] — [illegible] — [illegible] — [illegible] — [illegible]

[illegible]

THE [illegible] described in the last chapter are essentially religious since they display an attitude of respect and [illegible] of propitiation to supernatural powers having greater strength than human beings. This is self-evident in the earlier [illegible] and, though less noticeable, is present also in those concerning diseases since these were here thought to be supernatural [illegible] placing them on a plane slightly removed from that of [illegible]. Theoretically, it seems as if a clear division might be drawn between the concepts just mentioned and those of a magical [illegible] which, although the element of contact with the supernatural is present, yet the end desired is obtained by the mere performance of an action. In the Bella Coola there is a slight overlap between the two types. For example, the acquisition of an object from which supernatural power forces may be secured is religious, but to use it towards magical ends were obtained, neither supplication nor further forces are necessary. Nevertheless, it is possible to separate these magical beliefs from mere religious ones, though it must be emphasized that the drawings in the diagrams on the [illegible] there is opposite to the white ones.

If it is difficult to find a clear dividing line between religion and magic, it is impossible to draw one between the terms and

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

1

(1.1) The Bella Coola are a small tribe inhabiting the coast of Dean Inlet in Bentinck Arm, two long and narrow fiords situated in about latitude 52° north, in British Columbia. Their habitat extends along Bella Coola River, which empties into North Bentinck Arm. The name "Bella Coola" is corruption of the word "Bilxula" by which name the tribe is known to the Kwakiutl. There is no term in their own language embracing all the tribes speaking the Bella Coola language. It seems that at a former time the tribe was quite populous; but, owing to various epidemics and the introduction of other diseases, its numbers have decreased down to the present time to far less than a hundred souls. The language spoken by the tribe belongs to the Salishan family, more particularly to the group of dialects spoken along the coast of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia. The great similarity between the Bella Coola and the other Coast-Salishan dialects leads me to assume that at one time the tribes speaking these dialects inhabited contiguous areas. (1.2) The great distance the Bella Coola are separated from other tribes speaking Salishan languages by a considerable stretch of country, which is inhabited by tribes of Athapascan and Kwakiutl lineage. Vocabulary and grammar have been only sketchily presented to an extensive circle of readers. The relation of their language to the other dialects of the Coast Salish is similar to that of the Tillamook, another language belonging to the Salishan family, but is spoken on the coast of Oregon, so are separated from the rest of the Salishan territory by the dialects inhabited by the Chinook.

(1.3) Physically the Bella Coola have evidence of longsustained contact with the northern Coast-tribes, and also with the Athapascan tribes of the interior. Linguistic interchanges have been quite frequent, as much so that their dialect physical appearance differs considerably from that of the northern Indian tribes, of which they form a branch. This seems to rest on superior climatic conditions and habitat, which differ fundamentally from those of the Salishan tribes.

(1.4) In the present paper I shall describe the mythology of the Bella Coola, to discuss its development.

2

(2.1) Our previous knowledge of the mythology of this tribe is based on other texts by Adrian Jacobsen, Philip Jacobsen, Gladwin, and the writer. Later I published a few brief notes on their traditions.[1] Gladwin gave

[1] A Contribution to Bella Coola Mythology [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] some remarks on the religious life of the Bella Coola in [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] to advantage. At the same time, I published a brief description of the [illegible], based on information received from a small group of members of the [illegible] who were travelling in Germany. In this description also there are a number of misconceptions. The Indians were shown a collection of masks from Vancouver, Island with which they were not familiar. They gave, however, explanations of these masks judging by the markings on masks of their own tribe; consequently the explanations given there are not correct. In 1898 I met in with a number of Bella Coola who were fishing for salmon in Fraser River. The information obtained from them was published in the reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1899.[illegible] I further published a description of their ceremonies in 1900.[illegible] Further therefore described some of their traditions and customs in 1899 and 1900.[illegible] I published a collection of traditions in 1899 and 1900.[illegible]

(2)

Of the collections which have been made hereafter in our being we [illegible] the principal characteristics of the mythology of the Bella Coola. The [illegible] of the Tsimshian tribe were consider the Sun as the most important deity, but in the same time they believe in a great many beings of supernatural power. For this reason their whole mythology is very complicated. The Bella Coola on the other hand have developed a peculiar mythology in which a number of supernatural beings have been simplifiedd. It seems that these [illegible] which position are assuming the supernatural beings "[illegible]". The general features of this system are as follows:—

The Bella Coola believe that there are five worlds one above another. The middle one is our own world the earth. Above it are several [illegible] heavens, while below it there are five underworlds. In the upper heaven resides the supreme deity, a human who therefore considered [illegible] deity with the sun of mankind. In the centre of the lower heaven lies [illegible] to the north beside the house of the gods to which souls the dead and all the other deities. The zero point is an object corresponding to the moon. The underworld is inhabited by the ghosts who are in there in seven underworlds, whence they may be sent down to our earth. The ghosts

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Fig. [illegible]

[illegible] the middle of the [illegible]. The [illegible] and [illegible] the face. The [illegible] and the [illegible] [illegible]. The [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] a short time the [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] face. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] they had [illegible] the face. Then the [illegible] said to the girl, "[illegible] are two [illegible] here,—one leading to the left, the other to the right. You follow the one, I will follow the other. (If the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]) (If this the one, we have separate [illegible]). [illegible] and after a while [illegible] each other. Then the [illegible] married the girl. (Head of the Bear. Plate 6, Fig. [illegible])

[illegible]

It is necessary to make a few remarks on the relation of the [illegible] of the Bella Coola Indians to their mythology. I have not seen any of their [illegible], and my descriptions are based on legends and upon the accounts published by Frigg and Boas [illegible].

The Bella Coola have two [illegible]—the [illegible] and the [illegible] which correspond to the [illegible] and the [illegible] of the Kwakiutl. I have described these [illegible] in another paper.[1] The [illegible] are small [illegible] representations [illegible] the [illegible] legends, some of which have been recorded by Frigg. [illegible], while the [illegible] are [illegible] representations of the [illegible] of members of various [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Among these, the [illegible] [illegible], the [illegible] of the [illegible], and the [illegible] of the [illegible] are the most [illegible]. There are [illegible] in the Bella Coola the [illegible]. [illegible] I described on pp. [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] the two [illegible] societies. The [illegible] which I obtained on these points is [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible]. I cannot quite reconcile the [illegible] given by [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] the accounts which I received. It seems that [illegible] accounts do not clearly distinguish between the [illegible] [illegible] to various [illegible]. In the [illegible] which [illegible] to I described [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] to the Kwakiutl in regard to the origin of their [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] that a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible]. It is represented as having an [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible]. I have [illegible] [illegible] among the Bella Coola, but received the [illegible] [illegible] that the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. It is not impossible that a few [illegible] may have adopted the [illegible] from the Kwakiutl [illegible], but I have not been able to find it among the Bella Coola. [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] among the Bella Coola, and [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] considerable to interest to all the anthologies of the South Sudan coast, they overlap each with a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I provide the fact that the explicitness are kept secret to the various familiar accounts on the various conditions.

The prayer of the Bella Coola directed to them as "Tribes" has a considerable resemblance to the prayer of the Tsimshian addressed to Lucifer, the sky. So both tribes say that the idea that when the five wings the face is will be clear weather, and man will be happy; consequently the prayer to the sky "to wipe the face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from the Coast tribes is the Potlatch ceremonial, with which are connected the various social institutions particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism. The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the Kwakiutl are practically identical. I will show in (a) the legend explaining the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Coola and Kwakiutl, another tradition is told to explain the origin of the custom. This tradition tells of a great called Hamatsa[illegible], who lives in the forest and who causes the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions explaining around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret society was introduced by a hunter who was taken into the lands of a chief by a white bear. Inside the cave a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by these distinct tribes is explained by their fundamentally distinct myths, and the more complete that is the case the ritual is older than the myth—that the latter has been invented to refer to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes or that pertained to the primary phenomena, while the myth is secondary.

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the varied forms stories of the idea traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not however, explain the most fundamental characteristics of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the final chapter of this paper, that, nevertheless the numerous contradictions contained in both legends the conception of the world and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe (well) superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the most beliefs of a great many tribes are not coordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

[illegible]

PREFACE

THE term Bella Coola can be applied to the Indians who formerly occupied more than twenty villages on the lower Bella Coola River in central British Columbia, to their near kinsfolk on the Kimsquit River, and to those living at the head of South Bentinck Arm. Disease and changed conditions consequent upon the coming of the white man have so reduced their numbers that the last two groups of settlements have been virtually abandoned, while only one village remains in the Bella Coola valley. This is located on a reserve near the mouth of the river, and its four hundred inhabitants comprise practically all the survivors of what was once a tribe of several thousand people, with a distinctive language and culture of their own.

The material contained in this monograph was collected in this one village many years ago for the National Museum of Canada.[1] I was in the field during two periods that extended from March to August, 1922, and from September, 1923, to February, 1924. My field notes were worked up and the completed manuscript submitted to the Museum in 1926. Since that time it has suffered various vicissitudes. Recommended for publication by the Chief of the Anthropological Division, it passed through the hands of various editors, questions were raised about its use and the suitability of detailed studies of social anthropology in a government publication, and by the time these matters were adjusted, funds for extensive publications were unavailable and the manuscript was put aside. Since the aim of the investigation was to record, as far as possible, the non-total of the complex and interwoven social life of the Bella Coola, I did not think it desirable to prepare short articles[2] summarizing different aspects, preferring to await an

[1] Now the Victoria Memorial Museum.

[2] The only exception was a short article on Bella Coola supernatural animals published in the Ontario Annual Archaeological Report for 1924-25, pp. 17-21.

L:96:Dewolfe E-1 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

121 light on obscure points. That is a task for the comparative student and nothing but confusion would result from such an incorporation in this volume. For the benefit of the reader, footnotes have been inserted referring to *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*[1] by Boas, the most comprehensive description of the tribe. In the field I deliberately disregarded published accounts.

[24]

And what of these people, the subject of this book?

122 The intimate experiences of the second winter in Bella Coola only confirmed my feeling of sadness at the decay of the old arts and crafts. Music, painting, carving, weaving, story-telling, acting, all are passing away. Only a handful of the tribe survives, and of them the younger people ape the white man and have little interest in the lore and customs of their fathers. I know of few sadder experiences than talking with some Bella Coola patriarch and realizing the tragedy which he feels at the termination of his people's culture.

Though the individual may suffer, civilization must press onward and the life of the Indian will soon disappear. With it will pass forever manners, customs, beliefs, rites, and knowledge, data of value to students of man both now and in the future. Every year lessens the amount of information available. In Bella Coola, for example, the death of Captain Schooner left a gap which none could fill. Others must follow him, and within a short time there will be no ethnological work possible in that tribe. A tribe of the people may survive, but their culture, the growth of generations, will have been swept away.

123 Most of those to whom I am indebted for help in this study have passed away. Dr. A. C. Haddon and Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, both of Cambridge University, who were my mentors in anthropology, are dead; so too is Dr. E. Sapir, former Chief of the Anthropological Division in the National Museum, who gave me instruction in phonetics, and Mr. H. I. Smith, Dominion Archaeologist, to whom are owing most of the photographs re-

[27]

[1] Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. II, 1898.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

stream, on which the salmon-weir rested, was carried away.[10] 361

The following village may be included with the above: [173]

(27) *Nuxwq*: on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, to the east of the creek that flows into it at Green Bay. This long-deserted village was built so close to the ocean that high tides reached almost to the houses. According to one informant, the name was derived from that of the first chief sent down from above to that spot; while another connected it, etymologically, with *Nuxx*, the name of the barren district some four and a half miles up the valley of the creek. In recent years this village site has been used only as a summer camp. [173]

The name given to the Bella Coola valley is *Nuxālk*; that given to the inhabitants of the valley, excluding those of village no. 27, is *Nuxālkmq*.[11] 101 103

Two points must be considered with regard to the above list of towns: In the first place, can it be regarded as an accurate list, or do the towns belong to the realm of mythology? In the second place, are the customs and beliefs of the inhabitants of the different towns sufficiently similar to be described without reference to local differences? 128 173 361

The first question is difficult to answer. The Bella Coola undoubtedly consider the existence of these towns to be an historical fact, but so do they regard the peopling of the earth by men created in the land above. Nevertheless, the above list appears to be substantially correct. The Bella Coola, although now collected into a single village, still remember their ancient homes. One man, for example, stated as a matter of course that he was a man of *Swabdi*. Further inquiry elicited the information that he had been born at *Sisal*, where his father had moved at the time of the smallpox epidemic. It later appeared that my informant's father was born at *Tsmosil*, had married there, and that it was his father who had moved [164] [166]

[10] This explanation may be only legendary.

[11] Boas, p. 68, states that *Nuxālk* is only applied to the lower villages of the valley. All the writer's information was contrary to this view. [114]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

128 from *Swaloli*. My informant's grandchildren regard them-
173 selves as *Swaloli* boys, and their names are embodied in myths
361 of that village, although their forbears have not lived there
166 for five generations. There is no reason to suppose this case exceptional. Other instances were obtained of movements of people from one village to another at earlier times, and there seems no cause to doubt the general accuracy of these. Names
[554] embodied in the origin myths of different towns are used as prerogatives and have been potent factors in keeping their memory alive. Uncertainties and inaccuracies there must be in the foregoing list, but on the whole it appears to be fairly reliable, since few contradictions were received from different informants.

128 Accounts obtained of the same ceremonies from the descen-
184 dants of people of different villages were found in most cases to be identical. There were a few differences in custom between
[796] the people of *Staur* and those of the other upper valley towns on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the lower valley on
[101] the other. These will be mentioned when necessary, but on the whole the inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley can be considered as a tribal entity.

114 Boas (p. 48) gives a list of Bella Coola towns which agrees
361 fairly well with the above. Among his villages are included *Pe-ozb* (no. 4), *Nalpatsémaxa* (no. 7), and *Nuxálkum* (no. 16).[10] All the older people agreed that these are the names of streams, though settlements located on them may have been known by the same designations. Names of the five villages recorded by Boas, nos. 6, 8, 9, 19, and 24, were not known by several old men questioned on the subject.

101 The villages of the Bella Coola valley did not form a political
619 unit; each was independent. A common language was spoken throughout and the inhabitants of the different towns recog-
[631] nized that their origins and customs were similar. This was
[197] also recognized to be the case with regard to the people living on South Bentinck Arm, and at the head of Dean Channel.

[10] Using in each case the spelling of this ethnographer.

from the moon and stated that there were mountains and snow on it. It is commonly stated that the marks on the moon represent a man carrying a bucket.

The stars figure but slightly either in Bella Coola mythology or thought; it is not even known who made them. Two in the Great Bear constellation are called respectively *Tpikim* and *Xnqumc*, "Little Girls." A lone star in the same part of the sky, named *A'ics*, is said to be following the girls to the lower for illicit intercourse.

Moon, stars, and above all the sun, were, and still are to a certain extent, used by the Bella Coola in computing the passage of time. There are no individuals with the definite prerogative of keeping count of time, but formerly wise old men used to do so.[9] Differences of opinion were the rule rather than the exception, a condition which often led to bitter disputes concerning the proper date for starting the winter ceremonials. Boas (p. 41) has recorded the Bella Coola calendar in greater detail than the present writer has been able to do. The making of calendrical observations is a lost art, and the following list of the months was all that could be learned. It will be noted that these agree with Boas in regard to the months in the early part of the year, but not in those between the summer and winter solstices; no explanation is offered for this disparity.

First moon after the summer solstice: *Ilkilhamid*, which has the significance, "The Time for Sockeye Salmon to Ascend the River."

Second moon after the summer solstice: *Ki'ululid*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon."

Third moon after the summer solstice: *Ki'qmai ed*, "The Time for Eating Coho Salmon."

Fourth moon after the summer solstice: *Sqalqum*, "The Time for Gathering Fern Roots," or *Ilakhamc ili Ano'ilmulmulc*,

9. Khamqish informants stated that there were professional calendrical experts in the history, when he was a young lad although members of the Raven society did, though, it sometimes attended to this matter.

[illegible]

(2)

One of *Hyperion*'s principal functions is that of acting as leader of the *Sector Gamma* of the supernatural beings. As already described, these take place in *Nuwaiki*, the name of which is changed to *Nuqaibwairu* for the occasion, while the supernatural cows are awaiting *Hyperion*'s entry at the winner selection. As soon as he comes, his arrivers have caused most of his guests to rush forth. Among those remaining is *Saran-Ballam*, the Lawyer, his chief adviser in *Sector Gamma*. This being is somewhat indifferently regarded as a supernatural grizzly bear. He is subordinate to *Hyperion*, and cannot himself initiate proposals, but he can interrupt the speeches of his superior if he feels bold. Human singers are under his special guidance. He is so powerful that if he turns his head to wager on any mortal, the horse falls dead. So far as could be learnt, *Saran-Ballam* is concerned only with *Sector Gamma* and never visits this earth.

One of the most invisible of the Bulla Cooln supernatural beings is a woman, *Kimmi-o, Aiuda*, "The Sorrow-Maker" or *Dji-Sendoll*, "The Slave-Owner." Some (p. 68) recorded little definite information about her, but the writer could gather only inconsequential fragments. Wherein we so slavish to her, but she takes little interest either in their welfare or actions. In the beginning of time, *Hyperion* sent her down to earth to watch the behaviour of mortals and report to him. She needed a central location for this purpose and accordingly chose Bunnerton Bay, where she could watch the canoes as they passed up and down the coast. At first the inhabitants of the earth showed her great respect, but gradually she was ignored and canoes passed her home without stopping. Moreover, she began to fear that she might be injured by the proximity of mortals, and especially that human footsteps might contaminate and scar her supernatural frame. So she fled far to the south, whither no one knows. In fact, no one is even absolutely certain that she went to the south. According to a well-known Bulla Cooln tradition, a man once tried to climb Mount *Ruqbah* and found a pleasant grassy place near

the sun. He concluded that this sun is the home of the souls. Below the door of her house, whenever it may be, there are ministers (sun-gods) which open their principal mouths and speak in the voice of the animal or bird portrayed. The sun did not hear that her home was in the land above Pamalt'a, as Boas (p. 48) states. In the present time beyond edge of Pamalt'a is an enemy that failure to confirm the previous observation is not surprising.

One of two passing remarks of elderly informants imply that Pamalt'a may once have been more important in Bella Coola belief than she is now. One old man, already in his dotage, stated that long ago the dead used to dwell in her house. Another declared that long ago prayers were addressed to her, which is never done now. The word Sunset is commonly used by the Bella Coola in a manner difficult to translate. It serves as equivalent for "planet" or "Heavenly body," but has no underlying significance of a supernatural feature or agent. It is not a word to be used in casual conversation, it is reserved for important occasions or times of emotional stress. The comparative unimportance of Pamalt'a probably rests on the fact that she belongs merely to the realm of sun-mythology and has no sociological significance, even as the parent of a Bella Coola.

Another supernatural being to be removed from this world than he seems has little now the form of the Bella Coola, is Owikeno. He is the male being whom Pamalt'a sent down from above in the beginning of time to hold the earth in position, and who has since performed this duty. He lives among the ice of the far north, and has not been seen by mortals for many generations. He holds a rope fastened to the earth, which he is afraid that it has slipped slightly for want a new grip and pulls the rope taut, pressing the world against the soles of his feet as he sits with legs extended, as a man would do to hold right a tottering column. It is the tightening of the rope which causes an earthquake. If Owikeno should lose his grip entirely the earth would capsize. He is partner for several Bella Coola [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] by the daily collateral ownership of a chief's name in the [illegible] right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat [illegible] and, since he had been the slayer. If many souls are killed, [illegible] adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs are [illegible] according to their proper positions and are [illegible] with the blood-stained grass that flows to the top of the [illegible] as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is [illegible] to strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths, according to the number of guests. The rice run down each [illegible], so that each receives a narrow strip including one of [illegible]. The head is always given to the heralds.

Paltry chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary [illegible] when no soul or dog has been killed. On these occasions, as at soul feasts, the guests are designated by their personal names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also accustomed to meet for the discussion of [illegible] connected with the wider community, on such occasions his number may be augmented by men of influence in the own society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into a further society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a small chief is outweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all sides and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible unless either a vote, or general recognition by all that the opinion of some individual must be accepted. The latter was given at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a common of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

The many villages in a place where the chiefs hold such meetings. All the inhabitants have the general locality, but

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] from [illegible] about seventy years earlier. It appears that attempts were commonly made to kill chiefs by means of sympathetic magic, and it is quite possible that such attempts, becoming known, preyed upon the minds of the victims to such an extent that death resulted.

[illegible]

Since wealth is so important in chieftainship, it would be desirable at this point to consider the concepts of wealth. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a satisfactory treatment of this subject. The coming of the white man altered the economic aspects of Bella Coola life so radically, and at such an early period, that concrete examples of economic investigations, so useful in a thorough study, could not be obtained in the field. It is possible that greater attention to this subject might have produced more satisfactory results, but I am doubtful of this.

In the old days, "wealth" was of two categories: (a) Prerogatives, tangible or intangible, which could be shown, privately or ceremonially, or could be exponded in words, and (b) Goods which could be distributed for validating such prerogatives. Individual possessions, counted for distribution, were hardly considered as wealth; a sewing-machine, a bottle of whisky, a bed, or some other lovely might give satisfaction to the owner, but did not increase his importance in the eyes of his fellows. The value of objects was only for their use in ceremonial distribution; indeed, prior to such distribution, they were only of potential value. This attitude controlled Bella Coola economics in the early days of contact, and still influences their behaviour. A native moneylender was actually commended on the fact that he would gain no advantage from the goods on his shelves, since he hoped merely to sell them, not to give them away.

A man's relatives were expected to help him in the acquisition of goods, but the extent of their contributions was never

[illegible]

ORIGIN MYTHS

[illegible]—Bella Coola Origin Myth—Origin Myths of Other Tribes—Early Traditions Among the Coastal Algonkins—Forms of Origin Myths—Crude Origin Myths

Introductory

[illegible] will be given here of the origin myths which are believed to authentic as much of the ritual already described, and to which repeated reference has been made. Professor Boas published such an admirable collection of traditions of this type (pp. [illegible]) that the present writer paid little attention to the subject. The Bella Coola Indians, who are intensely proud of the deeds of their first forefathers, that several hesitated on recounting them before they were willing to do other work. In consequence, a fair number of myths was collected through necessity. Some idea of the type were recounted almost entirely in pantomime, their signification has declined since the prohibition of this rite. Consequently, many legends are only remembered in part, the [illegible] and other primitive series of ceremonies have received less for no more than a small part of the rich field which must once have existed among the Bella Coola.[1]

As Professor Boas has clearly shown, origin myths which have, in the beginning of time, the supreme god sent down to earth the first ancestors of the Bella Coola people, well usually

[1] The writings of the Bella Coola [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

provided with names of ancestors, a house, and certain supernatural powers. The right to the names of these people, as well as to the use of ceremonial objects used by them, has been the privilege of their descendants. But there only Bulu Ceela (the first modern descendant, but second Mangantang, will carrying with it a definite prerogative. In a single myth there may be embedded a dozen or more names and incidents which are quoted at the present day to authorize such different claims of culture as dances, rights to hunting grounds, proliferous names of dogs, or burial prerogatives.[1] The myth which gives the initial use of a name, a dance, or any other prerogative, is termed a charter. Each of these is, or was in the old days, considered with great care and never recounted in full detail except to the members of the concerned family, whose name or embodied it. Even in particular the full details of the myth are not told here. Indeed, if a young man is of a Bulu, possessing disposition, unless to preserve the rights of his concerned kins, the details are concealed from him. Even in the present time there is much resentment at any unauthorized use of a charter, and in the old days this would inevitably have led to bloodshed.

Now (p. 110) seems that the terms charter and interpretation synonymous. The writer feels certain that this is an error. I am discussed repeatedly with various Bulu Ceela, all of whom agreed that a charter is a myth which can be sold by anyone, whereas a charter is a myth possessed by the individual or individuals, whose prerogatives are derived from it. To the Bulu Ceela the two are clearly different.

From the box, there also doubt that records of the one change from one category to the other. It readily that cases to give a publish, but lacking the original authorization, most frequently have used a charter, claiming the have to do so. There would be little inconvenience in this for things so, but the prestige of one who can give publication is so great that to lose the claim would probably be accepted. The two

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] with the following, in spite of the [illegible] records to greater detail than the writer was able to obtain. A second version was obtained from a reliable informant who recounted it as a mere tale without [illegible]. He was here [illegible] that it was the myth of another family, or may have disregarded that point, though this is unlikely. The version itself strongly supports the view that details of the usual "story" type have been added.

[illegible] there came down to the river which [illegible] Thus they a man, Pierre, and his wife, [illegible]. They met with the river to [illegible] they, [illegible] Pierre [illegible] they built their house and settled. In time a son was born, to which they gave the name [illegible]. The child grew with [illegible] and before long he had surpassed the strength and intelligence of his sire. One day [illegible] went for a walk up the river, [illegible]. He was what he thought was a man, though [illegible] in human form. The supposed man invited [illegible] up home with him, which the youth did. He gave to the unknown [illegible] he was a bear's house, but he did not disclose to the bear that he had the knowledge. The bear brought to his guest many [illegible] saying that it was his [illegible], to have [illegible] of the [illegible]. The bear was broken to small fragments and [illegible] so that [illegible] was afraid that there would not be enough [illegible] that they seemed but that he would not be able to [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] would be [illegible] to [illegible], [illegible] the amount of food on the dish.

[illegible] only, "You must spend the night here, [illegible] you [illegible]."

[illegible] the night in Bear's house.

[illegible] to the head of [illegible] to [illegible] to the head of [illegible] [illegible] said.

[illegible] (I, p. 239). "One end of your face, as far as the middle, will be as if covered with [illegible]. If you have a [illegible] face then and [illegible] will be left bare. If you [illegible] to [illegible] again, [illegible] will be [illegible]."

[illegible] call the pole and gave it to [illegible], saying, "If you [illegible] people, put on the pole, [illegible] [illegible]. The bear will fly in all directions

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Owner Moves or Owner Twins

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

a foreign myth, obtained by marriage, might have been altered in the course of generations to the Bella Coola pattern, preserving as the only foreign element that of settlement at a distance on the beginning of time.

[illegible] OF [illegible]*

At the beginning of time Raven turned his two brothers-in-law into stones in the north. The three other men, two [illegible], great stones from a hole in Raven's house with his younger brothers-in-law which he now showed to newcomers. He took the form of a bird and in one of the last excitedly the north, went to the sea, where he obtained some [illegible]. When he returned to Raven's house, he [illegible] with his brothers, and again went off alone to the north. This time he brought back some copper. When he was ready to profit, in the two [illegible] the form of [illegible] and went down to Cultus Island, North of the Bella Bella [illegible]. There they [illegible] human form and then [illegible] back [illegible].

Raven did not give these four to [illegible] with them, but he told them they would find another nothing to be killed on Cultus Island. Towards night they [illegible] on their island, to their [illegible], the people of [illegible] were there to the [illegible].

Raven had given [illegible] a few [illegible] some of the [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible]. The three elder brothers [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Dodi Gode. When the mother of the twin described in the last paragraph was expecting delivery in a temporary shelter in the woods, by mid-fall, cutting her hair. The old woman who mentioned this occurrence noted that both her grandmother, the Barbeyn Dabbum, and her sister, a Spring Dabbum, though still unborn, were aware of the accident and consequent the commencement of the mishap.

On account of their ancestry power, twins are considered weaklings and usually die young in spite of the care lavished upon them and the taboos observed by their parents. A dead twin, instead of being buried, is put in a box which is placed in a tree far away from the village. Every year the tree changes its country, moving into its bushes in order to reach the sun, sinking the body, and this continues until it reaches its goal and merges away into cold ether.

Childhood Immunities

When working in the field, an anthropologist almost inevitably concentrates upon comparatively and other aspects in an individual's life, as the structure of the field contains which in Bulla Gode, as everywhere else, is fundamentally important although it defies description on account of its intangibility. A child grows up in a large house, occupied by several families, in which there is little privacy. The parents provide food and clothing, but more distant relatives take a greater share of responsibility for this than do white people. When food is being given out, a child soon learns that he will be given some of it, and that he will have his portion in any distribution of property. Furniture, bedding, and other necessities are reduced to a minimum, but a boy or girl is welcome to sleep with relatives should his own parents wish to go hunting or fishing. The sense of power possessed by a Bulla Gode will many relations is largely intangible, but it has practical applications and

[illegible] It is probable that the subject did not be a child and to assume during the first year after birth, known by Bunya of period. Further to say, the relations with the [illegible] and the [illegible] Gode.

[illegible] a man and manage his affairs to [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] engaged in the death, there is also a gain in social prestige. In the whole community engaged, relatives, and sometimes even a man for having carried out a memorial ceremony, there is no doubt that he is pleased and gratified to work on accomplishing his grief is shifted. These two factors most constantly [illegible] to which memorial ceremonies serve to commemorate the dead, but to [illegible] also to the social importance of the donors. The two combine to bring considerable comfort to the chief who has lost a dear relative. In some cases the social prestige is the end motive, the grief assuaged and unimportant, but in others the latter is the only factor that matters, and a chief is entirely oblivious to any increase in his own status. In memorial ceremonies, both feelings are present in the mind of the donor, and both are gratified.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

In the preceding pages, an attempt has been made to describe the traditional death rites of the Bulu Creole. The following section comprises a detailed account of funeral ceremonies witnessed in 1955. The contrast between these and the rites already recorded, will indicate some of the changes in custom which are of such importance in studies of cultural growth or decline. The following description will also serve to demonstrate a point repeatedly mentioned, the manner in which business transactions and arrangements of all kinds take place whenever the people have been called together.

On June 11, 1955, the death occurred in Bulu Creole of Jessie Mae Samuel King, daughter of Captain Johnson. The latter, now deceased, was one of the writer's most trusted friends, and as a result of this friendship it was possible not only to attend the actual rites, but to ascertain much of the feeling underlying them. The advantage lies in knowledge, since it is not sufficiently impossible to question either the father or the husband of the woman too closely. The details will be the

[illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [

uninitiated are expelled, with the exception of the *sanak* to whom, as guests, a meal is served. Then they too leave and the *kokwitsi* are together. Finally, the singers strike up one of the dancer's songs, and he dances to it to end the evening's rites.

The fourth day is unknown, "Time Which Is Opened." During the day the carpenters work to complete the masks, and towards dusk the house is again put in order. The *kokwitsi* are summoned again to practice the songs, if necessary, and always to arrange who shall wear the masks, a matter left to the medicine and the carpenters. Then the uninitiated are called in to see the masked figures and watch any dramatic representation. After these exclusions, the masks are burnt. Then the *kokwitsi* gather outside the dancer's house where his song is sung once more to send his call back above. Frequently another *kwirai* now receives a call, so that the rehearsal of one dancer is likewise the footstone for another. The *kokwitsi* assemble in the latter's house, but the uninitiated are not allowed to return to that from which they have been ejected until the platform-enclosure has been dismantled at the end of the season.

A word might be said about *kwirai* paraphernalia, although much of this will have to be described in detail for special dances. Boas gives illustrations of a large number of *kwirai* masks and gives such an admirable description of them that little need be added. They are carved from the solid wood, the larger of lunch, the smaller of alder, and each carpenter endeavours to make a striking effigy of the being portrayed. *Kwirai-tsaiaxa* is present at every dance and has become so well standardized that she can always be recognized. This is true, also, for Thunder, Echo, the Awaken, the Laughter, the Hummingbirds, and a few other supernatural beings, but so much variation occurs in others that even a *kwirai* of much experience cannot always tell what being is represented. The masks are painted, and sometimes the designs indicate the being, even though the carving fails to do so, considerable is

figures are really beings from another world. The explanation lies in the profound belief of all Bella Coola in the near presence of the supernatural; consequently, a supernatural explanation is the one normally given for all unusual incidents. The dances themselves are filled with strange manifestations, particularly the weird whistling concerning the origin of which the uninitiated have no idea. Once convinced by this means of the presence of unknown powers, it is easy for them to believe that the masked figures are visitors from the other world. Nor was their belief in former days shaken by certain representations which were palpably false, such as that of the sun. No one could believe that the disk which moved across the back of the house was the sun itself; but on the other hand it seemed marvellous to the uninitiated, ignorant of the means used to produce it. To the white man there seems a fundamental difference between a supernatural being and the representation of a strange object made to move by unseen means, but to the Bella Coola both belong to another realm, and are accordingly alike. Moreover, there were occasions when the uninitiated must have seen the shifting or actual falling of a mask, for example, during the fight with wasps. But here again the deep belief of the non-members came to the help of the dancers, who told their guests that this was caused by the coming of a call to the actor, and what might easily have become doubt and suspicion was thus changed to respect.

The writer laboured under two tremendous difficulties in collecting information about dance masters; the present dances are mere shadows of what they formerly were, and there are no more uninitiated. The presence and quest for information served to stimulate memory and led to a partial revival of the old rites, but the bulk of his material was obtained from informants rather than from actual observation. It is a universal characteristic of mankind to idealize accounts of former practices, so it is not only possible, but probable, that the foregoing descriptions are more perfect than many of the rites to which

they refer. Even when full allowance is made for this, the fact 595*
will remain that the *kakaxtar* were able to carry out dances 796*
in which they deceived the uninitiated. Above all, it is clear 781
that those who were not members of the society had the great- 114
est respect for the powers of those who were, and although
doubt may have existed concerning the identity of the super-
natural visitors, there was not the slightest concerning the
ability of the *kakaxtar* to have, for example, their muscle
ripped open. The writer discussed this point with too many
old men and women to have the slightest uncertainty on this
point, and he feels confident that anyone who could have
listened to the account of a reliable old man concerning his
fears when he had "killed" a *kaxtar* in this manner, would have
shared his conviction.

It would be fascinating to discuss at some length the prob- 595*
able history of the *kaxtar* society, but this would entail a com- 796*
parison with the rites of other coastal tribes and belongs to the 178
realm of comparative ethnology. This monograph deals only 184
with Bella Coola practices as the writer saw them or heard 592
them described, so that the history of the society can only be
traced from this angle. It appears certain that the rites have
increased in secrecy. One old marshal with whom the matter
was discussed remembered having heard that long ago masks
were constructed in the presence of the uninitiated. Considered
as an isolated statement this would have little value, but in
conjunction with information derived from Kimsquit it be-
comes of importance. It is true that in Kimsquit the masks
are made in secret, but they are shown to the uninitiated as
masks, and the writer was told of one instance in which
Thqen, during his round of the village, fell into the water and
remained there all day, to the amusement of non-members who
recognized that he was merely a disguised human being. It is
even said that long ago the manufacture of masks was en-
trusted to inferior uninitiated. It is clear that there has
been a tremendous increase in secrecy even at Kimsquit, and
a great deal more at Bella Coola. The writer believes that

APPENDIX B

BELLA COOLA-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

DURING the period in the field, the writer's attention was devoted entirely to sociological and religious investigation, and no attempt was made either to analyze the intricacies of the Bella Coola language or to record texts. This part of the monograph consists only of words which were collected haphazardly, and no effort was made to compile an exhaustive list, or even a representative one. This explains the preponderance of proper names, and the large number of nouns connected with rituals of all kinds, some of which are rapidly disappearing from common usage. Many of these were used by the writer unwittingly in gathering technical data, and their incorporation is unquestionably correct. A few words, however, were not rechecked on different occasions, or from different informants, so that some errors may have crept in, either in translation or in recording. No terms have been employed of which the writer has any real doubt, but the same accuracy is not claimed for this vocabulary as for the monograph as a whole. Lack of knowledge of Bella Coola grammar made it impracticable to utilize the words recorded in the songs, since many of them include affixes and other structural elements that affect the root.

In listing the words alphabetically, the following arbitrary system of letter order has been followed and all symbols have been disregarded, for example, a and ā are not separated.

a follows a.
ā follows a.
a̓ follows a.
i̓ follows i.
ī̓ follows i.
u̓ follows u.

A

Ach: 1—A neatly squashed variety of which the members are perhaps four types of fruit.
2—Member of the variety.
Achuhin: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Achuhin: Chief of one house in the beginning of time.
Ahuh, wooden, ahuuh: Bandoleer.

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

105

are apparently more recent comers to the coast than their neighbors and have not fully adopted this coast culture.

The following examples of sympathetic magic and witchcraft, 114 121
collected during 1920 to 1923 among the Bellacoola, illustrate the extent of their belief in this direction.

Most of this information was given me by the late Captain 115
Schooner, born about 1848, and Joshua Moody, born about 1868, both apparently full-blood Bellacoola Indians. Neither of them [191]
spoke English and both gave me the data in Chinook jargon, which I have endeavored to interpret and arrange in logical order, but have tried to render in as nearly as possible the Indian mode of thought, feeling and expression. Schooner was a pagan gentleman. Joshua has great knowledge of plants and animals, and is a Bellacoola scientist, but his great ambition and jealousy, combined with his disloyalty in giving up his own people's customs and adopting a very thin veneer of Christianity, color his statements relating to beliefs, although his plant and animal data have always withstood cross examination and comparison with the data supplied by other Indians. Alec Davis and Mrs. Willie [191]
Mack told of the toad. They do not talk English and spoke to me in Chinook jargon. Only the accounts about the grizzly bear skin and the bracelet of beaver skin, which were given me by Mrs. Stemsiger, were told in English.

The material was not given as accounts of magic or witch- 114
craft, but rather as part of the data regarding the properties of 121
plants and animals of which I was endeavoring to collect as complete information as possible.

Joshua, who is even younger than Captain Schooner, remem- 114
bers the time when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man 115
living in the Bella Coola valley, and when they saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently these men remember the old Bellacoola beliefs before they were much, if at all, affected by European ideas.

It will be noticed that magic among the Bellacoola is con- 789
sidered of use both for beneficial and injurious purposes, and 754
that the materials giving effect to it are of both plant and animal origin.

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NEA Bellacoola NEA
Carrier NE7

ENTOMOLOGY AMONG THE BELLACOOLA AND CARRIER INDIANS

By HARLAN I. SMITH

B 131

THE Bellacoola Indians live in the Norway of Canada, about midway of the Pacific Coast, where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada, reached the sea; that is, about half way between Vancouver and Prince Rupert. Their country is around the head of the inlets about sixty miles in from or east of Ocean Falls and the usual route of the steamers up and down the coast. This inland passage is with few exceptions protected by the outer fringe of islands. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. The people are of the typical North Pacific Coast culture, characterized by the extensive use of red cedar and sea products, especially salmon, huge houses of split cedar planks with carved house posts, and totem poles, and immense seagoing canoes dug out of cedar. They were expert carpenters and had a peculiar art, especially in painting and carving, largely of conventionalized animal forms—a valuable contribution to the art of the world. This art may become of great financial value to the manufacturers of this country as well as a magnet capable of exploitation to bring in tourists with money from foreign lands. These Indians had a very highly developed social organization, many dramas and rituals, and a complex financial system popularly known as the potlatch.

B 105

C 101 [131]

The Carrier Indians of Ulkatcho, on the other hand, live in the high plateau of the semi-arid region, perhaps 75 miles northeast of the Bellacoola. They differ from the Bellacoola in language, appearance, and culture perhaps as much as do the Turks from the English. They had a less realistic art, which was largely geometric and pictographic, highly conventionalized and symbolic. Their social organization and financial system also were less highly developed.

B C 114 104

From time to time during 1920-1923 inclusive, I have secured from both these peoples data about their use of materials. Part

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1923
NEA Bellacoola NEB
Carrier NET

of these data refer to insects, and may be of interest to entomologists, although my spelling of Indian words is very problematical, because some of the sounds I can neither hear nor make, and I am unable to record adequately many of those that I can hear. The data here given are preliminary to a complete working over of my notes, but are believed to be nearly complete.

Insects apparently were not so well observed by the Bellacoola as were useful mammals and plants, the stinger of the bumble-bee, for instance, being supposed to be in its mouth. Few insects had names, that is, mainly those which were used or which troubled the Indians. Insects were not used for food, and honey was unknown until after the coming of the white man. The head of the gad-fly was used as a pattern in painting designs, the nest of the yellow-jacket in sympathetic magic or witchcraft, and "fly spit" was said to be good for sores. They had a story about the bumble-bee.

Among the Ulkatcho also observation of insects was weaker than that of mammals and plants, and they apparently had names for only a few insects, those which troubled them. Ant lyon pits and its method of taking prey were known. Insects were of no use to the Ulkatcho whatever. An instance was observed of an Indian smoking himself with a buzzing fly held in his mouth. They employed smudges, fish oil, gum of the cottonwood, and blossoms of cow parsnip with oil to protect themselves from mosquitoes, black flies and no-see-ums, and smoke to protect foods from flies.

The Ant lyon, among the Ulkatcho, is called Kinselkats. It is said to be numerous at Ulkatcho, but that it was useless and that there was no story about it. My informant voluntarily showed me the pits made by the larvae of this insect and, catching ants for the purpose, demonstrated its well-known method of taking its prey.

The grasshopper (*Orthoptera*), that makes a noise by rubbing its wings together when it flies, was called Telcus, among the Ulkatcho.

"Fly spit," that is the material surrounding a nymph of a spittle insect, also known as a frog hopper (*Cercopidae*), is said

[illegible]

I.

105 The Bella Coola are a small tribe inhabiting the coast of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm, one long and narrow fiord situated in about latitude 52° north, in British Columbia. Their habitat extends along Bella Coola River, which empties into North Bentinck Arm. The name 'Bella Coola' is a corruption of the word 'Bilxula,' by which name the tribe is known to the Kwakiutl. There is no term in their own language embracing all the tribes speaking the Bella Coola language. It seems that at a former time the tribe was quite populous; but, owing to various epidemics and the introduction of other diseases, its numbers have dwindled down, so that at the present time it has been reduced to only a few hundred souls. The language spoken by the tribe belongs to the Salishan family, more particularly to the group of dialects spoken along the coasts of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia. The great similarity between the Bella Coola and the other Coast Salish dialects leads me to assume that at one time the tribes speaking these dialects inhabited contiguous areas. At the present time the Bella Coola are separated from other tribes speaking Salishan languages by a considerable stretch of country, which is inhabited by tribes of Athapascan and Kwakiutl lineage. Vocabulary and grammar have been highly modified, particularly by an extensive choice of vowels. The relation of their language to the other dialects of the Coast Salish is similar to that of the Tillamook, another language belonging to the Salishan family, which is spoken on the coast of Oregon, is so much separated from the rest of the Salishan territory by the dialects inhabited by the Chinook.

105 144 Physically the Bella Coola have evidence of long-continued contact with the northern Coast tribes, and also with the Athapascan tribes of the interior. Evidently intermarriages have been quite frequent, so much so that their present physical appearance differs considerably from that of the southern Salishan tribes, of which they form a branch. The same is true in regard to their customs and beliefs, which differ fundamentally from those of the southern Salishan tribes.

121 In the present paper I shall describe the mythology of the Bella Coola, and discuss its development.

II.

114 Our previous knowledge of the mythology of this tribe is based on studies made by Adrian Jacobsen, Philip Jacobsen, Gerkens, and the writer. In 1905 I published a few brief notes on their traditions.[1] Gerkens pub-

113

[1] Ethnologisches aus Britisch-Columbien, Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1905, p. 445.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] In middle of the water, the barracks and women bit her. She jumped up, all the canoes capsized. The birds swam ashore. After a short time the females and non-women came ashore too. They looked very sore, because they had eaten the bear. Then the youth said to the girl, "There are two trails here,—one leading to the left, the other to the right. You follow the one, I will follow the other. If the trails meet, we will marry; if they do not, we have separate horses." They started, and after a while met each other. Then the youth married the girl. (Book of the Bear, Plate 9, Fig. [illegible])[1]

VI.

It is necessary to make a few remarks on the relation of the ceremonials of the Bella Coola Indians to their mythology. I have not seen any of their ceremonials, and my descriptions are based on inquiries, and upon the accounts published by Fitty and Adrian Jacobsen.

The Bella Coola have two ceremonials,—the *tsaq'k* and the *ta'ituo*, which correspond to the *cat'lacs* and the *ta'ituelqa* of the Kwakiutl. I have described these ceremonials fully in another paper.[2] The *tsaq'k* ceremonials are mostly dramatic representations illustrating the clan legends, some of which have been recorded in Chap. IV, while the *ta'ituo* ceremonials are dramatic representations of the initiation of members of various clans into certain secret societies. Among these, the Cannibal Society, the Society of the Laughers, and the Society of the Throwers, are the most important. These are called by the Bella Coola the *ulnat'cala*, *Oha*, and *Dalna*. I described on pp. 34, 35, the spirits presiding over the two first-named societies. The information which I obtained on these points is perfectly clear and consistent. I cannot quite reconcile the explanations given by A. and F. Jacobsen to the accounts which I received. It seems that their accounts do not clearly distinguish between the opinions held by various tribes. In the article above referred to, I described fully the opinions held by the Kwakiutl in regard to the origin of their Cannibal Society. They believe that a spirit called *Baxbakualanuxsi'wat* initiates the Cannibals. He is represented as having an enormous black head with dilated nostrils and large mouth. I have made frequent inquiries among the Bella Coola, but received the uniform answer that this being does not initiate their Cannibals. It is not impossible that a few families may have adopted this tradition from the Kwakiutl tribes, but I have not been able to find it among the Bella Coola. Jacobsen maintains that *Baxbakualanuxsi'wat* is the particular spirit of the Cannibal among the Bella Coola, and brings forward the well-known

[1] Additional legends of the Bella Coola have been published in the publications quoted on pp. 18, 19.
[2] Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 479-528.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] allowed to remove the bandage. The bandage is then dipped in the fire three times, the man stop in the fire and then, "Yu, yu, yu!" Then the people rise the bandage. Accompanied by many men, he is led after two days more, to the river for final purification. He is painted into the water for struggles to free himself. He rises on their his companions, and above his chest. Finally he is led back. Then he sleeps, because the spirit has left him entirely. The people now then while he is going back to the house. Then he is offered a piece of salmon, which is placed on his throat, while the people shout, "Hup, hup!" The salmon is taken away again, and after some time he is allowed to take one bite. Then he must be alone. After the bearing season is ended, he is quite allowed to eat in the same way as other people do. The piece of salmon that was placed on his throat is taken to children as a protection against sickness. Finally a ceremony is performed which is called "taking the tip of the Ts'ayas out of the Cannibal's body." While this is being done, the people cry, "Hup!" Then they throw the tip upon another Cannibal, who at once falls into an ecstasy. Then the shaman takes it back and throws it up towards the sky, where it disappears. The dish and the spoon that the Cannibal used during his ecstasy are destroyed. For two years he must wear a small ring of red cedar-bark, to conceal as well as to warn.

The Ots is also initiated in honour to the being described before (p. 57). There are different traditions regarding his initiation among different clans. Some Ots, during their performances, walk upon which are scattered through the house. Where he returns from his initiation, small initiation, called ma'ilaxa, which imitate the voices of eagles, are heard outside of the house. Then the Ots comes to a state of ecstasy, something the people who assemble to hold him, and tearing their blankets. Finally the people succeed in placing a blanket over his head, and he begins to come to his senses. When he enters the house, the people bear him, then he touches the chosen leader a song. The mask worn by the Ots is quite large, and characterized by a large nose (Plate XII, Fig. 4). He carries a dancing-club (Plate XII, Fig. 10), and rings made of red cedar-bark. He is accompanied by two assistants, who also wear masks.

VII.

We will now discuss the probable origin of the mythology described in the preceding pages. In order to do so, it is necessary to make a brief statement in regard to the social organization of the neighbouring tribes. In another paper[1] I have fully discussed the considerable amount of borrowing that has taken place among the Coast tribes, and the relation of their

[1] Indianische Sagen von der nordpazifischen Küste Amerikas, Berlin, 1895, pp. [illegible]

[illegible] distributed in three of the clans. It is [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] tribe. The members of the Bella Coola Indians in three of the [illegible] tribes on the one hand and in the northern of the Tlingit-[illegible] tribes on the other, is evident.

It is however, important to compare this social organization with that of the neighboring tribes, in order to gain a clearer understanding of the origin of this peculiar organization. In some tribes, the Bella Coola are divided into village communities which are organized on an exogamic basis. Each village community has its totem, which is represented in certain ceremonies. The supernatural beings which play a part in these ceremonies are personified by certain dances. Other Coast tribes have a much more complex organization. The Tlingit and Haida are divided into two clans, each of which is subdivided into a great many families, which, as it would seem, were originally village communities. This opinion is based on the fact that the names of many of the families were in combination or "combinations of each and each a place." The two clans are present in all the villages of the tribe, each family belonging to either one clan or the other. The Tsimshian have the same system, except that the number of clans is four instead of two. Each tribe is divided into families, which embrace the inhabitants of a certain region; but all the families of the whole tribe are classified according to the four clans. Among the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian, descent is purely maternal; among the northern Kwakiutl tribes conditions are somewhat different according to observations made by Dr. Livingston Farrand. There we have village communities which are subdivided according to four clans in the same way as those of the Tsimshian but descent is not purely maternal. There is a strong preponderance of the latter form of descent, but parents are at liberty to place their children in either the paternal or maternal clan. The preponderance of maternal descent is, however, so strong, that from my previous occasional inquiries I drew the inference that descent was purely maternal.

Among the southern Kwakiutl tribes the families, constituting a village community are subdivided into a number of clans, but each clan is confined to one village. We do not find a limited number of clans pervading the whole tribe, as we do among the northern tribes. An analysis of the social organization of this tribe has shown that the present organization has evidently developed from a previous simpler state, in which the tribe was divided into single village communities. The present more complex organization resulted from the amalgamation of various villages. Owing to the influence of the societies of the northern tribes, each village community adopted a crest, which in course of time became the totem of the clan.[1] The Kwakiutl have a peculiar organization, which may be considered a transitional stage between

[1] "Social Organization of the Kwakiutl Indians," chapter of the U. S. Journal Series in Proc. A. Am. Museum, vol. iii, part iii, pp. 1-[illegible], 1898.

116

/For the names of the informants relating the various origin myths of the Bellacoola, see footnotes in Chapter VI, category 116, pp. 292-340./

121 If I were to investigate and report on the Bella Coola at
128 the present time, I would undoubtedly be influenced by many years of contact with American anthropologists and their work. I would assume a greater knowledge of North-West coast institutions, less interest in the details of ceremonial class, and it would be impossible not to avoid comparisons with, and observations upon, the theoretical implications of many of the facts recorded. But though every field investigator is strictly objective as to the facts he collects, yet his interests, and his method of presenting them, are coloured by his background; in my case, by the older school of English anthropology. On the whole, I think this is fortunate. It means that the Bella Coola are portrayed as I saw them when I came fresh to a new field, practically uninfluenced by problems of North-West coast culture, and fully prepared to throw myself into their life. They were "my people," not a group in which I was interested because they had, or had not, certain culture traits with which I was concerned. In the course of my teaching experience, furthermore, I have wished repeatedly to give serious students detailed field monographs in which are recorded the interwoven social, religious, and folk-lore concepts of a people, the sum-total of their mental life, collected by one man at one time. This I have tried to do for the Bella Coola.

123 Following the English tradition, I wish to record how this material was collected. Before leaving for British Columbia,
[115] I was advised by the late H. I. Smith, who had worked in the area, to talk to Joshua Moody (see Plate 1), an elderly Bella Coola Indian with whom Smith had worked. On explaining to Joshua that I had come to record in permanent form the traditions and lore of *his* people, Joshua grinned broadly and promised his help. Unfortunately, he spoke only a few words of English. I tried interpreter after interpreter, Indian and white, with only fair success, and my difficulties increased with the
[464] opening of the canning season and the consequent employment of the younger men and women. I was urged to learn the
[122] Chinook jargon, which serves widely as a *lingua franca* on the
[198]

126 whom I was working. Before I left, this medley contained so much Bella Coola that it was unintelligible to white people who knew Chinook alone.

Activities in the community would have interfered seriously with my work during the summer of 1922 if two men had not been confined to the village, Captain Schooner owing to an injured wrist, and Jim Pollard by the illness of his wife. These two men were willing to work half a day apiece without pay. Each was intensely proud of the traditions of his people and, realizing that their culture was passing away, was glad to assist in making it permanent in writing. An intimacy sprang up between Captain Schooner (see Plate 3) and myself culminating in my adoption, a circumstance which established and improved my position in the community. In this way I was enabled to collect a large amount of material before July when it was necessary for me to leave for the east.

In September, 1923, when I returned to Bella Coola, I found that Captain Schooner had died a few months before, respected alike by white men and Indians. With the aid of others with whom I had made contact it was possible to obtain much new information, as well as to clear up many obscure points. The previous summer I had been so overwhelmed with material that I had no time to collate it in the field and the gaps only became apparent after a year's study. The men were so busy hunting and laying in stocks of fire-wood, however, that I found it difficult to arrange regular hours of work, but this was a trifle compared with the initial difficulties of my first trip. In October, when the Bella Coola began to prepare for the winter dances, they had to appoint a successor to Captain Schooner, who had played a leading part in their production. Having been adopted by him, it was suggested that I take his place, a proposition which I readily accepted. This admitted me to the ranks of the old men, and I imagine that my interest encouraged them to hold more ceremonials than they had done for several years. In former times, a number of the older men used to devote much time and thought to the composing, re-

[illegible] and gratitude to each of these four. Dr. D. Jenness, who succeeded Dr. Sapir, was more co-operative. In Bella Coola, I was received with uniform kindness by the white inhabitants, particularly Mrs. Chesson, Mr. and Mrs. Burt Robson, and Mr. and Mrs. Andy Christensen.

Finally, and most important of all, I wish to express my appreciation to the Bella Coola themselves. Without their generous, kindly and helpful co-operation, this book could never have been written. I came as an universal stranger; they received me as a friend and a guest; and I left with intense regret. My chief friends were Joshua Moody, Captain Schooner, and Jim Pollard, but I was also greatly assisted by Mr. Willie Mack, Mr. and Mrs. Tallio Charlie, and Mr. and Mrs. Lame Charlie. To a host of others I am indebted in only a slightly less extent. The aid and friendship of these men and women is one of my pleasantest memories, and one which I wish to record in all gratitude and appreciation.

In the actual publication of this complicated manuscript, I have likewise been fortunate in receiving co-operation and help. The University of Toronto Press accepted it for publication during the war, facing—and overcoming—the inevitable shortage of materials and of skilled craftsmen. Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining the type for phonetic symbols; to avoid undue duplication all native words, whether proper or common names, have been printed in italics. It is a tribute to the Press that it has completed the work. I am especially indebted to several former members of the editorial staff: Mrs. Hewitt, who supervised the initial editing, and her assistants, Mrs. Hackett and Mrs. Bucek. Mr. Weir, foreman of the composing room of the Press, has surmounted endless difficulties with enthusiasm and ingenuity. I am also grateful to Miss Harman, Associate Editor, who took the responsibility for final production details. Mr. Burns, General Manager of the Press, and Professor Brown, Editor, have both been helpful and co-operative throughout.

PLATE 1

Photograph by [illegible], National Museum of Canada

Joshua Moody

[p 26 (B)]

Lidki Geveith K-5 (922-924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

PLATE 9

115
142
302
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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Captain Schooner

[g 26 (c)]

1:Mc:Deceola R-9 (1922-1924) 1948
NER DeDeceola NER

PLATE 4

115
142
291
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Jim Pollard

[#26 (0)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NEs Bellacoola NEs

use his own discretion as to the design. At the top he always 211
places the bird or animal cloak in which his first ancestor, 556
traced patrilineally, came to this earth. Beneath this is the
cloak of his mother's first ancestor if it differs from his father's. 778
There are no fixed rules for other representations. Sometimes 532
a man wishes to display the cloaks of the first ancestors of his [793]
wife, or wives; more often, the designs are of creatures with
which his own ancestors came in contact after reaching this
earth.[1] One of the first settlers, *Smanax* (I, p. 331), married
a Bella Bella woman from whom he obtained a ceremony con-
nected with a whale, an animal which has often been used on
the totem-poles of his descendants. The lower figures on totem-
poles often represent creatures from which a recent ancestor of
the chief obtained supernatural assistance. Consequently, the
number of designs which may be used is legion, and the order
of portrayal is immaterial. Moreover, Bella Coola art is not
sufficiently realistic for designs to be easily recognized, nor is
there standard conventionalization of little used animals; so it
follows that the designs on totem-poles are often unidentifi-
able.[2] This is of little consequence, since their value rests
neither upon the artistic skill exhibited, nor even upon their
significance in connection with the owner's ancestral myth,
but upon the goods expended to validate the display.

All Bella Coola totem-poles are carved from the trunks of [824]
huge cedars, with the wood cut away so that the designs stand
out in high relief. The carvers are allowed great latitude both [184]
in choice of form and colouring, hence there is wide variation

[1]*Mamamkaiu* is the term applied to animals with which ancestors came in [225]
contact, other than their cloaks.

[2]This statement represents the layman's point of view, that is, of the Bella Coola who was not himself a carpenter-sculptor. It is probable that an expert would have greater facility in recognizing the conventionalized forms used by his ancestors, although the whole pattern of Bella Coola culture was opposed to extreme standardization. Unfortunately, wood-carving, in fact art work of every kind, had degenerated to such an extent that only one man with any recognized skill in that respect was still living when this study was made. He was both unreliable and uncooperative, so that it was impossible even to collect examples of his work, still less to record his interpretations of the designs of masks or other objects carved by his predecessors.

h:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

575 574 535 [533] [525] [526] [178]

presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds. These conclude the chief features of the *a'alt* dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *nuxut*, they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

A'alt dance myths

551 575 773

Theoretically, every Bella Coola *a'alt* should be able to record the myth in which his name is embodied, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both ancestral and *a'alt* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *a'alt* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *a'alt* can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kimsquit *nuxpual* for his name *Sesalots* which came to earth with *Smanus* (I, p. 331) in the beginning of time. Another Kimsquit *a'alt*, *Thiyakum*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sisaqal* (I, p. 316), who assumed the designation of *Thiyakum* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *Wi'nilas*.

539

The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once,* long, long ago, *Sqaxtlw* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *Sawan-a*, and a mortal; so he

[115] [177]

*Related by Mrs. Willie Black. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

539 brothers have the right, moreover, to hunt and collect food in the places
424 used by these first ancestors. The areas so authorized are:

Atsaulqmax: the mountain where they first came to earth.

Ohpowky: a valley leading into the main valley of the Kimsquit River where *Ooqumkilda* was accustomed to hunt.

Nalak kit: a valley where *Imanat*'s wives used to pick berries.

Ymuck: a level tract of country on the bank of the Kimsquit River twenty-eight miles from its mouth. No people landed here and *Imanat* pre-empted it as a hunting-ground.

Nalqa kat: another valley where *Imanat*'s wives used to pick berries.

The place in the Kimsquit River where their salmon-weir was erected, and the spot where they caught eulachon.

536 The length and wealth of detail embodied in this myth raises the
115 question of whether it is one of the usual type, or represents a combination of several stories strung together and adorned by a man eager to glorify the traditions of his own ancestors. It was received from Jim Pollard, a Kimsquit Indian, descended from *Imanat*, and himself the son of this same, a valuable and reliable informant. Jim is a man of great ability, who has given more protection than any other Indian of either Bella Coola or Kimsquit, and who, accordingly, has been able to validate very fully his ancestral myths and the names embodied therein. Owing to the deaths of his relatives, Jim has been able to use designations and portions of this legend which otherwise would certainly have belonged to other people. In this respect it, therefore, represents an amalgamation, but one of a legitimate nature. Theoretically, every myth would be complete if it were not for the parts possessed by others, and the aim of every wise Bella Coola is to seek the return of these pieces by judicious marriage. Jim has been able to achieve this by the death of his relatives and the assistance of his wife, herself a descendant of *Imanat*. Before the coming of the white man and the consequent dwindling of population, it is unlikely that any one person would have the duly validated right to tell a myth of this length, but theoretically it was possible, and might have been done by anyone as superior to his fellows as this man is to the present inhabitants of Kimsquit.

[424 581]

OBSCURE MYTH OF *Nawalo*[29]

539 Among the first people dispatched to this earth were four brothers, *Hamat*, *Wanko*, *Ahous*, and *Ahaiaiis*, who came to anglo and settled in *Nawalo*, the site of the present Mission Cannery, Kimsquit. Below

[29] Related by Jim Pollard.

[The Dance of Noakanim]

[773] approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
[824] the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
[825] *Imaiac-a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nacqulwaiste* to await the coming of *Alquaiaw*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nalacum*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is fourmous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Naákynum* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[785] times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
[831] eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[787] that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that
[624] this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[776] patron was *Naákynum*, but that the marshals requested him not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Naákynum*
[575] is patron for several *kakaciat*, who are believed by the uninitiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
[796] the *kaciat* dances begin.
[184]

It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village, as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
[424] slight variations, if any. In *Tsmaat* the *kaciat* who has the
[551] prerogative of seeing *Naákynum* is a certain *Kwaiike-i*,* in *Kimsquit*, *Hackwamacum*,* and in *Hakiaat*, *Kemtown*. Although,

[115] *Details of this dance were learned from the father of *Kwaiike-i*, who intimated that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman informed us the leading of this dance-series by her father and said that the present one had failed to secure it. Rivalry feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.
[424]
[578]

*Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his person, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kaciat* names have significations of this type.

:llwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Cannibal Dance]

the Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and Rivers Inlet people. in Bella Coola a poor man may be the most dreaded l of all, if he has been able duly to validate and per- s right in this respect. Nor is the dance carried out e same rigour in Bella Coola as among the tribes of the oast.

ritual of different prerogatives varies to such an extent eral accounts must be given, in spite of the repetitions is form of presentation entails. On account of the of time necessary, a Cannibal dance usually begins the season. The following describes the manner in *Kämätslaks* of Kimsquit, who can bite the living, car- t his rite; it was obtained from his brother, who is hly conversant with the details. It will be convenient to *Kämätslaks* as X, and to use the present tense out.

eeting is held at which the marshals and others choose, ment with X and his relatives, a day suitable for him nence his performance. Under normal circumstances ome *qoiłum* that a marshal announces that he can hear , and on the following evening, when the ritual has npleted, the uninitiated are startled to hear continuous g from the slopes of the mountains near the village. truments used are of the usual bladder type, but the wn-out sound, termed *Aiiläxa*, is said to be the voice indly supernatural woman, *Snitsmän·a*.[1]

[1] ...ade function of this being seems to be the restoring to life of those who have been killed in the performance of *kusiut* rites. The Bella Coola in whether or not she is identical with *Tlentsätsa·a*. The noise which coming is produced by the whistles of four *kukusiut* who throughout the the forests and mountains within ear-shot of the village. By bending up and down, they are able to increase the weirdness and apparent of the sound. The four travel in single file; the leader blows, and when is nearly exhausted he presses the hand of the second man, who starts urthwith, while the original leader drops to the rear. As the second eary, he signals in the same way to the third, and so on; in this way ng is continuous, and the uninitiated are convinced that it cannot be mortals, even if such an idea should occur to them. If a non-member t the four, they would at once kill him or make him a prisoner, keeping night until he could be initiated into the society.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

songs are sung, all that are needed when a Cannibal does not go to the land above. 575* 796* 787

On the following day, *gothm*, the masks are manufactured and the ritual proceeds in the normal manner. In the evening the uninitiated are invited to watch the dances, at which X is the first to perform, lengthening his face and protruding his lips to their greatest extent in order to frighten his beholders.

The ritual of the next evening, *nakuam*, corresponds to the usual pattern. Before the entry of the uninitiated, X has concealed himself so that nothing can detract from their awe at sight of the masked figures. *Alquntim* stands in state behind the fire, sometimes announcing his own name, while *Ana'likwelsaix* moves to and fro, adding to the solemnity of the occasion with her explanations, echoed by the heralds. *Alqutlas*, represented with blood-stained lips, moves around the fire, restrained by the three Holders, and the audience is told that this is how they act in the land above. When the guests have gazed sufficiently on these marvels they are sent away, and the masks are burnt in the usual manner, accompanied by the gentle singing of one of X's songs. Late at night a number of *kukusiut* go with X to the sidewalk outside his house, where they expel his call by pressing upwards with their hands against his stomach and calling *hoip*.

For the rest of the winter X conducts himself in the manner of any *kusiut* who has danced. 575* 796*

Although similar in outlines, the prerogatives enjoyed by Cannibals differ so considerably that no clear picture of the rites can be obtained without detailed descriptions of several. The following is an account of a dance carried out by *Lulalimut*, a biting Cannibal of *Nusqalst*. It was obtained from one of the marshals who, of course, understood the details of every performance. The origin of the name is unknown, although the informant believed that it had been created in this world by the chiefs in consequence of the manner in which a shaman ancestor of the dancer had been in the habit of biting people [424] [115]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

In the course of generations, *Snung* has combined with his self-anthropophagic prerogative that of eating dogs. As already mentioned, such a merging of rights, obtained from different ancestors, is by no means uncommon. The following account of the manner in which he carries out (or carried out, for the dance has not been performed for a number of years) his rite was obtained from one of the Kimsquit marshals. Many details are omitted which have been fully described in former Cannibal dances. It will be convenient to refer to *Snung* as X.

As with other Cannibals, when the call comes to X he begins to cry out and the uninitiated are expelled from his house, but not before they have seen him sink his teeth into his own arm, and apparently inflict a serious wound. In reality the Cannibal usually cuts himself in anticipation, so that the application of his teeth merely serves to reopen the incision and cause the blood to flow freely. Dogs are given to X, as to other dog-eating Cannibals, and he is escorted to every house, so that the uninitiated may stare with awe upon his blood-stained body and dripping jaws. Later, when he and the *ɬukusiut* have returned to the Cannibal's home, a herald goes to every house, announcing that his fellows are going to fasten X. The rope used in this particular rite is long and thin, with a small loop in the centre for his neck. It is forced upon X with the usual struggling, and again the herald makes his round, announcing:

"We are measuring his arms for cords of dyed and undyed cedar-bark."

These too are placed upon him, and the *ɬukusiut* march X, pinioned, to every house, while he growls and gives every indication of being half mad with anger at his bonds. He is taken back to his own house and at intervals throughout the day a herald informs all in the village of the number of dogs he has eaten, and of the number of wounds he has inflicted upon himself.

That night X eludes his captors and is carried away to the

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Breaker Dance]

they do not like. No compensation can be claimed, on the theory that supernatural beings do not have to pay for any damage they may do. Although the property of some *kukusiut* is destroyed, the chief sufferers are the uninitiated; this serves to increase their fear and respect for the society with which such all-powerful beings are in league. After visiting every house in the village, the party returns to X's, where the masks are burnt, the call sent back, and the proceedings conclude in the usual manner.

A certain amount of information concerning the history of the Breaker dance was obtained from *Syuł*, the owner of the prerogative just described. He is a well-informed man, but the writer had no opportunity of comparing his beliefs with those of his associates, so the following must be regarded as unsubstantiated evidence. This man stated that the Breaker dance is the most important of all in Bella Bella, and that many Bella Coola prerogatives have been obtained from this source, although some of their first ancestors likewise enjoyed it. He further stated that the term, *wałkista*, by which the Bella Coola always designate a Breaker, is of Bella Bella origin, and that the ancient Bella Coola term was *dztia*.[*] *Syuł* also told of an occasion when a number of Bella Bella, present on the *qoiłm* night of a Bella Coola ceremony, were disturbed when eating by the thud of a stone thrown, from outside, against the wall of the back-room. Out rushed a number of *kukusiut*, incensed at the disrespect shown to their gathering. They caught the offender, but released him when he was found to be a Bella Bella Breaker, foolishly demonstrating his prowess. The marshals decided to retaliate and arranged with two Bella Coola Breakers to exercise their rights and destroy the canoes and food-boxes of their guests. They did so, and later paid for the damage. The Bella Coola were thus able to demon-

[*] *Syuł* and several of his children are the only Bella Coola known to the writer who habitually use the sound "s." For example, he says "*Ewlsrt*," instead of "*Ewlsłł*." He says that he is himself unable to distinguish any peculiarity in his own pronunciation, although other Bella Coola are aware of it.

Z: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

575 *ʼnuxuiat* send back X's call in the usual manner. Then, two
996 by two, the masks are cast on to the fire and the ceremonial is over.

THE DANCE OF THE TALLY POSTS

[973] As previously described, a tally post is erected in the land
[777] above for every Bella Coola at birth. As long as this memorial
[753] is upright and firm, the individual to whom it refers enjoys health and prosperity, but if it becomes crooked he falls ill.
[424] The uninitiated believe that several *ʼnuxuiat* have the prerogative of climbing to the land above during the ceremonial season and straightening leaning tally posts. This is such a
[178] useful ability that it must have exercised great influence on
[164] the uninitiated in early days, but the rite has not been properly carried out since the smallpox epidemic in the last century.
[115] The following account was obtained from two old men who remembered the manner in which a certain *Qoikoil of Tsmaxl* performed a year or two before "The Great Sickness." Neither of the informants was a *ʼnuxiat* at the time, but they were able to supplement their recollections of the dance with what they afterwards learnt when initiated, so the following account is probably accurate in outline though deficient in detail. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X, and describe the ceremony in the present tense. It was also performed at Kimsquit many years ago.

The rite resembles *ʼnuxiam* dances in many respects. X must obtain the consent of the marshals during the preceding summer, and their permission is refused unless the prospective dancer is a man of proved discretion. If they agree, X asks a
[253] number of *ʼnuxuiat* women to help him by making a very long and strong rope of nettle fibre. At intervals the work-women gather for the purpose in the back-room of X's house, taking
[418] care that no uninitiated see what they are doing. Every effort is made to ensure that there is no flaw in the rope as a break would be a serious matter, punishable by death.

Near the winter solstice the marshals choose a suitable time

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NE6

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assemble to witness the dance of *Alpuxúm*. This is his function in the land above, so it is natural for him to do the same in this world.

THE DANCE OF *Alpuxúm*'S FISHERMAN

Alpuxúm in the land above has a servant who uses a hand-net, *xoxo*, in fishing for his master. He is accordingly known as *Alpuxúm*'s *Xoxoxúm*, "Fisherman," and is patron for a *ʌuxiut*.

THE DANCE OF THE TOP

The playful *Sówilpumalh: Alpuxúm* has a favourite toy consisting of a stick which can be made to spin between the hands. This top, if it may so be termed, is patron for some *ʌuxiut*. The writer was unable to learn how it is displayed on *nalaxam*.

THE DANCE OF THE PETRIFIED HAMMER

The patron of one *ʌuxiut* is a hammer which in some way was changed to stone in the beginning of time when the Beila Coola River first flowed to the sea.

THE DANCE OF THE GRIZZLY BEAR

A *ʌuxiut* named *Sélwat* has, as patron, a grizzly bear resident in *Xwaqwa*'s house.

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575*
796*
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[178]

VARIOUS ORIGIN MYTHS

In most cases *ʌuxiut* dances have been preserved until the present day, although the myths on which they depend have long since been forgotten, but the reverse is sometimes the case. The following myths, were recorded with few, or no details of the associated dances. In several cases, one of the same type has already been recorded, so that the significance will be apparent.

A COMPOSITE ORIGIN MYTH[*]

Long ago there lived in *Sisaa* a man and his wife who were powerful, prosperous, and able to give their children many good names. This

[115]

[*] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

424 Qwaixosän·i moved to and fro among the chiefs as they were busying
* 575 themselves in preparations for leaving, and drew to herself the spirit of
* 796 every one of the party. As they pushed off from the shore, she put these
539 on a board which she set afloat behind them. It capsized in the first rapids, immersing the various spirits, and presently the canoes were upset and their occupants all drowned. The six orphans continued to live at *Stuix* where they intermarried with the poor people and in time the village increased in population and fully regained its old importance.

This myth has many points of resemblance with those described in vol. I, chap. IX. Each of the six orphans, and especially *Qwaixosän·i*, received the boon of supernatural good fortune, but the present given to the five took the form of a *kusiut* prerogative. The names so received are either in use at the present time or have but recently become dormant. *Nuxim* was used by the father's brother of the woman who related the story; *Song'mai* belongs to her son, a boy about eight years old; *Nuxem* is the property of another youth, related to the family; *uxem* has been lent to a friend, subject to recall at any time, and *Qwaixosän·i* is used by a girl relative about twenty years of age. Each of these has the prerogative of carrying out the dance given to their ancestor at *Stuix*, long ago.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CARPENTERS[108]

In the beginning *Äłqwnäm* sent down to a point on the upper reaches of the Clearwater four brothers, *Ninitsamloix*, *Waixxum*, *Äłqwnäm*, and *Hai·la·kala* with several sisters whose names have been forgotten. They thought they were the first to reach this earth but presently, to their sorrow, saw *Tłäkwakila*, a man who had preceded them, and the women cried bitterly in their mortification. *Äłqwnäm* had given *Ninitsamloix* shamanistic power which he now used as he rubbed his hands over his sisters' faces to carry away their tears.

"Become fog," he said, as he held the palms of his tear-stained hands towards the land of the *Ta·yo·xl* people.

[821] That is why there are thick fogs in the vicinity of Alert Bay to the present day.

Ninitsamloix and his relatives moved a short distance down the valley

[115] [108]Related by Steamboat Annie.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*575 long ago the *kusiut* society was composed of individuals re-
*796 garded as having supernatural endowments, and who perhaps
178 believed this themselves. In course of time their influence
184 increased to such an extent that they were able to convince
non-members of the supernatural origin of objects used in their
[532] ceremonial.

Unfortunately, information from Kimsquit was obtained
[115] almost exclusively from one old man, who, though a marshal
well informed in *kusiut* matters and in many ways an almost
ideal informant, had long since realized that the dances could
be nothing more than representations, and it is possible that
his remarks were coloured by this knowledge. Though he
tended to minimize the attitude of belief with which the un-
[781] initiated regarded masked figures, yet he fully agreed with
every statement made by the Bella Coola themselves with
regard to the firm belief of non-members concerning the super-
natural powers of the dancers. He also confirmed statements
[688] respecting punishment if an error should occur, and mentioned
the shooting of a Bella Bella dancer who had allowed his mask
to fall during a *sisook* dance. As far as actual ritual is con-
cerned, the differences in procedure between Bella Coola and
Kimsquit are unimportant, and differences in belief are less
than they appear at first sight. The Bella Coola *kukusiut*
[781] seem to have perfected their organization and to have been
able to impress the uninitiated to a greater extent than their
Kimsquit fellows, but the fundamentals of the society are
identical.

*575 Traditions concerning the early history of the society are
*796 probably of little value historically, but they are important as
173 indicating the mental attitude of the Bella Coola. Considering
the importance of the society there are relatively few accounts
of what took place long ago; the Bella Coola know that it
exists, believe that the rites are identical with those carried
out by their ancestors for generations, and theorize no further.
It was only in the beginning of time that things were radically
different; it is believed that then all the people were endowed

CHAPTER II

SONGS

533*

Introductory — Ssaok Songs — Xe tla Songs — A'alk Songs — Nuxäxkämg Songs — Marriage Songs — Mourning Songs — Shaman Songs — Kusiut Songs — Non-Ceremonial Songs

Introductory

THE singing of songs is an essential part of all Bella Coola rites so that a study of them is important, entirely apart from their musical value. Their texts throw light on the beliefs of the performers, on the aims of the ceremonies, and, above all, give concrete instances of what the uninitiated are led to believe. This is particularly true of those used in *kusiut* dances, and for this reason all songs have been deferred until this chapter in which they can be grouped together. [190]* [575]*

The texts of songs are difficult to obtain. Snatches of many are remembered, but few individuals are acquainted with the complete version. A phonograph was used to record the music, and it was soon found that very few people were qualified to sing into the machine. Some became confused and forgot the words; some began to laugh; and some lacked the poise to attempt to sing. One elderly Kimsquit man, Jim Pollard, was found to be the best and most reliable singer, and he was used almost exclusively for phonographic work. Hence the records are stamped with his musical technique. Others approached his ability, but he alone preserved an art which had been common in former days. Over one hundred songs were obtained with the assistance of this man. 126 115 533*

The text was always obtained before a song was sung into the machine, thus assuring that the recorded version agreed with the written words. Even with this check, the writing down of songs is extremely difficult. Choral endings are widely employed, consisting of non-essential suffixes inserted for musical effect. It was often impossible to record these in the 126 533* 195

(a) Recorded as song VII D 34, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, sweated by *Tal* or Charlie and Steamboat Annie. 588* [115]

(b) Meaning: He is about to display an ancient right; this song was used at a potlatch.

(c) That is: Echo is pleased. This supernatural being was used as *tsimsum*. [776]

(d) Echo is said to display a proud and arrogant disposition by trying to imitate the voices of others.

(e) That is: Human beings.

(f) Echo.

(g) That is: In his pride he is trying to imitate the voice of a great chief.

Song of Γmaxlak of Kimsquit(a)

A *Qwaqwilakaqwilamalaxa* | *Akaqwiawaqwilaxh*
I am angry, | I shall presently display

ma'xlΓlamlakilaxa(b) | *alamΓlamaxtamlakilaxa*
the water that was brought down | by him(c) who came down(d).

[wawaxa cawaxa] (e)

B *Samilkwaxa ustawqwaxa* | *Ałłkwaxhaxis* | *ałł'xamaxtamis*
Were ready for | *Ałłkwaxhaxis*(f) | his dishes(g).

Tsaxilamaxtilakilaxa
It was sometimes as large as a pond(h).

[wawaxa cawaxa]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 43a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) A figurative expression for slashes grease.

(c) Referring to one of the dancer's ancestors, a chief who descended to Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

(d) This song was used at a potlatch and is accordingly phrased grandiloquently.

(e) The wordless chorus consists of an old-repeated name which is said to be the name of the pigeon. The singer was unaware of its application.

(f) *Ałłkwaxhaxis* was a chief who, in the beginning of time, came down midway between Kimsquit and Kitlope.

(g) That is: Dishes, carved in form of his crest, were awaiting *Ałłkwaxhaxis* on his arrival.

(h) A reference to the great abundance of slashes grease.

Song Used for ałqaqaxat of Kimsquit(a)

A *Kaxlamamaxqiqa*[b] | *dł qamlaxdai* | *dłaqaxtilakdai*
They(c) will come to receive | my valuable goods(d) | which *Ałqaqilak*(e)

ałłlakamlaxdai
brought down.

[wawaxa cawaxa]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

grave difficulties in explaining their customs, as the white man has in understanding them. 153 124

The writer was impressed by the brilliance shown by several of the natives. Joshua Moody, for example, is essentially the philosopher. More individualistic than most of his tribesmen, he was one of the first to adopt Christianity and has been a faithful follower of the new creed. Deeply interested in religious questions, he has stored up what has been told him of the Bible and pondered deeply on all problems of life. Not particularly practical, subject to fits of anger or moroseness, but with a meditative temperament which delights in seeking biblical parallels and synonyms for Bella Coola practices, his is the kind of mind which, in other walks of life, would have produced the professor of philosophy. Jim Pollard is quite another type. Essentially practical, he has devoted his energies to keeping abreast of changing conditions. He is the best singer and composer in Bella Coola, the best canoeman for miles; he has learnt to handle a motor-boat engine, to aid prospectors for minerals, and has succeeded in amassing and saving a considerable amount of money. Jim excelled all other informants in clearness and logical presentation of his explanations, though he showed a slight tendency, intelligible enough, to gloss over aspects which he knew would be considered unpleasant. If Jim had been a white man, he would undoubtedly have made his mark in the world of business. The late Captain Schooner differed from either of the preceding. Older than they, and unconverted, he, perhaps, came nearest to the original, uncontaminated Bella Coola type. Heavy in build, coarse in humour and expression, he had a heart of gold and was a fine example of a native gentleman. He was glad to assist most patiently in recording ancient lore, being intensely proud of the traditions of his ancestors. A friendship developed from this which is one of the writer's happiest memories. Often in the evenings life in general was discussed, the war, the rush of progress in big cities, the quest for wealth, the spread of white civilization, and the problems raised by the contact of peoples.

115 177 [153] [123]

115 Schooner lacked the mental acumen of Joshua and Jim, but
177 he revealed himself as a tribal patriarch, proud of his family's
[153] history and eager to assist his grandchildren and great-grandchildren, but feeling himself lost and helpless in the struggle before them. With sadness, but without bitterness, he used to speak of the approaching end of Bella Coola culture, and his words brought home the tragedy which the spread of civilization brings to so many, and the responsibility resting upon the white people as a whole.

153 Until an intelligence test is devised to correlate the mental
115 ability of the white man with that of the native, it is impossible to compare the two scientifically. None the less, the writer deliberately expresses the opinion that Joshua Moody and Jim Pollard are two of the most brilliant men he has met in any walk of life. They are undoubtedly the most able of the Bella Coola; others have only slightly less ability, while the mass of the population compares favourably with an
178 average white community. Their ability, however, is definitely conditioned by their conservatism. Absolute trust in the traditions of their ancestors has checked speculation, as the established explanation is never questioned; new inventions, unauthorized by custom, have been regarded as almost sacri-
[626] legious; the force of public opinion, while valuable as a deterrent to anti-social practices, has effectively restrained innovations. The Bella Coola are a good example of a community where development has been atrophied by extreme conservatism fostered by religious beliefs.

105 Taking into account the material obstacles, the achievements of these people have not been insignificant. In former
[322] times, provided only with tools of stone and untempered copper, they built graceful canoes, made watertight boxes, hewed planks from mighty cedars, and erected large houses which called for considerable engineering skill. Judged by
[532] white standards, their carving and painting lacked artistic deli-
[535] cacy, but it required no mean ability to portray crest designs to meet their own standards. Passing from the purely mechanical

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

105

are apparently more recent comers to the coast than their neighbors and have not fully adopted this coast culture.

The following examples of sympathetic magic and witchcraft, 114
collected during 1920 to 1923 among the Bellacoola, illustrate 121
the extent of their belief in this direction.

Most of this information was given me by the late Captain 115
Schooner, born about 1848, and Joshua Moody, born about 1868, [191]
both apparently full-blood Bellacoola Indians. Neither of them spoke English and both gave me the data in Chinook jargon, which I have endeavored to interpret and arrange in logical order, but have tried to render in as nearly as possible the Indian mode of thought, feeling and expression. Schooner was a pagan gentleman. Joshua has great knowledge of plants and animals, and is a Bellacoola scientist, but his great ambition and jealousy, combined with his disloyalty in giving up his own people's customs and adopting a very thin veneer of Christianity, color his statements relating to beliefs, although his plant and animal data have always withstood cross examination and comparison with the data supplied by other Indians. Alec Davis and Mrs. Willie [191]
Mack told of the toad. They do not talk English and spoke to me in Chinook jargon. Only the accounts about the grizzly bear skin and the bracelet of beaver skin, which were given me by Mrs. Stoessiger, were told in English.

The material was not given as accounts of magic or witch- 114
craft, but rather as part of the data regarding the properties of 121
plants and animals of which I was endeavoring to collect as complete information as possible.

Joshua, who is even younger than Captain Schooner, remem- 114
bers the time when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man 115
living in the Bella Coola valley, and when they saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently these men remember the old Bellacoola beliefs before they were much, if at all, affected by European ideas.

It will be noticed that magic among the Bellacoola is con- 789
sidered of use both for beneficial and injurious purposes, and 754
that the materials giving effect to it are of both plant and animal origin.

S: Smith E-S (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE9
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

MATERIA MEDICA OF THE BELLA COOLA AND NEIGHBOURING TRIBES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

By Harlan I. Smith

INTRODUCTION

This paper describes the materia medica of four tribes of British Columbia, the Bella Coola of Bella Coola valley, the Gitksan of Skeena river, the Carrier who live in the territory behind both of these tribes, and the Sekani of the headwaters of Peace river. Among the Bella Coola the medicines are largely family possessions known to a few individuals only, so that two families may have different remedies for the same specific complaint; but this is not the case among the other tribes. Everywhere magical practices enter largely into the treatment of disease, but are not touched upon in this report. It was impossible for the Indians to diagnose many of their maladies, so that the identifications given here are in many cases problematical.

Most of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1920-22, by Joshua Mossly, apparently a full-blood Bella Coola Indian, born about 1868. As he did not speak English he gave the data in Chinook jargon, which has been interpreted and arranged in logical order. Joshua is an Indian scientist with great knowledge of the local plants and animals. He remembers when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in Bella Coola valley, and when the inhabitants saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently he can recall the old Bella Coola material culture before it was much affected by European ideas.

Some of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1922-23 by the late Captain Schooner, also, apparently, a full-blood, born about 1848, who used the Chinook jargon. Abe Hans, Alexander Clahsan, Louie Hall, and other Bella Coola Indians likewise gave information and corroboration.

Most of the information relating to the Southern Carrier Indians of Tlatchie was secured during 1920-1922 from Charlie Weed, also Fowler Charlie or Handsome Charlie, a native of that place, born about 1874. Charlie used the peculiar form of broken or pidgeon English commonly employed for communication between the whites and the Carrier and Chilcotin Indians of this region.

The information about the Sekani and the Northern Carriers of Hagwilget is from stray field notes kindly supplied by Mr. D. Jenness.

The information relating to the Gitksan was secured in 1925-26 from the late John Fowler and Abraham Fowler of Kitwanga, John Fowler and Dick Robinson of Hazelton, with additions and corroboration from a few others, all old Gitksan Indians, apparently full-blood. The information was secured mainly in English, although Abraham Fowler used also the Chinook jargon.

The method the writer employed was to submit specimens of the plants to his informants and question them concerning all their uses. Of the information thus obtained only the medicinal portion has been presented here. The plants were later identified by Mr. M. O. Malte, of the National Museum, Ottawa.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

represent. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become Sisaa'ka. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nesh'-la'ata, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is a member of the gens Iala'atimsit of the Talo'ma, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a Ki'ititt name, which remains the same throughout life; and a Qi'ntelem name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nesh'ala'ata's (which is his Ki'ititt name) present Qi'ntelem name is Ati'itsawe'ba'ait, but at his next potlatch he intends to take the name of Kalic'kin. These names are also the property of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Ki'ititt names of the members. In two cases only the Qi'ntelem names have been ascertained (see p. 420). When a man possesses several Sisaa'ka secrets he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their Sisaa'ka secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisaa'ka secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the Sisaa'ka carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the sacred headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that time he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Ki'ititt is presided over by a female spirit, called Aneshkimal's. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Aneshkimal's invited her into her cave and taught

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
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every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the ka'sint these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks. Xe'xtsina and Xemxemali'xa wear the design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xe'xtsina by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xemxemali'xa has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin. Alemki'lik'a and Alemali'xa wear the design of the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second masks. The fifth Q'emq'emki'lik'a and Q'emq'emali'xa have designs representing stars, both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is Qala'xawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kali'las (who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue. The ninth, A'lamk'a, wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called L'ilat'aqlilas (the eater), the sister of the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

The sisan'k', which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had gone out hunting met the sisan'k' and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to enter. Then he danced the sisan'k' and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with trails of cruise skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the B'laula dance the sisan'k'. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the sisan'k' only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, can not become sisan'k'. A person can not take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or older brother. Nuk'sla'xiq, the Indian, to whom I

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[556] next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new
424 secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a kô'sint
551 name, which remains through life, and a Xê'mtsica name, which is
556 changed at these festivals. Thus, Nqsk'xlu'sta's (which is his kô'sint
575 name) Xê'mtsica name was AL'ILEMNR'lae'alx·, but at his next pot-
614 latch he intended to take the name of Kaliâ'kia. These names are also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names. When a man possesses several sisan'k· secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisan'k· secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisan'k· secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more.
[426] The crest and the sisan'k· carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular clan.

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575 The kô'sint is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaêlkuta'-
773 al'x·. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from
776 February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to
535 have been the first to find her. Anaêlkuta'al'x· invited her into her cave and taught her the secrets of the kô'sint. She wore ornaments of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

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THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

BY

T. F. McILWRAITH

VOLUME ONE

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
TORONTO, 1948

[Pii] [Title Page]
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PREFACE

THE term Bella Coola can be applied to the Indians who formerly occupied more than twenty villages on the lower Bella Coola River in central British Columbia, to their near kinsfolk on the Kimsquit River, and to those living at the head of South Bentinck Arm. Disease and changed conditions consequent upon the coming of the white man have so reduced their numbers that the last two groups of settlements have been virtually abandoned, while only one village remains in the Bella Coola valley. This is located on a reserve near the mouth of the river, and its four hundred inhabitants comprise practically all the survivors of what was once a tribe of several thousand people, with a distinctive language and culture of their own.

The material contained in this monograph was collected in this one village many years ago for the National Museum of Canada.[1] I was in the field during two periods that extended from March to August, 1922, and from September, 1923, to February, 1924. My field notes were worked up and the completed manuscript submitted to the Museum in 1926. Since that time it has suffered various vicissitudes. Recommended for publication by the Chief of the Anthropological Division, it passed through the hands of various editors; questions were raised about its size and the suitability of detailed studies of social anthropology in a government publication, and by the time these matters were adjusted, funds for extensive publications were unavailable and the manuscript was put aside. Since the aim of the investigation was to record, as far as possible, the sum-total of the complex and interwoven social life of the Bella Coola, I did not think it desirable to prepare short articles[2] summarizing different aspects, preferring to await an

[1] Then the Victoria Memorial Museum.

[2] The only exception was a short article on Bella Coola supernatural animals published in the Ontario Annual Archaeological Report for 1924-25, pp. 17-27.

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128 opportunity for the publication of the manuscript as a whole.
[121] I am deeply grateful to the Canadian Social Science Research Council for making this possible, and to their anonymous readers, many of whose suggestions I have utilized in the final draft, and to the University of Toronto Press for their subsidization.

Though the lapse of time between the field investigation and the appearance in print of the results is unfortunate, it is a matter of less importance than would be the case in other branches of science. To the student of social institutions, the significant fact is that a certain group of *homo sapiens* has practised certain customs, whether in 1922 or 1948 is immaterial. Furthermore, the aim of the investigation was to collect
[121] information on Bella Coola life as it was *before* the breakdown of their own culture, and for this, data collected between 1922 and 1924 are more valuable than those acquired today. The manuscript was prepared from my extensive field notes, when the material was still fresh in my mind, and, with the exception of this preface and a few minor changes in editing,[8] is presented as it was written in 1924-26.

121 When studying the Bella Coola, I was definitely under the influence of the English school of anthropologists. To Haddon, Rivers, and Seligman, to name the outstanding English field anthropologists of their generation, the study of a native tribe meant an expedition to some far-off corner of the world, to a people about whom little was known. A return visit was improbable; aboriginal customs were passing away, hence it was the duty of the field investigator to learn and to record every scrap of information. I remember Dr. Haddon's insistence that it might be some trivial detail which would throw light on culture distribution, and hence, perhaps, aid in the reconstruction of tribal or racial movements, or in theoretical studies of the development or degeneration of institutions. Characteristic of this school, too, was an intense human interest in field

[8] Especially in changing the number of years which has elapsed since various incidents took place.

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work. To overcome the difficulties of language, of suspicion, and of native reticence was a task in itself. And only when this was accomplished and the investigator recognized as a friend, could the information be obtained upon which the investigator was to describe "his people." As a broad generalization, the attitude of American anthropologists to field work in America is very different. Indians live near at hand; well-educated interpreters and informants are usually available; there is no thought of gleaning information from suspicious natives at the ends of the earth; and, perhaps most important of all, so much of Indian life has disappeared that the American anthropologist must learn by interview and question, rather than by observation and participation. The American school has tended to return repeatedly, often for short periods, to a small group or even to a single informant, and to publish intensive studies of aspects of culture with which the investigator is concerned.

Both approaches have their advantages. Anthropologically, using that term in its broadest sense, American Indians are better known than the natives of other continents; the professional anthropologist knows where to find detailed studies in technical journals and government publications, and to combine them if he wishes to know the life of a people as a whole. But to the anthropologist who is not a specialist in America, as well as to scholars in other social sciences, this lack of synthesis is a definite deterrent, and it may well be asked whether the anthropologist has played his part in making known the results of his branch to workers in cognate fields. It was this which led R. H. Lowie to publish his *Crow Indians*,[4] and though the author reiterates that the volume contains little that he had not made known in earlier writings[5] in anthropological journals, it is safe to say that the *Crow Indians* will be read, quoted, and used when other reports on which it is based have been forgotten.

[4]New York: 1935.
[5]*Id.*, p. xi.

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121 128 If I were to investigate and report on the Bella Coola at the present time, I would undoubtedly be influenced by many years of contact with American anthropologists and their work. I would assume a greater knowledge of North-West coast institutions, less interest in the details of ceremonial rites, and it would be impossible not to avoid comparisons with, and observations upon, the theoretical implications of many of the facts recorded. But though every field investigator is strictly objective as to the facts he collects, yet his interests, and his method of presenting them, are coloured by his background; in my case, by the older school of English anthropology. On the whole, I think this is fortunate. It means that the Bella Coola are portrayed as I saw them when I came fresh to a new field, practically uninfluenced by problems of North-West coast culture, and fully prepared to throw myself into their life. They were "my people," not a group in which I was interested because they had, or had not, certain culture traits with which I was concerned. In the course of my teaching experience, furthermore, I have wished repeatedly to give serious students detailed field monographs in which are recorded the interwoven social, religious, and folk-lore concepts of a people, the sum-total of their mental life, collected by one man at one time. This I have tried to do for the Bella Coola.

123 Following the English tradition, I wish to record how this material was collected. Before leaving for British Columbia, [115] I was advised by the late H. I. Smith, who had worked in the area, to talk to Joshua Moody (see Plate 2), an elderly Bella Coola Indian with whom Smith had worked. On explaining to Joshua that I had come to record in permanent form the traditions and lore of *his* people, Joshua grinned broadly and promised his help. Unfortunately, he spoke only a few words of English. I tried interpreter after interpreter, Indian and white, with only fair success, and my difficulties increased with the [464] opening of the canning season and the consequent employment of the younger men and women. I was urged to learn the [122] Chinook jargon, which serves widely as a *lingua franca* on the [198]

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coast, and began the study with much misgiving. The results were surprisingly satisfactory. 123 [122] [198]

After a few weeks I found that I had sufficient knowledge of Chinook to dispense with interpreters and deal directly with the older people, a tremendous advantage. Pride of ancestry is one of the strongest characteristics of the Bella Coola, and once convinced of my sincere interest in and respect for their history, they were willing to talk. They resent the condescension with which most white men regard them, so that contact with one who was friendly and sympathetic came as a pleasant surprise. There were, of course, difficulties. The canning season had begun and every able-bodied man was working away from the village. The conviction of each person that he was the best source of information, and that conferences with another were useless or unreliable, caused distrust. The desire of each informant to discuss only what interested him; the complexity of Bella Coola life itself; the necessity of checking every statement, and the extreme difficulty of doing so on account of discrepancies in the myths of different families; the fear, almost groundless, of each individual that someone else had infringed on his rights by recounting some legend; and, not least, the need for tact, patience, and a sense of humour under all conditions, were some of the obstacles to be surmounted. Nor was Chinook entirely satisfactory. It has enough words for matters pertaining to fishing, hunting, and trading, but for the realms of sociology or theology it is inadequate. This difficulty could not have been overcome without the patient help of my informants. Animated by the desire to help, they used every expedient in the way of parallel and synonym to explain obscure terms. Sometimes a younger man was called in for some abstruse meaning; more often it gradually became clear from different applications. Once the significance of a word was definitely understood, I made a note of it and used it henceforth. A useful vocabulary was thus built up, and conversations were carried on in mixed Bella Coola and Chinook, eked out by whatever English words were known by the person with [181] [464] 124

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124 whom I was working. Before I left, this medley contained so much Bella Coola that it was unintelligible to white people who knew Chinook alone.

Activities in the canneries would have interfered seriously with my work during the summer of 1922 if two men had not [115] been confined to the village, Captain Schooner owing to an injured wrist, and Jim Pollard by the illness of his wife. These two men were willing to work half a day apiece without jealousy. Each was intensely proud of the traditions of his people and, realizing that their culture was passing away, was glad to assist in making it permanent in writing. An intimacy sprang 123 up between Captain Schooner (see Plate 3) and myself culmin- [597] ating in my adoption, a circumstance which established and improved my position in the community. In this way I was enabled to collect a large amount of material before July when it was necessary for me to leave for the east.

In September, 1923, when I returned to Bella Coola, I found that Captain Schooner had died a few months before, respected alike by white men and Indians. With the aid of others with whom I had made contact it was possible to obtain much new information, as well as to clear up many obscure points. The previous summer I had been so overwhelmed with material that I had no time to collate it in the field and the gaps only became apparent after a year's study. The men were so busy hunting and laying in stocks of fire-wood, however, that I found it difficult to arrange regular hours of work, but this was a trifle compared with the initial difficulties of my first trip. In October, when the Bella Coola began to prepare for 123 the winter dances, they had to appoint a successor to Captain 796 Schooner, who had played a leading part in their production. 887 Having been adopted by him, it was suggested that I take his place, a proposition which I readily accepted. This admitted me to the ranks of the old men, and I imagine that my interest encouraged them to hold more ceremonials than they had done for several years. In former times, a number of the older men used to devote much time and thought to the composing, re-

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membering, and rendering of songs; in 1923 it was found that Jim Pollard (see Plate 4) alone had a sufficiently accurate memory to act as announcer. As more and more men wished to perform, he found himself unable to keep the texts in order, and asked me to join the choir as prompter. I held this position for the rest of the winter, taking a full part in every ceremony. Although the old customs had broken down enormously, this actual participation enabled me to understand the winter dances in a manner impossible from mere description. Later on, phonographic records were made of many of the songs used, thus preserving specimens of the fast disappearing music.

My intimate association with the Bella Coola enabled me to collect the material here presented which, having been verified and reverified, I have every reason to believe is correct. Nevertheless, it has one serious defect owing to the lack of acuteness of my ear. I found it almost impossible to differentiate certain sounds; in fact, I sometimes recorded the same word with different spellings. Consequently, I cannot guarantee the accuracy of the native terms used in this monograph. Moreover, I was entirely unable to analyze proper names, which would have been of great value in understanding the attributes of supernatural beings.

When writing up field notes, the realization of my own inefficiency in the recording of sounds tempted me to rely upon the spelling of Boas whenever possible. After considerable hesitation, I rejected this course for the following reason. Ethnological work falls into two categories, descriptive and comparative. This monograph is of the former type, based on actual work in the field and the inclusion of any material from another source would destroy its originality. I believe that a descriptive work should consist exclusively of the author's own research, and I have adhered to this principle in spite of the advantages which would have followed the use of Boas' linguistic terms. For the same reason no attempt has been made to compare the customs and beliefs of the Bella Coola with those of other tribes, although this would undoubtedly have shed

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light on obscure points. That is a task for the comparative student and nothing but confusion would result from such an incorporation in this volume. For the benefit of the reader, footnotes have been inserted referring to *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*[6] by Boas, the most comprehensive description of the tribe. In the field I deliberately disregarded published accounts.

And what of these people, the subject of this book?

The intimate experiences of the second winter in Bella Coola only confirmed my feeling of sadness at the decay of the old arts and crafts. Music, painting, carving, weaving, story-telling, acting, all are passing away. Only a handful of the tribe survives, and of them the younger people ape the white man and have little interest in the lore and customs of their fathers. I know of few sadder experiences than talking with some Bella Coola patriarch and realizing the tragedy which he feels at the termination of his people's culture.

Though the individual may suffer, civilization must press onward and the life of the Indian will soon disappear. With it will pass forever manners, customs, beliefs, rites, and knowledge, data of value to students of man both now and in the future. Every year lessens the amount of information available. In Bella Coola, for example, the death of Captain Schooner left a gap which none could fill. Others must follow him, and within a short time there will be no ethnological work possible in that tribe. A tithe of the people may survive, but their culture, the growth of generations, will have been swept away.

Most of those to whom I am indebted for help in this study have passed away. Dr. A. C. Haddon and Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, both of Cambridge University, who were my mentors in anthropology, are dead; so too is Dr. E. Sapir, former Chief of the Anthropological Division in the National Museum, who gave me instruction in phonetics, and Mr. H. I. Smith, Dominion Archaeologist, to whom are owing most of the photographs re-

[6]Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. II, 1898.

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produced here. I can only place on record my deep obligation and gratitude to each of these four. Dr. D. Jenness, who succeeded Dr. Sapir, was most co-operative. In Bella Coola, I was treated with uniform kindness by the white inhabitants, particularly Mrs. Clayton, Mr. and Mrs. Bert Robson, and Mr. and Mrs. Andy Christensen. 000 [127]

Finally, and most important of all, I wish to express my appreciation to the Bella Coola themselves. Without their generous, kindly and helpful co-operation, this book could never have been written. I came as an uninvited stranger; they treated me as a friend and a guest; and I left with intense regret. My chief friends were Joshua Moody, Captain Schooner, and Jim Pollard, but I was also greatly assisted by Mr. Willie Mack, Mr. and Mrs. Tallio Charlie, and Mr. and Mrs. Lame Charlie. To a host of others I am indebted in only a slightly less extent. The aid and friendship of these men and women is one of my pleasantest memories, and one which I wish to record in all gratitude and appreciation. [115]

In the actual publication of this complicated manuscript, I have likewise been fortunate in receiving co-operation and help. The University of Toronto Press accepted it for publication during the war, facing—and overcoming—the inevitable shortage of materials and of skilled craftsmen. Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining the type for phonetic symbols; to avoid undue duplication all native words, whether proper or common names, have been printed in italics. It is a tribute to the Press that it has completed the work. I am especially indebted to several former members of the editorial staff: Mrs. Hewitt, who supervised the initial editing, and her assistants, Mrs. Hackett and Mrs. Buzek. Mr. Weir, foreman of the composing room of the Press, has surmounted endless difficulties with enthusiasm and ingenuity. I am also grateful to Miss Harman, Associate Editor, who took the responsibility for final production details. Mr. Burns, General Manager of the Press, and Professor Brown, Editor, have both been helpful and co-operative throughout. 128 [104] 000

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000 It is a pleasure to record my indebtedness to my wife for her help in the initial preparation of the manuscript. In the final revision, and in seeing the manuscript through the press, I received painstaking and efficient help from Miss Margaret Thomson, my museum assistant. Miss Catherine McEwen was kind enough to prepare the line drawing of a Bella Coola mask used on the title-page.

T. F. McI.

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6. Looking across the Bella Coola and up a wide valley about three miles from the sea
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8. The tide-flats at the head of North Bentinck Arm

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9. The site of Xemqa-a, with the remains of the old village
10. Mask of Xemqqa, showing his huge hat. Notice the adze marks on the planks in the background
11. A Bella Coola couple with their dogs; the one on the left is a chief
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13. Five-peaked house representing Mount *Nuxpalit*
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16. Eagle down being blown over a *Xaaxé* dancer

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17. Personal possessions laid on a grave
18. Memorial figure and personal possessions on a grave
19. Memorial posts showing crests of the deceased
20. Memorial figures of whale and loon
21. Totem-pole serving as memorial post
22. Memorial post with wooden representations of coppers given away by the deceased
23. Memorial post with model canoe and figures representing slaves
24. Painted sign showing the wealth distributed at a potlatch. The animal figures above represent mountain goats

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PHONETIC KEY[1]

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VOWELS

a, as in *father*
ä, as in *hat*
e, as in *fate*
i, as in *pique*
o, as in *note*
u, as in *rule*
ə, as in *but*
ɔ, as in *not*
ɩ, as in *hit*
ʊ, as in *put*
ə, obscure vowel like *a* in *idea*
°, exponent vowels, voiced but slighted in enunciation. The same device is used for consonants slighted in enunciation.

CONSONANTS

p, t, k, l, m, n, s, w, y, h, r,[2] as in English
q, velar *k*
p', t', k', q', aspirated surds
ṗ, ṭ, ḳ, q̣, glottalized stops
ḳ, anterior palatal *k*
ḳ̣, anterior palatal *ḳ̣*
b, d, intermediate between surd and sonant
ḍ, glottalized intermediate
dj, as in *jam*
c, as *sh* in *shall*
ł, spirantal *l*
tł, *t* + *ł*
ṭł, glottalized *tł*
x, as in Scottish, *loch*
g, velar *n*, as in German, *ack*
ǵ, anterior palatal *n*, as in German, *lick*
ɩ, peculiar *r* sound, apparently velar.

·, for example, *a·*, or *r·*, indicates lengthening of preceding vowel or consonant
', indicates a glottal stop
', indicates aspiration
', indicates accentuation of the syllable so marked.

[1]Based on the simpler system described in *Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages*, (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 66, No. 6, Washington (1916), pp. 3-7).

[2]The *r* sound was used only by one old man and several of his children and grandchildren.

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THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

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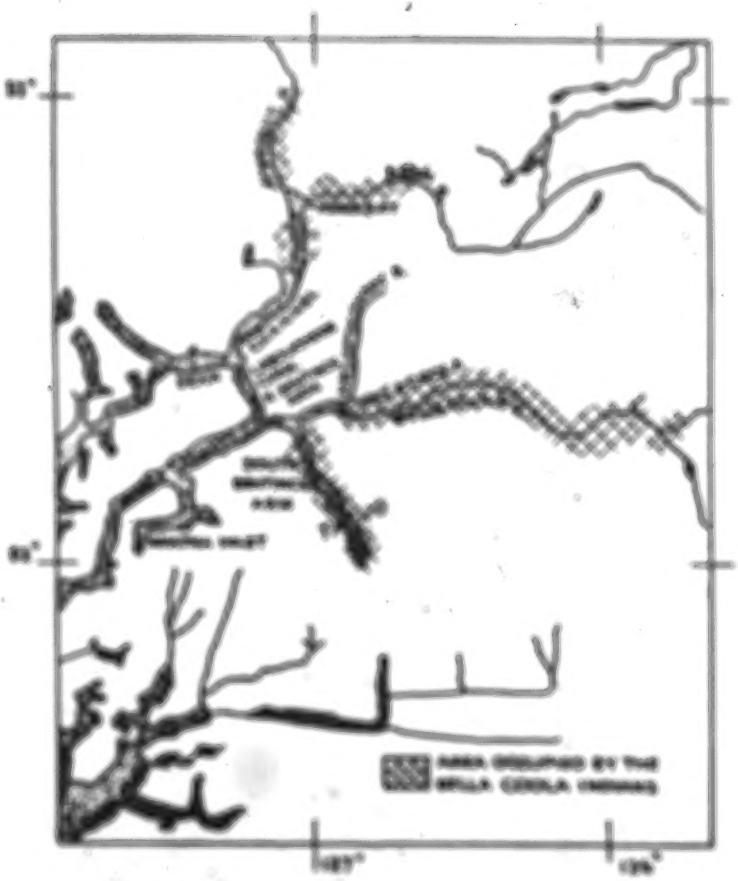

Map of the Bella Coola area

[facing p. 1]

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CHAPTER I

LOCATION AND ENVIRONMENT

Location—Bella Coola Villages—Tribal Organization—Neighbouring Tribes

Location

"BELLA COOLA" is the common designation of those Indians who, until a few years ago, inhabited the valley of the Bella Coola River in central British Columbia. Boas has recorded[1] that the name is a mis-pronunciation of *Bilxula*,[2] a Kwakiutl word of doubtful origin which white pioneers assumed to be the appellation of the people in question. There is no term in their own language to include the groups treated in this monograph. Linguistically, the Bella Coola form an isolated island of Salish-speaking people, separated from others of the same stock by tribes of Athapascan and Kwakiutl lineage.[3] Culturally, they belong to the central section of the North Pacific coast area.[3]

The Bella Coola River rises among the mountainous uplands of central British Columbia. Its two main branches fall rapidly, about forty-five miles from the sea, into two deep gorges which unite, some five miles farther on, to form the valley of the Bella Coola. Down this the river rushes in serpentine curves (see Plate 5). Too shallow and too rapid for the use of large boats, even if such had been known to the Bella Coola, it serves to bear their dug-out canoes, each hewn from some mighty cedar. The valley is never wider than two or three miles and is hemmed in by lofty snow-capped moun-

[1] *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians* (Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, 1898), vol. II, part 2, p. 25. Repeated references will be made to this work, and when Boas is quoted without further description, the reference will be to this memoir.

[2] Pronounced *Bilxwala* by a Kitsepit man endeavouring to quote a Kwakiutl. Boas, p. 26.

[3] Clark Wissler, *The American Indian* (2nd ed., New York, 1922), p. 227.

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133 tains. From each pocket between these mountains an ice-
cold affluent comes swirling down to the main river. The
137 predominant tree in the river valleys is the cedar[4] which in
many cases attains great girth and height. Cottonwoods
flourish in places, and everywhere there is an almost impene-
trable undergrowth of devil's club, berry bushes, and other
shrubbery of almost tropical density. On the lower slopes of
the mountains, moss-festooned pines and spruces are the most
common trees, gradually becoming smaller and fewer until the
133 barren peaks are reached. The mountains rise so precipitously
that their snowcaps and glaciers seem to overhang the valley,
a narrow ribbon of green winding far below. The range of
vision from the bank of the river is limited by the all-encircling
mountains. Here and there a distant vista opens up to expose
peak after peak, but on the whole there is a feeling of confine-
ment, in contrast with the open wastes of the upper country
where the Bella Coola rises. Mountains, forests, flowing water,
these are the three dominant impressions of the country (see
Plate 6).

136 The mammals of central British Columbia, although com-
paratively common, have never been of primary importance.
[291] The marten, the wolverine, the lynx, and bears, both black
and grizzly, were formerly hunted for their skins to serve as
[262] cloaks. Deer were killed whenever possible, but formed a
negligible item of diet. The beaver also was prized for its
[439] flesh. The skins of moose and caribou were traded from the
Carrier Indians, but neither of these animals was found in the
[286] Bella Coola area. The mammal of greatest economic impor-
tance was the mountain goat, the wool of which was woven into
[237] blankets. Smoked goat meat was formerly found in every
[251] house and was almost the only flesh available during the
winter. Small game was abundant, but seals were a luxury.
[262] Neither were birds of great importance to the Bella Coola.
[223] Members of the tribe resident near the sea-coast used to kill

[4]Appendix C contains a glossary of the scientific names of the flora and fauna mentioned in this monograph.

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quantities of ducks and geese, and the inhabitants of the inland villages sometimes made hunting expeditions to the nesting places of wild-fowl in the lakes of the interior uplands. Although numbers of birds were sometimes killed in this way, they were never a steady article of diet. The same is true of grouse. Always plentiful, these birds were commonly killed, but never in large numbers. 223 [136] [262]

The basis of the food supply was fish. The river teemed with salmon, which enabled the country to support its relatively large population. Spring, sockeye, hump-back, dog, and coho salmon, all entered the river in thousands during the spring and summer, while the steel-head could be caught throughout the year. They were taken in weirs and their flesh smoked for winter use. Throughout the year, salmon was the principal article of diet. Second in importance was the oolachen, a fish somewhat resembling a herring, which entered the river in great numbers during April or May. They were taken in purse-like nets,[1] allowed to rot for ten days or two weeks, and then boiled. The grease was skimmed off and kept indefinitely to be used as a relish for other foods. It was always a sign of poverty if a person were obliged to eat herring without oolachen grease. Trout and bull-heads were found in the river, but were not sufficiently plentiful to be of importance. 226 262 [251] [252] [263] [237] [735] [556]

Although no form of agriculture was practised, the Bella Coola used vegetable food to a considerable extent. Berries were abundant; some were eaten raw, but many more were pounded into a pulpy mass and dried in the sun. Cakes prepared in this way kept indefinitely and formed one of the regular winter foods. The bark of the hemlock and cottonwood was eaten, as well as the roots of many plants. In recent years many of these have not been used, so that an investigator is apt to overlook their great importance in early times. Although useless for food, the cedar was the corner-stone of Bella Coola material culture. From its trunk were split out, with wedges, the wide planks which formed 262 [241] [251] [178] 824 322

[1] See Appendix A for a description of oolachen fishing.

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524 their houses. Dishes, benches, cooking-boxes, cradles, totem-
[322] poles, canoes, all were carved from this wood. The bark was
285 woven into baskets, and when dyed formed the most common
[53] ceremonial decoration.
132

Even within the forty miles of the river valley formerly occupied by the Bella Coola there are considerable variations in climate. At the mouth of the river the typical Pacific coast type is found, without great extremes of temperature and with much rain, especially in winter time. During winter, the moisture is precipitated as snow a few hundred feet above the valley, and the limit of the snow can be watched on the mountain slopes, rising or falling a few feet from day to day. Farther up the valley, the winters are colder and in many cases snow lies for weeks on the ground, and in the upper part of the Bella Coola area the winters are severe, although much more moderate than on the upper regions immediately to the east.

173 What has been the history of the inhabitants of this land?
[176] They believe that long, long ago, *Alquntám*, the supreme god, caused their first ancestors to be created in his house, *Nacwátʼa*, in the land above, and sent them down to populate the Bella Coola valley. These first people came in groups of two or three, brothers and sisters, or occasionally man and wife, each group descending, in many cases in animal form, to a certain mountain and then making their home at its foot. They brought with them animals and fish, tools and houses, also the knowledge of ceremonial dances. In fact, they differed from the Bella Coola of the recent past only in having greater supernatural power. These first people increased with extraordinary rapidity, until each group grew into a village, bound together by a knowledge of their first ancestor. In
173 course of time the occupants of certain villages combined, as
361 some increased more rapidly than others, but on the whole each settlement maintained its character of being the descendants of one group of the first settlers of this world.

[175] This mythological belief is a fair picture of Bella Coola life as it was when the first white man visited the valley. Mar-

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173 kenzie, making his memorable overland trip to the Pacific, 361 records coming upon Indian villages at every few miles of his 175 course. Boas describes the way in which the inhabitants of each of these claim to be descended from one group of ancestors.

161 Though it is impossible to estimate the former population of the Bella Coola valley with any degree of accuracy, it must have been in the thousands. In 1922 there were surviving rather more than three hundred individuals, who live in one village on an Indian reserve near the north bank of the Bella Coola River, about a quarter of a mile from the sea. In the last century the [164] tribe was stricken with smallpox, and since then consumption, [177] venereal disease, measles, and other diseases of the white man [182] have taken their deadly toll. Changed conditions of life and decay of the rich ceremonial around which centred their interests in the old days are also contributory factors in their decline. Within the last few years, however, the population has begun to increase.

Bella Coola Villages

361 The following list of Bella Coola villages was obtained. In an effort to learn which had been deserted in recent years, [24] the writer always asked whether or not a town was occupied [175] at the time of Mackenzie's visit, an event of such great interest to the grandparents of the older people that the memory of it is still preserved. Villages said to have been occupied at that time are marked with an asterisk.

133 Three rivers empty into the head of South Bentinck Arm, which is about one mile in width (see Plate 7). The Bella Coola, flowing from the east, enters at the southern edge, and the *Nulqutéuqu-e* winds in from the north to the opposite angle of the head of the fiord. This stream, "The Nearest [103] River" of the Bella Coola, so-called because of its proximity to the sea, is shown on maps as the Nechestaunnay. Between the mouths of these two is the *Ts-eub*, a small stream rising

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133 on the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, east of the Necleetsconnay. Before merging their waters with North Bentinck Arm the three flow more slowly and there are extensive tide-flats (see Plate 8). Several villages formerly clustered around their mouths.

561 (1) *Ẑémux:* on the west bank of the Necleetsconnay about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. Nothing is known of this long-abandoned village of which even the name is uncertain. The mountain that rises behind its site is called *Ẑémux*, and it is supposed that the village had the same designation. Some of the older people state that there was no town, only a temporary hunting station, at this spot.

(2) *Tsiálkmq*, "Short Feet": on the very shore of North Bentinck Arm, west and north of the mouth of the Necleetsconnay. The fiord terminates in a tolerably square end, running north and south, and this town was at the northern edge. It was built on piles and the inhabitants could step to the ground only at low tide. This is the explanation given of the peculiar name, a reference to the curtailed walking space. Long ago it was a large town, but was probably occupied only during the winter. In summer the people are believed to have [166] moved to *Nemdm-u*, "The Place of Flies," on the north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

[712] *(3) *Ałpálxel*, "The Fenced Town," so called because it was stockaded: near the south bank of the *Pe-xub*, about a quarter of a mile from the sea, near the site of the present mission church. It was inhabited until about 1870. According to one informant this village was founded by a certain *Tálxwam*, a descendant of *Tsiatmals*, who decided to move close to the river.

(4) *Tlełp-el*, "Small Mound," so called from the knoll on which it was situated: above *Ałpálxel*, and about one-half mile to the north of the present Bella Coola River. Its site is crossed by the road connecting the Indian village of Bella Coola with the white settlement of the same name.

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(5) *Ánutsqwa·xstl*, "Labretted": the eastern continuation of the last mentioned.[1] The name is explained as follows: 361

One of the people who came to the earth in the beginning of time, *Ťaiakwala* by name, travelled to the Skeena River, and there saw women wearing labrets. On his return to Bella Coola he settled at *Ánutsqwa·xstl* and carved on his totem-pole[2] the figure of a woman with an abalone-shell labret as a memorial of his voyage. Visitors coming to his potlatches named the town from this figure. [173]

This was one of the largest towns in the valley.

?*(6) *Aimä·ts*: a small town to the north of the last, not far from the *Pe·ɜlɔ*. It is assumed that it was founded by a descendant of *Ťaiakwala* named *Aimä·ts*. The consensus of opinion is that it has not been occupied for many years, but one informant recently dug up a clay pipe on the alleged site. 172

*(7) *Slskistl*, "What Has Been Divided": on the south shore of the Bella Coola River about a quarter of a mile from the sea. This village was founded by a certain *Q̓eil*.

*(8) *Qomqo·ts*, meaning doubtful, perhaps "Salty": this, the most populous village of the valley in the recent past, is still inhabited by one or two families. The inhabitants of other towns explain its large population by marriages with slaves. This is the upper, or eastern, continuation of the preceding, and the two in combination formed a row of houses stretching for three-quarters of a mile (see Plate 9). 162 582 567

(9) *Oosskpamx*, "The Treeless Place": on the north side of the Bella Coola, supposedly about half a mile above *Aimä·ts*. This village was long ago deserted.

(10) *Ťcuxlcuwtelpa·ts*, "Where There Is Much *lcuxlcuwtelp*," a kind of hollow-stemmed plant: some distance from

[1] Several towns, each consisting of a single row of houses, are regarded as forming two villages. In such cases there is no visible boundary mark.

[2] The Bella Coola believe that their early ancestors used totem-poles; repeated reference to them will be made, even though the work of Barbeau and others on the recent origin of totem-poles on the North-West Coast indicates that the Bella Coola concepts are not historically accurate. [778]

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361 the north bank of the Bella Coola,* near the lower slope of the mountain, and about three miles from the sea. It is probable that there was a town at this spot very long ago, according to the statement of one old man, and the numerous repositories (II, p.8) in the vicinity support this view.

*(11) *Sınxl*, "Sunny," or "Fallen Sun": on the south side of the Bella Coola opposite the preceding. It was deserted about 1907. This was a fairly large town, though never as big as *Q̣omqo·ts*. The name is derived from Sun, *sınx*, and there [173] are two explanations given for it. One informant states that [178] the name came from the many revelations of the Sun to the first people there; another that the first chief, said to have been named *Stälıımx*, erected a large totem-pole, decorated with the figure of a sun. This blew down, in consequence of which the people called their town *Sınxl*, "Fallen Sun."

*(12) *Sq̣omell:* on the south side of the Bella Coola about three miles from the sea, and a short distance below the end of the present bridge. The meaning of the name is unknown.

*(13) *Tcımotl*, "Where the River Is Sufficiently Deep to Cover the Stones, but Shallow Enough for Rapids": the upper continuation of the last-named. It was deserted during the [164] smallpox epidemic. The name of the chief who came there [173] at the beginning of time was given as *Tswakilak*.

(14) *Sno'oniqwlx*, "On the Point": on a curving promontory on the south bank of the river about four miles from the sea. It was long ago swept away when the river changed its course.

(15) *Nu'exmäq*, "The Place of Foul Water": on the north [133] bank of the Bella Coola a little above the preceding, at a place where there were a number of stagnant pools between the river and the mountains. No one knows how long ago this town was abandoned; but as the names of people living there figure in stories which are said to be of no great antiquity, it

[133] *The river frequently changes its course, so that village sites now at a considerable distance from it may once have been on its banks.

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was probably deserted not many years ago. Probably a large town since it was a good fishing place. 361

(16) *Ṫsılkt*, "Bald Eagle": also on the north shore of the river, a little above the last-named. Probably washed away by a flood long ago, although traces of the salmon-weir were still visible recently. [226]

(17) *Nuqäxmäts*, "The Place of Much *qäxmäts*" (the fern *Asplenium cyclosorum*): on the north side of the river about one mile above the preceding. This large town is believed to have been deserted long ago, though, in apparent contradiction, traces of it are said to be still visible. [137]

*(18) *Snulɜli*, "The Place of Dog Salmon": on the south bank, above the last-named, at a place where a small stream enters the Bella Coola River; this divided the town into two sections. It was long deserted and the river has carried away that part of the village below the creek. The name is derived from an enormous dog salmon which is believed to have been seen at long intervals in a waterfall near this spot, always with a water ouzel perched on its back. [825]

(19) *Oq̣mikımx:* on the lower end of the island near Hagenburg post office, eleven miles from the ocean. Although long deserted, traces of this village can still be seen. The meaning of the name is unknown.

*(20) *Nukils*, "The Place of the Whirlpool": on the south side of the river, eleven and a quarter miles from the sea. It was a village of moderate size, recently abandoned. The first occupant was said to have been *Łkamkila*, which means, "The First of All." [173]

*(21) *Äsän-än-i*, "The Concave Town," so called because it spread around the shore of a bay scooped out by the Bella Coola: south side, slightly above the influx of the *Nusälsım* River, thirteen and a quarter miles from the sea. It was deserted about 1880.

*(22) *Nusq̣alst*, "The Place of *Sq̣alstutl*": on the north side of the river, opposite the mountain of the same name. It also was deserted about 1880. *Sq̣alstutl* is a kind of stone suit- [316]

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361 able for axes, which occurs in the valley of a small stream on
[316] the slope of the mountain.

*(23) *Nulleax*, "The Place Where There Are No Falls": an affluent from the north enters the main Bella Coola about thirty-one miles from the sea and the town was located on this creek about two hundred yards above its junction with the Bella Coola. The ruins of this moderately large town were still
[175] standing about 1870. Mackenzie reached the Bella Coola River at this place. At the time of his arrival the population was
[166] larger than usual, because the salmon-weir had withstood
[226] some heavy freshets which had destroyed several weirs on the Bella Coola, and driven the inhabitants of other villages to *Nulleax*.

[133] It is said that the affluent at *Nulleax*, the stream *Xaiqts*, is the only one in the whole Bella Coola valley that does not drop precipitously into a ravine leading to the main river. Its source is a spring at the end of a pocket-like valley, at the base of steep cliffs, but it does not fall down these. The town is named from this circumstance. The area around the spring is called *Nusnāxunxkt*, and it is said that some families living on the Skeena sing of it as the spot where their first ancestors came to earth, although their descendants do not know where it is located.

*(24) *Stuux:* on the point between the *La'xulx* (Atnarko) and *Sla·kl* (Whitewater) rivers which join to form the Bella Coola. This, the most populous of the upper river towns, was deserted not long ago. The meaning of the name is unknown.

(25) *Qwlisstl*, "The Place of Herbage": on the north side of the Atnarko River, a few hundred yards above the forks. This small town was deserted many years ago. The name was
[137] given on account of the hill behind the village being covered with a rank growth of plants and small bushes, but no trees.

(26) *Snuhlstl*, "The Place of Falls," so called from the
[133] strong rapids of the Atnarko at this point: on the north side of the river about ten miles from the forks. This large town
[173] was long ago deserted when a large rock in the midst of the

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stream, on which the salmon-weir rested, was carried away.[10] 361

The following village may be included with the above: [173]

(27) *Nusxeq:* on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, to the east of the creek that flows into it at Green Bay. This long-deserted village was built so close to the ocean that high tides reached almost to the houses. According to one informant, the name was derived from that of the first chief sent down from above to that spot; while another connected it, etymologically, with *Nusx*, the name of the barren district some four and a half miles up the valley of the creek. In recent years this village site has been used only as a summer camp. [173]

The name given to the Bella Coola valley is *Nuxälk*; that given to the inhabitants of the valley, excluding those of village no. 27, is *Nuxälkmx*.[11] 101 103

Two points must be considered with regard to the above list of towns: In the first place, can it be regarded as an accurate list, or do the towns belong to the realm of mythology? In the second place, are the customs and beliefs of the inhabitants of the different towns sufficiently similar to be described without reference to local differences? 128 173 361

The first question is difficult to answer. The Bella Coola undoubtedly consider the existence of these towns to be an historical fact, but so do they regard the peopling of the earth by men created in the land above. Nevertheless, the above list appears to be substantially correct. The Bella Coola, although now collected into a single village, still remember their ancient homes. One man, for example, stated as a matter of course that he was a man of *Snubli*. Further inquiry elicited the information that he had been born at *Sinxl*, where his father had moved at the time of the smallpox epidemic. It later appeared that my informant's father was born at *Tsmoil*, had married there, and that it was his father who had moved [164] [166]

[10] This explanation may be only legendary.

[11] Boas, p. 69, states that *Nuxälk* is only applied to the lower villages of the valley. All the writer's information was contrary to this view. [114]

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128 from *Snuhli*. My informant's grandchildren regard them-
173 selves as *Snuhli* boys, and their names are embodied in myths
361 of that village, although their forbears have not lived there
166 for five generations. There is no reason to suppose this case exceptional. Other instances were obtained of movements of people from one village to another at earlier times, and there seems no cause to doubt the general accuracy of these. Names
[554] embodied in the origin myths of different towns are used as prerogatives and have been potent factors in keeping their memory alive. Uncertainties and inaccuracies there must be in the foregoing list, but on the whole it appears to be fairly reliable, since few contradictions were received from different informants.

128 Accounts obtained of the same ceremonies from the descen-
184 dants of people of different villages were found in most cases to be identical. There were a few differences in custom between
[796] the people of *Stuix* and those of the other upper valley towns on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the lower valley on
[101] the other. These will be mentioned when necessary, but on the whole the inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley can be considered as a tribal entity.

114 Boas (p. 48) gives a list of Bella Coola towns which agrees
361 fairly well with the above. Among his villages are included *Peɔsb* (no. 4), *Nulqustkwan-e* (no. 7), and *Nusälsum* (no. 16).[11] All the older people agreed that these are the names of streams, though settlements located on them may have been known by the same designations. Names of the five villages recorded by Boas, nos. 6, 8, 9, 19, and 24, were not known by several old men questioned on the subject.

101 The villages of the Bella Coola valley did not form a political
619 unit; each was independent. A common language was spoken throughout and the inhabitants of the different towns recog-
[631] nized that their origins and customs were similar. This was
[197] also recognized to be the case with regard to the people living on South Bentinck Arm, and at the head of Dean Channel.

[11] Using in each case the spelling of this monograph.

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Indians from both of these areas were interviewed and it was found that, except for minor details in certain beliefs, their customs were identical with those of the Bella Coola proper. Accordingly, in this monograph, the term "Bella Coola" will be taken to include the inhabitants, not only of that valley, but of South Bentinck Arm and the head of Dean Channel. Those living on South Bentinck Arm will be referred to as *Täl·io* people, the Bella Coola term for them; those of Dean Channel as Kimsquit, the name by which they are generally known. It is an anglicized form of the word *Kimgkwut*, meaning "Canyon," by which the Bella Bella designate the people of Dean River. 101 619

VILLAGES ON SOUTH BENTINCK ARM

(28) *Sätlia:* on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the point that marks its junction with North Bentinck Arm. Food was obtained from an ocean fish-trap.[11] Long deserted except as a summer camp. 361 [226]

(29) *Qankilst*, "Island": east side of South Bentinck Arm, slightly north of the island opposite the Hot Springs on the west side of the fiord. The town took its name from this island. In summer the numerous inhabitants lived immediately opposite it, at a place where they had an ocean salmon-trap; in winter they moved to a fortified spot at the base of a mountain slightly farther to the north. This village was blotted out by a landslide one spring long ago, and the few survivors were unable to re-establish it. [133] [226] [221] [731]

*(30)[12] *Tsaoltmem:* on the east side of the fiord about four miles above the last-named. A small town, whose inhabitants lived on the catch from their ocean fish-trap; it was recently deserted. [226]

[11]Ocean fish-traps work as follows:—A pen is made by a series of stakes, into which the salmon enter at high tide. It is then closed and, as the falling tide lays bare the mud, the imprisoned fish can be scooped out by hand or in hand-nets.

[12]Mackenzie did not visit either South Bentinck Arm, or Kimsquit, but it will be convenient to continue the use of asterisks to mark those towns which are said to have been inhabited at that time. [175]

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361 (31) *Ḳxdis*, "Ocean Fish-Trap": on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the *Nuk"* River. [226] It is doubtful whether this was a town, or merely a camping place of the people of *Nuk"* when using their salmon-trap.

*(32) *Nuk":* on a raised mound at the south side of the mouth of the *Nuk"* River, which enters the head of South [731] Bentinck Arm from the east. The meaning is unknown. This [164] was a populous town until the inhabitants were decimated by an epidemic of smallpox.

*(33) *Täl·io:* on the west side of the mouth of the river of the same name which flows into South Bentinck Arm from the south. The location of this village was constantly changed, [133] owing to destructive variations in the course of the river. It was formerly a large town, and has been deserted only since 1900. This village had another name, *Ṭqwantlos*, "Facing," so called because its houses faced those of the town of *Nuk"*.

*(34) *Ȧs·ux"*, "At the Head": at the head of South Bentinck Arm there is a bay running south-west, into the upper end of which a small stream empties. The trail leading to the [487] lake at the head of Rivers Inlet follows this valley. *Ȧs·ux"* was located on this creek, at some little distance from the ocean; the name was derived from the geographical location of the town. It has not long been deserted and must have been a populous place to judge from the numerous repositories (II, p. 8).

(35) *Ḳwapx:* on the east side of the mouth of a creek flowing into the bay at the head of South Bentinck Arm, from the south. This town was of moderate size. The meaning of the name is unknown. It is thought to be in the Rivers Inlet language.

VILLAGES AT KIMSQUIT

[133] Two rivers, the Dean from the east, and the Kimsquit from the north, flow into the head of Dean Channel, and the villages of this area can be grouped according to the two rivers.

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Villages near the Dean River 361

*(36) *Anuthlx:* the present site of the Kimsquit Indian village near the mouth of Dean River. The meaning of the name could not be learnt.

*(37) *Nulal*, "Canyon": on the shore of Dean River at the bottom of the canyon. This large town was only recently deserted.

(38) *Ăqet·i*, "Occupied Mound": on the south side of Dean River about one mile from the sea. This small town was deserted many years ago. The name is derived from the small mound on which it was built.

*(39) *Nutsqwalt*, "Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": on south side of Dean River, about one and a quarter miles from the sea. A large town recently deserted.

*(40) *Nusqāpts*, "Place of Many Spring Salmon": on south bank about twenty-five miles from the sea. This spot was not settled when people first occupied this world, but later *Ăkqun-tăm* (I, p. 330) took possession of it. [173]

(41) *Ixwink:* east side of river twenty-eight miles from the sea. There is doubt about this town. It is said to have been a colony of the Kimsquit River settlement, a statement difficult to understand.

(42) *Siwal·ot*, "Where Canoes Are Left": on the north side of the river about thirty-five miles from the sea. Immediately opposite was *Sulkelta*, "Winter Trail." These two are considered as forming one town, but were probably never more than camping grounds at the spot where the winter trail to the interior left the river. It is possible, however, that they formed a town, since the names of the alleged first settlers in the beginning of time are preserved. [487] [173]

*(43) *Ăskha:* at Salmon House on the upper Dean River.

The history of the villages on the upper Dean is puzzling. Mythological accounts of their founding were obtained, and some of the older people stated that they had been occupied until recent years. On the other hand, there are apparently 174

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

174 reliable traditions of Carrier settlements there. The probable explanation is that the Bella Coola formerly extended over the area, either in actual fact or according to mythology, but were supplanted by the Carriers.

175 The Dean River is called *Nalsl*, and the generic name for the people of the Dean valley is *Satslmq*. About eighty years [101] ago a smallpox epidemic so reduced the villages on the Kima- [164] quit that the survivors abandoned them and moved to the [731] Dean. At that time a certain Kimsquit man is believed to have said: "We will take their places and kill even their dogs."

Since that time, the joint settlement has suffered one [164] epidemic after another, until a mere handful of the people [731] survive, and they are almost entirely descended from the Kimsquit River immigrants. Within the last few years, these have requested permission from the Bella Coola to abandon Kimsquit entirely and live among them. The two groups have [628] always been on the best of terms, but the Bella Coola have not forgotten the fate of the Dean River people and have been unwilling to admit the Kimsquit survivors.

Villages on the Kimsquit River, Sä-tsk'

361 *(44) *Sä-tsk':* this large and important town, at the mouth of the river, was deserted at the time of the smallpox epidemic.

*(45) *Nurwlst:* this settlement can be grouped with the last-mentioned, although situated on the shore of Dean Channel, at the site of the present Manitou Cannery, six miles away. No meaning of the name is known.

Tribal Organization

619 The subject of this monograph is the people of the above forty-five villages. They will be referred to as a *tribe*, and as this term is customarily limited to a political unit, a brief justification for its use is necessary.

342 Each Bella Coola village consisted of a single row of houses, 361 built along the shore of a river or the ocean. The front doors

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

opened out on to a wooden platform, which served as sidewalk 342
and extended from one end of the settlement to the other. 361
The outer side of this structure was always supported on piles; in fact, in many cases, the houses as well as the whole sidewalk were thus raised from the ground. This type of construction was necessitated by the sloping sites of the villages, but had the added advantage of being a protection against attack. The villages differed in size from insignificant settlements of three to four houses, to ones with twenty or thirty, each containing several families. The ease with which the red cedar could be split and worked into large planks made possible the construction of these large, rectangular houses which, with their horizontally laid walls and sloping roofs, presented a picture of stability and relative comfort superior to that of most Indian habitations.

Each village was practically an independent political unit. 631
Neighbouring settlements had many common interests which 628
threw them into contact with one another, but there was no organized cohesion between the towns of the Bella Coola valley, or between those of *Tăl-ĕo* and Kimsquit. There was still less to draw these three groups together. There was no supreme chief and no governmental meeting of the tribe as a whole. Not only were the three divisions not bound to support one another in war, they were often at loggerheads among themselves. Indeed, bloodshed between towns of the Bella Coola valley itself was not uncommon. Moreover, each group tended to merge with its neighbours. The *Tăl-ĕo* people frequently married with the Rivers Inlet and the Bella Bella; 563
the Kimsquit with the *xŭdzep** of Dean Channel and the Kitlope 648
of Gardner Canal; and the Bella Coola of the upper valley with the Carriers.

In spite of these inconsistencies, the application of the word 619
tribe is justifiable for the following reasons:

A. Language. All spoke the same language. There were dialectical differences among the people of Bella Coola, [197]
Tăl-ĕo, and Kimsquit, but each group could understand the

*It could conveniently symbolize, capital ĕ has not been used.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

619 others. This differentiated them clearly from all neighbouring
[197] tribes.

B. Ceremonial. A member of a secret society in any of
[575] the above towns was accepted as a member in any other one.
[609] A person of another tribe, even if known to belong to a comparable society, was treated as an uninitiated person.

C. Origin and Religion. The people of Bella Coola, *Tal-io*, and Kimsquit felt themselves to be akin through acceptance of the fact that their ancestors had been created together in the beginning of time. This marked them off with
[771] great clearness from all other tribes, especially from the Carriers of the interior. This belief formed a sentimental and religious bond of great strength.

Neighbouring Tribes

648 It is desirable to describe, briefly, the tribes with which the Bella Coola came in contact.

The Carriers

East of Bella Coola, amid the mountains of the interior, roved the Carriers. In summer they often came down to the river valley to fish or trade for salmon, and in winter they were sometimes forced by cold and starvation again to visit the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, or Rivers Inlet people. There was a
[563] good deal of intermarriage between them and the inhabitants of the upper valley, so that the wanderers were able to spend the cold months with relatives. None the less, the Bella Coola
[180] considered these people utterly foreign in habits and beliefs,
[578] and to call a man a "Carrier" was, and still is, a deadly insult. The Carriers lacked the rich ceremonial life of the coastal peoples who, therefore, regarded them with scorn and con-
[796] tempt. The presence of a few of the much-despised Carriers was, however, almost necessary to the correct performance of the winter dances since they were uninitiated spectators whom it was necessary to impress and delude.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NES Bellacoola NES
Bella bella NES

THE BELLA BELLA

West of Bella Coola lived the Bella Bella, known as *ápulázmq*. Although linguistic differences prevented free exchange of ideas, and active hostility was not unknown, there was considerable intermarriage between the two tribes. The Bella Coola recognized the similarity of culture between them; in fact, whereas a Carrier was despised for lack of knowledge of ceremonial and dramatic matters, a Bella Bella was respected for his superior lore in that respect. The Bella Coola believe that many of their rites have been obtained from them.

The chief Bella Bella villages are said to have been: *Ṡpuéna*, on "Kwatna" Bay; *Nź'ma*, at "Nama"; *Ṡpeiyai*, four miles from the last-mentioned; *Nalum*.

At *Ṡpuéna*, the nearest settlement, so many of the people spoke Bella Coola that it was practically bilingual. There had been so many intermarriages for generations that the people were not considered foreigners; in fact, Boas includes it among Bella Coola villages (p. 48). There were seven villages on Kwatna Inlet and the Kwatna River which flows in from the south-east.

(1) *Ṡiwalkamitl*, "Where It Spoke": a small outpost on the eastern shore of Kwatna Inlet near the entrance. There may once have been a permanent settlement at the site, but for many years it was used only as a look-out station when raiders were expected.

It is said that on one occasion, long, long ago, a party of Kwatna people was encamped at this spot, waiting for enemy raiders whose approach had been reported. They did not appear when expected and one of the watchers, wearied by the long wait, said to the genital organs of one of his female companions who had annoyed him:

"Tell us what is going to happen."

"You will all be killed to-morrow," answered a rumbling voice from the organs, to the great amusement of everybody.

So it transpired. The hostile raiders surprised the watchers the next day and only one escaped to tell the tale.

The place has since been known as, "Where It Spoke." It was long ago deserted.

1:McDewaith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola
Bellabella NES

[96] [173] Another version of the same incident relates that a voice came from a woman's arm to warn the party of their approaching doom, without a question having been addressed to it. The settlement was abandoned in consequence.

*(c) *Ape i*, "Occupied Mound": on an island in Kwatna Inlet. One elderly man stated that the ruins were still standing within his father's life-time. This village was peculiar in [74] having separate burial-grounds for chiefs and commoners.

(d) *Nuklipulind*, "Place of Many Boulders": a large pile-built village on the shore of Kwatna Inlet, north and east of the mouth of the river. At high tide the ocean penetrated under the stagings and swirled among the many boulders there from which the town was named. It is said that there was some friction between the people living at either end of the village, and that a ditch was dug to separate the hostile sections. The place was long ago deserted.

(e) *Awatos*, "House of Tiers": on the east and north side of the Kwatna River about half a mile from its mouth. A [142] large, semi-subterranean house with many platforms stood in the centre of the village, from which its name was derived. The place was long ago deserted.

(f) *Awakw-lit*, "The Place of Big Stones in the River": on the same side of the river, about three miles above the last-named. It was a large town in the distant past. The situation was at a place where the river was very dangerous, with large boulders projecting above the surface of the water.

*(g) *Wakwas*: about a mile above the preceding, on the same side of the river, immediately above a small creek. This [164] town was deserted at the time of the smallpox epidemic. The meaning is unknown, and it is thought the name, *Wakwas*, is in the Bella Bella language.

*(h) Name unknown. The largest town at *Snaiss* was about one-half mile above the preceding, where the river forks. It was practically wiped out at the time of the smallpox epidemic.

[164] [173] [22] [142] At each of these river villages was a salmon-weir which furnished the chief article of diet.

McIlwraith E-5 (1911-1914)1948
NES Bellacoola NES
Bellabella NES

THE *ustaw*.[1]

Before the smallpox epidemic, about 1862, there were towns on the fords and villages of Dean Channel between Kimsquit and Bella Bella. The inhabitants were called *ustaw* by the Bella Coola, and *ustaiy* by the Bella Bella. Their settlements were at Elcho Harbour, Green River, Cascade Inlet, and at several unidentified places. Their language is said to have differed slightly from that of the Bella Bella, but the people themselves married freely with both Kimsquit and Bella Bella, thus forming a connecting link between these tribes.

A list of *ustaw* towns was obtained from one old man, who claimed to be a descendant of the people. It was impossible to verify this information, and since he himself was not an ideal informant, the following can be regarded only as approximately correct.

(1) *Ilkw*: at Elcho Harbour.

(2) *Kilo'o*: on a ford one mile above the last-named.

(3) *Ilkk* or *Yuqwa*: on a river three miles above the preceding.

(4) *Nawaid'a*: on a river two miles above the preceding.

(5) *Nuqual*: on a ford three miles above the preceding.

(6) *'Ouilow*: on a ford three miles above the preceding.

(7) *Iarwalk*: on a river two miles above the last-named and thirty miles below Kimsquit.

According to the old man from whom the above list was obtained, *Nawalc*, at Kimsquit, recorded earlier as village no. 45, was also populated by *ustaw* people. There was so much intermarriage between the two groups that it is now impossible to ascertain whether the inhabitants not only of *Nawalc*, but of *Iarwalk* as well, were predominantly Kimsquit or *ustaw*.

The open plateau in which the Bella Coola River rises has always made travel possible for long distances, so that not only

1 ['Bellacoola' term for the people of mixed Bellabella - Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of 'Dean Channel' - See D. McIlwraith, Ms. 16, p.54 - Analyst]

McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NF5

the neighbouring Carriers, but Chilkotin as well sometimes descended to the valley. On the coast, though the dense underbrush prevented travel along the shore, the long fiords, sheltered from the open Pacific, were ideal for the use of canoes.[16] Comparatively lengthy journeys were neither difficult nor uncommon. The *Tsi'is* people were usually on amicable terms with the inhabitants of Rivers Inlet, and the Kimsquit with the Kitlope. The Bella Coola were accustomed to attend potlatches at Alert Bay and Fort Rupert,[17] Knight's Inlet, and Bute Inlet, receiving their hosts, in turn, at Bella Coola. On the other hand, there was little friendly intercourse with the northern tribes, of which the Kitkatla especially were dreaded by the residents of the central coast. Until recent years the Bella Coola had no direct knowledge of other Salish-speaking peoples, although some of the Chilkotin told them of a tribe living far to the south, in the interior, whom they encountered in some of their wanderings and used to term *Nuxálkmy*, recognizing the similarity between their language and that of the Bella Coola. A few years ago several Bella Coola attended a boarding-school and were amazed to find that many of their words were understood by fellow-students from Chilliwack.

To sum up: The Bella Coola were in close contact with the neighbouring coastal tribes, with the members of which they felt themselves to have cultural affinities. They recognize that they have received many ceremonial rites from their neighbours, and must have adopted other elements of culture which they now consider indigenous. It is probable that certain Bella Coola customs must likewise have been transmitted to other tribes, but such lie without the scope of this monograph. The outlying villages were in close contact with foreign neighbours, and tended to assimilate elements of their culture, but, on the whole, the Bella Coola present a tribal unity with distinctive local customs, falling within the general pattern of coastal culture.

[16] For types of canoes, see Appendix A.
[17] The principal Kwakiutl villages.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

CHAPTER II

RELIGION

The Universe—Supernatural Beings—Supernatural Elements in Human Beings—Means of Propitiation

The Universe

ONE of the subjects about which Bella Coola philosophers pondered in former times, and about which definite information has come down to the present generation, is the universe. The young people, who have absorbed a certain amount of education from the white man, are scornful of the beliefs of their fathers, but it was possible to obtain the following information from a few of the older men and women. 772 [177]

They say that the earth is circular and flat, like an island. What it rests upon is problematical, though the assumption is that it is water. The world is kept from capsizing by the supernatural being, *Sninia*, who lives amid the ice in the far north; he grasps a rope to which the earth is fastened, and he keeps it steady by maintaining a tension on the rope to hold the world against his feet. Long, long ago *Sninia* was seen by human beings, but in later years no one has penetrated to his distant home and the Bella Coola have little regard for him. It was in the distant past, also, that human beings discovered the earth to be round, after certain semi-supernatural men had made a circuit of it. The four corners of space have not the same importance to the Bella Coola as they have, for example, to the Indians of the Plains. It is only through questioning that the investigator learns that the East is regarded as the top of the world, the South is the sun at its zenith, the West is the bottom, and the North is nothing, merely the opposite to the south. These beliefs play little part in the lives of the people. [796] [823]

Above our earth stretches an inverted dome, its edges resting on those of the world. This dome, the sky, is called

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bella Coola Nuh

772 *cosq'*. If the Bella Coola were strictly logical, one should expect them to conceive the upper surface of *cosq'* as being convex. Instead, it is considered a flat surface, very similar to the earth, and no explanation is given of what fills in the space between the dome, concave as viewed from this world, and the upper plane which could rest only on the peak of the dome. But logical accuracy is not a Bella Coola characteristic. This flat land is called *skiwa'ši* or *nacosq' nemalhqmil*. It is illuminated by a second sun, shining on it as the sun does on the earth. Far in the east of this upper region are extensive tide-flats. This land above is the home of many supernatural beings, who will be described in due course. The relative position of the sun to this upper world is ill-defined. According to some accounts, it travels by clearly marked trails on the surface, and a transparent dome is postulated to explain how its light reaches this earth. Others state that it moves like a bird or flying canoe through the space between the world and the dome-sky above. On many of these points there is a striking difference of opinion, which the Bella Coola explain by saying that their information is derived from ancient stories, which are personal possessions, and that no one knows the beliefs of his fellows. A co-ordinated theology, as Boas points out, has not evolved among the Bella Coola.

[871] [921] [538] [424]

772 773 [776] The sky, as it may be called if the reader will bear in mind that it is the underside of a flat land, was not always in its present condition. The Bella Coola say that long ago the supreme god instructed his Carpenters (I, p. 31) to make a sky. They started from the eastern extremity of the earth, but after a considerable part of the dome had been erected, it fell with a thunderous crash, because no supporting posts had been set up. The part that escaped this calamity is called *Sałwalkwas*. Undiscouraged, the Carpenters continued their work with the assistance of posts and so built the sky as it is seen today. Then the supports were taken away.

772 [921] As already stated, a sun shines on the land above. As that sun by morals is attached to the land above, so is this upper

1:66:Dwelth E-5 (922-924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

one reached to another land above the one of which our sky is the underside. Boas (p. 41) has described this upper land in some detail. A number of Bella Coola were questioned on this subject, but for some time no one could be found with knowledge of its existence. At length one of the older people remembered that a man who had died some thirty years ago had a personal story connected with it, and later a Kimsquit man was able to furnish definite information. He explained that in his family there was a myth dealing with this matter; others might have heard this myth, but since it was not their property, of course they would not be able to impart the facts contained in it, nor would they necessarily believe in. Consequently, an upper land, superimposed above that which is immediately over the earth, cannot be described as a Bella Coola belief; it is shared, so far as could be ascertained, by only two families.

The chief feature of this uppermost world is its distance and unapproachableness. To the supernatural beings living in the intermediate land it is a *far-off* place; in fact, their attitude towards it corresponds to that with which mortals regard the land above their own. The supernatural ones can, when they wish, visit this upper world, which is called *Nagwalcili*. A sun shines there, but it is a different kind of sun from that known to mortals. On the whole it appears that this upper sky-land does not differ materially from either the earth or the land immediately above. No human being has ever reached this distant land, so what little is known about it was brought down in the beginning of time by the first people.

In addition to these two upper worlds, the Bella Coola know of one, or perhaps two, below. One of these is inhabited by ghosts.[1] It somewhat resembles the earth, but is unsubstantial and ethereal. It is considered to be immediately

[1] On the present view the Bella Coola are in a state of transition between the old beliefs and the new. This concept is held only by the older people, so it might be more accurate to describe it as one which they, the older ones, used to have. It has been thought advisable to use the present tense throughout in recording customs and beliefs which are now rapidly passing away.

1:McDowell E-3 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEA

beneath the Bella Coola valley, and the land of the living forms a dome over it corresponding to that of the sky over this world. But everything is reversed. A river flows in the land of ghosts, but it rises in the west instead of the east; when it is warm on this earth it is cold in the land below; when it is sunrise here, it is sunset there. Shamans are believed to have penetrated frequently to this land, and on information from them the Bella Coola base their beliefs.

There is another land beneath the ocean. In this live the fish and sea mammals in human form, as well as other beings to be described in the next section of this chapter. Like all other worlds it has a sun above it,[1] and conditions are said to be similar to those existing on this earth. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether this undersea world is at the same level as the land of ghosts, and whether or not it extends beneath the rivers.

Although Bella Coola concepts regarding the sun and other heavenly bodies will require further consideration, it will be convenient at this point to describe them in outline. The sun is regarded as a heat-radiating ball of such intensity that a human being cannot approach it. Its path, as it crosses the land above, varies from day to day until it reaches its limits at the solstices. As it travels, it is accompanied by the drowning of two *Sisiúlas*, supernatural feminine beings who remain continually, one in the east and one in the west. According to most informants, the ends of the sun's course, though fixed and invariable from year to year, are not marked by any visible means. Others state that at each limit there is the mouth of a *cuang*, a mythological animal of enormous size.

The moon is thought likewise to travel[2] each day but is said to be very cold. Few stories are current concerning it, although the Bella Coola say that long ago a man tried to reach it, only to be driven back by the intense cold. A shaman who died not many years ago claimed to have received power

[1] One informant stated that sun was served that purpose.
[2] The *Sisiúlas* drown as it travels, as they do for the sun.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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PLATE I

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Mouth of the Bella Coola valley looking east

[p 26 (A)]

I: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 2

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142
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302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Joshua Moody

[p 26 (B)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 3

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142
302
291

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Captain Schooner

[y 26 (c)]

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 4

115
142
291
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Jim Pollard

[#26 (0)]

PLATE 5

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

On the Bella Coola about ten miles from the sea

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

[ナスル(E)]

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1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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PLATE 6

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Looking across the Bella Coola and up a side valley about three miles from the sea

[p.26 (F)]

1:McDerrabb E-5 0922-1924/5948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 7

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Looking down North Bentinck Arm. The river on the right is the Necleetsconnay, the Bella Coola enters at the extreme left.

[ナ26(C)]

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L. McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

The tide-flats at the head of North Bentinck Arm

[p 26 (xy)]

1:McDowalth E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

from the moon and stated that there were mountains and snow on it. It is commonly stated that the marks on the moon represent a man carrying a bucket.

The stars figure but slightly either in Bella Coola mythology or thought; it is not even known who made them. Two in the Great Bear constellation are called respectively *Tpikoia* and *Xwpoma*, "Little Girls." A lone star in the same part of the sky, named *A'lse*, is said to be following the girls to the forest for illicit intercourse.

Moon, stars, and above all the sun, were, and still are to a certain extent, used by the Bella Coola in computing the passage of time. There are no individuals with the definite prerogative of keeping count of time, but formerly wise old men used to do so.[9] Differences of opinion were the rule rather than the exception, a condition which often led to bitter disputes concerning the proper date for starting the winter ceremonials. Boas (p. 41) has recorded the Bella Coola calendar in greater detail than the present writer has been able to do. The making of calendrical observations is a lost art, and the following list of the months was all that could be learnt. It will be noted that these agree with Boas in regard to the months in the early part of the year, but not in those between the summer and winter solstices; no explanation is offered for this disparity.

First moon after the summer solstice: *Sikâlamuk*, which has the significance, "The Time for Sockeye Salmon to Ascend the River."

Second moon after the summer solstice: *S'ûlulûl*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon."

Third moon after the summer solstice: *S'ûmai ûl*, "The Time for Eating Coho Salmon."

Fourth moon after the summer solstice: *Sipâlpam*, "The Time for Gathering Fern Root," or *Sûlulmai ûl Ewûlûmulûs*,

9. Kimsquit informant stated that there were professional calendrical experts in his home when he was a young lad although members of the healer society (ch. chap. 4) sometimes attended to this matter.

"The Coming of *Ewi'ilmulnain*."[4]

Fifth moon after the summer solstice: *ussiuil*, "The Time for Easier Dances,"[5] or *Sipalemain di Sisi*, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings."

Sixth moon after the summer solstice: *Sisnu*, "Sits Down," that is, when the sun reaches the solstice.

First moon after the winter solstice: *Sowulmgwum*, "What Swings Away Food," or *Sulili*, "Angry Moon."

Second moon after the winter solstice: *Mnsuidiwut*, "Facing in Both Directions," that is, half the month belongs to winter and half to summer, or *Lumulu di Nuuiddmg*, "The Potlatch of the *Nuuiddmg*" (I, p. 184).

Third moon after the winter solstice: *Sinjum*, "When Herrings Spawn." These fish are said to have arrived on the same day of this moon as the winter solstice in the December sun.

Fourth moon after the winter solstice: *Sipalp*, "Time for Making Salmon Weirs."

Fifth moon after the winter solstice: *Sinowud*, "Time for Making Hand-Nets for Oolachan."

Sixth moon after the winter solstice: *Sicdwl*, "Time for Eating Spring Salmon." It is in this month that the summer solstice occurs.

The chief difficulty experienced by the Bella Coola in computing time rests on the fact that each month is judged by the moon, whereas the main periods of the year depend upon the solstices. One old man, from whom much of this information was obtained, stated that trouble always came at the winter solstice when the month was divided into two sections. The above list is obviously incomplete and inconsistent, but it was the best available.

Supernatural Beings

In any primitive community the social, religious, political, and economic aspects of life are so interwoven that they

[4] See vol. II, p. 1 for a description of this mythical being.
[5] See vol. II, chap. v, for a description of these dances.

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cannot be considered as distinct subjects; not only does this present difficulties to the investigator in the field, but it also makes it so easy task to describe the facts as obtained. With many tribes it is possible to deal first with the social life, and later with religion, shamanism, and other associated topics. Such a form of presentation has many advantages and would, if possible, have been followed. Unfortunately, the social organization and rank of the Bella Coola largely depend upon their religious beliefs as expressed in their mythology, and an understanding of at least the main features of these is essential. In this chapter a summary of these has been made, leaving for later description personal relations with the supernatural world and other points which do not profoundly influence the beliefs and practices of the whole community.

Like other peoples, the Bella Coola differ considerably in the fervour of their religious beliefs. But even allowing for individual variation, religious experiences and beliefs are matters of frequent occurrence and profound importance to the great majority of the tribe. The supernatural world is close around them; a sudden thought is caused by the intervention of a supernatural being; the peculiar action of an animal is an occurrence fraught with grave meaning; an unexplained sound always receives a supernatural explanation. The old beliefs survive even among members of the community who are nominal Christians, and those who hold to their ancient religion live in an atmosphere of the supernatural. The white man, whose scientific training and logic lead him to find a natural explanation for an incident, is puzzled and somewhat amused at what he often calls the childish beliefs of the Indian. The Bella Coola, on the other hand, seeing the hand of the supernatural in every untoward event, considers the attitude of the white man in seeking a natural explanation to be almost irreverent. The mental attitude of the Bella Coola to the supernatural does not differ vitally from that of the white man under like conditions; but whereas to white men religious experiences are most unusual, they are common occurrences to

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the Indian. A native convert, for example, finds no difficulty in understanding the Old Testament, for the frequent manifestations of the supernatural are like those to which he has been accustomed. One intelligent Indian went so far as to say that he was a better Christian than any white man because he believed every word in the Old Testament, while he had heard that white men doubted the historical accuracy of some of the stories there recorded.

The following incident illustrates rather clearly the attitude of the Bella Coola towards the supernatural. A few years ago a party, consisting of a number of Indians and one white man, was proceeding by canoe up Dean Channel. On the shore, some distance ahead of them, they saw what seemed to be a grizzly bear with its pelt showing the white sheen so much desired by hunters. Hoping for a shot at the animal, they paddled in behind a long point which offered a hidden means of approach. But as the canoe cautiously rounded the tip, within easy rifle range, all that could be seen was a white water-washed stump, somewhat resembling a bear in shape. To the white man it was obvious that they had all been deceived by this resemblance in the distance, but to the Bella Coola it was equally obvious that the bear had changed into a stump. A bear had been there, they had seen it, now there was a stump: "The bear must have changed itself," they said.

If the reader grasps the mental attitude which explains an optical illusion as a manifestation of the supernatural, he will be able to comprehend the important part played by supernatural beings in the lives of the Bella Coola. Creatures of this type, some anthropomorphic and others zoomorphic, range not only the mountains and forests of British Columbia, but also the waters beneath and the sky above. Their true home is on the flat country above the sky; most of them are merely visitors to this world. Supernatural beings of all kinds are termed *sisi*. The attitude of Indians towards them, and their concepts concerning them, can best be understood by the stories in vol. I, chap. x, and vol. II, chap. v. Bella Coola beliefs are

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not systematized; if a man is asked about the powers or functions of a certain supernatural being, he will usually answer by recounting a story in which that being appears. What is known respecting many of the lesser supernatural beings depends upon information contained in stories, and as many of these are personal possessions, it follows that there is tremendous variation in individual knowledge. Psychologically, this is of little importance; there are enough supernatural beings for everyone to know some of them, and to expect to meet or hear them in the forests. To insert many of the stories contained in later chapters would break the sequence of description; all that is here attempted is to give a general summary, in a way foreign to Bella Coola thought.

Supernatural beings are by no means all-powerful. It is true that they have miraculous powers and can work weal or woe to human beings who chance to come in contact with them, but likewise they may sometimes be overwhelmed by mortals armed with objects steeped in human essence, such as a blanket which has been worn until it is impregnatnd not only with the smell, but the physical being of its owner. In particular, shamans or other mortals of great strength have been able to conquer the supernatural ones. Consequently, it may be said that although supernatural beings live on a plane different from that of mortals, they are not omnipotent. Long, long ago, man was able to come in contact with them more frequently, but that golden age when the semi-mythical ancestors of the Bella Coola were living has long since passed away, though it is only within the last few years that such beings, particularly supernatural animals, have become comparatively rare. The Bella Coola give three main reasons for this:

(1) Supernatural animals do not like the sound of muskets and have moved far away.

(2) With increasing dependence on the canning industry, fewer hunters penetrate into their haunts in the distant parts of the mountains.

(3) The younger Bella Coola no longer take pains to purify themselves as a means of placating supernatural beings.

* 996 According to the general Bella Coola belief the supernatural ones may be classified as anthropomorphic beings, zoomorphic beings, and supernatural members of the vegetable and minerals kingdoms.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC BEINGS

The Bella Coola agree that the most important of their supernatural beings is *Alquntám*, the supreme deity, maker of men and animals. He is most commonly known by this name but he has other appellations with reference to his various functions. The word *Alquntám* is said to be derived from *usquntám*, "foreman," or "chief." He is chief of the supernatural beings. Other names by which he is known are as follows:

Sawáhalis, a word derived from *saw*, the Sun. This name is used almost as commonly as *Alquntám*.

* 996 538 *Swaiaíhlis*, "The Ivory Man," because *Alquntám* created the ancestral myths at the same time that he created mankind. The supreme deity is called *Swaiaíhlis* with reference to his membership in the *Sacred* society of the supernatural beings.

Swaiaíhlis, "From Whom Come, and To Whom Belong, All Myths." As creator of the highly valued myths, the supreme deity is owner of them.

* 996 *Swaiíhlis*, "The Wise One," "The Thoughtful," or "The One with Great Mental Ability."

[601] *Mamhaiz*, a word supposedly derived from *mám*, "Father," with the suffix *haiz* as a term of endearment. This is used in praying to *Alquntám*.

[601] [102] *Títi*, "Father," the term for father used by a child; this, like the last, is used in prayer.

Indpaíhlis.

Nwudjuwatum, "The Adviser."

Ilkwum.

Nuqulmíhlis, "The Light Giver."

O-hit ó Ishkuq, "The Moon Chief."

These names are not meaningless synonyms; all, or at any

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two most of them, are usually used in accordance with the functions of this supreme deity. As a Bella Coola has many names, corresponding to his membership in various societies, his professional prerogatives, his secretal myths, and nose nicknames, so has *Hyamsim*, who is a supernus, many names, according to his special functions. It would be unthinkable for a Bella Coola to pray to *Hyamsim*, yet it is common for him to pray to *Mouskus* or *Tsut*, other names for the same being. The multiplicity of functions and designations approaches the point of obscuring the unity of *Hyamsim*, which in fact, some Bella Coola even deny. They state that *Sunskelis*, *Mouskus*, *Smaiskelis*, and *Nuqulmaitsis* are one, but that *Hyamsim*, *Snaiskelis*, and *Nuqulmaitsis* are three distinct supernatural beings. This seeming confusion presents no difficulties to the Indian, since each family has its own myths in which such facts are recorded. He believes them, without questioning those of his neighbour, and it is even possible for an individual to believe two contradictory statements, if he happens to become the owner of two contradictory myths. Evidence collected in the field does not make clear whether the beliefs of the Bella Coola illustrate an incomplete transformation of a single deity into a number of minor ones, or whether they represent the almost complete fusion of a number of beings into one. Following the practice of the great majority of the Bella Coola, the supreme deity will be referred to as *Hyamsim*.

The most obvious attribute of *Hyamsim* is connected with the sun. He can move it and can do as if it were his canoe. It has to resemble a canoe, and when he takes charge of the sun it appears as if the latter were a large, self-propelling, radiant boat with windows through which he looks forth. It is said that long ago he allowed mink to take charge of the sun, but the malicious animal ran it so close to earth that the intense heat killed almost all living creatures. When *Hyamsim* wears the sun he wears a cloak, on the lining of which are salmon; covering this causes the rivers on earth to turn with salmon.

Sqamsin is occasionally, but inaccurately, called *Sun*, the Sun.

Though *Sqamsin* often sojourns in the sun, his home is in the far land above the sky, a huge house which figures prominently both in Bella Coola mythology and present-day thought. The name of the house is *Nawaiʼa*. It resembles those constructed on this earth, but is boundless in size. Like the houses of human beings, its name is changed according to what is taking place within. Every autumn the supernatural beings gather there to await the coming of *Sqamsin* at the winter solstice; while waiting they pass the time by performing the equivalent of the earthly *tsaxat* dances (II, chap. i). This assemblage is termed *qulwasin*, and the house, during this period, *Nuqulwasin*.

The following names of the house, with meanings, were obtained:

Nawaiʼa, "The Place of Myths."

Nuqumlaxsin, "Where Everything Was Begun."

Nuxoldimasin, "The Place Whence Came the Falling Down."

Nuthamalmasin, "The Place Where Mankind was Made."

Nuxlqumtsin, "The Place Where *Sqamsin* Speaks."

Nuqulwasin, "The Place of the *Qulwasin*."

Nuqhlaxsin, "The Place of Meeting," or "The Council House."

Nalmamlt. The meaning of this word is unknown.

Amamlalmalt, "The Moving House." The significance of this last name rests on an ancient myth in which the house is described as travelling from place to place.

To grasp the significance of these designations it is necessary to understand the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the creation. Their mythology contains no account of the origin or birth of *Sqamsin* himself, nor of the making of this world; in the beginning of time no living creature, either animal or vegetable, existed with the exception of *Sqamsin*. He, therefore, decided to alter and populate the world and

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accordingly created four supernatural Carpenters. They in turn made a number of workers, *Alpuxtiulf* correspondently. These beings, endowed with enormous power by *Alpuxtiu*, chiselled from wood a number of human beings, the forefathers of mankind. Some men state that this was done by the four Carpenters, but the consensus of opinion seems to be that they were merely supervisors. No explanation is given of the means used by *Alpuxtiu* to give life to the beings thus created. The workers made not only human bodies, but constructed their mentality, including the speech. *Nacmáit-a* contains a large number of rooms, in each of which a different set of Indians, with a different language, was manufactured; thus is explained the diversity of tongues among the people of British Columbia. The Carpenters did not confine their attention to men and women. Supernatural beings, animals, birds, trees, flowers, fish, mountains, rivers, perhaps even moon and stars, all were created almost simultaneously by them under the direction of *Alpuxtiu* in *Nacmáit-a*. The sun alone was not made in this way. *Alpuxtiu* chose the proper plumage or fur for each bird and animal, which the Carpenters painted and carved according to his instructions. As they provided men with different languages, so they furnished the birds and beasts with their speech, which men can no longer understand. Each was given the necessary tools for existence on the earth below; sharp incisors to beaver, strong talons to eagle, a penetrating eye to heron, and so on. The Bella Coola do not regard birds and animals as being of a lower order than themselves, for all were created by the same power, at the same time; in many respects they consider that they belong to a higher plane than human beings. It would be too great a digression to include at this point a number of myths describing the creation, but these will be found in vol. I, chap. vi.

Mythology does not record in detail the sending down to this earth of men and places or of the forefathers of all other Indian tribes; but the manner in which the first Bella Coola arrived is clearly stated. Around the walls of *Nacmáit-a* were

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hanging a number of bird and animal cloaks, representing ravens, eagles, whales, grizzly bears, black bears, and a few others. *Alquntăm* asked each individual which of these cloaks he preferred to wear. One selected a raven, another an eagle, and so on. Each donned his choice from the wall and immediately became the bird or animal chosen. *Alquntăm* gave each man or woman one or more names, and some food in compressed form; then sent him down in avian or mammal form. Even the animals could travel through the air like birds, and each landed on the peak of a mountain in the Bella Coola country, took off his cloak, and reassumed human form. The discarded coverings floated back up to *Nusmăt·a*. A few individuals, instead of coming to earth in animal form, swarmed down posts which stretched between the worlds.

This myth is fervently believed by the Bella Coola. Even Christian Indians, though they readily admit the biblical creation as applied to the white race, remain convinced of the manner in which their own ancestors came into being. At the present time, though most ancient beliefs are rapidly passing away, few, if any, Bella Coola doubt this account of the creation of their forefathers. Their conviction rests not only on the religious aspect of their life, but on the sociological. A man's most treasured possessions are the name brought down from above by his ancestor in the beginning of time, the knowledge of the form taken by that ancestor, and information about the place where he landed. A collection of myths of this kind is given in vol. I, chap. VI. Lacking knowledge of his first ancestor's form, a Bella Coola has slight chance of becoming a chief; such lore is the birthright of every descendant of one of those first people, and those without it are almost certain to be the offspring of slaves. The social aspects of creation myths will be described later; at this point a broad outline must suffice. *Nusmăt·a*, "The House of Myths," is the place in which those myths were made, and are now stored, two reasons for its importance in the eyes of the Bella Coola.

Nusmăt·a is not only connected with the history of an indi-

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vidual's ancestors; it enters into his own future as well. When 177
a Bella Coola dies, his spirit (I, p. 94) travels back on the 773
path of his ancestors from generation to generation until it 775
reaches the spot where the first one came to earth; there it assumes the bird or animal cloak used on that occasion and floats aloft to *Nusmăt·a* to live forever. Small wonder, therefore, that this house figures prominently in the thoughts of the Bella Coola, and that they cling tenaciously to a belief in it.

Knowledge of *Nusmăt·a* has been inherited almost entirely 772
from the first ancestors of the Bella Coola, and only a few items of information could be gleaned concerning it. Most men think of it as an enormous replica of their own houses, but one individual, of philosophic temperament, expressed the opinion that it was without any inner partitions. His belief was based on the following incident:

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Some years ago a young man died without apparent reason. His sorrowing father kept wondering:

"Why has my son died? Can he have committed some crime or made some mistake?"

Despondent and grief-stricken, for a whole year the man did not wash, ate little, and slept on the floor. At last he wandered away, alone, into the mountains. Night overtook him and he lay down to sleep without food. His son came to him in a dream, telling him not to lament, that he was in a better place than this world, for *Ăqwănăw* had recalled him to *Nusmăt·a* to use his voice, which was unusually powerful, as a means of conveying his wishes to the other occupants of the house. Thus comforted, the father returned home in the morning, washed, and again behaved normally. My informant suggested that cross walls would be a bar to the strongest voice, and that *Nusmăt·a* must consequently be partitionless.

Nusmăt·a contains not only the spirits of all deceased Bella 992
Coola, it is also the home of most of the supernatural beings. 996
These frequently descend to visit the earth, but always return [995]
to the house above. So far as could be learnt, the only being irremovably located there is an old woman, *Ăsnăqwăqăls*. The most prominent article of furniture in *Nusmăt·a* is *Ăqwănăw*'s seat, in the central position behind the fire. Over it is laid

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what is probably a moosehide, with salmon painted on it, symbolic of his guardianship of fish for the benefit of mankind. In other respects *Nuxmāt-a* has no peculiarities. Behind the house is an enormous tree, *Tsinpin-iaqim*, in the branches of which live innumerable owls.

After this description of *Nuxmāt-a*, it is logical to return to its master, *Alqunātm*. Guiding the sun is his most spectacular occupation, but he also governs the movements of moon and tides. Powerful though he is, he continues to take an interest in the doings of mankind whom he created. Prayers are commonly addressed to him, and a certain type of shaman is believed to receive power direct from him. Other supernatural beings may work weal or woe to a Bella Coola, but he feels it is done with the sanction of *Alqunātm*. At every winter solstice he enters *Nuxmāt-a*, where supernatural beings from all parts of the universe have gathered to greet him. This assembly is called *qulxmaix*, and *Nuxmāt-a* is termed *Nuxqulxwaista*[1] for its duration. While waiting, the guests perform *kuxiut* dances, similar to those carried out by members of the *kuxiut* society on earth (see vol. II, chap. 1). At *Alqunātm*'s entry the heat becomes so intense that the occupants rush forth precipitately, some falling and being trampled upon in the crush. Only three[2] advisers, including *Sunxwālaix* (I, p. 41), remain to confer with him. They arrange the fate of human beings during the coming year; who shall be made a *kuxiut*, who shall be born, who shall die. In each case the decision rests with *Alqunātm*, though he is influenced by his counsellors. Human beings can often learn in dreams what is being decided for them.

Alqunātm, in spite of his strength, shares the limitations of any other chief, and is not invariably successful. The Bella Coola delight in telling stories of how supernatural beings, especially the Raven, outwitted and defeated him. Even

[1] Often pronounced Nuxqulxwaista.
[2] The exact number is uncertain.

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human beings, in the beginning of time when they were semi-supernatural, sometimes prevailed against him. One story actually records his murder. From the point of view of morality, an angle from which the Bella Coola themselves do not regard him, *Alqantăm* is neither moral nor immoral; he has the virtues and vices of a man. That, in fact, is a fair summing up of *Alqantăm*; he is a superman, creator of life, supreme god in the sense that he is chief of the supernatural beings, but not an all-powerful deity.

Compared with *Alqantăm*, other supernatural beings are insignificant. The Bella Coola do not regard them as a hierarchy with definitely graded rank and power; accordingly, the order in which they are described is immaterial. Reference has already been made to the supernatural Carpenters.[9] There are four of them, created by *Alqantăm* in the beginning of time; it was they who constructed the mountains and rivers of this land, the animals and birds peopling them, and supervised the making of mankind. They are considered to be four brothers, collectively known as *Mamaxălănx*.

The eldest and most powerful is *Yalăttwat*, "He Who Completes Any Task with a Single Smoothing Motion."

The second brother is *Mălăkăllwak*, "He Who Completes Any Task with a Single Stroke of an Adze."

The third brother is *Mălăpewak*, "He Who Completes Any Task with Two Strokes of His Adze."

The fourth and youngest brother is *ăkăkăk*, "He Who Completes Any Task in a Single Day."

In Kimsquit, *Mălăkăllwak* is often called *Mamaxălănx* and the collective term is not used. These names explain the beliefs of the Bella Coola with regard to the powers of the Carpenters. After their work in the beginning of time, the three younger brothers returned to *Nanăk'a*, where they have since resided, but *Yalăttwat* came to earth and married a Bella Bella woman. The Bella Coola admit that members of this

[9] Cf. Boas, p. 31.

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776 tribe are superior to themselves in carpentry, and ascribe their
[186] skill to the fact that many of them are descendants of *Yalâ-*
[641] *tiwat*. Some of the coastal tribes are said to believe that *Ilpuxtáw* erred in the manufacture of many of the sea mammals, giving them, for example, human heads on fish bodies; he later rectified this by sending his Carpenters to adjust their form. This is not a Bella Coola belief. One elderly man stated that the skill of the Carpenters in painting and modelling was derived from a little girl named *Xpuhanas*; no confirmation could be obtained for this statement and the information was vague and unreliable.

Since their creation of the sky and many features of this world, as well as birds and animals, the Carpenters have entered but little into the lives of the Bella Coola. Like other supernatural beings, they are capable of going anywhere, but for many generations they have not been seen on this earth.
[575] Their most important function, perhaps, is to act as patrons for various *hamat* dancers. This subject will be described in detail in vol. II, chap. 1; for the moment it is enough to say that many supernatural beings regard members of this semi-sacred society as their protégés, and grant them power to per-
[535] form dances. On these occasions masked figures are used to represent the patrons, thus enlightening uninitiated persons as to the appearance and attributes of various supernatural beings.

Among the many residents of *Nacmáx-a* are two sons of *Ilpuxtáw*, *Xnalkpmalás Ilpuxtáw* and *Sxa'alás Ilpuxtáw*. The former in particular is dearly loved by his father and is often spoken of as *Nacówanacówhum*, "The Cherished One."
[575] These two beings take no part in the affairs of mortals except as patrons of *hamat* dancers. Like all supernatural beings they are considered to be immortal. Since *Ilpuxtáw* has two sons it is to be assumed that he has, or had, a wife. Her name is not generally known, although she is sometimes spoken of as
[538] *Nacmáx-ax-a*, "The Woman of *Nacmáx-a*." There are also many stories describing his amours with human women resulting in semi-supernatural offspring.

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One of *Alquntăm*'s principal functions is that of acting as leader of the *kusiut* dances of the supernatural beings. As already described, these take place in *Nasmāt·a*, the name of which is changed to *Nasqulwaists* for the occasion, while the supernatural ones are awaiting *Alquntăm*'s entry at the winter solstice. As soon as he comes, his extreme heat causes most of his guests to rush forth. Among those remaining is *Sexsexkālaix*, the Lawyer, his chief adviser in *kusiut* matters. This being is somewhat indefinitely regarded as a supernatural grizzly bear. He is subordinate to *Alquntăm*, and cannot himself initiate proposals, but he can interrupt the speeches of his superior if he feels bold. Human singers are under his special guidance. He is so powerful that if he turns his head in anger at any mortal, the latter falls dead. As far as could be learnt, *Sexsexkālaix* is concerned only with *kusiut* matters and never visits this earth. 776* [533]

One of the most intangible of the Bella Coola supernatural beings is a woman, *Kūmai·u, Aiatla*, "The Sorrow-Maker" or *Dji Sīnāsīl*, "The Slave-Owner." Boas (p. 28) recorded fairly definite information about her, but the writer could gather only inconsequential fragments. Mortals are as slaves to her, but she takes little interest either in their welfare or actions. In the beginning of time, *Alquntăm* sent her down to earth to watch the behaviour of mortals and report to him. She needed a central location for this purpose and accordingly chose Restoration Bay, where she could watch the canoes as they passed up and down the coast. At first the inhabitants of the earth showed her great respect, but gradually she was ignored and canoes passed her home without stopping. Moreover, she began to fear that she might be injured by the proximity of mankind, and especially that human footsteps might contaminate and mar her supernatural frame. So she fled far to the south, whither no one knows. In fact, no one is even absolutely certain that she went to the south. According to a well-known Bella Coola tradition, a man once tried to climb Mount *Nusqulc* and found a pleasant grassy place near [114]

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* 776 the top. He concluded that this must be the home of the woman. Before the door of her house, wherever it may be, there are miniature totem-poles which open their painted mouths and speak in the voice of the animal or bird portrayed. The writer did not hear that her home was in the land above [114] *Nuxmāt·a*, as Boas (p. 28) states. At the present time knowledge of *Kāmai·ts* is so scanty that failure to confirm the previous observation is not surprising.

One or two passing remarks of elderly informants imply that *Kāmai·ts* may once have been more important to Bella Coola belief than she is now. One old man, already in his [775] dotage, stated that long ago the dead used to dwell in her house. Another declared that long ago prayers were addressed [782] to her, which is never done now. The word *kāmai·ts* is commonly used by the Bella Coola in a manner difficult to trans- [192] late. It serves as equivalent for "please" or "thank you," but has an underlying significance of a supernatural benison or appeal. It is not a word to be used in casual conversation; it is reserved for important occasions or times of emotional stress. The comparative unimportance of *Kāmai·ts* probably rests on the fact that she belongs merely to the realm of ancient history and has no sociological significance, even as the patron of a *kuxiut* dancer.

772 Another supernatural being so far removed from this world
* 776 that he enters but little into the lives of the Bella Coola, is *Snimia*. He is the male being whom *Ālqantām* sent down from above in the beginning of time to hold the earth in position, and who has since performed this duty. He lives among the ice of the far north, and has not been seen by mortals for many generations. He holds a rope fastened to the earth; when he is afraid that it has slipped slightly he takes a new grip and pulls the rope taut, pressing the world against the soles of his feet as he sits with legs extended, as a man would do to hold tight a kicking salmon. It is the tightening of the rope which [123] causes an earthquake. If *Snimia* should lose his grip entirely 575 the earth would capsize. He is patron for several *kuxiut*
* 776 dancers.

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dancers. *Sninia* differs from most supernatural beings in having his residence in this world instead of in the land above. 776*

Among the beings dwelling in the upper region are a number of *Xemxemtnum*, whose function it is to ask the sun to appear every day. It travels without their assistance, but if they neglected to arouse it, darkness would prevail all day. The only knowledge of these beings is derived from information given by the first people; they have not been seen by mortals since early days and do not act as patrons for *kusiut* dancers. [821]

Heat and Cold are regarded by the Bella Coola as anthropomorphic beings, but their beliefs concerning them have not become crystallized, perhaps because of their non-appearance as patrons of *kusiut* dancers. The following story is told of the annual meeting of Heat and Cold. 776* 821 539

Every spring Cold, *Swaxhalats*, meets Heat, *Sqwilkhus*, in some undefined locality and says:

"You will not be welcome in the place to which you are going [the earth]. I have just come from there. People like to get up on cool mornings to start work, they won't pay any attention to you."

But *Sqwilkhus* replies: "No. They will welcome me. Everyone prefers to spend a few extra minutes in bed in the mornings. It is pleasant to do so when it is warm, hence I shall be welcome in spite of the eagerness of mankind for work."

In spite of its apparent definiteness, this account is regarded merely as a story, and it is doubtful if any historical accuracy is attached to it. The Bella Coola laugh when it is told, and the irony of the conversation is not lost on them.

S'pi', the Cold Wind, is another anthropomorphized being belonging to the realm of stories rather than to that of everyday life and profound belief. His wife is *Alilu*, and their child is Ice. On a cold morning, if a Bella Coola finds ice on liquid left in a bucket or other container, he warms it at a fire until he can lift off the sheet, and throws it out of the door, saying as he does so: "*Alilu*—," your child has become cold." 776* 821

Both the North Wind and his wife, *cuhumuu-i*, whose home [773]

*The reactive form of this word.

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776 is in the upper Bella Coola valley near Firvale, cause cold
773 breezes by blowing them through their anuses. *ustuman i* especially is a prominent figure in mythology (I, p. 670), but she
[821] has not appeared for many generations and her actions belong to legend rather than to either religion or social practices. It is said that she has four sons who once wanted to break a large number of grass stalks. Finding it difficult to do so on account of their toughness, they asked their mother to freeze them; she did this and destroyed every other plant at the same time.

776 Another anthropomorphic being is *Ixl'ûsl*, the super-
621 natural South Wind of winter who brings storm and snow.
199 The Carriers affirm that every icicle which grows down until its end is in the snow is his walking-stick, and that to break
[791] one causes famine. Some Bella Coola have adopted this belief and carefully refrain from destroying such icicles.

776 Supernatural beings experience the same difficulty as mortals in reckoning the passage of time. A number of calendrical experts live in the land above, whose duty it is to record both months and years. They are called *Ilmunkilhwayuic* or *Ilmunkilten*. They have been seen occasionally, and are
[575] shown, as masked figures, at *nusut* (I, p. 181), but not at *kwiat* dances. Two of these beings always appear, and they argue about their observations after the fashion of humans.

Another denizen of *Nuxmit-a* of slight importance in the social life of the Bella Coola is *Xwuxwulsta*, a friend and
[575] associate of *Alqunim*. He acts as patron of *kwiat* dancers, and in this manner is brought to the notice of mortals. In the land above his function is to cherish *Tlûqmi-ic*, a being resembling a diminutive man, created by *Alqunim* as a child to all supernatural beings. *Xwuxwulsta* is its guardian or nurse; and for safety he usually keeps his charge in the far distant upper land above *Nuxmit-a*, where *Alqunim* frequently visits the two. In some mysterious manner, *Tlûqmi-ic* has been
[779] known to reach this earth, giving good fortune to the lucky finder. He is in many cases spoken of as "The Cherished

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One." An informant, wishing to emphasize the care lavished on this being, pointed to a photograph from an illustrated paper of Princess Mary, Viscountess Lascelles, bending over her infant. He remarked that this was the kind of attention shown by *Xwaxwaiáitis* to his charge.

Of slightly greater importance is the hermaphrodite, *Spuns*. He resides in the land above, and spends most of his time outside the walls of *Nuxwáit-a*, acting as guardian to a number of young girls, the children of various supernatural beings. On many occasions he has descended to this world and has been seen by mortals, who recognize him by his peculiar nasal voice, intermediate between that of a man and a woman. It is supposed that human hermaphrodites have been affected in some mysterious way by their supernatural prototype.

Several informants stated that they had heard of hermaphrodites among other tribes, and thought that such existed among their own people in early times, but the term is usually applied, without physiological significance, to two types of individual supposedly affected by *Spuns*. Several cases are alleged of a male infant changing to a female on being washed and brought into the house. One of these, a girl about twelve years of age, was living in Bella Coola in 1923. The basis for these accounts is certainly error concerning the sex of a new-born child. The second class consists of those who desire to perform the work of the opposite sex. For example, if a boy shows an aptitude for women's work, the parents, realizing that he wants to be a girl, dress and treat him accordingly. One informant knew of a Kimsquit boy, two Bella Bella, and several Kitimat to whom this had occurred. Henceforth they dressed as women, but in due course they took wives whom they helped in all feminine tasks. Another informant knew of two cases of the kind in which the men did not marry and were believed to have an aversion to women. One instance is known of a Kitimat woman who, having assumed man's costume and occupations, refused either to marry or to have anything to do with her own sex. Another case is of a Cariboo

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[71] woman who dressed as a man and used to hunt successfully, though she was married. Such practices are said to have been not uncommon among the Haida. The women were considered bold and independent, but the Bella Coola of today know little about them, and are not even certain that *Sputz* is responsible for a female assuming the actions of a male. It will be readily understood that he is not regarded with much awe, nor does he influence their daily lives.

[80] Another supernatural being, uninfluential though resident upon earth, is Echo, *Sacaiiel*, "The Voice Repeater." The Bella Coola regard him as a male being, in human form, and recognize his presence whenever sounds reverberate. He figures in mythology, occasionally appears as a masked figure at *hamat'sa* and *sunet* dances, but has neither helped nor harmed human beings for so many generations that he is accordingly neglected.

[77] A supernatural being from whom many Bella Coola have had unpleasant visitations is *Dhsnesila*, the cause of nightmares. He is a man-like creature with black face and an enormous head which he constantly scratches. His home is in *Nuxnit'a*, but he frequently descends to this world and frightens sleepers. If a person scratches his head while asleep it is because he has just seen *Dhsnesila* doing so, and if he walks in his sleep it is to escape this supernatural visitor. A sleep-walker is usually aroused by having a bucket of water thrown over him. A person frequently troubled by *Dhsnesila* can avoid him by painting a black circle around each eye before going to sleep.

With the exception of *Sqaxaxim*, the supernatural beings thus far described play little part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They believe in their existence, but do not expect to meet them, and do not believe that they exercise much influence on the course of their daily life. Supernatural beings of this indifferent type are exceptional. A man goes into remote parts of the mountains, or even into little frequented areas around his village, with mingled fear but he recognizes an actively malicious being, and hope that he may meet a benevolent one. Here-

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over, he is aware that by certain means he may have good expectations of beseeching, cajoling, deceiving, or rendering powerless any supernatural beings whom he may meet. This attitude is typical; the Bella Coola by no means move in constant dread of the mysterious denizens of the forests, nor do they eagerly hope for their appearance; they have their likes and dislikes, their moments of weakness and of strength, their times of greatness and of pettiness, all to be considered with care and forethought.

One of the beings for whom the older people have a profound respect is *Thiteplilée-a*, a supernatural woman whose home is in *Nazmit-a*, but who frequently visits this earth. She can be recognized by her snout-like mouth and long, pendant breasts, but even when beyond the range of vision her proximity can be detected by her singing. *Thiteplilée-a* often takes pity on a person who is dangerously ill and visits him, not only curing the malady but bringing the sufferer a name and song. In many cases he is thus made a shaman with power to cure. At other times *Thiteplilée-a* bestows her favours on a person in good health, so that wise Bella Coola are always hoping to meet her. Such an experience is not without its dangers, for she is so powerful that nearness to her may be enough to cause death. The exploits of those who have come in contact with *Thiteplilée-a* belong to shamanism and will be reserved for vol. I, chap. IX.

Thiteplilée-a, though her great power inspires fear, usually behaves in a kindly manner to mortals, who accordingly welcome her. But it is quite otherwise with *Sxaiaxwaa*, whose coming almost invariably brings death.* He is a black-faced being of repulsive appearance and sensual nature, whose chief function is to seduce women. For this purpose he often skulks near a village at night, and assumes the voice and appearance of a girl's lover to lure her into the forest. Fearlessly she goes with him, but if she allows his approaches, a hemorrhage results and she soon dies. There is said to be no limit to the number

*Cf. Boas, p. 61.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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of his disguises. For example, he once appeared at New Westminster in the form of a handsome white man; a Bella Coola girl yielded to his pleadings, but as soon as he had left her, she began to bleed and died.* He is so evil that shamans can rarely cure anyone visited by him. *Sxoiaxwaw* usually carries a stick which he need only to point at a woman to cause her death.

Nor are men exempt from *Sxoiaxwaw*'s visitations. Sometimes he sneaks up behind a man and seizes his arms, so that he cannot see who has gripped him. He is soon released but no matter how quickly he turns around can never see his captor. Presently he begins to bleed from mouth and nose and death follows. *Sxoiaxwaw* may become visible under such conditions. One old man stated that his son had once been playing outside the village at Kimsquit when he rushed into the house weeping and saying that he had been seized by a black-faced man. In a few minutes his nose began to bleed so that his father knew it was *Sxoiaxwaw* who had visited him. Nothing was of any avail and the lad died. His approach is usually heralded by a series of grunting, explosive puffs, like those of a big bear rising suddenly. If, warned by the sound, the hearer turns sharply, he can escape danger. An informant described how, when camped on Labouchere Channel, he had once gone to the river for water with two companions, a man and a woman. They all heard these gasping puffs and turned, but he alone had jumped from the path quickly enough. The other two began to pass like *Sxoiaxwaw* himself; blood gushed from their mouths and genital organs and they soon died.

Like other supernatural beings, *Sxoiaxwaw* has his limitations. Though he comes to this earth he can travel only on fixed paths, invisible to mortals. If either a man or a woman is unfortunate enough to fall asleep on one of these tracks, it is

* A curious blending of aboriginal and white man's beliefs was recorded in connection with this incident. It is said that as the girl's mother left her, carrying the lad in his hand, she saw two horse rising from his forehead and realized that her lover had been *Sxoiaxwaw*.

easy for *Sxaiaxwas* to gain control over them, and the sleeper wakes to find that he has been bleeding profusely and death is inevitable. This occurred to a man whose experiences are described in vol. I, chap. ix.

Although *Sxaiaxwas* is usually a curse to mortals, he can also do good. Occasionally he makes a man a shaman, and in many cases he helps a woman in childbirth. Such beneficent acts are not sufficient to counterbalance his evil deeds, and he remains one of the most dreaded of Bella Coola supernatural beings, a monster whose machinations make camping in a strange place a dangerous undertaking, and who is as likely to strike down rich or poor, young or old.

Less feared than *Sxaiaxwas*, because he appears less frequently, is *Nlai'cmiut*. The Bella Coola speak of this being with trepidation, but little definite information could be obtained concerning him. He has human form and sometimes comes at dusk to cause death by carrying away a man's spirit.[1] The home of this creature appears to be beneath the earth rather than in *Nacmai'a*.

A third dreaded being who, like the two preceding, usually lives on this earth and only visits in *Nacmai'a*, is *Si'ilen*, "The Death Dealer." He, too, appears in human form and can be distinguished by the nose-ring which he always wears. Sudden death in the forest is always attributed to "The Death Dealer." If a man is engulfed by a slide, or killed by a falling tree, it is because this malevolent being has entered the slide or tree. Some Bella Coola say that he is responsible for animals who kill hunters. He rarely carries out his designs with the aid of sickness, nor is death by drowning often attributed to him, but for all other fatal disasters he must take the blame. While a corpse is resting in a coffin awaiting burial, *Si'ilen* invariably sits on the cover, though none can see him. Instances are known in which even this monster has acted in a kindly manner.

The supernatural beings thus far described are usually

[1] See vol. I, pp. 94 f.

* 776 encountered on land, but the sea likewise is the home of anthropomorphic creatures. For beneath the surface is a land much
[772] like the earth, inhabited by people resembling humans who sometimes assist a drowning person. The mysteries of this underseas world are known to the Bella Coola chiefly through accounts handed down from generation to generation, though its inhabitants have often appeared at the surface. Their hair is long and somewhat reddish, their bodies are hairless, and their faces are in many cases stained with black. One man stated that about three years before a Japanese, fishing near Nanaimo, had caught in his net one of these people, a girl about two years old. He drew her into his boat, where she squatted on the bottom, docile and submissive. After a time the fisherman became frightened and threw his captive overboard. The
[548] Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella, greater seafarers than
[776] themselves, have more extensive knowledge of these underseas dwellers.

549 Similar, if not identical, beings live beneath rivers and
* 776 lakes; they have often been seen on the surface, and occasionally, long, long ago, certain fortunate individuals saw their houses. Accounts of such are embodied in Bella Coola mythology and will be described later. The following can be considered an example of a simple type:

About three hundred years ago, Lowemowelain, a Kimsquit fisherman, built a pole-like framework, projecting into the Dean River, on which to stand while fishing for salmon with a long-handled* scoop-net. One August day he was using his net when, after a number of successful scoops, it became very heavy. As the net came to the surface he found, to his amazement, that a small boy was hanging on the rim. A number of people who had been watching from the shore, called to him to throw away his net with its uncanny load. Heedless of this advice, Lowemowelain tried to lift his net and, on finding it too heavy, began to draw it through the water so as to drag it out on the shore. All went well for the first few yards, till suddenly the boy shoved against the net, pushing the fisherman into the water on the other side of the pole. Immediately the supernatural one vanished from sight. As the bystanders rushed to

*The handles of nets of this type are said to have been about thirty feet in length.

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

the course of *Lemoxwowulais* they saw him being carried downstream to a salmon-weir about three hundred yards below. The trap was raised at once, but it was too late; the rash fisherman was dead. No one could give a name to the supernatural being who had caused his death; it was merely one of those dwelling under the river. 776* [539] [761]

Whales, too, are sometimes observed in the rivers, but though they appear to resemble those of the ocean they are really their supernatural prototypes. [825]

These human-like dwellers beneath the water can, as in this case, cause death, but they are usually regarded as uncanny rather than dangerous. But there is one undersea being whom the Bella Coola regard with unmixed awe; he is *Xemoqwe* (see Plate 10), lord of the supernatural ones beneath the ocean, as *Alqunsiw* is lord of those dwelling above. He lives in an enormous house under the sea wherein the fish, the sea-mammals, and the sea-plants have their home. The Bella Coola believe that these beings can take human form at will,* and assume that their behaviour in *Xemoqwe*'s dwelling corresponds to that of human beings in the house of an earthly chief. In the beginning of time, when men were more powerful than in recent years, this house sometimes rose to the surface of the water and adventurous Bella Coola entered it on various occasions, leaving to their descendants tales of the wonders it contained. These accounts have become family myths and are described with others of similar type in Chap. vi, vol. I. Records of this kind vary greatly in detail; in fact, few agree more than in broad outline. Sometimes it is stated that denizens of the sea appear in *Xemoqwe*'s house in the flesh; other myths describe paintings of sea creatures around the walls and the manner in which these are brought to life by *Xemoqwe*. Irrespective of the exact details, it is clear that he is chief of the undersea beings who serve him and hunt for him, the blackfish being especially proficient in this respect. *Xemoqwe* resents any slight to his protégés and punishes any mortal who is unkind to them. [761] 773 776* [424] [184]

*Bella Coola concepts concerning the transformability of men and animals will be described in the next section of this chapter.

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*776 Although *Ḵ'mayms* has often been seen by mortals, no one has ever been able to describe his countenance. He always wears a huge hat, beneath which his blackened face, covered with eagle down, is barely visible, since he constantly keeps turning it away from the observer. Occasionally he comes to the surface and has been known even to walk on it. Like other supernatural beings, he is able to ascend to *Nuxmāx*, though it is not his home. The dread with which the Bella Coola regard *Ḵ'mayms* is due to his ability to suck canoes down to his home at the bottom of the ocean as if in a whirlpool. He is usually hungry, and nothing pleases him more than human flesh. None the less, he does not destroy life without cause. It angers him to hear his name spoken, so no Bella Coola utters [502] it when on the ocean, for fear that he may be engulfed. Whenever a person is drowned at sea it is believed that the cannibalistic *Ḵ'mayms* has drawn him down for a meal. [764]

539 To insert the many stories describing *Ḵ'mayms* at this point
*776 would unduly break the continuity of this account, so the following simple example must suffice.

Not many years ago four Bella Bella fishermen were trying to anchor near China Hat. Owing to the action of the supernatural beings dwelling below, the bottom of the ocean rose and lowered abruptly so that their anchor would not hold as the rope was in many cases too short. They were much annoyed by this and, as they strove to fasten their craft, they were exasperated at a lord-fish which kept swimming closely around the canoe. At last one of the fishermen reached out, seized it with his hands, and tore it to pieces, throwing these back on the water. Presently their anchor held and the four went to sleep. But *Ḵ'mayms* had seen the insult shown to the lord-fish and, as they slept, he sucked down their canoe until, on awakening, they found themselves in the huge house of the lord of the underseas world. There was no water in it, but they recognized where they must be from the fact that the walls were decorated with paintings of marine beings and with ancient tools from canoes lost at sea. An old woman who lives in *Ḵ'mayms's* house called the four to her fire in the corner and asked them whether they had any false hellebore with them. If they had, they would escape, but otherwise nothing could save them from *Ḵ'mayms*, who at that very moment was calling his friends for a feast of human flesh. Presently *Ḵ'mayms* entered, followed in succession by a number of underseas chiefs,

including the dreaded guru, Shamchu Nun, in human form. As such 539
came in, every settled in and the canoe was round as if in a whirlpool. 776 *
If it had capsized the occupants would have been devoured, but on such
occasions one of the Sisiutlas threw a mound of false lubricant on the
surface, which settled the waves. In fact Kwaqam and his friends
admitted defeat, granted the four Sisiutlas the power of shamans,
and gave them certain prerogatives.

Though Kwaqam is usually ranked to mortals, and is correspondingly feared, instances are known in which he has bestowed shamanistic powers for no apparent reason. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella know more about Kwaqam than they do, since he is essentially an ocean being and the Bella Bella are ocean people. It is possible that the Bella Coola concepts of this supernatural personage are entirely of Bella Bella origin. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that Kwaqam seldom appears in connection with the *hactat* society, but frequently with the *xaxalt* society, many of the rites of which came from Bella Bella. [756] 177 776 * [576]

Since human beings can travel on the sea only by means of canoes, it is not surprising that the Bella Coola think of supernatural beings as doing likewise. Their beliefs include at least three huge canoes, manned by supernatural beings. The most important is that of *Nuklipnem*,* the canoe of its captain, whose crew consists of a number of supernatural birds and the hermaphrodite. Every year they come from the lands of the salmon and the herring, in the far west beyond the sea, and bear down to the coast of British Columbia. This belief, which runs counter to the conviction that *Hqamim* caused the animals and plants to grow, is merely one of the many inconsistencies of Bella Coola theology. *Nuklipnem* comes every autumn on his way to attend the gathering of the supernatural beings in the land above, and his arrival in the Bella Coola River marks the commencement of the *hactat* dances. He is one of the most important of *hactat* patrons and his powers and functions are described in the chapter devoted to that 773 776 * [576]

*Cf. Boas, p. 46.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

of the crown, one of the members is condemned by the Mythical laws of the parishes of the Way-Farers of the Tide. If he is what he or even calls out, "[illegible]." This serves to keep the Way-Farers on a diameter, and to wakes the rest of the party who hastily down on the fire objects which have been in contact with the human body.

Where stories are told by the Bulla Cuda of the appearance of the Way-Farers of the Tide. The following can be regarded as typical.

A few years ago, a human vessel docked, and the wife, frequently, was managed on Lybrother Channel on the point known as Wapple, near the fire springs. They were discussing a private matter when, to the amusement of both, that dog, who was with them, joined in the conversation. The assumed behaviour should have warned them of approaching danger and they ought to have killed the animal, as indeed the women desired to do. But mutual curiosity arisen and prevented that for them to stay. In some mysterious manner the dog was able to summon the Way-Farers of the Tide, which carried the two away. When they awoke they were in the dead sands, and the power from out of the prevailing was there. They were powerless and could not to call to the crew member on Dock Bastard. Yet, under the dead sun, they to be back, and there also, dead on the sand journey. The sun was not where in that sky, apparently unknown, for that was the danger to which they had been exposed and that was the to Wanapit. The woman told a shaman what had happened and accepted the amulets dearly treasuring. Consequently, though the shaman right of security, the sun sank. The bandaging rushed, on the other hand, refused to pay attention to the danger, which a lot made to become crazy, and then died.

Quite another category of Bulla Cuda supernatural beings consists of ghosts. These beings, once human, have passed by death into the realm of the supernatural. Their home is the land below the earth, where they live the normal escape that everything is average and otherwise. In form they resemble human beings, but their faces are green and wavy. They can sign the land of the living at will, and make their presence known by whistling, which is their language. Their actions are the reverse of those of humans, for example, they often

walk backwards, or on their hands. Wands sometimes are [illegible] given, but the supernatural seals their lips so that they cannot recount their experiences. Death invariably follows. Shamans and other mortals endowed with great powers have been able to penetrate to the realm below, and the knowledge of conditions there has been derived from their accounts. Food is [illegible] given to their hand and gloves are often driven up to earth to search for it. Even a small morsel is enough to satisfy their hunger, so that morsels throw fragments on the fire for the benefit of their dead relatives. If a person drop a crumb it is because a ghost has hooked it away from his hand, so when Bella Coola ever picks up such a morsel, knowing that to do so would offend the hungry spirits. Deceased beings are generally feared, although instances are known in which they have shown kindness, particularly to their relatives. Like so many supernatural beings, they figure more prominently as persons of Starlit descent (see vol. II, chap. i). Further information concerning them is contained in the description of life after death.

[illegible] Not even a complete list of beings would enhance the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural, since any unexpected visitation is attributed by them to his source. For example, when Mackenzie appeared, the first white man with whom the Bella Coola had come in contact, they thought that he must be from another world. Some thought him a dead man returned to life, and others considered him a supernatural visitor from above who had fallen down to earth, so did their first ancestors. The latter view prevailed, and it was ultimately decided that he must be Qomoqa, a supernatural being member-chief of whom Bella was known. This name was applied to him, and it has since been given to all white men.[1]

[1] Although it was in 1793 that Mackenzie passed down the Bella Coola valley, a number of parties of the white men met subsequently in 1811. When such happened the Bella Coola were doubtless a little forewarned, likewise were they prepared that he had been from the realm that the latter had spoken with. Traditions of the coming of the white men are remarkably accurate, for instance the first [illegible] among men will be dubbed. The Chinook man, for example,

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The religious concepts of the Bella Coola are not limited to explanations of strange apparitions, nor to knowledge of a wide range of supernatural beings, anthropomorphic or zoomorphic. Many in whom they believe are invisible and intangible, though some the less potent. Almost every incident of life is ascribed to the help or hindrance of a supernatural agency. If a fisherman constructs a salmon-weir, with a considerable amount of work, the Bella Coola ascribe his success to the existence of some supernatural being or supernatural power; more labour would never have sufficed. If a man has phenomenal success in hunting, it is because the supernatural has helped him in some way. It is not necessary that an anthropomorphic being should appear; they seldom do, but may imply that in some form or another supernatural aid has aided the enterprise.

This attitude is clearly evident in Bella Coola beliefs concerning the construction of canoes. Many professions depend upon prerogatives without which a person cannot hope to succeed. This is not true of canoe-makers, although it is a great advantage to one of them if Tsalaiwat, the Divine Carpenter, appeared to his ancestors in the beginning of time. Even without this in many cases a man can succeed in making a canoe if he is aided by a supernatural teacher, or Master Maker. No one knows much about this being, not even whether there is more than one of them, but it is thought to kindly intervention that a man is able to complete his single-handed task. If carpenters who have left a half-finished canoe in the woods, hear adze beats, as they are returning to it, they remain away from the spot, knowing that their work is being done with superhuman efficiency by a supernatural artisan. Under such circumstances even a ordinary man can construct one of the large, ocean-going canoes. Nanx-ulk, an expert carpenter, named Talalin, was making

[illegible] but his mother had told him Mackemia came down the Dean River when he was a young man. He if to confirm this statement he added the supposedly dead that Mackemia, in the weather he had, lifted and ate a dog and did not he gave a warned she thinks.

372 one at Rescuscion Bay. He had reached the point where he
* 776 needed help to turn the craft over, and one day, returning to his work, he heard the sound of many voices. He turned for a few minutes, and when he reached his canoe it had been turned over as he desired.

On that occasion the beings who assisted the canoe-maker appear to have had definite form, and certainly to have displayed physical strength, but this extreme anthropomorphizing is unusual with respect to the assistance given to carpenters. The construction of a canoe is an arduous and difficult work; the person who has made one is regarded by his fellows with re-
[554] spect mixed with envy, and it is tacitly assumed that he must have received more than human assistance. Considering the number of anthropomorphic beings known to the Bella Coola, it is not surprising that some individuals should assume that the successful carpenter must have had assistance from one of them, but to other Bella Coola the explanation would be in the intangible help vouchsafed to him by some kind of supernatural power.

* 776 Similar intangible power is believed to be evident in a person's thoughts. If a man receives either good or evil from a
828 comrade it is his duty and privilege to repay. He intends to do so, but only a good man can carry out the resolution. When a white man would attribute to forgetfulness, procrastination, or laziness, the Bella Coola say it is caused by the intervention of *Snqumhulaiem*, who steals away his thoughts. It is doubtful whether this being is considered to have any definite form; rather he is a barrier, normally situated within the doorway of every house. The ideas of a strong man are able to surmount the obstacle, but *Snqumhulaiem* obscures those of a wrestling, and directs him to matters of no importance.

Another intangible supernatural being is that which drives firewood. The Bella Coola say that no matter how 372
* 776 well a fire may be provided with fuel when a person sits down to a meal, it is certain to be either out, or nearly so, when he has finished eating. The natural explanation does not satisfy

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the Bulla Coola. No one knows the name of the fire devourer, and it may be that he lacks form. Though ignorant of the law of conservation of matter, the Bulla Coola realize that the wood must have gone somewhere, and postulate a land far across the western sea where burnt wood lies in shadowy heaps, each billet retaining its original form though it lacks material substance. This region is presided over by an evil being with a desire for human flesh (II, p. 416).

The above list by no means exhausts the anthropomorphic beings resident either in *Nuwuhi'a* or in this world. Those described are the most important, and suffice to make clear the religious attitude of the Bulla Coola to beings of this type. Others appear in connection with *hactar* dances only, and a consideration of these can be deferred until vol. II, chap. x, whereas some belong essentially to shamanism and allied subjects treated in vol. I, chap. xx.

ZOOMORPHIC BEINGS

The attitude of mingled hope and fear with which the Bulla Coola regard their supernatural anthropomorphic beings is typical of their thoughts and actions concerning zoomorphic creatures as well. In the supernatural world the dividing line between human and animal beings is not clearly defined; fabulous monsters have the mentality of superman, and can be appeased, besought, or cajoled precisely as are anthropomorphic beings. Like those of human form, supernatural animals can bestow good or evil on human beings with whom they come in contact. The division shown in this chapter must, therefore, be regarded as merely for convenience; it does not correspond to a distinction in the minds of the Bulla Coola.

One of the most dreaded animals known to the Bulla Coola is the *ninag*, a monster about the size of a large grizzly bear, with long, silky, beautiful hair, blue-grey in colour. It walks almost upright on short hind legs, so that its long fore-legs touch the ground at intervals; these are provided with sharp

[illegible] rations resembling, but larger than, those of an eagle. It has no tail. The great strength of these animals rests in the fact that their eyes revolve in their sockets, so that, when screwed, piercing beams shoot forth which strike senseless anyone on whom they fall. Having thus stunned his victim, the *sasq* picks him up and stuffs him into a broad-mouthed basket, carried on the back. It is provided with spikes inclined inwards and downwards so that a person thrust within cannot climb out. Human beings are carried in this way to the beast's lair, a cave in the mountains, where they are devoured at leisure. Wolves always accompany *sasq*; in fact, they may almost be termed attendants upon them (see vol. III, chap. 4). Like other supernatural creatures, *sasq* are impervious to most mortal weapons, but there is one method of overcoming them. If a human cut himself on the outer side of his right leg so that the blood flows freely, and smears a bullet with this, he can kill a *sasq*. Similar success is gained by biting the tongue and smearing the bullet with blood so obtained.

Another animal which is credited powerless by the same charm is the *hoji*. This beast somewhat resembles a man, its hands especially, and the region around the eyes being distinctly human. It walks on its hind legs, in a stooping posture, its long arms swinging below the knees. In height it is rather less than the average man. The entire body, except the face, is covered with long hair, the growth being most profuse on the chest which is large, corresponding to the great strength of the animal. The most peculiar feature of the animal is its penis, which is so long that it must be rolled up and carried in the arms when the creature is walking; it terrifies its victims by striking two stones and breaking branches with its unrolled organ. It is said that a woman was once drawing water on the edge of a stream when a *hoji*, concealed on the other shore, extended its penis under the water to the further bank and held intercourse with her. The woman rendered her powerless, as if turned to stone; she could neither flee nor remove the organ. The companions who unsuccessfully to

[illegible]
[illegible]

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out the organ until one of them brought a satisfactory tool, whereupon the monster, dreading its razor-like edge, withdrew.

The following story illustrates, better than any description, the attitude of the Bella Coola towards these animals.

Not many years ago a certain *Qáiʼlx* was encamped with his wife and child in the Bay of the Thousand Islands, *Ítsulaiʼlx*, about ten miles above Dean, one of the heads of fiord. He heard a number of the creatures in the forest behind him and asked his gun, as the same came calling out to them to go away. Instead, the breaking of branches and beating upon resonantly some wood. Becoming alarmed, he called out once more: "Go away, or you shall feel my power." They still approached and *Qáiʼlx* fired in the direction of the sounds. There followed a wild commotion in the forest, roars, grunts, growling, and the breaking of branches. The hunter, now thoroughly alarmed, told his wife and child to embark in the canoe while he covered their retreat with his gun. He followed them without molestation, and embarked his craft out far from shore. The fiord could be heard plainly as they rushed to and fro on the beach, but only the vague outlines of their forms were visible in the darkness. Presently, though there was no wind, the canoe began to roll as if in a heavy sea. *Qáiʼlx* decided to fire to frightening this, but before he had gone far he paddle struck the bottom, although he was in mid-channel. Looking up, he saw that the mountains were higher than usual, the fiord had, by their supernatural power, raised the whole area so that the water had been almost entirely drained away. They are the only supernatural beings with this power. *Qáiʼlx* jumped overboard into water which reached only to his knees, and waded the canoe to Kwacowlin Bay, the fiord following him along the shore.[1]

This is not the only occasion on which fiord have appeared near Kwacowlin Bay. Within the life-time of the father of an informant, a chief set out with some friends from Kwacowlin, bound for Dean. They travelled overland to Kwacowlin Bay, thence by canoe, making the journey without incident. When returning, they decided to gather clams on the rocky point of the bay. As the craft drew around the tip of the promontory, they saw a fiord gathering shellfish. The paddlers backed their canoe behind some rocks whence they could

[1] One of the features which the Bella Coola consider most surprising about this incident is that the fiord are found upon the flat which must have been dried out by the tide.

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watch without being seen. The creature acted as if frightened; it kept looking backwards, then hurriedly scraped up some clams with its tongues, dashed off with these into the forest, and came back for more. The chief decided to attack the animal. A frontal approach was impossible owing to lack of cover, so he landed and crept stealthily through the forest, armed with his Hudson's Bay Company's musket. Presently he stumbled upon a heap of clams which the animal had collected. He waited until it returned with another load, then raised his musket and fired. Instead of killing the *hoja*, its supernatural power was so great that the hunter's musket burst in his hands, though he himself was not injured. The *hoja* shrieked and whistled as if in anger, and at once hordes of its mates came dashing out through the forest. The frightened chief rushed out on the beach and called to his comrades to save him. They brought his canoe close to the shore so that he could clamber aboard, and then paddled away northward.

The Bella Coola believe the *hoja*, unlike most supernatural animals, have not abandoned the country since the coming of the white man. One man was most insistent that they still lived on King Island, and promised to point one out if a visit was made to that spot. This man refused to camp at the place where, he affirmed, *hoja* are common. Another informant stated that though he had never seen one of the monsters, a bride of them surrounded his camp near Canoe Crossing for a week. Every night he heard them roaring and beating on trees and branches. A curious blending of old and new beliefs was recorded in connection with this statement. This man remarked that he was once paddling forward when he heard the creatures closing in upon him. His head swam with terror, until he remembered that he was a Christian; he called on Jesus to help him, grasped his oar, and dashed towards the place from which the hideous sounds were coming. He heard the animals moving off all round him, but failed to see any of them.

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Sasq have been heard as recently as 1924 according to popular belief. In January of that year a number of young Bella Coola were returning home in a motor-boat from Ocean Falls. They camped for the night on Burke Channel, and were alarmed to hear a crashing of bushes and a beating on tree-trunks. Thoroughly frightened, they directed the beams of several electric torches in the direction of the sounds without avail and at last started the engine of their motor-boat, the noise of which frightened the *Sasq* away. 539 776

An animal somewhat similar to the *Sasq* is the *Alikwi*. The Bella Coola state that long, long ago, there lived no human beings near Port John on Evans Arm, King Island. They were a strange people, with peculiar rites including the worship of fire. Their neighbours, the Bella Bella, from whom they differed entirely, determined to destroy the *Alikwi*. A massacre took place, and only a few survivors escaped to an island in one of the lakes in the interior of King Island. There, in course of generations, they grew hairy and lost their human characteristics; it is said that a few paintings made by them are still visible there. Not many years ago some Bella Coola saw what may have been the last surviving *Alikwi*. Two hairy creatures were observed fishing from a skin boat on Burke Channel. As soon as they realized that they were observed they dashed ashore, broke up the framework of their canoe, and plunged into the forest carrying its skin covering. Nothing more seems to be known concerning them, nor do they appear ever to have granted supernatural assistance to anyone. 776 629

Another supernatural creature is the Sikwi. It somewhat resembles a cow, although its legs are shorter and its body, which is white and hairless, is heavier. In spite of its awkward build, this animal can move so rapidly as to catch birds and animals with its tongue, which can be shot forth to a considerable length. Various incidents are related concerning *Sikwi*. One of its characteristics is that it causes pain. The country where one lives is invariably denuded of underbrush and even pebbles; everything movable is blown away, leaving only some 776

and gaping holes in the earth. In such regions no fire can be lit. The last known area of this kind is up the river behind Green Bay, about four miles from the sea. So far as could be learnt, *Sókoll* have never assisted Bella Coola in any way nor played any part in the social life of the community. They are feared on account of their supernatural power, but appear so seldom that they are practically disregarded.

More common than the last, and accordingly more important, is the *Sankas*. It is an enormous bird with bony wings and long, flexible beak. As it flies, the wings creak violently, and its note, an oft repeated "Hen, hen, hen," can be heard for miles. These birds are said to have been numerous in former years, and are well known to all Bella Coola. Masked figures representing them are often used as *Sacred dances*. The *Sankas* is feared for its practice of inserting its long beak into the rectum of anyone sleeping carelessly in the forest and drawing forth his entrails. This can be prevented by sounding upright a staff, such as all hunters carry, before going to sleep.

A popular story states that once, not many years ago, a number of men camped on the edge of a canyon near their home, without taking this precaution. One of them was awakened by a slight movement of one of his companions and, looking up, he saw the long neck and head of a *Sankas* projecting over the rim of the canyon and reaching for persons's entrails. The convulsive shiver of the sleeper just had awakened him. With his bow he shot an arrow into the bird's neck, causing it to disappear over the brink. Presently the long beak reappeared and he discharged another arrow with the same result. Again and again this happened until the attack ceased to down. The hunter assumed that a single bird had been repeatedly attacking, but when he looked over the edge of the cliff, he saw below a number of carcasses, each with an arrow in its throat. The canyon must have been a meeting place for the birds. His companions seemed still asleep, but when he investigated he found that all were dead; only the slightly enlarged arrow showed how they had been killed.

No *Sankas* has been seen within recent years, but one informant and her husband heard them on the south side of the Bella Coola River about two miles from the sea. They would have

been frightened at any time but rightfull increased their fears. Their dogs heard the sound and howled in dread. The women drew on their fur several soiled blankets, but only pair of them, and some dry salmon, which all supernatural beings either. Then she and her husband fled home, waving incense to and fro and firing muskets them in all directions. The birds did not follow them, but they considered themselves fortunate to reach Bella Coola unmolested.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural animals just described are fairly exact; they know their appearance, what to expect, and what to do if one is encountered. In addition to these, they assume the existence of numbers of indefinite form which they term *ooqa*. Any supernatural creature, a *kikooli* for example, is spoken of as a *ooqa* in general, not specific, classification. Consequently, when one Bella Coola may describe as a *ooqa* is given a distinctive name by someone else with wider knowledge. So far as could be learned, there is no designation other than *ooqa* for creatures which move from the ocean to hyail to chase the way for salmon, and spend the summer in the lakes of the interior, or beneath the ice of glaciers. They can assume various forms, sometimes even human, though they usually appear as giant, hairless, bear-like creatures with short legs and brown skin. Their eyes are large, round, and glass-like. In whatever form these creatures may appear, they are almost certain to bring disaster to the beholder. One of the haunts of *ooqa* is beneath the glacier on Mount Ogmore, behind the small mountain which rises behind Ocean, on the south side of the Bella Coola River about half a mile from the sea. It is said that only a few years ago a white man, having heard of these creatures, went to that place with a number of Bella Coola. All the latter were able to hear the roaring of the beasts, louder than the whistle of a steamer, but the white man seemed deaf to it, though the power of the *ooqa* had affected him, for he died on the way back to the village.

Other *ooqa* are said to live near Kimsquit. The father of

a woman now in middle age is said to have gutted a white man in the open. Through a telescope he saw an enormous animal, and passed the movement to a Kwagiutl Indian in the party. He, too, saw it, but the effect was so powerful that he soon died. Theoretically, a man may receive supernatural aid from one of these monsters, but practically they are regarded as entirely evil and to be avoided.

The creature to which the term *sisiutl* is most often applied is one that lives in lakes. It has a huge mouth and can walk with incredible force. More specifically, this animal is covered a *sisiutl*. One is said to have lived not long ago on Nuxalk Bay, about six miles from Bella Coola, and a small one is said to be living even now in Owen Lake. The Bella Coola tell a number of stories concerning the *sisiutl*; the following is a typical account, and others will be given with folk-tales in a later chapter.

Within the life-time of an informant, two months, a chief's son and a great man's son, went to swim in one of the small lakes near Owen Lake. The chief's son who was really lazy, came out, meeting a large fish, leaving his companion on the shore. When the latter saw on the point of diving in he heard a dreadful rushing noise, combined with an enormous crashing. He called to the swimmer asking him if he, too, heard it.

"Yes," came the answer, "this is a sisiutl," and the youth was almost his prey.

At the same place he put his foot on the back of one. "Come back, come back, there is something bad there that we do not understand."

He dived in the water again, screaming "Oh! There is nothing wrong."

The water boiled, sticks and stones were rushed from the bank and fell not towards the center of the lake. The sisiutl eventually gave up, gave that the youth on land was forced to shoot a two-headed with his arrow, while the lake flattened out towards the lake, the sisiutl to a strong wind. The wind on the water was so terrible that he was almost forced to relinquish his grip before the sisiutl subsided. When he looked at the lake the sisiutl had vanished.

The survivor returned to the village and reported what had happened. No one believed his story, however, he was made a prisoner, accused of having killed the chief's son. For a week the people questioned him daily without being able to shake his story, then they resolved to

[illegible] 539 996*

[illegible]

"Come with me," he said to the fellow-villagers when it was ready.

They waited on the shore while he swam out into the lake saying. Presently the swelling and sinking sound was heard, and now the spectators were forced to clench one-hands to keep themselves from being drawn into the lake, while their legs were taken out horizontally as the pull here on the previous occasion. When the wind subsided the swimmer had vanished.

He had been sucked into the stomach of a gigantic sucker-ring which [illegible]. Groping around, he found the orifice of the shell's suction which he cut the left and put it on himself. Then he made his way to the neck of the monster, not a little thought to, and dived out. The suckers were so far up that he lost in the lake great when he became above it. He swam ashore and the evidence of the left sucker's his story. The circular of the gigantic found to the surface are long forwards.

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In addition to the anthropomorphic beings already described as existing beneath the surface of the ocean, spectacular animal monsters also dwell there. One of the worst dreaded is the Kaiwa, which rock wooden objects down to the bottom of the sea. It resembles pitch, and when once it comes in contact with a canoe, it cannot be removed. The idle Gods possess supernatural power in the octopus also, but increasing the dread with which the animal would be regarded in any case. They believe that it is kind of giant [illegible] [illegible] to have to obtain it. It is said that the gas in some resident, but remains to a such within the creature's stomach. One informant stated that within his mother's village, a man walking near [illegible] heard a smashing sound like someone chopping wood. He knew what must be the cause, but still decided to investigate. It was an octopus. The [illegible] man chopping down from the tree, using two of its arms as [illegible] It. That nothing his danger, the man allowed himself [illegible] [illegible]

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mined and carried to the shore. He had thought that it would be easy to free himself, but he found it impossible and was carried under the sea. He hit frantically at the enfolding arms, until he succeeded in freeing his own, with which he pushed up the beak of the octopus, thus killing it. He rose to the surface and returned home more the worse.

The Bella Coola do not profess to know all the animals of the world; and if they see a strange one, they assume it to be one known to their ancestors though unfamiliar to them. Since any unknown animal is considered to have supernatural power, due care must be exercised when one is seen. The following incident illustrates this point.

The mother's brother of an informant worked for some thirty years for a white man in Victoria. His employer once sent him to see a turtle which was confined in a pool in a basement preparatory to being killed for a banquet. As soon as he saw it, he said:

"My parents in Bella Coola told me of such a creature."

A few days before Christmas the turtle was cut up and displayed on four platters in the window of the store; the Bella Coola saw it, and then learned that it had been killed. The same night a sore appeared on his wrist, and by the next day it was large and running. He said to his employer:

"In a few days I will be dead. Do not grieve for me. The sight of such supernatural creatures is too powerful for Indians; I survived one experience, but never has been too much for me and I will die."

His employer wisely sent him to a white doctor who cured him, although the man remained. Years later the man returned to Bella Coola where he displayed the mark as proof of his story. A few weeks later he died, and the Bella Coola are firmly convinced that his death was due to his having seen the turtle many years before.

Although the forests of British Columbia abound with supernatural animals of enormous power, the attitude of the Bella Coola hunter who penetrates into lonely places is not one of constant fear. It is true that he may meet danger at any turn, but danger is part and parcel of human life, and he is by no means defenseless. He dreads the powers possessed by creatures of another place, but they for their part dread certain human objects. Clothing which has been worn for so long that it has become steeped with the emanations of its

human weaver belongs to a sphere differing from that of supernatural animals and is dangerous to them. Consequently, if worn clothing be thrown on a fire it repels unpleasant visitors. Other powerful protections are false bolsters, and smoked salmon roe. A wise hunter always carries these and if he sees a dangerous creature such as a *yong* he throws the two together and spits them towards the peril. Needless to say, if a kindly animal is seen, the hunter does not drive it away by these methods. Why false bolsters should be so effective is a matter of wonder to the Bella Coola themselves, for as a rule it is the human manner attached to objects which gives them their strength over the supernatural. Thus the most powerful of all charms are pads that have been used by women during their menses. If a woman crawls on the snow she is careful to carry some of them with her ready to repel any danger from the supernatural water beings.*

The manner in which the Bella Coola regard mythical animals and other evidences of the supernatural is illustrated by the following practice. Hunters always seem to know the direction of the wind, and when the breeze is too slight to be discernible they blow upwards a small amount of eagle down, which is so light that the faintest breath of air will bear it down wind. What the logical white man considers a natural phenomenon, appears to the Bella Coola as miraculous; eagle down, stripped from the dead bird by human hands and stored for some time within a house, has become so humanized that it can compare supernatural powers to indicate the direction of the wind.

The mythical monsters already described are not the only animals regarded as supernatural by the Bella Coola. They believe that in the beginning *Alquntam* created men and beasts at the same time and in the same place, giving the former the greater share of power, but not ranking the latter as a different place of existence. In these early days, the semi-supernatural

* Other matter will be described more fully in connection with Magic, see vol. 2, chap. xx.

* 776 825 [773] forefathers of the Bella Coola had the ability to talk with animals and birds. The men of today, who realize that such intercourse is not now possible, assume that they have degenerated from the golden age of their first ancestors. On the other hand, they are no more to believe that beasts have undergone a similar change, and take it for granted that they have continued in the supernatural, or semi-supernatural state in which they were created by *Hamatsa*. It is true that man is stronger than most animals, but that does not affect the attitude with which the latter are regarded, for supernatural and powerful are not synonymous terms. *Hamatsa* decreed that they should serve as food for mankind, and they have since obeyed his command, but the Bella Coola do not consider themselves undisputed lords of creation. They fear *snaq*, *sisnaq* and other creatures of great power, but they know how to avoid them; similarly, deer and mountain goats fear man, but they are not entirely defenceless, because their speed and agility give them advantages corresponding to those of man in contact with beasts stronger than themselves. All living creatures use the weapons with which they are equipped. For example, when a mountain goat eludes a hunter by scaling a precipice too steep for its pursuer, the latter considers it has escaped through supernatural climbing ability, whereas the goat has merely used the power granted by *Hamatsa*. Likewise, when a *snaq* or a *sisnaq* is overcome by the use of soiled clothing or smoked salmon roe, the means, unusual to us, are natural to the human being employing them. Man and animals alike regard each other's weapons as supernatural.

[719] In consequence of these beliefs, the attitude of the Bella Coola towards animals is fundamentally different from that of white men. They regard them as possessing human sensibility, and even the ability to assume human form if they so desire. In fact, they believe that animals merely appear to them in the shape of beasts, but can change to human, or other form and behave accordingly whenever they wish to do so. The degeneration of mankind has made it impossible for

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men to see these transformed beings habitually, but even now, [776]
or at any rate until a few years ago, shamans were able to lift [825]
the intervening veil. From accounts given by those who have
had such experience, the Bella Coola believe that *Alpaxwim* [756]
gave to birds and animals, as well as to humans, the boon of [773]
fire, and it is only the unworthiness of men that makes them
unable to see the smoke rising from the houses of different
creatures. In former times, fortunate hunters were able to
do so, and consequently had phenomenal success. The smoke
that ascends from the fires of different animals corresponds in
colour to that of its owner; a mountain goat's is white, a
beaver's, black, a squirrel's, red, a wolf's, grey, and so on.
When a goat cramps the earth on a mountain, it rings hollow, [823]
so indeed it is to those animals, for their home is within; and
when a hunter loses his quarry entirely, it is because the latter
has entered its house. Shamans are sometimes able to hear [756]
the gatherings of animals under the peaks. Like human beings,
they dance to the accompaniment of music, and in all respects
behave like them. They have their times of joy and sorrow,
of success and failure. When ill they are cured by their own
shamans, grizzly bear, *ceeup*, and wolverine; these three also
dance to welcome the dead. All animals and birds are like
brothers, able to converse with each other and living harmo-
niously together in that other part of their life which only
shamans have seen. Porcupine is the oldest, and a hunter [224]
always tries to kill one before passing to more important prey.
The animals know about the actions of human beings and [784]
show their aversion to certain habits by refusing to allow
themselves to be seen by anyone practising them. For example,
they do not like people to drink water in which dog salmon
have been soaked, and no hunter would dream of partaking of [224]
that food. Bella Coola mythology is full of accounts of human
beings who, with supernatural aid, were able to penetrate to [773]
the homes of animals. Tales of this type would be unintelli- [538]
gible without understanding the attitude of the people to the
animal and bird kingdoms.

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Fish, too, are regarded in the same light. Indeed, there is a particularly close affinity between men and salmon, for twins are born through the instrumentality of the latter. Just how this occurs no Bella Coola knows, but a twin and salmon are regarded almost as brothers. In days when men were more powerful than now, a twin was especially liked by animals. Through his connection with salmon, a *ke'le* (the term applied to a twin associated with a salmon) could understand the speech of birds, animals, and fish. In many instances he could also assume salmon form at will.

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In view of beliefs of this kind it is not surprising that the Bella Coola attribute great powers even to beasts well known to them. In the story recorded in vol. I, p. 55, the War-Party of the Tides was summoned by the speaking of a dog. A belief persists that danger is always present when a dog acts in an unusual way, though this can be avoided by killing it at once. In July, 1922, a visit was made to an elderly Bella Coola early one morning. The man was in a state of absolute terror. The preceding night he had locked his pet dog outside his house to give warning if anyone approached, but when he awoke in the morning, it was curled up asleep as usual at the foot of his bed. There was no possible hole through which it could have entered, so it seemed to the owner that his dog must have transformed itself into some minute animal and made its way beneath the door. The only other explanation was that its master, hearing in his sleep the whimpering of his pet, had got out of bed to let it in, without remembering that he had done so. To the writer this seemed the probable explanation, especially when the old man admitted that he had been in the habit of walking in his sleep in his younger days, but the Bella Coola was not satisfied. He could not decide whether or not to kill the dog, a great favourite, but finally decided not to do so. The incident was mentioned to another informant, who was greatly worried and assumed it to be an omen of death to the dog's master. His only comfort lay in the fact

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that the animal had not spoken, a sure intimation of insanity and death unless it is killed immediately. 776* 787

A few years ago a dog gave warning to its master by placing its paws on his shoulders as he sat on the ground, and howling over his head. Such unusual behaviour should have convinced him of the necessity of killing his pet to avert some calamity, but he paid no attention to it. A few days later, it seemed to him that he saw the face of a friend appear at an uncurtained upper window where no human being could be. The next morning he found an axe, which he had long lost and supposed stolen, imbedded far up in a tree near his house. These three incidents all presaged disaster, and a few days later he shot and killed himself when crazed by drink. 825 [962]

The actions of wild animals are considered even more important. Not many years ago a famous Kimsquit hunter saw a bear and attempted to shoot it. He raised his musket and took careful aim, but was prevented from pulling the trigger. This should have warned him of the potency of the animal, and of the wisdom of avoiding the spot in future. The bear moved away without molesting him, but exactly one year later he was killed by a mountain goat at precisely the same place. No one knows which supernatural being had chosen to assume two forms in that locality.

The Bella Coola believe that animals, being supernatural, have powers and abilities which they conceal from the white man. Wolves do not kill their prey with their fangs, but with bird arrows which shamans alone can see; beaver do not cut with their teeth, but with crook-handled adzes. Even more striking is the virility of yearling mountain goats. An old Bella Coola described how he and another man were once hunting goats. His partner killed a fat yearling, which they laid on its back and skinned. The killer was about to dismember it, when the animal began to kick. First it shook one hind leg, then the other, then in succession each fore-leg, and lastly its head. Then the goat stood up and gave itself a shake, which caused the skin to return to its proper position, 776* 825

* 996 and leaps away apparently uninjured. The Bella Coola say
825 that yearling goats have very strong spirits (I, p. 29) which
[774] make possible such actions.

Though generally callous with regard to the sufferings of animals, the Bella Coola are usually careful not to kill more than they need; and knowledge of the supernatural power
[224] possessed by animals sometimes leads men to treat them with
[226] great consideration. For example, if a bull-head is caught in an elachan net in the river, the fisherman throws it back into the water, saying:

"I have saved you; please do the same for me."

The following incident, believed without question by the Bella Coola, shows the manner in which bull-heads help those who have often befriended them. About 1880 a Kimsquit fisherman, *Mukkin-i*, fell into a rapids where he was in great danger of drowning. A bull-head, seeing his plight and mindful of former help, increased his size and showed *Mukkin-i* ashore with its nose.

"I have saved you, normal," said the bull-head, as he did so.

The ability to increase in size is not restricted to fish, but is shared by small mammals and reptiles. Lizards, for instance, four feet in length, are said to live permanently in a pond about seven miles below Kimsquit; they are normal people.

Toads, too, are old normals. If a man see a snake devouring one of them he will, if he is wise, kill the snake and say to the toad:

"Please help me when I am in difficulties."

A toad never forgets its obligations and if that man should fall into a river when the toad is near, the latter will grow large enough to drag him forth.

534 Snakes are regarded with aversion and disgust. This may
* 996 be in part due to the belief that they cook for *Mlle-ialal*
825 (I, p. 43), but more because these reptiles enter the stomachs
955 of human beings. The Bella Coola believe that snakes are the
[955] offspring of a supernatural Mother of Snakes, a mythical being of dread powers. The following story illustrates their beliefs

concerning the danger of over approach to this creature.

Earlier was a man of mixed lineage, *Kinnapit* and *Bay*, was Nuerter. With several companions he was gathering herbs when he stepped into a hole and his numerous tiny centaurs crawling over his legs. Looking down, he saw that they were small snakes, that had just been hatched from a Shelter of Sodom. He fled, terrified, pursued by the reptiles, which he managed to keep off in some sense by breathing behind him a breath of spicy sweet geraniums, a known deterrent. When he had succeeded the snakes he called his companions, told them of his adventure, and returned home. There he repeated the tale. Though *Earlier* did not know it, some of the snakes had succeeded in crossing his stomach. Presently he began to swell, his body became larger and larger until he was in danger of bursting. The reptiles within were breeding rapidly. Luckily, one of his fellow villagers knew the proper remedy. A raised hut was made for the sufferer about five feet from the ground where *Earlier* stretched himself on a number of thorny branches, while his friends built a fire of devil's dirt and sweet geraniums over which he was hung head to the smoke. Then, to give greater privacy, they cast on the flames soiled clothing and poured [illegible] which *Earlier* drank. This killed the snakes. The patient began to vomit, emitting a mass of struggling serpents, and at once began to grow thinner, soon regaining his normal condition. Had he not been able to spare the reptiles, he would have died.

Earlier was not the only one to have this unpleasant experience. Many others have suffered in the same way, but in no case has anyone been able to feel the snakes or the actual place or cause of entry.

The beliefs of the Bulla Caste concerning the power possessed by animals are clearly shown by their attitude with regard to killing them. Man is immortal, so are animals. *Apuntim* decreed that bears and birds should serve as food for mankind, but it is only their clothing, their worthless "blanket of flesh," as the Bulla Caste express it, which they give to humans. In the autumn bears appear to die, but every spring they are reborn. Similarly, when an animal is slain, it merely discards its mortal self while its spirit[9] ascends

[9] [illegible], see vol. 1, p. 96.

[illegible] to the land above whence, in course of time, it comes down to earth again to reanimate a new body.[illegible] Consequently, the [illegible] of a hunter does not indicate his mastery over an animal as much as the latter's good will in allowing itself to be slain by one who has planned him by ceremonial chastity (1, p. [illegible]), or by one who has been endowed with skill by some other supernatural being. Men are accordingly careful to obey the wishes of their quarry. Long ago, a mountain goat told a shaman that he and his friends liked men, so a hunter who has killed one always smears two lands of white arrows to face from the right eye to the left side of the mouth. Another shaman was told by a bear never to use unfeathered arrows since those of his fellows killed with such would return. Phases of other birds have since been used, preferably those of mallard ducks. Sometimes the wishes of an animal require considerable ritual. For example, when a bear is killed, the carcass is stretched upon newly arranged evergreen boughs and dressed. The hunter removes the pelt so that the red bear rests the earth, with the whole hanging loosely over the body. He puts it four times, as if pressing the skin back into place, and says:

'Please don't linger. Go home and return,' or,

'Please come to me tomorrow. Tell your brothers, your sisters, your uncles, your aunts and your other relatives to come to me.'

Should this be omitted, the animal is likely to stand up, shiver, shake itself, causing the pelt to return to its place, and run away. Trapping mountain goats are especially prone to do this, as already mentioned. Even if an animal does not show its displeasure by escaping in this way, it often refuses to return to earth unless the proper rites have been performed over its carcass.

Bears have another aversion: they do not like to be eaten by men. So the hunter leaves the skinned body for nothing

[illegible] Where an Indian is [illegible] in any other community, not [illegible] of the skin [illegible] the necessity of [illegible]

and angles where he invites us devour it. In an hiding he does not address them by their usual names, but calls them, [illegible] animals, "The Devourer of Men Which He Does Not Kill," that is, "The Biting Scavenger"; and Eagle, [illegible] animal, "The Common Eater," that is, "The One Who Eats before He Is Hungry." Then morning the Bull has been devoured and the Scarab believes the gods have come to Heliopolis and birds, being [illegible], can have the souls of animals and read their thoughts. The significance of these spellings is that animals have the power to conceal themselves, so a human must pale that Seven before he can hope to conceal. Belief in the efficacy of such incantations as these is equally telling into Heaven and have meant to more often cases, but that doubt is carefully placed in an overgrown tree near which the animal is slain, so that it may come back to life.

Fish, Shrimps, are immortal. In summer the canals are choked with dead and dying salmon, but the Bulls Eagle knows that they are not really dead, they have merely shed their mortal bodies in accordance with Hypostasis's decree. In that season of the year he causes the river to rise so that they will sweep away their bodies and survivors double.

Although the salmon, from the trickleness of their bones, often human beings to feed on their bodies, yet they have survived. Dies and shallow which are carefully observed. From the time the first spring salmon appear (I. ps. 194-195) until the rising of the Bull moon, women are not allowed to wet their or to go near the river. When men see the Bull, but instead of throwing the bones to dogs, they carefully return them to the river saying:

"Whom water hath nourished."

If this is inconvenient, bones can be thrown into the moats with impunity.

Salmon, the sun and animals live in heaven (the salmon is their home for beneath the surface of the water. They hold and desire earthly objects, especially powerful water-bulls (see Hypostasis 5) to use as sponges for their children, as the Bulls [illegible] of it [illegible] on the [illegible].

Cuala then grieve of it and sight down on the water.

Before leaving the subject of supernatural animals, a word must be said concerning the animals of the Bella Coola to those forms their first ancestors came to earth. If, for example, a man's first ancestor descended as a raven, this inventiblg is a valuable possession of himself and his family. Indeed, in most venerated possessions of a Bella Coola are not the material objects collected by him through life, but the intangible rights wrapped up in his ancestral history. These are referred to under four names:

(1) *Nutsem*, "Preserved Story"; the myth describing the coming to earth of a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(2) *Gnalu*, "What Was Sent Down"; the names and other possessions given by *Alquntlm* to a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(3) *Tamalt*, "Whence We Came"; the place to which a man's first ancestors came in the beginning of time, and the one from which they have since spread.

(4) *Snalkum*.

Native constructs are recorded in vol. I, chap. vi, and the second and third terms are really part of the first, although to the Bella Coola they are psychologically distinct. *Snalkum* is the word used for both the birds or animals chosen as totems in the first section, and also for creatures with which the well-people came in contact. The nearest transparent equivalent is, "Crest." When a Bella Coola whose first ancestor came to earth as a raven perceives that bird, it serves as a visible mark of his intangible possession. In former days, if a man carved an image so that his work and his name would come to forgetness, it was a *snalkum*, a constant reminder of his previous to generations than others. A *snalkum*, therefore, combines the concept of ancestral with that of crest, so that Bella Coola speak of the white man's ancestrals as *snalkum*. In brief, a man regards the form assumed by his ancestor when coming to this earth as an emblem of the

ancient history and fame of his family. It is a matter con-
nected with the past, a matter of the mind, a source of pride
to him to have such a possession, but a matter that does not
affect his daily life.

So far as could be learned, the Bella Coola totem consists of
the following birds and animals: raven, bald eagle, grizzly
bear, black bear, wolf, whale, blackfish, sturgeon, bear,
alderwit, possibly deer, and the mythical double-headed snake,
serpent. To these must be added the sun, because some of the
original people came to earth in human form by sliding down
his sun-beams, and salmon, the years which
ascended from earth to the land above, down which a number
of the first ancestors of mankind descended to human form.
The Bella Coola believe that these years are particularly
common numerals among the tribes of the same name. Ac-
cording to some accounts it was these years which supported
the first sky until it fell.

A crest is connected almost exclusively with the dances
pays no attention to the crests of the present time. The
matter was approached from every possible angle and not the
slightest sign of respect toward living specimens of a man's
crest could be noticed. A query as to whether or not a man
refrained from eating his crest was regarded as highly hum-
orous. Nor is there any trace of friendship between men
hold families even if they happen to have the same crest. The
subject was broached repeatedly, until at last one informant
smiled broadly and said:

"I know now what you want to find out, I can tell you all
about it."

He remarked how the Kitlacla are, in his opinion, stupid
enough to regard as brothers all those who have the same
crest even if they are members of different tribes. He
said that when he was a young man at Victoria, where Indians
from all parts of the coast used to meet, a Kitlacla had once
asked him what was his crest. He was puzzled, but as the

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] (socially), that a man given to resemble the ancestral shade. If, for example, one man's to the right, the left eyes white only, whereas that of another with eyes over long preserve its blackness. Where dolmen is the sun as a signal for attack, or a whistle imitating the cry of the leader's bird or animal. Finally, when a man whose eyes is the seven hours one of these birds calling, he cries out:

"Hide, gentlemen (the receive fans), it is as you say."

This custom is probably due to a belief in the ability of eyes to fear eyes.

On the whole the attitude of the Bella Coola towards living examples of their ancestors does not differ from that of straight eyes and superiority with which they regard other birds and animals.

THE SOUL

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning Souls differ so fundamentally from those regarding other birds and animals, that the subject must be treated separately. In the beginning of time, when *Hyamlis* sent down the ancestors of the Bella Coola to this earth, he dispatched Souls to be their guide and teacher. For this purpose Souls was given greater power than that granted to any other animal. He came to earth in seven forms, then changed to a man, but he dwelt not thus back to the land above as did those of the other forerunners. So, even, it remained to the world before where he could remain to an end. *Hyamlis* had instructed him to travel to all parts of the world, meaning the coast of British Columbia, in order to study the ways and wants of the inhabitants and bring back to Bella Coola those which seemed desirable. On these occasions he used to assume seven forms and go off to his canoe, *Tsilaxtl*, which travelled without visible motive power at phenomenal speed. Owing to the power that *Hyamlis* had given him, he could talk to the trees and the mountains, the birds, the animals, and the insects, as well as to the human beings he encountered on the coast.

[illegible]

Raven, perhaps made conscious by this power, did not always use it for good purposes. He learnt many new inventions which he taught to the Bella Coola, but sometimes he indulged in adventures of an obscene nature. In fact he was often an "ass-ass." The Bella Coola relate many tales concerning his exploits. These are all more stories, such as can be told by anyone, and they fall into two classes. The complete humorous narrative, describing how Raven tried to drive off a certain other bird and animals, and his consequent discomfiture. These belong to the cycle of mythology and are recorded in vol. II, chap. v. In addition, there are stories describing his inventions and how obtained by Raven. These are given in detail here as the only satisfactory means of illustrating the attitude of the Bella Coola towards Raven.

The two Ravens, to whom Alqunta granted such power, is not regarded as a bird, but essentially as a supernatural, with the usually characteristics of a human being, and the weakness of a conceited individual who is always trying to display his powers. The ordinary word used for a raven is *qaus*, but the two Ravens is properly referred to by the titles as *Alqunta*, *Yemaklis*, *Sisemaklis*, "The Light-Bringer"; *Kitkatsa*, "The Wise One"; *Yerwaklaxmen*, "The Widower"; *Sqamaxen-ulkilt-ayas*, "The Unknown-of-age"; the usually used *Qa*, and *Qaus*. The Bella Coola do not explain what happened to this two *Yemaklis*, he appears to have dropped out of existence, and his power has not been transferred to the descendants, the raven of today. They are regarded as birds, with but the slightest trace of their ancestor's greatness. The Bella Coola know of the beliefs of the Kitkatla concerning Raven, and say that in the world he is considered only a bird but that the supreme deity himself. But in Bella Coola the exploits of Raven are always considered to be due to the power given him by *Alqunta*, whose servant he may, although he indulged in abuse his own position by exercising his mother-

[illegible]

The most spectacular of Raven's exploits was the theft of the sun to enable us to provide light for the world (1, p. 198). In this case, a valuable object was required for mankind, but often Raven involved with the daily lives of *Haanaw*, a point illustrated in the following account of the origin of death.[1]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible

[illegible] one is, and [illegible] one of the [illegible] to look is. On [illegible] Pumpernickel, "He Who Carries One," the [illegible] able to lift one of anything. Down swooped Pumpernickel, and around the dummy to his [illegible], but, as he flapped his wings to an effort to rise, they became stuck to the gum so that he could neither lift his quarry nor escape. Where the whole dread he was doomed. Where people on the floor watched the struggle. Then Hyacinthe dispatched another [illegible], Pumpernickel, "He Who Carries One," who is able to carry one of anything. Pumpernickel Gloriette grasped the whole with his claws and succeeded in raising it slightly before his wings stuck to the gum and he, too, fell back and was doomed. Then Hyacinthe sent down Pumpernickel, "He Who Carries Three," the [illegible] able to lift three of anything. Pumpernickel grasped the whole as his predecessors had done, and lifted it about ten feet in the air before his wings became stuck like those of the others, and he, too, fell back and was doomed. Hyacinthe, much worried, called to him Pumpernickel, "He Who Carries Four," the [illegible] able to carry four of anything, and dispatched him after telling him how the three brothers had been overcome in their efforts to carry the monster away. Pumpernickel swooped down with a powerful rush, grasped the whole firmly on the back of its neck, and carried it far aloft into the sky. Unfortunately the gum interfered with his wing-beats, they became more rapid and strained, until finally he began to fall, still struggling. All the while his wings were being more and more hampered, till finally he, too, was powerless, and with a resounding splash fell with the whole into the water where he, likewise, was drowned. When no more [illegible] appeared, the followers inside guided the wounds back to the beach, where he exhibited his prey to the spectators. The story does not record how he was able to disengage them from the gum and take them, too, the whole. All the people were amazed at the deed [illegible], for their large heavy wings resembled nothing ever seen before.

Karen was not satisfied with his success, however, though he had slain the [illegible], he had not rescued Fraulein. He went to his home still weeping at the loss of his bride. Hyacinthe and Fraulein had seen Karen's success, and the former sent the boy back. When Fraulein neared the house he said to Karen:

"Don't cry. There I am. I am your girl and have returned."

Karen looked at the speaker and replied: "No. You are not my one. He had beautiful flowing locks."

Fraulein had indeed appeared without any hair on her head, but he explained the loss by saying:

"Dear I am your own, Fraulein. I have been up to Pluvia's where there was such a gale that my hair was blown away."

Raven, blinded by his grief, did not believe him, and responded angrily:

"Why, reason not my son. What do you be to me? Go out of this house."

Disgusted at this response, Crocodile departed. Just as he was passing through the doorway, Raven noticed the cotton matter on his lips and realized that, in spite of the change in his appearance, his father was really his son. He called on him to return, but Crocodile paid no attention to his father's entreaties and went his way. Raven's grief was beyond expression, but he could do nothing to repair the damage he had done. It is said we have to Raven's amazed, all secrets would return to life two days after death.

The above myth is widely known among the Bella Coola, and is supposed to be historically accurate. At the same time, few people allow it to influence their thoughts with regard to death or its causes. It is a fact, but one that belongs to the realm of ancient history rather than to everyday experience. When a Bella Coola dies, his relatives, though they know that his death is due to the folly of Raven, mildly reproach him, and do not feel literally towards Raven. Bella Coola beliefs and theology are not systematized, hence it is quite possible for a person to realize a certain fact, such as the cause of death, and yet disregard it entirely. Considering that absolute contradictions can be believed simultaneously, it is not difficult to picture the mental attitude of people who believe, and at the same time disregard their belief.

One of Raven's speculations, and at the same time, hypothetical exploits was the bringing of salmon salmon to the Bella Coola River.[1]

In the beginning of time, no salmon salmon inhabited the rivers, and Raven determined to supply them. Over the river making wooden fish and throwing them into the water, he thought he could scatter them. Any always that after jumping a few times. The reason for the failure, though he did not know it, was because he had carried the small bone

[1] This is an example of conflicting beliefs. In addition to assuming the whole salmon salmon bone to Raven, a certain fish to salmon, and the Raven number then in the beginning of time, the Bella Coola also believe that the salmon salmon was sent to Alexander Mackenzie.

[illegible] on the back of the [illegible], she is called [illegible] for the Bella Vista and is thought to be especially important since the spirit [illegible] is [illegible]. Somewhat discouraged by the lack of success, Steven [illegible] holding the head in his hands pondering. Finally, he decided that he would have to run [illegible], the lack of the [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible].

His self-propelling canoe, Fabulé, was soon made ready and Steven invited Minou, a young Indiana, to accompany him. The non-travelling children [illegible] they came to the Bella Vista where the [illegible] had been [illegible]. On the beach was [illegible] of money and to [illegible] the [illegible] of a [illegible]. Steven had convinced Minou to remain in the canoe, as when the [illegible] had [illegible] the [illegible] in the house only Steven [illegible]. Though Minou was [illegible] to accompany him. Steven was [illegible] in the house, where he had [illegible] the [illegible] into the river. He [illegible] into a [illegible] and came to the beach, some of the [illegible] money [illegible] and brought [illegible] to the house where he was [illegible]. The [illegible] was [illegible] the [illegible] where the [illegible] intervened [illegible] one [illegible] of the house. In the [illegible], Steven [illegible] the [illegible] was [illegible] [illegible] other [illegible] [illegible] to the [illegible], and [illegible] discovered it to be the [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] back of the [illegible]. Seizing an opportunity when no one was looking, Steven covered the [illegible] against the [illegible] of the [illegible]. When the [illegible] was over and the [illegible] had [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] into a [illegible] [illegible] all the [illegible] and [illegible] them into the river. Fortunately [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of a moment, Hildebrand, who dwelt with her mother, a Duke. [illegible] made. Barnes had in the lessons he, telling her of the countries he [illegible] had been in Kimberly, and how happy he could make some of the [illegible] by taking them home with him. Hildebrand a doubted the [illegible] and with one of the brothers to investigate Barnes's many lessons. [illegible] was absorbed in the lessons some of the cycles would accompany the [illegible]. The having could further make the cycles and has done [illegible] for Barnes's advantage. He searching a [illegible] cycle, [illegible] although gave Barnes a large has [illegible] with having. Should a [illegible] cycle, Barnes an see the times and those the [illegible] cycle. He [illegible] search the [illegible] in Kimberly. The Barnes people [illegible] of the search the having, and did not [illegible] before [illegible] the [illegible] cycle, but the [illegible] movement [illegible] cycle, then [illegible] was [illegible].

The having an [illegible] were the [illegible] of all [illegible] cycle [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] in Kimberly.

One of the [illegible] [illegible] by the Wells Cycle [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

a friend. Raven determined to supply this water for the benefit of the Kimsquit people. Accordingly he used a natural stone depression near the village as his chamber-pot, and the liquid collected here clearly. Ever since, any liquid, ordinarily waste, placed in that depression acts as a collector. The place is called *Bellhamin*, "Where People Go," and it has been used as a retreat by the Kimsquit people and their guests for many generations. In this way, the renown of Raven spread to foreigners visiting Kimsquit. Another survival of this construction is the name *Nuquiddi-a*, "Chamber-Pot," commonly applied as a nickname to the small daughters of Kimsquit chiefs.

One of Raven's inventions was the making of north-flow clachan nets, as are which he taught spiders as well as men. In the beginning of time, Raven told two men to make a net according to a pattern which he showed them, and gave them some flax. It was not sufficient, and when the workers asked for more, Raven told them to draw it from their own intestines. This they did, and ever since spiders have had the same ability. Another story describes how Raven saw a clachan net being made in one of the distant villages which he visited during his travels, learnt the details of its manufacture, and taught the Bella Coola on his return home.

Many of Raven's exploits are well known, although not embedded in elaborate myths. For example, it is believed that in the beginning of time the ocean was to the east of Bella Coola and the land to the west. Drownings were frequent, as Raven altered the relative positions of land and sea. Most ocean dwellers followed the sea to its new home, but a number of animals remained near their human friends. They are still to be found in the upper valley of Bella Coola River. These shell-fish, which are probably freshwater mussels, are said to be identical with those of the ocean, and are called by the same name. This is always mentioned as proof of the former presence of salt water in the upper Bella Coola valley. The occurrence of the shell-fish may be the origin of this theory. It might also be mentioned that the Bella Coola believe that a few years

[773] [123] ago the tide came further up the rivers than at present and did not recede so far. This statement was made by an intelligent old man who said that the change had taken place during his own lifetime.

[773] [193] One of Raven's most important alterations to *Algonkin's* inventions was with regard to the sexual act.

> In the beginning of time, the organs of women were on the forehead, those of men on the palm of the hand, and intercourse was effected by a man rubbing his hand across a woman's brow. Raven found that children would not result from this practice and accordingly altered the organs of both sexes to their present positions. In order to teach mankind the sexual act he then chose a woman and held intercourse with her, telling her that if the practice were carried out secretly and vigorously a child would be born. And one months later the woman gave birth to an infant. Raven told the free inhabitants of the world that he wished them to have more; they consequently held intercourse frequently and began many children until they discovered that the Bella Coola valley.

The attitude of the Bella Coola towards this story is identical with their beliefs concerning Raven as the cause of death.

"Yes," they say, as they repeat the above story in answer to a question, "Raven taught our ancestors how to have children."

[773] [195] One side of their nature implicitly believes any story handed down from the distant past, but few today are sufficiently naïve actually to credit it. The more sophisticated frankly disbelieve, or pretend to do so. Doubts also arise with regard to [129] Raven as originator of linguistic differences. The Bella Coola state that *Algonkin* intended only one language for the whole world, but Raven thought that this would lead to confusion and used his power to teach the ancestors of every tribe their special speech.

Many inventions and beliefs are attributed to Raven without any accompanying myth. It is said that almost all geographical names are those bestowed by him on places reached in his travels. It was Raven who taught man how to hair [103] [224] hooks on long lines to catch black cod; it was Raven who first

instructed people about the significance of death; it was Raven who showed them the use of clings; and it was Raven who constructed artificial caves and lodges to serve as meeting-places for chiefs.

In brief, the Bella Coola regard Raven as an explorer, teacher, and inventor, whose power, obtained from *Hamatsa*, enabled him to construct and correct his maker, but not to create. Much of his work was for the good of mankind, but much was evil and malicious, an aspect which belongs to mythology. Essentially human, Raven could have been included among anthropomorphic, as well as among zoomorphic beings. He differs from most of the supernatural ones in belonging entirely to the past, as his descendants have none of the first Raven's power. It is doubtful whether he will return, but in any case he has long since ceased to take any interest in the affairs of the Bella Coola, who consider him only as a figure of mythology and ancient history.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS OF THE THOUGHT AND WORKS [illegible]

Bella Coola beliefs concerning anthropomorphic and zoomorphic beings are relatively clear and exact; their appearance is known, their powers and functions recognized. The supernatural attributes of trees and plants are less definite. *Hamatsa* created the human in the beginning of time, and they were consequently able to talk and act like human beings at that distant period. Owing to the degeneration of man, mortals are no longer able to converse with trees, although the latter can still understand our remarks. In a vague way, the Bella Coola continue to think of trees as having human personalities, but so little is known of their powers, and they enter so seldom into contact or conflict with mortals, that they are practically ignored.

In an equally vague manner, Nature is regarded as a Mother, giving birth to the trees and plants. One of the *Bacha* dances portrays this birth of the flowers every spring (*E.*, p. [illegible]).

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NEA Bellacoola NEA

(II, p. 198). In this way the belief is kept before the eyes of the Bella Coola, but it is not a matter of prime importance in their lives. Rather contradictory is the concept that though each plant lack individual life, there is a supernatural mother of each species, corresponding in general terms to the Mother of Snakes described in the last section. As one informant expressed it:

"If there is no mother, how can a plant grow?"

These mothers are assumed to live beneath the ground. Occasionally, one of them has been discovered. Not many years ago, a number of women were collecting bracken roots when one which had been gathered began to turn into a snake. The women were alarmed and puzzled at this strange phenomenon. As they stood watching, the ground in front of them fell away as if there had been an earthquake, and they realized that the snake-root had been the mother of the plant. Without further fear they cooked and ate it.

Stones, too, and mountains were made by *Alquntim*; consequently they have supernatural abilities and can understand the words and actions of mortals. When a wise man passes close beneath a precipitous mountain he always says to it:

"Please make yourself firm."

Most mountains, when requested politely, refrain from sliding and killing those passing beneath.

In former days mountains in many cases rose to meet hunters, and sometimes turned completely over. The Bella Coola are not sure whether this was caused by the mountain itself, or by a *cmmq* within. Wise hunters carry ropes with them when they penetrate into deep valleys, and when they feel the first tipping of a mountain they leap for a convenient tree, grasp it with their legs, heads downwards, and tie themselves in that position. Slowly the mountain rises and turns over, but, if the ropes do not break, the hunters suffer no ill effects. After a varying interval the mountain returns to its normal position. This reversal can be hastened if a man bites

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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his left cheek until the blood flows, takes also a mouthful of his own urine, and spits out the mixture. 776 823

The following instance of this belief was recorded. [789]

A Bella Coola chief and a number of followers were once at Kwatna where they had been gambling for stakes of mountain goat grease. Two of the men had lost their supply, so they went into the mountains between Kwatna and Restoration Bay to replenish it. They saw two goats, killed them, and at once two more appeared in the same place; these they also slew. When a fifth and sixth goat appeared and were likewise dispatched, one of the hunters tried to restrain his comrade, saying that such phenomenal success must be due to supernatural power which they should not abuse. They stopped firing, cut the grease from their quarry, and started on the return journey. Presently the mountain began to tilt upwards before their feet. They had no ropes, and almost in despair concealed themselves in a small rock shelter. Their dogs too felt the movement and barked in terror. Fortunately, the mountain did not rise more than a few feet and soon subsided, so that the men escaped. [525]

The attitude of the Bella Coola to supernatural powers of all kinds may be termed a doctrine of Opportunism. Supernatural beings abound and constantly play a part in the affairs of mortals. An alert and bold man can take advantage of these opportunities and obtain assistance, but he who hesitates is indeed lost. Certain types of assistance are most commonly granted to orphans and other unfortunates; accounts of these belong to the realm of mythology and will be described in a later chapter. On the whole the supernatural ones do not show discrimination in conferring boons, and the man who is quick to take advantage of them is the one to whom success comes. 776 [736]

Supernatural Elements in Human Beings

The Bella Coola believe that in the human body itself there are certain supernatural elements. Neither sticks nor stones can move, because they lack these attributes possessed by men and animals. Considering the firm belief of the Bella Coola in the omnipresence of the supernatural, it is not surprising that they should ascribe the phenomena of health and sickness, 774

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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974 of thought, of success and failure and of life itself, to powers of another sphere. Their ideas are not clearly crystallized on this subject, but in the following section an attempt has been made to give a fair picture, gleaned from many informants, of the supernatural parts of the human body.

THE SPIRIT

The most important part of the human body is the *xamānoḷs*, spirit. This is small, but of great power, since it belongs to the world of the supernatural; in fact, the spirit of a man is not mortal, but *sisut*. Everyone, man or woman, rich or poor, chief or slave, has one; without it, life would be impossible. When a child is born, his parents supply him with food and care, and *Alqantām* provides the even more necessary invisible elements, including the spirit. It resides in the back of the neck and resembles a thin bone shaped like a maple-leaf. Salmon have similar ones, but with them the bone is visible, [756] whereas only shamans can see it in human beings. The spirit in a new-born infant is weak and powerless, but it increases in strength with the body. If a man prospers in his ventures and has success in life, it is due, not to his own efforts, but to the activity of his spirit. When a man acquires wealth with little [556] labour, he knows that his spirit has been constantly trembling at the back of his neck; when he is unfortunate, that it has [787] become inert or sluggish. It is the cause of dreams, which are desired as means of foretelling the future. Some Bella Coola believe that in sleep it leaves the body and travels, unrestrained by any barrier, to the scene of the dreams; others, that it causes the images to appear. During waking hours the spirit [828] formulates every thought, no matter how trifling. When a man remembers that he left his fire with insufficient fuel and hurries home to rectify the omission, it is this element which has brought the need to his mind; when he thinks of a distant place, his spirit is responsible for the thought and some men even believe that it has travelled there. Sometimes an active one can give warning, as in the following instance. A few

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years ago a chief, when hunting, sat down to rest. While he 774
sat a slide plunged down the mountain-side and swept away the ground where he would have been if he had not stopped. The Bella Coola know that such a fortunate escape is no accident, as foolish white men believe, but is the result of an active spirit. Sometimes it can convey only symbolic hints of what is to happen. An old Kimsquit man told how his lower eyelids once became sore and his stomach began to heave. This [827] occurs with sobbing, so he knew that ill-fortune was before [787] him and was not surprised at the death of his son. A thoughtful person pays great attention to indications such as these, knowing that his spirit is always striving to pierce the future and obtain information for him, however indefinite. The importance of the supernatural to the Bella Coola can be judged from the fact that they attribute every action and thought to an element of this nature.

Mentality, *nil*, though caused by the spirit, is somewhat 774
vaguely regarded as a separate entity. It comprises two parts, 828
one constantly urging to good deeds, particularly to activity in ritual matters, the other to evil. No one knows the appearance, if any, of human mentality. Some of the thoughtful older men hazard the opinion that every tree has mentality, whereas others say that it has a spirit. In former times especially, as one was falling, the cutters could occasionally see a dark object somewhat resembling an otter flash away and disappear. Not until then was the tree actually dead. Even the old people do not profess to know anything definite about mentality, which is important only as an attribute of the spirit. In indefinite 774
association with it, too, is breath, *sinimits*, provided by *Al-* [961]
quntám for everyone at birth. The word signifies more than [827]
the material act of breathing, it denotes the actual physical state of being alive, a condition "lent" by *Alquntám* to mortals. The connection of these two elements with the spirit is unequivocal, though their exact relationship is indefinite.

If the spirit moves far from its proper position at the back [753]
of the neck, the owner falls ill; if it leaves him, his condition [755]

774 becomes critical. Only a shaman (I, p. 139) can return one, and
755 if he fails death always results. In some cases a spirit leaves
[759] its owner without apparent reason; he becomes insane, tries
to eat dirt, and his relations realize at once what is the matter.
[756] They summon a shaman who takes off his cape, hangs it like
a pouch on his stick, and points it in all directions as he sings
his shaman's song. Finally he learns what is missing, and
traps it in his cloak, which he places around the sick man.
This restores the element and the sufferer recovers immediately. Another method is for the shaman to press the back of the patient's neck, and by blowing and spitting cause the wandering spirit to return. Either cure must be performed by a shaman because of the supernatural power required.

774 Spirits can be extracted in various ways. Shamans can draw one forth by sucking at the back of the neck between their cupped hands; in former times, some were so powerful that they could extract them by their mere presence. During
774 *Sacred* dances (II, chap. i), the uninitiated are told that if they
575 enter the house where a ceremony is taking place, or even pass
[535] on the sidewalk outside the door, their spirits will be drawn from them by the power within and attracted to the dancer or to the sacred platform on which he is concealed. Many
[178] stories are told of this, which were firmly believed by the uninitiated until the last few years. Members of the society claim that their great power acts as a magnet to the spirits of all but their associates, except children in arms; the latter can be taken by their mothers into the house, because their supernatural elements have not developed sufficient strength to
774 leave their bodies. A person may also lose his spirit through a sudden shock. If two people meet unexpectedly in the forest and one of them shouts loudly at the other, even if only in fun, the spasmodic contraction of the muscles is enough to expel it.
[761] The person to whom this happens falls down as if dead, and
[756] though he soon recovers, his spirit has left him, and if it is not brought back by a shaman he dies a lingering death.

775 At death, the spirit permanently leaves the body. In some

[illegible] 115

[illegible] is [illegible] over the corpse for four days, as it may [illegible] [illegible] on its travels. Thereon means nothing to it, nor does time; once disembodied it goes back on the path of its late owner's ancestors from generation to generation, until it reaches the spot where his first forebears came to this earth. Thus it uncovers the bird or animal form used on their occasion and goes up to *Nawabi-a*. It is uncertain whether or not the spirit can take on, simultaneously, the different shapes used by various ancestors of the deceased. Its existence in the land above is similar to that on earth, but to an advanced degree. A good carpenter, for example, is a better carpenter after death; a chief is a greater chief; and one of the explanations for death is that *Alpantiw* has called a man to continue his work in another sphere. *Nawabi-a* is so huge that it is never crowded, though the spirits are numerous. They can see what is taking place on earth and sometimes return in bird or animal form to visit and comfort their grieving relatives. Powerful chiefs delight to display this, by means of a wooden figure, as the central feature of a potlatch. Apart from this ceremonial usage, disembodied spirits play no part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They take no interest in human beings and accordingly are neither supplicated nor feared.

THE LIFE

Closely associated with the spirit is the *ooomkwah kit*[*], life.[*] As in the previous case, *Alpantiw* provides every human being and every animal with this at birth. It is an ethereal substance, having the form of the body which it animates; without it there can be neither strength nor growth; without life the body is an inert mass of flesh. As a person becomes older, so does this element grow, always taking the exact shape and form of the body. Alone, it can neither move nor think, its motive power being the spirit. It is the life that suffers

[*]Anthropologists have been employed whenever possible to lessen the use of unfamiliar native terms. *Life* is not an accurate translation of the Bella Coola word, but it is hoped that the reader will grasp its real significance from the description in this section.

whenever the skin is broken. They would may prove dangerous, but particularly one that runs either of the invisible lines along which vitality flows from the little finger to the little toe. An injury to one of these channels spreads rapidly and is to many cases fatal.

It is generally considered that a person dies if his life leaves his body. In contradiction to this, though the discrepancy seems of slight importance to the Bella Coola, is the belief that it ascends at the moment relative to the gathering of the supernatural beings in *Nuxalk* to greet *Mountain*. It is common knowledge that some part of the human body does this, but there is diversity of opinion regarding which it may be. Some say it is the spirit, but the consensus of opinion is that it is the life. If it is successful and receives promises to the land above, its owner will prosper on earth; if it is unfortunate, he will be the same; if it fails to the crush as the guests hurry forth to salute the bear of *Mountain's* entry, he will die. By dreams a man learns the fortune of his supernatural representative, and from them he can judge what is in store for him during the coming year and receive intimations concerning birth and death, secret society matters and, in fact, every phase of human activity, since all are decided at the meeting of *Mountain* and his associates. Dreams are considered to be especially important at this season of the year (3, p. 6ff) and information obtained from them may, perhaps, be the origin of the present firm conviction that some portion of the body actually ascends. Bella Coola beliefs have so broken down in recent years that lack of unanimity concerning the specific part is not surprising, nor does it alter the importance of this conviction. No attempt is made to explain how an individual can remain alive during the actual absence of his life.

Although the life is so ethereal, it really consists of four intangible elements which unite to form the immaterial whole. One of these parts, including the voice, is located in the throat, another in the trunk, a third in the legs, and a fourth in the feet; the body is thus divided into four quarters. The con-

union of them with one another and with the spirit, the central division of the life, is a matter of advanced Bulu Caste theology on which opinions differ. Only men of philosophical temperament ever hazard an opinion on such matters, which are beyond the ruler of daily routine. 761

When a man dies, his life leaves his body and the animus finds begins to decay. At the same time the life is found to 761 765
travel in an intangible wraith, having the form and appearance of its dead owner. It visits all the places where he had been in the habit of going during life, irrespective of their distance from the scene of death. Sometimes it journeys to the locality where, in a dream, the mother of the deceased received her first intimation of pregnancy (I, p. 615). It wants to see former friends and sometimes makes its presence known to them by whistling. A person who hears this sound is saddened by the realization that one of his associates has passed away to some distant place. At other times, a man merely senses its presence and feels frightened without hearing or seeing anything to account for it. Very rarely, a dead person's life speaks to a dearly loved friend to inform him of his loss. During the [774]
existence of the body, spirit and life are closely associated, and the former sometimes accompanies the latter on its round of farewell visits before ascending to *Nzambi-a*.

After four days the life descends to the land below where it lives forever as a ghost. Some believe that it is the shadow which assumes this form, but the seeming contradiction is relatively unimportant since the life is essentially shadow-like. Ghosts have already been described in connection with supernatural bodies, and further information will be found in vol. I, chap. xxx.

At death, when the life as a whole becomes a ghost, its constituent parts likewise undergo transformation. The one situated in the feet remains with the corpse and disintegrates; that located in the legs enters a *wolf* and nothing more is known [827]
of its fate; no one knows what happens to the one situated in [825]
the body. The part in the throat, including the voice, enters [539]

961 an owl, possibly one of those which normally roost on the tree
775 behind *Nuxmalit-a*. This element of a dead person occasionally
[illegible] communicates with a living relative, as evidenced by the fol-
[illegible] lowing story.

[illegible] A number of years ago a party of men and women camped for the night beside one of the rivers flowing into South Bentinck Arm. After supper, as they were resting by their fire, an owl kept hooting from a neighboring tree. One of the men turned to a friend who had been making obscene remarks and, half in jest, warned him to be careful in case one of his relatives was hooting. The Indian fellow looked at the owl and asked:

"Are you a relative of mine?"

There was no answer, but when he had repeated the question four times, the owl spoke:

"I am *[illegible]*," he said, naming the deceased grandfather of his questioner.

Consequent upon the belief that the voice of a dead person enters an owl, the bird is treated with considerable respect. It is improper to make fun of one, or to ask who it was when alive. Should a person do so, the owl answers with the interrogator's own name and he soon dies.

961 On the whole, the life does not affect the daily existence of the Bella Coola as profoundly as does the spirit. When they stop to ponder on the reason for some event, they readily admit the importance of the life with its constituent elements, but they are not always considering its activities and seeking to strengthen it. It is essentially a religious attribute, of greater moment to a man of imaginative and suggestible temperament than to one who carries on the daily routine without asking *why* and *wherefore*.

THE TALLY POST

773 In the beginning of time, when *Alquntam* sent the first
777 people down to earth, he erected in *Nuxmalit-a* posts emblazoned with the bird or animal crest taken by each to serve as a memorial, or reminder, to him of the number of individuals existing

below. There are several tally posts.* Each remained upright as long as the individual to whom it referred was alive, but fell at his death. Since that time, whenever *Mpumbu* lands to a mortal *mumbi*, the unidentified power that causes life, his supernatural actions erect in the land above a tally post for the new-born infant, marked with the bird or animal used by its ancestor. As long as this remains upright and straight, firmly fixed to the ground, its owner continues to be strong and prosperous, and has success in all his undertakings; if it becomes loose, or is crooked, he ceases to succeed. Prosperity does not depend upon the activities of an individual, but upon his supernatural possessions, spirit, tally post, and a third to be described here. If the tally post sits far from the perpendicular, its owner becomes ill, and can be cured only by straightening it. In some cases *Mpumbu* is kind enough to do this if pleased by prayer and ceremonial chastity (I, p. 100), and in olden days, diviners were occasionally able to penetrate to the land above for this purpose. Even when a post was erected, they were sometimes unable to set it upright, though they could always estimate the length of a man's life from its angle of inclination. In one of the *kacior* dances, the performer pretends to have the ability to go aloft and the uninitiated are deceived by the erection of a tall ladder up which he climbs and disappears (II, p. 102). On his return, he reports the condition of the tally posts of various people. This performance serves to remind both members of the society and uninitiated of the existence of these supernatural elements, and of the dependence of individuals on them for success in life. In spite of this ritual, actual knowledge of the powers and functions of tally posts has been derived only from the first Bella Coola who, created in the land above, were acquainted with the mysteries of life and transmitted such lore to their descendants. One old man expressed the opinion

*Kwakiutl. One of the names of *Nunsa'a*, *Nuqkwakiutlem*, refers to them, meaning, "The Place of the Tally Posts." *Kwakiutl* and *Nuqkwakiutl* are closely [illegible]; sometimes the latter is pronounced *Kwakiutl*, although this may be an error in recording.

that tally posts have necessity, and suggested that it might be those which avoid the gathering of the supernatural beings at the winter solstice instead of an element from the human body itself.

One elderly Bella Coola, of philosophical temperament, described *pentlaxa* in terms for removal from the accounts of tally posts. According to him, every individual receives this supernatural possession at birth, and it remains with him, in close association with his body, throughout life. It exists in front of his face, invisible, yet having substance, and constantly shifting from side to side. If a man fails to receive a present at a potlatch, it is because his *pentlaxa* has caused it to move. When stationary it is not transparent, and not only hides its owner from the donor's sight, but acts as a barrier to his thoughts. The same man stated that this element can leave the body, can be seen by dancers, and that it is the one which accords at the winter solstice to *Nuxalk-a*. At death it is believed to accompany the spirit and the life to the land above.

There seems no reason to doubt that the concept of tally posts is an ancient belief. Nor does the application of the term *pentlaxa* to another immaterial possession of quite another type destroy this probability. It must be remembered that within the last eighty years the Bella Coola have suffered not only from the tremendous upheaval caused by the coming of the white man, but have been reduced to a mere fraction of their former numerical strength by various epidemics. These factors have led to the partial forgetting of ancient beliefs, with consequent confusion. It is probable that the use of the same term for the tally post, intimately connected with an individual's life although situated in the land above, and for an invisible and intangible possession which goes in front of him, is due to this recent decay of ancient convictions. If this be true, it merely means that in former times the Bella Coola had yet another supernatural element to govern and influence their lives.

A third supernatural element which must be in good condition if a Bolia Cooly is to prosper in life, is a medicine wash-basin. In the land above, *Mpumbe* has a large one filled with water which, having been consecrated by himself, is replete with power. When a child is born, a small part of this wash-basin, with its contents, is reserved for him; the supernatural artisans choose the actual metal, but it is *Mpumbe* who gives them the ability to do so. A fortunate man, whose ventures are successful and to whom goods are attracted, is said to have a good wash-basin; whereas the ill-luck of an unfortunate person is attributed, among other causes, to the small size of his supernatural vessel. The Bolia Cooly have no clear ideas about the connection between an individual and his wash-basin. Some state that it remains in the land above; others believe that an intangible essence comes to a child at birth and grows up with him, always near his body, as if it were the offspring of the basin in the land above. So long as it remains in motion the owner continues in good health and prosperity, but if it becomes sluggish he falls ill. Long ago, shamans knew how to manipulate a wash-basin, but since the time of the first people, when supernatural ability was common, this has been a lost art. Basin decay is attributed to [illegible] of this possession.

River water, being a creation of *Mpumbe*, is akin to the water in his basin above. Boys are always advised to bathe in the river at dawn; the act is termed *kulukuna*, a word connected with *ewulukuna*. A prayer is uttered while washing. The combination of verbal appeal and the application of water strengthens the petitioner's wash-basin and so increases his chances for prosperity. Until a few years ago, this practice was almost universal. Water is always considered a strange substance, obviously a supernatural creation, and believed to be the chief means of sustenance for a child after being weaned.*

*This may be a mere misunderstanding.

[illegible] Shamans believed much of their success through their ability [illegible] to get their souls (souls, hearts, [illegible] souls), to come with *Alquntám's* [illegible] tangible (I, p. 360) and invo- [illegible] the land above. One method [illegible] of curing a patient is by making [illegible] ing, with the idea that the water [illegible] and wand and have patients [illegible] through association with those [illegible] in the upper world. It is believed that in the distant past, [illegible] shamans were even able to carry their patients to the land [illegible] above and wash them in *Alquntám's* own basin. Such feats [illegible] have perpetuated in certain shamans' names, such as *Mpálpa-*[illegible] *ikáitam*.

[illegible] It may be said in conclusion that although the Bella Coola [illegible] have indefinite ideas concerning the exact form and functions [illegible] of this last element, there is a firm belief that an individual's [illegible] fortune in life depends upon the activity of spirit, tally post, [illegible] and wash basin. With regard to supernatural elements as a [illegible] whole, it is clear that in spite of somewhat conflicting beliefs [illegible] concerning the precise functions of each, they play an impor- [illegible] tant part in the life of every Bella Coola.

Means of propitiation

[illegible] Some of the methods employed by the Bella Coola to gain [illegible] the favour of the supernatural have already been mentioned, [illegible] but the subject is sufficiently important to warrant a separate [illegible] section. In view of the omnipresence of supernatural beings [illegible] and powers, and their influence on the lives of mortals, it is [illegible] not surprising that the propitiation of them is a vital factor [illegible] in human life. The chief means are prayer, sacrifice, and the [illegible] observance of ceremonial chastity.

Prayer

[illegible] Prayers are regularly addressed to *Alquntám* who, in this [illegible] connection, is known as *Mina-kais* or *Táti*, both meaning, [illegible] "Father." A wise man or woman desiring success in hunting, [illegible] in love affairs, in the acquisition of wealth, or in any activity [illegible] whatsoever, is accustomed to ask *Minakais* to grant his desire. [illegible] No ritual is required. The petitioner merely seeks a lonely

place where he is not likely to be disturbed, and addresses the supreme god in a loud tone of voice, repeating his statement. [782]

Although prayers can be said at any time of the day, or at any season of the year, there are occasions when they are more potent than at other times. At dawn, for example, a wise young man is accustomed to go alone to the river to wash and pray. He scrubs the icy water, blows warm over his hands, and rubs his body vigorously* either with a smooth pebble, or, if it can be obtained, with a stone taken from the stomach of a sea-lion.* As he scrubs himself, he asks *Monakais* to grant him long life, power, success, and strength. On coming from the water, he repeats his request, and then washes himself again. This process is repeated four times, making eight prayers in all. A young man who does this habitually, and in other ways practices the supreme deity, is likely to have success, and may even be given supernatural assistance by one of the many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. The underlying belief is that *Mysoukw* actually hears the words spoken and, pleased thereby, aids the petitioner either directly, or by strengthening the supernatural elements in his body. [783]

Monakais has power over both rain and dry weather, and is petitioned for whichever is desired. When the sun is obscured by rain clouds, the Bella Coola pray: [821]

"Please clean your face, *Monakais*," or,

"Please show us your face, we need you."

Before a man starts on a journey, either by canoe or on foot, he always asks help for his undertaking. [484]

"*Monakais*," he prays, "Be with me," or "Go before me," or, "Give me what I want."

Corresponding to the importance of the occasion, prayers are always made before the departure of a hunting or war [824] [826] [785] [515] [296] [823] [825]

*Urine was formerly used for washing both the body and clothing. It was followed by the application of clean water, and undoubtedly had a religious significance; indeed, washing purely for cleanliness was not habitual until recently.

*The Bella Coola state that stones are often found in the stomachs of sea-lions. One specimen, considered of great value, was seen; it was indistinguishable from a water-smoothed river pebble.

party. Canoes always must move slow down, and each member of the expedition is careful to pray before leaving, and also to avoid using in case food should in any way interfere with the success of the venture. Before reaching their destination, a chief in such canoe dipping from a pouch some eagle down brought for the purpose, holds it before his mouth, and blows a little towards each of the four cardinal points, at the same time asking *Mendoki* to smile on the enterprise and grant a safe return. This does not guarantee success, but it is felt that any disaster which may occur would have been more serious if assistance had not been thus requested.

Although *Mendoki*, under the name of *Mendoki*, is the one to whom prayers are most often addressed, petitions are sometimes made to other beings. In the beginning of time, when Raven had superabundant power, mortals frequently sought his assistance. At the present time, he is sometimes asked for aid, in the belief that he may still have some shreds of his former power, or he is a better position than man to intercede with *Mendoki*. If rivers crack when it is raining, people may ask them to request the supreme being to stop the rain; in such cases, a petitioner is careful to address a raven as *Newakila*, his title as chief, rather than as Raven. In cold winter weather, a raven is sometimes caught alive, its head smeared with grease, and as it is released, the captor says:

"Please end the cold wind, *Newakila*."

Prayers are also said half humorously, half seriously, on many occasions. When, for example, clothing has become too ragged for further use, it is thrown on a fire with the remark:

"Please come to me again, new."

The thrower does not actually believe that in so doing he is asking help from his clothing, but it gives him a certain sense of satisfaction thus to have expressed his desires.

The prayers above described can be said by anyone, at any time; they are means of propitiation known to the whole community. In addition, information was obtained about two prayers, each of which is the jealously guarded prerogative

of a single family. Either is considered an almost certain means of stopping rain, but no one, even though aware of the method, can practice it with success unless he is a member of the family to which the method belongs.

One of these prayers, the property of a Kwanquin family, is addressed to *Kwanaddatin*. If the petitioner wishes to stop heavy rain, he goes to a quiet place in the woods and calls in a loud voice:

*Ho, Kwanaddatin!**	*napaddatin*	*ilak*	*di ang'nadin*
Hail, *Kwanaddatin*,	upon	the latter	of your heaven
dangwanadin	*di dawanjaw*		*ang ninadjo*
so that you look down	the cherished one		your child.

That is, "Expose the upper heaven so that your cherished child may look down."

It will be remembered that *Kwanaddatin* is the being who takes care of *Tingmd-ko* in the upper skyland. It is said that this prayer was learned by the ancestors of an informant in the beginning of time and that a repetition of the exact words is enough to drive away the rain clouds between earth and the upper heaven. For many generations care was taken to teach some intelligent member of the family the correct formula, and the person so instructed was expected to use his knowledge for the benefit of any of his relatives desiring fine weather.

Another prayer prerogative of similar type was recorded from an old man who related what he had seen his grandfather do many years before. The two were once hunting when heavy rain threatened their success and drove them to the shelter of a projecting ledge. The grandfather, not having any underbrush with him, cut and dried some evergreen boughs which he gave to his grandson, telling him to light them and wave them over his, the grandfather's, head. When this had been done, the old man rushed out into the rain and in a loud voice asked some supernatural being, whose name was forgotten, to throw his eyes upon the rain clouds in order to dispel them. That night the petitioner neither drank water nor urinated, and the

*The vocative form.

[182, 424, 521, 785, 770] sent day the weather was fine. This particular method of praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the beginning of time, and was afterwards transmitted to his family. With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grandfather of the man from whom the information was obtained.

[782] It might be supposed that a clear division should be made between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when camped near a glacier which he knows to be the home of some deceased supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request more conspicuous, and after the prayer throws them into the fire, saying:

[824] "Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

If he is even more cautious, or anger not to offend any supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire tribute of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

[824, 824, 824] "Wai, wai, wai," "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

[502, 133, 756] Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Masaiche Nose,

the point between Lakeachem Channel and Bacinski Inn, there is danger from treacherous currents, so, when a dancer passes either of these places, he lays some food on the water and pulls eagle down into the air as he sides for help. If no dancer is in the canoe, this is done by the captain. 782 793 502 756

The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is *Tlo-qulitto-a*, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and gives power to dancers. Whenever a hunter tells an addition 776 to the forest, he cuts off four pieces of fish and throws them into his fire to gain her goodwill. Long, long ago, *Tlo-qulitto-a* appeared to a hunter, seized some of his gums, and told him of her wishes with regard to presents; these have since been obeyed by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of a man absent in the mountains or on the three scraps of food on the fire and ask the protection of *Tlo-qulitto-a* for the man in danger. In this case, it is clear that objects thrown into fances are received and appreciated by *Tlo-qulitto-a*. 224 779

Mountain, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accompanies his words by blowing up into the air small particles of eagle down. Prayers in connection with the departure of war or hunting expeditions have already been mentioned, but before starting on any journey by canoe, the captain is careful to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and four of yellow cedar-bark. The blowing upwards of eagle down is a common accompaniment to all kinds of prayers, but, if none is available, cedar-bark can be used equally satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water, otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and considered valuable by *Alqemiks*, but they emphasize and accompany the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's sincerity. 776 484 824 825

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on presents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw 775 782

776 small particles of food on a fire; these become large when they
782 reach the land below and nourish the ghosts. An individual making an offering of this kind says:

"*Awakilimat kwlen*," "This is to make straight your road, beloved one."

[952] The needs and desires of ghosts have been made known to mortals through visits paid by shamans to the land below, and by the coming of ghosts to this world. It is, therefore, realized that food placed on the ground does not reach the [372] land below, but that morsels thrown on a fire sink through into the abode of ghosts. Offerings to the dead are not made [953] with the hope of receiving favours from them, but rather to provide beloved relatives with necessary food and to prevent them from showing displeasure by causing stomach-aches and other ailments.

782 Other instances, both of prayer and of sacrifice, will be recorded in connection with various myths. The salient feature is that the Bella Coola are able to gain, by such means, the favour of supernatural beings, a factor which plays an important part in their daily life. In addition, they have a [919] large number of practices based on sympathetic magic. No absolutely rigid boundary line can be drawn between the latter and religion proper, but there is a fairly clear division between rites such as those just described, in which propitiation is the important element, and others in which the desired end follows the mere performance of a certain act. Customs of this last type will be reserved for later consideration (vol. I, chap. xi).

THE OBSERVANCE OF CEREMONIAL CHASTITY

831 In addition to prayer and sacrifice, the Bella Coola have
785 yet another means of obtaining the goodwill of supernatural beings, and at the same time of strengthening their own supernatural attributes so that good fortune is likely to occur. This is by the practice of *sustsa*, ceremonial chastity, of which the basis is that a man must not hold intercourse except after certain periods of continence. To understand this, it is neces-

sary to understand the attitude of the Bella Coola to the sexual act itself. Although it is a normal part of life (for no one would voluntarily abstain from all contact) yet the union of man and woman does not lack import, since its very humanness distinguishes those who practise it in the eyes of supernatural beings, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic. Those who indulge excessively become so over-charged with this characteristic that their undertakings are certain to fail, whereas those who remain continent for a considerable period are so freed from the contagion of mankind that they become almost supernatural themselves and always succeed in their ventures. If, after a period of restraint, a man holds intercourse, this essentially human act adds typical human strength to that accumulated by chastity. Chastity alone gives power; but chastity consummated by intercourse at the proper period increases that power enormously. This somewhat complicated [184] belief is accepted without question by every Bella Coola, playing an important part in their lives, even in their present degraded condition. The following story illustrates the point rather clearly:

A party of Kingcome Inlet people had been present at a ceremonial at Smith Inlet. While returning home, one canoe, containing a chief, his wife, and eighteen or twenty commoners, was caught by an unexpected south wind and driven on the rocky islet, *Ewe-ahdzlz*, where the lighthouse now stands. The occupants managed to reach shore and to save their canoe. The islet was barren, but they made a rude shelter of boughs in which they lived while the storm continued. Every day the chief sent out the young men to hunt seals, and every day they returned empty-handed. The little food they had with them on landing was now exhausted and they were starving. One night, when they were almost famished, the chief said to his wife:

"The youths have done their best. Now that death is before us I want to create a kindly feeling. I am going out, probably to die during the night, and I want you to allow each young man to sleep with you. [187] It is a strange request but our condition is unusual, and the story of your shame will never be known, because we shall soon all be dead."

The wife acquiesced. The chief then told one of the young commoners to lie with her, and afterwards to tell a comrade to do likewise,

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539 831 785 [837] [622] who, in turn, would pass on the request so that it might reach each member of the party. Not only is it contrary to custom for a commoner to hold intercourse with a chief's wife, but it is unknown for a man to ask another to sleep with his wife, so the youth was surprised and rather frightened. However, he acceded to the request, passed on the instructions, and washed. As he was bathing, a seal appeared in the surf beside him, and he was able to kill it easily. Each in turn behaved in the same manner, washed, and then killed a seal. Next morning, when the chief returned he was delighted that all had turned out in accordance with his hopes. At the same time the wind dropped so that the party was able to return home.

831 785 The power which had brought the seals within reach of the men had been engendered in their own bodies by these ritual acts after a rather lengthy period of continence. The Bella Coola believe that such a procedure always increases their strength and ability, therefore giving them a better chance to gain favour from supernatural beings, and to take advantage of opportunities offered. Hunters in particular are careful with [224] [825] [789] regard to their marital life since animals know their acts and thoughts, and hide from one who has not made himself "clean" by continence, its termination, and bathing. *Sootoo* consists of these three elements, but since continence is the most prominent feature, the term may be translated as "ceremonial chastity."

In its simplest form this comprises merely the three elements already mentioned. The longer the continence, the greater the power engendered by its termination. A man who has practised abstinence for a year has such strength within himself that almost any good fortune may occur, and cases are known in which it has been carried out for even longer periods. More often, an individual practises ceremonial chas- [184] tity in accordance with a family tradition. One old man gave the following recipe and was most emphatic that it always 204 brought success in hunting and fishing; he added that on the 785 two occasions he had tried it, he had brought back a phenomenal number of skins.

A person planning to set out on an expedition for any pur-

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pose should remain continent for several nights to increase his generative powers. He then selects a time for beginning the rite and on the second and fourth nights from that date sleeps with his wife, holding intercourse repeatedly and vigorously until he is utterly exhausted. Before dawn on the third and fifth days he must wash in the river or in some quiet stream. Then follow four nights of restraint, a further intercourse, and washing before dawn. The period is next increased to eight nights, then twelve, and finally sixteen, each with a similar contact and bathing. The nights of abstinence are thus forty in all, a lucky number. An unmarried man can obtain power in the same manner with the assistance of a female friend; it is the act itself that is vital, not the union of husband and wife.

At the present time, only two Bella Coola are said to know this particular type of ceremonial chastity, which they conceal carefully, even refusing offers to buy their knowledge. It is potent at any time, but especially if the periods of continence have been so arranged that they terminate at one of the solstices. Then, indeed, can a hunter set off with every prospect of success, knowing that the human taint disliked by animals has been removed, and been replaced by a ceremonial cleanliness pleasing to them. If the time terminates at the winter solstice, the hunter should set out immediately; if it ends in June, he must remain away from women after his final intercourse. In September or October, when ready to leave for the hunt, he must sleep beside his wife for the last four nights; each night he must place his leg between hers, and each morning the two must wash together. The best fortune of all is obtained by a man who observes this forty-night period for four successive years.

Another, and more common, count* is to observe continence for four nights, followed by intercourse. Immediately afterwards, the man should eat as much devil's club** as pos-

*The record of nights is kept by notches cut in a stick or by knots on a cord.

**Or false hellebore. This latter plant is thought to be so poisonous that the cutting of even a twig on both is taboo; a very small amount, however, all that is ever taken, acts as a powerful emetic.

224 785 able, selecting small twigs from which the bark and spines have been rubbed off. This acts as an emetic, so that before washing in the morning he has vomited from his stomach all [824] polluting matter, especially any human hair which animals [278] consider particularly unclean. Before dawn he goes to the [785] river and remains beneath the surface as long as possible, irrespective of the coldness of the water. Then he returns slowly to his house. Four nights later the same acts are repeated. These eight nights of continence are followed by two further periods, each of four nights, making a total of sixteen. Thus fortified, a hunter anticipates great success.

785 A person practising ceremonial chastity is in a condition peculiarly susceptible to disaster, and must observe certain restrictions. If, for example, anyone sees him as he returns from washing in the morning, the power which he has been accumulating so laboriously is lost. Owing to this belief, it is customary for a man to wash long before dawn and to come creeping into his house through a hole in the floor. He must always be the last to retire at night, the first to rise in the morning; and he must say nothing about what he is doing. Intercourse is, of course, absolutely forbidden except on the proper nights, and at other times he must not even put his arm around his wife. Failure to obey these restrictions destroys any advantage from [887] ceremonial chastity, while actual disaster follows should a man's wife misconduct herself with anyone else when he is using her for this purpose. If she is unfaithful, her husband is certain to be slain by an animal when hunting, or to slip and be killed on a mountain trail. Animals know all that human beings do [825] or think, and they punish anyone who is unable to perform ceremonial chastity fittingly. Behind these restrictions there 841 is undoubtedly the sentiment that intercourse, held duly and 785 properly at the right time, is not a mere desire of the flesh, but a ceremonial act. Indeed, when the Bella Coola speak of it in [853] connection with ceremonial chastity, they do not use the [195] common term, *e-m*, which has a coarse implication, but *sulfiut* which has a polite and almost sacred implication.

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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *hamat* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Alqaxiów* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the more force engendered in a man's body by lengthy abstin-

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once was enough to kill an enemy, as if his spirit had been driven from his body by a sudden start. Even in recent times it is said that individuals who have observed ceremonial chastity have been able to perform miraculous feats. A few years ago a Bella Bella man lost two sons and was trying to get enough money to buy a tombstone for them. With this in view, he observed chastity for almost a year. Then he went seal hunting, and had killed a large number of the animals when, standing up in his boat, the sail blew against him so that he was thrown overboard. But he was so strong that he simply walked on the surface of the water and re-entered his boat, none the worse for his mishap. The men who cited this instance stated that a number of Bella Bella had seen the occurrence and could vouch for it.

Ceremonial chastity is not a matter about which the Bella Coola are willing to talk. It concerns both their religious and family life, in neither of which are strangers welcome. But when an investigator becomes on friendly terms, and gains some understanding of the inner lives of the people, he begins to realize its importance. Ceremonial chastity is not only potent in itself, but it is also the favourite means by which a man can cleanse himself of the impurities of human existence so that he finds favour with the supernatural.

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CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Ancestral Family—The Village Community—The Family—Kinship Terms—Slaves

As in other communities, the social, religious, and economic aspects of Bella Coola life are interdependent, but there is an added complexity in the influence of mythological concepts. This not only complicates investigation in the field, but it also renders a logical description of their customs difficult. Some reference to practices recorded in detail in later chapters is unavoidable. 128 182

In many communities, ethnologists have been able to begin with the social organization of the people. Among the Bella Coola, this is impossible, since their religious beliefs colour every aspect of their life, and these must be understood by anyone who wishes to comprehend their culture as a whole. In this chapter, too, it is necessary to commence with a description of that aspect of mythology which serves as the cohesive bond to one of the social units, the ancestral family.

Ancestral Family

As recorded in the last chapter, it is believed that in the beginning of time *Alquntām* caused the first men and women to be created in his house above and sent them down to populate the earth. They came in groups of two, three, four, or more, brothers and sisters, or more rarely man and wife, to different parts of the Bella Coola valley. They brought with them tools, houses, clothing, even sustenance in the shape of fish and animals. More important, from the point of view of social organization, they brought with them names and ceremonial prerogatives. In fact, the Bella Coola believe that their culture was created by *Alquntām* in the distant past, and has not been the result of slow growth. It is true that there 773 [829]

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773 have been many changes. Raven, the culture hero, taught
829 the early settlers many useful arts, and they were themselves so powerful that they were able to create ceremonial and other prerogatives in a manner impossible to their descendants. Moreover, the people realize that they have been influenced by neighbouring tribes since that time, but in spite of these additions, they believe that their life is patterned on that of their earliest forbears.

[181] As a group, the Bella Coola are philosophers. They demand a reason for everything, though once a reason has been given, and accepted, they think no more about the matter. The elaboration of Bella Coola mythology may be due in part to their desire to explain their social organization; but without question these myths, now accepted as facts, have had a great influence on the lives of the people. In fact the social structure of the tribe has tended to conform to the myths.

621 It is believed that each group of first people formed a village
773 community, and pre-empted hunting-grounds in the vicinity. These usually consisted of small valleys opening from the main
[361] Bella Coola River, tracts which could thus be easily defined.
[226] Each group also took possession of a suitable part of the river for a salmon-weir, or, if located on the coast, a convenient place for an ocean fish-trap. In course of time the first people married, of necessity with members of other villages. According
[591] to mythology, and equally according to modern practice, the women usually moved to the villages of their husbands. When
773 a child was born, it naturally grew up to share in the hunting-grounds of its father's village. Moreover, the father was able to bestow on his child various ceremonial dances; the concepts of some he had brought with him from above, others he had formulated on this earth. It is assumed that all the first people were mighty chiefs, able to initiate rites in a way that few modern men have been able to equal. But the mothers of these children, the first born on this earth, did not surrender the privileges of their own villages at marriage. Consequently, their children were of almost as much interest to the brothers

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and other relatives of their mothers as to their fathers. It was taken as a matter of course that a child had full rights in the village of his mother, and from her, as from her relatives, he likewise received various prerogatives. Thus each child was a member of a bilateral social group. From actual residence in his father's village he tended to be more intimately associated with him and his brothers than with his mother's relatives, but this did not prevent him from visiting at the home of the latter, where he was received as a member of that village. Through the bestowal of prerogatives by his mother and the members of her family, his relationship with them was further emphasized. Such a child was, in fact, a full member of two groups. 773

When the members of the second generation married and begot children, each of these could have been a member of four groups; that of his father's father, father's mother, mother's father, and mother's mother. The Bella Coola believe that there were approximately forty-five groups of first settlers, corresponding to the forty-five towns, and it is obvious that if the system of intermarriage had continued for a few generations, a man would have been a member of each of these first groups. They assume that their first ancestors came to this earth far more than a few generations ago, and yet at the [614] present time no one claims to be a descendant of more than eight of these first groups, and most claim descent from only two or three. In part this can be explained by forgetfulness, [611] though a Bella Coola would regard this statement as heresy. The residence of a man in the village of his father has tended to emphasize relationship with the ancestral group that first populated that village, and there is no doubt that actual relationship, through the mother, with the members of other groups must in many cases have been forgotten in the course of generations. The term *ancestral family*, *mumuts*, is used [614] in this monograph to designate those individuals who believe themselves to be descended from one of the first groups that [104] populated this earth.

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614 773 A man may claim descent from as many as eight of these groups, that is, he may be a member of eight ancestral families. Some restrictive means must have been employed to limit the choice of marriage partners, otherwise a man's membership in ancestral families would have been far greater than it is. The explanation lies in the high regard with which the members of an ancestral family esteem the prerogatives they have received from their forbears. With the marriage of the first women, their brothers were called upon to share their rights, both practical in regard to hunting territory, and ceremonial with regard to dance prerogatives, with their sisters' children. Bella Coola mythology contains no references to unwillingness on the part of the first men to do this; in fact, their own children benefited equally from the marriages of their fathers with other women. But, say the Bella Coola, after these first marriages, necessarily exogamic, men realized that it would be foolish to allow their children to marry far afield and so diffuse valuable prerogatives. It was far wiser for a man to seek as future son-in-law a youth belonging to the same ancestral family as himself or his wife. Then any resultant children would come into this world provided by both parents with common relatives, so that the child would be, as they express it, "Held close and supported by a close circle of ancestors."

582 614 [773] Bella Coola logic does not explain how marriages could have been arranged in the early generations without violating the laws of incest. The endogamic principle displayed at that time, however, has been carried out until the present day, so that a man endeavours to arrange marriages for his children with members of the same ancestral family. One of the strongest Bella Coola desires is to "make good the path" for his offspring, and this can best be done when they are born amply provided with relatives of common ancestry. There is [769] no belief in the active participation of distant ancestors in the affairs of men, yet, though incapable of clear expression, the Bella Coola feel strongly that a child is born into the companionship of its deceased relatives back to the beginning of time.

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This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail in vol. I, chap. VII, but mention of it here has been necessary to explain the composition of the ancestral family. 582 [614]

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to marry foreign women in order that they, or their children, might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a trend towards exogamy has arisen from the same reason which is supposed to have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said that this practice was initiated by a certain *Pooks*, father of a man about sixty years old in 1923. White influence probably had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its wide adoption has been made more easy by the establishment of peaceful conditions on the coast. [554] [177]

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestry, it is unlikely that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These are of two kinds: names and land. 614 554

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bella Coola nomenclature is that each name must have originated in connection with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable to apply a casual designation to a child. At a person's death his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were all given designations by *Alquntám*; these have been carefully handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying 551 [768] [553] [773] [428]

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551 with it some definite prerogative of a dance or other function,
428 but all are transmissible, and at the owner's death these may fall to different relatives. A name may pass from man to woman, or *vice versa*, in some cases with a minor alteration. [756] The only non-inheritable appellations are those obtained by shamans as a result of their supernatural experiences.

551 Not only did each group of first settlers bring with them a
773 number of designations from above, but they also created a number on this earth and bestowed them on their children,
553 and on the children of their sisters or brothers, in whom they felt an almost parental interest. To mark the dignity of the names, all present at the ceremony of bestowal received gifts from the creator of the name, the person who called them together for the rite. The importance of the individual depended largely upon the value of the goods distributed with respect to his name, a concept which will be elaborated in the following chapter. The descendants of these first people likewise created new designations and established their dignity by distributing presents, a practice which still continues. It follows that any complete origin myth should include a large number of names, those brought down from the land above[1] and also those created by the powerful first people on this earth itself.[2] Both types of cognomen will be referred to henceforth as "ancestral names," no distinction being made between those actually brought from above and those made on earth. This is in accordance with Bella Coola usage.

553 Soon after the birth of a child his father, uncle, or other near relative,[3] either on the paternal or maternal side, calls the members of the village together to bestow a name on the infant. The one selected must be embodied in the origin myth of one or other of the parents, and must be one not then in use by any other member of the ancestral family. A relative may give the

[1]Such a name is a *smalsi skwatsts*, or "Petrified Name."
[2]Such a name is a *sremnst-a skwatsts*, or "Earth-Made Name."
[3]The most careful investigation failed to show that it was incumbent on any particular relative.

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child one of his own names, in which case the donor surrenders all claim to it. This designation is the obvious mark of the position of the child in the ancestral family. Without such a formal conferring of an ancestral name an infant would be without status in the community, but, as children are always welcome, some relative is invariably ready to confirm the bestowal by the necessary distribution of goods, a feature that is present in every Bella Coola ceremonial. On such occasions the guests are called by their ancestral names. An effort was made to learn what would happen if the number of children born into an ancestral family exceeded the number of ancestral names embodied in its origin myth, but no answer was forthcoming. Established custom demands that a name be provided for every child, and one is always provided. Without question designations must be invented, usually from some event in the origin myth, but it is always claimed that such were used by a long-deceased ancestor. In fact, the social custom agrees with the requirements of the mythological concept. Since bestowal of names is a matter of pride, it follows that a child often receives several from the ancestral families of which he is a member; the possession of these is a source of gratification to the owner.

An ancestral name given to a child is spoken of as an *ätsǫtutl* name, and the recipient as an *ätsǫtutl*, which may be translated, "commoner." He may be given several names from one origin myth, or ones from diverse origin myths if his parents are members of different ancestral families. These designations may either be those brought down from above by the first people, those made on this earth by them, or those made at some important event by later persons. Irrespective of what combination of these possibilities a child may have, he is still a commoner, and his ability to rise to the position of chief depends on his own, or his parents', ability to give potlatches, as will be described in the next chapter. In such a case his *ätsǫtutl* name is said to have been elevated to that of a *stälkmq* (chief's) name.

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614 553 [773] *The ancestral family may, therefore, be defined as those whose ätsqiutl names are embodied in the same origin myth.*

What is the stability of this group?

In consequence of the large number of names theoretically embodied in every myth, and of the necessity for validating the bestowal of any one of these by means of presents, it follows that there is always a large number of dormant names. The Bella Coola describe these as being, "In the burial ground." They are, in fact, dead. Any one of these may be resurrected by any member of the ancestral family. If a woman marries into a foreign tribe her relatives occasionally give her husband, outright, an ancestral name. In such a case that name is permanently alienated from the family to which it formerly belonged; this should happen only when the group is reduced to a few individuals, all of whom agree to the transaction. [583] But more often a woman takes as a wedding gift to her husband a name which it is understood cannot be transmitted to one of his relatives unless he has children. On the death of the childless husband, this designation reverts to his widow's ancestral family. If there are children, they cement the bond of friendship between the two families. The brother of a woman so married also bestows names on her children, as further mark of their incorporation into her ancestral family. [583] It is customary and proper, however, for the ancestral family into which a woman is married and bears children to reciprocate the compliment a few generations later, and by the marriage of one of their women to restore such names to the ancestral family to which they originally belonged. According to the Bella Coola, this practice of "return-marriage" has been the rule since the first exogamic marriages of the first people, with the result that names usually return to the patrilineal descendants of the first people to use them.

611 614 If a woman marries outside her ancestral family, her children will belong to at least two distinct ancestral groups. It is difficult to say how long an individual remembers the dif-

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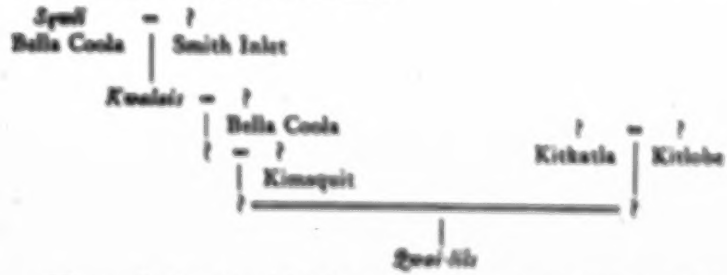
ferent units with which he is connected, but the following is 611
an instance of survival for several generations. *Qwai-lils* is an 614
orphan about ten years of age, now living in Bella Coola; he is looked upon with considerable respect as being a member of ancestral families in Bella Coola, Kimsquit, Smith Inlet, Kitkatla, and Kitlobe. His pedigree, given below, explains his powers. The symbol = marks a marriage, and the male is shown on the left in each case.



Theoretically, *Qwai-lils* is as much a native of Smith Inlet as he is of Bella Coola where his father made his home. If he should visit Smith Inlet and make known his pedigree, he would be received by the members of the ancestral family of his great-great-grandmother.[4] His welcome would be more assured if he were the owner of a name from their origin myth. Difficulties of communication and frequent wars made it [628] virtually impossible in the old days to keep in touch with relatives in distant tribes, except in the case of a mighty chief who was able to invite visitors from great distances to feasts. Thus names taken by women to foreign husbands were virtu- 614
ally lost to the members of her ancestral family. In the 553
course of a few generations, such designations carried afield 178
would be revived as if dormant by some member of the family, and all recollection of the foreign marriage forgotten.

[4] As the Bella Coola are now living in a single village, it was impossible to obtain a modern instance of the ownership by one individual of rights in a number of localities within the tribal area. It appears certain, however, that the sentiments expressed with regard to *Qwai-lils* at Smith Inlet are identical with those formerly held for possessions in ancestral families located in different Bella Coola villages. [628]

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614 553 178 773 The converse of this process of loss is the assimilation to an origin myth of names originally brought into the ancestral family by a woman from abroad. Unless intercourse and friendly relations were maintained by "return marriages," in a few generations no tradition would be remembered to account for the name, and this, if used at all, would be interwoven into the well-known ancestral myth. Hence a myth is not static with regard to the names embodied in it. These change from generation to generation; it is probable that elements of the story itself suffer like additions and alterations, even though the people do not consider this to be the case.

611 614 The Bella Coola regard the ancestral family as a social unit, not only in terms of the present, but as stretching back to the first settlement of the earth. Viewed from this angle, it is in fact, though not admitted to be so by the Bella Coola, a unilateral grouping with patrilineal descent, which may, in both the most recent and most ancient generations, be marked by matrilineal descent instead. A man frequently uses prerogatives obtained through his mother, her mother, or even her mother's mother, but it is tacitly assumed that for many previous generations such rights passed in the patrilineal line. Sometimes this succession extended back to the beginning of time; in other cases, prerogatives were transmitted matrilineally for a considerable period after the settlement of the earth, before gradually becoming patrilineal.

614 424 551 It has been thus far assumed that the only prerogative wrapped up in an ancestral name is a knowledge of the myth in which it is embodied. But there are others. For example, several of the first inhabitants of the world are said to have erected totem-poles, each of which was displayed by its owner at the gathering when he took for himself a name. Thence-[532] forth, the only person entitled to use that particular totem-pole design was the person with the legal right to the name in [535] question. The same principle governs all dance names; each entitles its owner to perform a certain ceremonial. Thus it is possible to enlarge the previous definition by saying that:

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The ancestral family consists of those whose ancestral names, embodying definite prerogatives, are embodied in a single origin myth. 614 424 551

A stranger finds it easier to understand why names are so carefully maintained within the ancestral family by thinking of them as symbols of prerogatives, but it must be emphasized that the Bella Coola preserve with equal jealousy those designations of which the only prerogative is the marking of this actual membership. [554]

If, then, the ancestral family be regarded as a group possessing a large number of name-prerogatives, it may well be asked how these are distributed among the members. The first point to be emphasized is that the ancestral family is a unit held together without definite social mechanism. There is no accepted "head" of the family, nor are there any clearly formulated laws governing the transmission of the name-prerogatives. Before death a man usually calls together his relatives and bequeaths,[4] according to his desire, his personal property in slaves and canoes, and his intangible property in names. Such a designation does not become the property of the new owner unless he is able to validate his ownership by a distribution of presents; meanwhile the name is "dead." If, during this period, some other member of the ancestral family should desire it for a child, or for himself, he can take possession of it by the customary distribution of presents. In doing so he would anger the legatee, but the latter cannot himself use the appellation since it is already in use. Even at the present time there are bitter quarrels over the assumption of names, and such have certainly occurred for many generations. If a man can validate fairly promptly a name willed to him, it is most unusual for anyone else to try to forestall him. 514 553 428 553 131 [578]

If a man dies intestate, his sons consider themselves his normal heirs, and the most respected of them validates for himself as many names as he desires or is able to assume. Disputes are not as common as might be expected since the 428 553 [578]

[4] In case of sudden death or failure to make a will confusion sometimes occurs.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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428 influence of a chief is usually sufficient to settle claims as to
553 which of his brothers shall receive which name. Even if none
[578] of them is a chief, some one of them is certain to have greater influence than the others. If a dead man has no sons, his daughters can assume his names, which they may transmit to their children. Failing both sons and daughters, a man's brothers and sisters are his heirs, as usual, the one of influence being the one who really arranges matters.[4] None the less, it
[614] must be emphasized that if the members of the immediate family are slow to validate a dead man's names, they may be taken by any member of the ancestral family.

463 In former days it was customary to create a "remem-
869 brancer" to preserve the ancestral myth. The older and more influential members of the ancestral family would choose an
[614] intelligent young relative to whom to relate the myth in great detail. One informant described how her mother, the last official "remembrancer," had been instructed by her grandfather. The old man had been accustomed to take his granddaughter, a girl about twelve years of age, to bed with him, and whisper to her the myth, with his hand pressed over her anus to prevent escape of his words. At the conclusion of the recitation
[789] he always spat in her ears to make the words stick. The members of the ancestral family, recognizing that the "remembrancer" was the person best acquainted with the myth, were wont to consult him or her about it, and, of course, about the
[553] names embodied in it. A "remembrancer" had no authority to decree who should receive names, but appeals were often made to him, and a tactful individual was frequently able to settle disputes.

578 Considering the extreme fluidity of the whole system it is
428 surprising that quarrels are not more common. These are limited by the system of wills, through which a man bequeaths
614 his most valuable personal property, especially his intangible
553 property in *kusiut* name-prerogatives (II, p. 2). Ancestral

[4] At the present time the same principle governs the disposal of houses and gardens on the reserve.

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names are also willed, but since their value depends on the 578
goods expended to validate them, there is seldom bitterness 614
about their allotment. Indeed, a chief who is the legal owner 553
of a designation which came from above in the beginning of
time, will in many cases choose to elevate his position with [428]
respect to a title of comparatively recent date. But if any
person who is not a member of the ancestral family should [685]
dare to use an ancestral name, all the members rise to avenge
the theft, for such they feel it to be. In recent years, however, [178]
this practice has become comparatively common. In such
cases a man, eager to share in the glories of a myth and able
to give a potlatch, has validated an ancestral name to which
he has no right. The presence of the white man alone
restrains the injured ancestral family. Names are sometimes
lent or hired to those who are not members of the group for [426]
definite sums; the recipient recompenses the individual. If [427]
such names are not returned for several generations quarrels
are apt to arise since the recipient claims to be the real owner
and not the temporary possessor. During his tenancy of the
name he is entitled to any prerogative attached to it, but he
is not considered a *bona fide* member of the ancestral family.

Instances have occurred in which an old man or woman, [428]
believing himself to be the last survivor of an ancestral family,
has donated his names and myth to those who have befriended
him, or these have been taken by those who buried him. Some [557]
individuals are constantly watching to conduct the funerals of
friendless old people in the hope of so obtaining names. But
in almost every case this leads to friction, since it is virtually
impossible for an ancestral family to die out. Perhaps in the
next generation, perhaps in the following one, some youth will
claim descent from the first ancestors of the supposedly defunct
family, and claim the myth and names embodied therein. This [628]
leads to a feud with the person, or his descendants, who has
received the names through aid given to the "last" of the
family.

Such instances of an ancestral family becoming practically 614
621

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614 extinct, are unusual; normally, the group is largely centred in
621 one village, but with members scattered in other localities. There is no central organization. It is generally recognized that such a unit belongs in the village where its first ancestors settled, and the leading chief of that village is, therefore, an important person in the family, though without status of [622] "head" of it. His advice may be appealed to in cases of dis-
[553] putes concerning names, but he lacks judicial authority. Theoretically, the descendants of the elder of two first people are considered as "elder brothers and elder sisters" of those descended from a younger brother or sister; but this is nothing more than an accepted fact; it plays no part in the social life of the community.

552 In addition to human names, the origin myths include those
614 applied to dogs. The first ancestral group had dogs, and these
773 animals had names, or were given them by their powerful masters. Ever since that time their descendants can apply these designations to their own dogs. It is unnecessary to validate such names, but no two canines can be given the same one at the same time, according to the rule which governs the bestowal of human names. This matter was not investigated in detail, and the only dog's name collected was one for which [539] the origin myth is as follows:

When *Tal'ás* was first settled in the beginning of time, the houses were built in parallel rows, one above the other, up the side of a steep knoll. At the very top was a toilet-house, built over such a steep incline [514] that excrement rolled down the hillside. In consequence, one of the early chiefs living there gave to his dog the name, *Nulápumal'ál mual'*, "Rolling excrement," which has since been preserved in the ancestral family of his descendants.

LAND

124 Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining information
423 about land tenure. The Bella Coola resent keenly the way in
177 which their land has been occupied by white settlers without, according to their standpoint, proper compensation. Ques-

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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124
tions on this subject always excited them, but every effort was 423
made to verify the following statements. [177]

As with names, the easiest way to understand the rights of 423
the ancestral family in land is by first considering the mytho- 614
logical explanation, which mirrors conditions as they existed 773
at the coming of white men. On reaching this earth the first
people are believed to have prospected for suitable settlement [361]
sites, places where salmon and olachen could be caught, and
if possible, near side valleys where berries were abundant.
Here they released the animals and plants which they had
brought with them, on which they thenceforth subsisted, in
accordance with the supreme deity's instructions. The mem-
bers of the group pre-empted these areas for themselves. Waste
land, far from any village was, and still is, free to anyone. A
few years after the first settlements had been made, according
to the myths, the supreme god sent down to Kimsquit a certain
Alquntăm who allotted and marked the territory which was
the property of each community; at that time a village con-
sisted merely of a group of the first settlers. No similar myth
was recounted for either Bella Coola or *Tăl-ie*, although their
concepts with regard to land are identical with those of the
Kimsquit. This really gave a sacred sanction to the posses-
sion of land, an important matter to a people so religiously
inclined as the Bella Coola.

The system of land tenure follows the same somewhat 423
abstruse principles that govern the possession of names in an 614
ancestral family. Hunting and collecting grounds appropriated
by the first people, or by their immediate descendants, are the
property of their offspring, the ancestral family. The Bella
Coola term for such an area is *sal'lcam*, also called, *sasmmata*,
which means "Food Supply."

It will thus be seen that a hunting-area is not the property
of any single individual, but belongs to a group of persons,
most of whom live in a single town. The relatives of a man [224]
who intends to give a potlatch usually give him, temporarily, [431]
exclusive rights to the hunting-ground. As with names, there

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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423 is no doubt that a man tends to lose those rights in property
614 which are strictly his, if they are located at a distance. Thus several men claim that they are legally entitled to hunt at Kitlobe, but from mere difficulty of access neither they nor their fathers have exercised the right, and it would have been lost in the course of a few generations, even without the utter decay of custom which has followed the advent of the white man. Practically, a man hunts only in the grounds of those ancestral families in whose origin myths he has names, though, theoretically, he is entitled to hunt on any hunting-ground of any ancestral family of which he is a member whether or not he holds a duly validated name from its origin myth. It is not necessary to confirm the right to property as with a name, though a validated ancestral name is the usual mark of a man's right to that area of the ancestral family to which that designation belongs. Although the ownership of land in distant regions is of little practical importance, it is, none the less, a
[554] matter of great pride to a man to feel that he has rights in many places. The efforts of an individual to make good those
[721] claims has often led to bloodshed; in fact, one intelligent old man stated that property disputes were the principal cause for
[554] war in British Columbia. A person who lacks hunting-grounds is little better than a slave, whereas one who has much land is important.

The Bella Coola regard land as almost inalienable. Though a man does not own the land of his wife's ancestral family, he can use it and his children have full rights to it. Conversely, a wife can gather berries on her husband's land, though it is not hers. A guest at a village may be allowed to use the
[574] territory of his hosts, but it does not become his. In the old
727 days wars between the coastal tribes were common, but though slaves were taken freely, land was never seized; such is un-
423 thinkable to a Bella Coola. In fact, several of the older people
[567] inquired how it had been possible, in the first world war, for the allies, whose cause they believed to be righteous, to annex territory from Germany. If the victors had killed or enslaved

1:56:Howeith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

the Germans it would have been moral and proper according to Bella Coola ethics, but to take land was unheard of. 423 [727]

Since land is only valued for hunting or collecting purposes, it is not divided into small areas. Any man can build his house at will near the village. It is said that at Kitlobe the crab-apple trees are the property of different ancestral families, themselves members of different tribes, but this is unknown in Bella Coola. It may be mentioned that the Bella Coola [829] somewhat naively assume that all other coastal tribes have ancestral families similar to their own, although they recognize that some of them also have a clan system which has no counterpart in their social organization. Since the concentration of the tribe on a small reserve and the beginning of [177] agriculture, a system of individual ownership of cultivated land has sprung up. It is realized that if a man clears and [428] cultivates a field, the produce is his own, and he can will this land to whomsoever he pleases. Likewise a man who rings a tree to kill it for firewood is the sole owner. The Bella Coola regard uncultivated land in the reserve as being at the disposal of anyone, a concept which appears not to have been taught them by any white administrator. Its origin seems rather to lie in the old belief that any unpeedmpend land, far removed from a village, can be used by anyone. It is recognized that the reserve cannot be considered as a *xal'olam* belonging to any ancestral group, hence it is free to all. One corner of it, however, includes the lower part of a side-valley formerly used by the people of *Tcumat*. An old man, whose ancestral family [614] lived in that village for generations, has set his bear-traps in this corner of the reserve for a number of years without interference from other hunters, who go far afield with their traps. Even within the limits of the reserve it is felt that this man has the prime right to that area for the use of himself and his family.

Theoretically an ancestral family may die out. Several 614 accounts were received of old men who, believing themselves 428 to be the sole survivors of their family, bequeathed their names 921

Schwatka E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES BellaCoola NES
Bella Bella NES

BC 614 428 721

and hunting-grounds to those who had helped them in their old age. But in every case the gift turned out to be of doubtful value, since young men grew up who claimed membership in the supposedly defunct ancestral family and combatted the right of those to whom it had been given. This always led to war.

BB BC 423 649

The following is an instance of a feud which arose from the bestowal of a hunting-area.

It is said that about 1850 the people of *Tsawat* (probably Bute Inlet) captured a Bella Bella woman as a slave. She escaped and fled up the *Tsawat* River, hoping to come in contact with the Bella Coola, who often hunted in that area. The woman was found by the mother's father of an informant who carefully looked after her while he was hunting beaver and brought her back to Bella Coola, thence sending her to Bella Bella. In gratitude her father, a Bella Bella chief, gave her rescuer the hunting-area known as *Nalaw*, near Kwatna Inlet, with the consent of the members of his ancestral family. The land so alienated should have remained permanently in possession of the Bella Coola ancestral family, but was too far removed from Bella Coola to be used regularly by the new owners. After the death of the Bella Bella chief, a number of individuals who claimed membership in his ancestral family asserted their rights to it. Many years later, after white traders had made their appearance on the coast, a Bella Coola went to *Nalaw* and killed a large number of beaver. As he was leaving with their pelts he was murdered by some Bella Bella, ostensibly as a trespasser. But for the restraining influence of the white man this incident would undoubtedly have led to war. The informant still feels that he is entitled to hunt at *Nalaw*, and did so several times when he was a young man; but his sons have never exercised the right, and it has practically lapsed.

BB [425]

BB BC 423 622

It is unfortunate that the above incident is drawn from Bella Bella, where the power of chiefs is much greater than among the Bella Coola. Consequently it is impossible to say

1:Mc:Dwenth E-1 (1922-1924)948
NES Bellacoola NES
Bella Bella NES

exactly what right the Bella Bella chief had to dispose of the land. The informant assumed that he must have been powerful enough to dictate to his followers, an unknown possibility in Bella Coola. However, the informant regards the case as typical of what would likely happen should a Bella Coola try to give away land. Out of generosity or gratitude old men have sometimes done so, but always they have forgotten someone, perhaps a mere infant, who on growing up lays claim to the *xel'olam*.

BB
BC
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[622]

Hunting-grounds are not the only valuable parts of the country. Even more important are stretches of river suitable for salmon-weirs. Of the same type are good places for olachen-nets, and rocks from which these fish can be caught with scoop-nets. Like hunting-grounds, these are said to have been pre-empted by the first people[1] and have passed into the ownership of the ancestral families descended from them. It is needless to repeat the gradual lapsing of rights to property of this kind in distant areas, since the principle is the same as that already described for land.

BC
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[222]
[773]

In one respect, salmon-weirs differ from hunting-areas, since the latter can be used by any number of individuals, whereas the number of salmon-traps possible at any one weir is limited. Again the mythological origin must be given to explain the customary usage. If, for example, a salmon-weir supposedly built by one of the first groups of people was fully manned in the third generation by ten individuals, it is as-

[773]
[222]

[1]Several Bella Coola myths describe how the first owners brought with them from above some hammers for the construction of fish-dams, and how others were provided with miniature dams which grew larger when placed in position. Mr. H. I. Smith kindly gave the writer the following summary, received from an elderly Bella Coola:

Long, long ago a certain *Tsmakus* lived with his father, the Sun, who decided to send his child to earth. He came down to *Dean*, carrying a stone hammer, his sea-pie, and accompanied by a Wolf. *Tsmakus* made the stone into a pile-driver with a face sculptured upon it, and with this tool drove piles to make a fish-weir. After a while a number of human beings came paddling up the Bella Coola River. In course of time the Wolf returned above, but *Tsmakus* remained on earth catching salmon, and teaching the people the method which was in use until the last few years.

1:96:Dewolfe K-5 (1922-1924) 1960
NES Bellacoola NES

423 sumed that ten is the largest number of traps possible at that
614 weir. Those who have the right to that weir are the members
of the ancestral family with the names of those first users. At
[773] this point the logic of the Bella Coola fails to uphold the mytho-
[224] logical pattern. No salmon-weir has remained in existence
since the beginning of time; when one broke, owners were
sometimes infants, and those who repaired the break became
regarded as the rightful possessors. The system of ownership
prevailing at the time of abandoning the weirs, was that *indi-*
[428] *viduals*, not groups, had rights to certain sections of the weir
which were willable like other personal property. In most
[431] cases this right was transmitted with a name, marking the
section of weir, which had to be duly validated by presents.
[428] In other cases, the intangible ownership was willed without
any mark whatever.[8] Unless bequeathed in this way, disputes
were frequent. Rights of this kind were never sold although
[427] an owner often leased his section for a night, or longer period,
receiving goods in return, and not forfeiting his ownership
431 thereby. This was particularly common when the renter was
planning to give a potlatch. No case was heard of in which
the right to a certain section of salmon-weir was given to a
non-member of the ancestral family. Theoretically, this was
possible, but practically it would be so inconvenient that it is
most unlikely ever to have occurred, since the Bella Coola is
[671] never such a slave to legal privileges that he fails to be guided
by common sense.

826 Although individual ownership is thus recognized with
[423] regard to sections of salmon-weirs and suitable places for
olachen-nets, the owner is bound to share his haul. When he
[579] catches a large number of fish, anyone, whether related to him
626 or not, can demand some. He cannot refuse, since to do so
would brand him as selfish. The effective check on this system

[128] [8] Great difficulty was experienced in learning about the distribution of rights to sections of salmon-weirs. The evidence is conflicting, and though every effort was made to verify and check the above, there may be further regulations which were not learnt.

Bellacoola Seventh E-9 (1922-1924)1948
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lies in public opinion which expresses contempt for a lazy man 626
who is constantly begging.

To anyone familiar with the definite social groupings of a 614
tribe divided into clans or land-owning families, the ancestral family of the Bella Coola must appear as a vague and unreal unit, only distinguished by its intangibility. So it was found when investigating in the field. When information began to accumulate, it seemed as if there must be some definite obligations incumbent upon all members of the ancestral family, but none could be found. Without asking a direct question, the point was raised whether, if a man were killed, the members [627] of his ancestral family would unite to avenge him. Conversely, were they liable for the deeds of any member? In each case the reply was in the negative; these matters concern only the immediate family. In regulating marriage the ancestral family [582] is important, since it is wise for a man or woman to seek his mate within the members of that group, though it is not compulsory. Theoretically, the terms of kinship applied to members of the immediate family may be extended to members of [601] the ancestral family, but in practice this is rarely the case, [178] and, if so, is functionless. It might be argued that this somewhat wide application of kinship terms, verging on the classificatory usage, is a relic of an earlier, and now broken-down, clan system. It is impossible to prove or to deny such a contention. When trying to discover whether the members 614
of an ancestral family ever contributed to a potlatch whereby 622
one of their fellows established himself as a chief, the following 431
interesting comment was received. The previous winter the 171
informant had been in Bella Bella, and there the point was raised by a Bella Bella chief whom he quoted as follows:

"We laugh at you Bella Coola because each of you is always trying to be chief. Our system is much better; we all help our chiefs."

The man agreed with the Bella Bella man that there was an important difference between the practices of the two tribes.

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614 The recent decay of Bella Coola culture may have destroyed
[182] traces of more definite obligations with respect to the ancestral family, but all the evidence indicates that it has always been a fluid unit. Its very lack of functions makes it difficult to
[128] discuss, and the above account was pieced together from scraps of information collected from many different people at various times; yet, intangible though it be, it is a very real unit to the Bella Coola and pervades their life. Each individual knows those to whom he is related. In many cases the exact kinship is lost, but it is remembered that a man from such-and-such a village married a woman from another village, and it is proved from the use by their descendants of names from the same origin myth. The concept of physical strength imparted by a closely akin ancestry is always present and gives a person the real "power" in the village founded by those first ancestors
614 of his. For the ancestral family is usually thought of in terms
621 of villages. A man belongs to the village where his first ancestor came to earth, though he is equally a member of other towns into which his ancestors may have married. A
[554] man without ancestry, without *sol'olam*, is a miserable creature; he has no home in this world, or, theoretically, in the world to come. The ancestral family is a unit essentially held together by the ties of sentiment and pride of ancestry.

614 In addition to the above social elements of the ancestral
827 family, it is felt that all its members have certain tendencies. If one of the first ancestors had a certain physical peculiarity, or met with a particular kind of fortune, either good or bad, his descendants are more likely to experience the same than any other people. These tendencies may skip many generations, and may be inherited either through the mother or the father. In fact, Bella Coola belief on this point closely agrees with modern knowledge of heredity; the term for such an inheritable tendency is *osäloxläm* or *uxäxsnuxdjut*. Such characteristics are:

(1) Proficiency in using tools;
(2) Ability as a hunter;

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(3) The bearing of exceptionally well-behaved children; 614
(4) The bearing of exceptionally naughty children; 827
(5) Disposition to steal;
(6) Uncontrollable sexual desires;
(7) Sudden death, that is, members of certain ancestral families are less apt than others to die of disease or old age;
(8) Death by drowning. One informant, in whose family this is a tendency, has twice been thrown into the water and barely escaped. He fully expects to meet his fate in this manner;
(9) Insanity (not a common malady); [158]
(10) Dribbling at the mouth with increasing age;
(11) Liability to contract the skin disease known as *loqalx*. 614 With regard to the transmission of this disease the surprising information was received that if a relative of a sufferer should 827 drink from the same bucket or use the same spoon as the 753 patient, he is likely to contract the disease, whereas another 177 person can use them with impunity. This statement may be based on a knowledge of germs learnt from the white man, and warped by a belief in inheritable tendencies, although it is amazing that the theory of germs could have reached the elderly Bella Coola. Possibly this statement is a relic of an old belief in the transmissability of disease through contact, but it is more reasonable to ascribe it to white influence.

In a later chapter an account is given of certain occupational abilities, including that of carpentry, which must be 614 confirmed and validated by presents. The above are quite 827 different; they are either present or absent without any action on the part of the individual.

The Village Community

The village community referred to in the preceding section 614 consists, fundamentally, of the descendants, traced in the 621 patrilineal line, of the reputed first settlers to occupy a site. Since a Bella Coola always describes himself as a native of such-and-such a town, it follows that the village community

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614 621 is a more obvious social grouping than the ancestral family, though it is of the latter that a man is most proud. The member of a small, unimportant village often describes himself as a native of a neighbouring, larger one when at a distance from his home, simply as a matter of convenience.

Even before the coming of the white man, village sites were abandoned and people took up their residence with friends or relatives elsewhere. In fact, mythology contains instances of [973] such migrations at the very beginning of time. In cases of this [361] kind, memory of the earlier home has been preserved for many generations, and may perhaps be the explanation of the many villages which are described as two, and which have two names. In the early days immigrants seem always to have been welcome; they added to the numerical strength of the village, and the original inhabitants enjoyed boasting to the newcomers of their descent from the first settlers. Since any group forced to abandon their own homes naturally moved to those of relatives, there is no difficulty in understanding the process by [582] which they continued to intermarry with their new neighbours. Thus two, or even more ancestral families, inhabiting one village tended to form a closely inter-related stock. In rare instances, two unrelated ancestral families may have become inhabitants of the same village, which would unquestionably lead to intermarriage.

In most cases the endogamic tendencies already described cause the village community to be largely members of one ancestral family. In addition there are always other occu- [563] pants; strangers who have fled from their homes and sought refuge among the Bella Coola; the offspring of illicit intercourse [567] with slaves; guests; foreigners, especially Carriers temporarily [554] resident in Bella Coola; and finally slaves, without status in the community. The real inhabitants, those whose power is firmly planted in the village, are the reputed descendants of the first group of settlers, and accordingly a relative coming to [553] dwell in a village usually endeavours to obtain a name from the origin myth of the ancestral family occupying it, and thus

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establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole organization. 621 614 553

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the outer coast, about to attack *Sinxl*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Qomqo·ts* without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours. 628 682 578 627 628

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. IV), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat- 622 554 536 621 623 535 796

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621 623 ters, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact [535] this ceremonial unity is its most important function.

[796] With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the 361 river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built [184] type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them [342] stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side [171] nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there [487] is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox [164] epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space. [433] Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

342 The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, [354] often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side-walls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the different families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The [592] number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an [622] important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and any-[261] one present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with [353] carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall. [535] A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important in dances.

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in dances. In front of most houses rises a short totem-pole,* either pierced for the doorway, or standing on the opposite side of the sidewalk. [211] [778]

The Family

It is probably no exaggeration to say that in every part of the world the most important social unit is the family. It certainly is among the Bella Coola, yet its lack of definite social obligations makes it difficult to define. Reduced to minimum size, the family consists of a man, his wife, or wives, and his children. Such a unit occupies one of the bedrooms of a large house, and it is to such a family that an infant automatically belongs at birth. Disregarding for the moment ceremonial obligations, which are shared by others, it is the father and mother who are responsible largely for the upbringing of the child. Such education as he receives comes from them, with the assistance of members of the ancestral family. This is chiefly imitative; a boy, as he increases in strength, follows his father on hunting expeditions or fishing. The mother teaches her daughters how to make baskets, and they follow her when she gathers berries, or when she cooks and performs household duties. The Bella Coola are fond of children, in many cases to the extent of over-indulging them, and they grow up amid the open life of the large houses, absorbing information of all kinds without being aware of so doing.

594 [851] 594 868 855 861

Only two kinds of functional training need be mentioned. A wise father carefully trains his sons to remember their debts (I, p. 369), and the method of teaching ancient myths has already been described; otherwise there is little direct instruction. On the other hand, parents devote great care to furnishing their children with every possible means of strengthening their supernatural elements on which success depends. These can

594 869

*Since the Bella Coola believe that totem-poles were used by their ancestors in early times, they are included in this description of a village, without reference to their development in post-European times. This account is compiled from descriptions given by elderly informants; it is inevitable, therefore, that changes due to European contact may be included. [177]

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594 be made more powerful by magical means or the ritual acts of
869 relatives. Although these often entail great labour and expense, parents seldom neglect their duty; in fact, care for their children is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics, though the methods used are so foreign to the white man that he has difficulty in realizing their meaning. The hope of both
[847] parents is to have children to carry on their names; infanticide is unknown and the death of an infant is mourned almost as
[586] much as that of an adult. Sterility and impotency are frequent causes for divorce.

163 At the present time there is a high birth-rate in Bella
[165] Coola, although the heavy infant mortality prevents any appreciable increase in the population. In the old days, it is said, there were always large families, though much confidence cannot be placed in this statement. In families where there are
593 several children, the first-born, whether boy or girl, assumes an important position. His or her influence, as eldest, is naturally considerable, and the parents foster this through the vague feeling that it is proper for the eldest to be the most important in the family. In adult years, and after marriage, the influence of the eldest of a family continues to have considerable weight with younger brothers and sisters.

592 If a man is poor he cannot hope to have more than one wife,
556 and his family circle will be limited to their children, and perhaps to elderly parents. On the other hand, a wealthy and
[595] powerful man usually has a larger family. Not only may he have several wives, but his aged relatives, and those of his wife,
[602] look to him for support and assistance. Such are usually welcome to live in his house; they lend what aid they can in collecting food, and it gratifies a man's pride and sense of power to be closely surrounded by a large family. The Bella
[888] Coola are, on the whole, considerate to their aged relatives.[10]

[178] [10]This is not true of the present. During the winter of 1923-4 a feeble old man, living alone, was often in actual want of food. Disliked and degraded, of a mean disposition himself, none of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were nephews, would take him into their houses. Commenting on this man's fate, several informants pointed out how, in the old days, such a one could have found

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The married sons of a chief usually live in his house, and if he is very powerful the husbands of his daughters may also reside with him. Such a man is at the zenith of power, surrounded by a close group, formed of elderly relatives, of children and grandchildren. Connections by marriage are also added to the family group. At the present time, for example, one Bella Coola man is looking after his brother's widow, and it is felt that she is a member of his family. 592 556 622 602

Another way in which a rich man can increase the size of his family is by adoption. Parents who have lost an infant may adopt the child of some member of the ancestral family of either father or mother. The matter is usually arranged soon after birth, and the transfer takes place immediately after weaning. The real parents are willing since they know that the adopting parents will be able to validate valuable prerogatives and names for the child, which they themselves are unable to do. This desire for their child's welfare overrules parental love. In such cases the real father or mother can likewise bestow names and other prerogatives on the child, who really becomes a member of two families. This is often done by an old couple whose own children have married and moved away, and who thus find themselves lonely. It is considered disgraceful for parents to allow their children to be adopted by anyone not a member of their ancestral family, since that would be an admission of inability to bring up a child in the path of his ancestors. 556 597 614 [888]

"Your father was not strong," could be said to such a child as a reproach.

In the case of an orphan some wealthy relative is almost always ready to adopt him. Consequently, as he grows up, he receives his full share of the ancestral origin myth, and the names embodied therein, so that the loss of his own parents is of little consequence in the course of life. Occasionally a child is not adopted by relatives, and then his fate is indeed hard. 736 597

shelter in the house of any chief, and shared in the food which was being distributed at the almost continuous ceremonial feasts. Now, each family lives alone and no one feels any responsibility for this old man. [178]

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597 736 Ignorant of his ancestral names, and lacking the means to validate them even if someone should tell them to him, owning no hunting-grounds, the unfortunate infant is little better than a slave. This is almost unthinkable except in the extremely rare contingency of a child being left without relatives.

Although public opinion does not impel kindly treatment to orphans left without kindred, yet many Bella Coola have charitable dispositions and it is not unknown for a family to adopt and tend an infant without reason or hope of reward. One old man mentioned how his mother and a Chilkotin child had been born on the same day when a party of the latter had been encamped near *Nusqalst*. A few days later they left for the interior, abandoning the infant. The grandfather of the old man chanced to pass their camp while the ashes of their fire were still warm and found the baby, whom he brought back, to be a brother to his own daughter. His wife suckled the two, giving each a breast, and treating the foundling as her own. When the boy grew into manhood, he went back to his own people, but never forgot his adopted parents. Forty years later he visited Bella Coola, bringing with him his own wife and family. The old man who related this incident recalled the manner in which the Chilkotin had instructed his children to regard him as their brother.

597 [768] Children are not the only persons to be adopted. On the death of an adult his relatives may "adopt to replace" someone who has a striking facial resemblance to the deceased. Thus, some time after the death of his sister, a certain man was in Bella Bella and saw a Bella Bella woman who closely resembled her. He desired to adopt her, and since he was a man of importance, his wish was granted. To legalize the transaction [431] he distributed valuable presents among the Bella Bella. A person so adopted does not usually change his abode, nor does [601] he lose membership in his own family; instead, he becomes a [835] member of two, with full rights to names and prerogatives in both, is addressed with the same kinship terms as if related by blood, and is likewise considered a member of the family as far as incest rules are concerned

as far as incest rules are concerned. In this particular instance 577
the woman did not show any interest in her new relatives, failed to visit them, or to take part in their ceremonies, so that the adoption, though still legal, has practically lapsed. When [428]
this man dies his children will not consider the claims of their father's "sister" to inherit any of his possessions, as they would have done if she had showed herself appreciative of her adoption.

It will thus be seen that the size and composition of the 592
family vary according to the wealth and influence of the father. The duties of the members are difficult to define since they concern almost entirely the routine of life. The father, head of the family, directs the gathering of firewood, repair of the house, obtaining of food supplies, and other matters of the same sort. If he gives a potlatch his children must help him, [431] 2
which they do willingly since they gain from the ceremony. If a father is too autocratic, his older, especially his married children, simply move away. Nor is his power over his younger [602]
children unbounded, since their mother's relatives take great interest in their welfare and would resent any ill-treatment.

If a person is killed or wounded, revenge is the affair of his 593
family. Just how many individuals are involved depends on 627
the composition of the family. In the case of the killing of a 682
child, living with his parents alone, none but the father would feel it incumbent to retaliate. If an adult person is murdered, his or her brothers feel and avenge the insult. But should an important member of the community be slain, an old man surrounded by a numerous family, it is the affair of all. Every effort is made to slay the murderer, but if he should escape from the country, the injured group is satisfied by killing one of his family. Here again the same inexact composition is found. A man's son, brother, or father are the only persons strictly liable, and even here the common sense of the Bella [671]
Coola outweighs their theoretical laws. A murderer's brother, living in another village, would not be held liable; but more distant relatives living with the offender and considered as his

family are liable

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593 family are liable. It is very rare for a woman to be killed in
627 a blood feud. A death is answered by a death; if two persons
682 should be slain for one murder the family which has suffered
the double loss endeavours to kill another of their enemies. In
[562] case of wounding, an effort is made to wound the offender, but
[683] if he should be killed his family would try to avenge him.
More often, one of the offender's family takes the initiative of
offering goods to the injured family, "to cure the wound." If
the offer is accepted, and the goods delivered properly, the
matter is at an end. If a murder be committed within the
ranks of the immediate family, for instance, if a brother kill
a brother, revenge, if exacted, must be meted out to the actual
[622] offender. If requested to do so, the leading chief of a village
may offer his advice, but it is always considered that revenge
concerns only the immediate family.

612 Revenge is a topic which shows clearly the essential fluidity
614 of the family. There are no well-defined degrees of relation-
ship within which responsibility rests. Instead, everyone
[627] knows, in the open life of the community, how many persons
[682] share the family life of the individual, and they alone are held
to account, or they alone demand compensation. From its
very nature, the family must be a bilateral unit which, when
powerful, stretches out to absorb members of the ancestral
families of both mother and father.

Not only does the family thus appear constantly to be
attracting to itself members of the ancestral family of either
parent, but these relatives themselves are deeply interested in
the affairs of the family. This is most clearly shown in the
case of children who, of course, are members of the ancestral
family of both their mother and father. A few days after
553 birth some relative is expected to call together the people of
the village where the child is born for the bestowal and valida-
612 tion of an ancestral name. It is considered an evidence of
614 poverty if this is done by the father, as if his child were only
[558] supported by his parents, not by a larger circle of relatives.
It is immaterial whether this gathering be called by a relative

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of the father or the mother. In June, 1922, a Bella Coola girl had reached the age of about six months without having received a name. There was much adverse criticism about the parsimony of her father's father and her mother's father, who were held equally to blame, but who had really been deterred by fear of the law prohibiting the potlatch. 612 614 553

As a child grows older he is helped in the performance of ceremonial rites by his parents and by their brothers and sisters. In this, too, it is considered a mark of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his ancestral family, he has no hesitation in favouring the children of either a brother or sister, since, like his own, they are all members of the same ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit* it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children; not that there is any lack of knowledge of the real father, but rather as a mark of respect and family feeling displayed by a man to his sister. Moreover, in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is most improper for a name which a man has raised to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much goods to be passed to his own son; it should go to a distant relative. When a father validates a name for his child it should be one long dormant. 593 604 852 [558] [614] [553]

One aspect of the manner in which the family merges imperceptibly into the ancestral family can be seen in the inheritance of names. When a man calls his relatives together to make his will he is guided in the choice of recipients by the characteristics of his children. An able son receives much from his father, but lazy children are slighted without hesitation. This is particularly true of names with which are bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whereas, as previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the importance depends 593 614 428 553

*According to an intelligent Bella Coola informant, a Bella Bella pays greater attention to the children of his brothers and sisters than to his own offspring, and the same man expressed the opinion that the Kimsquit practice was due to Bella Bella influence. Kimsquit informants denied this, though emphasizing the important part taken by an uncle in obtaining prerogatives for his sisters' children, in some cases to the detriment of his own, which is rare in Bella Coola. [184] [177]

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593 on the value of the goods distributed in connection with them,
614 usually revert to the ancestral family and can be revived by
553 any member of it. It seems needless to publish lengthy pedi-
428 grees, illustrating the transmission of ancestral names; it will suffice to say that such sometimes pass from father to son, from a man to his brother's son, his sister's son, his sister, his daughter, or to other relatives belonging to the immediate family. On the other hand, with equal frequency, names pass from a man to distant relatives of the same ancestral family.

59 Thus the Bella Coola family, important though it is in the life of the individual, cannot be defined with exactitude either as regards composition or functions; it varies according to the importance of its head, and tends to merge in the ancestral families of the parents.

Kinship Terms

601 In Bella Coola, as in so many parts of the world, kinship terms mirror the social life of the community. The Bella Coola system of nomenclature is not as clear-cut in its application as in other regions, and requires considerable explanation concerning the uses of many of the terms. It will be seen that the system, although fundamentally founded on the family, presents many classificatory features. Whether or not these are to be ascribed to an ancient clan system is most doubtful; a short discussion of that point will be found at the end of this section.

The terms are arranged in the following order: first, an individual's relatives of the preceding generation, then those of the next preceding, with their parents; then those of the present generation, followed by terms for men of the generations following. Finally come relations by marriage.

Term	Speaker's address	Speaker's address
Father.....	This term is properly used only by a small child, though often continued by an adult as a term of endearment.	Often used only by a small child.

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TERM	VARIOUS GENERA	INTIMATE GENERA
Father (continued)	*mize* Term used, rarely, by an adult of either sex; *mize* is more common. *Mize* is often used by an adult when speaking to any old man as a courtesy title.	*mize* Used by an adult.
Mother's husband	*mize* Terms used by small children.	*mize*
	mize Used by adults; more commonly *mize*.	*mindimoi* Used by adults.
Mother	*mimai* Used by baby.	*mimai* Used by baby.
	gimai Used by small child.	*gimai* Used by small child.
	mize Used by adults of either sex with some limitations as *mize*.	*mize*
Father's wife	*mimai* or *gimai* Used by small children.	*mimai* or *gimai*
	mize Used by adults, more commonly *gimai*.	*dindimoi* Used by adults.
	The application to step-parents of the terms usually limited to the real parents is merely a mark of endearment, without social significance.	
Parent of either sex	*aijmalaiyely*	*a'mazinlayly*
	These terms are used for a parent of either sex when old and feeble. Their use is a mark of courtesy and implies respect for those with wide knowledge of family history.	
Father's brother	*sisai*, or by name, or *aijmalaiyely*	*sisi*
Mother's brother	" " "	"
Father's sister	*sukum* " "	*sukum*
Mother's sister	" " "	"
	If the family contains more distant relatives of the generation preceding that of the speaker, for example, a father's father's brother's son, or a mother's mother's brother's daughter, the terms *sisi* and *sukum* may be applied in courtesy to these individuals.	
Father's father	*Aakpai*, or more commonly, *sisu*	*Aakpi*
Mother's father	" " " "	"
Father's mother	*Aijum* " " *gimai*	*Aije*
Mother's mother	" " " "	"
	Especially when living together, children usually address their grandparents by the terms properly applied to parents.	

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[888]
[595]
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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Brother or sister of a grandparent	Addressed as the grandparent, especially when living in the same family. The terms are further widely applied to elderly members of the same enumeral family.	*mamantsia* Seldom used term; more commonly spoken of by name, or as grandparents.
Great grandparents	As grandparents.	As grandparents.
Elderly male relatives spoken of collectively	.....	*mamanuklyatz*
Elderly female relatives spoken of collectively	.....	*sinatteamtz* These two terms are used with respect to a man's "power" through the possession of many elderly relatives.
Eldest brother or sister	By name, or *ḡualem*.	*ḡualem*
Second eldest brother or sister	By name.	*ts-iks-ol*, or *sliktz ol di ḡualem*
Third eldest brother or sister	" "	*slitt*
Fourth eldest brother or sister	" "	*ḡuarwam*
Youngest brother or sister	" " or *sapinas*.	*sapi*

[178]

At the present time the intermediate terms are rarely, if ever, used. *Ḡualem* and *sapi* are continually employed, the former for a brother or sister older than the speaker, the latter for a brother or sister younger than the speaker. When necessary sex is usually indicated by giving the person's name, or by the use of sex-denoting particles.

Only brother with several sisters	.....	*smilkptsin*
Only sister with several brothers	.....	*ḡuwsinin*
Brothers or sisters, same father, different mother	By name, or *ḡualem*, or *sapinas*, according to relative age.	*sumsai di mimo*
Brothers or sisters, same mother, different father	By name, or *ḡualem*, or *sapinas*, according to relative age.	*sumsai ti mimo*

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Father's brother's child, or Father's sister's child, or Mother's brother's child, or Mother's sister's child.	No distinction is made, either in direct or indirect address, between ortho- and cross-cousins. By name, or *ḡaulim*, or *xayinas*. These terms, though properly reserved for brother and sister, are usually used for all cousins in direct address when an individual's name is not employed. The choice between *ḡaulim* and *xayinas* depends on the relative ages of the parents, not on the ages of the speakers. Theoretically, this should be traced back to the first settlement of the earth, so that, for example, an old man claiming descent from the younger of two brothers who first came to this earth, addresses a young girl descended from the elder, as *ḡaulim*. In consequence, there is often a choice in terminology. Thus a man calls his mother's father's elder brother's son either *ḡaulim* or *xiai*.	By name, or *ḡaulim*, or *xayi*, or, rarely, the intermediate terms as used for brother or sister.

xiai

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Members of the ancestral family, considered the same generation but more distantly related than first cousins.	When male addresses male or female addresses female— *namastas* When male addresses female, or female addresses male— *ayalyas*	When male speaks of male or female speaks of female— *namas* When male speaks of female or female speaks of male— *ayalyas*

These terms are seldom used except on ceremonial occasions when the bond of ancient relationship is invoked, especially if assistance is needed in danger. They are also applicable to first cousins.

The term most commonly employed for these relatives is the one for "friend," or "partner," which does not necessarily imply relationship. It is—

xaiai *xiai*

Xiai are usually of the same rank and inhabitants of the same village.

Male relatives of the same ancestral family and generation as the speaker. . . . . *xaiai*

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TERM	SOMEWHAT JOCOSE	SOMEWHAT JOCOSE
601 [614] Female relative of the same ancestral family and generation as the speaker		[illegible]
Child	[illegible]	[illegible]
Son, until twelve or thirteen years old	Pai, a term of endearment used for any small child, or by name. Use of the personal name becomes more frequent with increasing age.	[illegible]
[551] Son, when adult	By name, or [illegible].	By name or [illegible] (man), [illegible]
Daughter, until twelve or thirteen years of age	Pai, a term of endearment used for any small girl, or by name. Use of the personal name becomes more frequent with increasing age.	
Daughter, when adult	By name; infantile form of endearment is also sometimes used.	By name.
Stepchild	Same as for own child.	
Brother's child or Sister's child	Usually by same terms as own children, mainly as a mark of endearment, also own. Corresponding to the use of [illegible] where [illegible] is usually applicable, [illegible] is used in same sense instead of own.	own. Depending on the composition of the family, this term is in many cases applied to the children of an own if they form part of the family group.
Son's child or Daughter's child	Usually as for own child, or by name, or [illegible]. The last is merely the term for indirect address, with the endearing suffix, [illegible].	[illegible]
Descendants		[illegible] Terms used [illegible] to describe a man with many [illegible]. The latter term means "[illegible]."
[614] Family		[illegible] the ancestral family, those who claim descent from one group of ancestors, even though their exact relationship has been forgotten.

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[595]

Term	Speaker's statement	Addressee's statement
Husband	Usually by name, or *di hanawa* lai, "my husband," or usually, "man."	*di hahawa lai*, or by name.
Co-husband, in a polygynous household		
Wife	Usually by name, or *mi gwa* lada, "my gwa," woman.	By name, or *mi gwa* lada.
Co-wife, in a polygynous household		
Wife's brother and the reciproval,	*gulu* By name, or gulusis	*gulu* gulusi
Sister's husband (man speaking)	" "	"
Wife's sister and the reciproval,	*sulus*, or by name.	*sulus*
Sister's husband (woman speaking)	" "	"
Brother's wife (man speaking) and the reciproval,	" "	"
Husband's brother	" "	"
Brother's wife (woman speaking) and the reciproval,	" "	"
Husband's sister	" "	"
Wife's father or Wife's mother and the reciproval,	*ghisi* "	*ghisi* "
Daughter's husband	" or by name.	"
Husband's father or Husband's mother and the reciproval,	" "	"
Son's wife	" or by name.	"
Father's brother's wife	*sisu*, *sisuliusu*, or (as a term of affection) without social signs. Kosrean) *sisuu*.	*sisuliusu* or *sii gwa di sisu*, "Wife of my *sisu*." Kosrean) *sisiuu*.
Mother's brother's wife	Same as father's brother's wife.	
Father's sister's husband	*sulu*, *sulusiusu*, or (as a term of affection) without social signs. Kosrean) *sisu*.	*sulusiusu* or *di hahawa di sulusu*, "Husband of my *sulusu*."

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TERM	SPEAKS AS MAN	SPEAKS AS WOMAN
Mother's sister's husband	Same as father's sister's husband.	
Brother's son's wife ... or Sister's son's wife	Same as son's wife.	Same as son's wife, *ut sui pnuc di cmes*, "Wife of my own."
Brother's daughter's husband ... or Sister's daughter's husband	Same as daughter's husband.	Same as daughter's husband, *ut di hulu-mets di cmes*, "Husband of my own."

In case of adoption, the same kinship terms are used as if the adopted person were a member of the family by birth. A more complicated situation arises when a child who is regarded as the reincarnation (I, p. 616) of a recently deceased elderly relative, is given the latter's name. In such a case the child is addressed by the kinship terms applicable to his namesake. In recent years, at any rate, this application is without social significance, and, as far as could be learned, this has always been the case. Bella Coola sentiment is that it is fitting for a child to receive the name of one of its ancestors. When a parent sees the child, and thinks of his name, he thinks of the late deceased, hence it is natural to use kinship terms accordingly. This is more obvious when the child is regarded as a reincarnation, though even in such a case he does not receive any of the marks of respect paid to his namesake; the reincarnation is physical, not social. In course of time this is forgotten and the child takes his place among others of his own generation, though it may be remembered in rhetorical speeches on ceremonial occasions.

The kinship terminology of the Bella Coola combines features of the family and classificatory systems. The reciprocal terms for parents- and children-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law, lack of sex differentiation for brothers and sisters, and the importance of age in the designations applied to persons of the same generation, are all features of the classificatory system. On the other hand, bilateralism, failure to

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differentiate between cross- and ortho-cousins, and the unsystematic groupings of nephews and nieces show "family," as opposed to classificatory, principles. Finally, rhetorical terms for the ancestral family, for many ancestors, and many descendants, correspond to the importance of a large number of relatives in Bella Coola thought. 601 [602]

In many parts of the world the classificatory system of relationship occurs where the community is divided into clans. The occurrence of some of these features among the Bella Coola raises the question of whether or not they should be regarded as survivals from an earlier clan form of social organization. The Bella Coola may once have had clans, but their relationship system does not furnish any real evidence to this effect. The reciprocal terms really have the significance, "Relation by marriage of the same generation," or "of a generation once removed," a form of address which does not require explanation in any ancient form of social organization. Moreover, the importance of the eldest child, as potential transmitter of the glories of the ancestral family, is sufficient reason for differentiating brothers and sisters in terms of their relative ages. This feature suggests that in former times this was more important than it has been in the recent past. It is not implied that the Bella Coola never had a clan system, as such may have been the case many generations ago, but their kinship terminology can be explained without that hypothesis. The somewhat wide application to cousins of terms which are properly limited to brothers and sisters may easily have been derived from a process of copying. The Bella Coola are well acquainted with the clan system of the northern coastal tribes, so that it is by no means impossible, or unlikely, that they should have adopted the principle of applying the same kinship term to many individuals, and hence to members of their own ancestral families. Finally, the somewhat vague and unsystematic application of terms to relatives according to whether or not they are members of the immediate family, is a feature not at all surprising in view of the essential fluidity of Bella 601 614 178 [561] [179] 601

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601 Coola social organization, and of the absence of standardized obligations based upon specific relationships.

Slaves

567 Since a slave was[11] without status in the Bella Coola community, it is perhaps incorrect to include a description of [554] slavery in a chapter on social organization; but as slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages, it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was 162 impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of their number in 567 Bella Coola; slavery has been so long abandoned that the present natives could only hazard vague guesses. Judging from conversational remarks by elderly men, it seems probable that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as thirty to forty per cent of the total population.

567 When a party raided a village most of the inhabitants were 727 slain, but some, especially children, young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. As far as could be learned, once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief [422] or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

567 Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold. 437 The Bella Coola were usually so well provided with salmon that they were able to exchange these fish with the members [622] of other tribes for slaves. Lack of strong chieftainship among [726] the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of [431] their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category [773] belong those obtained as presents at potlatches. If, however, a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was

[648] [11] One of the first effects of the white man's establishment in British Columbia was the freeing of all slaves. Consequently the past tense is used in this section.

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given as a slave to a Bella Coola, he was treated as a guest.[11] Slaves were bartered between Bella Coola individuals as a matter of course. Their value depended on sex, ability, and industriousness, as well as on supply and demand. When there was an over-supply, the value of a slave fell to twenty or thirty salmon, but whenever an owner found that someone wished to purchase a particular slave he endeavoured to raise the price. If a foreigner borrowed goods in Bella Coola he usually had to leave a relative as pledge. Thus, not many years ago, a *Xixais* Indian, from near Ootsa Lake, borrowed goods from a Kimsquit man and left his son as pledge. The goods were not returned, so the son was sold as a slave to the people of Kitimat.

It was not uncommon for a Bella Coola to lose his freedom by gambling. At *lehql* especially, a player who had exhausted his goods not infrequently wagered his children, or in extreme cases, himself. If he lost, his children, or himself, became the property of the winner. Unless speedily repurchased by some relative, such slaves were usually sold or given away at the first opportunity to a member of a foreign tribe, since it was considered improper for a man to hold a member of his own tribe in servitude. The same course of action was taken on those rare occasions when one Bella Coola village fought against its neighbour and prisoners were taken.

To the Bella Coola, who still consider a man's "power" in the land as dependent to a considerable extent on his ancestral myth, a slave's greatest misfortune lay in the fact that he had no ancestral home, and hence no rights.

"No slaves came to earth with the first people," they say.

A slave was a stranger in a strange land, unsupported by a chain of ancestors reaching back to the beginning of time. On the whole, captives taken in war were better treated than other slaves since it was felt that such a misfortune might occur to anyone at any time. They were frequently ransomed by their

[11] This is said to be an ancient practice, due to the fact that several of the forefathers of the Bella Coola came to earth in that region and were on friendly terms with the inhabitants. It is conceivable that this tradition may have reference to the breaking away of the Bella Coola from the main Salish stock.

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567 friends, a further cause for their preferential treatment. A
[727] Bella Coola who had been enslaved and ransomed had to
undergo a cleansing ceremony to remove the taint of slavery
[783] before he could take part in the ceremonies of the community.
It was impossible to learn the details of this rite.

[626] A master had complete power over a slave, unaffected by the force of public opinion, since the affairs of a slave, being without relatives, were of no consequence to anyone. Accordingly, the lot of a slave depended on the character of his master, and on his own ability and industry. An industrious slave was valued; such an one would not be traded or sold except through dire necessity, and in course of years he became, as far as actual treatment was concerned, one of the
[424] family. Many masters gave their slaves *kusiut*[14] dance pre-
rogatives, expending large sums for the purpose. In such a
[431] case the slave might become an influential member of the community, though the fact that he was not free was never forgotten. On the other hand, a master had not the slightest compunction about beating a lazy slave, and could kill him if he so desired. None of the present Bella Coola has heard of such a case; it was considered more sensible to sell or give away an unsatisfactory slave. It was accepted as a matter of course that a master should provide his slaves with food and clothing, since anything produced or obtained by one belonged to him. A slave-owner had full rights to his female slaves,
[837] and unquestionably exercised them. The only restraints were the jealousy of his own wife, or wives, and the feeling that it was undignified for a free man to demean himself. It was impossible to learn with even approximate accuracy to what extent intercourse took place between masters and slaves. Probably not a great deal, though there was considerable freedom of relations between slave women and the young men of the community, unrestrained by the pride of chieftainship. When a slave had been faithful for a number of years and had
[582] become almost a member of the family, his master would try

[14] *Kusiut* privileges (I, p. 180) were more rarely given.

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to arrange his marriage with some female slave; once this had 567
taken place, the actual treatment meted out to him differed 582
only slightly from that shown to a member of the family. In former times it would probably have been difficult for a stranger to tell married slaves from the members of the Bella Coola community until he had been long enough in the country to understand more than appeared on the surface.

Marriages between Bella Coola men and slave women were not infrequent, while like partnerships between slave men and even the daughters of chiefs were not unknown. In such cases the status of the children depended on the performance of 431
ceremonies to wash from them the stain of their slave blood. 567
While the mother was still pregnant her husband would call guests, not only from his own village, but from foreign tribes as well. Presents were given, according to the wealth of the donor, often aided by his immediate family, to "wash the child." Such ceremonies would be repeated several times before birth, and again at that time. Bella Coola sentiment was that such presents gagged the recipients; they knew of the dishonourable ancestry of the child, but the receipt of gifts on his account had wiped away the disgrace. Such a child was [428]
able to inherit prerogatives from his mother's old home, duly validated in Bella Coola by valuables, and by his own lavish presents he could silence those who remembered the blot on his ancestry. Similar procedure was carried out if a free woman married a slave. Unless her husband were already owned by one of her family, the woman's father or brother would arrange to purchase him. Then, aided by him, they would give the same type of presents to clear the children from the taint of slavery. If this were not done, the children had only the status of slaves, though, born and brought up in Bella Coola and associating from infancy with their master's children, they were virtually considered members of the family.

"Washing the child," during pregnancy and at birth, suf-
ficed to cover the taint on its history, but in later years if such [537]
a person failed to continue to give ceremonies, people would [578]
again talk of his short-comings. So, too, for the child or grand-

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431 child of a mixed Bella Coola and slave marriage. As long as
567 such an one maintained a position of importance in the com-
578 munity by the distribution of presents, nothing was said, but
[554] if he should fail to do so, he could be, and frequently was, insulted by having references made to his ancestry. In case of dispute or rivalry it was always a temptation to refer to such a blot, but if he had atoned for it with presents, references were considered improper. Unquestionably, memory of slave
554 ancestry was forgotten in course of time if the line was influ-
567 ential, although recollections of the stigma were always carried for at least two or three generations. At the present time the most influential woman in Bella Coola, the one who has given most presents, is the granddaughter of a Smith Inlet slave. This man had lived in Bella Coola for many years and had married another slave, by whom he had a son. The latter became the husband of an influential *Stuix* woman. When she became pregnant, her family secured the liberation of her husband, and gave many presents to "wash the child." One daughter was born to this couple, the woman just mentioned. Her mother's relatives were influential, and her father was
[555] such an expert canoe-maker that he was able to win an honourable position for his daughter by presents of his handicraft. The woman, possessed of considerable ability herself, has been able to give many ceremonies and so reach a position of eminence. No one dares insult her by mentioning her ancestry, but everyone knows about it and if her children should fail to hold their position, they would be open to insult on this score. The woman has validated names and myths derived both from her mother and father, without explaining how the Smith Inlet traditions came to Bella Coola.

To sum up, it may be said that the position of slaves in Bella Coola was not particularly onerous, though it depended entirely on the will of their masters. Without status in the
[182] community, a slave could have been abused by a cruel owner, though the public life of the village, where all lived and ate together, tended to break down the unsystematically enforced differences of rank.

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CHAPTER IV

RANK

Chieftainship—Sisaok Society—The Potlatch

CHIEFTAINSHIP

IN the previous chapter have been described the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the origin of names, and the attitude of pride with which they regard those embodied in ancestral myths, which carry with them prized prerogatives. But the unsystematic method by which ancestral names are inherited is sufficient to show that their possession, though valued for sentimental reasons, is not enough to make the owner a chief. On what, then, is Bella Coola chieftainship based? Expressed briefly, it depends on the number and value of presents distributed at any kind of ceremonial. To the Bella Coola, every rite, whether it be a marriage, the bestowal of a name, a dance, a type of funeral, or admission into a secret society, is a prerogative intimately associated with the myth by which the performance is authorized. Accordingly, the host is really displaying the glories of his ancestors before the eyes of guests present at the ceremony. To the Bella Coola it is unthinkable for such to be performed without the giving of presents to all; failure to do so would destroy the value of the prerogative. The potlatch is the ceremonial at which the most lavish generosity is displayed, but the principle of the acquisition of prestige by the giving of presents is the same for all other rites; the only difference is that at a potlatch a man is able to display his generosity to a larger number of recipients. In consequence, the aim of every ambitious man is to hold potlatches, since his status in the community virtually rests on his ability in this respect. The ritual of a potlatch will be given in detail in the latter part of this chapter, but its complications will be intelligible only after a description of the

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* 556 broader principles of chieftainship. The first essential is to
431 consider the principles of present-giving.

PRESENTS

* 556 Consider, for example, a man who wishes to take for him-
431 self one of his ancestral names, and at the same time to display
certain features of his ancestral myth—a particular type of
424 house, totem-pole, or dance used by one of his forefathers.
He invites guests to his house, displays the feature of his myth,
and must give a present to each to show the value of his pre-
rogative and to demonstrate that he has not merely casually
usurped the function in question. In giving a present of, for
instance, $20, it is as if he said to the recipient:

"See! These are the glories of my ancestors of whom *I* am the descendant. *I* have a part in their fame. To make this valid I give you from my wealth a mere trifle, a matter of no consequence to me, who am so firmly established in the path of my ancestors."

* 556 The guest receives the money with mixed feelings. On the
one hand he has received $20 as a "present." But if he wishes
431 to elevate his own position and his own prestige, together with
that of his ancestors, it is incumbent on him to repay this sum
with interest. Contrary to the practice among some other
[171] coastal tribes, there is no fixed rate of interest among the Bella
Coola. An ambitious man who seeks to become a chief will
strive to the utmost to pay back with heavy interest when he
himself gives a ceremony so that his fame will be carried far
[558] and near. If he should repay only the principal, he would be
regarded as having done all that was obligatory, but should he
fail to do even so much, he would soon sink to a position of
little consequence, no matter how lofty and distinguished his
ancestral name might be.

171 In this respect there is a parallel between the Bella
* 556 Coola and ourselves. A man invited to a dinner party is not
558 compelled to return the compliment, but if, in the course of

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time, he fails in any way to reciprocate the hospitality, he loses his place among his special associates. So, likewise, the Bella Coola who receives present after present, but fails to give any in return gradually receives smaller and smaller gifts and in time loses his social position and influence entirely. As with ourselves, too, there is a disguised feeling of contempt for the *parvenu*, the man who, lacking the traditional dignity attached to one of the names which came from above at the beginning of time, has elevated the fame of a more recent name by ostentatious giving. But in Bella Coola, as with ourselves, success is the great criterion, and the donor finds his influence little impaired by the lack of one of the ancient origin myths. It is dangerous to cite similarities between the social practices of divergent peoples, and this one must not be stretched too far. The pride of a man in being able to incorporate himself in the traditions of his ancestors is lacking with the host at a dinner party, nor does the latter, to any extent, attain the status of chief through his hospitality. Further, a Bella Coola will sometimes endeavour to shame the poverty of a guest by giving him a large present. Unless the recipient is willing to admit his inferiority he must repay this with a still larger gift. The original donor will then vindicate himself by increasing the value of his next gift until a fierce competition ensues. This feature of rivalry in generosity is rare in Bella Coola, and never reached the same proportions that it did among the Kwakiutl.

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The following is a good instance of the manner in which a haughty man regards the acceptance of gifts. A Rivers Inlet man married a Calvert Island woman who went to live with her husband. The man's mother, to show her amiable feelings towards the marriage, frequently gave thick slices of boned spring salmon, a great delicacy, to the family of her daughter-in-law. The Calvert Island chief considered these presents an insult to him, as if the Rivers Inlet people thought that he and his people were so poverty-stricken they lived on skin and bones. To avenge this slight he made war on the Rivers Inlet Indians and slew many of them. This attitude of the Calvert

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*556 578 Island chief was felt by the Bella Coola to be quite natural; one of their own chiefs might have resented the insult in the same manner. This account may have no historical basis, but it is a clear example of Bella Coola sentiment.

*556 648 558 [765] Further examples may help to clarify this point. A few years ago a number of Kwakiutl Indians visited Bella Coola to perform a mourning ceremony in honour of a deceased Bella Coola who had a Kwakiutl name from his grandfather, a member of that tribe. All the natives were invited to a large house, where the visitors gave a dance according to their own ancestral myths; the songs which were used recounted the history of the Kwakiutl name of the dead man. After thus displaying their prerogatives, they felt themselves obliged, and proud, as hosts, to give presents as validation. The sum of $546 was distributed among the guests. Realizing that it would be impossible to return such a sum by holding ceremonials in Fort Rupert, the home of the Kwakiutl, the leading Bella Coola decided to return the compliment immediately. The amount to be given was discussed at great length. Appreciating the courtesy of the foreigners in thus coming to pay honour to the deceased, it was not wished to insult them by giving a larger present, which would have had the effect of intimating that the recipients considered the $546 a trifling amount. Accordingly it was finally agreed to give the visitors about $300, which was done as validation of a Bella Coola ceremony at which the strangers were present. Thus the hosts allowed themselves to be shamed as a mark of courtesy. Not to be outdone in politeness, the Kwakiutl chief made a speech, expressing his willingness to allow the Bella Coola to drive him (this occurred in the days of horses and carts) to the wharf to take the steamer. In other words, he allowed the Bella Coola to put him in their debt, as they had allowed him and his party to do with respect to the distribution of money. The visit terminated with friendly relations maintained on both sides.

123 533 *556 424 The need of validating every ceremonial act by presents can be further illustrated by the following instance. When

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the writer was in Bella Coola, a non-ceremonial entertainment was given one evening at which several men sang and performed. The writer was asked to sing a Bella Coola song, which he did in the belief that it was not one that was incorporated in the ancestral myth of anyone. Unfortunately, his teacher had erred, and as soon as the song was completed an old woman arose and stated that it belonged to her ancestral family. She avoided the difficulty of its singing by immediately announcing that the singer was her "son." Thus the writer was adopted into a Bella Coola family, a circumstance which aided him considerably in collecting information. This did not alter the fact that a ceremonial song had been sung. Accordingly, the woman gave presents to the guests, thereby legalizing the adoption, and saving herself from the disgrace of having one of her songs used as if it were a matter of no consequence, free to anyone. 123 533 556* 424 [597]

SEATING

Presents are also a means of obtaining seats. Every Bella Coola has at least one name embodied in an ancient myth. A man who wishes to become a chief can do so only by giving lavish presents to make his designation "strong," "firm," or "bright," to use Bella Coola expressions. Such gifts increase the importance of the owner's name, and they obtain for him the right to a seat, more or less definitely located, in the house. Since all Bella Coola habitations are built on similar lines, a man can occupy his wonted position when summoned to a ceremony in any house. The validating of ancestral names and the acquisition of seats are among the important features which occur at potlatches. 554 556* [622] [424] [553]

In the beginning of time, when the first people were sent down to populate the earth, it is assumed that each who established a village, consisting of a single house, seated himself in the best spot within the dwelling, namely the central position behind the fire; his younger relatives ranged either beside him [773]

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554 or sat in two rows, facing one another, on opposite sides of the
556 central fire, parallel to the side walls of the house. When these
[773] first ancestors died, the name of each was passed on to some
[551] descendant. The Bella Coola feel that he who bears the name
[171] of the first settler in a village should have his ancestor's seat. Comparison with the practices of other coastal tribes suggests that formerly the Bella Coola must have had a definite series of seats in their houses; either according to the rank of the occupant, or according to the rank of the ancestor whose name he bore. The most careful investigation, however, failed to show such a system of ranked seating. The only indications that such may once have been customary, are found in the feeling today that the bearer of the first chief's name ought to occupy the central seat behind the fire, and in the expression, "He seats himself where his ancestor sat," when a youth is given his place in the house.

[551] A seat can be claimed and an ancestral name assumed at any age. Goods must be given away which are said to be "covering" for the young man, to have "flowed away," or to have "become nothing" for the name. These validate the official assumption of the designation. With it is given a place in the house. A seat is chosen at the side of the fire, and the goods mark that spot as his in conjunction with the name.
[424] The seat itself is not material, though the general location on which a person shall sit is indicated. His "seat" is the goods that have been expended. Several men may have positions at practically the same spot, but when all are seated they merely move slightly so that all have room. There is no thought of one person infringing on the location of another. A parent who gives ample wealth at successive potlatches may seek for his son a seat behind the fire. Such is entirely his own affair and if sufficient goods are distributed the son may seat himself in that place, but if the gifts are of little value the occupant is secretly held in derision, as having a seat that is unsound, or unfirm. In later years the man may expend large sums in strengthening his seat; by so doing he wins recognition from

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all that he sits in an enviable spot, irrespective of its location in the house. 554 556 *

In precisely the same manner a man may take for himself a seat in the central part of the row behind the fire, but he is laughed at for endeavouring to assume a dignity, unworthily, unless he can validate his position by lavish presents. The Bella Coola are always ready to make fun of a person who fails to maintain his seat. On the death of the occupant of the central position it is taken for granted that whoever inherits his name will assume that location and give the essential presents, but it is not incumbent upon him to do so. He may choose to establish his new name at his old station, beside, instead of behind, the fire. Thus it has come to pass that the seat of the most important chief of a village is often at the side of the house. When all are seated the chiefs may be widely separated, and a parent may have obtained for his son a seat in a better part of the house than his own. But as a rule the chiefs sit in a row at the back of the fire, the most influential one in the middle. There must have been feuds when two men desired to seat themselves in the central position at the same time, but disputes about this were uncommon, because a man's seat was, and still is, primarily regarded as the intangible goods wherewith he is clothed, rather than his right to sit at any particular spot. It is these non-material coverings that enable a man to be bold and assertive in argument or suggestion, in fact to be a chief. A young man may have had conferred on him one of the noblest names, but his influence depends on the value of the goods expended on his behalf, subject of course to the universal characteristic that a man of forceful character may have more influence than his actual position warrants. [424] [428] [622] [424]

Jealous feuds are common when the man who owns the name of the first chief, first ancestor of a village, has duly validated it, but is being eclipsed in the giving of potlatches by a man whose name is of less intrinsic importance. Such a complication recently arose at Kimsquit, and the Bella Coola [578] [682]

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554 ascribe two murders which took place there in 1915 to jealousy
556 engendered by rivalry.

A chief who desires to have his son, or other near relative,
[578] succeed to his actual seat may validate for him a position at
[682] his feet. If several potlatches be given, with distribution of
[622] goods for this purpose, it becomes recognized that the son shall take his father's seat. None the less, he will not have his father's influence or prestige unless he can himself continue to give away goods, because the power of a chief rests on this, not on his ancient name or the location of his seat.

553 Further evidence that a man's influence rests less on his
556 actual name than on the wealth distributed with reference to it is found in the lack of uniformity in the type of names validated. Those of highest potential importance are the ones brought to the earth by the first-comers, yet in many cases a man prefers to elevate his position with respect to a name of later origin. It is not uncommon for a man to validate several ancestral designations, and choose one of them to be his most important by valuable gifts for the seat which he occupies with respect to it; or in other cases a name of modern origin is selected and elevated. Thus, a certain Bella Coola chief who is the legal owner of the names *Qoil* and *Xemlaic*, two of the first people to settle this earth, has based his greatness on the goods expended for a seat with reference to the name *Siddaelde*, of more modern origin. It is accordingly clear that any Bella Coola can rise to a position of importance, even though he lacks the right to one of the most ancient names. Moreover, some chiefs prefer to validate several names rather than concentrate on one alone.

[622] Furthermore, a powerful chief can create a name. In this case the "power" of the designation rests, not in any supernatural origin, but in the actual wealth distributed. Two examples will serve to illustrate this point. Between 1880 and 1890 a chief was preparing to give a potlatch at which his nephew was to receive a name, when fire destroyed the village with the exception of his house. This added to the value of

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the food and goods distributed, since it was winter and the 553
people were in dire straits on account of the destruction of all 556
their stores. In consequence, the uncle decided to make a new name for his nephew, *Ikûmi*, "Charred Wood." By virtue of the goods expended this name became an honourable title, and was maintained by lavish presents. Any similar incident connected with a potlatch can be made the origin of a designation. Another example of a manufactured name is one derived from a peculiarity of the man giving the potlatch. A number of years ago a chief was jeered at by his associates on account of the frequency with which he had to visit the toilet. When next he gave a potlatch he created the name *Ałpnl-a*, "The Toilet One," and gave great dignity to the designation by presents.

Since a seat is valuable only on account of the goods ex- 554
pended in obtaining it with respect to a certain name, it is 556
obvious that names and seats are closely associated. A man who wishes his son to succeed to his own location in the house seats the youth, as has been described, at his feet. It may be a matter of years before he actually takes his father's position, but during that time he is treated with respect; he is still a commoner, but it is recognized that his parent considers him likely to "make good" and become a true chief by ability to give presents. Should he fail to do so, inexorably his influence wanes, in spite of his name and duly validated seat. He keeps the latter, but it is no longer considered one of importance. Thus, too, the course of names from generation to generation [551]
is a series of curves; sometimes one is on a pinnacle of glory when "made strong" by a powerful chief, but in the next generation it may fall to the dust through ownership by a [195]
weakling. As the Bella Coola express it: It has become hermaphroditized.

A woman is rarely established in a seat, and usually only [562]
when a chief has no sons or other near male descendants. In such a case she receives an ancestral name and has the same status as a male chief. At the present time one important

554 chief had thus obtained a seat for his daughter, as well as ones
* 556 for his two sons. But usually a woman continues to use the
562 ancestral name given to her in infancy until she is able to
[553] assist her husband in a potlatch, when a name is validated for her (see I, p. 410). The ancestral names of the first women to occupy this earth are reserved for women and, like men's names, vary in prestige according to the prowess of their owners. Most names given to children, though embodied in
[551] origin myths, are applicable to either sex; and these are the common designations of women. Cases are known in which a woman has assumed an ancestral name if her brother has allowed it to fall into ill-repute through failure to give potlatches.

554 With such a fluid system, no fixed line can be drawn be-
* 556 tween chief and commoner. But after his fourth potlatch a
622 man's influence in the community has become so great that
[352] he will usually feel justified in having the carpenters make for him a material seat. There is nothing to prevent a person having one made for him before he has given the requisite number of potlatches, but too rapid assumption may render him liable to the scorn of the community through his failure to show himself sufficiently "strong." The contempt shown
[624] to anyone attempting to usurp too lofty a place is a strong deterrent to a proud young man.

[532] On the material seat are carved the man's ancestral crests,
[352] in other words the forms in which his first ancestors came to earth, or some of the beings with whom they came in contact. To show these is a matter of pride, but unless the display is fittingly validated, the man's own dignity will be lowered, as well as that of his ancestors. Construction of a seat is particularly common when a man is establishing himself in the central position behind the fire, and claims this to be where his first ancestor sat. Others among the first people may have chosen seats in other parts of the house, and in these, likewise, a man who is taking his ancestral name may have a material seat constructed. Establishment in such a position increases a chief's feeling of mental superiority, as if strength-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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ened by the age-long power of his ancestor. Finally, in old age a powerful chief is careless where he seats himself; his fame is so great that he can afford to disregard all conventions. 554 556* 622 [183]

POWER OF CHIEFS

It will be seen from the foregoing that chieftainship among the Bella Coola does not depend on hereditary rank, still less on an elective principle, but on the individual's prestige as displayed, especially in his ability to acquire for himself a firm seat by the giving of presents. As he continues to do so his influence becomes ever greater. Consequently, it is impossible to state clearly what are the powers of a chief; such depend upon his prestige and influence. For a Bella Coola chief has no executive or judicial authority; what deference is shown to him depends on his success as a man, a factor which is constantly rising or falling.

The coming of the white man has enabled the Bella Coola to earn comparatively large sums of money by trapping and fishing. This in turn has enabled nearly everyone to give at least one potlatch, a very different state of affairs from that which prevailed in the last century when it required years of toil for a man to amass the necessary food and skins. Consequently, in many towns there were no men who had given potlatches, so that a man's prestige was estimated by the presents he had given at smaller ceremonies. Sometimes, moreover, a man preferred to increase his fame by giving rites of a different nature, such as *kusiut* dances, and the presents then distributed might elevate him in the eyes of the community, to a position above that of a man who had given a potlatch. This, however, was unusual. [431] [535]

After a fourth potlatch a man is accorded a position of eminence, and is termed a *namitl* chief. *Namitl* is an untranslatable word, with the significance of "passage," an allusion to the amount of goods which have passed through his hands. Jealous and vulgar-minded persons pun on the word, applying [578]

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554 it to the digestive tract. After a man has given four potlatches
556 he feels superior to those who have been unable to do likewise.
622 His name is "bright," "clean," "heavy," "firm," or "upright" in Bella Coola terms, and so, likewise, his seat. He feels independent and proud. Such a chief will fearlessly enter the back-
[578] room where ceremonial rites are taking place, even if not entitled to do so.

"He is so strong, he can go where he will," say the Bella Coola.

The advice of such a man is taken because of his ability and prestige, especially by the members of his own family. A few years ago, for example, when a certain Bella Coola died, his brother wished a *kaxiut* name-prerogative of the deceased to pass to the dead man's daughter. The girl's mother's father, a *numitl* chief, objected, and his desires were followed, although the name in question was not connected in any way with his family. In small matters, too, people gladly carry out the
[592] wishes of a chief. Work around the house is done for him without thought of disobedience. An old man was asked whether, when he was young, chiefs gave many orders and acted as masters in their households.

"You bet," the old man answered emphatically with a dry chuckle.

231 It is difficult nowto form an accurate estimate, from obser-
552 vation, of the influence of chiefs solely through virtue of the
622 goods they have expended. But the following is a concrete example. In November, 1923, the writer, while walking through the Bella Coola village, was bitten by a dog. He was told that the animal belonged to a certain old woman. When next he saw the owner he asked her whether she knew that her dog attacked passers-by.

"Yes," she answered, in a matter-of-fact tone, "He is a chief and can do what he likes."

Further questioning elicited the information that the old
[766] woman and her husband, the childless last survivors of an ancestral family, had transmitted some of their ancestral

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name to their dog, and had distributed presents to validate the bestowal. Consequently, the animal is a chief (see Plate 11)[1] and can do as he likes. When it dies it will be mourned as a chief. Moreover, a number of people have returned the presents which they received at the time the dog was made a chief, and this money is kept by the women and her husband, to be used when they perform the rite of mourning for the dog at death.

When this is possible, in the present degenerate days, it is not difficult to understand how, formerly, a great chief felt himself above the restraints that hindered lesser men. The last great Bella Coola chief was *Pudoc*, who died between 1870 and 1880. His influence and power were so great that he was a virtual ruler, daring anything. If he requested a young man to take his food box home and the youth was slow to obey, *Pudoc* had no hesitation in killing him on the spot. Such great power, though unusual, is intelligible to the Bella Coola, since *Pudoc* gave far more potlatches than any of his contemporaries. Other chiefs have been known to attempt a similar arbitrary use of power, but have failed, since their prestige was not great enough to justify it. The fame of a mighty chief spreads up and down the coast, and protects him and the members of his family from being ambushed and slain in any sporadic forray. During an actual fight, however, a chief had to take his chances with the rest, but the comparative immunity was a great advantage.

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The Bella Coola recognize the fundamental differences between their own concepts about chieftainship and those of other coastal tribes with whom they come in contact. This point was mentioned in the course of conversation by several men. The most powerful chief known to them was *Tsakoa*, who, they say, was virtual monarch of the Kitkatla. None of his subjects could go hunting without his permission, and he had rights to a certain share of their bounty. At any ceremony presents had first to be given to him, and if he were slighted in this respect, he would kill the offender. It is be-

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[Doc. cit. 116, p 116 (c) - ANALYST]

found that all the Kitkatla chiefs were powerful, but Tsilx̂a was the greatest of all. It is said that one of his prerogatives was to exercise *jus primae noctis* whenever a Kitkatla was married. Without question, some of this chief's prowess have become exaggerated in transmission, none the less they show that the Bella Coola realize the great importance of the northern chiefs. Concerning their nearer neighbours, the Bella Bella, the Bella Coola understand the way in which the members of a family combine to help their chief in the giving of presents.[1] They say that the Bella Bella consider the Bella Coola practice of each one endeavouring to make himself a chief to be foolish in the extreme. Such is also said to be the opinion among the Kwakiutl, who support their contention that in Bella Coola all are chiefs, from the fact that flowing crests under the seats of all, whereas in Fort Rupert, their home, such occur only beneath the seats of chiefs.

Corresponding to the extreme paucity of functional possessed by Bella Coola chiefs, their prerogatives are likewise scanty. Indeed, they take their exclusive seats only during certain dances of the secret society connected with chiefs, at potlatches, and at ceremonial meals. These last occur whenever a deer or seal is killed; the latter is considered a great delicacy.[2] Anyone can kill a seal, but it would be unthinkable for a Bella Coola to share its flesh with his immediate family only. The animal is cleaned, the hole made by bullet or spear carefully plugged, and the carcass boiled whole in a large box. Meanwhile a herald (3, p. 344) summons the chiefs to the house where the successful hunter lives. If the meal is to consist merely of one small seal, only a few chiefs are invited, those of greatest influence through their possession of "strong" seats. When several seals have been killed, the number invited is correspondingly larger, but no woman may partake unless she ranks

[1] This is said to have been a personal prerogative, not shared by all chiefs, and requiring validation by valuable presents.

[2] Early issues of the city described in this paragraph were at the present time, in fact, the conservation of seal meat for chiefs alone was discontinued towards the close of the last century.

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as a man by the *daily* validated ownership of a chief's name in his own right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat seal, unless he had been the slayer. If many seals are killed, chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs seat themselves according to their proper positions and are first served with the blood-stained grease that floats to the top of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is cut into strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths, according to the number of guests. The lots run down each fore-flipper, so that each receives a narrow strip including one of the toes. The head is always given to the herald.[1]

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary meals even when no seal or deer has been killed. On these occasions, as at seal feasts, the guests are designated by their ancestral names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also accustomed to meet for the discussion of matters connected with the winter ceremonial; on such occasions their number may be augmented by men of influence in the secret society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the *hamatsa* society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a *nemiff* chief is outweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the views of some individual must be accepted. The writer was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but

[1] Every effort was made to secure the accuracy of this account, but seven men have sought to an account of the length of time which has elapsed since the ceremonial was carried out in full detail.

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622 there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by
623 members of the *hamatsa* society that none would dare go there.
198 If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formerly have
been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-
[575] place of the *Kwaqa-ts* chiefs is on a ledge of rock jutting out
over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village.
The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side,
screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a cauldron, so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can enter. The
ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the
most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of
other villages lack such natural settings, though all are at the
bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some
198 of them are decorated with rude carvings, pecked into the
582 stone. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of
198 the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago,
by chiefs when they were composing tunes; they picked out
the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others
[211] were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an
important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure,
perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with
the rite, to recall the occasion. No carvings have been made
within the life-time of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that
they had further significance, now unknown.

622 When a chief wishes to summon his fellows for a meeting
623 he visits each and notifies him by a simple pressure of the foot,
in many cases unobserved even by those sitting near. The
201 person so called slips away, unconversationally, to the meeting-
place.

578 The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the
622 old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who
623 succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows
became an object of envy. Their mythology contains many
[582] examples of the murder of some powerful chief by rivals of his
own village, and informants of today state that these records
are true. One intelligent man asserted that his father had

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thus been slain about seventy years earlier. It appears that attempts were commonly made to kill chiefs by means of sympathetic magic, and it is quite possible that such attempts, becoming known, preyed upon the minds of the victims to such an extent that death resulted.

WEALTH

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Since wealth is so important in chieftainship, it would be desirable at this point to consider the concepts of wealth. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a satisfactory treatment of this subject. The coming of the white man altered the economic aspects of Bella Coola life so radically, and at such an early period, that concrete examples of economic interdependence, so useful in a thorough study, could not be obtained in the field. It is possible that greater attention to this subject might have produced more satisfactory results, but I am doubtful of this.

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In the old days, "wealth" was of two categories: (*a*) Prerogatives, tangible or intangible, which could be shown, pictorially or dramatically, or could be expounded in words; and (*b*) Goods which could be distributed for validating such prerogatives. Individual possessions, unsuited for distribution, were hardly considered as wealth; a sewing-machine, a bottle of whiskey, a bed, or some other luxury might give satisfaction to the owner, but did not increase his importance in the eyes of his fellows. The value of objects was only for their use in ceremonial distribution; indeed, prior to such distribution, they were only of potential value. This attitude controlled Bella Coola economics in the early days of contact, and still influences their behaviour. A native store-keeper once ruefully commented on the fact that he would gain no advantage from the goods on his shelves, since he hoped merely to sell them, not to give them away.

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A man's relatives were expected to help him in the acquisition of goods, but the extent of their contributions was never

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184 standardized. Boys and girls helped their parents, and there
476 was no definite age at which they ceased to do so. The fluidity
* 556 of the Bella Coola system was contrary to any standardization. The more important a chief became, the more did he receive from dependent relatives, but the more did they expect in the way of "return presents." It was advantageous to be generous, within the family circle as well as without, since life was so public that every transaction even of a "private" nature, was well known. Unquestionably, a greedy and strong-minded individual must frequently have taken advantage of help from his housemates, but there was no strict code of ethics in regard to this. In brief, it may be said that the acquisition of wealth was an unstandardized, individual, matter; its distribution was likewise according to individual volition, although within a rigidly defined tribal pattern.

Susook Society

551 The ancestral names that chiefs desire to raise to a position
* 556 of eminence are usually embodied in myths dealing with the
575 first settlement of this earth, names which belong, as has been
614 stated, to the ancestral family. Many of these traditions record other designations as well, each of which carries with it
[535] the prerogative of performing a type of dance known as *susook*. These will be spoken of, henceforth, as *susook* names. The Bella Coola do not know the meaning of this term. These
[553] names, like ancestral ones, are the potential property of members of the ancestral family, but can only be assumed when duly validated by presents. Such an assumption follows a
553 period of seclusion in the back-room of the house. Both men
* 556 and women are eligible. A person may be secluded in this way
575 a number of times, acquiring a new *susook* name on each occa-
[562] sion, but as presents must be distributed every time, it follows that only the children or relatives of wealthy chiefs can be so favoured. It is desirable to have the bestowal of a *susook* name occur at a potlatch, since guests from foreign tribes are then

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present, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried farther afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in attendance. Every individual duly secluded and given a *sisaok* name feels himself ceremonially allied to others who have had a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be termed the *sisaok* secret society. 553 556* 575

The close connection between this society and chiefs is obvious from the presence of names of each type in the same ancestral myths. None the less, every chief, that is a person with duly validated ancestral name and seat, is not a *sisaok*, unless he has validated a *sisaok* name for himself and undergone the period of seclusion. Conversely, a man may be a duly authorized member of the *sisaok* although lacking a seat and the other marks of chieftainship. The relationship is, however, so close that the Bella Coola think of the *sisaok* society as a society of chiefs. *Sisaok* dances take place at potlatches and funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance. Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use some of his goods for the acquisition of a *sisaok* name. Such a case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in the summer of 1923. Theoretically, he was ignorant of *sisaok* rites, but after much discussion these were used on account of his importance as a *numitl* chief, an instance of the manner in which a man's personal importance over-rules ceremonial dictates. 575 622 [553] [535] [766] [185]

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *sisaok* name-prerogatives came to this earth at the beginning of time with their first ancestors, and that many more have been acquired later by supernatural experiences. These were especially common among their forbears as they ranged over this earth seeking places to settle in the beginning of time. No *sisaok* name can be assumed casually; each must have had a specific origin. There are few *sisaok* origin myths, though theoretically there should be one to account for every name. The explanation appears to lie in the undoubted fact that many *sisaok* prerogatives have been acquired comparatively recently 424 551 575 773 [177]

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177 from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not diffi-
424 cult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking,
even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella
551 Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella
575 prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time
[773] of the coming of the white man. There has since been general decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situation is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the investigator.

428 *Sisaok* names are willed and inherited in the manner already
described for other prerogatives. The type of dance, and the
551 time of use, will be described in the following section of this
575 chapter.

The Potlatch

* 556 It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank
128 among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a number of features which, logically, should have been postponed until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has been made to lessen references to non-ritualistic features by the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chieftainship and the *sisaok* society. Other ideas will require rather lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems preferable to the use of many foot-notes, its only alternative.

General Observations

104 In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "pot-
* 556 latch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents,
[431] and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella Coola, such distribution of gifts is necessary at every ceremonial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most important of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach, the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

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monograph the term "potlatch" will be limited to this, the *hm*. 552 * [104]

Every Bella Coola is, or should be, able to recount how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god, *Alquntăm*, caused his ancestors to be created in his house in the land above, whence they were sent down to populate the earth. A creation legend of this type is a man's most treasured possession.[4] Most myths describe the adventures of these first people, how they prospered in the Bella Coola country until they were able to invite to their homes guests from far and near, to whom they showed what they had achieved, through the assistance of *Alquntăm*, or of some other supernatural being. In so doing they were carrying out *Alquntăm*'s wishes. He told some of these first people that if they accumulated much wealth, in those days chiefly food, there was danger that the provisions first stored would rot, hence they should cut away the bottom of the pile *and present it to other men and women. The Bella Coola term* for "to cut out that which is rotten" is *ldt*, hence the origin, according to their belief, of the word *hm*, which thus has the significance of "a giving away of long accumulated goods which otherwise might rot." 556 * 773 [424] [142]

By the splendour of his gifts each of the first people able to give a potlatch (*hm*), spread the knowledge of his name and fame to the towns whence his guests had assembled. Further, those who had received dances from *Alquntăm* were able to demonstrate them. In course of time those who had first given potlatches died, but on taking their fathers' names, the sons, or other descendants, endeavoured to uphold the parental tradition by inviting guests from afar and giving them valuable presents. At such a ceremony the family history, or family myth, was recounted, so that the donor of a potlatch not only increased his own prestige, he incorporated therewith the traditions of his parent. This is the essence of the potlatch as carried out today.[5] [574]

[4]Examples of them are given in vol. I, chap. vi.

[5]It has been found convenient to use the present tense throughout, although the potlatch is not now carried out in its entirety. [104]

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556 Although guests from different tribes aresometimes invited
574 to other ceremonials, it is at potlatches thatthey are essential.
Since the validity of such transactions as marriages, divorces,
[205] or the assumption of professional prerogatives depends on the
presence of witnesses, and since the importance of such a rite
depends on the number of witnesses, a manis always eager to
carry out any public performance at a potlatch when he is sure
of the attention of foreigners, and the consequent wider dif-
fusion of knowledge of what he has done. The man who has
invited guests is usually willing to allow others to perform at
his potlatch, since it increases the complexity and importance
[184] of the affair. It follows that no two potlatches are alike; one
will contain features entirely lacking in another. Moreover,
the wealth of the donor determines how many rites he himself
will cause to be performed. The fundamental concept of the
potlatch is the inviting of guests from abroad to witness rites
[769] in connection with an ancestral myth, especially the return of
a recently deceased relative of the donor to visit the living.

4 556 At any important potlatch the following rites are carried
796 out, and in the account of the ritual it will be assumed that
these alone are taking place. If the reader bears this summary
in mind, he is less likely to be confused by the complication of
rites.

(1) The return of a dead ancestor to visit the living.

[575] (2) The initiation of young men or women into the *susaok*
[553] society. This includes the validation of a *susaok* name for each,
and a period of seclusion in the back-room. The initiates may
either be relatives of the donor of the potlatch, or young persons
whose relatives are taking the opportunity to carry out the
rite in the presence of foreigners. Some of the initiates may
already be members of the society, undergoing a further period
of seclusion in order to increase their status by a further dis-
tribution of presents.

[554] (3) The payment by the wife of the donor and her family
[858] of goods to "rebuy" her from her husband. This is a legal
[583] fiction, though necessary to maintain the status of the children.

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(4) The strengthening of the donor's seat. 556*

(5) The strengthening, or initial establishment, of seats for a number of young relatives of the donor who may, or may not, be those who are being initiated into the *sisaok* society. Other youths may also be established on seats by their relatives. 796

The duration of a potlatch varies with the number of rites being performed. The preliminaries, including the beginning of seclusion for *sisaok* initiates, requires at least several weeks, in some cases months. There is further delay of a week or more after the arrival of the first guests, as only when the last party has arrived can the actual potlatch begin. This can then be completed in three days and nights, although if many initiates are performing their *sisaok* dances, a longer time is required.

What are the consequences of giving a potlatch?

In the first place the donor spreads the fame of his name far and wide, also the myth with which it is incorporated. Thus he increases the renown of his ancestors, a source of intense pride and gratification. 556*

More important even than this, it elevates the donor himself. With the proper carrying out of the complicated ritual and the knowledge that his name is now known among different tribes, a man experiences a feeling of mental superiority which enables him to take a leading part in the affairs of his community. In Bella Coola a chief (*stāltimx̣*) is a person whose influence is paramount owing to his success in giving potlatches.[4] If several chiefs in one village have given potlatches, he who has given most is generally of greatest importance, although often a man of forceful character who has held, for example, five potlatches will be regarded with greater respect than one of lesser weight, even if he has given six. The whole system is exceedingly fluid, as might be expected where chieftainship depends on individual prowess. In theory, the man who holds the name of the first person to occupy a village, at [156] 556* 622 [554] [182]

[4]Particularly if he has given four potlatches and can accordingly be described as a *nemit* chief (I, p. 173). In *sisaok* songs the archaic word *sātkemmx̣* is also sometimes employed for "chief."

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* 556 622 the time the earth was settled, ought to be chief of that village. If he has been able to give the necessary potlatches to weight his possession of that name, the fact that he is the legal descendant of the first chief will add a certain amount to his prestige, but unless he has been able to do this his influence will be slight.

* 556 622 766 [775] Thirdly, potlatches smooth the way for the giver after death. Before the corpse of a chief is removed from the house where he has died, a speaker always announces the number of potlatches he has given and the total value of goods distributed at them. These gifts in a vague way are felt to make easy the deceased's path in the next world as they have done in the present. The feature of the potlatch, though firmly believed by some of the older people, plays a less important part in the life of the Bella Coola than might be expected.

*556 *What are the requisites for giving a potlatch?*

[424] (1) Possession of an ancient myth, containing a name or names. Probably every Bella Coola has this requirement. A man's family may not be the proud owners of one of the ancestral myths dealing with the first settlement of this earth, but they will at least own some ancient myth which they can elevate by giving a potlatch. As has been said, the owner of one of the most ancient names in many cases chooses to elevate one of lesser antiquity, a course which must, perforce, be done by one who lacks an origin myth. The slight feeling of defer-
[554] ence with which those are regarded who hold the names of the first inhabitants of the earth, the mighty chiefs of old, is subordinate to the very real feeling of respect in which is held the successful giver of potlatches. The descendant of one of the first people has the potential right to chieftainship, but unless he can give potlatches he will fail to gain that eminence.

* 556 769 (2) An occasion for giving a potlatch is never lacking. It consists of a number of closely associated rites, any one of which will serve as a reason for the ceremony. The most important feature, the return of a dead ancestor or ancestors to visit the living, is available to anyone at any time. The Bella

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PLATE 9

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

The site of Ḵ̓emp-ts, with the remains of the old village

[P 18b (A)]

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PLATE III

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Mask of Ḵ̓ᵊmoqᵊm showing his huge lips. Notice the white marks on the planks in the background.

[4 186 (B)]

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PLATE II

Photograph by the author

A Bella Coola couple with their dogs; the one on the left is a chief.

[p 186 (c)]

In Mr. Gravelle E-1 (1922-1924) 1949
N.E.R. Bellerophon (E)

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PLATE 12

Passenger to G.N.R. Docks, Keppel Bridge of Clyde

Avoid ellipsis

[p 116(b)]

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Pine-peeled boats representing Mount Sinaiti

[7 116 (6)]

I: McDermid, E.-S. (1922-1924)/1948
NEB, Bellevue, NEB

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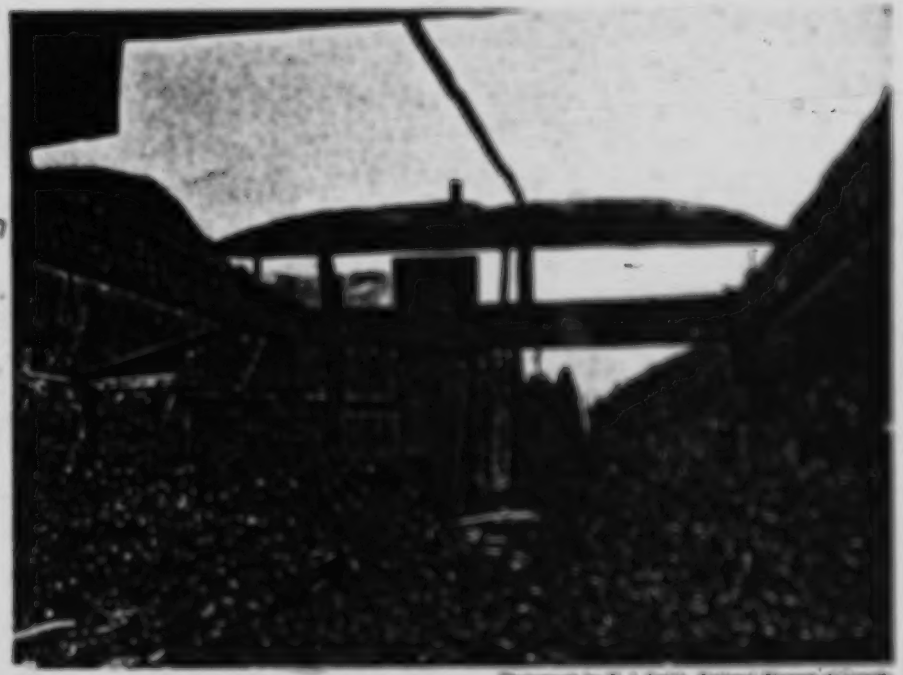

Photograph by G. C. Curtis, Forestry Branch of Canada

Framework of an old house, displaying the owner's propagation of spud-like indentations to the front posts

[ref (F)]

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Coolie say that the return of the dead "washes away grief," and unquestionably it has a comforting effect on the mind of the donor of the potlatch.

(c) Wealth. Unless a man has the necessary goods with which to make presents he cannot invite guests, no matter how important may be his ancestral myths and names. Some of this wealth he may be able to secure by his own labours, but unless he is assisted by his wife's family it is virtually impossible for him to succeed. The Bella Coola believe that a man cannot become a chief except through large payments made by a woman's family when they "buy" her from her husband. In other words, no man can succeed without the support of his wife. In choosing a mate a man is guided almost entirely by the ability of her family to give him financial support. In some cases an elderly couple assist a married son to give a potlatch; this custom, though considered quite proper, is not common.

(d) Supernatural assistance. To the Bella Coola this is quite as important as the preceding. One man may work very hard but his efforts are never crowned with success, whereas another man will prosper in every venture. This is due to the supernatural assistance given by the supreme god to the latter. By prayer, ceremonial chastity, and other means, a man may increase the powers granted to him, but if these are entirely lacking, he can never hope to rise to the position of chief.

PROCEDURE

In describing the potlatch, it will be convenient to refer to the donor as X, and assume him to be a middle-aged member of the coast society, whose age and name, though fully settled, lack importance through his previous failure to give large presents.

For a number of years X has prospered. He has secured quantities of skins, blankets, coils, copper ornaments, clothing, canoes, baskets, decorative shell, shawls, and other valuables

He is especially rich in cedar-skins, used for bark covering, and goat-skins, so treasured for their wool.* He and his wife have had no children dead, and, most important of all, his wife's family is wealthy. Rumours have spread that X will soon give a potlatch and perhaps one or more foreign chiefs has given him a large cone-shaped whistle, such as is used in sound ritual (see Plate [illegible]). These whistles, called *gonx*, are often referred to as the "breath" or "voice" of a chief; they are also called *ilqoxm*, the "heart" or "soul" of a chief, a third designation to reflection. X carefully conceals a whistle in one of his boxes. Such a present expresses the kindly feeling existing between those chiefs to one another to that they have risen to a position of eminence above the common crowd. To assign upon a man to greater efforts to amass the wealth necessary for giving a potlatch by keeping before his eyes the realization of what another has done. A real chief never gives such a present. X returns such whistle secretly at the time of his potlatch.

Early in the autumn X decides that he has almost enough wealth. To complete the essential amount he will not hesitate to borrow from his friends. It is most unusual to be refused, for it is incumbent on X, either to wishes to lose the esteem of the community, to repay his borrowings with heavy interest, and when X distributes his goods at his potlatch it will be announced how he has obtained them, and the lender is proclaimed as a person of sufficient wealth to be able to spare some of it. Goods so loaned are termed "bait-goods," a reference to the manner in which a man factors up his caps with a bait before setting to work. The assumption is that X will have to labour to repay his indebtedness. Failure to repay is a serious matter, and the lender would be justified in seizing a canoe or other valuable article as security for his debt. In fact, deals are commonly caused by unpaid debts. Use of business

* Formerly, also goat-skin blankets were kept, which were now sold to the [illegible] of the Nass having the most. Among the [illegible] to [illegible] are shown in work in canoe. The [illegible], and the [illegible] on the Nass and [illegible] on the [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible].

ability are always seeking to lend goods to those who are planning potlatches or other ones, knowing that the investment will [226] safe and lucrative.

X uses his own discretion as to how much wealth is necessary. He knows how much he owes for presents received on previous occasions, and would not dream of giving a potlatch until able to repay them. Failure to do so would hold him up to the derision of the whole countryside. But he acts upon [226] his own judgment with regard to interest. If he continues to lend goods until he is able to repay with great interest, he gains prestige from his generous owners, but meanwhile he does not enjoy the distinction which would have followed a smaller effort at an earlier period. Further, there is the uncertainty about how much his wife's family will contribute, though this can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy. In Bella Coola every transaction is made publicly, so each man knows the wealth of his neighbour. The favourite month for a potlatch is October, before the hunt begins, when there is abundance of food. At this season there is plenty of salmon roe, berries, and crabapples, all of which might be ruined by frost. Occasionally, a potlatch takes place after the hunt period, but in that case the only foods available are chicken grouse, smoked meat, smoked fish, dried huckleberries, and dried berries. If several men in one village decide to give potlatches in the same year there may be rivalry and dispute as to which shall be first. There is no satisfactory method of settling the point.

When all is ready X sets a herald (S.p. tsa) to summon his fellow villagers to his house the following day for ceremonies. It is customary for all to assign, but no social obligation is broken should a man or woman fail to do so.

The man moving to one side in his own house, knowing that free food will be distributed. While his expected guests are adorning themselves by washing and painting, X, aided by his family and others, prepares large quantities of food, [227] [227] [227]

Swanton E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Pre-

[556] [575] [23] [24] [554] [208] [264] [175] [178] [583] [537] [525] [524] [530]

sently the guests assemble, those who are *nuxuł* wearing on their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled, the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners, slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair. It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is sometimes occupied by ambitious young men, willing to undertake the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial gain.

A number of young lads, friends or relatives of X, distribute the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests; otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its reward.

Now, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a *kamx* friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech, extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that X's wife is calling to her husband some portion of it. This may be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with the image of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral crest.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name. The speaker always recounts the whole myth before announcing which portion of it is transmitted to X as a prerogative. It is understood that this transference will be duly validated by presents to X when he gives his potlatch. Such are termed *dzémènemtsum* and signify the repurchase of a wife from her husband. Though this is known to be a fiction it has extreme social importance. Unless *dzémènemtsum* is paid there is an ineradicable blot upon the children; in fact, it is one of the essentials of a legal marriage. All prerogatives thus transferred on *sléetsum* become the property of X and will in time pass to his children, unless recalled to the wife's family by further repurchase (*dzémènemtsum*) money or goods. In this fashion elements of family myths become scattered, and one of the considerations in choosing a wife is to select a woman able to bring back some missing part of the husband's myth. 556* 425 583 [581]

The usual present is an ancestral name, which X henceforth uses as potlatches as his most distinguished title, though the myth in which it is incorporated does not belong to him. As long as the name remains in X's family those who originally owned it are unable to make use of it. Such a name is said to be "dragged across" by the wife to her husband, the immense weight or importance of the designation being compared with the dragging of a heavy log. Occasionally, the father of a married woman, animated by the kindliest feelings towards his son-in-law, may give him outright a myth with all the names embodied therein. This can happen only where there are no other survivors of the family. In such a case when the myth is recounted it must always be mentioned how it has been obtained. The number and type of the prerogatives transferred depend upon the sentiments with which his wife's family regard X. If, in addition to being a worthy man, he is member of their ancestral family, or of one with which his wife's has frequently intermarried, so that in course of generations prerogatives have intermingled, there is less objection to giving him such rights than if he were an unrelated individual. [553] [551] 556* 425 606 553

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEG Bellacoola NE6

553
556 A man may receive so many prerogatives with regard to house
425 painting that he has to continue the designs on the sides of his
[605] dwelling, or he may receive so many figures for a totem-pole
[592] that he can erect one of composite pattern. X may acquire prerogatives not only from his father-in-law, but from his mother-in-law, and if he is the husband of several wives, the family of each may contribute something. If, for some inexplicable reason, X is not given any prerogative from the family of his wife, he uses one of his own ancestral myths with the names belonging thereto. A man who gives many potlatches can choose to validate numerous family names for himself, or to concentrate on one alone, elevating it to a position of great importance. But any names he validates must belong to his
[615] family; it is contrary to custom for a Bella Coola to steal a name to which he has no right.

556
782 At this, or some other suitable time, X prays for assistance in the complicated rites that are to follow. Taking four pieces of pounded and dyed cedar-bark, and four pieces of undyed bark, he places on each a small quantity of food and throws the eight into the fire. Likewise he may throw in four small pieces of any kind of goods. As he does so he appeals to the supreme god:

"Please strengthen my spirit for the many duties which are before me."

Instead of praying himself, X may ask a shaman to do so
[756] for him, in the belief that the latter's supplication will be more efficacious.

556
618 The necessity for supernatural assistance lies in the fact that any serious error or disaster in the performance of potlatch
628 rites calls for summary punishment, since X has allowed ceremonial *cosmic* knowledge to reach the uninitiated. In such a case the duty of meting out a penalty falls upon the members of a foreign tribe. Nothing is said at the time, but the departing guests take away with them information of what has happened. Great latitude is allowed as to who shall be the charioteers. The guests may be related to X and the members

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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of his village, hence they will not feel it incumbent upon them to intervene. But news travels, and in course of time the *nosad* members of some other tribe will decide to send a raiding party against X's village. All informants agreed most emphatically that this custom prevailed among the coast people from the Tsimshian country to Alert Bay, but specific examples could not be obtained. The Bella Coola regard such a raid as the proper course to pursue, and belligerent tribes may have used an irregularity in the potlatch rites as an excuse for an assault. It is clear, however, that this custom never attained such prominence that it could be called a law. 556* 688 628

The following is an instance of the Bella Coola outlook on the question: 556* 688

The father of an informant had had such success in giving potlatches that his neighbours were jealous. On one occasion he prepared a representation of a whale, an elaborate wooden frame, fifteen feet long, operated by men concealed within and carrying passengers; this was a figure which entered into his ancestral myth. One of the carpenters who made it, bribed by a jealous rival of the donor of the potlatch, arranged that the lower jaw of the whale should fall to the floor during the proceedings. This revealed the mechanism of the structure. White influence on the coast prevented an incursion of foreign raiders, but according to this informant, the chiefs determined that his father should die, and they employed a sorcerer for this purpose. His father and eleven other relatives died soon afterwards. This man, the sole survivor, ascribes his escape to his adoption of Christianity. [578] [542] [578] [177] [754]

Another instance of the penalty which follows errors in potlatch ritual occurred a few years ago, when a number of young men used the cone-shaped whistles openly, as if they had been toys. The presence of the white man prevented any open steps towards punishment, but before long all the youths died. No one knows what caused their deaths, though probably they were due to an expert in black magic acting on the instructions of a senior *nosad*. [534] [177] [754]

After the prayer, X and his family give more food to their guests, whose boxes containing what they are to carry away are increasing in number. By his largeness, X increases his prestige in the eyes of his fellow-villagers. 556*

If he can afford to build a new house embodying the form [535]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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335 of one in his ancestral myth, he will do so; if not, it will suffice
* 556 to decorate the old house; but in either case the tasks connected with the construction must be allotted. X gives to one man the work of making new beams; to another, the two front upright posts; to a third, the two rear upright posts; to another, the planks along one side of the house; to a skilled carpenter, the totem-pole bearing whatever design X has decided upon; to a painter, one of the designs for the back wall of the house; to another painter, another design near it; to still another, part of the painting of the front of the house; to another, more of the same; and so on until he has allotted work for every part of the edifice. In some cases there are
342 peculiarities of house construction dependent upon their occur-
424 rence in the builder's ancestral myth, which are jealously
* 556 guarded prerogatives. One man, for instance, enjoys the right
[773] to build five peaks above the front of his house. These represent the five peaks of Mount *Nuqulc* where his first ancestor came to earth (see Plate 13). Another has a series of spool- or disk-like indentations in his upright posts (see Plate 14) to support the beams, a prerogative established by his ancestor *Qoil* in the beginning of time. Another chief's posts are carved to represent a mythical creature. Still another prerogative is that of building a sloping board, resembling a gang-plank, from the door of the house to the ground, with a representation of a mythological sea monster at the bottom. In that case the theme of the grandiloquent potlatch song is how chiefs are attracted to X's house, as canoes are irresistibly drawn to the sea monster.

Each of the above-mentioned prerogatives belongs to one family alone; whereas several have the right to build semi-subterranean houses. The artisans excavate a rectangular hole, about six feet deep, equal in size to the central part of the dwelling. A platform is then erected round the sides of this, about three feet from the bottom. The walls of the house itself are raised sufficiently far back from the central pit to allow an unencumbered passageway, off which the bedrooms

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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are built. The central fire is laid in the bottom of the pit, a few feet above that is the platform where the guests are seated, and the ground-level is a few feet above that again. A few instances are remembered of houses having been built with two, and even three, of these tiers, or platforms. In those cases it appears certain that this type of construction was embodied in a myth derived from Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people, where, according to the Bella Coola, large houses, of five or six tiers, were not unknown. 342 424 556* [177]

X uses his own discretion in choosing his workmen, avoiding only his own relatives and those of his wife. The question of pay is never broached, but it is understood that X will recompense those who have worked for him. The scale on which he does so will depend entirely on his generosity. This is one of the ways in which a chief helps the poor people of his village. More food is distributed to "sharpen the wedges." 335 556* 465

While a man is engaged on his allotted task any food or other articles which he or his family may obtain belongs to X. If a man who hews the planks takes his wife with him and she chances to pick berries while he is at work, these must be given to X who will distribute them with his other food at the potlatch, and it will be announced from whom he has received them. If a man's friends should help him to complete his task and then all go hunting, any skins acquired will belong to X; but when he repays his indebtedness he is expected to reward the worker, not only for his carpentry, but also for the berries or pelts. As X must give lavishly to prove his chief-like generosity, the collection of foods or skins by his workmen is profitable for them.

The guests have been passing in and out of X's house all day and towards dusk all again assemble within. Suddenly the door is burst open by a number of young men carrying a large log, like a battering-ram. The majority of the bearers are armed, though they may obtain assistance from those who are not members of the society. The people within the house spring up to eject the ram, and a sham battle ensues. Back- 552* [575]

[(ie. to build a new house for a potlatch. -Anthrys?]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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* 556 wards and forwards sway the contestants with shouting and merriment, and those who have failed to carry away their boxes of food hasten to remove them out of the danger zone. It is a time of licence, and even one of the most influential chiefs may be struck by the ram or his food scattered without consideration. The ram is driven back, but those who bear it steer the log so that instead of passing out through the door it strikes the front wall, shattering some of the boards with their old paintings. With a shout they drive forwards again until part of the wall at the back of the house is likewise destroyed. Then those within the house gain the mastery and the log is carried outside, dragging its struggling bearers with it. They drop the log and return inside as if nothing untoward had occurred. This destruction of the house walls is a necessary preparation for their replacement with new paintings on new boards. When quiet has been restored a herald stands up.

"Listen!" he cries. "Ye chiefs, ye wives of chiefs, and ye commoners, soon we shall hear the supernatural beings."

533 535 575 * 556 Then the singers[1] beat out the tune of any *kusiut*. He whose song it is begins to dance, using the type of which he has the prerogative, but as the supernatural being with whom he has a ceremonial affinity is not present, the dance is not considered sacred. As soon as one *kusiut* has finished, the tune of another is beaten, and he too dances. The singers change from *kusiut* to *kusiut*, and please themselves about the order in which they shall dance, also about how many shall perform. This continues until late in the night. Then they beat out a *nusuk* tune and the member of that society to whom it belongs performs his dance, a non-sacred affair, like those of the *kusiut*. One after another dances as his or her tune is beaten out, until dawn approaches. Meanwhile several *nusuk* have been sent outside

[1] Henceforth in this monograph the term "singer" will be used as a translation of the Bella Coola word, *nuxlaxl*. The singers sit together behind the fire. It is their duty to remember the tune and text of every song; to beat out this tune for every dancer and to accompany him by singing the words of his song.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *nuxnk* ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from these, and sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy being had landed there. At once there is great excitement within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove them to be at hand. No one is allowed to leave except a *nuxnk siki*[9] who is skilled in dealing with *Mulakila*,[10] also called *Sixsinqutnam*, the supernatural being closely connected with the *nuxnk* ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *siki* raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance.

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

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[9] The accounts of all informants agree that much of the *nuxnk* ritual was newly imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements, *Paulus*, a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella wife, also one from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with them as dower certain *nuxnk* prerogatives. It is said that previous to that time the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the youths secluded in the back-room, nor to dispel the beings at the conclusion of the rites. On the other hand, some Bella Coola claim that their first ancestors brought the whistles with them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural beings is a recent addition to the potlatch, which accounts for the contradictory accounts, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It appears certain that the prerogatives of *siki* has recently been obtained from the Bella Bella. *Siki* means "the one who cures," and the name is given to the man whose prerogative it is to send the *hesiut* initiates to whom supernatural powers are learned. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for *nuxnk* matters, known as a *hai-ulakila*. Through intermarriage several Bella Coola have recently obtained this prerogative; in each case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to them, as formerly, the term *siki*, as they do for the *hesiut* "nurse," though the Bella Bella name, *hai-ulakila*, is used with equal frequency. The present *siki* have endeavoured to claim for themselves certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by any *nuxnk*. In this account of a potlatch it is assumed that a *siki* is functioning on all occasions, but in many cases any senior *nuxnk* is considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *nuxnk* was regarded as capable of doing so.

[10] Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a certain *Sasanax* of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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* 552 The *sibi* returns to the house and tells the guests that *Mulakila* has indeed been near and has promised to return later on. Those who are not *nuxul*, being steeped in the belief concerning the omnipresence of supernatural beings and ignorant of the carefully concealed whistles, readily credit the tale that they have heard the voice of a denizen of the land above, whose language is intelligible to the *sibi*. Thus is the supernatural element of the potlatch first called forth. [575] [781]

After a final distribution of food, the guests return to their homes.

THE INITIATION OF *Nuxul* NEOPHYTES

* 552 At a potlatch valuable presents are given to the foreign guests, but it is unthinkable for the donor to give to his fellow-villagers. Accordingly, if X desires to display his generosity towards them, he does so at a preliminary ceremony, when he begins the initiation, or re-initiation, into the *nuxul* society of any number of young people. After elaborate counting and re-counting of his goods, both those actually stored in his house and those promised,[*] X decides that he has sufficient to initiate, for example, seven neophytes. His first choice will be his own children, failing those, the sons and daughters of a brother or sister, or of his wife's relatives, or, if none of these are available, those of a friend. X does not gain any pecuniary advantage from such a transaction, in fact he loses, but the prestige attached outweighs this consideration. 575 [609]

"Is it not the privilege of a chief to be generous?" say the Bella Coola.

He approaches the parents of those whom he has selected, always members of old-established families. As it is to the social advantage of a young person to be a *nuxul*, a father usually tells X a *nuxul* name, dormant in his family, which he wishes to have conferred on his son, and how much he is willing to contribute for the purpose. In many cases, a man will [553]

[*] In spite of the sum mentioned, mistakes are frequent, giving rise to heated harangues from friends to make up the necessary amount. [426]

1:McDowelth E-5 (1922-1924)948
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request X to have his son initiated, promising him financial assistance. 556* 575

These preliminaries have probably been commenced before *ellatum*; at any rate they are completed as soon as possible, so that a few nights later X is able to instruct a herald to invite the *sumi* to his house. The singers are in attendance. The father, or other relative, of one of those about to be received into the ranks of the *sumi*, expounds in general terms the ancestral myth containing the name to be conferred, or will ask a fluent speaker to depose for him. Another follows, until myths have been recited for all. The singers listen attentively, knowing that without further instruction they are expected to compose two songs for each person, embodying a few salient points in the myth, without exposing the details. In point of fact, the singers have probably heard the myth on previous occasions. After a distribution of food, provided by X, the people disperse. [537] 533 556* 575

For several days the singers work at the songs. The principles governing their composition are identical for all types. At night, as he walks in the forest, or at any other time, a singer constantly tries to compose a tune. Others do the same, and at intervals they meet, either in some lonely spot or in the back-room of a house. Each singer who has composed a tune hums out its time, humming as he does so; then another gives his tune, and perhaps a third. After much discussion, which in some cases becomes acrimonious, it is decided what two tunes are the best for so-and-so. Words are then supplied, a matter of less difficulty, all the singers assisting. In this way the fourteen songs required are provided. When ready, one of the singers informs X of the fact.

X decides that on a certain night two of the initiates shall begin a period of confinement in the back-room of his house. This information is passed round in secret by the *sumi*, and the initiate, whom it will be convenient to refer to as Y, is duly warned. At dusk a reliable *sumi* is sent out to the woods behind the village with one of the large cone-shaped whistles.

538 This is presently heard. T may be in his own house, but at
* 556 once any number of *sanek* rush in and conduct him, concealed
575 in their midst, to the back room of X's dwelling. All the *sanek*
of the village begin to gather there; those who are not mem-
bers of the society are also free to enter the main part of the
house, though they cannot take any part in the proceedings.
[781] They lurk near the door, watching with intense mind with
fear, and ready to flee if the danger from supernatural beings
seems too acute.

After some delay, a whistle is heard at intervals, gradually
becoming louder as if the supernatural being, of which it is the
voice, were coming nearer. Presently it sounds immediately
outside the door, and a *sisi* rushes forth. He returns in a
moment, followed, amid the breathless excitement of the assem-
[779] bled, by a figure masked as a bird or animal. The design
represents T's crest, or some creature with which one of his
ancestors came in contact, and which is therefore regarded as
having the same sociological importance. A member of the
society has carried the mask, another wears it, but this the
uninitiated do not know.

[776] "It is a *tsetsemm*,"[18] they gasp.

The figure crouches deadness and bends down beside the
singers to whom it appears to be whispering. Presently they
begin, softly, to say out a song in rapid time as if the super-
natural visitor had just taught it to them. It is divided into
two or three parts and the theme is taken from T's ancestral
myth.[19] After two or three rehearsals, the singers beat out the
time more loudly and accompany it with their voices, while
[535] the masked figure dances. A number of other *sanek* accom-
pany the performer as he whirls around the house; it is pre-
sumed that this is necessary to shield the spectators, though
the real function is to guide the dancer whose sight is hindr-

[18] Meaning, "Who is dancing," or, "A manifestation."

[19] In another is a son or other near relative of the chief who is giving the potlatch, the dance was made of bearing reference to the good deed in to distribute. This is necessary for it would if the performer is a chief or the chief himself.

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capped by the *mask*. If the *sutsiwam* represents Wasp* or Grizzly Bear, he does not make a circuit and a fluent *xaxa* explains that to do so would be unsafe owing to the ferocity of these animals. When the song is ended, the figure passes into the back-room. After a short interval it reappears, recrosses the house, and leaves by the front door, to the accompaniment of increased whistling.

A few myths embody two *sutsiwam*. In this case, a second figure presently enters and the same ritual is repeated for a second song. This usually differs, musically, from the first, being in three parts and with even more rapid time. More often, the second song is merely beaten out by the singers without the appearance of a *sutsiwam* to supply an obvious source.

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This is the normal, but not the only practice with regard to a *sutsiwam*. In some cases the figure does not appear until after the singing of the first song, and the uninitiated are told that it has been extracted by the music. In this case it passes into the back-room, later to reappear and leave by the front door. An announcement is made that it has brought a strange power, that Y has become peculiar, and that his name is now, for example, Qwapmacila. A herald bears this news through the village. A second song is then sung in due course.

[776]

The *sutsiwam* is difficult to classify among Bella Coola supernatural beings. It appears in the form of an ancestral crest, but the *xaxa* do not seem to have taught the uninitiated to regard it as Y's actual forefather. It remains as a supernatural embodiment of his crest, a materialization of an element of family history, and a motive for the use by Y of a mask representing the apparition. The uninitiated do not seek further; they have seen a wonderful sight and are content.

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Several of the older *xaxa* stated that the *sutsiwam* concept was not indigenous to Bella Coola; it had been recently

*Some of the first people came to earth as Wasps, but several survived as mortals; hence these insects that they are regarded as crests by the descendants of those whom they sustained.

* 556 adopted, probably as a prerogative obtained through mar-
575 riage, from the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people. The diver-
177 sity in ritual supports this view. There was not sufficient
[176] time for the procedure to become stabilized between the intro-
duction of the concept and the dislocation of Bella Coola social
life through the influence of the white man. It is also possible
that the initiation was added to *xaxa* rites from the *chiw*
a'ult society (I, p. 272).

532 Whatever may have been the history of the initiation, it
* 556 provides Y with a mask, or with two, if two figures have ap-
575 peared. He guards them jealously, though secretly, through-
out his life and uses them only on rare ceremonial occasions.
[769] It is one of these masks which will be brought out if one of his
family gives a dramatic representation of his return after death.
[420] A mask of this type is sometimes willed, but the legatee shows
the design before using it.

* 556 A short pause follows the singing of the second, or third,
575 song, during which some chief or chiefs may make a laudatory
speech concerning Y's family history. Then the singers again
[537] sing the first song, and *xaxa* members of the audience join in.
[533] Similarly, the second song is practiced. These two are sung,
time after time, until the *xaxa* have thoroughly mastered
them. When the singers consider that this has been accom-
plished, they call X, who communicates with the *xaxa* men
outside who has the whistle, and again its eerie notes are heard.
[781] Some of the uninitiated, believing that the supernatural being
who gives potency to the ritual is at hand, hurriedly leave in
fear. At the same time some of the *xaxa* conduct to the back-
room the second initiate whose songs are to be sung that night.
The procedure in his case is identical with that described for Y.
Usually it is considered sufficient to include two in one night,
though there may be attempted. When the songs of the last
have been sung, food is distributed and the people dispersed.

A few nights later the same ritual is repeated for two more
initiates, who join their predecessors in the back-room. Then
they spend their time in idleness, the only essential being the

preservation of an air of mystery by keeping out of sight of 555,*
those who are not sacred. Food is brought to them, and mem- 556
bers of the society are free to enter the room at any time. Some of the older ones enlighten Y and his fellows with regard to the secret rites, and especially to the human origin of the whistle. Proud of his new status, an initiate never dreams of communicating this information to those who are not members of the society. As a privilege, the neophytes are sometimes allowed to go out at night, care being taken that no uninitiated person shall see them. The length of the period of confinement varies according to the number of young people to be admitted, and on the actual time of the potlatch; the minimum duration is about two weeks, the maximum, four months. Sometimes the seclusion is lightened by the arrival of companions who have chosen this secret place to work at the sacred masks. After all the initiates have been confined to the back room, X [555]
continues to invite people to his house at frequent intervals to practise their songs. On each occasion food is distributed, so that the meetings are expensive to the host, but no donor grumbles about it, as thereby he establishes his prestige as a chief.

THE CEREMONY OF SACRED MASKS

The next event is the validation of the initiates' sacred masks,* a ceremony termed *ni'mdilim*. X, with the assis- 553
tance of his family, piles on the floor of his house the goods 554,*
which he intends to use for this purpose. In the old days these 556
consisted of skins, blankets, food, baskets, boxes, slaves (symbolized by stones), canoes (symbolized by sticks), and so on. Nowadays, money is used. Towards dusk a herald summons [553]
the people to X's house. For many years it has been customary to invite everyone, but it is said that long ago only [557]
the sacred would have been present. When all are seated,

* Explanation of the neophytes' masks is essential at the potlatch itself, but chiefs endeavour to display their wealth and generosity to their fellow-villagers as well. Consequently, though dances are eager to perform this rite, it can be omitted entirely without affecting the potlatch.

553 without special places, X calls upon some eloquent friend to
* 556 direct the distribution of the money. This speaker states how
575 X is carrying out the rites incumbent on his noble and exalted
[537] station, how all honour him for so doing, and how all should
strive to follow his example. He then says that to give strength
to the name *Snaqnacila*, for example, X will give away, say
$100. He further announces who have contributed this
amount: perhaps $50 from X, and the other half from various
relatives of Y. If the sum in question be large it is always
mentioned from whom, and how the donor has obtained the
money. Thus every financial transaction becomes publicly
known, and the more prominently a man figures, the greater
is his prestige. Next, the amount to be used for the second
initiate's name is announced, with the same details, and in
the same fashion the sums decided upon for each successive initiate.

Then the total amount is distributed among the giners by
the heralds, under X's supervision. He usually gives every-
[569] one the same amount; men sometimes receive more than
women, but in every case members of the same sex receive an
equal sum. The Bella Coola are not expert mathematicians,
[569] so that faulty division is the rule. If X, for example, decides
to give $1.50 to each person present, it is a time of considerable
anxiety while the stack of bills is being reduced, to watch
whether or not there will be the exact amount. If X finds out
[442] he is short he will hastily borrow some money, as it would be
[576] as much to omit anyone. If the amount be too great, he will
use the surplus in making presents to the more influential
guests.

With the exception of this possible surplus, the money distributed is regarded as an outright present; "it has flowed away to make good the boys' names" is the Bella Coola expression. A chief will remember how much he has received, and if he wishes to uphold or to increase his own dignity, he will make a point of returning at least an equivalent to X on some future occasion. But though in effect he may make return, such is never said to be the case. "The money has flowed away."

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Poor people, white guests, or others from whom no return can possibly be received, share equally in the distribution; the money goes to all to validate the transaction. On the other hand, X expects that the presents, if any, made to a few individuals after the general distribution, will be returned with interest. In selecting the recipients of these he has been animated, first, by the necessity of repaying old debts, and secondly by his desire to make good investments in the shape of presents to those likely to show their chiefly nature by returning with heavy interest. No request is ever made for such repayment, but as the transaction has been publicly announced, a man fears to fail to repay, since that would lower his prestige. No one may refuse a present, no matter how embarrassing it may be. 553 556* 575 [558]

After the gifts have been distributed the songs of the initiates are practised. Members of the *nuxsk* society join in with the singers; the other spectators listen attentively, full of interest, but take no part. X with his helpers then gives food to all, and they depart. [533]

Before the coming of the white man a potlatch was a rare event, and *nuxsk* members were initiated at local gatherings. The period of confinement was the same as that just described, but instead of merely practising the songs during the interval, the initiates appeared and danced to them. It will be convenient here to describe that ritual, emphasizing the fact that at a potlatch, when the initiates can be confirmed in the presence of foreign guests, this preliminary rite does not take place. 535 556* 575 177

After the distribution of goods the singers beat out* the tune of any one of the initiates, and all emerge in close succession from the back-room, each wearing a blanket, without distinctive design, a collar of dyed and pounded cedar-bark decorated with pendant weasel skins, and the distinctive *nuxsk* head-dress (see Plate 15).[1] This consists of a circlet of grizzly bear claws, surmounted in front by a small forehead mask; from the inner side of the circlet there rise a number of sea-lion 292 535 556* 575 237

*The present tense is used for uniformity.

[1] [See ill. 116, facing p 218 - ANALYST]

292 whiskers over which is scattered eagle down. From the back
of the head-dress hang weasel skins. In Bella Bella it is said to
535 be customary for a skin to be added on every occasion when a
* 556 *nsaok* is confined to the back-room. This may happen as many
575 as fifteen times to the child of wealthy parents, and a few Bella
Coola have adopted the practice of marking each with a skin.
[237] Usually, some six or nine are hung in two tiers, without con-
sideration of the number of times the wearer has been in seclu-
sion. The central figure of the forehead mask is a head with
[532] a hooked nose, the recurved hook being joined to the face
itself. This figure does not vary with the wearer's ancestral
myth, and no one knows what it represents. This design is
[177] said to have been introduced to Bella Coola from the north a
few generations ago; before that time the head-dress consisted
[237] of a circular band of dyed cedar-bark, decorated with the tail
[824] feathers of one of the large woodpeckers. The Bella Coola call
it simply, "forehead mask." Each initiate carries a hollow
[532] rattle, carved in the shape of a bird, which he holds in his right
[534] hand, belly uppermost. Long, long ago, when a dancer failed
to do so, the rattle became alive and the bird flew away; hence,
this rule has been obeyed ever since.

535 Each initiate takes up his station in some part of the house
behind the fire and dances to the beating of the sticks. The
* 556 left hand of each is clasped behind his back and in his right he
575 holds the rattle and keeps it in constant motion by shaking his
wrist. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a good dancer.
Keeping the body stiff and the legs close together, he rises with
slight jumps, barely altering his position on the floor. Some-
times he slowly turns around sunwise[1] in his series of jumps,
at other times he does not alter his position. The head is bent
from side to side and downwards at each jump, causing the
eagle down to fly in all directions. *Susak* assistants blow more
of the material on to the head-dress at intervals (see Plate 16).[2]

[821] [1] The Bella Coola believe that the sun moves from east to south to west to
[796] north. Many ceremonial movements follow this direction, which will henceforth
be described as sunwise.

[2] [See cat 116, facing p 219 - ANALYSI]

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As the dances proceed, those women who have the prerogative for doing so, utter a peculiar drooling cry. After dancing, the initiates return to the back-room, where they doff their attire. The ceremony concludes with the distribution of food.

The initiates are now free to leave their place of concealment, as each has become a legal member of the sound society. Some young men, sons of influential chiefs, are included a number of times, others but once. The oftener a youth is included, the greater is his prestige, because goods must be distributed on each occasion to validate his name. At the present time, there is considerable uncertainty about the exact details of the ceremony, for it has been so many of late years to give potlatches that the simpler one has fallen into disuse; some informants state that each initiate should emerge alone and dance by himself. This concludes the shaman ceremony, but with a potlatch the dancing is reserved until the coming of the foreign guests.

DELIVERING OF INVITATIONS

Returning now to preparations for the true potlatch, it does not matter whether the ceremonies already described are carried out before or after the departure of messengers to invite guests from abroad. Although X usually consults his relatives and friends as to whom he shall invite, this is entirely optional. In giving his invitations X is actuated, first, by a desire to entertain those from whom he has previously received hospitality; having accepted presents from them he must discharge the obligations or sink in social estimation. Considerations of friendship also enter into his selection, and he will likewise invite anyone whom he wishes to put to shame by a lavish display of wealth. It is taken as a matter of course that such guest will be accompanied by a number of followers, members of his family, slaves, or adherents.

Acting on X's instructions, a herald invites the people of his village to X's house. X stands up and announces to them

[illegible] that he wants an audience, giving the name of a chief, to go, for instance, to Bala Bala, to invite a certain person, whose name he gives, to the potlatch. X thereupon names those whom he wishes to have the escort. In a small whistle is used, it is essential either that the chief himself be a senior crest, or that he shall go with him. It is immaterial whether or not all of the crew are members of the society. Nobody is compelled to go, but as all know it will be a matter of pride to X to recompense them, none decline except for some strong reason. X names those whom he wishes to present to other tribes, sending one canoe to each group of crews. He arranges that departure according to the distance each must travel, the aim being to have all the guests arrive at Bala Cloth at the same time. X is expected to provide food for his guests as soon as they arrive, and as the potlatch cannot start until all have assembled, X aims to ensure simultaneous arrival, so may hasten since the crew from which guests are invited extends from the Dean River to Rivers Inlet.

The mysterious and sacred nature of the potlatch is impressed on the minds of the uninitiated at the time of departure. When the chief who is to bear the invitation, and the members of the crew are ready in the canoe at the beach, there is heard from X's house the sound of a whistle. The uninitiated, unaware of the method by which the noise is produced, consider it to be the voice of some supernatural being connected with the potlatch. Either the messenger himself, or some assistant with him, blows a whistle. This can be done without exposing the method by putting the whistle to the lips under cover of a large blanket. When this has sounded the canoe is free to proceed.

The messenger-chief carries with him his small mask, which he does if he sees another canoe approaching, while angle down is scattered over the heads of the paddlers. These two signs intimate that the occupants of the craft are on essential business, therefore must not be molested. For a considerable distance up and down the coast the sacred nature of

the potlatch is recognized as such an occasion that an attempt upon envoys is unthinkable, though one or two myths recount how the sanction has been violated on rare occasions. In some nearby potlatch messengers were sent to the other side of the island to give them the right of way.

On reaching the destination the canoe is brought in close to shore until the inhabitants of the village have gathered on the beach, which they notify by the arrival of strangers. The messenger sounds his whistle, the significance of which is fully understood by members of the coast society. Any chief who wishes to show his wealth and importance will invite them to his house. As they are landing, he sends a herald to summon a number of influential people of his village, who are themselves in their rightful place. As the messengers enter they are given seats on the bench behind the fire, the part usually reserved for chiefs. A number of fish are called in to be smoked salmon, and when the fire has been done the fish are broken into steaks by young girls and served to the messengers on a mat, in lieu of a table-cloth. The envoys do not deliver their message as soon as they arrive. On the contrary, they spend the rest of the day amicably talking with their hosts, and sleep in the house where they have been received.

The following day likewise passes without ceremony, but towards nightfall the host summons all his fellow-villagers to his house. The singers take up their customary place and beat out a theme tune. Upon hearing his or her air, the owner of it comes to dance. Using that one discretion, the singers beat out the tune of theme after theme, and each dances. In this fashion the singers beat out small songs, and the owner of each dances. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the dances are merely of a commercial, not a sacred, nature. When all have danced, each gives a present to the envoys. These gifts are not reversible. They are merely "taught down," but it is necessary that something be given to validate the dances. The value is immaterial, so far as the purpose is concerned, though a chief who wishes to exhibit his wealth [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] © [illegible] [illegible]
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one after another of the concealed instruments, while the audience, consisting of adult alone, join in the singing. As the sounds drift out to the guests, they so beat out some of their well-known round songs.

At high tide, as the canoe (new now, carefully guided by poles and sailors, the crash coop down to the beach to meet the guests, but to a side, who now wears an apron of puffin [342] leaves and carries a rattle. The singers beat out one of his own and the old dances on to beach, while the supernatural whistle which has been coming from the back-room of X's house, is now heard as his side, blown by an assistant under cover of his blanket. After the side has danced, the singers among the guests, and there is always enough of them to make possible the beating out of the better known tunes, sing one of their side's songs as it dances on the platform surrounding the canoe.

The Bella Coola side, surrounded by a group of crash, now begins to turn about in a frenzied manner, always curvine, bending down, then straightening himself, twisting and writhing like a maniac. Finally, reeling over, he pounds to down something, as the large side, and then falls to the ground. The assistant makes the motion of catching something heavy, and as the canoe one of his accomplices in the canoe sounds another crash whistle, deluding the uninitiated observers into the belief that some power has been concentrated, which is the cause of the strange noise. The reeling side revolves four times, twisting and bending, then straightens up and throws back his cloak, to expose a crash representing thunder. This is been concealed there all the time, but the uninitiated really believe it to be the creature which has made the noise, so far that it is an object miraculously made by this being. The side revolves four times more, with the crash in plain sight, and the whistle constantly blowing, while a Bella speaker "explains" the meaning of it all to the uninitiated who are anything with interest from the background.

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The reception of this power from his Bella Coola confidant enables the guest *ełki* to dance at X's potlatch, if he so desires. In that case the guests are guided to X's house without further delay. X, however, he does not wish to dance, he goes through the motions of throwing something back to the Bella Coola *ełki*, who pretends to catch it. He bends down, twists himself about, then throws back his cape—to display there the representation of *Mitlitelis*. At the time of throwing, the visiting *ełki* had slipped his mask out of sight, so that those witnessing the ceremonies, ignorant of the fact that the recipient has had an identical mask hidden beneath his cape throughout, are suitably impressed. He now sounds four times, while so concealed, shelterd under a large cloak, sounds the whistle constantly. Thus the *ełki* makes the motion of throwing something to X's house, and also that the whistle sounds from within, while the man who had been throwing one bottle the *ełki* comes. Thus the uninitiated are led to believe that the voice can proceed only from the place where the power over which the *ełki* has control is situated.

The guests are conducted to X's house, to which a number of young men carry their goods. A meal of smoked salmon, provided by X, is served to them by a number of youths, all of whom are eager to undertake this task throughout the ceremony. A section of the house is allotted to each party of guests, and within that space they arrange themselves according to convenience. Some informants state that the first group to arrive is seated nearest the fire. The whole of these invited are not placed according to rank. The amount of space allotted to each party of guests depends upon their number, and there is no particular choice made of a section in the house. X, or more often some one who speaks for him, welcomes the guests, and a spokesman from among them makes a suitable reply, usually with the assistance of an interpreter. After the meal, the guests are remain where they are or go out. As many as wish to do so may in X's house, but many prefer to

go to the homes of their friends in the village; it is a matter of convenience, not of ritual.

In the evening, there may be no rite of any kind, but X often invites everyone to his house for the performance of non-ceremonial dances. The singers strike up one of his *ceed* or *e'ell* (2, p. 279) tunes and he dances to it. Then a tune belonging to one of his relatives is learnt out, and he too dances. After several have thus performed, a meal is served and all depart. No supernatural beings are in attendance, hence there is no solemnity to the occasion; the evening's rites merely serve to show the guests the dances owned by their host and his family.

In each party of guests arrives the same procedure is repeated. X provides food for those who have assembled from day to day, so he anxiously awaits the last-comers. When at last they come the guests from all other towns are in their allotted sections of X's house, and are free to make gifts as the mettlesome of these begin to appearing. Occasionally, hard feelings are engendered in this way, although it is an established custom to mock at the last to arrive. They are themselves and a small amount of food is given them.

[illegible]

Two youths, chosen by X for the purpose, sprinkle eagle down over the heads of all those present, so far as possible blowing it first over the chiefs. It serves as a token of good will, and marks also the ceremonial nature of the occasion. Then a leading *ceed*, perhaps a *ele*, stands up and says to effect:

"Thank you for coming. You are welcome. We thank you for coming to witness what X has done. He is delighted to have you here, because he has lost many of his relatives and wishes to perpetuate their memory. They would be grieved if he did not do so."

An elaborate meal is now served by a number of young men.

* The first course is dried salmon mixed with eulachon grease. The fish is first placed in boxes, approximately one to every four persons, though a chief may be honoured by an individual box, and the grease poured over it. As always, any food not consumed is carried away. Failure to do so would be an insult to X. Then round wooden dishes are distributed into which are poured the berries of *Vibernum panciflorum*. The waiters pour eulachon grease over these and the mixture is stirred with wooden spoons. These two foods are invariably the first meal of a potlatch.

* If the *ebi* of the last guests to arrive has not returned the power given him by the Bella Coola experts, he now stands up and shakes his cards as a signal that he desires to start his dance. The Bella Coola *ebi* also stands up, and the visiting *ebi* centres himself and finally proceeds to produce something from his stomach, which he throws across to his colleagues. The latter begins to catch it, even *half* loudly several times, and makes the motions of hurling when he has just received into the room at the back of the house where the initiates are concealed. Then he sits down. Meanwhile the last-to-arrive party of guests have started to hum out the tune of one of the "small" songs of their own *ebi* who dances in time to it. Then another song is hummed out and another member of the party dances, and so on until all have danced who desire to do so. Each wears his own headdress and each performs in the manner already described. After the dancing, the members of this party of guests give presents to X and other Bella Coola chiefs. There is no fixed ratio between the value of the gifts * and the rank of the recipients, though chiefs receive more than lesser men, and X most of all. These presents are specified, which may be translated as "angle down-ness," namely a mark of friendship and goodwill. They are not returnable. Goods so received are distributed by X with his other possessions at the potlatch, care being taken not to return them to the donors, which would be insulting.

[illegible]

After receipt of these presents, the *ulki* of the penultimate group of guests shakes his rattle, and exactly the same procedure is carried out by members of his party. Then, too, give presents to X and the other Bella Coola chiefs. The same rites are carried out by each party of guests in the reverse order of their arrival. It is frequently near dawn before the first-comers have completed their dances and distribution of gifts. X then gives another meal to all, with no restriction on the choice of food. This concludes the night's ceremony, and the guests depart, except those who are staying in X's house.

THE FOLLOWING MORNING

Considering the lengthy ceremonials of the preceding evening, it is not surprising that on this day no one rises early. The guests receive their breakfast in the houses where they are accommodated, and meanwhile a number of young men gather in X's house to assist in the preparation of food for the main meal of the day. During the previous night a large amount of smoked sturgeon grease has been put to warm on [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the last songs they have made for the initiate, and any of the sacred members of the audience desiring to "help" the initiate dance to them, even X himself on occasion. By "help" no material aid is indicated; such dancing merely displays a friendly and sympathetic interest. The initiate, resplendent in sacred head-dresses, appears at the door of the back-room, and sometimes dances a few steps. Occasionally, at the conclusion of his song, a bad's parents, or other relatives, bring forward the goods which will be later distributed by X to the guests. On other occasions, this is reserved for the following day. Food is distributed and all dispersed.

[illegible]

On this, one of the two most important days of the whole ceremony, the following rites take place.

During the Day

(a) Communication to the foreign guests of the new sacred names of the initiates concealed within the back-room; these names are the ones that have been made known to the Bella Coola before the potlatch proper.

(b) Payment to X by the relatives also with's family of the goods necessary to ransom her from kidnapped.

During the Evening

(a) Dance-rites by X of three sacred ancestors of his own village.

(b) Return of a dead relative of X to life.

(c) Distribution of presents to explain this appearance.

(d) In some cases, dancing by some other sacred initiates.

Early in the morning X gives each of his guests a washbasin with the other necessary appurtenances for cleaning up, and towards noon all of these invited remain in his house. Three river canoes have been brought ashore and are ranged, two parallel to the side walls, and one parallel to the back wall, all far enough out to permit people to sit behind them. Boxes containing large quantities of red ochreous and alachem

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grease have been placed in readiness. X selects as many youths as the number on whom he intends to confer the names which have already been announced and validated among the Bella Coola, but are now to be made known to the foreign guests. He seats the lads, who are to substitute for the initiates, on the various boxes. Everybody understands that these are merely representatives. X requests two chiefs to act as his announcers, choosing two with good voices and abundant self-confidence. To one of these X whispers the *sacred* name of one of the initiates.

"His name is now——" calls out the announcer, pointing to one of the substitutes, and the listeners readily recognize the initiate intended, from the use, in conjunction with his new designation, of his well-known ancestral name. The heralds repeat the new name with the usual bellowings, so that it becomes well known to all present. In like manner the *sacred* name given to each initiate is publicly announced. The substitutes receive no advantage from their part in the proceedings.

Then the boxes are opened and red elderberries poured into the canoes in front of the guests. Boxes are provided with which the visitors pound the fruit into pulp which they proceed to mix with their hands, as clarified grease and cranberries are added. Then X's helpers distribute spoons and the feast commences. All start to eat, but after an interval one of the leading Bella Coola chiefs strikes the side of his canoe with a spoon, as a signal that all must stop. X has several dishes in readiness. If he is wealthy some of these will be carved in the shape of beaver, eagle, or other form to which an ancestor appeared. These dishes are filled with the food which all have been eating and then placed before the principal chiefs, who thus have a second supply. At this point the singers begin to beat out an ancient song of the type known as *ts'ela*. Each of these has been handed down from the distant past, when some chief, ancestor of X, had it composed for himself as a potlatch. The theme is always about the form or fame of his

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PLATE 12

Crest Totem Pole

[facing p 210]

[illegible] earliest ancestors, and the text is commonly grandiloquently phrased.[illegible] Frequently the singers alter the words slightly to suit the occasion, and sometimes compose entirely new words for an old tune. As they sing, they are aided by some of X's friends who rise and stand between the fire and the front door. They occasionally wear forehead masks carved with his name to add dignity to the rite.

After the song the chiefs continue their meal, and there is much practical joking with the heralds.

"Don't you want some food?" X calls to one of them.

Without waiting for an answer he throws a box containing the liquid pulp, inclined at such an angle that the name is spattered over the recipient. Occasionally, a herald will succeed in catching a box without spilling the contents, but usually he is smeared from head to foot, while the spectators shriek with laughter. It is one of the functions of a herald to be a laughing stock for the visitors.

During the afternoon X's wife and the members of her family deliver to him the goods which they have amassed to "redeem" her from her husband. These are called "wedding material," as if they supplied X with wedding and other necessities. The speaker states how the wife has lived up to her obligation in making this preparation, and how it will clear the path for her children. These goods will have to be distributed by X. They can be used for:

(a) Repayment of potlatch debts, or

(b) Making potlatch investments, or

(c) Validating names, either assumed or inherited, for the children of his relatives.

It would be most disgraceful should any of the goods be applied to validating assumed names for any of X's own children, because they have come from his wife's people and must be to the advantage of her children in any case. These goods are

[illegible] Though one is the same word as among the Kwakiutl where the mask was danced, here the day is supposed to a chief's dwelling, or here in the potlatch he have not the last dance.

PLATE 4

Photograph by [illegible], Kodak Research Laboratory

Eagle dance being taken onto a south island

[facing p 217]

[illegible]

[illegible] X [illegible] [illegible] X's wife's family. A question on this point was regarded as highly amusing. If used for investment gifts, the presents received in return are given to X, not to his wife's relations.

A speaker, acting on instructions from the brother or other member of X's wife's family, also announces what names, portions of myth genealogies, or other privileges the a borrowing on his husband. After that the people disperse, although they are free to remain the house, where, during the afternoon, arrangements are being made for the elaborate ceremonial which takes place that night.

Towards dusk the guests reassemble and take their places as before. Part of the goods which X proposes to give away has been brought in, and, aided by members of his family, he begins himself recounting and making final plans for its distribution. As the Bella Coola have no system of writing, the correct division of goods at a potlatch causes considerable difficulty and worry to the donor. If slighted guest will feel aggrieved, and the social nature of the rite will have been subverted to insult if arrangements are not satisfactory. The first business is the settlement of debts by X to the members of his own village. He may perhaps have borrowed fifty blankets six years previously from a certain individual whom he now intends to repay, with foreign goods or blankets to the value of fifty. X always endeavours to reciprocate with as large a premium as possible, because by so doing he displays his stability of mind to the assemblage. But if he can repay only the amount borrowed, or the same with a small increase, there will be no credit such as might even should he fail to repay at least the principal. When the debt has been settled with interest, the matter is at an end, for there is no compulsion upon the man who receives the additional sum to repay this with interest in his turn. The amount previously lent, and the occasion, are always publicly announced, so that all are made aware of his generosity with regard to interest.

In Kitsegukla it was customary at this stage of the proceedings

ings to reward carpenters and others who had helped X prepare for his potlatch, but in Bella Coola this was usually done the following night.

Now comes what the Bella Coola regard as the most important feature of the potlatch.** The singers strike up one of the songs of a *senior sonnt*, perhaps a *sila* chosen for his skill in acting. As he dances, clad in his ceremonial costume and head-dress, whistling is heard without the house. A number of *sonnt* are making the noise and they modulate it so that it appears to draw nearer and nearer. This is effected either with whistles of different sizes or by blowing harder. The dancer rushes out of the house. The whistling continues in a series of short bursts, as if a conversation were being carried on in that language. The *sonnt* or *sila* returns, and the audience, allured by the mystery of the affair, listens to his explanation:

"It is so-and-so," he announces, using the ancestral name of one of X's deceased relatives. "The crest has come to pay his son for whatever relation X may be to him[] a visit. I will bring him in."

While he speaks, continuous whistling is heard from without, but when he leaves the house it once more takes on the form of a dialogue. Presently he returns, followed by a masked figure in the centre of a group of members of the *sonnt* society. If the deceased's first ancestor had been an eagle, in that guise the figure will appear—an eagle mask on his head, and his whole body, except perhaps the feet, covered by a large blanket thickly covered with eagle down and furnished with painted wooden wings. The dancer is usually entirely blinded by this costume, but he is guided by a number of the *sonnt* whose presence is attributed to the necessity for guarding and paying honour to the supernatural visitor. Among those who accompany him there is always a man with a whistle, the note of which simulates the cry of an eagle, with this is sounded at intervals. The actor bends in imitation of a bird and shakes himself, lifting his head and opening the movable beak by

**Though potlatches are held without this feature.

means of a hidden string, while the whistle sounds. Then he stoops down and hops a few steps eagle fashion. Slowly, with pauses and turnings around, the figure circles the fire and exits through the front door, always accompanied by a number of sound. The actor displays considerable dramatic ability, and the performance is striking effective in the large, plank-built house, illuminat only by a smoky central fire which casts flickering shadows over the intently watching audience. The dogs, alone unimpressed by the solemnity of the occasion, shuffle to and fro.

If a whale is represented, a large wooden frame-work is carried by several men who walk inside of it. Raven, bear, or other animals may also be used, according to the ancestral myth of the deceased. Some of the first people came to this earth as men, but there have always been a sufficient number of intermarriages to permit everyone to possess some bird or beast, obtained from the family into which an ancestor married. A supernatural object claimed to have been seen by a forefather can also be used on these occasions. In some cases a composite figure is used. Such may have the head of an eagle, a killer whale projecting from the back, and a raven on the chest. In such a case these three creatures have been connected with the ancestry of the deceased, and he spirit is believed to have assumed these forms. Great individual choice is allowed in such matters.

If several of X's deceased relatives are being commemorated, the sound of whistling is again heard from without, a short time after the departure of the first masked figure. A senior sound goes out, and the same ritual is repeated. This time the masked actor represents some other bird or animal. Thus, as in some cases four, dead people are thus shown, though one is more customary. The actual management of the figures is left to the direction of the carpenters who have made them. Often a foreign workman is employed, as a mark of respect for his skill. In spite of all precautions there are often delays about the final preparations, especially with regard

to a conglomerated figure such as a whale, and in that case an expert dancer among the guests is called upon to perform. It is announced that this is, "to make clean the road for the dead."

After each masked figure has disappeared, the sound of whistling from without grows gradually weaker, as the apparition returns whence it came. In solemn silence X takes a copper* which he has had in readiness, breaks it across his knee,* and throws it either into the fire or down on the ground in the exact that the figure has taken. Then the announcer calls out loudly:

"It is for his crest.* It has 'made home for the dead.'" Then he continues, speaking for X and using the first person:

"My heart is glad at seeing my father.* At death he returned back on the path of my family's ancestors and donned our ancient crest. He now lives in *Nuxalk-a*, whence he came to visit us and whither he has now gone back."

The significance of the throwing down of a copper is entirely unknown to the modern Bella Coola, although they still perform the ritual. In some vague way it is felt that "home," which may imply *stability*, has been provided for the deceased. The act thus appears to be light of an offering to the dead, but this sentiment is not clearly appreciated by the participants in the rite; the present has been made *for*, rather than to, the one being mourned.

The copper, now valueless, is picked up by any chief and given to a poor man.

After a short interval a number of youths begin to distribute presents, provided by X, which have been placed in readiness. Gifts of equal value are given to all foreign male guests, while the women receive cups less valuable. These presents

*Many of the plaques of native copper, such as were formerly hammered out and used as tokens of value by the ancestors of British Columbia. Their employment by the Bella Coola will be described later in greater detail (L.p. 108).

*The breaking is sometimes omitted.

*Or, "For the dead man, now in form of his crest."

*Or whatever relative the deceased may have been.

[illegible] 8-9 [illegible]
NEB Bellacoola NEB

are strictly non-returnable, being regarded as "eagle down,"* and having, therefore, a ceremonial significance. They validate and mark the importance of the representation just displayed. They are spoken of as having been shaken off by the deceased as he departed to return to his home above. 556* [769 43]

If there are many *sunk* initiates concealed within the back-room, some of them may now be called upon to dance, but usually this is reserved for the following night. Unless some of those included are going to dance, food is distributed and all dispersed. [575 535]

THE FESTIVAL: THIRD DAY

This is the day when presents are given and, with the previous, is the most important of the whole ceremonial. The following are its features.

During the Day

(a) Distribution of much food, and sometimes of insults to the guests by excessive presents, or by the destruction of valuables. [575]

During the Evening and Night

(b) Dramatic representation of some object connected with X's ancestral myth.

(c) Distribution of presents by X to recompense the craftsmen who have assisted in the potlatch.

(d) Repayments by X of gifts received at previous potlatches.

(e) Giving of presents by X to some of his guests.

(f) Distribution of presents to strengthen X's seat.

(g) Distribution of presents to strengthen, or establish, seats for a number of young men.

(h) Dancing of the *sunk* initiates. 550* 575

(i) Distribution of presents to recompense those who have assisted the *sunk* dancers.

(*ii*) *Distribution of presents to validate the sunk dances* and the names thereby acquired by the initiates.

*The Bella Coola says that the Kwakiutl term for this is *ma-a-gan*.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

556 [575] (11) Dismissal of the supernatural power possessed by the [illegible] initiates, thereby enabling them to return to normal life in the community.

556 578 191 All day, food is being distributed in X's house with guests in almost constant attendance. Not only are large presents of food made to any chief who has previously shown generosity to X, but he also takes this opportunity to bestow insults on anyone from whom he has received the same. Among the Bella Bella and people of Rivers Inlet guests were frequently ridiculed with respect to their habitual diet or mode of life. Unquestionably, the Bella Coola sometimes did likewise, both at potlatches and at *hamat* rites to which strangers were invited. Although it is dangerous to dogmatize on this point, because the practice has long since fallen into disuse, it appears highly probable that mockeries were less prevalent in Bella Coola than at other places on the coast.

556 558 628 It is comparatively common, however, for a chief to shame a guest by a lavish disregard for valuables. News is constantly passing from town to town, so that the intended victim usually hears what is in store for him. A guest always takes valuable goods with him when he goes to a potlatch, but one who expects to be insulted takes care to have an unusually large supply. The host seats this particular visitor close to the fire, and during the afternoon or early evening he throws large quantities of grease and food upon it, to demonstrate "the warmth" and "fineness" of his house. The guest experiences physical discomfort from the extreme heat, and suffers mental pangs at having a rival boast of his power and fame. To assert his own importance he will throw goods on the fire, as if they were water to extinguish it, and the host will counter by throwing on more valuables. The contest is continued until the goods of the guest are exhausted, or the host fears to burn more lest he should not have enough left to validate the potlatch. He who has destroyed most is considered to have shown his superiority. [578] The Bella Coola state that such rivalry was unknown between chiefs of the same village.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

The following is an account of a feud which took place about 1870: 556* 558 628

The people of *Sunel* had gone to a potlatch at *Tâl-ès* with a plentiful supply of goods, expecting to be insulted in revenge for a slight cast upon their host when visiting *Sunel*. They were allotted places close to the fire, upon which the donor cast a large quantity of olachen grease until the intense heat almost roasted his guests. Not one of them moved; to have done so would have meant an admission that they were being made uncomfortable by their host's demonstration of wealth by this waste of valuable food. Presently, *Sunâlatle*, the leading chief of the visitors, stood up and called for "water" to douse the flames, messing goods of equal or greater value, to indicate that he was as wealthy as his host and as little afraid of destroying valuables. His companions threw on the five boxes filled with skins, but *Sunâlatle* desired still further to demonstrate his prowess. Hastily, he asked some of the other Bella Coola present to lend him a sea canoe (of the large type called *Haidâl*), promising to repay [591] with two of the same kind. The Bella Coola agreed and the craft was carried in, the bearers showing their disregard for the host by breaking his door as they did so. The canoe was thrown on the fire and the flames mounted. *Sunâlatle* called upon his *Tâl-ès* rival to douse that fire. The latter was afraid to do so, being aware that he had barely enough goods to pay his debts at the coming distribution. Accordingly, he tacitly acknowledged the superiority of *Sunâlatle*, who thus rose in public esteem.

It is very difficult to discover just how often such destruction of goods took place. The Bella Coola realize that the prevalence of this practice among the Kwakiutl led to the potlatch being forbidden by law, and are reticent on the subject. Reliable informants agree that it was a fairly common custom in the early days, although it never went to the extremes prevailing at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay, where, too, was common the breaking of coppers in anger, an act unknown in Bella Coola. In other respects, also, the potlatch among the Bella Coola appears to be less important and less complicated in ritual than among the Kwakiutl, so it is highly probable that the above statement is correct. 556* 558 171

Another method of shaming a guest is to serve him, or any member of his party, so clumsily or gracelessly with food that it is spattered over him. In some cases this happens acci- 558 556*

*554 dentally, but the sentiment is that the guest has been "dis-
555 tend." To cleanse himself he gives presents to the lowlife of his host, and perhaps to some of the host's fellow-villagers, thus showing that he too is in a position to demonstrate his chief-like nature by a distribution of goods. The host usually takes the hint and is more gracious in future.

A man can render himself liable to ridicule and insult by saying that he is about to give a potlatch, and then failing to do so. Influenced by his announcement, those giving potlatches have showered presents upon the prospective donor, and if he fails to carry out his plans he will undoubtedly receive insults. Such a man, if he is wise, will carry with him to potlatches large quantities of goods to throw on the fire of his host, or to give to his host's lowlife, or to use in both ways.

Thus the afternoon passes. When the people, including
*555 those who are not members of the sound society, have assembled in the evening, a dramatic representation of some event connected with X's ancestral myth is common. A similar performance has sometimes taken place on the first event on the preceding evening. The ceremonial rite is connected with a whale and can be performed by those whose first forefathers came to this earth as whales, or by those whose ancestors obtained the prerogative by marriage with people who owned it. When all are seated, a number of young men rush into the house carrying with them a tree-trunk roughly hollowed out to represent a whale. The cry is raised that the animal is about to vomit, and at the same time large quantities of grease are thrown on the fire by assistants on the roof. The subterfuge is realized by all. None imagines that the whale actually throws up the grease, but the comparison is drawn between the massive oozing grease because it is fat, and a chief throwing away wealth which lesser men would consider of great worth. A display of this kind increases the fame of X, the concept being the usual one, that he has demonstrated his nobility of mind.

Now begins the distribution of the large quantities of goods

which Ṡ has amassed. These have been collected to form [illegible]
near the fire where he, aided by members of his family, is
constantly poring over the question of their proper distri-
bution. One or two Bunsi chiefs have been chosen by Ṡ to
act as speakers, and, as he tells them which gift is to be given
to which rajah, the speaker holds up the article in question
and announces the name of the recipient. It is also pro-
claimed from whom, and for what reason, Ṡ has received such
assortment of goods, thereby making known the names of
those who have contributed. In this way a man is glorified
who has repaid with large interest a debt owing to Ṡ. In the
case of skins or rolls of cloth, the goods about to be given out
are held outspread by several people at their full length, prior
to being torn into strips. Each beneficiary accepts what is
coming to him from the hands of the young man who act as
deliverers without displaying either gratitude or disgust, whe-
ther or not the present comes up to his expectations. The point
of view is that the matter concerns Ṡ alone, as his generosity
depends his status in the community.

The few gifts distributed are actually payments, though [illegible]
never referred to as such. The Bulu Cada consider that Ṡ is
under obligations to those who have helped him prepare for
the potlatch and that he is discharging these obligations by
presents. The carpenters who have made the new house, the
totem pole, and other objects used in the rites, must be re-
warded, likewise the singers who have composed the songs,
the messengers, the women weavers, the masked dancers, the
announcers who even now are distributing the goods, the boys
helping with the cooking, the guests who make speeches—one
and all have to be compensated. It is no serious task for Ṡ,
as he must not overlook any of these functionaries. Paper
and pencil are now used to assist the memory, but long ago the
only aids were bundles of sticks. No system of symbolism was
evolved, each man merely chose a stick and designated it in
his mind as a reminder to pay such or such an individual. The

skill shown by those who assisted, as well as the generosity of Q, explains the disbursements.

The following presents of money were given as a potlatch held about (Dec), and were considered reasonable:

For painting one designed on the front outside wall of the house	$ [illegible]
For the erection of two upright posts, supporting the walls and roof of the house	[illegible]
For each longitudinal beam with painting	[illegible]
For each cross-beam, without painting	[illegible]
For the planking of the side walls[1]	[illegible]
For painting the rear wall of house, which is also the outside wall of the back room[2]	[illegible]

The average totem pole would cost perhaps $ [illegible], but the price varied greatly with size, complexity of design, and skill displayed.

The main distribution is of goods to heavy debts which Q has incurred in previous potlatches, that is, to return "invitation presents" then received (I, p. [illegible]). This is known as *tsiqlas*, "repay," and the word is applied to all kinds of money-entry, including coverage. One of a chief's difficulties is to remember his indebtedness. He may have been a guest at twenty potlatches, and at each has received presents varying in value, not only from different donors, but from other people associated with them. To keep these accurately in mind is hard but essential, and parents carefully train their children to do so.

As previously mentioned, the Bella Coola have no fixed scale of interest on debts. Careful inquiries made on this point disclosed the idea to be entirely foreign. The greater the interest, the greater does the donor show himself to be. If, for example, Q received an interest-present of one hundred blankets from a Bella Bella chief ten years previously,

[1] When we are present, that is, the left of the outside door is seeing perhaps the [illegible] side, that is, the right the outside.

[2] When one stands with together in this way.

[3] When one stands with together in this way, the name of Indian corresponding to those of the outside front.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] non-repayment does not affect the standing of the donor in the community. The giver expects no return, but should he come to financial straits he would have no hesitation in walking out from the Bella Bella chief. He expects, however, that the latter will contribute to the expenses of his funeral. This would be optional, as repayment of a non-commercial present concerns the donor and recipient alone, without dues on the status of either in the community. In this instance, if the old man had died soon after his son, his debts would not have been paid, since there were surviving no immediate relatives. Some or other non-kinsmen always settle the debts of dead persons out of family pride, but it is considered more improper for the creditors to think about repayment. By giving they have shown their power, the question of return is the concern of the family of the deceased creditors.

Very rarely can the donor of a potlatch fail to secure his investment events except through oversight. In spite of every precaution errors occur, and these are said to be caused either by a supernatural being, itself invisible, rising between the donor and its guest, hiding the latter, or by *Snqamdu*, there speaking into his thoughts. Unless the donor wishes to insult a guest he will give him presents here or, and then seek his money. But if he does not do so, the slighted man may remain his foe, and thus feuds are often generated that may last to no between tribes. About 1880 it is said that a conflict between the people of Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet was caused that way. In the autumn of 1911, a Bella Coola chief turned up dancing at a Bella Bella potlatch, although it was commonly known he did not have the necessary goods for distribution to relatives he dance. The boats would actually, moreover, assembled by means, and only the presence of many tribes was prevented bloodshed. Relations between the two tribes are still strained as a result of the incident. The Bella Coola chief was subject to spells of insanity, and dared during one of them. According to the

Bafia Costa, the Bafia Bafia should have taken his two sessions, along with the man's generosity on previous occasions, and overlooked his nastiness.

Cases have been known of a "stupid" man endeavouring to increase his prestige by giving many potlatches when unable to pay his debts. Such a man is laughed at for his stupidness, which is not the attribute of a chief, and is given only small presents.

It must be clearly understood that debts publicly incurred, to allow much investment presents received at any ceremony, must be publicly returned, if the debtor is to gain the public esteem granted to one who pays back with interest. But everyone cannot give a potlatch; hence any young man desirous of returning his obligations, and of rising in public favour, can do so at a potlatch given by somebody else. Guests are present from abroad, so his discharge of indebtedness is made known further afield than if he had done so at a local gathering, and the donor has the additional satisfaction of being able to give to those strangers. Sometimes as many as ten young men will ask X for permission to pay their debts at his potlatch. Such is never refused, because it means more ceremonial, and greater interest, which indirectly increases X's prestige. A young man who has been taken to a foreign potlatch as an adherent of a great always receives presents, and if he repays them with interest his name begins to become known, especially as his return payments are announced. It is thus that a man whose clearly name (or names) has been dormant for generations, can begin to restore it. Thanks to presents he gives at X's potlatch, he will in return receive large gifts, until finally he is able to give a potlatch himself. After X has paid his own indebtedness the debts of others are settled. In each case the speaker announces the amount received on each and each occasion and the amount returned. Thus all present are able to estimate the generosity of the payer, a clearly overhaste. When a young man plans to give his first potlatch it is necessary for the elder chiefs of his village to advise whether he has

sufficient goods, though every man is understood to be master of his own affairs.

After paying his debts Ṭ will be many heavy expenses in connection with the coming marriage, and the young people for whom he is obtaining units. Goods for these purposes have been put on one side. The remainder he now proceeds to give away as investment presents. His exhibition of ancestral pictures, and the guise in which his ancestors are now living, as eagle, raven, whale, or such like, have been duly validated by the presents given on the preceding evening, and his social status has been saved for by the payments to his craftsmen and other creditors. These investment presents are not mere dole, though a man always endeavours to give them, both for economic and social reasons. There are no definite laws regulating their distribution. Ṭ is guided in his choice of recipients[1] by the following considerations:

(1) If a certain chief is likely to give a potlatch soon he knows that a present given him will be returned with interest.

(2) He desires to give something to a chief from whom he has often received favours.

(3) He wishes to ingratiate himself with a powerful chief by presents.

(4) He wishes to give presents to a chief with whom he is not on friendly terms. Unless the latter reciprocates, it will be considered that Ṭ has shown his superiority.

(5) Usually an inferior chief will receive more valuable presents than one of lower rank. This custom is not governed by any fixed scale, and an inferior chief may be differentially slighted, if Ṭ thinks that he has not shown him, Ṭ, sufficient respect.

It is considered the height of folly to give presents without due regard to their return.

The amount of gifts depends entirely on the wealth and status of Ṭ. If he wishes to increase his fame, he will make

[1] Men are apt to give to men who happens of the same or some to one here. The Tlinkit [illegible] to give right to one kinsman.

[illegible] to give valuable presents, but he need not give any. It is a deep disgrace to any man to be unable to return these presents. Nothing is said, nor does the donor take active steps to receive his return, but the influence of the recipient powerfully works. It is expected that a heavier rate of interest will be paid on presents received many years before repayment, but again this is a matter of individual volition. The debts of a man who dies while owing for goods received or gratuities are scrupulously discharged by his family. If they fail to do so, their own influence is lessened.

One method of reducing the value of an investment present can be used by a man who feels unable to repay a large gift. The uncle of an elderly Bella Coola was once guest at a Kitimat potlatch, where he received, as an investment present, a few large canoes and one hundred blankets. Not willing to incur so large a liability he at once returned fifty of the blankets to his host for distribution among the guests. Consequently, he was expected to make return for only one hundred and fifty blankets, with whatever interest he desired. This action enabled a host to gain his prestige, since it acknowledged his inability or unwillingness to repay his present. The chief in question, being firmly established in his chiefly status, did not fear to do this, though one of lesser rank would have hesitated to confine his interests.

It is on the value of the goods distributed in these three types of presentations, namely, recompense for work done, repayment of debts, and investment presents, that the importance of the potlatch, and consequently of a chief, is usually judged. These distributions of presents are for the potlatch as a whole, including the return of the dead and the intangible prestige of a. The questions which follow are to validate specific connections which can be contrast. In one or two families the whole course of the potlatch is changed, since the members have the prerogative of distributing their presents outside the house. In such a case the giving is done during the day instead of at night. Details of this kind,

which is said to have come as a prerogative obtained through marriage with a Kwakiutl woman, were not obtained.

When the distribution of investment presents comes the strengthening of Ｔ's own.

His wife, aided by members of her family, has placed the necessary goods in readiness, though it is presumed they merely happen to be on hand. Ｔ herself takes his place near the door, and another behind the fire. Beside his latest-born a child, seated in a small hand-drum, who represents Ｔ. One of the bandits calls on this substitute to come forward, as if he were just entering the house, and shouts:

"There is no place for him to sit!"

Then he turns to Ｔ's wife, saying:

"Do if you have not a fire ready in your room to strengthen him."

The word for "strengthen" is *ulalkiwa*, or *gilkilkiwa*, which means "dusting up," as if Ｔ were nodding on his chair the bandit. The words have the other significance of "clothing." They represent the ceremonial dignity wherewith a chief is garbed.

Ｔ's wife goes to her room, or to the place in the house where his goods are stored, and brings forth a large assortment of valuables, which are piled in a convenient spot. The substitute who is representing Ｔ then places himself in the latter's seat, which is to be made more solid by these goods. Ｔ's wife says to the bandit that they have still more goods for him, and he then says to his wife:

"His son is on hand. There are no self-chiefs for it!"

The wife brings forward more goods to make her husband's son more considerable. The bandit, who has been chosen for his fluency, uses his originality to urge his wife for more the wife, self-chiefs for the son is merely an example. In some cases, more presents are given, in other cases, if the wife and her family be poor, there are but one or little more. It is not essential that foreign guests witness this establishment or strengthening of a son, though their presence means that Ｔ's

[illegible] to spread beyond his village. These goods [illegible] 556*
[illegible] among the guests, and are not returnable; they are said to have "become nothing" for Ŷ's sake. He up [illegible] family himself to the giving of these presents.

The next event is the strengthening or establishment, of some for some of Ŷ's younger relatives. Many cases including those concealed within the bush-room. It is not necessary for him to do this, nor need he do so [illegible] 553
556*
[illegible]. The parents of the youths have [illegible] to the [illegible] which each is to receive, [illegible] in an [illegible] world. On the other hand, Ŷ [illegible] [illegible] in a [illegible] young man whom he has [illegible] into the ranks of the [illegible]. The [illegible] a distinct, though [illegible] [illegible].

Ŷ picks out a place on the side of the house front of the [illegible], where it will be convenient to designate as Ŷ. Another youth acts as a substitute for Ŷ, whether [illegible] to [illegible] the bush-room. The substitute is recognized as such, and receives in return a pecuniary advantage for his position. The youth [illegible] the door till the [illegible] upon him to enter, as Ŷ he had newly come into the house. He is [illegible] by the youth [illegible] recently [illegible] Ŷ. After consultation with Ŷ the [illegible] with [illegible] Ŷ's name is [illegible] the giving [illegible] known to Ŷ's family, and [illegible] to [illegible]. The family of Ŷ contribute to the strengthening of the [illegible] Ŷ. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible]. The [illegible], [illegible] of Ŷ's [illegible], given the general [illegible] of the [illegible] to which the [illegible], and concludes with a [illegible] speech [illegible] the [illegible] that Ŷ may rise to the [illegible] of the [illegible] of the [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible].

Then one of the [illegible] cries out, "Ŷ's [illegible] hard!"

Someone, Ŷ's father, [illegible], or other relative, Ŷ or his [illegible], brings forward goods to [illegible] the [illegible].

"Ŷ's [illegible] is [illegible]," [illegible] another of the [illegible].

When goods are brought forth. In the fashion of kinds of things are bestowed: a copper, "to support Y's back"; a [illegible], "to shield him from the fire"; two shoes, "to make him strong and heavy so he moves about the earth"; a pile of blankets, "to provide a cape to keep him warm"; more goods, "to give him shoes"; some cloth, "to wipe his mouth after eating"; and other things to provide him with fan, luggage, and so on. The family of Y keep telling the bewilds that they have more goods, so that he knows how long to continue to complain about Y's needs.

As soon as all the available goods have been piled up, they are given to the guests, who are witnesses of the validation of the name and sent to the house. Theoretically, the value of the present received by each is not affected by the rank of the recipient. Y decides whether or not each guest shall receive a present of the value, or whether one shall receive more than number. Owing to the difficulty of accurate estimation of the amount required, there is often a residue, which is given away to the more impecunious clients. These goods are strictly not accountable. They are spoken of as having "become nothing," with reference to the name and sent to question.

Exactly the same procedure is carried out for every young person whom Y wishes to assist or to validate in his own. Parents take advantage of a potlatch to "strengthen" their children in this way, and Y never refuses a request for participation. It is always announced whence have come the goods for distribution, so that Y receives no direct increase of fame. If they have been provided solely by the relatives of the youth, but, indirectly, his prestige is increased through the transaction having taken place at his potlatch.

It is at this time to that other names are validated. There will be usually a number of infants whose parents wish them to receive their first child names, such as are incorporated in the family myths. Likewise, men may be conferred to their occupations, as warriors, singers, or other professions to which

success, according to the Bella Coola, depends upon the good-[illegible] expended in their establishment (I, p. 49).

Throughout all this ceremonial the initiates have been carefully concealed in the back-room. They are now eagerly, though with trepidation, awaiting their time to dance. The order of appearance is a matter of no importance. It is arranged by the singers, who send word to one of the initiates and then begin to beat out one of his songs. He emerges, clad in a ceremonial blanket, wearing a small head-dress, and holding a cane in his hand. Taking up his station behind the fire he dances in time to the beating of drums. As he does so, the speaker calls upon X's wife to bring forward goods to "cover back more for him to stand upon," or "cover back more to make wife his own." These are piled in some convenient spot. After dancing, the initiate retires to the back-room, accompanied by one of the older members of the secret society, perhaps a relt. This man presently emerges, saying:

"It is more peculiar. He might be there now."[1]

At the same time a whistle sounds from the back-room, in imitation of the scream of an eagle.

There ensues a constant interplay of remarks between the humble and those regulating the ceremony. One of the former may call out:

"Let us see it."

The elder returns to the back-room, saying, "I will bring it out."

Then now emerges a figure modeled to represent an eagle, or whatever bird it pretends it may be, with a long blanket covering all but the feet. Any clever dancer is employed to wear this disguise, seldom the initiate himself. The "eagle" bends down beside the singers as if whispering a song to them, though in reality they have themselves composed it. They sing this as the masked figure moves around the fire, imitating the gait of an eagle with considerable dramatic skill, while an

[1] The dancers may have been the gate to which the attendant came to him, to call dependence on his secret self.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

some, due to the ceremonial costume, including a long cape with pockets. With him come the four or five young men who have just finished dancing. The singer then rises formally with their sticks, and the old chief stand and sound, nothing himself into a frenzy with voices and gestures. Gradually he approaches one of the initiates, and pretends to pluck something from his body. To be sure the hands the spectators see that there is something in them, what exactly, they cannot distinguish. Only those who are well acquainted know, whenever it is, it has been pulled from one of his cape pockets. He pretends to throw his object upwards, at the same time dipping it back into his cape. As the article is, theoretically, thrown into the mouth of initiating to hearts, which gives rise and makes it literally comes. Meanwhile the hands discourse loudly with one another about how the "night" or whatever it is has been connected, and is now wearing above. The same procedure is repeated for the other initiate. This concludes the night's ceremony. Food is distributed and the people dispersed.

The employment of a foreign chief to expel the power from the initiate is necessary since his particular prerogative is not native to Bala Cada. Formerly the neophytes was then in the hut room without any elaborate ceremony. This the native the admission of initiate into the youth society although they cannot yet leave the hut room. It must be understood, however, that a youth may be initiated several times, on each occasion receiving new songs and perhaps a different mask. In this way his prestige as a youth is increased, and the use of a powerful chief will also be initiated on a more times. A mask is supposed to preserve in consciousness in the personal property of the owner who may use it as protection in future occasions. It will be the guise in which a dead person returns to visit the living. When being used for this purpose, a mask may be worn, or rather as a sort adjunct of the dressing, the slightly above the painting before using it himself.

It is somewhat difficult to understand the attitude of those

[illegible] anything other than material dances or a representation of the dancers. Usually, the feet are plainly visible, and the spectators cannot fail to realize they are looking, not at an eagle or other supernatural creature, but at a man. This no one ever expresses the doubt. It must be remembered that all are finally convinced of the close relationship existing between dancers of the bird dance and members of the ceremonial society. To the uninitiated this is proved by the whistling. They regard the figures as supernaturally endowed representations of those beings with whom the participants are able to come in contact. A sophisticated Bella Coola Indian thinks exactly as that of a man praying before images of the saints, fully realizing that these are only inanimate objects, yet mentally experiencing a feeling of close contact with the saints themselves. Another expressed it thus:

"The uninitiated are trained to believe what they see. It would be most improper for them to voice any doubts, in fact they do not have any, as this is their belief in the supernatural power of the members of the ceremonial society."

This has appeared to be the real explanation. Everyone must have his or her doubts, but each is afraid to express them, realizing that so doing would not only offend the chiefs, individually, but the supernatural powers with whom they are so much, which is obvious from the whistling that accompanies the ceremony. It appears that the uninitiated have no idea how this is produced.

[illegible] CONSIDERATIONS AND [illegible]

[illegible] The number of ceremonial initiates is usually too great to allow all to dance on one night. If possible, this is done, but if not, on the following evening most of the initiates perform in the manner already described. The distribution of presents and the acceptance of gifts from the young ceremonial also follow the same line. If many of them are activated, three or even four, nights may be required until the last one has danced, and the last dancing has been performed.

There now remains only the necessity of removing from the house itself the supernatural power with which it is firmly believed to have been impregnated throughout the many nights of the ceremony. Should this not be done, it would be so strong that only *ozoli* could thenceforth live in it, and no further rite could be performed therein. One of the senior chiefs, acting on X's behalf, requests as many *ziki* as are present to go to the back-room. At the same time a drum is beaten slowly. The *ziki* call out loudly, in unison, half four times. The whistle sound from the back-room with overbearing intensity, as if the supernatural being, whose voice they are, were going away. It is said that this practice has been comparatively recently adopted from Rivers Inlet: there used to be nothing of the kind. The *ziki* re-emerge, and one of them stands behind the fire with his stick which he leans on the floor and calls on the audience to shout with him, "Ki ...." This is done four times. It serves to purify the house from the supernatural power with which it has been saturated. The people then disperse, without food.

Goods from the general store are reserved to pay those men for their services, and also for cleansing the initiates from the powers with which they have been infused, a rite that takes place the following morning in the presence of several *ziki* alone. The initiates are brought from the back-room and seated in a close circle between the door and the fire.* A foreign *ziki* is chosen by X to perform the actual cleansing rite. He has been asked beforehand and has come provided with a long pole and some soiled clothing. It is immaterial whose this is, provided that it has been in contact with a human body; the most potent articles are ceremonial cedar-bark pads.

The *ziki* covers the young man with a large cedar-bark mat. Then he fastens the clothing or pads to his pole and holds the end in the fire until they are smouldering. Then he swings it four times over the heads of the initiates and throws the stick

* Based on the according to some informants.

with the objects back on the fire. In some cases four sets of cloths are used. This rite, which is regarded as very important, frees the lads from the supernatural powers with which they have been endowed, and permits them finally to leave the back-room and return to normal life, just as their earlier cleansing freed them from the initiation. During their period of seclusion no initiate can perform a *bona fide* ceremony of any kind. The supernatural beings of the two societies, though closely akin, are yet independent, and it would be unthinkable for a man to come into contact with the two at the same time, unless he should be the owner of Raven prerogative enabling him to do so. Only a few men have the right, which undoubtedly was derived either from the Bella Bella or the people of Rivers Inlet.

It pays the functioning *ulu* with new clothing. This completes the whole ceremony. The guests either return home or adjourn to some other house where a potlatch is taking place, but no item mark their departure.

Such, then, are the principal features of the Bella Coola potlatch. Without making a careful comparison of its features with those of neighbouring tribes, the following points stand out with great clearness:

(a) The basic concepts of the potlatch in Bella Coola are the same as those of the two practised elsewhere on the coast.

(b) A potlatch has not the same importance at Bella Coola as it has on other parts of the coast, especially among the Kwakiutl. All informants stated repeatedly that they did not carry their potlatches to the same lengths as did the "foolish" Kwakiutl, nor were they as keen financiers. A Bella Coola would never entirely impoverish himself by lavish giving.

(c) The potlatch, though fundamentally the same as it is elsewhere on the coast, has certain area characteristic of the locality. The central Bella Coola feature, the return of a dead ancestor, is not equally important elsewhere. It would be interesting to be able to trace the history of this. The most

probable conjecture, and it is impossible to make more than a conjecture, is that it is a concept which has developed among the Bella Coola in association with their specialized theology and has been incorporated into the potlatch complex. On the other hand, the return of the dead may be an old feature, developed in other tribes through the ever-increasing economic aspects of the potlatch, which are of less import in Bella Coola. Whether or not *Mulkulla* is of Bella Coola origin is questionable; he may be merely an altered form of a supernatural being found among other coastal tribes.

(a) The potlatch concept, that is, the necessity of distributing presents to validate every transaction, and to establish a man's status, is an old custom. The whole cycle of Bella Coola thought supports this view, and it is to be expected from the prevalence of the same idea among other coastal tribes.

Unquestionably, the introduction of white man's tools has made it easier to give a potlatch. In the old days, as informants reiterated again and again, it was a matter of years to save up the material skins and goods, so that a potlatch was a rare event. Now a man is able to work in a cannery for a single season and earn enough for an elaborate ceremony. Accordingly, most of the old names have been duly validated, whereas long ago some of them might have lain dormant for generations. The descendants of old, influential families smile readily:

"Now everyone is a chief," they say.

It appears that the facility for giving potlatches has increased the feature of the destruction of goods, in fact that this is little more than an increment on the ancient ritual. Thus it may be said that the coming of the white man has facilitated the giving of potlatches, has somewhat changed their form, but has not altered their concept.

CHAPTER V

FEATURES ASSOCIATED WITH THE POTLATCH

Heralds—Totem-Poles—Coppers—Professional Prerogatives—Folk Dances—Miscellaneous Ceremonies

138 #556 THE ritual of the potlatch is so complicated that, in order to present a coherent account of it, it has been necessary to omit entirely some features that occur at many potlatches, and to refer briefly to others. This chapter is devoted to an elaboration of these points, thus avoiding the use of lengthy foot-notes in the preceding chapter.

Heralds

203 #556 The principal functions of heralds[1] have already been described. They go from house to house inviting the people to assemble for the different ceremonies connected with the potlatch, but that is only one of their many duties. They likewise bear invitations to all types of ceremonies, such as marriages, mourning rites, or *kwakiu* dances; in fact, they act as town criers. A person holding any public rite requests one or more heralds to deliver the invitation which is repeated in every house of the village in order from bottom to top.[2]

There are variations, of course, according to the rites to be performed. At a potlatch, the first duty of a herald is to seat the guests in their proper places. This requires not only a good memory, but also considerable tact, since errors with foreign guests cause friction and embarrassment, and diminish the prestige of the whole ceremony. During the actual progress of the rites, a herald must constantly add dignity to the cere-

[1] Hawiti, sk'i', gloral, ewalk'ala, are to be confused with *o'ala*, the name of a society (I, p. 370).

[2] This order may once have had a ceremonial significance but it has been considered for a long time merely a matter of convenience. When giving presents also, a man follows the same order in his mind and comes first the occupants of the bottom house, thus minimizing the danger of overlooking a guest.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

sion by repeating loudly a few words, or even phrases, from the speeches being delivered, or calling on the audience to notice what has just been said and to listen attentively. A white man would be annoyed at such interruptions, but the Bella Coola consider them evidences of attentiveness. 203 556*

The making of comments is a duty performed at every type of ceremony, but it is indispensable at potlatches; since a chief depends on the heralds to emphasize and explain the points of his family history which are being displayed. One intelligent man likened their functions to a compass, constantly guiding the course of ceremonial life. Without a herald a chief would be as useless as a ship tossed on the ocean with no hand to steer. Although the principal duty of heralds is to extol the actions of a chief, they can, and are expected to, deride one who fails to carry out the customary requirements. Cases have occurred in which influential men have so far forgotten their function of generosity as to fail to invite their fellows after killing a deer or other large animal; or women have declined to share their abundant berries. Nothing is said at the time, but when next the people have come together for some ceremony, a herald refers to the omission under so slim a disguise that everyone is aware of his meaning. This public ridicule lowers the prestige of a chief to such an extent that he is careful not to offend again. Not many years ago, a certain Kimsquit chief failed to ask others to share some mountain goats which he had killed; at the first opportunity a herald referred to himself as Yaki, Mountain Goat, and all present realized that he was really alluding to the one who had been remiss. 203 556* 558 626 [224] [222]

Heralds must exercise care in their witticisms at the expense of chiefs because, unless public opinion is with them, the point of the remark is lost, and they expose themselves to the wrath of the person offended. Nevertheless, heralds always strive to cause merriment, and often take risks with this aim in view. They try to make humorous remarks, and also to cause amusement by their antics. As already described, the donor of a potlatch may throw to one of them a dish containing liquid food 203 522 556*

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

203 522 *556 in such a way that the contents dribble over the recipient; sometimes, though able to catch the dish, a herald may deliberately allow the sticky pulp to cover him. The humour of this is increased by the fact that guests at potlatches always receive their food in a ceremonious manner.

203 *556 [773] Though one of a herald's duties is to act as buffoon, his position is only very slightly derogatory. In the beginning of time, Raven himself did not hesitate to act in this capacity on many occasions. Ever since, the post has usually been occupied by relatives of chiefs, especially by those who are unable to give potlatches. In some cases the position is sought by ambitious young men, willing to endure the slight loss of dignity for the emoluments. Since the basic principle of every Bella Coola ceremony is that the donor must recompense those who have assisted him, heralds are always lavishly rewarded. At potlatches especially, chiefs remember their dependence upon the heralds, and shower presents upon them. One who has allowed himself to be spattered with liquid food to amuse the guests, is suitably compensated, but in any case he receives presents for summoning and seating the guests and for interrupting the speeches. The same principle holds good in all other ceremonies. An elderly informant related that once in his younger days he had been dancing a *tsesk* dance, when two heralds remarked that the ground on which he was dancing was dirty, meaning, that it had not been made clean by the distribution of sufficient presents to justify his dance. His mother at once gave the heralds two muskets, valuable articles in those days, to clear her son's path. These belonged to the informant, who knew nothing about the transaction until it had been completed, but he accepted as a matter of course the necessity of giving presents to heralds. If the seat on which a chief is sitting should break, presents must be given to heralds, and if a *kusiut* should fall when a herald is watching, the latter [622] receives gifts. At the marriage of a chief's son, a herald can [585] claim and remove any of the clothing of the bridegroom or his associates. Above all other occasions, when a young chief is

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first established on his seat, he must reward the heralds lavishly for their remarks. 203 554

As with so many elements of culture, the Bella Coola ascribe the origin of heralds to the wish of *Alquntam* as expressed to the first people in the beginning of time. Some groups of these early settlers brought with them heralds whose names had been created by the supreme deity himself in his house in the land above. Such a one was *Xaqa'li* who was a member of *Xemcus*'s (I, p. 316) party at Kimsquit, another was *Olqlimut* who came with *ayayayut* (I, p. 319). These heralds functioned in the manner of their descendants of today; others of the first chiefs appointed certain of their relatives to perform this service, and by means of the power with which they were endowed, created names with respect to their functions. Besides his ordinary name every herald must have an ancestral appellation of some kind, as well as the probability of possessing *kwiat* ones in addition to those of a professional nature. Either by bringing with them from above, or by creation on this earth, each group of first settlers became provided with a herald, whose name is embodied in the ancestral myth describing their experiences. As each of the first heralds died, his name was passed to a successor, and this practice has been carried out from generation to generation until the present. The Bella Coola state that no new names for heralds have been created since the time of the first people, and it is certain that none has been made for many years. Consequently, the number of heralds is strictly limited in accordance with mythological beliefs, and every man who owns one of the ancient designations embodied in an origin myth knows the name of the herald associated with his first namesake. 203 773 551 [428]

At the death of a herald his name becomes dormant. Since heralds function at all ceremonies, whether or not the donor belongs to the same ancestral family as themselves, the members of the group sustaining the loss are not deprived of their 203 553 556 614 424

203 553 *556 614 [424] services. Hence the less, one of their primal prerogatives, the visible embodiment of an element in their ancestral myth, is no longer present. In such circumstances, no member of an ancestral family would give a potlatch unless able to receive at in the dancer name in a new herald. The intending donor usually consults with the senior members of the ancestral family as to a suitable incumbent, or especially if he is an influential chief, he may simply use his own discretion. In either case, some relatively young member of the ancestral family is offered the post. If he accepts, the matter is settled; if not, another is invited in his stead. The new herald cannot function until his name and appointment have been validated by the distribution of presents at the potlatch. Such gifts are not returnable, since they are held to "have become nothing" for the name. Relatively lavish expenditure for this purpose is one of the many ways in which a chief is able to show his prowess and generosity. Thus established, a herald can carry out his duties thenceforth. He functions at every ceremonial, but especially at potlatches given by members of his own ancestral family, in whose origin myth his own name is embedded. From constant participation in all kinds of ceremonials, a herald becomes conversant with every type, and is appealed to as arbiter in difficult points of ritual, thus adding to his reputation.

[627] [196]

203 *556 Although acceptance of the post of herald somewhat curtails a man's activities in other respects, instances are known of energetic ones using the gifts received to establish themselves as chiefs, passing on their herald names at the same time to other incumbents. More often, a herald uses his wealth for the benefit of a son or other relative, being satisfied with his own status in the community. He takes a prominent part in every ceremony and is a person of some standing, yet is spared the responsibility of actually giving rites himself, a position which offers many attractions to a man lacking great ambition and initiative.

[illegible] ASSOCIATED WITH THE POSTLATCH [illegible]

Totem-Poles

A feature embodied in many ancestral myths is a description of the totem-pole[1] erected by a group of the first people, either according to a design given them by *Mountain*, or in consequence of their experiences on this earth. It is the prerogative of a chief descended from that group to erect such a pole, under the same restrictions as apply to the personal use of other features belonging, not to him individually, but to the ancestral family as a whole. Totem-poles are also frequently erected to depict incidents connected with the ancestors of a chief, even if there is no mention of one in his ancestral myth. In either case, the setting-up is a source of pride to the chief, especially as it emphasizes the importance of his ancestors, and its display must be duly celebrated. Theoretically, this may be done at a gathering of less importance than a potlatch, but in practice it occurs at no other ceremony, since a chief wealthy enough to erect a pole naturally desires it to be seen by as many persons as possible.

Poverty limits the number of totem-poles, but is not sufficient to account for their relative rarity. It is a matter of pride for a chief to whose ancestral myth there is mention of a pole to erect one, but all myths do not include totem-poles. Consequently the absence of one before the door of the chief's house is not proof of the owner's poverty or lack of importance. This matter was investigated with great care, and all the older people witnessed that the number and size of their poles were never as great as among the northern tribes. [171]

When a chief is preparing for a potlatch, he alots, among other carpentry tasks, the construction of a totem-pole, if he is sufficiently wealthy to reward the artisan and to validate the erection in the customary manner. If a special design is embodied in the ancestral myth containing the name which he is about to assume, or to make strong, he indicates that design to the carpenter. In the story of *Atlwi* (I, p. 311), for [532]

[1] Ahkwatl, "Outside Post."

example, there is a description of his totem-pole with a bell on the top, and beneath it an eagle's nest containing two fledgling towards which a grizzly bear is endeavouring to climb. This is the only known instance of a pole on which the different figures stand in definite relationship to one another. No explanation is offered beyond the statement that this was the form used by *Alkai* in the beginning of time. Another ancient pole, used by one of the ancestral families of *Sanl*, consists of a simple shaft surmounted by a sphere; this represents a mountain which stems into their ancestral myth as supporting the sky.

As with all features embodied in ancestral myths, a chief can use his own discretion in cases where he has a choice of designs. A totem-pole with specific figures is a common present from a chief to his son-in-law, and it is a mark of respect for the latter to use and validate this at the first opportunity, in preference to one belonging to his own ancestral family. Since the pole erected at a potlatch may have no association with the ancestral name and myth of the donee, the underlying principle in all cases is that the value of the pole depends upon the quantity of gifts distributed to validate its erection. One man mentioned as instance in which he had become confused with regard to the proper design for the totem-pole connected with his ancestral myth, and had used one belonging to a second myth in association with a name from the first. Both were his property, the transaction was duly validated, and the matter passed off without question. It is possible that the decay of customs which has followed the coming of the white man may have been partly responsible for this error, which was regarded as a somewhat stupid, though not improper mistake; yet it is clear that even when designs are remembered as portions of ancestral myths, they can be eliminated from them and validated as isolated objects in the same manner as names and all other features of ancestral myths.

More often, the exact details of a pole are not included in the ancestral myth and a chief wishing to have one erected can

[illegible] the [illegible] to the design. So the cup he always [illegible] the bird or animal crest to which his first ancestor, [illegible] [illegible], came to this earth. Beneath this is the crest of his mother's first ancestor if it differs from his father's. There are no fixed rules for other representations. Sometimes a man wishes to display the crests of the first ancestors of his wife, or wives; more often, the designs are of creatures with which the two ancestors came in contact after reaching this earth.[illegible] One of the Bella Coolas, *Smanus* (I, p. 330), married a Bella Bella woman from whom he obtained a ceremony connected with a whale, an animal which has often been used on the totem poles of the Haidas. The lower figures on totem-poles often represent creatures from which a recent ancestor of the chief obtained supernatural assistance. Consequently, the number of designs which may be used is legion, and the order of personal is unknown. Moreover, Bella Coola art is not sufficiently realistic for designs to be easily recognized, nor is there standard conventionalization of little used animals; so it follows that the designs on totem-poles are often unidentifiable.[illegible] This is of little consequence, since their value rests neither upon the artistic skill exhibited, nor even upon their significance in connection with the owner's ancestral myth, but upon the goods expended to validate the display.

All Bella Coola totem-poles are carved from the trunks of huge cedars, with the wood cut away so that the designs stand out in high relief. The carvers are allowed great latitude both in choice of form and colouring, hence there is wide variation

[illegible] is the term applied to animals with which ancestors came in contact, other than their clans.

[illegible] the layman's point of view, that is, of the Bella Coola who was not himself a carpenter-sculptor. It is probable that an expert would have greater facility in recognizing the conventionalized forms used by his ancestors, although the whole pattern of Bella Coola culture was opposed to extreme conventionalization. Unfortunately, wood-carving, in fact art work of every kind, had degenerated to such an extent that only one man with any recognized skill in that respect was still living when this study was made. He was both unreliable and uncooperative, so that it was impossible even to collect examples of his work, still less to record his interpretations of the designs of masks or other objects carved by his predecessors.

211 in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at
556 the front door of the house with an opening at its base through
778 which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be solid
532 and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice is
[184] either one depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ancestral crests by means of paintings on the front wall of his house, or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, if such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief entitled to display a totem-pole may choose to use only paintings. If he exhibits them by preference, they give him the same dignity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cannot validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola poles are only about fifteen to twenty feet in height, and though
[171] it is possible that a few families had prerogatives entitling them to erectors lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is unlikely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand before the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even none at
[761] all. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 461). Otherwise it remains standing until some other occupant of the house wishes to erect another in its place, when the first is pulled down and neglected.

Coppers

556 The Bella Coola use coppers for only two purposes: casting
[769] on the ground upon which the representation of a deceased relative had trodden, or throwing into the fire when the figure has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make bone for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when a copper is employed is so important that to obtain one and increase its value is a vital consideration for every chief.

[177] Most of the coppers now used by the Bella Coola are made
[439]

of metal obtained from the white men, if not actually manufactured for trading purposes. They resemble the familiar shape found in all parts of the British Columbia coast and vary in length from about six inches to as much as three feet. There is considerable difference in thickness, some of the newer ones are thin plates, others are heavy and appear to be old. The early white traders realized the value placed by the Indians on their coppers and these were soon imitated and became important articles of barter. The Bella Coola state that many of the early Hudson's Bay Company's coppers were made of drawn wire, but this type seems to have passed out of existence, since all the specimens seen in Bella Coola consisted of flat metal plaques. 556*

The Bella Coola maintain that there aboriginal here, ever since the beginning of time, used two kinds of coppers. One variety, known as *tsiku*, resembled the plaques produced by white men. This is the term in common usage for all kinds of coppers at the present time. The other variety, *tsiwaxa*, is said to have been thicker and heavier and was made by heating the metal in a fire, beating it into the required shape. Long, long ago, coppers of this kind were sometimes found in the forest by hunters who were thus rewarded for observance of ceremonial chastity, but most were obtained in trade from the northern tribes. One of these is said to be preserved at Kimsquit, but none is said to have been owned by a Bella Coola within the last few years. 556* [325] [434]

The Bella Coola believe that *tsiwaxa* can only be manufactured in one district, far to the north, at the mouth of an unknown river. There, it is said, the chiefs range themselves along the river bank, each armed with a spear, and each with a number of slaves behind him. When the tide is highest, salmon of some peculiar kind appear at the surface of the water. If one comes within reach of a spearman, he lunges at it, but invariably misses; then the chief drops his spear, seizes one of his slaves and kills him by cutting his throat. A small piece of 552* 773

* [331] [illegible] out from the body is fastened to the point of the arrow, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to transform it and bringing it adhere. He warms the fish on a fire and then pounds it on a stone until it becomes a copper.

The Bella Coola has carried this dream river for many generations and the belief concerning the manufacture of *eulachon* appears to have been handed down from the antiquity. Coppers of this kind are said to have been considered much more valuable than the usual *Edlin*, but were always uncommon. In addition to their ordinary uses, they had a certain curative value. If the owner of one was ill, he used to clean it with a rough stone and water; then he would drink four cupfuls of the liquid which contained minute fragments of metal. In almost every case a speedy recovery followed. In all other respects *Edlin* or *eulachon* could be used indiscriminately.

[175] *Edlin* are likewise said to have a supernatural origin. When found in the forest, they are due to the supernatural salmon-like being, *ocuel*, having changed itself into one. None has been found in recent years because the *ocuel* have moved away owing to their dislike of the smell of human footsteps and the odor of smoke.

[196] These stories serve to emphasize the complete ignorance of [325] the Bella Coola concerning the methods of manufacturing coppers. It is possible that long ago they were able to make their own by pounding the native metal, but if so it is surprising that some traditions to this effect were not preserved. On the other hand, there is little reason to doubt their use of [177] coppers, obtained from the northern tribes, antedating the coming of the whites. All informants agreed on this point, and the frequent references to coppers in mythology likewise point to considerable age. In many of the ancestral myths there are accounts of the obtaining of coppers by some of the [551] first people, and many ancestral names, both of men and women, are derived from them.

[237] The Bella Coola attribute the value of coppers to the fact

of their occurrence in most uncanny myths? There seems to be no mythological explanation for the casting of a copper into the fire after the passing of the representation of a deceased relative, but the desire of chiefs to see them as potlatches is the result of their use under similar circumstances by their ancestors. Some ancient myths lack reference to coppers, but their use is common to all, whether or not embodied in such. It is said to be usual for a chief to acquire coppers if they had been used by his ancestors, but this is not essential.

When arranging for the appearance of a dead relative, the dance of a potlatch is careful either to possess a copper, or to be able to borrow one at the right moment. As soon as the masked figure has disappeared, the dance stands up, breaks or bends his copper, and throws it into the fire "to make heat for the deceased." No matter how valuable a copper may have been, it is now worthless; its value has been expended on the purpose for which it has just been employed. It has unbended to the flames, a valueless article belonging to no one.

At some convenient time, either hours or days later, any chief may remove the copper and give it to a poor man, only taking care to choose an individual who has not recently received one. It is said that the gift is "to patch his canoe." It is now the poor man's property, but it has no value, since no goods have been expended for it. The new owner straightens and repairs it, if necessary by sinking on the broken piece, thus making it ready for further use. The poor man may keep the copper for years, or it may be only a few weeks before some chief, preparing for a potlatch, offers, perhaps, $20, for it. In the old days, values were computed in slaves, canoes, salmon, and other commodities, but now in dollars. If two chiefs should happen to want it, the poor man may haggle about the price, though in such a case the two rivals would probably agree amicably rather than lower their dignity by seeming to be interested in a matter of money. It is to the advantage of a

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] dual to any ceremonial liability, since its value of the copper depends on the amount expended on it.

The fire received by the poor man must not be casually given. He is supposed to invite the other villages to his house, otherwise he would never again be given coppers. The invitations will everyone to the house, the singers usual being the first to arrive. They hear not the faintest sign of anyone, to which the crowd dances, the songs are sung in after another, until almost every member of the society has sound. *Sacred* songs may then be sung in the same way. Now the supernatural beings are not present, the fire has no religious significance; it is merely a social affair. At the close of the dancing, the poor man distributes food to all, equivalent in value to the money received. It is probable that our man sometimes gives away slightly less than they have received, although any noticeable lessening this would be punished by the receipt of no further coppers. The recipient of a copper from a fire derives no direct gain from it, though it is to his indirect advantage, since a person who has given away food is likely to receive larger presents on future occasions than one who has not.

Meanwhile the chief owning the copper is unable to use it as his potlatch since the value, dependent on the goods expended for it, is only $10, a sum so small that to use it would be insulting to his dead ancestor. There are several ways of increasing its value:

(1) *By Painting.* Taking advantage of some ceremony when a number of people are present, the owner gives a carpenter $10, for example, with a request that he paint on his copper a representation of the crest used by his, the owner's, first ancestor, when coming to this earth. Henceforth the value of the copper is $20.

(2) *By Naming.* The Bella Coola say that among the Kwakiutl names are given to almost all coppers; in Bella Coola it is a rare practice. Occasionally, a chief creates a name for his copper and validates this by presents to all the

village or some ceremony, exactly as a child's name is conferred. Designations are chosen with respect to the appearance of the copper, or some incident connected with its history. Such a designation is [illegible], "Sagrimud," applied to a copper thrown many times into the fire. If, for instance, $50 be expended for a canoe, the value of a $50 copper is henceforth $80. 435 552 556*

(3) *By Making Gifts.* The owner of a copper can increase its value by calling together the other chiefs of his village, and sometimes of adjacent ones as well. After the customary meal, the owner expounds the history of his possession, giving details of its value. Then he passes it to one of his guests, who, unless he wishes to insult his host, must hold it upright, that is, with the broad end uppermost. The owner gives it in turn to each of his guests. To validate the display, the owner must borrow gifts on all present, and the total value of these is added to the value of the copper. Such gifts are not strictly returnable, although it is customary for chiefs to show their generosity and prowess to their fellows by a later repayment with interest. 435 556* [578] [426]

By these means the original purchaser of a worthless copper can increase its value to such a point that it can be used at a potlatch. There is no established custom about this. Coppers are not as valuable in Bella Coola as, for instance, at Fort Rupert, and it is unlikely that any are ever worth more than $300, and the average value is probably between $150 and $200. Considerable time is required to raise the value of a copper to this sum and the owner in many cases finds that he has all the other requirements before his copper is ready for use. In that case, he tries to buy another which has been raised to sufficient worth by its owner. Everyone knows the values of the different coppers in the community, and the intending purchaser calls his fellow-chiefs to his house and offers to buy one valued, for example, at $150. If the owner consents to sell, he usually endeavours to get as much as possible, perhaps $175. The sum is publicly paid and is henceforth the value of the copper, which is transmitted to the new [171] 435 437 556*

435 owner with a statement of its history and the amount expended
437 on it. The purchase of a copper is, therefore, a good business
& 556 transaction, and it might be assumed that a chief with keen
commercial instincts would endeavour to acquire as many as
[177] possible. This is said to be the case in Fort Rupert, but in
[178] Bella Coola public opinion is averse to the obtaining of coppers
unless for use at potlatches. As every ambitious chief hopes
to give potlatches, he can always claim that the acquisition of
a copper is for this end, and thus the sale of it is from a kindly
desire to assist a fellow-chief who is secure the desired goal
than he himself. Consequently, the sale of coppers is relatively
common, and a chief is not considered to be mercenary unless
he sells too frequently.

426 The intending donor of a potlatch can now proceed to the
& 556 ceremony, secure in the possession of a copper worthy to be
thrown on the fire after the passage of his deceased relative.
In addition, he may own another copper of too small value for
this purpose. As described in the last chapter, he repeatedly
calls together the inhabitants of his own village to sites which
he validates by the distribution of presents, and at which he
also gives away investment presents. He may decide to use
his second copper for this purpose. All investment presents,
[558] which are given only to men of standing in the community,
must be repaid with interest unless the recipient is willing to
decline in popular estimation; but when a gift of this kind
consists of a copper, a return of 100 per cent is expected on the
transaction. Bestowal of a copper in such circumstances is not
spoken of as an investment present, *ksémkwném*, but as
dzaxep', which has the definite significance of something that
must be returned with 100 per cent interest. If the value of
the copper were $25 before this bestowal, it is now $50, since
the new owner must repay this amount to the chief planning
to give the potlatch. The new owner can use the copper in
any way he desires; if he repays a previous indebtedness, he
cancels $50 by giving it; whereas if he bestows it as *dzaxep'*,
announcement is made that its value is $50, and he expects to

[illegible] 426 556*

[illegible] 425 556*

[illegible]

[illegible] 426 556*

[illegible]

[illegible] [432] [435]

immediately before, or during the early stages of a potlatch, in order to receive goods immediately, but with the promise that it shall be returned to him for throwing into the fire. This method has the advantage of providing the chief with goods when required, and doubling the worth of the copper.

Coppers are not always removed from the ashes and given to poor men. If one is still lying in the fire after several days, the donor of the potlatch removes it and forces it to the memorial post over the grave of his deceased relative. It may be left there, or another chief wanting a copper may buy it from the donor and increase its value in the usual manner. Only a small price is paid in such circumstances, since the copper, having served its purpose, is practically valueless.

The Bella Coola state that in ancient times coppers were worth less than at present, and that the change in estimation regarding them is due to Kwakiutl influence. All agree that the value placed upon them at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay is greater than elsewhere on the coast. The Bella Coola believe that the Kwakiutl distribute presents in respect to their coppers and that their values move to enormous sums when the gifts are returned. It is clear that the importance of coppers, like the potlatch and other elements of culture, has increased in recent years through the influence of the coastal tribes.

It is almost impossible to define coppers in the nomenclature of economic theory. They are not mere articles of barter, since they have no practical use outside the ceremonies of chiefs. Nor are they standardized units of trade or currency, since each differs not only from all other coppers, but also at different periods. In a sense they serve as tokens of what has been expended; representations of them may be carved and painted on totem-poles where they serve as marks of the goods which the chief has given away, but this is only a minor consideration. A copper can perhaps best be described as an investment which can be applied only to one purpose, "the making of bone for a deceased" person. It grows more valuable at every transmission in accordance with the goods ex-

[illegible] 556*

[illegible] [436]

[illegible] [434]

[illegible]

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424 as possible, a potlatch in the most suitable occasion. Goods
463 distributed for this purpose are not returnable; they have
"become nothing" in the acquisition. The value of presents so
* 556 bestowed differs enormously; a man who is proud of his pre-
rogative validates it lavishly until he is strong in his vocation,
whereas another establishes himself on a lesser scale. The origin
[773] of professional rights, like so many of other kinds, is lost in
antiquity and ascribed to the wishes of *Alquntăm* as expressed
to the first people. Some of the early settlers come to earth
[551] with definite duties and vocations, each indicated by a special
name; others, lacking these, created them through their own
enormous power. At the death of one of these incumbents,
424 his name passed to one of his relatives who acted in the same
463 manner as his predecessor after duly validating the name in
553 question. Ever since that time, the owner of a confirmed pro-
* 556 fessional name has been able to perform the functions of the
prerogative. This is never a man's sole designation, but merely
[551] an addition to those of ancestral, *kwaiat*, *nuxuk*, and other
types. Like them, professional names are usually willed by
their owners, though if this is neglected, one can be revived by
any member of the deceased's ancestral family. In such a case,
the older people usually decide on a suitable incumbent and
suggest the matter to him; if he does not accept, the oppor-
tunity is given to another. If a member of the group is eager
to validate the name, it is unlikely that anyone would try to
[789] forestall him. Ability in certain respects can also be obtained
by magical means (I, p. 701), and a member of the ancestral
family so endowed is the natural choice for the prerogative in
question.

Prerogatives of this kind can be grouped according to the types of vocation included.

THE PROFESSION OF RIVER GUARDIAN

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In the beginning of time, *Alquntăm* is said to have sent down with *Qsil*, who landed on the mountain behind *Qomqo·ti*,

Lakehewanik E-1 [illegible]
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a man, or woman, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this function. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the validation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name or nemaia has always been able to perform his duties. 424 463 551 693 [793]

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been enforced concerning the river: No refuse may be thrown in, otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them from seeing the nets. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to drive stakes for olachen nets. 784 825 226 [515] 841 [562]

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are considered to be offences. [502] [765]

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the salmon and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringements, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river. The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by 688 693

688 his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the
693 upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse
[177] into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without hesitation.

THE PROFESSION OF UTTERING A DROWING CRY

424 At the appearance of masked figures representing super-
551 natural beings, whether in *nuxuk* or *kuxiut* dances, many of the
[575] women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry
[463] which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness
[431] of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral
[773] prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents. Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women were given by *Alpuatém*, or acquired in other ways, the right to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously described, many of the first women possessed this privilege, which is accordingly common at the present time. A name
[553] of this type is usually conferred in girlhood, sometimes even in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One of these names is *Nuxuqmelelaiqua-a*, which has reference to
[773] the blue-green sheen of some abalone-shell brought from the east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many
[178] years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

424 There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incum-
767 bent to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of
463 time, *Smawa* of Kimsquit married *Tlitwaitl*, the daughter of
793 a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kimsquit.

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quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type. 424 769 463

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly validated before she can function. One of these is *Sitowuswaé-nimin-a*, another is *ła'ya*. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditical. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to ripen the berries. 222 424 463 551 552 532 789

"Get ready to pick red elderberries [or whatever species is ripe] tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. As far as could be learnt, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker; obedience seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared. 688 183

THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring validation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors confirmed as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal on them of professional names. At the present time, it is 701 424 463 431 551

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701 difficult to estimate the former influence of such warriors. The belief of all in their ability must have given them some prestige, although the requirements of practical qualifications in fighting must often have prevented them from functioning as military leaders. In other words, a man may be, socially, a warrior, even though he lacks ability as a fighting man.

701 The functions of warriors are not limited to fighting with
693 enemies of other tribes. Each has the power to kill and must exercise it when requested. If a mistake is made in a cere-
[688] monial *kwisi* dance, the offender must be killed, and one way
[579] in which this is accomplished is by the senior members of the society requesting a professional warrior to act as executioner.
428 One of these men, who lived at *Ksio-de-i*, always used a stone
411 club which had been handed down from generation to generation, becoming the property of each new incumbent of the
[754] name and prerogative. In other cases, the killing is said to have been done with the aid of magic. The power of the *Ksio-de-i* warrior had been confirmed with so much goods that he was the most powerful professional killer known to the Bella Coola. He acted on instructions from the senior members of the *kwisi* society or when called upon by anyone. If,
[684] for example, a man found that his wife had been faithless and wished to kill her lover, it was only necessary to tell the professional warrior, who was bound to act in accordance with his prerogative. He received no pay, since he was merely
[682] exercising his right. The relatives of the murdered person never took revenge on the slayer, realizing that he was powerless in the matter, though they frequently requested him to slay the person who had asked him to kill the first victim. He could never refuse to do so, even if the victim were his own brother, or if he knew that the person he was to kill was guiltless. The underlying principle was that this man's power had
[961] been increased to such a pitch by the distribution of presents that if he failed to exercise it on demand, it would react upon himself and cause his own death. This *Ksio-de-i* warrior began in time to have an aversion for his vocation, since he

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was being feared and hated by all. Yet his prerogative was so strong that he could not cease to act. He found by chance a cave near the top of precipitous Mount *Nacimacta*, not far from his village, and told everyone that he would die there, where no one would ever be able to spit or tread upon his grave. One autumn, when an old man, he disappeared, and although search parties scoured the woods for him, they were unsuccessful. Next spring, some young men visited the cave in which they found his badly decomposed corpse; the warrior had kept his promise.

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The profession of warrior carries with it prohibitions and requirements other than with regard to killing. Such men are thought always to be so wild and restless that they cannot sleep at night, but prowl around the village watching for possible foes. In actual fact, warriors seldom sleep quietly throughout the night. They have one restriction of a social nature, in that they can never be confined in the back-room as initiates into the *nusaé* society. Consequently, no *tatsiwaw* ever comes to one of them. When one gives a potlatch, a rather beautiful song is sung for him as he remains in the central part of the house. What affiliation this brings him with the *nusaé* society is obscure.

701 [575]

It is difficult to say to what extent a professional warrior believes in his own powers, since there is, and must always have been, great individual variation. The white man finds it difficult to understand the psychology of a man who considers himself bound to kill on request, simply because presents have been distributed to make him a warrior. It must be remembered that this is one of the most pervasive features of Bella Coola life; functions of all kinds depend upon validated prerogatives, and there is no doubt that a man who has one of this kind is actually influenced to such an extent that he begins to believe in his own prowess. It was unusual for a warrior to exercise his powers as freely as did the *Xoxo'ts'i* man, but the Bella Coola have no difficulty in explaining this:—his prerogative had been confirmed with more lavish expenditure

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than that of anyone else. The Bella Coola do not rationalize in a scientific manner; if a man holds a belief firmly, he acts on it without questioning its logic. Moreover, if a professional warrior functions a number of times, this in itself is enough to strengthen his conviction that he must act henceforth in the same way. It can be said with confidence that the owner of a professional prerogative has considerable belief in his own powers, that this acts on himself to render him proficient, and that the majority of the community have respect for his capabilities.

THE PROFESSION OF SINGER

Singing is one of the professions open to a Bella Coola either through natural ability or an ancestral prerogative. There is a constant need for men able to sing and compose songs for every kind of ceremonial, so a young man of talent has little difficulty in gaining admittance to the choir. He may even win great distinction and become recognized as the leading authority on musical matters. None the less, his success is considered to be accidental and unsubstantial, lacking the foundation that comes from the possession of a duly validated professional prerogative. A person made a singer by the latter means may be entirely unable to compose; in this case he is not a member of the choir, although he enjoys the social distinction which he has won by distributing goods to confirm his professional name. The singer most respected is he who combines with natural ability a confirmed prerogative to give substance and power to his position and compositions. At the death of such an one, an effort is always made by the members of his ancestral family to transmit the name to a youth who has shown musical promise. Arguments and differences of opinion are common among the members of the choir and in such cases the self-assurance and influence of a man whose position has been made strong by the distribution of presents often outweighs that of one who can rely only on his actual ability.

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THE PROFESSION OF CARPENTER

As with singers, there are many carpenters who ply their trade without the advantage of an ancestral prerogative. They, also, may be expert and receive credit for their skill, but they can never achieve quite the distinction that comes to a man who has been made a carpenter by the distribution of presents. The latter may be so clumsy with tools that no one would ever trust him to make a canoe, or even a mask; but he is, socially, a carpenter, whereas a skilled artisan lacking a prerogative is admired for his ability but has no foundation of social esteem. In transmitting a professional carpenter's name, however, an effort is always made to give it to a youth with a bent in that direction.

The most esteemed carpenters are those who can make canoes, a trade which requires no special prerogative. In the beginning of time, *Yulātimut* was the canoe-maker *par excellence;* he assisted many of the first people, and no one can have a professional prerogative as carpenter unless this supernatural being appears in his ancestral myth. The Bella Coola ascribe the skill of the Bella Bella in carpentry to the fact that *Yulātimut* married a Bella Bella woman in the early period of the world and that many of that tribe are his descendants. In the old days, before the coming of the white men, carpenters were always respected as esteemed members of the community. Chiefs always cared for them, and they received abundant food at every ceremonial. None the less, they were not wealthy, and only in recent years, since the Bella Coola have realized the value put upon good craftsmanship by the white men, has it become customary to give valuable presents to carpenters. Ceremonially, they have considerable influence, since the carpenter who makes a mask usually decides who shall wear it and takes charge of the fitting and adjustment. He is also held responsible for any accident such as its falling when in use or for mechanical defects.

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224 THE PROFESSION OF HUNTER

424 Another profession which is entered by means of an ancestral prerogative is that of hunting. Many Bella Coola have [463] validated their right to this vocation, some by confirming names created by their early ancestors, others by legalizing those brought down from above in the beginning of time. [551] One of the latter is *Lelaimkila*, "The Brusher Off," so-called because the owner is such a successful hunter that he can sweep mountain goats from the mountains as easily as an ordinary person can brush insects from a wall. Unlike the professions of carpenter and singer, it is believed that legalization of a hunter's name always brings success to the holder; perhaps because everyone is more or less successful, it follows [555] that whatever good fortune is achieved by a professional hunter [556] can be attributed to the validation of his prerogative. Others, lacking this assistance, may be proficient, but their success never carries with it the social prestige gained by a man who has distributed goods to substantiate the prerogative.

224 There is a difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as 424 to whether or not certain hunting methods are inheritable pre- 184 rogatives. With the introduction of rifles, these have long [177] been discontinued, and no definite information was obtained regarding the social position of their users. Several of the older men believed that the contrivances depended upon ancestral prerogatives, whereas others stated that they were merely individual discoveries which could have been, and in many cases were, imitated by anyone. It seems probable that most of the following practices are prerogatives, although it may be that they are no more than special hunting devices suitable only in certain areas and, therefore, limited to the members of the ancestral family owning that particular locality.

223 The method about which the most definite information was 424 obtained, was one formerly employed by a certain *Nuxpalxiq* to catch geese at *Tál·ia*. According to one elderly Bella Coola,

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this practice had been handed down with the name from the 223
beginning of time; another man stated that it was no pre- [424]
rogative and could be used by anyone. The best time for
hunting was at the equinoxes, and *Nuxpalqiq* always observed [785]
ceremonial chastity in such a way that it terminated at that
date. Before setting out, the hunter prepared a net of the shape shown in the accompanying sketch (Fig. 1). The net was stretched over a wooden framework, about ten feet long and four feet wide; counterbalanced by a long and heavy handle. The whole affair was called, "The House-like Thing." Choosing a still night, the hunter used to set out in his canoe paddled by a number of assistants. *Nuxpalqiq* would place himself in the bow with his net, and in the middle of the craft a small fire was kept burning with [372]
resinous sticks piled beside it so that it could be kindled into bright flames at a moment's notice. As the canoe was slowly paddled along the shore, the geese were half attracted, half repelled by the light. Unwilling to take to flight, they used to swim around at the edge of the illumination and so were guided into some narrow opening of the shore. Then *Nuxpalqiq* would throw his net so that the end farthest from the handle first touched the water and as the latter came crashing down it imprisoned a number of birds. Others, bewildered by the light and the falling net, tried to fly outwards and were knocked down by the paddlers. These were retrieved at once and the necks of those caught in the net were wrung at leisure. It is said that this method of hunting was almost always successful.

FIG. 1
Goose Net

Another *Tâl-ie* hunting device which, however, was not 225
transmitted and may have been merely an individual stroke [424]
of genius, not an inherited prerogative, was employed to kill
seals. The last to use this method was the father's father of
an elderly Bella Coola. This man used to go out at night in a

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225 small ocean-going canoe, with an assistant who passed his paddle through the water in such a way that a slight phosphorescent streak resulted. This resembled the course of a salmon. In a short time a seal would rise in pursuit of the "fish," and the watchful hunter would harpoon it. The seal would rush off with the head of the weapon, which was attached by a long line to the shaft remaining in the hunter's hand He would play it like a huge fish, until the exhausted animal was drawn to the side of the canoe and clubbed. Several seals were often obtained by this means in the course of a single night.

224 424 The two usual methods of killing mountain goats are by cornering them with dogs and then choking them to death, or by shooting with rifle or bow. There was formerly a special method of snaring which had been handed down as a prerogative from the time of the first people. The hunter used to set his snares on a precipitous path commonly used by goats and had remarkable success. Others might know how to make snares and where the hunter set them, but no one would ever attempt this method of hunting without the proper prerogative. Another right, enjoyed by another hunter, was the catching of bears in a similar way in nooses.

424 556 182 Little need be said in conclusion about these particular privileges, except to emphasize that they are merely an aspect of the principle of validated prerogatives which permeates every phase of Bella Coola life. It is as natural for a man to be made a singer or a hunter by the distribution of presents as it is for him to acquire a dance by the same means. Each is contained in an ancestral myth, and the validation of the prerogative enables the incumbent either to function actively, or at least to enjoy the social prestige attached to the craftsman who has been duly confirmed in his vocation. The necessity of bestowing gifts to validate a prerogative introduces an economic element to the concept, but this is lessened by the fact that a poor man can acquire a name by a relatively small

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expenditure though he must forgo the prestige enjoyed by a 424
man who has been able to elevate his professional names in a 556
lavish manner. Selection is a constant factor in the social life 182
of a Bella Coola; the man who uses all his wealth to acquire a
firm seat cannot be "strong" in *nuxalk* matters; the man who
desires to specialize in *hamat* affairs cannot afford to display
an elaborate totem-pole. Amid these conflicting desires, it
often happens that a man somewhat neglects his professional
prerogatives, especially those of which the dignity has been
slightly lessened through superior skill shown by individuals [555]
endowed with no more than native ability. Upstarts of this
kind have always infringed upon professional dignity, and the [177]
coming of the white man has added a new factor which has
almost destroyed vocational prerogatives.

A'alk Dances

The most important, as well as the most spectacular, dances 177
that occur at potlatches are those given by members of the 535
nuxalk society. In addition to these, a feature of many pot- 575
latches is the performance of *a'alk* dances.[1] As already mentioned, from 1870 onwards there have been many changes
in *nuxalk* ritual; new elements have been acquired by the mar- [184]
riages of Bella Coola to members of the coastal tribes, with the
result that details of procedure vary at every ceremony ac- [796]
cording to the prerogatives of the dancer. Since 1910, the
influence of white civilization has increased to such an extent
that *nuxalk* ceremonials have virtually been abandoned.
This took place at a time when the ritual was in transition,
a state of affairs which rendered difficult the collection of
coherent information. *A'alk* dances are associated with
nuxalk, but the addition of new features to the latter was
accompanied by a decay of the former. Both societies have
now almost ceased to exist, but whereas the *nuxalk* organization
was abandoned during a period of change and accretion, that [128]

[1] Called *o'alpem* in Kimsquit.

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177 of the *a'alk* came to an end when it was already waning in
535 importance. It was impossible to obtain as much detailed
575 information about the latter as was desired, and it is even
128 possible that some of the facts recorded in connection with *sisaok* ceremonial really belong to *a'alk* rites.

The right to perform an *a'alk* dance depends upon a duly
424 validated ancestral prerogative of which the obvious mark is
535 an *a'alk* name. Some of the first people brought down such designations and dances with them from above in the beginning
575 of time, a few were acquired on this earth as gifts from super-
[773] natural beings. Those who have rights of this kind form a loose organization which may be termed the *a'alk* society. This is closely associated both with the *sisaok* society and with chiefs, owing to the occurrence of these three types of names in the same ancestral myths. One member of an ancestral
[556] family may use his goods to validate his ancestral name, another to make himself a *sisaok*, a third to become an *a'alk*, and an important chief, endowed with ability and wealth, may be able to do all three.

A'alk dances are less spectacular than those of either the *sisaok* or *kusiut* societies, nor are rattles or whistles used. The prerogatives of a member are limited to his name, the right to perform a certain dance, and the use of a song which commonly describes some feature of his ancestral myth. Four types of dances are considered to be *a'alk*; the methods of acquiring and using any one of these are similar, so it is unnecessary to describe the differences before the actual account of the performance of each.

556 If there is a dormant *a'alk* prerogative in the ancestral
575 family of the donor of a potlatch, he usually chooses to validate this as one of the features of his ceremony. He first consults his wife and other relatives to ensure that sufficient goods will be forthcoming, and if this matter can be arranged satisfactorily, he chooses some young relative as the recipient of the dormant right. It would be most unusual for the youth selected to decline the honour. Or some man, other than the

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holder of the potlatch, may wish to confirm a prerogative and requests the donor to allow this to take place at his ceremony. Permission is never refused, since the more incidental rites, the greater is the prestige of the whole. The young man on whom the name is to be confirmed is always told what is planned for him, and his relatives instruct him what to do. 556 575

As the time for the potlatch draws near, the donor requests the singers to prepare an *a'alk* song for the youth. The theme always deals with some incident of his ancestral story with which the singers are already familiar. If a number of youths are to be made *a'alk*, a song must be composed for each. The carpenters are also requested to make for the initiate one, or sometimes two, masks representing a supernatural being, either human or animal, connected with the myth in which occurs the *a'alk* name about to be conferred. The design is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family concerned; it is usually, though not necessarily, the same as that employed by the last incumbent of the name. If the designation about to be confirmed is one which came down from above in the beginning of time, the mask usually represents the guise adopted by the first user of the name; if the prerogative were obtained on earth, it portrays the being from whom the right was received. These arrangements are made in secret, and are known only to the craftsmen, the donor of the potlatch, and his family. [533] 532 556 575

On the night of *xläxtnim*, when the work for the potlatch is allotted, the youth who is to be made an *a'alk* is confined within the back-room of the house, presumably in company with the *sisaok* initiates, though there is ambiguity on this point. After the general arrangements have been made, an elderly *a'alk* whose aid has been requested, suddenly rushes from the house as if he had heard some noise. One of the *siki*, or an influential chief, makes some allegedly witty remark as to why he has gone out, and then follows, taking with him the dance head-dress belonging to the *a'alk*. This is identical with the type worn by *sisaok*, one of the many points of resemblance 556 575 [184] [535]

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556 between the two societies. Presently the elderly *a'alk* returns,
575 clad in his ceremonial costume consisting of the head-gear, a blanket, and a narrow apron from which hang deer hooves,
[184] small pieces of copper, or other jingling articles. The singers
[292] strike up his song, and he dances near the fire in a manner
[535] depending upon which of the four dances he has the right to perform. Again the *siki* leaves the house; when he returns he announces that a *tutwinam* is coming with a song for the youth, naming the one who is to be made an *a'alk*. A moment passes, and in stalks a masked figure depicting the form taken by the first ancestor of the novice, or the being from which one of his later forefathers received an *a'alk* prerogative. Sometimes two of these beings appear. The apparition circles the fire, stops beside the singers, and chants a song to them in a low voice. Then it enters the back-room and is seen no more. Presently the singers strike up the song they have just heard. To those who are neither *a'alk* nor *tsaok* it seems that the song was brought by the supernatural visitor; in reality, it is the one previously composed by the singers and taught by them to the wearer of the mask to lend realism to the performance. The youth concealed within the back-room does not emerge on this occasion, the song is merely sung in practice. Sometimes the masked figure appears during the daytime and walks openly along the shore of the river like a foreign guest, as indeed it is said to be.

The coming of a *tutwinam* is one of the points of resem-
[184] blance between *a'alk* and *tsaok* rites. The older people agree
[178] that this has long been a feature of the former society, adopted by the latter in recent years. The description given in this section appears to be of the original and proper use, although, as already noted, the *tsaok* have recently employed *tutwinam* for somewhat different purposes.

It is uncertain whether or not the *a'alk* novice remains secluded any longer within the back-room. In ancient times he probably did, but with the recent growth of the *tsaok*

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556 society and decline of the *a'alk*, concealment has become lim- 575
ited to initiates of the former organization.

No more *a'alk* dances take place during the potlatch pre- [178]
liminaries, but with the coming of the first group of foreign 556
guests, the host displays as many types of dance as he is en- 575
titled to, including *a'alk* if he has the necessary prerogative. 535
On this occasion other *a'alk*, especially relatives of the donor, give their dances, the only time that such are used at potlatches except by novices receiving names. This is repeated on the arrival of every party of guests.

Meanwhile the novice, or novices, has been practising the proper steps for his appearance, which always occurs immediately before the entry of the masked figure representing the donor's dead relative. As already mentioned, there are four kinds of *a'alk* dances, known as *nuiqual*,[1] *llaiyáłam*, *qi'aqa*, and *am'lel a*. A similar song is used for a dancer of any one [533]
of these four; the text describes some small incident of the ancestral myth in which the name occurs, such as the bringing down of the prerogative by the first incumbent in the beginning of time. At the proper moment, the singers beat this out and the audience joins them in singing it. Then the singers begin to strike rapidly on the floor with double beats, assisted [533]
by the guests who clap their hands in rapid couplets. Out comes the dancer, resplendent in his head-dress decorated with weasel skins, and women with the required prerogative begin to drone. If his prerogative is as a *llaiyáłam* or *qi'aqa*, he proceeds to a place beside the fire and begins to run around it, sunwise, in short mincing steps, revolving at the same time on himself. He clasps his hands behind his back and bends down, then stands upright with palms extended upwards, never ceasing to move his feet in rapid steps. This type of dance is far more violent than a *susaał* one, and the amount of energy expended by a dancer in his rapid circuits of the fire is tremendous. Never, even for a moment, are his feet quiet, while his body twists and bends in an amazing fashion. After two

[1] Among the supernatural beings, the *nuiqual* is a yearling mountain goat. [776]

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556 or three rounds he retires utterly exhausted. The time beaten
575 out for a *nuxqual* or *am'lel-a* dancer is the same. He too comes
535 near the fire and at first dances in the same manner until the
[533] singers in unison bellow out, *H'ai* , "More." With a run that ends in a crashing leap that seems to shake the floor, the performer takes his position between the fire and one of the side walls and begins to revolve furiously upon himself. His body is bent forward until it seems as if all that prevents him from falling to the floor is his hands clutched together as far as possible behind his back; while his feet move so rapidly that the short mincing steps run into each other. Gradually the beating becomes less violent, only to be followed by another cry of *H'ai* , and another rush and jump that lands the dancer behind the fire. Here he revolves once more in the same furious fashion; the same is repeated on the side of the fire opposite to the place where he first performed, and finally between the fire and the door. *Nuxqual* and *am'lel-a* are the most strenuous of all Bella Coola dances and the performer is glad to retire. He afterwards joins the audience. This dance entails no taboo or restrictions on the dancer.

This terminates the performance of this type of dance at a potlatch, but among the goods distributed are some to validate the name acquired by the dancer, and others to legalize his actual display.

574 The occasion on which importance and solemnity are
575 attached to *a'alk* dances is during potlatches, but they are
535 also given at other times. Most Bella Coola performances are so steeped in the presence of the supernatural that the element of enjoyment is secondary, but in the spring, after the
[196] end of the *kuxiut* season and before the salmon come to the rivers, dances for pleasure are of common occurrence. A *xuxuk* can call his fellows to his house and the singers beat out *xuxuk* songs to which the owners dance, but the most common hosts are *a'alk*. Of course an individual may be a member of both societies, but the heralds invite the guests in his *a'alk* name. Those summoned include both members of the society

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and those who are not. Any *a'alk*, provided that he has enough food for a meal, can call in his neighbours, but the one who usually does so is a man who has received his name a year or two before the occasion. 574 575 535

A few days before the time selected, the host asks the singers to compose a new song for him. For a *nusqwal* dancer particularly, and in some cases for any one of the other three divisions of the society, the text does not deal with incidents connected with the host's ancestral story, but with humorous or disgraceful incidents of the present time. If a man has caught ten salmon and kept them all for himself, his miserliness is commented upon in the song; if a wife has deserted her husband for another man, the actions of the two are mercilessly ridiculed; if a chief has failed to display generosity it is likewise recorded, and reference is made to errors in dance ritual. To do this is one of the functions of a *nusqwal*, and the singers are always ready to assist him. At the same time they often add a new incident to the tune belonging to some other *a'alk* dancer so that he too will be able to perform. In this way the airs are remembered from year to year, which is different from the customary Bella Coola usage. 575 574 535 533 [626]

On the morning of the day chosen, the host asks one of the singers to beat a drum repeatedly but slowly, as a signal that a non-ceremonial dance is about to take place. About noon, heralds go from house to house announcing who is to give the dance. In the late afternoon the people gather in the donor's house where men, women, and children seat themselves without distinction of rank, the only reserved place being that for the singers behind the fire. They beat out the host's tune and he dances to it, while the singers themselves sing the words to the amusement of the audience. Using their own discretion, they then beat out the tune of another *a'alk* and he also dances, followed in succession by a third, a fourth, and as many as the singers think fit. Sometimes the songs of *ssaok* are used in a similar manner. When many have danced, the host distributes food to all his guests, not forgetting to give the largest [202] [203]

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575 574 535 [533] [525] [526] [178]

presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds. These conclude the chief features of the *a'alk* dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *ɪsaok*, they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

A'alk ORIGIN MYTHS

551 575 773

Theoretically, every Bella Coola *a'alk* should be able to record the myth in which his name is embodied, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both ancestral and *a'alk* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *a'alk* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *a'alk* can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kimsquit *nusqual* for his name *Sinxälotla* which came to earth with *Smaoan* (I, p. 332) in the beginning of time. Another Kimsquit *a'alk*, *Tlaiyäkam*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sinuqstl* (I, p. 326), who assumed the designation of *Tlaiyäkam* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *Wi'tälao*.

539

The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once,[1] long, long ago, *Äqunäm* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *Sunaw-a*, and a mortal; so he

[115] [177]

[1]Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

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sent the young woman down to *Stwix*. She brought with her a small ring and told the people that her father had commanded her to marry the first mortal who succeeded in casting a stone through it. *Sunaw·a* was so lovely that all the young chiefs hastened to try their skill, but not one of them could succeed. At that time there was living at *Stwix* a poor orphan *Bo'ostem*, who had been brought up by his grandmother. Like all other young men, he admired the beautiful maiden and determined to try his skill. *Bo'ostem* asked his grandmother to wash and paint him preparatory to entering the contest. She was most unwilling, thinking that where chiefs had failed, there would be no hope for her grandson, but at length a friend persuaded her to give the lad a chance, and she painted his face as he had requested.

Bo'ostem took two pebbles of suitable size from the river and smeared them with colour. He told the first stone to go through the air and graze the ring, and the second to pass through it. The haughty young chiefs who had failed were amused at the idea of *Bo'ostem* even entering the competition, and asked him how such a lowly individual as he could aspire to the beautiful *Sunaw·a*. Paying no heed to his mockers, *Bo'ostem* again whispered his instructions to the first stone and threw it. Obedient to his instructions, the pebble grazed the ring, and once more the chorus of jeers burst out:

"Ha! Ha! What else did you expect, *Bo'ostem*!"

Nothing daunted, *Bo'ostem* told the second stone to pass through the ring. It did so, to the amazement and chagrin of the young chiefs.

Bo'ostem and *Sunaw·a* were married in due course. With his wife's help, the poor orphan became prosperous and built a fine house for himself. After a few months his wife became pregnant, and with phenomenal rapidity gave birth to a male child. The infant grew faster than a mortal, and in a few months had become a sturdy little boy. One day he asked his father to make him a bow and arrows, which *Bo'ostem* did. He gave his son a large number of arrows, but the latter said that he would want many more. As his father watched, the boy shot one arrow after another into the air, but not one fell back to earth. The lad asked for more arrows, which *Bo'ostem* gave him after some hesitation, and these too disappeared into the sky. At length the father saw above him what appeared to be a thin rod stretching down from above; it came lower and lower until he could see that it was formed by the arrows, each one lodging in the butt of its predecessor. In response to his son's requests, *Bo'ostem* made more and more arrows until the rod reached the earth.

The boy told his father that the topmost arrow was embedded in the floor of *Sway*" and that he proposed to use the chain of shafts as a ladder

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539 to climb up to visit his grandfather. *Be'estem* did not discourage him, so his son began the ascent and soon disappeared from sight. In course of time he reached the land above and made his way to his grandfather, *Ałqunstm*, who was delighted to see him. He told his visitor that he was weary of constantly carrying the sun's light, and asked him to relieve [821] him of the duty for a time. He mentioned that on previous occasions when his wife had acted as his substitute, she, being a woman, had been shy and had hidden herself behind clouds. The boy was willing to undertake the task and listened to his grandfather's instructions; in the morning he was to use only one fire stick, a little later, two, then three, and, finally, four at midday. In the afternoon he was to decrease the number in a manner corresponding to the morning's increase."

Next day *Ałqunstm* went away for a holiday after entrusting his grandson with the precious fire sticks. As soon as he was alone, the malicious youth began to pile one after another on the fire, until people in the world far below were wakened at dawn by the suffocating warmth. *Be'estem*'s son threw on log after log, each increasing the heat below. The earth began to sizzle, and finally burst into flames, and the water boiled in the rivers and ocean. *Sneowa* had realized what must be the matter as soon as she felt the great heat, so she went outside and rubbed her hand over the planks on her house. Thus protected, those within survived, although all other human beings perished. Most of the animals [825] escaped by hiding, though the weasel failed to conceal the tip of its tail which was burnt black, a characteristic inherited by all weasels ever since. *Ałqunstm* felt the heat and hurried home.

"You have done great harm to mortals," he burst out angrily. "Henceforth you shall live on earth as a mink."

[825] *Ałqunstm* seized his grandson and cast him to earth in this guise.

The survivors of the catastrophe multiplied until the whole world 539 was repopulated from the single household. Each of them took an *a'alt* 551 name from the burning, and these have been transmitted from one to 575 another of the descendants of each until this day. One of these, a *sxaqwal* name, is *Stałpahram*, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks"; another, a *Sła'ałtłum*, *uwałwałtała*, "The Track of the Sun"; a third, *Słaml*, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log."

539 The following Kimsquit story[a] describes the obtaining of 575 an *a'alt* prerogative in the distant past.

[a] For another version of this tale, see Boas, p. 95.
[b] Related by Jim Pollard.

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Long ago, there lived in Kimsquit a young chief who was a great hunter. On one occasion, he was camping in a cave, *Anoko̓wi̓ili*, on the mountains when not only its roof, but the dome of the sky as well, opened so that he was able to gaze into the upper regions of space. From this manifestation of the supernatural, he took for himself the name *Ätkwi*, "The Opening of the Upper Regions," and validated it by giving valuable presents. This name has been transmitted from generation to generation and was recently brought to the present owner by his wife. With it is the prerogative of distributing potlatch gifts outside the house since the first *Ätkwi* claimed that the sky itself was his only ceiling.

A few years after *Ätkwi* had had this experience, he and his three brothers left Kimsquit by canoe to hunt mountain goats at *Sawalk*. To their surprise, a gull perched on the bow of their canoe; they did not scare it away, thinking it indicated a manifestation of the supernatural. At intervals it left its perch and circled around the canoe, but soon returned. As they neared the landing-place, the gull flew ashore and changed into a yearling mountain goat. *Ätkwi* told his brothers, of whom the second was named *Äkwa* and the third *O'mäni*, that he believed this to be a further visitation of the supernatural to himself and that he would investigate it, and later meet them at *Anoko̓wi̓ili*.

Ätkwi leapt ashore and followed the yearling goat. Wherever the road was rough, his strange guide travelled slowly so that his human companion could follow him. At length they came to a deep chasm with sheer walls about six feet apart, and a ledge running along one side. *Ätkwi* followed the goat along this, until the animal leapt across the gorge, struck the face of the precipitous rock, and vanished. It was clear that he had passed into the interior of the mountain and the chief could hear the distant sound of a drum.

"I can die but once," he said to himself.

Then the brave hunter leapt across the chasm, struck the rock, and passed through it as if it had been tissue paper, to find himself in a vast cavern amid a large number of people. These were really animals who had gathered to await the coming of his guide, the yearling goat. The latter told him not to be afraid, that henceforth he would be under the protection of all animals and would not come to harm, no matter how often he hunted. With breathless interest, *Ätkwi* watched the performance of a *nuqwal* dance, for every yearling goat is a supernatural dancer of this type. The ceremony lasted throughout the night, and next morning he set out for *Anoko̓wi̓ili*, not realizing that it was really a year since he had left his brothers.

Meanwhile, though the three brothers had almost despaired of their elder's safe return, they patiently remained at their post, and after a year were overjoyed to see smoke rising from *Anoko̓wi̓ili*. They hurried

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539 to the cave and greeted their long-lost brother affectionately. Though
575 he, too, was delighted at the reunion, he said but little, and for two days told them nothing of his experiences. They remained in camp and on the third night *Ätkwi* told his brothers that he had obtained supernatural hunting powers. The following morning the four went out and killed so many mountain goats that the cave was filled with their carcasses. Their good fortune was amazing. *Ätkwi* sent one of his brothers to invite to the cave not only the people of Kimsquit but of the whole countryside as well. While he was absent on this errand, the remaining three prepared and smoked the meat, taking care to preserve the leg bones.

Within two weeks the guests began to assemble. *Anaklwätlä* was a good place for a ceremony because *Ätkwi* had decorated it with paintings after its roof had opened to show him the upper regions of space.[11] When all the people had arrived, the host gave a mountain goat leg-bone to each, asking every recipient to beat time with it. Then *Ätkwi* danced
[535] a *nuxqual* dance, imitating the one he had seen done by the goat. After performing, he unfolded the story of his adventures and finished by giving away valuable presents of smoked meat and goat grease. Thus was initiated this particular *nuxqual* dance.

In later years, *Ätkwi* had such phenomenal success in hunting that
[551] by distributing the spoil he was able to create and confirm for his youngest brother the name, *Nuxlalwaltmi*, "The One Who is Always Successful." This has since been transmitted from one generation to another. *Ätkwi*,
[103] too, is responsible for the name of Mount *Tcupinätl*, "Leg-Bones." On one occasion he killed a large number of mountain goats on the mountain and left their leg-bones, *tcupinätl*, piled together near the spot. He instructed everyone to refer to the mountain by that name, which has since been done.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY

575 A few words should be said about the reputed early history
578 of the *a'alk* society. Its members seem always to have been on the best of terms with the *sisaak*, and there is no mention of feuds between these two organizations. On the other hand, there is said to have been constant friction with members of the *kusiut* society.[12] The latter comprises a large number of individuals bound together by the possession of supernatural

[532] [11]These paintings are said to be still in existence, and the sister of one informant claimed to have seen them.

[12]This point is elaborated in vol. II, chap. x.

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patrons and claiming to possess supernatural powers. In contrast to the *a'alk*, the *kuxiut* are well organized and regulated; its members are proud of their powers, and scornful of those who lack the same. Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to understand jealousy between the two. Until relatively recent times, the *a'alk* were numerically stronger, and included some chiefs, whereas the strength of the *kuxiut* society depended on the supernatural strength claimed by its members. It is true that individuals occasionally belonged to both, if they happened to possess prerogatives of both kinds, but, as a rule, the *a'alk* were young men and the *kuxiut* were older people. This rivalry was formerly so intense that all who were not members of the latter society were often termed *a'alk* irrespective of whether or not they actually possessed dances of that type; Carrier Indians alone were not so designated. During the summer, members of the two societies dwelt amicably together, but during the winter, when dances took place, there were continual bickerings. The *kuxiut* constantly endeavoured to impress their rivals with their own prowess; while the *a'alk*, not convinced of the others' power, used to mock them in their songs. This was the usual practice in case of some error in *kuxiut* ritual. The *a'alk* frequently disobeyed the orders of the *kuxiut* and a number of them once tried to pry up a huge boulder beneath which was the "power" of a certain *kuxiut* (II, p. 8). In recent years the *kuxiut* society has entirely gained the supremacy, but it is agreed by all Bella Coola that in former years this was by no means the case, and that *a'alk* did not hesitate even to kill one of their rivals.

Miscellaneous Ceremonies

The rites described in this chapter and the one preceding comprise the potlatch of the Bella Coola so far as its details could be learnt. Until the increase of wealth in recent years, the potlatch was rare, and it is unlikely that in any village more than one month in the year was consumed in the

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556 performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical
[182] concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch,
are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of
the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly
[577] displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue
must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a
576 major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a
574 meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do otherwise would be considered rude. The person summoned must
take at least a trifle to show that he is not churlish and too
proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shares
[177] whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of
[273] the family should be the first to taste any wine* as proof that
it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better
[342] than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse
[414] through the construction of individual family houses with doors
and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suit-
476 able place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his
[224] catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon,
the first solicitor is given one, later comers, none at all. When
a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to raise it
and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may
remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a
[685] despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy;
[624] hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried
[224] to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats
or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a
feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

556 Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who
431 has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are
advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The
system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it
was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In
the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little
as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

*This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of house-keys.

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he can. Several of the older people mentioned that early white traders would have received more for their goods by giving them away than by selling. 556 431

Even at the present time the Bella Coola sometimes carry out a practice which was once common. Particularly in the early autumn or in spring, a chief who has large supplies of food may decide to show his wealth to the members of a neighbouring tribe such as the Bella Bella. Alone, or with a few friends, he goes to a foreign village where he is sure to find accommodation in the home of some friend, relative, or important chief. In the evening he invites the inhabitants of his host's village to the house in which he is staying, and uses the food he has brought with him to provide them with an elaborate meal. His guests now feel it incumbent on them to repay this generosity, and one of them asks the singers to beat out one of his songs, the Bella Bella equivalent to *nuaat*, *a'alk*, or even *kuxiat*. The owner dances to it and then gives presents to the stranger to validate the performance he has just witnessed. This is repeated by everyone to whom he has given food, and although each present may be small, their total is greater than the original outlay. Sometimes a poor man, feeling himself too insignificant to give a ceremony of this kind, takes a supply of food to a foreign tribe to sell. If the hosts wish to show their generous dispositions they persuade him to give it away in the fashion just described, which always brings in more than he could obtain by sale. It is even customary for the hosts to lend such a stranger enough food for public distribution if his own stock is too small. 556 449 [484]

Although the most important Bella Coola dances are performed at potlatches or during the *kuxiat* season, they are not confined to these periods. Professional singers do nothing else and, except during the run of salmon when everyone is busy fishing, a dance occurs every few nights. Supernatural beings are not called down; consequently there is little solemnity and everyone has a good time. On these occasions, *kuxiat* songs are first beaten out, followed by *nuaat* and *a'alk*, and the owner 533 535 574

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533 of each song dances to it. Anyone who has enough food to
535 provide a meal for all is glad to invite his neighbours to such
574 an affair, but the singers and heralds can force a stingy man to act as host. Everyone knows his neighbour's resources and the singers have no hesitation in going to the house of a man with an ample supply of food and beginning to beat out songs
[203] there. The heralds are quick to see what is happening and
[626] call the people, with the result that the involuntary host is compelled to provide a meal in order not to be thought mean and churlish. Without waiting for the singers to take the
[203] initiative, heralds likewise often invite people to the house of a man whom they know to be well provided with food.

During the summer, the necessity of laying in supplies of
[221] salmon makes it impossible to hold many dances, although one
796 of the non-sacred type just described takes place whenever there is a lull in the fishing. In the early autumn, when ber-
556 ries, fish, and game are abundant, the thoughts of chiefs turn
796 to potlatches and the lengthy preliminaries are begun. At this season, too, a chief who lacks sufficient wealth to invite foreign
[221] guests, calls in his neighbours for a *tusek* dance and initiates
[575] some of his young relatives into that society. The ritual, described in the last chapter, resembles that of a potlatch
[535] except that no new house is constructed, there is no return of a dead relative, and the ceremonial connected with the coming of foreigners is necessarily omitted. In some cases a chief performs this type of rite a year before he proposes to hold a potlatch, and explains that he is doing so because he will be unable to give presents to the inhabitants of his own village
[426] at the later affair. Gifts so distributed are returnable with interest, though it is not obligatory for recipients to do this in time for the donor to make use of their repayment at his potlatch.

Ceremonials of this nature occupy the Bella Coola during
[575] the early autumn, while in winter *kusiut* dances take place
[535] almost nightly. When they are over, it is time for the non-sacred variety of *a'alt* performances, and for another type of rite, nusāxkāmx̂.

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rite, *nusäxkämx*. This can be described here, since, although not closely associated with the potlatch, it serves to teach children the principles of present-giving and indebtedness. February is the proper month for *nusäxkämx*, although preliminary arrangements are made early in the winter. A chief who has a son or daughter about ten or twelve years of age may decide to use some of his food, and a small part of his wealth, for the benefit of the child. With the assistance of his relatives, the father begins making large numbers of toy canoes, miniature bows and arrows, small baskets, and models of all other types of articles commonly given away at potlatches. The manufacture of these requires several months, but towards the end of January they are nearly ready.

A name must then be chosen for the child. Since a *nusäxkämx* dance is a humorous, non-sacred affair, a *nusäxkämx* name is not embodied in a myth, but is drawn from some story. Occasionally, parents decide on a new one, but more often the designation selected is one used for the same purpose by a grandparent of the child. There is no rivalry with regard to names of this type, and one of them can be re-used without asking consent of the last incumbent, although permission would never be refused. There must be a song with each name and the grandparents and other elderly relatives teach this to a number of boys who are to act as singers. The words may have been remembered from a previous occasion; if not, a simple theme is composed by one of the old people having some reference to the name about to be conferred. For example, one appellation of this type is *Ṭopiwac*, Fawn, and the accompanying words are:

"We hear that Deer has borne a child."

Another name is *Qalew*, Beaver, and the song: "Be of good cheer, the Beaver is coming."

A third song is, "Go outside under the house like a dog."

Occasionally a small incident in an ancestral myth is used. The teaching of the song to the juvenile singers is a source of constant merriment; the parents and grandparents are the

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852 principal instructors, aided by the professional musicians.
867 Boys are always willing to act as singers for the practice they
[533] receive, and the gifts they will acquire. Other lads are chosen to act as heralds, an effort being made in each case to pick those likely to pursue these professions.

[796] The day finally selected for the ceremony is in February, on a date when nothing of importance is taking place. The juvenile heralds summon the child guests, who have been invited in accordance with the rules governing a potlatch, especial care being taken to omit none to whom the child donor is indebted. His father carefully instructs him in this matter, thus impressing on his son's mind one of the fundamental points of Bella Coola life. In the late afternoon, when all have
[535] assembled, the boy singers beat out the donor's song and he dances to it. It may be in the nature of a *sisaok*, *a'alk*, or *kusiut* dance, according to the wishes of his parents. In many cases, one of the grandparents or some other old relative likewise dances to the song, using whatever style he chooses. There is no ceremonial significance to the ceremony and all enjoy themselves immensely, especially the adult guests. After
[553] the dancing, the new name is announced and presents are given to the guests. The father of the young donor carefully instructs him as to the scale of his gifts, emphasizing the necessity of rewarding the singers and heralds, and of repaying with interest those children from whom he has received favours. In this way, the ceremony serves as a practical example of how to conduct a potlatch. The parents of the donor always provide some tasty food for the occasion, and this is distributed after
[556] the gifts have been handed round. The necessity for food and presents makes it impossible for any but the children of chiefs to enjoy this training.

After the ceremony, the children parade up and down the sidewalk in front of the houses, singing boisterously. The performance has been for their benefit and they wish to "show off." One night completes the affair, but the following afternoon another child may summon his comrades to a similar

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ceremony. The child singers first beat out the song of the present donor, then that of his predecessor, to which the latter dances once again. If food is plentiful, *nusäxkämx* ceremonies may be carried out every day for several weeks, or a year or two may elapse without one. A child's song is remembered from year to year and he dances whenever it is beaten out. The name acquired in this way is used semi-jocularly by a lad's comrades. After marriage, it is considered unfitting for a youth to be concerned with *nusäxkämx* and he normally becomes an *a'alk*.

Ceremonies of this kind have been discontinued for many years and it was impossible to obtain detailed accounts. The main features are clear: they served to instruct children in the methods of present-giving. According to one informant, there were two types of *nusäxkämx* ceremonial; one of the humorous pattern above described in which, however, food alone was given away, and another in which miniature presents were distributed. This man believed that the latter was only possible for the children of wealthy chiefs, and that on such occasions the themes consisted of small incidents in the family myth. In either case, the importance of ceremonial can be judged from the manner in which it was impressed upon mere children.

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CHAPTER VI

ORIGIN MYTHS

Introductory—Bella Coola Origin Myths—Origin Myths of Other Tribes—Early Traditions Having the Ceremonial Significance of Origin Myths—Sisaok Origin Myths

INTRODUCTORY

773 128 EXAMPLES will be given here of the origin myths, which are believed to authorize so much of the ritual already described, and to which repeated reference has been made. [114] In 1898 Professor Boas published such an admirable collection of traditions of this type (pp. 50 ff.) that the present writer paid little attention to the subject. The Bella Coola, however, are so intensely proud of the deeds of their first forefathers [124] that several insisted on recounting them before they were willing to do other work; in consequence, a fair number of myths was collected through necessity. Since tales of this type were recounted almost entirely at potlatches, their significance has declined since the prohibition of this rite. Consequently, many legends are only remembered in part; the abbreviated and often pointless series of anecdotes here recorded can be no more than a small part of the rich field which must once have existed among the Bella Coola.[1]

424 773 As Professor Boas has clearly shown, origin myths relate how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god sent down to earth the first ancestors of the Bella Coola people, each usually

[1]In writing up this field material, it was my original intention to place all legends together in a separate section, or appendix, following a common anthropological practice. This, however, would have been contrary to Bella Coola thought since origin myths, for example, are regarded as entirely different from either mere stories, or from incidents connected with shamans,—to name two other groups of what are usually described as "legends." I recognize that the insertion of this chapter of origin myths interrupts the sequence of presenting Bella Coola culture, but I believe that it is the way which the Bella Coola themselves would regard as logical, and that it brings out the essential interactions of this type of myth upon their whole life.

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provided with means of sustenance, a house, and certain super- 424
natural powers. The right to the names of these people, as 773
well as to the type of ceremonial objects used by them, has been the privilege of their descendants. But these early Bella Coola, like their modern descendants, had several designations, each carrying with it a definite prerogative. In a single myth there may be embodied a dozen or more names and incidents which are quoted at the present day to authorize such different phases of culture as dances, rights to hunting-grounds, professions, names of dogs, or *kusiut* prerogatives.[1] Any myth which gives the initial use of a name, a dance, or any other prerogative, is termed a *smaiusta*. Each of these is, or was in the old days, remembered with great care and never recounted in full detail except to the members of the ancestral family whose names are embodied in it. Even at potlatches the full details of the myth are not laid bare. Indeed, if a young man is of a [577] flighty, garrulous disposition, unlikely to preserve the dignity of his ancestral fame, the details are concealed from him. Even at the present time there is much resentment at any unauthorized use of a *smaiusta*, and in the old days this would [627] inevitably have led to bloodshed.

Boas (p. 116) states that the terms *smaiusta* and *sumsma* are synonymous. The writer feels certain that this is an error. 114
It was discussed repeatedly with various Bella Coola, all of 538
whom agreed that a *sumsma* is a mere story which can be told by anyone, whereas a *smaiusta* is a myth possessed by the individual, or individuals, whose prerogatives are derived from it. To the Bella Coola the two are utterly different.

None the less, there is no doubt that records of the past 176
change from one category to the other. A wealthy chief, eager 773
to give a potlatch, but lacking the mythical authorization, must frequently have used a *sumsma*, claiming the hero as an ancestor. There would be veiled amusement at him for doing [183] so, but the prestige of one who can give potlatches is so great that in time his claim would probably be accepted. The two

[1] The details of these will be described later.

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178 versions of the myth given (vol. I, pp. 313-19) is a case in point.
773 The first was told as a *smaiusta* by a woman who claimed to be a descendant of the people figuring in it; the second, as a story, *sumsma*, by a man. In view of the reliability of both informants, it seems highly probable that this is a story, partly converted to a myth. In other examples there are incidents resembling the supernatural tales given in vol. I, chap. IX, and here too it appears probable that *sumsma* have been assimilated into *smaiusta*. It is complimentary to the truthfulness [577] of the Bella Coola, and to the respect they show for intangible [424] property, that none of the myths recorded were *smaiusta* owned by others. Repeatedly an informant would say that he knew one, but would not tell it since it belonged to some other family.

128 After collecting a few myths, in each of which it was stated
773 that the first settlers at village X were A, B, and C, with their sisters, P and Q, it seemed as if it would have been possible, before the culture of the Bella Coola had fallen into its present decay, to make a census of those whom they believe to have been first settlers of this earth, and that such a list would have had few contradictions. This was soon found to be false. Two myths may give different people as the first occupants of a certain village, nor does such contradiction trouble the Bella Coola. Each man, convinced of the authenticity of his own family account, is quite willing to believe that the one belonging [811] to someone else is equally correct. This characteristic lack of logical consistency has already been mentioned in other connections. Boas (p. 61) likewise gives an instance of uncertainty as to the first occupants of a village, though, on the whole, he found Bella Coola mythology to be more codified than the present writer has done. In view of their lack of systematization in other matters, it would have been surprising if they had evolved a census of their first ancestors, accepted by all as accurate.

[178] Another matter to be considered at this point is the similarity of detail in many myths. In part this can be explained

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by the assumption that *sumsma* have been elevated into *smaiusta;* in this case it would not be impossible for the same story to have been used by two or more families. A more common explanation is the splitting of myths. Although, theoretically, one can never be altered, and portions in the possession of other individuals are remembered as such, there must have been many cases in which the owner of a section told the whole as his own property. This would not be difficult in cases where he moved away from the other members of his family. In course of time, with the assimilation of elements in themselves not strictly mythological, two myths would evolve having a few incidents in common. If asked concerning this, the Bella Coola explain that the first people were quite as capable of doing the same things as two modern men. The occurrence of the same name, or names, in different myths does not, according to them, prove a connection, since many of the first people had the same names.

Finally, there have been included a number of myths dealing with the coming to earth of people in other localities. Probably these are, in origin, those of other tribes, more or less assimilated to the Bella Coola pattern. Each was said to have been obtained by the marriage of one of the descendants of the people described therein with a Bella Coola.

No further explanation is needed for the following myths which are arranged, as far as possible, according to the list already given of Bella Coola towns.

Bella Coola Origin Myths

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Ālqāläxl*[1]

In the beginning of time, *Ālqunīäm*, in his form of *Sunx*, the Sun, sent down a man, *Yuyulk"mai*, to Mount *Nus·mätlaix* (also called *Ālqunīämedku*, *Sqatsdx*, and *Alkikemlākun*), a mountain on the north side of the Bella Coola River about two miles from the sea, near the upper end of the Indian reserve. With him came *Xwonxwonum*, the Hummingbird,

[1]Related by Mrs. Webber.

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*539 and *Qwax*, the Raven. The former flew ahead to clear a path down the mountain slope for *Yuyulk"mai*. At that time there was no sun, everything was dark and bleak. As they descended the mountain, they remembered that they had forgotten to bring from above the sticks for making fire which *Sınx* had promised them. So Raven assumed the form of a deer, returned to the upper regions, collected the desired appliances, and rejoined his companions below. *Sınx* had given *Yuyulk"mai* a stone hammer to use in making a salmon-weir, so he chose a site near the river, where the village of *Ālqālāxl* now stands, and built a house of evergreen boughs. The perpetual gloom annoyed Raven so that he determined to release light, *sxem*, which he knew was in a container in the house above. Once again he ascended and succeeded in uncovering the light of the sun which has since shone forth on this world. From this Raven took for himself the name, *Qunqwınım uldidā sxem*.

When *Yuyulk"mai* awoke after the first night in his new house, he found a salmon-weir ready for him, built by *Sınx* while he was sleeping. That night he slept again, but nothing had altered in the morning.

*539 551 During the day, *Sınx* appeared to *Yuyulk"mai*, saying:

"I bring you the name, *Sınxālotla*. When you give a potlatch, carve my face on your totem-pole."

The next day *Sınx* came again.

"I bring you the name, *Sınxākila*," he said. "When you give a potlatch, carve my face on the bench where the chiefs sit."

The third day *Sınx* appeared once more, saying:

"I bring you the name, *Ānuxemlaix*. When you give a potlatch, paint my face on the back wall of your house."

Next day *Sınx* appeared in the form of a stump with numerous radiating roots, scoured and polished by the river.

"You will have the name *Alqexqi'djut*,"[4] he said. "If you find a hammer used in the construction of salmon-weirs, you will know that other people are living above you on the river. Put abalone-shell on the hammer."

*539 With these instructions *Sınx* went away and never came back.

In course of time, when the population of the earth increased, *Yuyulk"mai* became rich and invited the people to a potlatch. The name he used on this occasion was *Sınxālotla* and he carved the face of *Sınx* on his totem-pole, as he had been instructed to do. A few years later he gave another potlatch, with the name *Sınxākila*, and this time he carved *Sınx*'s face on the bench where the chiefs sat. When he gave

[192] [4]Meaning, "A glance downwards." It is the word used when a person looks downwards between his legs, or over his shoulders, a reference to the manner in which *Sınx*, from aloft, watches the actions of mortals.

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his third rite he validated the name *Ănuxemlaix*, and he had *Sınx*'s face painted on the back wall of his house. *Yuyulk"mai*'s fourth and last potlatch was given in the name of *Alqexqi'djut*. This time he erected as a totem-pole a bare stick, presumably in reference to the appearance of *Sınx* as a tree-trunk.[5]

When *Yuyulk"mai* came to Mount *Nus·mätllaix* he was accompanied by his old father, *Ťciknutl*, his younger brother *Diqom'notl*, and a still younger sister, *Kimilkän*. These three went away at once to the Skeena River, taking with them some of the large cone-shaped whistles which they had brought with them as a present from the supreme god. The people living on the Skeena desired these articles so greatly that they quarrelled and fought for them, disgusting *Ťciknutl* and *Kimilkän* so much that they determined to return.[6] But *Ťciknutl* was too old to travel. His daughter had a copper upon which she thrust her aged father, and then placed it firmly against the under side of a rock which was suspended without visible support a few feet above the ground. *Ťciknutl* was wedged between boulder and copper, and there he died. *Kimilkän* retraced her steps back to Bella Coola, to the summit of Mount *Nus·mätllaix*, whence she took flight back to the land above.

Meanwhile *Diqom'notl* was prospering. He lived in a copper shelter on the shore of a river with a copper raven, *Snuqwaxwäls*, perched on the roof of his house where it could peer over the edge into the river beneath to see the salmon, *Snusımkäls*, and the salmon, *Snusımlkänk'*. *Diqom'notl* was able to give potlatches at which he made for himself the name *Ao·sti*, and the *sısaok* name, *Łäliämy*. One of the songs which he used was composed as if it were sung by the copper itself: the themes of others were *Snuqwaxwäls*, *Snusımkäls*, and *Snusımlkänk'*.

At last *Diqom'notl* became weary of the Skeena and determined to visit *Yuyulk"mai*. Travelling in a copper canoe he soon reached the mouth of the *Pe·ssls* where he found no one. From this experience he created for himself the name, *U·sḳäxus*, which means, "There is Nothing." *Diqom'notl* proceeded on foot to *Sınxl*, where he met *Yuyulk"mai* to whom he told his adventures.

SECOND ORIGIN MYTH OF *Älqäläxl*[7]

In the beginning there came down to the western slope of Mount *Nus·mätllaix* three brothers, whose names, in relative order of their ages,

[5]The names which occur in this myth are still in use.

[6]Another version states that they married and settled on the Skeena where their descendants still live; it is said that their origin myths record their Bella Coola ancestry.

[7]Related by Mrs. Webber.

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539 were *Stālhmx*, *ʟyuyuyut*, and *Nuxemda*. Descending the mountain they settled at *Alqālāxl*. There was a spring inside their house, near the back-wall, and from spring water, *xwanutl*, the brothers took for themselves the name *Snuxwnulāls*.

After they had been living on this earth for some time *Stālhmx* married a certain *Skqwālutl*; they soon had a daughter to whom they gave the name, *Nuxemtaidn·a*. Much to the parents' joy, she grew into girlhood very rapidly and was soon of marriageable age. Now at this time there was no sun; it was hidden in a container hanging from the roof of *Stālhmx*'s house. Raven determined to obtain this for the use of mortals, and decided to become *Nuxemtaidn·a*'s child with this aim in view. First he changed himself into a tiny fragment of hemlock needle, and placed himself in the cup from which she was drinking. But the girl blew away the fragment of leaf, though she had no idea that it was Raven. Again he tried by changing himself to a piece of eagle down, but again she skimmed it from the surface of the water. The third time Raven became mud. *Nuxemtaidn·a* drank this carelessly with the water, and was both startled and perturbed to find herself pregnant. Raven had entered her body.

One day *Nuxemtaidn·a* saw a very old man sitting by the side of a pool. He had spots of red paint on his face and appeared to be very poor. The man's name was *Kāmālqwax*. The girl told her father whom she had seen and *Stālhmx* upbraided her for not inviting him to come to their house.[1]

In course of time *Nuxemtaidn·a* gave birth to an infant who was, of course, Raven. Within a few weeks he had grown to a naughty little boy, always demanding new toys, and always crying if he could not get them. One day he saw the sun hanging near the roof and at once he began to cry for the shining thing. He continued until *Stālhmx* yielded to his grandson's tears and gave it to him to play with. Raven played with it on the floor for a short time, then opened the door and dashed out. As he did so he shattered the container which held light. It became the sun, which has since remained shining. Raven once more assumed his bird form and flew away.

ʟyuyuyut, the second brother, had received from *Ālqunīām* the power of completing the transformation to human form of any of the first people. Some of them who had come to earth as eagles still had the beaks of these birds, others had the tails of wolves, or other animal characteristics. *ʟyuyuyut* remedied these defects by rubbing the affected parts with urine.

[1]This paragraph, which seems to be extraneous, was included without comment by the narrator.

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From this he took for himself the name, Yu'yuhaslaia, "The Face Cleanser."

According to another informant the first settler at *Ālqālxal* was *Xemzemnum* who brought with him a moosehide and a model of *Nuzmāt·a*. He set up this house and it expanded or contracted according to his wish.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Slskistl*[9]

Among the first people to be sent down to this earth was *Ḳril*. For some time he lived on the north side of the Bella Coola River near its mouth; then with his sister, *Ānuzyalaix*, and a herald he moved across to *Slskistl*, at the base of the mountain on the south shore of the river. He had a daughter who married a son of *Xemzemnum*, living on the north side of the river. To their child he gave the name *Nosmāzaik*.

About this time *Ālkwi*, a *Snuklo·tl* chief, lost *Alqcālas*, a stake decorated with abalone-shells which he used for his salmon-trap. It floated down into *Ḳril*'s country where *Ānuzyalaix* saw it, and advised her brother to take possession of it. *Ḳril* did so gladly because of its beautiful decoration, without knowing what it was or whence it came. He took it home and displayed it to many of his neighbours, but no one could tell him what it was. In honour of this event *Ḳril* gave his son the name *Alqcālas*, which has since been handed down in his family. *Ālkwi* followed downstream after his stake, but failed to overtake it before *Ḳril* had obtained it; so it was never returned to its rightful owner.

FRAGMENT OF A *Ḳomqo·ts* ORIGIN MYTH[10]

In the beginning *Ālqunām* sent down from *Nuzmāt·a* to Mount *Nuz·āmm*, on the south side of the Bella Coola River, about one and a half miles from the sea, four brothers: the eldest, *Xemlaia* or *Laqwomais*; the second whose name is unknown; the third, *ułqalam*; and the youngest, *ułmaisa*. They each came in the form of some animal, bringing with them a miniature salmon-weir, which they set up in the river near where they had settled. *ułmaisa* brought with him the prerogative of punishing violators of taboos connected with the river. The four brothers lived for some time at the base of the mountain until jealousy arose among them and the eldest moved to *Ḳomqo·ts*. There he caught innumerable salmon in the river so he was soon able to give them to people all over the world. It seemed as if the earth were tilted so that all its

[9]Fragmentary version related by Judas.
[10]Related by Albert King.

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wealth flowed in upon him; accordingly he took for himself the name *Siālxelāx* which has this significance. Since he was the eldest and chief of the four brothers the name has always been considered the most exalted in *Ḷomṇo·ts*.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Snulǝli*[11]

In the beginning of time *Ālqunām* created the forefathers of all mankind in his house above and then asked each in what form he wished to go to earth. A number of bird and animal cloaks were hanging on the walls of the house, and each was invited to take his choice. One whose name was *Kāliāks* chose the raven. When he had donned the garment he became a raven. Slowly he circled down from above in long spirals, carrying with him his two younger brothers and a sister, all in raven form, as a bird carries its young. He set down the two small brothers on the top of a flat mountain near *Snulǝli* where he told them to remain, adding:

"I am going to the east but will return."

He brought back some abalone-shells, which he set down near the diminutive ravens, saying:

"Stay here, I am going to the west but will return."

This time he brought back with him some copper, that flashed in the sun.

Kāliāks and his two brothers now assumed human form and sent their raven cloaks floating back to the land above. This was what happened to all the bird and animal forms used by the first people. The three descended the mountain and built their house by the Bella Coola River at the spot now known as *Snulǝli*. *Kāliāks* had brought with him a mountain goat, which, when set at liberty, bred with great rapidity, so that these first *Snulǝli* people subsisted largely on goat flesh, the provision made for them by *Ālqunām*. In some inexplicable manner it appears that the supernatural hunter *Twalālhit*, whose other name is *Lalemkila*, "The One Who Throws Down [Goats]," had come with this group. *Kāliāks* had such success in hunting that he was able to give a potlatch and bestow valuable presents of goat meat, goat grease, and woollen blankets. At this ceremony he took for himself the *sisaok* name, *Łālāliāmdimut*, "The Copper One," because when returning from the west the raven had covered himself with copper, so that it seemed as if he were made of it.[12]

During his lifetime, though whether before or after his potlatch, it is impossible to state, *Kāliāks* determined to obtain light for mankind,

[11] Related by Joshua Moody.

[12] This name has since been used by the descendants of *Kāliāks*.

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as at that time it was all semi-darkness, faintly illuminated by what resembled pale moonlight. He remembered that he had seen the sun in *Ālqunātm*'s house, enclosed in a kind of a sack, and he determined to steal it. So he again assumed the form of a raven and flew back aloft. Without allowing himself to be seen, he changed himself into a grain of dust and placed himself in a cup from which *Ālqunātm*'s daughter, *Sigman-a*, was about to drink. Noticing the speck of dirt, she blew it away. Then he changed to a hemlock needle, floating on the surface of the liquid, but she lifted it off. Undiscouraged, Raven became mud which she drank down, enabling him to enter her body. *Sigman-a* was greatly surprised to find herself pregnant, and so was her father. In course of time a boy was born, really Raven, though she knew it not. He grew with phenomenal rapidity, and within a few weeks was crawling around on the floor and, like a spoilt child, crying for playthings. Whatever his mother or grandmother gave him, he threw aside after a few minutes and cried the more; he was a fractious child. Looking up, Raven pretended to notice for the first time the sun, dimly gleaming from within its container as it hung from the roof of his grandfather's house. He cried and cried, almost choking himself; nothing would satisfy him, so at last his indulgent grandfather gave him the shining object though he was careful to pad the floor with soft bark. The happy child rolled the dimly glowing ball around on the soft covering for some time, but when the door was opened, he crawled outside with it, burst the container against the door-post, assumed raven form once more, and flew away, croaking derisively. Thus human beings received the boon of sunlight. Raven flew back to earth and again became *Kālādks*.

SECOND ORIGIN MYTH OF *Snulɔli*[11]

Long, long ago, there were no people on this earth; they were all in *Nusmāt-a* where different languages were made. Then *Ālqunātm* gave life to the occupants of his house and sent them down to earth. A post, *nulunikta*, stretched from the land above to this world, and down this swarmed five brothers, *Xemcua*, *Yuyulk"mai*, *Pungkla*, *Wādks*, and *Nōkile*. *Pungkla*, who was in part an eagle, brought with him an olachen and a hammer for driving stakes used for olachen nets, and *Xemcua* and *Yuyulk"mai* brought a painted seat which they used at ceremonial gatherings. About the same time four sisters came to earth at *Nooi*, far to the east. Their names were *Wiakai*, who was without legs; *Tsumlūks*; *Skamolsymdn-a*; and *Nuskwalsklānda*. *Pungkla* exerted his power of thought to make them come to Bella Coola. The four

[11]Related by Captain Schooner.

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women set out for the west and at *Smaiw-a*, the source of the Bella Coola River, *Wiskai* scraped the ground with what served her as a foot, and a stream began to flow. *Skumelqwán-a* put her hands over her head and began to rock to and fro in woe at seeing the water, hence her name; *Tsemlíuks* sucked up much of it, but a gentle rivulet continued to flow which they followed to the west. It increased in size and ultimately led them to *Nuxpalit*, where they heard Echo (I, p. 306). *Wiskai* led her sisters to the south to get some of the highly prized paint which was bubbling from the ground like a spring.

Meanwhile *Xemsus* had come from his mountain at *Tsmaní*, and though *Y'xyalk'mai* had gone to *Sinaí* they continued their joint ownership of the painted seat. *Pnqhula* went westward looking for a suitable place to settle, carrying with him his olachen and his hammer. At Mesatche Nose, the point between North Bentinck Arm and Labouchere Channel, a house arose from the water beneath him. It was that of *Xemqwu*, chief of the sea creatures, within which the walls were painted by the rising and falling of the tides. This house appeared, moved slightly, and subsided, whereby *Pnqhula* became a shaman. He continued his journey, stopping at *Xwaqa*, *Tál-ia*, and *Nuk'* rivers, at the last of which he met a chief *A'yanq*, and his herald, *Kámcia*. There he threw his olachen into the water, where it multiplied past all count in order to serve as his food. *Pnqhula* ascended a small river flowing from the east and after various travels reached *Swaloli* where the rest of his party had remained. Here he constructed a fish-dam in which many salmon were caught. He built a house fashioned on the plan of the one which had risen from the water, and invited guests from far and near to potlatches. It fell several times, but he always rebuilt it. Four of the brothers married the four sisters.

The above myth was collected with difficulty and probably contains many inaccuracies. No explanation could be obtained of the relationship, if any, of this group to *Kálikis* and his people. Another informant stated that *Pnqhula* settled at *Tsmaní*, where he used his hammer to construct a salmon-weir.

THIRD ORIGIN MYTH OF *Swaloli*[a]

Before this earth was populated *Ilqunstw* created birds and animals in his house up above, giving to each its form and its voice. Only Raven was dissatisfied, and constantly rubbed off his coat of paint, hoping that he might be adorned even more beautifully. At that time Raven had

[a]Related by Steamboat Annie.

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variegated plumage. When everything was ready, *Ałqunxtem* sent a house, built like his own, *and all that it contained down to Snaiłł* under the guidance of a man, to whom he had given his own name and his own power. This human *Ałqunxtem* tried to paint Raven, without being able to please the petulant fellow, until, becoming disgusted, he coated him a uniform black which Raven could not remove. Now all was finished, and when *Ałqunxtem* opened the door, out rushed the animals and the birds. In the press *Qao ḥuḥ*, the Duck, whose seat was on the left of the fire facing inwards, was stepped upon; that is why to this day the duck can only waddle awkwardly. Her neighbour, *Łqual ḥuḥ*, another species of duck, whose place was opposite *Qao ḥuḥ*, was not injured; consequently she can walk comfortably.

Among the animals released was Deer, who rushed down to the river, seized some sticks, thrust them up on his head where they grew into antlers which had hitherto been lacking. There was no fire in the world then, so Deer determined to obtain some from the house of *Ałqunxtem* above. He returned aloft and began to dance. *Ałqunxtem*, not recognising the disguised Deer, watched the performer with interest. Suddenly the crafty one thrust his head down into the flames, trundling some of the burning sticks on his antlers and rushed away, with *Ałqunxtem* in vain pursuit. This is the way fire was brought to the world.

In course of time, the man, *Ałqunxtem*, amassed enough goods to give a potlatch, taking for himself the name *Ałqunxtmałkx*, as the supreme god had decreed. When the guests had assembled Deer danced, but in his wild gyrations he kicked some of the visitors, wounding them. The irate *Ałqunxtmałkx* chased him out of the house and told him never to return. The guests then gave presents to *Ałqunxtmałkx*, to his heralds, and to those who had been injured by Deer.

Since that time whenever the owner of the name *Ałqunxtmałkx* gives a potlatch he erects a house similar to that brought down by his first ancestor with a totem-pole showing a design of Raven. Included in the ritual is a presentation of presents similar to that carried out by the guests to the first *Ałqunxtmałkx*; it is not clear whether this was originally done as a mark of goodwill or whether it was to shame the host on account of maltreatment of the guests. Belonging to this origin myth is the *nuxmal* name, *Talałkw*.

The inclusion of such explanatory details as this is a common feature of origin myths and illustrates the way in which traditions blend into narratives; in the old days they would not have been related at potlatches, but it seems wise to include them where necessary at the end of individual myths.

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ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nuxfalst*[15]

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In the beginning of time there came down from *Nuxmăt·a* to *Nuxfalst* a man whose name was *Kămăltsong*[16]. As a present from *Ăkuxtăm* he had brought with him a model of *Nuxmăt·a*, which he set up on this earth and to which he gave the same name. This was after the first *tsong*[16] sky, had fallen; it was from this catastrophe that *Kămăltsong*[16] derived his name.

Kămăltsong[16] had seen at the zenith of *Nuxmăt·a* the face of a grizzly bear, in consequence of which he used that animal for all his decorations. His blankets, food boxes, spoons, all were adorned with grizzly bear designs; the door of his house, *Nuxmăt·a*, was the mouth of one which opened to admit a guest, and closed when he had entered. The dwelling, which lengthened of its own accord whenever *Kămăltsong*[16] gave a potlatch, endured for generations.[17] Before the door there lay on his back a man, *Bo'ăkste*, with a huge stomach on which anyone entering the house had to step; a slave or commoner did so without resultant noise, but when a mighty chief trod on *Bo'ăkste* his weight drew forth a grunt from the recumbent man.[17] Any chief entering gave to *Kămăltsong*[16] a slave, a canoe, or a copper, "to open the door," otherwise the mouth of the grizzly bear would snap shut and kill him.

Kămăltsong[16] was powerful enough to give many potlatches; when planning one, he began his preparations early in the spring for the following winter. First he beached his canoe before his house, smeared its grizzly bear nose with urine, and beat upon it with evergreen boughs. This was a signal that he proposed to go on a raiding expedition, and his fellow villagers were always glad to follow him. His forays were always successful due to his own power and because he took care when nearing his destination to send forward a scouting party to determine the number of hostile houses and decide how many attackers should be allotted to deal with each. On one occasion he attacked the Fort Rupert people and captured a woman of chief's rank, who begged him not to enslave her, promising him her name, *Wĭkuxu·ăwula* or *Kwula*. He agreed to her request and she tied a long halibut line around her neck and told the other women to grasp it; those who did so were spared. In the same attack *Kămăltsong*[16] made use of a Fort Rupert slave whom he bribed to

[15]Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. In this myth are included many incidents of a period later than that of the legend itself, but regarded by the informant as being strictly dependent upon it.

[16]The father of a woman, about fifty years old in 1923, is said to have seen its rotten posts when a young man.

[17]An important chief is always said to be "heavy" by virtue of the goods he has given away, and this expresses graphically the style of thought.

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act as guide against his masters. The man led in the party under cover of a fog which lifted at an inopportune moment, but the slave deceived the Fort Rupert Indians into believing that his comrades were not hostile. *Kāmālsong*[w] rewarded the guide with a marten-skin coat and one of marmot-skins. 539 v

When he gave a potlatch, *Kāmālsong*[w] had the back wall of his house decorated with pictures of sun and moon, while he himself wore a grizzly bear-skin with its head above his own. As he danced, there rose through the floor a large box on which was painted a raven. *Kāmālsong*[w] went to the receptacle and took from it sufficient presents to supply the requirements of the visitors from one tribe, the Bella Bella, for example. Then the box would sink from sight, only to reappear with gifts for another group; this was repeated as many times as there were parties of guests from outside places. This was the method of procedure decreed by *Ālquntām*.

These first *Nuxalst* people made a number of special objects for their potlatches. As a representation of the five-peaked mountain beneath which they lived, they erected five peaks over the front of their house, a custom which has been carried out until the present day. Projecting from one of them was a figure of a mountain goat, since that animal was brought to earth to serve as food by their first ancestors. They also made a number of large stone spoons, which, after being used for many generations, were buried with a certain *Potlas* about 1875. These utensils were of a type used by *Nuxalst* before he became a mountain, and were later copied by the carpenter-masons. [124] [415]

Kāmālsong[w] was so powerful that he altered a *xaxak* rite of his potlatch into a *kusiut* dance, changed *Nuxmāx-a* to a *kusiut* name, and decreed that the repository should be under the spot where his house stood. For this ceremonial he always used a whistle with the voice of a raven.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nuxalst*
(*Second version dealing with another settlement*)[10]

Nuxalst is a chief among mountains. Like a human leader, it has several names, *Tēkwatāx*, *Sānatlx̄m*, and others; these names belong to several persons now living. Like a person, too, the mountain was sent down from above at the beginning of the world to *Tsowat*, Bute Inlet, whence it moved to its present position midway up the Bella Coola valley, a location which it had heard was a pleasant one. [551]

[10]Related by Captain Schooner.

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*539 Many people landed on this mountain from on high, among others the chief *Nuxmit-a* or *Ẉqimai*. He had brought with him from above a house, called *Kimdzong** which, when set up on this earth, grew so large that all the owner's family and descendants could live within. Outside the door, *Nuxmit-a* had caused the erection of a totem-pole, *Nutlaqid*. Within dwelt Echo, an incessant talker, who was very clever at learning languages; his rolling voice reverberated through the house and the whole countryside. This being acted as herald and summoned people to a [532] dance by using the word *Nuxnalika*; whenever a descendant of *Nuxmit-a* gives a potlatch he makes a mask with an ever-changing mouth to represent Echo.

Not long after the completion of the house and totem-pole *Nuxmit-a* set out one evening to fish for salmon with the aid of torches, taking with him his infant son and several followers. During their absence a snow-slide wiped out the town, killing all the inhabitants except one slave who concealed himself within the hollow totem-pole. The slide was due to the mountain being angry at the totem-pole, carved to represent him as he was before he changed to mountain form. When the survivors returned to their buried village they at once set about rebuilding it. In time, as the people increased in numbers, it again became prosperous. They built a fish-weir to supply their wants, using tools of stone obtained from Mount *Nuqalit*. *Ałwi*, the son of a *Stuxo* chief, married *Nuxmit-a*'s daughter, *Skamalika*, and *Nuxmit-a* moved to *Ẉmqa-ts*.

Other narrators provided a little further information about *Nuqalit*. While still in human form, he wore a flat-topped hat with broad brim around which ran two snakes. After he had been changed to stone as a mountain, several individuals looked down on him from above and chose his slopes as a landing-place, thus making him their crest. The first to do so is said to have been a man named *Ojimai*.

FRAGMENT OF AN ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nałkuz**

In the very beginning of time, before the sky was made, *Ẉqamin* sent down to *Nałkuz* three brothers and their two sisters. The names by which the men have been remembered are *Mizong**, *Kimdzong**, *Zuxwałkic*, and the women, *Zuxwuz-a* and *xałuxuz-i*. They came to earth as golden eagles, bearing the beaver as food. The youngest sister refused to change her form, and wandered around in a semi-human condition, becoming frenzied at the slightest excuse. At length her dis- [103]

*Deleted by Judson Mandy.

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quested brothers and sister united to get rid of her; she became petrified in the valley which still bears her name, and which still has an evil reputation as the coldest place in the vicinity of Bella Coola. Thence come the cold winds.

Ilquantsw instructed his carpenters to construct *Sawy'*. They set about their task, but failed to use any supporting posts so that when all was completed, except a small section in the east, it fell. When the carpenters recommenced their work, they took care to erect uprights to bear the weight, and thus were able to construct the sky as it is today. When it was finished, the supports were removed. Only those living at *Nalhas* witnessed this disaster, and from it they took their names. *Xmalkwy'* was the name of this first *Sawy'* that fell.

According to another informant the first settler at *Nalhas* was *Dadkwy'*, who had also the name *Xmoomlais*. He came to earth in the form of a beaver, bringing a salmon-weir as means of obtaining sustenance.

FRAGMENT OF AN ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nalhas*[*]

Among the first people who came down to earth at *Tsawat* was a stone man, who brought with him a sword as a present from the supreme deity. As a result of this gift the *Tsawat* were constantly practising the art of war, and always ready to start hostilities; their settlement was a hotbed of trouble. One of these people, *Lkwakila* by name, wearied of constant strife, determined to set out and find a new home for himself. After considerable travelling he reached *Nalhas* where he settled down among the inhabitants of that village. He had brought with him a young boy who in time married a woman from *Lkulu*, and became the father of many children.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Itsat*[*]

In the beginning *Wlapalt* came to earth as a man on Mount *Naya*, near *Itsat*. He seated himself on the mountain top and slid down to the valley, clearing a smooth track as he went, which is still here like the path of a landslide. He was all alone and built for himself a house of evergreen boughs, *Iwalt*, to which he gave the name *Kwalatal*. After sojourning there for some time he decided to marry; so he set off up the valley to find out if there were any people living above him. He travelled

[*]Related by *Lkwakil*, a poor informant.
[*]Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

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*534 over a series of parallel ridges, from the top of one of which he saw before him a number of men, also going upstream. Around their heads they wore light-coloured bands. They disappeared over the next rises and when *Wiapalt* reached the summit of this he saw in the hollow below, him, not a number of men, but a pack of wolves, preceding him on the trail. The wolves passed over the next ridge out of sight, but when *Wiapalt* gained the crest he saw in front of him, not wolves, but the men again with bands around their heads. This continued for some time, *Wiapalt* seeing men before him from one ridge and wolves from the next; he was slowly gaining on them, and finally saw the animals assume human form, take off their tails, and wrap them around their heads. He caught up with the wolf-men and told them the reason for his travels, that he sought a wife. They agreed to help him and all travelled together to the home of *Alkomatsaie*, who had landed with his wife from above on Mount *Tsuxiz* in the Carrier country. They had brought from above a beaver as food, and some moose skins. *Alkomatsaie* had a daughter, *Nielhlaie*, whose other names were *Nachmdie* and *Nachmmtal*. *Wiapalt* asked *Alkomatsaie* for the girl and the latter agreed. So the two were [424] married and the wolf-men sang a song which has since been handed down as a prerogative in the family of their descendants.

After the marriage the four returned towards *Stuie*, *Nielhlaie* going ahead to break a track through the forest. From this she took the name *Nagmdumdo-a*, "Stick-Breaker"; had she not cleared this path there would have been no intercommunication today between the Carriers and the Bella Coola. In the house which *Wiapalt* built for his bride, everything was decorated with a raven; the door was the beak of the raven; the totem-pole was a raven; and a raven was carved on the end of every beam. *Alkomatsaie* constructed a house a little above *Sikse*; it was like the present Bella Coola ones but made entirely of skins. He called it *Skwmdal*.

The two families sojourned in this vicinity for some time when *Wiapalt* decided to travel around the world. He set off and, far in the east, crossed the upper waters of the Bella Coola River, which he decided to open as a route to the sea. He had brought with him some abalone-shells, which he used to decorate a stick; then gave it the name *Alkloda-i*. It floated downstream to *Nuxpalit*, where the river plunged beneath a huge rock, but *Alkloda-i* made clear its course by shattering the barrier. Meanwhile, *ugayayat*, another of the first people, who had come to earth on a mountain behind *Tsumal*, had made ready his canoe for a journey upstream. *ugayayat* was very proud, and considered himself the oldest of all mankind under the assumption that he was the first to reach this earth. Accordingly his grief was great when he saw *Alkloda-i* floating

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down the river and realized that other people were above him. In his disappointment he cried out, "I am but a younger brother," and abandoned his journey.

Ałhlsán i drifted on until it was caught in the fish-weir of *Ojimai*, the man dwelling farthest down the valley on the south shore of the Bella Coola River about a quarter of a mile from the sea. *Ojimai*, delighted with the pretty thing, took it to his house and called his friends to see what he had found.

SECOND ORIGIN MYTH OF *STAUX*[11]

In the beginning, when there was still no sun in this world, *Ałquntim* erected a post which reached from its base, near *Staux*, to the land above and prevented the sky from falling. On the top sat *Tsilwałałz*, an eagle. Down it came *Nazmłhwai*, *Wałtimai*, *Wałłłtimai*, *Wisqałł*, *Tłisla*, *Qril*, and several women whose names have been forgotten. Though all were supernatural, *Qril* alone was not in human form; he had come as Raven and used to croak from inside the post itself. The newcomers looked around them for a suitable spot on which to settle. *Trawat*, on the mainland opposite the northern extremity of Vancouver Island, appealed to them, but they did not like its inhabitants, the Kwakiutl. *Nazmłhwai* and his companions were proud of the fact that they were the first to occupy the Bella Coola valley, but with this pride came the dread that others might lay claim to the distinction. There was then no river, but *Wisqałł* scratched in the earth with his foot and the water that filled the depression became a river. In this stream he placed a log decorated with abalone-shell and instructed it to *łłmstadimai*, "be like a person," that is, have human intelligence. When floating down the river, which was continually increasing in size, it should move from side to side so as to pass close to every populated place. The inhabitants of the villages, seeing the log, would know that they had not been first in the land. The stick did so, causing deep chagrin in all the villages past which it floated to the sea.

After due consideration, *Nazmłhwai* and his comrades travelled some distance down the river valley; then returned to *Nałłłta*, not far from *Staux*, where they built their house. It was of the normal size, but when many guests assembled, it enlarged to accommodate all within. The posts, the benches, the boxes, the beams, and the totem-pole were all carved with the design of Raven, known to them not as *Qnax*, but as *Snagmamłb*. In one corner sat Echo. With the completion of this house *Nazmłhwai* and his companions became mortal.

[11]Related by Steamboat Annie.

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539 In course of time, as they grew wealthy, they were able to summon people from far and near for potlatches. This in turn enabled them to validate several names which they had brought from above. *Älquntäm* had given *Nusmälexwai* a box containing whistles for *kusiut* rites. He used these and bestowed on one of his sisters the name *Nunuxmeax*, a *kusiut* designation still in existence. When the roof of the house was opened light shone through, from which circumstance the name *Sxsutl* was acquired at one of their annual potlatches. Not only was *Nusmälexwai* able to validate designations which *Älquntäm* had given him, but he created several new ones as well. He gave to his sisters the names *Kälxmäknm* and *Qopmpmän·a*; the latter means "Rising Dust," with reference to the dust rising from the floor of the house as *Nusmälexwai* threw down the moosehides which he was about to give away to his guests.

[551] All the names mentioned in this myth have been preserved. That of *Nusmälexwai* is held in especial esteem by the people of *Stuix*. It means "Head of the River," referring to the point where he came to this [552] earth. Even *Ïlmstadimut* is still in use, applied to a dog as the owner has no children.

THIRD ORIGIN MYTH OF *Stuix*[33]

In the beginning *Älquntäm* sent down to *Smaien·a*, at the head of the Clearwater, a branch of the Bella Coola River, four brothers, *Älkwi*, *Dudusonx**, *Nänätskwi*, and one whose name has been forgotten, with their sisters, *Känilkes* and *O'mielkes*. *Dudusonx** had brought with him from above as a present from *Älquntäm* some olachen in concentrated form and one of the large cone-shaped whistles used in *susook* ceremonials. The two women cried because they had no house. But presently they thought they were in one with a wonderfully painted roof; in reality it was the sky and the decorations were brightly shining stars. By means of their supernatural power, for they were not yet mortals, they reduced the firmament to such small compass that it was really a house to them, with the star-illuminated sky as roof. Taking this abode with them, the six set out next day for *Tcawat*, a point on the mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island. They travelled down the valley of a river which rises not far from the *Smaien·a* source of the Bella Coola. *Älkwi* and his relatives did not like the language of the people living at *Tcawat*, so they returned to *Smaien·a*, taking with them some of the fine

*Related by Steamboat Annie.

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cedars that flourish on that part of the coast. Thanks to their supernatural power they were able to carry these easily. 529*

Returned to *Smaien·a* they built a dug-out canoe of birch(?), the outside of which, and also the paddles, they decorated with abalone-shells. The effect was very beautiful, and they named the canoe, *Ki'laielotl*. In this craft the six set out down the Bella Coola River. When still above *Stuix* they stopped to investigate a beating sound and found that it came from the house of *Oḑsmai*. The latter invited them to come in, using *Dudusonx*ʷ's name, which he knew in some mysterious manner. When they entered they found that the beating sound was caused by their host's daughter, *Kānuslāliām*, who was sitting in the back-room, thumping a copper which she was holding as if it had been an infant. *Oḑsmai* was much impressed with his guests' canoe, and they with his. A trade was mutually agreeable, as a result of which the travellers obtained a copper canoe named *Łāliaelotl*, fitted with copper paddles. *Dudusonx*ʷ married *Kānuslāliām*, who embarked with him and his brothers and sisters. They had not gone far when they were hailed by the chief of a village, who also knew *Dudusonx*ʷ's name.

"*Dudusonx*ʷ," he called out, "your canoe is not much good; it has to be paddled or poled. Let us trade. You take my canoe, *Kwakwaoselotl*,[24] it travels with its own power."

*Dudusonx*ʷ was unwilling to part with *Łāliaelotl*, but at last agreed. The seven now travelled rapidly in their merganser canoe to the coast, not stopping at the villages which they saw on the way. At the mouth of the Bella Coola River, *Dudusonx*ʷ cast into the water one of the fish which *Ālquntām* had given him; it became the progenitor of all the Bella Coola olachen. The travellers went thence to the head of South Bentinck Arm where *Dudusonx*ʷ threw out another olachen, the forefather of all that now frequent this place. He repeated this at Rivers Inlet, at Smith Inlet, and at every fiord on the coast, wherefore olachen are plentiful in British Columbia at the present day. At *Łāltaml*, a town of which the location is uncertain, *Dudusonx*ʷ was received as a benefactor and given the name *T'lākwakila*. After visiting all the rivers on the coast *Ālkwi* and his party returned to Bella Coola, where they finally settled at *Stuix*. [825]

Throughout their travels they had carried the cedar trees with them, and they now planted them at *Stuix*. That is why fine cedars have flourished there since that date. The four brothers built a comfortable house and also constructed a salmon-weir in the river, which made them so prosperous that people came from far and near to pledge their daughters to the fishermen. They were able to give numerous potlatches and so display a totem-pole, the design of which *Ālquntām* had shown to *Ālkwi* [824] [532]

[24] *Kwakwaos* is a merganser.

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*539 532 before he came to this world. It was a large pole and stood across the sidewalk from the house, not being pierced by the doorway. At the base was a grizzly bear, with paws wrapped around it as if desirous of climbing after the food which could be seen higher up. Immediately above the bear was an eagle's nest with four fledglings standing amid their broken eggshells and craning their necks eagerly upwards to greet the mother eagle flying back with a salmon. At the top of the pole was a ball, *Nuszemda*, representing the container in which the sun was enclosed; it was this that Raven broke to release light to mortals. The name of the pole was *Äl·ilikotl*.[26]

[551] The names contained in this myth are still in use. *Känilkas* was the relator of it; her *sisaok* song deals with *Smaien·a* and, since the salmon enter Bella Coola River in hopes of reaching this place, salmon are used in the decorations of her house. The name *Dudusongʷ'* varies; it becomes *Mäsongʷ'* when applied to a youth, and *Mäsongʷ'an·a* for a girl.

FOURTH ORIGIN MYTH OF *Stuix*[28]

*539 Long, long ago there was in a mysterious place far to the east and far above this world, a very large house, *Nulsätlmais*, in which dwelt together all people, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, Carriers, and the rest. In it there lived too, all kinds of birds, including the thrush who taught each its song. [829] The chief of the house, *Sikxim* by name, lived there too and gave to each tribe its special language. One day he decided to visit the earth, and dived from his house downwards, becoming the sun. In this guise he came to earth on Mount *Nuya*, near *Stuix*, where he became a man and built for himself a house which was a copy of *Nulsätlmais*, and to which he gave the same name. *Sikxim* became prosperous and gave many potlatches.

FRAGMENT OF A *Snulle·tl* ORIGIN MYTH[27]

In the beginning of time, *Älqunäm*, in guise of the sun, sent down to earth a number of brothers with their one sister. Their names have been forgotten except that of the oldest man, *Ťaiakwala*, who had brought with him a beaver as provender. He released the animal, which multi-

[424] [551] [26]As is commonly the case, there is no connection between this totem-pole and the adventures of *Älkwi*. The person using this name has the right to use these designs as a part of his myth, exactly as the right to recount the adventures of his namesake belongs to him.

[27]Fragmentary version, relator unrecorded.

[28]Related by Joshua Moody.

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plied to provide abundant food for all; it became the ancestor of all the beaver of the upper valley. Owing to their position higher up the Bella Coola, *Ṭaiakwala* and his brothers considered that they were nearer to the sun than any of the people dwelling below, a fact of which they were exceedingly proud. Moreover, having been sent down by him, the sun was their crest. 539 *

There were two large boulders in the river near the settlement, which *Ätqunäm* had shown *Ṭaiakwala* how to use as supports for a salmon-weir. With the help of his brothers, a hole was drilled in one of the rocks; then they felled a large tree upstream and allowed it to drift down until the butt lodged in the perforated boulder and the head swung across against the other. With this as base, other trunks were woven in upright so that the river was almost spanned and a fine dam constructed. In this they caught so many salmon that *Ṭaiakwala* and his brothers were able to call people from far and near to potlatches and feast them liberally on the fish. In course of time their sister was married to a chief from another town. Henceforth, whenever one of her brothers gave a potlatch, he was able to rebuy his sister on a lavish scale with the teeming salmon. The sun had taught the woman a song for such occasions, which has since been used as a prerogative by her descendants when rebuying themselves from their husbands. [424] [583]

Ṭaiakwala made a long voyage of exploration during which he reached the Skeena River. He made friends with the inhabitants of the town, *Q̣ixwan*, who gave him the name, *Xwelbon*,[28] meaning *whale* in their language. Continuing his journey, he ultimately circled the earth before returning home. He obtained several other designations, including *Ailsamka* from the Kwatna people.[29]

Years after the settlement of *Snulle·tl*, the drilled stone supporting the salmon-weir broke and the ruins were swept away downstream. The people cut their hair and blackened their faces in mourning, then moved to *Sinx* where a number of their daughters had married chiefs.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nusxeq*[30]

It is common to add details from a story to a family myth in order to increase its length and importance. Almost cer- [178] [114]

[28]It appears that *Xwelbon* is an attempt to pronounce the English, *whale-bone*, an interesting example of the way in which modern words have been incorporated into ancient myths and been clothed with the glamour of antiquity. [178]

[29]Both are still used by members of the ancestral family descended from *Ṭaiakwala*. [551]

[30]Related by Mrs. Webber, who had learnt it from her late father, *Sinxälotla*, a chief of *Sussl*, whose kusiut name was *Snuthmy*.

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539 [178] [114] tainly this has been done with the following, in spite of the fact that Boas (p. 53) records it in greater detail than the writer was able to obtain. A second version was obtained from a reliable informant who recounted it as a mere tale without hesitation. He may have been ignorant that it was the myth of another family, or may have disregarded that point, though this is unlikely. The content itself strongly supports the view that details of the usual "story" type have been added.

In the beginning of time there came down to the river which enters North Bentinck Arm at Green Bay a man, *Nusxeq*, and his wife, *Sumsiutaäkis*. They went down the river to Green Bay, since called *Nusxeq* from the man, where they built their house and settled. In time a son was born, to whom they gave the name *Slskło*. The child grew with phenomenal rapidity until before long he had acquired the strength and intelligence of a man. One day *Slskło* went for a walk up the river, carrying his bow and arrows. He met what he thought was a man, though it was really a black bear in human form. The supernatural one invited *Slskło* to go home with him, which the youth did. As soon as he entered the abode he realized that he was in a bear's house, but he did not disclose to his host that he had this knowledge. The bear brought to his guest some skunk cabbage, saying that it was dry salmon; to bears skunk cabbage is dry salmon. The food was broken in small fragments and served on a very small dish so that *Slskło* was afraid that there would not be enough, though Black Bear assured him that he would not be able to eat it all. So it proved. *Slskło* ate and ate until he could eat no more, without diminishing the amount of food on the dish.

Then Black Bear said, "You must spend the night here; tomorrow you can return."

So *Slskło* slept that night in Bear's house.

Next day—it was really next year, because one night in the land of supernatural beings is equivalent to a year in the land of mortals—Black Bear said:

"I make you a shaman (I, p. 539). One end of your bow, as far as the middle, will be as if coated with power. If you have a quarrel with a man just wave that end towards him and he will fall dead. If you wish him to come to life again, wave the other end and he will be revived."

Then Black Bear took off his pelt and gave it to *Slskło*, saying, "If you want to strike down several people, put on my skin, scatter eagle down on it, and then shake yourself. The down will fly in all directions

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and when it lights on your enemies it will cause them to fall to the ground. Their arms, legs, bodies, wherever the down has touched them, will swell, so that they will be unable to get up again. Unless you recall the fluff to yourself they will die. Now I will take you home." 539 *

Slskłɔ set out with Black Bear, but when they reached the edge of the woods the latter returned. Instead of at once entering his father's house, *Slskłɔ* went to the back of it where he shook the planking, and disturbed his younger sister, *'enłłälän-a*, who was within. She went out to investigate, and ran in again, calling out to *Sımsiutaäkıs:*

"Mother, mother, *Slskłɔ* has come back."

But her mother answered, "You liar. Your brother has long been dead."

The little girl went out again, and when she returned a second time to tell the same story, *Sımsiutaäkıs* herself went out. She was almost overcome with joy at seeing her long-lost son.

Slskłɔ would not enter the house until *Nuixeq* had built for him a raised platform behind the fire and had scattered sand on the floor. When this was done he crawled through a hole in the roof direct to the staging. That evening *Slskłɔ* called *'enłłälän-a*, saying,

"Tomorrow I am going to *Nuxälk*, [Bella Coola]. I do not wish to mar our parents' pleasure at my return by telling them of my departure, so say nothing about it now; but tomorrow, when they discover my absence, you can tell them where I have gone and that it will be all right."

Slskłɔ slept that night in his parents' house.

In the morning he assumed the form of a black bear and set off. In those early days there were no trees, so he was able to travel without stopping to pick a path and soon reached the village of *Älqäläxl* near the mouth of the *Pe-śıłɔ*. Here he again changed himself to a man, wearing a black bear-skin blanket. At this point *Slskłɔ* met a man and the two became *sıäx*, boon companions. *Slskłɔ* went to all the houses in *Älqäläxl* and invited the young people to gather on a level piece of ground near the river, saying that they would see something peculiar. When they had assembled he suddenly changed himself to a black bear and ran to and fro among the startled crowd. Then he retransformed himself to human form, whereupon all the girls fell in love with him as something new, strange, and altogether desirable. But *Slskłɔ* only laughed at them.

Then his friend said, "*Säıai*, why don't you go across the river and repeat your performance at *Slskiıł*?"

So *Slskłɔ* and his friend crossed in a river dug-out. They called the young people of *Łempo-ıs* and *Slskiıł* together on a level piece of ground below the latter village and here *Slskłɔ* repeated his performance. As before, many of the women fell in love with him; but the men, their

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*539 husbands and lovers, were so angry at the interloper that they decided to raid Green Bay. *Slskla*'s friend, however, learnt of this plan and told his comrade. "All right," replied *Slskla*, "if they dare to do so I will show them my power. Of course you will have to accompany them, but when the attack is launched stay a short distance to one side. You will not be hurt."

Slskla now determined to return home. But the raiders, who were assembling at *Kit·co*, a point on the south side of North Bentinck Arm about a quarter mile from the head, had taken all the canoes, so the best *Slskla*'s friend could obtain for him was the broken bow of a river canoe. In this frail craft he reached *Änusg*, on the north side of North Bentinck Arm about one mile from the head, without difficulty, and there he took on the form of a black bear once more. In this guise he travelled so rapidly that he reached Green Bay long before the raiders.

Once more in human form, *Slskla* said to his parents, "A Bella Coola war-party is on its way to attack us, because they are angry at the way I have attracted their women. Stay inside the house, and all will be well."

Before long the hostile canoes appeared in close formation near the beach. *Slskla* had donned his bear blanket, over which he had strewed a large quantity of eagle down. He now shook himself. As Black Bear had promised, the down flew in all directions and those of the enemy on whom it lighted fell helpless to the bottom of their canoes, their arms, legs, heads, or bodies swollen beyond recognition. After a time *Slskla* called back the down, thus curing his victims. As he did so he told his father's herald to call out to the attackers that they must never again try to raid Green Bay. In spite of their discomfiture many of the Bella Coola rashly landed to press the assault, but *Slskla* climbed on to the roof of the house, from which point he struck them down with the death-dealing end of his bow. When the abortive attack had ended with the death of all those who had landed, *Slskla*'s *sätux* came to shore and requested him to restore his relatives to life. The two walked among the corpses, the friend pointing out his relations, whom *Slskla* revived with the life-giving end of his bow. Each of those brought back to life begged for a friend, which *Slskla* granted, until finally he had restored all those whom he had slain.

In their gratitude many of the Bella Coola besought *Slskla* to accept their daughters as wives. He took only one wife, but by this marriage [582] friendly relations were established between Green Bay and Bella Coola, and ever since that time the people of the two places have intermarried and been on the best of terms.

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Nusxeq had a younger brother whose name was *Sınxäkila*. The latter moved across North Bentinck Arm to *Sätlia*, the southeast point between North and South Bentinck Arms. Here he married and in time became the father of a daughter, *Ämkpls*, who was about the same age as *Nusxeq*'s daughter *'enllälän·a*. On one occasion when *Nusxeq* took his daughter on a visit to his brother, the two girls enjoyed playing together very much.

A short time after this *Sınxäkila* became a shaman. He saw a copper house with a loon totem-pole emerge from the ocean near *Sätlia*; it was the house of *Ḷomoqwa*, lord of the under-water world. *Ḷomoqwa* was inside with his long hair extending from beneath his huge hat. He greeted *Sınxäkila* and gave him the wonderful copper house to live in. As a result of this supernatural experience *Sınxäkila* was able to give his daughter the names, *Känusläliäm*, "Pretty Copper," and *Äls'ɣmän·a*, "The Clang of Copper."

Unaware of her uncle's good fortune, *'enllälän·a* again went to visit *Ämkpls*. She was amazed at the beautiful house, and was filled with envy of her cousin's names and of the luxurious copper room in which she lived in one of the front corners of the house. And *Ämkpls* had become too proud to play with her former friend. This made *'enllälän·a* so miserable that she went home at once and begged her father to get her a nice house too.

After some deliberation *Nusxeq* married, fictitiously, his daughter to *Ämkpls*. As a result of the exchange of presents which ensued, *'enllälän·a* obtained many copper articles as well as the name *Äls'ɣmän·a*, and *Ämkpls* received a Cannibal dance with the name *'Łıamdimut*, of which the incubus (II, p. 78) was a snake. The repository of this name is beneath a large boulder at Green Bay, where, too, is that of a Cannibal dancer, *Kwala·ıstımut*.

Secure in the wealth which *Ḷomoqwa* had brought him, *Sınxäkila* was able to marry his daughter, fictitiously, to many chiefs. He always gave with her presents of copper. When *Ämkpls* was old enough she was married to a *Nulleax* chief.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nusxeq*
(*Second version told as a mere story*)

Once, long ago, at Green Bay a boy, walking along a path seeking suitable wood for a bow, stepped in some black bear dung which he angrily rubbed off on the grass. Soon he met a bear, who was annoyed at what he had done and asked him to come to his home. The two set off together, travelling easily owing to the power possessed by all bears

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* 539 of passing through ridges and rocks without effort. They reached a house within a mountain, where others had assembled for a potlatch. It was mid-winter. Bears perform *kusiut* dances as men do and dance through the winter, but they lack the ability to become shamans. The lad told his guide that he was hungry, whereupon the latter reached down and took off the small dimple from one side of his haunch, put in it a minute helping of salmon roe, and gave to his guest. The boy was angry at the meagreness of his portion, but his host told him to eat as much as he could since the supply was inexhaustible. The youth ate and ate, until he became fat, but he could make no impression on the food.

After a time the lad returned home to Green Bay. Search-parties had scoured the woods for him without success, but his mother was weeping for him as dead. He remained outside, but called her by name. A younger brother, hearing him, told his mother, but she did not believe him at first; finally she went outside where she saw her long-lost son. He bade her spread fresh sand on the floor, and when this was done he went in.

As a result of his visit to the bear's home, the youth obtained a small but remarkable canoe with a wonderful paddle. In this he and his partner used to travel. One end of the paddle held aloft kept at a distance the strongest wind, and smoothed a patch of water before the canoe, so that the one man paddling was able to make phenomenal headway. The two used to visit villages within a convenient radius so that the bear-boy might seduce the women. The partner would remain in the settlement to allay suspicion, while his friend would go to the woods behind and, by his supernatural power, will that women should come to him. He repeated this practice so often that the inhabitants of *Ḷomqo·ts* decided to kill him and his whole family, and endeavoured to take advantage of one of his visits to their village. His canoe was on the beach, and to prevent his return to Green Bay they destroyed it and all of their own that were drawn up in the vicinity. The partner saw the deed, and transmitted the news of it through the air to his friend, who rejoined him. One canoe was not entirely wrecked, so they took a small piece of the side that was left, and on it paddled to a point on the north side of North Bentinck Arm about one-half mile from its head. Here the bear-boy transformed himself into a bear, and in this guise was able to travel rapidly overland to Green Bay, while his partner continued to paddle in that direction close to shore.

On reaching home the bear-boy said to his father:

"A war-party is coming against us entirely on my account."

"I know nothing about it," his father replied.

"You stay inside, I will deal with them," his son continued.

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He made a platform on the roof from which he watched and soon with his marvellous vision he was able to descry the fleet leaving *Ḷomqo·ts*. As he had willed, his enemies drew near on canoes lashed together, and furnished with platforms from which stones could be thrown. When they reached Green Bay, he projected his bear power at them and they succumbed. He allowed them to recover, again they came on, and again he felled them, and so for several times until he had killed them all. Then he came down from his station on the roof and told his father and mother to pick out their friends.

"I shall resuscitate them," he said, "and throw the others into the ocean, otherwise the stench would be oppressive."

His parents pointed out to him their friends, whom he revived. Each thus restored begged him to save some friend; these asked for others, until he had revivified all. His father, a chief, gave a feast, at which marriages between Green Bay and *Ḷomqo·ts* people were arranged.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Sätlia*[31]

In the beginning of time there was a village on the lower Fraser, in which everything was abalone-shell. It was there that Raven came to earth from above and assisted the chief, *Dodosong*ʷ'. The two set off together in a canoe to visit *Ł̄ālia*, a town in which everything was copper and where lived a chief, whose name was likewise *Ł̄ālia*, with his daughter *Ł̄āliaaiuts*. They reached this settlement in safety and *Ł̄ālia* gave his guests a copper canoe, a copper box in which were all kinds of foods reduced to small bulk, and a *sisook* dance whistle. Finally, on *Dodosong*ʷ' he bestowed his daughter *Ł̄āliaaiuts*, as wife. Then Raven, *Dodosong*ʷ', and the latter's wife returned to the abalone-shell town.

*Dodosong*ʷ' and his wife set out in the copper canoe to distribute the gifts which he had received from *Ł̄ālia*. First they went to the Haida country and gave a whistle; the Haida chief blew on it and the whole face of the world was altered. Although but one whistle had been received, the supply was inexhaustible; another always appeared when the first had been given away. *Dodosong*ʷ' returned from the land of the Haida to his home on the Fraser, and again set out with his wife in the copper canoe. He gave one whistle to the China Hat people; one to the people of a Bella Bella village; and one to the people of the present Bella Bella village, the recipients in each case giving in return some blood to *Dodosong*ʷ' and his wife. From Bella Bella he went to Rivers Inlet where he

[31]Related by Captain Myers. The following important myth has been recorded in detail by Boas (p. 50). The present writer was able to obtain only a fragmentary version from an old man already in his dotage.

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*539 gave a whistle to the village of *Wanuq*, and also threw overboard some of the fish that were in the copper box. They became olachen, from which sprang all the olachen of Rivers Inlet. *Dadosong*ʷ and his wife proceeded up Rivers Inlet, giving a whistle to each village until they reached the head of the inlet, whence they journeyed to *Samkoil*, a settlement on the lake beyond, and from there to the town at the head of the lake, in each depositing the usual whistle. They portaged the copper canoe along the overland trail running thence to the head of South Bentinck Arm, and in due course reached *Ás*ʷ, at the head of the fiord. Here *Dadosong*ʷ gave a whistle and a number of olachen, the latter being the progenitors of the olachen in that inlet. They travelled down South Bentinck Arm, delaying at the various settlements to give a whistle and olachen to each. Their stopping-places included *Ḳwapa*, *Nuk*ʷ and the last *Ḳamkoil*, an island in the fiord. Thence the copper canoe ascended North Bentinck Arm to Bella Coola, where *Dadosong*ʷ and *Ḳáliasiats* built a house on the site of the present *Álpálał*. They lived in it for a number of years, until the people of Bella Coola protested so strongly against the din of the whistles which kept sounding continuously that they moved away.

*Dadosong*ʷ and his wife travelled in their copper canoe to *Sátlia*, the point between North and South Bentinck Arms, where they built a huge copper house. In this they lived for a great many years and many children were born to them. The people from Bella Coola were friendly with the *Sátlia* people, whom they frequently visited and with whom they exchanged presents, and sought to marry the children of *Dadosong*ʷ. Among them was a lad, *Ánuḳpumlaix*, who was very unhappy because of his father's neglect and lack of affection. He made a bow and hunted ducks for four days. Then he lay and wept for four days. On the fourth day, as he lay on the beach weeping and sleeping, he heard a voice:

"Get up, get up; think of your friends."

A man led him to a house that had risen from the sea, in which seals were being given away. The man wished him to enter by the door, but *Ánuḳpumlaix* was afraid because beneath it lay an evil monster, a *sḳámtsk*, which lived on the flesh of human corpses. However, he succeeded in entering the back of the house.

Here the narrator stopped abruptly.

SECOND ORIGIN MYTH OF *Sátlia*[11]

Long ago, when the world was first populated, there came down in human form to *Sátlia*, near the junction of North and South Bentinck

[11]Related by Steamboat Annie.

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Arms, two brothers, *Snaxhākila* and *Miai'sila*, with their sister, *Sللsلān·i*. *Ālqunlām* had provided them with means of sustenance; *Sللsلān·i* brought cranberries and *Miai'sila* a model salmon-trap, such as is used in salt water. The three had no house, but *Ālqunlām* sent them some logs of driftwood from which *Snaxhākila* constructed a shelter, which they called *Yentsānl* because it was made of flotsam. On the roof *Snaxhākila* placed a huge copper with which the smoke vent could be closed, and immediately above the door a wooden loon kept calling incessantly. 539*

When they had been on this earth for some time *Snaxhākila* became a shaman from the sight of a copper house that rose from the depths of the ocean in mid-channel. He paddled out to it in his canoe, climbed to the roof on a conveniently placed ladder, and went from the roof down inside. Then he discovered that it was the house of *Qomoqwa*, who was sitting in the middle behind the fire, his long hair protruding from beneath his huge hat. All around the walls were paintings of different denizens of the water world, and various creatures were sharing the house. As *Snaxhākila* stood by the front door looking inwards he saw on his right a number of seals sitting around a small fire in one corner of the house. In the opposite corner, on his left, also by a fire, was a very old woman; in some unexplained manner *Snaxhākila* knew that her name was *Nuixwanaix*. In the right-hand rear corner a man, *Nusqwal*, was seated by his fire, and in the remaining corner, by a fourth fire, was another man, *Nunuxemlaix*. *Xaqānts*, the Heron, was stalking back and forth behind the fire; as his dignified gait shows, he is a chief, and as such has the chiefly names, *Numelsدmut*, *ıxwappātsدjut*, *Ānuxlnımدmut*, and *Ānutcekلāmدmut*. Near the left wall, opposite the fire, was a large box, *Snulkānāls*, containing heavy coppers, *tskankدmut*, and mice, which gnawed incessantly. A porcupine and a grizzly bear were playing together in the back-room. Halibut was lying outside the front door so that anyone jumping down outside leaped through its open mouth into its stomach. Whale was likewise lying outside, parallel to the front wall of the house. The totem-pole of this strange house was *Ḱدxta*, a supernatural ocean being. [551]

From his seat behind the fire *Qomoqwa* greeted *Snaxhākila* in a kindly fashion. The chief wrapped some of his own hair around a stick and pulled, thus breaking off a few strands, which he gave to his guest. He then told him to take three names for the use of himself and his children forever: they were, *Tskankدmut*, the coppers, *Āmkpls*, the mice, and *Snulkānāls*, the box in which these were contained. After spending a few hours with *Qomoqwa*, *Snaxhākila* returned to land, whereupon a gale arose and the house sank beneath the waves. [551]

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*539 In course of time *Snayhdhila* became so wealthy that he was able to call people from far and near for a potlatch. He built a house identical in every particular with that of *Ḵ̓omoqua* as he had seen it. He bestowed on his children not only the names which *Ḵ̓omoqua* gave to him, but also
[551] two which he took from what he had seen, *Ḵ̓ants*, the whale which was outside the front of the house, and *Ednikhs*, the significance of which could not be determined.

[552] These two designations have since been transmitted in this family, and now been bestowed on a dog, there being no children left.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Tāl io*[*]

In the beginning of time, *Ālqunūm* sent down to this world a man, *Ā imdzaix*, with his two sisters, *Ālcamka*, "The Abalone-Shell Woman," and *Ālhlxēn-iallīux*, "The One with Abalone on Her Hat." The three landed on an island several miles in circumference, formed of an enormous abalone-shell; its location is now unknown, but it was somewhere in the south, presumably not far from Vancouver. Here they dwelt for some time and began to construct a house for themselves out of the shell. All the time they longed to travel in search of a desirable place to settle, but they lacked means of transportation. At this juncture Raven appeared, and offered them a canoe if they would promise to use it. They readily agreed and presently the supernatural bird returned with one. It was a *sḵāmtsk*, one of the mythical monsters who live beneath the ocean and suck down small craft by opening their mouths.

Ā imdzaix and his sisters embarked. They had decorated their hats and blankets with abalone-shell and took with them a large store of the same material. Raven perched on the bow and croaked whenever they drew near a landing-place. After travelling a considerable distance, they saw smoke rising, and presently noticed a house. *Ā imdzaix* landed to investigate and found it occupied by a solitary woman, *Tlēkwskīlayukw*; the place where she lived was called *Nagwdlax*, probably on Schooner Pass. *Ā imdzaix* asked her to accompany the party as his sister (meaning here a non-marriageable female relative, not an own sister). She agreed after much discussion. The four continued their travels until they drew near Fort Rupert, where they saw more smoke. As before, *Ā imdzaix* landed and found another solitary woman, *Kwal'hila'yukw*, whom he also persuaded to join the group as his sister. The five now passed on to Rivers Inlet, where Raven vanished. The others thought he had left them but, unknown to them all, he had entered *Tlēkwskīlayukw*'s body. They paddled as far as the lake at the head of Rivers Inlet where they abandoned

[*]Related by Mrs. Schooner.

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their craft and set out on foot along the overland path to the head of South Bentinck Arm. 539*

Midway along this trail the travellers saw a house, called *Tsēkwalat* because it could lengthen itself at will. From this supernatural sight each of the five became a shaman. This house was a replica of the one above in which mankind was made and, like it, contained many rooms, in each of which lived an individual speaking a different language. *Ā'imlaxis* failed to understand them and in his annoyance scattered the speakers, who fled to different parts of the coast where each increased and perpetuated his own language. This is why the various coastal tribes have their own tongues; if *Ā'imlaxis* had been able to understand them in *Tsēkwalat* there would be no diversity of speech now. [829]

Various dances were taking place in the rooms within the house. There was a constant din from the large whistles used in *nusēt* ceremonial which sounded of their own accord and were continually answered by Echo. Only at this place and at *Nuxalk* did Echo appear to the first people; hence only the descendants of *Ā'imlaxis* and of the *Nuxalk* people have the right to portray him in their dances. *Ana'ēkwalaxis* (II, p. 8) stood near the door; when at last she called out, the *nusēt* whistles became silent as if in fear. [824] [525]

Continuing their journey the travellers reached *Tāl'ēs*, at the head of South Bentinck Arm, where a solitary man, *Nuxowula*, was living. At this place *Tsēkwakilayakwa* gave birth to Raven, who was born as a boy with the legs of a raven. *Ā'imlaxis* named him *ulqalēwqwendjinas*. After a short sojourn at *Tāl'ēs* they ascended the river, and presently *Ā'imlaxis* saw a female grizzly bear, whom he also invited to join the party as his sister. The bear accepted and he endeavoured to change the creature to a woman. He had fair success with the paws and face; that is why these parts of a bear are similar to those of men at the present day, but the beast's hairy hide defied his efforts and in disgust he told it to run away. Before banishing it, he bade the animal always show a friendly disposition to human beings, wherefore grizzly bears at *Tāl'ēs* have never been known to attack a person. The party proceeded up the river to Mount *Sisq'*, where *Ā'imlaxis* found a repository (II, p. 8) through the discovery of which he became a Cannibal with the name *Sisaxāl'ka* and an eagle as incubus. From this point they returned to *Tāl'ēs*, where they settled permanently. [825]

Many of the names which occur in this myth are still in use. Mrs. Schooner's designation as chief is *Tsēkwakilayakwa*, a name that can be used by either man or woman; in the former case the suffix *yakwa* is 551

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551 dropped. *Kuul'kila'yakw* is held by a Port Rupert chief. Several *hamat* names, with dances, were obtained from *Tsēmālōl* where the travellers saw them being performed; among them were *Ānuhkhnuit* and *Dudeqpas*, which are now used by two Bella Coola women. *Ālkomka* is now a Cannibal (II, p. 71) name. At *Tāl'ic* *Ā'ōmlaic* gave a *hamat* dance, and with his own power made there a repository as if he had brought it with him from *Tsēmālōl*. This was only possible because of his supernatural power as one of the first people, strengthened by his becoming a shaman through seeing *Tsēmālōl*.

SECOND ORIGIN MYTH OF *Tāl'ic*[*]

§ 539 In the beginning, there came down to the Skeena River,[*] *Nacqtqs*, *Nacqemda*, *Wīnqoit*, and their younger sister *Nalīxumaukis*; they brought from *Ālqawīnw* some of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *hamat* ceremonials.[*] The three travelled all over the coast seeking a place in which to settle, and always the whistles kept calling out of their own accord, giving advice. Finally they decided to locate at *Tāl'ic*, the head of South Bentinck Arm.

When they had lived there for some time, the neighbours objected to the din of the whistles, which drove away oolachen and herring, so *Nacqemda* built a high, narrow mound of refuse, on the tip of which he constructed his house. The building was peculiar; its door opened horizontally and used to close with a crash when anyone entered. On either side of the hill there lived a *cuang*, whose keen ears could hear the wailing of an infant at any distance. In those ancient days, these beasts were like dogs and did not annoy mortals; they were servants to *Nacqemda*. [179] One day he learnt that a raiding-party was approaching, but instead of being afraid he instructed the *cuang* to use their power when it drew near. When the hostile canoes came in sight the two creatures reversed their eyeballs, causing a blinding flash which stunned the occupants of the canoes. After a little they recovered consciousness and again came on, but again the *cuang* reversed their eyeballs with a like result. When this had happened several times the raiders withdrew discouraged.

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[*]Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

[*]It is not uncommon for the Skeena to figure as the place where some of the first people came to earth; but few descended nearer to Bella Coola than that region.

[*]This prerogative is less common among the Bella Coola than the Bella Bella.

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THIRD ORIGIN MYTH OF *Tâl ió*[1]

Long, long ago, when the first people came to earth it was very different from now. There were no trees on the mountains, all were bare and hard like rock and flatter than at present. There was no sun, since it was contained in a *nuxwnda*, a light container, within *Ałquntim*'s house. Raven desired to get the sun for this world, so he went to the house and asked *Ałquntim* for it. The supreme being refused and allowed Raven only to play with it on the floor. Raven, too wily to be satisfied with this, waited his opportunity to open the door and threw out the sun, breaking the container as he did so. In this way it was obtained for mankind. 539

About this time *Ałquntim* sent down to the head of Rivers Inlet a man, *Kuxpałłinum*, and a woman, *Nuqłłapałłw-a*. At this time the only clothing worn was made of yellow cedar-bark and animal skins. The couple begot children, who in turn married and had offspring, but *Kuxpałłinum* did not grow old. Near the settlement there was a lake, on the shore of which his grandchildren often played, in spite of constant danger from a *sp̓ámtł* which lived in it, and which had, in fact, sucked in several victims. This *sp̓ámtł* was a creature as big as a house, which could rise or sink in the water at will and was able to suck in its victims through its mouth-door. *Kuxpałłinum* realized that *Ałquntim* had given him power to slay this evil monster. Accordingly, he boldly entered the water and succeeded in passing into the interior of the house-stomach through an opening in the side; even he would have perished if he had tried the front door, which was likewise the mouth. Inside was a chief, whose name was *Sp̓ámtł*, like that of his house; he wore a huge hat with weasels running around the brim. *Kuxpałłinum* asked *Sp̓ámtł* whence he had obtained all the many wonderful things hanging on the wall.

"If you are brave," the chief replied, "you will be able to get not only my possessions, but my house and my name as well."

So it transpired. *Kuxpałłinum* remained for some time in *Sp̓ámtł*'s house and executed some wonderful paintings on its walls; then summoned the people to come and see them. Four times he did this, using the house for his potlatches; then he left.

He set out for the south shore of North Bentinck Arm about two miles from its head. As he travelled a raven stalked along the road before him, carrying a copper in each hand and calling out the road he should follow. On the site selected he built a house, *Tołłwałał*, so large that the front door was invisible from the back-room. Within there lived the members of the different coastal tribes: Fort Rupert Indians, Rivers Inlet people, Bella Bella, Kimsquit, and Bella Coola, each group of which used its [829]

[1]Related by Robert Hood.

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*539 829 special type of whistle. *Kaespektnum* remained in this house until he had given four potlatches. Then he removed to *Ápu·i*, near *Tál·io* River on South Bentinck Arm. His house still stands there, but it has become an island around which the clouds mass whenever a hostile raiding-party is approaching, so as to conceal from them their objective.

[197] From their long residence in this house *Tál·io* people understand the language of their Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and other coastal neighbours better than do the Bella Coola.

FOURTH ORIGIN MYTH OF *Tál·io*[50]

*539 Among the first people sent down to earth were four who landed at the river *Tcold*, on the mainland opposite Fort Rupert. Their names were: *Ninitsamlaix*, a man who became the leader of the group; *Nayul·-laix*, a woman; *Ínuxhmutlm*, a man; and another woman, *Inuxmuth-mán·a*. They met a wasp, which helped them by pointing out the proper road to follow and by killing evil things which barred their path. With this assistance they were able to reach *Tál·io*, where they settled and where *Ninitsamlaix* plucked a number of twigs from the branches of a spruce tree near the ocean. These twigs became the people over whom he was chief.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nalal*[51]

In the beginning of time there came down to Mount *Swaly*, near the mouth of the Dean River, two brothers, *Xemcus* and *Sinagul*, their sister *Ḳáḳms*, and their herald *Ḳáḳáḳ*. *Xemcus* came as an eagle, but at once assumed human form; apparently the others had always been human. They moved down, and formed a settlement at *Nalal*, near the mouth of the Dean River. *Xemcus* had brought with him as a present from *Ałquentm*, some olachen, called by their supernatural name, *dłpnaiyu·a*, which he threw into the water. They increased rapidly and became the ancestors [825] of all the olachen at Kimsquit. Thus provided with food, the brothers prospered so that they were able to give many potlatches. In course of time *Ḳáḳms* was married to *Nedkila*, a chief who had come to earth on the upper Dean River.

At one of their potlatches *Sinagul* performed a *łlaiyáłem* dance, as *Ałquentm* had instructed him to do before leaving *Nuxmit·a*. Valuable

[50]Fragmentary version, related by Billy Pollard.

[51]For another version see Boas, p. 65. It was impossible to obtain this myth from any of the descendants of *Xemcus*; it is unlikely that the above is more than an outline.

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presents were distributed to validate the name, *Tlelpelem*, which *Sisaqal* had chosen for himself. 576*

Sisaqal married a Bella Bella woman who brought with her the prerogative of a dance with respect to the devil-fish. In Bella Bella this rite was connected both with the *hamat* and the *seanl*, but in Kimsquit it was performed only as a *hamat* dance. It was first given there by *Ladpaw-i*, a relative of *Sisaqal*, and has since been performed in like fashion in Kimsquit. Their daughter received the Bella Bella name, *Talkoa*, which has since remained in Kimsquit. [424] [575] [535] [551]

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Ape-i*[*]

In the beginning of time there came to *Ape-i*, on the east side of the Dean River, about one mile from the sea, *Sawamlko* and his three younger brothers. They brought a stone hammer as their present from *Alpawlem*. After they had lived some time on this earth, *Sawamlko* asked *Talkinwa* to have a canoe ready for him on the morrow. By the next day *Talkinwa* had completed a fine craft. *Sawamlko* was delighted and spent four days fitting it out; then set out with his three younger brothers for a trip to the far north, where he knew by report that abalone-shells were to be found.* The four did not know the route and were constantly penetrating into fords from which there was no exit; however, they persevered and were helped by all whom they encountered, *Sawamlko*'s name being well known. After a month's voyage, they reached their goal. They found themselves before a lofty precipice falling sheer into the ocean with a cavern visible in it at very low tide. This they boldly entered. At first they were deluged with falling sea-fish; in fact, their canoe would have been sunk by the weight of them if the youngest brother had not held up his cedar-bark cloak to ward them off. A little further on they found countless abalone-shells, with which they swiftly filled the canoe, fearing lest the tide should rise sufficiently to prevent their return if they stayed to investigate further. Once safely outside they camped, and the eldest brother took the opportunity to harrow canoe on the younger brothers for things they had seen or done on the way. He called his second brother *Nawaw-ewa*, "The Warrior," as if he had fought against the abalone; the third *Ala-lauda*, "Falling Sea-Fish," and the younger *Alaqua*, "The Reed-Maker," a reference to the

*Related by Jim Pelkwi. Boas (p. 60), has recorded a similar myth from Bella Coola with different characters.

*The Bella Coola are emphatic in stating that abalone-shell came from the north or the east; possibly this may be explained by an indirect trade route. [487]

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manner in which he had shielded them from the falling fish. *Sowenikc* alone kept his original name.

When returning they made presents of *ehalem-shell*[*] to everyone they met, and reaching *Kimsquit* they made very valuable gifts to all the people. The four had been absent about six months, and as they approached their home the three elder brothers poked fun at *Skaqen*, saying:

"You will find that your wife has gone to another husband while ours will be waiting for us."

They found the reverse to be true. *Skaqen's* wife alone had remained faithful to her absent husband; all the others had taken new consorts. The three fickle wives repented when they had done so soon as they saw the wealth brought back by their former husbands but it was too late to change their course, so they were left lamenting. Many people were rather jealous of *Sowenikc's* success, but he distributed valuable presents to all. Soon after this the three brothers married new wives, refusing to take back their former ones, much as the latter desired it.

Another informant stated that the first settler at this village was a single man, *Tsaikc*, who brought a stone hammer as a present from *Sqawtin*.

CRITIC MYTH OF *Nazqwalt*[**]

In the beginning of time *Sqawtin* sent down to the Dean River four brothers, *cowayqwat*, *Tsilin*, *Tsenkitlmais*, *Tsaikcdiwat*, and their sister *Sainsiw*. They brought with them a herald, *Nazqwalain*, who was a kingfisher, and two men, *Kwatsis* and *Qalaiya*, who had the prerogative of dancing at weddings. The five came as black bears, and for a long time remained that form. *Tsilin* carried with him from *Nazmir* a several mountain, a stone axe, some dyed cedar-bark, sticks for making fire, and the prerogative of a *kwiar* dance. After tarrying a few days at their landing place, the party set out down the river, with *Nazqwalain* flying in front as guide. He was a kingfisher at the time and used to make short flights with quivering wings, and then stop until his bear friends had caught up with him, exactly as those birds do at the present time when a canoe travels up a river. On reaching *Nazqwalt*, "The Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon," about a mile and a quarter from the mouth of the river, on the south-east side, they camped for the night.

[*] This was formerly valued very highly, both for its use as beads and ornaments, and because it had to be imported from a great distance.
[**] Related by Jim Pelkmit.

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Next morning they found a house in readiness for them, a short distance from the bank; its name was *Nuxalpkum*, and it had been created for them by *Alquntim* who had selected this spot for their residence. It resembled other houses except that the door was in a back corner instead of in the middle of the front because bears must not approach the river, and the fire still had urine characteristics. The salmon would have been frightened if they had lived too near. The paintings on the back walls were of Kingfisher.

Chips from their firewood floated downstream to the point where *Smanu* (I, p. 332) lived. Judging that someone was encamped above him, he set out to investigate. He met *Yaklo* and entered into conversation with him, finally asking if he, *Smanu*, might marry *Yaklo*'s sister, *Sximdzu*, "The Light-Bearer." *Yaklo* agreed, and the two were married in due course. At this ceremony a marriage song given by *Alquntim* was first used.[9]

Ayayayar and his brothers made a special kind of fish-trap, in which they caught large quantities of trout and steel-head salmon, and below them *Smanu* and his family were also catching large quantities of salmon. The two settlements combined to give a potlatch. The brothers built an extension to the house to accommodate their guests, and when all were seated a representation of a black bear emerged from the room at the back of the house, imitating the appearance and actions of its ancestor when first they arrived on this earth. The artifacts brought by *Ayayayar* and his brothers from above were displayed to the guests, as has since been done on similar occasions by their descendants. At this potlatch the name *Nalpkinlaic* was given to *Sximdzu*, having reference to the tabooed house with the rear doorway.

Yaklo once sent his kingfisher herald up the river to discover whether or not there were people there, for at that time it was unknown country. He reported that there were, so *Yaklo* built a canoe, in the manner taught by Raven, and set off; *en route* he met the upstream settlers, who had Skawine learn the art of making canoes and were travelling downstream on an errand similar to his own.

The brothers used some of their wealth on one occasion to give a *hamat* dance, at which they validated for *Nanpulaic* the Breaker (II, p. 123) name, *Nandemlaic*. This refers to the way in which he had flown with quivering wings when a kingfisher, and as he danced he shook his hands in imitation of this. This name had been given him by *Alquntim*, as had also his third, *Gilkiwat*, referring to his status as herald.

Smanu and *Sximdzu* had many children who formed a bond between

[9] Has since been transmitted as a prerogative by the descendants of this couple.

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[539] the people of Kimsquit and the Dean River, and ever since then inter-
[582] marriages have been common.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Sinal'ot*[*]

Soon after the first people had reached this earth *Ilpuntsw* feared that as they increased, they might quarrel about land tenure. Accordingly he sent down to *Sinal'ot*, on the Dean River thirty-five miles from the sea, three brothers, *Ilpuntsw*, *ttyayayat*, and *Ililcoos*, a name in many [551] cases used by women, with their sister *Iyaje'tl*. He gave the oldest brother instructions to divide the land among the different villages. *Ilpuntsw* came in the guise of a mountain goat, but promptly sent his animal cloak back to the land above, before starting downstream. To the inhabitants of each town he allotted certain valleys in the vicinity to serve as hunting-grounds, and told the people that these, and only these, were to be theirs forever. After reaching the coast, he travelled down Dean Inlet as far as the Bella Bella country, likewise allotting land to the different settlements, and marking each boundary with a stick. After finishing his task, *Ilpuntsw* returned up the Dean River to his brothers. The three built a weir that spanned the river, and in it they caught so many steel-head salmon that the Carriers used to come from great distances to buy from them. *Iyaje'tl* was married to a chief living on the lower part of the river, and her brothers, too, came below for their wives. *Ilpuntsw* ultimately moved to *Nuqtqts*, on the east side of the Dean River, twenty-five miles from the sea.

ttyayayat had come from above in the form of a deer. After taking [925] off this cloak, he released it as an animal, which become the ancestor of all the deer near Kimsquit. They did not like *Sinal'ot*, where it was very cold, so they moved to *Nikinik*, on Dean Inlet, about three miles below Kimsquit, and there built their town. Unfortunately, the snowfall was so heavy that they had much trouble in lighting their fires; sometimes as much as ten feet of snow fell in a single night.

"Please, *Ililcoos*," said the deer, "don't keep falling on us."

In the language of men, *snow* is *kai*, and *Ililcoos* means "Copper One," but the language of deer is quite different. The snow, unmoved by their appeals, continued to fall, until at last the deer held a meeting and resolved to move away to the outer coast near Bella Bella, and never [925] return again. They carried out this plan, and it is only within the last few years that some have come back, although for centuries some lived near Kimsquit.

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*Related by Jim Pollard.

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ORIGIN MYTH OF *Äsklia*[46]

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In the beginning of time *Älquntäm* sent down to *Äsklia*, Salmon House on the Dean River, *Noätkila*, his younger brother *Tcaqos*, and their sister *Swalkanäh*, "Box," so named from a supernatural box in the land above. *Tcaqos* brought a caribou with him, and released it on earth.[47] With these people came as herald, The Wasp of Heaven, who later assumed human form and guided them. *Tcaqos* at once moved inland to the country of the Carrier Indians, where he remained,[48] taking the adapted name *Qaqos*.

Noätkila, unprovided with a house or clothing, was so lonely and unhappy that for four days he lay hungry, inert and despondent, alone with his sister. *Älquntäm* had promised to provide for his welfare, and, four days after *Noätkila*'s landing, sent down the four supernatural carpenters to help him. *Yulätimut* at once cheered his drooping spirits by building him a house, which was a replica of *Nusmät·a* itself. *Noätkila* asked the third carpenter, *Mätlabälitcak*, to provide him with food, and the latter, obedient to *Älquntäm*'s instructions, whittled a steel-head salmon from maple wood and put it into the river. The fish came to life, swam, and jumped for a short time, but soon died. The carpenter tried several times with the same result. Then Raven appeared and gave him the bone which every steel-head salmon has in the back of its neck. *Mätlabälitcak* put this bone in one of his wooden models, and when he had thrown it in the river it swam strongly and survived. This fish multiplied so rapidly that *Noätkila* and his sister were able to support themselves on this kind of salmon, which have been plentiful in the Dean River ever since. [825]

After a time *Noätkila* decided to visit the people dwelling on the ocean. He asked *Mätlabälitcak* for a canoe, and the carpenter made him one in the form of an enormous merganser, that travelled without visible motive power. At that time the Dean River disappeared beneath a huge boulder a short distance above the sea, but the craft shattered the rock and opened a channel.[49]

At the mouth of the Dean River *Noätkila* met *Xemcua* and married his sister *Äskma*, using at this ceremony a wordless marriage song given him by *Älquntäm*. They had many children and ever since that time there have been intermarriages and friendly relations between the people of Salmon House and Kimsquit. [582]

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[46]Related by Jim Pollard; for another version of this myth see Boas, p. 66.

[47]Its footprints can still be seen in the rocks near Salmon House.

[48]The obvious fact that the Carriers must already have been in the land does not strike the Bella Coola. They do not theorize on the subject, but if asked, reply that they too were sent down from above at the same time. [829]

[49]The canyon on this river marks the site of the obstruction.

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*539 [551] The names embodied in this myth are still in use. That of *Noākila* was validated at a potlatch during the winter of 1921, after being dormant since the death of the eighth *Noākila*, an old man, which had taken place some thirty years previously.[50] To illustrate this myth a representation is made of the merganser canoe, a specimen of which, obtained by Mr. Harlan I. Smith, is now in the National Museum, Ottawa.

According to another version of this myth, *Noākila* and his party came to earth at Anaham Lake, in the country of the Carriers, bringing with them the steel-head salmon. They first went to *Stuix*, but *Noākila* did not like the place, so released only a few of the fish. They returned to Anaham Lake, and from there went to Salmon House. They found this spot so desirable that they settled and set free their store of steel-head salmon. That is the reason why this fish is so plentiful in the Dean River, and so relatively rare in the Bella Coola. [825]

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Sä·tsk*'[51]

In the beginning of time *Älqunäm* constructed an abalone-shell covered post which reached from *Nusmät·a* to *Ältwolsqämus*, a mountain near the Kimsquit River, not far from its mouth. To this place came from above two men, *Smaoan*, "The First One," and his younger brother, *Omqomkilıka*. The former flew down as an eagle, but the latter, in raven form, swarmed down the post, which vanished after he had reached the earth. *Smaoan* spread his wings, like a mother bird, to shelter his younger brother. *Älqunäm* had given *Omqomkilıka* a box containing sockeye salmon, with instructions to throw them into the ocean, where they would increase rapidly to serve as food for him and his elder brother. He also taught the two how to build a salmon-weir to catch the fish. The brothers climbed down the mountain-side to the mouth of the Kimsquit River, where *Omqomkilıka* became a man and sent back his raven cloak above. He then released the salmon as he had been instructed, and also another present from *Älqunäm*, a *mätsqus* (I, p. 525), which was to serve as bait not only for fish but also for wealth and goods.

Smaoan declined to assume human form immediately, so began to travel, and his younger brother, sad at being thus left alone, started to

[173] [50]This was the only instance given of an approximation of the interval since the first peopling of the earth. The Bella Coola usually reply, "long, long ago," and have not questioned further. This myth was received from a reliable informant, but it is doubtful whether his statement concerning the "eighth" *Noākila* would find credence among most Bella Coola. Even if it should be the eighth, that would be of little value in estimating the period at which the Bella Coola believe the earth to have been populated, since names may remain dormant for generations.

[51]Related by Jim Pollard.

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make a salmon-weir. In accordance with *Älquntäm*'s instruction, *Smaoan* planned to make a circuit of the world seeking a suitable place to settle. He started northward, in eagle form, scattering eagle down, wherefore this material has ever since been highly regarded and is used as a symbol of peace. Owing, moreover, to the eagle down scattered on the mountains, there has always been much snow in that region.[53] 539* [778] [821]

Sometimes as he travelled he assumed the form of the sun, for he was so powerful that nothing was impossible to him. Far in the north *Smaoan* obtained an enormous copper, which he carried back to Kimsquit without completing his original plan of circling the earth. He perched on a tree near his brother's almost completed salmon-weir.

"Why don't you change yourself to a human being?" *Omqomkilıka* inquired.

"I am waiting until our food is more plentiful," *Smaoan* replied. "Besides I have been to the far north where I obtained an enormous copper."

When the weir was completed and *Omqomkilıka* was catching many salmon, his brother at last decided to become a man. But instead of sending his cloak back above he animated it, as an eagle. *Smaoan* now became an ardent fisherman and was much annoyed by the thefts made by the bird, though he himself was responsible for it not having returned to *Nusmät·a*. After about a year he suggested to *Omqomkilıka* that they should kill it, but the latter demurred, since it was the guise which *Älquntäm* had given *Smaoan*. The latter said nothing, but the next time he saw the eagle stealing his fish he killed the bird, without consulting his brother. No sooner had he done this than he felt sorry, but it was too late; he could not restore the eagle to life.

Owing to the salmon given them by *Älquntäm* the two brothers were now very prosperous, and *Smaoan* began to think of marriage. One day he noticed some chips floating down the Dean River, so he judged that people must be living on that stream. He set out to investigate, met *Yeälos*, and married his sister *Sximäna*, as has been described in a Dean River myth. To celebrate this event the two brothers prepared to invite people from far and near. First they lengthened their house to accommodate a large number; it was of the type known as *tcäkwaloti*, though it could not expand without human agency. Then they painted their spoons with designs of the *mätsqus*, since they had brought that creature with them from above. Now everything was ready and they summoned their guests. When all had assembled, *Smaoan* gave a *llaiyäkam* dance [424] [535]

[53] The clouds which float over Kimsquit before a west wind are still called "*Smaoan's clouds*," in memory of his journey. The myth fails to explain how *Smaoan* was responsible for these phenomena.

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* 539 to commemorate the killing of the eagle. The text of his song described how he had come to this earth and how he had slain the bird which had [424] been his own cloak. This dance was duly validated by presents of [535] salmon, and has since been carried out by the descendants of *Smaoan*. It is assumed that the concept of such a dance was given to him by *Ālqantām* before he left *Nusmāt-a*, but he used his own discretion on this earth as to the actual reason for it.

At this gathering of people, virtually a potlatch, *Smaoan* tobk for himself the name *Ānuqplālaix*, "What Fills People." He chose this name with reference to the countless salmon caught in his weir.

Smaoan next travelled to Bella Bella seeking a wife. His fame and wealth were so well known that he was able to wed *Ťlākwaitl*, the daughter of a powerful chief. She had the valued prerogative of wailing, a right which had been duly validated by presents. Her father told her that when she was going with *Smaoan* to Kimsquit she would pass *Yuyulmxl*, a man who had been turned to stone on the skyline above the western side of Dean Channel, about five miles from its head, and that unless she wailed as she passed him her children would be unable to enjoy this prerogative. The reason for this injunction is not now understood; it is merely recognized that as *Yuyulmxl* became petrified near *Smaoan*'s home he became, in some manner, a crest. As the canoe bearing *Ťlākwaitl* passed *Yuyulmxl* she began to wail and weep, nor could her husband soothe her. He, for his part, told the herald, *Nusliluq*, who had come with him from above, to call out as follows:

"Hello! Crest, our chief has married a Bella Bella woman; as you are his crest, so are you hers."

[484] When *Nusliluq* had called this a second time the stone man answered. [763] Ever since, passers-by have addressed *Yuyulmxl*, and a failure on his part to reply is considered an omen of death.

Ťlākwaitl brought her husband several valuable prerogatives, a *sisook* dance with the large cone-shaped whistles, several *kusiut* dance rights, as well as some dyed cedar-bark. According to one of *Smaoan*'s descendants, this is how the *sisook* ritual reached Kimsquit. Among the Bella Bella, whales can only be eaten by chiefs, and *Smaoan* received this right from his father-in-law. The latter also gave his son-in-law a dead whale, which was towed behind the canoe towards Kimsquit. *Smaoan* knew that his people would object to it being brought into the river, since there was a firm belief that a whale would drive away the salmon. Accordingly, he beached the carcass in the fiord and there dried the meat in smoke.

Smaoan now determined to give an elaborate potlatch at which he planned to portray his prerogative with regard to the whale. He decided to build his new house of the semi-subterranean type; when it was finished

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he had the design of a whale painted on the back wall. He invited guests from all parts of the coast, and validated, by valuable presents to them, a new name which he had chosen for himself, *Nuxāpnia'sta*, "The Place for Catching Salmon." This name was applicable because his house was built on the west bank of the Kimsquit River at a good place for catching salmon. 539*

Smooan next went to the land of the *Xuxais* Indians, a branch of the Carriers living northeast of Kimsquit, where he married *Wat·as*, the daughter of a chief. From her he received the right to use a form of *sisook* whistle that imitated the voice of a deer.[11] Soon after his return with his bride, *Smooan* called guests from far and near to another potlatch, at which he validated the name *xlliksaix*, "The Circuit." He chose this with reference to his first travels when seeking a suitable place to settle. He used his own discretion in selecting the name.

About this time *Smooan* married yet another woman, daughter of a Dean River chief. These marriages so increased his wealth and fame that he was able to give numerous potlatches and validate several names which he chose for himself from incidents that had happened to him since reaching this world. Among these designations were:

Sinxālotla: a *sisook* name meaning "Sun." He chose this in consequence of his transformation to the sun when first travelling around the world. At one potlatch he performed a *sisook* dance with respect to this name.

xxālxotsaix: a chief's name which he took when he gave away valuable presents. It means "The Going Around," and refers again to his circuit of the world.

Ponpolletsdimut: a chief's name of which the significance has long been forgotten.

Alqoxnkam: a chief's name which he validated by valuable presents. It means "The Shelterer," a reference to the manner in which he sheltered his raven brother beneath his eagle wings when he first came to earth.

Ompomkilka, who lacked his brother's power and ability, was able to marry one wife only, *Snalkānāli*, the sister of *Nodkila*. Ever since that time there have been intermarriages between the people of the Kimsquit and the Dean rivers, as if this first marriage had "Opened the Way." [582]

After some time, though whether before or after his fourth marriage is not known, *Sximāna* bore *Smooan* a son, and within a few years he had a large family. Owing to his great wealth he was able to give numerous

[11] It was impossible to learn details of this whistle, since the man who was recounting this myth had never used it himself, and consequently was unwilling to tell the facts.

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539 [551] potlatches,[811] at which he validated names for his children. One of these was *Ăs·yănam*, the designation he had applied to his salmon-weir; it has been used by his descendants as a child's name ever since. As time went on, when his children grew into manhood, he obtained for them seats in the house and also procured wives for them. His eldest son, whose mother was *Sximăna*, had the names *Łăloxmăn·a*, the meaning of which is unknown, and *Ăluskmăn·aix*, "The Most Important of All Chiefs' Sons." *Smaoan* had arranged marriages for this young man with four women, but *Łăloxmăn·a* was so ugly that only one of his wives, as ugly as himself, would have anything to do with him. His only real friend was a younger brother, *Ăłkexa*, aged about twelve years, who was his constant companion.

One day *Łăloxmăn·a* became so embittered and disgusted at his own ugliness that he went away, determined never to return, and not caring whither he went. As provisions he carried only a goat bladder filled with goat marrow. This prevents hunger and is said never to become exhausted, no matter how long the hunter may be absent. *Ăłkexa* saw his elder brother depart, and decided to accompany him. *Łăloxmăn·a* allowed him to come with him for about ten miles, up the valley of the Kimsquit River, where he shot some mergansers which he asked *Ăłkexa* to take back as a present to his parents. The younger boy was unwilling, nor could he be dissuaded from following, even when *Łăloxmăn·a* told him he was going off to die.

So the two camped for the night, and next morning continued their journey up the valley of the Kimsquit River, a region then unknown. *Łăloxmăn·a* was very sad at the thought of the hardships which his younger brother would have to endure, but he could see no way in which to persuade him to return. On and on they pressed, camping at night, their only food being the goat marrow which *Łăloxmăn·a* carried. Far up the river they followed an affluent from the left, and from its valley climbed the bare mountain which, though they knew it not, is the watershed between the Kimsquit and Kitlobe rivers. Here, above the treeline, they met a wolf. It lowered its ears, hummed, walked a few paces along a path, stopped, and looked back, as if it wished to guide the two wanderers. They decided to follow the animal which, once assured that

[811] "Although the Bella Coola are sufficiently logical to demand an explanation for everything, once a belief has been formulated they cease to inquire whether it is possible. Thus, in all these accounts of the first people, the reader wonders how there were enough people in the world so soon after its settlement to make potlatches possible. Who were the musicians? Who formed the bulk of the guests? Such questions do not strike the Bella Coola as obvious; the stories have been handed down as facts, and they believe that anything was possible in those early days before man had lost his supernatural power.

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the two were actually following, led them down an animal trail on the farther side of the mountain. After a while they saw some gulls, a cheering sight since it presaged a river. On and on they went, until at dusk they came to a stream, the headwaters of the Kitlobe River, though of this they were ignorant. Here they met *Sä·lma*.

"Where are you going?" the supernatural one asked. "I can see by your faces that you are melancholy."

Łäloxmän·a told him all his woes, how his wives had deserted him on account of his ugliness, and how accordingly he had wandered away, careless of his fate. *Sä·lma* inserted his fingers in *Łäloxmän·a*'s mouth and the latter vomited. *Sä·lma* examined the vomit and found some of the water in which dry dog salmon had been soaked.

"That is why your wives left you," he said. "It is filthy stuff, no wonder they would not let you come close to them. But I will beautify you."

Sä·lma first massaged *Łäloxmän·a*'s face, until it was very comely. Then the supernatural one rubbed his whole body so that, when he had finished, the ugly youth had been changed to a handsome one. Finally *Łäloxmän·a* passed between *Sä·lma*'s legs, went around his body, sunwise, and again passed between his legs. He did this four times, thereby becoming a shaman, and *Sä·lma* gave him his own stick, which had the power of life and death.

"Now," said *Sä·lma*, "I know that you have been married to four women, but that only one of them has been faithful to you. When you return home, handsome as you are, your wives will all ask you to take them back, but you must cherish only the ugly one, who was faithful to you when you were repulsive. You will be able to make her beautiful, even as you yourself are."

When he had said this, *Sä·lma* vanished.

Still guided by the wolf, the two brothers continued their journey and at evening reached the district on the Kitlobe River known as *Ṫniqo*. Here they spent the night in a large cave. In the morning the trail was so bad that *Äłkexa* decided to go no farther. *Łäloxmän·a* divided his goat marrow with him and told his brother he would not be long absent. On he went, confident that he would soon come to a settlement because *Sä·lma* had told him there was one on the river. Presently he saw trees that had been felled by axes, then smoke, and finally a village on the opposite bank of the river. Here the wolf left him.

Łäloxmän·a had carried with him on his travels a bear-skin blanket and some eagle down. He put these on, and went to a spot immediately opposite the village. Some children were the first to notice him, and they ran home saying that they had seen a supernatural being; this was

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*539 because *Łāloxmān·a* was so beautiful. The Kitlobe chief, *Kapsālopst*, also called *Yelsqwikaiya*, bade some of his people ferry the new-comer across the river, and when this was done, he welcomed *Łāloxmān·a* to his house. All the people gathered to see the stranger guest; it was the first time that the people of Kimsquit and Kitlobe knew of each other. Owing to his supernatural power, *Łāloxmān·a* was able to talk to them, and when he mentioned his father's name, *Smaoan*, they all knew of him, for his fame had travelled even to that distant spot.[15] *Kapsālopst* asked him whether he wished a wife, and when *Łāloxmān·a* answered in the affirmative, he allowed him to marry his daughter *Wisamkilak*, known also as *Xwisamkila*.

For two years *Łāloxmān·a* dwelt in Kitlobe, until he spoke the language perfectly and was regarded as one of themselves. He had two children, the eldest a boy, *Ḳaiyu*, and the younger a girl, *Wanql*. At this time he thought of *Ālkexa*, waiting in the cave on the upper waters of the river which he now knew was the *Ṭsi·dis*, Kitlobe, and of his parents who must long ago have abandoned all hope for their missing sons. He told his friends that he wished to return, and told them of his brother. A number of his friends volunteered to go with him, so when *Łāloxmān·a* set out he was accompanied not only by his wife, his children, and four slaves belonging to his father-in-law, but also by a large number of young Kitlobe men, carrying olachen grease, for which Kitlobe is famous, as a present to *Smaoan*. Knowing the route, they reached the cave within a single day. But instead of finding *Ālkexa*, all that was there were his bones, scattered by animals. At this his Kitlobe friends lamented, but *Łāloxmān·a*, unperturbed, collected the bones and laid on them the stick he had received from *Sā·lma*. Instantly *Ālkexa* was restored to life, and he rubbed his eyes as if awakening from a heavy sleep. The socket joint from one hip had been carried away by some animal, so that when he arose he was lame. That is why so many Kitlobe Indians are lame, even to the present day, in spite of the fact that *Ālkexa* himself never visited Kitlobe. The restored youth was very weak from death, so for two days the whole party tarried at the cave, administering strengthening food to him. To pass the time *Łāloxmān·a* executed some wonderful paintings on the wall, which remain to the present day, as if petrified. When *Ālkexa* was well enough to travel, *Łāloxmān·a* massaged him to give him beauty equal to his own, and then the whole party continued on their way.

Meanwhile, in Kimsquit, *Smaoan* and *Sximāna* had long despaired of ever again seeing their sons, and a mourning ceremony was taking place.

[15] The myth does not explain how the Kitlobe people had heard of *Smaoan* if this was the first they had heard of Kimsquit.

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At this juncture someone saw a party of strangers, and wondered who they might be as they entered the town. There was great rejoicing when the two brothers told their parents who they were, for they had been so transformed that they were unrecognizable. As *Sä·lma* had said, *Łäloxmän·a*'s three beautiful wives came rushing up, eager to have him take them back, but he paid no attention to them. He welcomed only the ugly one, who had mourned for him, and massaged her until she became the most lovely of all. 539*

Smaoan, delighted at the safe return of his sons, and proud of *Łäloxmän·a*'s beautiful children, sent invitations far and near to a great potlatch. At this ceremony he validated, with many presents, a seat in the house for *Łäloxmän·a*. The name thus confirmed was *Spätcalıt*, "The First Born," a name given to *Łäloxmän·a* by *Kapsälopst*. *Smaoan* also took this opportunity to confer names on his numerous grandchildren. After sojourning for some time in Kimsquit, the Kitlobe people returned home, richly laden with gifts.

In the course of time *Wisamkilak* bore her husband two more children. *Smaoan* continued to prosper and to give potlatches, at one of which he gave one of his grandchildren the name *Stälımx*, "Chief." This designation at once became honourable on account of the goods expended. *Łäloxmän·a* did not wish to forget his Kitlobe friends, so in time he sent two of his children to live there. One of them was *Stälımx*, a name that has ever since remained there. Thus friendly relations between Kimsquit and Kitlobe, first opened by *Łäloxmän·a*, have been maintained. There have been many marriages between people of these two areas, each knows of *Łäloxmän·a*, and it was only about one hundred and fifty years ago that a Kimsquit woman, *Äts̱ıtıl* by name, was married to a Kitlobe man to repay the original marriage of *Wisamkilak*. [648] [582]

When *Smaoan* became old he gave yet another potlatch at which he took for himself the name *Lilixwnimut*, "The Scatterer." He created this from his own fertile imagination, with reference to the way in which he scattered eagle down when first travelling to the north in eagle form. It has since been used by his descendants when old. [551]

The descendants of *Smaoan* enjoy not only the prerogative of using this myth and the names included in it, but other privileges connected with it. If one of them gives a potlatch he carves the form of a *mätsqus* on the spoons to be used at it, and paints the wall of his house with a whale design. *Omqomkilıka*'s descendants are more likely than others to receive supernatural good fortune from a *mätsqus*. The descendants of both 539* 424 [532]

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* 539 brothers have the right, moreover, to hunt and collect food in the places
424 used by these first ancestors. The areas so authorized are:

Ałwalsqāmus: the mountain where they first came to earth.

Okqomāq: a valley leading into the main valley of the Kimsquit River where *Omqomkilka* was accustomed to hunt.

Nulqā-kil: a valley where *Smaoan*'s wives used to pick berries.

Iyuuk: a level tract of country on the bank of the Kimsquit River twenty-eight miles from its mouth. No people landed here and *Smaoan* pre-empted it as a hunting-ground.

Nulqa-łwl: another valley where *Smaoan*'s wives used to pick berries.

The place in the Kimsquit River where their salmon-weir was erected, and the spot where they caught olachen.

538 The length and wealth of detail embodied in this myth raises the
115 question of whether it is one of the usual type, or represents a combination of several stories strung together and related by a man eager to glorify the traditions of his own ancestors. It was received from Jim Pollard, a Kimsquit Indian, descended from *Smaoan*, and himself the user of this name, a valuable and reliable informant. Jim is a man of great ability, who has given more potlatches than any other Indian of either Bella Coola or Kimsquit, and who, accordingly, has been able to validate very fully his ancestral myths and the names embodied therein. Owing to the deaths of his relatives, Jim has been able to use designations and portions of this legend which otherwise would certainly have belonged to other people. In this respect it, therefore, represents an amalgamation, but one of a legitimate nature. Theoretically, every myth would be com-
[424] plete if it were not for the parts possessed by others, and the aim of every
[581] wise Bella Coola is to seek the return of these pieces by judicious marriage. Jim has been able to achieve this by the death of his relatives and the assistance of his wife, herself a descendant of *Smaoan*. Before the coming of the white man and the consequent dwindling of population, it is unlikely that any one person would have the duly validated right to tell a myth of this length, but theoretically it was possible, and might have been done by anyone as superior to his fellows as this man is to the present inhabitants of Kimsquit.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nałwalst*[66]

* 539 Among the first people dispatched to this earth were four brothers, *Hamot*, *Wałkis*, *Ałkeza*, and *Ałkałis*, who came as eagles and settled in *Nałwalst*, the site of the present Manitou Cannery, Kimsquit. Before

[66] Related by Jim Pollard.

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leaving *Nuxmāx a*, *Hamcu* had asked *Ālqantim* what they should do for a place to live and the deity had promised to provide them with one. The first night the brothers slept in the open, but the next morning they found a house completed for them on the shore of the fiord; it was of the semi-subterranean type with a central pit for the fire, surrounded by stagings. *Ālqantim* had made it peculiar in several respects. When the tide rose, water was forced up through passages in the rock so that it burst within the dwelling in miniature waterspouts. The upright posts were carved in representations of Thunder, and the paintings on the back-wall were of *Snuq*. Echo was there, invisible as usual, but repeating everyone's speech, while around the floor ran countless mice. The name of the house was *Nanaqmāls*, "Where Water Enters." 539* [776]

After a time, when the people had increased on the earth, *Hamcu* invited the chiefs, there were none other then, for a potlatch. The guests saw the wonders of the house and marvelled.

Three times *Hamcu* did this, but when he, or a descendant, attempted to do so for the fourth time, the supernatural power which had been present at the first potlatch had vanished; so carpenters were called upon to reproduce the original features. The painting of *Snuq* and the carving of Thunder presented no difficulties, though the latter was transferred from the house to the totem-pole without. Masks were made to represent the spouting water and manufactured mice ran on the floor by means of hidden strings. Whenever one of *Hamcu*'s descendants gives a potlatch the carpenters are called upon to make realistic replicas, a form of dramatization responsible for features of potlatches not only among the Bella Coola but also, it is said, of the Bella Bella, Kitlobe, and the Tsimshian peoples. [532] [171]

ORIGIN MYTH OF AN UNIDENTIFIED TOWN*

In the beginning of time the supreme god sent down two brothers, *Wātkū* and *Kuatwaxlu*, to Mount *Wa-pat*, some thirty miles up the Bella Coola River not far from *Snuc*. They looked around, not knowing which way to go or what to do. Glancing down they saw smoke arising; it was from *Ālkuī*'s fire, but this they did not know, because there were few people in the land, and no one knew anything about his neighbours. *Kuatwaxlu* travelled a short distance upstream until he heard the sound of beating, which puzzled him, so he advanced slowly until he saw a house, to the roof of which he cautiously climbed and looked down inside. Many people had assembled there; they were land-otters giving a dance,

*Related by Judas, an old man suffering from senile decay. It is unquestionably a fragment of a longer myth.

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* 539 aided by alder sticks which beat time of their own accord. From this sight *Kwathwaiła* became a shaman and used what he had seen when he was giving a dance of his own. His brother *Wałkas* went downstream until he came to a large house at *Kâkałia*[20] outside of which stood a huge bull-head. No one was in this house and *Wałkas* took possession of it.

A FRAGMENTARY ORIGIN MYTH[21]

Long ago at the time the world was first populated there were no rivers apparent, for such were confined underground in a cavern-like prison called *Nuxmâtlîxwaix*, the approach to which was barred by a huge boulder. Not only were the rivers shut up, but with them were their occupants, including the salmon. First Eagle tried to break this barrier, but without avail; then Raven succeeded. Since then the Bella Coola River has flowed in its present course. But the *Tcemat* River was still in bondage, to the disgust of the olachen who wished to travel up it to the home of the chief, *Qmamaxa'ła*. The Carpenter, *ałłtulâk*, took pity on them and by breaking the barrier permitted them to reach their destination.

Origin Myths of Other Tribes

177 As has been repeatedly stated, the Bella Coola have ob-
538 tained many prerogatives by marriages with the members of
[424] neighbouring tribes. Among these are, according to their belief, myths dealing with the peopling of distant localities. Ceremonially and sociologically, such traditions have the same importance as myths that describe Bella Coola as the final place of settlement of the first inhabitants. Accordingly, they can be given at this point.

177 In the previous section the original landing-places of some
538 of the individuals described is said to have been outside the
174 Bella Coola valley. Boas, discussing this fact (p. 122), sug-
114 gests that such myths may reflect the movements of the ancestors of the Bella Coola from the parent Salish stock. Though this is a plausible hypothesis, it is also possible that

[20] This place could not be identified.
[21] Related by Lame Charlie.

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a foreign myth, obtained by marriage, might have been altered in the course of generations to the Bella Coola pattern, preserving as the only foreign element that of settlement at a distance at the beginning of time.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Owikì*[22]

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In the beginning of time *Ālqantēm* decreed that four brothers should be sent down to this earth. The eldest, whose name was *Ālkālāli*, came down from a hole in *Nacmēqā* and told his younger brothers to wait while he went ahead to reconnoitre. He took the form of a wolf and, as soon as he had reached the earth, went far to the east, where he obtained some abalone-shells. Then he returned to *Ālqantēm*'s house, left his spoil with his brothers, and again went off alone to the west. This time he brought back some copper. After this he was ready to settle, so the four assumed the form of wolves and went down to Calvert Island, *Owikì*, as the Bella Bella call it. Here they assumed human form and their wolf cloaks floated back aloft.

Ālqantēm did not give them food to carry with them, but he told them they would find sea-lions waiting to be killed on Sea-lion Island. Accordingly they hunted on that island, as their descendants, the people of *Owikì*, have done to this day.

Ālqantēm had given *Ālkālāli* a box containing some of the cone-shaped whistles used in *nanak* dances. The three elder brothers decided that they alone should perform the *nanak* ceremonial and that, accordingly, the youngest should be kept in ignorance of the contents of the box, as uninitiated people are at the present time. He was a mere boy and his older brothers used to leave him at home when they went hunting, but they had given him the most explicit instructions not to open the carefully roped box, containing their treasures.

All went well for some time, but finally the boy yielded to temptation and opened the box. His brothers returned unexpectedly, and found him examining the whistles, with his head almost out of sight within. They decided to kill him at once. They crawled up, closed the cover on his head, and sat on the box until life was extinct. Then they laid the body on the ground before them as they sat behind the fire, and sent one of their number out to gather three small pliant sticks. When this was done they covered the corpse with eagle down and sat on the ground around it, raising and lowering the sticks as if they were throwing objects into the

[22]Related by Joshua Moody.

1:McIlwraith E-1 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA
Bellabella NES

BC 539

air. As they did so the feathers began to move, gradually rising in the air until some passed through the roof. It was as if a miniature whirlwind of gentle power were agitating them. As the three continued to use the sticks, the corpse itself began to move, finally disintegrating into the down and passing through the roof. As it did so the three said:

"Go back whence we came. Ty.....,"

Since that time the people of Owikt have disposed of their dead in this manner.

The first *Ikhalalc* brought with him from above not only the right to a *xaxat* dance, but also a Cannibal *hamat* dance (II, p. 71) with the Bella Bella name *Lelwac*. He had, moreover, the rare privilege of performing *hamat* and *xaxat* sons on alternate nights.

BC [766] [777]

This myth is important since it embodies an account of the disappearance of a corpse through a roof, a method of removal of the dead now practised by the Bella Coola in the case of chiefs. This means is recognized by the Bella Coola as have been a recent introduction from either Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet to *Tal'is*, and thence to Bella Coola. Judging from this account, it would appear that such a method of removal of a corpse must be considered as originally a prerogative embodied in a myth, although it has ceased to be regarded as such in Bella Coola. The man from whom this tradition was obtained said it was only one of the type current in Bella Coola, though such are common in Bella Bella. It was obtained by the marriage of one of his ancestors to a woman of Owikt, and was used as theme for a mourning-ceremony at the death of his sister.

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BC [177] [589]

BB 589 BC 539

AN EARLY BELLA BELLA MYTH TRANSMITTED BY MARRIAGE TO BELLA COOLA*

In the beginning of time, when the population of the earth consisted only of the few people who had come down from above, *Ta'ititmat* were to the Bella Bella town, *Ewaxal*, where, as was common at that period, people had no houses but were sheltered under huge trees which *Ałqawlem* had placed there for that purpose. *Ta'ititmat* was in the form of a man at the time and fell in love with a girl of the village. Her father, *Nłaxi*, agreed to the match and the two were married. The husband never slept with his wife; when he wished children, he willed that they

*Related by Joshua Moody.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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should be born, and in time the couple had a large family. Tsilxtmar made many things for his father-in-law, who had descended from above ill-equipped with the necessities of life. *Nûxûi* asked his son-in-law for a canoe, and the carpenter agreed to make him a supernatural one by means of his great power. He built a large and strong craft that had the power of transforming itself into a salmon; when such a change was desired a salmon's back grew over the canoe.

Tsilxtmar had brought with him from above the ability to make models of creatures living in *Nawait* and to animate them on this earth. The salmon canoe was an *awalxtalaxis*, the supernatural canoe of the *xsiaxl*,* which latter designation was created by Tsilxtmar himself on earth. In his Bella Bella house there were wonderful carvings; house, rafters, door-posts, dishes, all were elaborately decorated.* Tsilxtmar also made the trees. The construction of these, and of so many boxes that they formed a house, became the theme of a *Nuxalk* coast myth, merely changed to a *Sacian* one. The Bella Bella have derived their great skill in carpentry from Tsilxtmar's residence among them at the beginning of time.

Tsilxtmar's father-in-law explained that he wanted a canoe in order to enable the world to see whether or not other people lived in it. [illegible] so, he proposed to study their customs and to transmit any of value to his numerous descendants. The canoe had the power of travelling in a straight line; if a mountain blocked its passage it tunnelled a way through, causing landslides. *Nûxûi* first travelled south. Whenever his canoe reached a village the inhabitants used to rush out to see it, but it would blink its *xsiaxl* eyes, which changed colour; whenever the earth would shake and the observers fall dead. This method of killing is *Awalxtalaxis*, which is consequently one of the *xsiaxl*'s canoes in the land above. Finally *Nûxûi* reached the far south where *Kimai'o* had fled after abandoning Resurrection Bay (I, p. 41), owing to the numerous hornets she had found in that area. When the canoe came to the beach near the woman's house it blinked and the world reeled. *Kimai'o* emerged from her house, gazed everywhere but at the canoe, and then began to stagger. Summoning all her reserves of power she cast them at the interloper, but the canoe merely raised its back and became a salmon. *Nûxûi* projected his force against her, and she fell to the earth, overcome, crying out:

"*Nûxûi, Nûxûi*, stop, come ashore."

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*A supernatural double-headed salmon or snake (I, p. 222).

*This building is said to have fallen down a comparatively short time ago, after standing for an extremely long period.

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As soon as the salmon had taken on the form of a canoe again, *Nū·ai* went ashore and entered the woman's home.

She said, "I dwell in the ultimate south, beyond me there is nothing; I have none of the things which you seek except one, a life-box, containing liquid." Who made your canoe?"

He told her and she said, "I know *Ya'ititmat*, he is the greatest carpenter of all, the only one able to make such a craft as yours. But he has made it too strong and thereby killed all the people from whom you desired to learn useful arts. Take this life-box and return to the last village you visited. Dip your finger in the liquid and put it in each ear and nostril of those whom you have slain, and it will revive them."

Nū·ai carried out all her instructions at the next village and was able to restore all to life. In gratitude they gave him samples of their work and taught him all that he wanted to know. Then he retraced his route, stopping at each town, resuscitating the dead and learning their handicrafts, specimens of which he collected for the benefit of the Bella Bella. Finally he returned to his own village where he stored all his acquisitions in his own house, leaving the life-box, alone, in his canoe.

His next journey was to the east. As before, his canoe passed through every obstacle and he killed all the people in the villages which he visited. In the ultimate east he found a town where abalone-shells were used for everything; he killed the inhabitants, then revived them, and was given a supply of the shells. Then he repeated what he had done on his southern trip, returning to his starting-point and reviving his other victims, from whom he collected specimens of their handiwork and information as to their manufacture. He stored his samples in his house again and set out for the west, as before carrying only his life-box with him. Again he slew all whom he saw *en route*, until he reached the ultimate west where he found a village against which his canoe was powerless, because the houses, streets, and people were of copper.

Nū·ai said, "I shall take for myself the name *Kitā"ōmat*," which means copper in the Bella Bella language.

While returning to Bella Bella he restored his victims to life, and received what he wanted from them. His next expedition was to the north, where, after laying low the inhabitants of the villages through which he passed, he eventually reached one where people and houses were of *tsimaing*, a kind of copper. Here again his salmon-canoe was powerless. From this village he turned homewards, collecting information and reviving those he had killed as he went. This was his last expedition. When he returned to Bella Bella, *Ya'ititmat* told him not to use the canoe any more, and it moved away without human guidance in the shape of a

*It was her chamber-pot filled with her own urine.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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salmon. It ranged over the world and in places dropped scales, which became *sxiuil*. This is why they are found in the mountains.

Not long after *Yaltimat* said to his father-in-law:

"Our family has all that it requires. My children, your descendants through your daughter, are supplied with all they need, so I am going back to *Nasmāi·a*."

Then he returned above, whence he had come.

FRAGMENTARY MYTH OF A BELLA BELLA TOWN*

In the beginning the supreme god sent down to a grizzly bear a chief, *uläälimlq*, whose name means "Different from All Others." He wanted to travel to the south-west, but *Mamoxälīna* persuaded him to go north, to the land of copper. In that far country he found a woman, *Tsemlīlaks*, who wished to go to Bella Coola, so *uläälimlq* took her in his canoe. Several times on the return journey she wanted to leave him, but he prevailed on her to stay. They met *Nuxkīla* with whom they travelled to Bella Bella. When they came to the bad whirlpool at Meseche Nose, *uläälimlq* decided to slay it; so he plunged down into the sea, but was caught by a devil-fish and apparently killed. *Tsemlīlaks* continued her journey and built a house at *Ḡwawi*, near the Bella Bella lighthouse. That night an owl came near:

"I am *uläälimlq*," it hooted.

Tsemlīlaks accordingly summoned all the Bella Bella chiefs and they prepared to mourn his death, but instead *uläälimlq* himself came up from the sea to their ceremonial as a grizzly bear and killed many of them.

THE HOME OF THE DOGS

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In the beginning of time, when the earth was first being populated by *Ālqunxīm*, he sent down not only men, but animals as well. Among the latter were dogs, who came with their chief *Ispiyaxīn·a* and settled opposite Johnny Bay, near Ocean Falls. This place has since been called *Āpa·i nas Wamalaks*, "The Place Inhabited by Dogs." Here they multiplied rapidly, in spite of their continual quarrelling and fighting. The *uläälq* people living in the vicinity decided that it would be a great mistake to allow the dogs to increase out of all reason; so they banded together, attacked the town, and killed off its inhabitants. They pulled out the intestines of the slain dogs and threw them on the rocks, where they remain to this day, graved in the stone.

*Related by Jim Pollard.

Bellabella MES
Bellabella MES

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FRAGMENT OF A CREATION MYTH*

In the beginning *Ayamim* sent down to *Smooth*, a point west of Kwatna, two men with their respective wives. The men's names were *Tlemdjiaw* and *Lagamnais*, and those of the women, *Bakit** and *Sitmo*.

CREEK MYTH OF SCHOONER PASS*

In the beginning there came down to *Sumpmai*, on Schooner Pass, a woman whose name was *Sito-o*. On the shore of a lake near there she became a shaman, through a vision of which the details are lost. To obtain the continued goodwill of the power residing in the lake *Sito-o* was wont to throw upon the water eagle down and *fyrd* cedar-bark, and said this water when ruffled patterns. One day when she was singing, she was overheard by *Tsisbaada*, *Kwiliam*; *Wiam*, *Sinkamis*, *Sadi*, and *Wiis*, who had come to earth on the Dean River, *Kimkut*, and were coming by canoe, looking for a suitable place to settle. The four first named were brothers, the remaining two their sisters. Attracted by the song the six landed and ultimately chose *Sumpmai* as their abode, where they lived amicably with the powerful *Sito-o*. In this they were fortunate, for she was so magically endowed that she had success in whatever she undertook.

Tsisbaada and his brothers built a large house of the kelp which grew abundantly in the vicinity. In course of time they were able to call people from far and near for a potlatch, at which a whale received grease down through the smoke vent on to the central fire causing it to blaze brightly, much to the amusement of the guests.

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Since that time, whenever the owner of the name *Tsisbaada* has given a potlatch, carpenters have prepared for him a wooden whale which remains grease on to the fire, a jealously preserved prerogative.

CREEK MYTH OF *Bellabella*

In the beginning, *Ayamim* sent down *Sallika* with a herald to *Bellabella*, near a lake in the country now occupied by the Carrier Indians. *Sallika* brought with him a sack containing the model of a house which, when he set it on the ground, expanded without visible cause into a fine, large dwelling. In front of it there was a towering totem-pole surmounted by an owl.

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*Dictated by Sumtlemen Jacob.
*Dictated by Sumtlemen Jacob.
*Dictated by Mrs. Willie Black.

Bella Bella NES

When *Sedibe* had prepared and collected a great deal of goods he went his herald in all directions with invitations to a potlatch. There were not many people living in those early days, so the guests were few in number. As each group approached, the owl turned its head, without moving its body, to inform *Sedibe* that strangers were coming, and who they were.[1]

MORE MYTH OF *Sedibe*[2]

One of the first people to come to this earth was a man who settled on Dean Channel below Kimsquit, the country of the *Gimsy* people. He lived there for a considerable period and became the father of many children, among them a son named *Hkusa*. He was a source of constant worry to his father, who wished him to become a hunter. He made him a bow and arrow, but *Hkusa* lost the arrow the day it was given to him, and then the one his father gave him to replace it. For some time his parent made an arrow every day, and every day the son lost it. This continuous or annoyed the father, who was also irritated at *Hkusa* for quarrelling with his brothers, that he decided to move away from the settlement, and have his workroom out there alone. With the help of his other children, he took down the side boards of the house, leaving only the frame standing, and put some glowing embers in a clam shell in the hearth of *Hkusa*; then all went away to their canoes.

Not long after the departure of his relatives *Hkusa* saw a mountain goat on a cliff above him. He had only one arrow, but decided to try to kill the animal. As he climbed after the goat, it moved down the mountain to meet him and presently he saw there was a man behind it; the latter was a supernatural being. *Hkusa* had until he could have after the creature spoke, when the supernatural being drew near, he asked him.

"I have come to see you," the latter replied, "I bring you the rock," indicating one which he was carrying. "When you want to kill mountain goats hold it in your hand and make the motion of throwing it, a mountain goat will fall dead. Big game is what you pray to Mouldar, asking him for whatever you desire, physical strength, success in your undertakings, or anything else. You must be generous and give away the riches which this rock will bring to you."[1]

Then the being gave him the rock and vanished. *Hkusa* went a little distance down the mountain, made the motion of casting the rock

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[1] Gitsy, Mogil's father, gave rock the name *Sedibe*, and hence now said the rock. Had he done so he would have held the himself a house such as the *Sedibe* had made, with an owl on the top of the totem pole.

[2] Related by Joe Saunders.

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these cows, and these mountain goats appeared, dead, on the ground before him. He took the fat from the stomach of a yearling and carried it to his father, who had waited some distance away, as proof that he had had success in his hunting; then returned to the place where he had been abandoned.

Next morning, sick in bed, he went to the edge of the town where he stood looking away from the site of the settlement, as the supernatural being had instructed him, and prayed to *Mindak* for house. After praying he looked around and found four large buildings standing on the spot; on the first one an eagle, on the second a kingfisher, on the third a gull, and on the fourth an owl. The eagle screamed, as eagles are accustomed to do in the early morning, and at once the house on which it sat was filled with all manner of goods, including boxes containing the large cone-shaped whistles such as are used for scaré ceremonials. During the day the kingfisher settled, the gull called, the owl hooted, and as each arrived to cry the house on which it sat was filled with all kinds of goods, foods, skins, blankets, and household utensils. With the whistles so acquired *Mindak* gave a potlatch to which he summoned the people from far and near. The whistles sounded, imitating the voices of the four birds which had sat on the dwellings and through the aid of which they had been filled. The Bella Bella chief, *Wigipamatin*, covered his head with his blanket because he had nothing to equal the display, so *Mindak* gave him a whistle with its box. All the guests were witnesses of the transaction, and it was in this way that the scaré ceremonial reached Bella Bella.

Mindak lived to a great age, and during his lifetime moved to several places, in each of which he gave potlatches. His last camping-place was *Qumsuk*, where he held his largest rite, erecting for the purpose a new house with six rows of seats to hold the audience. It was there that he died.

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Whenever a descendant of *Mindak* gives a potlatch he erects outside his house a totem-pole on which are the four birds that brought good fortune to his ancestor.

AN ORIGIN MYTH OF *Qwatsa*[1]

In the beginning four brothers, *Wadiks*, *Kumsa*, *Kitkitsit*, *Qamdidaw*, and their sister *Tidmadzis*, came to earth on Swan Island, *Qa'omsuna*, to the west of *Kumsa*. They moved to *Qwatsa*, but often returned to their landing-place to have sections which they would visit

[1] Recited by Jim Walker.

1:56:Howitt E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NES
Bellabella NES

to death. Qumkhlamat was the most prosperous of the brothers, so much had his wealth increased that he was able to call the people from all parts of the coast to a potlatch.

Ayamtim had given Tlitsmalila the honorable prerogative or duty of singing the mourning song whenever anyone died. When it was time for her to function she painted her face with a design representing a rough sea, and beat time on the floor with a stick, Spookalem, on which were jingling copper bangles. The chorus was how Raven had brought her help on all occasions.

The right to sing this song has since been preserved as a prerogative to the ancestral family descended from these four brothers. No name accompanies it, but the right must be validated by the giving of presents.

Eight Traditions Heard on Ceremonial Occasions or Origin Myths

The following are examples of myths which are used as authorization for potlatches even though they do not deal with the actual peopling of this earth. It will be noted that they describe the adventures of early ancestors, and only with non-Bella Coola. All are claimed to have been obtained by intermarriage with the descendants of individuals mentioned in them.

[illegible] [illegible] Myth*

Not long after the first people had come to this earth, Raven taught an ordinary chief, Ilp-pamil by name, how to catch black cod with hook and line. It was summer at the time, and Ilp-pamil began to make preparations for fishing early the following year. He instructed his wife to take three female assistants with her to the woods to collect a large quantity of cedar-bark for making the line, which had to be at least three hundred yards in length, owing to the depth at which black cod are found in Lekwiakum Channel. The four women returned four days later with a large amount of the material, out of which they worked all summer and the following winter. Meanwhile Ilp-pamil, with three other men to help him, was busy manufacturing hooks of the usual British Columbia type. They were made from the horns of dead and fallen bonebacks, the interior was first cut out, then into the desired shape, smoothed with sandstone

*Related by Jim Sahota.

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gave goose, and tied. After a week the lashing was removed and the hooks retained the desired shape. By January all was ready, and the enormous task of fastening them to the line had been completed.

Ts̄ paxat set out from his home with a number of companions to Lekouciere Channel, where they caught for bait a large quantity of the small fish known as sardines, *lleskaskhwal*.[*] It was then evening and next morning the fisherman threw out the cod line before eating. *Ts̄ paxat* had great success, catching over a hundred fish at a single time, owing to the number of hooks on his line. During the winter he lowered his line only once a day, but he fished steadily, drying his spoil at intervals, and when April came and he could make three hauls daily, he had caught an enormous quantity. All who saw his success were amazed, and many copied his method; since that time the use of hook and line for cod has been a common practice.

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When Raven taught *Ts̄ paxat* how to catch cod he also instructed his wife how to clean and prepare them in a certain manner and added that she must throw the entrails back into the ocean. The woman remembered the latter injunction, and her daughter regularly disposed of the remains in this way, but they were careless in the manner of cutting the fish. *Ḵmayma*, chief of the supernatural beings dwelling beneath the ocean, knew of this and was angry at the insult offered to Black Cod. The underwater beings hunt on behalf of their master, so the latter sent the blackfish with instructions to seize *Ts̄ paxat*'s daughter, a pretty girl named *Alkamka*. This is a Bella Bella word, which probably means "Very Good." The blackfish watched her come to the edge of the sea, waited until she had gone a short distance into the water, and then carried her off. Since she was below the age of puberty the supernatural fish had no fears in approaching her. To those on shore it appeared as if she had been drowned; in reality the blackfish bore her away to *Ḵmayma*'s house in their canoe, which, like that of the salmon, is invisible to mortal eyes. She found herself among many strange fish, and in the presence of the mighty *Ḵmayma*, who wore his usual broad-brimmed hat.

When those who had seen the kidnapping of *Alkamka* told *Ts̄ paxat* and his wife, they grieved for their daughter as for one dead. In mourning, they stopped fishing and tore their hair. From afar Raven saw their grief and came to ask its cause.

"For some unknown reason I have lost my daughter," *Ts̄ paxat* answered.

"I think it must be due to your having cut up Black Cod in some manner other than that in which I directed you," said Raven. "If you

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[*] This are commonly used as bait; in fact, *lleskaskhwal* means "bait."

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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had followed my instructions this trouble would not have come upon you."

Meanwhile *Xemoqwa* had been questioning *Ailsamka*: "Why did you not obey Raven's instructions about cutting up Black Cod? You have been committing a very serious offence, but I shall return you to your parents tomorrow and you can tell them to be more careful in future about teaching people."

The land in which the little girl found herself was much like this earth, containing a river, with the ocean in place of the sky over it. An old woman, *Snalqulpäls-di Xemoqwa*, who was living in *Xemoqwa*'s house, told *Ailsamka* not to eat any unfamiliar food which her captor-host might offer her, or she would be unable to return; whereas she would be all right if she maintained her customary diet. Presently someone asked her what she would like to eat; she named several of her favourite dishes and they were brought to her without demur. Next morning, it was really next year but she did not know that,* *Xemoqwa* prepared to send her back. From the doorway of his house she could see the cod lines hanging down through the water, and *Xemoqwa* asked her is she could see her father's.

"No," she replied, "he is not there."

In what seemed a few minutes, but in reality was several months, because *Xi paaxi* did not begin his fishing until March, she saw his canoe approaching.

She said to *Xemoqwa*, "That is he. I recognize his paddle."

Xi paaxi dropped his line, and as he did so began to cry, thinking of his dead daughter. Acting on *Xemoqwa*'s instructions, *Ailsamka* grasped the lowest hook, while *Xemoqwa* sent a black cod to each of the others. After a while *Xi paaxi* recovered from his spasm of grief and hauled up his line, assisted by his two sons who were with him in the canoe. So great was their amazement at seeing *Ailsamka* on the line that they refused to believe their eyes and wanted to throw the line back, but she quickly called out:

"I am your daughter."

The father thankfully drew her into the boat, exclaiming at her long absence; this was the first she knew that she had been away for more than a single night.

Her two brothers called out, "*Xi paaxi*'s daughter has returned, hauled in your lines."

The news was passed from canoe to canoe, the fishermen drew up their lines and hurried ashore to *Xi paaxi*'s house, eager to hear what had happened. Fresh sand was spread on the floor, as is always done when

*One day in the land of supernatural beings is equivalent to a year for mortals.

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1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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a person has been in contact with supernatural beings to enable him to enter.

Ailamka told them everything, that her mother had failed to teach her how to cut up black cod, "so *Xmaqma* sent blackfish to catch me so that I could be taught," she said. "You must be very careful to cut them up properly or trouble will come upon you."

The correct method, as taught by Raven, is to split the fish cleanly without severing the bones. *Xi-paxa*'s daughter had erred by cutting the one which is equivalent in a fish to the human collar-bone. She told them of the fish that abounded in *Xmaqma*'s house; of the red-fish, which disobeyed their mother by playing outside the house so that their stomachs were often forced out from their mouths* and they floated up to the surface; of *Xmaqma* himself and his large hat; and of the other denizens of the underworld. The people listened attentively and ever after cut up black cod in the prescribed fashion, though if *Ailamka* had not been carried off to *Xmaqma*'s house Raven's teaching would undoubtedly have been forgotten.

Not long after his daughter's safe return *Xi-paxa* gave a potlatch. He took for himself the name *Xmaqma*, and at the same time reproduced in his own house as much as possible of what his daughter had described. Thus there were imitation fishes, especially the halibut, around the house, while the red-fish were shown as wooden models that could be drawn up to the roof by hidden strings representing the manner in which the fish float up to the surface of the ocean. *Xmaqma*, himself, was shown wearing his large bell capped hat, of the type known as *hipul*.*

While *Ailamka* was under the water *Xmaqma* had shown her *xaxa* whistles, and at this potlatch they were used while the girl was concealed within the back-room as a *xaxa* initiate.

BC [177] [556]

This was the* origin of the *xaxa* ceremonial, which spread in time from the *xaxmy* people to the Bella Coola. The name *Xmaqma* passed to one of *Xi-paxa*'s descendants who, when he gave a potlatch, arranged

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*The red-fish is an unidentified deep-sea fish which dies in shallow water through lack of pressure.

*This style was always worn by *Xmaqma* and *Hipulim* and, as many of the first people obtained their power from one or other of these beings, the propriety of using such hats at potlatches is quite common. They are made of cedar roots, are waterproof, and are usually painted with one of the wearer's ancestral crests. When either *Xmaqma* or *Hipulim* is shown on a totem-pole he is displayed with one of these hats.

*It will be noted that the narrator tacitly assumes any origin recorded in his myth to be the sole, or authentic one.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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his house in imitation of *Xemqwa's*; since then any possessor of this ancient name has done likewise. From that time *Xemqwa* has been a common Bella Bella *ratsiwam*, and is always shown with his huge hat.

The narrator obtained this myth through the marriage of his mother's mother with an *ustmy* man.

A MYTH OF SEA-LION ISLAND[19]

In the beginning of time the sea-lions came down to earth at an island outside Rivers Inlet where they bred and multiplied. The place is still known as Sea-Lion Island and hunters from all parts of the coast used to go there, as the animals were not only good food but easy to kill.

On one occasion a man had wandered apart from his companions and met a stranger who invited him home. He accepted and followed his host into a nearby house, though he had never known before that there was one in the vicinity. Once within, the door closed with a metallic crash and the rash explorer vanished from the sight of his companions, who thought that he must have been drowned. But he had really entered a sea-lion house. The animals were sitting around their fires exactly as human beings are accustomed to do; in fact, the only strange thing was that they were using human knee-caps as dishes. He listened to their conversation.

"Lend your dish to *Nupaqa*," he heard one of the animals say to a friend.

Nupaqa was an old woman who was sitting in one corner of the house.

"The dish will be too small to hold a meal," thought the mortal.

The sea-lions could understand his thoughts.

"Don't say this," said one of them. "*Nupaqa* has the power of making the food inexhaustible."

Presently one of the beasts gave the man a knee-cap dish containing a minute morsel of halibut soaked in oil.

"That won't be enough for me," he thought.

But again a sea-lion comprehended what was in his mind. It was true. The man ate and ate until he could eat no more, but the amount of food on his plate did not diminish.

He stayed with them for several months, but at last grew homesick and lonely. The sea-lions read his unvoiced desires.

"Your home is not far away," said one of them. "We will send you there whenever you like. You can travel on a wave; would you prefer one that will carry you at one swoop, at two, at three, or at four?"

The man thought of the jolt with which he would strike the beach if

[19] Related by Dominic Amos.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5
Bella bella NE5

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he travelled the whole distance on a single billow, so asked to be sent on a four-billow wave. His canoe was a sea-lion's stomach, into which he climbed through the mouth and which he made watertight by tying up the entrance with the animal's entrails. Whether or not the creature was alive is not clear, but at any rate the man set off in the strange craft. He felt as if he were on the back of an animal which made long, easy, slow bounds; it was the slow surging of a gigantic Pacific comber. After four bounds he untied the sack and found himself at home.

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Certain names have been preserved from this myth. The name *Nqaqa* is now used by a dog, as the owner is the last of her family. Another name is *Tkwumpmist*, "The Crack," derived from the metallic sound of the closing door of the sea-lion house. The name *Nemaxtu* was also obtained inside the house, but the details of its significance are lost.

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[424]

AN EARLY MYTH OF *Kilde-i*[a]

As has been said, ambitious individuals, especially if they lack origin myths of the customary kind, sometimes claim ordinary stories as such. The following is almost certainly a case in point. It was obtained from an unreliable informant, who claimed it as a family myth, and said he had used it at a potlatch. He asserted that it was a Bella Bella story, transmitted through the marriage of one of his ancestors with a Bella Bella woman. Another informant, well versed in Bella Bella folk-lore, recounted another version of the same myth as a mere tale. There seems little doubt that the first narrator had merely laid claim to a common story to supply the deficiency of a true myth.

In the beginning, there came down to earth at the head of Gus Bay, *Kilde-i*, a solitary man whose name was *Kilde-a*. He was so lonely that he made for himself from soft punky wood a woman, dressed her in blankets and clothing, and gave her the name, *Qual'ioac*, which is in the Bella Bella language. *Kilde-a* was a great hunter; every day he went out to seek mountain goats, which provided him with great quantities of grease, as well as yarn that he wove into blankets. Before leaving the house he always placed *Qual'ioac* in front of a loom, put food beside her and told her to eat as much as she liked and to work diligently.

[a] Related by Kwaqutl Alex.

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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Bellabella NE5

Other people had come down to earth at the same time as *Kásán·a*, and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of Gee Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, so entered, and laughed heartily to find her made of rotten wood. They kicked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they seated themselves in her place, worked diligently at the blanket and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and hid themselves.

Soon *Kásán·a* entered. He embraced the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that she had burnt her head, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. At this the two girls who were hiding burst out laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to *Kásán·a* that he choose one of them for his wife; he agreed, selected the elder and married her. He built a house on a hilltop where they lived and to which he called people from far and near when he gave a potlatch.

BB 539 BC 539 *

Xusaá Origin Myths

As already stated, many *xusaá* names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the *xusaá* origin myth is the same as the ancestral myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or taken it from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were obtained which deal solely with the acquisition of a *xusaá* prerogative. No doubt this is chiefly to be explained by the fact that most *xusaá* rites have been derived from the Bella Bella.

BC 773 551 575 [787] 556 [177]

THE ORIGIN OF THE *Xusaá* NAME, *Spupuxá·mpdimat*[*]

About 1840, a party of *Xaaxis* Indians[*] spent the winter in Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg so

BC 539 * 609 424 BC [829]

[*] Related by Joshua Wasalin.

[*] It was impossible to identify this tribe. According to the Bella Coola they are akin to the Carrier, but have adopted the six clowns-poles, Bachet dances

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*539 609 424 that he was unable to return home. A young Bella Coola woman charitably took the injured man into her house, but though she tended him with care, the injury did not heal properly, and he was crippled for life. He used to work around the house at light chores, but was unable to perform any hard work, and was virtually adopted into the family, though, lacking land in Bella Coola, he could never acquire any real status there. After remaining for more than five years the cripple became ill, and realized that he was about to die. In gratitude to the woman who had sheltered him, he asked her to use his *sisaok* name, *Spuxpuxä-mpdimut*, for one of her children, if she ever had any. Soon afterwards, the stranger died. The woman's family paid for his burial, and it was recognized that the name, with myth attached, belonged to them. In later years it was duly validated with presents at a potlatch, for the benefit of her son from whom this account was obtained.

The myth is as follows:

*539 Long, long ago, a number of the sons of chiefs were playing on the shore of Ootsa Lake, not far from a village. One of them, happening to look upwards, was surprised to see drifting down from a great height a *spuxpux*, one of the long feathers which grow on the upper leg of an eagle. They idly wondered who would get it, and pressed close together, ready to struggle, boy-like, for the prize, but it eluded their upstretched hands, and lit on the head of one of the boys. Then, to the amazement of all, he was lifted from the ground, as if the feather had been a magnet drawing him aloft. One of his friends seized his ankles and tried to pull him down, but in vain; moreover, he found that he could not release his grasp. A third lad grasped the feet of the would-be rescuer, but he, too, was lifted from the ground. One after another tried to pull down his friends, but none could do so, until finally all the lads were drawn aloft by the feather, each holding the legs of the one above him. Nothing was ever heard of their fate.

A few years later the father of the boy on whom the feather had fallen gave a potlatch, at which he used this event as a *sisaok* theme for one of his surviving children. A mask representing the sun was used in the belief that this supernatural being alone could have caused such an event.

[329] and the *sisaok* commercial through intermarriage with the coastal people of the Skeena River. Their home is said to be far to the north of Ootsa Lake, but, as no Bella Coola has visited them, little reliability can be placed on this statement.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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The name used for the *sisaok* initiate was *Spuxpuxyá·mpdimut*, with reference to the feather which had carried away his brother. 539*

A *Sinxí Sisaok* MYTH

It is doubtful whether the following tradition is a true *sisaok* myth or merely an explanation for a dramatic performance carried out at potlatches. 539* 575

About 1880 a man of *Sinxí* was made a shaman by the supernatural being *Tlaqmai·ás*, a woman who normally lives in the land above. She is made almost entirely of copper so that whenever she walks there is the sound of clashing metal. The visionary was given the shaman's name of *Sisnaklis*. It was not generally known how he obtained his power, but as his wealth increased in an amazing manner, it was assumed that he must have received something from *Tlaqmai·ás* which, kept in his box, acted as a magnet to wealth.*

Sisnaklis laid down four laws for behaviour in his house, which were obeyed, since he was a person of influence both as a shaman and as a man of wealth. He said that *Tlaqmai·ás* had instructed him in the following:

(1) No brand was to be taken from the central fire, lest the supernatural ones who were watching it should be offended at the removal.

(2) No ceremonial woman was to be allowed within the house.

(3) No pounding of cedar-bark was to be allowed within the house.

(4) Since his power was in some manner connected with the fire he decreed that while his songs were being sung, there was to be no obstruction of any kind between the singers and it. Accordingly, they did not arrange themselves in the usual circle, but sat in a row with a sloping mat stretched between them and the fire, as if it were a connecting causeway.

Whenever *Sisnaklis* gave a dance, six holes were cut through the wall of the back-room, at a height of about seven feet from the floor. While actually dancing, six assistants pulled eagle down through these holes on to his head, in time to the music. Moreover, instead of standing on the floor, *Sisnaklis* used to perform within a large box, which concealed him below the thighs and which was moved to and fro by assistants, as if it had been on castors. After dancing in time to two songs, a metallic clashing would be heard without, and *Sisnaklis* would rush forth, returning with a small, masked girl whose clothing was entirely covered with tiny copper ornaments. She represented *Tlaqmai·ás*. *Sisnaklis*

*This incident resembles the obtaining of supernatural good fortune; see vol. I, p. 116.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Bellabella NE5

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would guide the child to the box, lift her in, then leap in himself and dance vigorously beside her. After a time he carried his assistant to the back-room, whence he returned alone to supervise the usual distribution of presents.

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A BELLA BELLA *Sisaxé* MYTH[30]

Years ago, when white men first came to the coast, a schooner was surprised and captured by some *ustmy* Indians near whose village it was anchored in Johnston Channel. The crew was massacred with the exception of one man who crawled ashore on a mooring rope; his name was given as *Kimpa*, probably an attempt to pronounce Campbell. For over a year he was hunted by the *ustmy* people without success, and it was assumed that he must have died. Four years later, however, a Bella Bella canoe was cautiously rounding a point when the bow man saw a strange figure collecting clams. He went ashore armed with his musket and stalked the creature, which turned out to be the white man, clad in woven bark and moss. The latter made friendly signals, and the Bella Bella treated him kindly, giving him food and clothing. He remained with them for years and learnt their language. On one occasion when his rescuers' supply of powder was exhausted, this man said that he was going away, and left early one morning at high tide, to return in the afternoon with some powder he had made himself. He refused to share with the Bella Bella his knowledge of how to make it, but kept them well supplied, and also furnished much game. When at length a white man's craft came to Bella Bella the survivor sent a message written in charcoal on cedar wood to the captain, and he was taken off. Presents were given to his rescuers for their kindness in aiding him, as well as a paper setting forth the particulars of their friendliness to the whites.

Many years later the son of *Kimpa*'s rescuer made a *sisaxé* mask, and used a mask representing the white man. The myth used in connection with it told of the manner in which the father of the dancer had found a strange creature who brought him good fortune, first by providing him with powder, and then by bringing him into friendly relations with the white man. The only incorrect part of the rite was the postponement of its inauguration until many years after the event.

If this tale has an historical basis, it must be assumed that the survivor of the massacre had been able to conceal some powder which he claimed to have made in order to increase his reputation.

[30]Related by Joshua Moody.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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CHAPTER VII

BIRTH, ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE

Birth—Childhood Instruction—Puberty Rites—Marriage

Birth

IT was impossible to obtain definite data on the fertility of Bella Coola women, or on the period elapsing between marriage and the birth of the first child. Sterility is rare, though by no means unknown; on the other hand, there are several families with as many as eight or nine children. The changed conditions which have followed the advent of the white man seem to have had little influence on the high birth-rate, although infant mortality has increased enormously. Within the last few years this has diminished, so that the Bella Coola are now holding their own. Children are always desired, and although methods of abortion and infanticide have been known for many years, neither practice seems to have been sufficiently common to have produced an appreciable effect on the population.

Pregnancy usually occurs during the year following marriage. Though its actual dependence upon coition is fully realized, yet the Bella Coola, religiously minded in this as in all other aspects of life, ascribe the condition to the four *Mamoxálitsa* acting on the behest of *Alpaxúlu*. It is believed that the Carpenters carve out the child who is to be born in the same way that a human craftsman manufactures some complicated object. Most individuals do not theorize to any extent upon the course of biological development, but are content to assume that *Alpaxúlu* has made the coming birth possible.

During pregnancy the expectant mother must observe certain restrictions. If she chews gum, she will have a difficult delivery; if she eats salmon tails, the feet of the infant will appear before the head, and although skilled assistants can usually rotate a child, this is a painful process which should be avoided.

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843 be avoided. If she walks on a beaver dam, or dips her head
825 into a pool made by this animal, the birth of her infant will be blocked in the same way that the dam restrains a stream. This difficulty can be obviated, however, by dipping up the water with her hands instead of bending her head to the surface to drink. As far as possible, she must avoid being startled by
[774] small animals or reptiles; even if the excitement so caused is too slight to expel her own spirit, it may be sufficient to damage that of the foetus. Such dangers can be countered by means of magical rites (I, p. 700). Her husband is also subject to certain injunctions and prohibitions. If he eats beaver meat his wife's delivery will be difficult. He must preserve a small piece of the skin or an eye of every animal that he kills; a few
[844] days after birth the child is steeped in the smoke of a fire on which these articles have been thrown. This prevents injury from the father's quarry.[1]

A pregnant woman continues to reside in her own house, where her condition is a source of interest to her friends and relatives. There are no midwives with inheritable professional
844 prerogatives, but as the time for delivery draws near, arrange-
[424] ments are made for the mother or some other experienced female relative to be in attendance. It is quite proper for the husband to attend to this point, though it is customary for elderly female relations to do so, sometimes those of the wife, sometimes those of her husband. A woman who, having herself borne children, has assisted at many births with success, is often requested to be present, and it is taken as a matter of course that she will be rewarded for her services.

When the pains of labour begin, the patient leaves the house with her assistant or assistants. In summer the party goes to some lonely spot in the woods where a rude wind-break may have been erected; in winter, to a sheltered spot beneath a house. No man can be present, a point in which the Bella
[811] Coola state that their culture differs from that of the Kwakiutl. The midwife manipulates the infant so that the birth is made

[1] This rite is described in detail later (I, p. 700).

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as easy as possible. Women seldom experience difficulty and 844
suffer, on the whole, less than do white mothers. It is believed [776]
that *Sxaiarwax*, though invisible, is present on every occasion; the rendering of assistance at childbirth is his one kindly act.

The umbilical cord was formerly cut with a mussel shell, [177]
but for many years the use of a metal knife has been customary. The after-birth usually comes away easily, but if there is delay [845]
hot ashes are placed around the feet and at the back of the woman to accelerate its expulsion. It is immediately buried or placed beneath a large tree in the forest; if burnt, the infant will always be weakly. While one of the assistants disposes of it, another washes the new-born child. The cloths and dishes used for this purpose are burnt; failure to do so is believed to [826]
cause the child to become blind through a white film forming over the eyeballs. Then the mother and midwives return to the house with the infant, who is a source of tremendous interest to the community. It is proper for the father to recompense the attendants at once, in accordance with their skill and his generosity. A woman who has had several children often assists the daughter of a friend, then, as she gains more experience, her reputation grows and her help is more com- [445]
monly sought. At the time of this study, 1922, the sum of $2.50 was considered suitable recompense for a fairly proficient midwife.

A new-born child takes the breast readily and a mother 853
would be considered harsh indeed if she failed to suckle her infant whenever it cried, since scientific hours for feeding are not known. A child is wrapped in a shawl or a blanket and 854
carried by the mother wherever she goes; when in the house it sprawls contentedly on the floor, unhampered by clothing. When the umbilical cord falls, it is preserved by the mother [846]
Soon after birth, the parents make provision for their child's welfare by magical means (I, p. 706). The heavy infantile death-rate of the Bella Coola cannot be attributed to lack of [165]
love or care on the part of parents, but the attention lavished is commonly not of the kind that assists a weakly child to survive the perils of infancy.

the perils of infancy. During this period, the mother observes various magical taboos to ensure the welfare of her offspring, and endeavours to strengthen herself by rubbing her own body with non-odoriferous oils obtained from dog-fish, goose, or fresh eulachon. Soft pounded salmon and water are added to an infant's diet as soon as possible, though nourishment from the breast frequently continues until a child is two, or even three years of age. It is not uncommon to delay weaning until the mother is again pregnant, when the child is deserted by the application of soot to the breasts. Marital relations are recommenced as soon as the mother is strong enough; there is no specified period of abstinence, nor does it matter whether or not the woman is lactative.

Occasionally, an infant is born with teeth; such an one is thought to be the reincarnation of a dead ancestor, though no one knows which. A similar belief is held respecting a child with dimples in the lobes of its ears; these are regarded as remnants of the holes pierced for ear-rings. A child that cries in the womb is said to have great intellect.

In former times infanticide was practised for various reasons. If a woman died in giving birth, it was customary for her mother to kill the child unless one of her relatives was able to suckle the motherless infant who was then given to her. It was not unknown for the mother of a large family to ask the midwife to kill the child in order to avoid an addition to her responsibilities. An unmarried girl who became pregnant often went alone to the forest, delivered herself without assistance, and killed her infant. This was considered to be the kindest act, since an illegitimate child was said to be, "Like a Dog." In some cases the prospective mother requested a friend to cause abortion by kneading the stomach and uterus, a method said to be effective and seldom fatal. How to do so is common knowledge, but to practise it is considered disgraceful, and the term *cowat*, applied to such an one, is among the most foul of Bella Coola opprobriums. It is believed that a woman who has had several children can in some way prevent

1:McDowell: E-3 (1922-1924)1948
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further conceptions by wriggling her body on her haunches immediately after the delivery of a child. 842

To the Bella Coola religious concepts of birth are as important as the physiological aspects. The blood discharged at birth, and the mother from whom it has come, is *cwáix*, a word difficult to translate. It is applied to a person or thing which is taboo, and combines the significance of "uncanny," "abhorred," "to be avoided," "feared"; perhaps "unclean," in the biblical sense, is the best synonym. Essentially human, this blood is not only potent against supernatural beings, but is dangerous to man as well. For this reason a mother must never be delivered within a house. The smell of the unclean blood might kill all resident within, or at least prevent them receiving presents of any kind. Supernatural beings and inferior supernatural powers are alike repelled by it. 826 844 783

A recent mother is taboo and must exercise due precautions to prevent her baneful influence from affecting her associates, but this power is most strongly present in one who has borne twins. Even younger people, sophisticated in most matters, shudder when speaking of twins; fortunately, double births are not common. They are attributed to the entry of a salmon into the body, so that a twin is half salmon, half human. Occasionally a woman who is pregnant with twins discovers her condition in a dream and avoids the perils of a multiple birth by calling upon a shaman to remove the spirit from one foetus so that the infant will be born dead and deformed. If this is not done, the two infants arrive in due course, to the horror and grief of parents and relatives. Though abhorred, no case is known of the killing of a twin at birth. 845 [825] [787] [756] [847]

Instead of the two children being brought back to the village, word is sent to the father who must join his wife in the temporary shelter in the woods where delivery took place. For one year, they must not return home, and during this period must not eat salmon. Four times during the year they must shift from one shelter to another, each built on the bank of a small creek. The mother can draw water from this stream

845 alone, and when she leaves it, it dries up immediately. When a year has elapsed, the parents return home with their children and the father resumes the ordinary routine of life. For three years more the mother must remain in the house, leaving it only at night through a hole in the floor. Above all else, she must keep away from the river; she cannot draw water from it, nor can she cut salmon on its bank. One instance is remembered in which the parents of twins failed to observe these restrictions; their legs became swollen and they soon died. In addition to punishment of the offenders in cases such as this, there is danger that if they fail to obey the customary taboos the salmon will be insulted and avoid the Bella Coola River.

After four years a mother of twins resumes her normal life, but she is henceforth endowed with special powers. If she wishes to see anyone who is absent, she has only to think of the person, and in her dreams she will be able to see him. She must never try to start up a dying fire by blowing upon it, since to do so would cause a gale. When a person sets out on any kind of an expedition from the house in which a mother of twins is living, the latter must chew a little food and spit it out towards the departing guest, otherwise he will fail in his venture.

845 Twins themselves, being akin to salmon, have miraculous
825 ability to see their fish-kinsmen and read their thoughts. Bella Coola mythology contains many stories of the way in which twins could talk with, and change into, salmon. Such knowledge is not limited to tales of the distant past. An elderly Bella Coola described the manner in which her grandmother, a twin related to Sockeye Salmon, was consulted by a man who had been unlucky with his weir. Going down into the water, this woman saw that the fish were avoiding his dam because of the charred uprights used in its construction; when these were changed he was successful in his fishing.

845 Twins are believed to possess remarkable ability from earliest childhood, and even to remember incidents occurring

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before their birth. When the mother of the twin described in the last paragraph was awaiting delivery in a temporary shelter in the woods, its roof fell, cutting her head. The old woman who mentioned this occurrence stated that both her grandmother, the Sockeye Salmon, and her sister, a Spring Salmon, though still unborn, were aware of the accident and remembered the comments of the midwife. 845

On account of their uncanny power, twins are considered weaklings and usually die young in spite of the care lavished upon them and the taboos observed by their parents.[9] A dead twin, instead of being buried, is put in a box which is placed in a tree far away from the village. Every year the river changes its course, eating into its banks in order to reach the tree containing the body, and this continues until it reaches its goal and sweeps away tree and coffin. 966 [823]

Childhood Instruction

When working in the field, an anthropologist almost inevitably concentrates upon ceremonials and other epochs in an individual's life, to the detriment of the daily routine which in Bella Coola, as everywhere else, is fundamentally important although it defies description on account of its intangibility. A child grows up in a large house, occupied by several families, in which there is little privacy. The parents provide food and clothing, but more distant relatives take a greater share of responsibility for this than do white people. When food is being given out, a child soon learns that he will be given some of it, and that he will have his portion in any distribution of presents. Furniture, bedding, and other necessities are reduced to a minimum, but a boy or girl is welcome to sleep with relatives should his own parents wish to go hunting or fishing. The sense of power possessed by a Bella Coola with many relations is largely intangible, but it has practical applications as 114 855 [867] [867]

[9] It is probable that the arduous life led by a twin and its parents during the first year after birth lessens its chances of survival. Needless to say, this explanation does not find favour with the Bella Coola.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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855 well, and these are soon learnt by the child who is fortunate
[847] enough to have many kinsmen. Primarily, responsibility rests with the parents for the care and support of their offspring, but they have the advice, assistance, and material aid of their relatives. Nor are these limited to the near kindred of either father or mother; all members of the ancestral family take their part. Housemates, also, even if unrelated, take an interest in any child who shares their habitation, irrespective of his rank.

Much of the care bestowed on children is of a magical nature and must be reserved until a later chapter. Little boys
868 follow their fathers on hunting expeditions and so acquire knowledge by practical experience, as do girls from their mothers with regard to household tasks and feminine occupations.
867 Even small children are quick to notice the attention paid to the orders of chiefs, and carry out their commands without demur. A disobedient child is beaten or thrown into cold
861 water; the parents usually act in such cases, though a near relative does not hesitate to do so, especially if he is a chief.
857 Like all other children, Bella Coola boys and girls are fond of
867 stories and listen eagerly to the tales told in the long evenings by some old man or woman. Many of these are somewhat
538 obscene, but they serve to teach much ancient lore, and at the same time to emphasize many taboos and restrictions which are thus assimilated without definite schooling. They illu-
[626] trate the laws of morality, as does the public disapproval shown to anyone who infringes some point of etiquette or behaviour.
[825] If a child makes fun of a cat-fish or a bull-head, he is not told to stop doing so; instead, one of his elders tells him how, in the distant past, there was a famine, and advises him not to scoff at the fish which alone saved his ancestors from starvation at that time. If a rude little boy laughs at a maimed or deformed
[732] man, he is told of *Ałałał*, a Bella Bella urchin who repeatedly mocked a one-eyed man and presently, himself, lost the sight of an eye.

867 "Don't laugh at cripples, blind people, or those who are
[735]

poverty-stricken," say the elders. "If you do, you will become like them yourself."

As a boy grows older, his father insists that he wash, pray, and practise other ritual acts likely to win approval from supernatural beings. He is frequently beaten to inure him to hardship. By the time a youth is eleven or twelve years of age he has become fully acquainted with the principles of the patriarch system and a wise parent teaches him to remember debts. Taking his son to some quiet spot in the woods, he makes a small bundle of cedar twigs, for example, and tells him:

"So-and-so at Bella Bella gave you fifteen beaver skins. When you see this bundle you must think of those skins."

Then he takes another bunch, perhaps of spruce twigs, to represent a present from a Kitsilas Inlet chief. A bundle of nettle fibre may stand for a Kitsequit debt; one ornamented with a tuft of undyed cedar-bark, a gift from a *Tsi'ts* chief; a solid piece of alder stem, a local debt; another section of alder stem with a notch in it, another local debt, and so on. The son is expected to listen attentively, and to repeat after his father what each represents. Then the pupil turns his back and the instructor alters the positions of the bundles. His father tells him to look at them and repeat what each signifies. This is repeated time after time until a boy becomes familiar with remembering debts by means of symbols. In later years, if he becomes a chief, he will use this method for keeping his indebtedness in mind. No system of conventional signs has been evolved, each individual merely designates what he wishes by a mark which he alone can recognize.

A child grows up in the community, absorbing information and law without conscious effort, learning the activities which he will later practise, fearing the supernatural beings that are dreaded by his parents, marvelling at the power of those endowed with supernatural ability, and generally fitting himself for the struggle of life. If his parents are wealthy, he may be fortunate enough to be given a noble name and to partake in

[illegible] initiation perfection, but he cannot himself carry out a cere-
[illegible] many until he has reached manhood.

Puberty Rites

[illegible] The change from childhood to adult age is, of course, more obvious with girls than with boys, and the former alone must observe strict taboos. Menstrual blood, like that which follows delivery, is unclean, especially that contrast on the first discharge. A woman who has just given birth is a cousin; an adolescent girl, a spoiled, that is, "A Person Not Fully Developed"; the attitude with which the former is regarded is bold, to a lesser extent, for the latter.

[illegible]

As the first indication, the girl who a woman to inform her mother of her condition, and goes home immediately if she happens to be away at the time. The parents at once make a small enclosure or bedroom of plastic or matting in either of the front corners of the house, providing it with a cupboard and bedding by which she can leave without passing through the front door. There the girl must lie for four days, with legs close together and lean on the knees, never stretched out straight. She is not allowed to drink anything, and must not sprinkle. If she should consume much food, she would be greatly when an adult. When necessary for her to leave the enclosure, a woman must always accompany her. The mother, or some other female relative, provides her with the usual soft-rubber back pads. On the fifth day, she leaves her shelter early in the morning with one feminine friend and goes to a secluded pool back in the forest, where she washes for the first time. Then she runs rapidly through the woods, which has the effect of making her a strong woman. Should a girl fail to do this, she would be afflicted with an illness caused by the salmon, become blind, and die young.

[illegible] For one year an adolescent girl is subject to many restrictions. The near approach to the river would affect the salmon and cause them to avoid Bella Coola, so she is not allowed to draw water, or even to appear on the beach. She may not use

the front door facing the river, but has to leave the house through the way towards the enclosure where she sleeps. The Bella Coola consider it unthinkable for a girl to disregard these prohibitions, but if this should happen, she would be chased home by her parents, by the Guardian of the River, or, in fact, by any elderly member of the community. The strongest reason for respecting these regulations is the belief that the shadows bringe death; no one knows how it is inflicted, but a useless girl can die. During this period the women are fresh salmon, though she is allowed them if they have been smoked for four or five days. The scanty meals are brought to her in the enclosure where she is virtually a prisoner. It is true that she can leave it and wander in the woods, but her companions avoid her as being in an unclean condition of which they are afraid, and she is barred from taking part in all activities by the river which constitute so large a part of the life of the Bella Coola. A girl cannot pick berries during this time, as no more would grow in the valley which she had thus tilled; she must not touch anyone, nor allow anyone to touch her; she must not pass in front of a man; she must go to bed before everyone else in the house, and to the bed to match. The danger of breaking some taboo is so great that it is safer for a girl to remain within her enclosure where her mother, and other old women, gather to tell her the many things which it is fitting for an adult woman to know. This seclusion is not pleasant, but it unquestionably serves to emphasize the importance of mature life to which it is a prelude. The writer remembers on occasion when a Bella Coola family was using very fresh salmon while one of the daughters, who had recently reached adolescence, watched anxiously. Her grandfather was and gave the child an orange, something that in his youth little girls did not receive such dainties to sweetness their lot.

Adolescent girls wear certain distinctive articles of clothing and ornaments. The most noticeable is a skullcap beaded with grass. This is the only time in a woman's life that a hat is worn. She also wears earrings, each consisting of a cone

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bands of four concentric-shaped shells, probably *Tonatiuh*, which are said to have been imported from the north in early times. These marks serve to indicate the position of the girl, who is both feared and respected, possessed of supernatural power, and yet beneficial. Many Hopi Clans evolve despite how adolescent girls have been able to vanquish supernatural beings; perhaps the most striking of these is the manner in which they were saved manifest when the sun came too close to the earth. At the end of a year, or eleven months according to one old woman, the seclusion is terminated, and the girl resumes her normal activities. The first time she goes to the river she must throw on the water four pieces of food, and four pieces of unfired coiled-cloth. This is especially important if the salmon are running at the time, although no explanation of this ritual is given.

The assumption of her freedom indicates that a girl has reached marriageable age. Clans sometimes confine their daughters for even longer than a year, and usually delay their marriages for several years to demonstrate their importance, but this is not necessary, and is a practice to other than wealthy individuals. It is not uncommon for a girl to wed before her year is over, in fact one her restrictions automatically lapse. Clans never allow such a curtailment for their daughters, as it would diminish the prestige of the latter, and be detrimental to the status of their children when they marry and have families. Their intercourse with a suitable adolescent is considered not only illegal but disgusting as well. Between the period of confinement and marriage, intercourse is prohibited and guarded against by the parents of a girl, but is not considered immoral and seems to have been fairly common in former times with the daughters of poor people and slaves. This sanctions took place before the first menstruation in spite of the disapproval with which this was regarded.

Although the menstrual blood which appears at the first discharge is considered more beneficial than that emitted on later occasions, it is always regarded as unsavory or unclean. It is

[illegible] 2-9 (1922-1924)1940
NEA Bellecrate NEA

the most famous of all substances, and, therefore, a potent protection against supernatural beings. It is valuable as a defense against evil monsters, but it is equally deadly to demons and other human beings with supernatural powers. In the distant past, Raven taught mankind that to sleep with a menstruating woman would so blind a man that he would be unsuccessful in hunting. The belief is that animals, knowing everything that takes place, avoid one who is so unclean. One old man mentioned that he had failed to obey this injunction and considered it loss of virility as a punishment, overlooking the fact that he was over seventy years of age.

The coming of adolescence in a boy is recognized by change in voice and another usual indications. He is neither taboo nor unclean, so consequently does not have to undergo any restrictions in his actions. There is no ceremony to mark the entry of a positive adult membership of the tribe; instead, the coming puberty is no more than an indication of increasing age and strength.

Marriage

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola regard the married state as the normal condition of man. Persons unwilling to wed is considered unnatural. Since the number of the sexes is approximately equal, the only persons forced to live alone are elderly widows and widowers, and those crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are looked upon as unfortunate; in fact, they have failed in one of the most fundamental of life's struggles. Men provide fish and game, build houses and canoes, while women collect berries, make tobacco, cooks, and perform the multitudinous small housekeeping.

"Is it not better benefit of each to marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is not a mere economic arrangement, nor is its sole function to regulate relations between the sexes. Its most important force is that it governs the status of the child.

[581] [151] Confidently believing that he has descended from ancestors who came to this earth in the beginning of time, a Bella Coola wishes to have his children firmly established in the path of his forbears. This can be accomplished only with the aid of a suitable mother. It follows that marriage is not primarily a matter of affection, but of the ancestral eligibility of the contracting parties.

CHOICE OF MATE

[564] [58] Since the initiative for marriage is taken by the man in almost all cases, it will be convenient and proper to describe the factors which enter into the search for a wife, remembering that the concerns govern the decision of the woman and her relatives. The choice of the woman who is to be the mother of the children who will carry on the traditions of the ancestral family is a matter of no great importance to be entrusted to any young person. Accordingly, while their son is yet a child, his parents often discuss who would be a suitable wife for him. They view the matter from a strictly business standpoint. [581] Proud of their own ancient lineage, they would not demean themselves by allowing their son to marry a girl who could not trace her ancestry back to the first people, or with one whose forbears had disgraced themselves by marriage with slaves. Instead, it is a matter of pride for parents to have as daughter-in-law the child of a powerful chief. Nor can they choose a [582] woman too closely related to their son. Marriage with a sister, or aunt, a niece, or any first cousin is strictly prohibited. No reason for these laws could be obtained; the Bella Coola consider that it would be "indecent" or unclean so to marry, but have theorized no further about the matter. An adopted child is regarded in the same light as an own child. The Bella Coola [577] [526] [171] know, and are amused by, the regulation of marriage according to totem among the northern tribes, but practise nothing of the same nature themselves. In fact, marriages usually take place among those who are descended from one ancestor and who have, accordingly, the same crest, though the significance

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of the sons is very different from its use among the northern tribes.

Having eliminated those girls who are too closely related, or who are omitted on account of the poverty of their parents, the father and mother can concentrate on others of about the same age as their son. The most desirable is a member of the ancestral family of one of the parents. This obviates the dangers and difficulties of marriage with a stranger, and any children will be born into the close-knit circle of related ancestors stretching back to the beginning of time. They consider that such a child is fortunate, as if he were held close to the spiritual embrace of his powerful forefathers of antiquity. Each ancestral family is jealously proud of its ancient traditions and prerogatives, and as some of these are maintained at marriage, it follows that a mating within its ranks is desirable from a business standpoint. Moreover, it is recognized that the husband obtains more prestige than the wife at the wedding and that her relatives are more likely to be generous when their son-in-law is one to whom they are related. Indeed, some ancestral families are as "stingy," (to use the Bella Coola expression), that for generations they have habitually married endogamously. In such cases it is not unknown for the children of first cousins to mate, though this is usually regarded as not quite proper. The most common marriages are between the great-children and great-great-children of first cousins, or between the child and great-child of a first cousin when of suitable age. According to mythology, unions have sometimes taken place between brother and sister in order to preserve the traditions within the family, and it appears highly probable that marriages have occasionally occurred between first cousins, although no specific instance of this could be learned. As long as the laws against incest are observed, any girl of appropriate age who is addressed as nemas (1, p. 122) is a fit person. Since ancestral families have usually become localized in certain villages, there is a strong leaning to local endogamy, though this is not compulsory. The restrictions

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on marriage are of a bilateral nature, and the preferences are equally bilateral, with a tendency to become patrilineal, in accordance with the patrilineal tendency of the ancestral family as already described.

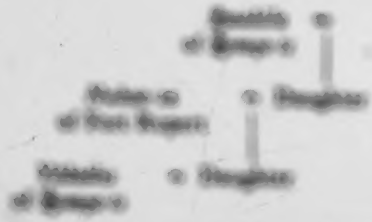
Although these considerations greatly restrict the selection of a suitable daughter-in-law, a number of choices always remain. The parents of the prospective bridegroom consider the material advantages of each of them. Since the ability of a man to give potlatches depends largely on the wealth contributed by his wife's matrilineal family, she parents eliminate a girl whose brothers are lazy. Moreover, they know that their son's children will receive prerogatives from their maternal grandparents, hence it is desirable to choose those who have great *Bella Coola* dances, or other valuable rights. Personal names are not so important, because these are the personal property of all members of the ancestral family. A great consideration is the industriousness of the girl herself, though this is of less moment than the working-ability of her father and brothers. Marriage was discussed with a very old man who had had four wives. After describing the disposition of the four, he continued:

"My last wife was by far the best. Her family gave me many presents."

Frequently the choice of a wife is simplified by an institution which may be termed "return marriage." If, for example, a few generations ago a woman was married into another ancestral family, or into a distant branch of her own, it was considered proper for a man of her family to marry a wife a woman of the family into which she had married. During the previous wedding then the woman's family bestowed much wealth and valuable prerogatives, it is proper that the latter should be returned to the ancestral family of their owners. A return marriage also binds two families together, with consequent strength to the children. A few examples will make the matter clear.

In the beginning of time it is believed that a son of [illegible] married the daughter of a [illegible] chief ([illegible], p. [illegible]). He from the brought her husband several [illegible] names, which were transmitted in time to her children and which remained in [illegible]'s home, [illegible], for many generations. The [illegible] believe that it was remembered for hundreds of years that these designations did not belong there. Whenever one was conferred, the earth was mounted to tell how it first came to [illegible], whereas in [illegible] when the earth from which the name were taken was stated, it was always added that there to position could not be said since they were now in [illegible]. About one hundred and fifty years ago, [illegible], a [illegible] woman, was married to a [illegible] man in order to repay the debt, and remain friendly between the two villages. The [illegible] to know the names long ago brought from [illegible]. Similarly, if any name or other prerogative of an ancestral earth has been discovered from the ancestral family to which it belongs, a father searches for a woman who will be able to receive it in his son as a marriage gift. The word used for searching is "hunt," the term applied to nothing for hearing animals.

The accompanying pedigree illustrates a return marriage. [illegible]'s daughter was married to a [illegible] man and took with her as dower several [illegible] name and other prerogatives. The son of these was remembered and they were brought back by the marriage of [illegible], a member of [illegible]'s ancestral family, with a daughter of the woman who had gone to [illegible]. Usually several generations elapse before a return marriage is made. This incident was perfectly well known to the son of [illegible].



If parents who are seeking a wife for their son have also a daughter approaching marriageable age, they may try to avoid a later return marriage by arranging that their daughter shall be married to a brother, or other near relative, of their son's wife. Exchange marriage was formerly more common than [illegible]

S-96:Dewalt B-3 (1902-04) 1948
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as possible, though even more is considered highly desirable. The sentiment is that already described: the more closely the parents are bound together by ties of common ancestry, the greater will be their children ceremonial strength. Further, reciprocal alliances of this type obviate all danger of feuds, since certain marriages are so required.

In recent years it has become fashionable, or socially "smart," with some Bella Coola families to seek wives from unrelated ancestral families, and even from other tribes. It is said that this practice was initiated by *Pathc*, an important chief who died between 1870 and 1880. He sought foreign marriages on account of dispensations which were brought to dowers by his wives, and considered that such rights, transmissible to his children, more than compensated for the lack of strength provided by other ancestors. Many have followed his example, with the result that some ancestral families have entirely abandoned the exogamic tendency. Boas (p. 154) has made the same observation. Although this exogamic principle is directly contrary to that which has already been described, one is should bearing that each has the same explanation—the search for wife able to bring most to her or her authors children.

Should the parents consider a foreign woman as wife for their son, then her worth is discussed from every angle. One woman may have the right to good hunting grounds, the family of another may bestowe valuable coast prerogatives, a third some factor-ries. Serious thought is put on the relative values of these. One has had heard of the French system of dot, and emphasized simply how far superior to, and more sensible is was than the Coolian practice. In recent years the younger Bella Coola has been arranging their own marriages, and the elder men insist bitterly that they are influenced only by the beauty of working ability of the girl, not by her real worth, the prerogatives which she can bring to her children.

Although parents consider chiefly the ancestry of their

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future daughter-in-law, yet they are not entirely oblivious to the girl herself. She must be of about the same age as their son, preferably a year or two older. Should the wife be the younger, it is thought that she ages rapidly until she appears as old as her husband. Boys usually marry at seventeen or eighteen, and it is essential that the woman chosen for wife must have been concealed for at least a year following puberty. Nor is a weakly girl chosen, or one of notoriously bad temper. As their son reaches the age of marriage, his parents usually consult him, though it is not usual for him to primary their wishes. A girl who has been leading a notoriously lax life is not desired, though this is most unusual for the daughter of a chief. The feeling is that such a girl would be a faithless and fickle wife, rather than any objection to her sins as such.

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[582]

Realizing the importance of marriage, the parents of a boy discuss and plan the event for years, weighing the relative value of girls whom they think they could obtain for their son. By the time he has reached the age of fourteen or fifteen, they have decided on the most suitable partner, and it then becomes necessary to consult her parents and win their approval.

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PERIOD OF ENGAGEMENT

When the parents of the young man (whom it will be convenient to term X) have at last decided on a suitable partner, they next choose an intermediary for the first proposal. In all these discussions the elderly relatives of the parents take a leading part, and especially their own parents if alive. Sometimes X's father himself interviews the father of the girl (here termed Y), at other times he asks some friend to do so. The matter is not supposed to be generally known, and the intermediary goes to Y's father's house, and quietly tells his parents that X's family would like their daughter to become X's wife. This preliminary asking is done unostentatiously, at any time and in any place, and the messenger withdrawn after giving his message. In all probability Y's family have already en-

584 cional information of the proposed marriage, but they always plead ignorance, and deliberate for several days. Y's parents and other relatives take part in the discussion, and Y herself may likewise be taken into confidence. Although a daughter has, theoretically, little choice, in practice she exercises a great deal of influence. The mother and father weigh the suitor's eligibility not only with regard to wealth and ancestral pretensions, but consider his character. An immoral young man is not desirable, though neither is one who is impotent.

[581] If Y's relatives agree to the proposal, some one of them informs the intermediary, or X's father, and the young people are considered to be engaged. The fact is supposed to be kept secret for several days, although the news usually becomes known sooner. X's relatives as soon as possible take a number of presents to Y's family. These are given in private, and are termed "secret gifts"; they are said to give strength to the future children. Since no witnesses are present it follows that no social prestige accrues from the transaction. The relatives included in the "family" of either X or Y are not always the same; uncles, aunts, grandparents, may or may not take part in the giving and receiving of presents, the parents alone always do so. Sometimes distant relatives take a leading part in the arrangements, either in hope of receiving valuable gifts, or of obtaining social influence by lavish giving. If X's relatives have reason to believe that Y's family will accept their proposal, several of them may go in company and actually carry the "secret gifts" to Y's house at the time of making the first proposal. Should this be rejected, they merely carry away their goods, and as the affair has been private, no one's vanity is hurt.

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The acceptance of "secret gifts" binds the engagement of X and Y, but a few days elapse before this is made public. If X's family is wealthy, his father, or other near relative, personally invites all the inhabitants of the village to his house. The singers, in their usual sections behind the fire, strike up the tune of some feasting and the owner of the song, then warned,

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dances to come to it. Using their own discretion, the musicians proceed to beat out the time for *dasiai* after *dasiai*, and each performs. In like fashion they then beat out the time of one *wandi* after another, and each member of that society gives his dance. Since none of the supernatural beings is present, the affair is non-sacred. The singers consult with the host as to the number of songs to be used. When they stop at last, X's father, aided by his younger relatives, gives valuable presents of food. No mention of the coming marriage is made, but the *dasi* gives the donor an opportunity of displaying his generosity as a chief and indirectly increases the importance of the wedding because the value of the food will have to remunerated in connection with it.

If X's father is very wealthy, he may recall the people for several nights, always providing the same type of entertainment, and always giving food. He uses his own judgment as to the number of such entertainments, but at that which he decides shall be the last, he announces:

"Tomorrow we shall go to Y's father's house."[1]

If X's father does not wish to give away such large quantities of food he may unite the dancing in his own house and make this announcement at a potlatch, a *dasiai* dance,[1] or any other public gathering. But the more elaborate the ceremonial, the greater is the importance of the marriage in the eyes of the Bella Coola, which in turn increases the strength of the children who may result from it.

On the morning after this declaration, X's father calls to his house those whom he wishes to be witnesses of the alliance that has been planned. These include as many of his relatives and those of his wife as he desires, and often intimate friends. These individuals comprise the group interested, on behalf of X, in the marriage; they provide the goods which are given for him, and receive the presents from the corresponding group of Y's relatives. Anyone having the necessary financial ability

[1] This is probably a more recent innovation.

is glad of the opportunity to demonstrate it, but a poor man can decline without loss of social status.

Carrying presents, the specific value of which is immaterial, they set out for Y's house. The father, accompanied by his relatives, has been warned and is waiting at the door. A herald, or other eloquent speaker, addresses them on behalf of Y's father. He says in effect:

"We do not come secretly or wrongfully to steal something from you. We come with the fairest intentions. Great is our affection for your child. When we are about to do [illegible] long been a practice of our two families (if the two families have intermarried in past generations), let us do according to our wishes. I am the opening."[1]

Then Y's father throws on the ground several stones, representing those who will have to give to Y's relatives. These are said to "open the door," that is, to make clear the entrance of Y and his relatives into Y's house. There is the added sign: Stones that they once upon a time used the children whom it is hoped will result from the marriage. This thought finds expression in many rites both during engagement and at the wedding ceremony itself. After throwing the stones, Y's father gives gifts to Y, to her father, her mother, and to her other relatives assembled. These are of such great value that Y's father sometimes almost impoverishes himself, but he knows that though these will never actually be returned, Y's family will be proud to uphold their dignity, and the importance of Y, by equally lavish gifts.

Y's father now invites his guests to enter his house, and adjourn them to their duly reserved seats where the food that has been prepared is served with all solemnity in the usual food-boxes. Then Y's family give presents to Y's family, that is to all who have come to share in the marriage. These goods are known as "working clothes"; they are usually of less value

[1] Opening, literally: The term is applied to the stone, because in Y's house and, that is, has a double significance, in opening the way to the marriage and during the gift to the Green children.

[illegible]

that the presents just given by X's relatives, though necessarily they may exceed them. Y's father, or a herald, or an elsewhere friend on his behalf, speaks to the following effect: [illegible]

"Be bold. Henceforth you will have to work a very long time for us. We will let you know when we need your services."

The significance of this speech lies in the fact that X, and to a certain extent his relatives, are expected to perform almost menial tasks for Y's father during the period of engagement, which has now been duly verified. Y's father and his followers now leave Y's house. It is immaterial whether or not X and Y themselves have been present. It is important that this formal acknowledgment of the engagement should take place during the day, otherwise any children resulting from the marriage would be shamed by having it said to them: "Your parents were not married in the open light of day." [illegible]

For a varying length of time X now acts almost as a servant to Y's father. He does not live with her family, but he cuts wood, draws water, and performs other menial tasks. Whenever a member of X's family gives a ceremony, he takes care to give lavish presents to Y's relatives. If it is impossible to hold a sacred rite, Y's father is no longer expected to invite Y's family to a ceremonial feast, and she is shown with them any grace that he may will. Meanwhile, X and Y are not subject to any restrictions as to seeing each other. In theory if they should subsequently wish "quit" the engagement, but in practice where this occurs, as it often does, the matter is simply hushed up. [illegible]

Children whose parents were long engaged are said to be "heavy"; their entry into life having been prepared with careful thought and due ceremony, as their death-birds are chosen to travel with success to the position of chief. When such a child is born, the relatives are eager to call their fellow-villagers to render a name-gift after birth, and the father starts life with this advantage. There is no specific length of time for engagements; if X and Y are the children of influential chiefs, the [illegible]

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584 preliminary agreement may have been made while they were only seven or eight years old, though marriage seldom occurs before the age of seventeen or eighteen. More often the agreement is made when X and Y have passed the age of puberty, and they wait for about two years before marrying.

583 Throughout this period, X's relatives are expected to give at
425 least one feast at which Y's relatives are the guests of honour,
553 and always receive presents. At one of these times X's father,
584 with the concurrence of his relatives, may mark his approval of the coming event by bestowing on Y's father, or one of her other relatives, an ancestral name from his family myth. This does not become the absolute property of Y's family, since the myth in which it is embedded does not belong to them, unless, of course, they are members of the same ancestral family. It is fitting that a name of this kind be bestowed by the recipient on one of Y's children, or returned to X's family a few generations later by a return marriage. If this is not done, in course of time the designation is apt to be regarded by Y's family as their own. If there are no children, Y's relatives should give back the name to X's
[527] family, but there are many instances of feuds caused by failure
[773] to do so. According to mythology, prerogatives may sometimes be given outright, without thought of their use by the resultant children, or of their being restored by return marriages. It is claimed that the people of the Kimsquit River
[548] have, through such a present, the inalienable title to use a certain spot in the Kitlala River for their chiefs' rest, and likewise the Kitlala people have an irrevocable right to the Kimsquit name *Sathong*. These two prerogatives were transferred at the beginning of time. At present, anyone bestowing outright his family prerogatives would be considered weak-
[970] minded and the other members of the ancestral family would unanimously object. Considerations of this sort make it desirable to seek a wife within the ranks of the ancestral family.

During the period of engagement, Y's family may present a name, or names, to X's father, with the same conditions as those just described.

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these just described. The giving of these at this time is not obligatory, nor does it affect the validity of the coming marriage. It is merely a mark of friendly feeling between the two groups of relatives, and, by adding to the importance of the event, increases the potential strength of the unborn children. [58]

If either X or Y should die during the period of engagement, the presents, or their equivalent, must be returned to the donors. No formal methods are employed to ensure this, but the force of public opinion suffices to compel a man to do that which is proper, in fact, he is anxious to do so. If Y should die, an effort is made to replace her with a sister, cousin, or other near relative, so that the friendly relations entered upon by the two families may not be lost. The gifts mutually given by the two families may be returned and re-donated or the relatives simply take Y's place without further arrangement. Sometimes, in spite of the wishes of their parents and the elaborate rites carried out, either X or Y breaks the engagement by going to live with somebody else. It is then a mark of pride for the family of the offender to return the gifts they have received, and almost equally a mark of honour for the aggrieved party to give back what has been bestowed upon them, in order to demonstrate how little value they place on the possession of goods. [58½] [59] [59½]

Though a lengthy engagement is desirable, it may be curtailed. If, for example, one of X's relatives should die before the usual period has elapsed, Y's father may suggest an immediate wedding. He knows that X's family will have heavy expenses in connection with the burial and mourning rites, hence it is courteous to offer a quick marriage with the financial advantages accruing to them at the ceremony. In this case, X either does not work at all for Y's family, or for only a short time. Moreover, if Y reaches marriageable age without her father receiving suitable proposals, he can himself take the initiative by consulting the parents of an eligible young man. If the suggestion is agreeable, the engagement is announced in the manner already described, and the marriage takes place [64]

584 as soon as possible. Though strictly legal, and commonly practised even long ago, this is not considered a desirable proceeding, since the children lack the strength which would have been theirs if their parents had been long engaged. In recent years the custom of short engagements has become popular, though the older Bella Coola feel resentment, saying that the woman is simply "bought" with goods or money at the actual wedding. The return of such sums in due course does not compensate for the omission of the lengthy period of engagement. A few years ago a powerful chief even "bought" husbands for his grand-daughters. His influence was so great that by bestowing large sums on the families of the youths they accepted the young women as wives. The girls in question were desirable in every way, according to Bella Coola standards, but by marrying without a long engagement and suitable presents the husbands, and their families, failed to live up to the dignity of their ancestry. These are breakings down of the ancient rites, and as such are lamented by the older people.

583 584 Sometimes, despite the wishes of their parents, a boy and girl announce their desire to marry by living together. After much scanning, the parents usually decide to make the best of a bad business by performing the marriage rites as soon as possible and by lavish expenditure on them to lessen the impediment placed against the future offspring by lack of long engagement of their parents. But such a child can never be called an alpm, which has the significance of something good that has long been sought for, such as a smoothed-grained tree that carpenters like. It will thus be seen that the marriage ceremony must be carried out, irrespective of whether or not it has been preceded by a lengthy period of engagement in which the first proposal was made by the boy's family, by a shorter one in which the girl's family took the initiative, or by no period of engagement whatever. These rites can now be described.

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MARRIAGE RITES

Y's family decide when the period of engagement shall be 584
terminated. Although it is considered undignified for X or his relatives to hurry them in this matter, there is always a certain amount of urging. Y's father has strong reasons for procrastination. A long engagement strengthens the status of the children whom his daughter may bear, and besides, he frequently receives presents from X's relatives. As Y's relatives will have to bear the heavier part of the expenses of the wedding, it may be necessary for them to delay it for years while saving the requisite goods. The ceremony may take 585
place at any time of the year. Foreign guests are occasionally invited, but usually only the members of X's and Y's village are present. If the marriage should be with the child of a foreign chief his relatives and friends are present to take part. When Y's relatives decide that they are ready, they choose the actual day after consultation with X's family, though the assumption is that Y's father merely informs X's father of the date.

It is incumbent on X's family to proclaim the event on the 585
day preceding the ceremony. In the late afternoon his father 203
sends a herald through the village calling out:

"*Qwiwap*, ye chiefs! *Qwiwap*, ye wives of chiefs! *Qwiwap*, ye commoners!"

The actual meaning of *qwiwap* is unknown, though it is well understood to be an invitation to gather for the announcement of a wedding. In conjunction with the summons, X's [551]
ceremonial name is used, although all in the village are probably well aware of what is about to take place. It is noteworthy 585
that at a marriage the guests, as well as the participants, are called by the ceremonial names, as opposed to the *kaciut* names [551]
by which individuals who own such are generally known. Red [302]
coloring is much in evidence at weddings; heralds smear their faces with red paint and the guests similarly tint themselves. They wear collars, wristlets, and anklets of undyed cedar-bark, [301]
and cover themselves with eagle down.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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585 In the gathering dusk all assemble in X's house; Y's relatives attend or not as they wish. X's father would feel insulted if anyone else should stay away without a valid excuse, but in point of fact everyone is eager for an evening's entertainment. The singers take their accustomed places behind the fire and the guests arrange themselves in the house without reference to rank. The musicians strike up the *kwiat* song of anyone present, and the person so indicated dances. The first tune used is frequently that of X's father, and then that of his mother, but there is no fixed rule about this. The singers choose and beat out tune after tune, and guest after guest dances, but, since none of the supernatural beings is present, the affair is of a non-sacred nature. After exhausting the most popular *kwiat* songs, the musicians beat out the *nsaok* songs of many of the guests who, in succession, dance to them; the songs of shamans are used in like fashion. Sometimes the singers continue until everyone present has danced, at other times they curtail the ceremony, as they think fit. When they decide to stop, they intimate this to X's father, who superintends the distribution to the guests of whatever kind of food has been provided.

[535]

During the meal, a fluent speaker stands up and expounds on behalf of X's father the ancestral myth in which his son's ancestral name is embodied. Sometimes X's father acts as his own orator, but usually a herald is called upon. Only sufficient details are given to show the importance of X. The myth may either be one of the most ancient type dealing with the first settlement of this earth, or one of later date describing the exploits of X's famous ancestors; but in either case, as shown by the examples given in the last chapter, each contains an account of a marriage. It is always known, although not generally described, that at each of these several dancers performed, their number varying between two and eighteen. The orator, when outlining the myth, stresses this part of it, and always announces how many danced at that time; with the statement that there will be a like number on the morrow. In

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[203]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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the same manner the fluent speaker outlines a myth belonging to the ancestral family of X's mother, again with emphasis on the dancers used by her ancestors. X, as a member of both ancestral families, can combine his rights from both sides, but it is customary for him to use no more than five or six performers. Should X have no claim to this privilege from either mother or father, an almost unthinkable situation, he is able to borrow the prerogative of using some from friends. The sentiment on which this oration of myths is based is the one so often mentioned; it marks the close relationship between the future children and their noble ancestors of old, a source of strength to the former. 537 585 [426]

X's father now names those whom he wishes to assist him on the following day. These are the dancers, who are chosen primarily for their skill in dancing, and secondarily in accordance with their rank. With them he selects a number of persons to stand near and help or "cherish" them as they perform. He also asks the services of some of the women who are professional droners; of the keeper of the marriage song of his ancestral family; and, finally, of a number of men to sit near the singers and assist them with suggestions. It would be most exceptional for anyone so called upon to decline the honour. It is near morning by this time and the guests depart. 585 [595] [614]

On the following morning, the actual wedding day, X's father calls to his house those selected the previous evening as dancers and their assistants. The former wear blankets decorated with small copper ornaments[8] and carry circular wooden rattles provided with handles. Their clothing and rattles may be their own, but if they do not possess suitable attire, it is incumbent on X's father to provide them. Skins are piled up within the house, and some of these are said to "make soft the [534]

[8]At the present time there is uncertainty as to the proper clothing of a marriage dancer. Several informants stated that it was a copper-decorated blanket, whereas others said that there was no special attire; one man claimed that an attempt was made to imitate the form and costume of X's first ancestor, and another that casual costume was used. Probably there was no uniformity in custom. [292] [535] [184]

585 handles of the rattles"; symbolizing that they are made to protect the hands, though the dancers derive no benefit from the palm, which are stacked with others for later distribution to Y's family. A large amount of provisions has been prepared and placed in boxes, one for each member of Y's family. In many cases it is difficult to estimate how much food will be required, and if there is a surplus, it is eaten by the performers and other ministers.

When all are ready they rush forth; dancers, dancers' ministers, and young relatives of X, followed more sedately by his father. The rest of the villagers watch with interest, but do not take part in the ceremony. Choosing a position outside Y's house, the singers beat the time of the marriage [533] song used by X's ancestors; if the words are known they sing [424] them. Like the prerogative of marriage dances, there may [426] not be a marriage song embodied in every origin myth, but if X lacks such he is usually able to borrow one.[9] The keeper of the song is stationed near the singers, ready to help them with the words or the tune, if necessary. Meanwhile the [535] dancers are performing on the sidewalk outside Y's house. Each uses whatever type of dance he chooses, facial, sexual, o'ali, or even shaman's, but all dance simultaneously, though without paying greater attention to each other than is necessary to avoid collisions. The professional dancers ac- [533] company the singing with their high-pitched quavers.

Meanwhile Y's father, surrounded by his relatives and friends, waits in readiness within their house. Y herself is

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[9] The reported origin of marriage songs has been described in vol. 1, chap. vi. They are less strongly preserved as prerogatives than some elements of origin myths. In fact some keepers of the songs are willing to perform at any wedding, although this may be a modern development. The keeper, either man or woman, is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family, after discussion with the singers. It is his duty to remember text and tune, and the only pecuniary advantage is from the presents made by those to whom he teaches it. Some songs have words, others only a tune. The tune of a song brought down by *Algaxstan* is made of so-

[614] "Hello, friendship! We do as we have done before. Please make good the path for those who are about to marry."

Algaxstan obtained this song from his heavenly ancestor and used it at his own marriage, as his male descendants have since done.

dum, taking as inconspicuous a part as X does in the whole affair. As the singers start the marriage song, some of X's relatives carry into Y's house a part of the goods which X's relatives have assumed for the occasion, deposit them on the floor near the door, and then withdraw. These goods are said, "to sweep the house." Long ago they are said to have been of great value, though nowadays small presents are considered ample. Any member of Y's family can accept one by picking it from the floor, but he is expected to return the gift with something of greater value, sometimes nothing is taken. Should none of his relatives appear willing to do so, it devolves on Y's father to accept the present.

When the marriage song has ended, X's father gives to some strong youth narrow strips of gunnies with the wool still attached. Carrying these in one hand the young man runs up and down the sidewalk, waving his arms, and at intervals throwing one of the strips into the air, away from himself. All the younger people of the village pursue him, and a wild scramble takes place for each strip. Sometimes, instead of running up and down, the running is done in a clear space near Y's house. Only the sons of important chiefs are prohibited from this sport, since it is thought to be beneath their dignity. It is an animated scene, in which the participants thoroughly enjoy themselves. Should have the right to ask any dancer for his clothing, and unless he is willing to lose this, he must give a present to the one who has demanded it. This is a constant source of amusement to the onlookers. Nothing is known of the origin or meaning of the wholesale giving away of strips of gunnies, nor why the lowville should be able to demand clothing on this occasion.

"It has always been done," the Bella Coola say simply.

When the noise has somewhat subsided, the singers again beat out the time of the marriage song, and again the dancers begin to perform. Y's father then sends out one of his male relatives, with gifts, "to stop the dance." The latter gives a present to one of the dancers, who ceases his gyrations, then

[illegible] to the others in succession. If Ø's father is not wealthy, he may dispense with presents to the dancers, who bring some of their own accord. When the song is finished, more strips of green skin are thrown to the women already described. Then the song is sung for the third time, accompanied by the dancers who have not been "stopped" by the receipt of gifts. Again Ø's father's friend brings out presents to "stop" more of the dancers. After another dispense of green skin, and a fourth singing, all have been "stopped." Care is taken that no man has not dancer [illegible] to accompany the fourth singing of the song.

Ø's relatives are used to valuable presents to Ø, his father, mother, and other relatives, and also to those who wish to associate themselves with Ø's father in the marriage transaction, prompted by kindly feelings towards him, or, it may be, through a desire to display publicly their wealth and importance. The number of these individuals has been commissioned secretly to Ø's kinsmen, who are then able to send a present to each, such as a canoe, a slave, a mortar, lyre, or green skin blanket, or some equally treasured object. These gifts are called "weapons of war," since the assumption is that Ø is acting like a warrior in taking something of value from Ø's family. At the same time the goods that Ø's father has given to sing the dancers are returned to him commensurately.

Ø's father now invites Ø's party into his house by calling out:

"Come women, come relatives," "Come you men-party, come on chiefs."

They go into the house and sit in a group in the place of honour behind the fire. Some of the other villagers may come in to watch, remaining near the front door, but having no part in the proceedings. Ø's father experiments a distribution of food to his guests, sometimes a lavish feast, at other times a small meal, depending on the food supply and time of year.

[illegible] In many cases, though not always, Ø's father stage a sing-sing at this juncture, emphasizing the importance of his [illegible] kin.

[illegible]

[illegible]

If a grandchild be born they will give him a certain name if a boy, or another if a girl, so that henceforth no one can take that name for himself, even though it is not in use. In already mentioned, even when a name has duly passed to one of the children it can be recalled in future generations by a return exchange. The transmission of names, or the promising of them to children yet unborn, is perhaps the most binding feature of the whole marriage rite. Mythology contains innumerable which names, and other prerogatives, have been given my moiety. Cases are cited by the Bella Coola where a father gives hunting-grounds as "food" for the use of the otherwise his son- or daughter-in-law, but it is usual merely to secure the use of them to the grandchildren.

For the transference of names, or other prerogatives, to the Tsimshian sense of Bella Coola marriages, it is necessary to digress still further in an attempt to analyze the concepts of the use of the connection. If the contracting parties are members of different unrelated families, or even of different branches of the same family, there is a feeling of strain and unfamiliarness at the intimate relations into which they are brought. There is a conflict of desires. On one hand is the wish to keep the family prerogatives from going afield; on the other, wish that they should go afield to show the respect due to a bride or bridegroom. If children result, the matter is over, since they are equally members of the unrelated families' mother and father and form a bond which draws the unrelated units into the closer community of interest. Intermarriages will then be sought by successive generations, until the prerogatives of the two families become so closely intertwined that a child will, indeed, be born into the midst of advantageous from both parents. But when there are no children the matter is complicated, since the recipients of gifts or ceremonially try to keep them entirely. They may do so with the best intentions, feeling that it would be a slight to the donors to give them back. Bella Coola etiquette is not sufficiently exact to stipulate when should be done. If the

[illegible] is not concerned, the donors may be offended at its being kept. If it is concerned, they may be offended that it has not been kept.

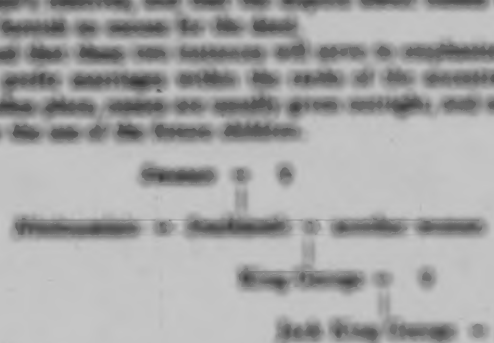
The following example will help to explain this rather complex point.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] one of the family relatives was accident or [illegible]. The dance was [illegible] but none of the Bella Coola believe that it was due to one of Qaqaxa's relatives, and that the dance about [illegible] was quite sufficient to furnish an excuse for the deed.

It is hoped that these two instances will serve to emphasize why the Bella Coola prefer marriages within the ranks of the ancestral family. When the other place names are usually given outright, and are merely presented for the use of the future children.



After this digression, to return to the marriage of ♀ and ♀. The ceremony is taking place in the house of ♀'s father, and the parents of each participant have impersonated parts of their origin myths, and provided names for the resultant children.

Then ♀'s relatives give numerous presents to ♀'s family, to each one including those who are associating themselves with the contract. Canoes, slaves, blankets, and other articles of great worth are given; they are said to be "bed covering" for ♀. The greater their value, the greater her prestige. The father calls a Raven chief to address the assemblage, speaking as though he were ♀. He says to effect:

"My father, my mother, my brothers, my uncles, and their associates have given me my bed covering."

These presents are the binding factors of the wedding. They are said to lock the girl to her husband's house, and accordingly are sometimes called, "rope harnesses." This is only done when a woman is married for the first time.

Another orator now holds forth on behalf of ♀'s father:

"What we do today is in good manner. We have done today what was done in former times, and what shall be done in the future."

One of Ṽ's relatives now whispers to Ṽ's father that it is time to lead away the bride. One of Ṽ's party, either man or woman, comes forward, takes Ṽ by the hand and guides her to a place among Ṽ's people, close to Ṽ himself. Ṽ's father gives the conductor presents, which are not numerous. With, not further ceremony, Ṽ's party returns to his house, taking the bride with them. She and Ṽ usually sit down together for the rest of the day, but their actions are really of slight importance.

At least an or after the return from Ṽ's home, a messenger is sent to invite her father and other relatives to Ṽ's house. The guests are themselves behind the fire, and a number of other events is to watch and listen. Ṽ and Ṽ are both present, but do not take any leading part in the ceremony. A large amount of food is given to the guests, provided, of course, by Ṽ's father, and, as they are eating, a few gifts, termed "food," may be given. Then an elegant chief appears to take over the manner in which Ṽ's ancestors were married in the days of antiquity. As soon as his speech is ended, Ṽ's father distributes to Ṽ's relatives presents, which are spoken of as "clothing." Theoretically, the presents "become nothing" for this purpose, but in reality they are received here as a means of increasing the prestige of each recipient. In consequence, care is taken to ensure that relatives not entitled receive more than others. These presents are often of considerable value, since they not only mark the noble sentiments of Ṽ's family with regard to him, but they are also a sound financial investment on behalf of Ṽ, whose wife will help him in future prosperities. Goods received as "food" or the meal are received in the same fashion as the "clothing." This completes the marriage ceremony. Ṽ's relatives often may for some time longer in Ṽ's house, but gradually go home as they think fit.

That night Ṽ and Ṽ sleep together.

It is contrary to custom for Ṽ's relatives to hand the goods which they have received from Ṽ's relatives as "food

[illegible] evening" or "rope dancing" for fun. Within a few days or weeks, they must invite their fellow-villagers to a ceremony of same kind. If it is winter this can be a social dance, but in summer it must be a non-sexual affair. Y's father and other relatives attend, furnished with the usual gifts. When the ceremony is over and the time has come for the distribution of presents, a family rule can that Y has no son. If he has already been established to one he rule can that it is not free.[illegible] Y or one brings forward some of the goods provided by the relatives, and places them with the goods which Y's family received at the wedding and are about to give away. The whole is then divided among the guests, together with presents provided by Y for Y's relatives. The usual purpose of the rite may be to obtain money for some of Y's young relatives or to establish ours for them. It is immaterial to Y's people to what end they are applied. Within recent years the two ceremonies often place at a Social dance, but such overlapping between the two types of ceremonial is probably an innovation due to dance.

When [illegible] an effort was made to introduce a marriage ceremony of the Kwakiutl. According to the Bella Coola, among them the gifts given to the husband's relatives are at most merely credited with each of the receivers. This makes such for the bride, so that if the two quarrels with another woman the one does back her for her and shows her that by saying:

"What can you do? You have no work, while I have two sons," or as many hands as have been given to the marriage.

The grandson of a Fort Rupert Kwakiutl, living in Bella Coola and considered a member of the tribe, owned one of these hands and used it at the marriage of his daughter in 1914. It was first given to the mother of the bridegroom, and exchanged with a copper; then given to the bridegroom, and exchanged; finally given, and again exchanged, from the father of the groom. The woman for whom the one dance was

[illegible] The potlatch was to the architecture [illegible] potlatch was to such [illegible] was [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] 535

[illegible] [177]

[illegible] [554]

[illegible] [567]

[illegible] [581]

[illegible]

[illegible] 541

[illegible] [556]

[illegible] 573

[illegible] 555

[illegible] [564]

[illegible]

[illegible] children. They grow up in the open environment of the
[illegible] houses, absorbing most of their lore by watching and imitat-
[illegible] ing them by actual instruction. Their care devolves chiefly
[illegible] on the mother, although on any ceremony the father will be
seen arriving with the baby in his arms, while his wife leads
another child. Nurses are unknown and the parents take
their children with them on all occasions. If it is necessary
for a mother to be absent on some arduous call, her child will
be entrusted to a grandmother or other elderly relative.
[illegible] There are no avoidances between the young people and their
parents-in-law.

[illegible] The obligation of present-giving does not stop with the
[illegible] marriage ceremony. Whenever X gives a burial dance or other
[illegible] ceremony, Y's relatives are expected to contribute. It is felt
that the weight of the presents given them during the period
of engagement and at the wedding has become too heavy, and
they throw this off by lavish giving. No count is kept of the
value of gifts bestowed or received, though it is known that
the family of the nurses loses financially in the end. The father
of many daughters is regarded as an unfortunate individual,
[illegible] who is always poor and overwhelmed through the necessity of
providing for them. By so doing, however, he increases his
own prestige, and the Bella Coola have the happy sentiment
that such a man manages to get along some way, perhaps
necessity means his ambition. Likewise Y's relatives contri-
bute to any ritual carried out by Y's father. If, for example,
one of his wife's relatives dies, X and his friends may wish to
contribute towards the funeral expenses. In fact, any cere-
[illegible] monial serves as an excuse for relatives by marriage to donate
goods and thus demonstrate publicly their influence, impor-
tance, and generosity.

[illegible] The concept of mutual help between families who have
[illegible] intermarried is one that lasts for generations. In view there
[illegible] was in Bella Coola an old Kwagiutl man who had left home
some forty years earlier and had since lived in Bella Coola
where he married and had a boy. On the death of his wife, this

all was soon back to Sulu Costa with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Sulu Costa language.

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show his not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secrets has such as a special number of rights for ceremonial display. Conversely, if Y should not be a favorite, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of his society. The women's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections, as she is interred, using a name and prerogative unknown to her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names or any convenient ceremony here that he wishes. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die children the name reverts to Y's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that could names not never be transferred in this manner.

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her general comfort. If Y fears or otherwise shows her, they remonstrate, and if her cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter after she runs away from her husband. If Y should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer evaded his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is unusual that a husband may sell his wife as a

[illegible] THE [illegible] CIRCLE [illegible]

[illegible] alone, and this is believed to have occurred on one occasion to the daughter of a chief.

[illegible] Once, more hundred years ago, the daughter of a Bella Coola chief was married to the son of Tsalmoun, a Bella Bella chief, living in Rupert. The marriage, in Bella Coola, valuable presents were given to Bella Bella, and the girl went to live in Bella Bella with her husband. Soon her uncle died. Tsalmoun gave a long potlatch in which he had invited guests from all parts of the coast. In it he then found the daughter-in-law's relatives gave a certain amount of goods in return. This was not enough, so the contribution was distributed. Tsalmoun had received a large present, and not from himself could even a small fraction be made to have the [illegible]. He is not considered. Now he continues, he now intervenes with the daughter-in-law to [illegible] a Bella Bella chief. The Bella Coola men call, indignant, but could not [illegible] the girl intervenes, escapes and [illegible] the Bella Bella [illegible]. The girl intervenes, escapes and [illegible] the Bella Bella [illegible] (1, p. 91).

[illegible] A husband demands satisfaction on the part of his wife, though he himself is often rather [illegible]. This [illegible] is regarded, not as a [illegible], but as an infringement of the husband's prerogatives. But if a woman should have a child or a time when it was impossible for the husband to have been the father, then in absence, he would probably accept it as his own and do as more than administer a beating. Though some Indians men would divorce a wife for this. Bella Coola [illegible] on such matters rather with the individual. It is universally considered to be a matter that concerns the husband alone and he can do as he thinks fit. The daughters of chiefs are usually faithful to their husbands, whatever their of parentage, notwithstanding the valuables expended at their marriages, are more [illegible]. If the husband should catch an adulterer, he can, if [illegible], slay him on the spot and the question of blood revenge could be avoided [illegible]. Usually a light [illegible] the matter, though the offender's family may give presents to the aggrieved husband, and his wife's relatives may also make [illegible] to atone for their daughter's failings. A husband does not share his wife with anyone, and a question as to the leaving of a wife

to a point that regarded as amusing. In recent years, however, some husbands have made a practice of taking their wives to white men. This is not considered creditable, but the Bella Coola do not strongly condemn breaches of the moral code, which are regarded as the affair of the husband alone. There is said to be a Bella Bella custom by which a wife takes an acquaintance, preferably one of the friends of her husband who is thought not only to know of his lot to receive the presents which he have given his wife. The relationship is to friends and often lasts together. In fact, this mutual interest is the reason to a lord between them. No case of this practice could be found in Bella Coola.

[illegible]

It has thus far been assumed that the Bella Coola are monogamous, an assumption correct only since the period of white dominance. Previous to that time it was quite common for wealthy men to have three, four, or more wives. Polly, the important chief as often mentioned, had nine, ten, or eleven, the exact number is not known. A man willing to take a second wife could do so in the manner already described, although the period of engagement was usually much shorter, and nothing for the parents-in-law was not expected. The reason for this was obvious to the Bella Coola. There for a chief of importance could affect more than a single wife, and such as one could not be expected to do-man himself by nothing for anyone else. Besides, parents were glad to have their daughters married to a great chief, so willingly waived the customary period of servitude. Men attained the distinction of having several wives. So far as could be learned the number of the same seems always to have been about equal, in half a dozen to polygamy in a community where practically every adult had a wife. A number of males were always due to war, and it is to be assumed that polygamy was made possible only through the surplus of women thus caused. The great majority of men had a single wife, some chiefs had

[illegible] one, but only one of great importance could have an equal to mean, while the case of Paris was considered to be unique and highly desirable.

A chief's wives always lived in the same houses, and it is said that disputes were frequent. Paris endeavoured to prevent jealousy by providing each woman with a special hut, room and sleeping for a single night with each in order. One informant had two wives when a young man, and he found that the only way to avoid constant bickering was by sleeping in one hut, between them. The evidence seems clear that plurality of wives was usually the cause of considerable friction, though this never deterred a man from taking a second wife if he could. The only special rule of tact in this regard was that two sisters could not be married at the same time.

In answer to questions about polyandry, we were told of a fourteen woman who had two husbands, husbands between whom she used to sleep. The whole affair was considered disgusting, but public opinion did not [illegible] the offenders since a person's marital affairs were considered to concern the individual only. It was accordingly [illegible] that the instances of true polyandry did not exist, [illegible] generally, information was volunteered about to [illegible] the families of influential men. A very powerful chief, if his only child was a daughter, quite frequently married her [illegible] relatives to the exclusion of other chiefs. He was then considered [illegible] man fortunate, since only a wealthy man could provide for a daughter in this way, and expend the large quantities of goods necessary to secure her proper marriage to such a man. The husbands were never brothers, and whether [illegible], since the prohibitive parent wished to ally his daughter with different families. The [illegible] for the benefit of any resulting children. The [illegible] was accustomed to live for a number of months in the house of one of her husbands, with her other husbands [illegible] the farming part of his household. She would then [illegible] to the house of another, who assumed the leadership of the group.

with the others, including the one who had just been leader, as follows. It is said that there was rarely fighting among the joint husbands, since each realized that his turn would come as head of the household, and moreover the wife endeavoured to share her favours indiscriminately. The children were considered equally the offspring of each husband, thus automatically acquiring membership in several economic families. Such were regarded as indeed fortunate, provided with every potential means of assistance in the struggle of life.

Recognizing its importance, every effort was made to verify this information. Further questioning elicited the comments that the informant had never seen a case of this, though he asserted that when a young man he had often heard of it and that the custom had then only recently died out. Another old man and an elderly woman confirmed the above comments almost word for word, and each added that it was well known when they were young, though they had never actually seen it in practice. One man believed that the custom had formerly prevailed in several parts of the coast, and said that he had heard of its occurrence among the "Ewaxiw" people near Newitti. Considering the reliability of his informants, the writer gives as his personal belief that the institution of polyandry among the daughters of chiefs occurred in Bella Coola not many years ago. Knowledge of the term of address for co-husband, already given, is strong evidence in support of this view.

[illegible]

Since it has been assumed that Y is the daughter of a chief, properly married with due formality, it is necessary to digress still further from the account of her relations with X to describe connections of a less creditable nature. The most common of these was with slaves. Though frowned upon by all Bella Coola tribes, such alliances, of a permanent nature, do not appear to have been rare. In some cases it was a man who thus dishonoured himself, in some a woman. Since no slave could provide the goods necessary for an elaborate wedding, the

[547] [548] ceremony usually consisted simply of the man and woman living together. In theory, this prevented the children from ever obtaining a name or other prerogative embodied in the ancestral myth of the free-born parent, and so effort was always made to conceal from them the details of the ancestral family's origin myth. But, as already described in the section dealing with slaves, the expenditure of valuable presents served to ameliorate, or at least to cover, the blot. If the child succeeded in giving many potlatches, the stain was generally forgotten. On the other hand, if the child of a slave married to a free man was not "washed," he could always be shamed by a reminder of the disgrace of his parents' wedding.

[551] [552] [553] [554] In case of murder, the son or other near relative of the victim sometimes accepts a daughter or other member of the offender's family instead of exacting blood revenge. The bride is delivered to her husband with valuable goods "to wash away the blood," but these never suffice entirely to remove the disgrace from her or her children. The latter may inherit names and prerogatives from their father, but even if they attain to the position of chiefs, they can always be put to shame by reference to their mother's marriage as an atonement for murder. Of course the influence of a great chief makes it impolitic to refer to his ancestry, and there are a few instances of men having reached such a position of eminence that the blot has been practically forgotten. [555] The wife's family must continue to give presents to the husband for years after marriage, otherwise her lot is miserable indeed, and her children have the status of the unwanted offspring of a slave and a free-born. In some cases a marriage of this type is entered upon years after a murder, if a son or other descendant wishes to end the anxiety of constantly expecting blood revenge.

REPURCHASE OF THE WIFE

[556] [557] Repurchase of a wife is the necessary consequence of every reputable Bella Coola marriage. It is assumed that the pre-

amts given by X's relations up to the time of the wedding have exceeded in value those which they have received. Later, whenever, and as often as X gives a potlatch, Y's relations are expected to relay her from her husband. Although this is the expression used by the Bella Coola, it has only a ceremonial significance, since Y remains X's wife.

Whenever X intimates that he is going to give a potlatch, Y and her relations begin to hoard goods irrespective of whether or not children have been born. Their value is unregulated by custom, although the individuals concerned always try to give as much as they can; usually X does not know exactly how much will be provided until their actual delivery. Moreover, this is the occasion most preferred by the relatives of a wife to present to her husband ancestral names or other prerogatives embodied in origin myths. The exact rights of X with respect to such gifts have already been defined so need not be repeated here. Even if Y has taken an ancient name to her husband when she was married, she may bring him another when repurchased. This is an event of even greater importance to a woman than marriage, so no effort is spared to add to the dignity of the occasion.

On the second night of a potlatch Y's father announces what prerogatives he proposes to grant to X. These may include the right to a certain totem-pole design, the carving of a spoon, a painting for the wall of the house, or any other elements embodied in the origin myth. These privileges are displayed by X at the coming potlatch. If, as is usual, Y's father wishes to give his son-in-law an ancestral name, it is announced on this occasion, and is the designation by which X is known during the ceremony. It is always said that such a name is an "honor," in the sense of "an importance" that it must be "dragged across" to her husband by Y. *Earlier* names are commonly transferred to presents, but without any public honoring, and one or two instances are known of the similar acquisition of *ancestral* prerogatives and whistles; it was in this way that *Pudur* was able to import ancestral ritual from Bella Bella. After announcing the

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556 prerogatives he is transmitting, Y's father usually takes the
583 opportunity of stating that he wishes to hunt on X's hunting-
[425] grounds, or fish in his fishing-grounds. Permission is never refused, though it is only for the period of the potlatch. Since Y's father is to assist X, it is considered fitting to grant him facilities for obtaining pelts and food.

It is on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch that the goods are delivered. They serve six purposes, which can be described separately, although the Bella Coola usually think of them as being too closely associated for division.

(1) They increase the dignity, influence, and prestige of the donors. This theme needs no further elaboration. When X later gives these presents to his foreign guests, he announces the person from whom he has received them and in this way knowledge of the manner in which Y's relatives have upheld the dignity of the marriage is spread far and wide, to their immense gratification.

(2) They help X to rise to a position of influence in the community by the credit which comes to him from their large distribution. Though a man may acquire goods in various ways, the Bella Coola affirm that without contributions from his wife's relatives no man can become a chief.

(3) They validate the transmission of names, or other prerogatives, taken by Y to her husband. Even presents given
[426] directly from father-in-law to son-in-law are always said to have been taken by the daughter to her husband.

(4) Indirectly, they increase the prestige of the children,
[554] either born at that time or who may appear later. None of the goods used for repurchasing their mother can actually be used for their benefit, but the whole rite gives them strength to succeed in life. A child whose mother has not been repurchased is said to be unable to walk, as if his legs were powerless; he lacks intelligence, and the ability to prosper. From the petty quarrels of childhood until old age, a person is proud to
[576] recall the number of times his mother was rebought, and to thrust this statement in the teeth of those less fortunate.

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(5) They govern Y's status in this world. When women quarrel, as they often do, the most common boast to shame a less wealthy rival is a reminder of the number of times the speaker was repurchased and the value of the goods used. 556 583 [578]

"I can sit down on fifteen canoes," or "I am carried by five slaves," says the angry woman, mentioning whatever goods were used for her repurchase.

(6) Finally, these goods serve a more definite purpose in obtaining for Y a name, or names, of which the value is directly proportionate to the expenditure, precisely as the importance of a chief's designation depends on the goods used to validate it. [553]

As with men's names, some women's appellations were given by *Alquntam* to the first arrivals; others were created on this earth with regard to peculiar events, and still others are names which can be used either by men or women. Theoretically, the dignity of the first type of name is greater than either of the others, but in practice the importance of the owner depends on the number of times she has bought herself from her husband; the principles governing the rank of women are thus the same as those already described for men. The term *yutsalt*, applied to a woman who has many times rebought herself and so reached a position of eminence, is the feminine equivalent to *stálkmy*. The creation of women's names in reference to personal characteristics or incidents connected with their married life is more common than similar creations for men. The ritual of the bestowal of a name on Y, here given, was omitted from the description of the potlatch in order to lessen the complexity of that ceremony. It will be remembered that on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch Y's relatives appear outside X's house, carrying valuable presents. 551 556 583 [554] [562] 553 556 583

The announcer calls out that Y's father has come to give "food" to X and his relatives. By food, presents are meant, which are the return, with interest, of the gifts given by X's relatives on various occasions. The giver is announced, for other relatives than Y's father contribute, and to whom the

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553 present is made. The recipient may either be X himself or
556 one of his relatives who has conferred a gift on one of Y's
583 family. The goods are taken inside, counted, displayed, and the same announcement made. These presents are given away by X the same evening, so that the only practical advantage that he receives is that the ultimate recipients make their returns, if any, to him. He makes no recompense to Y's relatives for these.

[537] A fluent orator next speaks on behalf of Y's father to the following effect:

"Please, ye people, listen to my words. This is an important occasion, hearken to what I have to say. Long ago our first ancestors were married, as X and Y have been, and it is fitting that we should make the name ..... live again in Y. Three years [or as long as the name has been dormant] it has been dead, as if living with the ghosts beneath the earth. Now it shall stand up again in Y; henceforth we use it for her. Come forth ..... [using Y's new name], your father rebuys you from X for fifty blankets [for example]."

Y may be anywhere; the statement "come forth" is merely symbolical. The fifty blankets are piled outside the house and the spectators, of whom many have gathered to witness the transaction, know that that number of blankets has been given with reference to that name. In some cases the wife is rebought three, four, or even more times for one name, either repeatedly by her father, or successively by her father and other relatives, or several names may be acquired by the different repurchasings. For instance, at one potlatch not many years ago a woman obtained the names *Łäliäks*, *Xwulkon*, *Smaiu·a*, and *Ailsamka*. As with men, some women prefer to have one very strong name, rather than diffuse their importance over a number. In this particular case the four designations were received from different relatives. At each repurchase the call is raised:

"Come forth ..... your brother [uncle, or whatever relative it may be] rebuys you from X for ....."

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In one case where an orphan woman, without relatives, repurchased herself by her own arduous labours, the announcement was made: 553 556 553

"Y's belt has come to rebuy her."

The reference was to the manner in which she had looped up her clothing with a belt when working. If Y's father should die after amassing goods to repurchase her, they are used for the purpose intended and the announcement is:

"Y's father's anus has come to rebuy her."

The ancestral family descended from the first settlers at *Swalk'al* have the prerogative of singing a special song as they rebuy one of their daughters. This was used by their first ancestors on a like occasion. The theme is: [124] [583]

"I, I, I am the highest of you all. No one of you is capable of doing what I can accomplish. You all live on what I void."

The significance of this last sentence is that the village of *Swalk'al* is farthest up the Bella Coola River. Its inhabitants used to claim that the people of the other villages lived on the refuse which they threw into the river, a source of pride to them. [186]

After announcing the various relatives who have rebought Y, the presents are counted and carried into X's house. The statement concerning their number, who has given them, and for what purpose, is repeated to the foreign guests there assembled, and they are then piled indiscriminately in a large heap for future distribution. At this juncture X calls out:

"Come in, come in," as though he were welcoming arrivals from a distance.

Y's relatives enter, and the ritual of the potlatch continues in the manner already described. The origin myth in which Y's new name is embodied is related in considerable detail, especially its recent history, that is, by whom it was last used and any pertinent items connected with its transmission. If she has received several names from different myths, each is similarly expounded.

As has been said, many women's names have been created 551 553

551 with respect to their appearance or actions on this earth. So
[557] far as could be learned, the procedure of borrowed is identical with that just described. The following examples illustrate designations of this type:

Ts'ilkulitsimlain, "The Rainbow Maker." In the begin-
[773] ning of time the wife of *Tsisiwale* had twins so often that the village rapidly increased in population. Accordingly she took this name for herself when she relaughed herself from her husband. It was transmitted for generations in the ancestral family of *Tsisiwale*'s descendants until less than one hundred years ago. The recipients claimed it as their own and passed it to a certain *Omponkilda*, recently deceased, who gave it to her brother's daughter at the time of her marriage. Since this woman's husband has not yet given a potlatch the name is accordingly in a degraded condition at the present time (1923).

551 *Ollipaiya*, "I Am the Worthless One." The mother-in-law
578 of this woman had been in the habit of insulting her daughter-
606 in-law by saying, even when strangers were present:

"We have a worthless daughter-in-law."

On rebuying herself the woman advertised the rudeness of her husband's mother by throwing her words back in her teeth.

Nakalalak, "I Am the One Whose Eyes Are Hungry." The mother-in-law of this woman used to eat without offering food to her son's wife.

Nakstwindjis, "The One Whose Haunches Are Dusty." Her mother-in-law did not give her a place to sit in the house so that she was forced to stay close to the fire in the ashes.

Kwiktelais, "The One Who Sits Where There Is No Space." Her mother-in-law objected to this woman sitting near her husband when he took his ceremonial seat, and insulted her with the above remark.

551 *Nawaas'as*, "The Stingy One." It was said that this
578 woman restrained her husband's generosity until he gained an unpleasant reputation for parsimony. She publicly shamed

her husband's estate by taking this name for herself when she relinquished herself from him.

Ba'ma, "The Inhospitable One." The husband received this reputation owing to his wife's manners, as she advertised what had been said about him.

Bagbalizhin, "Shamelessly Dead." This woman's mother-in-law claimed that she deliberately failed to bear when she was told to do, and applied the above epithet to her. The daughter-in-law confounded her by taking it as her own name.

When a name of this type is assumed it is always announced when, where, and for what purpose it was first created.

A description has already been given of the usual ritual by which X borrows the goods required from the repurchase of Y, but it is necessary to enlarge on the prohibition against their use for the direct benefit of one of the children of the couple. The theory is that the goods bind the marriage contract and express in a practical and lofty form the kindly sentiments with which Y's relatives regard her husband, and the bond between the two families, hence they must be used solely for the benefit of him and his relatives. A man usually applies these goods to initiate the children of his brothers or sisters into the ranks of the *nawé* or *Sacrist*. It is unthinkable for goods to be delivered without an exposition of Y's family's glories, but if this should ever take place, there would be no difficulty in applying them to the direct benefit of her children. When used, for example, to make a child of X's brother a *nawé*, he is a living testimony of the noble way in which Y's relatives have done that which is fitting for the family of her husband. Due to accidents in amassing and storing of presents, it sometimes happens that those obtained by the repurchasing of Y are used for the benefit of her own children. Unless this error is corrected, the child could always be shamed by having it said:

"You are a mere nobody. The goods expended in the

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555 555 [illegible] repurchase of your mother have become nothing beneath your feet."

When such an accident occurs, the relatives of X who were forced occasion to give presents to relatives his child, with the announcement:

"The goods used from the repurchase of his mother have become nothing beneath his feet. We hereby supply their deficiency."

Thus it is demonstrated that the relatives of both parents are interested in his welfare, so that his path is clear before him.

555 556 557 Many women are only repurchased once, but an effort is made to do this frequently since the more times, the greater her prestige. After several repurchasings it is felt that the names and other prerogatives "dragged away" by Y have become valueless. But since new names have been taken to her husband on each occasion, the marks of friendship between the two families are still plain. Thus it is that these four transactions can be termed by relatives of Y, unless, of course, X has validated them for his children. If there is only one repurchasing, the names remain the definite property of X. This is not a clearly formulated law, merely a sentiment that the earlier names have been covered by those later given, and that accordingly Y's relatives, having done what was proper, can now use the titles once more. There is a constant interchange of names and privileges between families related by marriage.

556 557 [182] It is virtually impossible to over-estimate the importance of this rite of repurchase among the Bella Coola, one of the few customs preserved unanimously amid the ruins of their ancient culture. The writer was forcibly struck with the following instance which occurred while he was in Bella Coola:

About fifteen years before, a young man and woman had married with due formality. After three children had been born, the mother took to drink and vice until her husband at last repudiated her, retaining possession of the children. The woman, weakened by disease, divorced by her husband, and [516]

[illegible] with contempt by her family, was yet determined that within she had done should ruin her children's chances in life. Accordingly she donated $300 to her ex-husband to other head. Marriage is accepted as a matter of course, but to be very often repurchased is the goal of every ambitious woman. In *Tsi'ic* the custom prevails of depicting on the rock the number of coppers paid for repurchasing a wife. Thus her fame is displayed to all.

It is somewhat difficult for a white man to realize what a privilege the family of a wife considers it to repurchase her from her husband. If the latter is unwilling to give a potlatch, his relatives-in-law may urge him to do so, and if he still declines to meet himself they take the drastic step of inviting their fellow-villagers to assemble in his house where, with these guests as witnesses, the wife's relatives give presents to her husband and his relations. They may make this presentation at any gathering where they are assured of a large audience. In so doing the donors have demonstrated their proper sentiments, in spite of the increase of the husband.

The assistance which the relatives of a wife have given her husband is a matter about which they can boast for the rest of their lives, a fact impressed upon the writer by listening to a quarrel between two Bella Coola men. One of them owned a horse and waggon which the other had hired to move some goods. The latter became very angry, claiming that the former had overcharged him and must be poor and greedy to be so eager to acquire money. The teamster, thus deeply insulted, silenced the other man by reminding him that the only reason he was wealthy was by means of the goods used to repurchase his, the teamster's, sister from her husband, brother of the man with whom he was disputing. To the observer the dispute was made more interesting by the fact that both the husband and wife had been dead for at least fifteen years, but their families had not ceased to remember the financial obligations connected with the marriage.

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A man who is giving a ceremony of any kind can offer his greatest insults to his wife's relatives that remains to ask their assistance. The following is a good instance of such an insult:

About 1900 a man and woman were married and had three children. Then the mother died, before being repurchased from her husband. In addition, the husband had assisted his wife's father when one of his younger children had died, so that it was most fitting that the wife's relatives should contribute to any ceremony given by the husband. Four years later the husband proposed to marry once more, and to have the wedding occur at a potlatch. But on the day of ceremony, he insulted the relatives of his dead wife by failing to invite them. The cause of the feud was not disclosed, but the husband increased it by again failing to invite her family when, during the potlatch, they should have alongside him for the benefit of his young relatives about to be initiated into the ranks of the cloak. The father of the dead woman came forward concerned with a large pounce for such, saying in effect:

"I, too, have a right to contribute to add prestige to my daughter and her children."

In this way he defeated the wiles of his son-in-law who had hoped to shame his father-in-law by the failure of the latter to contribute to his potlatch. The son-in-law endeavoured to excuse himself by saying that his late wife's relatives had not assisted for so long that he thought they would not wish to do so. This errant further increased the father of the dead woman so that next day he and his wife publicly gave the dance of the potlatch $300 "to make clear where we sit."

This somewhat lengthy description has been necessary to explain the important part which the repurchase of wives plays in the lives of the Bella Coola; it is one of the fundamentals of society and is, therefore, worthy of attention.

DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

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Either death or divorce can terminate marriage. The decease of a wife is an unfortunate affair, quite apart from the grief which it may cause her husband. Two families have been brought into peculiarly close relations through her, and now the bond itself has snapped; delicate financial arrangements have been undertaken, and it is not easy to settle these without ill-feeling, particularly if the alliance was a return marriage. If no child has been born, and no repurchasing of the wife

married out, her relatives are expected to return to her husband's family the goods received during the engagement and at the wedding. The matter is then settled. If the deceased has a younger sister, cousin, or other near relative, an effort is usually made to have this individual replace the dead wife.* No further goods are given, except perhaps a few to add dignity to the ceremonies; the new wife merely replaces her dead sister and the bond between the two families continues unbroken. If the husband should die, his wife's relatives are considered honorable and endowed with the minds of chiefs if they return to his relatives the presents which they have received. But if the wife can be remarried to one of his relatives, there is no need for this and the two families continue to enjoy the mutual strength acquired by the long period of engagement and exchange of benefits and presents.

If death takes place after the repurchasing of the wife, there is no need to return presents, since the rebuying has cancelled the expenditures by the husband. If children have been born and the woman has long become practically a member of her husband's family, she is buried by them as a matter of course, but should she die soon after marriage, her own family usually performs the obsequies.

With the passing of many years of married life, the repurchasing several times of the woman, and the birth of children, she becomes so much a member of her husband's family that his death seldom ends the arrangement. The widow is by no means a slave and usually is master of her own destiny, especially if she has children and has reached a position of eminence in the community. Since the desirability of preserving the bond between the two families is fully realized, it is accordingly customary for a widow to wed her husband's brother, or a husband his deceased wife's sister. But in each case the ritual of marriage and exchange of presents must be

*The native term emphasizes the fact that the new wife is virtually inherited by her husband.

[illegible] married can in one, since the repurchasing has wiped out the original expenditure. This is not necessary in the case of elderly widows or widowers. It is considered fitting for a widow or widower to wait for at least six months before remarrying. The Bella Coola say that in Bella Bella sixes are willed, as if they were slaves.

In spite of the efforts made to ensure the stability of marriage by elaborate ceremonies and repeated exchanges of presents by the two families, divorce is not unknown. Due to the decay of Bella Coola culture, it is now the rule and not the exception. It was difficult to obtain satisfactory data concerning its prevalence in the old days. Unquestionably every effort was made by both families to keep together a husband and wife who had been wed with due ceremony, but it is evident that these attempts were not always successful. If a husband deserts his wife, or she him, and refuses to return, it is considered that the marriage contract is at an end. The usual grounds for desertion on his part are childlessness, inability of the wife to help at potlatches, and habitual faithlessness. Continued cruelty and neglect are the usual reasons for a woman abandoning her husband. These factors seem to have governed divorce in years gone by, as well as at the present time. The most unfortunate consequence, in the eyes of the Bella Coola, is the stigma it casts on the children. The younger ones normally remain with the mother, those older use their own discretion, and sometimes pass back and forth from one parent to the other. Both mother and father continue to take an interest in their welfare, and a child can receive prerogatives from either, irrespective of which he is living with. None the less, there is a sentimental bar against the children of a divorced couple who can be shamed by a reference to the marital faithlessness of a parent. This factor, combined with the difficulties, financial and otherwise, between the two families, explains the efforts made to prevent divorce and the odium with which it is regarded. Of course, if husband and wife are poor persons or slaves, married without elaborate

ceremony, they can part at discretion without anyone being affected.

When a wife runs away and seeks refuge with another man, her husband sometimes tries to kill his rival, but frequently both families endeavour to heal the breach amicably. Some of her relatives, particularly those who played an influential part in the marriage, first ask the husband whether or not he is willing to take her back. If the answer is in the affirmative, they next try to persuade her to return. Every argument is used, in many cases continued with threats against her relatives, and the reconciliation often succeeds. But she must never go back without presents, "to dry with his the tears that has covered the marriage." The husband invites all his fellow-villagers to his house to a ceremony which is said "to sprinkle the house [of conflict]." The singers are in attendance and sing in succession many *bazia* songs, followed by *ausel* songs, and to which the owner of the song dances, but since the supernatural beings are not present, the effect is of a non-sacred nature. The goods received from the family of the erring wife are distributed and the matter is at an end. Those who persuaded the wife to return are especially rewarded.

If the faithless wife should refuse to return, or if she should bear a child to her lover, reconciliation is not possible. Then it is incumbent on the woman's relatives to return to the husband as much goods as he has expended, with additions if they wish to uphold their own reputation. If the husband is clearly to blame, or if he is the deserting partner, his wife's family are not required to return the gifts they have received. There is no judicial tribunal of any kind, the force of public opinion alone impels restitution if the offender wishes to maintain his reputation in the community. Acting on this principle, the relatives of a deserted wife sometimes restore to her husband's family the presents they have received, thereby demonstrating their nobility and at the same time shaming the offender.

Formerly there was an elaborate ceremony to shame the

husband or wife who betrayed a marriage by deserting him, or her, partner for a lover. Our informant, aged about seventy, never took part in this or when a young man, but probably did not know the full details of it. He stated that it followed a divorce of two persons who had been married with full ceremony, whereas another, lightly younger informant, who remembered having seen the ceremony once when a mere lad, believed that it was only in the families of commoners. It appears certain that the rite has not been practised since about 1880, consequently there is an element of doubt as to the actual details, and even as to whether it was an affair of chiefs or commoners. It is probable that it was among the former.

When a woman deserted her husband one of the leading chiefs would take this opportunity of giving a ceremony of the type known as *tsayulhem*.* After consulting with his fellows to ensure that no one had any objections, and rarely including the deserted husband, he summoned the singers to his house. He would tell them his plans, and they would prepare the songs for the occasion. Five or six were always composed, with an effort to include as many foul remarks and allusions as possible, particularly with regard to the organs of the woman and her lover.

The singers spent about a week composing the songs, and meanwhile the chief who was giving the ceremony prepared food and made other necessary arrangements. When these were ready, the donor invited to his house all the members of the *nuxnit* and *kwiat* societies for a rehearsal. The singers sang over the airs for the instruction of the guests. They were always worded as if it were the deserted husband speaking in foul terms of his ex-wife. The theme of one was:

"My wife has pudenda like those of a black bear."

The guests joined in the singing and also supplied foul themes by calling out observations about the organs of women in general, and of the deserting wife in particular. The singers

*The relation of this to the *s'nlk* dance of the same name is obscure, cf. I, p. 279.

tried to incorporate as many of these as possible, so that the rite soon became a chorus of obscenities. The songs were sung and sung until all present were familiar with them, then the donor of the rite distributed food and all departed.

The following abusive everyone, including those unincumbered into either society, were invited to the donor's house. Probably the only abusives from the village were the deserting wife and her lover, while guests from neighbouring settlements were also in attendance. On this occasion, for the first time, the deserted husband used to take the leading part. When the singers struck up the tune of the first song, he used to appear, supported by four or five assistants. His face was blackened with soot, he wore a lynx-skin belt, and above his head was fashioned some insulting object, usually a representation of the female organs made of wood, cedar-bark and berries, as realistic as possible. As the singers sang, aided by those who had learnt the songs on the previous day, the husband danced, moving his body so that the ornament on top of his head was shaken suggestively. Meanwhile the spectators kept calling out filthy epithets of any kind on his ex-wife and her lover. Sometimes the dancer was able to insert some obscene remarks into the display. On one occasion, for example, he pulled some lynx fur from his belt and threw it in the face of a *Tāl-ēs* man who happened to be present, and who had once seduced a married woman and accordingly been the butt of a similar rite, with the remark:

"All *Tāl-ēs* women have hairy pudenda like that."

The guests were invited to suggest foul nick-names for the man with whom the dancer's wife had eloped. One of these was adopted by general agreement of opinion, and the man was commonly called by it henceforth. Two names so created were:

Skulsos, "The One Whose Face is Wrinkled like a Woman's Organs," and,

Emolsaik, "The One Who Cohabited Publicly."

586 One very old man is still, 1923, commonly called by this
626 last designation, much to his annoyance.

When the songs had been sung, each accompanied by the
837 dancing of the deserted husband, the dance of the ceremony
796 discontinued food and the guests departed. The only advantage
[556] to the giver of the rite was that it enabled him to show his
wealth in an apparently disinterested fashion by gifts of food.
Usually he was a friend of the aggrieved husband.

When a husband deserted his wife, the other women of the village used to perform an exactly similar ceremony. The same type of songs were composed, and during their singing
[342] the deserted wife used to dance, wearing above her head representations of a penis and testicles. By means of hidden strings she was able to cause the former to become erect.

On other occasions the ceremony was varied by an announcer asking the offended party about the appearance of the deserter. There followed a minute and highly coloured description about the unpleasantness of his genital organs, a description which was swiftly incorporated into the songs.

It can be taken as a matter of course that the above description is little more than an outline of the Bella Coola ceremony of shaming. In spite of its deficiencies, it is important, as evidence of the former sentiment with regard to divorce. Obscene though the ceremony must have been, both in acting and in the free use of personalities, it must have been a powerful deterrent to divorce.[11] Indeed it would be difficult to imagine a stronger one in a community where a man's position is judged by public opinion and where his greatest aversion is to public ridicule. It is unfortunate that we shall probably never know whether the rite was associated with chiefs or commoners.

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CEREMONIAL MARRIAGE

Since marriage gains much of its importance from the complicated business transactions between the two families, with

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[11] A similar rite was occasionally carried out for unmarried mothers.

the usual rule neglected, it is perhaps not surprising that the Bella Coola have not a ceremonial form entirely dissociated from marital rights. It is believed that such ceremonial marriages were performed by the first inhabitants of this earth, and that they have been customary ever since. A careful father or uncle always endeavours to arrange such a rite for a girl when she is two or three years of age. The relatives decide on some influential chief whom they would like to have as their daughter's fictitious husband, considering his wealth and prestige, but not his age. They interview the proposed bridegroom, who may consult his wife or other relatives before accepting, although he rarely refuses, as this would be an insult to the petitioners as well as a financial loss to himself. No period of engagement is necessary, as the wedding is arranged for the near future. Among important chiefs the ritual is identical with that of real marriage, though usually it is somewhat curtailed. The relatives of the bride welcome her husband and his relatives in their house and receive from him rather larger presents than they give; the same remark is made about it being the proper time to take the bride to her new home, and the husband and his party depart, without the girl. Presents of names or prerogatives may likewise be transmitted. The two are now considered as married, although there is no necessity for husband and wife even to see one another; on the other hand, there is no reason for avoidance since the marriage is essentially a business affair and not a sexual one. Whenever the husband gives a potlatch or other ceremony, he is assisted by the relatives of his fictitious wife, sometimes to a greater extent than by the relatives of his real one. This ceremonial wedlock may last for three or four years, until the relatives of the wife relieve her from her husband. On this occasion it is essential that he receive from the relations of his fictitious wife presents of greater value than he himself has given, otherwise she would be disgraced. Ceremonial marriage differs from real marriage in that one repurchasing terminates

[553] [554] is, although it is customary for the parents of a wife to exhibit their wealth on several occasions.

What are the advantages of such an agreement to the two parties? The husband receives considerable assistance, both in actual goods and in ceremonial prerogatives. Moreover, his vanity is gratified by the desire shown by others to have him as husband of their daughters. The advantages to the wife are more difficult to describe. Financially, her relatives always lose, yet they consider that the prestige gained by their daughter as wife of a mighty chief fully compensates for their monetary loss. Accordingly, they take pains to have a daughter married several times before puberty, either simultaneously or in succession. Thus there is a form of ceremonial polyandry [555] existing in Bella Coola at the present day. No ceremonial marriage takes place after puberty. In later years, when the wife grows up, marries, and has children of her own, their status [556] is increased materially by the pre-puberty marriages of their mother. They address her fictitious husband as "father," and his children as brother or sister, although there are no incest prohibitions with regard to them. A chief sometimes arranges the bestowal of names or other prerogatives on the children of a fictitious ex-wife, but such favours are too uncertain to provide a motive for the prevalence of the rite. Its value rests on the esteem attached to a woman whose relatives have shown their wealth and prowess by marrying her several times. When her children quarrel with their playfellows, it is common to hear one boast:

"*I* have three fathers. How many have you?"

[557] Occasionally the relatives of a fictitious bride are unable to provide the goods to repurchase her from her husband and the girl remains disgraced for life. In no circumstances has her husband any claims to marital rights with her, and in due course she can marry someone else; but it is never forgotten that she was not rebought from her husband. In 1916 a girl about four years of age was married to a man of sixty, who at the time gave her relatives $80 and a motor boat. She had

not yet been experienced in 1929 and the Bella Coola were beginning to look askance at her. It is doubtful whether the child realized that she was married, certainly the fact had not the slightest effect on her behaviour. Unless the wife is adoptée, any name which she took on her husband or her fictitious marriage remains his property.

Ceremonial marriages are sometimes carried out for special reasons. If the husband of a real marriage feels that he is over-indebted to his wife's relatives through the names and prerogatives they have brought him, he sometimes arranges to marry some of them and thus even the transaction by ceremonially marrying one of his young female relatives to one of his wife's family. She takes back some of the acquired names to her fictitious husband and the matter is amicably arranged. Realizing the difficulties experienced by the father of many daughters, one of his son-in-law may, if his father-in-law has many times sacrificed his daughter and so demonstrated his stability, try to arrange a fictitious marriage between the old man and one of his son-in-law's relatives. It often happens that the proud old chief will decline such assistance, confident in his own ability and prestige. Revenge is often settled by a fictitious marriage, arranged in the same manner and with the same attached origins as that already described. Sometimes the infant is ceremonially married to the son of a chief, instead of to the chief himself, though no true wedlock follows.

It is not even necessary to have a small girl to act as bride. If a man wishes to ally himself by marriage to a famous chief and lacks a daughter, he can perform the marriage rite with a "bride" consisting of his finger, leg, hand, or other part of the body. In a case in 1915 the "wife" was a favourite dog, which was duly married to a chief. In fact, ceremonial marriage is merely one of the many methods used by the Bella Coola to enter into financial dealings with an influential chief; it provides an honourable means of displaying the wealth of the bride's family; it increases the prestige of a girl and her relatives, or the prestige of her relatives alone if "she" is an inani-

[627]

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588 556 more object. Bella Coola financiers are always seeking to arrange such undertakings; the potlatch is the culminating point, but the same principle pervades their whole life.

It is to the advantage of the intending donor of a potlatch to become the fictitious husband of as many children as possible. Accordingly he sometimes take the initial step, as is customary for the relatives of the husband in real marriage, but not in ceremonial. In such a case it is necessary for him to offer some inducement, perhaps in the form of one of the few women's names brought to earth in the beginning of time. He approaches a suitable father-in-law, suggesting that at a fictitious marriage he would be willing to give his wife a noble woman's name. If this is agreeable, the rite is carried out accordingly. The wife is in many cases a son of the person to [551] whom the proposal was made; he duly receives a woman's name, the only circumstance under which this is possible. The actual designation will probably be returned through many repurchasings, but the boy has reached an enviable position. In later years he can always silence a person with whom he is quarrelling by saying:

"I need not answer you. You cannot even approach my body, so thickly am I padded with the goods which my father used when he rebought me."

556 608 858 Another business transaction of a similar nature is the giving of a small infant to an old person to "hold." This appears to be uncommon, and the only instance about which information was available occurred under the following circumstances:

A man and a woman were married with full ceremony and the best of feelings prevailed between the two families. The wife was several times rebought until she and her relatives had fully maintained their dignity, in fact the relations of the husband felt that they were being out-shone. Then the wife's father died. To mark their sympathy, the husband's family gave the widow one of her daughter's children to "hold." Valuable non-returnable presents were transmitted as "soft

9:96 Goodwin E-9 (1922-1924)1948
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blankets" for the child. The advantages to the donors were that they had an opportunity of showing their dignity, and it would always be a mark of pride for the child to be able to boast of the way in which she had been "held." 556 621 858

Ceremonial marriage clearly demonstrates two strong Bella Coola characteristics, namely, the desire publicly to enter into financial undertakings to demonstrate the wealth of the contracting party, and the desire to increase the prestige of children by means of this wealth expended indirectly on their behalf.

EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

Although the Bella Coola do not regard marriage primarily as a means of regulating relations between the sexes, yet the connection between the two is sufficiently close to warrant description in this chapter. A man considers intercourse as one of the normal phenomena of life: by marrying he has exclusive rights to his wife, but few moral restraints deter him from anyone else to whom he can gain access without infringing the prerogatives of some other husband. Moreover, sexual intercourse is not regarded solely as a gratification of desires; it has a significance which can be described, not inaptly, as holy. As already explained, two favourite methods of obtaining success in any undertaking are by preserving lengthy continence or by observing ceremonial chastity. If a young unmarried man or widower should wish to make use of this latter means, he is compelled to have relations with a woman to whom he has no just claims. This is universally recognized, nor is there the slightest odium attached to the man. The only essential is that he neither violate another's wife, nor force a young girl against her will. 581 821 897

At the present time there is great laxity in Bella Coola, a condition which makes it difficult to judge the state of affairs in former times. Every effort was made to obtain satisfactory evidence, and the following was verified and re-verified with the older men. [128]

A wife, properly married with full ceremony, was usually 837 839

837 faithful and cases of rape were either unknown or very rare.
[839] The daughters of chiefs, too, were guarded with great care and
622 any effort to seduce one of them would be punished by her
836 father. The parents of a girl used to watch her carefully, and the opportunity for immorality was not great in the days when everyone went to bed at sundown except on the occasion of a ceremonial dance. As one informant described it:

"The daughters of chiefs used to be looked after as if they were in boxes, cherished and guarded by their parents and relatives. No one would dream of molesting them. And a chief's daughter used to be proud and look after herself. Nowadays, girls don't care, and everything has become degraded."

[586] If the daughter of a chief did demean herself, the parents lost interest in her, as one who was spoilt. It was always assumed that a girl of rank was a virgin at marriage, and if it was discovered that she had been living an immoral life, her husband in many cases returned her in disgrace to her parents who, equally ashamed, were expected to send back to him the
622 goods he had expended for their daughter. Loss of virtue was
848 judged only from indirect information. If the daughter of a chief was found pregnant before marriage, she was almost ostracized by her family. No ceremonial marriage could be arranged for her, and the child could not be cleansed from the stigma of illegitimacy.

836 On the other hand, it appears certain that there was a good
567 deal of intercourse in the old days between chiefs and slave women, or even between slaves and the daughters of chiefs.
[43] In the latter case the woman was often cast aside by her relatives though they sometimes yielded to the inevitable and tried to wash away the disgrace with gifts. At the same time, public opinion was unfavourable to a man who consorted with many women, or to a woman who allowed herself to be at the disposal of many men. Any regular union of masters with their slave women for the deliberate purpose of having children was unknown. A girl's consent was always necessary, given either personally or through an intermediary. Even a chief hesitated

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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to force his attentions on a slave woman if she objected, 836
although her refusal would be most unusual on account of his [567]
prestige. There were no professional prostitutes; a man [548]
usually gave a small present to a girl from whom he had received favours, and she was expected to give him a little, dainty basket filled with undyed cedar-bark to use as a sponge. Such relations appear always to have been of common occurrence. Today, as formerly, a man's morality is considered to 836
be his own affair; laxity may lower his prestige, but no law is 522
broken, and his neighbours laugh and chaff him about it. In fact, sexual matters are discussed with the greatest freedom, and a person who has been caught is mocked mercilessly. When visiting a foreign tribe, a man sometimes lives with a [648]
woman and, on parting, composes and sings a song describing her charms. One man did this after living with a Kitlobe woman, and on his return to Bella Coola found that some of his fellows had learnt it in some unexplained manner; they used to sing it to him, much to their amusement, in part to his own, and somewhat to the annoyance of his wife. This perhaps illustrates rather clearly the attitude of the Bella Coola to an infraction of morality—where no marriage rite has been broken; it is amusing rather than disgusting. There 836
are no times when the moral code ceases to function. At potlatches, and also at *hamat* dances, there appears always to [834]
have been a certain amount of laxity, although this was strictly prohibited within the house where the ceremony was taking place. Such behaviour is due to the excitement and stimulus of a large gathering, not to anything connected with the rites themselves.

Perverted sexual desires, like other matters connected with 834
the relations of the sexes, are regarded as concerning the individual alone. Sodomy appears to be unknown. Intercourse 836
by pre-adolescents is held to be disgusting, but carries with it no social ostracism. Incestuous union, however, is mildly anti- 835
social; it exposes the offender to secret contempt, but does not interfere with his attainment of whatever position his wealth 556

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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and influence may have won for him. One or two instances are known of contact between parent and child, a matter in which it is the duty of no one to interfere; if a person thus flouts public opinion, it is his own affair.

In view of the firmness of the marriage bond and the absence of professional prostitutes, it is difficult to explain the wholesale exodus of Bella Coola women to Victoria in the last century. In some peculiar manner this came to be regarded as socially proper. The daughters both of chiefs and commoners trooped off for a varying period of months or years and those who returned brought back venereal diseases which appear to have been unknown before that date. Few of them bore children afterwards, a factor of prime importance in estimating the reasons for the decline of the Bella Coola. The motives which led the women to the city seem to have been: (1) the desire for wealth; (2) the influence of strong liquor; (3) the lure of a strange environment; (4) the attraction of the white men, on account of their higher culture.

It is fortunate for the Bella Coola that this fatal custom has ceased to be considered estimable, although the harm already done may be irremediable.

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CHAPTER VIII

DEATH

Death Rites—Memorial Rites—Fate of the Dead

Death Rites

DEATH is marked by even more complicated and prolonged rites than marriage. Like so many primitive peoples, the Bella Coola not only carry out elaborate rituals soon after the actual decease, but hold lengthy commemorative and mourning ceremonials in later years. As these require the co-operation of a large number of people, the death of an individual affects a wider circle than his own relatives, and the celebrations have, therefore, an important social as well as religious significance. 196 196 [182]

OMENS OF DEATH

It is not surprising that the Bella Coola, believing in the omnipresence of the supernatural, should consider various peculiar occurrences to be omens of death. One of the simplest of these is to hear the falling of a tree when there is neither wind nor other reason to account for it. Such a fall is audible only to the person whom it warns of approaching death, either to himself or to one of his relatives. A number of men may be in the forest together, when one of them hears the crash of a tree and notices that his companions are unaware of it; he realizes that this is an omen and protects himself by calling out: 763

"Let this evil react against whoever has been plotting evil against me."

The basis of this custom is the belief that someone has been practising black magic against the hearer, who, by this answer, is able to cause the sorcery to recoil upon the malefactor. Even more dangerous than to hear a falling tree, is to have one crash [154] [824]

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963 to earth close by. In the winter of 1921-2 three Bella Coola
[124] were almost crushed in this manner; within a year the deaths took place of the wife of one, the mother of the second, and the daughter of the third. This was considered definite confirmation of their belief.

963 When a chief dies, a supernatural woman, *Skwanät·ăn·ā*,
776 "The Weeper," comes to earth to lament the loss. Crying piteously, she walks to and fro in the woods near the village where the death has taken place, but can be heard or seen only by a person in whose family there will soon be a fatality. This
[124] can be counteracted by going boldly to her and collecting some of the clotted mucus that drips from her nose as she weeps. If this is wrapped in the finder's clothing and stored for a year, it brings him good fortune and probably deflects the impending death, but to see "The Weeper" without knowledge of the proper procedure is to court disaster. A prominent Bella Coola woman died in June, 1922, and her son believed that he heard the lamentation of the supernatural visitor about six the next morning in the woods behind the missionary's house. He rushed forth to find her, but was unsuccessful. Within a few days, one of his nieces died, as was to be expected.

963 A comparatively common bird in Bella Coola is the
825 *kwakwas*, which is about the size of a robin and dark, greenish brown.[1] Its whistle is frequently heard and no significance is attached to it, but it is an omen of death if a *kwakwas* comes close to a house and chirps out, "*Isi·t.*" On the night of February 10, 1924, one called beneath the window of a man who was about to start on a journey in his motor-boat. Next morning, although the bird lay dead beside his house, he insisted on starting. He camped at Restoration Bay where he was awakened by a voice calling his name, but could see no one. This was probably an owl, a bird which often foretells disaster by calling the name of the person to whom it will occur. Even this did not deter him and within twenty-four hours his

[1] The bird could not be identified, although it belongs to fact, not mythology.

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boat caught fire, his goods were destroyed, and he, himself, 763
barely escaped. The Bella Coola regard coincidences of this 825
kind as confirmation of their beliefs.

As in the last instance, death does not always follow the hearing or seeing of an omen; it may simply presage some calamity. It is dangerous for a person to be addressed by a dog, although it is well known that dogs understand human speech and can talk if they desire. At the time of the writer's visit, it was a matter of general knowledge that a dog had spoken to a middle-aged Bella Coola woman a few years earlier. The animal was shot immediately, and the woman never revealed what it had said, but in spite of these pre- [158]
cautions she became insane and has never fully recovered.

The stone man, *Yuyulmxl*, near Kimsquit, who figures so 763
prominently in Bella Coola mythology, is another death omen. [773]
In early times, all who passed his station used to call out to him, and it was thought that those whom he failed to answer would die within a year. In that case, the voice was welcome, [825]
but the speech of an owl is still regarded with dread. If one of these birds utters the name of a dead person, the individual hearing it will soon die.

Besides these well-recognized omens, the Bella Coola be- 763
lieve that any peculiar visitation or hallucination is a probable 828
precursor of disaster. In many cases these fears are unjustified, but there are always sufficient accidents and misfortunes to corroborate their belief. An old Kimsquit man told of the manner in which his son had once come rushing into the house saying that he had seen a strange, black-faced creature. His father feared that it might have been *Sxaiarwax*.

"Perhaps it was," continued the old man, "for my boy soon died."

Irrespective of the actual cause of death, about which the father is uncertain, he is convinced that he knew of its coming by his son's omen-apparition.

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CAUSES OF DEATH

761 The Bella Coola know that sickness, accident, wilful murder, old age, and a host of other factors may at any time terminate a man's life, but they consider that any one of these direct causes is possible only in conjunction with an indirect reason of a religious or supernatural nature; in the last analysis they attribute death to supernatural, not to natural causes. [773] As described in a previous chapter, an ancient myth attributes the origin of death to the stupidity of Raven, but this belief, even if its historical accuracy is accepted, belongs to the realm of philosophy and ancient history rather than to everyday life. 761 When a canoe is capsized on the ocean and its occupants are drowned,—the Bella Coola do not consider a drowning a mere 776 accident—it is because *Qemoqwa* was hungry and desired human flesh. This indirect reason is quite as important as the direct one. So, too, the death of a man beneath a falling tree or a land-slide is no accident; *Sä·lma* caused the tree to crash to earth or the slide to roll downwards. Most individuals believe that this supernatural being is responsible when an animal kills a hunter. He delights in death and always sits on [756] a coffin before it is taken to the grave, although none but shamans can see him. Any supernatural being can cause death, but it must not be imagined that the Bella Coola go through life in a state of constant fear; death may vanquish them in the forests, but the probabilities are against it. Nor does 753 sickness appear to them as a natural phenomenon. Its cause is either the intrusion of some foreign object into the body, or the weakness of one of the patient's supernatural elements. The only remedy in the latter case is an appeal to the super- [755] natural, sometimes through the medium of a shaman, whereas a foreign object in the body can often be extracted by a skilled [754] practitioner. A disease of this type is often brought on by the machinations of a sorcerer, and if death results it is attributed 761 to the potency of his charms, not to a natural ailment. Even [775] ghosts are able to cause death. In war, one man may be able [726]

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to kill an enemy, but his success is accredited to his super- 761
natural possessions which have given him skill as a warrior 726
rather than to his own ability.

It is felt that no ordinary explanation is sufficient to ac- 761
count for the death of a great chief. No matter what may have 622
been the actual cause, it is always said that the supernatural
Carpenters, who in the beginning of time created mankind, [773]
came down and "seized" or "called back" the deceased, think-
ing him too good for this world. It is believed that these beings
are keen hunters, and that *Alquntäm* allows them to pursue
influential people. This sentiment is always expressed in [533]
mourning songs for a dead chief, but although accepted as a
matter of fact, it is little more than a formalized belief
which serves to comfort the mourners. The infraction of a
taboo is another reason frequently given for a chief's death.
It is said that there was a loud crash and the earth shook before
the death of *Pothu*; he became ill immediately, and his stomach
began to swell. The stricken chief said that *Sonq'* itself had
fallen upon him, but the common belief was that he had erred
in some ritual act. At any rate, he died within a few hours.

RITES FOLLOWING DEATH

News of a critical illness spreads rapidly through the village 763
and the house in which the sufferer is lying becomes a rendez-
vous for friends asking about his condition. Failure to do so
would be considered ungracious, with the result that there is
such a constant coming and going that rest is denied the sick
person. Shamans are called upon to practise their powers in [756]
a noisy manner, and female relatives weep and wail. The
din is indescribable.

When the patient shows no further indication of life, the
shamans cease, but the women redouble their cries. Relatives,
friends, and sympathizers all crowd into the house and begin
to weep, often adding verbal lamentations. The progress of the
news from house to house can be traced by the wailings. Mean- 764

764 while the relatives are preparing the body for disposal. For a child, these services are performed by the parents; for a married man whose parents are dead, by his brothers and other kindred; for a married woman, by her husband or the members of her own family. If she has borne no children, it is customary for her relatives to carry out the funeral rites, especially if she has been many times rebought from her husband. If such repayment has not been made, it is considered correct for a husband to bury his wife, although it is a point of honour for her relatives to reimburse him later for his expenditure. On the other hand, when children have been born and financial assistance mutually given and received several times, it is proper for the husband to perform the funeral rites, although he may receive assistance from his wife's kinsmen. There is no rigid ruling on the point, but bickerings seldom occur in connection with disposal of the dead. Members of the ancestral family are ready to assist in every case, both on account of the disgrace that would follow a niggardly funeral, and also as a means of displaying their wealth. [614] [550]

The first essential is to wash the body, a rite performed by men for a man, by women for a woman. It is immaterial who does this though some of the relatives usually volunteer. Neither husband nor wife touches a dead consort, though it is said that long ago a man would hold intercourse with a deceased wife to indicate his excessive grief. The most influential member of the immediate family takes the lead in the various necessary acts, although there is always endless discussion and advice from members of the ancestral family and others interested. A nose-ring is placed in the septum of the corpse; if this is omitted, the body will not be able to dissolve into its elements but will range the earth as a walking phantom, causing injury to anyone who observes it. If the deceased has just eaten some of the first run of spring salmon or olachen, a shaman washes out his mouth with a sponge of undyed cedar-bark which he throws into the river. The essence of the salmon is thus extracted from the body; if [839] [301] [975] [925]

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this rite is neglected no more salmon will come to the river. No precautions are necessary after the food has been digested. 764 [825]

Many men prepare their coffins before death. If this has not been done, a large, wooden box is provided by a kinsman of the deceased. The body is dressed in good clothing and bound into a squatting position, head between knees, hands clasped around shins, and the haunches just above the level of the soles of the feet. In this posture it is thrust into the coffin. Particularly if the corpse has been brought from some distance and *rigor mortis* has set in, it may be necessary to break the back-bone and even to crush the skull before the box can be closed. A stone is placed on the back of the neck, within the coffin, to prevent the ghost from returning to haunt the survivors. A little choice food is placed beside the body of a dearly loved child for nourishment during the journey to the next world. [763] [602] [775]

From this point onwards, the funeral rites differ according to the rank of the deceased. On the death of an influential *ɔɔaak*, the senior members of that society meet as soon as possible to arrange the dramatization of the coming of *Mulakila*. A *ɔɔaak* son, brother, or other near relative is always present even if he has little importance in the affairs of the society. If the death has taken place during the night, the conference is held the following morning and the rites begin at noon. There may be delay until all have gathered, but about the middle of the first possible day two *ɔɔaak* are sent up one of the mountains behind the village. They carry large, cone-shaped whistles which they blow twice. The sound is plainly audible in the village and all, whether or not members of the *ɔɔaak* society, recognize that a supernatural being is drawing near. After a short interval, another whistle is blown by a *ɔɔaak* concealed on the roof of the house in which the corpse is lying, and after another pause the same sound comes from within, beside the body itself. Most of the uninitiated know that this is the voice of *Mulakila* (also called *Sisiutwam*), 575 766 [776]

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766 575 but even if unaware of the fact, they realize that some super-
[776] natural, invisible visitor has arrived.

Heralds go from house to house, and sometimes to adjacent
[203] villages as well,[3] inviting the people to pay a farewell visit to
[628] the dead man who will soon leave them; in this invitation the *susaok* name of the deceased is used. The guests assemble at once, irrespective of their rank or membership in the *susaok* society. To mark their grief, female relatives pull out tufts of their hair, and both men and women of the immediate family
[302] cut their hair short. The body, either in its coffin or covered with blankets, is placed between the central fire and the back-room, immediately behind the place where the singers take their stations. When all are present, a son or other near rela-
[537] tive who is also a fluent speaker, stands up and expounds how the Chief, meaning *Mstlakila*, has come to visit the dead man,
533 and how all should try to understand the song he has brought.[3]
575 A hidden *susaok* has been blowing a whistle intermittently, and
766 the singers pretend to be able to understand words of a song in its notes. In reality they have prepared in advance the new one which they now beat out, accompanied by their voices. The theme either describes the coming of the supernatural visitor, or recounts the number of potlatches given by the deceased, and the manner in which these will make smooth the path whither he is going in the same way that distributed goods validate a chief's seat in this world. This song is practised and improved upon amid the booming of the whistle as if the singers were constantly gaining new ideas and embellishments from the words of the supernatural visitor. Sometimes a few incidents are added from the *susaok* myth. After several repetitions, a relative of the dead man asks the singers to beat out the latter's *susaok* songs, as many of them as are remembered from the time he was first initiated into the so-

[3]The Bella Bella are said to invite foreign guests to this ceremony.

[3]Sometimes the people are present when the coming of *Mstlakila*, heralded by
[184] whistling and a thump on the roof, takes place. There are variations in this, as in all other *susaok* rites.

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ciety. These are given several times, serving to recall the 533
ceremonies in which the chief took part during his life. At 575
intervals, the new song is repeated and *sisaok* members of the 766
audience join in as they become familiar with the words. Fre-
quently one or more relatives of the deceased dance in his [535]
stead during the singing. The details of this rite, especially
of the songs used at it, differ considerably according to the
actions of the person during life; if a mighty chief, the donor
of many potlatches, this fact is described in the song, whereas
only an incident from the ancestral myth can be used for a
young *sisaok*. If some of his female relatives are professional [767]
wailers, they function during the ceremony. In all circum-
stances, the rite aims to comfort the grieving kinsmen, an end
which it usually achieves.

As already described, *sisaok* ceremonial was in a state of 575
transition at the time of the coming of the white man. Pre- 766
vious to that date, a spectacular funeral prerogative had been 177
adopted from Rivers Inlet,[4] which has since been claimed by a 424
number of *sisaok*. All the Bella Coola know of this ceremony, [178]
and most of them desire to perform it at the death of a dearly
loved relative; at the present time this is possible owing to the
slight regard paid to prerogatives, but it is certain that a few
years ago it would have been forbidden to most people, and
that it was never a universal Bella Coola rite.

When this rite is performed, the corpse is allowed to remain 575
in its coffin for at least one night after the day on which 766
Mstlakila came and the *sisaok* songs were sung. Meanwhile 532
the carpenters have prepared an imitation body, usually of
rags on a light framework, and a wooden representation of the
deceased's crest. Since this figure is to come through the roof
and carry aloft the corpse, stout hooks are attached to its feet.
In theory, the bird or animal disguise used by the first ancestor

[4]One old Bella Coola stated that this prerogative was obtained during his own life-time from a Rivers Inlet chief who moved to *Tal-ia*. It is impossible to state accurately when this ritual was adopted by the Bella Coola, though it is unquestionably of recent origin.

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575 766 [532] of the deceased, traced patrilineally, should come for the body, but this is difficult to arrange in case of whale, bear, and other marine or land mammals. Consequently, it has been customary to use only raven or eagle for this purpose, and it is assumed that at least one of these birds is present in the ancestral history of every individual as a result of the marriage of some of his forbears with a woman possessing one of these crests.[1] It is a common practice for an influential *ɬɩsaok* to prepare a figure of this kind during his life-time and tell a son or other trusted relative where it has been hidden; if this has been done, it obviates the necessity of carpenters manufacturing one at short notice.

Several days are often required to complete these arrangements, but on the first evening possible, which may be two or three days after the death, the people are summoned to the dead man's house. The singers take their usual positions behind the fire and beat out the song used at the mourning ceremony already described; then, as on that occasion, they follow it with a number of the deceased's *ɬɩsaok* songs. Once more they strike up the one newly composed and, as it is proceeding, whistling is heard, accompanied by the screaming of an eagle or the croaking of a raven. Those who are not members of the *ɬɩsaok* society do not understand that these sounds are produced by hidden members blowing whistles on the roof. There is a crash on the planking and, through a space opened by the removal of several boards, the face of the bird crest can be seen peering in. It is a dramatic spectacle and the audience gasps appreciatively, especially those who see in it a manifestation of the supernatural, testifying to the importance of the deceased. If the stage management has been accurate, the figure appears at the termination of the song, but if it has arrived during the actual singing, the singers beat time slowly and cease to use their voices. The eagle, or raven, keeps squealing repeatedly and gradually comes through

[178] [1] The use of only raven or eagle is probably a degeneration due to recent decay of custom.

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the hole in the roof, ponderously and slowly, until its talons grip the "body." In the same gradual fashion it carries this upwards until, just before the burden disappears through the roof, one of the principal singers leads his fellows and the audience in calling out: 575 766

"*Ye*··," which has the significance of, "May you have a safe passage whence you came and whither you are going."

As soon as the bird has disappeared, its notes are heard from above, growing gradually fainter as the actors blow their whistles less violently. An eloquent *ɬɩaak* stands up and expounds how the deceased's crest has come down from above to carry away his body, and often mentions incidents in the ancestral myth to explain why this bird had appeared. A young man is sent up to replace the roof boards and the hidden accomplices rejoin the audience unostentatiously. The corpse itself remains hidden in some back corner of the house where it was concealed at the time the dummy was seized, so that nothing indicates what has taken place.

The relatives must give presents to all who have witnessed this ceremonial prerogative. These are now distributed without regard to the rank of the recipient; such gifts are not returnable and are said to be, "What Has Been Shaken Off," like dust from the departing body. A meal, likewise provided by the kinsmen of the deceased, is next served, and as the people are eating, it is customary for senior *ɬɩaak* to make laudatory speeches, extolling the dead chief and comforting the survivors by reminding them of the way in which he will be looked after in virtue of his ancestral traditions. This procedure may continue for several hours, and it is only when no one else wishes to speak that the people disperse. [556] [537]

It is not easy to comprehend the attitude of the Bella Coola to this rite. Some influential *ɬɩaak* state emphatically that in former days it was possible to carry it out so realistically that the uninitiated were deceived, and never suspected that the actual corpse was later on buried in secret by the singers, carpenters, and *ɬɩaak*. On the other hand, those who do not 575 766 781

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575 766 981 wish to emphasize the importance of this society, state that the deception was always apparent, and that even the hooks and ropes by which the figure was manipulated could be seen. Still others regard the ceremony as a symbolic means of portraying the manner in which a man's crest comes to carry away his spirit and life. It seems clear that different interpretations must always have been accepted by different [184] members of the community. A young and ingenuous uninitiated, steeped in the atmosphere of the supernatural, may well have believed that he was gazing upon an actual supernatural being, as the senior *nuaaè* desired him to do; others must have recognized that a deception of some kind was being practised, but dramatization is such an important factor in Bella Coola life that individuals often disregard the difference between semblance and reality, and it is contrary to custom for a person to cast aspersions upon the prerogative of another. It is easy for such an one to accept the drama as a symbol or representation of the manner in which the crest carries off the intangible elements of the dead. This is certainly the attitude of the Bella Coola at the present time. Everyone realizes that the crest is of human manufacture and that the corpse itself is not carried away, but the rite is still performed and gratifies the survivors by giving them an opportunity to display their prerogative and the cloak of the deceased's ancestor.

575 766 Perhaps because of its relatively recent introduction, details of the performance of this rite are not fully standardized In some cases, the crest is made to appear at the same time as *Mulakila*, instead of at a subsequent ceremony. It is [424] assumed that the origin of the rite is in some ancient myth in which the body was actually taken above by the crest, an act copied, with the aid of carpenters, by the descendants [773] of the person to whom this occurred. There are no myths of this nature current in Bella Coola, although it is thought that such must have been common among the peoples of the outer coast to explain the prevalence of the practice in that area. [424] One old man mentioned that an *Owikì* myth in which a

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Photograph by H. L. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Personal possessions laid on a grave

[p442 (A)]

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PLATE 18

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Memorial figure and personal possessions on a grave

[p 442 (B)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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PLATE 19

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764
532

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Memorial posts showing crests of the deceased

[#442 (c)]

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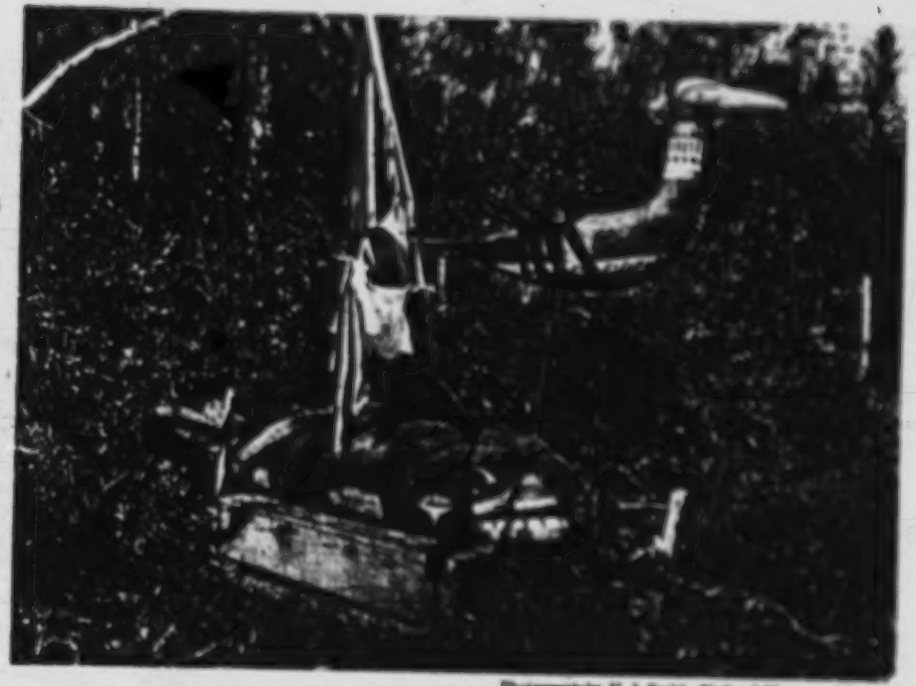

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Memorial figures of whale and loon

[P 442 (D)]

McDerrald E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NDB Bellacoola NDB

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NES Bellacoola NES

PLATE 21

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Totem-pole serving as a memorial post

[p 442 (E)]

Bella Coola E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 22

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Memorial post with wooden representations of coppers given away by the deceased

[p 442(F)]

211
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1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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[p 442 (G)]

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Memorial post with model canoe and figures representing slaves

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PLATE 24

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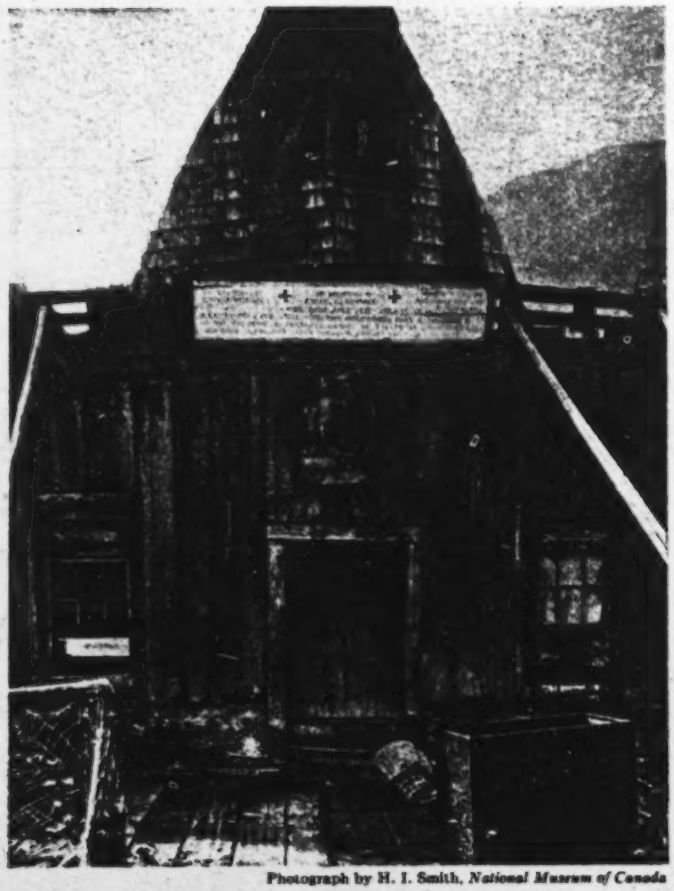

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Painted sign showing the wealth distributed at a potlatch. The animal figures above represent mountain goats.

[p 442 (H)]

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body became eagle down and was wafted upwards is psychologically of the type which might serve as basis for a rite of this kind. If the descendants of the person to whom this had happened had dramatized the incident at subsequent deaths, a custom analogous to the one here described would have arisen. 575 766 424 [773]

DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When possible, it takes place on the day following death, but as many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the performance of the rite just described. Another reason for postponement is the absence of near relatives; if they can be summoned within four or five days, the funeral may be delayed until their arrival. There is always endless discussion concerning the exact details; all relatives and members of the ancestral family take part, though the wishes of a son, brother, or other near kinsman are usually followed. In this, as in so many points of Bella Coola ritual, an influential chief often overrules the desires even of those who are more closely related to the deceased. 764 [796] [554]

Heralds announce the hour chosen,[8] usually about noon, and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even strangers being welcome. Women wail dolorously, and another indication of the occasion is the bundles containing clothing, cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once, with a stone; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed and a hole made in one of the front corners of the house, through which the man throws out the stone. The women redouble their lamentations as an old woman, previously asked to do so, lights a bundle of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and climbs through the opening carrying this. No request has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong men, especially [203] [609]

[8] This is done at present, even after the carrying away of the "body." In former times it was omitted when the corpse was secretly buried by the *sisaek*. [178]

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764 friends of the deceased, pick up the coffin and carry it through
the hole. In former times it was frequently difficult to obtain
[766] pall-bearers for a slave or friendless person on account of the
[784] taboos to which a person performing this service was subject.
[761] If a dead person should be taken through a doorway, others
using it would soon follow the corpse to the next world. For
the same reason, a body must never be moved across the
central line of a house; the passage is, therefore, made from
the side where it happens to be lying. As soon as the corpse
has been taken through, the removed planks are quickly
replaced. Mourners and guests stream out through the door-
way and follow the coffin, some of them carrying the bundles
containing part of the goods of the deceased. Meanwhile the
pall-bearers follow the woman with the torch to the cemetery,
taking care to carry their burden so that it faces the direction
[761] in which they are going; if a dead person is allowed to look
backwards, he will beckon some relative to accompany him
and the one so summoned will soon die.

There is a cemetery near every village, usually fifty to a hundred yards behind the row of houses in a place from which the heavy timber has been cleared. On arrival, the pall-bearers set down their burden close to the spot where the guide has placed her flaming bark on the ground. The personal possessions of the deceased are likewise deposited near the fire, which is kept alight by female relatives throwing on it small quantities of the dead person's clothing and utensils. The near kinsmen of the deceased choose the exact site of the grave, which must never be dug before the bringing of the corpse.
[423] There is no ownership of plots within the cemetery, so that
the hole can be made wherever desired. A favourite location
is close to the grave of a mother, father, or other near relative,
but this is optional; bones are sometimes uncovered when
digging, and in that case earth is thrown in once more and a
new site selected. There are no professional grave-diggers,
[767] nor are arrangements made in advance for men to perform this
duty, but friends, especially strong young men, are willing to

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underwater the rash and bring with them rocks for the purpose. 764
When the location has been chosen, they start their work [767]
without further instructions, taking care that the corpse shall face east. It is said that this is done because the sun rises in that quarter, a statement that is probably a mere rationalization. Graves are usually about five feet deep, so that the digging requires some little time, especially in winter when the ground is frozen. All the young men are willing to help and relieve one another at intervals. Meanwhile the women are squatting on the ground near the coffin, some of them throwing objects on the fire, and all wailing intermittently in a high-pitched, tuneless sob into which a mourner sometimes inserts words as if her agony had overcome her.

"Please return whence you came," moans one woman, while another sobs out:

"Perhaps you were unhappy with us and wanted something we could not give you on earth."

The sun sent down the people of *Sinxl* and *Snulle·tl*, who [773]
accordingly regard that being as their crest. Mourners of those villages, as well as other individuals to whom the sun stands in the same relationship, are accustomed to address him, saying:

"Please increase your light to guide the way. Our child returns to you."

One woman, whose relatives had been killed by jealous rivals owing to their success in giving potlatches, prayed:

"Come no more. Those for whom you gave light have gone; henceforth shine only whither they have departed."

In some cases such doleful lamentations are mere lip service, but they often express very real grief at the loss of a friend or relative. It is also felt that such sympathy affords comfort to the mourning kindred.

As the grave grows deeper, the relatives keep measuring it and the coffin to insure a close fit and avoid unnecessary digging. As soon as it is ready, an elderly man who has been requested to perform the rite, steps to the north side of the

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764 grave carrying a spruce bough in his hand. He touches with it the edge where he is standing, then, in sunwise order, the east, south, and west margins. This circuit is repeated four times and the branch tossed away to westward. This essential [774] ceremony is based on a belief that the lives, or perhaps the spirits, of the grave-diggers have been drawn from them into the grave and are in danger of being pressed down by the coffin. Should this occur, they would have short lives. The spruce branch enables the supernatural elements to leave the cavity and return to their owners who suffer no ill effects. Anyone, other than a grave-digger, can perform this rite.

The coffin is now lifted into the grave, care being taken that the corpse faces east. As already described, it is in a squatting position with haunches almost on the ground. Boards have been prepared in advance, and with these the grave-diggers make a roof-like covering, placing at each corner [775] a stone weighing from ten to fifteen pounds, to prevent the ghost from returning to trouble the survivors. Earth is thrown in on top of the boards, and as it falls the wailing breaks out dolorously in a final crescendo of mourning. [766] If a chief has been buried, his fellows sometimes sing a *xe·tla* [533] song. At this time it is proper for one or more chiefs to rise and speak. No one is required to do so, nor is there any rule 537 as to the order in which they make their remarks. The first 764 speaker is usually a prominent man related to the survivors, though seldom a son, brother, or other near relative of the deceased. A speech is generally addressed in part to the spirit of the dead person, telling it where to go; in part, to the mourners. For a dead child, emphasis is laid on the fact that although he did not live long enough to be incorporated into his ancestral myths on earth, this will be done for him in his future home. In conclusion, an appeal is often made to [775] *Alquntäm*, under the name of *Smaialotla*, to take pains that [773] the spirit of the dead is given its rightful place in *Nusmät·a*, in the section where its first forbears were created, and whither the spirits of its dead ancestors have returned since the beginning of time.

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ning of time. The following speech was made by an elderly Bella Coola chief at the funeral of his great-granddaughter in June, 1922: 764 537

"Granddaughter![7] Go with your grandmother[8] to the mountain above *Tcumotl* where my first [patrilineal] ancestor came to earth. Go to the mountain across the river where *Qeil*[9] descended; go to the north where your ancestor found a copper house with a raven inside; go to the Skeena where another of your early ancestors found a whale; go to all the places where your forefathers experienced the incidents recorded in our myths; go and be happy.[10] I do not want these ever-recurring deaths in my family, but I am helpless. I hope that *Sixsixqwtnam* will cease hunting us." [773]

Turning to the Carrier Indians who were present, the old man continued: "Thank you for coming twice within two days to share our grief." [648]

Turning back towards the grave, he went on:

"I have made ready the road for you.[11] Your grandfather[12] and I are grieved; our families became united when your parents married, and the bond was cemented by your birth. Now it is lost. When you were born, I rejoiced; now I am sorry. You are all right; you cannot fall because you are supported[13] by the names and fame of your father and mother, your grandfather and grandmother, your uncles and aunts, and your other ancestors who have passed away here in *Qomqo·ts*. You rest with them in your own village where is located your power from the experiences of your forefathers.

[7]The term, *slemts*, was used, although the child was really a great-grandchild.

[8]The grandmother had been buried two days previously.

[9]One of the first people to reach this earth.

[10]The places and people mentioned were all described in the myths of the dead child's ancestral family.

[11]A reference to goods distributed by the speaker at a ceremony held a few days previously when it was certain that the child would soon die. [763]

[12]The child's mother's father. [431]

[13]Supported, *kisianmotla*, a word having the sense of physical support. The implication is that the deceased relatives are sitting in such a close circle that the pressure of their bodies is enough to prevent any one of them, including the dead child, from falling. [195]

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They will look after you and, being chiefs, they will be able to do so properly. You will be strong indeed. I am heavy with grief. My grandchildren alone serve to anchor me to *Qomqo·ts*; otherwise I would go to *Tcimotl*.[14] Now that you have gone I may become light-headed and depart. No. I have other grandchildren and great-grandchildren. I will bear up and be a man, and show myself the chief that I am by right."

During this speech the mourners remained seated on the ground, many of the women wailing at intervals and the men listening with more or less attention except those who were filling in the grave. Once or twice the speaker hesitated for a suitable word and suggestions were called out to him.

As the old man finished speaking and sat down, another chief arose.[15]

"Children," he said, addressing the parents of the dead child, "You have indeed suffered misfortunes. A few days ago, your mother[16] died; today, your daughter. Perhaps it is all for the best. Remember how many ancestors who have gone before will be waiting to receive the child; she will be well cared for. Death passes no one, chief or commoner, but do not despair even at this double visitation. Your mother[17] never did an evil action to anyone, never said a harsh word to anyone; try to imitate her. See! I have neither father nor mother. They are both dead; we all go the same way."

In conclusion he urged the step-father of the grieving father, husband of the woman who had died a few days previously, to bear up.

As the second speaker finished, a third arose and spoke briefly.

"I am sorry," he said, "for Joe[18] in his grief today. We have

[14]The home of the speaker's ancestral family.

[15]No arrangements had been made in advance concerning who should speak or the order in which each should address the mourners.

[16]The mother of the child's father had died a few days previously.

[17]Referring to the mother of the child's father.

[18]The dead child's mother's father; he was addressed by his ancestral name on this occasion.

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put his granddaughter into the ground beside her grandmother but it may all be for the best."[19] 764 537

There is no doubt that condolences of this nature assist the mourning relatives to bear up under their grief. This fact was emphasized by several Bella Coola, and in addition the writer was able to observe it on several occasions. They readily respond to suggestions of any kind and undoubtedly derive comfort from the laudatory comments of influential chiefs.

Speeches of this general nature are always delivered as the grave is being filled in. Sometimes this work is finished before all who wish to do so have expressed themselves, sometimes the remarks are so short that they are ended before all the earth has been thrown back. When the hole has been filled to ground level, it is stamped down and the surplus earth scattered out of sight among the bushes, no mound being thrown up. 764

Great care is always taken to prevent the return of the ghost. In addition to the weighting with stones already described, other methods are used before the funeral party leaves the cemetery. Heavy boards are usually laid flat over the grave and rocks piled on these bar the way up from below. A further precaution is the setting upright of four stakes, one at each corner of the hole, and fastening ropes of cedar-bark between them along the east and west sides of the grave. The significance of this is not fully understood, except that the ghost cannot pass the strands. Four spruce saplings are cut and placed either between the grave and the village, or one on each side of the hole; their sharp needles form an effective barrier. 764 775 [824]

While these precautions are being taken, any clothing and utensils brought to the grave and not already consumed are thrown on the fire and allowed to blaze brightly. The ashes 764

[19] It was impossible to record these speeches *verbatim* at the time of their delivery. The writer was able to make notes, which were amplified by each speaker later telling him what he had said. Although lacking literal accuracy, the above may be considered essentially correct. [126]

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764 are never disturbed, being considered, in some vague way, "bad." The tools used for digging the grave are left standing upright in the loose earth, an action for which no explanation can be given by the Bella Coola. When these various rites have been performed, the funeral party returns to the village and disperses.

766 845 At present, interment is the customary method for disposing of the bodies of all except twins, whose bodies are placed in trees. Formerly, other means were sometimes employed, as 764 they still are occasionally. Instead of inhumation, a coffin 178 was frequently placed on a scaffold close behind the deceased's house. Whenever another relative died, planks were laid across, above the first box, and the new one deposited on these, so that in time the scaffold grew to resemble a house-like structure with many compartments. In the last century a certain shaman, *Askankots* by name, is said to have pointed out that corpses were frequently carried off by wolves, *snuuq*, and other animals. For this reason he persuaded the people to inter their dead.

764 Somewhat similar to this practice was the placing of corpses in trees. Until the last few years this was sometimes done with poor children; formerly, it was not unknown even for chiefs. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that the coffin containing the body of his grandfather, a chief, was placed in the crotch of a tree where no rain could penetrate. This means of disposal was probably never habitual. Even at the present time, the corpse of a dearly loved child is occasionally placed above, instead of under the ground. If the parents desire to do this, they erect in the cemetery a carved figure of one of their crests and deposit the coffin on top of it. This is, of course, a graphic representation of the deceased's origin myth and symbolizes the way in which the dead person has become associated with it.

According to several of the older men, cremation was practised by the Bella Coola for some time after the first settlement of the earth. A fire was built outside the house and the body

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thrown on it. One rather philosophic old man suggested that in this way the soul could easily return to *Nusmät·a*. It is possible that this means of disposal was carried out in former times, but no informant had actually seen it practised. The Bella Coola state that cremation is carried out by the Kitlobe[39] and the Carriers. On the morning after a burning, young men of the former tribe rush to the spot and smear their faces with the semi-charred bones, amid much shouting. The Carriers are said to stand with their bodies inclined over the burning corpse and to smear on their faces any grease exuded from it. The accuracy of these statements is very doubtful, and can have no bearing on the reputed practice of cremation among the Bella Coola.

764 764 829

The bodies of rich or poor, chiefs, commoners, or slaves, all are buried in a similar manner though with differences in the complexity of ritual. Nor is any different method practised for criminals, murdered people, or those committing suicide. It is believed that in case of self-destruction the body cannot separate into its elements and reach *Nusmät·a*; that part which becomes the ghost is able to go to the land below, but neither spirit nor life can ascend. According to one man, who may, however, have been affected by Christian influence, this is because *Ałquntäm* decrees the length of life and any wilful shortening is insulting to him. Suicide is rare among the Bella Coola and four cases only were heard of. One woman killed herself in shame at having accidentally set fire to a village, another because her husband was unduly jealous, and two men through bladder stricture.

766 762 [775]

On the whole, Bella Coola methods for disposal of the dead have altered but little since the coming of the white man. The change from sub-aerial exposure to interment was probably not due to foreign influence although the introduction of metal shovels has facilitated the digging of graves and probably hastened the movement. A change in posture has, however, taken place. In former times, a corpse was always buried

177 764

[39]If not at present, at least within the memory of elderly people.

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177 squatting, now it is customary to use the extended position.
764 It is impossible to state whether this is the direct result of white teaching, or whether the ease with which large boxes can now be made has led to interment at full length.

RITES FOLLOWING DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

768 Interment of the corpse does not end the ceremonial necessitated by a death in the community. As already described, some of the clothing and utensils of the dead person are burned during the funeral, but all are not destroyed at that time. The proportion kept for future treatment is immaterial, nor is there any established usage concerning the type of object reserved. During the days following the funeral, relatives of the deceased carefully gather his clothing, cooking utensils, rifles, and all other articles which have been his personal property or used exclusively by him. On the fourth day, these are taken to the cemetery by his immediate family, accompanied by as many of their friends as wish to show their sympathy. A fire is kindled near the grave and on it is deposited whatever can be burnt; other objects are either cast into the flames or piled near at hand (see Plate 17). It is most important that every article belonging to the deceased should be disposed of in this way. There are two reasons for this. First, it is considered indecent to use the possessions of a dead person; they would have the effect of poison on anyone doing so. Secondly, the ghost of the de-
[775] ceased receives goods that are burnt or deposited on the grave
[753] four days after the funeral. If deprived of what belongs to him, a ghost punishes the offenders by causing sickness.
178 Occasionally a new rifle, or some other treasured possession,
768 is kept by a relative or friend; this is contrary to the established custom, but is justified by considering the article to be a gift from the deceased or a memento of him. No one would accept such a legacy unless he felt sure that the dead man

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entertained such kindly sentiments towards him that he would be glad to have his friend receive it. 968 [178] 768

In recent years the number of incombustible objects has increased enormously with the introduction of metal utensils, gramophones, and other things obtained from white traders. 177 775 Although these are considered to be of use to the ghost, and must be carefully placed near the grave, they can be publicly exchanged for others by a relative. The sentiments expressed on such occasions are that the ghost, though aware of what is taking place, does not resent an open transfer; and that it is unnecessary to deposit the equivalent of what has been removed. There is undoubtedly a vague idea that the ghost uses, not the actual object, but its essence, which is received by the deposition. It must be emphasized that this feeling has not become crystallized to such a state that it is customary to replace goods laid on the grave with others. Such an exchange is a rare event and would cause animosity if carried out by anyone except a near relative. [578]

Sometimes a dying person requests that a house be erected over his grave, a common Bella Bella custom. This is built immediately after the funeral and articles that cannot be burnt are placed within it instead of being piled on the ground. The sorrowing relatives may choose to erect a picket fence around the spot, but no other mark for the grave is put up until a memorial potlatch several years after death. House or fence soon falls into decay and rarely an effort is made to repair either. Nor is the grave itself disturbed. Cow-parsnips, which are much used for food, grow frequently in cemeteries, but no one would gather the shoots that rise above a grave; they are food belonging to the dead person. The white man has taught the Bella Coola how to plant apple-trees and these are often set out in graveyards, though the fruit is allowed to fall to the ground for the benefit of those interred beneath. The Bella Bella are said formerly to have replaced at intervals the coffin containing a dead person, but this seems never to have been a Bella Coola practice. Indeed, a grave is never

764 [763] [177] [262] [245] [177] 765

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Indeed, a grave is never
965 disturbed except, rarely, when it is necessary to obtain a
[989] portion of a skeleton for magical purposes. In such a case,
the coffin lid must be lifted up on the side away from the
[961] opener, so that he looks within over its upturned edge. A
person failing to obey this injunction will soon die.

968 Burning or deposition near the grave is not restricted to the actual utensils and artifacts of the deceased. There, too, must be laid dried salmon which a man has smoked for winter use, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready
[964] by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person seems indescribably indecent. In recent years, the crop, if a man dies after tilling and sowing a field, is allowed to ripen, and then rot unharvested. So, too, the canoe in which a body has been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Coola are not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is
[961] apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of
[984] death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or that has been in contact with a corpse.

964 The rituals described above may be considered as religious in nature; almost equally important are the social require-
431 ments of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This
556 indebtedness falls on the near relatives, though all members
[614] of the ancestral family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite manner. If a canoe has been destroyed that did not belong to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents must be given to the pall-bearers, to the woman who bore the flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way. Failure to do so brands the relatives as misers with little respect for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the outlook and minds of chiefs. Consequently, even poor people try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death

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and recompense to funeral assistants is usually deferred until that time. Such was often true even in former years, although poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the express purpose of publicly rewarding those who had helped to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any convenient ceremony, such as a non-sacred *tsaok* dance. As repeatedly mentioned, when the people have been called together for a ceremony, advantage is often taken of the gathering to settle debts or to perform rites of an entirely different nature. It is probable that the summoning of guests solely to witness the payment of helpers was always unusual; at present it never occurs. On those occasions when a body was buried in secret after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the crest, the goods of the deceased were deposited as usual in the cemetery. Those who carried them were the ones who had performed the secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the gifts as reward for the hidden rite without exposing the subterfuge. 764 431 556 [575] [796] [766]

Another type of ceremonial taking place after a funeral is the cleansing from the contamination of death of near relatives of the deceased, and of those who have handled the corpse. If spring salmon or olachen are running, pall-bearers must not go near the river for ten days, or twenty according to some informants, after taking a body to the grave. They have become tainted with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the river bank, would poison the salmon. Unwillingness to become affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly, friendless slave being carried out to the cemetery by some old women who covered him with boards. The taint on grave-diggers cannot be removed, but automatically lapses after ten days. 764 783 [825]

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife whose consort has passed away. It is believed that *Sä-lma* [776]

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764 comes and sits on the coffin during every funeral, seeking fur-
783 ther victims. Death has so contaminated a widow or widower
that she or he will fall an easy prey unless ceremonially puri-
[776] fied. No special acts are carried out between interment and
the burning of goods four days later, but the following four
days must be spent in a small shelter of branches behind the
village, hidden from sight in the forest. Within this the man
or woman lies on the ground with legs close together and bent
[841] at the knees, in the same position as a girl during the four days
after her first menstruation. A male friend accompanies a
widower; a female, a widow. This companion keeps a fire
burning and administers to the comfort of the patient, for such
a bereaved person is considered to be. Every evening the two
return home and leave again the following morning. On one
of these days, the companion scours the woods east of the
village to find four spruce saplings growing within sight of each
other in an east to west direction. To this place he leads the
survivor on the morning after the fourth day of concealment*
in the shelter. He bends down the top of the western sapling
and ties it into a loop with a rope composed of alternate strands
of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. The widower, or widow,
crawls through this opening to the east and then makes a
circle, sunwise, around the sapling. Passing to the next one,
the same procedure is repeated, and so in succession for the
third and fourth, each being left tied into a loop. There are
at least two variations in this rite: Instead of passing through
four saplings, some individuals choose to crawl four times
through a single one, with a sunwise circuit intervening in
every case. If the survivor be a member of a family in which
it is customary to use four saplings, and if the friend cannot
find four in proper alignment, he cuts a number of spruce
branches and sets them upright, butts in the ground, leaving
a small hole between them. Four sets of these are arranged,
as substitutes for four saplings, and the crawling through takes

*There is variation in the exact time for this rite. Some individuals practise it on the fifth day after death and omit the waiting in the shelter.

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place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death. 764 783

The above rite protects widower or widow, but does not alter the fact that for one year they are ceremonially "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the ocean. The one near Kimsquit is called *Sqlen'ti*, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of which the bottoms are bent upwards; should this be omitted, when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will soon die. 765 [783] [825] [262] [484] [292] [761]

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should cut their hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; if this rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and [621] [302] [834] [587] [735]

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765 religious rites affecting the whole community. In spite of the prohibitions enforced, it is said that a widow or widower usually becomes fat after the death of a partner. This observation agrees with several instances known to the writer, but whether it is of universal application is doubtful, although the Bella Coola emphatically state that this is the case.

Memorial Rites

THE MEMORIAL POTLATCH

177 The most important, as well as the most complicated,
552 mourning rite is the memorial potlatch, *sewanit*, for which so
769 much wealth is required that it can be carried out by chiefs
[622] alone. This ceremony, being associated with *nanak* rites, has altered enormously in form within recent years. Before the introduction of cone-shaped whistles and other foreign elements, it was almost indistinguishable from an ordinary potlatch and the two were occasionally combined, having as central feature the return of the deceased in the form of his crest. Among the tribes of the outer coast, especially the Bella Bella, the two types of ceremonial were apparently distinct, and as the Bella Coola adopted more and more of their neighbours' *nanak* ritual, they followed their custom in this respect as well. It is said that a certain *Nedkila*, uncle of a man about sixty years of age in 1922, was the last to combine both. The Bella Bella felt that he had thereby committed a ritual error for which he would be punished; within a few years he died, and the Bella Coola assumed that this was due to the unanimous expectation of his death on the part of the Bella Bella. From that time onwards, the Bella Coola were careful to separate features belonging to potlatches from those of memorial potlatches.

After a comparatively few years, the white man's domin-
[648] ation had increased so enormously on the central coast that the potlatch, including both types, was prohibited by law. Owing to the consequent difficulty of performing complicated

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rites, the Bella Coola were again led to carry out at a single gathering features which properly belonged to several. To combine the memorial potlatch with the potlatch, being a return to an earlier custom, presented no serious difficulties and was consequently widely adopted. The Kimsquit people, moreover, seem never to have adopted the clear Bella Bella differentiation, and as the rapid decrease in population threw them in ever closer contact with the Bella Coola, their influence tended to lessen differences between the two ceremonials. 177 556* 769

At the present time, a memorial potlatch is almost identical with an ordinary potlatch in practice. The same rites are often carried out at both; each varies considerably, and when the distinctive elements are omitted the two become indistinguishable. None the less, they are never confused in the minds of the participants. The house where a potlatch, *ʌm*, is taking place is called a *nuxlimsta*, that where a memorial potlatch, *skwanät*, is occurring, a *nuskwanätsta*. In giving invitations and making comments, heralds are careful not to refer to the ritual under the wrong name; in fact, it may be said that the chief difference between the two is in the minds of the donor and his guests. Sociologically, both are considered to be on a par. Equal wealth is required, and each can be performed only by a chief, both on account of the expenditure involved and owing to the difficulties in procedure which are thought to be too great for a lesser man to surmount. 556* 769 [203] [622]

Difference in the donor's motives is usually sufficient to separate a memorial potlatch from an ordinary one. The latter is given by a chief desirous of increasing his prestige by lavish expenditure, for which one of the excuses is the validation of the appearance of a dead relative. Although this is the central feature, so many other rites are performed that it is sometimes obscured or may, indeed, be omitted entirely. On the other hand, a memorial potlatch occurs as soon as possible after the death of a father, mother, or other dearly loved kinsman, and it is clear to all that the donor's reasons for the rite are to commemorate the deceased, and to console himself and his imme- [622]

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*556 diate family. Confusion is probable only when a chief is
769 bereaved after he has stored up goods and made preliminary preparations for a potlatch; he may then carry out the rites intended, but designate the ceremony a memorial potlatch.
[575] More often, however, the affair is limited to rites associated with the deceased. Consequently, there is omission of the initiation of neophytes into the *sisaok* and *a'alk* societies,* there is no establishment of new seats for young relatives of the donor, and no strengthening of his own. It must be empha-
[184] sized once more that there is no unalterable sequence of prescribed rituals at either potlatch or memorial potlatch; the omissions just mentioned are customary, not universal, and when present the ritual of the two ceremonies is identical. Except on those rare occasions when omitted at a potlatch, the return of a dead relative is the central feature of both.

[178] In recent years, the great increase in wealth has made it possible for a chief to perform a memorial potlatch soon after the death of an esteemed relative. This was rarely the case in former times, but as there was no other reason for which valuables were so ardently desired, every expedient was used to obtain the necessary goods. Occasionally, a chief happened to have the needful goods stored up so that he could give a memorial potlatch almost immediately. To such a fortunate individual the term, *yestla*, was applied, a word difficult to translate but combining the significances of *rich*, *ready*, *fortunate*, and *reserved*.

[796] Memorial potlatches, like those of the ordinary kind, are usually held in the early autumn, though occasionally one may be postponed until after the *kusiut* season. When an intending donor has decided that he owns sufficient goods, he first calls in his fellow-chiefs and makes known his intentions, at the same time expounding in considerable detail the myths which
[533] he proposes to use as themes for mourning songs, and for other

*Performance of such rites at a memorial potlatch would be considered sinful by the Bella Bella and were always omitted during the period when their influence was important.

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prerogatives connected with the ceremony. The actual re- 556*
counting of the myths may be done by a fluent speaker on 769
behalf of the bereaved man, and when he has finished speaking, [533]
it is proper for several of his peers to make complimentary [537]
speeches, lauding the future donor for his intentions. Food is
then served and the gathering breaks up.

The preliminaries of a memorial potlatch do not differ from those of an ordinary one. There is the same counting and recounting of goods, the same giving and receiving of presents, the same lending and borrowing. When at last the donor is ready, the heralds call his fellow-villagers to his house for announcement of the arrangements and allotment of the work. As at a potlatch, food is provided on a lavish scale, and there is the same sham-fight with a battering-ram ending in the destruction of part of the house. Then the carpenters receive their instructions; some to make different sections of the new structure, some to paint ancestral designs on the front and back walls, and some to make the various objects required.

The first difference between a memorial and an ordinary 211
potlatch is apparent at this allotment of work. Instead of a 556*
totem-pole to record the glories of the donor's ancestry,[21] car- 764
penters are requested to make memorial-posts for the dead 769
relative who is being commemorated. These are erected in
the cemetery near the grave and are of three kinds, although it is unusual for all three to be set up for a single chief.

The first consists of a wooden post carved with the design of one or more of the deceased's crests (see Plates 19 and 20). [532]
These figures are usually representations of the bird or animal cloaks used by his first ancestors; it is customary to portray the one traced through the father on the right, that traced through the mother on the left. Instead of a cloak, the figure may portray the post down which swarmed his first ancestor in the beginning of time, or Mount *Nusqalst* in human form, wearing a broad-rimmed hat as he did before he turned to

*Even the construction of a new house and the painting of new designs is often omitted.

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211 stone and served as landing-place for some of the first settlers.
556 In fact, any of the dead person's crests may be used according
764 to the wishes of the chief giving the memorial potlatch. A
769 figure displayed in this way cannot be used as the guise in which the dead relative returns, but as every individual has several crests, inability to use one does not make it difficult to carry out the rite. According to one well-informed old man, when a design has once been used in a cemetery it cannot again be shown by members of the ancestral family, having itself become "dead." Other informants flatly contradicted this statement, and it seems clear that the above is true only with regard to the use of the figure in connection with the return of the deceased. The erection of the figure serves to remind all beholders, especially foreign guests summoned to the memorial potlatch, of the ancestral myth of the deceased. It is, there-
[778] fore, equivalent to a totem-pole erected during a man's lifetime, in fact, one of these is sometimes moved to the cemetery to serve as a memorial-post (see Plate 21). Instead of placing a representation of the crest in the cemetery, one is sometimes painted on broad boards and placed on some conspicuous promontory where all who pass by will see it and think of the person commemorated.

The second type of memorial consists of plain poles set upright in the cemetery, one for each major ceremony given by the deceased. Potlatches, memorial potlatches, and *kukusiutek*
[609] (II, p. 29) are alone indicated in this way, these being the only ones to which foreign guests are invited. These poles suggest, in a general way, the greatness of the deceased.

The third type of memorial-post comprises representations of the goods given away by the deceased. These are usually
[532] painted on boards attached to a post set up near the grave. On this are pictures of canoes, coppers, slaves, and other valuables distributed at potlatches or memorial potlatches (see Plate 22). Alternatively, there may be a series of small poles, each surmounted by a model canoe manned by miniature human figures, symbolic of a canoe and slaves given away

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(see Plate 23). So, too, wooden representations of coppers are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are commemorated in this way, a father often places over his daughter's grave pictures of the goods used to rebuy her from her husband; wooden plaques representing coppers are commonly used for this purpose.[24] Such symbols are usually cut down after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for them to remain standing too long. The function of this type of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person as judged by the riches given away by him, or on his behalf, during his life-time. With the introduction of writing, the Bella Coola have been quick to recognize it as an easy means for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In consequence, signs are often painted and erected, giving in figures a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent introduction has been the tombstone. One of these is often set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate his memory, and a representation of his crest to record his ancestral history. Such a memorial combines the functions of the first and third types.

211 556* 764 769 [532] [177] [212] [532]

As the carpenters labour at the memorials, other arrangements for the ceremony proceed apace. As at a potlatch, the fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited repeatedly to his house for the performance of *susaok* dances, but this feature is often omitted, especially if there are no neophytes to be initiated. The mask to be worn by the deceased relative must be prepared in secret; or if several are to be commemorated at the single ceremony, one must be made ready for each. As the time draws near, envoys are dispatched to invite foreign guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This has been customary for many years, but during the period when no features of the potlatch were allowed at a memorial potlatch, the latter was sometimes carried out in the presence of the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the

556* 769 [575] [203] [609]

[24]The National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, has specimens of these wooden coppers.

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*556 769 messengers may be marked with the same ritual as at a potlatch, but there is always curtailment of *sisaok* features if rites of that nature are to be omitted.

Meanwhile other preparations have not been neglected. 424 Among the prerogatives embodied in many origin myths, is that of the presence of professional mourners at memorial *556 769 potlatches. If mention of these is made in the ancient tradition of the donor's ancestral family, it is a matter of pride for [767] him to do as was done by his ancestors in the distant past. For example, it may be recorded that at the memorial potlatch of some ancient chief, a number of his younger relatives appeared with red paint smeared upon their faces, with finely chopped undyed cedar-bark in the hair, or with bands of the [765] same material across their heads. *Alquntäm* had decreed that they should thus exhibit their grief, and the descendants of the chief have since had the privilege of doing likewise. Such signs of mourning may not, however, be worn without proper validation. It is only the members of the ancestral family who are entitled to don these marks, and among them, only those whose right has been confirmed by the distribution of presents. This is a masculine professional prerogative, known [562] by the same name as the feminine one of uttering a droning cry to which it is closely akin. The right is ratified at memorial potlatches, and the donor of one is glad to do so as a means of displaying his own wealth as well as of making plain the glory of his ancestors to whom the one being commemorated has [767] returned. There is no mention of professional mourners in [171] the myths of many families, nor are they ever as important in Bella Coola as among the Bella Bella and other tribes of the outer coast. If such belong to the family of the donor, he notifies the incumbents and asks them to be ready, although, eager to act, they seldom wait for such an invitation.

533 The most difficult task is the preparation of mourning songs *556 at which the singers toil for several weeks. The donor first 769 invites them to his house and recounts the myths from which they must be composed. These may include several traditions

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of different ancestral families to which the deceased belonged, 533
irrespective of whether or not he had used a name from one. 556
Being a member of the group, its songs can legally be used in 769
his honour. Elements from different myths are often combined into one composition, corresponding to the different localities and characters which the dead person has visited in travelling back the path of his multiple ancestors to the beginning of time. If one person only is being commemorated, four songs are prepared; if several, two are used for each. Three [801]
for any individual is unlucky. Two types, *skwanät* and *änultnänk*, are in common usage, and the singers, after conversation with the donor of the ceremony, decide which shall be employed. The former describes in some detail features from one or more of the deceased's ancestral myths, mentions the journey which he has taken to visit the individuals and scenes referred to, and calls on him to assume the form of his first forefather. A common theme is to state the origin of his name, and how he loved it so greatly that he left the earth to follow it back through time and space. The following is an abbreviated version of such a song, based on the origin myth of *Käliäkus*:

"We have been unable to satisfy you here. Go whither *Käliäkus* came, and become a raven. Go to the east and get abalone-shell; go to the west and get copper. They will satisfy you."

Another *skwanät* of the same type is:

"Your first ancestor circled the world with the aid of an abalone-shell paddle. Do you likewise. That will gratify you as nothing on earth could do."

On the other hand, an *änultnänk* seldom refers to the ancestral history of the deceased, but to his actions during life. It records the number of slaves, canoes, and other valuables given away at potlatches,[24] and alludes to other praiseworthy actions. This type of mourning song, though usually used [622]

[24]An analogous method of making known a man's distribution of wealth is by a written sign over his door (see Plate 24).

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533 only for a chief, can be employed for a dead child. In this case,
*556 the theme describes the efforts of the parents to incorporate
769 the deceased in the traditions of their ancestors, and the
[622] number of times he had been ceremonially married. The text of one used a few years ago is:

"We said, Hail! *Sunxälotla* [the child's crest was the Sun] when she was born. What more could we have done? Why did she leave us?"

The text may refer to the prerogative of employing mourners, as in the following:

"Come ye professional mourners, help me to give voice to my lamentations."

The tunes of mourning songs are usually remembered from year to year, and the singers may merely alter words to make an old song applicable. In some cases, such compositions are
[424] changed so slightly that they become virtually possessions of an ancestral family, and may then be preserved for generations until even the history of the names embodied is forgotten.
[174] Occasionally, ancient relationship between two such groups can be deduced from the occurrence of the same names in their mourning songs, although all traditions of intermarriage have been forgotten. There is considerable difference between the tunes of *skwanät* and *änulunänk*; in fact, this distinction may be more important than the themes, since the latter do not invariably conform to the types just described. A few items of ancestral history may be incorporated into a song dealing primarily with the actions of the deceased and *vice versa*. Sometimes four of one type are used, sometimes two of each. Much thought is devoted to the compositions, the singers meeting every day to try over and improve one another's efforts. The texts, long and complicated, require much practice, since any error would be an admission of gross inefficiency. These daily rehearsals take place in the donor's house and he is required to provide food for the singers. It is not uncommon to use a
[177] song of Bella Bella origin, since the Bella Coola admit that members of that tribe excel in compositions of this type.

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Such an adoption occurs only when the deceased was the owner of a Bella Bella myth and the song in question had been used to mourn a real or fictitious relative. It is contrary to custom to use the tune or words of a song not composed for a member of the deceased's ancestral family. 556* 769 [533]

The actual delivering of invitations by the envoys to the desired guests does not differ from the manner already described, except that they are asked "to come to visit the sick [donor]." The significance is, of course, that the mourner's condition is that of a patient. To indicate the reason of their visit, guests at a memorial potlatch always wear a little dyed cedar-bark around their heads. [177] [203] [292]

On arrival, the first party of foreign guests is conducted to the donor's house, where they make themselves comfortable in the section allotted to them by the heralds. An elderly Bella Coola chief who is a famous orator has been asked by the donor to speak, and he rises to do so as soon as his fellow-villagers have entered and taken their places. No set phrases are used, but the speaker usually begins by reminding all present of the way in which their ancestors were created in *Nusmät·a*, and how all must return thither. It is an occasion on which eloquence is essential, and the speaker delights in using as many archaic words and rhetorical expressions as possible, with constant references to religious beliefs and ancient history as recorded in mythology. Then he speaks of the death which is the occasion of the ceremony. If the deceased were an old man, he is referred to by a special term not in common usage, *nudak·än*, which implies wisdom and respect as well as extreme age. The orator states that he has fallen, using the term *ḋoyäx*, normally applied to the thunderous crash of some mighty tree. He speaks of a young chief as *sxwᵘllämkis*, short-lived, a person who has been hunted down by the supernatural Carpenters. He continues by sketching the works of the deceased, the number of potlatches he gave and the manner in which his name was known to many tribes. Finally he tells of the donor's grief, and of how this "sickness" has been alle- 537 556* 769 [195]

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537 viated by the presence of welcome guests. Mention is fre-
* 556 quently made of the journey taken by the dead man to the
769 scenes of his ancestral myths. In addition to being an orator,
the speaker must also be a *numitl* chief, since it is felt that
[622] none other can have the necessary assurance and poise to refer
to these most sacred and important subjects. During the
speech, assistants blow eagle down over the heads of all
present.

Food has been prepared in advance, and as soon as the
speaker has finished, the heralds call the guests to partake of
it. The first course is then distributed, smoked salmon mixed
[264] with olachen grease. Speeches are sometimes delivered during
this part of the meal, as well as at the second course, cranberries
with more olachen grease. If the guests have arrived during
the afternoon, there is no delay between the feast and the ritual
that follows, but if they have come during the morning, there
is a gap until the evening. Visitors usually time their arrival
for the early part of the afternoon.

537 The next event is a speech from one of the foreign chiefs,
phrased in grandiloquent terms similar to those used by the
* 556 Bella Coola orator. He speaks of the manner in which the
769 supernatural Carpenters have hunted the deceased, but reminds
609 his hearers that this is because *Ałquntäm* has decreed it, there-
fore all must be for the best. He refers to the dead man's crest,
533 and to the manner in which this guise will be available to him.
During the day, the singers have been careful to learn the tune
of a mourning song used by the ancestral family of each foreign
chief likely to speak. This they now beat out, often assisted
by some of the guests, and always accompanied by their sing-
ing. No one dances to accompany the song; it is merely a
tactful mark of sympathy, implying that the speaker himself
knows the grief occasioned by death, and, also, that he too is
sufficiently important to be able to use a mourning song. If,
as is usually the case, there is more than one influential chief
in the party, a second rises to speak, repeating in different
terms the sentiments expressed by his predecessor. Another

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mourning song is sung for him in the same way. Sometimes as many as five or six speeches are made, each followed by a song of the same type. In such circumstances it is impossible for the Bella Coola musicians to learn all the tunes, but if five or six chiefs are present, it implies the presence of a large delegation among whom are always a number of singers. It is they who really beat out the tunes, assisted by their Bella Coola *confrères*. When the last song has been sung, the guests present their hosts with gifts brought for the purpose. The donor himself receives the most valuable, but all the Bella Coola are remembered, chiefs to a greater extent than commoners. Such gifts are not to be returned; in fact, to do so specifically, especially soon after the receipt, would be insulting. After the distribution the evening concludes with the usual meal. 537 556* 769 609 533

This ritual is repeated at the arrival of every group of guests. It is uncertain whether or not all the mourning songs are again beaten out after the song of the final speaker of the last group. This seems to have been done occasionally, and the distribution of presents by the guests likewise postponed. Just before the gathering breaks up, the heralds call out: "*Alnaixwotsnmap*."

This serves as intimation that the Bella Coola rites will take place the following morning, and the guests prepare accordingly. Occasionally, when a man is poor, a memorial potlatch is held without the presence of foreign guests.[36] In such cases the preliminaries just described are, of course, omitted and the above call marks the commencement of the ceremony. 556* 769 [609]

The next day the guests gather in the donor's house, clad in their best. The mourners are in attendance, each conspicuous with the proper mark. In many cases several of them carry miniature totem-poles, carved to represent bird or animal cloaks assumed by the donor's ancestors, and which

[36]This was probably quite common during the period when all potlatch features were omitted.

556 will now be the forms of the one who has recently died. As
769 soon as all have taken their places, an eloquent chief whose aid has been requested for the purpose stands up and recounts
[537] the donor's ancestral myth in some detail, mentioning the source and meaning of the mourners' marks and the designs of the totem-poles. Then he continues to the effect that the chief will "cry" by relating the history of his ancestors, which is also the history of the journey taken by his kinsman, and that this recital will shore him up. The word used for this, *snutlänkn*,
[195] is the one commonly employed for raising a heavy burden with the aid of a lever. Then the singers begin to beat
[533] out the first of the mourning songs, accompanying it with their voices and assisted by as many of the audience as are familiar with words and tune. Every effort is made to make the singing as impressive as possible to add dignity to the recital of the journey taken by the person who is being commemorated. The guests listen attentively and are suitably impressed by the ancestral history of the donor and his family. All the songs that have been prepared are sung in succession in the same manner. The lack of dancing distinguishes this type of cere-
[535] mony[1] from all others and adds somewhat to its impressiveness.

After the last song is the proper time for validating young
[424] relatives of the donor as mourners. One of the miniature
[425] totem-poles, which are light enough to be carried in the hands, is brought from the back-room and given to the boy on whom this prerogative is being conferred. An eloquent speaker explains the meanings of the designs so displayed and enough of the family's ancestral history to make clear whence, and how, they were obtained. The singers begin to beat time slowly, and the youth endeavours to keep time with his feet, while he continues to hold the pole.

Meanwhile the donor and his immediate relatives have been arranging the piles of presents with the inevitable counting and
[537] re-counting. As at a potlatch, a fluent speaker is commissioned to hold up the objects, state whence they have been obtained,

1 [i.e. - the memorial potlatch - ANALYST]

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to whom they are going, and for what purpose. He says, for example: 556 * 769

"Fifty skins become nothing on the path of *Kāliāks*."

Everyone knows that this means the expenditure of that amount for the singing of a mourning song in connection with the myth in which *Kāliāks* appears. Gifts must be given for each song, and it is the desire of the donor that they be of fitting value. So, too, is the validation of professional mourners confirmed. The goods having thus been displayed, a first distribution, called "Tears" with reference to the donor's grief, is made, each guest receiving a gift of the same worth. It is not returnable, being the legalization of the ceremony he has just witnessed. This is followed by donations to the carpenters, the singers, the professional mourners, and all others who have rendered assistance; in essence, these are pay, though they are always referred to as free-will gifts made in gratitude for services rendered. Like the last, they are not returnable. Finally, any goods remaining from the store that has been brought out are given to chiefs and other influential members of the audience. Though not clearly stated, the recipients know that these are really investment-presents; when they reciprocate, they mention that they are repaying a gift made at a memorial potlatch. A plentiful meal is now served, during which several chiefs make complimentary speeches, and the gathering breaks up. [533] [425] [465] [426]

In former times, when features of the ordinary potlatch were banned from a memorial potlatch, the ceremony just described was the central point of the proceedings. It was this public song-recital of the journey taken by his deceased relative which alleviated the donor's sorrow and filled him with pride. A few days after, in the late afternoon, the heralds called back the guests and the songs were sung and re-sung. Miniature totem-poles were not used, nor were professional mourners in evidence; the sole function of the gathering was to provide opportunity for learning the songs. They were repeated until far into the night, when a large meal was served and the guests [533]

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* 556 departed. A few days later the same ritual was carried out
769 again, with a similar lavish distribution of food. This was often done at intervals of two or three days for several weeks, depending on how much food the donor was prepared to use. The amount required was so great that the rite was considered, in some ways, more difficult than a potlatch.

[178] As already mentioned, however, it became customary in the last century to incorporate features of the ordinary potlatch into one of a memorial nature. In such cases the first
[533] singing of the mourning songs with display of marks by the professional mourners is as just recorded, but there is no recalling of the guests merely to listen once more to the songs. Instead, the ritual differs but slightly from that of an ordinary potlatch as already described (I, p. 182). An occasion is found to conduct the guests to the memorial-posts erected, and to in-
[178] form them of the significance of the designs depicted. This same practice has been continued since the introduction of tombstones, and the meaning of the writing upon them is interpreted. The entry of the deceased in the form of his crest, and the subsequent use of a copper, is the same as already recorded. This is frequently followed by the singing of a *susaok* mourning
[533] song if one of the near relatives owns this prerogative of foreign origin. If so, he walks slowly around the fire in a wide circle, shaking his rattle, and singing, unaccompanied. Most, if not all
[177] of these songs, are in the Bella Bella language and the right to
[425] use one has in every case been obtained through intermarriage with a member of that tribe. At intervals, heralds call out:

"Listen to the chief's lament."[27]

When presents are distributed to validate the whole ceremony, mention is always made of the different features for which they are given. As at a potlatch, the most important is the return of the dead, but at a memorial potlatch another
[211] essential is the display of the memorial-posts. These have been
[764] carved, painted, and set up, but are worthless unless validated

[27] There is no reason why this should not take place at a potlatch, but no instance of its performance was noted.

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by presents, and the greater the number of these, the greater the value of the memorial. Nothing need be added concerning this point, or other rites, to the detailed description given in vol. I, chap. IV.

Psychologically, the memorial potlatch is of tremendous importance. There may be a vague feeling that the ritual is of actual assistance to the deceased since grease burnt at it reaches him, and is of service to him, but such a belief is no more than an intangible sentiment of no weight in the lives of the people. Quite otherwise is its effect on the survivors, especially on the donor. A memorial potlatch is considered the fitting tribute of respect to a chief, and if none of his near relatives should hold one, they would brand themselves as unmindful of the fame of their dead kinsman. In recent years the white man's law has prohibited the potlatch, but chiefs [648] have often preferred to go to jail rather than to forgo this form of memorial. The reason for this cannot be explained better than in the words of an old man whose only daughter, a "Chieftainess," died in 1922. He determined to hold a memorial potlatch and expressed himself to the writer, as follows:

"If I should fail to do what is right under the circumstances, to do what my ancestors would have done, my heart would be dead, dead as my daughter. But if I call the people, if we sing mourning songs for my child, I will be able to bear my grief. I shall have done what is right, and will be able to hold up my head with anyone, knowing that the rites have been performed for my child which are due her as a chief. If I allow her to be neglected, I would be ashamed and miserable. Jim [another "chief"] warned me when I first told him of my intention that the law forbade such ceremonies. I cannot help that. If I am sent to jail, to jail shall I go. I would rather have that happen than that my daughter should not receive fitting treatment as a chief."

In this case, though only abbreviated rites were carried out, their performance unquestionably lessened the father's grief, a fact observed on several occasions. Not only does it comfort

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556 769 a man and assuage his sorrow to know that he has shown fitting respect to the dead, there is also a gain in social prestige. As the whole community respects, admires, and sometimes envies a man for having carried out a memorial potlatch, there is no doubt that he is pleased and gratified to such an extent that his grief is dulled. These two factors must constantly be kept in mind; memorial potlatches serve to commemorate the dead, but in so doing they add to the social importance of the donors. The two combine to bring considerable comfort to the chief who has lost a dear relative. In some cases the social prestige is the real motive, the grief assumed and unimportant; but in others the latter is the only factor that matters, and a chief is entirely oblivious to any increase in his own status. In most memorial potlatches, both feelings are present in the mind of the donor, and both are gratified.

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF A FUNERAL

764 114 In the preceding pages, an attempt has been made to describe the traditional death rites of the Bella Coola. The following section comprises a detailed account of funeral ceremonies witnessed in 1922. The contrast between these and the ones already recorded, will indicate some of the changes [178] in custom which are of such importance in studies of cultural [182] growth or decline. The following description will also serve [57] to demonstrate a point repeatedly mentioned, the manner in which business transactions and arrangements of all kinds take place whenever the people have been called together.

[123] On June 27, 1922, the death occurred in Bella Coola of Jessie, Mrs. Samuel King, daughter of Captain Schooner. The latter, now deceased, was one of the writer's most trusted friends, and as a result of this friendship it was possible not only to attend the actual rites, but to ascertain much of the feeling underlying them. This advantage had its drawbacks, since it was manifestly impossible to question either the father or the husband of the woman too closely. The details will be de-

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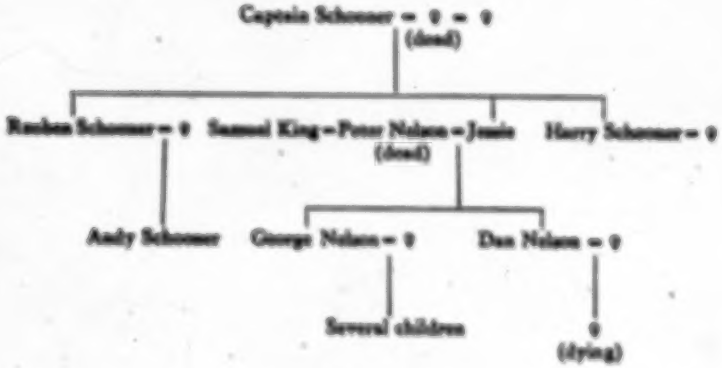
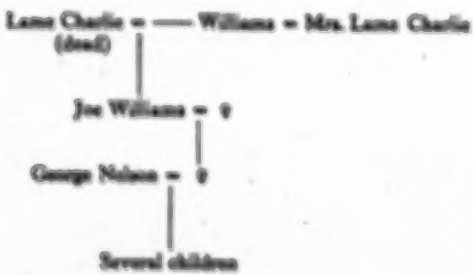
scribed, in spite of some repetition entailed thereby, both to record customs surviving the decay of Bella Coola ritual, and as a means of illustrating the sentiments of the participants. To avoid native terminology, white man's names will be used throughout. It will be necessary to understand the relationships of those taking part in the ceremony, as shown in the following pedigrees: 764 [114] 601 764

PEDIGREE I*



PEDIGREE II



Samuel King was a widower with one daughter at the time of his marriage to Jessie, by whom he had no children. His 764 159

*No attempt has been made to record the complete pedigrees; only those who took part in the ceremony are indicated.

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764 159 stepson, George Nelson, had not been living with his wife for about one year.

Early in the afternoon of June 27, Captain Schooner was notified by telephone of the serious illness of his daughter at the cannery where she was working. He set out immediately, but found her dead on his arrival. Without waiting to consult Samuel King, he called together the chiefs who happened to be [622] in the vicinity, Willie Mack, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Bobby Nebby, and Alexander Clallaman.[11] He informed them that 764 he did not propose to let his daughter be thrown carelessly into 769 the ground like a dog, but that he was going to hold a memorial potlatch immediately after the funeral. Schooner, being a *556 *namitl* chief as well as father of the dead woman, was able to 159 do as he liked, and no one objected to this plan, although in [178] former times such a ceremony neither took place at once, nor in summer. If Samuel had been present, he would have been consulted as a matter of course. It was quite fitting for Jessie to be buried by her father, since she had borne her husband no children, and had been rebought several times. Moreover, Samuel lacked the determination and prestige of his father-in-law. Having settled this main point, Captain Schooner intimated that as Jessie's granddaughter, Dan Nelson's infant, was at the point of death, it would be well to combine the mourning for both at the single ceremony. No mention was made of the amount to be used for the rite. Schooner himself had $200 to expend for the purpose which would have been sufficient, and his attitude was that he neither knew nor cared whether his relatives would assist him. Soon after the other chiefs had left, Reuben Schooner arrived from the logging-camp from which he had been summoned. Father and son discussed arrangements not only for the actual interment, a simple matter, but for the memorial potlatch. It was decided that the dead woman should return as a composite figure consisting

[11] None of these was closely related to the Schooner family.

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of Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, three of her crests of which the masks were available. They agreed that Timothy Snow[48] was the best carpenter available and that he should be commissioned to put them in shape and arrange their use. Reuben wanted to sing a *sisaak* mourning song, to which he had a prerogative derived from his Bella Bella mother, and it was also decided that the band[49] should play. Reuben informed his father that he would contribute $60 towards the expenditure.

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Meanwhile Jessie had been washed by female friends, clad in her best clothing, and laid in her coffin. This was a rough box, contributed by the manager of the cannery and shaped like a white man's coffin. At intervals, women came near and wailed dolorously without heeding others similarly engaged. The news was carried to all the Bella Coola, those men who owned gasoline launches taking the word to the logging-camps without being requested to do so. A Carrier Indian who happened to be returning from the cannery spread the word through the village, where each woman who received the message hurried off to some friend, with whom she began to wail.

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Early on the following morning, Captain Schooner returned home with his wife, Jessie's stepmother. He had been crying and was sad, but seemed willing to talk. He spoke of the proposed memorial potlatch, and expressed the sentiments recorded on vol. I, p. 473. He was grave and dignified, absolutely determined to perform what he considered to be the necessary ritual, oblivious of consequences, and heedless of what he held to be an unjust law. During that summer, Captain Schooner had been a rather heavy drinker, but on this occasion he abstained from wine, and said that he hoped no one would show disrespect to his daughter by appearing in a drunken condition either at the funeral or the subsequent rites. It is

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[48] He was not closely related to the Schooners.

[49] Most of the younger Bella Coola were members of the band, performing white man's music on white man's instruments. Andy Schooner was handicapped, but it is unlikely that this influenced the decision, since the performance of the band was customary at funerals when the writer was in Bella Coola.

[176]

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764 worthy of record that his wishes were scrupulously obeyed.
159 During the morning he was visited by the singers and other chiefs to discuss details of the coming ceremonial.

Meanwhile Samuel King had been summoned from his
764 logging-camp. He wished to show his own grief, and also his
159 sorrow that the union between his family and the Schooners,
584 forged by his marriage to Jessie, should be terminated. No children had been born to cement the bond. He consulted his brother and sister, who agreed with him that a marriage between his daughter, by a former wife, and George Nelson would be desirable. The girl was consulted and raised no objections.
[764 Samuel then addressed Captain Schooner who was favourably
[585] disposed, so it was decided that this ceremony should take place in connection with the memorial potlatch. It would be a real, not a fictitious marriage, as the girl had reached adolescence several years previously.

764 Another visitor to Captain Schooner that morning was
159 Joe Williams. Several years earlier, when he had given a ceremony in honour of two of his children who had died, Captain Schooner had contributed $100 as "A Blanket for George Nelson's Wife." This was really part of the marriage
[583] transaction, although deferred for a number of years after the actual time of the wedding. This sum had been divided as follows: $20 to Joe Williams; $20 to Mrs. Joe Williams; $10 to Mrs. George Nelson; $10 to her brother; $20 to Lame Charlie; and $20 to Mrs. Lame Charlie. Joe consulted the recipients and found that all were willing to repay their indebtedness at this time. Captain Schooner did not ask for it, but Joe was glad of the opportunity to do the proper thing at the right time and thus rise in popular estimation. He and his relatives decided to return $130, a sum which he mentioned to Captain Schooner that morning.

[582] Joe Williams, his wife, and Mrs. George Nelson also decided to take advantage of the gathering to relieve the last named from her husband. The fact that they had been separated for at least a year and that the woman had been living an immoral

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life did not alter the necessity of rebuying her "to make good the path" of her children. For this purpose they decided to give a copper and a sum of money; it was impossible to learn the exact amount. Joe told Captain Schooner of their intention. 764 159 [583]

About noon the body was brought in a canoe from the cannery in its closed coffin and lifted ashore at a convenient spot near the cemetery. Those manning the canoe were young men who happened to be at the cannery, irrespective of whether or not they were related to Jessie. The coffin was laid on a grassy place and Captain Schooner seated himself beside it. People were passing and repassing, some sat down for a time, then moved off to dinner. Occasionally, a woman would sit and wail, the most constant being Reuben's married daughter; Captain Schooner moved around talking to his friends amidst the eerie wailing. About 1.30 P.M. everyone in the village had assembled, including a number of Carrier Indians, anxious to see the sight. Captain Schooner withdrew to his house after asking Bobby Nelsby to summon the chiefs to meet him there. The messenger, who thus acted as herald, went around the gathering whispering to each; in addition to those notified at the cannery the preceding evening he called all the older and most influential Bella Coola, Albert King, Samuel King, Joe Williams, Joshua Moody, Alec Davis, Lame Charlie, Judas, and Nebuchadnezzar. Captain Schooner requested the last named, an important chief, to take charge of the ceremony. At this time Samuel King told Nebuchadnezzar, who informed the others, what had been arranged for his daughter and they agreed that it was good. It was tacitly assumed that George Nelson would be delighted; probably he had been on friendly terms with the girl for some time. Joe Williams also told Nebuchadnezzar the two business propositions that he intended to carry out, the return of the money to Captain Schooner, and the rebuying of his daughter. Nebuchadnezzar informed the people concerned. At this meeting it was decided that various chiefs should speak after the Christian service at the grave. [203] [584] [537]

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764 159 Meanwhile the rest of the population was sitting near the coffin. They wore no special dress or other mark of grief. Samuel King and some of his relatives had brought bundles containing Jessie's clothing, pots, pans, and other personal possessions, which they set down near the coffin. About two [533] o'clock the band gathered and began to play, the favourite [177] selection being "Annie Laurie." This went on for some time after the return of the chiefs from Captain Schooner's house. They had decided that *Tál-ie* Jenny, one of Captain Schooner's distant relatives, should carry the fire in front of the body. When all was ready she lit a bundle of rags, placed it in a pot, and set off for the cemetery, followed by all in a straggling and orderless procession. Some strong young men bore the coffin, for Jessie must have weighed over two hundred pounds; some brought tools for digging the grave; others took the bundles of clothing. There was no fixed allotment of tasks; a man or woman carried anything or nothing according to his or her wish.

The cemetery is situated about fifty yards behind the old village of *ḡmqa-ti*. The heavy timber has all been cut away and second growth has sprung up everywhere except around the newer graves. Captain Schooner had decided that his daughter should be buried near several of her relatives, and it was to this spot that Jenny led the procession. She set the pot down near the site of the grave, and the coffin likewise was placed on the ground nearby. Captain Schooner, Jim Pollard, and a few of the other old men chose the exact situation and a number of the young men began to dig. Jenny, and other women, added pieces of Jessie's clothing to the fire so that a constant small blaze was kept up. As the grave was being dug [533] the band performed at intervals, while the women sat wailing near the fire. Other men and women were seated on the ground or walking around idly near the grave, talking but seldom laughing, while the Carriers were a little farther away. [152] Children were playing around. The grave was dug about five feet deep, in shape corresponding to the coffin, but orientation

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was not carefully observed. Those wishing to dig took turns with the tools; there was no supervision, and no orders given. When the grave was ready, Jim Pollard asked Judas to perform the rite with the spruce bough, which he did with a branch brought by one of the youths. The young men lowered the coffin into the grave while the band continued to play. The missionary then read the Christian burial service, after which he withdrew. Some of the young men brought planks from old houses near-by, sawed them to the size of the grave and laid them over the coffin as a cover. At this juncture Judas, one of the oldest and most conservative of the Bella Coola, rose to speak. First he offered consolation to the mourning relatives by pointing out that all must travel the same road. Then he spoke to Jessie, telling her not to linger, but to travel back the path of her ancestors from generation to generation until she reached the place where they first came down from above, and thence to ascend to *Nasmāt-a*. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of the speech, which was punctuated by calls of "*Ye*-" from the male Bella Coola. The next speaker was Jim Pollard, the most influential Kimsquit and a personal friend, though not a relative, of Captain Schooner's.

764 159 [533] [747] 764 159 537

"Go," he said to the dead woman, "Go to the localities from which came your first forefathers in the beginning of time. There you will find your most valuable ancestral possessions. Go at once, do not linger and lose yourself on the road from generation to generation."

Turning to George Nelson, he went on, "Do not be downhearted, all of us must travel the same road. It was made by no man, it is the work of *Alqantām*."

Looking back once more to the grave, he said, "In *Qumpo-ts* are buried many illustrious relatives of yours. You will be among friends, whereas we are left to lament your departure."

It was impossible to write down the words at the time and the above record is not literally correct, although it expresses the gist of the speech. [126]

Captain Schooner whispered to Robert Hood, another of the

764 159 203 769 556*

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764 older Bella Coola, asking him to announce that he, Schooner,
159 with Dan and George, was going to hold a memorial potlatch
that evening to which all were invited. Robert is not a herald
[203] but undertook this duty owing to the absence of qualified
[769] heralds. Meanwhile the grave had been filled in and the
*[556] people began to drift away as it rose to ground level. Their
attitude throughout had resembled that of white people at a
funeral, and the hilariousness that characterizes so many
[852] Bella Coola gatherings was entirely absent except among the
playing children. By 4.30 P.M. all had left the scene.

769 In view of the large number of guests expected it had been
decided to hold the memorial potlatch, not in one of the old-
*556 fashioned houses, but in the village hall, built according to the
[344] white man's style of architecture and illuminated with swinging
[354] gasoline lamps. This is a large, rectangular building, undivided
by partitions, with a stage at one end and a door at the other.
[533] About 6.30 P.M. the singers, Nebuchadnezzar, Jim Pollard,
Billy Pollard, Alec Davis, Kimsquit Alec, and Robert Hood,
gathered at the hall and seated themselves below the stage.
Billy Pollard had prepared a mourning song during the day,
Kimsquit Alec another, and it was decided to use two others
that were well known to all. The singers sat and practised
these four for some time, while at intervals various Bella Coola
strolled in, listened for a few minutes, then walked out again.
Anyone was allowed to do so, but few availed themselves of
the opportunity. Meanwhile Captain Schooner had brought
264 $10 worth of rice, raisins, and condensed milk which he placed
769 beside a huge iron cauldron outside the front door. Jim To-
*556 Morrow, a Bella Coola of no great intelligence, volunteered to
act as cook and soon had a fire blazing and the food boiling.

About 8.00 P.M. the people began to assemble, bringing their own plates and other utensils. After considerable delay and chatter, the guests took their places in the hall, seating themselves regardless of rank on benches ranged along the two side walls and massed at the rear. By mutual consent a portion of the single row of benches along the left wall was reserved

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for the Carriers and other foreigners. The cook began to ladle the rice into basins provided by Captain Schooner; these were taken by some of the younger men who poured helpings into the dishes of the guests. Spoons had been forgotten, and there was delay until these were provided by slivers split from a block of wood for the purpose. Contrary to ancient usage, no attempt was made to serve food to the guests in order of their rank. Men, women, and children were sitting everywhere, the infants kept moving around and crying continually throughout the performance, but no one seemed to be disturbed thereby. 769 556* 264 [178] [852]

When everyone had eaten, Nebuchadnezzar, who had been sitting facing the other singers, beat on the floor to attract attention and then rose to speak. He asked the help of all to make the ceremony a success, and thus assuage the grief of the bereaved relatives. 769 556*

Joe Williams and his daughter had taken their places on the right-hand side of the hall and had requested Willie Mack, a fluent speaker and influential chief, to assist them in announcing the financial transactions. They spread a blanket on the floor on which the bills were counted, and beside this Willie knelt. Joe gave him a sum of money, which was counted and re-counted; Willie then held it up in the vain hope that it could be seen by everyone in the hall. He announced the amount, also that it was to rebuy (the divorced) Mrs. George Nelson from her late husband, and that it would "make clean the place where she sat." A young man delivered the money to George who added it to the general stock for later distribution. Next a copper was produced, held up, and presented to him for the same purpose. Meanwhile Joe, assisted by his mother and other relatives, had been counting the money which they proposed to give to Captain Schooner in settlement of the previously contracted debt. One hundred and fifty dollars were produced and handed to Willie Mack, who held them up and announced that it was in return for the $100 given by Captain Schooner on a previous occasion to Joe Williams, his wife, his son, his daughter, his mother, and his stepfather. The bills 769 556* 583 [537] 769 556*

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769 were taken by one of the younger men to Captain Schooner,
who accepted them without showing either gratitude or the
*556 reverse; this return was a matter that concerned the Williams
family, not the Schooners. After a short delay, Billy Pollard
moved over to the group and spoke to Joe and Willie Mack,
[583] to whom he gave $10. The latter stated that this sum, which
he held up, and a horse, which was not produced, were being
given to George Nelson to rebuy his (divorced) wife. Billy
is not related to the woman, but had long been friendly and
wished to share in making good the path for her children.
This matter had not been previously broached. The choice of
[537] Willie Mack as announcer was made merely because he was a
fluent speaker and, as a chief, had the necessary self-confidence
to act fittingly.

769 *After these preliminaries, the main rite* was begun. Jim
*556 Pollard, an eloquent chief unrelated to any of the principals,
537 spoke at some length describing the journey taken by Jessie
to visit the scenes of her ancestral myths. He was followed
by a Bella Bella chief who happened to be in Bella Coola at the
time. In the Chinook jargon he first expressed his sympathy
and respect for Captain Schooner because he was carrying
out the fitting rites, then asked leave to speak in Bella Bella
because he found it difficult to express himself in Chinook. He
described the journey which the deceased had taken owing to
her membership in the ancestral family of her mother, a Bella
Bella woman. No one paid much attention to the speeches;
in fact, it was impossible at the back of the hall to hear what
was said owing to the chattering and crying of children.

769 After considerable delay, the singers decided it was time to
*556 sing the first mourning song. It had never before been used,
533 although the composer, Billy Pollard, had prepared it several
years earlier and had merely altered the words during the
morning after consulting Captain Schooner about his ancestral
myths. The singers had learnt text and tune during the re-
hearsal a few hours before. It was impossible to record it in
detail; in outline, it consisted of the words:

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"Child, you are an eagle now. You are like *Xemcua*.[33] He will provide an eagle cloak for you." 769

The theme was continued throughout as if Captain Schooner were speaking and lamenting his daughter. At intervals the phrase was repeated, "My child has fled home." The leader of the singers, Jim Pollard in this case, kept calling out to the audience to cry and sing, and as many of them joined in as had come in earlier to listen to the words. The whole effect was strikingly dignified and impressive. 556* 533

Captain Schooner joined the singers for the second mourning song, since he alone was familiar with the details of the ancestral myth which formed the theme. In former times a bereaved parent would never have been obliged to assist in this way. Kimsquit Alec had composed the tune during the day and Billy Pollard called out the words, line by line, inviting the guests to join in. The theme consisted of instructions to Jessie: [178]

"Go," it ran, "To the mountain whither *Qeil*[34] came. Thence travel to the Skeena where you will assume the form of a whale and be able to spout like one.[35] Go then to the far north where you will enter the copper house within which dwells a copper raven and where the salmon are *taitaimx*."[36]

This song was sung in the manner already described.

The third mourning song was one composed for a *Täl·io* chief, *Smaoxek*, who had lost his daughter during the smallpox epidemic. Its use was justifiable, as *Smáoxek* was Jessie's mother's mother's mother's brother. It had a double significance since the dead woman's mother had allowed it to be used when lamenting the death of a brother of Samuel King, a member of the same ancestral family. Captain Schooner had altered the words to make them applicable to the present situation. The theme was:

[33]One of the first settlers of the earth, an ancestor of Jessie.

[34]Another of her first ancestors.

[35]One of Jessie's first ancestors had landed on the Skeena and there assumed the form and characteristics of a whale.

[36]An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.

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769 "Please stop crying. We have made good your memory.
*556 You are a light to your brother. Go to *Smaoexek* where he
stands among the abalone-shells far to the south.[36] Thence go
533 overland to Rivers Inlet where a *skämtsk* will serve as canoe
for you.[37] You will see the long house where your ancestor
obtained shaman's power."[38]

Meanwhile Reuben Schooner had been out of sight behind the curtain of the stage. After a short interval, he emerged
[292] wearing a blue blanket decorated with mother-of-pearl buttons sewn on in raven design. He was followed by two other influential members of the *sisaok* society, Alexander Clallaman and Nebuchadnezzar, similarly attired. Reuben began to sing in a low, sad, penetrating voice of considerable musical power and, followed by the other two, walked slowly in a sunwise circle around the hall, all the time shaking his right hand, held projecting outwards at right angles from his elbow. The song was in Bella Bella, and even the singer did not fully understand the meaning, and few of the audience had any idea of its significance. When the three had almost completed the first circuit, someone brought Reuben a rattle, which he clutched in his right hand as he continued his way. The reason of the shaking at once became evident; he should have had a rattle through-
[178] out but few of these were left in Bella Coola at the time and it had not been possible to borrow one before beginning his song. Again the three slowly circled the hall, Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar calling out at intervals:

"Listen to the mourning song of the chief."

After the second circuit of the hall, Reuben paused near the singers and spoke to Alec Davis, a *sisaok siki*. The latter
[424] rose and stated how the prerogative of *siki*, including the right to sing, unaccompanied, a mourning song on occasions such as this had been transmitted both to Reuben and his brother Harry from *Ao·sti*, a Bella Bella chief to whom they were

[36] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[37] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[38] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.

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related through their mother. After a little further discussion, 769
Harry took the rattle from his brother and began to sing as he 556*
walked around the hall, followed by Alexander and Nebu- 533
chadnezzar. Harry was less familiar than his brother with
the proper words, but supplied this deficiency by humming. [424]
He was also less at ease, and he lacked the musical ability
which had made his brother's singing so impressive. After a
single circuit, he restored the rattle to Reuben, who continued
to go around the hall as he sang. This time he paused at
intervals, and kept glancing towards the door, his whole atti-
tude betraying that something was interfering with the pre-
viously arranged plans. The purpose of the singing was to
summon the dead woman in the form of her crest, but she did
not appear. In early times those who were not *susack* were
told that the words and music penetrated to the upper regions,
reminding the deceased of the grief of his relatives and per- [178]
suading him to return. This belief had passed away at the
time of the ceremony here described, but the fiction was
continued, and it had been planned that the representation of
the deceased should enter when the song was finished. It later [609]
transpired that the delay was due to a number of white people
who, having gathered at the doorway, made the performer
unwilling to put on his masks and disguise. Reuben continued
to sing half-heartedly, and finally cried out:

"Perhaps I have lost my power, it does not come."

Alec Davis, who had previously left the hall, came rushing in and called out in a loud voice:

"*Qomotla* [Jessie's ancestral name and the one in connection with which she had been made a chief] is coming. She has been to the scenes of her ancestral myths. Her crests have taken her. She comes as Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, bearing her grandchild."[a]

The speaker is a morose, rather surly individual, usually 769
undignified and often drunk, but on this occasion his manner 556*
had changed in a remarkable degree. His eyes were bright, his

[a]Although not yet dead, all hope had been abandoned for the child's recovery.

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769 expression animated, and, except for his dirty European cloth-
*556 ing, he looked and acted like a religious dignitary taking part in an important ceremony, as was indeed the case. While he was speaking there came from without eerie notes of the large, cone-shaped whistles, combined with the yelping scream of an eagle. The effect, even on an audience which knew that these sounds were of human origin, was tremendous. Men and women stiffened in their seats and craned their necks to see what was taking place near the door. A number of the younger
769 men had slipped away during Reuben's singing to help the
*556 masked dancer with his disguise. As some of these assistants
535 continued to blow their whistles, others held up blankets to conceal the necessarily clumsy entrance of the performer through the narrow doorway.

These were dropped after a moment, and out into the centre of the open hall bounded a figure covered with a large white sheet so that only his bare feet were visible. On his head was
[532] an eagle mask, from the upper part of his back projected a blackfish, while the head of a raven peered forth from his chest. The dancer, Timothy Snow, who had been chosen for his skill in such matters, leapt forward in a crouching attitude and took a few short, mincing steps as if he were a gigantic eagle hopping on the ground. At once the older Bella Coola women began to drone out, "*i* . . . . ," and continued as long as the performer remained in the hall. He bent down and turned slowly, sunwise, with arms pressed close to his body and neck contracted, then straightened, and took a few more mincing steps, followed by another turn. In this way he moved in a wide, sunwise circle around the hall, avoiding the middle where there would have been a fire in one of the old-fashioned houses. At intervals he raised himself on his toes and slightly spread his arms beneath the sheet, at the same time looking up so that it appeared as if the eagle were rising to gaze at an object in the distance as a sitting bird does so frequently. This brought the raven mask into plain sight. After a survey of this kind, he bent down and ran a few yards more. Alec Davis and two other masks fol-

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lowed the actor, blowing eagle down over him repeatedly. After one circuit of the hall, the performer passed out through the front door, from the vicinity of which was heard once more the large whistles and the screaming of the eagle, both growing less distinct as if the bird were flying away. 769 556* 535

The wearer of the mask displayed considerable dramatic talent and succeeded in giving a realistic display in spite of the glaring lights which exposed his bare feet and betrayed the human handicraft of the mask in a manner impossible in the native type of house with a single, central fire as the sole illumination. The Carriers had watched the performance with interest, probably tinged with contempt, but to the Bella Coola it was no mere spectacle, it was a religious rite of the highest importance. All the spectators realized that the figure was human, but this seemed inconsequential as they gazed upon the representation of the dead woman in the form of her crests, to which they believed she had been transformed by death. Even the children were silent, and the only sound during the passage was the wailing of a sleepy infant. The eagle crest belonged to Jessie by virtue of membership in the ancestral family descended from her father's first ancestor, traced patrilineally, who had come to earth at *Tcmott* in the form of this bird. The blackfish was a crest acquired through her mother; the raven represented a copper raven belonging to an ancestral myth of the dying grandchild. In former times, carpenters would have worked for weeks preparing an elaborate composite figure, but Captain Schooner wished no delay in the ceremony for fear of police interference, so that it was necessary to use what masks happened to be in existence and to place them in conjunction by means of the crude white sheet. Jessie had not been initiated into the *sisaok* society, but no opposition was raised to the use of *sisaok* whistles both on account of her status as chief, and owing to the influence of her father who, a *numitl* chief, feared no restrictions and heeded no conventions. Besides, both her brothers were influ-

769 556* 769 556* 769 556* 424 178 [575 622]

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769 *556 ential *susaok*. In former times it is certain that objections would have been raised to this breach of ceremonial privilege.

[424] [178] [575] [622] There was a pause for several minutes after the withdrawal of the figure. Then Reuben threw a copper on the floor in the track taken by the actor "to make bone for the dead woman." A number of chiefs went forward to join the singers and discuss whether or not the copper should be redeemed. No one wished to do so, so Captain Schooner said he would have it fastened to a post over Jessie's grave, a proposition to which all agreed.

769 *556 533 After interminable discussion in which Captain Schooner, Nebuchadnezzar, Reuben Schooner, Jim Pollard, and Alec Davis took the principal parts, it was decided to sing the fourth mourning song at this point. There was no reason why this should not have been done at the customary time, after the other three, but wide latitude in detail was allowed in this [178] ceremony; in fact, exact ritual never flourished in Bella Coola and has become increasingly rare in recent years. This song had been composed a number of years previously when Captain Schooner had called in the Bella Bella to a memorial potlatch, and great care had been expended on its composition owing to the skill of the guests in songs of this type. The words, altered to fit the circumstances, were phrased as if George and Dan were lamenting the loss of their mother and other relatives.

"I, we," they ran, "are thinking of our mother, our brothers, our sisters, our mother's brothers, our mother's sisters, our father's brothers, our father's sisters, of all our dead relatives. Please, ye chiefs from abroad, turn your heads, listen to our wail. You revered great ones, let us all cry together. It is we who have called you hither; look upon us."

This song was sung in the manner already described, except that more of the Bella Coola were familiar with the words and tune and could accordingly join in.

769 *556 Meanwhile Captain Schooner, with his sons Reuben and Harry and his grandsons George Nelson and Andy Schooner, had been crouching in a corner of the hall, poring over the money which was to be distributed to validate the ceremony,

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and deciding how to divide it. Harry Schooner is neither dominant nor capable, and Andy acted only as clerk, so the actual decision rested with Captain Schooner, Reuben, and George. Daniel Nelson would normally have played a prominent part, but he was absent owing to the illness of his infant daughter. Samuel King joined the group, bringing with him two coppers, two rifles, and a sum of money, and whispered the purpose of this contribution. 769 556* 769 556*

After the usual pause, George Nelson and Captain Schooner, the latter substituting for the absent Dan Nelson, stood up and walked around the hall carrying three coppers and two rifles. Then they returned to their places. 583

Nebuchadnezzar had been asked by Captain Schooner to act as announcer on account of his good voice and self-confidence. He joined the group in the corner to call out whatever they whispered to him. First he stated that one of the coppers just displayed had been given to George Nelson to rebuy from him his wife, Joe Williams' daughter. He explained that the other two, as well as the rifles, were presents from Samuel King, assisted by his brother, Albert, and his sister, Mrs. Alexander Clallaman, to George Nelson in consequence of the latter's marriage to Samuel King's daughter. This arrangement having been initiated by the relatives of the girl, it was fitting that they should give the first presents. [537]

Captain Schooner had first planned to expend $200 to validate the return of his dead daughter. His wife gave him $20 for the purpose, and when Joe Williams returned $150, he decided to use only $100 of his savings, making $270 in all. To this Reuben added $60, Harry $40, and Dan Nelson $40, increasing the total to $410. George contributed what he had received from Joe Williams for the repurchase of the latter's daughter, as well as what Samuel King had just given him. Samuel added to the pile some money belonging to Jessie,[48] 769 556*

[48]The writer could not learn why this money had not been destroyed with her other possessions. The reason may have been that the Bella Coola knew that, though a potlatch was illegal, the goods of a dead person could be distributed and by doing this at a ceremony they hoped for no interference from the law.

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769 these various amounts making $864 when added to the previous $410.[11]

* 556 It was first decided to give a present to everyone as "Eagle Down Shaken Off by the Dead Woman." Captain Schooner and his assistants thought first of the bottom house in the village, remembered who lived in it, then, after a little more discussion, agreed upon the amount each should receive. This was whispered to Nebuchadnezzar, who held up a bill and called out, for example:

"$10 for so-and-so."

A number of young men had volunteered as messengers and one of them took the money to the designated recipient. After giving to all in the bottom house, they passed to the next above it, and so in succession for the whole village. Absentees were remembered and their presents received by friends or relatives. *Kusiut* names were used because Nebuchadnezzar was unfamiliar with the little-used ancestral designations. Contrary to ancient usage, the amounts varied; some chiefs received as much as $20, a child, $1, or 50 cents. Each recipient accepted his gift without showing whether it was more or less than he had expected. There was not sufficient change, so that five persons were often named together and a $5 bill given to the first mentioned for sharing with the other four, a transaction always carried out honestly. Many of the Carriers [609] were strangers, so they could not be rewarded in accordance with their rank, but $50 was given to one of their chiefs to share as he thought fit.

465 769 * 556 964 Not all the money was distributed in this way. Payments had to be made to those who had assisted at the funeral. Gifts were bestowed upon the women who had washed and dressed the corpse; to the men who had helped to make the coffin; to the canoe-men who had brought the body to Bella Coola; to the pall-bearers; to the grave-diggers; to the woman who had carried the fire; to the singers, especially to those who had

[11] The exact sums contributed by Samuel King and George Nelson could not be learnt.

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composed the tunes used; to the carpenter who had prepared and used the masked figure; to the members of the band, including a payment for their services whenever Dan Nelson's child should die; to a carpenter to erect a fence around the grave; to another to cut the representation of an eagle on a stone to be erected over the grave; to the speakers at the funeral; to the speakers at the rite then taking place; to those who delivered the money; to the youth who, with pencil and paper, assisted in keeping accounts; to the cook, and to all others who had assisted in any manner. In every case the amount was announced, the bill held up, the name of the recipient stated, the reason for his reward, and the money was then taken to him by a messenger. Captain Schooner really decided how much each should receive, he being in the best position to judge what was suitable, and there being no fixed scale of charges to help him. Work paid for in advance, such as the erection of the fence, was carefully carried out. 465 769 556* [764]

A little money had been kept to validate the assumption of ancestral names by several children of the Schooner family. Everyone received a small amount, a child sometimes as trifling a sum as 25 cents. Captain Schooner had virtually chosen who was to receive which designation, although he received advice from all his relatives. Harry Schooner's infant was given the name, *Pätcätcus*, a reference to the manner in which the first beams of the morning sun strike the lofty summit of Mount *Nusqalst*. Reuben's son was called *eltmäls*, a *Snuhle·tl* designation connected with the crash when the first *Sonx̌* fell. The myths in which these names were embodied were not expounded; in fact, they had been almost forgotten, even by Captain Schooner. *Täl·io* Jenny wished to transmit one of her names to Andy Schooner's infant; this was announced in the same way as the others and validated with them by the gifts to all. Jenny had not contributed to the common stock, but some of it was used with the understanding that she would later repay. Nebuchadnezzar announced the 769 556* 553 425

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769 sum being used for each name, and the bills were displayed
*556 before messengers carried them to the recipients.

Finally, Jim Pollard took the opportunity to bestow on
553 Captain Schooner the name, *Snuuikals*. This designation
425 was the property of the donor's ancestral family and should
[614] not have been transmitted without the consent of all its mem-
[622] bers. Jim had probably informed several of them of his intention, but no objections would have been raised if he had overlooked this courtesy, since he is the only *numitl* chief among them, and the only one with determination and prestige. It was not an outright gift, since it was announced that it must be returned to the donor's family on Captain Schooner's death. Jim Pollard acted as his own announcer for this transaction, explaining that he gave the name in gratitude for the help which Captain Schooner had rendered at the death of his, Jim's, father about twenty years before. He promised that at the earliest opportunity he would give presents to validate the transmission.

769 During the lengthy distribution of money, the audience had
*556 shown unmistakable signs of weariness. It was now between 2.00 and 3.00 A.M., and as soon as Jim had finished speaking the guests dispersed quietly, though many of them gathered in groups in one another's houses to discuss what had taken place.

Captain Schooner slept late after the lengthy ceremony, but was proud and contented when interviewed about noon. He felt that what was fitting for his daughter had been performed, and was willing to take the consequences of having broken the law.

768 Little else of note occurred in connection with Jessie's funeral. Samuel King deposited near her grave a sewing-machine which his wife had used for only a short time and Captain Schooner decided to replace this with an older one belonging to his wife. He made this exchange on the afternoon of June 30, when Samuel, in company with a number of women, was burning the rest of Jessie's clothing and possessions. Captain Schooner explained his act by saying:

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"She was my daughter, I have a right to do as I like." 968

Samuel King and the others accepted the exchange as a matter of course and made no comments. Captain Schooner took no part in the burning of his daughter's goods, this being the task of those with whom she had been living, and who accordingly knew which were hers. The fire was kindled by a married daughter of Reuben Schooner, though it could have been done equally well by any woman. On the following morning, July 1, Samuel King went with a friend to the forest and passed four times through a small spruce sapling bent into an arch. This was the last incident in the funeral rites. 783 964

Fate of the Dead

Life of the Dead

Little need be added to the account given in vol. I, chap. 975
II of the fate of those parts of a man which go at death to *Nuxmát-a*. The spirit and the life travel back the path of the deceased's ancestors from generation to generation until they reach the place where his first forefather came to earth and where his cloak, if he had worn one, floated back after his alteration to human form. When the spirit and the life of a descendant reach the spot, they change into a being having the form of the cloak, and so return to *Nuxmát-a*. The spirit and the life of one who is a member of several ancestral families visit the localities where the transformations to human shape of all his ancestors occurred. The Bella Coola believe that these two elements can assume many crest forms, but they do not know whether this entails the simultaneous assumption of many shapes to comprise a composite figure; or whether the spirit and the life, which become a single entity in the case of a member of one ancestral family, become multiple for one who is a member of several. When lamenting a dead person, mention is always made of the various scenes which he will have visited, and the forms he will have assumed. At a memorial potlatch, the deceased may return as a hybrid, or as

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775 one of the several crests which it is believed he has become. The point does not appear important to the Bella Coola, corresponding to their indefinite ideas concerning whether the spirit and the life have become a single being, or several.

Knowledge of the life led in *Nuxmát-a* by the deceased, now in the form of his crest,[48] is most indefinite. In a general way it is felt that the actions of this being are similar to those carried on during life, but in a more advanced degree. A skilled carpenter is a better carpenter in the land above, a chief who has given many potlatches below can give more in *Nuxmát-a*. This [593] belief finds expression in mourning songs which frequently state how *Alqantám* has called a good carpenter to work above, or how a chief has gone to exhibit his generosity in a new sphere. It is doubtful whether this sentiment plays any real part in Bella Coola thought. The spirit and the life of a dead person have gone [illegible] of their actions has been handed down from the distant past and is merely a matter of history. The only time that these 775 two merged elements come to this world is at a memorial pot-769 latch, and formerly the uninitiated undoubtedly believed that 556 they were witnessing such a visit. Though the spectators were shown as a matter of course that the spirit and the life had become bird or animal, emphasis was laid on the fact that they had become the *particular* bird or animal crest of the donor's ancestral family. The effect of the memorial potlatch in former times, as at present, was, therefore, social rather than religious. Besides, the two parts portrayed have never been known 775 to affect a human being; they expect no offerings, grant no assistance, cause no injury, and are accordingly neglected.

In comparison with the above vague beliefs, Bella Coola information concerning ghosts is clear and exact. As already

[993] [48] It is accepted that men were created as human beings, and only assumed bird or animal shapes in order to reach the earth, but there is no corresponding belief that the spirit and the life change back from crest to human form on arrival above. Of course the performance of human activities by zoomorphic creatures presents no difficulties in Bella Coola thought.

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described, at death the shadow, the body, and a portion of the life, descend to the land below where existence is continued as a ghost. These wraiths are usually termed, *Kolkw'hmx*, "The Earthy Ones," though they prefer the name *Asiustinem*, "They Who Have Become Supernatural." They enter into the lives and actions of the Bella Coola in a way entirely different from that of the elements which go aloft at death. 775

The land of ghosts, immediately beneath the earth, is similar to it. There are trees and bushes, stones, grass, everything as on the surface of the world. There is a river, too, but it rises in the west and flows eastward, contrary to the course of the Bella Coola. The sun that shines below is green and unnatural, giving an ethereal light like that of the moon which, indeed, it is sometimes said to be. The seasons are the reverse of those on earth; when mortals are in midsummer, it is wintertime for ghosts. The fluff which human beings see falling from cottonwood trees reaches the land of ghosts as snow. All earthly springs rise from the river in the land below: they never freeze in winter because they come from a warm region, and the coldness of spring water in summer is the result of coming from a land where it is winter. With the exception of the peculiar light, the only essential difference between the land of ghosts and this world is that food is very scarce in the former; berries grow below, and it is supposed that there must be fish and animals there, but it is common knowledge that residents there are always hungry. 772 775 [825]

The life led by ghosts is similar to that of human beings. They occupy the same type of house as before death, dwell in the same kind of villages on the river bank, wear similar clothes, have similar likes and dislikes, require similar food, and even enjoy the same kind of dances. One old Bella Coola even stated that the ghosts are able to summon supernatural beings from *Nusmāt·a* to their *kusiut* rites. It is generally believed that no work is done below, although several of the older people denied this. According to these individuals, a ghost can perform more rapidly and easily whatever tasks he had been 775

775 accustomed to do when alive; but the workmanship is shadowy and unsubstantial, sometimes even transparent. Ghosts do not act like human beings, but usually walk backwards, sometimes even on their heads, and spend much of their time playing a game resembling football with large, globular objects made of some light substance. They communicate with one another both by whistling and in a language which resembles the attempts at speech made by a tongueless person. Some 775 individuals believe that there is a supreme chief in the land of 776 ghosts, *Allăt-iaisl*, sent down like Pluto to preside over the shades. He figures in certain stories describing descents to the lower world; but many Bella Coola know nothing of his existence below, although it furnishes a plausible explanation for his coming by night to molest human beings. Like *Sosiewar* [761] he causes blood to rush forth from the mouth and genitalia of anyone whom he seizes; death follows, and a new victim has been acquired for his kingdom. The more common belief is 775 that the villages of ghosts have chiefs like those of human beings. It is thought, indefinitely, that after a long period of time the ghosts die, and some of them may then return to [845] this world as infants. A child born with dimples in its ears, which are regarded as indications of previous borings for rings, is welcomed as the reincarnation of some unknown ancestor.

At death, the ghost does not immediately appear in the land below, but remains for four days within the back-room of a house corresponding in style to an ordinary Bella Coola [772] dwelling. It is believed that one of these large houses is beneath every village* and that the dead pass straight down through the earth into it. Meanwhile the goods, burnt at the grave during the funeral, as well as those deposited beside it, have fallen through the ground and notified the ghosts that a newcomer has arrived. The wraiths assemble from all directions and fight over the articles, none of which are obtained [768] by the one who owned them during life. On the fourth

*There may be one huge house, extending beneath the world like Nanaimo above; it was impossible to obtain definite information on this point.

1:Mc:Gwealth E-5 (952-1924)948
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day after the funeral, the relatives of the dead person burn the [775]
remainder of his property, which passes through the earth to
the ghost for whom it is intended. Ghost-singers have taken [764]
their places and begin to beat out music, and presently the
recently deceased appears, stepping backwards from the back-
room in time to the beating of sticks. He is at once surrounded
by his fellows, each anxious to learn the latest news of relatives
still alive. This dance is really to welcome the new arrival,
and takes place irrespective of his rank. After it has been
held, it is hopeless to attempt to rouse a dead person, although
that has been done several times during the four days imme-
diately succeeding death.

Only shamans are able to pass down into the land of the [756]
dead, though stories are told of inadvertent visits to it in
relatively recent times. Human beings are prevented from
visiting their dead relatives, but the latter, being supernatural,
can come to the earth at will. They are always dreaded, and
anyone who hears their whistling or their tongueless chatter
covers in his house, and hopes they will pass by. Shamans [756]
can understand their speech and to them the dead explain their
mission. If the relatives of a dead person have failed to burn [764]
all his personal possessions, he returns to earth to inform them,
through a shaman, of the omission. The house is searched for
anything left and it is burnt at once near the grave, though no
one knows how a ghost would punish failure to give him his
property. Thoughtful people, remembering the scarcity of [264]
food in the land below, frequently give presents to their dead
relatives by casting small morsels of food on the side of the [772]
central fire nearest the front door, beneath which is a passage
to the lower regions. The food becomes magnified as it falls
down this, so that even small fragments are sufficient to feed
many hungry ghosts. Since the introduction of metal stoves, [771]
it has become customary to throw food into a fire kindled for
the purpose in the cemetery; the most suitable time is at dusk,
although people are always afraid that spectres may be prowl-
ing around at that hour. If sufficient presents are not given [756]

to a ghost, he informs a shaman of the fact and the latter notifies the relatives of the deceased. If no shaman is convenient, the shade does not hesitate to help himself. Invisible, and armed with a barbed hook, he approaches a person who is eating and pulls away a crumb which falls to the earth. Should the eater stoop to pick this up, the ghost, robbed of his booty, beats the offender with his hook, causing toothache or sometimes a sharp pain in the head or stomach. Other ailments are caused by the ghosts hitting with invisible stones those who have offended them. Consequently, no one picks up a crumb which has fallen, since it is impossible to know whether it has been an accident or a seizure. Another indication of a ghost's hunger is loss of a tooth. The loser should throw it on a fire with an invitation to the dead to accept his offering.

The barrier between ghosts and human beings is considered to be little more than a wall of smoke, just too dense for ordinary eyes to penetrate. In early times intercommunication between the denizens of the two worlds was so easy that a dying mother was once allowed to send her dead child on earth. Unfortunately, the woman's mother one day insisted on holding her grandchild, unaware that he was a ghost. Shocked at his appearance, the old woman dropped the child, much to the anger of the dead people.* Ever since that time it has been impossible for human beings to see and talk with their deceased kinsmen. Like so many Bella Coola stories, it is doubtful whether this one is regarded as more than an item of ancient history; it is considered to be a fact, but it is not one that enters into the daily thoughts of the people.

Ghosts frequently come to their old homes at night where dogs can see them. If one of these animals begins to bark and gazes fixedly at a spot where nothing is to be seen, it is because a wraith is standing there and the dog's owner hopes that it will remain invisible. It is true that some individuals have received shamanistic power from a ghost, but more often a visitation is disastrous and to be avoided. A dead person who

*This story is recorded in detail here (I, p. 97).

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tries to speak to living relatives, but his whistling language is 775
unintelligible and frightens the hearer. Ghosts dislike urine, [789]
and the only means known to keep them away from a house is
to sprinkle this liquid outside the door, a common Bella Coola
custom. There is no actual danger in hearing a ghost, and 761
little even in seeing one, provided the observer does not relate 775
his experience, but should he try to do so, something happens
to his mouth as if an invisible hand had been clamped over it 753
to prevent his words issuing forth. He can neither eat nor
drink and soon dies.* It is possible that other beings are
responsible for this same affection, but as no sufferer has ever
been able to explain the cause of his ailment, no one knows.
The most dangerous ghost is that of a person who, buried [764]
without a nose-ring, is unable to disintegrate into his elements.
The sight of such an apparition causes almost immediate death
through contraction and closing of the mouth.

An unpleasant habit of ghosts is the throwing of stones at 776
the living. This is done partly from a love of mischief, and
partly to remind their relatives of their needs. An old Kitsa-
quit man described how, when encamped on King Island, he
had almost been struck by a stone which seemed to fall from
a tree. He realized that it must have been thrown by a ghost, [753]
and his opinion was confirmed when he found he could not [755]
speak. He instantly built a fire and cast on it both food and
clothing as offerings to the dead, which had the effect of loosen-
ing his mouth. Pondering on the reason, he remembered that
one of his relatives had died not far away, and that he had
failed to give him any crumbs for a long time. In this case,
as in many others, the stone was visible, though the thrower
remained invisible.

Even near approach to ghosts is sometimes dangerous. The
same man related how, when hunting, he heard what he thought
was the note of a water ouzel, and passed by heedlessly. In a
few minutes he thought he heard the cackling of geese, but the
sound, instead of continuing to come from a pond a few hun-

*The disease attributed to the actions of ghosts may be lock-jaw. [764]

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[175] dred yards away, rapidly drew near the hunter along the trail. He raised his musket and stepped aside, but though the sound went past him down the path, he could see nothing. Terrified, he realized that he had been near two ghosts, and rushed back to the village. A shaman was called who informed him that [154] he had met his dead father's sister and another relative, both of whom were hungry. The hunter, too weak from fright to help himself, watched the shaman light a fire and throw on it [155] a considerable amount of food and goods. Finally, he ripped the hunter's shirt from his back and threw it into the flames. Consequently, no harm resulted from this experience.

Ghosts, like all other supernatural beings, can, of course, control their powers so that their appearance does not injure a beholder. A few years before 1911 a certain *Sposlin i*, whose ancestral name was *Le-qme i*, was encamped at *Sachmamtz* on the Labouchere Channel side of King Island. At dusk a woman came to his fire and proceeded to warm her cape. He recognized from her green face that she must be a ghost and boldly asked her what she wanted.

"I have been searching for mussels," she replied, "but without success."

In an instant she vanished and *Sposlin i* experienced neither good nor evil from this apparition. The Bella Coola say that this being may not have been a ghost as he had thought, [176] but was perhaps one of the under-sea dwellers who have somewhat the same appearance.

Since ghosts, like other supernatural beings, are believed to possess both wisdom and power, it might be thought that they would be invoked frequently. Instead, death has altered their character to such an extent that they are avoided and kept at a distance. The only time that an appeal is made to [177] a ghost is when a young person dies without apparent reason [178] and the survivors wish to learn the cause. The body is buried [179] with a long cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and [180] undyed cedar-bark projecting from its mouth and stretching to the surface. The relative desiring information summons to his house several shamans whose powers have been obtained

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from ghosts, and for four days feeds them lavishly. On the fifth morning they proceed to the grave, accompanied by kinsmen of the deceased, and pound on the ground with sticks, asking the dead person whether or not he had been murdered, and if so, the name of the murderer. It is said that in former times the voice of the deceased could always be plainly heard giving the desired information. This ceremony has not been carried out for many years, and exact details are not known by any of the living Bella Coola. It seems clear that ventriloquism must have been employed, requiring active deception on the part of the shamans. 756 775 787 [198]

It was difficult to ascertain to what extent shamans believed in their own powers to understand the speech of ghosts. There is no doubt that the Bella Coola are easily influenced by suggestion, and if an individual is told that he has received help from a ghost, it is not difficult for him to believe that such has been the case. Further, his fellows are convinced of his powers, a circumstance which does not fail to affect him. It may be stated definitely that in many cases shamans have some confidence in their own powers, although they do not hesitate to use deception to increase their prestige. This point will be considered in greater detail in the following chapter.

ACCOUNTS OF EXPERIENCES WITH GHOSTS

Much of the information concerning ghosts is contained in stories which have been handed down for generations and which are regarded as historical records. Some of these must be deferred to the chapters on folk-lore and shamanism, but the following are sufficient to explain the source of many Bella Coola beliefs on this subject.* 539 775

A Rescue from Ghosts

Long, long ago, there lived a little girl who used to cry incessantly. One evening when she was disturbing the whole household by weeping, her father said angrily to her:

*These stories have been included at this point as specific illustrations of the type of legend upon which generalized beliefs depend.

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"Keep quiet or the ghosts will come and carry you off."

Even this threat did not silence her; later on, all her companions went to bed, leaving her alone, crying, in the central part of the house. After a time her father noticed the child's sobs had grown fainter, though she seemed to be weeping in the same manner as before. He went out to investigate, found her place vacant, and, listening intently, realized that the sound came from below; the ghosts had come for her. He roused the household and called in all the men of the village to dig for the girl with sharpened spruce branches. Her crying was still audible and the diggers were directed by it; sometimes they seemed to be on the point of overtaking her, but always her ghost-captor eluded his pursuers by moving sideways through the ground instead of continuing his direct descent. At length the men gave up their task in despair, leaving the mourning father and mother to lament the former's rash remark which had brought the ghosts.

The parents of the girl consulted all the village shamans, one of whom formulated a scheme to rescue the victim. He told her relatives to remove alternate boards from the roof of the house, and to place on each remaining one a vessel filled with urine. He stationed a helper beside each vessel, ready to upset it when he gave the signal, and requested everyone else to leave the house. When these arrangements had been carried out, the shaman went alone to the cemetery, passed through the earth to the land of ghosts, and invited the wraiths to assemble in the house for a feast. They gladly accepted, and the hidden assistants watched them enter, one or two at a time, as if they had been human beings bidden to a ceremony. At last all had arrived except the principal chief, who was to sit in the central seat behind the fire. The feast could not proceed without him, so the ghosts sent a special messenger down below to summon him. It was this chief who had stolen the child, and the excitement of the watchers became intense as he entered, carrying concealed beneath his cloak the girl whose cries betrayed her presence to the hidden relatives. When all had taken their places, the shaman gave the previously arranged signal and his accomplices tipped the urine over the beings below. Wild confusion followed. The ghosts dashed to and fro, showing their anger and resentment by furious whistling and incoherent gurgling. At last they rushed from the house, abandoning the child. They could still be heard in the vicinity of the village, so the shaman directed the people to scatter urine all around the houses, which drove away the unwelcome visitors. The use of this deterrent was first learnt on this occasion.

The parents of the stolen child were overjoyed at her rescue, but it was soon apparent that their daughter had changed. She would not eat;

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in fact, she acted as if she could not see food placed before her. The next morning she rose early and was seen to eat the ashes of fish that had been burnt as torches; this proved conclusively that she was really dead. Thenceforth, instead of being given food in the usual way, her meals were thrown into the fire, from the ashes of which she received her nourishment. Ever since that time, the Bella Coola have recognized that food for the dead must be thrown on a fire.

An Attempt to Rescue a Dead Wife

Two or three hundred years after the first settlement of the earth, a brave Kimsquit man, *Nu·skakluxmy*, set out with his three sons to hunt seals. His wife was in an advanced state of pregnancy at the time, but her delivery was not expected for several weeks and her husband had no hesitation in leaving her. The hunters were absent for three full days and nights, and returned home soon after dusk on the fourth day, having had great success. When they landed at the beach they were surprised to see no lights in any of the houses except their own. Leaving two of his sons in the canoe, *Nu·skakluxmy* and the other lad cautiously approached the dwelling. As they drew near, they realized that the light which shone forth was green and unearthly, and that the smoke, too, was greenish instead of white. Looking through the door, *Nu·skakluxmy* saw his wife standing with bowed head dangling an infant in a cradle suspended from a cord. This is a common method of soothing a child, but *Nu·skakluxmy* was horrified to see that the cradle had been fastened to the cord upside down so that the infant was hanging head downwards, with no visible fastening to prevent it from falling to the floor.

"Look out! The child will fall and be killed," *Nu·skakluxmy* called to his wife, but she did not seem to hear him.

The husband entered the house and touched her, but she crumbled to bones as he did so. The watching son cried out in fear and horror. *Nu·skakluxmy* hastily left the house and the two returned to the canoe, after ascertaining that no living people were in the village.

The four hunters slept that night in their canoe, and next morning *Nu·skakluxmy* prowled around until he found the villagers hiding in the forest not far away. They explained that, two days after his departure, his wife had given birth to a child, but the after-birth had not come away and she had died. It was the first time that this had ever happened and the people had fled from the village in fear.

Nu·skakluxmy knew that the ghosts would dance to welcome his wife on the fourth day after her death, and he determined to attempt to rescue her at that time. On the evening of the second day, the fourth after her death, he and his three sons lurked in the vicinity of their house. Pre-

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sently they heard the sound of drums, which they knew must herald the approach of ghosts, so they hid themselves on the roof of their own house in such positions that they could peer down within. In some unknown way the four had been granted the power to see ghosts, for they observed the entry of what looked like ordinary human beings, though in reality they were wraiths. These took their places like spectators at a ceremony, while several with beating sticks seated themselves behind the fire as singers. As they struck their batons on the floor, one of the ghosts began to dance in time to the music, and *Nu-xlakhlaxmy*'s wife came to life and watched. Two ghosts who were directing the ceremony called out, "*i* . . . . *a* . . . . *i* . . . . *a* . . . ," which are words in the language of the dead and serve to invite some supernatural being from above to one of their ceremonies. In answer to the call, there came a thump on the roof, marking the descent of the visitor. This gave the dead woman power to move and she began to dance around the fire. She had completed one circuit and was on her second when one of the ghosts called out:

"Take care! I feel as if living people were watching us."

Some of the ghosts at once left the house and searched the bushes near it.

"No," they said on their return, "No one is near."

Nu-xlakhlaxmy's wife continued her dance, and as she was circling the fire for the third time, her husband whispered to his sons:

"As she goes round the fourth time we must jump down, catch her, and fly to our canoe."

When the woman was midway in her fourth circuit, the four leapt into the house and *Nu-xlakhlaxmy* clutched his wife in his arms, but she crumbled to bones at his touch and the ghosts rushed away, whistling angrily, leaving the four alone, *Nu-xlakhlaxmy* holding the skeleton of his wife. Then they went and joined the other inhabitants of the village in their hiding-place. Everyone was anxious to hear the outcome of the attempt, though some did not believe the story. *Nu-xlakhlaxmy* made no further effort to rescue his wife, knowing that it would be hopeless after the fourth day when the ghosts had welcomed her as one of themselves.

An Inadvertent Visit to the Land of Ghosts

A few years after the first settlement of the earth, four Kimsquit men went into the mountains to hunt goats. The first night of their absence, before they had killed any goats, they lay down to sleep in a cave. Nothing disturbed their rest, but when they awoke in the morning they were amazed to find themselves in a strange country. They were near a wooded valley through which flowed a river resembling the Dean, but instead of

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the sun, there was shining in the sky a sphere that gave forth a green, sickly light. Unknown to them, the cave in which they had been sleeping had turned over on itself and projected them into the land of ghosts. The four brothers descended into the valley and walked up the bank of the river until they saw a large village on the other bank. It seemed to contain countless inhabitants who were amusing themselves by rolling to and fro with their feet a large, round object like a football. This led the four travellers to think they must be in the land of ghosts, though they were puzzled to know how they had reached it. They called across to the players, but though the river was narrow and though they shouted loudly and repeatedly, they received no answer. The reason for this, as they later discovered, was that the language of ghosts differs from that of human beings, and neither can hear the speech of the other. After a considerable interval, the third brother, who was sleepy, happened to yawn noisily; all the ghosts heard this sound and stopped their play to see whence it had come. They saw the four at once and called to them that they would send a canoe to bring them across the river. Two of the ghosts manned a large, skin canoe and poked it across, but as the bow touched the bank where they were standing, the oldest brother pointed out to his fellows that it was transparent. They all looked down into it and could see sticks and stones on the bottom of the river through the floor of the craft. They were somewhat nervous about trusting themselves in such a canoe, but the oldest shut his eyes and jumped aboard without mishap, followed by the other three. They soon landed on the beach in front of the village, but before any one of the four could set foot on the ground the ghosts who had come crowding around picked them up in their arms. Each was passed by his holder to another further inland, and in this way they were gently thrown from hand to hand until deposited within the house of the chief, without using their feet and without a single ghost having had to move from the spot where he had been standing.

The four human beings found themselves in a large house crowded with what seemed to be people, but what they knew must be ghosts. At that distant period, men were wiser than they are today, and the brothers realized that the chief must be *Ałtsi-ła-ial* himself. Ghost-heralds brought food to the four strangers, but they concealed it beneath their capes instead of eating it, remembering what they had heard at Kimsquit that a person who eats the food of the dead can never leave their home. The chief was kind to them and somewhat facetiously told them that they would come to harm if they stayed in a country where the people played so much as they did in his. He added that they could return to earth by the same route by which they had come, and advised them to

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539 775 hurry back. After as short a visit as they thought polite, they asked to be ferried back across the river and retraced their steps to the cave where they had slept the previous night. It was dusk by this time and they lay down to sleep. During the night the cave rotated on itself once more, and in the morning they were delighted to find themselves in the mountains above the Dean River.

This was the first time that anyone had penetrated to the land of ghosts, and the friends of the four brothers were intensely interested in the account of their experiences. It was October at the time, but they explained that it was late winter in the land below. No one knows why or how the four brothers had received the power to pass into the land of ghosts, although it is assumed that Aqunsiw must have granted them the boon.

A Kitlobe Story of a Descent to the Land of Ghosts

179 539 775 The following story was related by an elderly man who had heard it about ten years previously from three Christian Kitlobe who had been his fellow-passengers on a steamship between Vancouver and Bella Coola. It is not a Bella Coola story, although it has been circulated among members of the tribe as an interesting tale. The facts recorded in it do not agree entirely with their beliefs, but that is a matter of no [829] consequence to the Bella Coola who, having their own knowledge, consider it quite natural that the other tribes should have other concepts.

539 775 About one year before the story was told, a Kitlobe woman had died, leaving her husband and one grown-up daughter to mourn her. The husband refused to be comforted, and used to fall into a paroxysm of weeping whenever he saw any of his wife's clothing or goods. About a week after her funeral he took her clothing to the cemetery intending to burn it, but instead sat down on the ground to weep. Presently he noticed a passage beside him, down which he crawled until he came to a flat, rich land more prosperous than this world, where he wandered along aimlessly till he heard the sound of singing and hid himself behind a clump of bushes. There seemed to be five or six groups of people in different sections of the country, and the song was taken up in succession by each group. When he had remained in his hiding-place for some time, two people in new, white clothes passed so close to him that he could hear the rustling of their garments. He recognized one of the

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passers-by as his wife, and the other as a fellow-villager who had died some time previously. Somewhat perturbed at finding his wife apparently on friendly terms with a male ghost, the husband decided to return home and ponder before taking any rash steps. 539 775

He crawled back along the passage to the cemetery and at once burnt his wife's clothing. When he reached home his daughter, who had been worried at his long absence, saw that her father had been weeping and tried to console him. He told her rather brusquely not to interrupt; and, while eating, recounted what he had seen that day, stating his determination to return in the morning and bring back his dead wife. His daughter begged him not to do so, reminding him that her mother had died of her own volition and that it would be dangerous to bring her back to earth; but the grieving father paid no attention to her appeal.

Next morning the man went again to the cemetery, where he found the passage still open. He went down, hid in the same thicket, and heard the same singing taken up by group after group. As on the previous day, after a considerable period of waiting, his wife passed by in company with the same male ghost. The husband rushed forth, seized her and shoved away her companion, who ran off discomfited. The woman offered no resistance, and her husband told her that he was going to take her back home again. The two returned to the passage, the man guided his dead wife through it to the cemetery, and thence they set out for their house.

Meanwhile the daughter, dreading what might transpire, had remained within. As her father opened the door, she cowered at the side of the house and saw that his hand was held out as if he were leading someone, though only one figure was visible to her. Her fear increased when she heard lighter footsteps accompanying his, and the rustling of clothing. She heard her father tell his wife, whom he addressed by name, that he would leave her in the main part of the house for a moment while he arranged the bedroom; he set about this, but though the daughter eagerly looked for her mother, she was invisible. When the father returned, he led his wife to the bedroom, but to the daughter it seemed as if he had put out his arm to guide nothing more tangible than air. The frightened girl could hear her father asking questions and giving answers as if in conversation, but her mother's voice was inaudible. The daughter heard her father ask his wife how she liked the land below and, judging from his later comments, concluded that she had said it was preferable to the land of the living except for the scarcity of food. The mother must have added that for this reason ghosts visit the houses of

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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539 human beings, knock crumbs to the ground with minute hooks, and
775 punish by beating with the same barbs anyone who offends them by picking up such morsels. The girl heard her father say that in future he would be more careful to throw fragments of food on the fire, since he now knew that these were not only desired by the dead, but were necessary to them. Her mother must have asked whether they had eaten all the dried salmon, for her father answered:

"No. We have been so grief-stricken at your death that we have eaten hardly anything."

After a pause the girl heard her father say "All right," and judged that her mother had said she would go to get some. In a moment the door opened, though no one appeared, and the thoroughly awed girl heard the sound of light footsteps. She saw the ropes with which the box was bound unloosened without visible agent, and the salmon piled in a neat heap on the floor, then the bundle seemed to rise of its own accord and pass out through the front-door without human aid. After an interval the father appeared and asked his daughter where her mother had gone. The frightened girl told what she had seen, and both were amazed and puzzled. At last it dawned on the grieving husband that his wife must have stolen the food for the benefit of her friends below and had returned to her new home.

The husband, now twice bereaved, was filled with woe at this second loss, which was unexpected as his wife had said nothing of her intention of leaving. After deliberating for several days, he descended again to the land of ghosts, heedless of his daughter's appeals. He concealed himself in the same spot as before, and soon heard singing; but this time the words and tune were different and he listened intently. To his horror, the theme was of the ingenuity of a dead woman who had revisited her home, deceived her husband, and brought away a supply of dried salmon for the use of the ghosts. He recognized that the song must refer to his own wife and, grieved and humiliated, he returned home forthwith. He warned his daughter to say nothing of what had occurred and she obeyed his instructions, not wishing their shame to become known. A few days later, however, a number of friends gathered to console the husband; he became intoxicated, told the guests his adventures, and taught them the songs used by the dead.

A Carrier Story of an Ascent to the Land of the Dead

177 The following, like the last, is not a Bella Coola story. It
539 is one known to a number of Kitsaquit and deserves inclusion

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among Bella Coola tales if only for the reason that stories of foreign origin, when told sufficiently often, tend to be considered indigenous and the facts recorded in them accepted and incorporated into Bella Coola belief. This factor is undoubtedly responsible for many conflicting elements in their theology. The following story has every indication of Christian influence but is not less interesting on that account, as illustrating the process of assimilating new ideas into mythology.

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About 1870, *Mâmaiyu*,[a] a *Xwaiś* Indian from Ootsa Lake, and his brother were trapping beaver in one of the lakes of the interior. They were both good hunters and every morning killed at least one of the animals. *Mâmaiyu* was a strong, apparently healthy man, but one morning he fell dead. His grief-stricken brother was puzzled to know what to do with the body. It was winter, and the heavy snow and frozen earth made interment impossible, while lack of fire-wood made cremation out of the question, so he merely tied up the corpse to await better weather. Meanwhile *Mâmaiyu* had gone aloft, where he saw a huge house containing many rooms. He went to the first of these, where a man was sitting with a huge book before him.

"What do you want?" asked the man.

Mâmaiyu did not answer and his questioner continued:

"Your name is not here. Why did you come?"

This happened in one room after another, for *Mâmaiyu* tried them all. Finally, at the end of the house, he came to the seat of the chief, who said to him:

"You have made a mistake. The time for you has not yet come. If you want to stay, you can do so by drinking this."

He showed *Mâmaiyu* a glass containing a green liquid.

"If not," continued the chief, "you must drink this," and he showed him another glass filled with a white liquid.

Throughout this speech *Mâmaiyu* had heard a strange rumbling and wondered what could be its cause. Happening to glance out through a window at the rear of the house, he saw a huge, metal ball, constantly revolving and giving forth the rumbling sound as it did so. From within

[a] This story was related by Jim Pollard, an elderly Kimsquit, who stated that as a young man he had known *Mâmaiyu*, who was about fifty years older than he. This tale is interesting as showing the manner in which a miraculous account can become accepted as fact within a short space of time. *Mâmaiyu* must have been a man of imaginative temperament who was convinced that he had experienced incidents told to him by some white man.

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came wailing voices and at intervals an agonized face appeared at one of the many small openings in the surface of the sphere. The supreme being, for the chief was none other, told him that those within the ball were evil persons, those who had committed theft or murder during life. *Mâmaiyu*, though innocent of these crimes, decided that he would be safer on earth and asked for the glass with the white liquid, which he hastily drained. The supreme deity inquired what present he would like as token of the visit, and he requested a beaver-axe, that is, one with a crooked handle such as beaver use.*

At the moment when *Mâmaiyu* drank the white liquid, his brother saw his body move very slightly. He hastily warmed some mountain goat grease and with this rubbed his face and mouth. At first he was unable to speak, owing to his muscles having become rigid from the cold, but they loosened gradually so that he was able to recount his experiences. *Mâmaiyu's* axe, being of supernatural origin, was invisible to all human beings, but this did not affect its potency, and from that time onwards the owner could catch beaver as easily as other men could catch salmon.

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The information contained in this story does not correspond at all with Bella Coola beliefs concerning the fate of the dead. They tell it, and assume that such experiences are normal for dead *Xqais*, though unknown to their own people.

[825]

*The Bella Coola know that beaver must have axes of this kind to accomplish their work, although white people, deceived by the invisibility of them, believe the animals use their teeth. *Mâmaiyu* received an axe of this type.

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CHAPTER IX

RELATIONS WITH THE SUPERNATURAL

Introductory—Sterile Apparitions—Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate—Supernatural Good Luck—Shamanism—Direct Revelation from the Supreme God—Power Localized in Certain Spots—Dreams

Introductory

THE aspects of Bella Coola life thus far described have been principally of a nature which might be experienced by any member of the community. On the other hand, contact with supernatural beings is a privilege granted to individuals without respect to rank; even arduous appeal cannot assure it. The few to whom signal favours are granted acquire a position of importance totally different from that of chiefs. The Bella Coola are firmly convinced that supernatural beings abound in the mountains and forests of British Columbia, and that every activity of human life is governed by them. Not only do these creatures include monsters of the imagination, but birds, animals, and fish; even the activities of the human mind are considered to be beyond the scope of normal life. Ancient stories describing the actions of strange creatures and conversations between man and animals are accepted as truthful accounts, so that it seems obvious to the Bella Coola that his ancestors were more powerful than he is today. Never considering the possibility of errors in his stories, he accepts the alternative hypothesis that mankind has sadly degenerated from the golden age. Nevertheless, he assumes that the beings have not altered, and consequently hopes to encounter them on every occasion. Moreover, this firm background of belief makes it easy for him to recognize supernatural influence in events which a white man would consider to be natural. It is impossible to over-emphasize this concept.

787 * [554] 787 * 796 [825] [538] 981

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* 787 Dances portraying supernatural beings, carried out with [535] full vigour until a few years ago, further fostered belief in [781] them among participants and uninitiated alike. Consequently, many of the young and middle-aged men claim to have seen visions similar to those of their elders. The incident already described (I, p. 30) of the stump which was thought to be a grizzly bear is a case in point. On another occasion a young man mentioned casually that a few evenings before he had seen a headless man walking along the road and that, wishing to view the monstrosity more clearly, he had tried unsuccessfully to strike a match. The reason was obvious to him; the power of the supernatural visitor prevented the match from lighting. The man, who was undoubtedly convinced of the apparition, may have seen something, perhaps a whorl of fog, somewhat resembling a headless body. A white man would have con- [154] sidered such a sight impossible and absurd, whereas the Bella Coola felt little surprise at the appearance of such a creature and promptly accepted it for what it seemed to be.

[828] Mental activities as well as optical illusions are likewise ascribed to supernatural agency. These include profound agitations of the mind, and even what a white man would consider a passing thought. For instance, one morning when about to start work, a certain man stated that he would have good fortune during the day, that a dream had foretold it. At the time he was moving to a new house and needed help to shift a heavy stove. During the course of the day a number of white men happened to pass by and stopped to speak to him; the stove was mentioned, they offered to move it for him, and did so easily and quickly.

"There you are," said the man, "I told you I was going to have good fortune today."

On another occasion the same man claimed to have felt that misfortune had happened to him and soon learnt that one of his sons had been arrested on a charge of drunkenness and disorderly conduct. The man affirmed that he had this premonition before being aware of its cause.

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The explanation of these manifestations of the supernormal, for such they are considered to be, lies in the conviction that every activity of the mind is due to supernatural causation, the functioning of the spirit. In the round of daily life there are always good and bad incidents; the person who wakes expecting to meet one or other before nightfall recognizes the fulfilment of his premonition in some small occurrence, and narrates it to his fellows as proof of what he had told them in the morning. In case of some major event, such as death or disaster, the Bella Coola assume that some previous indication must have been given. Looking back after the event, a man easily persuades himself that he "felt" a warning, and is more than ever convinced that his spirit, the cause of his thoughts, has supernatural ability.

987 * 811 [828] [774] [774]

Conviction in the near presence of the supernatural has had somewhat surprising results with regard to Christian Bella Coola. A man converted in middle life carries all the fervour and realism of the old religion with him to the new, and feels thoroughly familiar with the atmosphere of the Old Testament. Visitations, such as therein described, are similar to those experienced by his fathers and himself, and he scorns the white man who questions their literal accuracy. He continues to hear the voices of supernatural beings, and to interpret mental pictures as visions, but he ascribes them to the beings of the white man's religion. The following is a rather striking illustration of this point:

177 987 * 781 797 [828]

A number of years ago a devout Christian, who may be designated X, was a patient in the hospital at Bella Bella. In the same ward was a young Bella Bella lad whose sickness refused to yield to treatment. X, becoming interested in his neighbour, began to ponder about his condition, until presently he felt convinced that the sufferer would be better by seven o'clock the following morning, and told him so. A marked improvement was noticeable by the time predicted, but the white doctor foolishly (according to X) gave his patient some

159 177 787 * 781 797

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159 more medicine and he became worse. The same thing happened
177 on the following day. The sick boy grew steadily worse until,
* 787 nine days later, he felt that he was dying and asked X to help
781 him.

797 "No," replied X, "I am no doctor. But you will be all right. I see Holy Ghost, Holy Spirit, Baptism, and Believe-it [Faith?] by your bed. Repent and you will be saved."

X added that the Bella Bella saw and repented before his death so that he has undoubtedly been saved.

X is a friend of the writer's and a man with whom he worked for a number of months and whom he feels that he knows intimately. He is almost invariably truthful, and any falsehoods he uses are clumsy and easily detected. In this case there is no doubt but that he believes he saw these four figures as four white human beings. He was in an emotional condition at the time, hoping and expecting to see something of the kind. In earlier days he would have seen supernatural beings of the Bella Coola pantheon with equal conviction. On quite another occasion, when he was preaching, the same man felt what seemed to be a heavy drop of water fall on his head. He was in the open at the time and, looking up, was surprised to find nothing from which it could have fallen. He realized that it must have been power which had come to him, and forthwith he began to preach as he had never preached before. He expected supernatural assistance, and the belief that it had been granted to him undoubtedly strengthened his efforts.

* 787 All Bella Coola are not equally liable to visions and mental
781 visitations. Some, such as X, are constantly experiencing
159 them, whereas others of more stolid disposition do not feel the presence of the supernatural to the same extent. None the less, beings of the other world are constantly around them and, before the introduction of Christianity, it is unlikely that any individual passed through life without coming in contact with some manifestation of the supernatural. Consequently, stories
* 787 descriptive of this are intelligible to the Bella Coola, however

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though they may be to the white man. It is hoped that the preceding illustrations, drawn from recent times, will explain the mental attitude of the Bella Coola better than incidents from folk-lore of the distant past. 787

Disregarding thoughts which, since they are caused by the spiritual elements of the human body, are ever present, relations with the supernatural may be divided into the following categories: [828] [774]

(1) Appearance of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. Strictly speaking, every fleeting sight of a supernatural being belongs to this category, but it will be convenient to describe only experiences of a peculiar kind, such as the Bella Coola call *qun-ahálawa(n)talaic*. Usually manifestations of the supernatural have certain effects; consequently, there are relatively few incidents of this kind recorded.

(2) Supernatural aid vouchsafed to a man or a woman in distress. There are many tales illustrating this, which are told and retold to the children. In most cases the assistance is given to one who has undeservedly, according to Bella Coola concepts, fallen into misfortune.

(3) Supernatural good luck. This may be obtained by anyone, and consists of the acquisition of a supernatural object to attract, not only fish and animals, as if it were a potent bait, but money and goods as well. [771] [224] [226]

(4) Acquisition of shamanistic power, with or without the ability to cure the sick. This may be received from one of two sources: [756]

(a) *Tlin-kpilla-a* or some other supernatural being.

(b) Ghosts, which are likewise supernatural. [775]

(5) Obtaining prophetic powers direct from the supreme god. There are few instances of this, and none that is ascribed to a remote period. It is possible that all examples of this kind can be attributed to indirect Christian influence. [777]

(6) Obtaining power from a supernatural being localized in a particular spot. This usually takes the form of succour when [756]

sick, and gives the person securing it ability to treat the same disease in others.

(7) Dreams, especially those in which supernatural apparitions visit the sleeper.

Sterile Apparitions

The most common sterile apparitions are those of a stone giving birth to a smaller stone, a tree falling almost to earth, then righting itself, or the sight of some enormous monster. Such an experience may come to anyone, and no one can tell what it may portend. The following examples will illustrate this kind of phenomenon. In accordance with Bella Coola usage, these are recorded as if actual facts.

Between 1890 and 1900 a number of men were paddling home to Bella Coola one fine October day when, as they were passing beneath some precipitous rocks to the west of Kwatna Inlet, they saw a giant, as big as a medium-sized tree, come leaping down into the sea. They could not see his face, which was turned in the opposite direction, but as he sprang they noticed that his hands were shaking like a dancer's. He struck the water with a tremendous splash, hurling the spray a distance of a hundred yards, and nearly swamping the canoe. They realized that the being must be a *snaiy*, since it is well known that these creatures migrate to the mountain lakes for the summer and return to the ocean in the autumn.

Since there is a tendency for supernatural apparitions to appear in close succession, the paddlers were little surprised next day, as they passed near some flat rocks where seals were wont to sun themselves, to see a number of these animals come hurtling down from among the trees on the slope of a near-by mountain. The last to appear was as big as a grizzly bear. Undoubtedly the creatures were supernatural beasts that had assumed the form of seals. It had been a fine, clear day, but as soon as they had taken to the water such a severe storm arose that the canoe was almost engulfed.

[i.e., appearances of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. – See cat. 116, p. 517 – ANALYST]

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On the following day another adventure befell the same party when they were almost home. Passing the site of the present cannery, on the south side of North Bentinck Arm, about half a mile from its head, they went among some old stumps which at high tide resembled basking seals. When in the midst of these, they all seemed to come to life, crashing into the water in all directions, raising billows which drenched the paddlers with foam and nearly wrecked the canoe. The travellers considered themselves fortunate in reaching Bella Coola alive.

Apparitions have appeared several times near Mesatche Nose, the point between South Bentinck Arm and Labouchere Channel, a place noted for storms. On one occasion the father of a Bella Coola, in 1922, sixty years of age, was near there when he suddenly saw lights on two mountains diagonally opposite each other on either side of the fiord, at a distance of about six miles. The lights grew bigger and bigger, approached each other and receded, until finally they merged; it became bright as day, although it was midnight at the time, and there was only a new moon. The lights separated after a little, until each gradually withdrew to its mountain and disappeared.

Near the same spot some travellers once saw an enormous mountain goat walking on the surface of the water. Almost immediately a storm arose which swamped the canoe, and drowned all but one of its occupants. As soon as the craft was submerged, the gale subsided, as is always the case after people have been drowned.

During 1924, while a young Bella Coola was proceeding down South Bentinck Arm in his motor-boat, a storm arose and the waves poured into his boat until it almost foundered. In the midst of the gale he saw two pillars of water shoot up from the surface of the fiord to a great height, then gradually fade away as if they had been smoke. The storm ultimately subsided. No one could tell which supernatural being had

777 539 that mentioned itself. A white man's explanation would be that the "apparition" consisted of two water-spouts.

On another occasion several Bella Coola were encamped on the shore of one of the bays of King Island opening from Labouchere Channel. As they lay dozing by the fire they became aware that a woman dressed in black was sitting near them, but closer to the flames than a mortal could have set. She explained that she had been gathering mussels and was warming herself; then, rising, she walked into the sea and disappeared. She was one of the ocean dwellers of whom little is now known though formerly they were more often visible. Another time one of the same folk was plainly seen sitting on a rock, but as her observers blinked their eyes she vanished.

[192] Dwellers in the underwater world are to be found beneath the lakes of the interior as well as under the ocean. Not many years ago, when some men were carrying goat meat down from their hunting ground, they stopped beside the small lake which lies at the head of the creek *Swapi-a'*, which enters the Bella Coola River about eight miles from the sea.

"I wonder what lives in that lake," one man said idly to a companion.

"Nothing," the other replied, but the first responded:

"You are wrong. Something evil lives there."

He had hardly finished speaking when there rose from the lake a man with long hair, who stood, swaying back and forth, with the water around his thighs.

"There you see," said the first speaker to his doubting comrade, "I knew something lived yonder."

After a few minutes the man sank back under the water. Forthwith a strong wind began to blow, and snow not only fell from the heavens but rose from the lake. The hunters, who were not clothed for wintry weather, had great difficulty in getting back to the valley.

Occasionally the works of underwater people have been seen. The father of a man here about 1880 was paddling to Kwatna Inlet one night when he, as well as the other

occupants of the canoe, heard a roaring noise and saw a fall-wall, similar to those used by the Bella Coola, stretching across Burke Channel, which is about a mile and a half wide at this point. They were close to the beach and a brave man cut a passage through the obstacle. A similar trap was once seen stretching across South Bentinck Arm.

An unusual apparition may be regarded as an omen of death. For example, not many years ago a young half-breed saw a motor-boat moored to the bank of North Bentinck Arm with an eagle seated in the stern. He ran his own motor-boat towards it, but as he approached the eagle became a man. This man he drew still nearer, never taking his eyes off the other boat, it, with its occupant, sank beneath the water, without leaving so much as a ripple. On relating the incident to his father, the latter recognized it as an omen of death. Six months later the half-breed's sister died, thus confirming her father's prognostication.

Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate.

Experiences such as have been cited in the last section are regarded as of possible, and not infrequent occurrence at the present time. On the other hand, supernatural aid granted to those in misfortune, though it is the theme of many stories, is not considered as likely to happen now. The Bella Coola believe the narratives to be chronicles of actual events, and base their conceptions of many supernatural beings on their characteristics as therein described. There is no ceremonial significance attached to any of these stories; they may be, and are told by anyone, frequently for entertainment. Unquestionably, there is a feeling that the moral brought out in such tales is of value in educating the young people, though this point is never emphasized.

Supernatural aid granted to an unfortunate person is termed *ulkhwalqlut*. Power so obtained cannot be transmitted by the recipient, although memory of the experience is

occasionally preserved as the theme of a court dance. The reason is also somewhat hazily applied to any instance of supernatural help. The reason for the receipt of power is often ascribed to the strong supernatural elements of the favoured one, or to his having made himself agreeable to supernatural beings by the observance of ceremonial chastity or other propitiatory means. A few individuals assert that there is a tendency for supernatural aid to follow certain ancestral families, but such a belief is not general.

The following story is typical of the kind of assistance granted although no clear picture can be presented except through the native medium—a number of different tales, such as are given in the following chapter.

THE [illegible] FAMILY OF 'TIMAGI

[illegible] long after the earth was first populated there were living at [illegible], near [illegible], near [illegible] and [illegible], with their wives, relatives, and slaves. [illegible]'s son, 'Timagi, fell a victim to the strident disease, [illegible], which causes the face of the sufferer to swell and he falls to [illegible]. When the sun appeared hopeless, his father called his family to tell the people to abandon [illegible], and to leave the dying youth alone. Accordingly they removed the plants from the houses, packed them on canoes with all the food and clothing from the village and moved away, leaving the unfortunate 'Timagi alone in the canoe. Only an old slave woman took pity on him before she left she did some glowing embers with fresh coconut-husk in a large clam-shell and told him where to find them.

'Timagi was literally alone in relative discomfort, for presently he drew the oars and so alone nursing the face of his position. He unwrapped the clam-shell and then the embers into a fire. Then he made a hammer with which he built a rude shelter. A [illegible] of [illegible] on the [illegible] side, but before long he made a hook in hopes of catching some [illegible]. He went up the river to a suitable spot, dropped in his lacing hook and almost immediately felt a bite. He hauled up his line eagerly, but it was only a worthless fish-head. Angrily he pulled out the hook and threw the fish-head into the water. Almost immediately there was a bite, again he drew up his line only to find no fish, but a human head, which he further back into the river. This happened once more, and, discouraged at landing only four useless fish, he wrapped his head

in his eyes and cried himself to sleep. The next day Yukuji once more tried his luck fishing, but again only landed four bull-heads, and again cried himself to sleep. It was the same on the third day and the fourth, and in the evening the hungry and disconsolate youth wept for a long time, his head wrapped in his cape.

Presently he felt someone kick his feet and heard a voice saying, "Stop crying! Get up!"

When the startled Yukuji opened his eyes there was no one in sight. Concluding that he must have been mistaken, he again covered his eyes and went to sleep. But he was aroused in the same way, once more without being able to see his visitor. This time before he lay down he made a tiny slit in his cape so that while he pretended to be asleep he was really searching through the crevice. Soon he saw approaching a beautiful woman whose hair was worn in long braids as was the fashion of Pure Happy women. Eagerly Yukuji drew back his cape, but at his first movement she vanished. There was nothing to do but hope that she would return, so he again lay down with the opening opposite his eye. Once more the woman drew near, but this time she could not move, even when she kicked him and repeated her command not to cry.

"I am you," he answered, "don't run away."

The strange woman sat down without demur.

"Why did you throw away my children?" she asked. "They showed kindly feeling towards you in allowing themselves to be caught, and you injured them mightily. From the fox I have saw your misery and have come to help you. From I shall save you."

When she had done this the woman continued, "I am going to give you supernatural power; when you want anything just think of me and it will appear. I give you the chief's name, Kamadzu; when you give a gathered you must carve me on the posts of your house. My name is Heaven."

Then the woman vanished. She was a fairy in human form, which all animals are able to assume at will, though the animals have the ability to see them except in animals.

Yukuji decided to use his newly received power by wishing for a house. He thought of Heaven, and forthwith there stood a fine house before him. By merely thinking of his handiness he was now able to fill it with goods, blankets, mats, bows, hatchets, cooking utensils, and food of all kinds, and on the hearth he now had a bottle of sake. The use of the supernatural power the property of its owner.

Meanwhile Kamadzu and Kamadzu with him were in dire straits for food. One day the old dove woman who had befriended Yukuji happened to be hanging out her fish Kamadzu when she saw smoke rising from the place,

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She ordered it to be a hot fire, but, when she idly went near to investigate, her amazement at past all bounds at seeing a fine house filled with valuables. Her master surprise knowing when she discovered that Tsimaqi was lord of it all. He welcomed her gladly, gave her a hearty meal, and sent back with or some seal meat for her child, only adding that it was to be eaten secretly as he did not wish his father to know of his good fortune.

"But," he added, "I don't mind if you send me any of the people except my father, especial any who were good to me long ago."

The slave woman gladdily carried the meat home to her child. But he, long deprived of proper food, ate so ravenously that night that a bone stuck in his throat and his coughing awoke Qwa'sala. The chief promptly the youngster's sick until he vomited what was obviously a piece of seal. The slavewoman, remembering Tsimaqi's order, tried to evade her master's questions as to where her son had obtained it, but at last she blurted out the truth, how the abandoned youth had become prosperous.

The slave woman under friends moved to Qwiqui, where Tsimaqi used his power of thought-obtain for them houses filled with everything they could desire. But Qwa'sala and those left with him were starving, so that they too were forced to seek his aid, gladly marrying their daughters to him to consider his protection. He rapidly rose to a position of importance, brought hundred of both real and fictitious wives, and was even able to guide his elder brothers with mates. Some of the women married to his brother almost his slaves, as their families were unable to refuse him.

Supernatural Good Luck

A third manner in which the Bella Coola can come into contact with powers another place is through supernatural good luck. This consists in obtaining something from a supernatural being, usually portion of its skin body, which acts as a lure to fish, animals, and even to such inanimate articles as blankets or skins. Even a tiny morsel placed on a weir will attract numerous salmon, or if set on a trap will prove an infallible lure to animals. When put in the owner's box, valuables will be attracted to it as steel to a magnet. Thus the fortunate possessor will be able to give many potlatches and to reach a high position in the community. Since this good fortune is

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wrapped up in a specific object it follows that the luck is transmissible; in fact, one of the chief advantages to the man who owns some valuable object is the wealth which he derives from selling a small portion of it. 777 789 [432]

The Bella Coola term for supernatural good luck is *ayu*, meaning, "What is Good." This can come from any being though it is most frequently obtained either from a *mitopsi* or a *sisiutl*. The former resembles a toad of enormous size, with a blazing fire-like glow in its throat; the latter is a double-headed salmon or snake that can travel on land. The person who succeeds in killing one of these creatures can use the carcass as a lure to wealth, if he knows the proper means. The portion must be wrapped in an article that has been in close contact with the slayer, such as a piece of his soiled clothing. This must be kept carefully hidden for one year in a cranny to which no rain can penetrate, and after that it can be used as bait. There is equal potency in a stick or other object which has come in contact with the beast. Great danger is attached to the sight of a *mitopsi* or a *sisiutl*, since death usually follows any incorrect attempt to gain wealth from either. The person who sees one of these creatures feels no ill effects until he draws near a fire, when his stomach burns. All the Bella Coola agree that if a man has been close to one he can be cured by the use of certain medicines, but the following stories show that there is no clear-cut opinion as to which are the best. In fact, most families have knowledge of a specific cure which they regard as the most efficacious. [776] [776] [761] [757]

The opportunity to obtain supernatural good luck does not come solely to unfortunate individuals; indeed the Bella Coola state that it is fortuitous. It appears, however, that usually the person who is thus favoured is one who has practised conventional chastity, or is, through some other means, in a state of cleanliness pleasing to the supernatural. At any rate the danger of seeing such creatures is less to a man who is in a pure condition than to any other. Further, in most cases they are apt to appear to a person whose ancestors have seen one. [185]

777 A visitation is not regarded as an inheritable right, but as a
* 787 tendency; for generations no member of a family may see one
of these beasts, but the tradition is preserved, and when one
[424] is seen it is recalled that such have been observed by ancestors
of the fortunate one. Instances have occurred in which a
person has obtained good luck without the tradition of this
being in his family, but they are rare. On the other hand, a
man may lose the advantage of his possession, even if he owns
[785] a portion of a *mitqas* or a *sisiutl*, through failure to observe
communal charity.

776 Some of the Bella Coola believe that the *mitqas* and the
sisiutl are the same animal, which can assume these two forms;
others that the two are distinct supernatural creatures. In any
case the powers and characteristics ascribed to them are the
same. Most families have a tradition regarding the appear-
[173] ance of the one or the other to their ancestors, and the infor-
[184] mation to be derived from them is always about that particular
creature. Hence the details here described are probably not
all known to any one individual.

* 787 The different types of appearances, and the different types
811 of taboos called forth, should be noted. These are due to
182 failure on the part of the Bella Coola to rationalize the non
total of their concepts. Each man recounts what he believes
to have happened to one of his ancestors or friends, irrespec-
tive of whether or not the methods used may be in direct
contradiction to those employed by someone else on another
occasion. A man who has heard of the *mitqas*, for example,
from his father and mother, may describe contradictory modes
of dealing with the creature, and in each case may affirm that
disaster would have followed if the method described had not
been carried out. Such lack of co-ordination is typical of the
Bella Coola.

777 According to an elderly Kimsquit man, the *mitqas* was
* 787 brought down in the beginning of time by one of his own
[775] ancestors, Omqumkilda. It is to this fact that he attributes
his own near approach to one on two occasions. As it is fro-

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quently not until the fourth appearance that a person obtains supernatural good luck, he is still hoping for two more visitations, the second of which he expects to be fruitful.

One day as he was poling up the Kimsquit River he heard a sound resembling thunder proceeding from a log-jam. From descriptions given him by his father, he knew that this must be the voice of a *mitqac*, but, not having observed ceremonial chastity, he was afraid to investigate, although the sound seemed to follow his canoe for a considerable distance, it only stopped when another canoe approached. From the fact that he alone heard the voice, he knew that it was for him that the creature had come and only the arrival of other people had deterred it from appearing.

On another occasion the same man was close to the nest of a *mitqac*. He and another hunter were together in the forest above the Dean River and both saw the stone nest behind a waterfall, but for some time each refrained from pointing it out to the other. Towards dusk the first man's attention was called to it by his companion, and they debated on a course of action. Each was desirous of obtaining the benefits to be derived from a successful use of the nest, but each was afraid of the evil consequences should he fail. The friend had observed continence for some time so it was decided that in the morning he should be the one to make the approach; the other man, well versed in these matters, instructed him very carefully what to do. That night both men were too excited to sleep.

Next morning the nest was still in the same place, but the friend hesitated about going up to it, and so they delayed, talking, it vanished in the twinkling of an eye and the opportunity passed.

The nest itself is sufficiently potent to bring good fortune without the *mitqac*. Not many years ago a man saw one containing a large green egg which he touched with one end of his musket. Then he carefully hid his weapon for one year in a cleft of the rocks where no water could reach it, nor did he mention what he had seen to anyone. When the time had

[777] [224] elapsed, he fetched his musket from its hiding-place and again began to use it. Thereafterwards he never missed his aim; every shot brought down an animal.

Before the days of muskets good fortune could likewise be obtained by the discovery of the nest of a mutqan. Each contains small particles of the skin of all animals, including human beings, plucked from them in their sleep by humming birds and wasps. The finder must touch the nest with his stick, such as is always carried by hunters, then break it and throw it away, saying as he does so:

"May I see you at . . . tomorrow." This means next year.

He names his favourite hunting-ground. The finder must not say anything to anyone about his discovery, and for one year he must observe continence. If he then goes to the locality mentioned, he will there find his stick, the one which he broke when he touched the nest, though it will be invisible to anyone else. Adhering to it and will be four horns of the mutqan. [765] These he must hide for a year, wrapped in some of his own clothing, taking care that it is an article which he has long worn and which is accordingly saturated with his essence. [765] During this period, too, he must observe continence. Two years after finding the nest, he will be able to hunt with phenomenal success. [424] The knowledge of this proper procedure has been handed down to an unknown family for many generations.

On the occasion when the two men had seen the nest they [777] continued their journey, each chiding the other for his failure [187] to take advantage of the opportunity put in his path. Before long they saw a footprint where no man had been and knew [776] that it must be that of Tsaxalis, the supernatural hunter of mountain goats. In spite of remonstrances, the comrade *accepted up a little also down the crack over the mountainside.* In this he did wrong, especially as he had failed to take advantage of the opportunity presented to him by the nest of the monster wasp. That night as the two were encamped a slide came thundering down beside them, and they barely escaped with their lives. Not long afterwards the erring man died, [764]

b.McDowell, K-5 (1922-1924)968
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humor, a calamity unquestionably due to his carelessness in handling the earth where a supernatural one had trod. 777 787*

This point illustrates the danger of near approach to a [761] mikopo, a theme well exemplified in the stories in the next chapter. Such perils must be counteracted in diverse ways according to the traditions of different ancestral families. One common method is to seek a lonely spot in the woods and there hollow out a shelter beneath an overhanging rock or fallen tree-trunk where the person who has been exposed to danger must remain for four days, eating nothing and at intervals swabbing his body with branches of devil's club, spruce, and [824] other rough plants. These protect him from the evil effects of the encounter. 783

Similar in function to the mikopo, and equally dangerous to the unwary, is the *sutsel*. The latter is supposed to have been created on this earth, at Bella Bella, in the beginning of time by Tsilitlawat. It was at first the canoe used by this [773] [776] companion, and there turned home by him to escape the monsters and fiends, as it has ever since, equally at home on land and in water, and in various forms. The following is typical description of the manner in which a *sutsel* appeared in the past. 539 777 787*

Long ago a man was hunting in the mountains when he saw a *sutsel*, which changed to an human in a fish-like manner with two heads but no tail. He hunged at it with his stick, and it in doing started a slide which carried the *sutsel* down the mountain. As this was taking place, the human said:

"Go down the mountain, *sutsel*, I will get you at the bottom."

When he reached the foot of the new slide he saw the fish-like thing close to the water. He ran to it and dragg it on a sealing-hook rope. Now this *sutsel* was a *sutsel*, the first that had ever been held the human obtained supernatural good luck from his experience. He also took the name of *Sutsel*, a designation which has been handed down ever since.

After this adventure many people hunted for the *sutsel*, and with fair success in early days, but now it cannot be found. 777 787*

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

owing to the failure of hunters to observe ceremonial chastity. When obtained, a *sciatl* was cut into small pieces, one of which worn upon the person would make the flesh so hard that an arrow could not penetrate.

Sometimes the *sciatl* assumes the form of either a spring or a cohoe salmon. Not long ago a Bella Bella man, travelling in a canoe, ate one of these. Once devoured, it reformed itself, made its way out by consuming the man's lower jaw, then jumped overboard and was lost.

The mere appearance of a *sciatl* does not necessarily bring misfortune to the beholder, even if he has not the necessary knowledge, or courage, to take advantage of it. The following is an instance.

On one occasion the father's father of a middle-aged Bella Coola was going upstream at the time the salmon were jumping, when, unknown to him, one leaped into the canoe behind him. His first knowledge of anything untoward came to him when the bow rose out of the water, and, looking around, he saw that this was caused by the weight of a grease-covered stone lying in the bottom of his canoe; the salmon had vanished. The man threw overboard his floor-board with the stone on it. When he told his friends afterwards of his experience, they informed him that he had missed an opportunity for obtaining supernatural good fortune, as the "salmon" must have been a *sciatl*.

The *sciatl* can also be used as a charm. If a man, while in a pure condition through the observance of ceremonial chastity, eats a small portion of the flesh, it renders him proof against bullet or arrow. An intelligent Bella Coola stated that his father's brother had done so on one occasion, with the result that a bullet, fired by his wife's mother's father, fell harmless at his feet after striking him.

Medicine can also be obtained indirectly from a *sciatl*. When one of these fish-like creatures swims through a pond, wriggling as it goes, it frequently sheds some of its scales.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

These become lilies (of the species known as *lilkhaulp* or *mulkhwaiaiai

McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[776]

This is a supernatural bird about the size of a crow, with a broad hooked beak and blue-black iridescent plumage. Its nest resembles that of a crow. The peculiarity of the bird is that its flesh and bones are of mountain goat grease; even its droppings are of this valuable substance, and it is these which are specially prized. Long ago *gakin-i* were comparatively common, but all have now fled beyond the range of the white man's rifle.

Wilmanuf knew what to do, so he crept stealthily up the mountain armed only with his hunting stick. Presently he saw a *gakin-i* looking on a mountain goat which had been caught in one of his snares. It answered to the descriptions *Wilmanuf* had heard, and he could see that its droppings were like solidified mountain goat grease. The hunter crawled near, and took advantage of the instant when the bird was within the goat's stomach to leap forward and club it as it looked up. *Wilmanuf* twisted the neck until the head separated from the body and flung the former behind him, to the right, without noting where it went. This enables the bird to return since, like all other living creatures, when it seems to die it does no more than shed its cloak of flesh. Then the hunter cut the body into halves, throw the right portion in the same direction as the head, and carefully cut the left half in his cups of cedar-bark. Next he collected the droppings and wrapped them in evergreen boughs. Carefully carrying his treasures, he went down the mountain, and hid them in a niche cut in the trunk of a cedar tree, before he went home.

Next day, *Wilmanuf* did not have but returned to the place, drew out the piece of the bird's body, and dried it over a fire, as if he were curing salmon for winter use. At night he went home, still refraining from telling anyone what he had done. For four days he cured the meat, then carefully closed the niche and went away.

For one year *Wilmanuf* did not hunt. Then he reopened the recess and saw that the meat was fresh and juicy, as if newly prepared. He left it in place, but dove forth the droppings and carried them off to a small bag. Persons followed him. By using a small piece of the solidified grease on his traps he had wonderful success. At length *Wilmanuf* told his fellow-villagers where he had obtained and they were envious of his good luck. He continued to prosper, and at last sold the droppings for a large amount of goods, though he carefully preserved the section of the body itself. When an old man, he showed his son where it was concealed and the latter likewise prospered throughout his life, owing to this possession. When he became old, he in turn told his son about it, so that the young man had the same good fortune as his father and grandfather.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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father. But the great-grandson was too lazy to take the trouble of going with his father to the place where the section of the bird was hidden, so the treasure was lost.

A fourth giver of supernatural good fortune is one of the mythical creatures termed *cwaq*. This variety lives in the ocean, or rarely in rivers, and can occasionally be seen resting on the surface with its long, golden tresses floating on the water. The hair appears always to be flecked with eagle down, but in reality it is a mass of barnacles, the equivalent of this substance to this under-sea dweller. If the observer is brave, he will paddle cautiously near until he can twist a lock of the hair around his paddle and break it off. He must not touch it with his hands, but must dangle it outside the canoe, still wrapped about his paddle, until he reaches the shore, when he must conceal it in some lonely place for one year. After that period he can use a single hair, or piece of one, as bait; it will be enough to attract animals to his traps or salmon to his weir, exactly as with the mountain goat grease ceremonial of a *gakin i* or a stick that has come in contact with a giant toad. If the person who has jerked off the hair with his paddle should be foolish or ignorant enough to bring his spoil into his canoe, he, and all with him, are rendered incapable of movement and the craft with its occupants sinks beneath the sea.

The father's cousin of an informant once saw one of these animals when paddling in company with several companions to Kimsquit. The sea was smooth as glass when their attention was attracted by a number of small ripples, spreading in a half-moon shape from what they realized was the head of a *cwaq*. The hair crossed the ripples, but did not rise or fall with them. The back of the animal's head was toward the canoe so the opportunity seemed favorable for obtaining some of its hair. Cautiously the men paddled nearer, but at the last moment the crewmen feared to drive the canoe in among the golden tresses, so veered off and the craft passed along one side of the mass of hair. The animal had shown no sign of being aware of their presence, but it now began to turn away,

so that its floating locks remained between them and its head. As it turned, the hair moved with it, so that, although the impression remained of a floating mat, there must have been some motive power to cause it to remain streaming out straight behind. Each strand moved through the ripples without being affected. Though the paddlers strained to the utmost to see the animal's face it thwarted their efforts by this continuous slow turning, until at last they went on their way, disappointed.

Yet another creature from which supernatural good fortune has been obtained is the Mother of Snakes, a creature described in the following story.

A family living at *Pulkwa* was reduced to the point of starvation through the failure of their salmon-weir. It seemed as if the fish avoided it. One day a son of one of the owners, who had been in trouble with a woman in the lower valley, went off into the woods not far from his village, where he saw what he thought was a black bear. When it came nearer he realized that its chest was tipped with silver and that its tongue kept shooting far beyond its jaws, hence that it must be the Mother of Snakes. This creature combines the qualities of bear and snake; it is about the size of the former, and it appears to have a serpent wrapped around its chest. It always pursues recruits and slays them, unless they know the proper means of escape. Luckily, the youth's father had long ago warned him what to do if chased by one, so he at once dashed off. First he ran downhill, but the animal gained on him; then he ran uphill, but still the monster drew nearer. The only way the fugitive could increase his lead was by ascending or descending in zigzags, since the beast's heavy legs then kept slipping. All day the pursuit continued, until towards dusk, when the youth was almost exhausted, he saw at last what he was looking for, a stump with spikeroots, projecting upwards. Pushing them apart with his hands, he leapt through the opening thus made, then circled the tree once anew, and pulled every one of the jagged spikes. Now the Mother of Snakes must always follow directly in the tracks of its quarry, and so it jumped through the passage the youth struck to access the back with the spikes which he had pulled out. Down fell the monster dead.

With his knife the lad cut off some of the animal's meat which he carried home, saying nothing to his father. Early the next morning the old man went to look at his salmon-weir, but as usual it was empty. As soon, however, as his son drew near, the river became packed with salmon, all heading towards the trap which was now filled.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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"It seems as if you attracted the salmon like a magnet," said the father to his son. 777

The latter did not answer immediately, but later he said: 787 *

"You were right," and he told him what had happened. [539]

"You have obtained supernatural good luck," the old man replied simply. [226]

Following his son's instructions the father prepared canoes and boxes to bring back the flesh of the Mother of Snakes. They collected every scrap of it, which they preserved very carefully, and used small portions as bait to attract salmon to their weir with such success that they became wealthy.

Another supernatural being from whom supernatural good fortune may be obtained is *Sîwanît-ôo-a*, "The Female Mourner." When a chief dies she comes to wail, wandering through the woods near the village, where sometimes she can be seen in the form of a weeping woman. As she cries, she ejects mucus from her nose, which solidifies into a glass-like substance about a foot in length. Anyone who sees her should take the transformed mucus, and wrap it in some article of his own clothing; it will bring him good fortune. About midnight of June 11, 1921, the infant daughter of a Bella Coola died, and about seven o'clock on the following morning the wailing was heard in the woods behind the missionary's house. The brother of the dead child's father rushed off to try to find the weeping one. Luckily he did not succeed, because he did not know about collecting the mucus, and trouble would have come to him had he seen the supernatural being without knowing how to deal with it; in fact, even to hear *Sîwanît-ôo-a* is considered an omen of death. [776] [776] [768]

It will be seen from the foregoing specific instances that supernatural good luck is usually obtained by the slaying of some powerful creature. But, since every living creature is endowed with superhuman power, it follows that any object obtained from a bird or an animal that has acted in a peculiar way may be the cause of supernatural good fortune if it be kept for one year in the manner previously described. Some- [225] [224]

* Since the Bella Coola believe that it was heard, the incidence is recorded as a fact.

Libr: Dwrotth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

777 times a man finds a piece of the thick bark of the fir in one of
* 789 his traps; if he throw it away nothing happens, but if he conceal
[224] it in a hidden cranny for one year and then use it for bait he will have supernatural good luck. Another bringer of good fortune is a giant crab, about two feet in diameter, sometimes found far in the forest. There is no danger attached to the appearance of either of these manifestations of the supernatural, which have merely the potential ability to bestow good fortune if the person seeing them knows and practises the proper ritual.

777 Sometimes, long ago, when a number of seals were seen
* 789 approaching the shore a man would notice that they were
224 peculiar. One would disappear beneath the surface, to emerge as a beaver, the beaver would vanish beneath the waves only to come up as a bear, a mountain goat, a deer, or some other animal. If a hunter wished to have phenomenal success at goat hunting, for example, he would wait until one of the seals appeared as a goat and then kill it. The carcass would drift ashore, as a seal, but on being cut open a stone shaped like a mountain goat would always be found in the stomach. To obtain success the hunter would wrap this in a piece of worn clothing, and hide it away beneath an overhanging ledge in some lonely spot in the woods. If left there for one year the stone became a magnet, and its owner, carrying it with him on his hunting expeditions, had amazing success. He had obtained supernatural good fortune, for one particular object. If, after cutting open the seal-mountain goat, the hunter failed to wrap up the stone in some of his clothing it vanished of its own accord.

The last Bella Coola to have supernatural good luck from this source was *Winda*, who died about 1910. His extraordinary success as a hunter was derived from a number of stones which his father had obtained from the stomachs of seals in the form of land animals. His prosperity ended when he sold his collection of stones to a Bella Bella man who still uses them with great effect.

Schl:Swanton E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

Supernatural good fortune has also been obtained from the "Mothers" of certain plants.

Among the roots that are sought for when a man intends to give a potlatch are those of clover and of *ckâl*, a grass which grows on flats near the sea. Once the root of an elderly (in 1923) Bella Coola woman dug up the Mother of *Ckâl*, a root, thick as her thumb, but shaped like a woman. Perhaps the reason that she found it was because she was digging in the darkness, after the setting of the sun. The woman, ignorant of the proper procedure, did nothing, with the result that her hands became painfully swollen. If she had wrapped the root in a portion of her used clothing and kept it hidden for one year, without saying anything about her find, it would have brought her supernatural good luck.

Another woman found an elderberry as large as a baseball, and shaped like the mask worn also on the forehead by a member of the *nuxul* society. Her father, an old man skilled in such matters, wrapped the berry in his daughter's soiled clothing and kept it carefully hidden in her box. It brought her supernatural good luck because, no matter how much or how often she gave away presents, goods always came to her.

SUPERNATURAL GOOD LUCK FROM STONES

Stones are among the objects from which supernatural good luck can be obtained. A person who has long observed ceremonial chastity may be fortunate enough to hear what seems to be the weeping of a new-born infant, as he passes in his canoe beneath some steep stone cliff. Then, if he watches, he will see a stone being born from a larger one at the level of the sea. If the observer takes the infant-stone, wraps it in his soiled clothing and stows it among his possessions, it will act as other bringers of supernatural good fortune by having all kinds of valuables to the owner. In fact, such a stone is said to be so potent that if left in an empty box for some time, it will attract enough skins to fill the receptacle.

Schoolcraft E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

777 The last appearance of such a stone was in Dean Channel, 777 to the father of an elderly Bella Coola, who was too amazed 123 to take advantage of it. As far as could be ascertained, in 1911 there was only one stone which was regarded by the owner as having brought him good fortune. It had been obtained by one of his elderly relatives who died about 1906. This man had been walking beside the Bella Coola River one spring day when he happened to notice a woodpecker perched on one of the posts supporting an eulachon net. Without taking his eyes from it, he idly stooped down and threw a pebble at the bird which flew to the bank, lit on a pile of stones, and became one of them. Realizing that here might be the means of obtaining supernatural good fortune, if properly handled, the man watched for some time, then went forward, picked up the stone, covered it with evergreen boughs and wrapped the whole in a strip torn from the white-man's shirt he was wearing. With the axe he was carrying he cut a recess in a tree, put the object in it and covered the hiding place with the original bark. He said nothing about it, but the stone brought him such good luck that he obtained large quantities of everything desirable.

777 In later years the man, after replacing the stone in the hole 123 of the tree, went away to Victoria; when he returned, years later, it was still there. By placing it in his box he again prospered in all his ventures. When an old man the owner presented the stone to a relative who still treasures it. It is red, about a foot in length, shaped somewhat like a human figure without arms or legs, but with a prominent navel opening. See Fig. 2. The owner has kept it for years, hiding it even from his wife and allowing no white man to see it. He had been perfectly willing to have photographs taken of most of his ceremonial objects, but declined to permit this to be done with his walnut stone, and carefully hid it in a box after showing it. When he wished to use the transformed bird, it was wrapped in his old shirt, together with a small amount of money or what-

[125]

Fig. 2

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

ever object was desired, and then set in a window of his house so 777
that the sun could fall on one uncovered end. The owner firmly 823
believes that this stone has brought him money on various occasions, and will do so again, though whether he expects the coins to be found inside of the wrapping, or merely to come to him in the course of trade is questionable. According to Bella Coola belief, they ought to appear beside the stone, but as this man attributes any good fortune to it, he never has any difficulty in proving its powers.

This stone is also used as a means of increasing the efficacy [515]
of prayer. When its owner washes ceremonially in the river [789]
before eating in the morning, he rubs it over his body as if it were soap and requests it to make him strong, make him well, grant him his desires, and so forth.

Shamanism

More important to the Bella Coola than any other mani- 104
festation of the supernatural is that power which makes an 756 *
individual either an *dźukwala* or an *dźanłots*. The former is [787] *
a person who, owing to ability granted him by a supernatural [788]
being, is able to perform miraculous feats, especially in curing the sick; the latter is one with similar powers obtained from a ghost.[9] It is impossible to translate either of these terms accurately; the designation "shaman" is accordingly used in this monograph to describe both types of supernaturally endowed individuals. The most common and most important method of obtaining such power is from a living supernatural being; a person receiving the boon in this manner will be termed "shaman," and one empowered by a ghost will be known as "shaman from the dead."

The Bella Coola believe that long ago men were so much 756 *
more powerful than at present, and so close to the supernatural, 773
that all were virtually shamans. The prowess and adventures 538

[9] Although only, of course, empirically, but, as the Bella Coola distinguish between shamans whose powers are derived from these two sources, it is accurate to follow their example.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

* 756 of these demi-gods of antiquity are favourite themes for stories.
538 The powers of the later shamans have been far less than those
of their forefathers, and their exploits have been of a somewhat
[173] different character. Hence it is possible to divide the subject
into three sections:

(1) Shamanism in the distant past.
(2) Modern shamanism.
(3) Shamans from the dead.

SHAMANISM IN THE DISTANT PAST

Information on this phase is contained in stories and a few anecdotes which describe the achievements of ancient demi-gods, endowed with miraculous powers of various kinds. The tales are similar in type to those dealing with the granting of supernatural aid to the unfortunate, so that it is in many cases difficult to differentiate them. As might be expected these narratives are not exact. Frequently the teller does not know from what being the ancient shaman received his power, nor can he explain the abilities described, which are different from, and superior to, those with which he is familiar. In fact it is customary to describe any mythical hero as a shaman.

[424] Tales of this kind can be related by any one; they are not the personal property of a specific family. Many of them, that of *Waowalis*, for example, are well known and are told and retold constantly.

In addition to information obtained from stories, a few isolated facts are remembered regarding ancient shamans. It
* 756 is thought that various taboos connected with hunting were
223 learnt by them in the distant past. Such restrictions and in-
[224] junctions were firmly believed in and strictly adhered to until
a few years ago, and many of them are still observed. The usual method of hunting harlequin ducks is, or was until recently, from a canoe, with a sapling set up in the bow to hide the hunter, crouched with bow and arrow in readiness; several shamans, however, were able to kill the birds by merely
[262] waving the butt-end of a paddle towards them. Such power

1/Mc Dermith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NES

would be of enormous value, since the Bella Coola consider these ducks a great delicacy, and say that their flesh resembles that of seals. In fact, when an invitation to a seal feast is given the words used mean, "come to eat harlequin ducks."

No attempt was made to collect all the shaman stories current in Bella Coola, but the subject is amply illustrated by those gathered, of which the following is representative.

The Adventures of Wawaxi'is

Long, long ago, there dwelt among the people who lived on the shore of Dean Channel and were partly Kimsquit, partly Bella Bella, a mighty shaman, *Wawaxi'is*. He was a married man with a son just learning to walk, and an adopted son about twelve years old. One day *Wawaxi'is* told the latter to fetch water, but the lad was lazy and made no motion to obey, so his foster father kicked him angrily. Whereon the boy cried out:

"What are you hurting me for? Why don't you hit your wife or your partner? They are always sleeping together when you are away."

Wawaxi'is apparently paid no attention to this, merely saying:

"Stop crying. I am sorry I kicked you so hard. Run along and get the water."

Wawaxi'is, who was a great laborer, began to get his canoe ready for a seal hunting trip, and told his adopted son to accompany him. The two set off within a few hours. *Wawaxi'is* owned a stick of which one end contained the power of causing death, and the other of restoring life; he had only to make the motions of throwing this stick at a living creature, death-dealing end foremost, and the one at which it was pointed fell dead. Many souls had been killed by this means when *Wawaxi'is* asked the boy:

"What was it you said when I kicked you?"

By this time the lad had regained his temper and was sorry he had disclosed what he knew.

"I said nothing," he murmured, "but gave a shout of pain."

"You lies," *Wawaxi'is* calmly replied. "You said that my wife was sleeping with my partner."

The boy, realizing that all was known, murmured truthfully:

"Yes, I did say that. I have often seen her doing so when you were absent."

It was late afternoon by this time and *Wawaxi'is* at once headed back to the village, which they reached soon after dark. No one saw their approach, as *Wawaxi'is* told the boy to stay with the canoe and the seals

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on the beach while he went to the town to investigate. He crawled cautiously to the outside of the house on the point where he knew his wife would be sleeping; there he crouched on the wall with his finger nail, making a noise like a mouse. He heard his wife say:

"I wish that spirit would use *Wamai's* corpse."

This so angered him that he came with the death-dealing end of his club, killing everybody within. Then he went around to the front door, entered, cut off the head of the false person, and carried it away. Then outside the house, he made the motion of opening with the life-giving end of his club, thereby covering all but the man he had beheaded. Then he went back to his canoe and returned to the sealing ground with his adopted son.

When a time the infant, whose son to further, was awakened by blood pouring over him, and cried so lustily that he woke his mother and grandmother. To the former's horror, she found her lover dead and beheaded. The grandmother asked what ailed the child and the mother replied that it had vomited blood. She arose, washed the infant, and dragged out the headless corpse to another part of the house where her lover's parents lived, then went back to her own place and slept. Next morning, when the parents of the dead man had called breakfast, they saw a young man to whom his brother, but the boy returned saying that the latter was dead and headless. When this was confirmed, the whole household was plunged into grief and consternation, combined with fear and wonder as to who could have done the deed, because no one knew of *Wamai's* return. They buried the dead man the same day.

In the afternoon *Wamai's* returned, waving his paddle above his head, apparently in the face of spirits. The people called out to him from the shore:

"We have had news that will spoil your happiness, your partner has been murdered."

Wamai's paid no attention, but continued to wave his paddle. He told his adopted son to stay in the canoe on the beach, and went by himself up to his house carrying a sack filled with nails, beneath which he had placed his partner's head. He told his wife that on the bottom there was a dress which from the stomach and she removed and after unwrapping for it, until she came to her lover's head with staring eyes and open mouth. When she screamed, *Wamai's* took the head and hanged it down on her naked body.

"You always wanted him," he said. "There he is. Don't be afraid."

Then he fled to his canoe and spent away with his adopted son. A number of the people set off in pursuit, but whenever one of their canoes drew on him, *Wamai's* lowered down the smoke which concealed him.

[illegible]

Fiamel's said he was travelled far away, always seeking a place to settle, until one day they saw a large town on the beach, with smoke coming from only one of the houses. The two looked, and Fiamel's told the lad to the canoe on the beach while he went on to investigate. He could find no one in any of the houses, until at last he came to the one from which smoke emerged, in which he saw an old blind man cooking food and his beautiful daughter making cobo-bark mats. He entered quietly and sat beside the man without speaking. As the latter lifted some food from the pot and poured it on a dish, Fiamel's took it and fell to under his cloak. The old man felt for the food, then said to his daughter:

"I have lost the food that I have been cooking. Some one must have stolen it."

She did not look up as she laughed back:

"Nonsense! As you know, there is no one in the whole country but we two."

Again the old man poured out some of the food and again Fiamel's fell to, to cross more he complained to his daughter. This time she looked up and saw the stranger.

"You are right," she said to her father. "A man is sitting beside you."

"What do you want?" she asked Fiamel's. "Whence have you come? Why have you stolen my father's food?"

He answered her her query.

"I was only passing here to-day," and took a from under his cape.

He had fallen in love with the girl and said to her father:

"Give to me mary your daughter."

"If you restore my sight you can have her," the father replied.

"I am a powerful man," Fiamel's laughed.

With that he took the old man's head between his hands and gave to his eyes, as he rubbed them with his hands, as soon the sight was restored. The father kept his bargain and agreed to his daughter's marriage.

They asked Fiamel's if he were alone, and when he answered that he adopted one was to a canoe on the beach, they called the boy to and the four set down to a meal. There was no water in the house and Fiamel's told the lad to fetch some, but as soon the old man and his daughter stopped him.

"No, no," they said. "You can't go any here, there is no still water.

[illegible] see, a young living in the water that curls down whenever someone near. It has killed all the other people of the village."

"I am younger than any young," Pavel's comment, and told the girl to take a feather.

The girl set off with Pavel's blessing. The force with the pre-[illegible] of using a rope around the girl's waist, and holding one end in the hand down on the water's edge the young appeared. It seemed as if the water parted to disclose to sight secretly and the youth was called to. Pavel's made the motion of throwing the stick, [illegible] however. There was a tremendous commotion beneath the surface, and presently the dead woman floated up. The dancers stood the body, the two [illegible] down, and drew out the girl, still alive. By this time the old man and his daughter had come to the spot, [illegible] to witness the death of the dreaded fish. Within the moment they found the remains of human victims, some company [illegible], others [illegible] by the loss of an arm or a leg, and others [illegible]. The two recognized many of them, and then Pavel's comment with the [illegible] of the [illegible] of the people of the village. He was to be [illegible], then [illegible] with their gratitude. He [illegible] the girl to [illegible] and to [illegible] a chief. [illegible], as Pavel's frequently were [illegible] with abundance of game, the [illegible] of which he [illegible].

For a year Pavel's fame in the village [illegible] such [illegible] taking place, the only disappointment being that he still had [illegible]. One day when he was [illegible] on the edge of the [illegible] and [illegible]. He had the power of [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible]. A number of people saw the [illegible] and [illegible] Pavel's [illegible] happened. Calling his [illegible] the [illegible] and set off to [illegible]. The [illegible] to follow the [illegible] when by the [illegible], with the [illegible] and [illegible]. Pavel's decided to follow. He took one end of a long rope to the [illegible] and proceeded to [illegible] himself into the depths, telling the [illegible] to remain in the [illegible] to [illegible] up upon the receipt of a signal.

Pavel's [illegible] through the water until he found himself in a land where everything was [illegible] the [illegible] on the earth. It was [illegible] there and he headed to a [illegible] through which flowed a river. He [illegible] approached a [illegible] through [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]
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the man in the canoe was gathering firewood, he projected his willpower to him to cause him to feel and then work as a hollow row wherein Pyamal's had concealed himself. The slave was using a stone wedge, and when his possessed saw the crew of the row, Pyamal is broke in raising slips, thereby notifying his colleague, who found when his master might see in the eye of a wheelbarrow. The slave drove in another, and again the slaves broke this, increasing the forebodings of the slave. Then Pyamal's appeared from within the hollow row and offered to repair the broken wedges to cause to assistance. The slave, only too glad to do anything that would save him from the wrath of his master, willingly accepted when Pyamal's asked him whether he had a sin any stranger to the land.

"Yes, my master removed recently with a very beautiful woman."

"Then take my wife. Will you why me to recover her?" asked Pyamal's.

"Yes," the slave said.

Then Pyamal's carefully repaired the broken wedges. The slave suggested a possible plan for rescuing his master.

"Every evening, just before sunset," he said, "I carry firewood into the house, and then this and he no longer for water. If you hide close to the door, you will be able to see where your wife is sitting when it is natural for me to bring in the fuel. Then I return with the water I will place it on the fire to extinguish it, and you may be able to rush in and save your wife in the darkness and confusion."

This plan was adopted. Pyamal's helped the slave fill the canoe with firewood, and secretly followed the slave to the Sheikhdi's house. Pyamal's had himself within a little bag which the slave set upright against the house in such a position that he was able to see in through the front door. The slave carried in the rear of the firewood and the smoking dusses and he will extinguished the fire. When night had fallen, the slave drew the larger bricks in the house and returned with a burning bill, then, as he placed the fire, he scrambled so that the light was thrown on the house, extinguishing them. In darkness Pyamal's rushed the wife with a shaqqed.

"I am Pyamal's."

Then the man of the house, in the place where he had hunted from the world above, and where the rope was still hanging down. He made the special signal for hoisting, but there was no answer from the hut who had been left in the canoe. Nothing daunted, Pyamal's and his wife climbed up the rope to the canoe, where they found a skeleton, all that was left of the original one. Pyamal's and his wife is spared as if they had only been absent a little time, but they had been in the land of the

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supernatural, as that nearly a year had elapsed on this earth, and during that time the faithful hal had periods of excretion as his part. He had retired to the house, but *Wanuk* used the life-giving end of his stick to revive him, and the dove returned happily to the village.

In an almost identical second version of this story, collected from another informant, the community to which *Wanuk* belongs is not mentioned and the boy is not an adopted son but a young slave. The adventures are the same even to details, except that before *Wanuk* presents his wife with her lover's head he instructs the slave to remove the plugs from the hatched canoes of his fellow-villagers. This does not seem to have deceived the lover, for *Wanuk* was followed as in the foregoing tale and, as there, released his dead mate in order to escape his pursuers.

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* 756

It is not claimed that any recently deceased shamans had power equal to that of *Wanuk*, although remarkable ability has been attributed to several living in the last century. The mother of one Bella Coola woman is believed to have been able to see the details of the sun and moon. She stated that on the latter were mountains and snow.

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Even more striking is the following account of a Bella Bella shaman, who had visitations from supernatural beings during the last century. On one occasion, when performing a dance on the beach, he walked into a small hill; the spectators could hear his song continuing, and soon he emerged on the other side, having passed through the obstacle. Later on, the same man was convicted of murder by a white judge and sentenced to death. His fellow-villagers asked why he did not save himself and he replied that he would do so in his own time. The judge pardoned him and set him free, which was regarded as confirmation of his claim. His first vision had come to him when in the cemetery at Lowyis, but his most spectacular experience was when a slide descended and incurred him as he was paddling in his canoe on the ocean. For one day he remained under the slide, as well as under the water, then he reappeared and paddled on his way.

[illegible]

Although the powers ascribed to modern shamans are less than those attributed to their fellows of old, yet a shaman is a person endowed with mysterious ability and wonderful knowledge, due to personal contact with supernatural beings. Hence, he is regarded as somewhat uncanny and, though respected, is likewise feared. The power is not inheritable. There is a tendency for the descendants of a shaman to have the favours granted to them, but this is nothing more than a tendency on the part of the supernatural beings to confer their boons in this manner; it is not a right. Thus anyone, man or woman, rich or poor, young or old, alone or member of an ancient family, may become a shaman.

The Obtaining of Shamanistic Power

A shaman obtains his power from a supernatural visitant, usually the mythical woman *Tlo-qulla-a* (also called *Lekh-[illegible]*) bringing him a name, four songs, and sometimes the ability to cure a specific disease. No methods are seen to attract her, but by means of magical rites a man may so purify himself that she will be likely to visit him. A second, and the most usual manner of becoming a shaman, is to receive a visit from *Tlo-qulla-a* when grievously ill. In either case a shaman is often termed a Sacred, "A Learned One."

In the first case, the wooing of shamanistic powers by magical means, is is often a matter of years before a man becomes a shaman. Sometimes the parents of a male boy will notice that he is fond of lying around the house with a far-away look in his eyes, and appear unwilling to take part in the games of the other lads. Especially if the father is a shaman, or if one of his ancestors has had the ability, the parents watch carefully to see whether or not this is merely a passing mood. If it continues, they realize that their son may become a shaman. Although there are dangers attached to the profession, they will usually make their child in every possible way. They may have had one of their ancestors obtained

the power, and will all then use it in the same method. In this way a descendant of demons has a better chance to become one than anybody else. Another indication that a person is likely to become a demon is to be relieved from sleep by a noise. To be sleep, hastily, thinking that someone has called him, all that he sees is the disappearing robes. Men have a rather peculiar position in the eyes of the Bella Coola, since they believe that these animals regard themselves as superior to mankind.

"The food of mortals is our food," say the men.

The parents see all the boy that he is likely to become a demon, and that he must accordingly take great care of himself. If he is an adult, he will begin to observe ceremonial chastity, and to any case will spend much time alone, avoiding the crowdedness of life in the village, and will think little about numbers matters. It necessary to pass alone to the forest, especially to some spot beside a waterfall, the kind of place that supernatural beings frequent. Then he lies down, sometimes for several days, with evergreen boughs spread beneath and above him. Then he rises and utility the moral sense so objectionable to supernatural beings, so that his chance of obtaining a visitation is increased. He does not know what may appear to him, but he carefully concentrates his desires which, as his thoughts are centred on lofty subjects, are likewise about matters of importance. If his dream is sufficiently clear to warrant the term vision, the recipient should remain, fasting, for four days on the spot where it occurred, and should say nothing about it when he returns home. He strength to remain with every vision, and if he, sometimes after a period of thirty years or more, he will obtain a real one and the power to cure a disease. Sometimes dreams come to him in the village, but they are more likely to occur to a secluded spot in the forest. It is impossible to obtain examples of these dreams since, for a long time, no one has been brave enough to talk

The Bella Coola is an [illegible] tribe [illegible] spot [illegible] [illegible]

power in this way, but their cure can be judged by the dramatic performances hereafter described, many of which are believed to have been derived from them.

The members of different families have remembered various means of making a person "clean" so that a supernatural being is likely to visit him. Almost every family knows one or more of them, and an individual who shows signs of becoming a shaman will be taught how to use his family method. In connection with this, the author often power will further purify himself by abstaining from sexual intercourse, by frequent washing in hot springs, by eating small portions of the nuts of conifers and the heads of reeds, and by avoiding food prepared by a widow or by a girl secluded after puberty. In this way he hopes that his dreams will be fulfilled, and that a vision may be granted him so he lies in the forest on his evergreen couch.

The following are some of the methods to be practised at dawn every fourth day.

(1) The author after power locates a small stream on either side of which there are growing two shoots of devil's club. He draws his hunting off the four stems and strips from them the bark, which he uses to scrub himself in the cold water. As he does so he says:

"Power give me power that I may see what I wish to see."

This is addressed to the plant itself, not to the supreme god. It is a request to be able to see some one of the many supernatural beings that roam the forests, but which are invisible to mortals, or at least shamans. The words are not a fixed formula, and similar ones are used in connection with each method. After washing, the author his power throws the bark and packed stem into the water.

(2) Again selecting a secluded stream, the would-be shaman picks up a smooth, round stone pebble from one side of it, and with this rubs his body, then carefully replaces it in the exact position from which he took it. He repeats the process with a second stone, crosses the stream and does likewise with one stone from the further margin.

(1) Choosing a place where two small hardwoods are growing on each side of a small stream, the seeker after power bends down the two saplings so that their branches reach the water, and with these secures his body, the spines frequently cutting his skin. When finished, he releases the saplings, which fly back to their original position.

(2) Another method is to devote four small sections, each [illegible] larger than a match, of bitter bulbous root. These are steeped with cold water and cause vomiting. The use of this plant is not limited to shows, nor is it necessary to repeat it every fourth day. Apparently, the usual prayer is not said with it.

[illegible] Both, or all, of these methods, especially if combined with the observance of ceremonial chastity, may justly the performer so that he will be able to see what is not vouchsafed to other persons. Tiresiphiles is, or one of the other supernatural beings, may grant him a revelation with shaman's power. This does not always happen, as the above means of purification are not omnipotent, but in many myths where the hero obtained supernatural power it was due to his having tried one of the above, or a similar ritual.

[illegible] The most common method of becoming a shaman is through the appearance of Tiresiphiles [illegible] when a person is ill. This woman, who always wears a blanket-like cape decorated [illegible] and undyed rabbit-fur, is able to travel anywhere at phenomenal speed. She, or some other supernatural being, may appear to a sick person irrespective of sex, whether or not ceremonial chastity has been observed. It seems as if she took pity on the sufferer and came to bring relief. The following are typical examples.

A woman had long been crippled with rheumatism. She was so helpless and weak that she spent most of her time curled in a heap on the floor, handfuls of the white red dirt with which she was covered. Her friends barely attended to her wants. One day she heard a thump on the roof, though no one else could hear it, nor could they hear the whistle with which

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Tlo-qpilite-a always announces her approach. The supernatural woman appeared, clad in her usual costume, and struck the old woman over the heart with her stick. The other occupants of the house realized that something strange had happened to the sick person. She crawled four times around the fire, sunwise, shaking her hands as well as her infirmity would permit, and endeavored to dance in time to the songs that she could hear *Tlo-qpilite-a* singing. Her friends did not interfere with her, seeing that something peculiar had come over her, and that if she is ill, any change must be for the better. The patient later described how *Tlo-qpilite-a* stood and shook her as one shakes a dusty blanket, and how she heard the sound of small particles falling from her—it was the sickness. With that *Tlo-qpilite-a* vanished and the rheumatic patient stood up, cured.

Another old woman had been so ill for four years with rheumatism, that she could barely move from her sleeping place, when a supernatural being came to her. She heard a voice saying:

"Get up! Marcel."

An invisible hand grasped her hair and led her four times around in a circle, sunwise. As usual, a tune and songs were vouchsafed to this woman, though these have now been forgotten.

One informant, a woman now past middle age, was once returning to Bella Coola from Rivers Inlet when she was taken violently ill with a stomach-ache. That night as she slept soundly on the shore she heard a voice singing. Listening attentively, she learnt the words and tunes of two songs, and heard the voice say:

"Your name is *Hlqlqulchain*."

Unquestionably the visitor was *Tlo-qpilite-a*, and if she had appeared, the woman would have become a shaman. Unfortunately for her, this honor was not granted; she received nothing more than the name, "Power to Use."

What is the explanation of the songs which shamans believe

they hear? In this case, for example, a reliable woman asserted that she had heard two, though she had since forgotten them as they had no social significance. Bella Coola shamans sings are of a simple type, with few words, and with tunes of no great difficulty, all closely akin to one pattern. Hence they could easily be invented by anyone. A person who recovers from a severe illness is expected, both by others and by himself, to have had such an experience, consequently it is easy for him to interpret the confused thoughts of a sickness as a revelation from a supernatural being. Thus it seems probable that a shaman deludes himself as well as others with regard to the songs.

A certain man had a similar experience, when he too heard *Tsimpsilim a* without actually seeing her. He was in a canoe at the time, near the point between North Bentinck Arm and Labouchere Channel, and distinctly heard her whistle, accompanied by four beats on a drum. This may have been an omen, as his sister died soon afterwards. Occasionally, *Tsimpsilim a* appears in dreams and gives information, as she did to this man's mother, instructing her to brush her body with spruce boughs to avoid smallpox. She followed this advice and both she and her husband escaped uninfected from the epidemic.

A shaman who died about 1900 received his power in the following manner.

He had been spearing salmon salmon in the Bella Coola River one autumn when one of the fish crawled to skin to his hands so he removed it from the water. From this event some mysterious malady covered his body; no one could cure him, and by December he had wasted away to a walking skeleton. Then, one morning, he heard whistling which he was sure was the voice of *Tsimpsilim a*. He wisely said nothing about this, nor was it heard by anyone else. The same sound was repeated on the next two mornings, and on the fourth she appeared.

Sometimes with none at all, merely a confused humming which is repeated as a tune. Examples of these songs are given here (1), p. 100.

"I am *Anikomdiwar*," she said. "Everyone calls on me to visit the sick, and henceforth they will likewise call you and your basin." 774* 777*

Something caused his stomach, causing it to heave violently, and he felt that the sickness had left him. He sang for the singers and repeated to them the words that *Tlingaitlin a* had chanted; then formed the tune of the shaman's song which he used on future occasions. While giving them to the singers, he endeavoured to dance, but was too feeble to do more than weakly shake his hands. From that time on, *Anikomdiwar* was able to cure the sick.

This last account is typical. *Tlingaitlin a* appears, leaves something into the body of the patient to cure him, sings one or more songs, gives the sufferer a name, and then vanishes. The curing power thus bestowed remains within the person benefited; it is to this that enables him to heal others if *Tlingaitlin a* has so decided. In such cases, there is mention of a "basin" in the song, and the one who has just recovered will be able to cure others, especially those suffering from the same malady as himself. The reference to a basin is because such utensils are used during ceremonies. To the Bella Coola a shaman is one who has had such an experience and has publicly claimed it, whether or not he can cure the sick.

Tlingaitlin a is known by many names, in accordance with his ability to cure many diseases, and the designation she bestows depends upon the malady cured. The following are some of the names received from her by shamans.

Sawaqimkulaschin, "The Strengthener of the Breath." This name was given to a person who was cured when he found breathing very difficult. The text of his song was:

"*Tlingaitlin a* gave me (the name) *Sawaqimkulaschin* with a small object to aid the breathing of the very sick."

Tsaimaik pain. This has the same significance as the last.

Tsaiaik sickness, "The Dancer Near the Fire."

Anikomdiwar, "The Dancer Who Makes Noise Only with

[illegible] His Body." A dancer with this name does not use a rattle when racing.

Anqalnamat, "Quivering To and Fro." This refers to the movements of a dancer when he dances for curative purposes.

Kpinqaitlkwanalem, "The Survivor." This is derived from *qaitlkwanem*, to receive succour, and as this is done for curative purposes, the name really signifies, "The One Who Succours to Strength."

It is believed that *Tlenqelitlen* a often sees her own disease about visiting the sick, but that sometimes a number of the supernatural beings confer as to whether an ailing person should be helped, and if so request her to visit him. Sometimes the patient is so sick that an enormous amount of power must be inserted to help him, and he dies from its receipt. In such cases he is revived by *Ituntlkwan*, a male being whose sole function is to succor those whom *Tlenqelitlen* a has slain. This return to life has frequently occurred when relatives have been mourning the death of the patient, who is presently able to recount all that he has seen. Sometimes *Tlenqelitlen* a, instead of herself bestowing power upon a sick person, carries him away to a locality to which a supernatural being was provided in the beginning of time.

Although it is *Tlenqelitlen* a who most frequently cures a sick person, there are many instances of other supernatural beings having done so. Little seems to be known of them, except that they have been recorded as appearing to give a patient their name and to cure him of his malady. So far as could be ascertained, they are thought of only in connection with appearances to the sick and, since to function they exactly resemble *Tlenqelitlen* a, and as it is she who is most commonly spoken of, it is possible, or even probable, that these are actually the same being under other names. The following beings are of this type.

The Bella Coola do not theorize as to the part of the power that conquered, if anything, they conclude that it was to the spirit.

Vimtrumbim, "The Runner." He is able to cure the sick even when at the point of death.

Bumbibbum, "The Saviour." He can rescue persons who have been injured by other supernatural beings.

Pumtrumbum, "The One Who is Thought Of." Having powerful curing abilities, people think of him when ill.

Bumbibbum, "The Open-Hearted One." His mouth is always open to such forth actions.

Pachibumbijim, "He Whose Brain Is in His Own Body." A person who receives the ability to cure from this being does not use the customary brain.

Notes: It is said that many Bisum Sulu shamans have received their powers from this creature, which is accordingly well known to the Sulu Cults in this connection, although few of their own people are said to have been benefited by it.

Since all animals are supernatural, it follows that any of them can cure the sick. Instances are remembered of this, in which the patient received a name differing slightly from that of his animal benefactor. Animals, especially colours and early-spring animals, are commonly patron names and many sick people have received aid from them. It is recognized that the forests are uncanny since they have the ability to hide themselves in insignificant creatures. One man was cured by a tree which gave him a mild-like shaman's song, imitating the creaking and moving of its branches. Much ofself, however, a supernatural animal merely speaks to a man without making him a shaman.

Two courses are open to the patient who has been cured by such a visitation. He may or may not proclaim his patron, or he may say nothing about them in the hope of obtaining further revelations and further names. From a single experience he has received a certain amount of power, but the more he has, the greater this will be. If he decides not to wait, he or men with the singers and repeats to them the words and name of the songs he has received. When later on he gives presents to validate his shamanistic name, it becomes publicly recognized.

that he is a shaman, and his future status depends on his success in curing those who appeal to him. If the man decides not to make use of his experience, he must not mention the name of his apparition, as to do so would not only prevent further benefits, but would cause the return of the disease from which he had been suffering. Some shamans have waited until they have received three or four separate visitations, acquiring a name at each; and a Bella Bella man was known to have had ten. Whether or not it is wise or safe to display shaman's power is a matter on which there is no general agreement. On the one hand by long, and perhaps fruitless, waiting, a man postpones the social status which would have been his if he had at once displayed his powers, gambling with his chances of receiving still greater gifts. While awaiting further visitations, a man may be able to make use of the power already received, although he cannot do so formally as an accredited shaman. Thus one man, who long ago was visited by a supernatural being, but has made no public claim of his apparition, is able to cure stomach-ache among his own grandchildren by massaging the stomach as if to force something from it, and then pulling this something, four times, from his spread hands. Still hoping for power, he declined to say by which supernatural being he had been visited.

The following account was obtained from one of the few old Bella Coola who claim to have had shamanistic experiences. It describes what is done when the patient decides not to wait for further revelations:

When comparatively young, the informant slept one night in the forest with a companion. On awakening the following morning, they found a wall of dried blood leading to their blankets. They examined themselves and found no wound, so concluded that the blood could not be their own, and, therefore, was a mystery, over which they worried for a few days but then forgot. Almost a week later, the narrator of the incident dreamed that a strange creature came to him; he did not know what it was, but it terrified him. A few minutes later

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he got up and was working at the fire when his nose began to bleed. The people tried the usual remedies, but they were without effect, and the nose continued to bleed for several days. Shamans after shamans was called in, but none could do anything for him; and the bleeding continued until his face became so swollen that he could not see without lifting the puffy flesh, while his body wasted away and he became weaker and weaker, at last sinking into unconsciousness. His friends assembled in the house thinking he was on the point of death; in fact, one leaver his nose to ascertain whether or not he was still alive; the scar is still visible. Then he recovered slightly, his eyes roved around, and he saw the people as in a dream, and wondered why they had gathered. Next he heard his mother weeping, realized what was the cause, and asked her to stop. The warriors, seeing his eyes and returning consciousness when he had been at the point of death, understood that a supernatural being had come to him in his hour of need and that he would become a shaman. He told those who were working over him to cease their efforts to cure him, as they were powerless.

That night as he lay feeble in his house, he began to vomit, and succeeded in ridding his stomach of a large mass of congealed blood. He and his mother examined it, and both thought he would die from its loss. In this they erred, for if he had not succeeded in getting rid of it he would have died. The night that he slept in the forest, he had lain in the path of *Sisiutlemas* who can travel only on dead trucks and that malicious being had inserted the blood in him, the last of which he had just vomited.

The sufferer gradually grew stronger, but suffered whenever sunlight fell on him; accordingly his parents blocked all chinks in the walls so that he lay in darkness. A few days later he had a relapse, and was again at the point of death, when he heard, inside his head, a humming sound like that made by a bee; it was the tune, and also the words of a shaman's song which *Tlaxpililla* was bringing to him. He could see her faintly,

* 952 * 787 and heard her utter the name that was to be his, as a shaman, *Nitemdimut*. He began to shake his hands as if dancing, for he was too feeble to do more, and began to sing the song. His mother at once called in the singers who listened, learning it for future use. The man is firmly convinced that if his mother had not thus called in the singers as speedily he would, after four days, have received another vision, and with it real shamanistic power. As it is, he is a shaman, since he was cured when at the point of death by *Tlitqalilla* *a* and received a name and song from her, but he is unable himself to effect cures. As soon as the singers had departed, his mother at once began to make for him a collar formed of alternate bands of dyed, and [292] undyed, cedar-bark. This is the distinctive decoration worn constantly by a shaman for a certain period after receiving his powers, and at all times when dancing. Within a few days all the inhabitants of the village were called in and the man's [293] family distributed presents, thus validating his shamanistic [294] name. Such presents are not returnable; "they have become nothing" for the designation. Thus accredited, a shaman is in a position to start curing, if his song has contained a reference to a basin, otherwise, as in the present case, he is merely a shaman in a social sense, not professionally. There is thought to be actually within the new shaman's body, some peculiar [292] power which is too potent to allow him to mix with others. Accordingly he wears the distinctive collar, which serves as a [94] warning to menstruating women and others who are unclean to remain at a distance, and he spends much of his time alone in the forest. This continues until the next *hamat* dance season when the coming to him of a *yous* (II, p. 6) frees him from restraint, since the one supernatural power drives out the other. If the shaman himself is unwilling to have a *yous*, it is sufficient if one comes to a son, or other near relative.

A shaman who has been told by his supernatural visitor to use a basin instructs a carpenter to make one for him. The design depends either on the owner's wish, or on that of his benefactor if the latter has decreed specifically.

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The Curing of the Sick

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756

When a person is ill one of his relatives comes to request a shaman to cure him.

"I will help the mortal," answers the shaman, as though he were himself a supernatural being.

Indeed he considers himself to be removed from the ranks of ordinary mortals, and refers to the being from whom he has received his power as "comrade." No mention of recompense is made, but the shaman understands that if he succeeds he will be rewarded. Donning his collar of alternate rows of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, he proceeds to the patient's house, usually followed by some of the singers, as well as by anyone else who is interested. He throws himself down beside, or on, the sick person and begins to feel for the sickness. Particularly in the case of stomach or chest trouble this is a difficult matter. The practitioner kneads the flesh, pounds the patient, leaps on him, and pummels him until a spectator wonders that the sufferer survives. The aim throughout is to bring the disease, pictured as a foreign object having material form, towards the surface whence it can be extracted in one of the following ways. [753]

(1) Some shamans of long ago were the possessors of life-sticks, and could cure merely by touching the patient with the life-giving end.

(2) In a simple illness the shaman is able to cure by his power alone. After locating the seat of the disease he casts himself on the patient, with head pressed close to the spot where he has located the trouble, and growls and grunts with half-closed lips, ejecting a flow of saliva over the sick person. By so doing he imparts his own power into the sufferer, who at once begins to imitate the chattering and to shake his hands. Then the shaman proceeds to recall this power to himself by scooping it up with half-cupped hands. Endowed as he is, the sickness is harmless to him. No instance is known of a shaman having failed to recall his power, but, theoretically, if he did

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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755 not do so, he would cease to be a shaman, and the ability would
756 pass to the cured person.

(3) In more difficult cases the shaman uses his basin and seeks assistance from others by a frenzied beating of sticks. He sends some young man out to fill the receptacle at the river, sets it near the patient, and throws water over him as he kneads in the manner already described. While this is going on, and
539 it is often a lengthy performance, another shaman, or someone
535 accustomed to lead the singers, ranges the bystanders into two
755 rows, facing each other between the door and the central fire. Each is provided with a beating stick such as the singers use, and a sounding-board is placed before each row. The clever dancer who has been commissioned to lead the orchestra of stick-beaters stands near the door and the musicians take their time from his movements. First he slowly raises both arms and all beat time softly, then, as he lifts his arms higher, the noise increases, and he sways from side to side as if carried away by the music; as he does so the men towards whom he leans intensify their beating, while those on the other side decrease. Back and forth he sways followed by the beating; nearing the climax he treads mincingly, whereat the noise rises to thunder-pitch, then jumps twice, and as he strikes the ground the drums beat and all the sticks come down with a final ear-splitting crash. Throughout the whole the women drone *i*.....This elaborate beating of time is repeated four times, on each occasion concluding with the double jump which calls forth the double thunder of drums and sticks.

755 Meanwhile the functioning shaman is gurgling and chat-
756 tering through half-closed lips, and at intervals the leader, or any stick-beater, shouts *heip*, a call which is supposed to soothe the supernatural beings. The din is tremendous. No explanation could be found of the meaning of this noise.

"It has always been done," say the Bella Coola, and they theorize no further.

At last the shaman rises from the sick person, holding his hands carefully cupped together as if he held something within

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them that might escape. It is the sickness! The din increases; the leader works himself into a frenzy with his rapid gyrations, then he stills the noise as the shaman goes to the door. In dead silence, the more striking in contrast to the previous tumult, he partly opens his hands and puffs against them, as if blowing something out of the door, at the same time calling out, *hoip*. Again the beating of sticks breaks out, again it is stilled, and again the shaman blows forth the sickness. This is done four times. The shaman uses his own discretion whether to send the sickness through the door or the smoke-vent. 755 756 [535]

A variant of this method is for the functioning shaman to dance during the beating of sticks, before throwing himself on the patient. With chattering teeth and shaking rattle, he revolves sunwise, his free arm bent at the elbow so that his wrist, which he shakes freely, is close to his chin; at intervals he calls out, *swaiwa*. It is a serious and important proceeding to the Bella Coola, and the effects are considered nullified if a dog barks during the stick-beating. [535]

(4) Some powerful shamans cure by the use of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. A roll made of these two substances is placed among glowing embers until it is itself afire, when the shaman puts it in his mouth. After dancing for some time to the accompaniment of frenzied stick-beating, he hauls forth the bark, still burning, and again puts it in the fire. This is done four times. Then he thrusts the burning bark into the patient's mouth, and leaves it there for some time before pulling it forth. This, too, is repeated four times. When finally drawn forth, it has attracted the sickness, which can then be thrown away by the throwing away of the bark. It seems clear that this must be done by conjuring, but the writer was unable to learn the method employed, and was repeatedly assured that no subterfuge was used. [824] [535]

(5) One illness is caused by a person carelessly stepping on a dead salmon, such as dot the banks of the rivers in the autumn. The fish, indignant, injects a sickness into the offender. [753] [825]

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755 offender. A shaman is able to diagnose the malady, and when
756 he has pulled it forth in the manner previously described, he
[825] ties it up in a bundle of four pieces of dyed, and four of undyed, cedar-bark, sprinkles eagle down over the whole, and throws it into the river. This not only causes the sickness to return whence it has come, but placates the salmon who are glad to receive the beautiful cedar-bark.

755 (6) Another method is by making a present to *Tlitcdp-*
756 *lidn-a*. The shaman prepares four collars of hemlock twigs,
782 wrapped around with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, and with numerous cross-pieces of dyed cedar-bark. When these are ready, all assemble to witness the curing, and to assist the practitioner by beating sticks. He first sets four basins, one at each corner of the fire, and then proceeds to pull it apart, leaving a glowing expanse of embers in the centre. The shaman throws on this bed pieces of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, as well as eagle down, and
[789] walks through, between the two halves of the separated fire. Several men stated that they had seen this done, but none could give any information as to the method. If actually carried out, the way in which the fire was prevented from burning the shaman and the highly inflammable bark and eagle down has been lost.

The shaman himself now guides the beating of sticks. When the tumult has reached its height he goes to the patient and places over his head one of the collars, passing it right down over his body, breaking the cross strings of dyed cedar-bark as he does so. The patient rises and the shaman picks up the collar from beneath his feet; his body has thus passed entirely through it. The sick man then revolves once, sunwise, while the shaman carries the collar once, sunwise, around the fire. He then stills the beating of sticks, which has been going on throughout, and casts the circlet on the fire. The same procedure is repeated with the three remaining collars. It is believed that these offerings reach *Tlitcdplidn-a* who, pleased to

receive such pretty objects, restores the sick, though she does not herself come to do so.

The shaman now sends a young man out to fill his cooking basin. When this is done, he carries it around the fire, once, sunwise, and sets it down beside the patient. The practitioner drinks from it, and casts some eagle down on the surface. If it revolves sunwise, it signifies that the patient will soon recover, and the shaman proceeds to wash him with the water; if it remains stationary or revolves in the opposite direction, it is an unfavourable sign, and he throws the water out of the door. More is then brought, and the procedure repeated until it revolves sunwise. Although no Bella Coola can state definitely how this is performed, the consensus of opinion is that it is done by twisting the box slightly.

Shamans are not the only ones who make offerings to *Tlúxpáiáx a*. It is generally known that she likes to receive things, so a sick person often throws on the fire a little grease, some of his own clothing, or other objects of small value. By so doing he hopes that she may appear, or that the sickness will vanish as the object is consumed in the flames. A person in good health sometimes makes like offerings, either on the central house fire or on one built behind the house, at the same time asking *Tlúxpáiáx a* to help guard him.

(v) In recent years some shamans have been in the habit of displaying the sickness in visible form; this is said to have been a practice adopted from the Bella Bella. After throwing himself on top of the patient the shaman works violently, and produces such an object as a toad, a snail, or a stick of wood, which he claims to have been the cause of the malady. This has, of course, been concealed throughout in his mouth. This belief is fostered by the undoubted skill of some shamans in extracting such foreign substances as a salmon bone, wedged in a patient's throat, or a sliver. In such cases he first works with his fingers to force the object near the surface. It is believed that some shamans are so powerful they can draw forth foreign substances by the mere application of their stick

1955 to the pain affected. In such a case the object, a twig for
1956 example, becomes visible at the end of the staff. Conjuring is employed to do this, and often a tuft of dyed cedar-bark is used, which makes the deception still easier. Shamans are very expert in such matters. It is said that when two rival shamans were disputed about their powers, one of them cast his stick on the ground and it became a snake, whereupon the other did likewise; and his became a twig which hopped after the snake. The Bella Coola find biblical parallels for such revelations of power in the transformation of Aaron's rod, and the appearance of fire on Mount Carmel.

[177]

Shamanistic Ceremonies

1956 In addition to his professional abilities, a shaman has also
1957 certain social prerogatives. As has been mentioned, many
1956 shamans lack the power to cure, but they may have seen some
1957 feat during a dream, or during a visitation from Tlingelitlin s. It enhances a man's social prestige if he can graphically display whatever he has observed. It follows that the rites about to be described are often, perhaps usually, performed by a person unable to cure the sick, but it must be remembered that to the Bella Coola there is no social difference between a shaman who can cure with the aid of a lamp, and one who lacks this power. Each has merely received a different gift from his supernatural benefactor. There seems little doubt that a man of imagina-
1956 tive temperament frequently invents a feat of this type, or
1957 rather that he ponders over one until he either dreams of it, or imagines himself to have done so. Certainly, after he has performed such a rite, he deludes himself into believing that he has had supernatural authorization for it. Conjuring feats performed long ago by shamans, feats practised by the members of other tribes, personal inventions, either actually or theoretically dreamed of, all these are among the sources from which shamanistic dances are derived. It follows that almost
1956 anyone who has the necessary skill is able to perform, provided
556 that he has sufficient food to validate the ceremony. Thus this

rape of dance differs from all other Bella Coola rites, since no [illegible] * [illegible]
inherited prerogative is required. Times ago such exhibitions [illegible]
were common, although caring shamans were rare.

The usual time for a shaman's performance is at the con- [illegible]
clusion of the burial season, though one is sometimes held prior
to that period if the would-be performer fears that the food
which he has stored up for the event is likely to be frozen.

When he decides to give a dance, the shaman first summons [illegible]
the singers to his house and teaches them a song of his own [illegible] *
composition. Theoretically both text and tune should have [illegible]
been received from his supernatural benefactor, but many per-
formers undoubtedly employ songs used by shamans ancestors
which they have chanced to remember. Another device is to
describe a supernatural being seen in a dream. In some cases
there is deliberate deception, but in most the performer per-
suades himself that he has received supernatural authorization.
The texts are full of obscure allusions, a river, for example, is
spoken of as earth running water. Often a man will commit [illegible]
a song for years, before collecting the wealth necessary to use
it publicly, with the social prestige attached. A shaman
always obtains a name from his supernatural benefactor, but [illegible]
if a man merely uses a fact observed in a dream, this is impos-
sible, so he adopts the designation of some deceased shaman,
even convincing himself that it was uttered by the apparition.
Others will probably remember this name, hence suspicions [illegible]
may easily be aroused concerning the authenticity of the per-
formance, but it is not customary to voice these. The singers
repeat the song which they have just heard, and continue
doing so until they have mastered it. Sometimes they compose
further songs themselves for the performer. During the prac- [illegible] *
tising, those who are not *initiated* are expelled from the house. [illegible]
A shaman is a person who has come in contact with the super- [illegible]
natural; hence he is akin to the members of the society who, [illegible]
therefore, support him during his rite.* A herald is sent out [illegible]

* Theoretically, a shaman need not be a doctor, but vocations usually coincide only in those of religious and imaginative temperaments, who are in the majority of cases already members of the society.

to make known to all that there will be a dance on the following day, using the tone of the shaman. After such announcement, it would be most unusual for anyone to think of leaving a village until after the performance.

Towards dusk on the appointed day the people are summoned to the house of the shaman. Near the door are seated those who are not initiated *kukwiat*; in the inner part of the house are members of the society, with the singers in their accustomed places behind the fire. The shaman stands alone between the fire and the door and sings one of his songs, the time being marked by the words alone. Then he dances, his arms shaking, his head rolling from side to side, and his feet marking time to the beating of sticks, as the singers accompany the singing of his song. If more than one song has been composed he dances to each, always accompanied by other shamans and by them alone. The shaman's costume consists of the usual blanket, and eagle down is scattered in his hair, with the additional and distinctive mark of intertwined dyed, and undyed, cedar-bark. After every song, the singers beat time very rapidly,[1] too rapidly for the dancer to keep pace with it, so he merely sways backwards and forwards shaking his hands violently. Then the shaman, assisted by a few friends whom he has chosen for the purpose, performs a conjuring feat to impress the uninitiated. The *kukwiat* realize that this may be merely a deception, but since real shamans perform something of the same nature, there is always the possibility that it may be genuine. The shaman may choose some feat which he has seen some old shaman perform; or he may use something which he has seen in a dream; or rely purely on his own inventive ability, aided, as he always is, by carpenters. The method of carrying out each trick is carefully guarded, with the result that it was impossible to obtain information about more than a few. After the conjuring act, the shaman gives food to all, followed by presents. If it is the first time that he has given

[1] This fast beating of time is called *ldd*; it occurs only in shaman and *nusut* dances.

such a ceremony, that is, if he is validating his cures, the gifts must be valuable. On later occasions, irrespective of whether it is the same trick or another that is performed, the presents will be of small value. Goods so given are not returnable. After dancing, a shaman wears his collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark all summer, in fact until he rids himself of his supernatural endowment by the performance of a *hactar* rite the following winter.

Thus there is close time-dependence of shaman and *hactar* dances. On any later occasion, at a ceremony when songs of all types are being sung, if the singers hear out the tunes of those used at the ritual just described, the shaman dances to them. This is said to "cure" him, as if the power within him was a source of danger.

The following are examples of the conjuring tricks performed, most of them done by the shaman *Ninitsamlaix*, a relative of an informant, who was able to learn the methods employed.

On one occasion *Ninitsamlaix* prepared two boxes, apparently the ordinary wooden sort used for cooking; across each he arranged a diagonal cross-piece so that the receptacle contained two watertight compartments. Previous to the performance, *Ninitsamlaix* poured water, dyed red with the bark of the alder, into one section of one of the boxes, and put eagle down in one of the compartments of the other. When the time came to carry out the rite he asked an accomplice, another shaman, to bring some water and pour it into his box. This was done, the assistant taking care to put it into the empty half, not into that which contained the dyed water. *Ninitsamlaix* shook the box and poured out some of the liquid to prove that it really was water, and then drank. The spectators, unaware of the cross-piece, did not notice that he did so from the corner opposite to that from which he had poured the water. He had, of course, drunk the dyed fluid. *Ninitsamlaix* cried out that what he had swallowed was paining him, and proceeded to vomit the red water, much to the surprise of the

uninitiated, who readily believed his claim that when he had drunk had changed to blood. Again the performer asked his assistant to bring in some water which he poured into the empty section of the other box, of which the other half contained eagle down. *Nintemalais* moved to and fro, shaking the box to spill some of the liquid, and then announced that there was so much he could not drink it all, but would pour some on the fire. As before, he tilted the opposite side of the box, so that, instead of water, the eagle down came flowing forth. The uninitiated, firmly convinced that the performer was endowed with supernatural power, never suspected that they were being deceived.

For her performance a female shaman once split a long, green stick, and gouged out the centre, so that it formed a narrow tube-like receptacle in which she laid a piece of undyed cedar-bark covered with eagle down. With wooden pegs she fastened the stick together so that it appeared to be an ordinary branch. When ready to perform, the woman asked some people to pile more wood on the fire, and, among others, an accomplice threw on the prepared stick with its butt protruding at the edge of the flames. As the fire blazed fiercely the female shaman danced; then the assistant announced that she wished to draw something from the flames, whereupon the woman seized the end of the cedar-bark from its enclosure in the projecting butt of the stick, and drew it forth. The uninitiated, ignorant of the prepared stick, were greatly impressed and puzzled as to how such inflammable material could have been in a fire without being consumed.

Nintemalais used his skill as a carpenter to carry out elaborate tricks. On one occasion he sawed the boards surrounding the smoke vent of his house, and fixed them with skin hinges so that they could be raised by ropes from outside the building. To show his supernatural power he threw several large baskets up towards the roof. As he did so his assistants outside pulled the ropes so that the opening was enlarged and allowed the baskets to pass through. In the gloom of the house

the spectators could not see the manner in which the hole was [illegible] to close. It had been too small to permit the passage of the bushes at the time they were thrown, and it was still the same size after the feat was accomplished; hence supernatural means must have been employed to force them through the roof. Thus ran the logic of the uninitiated.

An informant, when acting as a *Sacrier* spy (II, p. [illegible]), once assisted four accomplices of a shaman who had obtained a stone from one of the holes above *Kielkum*. Many landslides fall into this, bringing down stones which are full of holes and float in water. Unless closely examined, the cribbing is not evident, so that an ordinary river stone of the same size and colour can easily be confused with it.

Previous to dancing, the shaman had placed a few embers in the recesses of his stone, covered them with pounded cedar-bark, and concealed the object near the fire. When all was ready, he asked the informant, whom the uninitiated did not know to be an accomplice, to fetch him a stone. This he did, bringing one previously chosen as closely resembling the prepared one from the lake. This ordinary stone was passed around among the spectators and then given to the shaman who, unobserved, palmed it off for the other as he began to dance. At intervals he blew on the stone until the embers ignited the dry bark; first smoke appeared, then sparks, and finally a mass of flame. The shaman dropped it as if it had become too hot, showing the spot where lay the river pebble; and again passed the latter from hand to hand through the audience, who could not understand how flames had been made to appear from an ordinary river stone. The words used for the songs on this occasion did not refer to the feat about to be performed, but to the alleged power given to the performer by *Thiexpilée-a*.

On another occasion a woman who was a shaman produced an eagle's tail and said that she could make it revolve in a bucket of water, following her steps. She hid the tail, while appearing to cast it into the water, and by means of a con-

[illegible] 784 coated cord connected to drawing fashion, previously placed on the surface, around in the direction in which she was drawing. It was impossible to know the details of the method employed in this trick. The arrangement was long ago practised by a shaman.

A simple box affection trick was the substitution of a bottom made of light maple wood for one of the heavy type used by the singers. The real trick had been passed around the audience and apparently returned to one of the singers, though in reality the false one had been given to him. So he bent over the hollow sound that ensued was a source of surprise to the uninitiated spectators, nor was their wonder lessened when a real bottom was again handed around, as if it were the one that had been in use.

[776] According to an informant, the last time that a supernatural being helped the person on whom it had conferred shamanistic power to perform a rite of this kind was about 1870. A man who had fallen from his canoe into the ocean was rescued, but for a long time was ill as a result of exposure. [776] [787] River Measurer, the supernatural being who governs the height of tides in the river, appeared and made him a shaman with the ability to cure through the use of a wash-basin. As this shaman danced, he had a large box filled with water. Presently he called on one of the uninitiated to examine the height of the water and point out to his fellows how high it was. A little later he called a second man who likewise indicated on the outside of the box the height of the liquid within. It had fallen, though its disappearance seemed inexplicable.

781 789 The above furnishes a good example of the attitude of the uninitiated. The informant, a very intelligent Bella Coola, gave a number of instances of the conjuring methods employed, some of which he had helped to carry out. Unquestionably, this was of the same nature, yet, because he was deceived at the time of its performance, he readily believed that the rite was supernatural; since then he had never thought of doubting

it. The entertained are so steeped in the atmosphere of belief that any simple conjuring trick is sufficient to delude them. 781 789

Finally, the following account is here inserted, though the details of the performance could not be learnt.

The father of an elderly Bala Ganda was once so sick that no one could help him. He had coughed up blood, vomit down had been heaped on his body, and hope had been abandoned. Then a relief came to him, restoring his health and making him a very powerful shaman. His supernatural visitor had told him to employ his power beneficially, and had further instructed him in the use of a rod wherein is his. Whenever this man danced, a stick, decorated with bands of cotton-bark, wound spirally, was hung horizontally from the roof of his house. He carried one similarly embellished, but smaller, about two and a half feet long and three inches in diameter, having at one end a tuft of bark. During his dance, in which he sang of ostrich, he went under the suspended stick, held the small one in his hand, blew on one end of it, then threw it up so that it struck the large hanging one. This was presumably done by the tuft of bark falling over and catching in some way. Again he danced and, when underneath where the two sticks were suspended, he jumped up, and caught the lower end of the smaller with his hands. This supported his weight, and he swung back and forth on it until he voluntarily released his grip and dropped. When next he danced at the same spot he held out one hand with palm upperment beneath the smaller stick; the other was held in front of his mouth pointing towards the suspended one. He blew on the latter as if blowing dust from his hand to the point of contact of the two sticks, and the smaller dropped into his outstretched hand. 956* 789

By means of this stick the shaman could cure diseases. When told in what part of the body the pain was situated he pressed on that part with one end of his stick. Then he carried it to the fire and held in the smoke the end that had been in contact with the sickness. He puffed twice at it with his 755 756*

mouth, and the malady departed. It had been absorbed into the stick, and later driven from it by the shaman's breath.

* 756 789 This man made a great reputation for himself with his ability to hang from his small stick. On one occasion, after fishing on the lower Fraser River, he was encamped on the ocean beach near Seattle, where he had gone to pick hops. Four white men who had heard of his powers came to his tent for a demonstration. He put on his robes, took his small stick from his box, and used the ridge pole of his tent as the heavier horizontal one. The white men examined the small stick and found nothing peculiar about it. The man performed his dance, in the course of it throwing the small stick up against the ridge pole, where it remained suspended with the actor hanging from it. After releasing his hold, he struck the smaller stick a slight blow with his hand and it at once came away from the ridge pole.

* 756 787 As already mentioned, it is extremely difficult to obtain accounts of dreams which have served as sources for shamanistic performances. They are unconsciously embellished by the performer to such an extent that the ritual displayed has probably slight resemblance to the vision on which it is based.

The following, however, is an example of the type that could have served as theme. A man once dreamed that he saw Mount *Nusqalst* with its rocks adorned with handsome pictures. The other mountains of the valley were also decorated, but none of them was so fine. If he had had the desire and the necessary wealth he could have arranged with the carpenters to have the designs that he saw in his dream painted, and could have displayed them as a shaman's vision.

* 756 782 A shaman, particularly one who has received a vision from *Tlicăplilăn-a*, and who has had marked success both in curing the sick and in giving conjuring exhibitions, is considered to be in peculiarly close association with supernatural beings. Accordingly, he is regarded as a fit person to ask their assistance, not that he has any means of gaining help that are not open to others, but merely that his greater acquaintance with

them confess it more likely that they will grant his request. Therefore, a shaman is usually called upon to perform the following rites: 756* 782

(1) Washing the mouth of a person who has died without sending from his body the first salmon or eulachon of the season (I, p. 438). [764]

(2) Asking assistance for the complicated rites of the potlatch (I, p. 195). [356]

(3) Request for assistance before starting on a journey, by pulling eagle down into the air (I, p. 206). [484]

(4) Request for aid by means of placing food on the water and blowing eagle down into the air at Moscuche Nose and Kwatna (I, p. 109).

In fact a supplication to any supernatural being can be made with greater prospect of success by a shaman than by any other person.

The Power of Shamans

As has been said, a shaman actually has power within himself, and this is so strong that it may be a source of danger to others. If a man should pass behind one so endowed when the latter is eating, his spirit would be drawn from his body into the shaman's mouth, which would close with a click, crushing the spirit and killing the man. This is quite involuntary on the part of the shaman. It happened more than once among the early inhabitants, and since that time people have been very careful not to pass behind an eating shaman; this taboo was still in force until about 1885. A shaman, too, is said to be able to recall a spirit which has left its body, and thus caused illness. It is believed by some that shamans can see the position of a person's tally post, and so judge the length of his life. These examples show the varying beliefs of different Bella Coola concerning the powers of shamans. 756* [761] [264] [178] [755]

But the force within the shaman is really more dangerous to its possessor than to others. As certain "unclean" objects are able to subdue supernatural beings, so do these same ob- 756* 783 841

* 756 [illegible] have power over shamans. A shaman must never sleep
783 beside his wife during her menses, must never eat food pre-
841 pared by a menstruating woman, by one who has recently
washed a new-born infant, by a girl during the period of seclu-
sion following puberty, or by a widow or widower during the
year that follows the death of his partner. If a shaman's own
friends when he is dancing it is because a menstruating woman
is present in the house; he at once asks the offender to with-
draw, after which the bleeding stops. Moreover, he must
[855] never cure a woman during her periods. A wise shaman pre-
[785] fers commercial chastity frequently. In view of the lack of
cleanliness ascribed to menstrual blood, it is perhaps surprising
that a woman can become a shaman while still of child-bearing
age. This is rare, and only occurs when a woman is the last
survivor of a family. The Bella Coola themselves consider it
to be peculiar, only explicable on the ground that anything is
possible to the supernatural beings, even the disregarding of
feminine "uncleanness." Usually, female shamans are past
the age of child-bearing; if not, they observe absolute chastity.

* 956 Even inadvertent breaking of one of these rules causes
961 death. This is not regarded as a punishment inflicted by
Tsindplitlo-o; it is merely the inevitable consequence of the
supernatural power within the shaman having come in contact
with what is not clean. As a shaman is considered to be im-
mune against all ordinary ailments, his death is always attri-
buted to the breaking of a taboo. Frequently the death of a
shaman is accompanied by some convulsion of nature. One
female shaman, for example, told the people of her village to
keep their children within doors, since a supernatural being
was coming for her. Soon it became dark; there were four
loud claps of thunder, at the fourth of which she fell dead.

539 The following was related as an instance of the danger to
* 756 a shaman of coming in contact with an unclean woman.

[783] The son of the first man to come to earth at *Nulkwa* was, like his
[841] father, named *Dudzeuq*". One April he and his wife went upstream to
[787] *N'wantle*, a place in the country of the Carriers where milk-weed is plen-

[illegible] 534 756* 787

[illegible] *Dadeumg*[illegible] and a man who, when he drew near, turned into a piece of hanging moss. A little later he again saw a figure, but on approaching it became a tree. *Dadeumg*[illegible] and he with walked on and presently the former tree once more beheld a man; this time the apparition changed to a fir tree. It was evident to *Dadeumg*[illegible] that a supernatural being had mentioned itself to him, and he told his wife that they must return. On reaching home he related his experience and gave a shaman's dance.

From this experience he had received the power of curing. He could see disease when it was invisible to all others, and could summon it to himself, where it was harmless, thus restoring the patient to health. He made for himself a rattle, shaped like a bird, that had the ability of dancing of its own accord, and would catch people's hair in its opening and closing beak. The sick were brought to *Dadeumg*[illegible] from all over the valley. One day he travelled by canoe down to *Amal* where he found many of the villagers seriously ill. His arrival was quite fortuitous, for he was unaware of the epidemic that was raging. The inhabitants sought his help, so he landed and stayed there. He entered the house of a woman who claimed to be ill, and took the sickness upon himself, but no sooner had he left than he fell down stricken. He demanded to be taken home to his canoe, but he only lived two days after his return. The woman had been in pain from her menses; it was this that he had taken upon himself and caused his death.

534 756* [761] [785] [841]

In consequence of the danger attached to the vocation, many people try to avoid becoming shamans, though if *Thinápkiite-a* should appear to a man when ill, he cannot escape the power. The usual method of prevention is for a man to hold intercourse with his wife from below, so that her flesh, impure through its liability to menses, can form a barrier to the coming of supernatural power. One who wishes to escape always sleeps on the left of his wife, whereas if he is seeking shaman's power he sleeps on the right. Another method of avoidance is to use the hole in the floor which serves as exit and entrance to the house of a girl secluded following adolescence.

756* [787] [853] [513]

Since the power of a shaman is obtained by a personal experience, and lacks both form and substance, it cannot be transmitted and disappears at the owner's death. As has been

1956 owned, there is a tendency for such ability to be granted to the descendants of shamans, but this is not necessarily the case. A shaman can instruct his child and so increase the latter's chances of a vision, but the parent can do no more. A single exception to this concept was noted but the following incident was regarded as absolutely inexplicable, a thing beyond experience or comprehension.

1956 1957 A certain Kimsquit shaman had the supernatural being from whom he had derived his power actually resident in his body. At the time he obtained the gift, his benefactor had spoken to him.

"Hau-ckwik," it said, "I will live in your right arm, my head located near your wrist, my tail near your elbow. When you cure a sick person place your arm against whatever part of his body is affected and I will draw forth the sickness with my mouth."

Thanks to this assistance, the shaman was able to perform marvellous cures, as the being never failed to suck out the disease. Though aware of his supernatural guest, the shaman himself never saw it except when he summoned it to cure a patient; then it came forth from his arm, though no one else could see it. When he had blown away the sickness, in the usual manner of shamans, the supernatural one returned within his arm, out of sight.

When the shaman grew old he called a friend to him and asked him to receive his power, telling him where, and how, it was localized. The man consented. The shaman then began [198] to talk in the language of supernatural beings, as shamans often do, and presently the supernatural one came forth and became visible to the friend as a small lizard-like creature sitting on the palm of the shaman's hand. This frightened the friend and he declined the creature on the ground that he lacked ceremonial purity, hence his body was not a fitting receptacle. The shaman urged him to receive the creature, but when he continued to refuse, allowed it to return to his own arm. When the shaman died a few years later the friend

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bitterly regretted his own cowardice, for the wonderful cures stopped, whereas, had he accepted the supernatural guest, he would have been able to perform them. 956 787

SHAMANS FROM THE DEAD

There remain to be described shamans from the dead, whose abilities and prerogatives are almost identical with those already described. They obtain their power either from the visitation of a ghost in this world, or by a journey to the land of shades below. The following incident explains why shamans alone can hold converse with ghosts. 956 775 787.

Once, long ago, the lover of a young girl died. She was so heart-broken that in her agony, four days after his burial, she lay down on his grave to weep. The dead man was able to visit her and in due time she gave birth to a child, who, like its father, was a ghost, with drawn face and glaring eyes. The perturbed woman tended it in the forest, her love overcoming a feeling of repulsion, and when she returned to her home she endeavoured to prevent her own mother handling the infant, knowing that she would be horrified. The grandmother insisted, but as soon as she saw the ghastly appearance of the child she dropped it in horror, and the infant vanished. [534]

Since then there has been a barrier, resembling a wall of smoke, between mortals and the dead. If the old woman had not dropped her grandchild, the living would still be able to converse with their deceased friends and relatives.

Nowadays, shamans alone are able to lift the barrier and discourse with the ghosts of those who have departed. These are quite common visitors to the land of the living, but only a shaman can understand their languages, of which one is a series of whistles, and the other resembles the attempts at speech made by a tongueless individual. Shamans can learn what the dead require and so transmit the knowledge to the relatives of the deceased. As, long ago, shamans whose powers were derived from animals were able to teach mortals the proper methods of hunting, and the taboos enjoined, so a [198]

4 956 shaman from the dead once visited the land of ghosts and
775 leaved their souls. They informed him that food and clothing
787 thrown on the ground did not reach them, and that in order to do so it must be cast on the fire. Instead of journeying to the land of the dead some shamans receive their powers from ghosts who ascend to this earth, as the following account describes.

534 Within the lifetime of an elderly Bella Coola informant, a certain
4 956 woman, *Sîtwalwîslu* by name, left her house one evening for a few
775 minutes. When she came back she was crazy. Her face was green, her
787 mouth and face distorted and twisted, she could only whistle when she tried to talk, and kept endeavouring to walk on her hands. Taking her
[828] blankets, she went through the motions of washing them, but instead of using water, she dragged them to and fro through the ashes of the central fire, until, utterly exhausted, she lay down. By these symptoms it was recognized that a ghost had stricken her with madness, and several
[755] shamans of the dead were called upon for help. For a long time their efforts were fruitless. Then one of them obtained some stained menstrual pads. While another conducted the frantic beating of sticks, the leading practitioner waved one of the pads through the smoke of the central fire and laid it, with hemlock bark and dyed cedar-bark, on the patient's face. After leaving it there a few moments, he took it off and, while the beating of sticks was stilled, threw it out the door. When this had been done four times the woman was restored to sanity. Later on she said she had seen the ghost of a certain *Tsîwsnî*, a man recently deceased. Emerging from her trance she found herself in her house surrounded by numerous people and the shaman working over her. If he had not been able to cure her, she would have died; in fact, it was impossible to discover whether the Bella Coola regarded this woman as having been cured of an illness, or as having been restored from the dead.

Sîtwalwîslu called for the singers to whom she sang four songs, relating what she had seen. They described how she stood by a fire in the land below, where the sun travelled from west to east, and where everything differed from this earth, though reminiscent of it. The singers learnt the songs, and it was to their music that the woman danced on later occasions. She was able ever afterwards not only to cure maladies caused by ghosts but to talk with them. For this purpose she was in the habit of lying down at night in the graveyard, looking down into the land of the dead which was open to her, and conversing with the inhabitants in a strange whistling language which the living could hear, but could not

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understand. She was also able to gaze downwards at the edge of the central fire nearest to the door. 756* 775

Ăwstăhăkmots, an old shaman from the dead who died not long ago, obtained his power by chancing to visit their land. 787 539 The themes of his songs were of the land of the dead where, he said, there were many people; where those who had been rich on earth were rich, but where those who had been poor were still poor; where those who had been blind could see, and those who had been maimed were whole. He told of *Pălwăl*, a legless creature who lives in the land below, but can travel with amazing speed. In fact this shaman stated that it was he who was sent when the ghosts wished to communicate with the living, a statement contradicted by others. He told further of *Kawikudjăn-a*, a supernatural woman resident there, who is able to pick berries with phenomenal rapidity. But this talent avails her little, since her basket is full of the teeth of dead men who devour the fruit as fast as she picks them. It was *Ăwstăhăkmots* who described how in the land below there were only two enormous trees of the kind known to the Bella Coola as *kĭp*, under the shade of which the ghosts played a game resembling football with huge, light balls. 796 796

A dead person usually chooses one of his own relatives as the proper person on whom to bestow the power of a shaman, but their actions in this respect can neither be coerced nor cajoled. Ceremonial chastity is of assistance, and power can usually be obtained by anyone who lies four days and four nights, face downwards, on a new grave. Nor does every sight of a deceased person bring with it this faculty; in fact, ghosts are greatly dreaded since they usually cause harm to the beholder. On one occasion the mother of an elderly Bella Coola woman left the house one evening, to return shortly with her face screwed up into a ghastly smile, green in colour, and with saliva dribbling from her mouth. She was quite mad. A shaman from the dead succeeded in curing her, or it may have been in restoring her to life, and she was able to tell how she had seen what she took to be a man with face averted. She 756 775 787

* 756 called out to him, and then remembered no more. It was
775 obvious that she had seen a ghost.

[787] It is over diseases caused by ghosts that a shaman from the dead has power. If a person picks up and eats any morsels
753 which he has dropped he will usually suffer, because, though
* 756 he thinks the crumbs have fallen, they have really been pulled
775 from his hands by a hungry ghost, who thus showed his desire
[264] for food. By picking up and eating the fragments, the man thwarts a dead person who retaliates by forcing some sickness into him. Ghosts may visit this land of the living and ask their relatives for food or clothing, but mortals, unable to hear the speech of the dead, are unaware of the requests of their deceased relatives, and so do not answer them. The irritated ghosts respond by causing sickness. In such cases a shaman
755 from the dead is able to suck out the cause of the ill, and some-
* 756 times to display it as a bone, twig, or other small object and at the same time to tell the sufferer what it was that his relatives desired. Like ordinary shamans, a shaman from the dead uses his own discretion whether or not to employ the violent beating of sticks, and like his fellow-practitioner re-
[465] ceives payment from those whom he has helped. There are no fixed charges, but a successful shaman is always wealthy.

* 756 The intimate contact of ghosts with shamans has already
787 been mentioned in connection with the ability of the latter to
694 learn from the ghost of a murdered person whom he believes to be his slayer.

There is one method of sacrificial curing practised by
755 shamans from the dead alone. If the sickness refuses to yield
* 756 to ordinary methods, the practitioner makes ten cedar-bark
782 vessels, fills these with grease and places them near the fire, one between it and the door, one on the inner side, and four on either side of it, parallel to the side walls of the house. By each vessel are placed two small wooden figures, roughly carved to represent men, and decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark. After endeavouring to suck forth the disease, with or without the assistance of the frenzied beating of sticks, the

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shaman pours the grease on the central fire, and throws on it also the figures and some dried salmon. Thus propitiated, it is believed that the dead will be more likely to allow the sickness to be sucked forth.

Shamans from the dead perform conjuring feats and dramatic performances of the same type as ordinary shamans. Until he gives his first dance a newly created shaman is known as a *tsax*, the same word that is used for a *tsaxiut* initiate, and during this period he wears the shaman's collar of intertwined dyed and undyed cedar-bark. If he is wealthy and influential, a shaman will repeat his dance every fourth year. Such a performance can be held at any season, although the usual time is after the *tsaxiut* ceremonies. The dramatic representations are of scenes witnessed in the land below, though sometimes they are done in a reverse manner, following the practice of the dead in doing things strangely. Thus one shaman reported that the ghosts wore very long blankets, but when he danced he wore one that came only to his hips. The method of singing is the same as that employed by ordinary shamans, but one whose power is derived from the dead dances with head bent downwards, his free hand pointing to the ground with first finger extended. Also his cry of "*swai, swai, swai,*" uttered at intervals with a deep cadence, differs from that used by ordinary shamans. A dance always terminates with the distribution of food to validate the ceremony.

Like ordinary shamans, those from the dead cannot transmit their power. At death their songs too are lost, unless they choose to give them to a friend who is also a shaman from the dead. This is obviously contrary to the theoretical belief that all songs have been obtained during revelations, but is not at all contrary to the Bella Coola practice of having the singers assist the visionaries in "remembering" their visions.

The following tale, although drawn from the distant past, is a typical illustration of one of the many ways in which shamanistic power is received from the dead.[6]

[6] Few stories of similar type have been included in vol. I, chap. xxx as explicit the life of the dead, and others are grouped together in the next chapter.

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The Lads Who Visited the Home of the Dead

Long ago there was a Bella Coola man who had two sons. His wife died, and presently he remarried, becoming in time the father of an infant daughter. The second wife abused her step-sons, their father neglected them, and the two were poor and miserable, their best friend a faithful dog. When the people were invited to a feast, the lads were frequently overlooked as being of no importance, and their step-mother used to upbraid them for lacking the spirit to resent this insult. They could not answer, but merely biided their time. The two used to sleep on a raised platform behind the fire in hope of receiving supernatural assistance, and always left the house by a hole in the floor rather than through the door, thus observing one of the essentials for those who wish to obtain aid.

One day the two set out on an expedition into the mountains, carrying skin with which to make moccasins. As they were sitting at this work, the dog, which had followed its masters as usual, ranked off barking furiously. The brothers hurriedly finished the shoes and followed the animal in time to see it disappear into an opening after a porcupine. The elder leading, the two entered the cave which grew wider; on and on they went until finally they could see light in the distance. Guided by the barking of the dog ahead of them, they finally emerged into daylight, to find themselves in a new world, a land in which there was a large river and a sky resembling that above the earth, but different. The dog was waiting for them and had stopped barking.

The brothers set off up the river bank and presently saw on the other side a large town in which many people were moving about. The younger brother could see it plainly, but to the elder it was vague and indistinct. They called out to the people:

"Hi! Please send a canoe for us."

Though they called repeatedly, no one paid the slightest attention; the people seemed to be deaf, unaware of their presence. The two brothers remained all day opposite the village, calling out at intervals without result, and all the time becoming more hungry and disgusted. Towards dusk one of them yawned noisily. To their surprise there was a commotion in the town; the yawn had been heard although their cries had not. They could hear the people on the other side of the river discussing the noise.

"Let us send a canoe to fetch whoever may be over there" was the gist of their remarks.

Presently a canoe was poled out from the further shore, and held in position by the ferryman beneath the bank on which the brothers stood, necessitating a jump of two or three feet to reach it. As the elder prepared to leap into it, he glanced down and saw that the stones on the

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river floor were visible through the canoe as if it had no bottom at all. He drew back in fear. Though he knew it not, they had come to the land of the dead, where horseless canoes and other phenomena were to be expected. The younger brother, to whom the village had been plainly visible, had no fear, but leapt down bravely, and was poled across to the further shore, where he soon disappeared from his brother's sight among the throng of villagers.

The elder youth, left alone with the dog, sat down and wept, thinking that he had indeed lost his brother. After a time he continued his journey up the river-bank where presently he saw a bridge. He eagerly went over, intending to turn back towards the village where his brother had gone, but as soon as he had crossed he lost all thought of his original purpose and continued his journey upstream instead. Presently he heard the sound of adze strokes, and drew near, cautiously, until he could see the man who was using the tool.

"Why have you come here?" the woodcutter asked.

"Oh, for no special reason," the boy replied. "I should like to see your chief."

The woodcutter guided him to the house and when near called out, "The stranger wants to see our chief."

People came rushing out of the houses and the lad realized that he had come to the land of the wolves. His guide directed him to the chief's house which he entered through a doorway cut in a totem-pole. Within, the chief greeted him in a kindly fashion, saying:

"Please sit down for a little while until I can bring some friends to play with you."

He went outside, but presently returned and led him through the door to some moose-skins which he had spread on the ground under the totem-pole. Then he called the friends, who were four wolves. They came leaping out of the house and devoured the young man; but though his body was in four pieces inside the stomachs of the four animals, he was still conscious. After eating him, the beasts devoured the dog. Presently the wolves vomited into a dish, whereupon the chief re-formed what had been voided into a human being, and the lad was as before he had been eaten. Then the same was done to his dog.

The chief now beat once upon a drum as a signal for the people to adorn themselves for a dance; again he beat, and they assembled. Apparently all was ready, but the boy realized that the leader of the orchestra was absent. Again and again the chief beat on the drum, until at last the missing man drew near. He entered singing:

"A lad went out with his younger brother and his dog. A porcupine round the mountains to open for him."

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539 As he sang, smoke could be seen rising from behind the house; the
* 756 youth could see that it came from Porcupine's fire, but the song explained
775 that it was eagle down for their mortal guest. The singer repeated his song; more smoke ascended from another place, which the lad saw was Mountain Goat's fire. The song was sung again and again, and at each repetition new smoke could be seen, from the fires of Deer, Black Bear, Whistler, Marten, Beaver, Wolverine, in fact from all animals except Grizzly Bear. The chief explained to his guest that whenever he wanted meat he could go hunting and would be able to see the smoke rising from the fires of various animals.[8]

"Tomorrow you will return home," he continued. "Your brothers (meaning the four wolves that had eaten him) will go with you to carry some presents."

Next morning [it was really a year later] the wolves tied up gifts of smoked meat in blankets woven of goat wool and sewn blankets of whistler, black bear, and marten. The meat, though a large quantity, was reduced to so small a compass that the four animals carried it without difficulty. The five travelled back to the spot where the two brothers had sat down to make their moccasins, and at that point the wolves returned to their home.

Now for the first time the lad remembered his brother, and began to weep bitterly, thinking that he must be dead. But presently he heard the sound of footsteps inside the cave through which the porcupine had guided him; they grew nearer, until the younger boy emerged. The elder was overjoyed, but his delight was turned to dismay when he saw that his brother's face was green and haggard, with a strange expression; that he had lost all the flesh from his body, and that his clothes, the same that he had worn when they parted company, were torn to tatters. His brother's appearance affected him so much that he fell down dead. The younger lad, however, had been made a shaman by the dead, so he quickly restored his brother. They exchanged experiences; the younger saying that the dead had given him the name *Kipdxs*. His appearance was vastly improved when he clad himself in a black bear blanket and two whistler cloaks brought by the other from the village of the wolves. The two returned home, entering the house secretly and lying down at once

[825] [8]To understand this the reader must remember the firm Bella Coola belief that all animals can assume different forms. To the ordinary person they appear as beasts, but in reality they lead lives resembling those of humans, having houses,
[224] fires, blankets, and other comforts. An individual who is able to see the smoke of their fires will have no difficulty in finding the homes of the animals and hence will have great success in hunting. The only one this lad was to avoid was Grizzly Bear, who was so fierce that pursuing him would be dangerous.

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on their old bed on the raised platform behind the fire. No one knew of their arrival.

Although neither the father nor the step-mother of the lads had shown them any affection when they were at home, as soon as they were lost both had been overwhelmed with grief. They lost all energy and, sunk in misery and self-recrimination, would sometimes lie for days on opposite sides of the house, not even keeping a fire alight. The other inhabitants of the village considered them beneath contempt, and often at night they would relieve themselves in the house of the sorrowing couple. The only person with any energy in the household was their daughter, now a child about five years old. On the day of her half-brothers' return she happened to throw some rubbish on the fire and, as it flared up, she saw long hair hanging down from the raised bed. She called out to her mother:

"Perhaps my brothers have come home. I see the hair hanging down."

But the mother answered: "Be quiet. Your brothers have been away for a year, we do not even know how they died."

The little girl was not satisfied. She threw more rubbish on the fire and again she saw the long pendant hair. When she told her mother the woman cried out angrily:

"Be quiet, you little liar!"

The two brothers had been listening to this dialogue, and the elder now took a mountain goat bladder filled with grease which he lowered so that it swung to and fro beneath the platform. When the little girl again threw rubbish on the fire her eye was attracted by the swinging object which she took and carried to her mother with the remark:

"My brothers must certainly have come home, see what they have brought."

Now the woman believed, and carried the bladder to her husband on the other side of the house, telling him the glad news. Together they went to the raised platform where the elder brother greeted them, but lied, saying:

"I am alone, I do not know what has happened to my younger brother."

In his delight at the return of one of his sons the father became sufficiently energetic to cut some firewood, such an unusual undertaking that some of his neighbours came to ascertain the meaning of it. He told them the news, which was passed around until the whole village knew, and all assembled in the house except those who, having polluted it, were now frightened to appear. The two brothers did not come down, and only the elder spoke to those gathered below. One malicious person tried

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to injure him by throwing on to the roof not far from his head a pad stained with menstrual blood, but *Kipdes*, by means of his magical power, knew that it was there, and whispered to his brother, who passed the information to his father, so that the old man was able to remove the pad before either of his sons was injured. The elder brother told the people where he had left large supplies of meat. This they brought in with great rejoicing the next day.

Although the two brothers remained constantly concealed, rumours began to circulate that the elder was not alone. After a time it became generally known that the supposition was correct, and that the younger brother had received a shaman's power from the dead. A malicious chief made the statement that he did not believe this and cast insinuations as to why a shaman should conceal himself. *Kipdes* used his power to inject sickness into the man and after a few days he died, though no one knew the cause.

Then the elder lad said, "My younger brother has told me that you should not bury the dead man too quickly. Let him try to restore him."

Some of the deceased's relatives were willing, others were not, but at last they agreed to give *Kipdes* an opportunity to show his skill, and he revived the dead man without any difficulty. In his gratitude the chief gave the restorer his daughter as a wife. Not long after, another chief expressed his disbelief and again the shaman caused him to become sick. This time the people at once appealed to *Kipdes* for help; this was refused, but when the man died he restored him, as he had done on the previous occasion. As before, he received a wife as a mark of gratitude. The reputation of *Kipdes* was now established; many dead persons were brought to him to be restored and through the presents given to him he was able to give potlatches. Nor did he forget his elder brother, but obtained wives for him too. Meanwhile the latter was having great success in hunting and brought in so much meat that he was able to give a potlatch at which his younger brother danced and was given a name.

One evening,[10] not long after this time, a little girl about six years old kept crying and crying; nothing would pacify her. The parents tried to soothe her but at last the mother said:

"Let's go away and leave her, the dead will take her."

So all in the household withdrew to the bedrooms, leaving the girl weeping beside the central fire. Presently her cries grew fainter, and the mother rushed out, but her daughter had vanished. The sobs were coming from beneath the ground, and they realized that it was indeed the dead who had taken the mother at her word and had seized the child. It sounded as if the girl were just beneath the surface of the ground, so the

[10] Cf. a similar story (I, p. 503).

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people threw resinous sticks on the fire and followed to the graveyard, where she cries led them. They took sticks and dug furiously, but could not catch up to her, for the echo grew fainter and fainter as the child was carried below.

In their despair the parents called *Ëipdzc*.

"All right," he replied, "I will try to bring her back. Please leave me alone in my house and I will invite the dead to a feast."

He collected all the vessels with urine in them from the village and gave one to each of a number of assistants whom he stationed around the walls of his house hidden beneath the roof. Then he invited the dead, who assembled with the exception of the woman who was taking care of the little girl. After repeated invitations she too came, and took her place on the chief's seat behind the fire, with the weeping child in her arms. *Ëipdzc* gave the signal and his assistants emptied the vessels. At once the dead people became impotent and sank as heaps of bones to the floor, leaving the little girl apparently unharmed. The parents picked her up eagerly and the bones were swept out to the graveyard.

The child kept crying out for salmon-berries, which were unprocurable, as it was winter. So the parents appealed again to *Ëipdzc*, who understood that what she wanted were snowberries, which are as salmon-berries to the dead, in whose land she must have eaten them. She would eat nothing else and, as they are not nutritious, she soon died, nor could she again be restored to life.

A similar version omits any mention of a step-mother as the reason for the boys leaving home, and simply begins with their following the dog into a cleft of the mountains. The dead, after receiving the younger boy as in the preceding tale, try to make him eat "cranberries," which are in reality the eyes of corpses. Meanwhile, the older youth encounters the wolves, but in this case is given instructions about entering their house, whereby he escapes being eaten and is greeted cordially and granted a boon before leaving. This is the ability to gain a desire by merely wishing for it. It is by exercising this power that he meets his long-lost brother. In this account the younger boy's name received from the dead is *Ëdyakdzwat*, and Death, *Sa-lma*, gives him a stick with which to lift him from his position on the lid of a coffin. In the end *Sa-lma*, his patron, recalls the young shaman to himself. This version, which is the more abbreviated of the two, makes no allusion to the attempted rescue of a child from the land of ghosts.

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Direct Revelations from the Supreme God

As has been noted, a shaman receives his power from one or other supernatural being, not from the supreme god, *Alquntám*, himself. Yet instances are known to the Bella Coola of such benefactions, and to a visionary so endowed the term *sudzum* is applied. In every case a revelation of this type is considered to have taken place comparatively recently. In view of the manner in which biblical tales, introduced by Europeans, have spread from tribe to tribe in distorted form, it is not improbable that all such examples of the direct appearance of the supreme being can be traced to this source. Having heard from the white man of cases where the deity has appeared to men, the Indians would be only too ready and willing to accept and transmit such a tale, since it belongs to their general culture pattern. In the example here given, the instructions about dissemination of the knowledge imparted in the vision, as well as the claimed foreknowledge of European houses, strongly suggests a post-white man origin. Further, once the concept of the possible appearance of the supreme god is accepted—and no Bella Coola would question the accuracy of accounts heard from others—it would be a simple matter to attribute the powers of very strong shamans to this source. Accordingly, several typical shaman stories have been included in this section because it is claimed that the principal characters in each was a *sudzum*; it is highly probable, however, that if such a tale could have been collected when the whites first reached British Columbia, he would have appeared as nothing more than a shaman.

A *Sudzum*

A man whose home was on the lower Fraser was once cooking fish with hot stones in a box. To do this properly he needed four sets of heaters; when the food was nearly ready and he was dropping one of the fourth collection of stones into the box, the tongs, weakened by much hard usage, broke. The stone fell into the boiling water with a splash, severely burning the man, who, as it was salmon time, wore no clothing.

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Even in his pain he thought of the way in which human beings are less protected than beasts and this idea troubled him so much that he fainted. *Ăłqunŭm* saw that the man was distressed and while he was still unconscious appeared to him, saying:

"I see you are worried about your lack of clothing. I have a message for you. Strange people, somewhat resembling yourselves, are approaching from the far east. They will help you out of your plight. You will find them cooking without the cumbersome boiling box; their houses will be warm and they will even have smooth coverings to their floors; there will be special places for sleeping and wonderful cooking-pots. Though all be warm in these houses, yet the fire will be invisible."

As a result of this vision the man became a *sndzum*. In the autumn he moved toward the coast and built for himself a house of special type with a raised sleeping platform in it, reached by a ladder.

Ăłqunŭm had told him to transmit his message to other tribes, and for this purpose he travelled to the sites of Seattle, Comox, and Nanaimo, telling what he had heard in his trance. He further said that the newcomers would wear clothing, leaving only hands, feet, and faces exposed. This, too, he had learnt from the vision, also that the strangers would arrive during the generation of his hearers.

His fellow tribesmen used to eat large quantities of clams, which could be gathered only at the time of full-moon or new-moon, when the far-receding tide exposed a great expanse of clam-bed. The people decided to test his power by asking him if he could not gather the shell-fish at a time when the tide was medium and the beds covered. The visionary was on his platform in the upper part of his house, but without raising his head, he said:

"Yes, get ready; I will join you immediately."

He descended, passed through the doubting crowd which made way for him, and went to the ocean, with eyes tightly closed. Arrived at the water, he lowered his hand to feel it, then carefully put his foot under the surface, as if it were a mat. He advanced with short steps, going through the motions of one who rolls something back with his feet, and as he did so the water piled up as if it had been a mat, exposing the clam-bed. When he felt weeds under his feet he knew that the outer edge of the bed was reached and accordingly stopped, turned his back to the sea, which was now high as a wall, and held it back, without becoming wet. He called to his tribesmen who came and gathered the clams, though some looked doubtfully at the wall of water before them. When all who wished had done so, he ordered them to leave and returned towards the shore himself; the water following him, became normal and recovered its former area.

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177 The details of this incident are sufficiently circumstantial
* 756 to presuppose a distorted historical event. Moreover, many
* 787 of the old people had heard of the incident, another indication
[539] of the accuracy of the tradition. As far as could be judged,
[533] news of the vision must have reached Bella Coola about the year 1800.[11] It is said that the *snāyom* sang the following song in a language unknown to any of his hearers: *Aqwimicu aqwimicu sisilı axwamıc qwisiya*.[12] None of the older men appear to have any idea of the meaning of these words, or even of the language to which they belong.

No event has had such profound effect on the lives of the Indians of British Columbia as the coming of the white man. It would be surprising if, looking backwards, they did not feel that it had been foretold by prophets. The preceding story is the only Bella Coola example of such a belief, although tales of a similar kind are found widely throughout the province. In addition, there are a few traditions of prophecies fulfilled by the white man. One of these is that long, long ago, a shaman stated that in the future the dead would return with the ability to make fire by rubbing the end of a small twig along a rough surface, and that, soon after, all the Indians would die. The Bella Coola consider that matches are referred to in the first part of the statement, and read their own doom

[174] [11]The approximate date was determined in the following manner: The most complete account of the event was obtained from a man fifty-six years old in 1924 who had heard the details from his mother. He was the youngest of a large family, so it is probable that his mother was about forty-five years of age when he was born. When a child of about ten, she had been told of the vision by a woman just passed the age of child-bearing, who had recently reached adolescence when news of the event reached Bella Coola. The figures can be arranged in tabular form.

Duration of the informant's life	56 years.
Interval between his birth and the time his mother heard the news	35 years.
Interval between transmission of the news to the informant's mother and its receipt in Bella Coola	35 years.
Total	126 years.

Allowing for exaggerations, this would make the correct date about 1800.

[126] [12]A phonograph record was made of this song for the National Museum of Canada. Recorded as song VII D 21b; singer, Jim Pollard.

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in the second, as indicated by their diminished population. It is also said that about 1850, when a party of Bella Coola had camped for the night near Ocean Falls, one of the sleepers wakened his comrades by calling on them to look at the brilliant lights. No one then understood what he meant, but the meaning has become clear since the installation of electric lights in the town. 177 756* 787*

In addition to the preceding, a number of stories of the regular shaman type were collected, in which, however, the principal figure is said to have been a *snāyem*. They are included in this section for the reasons already mentioned. 539 756* 787*

A POTENTIAL *Snayem*

The mother of an elderly Bella Coola used to receive direct communications from *Ālqunṭām* which gave her the necessary qualifications for a *snāyem*, though she did not wish to exercise her power. She was able to see over the whole earth, and to talk to sun, moon, and stars in a language which the other Bella Coola did not understand. She built a small house for herself in the woods where she usually slept alone; sometimes her husband joined her, but he was always afraid of the gigantic toads and other monsters that were her companions.

THE WOMAN WHO COULD CALL THUNDER

About one hundred years ago there was living in a village at the mouth of the Dean River, a man, *ᵊwinᵊdla*, and his wife, *Swuqnaix*. He was a famous hunter who frequently observed ceremonial chastity and his wife claimed to be a shaman, but the inhabitants of the villages on both the Dean and Kimsquit rivers doubted this, as did also those living in the lower Bella Coola valley. *Swuqnaix* was so boastful and disagreeable that at last the chiefs held a meeting and went one day to her house, where they told her that if she failed to give a satisfactory demonstration of her powers she would be killed.* Some were ashamed to doubt her word, but the concensus of opinion was that she should prove her claims, so they all sat down in her house and waited. She looked around and selected one man, *Kulkal*, without apparent reason, and told him that he was to

*Such power on the part of chiefs is most unusual and, though it was related without comment by the narrator, should not be regarded as historically correct. [622]

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summon Thunder for her. The spectators began to beat time while she danced sunwise. After some time she told *Kuelkuel* to call Thunder, telling him what to say, and to address this supernatural being by his shaman's name, *Xwinowitsakmlaix*, instead of the usual *Sniaxl*. *Kuelkuel* did as she bade him. Then the spectators again beat time, and again she danced, and for the second time her helper called to *Xwinowitsakmlaix*. A third time the performance was repeated and after *Kuelkuel* had called she said to him:

"You have reached him, he is looking back towards us."

Some of the spectators began to be frightened. After the fourth time of dancing and calling, a violent peal of thunder was heard, and all believed her. Then she stood up and stated that she had learnt a song from *Alqunstm*, who had given her power in a dream. She taught the singers the following words:

"Our father is *Alqunstm* who is going to look after us."

After this she told the people to go to the river, throw water over their heads, and pray to *Alqunstm* to help them.

Next day she announced that she was going to a village on the Dean River to give a demonstration of her powers to convince the sceptics, and that she would like a number of the Kimsquit River people to accompany her. Some were unwilling, because they thought that if she were unsuccessful they would be held up to scorn, but *Snaqnaix* assured them that if she failed she would commit suicide, so they consented to go with her. Arrived at the Dean River village, all the inhabitants gathered to meet her in the house of one of the principal chiefs. She danced as she had done in her own house, four times, and after each dance *Kuelkuel* summoned *Xwinowitsakmlaix* on her behalf. After the fourth calling there was a violent peal of thunder, which convinced all of her power. She likewise taught them the tune that she had learnt in her dream from *Alqunstm*.

After this second demonstration *Snaqnaix* asked some of her fellow villagers to accompany her to Bella Coola. Again they were afraid, especially as it was November when thunder is most unusual in British Columbia, but she quieted their fears and they set out with her. On reaching *Qemqo'ts* she went to the house of a chief, where the inhabitants both of that village and neighbouring ones soon gathered to greet her in such numbers that many had to remain outside. The shamaness danced as she had done on the previous occasions, and as before *Kuelkuel* called to *Xwinowitsakmlaix*:

"Your comrade wants you."

Immediately after the fourth summons there was a violent peal of thunder, and those Bella Coola who had been uncertain of her power were

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convinced. She taught them the tune that she had obtained in her dream and for eight days remained in the vicinity, carrying out the instructions of *Alquantsw* by healing the sick. She was able to cure a patient by merely looking at him, and pressing the place where the pain was situated. It was universally agreed that she had justified her claims to shamanism; the coming of Thunder three times could be no accident. *Alquantsw* had given her the power and designated Thunder as the particular supernatural being to bring it to her. From him she received the name, *Xwinwintsakmlain*.

When *Swaqwair* returned home to Kimsquit, she told her husband that he must never again hold intercourse with her or she would die. This is in accordance with an old tradition; at her suggestion they continued to live together, and he strictly obeyed her command for one year. Then he disobeyed it and she died immediately.

A KIMSQUIT *Sndqum*

A Kimsquit woman, *Xaciyat*, claimed to be a *sndqum*, but the Bella Coola were unconvinced. On one occasion she, and a large number of Kimsquit people, came to Bella Coola where they were entertained in the house of *Pasha*; guests from the whole valley came there to see her and a doubter asked her to show her power. *Xaciyat* complied with the request.

"I want a man with a strong wash-basin," she said.

When she had chosen her assistant she said to him:

"You shall be my medium. The people have asked for an exhibition of my skill, and I want you to repeat to the powers above what I tell you."

She said something to him, which he repeated. *Xaciyat* laughed.

"That is good. They are moving," she remarked, "speak to them again."

He repeated her words a second, third, and fourth time at her bidding. Then she said to the spectators:

"Hide all the small children under the blankets."

Some were impressed and did as she had ordered, but others were sceptical and refrained. There came a crash and a blinding light, whereupon those who had neglected to cover their children hastily did so. A second, third, and fourth peal of thunder succeeded the first until the house boards rattled. Then she said to the doubter:

"What manifestation would you like, the powers are ready?"

"That is enough," he answered tersely, whereat everyone laughed.

Xaciyat dismissed her mouthpiece and the meeting broke up. Next winter the smallpox reached Kimsquit, claiming among its other victims

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* 756 a boy who was dearly loved by his father. The latter, thinking that
* 787 *Kusiyot* was responsible for his son's death, killed her and was slain in
539 revenge. Because of the doubts thrown by the Bella Coola on *Kusiyot*'s power and revelation her fame did not spread widely.

Power Localized in Certain Spots

778 To the Bella Coola every supernatural being is, or should
[776] be, able to move, in fact many of them can travel with phe-
[773] nomenal rapidity. But, in the beginning of time, when *Ăłquntăm* was populating the earth, he sent down certain creatures which were later turned to stone, thereby localizing their power. The term for a place where this happened is *smä·tl*, which can be translated with accuracy as, "A Locality Where Power has Become Petrified." It follows that anyone desirous of coming in contact with supernatural power of this type can do so by visiting the spot where it is situated. There
[773] are not many of these places, nor do they figure prominently in Bella Coola mythology, and, as usual, there are many contradictions in the accounts. Apparently there is a tendency to ascribe the occurrence of peculiar experiences to localities where power is petrified. The following are the more important spots of this type, with a short account of the specific attributes of each.

773 (1) *Smaien·a*, also called *Slexlekwaily:* At the head of the
778 Clearwater, one of the sources of the Bella Coola River, and
539 the place from which comes the warm east wind.

Concerning the origin of the power in this spot the following tale, which is regarded as very ancient, was obtained.

Long, long ago, the ocean spread far to the east, covering the whole Bella Coola valley.[14] The shoreline of the ocean was at the village *Slexlekwaily*, so called from a chief of that name living there. Mount *Xlikwals*, which is now several miles inland, was then a point around which surged dangerous

[14] It is assumed that the world was unpopulated at that time, though mention is made of people who were living there. This does not strike the Bella Coola as a contradiction; the accuracy of an ancient story is never questioned; hence it is taken for granted that "people" in the modern sense, were not then in existence.

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currents, and where there was always much wind, making it feared by mariners in those distant days. Tradition does not state what being drove back the ocean to its present position; it may have been Raven who made the Bella Coola valley habitable. 773 778 539

Once a war party from the north swooped down to attack *Sluxlekwaily*'s town. Although the chief's herald, who was stationed a mile below the settlement, called out a warning, the raiders were successful and carried off a number of slaves. *Sluxlekwaily* could not bear to think of his people as captives and accordingly exerted his miraculous power to turn the whole place to stone. Houses, raiders, captives, canoes with their carvings, and paddles can still be seen there, all petrified. They have become *smä·tl*.

According to another account, *Sluxlekwaily* exerted his powers to petrify the canoes and the bodies of his enemies before they reached his village. He asked the paddlers whither they were bound, and when they told him he, or the mountain which he later became, for there is a confusion between the two, invited them to land. On so doing they were changed to stone, and in this form can still be seen, complete even to the paddles, a proof that the ocean once extended far to the east of its present limit. Many Bella Coola have heard of these canoes, and they are said to have been seen recently.

Since that time the power animating the place has frequently become visible in the form of an enormous snake. There, too, are to be found countless smaller ones, a constant menace to the unwary. The following incidents describe the adventures of people passing near this spot: 778 539 [787]

The trail to the interior makes a detour to avoid *Sluxlekwaily*, but sometimes one of the reptiles, many of which are enormous, will be found lying across the track. If the traveller is bold and jumps over it, no harm will come to him, but if he should try to avoid it by going around, the single snake will increase to a multitude. Not only material objects, but the

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intelligence of *Sluxlekwaily* has become petrified there and resents any slights.

Four men were once passing the spot on their way to the interior when one of them, in bravado, pushed with his stick against the stones which once had been the houses of the village, saying as he did so:

"*Sluxlekwaily*, petrify us if you can, we are not afraid of you."

When he drew up his stick it was covered with small snakes; more appeared from everywhere and swarmed over the four like ants. They started to run, but three of them were crushed beneath the swarming creatures and nothing was ever seen of them. The fourth man drew his knife and with it slit his clothing, thus dislodging most of the snakes, and, naked, he was able to run away. He succeeded in reaching some people to whom he told the fate of his companions, but soon his stomach began to swell and he died. Snakes had entered his body and his case had been hopeless from the start.

On another occasion four girls had just climbed a steep and difficult trail behind the *smā·tl* to avoid passing through the place itself. On reaching the level land above, one of them called out:

"*Sluxlekwaily*, I am glad to be safely past you."

But the jealous *Sluxlekwaily* heard her. He sent a gale, the ground rocked, trees were torn and broken, and three of the girls were swept away to their death. One only escaped by wrapping herself around the bole of a tree.

Another time four Carriers on their way to the coast passed a boulder on the shore of a pool which is at *Sluxlekwaily*. Although aware of the power petrified there, they derided it by thrusting poles below the rock and asking it why it did not show its strength by taking revenge for the insults they offered it. When they pulled out the sticks they were covered with snakes, and more appeared from the trees and roots in the vicinity. The Carriers fled, pursued by them, and after running all day, managed to make their escape at dusk.

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The place is still allegedly characterized by these reptiles; a recent visitor found the branches of the trees like snakes, and the very roots were in the form of them. The rocks in the vicinity are full of grooves like those made by snakes crawling through soft clay, and the whole neighbourhood reeks with their odour. 778 539

(2) *Pa-lsb*, Mesatche Nose: The point between North Bentinck Arm and Labouchere Channel. 778

Here is found a *swasg*, one of the most powerful localized beings, a creature comprising only a head and an arm with a mouth in the palm. The head can be seen in rock on the point not far above the waterline, but the giant arm rests far beneath the surface. At times the *swasg* bends its elbow so that the fist can support the head, as if the creature were pondering. On such occasions the upper part of the arm remains concealed below the water, while there is a gap about twenty-five yards in width between the upraised lower part and the rocky shore beneath the animal's head. A canoe can pass in safety through this, narrow though the channel is; but if it should take a course on the outer side of the arm the latter will crash down on the helpless craft, crushing it to splinters and driving these far beneath the surface. There has never been a survivor from such a catastrophe. The last time the arm was raised was about seventy years ago when a war party was returning to the north after raiding *Tal-ia*. They knew the necessity of taking the inner channel, so escaped unharmed, though they actually handled the mighty upraised limb. The Bella Coola firmly believe that the *swasg* will some day lift its arm again, and will crush the steamer that carries mail and passengers up the coast. 776

It was only a few hundred years ago that a certain Bella Bella learnt of the respect with which the other supernatural beings regard the *swasg* of Mesatche Nose. The canoe in which this man was travelling was sucked down beneath the ocean, but *Qomqum* admitted him as a guest to his house. The chief had invited all the underwater supernatural beings to a pot- 778 539

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778 539 latch, and the only vacant spot was the central seat behind the fire. Retainer after retainer was sent after someone, until finally the wondering human heard a steady thump, thump, approaching. It was the Mesatche Nose *swaiz*, travelling on his single arm, like a looper caterpillar, his head balanced precariously on top while the thump came every time that he brought his fist to the floor. On his entry, the paintings of fish and marine animals, with which the walls and boxes were covered, came to life and cavorted around as if mad, but when the chief took his seat behind the fire they returned to their pictorial form. From this experience the Bella Bella man obtained a *sisaol* name and myth.

778 (3) The Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel where the mysterious power is that of a snake.

(4) A ledge of rock projecting over the water at a point on the west side of Dean Channel about nine miles below Kimsquit.

(5) *Qhajulx*: On the south side of Burke Channel, a few miles above Kwatna Inlet.

(6) *Snawali*: On South Bentinck Arm, at a spot where the water penetrates far under a ledge of rock.

(7) *Nakilla-ata*: On the east side of South Bentinck Arm, where an enormous spider has been changed to stone. The many colours of its body can be plainly seen amid the numerous holes in the vicinity.

(8) The Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.

778 539 823 103 (9) Mount *Nazqalst*, the highest mountain in the Bella Coola valley, belongs to the same category, since in the beginning of time it was a man.

He, *Nizaalwaist*, (which means "Too Heavy" in the sense of "so important") came to earth from above at Cape Mudge and decided to visit Bella Coola. He stalked through the land to the site of the present Mount *Nazqalst*, wearing a high hat around which crawled two snakes whose heads often crossed. From where he stood, he saw the lofty mountain *Xqoiz* in the Carrier country, and resolved to visit it. At that distant period this peak was a human being and from him *Nizaalwaist*

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obtained two wives, the name of one being *Ṭ̌lisla*. He returned to Bella Coola with them. 778

Nānalskwitl knew that presently he was fated to become immobile, a seat of petrified power. Since he was able to select where this was to be, he chose the site of Mount *Nuxṭalst*, midway in the Bella Coola valley, as a convenient place to overlook the doings of men. Before he transformed himself into this mountain, he determined that he would have people visit him; accordingly he changed his axe, *Nuxkmidjuste*, which he carried concealed beneath his blanket, into *xṭalst*, a stone much used for axes and adzes. Until the introduction of white man's tools his wish was gratified; people came from far and near to obtain the necessary material. 530 823 103 [316]

The human origin of the mountain is still remembered, since it is often spoken of by its chiefly names, *Nānalskwitl* and *Ṭ̌lisla*, relics of its existence as a man. This story is regarded as an origin myth, and as such might have been included in vol. I, chap. vi.

This mountain is regarded with awe by the Bella Coola on account of its great height, but it seems to lack most of the characteristics ascribed to other places where power has been petrified.

(10) On one of the mountains above Cascade Inlet there used to be a stone eagle with outstretched wings which came to this earth with the first people, but was petrified one day when drying its wings after fishing. About 1860 part of its beak fell away. A change in the condition of any of these places had long been regarded as an omen of misfortune, so the epidemic of smallpox that soon after ravaged the coast was not unexpected. 778 [164] [787]

(11) *Ālkismos*: An unidentified spot where a *smnuq* of the mountain was petrified. At this place there is a small pool which is the repository (II, p. 8) of a certain *kusiut* dancer.

(12) *uxṭekam*, "The Walker," the name both of a supernatural being and the spot where it is localized. This is not far from the glacier that lies near the junction of the trails from *Swakli* and *Tāl-io*; it is the largest one in the vicinity of Bella Coola and is said to move its position. The being is in some way connected with it, hence the name. [776]

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About half a mile from the glacier there is a large rock shelter where mountain goat hunters are wont to smoke their meat. They are always careful to take with them dyed and undyed cedar-bark and eagle down, knowing that they may encounter the supernatural. Sometimes they hear the voice of *uxpéam*, a deep, long drawn-out hum, *m*——. If this sound is repeated four times it is a happy augury, but if heard only once it presages ill fortune. In either case some member of the party, one who is ceremonially clean and is brave, blackens his face, puts on a collar of dyed cedar-bark, covered with eagle down, steps outside, and says in effect:

"Hail! Petrified One. In the beginning you came down from *Alqunàm*, from all that was wonderful and powerful. You have not changed, hence we mortals can still hear your voice. Please, may it be well with us. There is none other like you."

If the supplicant is ceremonially clean the mountain will answer *hi*——, four times, and there will be heard what sounds like a great landslide. Then the petitioner takes some small portions of meat, some dyed and some undyed cedar-bark, and eagle down and throws them on the fire.

"Please accept, Oh *Kusiam*" (Powerful One), he says.

Thus propitiated, *uxpéam* grants them success in hunting.

778 (13) *Spipishàn-i*: On the south side of the Dean River about one mile from its mouth. Here, in the beginning of time, Raven cast his war-knife, *ipla*, which was turned to stone and can still be seen. Its power has likewise become localized at this point.

(14) In the beginning of time Mount *Swaky*, near the Dean River, was a man who was turned to stone. Across the river is his wife, *Ailalusàl*, whose ancestral name is *Kamilkàn*, likewise petrified.

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In most of these places[1] a sick person can receive assistance, if he is willing to risk the consequent dangers. The first essential is that he be in a "clean" condition by the observance of

[1 [i.e. - certain spots where power is localized - see cat. 116, pp 594-600 for their location - ANALYST]

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ceremonial chastity. This state is pleasing to supernatural beings, who otherwise are likely to punish one trespassing on their haunts. The Bella Coola have not clearly formulated their beliefs with regard to these places, consequently the experiences of one individual are usually quite different from those of another, a circumstance regarded as quite natural on the assumption that the supernatural beings are able to manifest themselves in many ways. 755 778 [785]

Shakhwaily and the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel are the places that figure most commonly in mythology. At the former is *Shakhwaily*'s chamber-vessel, a pool always full of clear water though not fed by any spring. If a person suffering from the virulent skin disease known as *lhkaly* swims in it, drinks some of the water, and then vomits, he will recover.

Not only the pond itself, but the whole neighbourhood, is the seat of mysterious power, as the following tale describes. 755 778

Near the western end of the pool there is a rock from which long ago three men dived and failed to return. A sick man decided to do the same and leapt in, feet first, wearing around his chest some dyed cedar-bark. He plunged through the water and found that he was standing on the roof of a house; he walked around it, then returned to the surface, and back to his starting point. He dived three times more, and when he emerged for the fourth time his sickness had left him. He returned to Bella Coola and told of his experience. Since that time sick people have been carried to the pool, and have dived in from the same rock, always feet first, and always wearing dyed cedar-bark. All are able to feel the roof of the house, and are cured by the immersion. 539

The trail used by the Carrier Indians when raiding the coastal tribes passed by this lake, and on one occasion the Bella Coola, bent on retaliation, used the same path and paused to rest on the shore. They all bathed in the pool and asked help from the power there localized, then as they lay on the grass drying their long hair in the sunshine, a house emerged. Slowly it floated upwards, filling the whole area formerly occu- 778 787* 539

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778 pied by the water, and came to rest when it had risen to the
* 787 usual height of a house. As each of the spectators gazed upon
it he saw within that on which his own mind was centred. As
539 it were in perspective he visualized his whole life, both past and future. One man saw the slaying of an enemy, another a potlatch with himself in the role of donor, another his children, and a sensual individual saw a man and woman in the sexual act. To each it appeared that the house contained only one image. Then slowly the house sank into the depths. The party went on and had great success, killing their enemies, who were powerless before them, without the loss of a single Bella Coola. It was this house which the sick people felt with their
[755] feet; the sight of it had given the warriors phenomenal ability.

778 Another seat of power is near the western end of the lake
* 787 where the trail passes between two piles of dark red rocks that rise to a height of three or four feet. Each is roughly squared like a brick with dimensions of approximately 8 by 6 by 6 inches. The heaps are not regular, and yet form a distinct cairn. If a passer-by wishes to ascertain the length of his life, he takes a stick and shoves out one of the stones, which rolls far down the hillside; if he can do so without disturbing the rest, he will have long life, but should fate decree for him a short one, the whole pile falls in disorder. Another sign of long life is when the mass sways back and forth, emitting a squeaking sound like the leather in a new shoe, as he endeavours to poke out one of the rocks of which it is composed. On the traveller's return from the interior the heap has always assumed its original shape, though no one has ever seen one of the stones being picked up by human agency.

778 Sick people also derive benefit from immersion in the Hot
[755] Springs on Labouchere Channel. The following account was obtained from a man who himself underwent treatment there.

539 When a young man he had been initiated into the *kusiut*
778 society as a Breaker (II, p. 123) and as such wore a bear-skin cloak. His relatives were wealthy and advised him to keep his robe, saying that they would make it possible for him to

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dance again in eight years. Four years later, one of his fellow- 778
villagers offered him five skins for the one which he had used, 539
and, when this was declined, the number was raised to ten, then to fifteen, and finally to twenty new bear-skins. As there was no particular value in the mantle itself, the owner became suspicious and asked advice from his mother who admonished him not to sell, in view of the time when he would want it. Accordingly, he did not accept the offer, but when it was increased to twenty-five skins he did so. He did not know that [754]
the purchaser's desire for it was to enable him to injure the seller by magic through the acquisition of this personal possession.

The sale took place in April, and the following December 778
the former owner became crippled with a disease which so 755
weakened his back that he could hardly raise himself from 539
the ground. When the sickness had lasted for one year, his 787 *
friends carried him away to the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.

It was known that if a patient were left night and day in the spring, scrubbing himself with hemlock boughs, he often was given such power by a supernatural being that, like a shaman of old, he could kill or cure by means of a stick. Many of this man's relatives had been killed by rivals envious of their success in giving potlatches, so it was feared that he might wish to retaliate if he gained too much power. To prevent this, he was removed from the spring at night. On the first day as he lay on a mat in the warm water, there appeared on a flat stone a diminutive man, about two feet tall, resembling a Bella Coola except for a short tail. It was probably a *tłāqmā·ks*, [776]
such as his first ancestor had obtained (I, p. 688). The little creature ran around the stone; when it returned to the starting point it stopped and was joined by a second one of the same kind. The two circled the stone three times, on each occasion stopping at the starting point; they then vanished. The next day while the patient lay in the stream he heard from within the mountain four beats of a drum and a sound as if a large number of people were talking and calling together, though he

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778 could not distinguish any actual words. This ceased, to be
755 followed by the hissing sound of escaping steam; the water
became so unbearably hot that, crippled though he was, he
539 managed to crawl out. His courage soon revived, so, wrapping
* 787 his head in his blanket, he returned to the spring. The water
was still unpleasantly hot on his body and legs, but the covering protected his head. The same phenomenon occurred on the two following days. Four days later he was well enough to walk and was brought home. During his treatment he saw supernatural beings, and is still hoping for a further revelation that will make him a shaman. He believes that this would have been granted to him if his friends had allowed him to remain in the spring overnight.

755 During the four days of his immersion he ate nothing, and his only nourishment was a little mountain goat grease which he did not swallow but kept in the right side of his mouth. After each bath he scrubbed himself with hemlock boughs. As in all
[785] such cases, for one year he observed continence and refrained
[761] from eating unsmoked salmon. Failure to observe these taboos would have caused his death.[14]

755 According to another account the creature that visits a patient lying in the Hot Springs is a *bäbınk'*. As already de-
776 scribed, it is a hairless animal, about as large as a small moose, with legs so short that its belly almost scrapes the ground, no tail, and a large head with glass-like eyes. The whole appearance suggests an enormous walking snake. This animal approaches the sick person, as he lies on a flat stone[15] in the spring, and takes a bite from wherever the sickness is situated. No wound can afterwards be seen, but the ailment is carried away with the biting. If the patient should lack courage and endeavour to escape he would soon die.

776 Others of these animals of the same or similar variety have been observed about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.

[14] See vol. I, p. 609 for further results of this treatment.
[15] There are two of these, one used by men and one by women.

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Between 1890 and 1900 two more were seen near Double Mountain. The last Bella Coola to see these animals left *Stuix* one morning armed with a light shot-gun. He followed the trail to the interior and was crossing the bare mountain, *Kotink'*, about forty-eight miles from the sea, when he decided to turn aside to shoot some of the ducks which breed in great quantities on the small lakes near the top of the mountain. As he stalked through the grass he heard a rustling, and crawled so that he could get a better view of the place whence it came. He saw two *babink'* which were catching ducks with their long tongues by shooting them out from their mouths. After watching them for some time the man returned to the camp without disturbing them. This man has only recently died. In former times they were more common, but one was seen not many years ago by a Carrier Indian. 776 787 * 539

According to other informants, no one knows what supernatural visitor comes to the spring, since it always appears at night, and any one who is rash enough to look at it dies immediately. A bold patient lies still, with eyes closed, while he is massaged back to health. 778 [755]

Another man, while fishing for one of the canneries, had been in the habit of landing at the Hot Springs to get hot water for his tea. He drew it from a small trickle which emerged from a rock near at hand. On one occasion the flow stopped when he put his pot beneath, but recommenced on his withdrawing it. Thinking this a mere accident, he reinserted the vessel only to have the water cease again. When this had happened four times, he realized that the cessation had been intended by some supernatural power. 778 539

"Hail! Powerful One," he called out. "I understand you now."

He knew that it must be some creature within the rock that had stopped the flow, not wishing it to be so used, and since then he has obtained his water elsewhere.

Leaving these tales of the past, which stress the supernatural, and passing from the experiences of men of sensitive, imaginative disposition, it is possible to describe the methods commonly employed by the Bella Coola when wishing to take advantage of the curative properties of these localities. In cases of serious illness it is common for a sufferer to make the rounds of all five places located on the ocean. This was done, for example, by the father of an informant who had seen what he took to be a spring salmon in an inland stream where no ocean salmon should have been. He was foolish enough to leap in to catch the fish, which was really a *sisiutl*, and as it 778 755 787 * [539]

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778 rushed past him it brushed his legs. From its malign touch
755 they became as if tied together at the knees, so that he could hardly walk. When all other cures failed he bathed in all the
* [787] healing places on the coast, and was cured by the time he had returned to Bella Coola.

[785] Before embarking on such an expedition, a sufferer must observe continence for at least three months, and continue this after his return, otherwise he will die. It is wise to start at *Snuwals*, on South Bentinck Arm, proceeding from there down South Bentinck Arm, across Labouchere Channel, and towards Kimsquit, since in this way the patient travels sunwise, increasing the potency of his efforts.

At *Snuwals* there is a ledge of rock that projects out over the water; the sick person dives through a hole into the fiord. From this point he proceeds to *Nukilā·xta*, on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about half a mile above the Hot Springs. This is the place of the giant, many-coloured spider, turned to stone. Among its legs there are numerous holes in which the patient lays a stick and pieces of his clothing, taken from the part of the body affected, saying as he does so:

"Please, Powerful One, help me to return to strength."

The third place of curing is the Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm, *Ixpe·xam*. Here the patient lies in the hot water and leaves portions of his worn clothing as some sort of vague offering to the being there. The Bella Coola have no clear conception as to why the scraps should be left; apparently they have never considered whether it was actually of service to the being. At the present time it appears to be only a ritual handed down from great antiquity.

Leaving South Bentinck Arm the patient proceeds to the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel, the characteristics of which have already been described. The final place visited is *Anulxwam*, on the west side of Dean Channel about nine miles below Kimsquit, where the ocean penetrates far under a ledge of rock. The sufferer is lowered through a vent about six feet in diameter until he stands on a boulder at the edge of the sea

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in a kind of a cave. He here unties the rope, dives into the water and out through a narrow passage to the open fiord where he is picked up by a waiting canoe. 778 755

If he is to recover, he feels as he dives the scraping of some rough-skinned animal against his side. No one knows what this is, perhaps a fish about seventy yards in length which was seen near the place about 1905. If a person is too ill to make the dive unaided, a stick is forced through the entrance from the fiord, with a rope attached. The patient, who has been lowered to the ledge from the upper air, is then tied firmly to the stick and hauled out. Before leaving, shreds of his clothing are always left at the mouth of the cave in payment to its supernatural occupant for his assistance. [787] *

The method of curing at the spot, *Allssmos*, differs from those previously described since it is only the man whose repository (II, p. 8) is there who is able to exercise the power. Patients whose flesh has become rotten are carried to the place and he scrubs their bodies, in the water, with various prickly bushes. This man is not a shaman, his power rests solely on the fact that this curing place is his repository. [756]

At *uxsekam* the virulent skin disease *Hokils* can be cured.[17] This is caused by a morsel of cohoe salmon or fern root passing from the mouth up into the head, instead of down into the stomach. The Bella Coola have only slight knowledge of anatomy, and by "head" probably mean the passage connecting mouth and nose. In this spot the food becomes a frog egg, hatches into a tadpole, and finally transforms into a frog. If a shaman is called on immediately, he can remove the frog by thrusting his finger up the nasal passage and banging down on the patient's head, but if he delays, the ears and nose become clogged, the hair falls, and the flesh on arms and body wastes away until the skin is shrivelled. Then the only hope is to visit *uxsekam*. [753] [826] [753] [756]

Friends of the sufferer carry him to the spot and place him in an ice cavern, roofed by the glacier itself, and then retire to

[17] In its earlier stages it can be treated elsewhere.

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778 the rock shelter half a mile away. Here he must lie alone, without food, for four days. If he is in a pure condition from 755 the observance of chastity, he then feels the earth shake and * [787] hears a sound like a mighty landslide, though it is inaudible to those waiting in the cave. If the patient is frightened and tries to flee, he will die, but if he lies still he will be able to spit out the dead frog, or it will become so soft that it can drip from his nose. He then washes in the stream that flows through the ice-cavern, thus completing the cure. The malady [785] will return unless chastity is practised for one year.

756 Finally, in dreams a man is sometimes carried away to one or other of these curing places, or to several of them, and is * 787 there made a shaman. It will be noted that this method of acquiring the ability differs from those previously described, but his functions are the same as those whose power has been obtained in one of the usual ways.

Dreams

* 787 The last type of contact with the supernatural is by means of dreams. Psychologically, these are akin to visions; indeed, it is often impossible to learn whether the experiences described in an ancient story occurred during sleep or when awake. The [774] Bella Coola believe that dreams are caused by the spirit of the individual; they are, therefore, supernatural and worthy of attention, but in spite of this, it was difficult to obtain detailed accounts. The reason seems to lie in the intangibility of the experiences themselves. Unless one is sufficiently striking, it passes into oblivion as a fruitless manifestation of the workings of the spirit. Many of the visions seen in ancient times by those who had fasted or otherwise reached an emotional state, must have been dreams, but they have ceased to be recognized as such in the course of generations. The Bella Coola of today [159] state emphatically that they receive warning of future events during sleep, but the only individual from whom it was possible to obtain coherent descriptions was the elderly man previously described as X (I, p. 515).

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In his younger days X was somewhat wild, taking his full share in the frivolities of the village, and having a fondness for wine which he brewed himself. On one occasion he prepared a barrel of the mixture, half of which he promptly consumed with the aid of a few friends, then, semi-intoxicated, he fell asleep. He dreamt that there came to him what must have been a male being, although all that was visible was the lower half of his body, which was gleaming white. The apparition seized X by the nape of the neck, lifted him from the floor, and carried him across the house to the barrel of wine, revolving sunwise on himself the while. 159 787 * [273]

"You made this fearful stuff," said his supernatural visitor. "It will make your life dirty, as dirty as this."

Still turning sunwise on himself, with these words he carried X to the doorstep and held him suspended, face downwards over it. Everyone who enters must tread there, so that it is recognized as being the dirtiest part of the house, and X had no doubt about the meaning of the apparition's remark. This experience was so vivid and impressive that X asserted he immediately became a Christian and abandoned his evil ways. At the present time he is one of the few Bella Coola not addicted to home-brew. [797] [273]

A few years later the same being came a second time. X had been ill for a number of months with a sickness caused, so he believed, by a sorcerer. His friends had carried him to bathe in the Hot Springs and the treatment helped his condition considerably, but a little later he suffered a relapse, and was so wretched that he told his mother he would die presently. The same night he was visited by his apparition, but this time he could see the whole body; it was a man with large, powerful frame and a face so white that he could not bear to look at it. The figure was clad in undyed cedar-bark, and X immediately realized that he would recover, though he knew he would not be granted the same power as if the clothing had been of dyed cedar-bark such as is worn by supernatural shamans. The dream-man told X that he had come to him because of the clean condition he had attained by washing in the Hot Springs, followed by continence, and warned him that he must continue this for a year from the time of his immersion or he would die, but that if he obeyed this injunction he would recover. His visitor, who was, of course, a supernatural being, took X under one arm and carried him far to the south, where he washed him in a hot spring at the base of a steep mountain. Then he vanished; X arose and prepared to make his way home, but, lo, he was there already. Rationalizing later, X concluded that his body must have remained in his house, and that it was either his spirit or his life that had been carried away. [755]

As X lay asleep the next night, the same being came to him and

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* 787

carried him far away to the west, where he was washed in another spring, and as before found himself at home immediately after his immersion. The following night the apparition took him to the north; he found himself on the shore of a lake where an expert carpenter, *Qwaiutsamlaix*, was making tiny canoes of jack pine. The trees were only about six feet in height, smaller than any human craftsman would think of using. The supernatural being told *Qwaiutsamlaix* to make a canoe for X; he did this within a few minutes and the apparition vanished as soon as X was aboard. The craft moved with the speed of light and X was carried across the lake, only to find himself once more at home. The fourth night the being bore him to the east, washed him in a hot spring, and vanished as he had done on his first and second appearances. The repetition of this experience four times fully convinced the patient that he would recover. His health improved at once; in fact, his appetite had returned after his first dream.

As X lay sleepless[18] the next night, it suddenly seemed to him that the world had become flat and open. From his couch he could see in all directions; the trees had disappeared, the mountains had vanished, and the walls of the houses did not bar his vision, so that he could watch what was happening in *Tcimott* several miles up the valley. He saw a naked, black creature, with curly hair like that of a negro, rise from one of the small ponds on the south side of the Bella Coola valley about two miles from the sea. Helpless, he watched the being draw nearer; it entered his own house, seized him, and rolled him to and fro on the floor with wild contortions. Then it passed on to the next house where X saw it grip a sick girl lying there and treat her in the same way. After a few minutes the black apparition fled far away to the south where at length it vanished from view. In the morning he told his mother what had happened, adding that he thought he would lose his senses.

His mother, worried at her son's hallucinations, agreed to remain awake with him the following night. Again he saw the black monster rise from the lake, and he called to her in fear, but she could see nothing. Once more it came nearer, entered the house, and rolled X over and over, in spite of his struggles and in spite of his mother's presence. She could see his movements, but could neither restrain him nor see the cause. When the being left him it entered the adjacent house and again attacked the sick girl lying there, then disappeared southward. The same procedure was repeated on the third night, but on the fourth, after pummel-

[18]As already mentioned, it is often difficult to differentiate between dream and vision. X definitely stated that he was awake at the time, but the experience seems to be of the nature of a dream and has, therefore, been included in this section.

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ling X, the monster carried away the girl. X watched and knew that it must have taken her life; so it transpired, for in the morning she was found dead. The black being did not reappear the following night. 159 787 *

X soon became fat and well, to the surprise of all, and many of the chiefs asked him to give a shaman's dance. He declined, not having received name, instructions, song, or tangible object from the white, supernatural being who had befriended him. He did not even know his benefactor's name. [756]

At intervals during his life-time, X has seen the white supernatural being and, more rarely, the black one in his dreams. The most vivid occasion was when he heard a sound in the attic of his house and climbed up outside to investigate. The ladder broke, precipitating him through an unglazed window into the loft with a broken leg. All night he lay there in agony, and it was not until the next day that his friends were able to lower him in a sling and take him to *Ḷomqo·ts* en route to the hospital at Bella Bella. Their departure was delayed by a storm and as X lay suffering he told his wife that it would have been better if he had broken his neck instead of his leg. That night, while half-asleep, the world again became open to him and he saw the black creature come bounding along the trail towards him; it entered the house, jumped around him, and finally leapt into his body. He called to his wife to burn dried salmon beneath his bed to expel the evil monster; this had the desired effect though he did not see its actual departure. The next night the white apparition came to him, telling him that he had erred seriously in wishing for death, that one should accept what was in store for one and not oppose *Älquntäm*'s wishes. The being went on to say that it was wicked to prepare too far in advance, and intimated that X's misfortune was the result of having made ready tools for clearing an unnecessary tract of land.[19] [755]

The white being has even appeared during his waking hours. On one occasion he felt it coming when he was in the mission-house, where the missionary was writing a letter for him. Although still invisible, X knew what was approaching and tried to close the door but he was helpless. In came the apparition, at sight of whom X swayed so violently that the missionary asked what was the matter. It went away again in a moment, leaving X shaken and bathed in perspiration. [797]

The experiences just described lie on the border-line between dream and vision. X has frequently seen the apparition

[19]This occurred during the first war, and X remembered having heard that the Germans had laid up stores of munitions. He concluded that this must be evil and that they would fail accordingly. He repeated this statement on many occasions and claims to have foretold the result of the war from his vision.

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159 in his sleep, and hopes that it will grant him specific super-
* 787 natural power. He realizes that he could increase the prob-
[785] ability of obtaining this by ceremonial chastity, and believes
[797] that it would come to him if he went alone to the woods and lay fasting for some time. Another means would be to concentrate his thoughts upon the desired end, but X is too good a Christian to do so; he is in the unhappy position of knowing too much of two religions to be able to practise either unreservedly. Such experiences are not likely to occur to any but a man of high-strung, imaginative temperament, to whom dreams and mental excitements appear especially vivid. X is intensely religious, so that it is easy for him to interpret every phenomenon in terms of the supernatural. It will be noted that most of the dreams just described took place when he was sick, precisely the time when hallucinations are to be expected. They were more coherent than those of most Bella Coola, though the difference is one of degree rather than of kind.

* 787 Most dreams are comparatively simple, and the information received in them is intelligible. They come to all, irrespective of rank or prerogative. Nevertheless, it is believed
[828] that an inheritable tendency runs in some families; this does not mean that all members of such a group dream constantly,
[821] but they are more likely to do so than others. Those occurring at the winter solstice are more carefully observed than at other
[773] times, since it is then that the supernatural beings decide events
[777] for the coming year and a man's spirit may be able to inform him of what has been decided. Consequently, as soon as *Ałquntäm* enters *Nusmät·a*, wise men separate from their wives
[785] and concentrate on dreaming, hoping to learn what is in store for them. For instance, if a man sees himself seated before a large pile of goods, he knows that he will have the good fortune to do this during the coming year; on the other hand, if he foresees ill luck, it means that he will be unfortunate. Another
[821] time when dreams are especially desired is before the summer solstice when hunters in particular observe ceremonial chas-
[224] tity. This purification not only increases the likelihood of such
[785]

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experiences, but adds to the reliability of their prognostications. At that season, if a hunter dreams that he will not be successful, he remains at home knowing that it will be useless for him to seek game. 787 * [785] [224]

Though dreams are considered and remembered most carefully at the solstices, it must not be imagined that they are disregarded at other seasons. Often there is neither mental picture nor apparition, merely a voice, the sound of which indicates that the hearer will be fortunate the following day. Instead of a voice without body, a dream may consist of a speechless apparition which indicates by gestures the fate in store for the dreamer. One elderly Bella Coola who keeps a small shop states that he can usually tell in this way whether or not he will sell much goods during the coming day. Many years ago, after frequent visits from a being of this kind, the man became the leading fisherman for one of the canneries; he attributed his success to his nameless benefactor, for whose benefit he threw a number of small pieces of food into the fire. Occasionally, specific information or advice is received. On one occasion, when this same man was ill, he dreamt that a supernatural being appeared and told him to wash in the river, that it was breath to all human beings; he did so regularly, and was soon restored to health. Sometimes the information is with regard to the future. On the night of January 15, 1924, he dreamt that two naked Carriers were standing beside his bed. He asked them what they wanted, and why they were without clothing. 159 787*

"We always appear as an omen of trouble in the land," they answered.

Next day there was a heavy fall of snow which he regarded as fulfilling the prophecy. The dreamer was X, the man of imaginative temperament who had beheld the white and black supernatural beings. These instances illustrate the manner in which the same individual has repeated experiences of similar type. X claims that he began to dream when a small child,

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* 787 and that his mother stated that all her ancestors had done
[159] likewise.

Another instance of advice conveyed in this manner was
756 told by a Kimsquit man who related that a number of years
* 787 ago a pregnant woman had dreamed that *Alquntäm* appeared to her and told her not to destroy what she would presently bear. In due course she was delivered, but the infant was a
[847] repulsive cripple, blind and deformed. Remembering the admonition, the mother refused to slay her child as many of her friends advised. Soon it was apparent that he was supernaturally endowed; as proof of this he repeated comments which had been made to his mother within a few minutes of his birth. As he grew older he developed shamanistic powers so that he was able to converse with the dead, the only instance known of this ability being granted from birth. He also had wonderful talent as a singer and, though he must have died about 1850, the Bella Coola still recount his skill in this respect.
[847] He would unquestionably have been killed but for his mother's warning.

* 787 Instead of imparting verbal information, dreams frequently foretell the future by means of images of events about to happen. For example, if a man dreams of owning large num-
[224] bers of pelts, it signifies that he will have success in hunting, and he starts for his trap-line without delay. So, too, warnings are conveyed. A number of years ago a slave woman of *Sinxł*, who was not a member of the *kusiut* society, dreamt that she saw herself bitten in many places and lying covered with blood. Within a few days she met a Cannibal dancer (II, p. 71), who was supposed to have vanished into the land above; he killed her and lacerated her body, as she had seen. A Kimsquit man told of a similar instance that happened to a member of the party with which he had been hunting a number of years previously. One night he was wakened by one of his companions, *Tsälits*, calling out that he was afraid because he had dreamt that one side of their canoe was shattered. The hunters were impressed, because they knew he had long ob-

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served ceremonial chastity and was, therefore, in a good position to receive premonitions of this kind. The next day, as they were paddling down the river, they came upon some treacherous ice. Forewarned, they hastily abandoned their canoe, one side of which was soon broken in the way *Tsälits* had described; if they had continued their journey they would certainly have been drowned. 787 *

The dreams thus far recorded have all been capable of simple explanation; in fact, their meaning is obvious, either visually or audibly. In addition, there are a number of types considered to be symbolic by the Bella Coola. There are no professional interpreters, but it is believed that in ancient times shamans learnt the significance of certain images and this knowledge has since been transmitted from generation to generation. [791] [756]

One type indicates a coming birth. If a woman dreams that she travels to some distant spot, under the ocean or into the mountains, and there takes something in her hand, it signifies that she will soon bear a male child; on the other hand, if she picks up some small object when gathering berries, a daughter will be born. A Kimsquit informant stated that before his birth, his mother dreamt that she had gone far under the mouth of the Dean River to the vicinity of *Q̓omoqwa*'s house, where she had taken up a child. From this she knew she was pregnant and he was born in due course. If the scene of the dream is in the mountains, it means that the child will be a good hunter; if under water, that he will be a successful fisherman, as it proved in this case. There is a vague belief that death takes place either near the spot where the mother received indication of conception, or that the life and spirit of the deceased visit the place before setting out on their journey back from generation to generation. The old man from whom this information was obtained expects to meet death by drowning, though he is himself uncertain whether his premonition is due to his mother's dream or to the fact that there has been a tendency for this to occur in his family. 787 * 843 787 * [761] [775]

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* 787 843 If a woman dreams that she has caught two salmon, two small birds, or is holding two infants, the birth of twins is foretold. This type of explanation is obvious; in fact, these examples lie on the border-line between direct and symbolic interpretations.

* 787 843 775 Another indication of approaching pregnancy is for a woman to dream of a dead relative; this means that the latter will soon be re-born. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that some fifty years earlier his mother dreamt that her dead mother came to her, saying that she was lonesome and wished to return. Soon afterwards she conceived, and the daughter born was considered to be the reincarnation of her own grandmother whose names she was promptly given. [553] At the present time, this informant addresses his sister as sister, though he states that as a child he was taught to call her grandmother. As already mentioned, if a new-born infant is a reincarnation, the fact can often be recognized by holes or dimples in the ears, relics of previous borings for rings. Unless such a birth has been foretold in a dream, it is impossible to learn whom the child re-embodies.

* 787 A dream of frequent occurrence in Bella Coola is the return of the sleeper to the scenes and activities of his childhood. [761] This always signifies a long life. Strangely enough, to dream of being nailed in one's coffin and carried to the grave is translated conversely, and likewise indicates a long life. It is remembered that there were many dreams of fire before the [731] outbreak of the smallpox epidemic, so it has since been assumed that such presage an outbreak of this disease.

* 787 224 The only dreams of which the interpretations are wholly symbolic are those experienced by hunters. The Bella Coola explain this by saying that hunters always observe ceremonial [785] chastity and their spirits are, therefore, in a receptive condition to supernatural impressions. When a man has set his traps, he is able to tell from his dreams whether or not any animals have been caught:

To dream that a canoe has been upset in the river and that

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a lad has been drowned in spite of efforts to rescue him, means that a beaver has been caught. 787 * 224

To dream of seeing a *kusiut* dancer in full costume means that a fisher, lynx, wolverine, mountain goat, wolf, or black bear has been caught.

To dream of fighting people, especially if arrows are used, means that a grizzly bear has been caught.

To dream of playing children means that deer will be seen the following day.

To dream of swimming means that an otter has been caught.

To dream of fondling a woman and playing with her breasts means that a marten has been caught.

Obscene dreams mean that squirrels or pack-rats have been caught.

To dream of a woman with whom the hunter has held illicit intercourse means that absolutely nothing has been caught.

Until recent years these interpretations were believed without question and no hunter bothered to examine his traps unless he had received such indications of success. A hunter's wife likewise obtains information of her husband's fortune in dreams. [178]

All dreams cannot be translated. One man, for example, stated that in his sleep he had often seen a supernatural being enter his house, turn to the left, pick up one of the heavy floor boards and carry it around the fire as if it had been a tray. The apparition always told him to do likewise, but though he has tried repeatedly in his dreams, he has always found it too heavy. Such an image might serve a shaman as theme for a dramatic performance, though, of course, the element of curing the sick would be lacking. Another dream experienced several times by the same man when ill is that of being carried with the speed of light to a flat land somewhat similar to this, but located on the top of a range of lofty mountains. It contains numerous grassy meadows studded with trees of which the 787 * [756]

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787 tops are all dead.' Here he meets all prosperous Bella Coola, but as soon as a man has fallen into poverty he ceases to be present in the dream land. The visionary regards this as an indication of a speedy recovery.

An effort was made to learn whether or not the Bella Coola are acquainted with several of the types of dreams experienced by other peoples. Some of these have already been mentioned. Dreams of fire are common, and one elderly man described one in which he saw on Mount *Qimux* a mighty conflagration from which sparks flew all over lower Bella Coola valley, severely burning those on whom they lit. Another type is for the sleeper to imagine himself so heavy that he presses down the earth until he can see in all directions, and still another of losing one's teeth. No interpretation is offered for either of these. To dream of climbing a tree seems to be unknown.

As already mentioned, the subject was difficult to investigate. This section undoubtedly does not exhaust the lore of the Bella Coola concerning dreams, but it is a fair presentation of the part which they play in the lives of the people.

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CHAPTER X

STORIES ILLUSTRATING THE SUPERNATURAL

Stories Illustrating Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate —Stories Illustrating Supernatural Good Luck—Stories Illustrating Shamanism

KNOWLEDGE of the contact between supernatural and human beings is based largely upon tales describing such incidents; in fact, generalizations like those made in the last chapter are, as has been already stated, contrary to Bella Coola practice. Such tales are, however, so numerous and so long that their inclusion in the sections describing the kind of experience they illustrate would have made the last chapter unduly cumbersome and confusing. Stories recounting three types of contact with the supernatural are brought together here, not as items of folk-lore, but as basic material to supplement the relevant sections of the last chapter. These legends are not family property, but are considered to be historical incidents which can be related by anyone. 538 787* [424]

Stories Illustrating Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate

THE GAMBLER'S SUCCESS

Four brothers, of whom the youngest was named *Djusdjw-sa*, were very fond of gambling with crabapple sticks. They played on all occasions, but with such lack of success that they lost first their goods, then their houses, their mother, their children, their wives, and finally themselves. The three older men went hunting every day, but *Djusdjw-sa* remained in the house as if he had no heart to do more than lie down and die. Perhaps he had an inspiration; at any rate he was deceiving his brothers, because as soon as they had gone out he used to get up and collect clams which were plentiful below the floor of the house. These were his sole sustenance, but he also chewed the fin of an old salmon, which served to exercise his jaws. Before his brothers' return *Djusdjw-sa* always lay down in his corner, covered with an old dirty blanket, as if he 525 539* 787*

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525 were about to die. During the day he spent much of his time aimlessly
+ 539 making miniature wooden darts and circles of pitnut-wood, such as are
+ 787 used in a game, and idly tossing these around. One day when he was so engaged he heard someone come to the door, and looking up he saw a strange man.

"A *wine*[1] is coming to *Djuxdjw-xa*," said the stranger.

"Come in," replied *Djuxdjw-xa*.

The stranger was a supernatural being, though whether *Djuxdjw-xa* was at once aware of this is doubtful.

"What do you bet?" asked the stranger, assuming that they would play with the darts and hoops which *Djuxdjw-xa* held in his hands.

"Alas, I have nothing," said the miserable man, though all his gambling instincts were aroused. "All I own in the world is a dried salmon fin which I use to chew on; I can barely keep alive with that and clams."

"Come on," said the supernatural stranger; "I will wager this pair of decorated moccasins against your salmon fin."

They gambled and *Djuxdjw-xa* won.

The loser handed over the moccasins, saying, "Go down to the beach and put just the toes of these shoes into the ocean."

Then he disappeared.

Djuxdjw-xa placed the toes in the water, and instantly the sea was filled with small herring-like fish called *ǵmdx-i*. *Djuxdjw-xa* caught and devoured as many of these as he wanted, but he did not clean himself, nor did he tell his brothers of his good fortune on their return.

Next day the supernatural stranger again appeared, offering to wager another pair of shoes against one of the hoops which *Djuxdjw-xa* had made. Once more the lad was victorious, receiving a pair of moccasins which, when dipped in the sea, brought countless spring salmon. The following day he won a pair which attracted the sockeye salmon, and on successive days ones to bring other species of salmon, until he was able to attract every kind. Finally, during his brothers' absence one day, *Djuxdjw-xa*, throwing off his disguise of lethargy, filled the house with all kinds of salmon. Great was the surprise of the hunters on their return; they asked him if he had become endowed with supernatural power, and he replied that he had. In exchange for being taught to gamble with crab-apple sticks, the supernatural one had so cleansed *Djuxdjw-xa*'s eyes that he could see where the king-stick[2] was concealed; hence he would be able to win on all occasions.

[192] [628]

[1] *Wine*, the term used for a raiding-party, is also applied to a contest in any game of skill, especially one in which teams or individuals from different villages take part.

[2] This is a marked stick and the player guess in whose hand it is concealed.

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One day the supernatural one appeared, asking *Djendje-se* to prepare a large number of the sticks and rings and be ready to follow him on the morrow. *Djendje-se* complied and the next day set off with his benefactor. They followed a well-worn trail, but one which *Djendje-se* had never seen, although he had lived all his life in the vicinity.

"You must follow me carefully," said the supernatural one, "and watch especially when I disappear."

Before long *Djendje-se* saw a man with a big hat sitting at the side of the road beneath the shelter of a huge cedar.

"You are going to a very dangerous place," said the man, "but nothing will harm you if you are bold. Soon you will reach a stream with four boulders projecting above the water; jump across in four leaps from stone to stone and you will be all right, but if you slip, or if you put your foot on the river-bottom, you will die."

The trail led across a stream at the bottom of a canyon. The supernatural one crossed without delay and *Djendje-se* saw that there were four boulders rising from the surface of the water. Remembering the instructions, he jumped from stone to stone, now, until he looked back from the farther shore, did he realize that what had seemed to be stones were really the heads of four *ejemeta* which would have devoured him if he had slipped.

The supernatural one had waited on the farther shore to guide him to his own house, the Sun, where he accepted the sticks and rings which *Djendje-se* had been carrying. After spending a few days with his benefactor, *Djendje-se* returned home, where he built a new village and in time became wealthy owing to the salmon which he was able to catch by means of his supernatural shoes.

THE LAD WHO WAS HELPED BY MOUNTAIN GOAT

During a famine long ago, a certain family was on the verge of starvation. One of the sons set out with his bow and arrows, and near a waterfall on the south side of North Bentinck Arm, not far from its head, he saw a pure white bird, something like a gull, only much smaller. He shot at it but missed. It went only a short distance away, and the hunter shot again, unsuccessfully. The bird led him on for some distance; then it turned into a goat. More eagerly than before the boy discharged his arrow, but the animal was unharmed. Following his quarry, he presently found himself within the goat's house, where all the animals were seated according to rank, from the ground-hog at the bottom to the porcupine at the top. In accordance with the knowledge of the lesser's rank gained on this occasion, men have since called Porcupine, Great'. [825]

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ma'ha, "The Eldest," and have spoken of him as the oldest of all animals. His goat-guide said:

"I am going to help you on account of your woes. Henceforth you will be able to see the smoke rising from the houses of the different animals."[7]

Thanks to the assistance thus vouchsafed to him, the lad was able to save his family from starvation.

THE FORTUNATE GLUTTON[8]

About four generations ago there was living in Bella Coola a young man who had a prodigious appetite. He used to eat everything, including vast quantities of rotten salmon eggs and other putrid foods until arms, face, and stomach all became fat, oily, and flabby, and he gave off an offensive smell. He was a chief and had married a chief's daughter, but she left him because of his grease and stench. Then he took another girl, who in turn deserted him. His parents arranged for him one marriage after another until he had become the husband of every available chief's daughter, but not one would stay with him because of his objectionable odour. Finally he wedded a poor girl who alone remained faithful and bore him a child. The glutton determined to improve his appearance. Accordingly, he obtained a large quantity of mountain goat grease and eagle feathers; then, taking these with him, he left the village and his family without saying where he was going, in fact, he did not know himself.

He went up the west bank of the Nechestaconnay River until it became a mere brook, then crossed over and returned down the east bank, strewing his path with eagle feathers. Then he went up the north bank of the Bella Coola River, penetrating every affluent coming from the north; in each case he went up the west bank, crossed the stream when it had become a rivulet and descended on the east side, all the time leaving behind him a trail of eagle feathers, and all the time eating nothing but the goat grease which he carried with him. When he had penetrated far into the upper reaches of the Bella Coola River, he crossed it and descended its south bank, investigating all tributaries as before. Near the Whitewater he heard a number of young girls singing happily, and a little below this place he came to his own village.

[7] As every Bella Coola knows, the animals appear in beast form to mortals only. They really have their own houses, dances, and other forms of activity in which they partake in human shape. Any one who is fortunate enough to obtain supernatural aid enabling him to see the smoke from their houses can easily locate them, and thus have phenomenal success in hunting.

[8] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 108.

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According to his usual practice he did not enter it but went up the creek behind, which flowed into the main Bella Coola at this point. Presently, he came to a clear pool, caused by a spring, immediately above which rose a crag about twenty feet high. Here, where the pond on one side and the rock on the other prevented him from hiding, he met a stranger. This was a supernatural being in the form of a handsome man with a fine-featured face, long, glistening hair, and a well-formed body which radiated beauty. 539* 787*

"I am what you have been seeking," said he. "It is the fault of your own gluttony that you have been having trouble with your wives. Come to the pool."

It was clear as a mirror. The supernatural one told the fat man to bend down, take up water in his hand, and to drink until his stomach was stretched. When he had done so, the stranger struck him several blows on the back and out gushed masses of putrid food. This was repeated several times.

"Just look at that filth," said his friend. "That is why you have had troubles."

The glutton looked at himself in the water, comparing his reflection with the radiantly beautiful being who was helping him, and expressed a desire to be handsomer. The supernatural one agreed to grant his request, and told him to shut his eyes. This done, he began to wash and massage the glutton, starting at his head and working downwards; when he had finished there was a marked improvement. The rubbing was repeated several times, and after each treatment the man saw himself becoming better looking until all that was lacking to make him as handsome as his supernatural friend was long hair. The mysterious one washed and rubbed his hair until it grew down to his hips; he was now a model of beauty. Then his benefactor said to him:

"Go and sit on that high rock over there. All those girls whom you heard laughing down in the valley will soon be passing, and they will all fall in love with you. But you must have nothing to do with any but the wife who was faithful to you in the days when you were ugly and objectionable. Your name henceforth shall be *Xoltzwesem*."

After giving these instructions the stranger disappeared.

The transformed man seated himself on the crag and presently one of his fellow-villagers came along without recognizing him. In answer to his question, the friend replied that the people were going up the small valley.

Soon the villagers began to pass, and as the supernatural one had foretold, all the girls fell in love with the handsome youth seated on the rock. He would have nothing to do with any of them, and did not reveal

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*539 *787 his identity until, last of all, came his faithful wife with their child. He returned to her and in the course of time became wealthy.

THE GOOD FORTUNE OF *Tsaixlitl*

Long, long ago, there lived at Kimsquit a very successful hunter whose name was *Tsaixlitl*. One day, during a great famine, he went into the mountains carrying, like all hunters, a walking-stick about eight feet long.[1] *Tsaixlitl* met *Twalàllit*, the supernatural hunter, who like himself was carrying a stick and was accompanied by a dog. *Twalàllit* greeted him: [224]

"I hereby give you good fortune. Let us exchange sticks. Do not hunt until tomorrow, then make the motion of hurling my staff at mountain goats and they will fall dead."

"I am delighted," *Tsaixlitl* replied. *Twalàllit* continued:

"I must give you some instructions. When you leave this spot do not go either up or down; keep on the same level around the mountain. When you hunt tomorrow, first kill a porcupine, because he is the oldest of all animals. If you fail to do so, you will lose your power."

Then *Twalàllit* vanished, and *Tsaixlitl* moved on, taking care neither to go up or down. Presently the spot on which he had been standing fell away in a landslide, such as is caused only by *Twalàllit* or a *tsiutl*. Famous hunters have sometimes seen *Twalàllit*'s stick moving, or the impressions of it on the ground, and from these visions have gained extraordinary ability to see goats; but *Tsaixlitl* alone obtained supernatural good fortune from this hunter, owing to the stick given to him. The exchange was of equal value to *Twalàllit*, since the staff which he obtained was as potent among supernatural beings as his among mortals. *Tsaixlitl* was especially lucky, obtaining, as he did, supernatural good fortune on two separate occasions. [224]

When he returned home he concealed the stick in a tree, though there was really no need for doing so, because, as a supernatural possession, it was invisible to ordinary mortals. He did not tell his wife what had happened to him, and she was very angry at him when, for a whole year, he did not hunt to provide his family with food; this was because he remembered that to the supernatural ones "tomorrow" means "next year." It was a time of famine, and the family of *Tsaixlitl* was saved from starvation only by the food which he had stored up previously. When a year had elapsed he went hunting, spending four days in procuring a porcupine before pursuing other game. His success was prodigious, in fact but for his efforts the whole village would have been

[1] Made of hemlock, spruce, or fir, never of cedar.

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blotted out by starvation.[8] His fame was so great that many people brought their infant daughters to him as wives. 539 *

Ṭsaixlitl had a brother and a sister. The former, whose name was *Stuux*, was driven by famine to *Ḳisiqwatl* in the country of the *ułāmx* people below Kimsquit. Here he, too, obtained supernatural good fortune from *Twałłłit*, in exactly the same way as his brother, and like him saved the whole population from starvation. The sister had been married to a Bella Coola, by whom she had two daughters. When one of them, a girl about fifteen years old, had starved to death, the people determined to abandon their village and seek refuge with *Stuux* among the *ułāmx*. On the way there, they camped on the shore of Labouchere Channel, where the remaining daughter was bitten on the arm by a packrat, as she lay sleeping beside her mother in a cave. Weakened by lack of food the mother died, and her husband abandoned her corpse and his injured daughter. Some time later a party of Bella Coola chanced to land at the same spot, found the deserted girl still alive, and carried her to her mother's brother, who looked after her. Though angry at his sister's husband, he did not wish to start a feud; to have done so would have grieved his niece, as well as have shown disrespect for the man his dead sister had loved. 787 *

During the four years that the famine lasted no berries ripened and there was a universal lack of food of every kind. Soon after it had ended, *Ṭsaixlitl* went to the Bella Coola town of *Älqälaxl* to obtain a second wife. He married a young woman, but for almost a year neither slept with her nor went hunting, omissions which so angered her mother that she chided him one day for his failure to carry on his previous occupation. Annoyed by her criticism, *Ṭsaixlitl* left the house. Several of those who had heard her upbraided the old woman for speaking harshly to the famous hunter and her daughter joined in the chorus of disapproval. Although it was winter, *Ṭsaixlitl* caught four geese which he carried home, using his blanket as a pack, and dumped them on the floor before his mother-in-law without saying a word. She fell dead instantly; the sudden start had caused the spirit to leave her body. *Ṭsaixlitl* might have used the stick obtained from *Twałłłit*, which had in it the power of life and death, but instead he had merely used the accumulated power which was his through long continence. In fact he never disclosed the power of his stick.

[8] The method of hunting introduced by *Ṭsaixlitl* has since been employed by all wise hunters. Whenever a porcupine is seen the observer kills it, saying: [224]

"Please, may your younger brothers and sisters come."

A man always tries to kill a porcupine when he starts on a hunting trip, and if one should appear when he is stalking bigger game he will stop to kill it, knowing that the time so spent will not be wasted.

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The woman's husband was not dismayed at her death, knowing she deserved it on account of having spoken harshly to her son-in-law. This was the only occasion on which *T̓saixtit̓* killed anyone. After the funeral he said to his father-in-law:

"I am sorry for what has happened. If I had intended to slay your wife I should have done so by means of my supernatural power, whereas her death was caused accidentally by the too-great force latent in my own body."

"Do not let this event trouble you," the other man replied. "We all realize that my wife was in the wrong and thus caused her own death. I will take a new wife from among your relatives, and there the matter will drop."

A year later the marriage took place and the death of *T̓saixtit̓*'s mother-in-law was thus amicably settled.[7]

THE GOOD FORTUNE OF *Yelhal·a*

Yelhal·a was very poor. He hunted diligently but was never successful, and the people of the village used to laugh at him. When feasts were given, *Yelhal·a* received a share, but he was never able to reciprocate, and this preyed on his mind. One day he set out at dawn for the mountains with his stick and his dog, but though he hunted industriously he returned at night with nothing better than herbs to cook for his supper. Undaunted, he set off again the following day, but had no better success, and again brought back only vegetables for his evening meal. He placed these on a stick before the fire to dry, and lay down, weary and depressed. Presently he saw a man enter the house and stand on the other side of the fire; around his head he wore a snake, which stamped him as a shaman. It was *Twalältit*, but *Yelhal·a* did not know this.

"*Yelhal·a*, what are you cooking?" asked the visitor.

"Mountain goat liver," he lied in answer.

Twalältit next inquired, "Is your dog a good mountain goat dog?"

"Yes," replied *Yelhal·a*, untruthfully. "Every day he goes hunting he kills twenty mountain goats."

"Is your stick a good one?" inquired *Twalältit*.

"Yes," answered *Yelhal·a*, "I always kill a great many mountain goats with it."

Twalältit then suggested that they exchange dogs and sticks. *Yelhal·a*, though at first unwilling, at length consented, and his visitor went away, leaving his own staff and dog behind.

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[7]The above is regarded as an historical account, and the descendants of those who figure in the story consider that they have prior rights to relate it. But as it has no ceremonial significance, this claim is not pressed.

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The next day *Yelhal·a* went hunting with his new equipment. As soon as he had reached the mountains he sent the dog after goats, though none were in sight; but as the animal ran around, dead mountain goats lay on the ground, though there was no sign of what had killed them. Without taking aim, the hunter cast his stick down a hillside, but it found and killed a goat. *Yelhal·a* was overjoyed. He cut off the hind-quarters of one of the animals and carried it home. The people in the village laughed even more than usual at his early return.

"Did you kill any goats?" they asked.

"Yes," replied *Yelhal·a*.

No one believed him until he showed the hind-quarters which he had brought back, and when he told them that there were many more where he had killed them, they again thought he was lying. Next day he persuaded a number of men to go with him to carry in the game, and they were amazed when they saw how many goats he had slain. Thanks to the dog and stick which *Twalàllit* had given him, *Yelhal·a* continued to have remarkable success as a hunter, and in time became so rich that he made himself a chief.

THE TWO UGLY BROTHERS

Once upon a time there were two brothers who were very ugly. Without consulting them, their old mother did her utmost to arrange satisfactory marriages for her sons, but wife after wife left, owing to the husbands' ugliness and disagreeable temper. Among others, each brother had married an ugly wife who had borne him a child. The two ugly wives loved their husbands, though their affection was not reciprocated; on the contrary, both brothers desired only the pretty women who scorned them.

Discouraged and wearied of life, the younger set off one day, neither knowing nor caring where he was going. After travelling for some distance he came to a house occupied by an old woman who called him in.

"Be brave," she said. "There is great danger where you are going, but if you heed my advice you will come to no harm. You will see two houses, in each of which you will hear a woman singing. One song will be, '*Ḳaina, Ḳaina, Ḳaina,*' the other, '*Ḳai·na, Ḳai·na, Ḳai·na.*' Go into the house where you hear the latter, but not the first, for the woman who sings '*Ḳaina, Ḳaina, Ḳaina,*' is very evil."

The younger brother continued his journey until he came to the two houses. Listening attentively, he heard the two songs exactly as the old woman had described and, remembering her advice, he entered the one from which he heard the song, "*Ḳai·na, Ḳai·na, Ḳai·na.*" The singer greeted him.

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"I know why you have come," she said. "You have had trouble with your wives, I will be your friend and help you."

Much to his delight she massaged his face, arms, and body until he became beautiful.

"Now go home," said his benefactress. "All the women who divorced you on account of your ugliness will now desire you, but you must treat them with scorn, as they treated you in the time of your misfortune. Only cherish the ugly woman who loved you and bore you a child."

When he returned home the younger brother found that it was as the supernatural woman had foretold. Though all the pretty women who had previously repudiated him now sought him, he cared nothing for them; the ugly one alone appealed to him now, her lack of beauty was of no consequence.

The elder brother now desired to become as handsome as the younger. With this aim in view he took the same road and met the old woman who gave him the same advice. But he, arrogant and foolhardy, forgot which house he was to enter and when he came to the two from which he heard songs issuing, peered into each. The woman who was singing "*Ḳaina, Ḳaina, Ḳaina*" was very beautiful, whereas the singer of "*Ḳai·na, Ḳai·na Ḳai·na*" was ugly, so he went into the former's house.

"Will you make me beautiful, please?" he asked.

"Yes," replied the beautiful woman.

With that she seized his genital organs, which parted from his body at her grasp and fixed them to his forehead, the penis projecting like a horn from his brow, and the testicles hanging down over his face. Deaf to his appeals, the woman would do no more. Realizing at last that she would not help him, the unfortunate man left her, concealing his shame by wrapping a blanket around his face. His mortification was almost more than he could stand.

When he reached home he lay down with his head covered, as if very ill, nor for days did he leave the house except when necessary. No one could discover what was the nature of his trouble, until finally his younger brother investigated and found out the reason. Thanks to the massage which he had received from the supernatural woman he had her ability to transform the human body. Accordingly he exercised his power to replace his brother's organs, and to make him handsome, even as he himself. Then the women who had divorced him in the days of his ugliness wished to return to him, but he followed his brother's example, cherishing only the ugly woman who had borne him a child.

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THE MAN WHO MARRIED A COPPER WIFE

Tcinutliax was a lad whose parents had been murdered by evil people. He lived with his mother's mother, a woman so old that she could neither see nor walk. *Tcinutliax* himself was not only poor but he was so weak that the other lads used to bully him and would never condescend to play with him. In the midst of his misfortunes he became endowed with supernatural power. 539* 787*

He said to his grandmother, "Grandmother, please come to me, I want to cure you."

The old woman thought that he was mocking her and struck him so that he began to cry.

"You little brat," she said, "I am old and helpless, you should be ashamed of making fun of me."

But when he had stopped crying he again told her he would cure her and this time she consented. He rubbed his hands over her legs, holding his palms together and spitting in them and again passing them over her, as is done by healers. Then he stroked his grandmother's eyes, spitting and blowing on his hands at intervals, until she found she could see.

Finally *Tcinutliax* said, "Stand up."

For years she had not been able to rise but now she found that she could walk easily; she had been cured. It was *Ālqunūm* who had taken pity on the lad's misfortunes and had granted him supernatural aid.

A few days later, when a large number of lads were playing on a level tract near the village, something seemed to draw their eyes upwards and they saw a bright object floating down from the sun. They watched eagerly until, when it drew near the earth, they saw that it was a shining woman whose clothing was composed entirely of copper. She did not descend to the ground, but remained drifting slowly around at a height of about twenty feet. They all knew, in some inexplicable manner, that if anyone could hit her with a stone she would be his wife. All tried, but none could strike the gleaming maiden. Then *Tcinutliax* came along and, making fun of him as usual, the others called on him to try; his first shot whizzed close past her, his second struck her fairly, and she fell with a crash at his feet.

One of the lads went to the old woman's house, saying, "Your grandson has won the wonderful woman, clean up your house."

But she did not believe the news.

"You are always beating *Tcinutliax* when you play," she answered. "It is bad enough for you to abuse my grandson, don't try any of your tricks on me."

Finally she was convinced and cleaned up the house, scattering sand

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*539 on the floor as is done whenever a supernatural visitor is expected. *Tcinutliax* entered with his copper bride.

*787 Although no one gave him presents, *Tcinutliax*'s goods increased in a miraculous way. He would leave two blankets in his house and on his return there would be ten, and the same with other goods. He was able to give potlatches, thus wiping away his poverty and making himself a chief. In the course of time he learnt who had murdered his parents and determined to avenge their deaths.

One day he said to his grandmother, "I am going to lie down with my wife. No matter what happens you must not disturb us."

The old woman promised to follow his instructions and *Tcinutliax* disappeared with his copper wife into the bedroom.

Shortly afterwards one of the murderers of his father was drawing water when an immense eagle swooped down and carried him away, to the amazement and consternation of the people. This increased when a second bird dropped like a plummet on another man, bearing him aloft. Eagle after eagle swooped down, each taking one victim, until half the population of the village had been seized. *Tcinutliax*'s grandmother, realizing that he was responsible for the plague of eagles, was greatly worried; she believed that if she called him the attacks would stop, but she feared to break her promise. At last she summoned up the necessary courage to do so, telling him what was happening.

"Didn't I tell you not to disturb us under any circumstances?" he angrily retorted.

The grandmother drew back, fearing that *Tcinutliax* would strike her as he followed her from the bedroom. He did not do so, but no more eagles appeared as she had broken his power.

THE MAN WHO MARRIED WOLF[8]

Once a man was walking in the forest when he met the daughter of Wolf. Each felt a mutual attraction for the other so that he accompanied the woman, who was in human form at the time, to her father's house where they were presently married.

"Mortal," said Wolf to his son-in-law, "if you are wise you will take very great care of your wife. Never slight[9] her."

[8]Boas, p. 103, has recorded a myth having many points of similarity with this.

[195] [9]He used the word *ɢɛpai*, which means literally, "to be in smoke," i.e., he told him, "Never allow smoke to drift over her." Considerable smoke often rose from the open fire of a Bella Coola house, hence the literal translation of his command meant that the woman must never be seated where the draught would blow smoke over her. Of course, the real significance was never to allow anything to impinge on the respect due to his wife.

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The man lived for some time in the home of his father-in-law where his wife bore him a sturdy son. When the infant had grown with phenomenal rapidity into a fine lad—it seemed as if he were about two years old though he was only a few months—his father took him and his wife to his own parents' home. His mother and father welcomed their daughter-in-law, and heeded the injunction that she was in some way peculiar and must never be slighted. He for his part faithfully obeyed his wife's wishes that he must never even exchange pleasantries with any other woman: she was very jealous. Previous to wedding Wolf's daughter, the man had been married several times, but he had divorced his former wives. One of them, however, still had affection for him, and when they met at the river bank one day, where each was drawing water, he exchanged a few playful remarks with her. Although he did not tell his wife what he had done she soon learnt of it.

"My father told you never to slight me," she called out in anger.

Then she took the child and lay down with him in the bedroom, nor could the distressed husband do anything to mollify her.

He did not know that the bucket and a skin cord which his wife had brought with her from her home were in reality spies on his behaviour. She always carried the thong concealed beneath her arm-pit, and when her husband brought water to the house she would drop the cord into it. Hitherto it had remained limp, but on this occasion it had curled up like a spring, thus conveying knowledge of her husband's actions.

When the man went to bed that evening he again tried to pacify his wife, but as she remained as angry as before he realized that it was a serious matter and determined to lie awake in case she should try to flee. Towards dawn, forgetting his resolution, he slumbered. Then the woman rose silently and slipped away, taking the child with her.

In the morning when the man awoke he at once felt for his wife, but she was not beside him. Fearfully, he searched the house and village, but all in vain. Wife and child had gone, leaving him filled with woe and anger, coupled with self-humiliation. Then it occurred to him that his wife had fled to her father's home and he determined to follow. Without delay he set out, cheered at intervals by his son's small footprints. Presently his path was blocked by a steep, treeless mountain which had not been there when he last traversed the road. He scoured in either direction in search of tracks, but without avail; it seemed as if they had vanished at the base of the mountain, and the man sat down and began to cry. Presently a stranger appeared; he was Lynx, in human form.

"Why are you crying?" said Lynx. "Have you lost your wife and your child?"

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"Yes," answered the man, too grief-stricken to be surprised at the other's knowledge of his misfortunes.

"That is nothing serious," continued Lynx, "they are not far away."

With that Lynx made an opening through which the man hurried. Inside the mountain he found himself in a new land, not dissimilar to Bella Coola, with a sun above and a river flowing through it. Best of all, as he hurried up the river bank, he saw his son's tracks at intervals. At length he came to a lake at the margin of which the footsteps seemed to vanish; once more disappointed, the man scoured the shore in either direction, but not a trace could he find. At last, concluding that his wife and child must have gone into the lake itself, he determined to follow, and walked in until the water reached his neck. He drew back in fear and sat down to cry, convinced that his task was hopeless. Once more a strange man appeared; this time it was Muskrat, who asked the same question as Lynx had done, and who likewise stated that wife and child were not far away.

Then Muskrat opened a path for the man beneath the water where he found himself in another world, with its sun and its river, again not unlike Bella Coola. As before, his son's tracks were visible here and there serving to guide the father. At last he was overjoyed to see smoke rising from a solitary house occupied by an old woman.

"Have you seen any strangers?" inquired the man.

"Why, yes," answered the woman, "a woman carrying an infant passed not long ago."

"That was my wife with my baby," cried the excited man.

The old woman told him that they were staying at a house not far from her own, though out of sight. Towards dusk he hid himself near the door and when his son came toddling out, the father seized him eagerly. The child, who was very fond of his father, was delighted to see him.

"Now listen carefully," the father told him. "When it gets dark I want you to say that you need to leave the house. Perhaps your mother will take you out, but if she tries to send someone else out with you, you start crying. Don't go out with anyone but her."

The little boy, vaguely realizing the importance of the command, promised to obey.

When it had grown dark the child called out that he wanted to go outside. His mother tried to send him with an old woman, but he began to cry. Then she asked one of her sisters to take him, but he only wept the more, until at last she took him herself, though perhaps she was a little suspicious that her husband might be in waiting. No sooner was she in the open than the watcher seized and embraced her. She ap-

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parently considered that his pursuit atoned for his folly, at any rate, instead of being angry, she took him into the house, where he was received courteously by his wife's relatives. For a long time the man lived happily with her in her village.

One day a large party, including the man, his wife, and several of her sisters, went on a visit to a neighbouring village. All his wife's sisters were very beautiful, but one of them, the most lovely of all, had fallen violently in love with her brother-in-law and had tried to seduce him whenever his wife was absent. For a long time he resisted, but on this occasion he yielded. As soon as his wife returned she knew what had happened.

"Did not my father say you must never slight me?" she burst out angrily.

While her husband was seeking some plausible excuse his wife seized the child and fled away, nor was her husband ever able to catch her.

THE MAN WHO MARRIED WOLF
(*Second Version*)

Long ago there was a young man who lost his wives, his house, and all his possessions through gambling at the game played with crabapple sticks. His father, becoming disgusted at his son's folly, determined to move away and abandon him to starvation. Following the father's instructions, the villagers collected all the food and all the blankets, took down the plank walls of the houses, and departed, leaving the young man alone. Only an old slave woman took pity on him by secreting some embers in a large shell which she concealed and told him where to find.

Abandoned by his friends, the young man was soon in difficulties. He blew the embers into a fire which he kept blazing, but he could obtain no food until finally he was reduced to a skeleton and lay down to die, covered with moss. As he lay there he heard in the distance a woman's voice, *a*.....

He thought to himself, "Well, that can be no mortal. If she comes to me, I will die, but as I am to die anyway it does not matter," so he lay inert.

The voice kept sounding, always nearer and nearer, till presently he saw a beautiful woman with two long braids of hair and two blankets.

"My father has sent me to you," she said to him. "He has seen your misery. I am to help you."

Though he did not know it, the woman was Wolf. She had brought with her some mountain goat grease which she chewed, then spat out into her hands, with which she proceeded to massage the dying man from head to foot. After the first application he felt better and she told him to get

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*539 *787 up. But he realized that she was bringing him supernatural strength and resolved to obtain as much of this as possible. Accordingly he said he was too weak to rise, and again she massaged him. She repeated this several times; each time the man felt he was gaining more and more strength, until finally he consented to get up.

The woman now asked him to go home with her, which he did. It was winter and they had to use snow-shoes; there was only one pair available but they had no trouble travelling on these, each placing a foot on each shoe. When they reached Wolf's house the old man, the woman's father, welcomed them and showed his pleasure by insisting that the young man marry his daughter; this he was only too ready to do. The youth taught his father-in-law the gambling game which had been the cause of his own downfall, and the old man was so delighted that he gave his daughter's husband supernatural power to succeed at it. The youth lived for some time in Wolf's house, when presently his wife bore a son who grew with such phenomenal rapidity that in a few months he was like a child of two. After a time the husband wanted to return to his old home and broached the subject to his wife and her father. They were willing, but Wolf told his son-in-law that he must never allow smoke to drift over his wife. The youth, puzzled at this injunction, asked for further information; his father-in-law told him that if he paid attention to any other woman it would be as if his wife were sitting in smoke, and that disaster would follow. He added that she would have means of knowing whether or not he obeyed this command.

With his wife and child the man returned to his old home where again he began to gamble. But now his luck was unfailing. As he had been unfortunate before, so now was he fortunate until he had won more than he had lost and filled his house with food, goods, and slaves. He always remembered his father-in-law's instructions and took great care of his wife, even acting as her servant, in that he drew water for her in a bark bucket. But one day as he was doing this he met a former wife, now a slave, who was accompanied by a favourite dog. The animal gambolled over to him and his old master petted and made much of it. Whenever he returned with water his wife always dropped in the bucket a piece of mountain goat sinew which had the power of curling if he had shown affection for anyone during his absence from her; up to this time the thong had always remained straight, but now it rolled itself tightly, and the wolf woman knew that her husband had allowed smoke to drift over her.

She upbraided him, "Did not my father tell you never to allow smoke to drift over me? Why have you been so foolish?"

The son, who was just learning to talk, joined in his mother's chidings

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and the father was speechless. The woman refused to drink the water, but threw it out of the door and fled away to her father's house. 539*

The heart-broken man determined to follow. Sometimes her track led under lakes, but he pushed on bravely until at last he drew near Wolf's village, at the lower end of which there was a single house occupied by an old man. 787*

"Have you seen my wife and child?" the husband asked.

"Yes," answered the man, "she arrived home several days ago. She is afraid you will pursue her and, therefore, remains inside most of the time, but the boy plays fearlessly. Wait here and you will probably see him."

In a short while the child drew near and the father rushed out and seized him. He was very pleased to see his father, and the latter conceived a plan to use his son as a means for catching his wife.

He said to the boy, "Tonight, when everyone is in the house, you must say that you want to go outside. Your mother will probably try to send you out with someone else but you must cry until she consents to take you herself."

The son agreed. That night the child said that he wanted to leave the house and cried and cried until his mother took him out, though she told her relatives that she was afraid her husband might be watching for her.

As soon as the woman was clear of the house her husband seized her and embraced her. Convinced of his love, she was not angry, but instead took him back with her into the house. He remained with her in Wolf's village, became a real wolf himself, and never more returned to the land of mortals.

THE ORPHAN HUNTER

Kaldrap and his sister, two Carrier Indians, were orphans, alone in the world. Though *Kaldrap* was little more than a boy he took great care of his sister and hunted assiduously for her with bow and arrow, killing many squirrels, rabbits, and mallard ducks. The first two he skinned, so that his sister could make blankets from their fur, while the ducks were used for food. He was very successful, but one day he broke his bow-string.

"Will you not give me some material to make a new one?" he asked his sister.

"What do you want?" she inquired.

"Some strands of pubic hair," replied *Kaldrap*.

His sister gave him some with which he made a string. Soon after-

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wards he met twelve grizzly bears, at a time when he carried twelve arrows. The bears said to one another:

"Let us kill that puny man."

When they began to uproot trees to show their strength, *Keldcap* replied:

"All right! Do your worst. I will kill you all."

He shot his arrows, shattering the trees behind which the grizzly bears were standing, and after a tremendous fight succeeded in killing them all. He returned to his sister and told her that he had killed twelve grizzly bears, but had almost lost his own life in doing it. She was much alarmed, and, fearing for his safety, asked him to abandon such dangerous hunting.

A few days later when he shot at a squirrel in a tree he missed it, and his arrow lodged far above the ground. *Keldcap* climbed after it, and, as his eyes were always fixed on the arrow above him, he did not notice that the trunk was growing rapidly taller. Finally, the tree passed upward through a hole in the land above and *Keldcap* crossed to it, using his bow as a gangplank. He found himself in a fine, level, treeless country, containing game, at least so he judged from a well-defined runway which passed near the place where he stood. It was evening by this time, so *Keldcap* made a snare of his bow-string and set it in the path, hoping that the animal which had made it, whatever it might be, would be caught during the night. Then he lay down and slept.

Early the following morning he heard a low rumbling, and to his amazement he saw the sun heading straight for his snare. *Keldcap* thus realized that the runway was its path. He expected that his bow-string would be broken by the impact, but to his surprise the snare held and the sun was fairly caught. Its chief emerged from within and looked around without noticing the frightened lad who lay perfectly still.

"Who did this?" he demanded angrily, but *Keldcap* did not answer.

Presently the mice which are plentiful in the land above came to him and asked:

"Did you do this? It is a terrible thing, a great mistake which you must rectify."

"How?" inquired *Keldcap*.

"Cover our bodies with paint[19] and we will gnaw through the string of your noose."

Keldcap smeared the mice with paint, but when they tried to penetrate to the cord they were driven back by the intense heat.

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[19]It was formerly customary for all Bella Coola to carry small pouches containing paint.

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"You did not paint us all over," said the mice. "Do our eyes and our recta." 539 *

Kaldcap did so. Then the mice reached the string and gnawed it, freeing the sun to hurry off on its course. 787 *

"Never come here again," said the mice. "It is a bad place. No people ever come here."

Kaldcap, who was terribly frightened, was only too willing to follow their advice, so he extended his bow to the tree, which had remained in position, crossed to it, and began to descend. As he did so, the trunk rapidly became shorter until at length he reached the earth. His sister, who did not know what had become of him, was weeping at his long absence.

"I thought you were dead," she said to him.

"I have had a narrow escape," he answered, "I've been to the land above though I did not know it."

When he recounted his adventures, she was terrified at the dangers through which he had passed and again besought him not to go on any more such expeditions. Not long afterwards, when he wanted to hunt mallard ducks which were plentiful on a near-by lake, the sister insisted on accompanying him. On reaching the shore, he threw off his clothing and dived into the water to pursue the birds while she remained on the beach. After swimming a short distance, *Kaldcap*'s legs were seized by a *sîdmsk* which dwelt in the lake. He was not swallowed immediately and retained sufficient presence of mind to call to his sister to throw him her long rope of caribou hide.[11] He caught one end and tied it round his stomach, directing her to fasten the other to a tree-trunk. Then he told her to throw him his stone knife, and with it he slew the monster. Inside the animal's stomach they found the bones of many people whom it had devoured. This adventure terrified *Kaldcap* as much as it did his sister, who pointed out to him that he would have perished but for her help. Thenceforth he abandoned hunting.

In spite of his good intentions, *Kaldcap* seemed fated to have adventures. One night, soon after his experience in the lake, he was sleeping in his camp on the brink of a precipitous canyon when he was awakened by someone shaking him.

"Get up!" He heard a voice say.

When he opened his eyes the only living creature in sight was a mouse which rapidly disappeared beneath a stone. *Kaldcap*, concluding that he must have been dreaming, again went to sleep. A second time he was aroused by being shaken, and a second time he heard the voice, but as before he could see no one. Determined to solve the mystery, he made a

[11] All Carrier women are said to wear ropes of this kind.

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*539 *787 small hole in his skin blanket and once more lay down as if to sleep, but fixed his eye to the opening. Soon there drew near a beautiful woman with long hair.

"Don't vanish," *Kaldrap* said to her. "I see you."

The woman, not at all perturbed at being seen, merely answered:

"Come to my house."

Kaldrap followed his visitor, a mouse in human form, down under the earth to her home, a cave on the very edge of the precipice. One side of the house opened out into the canyon without a wall of any kind. Here the mouse-woman's three beautiful sisters were waiting.

"Let us play," said the mice. "Won't you swing us?"

[524] From the roof was suspended a swing consisting of two long ropes with a small cross-seat at the bottom, and a long rope by which it could be hauled back and forth, exactly like the swings formerly used by Bella Coola boys. One of the sisters took her place on the seat and *Kaldrap* pulled her back and forth so that she swung far out into the canyon. Then another took her place, followed by the third and the fourth, until he had swung them all. Next they suggested that he take his turn. A second rope was attached to the seat, *Kaldrap* took his place, and the four women, two on each side, pulled so strongly that he, in turn, swung far out into the canyon. Then the treacherous mice jerked the ropes violently, throwing him from the seat down into the depths.

Even as he was falling *Kaldrap* retained sufficient presence of mind to thrust out his bow, in which his supernatural power was localized, and to which he had clung. It lodged in a cranny of the canyon wall, arresting his fall, and he, being small and light, succeeded in gaining a foothold on a rough path. He crawled up it to the surface of the ground at some little distance from the place where he had camped, but on the same side of the gorge. Full of anger, he made his way back to the house of the mice.

"Let's play some more," he said to them.

But the mice, amazed at seeing him alive, were afraid to trust themselves to his swinging, even though he promised that they should later have an opportunity of doing the same to him.

"No," they said. "Sometime we will allow you to return and play with us, and you can sleep with us if you like. You had better go home now."

Kaldrap returned to his camp. When, the next day, he told his sister of his adventure she was terrified, and once more besought him to avoid all dangers.*

[538] *Though in this case the have mentioned scheming women, it is said that in many ancient stories the reverse was true.

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THE ORPHAN HUNTER
(*Second Version*)

Djuskp[a] was a poor orphan boy who lived with and looked after his sister. Eager to be a hunter, he made a bow for himself and begged her to make *A* string for it. First she offered to braid it of cedar-bark, but he would have none of it, and, when he likewise refused to accept one of moss, she was in despair, saying that she had nothing more that she could use. Then *Djuskp* persuaded her to give him some of her hair, which he twined into a bow-string. His sister told him never to shoot upwards, and he promised to obey her injunction. He was a fairly successful hunter, and killed a large number of squirrels whose skins his sister sewed into clothing for her brother and herself. 539 x 787 *

One day when *Djuskp* was hunting he saw a black bear in a tree. It seemed an easy mark, so easy that he felt certain of success and quite forgot his sister's instructions not to shoot upwards. Already he seemed to see himself clad in a fine bear-skin cloak, and ripped his squirrel-skin covering to pieces in anticipation. He shot at the bear, but the arrow, missing its mark, lodged in the tree; again he tried with like result. As this exhausted his quiver, *Djuskp* decided to climb after his arrows. Up he went, the bear clambering up and up above him, but he did not realize that the tree was growing rapidly, until, when he looked down, he saw, to his amazement, that the earth had disappeared from sight. After a moment's hesitation, he resolutely continued his climb. Finally the tree penetrated the floor of the land above, to which the hunter crawled with the aid of his bow.

Djuskp found himself in a flat country where he wandered on until he reached four large runways, such as any large animal might have made. Presently he heard a far-off rumble, a light appeared in the distance, and the sun came roaring up one of the paths. The heat became intense, but as the sun disappeared, the temperature returned to normal. *Djuskp* decided to set the string of his bow as a noose in one of the runways and, when he had done so, lay down to sleep.

Next morning he was awakened by the same distant rumbling; again the sun came near and was caught in his noose. As the heat was unbearable, *Djuskp* tried to reach with his bow to pull away his loop, but was driven back by the warmth. Then a mouse came to his aid, which *Djuskp* sent in to gnaw at the string, but the animal was roasted to death. He pulled it forth with his bow and revived it by sprinkling it with paint. Again he despatched the little creature, but a second time it was overcome

[a] The name of the hero appears in different forms; it is probably a Carrier word [177] incorrectly pronounced by the Bella Coola.

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*539 *787 by the heat. This happened a third time, but on the fourth attempt the mouse succeeded in cutting the string, whereupon the sun went bounding away.

The orphan walked along a good road until he came to a house from inside which he could hear women's voices and the sound of bark-beating. Peering in, he saw a number of women preparing soft bark coverings for an infant who was lying in a cradle-box; they were the supernatural cedar-bark beaters who live in the land above. When *Djuskip* walked in, they asked him whence he had come; he replied by inquiring why they were making bark cloths, and they answered that they were for a cradle. They told him to lie down in it, saying that it was so comfortable that he would soon fall asleep. Though *Djuskip* suspected that they were plotting against him, he felt so secure in his great power that he did as they asked. As soon as he had lost consciousness, the box rotated on its axis so that he was projected through the floor itself, down into the region between the upper land and this earth. After falling a short distance, *Djuskip* changed to eagle down and floated back up to the house, where he reappeared to the women in human form once more. They were amazed at seeing him again, but once more he obligingly went to sleep. Again the box rotated to cast him down below, and again he became eagle down and floated up. When this had happened four times, *Djuskip* became angry.

"I am a shaman," he said to the women, "and will kill you if you are not careful."

The supernatural bark beaters advised him to go back to his sister, telling him to return by the way he had come. He decided to follow their counsel, found the tree still in position and climbed down, the trunk growing shorter as he descended. In this way he reached home in safety.

In a third version, collected from another informant, the hero is named *Tsalkwap*. He is described as a lad who supported his sister on small game, while dreaming of the time when he would be a real hunter. He decided that a bow-string of pubic hair was necessary, and obtained the wherewithal to make one from his sister, after refusing to use any other kind of hair. The story relates how his arrow lodged in a tree-top, where he attempted to climb after it, ultimately reaching the land above. Parallel game trails crossed this territory, in one of which he set his bow-string as a noose and in this way snared the sun. After a mouse had released the captive *Tsalkwap* returned to earth.

[821] This account states that each parallel trail was the track of the sun

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on a successive day and that after being captured the sun resumed its course. This is said to be the origin of the solstices.

There are many other versions of this tale current in Bella Coola, in some of which the hero is said to have been a native of Green Bay.

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THE BOY WHO WAS BEFRIENDED BY GRIZZLY BEAR

The youths of a certain village were very fond of wrestling, spending most of their time in bouts. Proud of their strength, they used to unite to bully one of their fellows, a weakly youngster quite unable to hold his own among his more vigorous companions; they not only mocked his lack of strength, but, when wrestling, threw him around as if he were a plaything. For a long time the lad remained passive under the taunts and ill-treatment of his companions, then determined to seek supernatural aid. Adorning himself with eagle down, dyed cedar-bark and undyed cedar-bark, he made his way to a small pool up the valley, where he knew that grizzly bears were in the habit of washing. For four days he lay down by the water, without sleeping or eating. At last he saw a bear approaching, but, strengthened by his fast, he showed no sign of fear.

"You have come to obtain power from me," said Grizzly Bear.

"Yes," answered the boy.

"Very well."

Grizzly Bear washed the lad in the pool, and as the creature passed his hands over him, the youth felt an increase in strength. There was a large boulder near the edge of the pond, one which the bears used to toss around when playing.

"Throw me that rock," said the bear, wishing to see how strong the lad had become.

But the latter, though strong enough to throw it, determined to plead weakness with the intention of obtaining greater strength by more washings. In this he succeeded. When he pretended to try to lift the stone, but failed to do so, Grizzly Bear again washed him, and again he felt increasing vigour.

"Try now," said Grizzly Bear.

A second time the boy pretended that it was too heavy for him.

"Pshaw!" said Grizzly Bear. "If you had any mental courage you would be able to throw it as I do."

As he said this he tossed the boulder a considerable distance as though it had been a pebble.

Nevertheless he consented to wash the youth a third time and even, when again he failed to lift the stone, a fourth time. Now the lad decided that he had obtained as much strength as he could, so he picked up the

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boulder and wound it lightly, even further than Grizzly Bear himself had been able to do.

"Now," said Grizzly Bear, "go home. But don't display your powers immediately. If they start to handle you roughly as before, just pretend still to be weak, and watch who are your chief tormentors. Then, if they anger you too much, exert your strength."

When the youth returned to his village his companions, who knew of his search for supernatural help, came running out.

"Here comes so-and-so," they said, "who went away to get power."

They were all eager to learn whether or not he had succeeded, but the lad did not gratify their curiosity. After a time they began their usual sport of wrestling, nor was it long before they had begun to throw their playmate to and fro, as they had often done. He allowed them to believe him a weakling until the whole crowd jumped on him, forcing him to the ground, and derriding him for his failure to obtain supernatural help. Then he exerted his strength. Catching one of his persecutors by the neck he squeezed him until his head was separated from his body; next he seized two, one in each hand, and crushed them together with such a shock that they were killed. Grizzly Bear had endowed him with the strength of a bear, which he used to slay all who had molested him. Once avenged, he assumed the form of a grizzly bear and ran away, never to return.

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THE DOG'S WIFE**

A chief and his wife had a daughter who, not having reached the age of puberty, always slept beside her father. One night she was startled by feeling a man holding intercourse with her, but she could not tell who it was. The same thing happened repeatedly just before dawn, her seducer always fleeing so rapidly that she could not identify him. Greatly puzzled, she at last hit on a plan to find her lover. Like all women she carried a small bag containing the paint used to decorate herself; she took this to bed with her, unclosed, and determined to throw it at the person who was visiting her. Towards dawn she was wakened as usual, hurled her pouch in the darkness, and heard the thud as it struck someone. In the morning everyone noticed that an ugly old dog living in the house had a smear of paint over its face and there was considerable discussion as to how this could have happened. The girl was terrified, suspecting, as was the case, that the dog had heard her make some unkind remark about its face and had become her lover in revenge.

The girl soon felt that she was pregnant. The time of delivery arrived with unprecedented rapidity, and she gave birth to four puppies, three

** Bella Bella story.

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males and one female. The anger and wrath of her proud parents was beyond expression, since such a disgrace had never been known in their illustrious family. To mark her shame, they dubbed her *Nemtlah*, "The Mother of Dogs." Her father wished her to die but, unwilling to slay his own daughter, decided to accomplish this end indirectly by abandoning her without food or clothing to die of starvation. He instructed the people to gather up all the provisions and household utensils and to pile them on planks removed from the walls of the houses and laid across canoes. Then they moved away. The girl's only friend was a kindly slave who, taking advantage of a time when no one was looking, hid for her one old copper *tsmal* as a protection against rain, and a few cinders contained in the shell of a large mussel.

As soon as the people had departed, *Nemtlah* took out the shell and blew the coals into a flame with which she started a fire. Then she started out to hunt clams. No sooner had she left the house than the three little dogs, the three oldest of the litter, took off their animal skins, hung them on a cross-beam of the house, and began to play in the form of little boys, taking care to send out the single sister to warn them when their mother was approaching. As she drew near, the watcher notified her brothers, who resumed their dog-skins and lay curled up asleep when *Nemtlah* returned. This went on day after day; the mother went out to gather clams and her offspring became little boys in her absence. She was much puzzled at finding marks in the house, not footprints that could be recognized as such, but trampled earth and small objects moved from the places where she had left them; in fact, just such traces as exist where children have been playing. So she determined to find out the cause. One evening as dusk was falling, she went out as usual to the clam-bed, where she hung her hat and cloak on her digging-stick and crept back naked to the rear of the house. The watching puppy did not discover the subterfuge and her brothers continued their play as boys. *Nemtlah* peered through a crack in the wall, saw the dog-skins hanging on the beams, and, dashing in, threw them on the fire.

With their skins destroyed, the dog-children were unable to resume animal form, the female alone remaining as she had been. *Nemtlah* began to weep bitterly.

"See the mischief you have caused," she cried. "My father and my mother have abandoned me because you were dogs. All this could have been avoided if only you had appeared in human form at once."

Nemtlah's children had inherited some of their father's supernatural power and they now intimated what prodigies they would undertake.

The oldest looked, and then spoke to her in Bella Bella.

"I shall be a house builder," he said.

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The second brother likewise barked before saying:
"I shall build canoes."
Last of all the youngest barked and stated:
"I shall be a hunter."

The mother said nothing to the three assertions. Next morning the dwelling had been enlarged and was beautifully furnished with mats, boxes, and all other requisites of a chief's house, and it was amply provided with all kinds of meat ready for cooking. Glancing through the front door, *Nawdlaat* saw that numerous canoes were lying on the beach.

Not long afterwards, the slave who had helped the girl saw smoke rising from her house and went to investigate, taking care not to say anything of his plan to his master. The visitor was delighted to find *Nawdlaat* well and prosperous, the happy mother of three sturdy sons. She gave him some seal meat, which he took home intending to eat it secretly with his wife and child during the night. The slave heated it without attracting attention but, unfortunately, a piece of the meat lodged in his son's throat and the lad nearly choked to death. His coughing aroused the chief's wife with whose assistance the obstruction was removed, but she saw what it was and insisted on being told whence it had been obtained. So the slave recounted his visit to his master's daughter, adding that the latter was prosperous and did not want to see her parents. In later years, however, when they were old and feeble, *Nawdlaat* brought them to her house and cared for them.

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A second version, collected from another informant, states that the leading character of the story was a Bella Bella girl secluded at puberty, and that the dog visited her in her place of concealment in a corner of the house. She learnt her lover's identity by the device of paint and in time gave birth to five puppies, whereupon her father abandoned her. An old slave, alone, helped her by leaving a few glowing embers. The girl supported herself on clams which she dug at some distance from the house. During her absence her offspring became human children; when she discovered this she threw their discarded dog-skins into the fire. Then the one female puppy spoke, telling her eldest brother to become a house-builder; the second, a canoe-maker; the third, a hunter; and the fourth, a halibut-fisher. She, herself, then ran away and was never seen again.

This version describes how the dog-children exercised their respective abilities until their mother became wealthy, and how her former associates, seeing smoke arising from the deserted settlement, were curious. The friendly slave finally investigated, and was given the seal meat on

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which his child choked. Thus her father learnt of his daughter's prosperity, but he refused to allow his followers to join her, until driven to do so by famine. Then the Mother-of-Dogs received all of them hospitably except her own father.

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Qwinas's REVENGE

Long, long ago, a few generations after the earth had first been settled, the principal Kimsquit chief was named *Smaoan*. He was very wealthy, largely on account of the sole possession of a suitable place for netting olachen. Becoming jealous of his good fortune, four brothers determined to murder *Smaoan*, and did so one day as the unsuspecting chief was, as usual, catching fish. He had only one child, an infant named *Qwinas*, who was now left destitute and poor. Sometimes he lived with his mother, and sometimes with a sister of his father, according to which of them was able to feed him; his clothing was rags, for they were all very poor. Meanwhile, the four wicked men were prospering. Every year they caught large quantities of olachen on the fishing ground which they had stolen from the murdered man.

The years passed until *Qwinas* grew into manhood. One spring he asked the four brothers for some olachen and they gave him some, which he gleefully carried home to his aunt. As she was cooking the fish he told her from whom he had obtained them.

"That is what killed your father," she said.

She then told her nephew for the first time the reason for his father's murder.

Qwinas felt very sad. The next morning at daybreak he washed in the river, and then set off into the mountains, ignorant of where he was going, but determined to obtain power and have his revenge. He travelled on aimlessly, day after day, until he heard voices which seemed like those of women at play. Going nearer, he saw that the speakers were really mountain goats, and when he drew still closer he saw that they were hermaphrodites, which explained their feminine voices. The animals greeted him in a friendly fashion but told him not to come where they were.

"We know what you want," they said. "You want to obtain supernatural strength from Grizzly Bear, but you are on the wrong track. Take that path over there, it is the road of the bears, and presently you will see where the road of the grizzlies diverges from that of the black bears. Follow the former until you come to a lake where you must hide. The bears will come to you before long."

The friendly goats had given to *Qwinas* their own marvellous ability

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to scale mountains and their own power of vision. Thanks to these gifts the young man was able to pick out and follow the bear road as it led over the rugged crests, and to distinguish where the black bear road diverged. As his guides had told him, he came to a pool and there hid himself, wondering the while for what purpose could be the bundles of thorny branches tied up like balls.

Presently a mother grizzly bear and three cubs appeared, doffed their bear-skins, and in the form of human beings dived into the pool. In their exuberance of spirits they threw heavy stones to and fro as if they had been pebbles. *Qwinao* watched for some time, then jumped forth from his hiding place and seized their animal cloaks. Dispossessed of their skins, wherein lay their power, the bears were helpless.

"Please give me some of your strength," said *Qwinao* to them.

"All right," replied the mother bear, "come in and swim with us."

Qwinao dived into the pool among the animals, swam around for a few minutes, and then returned to the shore.

"Come in again," said the bear.

Once more he dived in, and as before returned to the bank after a short swim. A third time the bear called him back into the water, and finally bade him come for a fourth dip. When he had returned to land for the fourth time she said to him:

"Now lift that stone."

The stone was one of the heavy boulders which the bears had been tossing to and fro like balls. *Qwinao* tried to lift it, but it was too heavy.

"The food that you have been eating has weakened you," said the bear. "You must get rid of it."

She held before him a circular wooden dish which appeared to *Qwinao* to have been produced from the air, and bade him vomit. He tried to eject the contents of his stomach but could only gulp. Then the bear patted him on the back so that he was able to void large quantities of water in which dog salmon had been soaked; to this miserable fare his poverty had reduced him. Now that he was free of this baneful food, *Qwinao* was in a position to derive benefit from the bears. Once more he swam in the pool while the mother bear scoured him with a bundle of thorny branches, as though it had been a sponge with which she was washing an infant. During the process *Qwinao* felt new vigour surging through him. Then the eldest of the cubs scrubbed him in the same manner, and *Qwinao* felt that he was becoming stronger. In turn the second, and then the youngest rubbed him, until he felt that he had the might of a grizzly bear. But when the mother bear told him to lift the stone he pretended to be unable to do so, in the hope of obtaining still greater strength from them. Puzzled, she came to shore, felt *Qwinao* all

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over, and concluded that he had acquired the vigour which she had aimed to impart to him. So she told him simply to come in and swim with them, and again dived back to resume her play with her cubs. After watching the four throwing the stones to and fro, *Qwinao* dived in, joined their sport, and threw the boulders even as far as they were able for he had acquired the power of a bear. The five left the pool together and when the animals had reassumed their form they gave *Qwinao* a bear blanket. On donning this he, too, became a grizzly bear. 539* 787*

"Now," said the mother bear, "you can go home and take revenge on the murderers of your father. Only remember, you must not do so, or show your strength, for one year. Your name is now *Nänänllis* [a word derived from *nän-*, a grizzly bear]. Henceforth I and my cubs will be your friends and will be at hand to help you if you ever need us."

The four bears accompanied *Qwinao* towards his home, all travelling rapidly in bear form. Near his aunt's house he took off his blanket and carefully hung it up in a secure place; this restored him to human form and he went home, while his bear friends went off into the woods. *Qwinao* thought that he had been absent only a single day, but when he came to the village he found that it was autumn, although the olachen had been running when he went away. This was because he had been in the land of supernatural beings where one day is the equivalent of a year among mortals. He went to his aunt's door in the twilight. The old woman, who had concluded that her nephew was long dead, was delighted at seeing him return not only alive but appearing strong and well. She had very little food but she gave him the best available.

Obedient to the instructions given him by the mother bear, *Qwinao* did not immediately take his revenge. All winter he remained almost secluded in his aunt's house, but when spring came and the olachen were running, he paddled down in a river canoe to his father's fishing-ground where the four murderers had built four olachen-traps with firm interwoven branches, capable of resisting any flood. In the canoe with *Qwinao* was a mere child to whom he had given the nominal place as captain in the stern, while he himself poled in the bow. He guided his canoe against one of the weirs which broke before the impact as if it had been made of twigs, then, in succession he destroyed the three others in like fashion. Next *Qwinao* began to make four olachen-weirs for himself. Under normal circumstances the construction of one is a long and laborious task, requiring the pounding in of heavy stakes with mallets, but *Qwinao*, endowed as he was with the strength of a grizzly bear, merely shoved in the posts without effort. As he was working, the four murderers came up, very angry at the destruction of their weirs. One of them struck a savage blow at the destroyer with a stake, but *Qwinao* merely caught it with one [226]

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*539 *787 hand, as if it had been a blow from a feather, and wrenched it from his opponent. Another of the brothers likewise struck at him with a pole, but again *Qwinao* seized it from his grasp. Then he stretched out one hand, caught the holder of the stick by the neck, and squeezed until the man's head parted from his body. In the same manner *Qwinao* killed two more of the brothers, allowing only one of them to escape. His bear friends had been in the vicinity, but help from them was not required.

Qwinao finished the construction of his olachen-weirs and then went back to his aunt's house. The brother who had escaped had already brought tidings of what had occurred, and the old woman, fearful of the consequences, angrily asked *Qwinao* why he had done such a thing. He quickly quieted her by reminding her that it was she who had led him to think of revenge by telling him of the reason of his father's murder.

Qwinao remained quietly at home for the rest of that summer and the ensuing winter, but early in the spring he began to build an enormous salmon-weir. The fame of his strength had spread far and near among the coastal people so that many of them came to assist him. The weir was rapidly finished and was a great success. With the wealth of salmon obtained, *Qwinao* was able to give numerous potlatches and took for himself the name *Łäliäkdja*. In course of time he married the daughter of *ɯyuyuyuł*.

Qwinao was a great inventor. The next winter he made a net for olachen, which he used with great success in the spring. It was the first time that this had ever been done and the pattern he used has since been copied by the Kimsquit people. The following winter his aunt, acting on his instructions, made the first small salmon-net. Not only are the invention of these two useful articles ascribed to *Qwinao*, but also the first use of the bow and arrow, as well as other valuable appliances. After a long life he died, but he is still remembered for his achievements.[14]

A NEGLECTED OPPORTUNITY

[828] A few Bella Coola believe that supernatural experiences of the foregoing type tend to occur in certain families, although not with sufficient frequency to be called an inheritable characteristic. A middle-aged man who held this belief gave the following account of a personal encounter.

His father had obtained power from a black bear, and once when hunting he himself saw a track of which three footprints were those of a

[424] [14]The above differs from the usual tales of this category in that the participants are well known. In consequence their descendants take a family pride in it and tend to add it to the ancestral myth of the first *Smaoan*, perhaps improperly. Probably it is a tale that members of a certain family have sought to ascribe to their own ancestors.

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bear, while the fourth was human. Realizing that he was close to the supernatural, he followed the track and after considerable trailing killed a black bear. Half an hour later, when he returned to the "dead" animal, after unsuccessfully stalking another, it spoke to him:

"Why do you hunt me?" it asked.

The hunter fled, not believing that he was sufficiently purified through the observance of ceremonial chastity to take advantage of what was being offered to him. As he hurried back to his gasoline launch he saw a large deer within easy range but refrained from shooting, for he knew it was the same creature which had first appeared to him as a bear. A seal was sleeping on the water beside his boat which he could have killed with a club, but again he refrained, believing it to be another manifestation of the same. If he had been brave enough he would have spoken to the bear and obtained from it power of some kind.

This differs somewhat from the usual type of story, probably because white influence had already affected the Bella Coola at the time of the event.

THE MAN WHO SLEW *Ālquntäm*'S SON

A Cape Mudge chief, armed with a good rifle, was hunting at Knight Inlet. He had climbed a mountain when, looking down, he saw coming up after him a strange, large beast with a big nose and black and white striped skin, in general characteristics something like a bear, yet obviously not one. It had been seen previously at Kingcome Inlet, so must have crossed the mountains. The chief, who had never seen anything like it, was amazed, and hesitated to fire. When the animal came near him it sniffed, then rushed at the man and seized his rifle, which it threw away down the mountain. The two wrestled and the man managed to shove the beast down the slope where his gun lay. He fell also, and, exerting his last ounce of strength, the hunter seized the rifle, pressed it against the animal and fired. It dropped dead. The hunter took the skin back to his village, where it caused much wonder and admiration.

Not long afterwards the man gave a potlatch at which each of his fellow chiefs hoped to be the recipient of the remarkable pelt. Before making his distribution of presents, the donor broke a valuable copper and placed a small piece of it on the fire, saying:

"The supreme god is above you all. I will make a present to him first."

This was the first time that the chiefs had seen this done, but they said nothing. The presents were distributed as usual, and someone was given the much coveted skin.

Some time afterwards, when this chief was hunting mallards with a shotgun, he saw a bear asleep with its head on a log, and fired at it from

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*539 *787 point-blank range, apparently killing it. He had rolled the carcass over to the bank, preparatory to skinning it, when the second barrel accidentally exploded. The noise woke the "dead" bear, which grappled with the hunter and mauled him in spite of his cry: -

"I never hurt you."

The man finally escaped and made the best of his way back to the village in a badly wounded condition, dripping blood. Some boys saw him and rushed home, telling of the state in which the chief was returning. Suddenly a supernatural being appeared to him, saying:

"I am *Ăłqunŭm*'s son whom you have twice slain while I was attending to my father's business. But he has been pleased at your gift of copper, so I will help you."

The supernatural stranger was none other than the cherished son of *Ăłqunŭm*, *Sănollxmulelts Ăłqunŭm*. It was he who had previously appeared, first as the strange creature, and then as a bear. He told the man to close his eyes, and, when he had done so, his wounds disappeared. Soon after the people, who had been summoned by the boys to help the hunter, met him returning and were amazed to find him unscarred.

THE MAN WHO WAS HELPED BY GRIZZLY BEAR

Once long ago, there was a poor man who had no friends. Nothing [262] that he attempted prospered, until finally he was reduced to drinking the water in which dog salmon had been steeped preparatory to boiling. One day when walking in the forest, he saw a man swimming in a lake. It was really Grizzly Bear which had stripped off its skin on the bank and had entered the water as a man to wash and amuse itself by throwing heavy stones back and forth.

"Please come in," said the swimmer to the poor man. "Take off your clothes and wash with me."

The man did so, and when he was in the lake the bear said to him:

"You have been doing wrong in drinking that foul dog salmon water. None of us supernatural ones like you to do so."

The bear massaged the stomach of the man and pressed his fingers into his mouth until he vomited. This he did four times, until the man was purged of all the salmon water. The bear strongly urged him never [262] to drink any more of it, and since that time men have obeyed the injunction, realizing that the supernatural ones do not like it. The poor man was then scrubbed with devil's club, brambles, spruce branches, and other thorny boughs which lacerated his flesh. Next, the bear threw one of the heavy stones across the lake, and told the man to toss it back. He tried and failed. Again the supernatural one washed him with the thorny

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branches, and again threw the stone. This time the man was able to hurl it back the full distance. 539* 787*

The washing had made him strong as a grizzly bear, lithe and handsome, and had also given him the ability to see supernatural beings when concealed from the eyes of ordinary mortals. This last accomplishment was due to his having been made so clean by the expulsion of all the filth from his body that the supernatural ones had no aversion to being seen by him. After the cleansing, the man returned to his village, where he soon entered into an argument with two of the people who had been unkind to him. They quarrelled and the man seized his enemies and pulled their arms from their bodies. The parents of the injured men were angry and wished to take revenge on the assailant, but were prevented by friends who pointed out that the punishment given to their sons was well warranted.

THE LAD WHO VISITED THE HOME OF THE FISH

Long, long ago, there lived a lad who was so poor that all he had for clothing was a rough goat-skin blanket. He was so miserable and friendless that he made up his mind to commit suicide. The ice was breaking in the Bella Coola River at the time, and large cakes were floating down to the sea. The lad leaped out upon one block, then sprang to another, and finally into a clear patch of water. Associates seeking to dissuade him had followed him from one cake of ice to another, but they drew back when he plunged into the cold water.

The youth was not drowned. He found a road under the water which led him to the land of the herring; then, still following the path, he passed in succession the countries of the olachen, the steel-head salmon, the spring salmon, the sockeye salmon, the hump-back salmon, the dog salmon, and lastly the cohoe. Each kind of fish dwelt in its own country, the cohoe salmon, being the last to reach the Bella Coola River, living at the greatest distance from it. Not long after his arrival in the land of the fish, the salmon boat, *Nooḱynum*, left for Bella Coola and on it the youth returned home. Owing to this experience he became in time both wealthy and famous.

THE SUCCESSFUL SEALER

Long, long ago, a man living at *Sinxl* failed to display the generosity expected of him as a chief. He showed no initiative or pride, accepting what was given him without demur, and doing nothing to uphold the dignity of his ancestral home. Whenever a feast was given, this man's share was thrown down so clumsily before him that he was spattered with the food, but he was too lethargic even to show resentment. His four 539* 787* 556

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*539 sons, of whom the eldest was about sixteen, though old enough to appre-
*787 ciate the slights put upon their father, could do nothing to defend him.

On a winter day one of these lads felt impelled to follow a trail down
[556] the north side of the Bella Coola valley along the edge of salt water. The weather had been cold for some time, but on this day it was so warm that he lay down to doze on the warm rocks. Near his head was a small opening which connected with a long passage to the ocean, and through this he presently heard the hoarse breathing of sleeping seals. His hunting desires aroused, he went to the edge of the steep crag overlooking the sea and dived in. He bravely penetrated into a narrow passage which led him under the rocks, until with his last gasp he emerged into a cave where there were countless seals. Waiting only a moment, and without disturbing the animals, he dived back through the passage safely.

When he reached home the lad said nothing about what he had seen,
[411] but that evening he began to make a seal-spear of the usual type with a wooden handle and a bone point. He asked his father to help him with this carpentry task, and his mother to make a rope for the harpoon-head. Though surprised at their son's energy, the parents did as he requested, but the fellow-villagers mocked at his efforts, for the lad was no hunter.

Next morning he asked his father to accompany him, and the two set off in a canoe, carrying the spear which had been made the previous evening. Before starting, the lad requested one of his brothers to have a fire ready for cooking the spoil that night. Father and son paddled to the entrance of the subterranean passage, though the old man was, of course, ignorant of its existence. The son told him to wait, and dived overboard, armed only with a club, for the seal-spear had really been unnecessary. He penetrated through the passage and at once killed a seal pup, born that year, with which he returned to the canoe. The lad explained nothing to his father, so that it seemed to the latter as if his son had dived down into the depths and there slain a seal, after remaining below for an amazingly long time.

When the two returned to the village they were greeted with a shriek of laughter at the small size of their quarry. In derision, the villagers took the pup from them and threw it from hand to hand, as if it had been a ball.

As already described, it is customary whenever a man kills a deer, a
[224] mountain goat, several seals, or any other large game, for him to invite
[225] his fellows to a feast. The number of guests depends on the size of the
[574] quarry, but in all cases the chiefs are the first to be invited and anyone
[556] who fails to do so is laughed at for his stinginess. On this occasion the seal-pup was obviously so small that any general invitation to partake of it was ludicrous. Nevertheless, the lad sent a herald to invite not only

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the people of his own village but those of two neighbouring towns. All accepted, as is customary, irrespective of the amount of food. The carcass was cut up and the guests received such minute portions that they became wildly hilarious over the meagre fare provided and flung many insulting remarks at their host. This was what the lad had planned. Confident of his ability to establish his good name, he desired to make his resurgence more striking by first emphasizing his degradation. 539* 787* 556

Next day the father and son again went hunting, and this time the lad killed a seal of slightly larger size. Once more he called in his neighbours and again they made sarcastic remarks about his poverty. The succeeding day he killed one large seal, and summoned the people. Next day he slew two seals; the next, four; then eight, sixteen, and thirty-two on successive days. Each evening a feast was held and the booty distributed. By this time contempt and scorn had been replaced by respectful wonder, and when the hunter returned with his canoe filled with seals everyone was able to eat to repletion. There was a surfeit of the highly esteemed flesh.

The next day the lad brought back his canoe filled with seals, and the same night the people gathered for the usual feast. Now was the time for which the youth had been waiting. When the carcasses had been cut up and cooked, ready for distribution, he made a speech, reminding those present of the manner in which his parents had been "dirtied," by food thrown at them during feasts, and how they had never actively resented it. Then he intimated that he was about to retaliate. Starting with the chiefs at the upper end of the house, he threw pieces of cooked seal at his guests, nor did he desist until the faces and chests of all had been well spattered with the grease. The people, realizing that it was their own rudeness which was being returned to them, could not defend themselves.

The successful sealer had had a second quantity of seal meat cooked in readiness, which he now distributed to his ruffled guests in a gracious manner. In this way he was able to refurbish the prestige of his family. By his lavish donations of seal meat on many occasions, he gained a reputation for generosity which was envied by all.[16]

Stories Illustrating Supernatural Good Luck 539* 787* 777

THE *Mätsqus*

Not many years ago two men were canoeing up the Kimsquit River. As one of them pressed down with his pole he saw that it had grazed a

[16] It is not clear whether or not this story should, strictly speaking, be included in this category. Such a sudden stroke of fortune is termed a *nuq̓ˈanuikim*. It seemed as if the seals themselves had given their lives to this lad in his misfortune.

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mätsqus lying on the stones at the bottom of the river. Realizing his danger, he swiftly hurled the pole on to the shore beneath a huge cedar where no rain could penetrate. Here it remained for twenty or thirty years until it had become covered with moss.

One day two sisters chanced to pass that way and the younger wished to gather some of the moss, but the elder, who apparently surmised with what the pole had been in contact, was afraid and tried to dissuade her. The heedless girl picked some of the moss, and threw it towards her elder sister, saying:

"Pshaw! It is nothing."

The moss struck her, and the older girl, now thoroughly frightened, was determined that if any ill results were to follow, her younger sister should likewise suffer from them. So she, too, gathered some of the moss and threw it on the first picker. Nothing happened until they had gone home and drawn near to the fire when both began to swell. They told what had befallen them, but it was too late to apply any remedy and both continued to expand until their stomachs burst and they died.[17]

THE *Mätsqus* THAT WAS CAUGHT IN A NET

Between 1860 and 1870, a young man, related to the Bella Coola from whom this account was obtained, was netting salmon near *Tcimotl*. He had caught all that he needed but decided to make one more haul. As he did so, he saw in the water a giant toad with enormous shining eyes and white feet. It was a *mätsqus*. The beast entered the net which sank under its weight. The terrified fisherman plucked up enough courage to haul in his net, and found that the toad had turned to a stone, the surface of which was smeared with grease. He placed it on top of his salmon and went home to summon the people of his own and neighbouring villages to view the wonder. There were ancient traditions about such beasts having been caught in nets, but this was the first time that such a marvel had ever been seen by any of the eager crowd that thronged the bank. A very old man, well-informed in such matters, now appeared and warned the people to keep away from the space between the stone and the river. No sooner had they obeyed than the whole bank caved in, carrying into the water, canoes, the pile of freshly landed salmon, and the mysterious stone. The old man had heard of a similar occurrence, and his knowledge saved the lives of the onlookers.

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[17]The usual explanation given for the bursting of the stomach is that some of the fire from the monster has entered the victim's body, and there increased on coming close to a blaze. A remedy in the early stages of swelling is said to be the eating of an uncooked mallard duck.

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The fisherman did not obtain supernatural good fortune as a result of his capture, because he neither retained the object nor kept silent about what he had seen.

THE MAN WHO ACCIDENTALLY KILLED A *Mätsqus*

In the village of *Ṭsulkt* there lived an old man and an old woman with four grown-up sons. Early one morning the eldest of these saw a merganser below the dam at the village and decided to spear it. Armed with a new, sharp-pointed canoe pole he had crept out on the fish-trap, when, not far from it, he saw a toad about the size of a beaver sitting upon the water. He had heard of the power of such beasts, but was ignorant of the proper procedure for obtaining it, so thought he would try the effect of rubbing the end of his pole across its back. But when he thrust it out with this intention, the staff jumped from his hand and pierced the toad's body, so that it died. This power of attracting objects to itself was one of the animal's attributes of which the man was not aware. He pulled it ashore with a stick and roused his household, crying:

"Get up! Get up! See what I have slain. I did not intend to kill it but the pole sprang away from me."

Everyone rushed to the bank, and when they saw what was there they exclaimed:

"Why did you do such a thing when there was no one near to advise you?"

One man recommended him to go to an old man named *Sla·* who lived at the village of *Sno'oniqwly*. It was said that this man understood how to deal with such matters.

This seemed good advice, so the four brothers went off to conult *Sla·*, saying to him:

"We have come on very important business."

Sla· cut short their speech by replying:

"I know all about it. You have had power come to you. Have you four wolves?"

"No," replied the brothers, and *Sla·* continued:

"I have two on this side of the river, and two on the opposite shore. Unless we can fix this up satisfactorily you will die, but if we succeed in doing it correctly you will become wealthy."

The brothers accompanied *Sla·* up the slope of a mountain where he had two wolf heads concealed in a box. They took these and went with him to another box concealed on a mountain on the other side of the river where there were two more. *Sla·* took the four heads and escorted the brothers back to their village, stopping only to gather some wild gooseberry branches. On these he laid the *mätsqus*, for, of course, it was no

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toad, with its head to the east, and told all the spectators to stand in front of it, while he seated himself to the westward. Apparently, *Sla·* intended to dismember the creature, and the people wondered how he would do it, because they saw no cutting tool. However, when ready he reached behind him and took a leaf with sharp edges. It was a salal leaf which seemed to have come there for his purpose. With this he cut the *mätsqus* into four longitudinal sections, starting each from the mouth. He measured these pieces and instructed a carpenter to make immediately four boxes to fit the sections, with a small hole in one of the lower corners of each. When these were ready, he placed in each one of the strips of flesh and one of the wolf heads. He then told the brothers to put two of the boxes on a mountain to the right of the river, the other two on one to the left, placing each so that the corner with the hole in it should be at the south-west, where no water could enter. Then *Sla·* went home.

This treatment brought wealth to the brothers. First the eldest began to prosper, and within a year gave four potlatches. After that he began to have pains in his side; his skin wore away and he died. This was because water had penetrated the box designated as his.

Then wealth began to flow in upon the second brother without effort on his part. He too gave four potlatches within a single year, but the water penetrated his box and he also died, after suffering similar pains in his side. The third and the fourth brothers experienced precisely the same fate; each became wealthy after his senior's death, and each died when, after giving four potlatches, the water entered his box.

THE MAN WHO HOOKED A *Mätsqus*

Within the lifetime of an old Bella Coola, *Stsots*, a *Tăl·io* man, and *Pipotla*, a Bella Coola who had a reputation for making evil medicines, were out fishing together for halibut. *Pipotla* hooked something which he tried to haul in, but it was so heavy that he was making slow progress when suddenly a mass of water rushed from his body, by which sign he knew that it was a *mätsqus*. He continued to haul in his line until the creature came in sight. It resembled a toad, but was large as a bear and had in its throat a burning fire. Such beasts had been found before on several occasions, and in their stomachs had always been valuable stones.

As the *mätsqus* came near the surface the canoe began to spin round as if caught in a whirlpool. *Pipotla*, terrified, let out his line, not daring to try to haul in the animal, but presently the hooked *mätsqus* rose voluntarily to the surface and *Stsots* said to his companion:

"Don't drop your line; it has come for me."

"All right, take it," *Pipotla* replied.

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He passed his line to the speaker without ever glancing behind him. The two men paddled slowly to the shore, towing the *mätsqus* astern, its goggle eyes blinking, but when they reached the beach it jumped violently above the water and fell back with a splash that drenched *Staots*. The hook pulled out and the animal escaped. 539* 787* 777

Piqotla understood what must be done under the circumstances. He went home but without pausing there walked on into the forest, taking care not to look back. When he came to a rotten log he dug under it until he had collected and eaten four white slugs with black and white faces. He covered up the hole he had made, then continued his journey till he came to another log from which he likewise dug four and devoured them. He concealed the traces of his digging and went on to a third, thence to a fourth, in each case eating four slugs and covering the hole. Had he not thus concealed his work, his anus would have rotted away.

Piqotla remained for four days in the woods, constantly using his magical brews, and in that way escaped evil effects. But the unfortunate *Staots* went to his home, told all his neighbours about what he had seen, and sat down beside the fire. Presently his stomach burst and he fell dead. When four days had elapsed, *Piqotla* returned to the village, carefully avoiding the road, for if he had travelled on that he would have died. Everybody told him of the death of his companion, which he explained by saying that *Staots* must have been ignorant of the proper method of dealing with a *mätsqus*. If he had known that, he, *Piqotla*, would never have passed the line to his friend, whom he imagined would not have asked for it had he been unaware of how to deal with the beast.

THE TRAPPING OF A *Mätsqus*

About 1880 a celebrated chief named *Sunnälotla* set his traps for beaver in Lake Kisik. He had barely left them when, to his surprise, because it was daylight, he heard a splash and a struggle and turned back to find a beaver caught in his trap. He clubbed the animal, skinned it, and again set out for home. He had gone scarcely twenty yards when he again heard a tumult, and returned to find another beaver in his trap. This one he also clubbed and skinned, and again left the place. A third time a beaver entered his trap as soon as he left it, and he dealt with this in the same fashion, as well as with a fourth which appeared. By this time he realized that there was something uncanny about the occurrences, and, therefore, declined to turn back for a fifth which he heard splashing in his trap as soon as he had moved away after skinning the fourth. That night *Sunnälotla* and his children ate the game.

Next morning when he returned to the lake wherein his traps were set he found it in a turmoil. Waves were raging on it as if it were the

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ocean, although there was no wind. He was thirsty and bent down to scoop up a little water in his hands, which he drank. Then he made a small raft on which to go out to the trap where he had caught the four beaver the preceding day. In it he saw a *mätqus*, like a toad but big as a bear, and with a throat that glowed with fire. *Sinxälotla* made all speed back to the bank, but fell in a faint as he reached it, with his head barely out of the water. He lay there all day, but towards dusk recovered sufficiently to stagger away. He rocked and reeled as if he were drunk, but kept in mind what he had been told by the old people about avoiding the trail. Near home he shouted for *Nulesdaxw'*, an old man well versed in such matters, and when the latter came to him *Sinxälotla* said:

"I have seen what you told me about."

Nulesdaxw' took hammer and wedges and led the way to a pine sapling which he split vertically, so that *Sinxälotla* could pass through it. The sufferer followed the old man to three other trees which he wedged apart in like fashion, and through which *Sinxälotla* passed. Then *Nulesdaxw'* bade him build a small shelter with a platform where *Sinxälotla* stayed for four days, while *Nulesdaxw'* fumigated him in the smoke of a fire made of four thorny medicinal plants.

For two whole years *Sinxälotla* remained in this rude shelter, unable to move more than a few steps on account of the sickness which had entered his body with the water he had drunk. At the end of that time he was able to move around with a stick, and ultimately he recovered.

Sinxälotla failed to derive any benefit from the sight of a *mätqus*, because he had been afraid to take advantage of it. A brave man, strengthened by the observance of ceremonial chastity, would have touched the creature's back with the end of his pole, would have hidden this carefully, and in one year he would have begun to show remarkable success as a hunter. *Sinxälotla* escaped from death because he had avoided walking along a road traversed by unclean women; if he had done so while he had within him some of the mysterious power of the great toad, imbibed in drinking from the lake, he would have perished. The cure practised in this case was peculiar, since usually the approach of a patient to a fire causes his stomach to burst.

THE MAN WHO ATE A *Sisiutl*

Four brothers were hunting mountain goats when they came to a place, *Niniläuk*, where the animals congregated for mating. At one edge of a level stretch the ground fell away, sheer as a precipice, and the oldest brother conceived the brilliant idea of spreading near the brink of this drop a number of slippery, outside planks of cedar. These they laid with the rounded side on the ground, so that they would tip when a goat stepped

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on them and throw the animal to the ground far below. They covered the planks with moss, to disguise the trap, and then awaited results. It was mating time and when a she-goat slipped and fell over, all the males, thinking she had jumped down to elude them, leapt off in pursuit and were killed also. This method of hunting proved so successful that with the valuable wool obtained the four brothers were able to give many potlatches and became chiefs. During the summer they carefully concealed the slippery boards, fearing that someone might see them and copy the ruse.

Not long after they had thus become wealthy the four brothers chanced to be hunting on the distant side of the mountain, where there were a number of small streams flowing into a lake with no outlet to the sea. The eldest was some distance from the others when they saw some spring salmon in one of the rivulets. The second brother touched one of these fish on the neck with his hunting stick, and at once it jumped on the land and flopped about, shedding its scales. In spite of the unusual behaviour of the salmon, combined with its presence in an inland stream, the three hunters were not suspicious, so they killed and cooked it. As the fish was roasting before the fire the eldest brother returned and, noticing that its flesh was still quivering, burst out in wrath:

"What do you mean by killing a salmon in a place like this? Where could the fish have come from? Don't you remember what our father has told us so often? It must be a *naiaf* which you have killed and soon you will die."

"You are always afraid of something," said the second brother, laughing. "It is just an ordinary spring salmon, and as I am hungry I am going to eat it."

The third brother agreed with the second and the two devoured the fish, but the youngest heeded the advice of the eldest and would not touch it. Soon after eating, the stomachs of the two rash men split. As they lay dying the eldest said to them:

"It is your own fault. I warned you, but you have always been too hot-headed."

The erring ones agreed before they died. The eldest and youngest brothers went home, where their father was grief-stricken when they told him of the deaths of his other two sons.

Such deaths resulting from the eating of a *naiaf* are not uncommon. A man will sometimes find in the forest dried slices of sockeye salmon, or the heads of spring salmon, which are in reality *naiaf* that have assumed this form, and if the finder eats them he will die. A few years ago a

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Bella Bella man was fishing when a salmon jumped into his canoe and died at once, without the usual flopping and struggling. The fisherman took it home and ate it, though his wife refused to touch it, as being uncanny. Presently the man's lower jaw became diseased and he lost his teeth. The salmon must have been a *sutaif*.[14]

The mere sight of a *sutaif* does not bring the misfortune which follows the killing of one by fruitless means. On the other hand, if slain in the proper manner great good fortune will result. One method is to put a stick near it in the water, whereupon the fish will jump ashore and flop around, shedding its scales. The hunter should then kill it and, crouching down, say:

"I wish I had a salalberry leaf, or a piece of dead alder."[15]

Both of these have sharp-cutting edges. If he then puts his right hand behind him, whichever he has asked for will be there, though no one knows how it comes. Then he must cut the fish lengthwise into two parts, throw away the right half and the head, wrap the left in his cape, and run from the spot, taking care to go neither up nor down hill. Behind a landslide will take place, sweeping away the ground on which he has stood, even though it be level. He must hide the half *sutaif* in a hole in a cedar tree for one year without saying anything about his treasure. During this period he must not hunt or embark on any other important enterprise.

When the year has elapsed he may tell the people of his experience and sell tiny fragments of the *sutaif* for large sums. The purchasers wrap these fragments in cedar-bark and with them dead fish-weirs and traps, thus attracting animals and fish. A man obtaining a *sutaif* in this way can show his children where it is concealed, and so transmit his power to them.

THE CATCHING OF A *SUTAIF*

Not many years ago, a certain *Ooladz-i* constructed an ocean salmon-trap below Kimsquit. One moonlight night he saw in it a white, gleaming salmon and at once jumped to the conclusion that it was a *sutaif*. Being a wild, reckless fellow, he determined to try to obtain supernatural good fortune from his prey, though he was ignorant of the proper procedure. Waiting until the receding tide had almost laid bare the floor of his pen, he leapt down from the weir and clubbed the salmon to death, heedless of the scales which it was shedding in all directions. Then *Ooladz-i* cut it

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[14] It appears that the fisherman was a victim of pyorrhea, in consequence of which his teeth were extracted by a dentist, but the patient is convinced that his misfortunes are due to the salmon which entered his canoe.

[15] The left of anything is said to be more valuable than the right because when a man dresses it is the left side which is nearer the sun.

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into strips, using his ordinary knife, and returned home, where he sat down near some women and close to the fire. Before long he began to feel ill; his stomach grew larger and larger, and finally split in various places so that the raw flesh could be seen. No shaman could help him and within a year he was dead. 539* 787* 777

Stories Illustrating Shamanism

THE FORTUNES OF Xnw-a

Xnw-a was a blind man about thirty years old who lived with his wife at the head of Rivers Inlet. Before he had lost his sight he had been a successful hunter, but now he could no longer provide for her and they were often on the verge of starvation. One autumn the two had gone some little distance from the village to a small creek in which the woman was fishing with a gaff for the dying salmon that had spawned and were too listless to escape. As Xnw-a sat beside her, his wife saw a large black bear on the other side of the creek, coming down to the water to fish. She told her husband, who bade her fetch his bow and arrow. When she had brought them, wondering what he intended to do, he told her to point the arrow at the bear; he was going to shoot. She obeyed; as Xnw-a felt the taut bow-string beneath his fingers he almost forgot that he was blind; the zest of the hunter had returned to him. He loosed the arrow; it struck the bear, killing it instantly, without a sound, but his wife lied, telling him that he had missed it, and mocking him for his failure, with the intention of securing all the meat for herself. As soon as an opportunity presented itself she slipped away, skinned the animal, and soon had the flesh sizzling before the fire. 539* 787* 756*

Xnw-a smelt the cooking.

"I smell fresh killed meat," he said.

"You doit," his wife replied. "What are you talking about? You can't shoot."

When the woman again moved away to superintend her cooking, a supernatural being, who had seen Xnw-a's misfortunes, took pity on him and rubbed his hands over his eyes, restoring their sight. As he gazed around, amazed at his good fortune, he saw his wife bending over a box in which bear meat was boiling, greedily eating the grease which she skimmed from the surface of the water. He was so angry at her meanness that he crept up behind her, noiselessly, and thrust her head down into the boiling liquid where he held her until she ceased to struggle. She was dead. Then Xnw-a tore her clothing, her flesh, even her bones, into small fragments which he scattered to the winds in all directions.

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"From this time forth," he said, "you will appear to humans only as Lynx."

Owing to the power which Ḵwaw-a had obtained his words came true; each fragment became a lynx, and the animals so created were the progenitors of all lynxes.

After killing his wife, Ḵwaw-a went to live in a village near the mouth of Rivers Inlet where he promptly married a very beautiful woman. She had three brothers with whom Ḵwaw-a used to go hunting with great success. One day one of them suggested that they go to Ḵwakuir Island for sea-lions which were plentiful there. The four set out together but, although all hunted, Ḵwaw-a alone was fortunate. This continued success aroused both the shame and the jealousy of his brothers-in-law so that they determined to maroon him on the island in hope that he would soon perish. They waited until Ḵwaw-a had killed so many sea-lions that the canoe was filled with their meat; then they pushed off suddenly when he was some distance away inland. The youngest of the three brothers, a mere lad, took no part in this scheme, in fact he was bitterly opposed to it, and could only show his sympathy by knotting his cedar-bark cape into a bundle and throwing it ashore so that Ḵwaw-a would have at least that much protection.

When Ḵwaw-a saw the canoe drawing away from the land he came hurrying up, but the paddlers did not stop in answer to his calls. Then he realized that he was abandoned by his false comrades and sat down to weep, wrapped in the cape which his youngest brother-in-law had thrown him. For a long time he sat crying on the beach. Then he walked a little distance inland to a place where there were some large flat stones, against one of which he rested his head and cried again. He was very disconsolate. All night he wept, so miserable that he could not sleep. The next night as he lay sobbing with eyes closed he felt someone kick his foot, and heard a woman's voice.

"Come, get up," it said. "Come to our chief's house, he wants to see you."

When Ḵwaw-a opened his eyes there was no one in sight. He lay awake for a long time, greatly puzzled, but at last began to cry once more and finally fell into a broken slumber. Again he was aroused by the kick against his leg, again he heard the same voice, repeating the same message, but as before no one was in sight when he moved. Determined to solve the mystery, he made a small hole in his cape and once more lay down, pretending to be asleep. Presently he saw a pretty girl approaching. He had deceived her by peeking through the aperture. Ḵwaw-a did not move to frighten her.

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"I see you," he called out from beneath his cape, "don't run away." 534*

The girl did not vanish, but repeated her invitation. Ewe-o got up 787*
and followed his strange guide, who pushed against the stone which he 756*
had been using as a support for his back and head. It reversed, revealing a
house, with a chief sitting behind the fire. It was the home of the sea-lions.
The chief gave Ewe-o a seat and invited him to sit down. He did so,
with his legs bent at the knees so that they almost reached his chin.
Ewe-o could see no one except the chief and his guide, but he could feel
people passing and repassing beneath and over his folded legs, as if they
did not need the support of the ground to walk on. He could hear the
comments of those who were moving around:

"How very strange! He is full of holes."

This referred to the space between the lower side of his knees and the
floor.

The sea-lion chief, whose name was *Akokiw*, planned to send Ewe-o
home. He suggested borrowing gull's canoe, by which was meant the
frame and personality of a gull, for this purpose.

"Don't do that," cried the sea-lion women, "it is so good, for its bow,
the bird's beak, is always dipping down.* Lend him yours."

Akokiw then lent Ewe-o his own canoe, a sea-lion's stomach. When
Ewe-o had crawled within, *Akokiw* inflated the craft by blowing into it,
and then tied it securely so that no water could enter.

"If you strike a stone," he told Ewe-o, "just wriggle a little so that the
canoe can clear the obstruction, then it will go on. When you reach the
mainland you will be able to tell that you are there by the immense
bumping; your wriggling will be able to send the craft only a few inches
at a time, and you will feel that you are against a solid, but shelving beach.
Then it will be time to get out."

With these instructions Ewe-o set off, the canoe travelling without
visible motive power. Once he struck a stone on the bottom, but when
he wriggled slightly the craft cleared off and moved on once more. Fi-
nally, he came to a place where he felt immense bumping and concluded
it was the shore. Cautiously carrying the rock of his canoe he saw the
sun, then opened it further and found that he was near the beach of his
wife's village. He went ashore and slew his two brothers-in-law who had
tried to murder him.

Ewe-o was able to make this strange voyage because Sea-Lion had
made him a shaman.

*In Haida the books of some are bent downwards, whereas those of gulls are
curved straight; it is possible that a bird of the former species was referred to.

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THE LAD WHO WAS MADE A SHAMAN BY THE SALMON

Once upon a time a lad named *Awalaklim* suggested to a number of his friends that they come and play with him on the river where the spring freshets were carrying away the ice. The youths played happily, jumping from block to block, but *Awalaklim* excelled them all, as he had made for himself a basket stick with which he was able to leap easily from one distant cake to another. All went well until he leaps to a large chunk of ice from which he could not return to shore, and on this he was carried out to sea. He sat down, pondering on his fate, until he was transported across the ocean to the land of salmon. There he found himself before a large village in which a number of people were living and working; these were salmon. *Awalaklim* landed, and, being hungry, made his way to the house of the chief who told him to take a young boy and a young girl and throw into the water, first the boy and then the girl. This *Awalaklim* did. As soon as the boy touched the water he changed to a salmon, jumped above the surface four times, and swam back as a fish to the shore so that the thrower could lift him from the water with his hands. When he threw in the little girl exactly the same thing happened. Following the instructions of the salmon chief, *Awalaklim* cooked the male salmon without cutting off either the head or the tail. After eating the fish he threw all the bones back into the water, where they at once assembled to form a live salmon which jumped four times, then became a boy once more and swam back to the beach. In like manner he cooked the female salmon, ate as much as he desired and threw the bones into the water, where they formed a salmon which jumped four times and swam back to the shore as a girl; but when she landed *Awalaklim* discovered that she was blind in one eye. He searched where he had been eating and found a morsel of the white of the salmon's eye which had fallen to the ground and been overlooked with the other debris. He took this and threw it back with the girl into the water. Then she returned to the shore with both eyes normal.

The salmon chief told *Awalaklim* that he desired to visit the Bella Coola River, since only coarse-haired salmon frequented it at that time, and they were bad because they shed their scales in the ocean. *Awalaklim* approved strongly of the project. They prepared canoes, one for each kind of fish, and set off in order of their proper arrival in the spring. The spring salmon led, carrying in his canoe *Awalaklim*, who had become a fish for the occasion. In due course they reached the Bella Coola River where *Awalaklim's* father, *Xwaylima*, was on guard on his rain. He saw a very large, fine salmon dart near his bank and wished that he could catch it; in fact he told his neighbors how beautiful and peculiar it was, not knowing of course, that it was his own son. Then day *Awalaklim* did

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sun over his father's fish-trap, but he did so the next and allowed himself to be caught, much to the fisherman's delight. *Swaladlim* used some of his power to guide his father's thoughts; in consequence, instead of cutting off the head, he carried the whole fish gently to shore by a loop, and then took it home. *Xaqalmat*, on entering the house, called out to his eldest son:

"I have caught the salmon I spoke about yesterday, it is a beauty."

His son went out to see the wonderful catch and cried out in wonder: "Why, it is my younger brother."

Swaladlim had again assumed human form. All the people of the village came rushing up to see the returned youth and were amazed on learning that he had come back as a salmon. *Swaladlim* directed them to make clean the house and he was carried in where this was done. He walked four times around the fire and thereby regained his strength.

Swaladlim had now become a shaman. He carried a stick with which he had only to go through the motions of casting at anything, and the creature at which it was pointed fell dead. Accompanied by his brother, the shaman set out to have vengeance. He killed so many by means of his supernatural power that the shelter in which they were staying was soon filled with feathers. Then *Swaladlim*, saying that he desired to go aloft, told his brother to lean with a stick on the feathers and continue doing so until he, the shaman, had disappeared from sight. As the lad started leaning, *Swaladlim* became lighter and lighter until finally he drifted up above. He had told his brother not to be frightened because he would return in a day, but he did not do so; in fact it was a year before he came back to earth, a single day in the land of the supernatural. When the year had elapsed, there was a thud on the roof and in came the shaman who took a bear's robe and disrobed. During his absence he had obtained help from the supernatural beings which made him even more powerful than he had been before. When he sang a song telling of his experiences, *Xaqalmat* stood up and asked a chief to give *Swaladlim* one of his daughters as wife.* The one thus requested told the shaman to choose whichever of his three daughters he desired. He chose one of them and they were married. Soon after this, he took a number of young men with him to the mountains to have mountain goats. Through his magical power, the shaman soon killed six, which the young men carried to the village as a present to his wife's parents and a little later he gave them a goat-skin blanket. Starving was so easy for *Swaladlim* that he killed and gave meat to anyone who asked him to do so; in due course he became a wealthy chief.

*This part of the story has not been recorded in full detail.

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THE LAD WHO WAS HELPED BY A SALMON

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Long ago there lived in a place called *Ne-mu*, twelve miles below *Snuc*, a poor orphan boy who was cared for by some charitable people. One day several sons of chiefs were playing near a waterfall in a neighboring creek and cruelly threw their playmate over the brink so that he was swept down into the rapids of the main river. The youths made no effort to conceal what they had done, and their parents did not even upbraid them, since their victim was of no importance.

Instead of being drowned, the boy fell down through the falls under the whirl of the rapids as if he had passed through a tunnel into a new land. A coho salmon had taken pity on him and so preserved him. The fish told the boy to gather splinters from firewood and touch with one of them the big toe of each of the youths who had thrown him in. He further told his guest to take his own name, *Wai-i*, Coho Salmon, and wish in the perspective of a hunter down.

After four days the salmon took the boy back to his home, and in spite of his long immersion he was not even wet.

Eager to try his shaman's power, for that was what he had received from the salmon, the lad gathered splinters unnoticed; the people saw him but did not understand his purpose. That night he went to one house, and with a sliver touched the big toe of each of those who had tried to murder him, and of those who had condemned the offender; each touched a splinter and died. The next night he dealt with those living in the next house, and so on, until all his enemies had been killed. Obeying the salmon, he was careful only to slay those who had taken part in the action against him. In later years he received visions and became a noted shaman.

THE MAN WHO WAS HELPED BY A RAVEN

Some two hundred years ago there was a sickness that attacked only the chiefs; no one knows what it was, but the old people said it resembled the smallpox, which later visited Bella Coola.

At that time a certain man was very sick and ready to die. Weary of life he went off and lay down in the forest on the south side of North Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

A raven came to him and picked out one of his eyes, saying as he did so:

"Get up! Get up! You are all right now, take the name *Qwaqwa-dzemas*."

This means, "Restored to Life through the Raven."

The man returned to his village a successful shaman, and gave a shaman's dance in the usual manner, but thereafterwards he had only one eye.

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His benefactor was *Hitcāplilān·a*, who had thus helped him, appearing in the guise of a raven.

A BELLA BELLA SHAMAN

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A certain Bella Bella man frequently had visions and other unusual experiences, as a result of which it was assumed, both by himself and by his friends, that in time he would become a shaman. Once, when on a visit to Victoria, this young man got drunk and, with three companions who were brothers, took a short cut across a bridge to the house where he was staying. His comrades, jealous of his growing power, had decided to kill him; they threw him off the bridge, but he fell through the water and lay on the mud at the bottom, realizing his position but unable to rise. He heard a humming that seemed to descend in a spiral course until it struck the water. This sound, made by a supernatural being, drew him to the surface and then to the bank whence he had come. The man continued his way alone, feeling that he had now become a shaman. He went to the house of a married friend and asked his wife for a new blanket, giving her no explanation. The request was because he had been raised from the dead.* Telling his host that he would be absent for several days, the man took the blanket and went to the outskirts of the town, where he made a rude bed for himself in a thicket among the refuse heaps. For three days and three nights he lay there without eating. The supernatural being with whom he had been in contact caused his stomach to swell until it became so enlarged that he gasped from the weight of it, and finally, as he lent forward, he vomited a prodigious number of snakes, toads, and sea-eggs. This happened on the fourth day. Then he returned to his friend's house and gave back the borrowed blanket.

The man to whom these experiences had come was very angry at his attempted murderers, and decided to show his power by killing their father instead of themselves. Next day he left for Bella Bella on the steamer. At the time there was no wharf, so he was able to land secretly in a canoe and go by night to the house of his intended victim, the unsuspecting father. Climbing to the roof, the shaman was able to look down through the smoke-vent at the man whose doom he was plotting. He threw his stick, wherein lay his power, and struck the old man dead. His work accomplished, the stick jumped back to its owner, leaving no trace of a wound on the body. The shaman threw it away to prove that the power which had been in it had returned to himself, and that consequently the object was of no value. He demonstrated his power on many occasions, and for years was the most famous shaman in Bella Bella.

*The informant could add nothing more to this bare statement.

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When this shaman reached middle age he was eclipsed for a time by a brilliant young practitioner. The latter made a striking exhibition of his power by giving a dance during which he rushed from the house and walked out on the water. Standing at some distance from the shore, he made motions with his feet as if he were scraping a hole in soft earth, and slowly sank under the surface as he "dug" downwards until he disappeared from sight. The people continued to watch, and after several hours his head appeared at the spot where it had vanished. He lifted himself from beneath the water, as if he were elbowing his way up through soft earth, until he stood on the surface where he shook himself, scattering immense quantities of dry eagle down until it lay thick over the whole vicinity. He had worn some when he went below the water, but that quantity was negligible in comparison with the amount, all dry, which he brought with him from below. Then the new shaman returned to the house and continued his dance, while the older, who had been thrown off the bridge in Victoria, admitted that he was outdone by this upstart.

Not long afterwards a steamer arrived at Bella Bella carrying a man sick with smallpox, the first case known there. Large presents were offered to the young shaman if he would cure the sufferer. He undertook the task, and treated the patient during the night, but the man died before dawn. This was a terrible blow to the shaman's prestige, so he called in the people and made a speech.

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"You have seen my powers," he said. "Why do you doubt me even after this failure?"

Then he committed suicide by shooting himself with a musket.*

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THE YOUTH WHOM *Sā·lma* BEFRIENDED

A long time ago, a poor orphan was living in a village where there dwelt a man who had a great affection for him, and who used to help him in every possible way. The man was a shaman, and the boy secretly practised earnestly in hope of obtaining the same power. This necessitated long absences from the village, but though these greatly puzzled his bosom companion, the son of a chief, the would-be shaman never told him of his ambition.

At this time the son of an important chief in a neighbouring village died, and all prepared to go to the funeral. The poor boy now confided to his friend what he had been doing, saying, moreover, that he had acquired power and might be able to restore the dead. The two went to the dead man's house, where the coffin was lying near the hole in the floor, ready for removal to the grave. The lad had happened to meet the

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* It was shortly after this that the epidemic of smallpox reached Bella Bella, so the date of the event must have been about 1860.

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supernatural being *Sä·lma* in the forest, and from him had obtained shaman's power. *Sä·lma* usually is malevolent, but even this was not the only occasion on which he showed kindness. The shaman alone could see this supernatural being seated, as is his wont, upon the coffin. He bade his friend enter the house and ask the people to make an aisle for him. This he did, explaining the reason. He added that though he had known the poor boy for years there were periods for which he could not account, and that his friend now claimed to have gained power to restore the dead. The people listened eagerly and made an aisle up which he walked to the box. He thrust his shaman's stick, decorated with dangling shells, through *Sä·lma*'s nose-ring, lifted him from the coffin, and carried him to the hole destined for its passage. As he threw out the supernatural being, groans were heard from the coffin. It was opened and the dead boy was found to be alive.

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Sä·lma himself had instructed the youth to remove him in this way at the time he had given him shaman's power. Even when he was carrying away the supernatural being, none of the other people in the house could see his burden.

After this auspicious proof of his power, the shaman was frequently called upon, until he became wealthy, and was able to reach a position of eminence equal to that of his father at the time of his murder by jealous rivals.

THE FOUR BROTHERS

Long ago, though long after the earth had first been peopled, four brothers, whose home was in the lower Bella Coola valley, went for an excursion upstream, planning to call on their friends in the various villages. After travelling a considerable distance they came to a solitary house, which they entered. Its occupant, an old woman, gave them food and help.

"There is great danger where you are going," she said, "but if you are brave you will come to no harm." Turning to the youngest brother she continued: "Take these two mountain goat bladders.* One will give you heat when you need it; the other cold. You are now a shaman."

The woman was a supernatural being.

Continuing their journey after leaving her house, the four presently saw Great Blue Heron, who, in the form of an old man, was spearing salmon. His face had the design of the rainbow, consisting of diagonal paintings from his right eye to his left jaw-bone. Great Blue Heron had the ability to assume this face at will.

The shaman now said to his brothers: "I will rob Great Blue Heron."

*These were commonly used as containers for liquids or grease.

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Accordingly, he changed himself into a fine salmon and swam close beneath the spot where the fisherman was standing. The latter cast his single spear and transfixed the lad, who merely drew his knife, severed the string which held the harpoon-head to the shaft, and swam back to his brothers with the trophy, as if it were in his pouch. One of the brothers placed the head, a very fine one, in his carrying-box; then they continued their journey.

After this loss, Great Blue Heron hurried home to weep. He supported his wife and children on the fish which he speared, hence the loss of his only harpoon-head was a crippling blow. He and his children were all crying together when the four brothers entered.

"Woe is me!" he moaned out to them. "I have lost my harpoon-head, and without it I cannot get food for my children. They will starve. Oh, how disconsolate and miserable I am!"

The four brothers said nothing. Presently Great Blue Heron continued:

"I don't suppose, by any chance, you happen to have such a harpoon-head."

"Perhaps," answered the shaman. "There is one in my carrying-box resembling what you describe. Please look at it."

When Great Blue Heron had done so he burst out, "Good gracious! It is exactly like mine. The two must have been made on the same day."

Great Blue Heron tried to buy the harpoon-head from the four brothers, but they would accept nothing for it except his rainbow-face, which gave him the power of extraordinary vision. It was hanging on the wall of the house, a much-valued possession, with which the fisherman hated to part. As the shaman would take nothing else, he at last sadly consented to exchange it for the essential harpoon-head. The four brothers laughed at the old man's grief and continued their journey.

Presently, on the sandy beach of the river, they met the son of *ulerwaw-i*, a boy so fat that as he waddled along his stomach almost reached the ground. He was on his way to *Nadiapsh* to catch salmon. Filled with mischievous amusement at sight of the corpulent one, the four brothers determined to bury him. They dug a hole in the sand in which they left him, with only his face showing, unhurt but unable to move. They did not know that his mother, the supernatural *ulerwaw-i*, had been able to see the deed, thanks to her wonderful eyesight.

In a short time the four brothers reached her house.

"Have you seen my son?" she inquired, after the usual greeting.

"No," they all replied.

ulerwaw-i insisted that they must have seen him, and when they again said that they had not, she accused them of having ill-treated him.

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This brought forth another denial. Then, becoming still more angry, she used her supernatural power to chill the house. It became colder and colder until everything was coated with ice, while a whirlwind carried the brothers up into the four corners of the house. At this the shaman used his heat-giving bladder to drive away the cold and the four dropped to earth, none the worse for their experience. Then they told the truth to the angry mother. 539* 756* 787*

"Yes," said the shaman, "we did meet your son. But do not be alarmed. We did not hurt him, only buried him in the sand up to his neck, as a prank."

The four brothers went back and unearthed their victim, with whom they returned to his mother. *uxlamaw-i* forgot her anger in the joy of having her son restored and they all had a pleasant time together.

The brothers now continued their journey until they came to a house with a man sitting inside. They did not realize that they had been ascending and that this was *Ałqunstw*'s abode. He invited them to enter and gave them his daughter as a joint wife. Soon the house began to grow unbearably hot. *Ałqunstw* was conspiring to roast the mortals, and would have succeeded had not the shaman used the cold-producing bladder to lower the temperature. That night the four stayed with their father-in-law, sleeping in turn with their joint wife.

Ałqunstw did not realize that his guests were too strong for him. In the morning he set them what he considered impossible tasks, such as hunting large numbers of goats on the mountains; thanks to the shaman's power, however, the four young men were able to accomplish them all. Their wife tried to injure her husbands by transforming herself into a ferocious bear, which attacked them, but before the arrows of the youngest brother, it fell dead. Again she changed herself into a goat and succeeded in butting the shaman over the edge of a precipice, but he merely assumed the form of eagle down and floated up again. They brought back to *Ałqunstw*'s house a vast amount of goat flesh. The shaman announced that he was proof against all *Ałqunstw*'s wiles, but the latter, not convinced, tried once more to roast the brothers by building a fire beneath the house; this time, as before, the heat was powerless against the cold-giving power of the bladder.

Next day *Ałqunstw* asked the shaman, whom he rightly judged to be the cause of his failure to slay the four, to accompany him to cut firewood. The two went off in a canoe, while the three other brothers stayed in the house with their wife. *Ałqunstw* guided the canoe to the very centre of the ocean, where he asked the shaman to drive in a post he had brought with him. He did this easily with a sledge hammer such as is used for [412]

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driving stakes for olachen-nets, but at almost the last stroke it slipped from his grasp to the bottom of the sea. Then *Älquntäm* burst out angrily:

"I have had that hammer for a very long time. It is a favourite of mine. I hate to lose it."

"I am very sorry, but it was an accident," replied his son-in-law.

"Can you not recover it?" asked *Älquntäm*.

"I will try," answered the young man.

Accordingly, he dived into the sea. *Älquntäm*, who had been hoping for this, caused a thick coating of ice to form over the whole surface of the ocean, and went home, thinking he had seen the last of the troublesome young man. Such was not the case, for the shaman merely changed himself into a salmon, picked up the hammer in his mouth, and swam away, looking for a crack in the ice. Finding one at last he crawled up on top, where he became human again and returned to his father-in-law's house, very angry. *Älquntäm* was sitting warming himself before the fire, but when the shaman threw the hammer on the ground before him he disintegrated into dust, dead. Then the four brothers returned home, leaving their evil wife behind them.

THE FOUR BROTHERS
(*Second Version*)

Ka'laätnts, the youngest of four brothers, lived on the Kimsquit River. He was a very powerful man, able, through his supernatural talents, to change at will into any animal or bird. In his box he kept the necessary appurtenances for his transformations. One day, when travelling upstream with his three brothers he saw an old man spearing salmon from a river canoe. This was really Great Blue Heron in human form, and he was using a wonderful glass-like thing in his eye with the aid of which he was able to follow without difficulty the course of a fish beneath the water. *Ka'laätnts* desired to gain possession of this potent eye, so turned back, and in the guise of a magnificent salmon, swam upstream close to Great Blue Heron. The latter thrust at him with his spear, but missed. *Ka'laätnts* turned and swam down near the farther bank, then again went up near the canoe, this time allowing the fisherman to spear him. Great Blue Heron tried in vain to haul in his catch, but succeeded only in being drenched with water; at last *Ka'laätnts* cut the cord with his knife and swam upstream, where he re-assumed human form, still carrying the harpoon-head. Great Blue Heron went home weeping bitterly, and bade his wife and children dolikewise, because his means of support had vanished.

An hour or so later the four brothers arrived at Great Blue Heron's house. Following the universal custom he offered them food, and, as

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they ate, he told them how he was ruined for life, having lost his only harpoon-head. He asked them whether by any chance they happened to possess an old one. One of the brothers answered:

"I think I have seen one in *Ko'laiānts*'s box."

They brought the box and opened it. There lay Great Blue Heron's harpoon-head though, of course, he thought it was only one just like it, especially when *Ko'laiānts* mentioned having had it for a long time. The host offered to buy it in exchange for dried salmon, which he said was all he had. *Ko'laiānts* refused, saying that he had plenty of smoked fish, and finally after further discussion, said he would accept nothing but Great Blue Heron's eye. The fisherman was very unwilling to part with this, though at last he agreed to do so, and sadly handed this treasured possession to *Ko'laiānts*.

The four brothers continued their journey up the bank of the river and presently saw a boy playing alone on a fine beach. In a spirit of mischief *Ko'laiānts* decided to work evil on him. No house was in sight.

"Have you a mother?" he asked the boy.

"Yes," was the reply.

"Where is she?" inquired *Ko'laiānts*.

"In the house," said the lad, indicating the direction in which his home lay.

Ko'laiānts used his supernatural power to make a hole in the sand, and in this he buried the boy, leaving his head alone above ground. Then the four brothers went on to the mother's house. She gave them food, according to custom, and asked if they had seen her son. They answered:

"No."

"That is strange," she said. "He was playing on the beach along which you must have passed."

"We did not see him," they replied.

She jumped to the conclusion that they had killed her son and in turn prepared to murder them. Her house differed from most in having a door which worked up and down, like the mouth of an animal, instead of sideways. It opened of its own accord when anyone approached, closing as soon as he had entered. The woman threw back this portal and exerted her power to cause cold winds. The cold grew more and more intense, and the wind increased in strength until the four brothers were blown into the four upper corners of the house against the roof. All but *Ko'laiānts* were frozen and swathed in ice; he alone escaped through his supernatural power which enabled him to scatter eagle down. He returned to the floor and said to the woman:

"I am too strong for you. Stop, or I shall kill you."

She realized that he was speaking the truth, so she ceased the cold

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*539 winds to cease. The three frozen brothers fell back to the floor where
*756 *Ko'laiānts* revived them. Then he sent out two of them to bring in the
*787 boy they had buried. When they returned, the mother overwhelmed them with her gratitude and gave them many presents, even offering to become the wife of *Ko'laiānts*, who, however, declined to accept her.

THE FOUR BROTHERS
(*Third Version*)

[845] Once upon a time four brothers, one of whom was a twin and could accordingly change to a salmon, had friction with their family, and decided to go away from home. As they followed the trail along the bank of the river they saw a man spearing salmon on the opposite bank. He wore what appeared to be a transparent object, like an eyeglass, in front of one eye. The brothers watched him for some time and were amazed at his dexterity; with every thrust of his spear he impaled a salmon.

"I can transform myself into a salmon," said the twin.

The others did not believe him and replied:

"If you can, go and get the head of that wonderful spear."

"All right," answered the twin, and went down the river bank, out of sight. Presently the three brothers saw a large, beautifully marked salmon jumping in the river as it made its way upstream.

"Perhaps it is he after all," they said.

The salmon darted past the fisherman, who made a thrust at it and missed. He pulled in his harpoon and as he refitted the head he said, ruefully:

"I don't know what can be the matter. I have never missed before."

Meanwhile the salmon-man had unobtrusively gone downstream, keeping close to the bank where his brothers were watching. Then he went up, jumping as before, and again the fisherman struck and missed. Once more he slipped downstream, and on his third ascent he repassed close to the fisherman, who failed as before, and was, therefore, much troubled. Once again the twin went below but he allowed himself to be struck when he passed upwards the fourth time. Instantly a commotion arose. The water gurgled and boiled as the fish struggled; the fisherman could barely hold his grip, and was unable to land what he had caught. After a few minutes the salmon-boy drew his knife and severed the line, causing the fisherman to fall into the river. He clambered ashore and pulled in his rope as he watched the water for another sight of the strong fish, but it had disappeared. When, instead of the harpoon-head on which he depended for sustenance, he found only a cut line, the loss was so severe that, weeping bitterly, he went home and told his wife and

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daughter of his misfortune. They, too, cried bitterly. All were puzzled to know what kind of a salmon it could have been which had secured the spear-head, for the rope had been cut.

Meanwhile the twin had swum downstream again, and there transformed himself back to a human being before he rejoined his brothers, bringing with him the harpoon-head. He gave it to his eldest brother who concealed it under his cloak. The four continued their journey and presently saw a house on the other shore. They crossed the river and entered, finding within the weeping fisherman with his wife and daughter. He told the wife to ask the strangers if they had not a harpoon-head.

"Perhaps, I don't know," said the twin. "I will ask my brothers."

He applied to the eldest who took the spear-head from under his cloak. The fisherman, dumbfounded at seeing a duplicate, related how he had lost his own and asked if they would not sell theirs.

"Maybe," they replied. "What will you give for it?"

"The four of you can marry my daughter, simultaneously," he said.

"No, that is not enough," the brothers answered. "It is a very valuable harpoon-head."

Then he offered them everything in the house, but they declined all until, finally, he told them sadly that he had nothing more. They had been waiting for this moment, and now said:

"We will give you the spear-head in exchange for your eye."

They meant the transparent, eye-like object which he had taken off and hung on the wall where they saw it. The request greatly troubled him.

"That eye," he said, "enables me to see salmon at any depth beneath the surface of the water, no matter how turbid it is. Please take something else."

"No," the brothers replied. "You have nothing else that we want."

Finally the unhappy fisherman went slowly to the place where hung his eye, took it down, and sorrowfully exchanged it for the spear-head, telling the brothers what a valuable possession they were acquiring.

The fisherman was Great Blue Heron, and the "eye" his bill.

These three versions are some of the forms in which this popular story is related; a fourth, obtained from another informant, states that the theft of the harpoon-head occurred soon after the beginning of time. The supernaturally endowed twin is called *Ka'leitsen*, and Great Blue Heron, *Sanpelqs*, which is said to be his *dzapaif* name. Following the loss of his harpoon-head, the fisherman happens to visit *Ka'leitsen's* house, where he sees his treasured possession on the wall; he ultimately retrieves it in exchange for his rainbow-eye.

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WHY WINTER COMES

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In the beginning, five people came to earth as golden eagles at a point above the present site of Firvale.* Their names were *Mâsong*ʷ, *Kâmâlsong*ʷ, *Senxwakhs*, *Senxwaw-a*, and their sister, *ułxwaw-i*. This woman had enormous power which she used malignly, attracting storms, and doing other evil things. So her four brothers threw her two miles down the valley into the narrow ravine where the old foot-trail used by the Carriers leaves the Bella Coola valley and goes up the mountains to reach the rolling interior country. This barren gorge is known to this day as *ułxwaw-i*, and it is subject to the most severe winds in the whole district. Here the woman lived and bore a son, whose name has been forgotten.

At this time four brothers living in *Qumqo-ts*, depressed by a serious dispute with their father, decided to leave home, never to return. They set off up the valley, following the only trail. It so happened that *ułxwaw-i* had sent her son down to collect ocean food, and the four brothers met the youth on the way. After he had answered their questions as to where he was going and why, one of the brothers suggested that they bury him in a large, dry hole. They did so, covered him with branches and earth, and then continued their journey eastward. Presently they saw the house of *ułxwaw-i*, into which they peered through a crack in the wall. The woman did not see them, but at once became aware of their presence, and bade them enter through the door. In reply to her questions, they told her whence they had come, and then she asked them if they had seen her son.

"No," answered the four.

"That is strange," said *ułxwaw-i*. "There is only one trail up and down the valley."

The brothers still denied having met the boy, but she became suspicious and accused them of having killed him. She felt under her clothing for a small pump which she always carried concealed near her groin, and worked it until the house began to grow cold. As she continued, it grew colder and colder, until an icy wind swept the brothers into a corner, where they fell to the floor, numb and helpless. One retained sufficient consciousness to gasp out a confession, when she asked again what they had done with her son, adding that he was still alive, though they had hidden him in the ground. *ułxwaw-i* then stopped the cold and built up her fire, so that the brothers gradually recovered their strength. As soon as they were able she sent them back to exhume her son and bring him back to her.

In her delight at his safe return she said:

*Kâmâlsong*ʷ *Firvale* [illegible] *miles up the Bella Coola valley, a short distance below* *Ilsuk*.

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"I am very glad. I bear you no ill-will, because I understand that you buried my son merely as a thoughtless prank. The place to which you are bound is very bad. No ordinary traveller ever returns from it, but I am going to make you shamans."

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So saying, she took her pump and put it in a sack, which she gave to the four brothers, who continued their journey. Soon they came to a house, *Nxmăi-a*, though they knew it not. Peering through the cracks they saw within a man, *Alqumtăm*, who invited them to enter, saying that he knew they had come because they did not get on well with their father. As *uăxmaw-i* had warned them, he invited them to sit down in a certain place in the house, while he went out. He came back attired in his dance regalia, and as he performed, the house began to warm up. He again withdrew, to return with other dance clothing, and as he danced in it the heat increased. *Alqumtăm* repeated this procedure four times; the heat was so stifling that the brothers could hardly breathe, until one of them worked the pump given to them by *uăxmaw-i*. Almost immediately they felt relief. *Alqumtăm* continued his dance, and a great combat went on between the cold and the heat until finally the latter was vanquished. *Alqumtăm* was driven by the cold into a corner where he admitted his defeat, adding:

"You are the first that ever overcame me. Take whatever you desire of my goods or of my power."

Awed by their experience, the four brothers returned to Bella Coola. Owing to the successful conflict with *Alqumtăm*, the frost and cold of winter annually return to vanquish the heat of summer, which otherwise would destroy all life. [821]

THE MAN WHO RECEIVED POWER FROM THE MOON*

Long, long ago a certain man, *Xăwmtsaw-a* ate black hawthorn berries for four days, knowing it would render him susceptible to visitations from the supernatural. He returned every night to his father's house to sleep, and on the fourth night he made a small hole in his blanket, so that when he pulled it over his head he was able to see, though he appeared to be asleep. As he watched he saw a mouse approaching, and said to it:

"Don't hide. I see you."

The mouse then became a woman and carried *Xăwmtsaw-a* in a canoe to the house of the Moon, whence she had come. The Moon rubbed his hands over the face of *Xăwmtsaw-a*, thus making him a shaman; he also gave his guest a small salmon, which had the power of killing the highest

*This story was obtained from a man in his dotage. He was almost valueless as an informant and the following must be regarded merely as an outline.

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*539 seas. At the Moon's invitation, *Xekwotsan-a* built his own fire in the house and settled there, never returning to earth.

*756 On one occasion *Xekwotsan-a* attacked *Kāmai-ti*, the supernatural woman to whom all mortals are as slaves. She lived in some distant, uncertain part of the upper regions, or perhaps on this earth. He defeated her and pulled off her ears, but when he threw them into the water they caused it to boil and seethe so that his canoe was almost swamped. He threw out his supernatural salmon to quiet the waves and thus escaped. At that time the dead lived in *Kāmai-ti*'s house, and *Xekwotsan-a* rescued his deceased mother from near *Kāmai-ti*'s gigantic hat. Then he set fire to the woman's house and sent her down to this earth, where she was turned into stone.

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THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED A BEAR[27]

Long, long ago, but after the first people had come to this earth, a woman who was out gathering berries lay down and slept on the ground. When she awoke she found that she had been lying on bear droppings and in her annoyance she cursed the one responsible for them. But bears have extraordinary powers of hearing, and the offender heard her remark and was angry. He assumed the form of a man and went to her, asking, with many profane expressions:

"What do you mean by swearing at my droppings? Defecate and I am certain you will find mine the better."

The woman did as she was bidden, while the bear-man watched her. Determined to outdo him, she managed to substitute some goat's grease for her own excrement without his observing her. When he saw it he admitted that he was out-matched and said:

"Come home with me."

[823] This she agreed to do. As mountains are really hollow, he lead the woman inside one, where she realized for the first time what her lover was, for he introduced her to his bear-wife. The two received the woman in a kindly fashion and prepared what they said was spring salmon, though in reality it was skunk cabbage. To the chagrin of her host, the guest refused it, whereupon he inquired what she would like. Looking around she saw some coho salmon which, at her request, was toasted for her; on this she made a hearty meal. That night she slept with the bear-man.

Meanwhile the woman's family was greatly alarmed at her long absence and scoured the woods in vain for her. Her four brothers in particular sought diligently, but at length even they gave up in despair, concluding that she was dead. The morning following her introduction

[27] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 111.

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to the bear-man's home she awoke, thinking she had slept but a single night, for she did not realize that a night to the supernatural ones is a year to mortals. Her bear-host asked which of her brothers she would prefer to see.

"The eldest," she replied.

"No," responded the bear. "He is a shameless man who is wont to sleep with his wife at all periods."

"Then I should like to see my second brother," she said.

But again the bear refused, saying: "He spends all his time combing his wife's hair to make her appear beautiful. Choose your youngest brother; he is the best of the family."

To this she agreed, so the bear threw out his power and compelled the youngest brother to pass near the hiding-place. While they were still at a distance, the bear saw the man and his dog, whereat he pointed them out to the woman, who threw a snowball down the hillside for the dog to chase. After a fruitless pursuit it returned to its master. Another snowball was thrown, which again the dog failed to retrieve. When this was repeated four times the man concluded that a bear must be near.[*] He crawled up until he saw his sister, in the guise of a bear; he had even fixed an arrow on the string ready to shoot when she assumed human form and greeted him. He was delighted at finding his long-lost sister, and she was amazed at hearing that she had been absent for a year. She took her brother into the mountain to get her basket and pack her goods, but he was unable to see the town of the bears until she rubbed her hands over his eyes. Then it became visible to him also. They returned home together, where she recounted her marvellous adventures.

At that early period there was less distinction between men and animals than now exists; each understood the language of the other, but though bears have retained their original supernatural powers men have degenerated to such an extent that they can no longer communicate with animals.[**] It was true, men shot animals, but that was because *Spawtsw* had allotted them to men as food. The bear had chosen the woman as his mate because she was still a virgin, and therefore not contaminated by too much of the essence of humanity. Through intercourse with this supernatural being she became a shaman, with a knowledge of the wishes of bears, even then not properly understood. Her association, followed by intercourse with the bear, gave her insight into the mentality of the animal. Following her mate's instructions, she taught her youngest

[*] The story fails to explain why.

[**] This interpretation in the myth was added by the narrator, without solicitation, as a natural explanation of the facts described.

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brother the proper methods of hunting, and how to find bears when strengthened by chastity, without which no hunter can have success. He alone of her brothers was worthy to learn this, because he was still celibate. Among other things she taught him never to hunt bears with arrows feathered with owl feathers, because she had been told by her husband that one of his fellows shot with such a missile would remain dead, whereas one slain with an arrow tipped with feathers from any other bird would be reborn.

The woman and her youngest brother hunted constantly, and always returned with skins which they shared with everyone. The other three brothers were very jealous, though their own lack of success was due to their laziness, and failure to observe ceremonial chastity. At intervals the bear used to visit his human mate, and after a year or more she went away with him, never to return.

THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED A BEAR

(Second Version)

Long, long ago, a Carrier Indian girl was walking along a path at the back of the village when she saw some black bear's dung. She kicked it to one side saying aloud:

"Who is as dirty as to defecate here?"

Then she wiped her feet on the grass and went on. Presently, she met a handsome, well-dressed man, a stranger, who asked her if she had recently met anyone.

"No," she replied.

He invited the girl to come and visit him in his house, and she agreed to do so. The trail was long, but to her it seemed short, owing to his power. Arrived at his house, the stranger asked her to marry him and she consented. When it was bed-time the girl collected soft hemlock boughs to sleep upon.

"I never see such stuff," said her mate angrily, so she went out again and brought back devil's club, and gooseberry bushes, saying to him:

"I cannot lie on these."

"I always do," he replied.

Next, the man bade her collect fire wood, and she brought some dry windfalls from a slide, but he said:

"That does not hold the heat," and he sent her out again.

This time she brought back stones and he was pleased.

"That is good," he said, "I always use them. Now let us have a meal."

"I don't see anything to eat," she replied, but her husband pulled out

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some skunk cabbage, which he roasted at the fire and ate. He was a bear, and it was salmon to him. Then the two lay down to sleep.

In midwinter, when they turned over, as bears are wont to do, the woman said:

"I should like my oldest brother to see where I am."

"He is no good," her bear-husband replied. "He has the characteristics of a woman in the skin of a man."

Then she asked to see her second brother, but to him also the husband objected, showering vile epithets upon him. The same followed her suggestion of the third brother, but to the fourth and youngest he agreed. So she willed that this one should come to where she lay. To him it seemed mere chance that led him to the spot, but when he saw his sister beside the bear he hastily killed the animal. All the villagers were summoned, and they soon cut up the meat, while wondering at what had happened to the girl. When they had finished she said to them:

"Go ahead with the flesh; I will follow with the skin."

Then she draped over herself and began to imitate a bear so successfully that the dogs barked at her, startling the people who had gone ahead. At the village she told them to dry and stretch the pelt carefully; when these instructions had been carried out, the girl took the teeth and leg-bones, clothed herself in the skin and forthwith became a bear. In this shape she slew all the villagers except a younger sister and the youngest of her brothers, who was out hunting at the time. Through her marriage to the bear she had obtained such power that all were helpless before her except the younger sister, who was immune owing to being included in reaching puberty; her menstrual blood was her protection. The terrified child could only impotently watch the slaughter from her corner of the house.

When the brother came back, his shaman-sister was in human form, but quickly changed to a bear, and asked how he had obtained the grease which he was carrying.

"I shot them with my arrows," he answered.

"I don't believe you," the bear-woman replied. "Hit that knot-hole with an arrow, or you are a liar and I will kill you."

The boy's arrow pierced the knot-hole. In some unexplained manner, he knew that his sister must be vulnerable in the part of the body where her power was located if he could only learn where that was. After finding an opportunity to ask the assistance of his youngest sister, he left the house. The little girl said to her powerful sister:

"I know you are immune except in one spot. Please show me where it is, so that I may guard you from harm."

The foolish shaman was deluded into pointing out her weak spot, the

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palm of one hand. The conspirators had been hoping for such an indication, since it gave the information to the brother who was peering through a crack. The younger sister persuaded the older one to hold up her palms to the fire to warm them, thus giving the brother an opportunity to shoot through a knot-hole in the wall of the house. His arrow transfixed his sister's hand and she fell, helpless, whereupon he entered and slew her.

The surviving brother and sister abandoned their home and travelled for a very long time without seeing anyone. Finally, they settled on a mountain top and married. Since that time Carriers have married their sisters.[a]

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THE MARRIAGE OF *Thlitcăplilăn-a*'S DAUGHTER

Long ago, when the world was still sparsely populated, there were two poor orphans, a brother and sister, quite alone, without relatives. The boy, who was about eighteen years old, took great care of the girl. In summer, when the people scattered over the country in search of food, the two went together to catch and dry salmon for the winter. The brother had great success. He caught many fish which he suspended on a frame to dry, in charge of his sister, while he went away for four or five days. On his return all the drying salmon had disappeared.

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"That is unkind of my sister," he said to himself, "to have eaten all these fish so greedily."

He went to bed without saying anything, but next morning asked her:

"Is it you who have eaten all our food?"

The girl replied in a frightened whisper:

"Don't speak to me about it. I am terrified. A supernatural woman stole it. I think it was *Thlitcăplilăn-a*. I heard something approaching and hid myself. A huge woman came to the drying rack, her snout-like mouth ranged among the fish and sucked them down like lightning, while her teeth rattled as if they were loose in her jaws. She went away as soon as she had finished our salmon."

Next morning the boy hade his sister hide, as he was going to attack the robber of his food. He prepared a bow with a strong arrow and took up his position in ambush overlooking the rack on which hung the salmon he had recently caught. Soon he heard a voice and presently *Thlitcăplilăn-a* appeared, wearing a shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark in alternate bands, plentifully sprinkled with eagle down. Her teeth rattled loosely in their sockets. When near the rack, her mouth formed itself into a snout with which she began to suck in the salmon with a horrible

[a] This statement is undoubtedly a mere expression of Bella Coola contempt for their neighbours.

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gurgling sound. The boy shot, the arrow pierced her left breast and she ran off with a shriek of pain.

Calling to his sister not to be afraid, the boy set off in pursuit of the wounded *Ttlcetplitte·a*. As he followed, he found tufts of dyed cedar-bark and eagle down which she had dropped, and these he carefully picked up and fastened to his own bear-skin blanket, as if he were a shaman. Ignorant of the path which his quarry was taking, the boy followed blindly until she entered a huge house. Then he realized that she must have led him to *Nazmtt·a*. He sat down outside, by a spring, and watched all the supernatural ones assembling inside the house to cure their wounded comrade. They did not walk into the house, merely materialized instantaneously there. All tried to help *Ttlcetplitte·a*, but not one of them could do so because the arrow, having been made by an inhabitant of this earth, was invisible to them, as theirs are to mortals. After some time one of *Ttlcetplitte·a's* four daughters went out to draw water from the spring, beside which she saw the stranger, dressed as a shaman. She asked him:

"Are you a real shaman?"

"Yes," lied the boy, "if it is not too serious a case."

The girl returned to the house and told the other supernatural ones there was a man outside who claimed to be a shaman.

"Let us try him," they cried. "Some mortals are very clever shamans."

So they invited the boy to come in. He entered, but immediately fell senseless from the flashing light in Thunder's eye, as the latter passed near the wounded woman. After a time he recovered, only to fall senseless once more, this time from the gaze of *Sxaxp*, who likewise flashed fire from his eye. When the effects of this too had passed, the lad began his work, watched all the time by the supernatural ones as a strange curiosity about which they were ignorant. The arrow was, of course, visible to him all the time; he merely felt it, however, then drew his hand back and began to dance in time to the beating of the supernatural ones. They joined him, he leading the way and dancing in the manner of human beings on this earth, while they all imitated what he did; it was a remarkable performance. A second time he drew near *Ttlcetplitte·a*, and this time broke off the point of his arrow, that was projecting from her back. He pulled out the shaft also, which he concealed under his cloak. The patient cried out that she felt as if a stick were being drawn from her back, but no one could tell what it was. The lad threw the broken arrow into the fire, and then rubbed his hands over her wound. She was cured forthwith, because he had the same power in dealing with supernatural beings as they have with men.

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Previous to her sons, *Dindpiliko-o* had promised that whoever made her well should marry one of her four beautiful daughters. She now bade them stand up and told the boy to choose whichever he liked. The four were identical in appearance, and the youth was in a quandary, but a young supernatural being standing near advised him to select the third in age, saying she was by far the most capable. All had wonderful powers but she excelled her sisters, since, if she closed her eyes and wished to be in a certain place, she straightway arrived there. So the lad had the girl set from among her sisters and in a flash all the supernatural men vanished, except *Dindpiliko-o* and her four children. The mother said to her new son-in-law:

"I suppose you will spend the night with us but will want to go back to your own home tomorrow morning."

"Yes," answered the boy. "I am afraid to be so long absent on account of my sister down below."

"Don't worry on her account," said his mother-in-law. "If she should be dead I will restore her, or rather your wife, my daughter, will do so. She has the necessary power."

That night the young man spent in the home of *Dindpiliko-o*. Next morning he put his hands out for the earth, standing on the same mat, there came to which he had reached *Dzanai-o*. He thought he had been absent for one night only, but one night among supernatural men being equivalent to a year among mortals, he seemed had died of exposure. He with rubbed her hands over the dead girl's face and she was at once restored to life, greatly to the delight of the bridegroom and all his human friends.

Dindpiliko-o's daughter had brought with her from *Dzanai-o* a dog which she instructed to watch her husband and report if he so much as flirted with any other girl. She warned him that if he did so, or if he ever ceased to pay the proper respect to herself, she would leave him and return to her home above. For three years the husband obeyed her instructions, but one night he met a pretty girl and was faithless to his wife. The ever-watchful dog reported this to his mistress, who went back above and never returned to her husband.

THE MARRIAGE OF *Dindpiliko-o's* DAUGHTER
(*Second Version*)

Long ago three brothers went off into the mountains to hunt game. They had valuable furs and hung up their quarry to dry, leaving *Lachum*, the youngest brother, in charge. While the others were absent, *Dindpiliko-o* visited the camp and carried off the drying furs, the

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guardian, verified as the supernatural woman, not being to person. When the other brothers returned with more game he told them what had happened, and they decided to keep up the guard as before and watch. Presently, *Pinaqibin-a* returned and further shot at her, he arrow piercing and remaining in one of her huge breasts. The wounded supernatural ran off, whimpering with pain, while the three brothers followed. Soon the two other turned back, unknowned to her speed.

Sactum continued to follow *Pinaqibin-a* guided by numerous small pieces of the dyed color-bark which she was wearing being plucked from her robe by the brother during her rapid flight. The youth kept picking them up and finally located them into a cabin for himself. After a long time he came to a river, went up it until he was opposite a tree in which he saw the wounded *Pinaqibin-a* surrounded by a number of supernatural beings, who were trying to cure her, though they could not see the cause of her pain. He reported to what he had done, and began to plan how he could use it to his own advantage. Presently the supernatural woman died, and thought he must be a member of the better society from the color of dyed color-bark which he was wearing. They sent a messenger to him, who asked:

"Are you a doctor?"

"Yes," but *Sactum*, and the envoy continued:

"*Pinaqibin-a* has suffered an injury, he want you to help her. Please come home with me."

The boy refused and the messenger returned to the village. Then the youngest daughter of *Pinaqibin-a* came over and begged him to come to the aid of her mother, but still he refused. Then the elder daughter came with the same request and he consented to go with her.

In the village all were trying to cure *Pinaqibin-a*. One after another, the different supernatural shamans danced in the hope of curing her pain, but were had any effect. Whenever anyone touched the arrow *Pinaqibin-a* groaned, but no one of them could see it. *Sactum* listened to the various rhythms and decided that of the midwives to be the best. When the supernatural beings asked his aid and offered to lend his own time if he would tell them what it was, he had, saying that his was exactly the same as that of the midwives. They lent that he lent to be danced to and he, going to the wounded woman at intervals to draw the arrow slightly further through her breast until the head of it emerged. He broke this off, drew back the portion of shaft remaining in the wound, and finally rubbed his hands over the flesh to cover the patient. Then he drew the broken arrow into the fire, but to them nothing is apparent as if he merely went through the motion of throwing something, for the object was invisible to them, as are all things made by manitu.

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[illegible] THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

The supernatural beings were profuse in their thanks to Gaetsa, and Pinnipédée gave him his daughter as wife. He slept that night with her and this made him a shaman, with the power of knowing where animals were hidden, since, like his wife, they are supernatural. Pinnipédée said to him:

"Take care of your uncle with other women."

This means that he must not talk of what had happened to him, and further must be very careful in his relations with other women.

The next morning, though it was really a year later on earth, Gaetsa and his bride were back in his camp. One of his brothers had returned home, but the other had waited patiently for his younger brother until he had died of starvation and only his bones were left. Gaetsa was much distressed, but his wife assured him that she had a remedy. She collected the bones and restored the dead brother to life, much to her husband's gratification. She had killed in that one of the bones and consequently he had a limp to one leg. After further search the two unchanged was found, the boy killed again, the missing bone restored, and the lad brought back to life by the women, uninjured. Then the three set out for Gaetsa's home. In that early period the houses were built on the ground with a door in front and a window (the one entrance reached by a ladder). The three prepared to go into opening and sat, as well as board, Gaetsa's mother weeping. They knocked. The women saw her young daughter-in-law but not who was on the door, but when she observed crying to see a strange woman with her two brothers, who had been missing for a year and were considered dead, the mother did not believe her, and thought it was merely a malicious trick to add to her grief. Then she saw not her son, the one who had returned from the hunting expedition, and when he told her the same story she believed it and rushed to welcome her two long-absent boys. They entered the house, but instead of sitting down with the other people, they went to a small raised enclosure behind the fire where they waited, while food and tea put on the fire. The inhabitants of the village gathered quickly, hoping to hear their adventures, but Gaetsa remembered the warning of his mother-in-law and told them nothing, so was either hyster or with more communicative.

For a long time Gaetsa lived happily with his wife, so he refrained even from joking with other women, while, to avoid difficulties, he kept her almost entirely hidden in his house. Whenever he went hunting, as he often did, she accompanied him. They had good success, because his supernatural power enabled him to see the shelters where the animals were lying, while she could kill them. This good fortune continued for a long time until one day, when Gaetsa was drawing water, he forgot the

morning of *Pinnipiliu-a*, and joined with a young girl engaged on the same task. When he returned home his wife had vanished. The judgment was so given that she had gone back to the land of the supernatural.

THE DEATH OF *Nanuvaqtuk*[1]

One May day, sometime about 1870, a certain *Nanuvaqtuk* was hunting at *Ooiaqik*, below *Kinnaqut*. He had climbed far up a mountain when he saw a black bear in an open space. Coming within range, the man fired at the animal with his Hudson's Bay Company musket, and apparently struck it, for it rolled around wildly before slowly moving away. The hunter followed, hoping for a second shot. When the hunter had almost reached the further end of a big which spanned a chasm in normal round, and *Nanuvaqtuk* saw, to his utter astonishment, that in face was identical with his own. Staggering to this, the hunter stood, swollen motionless with wonder, his musket in his hand. His young second slowly off, then passed to both back, and again *Nanuvaqtuk* saw that in face was the image of his own. He stood not this, nor did he dare follow the animal. One of his successors had received power from a bear, so he should not have been surprised at this situation, and, if he had been brave, he would have followed the animal to its home where he would have been made a shaman. In any appearance of the supernatural, whether or not the beholder with advantage of it, he should not mention what he has seen, and he was one who should remain close to his group. *Nanuvaqtuk* shared with the rest of their importance.

Next March *Nanuvaqtuk*, with a companion whose name was *Aiyaqtiu*, set out for the same hunting-ground. As they neared that mountain *Nanuvaqtuk*, who was searching for game with his friend carefully, saw a gun lie up the slope of a mountain. It had long fallen hanging from its thong, with a gun on the sight of old and had the power to kill man. *He suggested that they land and have the animal the following day.* The two camped on the very spot used by *Nanuvaqtuk* the previous year, and that night he told his friend about his earlier experience, saying that he had just remembered it. *Aiyaqtiu*, foolishly, did not dissuade him from his hunting venture.

Next morning *Nanuvaqtuk* set off with his dog and his sled, leaving *Aiyaqtiu* in camp. After some time the latter heard a shot, and idly wondered how his companion was faring. Towards dusk the dog returned alone, and *Aiyaqtiu* so concluded that his friend had met with misfortune.

Although this story does not describe the shooting of supernatural game, nor the exploits of a person so endowed, it is material to illustrate a man's belief in the presence of the supernatural, from which ability might have been gained.

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[illegible] cave, remembering what the latter had told him the previous evening. He tried to follow his friend's track, and, as night came on, closed the cave of west to sleep, with the dog beside him. When it was quite dark he awakened by the sound of footsteps and the tapping of a stick, and concluded that his partner was returning. The cave-flap was closed, so [illegible] person entering, but *Ayimlaic* could see nothing, so he kicked the dog awaken it and the animal began to bark furiously. At length he heard steps withdrew and gave faintly as they climbed the mountain. Then *Ayimlaic* realized that his friend was dead, and that it was his life, [illegible] round to warn his companions, which had come to him. Terrified, he [illegible] all night with a blazing fire, and fled the next morning.

Ayimlaic chanced to meet several canoes soon after he had quitted his cave, and when he had told his story, their occupants turned back to hut for *Nanaxwanukl*. Almost eighteen men searched all that day unsuccessfully, but a few days later another party found the corpse of the man horror. Presumably he had fired at the goat, though whether he caught or not was not known, and the animal had charged. A wound in *Nanaxwanukl*'s groin showed where one of the horns had pierced him, and a two had rolled together to death over a precipice, the bodies having slightly separated in the fall.

Even if *Nanaxwanukl* had struck the goat it would not have availed him, for he was doomed to death. Not only had he taken great risks in [illegible] within one year of his previous experiences, but his wife had been [illegible] during his absence. He had long practised continence, and there was in a clean condition such as is approved by animals, and other supernatural beings, but this very condition rendered him peculiarly susceptible to any breaking of taboos by his wife. She had so far forgotten herself as to indulge in swinging when he was on the mountain, so that his doom was inevitable. *Nanaxwanukl*'s relatives were very angry and prophesied that she would soon die. They were right, though whether her death was caused by a sorcerer, or by the accumulative power of their thoughts, is a matter no one can determine.

THE *Tlamqi-ix*

In the beginning of time, when *Alquntin* sent down *Kaiaiks* to this earth he used his own initiative and travelled to the east for abalone shell and to the west for copper. On returning to his settlement, he determined to try to have to it a supernatural being, of whom existence he was aware from his previous life in the land above. Accordingly, he [illegible] some of the copper into jingling bangles, which he fastened to the [illegible] of his infant's cradle. Before the introduction of white men's [illegible] the Bella Coola were accustomed to tie a child in a cloth and

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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suspend the bundle by ropes from a stick which projected horizontally from the wall. It was to these ropes that *Kalakka* tied the bangles, so that they jingled with every movement of the child.

Alpentsin heard this peculiar noise from his house in the land above and sent a *Sisqut-ts*, a diminutive supernatural being of human form, which lives on air, to investigate. The creature perched on the cradle rope where *Kalakka* saw it. Owing to his former life in the land above he knew what it was, and how to deal with it, so he quickly threw over it a blanket which he had frequently used.* This brought him supernatural good fortune. He concealed the *Sisqut-ts* for safety in an old chamber-work canoe such, and left it lying on the floor.

Wealth flowed in upon him so that he was able to give a potlatch every year. At one of these he gave his infant daughter, the occupant of the cradle, the name *Tlqaut-ts*, which has been handed down from generation to generation, and has recently been given to a Bella Bella child. *Kalakka's* prosperity roused the jealousy of his fellows so that they murdered him, but his children still had the *Sisqut-ts* and they continued to prosper. At last their enemies slew them too, sparing only one small boy.

This orphan had a precarious existence. He was refused admission to what had been his father's house and was forced to live in the space between the floor and the ground below, while his food was taken from the refuse heaps. In time he grew to young manhood, frequently brooding on the loss of his relatives and hoping for revenge. One day he crossed the river, ascended a mountain, and found there a large cave, where he lay down to sleep, wrapped in a bear-skin. A supernatural being came to him.

"I have watched your woes," said the stranger, "and I will help you if you are brave. You must accompany me to my land. The road is dangerous, and if you should fear me it would be dangerous to you, as long ago."

They took a difficult path down through the earth to the land of the dead below.

"I will keep you here for a night and teach you," said the supernatural one as he gave the boy a stick in which was power.

"You must take this," he said, "and go at night to your father's house. Throw the stick at one of those who killed your father. It will rebound to you, after leaving your enemy dead without a mark on his body. Do this every night, killing only one man at a time, until you have slain all the murderers, but be careful not to harm anyone else."

Although he had not at first revealed himself, the being from whom

* At new one would have been useless.

1:McDowalth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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the lad received this shaman power was *Ts'ima*. The boy spent one night in the land below, then returned to the village, carrying the stick with him. A whole year had, of course, elapsed since his departure, so the people suspected he had been trying to obtain power. When he did not display it at once, they jeered at him, but he said nothing. That night he killed one of his father's murderers in the manner which he had been taught, and did the same every night until all who had taken part in his parent's death had been disposed of. Thus he regained his father's house and became wealthy.

The orphan had not only become a shaman through the assistance of *Ts'ima*, he had also acquired the name, *Ts'ameste-i*, carrying with it a special dance prerogative, which has but recently been forgotten. The name was last used by the father of a man now living, but he disliked it on account of its similarity to the word for "death," *s'ima*, and accordingly, altered it.* The repository (II, p. 8) of the dance was the cave wherein the name took place; it is still called, *ownsai-ima*, "The Place of Death."

Kaldilko was not the only man to whom a *Sisqui-ts* appeared in the beginning of time. One appeared likewise to *Tsaskaude* (I, p. 102), in consequence of which the name *Tlaqmi-ts* has also been preserved by the descendants of this first man. From that time until recently none of the creatures have been seen. Early in the century, however, a certain man saw one when undergoing treatment at the Hot Springs; and in 1930 a youth saw another at a cemetery, but failed in his efforts to catch it. As there is a tendency for such creatures to appear only to those whose ancestors have seen them, and there is no tradition of such an occurrence in this lad's family, he was possibly mistaken. Perhaps he saw only a mouse which demonstrated its supernatural power by appearing in a peculiar form.

THE GOAT HUNTERS

Four brothers, the youngest of whom was named *Tlaqamaldin-i*, used to hunt mountain goats in the upper valley of the river which enters North Bentinck Arm at Green Bay. In some unknown fashion *Tlaqamaldin-i* realized that supernatural power had been granted to him, and accordingly determined to stay behind when his brothers went hunting. Every day the three went out after goats, but without success. They did not realize that this was because the youngest brother was keeping the dogs in sway by singing to them and giving them choice morsels of food. This went on for several weeks.

Then *Tlaqamaldin-i* said, "You stay in sway today, I will try my luck."

* Such a change would have been unthinkable before white influence had broken down the ancient customs.

1:McDowell E-5 (922-1924)948
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The unfortunate hunters were only too ready to agree. *Nuqumalite i* set out at once and returned at nightfall with a single goat which they ate for supper. The following day he brought back two goats; the next day, three; then four, five, and six on successive days. He had received *shaman's* power from *Mulamala Gun*, which enabled him to enter their houses, hidden from the eyes of mere mortals, and throw out the meat. The three older brothers spent their time packing back to the village the large stores of meat which *Nuqumalite i* brought to their camp.

But in time they became jealous of their brother's phenomenal success. One day they followed *Nuqumalite i* and watched him climb a tall tree, which was like a ladder to him, and vanish into a precipitous cliff, in reality the entrance to a goat's house. The malicious brothers cut down the tree so that *Nuqumalite i* could not return. He must have become immortal, because hunters passing the place in later years sometimes heard him weeping from within the cliff, but he was never able to escape back to the land of mortals.

THE WOMAN WHO REFRAINED A WOLF

Not many hundred years ago, *Kwanamalmas*, a woman of *Nulkum*, was picking blueberries. As she neared to climb a steep bank to a shelf where she saw that the fruit was plentiful, she heard out of the berries speaking to its companions.

"Let's hide," it said, "that bad-mouthed woman is coming."

The berry was speaking of *Kwanamalmas* and applied the epithet "bad-mouthed" because of her habit of munching berries as she picked, instead of putting all in her basket for future consumption.

Kwanamalmas turned up the bank as swiftly that many of the berries were unable to hide, and she saw them in their human form, a host of gaggle-eyed little boys sitting on the berry shoots. On that occasion she obtained more than one of her companions. Thanks to her sight of the berries in human form, she was thereafter able to see them in their hiding places and was accordingly always fortunate. She respected the wishes of the fruit, never eating as she picked, but chewing dried salmon instead.

On a later occasion the same woman happened to see a wolf giving birth to its cubs. In some way the delivery was being retarded so that the mother wolf was in agony. *Kwanamalmas* unhesitatingly went to her assistance, as evergreen bough in each hand. First she drew forth the four cubs, one after another, and finally the after-birth. The grateful wolf gave her majestic the power of a shaman.

This shiny helped Kwamamdmat to raise a wall on another occasion, when the animal was choking to death on the bone-cap of some animal it had slain. All around were other bones which it had crushed successfully, but this one had somehow become wedged in its throat, so witches not successors to undress. The women inserted her hand and drew forth the bone; from these two experiences she received shamanistic power from wolves.

1:McDowell, E-1 (1922-1924)948
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CHAPTER XI

MEDICINE, MAGIC, TABOO[1]

Introductory — Curative Medicine — Preventive and Curative Medicines — Incantations — Taboos — Ritual Acts — Miscellaneous Beliefs

Introductory

THE beliefs described in the last chapter are essentially religious since they display an attitude of respect and 771
allow of propitiation to supernatural powers having greater 789
strength than human beings. This is self-evident in the earlier [756]
sections and, though less noticeable, is present also in ideas concerning shamans since these men have themselves acquired ability placing them on a plane lightly removed from that of their fellows. Theoretically, it seems as if a clear division ought to be drawn between the concepts just recorded, and others of a magical nature in which, although the element of contact with the supernatural is present, or the end desired is obtained by the mere performance of exertion. In the Bella Coola there is a slight overlap between the two types. For example, [777]
the acquisition of an object for which supernatural good fortune may be secured is religious, but its use is virtually magical since once obtained, other supplication nor further favours are necessary. Nevertheless, it is possible to separate most magical beliefs from more religious ones, though it must be emphasized that the cleavage is less distinct to the native than it appears to the white man.

If it is difficult to find a clearcut dividing line between religion 757
and magic, it is impossible to draw one between the latter and 789
[113]

[1] The late Charles I. Smith has dealt on certain aspects of the subjects treated in this chapter in two articles: "Sympathetic Magic and Witchcraft among the Bella Coola" (*American Anthropologist*, vol. [illegible], n. s., Jan.-March, 1925, pp. 116-121) and "Shamanistic Shades of the Bella Coola and Neighbouring Tribes of British Columbia" (*National Museum of Canada, Annual Report for 1927, Bulletin 56*, pp. 47-60).

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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757 the science of medicine. The Bella Coola are familiar with
789 many acts which cause definite results. To place a new-born
girl in contact with the representation of a beautiful woman
[856] so that she may grow up to be like her, seems false science,
[762] magic, to the white man; whereas the application of splints
and gum to a fractured limb is a medical treatment, crude
perhaps, but definitely scientific. The two are identical to the
Bella Coola. They do not ask *why* or *how* a result follows,
they merely know that it *does*. Such lore has been handed
down from time immemorial; it is steeped in the sanctity of
antiquity and hallowed by the knowledge that their ancestors
have done the *same* for generations. All such acts may be
described as "medicines," for so they appear to those who
practise them. To separate them into magical and scientific
categories would misrepresent the native point of view; the
only division that can be made is between those that cause,
and those that prevent or cure. Even in this there is some
overlap. A medicine that cures a child from crying likewise
causes him to be placid and amiable; so, too, medicines of a
preventive nature comprise elements of both types. The prin-
ciple governing most of these is sympathetic magic, a concept
which, if put in words to the Bella Coola, would be regarded as
logical and scientific. The second important class of medi-
[755] cines consists of objects, either herbal or derived from the
human body, which are believed to have such abundant power
that they are effective against ailments of supernatural origin,
or against supernatural beings themselves. Some of these have
already been mentioned in connection with the attitude of
the Bella Coola towards these beings of the earth, sky,
and water.

754 Most curative medicines are used by the practitioner on
755 himself; most causative, on someone else. The latter are either
789 social or anti-social, depending upon whether the result is
benevolent or malevolent. Shamans frequently use magical
means in curing the sick and are highly regarded by the com-
munity, but medicines of the same kind may be used to kill

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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and those who have knowledge of them are sorcerers. Even a man of this kind is not outside the pale of society unless he practices indiscriminately; members of the *Kwiat* society, for example, frequently employ one to kill an individual who has offended against their regulations (I, p. 740). A man is regarded as a sorcerer not on account of his knowledge but on account of the ends to which he applies it.

Closely related to, if not identical with, the belief that certain consequences follow certain acts, is the conviction that the infraction of ritual prohibitions brings disaster. There are many such taboos, for so they may be called. Though most important at the critical periods of life, puberty, pregnancy, while observing ceremonial chastity, and so forth, there are many which must be obeyed at all times.

Restrictions pertaining to the river and regulations at birth and death have already been described. Like magical acts, these often verge on the religious owing to the belief that disregard offends supernatural beings. On the whole, however, it seems as if most infractions bring their own punishment without intervention of higher powers, a concept which throws taboos into the category of magic rather than of religion, with the ever-present proviso that the two cannot be separated entirely from one another. With them may be mentioned a number of ritual acts connected with fishing and hunting in which, though the element of propitiation is not absent, it is satisfied by the performance of definite rites. Finally, there have been included in this chapter a number of unimportant beliefs, the psychology of which cannot be analyzed.

What is the basis of these rites defined as Medicine, Magic, and Taboo? As already described, the Bella Coola either do not explain their origin and function, or merely state that *Alpoxnim* is responsible, as he is for every activity of life. This is unsatisfactory because many which, viewed scientifically, have neither curative nor causative power, produce the desired end. A child who has been "made" a carpenter during infancy, usually grows up to be proficient in that profession; the person

1:McDowell E-1 (1922-1924) 1948
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who has been "cured" of an illness, recovers; the man whose death has been "caused" by magic, dies. An average white man would consider such statements to be erroneous, but they not only figure in stories and beliefs, but some of them have been actually observed by the writer. The explanation lies in the susceptibility of the Bella Coola to suggestion. The conviction that he is to die so weakens a man that death often results; belief that he is to recover, aids a sick person to throw off the malady. This sentiment, intelligible in case of disease, is equally applicable in other matters. The child who has been endowed with carpentry skill grows up with the conviction to assist his labours. Moreover, his relatives and friends are also aware of it, and he receives every opportunity to practise, so that the outcome desired is often the consequence of the act. Though the Bella Coola do not appreciate that psychological and sociological factors may be the real cause of the result, they realize the importance of the power of thought. For example, if a group of people is unanimous in wishing some end, or expects some event to happen, it is believed that their thoughts are strong enough to bring about its occurrence. The following example illustrates this point:

It is said that when the white men first came to British Columbia, a tribe of Indians was living in a secluded valley, far to the north. As more and more settlers arrived, the aborigines were driven from their homes and forced into the barren mountains. One night, *Mysterious* came in a vision to one of the natives, saying:

"I see what you desire; you want the white men to withdraw. You, yourself, are helpless. But if all your fellows wish the same, the white men will depart."

The man told all his friends and they agreed to concentrate the next night on their wish to expel the white men. A few failed to do so, and nothing happened. The second night there was the same lack of unanimity. The desire to drive away the intruders grew stronger in course of time, until one night this was the desire of the thoughts of all; next morning the white

1:McDowell R-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

men had vanished. It is possible that in this particular case there was a belief that *Alpowiza* granted the wish when convinced that all had the same desire, but this element is often entirely lacking.

Belief in the power of thought is a concept which the investigator constantly meets in Bella Coola at the present day. For example, in 1921 a government official working in the valley, purchased a representation of a neqpenaw which had been used in a ceremonial.* Although this should have been destroyed after use, no difficulty would have been raised if the ceremonial had remained a secret. Unfortunately, the buyer allowed the object to be seen by several Bella Coola and by some Carriers. This caused indignation throughout the community and news of it reached the Bella Bella, who concluded that the vendor would suffer disaster for allowing a secret object to be seen by the despised Indians of the interior. Within a year, his wife died. The Bella Bella believed that his sin had brought its own punishment, but the Bella Coola, who knew the details of the sale and did not consider the exposure of the article to have been the fault of the seller, attributed it to the power of the thoughts of the Bella Bella. They all expected that he would be punished; therefore he was punished; the expectation was sufficient to effect its own fulfilment. This incident was no fresh in the minds of several men to allow them to sell ceremonial objects to the writer.

The most common form taken by this conviction is with regard to death. If it is believed that a man will die, it is almost certain to do so. In June, 1921, a woman died in Bella Coola and her father claimed that she had been murdered by a certain man either with material poison or by magical means. He took no direct steps in revenge but stated emphatically that the man whom he suspected would die within a year. The deceased man knew of this, and more than once said that he

*The article, now in the National Museum of Canada, consists of a cloth and wood representation of a neqpenaw such as was used by Dadalu in the beginning of time.

would probably fall a victim. He became ill in May, 1923, and, though treated by a white doctor, grew steadily worse until he died in the latter part of June, three weeks after the year had elapsed. All the Bella Coola firmly believe that this was due to the power of thought. The father of the woman was a powerful chief whose thoughts were astoundingly potent, and some consider that his unuttered desires and expectations were enough to kill the mound, while others believe that his expressed statements convinced others of the result, and that it was their combined thought that caused the death. It usually requires the thoughts of more than one individual to lead to this effect. The doctor who attended this man stated that his patient had shown symptoms of melancholy and resignation during his last sickness. It seems clear that the expectation of death must have lessened his chance of recovery.

A prominent theme in Bella Coola folklore is the belief that a person cannot long survive who has made himself unpopular. It is sometimes stated that a magical means was employed to remove him, and this was no doubt often the case; a person who knows that a "medicine" had been employed to kill him is in no fit mental condition to counteract the power of suggestion, particularly if he knows that others are aware of what has been done. His death is regarded as proof of the efficacy of the means employed and the belief of others grows stronger. As already stated, this conviction still survives. When the ethnological investigation was being conducted, a point under discussion was whether or not the Kimsquit people should be allowed to live in Bella Coola. The chief took the final responsibility and overcame opposition, having thus caused the lot of would-be immigrants, he would die. He did so soon afterwards, and it is universally believed that it was caused by the concentration of the hostile thoughts of the Kimsquit. Similarly, the potency of taboos is increased by the fact that since time immemorial the thoughts of everyone have been opposed to any infraction. Consequently, an offender is liable to punishment both for breaking an injunction and because he

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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has gone contrary to something about which there has been universal agreement for generations.

To understand Bella Coola medicines it is, therefore, necessary to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practise them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to those effecting death, but is equally true with regard to all medicines, whether curative or causative.

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of medicines. Knowledge of most remedies has been handed down for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type can be practised by any member of the group to which it belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment, but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction that only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship of some medicines, but these are indicated whenever possible.

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Curative Medicines

MEDICINES OF INFANCY

789 *To Cause Tallness*

850 As soon as the umbilical cord is cut, blow upon it and pull it out; the infant will grow up to be tall and big.

The following medicines are applied four days after birth.

The infant is washed, formerly in a circular cedar or cottonwood basin, and the remedy pressed against its body while drying. Some families prefer to wait until the child is able to crawl.

To Cause Strength (three means)

[824] [825] (1) Collect four pieces of bark, each from a different tree where a grizzly bear has scratched. Place them in the infant's wash-bowl, then warm them at a fire and rub over his body. This ensures him the strength of a grizzly bear.

(2) Collect four water-smoothed, green stones from the river. Place them in the infant's wash-bowl, then warm them at a fire and rub over the body. After four days, return the stones to the river.

[823] (3) Warm the body of an octopus, beaver, or wolverine in the smoke of a fire and gently press the carcass against an infant's body, saying:

"Friend, may he be like you."

This provides the child with the strength of the animal used.

To Cause Long Life

[826] [824] Collect four pieces of wood which have been rolled hard and smooth in a landslide. Boil them in the infant's wash-bowl, cool, then re-warm them at a fire and rub them over the body. This makes him strong and healthy, able to endure all dangers and weaknesses even those caused by a sorcerer. The principle is that the child will be as hardy as the wood proved

b:McDevitt E-5 (1922-1924)948
NES Bellacoola NES

itself to be by withstanding the crushing weight of stone and earth. An old Kimsquit man expressed the firm conviction that his great age was the result of this treatment soon after birth.

To Cause Impressiveness in Child

Kill a water ouzel, warm it at a fire, then press it against every part of the infant's body. This makes him as hardiness of cold water as the bird. A mergenser may be used in the same way, or the foot of one be placed in the child's hand and pressed as his fingers clench it.

To Cause a Quarrelsome Disposition

Burn the root of wasps and rub the ashes on the infant's face. He will become as bellicose and quick to resent injury as the insects. One old man who habitually beats his wife explains that this is involuntary, since he was treated in this way when a child. Fighting is no longer allowed, so the only person on whom he can exercise his martial ardour is his wife. The woman regards this treatment as a matter of course and the reason is accepted as valid by her associates.

To Cause Success in Thieving

Kill a pack-rat, warm it at a fire, and rub the carcass lightly over the infant's body. This will make him as successful a thief as the animal. Other methods are to cut off a foot and put this on the infant clenches it in his fingers, or to rub its hands with the ashes of a burnt rat.

To Cause Success in Singing

Catch a live robin or *omamamuch* (probably one of the thrushes), warm it at a fire, and rub it lightly against the infant's throat, saying:

"May he be a singer like you."

Then release the bird, and the child will grow up a songster. The following story is told of the power of the *omamamuch's* song:

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NES Bellacoola NES

538 In the beginning of time it used to sing.

"I shall use a spoon and eat when the Bella Coola River has burst its bounds on account of the running salmon in it."

The people used to laugh as it repeated this song year after year, until the bird changed its song:

"I shall use a spoon and eat when all is cold and clear. Then there will be Death instead of salmon in Bella Coola."

The next year the streams were so clear that no fish could be caught and the starving people asked the bird to return to its first song. When it did so, the water became murky so that it was possible to catch salmon once more.

The Bella Bella, not the Bella Coola, use the body of a blue jay to cause an infant to grow up with the ability to master difficult tones in the same way that the bird has a variety of notes. The method of applying this medicine could not be learned.

Most of the above medicines are well known and can be applied by any parent. If, however, a man has employed one of them successfully on a number of occasions, he is often requested to use his ability for others. In such a case, the father of the benefited child is expected to reimburse his friend. The application or non-application of such medicines is purely the concern of the child's family; they can use as many as they like, or none at all, according to their discretion.

The following medicines are used during the first year of life:

To Cause Beauty

Bandages of the softest undyed cedar-bark are prepared for infants of both sexes soon after birth. A woman who is a good artist is requested to draw with charcoal two pictures on one of the pieces of bark—of handsome men if the child is a boy, or of lovely women if a girl. An unmarked wrapping is fastened round the infant's head, then the painted one so arranged that one picture is over the forehead, the other over the occiput, and finally other plain bandages to cover the whole. These are left in place for about one year. They flatten the forehead

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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and back of the head, preventing a bulging appearance which is considered ugly, while the paintings ensure beauty of countenance. Cranial deformation has no supernatural sanction, though it is believed to have been carried out for generations. 304 789 856 [532] [826]

To Cause Leanness

Place pieces of caribou skin on an infant's wrists and ankles and leave them in position for several months. He will grow up lean and wiry, like the animal. 789 856

To Cause Left-handedness

Shake the left hand of an infant while lying in the cradle and he will be left-handed throughout life. To do this is considered a malevolent action. [825]

To Cause the Hair to Grow (two means)

(1) Rub the infant's scalp with the eye of a *Hakuslk* (red cod?), freshly removed from the fish's head. [825]

(2) Boil stems of the swamp gooseberry in water and rub the mixture over the infant's scalp. [824]

Wise mothers always apply one or other of these remedies to their children.

To Cause Ability in Singing (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good singer to impart to him ability similar to his own. He takes his beating-stick, spits on it, and rubs it over the child's heart, saying: 533 789 856

"Please be a singer."

This is done only for male children. [858]

(2) Boil together herbs and a bear's bladder and smear the decoction on the infant's back. He must thenceforth wear around his neck for several months a small sack containing four blue grouse gall-bladders (possibly stones from the crop were meant). This gives the child the singing ability of the bird, but the significance of the bear bladder is unknown. [825]

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856 789 868 *To Cause Ability in Carpentry* (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good carpenter to impart to him ability similar to his own. He spits on his tools and rubs these over the child's heart, saying:

"Please be a carpenter."

This is done only for male children.

(2) Cut splinters from the tools of an expert carpenter, burn them, and rub the ashes over the child's hands. This is most efficacious when performed by the carpenter himself who says as he rubs:

"Please be a carpenter."

008 *To Cause Ability in Thieving*

Indians from the vicinity of Sitka are said to fasten a live mouse in an infant's clothing or tie one in the cradle. This causes the child to amass riches easily, but when practised by a Sitka man and woman who were slaves of the Bella Coola it was so potent that their son grew up to be an inveterate thief.

825 856 789 *To Cause Ability to See Beneath the Water*

When the infant is in the cradle, kill a gull, cut out its tongue, and rub this around inside the child's mouth. Strip the feathers and lay them so that the infant sleeps upon them. This gives him the same ability as the bird to see beneath the ocean and tell where fish are to be found. This was done not many years ago to a Bella Bella child whose ability was consequently so great that it frightened his friends.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

The Kitlobe achieve this by making a child sleep upon dog hair. No instance is remembered of this having actually been practised by the Bella Coola, although, being well known, there is no reason why it should not be used.

S:M:Dwelth E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

To Cause Ability in Understanding the Speech of Ravens: 125

It is well known that when ravens croak, they are really speaking, but their language is unintelligible except to one who has learnt it by means of a medicine. One of these is the following:

Catch a raven alive and cut a small piece of flesh from its body, beneath the left wing, taking care not to kill the bird. Release it, after having fed the morsel to the child. An infant so treated will grow up able to learn from ravens of the approach of visiting parties, strangers, visitors, and all other news which they constantly circulate in their loud calling. It is said that the last person so endowed was the father of a Kitsumpis man about forty years of age in 1922. His ability lasted throughout childhood but he lost it through infraction of a taboo.

The following medicines are used between the ages of one and two:

To Cause Long Life

One year after birth, holes are pierced through the lobes of the ears and the nasal septum. In the beginning of time, *Alpanéw* told the forefathers of the Bella Coola that if this were not done, the boy or girl would die young.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

When the umbilical cord of a female infant falls, her father places it within the knot-hole of a tree, where it is preserved from rain but where it rots and is forgotten. A boy's is preserved with care. The parents wrap it in soft goat's wool and place it in the box where the father keeps his most cherished possessions; this causes the child to be careful, and to grow up with a tendency to treasure his acquisitions rather than to dispose heedlessly of them. As the first anniversary of his son's birth approaches, his father begins to observe ceremonial chastity, endeavouring to estimate the time so that its culmin-

[illegible] ceiling point shall be one year after the birth. Early on the [illegible] morning of this day, he takes the umbilical cord and goes far [illegible] into the mountains until he finds a place where the grass is [illegible] worn and the earth packed, showing that a mountain goat [illegible] has slept there. He digs a hole, inserts the cord in it, and covers it with stones, praying as he does so:

"Please, father! May my son be skilful, may he be successful in hunting mountain goats."

This has the effect of showing the child where these animals are to be found. The father then returns home.

Four days later he goes back to the same spot, digs up the umbilical cord, brings it home and hangs it in the doorway of the house. Should this be omitted, the child would have an inverse longing to hunt in the mountains and would have home as the first opportunity, but would be unable to return. The cord is left suspended for four days, then taken to the house and deposited under an overhanging rock where no water can penetrate. It dries in course of time but no further attention is paid to it.

A child so reared begins to hunt birds and squirrels when he is eight or ten years of age, and later follows mountain goats with obsidian-pointed arrows. This medicine has been handed down in certain families for generations. If a person, not possessing the prerogative, wishes to have it applied to his child, he requests one who is entitled to use it to perform with his son's umbilical cord in the manner just described. He is later paid for his assistance.

A similar, though simpler medicine is for the father to take the fallen umbilical cord to the mountains immediately and bury it beneath stones where a mountain goat has been lying. Four days later he returns to the spot, digs up the cord, and brings it home, thus ensuring that the child will have no fear of the mountains and will be a successful hunter of mountain goats. In such cases it is necessary for the mother to preserve her son's cord during his childhood so that he will not become careless.

To Cause Strength

Place pieces of octopus flesh in the infant's hand and wrap him with them. This causes him to grow up with the strength of the animal.

To Cause Understanding of the Speech of Women

When a child is able to totter, but has not learn to talk, place him in a box and wrap his upside down. Leave him alone for four days and four nights, passing in what food is necessary during the[illegible].

Knowledge of this medicine was learnt from *Ibu*, a female slave born near New Westminster who was owned by the maternal grandfather of the wife of the elderly Kitsilano man from whom the information was obtained. The slave's father had owned her in the way often as infant, while as confined she had not only learnt the language of women, but Coast[illegible], her own speech, as well. *Ibu* used to tell the Kitsilano people of her ability, but few believed her, though she asserted that this was a well-known Coast[illegible] method, and her owners had their own means of imparting the same ability to their children, as well as an ancient condition of the practice she described. One day she informed her master that the women had told her of the near approach of a visiting party. He summoned the chiefs, but they laughed at the warning and disregarded it. *Ibu* received the same intimation for four days, and on the fourth the visitors appeared and she was vindicated.

The invention of the box is due to the belief that women, when bringing news, turn over upon themselves like mallee pigeons. The Bella Coola do not know whether the box must be so tight as to hold the child upside down.

To Cause Commercial Intelligence

When a child is one or two years of age, point on to back the picture of a black bear's gall-bladder. Leave this in position for four days, then wash it off secretly in a mountain stream. A child so treated will grow up with ability to perform

[illegible] ceremonial dances without making attention. The Belle Belle paint a representation of a wolf's bladder for the same purpose.

The basis of this medicine is the belief that it is the gall bladder which causes wildness and intelligent fear, and hence that anyone on whomsoever will be careful not to make attention. A bird with a large bladder is thought to be difficult to approach, whereas a deer, which has a small one, or none at all, is often singularly tame. This medicine is known only to the members of certain families and is used for the children of chiefs alone, since even on the part of others is a matter of little importance.

[illegible] of [illegible]

Some of the instruction given to boys and girls, and the acts which they are expected to perform, are virtually religious, and have accordingly been described in earlier chapters. For example, when a lad reaches to the river before daybreak, wraps himself with a smooth stone and prays to Alpamaiu, he is carrying out what might with justice be called a religious act. If, however, he believes that mere washing is enough to compel some desire or end, it is magical. Different Belle Chela have different sentiments concerning the exact means by which this method causes the desired effect. To some it is unquestionably a true prayer, but to other families it is necessary for a father to take his son, when he has reached about eight years of age, and wash him four times, to the accompaniment of the usual prayer. It is believed that this causes the lad to grow up powerful and active, constantly striving for success. This type of washing may be called magical.

In the following there is no element of uncertainty, they belong unquestionably to the category described in the preceding section.

To Cause Agility

The following medicine is frequently employed by fathers when their sons are first able to walk.

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[125
789
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Get a squirrel, clean it, wash the entrails carefully and have one hanging in the sun to dry for four days, then on them round the child's stomach for four days more. It is important that the infant should not break the string. On the fourth day, remove them and hang them in the doorway of the hut. On the same day, another squirrel must be killed, treated as before, and its viscera allowed to dry for four days. The old ones done in the same way for four days, when they are hung in the doorway. A third squirrel, and finally a fourth, is killed and made use of in precisely the same manner. Then the final set of entrails has been hung up, the four are suspended for four days, till the twenty-eighth after the dying of the first animal, when the father takes them to the hut and deposits them beneath some projecting rock where water can penetrate and where they will dry and hang definitely.

To ensure the child to grow up endowed, like the squirrel, with glory so that he can scale over precipitous mountains. This ceremony is frequently used in conjunction with one for family ability.

To Cure Easy Delivery

[648]

Dip the horns of a porcupine against the back of a girl's neck or allow it to drop to the ground. Pick it up, replace it, and it is to fall again. This is repeated four times while the persuasive:

"Come, may she be like you and have no trouble in giving birth."

To medicine can be used at any time before puberty.

To Cure Bravery (four means)

(1) When a grizzly bear has been slain, a lad who wishes to test himself bravely approaches it and thrusts his arm down the dog animal's throat. This kills it by choking. Then he rubs a hand over his heart and the back of his neck, the arm

[774]

825 of the spirit, which imparts to himself the courage and strength
789 of the animal he has just slain.

826 (c) When a grizzly bear has been killed and skinned, the
[794] bloody pelt is wrapped around a lad whose parents wish him to be brave. He is bedded in securely and the bundle, attached to a long rope, is thrown into the rapids. After a few minutes, it is drawn ashore, but immediately thrown in again. This is repeated four times. This medicine causes the child to have the courage of a grizzly bear. It is said that the first youth to whom this was applied rescued his mother from slavery among the Tsimshian.

This treatment is usually applied to boys of from three to five years of age.

(d) When a grizzly bear has been killed and skinned, two lads, whose parents wish them to be brave, are called. They are told to crouch on their hands and knees and while in this position the pelt is thrown over their backs. They crawl to and fro for a few minutes while dogs are encouraged to bark and growl at the "animal." The skin is then removed and the two men go to wash in the river. They are called back and the whole rite repeated a second time, followed by a third and a fourth application, with washing in every case. This gives them the bravery of grizzly bears.

This medicine can be used at any time before the holding of sexual intercourse.

(e) When an octopus has been killed, a lad is placed within the freshly removed skin. Then persons say:

"Person, may he be like you, afraid of nothing."

The skin is removed and the lad goes to wash in the river. The rite is repeated four times which gives him the bravery of an octopus. Like the bear, this medicine is not proper for one who has held sexual intercourse.

To Cause Ability to Know Wind

Fasten a bag in the freshly removed skin of a beaver and throw the bundle into the river. Life is not when it has gone

beneath the surface, and throw it in a second time. Repeat this four times. If the wrapping has been carefully fastened, little water leaks in and the child suffers no discomfort. This causes him to grow up confident and brave with regard to canoeing and every kind of activity on the river. Like the last medicine, this is not potent for one who has held sexual intercourse. It cannot be applied to a girl since beaver are unfavorable to women who must observe many taboos concerning them.

To Cause Modesty and Respect for One's Elders

When a boy is about six or eight years of age, his father beats him lightly, four times, with a cypress-rod. This is done in the early morning, then he takes his son to wash immediately. Four days later the beating and washing are repeated. From this time on, a parent should whip his son four times every fourth morning until he is old enough to marry. The force of the chastisements increases as the lad grows older, so that when he is about fourteen years of age, he is beaten with the full force of his parent's arm. It is a point of honour for a lad to endure his whippings without whimpering; one who shows the pain he is suffering is laughed at by his fellows and not allowed to wash with them. This medicine makes a child strong, manly, respectful to his elders, and, generally, the type of individual to whom supernatural beings are likely to show favour.

This practice has long been discontinued and it was impossible to learn whether or not it had ever been carried out with full vigour. Several of the older men stated that in their childhood they had been beaten periodically by their fathers, but none had had this last over a period of years. It was claimed that such had been the case in earlier times, but it seems almost certain that this type of chastisement could never have been carried out regularly. During the winter, for example, when social dances were taking place, the whole community used to sleep late and it is impossible that a father can every fourth

morning to whip his son. It is clear, however, that such was regarded as proper by anyone practising this medicine, even though few did so regularly.

[illegible]

To Cause Ability in Hunting

When a bear has been killed and the first incision made for skinning it, take a puppy, force its head inside the opening, and roll it to and fro. Throw the animal into the river and when it has swum ashore, repeat the rite. If this act is repeated four times, the dog will grow up to be a good hunter.

To Cause Ability in Hunting Bears

Wrap the puppy in the freshly removed skin of a bear and throw it into the river to the accompaniment of hatchet-chopping from as many as happen to be present. After submersion for a few moments, remove the bundle and throw it in again. Repeat this twice more. This makes the dog grow up unafraid of water and, accordingly, useful in hunting bears.

To Cause Disregard of Bloody Dens

Lay some black powder on the nose of a sleeping puppy and ignite it. The dog will grow up without fear of muddy dens.

To Cause Keen Scent

Hit any kind of animal so that the liver is exposed and hold the puppy with its nose immediately over this. Make an incision in the tip so that the blood flows freely on to the organ of the animal. Shift the animal until the bear gathered from all directions to feast upon the fat and fresh blood.

The dog will grow up with the ability to leave game in any direction, just as the gallon whenever there is blood. He will also have their ability to travel without requiring a path. One old man stated that this medicine was the property of an [illegible] family, and should be used when a puppy is one month old.

To Cause Ability in Hunting Mountain Game

Scrape the freshly removed head of a fakun, wolf, or wolverine to smoke for four days. Break a hole in the top of the skull and hold the puppy's head over this, then stir to cause so that the blood drips down into the interior of the cranium. Release the dog, take the head to the mountains and bury it in the ground beneath a spot where mountain goats have been sleeping. Dig it up four days later and conceal it under a shelving rock where it is protected from the rain.

This medicine causes the dog to grow up with knowledge of the haunts of mountain goats as well as with the bravery of whichever animal was used. This means can be practised only by members of the crescent families to which it belongs.

To Cause Ability in Hunting Bears or Seals

Obtain the head of whichever is desired, and proceed as described for mountain goats. Instead of burying, place the skull under shelter near a creek mouth frequented by land otters, or near the ocean where seals are plentiful. It need not be taken up after four days.

To Cause General Ability

This medicine can be applied only by a successful hunter, who expects compensation for his assistance. It is employed when a puppy is about one month old.

Early in the morning the hunter seats himself on a log within the house of the dog's owners, his legs stretched out before him. He seizes the puppy firmly and passes it, sunwise, around and under his legs four times, frequently spitting on it to cure and brushing it with his hands to make it superabundant. This causes the animal to grow up with good tracking ability, while the passing under is fatalistic to its owners. Then the hunter seizes the dog by the hind legs and swings it four times, sunwise, over and through the smoke of the fire. This prevents it from being dizzy and afraid of precipitous mountains, but if it pulls on it towards through the air, it will be a poor dog. Finally, the hunter carries it to the door and throws

[illegible] (1[illegible]-1924) 1968
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[illegible] it in. He arises as swims ashore and throws it back once more. This is repeated four times and causes the animal to have no fear of man.

In former times great attention was paid to the training of young dogs.

MEDICINES CONNECTED WITH LOVE, MARRIAGE, AND CHILDBIRTH

[illegible] *To Cause Love*

This medicine is used by women to men, and by men to women.

Obtain a hair of a person whose love is sought, place with it one of the wearer and tie the two in a strip of birch-bark together with a scale of octopus skin. This causes intense desire between the two. This medicine is usually personally applied by amorous males.

A similar usage is to wear the two hairs near the stomach, hidden by a belt. Men, especially, do this to cause love on the part of girls who they admire. An old Bella Coola mentioned that he had on had occasion to investigate the box of a Kitamaat man with which he found the tip of a land otter's tail, quill, and containing two small tufts of hair, one the owner's, the other, a wife's. This ensured lasting devotion between the two.

To Cause Love for Itself

A few years ago certain *Kalief* of Kitamaat used the following medicine to cement two sisters:

He made two forms, one representing a male, and the other a female. Touch he tied birch-bark, octopus-skin, a lock of his own hair and some obtained from the girls. Each figure was provided with sexual organs, and he placed them in position for sexual intercourse. This caused the two girls to desire *Kalief* so ardently that they almost became demented in their infatuation. Their mother, *Kwa-ooa*, suspected that *Kalief* had been using something of the kind and searched his

D:96:Dorsett E-5 (022-026)948
NEA Bellevue NEA

her during his absence. As soon as she had found the figure, she called in all the people, showed them her discovery, and suggested throwing them into the fire. Some objected, pointing out that if *Kilisi* had been using them, their destruction would cause his death. It was decided to test him, so no one told the lover that he had been found out, and he suspected nothing on his return. When he went into another house, *Ewe-ewe* placed the figures near the fire; immediately, *Kilisi* tried to lie down at the edge of the one near him, and was restrained only by some of the bystanders. This proved his guilt conclusively. *Ewe-ewe* washed the figures to destroy their power, which caused *Kilisi* to lose his desire to enter a fire, and at the same time destroyed the love of the two girls for him.

This medicine can be made only by a skilful carpenter; its real potency lies in the ingredients though the figures cause it to work more speedily.

To Strengthen Virility

This medicine is used by old men.

Catch a porcupine alive and cut out a quill from near its tail so that the blood flows freely. Prick the penis with the quill until the human blood mingles with the animal's. Potency follows at once.

To Cause Conception

A medicine was formerly known to cause a free conception, but it has been forgotten. A mother, however, who has just lost an infant, can ensure the birth of another by bringing a stone from the cemetery four days after her bereavement. If she leaves this beneath her bed for four nights, and then throws it away carelessly, anywhere, she will soon be pregnant.

To Prevent Conception

A medicine with this effect was formerly known but has been forgotten.

Schoolcraft E-5 (1851-1854) 1848
MSS Delaware MSS

To Cause Birth of a Child of the Desired Sex

If a boy is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her a miniature bow and arrows on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

If a girl is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her miniature tools used for beating cedar-bark on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

To Cause Easy Delivery (two means)

(a) The pregnant woman must boil stalks of stonecrop in water and drink freely of the decoction.

(b) A variant of the medicine already described can be applied during pregnancy. Strike the back of the woman with one or more porcupine embryos. The drowsy must remain in concealment and the woman to be benefited must be unaware of what is about to be done.

To Cause Increased Flow of Milk

Wear pads of *Sedum lineatum*(*Hook*) and apply them as a poultice to the breasts of the nursing mother.

MISCELLANEOUS MEDICINES USED BY ADULTS

To Cause Energy

Take the paw of a freshly killed beaver in one hand and pat it with the other, saying:

"Paws, may I be like you."

This ensures that the man or woman will always work hard, like a beaver.

To Cause Long Life

Pick up a stick, spit on it four times, saying:

"May I be strong like you," and put it down carefully.

The basis of this medicine is the belief that trees are capable of enduring greater pressure than other animals. For example, if one is caught in an alachan net, it survives the crushing weight of fish and water and is alive when the net is emptied, though all other living animals so measured are killed.

It is said that one man accidentally swallowed when spitting on a nail, and swallowed the contents. It lived within his stomach for fifty years, causing no discomfort though he never could feel it moving, and its singing could be heard at intervals. This brought him no supernatural power, although he was enabled by it to live to a great age. When at last he died, the nail came hopping out of his throat and was carried respectfully to the river by his friends who covered the container with eagle down and dried and unfolded cedar-bark.

Some of the uses already described with regard to animals and fish are similar in nature to this medicine.

To Cause Obesity

A medicine was formerly used by chiefs to make them fat and impressive-looking, but details of it have been forgotten.

To Cause Ability to Singing

Catch an amphibious (?aerial dwelling?) alive and put it four times against the throat of the woman to whom it is desired to impart the art, saying:

"Why do be a singer like you."

Release the bird and the woman will become a good singer.

This bird is considered by the Bella Coola to be the best songster among British Columbia birds, and they say that many animals and fish, including even the halibut, gather to hear its singing.

To Cause Ability to Dancing

There is a poisonous plant which, when eaten, almost kills the eater. If he recovers, he is henceforth endowed with great ability as a dancer. The species could not be ascertained.

To Cause Change in Weather

If a cold wind is desired: Place the penis of a mountain goat or beaver on a fire.

If rain is desired: Wash the penis of a large bear, and throw it into the water or a river, saying:

"Flame, may it be as it was when you held [illegible]."

The basis of these medicines is their numerous gums and leaves; more in November when it is cold, and less in October when it is rainy.

An old Kimaqui man mentioned that one wings he had been driven ashore by continuous cold winds and ship on the coast of morning. He drew a bark and by using the medicine just described was able to bring rain with consequent lessening of wind so that he could continue his journey.

[illegible]

To Destroy the Benefits of Another's Ceremonial Chastity

Place pieces of flesh from any recently skinned animal within a mile from which the absence of an enemy has been removed, covering at the same time the name of the person to be injured. This destroys the "charisma" acquired by the observance of ceremonial chastity.[1]

To Cause Insanity in a Woman

Catch a squirrel alive and tie one of the woman's hairs around its stomach; then release the animal. He is now violently thrown the forest, sometimes head upwards, sometimes head downwards, so will the brain of the person whose hair is in carrying begin to shake violently all madness ensues.

To Cause Poverty in Grizzly Bears

Throw the body of a recently killed woodbear against a man's back. The man grizzly bear he encounters will be fearless, and may kill him. Knowledge of this medicine was learnt by noticing that a number of men who had been struck in play with woodbears, were killed by grizzly bears. The potency of the act has since been recognized.

To Cause Disease in a Midphase

A number of years ago, when three Bella Coola were killed

[1] This medicine has been from a white missionary informant and was not available to others.

to a skirmish by the Caribou, one of their women enlisted a 754
body by poking out the eyes. The corpses were raised and [727]
a Bella Coola with secret knowledge dropped in the eye sockets some potent medicine. As the corpses rose, the murderers began to suffer pains, and the woman who had poked out the eyes lost her sight. As a blind, old woman, she had been seen by several men with whom she never was discussed.

To Cause the Death of a Murderer (three means)

(a) Two women were murdered at Kitsegukla in 1913. 754
Before they were buried, an elderly Bella Coola put a secret 682
medicine on the back of the neck of each so that the murderer [766]
would die from a disease beyond them. Within eight months, a Kitsegukla man accumulated in a deep sore on the back of the neck, and it was assumed that he must have killed Kitsegukla women and perpetrated the double murder.

Medicines like this and the preceding are widely known, but it is sorcerers who specialize in using them.

(b) When a man dies suddenly and murder suspected, [766]
although the perpetrator is unknown, place the eyes within an old, hollow spruce log. As it rots, maggots enter the flesh and as the years time the body of the murderer becomes hollowed and full of worm. This method unemployed [675]
during the lifetime of an informant and caused the death of the suspected murderer, whose guilt was thereby proved as proved.

(c) Bury the victim's body with a road to its mouth and [766]
the murderer will soon die.[1]

To Kill 754

Lift a corpse from the ground and place it on or over individuals. This causes their death in the near future.

[1] This information was obtained from one informant only. Most men would die, not unknown, but when such are to succeed.

Preventive and Curative Measures

MEMBERS OF INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

189 *To Counteract Dangers Incurred During Pregnancy* (two means)

174 (1) *As already described* (I, p. 96), there is always danger of
843 a person losing his spirit through a sudden start, causing involun-
825 tary contraction of the muscles, but pregnant women are
especially liable to peril of this kind. Moreover, the unexpected appearance of a toad, rat, or mouse, though insufficient to harm an expectant mother, may suffice to startle the unborn child, or even to destroy his spirit. A woman carefully remembers all experiences of this kind and treats the injury while her infant is crying immediately after birth. If a toad has caused it, she catches one, decorates it with dyed cedar-bark, and places it on the child's stomach, then guides it so that it jumps up the chest to the neck. This is repeated four times. She then sets it down, unharmed on the ground, saying:

"You are the cause of the trouble, please go."

The same rite is carried out for all small mammals, reptiles, and even with birds which have startled a mother by their peculiar behaviour. In some families it is customary to post-
[840] pone the application of this medicine until four days after birth. There is considerable difference of opinion concerning the specific injury; some allege that the spirit of the creature enters the body and, if not counteracted, causes the child to be born sick and feeble.

843 (2) During his wife's pregnancy, a husband must preserve
825 a small portion of the skin of every animal killed. Four days
189 after birth, as the infant lies in its cradle, a small fire is built
[840] beneath and the pieces thrown thereon so that the child is
[961] enveloped in the smoke. If this is neglected, the boy or girl will
[774] die during infancy, though the means by which the skin animals accomplish this is not fully understood. Possibly, as in the last instance, their spirits have entered the body. Some hunters preserve an eye from every carcass instead of a piece

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NEA Bellacoola NEA

of fur. Even at the present time, the death of a new-born child is usually attributed to omission of this precaution. 845

A Kimsquit man mentioned that he had once shot a marten during his wife's pregnancy, and had failed to preserve a piece of the skin. The bullet had passed through the head, making a hole in the cheek bone beneath the eye. He thought no more of the incident until after the birth of a daughter with a blemish on her cheek in the same place as the wound on the marten's. The spot grew bigger, and the flesh began to mortify until the infant died a few weeks later. Her face resembled that of the animal and he is convinced that his loss was caused, in some way, by the marten. 825 784 [761]

To Cure Indigestion

Kill a raven, cut out a morsel of flesh from beneath its left wing, and then remove the lower. Place both in the infant's mouth and leave them there until wet with saliva. Replace them in the bird's body and tie a strip of dyed cedar-bark around its neck. Carry the carcass to some lonely spot in the mountains and hide it beneath a jutting rock where no water can penetrate. This cures the child. If, however, anyone should find the raven's body before the flesh has decayed, the patient would die. 755 [761]

This remedy, widely employed for small children, was used with success by an informant for his young daughter. It is not sufficiently potent for adults.

To Cure Crying

The Bella Coola consider that crying is not only unpleasant, but actively displeasing to the supernatural beings who permit it at death alone. Consequently, the persistent wailing of a child is likely to cause the death of a relative in order that the tears shed may have justification. Many stories illustrate this theme; in fact, to cry for no real reason is practically taboo. A mother quiets a fretting child by saying: 827 865 761 [784] [861]

"Do you want your father and me to die?"

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If the father dies, she beats her son or daughter, adding: "Cry now. See what you did."

Henceforth the child receives himself, but usually drastic steps are taken to reform an infant before his weeping causes any such misfortune. The parents of a petulant child request aid from a man of even temperament to cure him. The person undertaking the task prepares a large basket, watches until he notices the youngster crying and displaying bad temper, then seizes the offender, thrusts him into the basket and hangs it in the doorway, free to move with every stir of the child shut within.

"Cry as much as you like now," he says. "If you become fretful like a heron you will turn into one of those birds."

This threat is based on an ancient story describing how a child to whom this was done changed into a heron and flapped away in bird form. Sometimes the man says that the same will happen to the child, or simply that he will be able to fly like a heron. All day he is left suspended, no one heeding his sobbing and howling; but in the evening he is taken down, petted, and told not to be naughty again. This medicine always cures a petulant child who can thereafter be held to ridicule by being reminded that he is "A Basket Boy." The same remedy is often employed for a quarrelsome brother and sister who are shut up together.

865 *To Cure Disobedience and Rudeness*

861 If a child is persistently rude and disobedient to his parents, they request the assistance of a man of even temperament to cure him. The person selected must be one who is never angry, and who attends to his own business in a placid, quiet manner. The mother and father discuss who is best fitted by character to help their erring child and then ask his aid, promising a suitable recompense. If the man accepts the task, he waits till he notices the child crying peevishly. Running to him, he holds the youngster firmly and, in spite of this strug-

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gles, bites him between the eyes or at the back of the neck so that a little blood flows. 865 861

"If you don't keep quiet," he says to the screaming child, "I shall bite you all over your head."

This medicine acts in two ways: (1) The offender is so frightened that he is likely to reform; (2) Contact with a man of good disposition imparts the same to him. A tuft of mountain goat wool is inserted into the wound to make it heal properly.

To Cure Disobedience and Laziness 461

Parents whose child exhibits these bad qualities also ask help of a man of good character. If he accepts the task, he provides himself with a bone needle and waits until he hears the child refuse to perform some simple task. Then, with a rush, he throws the offender on his stomach and supposits the needle until the blood flows freely. He then releases the frightened child who usually slinks away to bed for the rest of the day. When the bleeding has ceased, the quiet person cuts chips from the canoe of an energetic man and rubs them on the wound, saying: 865 861

"There, may you be like the canoe, always active and doing whatever is expected of you."

An old Kitsequit man recalled vividly the application of this medicine to him when he refused to fetch water for his mother. He was about eleven years of age at the time and asserted that it had greatly improved his behaviour.

MEDICINES FOR ORDINARY DISEASES

For Sprains and Bruises 752

Pound stalks of false hellebore, mix with hemlock gum, and bind on the injured spot as a poultice.

For Swollen Neck

Cut off small pieces of a thoroughly smoked bear's heart, pound in water, and drink the mixture. 757

757 *For Head-ache*

Tie around the forehead a piece of dyed cedar-bark, undyed cedar-bark, or other similar material. No herbal remedy is known.

For Eye Trouble

Moisten the finger with saliva and rub the eyes with it.

For Baldness (two means)

(1) Boil cottonwood buds in water, causing the gum to exude. Skim this from the surface, mix with fresh olachen grease or oil obtained from sockeye salmon, and rub on the scalp.

(2) Rub on the scalp oil from olachen, dog-fish, or any kind of salmon. The best is grease from the liver (?) of a dog-fish, obtained by hanging the organ before a fire and collecting the drops which exude.

For Skin Irritation

Rub dog-fish liver oil on the rash or itching part.

955 828 *For Excessive Dreaming and Nightmares* (two means)

(1) Burn dried salmon beneath the bed of the person afflicted.

(2) Lie in a canoe which has been chiselled out to the right thickness but has not been widened and hardened by smoke. A mat is laid across for this purpose and the smoke directed beneath, thoroughly fumigating anyone lying within. An informant was so treated as a young man when he was greatly troubled by nightmares in which he used to see a huge head which so terrified him that he would leave his bed to rush around the house shrieking and tearing his hair. This medicine cured his trouble.

757 *For Canker*

Pound up a snail and rub on the sore spot within the mouth.

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For Cold 757

Snuff dried urine such as is found around the rims of unemptied chamber pots. *Kāmai·ts* taught the ancestors of the Bella Coola that this was good for colds. [773]

For Sore Throat

Boil cottonwood buds in dog-fish oil and drink about a teaspoonful of the decoction at intervals until cured. Dog-fish oil, being a necessary ingredient in many medicines, is always kept on hand for emergencies.

For Coughing

Boil roots of false hellebore in water and drink the decoction freely. It is so poisonous that the patient usually falls to the ground, spitting blood. Coughing is one of the many ailments cured by this plant.

Another remedy is used for a person whose cough causes him to spit frequently. A friend collects some of the fresh expectoration, mixes it with salmon roe, and places it where ravens are accustomed to feed. This is done four times and the patient is cured if the birds devour the mixture. 755

For Whooping-Cough

Boil cottonwood buds in water with the fat of any animal and drink frequently. 757

For Sores and Boils

Warm dried urine and rub on the part affected. Like the remedy for colds, it was *Kāmai·ts* who taught this to the ancestors of the Bella Coola. Gum or tobacco is sometimes added to the urine, and applied like a poultice. [773]

For Boils (two means)

(1) Heat human excrement thoroughly and apply to the boil, tying it in position with cloth. At intervals, add more, without removing the bottom layer and leave in position for

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757 about one week. This causes the skin to turn white and draws out the matter.

752 [177] (2) The usual remedy for boils and similar sores is cutting. There are no professional surgeons so that a patient merely requests a friend in whom he has confidence to perform the operation which is now carried out with a metal knife instead of an obsidian blade. A man frequently performs on himself and it is not uncommon to see a Bella Coola sitting nonchalantly with the blood streaming down his leg into a receptacle filled with water. Even when a boil is on the buttocks, it may be cut by sitting down on a knife, but in this case a friend is always present to state when the position is correct.

752 754 *For Ulcers and Abscesses*

A few individuals, at present two at Bella Coola and one at Kimsquit, have the necessary skill to locate and operate on ulcers of the stomach. They have no inherited prerogative, their ability is due solely to practice and good sense. If a person suffers from internal pains and believes them to be caused by an ulcer, he requests one of these men to help him. The practitioner kneads and handles the patient to locate the growth, and suggests operating if he thinks it necessary. He measures off on the blade of a knife the depth required for the incision and asks consent to make such a cut. If the sufferer considers it too deep, he may indicate a shorter distance on the knife, or he may desire a still deeper one. As soon as patient and surgeon have agreed upon the depth of the wound, the latter inserts the knife to the proper distance, twists it around, and draws it out. If he has diagnosed correctly, pus comes pouring out; the wound is drained by the insertion of an eagle quill, and in many cases the patient recovers. Several instances are remembered of too deep cutting, resulting in penetration of the intestines and death. A surgeon is always suitably rewarded for his work.

It is believed that such operations were performed before the introduction of metal knives. Whether or not this be true,

[illegible]

it is certain that one of this type took place about 1870. No information could be obtained about other surgical practices. The Bella Coola are unacquainted with either tenpining or cupping, and it is most unlikely that they performed more than cutting and the setting of broken limbs. Though incisions are primarily for boils and abscesses, one may be made in case of any obstinate pain, in the belief that some foreign matter has entered the body and must be removed.

For Stomach-Ache (two means)

(1) Peel the outer surface of red elderberry roots and chew a section until all the juice has been squeezed forth and swallowed; then spit out the tasteless bark and take a second piece. This must be continued for some time. It is dangerous to allow the liquid to remain within the stomach, so warm water must be taken as an emetic.

(2) Take five roots of the plant *ma'xwal-i*, each about one-tenth of an inch in diameter and one inch in length, grind them to powder and pour on water. Warm the mixture to body heat and drink in large quantities. This acts as an emetic and the patient feels hungry after vomiting. If cooked for a longer time, the roots provide a valuable food.

This medicine is not sufficiently potent for serious attacks.

For Stomach-Ache, and also for Other Internal Pains (two means)

(1) Strip the bark from a *kiek'nlp* (birch?) branch a few inches in diameter and about three feet in length, and boil for an hour in a small amount of water. Care must be taken not to boil the decoction too long or it will become poisonous. Drink about four cupfuls of the mixture. It causes the stomach to heave violently, followed by vomiting. Then drink warm water, which also acts as an emetic. Take a further potion of the medicine, then more water, and continue with alternate doses until the vomit is clear. This medicine is so powerful that a patient usually recovers by the following day.

757 (c) Place on the surface of the skin nearest the pain hemlock gum and a human bone taken from that part of the skeleton adjacent to the seat of the discomfort.

[824] This medicine is the property of several ancestral families and can be used only by members of them.

For Stomach Trouble and Rheumatism

Scrape in the earth a hole about six inches deep and six feet in length. In the bottom deposit a large number of hot stones and cover them with a thin layer of clay and mixed with fine gravel. On these place as many herbal medicines as possible, such as nettles, devil's club bark, western dock, cottonwood leaves, green moss-like growths from water-covered stones, bark from spruce saplings, and the debris from cones eaten by squirrels. The actual ingredients vary according to season; in winter, for example, only one or two may be available. Mats are thrown over the plants for the patient to lie upon, covered by additional ones. A helper is always present to sprinkle him with water when the heat becomes too great and to rub away the sweat which pours off with a sponge of undyed cedar-bark. Instances are remembered of patients going to sleep in this type of sweat-house and being severely burnt.

For a person who is very ill, the hole is dug within the house, near the central fire, otherwise it is located at any convenient spot in the woods. This remedy is known to, and can be used by, everyone.

For Stomach Trouble and Water in the Blood

Dig a hole about three feet deep and with the same diameter. Throw hot stones in the bottom and place a rack of crossed and tied sticks across the excavation below the level of the ground. On this place medicinal herbs as described in the last remedy. The patient squats over the hole, enclosed in a tent-like shelter of mats or cedar-bark. Water is thrown on the stones and the enclosure prevents the resultant steam from escaping.

This type of smoke-house, which can be used by anyone, is usually built in the forest. The Bella Coola have great confidence in the use of one as a means of curing all types of internal ailments, especially from the bad effects of water which is believed to have entered the blood. In former years many patients were blinded by the water affecting their eyes, so that a recent improvement has been the construction of a door-like opening through which the head projects. Many stories are told of people being cured in this way after a white doctor had abandoned hope. [B57]

No Bella Coola had heard of a smoke-house large enough to contain more than a single individual, and a question whether they were ever used as meeting-places was regarded as highly humorous and absurd. [B45]

For Ailments of the Heart

The patient must eat some of his own excrement mixed with certain herbs, of which it was impossible to learn the species. This remedy can be used only by the members of certain ancestral families. [B24]

For the Blood

The following medicine is the property of certain families; consequently, anyone else who wishes to use it must obtain the services of an owner to apply it, and must recompense him for so doing. [B24]

The man who is to apply the remedy locates a pond where water-lilies are growing and then searches for four spruce saplings growing in line, approximately east to west. He cuts four branches from the east side of each tree and lays them beside the pond with a small space between each bunch. Then he pulls up some lily roots, lays them in the three gaps between the boughs, and wraps the whole into a bundle with a cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark which he winds around, clock-wise. On returning home, the practitioner must not carry his burden through the door but

[757] throw it in through the smoke-vent. He cuts the roots into thin slices which are boiled in water for four days. The patient drinks several cupfuls of the decoction which never fail to benefit him.

[757] The basis of this medicine is the belief, already described, that when a *sutsuf* swims through a pond it frequently sheds some of its scales which become water-lilies. They are, therefore, potent in themselves and are of greatest benefit to one who has practised ceremonial chastity. The patient must observe several taboos for forty days after treatment: He must hold no sexual intercourse; must eat neither salmon nor meat that has not been smoked; must eat nothing cooked either by a menstruating woman or by one who has lost her husband within a year; and must not approach a girl during the year following puberty. The breaking of one of these taboos causes [761] his death, and the man who has administered the medicine watches the conduct of his patient with great care.

[755] *For Debility* (two means)

(1) Drink strong, stale urine, mixed with red rock-paint ground fine.

[764] Knowledge of this medicine has been handed down for generations in certain families. It is said to be most unpleasant to take.

(2) The following medicine, said to be the most potent known to the Bella Coola, is used for a person who has long been feeble, especially if he has been spitting blood. It is the [764] property of several ancestral families, and must be administered by an elderly male member of one of them.

The owner of the remedy obtains a dry, clean skull, places within it a little water which he brings to a boil with hot pebbles and adds a small quantity of mountain goat marrow. The patient is given a dry stick, about three feet in length, from which the pith has been extracted to make a tube. With this he sucks four times, swallowing a little of the decoction, while the practitioner says to the skull:

"Please remedy the invalid." 755

This is virtually a prayer, addressed to the deceased owner of the skull, and accordingly verges on appeal to the dead. Note the less, there is no concept of active supplication to any individual ghost, but rather of acquiring aid by the use of a supernatural object.

For one year after this treatment, sexual intercourse is forbidden to both practitioner and patient. The latter, though not the former, dies if either fails to observe this taboo. The use of an old man to apply the medicine is to lessen danger from this source. The owner of this remedy is always liberally rewarded and some old man carefully preserves a skull under a rock-ledge in order to be ready if called upon. [786] [761]

For Smallpox

Pick up a toad, and tear off its head with the teeth, swallowing some of the blood. 757

This is an ancient remedy for some other ailment which was tried as a last resort during the smallpox epidemic. One man who succeeded in practising it on four successive days was cured of the dread disease.

For Consumption

Boil leaves and stems of a certain fleshy plant (not identified) in water and drink the decoction. The potency of the medicine increases accordingly to the number of plants used.

This medicine was a Nootka Indian's hereditary cure for a cough which was found to be effective for consumption as well. The malady was so prevalent on the coast in the last century that it seemed as if the inhabitants were doomed; this remedy was allegedly discovered at that time and knowledge of it spread rapidly from tribe to tribe, saving the lives of hundreds. The Bella Coola recognize that this was a private medicine, but have ceased to regard it as such and have no hesitation in applying it whenever required. [177] [164]

755 *For Insanity*

177 The Bella Coola have no medicine for this disease, although they are familiar with one used by the Kwakiutl, which was applied not long ago to a Rivers Inlet youth by two old women, one from Newitti and the other from *Djuldémas*. They exhumed a recently buried corpse, took a small piece of skin from the left side of the base of the neck, left this for twenty-four hours in a small stream, and then allowed it to soap for another twenty-four hours in a cup filled with water. This liquid was drunk by the patient who immediately recovered his sanity. He was first given water in which had been boiled needles from the yellow cedar; this strengthened him and prevented a relapse. The patient, now cured, observed continence [765] [761] for a year; failure to obey this injunction would have caused his death.

The Bella Coola assume that this remedy is the property of Kwakiutl ancestral families who alone are entitled to use it. The practitioners are always suitably recompensed and do not undertake the treatment except at the request of one of the patient's relatives. Kwakiutl experts have been brought to Bella Coola several times within recent years to cure cases of insanity, but great secrecy is maintained concerning the methods employed. They are considered to be effective, in proof of which the attention of the writer was directed to two sane men who were said to have been raving lunatics before undergoing a Kwakiutl treatment. It is probable that the individuals had been subject to periodic fits of insanity and that a temporary improvement was regarded as a definite cure.

757 *For Venereal Disease* (four means)

(1) Boil scrapings of false hellebore roots in water for a long time and drink the decoction. If it is too strong, add more water.

(2) Pound *sha'tcalx*, a kind of fungus, in water and drink the brew.

(j) Pound bark and wood of the black hawthorn to water and drink the brew. 757

(k) The following medicine must be prepared by the patient himself. It is not generally known, but the woman from whom the information was obtained claimed that it had been used with success by her brother.

Obtain a human bone, or a piece of a coffin, and burn it secretly in the forest at some distance from the village. Mix the ashes with dog-fish oil. After preparing the medicine the patient must remain alone in the woods for four days. He can then return home and rub the mixture on his genital organs to reduce the swelling. The sufferer must remain continent for one year or the disease will return with increased malignancy.

It was impossible to learn which types of venereal disease are believed to be curable by these medicines. Nor could definite information be obtained concerning the length of time that the Bella Coola have suffered from these maladies. Most of the old people affirmed that they were unknown before the coming of the white man, although one elderly woman was emphatic in stating that they had experienced them for many generations. 164

For Difficult Delivery (three means) 757 845

(i) The usual remedy, which has been described already, is to apply hot ashes to the woman's feet as soon as the pangs of delivery are felt.

(ii) If delivery has been delayed beyond the usual time, it can be accelerated by giving the woman a morsel of the testicle of a beaver mixed with water. This causes the infant to be born at once.

(iii) In case of extremely protracted delivery, a husband can help his wife by urinating upon her head.

For Breast Trouble 757

The cure for a pain in a woman's breast is to make a deep incision so that the blood flows freely.

For Fractures

An effort is made to straighten the limb and to place the ends of the broken bone together in their proper position. If there is considerable swelling, an incision is made, to let blood escape. Hemlock gum is applied freely to the whole region to soften the wound and hold the splints in position. This prevents the cut, if one has been made, and is believed to facilitate the knitting process. Any small sticks are used for splints.

[illegible] FOR SUPPOSED CURES BY SUPERNATURAL OR HUMAN BEINGS

Persons suffering from diseases or accidents of the types described in the previous section are not the only ones whom the Bella Coola consider to be sick. A girl at puberty, a mother who has just given birth, a man or woman whose consort has just died, has been placed in a peculiar relation to the supernatural and is in a condition identical to that of one suffering from a disease. The ritual acts prescribed at these crises of life are medicines, just as truly as an herbal potion or a curative treatment. In fact, anyone who has been in close touch with the supernatural is in a critical condition and must act circumspectly, the reason for the taboos observed by shamans.

Hunters particularly, and others who are likely to come in contact with supernatural beings, employ a number of medicines to protect themselves or to alleviate the dangers to which they have been exposed. As already described, the most potent of these are articles which have been rendered essentially human by contact with the body. For example, an evil supernatural being such as the War-Party of the Tides can be kept at a distance by casting soiled clothing upon a fire. Even more powerful are stained cedar-bark sanitary napkins. It is remembered that when a Bella Bella lad was treated with a gull so that he could see beneath the ocean, his friends became so alarmed at his tremendous ability that they destroyed it by throwing pads of this kind on a fire built beneath the bed on which he was sleeping. The basis of this medicine is the belief

that the proximity of such insensitive human articles is enough to counteract and render powerless anything of a superhuman nature. Likewise, when a certain woman came in contact with the Wise-Party of the Tsin and began to exhibit symptoms of insanity, she was cured by drinking water in which other women had squeezed out their menstrual pads. Another defence is the burning of dried almon, fumigation from which is particularly effective for one who suffers from nightmares. Other remedies already mentioned are to cut the right leg and smear a bullet with the resultant blood in order to kill a *cmmq*, and to bedewed the inside of the mouth and spit to withstand a capsizing mountain.

789 [756] [728]

The medicine most commonly taken is false hellebore, the use of which was learned by some ancient shaman. At dusk a hunter should eat a small twig of it, raw; it draws from his stomach everything injurious particularly women's hairs, which are abhorred by animals, and ensures him success on the morrow. If he takes too much of it, he becomes ill and must swallow the antidote, mountain goat grease or marrow. He should also carry twigs of the plant with him, ready either to swallow or throw in the direction of any dreaded supernatural being whom he may encounter. Eagle down and dried salmon roe are sometimes similarly used.

224 789 [752]

The powers of a person who has obtained supernatural ability, whether or not he is a shaman, can be destroyed by similar means. For example, a lad treated so that he understands the speech of ravens, will lose his ability if he eats food cooked or prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has lost her husband within the last year, or if he passes through the hole in the floor used by an adolescent girl. The last Bella Coola with this skill was deadened to the meaning of the birds' croaking by lying near his sister one night for warmth, since her mere proximity was enough to nullify his power. This aspect of medicine merges with taboos. So, too, the power of an object can be destroyed by washing; an instance of this in

756 789 789

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[illegible]

789 regard to two figurines prepared to cause love has been described.

755 In addition to these non-specialized medicines, the Bella Coola are acquainted with remedies for several specific ailments caused by supernatural beings. One of these, to cure a person in whose head a toad was formed, has already been described.

To Prevent Blindness

[759] Loss of sight is caused by a bat flying into a man's face, or
[825] by a raven's dropping falling upon him as he looks upward. After either accident, rub a feather from any bird in a raven's liver and draw it across the eyes. The person practising this
[785] cure must remain continent for one year or blindness will result.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Leg

If a man puts his foot in a hole so that he stumbles and falls, he will lose the use of that leg unless he counteracts the danger by placing a small stick upright in the cavity. In the summer of 1922 the writer noticed an old Bella Coola, with whom he was walking in the woods, break off a branch about two feet in length and place it in a hole where he had stumbled. He could give no explanation for his act, except that failure would cause him to lose the use of that leg.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Feet

If a person should happen to set his bare feet upon a dead wolf, he will lose the use of his lower limbs. The antidote to this has been forgotten within recent years, and patients are merely treated by shamans.

755. *To Prevent the Revenge of a Ghost*

775 The ghost of a murdered person usually tries to avenge himself on his killer, who can protect himself by obtaining a small piece from the body or clothing of his victim, a tuft of hair, a shred of cloth, or even a piece of earth from above his

grave. When, presently, he feels sick and believes that the ghost has caused the malady, he throws the object he has obtained on a fire and allows the smoke to drift over his body. It is not known how this destroys the power of the dead victim. 755 776

At present (1922), in case of unexpected death in which murder is suspected, the relatives keep the body under lock and key and watch carefully to see whether anyone tries to gain access to it. To endeavour to do so would be considered proof of guilt. For the same reason, they may place boards over the grave and watch it for several weeks. As already described, a middle-aged woman died unexpectedly in 1922. Her father, believing that she had been murdered, expressed the opinion that a certain man was the criminal and that he would die within a year. He outlived this period by three weeks and it was generally agreed that the power of thought had been sufficient to cause the death. Apparently, the father shared this view and expected the ghost of the alleged murderer to be hostile, for he made two efforts to enter the shed where the body was lying, but the relatives of the deceased foiled him by locking all doors and windows. When he himself died a few weeks later, it was taken for granted that the ghost had exacted vengeance. [45]

To Cure a Malady Caused by a Sorcerer

The most complicated medicine about which information was obtained was one employed by an elderly Bella Coola who had incurred the enmity of a sorcerer. The latter had succeeded in breaking a triangular bone in the man's chest which would have caused his death if his mother had not consulted an old woman who knew the proper remedy for such an ailment. This knowledge had been handed down in her family for generations and she was rewarded lavishly for her services. It will be convenient to refer to the patient as X and the old woman who treated him as Y. 755 [424]

X's mother requested the services of Y who agreed to assist and called upon her husband to help her. They scoured the

[illegible] forest until they found four spruce saplings growing fairly close to one another and forming a line from east to west. They split each of them, inserted a block to hold the two halves apart, and prevented the upper end of the cut from extending too far by wrapping around it branches of the tree itself, taking care only to bend, not to break them off. Then Y drew through each cleft stem as many of the prickly branches as possible, fastening them in position with their own twigs. Finally, she bound near the base of each sapling a long cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. On the day that these preparations were completed, Y boiled in water a number of branches of devil's club, swamp gooseberry, and other prickly plants. Then she told X's mother that all was in readiness for the next day, but that her son must hold intercourse that night. X was unmarried at the time, but his mother obtained the services of a woman for him.

At dawn the next day, before any of his neighbours were awake, X went to the spot where the four saplings had been prepared. With him were his mother and Y, who first washed him with the water in which the thorny branches had been boiled, then gave him his instructions: He was to force his way through the westernmost spruce, turn around on himself, sunwise, four times, pass to the next tree and repeat the same procedure; after this, he was to do the same at the third, and finally at the eastern sapling. With much difficulty, X pushed through the cleft stem, where the tied branches tore his flesh like needles, and rotated himself as he had been directed to do. Without waiting for Y, he acted similarly at the three other trees. As soon as X had passed through the first trunk, Y carefully pulled out the branches from the hole, knocked away the block that held the two sections apart, and loosened the long bough which had been wrapped around the top of the opening. When the sapling had sprung back to normal, she wound the long cedar-bark cord around the trunk, clockwise, so that it would knit together. The old woman followed X to each tree so that there was little indication of anything unusual

having taken place when she had finished. Then the three went home, Y telling X that he must remain convalescent until she told him to do otherwise.

Three days later, Y told X's mother that her son would have to sleep that night with another woman whose services were obtained as before. This intercourse was on the fourth night after the first one. Meanwhile, Y and her husband had located and prepared another set of spruce saplings to which X was taken the following dawn. The same ritual was carried out without variation. Four nights later, he slept with another woman and passed through a third line of trees; four nights after that, the same procedure was repeated. Being unmarried, X required the services of four different women although if he had had a wife, she would have sufficed.

During the four days after the fourth set of trees had been used, Y collected, drop by drop, hemlock gum which had exuded from holes made by a small woodpecker.* X's mother accompanied the practitioner and heard her say something to the gum but could not understand what it was; X does not know whether the words were in a strange language or merely mumbled. Y also rifled a coffin to obtain the same bone as the one of X's which had been broken. X's mother was again present and heard Y speaking unintelligibly for some time as she cautiously opened the box, taking care to raise the farther side of the lid. The bone was covered with the hemlock gum and Y bound it, like a poultice, on X's chest on the fourth day after he had passed through the fourth set of saplings. It was left in position for four days, then thrown away as useless; it had "become nothing" for the malady and was consequently valueless. With its removal, the pain vanished. Y told X that he would have a long life, since no evil could harm him henceforth, but added that he would never be wealthy. X mentioned that both predictions have come to pass.

If the application of the gum had not been successful, Y would have waited for four days more and then given X a drink

*Typed; the species could not be identified.

[955] of water in which had been boiled eight quinters from a coffin. He would have obtained two from each side, and two from each end, in each case inserting the point of a crooked knife to pry loose a fragment of the wood, and then pulling it off in the same direction as the sun travels. It would have been immaterial from which aspect the first hai been taken, but Y would have been careful to move around the coffin from east to south to west to north, corresponding o the course of the sun.

It is believed that no one has now the ability to use this cure.

Sorcerers

[954] Among the causative medicines of which knowledge has
[424] been handed down in various families for generations are secret means of killing. Every sorcerer must have such a possession, but he is not so bounded unless he begins to exercise his powers for anti-social purposes. For example, if it be known that a
[975] certain individual is able to cause death, the members of the *kwiat* society are eager to admit him to their group, so that his ability will be at their disposal to punish anyone who breaks
[222] their regulations. Likewise, if a chief decides that a certain man should die, the power of his thoughts may suffice to cause the death, but the desired end will be effected more certainly by requesting aid from the owner of a means of killing. Such
[956] an individual is frequently a shaman who is only too glad of an opportunity to exhibit his powers. The following methods of execution are said to have been employed socially, that is, with the connivance or at the request of chiefs or the members of the *kwiat* society:

(1) The executioner scratches for *four* successive nights on the door of the victim's house. If the latter suspects what is to take place, he may endeavour to escape by remaining awake which renders the scratching powerless. It is said that no one has been able to remain sleepless for more than three nights which gives the killer his opportunity.

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(2) The executioner obtains the left, bottom rib from a man's skeleton, puts one end in the fire until it is alight, and keeps it smouldering by continuous puffing. When he knows that his victim is asleep, he knocks with the bone on the outside of his house and the sleeper dies immediately.

(3) The executioner holds a dried human hand before his victim's face, or knocks with it on his door, and he falls dead.

Individuals who have such knowledge are regarded with fear and a certain amount of respect, but it is recognized that they have every right to use their inherited abilities when requested to do so. A similar medicine was tried recently with fatal results:

A few years ago a number of Bella Coola, travelling to the interior along a trail over which some Carriers had just passed, noticed a place where one of the latter had been picking Indian rhubarb and had spit out the fibres after chewing. One of the party decided to test a medicine which had been handed down in his family for a long time. Catching a toad, he thrust some of the shreds down its throat, tied a loop of the fibre around its neck, and left the animal suspended to die of strangulation or starvation as the case might be. That night the Bella Coola overtook the carriers who had camped early owing to the illness of one of their party. He was lying on the ground, too sick to move, and complaining of a choking sensation in his throat. Realizing the seriousness of the case, the man who had fastened up the toad hurried back to release it, but found it dead. Before he regained his companions, the Carrier had likewise choked to death. The efficacy of the medicine was thus proved.

Another man stated that a similar means of killing was to use in the same way fibres left exposed from bark which had been stripped for eating. There are believed to be many secret means of killing which, since they have often been employed indiscriminately, are thought to have had an appreciable effect in reducing the numbers of the Bella Coola.

The most common method of execution is by obtaining something belonging to the victim, and subjecting it to the fate desired for its owner. A few years ago, for example, the members of the *kusiut* society wanted to frighten one of their

754 members, and delegated the task to a man who was known to be skilled in such matters. The latter stole some shreds of the offender's clothing, placed them in a human skull which he fastened to a long rope and threw into a swift stretch of the river. As the rapids tossed the skull to and fro, the person whose clothing was within began to feel uneasy; first he experienced a jumping pain in his head, but as the wild movements continued, he became light-headed and finally delirious. At this juncture, it was decided to pull back the skull, but the rope broke and it was carried away downstream. Nothing could save the man and he died within a few hours. This particular incident occurred among the Bella Bella, but it is agreed that it might have happened in Bella Coola.

[554] The mingled fear of, and aversion to, a person who knows some such secret method of killing, fades into insignificance compared to the extreme loathing of every Bella Coola for sorcerers. Their methods of killing may be similar to the ones just described, but they are evil creatures who practise secretly, working entirely to gratify their own personal desires. Not [683] only is the murder of a sorcerer a virtuous act, but the relatives of one should be put to death without mercy. There is no single factor which has caused so much hatred, bitterness, and suspicion as belief in the activities of sorcerers. Conversion to [797] Christianity has scarcely altered it, and men who have been members of the church for ten to twenty years remain fully convinced that some of their associates have loathsome abilities as sorcerers. In many parts of the world, belief in black magic and witchcraft is one of the last native convictions to pass away, and it seems probable that this will be the case in Bella Coola although, of course, it will become increasingly difficult to obtain information about the subject.

The actual methods used by different sorcerers vary, although most of them require an article which has been in contact with their intended victim. Consequently, they seek pieces of soiled clothing, nail parings, hair clippings, spittle, and other objects of the same type which are usually concealed

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by their owners for safety. Judas, an old Bella Coola believed to be a sorcerer, has been seen to scrape up the moist earth where a man has urinated; in former times anyone doing such a suspicious act would have been killed. The article obtained is hidden and kept for future use, and if the practitioner wishes to inflict pain or death, he places it in contact with some potent medicine. Human bones are frequently employed for this purpose, although the most powerful is said to be grease obtained by boiling flesh cut from the inner side of the thigh of a recently buried corpse. To obtain either of these, graves must be robbed, another reason for hating sorcerers. 754 [683]

Secrecy is essential, so a sorcerer is usually assisted by his children, and in this way he has a better chance of obtaining articles belonging to different people without arousing suspicion. The necessary knowledge can accordingly be transmitted from generation to generation, sometimes without the slightest inkling of it becoming known. Even if a man is found out, he may be able to bribe his discoverer to silence. [424]

Sometimes two from different tribes work in partnership to lessen the danger of practising their rites near the village of a victim. For example, a Bella Coola sorcerer may send an article to an accomplice in Bella Bella for placing in contact with strong medicine; this causes the victim to languish and die while the person responsible continues his usual routine of life around the village, suspected by no one. The commencement of such a partnership is a matter of great difficulty, since anyone who admits his crimes places himself in the power of his confidant. Sometimes, however, rumours that a certain individual is practising malevolent magic reach a foreign sorcerer who needs an accomplice. If he considers that the information is authentic, he may admit his own prowess and suggest that they work together. Such an arrangement is profitable to both parties, and a partnership so formed may continue for generations. 648 754

Sorcerers display considerable ingenuity in arranging that their skill shall bring them pecuniary benefits as well as the 754 756

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754 gratification of killing their enemies. To achieve this end, a
756 member of the family claims to be a shaman and his relatives loudly acclaim him. It is not difficult for a man with skill in conjuring to perform some simple dramatic act, probably one carried out by an ancient shaman, which he announces has been shown to him by a supernatural being who has given him power to cure the sick. Then the sorcerer selects a suitable victim and causes him to become ill by placing something taken from him in contact with his medicine. If the malefactor is fortunate, the victim will consult the "shaman" who will effect a cure and be paid for it, ignorant of the fact that his recovery has been due to the removal of the article by the practitioner's accomplice. This deception is especially difficult to expose if the sorcerer has a box containing grease boiled from human bodies, since the sickness increases or diminishes accordingly to the depth to which the article is sunk. This is one of the ways in which some shamans have built up great reputations as curers.

The psychology of sorcery is similar to that of other kinds of magic. It is not possible for the malefactor to tell his victim that he has stolen a nail paring, for example, and that he will die because it has been placed in a decoction of human grease. But if the attending shaman is an accomplice, he can inform the sufferer that his malady has been caused by a sorcerer and this belief profoundly affects him. He feels that he will die unless a remedy be found, and if the shaman assures him that he has rendered the evil influence impotent, his chances of recovery are increased accordingly. So, likewise, the members of families who possess remedies against the activities of sorcerers often work in conjunction with one. It is therefore not surprising that the Bella Coola should firmly believe in their machinations and affirm that they have killed many thousands of people in the course of generations. The belief in magic would itself be sufficient to explain this, but it is strengthened by the social and economic aspects of a sorcerer's
754 vocation. The container in which the potent mixture is kept
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is spoken of in the Chinook jargon as a *mesatche ikas*, that is, a "dirty," "unclean," or "repulsive" box, and this term is one which is mentioned whenever an unexpected death takes place, or whenever a coastal Indian is accused of loitering around a deserted camp or of stealing into another's house. The belief is not limited to the Bella Coola, but has formed the basis for criminal cases all over the coast of British Columbia. It is difficult to find words sufficiently strong to express the disgust, loathing, and fear with which the Bella Coola regard a person suspected of sorcery.

754 171 [554]

Ability in this respect carries with it certain prohibitions. A sorcerer would lose his power if he should wash or blow his nose except when about to commit murder. The one old Bella Coola now thought to be a sorcerer never washes; he knows that if he did so, he would be immediately accused of plotting someone's death. This man is greatly feared, as he is said to have a collection of spittle from every member of the tribe; efforts have been made to break into his house and steal this, but it has never been found. He takes credit for the death of at least one white man in the valley. A peculiar impediment suffered by all sorcerers is a prohibition against turning around, although no one knows why doing so should deprive them of their strength. The explanation may be that their power would recoil upon themselves, a concept well illustrated by the following incident:

754 [515] [527]

When the first Christian Bella Coola left the old village to settle near the mission station, they were regarded with dislike and suspicion by their fellow-tribesmen. One day, one of them happened to follow a path through the woods which led her to a rude shelter in which was a bundle. Heartily commencing her fellows, they opened it and found an article of clothing belonging to each Christian. The man who told this incident described his fear at finding a dirty shirt of his own among the others. They felt that the garments had been collected by a young man who claimed to be a shaman, but whom they suspected to be merely the accomplice of a sorcerer, and this was soon proved to be the case. He was inefficiently trained; instead of touching the patient's body with his stick, he used to stick wherever the pain was located and then

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754 drink water. This washed the sickness down into his own stomach, which rotted away so that he died. Recovery of their clothes saved the Christians from injury on this occasion.

Although the Bella Coola suspect that several of their tribesmen are sorcerers, their work is so carefully concealed that it is naturally difficult to obtain evidence against them. A few years ago, however, the two daughters of a *Tâl ts* man were searching for a calf lost by their father when they found a coal-oil can half hidden in a bush near the pasture fence. They peered into it, and were shocked to find a decayed human leg. They hurried home to their father, who investigated and found that it was the portion from knee to ankle, and that it was partly covered by a sock made for himself by his wife. This so terrified him that he took the find to the Indian Agent, who is believed still to have it. The finder was convinced that the deaths of several of his children must have been caused by earlier activities of the same, or another sorcerer. He suspected another *Tâl ts* man who had cleared a small farm in the vicinity, and who asked the two girls whether they had found a jam-tin near the place where the leg had been discovered.

The Bella Coola agree that sorcerers were more powerful in early times than at present, and recount a number of stories describing their activities. The following examples require no further explanation and clearly illustrate their beliefs.

A BELLA BELLA SORCERER

539 754 Not many years ago, as a Bella Bella lad lay dozing, he saw a man approaching him with a stick to one end of which was fastened a tuft of undyed cedar-bark. He quickly realized that it must be a sorcerer who had come to collect some of his exhaled breath as a personal possession, so he pretended to be asleep. The villain came nearer, held the sponge-like bark before the sleeper's face for a moment, and then stole away. He did not know that his intended victim was following him. The sorcerer entered his house, cautiously drew out a human leg bone and tied the tuft of bark to it; then, wearied by the strain, he went to sleep. This was the victim's opportunity. He crept into the house, took another piece of bark, held it before the sleeper's face, removed the one stained

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with his own breath, and replaced it with that containing the sorcerer's. 539
Before dawn the next morning, the sorcerer, ignorant of the substi- 754
tution, took the bone and left the house. The youth had been watching and followed him to the edge of the sea, where he laid his bundle in a hole in the rocks through which the rising tide was sending up a miniature water-spout. The sorcerer went away at once, giving the lad an opportunity to remove the bone and secrete it in another cavity. He knew that the wicked man would soon become ill and would suspect that someone had tampered with the bone. So it proved. As the water whirled the lock containing his exhaled breath, the sorcerer began to feel light-headed and rushed off to the hole in the rocks. Meanwhile the intended victim had summoned his neighbours to watch what might transpire. The man searched frantically, but of course could not find the bone, so, as the water rose and covered the lock, he was impelled to plunge repeatedly beneath the surge, until he was drowned.

THE OUTWITTING OF A SORCERER

Over one hundred years ago there was living in *Xemqo·ts* a powerful chief who owned a salmon-weir. Though an expert fisherman himself, he relied to a great extent on the assistance of a commoner who was still more efficient. One summer this man died suddenly. Immediately after the funeral, the chief examined his trap, removed the fish, and returned home, physically weary from his labour and more than ever regretting the loss of his assistant. For some reason he could not sleep, so, after tossing for an hour or more, he decided to gather firewood. There was a low-rising full moon, so he had no difficulty in seeing his road as he climbed the small mountain behind the village, carrying only an iron axe. He had cut a bundle and was ready to return when he heard a grunting sound as though someone with a heavy burden were climbing the slope. Putting down his load, he hid himself in such a position that clear moonlight shone upon the path. After waiting a few minutes, he saw a figure approaching; it was *Ownwal*, a local shaman, carrying a coffin upon his back. Now thoroughly suspicious, the chief decided to follow, trusting to his axe for protection.

Ownwal passed over the crest, descended the other side, and then ascended the slope of the mountain on the east, in long tangents to hide his course. The chief had no difficulty in following him unobserved, and finally watched his unsuspecting guide put down the coffin and clear away the brush-wood. He seemed to be lifting something, which was followed by a grating sound as if a large stone was being dragged across another; then he disappeared from sight and the chief realized that *Ownwal* had

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descended into an underground house of which the combination door and smoke-vent had been covered with stones and small sticks.

The chief crawled to the entrance and looked within. Round the walls were seated the corpses of all those who had died recently in the village, and *Onqwak* was removing the body of the expert fisherman from its coffin. He put it in line with the others and put on a dance-apron decorated with human finger and toe nails. Then he began to dance, at the same time pressing the lever of a mechanical contrivance which caused the corpses to beat time with sticks and even to leap into the air at intervals as do living singers. It was most weird and uncanny, but after watching for a few minutes, the chief was forced to cough. Although this was the first intimation to *Onqwak* that he was being observed, he betrayed no surprise and invited the cougher to come down the ladder into his house. The chief did so, and he was received in a courteous and hospitable manner by his host who frankly admitted that he was a sorcerer, and added that his corpses were just dancing to welcome the new arrival.[1] He showed his guest everything of interest in the dwelling, including a box containing potent medicine in which was laid the skin of a man's left hand. He explained that he frequently took this to the village and, if he desired to kill anyone, would place within the palm a tuft of cedar-bark on which his victim had breathed, then close the fingers upon it. This caused death almost instantly. The chief, though keenly interested, never relaxed his vigilance for a moment, knowing that the sorcerer would not have been so communicative unless he had felt confident of his ability to kill his hearer. Towards morning, *Onqwak* suggested that they return home, picked up the skinned hand, and was the first to climb the ladder, intending to stun the chief when his head appeared over the surface. His pursuer followed close at his heels and finally, at the top of the ladder, butted the sorcerer with his head so that he sprawled on the ground and the chief was able to emerge with safety. Unperturbed by this first failure, *Onqwak* covered the entrance to his house so carefully that a man might have passed over it without suspecting its presence. The sorcerer wanted the chief to precede him homewards, but the latter was too cautious for any such subterfuge and insisted upon following close at the heels of the malefactor. They did not separate until they reached the village, where each proceeded to his own house.

[1]Although this account is supposed to be a historical record of a comparatively recent incident, items of a supernatural type have obviously been added. The man who told the story did not seem to realize the difficulty of a mechanical contrivance to make corpses beat time, nor did it strike him that the dance of welcome must have been adopted from the similar ceremony performed by ghosts. The whole story was related as an unusual one but not of a supernatural nature.

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The chief knew that his life was in serious danger although he had 539
won the first round. Consequently, instead of lying down to sleep, he 754
seated himself with his arms stretched out before him on a box and his head supported on them so that he could watch through his fingers. As he expected, *Omqwak* soon came stealing in, holding a tuft of undyed cedar-bark. He made no movement, even when the sorcerer held this before his face and stole away with it when it had been breathed upon. The brave man knew that his life would be in constant danger unless he could outwit his enemy and that this was his opportunity. He waited for about one hour, then quietly entered *Omqwak*'s house where the sorcerer was sleeping peacefully, thinking that all danger was over, and the hand-skin was lying in plain sight on a box. The chief stealthily took a tuft of cedar-bark, held it before the sleeper's nose till it was impregnated with his breath, and then placed it within the skin from which he withdrew the piece already there. Having accomplished his purpose, he returned home without disturbing the sleeper.

The chief knew that *Omqwak* would wash the following morning if he intended to kill, so he remained awake and was watching the sorcerer's house before daybreak. As he expected, the malefactor presently appeared, carrying his chamber-vessel, and went to the river. First he smeared himself with urine and walked in up to his knees, remained for a few minutes, and came ashore again. The second time, he waded in until the water was up to his thighs; the third time, he went on till it was shoulder-deep. Sorcerers always wash in this way in order that the four parts of the body shall be covered successively, although no one knows why this should be done by them alone. The hidden chief knew that *Omqwak* would meet disaster when he bathed for the fourth time since the skin, carried beneath his arm-pit, would then be beneath the surface for a few moments. So it transpired. He dipped his head, but instead of being able to raise it, his feet floated above the surface, and he remained in that position, slowly drowning. This was the fate which he had destined for the chief whose breath he had placed within his skinned hand, but he was unaware of the substitution which, of course, re-acted upon himself.

The watcher hastily roused his neighbours who came running to the bank half-clad and rubbing their eyes. They brought ashore the corpse of the drowned man while the chief recounted all that he had seen and done during the night. As soon as it was sufficiently light a number of men accompanied him to the underground house in the mountains from which the bodies were brought back and reburied by their relatives. Previous to this time, no one had suspected *Omqwak* of sorcery, but as soon as the discovery was made, the angry people slew all his relatives

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539 754 except an infant daughter. She grew up, married, and was the mother of the old Bella Coola, about seventy years of age in 1923, who is so loathed as a sorcerer. It is he who has the collection of spittle, and it is believed that, like his grandfather, he is the owner of a skinned and stuffed left hand with which he can kill a man as surely as with a rifle.

THE DISCOVERY OF TWO SORCERERS

Many years ago there lived at *Stuu* two young men who were constant companions; they always hunted and travelled together, and were determined to share each other's fortune, no matter what it might be. One day they agreed to go up the valley to visit some friends, but decided to postpone their departure until dusk. One of the two went out for a short walk and failed to return by the time appointed; his comrade sought him everywhere and finally hurried off up the trail, thinking that his friend must have started before him. He soon heard sounds of laboured breathing as if people were carrying a heavy burden, and could just distinguish two men carrying a coffin on poles between them. He realized that they must be sorcerers and that their inability to turn around would give him an advantage. Stealing up behind them, he pushed the rear man, not only causing him to stumble, but the one in front as well, since their burden was resting between them. Neither could turn around to see who had discovered them, and they became more and more terrified as the brave youth first pushed, and then pulled the one in the rear. [774] Suddenly he called out, *wo·*, so loudly in their ears that the sudden start expelled their spirits and they fell to earth as if dead. The lad watched their gradual recovery, feeling confident that his partner must be within ear-shot and would come hurrying back to his assistance if necessary. As soon as the sorcerers had revived, one of them said angrily to the boy:

"You will die presently."

"No," he answered. "It is you who are in grave peril."

At this point he called loudly for his companion who was so far ahead that he could barely hear the other's voice; he answered the shout and began to run back. The sorcerers, trying to make the best of a bad situation, mocked him by advising him to call again and to bring more helpers if he wanted to escape death. When his friend had come so close that he could see what was taking place, the youth called out to him:

"Partner! They say that I am in danger."

"No," the other answered. "It is they who will die."

When he joined the group the four began to discuss what was to be done. The sorcerers begged their discoverers not to expose their mis-

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doings, and offered to make them members of the *kaxlat* society in return for their silence. Though uninitiated persons, even this tempting bribe was refused by the two youths. Next, each of the malefactors offered a daughter as wife to each of the partners, and they accepted this bargain. For their part, the sorcerers were glad to escape at any cost, since they had been caught red-handed; they knew that henceforth they would have to assist their captors, but this was preferable to exposure. 539 754

The two groups parted company; the boys continued their journey to the upper village and the sorcerers went on their way to some cave in the mountains. Within a few weeks, each youth married the daughter of one of the malefactors, with whose assistance they were able to give potlatches and become influential personages.

A FAMILY OF KWATNA SORCERERS

Near the village of Kwatna there used to be two cemeteries. One was on a small point of ground at the mouth of the river which became an island at high tide; here were interred the bodies of chiefs alone, a custom said to be without parallel on the coast. It is not known why there should have been this special burial-ground, but the place was always spoken of as "The Chiefs' Island." Instead of being buried, coffins containing commoners were laid on ledges of rock at the base of a cliff behind the village; this custom, though unusual, is known elsewhere on the coast, at Kimsquit and Port Simpson, for example. [764] [171]

Many generations ago, there was a time when the corpses of commoners frequently disappeared from the ledges on which they had been placed, and although it was believed that a sorcerer was responsible, no one knew whom to blame. One old woman had lost nearly all her numerous relatives when she realized that, though there had been many deaths in the village and some families had been almost wiped out, no members of one group had been taken. This roused her suspicions; she soon noticed that whenever anyone was sick, four brothers of the family in question always made some plausible excuse to leave the village and proceed up the other arm of the inlet. She concluded that this could be no mere coincidence, the four must be sorcerers. Within a short while, another of her relatives fell ill and died in spite of all that could be done; this reduced her family to herself and her infant. On the day after the funeral, the four brothers said that they wanted to gather hemlock boughs and set off in a canoe up the other arm of the inlet for the purpose. They did not come back at night and the villagers assumed that they had been delayed and had camped. The bereaved woman, however, who had hidden herself below the village, saw the brothers paddle back around the

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point and conceal their canoe beneath a bushy tree instead of landing at the village. More suspicious than ever, she followed the four and was able to keep in touch with them in spite of the necessity of carrying her baby. They went to the cemetery, placed the coffin on poles, and two of them carried it away with the others in close attendance.

The mother, still clutching her child, followed the brothers up the side of a steep mountain behind Kwatna. They avoided all trails and travelled in zigzags until they reached the base of a precipice where a tall tree was growing. The mother, who was not far behind, could see that its upper branches grew across to touch the cliff at a point where the mouth of a cave was visible. The coffin was placed on the ground, three of the brothers climbed the tree, and passed from it into the opening in the rock. From this they shoved out a plank to form a narrow bridge to the upper trunk, and dropped a long rope which the one below fastened around the coffin; then it was hauled up, the fourth brother climbed the tree and all disappeared from sight. The woman continued to remain in hiding, but before long her curiosity was piqued by seeing smoke drift out from the opening. She decided that she must see what was taking place, so she nursed her infant to keep it quiet, and then began the ascent. Without difficulty she reached a point from which she could peer within, and saw the four melting down the grease from the dismembered body of her kinsman. They were sorcerers without doubt, and she noted that they were preserving with care all the fat that exuded from the inside of the thighs. Each was wearing a mask, but she was able to recognize them by their figures.

When the poisonous decoction had been prepared, the sorcerers fell asleep, still wearing their masks. Made bold by her longing for revenge, the woman crept across the plank without disturbing the sleepers. Cautiously she picked up the spoon which they had used for stirring the mixture, lifted a few drops in it and held it to the mouth of the one whom she recognized as the eldest brother. He did not stir. With a quick, firm pressure she stamped upon his stomach, causing him to wake and swallow with a gasp; the poison was so potent that he died without making a sound. She took another spoonful of the brew and gave it to the second sorcerer in the same way and with the same result, and in this way killed all four. Stopping only to fill a receptacle with the brew, the woman climbed down the tree and hurried back to Kwatna.

Instead of describing what she had seen and done, the woman determined to wipe out the relatives of the sorcerers. So she invited the whole village to a feast, allotting the proper place to each family. This whole procedure was unusual because she had killed no large game, but there is always a good deal of latitude allowed in such matters, particularly as

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everyone sympathized with the hostess on account of her many bereavements. Her only assistant was a woman who, like herself, had lost all her kinsmen. The food provided was hemlock-bark dipped in fish-oil, but the hostess contrived that every relative of the sorcerers should receive a portion dipped in poison instead. They all started to eat at the same time, and all fell dead simultaneously without a word. 539 754

Instantly wild confusion broke out and the guests exclaimed that they were being served poison. Unperturbed, the woman explained everything; how she had first become suspicious, how she had followed the four brothers, and all that had resulted. A party set out at once under her guidance and found that everything she had said was true. In this way perished all the relatives of the sorcerers except one man who happened to be absent at the time. One of his descendants is now living in Bella Coola and is regarded wtih a certain amount of suspicion, although there is no evidence that he or any of his relatives have practised sorcery for generations.

A BELLA COOLA SORCERER

Since the introduction of muskets, there dwelt in the lower Bella Coola valley a shaman, *Ānusaiksaixsaix·ālx* by name; he was a regular practitioner, able both to heal the sick or to cause death. When using his power beneficially, he shook a rattle containing a rock-crystal, but when he was requested to kill, he used one that appeared to be identical but contained human teeth and wolf fangs. In some unknown manner these were lost, which prevented him from slaying a man as requested by the chiefs of his village. One April day he mentioned his difficulty casually to a certain *Tcika* who surprised him by replying: [756]

"I can supply you with teeth and you will have greater power than ever."

The two were alone at the time and *Tcika*, having admitted that he was a sorcerer, suggested that they form a partnership. He must have felt confident that *Ānusaiksaixsaix·ālx* would agree, as indeed he did gladly. *Tcika* explained that the necessary knowledge had been handed down in his family for generations, but that he had only recently begun to use it to avenge a slight at a feast of seals.

Next morning *Tcika* guided *Ānusaiksaixsaix·ālx* up the mountain on the north side of the extreme head of North Bentinck Arm, just west of the Necleetsconnay River. Hunters frequently ranged over this area, but no one had ever seen a sorcerer's box there. *Tcika* led the way to a small rock shelter beneath which was concealed a chest about eight feet long. He kicked it four times with his left foot, and called out four times:

"Wake up!"

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Tcika then raised the cover, and his companion saw that it contained a number of separate compartments, formed by vertical strips criss-crossing within, and that the whole bottom was covered with a thick, black, oily liquid. On top of the cube-like divisions lay a badly decomposed corpse which *Ănusaiksaixsaix·ăls* recognized as that of a youth who had disappeared from the village the previous July and who was thought to have been drowned. *Tcika* explained the mechanism of the box: Each section was for a different disease, stomach trouble in one, heart failure in another, consumption in a third, sudden death in a fourth, and so on. Whenever he wanted to cause a specific disease, he would dip a personal possession of the victim's in the oil at the bottom of the proper compartment and leave it there. All that was then necessary to improve the patient's condition was to raise the article slightly in the liquid, whereas to lower it increased the force of the malady, and to leave it covered entirely caused death. It was generally known that such methods were used by sorcerers, but this was the first box that *Ănusaiksaixsaix·ăls* had ever seen and he was keenly interested. He inquired the purpose of the boy's body, and *Tcika* replied that he had killed him with the intention of taking his skin to use against the lad's relatives, but had been forced to carry away the whole body owing to the difficulty of removing the skin alone. Whenever he wanted to kill a person quietly and rapidly, it was only necessary to lay an article which had belonged to the victim on the back of the neck of the corpse. Death resulted immediately, since this was the spot where the spirit had resided during life. After answering his friend's questions, *Tcika* fumbled around in the bottom of the box and drew forth a number of wolf teeth which he gave to the grateful *Ănusaiksaixsaix·ăls*. Then the two went home to their respective villages, after promising each other mutual support and secrecy.

Although the two malefactors took every precaution not to be seen together too often, rumours began to circulate that they were partners, and that *Tcika* was a sorcerer. There was no proof of this, but the suspected man became so unpopular that he was virtually expelled from his village. More angry than perturbed at this, he moved three miles up the valley to the town in which *Ănusaiksaixsaix·ăls* was living. After waiting for a few weeks to allay suspicion, *Tcika* determined to murder the chief who had been the prime mover in his expulsion, and sent his son to steal the victim's chamber-pot. His wife discovered the theft the same night and promptly roused the whole village, realizing the danger to her husband if it should fall into the hands of a sorcerer; diligent search was made, but of course the article could not be found, since the thief had taken it away to his new home. *Tcika* placed the vessel

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in a compartment of his box containing a bear's bladder tied into sections; 539
this caused his enemy to suffer stricture and soon to die in agony.

Following the usual custom, the relatives of the dead man smeared 754
their faces with ashes which they left in position for a year. The widow, who had loved her husband very dearly, allowed this indication of mourning to remain even longer than the customary period. On several occasions *Tciks* made somewhat slighting remarks about her excessive grief, and when one of his sons also commented upon it, she became suspicious and told her relatives. One of them was a chief of the village where *Tciks* was then living and where he was already regarded with distrust. This man visited the home of his bereaved kinswoman and called the chiefs of her village together to discuss the matter, and to inform them of the suspicions which his conduct had aroused in his new home. Three days later, *Tciks* happened to come to the village and was at once summoned to the house where the chiefs had assembled to interrogate him. *Tciks* sat on a box in the centre of the group and denied, slowly and positively, that he had any knowledge of sorcery, adding that his poverty confirmed his statement. At this moment *Anusaiksaixsaix-âls* came rushing into the house, furiously brandishing a rifle, and exclaiming that it was scandalous the way in which unjust accusations were being levelled at *Tciks*. One of the chiefs quietly slipped behind the shaman, knocked his fire-arm upwards so that it exploded harmlessly in the air, and threw him to the ground where he threatened him with a large knife.

"I will not brook any interference from you in this matter," he said.

This so frightened *Anusaiksaixsaix-âls* that he blurted out that he knew *Tciks* was a sorcerer and that he had seen his box containing a decayed human body. *Tciks* was less excited than anyone else, and slipped out of the house in the confusion, merely pausing to ask:

"What are you going to do about it?"

He returned to his new village where, of course, the news soon fol- 539
lowed of what had been discovered. The chiefs decided that he must be 754
killed, and that the most convenient occasion would be at a feast of seals 683
which was to take place in the near future. *Tciks* accepted an invitation to this and was slain while he was busy handling his spoon. One of his sons was killed with him, another who escaped through a hole in the floor was slaughtered near the village. His two brothers were absent on a hunting expedition, but a party tracked them and slew them in their camp before they knew that their evil deeds had been found out. *Tciks*'s two daughters were allowed to live, but were given to a famous warrior who kept them practically as prisoners. *Anusaiksaixsaix-âls*, who seems to have escaped all punishment for his share in the affair, guided a party to the sorcerer's box. It was found to be old and moss-covered, obviously 539
754

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539 one used by some of *Tcika*'s ancestors. It was brought to the ocean and
754 thrown in.

Taboos

784 The Bella Coola regard as taboos those injunctions that are observed in the belief that their neglect would cause automatic punishment. The mechanism of enforcement is frequently not understood; it is enough to know that an unpleasant result would follow disobedience. Some taboos are in force at all times, others only during certain seasons of the year, and still others at critical periods of life. Since the psychology of such [789] beliefs is essentially magical rather than religious, they could justifiably be grouped at this point. Unfortunately, to do so would destroy the continuity of accounts of birth, adolescence, death, ceremonial chastity, and many other aspects of Bella Coola life subject to taboo. The injunctions enforced by the River Guardian, the restrictions observed by a girl after puberty, the continence required after different medicines, all are taboos, disregard of which brings certain punishment. These and many others have already been described in connection with the activities to which they pertain. It is doubtful whether the Bella Coola have a single word to describe taboos [783] in general, though they are all regarded as *sxaiāx*, that is, as something which is ceremonially unclean.

Scarcely to be distinguished from taboos are ceremonial errors, *yun·imut* or *kān·imut*. Failure to give presents to heralds when a seat breaks beneath a chief or a dancer stumbles, or unnecessary activity during the year's waiting for the fruition of supernatural good fortune are ritual mistakes of this type. Neglect of such regulations brings punishment, though of a lesser kind than the breaking of taboos. If the [688] error has been in connection with a ceremony, the offence can [203] be wiped out by presents to heralds, and the terms *yun·imut* and *kān·imut* are likewise applied to some of their prerogatives such as the ability to claim clothing during the marriage of a chief's child.

Most taboos and errors can best be described with other

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phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe. 784

FOOD TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN

262

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would derange the catamenia and cause profuse growth of hair. 562

Women of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do so would cause a difficult delivery. [841] 826

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat toasted salmon until the sticks have been removed which held it in front of the fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded. [844] [845]

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when nearing the hunting or fishing-ground. 224 [226] [264]

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola. [171]

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness. [825] [753]

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the men remove only an eye, place it in a notched stick and set this under an over- [732]

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224 hanging rock where no rain can penetrate. Long ago, some
[732] hunter failed to do this and became blind in consequence, hence the rite has since been carried out.

When a hunter is in the field, his wife must not swing. To do this causes him to go up into lofty and dangerous places as she rises on the swing, and also destroys the power laboriously accumulated by ceremonial chastity.

Ritual Acts

796 Ceremonialism is an extremely important aspect of Bella
226 Coola life, but most of their rites are social or religious rather than magical, so that descriptions of them belong to other
789 chapters. In connection with the taking of the first olachen and salmon, however, a number of ritual acts are performed to bring about desired ends; the element of propitiation is not entirely absent, but on the whole they may be considered as magical.

Rites connected with the first olachen

226 At the height of the olachen run, the fish are so abundant
796 that they can be taken profitably in large purse-nets. They
574 do not, however, come simultaneously, and eager fishermen keep watching for their arrival and catching the straggling forerunners in hand dip-nets. These fish must not be eaten immediately. Each fisherman arranges a box in the front part of his house in which he deposits them as taken; if several men are doing this in a single dwelling, one box for each will be arranged near the front-door. Whenever a dance is held, eagle down is blown over the receptacle to placate the olachen and prevent them from being disturbed by the noise. As soon as a man has caught enough for a feast, he invites all his fellows to his house and the fish are distributed. It is taboo for any woman to share this meal, and it is most improper for a man to summon his neighbours until he has enough olachen to allow each guest to carry home a plentiful supply for his family. In former times, there used to be a number of meals of this kind,

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since each fisherman provided one when his box was filled. 226

No one is allowed to drink water immediately after eating 796
the first olachen of the spring, since to do so would cause a 574
flood. It is considered most improper for a child to cry soon
after partaking of this food; if he does so, he is quieted by [865]
having nettles stuffed into his mouth. As already described, if a person dies before the first fish have passed through his bowels, a shaman must wipe his lips with cedar-bark.

After the first meal of olachen, stakes for the nets can be 226
driven, and the restrictions become less exacting. Women are
not allowed to assist in fishing, but the men devote their full [562]
time to the task, working with zest and energy.[7] An abundant supply of olachen is a source of joy, and all listen eagerly for
the singing of the thrush, *smuxmuxaxts*, which signifies that the [825]
nets are full to bursting. Half jocularly, people invite the bird to come and eat, but his melody is interpreted as:

"I shall eat when the river is full."

RITES CONNECTED WITH THE FIRST SPRING SALMON[8]

Salmon is the most important article of Bella Coola diet 226
and the rites which accompany the earliest taking of the fish 796
are relatively complicated. [262]

When the first spring salmon have been caught, they are laid in the canoe with their heads all pointing eastward, upstream. The fisherman poles to shore, but instead of landing his catch, he fastens the salmon to a stake driven at the edge of the bank so that they remain in the water. A number of posts are usually placed in readiness, each decorated with alternate spirals of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with an eagle's tail. Each day one or two more fish may be caught, but all are left in the water until the first have become soft, thus giving sufficient time for the necessary preparations on shore. It is the duty of every owner of a salmon-weir to
build near its end a so-called Spring Salmon House, a shed-like [343]

[7]For a description of olachen fishing, see Appendix A.
[8]Cf. Boas, p. 78.

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structure with a roof but without side walls. To this the successful fisherman brings long strings of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, eagle down, and spoons made of maple-bark; in this task he is assisted by his relatives as well as by anyone else willing to help.

When all has been prepared, the fisherman asks the men of the village to gather on the bank to assist him. No one is compelled to do so, but in actual fact everyone is glad to be present unless prevented by some valid reason. A friend takes a canoe pole and points at the head of the first salmon, while all call in unison, *xak'loi·*, a word for which no meaning is known, and which is said to have been used unintelligibly for many generations. If he is standing on the south bank of the stream, the fisherman passes his left hand outside his right, seizes the fish behind the neck with the former, and by the tail with the latter; then he turns around sunwise, uncrossing his arms, so that his catch is still pointing upstream. If the village is on the north side of the river, the position of the hands is reversed. He carries the salmon to the Spring Salmon House and places it on a layer of fresh cottonwood and willow leaves spread over the ground. A young assistant, who is decorated with bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, lifts from his left arm one of a number of two-foot strips of the same material carried there and lays it over the salmon's head so that part of the string is within its mouth. As he does this he says:

Ipäxollai, qämxämilao,[1] "Accept, O Salmon."

Qämxämila is not the usual word for salmon, but signifies rather, "Food"; it is the designation used by supernatural beings for these fish and is hence applied by *smmq* to their prey, human beings.

After this has been done, eagle down is blown over the fish. A second salmon is likewise taken from the river, with the same cry of *xak'loi·*, laid with its head on its predecessor's tail, and the same rite carried out. This is repeated till all are arranged in line, with their heads pointing upstream. The

[1] The vocative form of the word.

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women listening from the village are able to tell how many 226
have been caught from the number of times the cry *xak'loi* is 796
raised.

Then the salmon are cut up (only shell knives may be [412]
used for the purpose) and cooked. Everything must be used,
heads, bones, and entrails, the only refuse being the blood
which is scraped from the leaves and carried into the woods.
The leaves themselves, and the strings of dyed and undyed
cedar-bark are thrown into the river in accordance with a
desire expressed by *Nałkymm* long ago. When everything is 226
ready for a meal, the men take their places in two rows, 796
facing each other across a coarse bark mat. Bark spoons
have been provided, and when the heralds call for food, the 574
fisherman brings the heads of the salmon and the guests
make the motions of eating, though in reality these parts [251]
are dried and kept for winter. Boxes containing a liberal
portion of the choice meat are next served and all eat freely.
Each guest puts on one side what he has not consumed as if to
carry it away, as is the custom at an ordinary feast, though his
share is really left in the shelter until the following day. Fin-
ally, a third course is provided, the back of the fish cooked with
the bone in position. Like the last, the guests eat as much as
they desire and pack up the residue as if to take away. Then
they leave the Spring Salmon House.

All the fish are not cooked on the one occasion. The fol-
lowing day the fisherman again calls back the men of his vil-
lage. The same type of meal is served, but this time the
guests carry away what they do not eat for the benefit of their
families. This portion may be eaten by the women without [562]
affronting the salmon.

This rite has not been performed in full detail in Bella Coola 226
for many years, and it was impossible to collect information on 796
some points. It is uncertain, for example, whether this cere-
mony was carried out by every fisherman or whether there used 424
to be certain individuals with the prerogative of dealing with
the first catch. The latter appears to be the most logical

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manner, and was definitely stated to be the case by one well-informed old man. It is clear, however, that every spring salmon was landed with the cry of *xaẽ'lsi·*, taken to the Spring Salmon House, and cut up by the men until the time when women were allowed near the river. Another old man stated that the feast took place at night and that only the heads and refuse of the first catch were eaten, the remainder being dried for the winter. Women of child-bearing age were not allowed on the river bank, and were rigorously excluded from the Spring Salmon House until the time when the sun's shadow reached a diagonal scar on the slope of one of the mountains on the north side of North Bentinck Arm. This occurs about August. From that time onwards, there was no calling of *xaẽ'lsi·*, and women, except those who were taboo, could cut salmon freely on the bank. It was even stated that refuse of salmon could be thrown into the river after that time. No one knows the origin of this seasonal prohibition, or why it should end when the sun reaches a certain point, but it was faithfully observed in former times.

In Kimsquit similar rites were carried out, the chief variation being that the bodies of four swans were placed in the Spring Salmon House and the fish laid with these at intervals in the line. Moreover, the youth used to bite the back of each salmon as he presented it with the cedar-bark streamer. The same regulations with regard to drinking water, and crying after eating, were enforced for spring salmon as for olachen.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

The following miscellaneous beliefs and customs cannot be assigned to any special aspect of Bella Coola life:

If a spark from a fire jumps out and lights on a person's hand, it is said:

"The fire wants to give you [the person on whom the brand has fallen] food."

If a man sneezes repeatedly, it is said:

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"Someone is calling your name." 827

If a man stumbles without due cause, it is said: 481

"Someone has food ready for you."

When a man partly closes his hand, if a wrinkle-like fold 787
runs straight across the palm it indicates that he is a good 322
carpenter.

If a mouse nibbles even a single smoked salmon, the whole 825
boxful is thrown away immediately in case dung has been
dropped within. It is believed that inadvertent chewing of [826]
this is responsible for wearing down the teeth.

If a man throws a stone at a pregnant snake, the young ones
may rush forth and enter the thrower's stomach. They remain [761]
invisible, and no one knows how they enter, but death always
results. Snakes are regarded with scorn and aversion, and the [756]
only men who dare to handle them are shamans.

When a milk tooth is lost, anyone who happens to be pre- 856
sent should pick it up, pass it four times around the child's 827
head, sunwise, and throw it away. No explanation of this
custom is known.[10]

[10]This is not the only custom practised at the loss of a tooth, cf. vol. I, p. 500.

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/For the names of the informants relating the various origin myths of the Bellacoola, see footnotes in Chapter VI, category 116, pp. 292-360./

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/For information on the potlatch as a means of gaining prestige and a description of the ceremonies, see category 556./

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/For the text of origin myths and stories illustrating the supernatural, see category 116, pp. 295-360 and pp. 619-692./

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551

/For names appearing in myths see category 116, pp. 295-360 and pp. 619-692./

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/For information on achieving prestige through the giving of gifts, especially at a potlatch, see category 116, pp. 163-262, and pp. 458-494./

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/For information on achieving the status of "chief" through the display and distribution of wealth (especially at potlatches) see category 556. /

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/For information on Bellacoola heralds and their function in the potlatch ceremonies, see category 203. /

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/For information on shamanism and stories illustrating shamanism, see category 116, pp. 539-594, and pp. 661-692./

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/For information on supernatural beings see category 116, pp. 30-85./

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/For information on visions, quests for visions, dreams and omens, see category 116, pp. 513-539, pp. 547-558, pp. 588-595 and pp. 599-692./

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/For information on the details of the memorial potlatch ceremonies for the dead, see category 769./

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THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

BY

T. F. McILWRAITH

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[Title Page]

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PHONETIC KEY[1]

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VOWELS

a, as in *father*
ä, as in *hat*
e, as in *fate*
i, as in *pique*
o, as in *note*
u, as in *rule*
ə, as in *but*
e, as in *met*
ɪ, as in *hit*
ʊ, as in *put*
ə, obscure vowel like *a* in *idea*
ᵉ, exponent vowels, voiced but slighted in enunciation. The same device is used for consonants slighted in enunciation.

CONSONANTS

p, t, k, l, m, n, s, w, y, h, r,[2] as in English
q, velar *k*
p', t', k', q', aspirated surds
ṗ, ṭ, ḳ, q̇, glottalized stops
ḳ, anterior palatal *k*
ḱ, anterior palatal *k*
b, d, intermediate between surd and sonant
ḍ, glottalized intermediate
dj, as in *jam*
c, as *sh* in *shell*
ł, spirantal *l*
tł, *t* + *ł*
tł̇, glottalized *tł*
x, as in Scottish, *loch*
x̄, velar *x*, as in German, *ach*
x̄, anterior palatal *x*, as in German, *ich*
ɣ, peculiar *s* sound, apparently velar.

·, for example, *a·*, or *t·*, indicates lengthening of preceding vowel or consonant
ˈ, indicates a glottal stop
', indicates aspiration
ˋ, indicates accentuation of the syllable so marked.

[1]Based on the simpler system described in *Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages*, (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 66, No. 6, Washington (1916), pp. 2-7).

[2]The *r* sound was used only by one old man and several of his children and grandchildren.

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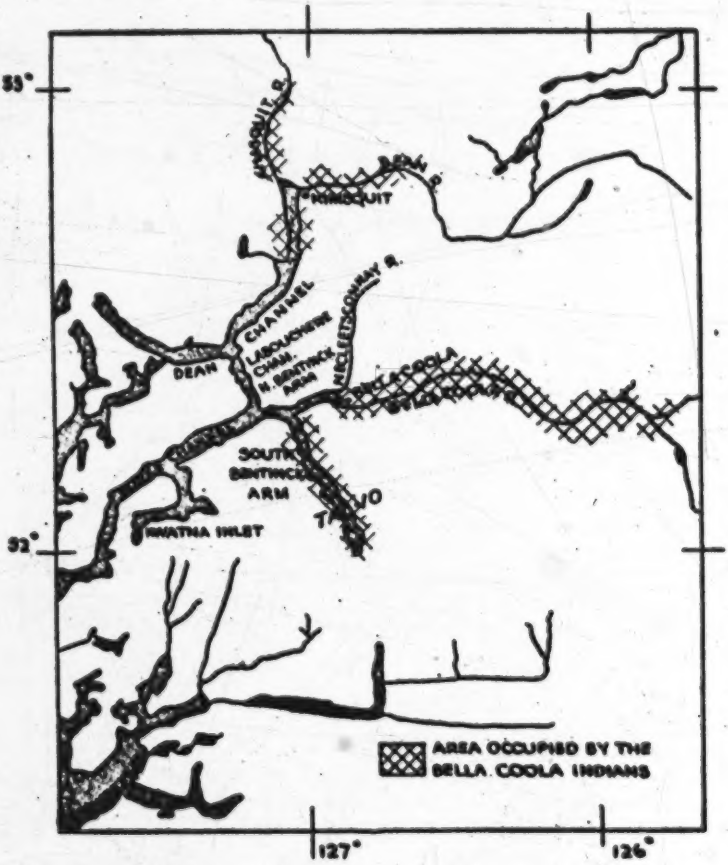

Map of the Bella Coola area

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CHAPTER I

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

000

General Observations on the Kusiut Society — Powers and Functions of the Society — Initiation — The Ritual of Specific Dances — Various Origin Myths — Kusiut Prerogatives Other than Dances — The Death of a Kusiut — The Final Rite — Concluding Observations and History.

General Observations on the *Kusiut* Society

IN view of the importance of the *kusiut* society in the lives of the Bella Coola, it would seem logical to have described it in an earlier part of this monograph. Though an integral part of the complicated structure of social organization, it is a secret, semi-religious grouping which can best be treated separately. The word *kusiut* is connected etymologically, according to native belief, with *siut*, the term for a supernatural being. Thus the meaning of the society's designation is "The Supernatural," or "The Learned," for *siut* has both these significations. A member of the society is likewise called a *kusiut*, plural, *kukusiut*. 575* 575* 192 [176]

The investigator soon learns of the existence of the society. If he asks a man his name, and then inquires further what type of designation it is, the answer is always that it is his *kusiut* name, that is, the one by which he is known as a member of the society. Ancestral names are used only at potlatches or other ceremonial occasions, whereas an individual's *kusiut* appellation is the one which he uses commonly. Moreover, for about three months of every year the Bella Coola live in an atmosphere of *kusiut* dances with a performance, or its preliminaries, taking place almost every night. Preparations for this ceremonial season, for so it may be termed, begin four days after the September moon is full, while the actual dances commence early in November and are continued until March. During this period the *kukusiut* are believed to be in intimate 551 575* [124] 535 575* 796 [787]

535 contact with supernatural beings, so that it is a time for grave
*575 thoughts and decorous behaviour. Even by day the members
796 pass from house to house with dignified mien, not loitering
[787] around the sidewalks nor indulging in frivolity. Every effort is made to prevent quarrels between members who are expected to show by their appearance and actions the gravity of the rites in which they are engaged. Night after night they assemble at the house wherein the dance is taking place; those who have performed, and are therefore most closely in touch with the supernatural, even sleep there, not returning to their own houses until March. A dance usually lasts four nights, and during that time the performer's house, in which it takes place, is termed a *nuqpik*, "An Empty House." The significance of this designation is unknown.

178 Membership in the society depends on a duly validated
*575 ancestral prerogative to perform one of the many *kusiut* dances.
[424] At the present time every Bella Coola is a *kusiut*, even babes in arms being initiated, but formerly no one was admitted until he or she had reached an age of discretion. Some informants went so far as to say that the hair of an initiate must have begun to turn grey, and all agreed that no one was ever admitted until at least twenty, or more often, twenty-five years of age. Initiates were frequently still older; one woman, for example, stated that her mother was past the age of child-bearing before admission. Since only a member of the society
[551] could be called by a *kusiut* name, the uninitiated continued to be known by the ancestral names conferred on them at infancy until they received *kusiut* designations. The importance of the
178 society depends on the belief of the uninitiated in the super-
*575 natural powers of its members, and as there are now none to
796 impress, the rites carried out today are little more than pic-
128 tures of what took place years ago. It is the aim of the Bella Coola to carry out the dances as if uninitiated persons were in attendance, and since most of the following information was obtained from men who well remembered their sensations when not members of the society, it is justifiable to use the present

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tense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a [178] number of young men and women ignorant of the significance [796] of the rites. Formerly, the *kukusiut* often had difficulty in im- [128] pressing the uninitiated with their prowess, and feuds with the [578] *a'alk* were common.

Although membership in the *kusiut* society depends on an 554 ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution. A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *kusiut* 556 prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a 575* potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great importance within the ranks of the society. Nor are the prerogatives considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that [567] slaves are often admitted as *kukusiut* by their masters. An important *kusiut* is not esteemed by the community in the same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, membership in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a 575* member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *kusiut* organization can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an 869 uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without spe- [784] cial invitation, he dares enter the house where a *kusiut* dance [774] is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient [626] to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non- 000

It is believed that if a non-
*575 initiate pass between the central fire and the raised platform
774 behind it, where the dancer is usually concealed, his spirit will
755 be attracted to this material object. Even though the performer is in another house at the time, he at once senses what
[784 has happened and asks who has lost his spirit. The guilty
626] person, believing that he will die unless it is returned to him, always admits what he has done. The dancer, accompanied by several attendant *kukusiut*, proceeds to the raised platform, presses his cupped hands four times against it, and by sucking with his mouth pretends to draw forth the spirit. But since the dancer has a direct call (II, p. 6) from his supernatural patron (II, p. 6), he cannot come in contact with the uninitiated without danger to the latter, so he transfers the supernatural element to the leg of another *kusiut*, who is not dancing at the time, by pressing four times. This assistant then returns it to the owner by kneading it four times into the back of his neck.
[626 The reckless uninitiated person suffers no harm, but is more careful in future.

[784 Another belief is that if a non-member even walks close to
626] the doorway of the house during the four days, or more, that a dance is taking place, his spirit is attracted to the dancer, wherever he may be at the moment. Consequently the uninitiated use the beach path instead of the sidewalk. Accounts
[778 differ as to what results from the transgression. According to one, the dancer falls down as if dead, due to the contact between something non-sacred and the power with which he is imbued. It is at once recognized what has happened and any *kusiut* can draw forth the spirit by placing his two hands, shaped like a cup, against the dancer and sucking violently. While so doing he calls *hoip* loudly and any *kukusiut* present beat time furiously. As soon as the alien spirit has been removed, the dancer recovers. Still holding his hands cupped together, the extractor now proceeds to the house of the non-member and returns the latter's spirit by kneading it into the back of his neck. If this were not done, the loser would soon
[784 become mad, try to eat dirt, and die. According to another

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informant, the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not 575*
inconvenience the dancer, although he senses its presence, and 774
asks who will pay for its return. Unless the owner at once steps 755
forward to claim his property and promises to pay, his spirit is [784]
thrown into the fire and he dies. The *kukusiut* sometimes tell an uninitiated person that his spirit has been attracted from him, thereby terrifying him so greatly that he appeals to a shaman to recover it for him. The expert greases his hands, warms them at a fire, and pretends to pluck something from the *kusiut* which he inserts into the loser's neck.

In view of the firm conviction that the spirit is essential to 575*
an individual's welfare, it is not surprising that this belief 774
should awe the uninitiated and fill them with profound respect 626
for the *kukusiut*. The diversity in the details of procedure proves that the practice has not become standardized; those who are not members of the society believe and do not test the claims.

Another source of strength claimed by the *kukusiut* is 575*
ability to witness and imitate the dances of the supernatural 787
beings held in *Nusmät·a* prior to the entry of *Ält̄quntäm*. As 776
already described, it is believed that a supernatural element 796
from every living creature upon earth ascends at this time 777
but, in a way that is not fully understood, only those belonging 761
to *kukusiut* can take part in the ceremonies. Is it strange, therefore, that members of the society are regarded with awe by their less fortunate fellows? Presents are given after every dance in *Nusmät·a* and the supernatural elements receive their due share. When, however, *Ält̄quntäm* enters, he is so big and so hot that almost all who have assembled rush forth furiously, and in the crush at the narrow doorway disaster overtakes many of the visiting human representatives. Some drop their gifts, and their owners will be unfortunate; others fall, and their owners cannot survive until the next ceremonial season. This same fate may befall even those who are not members of the *kusiut* society, but they do not have the ability to appreciate what has happened.

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*575 787 776 796 *Ałquntäm* enters and confers on *kusiut* matters with *Sexsexkälaix*, his assistant in affairs connected with his functions as leader of the supernatural *kukusiut*.[1] This being acts as announcer and intermediary with *Ałquntäm*, but himself lacks the power of initiating matters. The two discuss whether or not it is advisable to allow mortal *kukusiut* to perform certain dances of the type known as *kusiotem* (II, p.128), and if so, they transmit the necessary power to the earthly dancer who has the proper prerogative, thus enabling him to give a graphic representation of what is done in the upper land.

*575 796 787 776 535 This is the essence of the *kusiut* dances. Each portrays a performance given by one of the supernatural beings in the house above, or some other aspect of his activities. Each earthly dancer has as patron a supernatural being, usually the one who carries out the dance of which his own is a model, and between patron and protégé there exists a relationship by means of which the latter receives the power necessary to perform. To do so, the uninitiated believe that he must receive a *yeux*, which can be translated as "call," from his associate above. Moreover, not only is each patron a supernatural being, but each is guided by *Ałquntäm* in the performance of the *kusiut* rites in the land above, which indirectly increases the prestige of the protégé.

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*575 787 776 796 184 [1]The differences of belief of individual Bella Coola, dependent upon family traditions, is nowhere shown with greater clearness than in this meeting of the leaders of the supernatural dancers. It is clear that the Bella Coola have no uniformity of belief, even in what might be regarded as fundamental concepts. One informant, well versed in *kusiut* matters, asserted that there are five supernatural leaders, *Ałquntäm* and his assistants, *Smaiaikila*, *Sexsexkälaix*, *Snuslkäls*, and *Sunxälotla*. Others were equally emphatic that *Ałquntäm* is the *kusiut* name of the supreme deity, and that *Sunxälotla*, *Smaiaikila*, and *Snuslkäls*, are merely other designations for the same deity with regard to different functions. This belief has been followed during the monograph, by designating the supreme deity as *Ałquntäm*, the name by which he is termed with respect to his *kusiut* powers. These two opinions are not as basically different as appears at first sight. A man [828] is considered as having two, or more, personalities with respect to different rites at which he is called by different names. Since the supreme deity is regarded as a superman, who functions in diverse manners, it is not difficult to understand how these are sometimes ascribed to different individuals, and sometimes to the one under different names.

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Furthermore, throughout the ceremonial season, the uninitiated have ocular demonstrations of the powers with which the *kukusiut* are associated. At frequent intervals they are invited to the house of the dancer where, with wonder, fear, and awe, they see strange creatures. Although they may recognize that some of these are only their fellow-tribesmen in strange form, they have no idea how such transformations are produced, and ascribe them to supernatural assistance. They accept the strange designs of the figures as proof that the *kukusiut* have been in contact with unfamiliar beings. It seems clear that the uninitiated do not realize that the representations are produced by means of masks, the work of human hands; instead, they believe that the figures displayed are really those of supernatural patrons who have come to earth to assist their protégés. It must be remembered that these dances take place within large houses, only partially illuminated by a flickering central fire, which facilitates deception and conjuring tricks, quite apart from the credulity of the observers. 575* 796 781 [354]

The uninitiated may sometimes suspect that the performers are not real supernatural beings, but there is no question of their firm conviction concerning the changes which come over the *kukusiut* at this time. One member of the society, for example, may begin to act in a peculiar manner and at once the uninitiated are ejected from the house. From without they listen with mixed fear and excitement to the strange noises which they do not know are made by whistles, and presently the *kusiut* rushes forth in a frenzied state, biting those he meets. The uninitiated know that he is a Cannibal, doing as his patron above is doing, and that a call from the latter has caused him to become mad. When the *kukusiut* have subdued him and taken him back to his house, the non-membersh ear more strange and inexplicable sounds, which appear to go upwards, and presently the news is circulated that the Cannibal has been carried away to the land above. He is seen no more for several weeks, and when next he appears he is thin, wan, and bald, because the high winds of the land above have blown 575* 781 787 796

*575 the hair from his head. After various rites which prove that
796 the Cannibal actually possesses peculiar power, he is calmed
and songs are sung describing what he saw aloft, and the
781 dangers from which he escaped. The uninitiated shiver sym-
[787] pathetically, marvel at his valour, and anticipate with mixed
feelings the time when they too may be privileged to have
similar experiences. Or they may witness the killing of one of
their fellow-villagers by disembowelling, and his restoration to
life. They know the victim; under ordinary circumstances he
could not endure death, hence the claim that his strength is
due to the call given him by his patron is accepted as an obvious
fact. The uninitiated never suspect that they are victims of
an elaborate deception. At all times the *kukusiut* are eager to
[766] make known their own perils, and if it happens that a member
[761] of the society dies while in concealment, his corpse is buried
secretly. The explanation given is that he has succumbed to
some of the dangers to which *kukusiut* are exposed, a fiction
readily believed in view of the absence of the usual funeral
rites.

*575 Though it is common knowledge that the ability of a *kusiut*
to perform any extraordinary feat has its source in the per-
778 formance of the same feat by his supernatural patron, yet it is
787 equally well known that his specific power has been brought
to this earth and is located in one particular spot. An ancestor
424 must in some way have come in contact with the patron, and
at that time his *kusiut* name, carrying with it the prerogatives
of supernatural patronage and of dancing on this earth, was
deposited for safe-keeping in a repository, *nuskäsiutsta* (also
called *nusxi'ipsta*), by the supernatural woman *Änoºlikwolsaix*.
Each repository is thought of as a cave, or hollow, beneath a
large tree, a rock, or other distinctive natural object; to obtain
his power a *kusiut* initiate must go there, actual contact with
his patron being unnecessary. Every *kusiut* prerogative has its
[776] repository and in each of these is *Änoºlikwolsaix*; she is one,
yet capable of being simultaneously in many hundred spots,
corresponding to the many hundred *kusiut* prerogatives. Her

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functions are to guard the names, and to keep in touch with the patrons. Every uninitiated person believes that if he could only have the good fortune to find a repository, he would obtain the *kusiut* prerogative there localized. *Ăno°likwolsaix* travels only during the ceremonial season when she is present at every *kusiut* dance in the form of a woman with a long, thin face and pointed chin (see Plate 13),[1] who "explains" the significance of the figures to the uninitiated in a peculiar high-pitched voice. She is well able to do so since as guardian of repositories she knows the prerogative of each member of the society. Frequently she mocks the uninitiated: 575* 787 424 [778] [776]

"Ha! Ha! Ha!" she jeers. "You [naming some ambitious youth], you who think yourself so smart, you nearly fell over me that time you walked up in the woods behind the village looking for grouse. If I had been a bear I could have felled you with a blow of my paw. How can you ever hope to become a *kusiut* like your father and grandfather if you are so blind."

His fellows are inclined to join in the laughter at the one singled out for *Ăno°likwolsaix*'s scorn, but she flays them all in turn. "She" is, of course, a *kusiut* chosen for fluency and ability to make biting remarks. Parents tell their children that in the autumn, pleased at the sight of falling leaves, *Ăno°likwolsaix* bares the roof of her house and sits shaking her fingers like a dancer. [776]

"Go to the woods and look for her," they say. "If she sees you she will say '*tcut*' and beckon to you. Then you will become a *kusiut*."

To further this deception, *kukusiut* are accustomed to disguise themselves as *Ăno°likwolsaix* and move around in the autumn forest, taking care that no uninitiated comes too near for safety. An individual may have several *kusiut* prerogatives, and if he wishes to transfer one of these to an associate, the report is circulated that the recipient has stumbled upon the repository of the donor. The latter then acts as if he were crazy, and the uninitiated are told that he is a *nukaxem*, an 575* 778 425

[1] [See category 116, p. 84(A) - ANALYST] (Apparently Plate 1 is meant)

*575 untranslatable word with the significance of "One who has
778 suffered loss through faulty concealment [of his repository]."
425 Some of these vaults[1] are said to be dangerous to the uninitiated who avoid them and in this way the sanctity of some
[784] chiefs' meeting-places is guarded.

*575 According to Kimsquit belief, *Ăno°likwolsaix* has a husband, *Ălmoqltaikila*, who dwells with her in every repository.
778 If an uninitiated person should chance to find a vault, he falls
776 dead before the power emanating from *Ăno°likwolsaix*. Her husband then restores the dead by blowing violently on the back of the victim's neck, accompanying this with cries of *hoip*. When a person is initiated into the *kusiut* society, the uninitiated hear the songs used, in many of which are references to the experiences of the novice with this supernatural pair.

*575 Turning now to the manner in which the *kukusiut* regard their own society, it is evident that the most important duty of each member is to aid in impressing and deceiving the uninitiated. The prestige of the organization depends upon the ability of its members to inspire awe, hence any weakness in fulfilling this obligation is an anti-social act. For this purpose the society acts as a whole. Many *kukusiut* have, for example,
[424] Cannibal prerogatives, and on occasion the Cannibals, having the same functions, work together, but they do not form a separate organization of their own.[1] Many of the means employed to deceive and impress the uninitiated have already been described. Mythology records, and it appears to be a
[773] fact, that long ago the ascendancy of the *kukusiut* was often
[178] challenged by the *a'alk* and other uninitiated, but when the white man came the society had reached a position of such eminence that the powers of its members were unquestioned. Moreover, the combined strength of virtually all the seniors of the tribe was so great that an uninitiated person could not assert himself even if he was suspicious.

[688] Although members of the society exert every effort to con-

[1] The Bella Coola state that such sub-societies are found among the Kwakiutl.

[1] [i.e. - a repository of supernatural power - ANALYST]

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ceal their subterfuges, it sometimes happens that an uninitiated 575*
person sees or hears something which he should not know. The 688
simplest way to deal with this situation is to kill the observer. It is said that as late as 1900 a young man, impelled by curiosity, wandered up a valley into which he had been warned not to penetrate, and met a Cannibal whom he believed had vanished into the upper realms. Almost dumbfounded, he accepted the latter's invitation to sit down, and was slain by him. More often, and especially if the observer is the child of a *kusiut*, he is initiated into the ranks of the society. If this happens at any time of year except the actual cere- 575*
monial season, he cannot perform immediately, but he is taken to the secret meeting place of the village chiefs, and there the mysteries of the organization are explained to him. The uninitiated are told that the observer has had a shaman's experience. With the aid of the older *kukusiut* he then performs a dance and conjuring feat of the type already described (I, p. 564), and is secluded until the next autumn, meanwhile [292]
wearing the distinctive collar of a shaman. In the songs used [756]
on this occasion no mention is made of a wash-basin, so of course the lad only performs ceremonially. When winter comes he is formally initiated into the society.

It is somewhat difficult to understand and explain the 575*
sentiments which lead a young man to obey rigidly the dictates 781
of the senior *kukusiut* in deceiving his former friends. If 626
it becomes known that a youth has seen something which should have been concealed, the senior *kukusiut* of his village [688]
meet in their ceremonial spot and decide that he must be put through the shaman's rite. Some relative of the youth is always ready to provide the necessary *kusiut* prerogative; otherwise he would have to be killed. Two or three members are then sent to catch the young man. On some pretext they lure him into the woods and then carry him away, struggling in fear, to the holy of holies, the place which he had been told to avoid since he would die if he penetrated to it. Here he finds all the seniors of his village, seated with grave expressions on

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#575 781 626 their faces. In spite of what he may have seen, the lad cannot rid himself of the supernatural fears with which he has been inculcated from childhood, and the experience is terrifying to a degree. It may be that he has seen some of the whistles, and thereby learnt that the strange sounds are made by men, not by supernatural beings. In this case he is shown their mechanism in detail, and warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells others of his knowledge. Fear impels him to silence, and at the same time he realizes that what he has discovered has placed him in a superior position to that of his former associates. He feels, too, that he has been admitted into the ranks of the society in which his father, grandfather, and ancestors have distinguished themselves, and that it would be desecration to make light of what they have held sacred. Finally, an initiate does not at first grasp the fact that all the rites are deceptions, and by the time that this is apparent to him he has become so thoroughly a part of the organization that he has no thought of betraying his associates, upsetting a vital part in the complicated fabric of Bella Coola life, and exposing himself to ruin and death. A logical white man might think these considerations insufficient, but the existence of the society proves that the varied motives operate so strongly that a young man does keep silence. Some informants state that hypnotism was formerly used to ensure obedience. [828]

#575 176 781 424 The *kukwiut* are always ready to deal with an emergency such as sometimes occurs in spite of every precaution. It is remembered that about one hundred and fifty years ago during a dance at the village of *Naqáymáx*, a figure, representing one of the supernatural beings, had the misfortune to drop his mask, the strings by which it was tied having worn through. The house was crowded with uninitiated to whom the deception at once became apparent. For a moment there was wild confusion, but the senior *kukwiut* rose to the occasion and closed the door, allowing no uninitiated person to leave. Then a *kwiut* was sent out with a whistle which he sounded as if the supernatural being of which it was the voice was growing

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nearer and nearer, till finally a thump was heard on the roof. 575*
O ....., cried out the *dukaxiat*, "it is my patron." 176

The uninitiated were told that in consequence of the disaster, the supernatural beings had sent calls to this earth for all within the house. Even small children were admitted on this occasion. Those *dukaxiat* in whose families were dormant prerogatives at once explained to their relatives that the call was from the patron of one of these, and that henceforth the person addressed was a protégé of that being. But even with the assistance of all the *dukaxiat*, there were not sufficient privileges for all who had seen the accident. The explanation hastily agreed upon for those who could not otherwise be provided with prerogatives, was that a supernatural being mentioned in the myth from which the uninitiated had derived his ancestral name had come as patron. Repositories were stated to exist in various places near the village for the designations thus created, and order had been restored before morning. This event was described by so many informants that its historical accuracy can hardly be challenged. Those so initiated were said to have become "*dukaxiat* under easy circumstances"; as prerogatives they had merely the right of singing about their respective patrons, not of performing any particular dramatic dance, but they were, none the less, fully qualified members of the society. The prestige and influence of this organization can be estimated by the fact that it was thus able to carry through a wholesale initiation without its secrets becoming known in adjacent villages. Those admitted, though realizing that deception was being practised, were so overawed by the other members of the society that they accepted what was told them without question, entirely failing to use their common sense. Thus, this incident, which had at first threatened disaster, ultimately reacted to the advantage of the *dukaxiat*. It is true that their prestige was somewhat diminished by the admission of young people, but in compensation they claimed many new patrons, including several regarded with veneration owing to their occurrence in ancestral myths. Since the latter 575*
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575
[176]

part of the last century it has become customary to explain the dropping of a mask as due to a sudden call to the bearer.

Another means by which the *kukusiut* protect themselves from doubting non-members is by the use of spies. The marshals (II, p. 16) of the society select some intelligent youth and ask the consent of his father, or other guardian, to make him a spy. If this is granted, the youth is lured into the woods and carried forcibly to the sacred meeting-place, where he finds the senior *kukusiut* of his village seated, an awe-inspiring band. They explain to him the deceits used, show him the whistles and other equipment, and instruct him that it is his duty to inform them if he hears any uninitiated person casting doubts on the rites of the society. Proud of his trust, and fearful of what would happen should he fail to carry out his duties, the spy begins his work. Ignorant of his knowledge, the uninitiated have no hesitation in talking with him and if he hears one of them expressing doubts as to the powers of the society, or telling that he has seen the sacred meeting-place or some of the regalia, he at once notifies one of the marshals. The over-confident person is then initiated. Thus the *kukusiut* are constantly recruiting their strength from the most intelligent uninitiated, thereby adding to the influence of their society and lessening the dangers from non-members.

[626]

Sometimes a man is forced to undertake the task on account of too great knowledge of *kusiut* matters. The following incident, related by a spy, is worth recording as a concrete example of this point:

Between 1870 and 1880, a Rivers Inlet Cannibal performed the Cannibal dance in Bella Coola, presumably being entitled to do so by a Bella Coola name and prerogative. During his period of seclusion he died from a sudden hemorrhage, and the uninitiated were told that he had been carried away to the mysterious regions of the sky, the customary explanation in such circumstances. Soon afterwards some Bella Coola returned from Victoria, and an old woman told them the news, ignorant of the fact that an uninitiated lad of fifteen had entered the house and was listening eagerly. A careless movement betrayed his presence to the horrified *kukusiut* and the boy fled, terrified at the turn of events.

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Not knowing where to go nor what to do, he hid himself on a small island within sight of the village whence he could see and hear the people seeking him. At times some of his *kukuxiut* friends came close, calling his name; but not till he was driven to do so by hunger did he reveal his hiding-place. Then he answered the shouts of two men who at first pretended they were merely seeking him because of the worry his prolonged disappearance was causing his parents. Once the lad was within their grasp they carried him swiftly to the house of one of the chiefs, where he found himself seated among the most influential men of his village with the door barred behind him. The fear which any youth would feel in like circumstances was increased greatly by the awe with which he, as an uninitiated person, regarded the *kukuxiut*, especially on this occasion when he knew that he had roused their anger. 575* [781]

"What did you hear?" asked one of the marshals. The lad was too terrified to lie, so he blurted out all the gossip he had overheard, including the news of the death of the Rivers Inlet Cannibal.

"You have heard too much, you must join us," continued his questioner.

The same man then asked one of his relatives whether he would "buy" the lad from them, that is, whether they would provide the necessary goods to have him initiated. It was understood that through his improper knowledge he had come under the jurisdiction of the *kukuxiut* and that, unless made one of them, they would kill him. The lad was the protégé of his uncle who at the time was initiating him into the *tsaxk* ceremonial, and who accordingly was most unwilling to have his nephew made a *kuxiut*. [688]

"Let him be a spy," said the uncle.

After much discussion this proposition was agreed to; the decision was facilitated by the fact that one of the lad's ancestors had been a spy. All night he was kept sitting in the centre of a group of elders who revealed to him the mysteries of the organization and showed him the whistles and other regalia. For twenty years this man remained a spy, dutifully informing upon any over-inquisitive, uninitiated person.

The informant was more than sixty years of age when he related this incident, but the passage of time had not caused him to forget the utter terror and feeling of inferiority experienced when he was taken into the presence of the senior *kukuxiut*. [781]

Although every *kuxiut* assists in preserving the dignity and awe of the society, this duty is especially the function of those members who are regarded as the earthly representatives of 575* 424 776

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*575 *Ana'likwolsaix*. They may be termed marshals of the society.
[424] Each must have an ancestral prerogative for this, duly vali-
[776] dated by presents to the *kukusiut*, in addition to a *kusiut* prerogative of some kind. In each village there are four or five of these men. Whenever food is being served at a *kusiut* dance, the marshals receive theirs first and then one or other of them addresses the audience in slow and impressive style, beating on the floor with a stick to add emphasis to his words. He admonishes his fellows to safeguard the ancient rites of the society, to be bold, to be secretive, and he pays honour to the member who has given the dance. It is they who take the leading part if a youth is dragged away to the meeting-place for initiation, and it is they who arrange matters when a spy reports that a
*575 non-member is over-inquisitive. If any member of the society
688 should break one of its laws at a time when no uninitiated are present, the marshal is expected to seize a burning stick from the fire and strike the offender with it. If death should result, revenge is unthinkable, since the criminal had broken the law. The same fate is unhesitatingly meted out to any *kusiut* who should dare to betray any of the mysteries to the uninitiated. Moreover, it is the marshals who decide whether any improper act lowers the dignity of a dance, and punish accordingly. Not many years ago a *kusiut* woman gave birth to a child while a dance was taking place and the infant was slain by one of the
[761] marshals. The usual explanation made to the uninitiated for a death within the dance-house is that a supernatural being caused the roof to fall and kill the victim.

*575 Each marshal has, in connection with his prerogative of
551 this vocation, a professional name, used only within the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place and carefully concealed
[424] from the uninitiated. Some designations were obtained from *Ana'likwolsaix* by an ancestor of the possessor, others were created on this earth with reference to some specific event, and
[553] duly made valid by presents to the *kukusiut* alone. Some of these names are:

Xwolsakmis, "The Destroyer," so given on account of an

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elaborate *kusiut* ritual which failed; 575* 551

Namulsta, meaning unknown;

"The One who Guards the Ritual by Gripping with his Teeth";

"The Terrifier";

"The Dog-Toothed One."

When a *kusiut* acts contrary to the interests of the society 575* the marshals gather in the sacred meeting-place of the village, with other senior *kukusiut*. There is no definite order respecting 688 who shall, or shall not, be summoned. The matter is discussed until unanimity of opinion is reached, although a marshal, particularly if he is also a rich and influential chief, is the guiding spirit. In *Nusqulxwaista* the supernatural being *Sikiliktnum* kills any supernatural *kusiut* who errs, so in this world it is always said that a verdict of death has been given by this being. Several of those at the meeting are sent out to lure the victim who, brought before the group, is told that he is to die. He is seized, thrown on his back, and a pole laid across his neck; two men sit on each end until the man is dead.[3] Sometimes less drastic punishments are meted out. About 177 1880, when the influence of the white man had become evident on the coast, a dancer who had been, theoretically, 575* disembowelled and was supposed to remain for months within 688 his house to recover from the operation, insisted on fleeing to Kimsquit to a woman with whom he was in love. When he returned to Bella Coola a meeting was held to decide whether or not he should be killed. Fear of the white men prevented summary punishment, but the marshals insisted that the offender submit himself to periodic scratching on the stomach with a nail so that it would appear to the uninitiated that he was suffering from a deep wound. The offender was thankful to escape thus lightly.

[3]Occasionally the relative of a condemned person saves him by saying that he must not be killed. This means that the speaker is willing to die as a substitute; he is executed in due course, but the mechanism by which the diffusion of information is stopped is not clear.

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*575 688 Frequently the marshals and associated *kukusiut* depute others to act as their executioners. Sometimes a shaman who is also a *kusiut* is asked to slay the offender, or a *kusiut* in whose ancestral family a knowledge of means for secret murder has been handed down for generations may be called upon. The executioner is told that if he fails he will himself be killed. Although no Bella Coola would admit that a person so charged had committed murder by other than magical means, it appears highly probable that such was the case. It is believed that long ago the *kukusiut* were able to kill an offending [761] uninitiated person by drawing forth his spirit, wrapping it in [754] undyed cedar-bark and casting it into the fire. The victim would die within a short time.

*575 203 628 The desire to carry out *kusiut* ceremonials with proper dignity and ritual not only acts as a strong bond of union among members of the society in a single village, but between those in different towns and even in different tribes. When a marshal has struck a *kusiut*, the ceremony, whatever it may be, is at once stopped. Two *kukusiut* are sent off to bear the tidings to the nearest village up the valley, and two more to the one below. The messengers go beneath the house in which a dance is taking place and knock on the floor of the back-room. Someone presently hears them and a *kusiut* goes out to investigate. When the envoys have told their tale he returns, whispers to the singers, and the ceremony concludes for that night. As soon as the uninitiated, if any are present, have been ejected, the messengers enter with blankets almost covering their faces and seat themselves between the fire and the back-room where the senior members crowd around to listen. From this village two more *kukusiut* are despatched with the news which is thus transmitted with remarkable speed from end to end of the valley. When next the marshals are admonishing the *kukusiut* of their respective villages, they do not fail to draw attention to the way in which the law has been upheld. Conversely, if a marshal hears indirectly that there has been a flaw in the ritual of a neighbouring village,

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he beats in the fire with his stick, and expresses the hope that the name of the marshal in the town where the error took place may be blackened unless he does better. 575* 628 203

As an individual *kusiut* who errs is punished by a marshal, so is punishment meted out to the members of a village in which any serious accident occurs during a dance. Such disasters are fire, causing concealed *kukusiut* to appear among the uninitiated, the breaking of a sidewalk on which a number of the members are dancing, or the capsizing of lashed canoes which are used in some of the performances. The obvious effect of such mishaps is to lower the prestige of the *kusiut* society in the eyes of the uninitiated. The news travels from town to town, and to adjacent tribes. This is a *casus belli* for any village which wishes to attack the one where the disaster took place; in fact, a raid is considered meritorious. Owing to frequent marriages between the members of neighbouring villages, it usually happens that the inhabitants of adjacent settlements are unwilling to attack, but the news spreads until it reaches a town willing to take the lead. The marshals, aided by any other influential *kukusiut*, discuss the matter and decide on war; uninitiated are called upon to take part, though they are told only that the foray is connected with the rites of the *kusiut* society which increases rather than decreases their awe. The threatened villagers, knowing that an attack is inevitable, send out sentinels and guards, and, if possible, flee at the last moment to neighbouring towns for safety, allowing the raiders to burn their village and carry off loot. If a fight takes place many people may be killed, but slaves are never taken. In the last century *Stuux* attacked *Ałqäläxl*; the assailants were aided by a number of Chilkotin to whom they were related but who had not the slightest idea of the cause of the raid. Although an attacked town is usually helped by its neighbours, this is not the case when the assault is caused by error in *kusiut* or *sisaok* ceremonial. 575* 628 688 721 [727] [567]

Nor is punishment for error or disaster in ritual meted out [648]

*575 only by members of the same tribe. The Bella Coola firmly
648 believe that if, for example, there is a serious disaster at
688 *Ło̱mqo·ts*, that village will be raided by the people of Bella
721 Bella, Fort Rupert, Kitkatla, or by tribes even farther away.
[628] News of the accident reaches *Täl·io* or Kimsquit and the inhabitants, themselves related by blood to the offenders and therefore unwilling to punish them, call upon the members of a foreign tribe to do so. On different occasions this statement, in practically identical terms, was made by six independent informants, so there appears to be not the slightest doubt as to the belief of the people in this law. But when specific cases were asked for, they could not be obtained. It therefore appears clear that the Bella Coola, probably owing to long teaching on the part of the *kukusiut*, consider that an error in ritual is sufficient to bring punishment from an alien tribe. There must be some basis of truth in this conviction, and it is highly probable that the *kukusiut* must have taken advantage of raids to explain to the uninitiated that these were caused by disasters in ritual. One informant was of the opinion that, following the collapse of a house at Kimsquit during a Cannibal dance, a Bella Coola chief called upon *Tcubisa*, chief of the Kitkatla, who raided Kimsquit in punishment. Quite apart from the belief inculcated in the uninitiated, it is obvious that tribes eager for war sometimes used an accident as pretext. The Bella Coola know of no case in which they raided a foreign tribe for this reason, although they state that if they had been called upon to act as punisher, they could not have refused.

*575 Leaving now the functions of the society as a whole, the
424 rights of an individual member can next be described. Each
425 *kusiut* has:
553

(1) *A Kusiut Name.* Like every other prerogative, a name of this type can be acquired from father, uncle, grandfather, or other relative, or even by a son from his mother. As a rule a *kusiut* wills his designation or designations, for a man may
[556] have several, before death and his wishes are observed. Al-

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though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kusiut* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kusiut* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor. 575* 424 425 553 [556] [578] [426]

(2) *A Patron, omätuts.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform. 575* 424 776 [533] [535] [578]

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Änoºlikwolsaix.* An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each. 575* 424 778

Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time [773] [781]

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*575 this undoubtedly leads them to believe in the powers which
424 they claim. Each *kusiut* prerogative has had one of three
773 origins:

(a) It was brought down by the first people. Before
778 coming to this earth each of them saw in the land above his
[781] patron, who instructed him in a type of dance, and told him where his repository on this world would be. It is assumed that the earliest men were in contact with all the supernatural beings before coming to this earth, but it is believed that each was "blind" to the patrons of his fellows, and thus had only one.

[787] (b) It was derived from an experience with one of the supernatural beings of this world. In this case the repository was either at a spot indicated by the apparition, or at the actual scene of the vision.

(c) A powerful chief sometimes altered an ancestral to a *kusiut* name. It is believed that this occurred comparatively frequently in ancient times when chiefs had semi-supernatural power. In such cases each followed his own inclination in the choice of a patron,[4] and usually made his own repository within his house, giving strength to it by killing and burying a slave there. Although several Bella Coola informants described
[184] this, Kimsquit Indians denied that it could ever have taken place. They say that all repositories were long ago dug by *Nunudjiẋnm*, a male supernatural being sent down by *Ält-quntäm* at the beginning of time to prepare the habitations of *Änoᵊlikwołsaix* and her husband. After doing this, he returned to the land above where he has since resided.

It will thus be seen that the prerogative of a *kusiut* is always derived from some experience of an ancestor. In carrying out
*575 the rite, the dancer feels that he is continuing the works of his
778 forbears, a factor which increases his desire that neither error nor carelessness on his part shall dim the prestige of the society before the uninitiated. And, further, a man who has spent

[4]The Bella Coola cite such actions as proof of the amazing abilities of their ancestors.

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575*
years in deceiving, undoubtedly begins to convince himself 778
that he is different from lesser mortals.

Before describing in detail initiation into the *kusiut* society, 575*
and then the ritual of various dances, it will be convenient to 796
outline the type of ceremonial, although emphasizing the fact
that each differs so much from every other that lengthy descriptions will be necessary later on. When a person has been initiated, either in the proper manner during the ceremonial season or as a "shaman" during the summer, he is known as a *lsux*, a novice, until the *kusiut* dances of the next winter. During this period he wears certain distinctive cedar-bark [301]
ornaments and is expected to keep himself somewhat apart from the uninitiated. He is always required to give his ceremonial during the first dance season after initiation; by so doing he ceases to be a novice. In later years a *kusiut* can 575*
suit himself whether or not to perform. Having once done so, 796
he is a fully qualified member of the society, nor does he increase his rank in direct proportion to the number of his cere- 556
monies. It is true that one who often dances hears himself praised by the marshals, and gains a certain amount of fame among his fellow *kukusiut*. But no matter how often he may perform, he cannot become a chief, with prestige spread far and wide among neighbouring tribes, nor can he increase the fame of his ancestors by adding lustre to his ancestral names. Thus the benefits are not sufficient to urge a man to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials in preference to potlatches. The 575*
society is essentially one in which a relatively poor man can 796
display his semi-religious prerogative equally with a chief.
Usually, a man performs a complicated ritual, such as that of 424
a Cannibal dance, three or four times during his lifetime; less onerous ones in which no dramatic theme is presented may be more often given.

A man who proposes to give a dance must always notify one of the marshals of his village, who summons his fellows, some of the senior members of the society, and chiefs who are also *kukusiut* to discuss the intention. If it entails one of the

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*575 more difficult dramatic rites in which failure would lead to the
796 uninitiated learning the mysteries of the society, the matter is
debated at length. The writer was present at one meeting held
424 for this purpose, with regard to a performance which had not
been carried out for over thirty years. An air of solemnity
was evident throughout, as if each present realized the gravity
of the topic. The prospective dancer explained what he wished
to do, then anyone was at liberty to comment, and most of
those present took advantage of it, the marshals speaking last
of all. The influence of each speaker depended in part on the
[554] type of *kusiut* dance which he himself had given, and in part
on his general status in the community as chief or otherwise,
an intangible position dependent on public estimation rather
than upon functional rights. In this case, after considerable
discussion, it was decided that the dancer could proceed with
his arrangements. But if there should be any doubt as to the
would-be performer's ability, the marshals have no hesitation
in prohibiting his intended rite, and they often do so later if
rehearsals show that it is unlikely to be successful.

Refusal of permission to perform occurs only in case of the more difficult dances, which include the Cannibal, Scratch, Breaker, Fungus and *Kusiotem*. Members of the society whose prerogatives are for one of these types are considered as having greater importance than those who can merely sing of some minor deity-patron; yet all are equally members of the *kusiut* society, which is not graded according to the performances of its members.

*575 Many of the more difficult dances require weeks of pre-
796 paration, when it is sometimes said that the dancer has dis-
appeared to the land above. When he returns they usually
conclude in four nights, the time taken by those of a simpler
[104] type. Each of these nights[1] is known by an untranslatable
term, and, as it will be necessary to use these throughout, it
may assist the reader to summarize the ritual which takes
place on each. It can be assumed that it is a simple dance,
that is, one without elaborate preliminaries.

1 [i.e. of a Kusiut dance - ANALYST]

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The first night is *lsuxtälaix* or *lsuxtämem*.[6] This is when the call comes to a prospective dancer. This may be heralded by whistling from above, made by a *kusiut* sent with a whistle to a neighbouring mountain for the purpose, by a thud on the roof, likewise produced by an accomplice, or by no intimation whatever. The dancer utters a low call, sometimes begins to walk in circles with bent head, or to act in some other peculiar manner, while a whistle sounds repeatedly. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house and a herald informs the village that something strange has come upon the dancer. The *kukusiut* gather in his house, and four times help him by the frenzied but regular, beating of sticks. Then the singers sing a song previously prepared, the words describing either his patron or the land above. After listening closely, the *kukusiut* join in and rehearse it until it is familiar. The dancer may or may not perform; if he is inadept in the steps, he does so for practice. If the hour is not too late, the singers may choose, purely for practice, to beat out a number of the songs of those *kukusiut* who have already performed during the ceremonial season. A meal, provided by the dancer and his family, is then served. The singers next beat out the dancer's song once more and he dances, concluding the evening's performance. Novices and those who have already performed during the season take up their abode in the dancer's house, where they remain for the ensuing four days and nights.

The second day is *nusiutälsap*.[6] Quite early in the morning a herald calls the *kukusiut* to the dancer's house, an invitation accepted by as many as wish to do so. A second song is usually composed and practised in the same manner as on the previous evening. Several *kukusiut* are sent to the forest to cut wood for masks, the number of sections required depending upon the number to be used. In the evening all members of the society assemble to practise the songs.[7] The making of the masks

[6]In Kimsquit called *Älxwolämm*.

[7]The term *qai·nugs* is occasionally used for the rites occurring on the day itself.

[7]The rehearsal of the second is sometimes postponed until this time.

The making of the masks

*575 796 532 [431] [465] [104] is allotted to different *kukusiut*, usually in accordance with the dancer's wishes, although a marshal normally gives out the actual tasks. The dancer, or one of his relatives, bestows presents on each person to whom work is allotted. The evening of *nusiutälsap* is called *ämltämkum*.

The third day is *qotlum*. Those to whom mask making has been entrusted assemble early in the dancer's house to start their work. About noon they are provided with a meal, to which other *kukusiut* may be invited. By late afternoon, when most of the work has been accomplished, the chips are carefully swept up and burnt, and the house tidied, ready for the uninitiated who will be invited during the evening. On either this *575 796 day or the one preceding, a platform, with raised sides, is built behind the fire on which the dancer can conceal himself and where he is supposed to remain during the remainder of the four days. About dusk the *kukusiut* are called in; the singers take their places behind the fire, Cannibals, Breakers, and Scratchers are in one of the back corners, where a matting enclosure may have been constructed for them, and the remainder group themselves without distinction around the walls. In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, one or more [184] of the masks may be displayed, suspended from a sloping pole behind the fire. If the singers think it necessary, they may [533] practise the dancer's two songs once more. Then the uninitiated are called in, taking their places near the doorway. The singers beat out one of the dancer's songs and he dances in time to it, and the same is repeated for his second song. After some delay, which appears to be one of the requisites of every *kusiut* performance, the singers strike up the songs of either a novice or a *kusiut*, especially one who has already had a call during the ceremonial season, and the one thus summoned dances to his two songs. Late in the season, when many *kukusiut* have performed, only one song may be used, to prevent the ceremony dragging out to an interminable length, and songs of previous years are omitted. In any case, the ritual lasts for most of the night. When all have danced, the

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uninitiated are expelled, with the exception of the *sisaok* to whom, as guests, a meal is served. Then they too leave and the *kukusiut* eat together. Finally, the singers strike up one of the dancer's songs, and he dances to it to end the evening's rites. 575* 796

The fourth day is *nebusam*, "That Which Is Opened." During the day the carpenters work to complete the masks, and towards dusk the house is again put in order. The *kukusiut* are summoned again to practise the songs, if necessary, and always to arrange who shall wear the masks, a matter left to the marshals and the carpenters. Then the uninitiated are called in to see the masked figures and watch any dramatic representation. After their exclusion, the masks are burnt. Then the *kukusiut* gather outside the dancer's house where his song is sung once more to send his call back above. Frequently another *kusiut* now receives a call, so that the *nebusam* of one dancer is likewise the *lsuxtämem* for another. The *kukusiut* assemble in the latter's house, but the uninitiated are not allowed to return to that from which they have been ejected until the platform-enclosure has been destroyed at the end of the season. [104] [532] [533] [532]

A word might be said about *kusiut* paraphernalia, although much of this will have to be described in detail for special dances. Boas gives illustrations of a large number of *kusiut* masks and gives such an admirable description of them that little need be added. They are carved from the solid wood, the larger of beech, the smaller of alder, and each carpenter endeavours to make a striking effigy of the being portrayed. *Ano°likwolsaix* is present at every dance and has become so well standardized that she can always be recognized. This is true, also, for Thunder, Echo, the *haohao*, the Laugher, the Hermaphrodite, and a few other supernatural beings, but so much variation occurs in others that even a *kusiut* of much experience cannot always tell what being is represented. The masks are painted, and sometimes the designs indicate the being, even though the carving fails to do so; verisimilitude is 575* 796 532 [114] [824] [776]

*575 not considered necessary. With few exceptions, hereafter to
796 be noted, *kusiut* masks are burnt at the conclusion of each
532 ceremony, a practice which probably originated in order to avoid the possibility of their being seen by the uninitiated.
[171] The Bella Coola state that this is one of the most striking differences between their rites and those of the Bella Bella.

*575 Next in importance to masks are whistles (see Plate 2).[1]
796 The large, cone-shaped form used in *susaok* ceremonial is re-
534 placed in *kusiut* dances by a smaller type consisting of portions of wood glued together, which can be blown with ease from
[237] beneath a concealing blanket. Another type has bellows consisting of a mountain goat bladder, which is held beneath the arm-pit so that it can be worked invisibly. During the summer the whistles are kept by one individual, usually a
[422] marshal. Specific information concerning the ownership of these whistles could not be obtained; it appears that any *kusiut* can make one, or have one made for him by a skilled carpenter, and that their retention by one person during the
[426] summer is merely for convenience. They are freely lent to anyone for use in a ceremony.

*575 In some dances special objects are used in connection with
796 dramatic performances, such as bull-roarers, wooden repre-
532 sentations of animals, birds, or miniature human beings. One old man described a pipe formerly used at *Täl·io*, which had
[534] a carved bowl as large as a tea-cup with three radiating stems.
[824] It was carved from a knotty excrescence on a beech bole. Little could be learnt of its history, except that it was supposed to have been carved by a chief with the design of his patron and displayed through pride.

*575 The usual guests at a performance of the type just sum-
609 marized are the dancer's fellow-villagers and any strangers
796 who happen to be present in the town. Great as is the desire of the *kukusiut* to impress their uninitiated tribesmen, they
[648] are still more eager to impress strangers, hence the presence of Carriers adds piquancy to the rites. The writer believes
[123] that his presence and interest encouraged the Bella Coola to

1 [see category 116, p 84(B) - ANALYST]

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perform several ancient rites through a desire to "show off" before someone who was ignorant. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials, and to judge a man's worth by his lavishness in them, but this is only a modern development due to the prohibition of the potlatch. Nevertheless, even in former times some individuals preferred to invite foreign guests to *kusiut* dances and to give them valuable gifts rather than to save these for potlatches; such a ceremony is called a *kukusiutek*. Whenever strangers are present at a *kusiut* dance they receive small pieces of dyed cedar-bark as proof of the friendly intentions of the host. The general consensus of Bella Coola opinion is that it is foolish for a man to concentrate on *kusiut* performances, particularly if he impoverish himself to the detriment of potlatches.

Although foreign guests are seldom invited to *kusiut* rites, a dancer frequently calls in his fellows from adjacent villages. But as the ceremonial season is simultaneous in the different settlements, with almost nightly performances, it is often impossible to avoid conflict in dates. Which invitation shall have preference is decided in the following manner:

During the days of *qothm* and *nebusam* the dancer sends a herald of powerful physique to invite guests from as many villages as he wishes. Simultaneously, a messenger may be approaching from the opposite direction with a similar invitation. Each envoy watches carefully around each bend in the path for his rival, and whichever can first call out his message is entitled to continue to give his invitation in the village of the outwitted herald. It is considered exceedingly bad taste to decline a summons, so the ceremony to which the defeated herald was bearing an invitation must be postponed. Sometimes the two messengers sight one another simultaneously, and the relative priority of their messages is then decided by a contest of strength. The rivals stand in the path, shoulder to shoulder, arms close to their sides, and shove with all their strength, the winner being the one who can force his opponent to move his feet. This last means of deciding is used exclu-

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*575 sively when the villages in which the dances are taking place
203 are adjacent or separated by such a short distance that envoys cannot meet *en route*.

*575 A word may be said about the attitude of the Bella Coola
177 to the dances of other coastal tribes. They know that the
829 Bella Bella, Rivers Inlet, Kwakiutl, and Kitkatla people have *kusiut* societies, but until recently their members were con-
[648] sidered to be uninitiated, as Bella Coola were when they visited foreign tribes.[8] A few years ago the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, and Rivers Inlet people decided that their rites were sufficiently akin to permit membership in one tribe to carry with it membership in the others:

"We have now one repository," they say.

This development is due to ease of communication and diminution of population in the three tribes. None the less, the Bella Coola recognize differences between their own rites and those of their neighbours. They say that no other tribe
[171] has repositories; also that in the other tribes the *kusiut* society is more intimately connected with the chiefs, in fact, that in Bella Bella and Fort Rupert the Cannibals are the chiefs, whereas in Bella Coola even a poor man, uninfluential in every other respect, can be one.

*575 Theorization is out of place in a descriptive monograph such as this, but the writer gives it as his personal opinion that
177 the Bella Coola have adopted much, if not all, of the *kusiut*
[796] ceremonial from other coastal tribes, though they have profoundly altered it in respect to certain ancient beliefs connected with localized guardian spirits and the patrons of ancestral families. He further believes that it will be found that this Bella Coola technique has in its turn affected the Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet Indians. There seems little doubt that the
[171] Bella Coola are correct in saying that the society is more im-
[796] portant among them than among their neighbours, and the writer feels that dances and rituals of different types have certainly been adapted to the *kusiut* pattern of the Bella Coola.

[8]Except a few individuals who had inherited foreign prerogatives.

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It is hoped that this somewhat lengthy description will assist the reader in following the complicated details of the actual rites. 575*

Initiation

Although *kusiut* ceremonials take place only during the winter, preliminary arrangements are discussed and carried out throughout the year. One of the subjects over which the old men and the marshals debate at length is the admission of new members. Sometimes the relatives of a young man or woman wish to have him, or her, initiated and propose to use a *kusiut* prerogative dormant in their family. More often an elderly person is willing to transfer one of his prerogatives to a younger relative; comparatively few are unused owing to the small sums needed to validate them. In either case, one of the marshals is consulted. He passes word to his fellows, and to a number of the elderly *kukusiut*, who meet in the council-place of the village. The prospective novice's relatives are there and express the belief that he is sufficiently mature in mind to be a credit to the society. If some of those present demur, the matter is discussed at length until all agree, or until it appears that there is strong objection on account of the youth or inconsistency in character of the proposed novice. In this case his relatives can only hope that their proposal will be more favourably received the following year. Sometimes the young man or woman is informed that his relatives have exerted their influence with *Ano'likwolsaix* to make him a *kusiut*, more often he remains in ignorance until the ceremonial season. [425]

The initiation of one admitted under these normal circumstances is the same as for one made a "shaman" on account of too great knowledge. Sometimes the marshals themselves take the first steps. If few *kukusiut* wish to give ceremonials so that there are gaps in the nightly performances, the marshals select a suitable slave and ask his owner to give him some *kusiut* prerogative of little value. If the latter agrees, a pretext is found to lure the victim to the woods whence he is carried, 575* 567 [425]

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 567 struggling in fear, to the secret meeting-place. Here the marshals discuss what shall be done with him; some suggest that he be killed, others a lesser fate, and finally someone advises his initiation. After apparently due deliberation, this is decided upon; the slave is told the mysteries of the society and is warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells the uninitiated of his knowledge. The actual ceremonial rites of *575 796 admission do not vary according to the preliminaries used.

Initiation can take place at any time during the *kusiut* season. After consulting with the marshals in order to choose an evening when no other dance is to take place, the relatives of the neophyte, whom it will be convenient to term X, invite the *kukusiut* to their house. Sometimes songs are sung by way of rehearsal, at other times food is distributed at once. As the people are eating, one of the marshals stands up to address them, saying that X's relatives propose to take him to the repository of the name ———, so that he may become a *kusiut*. X, to whom this may be the first intimation, is called from his house and taken from the village by several of his kinsmen, with one or more of the marshals. The *kukusiut* disperse and tell the uninitiated in the other houses that X has gone to meet *Ano'likwolsaix*. His companions hear the news with mingled envy and thankfulness that they are not to have this dangerous privilege.

[178] In ancient times X and his guides may actually have proceeded to his repository, but for several generations at least it has been customary for the party merely to go to some lonely spot in the woods for the night. Those accompanying X tell him as much of the ritual of the society as they think fit, not forgetting to emphasize the trust put upon him, and the fate which will befall him if he should communicate his knowledge. [787 184] He is expected to report that he went to the repository where, lying face downwards on the ground, he saw *Ano'likwolsaix*; in Kimsquit he is supposed also to see her husband.[9]

[776] [9]According to one old Bella Coola a statue of *Ano'likwolsaix* also remains in every repository.

2:McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

The following morning the *kukuiat* alone are invited to X's house. The marshals meanwhile superintend the laying and lashing of planks across two river dug-outs to form a dancing platform. On this the singers take their places, in addition to as many *kukuiat* as can scramble aboard. The craft is slowly poled either up- or downstream, according to the direction of X's repository, and more *kukuiat* accompany it along the bank; the uninitiated watch with keen interest from the background. X and his companions proceed towards the river and on meeting the lashed-together canoes are taken aboard. The singers strike up any well known *kuciat* tune, and in time to it as many *kukuiat* as possible dance on the platform surmounting the craft. Each uses his own style of dancing according to his prerogative, so that the scene is strikingly varied and animated. X himself crouches in the centre, practically concealed from the uninitiated by the dancers. On reaching the village the whole party hurriedly runs to X's house, from which the uninitiated are rigorously barred for the rest of the day. Those *kukuiat* who accompanied the party along the bank of the river have preceded them and, as X enters, the drawing cry is raised which always heralds the appearance of one who has been in close contact with supernatural beings.

If X is considered trustworthy, he may be allowed to go alone to his repository, although this is only customary when he takes a second or third prerogative. If this procedure has been followed, X tells those present what he has seen; otherwise his companions do so. The uninitiated listen eagerly from the adjacent houses, wondering anxiously what is taking place. Several *kukuiat* blow, or use bellow-whistles to increase the awe of the hearers. Presently a herald is sent out. He goes first to the lowest house* of the village, then in succession to those above, announcing in each that:

"Something strange has happened to the son of the chief."

X's name is not mentioned; if his father is not a chief the

*That is, to the one furthest downstream. By always going to such houses in order from lowest to top of the village the herald avoids any danger of confusion.

2: McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

call is that something strange has happened to the "mortal." At intervals throughout the day he repeats this announcement, and towards nightfall goes around calling:

Shoop, shoop, kukusiut, "Cure, cure, ye members of the *kusiut* society, power has come to the son of the chief (or to the mortal)."

The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house, taking their places around the fire; the uninitiated crowd near the doorway. X is seated among his relatives and some of the senior members of the society behind the fire. A herald calls out:

"I want a *siki* to help X."

In every village there are at least two *kukusiut* who have, embodied with their *kusiut* names, the professional prerogative of acting as healer to every novice; it is believed that the ancestor of each obtained a name and this right through a revelation from some supernatural healer. Since that time the owner of the name has been able to insert some of his own supernatural power into a neophyte to enable him to sustain the dangers of admission to the society. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated. The profession of *siki* can be transmitted by willing like any other prerogative and it occasionally happens that the same individual is *siki* for both *kusiut* and *cumi*. In answer to the herald's call, the two *siki* come forward and crouch behind the fire, one on either side of it. Their faces are blackened with soot, and each wears a blanket, decorated with dyed cedar-bark, thrown loosely over his shoulders, leaving the chest and stomach bare except for an apron of deer hoofs or puffin beaks. Meanwhile bearing sticks are distributed among most of the *kukusiut* who strike furiously on the floor with them, without any attempt to keep time; the sole object is to produce the greatest din possible.

One of the *siki* concerns himself in an amazing manner, presses his hands against his stomach as if to force something from it, and rolls from side to side on his haunches, until at length he produces, as if from his body, a rock crystal (see Plate 5). He warms this to and fro in his hands, then gives

[see category 116, p 84(2) - ANALYSIS]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

through the motion of throwing it to his partner; the crystal disappears! It has been palmed out of sight at the instant of throwing, but the presumption is that it has entered the other *siki* who falls to the floor as if stricken down by the powerful object given to him. Now one of the *kulaciut*, who has been primed for the duty, strikes the recumbent man on the back, restoring him to consciousness. Slowly he pulls himself together, rising at intervals as if crushed beneath a heavy weight, and writhes until he finally produces a rock crystal from his stomach, as if it had been thrown to him. In reality it is his own which he has carried concealed from the beginning of the ceremony. He pretends to throw this to X, often so realistically that the novice blinks, expecting some object to strike him. All this time a *kaciut*, it does not matter who, has been drinking water at intervals and spirting it out over the face of X, "to strengthen him." When X has received the stone, the beating on the floor-boards, stilled during the transference of the crystal, breaks out again with full din. After a short interval the first *siki* stops the noise, goes through the same contortions and produces, apparently from his stomach, another rock crystal, which as before he throws across to his partner who falls down, and later passes it to X. Again the beating on the floor is starved. The same ritual is carried out until four, or sometimes only two, rock crystals have been given to X. Then the procedure is reversed. The second *siki* goes to the novice and after much contortion draws from his stomach one of the crystals, which he pretends to throw back to his partner. As the latter makes the motion of catching it, he produces his own crystal which he, as it seems, forces into his own body. This is done for all the crystals (see Plate 4). As this juncture the uninitiated are told to leave.

One of the *siki* now kneads the back of X's neck and goes through the motions of pulling something from it. The frightened youth realizes that his spirit is being drawn from him and his terror, great in any case, is not lessened by the *siki* taking it in his cupped hands to the fire where he scorps up

[See text opposite 116, p84(b) - Analyst]

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

575 991 796 [994] [781] some ashes which he puts into his mouth and chews. Of course he masticates only the ashes but X, unaware of this, is concerned for the fate of his spirit. At last it is restored to him and he is told that the *siki* has altered it from that of an uninitiated person to that of a *kusiut*.* The psychological effect of this act on the mind of a young man who has not had time to adjust himself to his new knowledge and who is firmly convinced of the powers of the *siki* is tremendous.

The first *siki* now instructs two *kukusiut* sitting on either side of X to lie down to serve as a seat for him. They do so, irrespective of who they may be. If the novice is still ignorant of the full mysteries of the society, the *siki* announces that he is going to get a call for X. He walks around the house, peering here and there as if seeking something, and then pounces as if he had caught an object between his hands. A whistle [534] is heard, such as the novice knows accompanies the coming of every call; but he does not know that the noise is made by compressing a goat or bear bladder-whistle between two sticks held beneath the armpit. This is the "mystery" of the strange noises.

575 991 [681] "Do you know what makes that noise?" ask the two *kukusiut* on whom X is sitting.

If X denies all knowledge, the mystery is explained to him, and he is warned that he will be killed if he communicates the information to uninitiated persons. If he answers that he knows the cause, he is asked who has told him. Perhaps some lad has been peeking and has told X of what he has seen; in that case the over-inquisitive youth is at once initiated to prevent further leakage of information. As soon as X has learnt the great secret he moves to one side and the singers take their positions behind the fire. His father, or whoever it [425] may be from whom he is to obtain his name, then stands up [553] and unfolds its origin, telling which supernatural being is his patron, and the locality of his repository. X sometimes re-

[178] *This part of the rite has been omitted for so many years that many of the middle-aged Bellacoolas have forgotten it.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

X sometimes receives two prerogatives at his initiation, one from each parent, or from some other interested relative. In this case both are expounded. The singers listen intently, knowing that they will later be called upon to compose songs on the theme, or themes. According to some informants they immediately sing one, as if they had just created it, though it was really prepared in advance. The *kuéaziut* listen until they have mastered it. 575* 796 [425] [553] [533]

Helpers now distribute the food provided by X's father, or whoever is responsible for his initiation. At every *kusiut* ceremonial the marshals are the first recipients, then the singers, and finally the others without distinction. As the guests are eating, X's father gives presents to all, without deference to rank. An announcer calls out: 575* 796 556 [264]

"Here are [for example] ten bear-skins from X's mother. They are to obtain for him his cedar-bark bracelets."

These goods are then distributed. Similarly other gifts from various relatives are handed out for his anklets, his blanket, his collar, his head-dress, and all other parts of his clothing. As each item of his ceremonial costume is validated, X dons the prepared article. A novice's head-dress consists of a round roll of dyed cedar-bark, covering a grass frame; in *Ilaue* and the other villages of the upper valley this is decorated with a tuft of swan's down. The *kuéaziut* of these villages also wear a distinctive decoration consisting of a swan's skin with the feathers attached. In recent years it has been customary to pile all the goods together and distribute them as *dáy'ál*, which has the significance of "something that has vanished for the novice's dyed cedar-bark." Theoretically, the aim of the dancer is to bestow his presents on all equally, but if he finds that he has some remaining, he gives these to the chiefs, or to the relatives of someone whom he expects will soon be a novice. None of the goods used in general distributions are returnable, but a chief who receives an extra gift at the end usually remembers from whom it was received and cancels his indebtedness at the earliest opportunity. There is no close connection between the disbursements and the worth of the [425] [292] [184] [237]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 individual, other than an indefinite recollection of the amount
796 of goods used for his dyed cedar-bark. People always have
556 sufficient goods to validate *kusiut* prerogatives; in fact, if a proud person gives too lavishly to confirm the initiation of a relative, the marshals sometimes burn the goods, giving no explanation other than that the uninitiated must not be led to believe that a *kusiut* ceremony is an affair of wealth like a potlatch. Formerly, goods were given only at initiation ceremonies, but between 1880 and 1890 a chief gave presents, instead of food, at a dance. His example was followed, since none was willing to be outdone, although such gifts are still called "food." The name of the donor is always announced, whether he is the dancer himself or one of his relatives.

*575 X, though now a member of the *kusiut* society, is still a
784 novice and cannot give a dance[11] until the next ceremonial
[796] season, that is, until one year has elapsed. The marshals instruct him about his costume, and about the manner in which he must deport himself during this period, matters which depend to a considerable extent upon his prerogative. If he
[262] is a Cannibal, Scratch, or Breaker dancer he must not eat unsmoked salmon, nor must he enter a house in which either a potlatch or a memorial potlatch is taking place.[12] Failure to obey this injunction would warrant punishment from a foreign
[302] tribe. Unless his prerogative is to give one of these, or the Ghost dance, he must keep his face constantly blackened.
[292] Every novice must wear a collar of dyed cedar-bark. The marshals warn him to be circumspect in dealing with uninitiated persons; he can talk to them, but it is most improper for him to engage in any familiarity or frivolous play. Above
[524] all, he must neither gamble nor take part in non-athletic games,
[525]

[11] A Cannibal novice, however, begins to exercise his prerogative immediately, although he must also perform a complete dance the following year.

[12] This prohibition was once broken at *Kemqo'ts*. A skilled leader was required to arrange the tests at a memorial potlatch and the only man fit for the purpose, a resident of *Sumé*, was a Cannibal novice. After much deliberation he was called upon, but great care was taken to hide his identity and it was years before the infraction became known.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

prohibitions that last not for one year, but for four. X is not subject to any other restraints. If he wishes to go hunting he can remove his cedar-bark collar and hang it for convenience in the forest near his village, redonning it on his return. The *kukusiut* show considerable interest in their new member, not only by warning him what he must not do, but by teaching him how to dance and to growl or make other of the necessary, but unusual, noises. During the remainder of the ceremonial season X is required to attend every *kusiut* dance, thereby learning much of the ceremonial, and during the following summer his relatives, especially if food is plentiful, frequently invite the *kukusiut* to their house. The singers beat out well-known tunes, or practise those which will be required for the following winter; if a song has been composed for X he dances in time to it, in the style proper to his prerogative. Formerly, when there were many novices, dances of this type took place frequently and were useful in giving constant practice to singers and neophytes alike. As no calls from supernatural patrons can come at this time of year, it follows that all such dances are of a non-sacred nature, although the uninitiated are excluded. During his period as a novitiate, X has one privilege; he can take food from anyone at any type of ceremony. It is remembered that one novice was even bold enough to take food which had been placed as an offering for the dead.

575* 784 [524] [525] 575* 533 535 575* 264

When the next *kusiut* season opens, X attends every performance. This is probably the most thrilling and nerve-racking period in his life. He does not know exactly when he will be allowed to give his dance, since that is a matter of arrangement between his relatives and the marshals, but he knows that the time will soon be at hand. When the great day, or rather night, actually comes, X is usually in a state of abject terror. The rite itself does not differ from those about to be described except that the first song relates the manner in which X found the repository. But the mental attitude of X differs greatly from that of an old performer. One informant,

575* 781 796

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 781 796 a woman about sixty years of age, vividly recalled her fears when she, a young woman, gave her first performance. It was the Dance of *Winwina* (II, p. 187), in which she had to call out loudly when a large number of uninitiated persons, including Carrier Indians, were present. One of the marshals was her great-uncle and he had carefully taught her what she was to say. A few minutes before the time for her announcement he came to where she lay hidden in an enclosure behind the fire:

"Do you see your relatives here?" he said. "Look at your father, your mother, and your uncles. If you fail to say what you are expected to say, they will all die in a few weeks, and so will you. Be bold!"

The woman asserted that it was the most terrifying experience in her whole life because, though she knew there was [688] deception in the rites, she also knew the power of the society and that the threat of death in case of error was no idle one. She was so frightened that she forgot the carefully learnt words and it required the prompting of the hidden marshal to get her through the ordeal.

But once the first rite has been successfully negotiated, it is a proud day for the novice. He feels himself a real *kusiut* and glories in his superiority over his former associates. For the rest of the season he, like everyone else who has performed a dance, must attend every rite. Energetic novices sometimes give their dances on two, or even three, successive years, though usually a man allows five or six to elapse between displays.

*575 766 If X should die during the year's interval between his initiation and his first dance, he is secretly buried by his fellow *kakusiut* without the customary mourning rites, and with no [533] uninitiated persons present at the grave. His song, if one has been composed for him, is sung softly, and he is interred adorned with his collar of dyed cedar-bark. During the next ceremonial season, that at which he should have danced, it is necessary for a brother, or other near relative, to receive a call since it is felt that a dance once begun must be completed,

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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and the patron shifts his protection to the substitute. Non-members are told that the death was due to one of the many dangers connected with the society. 575* 766

It is said that, in former times, the *kukusiut* sometimes held a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discontinued. In 1922, however, memorial songs were sung for dead *kukusiut*, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to prohibition of the potlatch. 575* 769 533 177

The Ritual of Specific Dances

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE DANCES

A detailed description of various *kusiut* dances can now be given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference between them that each will require a separate account, although considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning in connection with the first dance those features common to all. The initial performer is always he who has the prerogative of seeing the supernatural canoe which comes from the Land of the Salmon to visit *Nusqulxwaista*. Several *kukusiut* have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so. Thenceforth there is no order for different dances; the marshals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does so without conflicting with another. The first dance described is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *kusiut* season. 575* 796* [424] [776]

THE DANCE OF *Nedkyum*[14]

The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the September moon is full there starts from the Land of the Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *Nedkyum*, commanded by a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly 773 824 825

[14] Cf. Boas, p. 60.

[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

773 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 *Smaien-a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nusqulxwaista* to wait the coming of *Alquntäm*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nebusam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noäkynum* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[785] times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
[831] eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[787] that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsitent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that
[626] this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[776] patron was *Noäkynum*, but that the marshals requested him not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noäkynum*
*575 is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the uninitiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
*796 the *kusiut* dances begin.

[184] It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village,
[424] as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contain only
[551] slight variations, if any. In *Tsmoil* the *kusiut* who has the prerogative of seeing *Noäkynum* is a certain *Qaxalin*,[15] in Kimsquit, *Alnuskiwnasam*,[16] and in *Sikkiul*, *Xemtsum*. Although,

[115] [426] [578]

[15] Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qaxalin*, who intimated that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman referred to the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

[16] Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his person, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significances of this type.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

Although 575*
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theoretically, every *kusiut* should know the origin myth of his prerogative, these are rarely remembered, a state of affairs differing entirely from that with respect to ancestral origin myths. An ancestor of *Ăłuskinwasam* is supposed to have seen *Noăkxnim*, decorated with the tails of two eagles stuck in his hair. The following myth was obtained of the origin of [539] *Xemtnim*'s prerogative:

In the beginning there came down to Mount *Nus·läxim*, a small mountain on the south side of the Bella Coola River about three-quarters of a mile from the sea, *Ăllilmnălosaix*, his younger brother *Omqomkilka*, and their sister. *Ălquntăm* had given them a model house, so small that it was portable, but which could enlarge to any size at their wish. It was called *Skqwălutl*, a name they bestowed also on their sister. They brought the *sisaok* designation, *Xemxemlaix*, with the right to perform a dance. The party, including Raven, who was like a son to *Ăllilmnălosaix*, came down from their mountain top looking for a place to settle. As people were already living at *Qomqo·ts* and *Ălqăläxl*, they chose *Slskistl* as their home.

From this place the three could hear the beating of drums, as the people of the adjacent villages performed their *kusiut* dances and Raven determined that his companions should not lack the privileges which others enjoyed. Accordingly he flew down the fiord where he saw *Noăkxnim*, whom he obtained as patron for *Ăllilmnălosaix*. This prerogative was embodied in the name *Xemtnim*, which is still in use.[17]

The prerogative of seeing *Noăkxnim* is known as *dakdak·ălaix*, "The Comer," or "The Ever-Comer." It will be convenient to refer to the person who has this power as X. As [424] already described, if he had been initiated during the preceding ceremonial season, he is now obliged to dance. In later years, if he wishes to do so, he first consults the marshals, and if they consent he begins his preparations during the summer. Among other matters, X informs the singers of his intentions and they [533] begin to compose songs. Occasionally they re-use one from a previous year, but to do this is to admit lack of creative ability. The usual practice is to compose new tunes and to adapt to them words bearing on the proper theme, sometimes including

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[17] It will be noted that this myth is of the typical origin type, and furnishes an instance of the manner in which *kusiut* prerogatives occur in such. [539]

[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

*575 snatches from old songs. The Bella Bella are said to use the
*796 same compositions from year to year, and recently some of
[533] these, both tunes and foreign words, have been adopted by
[177] the Bella Coola. Long ago the marshals would have prohibited this custom even if the user had legitimately obtained the foreign prerogative by marriage.

As the time draws near for *Noäkxnim* to start his voyage,
[805] X anxiously consults any of the elder *kukusiut* who may be calendrical experts as to the exact date. The system of reckoning time is not sufficiently exact to avoid errors, but the day ultimately arrives on which, after much discussion, it is agreed that *Noäkxnim* is leaving. Word is passed around to the singers, who sleep that night in X's house, ready for their duties on the morrow.

Early in the morning X stands up, gazes fixedly towards the west, and calls out:

[787] "Once more I see what I saw last year," or some other more or less specific claim to a vision.

It is believed that *Noäkxnim* must round four points before
[773] reaching Bella Coola; in fact, his journey beneath the sea is similar to that of a canoe pushing up one of the long fiords.

Some of the marshals are always in readiness and one of
*[203] them tells a herald to go to every house, repeating what X has said. This serves both to impress the uninitiated, and to notify the *kukusiut* of what is about to take place. The mes-
*575 senger does so, and when all have gathered, the singers, seated
*796 behind the fire, begin to beat out one of the songs composed
533 during the summer months. The theme is of X's phenomenal eye-sight, due to his patron having sent to him the super-
[776] natural being, *Nulälsumtnam*, at the moment of his departure. This being does not seem to possess corporeal form, but is rather a sight-producing medium. In the song he is often likened to a swift-flying bird; when the uninitiated hear of this they are suitably impressed with the remarkable ability of X at having such a creature sent to him. X, who has donned a
[292] head-dress consisting of the white tails of two eagles, dances

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

if he so desires. The *kukusiut* listen to the song, and when it is resung they join in. They practise it repeatedly, until familiar with both words and tune. This part of the ceremony lasts for about two hours. 575* 796* [533]

The singers, and any others who are prepared to beat time, are always provided with long, flat, thin sounding-boards to increase the din of the pounding. When the marshals decide that the song is sufficiently familiar, they tell some of the *kukusiut* to carry these boards to the lowest house of the village. They do this, and also scatter clean sand on the floor, as is customary whenever a supernatural being is to enter. The uninitiated persons within the house watch with great interest. The singers enter and take their places behind the fire, then other *kukusiut* and finally X himself; his face is unblackened, but he wears his two eagle tails in his hair and a collar of dyed cedar-bark. On his head is a thin cylindrical circlet, about four inches high, of the same material, ornamented with swan's down by the inhabitants of the villages of the upper Bella Coola valley. The collar consists of a roll of grass, entirely covered with dyed cedar-bark from which pendant tassels of the same hang down over his chest; similar ones are worn by *ssaok* dancers, except that the tassels hang down their backs. Every *kusiut* dancer wears these two ornaments, and those who have the necessary prerogative adorn themselves with an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Blankets are always worn. *Kukusiut* women wear in addition woollen pubic garments. [292] [534] 575* 796* 292 [424] [237]

As the singers beat out X's tune, accompanied by the voices of themselves and other *kukusiut*, he dances. Since his style is typical of all *kukusiut* except Cannibals and a few others, it will be well to digress at this point in order to describe it. X raises his arms until their upper parts are approximately the height of his shoulders, and project outwards and slightly to the front; they are bent at the elbows with the forearms vertical, thus bringing the hands opposite the top of the head. Both wrists are shaken constantly, the muscles of the lower 575* 796* 535

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*575 arms being brought into play, so that the whole hands are con-
*796 stantly quivering without spasmodic movements. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a skilful performer, and the inces-
535 sant shaking is continued without stop throughout the dance.
[533] Most *kusiut* songs are in five parts, which may be described as three verses, separated by two choruses. Near the beginning of the first verse X stands up, raises his arms, shakes his fingers, then slightly bends his legs and begins to step in time to the beating of the sticks. Some dancers remain almost stationary, marking time, to use the military term, others advance in steps of an inch or so, at intervals slowly revolving sunwise.[14] Sometimes X introduces a variation by bending from side to side, in which case one hand rises above the other. If the time of the song is very slow, he sinks, bending his knees to a great extent, and advances in more lengthy strides, never ceasing to shake his hands. At each chorus the time becomes so rapid that it is impossible to move the feet in accordance with it, and then X crouches, his shaking hands the only movement. If it
[424] is a woman who is dancing—like most *kusiut* prerogatives, this
[562] one is not limited to men—the style of dancing is quite different. Keeping the upper part of each arm close to her body, the dancer extends her fore-arms, outwards, parallel to the ground, with the palms upwards. Like a man, she shakes her wrists, but few female dancers move from the spot on which they start, except perhaps to turn around, sunwise. Heralds always keep up a running fire of comments, especially when a woman is dancing, urging her not to be bashful, but to allow her breasts to shake. Some dancers have merged into one
[424] prerogative rights acquired from different coastal tribes. In such cases they perform in two or more styles, each part according to one prerogative.

Kukusiut are always ready to assist one of their fellows, so that three or four friends are always willing to accompany the dancer. They stand close behind him, at frequent intervals blowing over his head the eagle down which either X, or some

[171] [14] The Bella Coola state that the Bella Bella revolve counter-sunwise.

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of his relatives, has given them for this purpose. When he 575*
crouches during the chorus they crowd close around, almost 796*
concealing him. Particularly in those dances fraught with
danger to the performer, it is customary for any number of his 535
friends, either men or women, to dance to "help" him. Anyone wishing to do so merely stands up and begins, in time to the music, irrespective of what part of the house he may be in. [543]
It is considered contrary to good manners for a father so to help his son, or a brother a brother, but a dancer is pleased to have aid from anyone else. It is said that in Bella Bella [171]
certain *kukusiut* have definite prerogatives of helping in this way, but this is not the case in Bella Coola. Throughout every dance the *kukusiut* women utter their droning cry. [533]

This, then, is the type of dance which the uninitiated in 575*
the lowest house see. They hear the song, too, and gaze with 796*
awe at X, imbued as he is with the supernatural power of sight. Then the sounding-boards are picked up and taken to the next house, where the whole ceremonial is repeated. This is done at each house of the village.[11] All the *kukusiut* now return to X's house, where he once more dances to his song. A box-drum is always used to help the singers in keeping time, and [534]
when the song has been finished two men continue in turn to beat it all day. X always arranges to have a relative or friend superintend the distribution of food, which follows his final [574]
dancing. As the *kukusiut* are eating, the marshals deliver their usual admonishments, a task that accompanies every meal. Then they call on the people to erect a raised platform between the fire and the back-wall of the house. Materials have been placed in readiness so that it is an easy matter to build a framework a few feet in height, of which the flat top is screened by a matting wall about three feet high. This is often decorated with designs of dyed cedar-bark without ritual significance as [531]
far as the Bella Coola of today are aware. X climbs to this platform, the *kukusiut* disperse, and only the incessant pounding of the drum proves that some unusual event is taking place.

[11] In Bella Coola, but perhaps not in Kimsquit. [184]

[The Dance of NoAKxnim]

*575 *796 X is supposed to be gazing constantly to the west, watching for another sight of *Noäkxnim*. With the aid of a friend, X arranges his eagle tail head-dress on a box so that it projects above the wall of the platform as if he were sitting within. The uninitiated understand that X is watching, and the motionless feathers confirm their belief. Meanwhile X remains hidden in the back-room, never leaving the house except when necessary, and then only under cover of night.

*575 *796 On the fourth day after his first vision, X stands up and cries out:

Yupälx, "The Point."

787 533 *[203] The significance is that X sees *Noäkxnim* as he appear around the first point. A herald is at once sent out. First he repeats loudly the exact words used, then departs to call the *kukusiut* to X's house. When they have taken their places the singers beat out a new song previously composed, the second for X. The theme describes how *Noäkxnim* is rounding the first promontory, in his craft which is often likened to a cloud or a flock of birds. This they practise, before carrying sounding-boards and drums to the lowest house in the village, where the singers and a number of *kukusiut* take up their stations. When all is ready X enters, the women utter their droning cry, and, to the accompaniment of the beating of time and the singing of his new song, he dances around the fire. This same procedure is carried out in every house of the village, working from the bottom upwards. Finally all return to X's house where they receive food and the usual admonitions from a marshal. Then they disperse. This is about 11 A.M.

X again climbs to the platform where his head-dress is arranged as if he were sitting constantly gazing towards the approaching *Noäkxnim*. For four days he remains hidden, and on the morning of the fifth he again cries out:

Yupälx.

This time it signifies that the supernatural one has rounded a second promontory. The same ritual is repeated, the calling *[203] by the herald, the meeting in X's house, a d the procession to

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every abode. The song on this occasion, the third for X, describes what *Noäkẓnum* is doing on his journey, as if X were relating what he saw. The *kukusiut* return to X's house for another meal and the admonishments of a marshal. 575* 796* 787 533

For four days more X retires from sight. On the morning of the fifth day he once more calls:

Yupälx.

Exactly the same procedure is carried out, the theme of this fourth song being of how *Noäkẓnum* can be seen rounding a third promontory.

X remains in concealment for four days more, then cries out again. This time the song describes how *Noäkẓnum* has rounded the fourth and last promontory and how the supernatural beings above have sighted him. This is the fifth song used for X. As on the previous occasions, he conceals himself on the platform after making a tour of the village.

On the morning of the fifth day later, X cries out that *Noäkẓnum* is at the mouth of the river where he has tied his craft to the stakes of a salmon-trap. The belief of the Bella Coola is that he approaches up an underwater fiord, into which flows an underwater river provided with a salmon-trap; X alone can see these phenomena. The herald goes from house to house repeating the announcement. The *kukusiut*, too, visit each, singing the song while X dances. He and the singers always decide beforehand on his actual statement, so that the words of the song will be in agreement, as if the singers had composed it on the spot. Once again X retires from sight. [203]*

Five days later he arouses the household with his loud shouting:

"*Noäkẓnum* is in the river itself. He has reached the home of the Resident; *Imimätlnaix* is mooring his craft. *Dakdakänmem* and *Älälkmktnum* are greeting him." [776]

The herald repeats this news throughout the village. The uninitiated know in general terms who these supernatural beings are. The Resident lives under the water at the mouth of the river; his function is to see that the stream and the 575* 796* 776 [203]*

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*575 salmon are properly looked after, in fact, he is practically the
*796 supernatural archetype of the River Guardian. *Imimätlnaix*,
776 "The Moorer," is a supernatural child who stays with the Resident, and whose sole function appears to be the mooring of *Noäkynim*'s craft. *Dakdakänmem* is sent by *Smaien-a*, who in this connection appears to have human intelligence, to greet *Noäkynim*, and with him come *Smaien-a*'s son, *Älälhmätnim*,[*] to assist *Noäkynim* in poling his craft up the river. All these beings are patrons for different *kukusiut*. The Resident is also known as *Ämtäklis*.

*575 The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house as on the previous
*796 occasions; according to some informants two songs are used
787 on this day, others say only one. The people proceed in the usual manner to the lowest house, and make their way up-
[533] stream. When about half through the village, however, X shrieks out that *Numätlam* has brought a call to him. The woman and the heralds cry out loudly, X hastily returns to his own house, from which the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the *kusiut* whistles sound from within. *Numätlam* is one of the supernatural beings who has travelled with *Noäkynim* for the sole purpose of bringing a call to X. If the calendrical
[805] experts have been successful in their reckonings, the November
[821] moon will first be visible on the night of this day. Several of the older men admitted that errors were common, and that sometimes four days more had to elapse, in which it was said that *Noäkynim* was poling up the river. As he passes, his dancers in the different villages receive their calls on successive nights. It is assumed that he can go by several adjacent
[184] settlements on the same night, but the *kusiut* season is two or three days shorter in *Staax* and the upper villages than in *Kempo-ti*. Exact information on this point was unavailable.
*575 As already described, *Noäkynim* travels to *Smaien-a*, whence
*796 he leaps to *Nuqulnuaista* and places his pole within the house.
773 All the supernatural beings crowd in after him to wait for *Alqunäm*, but as soon as the latter enters, *Noäkynim* seizes his

[*] Some informants state that there are four of these beings.

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pole and starts his journey downstream. 575*

Now that X has received his call, the ceremonial continues 796*
for four days more, in a manner typical of *kusiut* dances. Only
variations from the pattern about to be described will be given [773]
in later dance rituals.

X spends the rest of this day on which the call has come 575*
to him, the twenty-fourth of the whole rite, within his house. 796*
In the evening a herald summons the *kukusiut*, this being the 184
night of *lustämem*. In *Stuix* the call used is: 203*

Skinap Stuixas, "Cure, ye *Stuix* people," because it is
believed that a call almost kills a *Stuix* person. This is probably true for the people of the other villages of the upper valley, but elsewhere this cry is used only when a novice receives his first call. In the lower valley and at Kimsquit the cry is:

Snapuxldimut kukusiut, "Bring light, ye *kukusiut*."

Care is always taken to use the right expression with reference to the locality of the dancer's repository, irrespective of 575*
where he may happen to be living. 796*

All the *kukusiut* are expected to attend, in fact, they are 533
glad to do so, but attendance is compulsory for novices only.
When all have assembled, one of the leading singers takes
command. The coming of his call is supposed to have made [787]
X light-headed, and he must be cured by a frenzied beating of sticks four times repeated. During this X himself remains quiescent. The singers now group themselves into a close circle to compose a song describing the supernatural beings seen by X during the day. As a rule, each man has one or more tunes in his mind which he hums to his associates as he softly beats time. Then another does the same, and this is repeated until unanimity of opinion is reached concerning the most suitable. The leader of the choir fits the proper words to this, assisted by his comrades and perhaps by X himself, or someone well acquainted with his prerogative.* As soon as the singers have finished their work they widen their circle and sing the song loudly so that it can be heard and learnt by all,

*This song, like the one used earlier, is sometimes prepared in advance.

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*575 while X dances to and fro behind the fire. In succession the
*796 six songs previously composed are resung and X dances to
533 each. The singers would be disgraced should they forget either a tune or a text, so they take advantage of *lnxtämem* to practise them all. Later in the season, when numerous *kukusiut* have received calls, the singers beat out the time and words for each and the owner dances. The general effect is remarkably impressive in the dim light of one of the large wooden houses, nor is the music displeasing to the ear. After the singing of X's seventh song, there is a pause while food is distributed amid the admonitions of the marshals. Once more the singers take up their sticks and beat out the song most recently composed for X; the audience joins in softly and he dances. The *kukusiut* now disperse with the exception of the novices who sleep in X's house. He himself does not withdraw to his platform. The ritual of X's *lnxtämem* differs from that of most *kukusiut* since his comrades have already learnt six songs for him. On most occasions they hear and practise one only, to which he dances in the manner described.

*575 The next day is *nuxiustälnap*. About eleven o'clock in the
*796 morning the heralds go to every house calling out:
532 *Tlpänap, lipänap, kukusiut*,—"Cut, cut, ye *kukusiut*."
*[203] The uninitiated do not realize that this is an invitation to gather to cut wood for masks. X, or his relatives, always provides a meal which is eaten before the main work is attended to. Then the singers group themselves and compose still
[533] another song* for X, with the same theme, but different words, as the one composed the previous evening. When ready, they chant it loudly so that all can hear and learn, and then sing it with the audience joining in, while X dances. After a short pause, X asks as many of his comrades as he desires to go with
[784] him to the forest to cut wood. Some member of the party carries a whistle which he sounds at intervals, thus warning

[176] *This would normally be a dancer's second song, the large number practised for X before the coming of his call being unusual. Not many years ago a powerful chief created the innovation of having one song only instead of two. Some *kukusiut* follow his example whereas others still use two.

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any uninitiated from their path. The *kukusiut* also call *hoip* repeatedly, a further deterrent to the inquisitive. Alder and birch trees are selected and the hewers start to work. Whenever a tree falls, one of the party calls out:

Xwu....

This meaningless ejaculation, spoken as if by X, has the virtue of causing the tree to fall gently. The logs are cut into sections and as many provided as will be needed, since it is contrary to *kusiut* custom for more than one trip to be made for wood. Towards dusk the cutters return, each carrying a burden by means of a tump-line across the forehead. The wood is laid softly on the floor, for it would be a gross insult to throw it down roughly. Meanwhile heralds are summoning the *kukusiut* with a call of:

Nusiutälsap kukusiaot.

X has long since consulted his relatives on the one hand and the marshals on the other, concerning the number of masks to be used, and the beings to be portrayed. A mask of *Ano'likwolsaix* is prepared for every *kusiut* dance, but with this exception there is no uniformity in the representations. A man always shows his patron, as well as any beings intimately connected with him. Thus X must have a mask of *Noäkynim*, many of his passengers, and the supernatural beings who meet him at the mouth of the river. A present must be given to the carver of every mask, hence their actual number depends upon the expenditure X and his relatives are willing to make.

At dusk the *kukusiut* are summoned by the heralds. X is with the marshals behind the fire and he heeds their advice as to the best carpenter for any special mask. When all have assembled X holds up one of the blocks of wood, calls on one of the *kukusiut* by name and says:

"For *Noäkynim*," or whatever may be the figure required.

As the carpenter comes forward to take the billet the heralds call out:

"Pay attention to him," and as the carpenter takes the wood, X calls out at the top of his voice, *xwu*....

*575 This ejaculation is supposed to make the work of manu-
*746 facture less difficult. The same procedure is repeated with
532 every mask ordered, except that if the being to be represented
[789] is a woman, X's ejaculation is *i* ——. *Any Raccoon* can make a mask, but the preference is always given to a man who has shown ability in previous tasks. The carpenters endeavour to follow well-recognized designs for many representations, but a great deal of latitude is allowed, and a workman receives greater praise and fame for turning out a fine and distinctive piece of new design, than for rigid adherence to a former type. This, combined with the burning of masks and consequent loss of permanent patterns, is responsible for the variability in Bella Coola forms, and the difficulty which they themselves experience in recognizing portrayed beings.

*575 As soon as all the carpentry has been allowed, the singers
*746 strike up one of X's eight songs. Whether or not he dances
[532] to them is a matter about which there is a difference of opinion among informants. In any case the re-singing on *Raccoon's* is purely for rehearsal, made necessary by the large number of songs. Later on in the *Raccoon* season, the songs of other dancers may be practised on this night, and if the owners wish to practice their steps, it is quite proper for them to do so.
[574] Finally, a meal is distributed, while the marshals dismiss in
[43] the usual way. Feasts are features of all *Raccoon* dances, and the
[42] food distributed is regarded as a free-will gift, without thought of repayment. After eating, the *Raccoon* dispersed; X must sleep within his own house, but no longer remains within his platform-enclosure.

*575 The next day, the twenty-sixth of the ceremony, is quiet.
*746 Early in the morning a herald summons to X's house, where
532 the blocks have been left, all those to whom work has been assigned. All morning they carve diligently. The speed with
+[203] which masks are completed is surprising, although this has undoubtedly increased since the introduction of metal tools.
[177] In the middle of the day a few *Raccoon* men, no women, are
[562] invited to share "the carpenters' meal," as the food provided

by X is called. Having dined, the guests depart while the 575*
craftsmen continue their labours. Towards dusk the house 796*
is cleared up, the chips thrown on the fire and everything made 532
ready. On this night the uninitiated are invited, but there is [illegible]
a wide and important difference in ritual between Bella Coola 575*
and Kitamaat. In the former the masks are carefully con- 796*
cealed, whereas in Kitamaat one or two, or sometimes all, are 184
suspended behind the fire by the carpenters. It is exceedingly 532
difficult for an observer to understand why this practice does
not at once remove all money from the rite. The explanation
appears to lie in the fact that the uninitiated, ignorant of how
they have been made, see in these strange objects evidence of
the power of the *hahaiat*. In Kitamaat, moreover, members
of the society emphasize the fact that the dancers are super-
naturally endowed representations of what the beings above
are doing and performing, and it is only at certain rites that
they are actually supposed to be present. One old Bella Coola
remembered having heard from his grandfather that long before
his time the carpenters used to make the masks in their own
houses where the uninitiated could see them; the dancers would
come in, wave his arm over the craftsman's head and say
hai! if the workmanship was excellent. The man who de-
scribed this expressed his own scepticism, and added that it
would have destroyed the tax-rate of money. A possible
explanation of this important difference in ritual will be given
at the end of this chapter; for the present it will be enough to
point out that the masks are left suspended in Kitamaat, and
concealed in Bella Coola.

Towards dusk the herald goes to every house to summon 575*
the *hahaiat*, who have allotted themselves for the ceremony 796*
by washing and painting, as the uninitiated have also done.
The members assemble slowly, in fact an observer finds the [illegible]*
interminable delays of every *hahaiat* dance most provoking. At [illegible]
last all have appeared and taken their places around the fire,
while the uninitiated eagerly wait near the door for the invi-
tation which they know will soon be given. One of the mas- [illegible]*

chiefs with a herald to call them in; they come joyfully, though somewhat hastily, and stand or crouch on either side of the doorway. In Kimsquit they gave on the masks, wondering what they are. The singers strike up the first of X's songs and he dances, while singers and *helpers* men sing the words and the women drum. To the uninitiated it appears most impressive and desirable, while even the present white man can hardly remain indifferent. At intervals a whistle, which the uninitiated believe to be the voice of the owl, sounds softly from beneath the *weight* of a *whistle Dancer*. After a short interval, X's second song is sung, and so in succession the night. Then the singers strike up any well-remembered tune, perhaps one used last year, and the owner dances. This is repeated for eight or ten songs. In bear *potlatch*, every *Dancer* who has had a call during the season must dance; the ceremony tends, therefore, to become longer and longer as time goes on, although the singing of the songs of a previous year is omitted. When enough performers have danced, a chiefess's song is often sung and the owner dances "to close the house." At this point the uninitiated spectators are told to withdraw. Then a *herald* is served to the *chief* who, as members of a similar organization, are honoured guests and have been seated together in a corner, explanation to their wonderful ceremonies. After their departure, the *helpers* are more leisurely, while one *needed* after another advises them as to their conduct. Then presents of comparatively small value are distributed. The *needed* would consider it unbecoming for X to provide too lavishly. The first gifts are to the singers, the next to the makers of the masks. Though these presents are, in essence, pay, they are never thought of in that light; X is under obligations, X has cleared himself of these obligations, is the Bella Coola attitude. When all is over, X once more dances to one of his solitary song songs. Then one of the *needed* rolls out to open the door and the guests disperse, except the *curious* who sleep in X's house.

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The *nuw day* is *nakwam*,* the twenty-seventh and final day of the rite, and the most spectacular in every ceremonial. Early in the morning a herald summons the wood-workers to X's house to complete the masks. At intervals throughout the day Initiates come to discuss with X, the marshals, the singers, and the carpenters the details of the evening ceremonial. In fact, X has less to do with the arrangements than any of those mentioned, unless he happens to be a *Dorier* of long standing. The marshals usually decide who shall wear the masks, although the maker of each is always consulted. X himself never wears one at his own ceremony. The *Dorier* who is to represent *Bad'Hemlaiam* must have the ability to speak fluently and in a high-pitched voice supposedly like that of a woman. Strong men are required for some of the heavy masks such as Thunder, but most may be used by anyone. A person asked to wear one seldom refuses, although he is liable to punishment in case of dropping it or any other accident. No one needed can decline who shall wear a particular mask, all these matters are arranged with spirited discussion during the day; stage management is not a highly developed Bella Coola profession. The masks are completed by the afternoon or hence, painted, and concealed behind a moving enclosure, one of which is built in each rear corner of the house. Sometimes the back-room itself is used to hide the sacred objects and only one shelter is constructed. The makers of the masks remain there with them, to assist in tying them over the heads of the wearers. Meanwhile all signs are swept up and burned and the house made tidy for the evening.

As twilight falls a herald goes to every house inviting the Initiates to assemble in X's. The uninitiated gather outside the door, waiting eagerly for the summons to enter and see the wonders, their curiosity, and fear, piqued by the sound of a whistle from within. But there are still delays; many of the Initiates wish to express themselves concerning the conduct of

* If the masks and other paraphernalia are not ready, several days may elapse before admission. Even evening the Initiates gather to practice the songs.

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the office, and so many differences of opinion are voiced that it is often difficult to understand how the ritual can be carried out so smoothly as it is. The masks are tried on, adjustments in the rope fastenings made, as final selection of the wearers approved. In fact, the summoning of the *kukwiat* is regarded by them as an invitation to open the masks and it is said that the herald sometimes calls this with a cryptic:

"Measure your hands, *kukwiat*," the significance of which the uninitiated fail to grasp.

At last those who are to wear the masks are chosen. They conceal themselves in one of a two matting shelters, while the other is full of those *kukwiat* who have prerogatives as Cannibals, Screechers, or Bears. It is these who are most feared by the uninitiated, and a slight accident should take place they rush forth suddenly, tightening the non-members to such an extent that they fail notice a mistake which would otherwise expose the mystery of the rites.

Meanwhile the Shamans at intervals sticks her head around the corner of the door to mock the uninitiated.

"You stupid ones!" she gibs. "You and you [naming two uninitiated] almost found my pantry. You came so close to me that I put out my ankand tripped you up. (A safe statement since everyone stumbles over half-buried roots some time or another.) You were afraid that you did not see me. Look where you are going, but your eyes open, and then you will become a fearless, learned, remaining a nonentity."

The uninitiated, sick at lost over the missed opportunity, resolve to be more alert in future. Difficult though it is for the white man to understand such credulity, yet different elderly informants apparently recalled the chagrin with which they had listened to such remarks when young. Childhood impressions of respect and fear are too deeply ingrained for doubt to occur.

At last all is ready and one of the marshals tells a *kwiat* to open the door and call the non-members. In they rush, to crowd near the door and gaze upon the masks with which X

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has been in contact. Their attitude of uncertainty as to whether they are gazing upon real supernatural beings or on representations of them has already been described, but the uninitiated do not theorize on the point—they are seeing strange sights about which X and the *tsalaxiat* know; that is enough for them. 575* 796*

Behind the fire they see a canoe-shaped erection, a model of *Nuákynow*'s craft, with six or eight masked heads, his passengers, appearing over the sides. Near this are four more disguised figures, three standing and one sitting. *Ana'kiwulnaix* ranges in the vicinity, while X himself stands behind, at intervals sweeping one arm over the heads of the strange beings and uttering a droning cry. *Ana'kiwulnaix* explains to the uninitiated that the figures have come from *alar*, that they are powerful, but not to be afraid, since X's drone gives protection to them from the supernatural ones. She points to one of the figures whose mask is painted with the design of a salmon.[*] 575* 796* 582 776

"See!" she says, "There is *Nuákynow*; unless he brings the salmon they cannot come to our river."

Another of the standing figures is described as *Dakdakinow*, and the other as *Atlilmkinow*. In each case she states briefly the functions of the being. The seated figure, who wears a large hat and rests on a mat, is the Resident. Great is the mystification of the uninitiated at seeing these supernatural beings[*] normally visible only to X. How they envy him! Another frequent display is of a group of masked figures playing *ahi* (II, p. 361). If this has been done, *Ana'kiwulnaix* explains that this game is of interest to the salmon and that it is therefore played in *Nuákynow*'s canoe. [781]

[*]There is no doubt that in former times the Bella Coola attached greater importance to the designs painted on masks than they do at present. Except for a few vague notes it was impossible to obtain information on this subject; in fact, in 1922 there was only one Bella Coola alive who understood the symbols used. This man was drunk so often that he proved an impossible informant. It is fortunate that Professor Boas recorded a considerable number of designs (op. cit.), to which the reader is referred. [177]

[*]As already described, the uninitiated unhesitatingly believe that they are actually gazing upon supernatural beings.

*575 Among the passengers in *Nuákynuw*'s canoe are a number
*796 of singers, who replace the usual ones on this *nakuam*. Each
wears the same type of mask, painted with red diagonals, and
592 with white feathers[*] projecting from the top.[*] After the un-
593 initiated have gazed for some time upon the wonders, their
leader, *Swakwuimutlé*, takes his place and his followers begin
to beat out an ancient song, believed to be sung in *Nuákynuw*'s
craft as it nears Bella Coola. The theme is:

"See me, mortals, I am *Nuwanuiwkdimut Nuákynuw*, the
dancer of *Nuákynuw*."

As the music starts, a figure rises from among the singers,
wearing a mask with heavy eye-brows[*] and carrying a light
staff about six feet in length, wound spirally with alternate
bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with a
tassel of dyed bark. Holding this in his hand he begins to
*575 dance lightly, running back and forth a few steps at a time
*796 in time to the beating of sticks, lifting his feet freely from the
[335] ground, and bending back and forth in airy grace, all the while
waving his wand to and fro. There are no fixed steps, the only
essential is that he convey the impression of being light of foot
and a good dancer; accordingly, the person selected for this
purpose is one with these qualifications. As he moves, *Ax̓ítlémulaxe* explains to the uninitiated that this is *Nuwanuiwkdimut*,
a dancer of great repute who accompanies *Nuákynuw* and guards
his singers. At this point *Ax̓ítlémulaxe*'s own song may or
[534] may not be sung. It never varies, and is believed to have been
handed down from dim antiquity. X himself must be the
singer, accordingly it can be sung only when the dancer has a
good voice. If this is the case, the marshals request him to
perform, and, if necessary, teach him the exact words. X,
standing behind the fire, sings alone and unaccompanied, then
the singers repeat the song in unison with the beating of their
[535] sticks, and *Ax̓ítlémulaxe* herself dances, using, of course, the
feminine style. At this juncture the uninitiated must be re-

*Broken feathers are now used.
*One of these masks was purchased for the National Museum of Canada.
*One of these masks was obtained for the National Museum of Canada.

[126]

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pelled; a Cannibal (II, p. 71) begins to growl and those who are not members of the society leave hastily.

The next event is the burning of the masks. The wearers remove them and lay them on the floor in front of the back-room at the point marked O in the accompanying sketch. Then X asks a friend to help him. The person chosen picks up any two of the masks and carries them around the fire, outside, through B, where X is standing, to the point marked A (see Fig. 1). The helper throws one mask on the fire, and as he does so X lifts his arms, as if throwing up some heavy weight, at the same time uttering *hoip*, which has a beneficial effect in returning the mask whence it came.

Fig. 1.
Diagram showing positions of participants during mask-burning.

As one informant put it: "May you have a safe journey."

The assistant throws the second mask on the fire, and again X throws up his arms and cries *hoip*. He crosses to A where he twice repeats the same cry, then returns to B. The assistant picks up two more masks and throws them on the fire at the same place and in the same manner as the two preceding, X also doing as he did before. The masks are taken two at a time until all have been burnt. The explanation given is to avoid the danger of the uninitiated seeing them, but whether or not this is a mere rationalization is doubtful. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella do not burn their masks. Now the singers strike up the first of X's songs and he dances, while musicians and audience join in; this is repeated for each of his songs. If it is desired to hasten the ritual, the lengthy singing and dancing is replaced by X giving only a short dance, unaccompanied by music. The Bella Coola do not appear to understand why they dance at this time, although it is said that it makes easy the departure of the masks.

In Kitamaat the ritual of mask-burning is slightly different.

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[The Dance of Nuxkenim]

since a certain *hamat* has the definite prerogative of throwing them on the fire. As each is tossed into the flames he calls out:

"Please return directly to the supernatural room."

The only exception is for the mask of *Ana'kimalanis* for which his cry is:

"Please return directly to your repository."

Before X can again take his normal place in the community it is necessary to remove from him the call, which is conceived as being something physical that has entered his body. This is the belief taught to the uninitiated so emphatically that the *hahamat* themselves appear to believe it; at any rate, whatever their inward thoughts, they act as if the call had substance. As soon as the masks have been burnt one of the *hahamat* suggests that it is time to expel the call. All the *hahamat* in the house crowd around X, as many as can reach his body pressing against his stomach with their hands, always in an upward direction. Higher and higher they go, from stomach to chest, from chest to neck, as if massaging some object. At last it is thought to have been expelled, and X brings his hands together, as if holding something with great care. Suddenly he throws them up in the air, opening them as he does so, and calling out:

Anakilimat ala ilmilmayas, "Go back to your ancient home."

These ritual words have been handed down from ancient times and are used by every *hamat* to dismiss his call. Whither it is sent is problematical. Some say to X's repository, others to *Nuxpalmanim*; the Bella Coola do not know. Often one of his songs has been sung on the sidewalk outside X's house; the call may be returned from there.

This rite ends the ceremony and the *hahamat* disperse. It is obvious that every *nuhamat* must vary according to the power of the dancer, but the sketch is typical of the ritual. A call can now come to any *hamat*, and one often descends at this time, so that X's *nuhamat* is forbidden for another dance.

For the rest of the ceremonial season X has to observe certain rules. He must wear his collar of cedar-bark and

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around every *Sacred* dance. Usually all *Sacred* do so in any case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been blackened, it must be kept so during this period. At every gathering he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an uninitiated person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes to another housemate. Failure to obey this injunction was formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules apply to every dancer.

Alqanaxw enters *Nuqalwanxw* at the winter solstice, and at that time calls come to those *Sacred* of whom he is person. It is uncertain whether or not this avoids the regular ceremony of four nights' duration. On the entry of the supreme being, *Nuxlayxw* seizes his paddle (or pole?), returns to *Smaxw-a*, and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers compose a sixth song for him. The words describe how the departing *Nuxlayxw* empties a large number of *sisulus* into the river.* X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after calls have come to other *Sacred*.

It sometimes happens that no *Sacred* of whom *Nuxlayxw* is person has enough food to give the lengthy dance just described, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper prerogative is asked by the marshals to see *Nuxlayxw* when at *the mouth of the river*; then, when he passes upstream four days later, a call can come to any *Sacred*. This abbreviated ceremony, named *Xwulkwulqanxw*, is carried out in the manner described above, except that it is completed in four days with only two songs.

*Nuxlayxw is accordingly also called *Nuxlayxwm*.

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THE DANCE OF *Wla*

*575 Although potlatches and *kuxiut* dances cannot take place
*996 simultaneously in the same house, and although the former are
556 supposedly completed before the beginning of the ceremonial season, they often overlap the lengthy preliminaries of the *Noákynm* dance. In such cases, when visiting the houses of the village, the *kukuxiut* are careful to pass by the one in which the potlatch is going on. It often happens that foreign guests are still present when *Noákynm* ascends the river and their host wishes to provide entertainment for them in the shape of a spectacular *kuxiut* display. This is possible if a *kuxiut* with
[424] a *wla* prerogative is willing to have a call come to him. It is probable that in every village there is at least one *kuxiut* with this prerogative; in *Tsmaif* the owner is a certain *Lakwala*,[*] in Kimsquit a woman named *Nawaxmlaia*. An ancestor of the former received his designation at the direct wish of *Alqaméin* as leader of the supernatural *kukuxiut*. It is unnecessary to describe the ritual in detail in both places, although certain differences must be mentioned. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X. He has ten patrons, the nine brothers
[774] *Xemxemálaila*, *Xemxua*, *Omqomkilka*, *Almálaila*, *Alamkilka*, *Qmcua*, *Qalacuua*, *Kulilas Nuxkómqia*, *Almál*[*], and their sister *Tlúxpilála a*.[*] These supernatural beings remain in *Nanmá a* except when summoned below by X, or when *Tlúxpilála a* appears for her own purposes as already described.

If X accedes to the request of the donor of the potlatch and is willing to summon his patrons from above, one or other of them interviews the marshals, and if these acquiesce, the rite can proceed. In Bella Coola X asks the help of four *kukuxiut*
*575 who are termed his "Path Clearers"; no special prerogative is
*996 required to perform this service. For four days X lies on the floor of his house, near the door to the back room, while his

[*] The rite has not been carried out in Bella Coola since the death of the former owner about 1911; the name has passed to his brother's son's son.

[*] Boas (p. 32) gives the same list of beings although in slightly different order.

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[The Dance of Wila]

"Path Clearers" see to it that no one passes between him and the fire. The uninitiated are not expelled from the house and their curiosity is aroused. Meanwhile the singers prepare songs for X, describing his supernatural patrons, and some *kukuciut* carpenters are instructed to make in secret ten small pieces of wood, about one foot in length and six inches wide, sometimes half-moon shaped. They cover these with dyed cedar-bark on which they paint the designs appropriate to each being.* On the morning of the fourth day,* X blackens his face with soot or charcoal, obtained by pouring water on a fire, and dons the usual *kuciut* costume. A herald then invites the *kukuciut* to assemble in X's house. Presently they proceed to the lowest house of the village, where the singers beat out the tunes of the "Path Clearers," remembered from a previous year. They dance, while X stands, shifting his feet and moving his apron as if he also wished to perform but was too weary to do so. This is repeated at every house of the village, except that in which the potlatch was held; most of the *kukuciut* follow the procession, so do some of the uninitiated. Finally, with X last of all, they enter the potlatch house, where foreign guests and many uninitiated have assembled.

In Kimsquit the preliminary four days of watching are omitted, but from this point on, the rites of the two areas are practically identical.* As X enters, all the *kukuciut* who have pounding sticks begin to beat on the floor and the women drum. Without delay, and without attention to the tumultuous thumping, X begins to dance, surveys, around the fire, at intervals casting on it particles of eagle down which have the effect of making the supernatural ones there take their places. He calls out intermittently that he can see the beings there sitting down, and a herald repeats his remarks loudly. In Bella Coola the four "Path Clearers" walk close behind X.

*The distinctive designs are given by Boas, to whom the reader is referred.

*It is probable that X does not lie down where Pudlynat's dancer reports that the same is at the mouth of the river.

*It is uncertain whether the differences in ritual are typical of Bella Coola and Kimsquit, or merely represent variations in individual prerogatives.

[The Dance of Wi'l.a]

575 The last to seat himself is *Kuḷiłac Nuxkāmpts*, an obstreperous
946 individual, who always wants more presents than anyone else.
782 When X announces that the beings above have taken their places, a carpenter brings forward the object covered with cedar-bark and painted with a design of *Xemsowālala*,* holds it above X's head, and then gives it to a herald who casts it into the fire. At the same time X throws on the flames some dyed cedar-bark, some undyed cedar-bark, a little eagle down, and some olachen grease, saying:

"Please *Xemsowālala*,* accept this offering and be present," and throws his hands up in the air as if casting some object upwards.

Still dancing, X calls out *hoip* several times.

The painted representation and the cedar-bark are objects which *Xemsowālala* likes to receive; the olachen grease supplies the flame on which they ascend to him. The same procedure is repeated for the eight other lowlers, with slight variations in the words addressed to each. To *Gwgwnkilda*, for example, X says:

[334] *Ḥalqmā'ānkilaxa* | *dzemsdzemsdzemsdzemsa* | *xuqkamsxuqk*
Wunkqmkas-xalmamā'[illegible] | in the place where he sits, | the recipient,*
Ḥwgwnkilāłmuk
Gwgwnkilda,*

When the time comes to invite the hungry *Tlō'qulilas*, an offering of food instead of bark is cast upon the flames. X
575 continues to dance after the final gift, and presently a shaman
946 is heard on the roof while some *łaqtlat*, chosen beforehand for the purpose, compressed a hidden bladder-whistle which the spectators know is the voice of the owl. Whether they be-
787

[184] *The Kwagiutl, the offerings are made by a shaman who has this prerogative in connection with the same *Ḥamatsa* ceremony.

[174] *The other name is *Ḥulqumi*, "The Receiver of Many Gifts."

*Painted then is one of the largest manufactures, the species could not be identified, of the designations, properly applied only to *Xemsowālala*, is often used for the lowlers as well.

*These words are virtually being such received from reciting the end of each subdivision. A sound recording of the music for the National Museum of Canada, record 702 D by singer, Jim Pellech.

[124]

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[The Dance of Wil·a]

leave the dead on the roof, which is made by an accomplice, is the call itself, or a being bringing it to X, is problematical. All non-members are expelled immediately, including guests other than Kimsquit or *Tal·ts ḥaḥaciut*. One is tempted to conjecture whether or not the dancer of the potlatch does not use this rite as a means of getting rid of his guests if they show a disposition to linger too long.

The call having come to X, this is the day of *ḥaxiimum*. In the early evening a herald goes up and down the platform outside the houses, calling out in effect:

"He has been pressed to earth beneath the weight."

No mention is made of who "he" may be, although the uninitiated are well aware. The herald then enters each house in order, starting at the bottom, to invite the *ḥaḥaciut* to assemble in X's. After he has been aided by the beating of sticks, four times repeated, the singers seat themselves behind the fire, where X joins them. The fiction is always carried out that the call has brought him a song, which he pretends to sing or recite to the singers who appear to be listening intently. Usually he says nothing, or talks about something else, though sometimes the deception is furthered by X first learning the words from the musicians and repeating them as if teaching.

The chants is always of the supernatural persons and how the offering secures them. Since only *ḥaḥaciut* are present and since they all understand the methods, this part of the ceremony may be slighted.* The singers have set and sing the song a number of times, softly, as if practicing, then more loudly for the benefit of the audience, and finally at full strength while X dances. Later in the season when many *ḥaḥaciut* have performed, and there is danger of the songs being forgotten, it is customary to sing them over on the night of *ḥaxiimum* while the owner of each song dances. Throughout, the whistle sounds, to the awe of the uninitiated in the other

*Since when no uninitiated are present, the *ḥaḥaciut* always surround their ceremonials with an air of mystery which eminently effects themselves.

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[The Dance of Wila]

*575 *996 houses. The night's ceremony concludes with a meal and the admonitions of the marshals.

No further description is needed of the rites taking place the next day, that of *wanaxilaqa*, where a second song is composed, again dealing with X's patrons, and wood for masks is cut. The evening's ceremonial does not last as long as that of *hanqimum*.

[594] [597] [598] The next day, *qatlem*, the carpenters work at the masks, some of which must be finished by nightfall. Late in the evening both *hahaciut* and uninitiated prepare themselves by painting and washing; at this time the young men provide pans of warm water for their female friends. As already described, the *hahaciut* are the first to arrive, followed by the uninitiated when all is ready. In Kimsquit they use the masks [114] of at least some of X's supernatural patrons suspended by cords of dyed cedar-bark from a sleeping pole that stretches from the floor at the base of the back-room to the cross-beam behind the fire. It is said, although the informant could not guarantee the truth of the statement, that long ago masks had to be displayed at this dance, though it was optional at others. It is a serious and sacred time, one at which frivolity is quite out of place, and the marshals are in readiness to punish any offender. One very old informant told of having seen a marshal strike down and kill a *hahaciut* from another house for dabbling intercourse with a woman on this night. The hawids [597] stay near the door, repeating and enlarging on the remarks of the marshals, the fancy of these functionaries always adds opportunity to the success of any Bella Coola rite. On this occasion X and the dancer of *Nuxlipuxu* must perform, followed by those who have danced in former years, according to the desire of the singers; later in the season, when many *hahaciut* have performed, the rite may continue almost all down, for all must dance. After the departure of the uninitiated the *hahaciut* act intensely, while a marshal addresses them, commenting on the ritual and, perhaps, taking a note

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[The Dance of Wi·a]

to allow his son to be initiated on the next day. Then X dances once more and the *kukusiut* disperse. 575* 796*

There is no need to repeat an account of the preliminaries of *nuxwam*, including the construction of the two shelters in the back corners of the house and the summoning first of the *kukusiut* and then of the uninitiated. When all is ready, a masked figure representing *Xemsemálstis* appears from one of the shelters, and dances around the fire, sunwise, revolving sunwise at the same time, while the *kukusiut* men pound violently, the *kukusiut* women drone, and the uninitiated stare with open mouths. As he dances he sings: [535]

"I am *Xemsemálstis*. The supernatural beings call continually on me as they give me presents. See me."

Then he stands in the centre of the space behind the fire, holding in his hand a stick that has just been given to him and which is decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark and a tuft of swan down at the top and middle. The beating of sticks died down while *Xemsemálstis* was making his announcement, but it now breaks out afresh as *Xemsus* appears. He too dances around the fire, announces his name and stands on *Xemsemálstis*'s right. There is more pounding, and out comes *Awlíkwulxais*, who circles the fire and stands on *Xemsemálstis*'s left. But instead of remaining motionless she constantly moves about the house, now here, now there, talking to the uninitiated and assuring them that it is *Xemsemálstis* whom they see. She takes care not to come into close contact with the uninitiated as her identity might be detected. One after the other the other patrons emerge, dance around the fire, and take their stations alternately to right and left of *Xemsemálstis*. *Kwíkas Nuxkémpts* keeps leaving his place as if to seek things from different parts of the house, while *Almáł**, who is a kingfisher, moves to and fro in quick, hopping steps, imitating the actions of that bird. A few minutes after *Tlúxpilitw·a* has joined the others, *Xemsemálstis* begins to hum loudly: [535]

[The Dance of Wi·a]

575 *I*..., and *ao*...," revolving sunwise at the same time.
796 *Ano'lkwulsaix* does not fail to point out to the uninitiated: "That is the way he sings up above. Look at him! That is what he does in his own home."

575 If foreigners, guests for the potlatch, are in attendance,
796 *Ano'lkwulsaix* adds that the supernatural beings are disappointed at having been called too late for it. Then the uninitiated are expelled, the masks burnt, and the *kukuxiut* disperse.
552

A few further notes are necessary on this dance. If a potlatch is to be given after the *kuxiut* season, the calling of these supernatural beings is sometimes reserved as the last *kuxiut* dance, and any foreigners present, as uninitiated guests, are told that the beings have come for the ceremony. There is
[776] thus a superficial appearance of confusion between these *kuxiut* patrons and *nusuk* deities. It is nothing more than a resemblance, since the nine brothers do not appear at the potlatch, and nothing is said to explain their absence; it is merely a subterfuge to increase the interest of the rite. Nor is any
[778] connection necessary; in fact, X usually obtains his *nuk* like any other *kuxiut*, without the spectacular throwing of presents on the fire. In this case X and the marshals consult and select the proper day for the beginning of the ceremony. On the
575 night preceding that chosen, the *kukuxiut* are called to X's
796 house and one of the marshals announces that he can hear X's call wanting to come to him. He answers simply:
787

"I am afraid."

The uninitiated are not expelled from X's house, so that they learn what is to take place. No ritual occurs on that evening, but one of X's friends remains constantly with him, as if to assist in any emergency. *Kukuxiut* are often sent up the slopes of the neighbouring mountains with whistles which the uninitiated hear, and which lead them to believe that supernatural beings are in the vicinity.

[126] A phonographic record was made of this, National Museum of Canada, record VII D 4b, singer, Jim Pollard.

[The Dance of Wil·a]

About dusk on the following day X, who is in his own house, suddenly stands up and cries out: 575* 796*

"Yes. It has come. I am afraid. Yes! I will do as you bid me." 987

The *kukuxiut* women begin to drone and the uninitiated are expelled. Heralds announce that a *kuxiut* has been pressed to earth, and presently they go to every house inviting the *kukuxiut* to gather in X's. From this point on, the rite of *kuxémem* continues in the manner already described.

The ability of X to summon these nine brothers from above is a special prerogative; other *kukuxiut* have one or other of them as patron, but lack the power to call the whole number to earth. One *kuxiut* has exclusive knowledge of the m:t which is spread for *Omqwéklika* when the other supernatural beings summon him to a ceremony; another of the place where the brethren obtain their eagle down. Detailed information was not obtained about these ceremonies. [424]

THE CANNIBAL DANCE

Of all *kuxiut* dances, the one of which the uninitiated are most afraid, and which is, therefore, the strongest, is the Cannibal dance. It is believed that the performer is exposed to greater dangers than in any other rite, and observers have the most spectacular ocular demonstrations of his powers. The patrons of most Cannibals are *Alqunéim*, *Sxwexéleq*, or *Kimai·ts*, who implant in their protégés a wolf, bear, or eagle, causing them to devour strange foods. The Bella Coola consider that a man is equally a Cannibal whether he has the prerogative of eating corpses, biting the living, eating dogs or raw salmon, or biting himself. The most common of these is the right to bite the living, and few of the older people are not marred thereby. Fear of Cannibals is one of the strongest reasons for the respect with which the uninitiated regard the *kuxiut* society, but though the holders of prerogatives of this type are regarded with awe on account of their powers, they are not considered as chiefs, as the Bella Coola say in the case

575* 796* 424 [981] [996] [987] [981] [171] [622]

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[Ke Cannibal Dance]

among the Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and Rivers Inlet people. Indeed, in Bella Coola a poor man may be the most dreaded Cannibal of all, if he has been able duly to validate and perform his right in this respect. Nor is the dance carried out with the same rigour in Bella Coola as among the tribes of the outer coast.

The ritual of different prerogatives varies to such an extent that several accounts must be given, in spite of the repetitions that this form of presentation entails. On account of the length of time necessary, a Cannibal dance usually begins early in the season. The following describes the manner in which *Kwatsiskt* of Kimsquit, who can bite the living, carried out his rite; it was obtained from his brother, who is thoroughly conversant with the details. It will be convenient to refer to *Kwatsiskt* as X, and to use the present tense throughout.

A meeting is held at which the marshals and others choose, in agreement with X and his relatives, a day suitable for him to commence his performance. Under normal circumstances it is on some *qulow* that a marshal announces that he can hear X's call, and on the following evening, when the ritual has been completed, the uninitiated are startled to hear continuous whistling from the slopes of the mountains near the village. The instruments used are of the usual bladder type, but the long-drawn-out sound, termed *Ailikka*, is said to be the voice of the kindly supernatural woman, *Snimalu a*.*

*The sole function of this being seems to be the summoning to life of those who appear to have been killed in the performance of Sacred rites. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether or not she is identical with *Tlingalilla a*. The noise which heralds her coming is produced by the whistles of four *Sakaiat* who throughout the night range the forests and mountains within ear-shot of the village. By bending their heads up and down, they are able to increase the weirdness and apparent clearness of the sound. The four travel in single file, the leader blows, and when his breath is nearly exhausted he passes the head of the second man, who starts whistling forthwith, while the original leader drops to the rear. As the second becomes weary, he signals in the same way to the third, and so on; in this way the whistling is continuous, and the uninitiated are convinced that it cannot be caused by mortals, even if such an idea should occur to them. If a non-member should meet the foks, they would at once kill him or make him a prisoner, keeping him out of sight until he could be initiated into the society.

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[The Cannibal Dance]

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796*
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Towards dawn, a herald goes through the village crying loudly:

"Get up, you young men! Get up all ye people! Something strange has come upon the young man."

The uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house where he is acting as if demented, biting any of his associates except other Cannibals, Scratchers, Breakers, or those whose patrons are ghosts. Meanwhile those who are not members of the society cower in their own houses, and are told that if they dare to look out, X, scenting them, will bite them to death. At intervals during the morning, X goes around to the other houses, naked and savage, snapping at everyone he sees. The uninitiated hide in the bedrooms, but peek out occasionally and hear his growlings and the shrieks of mock terror with which his associates greet his bites and threats. The *kukusiut* tell non-members when it is safe for them to leave their hiding-places for necessary purposes, but at all other times they remain in concealment, listening with fear to the dangerous maniac.

About midday X returns to his house where a large number of *kukusiut* have assembled. The uninitiated certainly, and perhaps some of the *kukusiut* as well, believe that Cannibals are carried away to the land above where they are exposed to great dangers, and to prevent this an effort is always made to bind the dancer. The marshals and X's relatives have made the necessary preparations, consisting of the manufacture of a long rope, in addition to the usual dyed cedar-bark collar and a bear-skin. The *kukusiut* enter whole-heartedly into the dramatic spirit of the rite, and the robe is thrust over X in spite of his furious struggles. Then the collar is forced over his head, while the women drone and the whistles sound eerily, to the wonder of the uninitiated listening from adjacent houses. The thick, cable-like rope is doubled and a circle of *kukusiut* form around the seemingly demented dancer, each man holding a section. X rushes against one part of the circle after another, as if to force his way out; sometimes he bends down, and those

[172]

[292]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

*575 *796 7887 restraining him bend too, throwing him back into the centre of the circle with the aid of the rope and their bodies. Meanwhile the women are droning, and some of them pound on the floor with sticks; intermittent calls of *heip* and the sound of the whistle add to the weird confusion. The circle of *kukusiut* often revolves around X, each man jumping in time to his neighbours, so that the din is increased. After about ten minutes, the circle gradually contracts to a double line, and the rope is slipped over X's head, as if tying up a dangerous beast. One end is given to a *kusiut* willing to have a call, and he goes around leading X as if he were a captive animal. The heralds go to every house to report what has taken place.[40]

Towards dusk two young *kukusiut* are sent up the mountains. Soon after the sun has set, members of the society gather on the sidewalk outside X's house, to which X is led. He is still struggling, and the *kukusiut* press close around him, as if to restrain him; thereby effectually concealing everything from the uninitiated watching from the doorways of their houses. At a signal from one of the senior *kukusiut*, all the members of the society shriek out *ye* -- at the top of their voices. At the same time X, aided by his fellows, slips from his rope and hides himself within a bow-drum, which is then carried back to his house. Warned by the cry, the two lads up the mountains forthwith begin to growl. This furnishes clear proof to the uninitiated that X has been able, owing to the power within him, to slip away from the closest bonds of his fellows and travel aloft. In answer to the growls from above, a *kusiut* with a powerful voice calls out:

"Go aloft on the right road. Your power will enable you to escape the dangers. But do not stray from the narrow trail."

[184] In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, the *kukusiut* then go to every house, crying and wailing, thinking of the Cannibals

[40] It is not clear whether or not the uninitiated are sometimes present at the roping.

2:McGlashan E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

who have gone adrift and never returned,* and of course increasing the fear of the uninitiated. They then go back to X's home where a marshal speaks, asking all to keep silence so that they will be able to hear X when he returns from the land above. No noise is permitted during his absence, even the discharge of muskets being forbidden. The man who carries the rope from which X escaped always receives a call on this night, because the supernatural beings have seen the important part he has played in the rite, and his patron recognizes it in this way. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated and, accordingly, the rope-holder is some *Sacsiac* who wishes to have a call. After the usual curing,* one song is composed for the rope-holder, and sung very softly, since the night's ceremony is termed *Ahdipsoomy*, "The Acrimonious Night," or *Nacsimwat*, "The Silent Night." The uninitiated believe that the *Sakaciac* are filled with woe and foreboding at the fate before X. It is early morning before they disperse.

The next day, *waciatilcap* for the rope-holder, the usual ritual is omitted since the presence of grief and fear must still be preserved. Thus the necessary wood for the rope-holder's masks is cut silently. The collar and rope from which X escaped are hung on the wall of his house, and when a herald summons the *Sakaciac* during the evening, he bids them assemble to watch over these objects. Although a second song, composed during the day, is practised for the rope-holder, it is done so softly that the uninitiated from neighbouring houses imagine that the *Sakaciac* are really brooding over their loss. The only sound that reaches them is an occasional *hoip*, accentuating their fear. After the customary distribution of work and food the *Sakaciac* disperse.

On the morrow, the rope-holder's *qaiam*, the uninitiated are summoned, because it is assumed that members of the

*If a Cowichan dies during his period of consciousness he is buried secretly. The uninitiated are told that his power enabled him to cross a crossing chasm in the land above, but then it failed him, so that he was unable to return to his friends.

*This ceremony of the Sacsiac lasting of whole, requested four days.

[*The Cannibal Dance*]

[illegible] society have recovered from the shock of X's disappearance. Thereafter the *hamatsa* dances continue night after night, but the Cannibal remains hidden. Sometimes he is carried to a dance, concealed within a drum; more often he remains within the back-room of his own house or hides in some lonely part of the mountains. Throughout this period he eats little or nothing, and formerly used to devour a horse of roots that produced unction. The length of concealment depends entirely on X. If he desires to impress the uninitiated with the dangers which he has survived, he remains hidden for a long time; consequently, the period varies from a week to two months or even more. On every occasion that a *nawalak* addresses the *hahamatsa* he warns them to watch for X's return, and garbled accounts of this reach the uninitiated.

When X's relatives and the *nawalak* have decided that the Cannibal has been long enough absent, they make arrangements for him to reappear. The time selected is always the eight of a *sakacum*, and after the departure of the uninitiated on the preceding evening the *nawalak* discuss arrangements with the *hahamatsa* and also talk to various individuals. Several *hahamatsa* shave X's head, except a small patch above the forehead, to support the story which he will tell of the high winds prevailing in the land above, which blew the hair from his head.*

After the dismissal of the uninitiated on the following night of *sakacum*, the *hahamatsa* make their final arrangements. When they judge from the passage of the stars or the state of the tide that dawn is at hand, several members of the society climb to the roof of the previously selected house. First they sound a whistle, then dance on the roof with their feet, and call out:

Ewe, ewe, ewe: this is a cry used by Cannibals returned from above which is supposed to indicate a longing for meat.

The *hahamatsa* sleeping within, knowing that their house has been selected, are ready as soon as they are awakened. The

* When all were mentioned there is the much that was done with a disappointed place of [illegible], he was unable to [illegible] when [illegible] used to [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] down, while the men rush out to capture the returning [illegible]. The uninitiated hear the sounds of feet rushing over the roof, as if a furious chase were taking place, and presently a load [illegible] comes to their ears. Having been told on previous occasions that the notes a Cumiled who is compelled to travel through space, they realize that he has escaped his would-be captors and returned alone.

Then the herald goes around the village calling:

"Young boys! Get up, see, the Cumiled is at hand!"

In the early dawn, whistling is heard from the upper slopes of a near-by mountain and the uninitiated, watching eagerly and fearfully, behold a man clad in a bear-skin, who moves around, running for seven skins, and finally dashes down one and disappears into the forest, when the whistling ceases. They assume that this is the returning Cumiled; in reality, it is a dancer who has been sent out to perform the deception. Two go together, one to be hidden and use the whistle, the companion to appear; the latter must be a strong man, able to run easily over rough slopes because it would lessen the Cumiled's prestige were the uninitiated to see him fall. After about five minutes' absence, the whistling is heard on the river bank at a point over a mile from where the supposed Cumiled vanished into the forest, and as before a bear-skin clad figure appears. The non-members assume that it is the figure previously seen, and that he has been able to penetrate the dense forest in some mysterious manner; in reality it is another pair of helpers, one of whom shows himself while the other uses the whistle. Meanwhile other helpers go to X's house where they paint themselves black and don color-back ornaments. When ready, they set out to catch the Cumiled, travelling on two crossed arrows which planks have been laid, but not tied, and steered by a skilful waterman in bow and stern. They land at the place where the Cumiled was last seen, and proceed to hunt him. For the benefit of the uninitiated, watching from the village, they spend a considerable time at this, failing at first, but at length succeeding. Sometimes they drive their

[illegible] into a converging "v" of barriers, so someone may be down so fast to arrange the Cassilid so that the other lurking pursuers can secure him. No effort is spared to make the man-hunt realistic. Then they carry the captive, struggling and biting, to the canoes and set out for the village. The pursuers are lengthened or curtailed until the tide is favourable for the navigation of the craft, about two hours to the canal time consumed. When to mid-stream, the city, [illegible] to again extend, the supposed Cassilid has once more escaped! All this time Ø himself has been hiding in or near the village, and he now appears. Instantly the fishermen left in the weir, transformed as off to pursuit, then returning on the canoes have their passage and join the chase. After a struggle they succeed in capturing Ø and bringing him to the village.

The Cassilid acts like a demoniac crowd, struggling, striking, and biting as if his adversaries had actually destroyed his canoes. He drags his captors, a number of strong fishermen, to the various houses, and they are barely able to restrain him within the doorways and to force him out, biting and raving as them. A skilful actor is able to impress the uninitiated as a considerably actual, and of course he is supposed by his associates. When every house has been visited, Ø is carried back to his own and a herald announces all the fishermen to cast him. The uninitiated are a crowd to crowd over the door to watch.

The assumption is that Ø has had the nature and existence of an animal seven into him; if this constitutional "madness" can be driven out by beating him, he will be restored to sanity. Two long, thin sounding boards have been prepared previously, as well as a number of birch sticks with which the fishermen beat him. One man stands up to lead the drummers, and the sticks rise and fall in unison with his movements, in the manner previously described. So that Ø growls around the house,

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*This operation will be and hundreds in an transmission of a drive, the power is that of an attack which, having entered a city, compels him to an [illegible] [illegible]

975*
946*
987

closely guarded by his attendants, but as the rite continues, he gradually becomes quieter and at last comes to sit down in a corner upon with other Initiates engaged in either hand. After four rounds of dancing, there suddenly appears beside X the head of an angle, well, as been, according to its perspective. This is his constituents involves, drawn from life by the successful learning of time. The head, usually a cut one, has been carefully fixed by the carpenters, so that it can open its mouth, move its eyes, and give other signs of life. If it is a wall, assistants concealed behind the row of Initiates flanking X move to and fro a gigantic wall wall, bending either realism to the performance. The further remote piece of wood, presumably the pieces of human flesh which Q is discovered, in reality they are usually passed into the hands of the head by carpenters, concealed behind the row of Initiates. The uninitiated see the flesh fall into a box placed before X's feet and mouth seems arising from it, but they do not know that but [illegible] have previously been laid within to cover this. As the music pauses and through the contrast's mouth X bends down and bites at it this an animal (see Plate [illegible]) while all the Initiates present stand up and call out [illegible] four times. When the fourth shout the animal's head is concealed, though the uninitiated believe that it has removed, while the head whose whence is come to cover Q. The Cassidal now takes by [illegible]. Its guardians no longer press so closely round him and [illegible] and many of the Initiates leave he house.

Another advantage to improve the conceptual is sometimes employed. Instead of permitting the disposal of the incubus at once, another Cassidal is chosen to carry it from X. While two guardians hold Q firmly, other placing [illegible] the prospective recipient so that the two are standing face to face, each held motionless. The second Cassidal stretches his hand forward and pretends to draw something from X. At once he begins to grow and throw himself to and fro as if in frenzy, while the uninitiated are told to leave, but they come to know. They need no second initiation, especially as a new neophyte

[Dove [illegible] 114, p.88 (E) - Analysis]

The Cannibal Dance]

is working so violently that it appears as if it would be only a few moments before he breaks loose and runs amuck. Closely guarded by a band of *hahaiat*, the second Cannibal is now taken to every house of the village. He seems to be striving to escape, and to be restrained by the *hahaiat*. All the time he growls and calls out:

ł .....

The call of *ooo* can be used only by a Cannibal who has returned from the realms above. X meanwhile remains in his own house, to which the substitute is finally brought and the cannibalistic incubus returned by the call of *yo* ..... four times repeated.

It was impossible to learn the details of a rite that occurs during the afternoon of this day. The singers have composed two songs for X, one describing his adventures in the land of the dead, and the other the return of the incubus which made him a flesh-eating house. It appears probable that during the afternoon the *hahaiat* assemble in X's house to learn these songs. It might be added that the ritual of a Cannibal dance differs widely from that of most *hamatsa* ceremonies, since there is no gallop and no rallycow; the uninitiated believe that the whole affair is so serious that they are not surprised at ritualistic inconsistencies.

In the evening the *hahaiat* are first summoned to X's house, and hear the uninitiated. X is sitting close to the singers, with a number of *hahaiat* grouped around him in case he should become frenzied. The singers first sing over the song describing the return of the Cannibal power, with the *hahaiat* joining in softly. The chorus of every Cannibal song consists of the words:

Hámdzwai, hámdzwai, hámi', hámi'.

It is said that this same refrain is used in all Cannibal songs by the Bella Bella and Fort Rupert people; the Bella Coola, ignorant of the meaning of the words, affirm that they have none.

X now talks in a low tone of voice to the singers, as if

telling them of his adventures, and presently they begin to sing the song, as if they had just learnt the theme from X. Frequently the description is increased by X first learning the song and repeating it to the singers in a voice sufficiently loud for the uninitiated to hear. The theme of this, and every other song used for Cannibals, is of the land above and the dangers which X has survived. The singers add new facts and intonations to vary the monotony, but the subjects usually described are:

The far land above with its many trails and the river that flows through it.

The gale constantly raging there which has blown the hair from X's head and the dirt from his body.

The trail across a yawning chasm over which his supernatural strength enabled him to leap. If a Cannibal dies when in consciousness, the *Indwarlat* bury the corpse secretly and tell the uninitiated that his power failed him on the other side of the abyss so that he was unable to return.

Hyaenas under his various names.

How his power helped him to escape the *Ilkhum*, "They of the Huge Jaws," evil beings who tried to kill X by melting him into their gaping mouths.

The *tabu-lists* which are found at the edge of the far land above.

The kindly being *Tsonnokhidden*, who gave him the necessary power to recross the chasm. The uninitiated believe that unless a Cannibal meets this being he will be unable to return.

No one song for any Cannibal contains references to all these beings and events, but it is on these that the singers draw for their themes, always altering and adding to produce a fine effect.

On this occasion X does not dance,* and the uninitiated are more amplified. As the *Indwarlat* are acting, one member after another praises X for what he has done, and gives the most solemn warnings to all as to the necessity of complying

* There is a difference of opinion on this point.

the river satisfactorily. Towards midnight the gathering breaks up.

Many of the younger and more athletic Indians sleep in X's house, ready to assist him in the "Running Song." About an hour and a half before dawn the uninitiated are awakened by continual shouting and growling from X's house, where the dog runs X's ghostly, run, run, run.

The shouting and noise lead to a spot on the rear of the village, whither X has gone with the musicians and about twenty Indians. Presently the singers begin to chant forth a new song, X's third, of which the theme is again the Cuculhuí's adventures in the land above; the uninitiated readily believe that he has taught the singers these words, though they had been audible to have them from within the houses. There is more shouting as X runs to a second place behind the village, where the same song is said once more. When this has been repeated four times, X is led back to his house.

For four days the uninitiated remain in a constant state of terror. Although the repulsion of the cuculhuíís incident has resulted in restore X's sanity, he is still wild, unable either to eat or sleep. Twice every night the madness conquers him, and he flashes from his house, barely recovered by his faithful Indian attendants. Eager for the flesh of human beings, he rushes at the doors, tearing them down if they should be closed, growling furiously, but his guardians always succeed in dragging him out before he does any real damage. This is repeated at every house of the village. Since the uninitiated are too frightened to look out, it often happens that a substitute takes the place of X on these semi-nightly occasions. During the day he remains within his own house, concealed, on a platform built for him between the fire and the back room.

On the fourth evening, the 8th after his return from above, the Indians are summoned to his house to soothe him so that he will be down on this platform and run. The uninitiated, listening eagerly but fearfully, hear now more the sound of the frenzied whirl-bearing. The beside inform them that X

is now sufficiently moved so that he can lie down and rest, and thereafter the mourned ends as the village are disconsolate.

X remains concealed on the platform, supposedly without eating, for four days. On the fourth day occurs the ceremony of washing. Early in the morning a herald goes to every house in the village asking for urine and grease extracted from the heads of useless animals. The fetisheur gather in X's house, to which full chamber-vessels and pots of grease have been taken. No uninitiated are allowed to be present, but from adjacent houses they hear sounds of furious struggling, combined with growling. Presently they see a number of fetisheur carrying X, smeared with liquid, to the river. Some informants state that he is actually covered with urine and fish-oil, others that these are merely emptied within the house and were poured over X, that their collection is merely to deceive the uninitiated. At any rate he is taken to the river, where, in spite of his shrieks, kicks, and struggles, he is four times dressed by his guardians. Often he urines events from the bed of the stream and hurls them at his captors, sometimes breaking them severely. This washing ceases in the conversion of X to sanity. He is taken four times to every house in the village, no longer growling and struggling, and a herald announces that he will dance that evening.

Soon after dusk the fetisheur are summoned and they produce the four songs composed for X. Then the uninitiated are called in. As his songs are sung, X dances in the usual fetisheur style, but more violently than usual, and growling at intervals. The women dance and his four guardians stand close by, spitting into his ears to soothe him.* This is done by calling their heads close to his head, so that a spray of fine saliva is sprayed over him. After dancing, X sits down once more and a meddled cake not that food is to be given to him, he is supposed to have eaten nothing but morsels of human flesh since his departure for the upper world. The women are dan-

* Spitting into ears frequently is associated with curing by means of the shamanistic healing of souls.

[illegible]

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

[illegible] many times we female was witness a Cannibal's fit meal. These behaviour are dispatched to ask for food, as if they were begging on behalf of X. Choicest grouse, dried salmon, dried geese, and other luxuries are always given to them and the institutional women are excited at witnessing this affection of food. Sometimes a request is made during the day and the messengers are entitled to call upon any individuality name, to provide grouse or some other delicacy.

The actual feeding is done by a shaman who is after a doctor. He first dips his hands in the grouse, wave them at the fire and rubs them over X's face as the struggling unwilled is held by six or eight dancers. Members of the party keep calling out loud to awake X, who is supposed to be like a wild animal, and to have lost all traces his ordinary life. Like a monster he snaps at the shaman's fingers, while dishevelled eye rolls and the institutional vocals with fear and amazement. When nothing the Cannibal's chants has ceased, a shaman shows one than he is almost ready to eat. The hands who his mouth, and go through the village to inform all what has taken place. The shaman now puts a few mouthfuls of food in a spoon and tries to feed X, who struggles and cry to have greater use of the crucial tooth. Undaunted, he pts small quantity of food actually into X's mouth, handfuls of dancing jaws, and at last persuades him to swallow a little.

"He has eaten," the shaman calls out joyfully, and the horrible report the good village.

An effort is now made to force him to drink, but X only bites the vessel, and the fingers of the shaman, and succeeds in drenching himself with the liquid. But at last he swallows a few mouthfuls.

"He has drunk," calls the shaman, and as before a horrible report his mouth.

The shaman now tells the institutional that X all be all right, but that it will be safe for them to depart, as he leave village. Thereby keep everyone in the village informed of the events.

Schlichtenweith, E.-S. (1922-1924) 1948
NEH Bellacoola NEH

*575
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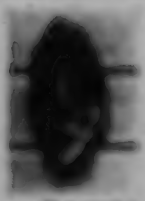
PLATE I



Photograph by E.-S. Schlichtenweith
Indian Museum of Canada

Mask representing the Thunderer

[p. 84 (a)]

[p. 14(B)]

PLATE I

[illegible]

[illegible] producing a crystal from his stomach

U575
.796
798

[p. 84 (V)]

575
196
142
542
292
787

PLATE I

Photograph by H. J. Harris, Forestry Division of Canada

Camified with bandage in form of a bear

[p. 14 (E)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1926) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

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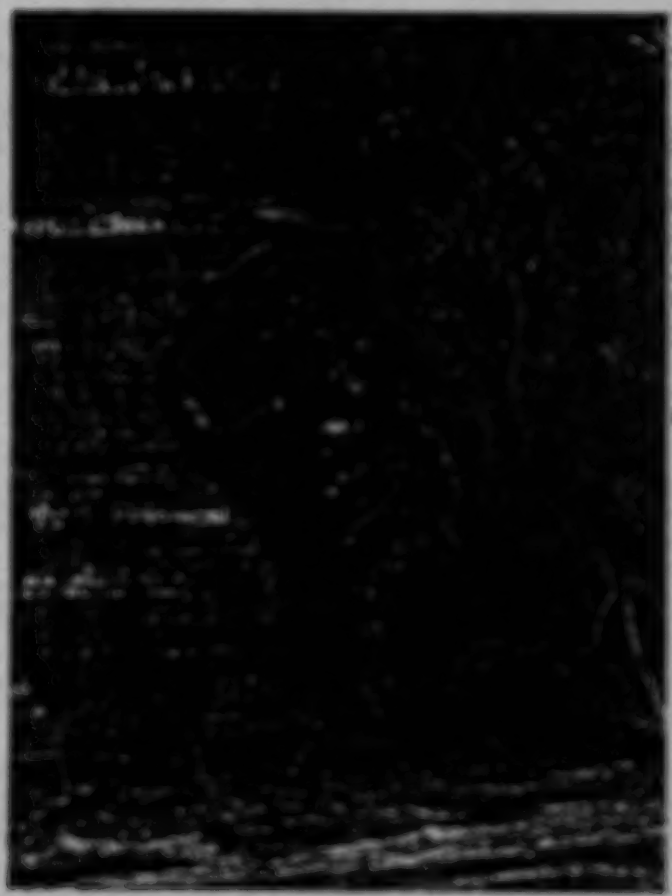

PLATE 6

Photograph by G. H. Davis, National Museum of Canada

Repainting of a dog-sledding expedition

[p. 14 (F)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Cannibal Dance]

X, now almost sane, rushes around the house, shouting *ewe-, ewe-, ewe-*, while his call sounds loudly, as the whistle is pressed firmly beneath his armpit or against his stomach, tied under a belt. Often the *ḵuḵuxiut* slip a rope over his shoulders to prevent him escaping again. Finally, he rushes from the house and all the *ḵuḵuxiut* crowd close about him on the sidewalk without. As many as possible press upwards against his body with their hands, while they shout, *ye* --, trying to expel the call upwards. On the fourth repetition it is supposed to have been driven forth, and in answer to the tumultuous shout of the *ḵuḵuxiut*, there is heard the sound of a whistle from above. The uninitiated do not know that a *ḵuxiut* has been dispatched with one to a mountain peak for this purpose. 575* 796* 787

The *ḵuḵuxiut* now return to X's house for a meal. The first dish of food is placed before X himself, while one of the marshals addresses him and the audience in the following strain: 575* 796* [539]

Yiwanqiwanc, ximxmo ki! Ḵlaiu di ptaxtu!
Greetings, comrades! Hail to the dreaded one [the Cannibal]!*

Wi, ptaxtu! *Nuxin.* *Nuqhlaxiuk'ḵuḵuqs.*
More, dreaded one, *Nuxin.** Eat to repletion.

There is no ritual significance attached to any particular words; marshals use their own discretion as to what they say, but the above may be considered a fair example of the kind of remarks addressed to a Cannibal at his first meal. After X has started eating, the other *ḵuḵuxiut* commence and the marshals deliver their usual admonitions, praising X for what he has done and urging others to emulate his example. Then presents are distributed to those who have been bitten. It is considered that a Cannibal compliments a man by taking a piece of his flesh, and that he is under obligations to the one bitten for the latter having allowed him to exercise his prerogs- 575* 796* 431 424

*Ptaxtu means "The Dreaded One" or "The Fearless One." X is so called on account of the uncanny cannibalistic impulse that has taken possession of him. [787]

*This is the causative form of the word. [195]

*Nuxin was the name of the performing Cannibal on the occasion that this speech was recorded.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*575 *796 431 424 [773] tive. Hence compensation must be given. Payment for wounds inflicted is really parallel to payments to witnesses of any other prerogative; without their assistance X would not have been able to display his right. Long ago Cannibals are said to have had teeth of such sharpness that they were able to take pieces from the bodies of their victims with ease and quickness. In more recent years, it has been customary for a person about to be bitten to cut himself with a knife so that, when the Cannibal seizes him, a simple sucking at the chosen part will bring forth blood. In view of the honour attached to being bitten, no person to whom such a proposal is made would think of refusing. As previously mentioned, Cannibals do not bite other Cannibals, Scratchers, Breakers, or those whose patrons are ghosts, otherwise their victims may comprise any *kukusiut*.[14] Presents received by those bitten are called "Bandages." At the time of such payment gifts are usually given to all *kukusiut*, with additional compensation for the sufferers.

*575 *796 Now that X has eaten ordinary food it is supposed that he is again normal, although special precautions must be taken for the rest of the winter since he is subject to returning fits of frenzy. Consequently, he is never allowed to be alone, but is always followed by a number of *kukusiut* whose function appears to the uninitiated to be to guard them from the Cannibal. The sight of strangers suffices to rouse him, so that when a canoe from *Tāl·io* or Kimsquit approaches, a herald bids the uninitiated conceal themselves. On their arrival X rushes to the beach, apparently in spite of his guardians' restraint, and honours several of the strangers by biting them, as he did before he was able to eat ordinary food. On such occasions he then visits every house, attended by his escort, before returning to his own. Inside each dwelling he growls, cries out *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, and sometimes shakes or tears off the

[14] Every effort is made to convince the uninitiated of the severity of the wounds inflicted. For example, if a *kusiut* woman is suffering from some malady of the breast which requires an operation, a Cannibal bites her there and non-members are told that the incision, made about the same time, was caused by his teeth. [752]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

planking around the walls, much to the terror of the uninitiated who cower in their blankets, afraid to peer out lest they be bitten. If X should step upon a loose board on any of these rounds of the village, either before or after the expulsion of his cannibalistic incubus, he is partially deprived of the power of movement. He can only tread up and down, marking time on the teetering plank, until repeated cries of *hsip* have finally soothed him so that he can proceed. Sometimes the stomach of a seal must be shown him before he can leave the spot. Although no one knows why this should so affect Cannibals, at sight of it he rushes forth immediately.

That evening the herald summons the *kukusiut* and the strangers to X's house. His songs are sung, whereupon X becomes excited and must be cured by the beating of sticks and the four times repeated *hsip* before he can be induced to sit down. Food is then distributed, while a marshal speaks, and presents are given to the bitten strangers, provided by X or one of his relatives. Such gifts are often of trifling value but the recipients must never show that they think so.

For the remainder of the ceremonial season X goes to all dances under the guardianship of a number of *kukusiut*. His apparent wildness and ferocity overawes the uninitiated and helps to convince them of the force of the rites. Sometimes in sheer bravado and with an overweening desire to terrorize, X's guardians will cry out that he has become excited; the uninitiated hastily hide and the Cannibal rushes from house to house, ripping off boards and acting as if demented. If friction should arise at some ceremony when only members are present, X often plays a prominent part. For example, in one dance the *kukusiut* rush around the fire, guided by a rope; sometimes a mischievous man will double it so that the participants are thrown violently against each other. Everyone is excited by the noise of the beating sticks, and the growling of the Cannibals, so that loss of temper is not uncommon. But if X rushes out of the door, the necessity of maintaining his prestige with the uninitiated overrules every other considera-

*576 tion and those quarrelling follow him as he goes to every house
*796 growling and crying *ewe*, *ewe*, *ewe*. By the time he returns home their anger has cooled. It is then necessary to quiet X by means of the elaborate beating of sticks. This is repeated four times, while a *kwaiat* spits violently over him.

Before leaving his own home to attend a *kwaiat* dance, a little food is always given to X in case he should become hungry and start biting people. On *qutlaw* he always dances after the *dance of the ceremony*,* and when the *kukwiat* eat together he always receives his portion immediately after that of the marshals. Fear of all Cannibals is one of the most potent deterrents to the uninitiated, but the most dreaded are those, like X, who have just returned from the land above and may at any moment break forth into an orgy of biting. Several elderly informants recalled vividly the terror with which they regarded such a Cannibal when they were young.

[624]
[781]

The *kukwiat* take full advantage of the fear which X inspires in the uninitiated. On *qutlaw* nights when the time arrives for the latter to depart, they are often chased forth by the frenzy of X, or one of his fellow-Cannibals who has likewise been to the land above. X starts to call out, *ewe*, *ewe*, *ewe*, and rises to his feet; the singers at once begin to beat out one of his songs and the uninitiated hurriedly flee, while the Cannibal's guardians press close around him as he dances as if to prevent him running amuck among the frightened people crowding out of the door. As he dances and hears his song, he becomes more and more excited; he growls and only the repeated *hoip* of his guardians and their pressure upon the back of his neck appear to restrain him. Non-members and even those *kukwiat* who do not understand the full mysteries of the Cannibal dance cannot fail to be impressed. The raising of the arms is supposed to inflame a Cannibal, so if it is desired still more to impress the uninitiated, one of the *kukwiat* lifts his arms, and is bitten by X. The heralds at once go

[781]

*If several Cannibals have performed in a single year, the order in which they dance is subject to arrangement.

[The Cannibal Dance]

through the village announcing what has taken place. Meanwhile X, swaddled by the men of blood, doubtless from the house, closely guarded by a number of *hadaxiat*. Growling, he enters the lowest house of the village and, to the uninitiated there, it appears as if the endeavor of his guardians is all that prevents the biting demon from breaking loose among them. This is repeated at every house in the village, and then X returns to that in which *gulam* is taking place, where he is guided to his usual corner and a *hadzat* throws cold water over him. Any senior *hadzat*, often one who is also a shaman, calls on those present to beat time, and the frenzied enclosure of sticks sounds forth. X remains quiet and more water is thrown over him. This pounding of sticks is four times repeated, and after each more water is thrown over the Cannibal, until at last his temporary fit of frenzy is stilled. Then the *hadzatiat* set to comfort and leave. It must be remembered that the uninitiated hear the beating of sticks from adjacent houses, and their awe is perhaps increased by the fact that they cannot actually see what is taking place.

575* 796* [181]

This liability to madness lasts throughout the ceremonial season, effectively suppressing any contrariness considered, and at the same time serving as a bond of union among the *hadzatiat* themselves, who must sink individual differences of opinion in face of the absolute necessity of upholding X's prestige. A Cannibal novice can likewise become frenzied at any time during the summer following his initiation. [536]

The Cannibal dance entails a considerable amount of physical and mental effort, while if X bites many individuals, as he likes to do as a means of demonstrating his prerogative, he is forced to expend a considerable amount of goods as "Bandages." These two factors often deter a man from performing this dance. A Cannibal who has just been initiated as a *hadzat* at once begins to bite, and is carried away to the upper regions. He is required, moreover, to give his ceremony the following winter, like any other novice. During the summer he generally remains hidden within his house, and when he goes

575* 796* 536 [131] [124]

[The Cannibal Dance]

[379] to the woods he is always accompanied by a number of *kakaxtat* [776] to drive the uninitiated from his path. If it were necessary [554] to perform the full rite just described, it would, in effect, limit this dance to wealthy individuals. One reason why it is possible for a poor Bella Coola to become a Cannibal is that on his second, or subsequent, ceremonial, he can give an abbreviated rite, known as *Sitcum*. The essence of this is [379] that a kindly supernatural being has visited X on earth, saving [776] him from the perils of going *sisek*. In this case the usual [777] climax follows that of a normal *Sacrat* dance and is concluded in four days.

After the elaborate rites of some other *Sacrat* have been concluded, the call comes to X, who responds by growling and biting a few people. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house. Thanks to the friendly intervention of the supernatural being, usually *Alpamine*, X's musical powers are impaired so that he does not become infuriated and bites only a few individuals. As with ordinary *Sacrat* rites, the singers [577] have set a song composed for the occasion, describing the benefactor being who came down to X, and the *kakaxtat* practise and learn it. No other songs are rehearsed on this night, owing to the extreme solemnity of the occasion; it is a Cannibal rite and nothing can take place at the same time.

The next day is *nacinilaqa*; a second song is composed and a number of the *kakaxtat* are sent to collect wood for masks. Six of these must be constructed representing the following supernatural beings: [552] [776]

Alpamine, who has benignly interfered to save X from risking the dangers of a trip *sisek*.

Sqaulac, a supernatural man-eater from whom the call has come impelling X to eat flesh.

Three *Alkpaiac*, "Hiddens," who restrain *Sqaulac*. In the land above their function corresponds to that of the *kakaxtat* who guard a Cannibal.

Ant'Sisudaais.

In the evening, after the work has been allotted, X's two

songs are sung, all that are conceived upon a Cannibal does not go to the land above. 575* 796* 787

On the following day, galum, the masks are manufactured and the ritual proceeds in the usual manner. In the evening the uninitiated are invited to watch or dance, at which X is the first to perform, lengthening his face and protruding his lips so that greater terror is caused to frighten his beholders.

The ritual of the next evening, nakwam, corresponds to the usual pattern. Before the eyes of the uninitiated, X has concealed himself so that nothing can detract from their awe at sight of the masked figures. *Alpanaw* stands in state behind the fire, sometimes announcing his own name, while *Ana'ilk*-*nalum* moves to and fro, adding to the solemnity of the occasion with his explanations, echoed by the heralds. *Alpanaw*, represented with blood-covered lips, moves around the fire, surrounded by the three Hidden, and he audience is told that this is how they act in the land above. When the guests have gazed sufficiently on these marvels they are sent away, and the masks are burnt in the usual manner, accompanied by the gentle singing of one of X's songs. Late at night a number of dancers go with X to the sidewalk outside his house, where they expel his evil by pressing upwards with their hands against his stomach and calling *hoip*.

For the rest of the winter X conducts himself in the manner of any dancer who has danced. 575* 796*

Although similar in outlines, the prerogatives enjoyed by Cannibals differ so considerably that no clear picture of the rites can be obtained without detailed descriptions of several. The following is an account of a dance carried out by *Lulalimat*, a biting Cannibal of *Nuxpalit*. It was obtained from one of the marshals who, of course, understood the details of every performance. The origin of the name is unknown, although the informant believed that it had been created in this world by the chiefs in consequence of the manner in which a shaman ancestor of the dancer had been in the habit of biting people [424] [115]

without apparent cause. It will be convenient to refer to *kukulwat* as X.

Having first obtained sanction from the *nuntsis*, X begins his preparations. The continuous whistling that in Kwakiutl presages a call to a Cannibal is lacking, but on the morning when it has been decided that X will start his dance, he discards his clothing and goes to the house in which a *kwaiat* ceremony is taking place, and from which the uninitiated have accordingly been ejected. After dancing for an instant, he suddenly leaps at a man and bites him. The "victim," warned of what is to happen, has probably prepared himself by making a small cut so that his blood can gush forth easily. Then X rushes from the house, growling ferociously, and biting a number of *kukusiut*, either men or women, on arm, neck, or leg. Several co-members accompany the Cannibal, while the uninitiated cower within the bedrooms, hoping to be unobserved. A herald goes continually through the village, calling out:

"The dreaded one [*Pâsaula*] has bitten three [or whatever the number may be] people."

X spends a considerable time rushing around biting people, the effect being greatly magnified by the outcry of his assistants and the terror of the uninitiated who cringe in fear lest they should be bitten by this seeming maniac with the strange power. When weary, X dashes off into the forest to rest; his followers go with him and sit down in two groups, men in one, women in the other.

About noon a herald goes to every house calling out, *ipdaap*, which means, "Hold him down."

Two or more *kukusiut* have been sent up the mountain above the village while the others go to X's house, from which the uninitiated were expelled at the first signs of his fury. A rope, previously prepared, is lashed around X in spite of his struggles, and tied to pieces of wood on which several *kukusiut* sit to increase the weight, but arranged so that X can slip out of his bonds without the ruse being apparent. As a dog-eating

Cannibal is excited by the barking of dogs, so is a man-eater aroused by the sound of people, his prey, talking together. Presently he hears voices from an adjacent house and staggers to his feet, drawing with him those who seek to hold him down. They endeavour to restrain him, and for a short time succeed, but soon he breaks the weighted stick, throws off his cloak, and rushes madly from the house. Of course this is done with the connivance of those who seem to be holding him. When the *kakaxiut* arrive outside, after delaying one another by all trying to push through the door at the same instant, X has vanished. They cry out *ye* ·· loudly four times to assist him on his journey, and the man on the mountain, hearing the noise and seeing the people rush forth, drone without exposing themselves. The sound is heard in the village and a shout is raised:

"He has gone up as a bird on rising from the ground."

The *kakaxiut* return to X's house where they hang the rope on the wall and sit down to a meal during which a marshal admonishes them. There is no singing or other noise because X has gone forth into danger; they are sad at his sudden departure from their midst and full of forebodings for his welfare. Besides, all wish to keep silent so that they will be able to hear the first sounds of his return. After the conclusion of the meal they disperse quietly.

Meanwhile X is lurking in concealment in a near-by house where the utmost pains are taken to ensure that no uninitiated should see him. When it is decided that he shall reappear, two accomplices are sent up the mountain, and one evening when all the *kakaxiut* have gathered for a ceremonial there is heard a loud thud on the roof. Out rush the *kakaxiut* and grip X, whom they carry struggling into the house where he dashes around biting the arms and legs of all who come within his reach. Then with a rush he dashes from the house, eluding those who, apparently, seek to detain him, and has vanished by the time they emerge. All cry out *ye* ··· four times, and the accomplices from the mountain drone in reply. The un-

uninitiated, who have seen or heard of X's footsteps, readily believe the fiction that he has returned for a meal, and has once more gone aloft. One informant stated most emphatically that this was his belief when a young man; he had been warned by his father of the seriousness of the ceremonial and told that if he should dare to speak or think disrespectfully of it, a *Saxiar* would "grip him by the ankle causing the flesh to become rotten." During a Cannibal's absence the uninitiated remain in a state of terror, fearing that, on returning, he may chance to light beside them and devour them. In consequence, they seek refuge in their bedrooms, or at any rate in the immediate vicinity of their houses.

After an absence of thirty or forty days it is decided that X shall return at a certain time. During the eight preceding, he washes and shaves his head to further the belief that he has been to a land where the great wind has blown away his hair as well as the dirt from his body. Several accomplices are sent out, to a mountain above the village, to a house in the valley below, and to an island in the vicinity. In the early dawn the man up the mountain drones and growls, usually four times, according to the arrangement made. The people listen expectantly. After a short pause, the man in the valley makes the same noise; no mortal could cover the distance between the two places in the time that has elapsed, but all things are possible to a Cannibal. A herald goes through the village, crying out:

"We are left behind, we are left behind."

The *Sakaziar* dash off upstream towards the place from which the sound is still coming, but as they draw near it is stilled, only to break forth presently from the island behind them. The herald goes through the village informing everybody that:

"He has gone away."

Presently X dashes out into a clearing on the island, naked and with arms reddened; he runs around madly while an accomplice in concealment uses a whistle. The *Sakaziar* pursue

him and bring him back, struggling, to the village where he escape to all within reach. As soon as a person is bitten, an assistant covers the wound with undyed cedar-bark. A number of young men and women *Sakaciar* accompany X wherever he goes, without any special preparation for doing so. When he is weary, he rushes off into the forest where his followers sit down in two groups until he has recovered from his exertions, then he returns and bites more people. Almost every day he goes through the village calling out:

Ipdoqa, ipdoqa, Sakaciar, "Come to hold him down, ye *Sakaciar*."

About two in the afternoon a number of *Sakaciar* women assemble on the beach. X, apparently in spite of his guardians, dashes into the lowest house of the village where he growls and bites a few people, while my women present drove. Then those on the beach begin to drone and X rushes out of the house towards them. They become quiet, and when almost upon them, he appears to change his mind and hurries back to the house immediately above the one that he has just quitted. Again the women on the beach drone, and again he runs out, only to return to the house next above. This is repeated until he has visited every dwelling, his course up the village being a series of We. He returns finally to his own house and sits near the back-room.

Two sounding-boards and some beating sticks are brought in and a number of *Sakaciar* range themselves in a double row under the leadership of a shaman to beat time ready to cure X. Four times the ritual is repeated, amid the droning of the women, and as the leader concludes with the short double jump, the sticks strike the floor with an ear-splitting crash. X now takes one of the sticks and starts to beat time for his own song, but almost immediately goes off into a wild beating like that of a maniac. Everyone cries out *heip*, which ultimately soothes him. Once more he takes the stick and essays to beat time, but as before goes into a frenzy, and throws it away. The singers have been listening carefully, as if striving to learn

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[The Cannibal Dance]

forth, followed by a number of *kukusiut* who remain constantly in attendance on him. 575* 796*

X enters the lowest house and sits down near the door, too heavy, with the weight of the crystals, to proceed further. He growls persistently, while the *kukusiut* women present drone monotonously, and those who have accompanied him utter their cry of *hoip*. These measures at last persuade the Cannibal to move, but only to the next house, where the same procedure is repeated, and so for each in the village. The uninitiated peer curiously and fearfully from their bedrooms, but would never dream of joining in the cry of *hoip*. If X should be asleep or otherwise engaged when the voices are heard, some of his assistants awaken him and send him forth. The arrival of strangers also excites X. One of his followers tells him of their coming and when a canoe reaches the river, he runs down into the water and bites as many of the newcomers as he desires. The herald, watching the approach of the strangers and knowing what will happen, cries out to the uninitiated to conceal themselves prior to X's appearance. The guests proceed to the dwelling of their host, but that evening the Cannibal's father, or whoever acts for him, calls them to his house where he gives them presents to validate the biting. If foreigners have been expected, gifts are always saved for them from the previous distribution. The value of the present depends in part on the rank of the recipient, but more upon the feeling of like or dislike with which X's father regards him. A chief naturally receives more than a person of lower rank, although these donations are not returned. 575* 796* 431 [609] [554]

On the morning of the fifth day of X's retirement, some of the *kukusiut* collect chamber-pots and towards noon he is immersed in the river in the manner previously described. Then he goes through the village four times, on each round visiting every house. The uninitiated are told that the washing has caused his call to depart, and the whistle is heard no more.* 575* 796*

Towards dusk all the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house. He

*The dismissal of the call at this time may not be the correct procedure.

D. McDowell, E-5 (1932-1934) 1948
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takes one of the beating sticks and starts as if he were going to act as leader of his own orchestra. As before, however, he becomes frenzied and goes off into a wild spasm of beating, while all present call out *hoip* to soothe him. As no uninitiated are present, someone usually acts as a substitute for the Cannibal. A marshal now takes the stick away from X, or his substitute, and gives it to the proper leader, so that the song shall not be "lost" through the imbecility of X. The singers chant it over with everyone joining in. By this time it is evening and food is distributed, while marshals in turn give good advice. When the meal is ended the people adjourn.

Later on in the evening all the *kukusiut* are called back to X's house; when they have taken their places, the uninitiated are summoned and range themselves near the door. The musicians sing X's song, accompanied by the *kukusiut*, while X acts as if he were trying to dance but is forcibly restrained by his assistants, so that he can do no more than sway back and forth in their arms. The non-members, terrified lest he should escape and bite them, often withdraw before the completion of the song, and under no circumstances remain after it has been sung. The time has now come for X to eat, and a shaman is called upon to feed the recalcitrant Cannibal. The elaborate means previously described are tried, but without avail. X cries *hoip*, dashes outside with a few followers and proceeds, growling and baying, to every house in the village, effectively wakening and impressing the uninitiated, who have long been asleep. On his return to his own house, all the *kukusiut* help him to lie down by pressing downwards on his chest with cries of *hoip* and *yulo*, meaning, "All right." After some time X answers by saying *yulo*; he lies down, and the others leave.

X is now supposed to remain on his platform for four days, although actually he merely takes care not to be seen by any uninitiated. On the fifth morning a herald goes through the village calling out,

Armlitsap X.

Towards evening he summons the *kakasiut* to the Cannibal's house. As before, X starts to beat time, but swiftly goes into a wild frenzy of pounding from which he is snatched by repeated cries of *hoip*. Then the singers take the stick from him and sing over a new song which they have composed for him; this being the fourth time that the *kakasiut* have assembled, it is X's fourth song, with the usual Cannibal theme. At dusk food is given, the marshals admonish their associates and the gathering breaks up.

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Presently, as night is falling, the *kakasiut* return. When they have taken their places, they call the uninitiated, who enter, but remain standing near the door. X passes to and fro around the fire, not completing the circuit, but stopping and retracing his steps when he has passed as far as the upper, upstream, side of it. He assumes a threatening appearance, holding his arms stretched out to their full length, his fists clenched, while, as if to prevent him running amuck among the non-members, two *kakasiut* go constantly with him, one on either side, uttering the cry of *hoip* at intervals. At times these two guardians simulate an attempt to shove him into the back-room, but he always eludes them and continues around the fire. Meanwhile the singers, with the *kakasiut*, sing over X's songs; as each is finished the Cannibal's ferocity appears to rise within him so that he growls, and his guardians call out *hoip* at the back of his neck, accompanied by the emission of considerable saliva. This is repeated four times, after each of the songs. When these are finished the uninitiated are sent out and the *kakasiut* eat together while a marshal functions; then they too depart.

A number of *kakasiut* always remain with X to act as guardians; they replace one another at intervals without specific order, and there is no compulsion upon anyone to assume the task. When the *kakasiut* have departed, one of these attendants takes the leading part in forcing downwards from X his *spiels*, the muzzle-like power which binds his mouth against ordinary food. All the guardians crowd around X, [787]

placing their hands against his mouth and neck and pressing downwards to the chest as if forcing some object from his chest, constantly uttering the cry of *hoip*. When the obstacle has been driven down, X is offered his first food, choice morsels of dried salmon. He eats some of this but bites a small piece from the spoon, and dons the same with the dish in which water is held to his lips. The assistance of a shaman is often required to feed the Cannibal.

The powers of, and restrictions upon, X for the remainder of the ceremonial season are identical with those already described. At the end of the period, however, the *hahaiat* assemble in X's house to rid him of his *spirit* which, it will be remembered, had been forced from his mouth down into his chest. By means of a violent repetition of *hoip* and pressing with the hands, this is extracted and cast into another *hamat*. As soon as the latter has received it, he acts as if he had become a Cannibal. Dashing out, he enters each house in turn, growling and calling out *ewe*, *ewe*, *ewe*, and at intervals ripping up the planking from the floor or pulling off boards from the wall. Then the substitute re-enters X's house, where the power is returned to X himself, who, this done, rushes to every dwelling and repeats the growling and destruction. Though the uninitiated realize that two different individuals have appeared as Cannibals, they are too awe-stricken to feel anything but wonder. When he gets back to his own house, X is surrounded by the *hahaiat* who call out *hoip*, in unison four times, while as many of them as can find places press upwards with their hands against his neck and throat to expel the *spirit*. This succeeds in sending back X's power to the mysterious regions above whence it came. While most of the *hahaiat* beat time vigorously, a number of them pull down the platform and cast it into the fire. They then have a meal, while a marshal gives weighty advice about the care that must be exercised during the coming year in guarding their sacred secrets from the uninitiated; whereupon they all disperse.

The chief contrasts between this rite and the one previously

described for Kimsquit are the lack of the cannibalistic incubus and the presence of the spirit. It must be emphasized that there are differences of individual prerogative alone; many Kimsquit Cannibals perform with spirit, many Bella Coola with incubus.

Although every effort was used to obtain not only the general principles of the rite, but also confirmation of details, it must be remembered that many of these were omitted at the performances observed, so that reliance had to be placed upon the accounts of participants. It is probable that errors of omission have been committed in consequence; these may account for some of the discrepancies, but the more potent factors are undoubtedly lack of uniformity in individual prerogatives, and failure to enforce absolute rigidity in ritual. The two accounts just given by no means illustrate all the variations possible in this dance; others will become evident in descriptions of the rites of Cannibals other than those who can bite the living.

The following is an account of the ritual of a Dog-eating Cannibal, *Olnáx i*, of *Sinaf*. Long, long ago one of the ancestors of this man saw a pack of wolves devouring some dogs. In some mysterious way, which even the Bella Coola do not profess to be able to understand, the power of a wolf entered the beholder so that he was impelled to eat dogs. He was then carried away to the mysterious land above where he saw and was assisted by several supernatural beings. The first *Olnáx i* was able to transmit to one of his relatives his ability to eat dogs, and the prerogative has since been carried out by his descendants. Should the holder of the name fail to tell his destined heir the details of the experiences which are to be embodied in his songs, his successor can obtain these from the singers who, of course, are familiar with the themes used on previous occasions. The repository of the name, *Olnáx i*, is beneath a huge boulder not far from some carved rocks behind the village of *Sinaf* (see Plate 6).[1] It is said that many years ago some reckless uninitiated placed poles as levers beneath

[1] [See category 116, p. 84 (F) – ANALYST]

R: McIlwraith K-9 (1922-1924) 1968
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the rock and endeavoured to pry it over, but were driven away in fear by the sound of the snarling of wolves which came forth from beneath. It will be convenient to refer to *Olnên i* as X.

After the customary consultation with the marshals, it is decided that the call shall come to X on the morning after the *nakuiam* of some other *kusiut*. Soon after dawn he begins to growl and stands up naked; the call has come to him. He acts as if dazed, tries to talk, but the words seem to choke in his mouth. The uninitiated are expelled from the house and a herald goes out, crying through the village:

"X has been smitten with the power of eating dog."

One is killed and handed to X; he pretends to eat, but actually gives the body to an assistant who disposes of it in some hidden spot. As X takes the animal, a herald shouts:

"X has eaten a dog."

During the day he leaves his house at intervals and parades through the village, accompanied by a crowd of *kukusiut*; his arms are half-folded as if holding a burden which is supposed to be a dog. As he does so, the herald goes from house to house saying:

"The Cannibal has eaten a dog," and "The Cannibal has eaten another dog."

Late in the afternoon the *kukusiut* are called to X's house in order to tie him up and so prevent his escape to the land above. A bear-skin robe is thrown over his body, a rope is bound about him and weighted with sticks, but he frees himself and disappears from sight while members of the society shout *hoip* four times and an accomplice whistles with varying pitch from a near-by mountain.[60] The uninitiated, listening from adjacent houses, are filled with awe and wonder.

The *kukusiut* gather once more in X's house where the rope from which he has escaped is hung on the wall. Marshal after marshal impresses on them the solemnity of the occasion and

[60] In these later accounts of the Cannibal dance, details previously described are omitted. It is unnecessary, for example, to repeat the manner in which X breaks from his bonds and the rites entailed thereby.

the dangers to which X is exposed, while some of his female relatives weep to further the deception. It is late at night before they finally disperse. 575* 196*

Like other Cannibals, X is now concealed for an indeterminate period of time, during which the uninitiated believe him to be in the land above. It is needless to repeat the details of this part of the rite, nor allude to the chaving of X when about to return. Sometimes the mystery is increased by sending a young *kwiat* to the mountains with a whistle which he sounds at dawn to prove that X is far aloft. When the time comes for his return, the process of catching him is identical with that already described, except that a dog is used for bait instead of a human being. After the capture, the *kwiatiat* drag X, struggling violently, to his house, where a dead dog has been left near the doorway. The Cannibal seizes it and pretends to eat, while a herald announces in every house what he is doing. Accompanied by a number of *kwiatiat*, X goes through the village carrying the carcass in his arms, and carefully shielding his eyes to further the belief, circulated among the uninitiated, that if he should open them, anyone on whom his gaze fell would die. After some of the houses have been visited, the dog is passed to an assistant who conceals it, but those who are not members of the society, having seen him tear chunks from the body and apparently put them in his mouth, naturally assume that the Cannibal has devoured it. This procedure is repeated at intervals throughout the day, and always the herald announces how many dogs X has eaten. The bodies of the animals are weighted with stones and sunk in the ocean at night.

About 4 P.M. X is given a black bear-skin to which the carpenters have attached the head of his cannibalistic incubus, a wolf, in such a way that it hangs beneath his left arm-pit. [787] Considerable ingenuity is displayed in the manufacture of this. The skin of the head is carefully removed, the bones are cleaned, replaced, and gummed together, and a hidden string enables the wearer to make the animal's jaws clash. With his

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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x 796
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usual escort, X goes to every house in the village; with one hand he shields his eyes, with the other he pulls away pieces of dog flesh, some of which he pretends to eat, while others he thrusts into the wolf's jaws. As he enters, his associates shriek and the women drone. The Cannibal does not circle the fire in each house, merely steps within the doorway and then withdraws, making the round of the village four times. Curiosity impels the uninitiated to peer forth from their bedrooms, and the bloody spectacle increases their fear.

X then returns to his own house where an elaborate structure of rising tiers of steps has been built between the fire and the back-room. The *kukusiut* take their places on this, while X kneels immediately in front, on the left* side. A *kusiut* brings from the back-room a cedar box with an upright row of eagle feathers around the upper edge; immediately below there is a ribbon-like girdle of dyed cedar-bark, and below that a similar band of undyed bark. He carries the receptacle around the fire, revolving sunwise on himself four times, and sets it down before X. The box contains hot stones and alder dye, but the uninitiated, who have been allowed to crowd within the doorway, do not know this, nor are they aware that a carpenter is concealed behind X to manipulate the head. This accomplice thrusts pieces of meat through the wolf's mouth from the rear so that they fall into the box, as if the animal were vomiting. At the same time he causes the tongue, that of one of the slaughtered dogs, to go in and out, and X pulls the cord so that the jaws clash together. Steam rises from the box as the meat strikes the heated stones as if it were food warm from the stomach, and clever management makes the scene strikingly realistic. The belief is that the dog flesh eaten by X has passed into the wolf and is now being ejected. When enough has been vomited to give countenance to an assumption that all the animals devoured have been voided, the carpenter pulls the head from sight, as if it had suddenly vanished. The *kukusiut* cry out four times, and someone throws eagle

*As one looks towards.

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down on the fire; these two actions have the effect of "Making smooth the path of the wolf to the place whence it came."

X, now freed from the malignant influence, rushes out, and a number of *kukuxiut* accompany him to every house, calling out in effect:

"I have lost my power."

When X returns, he takes a stick and pretends to endeavour to beat out the time of his own song describing his experiences in the land above. Madness overcomes him, however, and he begins to pound rapidly and aimlessly, requiring to be soothed by cries of *hoip*. The singers ultimately chant forth a song supposedly taught them by the Cannibal, but the details of this subterfuge have already been described. Crystals are sometimes thrust into him at this juncture, or the rite may be deferred until the following night. When thus weighted, X retires to his raised platform behind the fire.

The Cannibal remains on this for four days. If necessary for him to leave the house, an accomplice first clears away all uninitiated persons from the vicinity. If, however, X hears the snarling or barking of dogs, he becomes excited and rushes forth. Consequently, the *kukuxiut* at intervals bring several animals near to his house and beat them until they yowl. The Cannibal becomes excited, howls like a wolf, rushes out, and, with a few *kukuxiut* in attendance, dashes into the lowest house of the village. But the crystals have made him heavy; he can only sit on his heels near the door and gnaw his fingers. The *kukuxiut hoip* at him repeatedly, until he is sufficiently pacified to rise and walk out. Then he howls again and runs into the next house, where the same procedure is repeated; every dwelling in the village is visited in this way, X finally returning to the platform in his home. During the four days he repeats this performance whenever he hears the yelping of dogs, whether natural or instigated by his fellows.

On the fifth morning, two *kukuxiut* gather chamber-vessels. Later in the day the crystals are extracted and water thrown

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#575 #996 787 over him,* followed by the usual immersion in the river. X goes to every house, then returns to his own where another song, describing his experiences aloft, is rehearsed. In the evening the *kukuxiut* assemble once more and tie on X a long, tail-like appendage of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. Then a shaman gives him food, and at once he runs to the lowest house in the village. He enters the doorway and calls out:

"I can smell."

This announcement is repeated in every house, signifying that the Cannibal can again appreciate ordinary food.

X spends four more days on his platform, leaving it only when infuriated by the snarling of dogs. On the fourth evening the *kukuxiut* assemble once more to learn a song of the usual Cannibal type, and to listen to admonitions from the marshals.

For four days longer X is secluded on his platform. In the evening the *kukuxiut* gather to practise another song, but this time X dances, while the uninitiated watch with fear and wonder from the doorway. After their departure, X's *spiuk* is [424] extracted. In this particular dance, its removal is the prerogative of a certain *kuxiut* who presses his hands along the Cannibal's collar-bone, forcing the malignant muzzle-like power upward and outward. Sometimes his first meal is delayed until this has been done.

#575 #996 This concludes X's dance, though he must obey the same restrictions as other Cannibals for the rest of the ceremonial season and, if he is a novice, for the following summer as well.

[424] Other Cannibals have the prerogative of eating raw salmon. Since these are unobtainable during the winter, carpenters construct imitations consisting of skins of trout stretched over wooden frames filled with the flesh of deer, dogs, or trout. The resemblance is increased by a mechanical device which wiggles the tail. The Cannibal rips these apart with his teeth so that the uninitiated see the meat inside, and readily assume that they are real salmon, while their wonder is increased in view of the difficulty, or impossibility, of obtaining fresh fish in mid-winter.

*This cripples his call.

[The Cannibal Dance]

The most feared of all Cannibals are those who have the unusual prerogative of eating corpses. At present (1922), there is only one man with this right, whereas at least seven can bite the living. His prerogative was recently obtained from the people of Rivers' Inlet, although the ritualistic devouring of corpses was well known to the Bella Coola in former days. All informants agreed, however, that the actual eating of a body was practically unknown.* Even when one was provided and the Cannibal dragged it from house to house, accompanied by an escort of *kukwiat*, though he sank his teeth into the flesh and pulled forth morsels of the carcass, he invariably disposed of them as soon as he was out of sight of the uninitiated, as in the case of the dog. Of course, blood and small pieces of flesh must have been swallowed inadvertently, but the rite was always essentially ritualistic, not real. More often, the "corpse" consisted of a wooden frame-work, shaped like a human body, and covered with the scraped skins of deer or dogs. The interior was filled with the flesh of an animal, and the whole buried in the graveyard until the meat had become foul. The uninitiated, from a distance, watched the exhuming of this object and concluded that it really was a long-buried body. Fear prevented them from making a close inspection, so that the defects of the imitation were not apparent. The frames were kept hidden from year to year; an inquisitive non-member who chanced to stumble upon one would have to be initiated or die.

On account of the long time that has elapsed since a complete corpse-eating Cannibal dance was carried out, it was found impossible to obtain a detailed account of the ritual. This deficiency is unimportant since all informants agreed that it closely resembled other Cannibal dances.

Like other Cannibals, one who has the prerogative of eating dead human flesh can perform as often as he desires, subject only to the approval of the marshals, who have no hesitation

*Apart from this ceremonial eating, no trace of cannibalism was found among the Bella Coola.

[The Cannibal Dance]

787 in banning the rite if they do not think the dancer will be able to carry it out properly. When the call comes, the uninitiated are at once expelled from the Cannibal's house; later he rushes to the graveyard and exhumes one of the meat-filled frames previously buried. Non-members watch with horror as he sinks his teeth in the "flesh." Closely guarded, he is then taken to every house where, if they are bold, the uninitiated peer forth from their bedrooms and watch his performance. He carries part of the corpse in his arms and periodically sinks his teeth in the repulsive mass. As usual, apparent attempts are made to tie him to this earth, but in spite of them he escapes to the upper regions where he remains for an unusually long period. Great efforts are made to reduce him to a state of emaciation, for which purpose he drinks large amounts of water in which cedar-wood has been boiled. When the Cannibal ultimately returns to earth, the cannibalistic incubus is expelled and he at length becomes normal. When dancing, a corpse-eater constantly bends both hands towards the floor in front of him and upwards, as though raising some heavy object towards his face. Then his head sinks towards this, only to be thrown quickly upwards and to one side, with a wild expression in his eyes. The uninitiated are told that this represents the manner in which he lifts a corpse towards his mouth and bites, only to be revolted by its putrescence. He has, they hear, no actual liking for human flesh, but his incubus fills him with an irresistible craving for it. Frequently he wears on his blanket wooden representations of skulls (see Plate 71), symbolic of the corpses devoured.

575 Rarely, a corpse-eating Cannibal kills a slave and pretends to devour his body as a means of impressing the uninitiated,[1] but usually this is done only under the driving force of revenge or jealousy. If a man hears that a near relative, slave of a foreign tribe, has been killed, he often determines to wipe out blood with blood. He consults a corpse-eating Cannibal, and

[1] Eating of corpses has long ceased among the Bella Coola; the present tense is used merely for convenience.

[1] [see category 116, p 164(A) - ANALYST]

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[The Cannibal Dance]

if the latter agrees to undertake the commission, he must next obtain a slave, a matter of no difficulty if he is at all wealthy. An effort is made to find a victim from the tribe that has committed the murder, though any alien will suffice. The details are worked out with great care so that the slave is sent to the river for water, or on some other errand at the time the call comes to the Cannibal. A shout is raised, and the uninitiated hurriedly run out of the house, followed by the dancer and a body of athletic *kukusiut*, who pounce on the unsuspecting foreigner. The Cannibal cuts his throat, and the corpse is carried back to his house, where all members of the society are assembling. Part of the body is cut off, then the *kukusiut* accompany the Cannibal to every house of the village. He carries the mutilated remains, and the uninitiated readily believe that he has devoured the missing portion. The corpse is later dismembered and the bloody pieces displayed, convincing proof of the gruesome meal. It is needless to say that they are carefully buried where there is no danger that they will be found. The rite then proceeds in the usual manner. 575* 796* 567 648

If two biting Cannibals, or their parents, quarrel, they may be shamed into killing and "eating" a slave. Angry words lead to insults, insults to scorn at each other's prowess, until one of the Cannibals throws a stone at the feet of the other, an action which has the significance of: 575* 796* 567 578

"Eat that!"

Since a stone is always symbolic of a slave, the Cannibal so taunted knows what is expected. If he accepts the challenge, he throws a stone at his adversary's feet, bidding him do likewise. The one challenged soon receives a call and kills a slave in the manner previously described; his rival must do the same unless he is willing to admit himself outdone. The occasional killing of a slave under such circumstances does not give to either the right of doing so habitually. Of course the challenged individual is not bound to accept, but if he declines the "dare," he sinks in popular estimation. This [558]

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575 type of rivalry can be carried out only during the ceremonial
796 season.

567 After killing and eating a human being, a Cannibal must
578 conceal himself for a considerable period, sometimes as long as four years. The uninitiated are told that the great power within him has taken him so far into the upper regions that one or more years must elapse before his return. During this time he can be seen only by *kukusiut*. The writer was told of one unfortunate corpse-eating Cannibal, *Xekalus*, who was virtually secluded for eight years, since a stone was cast at his feet every time he reappeared, thus forcing him to kill and eat.
123 This name had been dormant for a number of years until conferred on the writer, who failed to uphold the prerogative.

575 One other type of Cannibal prerogative remains to be
796 described, namely, that of biting oneself. This is even less
424 common than that of corpse-eating, being enjoyed only by two
773 individuals, *Qelliaohmq* of *Stuax* and *Smmq* of the Kimsquit
539 River. The following account of the origin of the latter's prerogative was obtained:

> Many years ago, soon after the first people came to this world, the ritual of the *kusiut* dances was much more exacting than it is at present. At that time the inhabitants of the earth were still endowed with such semi-supernatural powers that they were able to perform rites that people of the present day can represent only with the aid of carpenters' devices. There was then living in one of the villages on the Kimsquit River a certain *Smmq* who had the prerogative of biting himself. He once went hunting on one of the mountains, and when he failed to return the people were convinced that he had eaten so heartily of his own flesh that he had died. Although search was made for his body, it was not until the following year that a professional hunter found the skeleton. From the position of the bones it was judged that their conclusion was correct: he had killed himself by eating too much of his own flesh. The chiefs and other influential *kukusiût* held a meeting at which it was decided that henceforth *kusiut* dances would only be acted, not carried out in reality. The following winter the name and prerogative were transmitted to the son of the dead man, who bit himself, but not sufficiently deeply to cause serious injury.

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In the course of generations, *Smnuq* has combined with his self-anthropophagic prerogative that of eating dogs. As already mentioned, such a merging of rights, obtained from different ancestors, is by no means uncommon. The following account of the manner in which he carries out (or carried out, for the dance has not been performed for a number of years) his rite was obtained from one of the Kimsquit marshals. Many details are omitted which have been fully described in former Cannibal dances. It will be convenient to refer to *Smnuq* as X.

As with other Cannibals, when the call comes to X he begins to cry out and the uninitiated are expelled from his house, but not before they have seen him sink his teeth into his own arm, and apparently inflict a serious wound. In reality the Cannibal usually cuts himself in anticipation, so that the application of his teeth merely serves to reopen the incision and cause the blood to flow freely. Dogs are given to X, as to other dog-eating Cannibals, and he is escorted to every house, so that the uninitiated may stare with awe upon his blood-stained body and dripping jaws. Later, when he and the *kukusiut* have returned to the Cannibal's home, a herald goes to every house, announcing that his fellows are going to fasten X. The rope used in this particular rite is long and thin, with a small loop in the centre for his neck. It is forced upon X with the usual struggling, and again the herald makes his round, announcing:

"We are measuring his arms for cords of dyed and undyed cedar-bark."

These too are placed upon him, and the *kukusiut* march X, pinioned, to every house, while he growls and gives every indication of being half mad with anger at his bonds. He is taken back to his own house and at intervals throughout the day a herald informs all in the village of the number of dogs he has eaten, and of the number of wounds he has inflicted upon himself.

That night X eludes his captors and is carried away to the

#595 #796 realm above. The method of escape and the rites that occur during his absence do not differ from those previously described for other Cannibals, and the means taken to capture him on his return are likewise similar. But soon after dusk a rite occurs which has not been previously recorded. The [416] [824] *kukusiut* assemble on the sidewalk outside X's house, each carrying a torch made of resinous wood, liberally smeared with gum and rendered more inflammable with frayed cedar-bark. X himself, well guarded, is escorted to the middle of the group, while a herald calls out that he is going to make what he has consumed fly upward. In his arms he carries what appears to the uninitiated, watching from a distance, to be a dead dog; in reality, it is a dog skin, stuffed with eagle down. Four times he turns around, uttering his cry of *xwa·, xwa·, xwa·*, while his men call out *i* .... and the women drone. Then, in some way, the down-filled dog-skin is thrown upwards and disappears. One informant had seen this done in his youth, but was unaware of the method employed. The group then disperses and X is taken back to his own house.

About midnight a herald goes to every house, summoning the *kukusiut*, and especially the singers, to X's. They practise a new song for the Cannibal, and towards dawn it is sung as the "running song" previously described, accompanied by the weird *xwa·, xwa·, xwa·*. At day-break, a *kusiut*, chosen for the purpose because he is a fleet runner, pounds at the door of every house, and calls out:

"Come to eat dried salmon," and dashes on to the next.

Thus invited, the *kukusiut* duly assemble in X's house for a meal.

For four days X remains concealed on his platform, except when, aroused to fury, he makes a tour of the village; and except when making his nightly circuit, during which the frightened uninitiated cover their heads with blankets, fearing that he will smell their breath and devour them. On the fourth day X is carried to the river and washed, in spite of his struggles. While this is taking place a number of *kukusiut* visit

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[The Cannibal Dance]

each house in succession, borrowing filled chamber vessels. 575* Five or six men are waiting for X with these, and as he enters 796* his house, they pour urine over him. Thus restored to partial sanity, he cries out in a different tone of voice, and at once visits every house. The *ẖaẖaxiut* are still with him, but need not guard him as closely since he is now less liable to frenzy. The uninitiated are greatly relieved at this removal of peril from among them. Later in the day *ẖaẖaxiut* go to the different houses, asking for choice salmon-grease with which the Cannibal will later be fed. The giving of the first food to X, the later sending aloft of his call, and the restrictions which he observes for the rest of the winter do not differ from those described for other Cannibals.

Snung's patron is a *snung* of the Mountain which became [996] petrified in the beginning of time. At his repository there is a [998] spring beneath a large boulder. Uninitiated persons passing the spot are often terrified by hearing the growling of a Cannibal from beneath the stone. It is in this place that persons [957] suffering from virulent skin disease are washed by X, as described in a previous chapter.

Few particulars could be learnt of the rite as carried out by *Sqlliaolmy*, though it is said to resemble the one just described in every respect. The prerogative was obtained in a vision of [424] one of the Cannibal's early ancestors, who located the repository of the name beneath a large, flat stone, directly in the [787] old trail up the valley. When anyone treads on it, reverberation is heard. The writer was a spectator when the present [998] 575* *Sqlliaolmy* gave his dance in January, 1924, but the rite was 796* performed in such a perfunctory manner that little could be 198 learnt from it. The Cannibal wore two bands of dyed cedar-bark on his left forearm, under one of which was a container of red paint. Uttering his cry of *xwa*, *xwa*, *xwa*, and looking around with a wild air, he frequently buried his face in his arm, between the bands. The red paint made a realistic representation of blood, especially as it dropped with red smudges on the floor. On this occasion, the dancer appeared

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*575 in a flesh-coloured bathing-suit, imitating the nakedness of
*796 earlier years. The writer was talking to one of the marshals,
178 a very old man, and remarked how different the present rites must appear to him.

"Yes," replied the old man. "But after all, the change is not so great. In former years we imitated what the supernatural beings did, now we imitate what our fathers did."

Many ethnologists, acquainted with the elaborate rituals carried out on the coast early in this century, have expressed surprise at the rapidity with which these have dwindled to mere shadows. The writer believes that one factor for the Bella Coola decline in ritual, is the realization that the rites are imitative, and that accordingly their significance need not be lost when further imitation is added.

*575 Further research would undoubtedly have added particu-
*796 lars of the manner in which other Cannibals carried out their rites, but to obtain the full details of all would have been detrimental to other types of investigation; it is believed that the above descriptions are typical. Before passing to other dances, a few general remarks on the Cannibal ritual may prove useful.

*575 In view of the arduous character of the dance, and the
*796 necessity for impressing the uninitiated with the great power
424 of the Cannibals, the marshals usually prohibit a man from
[562] acting unless he is physically strong. Rarely, however, a woman is allowed to be a Cannibal if she has the necessary prerogative, but usually only if she is the last survivor of her family. In such cases the shorter rite is the more common.

[538] As before stated, *kusiut* origin myths are supposed to be
[173] remembered, but in practice few *kukusiut* know the history of their prerogatives. The process of forgetting has undoubtedly increased in the last few years, but the writer feels confident that they were never maintained with the same care as origin myths connected with the first people.

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[The Cannibal Dance]

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myths connected with the first people. The following tale explains the reputed genesis of the biting prerogative embodied in the name *Nunuqwalaiuts*.

Many years ago, a number of lads were playing near the village of *Snulle·tl* when they were alarmed by the howling of a wolf and ran back to their homes. Next day the sound was repeated, and again they discontinued their play in fear. The third day the same thing happened, while on the fourth the boys not only heard the howling, but saw an enormous white wolf on the mountain above them. Fascinated, they forgot to flee, even when the animal drew near with phenomenal rapidity. It rushed up to a lad named *Nunuqwalaiuts*, and vanished. At once he became mad and ran to and fro, biting people; the beast had entered into him, and he had become a Cannibal.

His frightened comrades attempted to restrain and confine the lad, but they could not prevent him from escaping at times and biting people. That night he vanished from their sight, though they knew he had gone aloft because they heard his growling as he ascended. For two months he was absent, then suddenly reappeared among them, even wilder and hungrier than before, while his whole appearance had altered owing to the loss of his hair and emaciation. Again the people endeavoured to restrain him, but *Nunuqwalaiuts* had demoniac strength and could not be tied down. That evening a shaman was called upon, and he used the frenzied beating of sticks in hopes of curing the lunatic, for such he appeared to be. To the amazement of all, in this way he succeeded in expelling the head of a wolf, the cause of *Nunuqwalaiuts's* anthropophagous tendencies. Thus restored to sanity, he told of what he had seen in the land above, whither he had been carried.[41] Some time after the return of *Nunuqwalaiuts* it was discovered that the repository of his name was behind a waterfall near *Snulle·tl*.

Another myth explains the origin of the dog-eating prerogative embodied in the name *Hai·alakila*. Long, long ago, soon after the first people had reached this earth, a chief of that name lived in Bella Coola. One day his slave, *Qalsmus*, set out to hunt ducks which were resting on a small pond near the base of the mountains on the south shore of the Bella Coola River, not far from its mouth. Before reaching his destination he heard many people beating time with sticks and, judging that the noise could not have been caused by mortals, returned to tell his master. *Hai·alakila* at once set off for the spot, taking his slave with

[41] Since that time the *kukusint* have imitated this rite with the assistance of skilled carpenters, and have been able to deceive the uninitiated.

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* 575 him as guide. Both heard the beating, and soon saw a pack of super-
* 796 natural wolves eating dog-flesh. The men were able to steal away with-
424 out being observed and *Hai-alakila* told *Ṣ̄ālmas* to say nothing about
539 what they had seen. A little later he gave a dance in which he wore a wolf's mask and pretended to eat dog-flesh. His neighbours, ignorant of the vision by which this dance had been inspired, were tremendously impressed.

Another exploit of *Hai-alakila* and *Ṣ̄ālmas* may here be recorded, although it is unconnected with the Cannibal dance.

One night when they were spearing fish, a forest suddenly arose before them. *Ṣ̄ālmas*, startled and terrified, began to cry, but *Hai-alakila* quieted him.

"I am master here," he said. "We are in this adventure together and your task is to keep quiet."

Then a house appeared before them from the depths of the ocean. It was really a *sp̄ūmtsk*, with its ferocious mouth as doorway, and though *Hai-alakila* naturally feared to enter, he climbed to the roof, so that he could gaze within through what corresponded to a smoke-vent. The house was filled with valuables of all kinds, guarded only by gulls. *Hai-alakila* reached inside with his pole, hooked forth one object after another and swung each across to his slave on the mainland to hide in a tree. Unfortunately, a canoe happened to draw near, whereupon the house slowly sank back into the depths.

* 575 Mention might here be made of a *Stunx* repository, said to
778 be unique in Bella Coola, that contains five Cannibal names.
551 It is in the form of a human being with a tail, kneeling and bent forward so that hands and head touch the ground. A repository is at each point of contact. The names are:

Ṣ̄itlia, the head of the creature; *Ānuximān-a*, the left hand; *Sinuximātl*, the right hand; *Ālximān-a*, the left foot; *Xuximān-a*, the right foot; *Ālquntām*, the tail.

In this repository there lives a *mātsqus* with a copper lining to its mouth.

* 575 It will be seen that these myths help but little to explain
* 796 the *kusiut* society, or even the origin of the Cannibal dances;
424 they appear to be only rationalizations attempting to account
539 for established customs. For this reason they have been inserted after a description of the Cannibal dance.

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Several Bella Coola were questioned concerning the Cannibal spirit which Boas has described for the Kwakiutl. Some had never heard of such a creature, others had vague knowledge concerning it, and two men were able to give it a name. The one called it *Bāxbāxqwanālociwa*, the other *Bāxbāxqwaiwa*. All informants agreed that this creature was not a part of the Cannibal rites of Bella Coola and one man suggested that the cannibalistic incubus rendered it unnecessary. The Bella Coola believe that this Cannibal spirit is used in Bella Bella. During 1923 there came to Bella Coola an old Kimsquit Indian who had left his home many years ago and had since been living at Smith Inlet(?). With him came his son, a grown man, who had inherited from his mother a Kwakiutl Cannibal prerogative which he displayed in the winter of 1923-4. After the dancer had, theoretically, returned from the regions above, a large masked figure representing *Bāxbāxqwaiwa* entered through the front-door. As the singers beat time, it hopped to and fro, up and down, with snapping beak. The Bella Coola were intensely interested, and one had only to listen to their remarks when wondering what it might be, to be convinced that the Cannibal spirit is a strange concept to them. The most frequent hypothesis was that it was a *kaokao*, since the masked figure did resemble this supernatural bird. The Bella Coola greatly admired the dance, and were by no means ashamed to confess their inferiority as dancers to the Kwakiutl. After the disappearance of the masked figure, the singers sang the Cannibal's song and he danced in normal fashion, which was commented upon as another difference in custom.

575* 796* 776 [171] [171] [428] [424] [186] [171]

THE SCRATCH DANCE

Only less awe-inspiring than the Cannibal dance is the Scratch dance. Those *kukusiut* who have this prerogative are able to scratch the bodies of their fellows, so that long, bloody weals result. The privileges and restrictions of Scratchers are closely akin to those of Cannibals, as the following points show:

575* 424 [996]*

[The Scratch Dance]

* 575 They do not blacken their faces on receipt of a call as do
424 most *kukusiut*.

[302] The theme of their songs is of the land above, instead solely
[787] of their patrons.

[533] On visiting a house where a *qatlem* or *nuhusam* is taking place they sit with the Cannibals in one of the back corners; this group is given food before any of the other guests.

They do not exercise their prerogative on fellow-Scratchers, Cannibals, or Breakers.

[787] They are liable to frenzy both when the call is upon them and after its departure. In such cases they run forth, apparently guarded and restrained by other *kukusiut*, and rush into every house to frighten the uninitiated.

They must recompense those whom they have scratched.

[578] They act as peace-makers among the *kukusiut*, since the necessity of accompanying a Scratcher who pretends to be frenzied overrules all petty causes of strife.

[554] Though any definite concept of graded rank in the *kusiut* society is quite foreign to the Bella Coola, it is generally felt that Scratchers and Breakers are only slightly less important than Cannibals. The patron of every Scratcher is *Swo'oleulx Alqunám*, one of the sons of *Alqunám*; this supernatural being
[776] scratches the supernatural ones in the land above, and his father alone can restrain him. The prerogative is fairly common, and it is probable that in early days there was at least one Scratcher in every village.

* 575 The following account of the ritual was obtained from one
* 796 of the Bella Coola marshals and describes the manner in which the dance should have been performed by the Scratcher,
[424] *Alaxkmaix*, his daughter's daughter's son, who had recently obtained the prerogative formerly possessed by his deceased mother's father. It will be convenient to refer to *Alaxkmaix* as X and use the present tense in recording the proper ritual, though it was largely omitted on the last occasion the dance was given.

X arranges a suitable day with the marshals for receiving

[i.e. - the Scratchers - ANALYST]

[The Scratch Dance]

his call, and when this has been settled, he informs those *kukusiut* whom he plans to honour by scratching. Since each will have to be recompensed for allowing X to display his prerogative, their number depends on X's wealth. Early in the morning of the day chosen, which is always immediately after the *nebusam* of some other *kusiut*, the call comes, and X gives a low hoot. At once he starts wildly rushing around and scratching, so that the uninitiated are only too willing to flee from his terrifying presence. Throughout the day X is escorted by a number of *kukusiut* to every house, where he rages around the fire, throwing his arms to and fro in an infuriated manner, sometimes scratching one of his fellows, but more often merely acting as if he desired to do so. The uninitiated hide within the bedrooms, greatly impressed by what they see if they dare to look forth. 575* 796* [424]

Towards evening the *kukusiut* are summoned to X's house, where a dramatic representation, into which the members fully enter, is made of binding him as if he were a wild animal or a lunatic. A rope is stretched around the fire, held by the *kukusiut*, with X inside. He pretends to be trying to escape, while the rope-holders bend down and move around to hold him within their bonds. Meanwhile a shaman, or some senior *kusiut*, leads a frenzied beating of sticks which is four times repeated, to cure the madness. A *kusiut* then grasps the Scratcher's face and moves his mouth four times, to make sure that his jaws can move properly; the meaning of this is unknown. X now takes one of the beating-sticks and sits down among the singers as if about to teach them both tune and words of a song describing his knowledge of the land above, derived from his call. For a few moments he beats sanely, and appears to speak in a rational manner, but soon he goes off in a wild frenzy of senseless pounding. *Hoip, hoip*, cry the *kukusiut* to soothe him. After this has been several times repeated, the singers announce that they have learnt X's song, though of course, they have composed one themselves in readiness for the occasion. They now sing it; the audience listens, [757] [533]

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[The Scratch Dance]

*575 and the heralds keep telling all to be attentive. The chorus
*796 for every Scratcher's song consists of the supposedly meaning-
[533] less words, *'aii*, *'aii*, as if a child were crying. It is said that the
[171] same refrain is used for Scratch dances by every coastal tribe. After this practice the singers chant forth X's song more loudly, the audience joins in, and he dances. The Scratch
*575 dance differs from all other *kusiut* ones in that there are no
*796 fixed movements, with the exception of keeping time to the
535 beating of sticks with the feet. The dancer sometimes bends down and forward, with arms closely pressed between his legs, or he bends back with arms thrown upwards; to and fro and back and forth he goes with high steps or short mincing ones, with hops or jumps, his arms waving like the arms of a windmill. The best Scratch dancer is the one who can put most action and originality into his movements. The weird effect is increased by moving the facial muscles to cause strange grimaces. Four *kukusiut*, two before and two behind, accompany
*575 X. At intervals he becomes excited and seizes his own hair
*796 as if in internal agony, whereupon his guardians press the back of his neck and call *hoip* to soothe him. His dance completed, he sits down, and no other performers follow him. The
[431] presents provided by X and his relatives are then distributed, those scratched and the song makers being the chief recipients, although everyone receives something. Then there is the usual meal, accompanied by admonitions from the marshals, followed by X dancing once more to his song.

Unlike most *kusiut* ceremonials, this does not complete the night's rites. Accompanied by a number of *kukusiut*, X visits every house in the village, and dances around the fire with wildly waving arms while the whistle sounds eerily. Since the
[535] musicians do not beat time, his dance is without rhythmic qualities, otherwise it follows the lack of pattern just described. When he is brought back to his own house, the frenzied beating of sticks is twice repeated to soothe him, and water is thrown over him. Thus pacified, X goes to sleep and the *kukusiut* quietly disperse.

[The Scratch Dance]

The ritual of the following day, *nusiutälsap*, is of the regular *kusiut* type, so requires only a brief description. A second song is composed, wood for seven masks collected, and the platform is built. As soon as X has returned with the wood-gatherers, he again visits every house, frightening the uninitiated by his wild appearance as he circles the fire, but without scratching anyone. In the evening the *kukusiut* meet in his house to share in the allotment of work for the mask-making and to practise the songs. The following masks are made: 575* 796* [592]

Älquntäm;
Sno'olxälts Älquntäm, displayed as an ugly-mouthed monster;
Four Holders, similar to those who restrain a Cannibal;
Ano'likwolsaix.

After the usual meal the gathering breaks up.

On the next day, *qoihm*, X is still so frenzied that at intervals he visits the various houses with his escort and frightens the uninitiated. After some time these visits cease, though the uninitiated do not know that X has been pacified by seeing the completed mask of *Sno'olxälts Älquntäm*. The *kusiut* to whom the manufacture of this has been entrusted hurries his work in order that X may be quieted as soon as possible. In the evening the usual *qoihm* rites take place, the *kukusiut* being often invited before the uninitiated to practise the many songs composed for different dancers; this is done especially near the conclusion of the dances. When the regular ceremonial commences, X is the first to dance, restrained by two couples of *kukusiut*, as if to prevent him from running amuck among the uninitiated. Afterwards the singers strike up the songs of the *kukusiut* who have already performed, and each dances. Sometimes, if the rite becomes too protracted, only one song for each is used. Then the uninitiated are sent away and the *kukusiut* eat together, followed by X dancing to one of his songs. Occasionally, two or three *kukusiut* are also called upon as part of the ceremony.

[The Scratch Dance]

*575 *796 On the following evening, *nakusam*, when the uninitiated have been called in, they see *Alqantám* standing in the centre of the space behind the fire, wearing a large mask and a blanket decorated with tufts of dyed cedar-bark. *Ano'likwolxaix* moves to and fro as she gives her customary explanations, which are echoed by the heralds. The masked representation of *Sno'oluts Alqantám* rushes back and forth behind the fire, waving his arms to and fro as if he had an uncontrollable impulse to scratch someone. The four masked Holders move with him, as if to restrain him from dashing among the uninitiated.

"See!" says *Ano'likwolxaix*. "That is what they do in the land above."

After gazing upon these wonders for some time, the uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* perform a dramatic act. As many as possible crowd around *Sno'oluts Alqantám*, pressing with their hands against the back of his neck, the seat of [826] the spirit, calling *hoip*, in an effort to soothe him. This is done four times, without avail; he remains as wild as ever. Then one of the marshals removes the mask, and the same methods are used to try to soothe the wearer. But still they are of no avail. The mask is replaced, and *Sno'oluts Alqantám* rushes forth, with the four Holders in close attendance, and followed by a large number of *kukusiut*. Starting at the lowest house, he enters each in turn, dashing around the fire and startling the uninitiated in the same manner that X had done, but not actually scratching anyone. Non-members cower in terror at this invasion of their houses by a supernatural being. On the return to X's home, *Sno'oluts Alqantám* is pacified by the frenzied beating of sticks. The masks [532] are burnt in due course, after which the *kukusiut* assemble on the sidewalk outside X's house to sing one of his songs and thus further the return of his call to the land above. Sometimes X himself wears the mask of *Sno'oluts Alqantám*, more [834] often it is entrusted to another *kusiut*, but the wearer must

[The Scratch Dance]

obey one prohibition; he must not sleep with his wife for four days. 575* 796*

Like a Cannibal, X is liable to frenzy for the rest of the ceremonial season. During this period he remains secluded within his house, and the uninitiated willingly avoid him, believing him to be mentally deranged. He attends every *kusiut* dance, where his latent madness helps to frighten the uninitiated. If strangers from Kimsquit or *Tál ío* visit Bella Coola, he at once becomes frenzied, rushes to the beach and scratches them, precisely as a Cannibal would do; in this case he must be pacified in the same manner. A Scratcher always saves goods to recompense scratched foreigners. If it is the first time that X has danced, he must remain secluded for the following summer, and give his ceremony the next winter. During the warm months he remains within the back-room of his house, and though some of the uninitiated know of his presence, still believing him mad they do not intrude upon his privacy. The coming of foreigners during this period excites him to frenzy and he scratches them, irrespective of the time of year. [834] [828]

It might be mentioned that some Scratcher names are indicative of the dancer's function, and others, such as "The Cause of Fear," have reference to his prowess. [551]

THE BREAKER DANCE

When a Bella Coola speaks of the fear which *kusiut* dances cause the uninitiated, he almost invariably cites in order the Cannibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances. *Kukusiut* with these three prerogatives have no more privileges than other members of the society, nor are they considered superior in rank, but similarity in their functions leads to an almost automatic association. If questioned further, a Bella Coola will usually say that he regards the Cannibal dance to be first, with the Scratch and Breaker equal, but less important. Breakers share with Cannibals and Scratchers the prerogatives of not blackening their faces; of having as theme for their songs the land 575* 796* 424 [781] [554] [302] [533] [264]

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[The Breaker Dance]

*575 *796 [424] [533] [264] above; of sitting in one of the back corners and receiving the first food at ritual meals; of paying those on whom they exercise their prerogative, and of liability to frenzy on arrival of strangers. This last prerogative, if it may be so termed, lasts for the ceremonial season, and in the case of a novice, for the following summer as well. Moreover, Breakers do not destroy the goods of fellow-Breakers, Scratchers, or Cannibals.

*575 *796 424 539 In view of the similarity of this rite to those already described, no effort was made to collect full details. Different Breakers have minor variations in ritual, similar to those already illustrated. The following is an account of the manner in which the Breaker, *Sgek* of *Snuhli*, performed the rite a number of years ago. As on previous occasions, it will be convenient to use the present tense, and to refer to the dancer as X. *Sgek* gave the following account of the origin of his prerogative.

Long, long ago, soon after the first people had come to this earth, a marriage was about to take place in the village of *Snalt-el*. At that distant period the people were so powerful that they could themselves initiate *kusiut* dances, and the bridegroom determined to do so in honour of the event. He chose to imitate the actions of *Sänälipmuhlit Älqunäm*, one of *Älqunäm*'s sons, whom he remembered having seen throwing stones in his father's house before he, the bridegroom, was sent down to this world.* When goods were piled up ready for distribution as marriage presents, the man began to hurl stones around; one of them ricochetted from a box, struck his bride and killed her. This unforeseen accident solved the question of his name, as by universal consent it was decided that he should be called, *Sgek*, "He of the Faulty Aim."

Since that time a law has been enforced that no Breaker may throw a rock except ceremonially during his dance, and the marshals punish one who disobeys this injunction. If a Breaker is in the forest with a number of *kukusiut*, it does not matter if he fails to uphold this tradition; the essential is that the uninitiated do not see him cast a stone, even at a yelping dog, the usual reason for doing so in Bella Coola. [231]

*575 *796 When X wishes to dance he must first obtain the consent of the marshals in the usual manner. He also arranges with *kukusiut* to have boxes and other wooden objects placed within

[776]

*This being is also called *Nuhwunuqulum*, "The Cherished One."

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[The Breaker Dance]

the house to serve as targets, and stones as ammunition. As soon as the call comes, X cries out, begins to throw stones at these objects, and the uninitiated are at once expelled. X is usually led, closely guarded, to every house where he casts more rocks, and may break a number of utensils. Since it is well known that, under normal circumstances, he must never throw a stone, the uninitiated are convinced that he must indeed be animated by a strange power. This being *kustāmem*, the *kakaxiat* gather in X's house during the evening to learn and practise one, or sometimes two, songs for him. If X is a novice, the theme is of his ancestor and the accident which originated the dance; on later occasions it is of his patron and the land above. All Breakers do not have *Sāwalīqumalāts Alqantām* as patron; some have *Swakilmāls*, a supernatural being who causes wealth to curl up and come to him. The chorus is the same as for Scratchers, the meaningless words, *'aii, 'aii*. It is said that this same refrain is used by the Breakers of all coastal tribes, so that their songs can be distinguished from those of Scratchers only by the words. With the food, presents are given to recompense those on whom X has displayed his prerogative, that is, those whose utensils have been broken. Sometimes canoes and other valuable objects are destroyed by Breakers, depending entirely on their desire to exhibit their right.

575* 796* [787] 575* 796* 533 575* 796* [431] [424]

Next morning, *wuxutālap*, X again becomes frenzied and rushes from house to house, destroying property. Of course this is later paid for, but the uninitiated have no idea that arrangements had been made for the boxes and other objects to be placed in suitable spots. During the day a number of *kakaxiat* are sent to collect wood for nine masks. When members of the society gather in the evening the songs are practised, and the making of the masks allotted. One of these is of *Sāwalīqumalāts Alqantām*, four are of Breakers in the land above,* four of supernatural beings who sing there for the supernatural Breakers, and one of the inevitable *Ana'kūxu-tsaix*.

575* 796* 532 424 796

*The relations of these Breakers to the patron is not clear.

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[The Breaker Dance]

*575 *796 [424] *lsaix*. X is one of the few *kukusiut* having the prerogative of using supernatural singers. The evening's ceremony concludes in the usual fashion.

Until the departure of his call, X is liable to fits of frenzy so that on both *qotlm* and *nuluxam* he often visits every house and breaks utensils, though his guardians appear to be making every effort to restrain him. Breakers, irrespective of their [424] exact prerogative, are enabled to act in any unusual manner they desire, and strive to excel in peculiar behaviour. A favourite trick is to smear themselves with excrement, either real or imitation. It is difficult to over-estimate the enormous [554] prestige which such actions call forth in the eyes of the uninitiated, to whom it appears that the coming of a call entirely [787] alters the mentality of the recipient, a belief which the *kukusiut* [828] make every effort to maintain. Nothing further need be said of either *qotlm* or the preliminaries of *nuluxam*, both of which follow the usual pattern.

*575 *796 781 When the uninitiated are admitted to X's house on *nuluxam* evening, they are filled with wonder at the sight of the masked singers, of *Sâuoltlymululti Alquntâm*, and of the four supernatural Breakers who move wildly to and fro as the songs are sung, as if only the eagle down which the *kukusiut* blow upon them restrains them from destroying property. The fluent *Ant'lîkwulsaix* makes the most of her opportunity to describe the wonders which are before their eyes. Then the uninitiated are told that it will be safer for them to withdraw, and hurry out. Presently they are startled to hear the sound of people moving, and the four supernatural Breakers, followed by all the *kukusiut*, leave the house and proceed to the lowest one in the village. Around the fire go the masked four, picking up stones and hurling them at any destructible property. Most [252] houses contain a number of stones which have been used in [578] boiling liquids, so that there is no lack of missiles. *Kukusiut* [685] who are wise take care to hide or remove valuable property before this inroad begins, since the wearers of the masks take advantage of the opportunity to destroy the goods of those

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they do not like. No compensation can be claimed, on the theory that supernatural beings do not have to pay for any damage they may do. Although the property of some *kukusiut* is destroyed, the chief sufferers are the uninitiated; this serves to increase their fear and respect for the society with which such all-powerful beings are in league. After visiting every house in the village, the party returns to X's, where the masks are burnt, the call sent back, and the proceedings conclude in the usual manner. 575* 796* 781 [578] [685]

A certain amount of information concerning the history of the Breaker dance was obtained from *Syek*, the owner of the prerogative just described. He is a well-informed man, but the writer had no opportunity of comparing his beliefs with those of his associates, so the following must be regarded as unsubstantiated evidence. This man stated that the Breaker dance is the most important of all in Bella Bella, and that many Bella Coola prerogatives have been obtained from this source, although some of their first ancestors likewise enjoyed it. He further stated that the term, *noltristu*, by which the Bella Coola always designate a Breaker, is of Bella Bella origin, and that the ancient Bella Coola term was *dirtia*.[91] *Syek* also told of an occasion when a number of Bella Bella, present on the *qothm* night of a Bella Coola ceremony, were disturbed when eating by the thud of a stone thrown, from outside, against the wall of the back-room. Out rushed a number of *kukusiut*, incensed at the disrespect shown to their gathering. They caught the offender, but released him when he was found to be a Bella Bella Breaker, foolishly demonstrating his prowess. The marshals decided to retaliate and arranged with two Bella Coola Breakers to exercise their rights and destroy the canoes and food-boxes of their guests. They did so, and later paid for the damage. The Bella Coola were thus able to demon- 575* 796* [115] [171] [177] 575* 796* 648 688

[91] *Syek* and several of his children are the only Bella Coola known to the writer who habitually use the sound "r." For example, he says "*Sraler*," instead of "*Sradil*." He says that he is himself unable to distinguish any peculiarity in his own pronunciation, although other Bella Coola are aware of it. [197]

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[The Breaker Dance]

*575 strate their own superiority; they had paid those who had wit-
*796 nessed their prerogative, whereas the Bella Bella Breaker had
648 merely cast a stone without solemnity. Speeches were made,
688 and it was decided that henceforth instead of waging true war
[921] in case of an error in ritual, it would be sufficient if the Breakers exacted punishment by destroying property. That is the explanation offered by this man as to why foreign war-parties have not more frequently upheld the law by raiding. As before stated, the writer is uncertain whether such beliefs are generally held by the Bella Coola and of course the historical accuracy of the information is still more doubtful.

THE *Kusiotem* DANCES

*575 More awe-inspiring, though less terrifying, than the Can-
*796 nibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances, are the *kusiotem* dances.
424 In these the dancer undergoes mutilation and death, but his
[975] supernatural power enables him to return to life—at least so it appears to the credulous non-members. The five dances known as *kusiotem* are:

The Stomach-Cutting Dance;
The Beheading Dance;
The Drowning Dance;
The Burning Dance; and
The Swallowing of Hot Stones Dance.

Each of these comprises a distinct ceremonial of great complexity, but only one prerogative is required. That is, a man who has the *kusiotem* right may allow his stomach to be cut one year, and when he next performs will choose to display his ability to swallow hot stones. In this respect, it differs from all other *kusiut* ceremonies. Although a *kusiotem* dancer is entitled to exercise his privilege as often as he wishes, provided his marshals consent, the rite is so difficult that it is rarely carried out.

[973] As far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola of today have no

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elaborate myths dealing with the origin of the *kusiotem* dances. They believe that they are performed by the supernatural beings in the land above, and that long, long ago *Ālquntām* and his associates held a meeting at which it was decided to send them down to mortals. They chose as recipient a certain *Onixwalicua* of Kimsquit, and the prerogative of giving *kusiotem* dances has since been possessed by the owner of that name.[a] The following accounts are of the dances performed by a certain *Onixwalicua* whom it will be convenient to call X. He has six repositories, one for each section of his dance.

As with all other *kusiut* prerogatives, the impetus to dance can come only on receipt of a call from a supernatural patron, the being *Kulslkākmidjut* in the case of all *kusiotem* dancers. The uninitiated are told that a call "falls" on the recipient, and moreover that for *kusiotem* dances it can take place only when the supernatural beings are rushing out of the house above on the entry of the sun at the winter solstice. Thus *kusiotem* dances should take place after the winter solstice, although this requirement has not been enforced in recent years.

The Stomach-Cutting Dance

In the early summer X decides to exercise his prerogative the following winter. He informs one of the marshals of his wish, and the latter summons his associates to the secret meeting-place where the matter is debated at length. Danger of exposure of details to the uninitiated is so great that the marshals refuse permission for the performance unless the would-be dancer is a man of proved reliability. Once this consent has been obtained, X quietly proceeds with his preparations, laying in supplies of food and asking his *kusiut* friends for their assistance. When the dances begin, X attends as do all other *kukusiut*, though his secret mental excitement increases as the time draws near for him to perform. The exact time of starting is discussed with the marshals, and a prelimi-

[a] There are other *kusiotem* dancers in Bella Coola.

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

*575 nary announcement made to the *kukusiut* on the night of some
*796 *qotlum* in the following manner:

As the *kukusiut* are eating, one of the marshals rises, saying:

"I hear a supernatural one close at hand; some powerful being is drawing near."

The other marshals agree that they too hear its approach and the *kukusiut*, always eager for dances, impatiently await further information. After further suspense, one of the marshals announces that it is coming for X. No mention is made of which dance is to be performed, and the intimation is wrapped in that veil of secrecy so essential to the *kusiut* society that they practise it even among themselves until it becomes habitual. During the night four young *kukusiut* are sent out to the mountains near the village carrying small whistles. The [776] uninitiated, hearing their weird sound, realize that a supernatural being is in the vicinity. This whistling is repeated twice during the night.

*575 Sometimes the actual call comes to X on the following
*796 afternoon, but more often after the *nebusam* in the evening.
787 When the display, whatever it may be, has taken place, whistling is heard from the mountain slopes. The uninitiated are at once expelled, ignorant, of course, of the fact that the noise is made by *kukusiut* dispatched for the purpose. As they [776] hurry out they are told that the noise is the droning cry of a supernatural being, equivalent to the droning done by *kusiut* women whenever they are present at a manifestation of the supernatural. X, who appears to be listening, calls out:

"Please say what you want, I will do it."

Then he utters a low hoot-like whistle and sits down, while the women drone. When several minutes have elapsed, X moves, sunwise, to another part of the house and repeats his answer to the whistling which is still continuing. This is done a second and third time, but on the fourth, the call is supposed to have entered X, who cowers as if something had struck him, while the women drone more loudly than before. Then sticks are beaten madly four times and a herald goes to every house

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[The Stomach- Cutting Dance]

in the village announcing that a call has come to X. Meanwhile forty or fifty *kukusiut* have surrounded X and accompany him as he leaves his home and proceeds to the end of the village furthest downstream. He enters the lowest house, followed by his escort, and stops before the central fire to call out: 575* 796* 787

"Please say what you want; I will do it."

He circles the fire, sunwise, repeats his call a second time and leaves. The same procedure is repeated in every house in the village, in order from bottom to top, before he returns to his own home. The uninitiated are told that some power has come upon him, but that it is so strange that even he cannot comprehend it. After a short pause, X again sallies forth, accompanied as before, and calls twice in every house of the village. The same ritual is repeated a third time, but on the fourth round, which soon follows, he carries a knife in his hand. Thus it becomes plain to all that X has received power enabling him to have his stomach cut, and the *kukusiut* show signs of grief at the danger to which their fellow is about to be exposed. Needless to say, the delay in interpreting the call adds to the mystification of the uninitiated, and their wonder at X's power. The heralds do their part by repeating his words with their own comments. [781]

When X finally returns to his own house the heralds summon all the *kukusiut* to it and the customary ritual of *lsuxtämem* takes place. The singers beat out and practise a song composed by one of their members for X, the audience listens attentively and then practises it until all are proficient. The theme of every *kusiotem* song is of the land above and the supernatural beings resident there. The wordless chorus consists of *wai'aiye'iu*, which the Bella Coola state is the refrain of all *kusiotem* dances up and down the coast. 575* 796* 533

The second day, *nusiutälsap*, a second song is composed and a party sent to the forest to bring in wood suitable for masks. In the evening part of the work is allotted[46] and the songs practised. For *kusiotem* dances, in addition to masks, a 575* 796* 532 [533]

[46]Some is kept for a later distribution.

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*575 number of puppets is always made. Certain *kukusiut*, known
*796 as *ānuyax*, have in connection with their dance prerogative, the
532 ability to summon and display supernatural objects in the
[424] form of small puppets. These are sometimes patrons, more often
[787] not, and include not only beings having human form, but snakes, hummingbirds, and other creatures. By calling his being, an *ānuyax* receives strength which can be transmitted to someone else—so the uninitiated believe—by passing it into
[775] the recipient's body. Non-members are told that X suffers death from which he is resurrected by his own powers, rein-
[787] forced by those passed into him by other members of the society through the transference of their puppets. The most potent "patron-puppet" is the giant toad. It is difficult for a
[781] white man to understand how intelligent people, as are many of the uninitiated, can be deluded into believing that the somewhat rudely carved wooden figures which they see moving before them are supernatural beings. Emphasis must again be laid on the awe, mystery, and power of the ceremonies in the eyes of those who do not understand them, and the very great skill shown by the carpenters in making use of hidden strings, trap-doors, and other devices to increase the dramatic effect. Puppets are guarded very carefully by their owners and are usually hidden in some cleft of the mountains. A well-constructed one is used when necessary for many years.

*575 Other preparations must be made for the stomach-cutting.
*796 As in all other *kusiut* dances, deception is practised and X is not really disembowelled. Instead, a wooden, or copper, frame is made to shield his stomach; over this is arranged the skin of a deer or a dog, cut to cover him from chest to thighs, with even the navel imitated. This camouflage is held in place by his breech-cloth and by a strap passing around his chest. He wears a blanket which conceals most of the fastenings so that the artifice is not noticeable in the dim light of the house. The chief difficulty is to find a dog with skin the same colour as X's.
[281] Many animals are killed, and the fur removed by immersion in boiling water, but sometimes half the dogs of a village must

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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

be slaughtered before one is found with skin to match.[67] The marshals carefully supervise all these arrangements, but of course on this night the work alone is allotted. The entrails of several dogs are kept and worn by X between his false stomach and the wooden frame. 575* 796* [281]

After the allotment of tasks in connection with the mechanical work required, the marshals ask four women to come forward. Those selected are usually old people with good voices who, from long experience at the dances, have mastered the two[68] songs used at each *kusiotem* dance. The theme of these never varies and is believed to have been handed down from the distant past. No prerogative is attached; the marshals and singers merely choose four women whom they think will be good performers. The songs resemble those sung at mourning ceremonies; in fact, they are used with that significance when X has been "killed" by disembowelling. The singers, the women chosen, the marshals, and any other *kukusiut* who feel competent to do so, discuss in an animated manner the exact wording and tunes of the songs. Then the musicians beat out the time and the women sing one after another, while the audience drones. In view of the solemnity of the occasion, it often happens that senior singers from adjacent villages are invited to be present to render assistance. The necessity for practising X's songs, apportioning the carpentry, and rehearsing the mourning songs has taken up more time than is usual on a *nusiutälsap* night, and it is late before all is completed. Then, after the usual meal and admonishments, the people disperse. 575* 796* 533

Early the following morning the carpenters and those to whom work has been allotted gather early in X's house. A band, about two feet long, composed of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark is prepared and placed on the 575* 796* 211

[67] Informants offered no explanation as to why this wholesale slaughter of dogs failed to arouse curiosity and suspicion in the uninitiated. [781]

[68] Or four; there was difference of opinion among Bella Coola informants on this point.

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*575 *796 [217] outside of the house above the central doorway. The middle of the strip is pressed together so that it forms a projecting point, some four inches in length. This sign is a warning to the uninitiated that the *kukusiut* are working within, and none but a member of the society must enter or even pass on the sidewalk outside the door.[69] The central fire is moved forward to leave a larger space than usual between it and the back-room, and two mattings are raised to form two enclosures, one in each of the rear corners.

All day the carpenters work feverishly, and in the evening the *kukusiut* are once again summoned. When last performed, the rite on *qothm* was curtailed, and informants could give only an outline of the proper procedure. It appears that X's two [533] songs are practised, as well as the two mourning songs sung by the chosen women. Then all sit silent as if in grief, while the women occasionally utter mournful ejaculations, dreading the danger to which X will be exposed. At this juncture the uninitiated are summoned; they are impressed by the gravity and obvious fears shown even by the members of the powerful *kusiut* society. In the tense silence, one of the *änuyex* suddenly bursts forth:

"I will get my puppet-patron and bring him near so that he will be available tomorrow."

He reaches up his arms and makes the motions of drawing something towards him from above, while the *kukusiut* women drone and the singers and others provided with sticks keep up a clamorous beating on the floor. Presently another *änuyex* does likewise, and so on until as many as wish to do so have drawn down their puppet-patrons. The heralds maintain a running fire of comments to aid in impressing non-members. The customary lengthy dancing of *qothm* is omitted, and the uninitiated are expelled at once. The *kukusiut* have the usual

[532] [69] If it is necessary to make numerous puppets this band may be placed in position the previous evening and the carpenters start work a day earlier on the more important tasks.

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meal with admonitions from the marshals; then they too disperse. 575* 791*

During the following day a hole is dug behind the fire of sufficient depth to conceal X, when standing in it, as high as the thighs. Towards dusk he takes up his position in this pit; his face is blackened and he wears the customary cedar-bark collar and a belt-apron to hold the frame in place. An assistant lies down on the floor immediately in front of him with his head in the hole beside X's feet so that the two men, instead of appearing as such, seem to be only one seated upon the ground. As night falls the *kukusiut* take their places and the more influential members of the society press forward to see that X and his assistant are properly disguised so that the fact that they are really two is not apparent. When all is in readiness, the Bella Coola practice is for a herald to summon the waiting uninitiated, but in Kimsquit one of the marshals orders some of the younger men to extinguish the fire, before this is done, so that as the non-members come to the door their fears are increased by finding the house in deep darkness. The heralds guide them to their places in the front corners, where they sit in shuddering expectancy for about an hour. The stillness is broken only by the occasional sound of a whistle and the laboured breathing of the guests. Suddenly the hush is shattered by the voice of a *kusiut* calling out four times *än·än·ai·*, the ejaculation used in pain. [184] [192] [152]

To the spell-bound uninitiated it seems as if the supernatural beings surrounding him had become too much for him, so that he cried out in the agony of his soul. Resinous sticks have been placed in readiness and a fire is quickly kindled. The Cannibals growl savagely in their corners and the uninitiated shiver. From this point forth the ritual in Bella Coola and Kimsquit is identical. [184]

X circles the fire, sunwise, four times and appears to seat himself on the floor with outstretched legs though in reality he is standing in the hole. One of the *änuyex* stands up and announces:

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*575 "I will get my puppet-patron."

*796 A whistle sounds, the *kukusiut* women drone and the un-
787 initiated see one of the puppet figurines move across the back of the house, though they do not see the concealed ropes by which this is managed. The figure disappears as if it had entered its owner who goes to X and makes the motion of passing something into him. The other *änuyex* do likewise. Sometimes the dramatic effect is increased by sending a *kusiut* to the roof to strike one of the boards as if the puppet had landed from above with a thump; or the owner may come in from the back-room, walking backwards and drawing his puppet after him by means of a string matching the floor in colour and fastened to his foot. Another device is to have the puppets suspended from the roof by means of similar cords, invisible in the darkness. The owner of one of these takes it in his arms and revolves sunwise on himself as he moves to X, and at the same time conceals the figurine beneath his blanket. The last puppet is always the giant toad, the most potent of all.

*575 When X has thus been strengthened for the perils which he
is to undergo, a number of the uninitiated are invited to come
*796 forward to see him. As they step forth, one of the senior *kukusiut* kneads with his fingers against the back of the neck of each to strengthen his spirit so that it will not be drawn from him with fatal results. The uninitiated come forward, see X, without realizing that they are really gazing on two individuals,
[412] and shudder at a knife which is lying near. This was always of copper or obsidian in the old days.

The actual cutter is one of the uninitiated, though efforts are made to have as operator a son or other near relative of a prominent *kusiut* so that he may easily be initiated into the society if anything should go amiss. One informant, who was called upon to act when about fifteen years of age, vividly recalled the experience in the following manner:

He was sitting with ten or twelve lads of his own age, each of whom was asked by a marshal:

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575*
796*

"Are you brave?"

Not one of them was willing to display his courage, even after repeated questionings. At this impasse the lad's uncle, a prominent *kusiut*, requested that his nephew be asked; so the question was put to him. He answered in the affirmative as his uncle had advised him to do. To the further question:

"Are you willing to do what this man [the performer] may demand?" he also answered:

"Yes," without knowing what he might be called upon to do.

Further preliminaries took place and the frightened boy asked several of his companions to stand near him to lend him their moral support. He was told to go to X, where one of the assistants gave him the knife and told him to examine it. It was a real knife and, as he announced to the assembled gathering, very sharp. X showed him where to insert it, under the left bottom rib, and told him to draw it firmly across to the corresponding point on the other side. The boy did so; the victim cried out as if in pain, his hands shook, and when the entrails fell out, he dropped back as if dead. The youth, believing that he had killed the man, was terrified. Years later he learned all about the ceremonial, but at the time the deception was complete.

A subterfuge sometimes employed at this time is to place a bladder among the entrails, so arranged that it can be inflated from a distance through a tube, making it appear that the intestines are quivering.

As soon as X has fallen, pandemonium breaks out in the house. The *kukusiut* women weep and wail, whistles sound at intervals, and the effect is like bedlam. Presently two or three of the uninitiated move to the door and harangue the *kukusiut* in this fashion:

"You have gone too far, you powerful people. We know you are powerful and in league with the supernatural ones, but now you have slain a man. Your power is too great, it is

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*575 dangerous. Unless he is restored to life before dawn we will
*796 slay you."

The other uninitiated marvel that any of their number should be bold enough to taunt the *kukusiut*, ignorant of the fact that those who do so are really spies whose part in the performance has long since been arranged by the marshals. [688] Instances are remembered when the wooden or copper frame was defective and the performer was killed; in such a case the spies actually slew one or more *kukusiut* to preserve the prestige of the society. Exact details were unobtainable, but it seems clear that the victims were selected with the aid of the marshals during the night; they were, of course, men of little importance in the community.

The spies prevent anyone from leaving the house and gradually the din subsides, except for the constant wailing of the women, particularly X's relatives. The *kukusiut*, granted a respite until dawn, allow some of the uninitiated to come forward and pass sunwise around the fire to see the corpse of X with the bloody entrails exposed. At this juncture, the old
*575 women selected for the purpose sing the mourning song, of
*796 which the words and tune never vary; they are believed to
533 have been handed down from time immemorial. The theme
539 is of *Snitsmän a*, a kindly supernatural woman[70] who restores to life *kukusiut* killed in the performance of their rites. The singer in the upper, eastern, rear corner of the house sings the following words:

Nunuxwḑsam·ixwakotsk'	*yao disiaiyäkmidjutnu*	*siyalaqailaoals*
Perhaps you[71] saw correctly[72]	hence you did so;[73]	it is too much
iawanutciyekelisi		
that has been given to you.[74]		

[70]Some informants state that there are several of these beings.
[71]Referring to X.
[72]Each vertical line marks the limit of a word or word-cluster, emphasized in singing, and the translation of it.
[73]That is: "You performed your dance in accordance with what you saw."
[74]That is: "You have received power that is too great and too dangerous." The specific reference is to the knife.

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After a short interval, she is answered by the singer in the lower, western, rear corner of the house as follows: 575* 796*

Saqankotsänitwawit	*itlasnitsman·aatdja*	*tkäpälpälqälosdus*
Let there come to earth	the voice of *Snitsmän·a*	to revive

533 539

diyälakaiqum·ilsutdai
the one who has so injured himself.

The general meaning of this song is obvious, although there are several obscure expressions which serve to increase the wonder and fear of the uninitiated. Silence follows the singing, then whistling is heard and a herald announces that one of the puppet-patrons inserted into X has left him and gone to the region above. Similar whistling announces the departure of others at intervals. When several have done so, it is time for the first to return. A thud, made by a hidden accomplice, is heard on the roof and whistling breaks out afresh. Sometimes the puppet-patron returns to X, but more often to its invoker, and the transference previously enacted is repeated over the body of the dancer who continues to lie as if lifeless. Now and then the uninitiated are invited forward to look at him and they notice that the gaping wound is slowly closing, an easy matter to arrange in the dim light of the house. At intervals the puppet-patrons go and return from the land above, and the proceedings are sometimes enlivened by the owners telling a herald, who in turn informs the audience, what the puppet-patron saw on its journey aloft. Usually each goes and returns four times in the course of the night. Each of the women selected to sing the mourning songs performs once, standing in a corner of the house and waving a wand wound with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. So the long night passes. Towards dawn continuous whistling is heard. This is made by several men with a whistle apiece; each begins to blow as soon as the breath of his partner is nearly exhausted. It is known to be the voice of *Snitsmän·a*. In Kimsquit, but not in Bella Coola, this is the signal for the entry of the giant toad. Carpenters have made a wooden figure of the amphibian and by means of concealed strings it is

575* 796* 787 [533] 575* 796* [776] [184] [532]

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*575 *796 [532] made to hop towards X and bend four times over him. The wound gradually comes together, and the excitement grows ever greater. Those near X cry out that his little toes are moving, as indeed they are, then in succession his fourth, middle, first, and big toes begin to twitch convulsively. It is often difficult to find an assistant capable of moving his toes in the proper order.

"He is alive again," call the heralds, and some of the uninitiated come forward to watch the marvel of the dead man's toes moving.

*575 *796 533 X grows gradually stronger and begins to shake his hands as if he were trying to dance. Then, in a feeble voice, he begins to sing, though the only word which comes clearly is *Snitsmän·a*, the name of the supernatural woman through whose kindly mediation he has been restored to life. This song has actually been composed by the singers and taught by them to X preparatory to the rite. It resembles a shaman's, since it is assumed that X has practically been made a shaman by the intervention of *Snitsmän·a*. The singers pretend to be listening intently, and then chant it over, as if they had just learnt it, while X shakes his hands as if dancing. The wailing and weeping of the *kukusiut* women has given place to joy, and those who had been singing mourning songs dance in time to the music. One after the other the *änuyex* who had cast their patrons into X now go to him to recall them. Each bends over him and pretends to extract something by pressure with cupped hands, at the same time crying out *hoip, hoip*.

*575 *796 787

Each *änuyex* then goes through the motions of casting something up into the air with cries of the same nature; this serves to return his patron to the mysterious region whence it had come. The uninitiated are now expelled and the *kukusiut* soon follow, without receiving a meal.[75] Those who have taken a leading part in the ceremony usually linger with the marshals

*575 *796

[75]According to one informant, the youth who cut X's stomach was formerly detained and initiated into the ranks of the *kukusiut*.

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to discuss the event and lay plans for the future, but as it is now daylight they too soon retire to sleep. 575* 796*

The *kusiotem* ceremony resembles a double *kusiut* rite since it comprises two sets of four days and nights. The one on which X's stomach was cut is considered to be *lsuxtämem*. Accordingly, the heralds call the *kukusiut* to X's house early on the afternoon following and the regular ritual of *nusiutälsap* takes place. Some of the younger men are at once sent to the forest for wood to be made into more masks but, with the love of drama typical of the *kukusiut*, it is assumed that X himself is too feeble to accompany them. Accordingly his power is transferred to a substitute by means of the frenzied beating of sticks and repeated cries of *hoip*. On the return of the wood collectors, who carry their burdens as usual on tump-lines and set them down carefully, this power is restored to X in the same manner. The work of making the masks is now allotted. For *kusiotem*, and several other *kusiut* rites hereafter to be described, the dancer is entitled to show as many of the beings in the Bella Coola pantheon as he desires. Consequently if X is wealthy and wishes to have a spectacular *nebusam*, he orders many masks. Then the *kukusiut* practise a number of songs composed by the singers. One, or sometimes two, prepared for X is couched as if he himself were telling what he had seen in the upper regions. They describe *Ałquntäm*, his messenger *Oǫolikts Ałquntäm*, and, especially *Kulslkäkmidjut*, the supernatural being whose stomach is periodically cut in the land above. It is he who has entered X and impelled him to suffer the same mutilation from the effects of which *Snitsmän·a* has restored him. X himself usually remains concealed behind the matting in the rear part of the house, but sometimes, if he wishes to practise what he will perform the next night, he comes forward for a rehearsal. He still pretends to be very ill, and instead of dancing in the usual violent manner, totters around the fire, supported by several assistants, while he feebly shakes his hands. The women drone, and the uninitiated in the other houses realize that more exciting events are impending.

[482] [424] [556] [776] [787]

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

* 575 * 796 533 The singers have also composed a song for each of the *ānuyax* and these too must be practised, while the men dance or remain still as they think fit. Since no uninitiated are present the affair is purely a rehearsal. The words of each of these songs is of the manner in which the patron helped X to survive his ordeal. By this time it is late and the *kukusiut* disperse after the usual meal and admonitions of the mārshals.

* 575 * 796 532 The next day, *qothm*, the carpenters assemble early in the morning to start work. Since X is entitled to portray any of the supernatural beings who are companions of his patron in the land above, it follows that there is wide variation in his choice of masks to be manufactured. The principal supernatural beings are always shown, and any animals, since all are supernatural, can likewise be displayed. As usual, a few *kukusiut* are invited at midday to share the meal provided for the carpenters. The number of masks to be provided is often so great that two days or more are necessary for their completion, in which case no ceremony takes place on the night which would normally be *qothm*; the *kukusiut* merely gather and again practise their songs. [533]

* 575 * 796 But the day after is *qothm*. At dusk the *kukusiut* are called in for a final rehearsal of the songs, and then a summons is sent to the uninitiated, who have been washing and beautifying themselves in eager anticipation. In Kimsquit it is customary to hang some of the masks on a sloping pole behind the fire and the sight of these amazes the non-members. First the singers beat out the song of one of the women mourners and she dances in time to it, while the heralds near the door keep up a steady stream of remarks, encouraging the woman to perform yet more strenuously and to have no modesty about shaking her breasts. Then another of the women dances, followed in succession by the third and fourth if that is the number who sang the mourning songs. Next the *ānuyax* perform, each in succession accompanying the song composed for him. Now comes the central feature of the evening, the performance of X himself. As the singers strike up the shaman's song which he is

[515] [532] [184] [781] [535] [834]

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supposed to have taught them, he appears, supported by two *kukusiut*, and attempts to dance, but is too feeble to do more than be assisted around the fire, feebly shaking his hands. He retires, but comes forth once more as the singers beat out the song of regular *kusiut* type composed for him and which his fellows have practised. If two have been composed, he appears a third time. After X has finally withdrawn, the ritual proceeds in the usual manner, by the dancing of every *kusiut* who has had a call in time to his two songs. It is late before all have danced; then the uninitiated are given a little food and sent away. The *kukusiut* eat more leisurely, and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. On account of the solemnity of the occasion, their words of wisdom are even more grandiloquent than usual. The following may be regarded as a typical address: 575* 796* [574] 575* 796* 537

"You have done well, ye *kukusiut*, in thus carrying out the ceremony so admirably. I thank you. You have done well X, you have done as our fathers did. None of you must ever forget the precepts and example of our fathers who have handed down this rite from dim antiquity. Perhaps when we marshals are dead some of you will become careless and want to alter the ceremonial. Do not dream of anything so foolish. The proper method is that which you have just seen. Try no other."

When the marshals have finished, X dances once again, and the weary *kukusiut* at length disperse.

The next day, or rather later in the same day, for it is long after midnight before the ceremony is completed, is *nakusam*. Many of the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house about four o'clock in the afternoon to try on the masks and attend to the innumerable details. A representation of *Ano'likwulsaix* is always prepared, as well as those of *Alqantäm*, *Sxsexälaix*, and *Snanäkäls*. The last-named is the "Wise One," "He of Whom Questions are Asked," the supernatural being who decides points of ritual in the dances in the land above. No paint is used on his mask, but a coloured effect is obtained by means 575* 796* 532 [776]

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*575 of the darker hue of the inner part of the wood. His nose and
*796 forehead are wrinkled as if in deep thought. Masks of many
other supernatural beings and animals have been made, in-
532 cluding two which are reserved for *kusiotem* dances alone. The first of these is X's patron, *Kulslkäkmidjut*, who is capable of having his stomach cut. A face mask is made for him of the usual human type, and in addition a wooden stomach with a slit which can be moved by strings to display entrails painted
[796] on a frame beneath. The second distinctive mask is that of *Oqolikts Alquntäm*, the herald of *Alquntäm*. Above his mask is fastened a bird, made of wood, the wings of which can be made to flap by pulling on a cord which runs down under the wearer's blanket. He carries a staff, decorated with alternate spiral bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with another wooden bird likewise provided with flapping wings. By the time the masks have been adjusted it is quite dark.

*575 The uninitiated, listening from their houses, hear first the
*796 frantic, but measured, beating of sticks that always accom-
[755] panies a curing ceremony. Then *Oqolikts* leaves X's house, followed by all the *kukusiut* who have danced the same year and accordingly wear dyed cedar-bark collars, and many others as well. The party goes to the bottom house of the village where *Oqolikts* pounds on the floor with his staff and cries out:

Xwo . . . .

The *kusiut* chosen to wear this mask is one who has powerful lungs. The heralds, always in attendance, echo his words and explain to the wondering uninitiated who their supernatural visitor is, and that this is the way he summons the supernatural beings to the dances in the land above. *Oqolikts* causes the wings of his birds to flap, the party moves to the next house, and thence in succession to every one in the village before returning to X's. After a short delay the uninitiated hear another crash of the frenzied beating of sticks, and again *Oqolikts* parades to every house in the village. On this, his second round, his announcement is:

"I act as herald; prepare to come."

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

A third frenzied beating is followed by a third round of the village with the announcement: 575* 796*

"The fire is ready."

For the fourth time the *kukusiut* in X's house beat time furiously, and again *Oǫolikts* sallies forth.

"Everything is almost ready," he says in each house.

By this time any lagging *kukusiut* have taken their places in X's house, and when everything is in order one of the heralds calls out to the uninitiated that they may enter. In they rush, and sit quietly in the corners near the front-door. *Oǫolikts*, his work accomplished, stands at one side of the space behind the fire, while the inevitable *Ano'likwolsaix* moves to and fro, keeping up a constant flow of conversation. Sometimes *Kulslkākmidjut* stands behind the fire; on other occasions he has been known to walk through the house, accompanied by two assistants blowing eagle down over him. He moves his face as if in pain, and then lies down behind the fire, where the uninitiated can see his stomach contracting and expanding as if it had been ripped to expose the entrails. At the distance from which they view the spectacle it is easy to carry out the deception. *Oǫolikts* sits down behind the fire and another supernatural being comes from one of the enclosures. As far as could be learnt, the order of their appearance on the occasion when X performed was as follows, though there is no ceremonial significance attached thereto: 575* 796* 776

Oǫolikts.

Ālquntām. He always wears a huge mask and the actor must have a powerful voice for at intervals he bellows out:

"Mortals! See me, I am *Ālquntām*," while the heralds and *Ano'likwolsaix* echo and confirm his remarks. He stalks from one of the enclosures to the central position behind the fire, where he remains standing.

Snusilkāls appears and stands near *Ālquntām*, his nose and forehead wrinkled in deep thought.

Sxsuxālaix joins the group. These three supernatural ones remain standing for some little time, then they pass into

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575 the enclosure in the opposite corner to that from which they had emerged.

776 *Awamuxtsnum.* Three or four masked figures appear together to portray these beings. Their function is to remind *Alpuxtäm* of those whom he should invite to his ceremonials above.

Snung. As this dreaded monster appears, the uninitiated cower convulsively and the *kukuxiut* women drone. Several [789] masked figures accompany the *Snung* around the fire, blowing eagle down over the creature, and *Ant'likwulxaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is to protect them from the monster. The heralds as usual echo her remarks. After one circuit of the fire, the *Snung* disappears into one of the enclosures behind the fire.

Haokas. This supernatural, mythological denizen of the mountains, is in the form of an enormous bird with long beak and bony wings. The mask worn with the disguise is usually [592] about three feet in length, in the shape of a bird's head with long beak. A stick passes from its butt down the wearer's back and is held in place by his belt, thus balancing the heavy, projecting bill (see Plate 8).[1] It is hinged so that the performer can make the mandibles snap together by pulling a cord concealed under his blanket. A good actor, and such is [535] always chosen to represent this creature, bends forward and downwards so that the snapping beak almost brushes the floor; then he rises and pauses like a bird when listening and half startled. Next he runs a few steps, in a mincing manner, thus slowly circling the fire, and ultimately passes from sight into the enclosure other than that from which he has emerged. Several *kukuxiut* accompany the actor, blowing eagle down over him, the women drone and *Ant'likwulxaix* keeps up a string of comments. After a short pause a second *haokas* appears and circles the fire with its attendant *kukuxiut*. The same procedure is repeated for a third and fourth.

Alxwulätnum. This is the supernatural herald for Thun- [532] der, the leading *kuxiut* among supernatural beings. He wears

[1] [see category 116, p 164 (B) – ANALYST]

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a mask representing a man and carries a stick with which he 575*
beats on the floor as he cries out: 796*

"Come, ye supernatural ones. The most famous *kusiut* of 776
all [Thunder] is about to dance." 532

Thunder. The mask representing this creature is large and of fearsome appearance with hooked beak and overhanging forehead; it is always carried by a man of powerful physique (see Plate 9).[5] A box has been placed beside the enclosure so 575*
that, when Thunder first appears, standing upon it, his ap- 796*
parent size is increased. He bends to and fro, and up and 776
down, in an amazing fashion, blowing through his clenched
teeth, while *Ano'likwelsaix* informs the uninitiated who he is, 535
and expatiates on his powers. After twisting and turning for several minutes, Thunder leaps to the floor of the house, and as he does so there sounds a peal of thunder. The uninitiated do not know that this is caused by a number of *kukusiut* rolling stones to and fro in large wooden boxes within the enclosures at the back. Then he starts to dance sunwise around the fire, bending down and up, shaking himself and stamping violently, his amazing gyrations being constantly accompanied by the reverberation of rolling stones. Escorted by several *kukusiut* he circles the fire, and after a final stamping and twisting, disappears into the enclosure. In a few minutes he appears again, and repeats his dance. Since no one man is strong enough to carry out this athletic performance twice in succession, the mask has been transferred to another *kusiut* within the enclosure, but of course the uninitiated are unaware of this. Thunder always comes out four times in all, on each occasion dancing once around the fire. Sometimes four different men perform; sometimes the one who danced first has recovered sufficiently to be able to repeat on the fourth round. The usual explanations by *Ano'likwelsaix* add zest to the rite. On this occasion the customary dance of Thunder with a fire rattle was omitted.

Sqwqwaxs. Twelve of these beings appear together, dis- 575*
guised behind masks representing young girls. They are the 796*
[5] [see category 116, p 164 (c) - AMYLST] 776
[532]

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*575 *796 776 pre-adolescent children of various supernatural beings in the land above who play together outside *Nusmát·a* and refuse to allow any man to approach them. As they circle the fire they sing a song of which the theme is their refusal to have anything to do with a man.

[532] *The Hermaphrodite.* This being wears a mask representing a cast of countenance midway between a "man and a woman," and speaks in a nasal tone difficult to describe. He circles the fire immediately behind the twelve *Syŋŋnesáxs.*

As the young girls are about to disappear into their enclosure, the figure of *Sxaiaxwax* bursts forth from the other and at once the *Syŋŋnesáxs* hurry from sight, shepherded by the Hermaphrodite. *Sxaiaxwax* wears a mask representing an [532] ugly and licentious man and carries beneath his bear-skin robe a partly concealed stick. He rushes around the fire as if in pursuit of his quarry, then likewise disappears.

*575 *796 As before stated, the number of supernatural beings shown depends on the wishes of X. On the occasion now being described, the informants agreed that more had been used, but which they were had been forgotten. Sometimes the number is so great that all cannot appear on one night, so the uninitiated are expelled when the marshals think fit and the rite continued on the following evening, making two *nebusam.* In either case, after the withdrawal of non-members, the *kukusiut* burn the masks in the manner already described.

For the rest of the ceremonial season X behaves as if he were recovering from a severe illness. He attends the *qothm* of every *kusiut* but, like Cannibals, Scratchers, and Breakers, does not blacken his face, sits with them in the rear corners where they are served with food before the other dancers. X is called upon to perform rather late on *qothm* nights and does so in a feeble manner. Towards the end of the ceremonial season, however, he has regained sufficient strength to move around freely, though he still maintains the mien of one who has suffered a terrifying experience. During the following summer he must likewise remain in comparative concealment,

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

and must never gossip or mingle casually with the outsiders. 575* In addition to a band of dyed cedar-bark on his head he wears 796* one around his stomach.

A number of years ago, when the influence of the white man 575* had become strong enough to undermine the old ritual, a Bella 796* Coola *kusiotem* dancer, instead of remaining in seclusion after 688 the dance, ran away to Kimsquit where lived a young woman 177 with whom he was in love. In the old days this would have led to punishment by a third tribe. When the offender wished to return to Bella Coola he was afraid of the wrath of the marshals, but plucked up courage to come back after several months. The marshals seized him and scratched his stomach with a metal nail so that the uninitiated, seeing the wound, might be led to believe that the man had been severely cut. Periodically the scabs were pulled off to re-enflame the injury and make it appear that a deep gash was slowly healing. The offender, of course, could not protest, since he was a *kusiut* who had broken the law and was fortunate in escaping so lightly.

The Beheading Dance

Another of the dramatic dances which can be performed by 575* a *kusiotem* is that of having his head pulled off. Like the 796* Stomach-Cutting dance, it is the prerogative of a Kimsquit man named *Onixwaltcua*. He carried out the rite a few years [424] after he had performed the one just described. The main points of ritual being identical for all *kusiotem* dances, minor points already recorded can be omitted. As before, it will be convenient to term *Onixwaltcua* X, and to describe the dance in the present tense.

Early in the summer X informs one of the marshals of his desire to have his head pulled off the following winter. The one consulted discusses the matter with his fellows; in this case no objections were raised as *Onixwaltcua* had already performed a *kusiotem* dance and it was felt that he was reliable. As soon as permission is granted, the would-be dancer asks the best carpenters to meet him in a lonely place in the forest and [532]

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[The Beheading Dance]

*575 tells them that he wants a mask made to represent his own
*796 face. The purpose for which it is destined is not mentioned,
532 although there is no reason why the workmen, all of them *kukusiut*, should not know, as they actually do. X blackens his face a trifle, making it easier to depict, and lies down as model for the carpenters, who at once start chiselling masks. Each works independently, and usually finishes one, or even two or three, in a day. Five or six carpenters are labouring simultaneously, and when the first group of masks has been finished the marshals, and perhaps one or more influential chiefs as well, come to inspect the handicraft. The masks are laid out in a glade of the forest and the marshals make their criticisms.

"No. The nose is too long," they say of one mask, or,

"The cheeks are too full," with regard to another.

It is seldom that one of the first group of completed masks meets with their approval, but the next morning the carpenters try once more, with X again lying down as model. In the evening the marshals again examine the results. Hundreds (probably an exaggeration) are often made before one is found which satisfies every requirement, and if the carpenters fail to produce a realistic portrait, the rite cannot be carried out. The unsuccessful attempts are carefully hidden in the forest lest they should be seen by an uninitiated person. When *Onixwaltcua* performed the rite, it was near the end of September before one of the carpenters succeeded in making a satisfactory model.

When the wooden representation has been completed, there is no further doubt about holding the ceremony, and one of the marshals, acting for X, summons the singers and other influential *kukusiut* to the secret meeting place for a discussion of preliminaries.[n] At this conference X tells the carpenters what
[465 he proposes to give them as presents for the work they have
431 done for him; the concept of "pay" is entirely lacking although
533] it is an essential part of the transaction. The singers are told

[n] Several details that apply to all *kusiwem* are here included which were inadvertently omitted by informants in describing the Stomach-Cutting dance.

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to prepare three songs for X, choosing as themes the usual *kusiotem* facts, with any additional details from the performer's myth which he may give them. The marshals instruct the maker of the successful mask to put hair on it and to attach a neck. 575* 796* 532 [533]

Four days later the same group again meets in the forest and X tries on the mask. When in position it rests on top of his own head with a stick passing down behind his occiput to his waist, where it is fastened by a belt; the general effect is that he has a superimposed head. Minor adjustments are suggested and made and X takes the mask, while the unsuccessful attempts are burnt. The marshals solemnly warn the participants of the seriousness of the rite in which they are about to engage. X conceals the mask with great care in some cleft of the mountains.

At intervals the singers meet and listen to the tunes each has composed, until they decide on the three most suitable, which they practise. [533]

Nothing more takes place until after the winter solstice, when X and the marshals select the exact date for the rite. After a *qotlum*, the marshals, singers, carpenters, and other *kusiut* functionaries remain in the house to rehearse the coming ceremony. The head is placed in position, supported by a framework of reeds which can be separated by strong pressure. When X raises his blanket over his own head, the mask portrait alone is visible, and only the wearer's extra height might cause suspicion. Around his "neck," in reality the junction between X's own head and the false one, is tied a rope, so arranged that when pulled from each end, it slips, contracts on the reed framework, and ultimately tears through it to separate the head from the body.[11] Raw meat and blood have been placed inside the "neck" so that, when the mask is pulled off, it appears as if X's flesh were exposed and he falls to the

[11]An old man showed the writer the method of fastening, but I was unable to learn it. The rope, instead of being knotted, is wound within itself so that, when the framework is broken, it comes away untangled. [284]

[The Beheading Dance]

*575 *796 [532] floor. The rope draws through itself, becomes untangled, and the blood stains previously placed on it become apparent. The *kukusiut* rehearse the decapitation a number of times until every detail is perfect. Shielded by the gloom of the house, one of the carpenters fastens a thin cord to the portrait-mask and practises drawing it gradually towards X, who finally rises as if restored to life by the return of his head. The mask is actually concealed and X stands up at his natural height. Since this is the feat which will be done in the presence of the uninitiated, it must be worked out with precision. When the marshals are satisfied that everything is in good shape they permit the *kukusiut* to disperse. A similar practice is carried out for the Stomach-Cutting dance if the marshals consider it necessary. The night after the rehearsal the call comes to X, who parades to every house in the village. On his fourth circuit he carries a rope in his hand instead of a knife; the *kukusiut* weep as they did on the previous occasion, and any uninitiated who have seen or heard of the rite realize the fate in store for X. The next day, *nusiutälsap*, a number of *kukusiut* are dispatched for wood, and in the evening some of the work is allotted and arrangements made for singing the mourning songs and for the use of puppet-patrons by the *änuyex*. The marshals take advantage of the opportunity to harangue their hearers.

"Take heed what you do," they say. "*Älquntäm* and the other supernatural ones have sent down a powerful call to us. Unless we make strong our spirits we will be unable to bear up under the weight of it."

Qothm passes without variation from the type already described, and on the following night the *kukusiut* assemble early for *nebusam*. When they have taken their places, the fire is extinguished; then the uninitiated are called in and guided to their places near the door.[78] After an hour's delay, punctuated by the whistles, the fire is built up and X goes around it four times, while the *kukusiut* beat furiously with sticks. X calls

[184] [78] In Kimsquit only.

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out that he wants someone to tie up his neck, and, after the usual delay, an uninitiated lad is brought forward for the purpose. The carpenters help him to manipulate the rope, and in reality do the actual tying although they disguise the fact. Then four or five *kukusiut* seize either end and begin to tug; X cries out as if in pain, the whistles sound, and the women drone. It is most impressive. Finally the head is pulled from the body and falls to the floor, while the apparently headless and lifeless body of X sinks down in the direction taken by the head. Blood and raw flesh are in evidence and the weeping of the women readily convinces non-members that they have watched the decapitation of the dancer. Sometimes the uninitiated themselves are allowed to pull the rope. 575* 796*

The ritual throughout the night is identical with that already described for the Stomach-Cutting dance. The spies guard the doors, refusing egress to all, the mourning women sing their songs, the puppets ascend to the land above and are inserted into X on their return. At intervals groups of the uninitiated are told to come forward; they circle the fire sunwise and see that X's head is lying apart from his body, with the blood and flesh and the severed neck visible. Towards dawn[79] hidden strings are fastened to the head and it is drawn slightly towards the body. One of the marshals calls out:

"It moves! It moves! Do you see it?" and a herald answers:

"We see it move."

The slow movement is continued until the uninitiated, who make periodic inspections, are able to say that it has almost rejoined the trunk. As the first glimmer of light appears in the east, one of the carpenters bends over X and takes the opportunity, while he conceals the dancer's body with his own, to hide the false head beneath his blanket; at the same time X stretches his own head up from under his blanket. The subterfuge is not evident to the uninitiated.

[79]The passage of time at night is judged in villages on the coast by the height of the tide, or the movements of stars; the latter is also practised in the inland settlements. If the stars are hidden, an estimate is made by the number of fir logs burnt through since sunset. [805] [821] [823]

[The Beheading Dance]

*575 *796 [533] [756] X begins to move his fingers in a feeble way and to sing a shaman's song of which *Snitsmän·a* is the only intelligible word. Of course the singers have previously taught him as much as is necessary of this type of composition, but the assumption is that he has just learnt it from *Snitsmän·a* who has restored him to life. At this juncture two shamans often approach X and appear to project some power into him whereby he is able to rise and slowly circle the fire, supported by them. He shakes his hands and sings in a weak voice, then stands behind the fire, still supported by the two shamans. This concludes the night's ceremony and the marshals tell the uninitiated to leave. The *kukusiut* soon follow, except carpenters, singers, and any other influential members of the society who desire to wait to discuss the performance.

As in the Stomach-Cutting dance, four days more of ceremonial follow the severing of X's head, with ritual corresponding to that of an ordinary *kusiut* performance. *Ṫsuxtämem* comes on the night after the decapitation. The *kukusiut* gather [533] in good time to learn a song, the theme of which is X's patron, the supernatural being *Sänollxumulelts Ałquntäm*, who has his head pulled off during dances in the land above. Mention is always made of *Snitsmän·a* as well. No further description is required of the ceremonial on the nights of *nusiutälsap* and *qotlim*.

On *nebusam* the first spectacle is a representation of what takes place in the land above. A mask has been prepared similar to the one worn by X, so that it can be pulled entirely from his body. This decapitation is performed by masked figures while the heralds and marshals explain that this is what is done aloft. The upper mask is hidden and the performer, who wears one identical with that which has been pulled from him, stands up to show the uninitiated that his head has been restored to him. Since the performers are supposed to be supernatural beings, it is possible for the beheaded one to be restored more rapidly than was possible when X, a mortal, suffered the same fate. After this deception there follows a

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procession of supernatural beings according to X's choice. 575*
The proceedings terminate in the same way as those described 796*
in the Stomach-Cutting dance.

X must obey the customary restrictions on his movements for the rest of the ceremonial season, and also remain in partial concealment for the summer following. The fiction circulated is that he is still suffering from the after-effects of decapitation. He is legally entitled to perform any other *kusiotem* rite during [424]
the following winter, but it is most unusual for a man to do so on successive seasons.

The Drowning Dance

In a third *kusiotem* dance the performer appears to drown. X carried out this ceremonial during the third winter after his decapitation, but as usual it will be convenient to describe the ritual in the present tense.

During the summer, as for the Beheading dance, he obtains permission from the marshals. With the latter present, he then arranges with the singers and the carpenters to compose songs of the usual *kusiotem* type and to prepare a mask. Since X had preserved the mask used at the time of his decapitation, it was not necessary to have one made. The intending dancer [415]
borrows from a *kusiut* friend one of the large boxes used for [252]
boiling olachen and this is taken in secret to some lonely spot in the forest. The carpenters cut a hole in the bottom and smear the edges with grease and dirt to conceal the aperture; skin hinges are fastened to one side of the movable section so that it can be opened easily and quickly. They also make a wooden framework the size and shape of X's body, to which the portrait-mask is attached to give a realistic representation of the man himself.

Nothing more can be done until near the winter solstice when the carpenters cut a hole in the floor of X's house, immediately behind the fire, and fasten the section removed with skin hinges to make a trap-door. Then the carpenters, marshals, singers, and other influential *kukusiut* meet some evening

[The Drowning Dance]

*575 *796 for a rehearsal. The box is placed on top of the concealed opening; X enters it, raises the flap in the bottom, and opens the trap-door through which he squeezes into the space between the floor of the house and the ground beneath. The false body, clothed like himself, has been placed in readiness and X passes it up into the box which he has just left. Water is then poured in upon it and the movable section of bottom fits sufficiently tightly that none flows out. If everything is satisfactory, the box is returned to its owner for safe-keeping.

When the time for the ceremony comes, the senior *kukusiut* meet for a final rehearsal after the *qotlim* of a *kusiut*. Cases are remembered of intentional tampering with the box by [578] some malicious individual, hence the necessity for careful testing. The following night the call comes to X, and he goes to every house of the village with his cry:

"Please speak plainly; I will do what you want."

The ritual of the next four days is identical with that already described and the uninitiated keep wondering what is going to happen. If they should ask any *kusiut*, the answer given is:

"We don't quite understand what it is. Something dreadful has fallen upon X, but the details are not yet clear."

So the time passes until the night when X is to be drowned. As in other *kusiotem* dances, the uninitiated are guided to their places in inky darkness and sit there until the weird stillness and awe of it all has had time to take effect upon them. At last the fire is kindled and one of the marshals announces that X wants to borrow a large boiling box from so-and-so, naming the man to whom the prepared one has been entrusted. The owner says that he is willing to lend it and two *kukusiut* are sent to bring the receptacle. It is placed over the trap-door, and X circles the fire four times while the *kukusiut* beat time frenziedly with sticks. Suddenly he cries out:

"My patron bids me enter this box and have water poured upon me."

The *kukusiut* women drone out in fear and the *änuyex*

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strengthen him by the insertion of their puppets. Thus fortified, X climbs into the box and, though this the uninitiated do not know, out through the bottom underneath the house whence he shoves the dummy up into the place he has just left. Strings fastened to the figure lead out through the floor, so that, when pulled, the fingers can be made to move and the eyes to blink.[89] The marshals ask four young lads to come forward to pour into the box the water which has been placed in readiness. As they do so, the *kukusiut* women drone as if in deadly fear and the fingers of the figure within can be seen moving spasmodically. Water is poured in till it overflows the edges of the box. At intervals during the night small parties of uninitiated are called forward to see X beneath the surface, without, of course, detecting the substitution. The mourning women sing, and the puppets go and return from the land above in the manner already described. When the carpenters constructed the flap in the floor of the box they also inserted several small plugs which are pulled out as dawn approaches. This is done and one of the marshals calls out that the water is lowering and the uninitiated, called forward to see, agree that he has spoken truly. What seems extremely remarkable to them is the absence of damp on the floor, as would be the case if the box were leaking. The water has dripped away through the trap-door in the floor, but only the *kukusiut* know this. Non-members are called forward four times to see the steady diminution of the water, until finally only a little is left. Under cover of the darkness X now re-enters the box, at the same time shoving out the dummy. He sits up and feebly sings a shaman's song of *Snitsmän·a*, who has restored him to life after drowning, then climbs from the box and slowly circles the fire with shaking hands, singing once more. Now that X has recovered, the spies, who have acted as door-keepers, allow the audience to disperse.

No further description need be given of the rites that follow

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[89] It was impossible to ascertain what means were taken to prevent the water dripping out through the holes for the strings.

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on the next three nights, since they are identical with those of other *kusiotem* ceremonials. For *nebusam* a masked figure is prepared, which the uninitiated believe to be X's supernatural patron. The box is placed as when the dancer performed, but the *kukusiut*, not uninitiated, pour in the water. The latter can see that liquid is entering, and the *kukusiut* tell them the height to which it has risen, but only those who are taking part can see that the water merely runs out through the opened trap-door in the floor. When enough has been poured in, the masked figure enters the box, remains for about fifteen minutes, and then reappears. After this performance there follows the procession of supernatural beings as previously described.

This concludes the Drowning dance. X obeys restrictions similar to those required for the other *kusiotem* dances.

The Burning Dance

Still another *kusiotem* dance prerogative is that of being burnt to death. The details of ritual are so similar to those of the Drowning dance that it can be recorded briefly. The preliminary arrangements are made in the summer as soon as permission to hold it has been obtained from the marshals. A large box of the kind used for cooking olachen is constructed with a hinged flap in the bottom, so that, as with the Drowning dance, the performer can pass through it and a trap-door in the floor.

The details of rehearsal, coming of the call, asking what is required, the waiting for four days, and the summoning of the uninitiated in the darkness do not differ from the other *kusiotem* ceremonials. When the time comes for the rite itself, one of the marshals announces that X wants to borrow a box from so-and-so. The one prepared is brought and placed over the hidden trap-door. The dancer, strengthened by patron-puppets, enters, passes through the trap-door to the space beneath the house, and quickly shoves in a dummy figure.

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Several young uninitiated are called forward and asked to throw the box on the fire, tipping it sideways so that the "man" within is clearly visible amid the leaping flames. With considerable fear they do so, while the *kukusiut* women begin to weep. Non-members are amazed to hear X's voice from the midst of the flames apparently trying to sing a shaman's song. This ruse is carried out by means of a long stick from which the pith has been extracted to make a tube. It has been soaked in water so that it will not burn readily, and one end laid in the fire; X, concealed behind a row of associates, sings into the other, so that his voice appears to issue from the midst of the fire. Often a singer acts as substitute for the dancer, since the tube effectively disguises the voice. The heralds point out how the body is shaking, and the excited uninitiated do not realize that what seems to be movement is a mere optical illusion, caused by the heat shimmer. Gradually the box is consumed and the figure falls asunder. The marshals explain that X's liver is the last part of the body to be burnt. 575* 796*

When X's body has been reduced to ashes, the spies guard the door as at other *kusiotem* dances, and the ritual previously described is once more enacted. Towards dawn one of the spies who has left the house, rushes back to report that X is coming from the river. In he comes, with his ornaments of dyed cedar-bark smouldering from the flames. The wonder is intense! Slowly he circles the fire, singing his shaman's song of *Snitsmän·a*. This concludes the long night's ceremonial and the spies allow the guests to depart.

The descriptions already given of other *kusiotem* rites apply equally to those which follow the Burning dance. There is the same period of waiting followed by *nebusam*. Details could not be learnt of the portrayal of the burning which is followed by the customary parade of supernatural beings. As in the other cases, X is secluded for some time as if suffering from the effects of incineration.

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The Swallowing of Hot Stones Dance

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* 796

If X desires to show his *kusiotem* prerogative by swallowing hot stones he must, as in all other cases, obtain the consent of the marshals during the summer preceding the ceremonial season when he wished to perform. He then requests the carpenters to meet him in some lonely place in the forest and instructs them to make two copper plates shaped like his stomach. The outer one must so resemble a human body that the uninitiated will be deceived in the dim light of the dance-house, so the carpenters make even a navel in it. The inner plate covers stomach and chest closely, while the outer is held about three inches away by blocks of wood. The aim of the artisans is that the completed object, when fastened to the wearer by a large collar and a belt, will not appear artificial. When the two plates are finished the marshals and leading *kukusiut* meet in some lonely spot to inspect the result. If it does not measure up to their high standard of excellence, the rite cannot be carried out. Stones are heated in a fire and lifted, one after the other, by tongs and dropped down inside X's collar so as to fall between the two plates. The supposition is, of course, that he has swallowed them. A support of some kind is fixed at the bottom of the double framework so that the pebbles are held there, with smoke issuing from the navel. After each has remained within the "stomach" for about five minutes, it is allowed to fall out through that opening. If the marshals approve of the manufacture, they consent to the ceremony and the plates are carefully hidden for use the following winter.

The dance takes place after the winter solstice and the preliminaries, including final rehearsal, coming of the call, circling of the village, four days of seclusion, and final calling in of the uninitiated, are the same as those already described for other *kusiotem* rites, except that women are not present to sing mourning songs, because the performer does not die. When all is ready, X circles the fire four times, amid the furious

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beating of sticks. The plating over his stomach is not apparent in the dim light, especially as much of it is hidden by his collar of dyed cedar-bark and a broad dance-apron. Sometimes the disguise is improved by fastening the skin of a dog, mountain goat, or deer, over the outer surface. X takes up his position, standing, behind the fire. One of the heralds inserts tongs into the flames and draws forth a stone, taking care that the uninitiated can see that it is red hot. X pretends to swallow this, though actually it drops inside his collar to the receptacle between the plates of copper. The clashing can often be heard as it strikes against the metal, and smoke pours forth from the "navel." X groans and jabbers, *i*·····, while he shakes his fingers violently. After about five minutes the stone is seen to fall to the floor. Sometimes a number of pebbles are used, though one is often considered sufficient. When the last has fallen, non-members are expelled and the *kukusiut* eat and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. 575* 796*

As with other *kusiotem* rites, the ritual of this dance is continued for four more days. Masks are prepared and on the fourth evening the uninitiated are summoned. A masked figure, wearing a copper stomach, appears and swallows a stone which later falls out through the navel. This is done four times, while *Ăno'likwolsaix* explains that the guest from above is repeating his actions at home. Following this performance, a procession of supernatural beings appears, in the manner already described.

Although X is not killed by this dance, as are other *kusiotem* dancers, he is required to undergo the same restrictions.

THE FUNGUS DANCE

Another of the more important *kusiut* ceremonials is the Fungus dance, now the prerogative of a woman, *Snunkka'ks*. The name was formerly held by her brother, who had inherited it from his mother's brother. The first *Snunkka'ks* came to earth in the beginning of time at *Stuux* and made his repository [424] [778]

[The Fungus Dance]

*575 at *O·qwi·*, near that village, where it has remained ever since.
*796 It will be convenient to term *Snmikka'ks* X.

If X wishes to perform, he informs the marshals of his desire and a suitable time is arranged. On the night of *nebusam* for some other *kusiut*, the call comes to X who indicates that it has taken possession of him by uttering a low vocal whistle and peering around as if dazed. *Kukusiut* accomplices sound whistles from without the house, the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the women drone monotonously. After a few minutes, X walks to the side of the fire nearest the door and
[787] again gives his low whistle, still looking around in a puzzled manner. This is repeated a third time at the side of the fire, and a fourth, behind it. Thus the call comes upon [illegible]n. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of wha[illegible]s taking place. The *kukusiut* begin to assemble in X's house, and assist him by the four times repeated frenzied beating of sticks. Next the singers beat out the words of a song already composed for the occasion; the theme for all songs used by Fungus dancers is the land above. The ritual on this night of *lsuxtāmem* is identical with that already described in the earlier *kusiut* dances.

*575 On the day following, *nusiutālsap*, there is not the cus-
*796 tomary collecting of wood from the forest. X merely remains quietly within the back-room, visited only by senior *kusiut*
532 officials and a skilful carpenter. The latter brings a fungus which he has found in the woods; it must be a good specimen of the common semi-circular shelf variety with a clear white surface unspoiled by decay. On this he paints a face, showing eye-brows, eyes, nose, and mouth, and fastens beneath a miniature body made of dyed cedar-bark with grotesque waving legs, terminating in eagle claws (see Plate 10).[1] The total length of the figure is about nine inches. The fungus, with pendant attachment, is fastened near the end of a stout rope of plaited cedar-bark about eight feet in length, so that when this end of the rope is held uppermost, the head of the fungus hangs in a normal upright position. The carpenter starts his work on

[1] [see category 116, p. 164 (D)- ANALYST]

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nusiutālsap and has part of that day as well as all of *qothm* and *nēbusam* to complete his task. On the evening of *nusiutālsap*, the *kukusiut* are summoned as usual to practise X's two songs. The ritual on this night as well as on the following, *qothm*, appears to be of the usual *kusiut* type although one informant stated that complete silence reigns in order to spread the fiction among the uninitiated in the neighbouring houses that X is waiting quietly to commune with the supernatural beings, and that consequently the customary dancing is omitted. This is probably a modern deviation from the traditional usage. 575* 796* [532] [178]

On the night of *nēbusam* a herald summons the *kukusiut* to X's house with the cry:

Tcālāts dōnai nuxnkōmi dēkusiutai
Come to the little *kusiut* dance. [539]

This is merely a rhetorical remark since the dance is really one of major import. They enter, and are at once given a small meal.* Then the cry is raised for the uninitiated. When they are seated, X appears from the back-room, carrying before him the fungus, held by the shorter end of rope projecting above, while the longer is coiled up behind it out of sight. The *kukusiut* begin to beat time furiously as X slowly circles the fire. Then, solemnly and carefully, he sets the fungus on the floor where, to the wonder of the uninitiated, it disappears from sight as though it had sunk into the planks. This is, in fact, the case, since the carpenters have prepared a small hole in the floor through which it disappears, leaving only the cord lying on the surface. Any four *kukusiut* men are called forward to support X and stand, two on either side of him. The dancer bends down, picks up the string easily with one hand and draws up the fungus into sight, taking care not to raise it high enough to expose the longer end of the rope passing through the hole. He lowers his burden and the fungus disappears from sight. X whispers to one of his four assistants and the latter calls out, as if just prompted:

*This may be also a modern innovation. [178]

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[The Fungus Dance]

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*796

"I want a strong man. I want so-and-so," naming a *kusiut* of powerful physique.

The man so designated comes forward, passes once, sunwise, around the cord, seizes it with both hands, and strains to pull up the fungus. Sometimes he fails to make it appear at all, or he may be able to produce the upper part of the forehead, and he soon returns to his place, baffled. The uninitiated realize that it is a mere fungus, and the puzzle to them is how X can lift it so easily when another fails. The explanation lies in the long rope, of which they are unaware, passing down through the floor of the house to the space between it and the ground. Here are concealed four strong *kukusiut* whose duty is to hold the end and allow it to be hauled up to a distance indicated by whispered instructions. It would be a major disaster should they become careless or should the rope break. A second *kusiut* is called forward, but has no greater success than his predecessor, and a third and a fourth also fail. The heralds keep up a running fire of comments; for instance, if one man is able to raise the forehead into view they remark on the fact, saying that he must be a good man to whom the supernatural beings are favourably disposed. If, on the other hand, the cord is drawn down, removing the skin from the palms of the would-be puller, they comment unmercifully on the dislike manifested toward him. When four *kukusiut* have tried and failed, X again demonstrates his strength, or the willingness of the supernatural beings to respond to his pulling, by lifting the fungus and dangling body into view. Once more a herald calls out:

"The *kusiut* wants someone to pull."

The challenge is now open to anyone, member of the society or uninitiated, and one after another comes forward, circles the rope, and tries his strength—but without avail. Even the awe of the *kusiut* dance hall cannot restrain the mirth of the spectators when the rope is quickly pulled below, a painful experience as the writer knows to his cost. Often it is a little girl

[129]

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575*
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PLATE 7

Photograph by the author

Blanket with wooden skulls
worn by a cannibal

[p. 164 (A)]

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PLATE 8

Photograph by the author

Masked figure representing a Ancker

[p. 164 (B)]

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PLATE 9

575*
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Photograph by M. J. Harris, Provincial Museum of Victoria

Thunder dance. Notice the cedar-bark collar with pendant tassels and the framework of twigs decorated with eagle down.

[p. 164 (c)]

PLATE 10

575
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Photograph by the author

Dancer carrying the fungus

[p. 164 (D)]

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PLATE 11

575*
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Photograph by the author

Thunder carrying the fire-cattle

[p. 164 (E)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 12

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

The slave woman with the child on her back

[p. 164(F)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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who comes nearest to drawing forth the fungus and the spectators comment: 575* 796*

"She must be a good girl for the supernatural beings to show their approval."

At intervals X lifts up the fungus, and his strength is shown especially when the cord has been pulled so far down that he can grip only the very end with one finger. The four *kukusiut* hidden below sometimes become weary of their work and tie a billet crosswise to the rope so that no one can lift it, but of course this must be removed when X demonstrates his prowess again. Towards dawn the concealed helpers cut the rope and X lifts the fungus, holding it in front of his body while the *kukusiut* women drone. With four assistants pressing closely around him, X turns and makes the motion of throwing the fungus up into the air with a cry of *hoip*. It vanishes, and the uninitiated do not realize that it has been palmed to one of the accomplices for concealment beneath his blanket. Then one of the marshals explains to non-members that in the land above the supernatural beings once endeavoured to lift up a fungus, but that X alone, referring to that part of him which visits the dances in the land above, could do so. Accordingly it was sent down for mortals to try, and now that they too have failed it has been sent back. He enlarges on the fact that X, through lying quiet for four days communing with the supernatural beings, has really become one, as is indeed the case with all *kukusiut* who ascend to the land above or experience other peculiar incidents in the course of their performances. This concludes the ceremony; the uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* soon follow. [787]

Instead of a *nakusam* of the type just described, X has the prerogative of performing in an entirely different manner of which only the outlines could be obtained. The fungus is tied to a long rope and thrown into the rapids. One end of the cord is held by a *kusiut* on the bank with the result that the fungus whirls to and fro erratically. The *kukusiut* assemble on the bank and hurl harpoons at it while non-members watch 575* 796* 424

[The Fungus Dance]

*575 *796 [424] from a distance. When one of the participants has speared the object, it is drawn to shore and carried into the house. The uninitiated are then called in and enter, often covering their heads with blankets to prevent their spirits being drawn from them. None of the Bella Coola appears to know what governed, in the old days, the choice between these two performances.

*575 *796 178 The Fungus dance differs considerably from typical *kusiut* rituals already described. In part this is certainly due to decay of custom. When the writer witnessed the dance in the winter of 1923-4 it was carried out very crudely by *Snuukka'ks*, who, unwilling to admit this, was secretive about the proper ritual. Consequently, the perfor ıance of the dance was more of a hindrance than a help to the investigator. But even when full weight is given to this circumstance, it is clear that the Fungus dance is peculiar, particularly in the omission of masked figures on *nebusam*.

*575 *796 821 [424] The ritual on that occasion was further complicated by the fact that *Snuukka'ks* has also the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of either the sun or the moon, and insisted on this fact being brought out in connection with her songs. Four of these were composed instead of the usual two, and the supernatural beings described in them were:

[533] *Ätquntäm:* under the name of *Sunxälotla*.

[776] The Moon.

[532] *Smaien·a:* This was introduced on account of being the place from which the Salmon-Bringer leaps to the sun. A mask representing this place of petrified power is always painted with salmon designs and the blanket of the wearer is decorated in the same way.

The *Snunq* mouths that act as posts at the ends of the sun's course.

Stiſim: A supernatural being dwelling under the river who is able to use a fungus in a dance held there. Detailed information about this creature could not be obtained.

[533] At any eclipse, no matter what the season of the year or

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time of day, X must sing. The heralds call everyone to his house where the singers at once compose a new song, describing sun or moon as the case may be. They then sing it while X dances. Other *kukusiut* have the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of the sun, and still others at an eclipse of the moon, but X claims to be the only one entitled to dance at both. 575* 796* 821 [533] [424]

THE MYSTERY DANCE

Mystery is the key-note of all *kusiut* dances, but in the one termed *Ält̓mutsämk* that element is brought home so forcibly to the uninitiated that it may aptly be called the Dance of Mystery. The Bella Coola explain that the word *Ält̓mutsämk* means *staqam*, "What Is Hidden." The essence of the rite, as explained to non-members, is that the supernatural power which has come to the dancer is embodied in three supernatural beings or in manifestations of them. Unless someone guesses its locations, the performer will die. The Mystery dance is one of the most lengthy Bella Coola rituals and necessitates such a lavish expenditure of food that only a rich man can undertake it. 575* 796* [556]

Accounts were obtained of the ritual as carried out by *Qoxołän·i* of *Tcımotl* and *Saiχnäs* of Kimsquit, both of whom have the necessary prerogative. The details differ so slightly in the two localities that only one description need be given, and the dancer can be spoken of as X. The patron of most Mystery dancers is *Sänoltχımulelts Älquntäm*, but that of *Saiχnäs* is *Kokostxım*, a supernatural being remarkable for his wild and erratic behaviour. [424] [776]

When X has stored up as much food as he thinks necessary, he calls the marshals together to tell them of his desire to dance. In case of consent, they admonish him not to hurry matters but to perform the rite slowly and properly. Preliminary arrangements include the choosing of four *kukusiut* gifted with good memories to store up in their minds the guesses made by the uninitiated. If many *kukusiut* are anxious to dance, X usually asks permission on the night of a

[The Mystery Dance]

*575 *796 *qotlim*, and it is agreed that the call shall come to him on the following evening.

X's first task is to prepare, or to have made for him, a stick which he will use throughout the ceremony. It is of yellow [184] cedar, about five feet in length; in Kimsquit it is decorated with four bands of swan feathers, in Bella Coola with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark.

[787] The following evening the call comes to X. He utters a low whistle, resembling a hoot, goes towards the fire and slowly revolves on himself. The *kukusiut* women present begin to drone and the uninitiated are expelled. Constantly turning on himself, X slowly moves sunwise around the flames, repeating his hoot three times, once at each side of the fire. He stands behind it and calls out loudly:

"Please say exactly what you want; whatever it is, I will do it."

After the customary frenzied beating, he withdraws to the back-room. Heralds go to all the houses, reporting what has taken place and summoning the *kukusiut*. When all have gathered, X appears and asks for the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a dance-apron. These are provided, put on him and his face is blackened. Under the guidance of a marshal or singer, the *kukusiut* men beat furiously on the floor, without time or rhythm, until the leader motions them to conclude with four thunderous beats. In the stillness that follows X begins to chatter loudly, without using exact words, and everyone realizes that this is an invitation to guess who are the three supernatural beings in whom his power is localized. Some- [424] times the meaning is made still more evident by his carrying the stick previously mentioned, which is the prerogative of Mystery dancers alone. The guests enter into the spirit of the dance and call out their guesses, naming little known supernatural beings, parts of beings, or manifestations of the supernatural; sometimes three or four answer at the same time. The four remembrancers have placed themselves near X and it is their duty to recollect the replies. When *kukusiut* alone

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are present, to forget an answer is not a serious matter, but later on the uninitiated are similarly invited to guess and then correct remembering is essential. After this has gone on for some time, the singers strike up the tune of a song which they have already composed for X.[52] The theme is always of the land above and the wordless chorus, which is said to be the same for Mystery dancers all over the coast, is *'a'yaiweia*. The audience listen attentively so that they will be able to join in. When this has been sufficiently practised, a meal is served, amid the admonitions of the marshals. After a second practice of X's song, all is ready for a circuit of the village, the fact that it is about two or three o'clock in the morning being of no consequence.

575* 796* [533] [171]

X leads the party, followed by a considerable number of *kukusiut*, among whom must always be his four remembrancers. They go to the lowest house of the village, which X enters, carrying his stick horizontally above his head, and proceeds with mincing steps to the central position behind the fire. He turns on himself and thrusts his staff to the floor where, to the surprise of the uninitiated, it remains upright. They do not know that the end is pointed with bone and that he has taken care to drive it down into a crack. The singers beat out X's song, in which all the *kukusiut* join, but he does not dance. One of the singers next calls upon the people to beat time furiously with sticks brought for the purpose, and X becomes excited, shrieking out:

"More! More!"

It is supposed that this clamour soothes his mental anguish. A herald calls on members of the household to register their guesses, uninitiated as well as *kukusiut* being encouraged to do so. The remembrancers use their best efforts to bear in mind the answers which are pouring in. One of the marshals ex-

[52] The actual tune and some of the words may have been chosen by the singers during the day, or several of them have composed tunes and now beat them out in succession until all have agreed on the best composition. Meanwhile the guests wait patiently, for time is of no moment in *kusiut* dances.

[The Mystery Dance]

*575 *796 plains that until the three correct solutions have been given, X will be able neither to eat nor to sleep. Moreover, this would mean a continuation of the *kusiut* season far into the spring. X is supposed to know the three answers but to be unable to communicate them, though if a nearly correct reply is given, he shows it by dancing violently. A clever actor is thus able to instil considerable action into the proceedings by leading on an eager guesser with movements of increased animation, but the result is always the same—his dancing grows weaker as if the one replying had strayed into a false path. A marshal explains that the failure is due to the supernatural being *Anuyulikailaix* having robbed the guesser of his mental ability. When the replies have stopped, X takes up his stick and leaves the house, followed by his escort. He enters the dwelling immediately above, where the same performance is repeated: this is done in each house of the village.

All the *kukusiut* return with X to his home where what little is left of the night is passed in eating and in listening to speeches from the marshals.

In the morning the carpenters erect a circular enclosure between the fire and the back-room. It is raised on posts about four feet long, has a diameter of approximately twelve feet, and is surrounded by a wall three or four feet high, often decorated with paintings according to the dancer's wishes. The uninitiated are told that X must remain in this, except when on periodic visits to the other houses, until the three answers have been guessed, and that he must not eat, sleep, or even sit down. In recent years the prohibition with regard [178] to eating has been neglected, but it is said that in the last century one man abstained from all food except fern root for two months. X climbs into the enclosure and throughout the day the uninitiated in the other houses can hear the rattling of his dance apron as he moves to and fro.

Just before dusk the *kukusiut* assemble in X's home, preparatory to sallying forth to every house in the village as on the previous evening. The remembrancers attend him, care-

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fully taking note of the answers. Sometimes they make their task easier by choosing, provisionally, three replies; if anyone should guess one of these it is immediately changed, because the correct solution must be given only in accordance with the wishes of the marshals. After a circuit of the settlement, X returns to the enclosure in his house where, unknown to the uninitiated, his dance-apron is hung on a peg and he lies down to sleep. One of his faithful remembrancers keeps pulling a string which causes the garment to jingle so that non-members, hearing the noise, imagine that X is still walking to and fro. At any time during the night an uninitiated person may call out his guess, his words easily penetrating the stillness. If X is awake when a good answer is received, he encourages the speaker by a call of "More! More!" and a more violent jingling of the apron. If he is asleep and very weary, one of the helpers responds on his behalf, imitating his voice.

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For two days more X remains in the enclosure except when making a circuit of the village. In the early morning and early evening he visits every house, accompanied by his escort of *kukusiut*, and in each the same ritual is carried out. With each series of answers the task of the remembrancers becomes more difficult. Theirs is an arduous and important part of the rite because it would be a disaster if, when the answer is finally given, an uninitiated person could say:

"That is what I guessed."

On the evening of the third day spent by X in the enclosure, the fourth night after the call, the heralds summon the *kukusiut* to his house after he has completed his regular round of the village. They practise another song for X, his second, with theme of the land above as in the first case. The uninitiated are now called in. X circles the fire and, when he has taken up his position midway behind it, the *kukusiut* beat time furiously and guesses are invited. Though both uninitiated and *kukusiut* use their imaginations to the uttermost, the result is a failure. When this has been repeated four times, the uninitiated are told to leave, and a meal is provided for the

[The Mystery Dance]

*575 *796 *kukusiut* who listen as usual to words of advice from the marshals.

X retires once more to his enclosure and throughout the night the sound of his rattling apron can be heard. Here he remains for four more days, except when making his round of the village twice daily, or when attending the ceremony of another *kusiut*. When a *qothm* comes, X does not immediately put in an appearance, but waits until all other *kukusiut* have taken their places. Someone asks where X is, and a herald is sent specially for him. He enters, and proceeds at once to the left corner behind the fire where he stands throughout all the dances, moving his feet as if marking time to the music, but not altering his position. When all have danced, both *kukusiut* and uninitiated are invited to guess X's secret, and answers pour in rapidly. X heightens the interest by pretending that someone has almost solved it before *Ānuyulikailaix* "pulled back his thoughts," as the Bella Coola express it. He finally passes sunwise around the fire and returns home.

On the evening of the fourth day after the *kukusiut* were invited to X's house, they are summoned there once more. First they learn a new song, composed for the occasion, then, as before, the uninitiated are called in and everyone tries to guess the three hiding places. This is followed by the same elaborate feast. Henceforth the *kukusiut* are called to X's house on every fourth evening, and a new song is composed and food distributed on every occasion. X makes two rounds of the village daily, and attends the *qothm* of every *kusiut*. This [556] succession of dances may continue for a month or six weeks; in fact, the deciding factor is usually X's desire to distribute no more food. In former times it is probable that the necessity for an emaciation-producing diet was an important consideration in choosing when to conclude the dance.

The time finally comes when X or his family wants the riddle answered. The marshals discuss the matter on the evening preceding one of the regular gatherings of the *kukusiut* in X's house. Two important points must be settled. First,

[The Mystery Dance]

what are to be the correct answers? The marshals decide on these, but their judgment really depends on the four remembrancers who are able to tell whether any of the replies they suggest have already been given. When *Saiqnäs* performed, the answers chosen were: 575* 796*

Aimaltua, "The Coming of Foul Weather." This word is said to be in the language of the supernatural ones. The implication is that this phenomenon of nature is a manifestation of the will of the supreme deity. [821] [776]

Nuspuxta Smaiaikila, "The Eagle Down *Smaiaikila*." This has the significance of "The Peace Giving *Smaiaikila*" since eagle down is a symbol of peace. [825]

Ḱitłmıntämem, "The Yawning Chasm." This is the mysterious crevasse which opens before a foolish man when he tries to gain success. In cases where a white man would attribute misfortune to lack of ability or to sheer bad luck, the Bella Coola say that this supernatural chasm has opened before him. It is especially applied to failure in the giving of potlatches. [777]

Scarcely less important than the choice of answers is the second consideration, who is to give them. The uninitiated have been taught that X cannot live unless his riddles are answered, and also that whoever succeeds in solving them can do so only through supernatural assistance. As in the case of a person who finds a repository, so must the one who solves the problem be made a *kusiut*. This is an opportunity for an influential man with a son of suitable age and character to have him initiated into the society, and an eager parent can always be found. He is told the proper answers, and instructed to whisper them to his son the following evening. It is impressed upon the father that this must be done only at the last minute, and that every precaution must be taken to prevent the young man from telling his friends that he has been prompted.

Other matters are arranged at the same time. A shaman must be in readiness to assist in binding the future member of the society to secrecy, and every detail is worked out with care. [756]

[The Mystery Dance]

*575 This is such an important occasion that leading *kukusiut* from
*796 neighbouring towns are often invited to be present. If this is
[574] to be done, heralds are sent for the purpose during the following day.

Next evening the *kukusiut* are invited to X's house in the usual manner, many of them unaware that the answer is soon to be given. The customary ritual is carried out and the uninitiated summoned in due course. By this time X is supposed to have been weakened by his long fast, and to give colour to that claim, two assistants support him as he totters feebly to and fro in his enclosure. Instead of waving his stick horizontally above his head, X now rests his weight on it, with his helpers holding the ends. After the customary frenzied beating with sticks, X again invites guesses, but still no one can find the three answers. Meanwhile the father or some elderly friend of the youth chosen to guess correctly, slips down to where he is sitting and whispers to him to try, for example, *Aimaltua*. The youth timidly does so, and at once X begins to shake violently, and calls frantically:

"More! More!"

*575 In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, the long drawn-
*796 out whistling of *Snitsmän·a* is heard, though of course the un-
184 initiated do not know that four *kukusiut* have been sent out for this purpose. The excitement becomes intense.

The man who is prompting the successful guesser whispers to him the second answer. The young man calls it out and X becomes more and more excited, shaking wildly and shouting:

"More! More! You mortal."

Finally the third answer is given. In Bella Coola the dancer leaps high in the air from his enclosure and falls to the ground beneath as if dead. *Saiχnäs* of Kimsquit, on the other hand, whose patron is the wild *Kokostxum*, becomes frenzied, breaks his stick and enclosure and acts like a raging, though feeble, lunatic. Irrespective of X's behaviour, the marshals ask the uninitiated to withdraw, and the growling Cannibals add point to the request. It is at this juncture in Bella Coola

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that the whistle of *Snitsmän·a* is heard. The uninitiated, hearing the sound from the other houses, realize that the kindly being is approaching and are not surprised when a herald presently comes around to announce that X has recovered. In Kimsquit, X's frenzy slowly leaves him, and from this point onwards there are no differences in ritual between the two localities. The singers beat out a new song, prepared in readiness, of which the theme is *Snitsmän·a*, "The Restorer." X dances to it, and afterwards to any four of the numerous songs previously composed for him. Then he sits down, the first time he has done so, in public at any rate, since the beginning of the rite. Food is next distributed, the marshals make their usual remarks and the *kukusiut* finally go to bed. From this point on, the ceremony follows the regular *kusiut* pattern; this occasion, when the riddles are solved, corresponds to *isuxtämem*. The successful guesser is dealt with as an initiate in the manner already described. Some of the uninitiated sitting near the youth often realize that he has been prompted by his father, but they regard this as a mere sign of solicitude, assuming that the parent's supernatural power enabled him to solve the problem. It seems clear to them that he could not have known the answer for any length of time because, like others, he had many times guessed and failed.

575* 796* [184] [533]

The next day is *nusiutälsap*. In the morning all the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to learn another new song; this corresponds to the second of a dance which lacks the long preliminaries of this one. A number of *kukusiut* accompany X to the forest to get the necessary wood for the masks. Mystery dancers have the right to exhibit any, and as many, supernatural beings as they please, hence a large amount of wood must be brought back. In the evening comes the allotment of work. X may do it himself, but usually he asks his father, or some other elderly relative to act on his behalf. Since all his relatives contribute, the actual distribution of labour is not a task in which X alone is concerned. *Ano°likwolsaix* must be portrayed, and the three best carpenters are entrusted with

575* 796* 532 [424]

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*575 masks representing the three successful answers. Little atten-
*796 tion is paid to actual design, and the workmen use their ini-
532 tiative to a considerable extent.[11] One mask always made is that of *Snuslaxwai*, a being who appears to act as concealer for *Älquntäm*. As far as could be learnt, if *Älquntäm* wishes to conceal anything from a human being, such as the hiding-places in a Mystery dance, *Snuslaxwai* is entrusted with the task. In addition to the usual well-known supernatural beings, X often orders representations of mammals, birds, or fish; he may even ask a man to make a mask without stipulations and then the finished product is as much a surprise to him as to anyone else. There is no relationship between the masks made
[55] and the guesses registered. If X is wealthy, the number to be constructed may run to fifty or more. *Nusiutälsap* concludes in the usual way as soon as all the work has been allotted.

Two days is not long enough for the completion of such a large number of masks, so *nebusam* must be postponed, and *qotlim* is correspondingly delayed for four days. In the evening the heralds invite first the *kukusiut* and then the eager, though
[184] fearful uninitiated. They take their places and in Kimsquit, not in Bella Coola, marvel at some of the masks hanging behind the fire, though no explanation is vouchsafed them until the following evening. Presently the singers begin to beat out one of
*575 X's songs and he starts dancing violently, only to stop long
*796 before it is ended. The musicians quickly change to another; he performs briefly, then ceases; this is repeated for a third tune, and similarly for a fourth, a fifth, and so on. If the preliminaries have been long drawn out, X may have as many as twenty songs and he dances to a fragment of each. After he has performed, the singers strike up the tune of any *kusiut*

[178] [11]Possibly this disregard for exact portrayal of supernatural beings is a modern degeneration. The Bella Coola of today say quite frankly that they have forgotten many beings used by their ancestors, so have no hesitation in inventing new designs and naming them even for natural phenomena which they consider must be caused by supernatural agency. On the other hand, the burning of masks, which seems to be an old practice, would tend to lessen conventionalization in all but the best-known figures.

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who has had a call during the season. Nothing further need be said concerning the ritual of *qothm* which follows the pattern already described. 575* 796*

During the following day a screen of yellow cedar mats is raised in one of the corners behind the fire; it must be large enough to conceal those who are to wear the numerous masks and give them space to fit them on in comfort. The *kukusiut* begin to gather late in the afternoon and the usual long discussion takes place as the carpenters decide who shall wear which mask, while the marshals move to and fro. There is no stage-manager to settle disputes, but ultimately order evolves from chaos, and when dusk has fallen the heralds are dispatched to invite any *kukusiut* who have not appeared. When all is in readiness, a shout is raised for the eager uninitiated, who come crowding in to sit near the door. *Ano°likwolsaix* moves to and fro, in and out of the enclosure, talking all the time, and [285]

and fro, in and out of the enclosure, talking all the time, and

telling the uninitiated that presently they will see very powerful supernatural beings. The following account is of the masked figures used when *Qoxołän·i* last performed the dance; it must again be emphasized that their actual choice depends on the wishes of the dancer and his family, and that the order in which they appear is immaterial. His performance was probably the typical *nebusam* of a Mystery dancer. 575* 796* 532 776

The first to appear are *Snusłaxwai* and the three hiding-places of X's power. Since they are always uncommon, it follows that no fixed designs are possible, and the carpenters rely upon their own inventive abilities to paint and carve human-like beings. *Ano°likwolsaix* gives eloquent explanations as the three stalk around the fire and disappear from sight. It would have been equally proper if they had appeared singly.

Next comes *Sänołłxmulelts Äłquntäm*, wearing a small mask, barely covering his face; above it, in his hair, is dyed cedar-bark puffed out to resemble a wig. He carries a stick with a band of the same material around the middle, and a tuft at either end concealing a nail with sharp, projecting point. Around the fire he dances frantically, leaping into the

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air, throwing his arms around as if demented, and at times hurling his rod to the floor where the nail prevents it from falling, much to the amazement of the uninitiated. He stoops to pick it up, reverses it, again throws it to the ground, and again lifts it up, all the time gyrating on himself. Finally, with a rush and a leap, he disappears behind the screen whence he came. One of the senior *kukusiut*, selected for the purpose on account of his knowledge and intelligence, is stationed near the enclosure, and as soon as the supernatural being disappears he explains to non-members who was the visitor. The ever-talkative *Ana'likwulsaix* confirms and supplements his remarks.

The next to appear is a *mätsqus*, a wooden figure about two and a half feet in length with proportions equal to those of a toad. It emerges from the matting at one side of the house, and by means of concealed ropes is made to hop across the floor and return. Behind it there appears a masked male figure carrying a huge wooden hammer; the *kukusiut* shriek, "Kill! Kill!" and the man strikes at the toad-like creature. It has been made in two sections which can be pulled apart by a skilful manipulation of the ropes; this is done as the hammer descends so that it strikes a bladder filled with red dye in the interior. The colouring spatters in all directions like blood, but after a short interval the animal is pulled together and hops off to the enclosure. The *kusiut* announcer tells the uninitiated:

"That is a toad from the land above, a *mätsqus*, which came to visit X. It will soon return to its own home."

After a short pause to let the effect of the last apparition sink in upon non-members, the *kukusiut* raise the cry:

"Look up there."

A porcupine emerges from a small hole in the matting and crawls down a plank, then turns and goes back, pulled by ropes invisible in the semi-gloom. The figure consists of a real skin carefully stripped off and stretched over a wooden framework. The announcer declares:

"It is a porcupine from above, come to visit X."

[522] Two clowns now appear together. Each wears a mask,

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representing a man whose mouth is open and whose face is wrinkled in a grin spreading from ear to ear. They go around the fire laughing and playing, rolling on the floor and indulging in all kinds of antics, with constant fits of laughter, so deep that it seems to come from their stomachs. Only one or two men in the community can make the hoarse sound required, and they are always asked to appear as comedians. They are entitled to make witticisms, often of an obscene nature, at the expense of any of the spectators, and the *ẖẖwsiat* always join in laughter at the victim. Sometimes the singers beat out a short tune and the performers dance clumsily, to the amusement of all. When they have withdrawn, the announcer explains that these two spend their time in the land above playing and jesting. If the preliminaries are long delayed, the clowns may be sent out to keep the audience amused while waiting for the more important beings.

the more important beings.

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The Hermaphrodite next emerges. As previously described, he dances around the fire, singing in a peculiar nasal twang, intermediate between the voice of a man and a woman. Few men can do this satisfactorily. When the Hermaphrodite has disappeared, the announcer explains that he always remains outside the house in the land above where he plays with a number of women who stay there, and over whom he is lord. His face is that of a woman, his voice that of a woman, but he has masculine characteristics as well.

Then comes *Sxaiaxwax*, clad in a blanket of evergreen boughs and wearing as ugly a mask as the maker can devise. The pattern varies according to the skill and originality of the carpenter; a common design is that of a snout-like mouth, somewhat resembling a pig with eyes askew. *Sxaiaxwax* cannot speak, but he dances around the fire spitting, blowing, and making inarticulate sounds in his throat. When he has gone, the announcer explains that *Sxaiaxwax* is a very evil being who spends all his time trying to seduce girls, especially those who play with the Hermaphrodite outside *Nusqulxwaista*. With them he never succeeds, but sometimes he comes to this earth

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575 with fatal results to his victims. The uninitiated listen and
796 are impressed as *Ano'likwolsaix* confirms and supplements what has just been told them.

532 After a short pause, the announcer cries, *O*.....,
776 which serves as an invitation and precedes the appearance of every supernatural being. *Snuuq* emerges, a man clad in a bear-skin blanket covered with evergreen tufts, and wearing a mask of which the eyes can be made to swing open or shut by the pulling of concealed cords. The monster does not speak; merely circles the fire, terrifying the beholders by his ferocious expression. When the figure has withdrawn, the announcer explains the significance.

The next to appear is a Deer, *Sno'olxlts Ālquntām*, "The Foolish Son of *Ālquntām*." The skin and antlers of a real deer are worn by two men with sticks thrust down the legs to make

are worn by two men with sticks thrust down the legs to make
the representation appear life-like. Two more performers with human masks follow, trying to catch the creature which frisks around the fire and avoids them by escaping back into the enclosure. The announcer informs the audience that this is no ordinary animal, it is a deer from the land above, the son of *Ālquntām*. This mischievous creature is said frequently to
[578] destroy the back-room in his father's house, hence it is a mild term of reproach to call a person *Sno'olxlts Ālquntām*.

After the usual delay comes the Varied Thrush, an actor
[825] with mask representing a bird. This is considered to be the finest bird songster; the Bella Coola say that all animals, including even mountain goats and halibut, gather to listen to its melody. The performer sings, then withdraws, and the announcer and *Ano'likwolsaix* explain who has just disappeared.

Next is Wolf, a man wearing a tail and the stuffed head of one of these animals. He circles the fire, howling like a wolf, the performer having been chosen for his ability to imitate that sound. The announcer tells the uninitiated that they have just seen a wolf from *Nusqulxwaista*, and have listened to it howling for *Ālquntām*; as usual, *Ano'likwolsaix* confirms his

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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statements. Non-members recognize that Deer, Varied Thrush, and Wolf are really persons, but they have no idea who or what they are, while their whole training, combined with the atmosphere with which the whole ceremony is surrounded, makes it easy for them to believe that they are seeing supernaturally endowed animals. If an uninitiated person should voice his doubts, he would be reported at once to the marshals by a spy and forthwith made a *kusiut*. 575* 796* 582 776 [781]

The next to come forth is a figure wearing a mask representing a man, and carrying a long stick to the end of which is tied a bundle of burning rags. The actor must be able to run swiftly, and, as he dashes at full speed around the fire, the strips of cloth are drawn out into a flaming stream behind him, producing a spectacular effect in the semi-gloom. *Ano'kiwelsaix* explains that this is Shooting Star, a supernatural being who behaves peculiarly and who has, therefore, passed rapidly and without the droning invitation that accompanies the passage of the other visitors. When *Qaxalin i* gave this dance, the rags were dipped in coal-oil to make them burn brightly, and one informant thought that this particular supernatural one was, perhaps, not shown in the old days. It must be remembered that details of the ceremony are constantly changing according to the skill and inventive ability of the carpenters. [178]

To the accompaniment of *O*····· from the announcer and the droning of the women, there next emerge four masked figures representing the four Carpenters. In whatever ceremonial they appear, their masks are the same because they, as master-artisans, are supposed to have fashioned them for themselves. They dance around the fire without singing and disappear behind the enclosure. *Ano'kiwelsaix* explains that these are *Masmasālānx*, the Carpenters of *Nuxqulxwaista*.

Now *Ojolikts Alqustām* comes forth. He is the herald of *Alqustām* who summons the supernatural ones to *Nuxqulxwaista* for the winter ceremonial. He wears a man's mask, surmounted by a wooden bird which can be made to flap its wings by means of a hidden cord, and he carries a staff on top

2: McDougall E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 of which is a similar bird that disappears within the rod by the
*796 pulling of a cord. This being is person of other *kakaxiut*, but
this does not deliver X form displaying him at his ceremonial.
592 *Ogalkiu Alpanlem* goes around the fire, moving his head in a
776 jerky fashion over his shoulder as if motioning towards something, and *Ant'itsmalanic* explains that he was issuing an invitation on behalf of *Alpanlem*.

Then the meeting is drawn aside to expose the figures of *Xemsemilalis*, *Xemcem*, *Omgemkilka*, *Similalis*, *Sumkilka*, *Semcem*, *Sulcemem*, *Kulilac*, *Simsit* *, and *Titcapilio* *, each wearing a mask with his distinctive painting on it. *Xemsemilalis* stands in the centre as chief of the party; he calls out impressively, but without using words, then, as he changes his tune, all the figures turn around curwise, shouting as they do so. After this has been repeated four times, the meeting is restored to place. During this, *Kulilac* and *Simsit* * do not remain stationary like the others. The former, wearing good blankets and a mask painted with red to give the appearance of an angry man, moves constantly to and fro among the other beings as if trying to obtain presents from them, while *Simsit* *, the Kingfisher, hops around in imitation of the jerky motions of that bird, continually poking his head forward and pulling it back. When they have vanished, *Ant'itsmalanic* tells the uninitiated who were the figures they have just seen, and how fortunate they are to be visited by such powerful beings.

After the usual pause, there appears Thunder's herald, *Sumsilanem*, wearing a mask in human form and carrying a staff in his hand. He leaps violently on the floor with his rod and cries out:

"Come all ye supernatural ones to the dance of Thunder."

At once *Tlapu* either rushes forth or sticks his head over the meeting and bellows forth:

"No! No! Don't come."

After *Sumsilanem* has circled the fire and retired to the enclosure he can still be heard violently pounding on the floor and inviting the people to Thunder's dance.

2:58:Dewalt E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellecrete NEA

Thupu follows, wearing a huge mask, and goes around the fire, incessantly saying to all: 575* 946*

"No. No. Don't come." 532

When he has withdrawn from sight he continues to counteract the herald's invitation. *Ant'ikwelaic* explains that *Ahwaiknow* is herald to the mighty Thunder, while *Thupu* is a jealous-minded individual who does his best to ruin all ceremonials. She adds that he will not succeed on this occasion, and that Thunder will presently appear. 776

As evidence of Thunder's near approach there next emerges Rainwater, a masked figure who dances silently around the fire, raising and lowering his outstretched arms. *Ant'ikwelaic* hurriedly gives the name of the visitor, then the announcer cries out as loudly as possible: "Thunder the mighty, the leading *kachina* of all the supernatural ones is coming; he will condescend to speak to the uninitiated."

The women drums and the *kachina* beat violently with sticks on the floor, then the meeting is drawn back to disclose Thunder himself, standing on a raised box. He wears a huge mask, with hooked nose and bulbous forehead, which is so heavy that the wearer must have pads of soft cloth to ease the weight against his skin. The upper part of his body is entirely covered with dyed and undyed cedar-bark, his wrists and ankles are similarly adorned, around his stomach is a dance-apron, and in either hand he carries a stick embellished with more bark. Sometimes for a considerable period he does not move from his stand, but remains silent, throwing his arms back and forth towards the corners of the house where a number of men are rattling heavy stones in boxes to increase the reverberations of thunder; this extension of the arms serves to concentrate in himself his power which is manifest in the sound. When he has sufficiently impressed the audience, he turns around and leaps down; the drums beat, the sticks rattle, the men working the boxes with stones shake them violently, and Thunder shrieks out, all of which, added to the crash with which he has landed upon the floor, makes a colossal din. He dances around the 575* 946* 776

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fire, while the women drone out an accompaniment. The mask has but one opening for eyes and nose, blinding the performer, so that he has to be guided by X, and two other *kukwist*, though the necessity for their services is not apparent to the uninitiated. The faces of these conductors are blackened and they wear collars of dyed cedar-bark, but no masks; one of them carries some eagle down which he keeps blowing over Thunder's head. To the ignorant spectators it appears as if these guides were really deferential attendants.* When the mighty supernatural one has almost completed a circuit of the fire he stops, holds out his shaking arms over it and absorbs power from the smoke; then ressends the box behind the matting from which he first jumped. One of the *kukwist* thrusts into his hand a perforated rattle containing smouldering cedar-bark. Carrying this (see Plate 11),[5] Thunder again leaps down and dances around the fire, guarded as before by X and two assistants, but this time shaking out burning sparks from the rattle. Now, instead of the drumming of the women alone, there is a prodigious racket as he goes around; the drums are beaten, the sticks are rattled, a man concealed on the roof stamps and clatters on the boards, another pounds on loose planking with a heavy stone, while Thunder himself keeps calling out in a booming voice. Again he pauses to absorb power from the fire before retiring behind the matting, which is then drawn. The announcer cries out:

"The fire *kwisa* of the supernatural ones has been with us; his fire is too wonderful for us."

[533]

He drums and there appears a masked figure of *Sipalowém*. This being dances around the fire, without speaking, but at intervals drenching the audience with water from a dish which he carries. When he has completed his circuit and withdrawn, *Ax'kwalnaix* discourses upon Thunder, informing the uninitiated that his fire-rattle is the bird of the lightning, a mysterious creature about which little is known. She adds that

*Similar guide attendants often accompany other supernatural beings.

§ [See category 116, p 164(E) "Analysis"]

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Sipalxnaw is the rain that accompanies a thunder-storm, hence the water with which the audience was soaked. 575* 796* 776

There next comes forth an actor wearing a man's mask and carrying in his hands a sounding-board and beating-sticks, as if he were a singer, ready to perform at a ceremony. He arranges these in place, constantly glancing back over his shoulder towards the enclosure, then calls, and out jumps *Niqlo*, wearing a mask which makes his face appear long and very narrow. He shuffles his feet, moves his head from side to side, sways his body to and fro as if he were starting a spectacular dance, finally gyrates wildly for a very short period, without accompaniment from the man who preceded him, and then goes back to the enclosure instead of circling the fire. The apparent singer picks up his equipment and follows his principal out of sight. *Ewi'lkwulaic* explains that *Niqlo* is a most spectacular supernatural dancer, who was unwilling to give an exhibition of his full skill on this occasion. [532]

Meanwhile preparations have been made for the second appearance of Thunder. The large mask is so heavy and constricts the breath to such an extent that very few men are strong enough to bear it for more than two dances around the fire. The first wearer has now transferred his disguise to a second man of about the same build, and when the matting is again drawn aside, it is to disclose Thunder standing on his raised box as before. Often a few variations are introduced; instead of extending his arms to attract his power, he may simply revolve with waving arms and turning head. When ready, he signals to those with drums and beating-sticks, then jumps down with a crash which is echoed by all the noise-making contrivances in the house. Thunder dances around the fire much as upon his first appearance, and inhales strength from the smoke of the central fire before returning to the raised box. He receives the rattle containing smouldering bark, and once more circles the house; after that he withdraws and the matting is pulled into place. *Sipalxnaw* comes forth and drenches the audience with water, but *Ewi'lkwulaic* does not [532]

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575 speak on this occasion as the explanation has already been
746 given.

776 After a short pause the announcer calls impressively:
"Take care! The *kaokas* are coming."

From within the enclosure there is heard the clacking of beaks, and presently a *kaokas* backs out. The mask, about [532] three feet in length, is that of a long-beaked bird, of which the lower mandible can be made to strike against the upper to cause the snapping noise. The wearer has little clothing but much dyed cedar-bark which conceals the stick that runs from the mask down his back to counterbalance the weight of the projecting beak. Another *kaokas* likewise comes out backwards, then a third and a fourth. The four dance around the fire, snapping their beaks and uttering their cry, *Hao, hao, hao*, in unison to the stamp of their feet on the floor. X, with three assistants, accompanies them, apparently out of respect to the supernatural visitors and to guard the uninitiated from them in case they should become ferocious, but in reality to [532] direct the steps of the actors whose cumbersome masks prevent them from seeing where they are going. A touch from one of the guides, or even the sound of his voice, is enough to tell the gyrating performer in which direction to move. When the *kaokas* have disappeared, *Ano'kiwelsaix* explains who the visitors were.

[532] Next appears a Snail. The mask used is human in form, and the painting may or may not indicate the being represented. The wearer proceeds very slowly around the fire, turning neither to right nor to left, and withdraws. *Ano'lik-nalsaix* explains that this is a Snail from *Nusqulxwaista* which has come to visit X.

[532] Another man-like figure now comes forth, his mask painted to represent a fish. Like the Snail he circles the fire without any special type of dance and withdraws. This is the Red Rock Cod, a fact which *Ano'kiwelsaix* makes clear to the uninitiated.

Finally, the time comes when the last supernatural visitor

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has retired from sight. *Ano'likwolsaix* gives her customary dance, her head bent as if she constantly wished to rest it on someone's shoulder, and her opposite arm waving violently. After one circuit of the fire she withdraws from sight behind the matting. Then the marshals tell the uninitiated to withdraw, and the growling Cannibals hurry them forth. The evening's ceremonials conclude in the usual way, except that the masks are not burnt. 575* 796* [776] [532]

The length of time required for the figures to appear and perform is so great that *nebusam* can seldom be completed on a single night. When the marshals decide that it is too late for further drama, they can call a postponement at any time; the uninitiated are told to withdraw and the *kukusiut* disperse shortly afterwards. The following evening they are recalled and the ritual is carried on from the point where the break was made. In this account it has been assumed that it is possible to complete the display without postponement.

Four nights later everyone is called back once again. The *kukusiut* first take their places, and then the uninitiated are summoned. The ritual on this occasion is identical with that just described for *nebusam* with the same promenade of supernatural beings and the same explanations by *Ano'likwolsaix*. After the uninitiated depart the masks are burnt, two at a time, in the manner previously described, this being the last event in the Mystery Dance. [532]

THE DANCE OF *Winwina*

Noakgnum is not, according to Bella Coola mythology, the only bringer of salmon to the river, nor is he the only one whose action has been dramatized as a *kusiut* dance. A similar purveyor of fish is *Winwina*[*] who comes every year to Bella Coola. Boas (p. 38) has recorded the origin myth connected with the rite, and states that the movements of this being influence the duration of the *kusiut* season; this observation was not confirmed. *Winwina* is supposed to return from the 575* 796* 776 825 184 824

[*] Also called *Kwakwatlatsa*, "What Brings Our Food."

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* 575 *796 776 825 184 824

land of the salmon early in January, and it is owing to his successful raid that there is a plentiful supply of fish the following year. The fact that the Bella Coola attribute the same function to *Noākynim* provides no difficulties to native philosophers.

"Different individuals have different stories," they say, and the fact that the two are contradictory is a matter of no consequence.

773 824 825 539

The incidents described in the following myth are always spoken of as having taken place long ago, and yet the coming of *Winwina* is an annual event, a confusion disconcerting to the investigator though not to the Bella Coola themselves.

Winwina[*] once led a raiding party against the salmon, whose home is far to the west, and against the berries who live in a flat and warm country beyond even the land of salmon. His crew consisted of birds who are spoken of in the myth by unusual designations, said to be either their supernatural or their *kusiut* names. One informant spoke of these beings as individuals, and only added that they were birds as an afterthought, while another emphasized their avian rather than their human characteristics. This is not surprising, considering that the story belongs to the distant past when birds and human beings were not as clearly differentiated as they now are. *Winwina*'s crew consisted of:

The Bald Eagle, *Tsāwak*;

The Hawk (*l*) species, *Ānukiqakstin*;

The Raven, *'Ānwaqālain*, "He Who Talks at Dawn and Wakens Everyone";

The Water Ouzel, *Tlīkmaxstlīkla*, "The Walking One";

The Great Blue Heron, *Masaxilian*, "Long Neck";

The Hermaphrodite, *Ala'yas*;

The Cormorant, *Kwakwatl'la*, who joined the expedition at Bella Bella as a passenger;

Four lazy supernatural beings, *Kamālāl*.

The expedition was under the especial protection of *Kalasta*, a female supernatural shaman, who guided the canoe in which the raiders travelled by the force of her intellect as if it had been a compass. After a lengthy journey, the party reached the land of the salmon where the clouds obligingly drifted low in the heavens so that the fish could not see their

[*] A word etymologically connected with wina, the Bella Coola term for raid.

[192]

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[The Dance of Winwina]

foes. Each of the crew captured a different kind of salmon which, in the myth, are referred to by their supernatural names. 773

The Bald Eagle captured the spring salmon, *Oltoldimut*, "The One that Changes Itself," a reference to the two forms in which this fish appears before and after spawning. 824 825

The Hawk captured the sockeye salmon, *Nunuitkentinum*, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers." 539

The Raven captured the hump-back salmon, *Ănukpmaix*, "The One that Fills the Rivers."

The Water Ouzel captured the dog salmon, *Sgaistwa*, "The Maker of Good Weather," a reference to the calm weather in August when this fish spawns.

The Great Blue Heron captured the cohoe salmon, *Kpapstustusailaix*, "The One that Makes Us Fat."

The Cormorant captured a variety of dog salmon, *Ostpax*, for the Bella Bella.

The Hermaphrodite was also successful and filled the enormous basket which he had brought for the purpose with a large number of berry captives.

As soon as the raiders had achieved their purpose they returned to Bella Coola and released their booty; since that time there has been an abundance of salmon in the river and of berries on the hills. The Cormorant left the canoe at Bella Bella and released the dog salmon there; that is why this variety of fish has since been plentiful at Bella Bella.

Several Bella Coola *kukusiut* have a dance prerogative of which the above is origin myth. The details vary slightly, and some informants stated frankly that they had forgotten the names of the bird crew. The reasons given for the use of *Wiwuina* as patron likewise vary. According to one account, in the beginning of time *Alquntăm* placed the name *Nunushmai* in a repository near the summit of the lofty Mount *Qo*, near *Staur*. He had two reasons for so doing: he did not wish it to be defiled by passersby brushing dust into it with their feet, and he wished the owner of the name to be the first to see the return of *Wiwuina*. The repository is a small pond, which can move from place to place, but, being itself supernatural, is visible only to those who have purified themselves. Since that time whoever has had the name *Nunushmai* has had the *kusut* prerogative of seeing *Wiwuina*. 424 773 778 [776]

[The Dance of Winwina]

424 Another *kusiut* derived the prerogative of having *Winwina*
773 as patron from a myth previously cited (II, p. 43). After
776 Raven had seen *Noākynim* and obtained him for *Āllilimnā-losaix*, he flew down the fiord once more, observed *Winwina*, and made him patron for *Omqomkilika*.

*575 The ritual of the dance of *Winwina* does not vary, irre-
*796 spective of its origin; accordingly one account will suffice and the performer can be referred to as X.

[778] This dance occurs also at Kimsquit where the repository
[424] is actually in the ocean a few yards from shore.

[184] *Winwina* is supposed to return to Bella Coola when the January moon is full;[97] accordingly X consults the marshals and makes his preparations slightly before that date. Four days before the full moon, the uninitiated are excluded from the house and a raised enclosure is built between the fire and the back-room. This rite differs from most *kusiut* dances in that the call does not come at this time. Irrespective of whether or not the *kukusiut* happen to be present on the evening of this day, X mounts to the enclosure and sits there, looking westward for the return of *Winwina*. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. X
[292] wears a collar of dyed cedar-bark and a head-dress of eagle tail feathers, but his face is not blackened.

For three nights and three days X remains in the enclosure, gazing to the west, and meanwhile no uninitiated dare even to pass outside of his house. As the fourth night is falling, messengers summon the *kukusiut* who enter and sit in silence as if waiting for something; the heralds inform non-members that X's vigil will soon be over. After an interval they are likewise called in, and eagerly take their places near the door, where they receive a share of the food being served. Suddenly X jumps down from the enclosure and cries out loudly:

"The supernatural young man has left his child with strangers while he has been on a journey. Now he is returning,

[805] [97] Owing to faulty calendrical observations the exact date is seldom found.

[The Dance of Winwina]

though perhaps you cannot hear him because *Winwina* is making so much noise." 575* 796*

The meaning of this statement is difficult even to surmise and the Bella Coola themselves appear to be ignorant of it. It is said that the words are archaic. The *kukusiut* women at once begin to drone and the uninitiated flee, sometimes falling over one another in their eagerness to escape from the house, for the whistles are sounding and X has had his call. An eloquent *kusiut* stands beside him, apparently listening to him, and at intervals whets the curiosity of the audience by saying:

"I will tell you all about it in a minute."

The person who appears to be listening is one who knows the story of *Winwina* and as soon as X has stopped, he proceeds to relate it to the audience,* as if he had just learnt it from the dancer. It is possible that even some of the *kukusiut* are deceived, but in any case they are so accustomed to acting that they practise it even when no uninitiated are present. The singers are especially attentive and presently begin to strike out a new song composed for the occasion. The theme is of *Winwina* himself and his bird crew, and of the lazy *Kämälälkt*; the audience listens eagerly and practises the composition. Afterwards food is distributed amid admonitions of the marshals as is customary on the night of *kustämem*. [533]

Next morning a second song is practised for X, and then a number of *kukusiut* go with him to the forest to bring in the wood required for the ceremonial. In the evening members of the society assemble in X's house for the allotment of carpentry tasks. The most important requirement is a canoe, shaped like a bird, and with bird figures as members of the crew. Considerable ingenuity is displayed in the manufacture of this; it is large enough to fill most of the rear part of the house, and, being bottomless, can be made to move by men concealed within. Several carpenters usually work together at this task. X also orders wooden replicas of the different 575* 796* 532

*Perhaps this is the reason that the origin myth of this dance is better remembered than most.

[The Dance of Winwina]

*575 *796 532 kinds of salmon captured by *Winwina*. In their efforts to make realistic representations, the artisans often use the skins of steel-head salmon, the only variety obtainable in winter, stretched over wooden frames, and painted. Various women are asked to make imitations of berries captured by the Hermaphrodite. In each case X requests one woman to make a certain berry, root, or bark used for food, and so many are needed that he often becomes weary from constantly calling out his requirements. As on other *nusiutälsap*, the songs are practised, food is served, and the usual ceremonies occur.

The next morning, that of *qotlim*, the carpenters, both men and women, start early at their work. The method of making the salmon has already been described, but a word should be said about the berries. They are made of dyed cedar-bark, undyed cedar-bark, and snow-berries, the only material available in winter. The workmanship varies enormously; some realistic articles are turned out, others are exceedingly crude. In the evening booth *kukusiut* and uninitiated are summoned to X's house for the usual protracted ceremony of *qotlim* night.

*575 *796 825 *Nebusam* follows the next day. The wooden salmon and berries are placed in a convenient spot behind the fire, and in the evening X asks some one of the senior *kukusiut* to assist him in their display. Sometimes one of the marshals undertakes this duty, and at any rate they have to express their approval of the dancer's choice. The *kukusiut* are the first to assemble, and when the last details have been arranged the uninitiated are called in and marvel at the canoe behind the fire. The *kusiut* chosen to assist X stands beside it, holding the wooden spring salmon in his arms, its head upstream.

"What is it?" he asks the uninitiated. "If you recognize which salmon it is you will be successful in catching that kind next summer."

The uninitiated are thus urged to guess, but fear of the *kukusiut* acts as a deterrent, and it is often some little time before a plucky youth calls out which salmon he thinks it to

[The Dance of Winwina]

be. Once the first answer has been given, it is only a matter of a few minutes before some alert young man gives the successful reply. 575* 796* 825

"Yes," says the *kusiut* holding the salmon. "It is a spring salmon, called *Oltoldimut* by the supernatural beings. *Tcäkwak* captured it."

The bearer goes once around the fire, still holding the salmon, while the *kukusiut* women drone and the sticks are pounded furiously. Four times during his circuit he tosses the fish in his arms as if it were jumping, and all the *kukusiut* call out *ye*···· *he*····, as they do when a salmon jumps in the river. He finally throws the fish on the central fire and the beating of sticks stops with almost startling suddenness. The same *kusiut* next picks up the wooden representation of a sockeye salmon and the same procedure is carried out; it too is thrown on the fire when its species has been ascertained. In succession, imitations of hump-back, dog, and cohoe salmon are displayed and cast in the flames. It is seldom that the uninitiated realize that the fish are being shown in the order of their coming in the spring, and their consequent failure to answer promptly is a source of considerable secret amusement to the *kukusiut*. The Bella Bella dog salmon, held with its head downstream, is the last fish shown. The representation is always made long and lean, to the annoyance of the Bella Bella, and when the holder makes it jump, the people call out nothing but *he*····.

Soon after the last salmon has been burnt the displayer holds up the first bunch of "berries" and calls on the young uninitiated women to guess what kind is represented. 575* 796*

"If you guess right, you will find plenty of them next summer," he says. 824

Somewhat shyly the girls register their guesses, but the choice of berries is so great and the workmanship so poor that a considerable time often elapses before the correct answer is given. As soon as this is done, the exhibitor carries the fruit around the fire and throws them on the flames in the same

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[The Dance of Winwina]

*575 way as with the salmon, except that the jumping is omitted.
*796 The order of display is according to the time of ripening for
824 each, but there is so much difference of opinion about this that no rigid order is maintained. The first shown is always the cow-parsnip, but after that there is no definite sequence. The following "berries" were shown at a dance not many years ago: cow-parsnip; *Ribes laxiflorum*; wild gooseberry; tall bilberry; thin-leaved bilberry; blueberry; black huckleberry; red elderberry; dwarf bilberry; *Ribes bracteosum*; salalberry; Canadian buffalo berry; wild red raspberry; blackberry, *Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.; salmon-berry; black hawthorn; flowering juneberry; bunchberry; wild rose; red bearberry.

The informant was not certain that the above was the exact order in which the berries were shown on the occasion described. It is probable that it is approximately correct, however, since he added that the wild strawberry had also been shown, but as he could not remember its correct place he had omitted it. Other old men stated that the following food
[262] plants had been used at other *Winwina* dances: *ilk*, one of the
[177] *Fritillaria*, species undetermined; perennial clover; black raspberry; crabapple; cranberry; fern root; bracken root. Foods introduced by the white man were shown at a recent dance, including: potato, carrot, turnip, and a miniature can of pre-
[273] served peaches, such as are commonly used in the manufacture of native wine.

*575 Sometimes no one is able to guess the object represented,
*796 and when all have grown discouraged the exhibitor puts his ear against X's mouth. The uninitiated assume, of course, that the dancer's supernatural power makes it easy for him to tell the answer and that he is transmitting the information to the bearer who promptly gives it. If an uninitiated person should guess the correct response rapidly, it is taken for granted that she has found favour with the supernatural beings. When the last berry has been thrown on the fire, a *kusiut* stands up and starts a song describing the Hermaphrodite and his actions in the land above. The singer provides his own time by beating

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[The Dance of Winwina]

on the floor with a stick and the women sing with him. Food is then given to all and the people disperse. 575* 796*

It will be noted how greatly this dance differs from the usual *kusiut* pattern, especially in the omission of a *nekusam* when masks are used. Instead of the ritual just described, X has the option of using another, similar to the customary *kusiut* type. The following ritual has not been carried out for many years so it is probable that many details have been overlooked. No information was obtainable about the motives governing X's choice of dance. [424]

As in all *kusiut* dances, the first essential is to select a suitable time, a matter of arrangement with the marshals. The night chosen for the coming of the call is often the *nekusam* of some other *kusiut*, and the uninitiated are at once expelled. The *kukusiut* gather in X's house, where the singers beat out the song composed for the occasion, describing *Winwina* and his crew, especially the four *Kämälälkl* who were not only too lazy to capture any booty, but wanted to sleep all the time and could be roused only by being drenched with cold water. The audience listens attentively and then practises the song; X often dances but it is not important since no uninitiated are present. There are no unusual features in the ritual of this night of *Inxtämem*.

The next day is *nuxiutälsap* when the wood is brought in for masks, the making of which is allotted in the evening. Five only are required; one of *Ano'likwolsaix* and four of *Kämälälkl*. The ritual is of the ordinary type both on this night and on *qutim*. [532]

When the uninitiated are called in on the evening of *nekusam* they see X standing behind the fire, as if to guard the two masked figures standing on either side of him. Fluent speakers are selected to wear these masks of *Kämälälkl* and they enliven the proceedings by their arguments.

"I captured the sockeye salmon," says one.

"You liar!" replies another. "You were asleep. It was I who seized the sockeye salmon."

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*575 *796 They dispute in this manner concerning the capture of every kind of salmon and even about the berries. *Ano'likwo-lsaix* keeps up a running stream of comments to the uninitiated.

"Listen to the stupid *Kämälälkl*. That is what they did when they went with *W'inwina*. They spent most of their time sleeping, and the rest of it arguing. Don't you be such silly fools as they are. Watch what you are doing, and you may be fortunate enough to see me in the woods and become a *kuziut*."

As soon as the uninitiated have watched these beings for a time, they are expelled and the ritual ends in the usual manner.

763 776 In conclusion, a word may be said regarding the attitude of the Bella Coola to *W'inwina* and his canoe. Like all other supernatural manifestations it is capable of bringing good or evil to the beholder. An ancestor of every *W'inwina* dancer must have seen it and obtained it as patron, but it is a dangerous visitor none the less. Sometimes, at night, a hunter encamped on one of the fiords hears a grunting sound accompanied by short paddle strokes; if he calls out "*yaa!*" loudly, no harm will come to him, but if he omits to do so he will soon die. One informant affirmed that within his lifetime a party of Kimsquit hunters were waiting for high tide when they heard the grunting. They failed to hail the craft and presently a sound reached them as if a number of paddles had been placed in the water to check the course of a canoe; in fact, the ripples splashed on the shore at their feet. In a few years they were all dead.

THE DANCE OF MOTHER-NATURE

*575 *796 824 [184] [776] One of the most interesting of the Bella Coola dances is that portraying *Nawaxéka*, who is virtually Mother-Nature, giving birth to the flowers and trees in the spring. The following account is of the manner in which *Kalée-i*, a Kimsquit man, performed the rite. The ritual appears to be identical in Bella Coola, so only one account need be given, and the performer may be spoken of as X.

This dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial

[the Dance of Mother-Nature]

season, subject to the usual consent of the marshals. No description need be given of the coming of the call and of the ritual of *lsuxtämem*. A large amount of wood is required, and on the night of *nusiutälsap* the many carpentry tasks are allotted. A large masked wooden figure is made to represent Mother-Nature herself, two more of the elderly women who attend her, and one of the inevitable *Ano°likwolsaix*. Besides, masks must be made of almost all the flowers and the trees, their number only limited by X's willingness to reward the carpenters. It is said that formerly as many as three hundred masks were sometimes ordered. 575* 796* 824 [532]

No detailed description is required for *qotlum*, but the ritual on *nebusam* differs from that of all other dances. Early in the morning a number of *kukusuit* gather in X's house where the carpenters decide on two old women to wear masks representing hags of great age and ugliness. A number of *kukusiut* accompany them to the bottom house of the village where they call out: [532]

"We are in great trouble. Our daughter's child is long overdue. If you know of any good medicines, will you not give them to us for her?"

The *kukusiut* drone when they see and hear these supernatural visitors, and many of them give medicines to the old women to increase the realistic effect. This is repeated in every house of the village.

That night when all is ready, the uninitiated are called in and take their places in the two corners near the door. They see in the central position behind the fire a large wooden figure wearing the mask of a woman in the pangs of labour with enormously distended stomach. She is *Nunuoska*, Mother-Nature, though the uninitiated do not know this as yet. She lies on some raised planking; slightly below her are two old women carrying sponges of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, as if they were midwives prepared to wash a new-born infant. Two matting enclosures have been constructed, one in each of the rear corners of the house, large enough to hide the per- [532] [844]

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*575 formers who are chosen for their small stature. *Ano°likwolsaix*
*796 stands up ready to explain as usual. One of the actors now
824 comes forth from beneath Mother-Nature's stomach, as if born
[532] of her, wearing a mask surmounted by a carved stick repre-
[844] senting the leaves of the willow. The nurses handle the performer, as if washing a new-born child, and announce:

"It is a boy, Willow Leaves," just as a midwife might state the sex of an infant.

Willow Leaves dances around the fire, at intervals saying, "I am Willow Leaves."

Ano°likwolsaix adds her comments: "Yes. There is Willow Leaves, see him."

The masked figure goes into the matting enclosure out of sight. The next plant to be born is Gooseberry, for whom the same procedure is carried out, before he, too, disappears. In succession, a few minutes apart, come Nettle, all kinds of Grass, and Western Skunk Cabbage. Each is washed and the sex announced; then the figure dances and *Ano°likwolsaix* comments as before. A good dancer is always chosen for the next figure, Black Cottonwood, who is "born" in the same way, but instead of vanishing into the enclosure remains dancing to and fro on the upper, upstream, side of the house. After him comes "The Dancing Tree," the American Aspen. An agile man is likewise chosen for this part and he remains dancing back and forth on the lower, downstream, side. *Ano°likwolsaix* announces, amid breathless interest: "The South Wind is coming."

*575 This figure enters the house by the front door, wearing the
*796 mask of a handsome young man. He goes to *Nanuaska* like a
824 doctor called in to assist, and when he stands up, her face
532 appears like that of a happy woman who has just given birth. The uninitiated do not realize that a new mask has been put on Mother-Nature while her face was hidden from their sight. The South Wind then retires to the lower side of the house, where he dances to and fro near Aspen, at intervals going up to his patient. In rushes the North Wind, but he is too late to accom-

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plish his design of destroying Mother-Nature in the act of delivery, and he remains dancing to and fro on the upper side of the house, not far from Black Cottonwood. The advent of the South Wind has helped Mother-Nature, so in close succession there follow masked figures, representing the plants, trees, and shrubs known to the Bella Coola. Those first to appear, prior to the coming of the South Wind, have been early ones in the order of their showing signs of green; afterwards there is no fixed sequence, except to follow as closely as possible that of their appearance in the spring. When Black Hawthorn is being born there is great difficulty; he kicks, squirms, and cries, requiring the assistance of both attendants and the South Wind. As soon as his name is announced the meaning of the trouble becomes plain; it is because the fruit is bitter and causes griping in the stomach. The performance is a lengthy one; the same masks appear repeatedly, but the painted stick representing the flower or leaves is changed. Through the long period of their birth, the Willow, Aspen, North and South Winds continue their dancing, the North Wind trying at intervals to reach Mother-Nature, but always repulsed by the watchful South Wind. To the uninitiated it appears wonderful, perhaps miraculous, that so many beings can be hidden in so small an enclosure; in reality, no more than fifteen actors are used, they simply change their masks and reappear. The last masked figure represents After-birth, a moss which does not appear until late in the season after all the other plants have come to life. Instead of going around the fire, this figure hides quickly by lying down out of sight.

575* 796* 824 532

The uninitiated are sometimes sent away at this point, at other times they are allowed to wait to hear the meaning of the whole ceremonial. X asks an able *hasiat* to act as orator. This man explains that we would have no food if the South Wind had not been able to drive away the North Wind before he hurt Mother-Nature as she gave birth to the plants, which form so important a part of the food supply. If not already expelled, the uninitiated are sent out at this point and the

575* 796* [824]

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575 *kukusiut* send back X's call in the usual manner. Then, two
996 by two, the masks are cast on to the fire and the ceremonial is over.

THE DANCE OF THE TALLY POSTS

[773] As previously described, a tally post is erected in the land
[777] above for every Bella Coola at birth. As long as this memorial
[753] is upright and firm, the individual to whom it refers enjoys health and prosperity, but if it becomes crooked he falls ill.
[424] The uninitiated believe that several *kukusiut* have the prerogative of climbing to the land above during the ceremonial season and straightening leaning tally posts. This is such a
[178] useful ability that it must have exercised great influence on
[164] the uninitiated in early days, but the rite has not been properly carried out since the smallpox epidemic in the last century. The following account was obtained from two old men
[115] who remembered the manner in which a certain *Owikstl* of *Tsmoil* performed a year or two before "The Great Sickness." Neither of the informants was a *kusiut* at the time, but they were able to supplement their recollections of the dance with what they afterwards learnt when initiated, so the following account is probably accurate in outline though deficient in detail. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X, and describe the ceremony in the present tense. It was also performed at Kimsquit many years ago.

The rite resembles *kusiutem* dances in many respects. X must obtain the consent of the marshals during the preceding summer, and their permission is refused unless the prospective dancer is a man of proved discretion. If they agree, X asks a
[288] number of *kukusiut* women to help him by making a very long and strong rope of nettle fibre. At intervals the work-women gather for the purpose in the back-room of X's house, taking
[488] care that no uninitiated see what they are doing. Every effort is made to ensure that there is no flaw in the rope as a break would be a serious matter, punishable by death.

Near the winter solstice the marshals choose a suitable time

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

for the dance to start, and X suddenly cries out that he is feeling peculiar. The night selected is usually that of the *nuhuxam* of some other *kusiut*, and X is at once escorted to his own house from which the uninitiated are expelled. For that night and the two following he remains concealed within, leaving only when necessary and taking care that no uninitiated see him. During the afternoon following the third night of concealment, a large number of *kukusiut* gather in X's home and escort him to the lowest house of the village. He goes around the fire shaking a rattle violently and calling out: 575* 796*

"More! More! Please say exactly what you want and I will do it."

The uninitiated have been told that X has been unable to comprehend the impending call, hence they have no difficulty in realizing that this is a request to his supernatural patron to be more explicit.[11] This appeal is repeated in every house of the village in order from bottom to top. The rite is so important that X often summons *kukusiut* from neighbouring towns and, on the occasion described, the dancer proceeded to *Sunaf* with his escort and there entered every dwelling with the same request that he had made in his own village. [628]

In the evening X returns to his home where presently the *kukusiut* gather from the villages that he visited. The uninitiated from adjacent houses hear whistling so are not surprised when heralds enter to announce that a call has come to X. The ritual is of the regular *lnxitämem* pattern and a song is composed and practised; the theme is of X's ability to visit the land above but the type is that of a shaman's song. The ritual concludes in the usual manner. [533]

The next day, *nuxiustälxap*, the customary raised enclosure is erected and a number of *kukusiut* gather wood in the forest. In the evening the carpenters are requested to make a long ladder, the only paraphernalia required. The evening's ritual ends as usual. [417]

[11] The patron for this dance could not be learnt.

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[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

*575 *796 [417] During *qatim* and *nakuam* days the carpenters gather in X's house where they construct a long ladder. The uprights and rungs are of split cedar, and each of the latter is decorated with a tuft of dyed, and a tuft of undyed cedar-bark; two white eagle-tail feathers are fastened to the top. In the afternoon of *nakuam*, a *kusiut* who is also a chief blackens his face, dons a collar of dyed cedar-bark and sallies forth to invite guests from the adjacent villages. About the same time the smoke-vent in X's house is pushed back and the ladder is erected, projecting a considerable distance above the roof. The uninitiated see it clearly and wonder what it may portend. In the evening the *kukusiut* assemble and the singers beat out X's two songs for the benefit of the guest visitors. Then the uninitiated are called in. They see the lower part of the ladder, and gaze with wonder on X who keeps walking backwards and [292] forwards in his raised enclosure, clad in a dance-apron and a black blanket to which is tied one end of the long rope. Two *kukusiut* assistants hold a section of it as if to anchor him. The dancer carries a rattle which he keeps shaking violently. His two songs are sung and everything is now ready for the main performance. Still shaking his rattle, X climbs the ladder and disappears from sight through the roof, dragging the rope after him. The sound of the rattle grows gradually fainter and fainter, but the cable is steadily drawn up through the opening. It is so realistic that the uninitiated hardly require the explanation given by an eloquent *kusiut* that a strange power has come to X, enabling him to climb up a ladder which lengthens of its own accord until he will ultimately reach the land above. The orator explains how the dancer will be able to straighten the tally posts, and thus have it in his power to govern the life of an individual, though normally it is only the supernatural beings who can do so. In this connection he employs the term [192] *mulatsta*, a word seldom used which has the significance of "A Measuring of the Span of Life."

As at *kusiutem* dances, spies guard the doorway and threaten death to the *kukusiut* unless X return in safety. No

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

one is permitted to leave, and the uninitiated gain in amusement as the seemingly endless rope continues to be drawn up through the roof, although the cattle itself can no longer be heard as if X had passed beyond earshot. They do not know that he has merely stepped from the ladder to the roof of the house, and thence to the ground, taking care to loop the cord over a projection so that he can continue drawing it out steadily. He has carefully practised cording so that he can gradually lessen the intensity as if he were passing beyond ear-shot. One of the *marshals* describes the dangers to which X is exposed on his journey aloft, and calls on the *kakaxiut* to sing his two songs to aid him. They are sung several times, but no others are used during the long night, nor are puppet-persons employed as in *kwakiutlan* rites. The rope is being drawn from a large coil on the floor near the fire, and when the carpenters notice that it is nearly exhausted one of their number slips out to call X to stop his climb. Presently, one or two yards of rope are quickly pulled through the hole in the roof and then all movement stops. 575 * 796 *

"He has jumped," cry the *kakaxiut*.

A fluent *kaxiut* explains to the uninitiated that the roof of the land above has opened before X's ever-lengthening ladder, that he has leapt from it to the ground above and tied his rope to something. On one occasion, a malicious *xiut* cut the cable hoping that no one would notice the break, but luckily one of the wonderful carpenters noticed it in time to knot the two ends. The *kakaxiut* always explain that the rope is X's point of contact with the lower world, and that if it is severed, he cannot return. Accordingly, if the broken end had been drawn up through the roof, X could never have come back, and only his secret death would have served to maintain the reputation of the society. [172] 575 * 796 * 570 681

The rope remains stationary for some time, and then is seen to be coming back through the aperture. 575 *

"X is returning," whisper the *kakaxiut* to one another and the excitement becomes intense. 796 *

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

[illegible] THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

Slowly and steadily the rope is lowered to the carpenters who coil it in a long row at the foot of the ladder. As soon as another climb, as this part of the ceremony is expected to take quite as long as X's secret, and must not be finished until just before dawn. At last the latter round of the cords is lowered and presently the ladder itself begins to shake. Two or more senior members of the society climb up through the coil and enter, amid the drumming of the *initiates* women, with the novelties. The uninitiated gaze at him with fear and awe.

"He is indeed wonderful," they say to one another.

X's face was painted black and white when he entered his cabin, but it is now clean and the uninitiated hardly need to be reminded by the *initiate* women that the strong wind in Bella Coola has blown all paint from his skin. He sits down beside an eloquent *initiate* to whom he talks at length and who excites the curiosity of the audience by telling them that they will soon hear all about it. When the talk is finished, the orator stands up and tells what the novelties he saw in the land above. He states that X found a certain number of tally posts leaning and straightened them, but he never mentions what has been done here preserved. The uninitiated assume without question that X has just given the orator these details, though in point of fact he has done nothing of the kind, his apparent confidant having been chosen for his skill in inventing interesting items. As soon as the story is over, the uninitiated are told to leave. While the usual meal is being prepared the carpenters haul down the ladder and cast it into the fire without ceremony. The *initiate* listen to the usual admonitions of the novelists as they are, and then disperse to the early dawn, wearied from the all-night session.

Most of the village sleeps through the day, but in the late afternoon the lovelle summon the *initiate* to X's house. The dance of the Tally Posts resembles a *initiate* in the sense that four days of ceremonial follow the four days just described. The evening following X's secret is instituted, the

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

second of the whole performance. The ritual is of the regular type with the companion and practising of a song. 575* 946*

During the evening of the next day, *naturalmente*, the usual ceremony ends are allowed. Only three masks are required, one of *Bel'lilmaiam* and two of supernatural beings named *Mishem*, as if they had the power to heighten or curtail the lives of human beings. The ritual or *gulim* [illegible] to special description. Late in the afternoon of *nalmem* the *Bellmim* assemble in W's home and the uninitiated are presently assisted to see them all such forth with their masked figures in their midst. *Assuming*, of course, that these are supernatural visions, the frightened non-members return to their houses where they pass forth or the figures as they parade up and down the dance beside the river. They can easily recognize *Bel'lilmaiam*, but not for two companions whose faces are painted black and white, and who have projecting, stone like mouths. After this pantomime and a certain amount of dancing, the party return to W's house whether the uninitiated are presently summoned. The two *Mishem* dance around the five white *Bel'lilmaiam* explains their power over the lives of mortals. The *Bellmim* now ask the uninitiated to withdraw and the ceremony ends in the customary manner. [532] [532]

W must perform this full ritual at least once after obtaining his *Bellmim* name with respect to it, but on later occasions he may, if he so desires, limit himself to the second part of the ceremony with the appearance on earth of the *Mishem*. [424]

THE DANCE OF THUNDER

According to Bella Coola belief, the supernatural owes to the upper land assemble human beings in performing *Bellmim* dances. Like mortals, some of these always are more powerful and more feared than others, but the senior *Bellmim* among them is Thunder. Corresponding to the prowess of his person, the dance of his human protégé is one of the most important *Bellmim* rituals. The essential feature of it is that Thunder calls all supernatural beings to witness his dance, and in consequence 575* 946* 424 946

[illegible] to follow as much can do the same. The ritual of release of a Thunder dancer is accordingly identical with that of a Mystery dancer. In the field an effort was made to obtain accounts of what had actually occurred at dances rather than of what should have happened, as the dance of Mystery, previously described, several of the usual features were omitted, and these were accordingly left out of the account. They will now be mentioned in connection with the dance of Thunder, but the fact must be emphasized that they belong equally to all *Sacred* dances in which the dancer has the prerogative of showing all supernatural beings, including Thunder.

[55] In Kimsquit the name of the *Sacred* having the prerogative of singing of Thunder signifies, "The Known," with reference to his power. The native term could not be learned. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X.

The Thunder dance is of the normal *Sacred* type in every respect, so no account need be given of the ceremonial of the first three days. Many snakes are ordered on the night of [illegible] and these are really only in rehearsal. During these days the supernatural uninitiated are excited to see the masked figure of *Sal'Ulmalnis* emerge from X's house, accompanied by a throng of *Sacred* who chase all but members of the society back to their houses. Following them comes Thunder's herald, *Hemdimem*, calling on all to prepare to come to the dance of Thunder, the healing *Sacred* of the supernatural beings. This messenger circles from[illegible] to summon the supernatural ones to Thunder's dance, the reason that all are to dance at X's ceremonial. Immediately behind *Hemdimem* comes *Tlapsi*, the Defamer, protesting that Thunder's dance is not worth attending once he, and he alone, is the sole *Sacred* of the supernatural ones. *Sal'Ulmalnis* with her usual comments to the remarks of the two masked figures. This series of invitations and counter-invitations is repeated four times during the day, to the wonder of the uninitiated who peer out through chinks in the houses and around corners of the buildings. Sometimes *Hemdimem* and *Tlapsi* pass from

[The Dance of Thunder]

[illegible] to physical enjoyment, and one occasion is remembered when the latter was thrown from a cave into the river. 575* 796* 776

In the evening the *Indwiwi* are fit called in, to be followed by the uninitiated in due course. Thunder dances in the manner already described, though if possible, with even more vigour and abandon than when it was only one of the performers in the Mystery dance. Succeeded in that dance, he performs twice, on the second occasion carrying a rattle containing burning shreds of cedar-bark. After each circuit of the central fire, Rainmaker appeared drenches the audience, as rain accompanies a thunderstorm. The dramatic skill displayed is always impressive, and a touch of comic realism is added by the concerted remarks of *Thapsi* who does his utmost to bafflele Thunder. [522]

The time hearer for the expert dancer, *Nisqla*, appears after Rainmaker. When the ceremonial is carried out with care, he wears a skull mask to show that he is ghost who has come from the land below to assist at the ceremony of *Alemalinaxa*. As he leaves cries he sings a wordless *sangel* the dead. The skill of *Nisqla* as a dancer is due to the fact that he is a yearling movements great among supernatural beings. The uninitiated look forward with eagerness to witnessing a remarkable dance, but after a few violent convulsions the performer withdraws, followed by the musicians. [532] [533]

It would be needless repetition to numerate all the supernatural beings who follow, so remarks will be made only of those who are considered especially appropriate to the Thunder dance and who are accordingly shown in almost all occasions. Wawas Wren is a masked figure who hops about in an agile manner similar to that of the bird within earth, and Rabbit Shawine imitates the movements of an earthly rabbit. *Ancilla*-*malaxa* explains to the uninitiated the Thunder would like to [532] make the flesh of animals but that he is too big and too hot to approach them, so sends Wasqulin a his messenger. The masked figure representing that messenger a stick about one foot in length beneath his blanket, so runs around the house [525]

[The Dance of Thunder]

with short, mincing steps. At intervals he pulls forth his stinger and rushes at one of the spectators, poking the weapon at him and humming fiercely. The writer took the part of a supernatural mosquito at one of the dances held in the winter of 1922-3 and remembers the expression of fear on the face of a younger member of the audience when about to be "stung." The victim was certainly afraid on that occasion, and if that feeling could survive the break-down of belief, it is not to be wondered at that fear was universal in the days when the *ḥakaciut* were thought to be possessors of supernatural powers. Another being who often appears at a dance of Thunder is Rainwater-Dropping-from-the-Roof. The masked figure walks slowly around the fire and *Ant'lkwalcais* explains that this is the water which drops from a hole in the plaiting. The Clowns are never omitted, and always cause amusement amid the gravity of the rite. One after another, the supernatural beings appear from the enclosure, circle the fire, and withdraw, accompanied by the sage remarks of *Ant'lkwalcais*. Finally there is a long pause, broken when a masked figure slowly toddles forth. It is Snail, who started at the same time as the other supernatural beings but arrived too late to be present at the dance of Thunder. Snail circles the fire and disappears. At this point the uninitiated are expelled and the rite concludes as usual.

Dances whose patrons are Thunder, Earthquake, Sun, or Moon do not confine their dances to the ceremonial season, but perform whenever a manifestation of their patron occurs. If Thunder is heard, no matter what the time of day or season of year, X stands up and cries out:

"It [he does not refer to Thunder by name] is dancing too lustily up aloft. *Ewe* ...."

The call of *ewe* ... is thought to have a quieting effect on Thunder. Any *ḥakaciut* women present at once dress, then, accompanied by a number of his associates, X proceeds to the lowest house of the village where the same ritual is repeated. This is done in every dwelling, after which X returns home and

2:Mc:Howaith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of Thunder]

the uninitiated are expelled. If several *hakaxiw* in the same village are prestigio of Thunder, each makes a circuit independently, but they agree to meet afterwards in the house of one of their number. Here all members of the society assemble for a meal provided hurriedly by X, or to a number of meals if several have Thunder as patron; in this case there is no pooling of food. The marshals take the opportunity of giving their customary admonitions, as if it were midwinter. Next the singers combine their ideas and beat out a new song of which the theme is Thunder who never rests; it is worded as if X were speaking and describing what his patron is doing. This song is sung and resung until all present have learnt both tune and words. If there are several *hakaxiw* with Thunder as patron, a song is made for each and practised in the same manner.

When all is ready, one of the hawiłła calls to the uninitiated. Each song is sung to the accompaniment of beating sticks while a dancer performs. Instead of X, this is an old man or woman who has not had a call for many years. Often the *hakaxiw* selected is so old that he or she can dance only with the support of a stick; no reason could be learnt for this surprising deviation from the usual practice. If several songs have been composed, a new dancer performs to each. After the last dance the uninitiated are expelled and the *hakaxiw* men follow. Since no call has come, it follows that it is of a ceremonial, though not of a sacred nature, and does not take the regular course of winter dances. It is said to "make good the path of Thunder," the term employed being identical with that used for the dance on subsequent after the burning of the masks.

Nothing more need be said about the Thunder dance, except to give the following origin myth:

Long ago, long before the white man came to this land, but still longer after the first settlement, four brothers left Kimsquit to hunt mountain goats on Mount Pamphlett, near the Kimsquit River.* It was September,

*This mountain is also known as Stump Hill. Salmon Mountain, in deep consultation the fish in question and it is said that long ago, in the very beginning of time, a salmon became purified there.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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the guests were plentiful, fat, and unsuspicious, so that before nightfall they had killed four. Well satisfied, they lay down in a cave to sleep for the night. At that time no one knew what supernatural being caused thunder; the earliest inhabitants of the world had possessed that knowledge but it had been forgotten in the intervening generations. Towards midnight the hunters were awakened by a loud boom and wondered what could have caused it. Presently they saw approaching a figure resembling a man, with a weird nonhuman face, who carried in each hand a huge rock crystal.* He raised and lowered his arms as if pounding, as each movement the crystals struck each other, producing the booming sound and also emitting a flash of light. The elder brother, *Sadi*, told the others to cover their faces with their blankets and to keep their eyes closed, because some evil and powerful creature was drawing near. But the second brother, who had caught a glimpse of the two crystals and greatly desired them, watched curiously, hoping for an opportunity to steal them. Thunder, for it was none other, ranged around, at intervals he passed across to the other side of the intervening valley on a sidewalk which grew before his feet to form a bridge for him, and as it, too, he was able to recover his steps. Several times Thunder crossed and recrossed, accompanied by reverberating peals. He came near the four brothers and danced, then lay down while he emerged from his mantle. The second brother began to feel excited, gradually the feet movement, but to was powerless to move, before dawn, when Thunder vanished, he had been crushed to death.

The three survivors buried the dead man in a hastily made grave in the face of the cave and were home, abandoning the mountain game which they had killed. *Sadi*, though grieved at the loss of his brother, felt that the latter's death was his own fault for paying when he had been warned not to do so. Not long afterwards the two younger brothers died. Then the sole survivor told a carpenter to make him a mask according to a design which he could describe. In this way the face of Thunder was portrayed in wood. When the mask was ready, *Sadi* wore it and gave an imitation of the actions of his parents, as one had even seen anything like it and the people were amazed.

No great antiquity is ascribed to this myth and it gives no explanation of questions which at once arise in the reader's mind. The type is fairly common in Bella Coola; in fact, the only unusual part of it is that the visionary received a further prerogative rather than one of the forms of good for-

*This is said to have been equivalent to the bracelets of a Thunder dancer.

2:McIlwraith K-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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came previously described. To the Bella Coola philosopher, apparently no explanation is needed of the manner in which *Sacks* was allowed to use his experience as the basis of a *Sacrier* dance. The assumption is that he was a *Sacrier* at the time of his experience, although this is not clearly stated. The last to use the name died about 1900, each *Sacks* having had the prerogative of giving the Thunder dance.

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THE GHOST DANCE*

Among the numerous patrons of *Sacrier* dances are Ghosts. The term, *Acksaskas*, applied to a shaman whose power is derived from a ghost, is also applied to *Sacrier* with one as patron, but the two functionaries must not be confused. It is a fairly common prerogative and there are Ghost dances in every village, their right depending in every case on some experience of an encounter with a ghost. The following is an account of the manner in which *Sapsac of Tsimsit* performed his ritual, it may be regarded as typical of all, and the dancer can be referred to as X.

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At any time during the ceremonial season X consults with the *masksals* to decide upon a suitable time for his performance. On the evening preceding, normally the guest of some other *Sacrier*, the *masksals* seem that his call is imminent. X makes his final arrangements and asks the assistance of a number of his fellows.

When the relevant rites of the following evening have been completed and the uninitiated have returned to their own houses, they are startled to hear whistling from the forest near at hand. It is not the inconsiderably profound sound that accompanies the coming of a call, but random whistling with the mouth; everyone knows that this is the language of ghosts. A violation from them is by no means unknown, and always dreaded, so at once there is excitement and everyone screams in the bedrooms. Presently lantrils go through the village

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*This ceremonial is implied with the dance of the same name among Indians of other coastal areas.

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[The Ghost Dance]

[Ref] 595 *996 787 [Ref]

announcing that the dead have come with a call for X. Meanwhile a number of *bakaiai* assemble in the dancer's house where he strips off his clothing and covers himself with dirt and ashes. In all other *bacial* dances the performer dresses to beautify himself, or at least to blacken or put his face according to some definite pattern, but X's aims to increase the appearance of the dead who are conventionally untidy.

After some delay, X rushes forth in the midst of his cort and enters the lowest house of the village. The frightened occupants are hiding in their bedrooms, but they peer through cracks and watch X as he bends to the floor, picks up handfuls of dirt and throws them wildly in all directions, heedless of what damage he may do. It is obvious that he is frenzied and mad, like Cannibals who have received their calls. His *bacial* associates pretend to restrain him, but he always overcomes their efforts and continues to hurl dirt. At last he withdraws, goes to the next house and there repeats the performance. This is done in every dwelling in the village. Most of the occupants in X's own house have it so soon as the *bakaiai* begin to assemble, and by the time all others have fled, as they hear the party returns there are only members of the society present. The frightened non-members hear the frenzied howling of the as efforts are made to cure X of his madness, but without avail. Soon a sound of wailing is heard, and the heralds come and announcing that X has vanished—the dead have returned. The *bakaiai* spend the rest of the night in his house, only listening to speeches from the mourners, and dispersed next dawn.

X's return to the land of the dead is of varying length. Occasionally he returns on the night of his disappearance, having been absent only a few hours, or he may remain in hiding for several weeks. The usual time for his reappearance is the night after his departure, and with him always come a number of ghosts. The ritual on his return is always the same, irrespective of the duration of his absence.

At dusk the heralds call the *bakaiai* to X's house there

[The Ghost Dance]

they sit in silence, awaiting his arrival. Presently word is sent 575*
to him, for he is always hiding near, and he comes through the 796*
door and sits near the fire. But he does not resemble the man
who left the village. His face and body have been stained [787]
green with crushed leaves, in imitation of the colour of the [302]
dead; in his hand he carries a bone, said to be part of the leg
of a dead man, though in reality it is from a deer. After him
the ghosts enter one by one. They are a number of *kukwiut*
who have been painted black and green to give them an un- [302]
earthly appearance; there is no fixed pattern, each following
his own, or the carpenter's ideas of the uncanny, though the
body colour on which the other tints are smeared is usually
white. Each dead man has a special name and each acts
accordingly in an eccentric way. One enters walking back-
wards, another hops on one leg, and a third walks on his [775]
hands—because ghosts always act in the opposite manner to
mortals. Each trills in a peculiar way and performs something
like a dance, waving his arms to and fro, up and down, con-
stantly pointing with one finger, before lying down close to the
central fire. With them enters a woman with painted face, [776]
clad in a blanket and carrying a basket on her back; she is
Alpwalas, who gathers berries in the land of the dead. She
begins to go around picking up any small articles that she sees
and depositing them in her basket, from which anyone picks
them out at will and returns them to the places whence they
had been taken. One of the first actors to appear carries a
stick for time beating, and acts as leader of the ghost singers.
Whenever a spark from the fire lights on one of the dead,
causing the latter to jump, the leader pounds violently with
his stick. When all are present, the leader beats time and they
commence to leave. Ghosts are fickles, however; consequently, [775]
instead of going straight to the door, some go in one direction,
some in another, but all are at length shepherded outside. X
and his visitors, with a large number of *kukwiut*, go to every
house in the village repeating the same procedure, in silence,
except for the trill of the dead men. The uninitiated do not

[The Ghost Dance]

*575 leave their bedrooms, but peer curiously and fearfully around
*796 the edge of the boards. Finally the party returns to X's house, whence the uninitiated hear the sound of sticks being beaten in a frenzied manner, but without the usual rhythmic cadence. Each *kwaiat* beats as he likes, because it is an affair
[775] of the dead with whom all things are queer and unnatural.

*575 The ghosts wash and take their places in X's house where
*796 the singers are working on a new song. The words, as if spoken
775 by the dancer, describe the land of the dead; how everything
533 is green there; how the river flows from west to east so that the sun travels upstream; how the shades wished to make him a chief, and deceived him by not giving proper presents; how he visited the various towns scattered along the river, finding the bone in one of the houses; and finally how the dead told him of any mistakes in ritual that had been committed in the Bella Coola villages, in Kimsquit, or in *Tal'ea*. This last is, of course, common knowledge, but the Ghost dance is the only *kwaiat* ceremonial in which such information is used in the text of a song. Details are given, but the wording is so ambiguous that when the uninitiated later hear the song they do not comprehend its meaning. Since the *kwaiat* have concealed the error referred to, the necessity for veiled allusions is apparent. Everything connected with the Ghost dance is carried out in the reverse order; thus, the reference of X to presents which he did not receive is merely an intimation that he will presently bestow gifts on the singers and the other *kwaiat* who have assisted him. The wordless chorus of the song consists of
[791] 'aiyi'aiyaiyi, a phrase said to be the same for Ghost dances among all the coastal tribes. The songs are sung in a set, while the audience listens attentively; then it is sung vigor-
*575 ously by all, while X dances. His style differs from that of all
*796 other *kwaiat*; first one arm and then the other is kept extended, downwards, at an angle in front of the body with the
535 forefinger pointing to the ground. This method of dancing is
424 the prerogative of all Ghost dancers and provides a variation to the somewhat monotonous performances on different occasions.

2:Mc:Ilwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Ghost Dance]

qulem. When the dance has ended, X gives presents; first to each spectator, and then to those who have assisted him, starting with the singers. This is the last event of the evening and the *kukwiut* disperse. 575* 796* [931]

The *farrow* of doing things in the reverse order appears not only in actions, but in the order of the ceremonies. Those just described, although at the beginning of the *ceremonies*, resemble a *sukwam* in many respects. Consequently, it is not surprising that the next night is *qulem*. The singers are the first to assemble and they compose a second song for X, with the same theme but different words and tune to that already prepared. Meanwhile the *kukwiut* are gathering and when they have learnt the new song, the uninitiated are summoned. No enclosure has been built, and X is much in evidence. His body has been painted green with a preparation of grass rubbed in water, he wears the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a kind of head-dress with a triangular projection over his forehead. His two songs are sung, and X dances vigorously to each in the manner just described. This is followed by the customary *qulem* ritual, *kwiut* after *kwiut* dancing as the singers beat out his two songs. Finally a Cannibal begins to growl fiercely in one of the rear corners and the uninitiated fan hurriedly. The *kukwiut* set together, listening to the admonitions and remarks of the marshals, and then X dances once more. Among the peculiarities of the Ghost dance is the fact that the call may be returned at this point, or X may again become mad, according to the wishes of the marshals. If they desire a further display of his insanity, he rushes out as soon as he has finished dancing and proceeds to the lowest house of the village. A number of *kukwiut* follow him, and engage in a struggle to prevent him from picking up handfuls of dirt from the floor and throwing them in all directions in an aimless manner. As a matter of fact his guardians take care that X hurls approximately the same amount in each house, as none of them is willing to have more damage done in his own house than in others. After a visit to each dwelling, the party returns to 575* 796* 787 [312] [292] [533]

[The Ghost Dance]

*575 *796 [797] X's, where he is soothed by the four times repeated frenzied beating of sticks and his call returned whence it came.

During the rest of the ceremonial season X becomes mad at intervals and displays his insanity by rushing to every house and throwing dirt and sand. His *Sekeiar* escort is always with him, and the procedure is identical with that already recorded. X makes no recompense for the damage inflicted, so it is probable that his fellows do not regard his dance as an unmitigated pleasure, but nothing can be done to deter him from exercising his prerogative.

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THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CHARMER

*575 *796 796 [522] [831] Although the Bella Coola are probably as moral as members of any other tribe, they enjoy humour of an obscene nature, and a dance which never fails to provide amusement is that of the Supernatural Charmer. The person of this is *Sainsuimuh*, a beautiful, unmarried, feminine being who is also named *Mlqmin* and *Nuuhmaitum*. She is thought to disregard the efforts of her supernatural relatives to marry her, and comes to this earth where she bestows her favours not only on human beings, but on animals. Her prestige at Kimsquit is a young man, *Ellaiaiah*, at Bella Coola, a young woman, *Kuuhmu*; like all other *Sekeiar* names these can be used either by men or women. It is said that *Ellaiaiah*'s prerogative is derived from the experience of an ancestor in past ages, whereas that of *Kuuhmu* was inherited from generations ago by a very powerful chief. The ritual in each case is identical, so the dancer can be referred to as X. Each has the prerogative of singing not only of *Sainsuimuh*, but also of the being known as *Wiwinumuh*. Many months are required at the rehearsals of either

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of these beings, so it is customary for X to perform with respect to *Sainsuimuh* one year, and to *Wiwinumuh* at the next or a subsequent ceremonial season, though the actual songs always refer to both persons.

*796 *575 When X wishes to dance he consults the mandals, obtains their consent, and then makes final arrangements as, normally,

Z: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
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the *gulon* of another dancer. Next night the call comes to him in the ordinary manner, and the heralds go through the village announcing what has taken place. The uninitiated are expelled at once from X's house and the *tsalaxiut* promptly assemble to listen to the song being composed by the singers. The theme is of *Sainxcimuk*; how she came down from above and travelled all over the world shamelessly luring men and animals; how various supernatural beings tried to restrain her without success; how she went to the house of *Sqil* and was trying to seduce several young men living there when *Wiwaxwaxwa* appeared and endeavoured to make her behave herself, but without avail. The song then describes *Wiwaxwaxwa* who seems to be a warm wind, engaged in a never-ending duel with the cold winds.* No detailed description is required for the ritual of *nuxnuxtilag*, where a second song with the same theme is composed, or of *gulon*, since these follow the typical *Sainxcimuk* pattern.

During the afternoon of *nuxnuxtilag*, the *tsalaxiut gulon* in X's house to try on the completed masks and make the final arrangements. Whistles sound as continuously that the uninitiated remain either within their own homes or near them, ready to hide in the bedrooms if necessary. Within X's house the carpenters are supervising the choice of masks; a Raven mask able to speak like a woman is, as usual, chosen to represent *Sqil'tlamkum*; another with similar qualifications is selected for *Sainxcimuk*, while the other masks can be worn by almost anyone. Presently a strange procession leaves X's house and enters the lower house of the village where the uninitiated leave for the inner rooms, but watch proceedings through cracks between the boards. First comes X himself, his face blackened and wearing the usual collar. He remains standing near the door and watches as *Sainxcimuk* enters and slowly proceeds around the central fire; she wears a mask representing a young and beautiful woman. Behind her come her lovers,

*Valuable information concerning the identification of *Wiwaxwaxwa* masks can be obtained.

[The Dance of the Supernatural Charmer]

each wearing the mask of a man and each with the clothing and distinctive marks of a particular tribe: Tsimshian, Haida, Bella Bella, Rivers Inlet, China Hat, Kitimat, Fort Rupert, Smith Inlet, Cowichan, and as many more as X has wished, not forgetting Bella Coola itself. On at least one occasion representations of a white man and of a Chinese were used. Sometimes instead of one, there are two of each tribe. Each figure pretends to be pursuing *Saimseimdt* and keeps up a running fire of complaints:

"She left me for a worthless man; oh! how unhappy I am," says one, and another adds:

"Alas, I enjoyed her only once."

Each uses his own imagination in making comments, frequently drawing on personal experiences with faithless women. *Ana'kkwulnaic* explains everything, and the heralds echo the remarks. *Saimseimdt* looks around for a handsome young *kaniat* woman and says to her:

"How many men have known you?"

The heralds repeat the question and tell the woman not to be bashful, but to speak the truth. It is considered excessively funny for her to answer a number in the hundreds, even more than the tale of *Saimseimdt*'s lovers. This is a time when obscene remarks are allowed and, indeed, expected. A short distance behind the hurrying procession of those who have loved *Saimseimdt* and are still allured by her, comes a supernatural being disguised under the mask of an old man. He is her father, who keeps giving her good advice and begging her to forsake her evil ways, but she pays no attention to him. Finally, just as she is about to leave, there enters an old, old man with white hair and a wrinkled face; he totters in leaning heavily upon a stick and calling to the woman to wait for him. She heeds him not, but goes out of the house while he staggers feebly around the fire, voicing his complaints and his appeals. *Ana'kkwulnaic* explains that he is *Sinqtcac*, who fell under the spell of *Saimseimdt* long ago in his youth, and for whom her beauty had such a fatal attraction that he has followed her

[The Dance of the Supernatural Charmer]

ever since. Pity for strangers is not a strong Bella Coola 575*
sentiment and the audience laughs heartily at the spectacle 796*
of the doddering old man in vain pursuit of a heartless woman
who is forever young. A considerable number of *kukuciut* [522]
always accompany the procession, pushing their way out with [609]
Ano'kkwalaxis and *Simpraxi*. Several of them carry whistles [152]
concealed beneath their arm-pits and the noise of these serves
to maintain the dignity of the occasion.

So many masked figures are used that all cannot accompany *Xoimxoimdi* into each house. Those unable to do so remain on the sidewalk outside, holding one of her lovers, a live male mountain goat. At the next house another group of the charmer's victims enters and the ceremonial just described is repeated. The same is carried out at every dwelling in the village. *Xoimxoimdi* and her followers stop a few minutes in X's house before starting out on a second round, in which the same ritual is carried out. This is done twice more, so that each house is visited four times.

By this time dusk has fallen and all the *kukuciut* except those acting as escort to X have gathered in his house. Presently the uninitiated are called in. *Xoimxoimdi* is standing on a low box behind the fire, encouraging her masked lovers to come to her, and bestowing her affections indiscriminately in a heartless manner. The rivals shove each other to and fro realistically and though blows are not actually exchanged, great care must be taken to prevent masks from falling in the [522]
mock encounter. The efforts of the unfortunate *Simpraxi* to
reach his desire are always a source of merriment. *Ano'kkwalaxis* as usual explains the significance of it all. Sometimes a cradle is brought in, over which *Xoimxoimdi* croons while a [533]
song is sung, describing her as the mother of many creatures of whom the fathers are animals. It is uncertain whether this part of the ceremony takes place before or after the sham fight or, indeed, whether it is not another type of *nakamu* which X can use at will. The ritual concludes in the normal way with the expulsion of the uninitiated, the dancing of *Ano'kkwalaxis*,

*575 *796 the burning of the masks, the dancing of X, and the return of his call.

During a later season when a call comes to X, the ritual deals with *Wiwaintwal*, but only the outline of the ceremony could be learnt. The theme of the two songs composed for the occasion is of *Wiwaintwal* and how he fights with his enemies, the cold winds. His only weapons are fierce roaring and a belligerent expression, but these suffice to keep his adversaries at a distance, especially his principal foeman, the evil wind, *Nacdáqoo*.

[533]

There is no deviation from the usual type of *kwoiat* ceremonial until the day of *sulaxaw* when a fight takes place at the river's edge where all, including the uninitiated, can see it. The *kulaxiat* of the village are divided into two parties, of which one comes from upstream, the other from below, meeting in front of X's house. The leaderless combatants shove each other two and fro, without actually coming to blows. *Wiwaintwal* remains behind one party, encouraging his warriors by his roars, while *Nacdáqoo* spurs on his supporters by valiant gestures, without daring to come too near the combat. *Wiwaintwal*'s followers finally win the day and drive back the other party. *Ancl'kwalcaic* is much in evidence, explaining to the uninitiated, who cower in the shelter of the houses, that this is the way in which the winds fight in the land above. That evening non-members are called to X's house where they witness a combat of the same type. The ceremonial concludes in the usual manner.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL LOVER

[524] Another *kwoiat* ceremonial which closely resembles that just described is the prerogative of a young Bella Coola woman named *Qwa'nalt* who inherited it from her mother's mother's sister's son. It will be convenient to refer to her as X.

When X wishes to dance, she first obtains the consent of the marshals in the normal manner and chooses a convenient day for the coming of her call. Then the *kulaxiat* gather in

[533]

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[The Dance of the Supernatural Lover]

her house while the singers compose a new song. The theme is of her patron, the young male being, *K'uat ixal-a*, "The Big One." It describes how he came from above and went far and near over the earth in lustful pursuit of women, how each victim fell in love with her seducer so that she followed him in all his wanderings, how Loon befriended him, and how he exchanged his blanket for a covering of abalone-shells. 575 * 796 * [538] [796]

On *nacuxtilap* when the *tsalaxiut* as usual go to the forest, they bring back not only wood for masks but also the trunk of a large cedar tree, at which the carpenters work during the two succeeding days. On *nakacum* a parade occurs of the supernatural beings similar to that in the dance of the Supernatural Charmer, but the masked figures represent women, not men, of the different coastal tribes. *K'uat ixal-a* leads the procession and pays no more attention to his mistresses than did *Sxinxcimult* to her would-be lovers. There is the same licence for lewd remarks, of which *K'uat ixal-a* takes full advantage when he calls the attention of the young men to his following, and asks them how many mistresses each has had. [532] [381] [222]

In the evening the uninitiated are called to X's house where the first object they see is the tree-trunk, converted by the carpenters into an enormous bird. Wooden wings and a loon's head have been provided and the whole is painted in imitation of a loon's plumage. *K'uat ixal-a* is in evidence, wearing a bird disguise. Presently a matting enclosure in one of the rear corners of the house is thrown open, and the uninitiated see the throng of his mistresses who rush forth, almost coming to blows in their eagerness to reach their seducer. *Ax'ilkwulaxie* stands on one side and explains the significance. After the mock combat has lasted for a few minutes, a Cannibal begins to growl and the uninitiated hurry out. The ceremonial then concludes in the usual manner. [532]

This dance differs from all other *tsaxiut* rites in one respect, since the call can come to X several times during a single ceremonial season. Of course there is no compulsion; she uses her own discretion as to whether she dances more than once, [424]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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but a proud and energetic dancer sometimes repeats a ceremony three or four times.

THE SUN DANCE[21]

One of the forms in which *Alquntăm* appears is that of the Sun, and in that case he is referred to as *Sunxălotla*. Considering the importance of this deity, it is rather surprising that the *kusiut* dance of which he is patron is not more impressive. Efforts were made to obtain full details of the ceremonial from several informants, but only a number of incidents and a bare outline could be obtained. In part this was due to the fact that none of the informants[22] were themselves protégés of *Alquntăm*, but this is not in itself sufficient to explain the comparative unimportance of the dance, since full accounts were obtained of other rituals from those who did not own them.

Nothing was learnt of the origin of any of the Sun dance prerogatives, except that ancestors of the owners obtained them from *Alquntăm*. It is a common right, and *kukusiut* having *Alquntăm* as patron are found in every village, among them being *Qoxelăn-i* of *Tsmotl*, and *Naxnaxliwalaix* of *Nusqalst*. As far as could be ascertained, the ritual of various Sun dance performances is identical, so one account will suffice and the dancer can be termed X.

Like other *kusiut* dancers, X can perform at any time during the ceremonial season, subject to the approval of the marshals. The call comes to him in the normal manner, the uninitiated are expelled, and the *kukusiut* gather in his house to practise the songs which the singers have just composed. The theme is of *Alquntăm*, describing his manifold functions, and particularly that of guiding the Sun. The following day a second song with similar theme is composed, and in the evening the tasks are allotted for the manufacture of masks. Four are required; a large one representing *Alquntăm* himself, one of

[21] Needless to say, no connection or similarity is implied with the dance of the same name in other areas.

[22] Except one man who had forgotten all details since his conversion to Christianity many years before.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Sun Dance]

Ano'likwolsaix, and two of the supernatural Clowns. In addition a white disk, about four feet in diameter, is ordered with a human face in the centre; this represents the Sun with *Alquntäm*. No detailed description is required until the night of *nohusam*. 575* 746* [532]

The *kukusiut* gather in the dusk and summon the uninitiated as soon as all is in readiness. On entering, they see the huge and imposing figure of *Alquntäm* standing in the centre of the space behind the fire, flanked by a number of the most important *kukusiut* as if to pay respect to him. X stands immediately behind, repeatedly throwing one arm over *Alquntäm*'s head and crying *hoip* to soothe the visitor. The two Clowns move to and fro, all over the house, making what remarks they like as if they were spoilt children. *Ano'likwolsaix* stands on one side, explaining the meaning of it all, and giving the names of the supernatural beings represented. Suddenly the white disk appears against the back wall near the roof, slowly passes sunwise across the house, and disappears. The uninitiated recognize that it is not the Sun, but to them it seems miraculous that this body can move as it does, and they easily accept *Ano'likwolsaix*'s explanation that this is the way *Alquntäm* crosses the heavens. They do not know that for the last two days the carpenters have been exercising their ingenuity in arranging cords so that the object can be drawn across smoothly and steadily. Again the sun "rises," and crosses the back wall, only to disappear from sight. This is repeated twice more, making four times in all. It is said that sometimes the Sun is made to spin just before it "sets," but the method could not be learnt. At this juncture the uninitiated are sent home and the proceedings conclude as usual. [522] [821]

In addition to performing in the customary manner, X is required to dance on other definite occasions, without the coming of a call. According to some informants, X must sing of his patron at the beginning of the ceremonial season, coincidently with the protégé of *Nodkynem*. This is probably correct but details were unobtainable. In any case, when the [424]

[Re Sun Dance]

* 575 *796 [124] [121] dance of *Nuklemem* is omitted owing to the large expenditure required, X must sing, without a call, in conjunction with the *Wi'a* dancer. In this case also the details are lacking.

Likewise at the winter solstice, when the carrying *Mqumem* at last enters *Nuqulvumiza* to greet the waiting supernatural *Sukwiat*, it is incumbent on his prodigi to perform in his honour below. The singers are always ready with a new song for the occasion, and in the evening his fellows assemble in his house to learn it. X wears the usual ceremonial collar, but he lacks the awe-inspiring qualities of a *Sucier* who has had a call. When the song has been sufficiently practised, the uninitiated are brought in to listen to it and to watch the dancing of X. At the conclusion of the performance they are given a little food, provided by X, which they carry away while the *Sukwiat* remain to eat at their ease and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. It is probable that the ritual carried out at the beginning of the ceremonial season is identical with the above. [121] One old man stated that long ago it was customary to dance in the same manner at the summer solstice; this might be expected, but confirmation was unobtainable.

Like the prodigi of Thunder, X is sometimes called upon to perform during the non-ceremonial season. But whereas a Thunder dancer acts when his person is apparent by peals of sound, X must do so when his person is invisible through an eclipse.* The ritual is almost identical with that already described for a Thunder dancer so nothing but additional details need be inserted. X visits every house shaking a rattle, which is not the case with Thunder dancers. After his circuit of the village, the *Sukwiat* gather in his house where the singers are [533] composing a new song describing the phenomenon. The words explain that Eclipse, the supernatural being *Nuqulvi*, has blocked or destroyed the path of the Sun, and add how disastrous it would be if the Sun could not recover its way. Later on, the uninitiated are called in to watch X's dance which, like

* 575 *796 [121]

*The Bella Coola term both for "eclipse" and the being responsible is *Nuqulvi*, which also means "A Fire That Has Died Out."

[796] [192]

the sun that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make good the peril" of the patient. It would formerly have been a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with death by the marshals. One informant vividly recalled his fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his conversion to Christianity, and concluded that he had been in deadly peril from the marshals in spite of the white man's law.

THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron to Social dancers, the Moon also has many human principles. Among them is *Nakwindo*, "The Moon When It Is Unobscured," of *Tomoi*, from whom the following account of the Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as *X*.

The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to *X*'s wishes and the consent of the marshals. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *Sahaviar* presently assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

Kitsilinam:[a] A woman who lives in the moon and who can be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of water.

The two *Kipmatiar*: These two beings are able periodically to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse.

The two *Sakwindo ar*:[b] These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who cause or earth to assist witches *Sahaviar*.

The song also describes how an supernatural being dares to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition similar to that observed by uninitiated with respect to passing outside a house where a *Sahaviar* ceremony is taking place.

[a] Jenkinson's the usual name for place, no reason was given for the application of the same designation to the women living in the moon.

[b] There is difference of opinion among the Sahaviar as to whether or not there is more than one of these beings.

[illegible]

[illegible] THE WILLIS CIRCLE EXPEDITION

[illegible] The detailed description is needed for the commencement of other instructions or guides. On the evening of the former day the cradle are unbroken, one for *Arcturus*, who appears to be confined with the Moon itself, one for each *Alpheratz*, one for each *Deneb*, and one for *Rasalhague*.

Late in the afternoon the *Galactic* assembly in X's house is see that everything is in good shape. A large oval has been opened across the back wall of the house and on it a disk representing the Moon, with a human face in the middle. When the usual formalities the assistants are called in. Eight *Galactic* a mission assembly alone in the two back corners of the house, while the two *Alpheratz* are in the central space behind the fire, constantly moving their arms to and fro. Suddenly the Moon itself appears against the evening. A carpenter, concealed behind the screen, directs to course so that it drawn in a chart are across the background and disappears. *Rasalhague* explains to the assistants that this is the track of the new Moon, low down on the horizon. A second time it "rises," and moves across in a longer and higher curve, which *Rasalhague* says is the longer orbit of the coming Moon. On its third course it is still higher, and on its fourth appearance it moves across the full width of the house over the roof, which *Rasalhague* describes as the course of the full Moon, far above the mountains. He also explains that we are indebted to *Galactic* a for showing the Moon's face after the *Alpheratz* have blackened it, as otherwise no light would be visible. This ends the spectacle, the assistants are now away, and the ceremonial concludes in the manner already described.

This constitutes the Moon dance as practised during the ceremonial season, but in addition it is required to dance whenever the person is hidden by an eclipse. On such occasions the ritual is identical with that described for an eclipse of the Sun.

[illegible] THE DANCE OF THE [illegible]

One of the disciples who came to visit in the beginning of this [illegible], whose name was [illegible] has given this to me able to write by [illegible] from the and now is publishing, and this [illegible] every [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[The Dance of the Murdered Slave]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

This ceremony is an example of the great diversity in Bactar dances. Instead of the usual person in the hand circle, the dance woman is considered to be definitely located on the earth, at a spot near Siam. Moreover, the call comes through her actual appearance. The writer would have liked to have further details of the dance, but they were unobtainable.

THE DANCE OF THE CROW

Since every Bella Coola has, at the present time, some sort of Bactar dance, it would have been possible to collect the details of a large number. Only the main outlines of the dances which follow were obtained, but it is hoped that the complexity of those already described will suffice to explain the scope of the Bactar society. In some cases the details were omitted to save time, in other cases the informant was ignorant of them. The latter cases is responsible for the shortness of the Crow dance.

This ritual is the prerogative of a Bushbi Bactar, Yendjo-i, "The Crow," a name which refers to the die when the first Sun* collapsed in the beginning of time. Presumably one of Yendjo-i's ancestors was present at the fall and chose the name in consequence. The dancer's person is the hand circle, but the connection between this animal and the name has been forgotten, as the father of the performer frankly admitted. He suggested that probably one of his ancestors remembered having seen an crow before coming to this world, and chose it as patron for a dance which he instituted with respect to the name Yendjo-i. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X.

X can perform at any convenient period during the ceremonial season. When the call comes, the ritual of the first three days follows normally, except that the songs usually are supposed to have been unknown. Before sunrise the sequences prepare a dummy crow, using a skin stretched over a wooden framework. A long rope is fastened to this and the figure thrown into the water so that it sways to and fro

[The Dance of the Otter]

THE BOLLA CUSTOMS [illegible]

below a rapids. Case is taken that the uninitiated do not observe these arrangements. Bleat soon as sunset the heralds go to every house with a cry:

"Come to watch the Burar with the supernatural one in the river."

The uninitiated are wise enough to remain within their houses as the *Saburiat* troop down to the bank of the river. Presently X appears, clad in the usual ceremonial costume. He is given, as it is pursuit of the dark shape which can be seen swirling to and fro in the water. Non-members, watching from the background, are amused to see what appears to be a struggle, followed by the emergence of X clutching an otter in his arms. They are too far away to perceive that it is merely a dummy, nor do they know that a *Burar* has caused the performer by cutting the rope at the proper time. As X reaches shore with his burden the *Saburiat* women dance. Forcing his way through the throng of his admirers, the performer goes to his house where the uninitiated presently hear the funeral beating of drums repeated four times. The dummy is carefully concealed in the back-room so that it can be used if necessary on a later occasion.

As X comes ashore, water is splashed in all directions from the dummy and also dumped several of the *Saburiat*. Everyone to whom this happens is expected to give his clothes to a herald, and a man of civil disposition never hesitates to do so; in fact, he welcomes this opportunity of displaying his generous nature.

It is probable that a number of medical figures appear on the evening of *saburam*, but detailed information is lacking. It might be added that a question as to whether the catching of this otter had any influence on the ability of X as an otter hunter was repeated by the informant as highly humorous.

THE OTTERS [illegible]

In the beginning of time *Dinnat* of *Kinnapit* married a Bolla Bolla woman who brought as part of her dowry a *burar*

dance with Ortegua as patron. This was first used by Salgmanti, a relative of Grimpoli, and has since been the prerogative of the owner of the name, whom it will be convenient to call X. Being of foreign origin, there is no equivalent in Kimaqui; in fact, there is none even in Bulu Bulu itself, where the Dorter society is believed to lack both healing power and secretal authority.* The Ortegua dance is thus the only one without a repository, so far as could be learnt it is not performed in Bulu Cuala. In Bulu Bulu the original site was connected both with the crash and Dorter repository, but in Kimaqui with the latter alone.

When X wishes to dance, which may be at any time during the ceremonial season, he consults the manikin and picks a suitable date. On this happy day, the carpenters are requested to make an ortegua, sometimes using a wooden as basis. On the day that the call comes, the dummy is placed in the water of the fort, close to shore. Suddenly the bandit raises the cry that a supernatural being is coming to X. The assembled ministrant flee from his house and the Dorter assemble. Presently the dancer rushes forth, followed by a band of his fellows, and plunges into the water. From a distance non-members can see arms and legs flying to and fro, blood flows as the Dorter struggling in the shallows strike each other's crown, and they have no hesitation in believing the bandit who reports that a fight is taking place with a writhing ortegua. X is not known to have whom, until the drawing of the number.

That night the ministrant are called to X's house where the dummy ortegua, guarded by the dancer and several other Dorter, is placed behind the fire. Bamboo strings have been fastened to its arms so that it moves and seems to be alive. One of the singers takes a horse and beats time, steps, and all the Dorter call out [illegible]. This is repeated four times, accompanied, on the last repetition, by the return of the ortegua whence it came. This is done by pulling the body from sight, but of course the ministrant do not know this. X

* This is, of course, a Bulu Cuala version.

[The Octopus Dance]

[illegible]

[illegible] Crowded begins to grow and soon the Dancers are left alone in the house. The singers have set a new song for Ŧ and the crowd continues the dance of any other functions. No description is needed for the ceremonial that occurs on succeeding evening.

On the evening of sabbath the ceremonial are commenced in the course. The exact number of medical figures dance would not be known, but among them is always an octopus. The rite concludes in the usual manner.

The presents given in connection with the Octopus dance are more valuable than those bestowed at most burial rituals, accordingly some but wealthy people are able to carry it out. The hamlets especially are always benefitted.

[illegible]

One of the most peculiar and irregular of burial dances is that performed by a certain Ŧ[illegible], whose ŧ will be known as ŧ. Its patron is the supernatural woman Ŧ[illegible] Dark-Shade, whose home is beneath the thick overgrowth of the river valley, thus explaining the darkness and shadows found in such places. Ŧ's repository is beneath some large rubber near the northern side of the Bala Cada valley, a few hundred yards above the end of the fort; it is probable that other dances with the same patron have repositories in other dark and gloomy spots.

When Ŧ wishes to dance he must as usual obtain consent from the mandals who hold that he (she) the performance and when the adepts or mellors. The reason is because the patron, Dark-Shade, alone of all supernatural beings, has the power to open every repository. Ŧ brings her to the village and in consequence calls come to every dwelling[illegible] which would be unbearable during the first ten weeks of the season. On the evening of the day selected for the beginning of the dance, Ŧ sends away from the village with three or four dancers,

[illegible] repository is the one in the cell near the repository, as has the best dance, the commonly dance.

[The Dance of the Dark-Shade]

[illegible]

575*
796*

[illegible] Dark-Shade.

[illegible] and his companions are utilizing the last hours of daylight to collecting a large quantity of gum. They build a fire, and by its flickering light the dance is carried out gum so carefully that even his mark and nails are invisible, a fact suggestive to spectators Dark-Shade. Early the following morning the singers and their hitherto idle have almost danced during the current season are all on hand cover a [illegible] and his party when they arrive on board. Wearing of the idle is favourable, the canoes are [illegible] on the river. As they come in sight of the village, the singers strike up some [illegible] tune, and in time to it everyone on the platform between the canoes begins to dance, each using the side proper to his prerogative. It is an unusual scene. The natives [illegible] the approach, and gaze with wonder upon the strange dark figure. It is all so unusual that they must hide angry from the hitherto to withdraw to their houses, where the [illegible] through chinks in the walls. Members of the [illegible] from the river bank and, as Dark-Shade draws near, an [illegible] cries out that a call has come to him. The [illegible] have previously decided who shall dance in this [illegible] and informed them accordingly, sometimes it is a dance [illegible] already performed once during the season, or it may be [illegible] who has not performed for many years.

575*
796*
787

All the natives accompany Dark-Shade and his [illegible] to [illegible] from which all mentioned have long been [illegible]. The singers compose a new song of which the words are [illegible] as if Dark-Shade, not [illegible], were speaking. The dance [illegible] of one, and a number of years ago, is:

575*
796*
[539]

"Let [illegible] each one in [illegible] moments."

Unfortunately, the details of [illegible] dance were unavailable. Dark-Shade herself remains for four days hidden within [illegible] house, though he attends the ceremonies of other [illegible] of his presence there on the nights of [illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible] means of one to the uninitiated, who marvel that a man can [illegible] still appear like an ordinary mortal when he has just brought a supernatural visitor home. According to one informant who, however, is not well versed on *hamatsa* matters, there is neither guise nor subterfuge, and Dark-Shade is merely seen every after four days. This may be the case, but the dance has not been carried out for many years, and the man frankly admitted that he did not know the details. It seems more likely that there is some kind of ceremony, since a song would not be composed unless for a definite purpose.

The coming of Dark-Shade complicates the *hamatsa* ceremonial since a number of dancers receive their calls simultaneously. In this case the ritual is carried out in unison which requires, for example, the composition of one song for each performer on *hamatsa*. Calls never come in this way to dancers with important or complicated prerogatives, but it is a useful means of dealing with those whose right is merely to sing of their patrons. On subsequent the patrons of all are displayed, a method which has the advantage of producing a dramatic effect which would be lacking if only one were in evidence. The coming of a call by means of Dark-Shade is called *nulmalmat*, "Emerging from Below to Plain Sight." Another time when several calls may come simultaneously to different *hamatsa* is at the winter solstice when, on the entry of *Hamatsa*, the supernatural beings rush forth and some of them fall, causing calls to come to their human protégés.

THE MAN WHO WAS OVER MAN

Tsyakmyl, the man who was purified with his Cross Lake wife and four children at the beginning of time, is person for a Kimsquit *hamatsa* man named Emsem. His repository is just above high water mark on the east side of Dean Channel, about five miles from its head, and about one hundred and fifty feet north of the legal fishing boundary. This is almost immediately opposite Tsyakmyl's station. The repository is beneath the ground, and its doorway is a house which became

[The Dance of the Stone Man]

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

for the *Salmon* of unknown that have performance by those with the same name are only possible with the assistance of carpenters. This dance has not been carried out for so many years that the details have been forgotten.

THE DANCE OF THE BEARS

The Bella Coola notice that in autumn many of the birds disappear, to be seen no more until spring. Ignorant of a warmer climate to the south and of the causes of migration, they explain the phenomenon by saying that *Hamatsa* collects the birds in some mysterious place for the winter and releases them in the spring. It is believed that he does the same with supernatural birds in the land above. The acting free of the birds, which is in effect a masquerade, is known as *Gwanalal* and is personified, he is the patron of a *Dance* named *Gwan*. For the reliance of this man's dance a large circular cage containing wooden birds is constructed. By means of a regulation of hidden strings they are made to "fly," to the extreme amusement of the uninitiated. This is one of the most complicated *Dance* steps. Contrary to the usual practice, no night dance is used for fear that it might settle on the strings and betray their existence to the spectators.

THE DANCE OF EXHAUSTED THE NIGHT

The patron of this dance is a being who has the power of bringing nightfall, and later, sleep. In accordance with his double function, a dual personality is ascribed to him. In fact, he is almost two beings, as *Sanghaniel*, "Darkness," he causes night to come once every twenty-four hours, whereupon as *Sisiamen*, he brings sleep. The *Dance* provided displays an elaborate figure with black painted masks, representing both phases of his person.

THE DANCE OF THE WHIRLWIND

Whirlwinds, though of rare occurrence in British Columbia, are known to the Bella Coola who believe that they are caused by the being *Snaiksamamen*. Like all supernatural creatures,

Whatever usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits this earth. He is patron for a dancer who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary.

THE DANCE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the group of Dzonoqwa. This being is patron for certain dancers and whenever a tremor occurs, his prestigiti call their associates and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is charged with that described for dancers whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The dance of the song is of the manner in which Dzonoqwa performs his function of holding the world. A call from Dzonoqwa may also come in the natural manner to one of his prestigiti during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, Dzonoqwa is patron to a dancer named *Nilhalelaka*.

THE DANCE OF THE MOUNTAIN

The height to which the tide shall rise is decided by a mythical supernatural being, Skaldzin-ooza, "Tide-Measurer." He is patron of a dancer named *Tsil*, whose repository is near Bella Coola. One of Tsil's ancestors brought the rite with him from above in the beginning of time. The songs used in the dance describe how Tide-Measurer sees a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of substance the attendants are said to go to their houses but, by peeping round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the room, and throw down to the dancers a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day.

THE DANCE OF THE OTHERWORLD BOILERMAN

There are supernatural beings who act as patrons to further dancers, and since all mannerisms and birth are, in a sense, supern-

[illegible] natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is usually added that the animal in question is the one resident in the land above. One person of this type is the ordinary river bullhead. It is said that long ago this fish agreed to allow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he objected to people coming to dwelling, that is, pulling up the salmon from the river bed where he was wont to lie, and thwarted his enemies by sending a very cold wind. Even once that some boys are not allowed to fish for bullheads in winter. So far as could be learned, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL [illegible]

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who is patron for a certain factor in the food of a female having [illegible] is known of this being, even for appearance is subject to death. For the enhance of her prestige, a number of males representing herring, as well as human the beings, are present. When the ceremonial are present, one of the disguised figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Tsilkidzinoo*, the supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some factor but the meat of the dance, known as *[illegible]*, was not obtained. The similarity between *Tsilkidzinoo* and *Tsilkidzinoo*, those who wear *[illegible]*, appears merely to be an accidental resemblance in terminology, dependent upon a word meaning "[illegible]," or "[illegible]." The significance of this in connection with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

THE DANCE OF *[illegible]*

In *[illegible]* it is believed that *[illegible]* has a husband, *[illegible]*, who is patron for several factor dances. His function is to remain in [illegible] any ceremonial who chance to

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575*
796*
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[755]
[532]

mumble upon a repository and are cracked down by his wife. Like a shaman, he does this by blowing violently upon the back of the victim's neck, and calling out, *hoh*. From constant repetition his mouth has become large and round. When displayed on *sakscum*, the mask representing *Atmaqhaitela* is painted black and has bulging, blown-out cheeks, and a round protruding mouth as if in the act of blowing. Neither the dance nor belief in this figure appear to occur in Bella Coola itself.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BARK-GATHER

In the land above there lives a supernatural woman who spends all her time in pounding cedar-bark such as is used, either dyed or undyed, for ceremonial objects of different kinds. Her name is *Sqelqelmen di Sesaltela* and she is patron for various *tsalaciut*. On the *sakscum* of her Kimsquit prestige, she appears as a masked figure engaged in her usual occupation and makes a circuit of the house while a salmon is displayed. The relationship between this being and the salmon is problematical, and it is uncertain whether or not the same rite is practised in Bella Coola.

[532]

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL AWAKENER

575*
796*
776
[532]

Every morning in *Nesqalemcim* the woman *Sqaiqhaqumada* goes around waking up the supernatural beings. She is patron for several *tsalaciut* dances. On the *sakscum* of her prestige, a masked figure representing the Awakener goes to every house in the village and pounds on the doors, but does not enter, to the relief of the uninitiated who have sought refuge within the bed-rooms.

THE DANCE OF DAWN

[521]

Not only must the supernatural beings be around in the morning, but every day the Sun himself must be requested to appear; this is done by the beings known as *Xemcemcim*, who are patrons for several *tsalaciut*. On *sakscum* they appear and *Ana'lkmalmaic* explains to the uninitiated who they are and

[The Dance of Dancers]

what they do. With them comes the being *Ooxtoma*, "The Sleeper," wearing a mask to represent a drowsy man who constantly yawns and rubs his eyes. It is explained that this being delights in sleep and does not care if the sun never rises.

THE DANCE OF THE GREEDY ONE

Nanoilcoxtem, also called *Tatsai-ic*, is a greedy creature who spends his time going from one supernatural being to another in the land above, always begging for food. He is patron for several *kukwiat* and on the *nukwum* of one of his *pentlqla* a masked figure representing the Greedy One visits every house in the village asking for food. The uninitiated retreat to the bed-rooms, but the *kukwiat* comply with his request. In consequence the dancer's house is filled with food which is given away to the *kukwiat* guests.

THE DANCE OF THE REPOSITORY MAKER

Some repositories were constructed in the beginning of time by the supernatural being, *Nanadjipum*, who is patron for several *kukwiat*. On the *nukwum* of one of his *pentlqla* a figure, masked to represent a male being, appears and *Ba'ilk-mulcoix* explains that this is the maker of repositories. It is uncertain whether this being is found in Bella Coola or only in Kimsquit.

THE DANCE OF *Alpanim*'s SLAVE

In the land above there lives a slave of *Alpanim* who spends his time providing fuel for the fire in *Nanpalmoxtem*. He is patron for a Bella Coola *kwiat*, though the details of his dance were not obtained.

THE DANCE OF *Alpanim*'s HERALD

Qpalkiz Alpanim is patron for several *kukwiat*. During the *nukwum* of one of his *pentlqla* a masked figure representing him visits every house in the village, bidding the *kukwiat*

J:56:Dewalt E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
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assemble to witness the dance of *Alpanism*. This is his function in the land above, as it is natural for him to do the same in this world.

THE DANCE OF *Alpanism's* FISHERMAN

Alpanism in the land above has a servant who uses a hand-net, *ooie*, in fishing for his master. He is accordingly known as *Alpanism's Ooeyanim*, "Fisherman," and is patron for a *Iscint*.

THE DANCE OF THE TOP

The playful *Sinailymaldy Alpanism* has a favourite toy consisting of a stick which can be made to spin between the hands. This top, if it may so be termed, is patron for some *Iscint*. The writer was unable to learn how it is displayed on ceremony.

THE DANCE OF THE FEATHERED HAMMER

The patron of one *Iscint* is a hammer which in some way was changed to stone in the beginning of time when the Bella Coola River first flowed to the sea.

THE DANCE OF THE GRIZZLY BEAR

A *Iscint* named *Bilkmo* has, as patron, a grizzly bear resident in *Symsqwa's* house.

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VARIOUS OBSCURE MYTHS

In most cases *Iscint* dances have been preserved until the present day, although the myths on which they depend have long since been forgotten, but the reverse is sometimes the case. The following myths, were recorded with few, or no details of the associated dances. In several cases, one of the same type has already been recorded, so that the significance will be apparent.

A CONFUSED DANCE MYTH[**]

Long ago there lived in *Sinac* a man and his wife who were powerful, prosperous, and able to give their children many good names. This

**Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

[115]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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secrets around the jealousy of several of the chiefs who caused the death of the couple by means of sorcery. Six children, five boys and one girl, the last the youngest of the family, were then left orphans. No one helped them and they suffered greatly from lack of proper food and clothing, besides being forced to bear unreasonable responsibilities and trials. One spring the six went to the forest to gather hemlock-bark for food. The eldest boy climbed a tree and threw down pieces of bark which the little girl helped to pick up; at least her brothers all told her how much she was helping, a kindly fiction because she was really too young to be of assistance. One piece of bark blew some little distance away; she ran to get it, but in a moment came hurrying back in fear, saying that she had seen a stranger man clad in a bear-skin blanket, with dyed cedar-bark and eagle down in his hair. At first the five brothers did not believe her, but at length they went to investigate and found the man, as she had described. He was lying on the ground but sat up when they approached.

"I have seen your poverty," he said, "and how you have been afflicted through no fault of your own, but solely owing to the jealousy of the evil *Sisaa* chiefs. It was they who killed your parents, but now I give you such power that you will be able to retaliate."

"Your name shall be *Nacim*," he continued as he turned to the eldest brother. "You shall be a Cannibal. When you dance energetically, instruct someone to cut your stomach vertically and your vitals will fall out, trembling. They will return to you at dawn and you will then fully recover, having frightened the unintended."

"Your name shall be *Sang'ºmai*," he told the second boy. "You, likewise, will be able to have your stomach cut, but you will not be a Cannibal."

"Your name shall be *Nagaw*," he said to the third brother. "You will have the ability to go to the land above to inspect rally posts. You will be able to forecast the length of a man's life from the condition of his post, and to cure the sick by strengthening those that are leaning."

Turning to the fourth brother he continued:

"Your name shall be *qaw*. You are to be a *wa'a* dancer, with power to give food and grease to *Gaqawkilda* and his brothers in the regions above. On such occasions you will wear a head-dress of branches covered with eagle down."

Then he addressed the fifth and youngest lad, saying:

"Your name shall be *uwa'a*. You will have a *Sacisa* dance in respect to that designation, but without special ability."

Finally the stranger turned to the little girl and said:

"Your name shall be *Sisaimaka'i*. When you dance you will be able to use any one of our songs and have as patron any supernatural being

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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you choose. You will be more powerful than any of your brothers and it will be you who will retaliate on the murderers of your parents, because you will be a shaman." 575* 796*

The man, a supernatural being, of course, told the six that their repository would be the blue pool on the shores of which they had met him; it was oval in shape, about twenty-five feet long and twenty wide. He added that its name was *Nuqwanlieplstw·i*. Having given his instructions, the strange visitor vanished. 539 [778]

The six orphans returned in a somewhat bewildered condition to *Sisa·*. They went into the house where they were staying and *ıxwal·a*, who was about eight years old, disturbed a cross old woman with his harmless play. In unreasonable anger she spanked him severely, and his older brothers told their sister to try her newly acquired power. She passed behind the old woman; by so doing she attracted to herself the latter's spirit without making even the motion of taking anything, and without the victim being aware of her loss. *Qwaisasin·i* stuck the supernatural element on a stick, as one spits a potato, and threw it on the heap of excrement piled up behind the house. Presently, when the woman wished to use the convenience, she took a stick with the intention of breaking it for sanitary use. She went to the platform for the purpose but it broke beneath her and she fell; the stick she was carrying pierced her heart and she died. The accident was, of course, due to the loss of her spirit. The five brothers were delighted with the realization that their sister was really as powerful as the supernatural one had said she would be.

The boys next told their sister to slay the principal chief, who had instructed a sorcerer to kill their parents. *Qwaisasin·i* went behind him and attracted his spirit to herself; she broke it between her hands and presently the owner fell dead. Though secretly delighted, the brothers thought it wise to appear grieved, and accordingly sent *ıxwal·a* to weep. As he was doing so, a kindly old woman patted him on the head, saying:

"Don't distress yourself, little boy. It is the man who killed your parents who is now himself dead."

But she had no idea that it was one of the orphans who had caused his death. Within a few days *Qwaisasin·i* captured and destroyed the spirits of two other chiefs who had had a part in the slaying of her parents; in each case the man died within a few hours of his loss. These four deaths so worried the people of *Sisa·* that all the chiefs determined to leave, since the malady, whatever it was, seemed to kill only those of importance. They took down the cedar boards forming the walls of the houses, piled them on canoes and made ready for departure, taking no heed for the poor people, including the six orphans, who were left shelterless.

2: McIlwraith E-S (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE5

424 Qwaixosán·i moved to and fro among the chiefs as they were busying
* 575 themselves in preparations for leaving, and drew to herself the spirit of
* 796 every one of the party. As they pushed off from the shore, she put these
539 on a board which she set afloat behind them. It capsized in the first rapids, immersing the various spirits, and presently the canoes were upset and their occupants all drowned. The six orphans continued to live at *Stax* where they intermarried with the poor people and in time the village increased in population and fully regained its old importance.

This myth has many points of resemblance with those described in vol. I, chap. IX. Each of the six orphans, and especially *Qwaixosán·i*, received the boon of supernatural good fortune, but the present given to the five took the form of a *kusiut* prerogative. The names so received are either in use at the present time or have but recently become dormant. *Nuxim* was used by the father's brother of the woman who related the story; *Song·mai* belongs to her son, a boy about eight years old; *Nuxem* is the property of another youth, related to the family; *uxem* has been lent to a friend, subject to recall at any time, and *Qwaixosán·i* is used by a girl relative about twenty years of age. Each of these has the prerogative of carrying out the dance given to their ancestor at *Stax*, long ago.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CARPENTERS[108]

In the beginning *Ālqunítem* sent down to a point on the upper reaches of the Clearwater four brothers, *Nisitsamlaix*, *Waixxum*, *Ālqunítem*, and *Haí·k·hala* with several sisters whose names have been forgotten. They thought they were the first to reach this earth but presently, to their sorrow, saw *Tlákuskila*, a man who had preceded them, and the women cried bitterly in their mortification. *Ālqunítem* had given *Nisitsamlaix* shamanistic power which he now used as he rubbed his hands over his sisters' faces to carry away their tears.

"Become fog," he said, as he held the palms of his tear-stained hands towards the land of the *Ta·qa·xl* people.

[821] That is why there are thick fogs in the vicinity of Alert Bay to the present day.

Nisitsamlaix and his relatives moved a short distance down the valley

[115] [108] Related by Susamboat Annie.

Libbie Hewitt E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
NEA Bellecrosse NES

where they settled. *Ajapaxtow* had given him the ability to kill mammals and birds by merely projecting his power at them, and in this way he obtained food for the whole party. He could also revive his victims with the aid of a peculiar stick bearing orchestra, consisting of square cones. These he arranged around a fire balanced on knees which he could move with his feet; as he pressed, the cones became animated and beat time lovingly. It was *Ajapaxtow* who had given him these non-human stick-beaters. *Nimkumbeis* tried to turn mammals into men, but succeeded only with the eyes of the wolf, wherefore these organs appear human even today.

Ajapaxtow gave *Nimkumbeis* the prerogative of carrying out a dance dance, which has been performed in the same manner ever since by the owner of that name. His patrons, for he has four, are the supernatural Carpenters. *Nimkumbeis* has the further prerogative of wearing, when dancing, a wooden head-piece over his forehead representing *Qe'ks*, probably one of the blackbirds. On the night of *nabenum*, when the uninitiated are called in, masked figures of the four Carpenters appear, each carrying a conventional specimen of his work. Boas (at end) illustrates the masks proper to these beings. *Ax'ikumbeis* is, as usual, in attendance and explains the significance of the apparitions.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE DANCE OF *Nanaiqqnam*[108]

There was once a middle-aged woman who had not been initiated into the ranks of the *kukwim*. She decided that she could gain this distinction only by seeing *Ax'ikumbeis* herself, so with this aim in view she set out to search for the supernatural one. First she penetrated to the source of every creek entering South Bentinck Arm; then proceeded up the Nechetacunnay River to its very head, again visiting the head-waters of every affluent, and finally went up the Bella Coola River, as before, exploring each side stream. For a whole year she travelled without seeing anything supernatural.

At the source of the Clearwater she came to a lake on the other side of which she could see a single column of smoke. It ascended without twist, coil, or movement, as if it were solid, so she knew that it must have a supernatural origin. Bravely she skirted the shore, till she saw that the smoke was rising from a house made of evergreen boughs. Stealing nearer, she beheld *Ax'ikumbeis* herself within, working with a woman *Nanaiqqnam*. *Ax'ikumbeis* was using rock crystals to strike the woman senseless, and then reviving her; but all the time was causing *Nanaiqqnam* to sink into the ground. Breathless with excitement the

[108] Related by Steamboat Annie.

424 [illegible] until the unfortunate [illegible] had almost vanished
* 575 from sight. Then a sound betrayed her to [illegible].
* 996 "If you are a *nuxtal*," she said, "come to."
539 The woman did so, and [illegible] continued:

"I am [illegible]. You have found me, hence I give you a *kaxiat* dance prerogative. You will have [illegible] as patron."

The woman returned to her home, where she performed a *kaxiat* rite in which she portrayed the sinking of [illegible] into the earth.

ORIGIN MYTH OF A PECULIAR REPOSITORY

In the beginning of time there came down to *Ewanta*, a point a little distance below Mount *Nuxalkí*, a woman whose name was *Spunyachalinia*. *Alquantím* had given her a *kaxiat* prerogative with a peculiar repository in four parts, as if two were in either hand. Their names were *Spalnjíquim-a*, *Sac-kuxmate-a*, *Sisiúm-i*, and *Sumcimim-i*. When she danced she wore a wooden head-dress representing Woodpecker, and the masks used (her patrons?) were the sun when it is red, and an eagle. This dance has since been carried out from generation to generation by the owners of the name *Spunyachalinia*.

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Kaxiat Prerogatives Other Than Dances

The most valuable possession of a *kaxiat* is the dance which he has the right to perform, but each member of the society has, in addition, a somewhat peculiar object, sometimes material and sometimes intangible, known as a *skaxiat* or *yeaxwas*. The meaning of these two terms will become evident in the description of their uses, meanwhile they can be termed "prerogatives." With every call, this possession of the dancer's comes automatically to him, though it can also be attracted to him by other means and without a call. There is no connection between the patron and the prerogative; for example, one *kaxiat* who has one of the sons of *Alquantím* as the former has, as the latter, the Hummingbird. Another may have Fog, Sleep, a Snake, or one of many other objects, animate or inanimate. The "patron-puppets" described in *kaxiatem* rites belong to this class.

[787]

In almost every case the origin is lost in antiquity, and the owner knows only that it belongs with his dance.

These prerogatives are used when the uninitiated are present; they are essentially secret, but provide considerable amusement and are a welcome interlude in the serious rites. When the prerogative is made visible, carpenters must be employed to make it, and be paid for their work, hence this part of the ceremonial is often omitted. When no handiwork is required, it is more frequently called into play, but even in such cases its employment is not universal. Not being an essential part of the *Dancer* rites, the use or omission of a prerogative is a matter which concerns the dancer alone, and he acts strictly in accordance with his own wishes, whether or not he desires the ceremony to be are repeated by every possible show. It is impossible to estimate with accuracy the relative frequency of employment, but it is probable that prerogatives of the type under consideration are used in about one-third of the *Dancer* ceremonials.

If a dancer decides to display a material prerogative, he consults with a carpenter before the coming of his call and asks him to make, for example, a wooden Hummingbird. On the night of *Isanawu*, when all the *kokwiar* are present, the bird is seen to move across the back wall of the house, pulled by concealed strings. The dancer rushes to it and appears to catch it, in reality hiding it beneath his clothing. The women drum and the heralds announce to the uninitiated in the neighbouring houses what has taken place. Carefully holding his hands cupped, as if clutching something of great value, the dancer moves to the centre of the house and returns the bird to the land above by throwing his hands upwards while the *kokwiar* call out *Aaip*. This is the usual procedure when the prerogative is a bird, a small mammal, or a reptile. The same ceremonial is often repeated on the night of *wacinaiap*, particularly if the ritual proper to the occasion does not suffice to occupy the requisite time. If the prerogative is immaterial, the ritual differs. For example, when it is Fog, the dancer stretches his hands upwards, as if receiving something from above, and then makes the motion of throwing this "some-

fling" into one of his companions. The recipient acts as if blinded, staggering around the house and colliding with articles of furniture as his fellows. One after another receives the same penance, until perhaps half the company are acting as if moving in a dense mist. Sometimes they reel from the house, falling into bushes and walking into the walls of other houses, as if deprived not only of sight but also of all sense of direction. The prerogative of Fog was given to *Wintermistes* (II, p. 1xxi), but many other *bakeries* enjoy the same right from other sources. After a short interval, the dancer goes to the victim and makes the motion of drawing something from him, thus restoring his sight and sanity. Fog is then recovered sick in the manner described for a Humminghird.

When first told of this custom, difficulty was experienced in visualizing the animals of the *bakeries* to what they realize in a more dramatization, lacking the presence of the uninitiated to give it zest and purpose. When several performances of this type had been witnessed, the difficulty vanished. The *bakeries* enter whole-heartedly into the spirit of the affair, regarding it as a game, and yet as a game in which they must acquit themselves creditably. Each recipient endeavours to excel his fellows in the realism of his performance, and his blind staggers never fail to cause merriment. The Bells Code delight in acting, and this is an occasion on which they can indulge their tastes to the utmost, without fear of disaster if an error should occur, such as hampers them in the presence of the uninitiated. Moreover, each strives to assist the performer, and these two reasons combine to make the whole a success.

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Although these prerogatives are often used on the nights of *kwaimow* and *wuiwishkap*, the time most suitable for their appearance is during the ritual of *sewadjat*, which may be translated as, "The Restful Ceremony." The Bells Code say that the word is derived from *sewa*, a pillow, and that the meaning of *sewadjat* is a ceremony of "Pillowness," that is, resting, combined with pleasant relaxation. In spite of the number

of prerogatives, it sometimes happens not a week or more 424
elapses without a *Dorisi* willing to perform. In such a case 595*
the marshals instruct the heralds to summon the *kokoriri* for 796*
the Rustic Ceremony to a house from which the uninitiated 787
have been expelled. When all have assembled, the singers
lead out the song of any *Dorisi* and thousfiance joins in, al-
though the owner does not dance. Song-four song is repeated,
the singers choosing particularly those with they fear may be
forgotten. The uninitiated, who hear far singing from the
adjacent houses, wonder what it may signify. The marshals
arrange with a *Dorisi* willing to receive his prerogative, and
even after midnight this person puts on a ceremonial collar,
even though no call has come to him, and is ready to play his
part. Sticks are distributed and one of the singers leads the
audience in frenzied beating. This collar to bring the intan-
gible prerogative to the willing *Dorisi*, she makes the motions
of cracking something in his uprounded hands while the
women dance. Amid the continual pounding of sticks, the
dancer circles the house and presently throws what he has
received to one of his fellows. The actions of the recipient of
Fog have already been described, but there are intangible
prerogatives of other kinds. One of these is Rabbit; the owner
hops in imitation of the animal to any *Dorisi*, presses his cupped
hands against the other's chest, and the latter likewise begins
to hop. He in turn passes it to a third, he to a fourth, until
finally the owner withdraws his prerogative and returns it
above. The *kokoriri* become so interested that they often
forget to continue the beating of sticks, a matter of no impor-
tance since no uninitiated are present. No one offered the
prerogative from the owner ever declines; to do so would
expose him to ridicule and a refusal is unthinkable according
to an elderly Bulla Coola. Another prerogative of the same
type is an Adze, in which case the possessor pretends to be
using that tool. When finally withdrawn by the rightful
owner, he often makes the motion of throwing it on a rafter
instead of sending it back above; in this case it can be used

again leave to the season without being brought from above. A Bat prerogative impels the owner, and likewise the temporary possessor, to move lightly to and fro like a bat; it can be thrown from one side of the house to the other, and is "caught" with arms stretched far above the head. Sleep, like Fog, can be projected into a number of individuals simultaneously, and causes all to slumber; while *Anger* causes everyone to fight with his neighbour. Still another prerogative of the same class is Ants. Some dancers have Bull-roarers, as is also true for some *xaxaat* dancers. Details of their use were unobtainable.

Although these prerogatives always amuse and please the *kukwaxat*, they also have two serious aspects. The insertion of one strengthens a *kwaxat*, and in the case of a Cannibal, Scratcher, or Breaker causes him to become frenzied. Whenever this happens he rushes forth to all the houses, frightening the uninitiated, always attended by a band of *kukwaxat*. Moreover, the injection of a prerogative so stimulates a *kwaxat* that he is more liable to receive a call. As many as fifty *kukwaxat* may have prerogatives of this type thrust into them during a single "Restful Ceremony." Of course not all of them receive calls, but one or more of them is likely to do so. The writer endeavoured to investigate the attitude of the Bella Coola on this point. Only *kukwaxat* are concerned, since they alone can have this power inserted into them. They realize the deceptions practised by the society, and no individual interviewed claimed to have been so strengthened that he received a call, yet all stated that this had been the case with others. There is no doubt that the projection of a prerogative directs the recipient's attention to *kwaxat* matters, and may often lead him to the point of giving his dance. In any event, the "Restful Ceremony" gives the marshals an opportunity to stimulate the interest of the members of the society, and to impress on them the desirability of dancing. The uses of "patron-puppets" have already been described.

In addition to these prerogatives, which normally remain

in the land show and come to their owners only on special occasions, there are four of similar type considered to remain constantly within the possessor's body from the time of his admission, with respect to the name with which the right is associated. One of them, the one of crystals for initiation purposes, has already been described. The others are *windstone*, *beadles*, and *sirwen*, all unmodifiable terms.

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7[illegible]
7[illegible]

One use to which the four of these prerogatives is put is to encourage the *bakwiri* to hasten to the house in which a ceremony is taking place. Delay in part and period of all dances, but particularly on *bumbum* and *nacimilinga* the *bakwiri* are often very slow in arriving. In such a case the dancer himself, one of his friends, or a marshal, may ask the owner of a *windstone* prerogative to perform. It will be convenient to refer to this factor, who may be man or woman, as X.

The uninitiated have been told that X carries in his right knee a rock crystal which he can thrust into anyone through the arm. The *bakwiri* do not share the belief, but they have acted for so long as if they did, that it is probable that they almost place credence in it themselves. When X performs, he leaves the dancer's home and goes in a crouching attitude, yelling fiercely, to the lowest house of the village. As he enters, the uninitiated flee to the bed-rooms, but peer curiously and fearfully through the cracks. X rushes to and fro, still crouching, while the *bakwiri* appear to be trying to avoid him, but at last he seizes either a man or a woman. In spite of his victim's well-simulated struggles, X makes the motion of thrusting something into him, whereupon the person cries out as if in pain and pretends to be nauseated. Away rushes X, enters the next dwelling, and does the same. This is repeated in every house in the village. As they go to the house in which the ceremony is taking place, the victims pretend to be suffering from a stomach-ache, caused by the foreign substance within them, and this pretence is maintained after their arrival. After some delay, X takes a stick and beats furiously four or five times with it, while the singers accompany

him with strike and drum. Following another pause, he does this once more, causing the owner to lose of the crystals. The herald then the different houses to report what has taken place and the regular round of the evening continues in due course.

Occasionally the *wachiuo* ritual is elaborated to improve the ceremonial. Within this century a woman received a crystal in the manner and, as non-members were told, it became stuck so that the owner could not recall it. In this case two *Iskatcie* were in grief, the woman who had lost her crystal, and the one who had it within her body. The former went from house to house for several days, weeping and asking that the *Iskatcie* insert their prerogatives into the possessor's body to drive out the crystal, while the sufferer maintained a crouched attitude as if in intense agony. Her home was in *Synapo-ta*, but she went even to *Sawi* to see whether the *Iskatcie* there could not help her. Meanwhile the ceremonial were both amended and improved. After several days the marshals of the two villages decided to try in unison to force out the crystal. It was day-time, and they gathered around the stricken woman in an open spot between the two villages, while the uninitiated peered with interest from the background. One *Iscatcie* after another called his intangible prerogative to himself and passed it into the sufferer, and after each insertion the owner of the crystal tried to withdraw it, but without avail. After each failure, the one who had used his possession recalled it to himself by pressing with cupped hands and calls of *Aaip*, then sent it back above. Throughout the ceremony, a man with a loud voice kept informing non-members which prerogative was being tried. At the insertion of Ants, and again of Anger, the sufferer reeled, but the owner of the crystal could not bring it forth. It had been decided that a Bird-Arrow was to be the successful prerogative, and when this was inserted by its owner, the woman staggered, fell, and rolled wildly on the ground, her arms and legs flying apart in all

directions. Then the joyful owner was able to draw back her [illegible]
[illegible] and the sick woman at once recovered. 575 *

Another prerogative of the same owner is *bubbin*. As the 796 *
kakaiut are gathering and before the main ceremonial of the
evening, the man or woman with this prerogative can display 787
it if he or she desires. He stands up, stamps, then bends down
and begins to beat with a stick on the floor; the singers, who
know what is to take place, quickly join in. The stress to
concentrate the performer's power, consisting of the ability to
scratch the external genital organs. The stick continues to
sound as the performer moves about the house, acting in
accordance with his sight, and at the same time rolling his eyes
and licking his lips. Choosing either man or woman as he
desires, he calls out his name, and the person addressed must
come forward to take his hands. The power is thus transmitted and the one so chosen begins to scratch, with the same accompaniment of rolling eyes and licking lips.

"It is sweet," he cries.

The power is then returned to the owner, who later passes it to another victim, until the marshals decide it is time to proceed to the main rites of the evening. The use of this pre- [522]
rogative is a source of never-ending amusement to the *kakaiut*. [796]
The only explanation given of this somewhat peculiar ability is that it is practised by the supernatural beings in the land above. Like every other *kaiut* rite, it can be performed only by a person who owns a name in which it is embodied.

Sis'wain, the third of these prerogatives, is to imitate the 424
action of holding sexual intercourse. Like the last, its use is 575 *
limited to the house in which a dance is taking place, and can 796 *
be carried out only while the audience is waiting for the main 787
ceremony. The performer, man or woman, stands up with a 831
rope pressed close across his stomach, held with hands clenched 522
at the hips. It is said that in this position nothing can pass behind him. The singers and other *kakaiut* begin to beat time to concentrate the actor's power as he stamps around in a crouching posture, crying *hoip* and shaking his hips. Pre-

[illegible] mostly he begins to groan, and calls the name of either a man or a woman. The person so designated must take the performer's hands, thus neutralizing his power, and a his turn begins to shake and groan, amid the laughter of all. Presently the "gift" is returned, and here passed to another recipient. Sometimes a modest woman shakes her head instead of her hips, to the intense amusement of the audience. After some time the owner draws his power to himself and the main ceremony of the evening proceeds. It is said that the supernatural beings above perform *ceremonies*.

The Dance of a *Kusiat*

A detailed description of *kusiat* dances and ritual has now been given, but certain special features still remain. One of these is the method of disposal of the body of a dead member of the society. In dances which are completed in four days, there is little likelihood of the performer's death, but this is by no means uncommon during the long seclusion of a Cannibal for example. In this case there is no wailing, and the death is concealed from the uninitiated, sometimes even a wife being kept in ignorance of her husband's decease. A mask representing the person of the dead man is hung in the house behind the fire as a constant reminder of what must be done. From the ceremonial point of view, the serious aspect lies in the fact that a call has come which has not been sent back, and which cannot be sent back by the receiver. The marshals discuss the matter and agree that it must pass to some *kusiat*, a near relative of the deceased, who is informed of the decision and does not dare refuse, even if he should wish to do so. After a delay of two or three days, the body is taken secretly to the grave and buried, while the *kusiat* sing the dead person's song. This causes the call to shift to the chosen relative who completes the ceremony in due course. In the case of a Cannibal, for example, a considerable amount of time is allowed to elapse, and meanwhile the uninitiated are told that the *kusiat* are still waiting and watching for his return.

Where all hope has been abandoned, they are summoned and the relatives complete the ceremony, doing only that part of it left undone by the original recipient of the call. The principle is the same as that described when a novice dies, that someone must finish the rite. This aspect of the *kusiut* ceremonial is still preserved ceremoniously as the winter found to his cost. It was proposed that he be formally initiated into the society, but this was not allowed on the ground that he would not be present the following winter to complete the rites necessitated by the coming of the call. 575* 796* 766 787 [23]

The Final Rite

The commencement of the *kusiut* season is regulated by the coming of *Nuskynum*, but its conclusion is a matter of arrangement. By February the number of *kukusiut* wishing to dance has become negligible and the marshals decide to terminate the ceremonial season. It must be remembered that an enclosure has been built in every house where an important *kusiut* dance has taken place, and that as long as these are in existence the uninitiated have not been allowed to live in those houses. The social life of the community has accordingly been profoundly disturbed. Of course several dances may have taken place in a single dwelling, but even allowing for that, the fact remains that the uninitiated have been forced to dwell temporarily in perhaps only one or two houses. The most obvious mark of the end of the ceremonial season is the destruction of these enclosures. 575* 796* 591 784

A few nights after the last *nukusum*, the heralds summon the *kukusiut* to the house in which it took place. They sit down but the usual droning is omitted. Presently sticks are distributed and one of the singers takes his place to lead in the customary frenzied beating. But before he raises his baton, one of the marshals, or another *kusiut* with ability in that respect, steps to the centre of the house and spits noisily in all directions, his aim being to deluge the house and spectators with a spray of saliva. Then the singer leads the beating of 575* 796* 787 784

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sticks, while everyone calls out, *heip*. This is repeated four times. The sticks continue to sound irregularly as the younger men pull the enclosure to pieces and throw it on the central fire. By these means the *kukwisut* have been freed from their contact with the supernatural and, perhaps even more important, the repositories have been "tied up," to use the native term, for another year. Those members of the society whose dances have taken place in the house now wash the black from their faces and all share a light meal. The marshals take this last opportunity of addressing their fellows, impressing on them the necessity of maintaining the secrecy of the rites during the summer season. Above all, they warn them to hide the whistles and other paraphernalia most carefully. This concludes the season's ceremony in the house in question; some of the *kukwisut* withdraw, others remain, and the uninitiated are free to enter and take up the old threads of family life, as it was before the coming of the first call.

If it is not too late at night the party may move to a second house and remove the taboo from it in the same way. More often this is done on the following night, when a second body of *kukwisut* are allowed to wash. Another house is visited on the next evening, and so on in succession till all the enclosures are burnt and the only visible mark of what has happened is the collar of dyed cedar-bark worn by each novice.

[424] There may be certain prerogatives connected with this finale which could not be learnt owing to its discontinuance for many years. In fact, one old woman claimed to have a definite right to sing at the destruction of the enclosures, but it was unfortunately impossible to investigate the matter.

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Concluding Observations and History

It is virtually impossible to overestimate the importance of the sociological aspects of the society. During the ceremonial season the whole fabric of social life is altered; families are divided, parents and children being separated in many

even though an infant in arms, though uninitiated, can be brought to dances by its mother; distinctions between rich and poor, slave and freeman, become of slight importance; all that really matters is whether a person is or is not a dancer. Membership in the society seems to the uninitiated the most desirable thing in life, although their fears are always so strong that they never come to dread actual admission. The feeling of class consciousness which exists in a somewhat mild form at other seasons of the year, gives place to a powerful sentiment of superiority on the part of members of the society over those who are not so fortunate. Even the respect normally shown to chiefs is submerged since they, too, are subject to the rule of the marshals.

Apart entirely from this attitude of superiority and inferiority, is the bond of fellowship engendered among members of the society by the rites. Whoever happens, the uninitiated must be deceived. Moreover, the psychological effect of gathering nightly in a body for a specific purpose is tremendous. Night after night they eat together; night after night they listen to the words of the marshals, who impress on them the need for co-operation and secrecy, who hold before them the good example set by their fellows who have carried out rites successfully, who emphasize the fact that they are doing as their fathers did. The ceremonial import is of greatest consequence at all these gatherings, but when the uninitiated have withdrawn the *hakaxint* relax somewhat and enjoy themselves. The food itself is always of the best and some of the usual restrictions are removed. It is, for example, the only time that women are allowed to eat the flesh of seals. If this delicacy is provided the marshals enjoy the tidbits, but after Cannibals, novices, and others have received preferential treatment, the remainder is distributed to all and sundry.

It has been stated by some writers, especially those unfamiliar with the significance of native ceremonial life, that the dances of the coastal tribes are orgies of immorality. This point was investigated with care and it may be stated posi-

*575 *796 577 279 [684] ously that such is not the case among the Bella Coola. As the present time both drunkenness and vice are rampant, but neither of these practices is apparent on the nights when dances are taking place. The writer was present at many *kusiut* dances, in each case attended by practically every resident, and during them he saw only two drunken men. With regard to these, the sentiment of the influential members of the society was one of regret that the marshals could no longer exercise their prerogatives and punish the offenders. As several Bella Coola expressed it:

"Our dances are sacred and ceremonial, a drunken man spoils them."

As a rule they do not regard drunkenness as a serious vice, if a vice at all, hence this attitude was illuminating. It is more difficult to speak with certainty about morality; no breaches of it could have occurred at the ceremonies witnessed, nor was there any evidence that the excitement led to any licentious actions. On the whole, the dances are desirable since they provide a source of tremendous interest and importance. Vice flourishes with lassitude and boredom; anything that stimulates the people reduces it, and when the Bella Coola are engaged in ceremonial rites, the sentiment of the seniors of the community is strongly opposed to anything that interferes with the solemnity of the occasion.

*575 *796 577 834

There is no reason to suppose that these factors were not present in former times, more potent than now when belief in the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* has passed away. The whole question of sexual morality at *kusiut* dances was investigated with considerable care.

One point emphasized by all Bella Coola was that no *kusiut* was allowed to have relations with an uninitiated person, whether his wife or not, during the period that his face was blackened and he was wearing a ceremonial collar. The reason for this prohibition seems to have been one not of morality, but of the necessity for preserving the dignity and secrecy of the *kusiut* society. An offender was punished by being struck [688]

by a marshal with a billet of firewood; such a blow was never repeated and might or might not cause death. The woman with whom the member had misbehaved himself was either initiated at once or killed if her relatives could not provide a name and paraphernalia.

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Relations between members of the society were less severe. Particularly during the long nights of *kwatimow* and *nuxmalinqs*, when only *kwaxicat* were present and when men and women, often scantily clad, were closely associated, there seems to have been a certain amount of immorality. It was by no means a time of license, nor was laxity encouraged by the marshals; intercourse between members of the society did not conflict with *kwaxicat* regulations, and was accordingly a matter that concerned the individuals alone.

Relations between the actual dancers and members of the other sex were formerly governed by strict rules, rigidly enforced by the marshals. After the coming of a call, a man could hold intercourse with a *kwaxicat*, provided that he did so in his own home, but in no other. But after *nakawm*, when he left his house, continence was demanded until the end of the season and the burning of the enclosure-platform. The only exception to this rule was that if a second dancer received a call in the same house, the restrictions placed on the first were raised while the call was actually upon the second; that is, between *kwatimow* and *nakawm*. After that both were subject to strict continence, unless a third call came to the same dwelling. The Bella Coola of today offer no explanation for this law, save that disregard of it was displeasing to the supernatural beings. An offender in this case was likewise punished by being struck once by a marshal.

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The religious aspects of the dances, as exemplified by the attitude of the Bella Coola to the masked figures and other phenomena, was described in the early part of this chapter, but additional observations may now be made. The writer realizes that the reader must find it difficult to understand how the uninitiated can be deluded into thinking that masked

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575 796 781 figures are really beings from another world. The explanation lies in the profound belief of all Bella Coola in the near presence of the supernatural; consequently, a supernatural explanation is the one normally given for all unusual incidents. The dances themselves are filled with strange manifestations, particularly the weird whistling concerning the origin of which the uninitiated have no idea. Once convinced by this means of the presence of unknown powers, it is easy for them to believe that the masked figures are visitors from the other world. Nor was their belief in former days shaken by certain representations which were palpably false, such as that of the sun. No one could believe that the disk which moved across the back of the house was the sun itself; but on the other hand it seemed marvellous to the uninitiated, ignorant of the means used to portray it. To the white man there seems a fundamental difference between a supernatural being and the representation of a strange object made to move by unseen means, but to the Bella Coola both belong to another realm, and are accordingly akin. Moreover, there were occasions when the uninitiated must have seen the shifting or actual falling of a mask, for example, during the fight with wasps. But here again the deep belief of the non-members came to the help of the *kukusiut*, who told their guests that this was caused by the coming of a call to the actor, and what might easily have become doubt and suspicion was thus changed to respect.

The writer laboured under two tremendous difficulties in [178] collecting information about *kusiut* matters; the present dances are mere shadows of what they formerly were, and there are [123] no more uninitiated. His presence and quest for information served to stimulate interest and led to a partial revival of the old rites, but the bulk of his material was obtained from infor- [114] mants rather than from actual observation. It is a universal characteristic of mankind to idealize accounts of former practices, so it is not only possible, but probable, that the foregoing descriptions are more perfect than many of the rites to which

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they refer. Even when full allowance is made for this, the fact still remains that the *kukuiat* were able to carry out dances in which they deceived the uninitiated. Above all, it is clear that those who were not members of the society had the greatest respect for the powers of those who were, and although doubt may have existed concerning the identity of the supernatural visitors, there was not the slightest concerning the ability of the *kukuiat* to have, for example, their stomachs ripped open. The writer discussed this point with too many old men and women to have the slightest uncertainty on this point, and he feels confident that anyone who could have listened to the account of a reliable old man concerning his fears when he had "killed" a *kukuiat* in this manner, would have shared his conviction.

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It would be fascinating to discuss at some length the probable history of the *kukuiat* society, but this would entail a comparison with the rites of other coastal tribes and belongs to the realm of comparative ethnology. This monograph deals only with Bella Coola practices as the writer saw them or heard them described, so that the history of the society can only be treated from this angle. It appears certain that the rites have increased in secrecy. One old marshal with whom the matter was discussed remembered having heard that long ago masks were constructed in the presence of the uninitiated. Considered as an isolated statement this would have little value, but in conjunction with information derived from Kimsquit it becomes of importance. It is true that in Kimsquit the masks are made in secret, but they are shown to the uninitiated as masks, and the writer was told of one instance in which *Thopots*, during his round of the village, fell into the water and remained there all day, to the amusement of non-members who recognized that he was merely a disguised human being. It is even said that long ago the manufacture of masks was entrusted to influential uninitiated. It is clear that there has been a tremendous increase in secrecy even at Kimsquit, and a great deal more at Bella Coola. The writer believes that

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*575 long ago the *kuxiut* society was composed of individuals re-
*796 garded as having supernatural endowments, and who perhaps
178 believed this themselves. In course of time their influence
184 increased to such an extent that they were able to convince
[532] non-members of the supernatural origin of objects used in their ceremonial.

[115] Unfortunately, information from Kimsquit was obtained almost exclusively from one old man, who, though a marshal well informed in *kuxiut* matters and in many ways an almost ideal informant, had long since realized that the dances could be nothing more than representations, and it is possible that his remarks were coloured by this knowledge. Though he tended to minimize the attitude of belief with which the un-
[781] initiated regarded masked figures, yet he fully agreed with every statement made by the Bella Coola themselves with regard to the firm belief of non-members concerning the supernatural powers of the dancers. He also confirmed statements
[688] respecting punishment if an error should occur, and mentioned the shooting of a Bella Bella dancer who had allowed his mask to fall during a *nusuk* dance. As far as actual ritual is concerned, the differences in procedure between Bella Coola and Kimsquit are unimportant, and differences in belief are less than they appear at first sight. The Bella Coola *kuxiut*
[981] seem to have perfected their organization and to have been able to impress the uninitiated to a greater extent than their Kimsquit fellows, but the fundamentals of the society are identical.

*575 Traditions concerning the early history of the society are
*796 probably of little value historically, but they are important as
193 indicating the mental attitude of the Bella Coola. Considering the importance of the society there are relatively few accounts of what took place long ago; the Bella Coola know that it exists, believe that the rites are identical with those carried out by their ancestors for generations, and theorize no further. It was only in the beginning of time that things were radically different; it is believed that then all the people were endowed

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with such powers that they killed one another in their performances. Consequently, they decided to dance only in the winter months, and merely to imitate the actions which had been previously carried out. 575* 796* 173

There are other traditions, probably with an historical basis, describing conflicts with the *a'alk*. The Bella Coola say that long, long ago there were not enough *kwaiat* names for more than the old people to be admitted to the society, and that though members were regarded as having supernatural powers, yet the *a'alk*, confident in their numbers and strength, used frequently to assail the supremacy of the *kukwiat*. On one occasion, when the latter had prepared an elaborate feast of smoked goat flesh for themselves, the *a'alk* collected their weapons and demanded a share of the feast. The *kukwiat*, furiously angry, felt compelled to yield, though later they took revenge through the destruction wrought by many Cannibals and Scratchers when frenzied. It is said that even recently if the *kukwiat* did not invite the *a'alk* to one of their dances, they were always careful to placate them by sending half of the food as a present. 575* 578 173 [424] [551] [431]

Sometimes the *a'alk*, collectively, were bold enough to kill a *kwaiat*, particularly if something had gone amiss in a dance house. Or other motives might be strong enough to outweigh respect for a member of the society. On one occasion a chief, who was not a member of the society, was told that his wife, who was, had been in the habit of prowling off at night with a Cannibal. The jealous husband prepared his bear-spear and slew the Cannibal when next he entered his house during a frenzied rampage of the village. *Kukwiat*, both from that village and others in the vicinity, combined to cause the murderer's death with the aid of a member of the society who was a professional killer. 575* 578 682

Success did not always come to the *kukwiat* in quarrels between members of the two societies. Long ago, the *a'alk* were invited to a *qulem* in a village in the upper Bella Coola valley. One of their own dances was taking place, but they 575* 578 796*

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accepted the invitation. The house was so crowded that the uninitiated in front were driven forwards by pressure from the rear until they encroached on the space behind the fire. An elderly *kwaxwat* decided that this was a good occasion to frighten the visitors, so he whispered to a recently admitted member of the society:

"You fall down, and I will explain that it is because you have attracted to yourself the spirit of an uninitiated person."

Under most circumstances this would have terrified the uninitiated, as indeed it did the majority. But the leader of the *a'alk*, perhaps excited by the dance in which he had just taken part, refused to be impressed. He knew that the *kwaxwat* would threaten to throw the spirit of the offender into the fire, irrevocably compelling the owner to follow it, but he was not afraid.

"Let us see your powers," he said. "Go ahead with your throwing of a spirit into the fire."

The *kwaxwat* responsible for the scheme knew that it must be carried out, and only hoped that, as the spirit was about to be burnt, the owner would offer to pay for its return, as usually happened in such cases. He instructed the fallen *kwaxwat* to proceed and the latter rose, fumbled at the back of his neck, as if drawing something forth, and thrust the "something" into the fire. Breathless with fear, the uninitiated waited for someone to be forced into the flames. But nothing happened. It was a dangerous situation for the *kwaxwat*, and as the only means of maintaining their reputation, they began to whisper that the man must have accidentally extracted his own spirit instead of the alien one. The heralds repeated what was being said, and the guests watched to see what would happen. The unfortunate *kwaxwat* was surrounded by a group of his fellows and thrust into the fire, although their acting was sufficiently good to make it appear that they were trying to check him. By these drastic means the *kwaxwat* were able to add to the prestige of their society, though it is said that the *a'alk* leader

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expressed the opinion that the whole affair was a stupid blunder.

The Bella Coola state that long, long ago the usual outcome of friction between *a'alk* and *hakaiat* was the incorporation of members of the former society into the latter like any other uninitiated. The following account of an incident of this kind was obtained from a Kimsquit man who regarded it as historically accurate.

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Some five hundred years after the first settlement of this earth, the members of the two societies used to live amicably together during the summer, which was not surprising considering that both contained members of the same families. But during the winter the *hakaiat* all gathered in a village on the Dean River for their dances, while the *a'alk* also performed at the same season in the village of *Tpalkoi*, opposite the present Mastiten Cannery below Kimsquit.** There was considerable jealousy between the two organizations, and the members were always seeking an opportunity to deride and ridicule their rivals. A Cannibal dance had been given by the *hakaiat* and the *a'alk*, who were present as uninitiated guests, had watched with wonder the disappearance of the performer into the mysterious realms above. But a few days later, *Xmamdzin*, a chief and leader in one of the *a'alk* dances, happened to be in a lonely part of the forest where he was amazed to meet the Cannibal. The latter, confident of his supernatural power, spoke:

"In meeting me today you have met disaster, you will soon be a corpse."

Xmamdzin, a middle-aged man of powerful physique, was not impressed by the other's powers, whether physical or supernatural.

"No," he answered. "It is you who have fallen into trouble. You are old and feeble and if you try to injure me it will be the worse for you."

"My age has nothing to do with it," retorted the Cannibal. "You have met me and will die."

At this juncture two of the Cannibal's guardian companions appeared, but *Xmamdzin* still did not fear because they were both old and uncouth, whereas he had no one. But when two more *hakaiat* appeared,

**This Kimsquit informant stated that long ago a similar segregation of *a'alk* into one village and *hakaiat* into another took place in Bella Coola. Bella Coola informants know nothing of this. The populace of the uninitiated from houses in which *hakaiat* dances are taking place leads to a division of the village, and it is easy to understand how two sections could have been created without definite intention. This would hardly account for a separation into two villages and no explanation for the statement is offered.

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178 he hoped into silence, knowing that the odds were too great for him. The Cannibal realized that if this powerful man could be initiated into
575 their society he would be a source of strength, so he said:
578 "You are now an initiate of mine."

Xmxmdzix understood that this meant he was to be initiated into the *kwaxat* society. He agreed, but asked to be permitted to complete the *a'alk* dance which he was performing that evening, and to get beating sticks for which he had gone to the forest. The *kukuxiut* were only too willing to grant this dispensation in their joy at having a valuable convert.

On his return to the village, *Xmxmdzix* told his fellow *a'alk* that he was going to be a *kwaxat* and they were greatly grieved at loss of their leader. That night they gave the dance which had been started and composed a song of which the theme was the way in which their rivals had fallen until their heads were upside down. The *kukuxiut*, mocked in this way, found that this was a prelude to further trouble with the *a'alk*, but *Xmxmdzix* duly carried out his promise and was enrolled as a *kwaxat*. Dazed at their leader, many of his disconsolate associates were admitted as *kukuxiut*, and ever since that time there has been relatively little friction between the two societies. In due course the Cannibal gave his dance with a song describing how he had met a strange creature over whom he had prevailed; this was, of course, the uninitiated *Xmxmdzix*.

To these two is attributed the origin of the practice of
[209] showing to decide priority of invitation giving. It is said that
[196] both *Xmxmdzix* and the Cannibal once wished to invite the people to a ceremony on the same evening and agreed to shove against each other to decide which should have preference. *Xmxmdzix* prevailed, and the Cannibal duly postponed his dance and went with his associates to the winner's house.

As before stated, stories of this kind dealing with the al-
[198] leged history of the society are of slight value. As far as they go, they agree with other evidence pointing to the gradual growth of the *kwaxat* society from a band of elders endowed with supernatural power to a society with enormous prestige, dominating the life of the community and entirely overshadowing the *a'alk* who seem once to have been their rivals.

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CHAPTER II

SONGS

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Introductory — Sisaok Songs — Xe tla Songs — A'alk Songs — Nusäxkämx Songs — Marriage Songs — Mourning Songs — Shaman Songs — Kusiut Songs — Non-Ceremonial Songs

Introductory

THE singing of songs is an essential part of all Bella Coola rites so that a study of them is important, entirely apart from their musical value. Their texts throw light on the beliefs of the performers, on the aims of the ceremonies, and, above all, give concrete instances of what the uninitiated are led to believe. This is particularly true of those used in *kusiut* dances, and for this reason all songs have been deferred until this chapter in which they can be grouped together. [790]* [575]*

The texts of songs are difficult to obtain. Snatches of many are remembered, but few individuals are acquainted with the complete version. A phonograph was used to record the music, and it was soon found that very few people were qualified to sing into the machine. Some became confused and forgot the words; some began to laugh; and some lacked the poise to attempt to sing. One elderly Kimsquit man, Jim Pollard, was found to be the best and most reliable singer, and he was used almost exclusively for phonographic work. Hence the records are stamped with his musical technique. Others approached his ability, but he alone preserved an art which had been common in former days. Over one hundred songs were obtained with the assistance of this man. 126 115 533*

The text was always obtained before a song was sung into the machine, thus assuring that the recorded version agreed with the written words. Even with this check, the writing down of songs is extremely difficult. Choral endings are widely employed, consisting of non-essential suffixes inserted for musical effect. It was often impossible to record these in the 126 533* 195

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126 text, although they are obvious on the phonograph records.
195 In singing, moreover, sounds, especially vowel sounds, are
altered to fit the tune, a factor which accounts for further
*533 discrepancies between record and text. A frequent device is
reduplication, a word or group of words is repeated in singing
when not called for in the spoken version. Finally one sound
occurs in singing which is practically unknown in speaking, a
velar *s* (recorded as *ʃ*) which gives a whistling effect. Most
choruses and some whole songs consist of meaningless sounds;
in such cases the tune alone is important and no attempt was
made to record the syllables.

It was quite as difficult to obtain interpretations as to record texts. Songs which have been handed down for generations abound in archaic expressions which are meaningless even to the older men: some recently composed are full of metaphorical devices to conceal their real significance from the uninitiated. The result is consequently a series of words which, taken one at a time, convey no meaning. In many cases it was impossible to obtain literal translations, even with the willing assistance of younger men familiar with English. Every effort was made to get the general *meaning*, and it is felt that this object was tolerably achieved, though the transcriptions may not be sufficiently accurate for grammatical analysis.

*533 Singers function at every ceremony; in fact, its success
depends so largely upon their efforts that they are always
*796 important members of the community. Some singers are
*575 created by the validation of an ancestral prerogative; others
by having composed a suitable tune. The young man who has
[554] done so, calls one of the established musicians aside and hums
[424] it to him; if the hearer is favourably impressed, he may learn
and repeat it to his fellows, and if it wins their approval, the
[555] composer may be asked to join their ranks for the occasion on
which it is to be used. Thus encouraged, the young man is
likely to try again, or he may be invited to assist at some
ceremony for which a large number of singers is required. If
proficient, he is certain to win recognition in course of time,

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until it is accepted by all that he is one of the men who should be called upon to take part in all rites. If possible, he endeavours to legalize his position by a distribution of presents. Men are always eager to become singers, both for fame and for emoluments. 533* 796* 575* [555] [424]

New songs are required every year for *sisaak* and *kusiut* dances, necessitating an almost limitless number of compositions. Singers frequently make use of fragments of old tunes, or snatches from half-forgotten songs, but they are ridiculed as inefficient if the plagiarism be too obvious. Tunes are always prepared in advance; in fact, proficient composers spend much of their time at all seasons of the year in humming over to themselves possible combinations. When word is passed around that a song is required, they meet in some lonely spot and each who has one in readiness hums it, tapping a gentle accompaniment. After considerable discussion, one is selected as being the most suitable and the singers make themselves familiar with it. Words are then put to it, consisting of fragments from the ancestral myth of the person for whom it has been prepared, or from some other theme appropriate to the occasion. Sometimes this is done by the composer of the tune; sometimes by another singer more familiar with the subject. The provision of words is considered less difficult and less important than the composition of a tune; no one knows the source of inspiration for the latter, but the former is said to come from either the heart or the head. All ceremonial songs are divided into three sections; *kelulo·s* or first part, *ăs·iko·tl* or second part, and *ălax* or third part, separated from one another by the *siutnălas*, wordless chorus. The three parts correspond, approximately, to verses and each contains four, rarely six, subdivisions. In mourning songs there are sometimes as many as six or eight *ălax*, and the whole is correspondingly lengthened.

On the night of a ceremony, the singers always take their places beforehand for a final rehearsal. Each brings his own beating-stick, a stout baton about two feet long to pound on the floor in time with his singing. The only other musical [534]

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533 instrument is the drum.[1] In former times the drum consisted
796 solely of a box, though recently skin drums have been adopted
575 from the Carriers. There is usually one singer especially pro-
[534] ficient in using this, though sometimes another takes his place;
[177] all such arrangements are completed during the final rehearsal. A final decision is also reached as to who shall fill the three principal parts, *sankwulsàm*, *âhaia*, and *lualkum*. It is the duty of the *sankwulsàm* or *leader*, to regulate the time; he squats facing the others, who are grouped in a close semicircle, and indicates the rhythm by pounding with his stick on the floor. When a song is to start, he first taps rapidly, then modifies and regulates it throughout. The leader should be the best musician among the singers, and the same individual usually functions on all occasions although a rearrangement is sometimes necessary. In the centre of the singers sits the *âhaia*, *announcer*, who must possess a powerful voice. As already mentioned, every song consists of three parts, each with several subdivisions. When the leader has beaten time rapidly to indicate that the singers are ready, the announcer bellows out the words of the first subdivision so that all the audience can hear them. Crash! goes the leader's stick and his voice gives the key for singing the words just called out, in which the audience is expected to join. As they are finishing, the announcer roars the next subdivision, and the same procedure is repeated. Instead of proceeding to the third, the announcer often next returns to the first, following it by the second. The subdivisions of a single part are never sung through in order once only, there are always repetitions and ramifications according to the discretion of the announcer. At the end of the first part, the leader again beats time rapidly in which his fellow-singers join.
[535] If a dancer is performing, he crouches down without making any effort to keep time with the rapid tapping, and the singing ceases. After a short pause, the second part is sung in the same manner, followed likewise by the third. The function of

[1] Rattles, made of dried maple, are used by some masked dancers, but they can hardly be termed musical instruments.

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the *kulkum*, *prompter*, is equally important, though less obvious. As many as one hundred songs may be in constant use in the course of a single *kusiut* season, and it is impossible for any one individual to remember them sufficiently well never to become confused when calling them out. Consequently one or more prompters sit beside the announcer, ready to whisper to him the words of the next subdivision. Prompters are expected to be thoroughly familiar with the myths of all performers and, since they neither announce nor sing, they are able to concentrate their whole attention on remembering the words which have been considered suitable. 533* 796* 575*

This somewhat complicated mechanism ensures a minimum of error in all important rites. Mistakes do creep in, however, and it is related with glee how on one occasion the singers completely forgot a text and substituted a description of a mask used at the rite in question. Moreover, even the solemnity of a *kusiut* dance cannot entirely check the love of the Bella Coola for practical joking. A blind singer once laid down his stick for a moment, whereupon one of his companions licked it away. It appears to be virtually impossible for a man to sing unless he can accompany himself by tapping, and the frantic efforts of the sightless one to recover his baton almost betrayed his companions into obvious mirth. Occasionally, too, a prompter neglects his task[1] and the announcer is forced to improvise, while the leader endeavours to conceal the error by lengthening the pause between subdivisions. 533* 796* 575* 522

Marriage songs, shaman songs, non-ceremonial songs, and a few others of special type are sung by an individual, unaccompanied. The technique is, therefore, quite different from that just described. Dance songs of all kinds should, if complete, have the three parts; these are indicated as *A*, *B*, and *C* 533*

[1]During the winter of 1923-4 there was only one man in Bella Coola with sufficient skill and poise to act as announcer and prompter. He found it impossible to perform both duties and requested the aid of the writer as prompter. The texts were written down, and it was the writer's duty to sit beside the announcer, waiting for a nudge signifying that he had forgotten the next subdivision. From personal experience the writer can state that the task of prompter is worrying in the extreme. [123]

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*533 in the following examples. The subdivisions as called out by the announcer are separated by vertical lines and, where possible, a translation of each is given. The sounds of wordless choruses were not recorded. The different types are arranged according to order of mention in this monograph.

Sisaok Songs

*533 575 796 The themes of *sisaok* songs differ according to the purpose for which they have been composed. For instance, when a young person is being initiated into the society, the words usually refer to his crest, the *tutwinam* which brought his song; at potlatches, to the goods which will soon be given away and the phrasing is often grandiloquent; sometimes the two concepts are combined. These differences are clearly shown in the examples which follow. A few *sisaok* songs have been preserved for generations, but most are newly composed for each winter season and the old ones forgotten. Since few rites of this type have been carried out during recent years, it was difficult to obtain complete versions.

*533 *Song Used by Wilnlks (a) of Kimsquit when Initiated into the Society (b)*

A Litsumuxyum·o	*sti'ähsaolt*	*shälpalmiḥdai(c)*	*didahanda*
Go out	ye citizens	to see	the arrival

disiutsäli
of my supernatural being.

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (*d*)

B Diqulxandai	*dablähmdux*	*dikukpilxdai*	*dikstälwalamstomx*
That is what	brought down	my grandfather(*e*)	and has left for me(*f*)
Alhäbumidjudux	*mumutxnai*	*mumutxnai*	*häxilxpqulxandai*
Be careful	my children	my children	it will spear you
dalt'lahmxdai	*dilwalhastälxaiyla*		
what has come to me	my crest(*g*).		

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Yaxadusdux	*didiḥoxdai*	*didiḥoxdai*	*Diqänäxmälwalo*
Shame him	the unsuccessful one(*h*)	the unsuccessful one.	He desires

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ala sklpamiqwas	*wemawmastas*	*wastamamsyals*
eagle down on his head(*i*)	ye children	of chiefs.

xaxaxaxaxaxaxwai

[meaningless concluding hum.]

(*a*) For some unexplained reason this song has been used without change for three generations. It was composed for a certain *Stahmp*, willed by him to *Wi'talas*, who transmitted it to the present user. [424 428]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 22, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) All suffixes of *dai* should probably be *daix*, but in singing the final *x* sound is usually indistinguishable and has accordingly been omitted throughout. The *d* sound is often sung as *d̂* but the one spelling has been used consistently. [195]

(*d*) The wordless chorus of this song consists of a series of grunts which are said to be the voice of a heron, the crest of *Wilnlks*.

(*e*) The meaning of this is: What my grandfather brought down.

(*f*) The grandfather of *Wilnlks* had willed to him the right to use this crest. [424 428]

(*g*) The man from whom this song was obtained did not know what was the crest of *Wilnlks*. He judged from the text that it must have been the heron, although this is not one of the generally recognized birds.

(*h*) Meaning: The heron which has failed to jab its prey. When this song was used, a masked figure of a heron appeared and stabbed several of the spectators, who were later reimbursed for having permitted a prerogative to be displayed. [431 424]

(*i*) An ambiguous expression for presents.

Song of Aqalais of Kimsquit when Initiated into the Sisook Society(a)

A Yeyailiwatimutkymas	*a'awashmapas*	*Yas skaiskhqiplaistas*
Be of good courage	ye of the potlatch(*b*).	Use up and down(*c*)
dialsultanakhulaistas	*Yaimatnmnimulman*	*dinuqmalsmimdai*
your land.	They have met with an accident(*d*),	the house being flooded (*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sa'alkqwustin-iuals	*aldikaiyassaiyalls*	*kapulasdimutilnaawastas*
Watch their faces [to see].	whose will become amazed	when rises to flood
sawas-atskwamastas	*Kasiostmai-akms*	*dasqwallakelosqudai*
the Kimsquit River(*f*).	They who use dishes (*g*)	will prepare their biggest ones.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 12a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) The wording shows that the song was to be used at a potlatch.

(*c*) Meaning: Make use of in all directions.

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(*d*) Referring to the expected guests.
(*e*) The literal translation is that it is full of water, but the meaning refers to the large amount of olachen grease prepared for the occasion.
(*f*) A euphuistic reference to the amount of food about to be given away.
(*g*) A reference to the expected guests.

Sisaok Song Composed for Spuxcpuxta, a Kimsquit Woman(a)

A Skuiqpátimuthu	*aististsto-ekimi*	*Ałłstaxpłłcumidai*
Why are you adorning yourself,	my mother (*b*)?	Is almost ready to seize (*c*) me

yau dił'łłłtwuxudai
what was sent down for me (*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Nuuuuskdimutit	*xuanutstwałdanuał*
Carry with both your hands	what is heavy for your house(*e*)

ałdiactwaiwałindai	*dilxutum-łdi^{xw}dai*
when the guests enter,	repay them with food.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 12b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) The text is worded as if a girl were addressing her mother about an approaching potlatch.
(*c*) As an eagle gripe its prey.
(*d*) Meaning: My crest is almost ready to seize me.
(*e*) A reference to the goods prepared for the potlatch.

Song of Nuxpuxda when Initiated into the Sisaok Society(a)

A Ałłinoaita	*setnutsaitwmiłdai*	*łłapstłiandai*	*xwanumxmamału*
Come,	come and hear,	he is about to start	a story (*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Xyumłpdai	*aiyaxtstałtwudai*	*wastałłtim*	*xuatutstałtwł-imłi*
He is pleased	Echo(*c*)	when he can	alter his re-echoings (*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Łaiyumłinudai	*yau stałwałum-imudai*	*Diaiyałłaixudai*
They(*e*) will start	to laugh at him(*f*).	Even now he is starting

łałłquxwałxus
to imitate Raven(*g*).

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(a) Recorded as song VII D 34, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tal* as Charlie and Steamboat Annie.

(b) Meaning: He is about to display an ancient right; this song was used at a potlatch.

(c) That is: Echo is pleased. This supernatural being was used as *tsimsum*.

(d) Echo is said to display a proud and aristocratic disposition by trying to imitate the voices of others.

(e) That is: Human beings.

(f) Echo.

(g) That is: In his pride he is trying to imitate the voice of a great chief.

Song of I'mastikh of Kimsquit(a)

A *Qsnqwilsilkx(yaikmalnx*
I am angry,

sk'ayinmqwalmh
I shall presently display

wa'ax'lismistikhx(b)
the water that was brought down

skmk'lismsrstumistikhx
by him(c) who came down(d).

[wooden cover] (e)

B *Jamsilkmx ustumqwskx*
Were ready for

Ji'kmsthanis
Ji'kmsthanis(f)

pdi'xsmstutumis
his dishes(g).

Yaxilkmmstikhx
It was sometimes as large as a pond(h).

[wooden cover]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 43a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) A figurative expression for olachen grease.

(c) Referring to one of the dancer's ancestors, a chief who descended to Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

(d) This song was used at a potlatch and is accordingly phrased grandiloquently.

(e) The wordless chorus consists of an oft-repeated *aaam* which is said to be the note of the pigeon. The singer was unaware of its application.

(f) *Ji'kmsthanis* was a chief who, in the beginning of time, came down midway between Kimsquit and Kitlope.

(g) That is: Dishes, carved in form of his crest, were awaiting *Ji'kmsthanis* on his arrival.

(h) A reference to the great abundance of olachen grease.

Song Used for [illegible] of Kimsquit(a)

A *Kstalimstqmsmqwlp(b)*
They(b) will come to receive

di qsmitsadai
my valuable goods(c)

dicslqwskhlsdai
which *Ji'qwskh*(d)

di'lskmsisdai
brought down.

[wooden cover]

*593 B *Ämmuntsqaitqd*ïoo*
Count how many times will distribute

ayuxtsinuhumuh
my mother,

ayuxtsinuyumuhu
how many times

ähkämuwtsinuh
she will scatter (presents).

W'ïkstmuxpmïhu
Will hide (the guests).

ähkuts-umuimuhu
our returning food and goods(c).

[WOOSLAM COOKE]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 45b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was used about 1915.
(b) Meaning: The guests.
(c) This song was used at a potlatch and is accordingly phrased grandiloquently.
[556] (d) One of the dancer's first encounters. It is not claimed that *Ämmuntsqaitqd* actually brought to earth the goods which his descendant is about to distribute, but the wording is ostentatiously bashful as if the dancer were unwilling to claim the honour.
(e) That is: The food and goods which we are about to give in return for previous donations will entirely overwhelm our guests.

Song Used for W'ukhs of Kimqwïl(a)

A *uyupähkwmïyu*
Clear the way!

Dähkämudui
Is coming down for me

dïxtsïhdui
my supernatural being(b).

Dähqwundumdui
It bears

ïtkyupïxum
what gray

ähwuhïmuh
to those who sing(c).

[WOOSLAM COOKE]

B *Sïqïmïmmïp*
Do not insult

ïtqp'ïhïhtap*
you have less than

dïmuxhuqïn
my father(d).

Ämuhuïqmïk
Always is increasing

umïqïmdui
my bow(f)

mur-uhïn-hunïh(e)
in my house(g).

[WOOSLAM COOKE]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 45b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) This song was used at a potlatch. Those used on such occasions were prepared carefully and are accordingly the best remembered at the present time.
(c) That is: It bears presents for those who sing and assist the ceremony in any way.
(d) That is: Do not pride yourselves on equalling my father, he is greater than any of you.
(e) When this song was being sung for the phonograph, this subdivision was temporarily forgotten and replaced by a repetition of the third division of the second part.

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(*f*) The receptacle for valuables.
(*g*) That is: I am constantly having to increase the size of the box in which I keep my goods.

Song Used for Łáloxmán·a(a)

A Sawiyāmalnamals | dasahldimut·amlits | wastanlamhalidats | siostáloxtanamls
It is from my ancient myth that I gain strength for myself(*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Skámálostmainuxisqudux — Had just gained the summit | *dámundamiskidux* — whither he was going | *aiyaoyaskálalmisdux* — when he got

dálukwalayemkis — his shamanistic power | *daqwnusainustcqidux* — which showed the way | *nuyálxikdimutstcqidux* — the solitary, depressed one(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Skámálxwpákmainuximqudux — He arrived | *oldáqnkaoskidux* — at the river,(*d*) | *nutciyakimqwlnandux* — they gave him

swinamkilaqwsitl — comforts and riches, (?) | *aiyailmnatskidux* — the child of | *Yelsqwikaiyaskidux* — *Yelsqwikaiya*(*e*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 17b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of the first part of this song.
(*c*) The text is taken from a myth previously cited. The first *Łáloxmán·a*, utterly depressed and weary of life, went off alone into the forest and was finally very fortunate.
(*d*) Kitlobe River.
(*e*) *Yelsqwikaiya* was presumably father of the first *Łáloxmán·a*.

Song Used for Łáloxmán·a(a)

A Nustlxwoldimutxwas — Be bold! | *Yas áldihmainulilsdai* — The ability to hold potlatches(*b*) | *di'ixfmnteiyadjutldai* — has come strongly to him

hánulloikaiyailsndai — on his shoulders has put it | *aiyastlaiāmsudai* — that chief, | *yas diqaostcālasdusdai* — and has scattered it to all(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Yas ka'alaiqtmalsan — I do likewise | *yas skáitkimākmilsan* — in all my actions(*d*). | *Skásxálxálydimustāmkits* — Sometimes like a land-slide are

wasnālimālstsals — my goods(*e*); | *ska'alasfmāntitsals* — I shall stand above | *was·tāmsstāmmdcstsals* — all other chiefs.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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*593 C This is probably the type of song with only two parts; if a third was composed, it has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 17a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) The intangible ability of a chief, "Success."
(c) The literal translation is obscure; the meaning is that success has come to a chief who has taken it upon his shoulders and then dispensed it, in the form of presents, to all. The reference is to one of the dancer's ancestors.
(d) This song was used at a potlatch, and in this second part the theme changes from the past to the present.
(e) That is: My goods are as overwhelming in their abundance as a land-slide.

Song Used for Laksmsh(a)

A *Ăstmoĕnalĭnk:* Where is	*dal'aiyatsdix* the talking,	*dslalcimdix* the voices(b)	*a'lksqala* without(c)?

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Ălimsp* Come	*ahlcmp* and see,	*tixmsqs* they are(d)	*dasmstimpali* my friends.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C This type of song has only two parts.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 40b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to be very ancient.
(b) The voices of the supernatural beings; that is, whistling by *nsaal* accomplices.
(c) That is: Outside the house.
(d) A reference to the supernatural beings without.

Song Used for Trimlain, a Man of Sinaf(a)

A *Ălstcirmqhltsdaxinkqaiyelsp* Why do you(b) not come direct	*oltsalsem* to my house	*shmuqapsdimmsp* to eat,

shsmlsdimmsp
to fill yourselves to repletion?

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Mĕlĭlshqualsm'* One time	*stsmlsq'linsatim* they put him to shame(c)	*alsqualsmalsli:* when he lived in	*matsalmalsl* the expanding house(d).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 59a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Humpbacked Tomsap. This song is said to be very ancient.
(b) Plural.

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(c) An incident in the dancer's ancestral myth; one of his forefathers succeeded in shaming a rival chief. 533*

(d) Many origin myths describe houses, provided by *Alpuxtem* for the first settlers, which expanded of their own accord to accommodate guests at potlatches. The reference is to one of these, although it was impossible to record the myth itself. [773]

Song Used for Qwai of Kimsquit(a)

A Pálnapdlais Rouse yourselves for it,	*ste'ákeult* ye residents!	*Shéiyukipdai* See which is my supernatural being(b).	*eiyadicyamis*

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

B Nesiwukstukdus At the bottom(c)	*dukkiliyimdus* the first-comer(d)	*skinnamsois* seated himself	*mes malcomilais* of our provided food(e).

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

C The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 8b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. *Qwai* was his mother's brother.
(b) The dancer's associates are invited to gather to witness his performance.
(c) That is: The mouth.
(d) Referring to one of the dancer's earliest ancestors.
(e) The reference is to the Kimsquit River which teems with salmon; the dancer describes the fish as the fare provided for his ancestral family by *Alpuxtem*.

Song Used for Qwai of Kimsquit (a)

A or B(b) *Limmamsdlais* Go out and see,	*ye ste'ákeult* ye residents!	*Tutsimmiandai* It is apparent(c)	
diyalaiai what travels everywhere(d),	*diqwatilai: a* what brings our food(e)	*dunalyamskimis* from its home(f).	

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

C Dipmaqulus That is	*dittilhmpdus* the chief	*Lidliokikka(g)* *Lidliokikka;*	*ditqmaqualmis* he carries a heavy burden(h)	[776] [424]
wutmqtidai in his canoe	*lenalyamskimis* from his land.			

(a) Recorded as song VII D 8a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Only two of the three parts are remembered.
(c) The actual meaning of *tutsimam* is: What is Apparent. Its use in this case is, therefore, an untranslatable pun.

*533 (d) A somewhat beautiful reference to the power of the dancer's *tutelemem*.
(e) Another arrogant reference to the *tutelemem*.
[776] (f) In Bella Bella.
[424] (g) This is a Bella Bella being of whom little is known by the Bella Coola. The right to use him as *tutelemem* came from a remote ancestor.
(h) Presumably, the dancer's right to perform.

Fragment of a Song Used for Tsapsis, a Kimsquit Man(a)

A Alpacmacsin Protect your faces,	*mulicwnimamp* you quiet people!	*Sakaxnamsin* Is always shooting arrows

Inakatsiyatlsis
my crest(b).

[WASPS CREST]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

[WASPS CREST]

Kymsiss Don't do that,	*tsiplimamamdiyitl* they will cover us with valuables(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 29b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to be an extremely ancient one, used by some of the earliest settlers; the tune is said to be entirely different from any recent *nuxalk* compositions.

[424] (b) The dancer's crest was the wasp, an insect which is believed to sting by the
[825] discharge of invisible, minute arrows. This admonition to the guests to hide their
[773] faces was, of course, a boasting reference to the goods which would be distributed at the approaching potlatch. None of the first settlers was sent down to earth as a wasp, but several, including *Nankila*, were guided and assisted by these insects to such an extent that they have been regarded as crests.

[558] (c) It is customary, when quoting this song, to add this final remark. It is related
[424] that, many years ago, a Kimsquit man used his wasp prerogative, but was shamed at the potlatch by being inundated with goods from a rival. Since that time, none of his descendants has dared to use the right and the admonition against doing so has become almost proverbial.

Fragment of a Song Used for Nuqwikmkain of Kimsquit(a)

A Kyemdjilkmm We all go	*ckalijakwilkki* to see(b).	*Dijapdjakwlki* He(c) informs us	*matinqatsis* of what he carries.

B and *C* No more of this song is remembered, though it was used at a potlatch about 1910.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 29b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louis Hall.
(b) Meaning: To gaze upon something supernatural.
(c) An unnamed supernatural being.

Fragment of a Song Used for Sneeshalo, a Man of Salmon House(a) 583*

Ki'shilpmilkaio	*nanamy*
Whence came those(b)	who were too late?

No more of this song is remembered.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 9c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Refers to guests at the potlatch.

Fragment of a Song Used for Sakumaw-a of Kimsquit(a)

Xatipanaiye	*natipanaiye*	*hoodai*
I am happy at seeing you(b),	I am happy at seeing you,	good-bye(c).

No more of this song is remembered.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 31b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Presumably refers to the dancer's totemism, Beaver, obtained from his mother's mother, a Kitsilas woman. [424]
(c) This word is said to be in the Haida language.

Song(a) Used for Lanaiyaw-i'(b) of Kimsquit(c)

A Kinawhaxumdimaxdimalhan	*Ra'nauk(d)*
I make two of myself(e).	Raven(f).

ckdjindjakaiyaxlandja	*Ra'nauk*
I make a huge whale of myself,	Raven,

ahtcilpmaxdaw	*Kanawakdimaxpinn*	*ckdjindjakaiyaxlandja*
at the place of lucky finds (g).	People will dismember me,	I make a huge whale of myself(h).

[WOOSAAN CANOE]

B Kinadimdjaxtck'	*dutcahalaio*	*ckdpang' ctalakai*	
I stand upon	my point(i);	I cry out loudly(j)	

dimkimgakai
with respect to my position as chief.

[WOOSAAN CANOE]

C Kanawakapd'	*Ckdkiyandjakp*	*Ohapaimaxlamk*	*wacalakalk*
Go yourselves!	Pick out what you want!	My house	is open(k).

(a) It is doubtful whether or not this song should be included in this section. It was used by a professional warrior at a potlatch but, like all others with his [701] [575] [424]

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[701] prerogative, he was debarred from seclusion in the back-room and consequent initiation as a *xnask*. The exact relationship between warriors and members of the *xnask* society is obscure.

[575] (*b*) *Lasaiyaw-k'* is a Kitkatla name from the north. The first owner moved to Kitlobe where he married, and the designation was transmitted to his descendants.

[424] One of the latter migrated to Kimsquit, where the name has since been handed

[177] down from generation to generation though its original source has not been forgotten.

(*c*) Recorded as song VII D 36, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been used about 1870.

(*d*) Vocative form.

(*e*) That is: I double my importance. This kind of expression is popular among chiefs.

[424] (*f*) *Qoui* is one of the ancestral names of Raven, the dancer's crest. In thus

addressing the bird, he called attention to his ancestral history.

[262] (*g*) The home of the first *Lasaiyaw-k'* was near a point where dead whales often drifted ashore. The dancer likens himself to a whale on which people will dine.

(*h*) Such repetition is not uncommon. The dancer implies that his wealth will be divided in a manner similar to the cutting up of a whale's carcass.

(*i*) A promontory owned by the first *Lasaiyaw-k'*.

(*j*) That is: I summon people [to a feast.]

(*k*) An invitation not to be taken too literally.

Xe-tla Songs

The tunes of *xe-tla* songs are believed to have been handed down, unaltered, for many generations. The words, too, are frequently ancient although the singers sometimes make slight changes so that they will be more suitable for the chief in whose honour they are being sung. Owing to the decline of cere-

[796] monials in which they were used, few *xe-tla* songs are now remembered.

Xe-tla Song Used by Sinapul of Kimsquit(a)

[727]

A Alinayuuo	*Ahlrual'aihdai*	*Di xakeimpdai*	*dexulmit*
Come!	See!	The chief	a man stands in the bow(f)

di yalsatsal'aihdai
of those who travelled everywhere.

[WOMAN'S SONG]

B Aleiqualnxyaxsit	*di'antsaxlailhdax*	*eiyattiyamtlhdax*
He did so,	my pattern(g),	whence I came(d);

Smithsonian E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[illegible]	[illegible]
he circled and returned	*Sasq*[illegible].

[illegible]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded on song VII D 39a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) A sign of victory, eagerly watched for when a war-party is returning. [727]
(c) A reference to *Wiwat*, one of *Sisaqal*'s first ancestors in the beginning of time. He made a journey to the Skeena, returning from there with canoe and paddles decorated with sun designs. The exploits of his descendant are compared with those of his partners, that is, his first forbear. Such references to family history are sources of pride to the chief being honoured. [773]
(d) That is: From whom I am descended.

Fragment of a Xe-da Song(a) Used by Sisaqalilas of Kimsquit(b)

A *Xaiyamawalas*	*di ithaiwaydai*	*haiijaiwaxis*
Presently he will be ashamed	that chief	if I get

ainaXilkalaidai
my copper.

(a) Both tune and theme are said to be of Kwakiutl origin. [177]
(b) Recorded on song VII D 36b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

Fragment of a Xe-da Song Used by Sisaqal of Kimsquit(a)

A *Xaxaiikpamalaxdai*	*yas (?) dipatsiyaiiwadai*	*Oldipaiiwaiiiwadai*
They are smiling,	greetings to the not-crowded place!	They drink

xemis gamaxdja
the food of white men(?).

[illegible]

B and C have been forgotten.

(a) Recorded on song VII D 41b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Literally: *Hide!*
(c) This song was used at a potlatch where the fare provided was whisky. The tune is said to be very ancient although new words were composed for the occasion. [556] [279]

A'alk Songs

A'alk songs somewhat resemble *nusak* ones and, like them, are difficult to collect completely. Parts of many are remem- [575] [796]

#589 [575] [799] bered, but the rites in which they were used have been practically discontinued for several years so that unabridged versions are almost impossible to obtain. *A'alk* themes vary according to the ceremonies in which they are used. For potlatches, they consist of incidents from ancestral myths; whereas for non-ceremonial occasions following the *kusiut* season, they deal with current events. The following examples are divided into these two classes.

THEMES DRAWN FROM ANCESTRAL MYTHS

Ki'ups Song Used for Nuximalkin, a Man of Kimsquit(a)

A Tsyuxwumulaie They give valuable counsel,	*ditlwdiudai* my goods(b);	*dudpuxwlaxdudai* they formulate their own opinions

ddlipuxwdudai | *ajuxlai-ainxtdudai* | *ddlumxwdudai*
concerning to whom of those seated in my house I shall give presents(c).

[TRANSLATION CONTINUED]

B Ki'ulsiyuxdjmulaudja I speak lofty	*dulldjimuljuds* of everything(d).	*Wanlxwimuljdumuxt* Through them(e)

ddjmulxtimuds-uals | *ddumxwimulds-ly* | *ajxumuxw ulxulxuls*
I become elevated, | my power to give potlatches (n) | my male relatives(f).

[TRANSLATION CONTINUED]

C Kuxwulxwulxtd'mals Presently I shall stand	*dumu'jlxuds-lidur* within the box	*dumuuljuxwulidur* at the corner door(g),

ualulldlimulldudu
where flowed to all(h) | *dumuxlumuds-lidur*
the corner skins(i) | *lumlulldimulu*
of *Tsulxulldmul*(j)(k).

(a) Recorded on song VII D 31a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) That is: The goods which I am about to distribute advise me. This statement is not to be taken literally.

(c) It was impossible to obtain a translation of each subdivision.

(d) Relate to the dancer's many prerogatives.

(e) Relate to his male relatives.

(f) The dancer had obtained several prerogatives from ancestors, treated particularly.

#424 [773] (g) A reference to the dancer's origin myth (I, p. 229). The house of his first forefather, *ursyaqual*, had its door in a back corner instead of the centre front.

(h) That is: Whence were distributed at potlatches.

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NEh Bellacoola NEh

(d) Brought from above as a present from *Sqaemen*.
(*e*) One of the dancer's first ancestors.
(*f*) Combined themes such as this, referring both to the approaching potlatch and the dancer's origin myth, are common at potlatches and *kekwiatal*.

am'hl'a Song Used for Kimcpastimum of Kimsquit(a)

A *Kaiyemalaus* | *ckimsqumsqyilsdas* | *kimsaiustadas* | *ne'kimskilsalais*
Presently the people who lack prerogatives will envy(*b*) what I possess. Because

dimsmaiyalas | *dam'hl'aradai*
it increases sensually, it is *am'hl'a*(*c*).

[WOODLAND CROWS]

B *Sam'kimas adamdas* | *Pumpalatdimat* | *'am'ad'ainmy'mis*
In the beginning there came down | *Pumpalatdimat*(*d*) | with his river(*e*).

Skamamtsyi: | *tqwmqwsimalsamtsyi* | *mashas ualy*
He meets himself | at the mouth | of the "Heavy One"(*f*).

[WOODLAND CROWS]

C The last part has been forgotten(*g*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 30a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) The word *mqum*, which is translated as envy, is used only for the desire of ancestral prerogatives which can never be attained except by those who are members of the ancestral family concerned. [424] [614]
(*c*) It was impossible to obtain literal translations of the subdivisions.
(*d*) A name which *Smamas* (I, p. 332) took for himself on earth. It is claimed that the composers of this song erred in using this designation.
(*e*) *Smamas* came down to the Kimsquit River, but the grandiloquent phrasing expresses the sentiment that man and stream came together.
(*f*) The Kimsquit River is sometimes termed *W'atkis* as its name as chief. This designation was obtained by *Smamas* from Bella Bella, with his marriage to a woman of that tribe, and bestowed by him on the river. [103] [424]
(*g*) This song was used during the winter of 1923-4 and nearly led to friction. It is claimed that the right to the name *Kimcpastimum* was lent to a Kimsquit man who failed to return it. The borrower has been dead many years, but when his son pretended to dance, one of the singers who was related to the original leader refused to take part in the singing. [578] [426] [424]

Thaiyakam Song Used for a Kimsquit Man(a)

A *ana'shqudja* | *aiyadimsinqas* | *dimsimaldada* | *aiyamamtsakals*
I have obtained | the ancestral right | which displayed | my forefathers(*b*).

[WOODLAND CROWS]

Ø: McIlwraith K-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

#533 B *Yaqwiwuqwulxdux* He agreed | *shklalimdux* to being dropped(*c*), | *tinlitsqwuduxs* he spoke the eagle language cheerfully.

Ainxwmuxwuxdux Xemxut(*d*).

[WOODLESS CWONOT]

C The last part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 32a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) That is: Which my forefathers displayed.
(*c*) It is said that some of the first settlers were unwilling to be sent down to earth.
[773] (*d*) *Xemxut*, one of the dancer's first ancestors, came to earth in eagle form and accordingly spoke the language of these birds.

Fragment of a Tlaiyakum Song Used for Sinaqul of Kimsquit

Nuxlwuktuktay It is ready; | *dal'lalimdux* his . . . . . (*a*) that was sent down | *skanamti'xis* has taken its stand | *nanuld* at Dean River(*b*).

[WOODLESS CWONOT]

[424] (*a*) The term signifies any object, whether tangible or intangible, sent down from above in the beginning of time. In this case it refers to the dancer's *Ilaiyakum* prerogative.
(*b*) A reference to the coming to earth of *Smaxan*. See vol. I, p. 332.

THEMES DRAWN FROM CURRENT EVENTS

Nuxqual Song Used for Nuqsqdmis, a Kimsquit Man(*a*)

A *Tsilpachmdux* Let us stop | *shlirwulliuxcip* elevating(*b*) him(*c*); | *tamkistraullix* he uses without authority

xwlwuitstalimuts a chief's name(*d*).

[WOODLESS CWONOT]

B *Qaxiwukdajlt'* Is feeble | *yuo distimuxytmhals* the dancer(*e*); | *spilpuxp* let him accept from me | *alt'alim-idmls* what he likes(*f*).

[WOODLESS CWONOT]

C *Alaisdudux* He was likewise(*g*) | *disiastlualimts* my first forefather(*h*); | *spqlalkmdals* I summon guests

aiyuxtwimutalmls for what I am about to display(*i*).

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(a) Recorded as song VII D 28a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The tune is said to have been handed down for more than two hundred years. 533 *

(b) That is: Let us stop paying the customary respect to.

(c) It is not remembered which chief was thus held up to the scorn of his fellows.

(d) That is: He does not act in accordance with the traditions of the name he uses.

(e) That is: The dancer is feeble. This refers to another *nusqual* dancer who, owing to his poverty, had not performed for many years. It is not known whether he was the same individual as the one derided in the first part of the song. [558]

(f) To flaunt another's poverty in his face is the height of Bella Coola rudeness. [735]

(g) That is: He, too, was a *nusqual*. [576]

(h) The ancestor from whom the prerogative was derived.

(i) That is: In virtue of my *nusqual* ability. This appears to be a departure from the usual theme of a mocking song.

Nusqual Song Used for Ḵwixlakilakʷ, a Kimsquit Man(a)

A	*Tuhsdjidjsdamalnumit*	*yuḵwixlakikkwsudai*	*skä'ānutsāyenmixwaiʿ*
	Please do not deny,	Ḵwixlakilakʷ(*b*),	listen to your

sewuḵpātnuxwaiʿ
drums(*c*).

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

B	*Sāmamaudjsmōdu*	*nuyaiyutwilhaiʿ*	*ahāltāmstaḵailsandai*
	I alone	am content(*d*);	is increasing

aiyadispalimutsdai
my prerogative(*e*).

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

C The third part has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 29a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) It is not uncommon in *nusak* and *a'alk* songs for the dancer to address himself in this way. [575]

(c) That is: Be ready to listen to drums beaten at one of your ceremonies.

(d) The dancer is deriding another *nusqual* who has not performed for a long time. [558]

(e) This song differs slightly from the usual mocking type in lack of specific references to the person derided; lack of reference to an ancestral myth, however, shows that it was not composed for a potlatch. [556]

Song of a Kimsquit Nusqual(a)

A	*Dipuxupo*	*ḵälnhlaiʿ*	*ḵustāhumxwas*	*disisut*
	That is he,	the impostor,	the chief	of the paddle(*b*).

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*533 *B* *Sāostxtxaxwao* | *elāsults* | *skā'ālpsdulsdai* | *dismāt·ms̱djs*
Go within | my house, | I am giving food | to my friends.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

[614] [424] [685] (*a*) Recorded as song VII D 28b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said that this song has been handed down for generations in an ancestral family; they now regard it as a family possession and would consider its use by others to be stealing.

[609] (*b*) Many years ago a solitary Bella Bella used to paddle to Kimsquit almost every year. He was dressed like a chief and had the mien of one, so that his hosts assumed him to be a person of importance. It was later found that he was a poor man. The mocking of foreigners is a common theme of *a'alk* songs.

am'hl·a Song Used for Xımxımlaix(a)

*533 575 578 *A* *Nulwultukaxānamqwalsan* | *sīlxwosmaikila*
He has fallen so that his buttocks are uppermost, | Hail(*b*)!

Damunmulsan·imut | *skusiutdas*
He has come to hurt, | that *kusiut*(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C*. The second and third parts have been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 3c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) A mockingly deferential salutation used in *a'alk* songs describing the *kukusiut*.

(*c*) *Xımxımlaix* was an *a'alk* who is said to have seen a Cannibal *kusiut* when the latter was supposed to be in the land above. A song was composed about the incident, and the above fragment has been remembered for many years. *Xımxımlaix* was initiated into the *kusiut* society; see vol. II, p. 265.

*533 575 796 203 As already described, whenever a dancer is performing, the women utter a peculiar high-pitched drone and the heralds call out remarks suitable to the occasion. A phonograph record[3] was made of the drone, followed by a cry suitable for either *sisaok* or *a'alk* dances. The following words are virtually sung:

Yelosāldimut | *stālhmpakais*
Do not err, | chiefs.

[3]Recorded as song VII D 29c, National Museum of Canada.

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Nusäxkämx Songs

The texts of *nusäxkämx* songs are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. The rites in which they were used have long been discontinued and, since they were never ceremonially important, there was nothing to impress either tunes or words on the minds of the singers. In addition, it is probable that the songs were always less carefully constructed than those of other types. 533* [796]

Song Used for Qolon(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

Qixänaowitaiya	*sîhmstänäbtcistaiya*	*sätwimmlsndai*
Be happy,	ye people,	it is about to come,

däsqwituyumdai	*däqolonlaotcaiya*
that hidden one(c),	Beaver.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

Qoloni'i	*Qoloni'i*	*wa·xai·yai*
Beaver(d)!	Beaver!	*wa·xai·yai*(e).

(a) This word means "Beaver." It is most unlikely that it was the dancer's own designation, more probably a nickname used in connection with the *nusäxkämx* rite. [551]
(b) Recorded as song VII D 9b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
(c) This signifies a person who is hidden ceremonially, such as a *kusiut* dancer who has gone to the land above. The dancer expected to be a Cannibal and the rite in which this song was used served as a kind of rehearsal. [796] [575]
(d) This refrain replaces a second and third part of the song itself.
(e) A meaningless series of choral ejaculations.

Song Used for a Kimsquit Woman(a)

Axnnuxdimqwduks	*tlopiwacsudax*	*tuxwismaoskidax*	*älusmätskidax*
They heard	of Fawn(b),	when they were playing	long ago(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 9d, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) The theme being of a fawn, the dancer wore a deer-skin. [535]
(c) As in many *nusäxkämx* songs, the words refer to an ancient story, probably one describing the adventures of deer and wolves; see vol. II, p. 425.

Song Used for Waoziqslaix, a Kimsquit Man(a)

Lilitwmusänimx	*waowunjoqsän·ai*	*waiztski*	*sqolänops*
Run in all directions,	ye dogs,	for the first time	it is there

nunuqaolsmm	*ostcäxänam*	*maoitc*	*maoitc*
he brings much food(b),	go below the house	?(c)	?(d).

[776] [192]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*533 (a) Recorded as song VII D 9c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
[776] (b) Presumably a reference to *Noakxnim*, the dancer's *kusiut* patron(?).
[192] (c) The meaning of this word is not known; it is considered to be quite distinct from the identical term in Chinook jargon for "deer."
(d) The meaning of the whole song is extremely obscure.

Marriage Songs

*533 As marriage songs, two distinct classes may be considered:
585 A. Those used at weddings;
[586] B. Shaming songs used in connection with divorce rites.
[578] The former are said to have been handed down from the distant past and consist of a few almost meaningless words. The latter are composed whenever required, and consist of foul allusions to the person being ridiculed.

WEDDING SONGS

Stuux Marriage Song(a)

Nunusiqwāldimutqwanitl	*yao ixlāqwlaiyulao*	*altusaqwnainuxpis*
Danced for joy	*Qwlaiyu(b)*	when they brought
ai'ailmnanaodax	*yao dutxasxr-misudax*	
the girl	from the place of light(c).	

(a) Recorded as song VII D 3b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.
[773] (b) *Qwlaiyu* came down with *usuyuyut* in the beginning of time, and brought,
[424] as a gift from *Alquntām*, the prerogative of dancing at weddings. He landed at Kimsquit, and no explanation is given by the Bella Coola for the use of this song by the people of *Stuux*.
[773] (c) A reference to a marriage among the first people on earth. One of *Qwlaiyu*'s associates married a woman whose relatives had brought light with them from above.

Kimsquit Marriage Song(a)

Sāk'lālālimqwsuduks	*yao daxomtnlalaoals*	*wasāsqolxnāsdomdax*
They sent down	*Xomtsla(b)*	with his relative
yao ixlāqwlāyulaoals		
Qwlaiyu (c)(d).		

(a) Recorded as song VII D 2b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(*b*) *Xemtsk* came down from above with *uyuyuyut* in the beginning of time; he had the prerogative of dancing at weddings. 533*

(*c*) *Qulaiyu* likewise came down with *uyuyuyut*, bringing the same prerogative as *Xemtsk*. 585

(*d*) The rest of this song has been forgotten. [773]

Fragmentary and short as are these songs, they are more elaborate than many used at weddings. These frequently contain no words, merely an ancient tune accompanied by humming and meaningless choral interjections.[4] [424]

SHAMING SONGS

533*

Songs of this type are sung by the singers while the principal performer dances; in this respect, they resemble *susaok* compositions and differ entirely from the abbreviated and individualistic wedding songs. Though used primarily to shame a runaway husband or wife, one is sometimes employed on other occasions. 586 578 [585]

Song Used for No·ɬwna(a), a Kimsquit Woman(b)

A *Yelakaiẓ*	*dalima*	*Mistelos*	*sälnaixtus*	*dämnalicaiya'a*
Has too much	looted	*Mistelos(c)*	further,	he has taken with her

tcakwaakusltumal	*dämnälicaiya'a*
my child, *Tcäkwaäkis(d)*,	he has taken with her(*e*).

[103]

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sänolḑoldimut*	*sawästähmmtsaḷs*	*ikäs·äkänulsaixts*
Be brave,	mothers(*f*),	when I speak of your ugliness(*g*);

alaskdjäsliwanap	*wanusḑwdsätsahmgaḷs*
you have had much trouble,	your breasts have become long and pendant.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) This word means "The one (feminine) with the very hairy pudenda." The woman in question had run away from her husband and the nickname was conferred at this shaming *Hlaiyäkum* rite. [551] [553]

[4] Two examples of such wordless songs were collected. They are song VII D 2a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard, and song VII D 3a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*533
586
578
[103]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 35a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) That is: *Mustlos* has looted too much. He was the seducer of *Nə·ɢwna*.

(*d*) This ancestral name is one of the designations of Mount *Nusɢalst*.

(*e*) This repetition merely adds force to the complaint of the aggrieved husband. It was impossible to obtain an accurate translationof each subdivision.

(*f*) Referring to old women in general.

(*g*) In this second part, the theme changes from the specific plaints of the aggrieved husband to his condemnation and criticism of the whole female sex. Such combinacions are common in shaming songs, and are often accompanied by a change of tune.

Song Used for Nulkitl(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A Dixsoloks	*dəsxwilətliwatom*	*diqwawlamkdjutl*
Being poverty-stricken(*c*)		has come to this rite

nulkaiyaitldai
Nulkitl(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Diəltɢəmətsltom	*wasqilixilals*	*əltakaiyak'*
All the foul expressions used by men are applicable to(*e*)		the crippled

yasilias
Silias(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) This song was sung by women to shame *Nulkitl* who had deserted his wife. It was the work of a feminine composer, *Nuxem*.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 38b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.

(*d*) Any weakness is picked upon in a shaming song. *Nulkitl* must have failed to perform rites of any kind, and the feminine mockers chose to deride him for this instead of his faithlessness.

(*e*) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.

(*f*) *Silias* was one of the regular Kimsquit singers who had shown especial aptitude in the insertion of obscene expressions to songs used by men to deride faithless women. The women apparently considered this a good opportunity to voice their general disapproval by coupling his name with that of *Nulkitl*. *Silias* had suffered a broken arm when fighting and it had been badly set.

Song Used for Som(a), a Kimsquit Woman(b)

A Wastəlɢpstutdjalustnuwit	*aiyaoyəsoyomsudsaix*
Do not talk too much in a proud manner(*c*),	*Som*,

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

waz·munmalnmnimetnu	*si·xwotldimutnudja*	*xwas·iāsqiliqaoals*		533*
you are the prey of misfortune,	you unmarried mother;	you are *sqili*(*d*), you women		586
xwaā'lālye·ya·lusals	*Änāna*	*Yumtcaia*	*somtcaia*	578
who pretend to be virtuous(*e*).	Alas(*f*)!	I am ashamed,	I am *Som*(*g*).	

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Qānmaxwalxs·alotskidax*	*dāsboilditsālotskidsaix*	*yao oldistānāsul·LX*	
Exactly similar	is the little boy's nose	to that of the round-headed	
aiyaoyaqolosdidai	*Änāna*	*Yumtcaia*	*somtcaia*
Qolosti(*h*).	Alas!	I am ashamed,	I am *Som*.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(*a*) This differs from most *ilaiyākam* songs in that *Som* was an unmarried mother, not a faithless wife. She was held up to scorn by the men of Kimsquit and this song composed for her by a certain *Blo·qwas*. [848]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 38a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) It is said that women, even of slave blood, used to endeavour to increase their importance in the eyes of their children by boasting, falsely, of ancestral history. [554]

(*d*) A term of opprobrium, difficult to translate. It is said to imply slave ancestry, but is more probably a mere epithet, referring to the female organs. [195]

(*e*) This is addressed to women in general.

(*f*) An expression of pain or sorrow, used under all circumstances. [192]

(*g*) The theme is here changed as if it were *Som* herself speaking. This is a common device in all kinds of songs.

(*h*) *Qolosti* was supposed to be the father of *Som*'s child.

Mourning Songs

Mourning songs excel all other Bella Coola compositions in length, complexity, and wealth of detail. Especially those composed for mighty chiefs contain numerous references to the ancestral history of the deceased and mention incidents referred to in origin myths, a source of pride to the survivors and of envy to those who listen. 533* [765] [766]

Song Used for Qowi when Mourning his Son, Qwinao(a)

A *Stāmalma* | *waxlākdatoms* | *ilālinaywao* | *sānābsulipai*
Why has my son done so(*b*)? Come, ye who are residents of foreign lands(*c*)

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ānustcayenmipdai	*dinulhnānkumlaixia*	*Diwal·ixwlimdai*	*Xdāstālhmxlaixia*
hear	my mourning song.	He(*d*) has gone.	The chief

daqwnmlsandāx	*xwasiut·ālsaixia*
has taken him,	his supernatural being(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sasamyeqwilulsika*	*yeilākwakilasudax*	*dustāmtamx^{w} dimotsilskidax*
Was good	*Ilākwakila*(*f*)	when, unaided, he made the river

aiyaxduwanuqtudax	*Yao duixnuwixslax*	*aiaqwax'tcinas·udax*
at Rivers Inlet(*g*).	Hail to the widened river	of Raven(*h*)!

Aiyakā·mālsandax	*skānusmāllaiyailsandax*	*Dā·lālqwālesandsl*
He(*i*) will soon become petrified there(*j*).		He(*k*) seized

yayaxwo'om·aitlsoitl
Yexwomaitl(*l*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Kālkwanāsnukmas*	*skāstāltmxnu*	*kāmai·ts*	*Kānmnamāknukmas*
Be thou highest(*m*),	chief(*n*),	please.	You will hold two

skānuxieknu	*Ixkāklaixnu*	*olā·stamg^{w}misxaixia*
guardians of light(*o*).	He(*p*) will carry these	when he descends to the river(*q*);

wasālkwmmdom	*wa·kis·udax*
that was what brought	*Waākus*(*r*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C(*s*) *Skāmālusk'lānāmkisk^{w}*	*yao ilslukwalātomitl*	*xils·iosqwiainuximals*
Had just come down	the shaman-like power(*t*)	when he(*u*) used it

wasis·utstnaosuals	*daspuxpuxqmālosdusdax*	*daāsāts·imitskidax*
to open the road(*v*);	eagle feathers(*w*)	he used(*x*).

Aiyatākālāhmlsan	*dasqwnutsamstānaoals*	*Yao dāsxulkdimutstānao*
He succeeded in finding	the place of his food supply(*y*).	Greetings to what has filled

stāmxithlqwālesitl
those who speak with us(*z*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Skāmālnuqwasamnuxisk^{w}*	*Ilaliaki'lak'*	*ya·snubusamnuxitdax*
Had just stilled the rough sea(*aa*)	*Ilaliaki'lak'*(*bb*)	when there rose from below

tcālāhliadudai	*Sistālhmg·yānmaksilsandax*	*Yelnain'akwas*
the copper house(*cc*).	From it the brothers became chiefs(*dd*).	The good *Nain'akwas*,

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siâlîyakimiandax all, everywhere, know of | *Tlaowika'lis* *Tlaowika'lis*(*ee*). | *Tinlelnamiandax* They(*ff*) crossed repeatedly

yao oldulcawôtsudax to *Tcawat*(*gg*).

(*a*) The first four parts of this song were recorded as song VII D 7a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said to have been composed about 1870 for a chief whose son had been drowned. It was later used for a nephew of *Qowi*, and will henceforth be employed only by members of that family. [424]

(*b*) That is: Why has my son died?

(*c*) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.

(*d*) Referring to the dead son.

(*e*) That is: The supernatural being, the chief, has taken him. The reference is to the deceased's crest animal, a common rhetorical device in songs.

(*f*) An ancestor of the deceased and one of the first settlers of the world. He came down to Rivers Inlet.

(*g*) *Tlakwakila* is said to have widened, or even to have made, the principal river at Rivers Inlet. [773]

(*h*) *Tlakwakila* came in the form of a raven.

(*i*) Referring to *Qwinao*.

(*j*) It was impossible to obtain translations of these two subdivisions. *Qwinao*, now dead, will be irremovably connected with the scenes of his first ancestor.

(*k*) Meaning Raven.

(*l*) The mother of *Qwinao* who had died several years earlier.

(*m*) The theme now changes as if *Qowi* were addressing *Qwinao*.

(*n*) Referring to *Qwinao*.

(*o*) Refers to the supernatural beings who rouse the sun and moon and thus cause their light to shine on earth. Mention is made of these in *Qwinao*'s origin myth. [776] [821]

(*p*) The theme changes again from direct address to *Qwinao* to a description of what he will be doing owing to his ancestral history.

(*q*) That is: He will be in the form of one of the guardians of light when his life descends, at a memorial potlatch, to Rivers Inlet.

(*r*) That is: That was what *Waâkis* brought. *Waâkis*, another of *Qwinao*'s first ancestors, could not find a suitable place to settle in the beginning of time. After fruitless wandering, a whale emerged, vomited violently, and was changed to stone. The animal thus became Goose Island, and its vomit the rugged rocks at one end. *Waâkis* settled on that island. [773] [823]

(*s*) This song has three third parts.

(*t*) That is: The first people, with their shaman-like power, had just appeared.

(*u*) Referring to *ux-wunaisa*, another of *Qwinao*'s first ancestors, who also came to earth at Rivers Inlet.

(*v*) At that time the routes between different settlements had not been discovered.

(*w*) More specifically, the coarse, long breast feathers.

(*x*) *ux-wunaisa* used a supernatural canoe which frequently changed to eagle feathers. [773]

(*y*) Refers to Sea-lion Island where he and his descendants used to hunt.

(*z*) Refers to the Bella Bella; several of *Qwinao*'s relatives had married members of that tribe.

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533 (*aa*) Referring to a spot outside Smith Inlet.

[776] (*bb*) That is: *Tłałiakī'lak'* had just stilled the rough sea. She was another of *Q̓winao*'s first ancestors, the most powerful of a group of four consisting of her brothers, *Nain'akwas*, *Tłaowika'lis*, and *Tłáliałłis*, and of herself.

(*cc*) *Q̓omoqwa*'s house, a reference to an incident in *Q̓winao*'s ancestral myth.

(*dd*) The house contained whistles and other valuables which they obtained.

[551] (*ee*) That is: All people, everywhere, know of *Nain'akwas* and *Tłaowika'lis*. Each name, though singular, has a plural significance since the other brothers are likewise implied.

(*ff*) Referring again to the band of first settlers.

(*gg*) A place on the mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island.

Song Used for Sinuxetł(*a*)

A Yao kä'äsmaiusdimqwdax	*dänuło̓ldaiämk'łdiłs*	*yao ikäłskadnimodaox*
They(*b*) will presently inform(*c*)	my dead relatives(*d*)	when they reach

yao oldätxwuniqwdstax	*dukukdjudjimułtsidax*	*duołnułtxämäłłimdax*
the outer places(*e*);	they(*f*) see(*g*)	where they first came down.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Ken·ambołm·itsmäłsin	*aiyawasmaiustałsałs*	*äłtusäłainaoskidax*
I clothe myself with(*h*)	my ancestral myth,	as it was

däsołtutiye·mskidax	*xdunununuq̓wsim·älstskidax*	*aiyałämtsai'aisudax*
in the time	of the *Nunuq̓smäls*(*i*)	house.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Skämałnubusamnuximk^{w}	*däsqwnutsamstänaołsandax*	*stämitulq̓wläsitł*
Had just emerged(*j*)	the place where our relatives get their food(*k*).	

Aiyadaomätatxstax	*täłłłxikdimut·skidax*	*aiyawaäkis·udax*
Thither went	when it became dry(*l*)	*Waäkis*.

Siälkiyukłdinłsandax	*däno'osqän·ämkłdałł*	*aiyatämän·ukstitł*
That is why	all people, everywhere, know	of my ancestors(*m*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 37, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. Both words and tune were composed by him about 1907.

(*b*) Referring to *Waäkis* and his band, (I, p. 350). *Sinuxetł* was descended from this group of first people.

[192] (*c*) The significance of this word is stronger than *inform*. It means that *Waäkis* will relate to the deceased their ancestral myth.

(*d*) The chief for whom this song was composed had lost several relatives.

(*e*) Referring to Goose Island, *Yel·äxłaix*, where *Waäkis* landed.

(*f*) Referring again to the deceased.

[192] [775] (*g*) The significance of this word is stronger than *see*. It means that those recently dead will gaze with rapture on the places which belong to them owing to their ancestral myth.

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(*h*) That is: I incorporate myself into.

(*i*) The reference is to another of *Sinugul*'s myths dealing with the coming to earth of *Hamcat* near Kimsquit. *Nunuḡsmāls* was the name of his house. 533*

(*j*) Referring to Goose Island once more.

(*k*) That is: Goose Island where our relatives, the Bella Bella, get their food, had just emerged and become visible. It was impossible to obtain a separate translation of these two subdivisions.

(*l*) Referring again to Goose Island. This small piece of land is shaped like a whale, and, as already described, it was originally one. *Ālqunsām* bade the animal come to the surface to be changed to stone; then *Wāḵs* settled there as soon as the water had dried from what had been its back. [773] [823]

(*m*) The literal translation of each subsection may be inaccurate.

Song Used for Yeālos of Kimsquit(*a*)

A Yenooisandax	*wakwalundal*	*sāhxwaixisndai*	*disonx*ʷ*sudai*
It is good(*b*);	our(*c*)?	has lifted	the sky(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Q̱āqwaxqwisandai(*e*)	*disiutsudai*	*skāaiyaldumdai*
He was Raven(*f*),	the supernatural one	when he descended

dinulhniktāsdai
the post(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Snuqwla·xlisndai	*distāltmgdai*	*yeyālosdai*	*sāliplisdai*
He is bright(*h*),	the chief	*Yeālos*;	he carries

siāsxwilāklaixs	*dilāliās·udai*
a unique	copper(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 47a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been composed over one hundred years ago and since used repeatedly.

(*b*) With the significance of: It is highly satisfactory.

(*c*) The meaning of this word is obscure. It refers to the crest of *Yeālos* with the added implication of a memorial. It applies to the memorial rite being given. [765]

(*d*) When a chief dies, it is said that the people in their grief feel as if the sky were pressing them down. A memorial rite lessens their sorrow and lifts the burden. [152]

(*e*) When this word was being sung for the phonograph, the singer erred and replaced it by part of the first word of the third part.

(*f*) That is: He was in the form of a raven. The reference is to one of the first ancestors of *Yeālos*.

(*g*) Meaning one of the posts which stretched between earth and sky in the beginning of time. [773]

(*h*) This refers to *Yeālos*. He was formerly weighed down with grief, but by giving a memorial rite he is like the sun as it shines out brilliantly from behind the clouds.

(*i*) A reference to a special kind of copper mentioned in the chief's origin myth.

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Song Used for Xaiāqałtl of Tāl·io(a)

*533 A *Tcaiyutsxskākwanātnu* Stop crying, | *nuyālxiktuminu* I bring comfort to you, | *ǵdinusxemiānaoałs* the light(b)

sawaałqwalā·nnu
of all your brothers(c).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Kaālihm·ikisk*ʷ He(d) will stand upon | *yao dutcākwāla·tidax* the house that expands(e), | *yao dustukwałstskidax* hail to that which gave shaman-like power(f)

yao dāixmohmskidax
to him who went under the water(g).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) The first six subdivisions of this song were recorded as song VII D 58, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tāl·io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie.

(b) Signifying the light of the sun. The reference is to an ancestral possession of *Xaiāqałtl*, the mention of which soothes his grief.

(c) That is: That shines on all peoples.

(d) Referring to the dead chief being mourned.

(e) Mentioned in *Xaiāqałtl*'s origin myth.

(f) Referring again to the house.

(g) One of *Xaiāqałtl*'s first ancestors. The myth could not be obtained.

Song Used for Yexthn of Sunxt(a)

A *Sawānwałsālits·uduks* Like a dog is | *disiosāloxlāmms* my inheritable tendency(b); | *sinunusxwłāmkilsałs* is continually shortening

sawaālxemnuxilsałs
my *xem*(c).

Ānānai Alas! | *Ḳokāmā·tsai* Please! | *Dāmnātsai* My child(d)!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Istaaidjamālsandja* I am like | *yexqax·āxwsilasudax* *Qax·āxwsila*(e), | *dusnustkakiyimskidax* when talons seized

ǵdasłixwnisālots·kidax
his cherished one(f).

Ānānai Alas! | *Ḳokāmā·tsai* Please! | *Dāmnātsai* My child!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 55, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tal'io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. 533*

(*b*) So many of *Yexthn*'s ancestors had been drowned that he considered such a fate to be an inheritable tendency and mourned accordingly. This song was composed for a memorial potlatch held after the drowning of three of his sons. [761] [827]

(*c*) *Xem* means, literally, the successive rising of the sun from day to day; it has therefore, the significance of: The span of life is shortening. [195]

(*d*) This wail replaces the usual wordless chorus.

(*e*) Raven. This is one of his rarely used chief's names.

(*f*) The reference is to an incident related about Raven in the beginning of time. He made, and gave life to a son who was his chief joy and delight. *Alqunt̄ám* wondered what the creature might be and sent down one of his eagle-like supernatural birds to seize him. Raven, ignorant of the reason for his son's loss and with no idea that he was being carefully guarded, was absolutely disconsolate. The myth is recorded in vol. I, p. 83. [773]

Shaman Songs

In contrast to the carefully prepared and logically worded mourning songs, many of those used by shamans are extremely incoherent. This is natural in view of the belief, already described, that the words and tune are given to a sick person at the time that he is cured. Those who recover from an illness are convinced that they must have received a supernatural visitation, and at once begin to ponder on the song brought to them at that time. A person of imaginative temperament easily persuades himself that the words which begin to form in his mind were actually brought by an agent, and, having thus deluded himself, it is easy for him to convince others. The coherence of the text thus depends upon the ability of the patient, a factor which explains the extreme lack of skill in many compositions. The examples here given are, perhaps, unusually complete. 533* 756 [753]

Song Used by Ninitsamlaix(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A Wárumlnulnumqudu	*skānīnitsamlaiyes*
In the beginning(*c*)	the life-giving power(*d*) was made;
yoo diaí aiyaitul	*aldānālsiwaandai*
that is what we have given	within them(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (*f*)

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NE5 Bellacoola NE5

*533 756

B *Nuyamhmlimilnk* | *dinuslkhldinilsdai* | *dilqtlqtqm-idul*
They(g) sang | over my wash-basin(h); | they all watched over

yulukwalitmm
my shaman's power(i).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Ănuqwiltumilnk* | *wanuslukwalitsdu* | *ămăsqumilsaix*
Became open | the place of shaman's power(j); | there I saw

Thitcplitan-alsaix
Thitcplitan-a.

(a) This man received his name and his ability to cure the sick from *Thitcplitan-a* about 1850. He was very ill, apparently on the point of death, at the time of his visitation.

(b) Recorded as song VII D 45a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(c) The first part is worded as if supernatural beings were speaking.

(d) The reference is to the healing ability granted to shamans who have themselves been cured when seriously ill.

[753] [776] (e) That is: Human beings. It is believed that a person can be cured only if *Thitcplitan-a* or some other supernatural being implant within the patient's body some of the healing power.

(f) The two choruses of this song have different tunes, an unusual feature.

(g) Referring to supernatural beings; this part of the song is worded as if *Nisitsamlaix* were speaking, and describing the time he was made a shaman.

(h) Reference to the wash-basin shows that *Nisitsamlaix* had the ability to cure the sick.

(i) The theme is worded as if supernatural beings had tended and brooded over the power which they ultimately sent down.

(j) The reference is to *Nusmăt-a* which, as the home of supernatural beings, is consequently the place from which comes a shaman's power. When *Nisitsamlaix* was at the point of death, it seemed to him that the sky opened above him so that he was able to gaze upon those resident there. He watched the supernatural ones conferring about his own fate, and gazed with joy at the departure of *Thitcplitan-a* to rescue him.

[551]

Song Used by Sikwalxwlhx(a), a Bella Coola Woman(b)

[195]

A *Wilukxivilanmy* | *aiyawase-ny^{w}ali* | *dinuyămhmalim* | *aiyalqmămila*
It waved up and down | *Sang^{w}(c)* | when they(d) sang | of salmon(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sanuspulimilnk* | *dinuslkhltinilsdai* | *dilomăhm-ăllundai*
They(f) placed eagle down | within the wash-basin(g) | where I was(h);

dinul'ăkmm-ămqăllsdai
he(i) pulled me forth.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

Hillwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEh Bellacoola NEh

C [illegible] | *yas* [illegible] | [illegible] 599
I gazed upon | what gave me power as a shaman(*j*) | when it stood up 956
[illegible]
in the centre of a place of petrified power(*h*).

(*a*) This was the woman's *tsaiat* designation; her shaman's name has been forgotten. [551]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 56, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tal-ia* Charlie and Steamboat Annie.

(*c*) That is: The sky moved up and down. Grandiloquent phrases of this kind are frequent in songs used by shamans. [195]

(*d*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*e*) *Ximatmile* is said to be the word for *salmon* in the language of the supernatural beings; it is used by mortals in the rites following the taking of the first spring salmon. The shaman has received some of her power from a fish. [198] [226]

(*f*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*g*) Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

(*h*) The meaning is obscure. Apparently the shaman had been carried away by *Thintpilitn-a* and treated by immersion in a basin in which eagle down was deposited.

(*i*) This refers to the supernatural being, *Ăuuuitsinum*, who restores to life mortals killed by the receipt of too much power from *Thintpilitn-a*. It is clear that this fate befell the shaman. [776]

(*j*) The woman is said to have received power from several sources, salmon, ghosts, and *Thintpilitn-a* herself. It is impossible to state which of her supernatural patrons is referred to in this subdivision.

(*k*) The woman must have been taken to one of the spots where cures could be effected by the power of a supernatural being petrified there. [955]

[551]
[776]

Song Used by Nuxnăx-mălaxair(a), a Kimquit Man(b)

A *Ăuăqsmiyuxsuuli* | *uaxistăldxuuli* | *aiakuxiaat*
Look at the teeming supernatural beings above(*c*), not one is my equal(*d*), | wise one(*e*)!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Suxpăyiktaiyam'uli* | *sănutxyuxtxumulxuuli* | *aiakuxiaat*
You must sometimes when at night to meditate on what I am bringing your mouth(*f*), | wise one!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Sutumyăluxăli* | *sănuxăltăxtxuuu(n* | *aiakuxiaat*
You must sometimes use your wash-basin(*g*), | wise one!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*583
756
551
776

(*a*) "The One Who Dances Near the Fire." This is one of *Ťlitsplitsw-a*'s designations and, therefore, one of the names she gives to those she cures.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 20a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) As is often the case, the theme is worded as if *Ťlitsplitsw-a* were speaking.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions.

(*e*) Referring to *Nuxnăx-mălaxsix*; such self-praise is a common device in songs used by shamans.

(*f*) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions. Reference to the mouth is in connection with the way a shaman accompanies his song by furious clashing together of his teeth. *Ťlitsplitsw-a* herself does this.

(*g*) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions. Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

Song Used by Xumxmaslaix, a Kimsquit W'omen(a)

A Sqapănăl'ailamlı	*nulıkwalıltumănl*	*nuyălıltumănlı*
All(*b*) have given me	the power of a shaman;	give me mental strength

naiyuxsiat
the good supernatural beings.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Nuqwiplimilıxlu	*aiyudiseyo-ny^{w}sudai*	*dimstuqunum-ăllundıt*
They opened	*Sonq^{w}*;	they saw me

nuqăldjudum-ăldıundıl(c)
as they peered down.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten(*d*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 21a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It was used when the woman first danced as a shaman.

(*b*) This refers to supernatural beings in general. The song is worded as if the shaman herself were speaking.

(*c*) When a record was being made of this song, the singer forgot this subdivision and substituted for it the final one of the first part.

(*d*) It is said that there was no mention of a wash-basin in the third part and that, accordingly, the shaman had no power to heal the sick.

[551]

Song Used by Nuxsimmalmum(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A Yuo shmstănăsı	*aiumiuulıxu*	*pitu-lıtumuxsıh*	*skusiustıldja*
Hail! Mortals,	I(*c*) repeat(*d*);	I give life,	I am a learned one.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

B Ăhmrăstlimaqs(e) They measure when(*f*)	*shănălhmstnnamhow* will be visible	*shăsiăstdumqdai* my wisdom,

599
756

slukwalaiyăkai:
my ability as a shaman(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten; it is said that in it there was reference to a wash-basin, showing that the shaman was able to treat the sick.

(*a*) "The One of Whom All Sick People Think," a name received from *Thlăxplăkw-a.* [551]
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 32b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*c*) Referring to *Thlăxplăkw-a*; this part of the song is worded as if she were speaking.
(*d*) That is: I do as I have done before.
(*e*) When this song was being recorded on the phonograph, the singer erred and replaced this subdivision with the first of the first part.
(*f*) That is: They decide upon the time when.
(*g*) The reference is to the dramatic performance which marks his status as shaman; this part of the song is worded as if the shaman himself were speaking.

Song Used by Tcitsumdzleiy(a), a Bella Coola Woman(b) [551]

A Ănumstiwălnn Is ready	*dinăzlhkstaiyăzdai* my wash-basin(*c*),	*diptsmămp* I will use it

shălămhdjut-am-ădjap
when you(*d*) come for treatment.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C*. The rest of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) "The Sleep-Giver," a name received from *Thlăxplăkw-a.* [551]
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 27b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie. In 1922 he was about seventy years of age and the song was used by his step-mother.
(*c*) This reference shows that the shaman had power to treat the sick.
(*d*) Referring to human beings in general.

Fragment of a Song Used by Nuuxtmumămm, a Bella Coola Man(a)

Sănăhăxhmăkănăzdai Held me in his cupped hands	*yuo dikăziăzdai* the learned one(*b*),	*shumăzhumăzăzdai* when he bore me

mălămhdjutshumăzăi:
to the place of treatment.

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

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(c) Recorded on song VII D 42b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(d) That is: The supernatural one held me in his carefully cupped hands. The chorus is worded as if the shamans were speaking and describing the way he was carried away to some far-off spot for treatment.

Fragment of a Song Used by Ăkwiyamtsm, a Bella Coola Woman(a)

Ăwwiyăwwăwăwăwăy Laughed	*ciyawwayye ay"ăy* *Zway"*(b)	*dawayăwăwăw* when they(c) returned	*ăăăwăwăw

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emphatically that the songs which they used were little more than series of meaningless phrases, often in languages unknown to the hearers. It was possible to collect the two following examples of this type: 533* 756

Siya siya(a).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 31b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

It is believed that this song was composed by Raven, but no one has any knowledge of when, or for what purpose, it was made. A *snáyem* used it in Bella Coola many years ago, and the words and tune have since been remembered. *Siya* is said to be the word for *maw* in a language spoken on the west side of Vancouver Island, so it is assumed that the visionary must have come from that region.

The second example consists of a single word:

Ayulize(a).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 31c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

Ayulize is in a language unintelligible to any of the Bella Coola. This word and tune are supposed to be even more ancient than the first example.

Kusiut Songs

Kusiut rites are the only ones now carried out by the Bella Coola with even approximate completeness, and many of the songs used at them are still remembered by all. A number of dances took place during the period of investigation and the texts of all the songs used were collected, as well as the music of the majority. This explains the full versions of the examples in this section as compared to the preceding ones. Moreover, it is probable that *kusiut* songs, composed with care by the singers, have always been more logical than those employed by shamans in which the fiction of supernatural instruction has been preserved. In former times, *kusiut* songs were always 533* 575* 796* [126] [756]

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*533 newly composed whenever required, though in recent years
*[575] old ones have occasionally been re-used owing to lack of ability
*[796] on the part of the singers. The following songs have been arranged in the same order as the descriptions of the *kusiut* dances at which they were employed.

Song Used for Anaxpamm-ain, a Kimsquit Man(a)

A Sewulème(yt)wumk | *wuxtlpatsi(yt)ku* | *ikkxpmxtwulmuljukk*
Everything(b) | shook slightly(c) | when he came(d)

ikmxlliyxlelymk
to the first point.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Ikmxtlqalkulmk | *ikimuxytkwu(yt)ixk*
Have made up their minds | the calendrical experts(e);

ixmqwkmdimxtkmk | *kmklyxtlxqlmk*
they have curtailed | through their greed(f).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Nuxmqxqxyle(yt)xqwxqe | *yxx dixuqlxinhxdxi* | *yxx dixmxxtkhx*
Constantly rattle | water(g) | the dishes

dixuxlliyxmxqxdxi
which elevate him(h).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 46a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been used about 1870.
(b) This is a reference to *Sang*[ow].
(c) This is a grandiloquent expression, such as are common in *kusiut* songs.
(d) Referring to *Nutkpum*, the dancer's patron.
[805] (e) That is: The calendrical experts have come to an agreement.
(f) That is: They have abbreviated the period of waiting owing to their greed. This song was used by the *kukusiut* at one of their gatherings during *Nutkpum*'s approach. At Kimsquit no uninitiated were present on such occasions so it was possible to indulge in comments without betraying the secrets of the society. The significance here is that the experts were so greedy to share in the food that they agreed to say that *Nutkpum* had arrived before his proper time.
(g) That is: Water constantly re-fills. By water is meant food and mountain goat grease.
[556] (h) That is: The dishes of which the contents, when distributed, increase his status.

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Song Used for Yexsila, a Kimsquit Man(a)

A Wdukssisilexamlsi | *aiyamasyo·ny^{w}sualsi* | *dlitsiklimadjutlsi*
Rocked and waved | *Sony^{w}(b)* | when launched his craft

aiadsiutlsx
the supernatural one(c).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Nuxpemtuxsilcowilsha | *uexamnampalutlxamlsi* | *dsikamilxomulimdux*
Were happy | the passengers(d) | when was leaving

yae dalillaksdux
his canoe.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Nufuxsmitumilssiha | *uenxutsteisudux* | *Dasexsuldimutlisudux*
He(e) makes smooth | where he paddles(f). | Lights a fire

sinowakymmsudux | *dasnokaktyal'limdux* | *kamilnuilankldisdux*
Nookymm(g) | ask him for food | those of the first town(h).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 15a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song, used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4, is said to be an old one.
(b) That is: *Sony^{w}* rocked and waved.
(c) That is: When the supernatural one launched his craft. The reference is to *Nookymm*.
(d) The reference is to the passengers in *Nookymm*'s canoe.
(e) Referring to *Alpuxlam*.
(f) That is: *Alpuxlam* smooths the waves before *Nookymm*'s course.
(g) That is: *Nookymm* lights a fire. This reference in the text shows that *Nookymm* is the dancer's patron.
(h) That is: The inhabitants of the first town ask him for food. The exact significance is obscure, although the reference is to the inhabitants of the first salmon town.

Song Used for Nuxim, a Bella Coola Cannibal Dancer(a)

A Lilwmilbuxulisdulsi | *aiyamasyo·ny^{w}sualsi* | *Dasbalaixnimulsi*
Has opened | *Sony^{w}!* | Thence has come danger, thence

dinuxdymudhldix
has come power(b).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Wasuilpildimulla'uxsi | *uaixquxumlsi* | *sinmulallimdix*
isidpdimulpudux

The chiefs(c) are in agreement as to the amount of food which the eagle(d) is to eat(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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*533 C *Ipdxstmaxdumilnka* | *yao dāilsamāmucda* | *kāmālpaxolaiskidax* | *ilaleyāndusdax*
There was a big cloak for his(*f*) forefather; two men held him in it(*g*).

Yao sxsxsxfālaixsudax
Hail, *Sxsxsxfālaix*(*h*)!

(*a*) This song was composed and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.
(*b*) Referring to the call. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of these two subdivisions.
(*c*) Presumably referring to the supernatural beings in the land above.
(*d*) The dancer's cannibalistic incubus was the eagle. The slightly vague expressions are necessary to deceive the uninitiated.
(*e*) It was impossible to obtain a translation of each subdivision.
(*f*) Referring to the dancer.
(*g*) The meaning of this is obscure. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each subdivision.
(*h*) The dancer's patron.

Song Used for Kol·iaiyuhmx, a Bella Coola Cannibal Dancer(*a*)

A Sawasqolkmailaixmālnks | *a'lihilkaliwamlais* | *dasnumnskainultim*
No one spoke | at the meeting(*b*) | when he counted

ensāxlpsmāltimais
how many should be eaten(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sawasmmmmlysālao | *waānutciyudjalaix* | *ālāsnulwinudjikels*
Alternately, two men | kept giving him food(*d*) | in his house(*e*);

yao dahnhn idjudax
there is incessant growling(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Wasnutcāxālāmlumdai | *aiatāqwan·ik'lilsdax* | *Yao da'ālpāmlilsdusdax*
The wood shivered(*g*) | as he walked(*h*). | Hail to the shaking off(*i*)!

Yao sxsxsxfālaixsudax
Hail to *Sxsxsxfālaix*(*j*)!

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 10a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.
[787] (*b*) The uninitiated assume this to be a reference to the meeting in the land above at which it was decided to send down a call to the dancer.
(*c*) That is: He, the dancer's patron, decided how many human beings should be eaten. The reference is slightly peculiar since *Kol·iaiyuhmx* has the prerogative of biting himself.
(*d*) The uninitiated assume that this refers to human flesh.
(*e*) Referring to his repository. The exact meaning is intentionally obscure.
(*f*) A reference to the growling of the Cannibal by which the uninitiated are frightened.

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(g) A reference to a wooden sidewalk in the land above, described sketchily to impress the uninitiated. 533*

(h) The significance is as follows: The Cannibal is so powerful that, as he walked on the sidewalk, it trembled so that anyone else standing upon it was numbed as if he had been holding a metal bar struck by a heavy hammer.

(i) *Sexsexkālaix*, the dancer's patron, guards his path along the sidewalk by shaking his fingers. This has the further implication of *presents*, since these are referred to as dust flipped off during the shaking. The whole phrase is intentionally obscure.

(j) The dancer's patron.

Song Used for Exwuntnam, a Kwakiutl(a) Cannibal Dancer(b)

A Sānuqwlānkldinitsisandja	*xdāsdixwodjamadilsdai*	*dinunusqāxemānk'lidals*
They(c) proffer me	my own food(d),	then cried

aiyaoyelqoominoaku·ls
Qoominoaku(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sānuyexwlimilsk	*yao Sexsexkālaixdai*	*oldālknixālosmisdai*
They(f) called out,	hail, *Sexsexkālaix*(g),	when wanted to eat

yao Bāxbāxqwanālosyua
Bāxbāxqwanālociwa(h).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Wasnusāxdimutlaoals	*waqwatlqwatlnusamals*	*wasnuhaohaowalsas*
They come to me	the masks(i),	the *haohao*(j)

yaexbāxqwaiyasudax
of *Bāxbāxqwaiya*(k).

(a) This man had long been resident in Bella Coola and decided to perform his Kwakiutl dance, to the great interest of the Bella Coola. This took place during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4, the first time that such had ever occurred. [177]

(b) Recorded as song VII D 44, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The song was composed by Kimsquit Alec, and is probably translated from the Kwakiutl.

(c) That is: The supernatural beings.

(d) That is: Human flesh.

(e) This is a Kwakiutl supernatural being, the dancer's patron, and equivalent to the Bella Coola *Skwanāt·ān·a*. The dancer's call consequently rose and fell as at a mourning rite. [171]

(f) That is: The supernatural beings.

(g) That is: *Sexsexkālaix* and the other supernatural ones called out.

(h) That is: When *Bāxbāxqwanālociwa* wanted to eat the dancer during his sojourn aloft. *Bāxbāxqwanālociwa* is a Kwakiutl supernatural being who is model to their Cannibal dancers.

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*533 (*i*) The exact interpretation of this word may be inaccurate; the reference is to the masked figures which will presently appear.

(*j*) Plural.

(*k*) *Bäxbäxqwaiya* is a Kwakiutl supernatural being. The Bella Coola do not profess to understand this allusion which, they say, is quite contrary to their own usage. The implication is that the *haohao* actually exist within *Bäxbäxqwaiya*.

Song Used for Ł̇isiqwam, a Bella Coola Scratch Dancer(a)

A Wasukk̇ältwanulitsäls Was like a hurricane	*aiyawaseyo·ng$^{w'}$swäls* *Song$^{w'}$*(*b*)	*äläsäskäiesłłomdax* | when his(*c*) face projected

dänuskäxmnuläłtsdax
and made me cry out(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sanunuł̇nmlaixdumq'dax *Sanunusmmlaix*(*e*)	*daqwuntanakäinuqälsdax* has taught me(*f*).	*Diäskł̇äämkulił̇stulidäls* | My parents are preparing to

wanunuqwiutsnamläls
distribute goods(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Wasäläłcimnulits I was close to	*yao nuskäsiutsta* the repository	*wasiłpalqämnimutsłdums* when it opened and taught me

ałdikälkäl·äłmił̇sdai
what I should presently do.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 13a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song, composed by Reuben Schooner, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) That is: *Song$^{w'}$* was like a hurricane.

(*c*) Referring to the dancer's patron.

(*d*) That is: Made me cry out in the manner of Scratch dancers. It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these two subdivisions.

[776] (*e*) A supernatural being who scratches in the land above.

(*f*) This song was used at the dancer's initiation and is accordingly worded as if he were speaking and describing his experiences.

(*g*) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions.

Song Used for Ałimałwalaix, a Bella Coola Scratch Dancer(a)

A Sawasaiksämäłsandja It was long ago	*wasinaixlunutsłłumdai* that they(*b*) made ready,	*diaiyaotcainuqälsłaix* that they changed,

dänuskämnuqałtsdai
my scratcher's cry(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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B Sālosamānamlimdai | *yao nuskāsiutsta* | *yao ẓdiāltẓamātaludjas*
He(*d*) sat down above | the repository; | that is whence came(*e*)

diālḳwuntāliwasldjaix
my inspiration(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Skāmālqwīlusaiyaiẓelsdai | *aiatimaiyens·udai* | *dāsyellākainulim*
The face had just become angry | of his father(*g*); | it was too much(*h*)

yao di·tsḳālestnamldai | *oltās·tākānakaiẓas* | *oldilixwnimotḳodai*
when he scratched; | he went away to a | man of placid temperament(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 14a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) Referring to the supernatural beings above.
(*c*) A reference to the peculiar cry used by all Scratch dancers. The phraseology is intentionally obscure.
(*d*) The dancer's patron.
(*e*) That is: It was he who taught.
(*f*) In the sense of: What enabled me to perform.
(*g*) That is: His father's face had just become angry on account of the excessive scratching. *His father* refers to *Ālquntām*, father of *Sno'olxālts Ālquntām*, the patron of Scratch dancers. The theme declares that *Ālquntām* was annoyed at the superabundant zeal of his son. [776]
(*h*) In the sense of: It was more than he could bear.
(*i*) The meaning of these two subdivisions is problematical.

[424]

Song Used for 'Nāx·wtān·a(a) a Bella Coola Scratch Dancer(b)

A Nusikmāltumilsnka | *omātutsamalimlaix*
There is violent talking above where(*c*) | the patrons are meeting;

diālqelaiyainulimlaix | *dlsixsixkultomlaix*
they give too much(*d*) | to the one that is hidden(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Pots·utcltomilnka | *dānuskaẓmāmkitsdai* | *dāsnuliḳwainulimdai*
Is increasing | the crying(*f*); | return to him

diāsmok'kum·itsdai
his cedar-bark ornaments(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Dipoxpoxhainuldānals | *swalaxmdimutlals*
He(*h*) rushes around too much(*i*) | those left are troubled(*j*)

dās·ẓelakainulimlaix | *ālānutcimikldumals*
when too much | is the talking above(*k*).

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[424] (*a*) This is a Rivers Inlet name, the dancer's prerogative having come from that area.

(*b*) This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*c*) A reference to the house in the land above. The somewhat grandiloquent phrasing is to impress the uninitiated.

[424] (*d*) The dancer had prerogatives both as Scratcher and Cannibal, a rare combination.

(*e*) The dancer must, presumably, have been in concealment for some reason. The implication is that the fear and danger of his powers had been increased from the fact that he was out of sight.

(*f*) That is: The crying is increasing. The reference is to the peculiar cry of all Scratch dancers.

(*g*) That is: His cedar-bark ornaments return to him. These indicate that he is about to dance.

(*h*) Presumably referring to the dancer.

(*i*) The wording is as if the *kukusiut* themselves were startled at the excessive vigour of the dancer.

(*j*) The significance is that those who have not received calls are terrified at what has come to the dancer.

(*k*) That is: When there is too much talking above. The uninitiated are led to believe that lengthy discussion in the land above presages some strange power coming to the dancer.

Song Used for Smmkka^{a}ks(a), a Bella Coola Fungus Dancer(b)

A Wasmnulmälusiktis	*a'länusgayanemltits*	*sawäshkotsilao*	*waxqunsämläls*
I am terrified	at what I hear(c),	more talking	by *Älquntäm*.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sipudjutnäleslao	*sawakamäsdimutals*	*äläsxmlmlaixlum*
They(d) have hidden themselves,	they do not want to die(e),	they are debating furiously,

yao gdisiaxyaosaixlao
their faces become strange(f).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Samxqwisitimutldulaix	*yao disilkaoals*
Some have parted in anger,	their thoughts being at variance;

dixilkänkum allsndai — they move round to be with those of the same opinion(g); [623]

alänodjonotsltimäls — they agree with a wise man(h).

*[575] *[796] (*a*) This woman performed during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4, the first time a Fungus dance had been displayed for many years. Four songs were composed for her.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 23a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

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(*c*) The theme is worded as if the dancer were listening to the supernatural beings discussing the call which they proposed to send down. The uninitiated are led to believe that she actually has this ability. 533* [787]

(*d*) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(*e*) The implication is that the power of the dancer is so great, and the rite so dangerous, that even the supernatural beings themselves are afraid.

(*f*) The discussion is so animated and on such an important subject that the faces of the participants take on strained expressions.

(*g*) When a Bella Coola meeting is being held, those who hold similar views usually group themselves together. [623]

(*h*) A man of forceful character has expressed himself and the others concur.

Second Song Used for Smnikka^{a}ks, a Bella Coola Fungus Dancer(*a*)

A ustlstutsitlaqo | *uxlasamsmayemkelt'* | *ska·tlamqwiasinuxits*
It is true what my mother | recounted to me(*b*); | has opened to me

aiyawasoyo·nx^{w}'als
Sonx^{w}(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Yao kaqwixomatsk'qoltsaix | *alticalunamk'limlsaix*
He(*d*) told me to raise my head to see what he was holding(*e*),

tcisixwismaklaoals | *sawaqulxwaixlats*
the model(*f*) | of the gathering above(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Sqwalxolixomalaoals | *amitkusdimutalals* | *yao disiksnalosidjol'lao*
Bent their heads together(*h*) | all the chiefs(*i*); | those of lesser prestige

anusqixitlwamlats
fled away in fear, unable to participate(*j*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 25a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song, composed by Peter Nelson, was used during the *kustiut* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) This was the second song used when *Smnikka^{a}ks* danced, and the theme follows, to a certain extent, the first one. The uninitiated are led to believe that the dancer was able to see what her mother had described to her in previous years.

(*c*) That is: *Sonx^{w}* has opened to me.

(*d*) Referring to a supernatural being, probably the dancer's patron.

(*e*) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions. The implication is that the dancer was sitting with head bowed on her chest when the supernatural one bade her look upward to see what he was holding out to her in his hand. [787]

(*f*) *Model* is a poor translation. The reference is to the rite above on which the dancer patterned her performance.

(*g*) A reference to the gathering of the supernatural beings.

(*h*) As if in secret and animated discussion.

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*533 (*i*) A reference to the leading supernatural beings.

(*j*) That is: Unable to participate in the meeting at which it was decided to send the dance down to *Snumkkᵃhs*.

Third Song Used for Snumkkᵃhs, a Bella Coola Fungus Dancer(a)

A Sätlämhdjuł'ldumilnka All(*b*) have failed,	*djiszizsustemayulcoalz* they(*c*) have decided	*sinukultemälz* to send it(*d*) down

sewälumstemälzemälz
to mortals(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Wasnuisthltum-ainksdai No one soils	*dälel-slxumdai* what we see(*f*);	*yao diälqumlaizlzindai* it warms us(*g*),

aiszuxälotla
hail, *Suxälotla*(*h*)!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Snmqsizumnulitsdai I heard the growling of a *snmq*(*i*)	*yao dinsizlimultumdai*	*dikälpsdjudimämhulisdai* as they(*j*) were preparing matters(*k*),

snusaiks-älxinsosumälz
the skeleton(*l*) was as a bed to it(*m*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 24a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song, composed by Kimsquit Alec, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(*c*) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(*d*) Referring to the Fungus dance.

(*e*) The significance is that the supernatural beings, having failed to raise the Fungus, have sent it down for human beings to try. The words used imply that it has been sent as a patient to a doctor. This boastful phrasing is to impress the uninitiated.

(*f*) That is: What we see, the Fungus, is bright, shining, and unsullied.

(*g*) The meaning is obscure, perhaps that the sight of the supernatural object strengthens the beholders.

(*h*) No reason could be learnt for this reference to *Suxälotla*.

(*i*) The composer assumed that the dancer's patron was a *snmq*. It was impossible to obtain an individual translation of these two subdivisions.

(*j*) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(*k*) That is: As they were discussing the sending down of the Fungus.

[773] (*l*) This refers to a skeleton, belonging to *Alqunätm*, which remains in the rear part of *Nusmätᵃ*. It is frequently mentioned in song but no detailed information about it could be obtained.

(*m*) That is: The Fungus was resting upon the skeleton. Such references, not fully understood even by the *kukusiut*, increase the awe and wonder of the uninitiated.

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Fourth Song Used for Smnkka^{a}ks, a Bella Coola Fungus Dancer(a)

A Skämälkupstaignimuts	*yao tcikusiutlsai*	*ältäpxwulsaixnulitälis*
Has now recovered	the *kusiut* woman(*b*),	after they(*c*) exposed

wuxulkamlaitälis
the heavy burden(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Ximiqo·tsldumilsika	*dimuninaks·amaisandax*	*dälkäpäxmemqodai*
There is light at the edge(*e*),	looks down	the much revered

enilatlaikilasudai
Moon(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Waskilslxl·aiqalstaix	*dikusiutstunaosuais*	*daskatcämkusam·alisdai*
They(*g*) become frightened	of that *kusiut*(*h*)	whenever he displays

disqoqolimqoxlaix
his blackened face(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 50, National Museum of Canada; trio, *Täl·io* Charlie, Reuben Schooner, and Steamboat Annie. This song, composed by Nebuchadnezzar, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) That is: The *kusiut* woman, the dancer, has now recovered. The implication is that she was grievously stricken when the power first came, before she knew what was required of her.

(*c*) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(*d*) Referring to the Fungus.

(*e*) Referring to the edge of *Song^{w}'*.

(*f*) That is: The much revered Moon looks down. The Moon is one of the dancer's patrons and the song asserts that he looked down on her when he heard that she was in trouble. "Much revered" refers to the attitude with which she regards her patron. [776]

(*g*) Referring to all *kukusiut*, human as well as supernatural.

(*h*) Referring to Moon.

(*i*) That is: Whenever he blackens his face. At an eclipse the face of the moon is said to become blackened, and the song implies that this is done deliberately by Moon in order to perform a *kusiut* dance. [776 821]

Song Used for Saiqnäs, a Kimsquit Mystery(a) Dancer(b)

A Sätialtimotaowit	*yaälkimstäntälosa*	*olikäps·liwatatup'*
Stand firm and be brave,	mortals(*c*),	when you guess(*d*)

dikehalo'stamldai
its place of concealment(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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*533 B *Aiatälsiyutlsudja* | *älaqwntänaoswals*
Observe(*f*) the supernatural being | where my thoughts are centred;

älhxmämlixwlimdai | *dämätsltomimlsdai*
becomes hidden | my place of power(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Waskolänäl·älamaks* | *dikänänuskxitsdai*
No one can contradict the words of | my pattern(*h*);

dinuslaxwaiyulsaslaix | *dinunudjonostemdai*
it is the unsolvable mystery | of *Älquntäm*(*i*).

(*a*) That is: *Älmutsämk*.
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 41a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*c*) The words are addressed to the uninitiated whom the dancer pretends to regard in the same light as supernatural beings regard mortals.
(*d*) This song was used on one of the occasions when people were called upon to guess the hiding place of the dancer's power.
(*e*) That is: The place where my power is hidden.
(*f*) An invitation not to be taken literally.
(*g*) That is: My place of power becomes hidden. The implication is that the supernatural beings have carefully concealed it among themselves.
(*h*) The being from whom the dancer has obtained his inspiration.
[776] (*i*) *Nonodjonostem* is another designation for *Älquntäm*.

Song Used for Änudakänuts, a Kimsquit Mystery(*a*) *Dancer*(*b*)

A *Istästutwinakumldap* | *gdiänuqwntnikmmldai* | *yao gdisikeloxsamlip*
I am grateful to | *Änuqwntnikmm*(*c*); | you(*d*) have succeeded in guessing(*e*)

diämatsltomimlsdai
the hiding-place of my power.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Säqwäl·alimilsks* | *yao tcisnitsmän·anaoals* | *skäaoltxwosam·alisdai*
They(*f*) called upon | *Snitsmän·a* | to drone(*g*)

sänulukwalältaoals
for the shaman-like one(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) That is: *Älmutsämk*.
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 40a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was used about 1910 at Kimsquit.
[776] (*c*) A supernatural being who gives inspiration.

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(*d*) This is addressed to the uninitiated, one of whom has guessed correctly. 533*
(*e*) The assumption is that this has been done with the aid of *Anuqwuntnikmm*.
(*f*) Referring to the supernatural beings above.
(*g*) That is: To utter her supernatural droning cry.
(*h*) The reference is to *Sno'olxlts Alquntäm*, the dancer's patron. The meaning of the whole passage is obscure but seems to be as follows: *Sno'olxlts Alquntäm* was perturbed at the coming of the call to his protégé and, to help their fellow, the other supernatural beings called upon *Snitsmän·a* to drone. This sound has a healing effect and would, therefore, enable human beings to solve the mystery. The phraseology is intentionally obscure. [776]

Song Used for Willie Johnston(a), a Bella Coola Thunder Dancer(b)

A Skämälnutwinmutsuls	*didaxdakän·äldai*	*sixäyaotcam·älisandai*
I have just heard	it(*c*) coming down;	it changes its voice

äläälälälitäls
above our heads(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Stirwotsamlimilsika	*dikusiutstunaosuals*	*yao skäoskimänldisdai*
They asked plainly	the *kusiut*(*e*)	to lead the frenzied beating of sticks(*f*)

sewequlxwailals
at the gathering of the supernatural beings in the land above.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Soälktmaxlamilsika	*wokälälxwoälälimats*	*däsnustkit'limisandai*
Too many to be seen	are those called(*g*);	when they increased

dinutsymälsdimutldumdai
the water(*h*).

(*a*) The Bella Coola name of the dancer was unfortunately omitted.
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 57, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, announcer and prompter, assisted by *Täl·io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.
(*c*) Referring to the call.
(*d*) It is doubtful whether this statement is more than a rhetorical device to impress the uninitiated.
(*e*) Referring to Thunder.
(*f*) Thunder, one of the most powerful of the supernatural *kukusiut*, has the prerogative of leading the orchestra of stick beaters to "cure" a fellow-dancer. The song states that his fellows requested him to perform this function. [776]
(*g*) That is: So many are in attendance that they cannot be recognized. The reference is to Thunder's dance in the land above, for which the supernatural *kukusiut* assemble from all directions. [773]
(*h*) The allusion is to the rain which follows Thunder's dance. [821]

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Song Used for Ämamtci, a Bella Coola Thunder(a) Dancer(b)

*533 *A Issaxkilikamahlutsduks | yao iasixwin imut-alsdax | altasiknuwasumtais ahlxwaltumal itsais*

I cannot tell whence comes what(c) I hear, I cannot tell where it is; there is nothing but fog above, I am in trouble(d).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Aiqwalxwekmem-akudai | sä-lanykämdimutdasdai | dinunuqumlaixdusdai yaiyulätimutsudai

The hands of everyone helped *Yulätimut*(e) in the wonderful works he was doing for himself; all wanted him to do the same for them(f).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Senonstkäxk-umälimqudai | *diyaiyaxdimutdasdai* | *dialpikmelasdusdai*
Is moving again | the fire-holder(g), | it is being shaken by

saiutlaikilasudai
Thunder (h).

[776] (a) *Ämamtci* has two patrons, Thunder and *Yulätimut*. During the winter of 1923-4 he was initiated into the *kusiut* society as a Thunder dancer; in the following
*[575] song, reference is made to both his patrons, but he would have to be introduced once more, with a second name, before he could dance with respect to *Yulätimut*.
*[796] (b) Recorded as song VII D 51, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, announcer and prompter, assisted by *Täl-io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song, composed by *Täl-io* Charlie, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(c) Referring to the call.

(d) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions.

(e) One of the dancer's patrons.

(f) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions.

[776] (g) That is: The fire-holder is moving again. The reference is to the article
[821] shaken by Thunder which causes lightning. In dances, this is shown as a hollow rattle containing smouldering cedar-bark of which fragments are scattered in all directions.

*[575] (h) The dancer's second patrons.

*[796]

Fragment of a Song Used for Naxnäx-mälosaix, a Bella Coola Ghost Dancer(a)

A Qis-kuatstätimotilox | *Aiyawastwinutsmim*
Why is there no name(b)? | Each(c) speaks proudly of himself(d);

dinulqutamilsandai | *sciqualiayasudai*
they use as house posts(e) | their shin-bones.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

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(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 11b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This was incorrectly announced on the record as a shaman's song.
(*b*) The meaning of this is problematical. Ghost dancers habitually deride the dead and this is certainly a veiled allusion of a derogatory nature.
(*c*) Referring to ghosts.
(*d*) That is: Each uses the kind of grandiloquent language employed by chiefs. [195]
(*e*) More specifically, the two uprights nearest the front-door.

Song Used for Ẓomcua, a Bella Coola Sun Dancer(a)

A Sawäs̓kämaiutsiaoals | *waaiyalilaxastai* | *säoaoliwots·amalit* |
The two | *Aiiläxa(b)* | drone in unison when

yao dinaxliwatomdai
he(*c*) enters(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Ältäpäksmem·äqodai | *diponponilamatemdai* | *lälitnaxliwatomdai* |
All(*e*) watch as he draws near at the time they called him(*f*); is waiting(*g*) |

däs·umumlkänäldusdai
his salmon blanket(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Skämälamtainulim | *yao dilqwalst'liwalisandai(i)* | *oldiläkänikstäsdai*
They invite the lofty one to place himself(*j*) | on his seat;

siaunxälotladai
hail, *Sunxälotla(k)*.

(*a*) This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4. The patron of the dancer, a woman, is *Sunxälotla*, the name of *Älquntäm* as Sun. [776]
(*b*) Referring to the two *Aiiläxa* who drone daily as sun and moon travel.
(*c*) Referring to *Sunxälotla*.
(*d*) That is: When he enters *Nusmät·a* at the winter solstice to join the gathering of the supernatural beings. It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for these two subdivisions.
(*e*) Referring to the supernatural beings.
(*f*) A reference to the gathering of the supernatural beings before the winter solstice.
(*g*) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for these three subdivisions.
(*h*) That is: His salmon blanket is waiting. The reference is to *Älquntäm's* blanket with salmon on its lining. [776]
(*i*) When the song was first used, this subdivision consisted of a repetition of the second subsection of the second part. This was considered poor technique and the phrasing was altered for later occasions.
(*j*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations of these two subdivisions.
(*k*) The dancer's patron.

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Song Used for Snuyaxlikwan·a(a), a Female Bella Coola Sun(b) Dancer(c)

*533 *A Ánuximnulitsduks | wa'álusikálán·itsaìs | se·nämkekm·alimdai diziálqapstailaixgas*

There was light above me when they(d) opened the very powerful thing for me(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Łakwálsdutsmlimilsika | dizgayawa·kmlimdai

Loud voices(f) are discussing his(g) multitudinous works(h);

dásnuqpánlánamldumdai | *disnuslkákstiniłsandai*

when he stirred sunwise | the water in the shaman's wash-basin(i).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Was·ámkwalmmqudu | ska'álpálgaluslaixas | dálqwlxos·am·itłoaìs yálsmayaikilasuaìs

Smaisikila(j) and his associates are immortal; they g[illegible]rd life. In the beginning of time they created *Álpálgeloslaix*(k).

[551] [424] [776]

(a) This is a Rivers Inlet name, inherited by the present owner as a result of the marriage of one of her ancestors with a Rivers Inlet woman.

(b) According to a strict definition, *Snuyaxlikwan·a* is not a Sun dancer. Her patron is *Álqunäm*, but she does not refer to him as *Sunxálotla*, Sun, but as *Smaisikila*.

(c) This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(d) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(e) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions.

(f) Referring to those of the supernatural beings.

(g) Referring to *Smaisikila*.

(h) It was impossible to obtain individual translations of these two subdivisions.

(i) The reference is obscure. Allusions to wash-basins are usually found only in songs used by shamans; it is said that the dancer had a prerogative of that nature in Rivers Inlet, and insisted on it being mentioned in her *kusiut* song. This is contrary to Bella Coola custom.

(j) The dancer's patron.

(k) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions. *Álpálqeloslaix* is a supernatural being with the ability to revive mortals; little is known of him and he may be a Rivers Inlet being.

Song Used for Áiqwaiosamlaix, a Bella Coola Moon Dancer(a)

A Yao istásqomhuyálsduks | disludutsdimutlisandai | yao ela'ámásaoaìs sawaásiutsuaìs

I was surprised at what was told to me; it was too much, it described(b) the descending supernatural being(c).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Aiakāsptsmālōlnandja* I was not good enough(*d*)	*alridāk-ānalldai* when came to me	*dikilomamātstsldai* my patron;	533*

sumpmstqmonmallnndai
I told him so.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Wasqulwulstsltiamālnks* No one passed outside his house(*e*)	*āmātsqsamālimdai* within sight	*diqoilqolimfadai* when blackened his face

enilalalkilasudai
Moon(*f*).

(*a*) This song, composed by Reuben Schooner, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.
(*b*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.
(*c*) The reference is to the call. The meaning of this whole first part is highly problematical; the references are intentionally obscure to impress the uninitiated.
(*d*) That is: I did not have sufficient goods to distribute for a ceremony.
(*e*) The theme here changes from a description of the dancer's experience to an account of his patron's actions in the land above.
(*f*) That is: When Moon, the dancer's patron, blackened his face, no one passed even within sight of his house. As uninitiated are forbidden to pass in front of a dwelling in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place, so supernatural beings avoid the vicinity of Moon's house when he is performing. The blackening of the face refers to an eclipse, but has an added significance since it is an intimation of a dance. [776] [784] [821]

As already described (II, p. 229), the Otter dance differs from most *kusiut* rites and the songs are likewise peculiar. They do not vary from year to year and the following example, used during the season of 1923-4, contains many points of an unusual nature, not even understood by the participants themselves. It has only two parts, each with a different tune, and the performer carried out her rite by dancing in two distinct ways. In the first part, she raised and lowered her fore-arms as is customary, but followed this with a smoothing motion, as if she were levelling upturned earth. The significance of this seems to have been forgotten entirely. 533* [575]* [796]* [535]

Song Used for Kawūn-i, a Female Kimsquit Otter Dancer(a)

A *Alaiaxlaqodax* It has always been so,	*yao dafiryumyumdax* it(*b*) has no shame(*c*);	*sewāskpālstnamsdax* all see it

*533 *yao dsaxiulâlax*
when the supernatural one comes down(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS (*e*)

B Wa'kcots-ämäpalax | *ma-i-payawak'mitsdax* | *dis-takoxsiwulidsdai*
He(*f*) is pleased at what I have been doing, I have exposed to him the thing of

dsinxpamisîpdai | *dialâwailâldsdai* | *yao Ālqantaimxadai*
great worth(*g*); in like fashion calls his people(*h*) | *Ālqantam*(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 27a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was used during the *hamat* season of 1923-4.
(*b*) Referring to the otter.
(*c*) That is: It is blameless. The meaning is obscure.
(*d*) A reference to the catching, by the dancer, of the figure of an otter, a spectacle watched by all.
(*e*) The wordless chorus is unusually long.
(*f*) Referring to the otter.
(*g*) Presumably referring to the rite in which the figure of an otter is used; the whole part is practically unintelligible.
(*h*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these five subdivisions.
(*i*) That is: *Ālqantäm* summons his followers just as I have called you. The unusual lengthening of this part, combined with an apparently illogical mention of *Ālqantäm*, suggests that the last two subdivisions may be relics of a former third part.

Song Used for Anaximälas, a Bella Coola Bark-Beater(*a*) *Dancer*(*b*)

A Ipaktsxälalnaxîn | *yao xtänaxpamiblâsx* | *dälat-lwalstimalînadai*
diwalâlxtimalîldalsdai
The one(*c*) who was talking so vociferously to us was so excessively happy that I almost curbed his mirth(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Wa-alyatx-an-älimk' | *aiadiriams* | *ma-nano-yanlim*
They(*e*) alone heard | the song | they practised

älkpatwaiudlals
at the gathering of the supernatural beings(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Smalänäx-ämälim | *xawa'amomätsts* | *xixlixlixhamnäs* | *aiaxnälals*
Counts his work(*g*) | the patron(*h*), | the Bark-Beater | of *Anaxälis*(*i*)

[776] (*a*) The dancer's patron was the supernatural Bark-Beater.
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 11a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been composed about 1900 and has since been used repeatedly. It was employed during the *hamat* season of 1923-4.

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(c) Refers to a supernatural being. 533*
(d) It was impossible to obtain individual translations of these four subdivisions. The meaning of the whole part is obscure.
(e) Refers to the supernatural beings.
(f) The translation is accurate for the part as a whole, though the interpretations of the first and third subdivisions may possibly have been transposed. The significance of the words in relation to the dance is obscure.
(g) That is: Keeps count of how much he has done.
(h) That is: The patron counts his work.
(i) The supernatural Bark-Beater was the dancer's patron.

Song Used for Anuximūx-a, a Female Bella Coola Carpenter's(a) Dancer(b)

A *Itsiastum-ilsiba* | *uxranxdjahm-idsudali* | *uxxwal-ihm-allsandja*
When I was bold and head-strong(c), I nearly killed myself, I went to the place of(d)

alspaxalemaqual;
dreaded power.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sāluxjhmanltominili* | *pdinuxqwiatmmldai* | *xdiziaslakāler-aiyu*
Nuxqwiatmm(e) placed eagle down upon my head; for that reason the carpenters(f)

pdinuxpekstimut-ouali
made light(g) for me(h).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Samoxhāmdimatqudydai* | *yqyulltimutstudai* | *xdjiqudxutnūm-āmkidali*
Long ago(i) | *Yulltimut* | made this rite unaided,

alstim-ux-dnaoali
the child(j).

(a) Her patrons were the four supernatural carpenters. [776]
(b) Recorded as song VII D 26a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *kuxiut* season of 1923-4.
(c) This song was used at the dancer's initiation; the text describes her experiences for the benefit of the uninitiated.
(d) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.
(e) A supernatural being about whom nothing could be learnt. [776]
(f) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.
(g) In the sense of: Provided illumination.
(h) That is: The carpenters showed me the way to power.
(i) In the beginning of time.
(j) A reference to the figure of a child which is made to walk as a puppet at this dance. No further information could be obtained. [532]

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*533

Song Used for Sinaximtl, a Female Bella Coola Kwiat Dancer(a)

A Ititkumuslitsdak | *sa mem-ustsiyatsmh* | *yas skitsmuqulu*
dikstsistsmlsh

My path was lush, crooked and erratic when I searched for a supernatural being(b), when I finally succeeded(c).

[WQOCASS CSSSCC]

B Ăsuqustymaqs | *yas mukhlutsts* | *dizisqumulitsdai*
I was stationed firmly above | the repository; | at times it was hidden,

dikithmustsimlitsdai
there was no road(d).

[WOOCASS CSSSCC]

C Skimilkumkumlsadai | *dikuqwistsmulsdai* | *yu qwiqustsimlitsdas*
Pounded with his stick | *Nuxqwistsmu(e)*; | he succeeded in opening it(f),

dizilqumlsiqumls
and light appeared.

(a) There are so many *kwiat* dances that it was manifestly impossible to obtain details of them all. This song, composed by Nehachalmoxw, was used at the initiation of *Sinaximtl* during the *kwiat* season of 1923-4. The neophyte, a mere infant, did not dance and no information was obtained concerning the proper conduct of the rite. Her patron was the supernatural being, *Nuxqwistsmu*.

[776]

(b) This being an initiation song, those who are not members of the society are regaled with an account of the alleged experiences of the neophyte.

(c) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions.

(d) These assertions are not to be taken literally; they are all for the benefit of the uninitiated.

(e) That is: *Nuxqwistsmu* pounded with his stick. He is the dancer's patron.

(f) Referring to the repository.

Song Used for Ăsuskstsmu, a Bella Coola Kwiat(a) Dancer(b)

A Yas [illegible] | *sikikstsikitsh* | *ma'skimuqmh*
yas ăsus'likuskstsu

When I was an uninitiated person(c), I used to wonder what *Ăsu'likuskstsu* was like, but I was entirely wrong(d).

[WOOCASS CSSSCC]

B Ăsuksmis'mqs | *yas mukhlutsts* | *sikpstkiwustsmh* |
It(e) is hanging beneath the roof of | the repository; | everything is open to

mustsmlsiqumlsh
me, my limbs have opened it(f).

[WOOCASS CSSSCC]

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C *Wa'qalaxwalaxa* I see the coming	*xilqlaxwa'xwalai* figure(s),	*yas dzoxi'yaxlaxi* hell *Sisi'utlaxi*	533*

yas Sqaxsiwaxlai
Sqaxsiwa(l).

(a) This song was used during the *kwiaiai* season of 1923-4 as the initiation of an infant into the society. The full ritual was not performed on that occasion, and it was impossible to learn the proper procedure. The neophyte's parent is *Sisi'utlaxi Sqaxsiwa*, whose prestige as usually known as Broken Arrow, but *Kwakiutlaxa* has neither of these prerogatives. [176]

(b) Recorded as song VII D 45, National Museum of Canada, 1911, Broken Arrow, *Tsi'ts Charlie*, and *Jim Pelkiel*, the last-named acting as interpreter. This song was composed by Broken Arrow.

(c) The theme is worded as if the neophyte were speaking to the uninitiated whom ranks he has just left.

(d) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions.

(e) This refers either to supernatural power or to some object infused with it.

(f) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions. The meaning of the whole is obscure, although the implication is that the *Kwakiutl* now knows everything having, figuratively, frayed upon the repository.

(g) More accurately, the memorial figure, the meaning is obscure.

(h) The dancer's person.

Kwakiutl MOURNING SONGS

533*
965
575*
[166]

Several prominent *kwakiutl* died during the spring and summer of 1923. Memorial rites of the usual nature were held, but in addition several *kwakiutl* mourning songs were composed and used in their honour during the next ceremonial season. When a relative was initiated, his song contained numerous references and words of the type normally restricted to mourning songs. Such a combination may occasionally have taken place in former times, but the present comparatively common usage is due to the difficulty of holding regular potlatches. In each case the *kwakiutl* rites were abbreviated, and no description of the proper ceremonial was obtained. The following are examples of combined *kwakiutl* and mourning songs:

[177]

533*

Song Used for Xelmut, Combined with Mourning for Tsiatsi(a)

#539 *A* [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
I kept talking to myself as if I were crazy when I was near(b)

[illegible]
the supernatural(c).

[illegible]

B [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Peacefully, now, | Tsiatsi(d) | will do so

[illegible]
the eagle-mind man(e).

[illegible]

C [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
They(f) give him | the covering(g); | hail to the provided food

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
of Xemsem.(h) | the mourning(i) | [illegible](j).

(a) Recorded on song VII D 18a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The exact relationship between *Xelmut* and *Tsiatsi* could not be known.

(b) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

(c) This first part of the song follows the usual *hactat* pattern; the words are arranged as if the receptors were addressing the uninitiated.

(d) The dead man who is being mourned. The theme is now of the usual mourning type.

(e) A reference to *Xemsem*, one of the first settlers of the earth and an ancestor of *Tsiatsi*. As described (I, p. 230), *Xemsem* came to earth in eagle form and mentioned calling for food. This is an anthropomorphic word.

(f) Presumably referring to the supernatural beings.

(g) Thus in: The form of an eagle. The theme continues as a mourning song, describing the fate of the deceased.

(h) Thus in: The food brought down by *Xemsem* as a gift from *Hqamim*. Chicken was the provender supplied to him.

(i) A reference to Mount *Dasdq*, from which Sasas are said to have been born within the last century and a half.

(j) *Dasdq*, being the road of *Xemsem*, is delighted to welcome one of his descendants and shows his pleasure by blowing smoke.

[779]

Song Used for Sekamen, Combined with Mourning for Tsiatsi(a)

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
They(b) measure | the supernatural; | is to spread

[illegible]
to be common human(c).

[illegible]

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B [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
It is so(d); | the two(e) crests | had acted himself between

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Yehaha(f); | he binds them together(g) | and the same likewise(h).

[illegible]

C [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
Ḵpaxtlaw was the first creator in the beginning of time; we still peek from

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
his works(i). | As my memorial (?) is | [illegible](j).

(a) The exact relationship between Ḵ'ala̱mum and Yehaha could not be ascertained. The first twelve subdivisions of this song were recorded as song VII D 13, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tala* Charlie and Steamboat Annie.

(b) Presumably referring to the supernatural beings.

(c) This part of the song is worded as if the neophyte were addressing the uninitiated; the meaning is consciously obscure, though obviously beautiful.

(d) That is: It is true.

(e) Referring to two crests owned by the deceased; the song has changed to a mourning theme.

(f) That is: Yehaha has secured himself midway between the two crests.

(g) By incorporating himself into both.

(h) The whole song was extremely difficult to translate and the reference to a name was absolutely unintelligible.

(i) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions; in fact, even the free translation may be inaccurate.

(j) [illegible] appears in the dancer's ancestral myth, but no real explanation could be obtained for mentioning him at this point.

Song Used for Ḵala̱'xtmut, Combined with Mourning for Yehaha(a)

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
He(b) meets a supernatural being who gives him the words of a mourning song

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
for his father; then he proceeds to the land above(c).

[illegible]

B [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Where the land | Yehaha(d); | he sits down within

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
he expansible house(e); | they laughed | [illegible](f).

[illegible]

[773]

*583 C *Ka'xgumskqwlnudux* | *Ti'xwstlicudux* | *ululilicudux*
Is like a fire | *Ti'xwstlic(g)* | the copper of(h);

ski'kpalumqwlnudux | *yululutp(ya.udux* | *uiulwuk'ed(idux*
has carried him round(i) | his grandfather | *Nulindji(j)*.

(a) Recorded as songs VII D 5 and VII D 6a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. VII D 5 is a two-minute record, and as the song was too long, the last part of it was concluded on VII D 6. This resembles an ordinary mourning song, and is said to have been used formerly as one at Kimsquit. During the season of 1923-4, however, it was used at a *hamat* dance given by *Lalal'nimut*, son of the deceased *Yakulu*.

(b) Referring to the dead *Yakulu*.

(c) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these six subdivisions, and even the free interpretation may be inaccurate.

(d) That is: *Yakulu* wants the best. The meaning is that the dead man is seeking out the finest elements in his ancestral myths.

[779] (e) Referring to a house at *Nuqulst* used by his first forefathers; it had the power of expanding so as to provide room for all who came to potlatches.

[551] (f) The name of the house.

(g) A Bella Bella name owned by *Yakulu*.

(h) That is: The copper of *Yakulu* is bright and gleaming like a fire. The reference is to a copper mentioned in the deceased's ancestral myth; the article furbished itself in delight at the sight of one of its first owner's ancestors. Such boasting remarks are frequent in mourning songs.

(i) In the sense of: Around the places where his first forefathers ranged.

(j) That is: His grandfather, *Nulindji*, carried him around the scenes of the experiences of his first forefathers. *Nulindji* was a Kwakiutl chief.

Song Used for Sipmaw, Combined with Mourning for Yakulu(a)

A Sumqqwmidjuwilsutilulu | *a'Kpqywmidjululli* | *ulumlplulqulu*
I was careful, I watched myself, when I felt strange(b); I rose above the ground(c) when I reached(d)

ulumklulum
the repository(e).

[illegible]

[551] *B Sumulqlulmlulumqw'* | *yulumulmlumulu* | *yulumulilmulumulu*
As soon as he saw | *Sumulmlum(f)*, | the lordly mountain(g)

yus ululqlulmlumulu
illuminated itself(h).

[illegible]

C *Nuqulqlumqwlnumil* | *ulqlu ulu'mil* | *nudulu lmululul*
Rejoined | *Qulum(i)*; | she welcomed him(j)

nulumlumlululum
to the expansible house(k).

2. McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(a) Recorded as song VII D 19a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4; the exact relationship of *Siymaw-a* to *Yäkotles* could not be learnt. 533*

(b) *Siymaw-a* was being initiated into the *kusiut* society and this part of the song describes, for the benefit of those who were not members, her experiences when she discovered her repository. The theme states that she felt peculiar when she reached its neighbourhood.

(c) An expression inserted to impress the uninitiated.

(d) Individual translations for these three subdivisions could not be obtained.

(e) When this song was being recorded on the phonograph, the performer erred and substituted for this subdivision the following:

ałmuntaiasuałs
where I went.

(f) One of the names of *Yäkotles*. The theme here changes to the usual mourning type, describing the experiences of the deceased. [551]

(g) Referring to Mount *Tsudz* near Kimsquit.

(h) This mountain is said to have been an active volcano within the last century and a half. The first ancestors of *Yäkotles* landed upon its slopes, hence the mountain became wrapped up with their fortunes and showed its delight at welcoming one of their descendants.

(i) That is: *Ḡałmo* rejoiced. She was one of his first ancestresses.

(j) That is: *Ḡałmo* welcomed *Yäkotles*.

(k) A house which figures in the origin myth of *Yäkotles*. It had the ability of expanding to accommodate as many guests as assembled. [773]

Song Used for . . . . . (a), Combined with Mourning for Ḡomänakwala(b)

A Ił'anałłmaałja | *ałkłałaułłłsdai* | *diqxułłimułłłsandai*
I(c) was in trouble, I was in fear, when I saw illuminate itself(d)

ałmułłałłłsdai
the place of petrified power(e). [773]

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Kämułxałłłmaqułłsandai | *Ḡomänakwalasudax* | *ikän·xłiwan·uxim*
Is now established(f) | *Ḡomänakwala*(g) | at the place of

ałłłłwałxałłłłłsdax
his established name(h).

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (i)

C Kämqałłłłłłmaqułłsandax | *yu·łsuximäxałsdäx* | *skäi·kpałłłoyuqułłsandax*
Welcomed him(j) | *łsuximäxałs*(k) | and guided him around

ałłłpałłłłałłłłłsdax
the places of his crests(l).

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*533 (*a*) A female infant whose name was not known by the singers from whom this song was obtained.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 53, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tāl·io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song, composed by *Tāl·io* Charlie, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of an infant great-granddaughter of *Ḷomānakwala*.

(*c*) Referring to the neophyte. This part of the song is worded for the benefit of the uninitiated.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

[773] (*e*) This might apply to any mountain where a group of the first settlers landed, but is said to refer to *Nusḳalst*, the home of the dead man's ancestral family. The implication of the theme is that the mountain erupted; Mount *Nusḳalst* is not regarded as a volcano, and it is possible that the composer confused the origin myth of the dead man with that recorded in the preceding four songs in which there are references to the illumination of Mount *Swaḳ* at Kimsquit. Such a mistake would not be impossible in view of the decadence of Bella Coola culture.

(*f*) In the sense of: Has rejoined his ancestral crest.

(*g*) That is: *Ḷomānakwala* has rejoined his ancestral crest.

(*h*) That is: At the place where the first to possess his name came to earth.

(*i*) An unusually long wordless chorus separates the second from the third part.

(*j*) That is: *Ḷomānakwala*.

(*k*) That is: *Sānuximāxots* welcomed *Ḷomānakwala*. The former was one of the latter's first ancestors.

(*l*) A reference to the localities where his first forefathers came to earth.

[776] *Song Used for Lilituumlaix(a), Combined with Mourning for Ḷomānakwala(b)*

A Aiyailaixdimuthlandai | *tuḳuxḳuxḳumlaixḳodax* | *sawastānimulmistax* |
All is ready, proceed | thou "Opener"(*c*) | who brings what puts

yao ditcaitcaiyutslaixao
an end to all our grief(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Ālticiakumlimilsuka | *dastālkumxayakstdax*
He(*e*) is waiting with outstretched hand | for the chief(*f*);

shānuihm·ilxwisdax | *yutcākwaākaiyustdai*
now he stands upon | *Tcākwaāks*(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

[773] *C Shānwantaālsisqudax* | *sawatcākwālot·dadax* | *shānunlkals·mimqulsundax*
Sits down within | the expansible house(*h*) | *Snunlkals*(*i*)

xustnutlkmdimutsudai
on *Sānutlkmdimut*(*j*).

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(*a*) "The Beautifier." This is one of the appellations of the infant's patron, the otter, so-called because people adorn themselves whenever an Otter dance is given. 533*

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 16a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of *Lilitwumlaix*, a female infant distantly related to *Ḷomānakwala*. [776]

(*c*) A reference to Otter, the neophyte's patron. The significance is that chiefs have an opportunity to display, "open," their generosity by lavish giving at every Otter dance. [556]

(*d*) The elaborate ritual of an Otter dance dispels grief. It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions.

(*e*) Referring to one of the dead man's ancestors. The theme changes, and is henceforth of the usual mourning pattern.

(*f*) Referring to the dead *Ḷomānakwala*.

(*g*) "The Loftiest." This is one of the many designations for *Nusḍalst*, one of the dead man's crests.

(*h*) A reference to the expanding house described in the dead man's origin myth. [773]

(*i*) One of *Ḷomānakwala*'s names.

(*j*) This is another name for *Nusḍalst*. The meaning of the whole part is: *Ḷomānakwala* sits down within the expansible house on Mount *Nusḍalst*. There is the added implication that he seats himself as does his supernatural namesake in the land above.

Non-Ceremonial Songs

The Bella Coola are not an intensely musical people. Singing in unison is an essential feature of every ceremonial rite, [796]* but, when alone, an individual seldom bursts into melody from sheer *joie de vivre*. They have, however, a certain number of non-ceremonial songs, shorter and more diverse in theme than any of those previously recorded. The people themselves do not attempt to classify them, though they can conveniently be grouped in accordance with their themes. Some deal with [825] love, others are sung jocularly at sight of certain birds or mammals, while a third class can only be described as miscellaneous. Still others accompany stories and games; these are included in vol. II, chap. V, and appendix B. 1

Love Songs

Men sometimes compose songs which they sing, unaccompanied, to their lady loves. Occasionally, too, the maker of a popular one will teach it to his friends who will serenade the 533* 832 424

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 543 to 567 - ANALYST]

*533 [832] [424] woman, he taking the leading part. Such songs are not private property. Women, likewise, compose songs about men, though these are usually of a mocking nature and are sung only by a group of girls when on a picnic or fern-gathering expedition.

Man's Love Song(a)

Kàlàpnoàlio	*oliasoyo·nɣwta*	*maxmilànmsta*	*skàkwnsdjinu*
If you went(b)	to *Sonyʷ*,	I would become a star,	I would capture you.

Kàlàpnoàlio	*oltusulotwdax*	*susloi·lànmsta*	*skàkwnsdjinu*
If you went	to the ocean,	I would become a bull-head(?)	I would capture you.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 33c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This is said to be an ancient Bella Coola love song.
(b) The vertical lines indicate merely the end of a word group, not a clear subdivision as in ceremonial songs in which the services of an announcer are required.

Man's Love Song(a)

Kàlàpnualtuq'	*olàkolukmɣao*	*sawàskwaqwaiyials*
If you should go	to the land	of the bull-head,

almàkwammsto	*skàmohmtcinu*	*skàislixwdjinu*
I would change myself to a kingfisher,	I would dive down,	I would eat you.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 33a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The singer composed this song about 1900.

Man's Love Song(a)

Saiyulàamldinitsqwsokoks	*aiyel·a*	*xaiyel·a*
?	*aiyel·a(b)*	*xaiyel·a(c)*

Sàuusukkomàwlàk·etsl	*oldjxdjxdjx*	*aiyel·a*	*xaiyel·a*
?	her	*aiyel·a*	*xaiyel·a*

Wa·ràsi·eqeyoalais	*xaiyel·a*
?	*xaiyel·a*

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Wastamyelsuqu	*yadinʼlkts*	*oldjxdjxdjx*	*aiyelʼa*	*xaiyelʼa*
?	good opinion	her	*aiyelʼa*	*xaiyelʼa*

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 6d, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) This word has no meaning.
(*c*) This word has no meaning.

The above is a very popular song, said to be ancient. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain a literal translation although the significance is well known. A free interpretation is:

"They say I loved her very dearly? No! The dimple in my left cheek merely smiled at [had a good opinion of] her."

It is often sung when a man is accused of being on unduly friendly terms with a girl.

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Man's Love Song in Chinook Jargon(a)

Klunäs	*karta*	*naika*	*tamtam*
I wonder(*b*)	what	I	think(*c*)
kapʼa	*okak*	*taii*	*klutcmän*
of	that	chief(*d*)	woman;
haiyu	*naika*	*wawa*	*yäkʼa*
a great deal	I	talk	her(*e*);
helo	*cem*	*naika*	
no	shame(*f*)	I(*g*).	

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 48, National Museum of Canada; singer, Reuben Schooner. The singer completed the record with a Bella Coola song of which the text could not be obtained.
(*b*) Literally: Perhaps. This word is used for many dubitative expressions.
(*c*) This song follows the usual English pattern so it has been arranged in lines.
(*d*) In the sense of: Important.
(*e*) That is: I have been talking a great deal to her.
(*f*) This is the English word "shame" which has been adopted into Chinook.
(*g*) That is: I have had no shame in what I have said to her.

Kimsquit Woman's Love Song(a)

Sismqulks | *wasliluks* | *dilliukpdimuldai*	*alxwopmäklaixdisxänmitlmem*
Why is the man talking so much(*b*)?	I don't like him any more.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*533 *Ähx* | *axdjanl* | *olalaiaoa*
Come(*c*), | let us lie down together | not far away.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 33b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This is the type of song sung by a group of women on a picnic.
(*b*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.
(*c*) This is addressed to another man.

Woman's Love Song(*a*)

Kismätldudjaia | *diyuhnkstaiyätsdai* | *yao oldisnnäx* | *aiyaqolosti*
I do not want him | to lie down with me | that slave | *Qolosti*(*b*).

Aqtaxyälqotsamnu | *qänuxom·iken·u* | *kaipainuxstix*$^{w'}$
Don't go too far down(*c*) | or you will be unable to stop defecating(*d*).

Skämätsitomdxlts | *siqoadiinuldjilnu* | *skä·neponiqetsxw'*
I went to sleep, | I dreamt of you(*e*), | how disconsolate I am!

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 38c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
[578] (*b*) *Qolosti* was a man who specialized in composing songs that mocked women, hence the singer used his name in this derogatory manner in retaliation.
(*c*) The implication is that her lover had been fondling her face, and that she did not wish him to touch her body. The three parts of this song have no apparent relationship to one another.
(*d*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions. The introduction of the obscene expression is unexplained.
(*e*) Referring to her lover.

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ANIMAL SONGS

Fishing Song(*a*)

This song is sung by boys as they cast for trout.

Waitutupän·ai·, | *wasänukxmits* | *wasänukxmits*
Come along, trout(*b*), | I want to triumph, | I want to triumph,

yao tilqualtänas | *iltutupän·i*
over you biggest | trout.

Äsitutupän·i | *äsitutupän·i*
I fish for trout, | I fish for trout.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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Nuthlhlwaqotnmkx Swallow right down(*c*),	*oldisxtcntcnki* to your very tail,	*oldisxtcntcnki* to your very tail;

Ginxtawnhalulan-islaix
why you cannot even break one of our hairs(*d*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 9a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
(*b*) The vocative form is used.
(*c*) That is: Swallow the bait.
(*d*) A reference to the use of human hairs for fishlines. The lad is, of course, trying to "dare" the fish.

Fishing Song(a)

This is a song sung by lads as they splash in the water after minnows, trying to drive them ashore.

Waksdimān·u Who is your father?	*Waksdimān·u* Who is your father?

Qualaiyulānk "Rotten stomach"(*b*)	*dimān·u* is your father;	*qualaiyulānk* "Rotten stomach"	*dimān·u* is your father.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 26b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) It is uncertain whether this refers to any particular kind of fish, or is merely a general term of opprobrium.

Song Sung to a Cormorant(a)

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825

When a cormorant is seen near a canoe, the paddlers often sing the following song. The bird, delighted, is said to come near and dance around the craft.

Qtnāxomāks Dance,	*dallopān·idax* cormorant,	*qtnāxomāks* dance,	*dalsiteowidax* cormorant(*b*).

Nustsaik
Take the breast(*c*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 34c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) This is the Bella Bella word for cormorant.
(*c*) The singer insisted on inserting this refrain after the song. It is really a lullaby and it is doubtful whether it normally accompanies the cormorant song.

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2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Song Sung to a Bat(a)

*533 825 When a bat is seen flitting around in the dusk, lads often greet it as follows:

Stundabitlam	*xololo*
Bat,	*xololo.*

These two words are repeated an indefinite number of times.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 24b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

MISCELLANEOUS SONGS

*533 525 177 Gambling games have always been popular among the Bella Coola, especially the one known as *lehal* which may be of European origin. Contestants sing as they play, but the songs, lacking words, consist merely of a series of meaningless ejaculations. The tunes, however, are remembered, and certain ones are considered to be the proper accompaniment to certain games. When a number of men are singing in unison, they follow the directions of a leader, but at other times the "words" vary according to individual taste. The tunes alone are important, and it is often remembered from what area they first came.[4]

*533 177 A few songs have been adopted from the Carriers and are sung from sheer delight in the rhythm, since the words are unintelligible. The most popular is the following:

[4]A number of such tunes were obtained:

A Kimsquit *lehal* song, recorded as song VII D 30c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A gambling song said to have come from the West Coast of Vancouver Island, recorded as song VII D 19b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded as song VII D 16b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded as song VII D 20b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded as song VII D 23b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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A Song in Mixed Carrier(a)–Bella Coola(b)

uxlexwan·i	*uxlexwan·i*	*xonätsoldjo*	*senaxwan·i*
uxlexwan·i(c),	*uxlexwan·i,*	?(*d*)	?

äkaiäldaltco	*äkaiäldaltco*	*äkaiäldaltco*
?	?	?

nuqwna	*uxlexwan·i*
the very hairy pudenda	*uxlexwan·i(e).*

(*a*) It is uncertain whether this song was derived from the Carrier or the Chilkotin.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 10b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) The anthropomorphized supernatural cold wind, resident in the upper Bella Coola. The old trail from the interior passed through the valley and the word must have been familiar to the Indians of the interior. [776 821]

(*d*) The words marked with queries are all in Carrier (or Chilkotin).

(*e*) This third part of the song is called forth loudly, not sung, and always gives rise to laughter. It means: *uxlexwan·i* has hairy pudenda, a reference to the luxuriant growth of bushes and grass in the valley where she is localized.

A Carrier Song(a)

This song is said to have been used at some ceremonial at Ulkatcho, in the Carrier country. The rite is spoken of as a potlatch, although the Bella Coola state that it differed entirely from one of their own potlatches, and that every guest brought his own song. The words are:

atis	*tcaxola*
Knife,	none at all.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 10c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

The Bella Coola have no idea of the meaning of this song.

2: McIlwra..h E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

CHAPTER III

WARFARE[1]

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

721 PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was con-
648 siderable warfare among the coastal tribes of British Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermination of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks. These were never as continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless,
[796] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were
[556] even received as guests at some dances. At potlatches they might be subjected to insult, later to be avenged in the same manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and
726 friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who
825 bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests them-
778 selves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever
[486] another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter
[578] to veer over to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was
[627] considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads.
721 In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was
[575] at all common. Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were
[622] not entirely forgotten; no *kusiut* novice went to war and

[1]Warfare having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject. 721 575 622

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Stuux* and *Ältqäläxl* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe. 648 685 626 556 688 628 727 777

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Täl·io*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack. 642 648 133 161

721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided
648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
[727] of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but
[628] were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the help of *Q̓omqo·ts*, the most exposed one, although there was no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of
[776] this town attributed their protection to *Ałquntäm*, and used to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune
[361] owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola itself was comparatively free from molestation, Kimsquit and
[162] *Täl·io*, with smaller populations and less strategic positions, were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and entered by a water-gate with a drop-door.[2] This water-gate protected the
[648] residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one
[726] Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders, armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way
[642] and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong government was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being
[623] assailed, the members of the town would discuss retaliation, and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was de-
[622] cided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually
[701] a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[2] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. 721
If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to 701
serve under him, but he could not compel the services of any- 622
one except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to [626]
follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion [628]
usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of
other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join
the party. If some of their relatives had been slain in the
previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the retali-
ation, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could
attract them. No case is known in which all the Bella Coola [642]
villages joined in a single expedition; there were often tem- [628]
porary alliances between neighbouring settlements, but com-
plete lack of central organization. The course of events was
similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of
avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been [648]
enslaved by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother
of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was
to kill a slave belonging to the murderers, though sometimes
he led a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the 726
same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped 411
arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were
also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed
like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was
relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a
distance with much noise, boasting, and expletives, but few
casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers suc-
ceeded in surprising a village at night. Hostilities are a thing
of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed
information respecting offensive weapons. Armour consisted 714
of maple or birch slats reinforced with moosehide and worn 726
around the body and chest; this rendered quick movement
difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were intro- [411]
duced many years ago and armour consequently became use- [177]
less. Large shields of moosehide were carried in all canoes,

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714 and one was held up by the bow paddler as the craft neared the
726 shore to protect him and those behind from arrows and stones cast by slings. When not in use, shields were laid away in boxes with some white substance resembling flour.[9] On the
[103] shore of the fiord below Bella Coola, opposite Winter Bay, there are some boulders of the same white tint; even now these are often spoken of as "The Shields of the Bella Coola." It is said that hostile raiders, seeing them, used to remark that they had reached the outposts of Bella Coola.

726 The same lack of leadership shown during preparations for a war was evident during hostilities. The so-called leader had
701 little authority over his men, who could desert and return home
703 at any time. Lack of martial ability among their own chiefs
[648] sometimes led the Bella Coola to place themselves under the authority of a Bella Bella in a way which would be impossible
[642] for a war-like people. Frequently such divided leadership led to disaster, and is the surest proof that the Bella Coola were not as aggressive or bellicose as other coastal tribes.

726 Except when attacking the Carriers, all raiding parties
[533] embarked in canoes and followed a definite order of procedure
[703] handed down from the past. In the stern of each craft sat the captain, a chief, who, as the craft was leaving, began to sing his *xe·tla* song, keeping time to it with the beats of his paddle; the recounting of the glories of their ancestors was supposed to encourage the warriors. Instead of leaving simultaneously, a rendezvous was often chosen down the fiord, and the expedition finally moved off from there when all the canoes had arrived. While still in friendly territory, a flotilla proceeded
726 openly. A small amount of dried salmon and water was car-
789 ried by a war party and morsels of the former were eaten at intervals. The bow-man took as much food and drink as he thought could be consumed at one sitting, put a fragment of dried salmon in his mouth, chewed it four times on the same side of his mouth as he was paddling, and swallowed it. Then

[9]Some undetermined substance said to have had protective or preservative qualities.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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he took a sip of water, followed by another piece of dried fish, 726
chewed it four times, and washed it down as before. This was 789
four times repeated so that the provender consumed consisted of four morsels of salmon, each chewed four times, and four sips of water; it was most important that no more should be taken into the mouth than could be swallowed at a single gulp. Having eaten, the bow-man passed the food which he had taken from the store to the paddler behind him who ate and drank in the same manner, except that he chewed with the other side of his mouth, corresponding to the fact that he paddled on the other side of the canoe from the man in the bow. So the food and drink was passed down to the captain. If possible, he was required to eat whatever was left, though if there was too much, he threw the remains over his shoulder into the water. He was also expected to swallow whatever water was passed to him, but if there was too much he would lie back, his head projecting over the stern, and pour it out over his face so that it fell into the ocean. As the food and drink were completely consumed, so it was believed the enemy would be annihilated. If the bow-man had failed to take out enough salmon and water, the captain received none of it, since no second portion could be served.

Each captain took with him a supply of dyed and undyed 726
cedar-bark which was stored in the bow of the canoe. During 714
the course of the day, the party would land and the chief decide 824
upon some decoration made by combining strands of the two colours of bark to serve as a distinguishing mark for members of the same canoe. He took out as much bark as he thought would suffice, and the bow-man was the first to don the symbol. The second paddler followed, and each in turn did the same in order of his position in the canoe. If too much had been taken, the captain had to wear collars of whatever was left over; if too little, he had to do without. Having thus arrayed them- 726
selves, the party continued until nightfall when a secluded spot 784
was chosen for camping. Wood was collected and fires laid, 722
but no light was ever struck and the warriors lay around the

726 cold sticks to sleep. Meanwhile, their wives at home were
784 required to be very careful, since a woman's heedless playing
722 would cause injury to her husband, and faithlessness, his death. These restrictions were obligatory during the absence of the expedition.

726 As the party neared the enemy's country, they would conceal the craft under projecting trees by day and travel only at night. When within striking distance, a scouting canoe was sent forward to learn the hostile dispositions, the best means of approach, and so forth. This was usually done at dusk, and when the scouts had returned, the party would steal quietly through the forest and hide behind the unsuspecting village. At dawn the leader would give the signal, and the attackers would rush forward with a fierce shout, killing all the men and [727] seizing women and children as slaves. When captives were [422] taken by slave members of the expedition, they belonged to the latter's masters. The victors would cut off the heads of [567] their victims, seize what loot they could, set fire to the village and rush home before support could arrive from neighbouring towns. At first, the slaughter was usually a somewhat unpleasant task, but as the warriors became inflamed with the heat of battle, they began to delight in killing, and even women and children frequently suffered.

727 The exulting victors sped homewards, rejoicing at their success but somewhat fearful that they might be cut off by overwhelming reinforcements. During the journey, each warrior who had taken a head removed the scalp by cutting the skin around the cranium close above the eyebrows and ears. These trophies were washed at the rock *Skolsexumnsta* on the fiord below Bella Coola. When within sight of home, the [583] captain stood up in the canoe and sang again his *xe·tla* song, a symbol of victory as the bloody scalps were held aloft. Women and children would rush forth to greet the conquerors who landed amid scenes of wild enthusiasm and rejoicing.

[422] Prisoners of war became the property of those who had
[567] taken them, with the exception of those captured by slaves.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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If the war had not been of long duration in which extremely bitter feelings had been aroused, captives were often ransomed by their relatives, who came unmolested for the purpose when the heat of battle had subsided. Failing this, prisoners remained as slaves, the children especially growing up virtually as members of their owner's family as far as food and clothing were concerned, though never sharing in the prowess of his ancestral family. Torture or killing of prisoners seems to have been a rare practice. One extremely old Kimsquit woman related that in her childhood she had seen a captive stretched out on the hot rocks at the side of the ocean, fastened there, his testes crushed with stones, and allowed to die. No other similar traditions could be obtained and it seems probable that this must have been an unusual case. It is true that hostilities have long ceased, but the Bella Coola have clear recollections of other long-abandoned customs, and it is unlikely that torture was ever a common occurrence. It is, of course, one about which reticence is to be expected, but information would have been obtainable if the custom had been common or if it had been one which played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola.

Scalps were hung on a cord and dried like salmon, then suspended as valuable trophies in the taker's house. When setting out on a war expedition, he would often cover his head with one, holding it in position by weaving its hair into his own. At a man's death, they were either inherited by his heirs or, more often, burnt with his other possessions. It is said that the Fort Rupert people used to tie scalps in bundles to their masks. When the Bella Coola went to war to retaliate for a murder, instead of scalping a victim, they sometimes brought back his whole head and impaled it on a stake over the grave of the person avenged.

At this late period it is virtually impossible to form any opinion as to the amount of bloodshed in wars waged by the Bella Coola. Several of the older people spoke in gloating terms of the slaughter accomplished by their ancestors, but all

E. McDowell E-9 (1922-1924) 1968
NEB Bellacoola NEB
Transcription NE15

B 721 these accounts seemed to be exaggerations, and the casualties were probably few. The Bella Coola did not have the same admiration for the successful warrior as for the man who gave many potlatches, while everything indicates that their raids were on a small scale, rendered singularly ineffective by lack of discipline. [559] B [705]

Shaman Accounts

B 72 Active warfare has been so long discontinued on the coast that none of the living Bella Coola can describe conditions as they existed during hostilities. It was possible to collect the following accounts of raids and adventures which, though individually of small value, illustrate tactics and strategy, and recount incidents which throw light on the frame of mind of the participants. 121 *539

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Kitkatla War

448 721 For many years there was animosity between the Bella Coola and the Kitkatla who, with the advantage of strong government, used to sweep down from the north for salmon and slaves. Bella Coola itself was comparatively immune from attack, but the Kimsquit people suffered severely. The attackers were not always successful; one old man related how, when his mother's mother was an infant, they were driven off with the loss of four canoes and many men. The fact that this incident had been remembered for so many years indicates that it was unusual.

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527 454 [727] Slaves captured in this way were traded from tribe to tribe and rarely escaped. When an elderly Bella Coola was a lad, there was considerable excitement in the community owing to the return of *Hahwala*, a woman who had been carried off when a girl. She had been traded to a northern tribe among whom, she said, it was customary to crush captives beneath totem-poles and house-posts. The diligence saved her from this fate, and she was passed on until she reached the far north, on the

Z.98 Growth E-1 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Reference NEA
Tsimshian NE15

slave of a river where "the white man got money once." Then *Stikwale* began to go south, and was finally sold to an important chief living north of Fort Simpson. He used to beat her; in fact, she carried the scars with her to her grave. *Stikwale's* master had another slave, a male Bella Bella, with whom the woman was on friendly terms since she was related by blood to a Bella Bella family and could speak that language. Angered by her harsh treatment, *Stikwale* suggested to her companion in misfortune that they kill their master and escape. The man was at first unwilling, but she assured him that she knew the route southward. The conspirators awaited their opportunity which came when their master were halibut fishing, accompanied only by his two slaves. One evening *Stikwale* cooked a large meal for him which made him drowsy as he sat by the fire; then she stole behind him, picked up an axe, and killed him by hitting him over the head. The two murderers carefully scraped up all the blood, and came to the corpse, and sank it in deep water so that their master's friends would believe that he had been drowned with his slaves. Then the two, having stolen a canoe, paddled off, hiding by day, and subsisting on what shell-fish they could gather. After many perils they reached Bella Bella, whence *Stikwale* returned home.

She had been carried off as a mere girl, but was past the age of child-bearing when she returned and had almost forgotten her native language. The Bella Coola were keenly interested in the tale of her adventures, and especially in the way that slaves were buried in Alaska. It was assumed that some of their own captives must have been killed in that way, as a slave from the far north was crushed in revenge. It is said that this custom was common among the northern tribes from whom the Bella Coola adopted several practices, although this particular one was carried out but once.

The most famous Kitkatla chief, and the one most dreaded by the Bella Coola, was *Tsibou*, who is said to have had almost despotic powers over his northern warriors. The name itself was transmitted from one holder to another, but the man

2: McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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celebrated *Tokoa* was he who held sway between 1850 and 1870, a man of almost gigantic proportions, of tremendous physical strength, and endowed with force of character and initiative as well. Pitted against him, the Kimsquit people suffered even more than before; there were few direct assaults, but Kitkatla canoes seemed always to be lurking in the vicinity, ready to kill or enslave heedless fishermen or those travelling between Kimsquit and Bella Coola or *Tal'co*. Friends of the victims repeatedly discussed counter-measures, but lack of leadership prevented them from coming to a decision for several years.

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One winter, about the middle of the last century,* the Kimsquit determined to take the offensive in May. This plan was discussed both at Bella Coola and *Tal'co*, at *Ximqu'a* the leading chief, *Nuxmit'a* gave his support and many men whose relatives had been killed or enslaved promised to join the Kimsquit raiders. Among others who took part in the conference was a certain *Lo-gaw'a*, an influential Bella Bella chief who claimed to be visiting relatives in *Ximqu'a* at the time. It was decided that the rendezvous should be *Bellabella*, on Lebouchere Channel.

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During the spring those who planned to take part in the expedition busied themselves with their preparations. No one knew how large would be the force, since as usual, everyone used his own discretion whether or not to join it, some did so to avenge injuries to their relatives, some merely to display martial ability, whereas others declined to repay their wrongs. As has the appointed date came round, and some fifty canoes, each containing twenty to thirty men, gathered at the appointed place.* Thence they set out and encamped for the first night at Smith River, *Kitlaw*, near Bella Bella. *Lo-gaw'a* knew the time of meeting and the route that would be followed, so sent out two lads to hunt deer at the spot, though, not wishing to circumvent some of the raiders, he did not tell them when they were likely to find. The two hunters scrambled upon the mountainsides without being observed, and hurried home to report what they had seen. *Lo-gaw'a* had intended to join the party, so he now set out to a small canoe with the two as paddlers, after warning them that they must not nothing to home of his movements. His war equipment consisted of a mallet and two paddle-shaped boards with small

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*The approximate date was judged from the fact that the old man who told of the expedition in 1922 said that his father was about five years of age at the time.
*The strength of the expedition was probably exaggerated.

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dressers, each containing a loaded and measured charge; these were medicines recently obtained in trade from the white man and considered very valuable. On reaching the place where the Bella Coola canoes were drawn up, *Lo-gwa-i* called out four times:

"*Nawait-a*, are you there?"

On being answered in the affirmative, *Lo-gwa-i* leaps ashore, uses back his own canoe, and deliberately joined the expedition.

The Bella Bella chief gave *Nawait-a* one of the prized pelorus-shaped bowls, and the recipient repaid this overwhelming generosity with the gift of a marten-skin coat which he was wearing. A Kitamaat chief likewise gave *Lo-gwa-i* a valuable blanket-coat. As usual, the war-party was suffering from lack of leadership. *Lo-gwa-i*, a properly validated warrior, was a man who had given many potlatches, and though not a Bella Coola, was related to them by blood; in addition, he alone knew the route to Kitkatla, so he virtually assumed command, although many of the Bella Coola were unwilling followers. *Lo-gwa-i* suggested no immediate move, and gained his point owing to the fact that no one had a definite counter-suggestion. After travelling seven miles in the darkness, *Lo-gwa-i* warned the canoes to address his ill-disciplined and somewhat uncertain force. He pointed out that the way to Kitkatla was long and difficult and that it would be dangerous to attack their northern foe-men, but that the *Wa-yal-a'* men at hand would be an easy prey. The Bella Coola had no quarrel with these people, and were reluctant to attack them, especially as there had been inter-marriage between the two tribes. *Lo-gwa-i* spoke heavily, saying that the *Wa-yal-a* had insulted him in their potlatches, and that many of their women, gathering sea-weed on lonely beaches on this season, would be easy victims. His arguments were given strength by the fact that he was a noted chief and warrior; no one dared to meet against him, so it was decided to follow his wishes, though the Bella Coola stipulated that none of the *Wa-yal-a* were to be killed.

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The Bella contingent and in the early dawn visited a small *Wa-yal-a* settlement and captured several slaves. Continuing their journey, they took prisoner a number of women who were gathering sea-weed, and destroyed the supplies which had been stored up. *Lo-gwa-i* had joined the expedition merely in hope of getting revenge upon the *Wa-yal-a*; now that this end was accomplished, he was willing and eager to return home, but unaware how to leave his followers.

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With this in view, *Lo-gwa-i* suggested an attack on a Chim-lim settlement, adding that he knew where some of their [women?] and in Cowichan dwelling were stored, and that the Chim-lim people were too numerous

[illegible] one of the Bella Bella speaking groups.
[illegible] was stored with men to capture women [illegible]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Bellabella NE5
Tsimshian NE15

in their ceremonies. Again the Bella Coola were unwilling, but again their unformulated and uncertain wishes were overruled by the dominant chief, and the assault was made. The frames were stored in an unguarded shelter near the cemetery, into which the raiders broke, smashed them, and threw the debris into the water. While this was taking place, a *Wayel-a* canoe rounded a point, and *Lo-gwa-t* took the opportunity to jump aboard, saying that he was escaping from a Bella Coola raiding-party. The canoe paddled away and the expedition was left leaderless. The usual discussion took place about what was to be done, but finally the raiders returned home. They had been diverted from their original objective, had been led to attack a friendly tribe, had been deserted by their leader, and the only spoils of the long-prepared expedition were a few slaves.

Among the prisoners were two daughters of a certain *Olowa*, who was feared because he had frequently been in partnership with *Tsilxa*. A few days after the return of the expedition, the father appeared to ransom his children. Some of the Bella Coola wanted to kill him, others demurred, and it was finally decided that a spear, fastened to a line, should be hurled against his canoe so that it would project outwards and lodge against an anchor stake, capsizing the craft and drowning the occupant. The spear was thrown, but clever handling prevented the intended disaster. *Olowa* was a validated warrior, one who never showed fear, so he calmly pulled out the missile and again paddled upstream. This time the Bella Coola fired shots close to either side of his head, but he sat unmoved and unarmed amid his boxes of presents. Finally, a Bella Coola tried to wrench off a tuft of hair from above one ear, but though he pulled with all his force, he did not succeed, and everyone on shore laughed at him. This restored good humour, and *Olowa* was allowed to land and ransom his daughters. When he left for home he was told to send his friends if they wished the return of their relatives. This was done and peace followed; if *Olowa* had waited a few days until the excitement of victory had cooled, he would have been able to land without molestation. The only other result of the expedition was that the China Hat *kukwiat* killed their own Cannibals for having allowed their frameworks to be exposed.

After this fiasco, the Kitkatla became even bolder and many years elapsed before another expedition was sent against them. This time, there was no Bella Bella chief to interfere with the arrangements and after the plans had been discussed for a winter, a flotilla from Bella Coola, Kimsquit and Pa-a took the water one day in May.

Nothing of importance took place until, near Kitkatla, a canoe was captured containing a man and his wife. The former's face was marked with a vertical scar, and it was remembered that, four years earlier, when Tsilxa had been attacking Kimsquit, one of the defenders had shot an

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arrow downwards from his station above the doorway so that its obsidian point pierced the face of one of the assailants. This was obviously the same man, so a Kimsquit chief promptly slew him as a first taste of revenge. From the captive woman it was learnt that *Tsihsa* himself was at Bella Bella. Here was a golden opportunity, but the Bella Coola wasted it through divided counsels. Some wanted to proceed to Bella Bella to capture *Tsihsa* himself, others to continue to Kitkatla and attack during the absence of their warrior-chief. Either plan might have been successful, but as usual there was no central authority and days were wasted in idle talking. At length they determined to assault the village, and cautiously drew nearer for the purpose. The same futile discussion delayed matters, but at last one night some of the attackers lurked in the woods behind the unsuspecting town, while others guarded the canoes hidden at a distance.

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Meanwhile *Tsihsa*, while at Bella Bella, had heard that a Bella Coola raiding-party had set out. He knew that its objective would be his own village, so he hurried home in a fast travelling canoe with relays of paddlers to obviate delay through camping at night. Under cover of darkness, he passed unmolested into Kitkatla at the very time that the attackers were in ambush. Though unaware of this, *Tsihsa* acted with promptness. He called his followers together and told them what he had learnt in Bella Bella, and that from the time which had elapsed since he heard the news, the enemy must be at hand. Drums were beaten and all the community called together in readiness. The lurking Bella Coola overheard the preparations, but could not make up their minds to attack instantly; some wanted to do so, others desired to wait for dawn, and once more lack of leadership caused an opportunity to slip by. Just at daylight the assault was launched. With a wild yell the Bella Coola fell upon the town, but the Kitkatla were on the alert, their arms beside them, and the onslaught was a failure. The first rush was driven back, so the assault degenerated into a sporadic musketry duel which continued throughout the day with advantage to the assailants although the casualties were heavy on both sides. *Tsihsa* owned a small brass cannon which he fired as a signal to other towns of the Kitkatla to rally to his assistance, and the Bella Coola were forced to consider the possibility of hostile reinforcements arriving at any time. Some of the attackers tried to burn the village by crawling on the roofs and setting them afire, but the wary defenders pulled them through the smoke-vents and killed them. In the afternoon several canoes came hurrying up, filled with allies summoned by the firing of the cannon. As they sped past the place where the Bella Coola canoes were concealed, they noticed one of the sentries and took a few long-range shots at him. One struck him on the wrist, and the

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intense pain caused him to shriek in agony. Judging by the sound that the guards had been overcome and were being killed, the raiders were thrown into confusion. With one accord they abandoned the attack and fled to their canoes; those who first reached them pushed off at once, abandoning their less fortunate comrades to their fate.

One of *Trhsa*'s wives was a Bella Bella who feared that a dearly loved relative, a certain *Nuzmát·a*, might be among the assailants. In the confusion that followed the rout she called out in her native speech:

"*Nuzmát·a*, are you there?"

The Bella Coola had actually been reinforced by a number of Bella Bella volunteers including *Nuzmát·a*, but he had made good his escape. Another Bella Bella, less fortunate, realized that this was a chance for help and called back, imitating the voice of the man addressed. The woman was deceived and told him to drag one of the Kitkatla canoes into the water and that she would bring paddles as soon as she could do so unobserved. About forty of the attackers took possession of a large canoe, but their courage failed as they waited for the woman with paddles and they shoved off, propelling the craft with their hands. Aided by an off-shore wind, they were able to steal away from the scene and had almost reached a tiny islet when they met another canoe coming to *Trhsa*'s assistance. A fight ensued, the refugees were driven ashore to the island and their canoe carried off. Even in their perilous position, the party continued to wrangle. Some scoured the woods for yellow cedar from the bark of which the Carriers used to make canoes, an art well known, although not generally practised by the coastal tribes. Fire had swept over the island so that only two trees were found; the discoverers hastily peeled bark from these, fashioned it into rude canoes, and pushed off with their friends, leaving seven men marooned. The two craft ultimately reached Bella Coola after various adventures.

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Among the seven abandoned were two uncles of the father of the man from whom this account was obtained, as well as the grandfather of a middle-aged Kimsquit man with whom the tale was also discussed. The two brothers were warriors, men whose bravery had been validated. One said to the other:

"You are always boasting of your valour, now is your opportunity to display it. Swim across and steal a canoe from the village we attacked."

Thus urged, the man agreed to make the attempt, first requesting the others not to kill his brother, the originator of the scheme, in case of his non-return, though this was the usual penalty for proposing a plan which led to the death of another. But the Bella Bella who had imitated *Nuzmát·a*'s voice insisted on risking his life. He stripped, tied a knife to his head, took a board for support, and essayed the theft. He had no

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difficulty in getting near the village, but the dogs smelt his approach and their barking so dismayed him that he returned. Now it was the turn of the man to whom the scheme had first been suggested. He took the same float and pushed off into the darkness. A celebration of victory was taking place, so that he was able to land unobserved on the beach and mingle without suspicion among the many strangers who had assembled to *Tsuksa*'s aid. These included allies among whom were slaves and others whose faces were unfamiliar to the residents of the village itself. After walking around for some time, the Bella Coola noticed a canoe of suitable size at the end of the village. He joined a group walking in that direction, but detached himself by making some excuse when near the desired point. Once out of sight behind the canoe, he waited until he was unobserved and moved the craft a few feet; again he waited, then shifted it once more, until he was ultimately able to launch it. By great good fortune, he was able to slip in unobserved, and managed to rejoin his companions although he had only his hands and a few pieces of wood with which to paddle. The seven remained on the islet for two days more, making paddles and waiting until all suspicion of the proximity of any attackers had passed.

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Then they launched their craft and started homewards. Ignorant of the outside channel, they determined to follow the well-known inner route, though this course exposed them to constant danger and necessitated travelling by night only. There was so little darkness, however, that they could neither proceed fast nor replenish their stock of food. On the eighth day, when lying near Hartley Bay, they were almost starving. *Tsi'kmai*, one of the warriors, said to his brother *Ōpmikmq*:

"Do you want us to die of starvation? We cannot go on this way, let us camp for a few days and hunt, no matter what the danger."

Ōpmikmq agreed, and set off with a packer, telling his comrades not to worry even if he were absent four days since he did not know the country, and might have difficulty in finding game. Another hunter, *Kmsiewaltsuta*, went off with a packer in the other direction but soon returned unsuccessful and discouraged, though *Tsi'kmai* cheered him by saying that he was sure his brother would succeed. Before night *Ōpmikmq* and his packer brought back a fat buck which was divided among the starving wanderers. At first they ate the fat uncooked, but hunger at last drove them to build a small fire and toast the meat in thin strips so that the minimum of heat and flame was required. Thus strengthened, they eventually reached home.

Even those who had fled at the arrival of the first reinforcements had difficulties in reaching home owing to ignorance of the route. Some of the canoes reached Kitkata in safety, whence the occupants proceeded

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927 overland to Kimsquit, and from there to Bella Coola. The crew of another craft lost their way among the islands and fiords and wandered around for days until their food was exhausted. They were then near China Hat where they could have landed in safety but, thinking that they were still in hostile territory, they feared to camp and hunt. At last, spurred by hunger, they determined to catch some eagles, the only living creatures in sight. A rude shelter was built on the shore, a bark tray placed before it, and one of the party gashed the fleshy part of his back until the blood ran sufficiently freely to fill the vessel and serve as bait. A companion hid himself and clubbed the eagles as they swooped down to the fresh blood. Though the food was coarse and had to be eaten raw, it enabled the refugees to continue their journey home.

927 Another canoe was surprised at the entrance to Douglas Channel by
648 a party of Kitimat who slew all the crew except a certain *Y'a-k'awawa* who succeeded in escaping into the woods. Thinking that the survivor would be driven down to the beach by hunger, the Kitimat patrolled the shore for days, but he eluded them by travelling overland, though his only food was uncooked plants and a single goat, killed by a stone. *Y'a-k'awawa* was a Kimsquit man whose wife was from Kitlobe; her relatives, hearing of his plight, watched the shore of Gardners Canal, hoping that he might be able to reach that refuge. He managed to do so, though at the last gasp, and was taken to Kitlobe whence he returned to Kimsquit. This was the first time that anyone had travelled overland from Douglas Channel to Gardner Canal.

Still another canoe actually landed at Kitimat where the crew was butchered except for five men who fled to the forest. One of them, *X'auti*, uncle of a man about seventy years old in 1923, had made several trading expeditions into the interior and was familiar with part of the route. He acted as guide, but soon lost his way and the five wandered for months through the trackless interior, often in dire straits for food, and becoming more and more weary. Their journey began in May, and
927 by October they were all enfeebled through hardship and lack of food.
787 *X'auti* himself was the first to give up the struggle, saying that he could go no further. He asked his comrades to make him as comfortable as possible, and then to leave him; regretfully they laid him on some evergreen boughs, and ventured off, expecting their own death within a few days. Soon after their departure, there was a violent thunderstorm and, at the moment of a tremendous clap, Thunder, himself, appeared to the dying wanderer. The supernatural one went to a near-by rivulet and dipped up water which he brought *X'auti* to drink; when he had done this four times, the man felt as if he had had a hearty meal. Thunder then told *X'auti* to close his eyes. He did so; then the supernatural one

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spit upon his own hands and rubbed them over the patient's head, his arms, his trunk, his legs, and finally his feet, as if massaging him. *Xnutli*'s strength began to return at the first touch of Thunder's hands, and, when the treatment was finished, he felt entirely rejuvenated. Thunder told him to overtake his friends and to massage them in the same way and they would be revived. He explained that they had been travelling in circles of ever-decreasing radius which was the reason that they had neither reached their destination nor recrossed their own tracks. He added that they must think constantly of their first objective, Ulkatcho, *Nuktsto* in the Bella Coola language, and that at night *Xnutli* must sleep on the side of the five nearest that goal. 727 787

Soon afterwards the four wanderers were surprised to see a stalwart man swinging along the trail behind them, and their amazement was intense when they realized that it was *Xnutli* whom they had left at the point of death. He bade three of his comrades hide, and massaged the fourth as Thunder had done to him; this restored his strength exactly as in his own case. The one so cured then concealed himself, while *Xnutli* treated another of his comrades, and finally the third and fourth. This was not the end of the assistance so obtained. Within a few minutes of their recovery, they found the trail they had so long been seeking and reached Ulkatcho before night, though under normal circumstances the same distance would have required four days of travel. There were several Bella Coola at the settlement who were overjoyed at the safety of those for whom all hope had long been abandoned. They rested for four days, then set out for home. *Xnutli* told his comrades to fix their minds upon their objective, and as a result they were able to make the journey with phenomenal rapidity. 727

Thunder had granted *Xnutli* the boon of *[illegible]djut* on this occasion, and had promised that he would come to his help whenever called upon. *Xnutli* was a sorcerer, a profession which had been practised for generations in his family, and he now performed more openly than ever, assured that Thunder would be able to protect him. The malefactor killed more and more people, until he became an object of universal hatred and fear. At last the principal chief of the village, confident in the power which the giving of many potlatches had bestowed upon him, ordered an expert shot to slay *Xnutli*. The man so deputed had himself lost several relatives and gladly watched an opportunity. This came when the sorcerer was paddling across the Bella Coola near the old Hudson's Bay Company's post; he took careful aim from ambush, fired, and the evil man fell dead. A medicine can be made from the corpse of a murdered person, which, when used by the relatives, causes the killer's death. To prevent this, the executioner called his friends and they took 754 [776] [685]

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754 the body to his own house, preparatory to burying it. It was April, but
[776] as they were waiting, a violent thunderstorm blew up from the east, the only time that such had ever occurred at that season. Thunder had promised to come to *Xnutli*'s aid, but the latter had died too suddenly to make any appeal; the supernatural one had just learnt of his pro-
B tégé's death and had come rushing to his assistance. Realizing the
[789] danger, the executioner and his friends hastily buried the corpse, throwing over it a number of blood-stained cloths, and finally stamping down the earth. There was a furious hurricane; trees were uprooted, houses shook, the earth over the grave seethed as if in a whirlpool and chunks of it
B were carried up into the air. Only the potency of the blood on the
[789] cloths prevented the return to life of *Xnutli*.[8]

This second unsuccessful attack on the Kitkatla so disheartened the
B Bella Coola that they made no more raids on their northern foemen who,
T flushed with victory, became even bolder than before. As usual, the
648 Kimsquit and *Tāl-io* people suffered more than the inhabitants of the
[721] main valley. On one of these forays, about 1855, the Kitkatla killed *Qolxwelioil*, a brother of *Potlas*, the leading chief of the Bella Coola at the
[726] time. This was contrary to all the rules of warfare since he was a member
[622] of one of the leading families and the donor of many potlatches, a man whose name was as well known as that of *Potlas*, *Nukāpuxtam* of Fort Rupert, or *Tcukua* himself. The fame of such chiefs was enough to protect them except during the actual heat of conflict, and the Bella Coola were justly angry.

B A few years later a single canoe came paddling up North Bentinck
T Arm and was beached about half a mile from the head. Scouts investi-
648 gated, and returned to *Qomqoits* with news that the occupants were
728 Kitkatla, and that *Tcukua* himself was among them. At once there was heated discussion among the people of the lower valley. Many who had lost relatives in the protracted struggle wished to wipe out the party;
B others, to see what they wanted. A few daring individuals skulked
T through the forest and fired on the visitors at long range; they were
[726] answered, not with bullets, but by the four times holding aloft of a moose-skin, a sign of friendly intentions. If the strangers had fired on the scouts, a fight would have ensued, but this peaceful reception disarmed suspicion.

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[787]

[8] This tale is a curious illustration of the manner in which supernatural elements become woven into accounts which have an historical basis. It is to be assumed that the wanderers were in a suggestible state owing to privation, and readily believed that supernatural powers must have assisted them. *Xnutli* was feared as a sorcerer, and probably boasted of a visitation from Thunder during his wanderings. This was accepted and the interposition of impossible incidents followed in due course.

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B T 648 728 B T [726] [532] B T [726]

Tsihsa remained encamped for several days, during which time he sent word to the Bella Coola that he regretted the death of *Qoixwelioil* and had come to make peace. He added that his followers had tried to dissuade him, saying that he would be killed, but he had answered that he was too great a man to allow fear to influence his actions.

Having waited for several days, the party came up the Bella Coola River, their canoe loaded with presents and eagle down, while *Tsihsa*'s brother, *Ne·ulo·s*, wore the mask of his *tutwinam* as further proof of friendly intentions. It was unusual to display one except in a *tsaok* ceremonial, but this was an unprecedented event; he knew that he might soon be killed and he preferred to die while bearing the obvious mark of incorporation with some incident of an ancestral myth. The canoe was beached opposite the house of *Potlas* where the crew blew eagle down into the air to mark their peaceful mission. Men had gathered from all parts of the Bella Coola valley and several hot-heads wished to disregard the safe-conducts and slay their enemies, a course which they had recommended for several days and had tried to precipitate by overt acts against the Kitkatla. *Potlas* himself had not spoken, but he now appeared and advised the people not to harm *Tsihsa*, since everlasting hostility would result. Though his wishes did not entirely quiet the angry ones, they virtually assured the Kitkatla of a welcome. *Potlas* brought forward a moose-skin, and told some of his people to hold it spread so that, when *Tsihsa* leapt from his canoe, he would land upon it, and could be carried to the house without putting foot to the ground. *Tsihsa* answered proudly that there was nothing on earth strong enough to support him, since his many potlatches had made him incomparably heavy. None the less, he accepted the honour, an assistance to landing shown only to mighty chiefs, and was carried into the house where he was seated in the far right-hand corner, an honourable location. *Potlas* invited all the people in the vicinity, slaves as well as Bella Coola, and the inner partitions of the house had to be removed to provide space for the throng.

B T [622] [554]

Though *Potlas* had decided against the immediate killing of the Kitkatla, he had concocted a scheme to test their bravery and the sincerity of their desire for peace. No one knew of this except his nephew, *Ne·ewukai*, who was to carry it out. When all were seated, the latter appeared, his face smeared with ashes, and his hair tied up in a top-knot with weasel skins as is customary during war. *Ne·ewukai* moved sunwise around the house, brandishing a musket and repeatedly pointing it at *Tsihsa* in a threatening manner. If the Kitkatla had shown nervousness, particularly if one of them had fired his own musket, a massacre would have resulted. But they remained unmoved, confident in the prestige of their leader, while he knew that though his body might be

B [714]

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killed, his reputation would only be increased by the manner of his death. At length *Ne-xwnkai* fired into the air; not until a shower of eagle down was blown forth did anyone realize that his musket had been loaded with nothing more deadly. This marked the establishment of friendly relations.

B T [539] [431]

The Kitkatla had brought their own singers,[1] who now began to beat out time for *Tcuhua* to perform a *xuaok* dance. He was followed by several other chiefs, and then the strangers gave presents to influential Bella Coola on the most lavish scale. *Patlu* likewise performed a *xuaok* dance, and bestowed gifts on the guests to validate it; such were, of course, not returnable. A meal was then served, and after that *Tcuhua* made a speech of which the gist was that the Bella Coola had previously known his achievements as a warrior, they now knew his nobility and bravery in risking his life, and that the name *Tcuhua* could never be forgotten, irrespective of his own fate.

Tcuhua left soon afterwards. It was somewhat difficult fully to comprehend his motive in thus risking his life. Undoubtedly his main object was to display his valour and disregard of danger. Moreover, it gave him an opportunity to impress these qualities upon the Bella Coola, and thus to exhibit his prowess actually within the enemy's camp, which must have been a source of tremendous gratification to him. The alleged motive, regret at killing a chief, may have been a contributory factor.

B T 648 556 574 [721]

Although this visit was an intimation from *Tcuhua* that the Bella Coola need have no further fear of him, the suspicions of years could not be immediately allayed; in fact, an occasional skirmish still took place although *Tcuhua* himself refrained from fighting. A few years after his visit to Bella Coola, *Patlu* prepared to give a potlatch to which he determined to invite the northern chief. Many of the Bella Coola doubted whether the Kitkatla warriors would respect the safe-conduct usually afforded to envoys, and no one was anxious to bear the invitation. At length six chiefs volunteered for the task and set out, though with many misgivings. They stopped *en route* at Bella Bella where a chief of that tribe, *Ompt*, joined the party; he thought that he would have influence with the Kitkatla and might add protection to the Bella Coola. Fearing to be seen by any small Kitkatla bands, the delegation travelled only by night until they could actually reach *Tcuhua*'s village. As they paddled up, they indicated their mission by singing one of *Patlu*'s *xuaok* songs. On hearing this, *Tcuhua* asked one of his Bella Coola slaves whose song it might be, and when he answered that it was one of *Patlu*'s, *Tcuhua* despatched a chief, *Kwinas*, to invite the guests to his house. *Ompt* was thankful when he saw this man approaching, since he felt that it heralded a friendly welcome. The party was conducted to *Tcuhua*'s

[1] [i.e. to the peace negotiations - ANALYST]

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dwelling in spite of the fact that a Cannibal dance was taking place there. All the messengers were *kusiut* in Bella Coola, while three had Bella Bella rights as well; *Tsuhse* allowed the latter to take part in the ceremony while the former were treated as uninitiated. They were greatly interested in the details of the Kitkatla rites, which were exceedingly strict and included the eating of a corpse. At the conclusion, the envoys received their share of the small presents which were distributed.

At this juncture one of the envoys, *Xemxemálula*, fell seriously ill and was cured only through the attention and care of one of *Tsuhse*'s wives. This delayed their departure so that it was a long time before they and the invited guests finally set out, much to the envy of two Bella Coola slaves who greatly desired to return home.

Meanwhile the long absence of the messengers had filled the Bella Coola with fear that they had been massacred, and there was great rejoicing when a large flotilla was seen approaching. The guests landed on the shore at *Xemqo'ts* where the customary ceremonious greetings were exchanged. Many of the Bella Coola, inflamed by ancient wrongs, endeavoured to break the canoes of the guests and in other ways to threaten them, but *Putlu* finally succeeded in restraining them and establishing some kind of discipline. The ceremony that took place that night in the house of *Putlu* is said to have been the most spectacular ever witnessed in Bella Coola. One old man who, as a mere lad, had attended, grew eloquent as he spoke of the lavish display. Unfortunately, he had had no part in the rites and could remember none of the details except that his childish mind was amazed at a dance in which a masked performer, representing a whale, vomited grease on the fire to give light. *Tsuhse* did not return home immediately, but remained in Bella Coola until spring when the weather was more suitable for travelling.

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This exchange of hospitality virtually ended all hostility, although the Bella Coola and other tribes of the central coast still regard their northern neighbours with dislike and suspicion. Between 1880 and 1890 a party of Rivers Inlet people went to Kitlope to prepare oolachon grease, for which purpose a number of Kitkatla had also camped there. Among them was *Tsuhse*, a descendant of the warrior chief whose exploits have been recounted, and his nephew. One day the latter was gambling with *Ménse-a*, a Rivers Inlet youth who had recently been initiated into the *kusiut* society and was consequently decorated with a cedar-bark collar. *Ménse-a*'s luck was amazing and some of the Kitkatla's friends asked him why he continued to play with a man who was clearly in such close contact with the supernatural that he could not lose. Heedless of this advice, *Tsuhse*'s nephew continued until finally, losing his temper, he

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seized his adversary's decorations and threw them on the ground. It is well known that anyone who does so, even if it be the wearer, will be punished. *Mutaw-a* was prevented from fighting by his recent initiation, but he shamed his opponent by returning his winnings. The next day the Rivers Inlet people left for home without stopping to collect grease, since *Mutaw-a*'s father, *Pasha*,[8] thought that it would be dangerous to linger in the neighbourhood of *Trahoa*, who was angry at his nephew's defeat and the insult shown to him.

The Kitkatla remained at Kitlobe for the olachen season and then returned home. Soon afterwards *Trahoa*'s nephew fell ill, and died in spite of the efforts of the most powerful shamans. They attributed his death to *Mutaw-a*, and *Trahoa* swore revenge on the Rivers Inlet people. The latter, hearing of this, avoided the Kitkatla as much as possible, although the establishment of British rule had made open warfare impossible.

One July, a number of years later, a party left Rivers Inlet to hunt sea-lions on Virgin Rocks. The captain of the canoe was a Newitte man who had married a Rivers Inlet woman, and with him were nine Bella Coola and several Rivers Inlet people including two female relatives of *Mutaw-a*. In a heavy fog they passed their destination, and when, having realized their mistake, they turned back, they found a party of Kitkatla encamped on the rocks. The northerners made protestations of friendship and lent them tents. When they had settled down, the Kitkatla suggested target shooting as a recreation, although their real motive was to exhaust the ammunition of the Rivers Inlet people. When this sport began to pall, the two parties gambled till nightfall, when they stacked their muskets together as proof of mutual trust and went to bed. A Kitkatla half-breed, who had taken the lead in making amicable overtures, now learnt that his companions planned to slay the Rivers Inlet people; he tried to dissuade them, but was told that interference from him would only cause his own death. One of the Rivers Inlet men, *Ts'ekiis*, suspicious of treachery, declined to sleep with his fellows and spent the night in the canoe, his musket and two shells beside him. His fears were well-founded; at dawn the Kitkatla cut down the tents of the Rivers Inlet people and clubbed them to death with axes as they were struggling under the folds. *Ts'ekiis* was wakened by the turmoil and fired twice, each time killing a Kitkatla, but his ammunition was then exhausted and he was shot down. The murderers dug a large hole on the beach, threw in the corpses of their victims and rolled a heavy log over the top. Unknown to the others, the half-breed wrote on this in English that something lay below. The Kitkatla made an effort to hide the

[8] The relatives of the Bella Coola chief with the same name.

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marks of the tragedy and then returned home, hoping that suspicion would not fall on them.

As time went on, the people in Rivers Inlet began to worry at lack of news from the hunters. A passing traveller reported having seen smoke on Virgin Rocks, and this reassured them temporarily, but when several months had passed a search-party was sent out. One of the crew was a Carrier who had married a Rivers Inlet woman and had long resided there, but had not forgotten his knowledge of all that pertained to woodcraft. On arrival at the island, they found the canoe of the missing party drawn up on the beach above high tide, although there was no trace of their friends. The Carrier went ahead to investigate, warning his comrades to remain at a distance. He found the marks of buck-shot, smoothed over as if to obliterate them, but not sufficiently effaced to hide them from his sharp eyes. This attempt at concealment indicated foul play, and the Carrier called his companions and pointed out the signs to them. None of the sea-lion hunters had carried ammunition of this kind, but it was known that some Kitkatla had been in the vicinity about the time of the disappearance and were armed therewith. As a matter of fact, the marks were actually those of the shot with which *Qa'ăklis* had been killed. The Carrier next found potato peelings, trodden into the earth by boots; none of the hunters had taken foot-wear with them, but it was known that such had been worn by the Kitkatla. Having made these discoveries, the search-party returned home. Foul play was suspected; everything indicated that it had not been a struggle between members of the same party, but there was too little evidence to convict the Kitkatla.

A few weeks later a Bella Bella chief happened to be in Rivers Inlet and told the people that he had met a Kitkatla canoe returning northwards with two coffins. He had asked who were dead, but though they told him, he judged that the party had been engaged in some illegal operation from their reticence concerning the cause of death. Still later, a young Bella Coola travelled to Vancouver on the steamboat with a Kitkatla who told him of the slaughter, ignorant of his confidant's tribe. Finally, the Kitkatla half-breed, who had opposed the killing, began to drop hints of what had happened. In former times this would have led to war, but the evidence was not conclusive enough for a court of justice. The Kitkatla informed their Indian Agent that they feared an attack from the Rivers Inlet and Bella Coola, and asked him to lead a peace delegation to the former's village. He did so,[19] much to the surprise of the missionary established there. The conference led to nothing; the Kitkatla denied all knowledge of the fate of the missing hunters, but the suspicions of the Rivers Inlet and Bella Coola were increased rather than

[19]No attempt was made to verify this statement from official documents.

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lessened. This ill-will has continued up to the present time. In 1920 word reached Bella Coola that *Trihus* had approached a Quatsino chief and asked him to spread the rumour that the missing party had been drowned at sea, at the same time admitting what had taken place. A year later a half-breed Kwatcino, hunting on Virgin Rocks, happened to unearth the bones buried beneath the log. There the matter rests for the moment as far as the Bella Coola are concerned, but they express the opinion that the continued ill-will may cause bloodshed at any time.

It must be remembered that the above account of this recent friction with the Kitkatla is of a partisan nature. No attempt was made to learn the Kitkatla side of the matter, so that the version here given may or may not be the truth. It has been inserted as an illustration of Bella Coola attitude, and of the manner in which, formerly, doubts, fears and suspicions led to war. This would certainly have been the case in the present instance but for the restraining influence of the white man's rule.

KWAKIUTL WAR

B K 648 721 K [622]

Only slightly less feared than the Kitkatla were the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples, especially those inhabiting Knight's Inlet, Kingcome Inlet, and Blunder Harbour, who were known collectively as *Djelátsnx*. As *Trihus* was feared among the northern raiders, so was *Siwid* among the southerners. Bella Coola itself was too difficult of access and too densely populated to be successfully attacked, but *Tálio* was subject to constant raids. Even more disconcerting was the constant danger of lurking foemen; one year it would be a hunter who was surprised and killed, the next a party of women would be carried off while picking berries.

B [712]

The raiders became so bold that the inhabitants of one of the *Tálio* villages decided to defend themselves by building a stockade. Everyone assisted in the task, so that the fortification was soon completed. It consisted of a fence of vertical logs with a platform running around near the top, on the inner side, on which the defenders could stand, and a water-gate through which canoes could enter at high tide. It surrounded five or six houses and was planned as a place of refuge for all the *Tálio* villages. One of the tree-trunks brought for the stockade was hollow, and there was considerable discussion as to whether it should be used, but finally it was set up with the others. A Kwakiutl who was visiting *Tálio* at the time took notice of this weakness, but no one seems to have suspected that he would inform his friends of it when he went home.

B K [726]

The summer after the stockade had been completed the Kwakiutl discussed the usual raid on *Tálio*; one of the principal chiefs opposed an expedition on the ground of the reputed strength of the defence, but

[a famous Tsimshian chief - ANALYST]

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he was over-ruled by the popular wish and the raiders set out. They had chosen an opportune time, since most of the people were absent hunting and fishing; in fact, three men and three children were the sole occupants of the fortified village. They saw the approaching marauders in the distance, closed all openings, and prepared to defend themselves. The Kwakiutl felled a large tree and with this as ram attempted to batter down the gate. It was too strongly built, and while struggling with it, the attackers offered excellent targets to those within. One of them, *Snung*, was a good shot and took heavy toll. Convinced that the gate was too strong for them, the Kwakiutl turned their attention to the hollow log; their ram failed to shatter it and they again suffered heavy casualties. Nor had the defenders escaped scatheless. One of the three was struck by an enemy bullet, another fell from the fighting-platform and accidentally shot himself, while *Snung*'s powder began to fail. Fearing that all was lost, he told one of the little boys to open a concealed rear door* and flee into the woods with the two smaller children. The three managed to escape unobserved from the village and hid themselves under leaves. The Kwakiutl did not know how weakly the stockade was defended, and *Snung* disguised the fact by rushing from one part of the platform to another and calling out in various tones as if a number of people were speaking. He could fire only occasionally on account of shortage of powder, but the ruse was effective and at last the raiders withdrew, carrying their dead with them. Two of them wandered into the forest instead of accompanying their comrades; they must have died of starvation, since their corpses were found in an emaciated condition several weeks later.

B K 648 726 [721]

Not content with defeating the raiders almost single-handed, *Snung* embarked in a small canoe and cautiously followed the course which he knew they must have taken. His children had been slain by the Kwakiutl during a previous raid, a circumstance which had so embittered him that he regretted the escape of a single one of them, and was determined to treat even their dead with ignominy. At length he noticed a number of crows congregated on a sandy beach, and rightly judged that this indicated the spot where the vanquished had buried their slain. *Snung* exhumed one of the corpses and impaled it on a stake in a crouching position.

B K 648 727

Meanwhile the relatives of the raiders, expecting the usual easy success, had gathered near their leader's house. They were filled with apprehension when they heard a mourning song from the returning canoes, and anxiously called out to learn the fate of different members

K 727

*Probably a mere chink in the stockade.

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of the expedition. Some were able to answer for themselves, but to many queries the reply came that the one asked about had been slain.

B K 721 648

This defeat did not by any means discourage the Kwakiutl, whose forays continued as before. On one occasion, as they were returning homewards, they noticed several canoes drawn up on the west side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its junction with Burke Channel. The raiders cautiously landed and stalked the unsuspecting owners, Bella Coola who had landed to cut stakes for a salmon-weir. The Kwakiutl bore down upon them with a rush; unarmed and taken unaware, the Bella Coola could make no real resistance. One of them managed to flee into the deeper woods, but the rest were either killed or captured. Among the prisoners was a chief, *Sud'lexam*, who was wearing a handsome marten-skin cloak at the time. His captor promptly appropriated this, leaving the man naked.

K B 648 727

Elated at this success, the Kwakiutl continued their return journey. When near Kwatna, they encountered a fierce southeast gale which made progress impossible; at this point cliffs rise so precipitously on either side of Burke Channel that there is not even the semblance of a harbour, and the only chance to weather the storm was by anchoring. There was considerable anxiety as to whether or not the weight would hold, but it did so, and the canoe remained tied, now carried to the full extent of the mooring-rope almost against the cliffs, now to the same distance far out in mid-channel. Towards night it began to rain and the cold grew bitter. The crew, assured that the anchor would hold and weary from their exertions, went to sleep, as did most of the prisoners. *Sud'lexam*, without covering of any kind, was too uncomfortable to follow their example. As the canoe was towed near the cliff, he happened to notice a narrow ledge just above water, with a small cedar growing in a nearby cleft. Here was a possibility of escape and the chief became alert at once. When next the canoe was dashed near he examined the cliff more closely, and decided that it might be possible to scale it. At any rate death was better than captivity, and he determined to make the venture. As the craft came shorewards again, he plunged overboard into the rough water and succeeded in grasping the tree-root with the aid of which it was an easy matter to pull himself to the ledge. The surf was breaking over it and he was bitterly cold, but he managed to reach another root and to scramble up to a second ledge. From it he gained a wider projection where he could rest in comfort. His escape had been unobserved, and as *Sud'lexam* looked downward he could see the canoe towing to and fro at the end of the cable; there was a large boulder near him, and he thought of tipping this over to sink the craft, but refrained out of consideration for the prisoners. From this point the climb upwards was comparatively simple,

B 727

Z: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Kwakiutl NE10

B 727

and *Sank'lusam* soon discovered a protected hollow where, having covered himself with leaves and rotten wood, he went to sleep. When he awoke in the morning the war-party had moved away.

Without clothing to protect him from thorny bushes, *Sank'lusam* could not pass through the forest, so he climbed above the tree-line and made his way to the west side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from the place where he had been captured. With much difficulty and many scratches, he made his way down to sea-level and paddled across the fiord on a log. Then he climbed up once more, and crossed the mountains to Bella Coola above the tree limit. The one survivor of the attack had taken the same route when bearing the evil tidings. Women were wailing and weeping when a naked man was seen coming down the mountain-side; it was *Sank'lusam*. They welcomed him as one returned from the dead; in earlier years he had boasted that, if ever captured, he would escape, and it was recognized that he had made good his promise.

B K 48 726

The defeat at *Tâl'ie* rankled in the mind of *Siwid*, who made another attack on the stockade a few years later. This time it was fully manned and the assailants suffered even more severely than before. As they advanced with a ram, one of the defenders fired a powerful charge and the bullet passed through the bodies of several of the raiders. This so discouraged them that they dragged away the bodies of the slain and departed, having killed only two *Tâl'ie* men. As they were going homewards, they chanced to pass beneath a precipitous mountain on which two young Bella Coola were hunting. The latter fired on them at long range and were fortunate enough to register several hits.

After this second failure, *Siwid* decided to make Bella Coola itself his next objective. With this aim in view, a party of Kwakiutl raiders set out one year. As is customary, they hid during the daytime when in hostile territory, and happened to be in a small harbour below Green Bay when a party of Kimsquit, *en route* to Bella Coola, landed there for water. As one of them, the uncle of a man of fifty in 1923, was drinking at a stream he was fired upon, whereat he hastily concealed himself. A skirmish ensued in which the same man was wounded in the arm. By this time he was some distance from the sea, and he tried to crawl back over the crest of a low ridge to regain the shore. Suddenly he felt a sharp pain in the back and thought he had been hit once more; he continued his flight till he found that his bark-cape had become ignited, and was the cause of the second discomfort. He threw it off and contrived to escape. Another Kimsquit man was wounded in the back but hid himself within a hollow tree.

After this trifling success, the marauders decided to return home. Early the next morning, when paddling down Burke Channel to the east

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA
Kwakiutl NE10

B K 648 726

of Kwatna, a woman called down to them from the upper slopes of the mountains on the south-east. She was one of a party of Kwatna people who were picking berries; their canoes were lying in a bay beneath, where the youths of the party were resting and sleeping, ready to climb up and carry down the boxes of berries as the women filled them. *Bilxwalakt*, the woman who had called out, had done so under the impression that those passing were Bella Coola, and though one of her companions recognized her error and bade her be silent, the intimation had been given. The raiders would have passed in mid-channel unaware that anyone was in the vicinity, but now they quickly entered the bay and slew the few lads who were with the canoes. Next they endeavoured to capture the women and started climbing up for the purpose, but as soon as they entered the woods, they lost sight of the fugitives who were on the open slopes above. One of the canoes was paddled back to mid-channel, whence there was a clear view so that the crew could call out and direct their comrades' pursuit. Two of the women had started climbing as soon as they saw the warriors turn inwards; they escaped over the mountains and reached Kwatna with word of the affray. With one exception, the others kept together and sought refuge in a narrow cave, the entrance of which they were able to defend; the attackers did not dare linger for a siege, so they too escaped. But *Bilxwalakt*, the cause of the whole disaster, was cut off from her companions and harried from place to place as she strove frantically to get away. When finally brought to bay, she struggled furious and refused to be taken alive, so her throat was cut and the body decapitated. She was a member of a chief's family, a woman who had been confirmed on a good seat, so the murder was entirely contrary to all coastal customs. If she had been taken prisoner, she would have been ransomed and the matter would have ended, but her death demanded revenge.

B K [727] [721]

When the two women who had fled overland reached Kwatna, a party of warriors set out immediately, but could do no more than bring back the women who had hidden in the cave. Meanwhile the Kwakiutl continued their voyage and encamped at Jacobson's Bay where they watched a Bella Bella canoe pass up the channel towards Bella Coola. They concluded that the Kimsquit people, whose canoes they had destroyed, would hail this passing craft and thus reach Bella Coola with news of raiders in the vicinity. So it transpired, while almost simultaneously came news from Kwatna of the woman's murder, but by this time the Kwakiutl had reached home waters.

B 721

Bilxwalakt's parents had been Kwatna people, her husband was a Bella Bella, and she had Bella Coola ancestry as well, so the members of these three tribes were all affronted by this killing of a chief. At Bella

Cuelo the important men of land, Tumuli, and Rigsbal are at Bonga-o and discussed the recent events. *Pulu* was the leading Bulu Cuelo chief at the time, but he showed no sound the meeting at which all the others were present, though he sent a man to search a storehouse owned by the murdered woman on the south side of the mouth of Bulu Cuelo River, near the Sunan Hudson's Bay Company's post. *Rimunda* had a large amount of ammunition stored within, and this was brought to the house of *Pulu*. Next morning, the chief himself appeared, but he was armed with adze and he ran out to a cap-house with a sword-dirk. This is done by anyone who has killed a man, and it was a clear intimation that *Pulu* had decided on war. He stood himself in the doorway of his house, a cocked musket in either hand, and intimated that he would shoot anyone who passed on the sidewalk before him. For four days he sat there, neither speaking nor eating. He was *mamali*, so no one disturbed his widow and the minor sons of his own house and the other tribes for agreed during that period. No other man is known of such an action, but *Pulu* could do so for that, and he manifested his grief and determination in this quaintly-tragic manner. On the fifth day, he ordered drums to be beaten, and the inhabitants of the adjacent villages gathered. *Pulu* waited no words:

"*Rimunda* has been murdered," he said. "He was a chief and my relative.* I am going to war. We shall use his own powder and shot."

The ammunition was distributed and the Bulu Cuelo prepared for the expedition.

Owing to the prestige of *Pulu*, volunteers came streaming in, not only from Bulu Cuelo itself, but from Kimapu and Tiri-o as well. No one was thoroughly acquainted with the geography of the Kaduni country except a Bora native, like the Kaduni native that, *Sawa* though not, however, offered to him. This man had lived among the Bulu Cuelo for so long that he was thought reliable, he readily agreed to act as guide, only asking that he old mother be spared, a request which was granted.

After the usual delays, the expedition set out and spent the first night at Kawana. Next morning, *Kaduni*, one of the leading warriors, had his hair into a cap-house and smeared his face with adze. He was a man whose bravery had been freely established by the distribution of valuable presents. To show his valour, he stood up on the bench within our modest range and called out:

"Throw fire at my cap-house. If you fire it and make it fall, we will we lay low our foes."

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* It is doubtful whether she was a kinswoman, but *Pulu* used the term figuratively in speaking of one who, like himself, was a person of importance.

[illegible] THE BELLA COOLA EXPEDITION

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[illegible]

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Kansas City
Bellevue, NE

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D.Mc.Kwakiutl Q-1 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NES
Kwakiutl NE10
Bellabella NES
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2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES
Carrier NE7

WAR WITH THE CARRIER

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The only other people with whom the Bella Coola came into frequent conflict were the Carriers. Some of the latter used to spend the winter among the coastal tribes, and had even intermarried with them to a considerable extent, but their mode of life was so different that they were always viewed as foreign in thought and outlook. The Bella Coola despised them for their dirtiness, their fondness for unsavoury food, and, above all, for their ignorance of decent and sound morals. This disrespect was mutual and not infrequently led to bloodshed. Owing to the location of the Carriers, they could not be reached by canoes, and the Bella Coola had no liking for long overland journeys. The mobility and relative lack of permanent villages made it difficult to bring the Carriers to bay, so that warfare between them and the Bella Coola usually took the form of a killing followed by a raid for revenge; continued hostility was virtually unknown. The people of the lower villages were scarcely affected, but in former times there seems to have been a considerable amount of intermittent fighting between the inhabitants of the upper valley and the Carriers living east of them.

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The following account, claimed to be historical, describes what was said to be a typical raid, followed by a counter-attack.

On one occasion all the young people of *Ismi, Pielsli, Kimsquit*, and *Dzaxhi* went on a picnic to a large, clear area of ground up the valley, where they spent their time, playing and singing. Towards nightfall one young man, who had not come with the others, from time continually until they could call a girl who was a friend of one of the men. She slipped off quietly from her companions and passed the night with her lover and his comrade in the woods. Towards dawn a party of marauding Carrier Indians swooped down on the sleeping picnickers who, unarmed and unprepared, could make no resistance. With the exception of two pretty girls carried off as slaves, all were slain. The three who had been in the woods hurried back to the villages with the news.

The men of the four towns prepared for action. They went to the picnic ground and brought back the corpses for burial, then hastening for

Z:Mc Llewellyn E-9 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellecorsia NEA
Carrier NET

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the first time that two girls were missing. Then they set forth on the track of the Carriers. The natives, knowing that their scouts could not have been heard in any village, and unaware of the three young people hidden in the woods, took no precautions. The first night the pursuers reached the camp where the Carriers had built a long, narrow fire of some kind of wood which emitted no sparks, on either side of which they had placed a long resinous log on which to rest their feet as they dried their moccasins at the fires. One of the Bella Coola girls was placed near one end of the fire, the other at the other end on the opposite side. Neither could sleep, but kept awaiting silently in the hope of being able to escape. Towards dawn one of them was surprised to see a Bella Coola scout passing around a resinous log. He motioned her to keep silent and she realized to show that she understood his signal, then he went away. He told his waiting companions how the Carriers were resting with their feet over logs beside the fire, and suggested that they prepare heavy clubs. Having done this, the Bella Coola crept up behind the dozing scouts. Each selected a victim and broke his leg, or legs, with a crack of the club. No one of the victims escaped, the cripples being killed without difficulty. In some manner the scouts was made the dupe of a scout camp.

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The following unusual incident is probably historically correct, in outline at least, since it is said to have taken place about 1880, and two of the participants were great-uncles of the man from whom the account was obtained.

One October a number of Carriers were among at *Pendelt*. There dwelt was a certain *Qualtum* who was recently married to the people of that village, though he had long since ceased to be regarded as anything but a Carrier. The river was running full and though there were many canoes and dug-outs in it, they were difficult to catch on account of the racing current. *Pendelt* was, *Qualtum*, but had to go downstream of fall for the river, but he had engaged with urged him to go for some fresh salmon and he ventured forth. *Pendelt* big enough to swim, he called out to help, but before it reached him, he still engaged and he was drowned. *Qualtum* was a popular man and there was great grief at his untimely death.

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As was so often the case, jealousy was rife in *Pendelt*, where a certain *Pendelt* had become wealthy. He was a good organizer, and he rather had been amassed as rewards for making horse masks, but of course such payments had been made in secret and many people wondered how he had acquired his fortune. This was enough to cause a certain amount of suspicion, and a rival determined to take advantage of it. This man approached *Qualtum* and said that he believed *Pendelt* was responsible

[E5L
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2: McGrewith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacosta NEB
Carter NE9

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for *Quinnelief's* death, that he was sure the wealthy man was really a woman, and had said some evil words to cause the fisherman's drowning. *Grandison* was directly related to the dead man and, thus incited, determined to kill *Nandi* in revenge. This evening, as he was lying playing with his grandchild, the Carter chief entered his house and fired a musket against the unsuspecting man's chest. *Nandi* quickly touched down the muzzle so that the bullet, instead of killing him, merely passed through the fleshy part of his lips. *Grandison* made no attempt to run away. In such cases it rests with the relatives of the injured man whether to run to take revenge, and they usually avoid beginning a vendetta unless actually driven to it. Some of the mouth spread from the villas, and two of *Nandi's* relatives, *Tu-kaat* and *Ngambing*, came up to investigate. They were both men of considerable influence in the community, both validated warriors who had taken prominent parts in the unsuccessful attack on *Kilbride* a few years before. Realizing that their uncle was not seriously wounded, the two brothers carried him to their canoe, intending to take him home and to disregard the assault.

During the time, the evil *Nangbin* men had been working on *Grandison's* fears by telling him that *Nandi* was certain to kill him by magical means, until he decided that he could escape only by murdering the wounded man. His followers heard of this and tried to dissuade him, fearing the presence of the two famous warriors. As their canoe was going downstream, it was caught in an eddy and upset so that one musket and both cartridge boxes were lost. This seemed to *Grandison* the chance for which he had been waiting. He fired from the bank and *Nandi* fell dead, much to the consternation of his two followers as well as the *Nangbin* people.

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If *Tu-kaat* and *Ngambing* had been ordinary men they would probably have fled downstream for, being fully validated men of valour, the matter never occurred to them.[1] *Ngambing*, who had one foot up left to his musket, consulted his brother as to their course of action.

'*Nandi* is dead,' his brother replied. 'It is probably time for us to do so as well. You had better shoot.'

Meanwhile *Grandison* had crouched on the bank, laughing at the two warriors. *Ngambing* ran back to his others, then fled, instantly killing his uncle's murderer. The Carter began to run to and fro on the shore, whence they could hear the two brothers calling to each other.

'Let us not think of escaping,' said one. 'We have displeased our chieftain's sister. If we are to die, let us die.'

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[1] The man from whom this account was obtained mentioned as a matter of course that undamaged muzzle could never be easy, that questioned further, he confirmed that the public validation of bravery made it utterly impossible for him to do the little things.

Z:Mc'Dowell B-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellevue NEB
Carter NET

The other squad, as they paddled in and landed at the bottom of the village, heedless of the fact that it was full of Carters. The Warduc people seem to have remained passive, but the angry Carters came rushing forth and Ipwichway spoke proudly to them:

"You would be dead as your chief if we had not lost our weapon."

The two brothers walked slowly up the long sidewalk of the village, while the Carters skulked around, screaming threats, cursing women and shooting arrows. Some of the latter stuck in their backs, but long previously both Tetmat and Ipwichway had worn part of a corset which had rendered their bodies impervious to such wounds. Arrived at the upper end of the village, they stopped and waited, making no attempt to defend themselves, until they were killed. In intervals throughout the day the Carters vented the two bodies with spontaneous, now thrusting spears into them, now hanging them, and all the time not a single Bulla Coola dared pass to possess, as much were they filled with fear of the Carters who, when roused as they then were, fight like mad dogs. In the late afternoon one of the women found a hole into the eye of the fallen warrior. Even the mad did not cause the Warduc people themselves, but Wimu, one of their shamans, was called upon to take action. Being captured, he had been a person of importance in his own tribe and the Bulla Coola had allowed him to become a leading member of the Barter society. In the course of time he had become entirely reconciled to his lot, and was thought to a Bulla Coola which gave him the necessary assurance to address the Carters.

"Ha, ha," he said. "Are the brandy of the sky? I have never seen, nor have I even heard of such a thing as you have done today. Truly you have signal your lot as all that is sacred and powerful."

This speech for the first time brought the contents of their offence home to the Carters. The usual taking of life did not affright them, but to that extremes that had overlooked what was to Wimu the most obvious sin. They had passed and repassed on the sidewalk scarcely a hour when a Barter dance was taking place. This consisted of the danger to which they had exposed themselves, the Carters withdrew.

Now the Warduc people found the two corpses. Grandfather had been a mighty chief and, being dreadfully afraid, they would scarcely have given him an elaborate funeral, but now they saw in it hand and contents of his promise. A man who caused a powerful medicine pass even of it in the eyes of the men who had been overheard by the Carters, as the bodies began to decompose, those who had killed them began to suffer from sore troubles, and the women became tired. Believing that they the had caused this misfortune, the Carters fled home.

This all occurring in the year in the length of the universe series and in the highwater that it will fall in could keep the Carters hidden a month for.

This account was obtained from a descendant of *Tsi'kmai* and Qaqilkuay who emphatically vouched for its accuracy. Some of the incidents have doubtless been exaggerated, but there is probably a basis of truth, though the passivity of the *Nuxalk* people is difficult to explain. The killing is said to have taken place about seventy years before 1911, so tolerably accurate traditions of it are not impossible. No punishment was meted out to the *Nuxalk* ballast since the ritual error, the passing of unrelated outsiders through the house where a ceremony was taking place, was committed by strangers, not by inhabitants of the town itself.

A WAR BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF BELLA COOLA AND RIVERS INLET

The tribes of the central coast, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, and Rivers Inlet, were frequently engaged with enemies to north or south, but there was seldom any bloodshed between one another. The following account, however, describes a conflict between the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people in which the Bella Coola were not involved.

The invasion body of the Rivers Inlet people was always whose which have become self-sufficient, or wild savages, never without guests. Their neighbours, the Bella Bella, consider both these articles of dire to be disgusting, although they are fond of raw mussels which the Rivers Inlet people regard as filthy. As lately described, it was not necessary to gathering of the tribes of a minor town for the hosts to build up their guests to entertain. On one occasion the Bella Bella did so with reference to tribes they considered a objectionable food of their guests. A medial dancer, representing strangers, entered the house and the host enquired whence he came.

"Are you from Fort Rupert?" he asks.

"No."

"From Bella Bella?"

"No."

The dancer proceed to the south to do indicate the next question.

"Are you from Rivers Inlet?"

"Yes."

"What do you see there?"

Instead of answering verbally, the dancer drew from beneath his cape

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola
KwaKiutl NE10
Bellabella NE5

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a piece of dry and dirty salmon, and a few dried-up berries. The Bella Bella laughed uproariously at the exposure of their guests' dirt.

The Rivers Inlet people, deeply insulted, said nothing at the time, but determined to repay the insult. When next they invited the Bella Bella to a potlatch, a similar performance was carried out with a masked dancer. When asked what he ate at Bella Bella, he drew forth some raw mussels and a bone crow, a bird which feeds largely on such shell-fish.

Insult was repaid with insult, and every year the abuse became more and more pointed, till the climax was reached at Rivers Inlet. A masked dancer appeared, disguised as a thin man who coughed persistently in a distressing, though amusing manner. After the usual questions, he said that he came from Bella Bella, and when asked his name, replied with that of a distinguished Bella Bella chief. The man was dying of consumption and had, therefore, been unable to attend the potlatch. This insult so angered the Bella Bella guests that they left immediately.

On returning home, a council was held and immediate war-like action was determined upon. In their extreme anger, they even decided to disregard the anti-cannibal ground to potlatch guests, and to take their enemies by surprise. Envoys were sent to invite the Rivers Inlet men to a ceremony of this kind and, hard on their heels, a war-party set out to ambush their guests. The Rivers Inlet people accepted the invitation although one man suspected treachery from the demeanour of the envoys, this was considered impossible, as he was laughed to scorn and the party set out. The Bella Bella had expected that their guests would camp for the night at Qmqmai or Schooner Pass, and it was here that they had concealed themselves. Suspecting no danger, the Rivers Inlet people landed and were pitching camp when their ambushers burst from cover and attacked. Taken unawares, they could offer no real resistance and only two or three escaped death. The spot has since been known as Slaughter Cove. The man who had suspected attack had refused to leave his canoe and so escaped the first onslaught, but he foolishly attracted attention by calling out:

"You are dogs to break a sacred law and attack those whom you have invited to a potlatch."

He was in his canoe at the time, and paddled away, dashing towards safety. Three craft were sent after him, he was overtaken and killed.

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The above account seems to include mythical elements, and it is probable that the cause stated for the attack is of that nature. It was emphasized, however, that the actual fight took place as here set out, and was one of the last serious struggles on the coast.

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CHAPTER IV

GAMES

517 19.1 [177] THE subject of games, lying on the border-line of social customs, was one which was not fully investigated. The Bella Coola, like all other peoples, have a number of sports and pastimes and although the old diversions are being forgotten by the younger people, many of the old men and women are familiar with those played in their youth. As isolated customs these may be of small value, but games of all kinds often preserve ancient practices and, as providing useful clues to the spread of peoples or of culture, are worthy of investigation. Unfortunately, lack of time made it impossible to give the subject the attention it deserved, and the few games here described must not be considered as exhaustive treatment of the subject.

526 [177] [628] Though less fond of competitive sports than the Indians of the Plains, the Bella Coola enjoy canoe-racing and wrestling. The former appears to have been an ancient diversion; picked crews from different villages competed amid the encouraging shouts of their fellows, and even now the younger men are anxious to display their skill in this respect. Wrestling, which used to be common during all non-social gatherings, has almost entirely disappeared since the prohibition of the potlatch.

538 [517] [125] The favourite sedentary pastime, enjoyed equally by young and old, is the telling of stories. Those of a sacred nature, especially ancestral myths, are reserved of course for ceremonial occasions, but the older men and women remember many tales describing the exploits of birds and animals which are recounted again and again to the enjoyment of the listeners, although they may have heard the same social story times. Children enjoy the companionship of some old story-teller and it is a common sight to see an old man or woman, surrounded by an eager group, explaining once more how Raven converted his cloak or was himself led into difficulties. Many of these stories are somewhat indecent; others appear brutally frank,

[967]

J. McDougall E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

but the Bella Coola do not consider this aspect and the children grow up in an atmosphere entirely lacking in restraint of speech. Some stories teach a moral lesson, but they are recounted merely for entertainment. At the present time, no one knows who invented the stories; they have been handed down from dim antiquity and alterations or embellishments are considered improper, while the composition of new tales appears to be unknown.

Another pastime is smoking. Among some Indian tribes the practice has a definite religious significance, but this appears to be lacking among the Bella Coola. Most of the men enjoy either a pipe or cigarettes, and some of the women also indulge, but few carry the habit to excess. All the older people affirmed that their ancestors had smoked for generations. Tobacco was not grown, but kinnikinnick, *mila'*, was used, and also a plant known as *lasi'*. Another smoking mixture was bark of *lowanik*, roasted before a fire until dried and brown, and then crumbled between the hands. These materials have given place entirely to imported tobacco, and the white man's pipe has replaced the native one. The latter consisted of a gooseberry cane from which the pith had been removed; sometimes a small bowl of elderberry wood was added, but often the mixture to be smoked was simply placed within the end of the hollow cane.

Adults, especially the men, are addicted to gambling. They are fond of placing stakes on a race or other trial of strength, and enjoy all kinds of games of chance. Some of the younger men have mastered a few of the simpler games of cards on which they spend a certain amount of time and money. The favorite gambling game, however, is one found in all parts of the coast, which is played with a pack of fifty-four smoothed cottonwood sticks. The rules are complicated and so often we made to learn more than the general principles. The pieces are divided among the eight or ten contestants and concealed; then one player guesses in whose hand a certain marked stick is hidden. If he is successful, the others pay him a forfeit; if

525 he is wrong, he pays them. It is said that in former times each stick used to be painted with a special device, and that each had its own name; even now they are beautifully made and highly polished by much passing from hand to hand. The Carriers
[71] play the same game but use beaver teeth instead of sticks. Formerly it was not uncommon for a man to bet his goods, his wives and children, and even himself at this game. If he lost,
[72] the persons so wagered became slaves of the victor unless redeemed by their friends. Women, too, gambled freely; in
[273] fact, neophytes recently admitted into the *Tsetsat* society were the only ones to whom this pastime was forbidden.

524 Of actual games, the one most commonly played is *Akua*. As many as eight or ten contestants can take part, each providing himself with one, two, or three stones,[1] packed down to the proper shape. Each is about six inches in length, three inches wide, flat on one side, and oval on the other, and rounded at either end. Before the coming of the white man, when the Bella Coola habitually used stone, it is said that one of these could be made in a few minutes. A mark is set up, and the first player throws his missile in the air, endeavouring to make it come to rest as close as possible to the target. The game is usually played on an open space near the village, but even on comparatively smooth ground there is great chance of bouncing and the thrower must gauge this possibility as well as have correct direction and distance. The second player then throws his stone, trying to land it nearer the target, or to knock away his rival's. In so doing, the latter, lying on the ground, is often broken, which puts its owner out of the game for the time being. When all have thrown, the one who has come nearest the mark is the winner. Sometimes each contestant throws two or more stones, and sometimes when we
[274] choose. Large numbers of broken gaming stones can be found near every old village site, confirming the statements of the older men and women concerning the universality of the sport

[1] Likewise called *Akua*, a game and either is the derived from that of a bagger, or that the latter is derived from it.

in former times. *Ukuta* might almost be called the Bella Coola national game, although it is now (1923) seldom played.

A game with somewhat similar rules is *ugubuzi*, played with small wooden spears tipped with bone. When a number of men or boys decide to play, they choose two captains who in turn select their teams; any number can take part, provided that the sides are equal, but five each is usual. There is a special name for each player according to his position, and he bets against the corresponding member of the other team. A mark is set up, and one of the captains throws his spear, so that it will stick upright in the ground as near the target as possible. The rival leader endeavours to beat this, and if he fails, his second man throws, and each in succession until one comes closer to the goal than the rival captain. Then the latter's number two tries to beat the last thrower, followed by those on his own side until one succeeds in all of them throwing. The game thus ends when all of one side have thrown unsuccessfully. The winning side is, of course, the one to which belongs the player whose throw is nearest the target. Each member of the losing team pays his wager to his adversary and a second round is begun.

The game is now rarely indulged in, but in former times games used to continue all day, and valuables were lost in the gambling which was considered to be a necessary part of it. Men used to observe ceremonial chastity to increase their chances of success and the game was regarded with admiration by younger lads. The youth men of a village often used to visit other towns to compete against their representatives, and the games were contested amid frenzied excitement on the part of the supporters. This occasionally led to serious fighting.

Another game of a similar type is *ordeku*, a mark is set up and each competitor tries to hedge his spear as close to it as possible. This game has now entirely lost favour, the young men preferring a type of football played without strict attention to rules, but with great energy.

Bella Coola children, too, have their games and recreations, many of them of an imitative nature. Little boys enjoy rolling

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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859 better than hunting birds and small animals with miniature bows and arrows, or snaring them in nooses of grass or string. Little girls make playhouses in which they cook wonderful meals of berries, with perhaps the addition of a wooden fish. On the whole, however, the children do not enter into play as boisterously as white boys and girls, nor do they seem to derive as much pleasure from it. In former times, when clothing was [152] scanty, small lads used to delight in picking nettles and beating [241] one another with the stinging branches; this must have caused considerable pain, but it was a point of honour not to cry out, and anyone, perhaps caught unaware, who showed discomfort, [522] was laughed at as a coward. Both boys and girls are fond of swinging, and even adult women sometimes find time to enjoy themselves by swaying to and fro at the end of a rope.

Young Bella Coola do not have as many toys as white children, and none of them is complex. Some girls have crude [576] wooden dolls, though elaborate figurines are reserved for use [231] in *hactat* dances. Perhaps the most cherished plaything is a small puppy or, in recent years, a kitten, though the unfortunate animal is handled and mauled without consideration. A good carpenter may make for his son a wooden top or a bullroarer, to the envy of his less fortunate friends. Both types of toys are said to be used in [575] *Nacmiła* and at some *hactat* dances the masked figures carry them to play with.

521 There is one game, *ełłi*, which the salmon are [125] said to delight to watch, and which is accordingly played by boys as soon as the first spring salmon have been disposed of with fitting rites. Each makes for himself, or is given by his father, a wooden spear with a projecting barb, fastened as shown in the accompanying sketch (see Fig. 1). A loop of branches is made and thrown into a pool of stagnant, or slow-moving water, on each side of which stands a rival group of competitors. At a signal, all throw their spears simultaneously, with the intention of passing them through the ring, so that the barb of each will

Fig. 1.
"Fish spear."

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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become entangled in the loop when drawn back by the cord attached to the butt. A tug-of-war now takes place, those of each party who have caught the ring endeavouring to pull it to their side of the water. At last one or other is successful, and brings ashore the prize, with the dangling spears of their adversaries. Sometimes a lad with a fine weapon determines to retain possession of it at all costs and is dragged through the pool to the amusement of all. 526

TOURNAMENTS

It is doubtful whether the subject of tournaments should be considered as belonging to mythology, warfare, or games, since it has aspects pertaining to each. Several of the older men affirmed that prior to the introduction of muskets, it was not uncommon for rival villages to stage fights according to definite rules, after full intimation of the attack had been given. This usually followed a period when angry comments had been made, but when the provocation was not sufficient for war. In such a case, the challenging town would notify its rival that on such a date an expedition consisting of, for example, twenty canoes would attack them with arrows. Such an announcement could not be disregarded; the inhabitants of the two settlements prepared for action and wagered the large number of valuables essential to all such competitions. 526 628 726 [525]

Many years ago, the Kitsaqut people challenged the *xsiwy* to a tournament of this kind. It was first necessary to choose the contestants. Twenty of the strongest men were selected, each to stand in the bow of a canoe and hold a mouse-skin to shield the paddlers behind. To test their endurance, each took his place and the canoes were paddled towards the shore while all the other inhabitants, lined up on the beach, showered arrows on them. On this first test, six of the twenty fell because the avalanche of projectiles and were accordingly considered too feeble. Their places were taken by six others who were tested the same way the following day, and the same procedure was repeated until the twenty strongest men in all Kitsaqut had been found. A certain *Sisaqal* was chosen as

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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526 captain. Meanwhile the *atáxy* people had been carrying out
628 similar tests, so that the picked men of both settlements were
726 ready on the appointed day.

A canoe was sent forward to give final notice of the approaching flotilla so that the twenty canoes from each settlement came together, fully manned and armed. First ten canoes on each side came to blows, the captain of each craft singling out a hostile one and dealing with it alone. The crews threw stones over and around their own bow-man, trying to beat down the moose-skin held up by their rival, or sometimes endeavouring to throw missiles high up into the air on to the heads of their foes. Whenever a bow-man was knocked down, his crew was defenceless and subject to serious injury if they continued the fight. If, however, they abandoned the conflict, the winners made no effort to punish them further, nor did they join in an attack on any other canoe; that each craft had one adversary only was the rule in all tournaments. In this instance, the Kimsquit people were victorious, no less than eighteen of their canoes defeating the craft opposed to them. *Sivaqwi* returned home in triumph, singing his war-song, and was received with as much enthusiasm as if he had led a successful raid. Indeed the casualties, consisting chiefly of broken heads, were sometimes almost as serious as on a foray, but no revenge was ever claimed in case of death or wound. Instead of throwing stones by hand, it was sometimes agreed that they were to be cast by slings which made the tournament more dangerous. The warriors never left their canoes, so that hand-to-hand fighting was impossible.

It is probable that tournaments of this nature took place many years ago, although none of the men now living had ever participated in one, and many had never heard of this type of competition. Until relatively recent years, however, heavy moose-skins were held up as protections in the bows of canoes, and men were selected for the task of being pelted with stones in the manner just described.

899 One other type of game, string figures, was studied rather extensively. These are described in Appendix B.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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CHAPTER V

STORIES

Raven Stories—Animal Stories—Young Stories—Supernatural Stories—Catastrophic Stories — Historical Stories

IN addition to myths which have definite sociological importance, such as those which explain the procedure of dances and other rituals, there are many legends which can best be described as *stories*.[1] These do not belong either to individuals or to families, consequently they are more widely known than allegedly historical accounts which are the personal property of social groups. In the long winter evenings it is common to see an old man or woman surrounded by young boys and girls listening attentively to some tale. An outburst of laughter always accompanies a humorous incident, no matter how many times it may have been heard. The narration is a mere pastime, an amusement which seems never to pall either on recounter or listener. Occasionally, a person of philosophical disposition will claim that a moral is taught by every story, and it is true that many of them point out some well-known experience of life, such as "The Biter Bit"; this must unconsciously strike the hearers, but any intentional didacticism is quite foreign to Bella Coola thought.

As will be seen, these stories contain a large number of fantastic episodes. The Bella Coola recognize this to be the case without doubting their truth. They describe events which took place long, long ago, when man and supernatural beings were in closer contact than at present; when man was able to understand the speech and actions of the birds, the mammals, and the fish. The people of today do not expect to have similar experiences now but, according to their point of view, there is no reason why the incidents of the stories could not have happened in the distant past. Frequently, different versions of the same legend are told by different men; each is

[1] Sûmûlem, a story or, more accurately, a piece of ancient lore.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[538] certain that his account is the only accurate one, and ridicules his rival, but as no social importance is attached to the tales, an error in narration is a matter of small moment. Probably there have been instances in which an individual possessing [556] much wealth has transformed a story into a family myth, but it was impossible to obtain a concrete illustration of this; it is thought that this may have been done in former years, though of course such would be absolutely contrary to custom.

Stories can be conveniently divided into two types:

[825] I. Those in which the principal character is a mammal or bird endowed with human intelligence.

II. Those in which the principal character is a human being.

[825] Many of the first type describe the adventures and mis-
[776] adventures of Raven. It must be remembered that the Bella Coola regard these stories as accurate statements of fact, and base their characterizations of many supernatural beings on their actions as recorded therein.

Raven Stories

*534

HOW RAVEN BECAME BLACK

When Raven was being prepared for his descent to earth, *Ālqwāsēm* told *Mānāālīnuā* to make him the prettiest of all the birds. When finished, he was adorned with many colours and was very handsome. But the vain Raven looked at himself and was not satisfied. First he asked that one arm might be changed, and when this was done as he desired, he asked for an alteration in one of his legs; and so on with nearly every part of his body. Finally, *Ālqwāsēm* became angry, and told some of his assistants to throw ashes all over him. This made Raven a uniform black, in which guise he was sent down to earth.

RAVEN AND WATER OUZEL[2]

As he was able to assume any form, Raven, once upon a time, took that of a herald and went to the home of Water Ouzel, who, having spread a fine cedar-mat for his guest, proceeded to prepare a meal. He brought

[2] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 93.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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in a box, filled it with water in which he washed one of his own legs very carefully; then threw away the water, refilled the box and put in it the leg he had just cleaned. With his beak he pecked a hole in his ankle from which there spurted out a small number of salmon eggs. The host tasted these and apparently found them satisfactory, for he pecked again at his ankle and there came forth a large quantity of roe. Water Ouzel boiled these with hot stones and gave them to Raven. After eating, the guest left for his home, taking with him, as is customary, the unconsumed portion of the food in his host's box, inviting Water Ouzel to call for it on the following day.

When Water Ouzel arrived at his house the next day, Raven spread for him a fine cedar-mat and began to make preparations for a meal. Taking the box in which yesterday's food had been served, he washed one of his legs in it. After changing the water, he pecked at his ankle and a few salmon eggs came out. He tasted these, then pecked once more, but only grease came from it. Raven, both angry and humiliated, took a stick and beat not only his ankle but his whole leg, until it was bruised, skinned, and very painful; still no roe came. In a quandary, he asked his guest to wait for a moment while he went outside, but instead of returning in a short time, as he had promised, he flew away and never came back.

Water Ouzel waited for a long time, then, losing patience, took his box and went home in disgust.

RAVEN AND WATER OUZEL

(Second Version)

Once upon a time Raven went to the home of Water Ouzel.

"I have come to pay a call," he said.

Water Ouzel politely asked him to sit down for a meal, which he at once proceeded to prepare. First he brought a small dish and placed it beside his ankle, which he struck with his hands four times. Out flowed enough salmon roe to fill the receptacle. Raven was intensely interested at this novel method of obtaining food, but at the same time was angry.

"That is not enough for me," he thought, but he said nothing.

When the food was cooked Water Ouzel gave it to his guest, but though Raven ate and ate, he could not finish the small dishful. The same quantity mysteriously remained. When he had eaten as much as he could he went home, taking the dish with him, and asking Water Ouzel to come to fetch it the following day.

On the next day, when Water Ouzel arrived, Raven politely invited him to sit down for a meal. He took the same dish and repeated

*534 all that his guest had done on the preceding day, but though he provided his noble owl-a was bartered and bruised, no rice came. At length Water-Chief went home in disgust.

RAVEN AND OWL*

Raven once assumed the shape of a herald and went to the home of Trading Seal, the lowest of all owls, who received him politely and prepared a meal. First he washed out a box to place near the fire and held his fingers above it so that the grease that exuded from them should drip into the receptacle. When a little had collected he stirred it and found it satisfactory, so he continued to hold his fingers in the box until the box was filled with grease. Raven ate his fill and went home, carrying with him the meal, and inviting Trading Seal to call for it the next day.

On the morrow when his expected guest arrived, Raven politely invited him to a meal. The host washed out the same box and held his hands outspread to the fire, so that the grease from them dripped into the container. When a few drops had fallen, Raven stared them as Trading Seal had done, found them satisfactory, and again held out his palms. The heat began to grow uncomfortable. Raven turned and turned his hands, putting them so close to the flames as he dared, then drawing them back until they were blistered on both sides, but no more grease came. At length he desisted, and ran round the house as if he were looking for something to bad but. Trading Seal waited for a long time, but at length, becoming disgusted, picked up his box and went home.

RAVEN AND OWL
(*Second Version*)

Once upon a time Raven went to the home of a young female owl, who politely asked him to take a seat while she made ready a meal for him. Raven agreed and watched intently while she obtained and prepared the food. Holding one of her fingers before the fire, Seal allowed the grease that ran from it to collect in a pan. This she fire turned, then gave to her guest. Raven was delighted, not only with a good meal, but with learning a new method of preparing food. As is customary, he carried away the dish in which his meal had been given him.

In a few days, when Seal came to his house to collect the pan, Raven invited her to stay for a meal and she consented to do so. Imitating her procedure, Raven held one of his legs up to the fire, a little grease dripped from it into the dish. He turned this and found it pleasant to be

* For another version of this story see Boas, p. 95.

[illegible] up his legs to the fence again, but though he kept them there until [illegible] they were finally barred, no more grouse came. And waited and waited, until, becoming angry, she picked up her gun and went home in disgust.

[illegible] and [illegible] Harvest[1]

Once upon a time Raven went to the home of Fisher Thrush.

"I have come to call," he said.

Thrush, a modest, politely invited him to sit down for a meal. Then she took the fine which she used for berry picking, hung it on a projecting rafter outside the house, and began to sing. Immediately a few berries appeared in the fine. She sang four times, and when she had finished, the receptacle was full.[2] Thrush placed the food before her guest, and Raven ate heartily. When it was time to leave, he picked up the fine with which he had not concerned, and invited his hostess to come and collect in the following day.

On the morrow Thrush went to Raven's home, where he invited her to sit down for a meal. Then he made a hole in a corner of the house, placed the same food fine beneath it, and began to sing, imitating the guest's song. A few salmon berries were deserved and covered the receptacle. Again Raven sang, but this time the berries recognized the deception and the fine was filled, not with fruit, but grouse. Thrush was very angry.

"You cheat to avoid my method of gathering berries," she faced out.

Then she picked up her fine and went home, leaving Raven the [illegible].

[illegible] and [illegible]

Once upon a time, Raven went to the home of an old, large-mouthed hawk and called.

"In what month do you get fat?"

"I grow fat when they put up the sticks to dry the salmon," replied Hawk.

"That is possible," said Raven. "I get fat then too, we families must be related."

He said no more, but waited patiently for sunrise.

When the sticks were set up for salmon drying, Raven went again to Hawk's house and said.

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[1] The earlier version of this story see Boas, p. 31.

[2] The Bella Coola say that when the food stage, Raven, berries, animals, and fish gather to listen to the melody.

[3] The earlier version of this story see Boas, p. 40.

[illegible]

[illegible]

"Can we go to the top of that mountain to-morrow?" Raven [illegible] [illegible]. "Where we can look to see a good place."

Buck agreed, as Raven led the way to a flat-topped mountain with precipitous sides, where he [illegible] to show Buck should sit on the edge of a cliff while the man-further back.

"I will begin," said Raven.

Buck [illegible] of staring at that mountain, the song [illegible] the sighing of Buck's long [illegible]. Buck grew sleepy, and when he [illegible] the song of the sighing of Raven's black, lonely [illegible]. This was what Raven had hoped would happen, for [illegible], and [illegible] Buck [illegible] the precipice, as [illegible] Raven [illegible] where the [illegible] lay [illegible].

"Sleep! Sleep! Sleep!" he [illegible].

He held a large [illegible] Buck's body, and when he [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

"Why?" said Death.

"Shouldn't you [illegible] *[illegible]*?"

Again the three Death [illegible] "Why?"

"Oh, don't ask [illegible]," Bruno replied. "[illegible] one of the same family, but we get together and sing of our ancestors."

Death agreed, and the two sat off to a place Bruno suggested, on the edge of a precipice from [illegible] Death on his [illegible], Bruno a little further back. Bruno sang [illegible] of returning to the ancestral seat of the nightmare of Death. [illegible] Death sighed, as he sang of [illegible] right he thought Bruno to be. [illegible] Bruno [illegible] over the [illegible] of the precipice in the [illegible].

Bruno [illegible] to the [illegible], [illegible]. Death was lying with his [illegible], and Bruno began to sing in his [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] Bruno [illegible] to [illegible].

"Did he [illegible] *[illegible]* family?"

[illegible] and nothing, he did [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible].

Bruno, [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] Death [illegible]. [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] the [illegible] Death.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

One long [illegible] the five people [illegible] this [illegible], Bruno and Death.

"Let us go together to some [illegible] spot," he said, "where I shall sing of [illegible] and one of [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] and a [illegible]. I think I shall place on [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]."

Death [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] he [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] Bruno to [illegible] of a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] Bruno said:

"[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]."

"Why?" replied Death. "[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]?"

[illegible] Bruno began to sing: "Death is an [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]."

[illegible] Death [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Bruno [illegible] Death. [illegible] Bruno [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Bruno [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], and began to [illegible] on the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

"Grumpy!" [illegible] with, "Gee we good luck this mine."

[illegible] Grumpy kill by [illegible] completely. Sleepy, much [illegible], repeatedly begged Grumpy to move, but the latter refused to budge and continued [illegible] Snell's corpse.

[illegible] and Sleepy

[illegible] Sleepy said to Sleepy, as [illegible]:

"I think we [illegible] a great many [illegible]. [illegible] to get [illegible]."

Sleepy [illegible] said the two set off together. Presently they [illegible] where [illegible] grew abundantly.

"[illegible]!" called Sleepy.

"[illegible]," [illegible] Sleepy.

[illegible] Sleepy said [illegible] Sleepy said [illegible] the plant, and he [illegible] [illegible] they passed a third [illegible]. The [illegible] [illegible] Sleepy [illegible] and [illegible] Sleepy [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Sleepy [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

"I will give my necklace of dentalium to whoever will receive my [illegible] from."[1]

From Gulf road, for he could see over under trees long enough to find it. Then, however, dived down and brought the [illegible] to [illegible]. He had it on a stick which he carried over his shoulder, and paraded the village singing merrily.[2]

[illegible] Hai-ya-ah-ay-ha	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] Hay, ha-ah-i-i-i[3]

[illegible] Where is [illegible]	[illegible] is carrying	[illegible] [illegible][4]

[illegible] It is for ha-ha-[illegible]	[illegible] is carrying	[illegible] [illegible][5]

[illegible] He will give it to [illegible]	[illegible] he will give it to [illegible]

Then he went into the house at one end of the village and collected a large quantity of [illegible] gum with which he fastened his [illegible] to its proper place, reinforcing the junction with [illegible] strips. Then [illegible] he paraded up and down the [illegible], singing. This time his chorus was:

"[illegible]'s face is now gum."

The [illegible] he had [illegible] to the gum, and when he removed the covering, the face had [illegible] to his [illegible].[6] Flowers [illegible], but said nothing. In fact, he [illegible] any question as much as possible. However, when flowers were [illegible] [illegible] to accompany him, he [illegible] grumbling, he refused to go, saying that he was afraid.

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[1] This was recorded in song [illegible] in the National Museum of Canada, [illegible] Bay Pattern. The same method of repeating has been used in the [illegible] songs, although the musical [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible]

(Guest Review)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

594*

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] 334*

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible], which he lifted. Raven matched him with [illegible] and delight. Wren held a [illegible] he felt with his money, and gave a good meal in his guess. It was the first time [illegible] a [illegible] caught and Raven was overjoyed at learning the method. When the meal was over he took [illegible] the footbridge containing the remains of the food, promising to return to [illegible]. Dragging [illegible] to the hole in the [illegible] exclaiming either [illegible] or [illegible] to feel pleased to

Raven was determined to get the better of Wren, so next day he [illegible] his form of a magpie and set out to accomplish his purpose. Taking the footbridge to the [illegible] he [illegible] from Wren's home. The [illegible] of the hole was like a river to this bird. Then Raven [illegible] a large fish. Then, still in his magpie form, he flew [illegible] to Wren's home.

"Good morning, chief," said Raven. Wren was [illegible] a chief but he [illegible] to Raven him. "I have brought you some good [illegible]," he continued. "I have just [illegible] and with his [illegible] and [illegible] the right of [illegible] a long time and is overjoyed at the thought of seeing his [illegible] again. He is waiting for you by the big fir which you can see across the river."

"[illegible]," answered Wren. "[illegible] if you [illegible] to [illegible]."

"[illegible]," suggested Raven. "[illegible] Wren really [illegible] to see your father. If you do something [illegible] to do it will save you [illegible] on his back."

"I [illegible]," Wren replied [illegible], and for a long time he [illegible] to his [illegible] to accompany Raven, but [illegible] to see where his [illegible] said.

"Wren [illegible]. Your father is waiting over there and he gave me [illegible] instructions to bring you to him. He will be very angry if I do not obey."

Wren [illegible] something, on the [illegible] back, and Raven flew up into the air. Presently he [illegible] slightly.

"Oh, don't do that!" cried Wren. "I am afraid!"

Raven flew straight [illegible] the [illegible] of the hole running between Wren's home and the fir. Then he [illegible] as [illegible] the passenger fell off into the water. Raven was highly pleased at the success of his ruse, quite forgetting that Wren would fall through the [illegible] on to the hard bottom, where he was [illegible]. Raven had [illegible] dead. If he had dropped his passenger on land he would have [illegible].

Raven flew back to Wren's home, while the [illegible] walked on to [illegible] the bottom of the water, because he could not swim. Arriving at the

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

he cooked and gave to his guest. Raven was delighted at this simple method of obtaining food, and when he returned home planned how to amusement the hollow father.

A few days later Raven returned to Worm's home.

"Do you know your mother?" he asked.

"No," replied Worm, "my mother is dead."

"Do you know your father?" next asked Raven.

"No," answered Worm, "I have no father."

"Oh, you are mistaken," said Raven. "I have just been talking to your father and mother, they are over yonder."

"No," again replied Worm, "I do not believe you, I have no parents. I just appear without being born."

"Nevertheless," continued Raven. "It is you who are mistaken, please give me the pleasure of introducing you to your parents. Let me carry you to them, they will be delighted to see you."

Worm was most unwilling.

"No, you must be mistaken," he said. "But be I am no worse another."

But when Raven insisted, Worm at last consented to the only fellow taking him on his back to visit his parents. Croaking happily, Raven with his passenger flew away towards the other side of the fort. When they came to mid-channel, he began to turn sideways to his flight.

"Oh! Oh! Oh!" cried Worm in fear. "I will fall and be killed, I cannot swim. Oh! Oh! Oh! Please don't do that. I know I should fall like a stone."

Raven paid no attention to his appeals and Worm presently slipped from his back and fell into the water.

Raven flew back at once to Worm's house where he found the hollow log, hoisted it, and let it down through a hole in the floor so he had seen the fisherman do. Soon he hooked up a small fish which gave him little satisfaction, then he felt what seemed to be a strong line, but when he drew up his line it was only a snag. He swore heavily and threw it into a corner of the house. He did not know that this "snag" was really Worm who had slipped from Raven for the occasion. The little fellow got up quietly and, without attracting Raven's attention, shut the door and closed all apertures to the house, then round the side to run through the floor. As the water became deeper, Raven floundered about frantically trying to get out, but to vain, until as it continued to surge upwards, he was carried to the end of the house where he could do nothing but croak pitifully. Then Worm appeared.

"I nearly drowned you," he said, "because you tried to hurt me. If you try any more of your nefarious tricks I shall kill you."

#534 Raven, who was terribly frightened, promised humbly that he would be good henceforth. Worm caused the tide to fall and Raven fled away home bedraggled and discomfited.

RAVEN AND BLUE GROUSE[1]

Once upon a time Blue Grouse gave a feast to which he invited all other birds, including Raven, who left early to show his disappointment at the food provided, the tender buds of evergreen trees. Soon after, Blue Grouse went hunting and killed many mountain goats, from which he obtained a large quantity of smoked meat and many grouse. Again he sent a herald to invite all the birds to a feast, but when the message was delivered to Raven he answered rudely:

"No, I don't want to go. There will be nothing but evergreen buds."

"You are mistaken," replied the herald. "Blue Grouse has a large supply of goat meat and grouse."

Raven did not believe this and still refused to go. On the appointed day, when he saw the people gathering at Blue Grouse's house, he began to worry, wondering whether or not he was missing a real feast. At length he sent a lad to see what was going on, and then gained the news that a large supply of meat was about to be distributed. Greatly chagrined, Raven at once began to make plans to obtain a share of the delicacies. Without being seen, he went to the back of the house wherein the feast was taking place, lay down and cried out some words in a strange language.[2] The smoked goats fell, precipitously, and Raven likewise hurried home, where he lay down, telling one of his sisters to blow over him and to blowburn a cloud of ashes from the fire, so that people would think he had not moved for a long time. Several of Blue Grouse's guests said:

"Let us go and ask Raven about the strange words which we heard. He is a smart man. Perhaps he can explain their significance."

When these people reached his house, Raven sat up and shook the ashes from himself, asking what they wanted. They explained their mission and Raven then wanted to know what the voice had said. They repeated what they had heard.

"Oh! Oh! Good gracious!" cried Raven. "That means that robbers are almost upon us. Take your children and run away into the mountains."

Not suspecting his duplicity, they all obeyed. As soon as he was alone, Raven rose and went across to Blue Grouse's house, where he ate and ate and ate, croaking happily. Hearing the sound, two of the fugi-

[1] The earlier version of this story is Boas, p. 91.
[2] The content of the incident was gathered by a sophisticated informant.

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crow began to wonder if Raven had not deceived them for his own ends. They cautiously and saw him gorging himself with the food. Without disclosing their presence, they stole away and informed their comrades. All came back and surprised Raven, who fled to his home, disconsolately.

RAVEN AND BLUE GROUSE
(Second Version)

Once upon a time Blue Grouse sent six messengers inviting all and sundry to a feast, but Raven, thinking the food would only be bark, not fit for a man, declined the invitation. As the people were gathering, however, he began to wonder whether or not he was missing a fine free meal, so he sent one of his children to walk up and down outside the house of Blue Grouse and see the preparations. The child reported that there was an ample supply of grouse, moss, and other delicacies. Raven, deeply chagrined, determined to steal the food, and presently evolved a plan. He went secretly to the rear of Blue Grouse's house and listened, instructing his successors to sound the warning for a war-party as soon as the guests had assembled. Then he went home and told one of his children to blow ashes from the fire over himself and his blankets to make it appear that he had been lying down for a long time. When he was in this condition someone entered and saw him. No sooner had the guests assembled in the other house than the successors cried out:

"Raiders! Raiders! Raiders! They will be here any moment to make us slaves. Let us escape quickly!"

The startled guests rushed down to their canoes and paddled across the river. Then Raven went to the empty house, gathered up all the food and took it home, crunching derisively. The people on the other bank, hearing his voice, said to one another:

"I wonder if Raven has deceived us, he is a smart fellow."

They sent a boy across to investigate, who found no food and no Raven. By the time the people had recrossed the river, Raven had fled.

RAVEN AND KIWI*

Once upon a time, soon after the first people came to this earth, Raven went to the home of Kiwi, a supernatural being, who lived in a fine large cave with a door. He had never been there before. Raven knocked, crying politely:

"Hello! Please let me in."

*For another version of this story see Boas, p. 55.

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Echo answered in the same words, which Raven took as an invitation to come. Though he could see no one, the house was well stocked with meat, while to his amazement he saw blankets being woven, and cedar-bark being incorporated without visible human agency. He sat down. Presently some firewood came and moved to the hearth of its own accord. The fire lit itself, stones jumped into it and a cook-box moved to a convenient place near at hand. Water emptied itself into the vessel, and when the stones were hot, the tongs picked them up and dropped them into the box. When the water was boiling, smoked goat meat came down from the ceiling, cut itself up, and went into the box. Berries and goat grease placed themselves before Raven, and when all was ready a spoon moved to him, the handle pointed towards his hand. The cooked meat dried itself and came to him. Raven ate heartily but was much puzzled, for he had never seen anything like this in his life. When he had finished the meal, he took away with him, according to custom, the box containing what was left. On reaching home he said to his four sisters:

"I have been to a house where there is a great abundance of everything, food, blankets, and so on, but no people. Tomorrow we shall go and carry off everything."

The sisters were agreeable. That night Raven was so excited he could hardly sleep, and at the first streak of dawn he roused his sisters and they set off in his canoe, Takedi, which moved without apparent means of propulsion. On arriving at Echo's house they found the same state of affairs as on the previous day, all household occupations being carried on without visible agent. Raven seized meat and grease; his sisters took goat-hair blankets and cedar-bark articles which they at once began to carry out to Takedi. When they had almost stripped the house, Raven suddenly felt the grasp of invisible hands which, in spite of his struggles, stretched him out on his back with legs apart. His sisters, who were close at the canoe, were also seized, one after another, and dragged into the house on their backs. Invisible fingers held apart their pudends, which were thrust over Raven's nose until he was almost suffocated.

"Please stop!" Raven cried out. "I didn't know there was anyone here. I am almost killed."

"Why did you steal my food?" asked Echo. "Yesterday, I provided you willingly with a meal, and this is how you repay me. If you try any more of your malicious tricks I will kill you."

The four sisters, who had almost been pulled to pieces in the fray, cried out to their brother, sobbing:

"Why do you always lead us into trouble? We have been almost murdered and it is all your fault."

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Meanwhile the lost was returning of its own accord to the house. 539*
When it was again in position, Echo released his captives, who fled disembodied.

His sisters upbraided Raven:

"Why don't you settle down at home instead of roaming around the country, getting into trouble?" they asked.

Raven, bruised and sick from the rough treatment which he had received, could not defend himself.

RAVEN AND ECHO
(Second Version)

Once upon a time, when Raven was travelling in the mountains, he stopped at the home of Echo. No one appeared to be in the house, yet various processes were going on without visible agency; blankets were being woven, with no one at the loom, and various articles travelled from one part of the house to another without apparent cause.

"I should like a meal," said Raven.

As the words re-echoed, he felt something touch his arm and guide him to a seat.

The firewood seemed to split of its own volition, piled itself in place, and flames appeared; meat came down from the rafters and cut itself up; the bucket travelled out through the door and returned filled with water which emptied itself into a box into which heated stones from the fire plunged mysteriously, as did the meat, all without apparent motive power. When the meat had boiled sufficiently it came into Raven's box and a spoon moved into his hand. As he ate his meal in silence he thought:

"This is too good a chance to miss. I must come with my sisters to carry off the riches of this house."

When Raven returned home he told his four sisters to prepare for a trip into the mountains, and the following day they set off. They reached Echo's house without difficulty and were delighted at the quantity of goods inside, apparently awaiting their pleasure. The five busied themselves tying blankets into bundles, filling boxes with meat and grease, and collecting other articles.

When almost ready to leave, the eldest sister suddenly shrieked aloud. Something had grasped her and forced her on to her back, but nothing could be seen. In succession the second, third, and fourth sister was similarly treated, and finally Raven himself. The eldest sister was lying on her back, with legs apart and genitals exposed, when her brother was

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dragged so that his head was thrust against her organs and his beak stuck up her anus. She asked him what he was doing, and he replied:

"I cannot help it."

In the same way he was carried to each of his other sisters and in each case his beak was thrust far up her anus. Then the five were lifted and bundled unceremoniously out of the house. As they hurried away, Raven, looking back, saw that the goods which they had packed up had returned to their original places.

RAVEN AND HIS SISTERS

Once upon a time Raven saw a large number of berries growing near his house and determined to get a good supply.

"Get ready and we shall go berry-picking," he said to his four Crow sisters,[11] *Ḱ'ákàmitl*, *Tcwa·st*, *Wélx*, and *Ásqinkr*.

The next morning they started off in Raven's self-moving canoe, *Tokinkl*. Berries were plentiful, the Crow sisters were industrious, and before long the craft was almost filled. There was ample for all, but Raven, greedy as ever, began to scheme how he could defraud his sisters of their share. The canoe was lying in a small inlet of the ocean, whence they would have to pass close to one of the points on their way home. Raven went to the end of this point and defecated. He had the power of giving speech to anything, so told his excrement to call out as they went by:

"*Wina, wina djutxmá·nk.*" "Raiders, raiders are coming."

Raven returned before his sisters even noticed that he had been absent. All day the pickers toiled, and when they set out for home at dusk, the canoe was heavily loaded. As they were rounding the point, they were startled by the warning cry, at which Raven pretended to be terrified.

"There is great danger," he called out. "You had better flee while I will remain to guard the canoe."

The four women fled up the mountain slope, leaving Raven alone in the canoe. This was what he had wanted; he sat down comfortably, gorging himself with the berries, and croaking happily. One of his sisters heard this and wondered whether her brother might be deceiving them, but she was afraid to return immediately to find out. When he had eaten all that he could stuff into his stomach, Raven smeared himself with crushed juice to resemble blood, and lay down motionless in the bottom.

[11] They were non-marriageable female relatives, not his own sisters.

J. McDowell: E-5 (1922-1924) 1965
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After some time, his sisters plucked up courage to return and saw him lying there. One of them became suspicious and began to sing:[a] 534*

[illegible][b]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Peculiar is	it is as if	[illegible]	[illegible]
		the blood	of our cousin.

A free translation of this is: "How strange is the blood with which our relative is covered!"

Raven raised himself lightly, as if in great pain, and answered:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
You are wickedly stupid!	You are wickedly stupid!	It must be
[illegible]	[illegible]	
the blood;	a war-party did it.	

Then he groaned[c] feebly and became silent.

At first his sisters did not believe his protestations and repeated their doubting song, but he assured them that he was speaking the truth so they were finally convinced. Raven instructed them to carry him home very carefully. On reaching the beach, all their fellow-villagers came crowding around, and when they learnt of their chief's injury, they loudly expressed their sympathy. Raven continued his groanings, and when he had been taken to his house, one of the neighbours began to sponge away the blood. Much to his surprise, he could find no wound; then, looking more carefully, he recognized that the "blood" was only berry-juice. He proclaimed his discovery in a loud voice, and everyone laughed at Raven, thus caught deceiving his sisters.

RAVEN AND HIS SISTERS
(Second Version)

Once upon a time, Raven set out with his four sisters to gather berries. They travelled in his self-moving canoe, *Tahsiki*, which soon brought them to a place where fruit was plentiful. Raven, greedy as usual, wanted to eat at once the berries which his sisters brought to the craft, whereas they wished to keep them for winter use. When they insisted, Raven determined to outwit them by fair means or foul. When next the women were out of sight, Raven went ashore and arranged for a voice to cry:

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[a]Recorded as song VII D 30b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The same method of recording has been used as for dance songs, although the vertical lines indicate only word groups, not phrases called out by an announcer.

[b]The singer entered into the spirit of the song, and prefaced his rendition by calling out: *Wine wine djuowa ad:* "Raiders, raiders are coming."

[c]This is indicated on the record by grunts, groans, and calls of anguish, as ejaculation of pain.

*539 "Raven, Raven, Raven," when he and his sisters were in the canoe.

A little later, Raven suggested that they move to another spot. As they were passing the place where he had landed earlier, the sisters were startled by a cry of:

"Raven, Raven, Raven."

Raven pretended to be greatly alarmed for his sisters' safety and told them to go ashore quickly and hide.

"I will remain to defend the canoe," he said.

As soon as the women had followed his advice, Raven began to gorge himself with berries. He ate and ate, croaking his delight, until only a few were left. Then he smeared himself with red berry-juice, which resembled blood, and lay down in the bottom of the canoe as if dead or dying. After some time the sisters plucked up courage to see whether or not their brother had been killed; they stole forward to a point of vantage from which they could see him lying stretched. His sisters were in sight, as they hurried down and began to weep over their brother. Presently one of them noticed that the blood seemed peculiar and commented on the fact, whereupon the seemingly dead Raven replied:

"That is the blood of a warrior."

Then they wept again. Soon, however, one of the sisters noticed that the berries had disappeared, and she cried out that their brother had deceived them. When they examined him more closely, they found that he was stained, not with blood, but with berry-juice. Raven then very [illegible].

RAVEN AND HIS STEP-DAUGHTER*

Once upon a time, Raven's wife died. Instead of being grieved, he was so delighted that he sang:

"How lucky it is that she died, otherwise I would have divorced her and remarried."

Soon he took another wife, a widow with a young daughter. Raven tried repeatedly to sleep with his step-child, but she was unwilling and he could not seduce her. Determined to succeed at any cost, he went into the forest to gather firewood.

"How do you burn?" he asked dead and dry Alder.

"I give great heat but no sparks," replied Alder.

Next he went to Cottonwood with the same query, and received a similar answer.

"I throw off many sparks which do not fly far," said Spruce.

*For another version of this story see Boas, p. 99.

Raven was not interested in any of these replies and put the same question to Gulls.

"I jump on women's backs," answered the gull.

Raven put his head on one side and pondered for some time, finally deciding that if nothing better was available he would return to Gulls. Then he asked Tit-Bird, who replied:

"I give off good lice. If I am pitied in prominent lice, which is the best way of using me, I make a practice of jumping on the private parts of any children."

"You are the very most! I have been seeking," said Raven.

Slightly delighted, he filed his claws with Tit-bird and went home.

Raven built a blazing fire in his house and called his wife and her daughter to come and enjoy it. As they were sitting naked, with legs apart, a great church of lice leaps out from the fire, attack the girl, and burn her pudenda severely. The mother, alarmed at her daughter's injury, asked all her neighbours whether they have a cure for such a burn, but none was able to assist her. Finally she asked her husband.

"Why, yes," Raven replied. "A cure for this has been handed down to my family. There is a small plant growing in the woods which, when inserted in the passage, heals a burn there. But to be effective, the sufferer must go alone to the forest. You can tell the right plant because it moves back and forth as if pinned on the ground."

After giving this advice, Raven went into the woods where he lay on his back and covered himself with leaves, his penis alone being exposed. There he willed his step-daughter to come in that direction. As the girl hopped painfully along she saw what she took to be the plant in question because it was bending back and forth. She was preparing to squat down on it when she saw her step-father's two beady eyes blinking at her from their leafy covering. She ran away home and told her mother.

Raven, during his wife's anger, prepared an alibi by sending a boy away, and, as a double precaution, by pretending to be very sick. He lay on his bed, groaning and passing, and told everyone that he would be dead within a day. Towards morning he seemed much worse, and gave final instructions to his wife.

"Do not marry your daughter to anyone of this town," he said. "Choose for her a Kanapit husband because food is more plentiful there, and the men are all wealthy. As for myself, I am almost at my last gasp. When I die, do not bury me in the ground, place me in a tree at some distance from the village and do not fasten the cover of my coffin too tightly."

When the sun rose, Raven appeared to be dying, and soon all signs of life ceased. After waiting a short interval, his fellow-villagers disposed

*[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] the [illegible] [illegible], namely, a small plant growing in the mouth which could be recognized by its peculiarly [illegible] movements.

"If you place yourself so that it moves your organ, you will be cured," said Raven.

He went to the hut [illegible] this advice, he went into the house and lay down on his back, covering with leaves all but his eyes and penis. The [illegible] woman [illegible] removed the organ to and fro so that the thoughts [illegible] the plant [illegible] [illegible] upon it where she [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Raven [illegible] crawling towards.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

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[illegible]

[illegible] AND THE [illegible]

Long, long ago, a man named *Kiskim*, of mixed Bella Coola and Bella Bella lineage, lived on a small island near the head of Cascade Inlet, where he had a fish-trap. He had only one leg, but in spite of this handicap was wealthy and prosperous. Raven noticed this, and thought that with his two legs it would be an easy matter to despoil *Kiskim*. Accordingly, he went to the latter's house and began by humbly asking him. Once he had gained a foothold in the establishment, however, Raven began to act as director, ordering *Kiskim* about as if he were a servant. One day as they were taking salmon from the fish-trap, *Kiskim* became angry at Raven's continued orders and pushed him into the water.

Raven pretended to be insulted, and suggested a fight. The type of combat used to settle disputes of this sort resembles wrestling, since the contestants grapple, and the loser is he whose feet are first shifted from their position. Raven suggested this kind of contest, thinking that, with his two legs, he would have an easy victory. *Kiskim* agreed, and the two clinched. At first they swayed back and forth, to and fro, without either being able to shift the other, but gradually *Kiskim* began to swing Raven until he could hardly keep his foothold. When in imminent danger of losing it, he cried out that *Kiskim* had moved his foot; it was a false accusation, for the other had swayed on his one leg but had not shifted it. *Kiskim* denied having made any movement of his foot but claimed that Raven had shifted his, and finally succeeded in flinging his antagonist into the water. Raven swam ashore, wet and bedraggled; he flew away and never came back.

RAVEN AND THE DANCER

There was once a woman, *Ma'cilas*, who was a remarkable dancer, the most expert ever seen, so wonderful that people used to come from far and near to see her. On one occasion she prepared to give a dance at a time when Raven was completing a river canoe. He was very busy, carefully reducing the sides to the requisite thickness by burning them, and chark-

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

"Why, I will marry you, if you are such a good man. I should be afraid of any other might but my opposite as I am not quite the one."

Raven [illegible] the [illegible] in the occupation. They were married and went to live in Raven's house. Raven was now the master of food. Raven [illegible] and [illegible] to see the power to keep her plentifully supplied with Buckeye Salmon, but she declined to do so, so she by her return to gaining small fish, which he refused to share with her, so poverty [illegible]. There he was [illegible] right food to [illegible] who had gathered in his house. The first time this happened the wife [illegible] her mother with her strange husband in a [illegible] and complained profusely. Buckeye Salmon asked her friend to bring a fish into which she poured water and washed her hands, causing more Buckeye Salmon to appear. Then she took and cooked, being careful not to cut any salmon bone. On two occasions Raven's wife did this, each time inviting the people and giving them a meal during her husband's absence, but saying nothing to him about it.

One day Raven returned unexpectedly and found that Buckeye Salmon hanging in his house. He asked the other occupants where it came from, as his wife never was fishing, but the answer he received was:

"You are the only one of us who has been catching salmon, and you have been spearing just small fish, one at a time. Even then you will neither sell nor share."

Raven was not satisfied and determined to see upon what was happening in his house during his absence. One day he announced that he was going to examine his nets and went off in the proper direction, but was concealed to watch through a crack in the wall what was going on within. When he saw his wife produce and cook salmon for all the people, he burst angrily into the room:

"You have wronged me greatly," he exclaimed. "Why have you not helped your own husband in getting food?"

His wife did not reply but one guest spoke on her behalf:

"You never shared your catch with her nor with us, why should she share with you?"

Another continued:

"Give up your evil and selfish ways. Your wife has always kindly shared her salmon with us."

Raven was silent. That night as he lay in bed his wife told him to make a fish-weir at a certain point. He began the following night and worked steadily for several days until it was ready. Then Buckeye Salmon went to the beach and wiggled her toes in the water. From her feet there

[illegible] Raven caught a great chinook in the net. He gave [illegible] generously, but still had enough to fill his house with drying salmon. Following his wife's instructions, he did not remove the heads from the fishes.

There were so many salmon in the house that they had to be hung in three tiers over the fire, and in the morning about Raven was often troubled by the long hair becoming entangled in their teeth. So this he never neveth, afraid lest either the salmon or his wife should hear him. One day he had become so badly troubled in his teeth of one of the salmon that he was off the head of the fish which all caused him such annoyance, thinking that his wife would have nothing about it. But when she came into the house she cried out:

"I am sick. Someone has been taking the salmon."

She asked her husband if he had done so, but he indignantly denied the charge. At last she discovered that he had been the offender, but said nothing to him about it. Nevertheless Raven was out of the house, Sockeye Salmon asked the people to help her purify the fish by making a fire on which she placed her one more darkness. Then she left the house and began to wash. As soon her dying salmon left their places on the frames and followed her from the house to the beach.

Raven, who came up at this moment, pursued his wife to the shore of the ocean, where she lifted up the sea as if it had been a mat and dived beneath, followed by her salmon. She became a fish once more and swam away. The heart-broken Raven tried to follow, but could only splash into the water, not penetrate beneath it as the woman had done. Thus he lost both wife and fish.

RAVEN AND SOCKEYE SALMON
(Second Version)

Raven and his four Crow sisters, whose names were *Kakamid*, *Tsaa ot*, *Kaptsuk*, and *Wals*, lived on the banks of the Dean River, to which they had been attracted by the abundance of trout. One day, when Raven was spearing fish, he saw in the water a beautiful Sockeye Salmon woman, with whom he immediately fell in love. When he told her of his affection she came ashore, assumed human form, and they were married.

Raven covered fresh sand on the floor of his house and did his utmost to make his supernatural bride comfortable. Knowing the wishes of the salmon, she told her husband never to pull or cut the heads from any that he caught. Raven promised to obey, and then he asked a favour of his wife. She had beautiful hair, hanging luxuriantly to her hips, of which he had long been envious. He asked his wife to make his hair grow like

[illegible], which, with her supernatural power, she was able to do. She other- 534*
wisely granted his request, and Raven became very proud of his splendid [illegible].

Some year, when Raven caught sockeye salmon he showed his wife's
[illegible] by carefully hanging the fish up to dry without removing the
heads. One day, however, his long hair became entangled with the teeth
of a drying salmon, and in a fit of anger he scratched off its head, throwing
it outside the door. His wife was so vexed and grieved that she cried and
cried until her face was swollen and Raven became frightened at her
continual lamentation. After he had left the house, Sockeye Salmon
told her sisters-in-law to make a fire and put on it all her personal pos-
sessions. She said that she intended to leave that night, and that she
alone would scatter her husband's salmon, but not those caught by his
sisters. When it was dark she carried out her threat. She whistled, and
Raven's fish came to life; then she ran to the river, raised the edge of the
water as if it had been a blanket and plunged beneath, followed by them.
Raven tried in vain to pursue, but lost both his wife and his salmon.

Animal Stories

Raven is more frequently endowed with human characteristics to serve as the central figure in stories than any other bird or mammal, but the following are examples of similar tales centring around other figures.[‡] 531 525

MINK AND CAT-FISH[**] 534*

Once upon a time, long, long ago, before men and animals had grown so unlike one another, Mink went to the home of a Cat-Fish woman, who politely invited him to stay for a meal. When he had finished eating he said to his hostess:

"Are you afraid of anything?"

"No," she replied.

"Are you not afraid of Grizzly Bear?"

"No," answered the woman again.

Mink repeated his question with regard to Wolf, Black Bear, Wolverine, Cougar, and all the other fierce animals, but Cat-Fish assured him that she feared none of them. At length he asked:

"Are you afraid of Owl?"[**]

[**]There are no true cat-fish in Bella Coola; the species so designated is probably one of the sculpins. [136]

[**]He meant the western horned owl.

‡[See pp. 414-493. – ANALYST]

"Well! You's speak of him," she replied.

The owner learned her fear and Mink resolved to take advantage of what he had heard. With that aim in view he went to Owl's house and said to him:

"Please lend me your blanket."

By this he means the appearance and attributes of Owl himself. Owl was unwilling to let him have it.

"Oh no," he said. "My blanket is not strong. It may get torn if you borrow it. Besides I have only one, which is would be more inconvenient for me to lend."

"Oh, please," Mink urged. "I should take the greatest care of it."

At length the good-natured Owl yielded sufficiently to his guest's earnest appeals to allow him to put on the blanket and go outside, so that he never could judge whether or not Mink could "have" well enough not to disgrace Owl.

Mink, who was very clever, performed so satisfactorily that on his return Owl lent him his blanket, with some misgivings. As soon as he had assumed the borrowed plumage, Mink flew swiftly towards the home of Cat-Fish, hoping to be seen. While he was still at some little distance, she heard the doubtful sound and threw on the few dried salmon, which is a dainty to Owl, but powerless against Mink. As the hoaxing came nearer and nearer, Cat-Fish grew more and more troubled, until when it was close to her house she fastened the door securely. Mink broke it to pieces and rushed through to seize her. Cat-Fish thought herself fortunate in being able to escape through the wreck of her door into the water. When she passed Mink in the narrow doorway, Owl's blanket which he was wearing was torn, and the borrower was afraid, remembering how the owner had begged him to be careful of it.

The dishonest Mink concealed the rent as well as he could; then took the blanket back to Owl's house and hung it up, without mentioning the accident, so that the owner did not discover the tear until after Mink's departure, when it was too late to complain. Mink returned and took possession of the house of Cat-Fish, with its rich contents of food. The thief was undisturbed, as Cat-Fish has continued to live in the water until the present day.

THE ADVENTURES OF MINK

Once upon a time, Mink was sitting at the end of a point which projected far into the ocean. From his seat he saw a salmon jump at some little distance.

"Ah, there!" he called out. "If I were a salmon I wouldn't be so rabbit as to jump over my dam. I should always keep near the shore."

The rabbit salmon listened to the advice, and when next he jumped, it was a little closer to the shore. Mink, pleased at the success of his ruse, continued to urge the salmon to come over a little more until the stupid fish became stranded among the projecting rocks, where Mink clubbed it to death, gratified at the success of his hunting.

Mink carried away the salmon to a suitable spot for cooking, where he built a fire and roasted every morsel of it, head, tail, fins, and all. He was very greedy. As the fish cooked, it emitted an appetizing odour, and Mink took a stick and pointed to one piece after another, singing as he did so:

"I wonder who will eat this bit?" and answering himself, "Mink will eat it."

He smacked his lips in anticipation. He proceeded to become sleepy and decided to lie down for a few minutes, while the salmon was cooking. He slept soundly, with mouth open. Attracted by his snores, some mischievous boys came along, who carried off all Mink's nicely cooked salmon, and smeared some of the fat over the points of his teeth. Then before they went away, they cut off his queue, which proceeded from his body, near his rump.

When Mink awoke, his first thought was of the fine meal which should now be ready. He looked at the fire, but to his intense annoyance and grief, he did not see the salmon. Then, happening to run his tongue over his lip, he felt the smooth fat fat.

"Perhaps I ate the salmon," he said to himself, puzzled.

"No," he went on, "I couldn't have eaten it," for he realized how hungry he was.

"Yes, I must have eaten it," he said, as he again felt the smooth fat fat on his lips, and between his teeth.

"No, I couldn't have," as he felt the emptiness of his stomach.

Puzzled, uncertain, and most unhappy, Mink finally ran away.

He had not gone far when he saw a number of boys playing on a smooth piece of ground. They were rolling something to and fro, and as Mink watched from a hiding place, he saw that their toy was his scent gland. He determined to regain it. When he came into view, the boys, who did not recognize him, invited him to join their game and Mink gladly agreed. He waited until his castor was thrown to him, then he pushed it back into place and ran away as fast as he could. The boys tried to overtake him, but failed.

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MINK AND CLOUD

Once upon a time, Mink said to Cloud:

"What's you name, sir? I should like to remember."

"Yes," answered Cloud, "I am quite agreeable if you are brave enough. But I think you will be afraid, because I am not like you."

"I will risk that," replied Mink, "because I dare you very much."

Mink jumped up to Cloud. It happened to be a sunshine day and the clouds were lying in a thick fall around the mountain, so he was quite comfortable, and upon the night with his bride. But soon after, when a wind blew up, his nest began to disappear. Mink jumped from one patch of cloud to another, but as the wind increased they became more and more scattered and smaller, until, finding none to support him, he fell with a crash into the ocean. The fall did not kill him, but he was so badly shaken up that he swam slowly back to land and never again sought his wife.

THE CONTEST OF MINK

Once upon a time, long, long ago, a number of women left Kwaquin to go into the mountains to gather a fern, spawn, highly prized for food. An expedition of this kind was always regarded as a picnic, so that a number of young men asked to be allowed to accompany them. The girls consented, but explained that Mink was to be excluded, because of his offensive smell and objectionable habit of entering wind. Mink, deeply insulted, resolved to work mischief. When the others had set off he followed secretly. Several times different members of the party smelt an offensive odour, resembling Mink's, and mentioned it to their companions.

"No, it cannot be," the others answered. "Mink has neither the strength nor the courage to follow where he knows he is not wanted."

At dusk the young men dug a large hole near a river bank to cook the fern, which is prepared in the following manner:—A large fire is built in the pit and stones are thrown on, which gradually fall, red-hot, to the bottom. Then the remains of the fire are raked out, a layer of grass is placed over the stones, and on it is deposited the fern; this is then covered by a layer of sand and on top of that is built a huge fire, which must be kept going all night. By evening the arrangements were complete and the fire was blazing. The women and men had a pleasant time playing together and at length went to sleep.

This gave Mink the opportunity for which he had been waiting. As is well known, he has power over rain which is included in his ancestral myth. Not only does he do all his hunting and travelling when it is raining, but he has the ability to cause a downpour. He began to sing:

"[illegible]" "[illegible]"

[illegible] to sprinkle, then to rain more heavily, and [illegible] and there was a storm, the [illegible] to battle, pour the fire and [illegible] into the hole, raising the fire. The women who had been sleeping protected only by their outer bark clothes suffered considerable inconvenience and discomfort. All night it rained, and the men dug also, making further fire-gathering out of the question. After a wet, uncomfortable night, the young people were forced to return to Kimsquit without obtaining the food for which they had set out. Mink glared at himself. The women, who suspected he had caused their discomfort, asked all the people who had remained at Kimsquit whether or not Mink had been seen during their absence. As nobody had seen him, their suspicions grew almost to certainty, but there was no evidence of his having followed the party, so he escaped the punishment that would have been gladly meted out to him.

Not long afterwards a war party bound for Kimsquit passed the home of Crab, a woman, who called out to them:

"Please kill that villain, Mink."

Mink, who was hiding within ear-shot of the town, came out to meet the party had passed, and said formally to Crab:

"What do you mean by crying to have me killed?"

"I said, please take care of my dear Mink, and make him laugh and shining like the sun," she replied tidily.

"That is a lie," said he, formally.

He seized Crab by her arms and legs, pulled them from her body and tore all into small fragments which he threw into the ocean.

"Stay there and serve as food for men," said Mink.

Since then, crabs have lived in the ocean near Kimsquit and have served as food for men.

HOW MINK TOOK HIS REVENGE

An old woman who used constantly to gather clams on the seashore was much troubled by Mink. One day when a raiding party was passing she asked their destination.

"We are going to fight Mink," they replied.

"That is excellent," she responded.

A few days later when they repassed her house on the return journey the old woman asked them if they had been successful.

"Yes," they replied. "We have destroyed Mink's town and made him a slave."

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"Cut him in pieces," she said, "as you would with salmon preparatory to smoking."

Mink was in the canoe and heard her injunction. He willed that the captain should steer a course near the shore, and when the canoe was rounding a point he jumped overboard and succeeded in reaching the land, where he sought refuge. The raiders chased him on shore so hotly that Mink was finally forced to hide in a small hole under the rocks, but on entering it he took with him some shell-fish. One of the pursuers, seeing the hole, thrust his spear down into it, but Mink answered on this the entrails of the shell-fish. When the raiders saw the gore on the spear they concluded they had killed him and went off.

As soon as his enemies had gone away, Mink sneaked out and grabbed the old woman by the back of the neck, yelling in her ear:

"What did you call out to the raiders?"

"I told them to take good care of you," she replied, "that you were like a son to me."

"Did you indeed?" said Mink, who had heard perfectly what she said.

First he bit off her legs, then chewed to pieces the rest of her body, shoulding it into scraps which he threw into the water, telling them to become crabs.

This is the origin of crabs.

THE FIRE

About three generations after the first people had come to this earth, Mink went up to *Nuxmit a* and asked *Alpuxstw* to lend him his robe, so that he might take his place as sun. The request was granted, but, once [821] given control of the sun, Mink guided the canoe-like luminary so close to earth that the rivers and oceans boiled, and it was only in the glaciers that the people were able to exist. At Kimsquit a man and his dog were turned to stone; it is said that they can still be seen in this form.[171]

Animals as well as men suffered from Mink's wickedness. Grizzly Bear's coat was singed to its present rusty colour; Weasel tried to hide himself but failed to draw in the end of his tail which was burnt black, a mark still carried by all his descendants; Clam closed his shell for protection and so was blackened only at its orifice; all the other creatures suffered in various ways.

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[171] [171] "A similar belief is said to be shared by the Cowichan people of Vancouver Island. About 1900, a considerable amount of charred wood was found four feet beneath the surface of the ground, on the mountain west of the Nechetsconnay River. The Bella Coola consider this to be proof of the disaster.

THE FOLLY OF DEER

Once, long, long ago, Deer was standing beneath a rock, spending under which gave him complete protection from the weather. Snow began to fall in show, large flakes which came drifting down one or two at a time. Idly he began to count them. At first it was easy, but the snow began to fall faster until he could no longer carry out his self-appointed task. Heavily disappointed he cried for a long time.

DEER AND WOLVES*

Once upon a time, Deer took his son with him in his canoe to gather firewood. At their destination he went into the forest to get sticks, leaving Fawn behind. On his return with a load after a rather long absence he asked the boy whether or not anyone had passed.

"Yes," answered Fawn. "A canoe filled with people passed out long ago."

"What did they say?" asked Deer.

"They felt me all over and said what a fine meal I would make," replied the son.

"Oh, they are stupid and harmless," said Deer. "They talk only through their arrows."

Now these people were Wolves, who, as everybody knows, have wonderfully acute ears. One of them caught Deer's remark and said to his companions:

"Deer is swearing at us. Let us go back and punish him."

They all turned back. Meanwhile Deer had again gone into the forest for wood, so that when the Wolves reached the canoe, Fawn was alone in it. The Wolf who was paddling in the bow took a mouthful of Fawn, the second took another bite, and by the time the captain in the stern had had his share, nothing was left but blood. Then the Wolves went away.

When Deer came back to find only blood he began to cry.

"Do you know who killed my son?" he asked the canoe.

"No," it replied.

Deer put the same question to the paddle, the bailer, and the mooring-rope, but each responded: "No."

Deer had been weeping so much that a long drop of mucus hung from his nose, which he flipped off with his fingers and threw into the canoe. The mucus suddenly spoke up:

*For another version of this story see Boas, p. 97.

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*539 "Your son was eaten, bite by bite, by the Wolves, the people whom you scorned."

Deer hurried on the trail of the Wolves, alternately weeping and singing:

"When the mist was half-way down the mountain and there was no wind, at that time my son was slain."

Presently he reached the Wolf village, where a dance and feast were in progress in the chief's house. Deer was invited inside, and the chief asked him if he could dance.

"Yes," said Deer. "I will show you my celebrated dance, but I must have mussel-shells tied to my legs."

When this was done, Deer began to dance, violently, and, as he went on, his hosts fell asleep, one by one, until only an old woman remained awake. Deer danced immediately in front of her until she too slumbered. Then he took off the mussel-shells and began to cut the throats of the Wolves with them. When about half-finished the old woman showed signs of waking, so Deer hastily discontinued his slaughter to dance before her, and again she slept. All except a few had been killed when the old woman woke up and saw what was happening. She roused the others with a cry:

"Wake up! Wake up! Our visitor is murdering us."

Deer fled into the woods with Wolves in pursuit. They pressed him so closely that he climbed a tree, a feat which Deer could do in those days, but Wolves could not. The pursuers returned to their house and asked the old woman what they ought to do. She told them they must learn a song, which, when sung at the foot of the tree in which Deer had taken refuge, would cause him to fall down. So they sat down and she taught them the following words:[a]

Tsamimmlpaz | ayaqlpaqaqaz | ckalilyalwip | ckalawa yaqlaz
This is said to mean:[b] Please sleep, over yonder, you big mountain goat.[c]

Ayaw cmlt	*ayawa-a*	*ayaw cmlt*	*ayawa-a*
Yawning,[d]	yawning,	yawning,	yawning.

[a]Recorded as song VII D 3d, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[b]This song is said to have been handed down for many years. The words are practically unintelligible and the Bella Coola do not profess to understand them. They assume that the melody was made by a supernatural being and that this fact accounts for the peculiar form.

[c]It is clear that the singers were not to address the deer by name.

[d]This sound is supposed to represent a loud yawn. The singer gaps it out as if on the point of falling into a heavy sleep.

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Kashwanai	*dzpitsi*	*tspiwa*
Fall down,	one leg,	fawn.*

That is: May one leg fall down from the fawn.

The Wolves learnt this song very carefully, and hurried back towards the tree into which their quarry had climbed, repeating it at intervals to fix it in their memories; at one point a fallen tree spanned their path and as they jumped it they forgot what had been taught them. *Swipmalwhaints* had stolen away their thoughts. Once more they went back to the woman, who again gave them the necessary song. This time they redoubled their efforts to remember it, but as before they forgot it when they leaped over the fallen tree. A third time the woman instructed them, and a third time they lost it, as they jumped the tree. On the fourth time of asking, the old woman inquired:

"Is there a fallen tree crossing your path on the way to the murderer?"

"Yes," they replied.

"Then," said she, "do not jump it. Go round the end."

On this, the fourth time they had set out, they went round the end, and did not forget what they had learnt. Deer was still in the tree under which they sang the song. The first time they sang it, one of his hind legs fell down; the second time the other hind leg dropped; on the third singing, one of the fore legs, and on the fourth, the body with remaining forelegs tumbled into their clutches. As each part fell they ate it up.

DEER AND WOLVES

(Second Version)

Not long after the first people had reached this earth and while they were still half man, half animal, Deer with his son went in a canoe to gather firewood at Elcho Harbour. The father went into the forest, leaving Fawn alone in the canoe. Presently four men and a woman came along. They were Wolves.

"You would make a fine meal," they said to Fawn.

When Deer returned, he asked his son, "Did you see anyone when I was away?"

"Yes," replied Fawn, "four men and one woman."

"Oh," said his father. "Did they say anything to you?"

"Yes. They wanted to eat me," replied the boy.

"They are bad people," said Deer. "They whistle through their noses which are like snouts."

*It is clear that the singers were not to address the deer by name.

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Though the Wolves were about two hundred yards distant by this time, the woman, whose hearing was very acute, heard what Deer said to his son, and told her companions he had been saying nasty things about them. So they took their canoe and returned to the place where Fawn was waiting for his father, who had gone off into the forest for another load of firewood. The Wolves killed and ate Fawn, leaving only a little of his fur in the canoe. When Deer came back and found that his son had been devoured, he was filled with grief and wanted to know who had committed the murder. So he blew his nose, ejecting some mucus into the canoe, and asked it who were the criminals. The mucus told him; whereupon he went home.

A short time afterwards, the Wolves came to visit Deer in his house. He was very angry when he saw them, but people were always stopping and he could not refuse hospitality, since they pretended to be casual peacefully. After Wolves had partaken of Deer's food they asked him to dance for them, as they had heard of his skill in that line. Deer was raging at this cool behaviour on the part of his son's murderers, so plotted revenge and sat down near the fire to think out the details. Finally he agreed to dance, but asked one of the spectators to bind mussel shells on his wrists. The Wolves beat time and applauded as Deer performed beautifully before them. Soon he changed his dance to one that sent them all to sleep, and he at once began to cut the throats of all his guests with the shells. He had killed three of them when the woman with the sensitive ears awoke, and cried out at what he was doing.

Deer fled and climbed a tree, which all deer were able to do at that distant time. In the house there chanced to be an old woman who taught songs to the novices at ceremonials; she repeated for the remaining Wolf one, which, she said, would cause Deer to fall down from his refuge. She added that he must not climb over a log or he would forget it. Wolf learnt the song and hurried off after Deer, but, disregarding the instructions in his eagerness, he climbed over a fallen trunk and at once forgot the song. Back he rushed to the house, re-learnt it, and returned, taking care to go round the end of the prostrate tree. This time he remembered and, as he sang, first one of Deer's legs fell down, followed in a short time by his whole body.

HOW PORCUPINE PROSPERED

Once upon a time, Porcupine was sitting on the bank of a river, singing to himself. He wished to cross, but was afraid to swim. Presently, Caribou came up the river bank, swinging along at a tremendous rate of speed with his long legs.

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"Why are you sitting there, singing to yourself?" Caribou asked Porcupine.

"I want to cross the river but I am afraid to swim," replied Porcupine.

"Would you like me to carry you over?" asked Caribou.

"Yes indeed! Thank you very much," said Porcupine.

Caribou seized him by the forelegs, swung him up on to his back and started to swim the river. But Porcupine was conspiring to murder his helper. In the middle of the stream he began to jump about, uneasily.

"Why are you doing that?" asked Caribou.

"Oh! Oh! Nobody has ever carried me by the forelegs before. I have always been carried by the hind legs."

"All right!" said Caribou, genially. "We will go back and start again."

They returned to the bank from which they had started, where the obliging Caribou lifted Porcupine down, and then swung him up on his back again by the hind legs.

"Oh, thank you so much," Porcupine said. "I will not be afraid any more."

This position was what Porcupine wanted, as it left his hands free. In mid-stream he began to pull out his quills and stick them into the nose of Caribou, who jumped at the sudden pain.

"What are you doing up there?" he asked.

"Nothing," replied Porcupine. "It is only my whiskers you feel."

Before they reached the further shore, Porcupine had plucked out most of his quills and stuffed them into his mouth. The unfortunate Caribou barely reached land before falling dead.

Porcupine, who had no knife to cut up such large game, sat down and began to sing:*

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
I have no knife	to use on my booty	*[illegible]*

Presently Wolverine came up the bank.

"Why are you sitting there singing?" he asked.

"It is the first time I have ever killed such a big animal," Porcupine replied, "and I have no knife fit to deal with it."

"I have a suitable knife," Wolverine eagerly made offer. "Let us share the game."

"Thank you so much," said Porcupine. "That will be fine. We can go to my house to eat it."

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*Recorded on disc VII D 476, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pelland.
*This is said to be an ejaculation in the porcupine language.

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They butchered the caribou and carried the meat up to Porcupine's house in a tree not far away.

"What a fine home you have," said Wolverine.

"Yes," Porcupine replied. "It took me a long time to build it."

Porcupine suggested that they cook the grease, and while this was being done he sent his guest to gather branches to lay over the meat. In his absence the treacherous host made a cut almost through a forked branch, from the under side, where it would not be noticed. After covering up the meat, the two began their meal. Porcupine kept pressing food on his guest who politely accepted it until he was bulging out with grease and could hold no more.

"Where is your toilet?" said Wolverine.

This was what Porcupine had been hoping for. He pointed out the forked branch as the convenience, adding:

"There is a rule here that after using it anyone must shake himself up and down."

When Wolverine had finished he shook himself as he had been told to do; the branch broke so that he fell down and was killed.

WINTER WREN AND GRIZZLY BEAR

Once upon a time, Winter Wren, who lived with his grandmother, asked her to give him some dry salmon, which he left soaking in the river over night. When he went to collect it next morning, it had vanished. The following night Winter Wren put out some more salmon, but it too disappeared before morning. This happened on several nights and he became so angry that he determined to watch. Presently, Grizzly Bear came along and gulped down the fish at a mouthful.

"You're a thief!" Winter Wren burst out angrily. "It is you who have been stealing my salmon."

Grizzly Bear, more amused than angry, replied:

"You impertinent little rascal! If I so much as sniffed you would be sucked into my stomach."

Winter Wren continued to scold Grizzly Bear in such an irritating way that he sucked him up through his nostrils, but the little bird, by no means discommoded, flew out through Grizzly Bear's anus, chattering impudently:

"Where did I get out?"

Grizzly Bear plugged up his anus and again sucked in Winter Wren. This time the little fellow took two sticks which he twirled until he had made a fire within Grizzly Bear's stomach. Then he removed the plug

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from the anus and flew away. Grizzly Bear rolled around in agony till he died. 539r

HOW MALLARD DUCK GOT HIS NAME

Mallard Duck married Merganser,[a] but soon tired of her and discarded her in favour of Red-Breasted Merganser. The incensed one began to swear at her successor, but at once Mallard Duck joined in the defence of Red-Breasted Merganser and insulted his former wife.

"*Nāx! Nāx! Nāx!*" he said as if he were vomiting, imitating what he claimed had been a common practice of Merganser. But the jibe was so often repeated that Mallard Duck received from it his own name, *Nānnx*.

THE MISFORTUNES OF JAY

Rocky Mountain Jay was a Carrier, who lived long ago, far away in the interior mountains. One summer the snow did not melt from above his house so that his only connection with the open air continued to be a small passage for smoke and breath. Summer passed and autumn came, with the ripening of the berries, but still the snow remained and Jay kept indoors, thinking it still was winter. One day a little bird brought him a sprig of ripe berries, chiding him for his lassitude and folly in staying where winter reigned, when he could come out into autumn.

"All you have to do," said the visitor, "is to get ready and force yourself through the snow."

Jay took the advice and plunged out through the drift into autumn, carrying his bow and arrows. As he looked back at his house under the snow he thought to himself how much better it was to be out in the open.

He wandered through the woods till presently he saw Black Fox asleep. He sneaked up to him, arrow poised on string ready to shoot, when he heard a voice:

"Do not shoot, Jay," it said. "Blood will spoil the fur. Build a fence round Fox with only a narrow opening in it, where you can put a snare."

The voice came from his anus. It was as if he had two minds, one located in that part of his body. Jay followed the advice and built a fence of dry branches around sleeping Fox with only a narrow opening in which he set a snare. When this was ready he built a fire to awaken Fox and frighten him into the noose; but the fence flared up so that the startled Fox was able to jump to safety over the shattered barricade. Jay was so angry that he beat his anus.

[a] The species could not be identified. The Bella Coola term is *skelists*.

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"But for your stupid advice," he said, "I should never have bothered with a fence. It is all your fault that I lost Fox."

Jay wandered on until he reached a lake on the surface of which were numerous water-fowl. Seeing them before he himself was observed, he sneaked back into the woods to formulate a plan of attack. He made a large bundle of moss with which he staggered into sight of the birds.

"Hi, Jay!" they called out. "What is the big bundle you are carrying?"

"It is something supernatural," he replied.

"Won't you let us see it?"

"All right!" Jay answered cunningly. "Let us make a house and then you can see it."

He marked out on the ground the plan of a house, complete even to the back-room, and as soon as he had finished, a building appeared on the place he had marked. Putting the bundle out of sight, within, he came to the doorway and called to the water-fowl who came trooping in. When Jay had built a blazing fire in the middle of the house to make it oppressively hot, he began to dance. He danced and he danced until one after another of his guests fell asleep; at last the only one awake was Grebe, an old woman sitting near the door, and even she dozed at intervals. Jay danced immediately in front of her till she slept soundly. Then he began to wring the necks of his guests, but when he had only half completed the circuit, Grebe awoke.

"Wake up! Wake up!" she cried out. "Jay is killing us!"

The survivors fled in haste. Jay's anus spoke again:

"Boil the birds with hot stones, but leave their legs projecting from the receptacle. Put a cover on and at intervals pull the feet. When they are cooked the flesh will fall away, and you will be able to draw out the bones alone."

Jay followed this advice and carefully covered the pot, leaving the legs sticking out. Then, weary with dancing, he went to sleep after telling his anus to wake him up should anyone enter the house. No sooner was Jay comfortably asleep than he was aroused by the voice:

"Jay! Jay! Get up," it said. "Someone is coming."

Jay jumped up hastily, but there was no one near. His mischievous anus had merely played a trick on him. He went to sleep again, but no sooner was he snoring peacefully than the warning was repeated. Again Jay got up, to no purpose, and again he returned to his slumber, muttering anathemas on his tormentor. When his anus woke him a third time he was so angry that he beat it for its pranks and once more went to sleep. Soon afterwards the water-fowl re-entered the house, but Jay's spiteful anus allowed him to sleep. The intruders took off the pot-cover, broke off the legs of the cooking birds, removed all the meat from the dish, and

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replaced it with stones. Finally they put the feet back into their original position and fastened down the lid. Before leaving, they put some morsels of meat on the teeth of Jay, who was lying with his mouth open. 539*

When the fire had died down, Jay awoke and said to his anus:

"Jay, I think the food must be ready. The fire has burnt low."

He went to the pot and grasped one leg, which came away easily; then did the same with several birds.

"Yes," he said, "the legs come away easily; the food must be ready."

But when he lifted the cover he found nothing but stones. Great was his surprise, especially since there was a taste of food in his mouth. Thoughtfully he picked his teeth.

"I must have had a meal after all," he said.

Then he felt his stomach.

"No, I can't have eaten."

Again as he picked his teeth his perplexity increased.

"I must have eaten," he muttered.

But his empty stomach drove him to the conclusion that he had not.

Deciding that his anus must have played a practical joke on him, he determined to punish it severely. He built a blazing fire, then turned his back to it and began to toast his rump. Alas! As the culprit suffered, so did Jay himself.

When he could bear the pain no longer he fled.

HERRING AND OLACHEN

Long ago, Herring had a small dorsal fin near his tail, as do olachen, trout, and salmon at the present time. At that period Olachen had no fin, but on his head a large mass of unruly hair which defied his efforts to brush it. The two agreed to trade, Olachen giving some of his grease for Herring's fin. That is why, today, Herring has no fin on his back, as Olachen has, and why the head alone of the former is greasy.

THE DEFEAT OF COLD WIND

Soon after the first people had come down to this earth, while they were still semi-human, many were killed by Cold Wind, who destroyed all the berries and green things, so that both men and animals were in dire straits for food. A meeting was held at which it was unanimously decided to attack Cold Wind, an enormous black-skinned man, living far to the north. A war-party set out but though some members of it penetrated nearly to his house, they were driven back by the severe cold. 539* 821

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On their return they asked Halibut for his help, and he agreed to join a second expedition. This set off, many thousands strong, all the men and all the animals. Warned by previous experience, they wore heavy clothing, but in spite of it, many of them froze to death as they drew near Cold Wind's house. Those that finally reached it saw their enemy lying on his back and blowing a cold current from his anus. The young and brave men rushed in and pinioned their enemy on his back before he was aware of their approach. Halibut took up his position outside the door.

"What do you mean by killing mortals?" he said. "I am going to kill you for your evil deeds."

Cold Wind suddenly exerted his strength, threw off the puny men who were trying to hold him down, and rushed out of his house. But he did not notice Halibut, who was lying down just outside, and stepped on him, so that, slipping, he fell with a crash. This time everyone seized him so securely that he could not escape.

A general cry was raised, "Kill him quickly!"

"Please don't do that," sbid Cold Wind. "I will promise to blow for only one month in the year."

"No! No! Let us kill him immediately," cried his captors.

"I'll blow only for twenty days," offered Cold Wind.

"No! He must be killed," said the warriors. "We don't want to talk."

Cold Wind, terrified, offered in succession to blow for only ten days, four days, two days, and one day, but each proposal was greeted with howls for his instant death. At last when Cold Wind offered to blow gently in the mornings of one month, his captors agreed to release him.

That is why *trinindawi*, the cold wind of the early morning, blows in March.

THE DEFEAT OF COLD WIND
(*Second Version*)

Long, long ago there was no summer and nothing grew in the land. All living creatures suffered from the perpetual ice, so they decided to attack Cold Wind who was responsible for this state of affairs. A raiding party set out, comprising all the plants, all the mammals, all the fish, all the birds, and all the men. They travelled to the north, where the cold grew so intense that the party suffered severely from it. Near Cold Wind's house, Halibut spoke to his comrades:

"I can deal with him more easily than anyone else. When he comes out of his house, make a noise to distract his attention, while I wriggle on my back towards him, to trip him up."

This plan was agreed upon. When they reached their destination, Cold Wind came running down a ladder from his house to send more frost

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and cold to destroy the reckless creatures who had dared to oppose him. 539* 821
While he was climbing down, the attackers called out, attracting his attention, so that Halibut was able to wriggle, unobserved, to a place at the bottom of the ladder. As Cold Wind trod upon him, Halibut moved, and his antagonist fell to the ground. He was seized by his enemies before he could rise to release more cold.

"What have you against me?" he asked them. "I visit you only twelve months in the year."

"That is too often," his captors replied, as they stretched him out on the ground to kill him.

"If you spare me I will visit you for nine months only," Cold Wind made offer.

Again he was told that was too much, and he must be killed. Cold Wind, terrified, proposed coming for shorter and shorter periods, six months, four months, two months, and finally for a single month, but each offer was refused, and followed by threats of instant death. At length the captors accepted his agreement to come only in the early morning.

That is why, to this day, the cold wind comes only in the early morning.

Snuneq Stories

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Of the supernatural animals which the Bella Coola believe inhabit the wild glens and mountains of British Columbia, that which figures most prominently in their mythology is the *snuneq*. There are four slightly different varieties of this monster. The most common is regarded as being about the size of a large grizzly bear, but with long front legs and short hind ones, on which it can run in upright position when it so desires. Its legs terminate in large talons resembling those of an eagle, with the thumb set opposite to the fingers; its pelt, long and fleecy, is of a grayish-blue colour. The monster is able to roll its eye-balls completely over, and, when the reverse side is exposed, there shoot forth dazzling beams of light which strike senseless anyone on whom they fall. It uses its eyes for hunting. The most peculiar feature of the *snuneq*, however, is that it carries on its back a basket provided with spikes inclined inwards and downwards at such an angle that any living creature thrust within is unable to escape. The basket

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538 776 can be removed at will, and the Bella Coola relate how, long ago, the inhabitants of a village captured one of these. Cruelly, they placed it at the top of a lofty tree, then carefully smoothed off the bark to make climbing virtually impossible. The unfortunate *snnuq* tried repeatedly to scale the tree, amid the mockings of its human tormentors; at last it succeeded in doing so, whereupon it dashed off, happily, with its basket.

Less dangerous than the *snnuq* is the creature known as *po·qwais*, differing only from the true *snnuq* in having a band of white through its eyes. A third variety, *snnuqos wa swndas*, the mountain *snnuq*, remains perpetually above the line of vegetation. Little is known of it.

The most dangerous is a true *snnuq* with the genital organs of a woman on its forehead. This creature is able to reverse the course of streams, to cause light snow to fall, and even to raise up mountains when pursued. A hunter meeting one of these monsters is in deadly danger unless he calls it by its name, *splix*, female genitalia. So doing will cause the animal to lose its power and grovel and writhe impotently on the ground.

Like all other supernatural animals, the *snnuq* is believed to have only recently quitted the vicinity of Bella Coola, on account, so it is said, of the noise made by the rifles of the white man. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of the animals, though several state that they have heard them not many years ago. It is assumed that the *snnuq* has migrated to some less populated area, probably to the region north of Dean Channel and east of Frederick Island.

The following stories, which are among the most popular in Bella Coola, illustrate the characteristics of the *snnuq*.

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THE GRAVE ROBBER[44]

Long, long ago, there was a large Bella Coola town[45] on the White-

[44]For another version of this story see Boas, p. 86.
[45]Other informants stated that the village was *Stmx*.

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water* River, a short distance above its junction with the Bella Coola. The soil in the vicinity was of clay, supporting a heavy, but not dense forest growth. At that period it was the custom of the Bella Coola to cover a corpse with skins and place it in a crouching position in a box, which was lashed with sinews and suspended from a tree. The inhabitants of this town became worried when, on the morning after a funeral, the coffin would be found on the ground with the lashings cut, and the body removed. The son of a commoner suggested to a friend, the son of a chief, that they try to solve the mystery. It was thought that a sorcerer must be robbing the coffins, so the two planned that the young commoner should be placed in one alive, and hung from a tree, with full funeral rites, while his comrade watched from ambush. This plan was carried out. The place of disposal for the dead was some distance from the town, but connected with it by a well-cleared straight trail. The son of the chief lay concealed in the bushes, and the townspeople provided themselves with resinous sticks for torches, in case their assistance should be needed in dealing with the malefactor.

The boy in the coffin kept watch, and presently he saw approaching, not a sorcerer, as expected, but a *sninq*. The creature leaped for the box, ripped its lashing, and pulled it to the ground, where he hauled out the supposed corpse. The *sninq* stuffed the boy into a basket carried on his back supported by a tump-line round his forehead; it was provided with spikes, projecting inward and downward to prevent the escape of anyone within. The boy continued to feign death, while his friend roused the town. A good trail led along the Whitewater for about twenty miles, and over this the *sninq* travelled at a tremendous speed, ability to move rapidly being a characteristic of these animals. Across the trail lay two windfalls which had never been cleared away because they were at such a height that a man could pass under them. The boy knew of these fallen trees and planned to grip the first in passing, hoping that the animal would be unable to turn round to get at the basket, and, therefore, would be pinioned. He did this, and hung on as long as possible against the straining of the *sninq*, but at last was forced to emit wind through his rectum and release his hold. The animal thought the pannier had been caught in the tree-fall till he heard the sound made by the boy and grew suspicious. He took off the basket, removed his prey, and laid his hand over his heart, but the lad held his breath long enough to deceive the *sninq*. The youth made another attempt to escape at the next fallen tree, but again he was forced to give up and emit wind. This time the *sninq* was still more suspicious, but again the boy succeeded in holding his breath for a very long time and escaped detection.

They had now reached the base of Mount *Tsodx*, which was ascended

*The Atnarko.

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*539 in a diagonal direction until *smmq*'s home was reached, an underground house entered by a hole in the roof which also served as a chimney. The boy was carried in and thrown down at the base of one of the walls, where he lay as if dead though taking stock of his surroundings through half-closed eyes. A double-ended stone knife hung near the doorway, while on the walls were numerous articles that had been placed in coffins, such as skins and tools. A female *smmq* and two young ones were in the house and one of them took the lad's cloak, leaving him naked. The two youngsters began to play with his testicles, and asked their parent if they might have them for earrings.

"No," the father said. "This is no ordinary corpse. I am going to make earrings for your mother from the testicles."

Meanwhile the female was cooking a meal of human flesh. Glancing about the walls, the boy saw numerous corpses, or parts of them, hanging up like salmon; they were bodies which had been taken from coffins.

After eating, the male *smmq* sharpened his knife and prepared to skin the boy. He seized his chin and raised his head, so that he could blow on his throat to clear the hair away for a free passage for the knife—as the Bella Coola do when skinning animals—and made a vertical incision in the neck and chest. The victim had waited for this, in order that he might have proof of his adventure when he returned home. He uttered a low hoot, such as is made by supernatural beings, and the *smmq* drew back in surprise. Whereupon the boy hurled a brand from the fire at the other animals, seized the hanging knife, and fled. When he reached the base of the mountain he found that the *smmq* was pursuing him, without the basket. The animal tried to fascinate and intimidate him by emitting flashing beams from his eyes, but without success, for the lad had now supernatural power. The *smmq* was gaining on him when he reached the Whitewater, but he dived, swam under water, and emerged safely on the other side. The animal lost time in searching the river bottom, but when at last he saw the boy on the other bank he plunged rapidly down the river-bed in pursuit. The lad again escaped by swimming to the other shore, and in this manner the chase continued down the valley, the youth crossing and recrossing the river whenever the *smmq* came close to him. Meanwhile his comrade had remained watching the trail near the village. When he saw a solitary figure approach, he sent word to the town that one of the search party, sent out after his friend, was returning. But all of them had already come back, so they knew it must be the hero himself, and all the villagers turned out to greet him. When the still pursuing *smmq* saw so large a number of people he returned up the valley.

The boy related his experiences, and in proof of his veracity showed the wound on his throat and chest. He suggested that it would be an easy

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and a profitable task to kill all four *snuuq*. The village chiefs decided to take action. They sent word to the other Bella Coola villages, asking for aid, and requesting that those disposed to give it should bring with them soiled clothing, cedar-bark cloths used by women in menses, and resinous sticks for torches. 539*

Several months elapsed before a sufficient number of pads was collected as these are usually destroyed, but at last the members of the expedition met at *Stuie* and set out under the guidance of the boy. When the base of the mountain was reached, he pointed out the smoke rising from the *snuuq*'s house, but not one of them could see it. Half way up the slope he again indicated the spot, but again it was invisible to all except himself. The *snuuq* heard the approach and came to the door of his house, but the lad alone could see him. The animal flashed the power from his eyes at the party, and all but the boy fell down, senseless; after a time they recovered and continued their course, but again the *snuuq* stunned them with his eyes, though this time the effect lasted for a shorter period. Alternate stupefaction and advance went on until the people were close to the cave of the *snuuq*, who by this time could no longer affect them for the boy had transmitted to his companions his own power, before which the animal was helpless. They were now at the house, though the youth alone could see it. Under his direction, the soiled clothing and other articles were tied to resinous sticks and thrown as he indicated. The male *snuuq* kept tossing these back, but though the villagers saw their missiles returned, and used them again, they could not see the thrower. After a time they heard a sound of choking. It was the death agony of the young *snuuq*. They continued to hurl the burning weapons, and another gurgling marked the death of the female; a final choking ultimately proclaimed the death of the male. When all the noise had ceased, the boy opened the door and saw all four animals lying dead. Some of the attackers recognized objects on the walls which they themselves had placed in the coffins of friends or relatives; this loot was taken back to the village, for return to all claimants. The four *snuuq* were skinned and their wavy pelts long continued to be a source of pride to the village.

THE GRAVE ROBBER

(*Second Version*)

Once, long ago, a number of boys and girls, with a few adults, went on a picnic to a pleasant, open stretch of country, not far from Kimsquit. They played for a time, had a meal of the food which they had brought with them, and then began to tell stories about what happened to the dead. An argument arose, and a brave young man offered to settle it by pre-

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*539 tending to die, and allowing himself to be buried, so that he could tell by personal experience the fate of a corpse. Some of the party tried to dissuade him, others encouraged him, and finally all agreed to help him. Soon afterwards he fell down, as if suddenly stricken. The men wept and the women wailed as if a real death had taken place; then they carried the "corpse" a short distance from the scene of the "death" and buried it, taking care to insert a hollow reed from his mouth to the surface of the ground, so that the young man could breathe. After weeping over the grave in a realistic manner, the people returned to Kimsquit, leaving one young man concealed up a tree to watch the place of burial.

It was in the early afternoon that all this had taken place. Nothing approached the grave until dusk, when the hidden youth saw what he took to be a black bear drew near. The animal sank into the ground without effort, as one would sink in water, and emerged as a man, clad in a bear skin and carrying the buried youth over his shoulder, slung by the legs. Then the watcher knew that the creature carrying off his friend was a *snuuq*. The animal trotted away towards his home with the youth who had been buried, and the latter took advantage of an over-hanging tree to clutch a branch with his hands and hang on. The *snuuq* tugged, but the youth held on until the animal dropped his burden. Then the young man at once relaxed his grip, as he still wished to simulate death. The *snuuq* concluded that a branch had caught his quarry, so picked up the boy from the ground again and started off. A second time the lad gripped a branch, but as he was straining at it he was obliged to pass wind. The *snuuq* heard the noise and became suspicious, but the boy held his breath, and though the animal felt his heart he was deceived into thinking him dead. A third time he seized a branch, and again was forced to emit wind, but, as before, he held his breath for a very long time and the animal was again deceived. Meanwhile, the hidden watcher, having marked the animal's course as long as possible, returned to Kimsquit and told what had happened. Some of the people did not believe his tale, and went to dig up the grave, from which they found that the "corpse" had vanished. This time they wept in earnest and then returned home.

The *snuuq* carried the youth to his home in the mountains, a house shaped like an ordinary one, where he lived with his wife and children. He threw the boy on the floor and the *snuuq* youngsters spread his legs apart and began to play with his testicles, saying to their father:

"Please give us those funny things for earrings."

The *snuuq* refused, and said to them:

"Stop that, you brats! I am going to give them to your mother for earrings. It is the first time that I have caught such an animal."

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After eating a meal, the *sminiq* prepared to skin the boy, as a hunter removes an animal's pelt. He placed him on his back on the ground and blew on the youth's chest to separate the hair and facilitate a clean incision. When his skin had been cut vertically, from throat to stomach, the youth jumped up and cried out loudly. The *sminiq* and family fell over as if dead; the sudden shock had expelled their spirits. The youth grabbed a spear and fled down the mountain. He had nearly reached its base when a burst of light, almost equal to that of the sun in intensit y, came from the *sminiq*, and stunned the youth. After a time he recovered and continued his flight; this time he got almost as far as the bank of the river in the valley, when he was again stricken by the beam of radiance. Once more recovering, the lad fled down the river's edge, with the *sminiq* pounding along after him. When the animal had almost captured him, he dived into the river and swam to the other bank, down which he continued his flight. After a little delay, the *sminiq* likewise crossed the river and took up the chase, but again his quarry swam across. Thus the pursuit was continued with crossings and re-crossings of the stream until the village was approached, when the *sminiq* abandoned his efforts to recapture the youth and returned home.

The boy got back to the village without further adventures. After describing his experiences, he asked the people to join him in an attack upon the *sminiq*, adding that the weapons which could prevail against him would be cloths stained with menstrual fluid, or with the blood which follows the delivery of a child. The people agreed to join in the expedition, and for about two months carefully saved all such stained cloths, instead of immediately hiding them. When they had collected sufficient they set out for the *sminiq*'s house. Arriving near the spot, they built a fire, tied the cloths to long sticks and set them alight, then advanced four at a time, and cast the flaming brands into the house. The *sminiq* used his power to strike down the first group, but another took its place from the column of fours. Soon the first four revived and posted themselves in the rear, as did each group on recovering consciousness. Thus the assailants maintained their strength and the siege continued for a considerable period, until the interior of the house was steeped in poison, which at last killed the occupants. Then the attackers entered and carried away as spoil the goods which the *sminiq* had looted from coffins.

THE VANITY OF *Sminiq*[47]

Long, long ago a number of the young people of Kwatna went up the river to *Nuliliqaltnk* to get hump-back salmon which abounded there.

[47]For another version of this story see Boas, p. 83.

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*539 The fish were so plentiful that the expedition was really in the nature of a picnic. They had built a huge fire in which they had thrown stones for boiling some of the salmon, when one of the lads, who was sitting on a log somewhat apart from the others, called the attention of his comrades to something that he saw coming down the mountain. The boy, whose name was '*O-ł*', was a cripple and also had a split lip which made his speech difficult to understand. Whether his companions failed to comprehend him, or whether he saw something invisible to them, is not known. At any rate they saw nothing.

"All you see is your split lip," they said.

'*O-ł*' could now see a *snuuq* rapidly approaching, but his companions paid no heed to his frantic warnings. The dreaded creature dashed into the camp, caught one after another, until he had stuffed all of the party into his basket. There was wild wailing and weeping. '*O-ł*' alone had retained sufficient presence of mind to keep the knife with which he had been splitting salmon, and with this he slit the bottom of the basket so that one captive after another could drop out without the *snuuq* being aware of his loss. Each one shed his or her blanket so as to slip out more easily, and these coverings in time formed a false bottom, so that a little girl who had last been caught and, therefore, was at the top of the basket, could not escape. The *snuuq* was very angry to find on reaching home that this one child was his only prey.

When the children returned to Kwatna and told what had happened there was grief and consternation. The little girl carried off was an only child and her parents were almost overcome by sorrow; every day the bereaved mother used to go behind her house to weep, crying until she finally sobbed herself to sleep. One day as she was crying, she happened to notice some of the mucus which she had blown from her nose on to the ground, and saw, to her utter amazement, that a head appeared to be forming in it. As she watched, the mucus gradually grew into a boy which she picked up and carried home, delighted beyond measure. The infant was a supernatural being. By the next morning it had grown miraculously, and this phenomenal growth continued for four days; by that time the child had the strength and ability of a well-grown youth; he was also very handsome.

On the fourth day the youth asked his father, as he called the husband of the woman from whose mucus he had been formed, to get him a bow and arrows, and a fish-spear. Thus armed, he set off up the river and finally sat down on a fallen log that projected at an angle over the stream. In a little while the *snuuq* came along and greatly desired him on account of his wonderful beauty. The youth showed no fear, but as the creature rushed at him merely used his own supernatural power to vanish, appear-

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ing again a moment later in a different position. Finally the *sɛmɛq* saw the youth's reflection in the water and was deceived into diving after it. When he came to the surface, after catching nothing, and again saw the reflection, the stupid monster concluded that he must have been mistaken, and that the image which he saw could be no other than his own, that he was more handsome than he dared to believe. What he especially admired was a pair of abalone-shell earrings which the youth always wore.[10] The amused youth, sitting immediately above the creature, determined to continue the game. When the *sɛmɛq* moved his head sideways, the boy did the same; when he moved it up and down, so did the boy; when he scratched his brow, the lad did likewise. The *sɛmɛq* was completely baffled. At last this became monotonous, so the youth called out to the monster. With a crash the animal's dreams of his own charms vanished and he was filled with grief and envy.

"Oh! I wish I were as beautiful as you are," he called out. "If you know what your mother did to make you so handsome, won't you please do the same for me?"

"Are you brave enough?" asked the boy.

"Yes, yes," eagerly replied the *sɛmɛq*. "I would do anything to have your beauty."

"All right then," replied the youth, "but remember my parents took drastic steps to obtain me my beauty. You are sure you are brave enough?"

"Yes," said the monster, firmly.

"All right then," continued the boy. "My father placed a heavy stone on my forehead, let's go and find one."

They went up the stream together until they found a fine smooth stone about three feet long. The boy told the *sɛmɛq* to lie down on his back, and, when the animal had done so, he placed the stone on his forehead.

"Oh! oh!" cried *sɛmɛq*, "I am frightened, it is too heavy, please stop."

"I did not cry like a baby when my father put such a stone on my head to make me beautiful," said the boy. "Keep quiet!"

"All right," cried the troubled animal, who was thoroughly frightened, yet at the same time desirous of obtaining beauty. "I want to be lovely, go ahead! I'll be brave."

When the boy replaced the stone on the *sɛmɛq*'s head the latter began to wail more loudly than before. The youth grew angry.

"If you don't lie still," he said, "you will come to harm."

In his fear the *sɛmɛq* had risen to a sitting position, but when he again lay down the youth decided it was time to act. Taking the stone in both

[10] Why the *sɛmɛq* did not realize that he was not the wearer of such is a point the story does not elucidate.

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hands he crashed it down on *snuuq*'s head, crushing it to a pulp so that the brains ran out over the stones. The animal died instantly. The boy built a fire over the carcass, reducing it to ashes which he blew in all directions, saying as he did so:

"Henceforth you shall be mosquitoes."

That is why there are mosquitoes in all parts of the land today.

Thanks to his supernatural vision the youth could see *snuuq*'s house. He went there at once to rescue the little girl, whom he restored to her mother amid great rejoicing.

The next day the supernatural youth asked the little girl to accompany him a short distance up the river. At a spot where eagles were plentiful he made a small shelter in which he placed the down of several of the birds which he killed, then, towards dusk, the two returned home. Every day they did this until a large pile of eagle down had been collected. Then the supernatural one said to the little girl:

"I must go back to my own home tomorrow. My father sent me down to your mother because he saw how disconsolate she was at your loss. Now that you are home I have done my work. You must not mourn for me, nor let your mother do so."

They returned home that night as usual and the following morning the supernatural one told his "mother" that he was going to leave that day. With the little girl he went as usual to the shelter containing the eagle down.

"Soon I shall bury myself under the down," he said to her. "Then I want you to take a stick and beat lightly on it. Keep on beating for a long time. I shall become eagle down, and presently you will see a rather large tuft work its way up to the top of the pile. That will be I. Take me and throw me up in the air. I will slowly drift upwards in circles. You can watch me until I disappear, then you must go home."

The little girl faithfully obeyed orders. It was a very long time before she saw a rather large tuft of down come to the surface, but when she threw it into the air it at once floated upwards. She watched it until it vanished, then went home weeping at the loss of her supernatural rescuer whom she had come to regard as a brother. Her parents, although themselves filled with grief, comforted her by reminding her that he had left according to his own free will.

THE WORK OF *SNUUQ*[*]

Above Canoe Crossing there was long ago a village at a point where two creeks enter the Bella Coola River, one from either side. The people of the place lived in underground houses facing the stream. One night a

[*] For similar stories see Boas, pp. 64 and 87.

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newly-born child was crying in one of the houses and, as the mother was feeding it, she saw by the light of her small fire a *snung*, with a white patch on his throat, looking into the house through the doorway-flue. There was always trouble at this place, so the people used to sleep with their weapons beside them. The woman cautiously awoke her husband, who reached for his bow, and shot an obsidian-pointed arrow into the white spot on the beast's breast. With a roar the *snung* vanished from the opening. The man was afraid to investigate that night, but he and his family built up a roaring fire as a protection. Next morning with his friends he made a careful search, but nothing was to be found, even the arrow had disappeared.

Near *Nuxqalst*, there was a large stone on the bank of the river which served as a landmark. A few days after the visit of the *snung*, a female of the species took up her position on this stone, where she groaned incessantly. No one had the courage to pass the place in a canoe. The son of a *Stuu* chief, however, wanted to investigate the animal, and he asked a fellow-villager, a young commoner, to accompany him. The latter was unwilling to do so, but he was under obligation to the chief's son, who pointed out that any evil results would fall upon himself, as leader of the expedition; so finally the commoner agreed to go.

They set off secretly in a canoe, with the chief's son as captain in the stern; when near the rock he reversed the craft so that the aft end grounded against it. The captain had confidence in his supernatural power, but for safety he seated himself on the rock with his feet in the canoe, so that if the *snung* made a hostile movement he would be able to push off and thus give his comrade a chance to escape. The *snung* continued to groan so dolorously that the boy was touched and soon he and the animal were weeping together. The *snung* told her sad story: how she had lost both her basket and her child, the animal shot at the entrance to the underground house. The parent was lonely and had taken up her position on the rock in order to tell her story to some brave man, but was disgusted at the cowardice of most people, who avoided her. She drew out a copper on which she had been sitting, and gave this to the boy, saying it had belonged to the dead child.

"If you go to my cave on Mount *Mi'ub*," she added, "you will find many more of the same which I have obtained from the coffins of the dead."

Having gained a hearing of her woes, the animal left, saying that she was going to *Naas*, an indefinite spot in the far east. The young man went to the animal's house, invisible to anyone else, and there took possession of many coppers. Later on, the body of the slain *snung* was found about six miles above the village. The corpse had brought a blight to the

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*539 countryside; the vegetation looked as if salt had been placed on the soil, while bones lay about as if the place were an old battlefield, not of the *snuneq* alone but also of those of many other animals killed by eating the poisonous flesh.

The neighbourhood is still considered barren and, as recently as about 1870, no one would settle there.

THE LITTLE GIRL WHO WAS KIDNAPPED[10]

Long, long ago there was a little girl who used to cry a great deal. One night her weeping disturbed the whole household and her father sent her to bed.

"You had better keep quiet or a *snuneq* will get you," he said angrily.

After a time all the people in the house went to bed, leaving the girl still crying in the main room of the house. Soon she heard a voice she thought was her grandmother's.

"Come out to your grandmother, my dear," it said, "and have a feast of goat's grease."

The girl slipped outside and the voice told her to come a little farther on. When she did so she was seized by a female *snuneq*, for it was one of those creatures that had imitated her grandmother's voice. As the animal thrust her into her basket, the girl cried out that she was being carried off by a *snuneq*, and the people in the house heard her. They called to her to clutch a passing tree, which she did, but the *snuneq* cut it through with a single blow of her knife-edged leg. The girl was carried a long distance up the mountain and across a chasm bridged by a fallen log, at the other end of which was the *snuneq*'s cave. The girl saw that it was full of coppers taken from coffins, as well as other kinds of goods and food that had been placed beside the dead. In one corner sat an old woman from whose body grew roots extending far down into the ground, effectively anchoring her to the spot. This woman told the girl not to eat anything the *snuneq* might give her, as roots would grow from her too if she did; instead she gave her a small bag in which to conceal food she must only pretend to eat.

"I am going out to get a sister for you," said the *snuneq*.

As soon as she had gone the old woman told the girl to put on her fingers a pair of mountain goat horns which were in the house; and when the *snuneq* came back to stand, opening and closing the fingers at her, as she tried to cross the bridge, saying at the same time, "*sapplizpéma*."[11] Soon they heard the *snuneq* returning. The animal gained the bridge, but was unable to advance or retire in the face of the girl, who opened and

[10] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 88.
[11] The meaning of this phrase is: "Open your eyes, mother."

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closed her fingers with the goat's horns upon them and kept repeating the word, "*xaqkxqstma*."

"Look out! Look out! You will hurt your grandmother," the animal cried out in fear.

But the girl continued until the *xwuq* fell from the log down into the chasm. Then the old woman said to her:

"Take that rope from the wall and I will lower you down to the dead *xwuq*. You must cut off the breasts; when you have done it, shake the rope and I will haul you up again. But be quick, for the young *xwuq* are out hunting and will shortly return."

The young girl was lowered down and cut off the flesh as she had been told to do. When she was drawn up again, she cooked it in grease. In a little while the young *xwuq*, who were wolves, came in and stared at the stranger, but the old woman explained:

"This is the new sister your mother has brought you. She has gone out again after another one."

They sat down to the food which had been prepared for them, but as soon as the eldest brother had tasted it he said:

"Taste it! Taste it! It is like our mother's breasts."

They all partook of the food and fell down dead. Following the old woman's instructions, the girl threw the carcasses down into the gorge.

Next she was told to fill a box with grease and food. She did so, making a handle of the rope with which she tied it. Then the old woman said to her:

"Give me a bundle of mountain goat fur."

This she began to roll out on her thigh into cord.

"Now," she said, "When you descend the mountain, take with you one end of this cord, or else you will never be able to find your way back. As you go on I will lengthen the cord to keep up with you."

The girl did this, and reached her home in the evening. She rubbed herself against the wall of the house, and the mother sent out her youngest child to ascertain the cause of the noise. The little one quickly returned.

"It is my sister who was carried off by the *xwuq*," she called out.

The mother considered this impossible and scolded the child for telling a lie. She then sent out another of her children but when this one returned with the same story, the mother rushed out and welcomed her daughter with great rejoicing. They went within and the girl asked her father to bring in the box she had been carrying. He tried to do so but could not lift it, even with the help of some of his friends.

"That is funny," said his daughter. "I carried it with one hand."

She brought it in without any trouble and took from the one box food enough to fill half the house. Having obtained the *xwuq*'s carrying

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powers, she had not noticed the weight. A feast ensued, and next day all set out with the girl to the *snung*'s house, following the rope as guide. They were astounded at the wealth they secured, but when they tried to release the old woman by cutting the roots, milk gushed out and she died.

THE LITTLE GIRL WHO WAS KIDNAPPED

(*Second Version*)

Once upon a time, not long after the people had come to this earth, a small girl, about ten years of age, cried and cried incessantly. Her mother grew tired and at length made no effort to comfort the child, but callously went about her work, at last going to bed with the other members of the household. Soon a female *snung* came to the outside wall of the house, applied her mouth to a knot-hole, and said to the little girl, in the voice of her father's mother:

"Come with me and I will give you some delicious mountain goat grease, and flesh from the stomach of a spring salmon."

The little girl stopped crying, and prepared to go to her grandmother's house. The *snung* blew on the knot-hole so that it enlarged sufficiently for the little one to pass through, and as soon as she had done so the monster seized her and thrust her into her basket.

"A *snung* has got me!" the terrified child shrieked.

This roused the household. The young men took brands from the fire and set out in pursuit of the kidnapper, guided by the crying of the girl in the basket. The *snung* travelled fast, sometimes diving under the earth in her efforts to out-distance the pursuers. For a long time the men were able to follow, but at length had to give up the chase, baffled. The mother was heart-broken, blaming herself for the child's loss, because *snung* have good ears and make a practice of stealing those whom from afar they hear crying.

The *snung* carried the little girl to her home, a cave in the precipitous wall of a canyon, approached by a single tree-trunk as bridge, put her inside and then went off hunting. As the child stood weeping bitterly, she saw in the corner an old woman who was fastened to the ground by roots which had grown from her rectum. This poor creature told the girl that the *snung* had captured her years before and had gained complete power over her because she had eaten some of the human flesh her captor gave her. Looking around, the child saw corpses hanging on one side of the cave, goat meat on the other. The old woman bade the girl eat some of the latter, for it was good. She would then be able to tell the *snung* on her return that she had eaten, and could thus escape making a meal of human flesh. She further added that the *snung* had forgotten her gloves,

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from which radiated flashing light, and would be certain to come back for them shortly. She suggested a way by which the child could kill her captor. 539*

"Put on the gloves," she said, "and stand in the doorway, opening and closing your hands in the *snuuq*'s face as she returns across the chasm."

The little girl eagerly obeyed, put on the gloves and awaited the *snuuq*'s return. Soon she saw her coming, and as she was half-way across the bridge the child began to open and close her hands, so that the flashing light struck the monster in the face. She also sang, as the old woman had bidden her:

"*Sanqtsqtsma*." "Open your eyes, mother!"

The *snuuq* grew terrified.

"Stop! Stop! I shall fall," she cried out.

But the girl continued until the brute fell from the log into the chasm and was killed. Then the old woman said to the girl:

"Take one end of this long rope and climb down the chasm, while I hold the other. Cut off the *snuuq*'s breasts and I will haul you up again."

The girl did as she was told. She found the corpse of the *snuuq* and cut off the breasts; then the old woman drew her up by the rope, and said:

"The *snuuq*'s four children, who are wolves, are away hunting at present, but they will soon return. You must hurry to cook their mother's breasts for them so that they will eat and die."

The girl had just finished cooking when the four wolves came in, laden with their spoil of mountain goat. The girl gave them the meal which she had prepared, and at the first mouthful, the eldest said to the others:

"This is queer meat. It tastes like our mother's breasts."

The others hastened to sample the food and agreed with him. They all fell dead. At the old woman's bidding the little girl threw the four corpses over the brink of the chasm.

"You had better go home now," the old woman said to her. "Be sure to keep hold of one end of this rope, made of mountain goat hair, which I will spin out as you travel, otherwise you will never be able to return. When you reach your home, tie the cord to a tree before you go into your house. Tell your friends what you have seen and done, and they can all come here, using the rope as a guide."

So the little girl set out for home, taking one end of the rope with her, while the old woman kept spinning out at the other end, singing as she did so,

"Make yourself long by your efforts, wool."

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It was a long journey home, perhaps twelve miles, but the little girl carefully carried one end of the rope, nor did she forget to tie it to a tree before she entered the house. When she had told of her amazing adventures, great was the delight of her parents at her escape from such a perilous predicament. She told of the old woman rooted to the ground, and gave her name, well-known as that of a woman who had mysteriously disappeared one night many years previously, whose fate had never been discovered. The girl told also of the wealth on the walls of the *snuq'*s house, valuables robbed from the coffins of the dead, and how the old woman had bade her bring her friends to carry away the loot.

Next morning the entire population of the village set out on the quest, led by the little girl, who carefully watched the rope to guide her back to her destination. After travelling about twelve miles they came to the canyon.

"We are almost there," she said. "I can see the opening into the cave."

No one else could distinguish it so the villagers went closer, but still it remained invisible to all except the girl herself. She rubbed her hands over the eyes of about a dozen men and at once they were able to see the mouth of the cave. With these men she entered and found nothing altered since the preceding day. The place was packed to the roof with all sorts of treasure, including a countless number of mountain goat skins, highly prized for their wool. The men took down the valuables and divided them equally among all who had taken part in the expedition. A more difficult task was to free the old woman. First they tried to pull her up, but the roots were as firm as if a part of the mountain itself. At her request, given the day before to the little girl, they had brought an axe and when all else failed they cut her roots. When the last was severed, however, her life went too for it extended down into them. So the party went home without her.

Two other versions of this story were collected; they resemble the accounts here given so closely that publication seems unnecessary.

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Supernatural Stories

In this section are grouped a number of miscellaneous accounts, describing the adventures of supernaturally endowed individuals, and of those who came in contact with supernatural beings but received no special boon. These are of

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many kinds, some of which verge on the tales of shamans already given. Like all others in this chapter, the following stories have no social significance and can be related by anyone. 538

THE WRONGED WOMAN

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Long, long ago, the sister of *Kina'o·* married a foreign chief with whom she went home to live. Her husband used to beat her and treat her so abominably that she kept asking him to allow her to return; finally he consented, and she set off gladly with him in his canoe. About half-way to the destination, the husband landed and asked his wife to climb with him to the top of a very tall tree. This she did, nor did she become suspicious when he sharpened the extreme tip of the trunk. Suddenly, he seized her, and thrust her down on to the point which pierced into the lower part of her body, pinning her to the tree-top. The evil husband then returned home.

The captive did not die immediately. From the tree-top she could see canoes passing, and kept calling out for help, but no one heard her. At last her brother *Kina'o·* went by, *en route* to his sister's home with a present of food. Not knowing who he was, she cried out as she had done before; he recognized her voice, landed, but at first could not see her, and was filled with amazement to discover her pinned up the tree. Up he climbed to lift her off, but as he did so, she died.

Kina'o· determined to have his revenge. He clothed himself in his sister's cape, hat, and blanket, in order to resemble her; this was an easy matter as the two looked alike. Thus attired, he continued his way to his brother-in-law's village, which he entered, leaning heavily on a stick as if he had received an injury to the lower part of his body. He said nothing, but *Sumtus*, his sister's husband's mother, saw him and mistook him for her daughter-in-law.

"You have been beating your wife again," she said to her son. "Look how she is limping."

He did not answer, being amazed to see her alive.

Kina'o· lay down as if sick while *Sumtus* prepared for her a dish of putrid salmon roe and bracken roots. When this was ready, the old woman sent one of her daughters to summon the supposed daughter-in-law who sat down near the fire and ate with bent head. The daughter noticed the great size of the eater's arms and legs and commented upon this to her mother.

"Hush!" answered the latter. "Don't be rude."

When *Kina'o·* had finished eating he went back to bed and then the

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*539 old woman saw that there was blood where he had been sitting. She pointed this out to her son.

"See what you have done to your wife," she said. "Look at the blood."

The husband was puzzled, but concluded that in some manner his wife had escaped so there was nothing more to be done about the matter.

Presently he went to bed and began to fondle *Kina'o·*, believing all the time that it was his wife.

"Don't touch me," *Kina'o·* said. "I am in too much pain."

He desisted and went to sleep. Then *Kina'o·* got up, cut off the head of his brother-in-law and fled away with it. Only the murdered man's sister saw him and cried out that she had known all evening that it was a man. Relatives of the victim followed, but *Kina'o·* eluded them, finally returning home with the corpse of his sister and the head of her husband.

The kinsmen of the murdered man determined on revenge. Several months later, they despatched a war-party which sacked *Kina'o·*'s village, killing him and all his people except one girl whom they carried off as a slave. After living in bondage for several months, she became pregnant. In due course she went alone to the woods and delivered herself without assistance; the child was a boy. The mother knew that, if his sex were known, he would be killed through fear that if allowed to grow up he would avenge his mother's wrongs;[42] so she bound up her son's penis in a curve to resemble the organs of a girl. On returning to the village, she was asked if the child were a daughter, and she replied that it was. Several women looked at the infant, but none of them noticed the deception, nor did they observe it on future occasions when they helped the mother wash her child.

The woman had determined that her son should slay those who had enslaved her. Accordingly, she used to wash him in the river at dawn.

"Be bold," she would say as she did so. "You must revenge yourself on those who have wronged your mother."

Thanks to this washing, the boy gained so much strength that, when about ten or twelve years of age, he obtained supernatural power from *ssiutl*. One day he found some excuse to send his mother and her friends out of the village, then used his *ssiutl* ability to cause a landslide from a precipitous mountain behind the town. All the houses were swept away and every inhabitant killed except those whom he had sent away. Thus did he revenge his mother.

[42] No Bella Coola had ever heard of the killing of a slave's son at birth to prevent danger to his mother's owners. It is assumed that this may have occurred in the distant past.

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This story has been handed down for so many generations that the boy's own name has been forgotten. He is always spoken of as *Ālko·sxp*, "He of the Tied-Up Penis." 539*

THE FERN GATHERERS

One autumn, just before the fall of the snow, a number of girls, with one boy companion, went off into the woods to gather ferns, as is customary at that season of the year. They ascended a side valley and camped beside the stream which flowed through it. By nightfall they had collected a large basketful of the ferns and were ready to rest. A fire was built, on one side of which the girls sat, with the boy on the other. Presently he began to sing, beating his own accompaniment:

"Rise, rise, you stream, and carry away their ferns," was his song.

The girls asked him to stop; at last he did so, but it began to rain. It rained and it rained until the creek rose so that a branch of it swept through their camp, destroying the fern and separating them from the boy. They wished to join him as it was on his side of the now impassable torrent that the trail back to the village was situated. The lad was equal to the emergency. Seizing his penis, he pulled it out to great length, and threw one end across to act as a bridge. It was not quite long enough, but one of the girls rushed into the roaring stream and hauled the end to shore. She was a trifle embarrassed as she did so, and walked with mincing steps. All the girls crossed the stream on this bridge and so were able to return to their village. As a result, the boy received the name, *Tcl'laiyu*.

THE MAD WOMAN

One April, not a great many years ago, nine men, in three canoes, went to fish for steel-head salmon in the Bella Coola River, near Hagenburg. A crazy woman followed them, crying out, making objectionable remarks, and annoying them, as she had done other fishermen on previous occasions. So intent was she on chasing these men, that, when necessary, she swam the river to keep in touch with them. Finally they decided to wait for her and kill her. Choosing a place where the rapids were bad, they stopped, caught the lunatic, and threw her into the whirlpool.

As idly they watched the river, to their amazement the woman appeared in the quiet water, a long way downstream, below the rapids, and swam ashore. They heard her say to a near-by mountain:

"See what they have done to me. Come!"

In response to her command the whole snow-cap of the mountain plunged down the valley in a vast slide, blocking the river, and killing the

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*539 mad woman, as well as eight of her attempted slayers. She must have had some evil power, but no one knows what it was. All insane people are somewhat uncanny and are interfered with no more than is necessary.

THE IMPOSTOR

ıyuyuyut (I, p. 328) had a son named *Stuix*. The latter's son and his grandson, the hero of this story, each took the same designation and each was a successful hunter; in fact, ability in this line seemed to accompany the name. *Stuix* the third had been married for some time, but, although he deeply loved his wife, he seldom slept with her, as he was observing ceremonial chastity to increase his success in hunting. They had no children. On one occasion *Stuix* and his wife camped in a beautiful spot a little distance up the valley of the Kimsquit River, not far from a village where lived a bad woman who was in love with *Stuix*. He had scorned her advances but had failed to warn his wife against her. This woman, determined to win *Stuix* by fair means or foul, used to watch the camp to learn of his movements, in the hope that some chance would help her. Once when he was absent, hunting, she approached and began to talk pleasantly to his wife, who, suspecting nothing, invited her to sit down and gave her some food. After the meal the bad woman began to question her hostess about *Stuix*.

"Tell me, my dear, does your husband exercise his marital rights?" she asked.

"No," replied the wife. "He is a hunter; therefore does not do so."

"What do you do when he first comes home?" the other went on.

"I take off his skin shoes, wash them, and hang them up to dry."

The guest expressed interest in this answer and continued:

"Do you cook for him?"

"Yes," replied the trusting wife.

The scheming woman went on with a number of questions, such as, what time *Stuix* went to bed, when he got up, what his wife was accustomed to say to him on his return after the day's hunting, what he liked best to eat, in fact every conceivable detail of his day's routine. *Stuix*'s wife, rather flattered at this interest in her husband's doings, answered the queries openly. Towards the time of *Stuix*'s return the woman departed with loud protestations of friendship, promising to return another day to sit with the lonely wife. This was quite a natural suggestion, as there was an easy trail from the village to the spot where *Stuix* was encamped and visitors often walked the distance.

When *Stuix* returned, his wife pulled off his skin shoes, washed them, squeezed them, and hung them out to dry while the food was cooking.

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Then she sat down to the meal with her husband, the routine being exactly as she had described it to her visitor. After they had finished eating, *Stuix*'s wife told him of the day's happenings, how a woman, giving her name, had visited the camp and had asked a great many questions about him, including whether or not he observed ceremonial chastity, and other personal matters. 539*

"What did you tell her?" *Stuix* asked his wife.

"Oh, I answered her truthfully," she replied.

"You should never have done that!" *Stuix* burst out in anger. "It was none of her business. Don't you know that you should never discuss a hunter's observance of ceremonial chastity? You have behaved very badly." [785 831]

Stuix had reason for his wrath, because no wife should ever discuss this matter, as in so doing she weakens or destroys her husband's power.

A few days afterward the evil woman again visited *Stuix*'s camp, carrying concealed beneath her blanket a wooden club used for killing salmon. *Stuix*'s wife did not see the approach of her hypocritical friend, who struck her on the head with the weapon and killed her. The murderess dragged her victim's body a short distance from the camp; with her copper knife she removed the skin and drew it over her own body, endeavouring in every way to make it fit. But the wife of *Stuix* had been larger than the bad woman, who tried to remedy the difference in size by tying the excess in wrinkles around her hips. The greatest difficulty was about the eyes, where the skin hung in folds which the impostor sewed neatly to make less noticeable. When all was done the murderess scraped a hole in the soft ground and buried the body of her victim.

While awaiting the return of *Stuix* the impostor busied herself in carrying out all the small household occupations, just as she had been told about them. Towards dusk *Stuix* came back. He noticed that his wife looked peculiar and uneasy, but said nothing about it; they sat down together to the meal but the woman kept her eyes lowered, lest the loose skin about them might betray her. *Stuix* wondered at that and also at her voice, which did not sound normal. At night the masquerader went first to bed, as a wife always does when her husband is observing ceremonial chastity. *Stuix* followed shortly. In a few minutes an owl hooted:

"*Stuix*'s wife has tied up a fold of skin round her hips."

Neither man nor woman spoke. Even at that distant period it was well known that the voice of a dead person passes into an owl, though only rarely can one communicate with the living. It was, in fact, the slain wife speaking from above the spot where her body lay. The murderess feared that *Stuix* would put his arm around her waist, but she was saved because his observance of ceremonial chastity prevented him from doing so. [775 825]

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*539 Nevertheless, she was greatly terrified. *Stuix* had been puzzled at his wife's unusual actions, and this warning increased his bewilderment, but he hesitated to show his suspicions by asking what the owl meant. Both lay awake all night and towards dawn the owl hooted again. The next day *Stuix* set out, as if for hunting, but lay down and slept instead, which the impostor was afraid to do in case he should return and look at her, when she was unprepared. That night the owl again hooted, and as before the two lay awake without speaking. The third night it was the same, but on the fourth, though the owl continued his hooting, the woman was so much exhausted that she fell asleep. *Stuix* then felt cautiously across her body, found the protruding fold of skin and realized something was amiss. He rose and built up a bright fire towards which he dragged the sleeper.

"Get up, I want to talk to you," he said.

As he pulled her by the hair he felt her scalp become loose in his hands, and realized what had happened. In great anger he cried out:

"But for the owl I should have remained in ignorance. Now I know what you have done. Why did you kill my wife?"

The woman did not answer. *Stuix* struck her twice with a club and she died. The owl stopped calling; its work was done.

The murder had taken place about midnight, but *Stuix* remained seated beside the fire until dawn without touching the woman he had slain, because he wanted witnesses to see the corpse before it was disturbed. After eating some food he went to the village where lived his own relations, those of his wife, and also the mother of the bad woman. He went first to his own family.

"I am in trouble," he said. "I believe that some one has impersonated my wife. At any rate last night I killed a woman who said she was my wife, though I think she was not. I want you to come and see what she looks like."

Two lads were sent as messengers round the village and soon all gathered to hear what had happened. *Stuix* addressed the people:

"I don't want to say much about what took place last night; in fact I do not know much about it myself. Please come and see. I have killed a woman who looked like my wife, but I do not think it was she."

They all set off with him to his camp, where they found, apparently, the corpse of his wife. *Stuix* sat down.

"Please take off her clothes and feel beside her hips," he said.

When they had done so they felt the peculiar rolls of skin.

"Please lift her hair," he continued.

The people who did so found it slack in their grasp. On more careful examination they lifted the skin of the face which came up loosely into

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the hand, and they found the various seams. Finally they stripped off the false skin and disclosed the body of the bad woman. The whole population of the village had gathered by this time and all were witnesses to the imposture. *Stuix* spoke: 539*

"I had my suspicions that this was the case; this woman came to the camp and asked my wife a great many questions. I told her that she had done wrong in letting a stranger know the details of my observance of ceremonial chastity."

"Have you any idea where your wife is?" asked the chief.

"No," replied *Stuix*. "The only clue I have is that an owl kept calling from that tree over yonder behind the house, saying: '*Stuix*'s wife has tied up a fold of skin around her hips.' "

The young men began to dig under the tree and presently uncovered the skinned body which had been thrown into the earth without clothing of any kind. The people, filled with grief and horror at the deed, showed their sympathy by gifts to *Stuix*; a coffin with carved sides, copper knives, and other valuables to place beside the body in it. The corpse was washed and borne in state with the many presents, including a large number given by *Stuix* himself, to the cemetery near the village, where it was interred. The family of the murderess buried her hastily on the spot, fearing the wrath of the people at the crime she had committed.

Stuix was so heartbroken that he did not hunt all winter, but supported himself on the stores laid up in his house. Grieved though he was at his wife's loss, a greater sorrow was that she had not lived long enough to bear him a son to perpetuate his name. Some four months after her death his father-in-law approached him, suggesting that he marry one of her sisters. The dead woman had two brothers and three sisters, and the whole family sympathized with the bereaved husband. *Stuix* was very much pleased with the proposition and promptly married one of the sisters,[53] who took the place of the murdered woman. Once more *Stuix* went hunting, in which he was so successful that many youths were constantly employed carrying home his game.

Within a year his wife bore him a male child who was likewise given the name of *Stuix* and who received supernatural good fortune at a time of famine.

THE WAR OF THE BIRDS[54]

A day's journey from *Stuix* there is a lake near which there used to

[53]Such a marriage is common if the dead wife's family respect the husband, though not otherwise. [587]

[54]The Bella Coola regard the following as a record of an event which occurred

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*539 live a race of sturdy dwarfs called *Snutsälätst* by the Bella Coola. They have all moved away, but the exodus could not have taken place many hundred years ago, because the ruins of the underground houses in which they lived are said to have been visible as late as about 1870. Once upon a time a youth went from *Stuux* to *Äxyätl*, a place where buffaloberries were plentiful; during the day he became thirsty and knelt to drink at a spring. At length he reached the town of the *Snutsälätst* people who rushed at him, asking:

"Where did you find the bear?"

"I found no bear," he replied, somewhat puzzled.

"How then did you get your knees stained with earth?"

"Why, I knelt to drink at a spring."[33]

"That's it!" cried the dwarfs.

They rushed off in all directions to prepare sharp sticks for digging. When these were ready they insisted that the now thoroughly mystified youth should guide them to the spring from which he had drunk. Unwilling to anger his hosts, the lad consented, but his curiosity was not lessened when at the spring the dwarfs proceeded to dig a number of holes in a rough circle around it.

Soon one of the diggers called out, "Here is a [bear] leg!"

The lad looked into the hole and saw that it was the leg of a *mätsqus*.

The *Snutsälätst* people redoubled their efforts until they had uncovered the animal which they killed, much to the fear of the Bella Coola youth. He accompanied them back to their town where the *mätsqus* was cut up, amid the rejoicing of the *Snutsälätst*, who then proceeded to eat it. The lad watched with horror, and refused to take part in the feast.

Afterwards the dwarfs began to strengthen their houses by placing additional planks over the cracks, and stuffing the smaller crannies with moss and mud. In answer to their visitor's inquiries, they replied:

"You will see our danger soon enough. Every year we are attacked by migrating birds, especially hummingbirds, which penetrate everywhere. We have had a feud with the birds for years. They attack us every spring, but this year we are specially terrified, because the early migrants have not yet come and we are afraid that all the birds are gathering to assault us in a body. We kill many of them every year, but it seems to make no difference in their numbers or their ferocity."

The lad had noticed that many of the dwarfs were blind, and that

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not many years ago. In time the historical setting will unquestionably be forgotten and the account will be considered purely as a tale.

[33]Another version states that the dwarfs had, in some mysterious way, realized that he had power to locate the winter sleeping-places of bears.

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nearly all had lost one eye; but he had not thought of attributing this to attacks from birds. 539*

Soon the sky became black with all kinds of them—geese, ducks, plovers, sandpipers, hawks, owls, eagles, crows, woodpeckers, as well as many varieties of insectivorous birds. They swooped down on the village, flying fearlessly into the faces of the dwarfs who seemed unable to cope with them; in fact, they were as frightened of the birds as the Bella Coola had been of the *mätsqus*, which had occasioned the *Snutsälätst* no fear. The lad enjoyed the onslaught and killed a great many wild-fowl, especially geese and swans; it was wonderful hunting. He alone was not afraid of the hummingbirds which penetrated into the houses through minute cracks and flew into the faces of the dwarfs. The birds ceased their attack only after they had carried off one of the *Snutsälätst* as a slave.

The Bella Coola youth plucked his booty and cooked a fine meal for himself, while the dwarfs held their noses in horror, just as he had done when they were eating the *mätsqus*. He continued to live in the village of the dwarfs for some time, but this last attack, culminating in the loss of one of their young men, had so disheartened the inhabitants that they abandoned their settlement and moved away. Then the youth returned to Bella Coola, where he learnt the fate of the *Snutsälätst* carried off as a slave.

The birds, flying in a dense flock, had been carrying him down the Bella Coola valley, when the inhabitants of *Nuqäxmäts* saw the swarm and clapped their hands, noisily. The birds became frightened, separated, and down fell the dwarf near the village. He was made a slave by the Bella Coola, and was greatly valued on account of his strength. It was said that he could make a salmon-weir unaided, a feat which none other could accomplish.

THE ADVENTURES OF *Ällsiäx*

One day *Ällsiäx*, a man of *Stuix*, went out hunting, leaving his old father, *Skimutcitl*, at home. The hunter shot an arrow at a mountain goat, but succeeded only in wounding the animal, which fled with the missile sticking in its shoulder, *Ällsiäx* in pursuit. He followed his quarry for a long time until the goat came to a stream in a canyon of which the farther bank rose precipitously. Hunter and hunted reached the bank at the exact spot where a waterfall plunged down; the animal leapt across fearlessly and vanished against the sheer cliff. It was really Mountain Goat's home, but *Ällsiäx* was ignorant of this. The disappearance was a mystery to him. Weary and disappointed he sat down and cried.

Meanwhile there was consternation within Mountain Goat's home.

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*539 He was in great pain from the wound, but none of the supernatural shamans could even diagnose the trouble, the arrow being invisible to them as their weapons are invisible to mortals. The most powerful supernatural doctors, Grizzly Bear, Black Bear, and *Snnuq*, were called in, but none could help Mountain Goat. *Ällsiäx*, sitting down outside the house, could hear the beating of sticks as if curative measures were being taken somewhere, but he could see nothing. Presently one of the animals, who had left the house to fetch water, saw a man sitting by the stream. On his return he suggested that they might consult the mortal.

So they called in *Ällsiäx*.

"Please, mortal," said Mountain Goat's father, "if you are able to effect cures, help my son."

"All right," replied *Ällsiäx*, "I have some ability that way, I will try."

This was a lie, *Ällsiäx* was no shaman, but he could see the arrow projecting from Mountain Goat and he knew that he would be able to cure the injury. So he asked that Mountain Goat be covered with a large cloak, under which he too hid himself, to lend an atmosphere of mystery to the operation. *Ällsiäx* then cut the arrow and forced its head through the flesh, thus expelling it. Mountain Goat cried out in pain that he felt as if some object were being drawn from his body, but he could see nothing. Then *Ällsiäx* danced a shaman's dance while the animal singers beat time, using, instead of sticks, bones from mountain goat legs. In the course of his gyrations, the man threw the broken arrow out of the door.

Mountain Goat's father in his gratitude gave *Ällsiäx* supernatural hunting ability.

"When you want to hunt goats," he said, "smear as many daubs of red paint on your face as you desire carcasses. Then think of goats, and use the song which we sang when you danced after curing my son, and the goats you want will fall dead outside your door. One thing you must never forget, always hang the leg-bones of your victims on the walls of your house, never throw them away."

Ällsiäx then returned to his *Stuux* home.

In the village there was another hunter, *Äxä*, whose success was dependent on a pair of shoes he had received from *Twalällit*, by means of which the roughest mountain goat trails became easy paths. As *Ällsiäx* began to have extraordinary fortune, jealousy arose between the two as to which was the greater hunter, until at last they decided to put the matter to a test. Setting out together they camped at a suitable spot above *Stuux* where goats were plentiful. When *Ällsiäx* put a single daub of red paint on his face there appeared a solitary goat on the mountain not far away, but in such a position that it seemed impossible for a human being to reach the animal.

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"I will go and get that one," said *Äxä* confidently.

Owing to his supernatural power he scaled the precipitous cliffs without trouble, but as soon as he was out of sight *Ällsiäx* rubbed the paint from his face, causing the goat to vanish. *Äxä* returned, unsuccessful and puzzled, and that night they camped without food.

Early in the morning *Ällsiäx* went to the river where he washed himself four times. Then he put his hands down at his side, as if without reason, but when he brought them up there was a beaver held in either palm. These he carried back to the camp where he woke the people, telling them to come and eat, an invitation which they gladly accepted.

That day the hunters divided into three parties, *Ällsiäx* and *Äxä* each formed one, while the other hunters went together as a third group. When *Ällsiäx* reached the base of a precipitous mountain not far from the camp he painted his face with a large number of red daubs, then, as he began to beat time and sing the song which the animals had used, goat after goat fell dead before him. He thus killed a great many, but when *Äxä* returned at night *Ällsiäx* found that his rival had been equally successful. They hunted no more, but instead dried the meat and then went back to *Stuux* where each gave a potlatch.

Ällsiäx carefully hung the leg-bones of his victims around the walls of his house. After he had hunted several times, always using the paint and the song, his house was full and he prepared to give a shaman's dance, as had been directed by the father of the mountain goat he had cured. But old *Skimutcitl*, fearing that this would mean that his son would no longer go hunting to keep his household plentifully supplied with fresh meat, refused permission. This was more than *Ällsiäx* could endure. For four days he lay down on a raised platform behind the fire, deliberating on his next move, then decided to assume the form of a mountain goat. That very night he did so, leaping down from his resting-place with a goat-skin loosely wrapped round him, shaking himself once to place it firmly in position, then bounding out through the door. An old woman, who happened to be sitting awake near the exit as he dashed past her, threw some red paint at him, leaving a daub on his flank.

Skimutcitl was filled with consternation and grief. In a frenzy of despair he rolled on the ground so near the fire that most of the hair of his head was singed off.

"I have exiled my son, I have destroyed my own food,"[28] he wailed.

Ällsiäx never returned. For generations hunters from *Stuux* saw on the mountains a large male goat which they recognized as the lost man by the red stain on his flank. Perhaps he became immortal, perhaps he

[28] He used a term meaning, "I have cut my meat," having the double significance of driving away his son, and as such taking away much of his meat supply.

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*539 was so wily that no one could kill him, perhaps no one was reckless enough to try. Who knows?

THE ADVENTURES OF *Ällsiäx*
(*Second Version*)

Long ago there were two men who had supernatural ability for killing mountain goats. *Ällsiäx*, who lived at *Stuux*, had a miraculous chequer-work mat of cedar-bark which he used to spread on the ground near the base of a mountain when he went hunting; as soon as it was in position, numerous flies would come floating down from the upper slopes to settle on it. Though they appeared as insects, each was really the spirit of a mountain goat so that, when *Ällsiäx* squashed a fly, the goat of which it was a supernatural element would fall down dead not far from the place. *Nusqwaxlän·i*, of *Täl·io*, was the owner of a pair of miraculous shoes which made the mountain trails so easy for him that he could follow the goats to their resting places. The reputation of each as a hunter spread far and wide.

In course of time they decided to compete to find out who was the better. Such a competition between rivals was not uncommon and was termed a *wina*, the same as a war expedition. With this aim in view *Nusqwaxlän·i* went to *Stuux*, whence the two hunters went out together into the mountains, each taking a number of friends to carry back the meat. They camped for the night and it was decided that *Nusqwaxlän·i* should go out alone the first day. As he set out he could see, having miraculous eye-sight, very many goats on the mountains so that he expected a successful day's hunting. But, as soon as his rival had left, *Ällsiäx* painted with charcoal on his own face representations of mountain goat tracks; instantly all that *Nusqwaxlän·i* on the mountain could see were tracks of the animals, not one in the flesh. Though he hunted diligently all day, he succeeded in killing only one small goat. Much ashamed, he skinned this animal, cut up the flesh, toasted it, and gave it to *Ällsiäx*, who meanwhile had washed his face.

"I don't know what is the matter," said *Nusqwaxlän·i*, "this is the first time that I have ever failed so miserably. I can give you only one goat."

Ällsiäx thanked his rival profusely, and said that the flesh was very fine, as sweet as salmon. It was, in fact, a tasty kid.

"Please don't go out hunting tomorrow," said *Ällsiäx* to *Nusqwaxlän·i*, "let me try my fortune, and you try again the following day."

So *Ällsiäx* set out alone early in the morning, telling his packers to meet him about noon. He spread his mat on which flies soon settled,

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and as he squashed them, dead goats fell from the mountain slopes above. 539* His packers worked very hard and managed to carry all the carcasses to camp, where *Ällsiäx* toasted the meat. He gave everything, meat, grease, and hides to *Nuxqwaxlän-i*, saying that it was in return for the latter's present of a single kid the preceding day. *Nuxqwaxlän-i* was thus shamed and went back to *Täl io* the next day, defeated.

Ällsiäx, with his father, *Skimutcitl*, and some friends, remained in camp to prepare smoked goat meat and hides for the winter, taking full advantage of the excellent hunting. One evening they heard the hooting of an owl. There was something peculiar about the sound and *Ällsiäx* said to his father:

"That is no owl, it is a person."

Ignoring *Skimutcitl*'s disbelief, *Ällsiäx* set out to investigate. There was deep snow on the ground so that he had to use snow-shoes, the crunch of which apparently betrayed him, because the hooting ceased. Presently it began again. *Ällsiäx*, having bound a goat-skin over his snow-shoes to deaden the noise, crept forth and this time he was able to locate the source of the sound, a tall blasted tree on the top of which he could see a man seated. He was wearing a large abalone-shell nose-ring and *Ällsiäx* determined to shoot an arrow through the ornament.[17] His aim was faulty, it pierced the man's neck and he fell down dead. Examining the corpse, *Ällsiäx* realized that he must have been a scout of the people known to the Bella Coola as *Xät*, a branch of the Carriers whose home was in the south but who were accustomed to range far afield, always ready for a quarrel. He cut off the head and carried it back to camp, where *Skimutcitl* was sitting with his limbs spread out to get the full benefit of the fire.

Ällsiäx crashed the bloody head down on his father's naked body, saying as he did so:

"There's your owl."

Skimutcitl collapsed with terror.

"I am old," he wailed, "and cannot run away. Anyway it does not matter what happens to me, just cover me up in a corner."

This seemed the best plan, so *Ällsiäx* lifted the planks from one corner of the floor of the shelter, and his father crawled down to cower under a skin. Then the boards were replaced and ashes were strewed over all. No one would have suspected that a man was hidden beneath. When this was done *Ällsiäx* and the other young men abandoned the camp.

The Bella Coola realized that the *Xät* people were so superior in numbers that they would have no chance in an open fight, but *Ällsiäx*

[17]The story does not give the reason for this.

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*539 knew of a natural hiding-place, capable of defence, to which he led the way. It was a large cave, opening in a precipice, only to be reached by climbing a tree which grew close to the cliff, and from its upper branches crossing on some kind of ladder brought up from below. The fugitives felled a sapling on which they reached the cave in safety, drawing their bridge in behind them. The people of *Xāt* trailed them to their lair and without more ado began the attack. Recklessly they climbed the tree so that it was an easy matter for *Ālsiāy*, from within the cave, to pick off one after the other with his arrows. At each shot he killed one of the attackers, but his supply of arrows was exhausted when only about a quarter of the *Xāt* warriors had fallen, and the others continued to press the assault. Fortunately, there were many stones in the cave and by accurate throwing the Bella Coola were able to keep the attackers at bay. In fact, before the stones were finished they managed to kill about as many of their foes as *Ālsiāy* had done with his arrows. Meanwhile the *Xāt* people in some way[55] had succeeded in felling the tree so that it leaned against the entrance to the cavern, where they fastened it with ropes, thus having a comparatively easy means of access to the very mouth of the shelter. It was a critical moment. *Ālsiāy* rushed forward and cut the ropes. Then, heedless of the blows that were rained on him, he used the sapling as a lever against the tree, causing it to sway to and fro until all the climbers—and they were all the attackers still alive—had been shaken off. Some were killed instantly by their fall, others were maimed. *Ālsiāy* swarmed down the tree-trunk and quickly dispatched all who were still breathing. The Bella Coola scalped their slain enemies and with their bloody trophies returned to camp.

One of the *Xāt* men, instead of taking part in the attack, had gone to the Bella Coola camp where he had remained stuffing himself on the meat. Even when the victors drew near he did not try to run away, lacking the necessary energy. *Ālsiāy* asked the *Xāt* which scalp was that of the chief and, when the prisoner had pointed it out to him, he placed it firmly on the head of the cowardly captive and bade him dance. Amid the derisive hoots of his captors he was forced to perform while so ornamented, and meanwhile the conquerors heaped every other possible ignominy on him. It was *Ālsiāy*'s wish that this man should be spared to carry the word to his home that it was the Bella Coola who had slain the *Xāt* warriors. This was done, the victors giving their prisoner enough meat to enable him to reach his journey's end; then they too set off for home, carrying with them abundant stores of smoked goat meat.

Now occurred what the Bella Coola regard as very strange. *Ālsiāy*

[55] The account is vague.

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had become a shaman from Mountain Goat and as he was proceeding homewards the goat meat spoke to him. 539 W

"In the future," it said, "you needn't bother chasing us to the mountains. Just sing and we will come to you and fall dead. But never break our leg-bones. Keep them until you have two boxes full, then perform a *kuxiut* dance, using for it the power which you have received from us."

When he returned to *Stuxe*, *Ällxiäy* placed a large box on each side of the door of his house. Whenever he sang, goats came trooping down from the mountains and fell dead; his success as a hunter was truly phenomenal. Before long he had filled both boxes with the leg-bones of the goats which he had killed.

Then *Ällxiäy* said to *Skimuxcid*, "I want to initiate a *kuxiut* dance, as the goat meat told me to do."

Skimuxcid was angry, knowing that if his son did so he would be forced to remain secluded for long periods and be unable to continue hunting.

"If you start a *kuxiut* rite," *Skimuxcid* answered, "you will spend all your time lying down. Now you are having success as a hunter, what more do you want?"

"I cannot help that," *Ällxiäy* replied. "Unless I perform this rite the goats will carry me away."

Ällxiäy felt very bitter at his father's lack of sympathy. For four days and four nights he lay, without sleeping or eating, on a raised platform behind the fire. Then, to the amazement of the people of the village, a number of goats came walking up to his house. A herald reported this to *Ällxiäy*.

"All right," he replied. "Do not disturb them. Do whatever they want."

The goats, including old ones and young ones, male and female, entered the house, led by an old he-goat. When they had circled the fire four times, the leader shook himself, and a spare hide jumped from his body. This the animal tossed to the raised platform, where *Ällxiäy* put it over his shoulders and wriggled. Forthwith he became a goat, jumped down, and followed the others as they ran from the house. As he dashed out the doorway an old woman struck at him with her hand smeared with red paint; it left a dash on his flank. Many times afterwards hunters have seen the red-marked goat on the mountains.

Skimuxcid was heart-broken.

"Oh, I have lost my son," he wailed. "I have lost my never-ending supply of good food."

In his grief he rolled on the ground until his head went into the fire and all his hair was singed off.

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THE MAN WHO TRIED TO RECAPTURE HIS DEAD CHILD[59]

Once, long ago, when a husband was absent sealing, his wife gave birth to a child. The woman's mother was in attendance, but though she did her best, her daughter died. Using her own discretion, the assistant killed the infant, the usual practice under such circumstances. The father of the dead woman was so grieved at the loss of his daughter and grandchild that he determined to leave the spot, a decision concurred in by the rest of the community. They stripped the planks from all the walls, and piled them on canoes, leaving the posts and beams of the houses alone in position. Their last act was to bury the woman and her baby within the framework of her home, perhaps with some vague idea of giving strength to it. Then they moved away.

The next night the husband returned, accompanied by a lad who had been sealing with him. He was, of course, all unaware of the calamity that had struck his household, in fact he had not expected his wife to be delivered during his absence. When still on the beach he heard a woman's voice.

"*Ăbtulka*," it said, "please bring me my basket."

It seemed as if the speaker were gathering clams, but the returning husband was much puzzled because *Ăbtulka* had long been dead. He went up to the village where the inky darkness prevented him from seeing that the houses were mere skeletons. On entering his own, he saw a fire in one corner with his wife sitting by it, running her fingers through her hair which had fallen loose over her forehead, and rocking an infant in a cradle suspended from a horizontal stick. As the delighted parent drew near he saw that the cradle was upside down, with apparently nothing to prevent the child from falling to the floor. He rushed up to remedy what he assumed to be his wife's carelessness, but when he touched the cradle there was a whistle—instantly fire, wife, cradle, infant, all vanished. Then the husband realized that they must have been ghosts, and in grief and horror rushed from the house into the darkness.

The man succeeded in locating his parents-in-law, who told him that his wife had died three days previously, and, almost mad with grief, he determined to attempt a rescue. He knew that on the fourth night after death the dead dance to welcome a newcomer, making him or her an official member of their community. Once admitted, there is no possible chance of returning to this world, so the husband resolved to try to catch his wife at the dance itself. He enlisted the aid of a number of friends with whose help he collected a number of full chamber-vessels, which he placed on the rafters of his now deserted house. Towards dusk he and

[59] A story probably of Bella Bella origin.

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his friends concealed themselves on the rafters, each with a vessel within arm's reach.

For a long time nothing happened; then was heard a sound as if some wooden objects had been thrown carelessly to the floor. Soon a small fire appeared. Presumably firewood had been dropped. Then the dead came in, one or two at a time, as mortals do when assembling for a dance. They took their places to "cure" the dead woman by a frenzied beating of sticks as *hahamsut* do when a dancer returns from the upper regions and must be called back to sanity. The leaders of the supernatural pounders are Grizzly Bear, *Snang*, Wolverine, and one other. When all were in attendance, Wolverine smelt the hiding men.

"Take care," he called out, "I smell mortals."

His companions rushed out to investigate, but though they searched around the house they failed to discover the men hiding above them. Numerous pretty girls came in, decorated with cedar-bark, both dyed and undyed, and eagle down, all ready for the dance. After the frenzied beating of sticks, led by Wolverine, the dead woman began to dance while the choir sang. The husband could contain himself no longer. As he leapt down, his companions showered the whole house with the contents of their vessels, but with a whistle the dead vanished, leaving only scattered bones. The husband had failed.

THE BOYS WHO DRIFTED TO SEA

Long ago, when supernatural beings were so closely in contact with mortals that extraordinary experiences were more common than at present, a number of lads were bathing at *Ar da*, on the south side of North Bentinck Arm, about half a mile from the head. As four of them lay across a huge drifting log to dry themselves, they fell into a heavy sleep so that they were not awakened when, at high tide, their float began to drift away from the shore. It was near dusk before one of them awoke to find that only the peaks of the mountains were in sight. He quickly roused his companions, but they had no means of propelling the raft towards the distant shore. For a long time they wept bitterly at their fate, but at last one of them began to investigate and found some consolation in the fact that their log was hollow. The four crawled inside, smoothed away the rough edges of wood as much as possible, curled up together for warmth, and at last cried themselves to sleep.

In the early morning one of the boys awoke. Looking up through a crack, he saw the daylight momentarily obscured by a bird waddling across. Cautiously investigating, he found that a flock of white geese (*swans!*) had settled on the log, where they were walking to and fro in

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*539 fancied security. He silently wakened his companions. Each stationed himself at the crevice until at a given signal each grasped the legs of two of the birds, thus pinioning eight in all. Unable to drag the geese through the narrow crack, one of the lads moved his birds along so that his neighbour could hold them with his own, and then went on top where he quickly wrung the necks of all. They skinned their booty, ate the flesh raw, and covered themselves with the plumage. The day passed without further incident, the log continuing to drift along though no land was in sight.

As on the preceding night the four slept inside the hollow log. At dawn they saw that there were more birds, this time Canada geese, resting on the trunk above their heads. The boys caught a number in the manner already described; as before, they dined on the flesh, and clothed themselves with the plumage of their quarry. The following morning they seized a number of gulls, and the next day some mallard ducks. By this time they had provided themselves with comfortable cloaks made from the skins of the birds.

Like its predecessors the fourth day wore away without incident, but that night the four boys were wakened by their log pounding against something. Looking out, they saw that it was crashing repeatedly against a rocky shore formed of small crags of some dark substance resembling coal; there was no beach in sight. The youngest of the four rashly jumped immediately for the land, but, though his brothers saw him, apparently, reach one of the rocks, he vanished as if the earth had swallowed him. The three survivors dared not follow, but instead remained shivering and crying inside their shelter. The log, constantly rebounding from the precipitous shore, slowly drifted along until caught in, what seemed to the voyagers, a whirlpool. Round and round it spun like a twig, now one end in the air, now the other; the three lads were dizzy and feared their last hour had come.

Though the boys did not know it, their log had been caught in the salmon-weir of *Nuxkiapsk*, the supernatural lord of the land of ashes. When a fire consumes wood, mortals see only ashes remaining. This is because *Nuxkiapsk* swallows the substance of the wood and takes it to his domain, which is called *S'pa't* or *Spawl*. But there is no strength left in that portion of the wood which he devours, hence when the youngest of the four brothers jumped on to it he passed right through; it was nothing more than the form of a crag. *Nuxkiapsk* has a huge salmon-weir in which he catches the corpses of those drowned either in the rivers or the ocean; they serve him as food, in fact, they are his salmon. How much of this information was known to the three boys, or how much of

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it was learnt only from their adventures is a point that this tale does not explain. 539

In the morning, when *Nuxkiapsh*'s servant *Tlas'kwa* went down to the weir, he was much surprised to see the enormous log in it. He ran back to tell *Nuxkiapsh*, who asked him why he had not brought it to land. *Tlas'kwa* then returned to the salmon-weir and towed the trunk ashore, a feat that his remarkable strength made easy. As it struck the ground, the log split, exposing the three boys cowering within; back ran the surprised *Tlas'kwa* to tell his master what he had seen, and *Nuxkiapsh* told his servant to bring them home. When *Tlas'kwa* had delivered the message, the three followed him to the house where the first thing that met their horror-stricken eyes was their brother, dead, hanging spitted through the mouth amid a row of salmon. Seals were playing about as if they had been dogs; otherwise it resembled an ordinary house, always excepting the ghastly hanging corpse. An old woman sitting in one corner, though they did not know it, had long been a prisoner of *Nuxkiapsh*, whom she determined to thwart by aiding the three boys.

"You will be seated," she whispered, "with a fire on each side of you. As the heat increases, your captors will examine you to see if your noses are sweating; if they are, they will say, 'What fine salmon,' and will kill and eat you. We are salmon to them. But take this piece of greenstone and conceal it under your arm-pit. When the heat increases so that you begin to perspire, just draw it out a little and it will become cooler where you are sitting."

With this advice the old woman gave the eldest of the three brothers a fine, smooth piece of jadeite, such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands.

Towards evening *Nuxkiapsh*'s companions gathered in the house. They seated the three boys between two fires and offered them what they said was a kind of cranberry, but the lads had watched their hosts take the food from a large provision box and saw that it was really the eyes of dead people. The three declined the meal in horror; in so doing they were fortunate, because if they had eaten the eyes they would never have been able to return to the land of mortals. *Nuxkiapsh* then killed one of the young seals which was playing around in the house and on this the three boys made their supper. Before long it began to get very hot, but the eldest lad pulled forth the stone so that he and his brothers did not feel the heat. Their hosts kept handling them and remarking what fine salmon they were, but the stone had done its work and their noses did not sweat.

When *Nuxkiapsh* realized that he had no power over his guests he became friendly. At their request he restored to life the youngest brother

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*539 whom, moreover, he made a shaman. The boys were able to make some return present to *Nuxkiaqk*, whose wife had eyed the skin cloak covetously; this they presented to her. In the course of a few days the boys expressed a desire to go home.

"That is easy," said *Nuxkiaqk*. "Your land is not far away, just a *mâ'lqi*"[88]

Nuxkiaqk showed them their home, and indeed it appeared to them as if it were less than an inch away. When he sent them off he warned them not to open their eyes, otherwise the journey would be a long one, but that if they kept their eyes closed they would reach their destination almost immediately. The boys did not know what kind of canoe they were in, and it was not till later that they found they were with *Nuxkqnum*, the bringer of the salmon. The wanderers sensed the proximity of their own land, and opened their eyes to find themselves in front of their own village. They had been absent a whole year.

THE BOYS WHO DRIFTED TO SEA
(Second Version)

Once upon a time, long, long ago, when a number of lads were bathing on the tide-flats at the head of North Bentinck Arm, one of them, a boy of fifteen or sixteen years, swam out to a huge log which was floating a short distance from the shore. He clambered on to it and, finding it comfortable, called out to his companions to join him. Three younger boys did so. It was early in the afternoon of a warm sunny day and the four soon fell asleep, stretched on their stomachs, and lulled by the gentle movement of the water. Late in the afternoon the other bathers went home, without disturbing the four sleepers. The sun had set before the eldest of the boys awoke to find that the log had drifted so far out to sea that not even the peaks of the mountains were in sight. Dismayed, he roused his sleeping companions, who, realizing their plight, cowered together in fear. It began to grow cold. One of the boys discovered that their craft was hollow, with an entrance at the end from which roots had grown. The four crawled inside, where it was warmer, and spent an uncomfortable night with their craft pitching and tossing on the waves of the open sea.

The next morning when the eldest boy, who was the first to awaken, crawled to the entrance of the log he saw, projecting down from above, the tail of a bird which must have been perching on the very end of the shell. With a quick motion he seized the tail, by which he dragged a

[88] A *mâ'lqi* is a measure of distance equal to the width of the thumb and one finger.

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swan into the log and wrung its neck. To his surprise another tail at once appeared in the aperture, and he was able to treat the second bird in the same manner. A third and a fourth followed in close succession. Four swans must have been roosting on the log, and each had unsuspiciously moved up to take the position at the end when it was vacated. The boys ate the flesh raw, and the eldest sewed the four skins together with swan sinew to make a rude cloak for himself. 539*

That day and the following night passed without incident, the log drifting along out of sight of land. The next morning they caught four more swans, in the same manner as on the preceding day, and with these the eldest boy made a cloak for one of his companions. On the third and fourth mornings four more swans appeared, providing clothing for the remaining two boys.

That day they were roused by the crashing of their log against a rocky shore. As they peered cautiously forth they saw that their craft was bumping against a beach consisting of lumps of lava-like rock, ill-shaped boulders, and small crags. At the same time they heard a sound as if countless small particles were falling from a height, so the eldest boy concluded that they must have reached the Land of Ashes, *S'qus'i*. Even at that distant time it was well-known that the substance of wood burnt in a fire is carried far across the ocean to *S'qus'i*, where it appears as rocks having the original shape of the wood, but without its solidity. If this were not the case, Bella Coola would soon be buried beneath the mass of consumed firewood, whereas only a few ashes remain after a fire. The eldest boy further knew that in this land lived an evil chief, *Nuskiagsk*, who devoured the corpses of human beings drowned in the ocean. Accordingly he warned his companions not to venture ashore, but one of them, over-anxious to leave the log, jumped out, only to vanish from sight as if he had passed through the rock to which he had leapt. This was indeed the case, it having merely the shape of a crag with the consistency of ashes.

The three survivors, even more terrified than before, continued to cower within their log as it drifted down the coast and finally entered a river where, during the night, it was caught in the salmon-weir of *Nuskiagsk*. When the latter visited his trap in the morning he was amazed at the huge tree-trunk caught in it; it was so big that it had almost burst the weir, and was far too heavy for him to lift. He went to his house and sent his slave, one of the prodigiously strong dwarfs who formerly lived in the mountains to the east of Bella Coola, to attend to it. He tossed the log ashore and it split, revealing the three boys. Back ran the slave to his master to tell what had happened.

"Bring them here," said *Nuskiagsk*.

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*539 The three boys followed the dwarf to *Nuskiaẓek*'s house, which they found to be similar to their own, except that seals were running around on the floor instead of dogs; these are, in fact, dogs to the people of the Land of Ashes. On looking around, they saw to their consternation their missing companion, dead, and hanging spitted through the mouth like a salmon. They further saw that their hosts were eating human heads; they fish for human beings as mortals fish for salmon. The boys cried out in horror at sight of their dead comrade and, when *Nuskiaẓek* asked them the reason of their exclamations, they told him their story. He said nothing, merely invited them to sit down, and brought them a human head to eat. When they declined this with expressions of disgust he killed one of the seals, on which they made a hearty meal. After his guests had eaten, *Nuskiaẓek* removed the corpse of their friend from the spit, placed in the ears some stale urine, and rolled the body in a mat with only the head exposed. He gently massaged the body, spitting on it and on his hands as he did so, until, when he had rolled back the mat, the three youths saw their comrade restored to life. The joy of the four at thus being reunited was past expression.

They asked *Nuskiaẓek* whether they might return home.

"Yes," he replied. "*Noākẓnum* leaves shortly taking the berries and salmon to Bella Coola. I will find out the exact time of his departure and you can return with him."

Noākẓnum left the next day, taking with him the four boys who had spent the intervening night in *Nuskiaẓek*'s house. The journey home was uneventful. When their supernatural conductor had moored his craft at the submerged pile near the mouth of the Bella Coola River the wanderers found a canoe in which they returned home. Their friends welcomed them as returned from the dead, having abandoned hope of their safety during their year's absence.

THE SALMON-BOY[81]

One spring morning, soon after the first people had reached this earth, and when it was still sparsely populated, some women were cutting and cleaning salmon on the beach. As one of them, whose name was *Maqwānts*, sliced open a fish, she saw inside of it a diminutive baby boy. At her cry of wonder, all her companions rushed up; there was much talking and excitement. Nearly all advised her to kill the infant because it was unusual and, therefore, to be dreaded, but one wise, thoughtful man told her to tend the child carefully; after some deliberation *Maqwānts* decided to

[81]For another version of this story see Boas, p. 73.

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follow his advice. She took the baby home, where she sponged him with soft cedar-bark and looked after him as if he had been her own.

Within a few days he began to sit up and take an intelligent interest in what was going on around him. This phenomenal growth continued, so that when the salmon-child was only a year old, he had the stature and intelligence of a boy of fifteen or sixteen. The foundling had a great affection for *Maqwänts*'s own son, a boy of fifteen, and the two became boon companions. One day the salmon-boy asked *Maqwänts*'s husband to build for him a house on the shore of the river opposite the town, choosing a spot which was on the course taken by the mergansers in flying upstream. He further asked for, and received, some double-pointed, bone-tipped arrows, such as are used for fowling. When the house was completed, the salmon-boy invited his foster-brother to accompany him to it. Once inside he showed his comrade some mysterious food, a gift from *Älquntäm*, which he carried in his mouth on all occasions. Then he said:

"I want always to enter this house first, and must sleep on a raised platform-bed behind the fire on all occasions. When you come to the house, always knock; otherwise I shall fall dead."

After these instructions were given, the two boys crossed the river to their home. Early next morning, *Maqwänts*'s own son heard his comrade, whose name in the salmon language was *Skalpts*, meaning chief of the spring salmon, leave the mother's house. Obedient to the injunction, he said nothing, nor did he follow to the new shelter until the first sign of dawn. He knocked at the door and was told to enter by the salmon-boy. Mergansers were flying past within a few feet. *Skalpts* made his preparations by fastening to one of his arrows a cord, which he had plaited from woman's hair, so that he could draw back the missile after discharging it. With this contrivance he shot a single merganser, which the two boys carried back to the village. *Maqwänts* and her husband, as well as the man who had advised rearing the salmon-boy, were delighted at his skill, the child being only a year old. It was the first time that such a method of hunting mergansers had ever been employed.

The next morning before dawn the salmon-boy again stole away to the new house, followed, as before, by his foster-brother at day-break. This time he killed two mergansers, which he bore home in triumph. The third morning he slew three birds, four on the fourth, and ten on the fifth. That evening *Maqwänts*'s husband gave a feast to all the chiefs with the mergansers the salmon-boy had brought in, and the company was greatly pleased at his phenomenal success. On the sixth day he brought back a river canoe filled with the birds, which he distributed to each household, amid great rejoicing.

*539 About this time *Skalpts* gave the following instructions to *Maqwänts*'s son:

"If I should die, feel in my mouth behind my right molars and draw from there my food. Put this into your own mouth, and, like me, you will never be hungry for it is my good fortune,[62] the source of my power. If you take it you will have the same. Then have built for me a house on the beach in which you must lay my body on a bed. Do not enclose it in a coffin. Watch near the house on the fourth night after my death."

One day the foster-brother forgot to knock before entering the hunting lodge, and forthwith the salmon-boy fell dead, to the terrible grief and horror of the offender. Furthermore, he was greatly alarmed at the thought of his parents' anger when they should learn the cause of their adopted son's death. But he remembered his comrade's instructions, felt in the mouth of the corpse and drew from it an object that was cold, hard, and round, like a bird's egg. When he had put this into his own mouth he felt no further need for food. He recrossed the river to the village where he explained the death of the salmon-boy, through his own error. On hearing the news, all the villagers bitterly lamented the loss of such a fine young man, who had proved himself a public benefactor. Sorrowfully, they brought back his corpse on a platform between two lashed canoes. *Maqwänts*'s son told his father of the salmon-boy's wish to have a house built on the beach for his body, and everyone gladly helped in this task. Inside, they made a bed whereon they laid the body, obedient to the instructions of the deceased, not enclosing it in a coffin.

On the fourth night *Maqwänts*'s boy stole away from his friends to watch near the house in which lay his dead comrade. Presently he heard a canoe approaching, and voices in it speaking his own language, but he could see nothing. The craft was a salmon canoe, and the people in it salmon people, but the watcher was ignorant of this. They were discussing where the house ought to be, and when they saw it they landed. One of them, as the concealed lad judged from the sounds, went to the door and knocked.

"Please get up!" he said.

This he repeated four times; *Skalpts* obeyed the fourth summons, emerged from the house, and went with the strangers to their canoe. Seeing his comrade about to embark, *Maqwänts*'s son called out:

"Please wait. I want to go too."

"You are sure you want to come?" asked his foster-brother.

"Yes," responded *Maqwänts*'s son.

"Wait a minute," said the salmon-boy to the occupants of the canoe.

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Maqwānts's son came running up and jumped into the canoe, which he was able to see, and also the salmon-boy, but not the latter's companions. The canoe moved away rapidly to the west, beneath the surface of the ocean, without visible means of propulsion. Presently, the salmon-boy rubbed his hands over his comrade's eyes, enabling him to see the crew, who were salmon people, but in human form.

Onward the canoe sped until it entered a belt of air reeking with the foul smell of countless sardines, which drifted out as the party passed by the shore of the Land of Sardines. This country the travellers reached first, because that fish is first to reach the rivers in the spring. The village, the people, the sun, were all the same as upon the earth, but the land was beneath the surface of the sea. Beyond the sardine country they reached that of the herring, the second fish to come to British Columbia rivers in the spring, then came to the olachen land, and finally to that of the salmon, *Qolohmxao wa simlkets*.[42] Here was a series of adjoining towns, the first populated by the spring salmon people, the second by the dog salmon, and so in succession came the settlements of all varieties. In front of these towns extended a beautiful, wide, long, grassy beach. The canoe landed at the first town, where *Maqwānts*'s son found himself among countless spring salmon men. In the next, that of the dog salmon, he noticed that the people laughed so much that their teeth projected. On the beach were numerous women digging white roots. *Maqwānts*'s son said to *Skaipts*:

"I want to go for a stroll along the beach."

"All right," replied the salmon-boy, "but do not stay too long, as I want to take you to my father's house in the middle of the town. Its front is painted to represent the jaws of an animal, the doorway being the mouth. It opens when anyone wishes to enter; jump quickly inside and all will be well. If a visitor passes slowly through the doorway, the jaws close and crush him."

Maqwānts's son promised to be absent for a short time only.

As he walked along the beach he saw that all the women whom he had previously noticed were either Canada geese or mallard ducks, and that all were blind. One woman smelt him and called out to her companions:

"*Maqwānts*'s son is here."

"No. It is impossible," they answered, laughing. "He is thousands of miles away."

Maqwānts's son chewed up some of the white roots they had been gathering and spat in the eye of the woman who had smelt him. Thus she gained the sight in that eye.

"Yes, it is *Maqwānts*'s son," she cried out. "I can see him."

[42] Also termed, *Nu'yen-ixim* because it is taboo for salmon to lay eggs there.

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*539 No one believed her. Then he spat in the eye of one of the other women, and she gained the sight of that eye, so was able to confirm the fact that the son of *Maqwänts* was among them. But the others, still disbelieving, asked how he could possibly have reached their country. When he told them the story of his travels they did believe, because many of them knew about the salmon-boy who had gone to live among men. All the women begged to be granted their sight, so he spat in the eyes of everyone and each received vision; if he had not done so, using the power he had received from *Älquntäm*, all geese and mallards would still be blind. The first woman to whom he had given sight showed gratitude by her anxiety for his safety. She told him not to venture among the women who were swimming in a neighbouring river, but instead to go at once to the home of the salmon-boy's father.

Maqwänts's son followed the woman's advice and without difficulty found the house, which resembled a Haida one, with elaborately carved front and totem-pole. In the latter was the jaw-like door, which the visitor passed through safely, to find, within, all the chiefs gathered to meet him, as comrade of *Skatpts*, beside whom he sat down. Food was passed around and accepted by all except *Maqwänts*'s son; he did not like salmon fare, but felt no hunger, thanks to the miraculous food which he carried in his mouth. Towards dusk he suggested to *Skatpts* that they go for a walk to see the town and its inhabitants, and they set out together. The land of the salmon and geese was warm and pleasant so they had an agreeable stroll as far as the last house of the village, where the occupants politely offered them food. The salmon-boy declined it, saying:

"We are just out for a walk, to see the people."

Presently, as they strolled further, *Maqwänts*'s son saw in one of the houses a beautiful merganser woman with whom he fell in love.

"I want to marry that woman," he said to *Skatpts*.

"Don't do that," replied his comrade. "Take any other woman you choose, but she comes of a bad family. She has been married several times, and on each occasion her father has murdered his son-in-law. I should be afraid of *Maqwänts*, if you were killed."

Maqwänts's son persisted, and against the advice and wishes of his comrade he was married forthwith, and spent the night with his bride.

Next morning, as soon as *Maqwänts*'s son had risen, his new father-in-law asked him to go salmon-fishing with him and he agreed. The two embarked on the river in a canoe, *Maqwänts*'s son in the bow. When they reached mid-stream, the merganser man tilted the craft so that his son-in-law was thrown into the river. His father-in-law expected him to be drowned, because no salmon can swim in its own river, but *Maqwänts*'s

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son, being human, easily reached the far shore. The salmon-boy and his father, who had watched the attempted murder from the other bank, took a canoe and fetched the lad back to their side of the river. All the salmon people wanted to kill the evil merganser man, but *Maqwānts*'s son said:

"No. I will settle him myself, tomorrow."

That night he slept again with his wife, who felt that she was pregnant, and the next morning the merganser man and his son-in-law again went out to fish, but this time the latter insisted on taking his place in the stern. In mid-stream he tilted the canoe so that his father-in-law fell out and was drowned. He did so partly in revenge for the attempt upon his own life, partly at the request of his wife, who said that her father was always killing her husbands and destroying her marriages. Next day the wife of the murdered man gave birth to a male child, and on the following day the wife of *Maqwānts*'s son bore twins, a boy and a girl. This was possible because mergansers breed quickly. The twins were somewhat different from the usual merganser or salmon children. Not long afterwards *Maqwānts*'s son said to his comrade's father:

"I want to go home. Neither my father nor my mother knows where I am. They must be grief-stricken."

In fact both *Maqwānts* and her husband were almost prostrated at the loss of their son. The spring salmon chief told everybody to get ready for a journey and in four days the preparations were complete. All the fish accompanied *Maqwānts*'s son, in the van the sardines, then the herring, the olachen and the rest, in the order of their arrival on the British Columbia coast in the spring. The host travelled slowly, camping at night, when they sang and danced, as if on a picnic, but never leaving the land beneath the ocean. When near the mouth of the river the spring salmon chief asked *Maqwānts*'s son to go ahead to tell his father of the coming of the fish people who wanted presents in the shape of mountain goat grease, eagle feathers, and soft cedar-bark, to use as sponges for their babies. So *Maqwānts*'s son with his wife and two children went ahead, in the shape of salmon, and entered his father's fish-weir. The old man was lying on the framework of the dam, weeping over the loss of his son, when he felt four successive jars, indicating that four salmon had entered his trap, but he was too listless to raise it. His son and the latter's family threw off their salmon form and became human.

"Please lift your trap," *Maqwānts*'s son called out to his father. "My children will catch cold."

Recognizing his son's voice, the father joyfully raised the trap, and his delight was unbounded when he saw his son again, with a beautiful wife and two handsome children. *Maqwānts*'s son asked his father to strew the house with clean sand and to summon the neighbours. That

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*539 night when they had assembled, the wanderer told about his adventures and the desires of his friends, the fish, who were waiting in the river. *Maqwänts* and her kinsfolk were delighted with the lovely wife her son had brought home. Next morning the people threw into the river large quantities of mountain goat grease, eagle feathers, and cedar-bark, which the salmon gladly received.

Maqwänts's son told his father that if anyone made his children cry his merganser wife would leave him and never return. On this being explained to the villagers, they all promised never to strike either of the children on any account. Unluckily, the twins were mischievous, always making other little boys and girls cry, but for three years no one raised a finger against them. Then one day a bad boy struck one of the children who ran home sobbing to his mother. She too wept when he came in; when she told her husband that she must leave him, he also began to cry. She took her two children, went to the river side, lifted the edge of the water as if it had been a mat and plunged beneath it. They all swam away as salmon. *Maqwänts*'s son tried to follow, but failed because he had lost his power of changing into a fish.

Since that time no salmon have lived among men.

FURTHER ADVENTURES OF THE SALMON-BOY

One day *Maqwänts*'s son was playing on the beach with a sling, a toy that used to be very popular. As he shot stone after stone out over the water, he thought to himself how happy he should be if he happened to hit and kill a salmon. Then he chanced to see a dead one lying on the beach. It was nothing but skin and bones, but he said to it idly:

"I wish you were alive; then you would be of some use."

To the intense surprise of *Maqwänts*'s son the salmon answered:

"Take me to the river and see what happens then."

The lad picked up the salmon, carried it to the river and threw it in. The fish swam around, jumped clear of the water four times and became strong and well. It swam back to the shore and politely invited *Maqwänts*'s son to go for a ride on his back. The boy agreed. Lifting his cedar-bark cape over his head he lay down on the salmon and sank his face close against its back, so that his nose was in a kind of pocket, protected by the cape. Before long the rider feared he might suffocate, and began to squirm, upon which the salmon hastily bore him to the shore to breathe. He asked what was the trouble and the son of *Maqwänts* replied that he could not breathe under the water. The fish told him to bury his head in the back fin and he would be all right. The rider obeyed and suffered no further inconvenience.

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In a little while they came to some rapids where they saw, still beneath the water, a canoe in which they embarked, *Maqwänts*'s son taking the bow, the salmon, who had become a man, the stern. On and on they went till they smelt countless tiny salmon and were soon in the midst of an innumerable shoal of small fry which crowded the water so that the canoe was in danger of being sunk beneath their weight. *Maqwänts*'s son baled out the fish with his cedar-bark cape, and thus avoided the impending disaster. After passing through these small salmon the journey was continued without incident until a very foul smell arose, indicating an approach to a multitude of herring. Soon the canoe was in the midst of a vast shoal of these fish and again was in grave danger of sinking beneath the weight, but *Maqwänts*'s son cleared it out with his hands.

This danger past, the two went on till they came to a place where a couple of old men were seated on either side of the river leaving only a narrow passage for the canoe. These were halibut, who had taken up this position to intercept all canoes. *Maqwänts*'s son and the salmon bravely drove their craft through the narrow gap, though it was scratched in the process. Soon afterwards the salmon said:

"In a little while we shall see a place where some women bathe in the river, helped by an old man. We shall be able to have a good time with them."

Soon the salmon pointed out the house where the women lived, and the quiet stretch of water in which they bathed. *Maqwänts*'s son went ashore and hid himself. Soon he saw approaching a vile and ugly old man in dirty clothing who sat down on the shore.

"What is your job?" asked *Maqwänts*'s son.

"Oh!" replied the old man. "I sit here and when the women have finished swimming I help them to wash."

After a moment's thought *Maqwänts*'s son said:

"Please exchange clothing with me and then go and hide."

"All right!" answered the old man.

After the two had exchanged clothes, the old man hid himself while *Maqwänts*'s son sat on the beach clad in the other's rags, with his hat pulled down over his eyes to conceal his identity. Presently, four beautiful young girls came along, stripped off their clothing and dived into the water. *Maqwänts*'s son felt very much pleased with himself. When the first girl had finished swimming and came out on to the bank, he washed her by rubbing his hands all over her body, handling her with undue familiarity. She said nothing, merely went to a sunny spot and stood there drying herself. The young man repeated his actions with the second maiden who appeared, and also with the third. Neither said

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*539 anything even when he ran his fingers up between their legs. But when he had finished with the fourth, she turned upon him, indignantly.

"You bad old man!" she burst out. "That is the first time you have ever done such a thing to me."

Maqwänts's son was silent.

"What did he do?" enquired the other three young women.

"He handled me familiarly," said the girl.

"He did the same to me," said the first damsel.

"And to me!" "And to me!" affirmed the second and third.

The fourth girl cursed him fluently, making full use of the wide range of Bella Coola execrations. Instead of answering, *Maqwänts*'s son threw off the old man's rags and stood forth in his true form. At once the four maidens fell in love with him and besought him to marry them. He declined to do so, but when they urged him to stay and be their temporary partner, at least, he agreed. He remained for two days exercising full marital rights.

After that he returned to the canoe and continued his journey with the salmon. When they had gone some distance the latter remarked that they would see more women on the shore; soon they came to a wide beach where they beheld a great number of blind women, who were in reality birds, digging roots. *Maqwänts*'s son watched them eagerly. When they had collected enough, they went into their house and began to cook the roots; silently, he crept in after them.

"I smell *Maqwänts*'s son," said one woman.

The others laughed at her but she persisted in her belief that he was among them. When the food was ready, the cook poured it out on a dish, whereupon the youth took it and concealed it under his cape. Each woman accused her neighbour of the theft; harsh words followed by blows ensued and pandemonium resulted. *Maqwänts*'s son spat in the eye of one of the women, enabling her to see. At this she cried out loudly:

"I have the power of sight in one eye. I see a very handsome young man in the house with us."

He spat in one eye of each, restoring its sight. The women all fell in love with him and wished to marry him but he replied:

"No. I am returning home in a very few days, but if you like I will stay with you for a time."

His hostesses, delighted, thanked him profusely. He, then, spat in the blind eye of each, thus giving her full vision. For several days he lived with the women, bestowing his favour impartially, but in no case did conception follow. Finally he returned to his salmon-canoe which took him home.

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If *Maqwänts*'s son had not visited the land of birds the latter would be blind unto the present day. 539*

THE BOY WHO HAD POWER OVER SALMON

A considerable period, perhaps seven hundred years, after the first people had come to this earth, the wife of *Änukkälsnam*, a Kimsquit man, dreamt that she became a salmon and in this form went up the river and caught a small fish. The following morning, when the woman remembered her dream, she realized that it meant she was about to have a male child. Presently she felt that she was pregnant, and long before the usual time had elapsed, she gave birth to a boy. The infant grew with such extraordinary rapidity that, when only three months old, he was able to sit up in his crib, a three-sided box fitted with a cross-bar, behind which he rested, with his legs projecting. This was the parents' first child, and the father, delighted with the infant's precociousness, gave him his own name, *Änukkälsnam*.

When young *Änukkälsnam* was one year old he had the appearance and ability of a boy of ten, and always accompanied his father on his expeditions, rather to his mother's dread. One day, when the first salmon of the season were running, his father took the lad to the mouth of the river, where he startled his parent by talking in a strange language.

"Father," he said when he had finished, "I have just had a conversation with the river people, who have asked a number of questions about us."

"What people?" the startled father asked.

"The salmon," answered his son. Then the father, remembering the story of *Maqwänts*'s son (II, p. 472) knew that his own son must be partly salmon and partly human, and that the language he had been speaking was that of the former.

He did not reply to his son's remark, and the two continued their journey to the edge of the ocean. When they passed the same spot on the return trip, the boy once more carried on an animated conversation with the salmon, from which, judging by his frequent laughter, he derived much pleasure.

When they reached home, the salmon-boy bade his father invite the people to his house, as he desired to transmit to them the wishes of his friends. As soon as all had assembled, the father told of his son's conversation in a strange tongue, from which he suspected that he must be in part a salmon. This the people readily believed, remembering the phenomenal speed with which he had grown. Acting as spokesman for his son, the father went on to say that the salmon wanted beaten cedar-

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*539 bark, both dyed and undyed, roots, and other articles which they could not obtain in their own land. Next day the people, willing to oblige the salmon, gave *Ănukkălsnam* large quantities of the provisions named, which he cast into the river to the grateful fish.

When twelve years old, *Ănukkălsnam*, strong as a man, began to build a salmon-weir, to the great gratification of his neighbours. Wishing to obtain good cedar logs from *Suxwlk*, on Dean Channel, he set off in his canoe at dawn, before anyone was stirring. He travelled a little distance down the fiord to a bend where many salmon were lying, and at that point he sank his craft beneath the surface of the water, though he continued in human form, nor did the canoe change as it passed amongst the salmon. Their chief recognized *Ănukkălsnam*, whom he greeted by name, and informed him that he was sending four salmon youths to assist him in his task. With their aid the craft sped on, without visible means of propulsion, at a tremendous rate of speed, and soon reached *Suxwlk*, eighteen miles down the fiord, where the four salmon, previously invisible, took on human form and helped the salmon-boy drag the heavy logs to his canoe. Swiftly they went back towards Kimsquit, and at the same point where he had gone beneath the surface, *Ănukkălsnam* brought his canoe from below, and paddled home, normally.

The people of the village, who were just getting up, were amazed at the celerity with which he had accomplished his task, but *Ănukkălsnam* explained that it was due to help which he had received from his salmon friends, and counting on that he had not desired any human aid. But he gladly accepted assistance from everyone in the construction of his fish-weir, so that it was soon finished. In it he caught many salmon, as his knowledge of their habits enabled him to set his trap in a suitable place. The youth repeated to his friends what he had learnt from the fish: that they should have respect for their prey, should never catch more than they could use, and especially should never throw any away.

One December a party of Kimsquit people, among them *Ănukkălsnam*, journeyed to Bella Coola for some ceremony. Returning, they encountered a gale from the northwest in Labouchere Channel which detained them for a whole month. At the end of that time their food was almost exhausted and they were at the point of starvation, having left but one dried dog salmon. One of the party, a man named *Lăklăkls*, whose children were starving, begged *Ănukkălsnam* to help them, promising him a canoe, if he stopped the wind. The salmon-boy agreed to do so, and asked for the single dog salmon left. It had been slit along the backbone and opened for drying, but he spread it out carefully, and placed within it two small stones. Then he bent up the edges of the fish, as they had been in life, and tied them in this position, so that the whole roughly

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resembled a salmon. He carried this effigy to the beach, where, holding it in his arms, he plunged into the water, coming to the surface a little distance from the shore; again he dived, to reappear farther out. When he had done this four times the salmon came to life. Immediately, the wind ceased, as it does in August, when the dog salmon breed. 539*

According to the Bella Coola, the wind does not blow in August lest it incommode the dog salmon, hence, when one of these fish came to life, the wind obligingly ceased.

The travellers returned to Kimsquit, where the story of *Ănukkălsnam*'s exploit was told with wonder and awe, combined with great thankfulness. He was regarded as having received special power from *Ălqunăm* himself, so that people used to beg him to intercede on their behalf with the supreme deity. As accounts of his prowess spread up and down the coast, the Fort Rupert people became jealous and determined to kill him. They sent a war-party for this particular purpose which lurked in hiding where it could watch his movements, and when an opportunity presented itself they slew the salmon-boy, and fled.

THE MURDER OF *Twalălit*[84]

Once long ago a lad who had gone hunting in the mountains came to the house of *Twalălit*, the supernatural hunter of mountain goats, where his wife, *Ălmınmınăm*, was removing the fat from a bear-skin. The animal had just been killed and as she scraped she often ate small tid-bits. She had fastened her blanket with a rope around her stomach so that it would not hamper her movements while working; this is the usual practice, but she had tied the blanket so high that whenever she bent down the lower part of her body became visible. The lad watched unobserved for some time until he became infatuated with the woman. He approached *Ălmınmınăm* and told her of his passion, at which she was not displeased; so the two entered the house where they spent the day lying together, both very happy. Towards dusk *Ălmınmınăm* said:

"*Twalălit*, my husband, will soon return. Don't let him know that we have been together, sit over there," pointing to a place on the other side of the fire.

The lad did so. Before long *Twalălit* came in.

"Hello, *Ălmınmınăm*," he said at once. "I see you have a guest. Has he just come?"

"Why do you always question me whenever you find a stranger here?" *Ălmınmınăm* retorted angrily. "You are too suspicious."

This only increased *Twalălit*'s doubts.

[84]Boas, p. 57, records a somewhat similar story.

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*539 "I suppose you have been misbehaving with the lad," he continued. "That is the meaning of your anger."

"Yes," replied his wife. "What are you going to do about it?"

Twalälhit said no more, nor did he show any resentment; instead he hospitably prepared a comfortable bed for the youth.

"Don't go to sleep," *Älmnmnäm* whispered to him. "If he gets a chance, *Twalälhit* always kills my lovers, and unless you keep awake he will murder you. When he yawns, you do the same."

As darkness settled down *Twalälhit* yawned noisily, saying:

"When I have been out on the mountains all day it makes me yawn, but I cannot go to sleep."

"It affects me the same way," answered the young man, as he too yawned noisily.

This continued for hours, whenever *Twalälhit* yawned the youth imitated him, and neither went to sleep.

It was dawn before *Twalälhit* fell asleep and began to snore. *Älmnmnäm* had warned the lad what to do if this happened, so he rose silently, took *Twalälhit*'s stick,[48] which was planted upright beside the sleeper, and pointed it at him. *Twalälhit* died instantly, as this was the weapon with which he was wont to kill mountain goats by merely pointing.

Up to this time *Twalälhit* had always slain his wife's lovers by causing the planks beneath the bed to turn over so that the occupant was precipitated down a chasm, at the bottom of which there was a pile of bones of those he had murdered in this way. It was because *Älmnmnäm* loved the lad that she not only saved him but showed him how to kill her husband.

The young man did not return to his home, but continued to live with *Älmnmnäm*, who made him immortal. He assumed the name and occupation of *Twalälhit* and it is he who has been seen by fortunate hunters even within recent years. If the evil old *Twalälhit* had not been destroyed there would still be many casualties, but his successor, himself once a hunter, is of a kindly disposition and often gives aid to mortals in their pursuit of game. The old people used to say that unless *Twalälhit* helped a hunter he would be unable to kill mountain goats at all.

THE MURDER OF *Twalälhit*
(*Second Version*)

Long ago hunters venturing into the mountains in pursuit of goats

[481 224] [48] A straight stick about seven feet long such as is carried by all hunters when they go into the mountains to assist them in climbing. *Twalälhit* always carries one.

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often failed to return, though no one knew what became of them. The fate of four brothers was typical of all. *Twaltlîr*, the supernatural hunter, met them and invited them to his house where he gave them a meal, but all the time he was plotting their destruction. He instructed his dog, *Ilaipâl*, to bite off their heads, which the animal did while the brothers were sleeping. *Twaltlîr* slew hunters in this way on many occasions.

Once a youth, hunting with a small dog, met *Twaltlîr*, who invited him into his house as usual. The host gave the unsuspecting mortal a meal and then went out hunting, himself. Heretofore *Twaltlîr*'s wife, *Âlmumudm*, had made no effort to help her husband's victims, but she felt a great affection for this lad, which, he in turn, reciprocated; after misconducting herself, she determined to save him.

"When *Twaltlîr* returns," she warned him, "he will ask you the name of your dog. You must answer *Ilaipâl*, which is the name of his own dog. This will surprise him. He will then ask you if it has another name and you must say, 'Yes! He Who Can Hold Ten Goats in His Mouth at One Time.' Each time he asks you the dog's name, increase the number by ten, 'He Who Can Hold Twenty Goats in His Mouth at One Time,' 'He Who Can Hold Thirty Goats in His Mouth at One Time,' and so on. My husband will be powerless. Above all, do not go to sleep. When *Twaltlîr* yawns noisily, do so yourself, but do not sleep."

Presently the hunter entered the house.

"What is your dog's name?" he immediately asked.

"*Ilaipâl*," replied the youth.

Twaltlîr repeated the question.

"He Who Can Hold Ten Goats in His Mouth at One Time," answered the lad.

He replied in like fashion, repeatedly, as *Âlmumudm* had instructed him, until at last *Twaltlîr*, much puzzled, admitted that the two dogs had identical names.

As darkness fell they went to bed. *Twaltlîr* yawned loudly and the youth imitated him, but neither slept. This continued throughout the night, but towards dawn *Twaltlîr* could keep awake no longer. Through his knowledge of the names of his host's dog, the mortal lad had gained power over it, and he now bade it slay his master, exactly as the latter had ordered it to kill the guest. *Ilaipâl* was prepared to obey the one who remained awake, so he forthwith devoured *Twaltlîr*'s head.

Instead of returning home the fortunate young man became immortal and assumed *Twaltlîr*'s position. It is he who has since been seen, without fatal results, by hunters.

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THE BRAIN SUCKER

Perhaps a hundred years after the first people came down to earth, there remained in *Nuxmálc a* a woman, called *Snalqalqáls*. She was old; so old that the skin on her face hung in great folds, while her breasts and body consisted of a mass of leather-like wrinkles of extreme ugliness. She was so old that she appeared hardly human, more like a witch than a woman. *Áiqanúm*, by his supernatural power, had kept her alive long after her normal span of life had been completed. One day she said to him:

"I want to go down to earth to pay a visit to my friends there."

Áiqanúm agreed, and caused an easy road to appear which led her to the bank of the Kimsquit River, opposite a village. She called out and four brothers who heard her brought her across in their canoe to the settlement, where they admitted her to their house. Then they sent word to all their friends to come and see the scarcely human hag whom they had found, this being the first time that the people had ever seen anybody of the kind.

Presently the four brothers went off to hunt mountain goats, leaving at home their sister, an adolescent girl, in seclusion. Some twenty or thirty people were living in the house, as was customary in the old days, and *Snalqalqáls* was given a place near the door. That evening a baby girl cried incessantly; the mother could not pacify her.

"Please give her to me," said *Snalqalqáls*, "I will put her to sleep."

The old woman took the fretting child in her arms and crooned into her ear:

"*Kulamalikta ólas, ni nainta i nis, hwle, hwle, hwle, hwll.*"
"Hush! Hush! Little girl, *hwle, hwle, hwle, hwll.*"*

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This is the kind of lullaby which mothers sing to their children so no one considered it surprising when the hag bent close to the infant's head. When no one was watching, she inserted her mouth into its ear, sucked out its brains, and thus killed the little one. Then she gave it back to its mother.

"Put it to bed," she said. "The baby is asleep."

The mother obeyed, not knowing what the treacherous old hag had done.

When night came all in the house went to sleep, except the young girl who lay awake, but silent in her corner. Presently she saw the flabby cheeks and lips of the old woman contract into a long, snout-like tube

*This was recorded as song VII D 46b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

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extending from her mouth, which she inserted into the ear of one sleeper after another. The watcher was saved by her ceremonial uncleanness, that ever-potent protection against supernatural beings. No one stirred. Then the old woman went out. For four days the girl remained in her corner, and during that time no human being entered the house, from which she concluded that *Swalqulpāli* had murdered everyone in the village. The old woman herself returned at intervals but the girl said nothing to her.

On the fourth day the girl's brothers returned home, while the old woman happened to be absent. Their sister told them they had made a great mistake in bringing *Swalqulpāli* into the house, for she had killed all its occupants, and probably other households as well. One of the brothers stayed with his sister while the other three went to investigate. It was as the girl had feared; there were only corpses in the houses. She told her brothers that the old woman usually returned at dusk, so before that time the four lay down, feigning sleep, but fully determined to remain awake. Only the eldest, a shaman, carried out his resolve, the other three were soon snoring. When the old woman came in, the eldest youth had drawn his marmot-skin blanket over his face, but through a hole in it he watched the hag's snout materialize and stretch across towards the ear of one of his brothers. He jumped up with a shout, and severed the protruding proboscis with his knife. The four determined to slay the murderess. All night two of them guarded her, and at the first sign of dawn they cut off her head, her arms, and her legs, to cast them with her body into a hole made in the glowing ashes of their fire. Then the five fled up the river valley.

On the fourth day they saw *Swalqulpāli* pursuing them; she had come to life in spite of their efforts to destroy her. Hurriedly they crossed the river, and the eldest brother waited to watch for their enemy. When she was in mid-stream he reversed his marmot-skin coat, and immediately ice formed on the river which surrounded the old woman. They heard her calling after them, asking them to cut away the ice from about her face; they paid no heed, but continued their flight until night overtook them. The four brothers climbed a tree to be safe from *Swalqulpāli*, while their sister, protected by her uncleanness, remained below. At daybreak they continued their flight, kept going all day, and again climbed a tree to pass the night. All this time they thought they were upon their own well-travelled, well-known road, but instead it was the trail to *Sengʷ* they were following, and soon they saw a magnificent house with a man inside of it. The house was *Nuxmāʿa* and the man *Ālqnxtēm*, but they did not know this.

He invited them to enter. The five wanderers told him of their mis-

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*539 fortunes, how all their people had been murdered by an old woman who had sucked out their brains through their ears, and how she was even now pursuing them.

"I know about her," their host answered.

This was the first inkling he had received of the crimes she had committed on earth.

Shortly afterwards *Sculpulpilt* came along, panting and tottering on two walking-sticks.

"I am tired," she said, but *Alpuntsw* said sternly:

"I know now about all the evil you have wrought on earth."

He took a whip and beat her unmercifully. When he had finished he opened his door, and tore her to tiny shreds which he threw outside, saying:

"Henceforth you shall be mosquitoes."

[525] The fragments floated down to Kimsquit, where ever since there have

"Don't be down-hearted about the loss of your friends. I will help you. Spend the night with me, but tomorrow, when I send you home, I will give you something to restore the dead."

Next morning after breakfast he gave the eldest youth a small quantity of what looked like water, a drop of which he told him to put into each ear, each nostril, and the mouth of every dead one, for restoration. They were then told to return to earth on the road by which they had come, which would be made easy for them. It was as he had said; thanks to *Alpuntsw*'s care, they reached earth in two days and one night. As soon as they came to their village the eldest boy first restored his parents, afterwards all the other people; to them it seemed as if they had only been asleep; none of them realized he had been dead. The eldest boy became wealthy through presents given to him in gratitude by those he had restored.

THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED WOLF

Once upon a time there was a young girl who was secluded in the corner of her house following puberty. Growing weary of her imprisonment, she one day slipped out through the hole in the floor to pick berries in the forest. Here she met a handsome young man who made love to her; at first she spurned him but at length gave in, and, immediately afterwards, the youth suggested that she return with him to his home, saying she could go back when she so desired; to this she agreed. They soon reached his house within which was his father, Wolf, who wore a wolf blanket and had a wolf's tail; only his face was human. As the old man moved around the house his tail almost went into the fire.

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"Take care!" the girl cried out, "you will burn your tail."

Much to her terror the old man became furiously angry and showered to him her.

Her lover had been absent when this was taking place but on his return she complained to him.

"What did you say that so angered father?" he asked.

"I told him his tail had almost caught fire," she replied.

"You must never do that," he answered, "it annoys him. Speak of his tail as his quiver, his arrows are inside."

The girl promised to remember, but she was badly frightened and wanted to go home, fearing lest her lover's father should devour her. They would not consent to her return; so it was like being in a prison.

One day as she was walking on a level crest of beach near the house the girl saw a huge mouth gaping before her from the sand. It was probably a shark, lying motionless to wait for its prey. Bravely she cut a stick, inserted it in the monster's jaws to wedge them open, then went back to her lover's house and told him that she had seen a strange sight, a yawning mouth like a house. "[illegible]" [illegible] the girl following. They plunged boldly down inside the mouth, whereupon she kicked away the stick, thus preventing their egress. The monster slowly shook himself, waddled to the sea and swam away with his victims.

The girl returned to Wolf's house where her lover's father had been left alone. She built a large fire in which she put a number of his stones, then suddenly showed the old man into it and held him down until he was burnt to death.

There was now nothing to prevent her return to her own home, so she set out. She arrived without further adventures and was welcomed in one back from the dead, a year having elapsed since she had disappeared. Remembering the stores of smoked deer and mountain goat meat in Wolf's house, she guided her relatives to this and they brought back large quantities of the food.

STUMP AND HIS WIFE*

Once upon a time, there was a little girl secluded in a corner of her house for the year following puberty. She frequently put on one side the food which her parents brought her, planning to wait until she needed it, but her elder brother used to steal this for himself, thus adding hunger to the discomfort of her confinement.

"What do you mean by stealing my food?" she asked him one day.

*For another version of this story, see Boas, p. 100.

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"It is because you are so greedy that no woman will have intercourse with you."

"Rot!" he replied. "I could sleep with you if I wanted."

That night as the girl was sleeping, her brother came and seduced her. She awoke just as he was leaving, too late to discover who her seducer had been. Thinking that whoever it was might return, she determined to remain awake the next night. For hours she lay feigning sleep, but towards dawn could keep awake no longer. Then her evil brother came again, as before fleeing as she awoke. She was much puzzled, unable to think who her lover might be. The third night she mixed some paint with gum and grease, warmed the mixture by the fire and went to sleep with it beside her. Once again her brother held intercourse, but this time, though he fled when she awoke and she was unable to see his face, she had been quick enough to throw out her arms, smeared with the sticky paint, and felt them come in contact with the man's body.

All the next day the girl kept peering out through the cracks in the wall of the house hoping to see a lad stained with paint. In the distance she could see the village boys playing, and noticed that one had stains on his body, but she was not close enough to recognize who it was. So she called one of her younger sisters.

"Go and see," she said, "who that is with paint stains on his back."

The younger child returned quickly.

"What's the matter?" she asked. "Can't you see? It is our oldest brother."

The girl was covered with shame and mortification. For four days she ate nothing, then gathered her few possessions—comb, paint, and so forth—into a small bundle, and set out, not caring where she went. Her younger sister saw her slip out through the hole in the floor.

"Where are you going?" she asked.

"Oh, I am just going to get some spruce gum to chew," she answered. "You run home."

The little girl did not want to go home, but turned back when her elder sister spoke sharply to her. Still intent on following, she hid in some bushes hoping that her sister would not notice, but the latter had become suspicious and watched. When she saw what the younger one had done, she turned back, caught the little girl, and, disregarding her struggles, tied her to a tree so that she could not come after her.

The elder sister now set out on her lonely journey, following a dried-up water-course which she ascended. Though she did not know it, this was the dry river-bed leading from Alquentin's house to this world, a track which often figures in Bella Coola mythology. To anyone else the stony river-bed would have been difficult of access, to her it was like a fine road.

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After a considerable period she heard the sound of axe strokes and, continuing her course, found that this was made by a middle-aged man with a huge head who was working at a salmon-weir. He was *Tmiax*, the water-scoured tree-stump with branching white roots such as is found in all rivers, but the girl did not know this. Stump saw her.

"Will you be my wife?" he asked.

"All right," she answered.

"Then come home with me."

The girl fearlessly accompanied Stump to his house, within which she saw sitting in a corner an old, old woman who had lost the use of her legs. As Stump was building a fire the old woman whispered to the newcomer:

"Don't eat any food that he gives you, or you will become helpless like me. I was once his wife. When he offers you food, accept it, but slip it down under your blanket into this pouch, and chew the sinew that fastens your blanket as if you were masticating."

As she said this the old woman handed the girl a small skin pouch.

Meanwhile Stump had prepared a meal. He gave his new wife, as a delicacy, some smoked meat of spring salmon which had spawned. She pretended to eat, but in reality slipped it down into her pouch as the old woman had directed.

Then Stump said, "The lice in my hair must be numerous as I am itching and uncomfortable. I want to scratch all the time. Please delouse me."

"All right," said the girl. "You lead the way to a suitable place for the operation and I will follow."

Stump went outside.

As his wife was following, the crone whispered to her:

"Take my bone knife." The girl took it and the old woman continued: "What he calls lice are really toads which infest his hair. Use the knife to pierce them, then throw each far away, and as you do so close your teeth noisily as if you had bitten it."

Stump was waiting near the door. His wife carried out the old woman's instructions; she pierced toad after toad, and as she threw each away she clacked her teeth. Once he became suspicious that she was not eating his "lice" and asked:

"What is that noise?"

"Oh, that is just squirrels dropping cones from the tree-tops," she answered, though of course it was made by the bodies of the toads striking the ground.

When the operation was completed, Stump, saying he must work at his salmon-weir, gathered up his tools and went off. This seemed to the girl a chance to escape and she rushed off again up the river-bed.

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*539 But as soon as she had left the house the chamber-vessel called out: "Stump! Stump! Stump! Come quickly, your wife has run away."

Stump dashed off and soon caught the girl whom he dragged back to his house.

"Don't be such a fool as to try to run away," he said. "I can get you wherever you go."

The girl pretended that she was resigned to her fate so Stump went back to work. Then the old woman called to her.

"His chamber-vessel always spies for him," she said, "but if you bore holes around the rim it will become helpless."

The girl perforated the vessel. Whereupon the old woman gave her four presents, a whetstone, a comb, a mountain goat bladder filled with oil, and a bone needle.

"Take these," she said, "and when your husband pursues you throw one after the other behind you; they will delay him."

Thus provided for, the girl fled again. The chamber-vessel, seeing her leave, tried to warn his master but could do no more than cry, "*xwo-la! xwo-la! xwo-la! xwo-lo-!*" for the power of speaking had been taken from it. For a long time Stump paid no attention to this senseless calling, but at last, urged by curiosity, he returned to find the vessel perforated and his wife gone. At once he set off in pursuit up the river-bed. He could travel more rapidly than the girl, who soon realized that she was being followed. Before long he had almost overtaken her, so she threw behind her the bladder filled with oil; it became a large lake. Stump had to go around this, and by the time he had done so, his wife was far in advance. He grimly pressed after her, again gaining rapidly, until once more she was almost within his clutches. This time she dropped the comb which grew into a thick forest of small, spiky trees. Stump plunged into this but his large head was constantly becoming entangled.

"Which way did you go?" he called to his wife.

"Straight through the middle, come along," she answered him mockingly.

After considerable delay Stump succeeded in penetrating the forest and once more set off after the fugitive. He followed her trail relentlessly until again he was but a short distance behind when she cast the bone needle on the ground. Instantly there arose between husband and wife a multitude of small, sharp needles, which pierced Stump's feet so that he could only advance slowly, picking his steps with caution. Again he asked the girl how she had traversed this patch, and as before she said she had come through the middle. At last Stump reached the end of this area and again took up the trail of his wife. Once again he gained

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on her, until, when she was just before him, she threw down the whetstone; it became a massive stone rampart entirely hiding her. 539*

She continued her journey and presently came to a house, through a crack in the wall of which she saw a man. It was *Älquntäm*, but she was not aware of this. He sensed her presence and greeted the girl:

"I have known for some time that you would come, for you have fled from your home in trouble. I have been waiting for you, you shall be my wife. Don't be afraid; come in."

The girl slowly entered though almost driven back by the great heat. *Älquntäm* rubbed his hands over her face and at once she ceased to feel it. The two sat down and had supper together very happily. Presently Stump appeared.

"Have you seen my wife?" he roared through the doorway.

"Perhaps this is she," replied *Älquntäm*. "Come in and see."

Stump's head was so big that he could not get through the door, but, by craning his neck, he could see that it was his lost wife inside, and he called out that she was there. *Älquntäm* wrapped his blankets around himself and went to the door, then suddenly threw them open, whereupon the heat was so great that Stump's branching head caught fire. He was consumed entirely, not even ashes were left.

The girl lived happily with *Älquntäm*, soon giving birth to a son. The infant grew with such remarkable speed that when he was the size and had the appearance of a child of three, he had the intelligence of a man. Realizing that his mother was lonely and sometimes wished to see her parents, he told his father of this; *Älquntäm* was grateful for the suggestion.

"Don't fret," he said to his wife. "Your mother is not far away."

The woman looked down and saw her home as if it were just beneath her feet.

"If you want to visit your mother," continued her husband, "you can do so on my eye-lashes."

By "eye-lashes" he meant the beams of the sun on which the thoughts of mortals penetrate to *Älquntäm*. [821]

Next morning the woman took her child, descended on *Älquntäm*'s eye-lashes and soon landed at the door of her father's house. Her mother was weeping, as indeed she had done incessantly since the loss of her daughter. The girl did not enter at once, but rapped with a stick on the wall near where her mother was sitting. The woman thought that someone was being mischievous and sent a little girl of six to investigate.

"It is my sister, with a baby," she called out as she came running back.

"Don't lie to me," the mother answered. "It is impossible, your sister has been dead for more than a year."

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*539 The woman sent another messenger, a child of about ten, who likewise reported that it was indeed the missing girl; then the mother rushed out, and was overjoyed to see her long-lost daughter. Equally great was the latter's delight at sight of her mother. *Ăłquntăm*'s wife told her relatives to spread sand on the floor of the house, and when this was done she entered through a hole in the roof, being careful not to use the door.

The mother and her child stayed for some time on earth. The little boy used to play with the other children who often made fun of him because his eyes were feeble. Sometimes they even said:

"Your father cannot be *Ăłquntăm*, if he were, your eyes would be all right."

This so angered the child that at last he returned to his father's house above. No one knows whether or not his mother accompanied him.

STUMP AND HIS WIFE
(*Second Version*)

Stump once appeared in the guise of a handsome man to a woman whom he invited to his home. She agreed to go, ignorant of his true form, and followed him to his house, where the two sat down together to a meal. Afterwards, Stump asked her to remove and eat the lice which infested his hair. They went outside and when he moved his head so that the sun fell on it the woman saw, to her horror, that it was covered with toads. Instead of eating them as her husband had directed, she merely bit them and spat them from her mouth. On returning to Stump's house she sat down; presently when she tried to rise she found she could not—roots had grown from her body fastening her to the ground. She had become a *Nusqıłbutsăx*, the term applied to a person thus fastened to one spot.

This version then describes how in course of time Stump caught another girl, the heroine of the first tale, and how the *Nusqıłbutsăx* kept warning her every day that when her husband asked her to remove his lice she must stab them with a needle and throw them away. On warm days the vermin worried Stump; it was on one of these that he asked his girl wife to cleanse his head, which she did in the manner already described. *Nusqıłbutsăx* told the girl how she would be able to escape with the assistance of four presents, a whetstone, a comb, a goat bladder filled with goat grease, and a cloud.

The girl fled away, but Stump, warned of her flight by his chamber-vessel's cry of "*xwo·la! xwo·la! xwo·la! xwo·lo··!*," sped after her. He had almost caught her when she threw behind her the cloud; instantly Stump was enveloped in a dense fog which so delayed him that his wife was able to get far ahead of him. When it melted away he continued the pursuit

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and had almost caught his wife when she dropped the bladder which became a lake around the edge of which her pursuer had to make his way. Again he almost overtook her, but she eluded him by throwing the whetstone, which grew to a precipitous mountain without trees. For a long time Stump was unable to scale this, but at last he succeeded. A fourth time he drew near his wife, but she hurled down the comb which became a forest consisting of sparse, large trees with dense undergrowth between. Stump's hair became entangled in the branches so that he could make little progress. 539*

This version briefly describes how the woman reached *Ăłquntăm*'s home, though unaware that she had been climbing, how he made her his wife, and how he set fire to the pursuing Stump.

THE GIRLS WHO VISITED *Nusmăt·a*

Not long after the earth was first populated, there was living in Kimsquit a man who had four daughters, the eldest about sixteen years old. Some four years before the story opens, this girl had reached puberty, when, according to custom, she was secluded in a corner of the house for one year. Whether on account of poverty, or for some other reason, when this period had elapsed the father did not make the necessary arrangements for her marriage, but continued to keep her in confinement. As the second and third daughter in turn reached adolescence, each was shut up with the eldest, who had been virtually a prisoner for four years. Whenever they left the house their harsh mother went with them to see that they spoke to no one; they were most unhappy. At length they decided to flee from home, not caring whither they went. On confiding their intention to the youngest sister, who had not yet reached womanhood, she insisted on joining them.

The four watched for an opportunity to slip away from the village unobserved. Not heeding where they were going, they followed a track up the river bank; it led to *Sonx*^{w}', though they knew it not. At length they came to a house, and, peering within, saw a man who invited them to enter, saying that he knew about them. They went in and sat down, realizing for the first time that the house was rather peculiar, bigger than any they had ever seen, and that the people, too, were different. It was *Nusmăt·a*, and the man was *Ăłquntăm* himself; he had willed the little girls to come that way, though they were unaware of it at the time. Their host's slave brought them a meal consisting of four bearberries which he served on a tiny thimble-like dish. The hungry little girls thought there would not be enough for all, but, though they said nothing, *Ăłquntăm*'s wife knew their thoughts and told them that they would be unable to

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*539 consume the food. This proved to be the case; though they ate their fill, the four berries were always miraculously replaced. Evening had come by the time the meal was over, and *Ăłquntăm*'s wife prepared a bed on which the sisters slept comfortably for the night.

In the morning the two youngest sisters were crying bitterly. *Ăłquntăm* asked the eldest what was the matter.

"They are afraid that they will never be able to return home," she replied.

To convince them that there was no such danger, he took down the wall of *Nusmăt·a*, then rubbed their eyes, enabling them to see their own country spread out beneath, as if it were indeed only a little distance away, as he said it was. Their vision travelled on *Ăłquntăm*'s eye-lashes, the rays of the sun such as are visible when its light is breaking through the clouds, or when there is much dust in the atmosphere. This is the route by which the prayers of mortals ascend to the supreme being. The girls were comforted by the thought that their home was so near. In readiness for their departure, their host's wife gave the eldest girl a whetstone, a comb, some eagle down, and a basket so closely woven that it would hold water. *Ăłquntăm* indicated the place where she would arrive on earth, from which two roads led to Kimsquit, and told her that on one of these, which he also pointed out, there dwelt an evil monster, so the other must be taken. Then he called the four sisters to him.

"I am going to put you all into this basket," he said, "and lower you to your home. As you descend keep your eyes closed, or great harm will befall you. When you reach the earth you will know it by the bump of the basket on the ground; then, and not until then, you may open your eyes. Get out and shake the rope, so that I will know you are all right. When you are on earth, should the monster chase you, use the presents which my wife has given you: As he follows, set the whetstone upright behind you to serve as a barrier. If he surmounts that, place the comb behind you, and if both of these fail, shake out the eagle down to blind the enemy."

Ăłquntăm packed the girls into the basket and tied them carefully. He put the eldest on top, as if she were a brooding bird, entirely covering her younger sisters, so that they could not peek out, even if they had been tempted to disregard his instructions.

The supreme being lowered the basket carefully until the sisters felt a gentle bump and knew they had reached earth. Then the eldest girl opened her eyes, lifted out her younger sisters, shook the rope, and watched the basket as it was hauled aloft. The four started off and soon reached the point where there were two diverging trails to Kimsquit, one of which led past the home of the monster whose name was *Ostăłkoy*ʷ,

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"Lake-Swallower."[48] Though *Ăłqunŭm* had given most explicit directions not to follow this road, the youngest girl had set her heart on taking it and would not listen to the entreaties of the others. At length the wilful one set out on the forbidden path, and her sisters, unwilling to have her go alone, decided to accompany her, though the eldest was very much frightened. 539*

Soon they came to Lake-Swallower's house, near a pond. Inside the door was an old woman, paralysed from her knees down, who told them they had made a great mistake in coming by that road; she too had erred in her youth, with the result that the monster had captured her and she was unable to leave his house, though he had never actually hurt her. The eldest sister explained that it was all due to the folly of the youngest that they had ventured on the wrong trail. Whereupon the little girl began to cry bitterly. The old woman continued:

"Lake-Swallower will return shortly. He always eats a meal of dry mountain goat bones, then he goes to the pool for a drink. Your only chance of escape is while he is drinking, since, once started, he cannot stop until the water is exhausted."

Presently in came Lake-Swallower, a giant, ten feet tall and of massive proportions; from his belt dangled two mountain goats which he carried as easily as a human hunter would have carried two grouse. He gulped down the two animals for his meal, like a wolf, devouring skin, bones, and meat. When he had finished, he called to him the four little girls, whom he was delighted to see in his house, and bade them go with him to the lake, where he proposed to drink. He told them to lift his head by the top-knot when he had swallowed enough, because, unless helped, he was unable to stop until the lake was dry.

The girls went with him, but as soon as he began to drink they fled back to the fork in the road where they had so foolishly disobeyed *Ăłqunŭm*'s instructions. Lake-Swallower could not stop, but with each gulp he took in so large a quantity of water that soon he had drained the pool. Then he set off in pursuit of the fleeing girls.

He gained on them rapidly and had almost overtaken them when the eldest, who was in the rear, set the whetstone upright behind her; it became a steep mountain which Lake-Swallower could not surmount. He hurried round the obstacle, however, and again found the trail of his quarry. Once more he was on the point of catching the girls when the eldest placed the comb in his track; instantly, there sprang up a forest of tangled undergrowth, which delayed the monster for a considerable period. At length he forced his way through, and again he had almost captured the four when the eldest threw out the eagle down. This turned

[48] Literally, "He Who Has a Lake in His Head."

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*539 into a mist which so utterly blinded and confused Lake-Swallower that he was forced to abandon the pursuit. Without further difficulty the four sisters reached home, where they were received with great rejoicing, especially when their friends heard of the dangers through which they had passed.

THE SUN'S CAPTOR

*539 821 Long, long ago, a woman was sitting on the ground with her back to the sun, who noticed her. He came down and rubbed his hand over her back, causing her to become pregnant, then went back to his station above. The child grew so rapidly that the woman bore a son before the usual period had elapsed. This little boy grew with phenomenal rapidity. One day he asked his mother if he might go up to see his father, and when she consented, he built a long ladder up which he climbed until he reached the land above. When the sun drew near, his son spoke to him, saying that his mother had allowed him to come up to see him, and suggesting that he bring her on a later visit. The father agreed and the boy descended to his mother on earth.

A few days later, when the lad and his mother climbed above, the sun disregarded them entirely, and continued his course without seeming to be aware of their presence. Angry at his father's callousness, the lad asked his mother to give him a pubic hair with which to make a noose to catch the sun.

"Don't be silly," she answered. "The great heat will burn it."

Her son persisted until she finally gave him a single hair from between her legs. This he rolled into a rope with a noose at the end, and hung it from a stick in the course of his father. When the sun came along he was fairly caught in the noose. Thus restrained, he could no longer shine on the earth; the people were filled with wonder, though they were rather thankful, as heretofore there had been perpetual summer.

"It is your son who has caught you," said the boy to his captive father. "You thought yourself too strong. The people down below do not want you to shine all the time; if I release you, you must hide yourself at regular intervals."

The sun agreed to do this. Then the lad untied the noose and the captive went off in his wonted path. To regulate his father's movements, [823] and to ensure his remaining at a safe distance during the winter, the lad raised high mountains at Kimsquit, Ulkatcho, and Leguc, which still limit the sun's course.

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THE SUN'S CHILD

Very long ago there lived at *Stuux* a chief whose daughter, Copper, was a source of perpetual worry to him. The girl was restless and disobedient, always wandering off by herself and being on too friendly terms with men. At last the father, losing his patience, told Copper to go her own way, that he would have nothing more to do with her. She wandered about, aimlessly, from place to place until she came to a road leading up to a large house within which was a man; it was the dwelling of the supreme deity, but the girl did not know this. *Älquntäm* asked her to come in, surprised her by calling her by name, and talked to her about the trouble she had had with her father. In this way Copper discovered the identity of her host. She stayed with him that night, and in the morning he told her to go home.

"How?" she asked.

"On the power of my eye," replied *Älquntäm*.

With that he opened a hole in the side of his house and sent her sliding down to her father's upon one of his eye-lashes, a sunbeam. Though Copper had spent but a single night with *Älquntäm*, it was equivalent to a year upon the earth and in that time she had conceived, passed through the period of pregnancy and given birth to a male child of whom *Älquntäm* was the father. Copper carried the infant with her on returning to her own home, outside of which she waited until a younger sister chanced to see her. The little girl rushed to her mother saying:

"Copper has come back!"

The old woman did not believe her and was angry. When another of Copper's sisters had confirmed the news, the mother believed it and was glad. Copper told them to spread clean sand on the floor for herself and her child, then, removing a board from the roof, she entered the house from above.

As time went on Copper's son throve and grew big enough to play with other little boys. But he had inherited from his father some of the heat-giving power of the sun so that he burnt his playmates who were naturally angry and showed their resentment by calling him a bastard. Mortified at this insult, the child told his mother, who instructed him to prepare a bow and a large number of arrows. When he had done so, she told him to shoot upwards. His first arrow went so high it stuck in the floor of *Sonx*ʷ itself. He sent up arrow after arrow and each lodged at the base of its predecessor, until a ladder was formed to the land above. Up this the boy climbed, each arrow falling to the ground as soon as he had transferred his weight to the one immediately above. On reaching the upper regions, the lad proceeded to the house of his father and told

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*539 him how unhappy he was, because people on earth called him a bastard.
821 "Never mind, my son," said *Ăłquntăm*. "Presently, I will let you do my work and then you will be more powerful than anyone on earth."

Next morning the father sent the lad off to act as sun, giving him the usual supply of heat. But the boy was so angry with the people on earth that he increased this supply, hoping to burn up the whole of them. Seeing some children at play, he swooped down to slay them; it became so hot that water boiled in the lakes and rivers and the whole race of mankind was roasted to death. Most of the animals escaped by hiding in bur-
[825] rows, but not the black bear, who at that time had a white coat. It was burnt black and has remained that colour ever since, while the grizzly was scorched to his present rustiness. The deer and the weasel failed to hide their tails, both of which were burnt; that is why each has a black tip to this day.

Ăłquntăm, angry at his son for killing everybody, restored all to life,
[825] and broke the malicious child into countless pieces which he threw down to earth in the form of mosquitoes.

Catastrophic Stories

538 Disasters which occurred in the distant past provide themes for stories of a non-ceremonial nature.

THE FAMINE

*539 *Kā'lăn·a* was a Kimsquit man who made a practice of watching the sun; from its movements he was able to foretell the solstices and other coming events. One winter, long ago, the sun, instead of stopping at its usual place, continued far beyond its proper course. *Kā'lăn·a* was much worried and prophesied strange changes, with famine; he called on the young men to weep, but instead they merely laughed at him. Next summer, when there was plenty of fish, berries, and other foods, the people jeered at the prophet. For four years there was the same plentiful hunting and collecting, but in the fifth came a great change. It failed to become warm in April; the berries flowered, but the constant cold wind prevented their fruit from ripening. Few fish entered the river, and even they could not be caught because the water remained so clear. The same conditions prevailed for four years until the people were starving; their only food was porcupine and mountain goat, with a few trout caught on hook and line. About this time a Kimsquit man, *Ťsaixlid*, went goat-hunting behind his village, and one night after setting his snares, lay down in a cave. He could not sleep, and presently heard the

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goats talking in his own language and laughing together at his poor workmanship in setting the traps. The following day he found that he had caught nothing, but, heeding what he had heard the animals say, he changed his nooses, and discovered next morning that he had secured a large number. Thus he virtually became a shaman. 539*

The people were in dire straits for food. Among other expedients they tried to dip up salmon from the ocean, and when they failed, boiled and drank instead the water where the fish had jumped, as it was thought to be slightly flavoured. Even the clams and mussels were dead, so that fern-roots and trout were the only dependable foods.

At this time there was living at *Nuxwdst* an unmarried woman with a child, who like everyone else, was starving. She used to support herself by hunting eels on the beach. One morning she saw a number of gulls feeding on something, and, driving them off, she found that it was a stranded porpoise. The woman returned for her basket and knife, cut up the food and took it home to hide. A young orphan boy frequently helped her to gather firewood, an onerous task because at this distant period there were no trees, only stunted, grass-like bushes. One day the lad came to her, starving, and she gave him food secretly. He returned several times, and the people wondered where he derived his strength, but no one was able to find out because she opened her store only at night and hid it before morning.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE FAMINE

One year long ago there was famine. The warm weather did not come to ripen the berries, and the rivers stayed so clear that no fish could be caught, because they saw the net or fisherman. The people were starving and went everywhere in search of food; many men wandered off to hunt in unknown regions and no one knew how they died. Hunger drove many persons to boil and drink water from the river where they had seen salmon jumping in the hope that some savour of the fish might be left in it. At *Stuix* there lived a certain *Qwaiutsamlaix*, who had two children and a very strong slave. Instead of ranging far afield, this man used to go a short distance down the river below his house and spear trout to keep himself alive. He usually fished at night, making torches of cedar-roots which he had straightened for the purpose. *Qwaiutsamlaix* was tolerably successful, more so than his neighbours, among whom was a woman whose husband had starved to death; in her extremity she used to boil the blood, scales, and refuse of the trout which she gleaned from his canoe.

One day *Qwaiutsamlaix* and his slave were near *Tsimotl*, making a fish-dam. The workman was so strong that he had made two for his

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*539 master, who was the only person ever known to have more than one. On this occasion *Qwaiutsamlaix* saw a movement in the water near his canoe and speared at it, thinking it to be a salmon; he felt the impact of a successful throw, but when he pulled in the rope, he found that it had been cut. The slave suggested that it must have been a beaver. The following afternoon when they were returning to *Stuix*, and were only a short distance below that village, they saw something move on the bank and, going ashore, *Qwaiutsamlaix* found that it was a wolverine devouring a beaver in the back of which was embedded his detachable harpoon-head. The wolverine, startled by the man's sudden appearance, fled up a single tall tree. *Qwaiutsamlaix* called his slave and the two felled it so that it crashed into the water and drowned the animal. By the time they had finished, it was too late to return to *Stuix* so they camped for the night at the edge of a pool of water formed by the river overflowing its banks. There was a thin coating of ice over the pond, but during the night *Qwaiutsamlaix* heard, or perhaps sensed, that there were trout in the pool. Next morning he broke the ice and caught a great number of the fish, on which they breakfasted heartily. The fisherman realized that here was a valuable source of food, and accordingly, with the aid of his slave, he made a stockade to prevent the fish from escaping back to the main river. This occupied a large part of the day. When the enclosure was finished, *Qwaiutsamlaix* returned to *Stuix* and told the woman that she would have no further need to exist on the refuse of trout since he had obtained a great abundance of food. She returned with him to the place where the fish were imprisoned; the two, with the slave, subsisted on them for the period of the famine, about one and a half years. They lived in tolerable comfort though many people starved to death.

THE FLOOD[49]

Once, long ago, it began to rain steadily. The mountain creeks became swollen, then the rivers, and the valleys became flooded. The people were forced to make canoes, and the improvident were in trouble when the waters continued to rise; some were taken aboard by their relatives, others were drowned. The valleys were filled; at first a number of mountain tops were left exposed, but finally the bare peak of *Nusqalst*, the highest in the Bella Coola valley, alone rose above the raging torrent. The Bella Coola were driven to this spot where a large camp was formed. The gales were so strong there, that on two occasions the mooring-rope of a canoe broke; one was carried away towards the Skeena and another towards China Hat. The occupants settled in these two localities and

[49]For another account of the flood see Boas, p. 96.

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have since, in their songs, told of Bella Coola, but have not been able to return. A canoe from the lower Fraser, with its occupants, landed on Mount *Nuxqalst*. The flood lasted until food was almost gone, but at last the waters subsided. Many people had been drowned, others had died from starvation, so that there were fewer Bella Coola villages after the deluge than before. 539*

Many years afterwards, two men at different times climbed to the summit of *Nuxqalst* and found a number of relics proving the existence of a large camp, and thus confirming the tradition of the flood. Hundreds of years later, *Xoqotlis*, a man from *Nuxqalst* village, scaled the peak, but a gale prevented any search for remains. *Xoqotlis* determined that he would succeed on some future occasion, and for twelve months observed continence. On the same day of the next year he again climbed the mountain. Owing to the care with which he had purified himself it was a fine day; there was neither wind nor clouds, only brilliant sunshine. After finding spoons and other relics of the camp, all turned to stone, he took up a position on the *very summit, and looked to the east* where he saw the tide-flats of the upper world. Then he looked southwards, where he saw a huge column of smoke rising vertically; it rose from a beautiful seashore where no house was visible, so he judged it was from the abode of *Kāmai-ts*. Looking west, he saw a pleasant country, but when he looked north all was dark and ominous. When he had completed the circle, moving in the same direction as the sun, he started to descend. His fellow-villagers, knowing of his effort, were awaiting his return and went to meet him when, on the third day, they saw him approaching. He summoned them all to his own house, and, standing on a box, told them what he had seen. When the story was finished, a sudden gust of wind blew open the door, although it had been a calm day. Ashes were blown over *Xoqotlis* and he fell dead, without a mark on his body. The people were grieved, not only on account of the loss of their companion, but because they wished to hear more of what he had seen.

As further evidence of the flood it is said that a white man has seen a white man's anchor above the timber-line on Mount Kwatna, forty miles to the west of Bella Coola. The presence of clams in the upper Bella Coola valley is also accepted as proof of the flood, though the shell-fish are really fresh-water mussels.

According to another version, the climber, on his first trip, saw fragments of mooring ropes and hooks used for raising salmon-traps, all reduced to the consistency of burnt paper. A gale then forced him back. After a year's continence, he again scaled the mountain choosing a windless day for the attempt, and not only regained the point he had reached on the previous occasion, but scaled to a pleasant land which he thought was the home of *Kāmai-ts*. He returned in safety and lived to a great age.

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*539 Another account of the flood states that while many persons fled to Mount *Nusqalst*, others took refuge on the summit of the mountain opposite to it, on the north side of the Bella Coola River. The waters continued to rise until this latter peak was on the point of being submerged, when it requested *Nusqalst* to give it some of itself. *Nusqalst* complied, and gave to the other the small knob that projects from its summit. This was not inundated.

Kimsquit too was flooded at the same time. The Kimsquit River rose until the people were driven to the slopes of the mountain now known as *Sulukst*, to the west of the river. Here they were forced to camp for several months, and it is from this event that the river received its name, which means "Many Houses." The Dean River people were driven to Mount *Swaky*, where, in later years, indications of their sojourn were to be found, such as mooring loops for canoes, hooks for lifting fish-traps, and various utensils. One man tried to remove some of these relics, but they crumbled in his hands as if they had been burnt paper.

According to Bella Coola belief, the flood was not limited to any one locality. As evidence of its occurrence in Fort Rupert the following myth was related by a man who had heard it from his father's father, a Fort Rupert Indian.

One of the latter's ancestors, having dreamt that a flood would cover the earth, prepared a great quantity of gum with which he pitched his house both inside and out. Presently it began to rain, and the deluge continued until the whole land was covered, but this man dwelt secure in his rain-proof house. When at last he heard the sound of drops on the roof, he knew that the flood must have diminished so he dared open his door. When he and his family went outside they found on the shore two *susiutl*, the supernatural double-headed salmon that cause land-slides. From this event the man took the designation, *Nukao·sa*. When the present owner of the name performs his ceremonial, the beating-boards are in the shape of a *susiutl*, and there appears a masked figure of a man who always shields his face with his arm. This appears to be an allusion to the man protecting himself from the waters.[70]

It is said that the time of the great heat[71] occurred soon after the flood.

Historical Stories

538 173 Although the Bella Coola regard all the stories included in this chapter as chronicles of events, yet they realize that all the preceding possess elements of the supernatural which are

[70] It was impossible to learn the type of ceremonial of which this story serves as origin myth; it has accordingly been included in this miscellaneous section.

[71] Various accounts of this have already been given; see vol. II, p. 424 and p. 500.

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not likely to occur at the present time; in fact, they belong to the golden age of the distant past. In addition, a few tales are popularly told, not for their wealth of interesting detail, but as historical incidents. Some of these contain exaggerations that verge on mythology, whereas others, especially those dealing with certain individuals not long deceased, have clearly a foundation of truth. The themes include tales of travel, hunting exploits, the experiences of criminals, and varied subjects.

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THE WIFE WHO WAS SOLD AS A SLAVE

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This story describes the adventures of a Bella Coola woman, daughter of a chief named *Tankwum*, who was married to a Bella Bella chief. The latter's father sold her as a slave to *Tsuhsa*, a Kitkatla chief and ancestor of the chief with the same name who was so feared by the Bella Coola. This was, of course, contrary to all established custom. *Tsuhsa* carried the woman away to Kitkatla, whence there seemed little hope for her return.

Tsuhsa owned a number of crabapple trees at Kitlobe which he visited every autumn to collect and preserve the fruit. The woman had been with him for some time when he went as usual for the ripe apples. Members of different tribes can be distinguished by their different physique and a Kitlobe, recognizing that the woman was a Bella Coola, asked her how she came to be with *Tsuhsa*. She told him how she had been sold, disgracefully, and he promised to help her return home. Telling her to conceal her plans, he bade her to be ready to flee early the following morning. At the appointed time he appeared, bringing dried olachen, grease, moccasins, and other equipment, wrapped in a seal's stomach. He sketched on the ground the overland route to Kimsquit, telling her how many affluents of the Kitlobe River she must pass before following one to the south, thence across the divide, and down the Kimsquit River.

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The woman started out, but after several days of travel realized that she had passed the place where she should turn south, and was lost. In point of fact, she was at this time near Ootsa Lake. She headed back in the hope of recovering her trail, but snow fell and she could go no farther; to make matters worse she had consumed all her olachen, and most of the grease. The unfortunate woman sought shelter under a big tree, where in time she was completely covered with snow. Every day she ate a small

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*539 portion of the grease until it was exhausted; then she ate the container, and when it was finished she was entirely without food. She was very weak, but not unconscious, and the careful husbanding of her provisions had kept her alive into February. It so happened that four Kimsquit men, brothers, were trapping beaver in this particular hunting ground. Followed by his four dogs, one of the brothers went to inspect a shack, which they had previously built at some distance from the place where they were encamped. One of the dogs began to dig in the snow, and soon the other three joined in. The hunter thought it strange that they did not bark as usual when digging for game, and asked the dogs what they were after. To his amazement a voice spoke from below, using the Bella Coola language:

"You will be rewarded if you save me. I am the daughter of *Tsaiscwum*," it said.

All Kimsquit knew of her fate, so the hunter quickly grasped what had happened. He burrowed a passage down through the snow to the woman, who told him of her effort to return home by the overland route to Kimsquit. The rescuer cut her some firewood and admonished her to be brave, while he dashed off for help. He hurried back to his brothers, told them the news, and then rushed back with a little food, telling them to follow his tracks to where the woman lay and bring with them stone dishes for cooking. By the time the three brothers arrived, the forerunner had replenished the fire, and the woman was sitting up. One of the three was a shaman; he felt her heart and said that she would recover. For one day they camped with the woman, feeding her first with warmed grease of goat and olachen, then with a little food. This revived her sufficiently so that the brothers could carry her on a litter to their camp. For twenty days she was so very weak that one of them had constantly to remain in camp to feed her with bear soup and other nourishing foods, but she gradually regained her strength.

On her account the brothers decided to return home in April, instead of waiting until June as usual. They planned their arrival at Kimsquit to take place at night, and hid the woman in their house, telling only the members of their own family about her. It was June before she had fully recovered from her painful experience. Then she left the home of her rescuers, clad in new clothes which they had given her, and the account of her adventures was made public. A canoe was sent to Bella Coola informing her father of his daughter's safety, and inviting him to fetch her. This he refused to do, but said if her rescuer brought her home he might marry her with his full approval. This was agreeable to her saviour, and a large party of his Kimsquit friends accompanied him to Bella Coola where presents were exchanged and the couple married. As an

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especial mark of gratitude, the father gave a piece of Bella Coola land to the Kimsquit man. This is one of the few instances known of outright bestowal of land at marriage.

THE ADVENTURES OF A BELLA BELLA CREW

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One April, a few years after the establishment of white settlements on the coast, a party of Bella Bella set out in a single canoe to hunt sea-otters. Planning to be absent for several months, they carried with them considerable supplies of food and water, while their mat sail lessened the work of the paddlers. They reached their first destination, Goose Island, without difficulty, and then continued in a north-westerly direction towards a barren islet of hard sand where sea-otters were usually to be found. All went well until they were in sight of this, when they encountered *Xai-ai*, the steady north wind, against which they could make no headway. In spite of the efforts of the paddlers, the canoe was driven southward and westward, out of sight of land. Steady winds prevailed for months, preventing the crew from heading their craft east towards the shore; fortunately, they had ample supplies, though these finally began to run low. Rain kept them supplied with fresh water, and they were able to eke out their food with fish, which had to be eaten raw. It was the end of September before they saw land, a small, isolated island with moderately high hills and, more important, running water. They beached the canoe and tried to leap ashore, but long sitting in narrow quarters had so cramped them that they could only crawl. After they had rested and regained the use of their legs, the captain climbed to the top of a hill from which he could see the other side of the island where smoke was rising. The mariners paddled around, and found themselves near a settlement of people whose language was unknown to them. They resembled Indians, though their mouths were exceedingly small, and the wanderers could see that they were eating raw worms picked out from rotten salmon. The Bella Bella feared to land among these strangers, but some of the latter swam out and passed their hands in wonder along the sides of the foreign canoe. Their own craft were smaller and narrower than any used on the coast, and all were tied together in pairs to prevent tipping.

As the party was leaving the island, a strong west wind sprang up before which they made such headway that three days later they reached the mainland. None of the crew knew where they were, but they realized that their home must be far to the north, so they cautiously proceeded in that direction. The wind changed to the south, again assisting them, and they sailed on for four or five days until they were suddenly pursued by hostile canoes as they neared the point of what seemed to be a large

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island. Ignorant of their whereabouts, they paddled blindly, succeeded in out-distancing their enemies, and soon after found themselves at Victoria of which they had heard. A few schooners were in the harbour and on the beach they saw a single white man. The latter noticed them and recognized that they were strangers from the shape and decorations of their canoe, and the type of boxes they were carrying, each with a hole in the corner, as is typical of those made by the Bella Bella. The man mentioned this peculiarity to his wife, who was herself a Bella Bella, and she came rushing out of the house to welcome those whom she knew at once must be her fellow-tribesmen. The weary mariners landed and were provided with food and water by the white man's wife.

They rested for several days at Victoria, rejoicing in their safety, then began to think of returning home. The white husband of the woman who had befriended them urged the travellers to stay and work for him, promising that he would later guide them north himself, but when he realized that they were unwilling, he gave them what assistance he could. None of them was familiar with the inner route, and they feared to return and go around the outside of the island owing to the hostile reception they had had at the southern end. So the kindly white man drew a rough map on the sand, giving them information about the tides, hostile Indians, good hiding-places, and other lore which he thought would be of value. Then they set forth and reached the north end of Vancouver Island without being seen. Thenceforth they were among friendly tribes and could travel openly.

Meanwhile the Bella Bella had despaired of the safety of the long-absent hunters. The father of the chief had invited neighbouring tribes to a memorial potlatch in honour of his son when, on the morning of the day when the rites were to commence, a large canoe was seen approaching the beach. It contained so much European clothing and utensils that those on shore could not recognize the occupants until they were close at hand; but when it was seen that they were the long-lost hunters, they were welcomed with great rejoicing. The only disappointed man was the one who had arranged to marry the wife of the absent chief; she had insisted on waiting for a year before re-marrying, although the wives of the crew had all taken new partners believing their husbands dead.[7]

[7]It is difficult to explain a story such as the above. It seems impossible that a canoe-load actually reached an island off the coast of California, and yet there is no place off the Oregon or Washington shore to which it could refer. Probably the time that elapsed and the directions taken by the canoe have become confused in the years that have passed since the voyage, though it is highly probable that it rests on a basis of truth in the adventures of a crew driven from their course by adverse winds. Naturally enough, the Bella Coola do not claim to be familiar

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A MURDERER AND HIS PUNISHMENT

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For many generations, the name *Sekakmte-a* has been transmitted among the Chilkotin. It seems to embody an inheritable tendency to lawlessness and killing, for almost all who have been so designated have been murderers. About 1860 or 1870, a certain *Sekakmte-a* married a Bella Coola woman, which brought his activities to the attention of her relatives. He used to do considerable trading at the Hudson's Bay Company's post, although his manner of obtaining furs was extremely pernicious. He had a wide knowledge of the interior and of the routes by which hunters were likely to bring pelts to Bella Coola. If he could learn that a stranger was likely to be travelling along a trail, it was *Sekakmte-a*'s custom to set out, unarmed, to meet him. He would explain to the hunter that he had come to buy furs and the latter would always make him welcome. The price was argued in a friendly manner and the two would prepare to camp together for the night. Then *Sekakmte-a* would say:

"Perhaps you do not know what a dangerous place Bella Coola is! Even now I am running away. I do not think I will be pursued, though I wish I had a musket to lay beside me as I sleep."

An unsuspicious hunter would usually offer to lend his to *Sekakmte-a* who, protesting his gratitude, would load it and go to sleep with it beside him. Early in the morning he would rise, shoot his sleeping companion, steal his furs and sell them at the trading post. Sometimes he would murder two or even three hunters on a single trip; thus in course of time he had amassed great riches, but had also murdered men over a wide area. Whenever it became too dangerous for him in the interior he would retreat to Bella Coola and live with his wife's relatives. People sometimes asked him why he continued his nefarious work, but he always answered that it was involuntary, his parents having smeared him with ashes from a wasp's nest when an infant.

On one occasion, *Sekakmte-a* set out for Salmon House, on the Dean River, where there was always an encampment of Carriers. He travelled up the valley of the Nechestacoonay and had just reached the open lands above the timber-line when he met two Carriers, bound for Bella Coola with furs. At once he began scheming to kill them and steal the pelts. *Sekakmte-a* greeted the two by saying:

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with the details, though the old man from whom the account was obtained discussed it with his wife and with several of his friends who were confident that it was related in the same form as it had been told to them by a Bella Bella many years before. Since it is not the type of theme to be invented as a story, it must be left as an unexplained incident, half-buried in the mists of tradition.

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"I was on my way to visit you, but that will be unnecessary now that I have been fortunate enough to meet you."

The two hunters, ignorant of *Sakalmate-a*'s reputation, were willing to do business without having to journey to Bella Coola, and suggested that he turn back to a favourite camping-place within the timbered area. He agreed, and they soon reached a spot which he had quitted half an hour previously. *Sakalmate-a* at once went off to gather firewood, and soon returned with a load; this was not sufficient, but he told one of the Carriers that more was available in the direction he indicated, and that he would remain to help the other build a fire. The remaining Carrier lit some of the wood which had been broken up, but carelessly threw on too much so that the fire was choked. As he knelt to blow it up, *Sakalmate-a* was given the opportunity for which he had been looking, and slew his companion with a single blow of his axe on the back of the head. Without waiting to conceal the body, the murderer hurried off to meet the other Carrier. He was returning without any fuel and inquired:

"Where did you get the wood? I could not find the place."

Sakalmate-a guided him to the spot and suggested that they use long poles which they could carry between them. This they did, but as the Carrier bent to lift his end of the burden, he too was killed with a blow. *Sakalmate-a* dragged the corpse under a fallen tree and covered it with bark, then returned to the fire and heaped stones over the body of his first victim. Having thus achieved his purpose, he camped for one night on the spot and then returned to Bella Coola with the stolen furs. It was plain to all that these must have been obtained illegally since sufficient time had not elapsed for him to take a trip to Salmon House. Moreover, he had blackened his face and tied his hair into a top-knot as is done by all warriors after killing people.

Two days after the unfortunate hunters left Salmon House, another party left for Bella Coola by the same route. They reached the usual camping-ground at dusk and looked for some of their friends, but, to their surprise, found the remains of one bad only. A few minutes later one of the women happened to stumble on the corpse hidden beneath the tree. Torches were prepared and a careful investigation made, leading to the discovery of the other body. Taking into account the fact that the two had been carrying rich loads of furs, the Carriers suspected that it must have been *Sakalmate-a* who had slain their friends.

Meanwhile *Sakalmate-a* was at *Kemp-a* where a Cannibal dance was taking place. During this, he fired upon and mortally wounded a young Bella Coola, *Nawalem*, who was employed at the Hudson's Bay Company's post. The murder was committed in the presence of the factor[9] who handed his gun to an elderly Bella Coola and told him to chase the

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murderer. The man, a crack shot, took careful aim at *Sokalmate a*'s temple, but the murderer had a faster trajectory than he expected, so the bullet, instead of dropping and killing the man, flew straight and nearly cut down the tuft on top of his head. *Sokalmate a* ran off to the village and *Nacmelm* was carried to the house of one of his relatives on the north bank of the river.

Conflicting reasons are given for this assault. Some state that *Sokalmate a*'s uncontrollable temper led him to fire; others that he did so on the orders of *Pudic*, who was offended because *Nacmelm* had disobeyed an order to carry food home to his wife. It is whispered that on several occasions *Pudic* had used *Sokalmate a* to get rid of those who had displeased him.

If the assault had been committed during the summer, revenge would have been an affair of the injured youth's relatives, but it occurred during the *Sacrier* season so all members of the society were affected. A party was organized to arrest the offender with the aid of an American who happened to be at the Hudson's Bay Company's post at the time. *Sokalmate a* was in the rear part of one of the houses at *Bymaqo* to whom his enemies secretly and quiet hastening at the door. As he faced them, an old man, related to *Nacmelm*, crept behind and leaps on him, wrapping his arms and legs around him. The murderer drew a knife and struggled furiously before he was overcome, bound and carried to *Bqaldal* where his victim lived. *Sokalmate a* pleaded that he had murdered *Nacmelm* for one of his Chilkoots relatives, but when no attention was paid to this, he said that he had acted under orders from *Pudic*. This was likewise disregarded, nor was there any suggestion of revenge on the alleged instigator since he, being a chief, could do as he liked. It is said that *Pudic* endeavoured to help his henchman by sending a message to some Chilkoots who were camped in the vicinity and inviting them to rescue their kinsman.

Meanwhile it was obvious that *Nacmelm* was actually wounded. His relatives said that if he lived, they would be willing to accept compensation for the assault, so *Sokalmate a* was kept, bound hand and foot, in a house where a *Sacrier* dance was taking place. During the night he almost succeeded in freeing himself from his bonds, but this was discovered and he was again tied up; it is possible that an accomplice assisted him in the attempt to escape. Towards dawn *Nacmelm* died and it was decided that his murderer should be killed at once.

The *Sacrier* all helped to take him outside and make preparations for shooting him, but no one desired the task of executioner. Meanwhile the Chilkoots were gathering; a fight seemed imminent and the excite-

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mass was secure. One of the chiefs told two boys who were excellent shots to fire, but another interrupted, saying:

"This is too weighty a matter for mere kids."

He himself covered *Sokalmate-a* and made ready to press the trigger. The murderer, seeing his fellow-criminals in the vicinity, tried to stall for time.

"Please do not shoot me," he called out. "I have always been terrified to die that way, please use a knife."

"Some of those you slew were probably terrified of muskets too," the self-appointed executioner grimly replied.

"Wait just a moment," *Sokalmate-a* pleaded. "I want to speak to my kinsmen."

"So probably did several of those you shot," came the terse answer.

Then the chief fired and *Sokalmate-a* fell dead. The Chilkotin were armed and seemed on the point of rushing forward to revenge their relative, but the chief took another musket, brandished it in their direction, and said:

"All right. The dogs will eat you too."

A Chilkotin chief pointed out that the Bella Coola were armed and in overwhelming numbers, so advised his angry followers to withdraw. Thus the incident closed without further bloodshed. Some state that *Sokalmate-a*'s corpse was given to his relatives, others that it was buried by the *Sokaulur* clans in a large grave, beneath the body of *Nacodzin*.

A DOUBTFUL HOST

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One September, between 1840 and 1850, a certain *Sinacoodzate* was preparing for a potlatch. Taking twenty men with him as packers, he set out for mountain goats up the valley of the *Sinlaomen*, which flows into the main Bella Coola from the north, nearly opposite Mount *Nuxalk*. They camped at a suitable spot, and for several days *Sinacoodzate* hunted with his servants. On one occasion, when out with his son, he happened to notice a number of female goats on a narrow point of rock, beneath which there was a sheer drop to a jagged pile of boulders. Quickly realizing that there was only one approach to the point where the animals were crowding, *Sinacoodzate* told his son to remain below while he climbed up to scale his quarry. With extreme caution, he succeeded in getting between the goats and the only line of escape; then he knew they were his, and stood up boldly. He shot two or three, and stampeded the rest into plunging over the precipice where they were crushed to death on the rocks far beneath. The successful hunter climbed down to where his son had remained and the two carried one of the carcasses out to the trail where

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the packers were to meet them. They were not due to arrive for several hours, so *Sémamtsamt* cooked the goat and had a plentiful meal ready for his followers. They asked whether he had had any luck, and he answered casually that his son had killed one, but when they expressed regret at his lack of fortune, *Sémamtsamt* pointed to the pile of dead goats, visible in the distance, and said: 539* 224

"See what my son killed."

Never before had there been such a slaughter of goats at one time, and it was obvious that no time could be lost if the meat was to be smoked before winter. Fortunately, there was a large cave in the vicinity where they established their headquarters. The packers were divided into two parties; some brought in the carcasses, while others kept a fire smouldering, tended the drying meat, and boiled out the grease. It was a slow process and there was a heavy snowfall before it was finished. The snow drifted into the narrow valley to such a depth that it was impossible to think of leaving. The beleaguered hunters were well provided with food; melted snow gave them water, and the cave was sufficient shelter, so their confinement was more irksome than dangerous. Nor did it prove profitless. The smell of food attracted two martens which were so unafraid that they were killed with sticks. All the hunters began to make traps which soon provided them with enough skins to make several of the much-prized blankets. 539* [251] [257]

So the winter dragged away. The wife of one of the packers had a reputation for faithlessness and her husband's companions used to tease him by saying that his wife would have remarried before he got home. This were on his nerves until he determined to try to reach the village in spite of the snow. He constructed a pair of snow-shoes and set out, carrying with him enough marten-skins for four blankets, packed in a sack made from the stomach of one of the goats. The journey was less difficult than he had feared; he camped for one night, and reached his own village soon after dusk of the next day. Looking through the doorway, he saw his father throwing food into the fire and realized that someone must have died. He called out cheerfully, but his parents, who had long since abandoned hope for his son's safety, could not believe that his voice was real, and was not convinced until he actually stood before him. The long-absent one asked for whom the food was being thrown on the fire, and his father replied: [481]

"For you. We thought you must be dead and have burnt almost all your personal possessions."

"That does not matter," replied the son. "We have plenty of meat, grease, and furs."

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*539 [237] As soon as the weather moderated, the rest of the party returned, each carrying enough marten skins for at least one blanket. Some had so many that three or four cloaks could be made, in addition to the large supplies of smoked goat meat and grease.

THE SUCCESS OF A LAZY HUNTER

*539 224 [177] [411] [434] In the early days, when the visit of a trading vessel to Bella Coola was a rare event, it is remembered that an *Ăsăn·ăn·i* chief bought a musket from the captain of the *Beaver*. He paid for it a pile of beaver-skins which, when stacked up, was equal in height to the length of the weapon. This was one of the first muskets owned by a Bella Coola and the chief took great care of it, never treating it roughly, and hanging it with ropes from the roof of his house whenever he was not actually using it. One day a certain *Snăkelt* asked the owner to lend him the musket to hunt goats. This was no slight request, and it was surprising, since *Snăkelt* was not a hunter, but merely packed in meat killed by others. At first the chief was unwilling to allow his prized weapon out of his sight, but at last consented when *Snăkelt* promised to give him half the goats that he might kill.

Snăkelt probably thought that even temporary possession of the mysterious musket would make it possible for him to kill goats, but when he had climbed up into the mountains, and stalked for hours, he had not succeeded even in approaching one. He knew that if he returned home, unsuccessful and without some plausible excuse, he would be laughed to scorn, so he determined to cover his failure. First he beat the musket on a boulder until it was bent and battered, then he took a sharp rock and pounded himself until he was covered with blood from head to foot, as if he had been caught in a land-slide. When near the village, he lay down on the ground and called faintly for help; at first the people could not locate the sound, but after a short search someone found the would-be hunter, apparently in the last stages of exhaustion. Help was called, and *Snăkelt* carried home, moaning feebly and saying that he would die. He could just whisper that he had been caught in a slide on the other side of the mountain, this explanation being necessary since no one had heard one in the near vicinity. As the apparent sufferer was lying in his house, one man noticed that the patient's wounds were from gashes, not from bruises, and loudly protested that *Snăkelt* must have mutilated himself to conceal his lack of success. Everyone came crowding around and proved that this must be the case; *Snăkelt* finally admitted the deception and congratulated his discoverer on his powers of observation. After a few days, he was as well as ever, but the chief had lost his precious musket.

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Next spring *Snäkelt* declined to accompany most of the able-bodied men of his village to the ocean to gather herring, but lazily stayed at home with the old people. One day, when passing from one village to another, he saw a herd of caribou close at hand; for months he had been held up to ridicule as a hunter, and he felt that here might be an opportunity to vindicate himself. He was armed only with a small knife but, after creeping as near as possible, he suddenly sprang up with a yell which was enough to stampede the herd into a dense thicket. *Snäkelt* was in close pursuit and soon overtook a buck which had become caught by its horns in a thorny bush. Without hesitation, the hunter leapt on to the animal's back, preparatory to cutting its throat. But the sudden burden so terrified the caribou that it reared and jumped, redoubling its efforts to escape, and finally freed itself before its rider had been able to do more than cling precariously to its back. Blind with fear and utterly confused, the animal plunged into another bush where its antlers were caught more firmly than before, and *Snäkelt*, after several efforts, was able to cut its wind-pipe. The caribou fell to the ground and the jubilant hunter despatched it.

Snäkelt alone could not carry back all the meat, so he hurried home for assistance, taking with him only one antler as proof of his kill. When he told the inmates of his own house what he had done, and invited them to carry home the meat, they jeered at him for telling such a preposterous tale. *Snäkelt* warned them that if they declined to help he would go elsewhere, and they would lose their share of the meat, but they only laughed the more. True to his word, he went next door, and when his fellows heard him repeating the same story, they began to wonder whether, after all, it might have been the truth. One man picked up the antler which *Snäkelt* had thrown down in disgust at their suspicions and found fresh blood on its base. So they hastily went next door and offered to accompany him. Finally, the occupants of the two houses went together and packed home the meat of the caribou. In this way *Snäkelt* redeemed his reputation to a certain extent.

AN ANCIENT HUNTING STORY

One November, not many years after the settlement of the earth, a *Nuxalxt* chief, *Sänuxmäxuts*, set out with four companions to hunt mountain goats. It was the rutting season, and the five were fortunate enough to come upon a number of the animals on a narrow ledge. Each singled out a female goat and shot an arrow; the sudden pain caused the victims to jump wildly, and fall from the narrow ledge. The males blindly leape after them to be pounded to death on the rocks below. There was

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*539 a large cave in the vicinity where the hunters smoked the meat and boiled
[224] down the grease and marrow, but they had killed so many that it was January before their task was completed. Meanwhile the smell of flesh had attracted a number of martens which were caught in snares; in fact, they captured enough for two blanket-robes. When ready to leave for home, they prepared snow-shoes and on these safely negotiated the deep drifts and reached the village where all hope of their safety had long been abandoned. *Sānuxmāxots* arrived at dusk and heard his parents weeping and wailing; he asked who had died and found that they were mourning for him. His safe return turned their lamentations into rejoicings and a herald was sent out to call in the villagers to share the good news. When finally packed in, there was enough goat meat for an elaborate potlatch."

[226] A year or two later, four men prepared to set out one afternoon to fish for trout. As they were leaving, *Sānuxmāxots*'s young son begged to be taken along and cried so piteously that they at last consented. So they wrapped him carefully in a goat-skin blanket, and placed him in the bottom of the canoe which they paddled about six miles upstream. They landed on the bank, cooked a meal, and dried black spruce branches over
[226] the fire to serve as torches to lure the fish within range of their spears. When night had fallen, they began to drift downstream, one man holding aloft a brand while the others speared. They had fair success, but nothing noteworthy occurred until, as they neared *Nuxālst*, they saw white on the water, and paddled slowly forward, thinking it must be a huge flock of swans. As they drew nearer they saw that it was snow; a huge slide had swept over the village and blocked the channel of the river. The water, no longer able to flow westward, was swirling back to the east, and the fishermen drifted with it until they found a place to camp for the night with their young companion.

As soon as it was light, they returned to the scene of the disaster and found a deep bed of snow over the site of the village. They landed to investigate, and called repeatedly, hoping that some at least had escaped. At last they heard an answer and began to dig, imagining that it must be *Sānuxmāxots* himself. After excavating a deep hole, they unburied the sole survivor, a slave who had escaped by covering with a copper the

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"It will be noticed that there are many points of similarity between this story
[538] and the one in vol. II, p. 512. It is possible that they are versions of the same account, but it seems more likely that they refer to different incidents of which the principal
[551] character of one has been forgotten. In such cases the Bella Coola, believing that individuals with the same name often have the same characteristics, frequently give to the hero of an earlier incident the name of a person who has figured in a similar one within recent years.

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Photograph by the author

Mrs. Joshua Moody (left) and Mrs. Willie Mack, two Bella Coola women

[p 516 (A)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 14

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Mrs. Jim Pollard, a Kitsequit woman

[p 516 (B)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 15

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Mrs. Jim Pollard, profile

[p 51L(c)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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PLATE 16

Photograph by the author

Reuben Schooner, a Bella Coola man, and his children

[p 516 (D)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 17

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Lame Charlie, a Bella Coola man

[p 516 (E)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 18

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Captain Myers, an aged Bella Coola man

[p 516 (F)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 19

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Photograph by [illegible], National Museum of Canada

Skookum Mary, a Kitsegukla woman

[p 516 (G)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 20

142
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Photograph by the author

Alec Davis, a full-blooded Bella Coola

[p 516 (H)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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smoke-vent of the house in which he had been alone at the time. In their grief at the loss of the chief, the four debated what to do with the slave; one wanted to kill him in their disappointment, but the others persuaded him that it would be better to allow him to live to look after the child. After a further fruitless search, the four paddled off to another village with the slave and the little boy.

Sāwunmāxati's son grew up among strangers, but constantly under the protection of the four fishermen. Moreover, the slave turned out to be a devoted guardian, watching over his young charge with devotion, faithfulness, and skill. As the boy grew older, his protector continued to concern himself with his welfare, and in later years it was he who arranged a suitable marriage for the boy.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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CHAPTER VI

THE MAN HIMSELF

Physique — Character

Physique

142 144 IN central British Columbia there are two types of Indian; one represented by the Carriers and Chilkotin of the interior, the other, by the coastal peoples. The first are relatively slight of build with graceful carriage, and thin, rather delicate-featured faces. The younger people, particularly, are lithe and handsome, resembling bronze statues. On the other hand, individuals of the second type are characterized by stocky, heavy physique, with thick-set, powerful bodies, muscular arms and legs; their faces have wide mouths and prominent cheek-bones and noses (see Plate 13). Undoubtedly the Bella Coola belong with these latter.[1] No measurements were taken to substantiate this statement, but the general affinities of the tribe are obvious. Stature, build, physiognomy, and especially that intangible impression of heaviness, unite to demonstrate even to one with slight knowledge of British Columbia Indians that he is dealing with a people who are predominantly of the coastal type. Of course there are individuals of the interior type, but they are decidedly in the minority (see Plates 14 and 15). The Bella Coola claim that they can [829] distinguish a coastal man from one of the interior people, and that every coastal tribe has its own peculiarities sufficiently marked to be recognizable on sight. Probably no white observer can make this fine distinction, though the difference between the two main types is clearly apparent.

142 145 Judged by white standards the Bella Coola are far from prepossessing in appearance. Even the children are plain and stolid, with little if any of the grace and appeal of childhood.

[1] Cf. Boas, p. 38.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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As they grow older the plainness of feature is more pronounced, accompanied by increasing heaviness of body (see Plate 16). Many of the adults are corpulent and move with slow, awkward gait. As a rule the men have great strength and are capable of prolonged and arduous exertion, particularly in paddling; in fact, constant use of canoes may have developed this powerful, ungainly build. Few are good walkers or packers; such, if they are found, usually belong to the lighter interior type. Among the grown people the face, though unbeautiful, often has a kindly expression, even becoming attractive in laughter or when a friendly grin spreads from ear to ear. With advancing age the prominent nose seems to grow larger, frequently becoming almost aquiline (see Plate 17). Many of the older people assert that this was even more common in former times. In time the face becomes lined with wrinkles and the body appears to shrink (see Plate 18). The teeth are in many cases worn down to the gums; this seems to cause no discomfort though an old person cannot utter the glottal stops and velar sounds with which the language abounds without emitting a fine spray of saliva. They are absolutely unable to pronounce several of the Bella Coola words, while the constant spitting is a disagreeable feature of their conversation, particularly to an investigator striving, often vainly, to record sounds accurately. The deep wrinkles of old women give them a benign "grandmotherly" expression, which makes them more attractive in extreme age than in youth (see Plate 19). Senile decay is so frequent that the return to infancy in mind as well as in physical powers is regarded as normal.

Among the coastal tribes hair on the face is not uncommon, but in this characteristic the Bella Coola are pre-eminent. Nearly all the men have sparse moustaches, at least; many have a heavy growth, and several are full-bearded. That this was due to white mixture was assumed at first, but no evidence could be found to support this view. There are a number of half-bloods in the community but they are no more hirsute than the full-blooded Indians. Razors are now almost univer-

142 sally used but the older people state that beards were by no
144 means rare in former times. Careful inquiries were made
[302] concerning the ancestry of a man, about seventy years of age in 1922, whose curly beard suggests that he must be a half-breed, as indeed he is assumed to be by the white settlers of the valley. His father was *Potlas*, the most influential chief of recent years, his mother was herself the daughter of an important chief. None of the older men had ever heard the slightest rumour of faithlessness on her part. There were white
[648] traders on the coast at the time of his birth, and intercourse with
[567] slave women and others of low family was not uncommon, but
[622] it would have been difficult for a chief's wife to misconduct herself, and still more difficult for her to conceal all knowledge of it in view of the open life which prevailed at that period. Moreover, it is said that *Potlas* himself had a similar beard, as did also the parents of several men who in 1922 were fifty or sixty years of age.

142 Although the possibility of white mixture cannot be over-
144 looked in the case of this one individual, one must not dis-
896 regard the opinion of the people themselves on hairiness in
[302] general. They are proud of it and regard beards and moustaches as marks of virility given to them by *Alqantlm*; baldness and lack of facial hair are considered a sign of weakness. They aver that their fathers and grandfathers were even more hirsute than they. Furthermore, they point out with pride
[186] that this is a difference between themselves and the tribes of the interior, who are, as they say in scorn, "hairless like Chinamen." Finally, it is noteworthy that the hair on the head of many Bella Coola is wavy, or even curly (see Plate 20), instead of straight as among the majority of Indian tribes.[9]

Character

181 It is an almost impossible task to describe briefly the characteristics of a people. Those of the Bella Coola have

[9]This characteristic has led the writer to wonder if it could possibly have been caused by Aino mixture.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

been displayed in their customs and beliefs, their habits, practices, and folk-lore, their outlook both towards the supernatural world and towards their fellows. 181

The following additional observations are the result of personal knowledge, and recorded after considerable thought.

When a white man begins to understand the Bella Coola, he cannot fail to be impressed by their deep belief in the supernatural. To them religion is no mental abstraction, but a living reality. They feel the presence of strange creatures around them, and they recognize non-human powers in every manifestation of their own minds; in fact, every incident, good or bad, is attributed to supernatural intervention. This does not mean that they regard life with stoic indifference, content to murmur *Kismet* at whatever fate befalls them. They realize that supernatural powers have endowed them with brains, with physical strength, and with the ability to win favour and gain help from active superhuman beings, and consequently they strive in a world teeming with potent forces. The individual toils as does a white man in the struggle of life, but he attributes his fortune, not to luck or to his unaided exertions, but to the assistance of non-human agents. If he is fortunate, it is because his spirit has been active; if unfortunate, because it has been too inert to protect him. 181 771

Contact with white men, particularly with missionaries, has raised tremendous problems for the Bella Coola. The older people have been but little affected; they may state that they are Christians, believing in the white man's god, but this often means only the knowledge of one more supernatural being whom they add to the already rich pantheon. It is quite otherwise with the younger people, particularly with those who have been away at school. Some adopt the new faith with fervour, continuing to see the same visions and to experience the same mental exaltations, but attributing them to Christianity. To others, however, loss of belief in their own faith has caused a general scepticism; though they may accept the new religion, it does not become the vital force which the old was to their 177 771 [181]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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177 fathers. Inherited beliefs are too deep-rooted to pass away
771 entirely within a few generations. Even those who claim to
have adopted the new faith remain convinced of the potency
[181] of magic, and of the existence of those supernatural creatures
which do not actively conflict with the white man's creed.
Such lack of consistency is a world-wide trait, particularly
intelligible among the Bella Coola whose philosophy abounds
in contradictions, dependent upon statements handed down
in the origin myths of different families.

626 The Bella Coola are constrained not only by the omni-
presence of supernatural beings; they are constantly subjected
[181] to the influence of their fellows. They are far less individual-
istic than white people. A chief may boast that he can do as
[622] he pleases, that he can disregard the restrictions of lesser men;
he often does so, but only because public opinion recognizes
that he has reached a position of eminence by giving many
potlatches. The duly validated warrior is brave because he
[703] feels that everyone is aware of his valour. The man who per-
forms some ceremony in accordance with an ancestral myth
[769] incorporates himself with his forbears, and is strengthened by
the conviction that he has gained their support and appro-
bation. In every phase of life, a person is profoundly affected
177 by the approval or disapproval of his neighbours. At present
626 the construction of small houses, each occupied by a single
542 family, makes it possible for a man to hide himself, or to do
work unknown to the rest of the community. This lessens the
force of public opinion, although it is even now more potent
than conscience in checking anti-social acts. Formerly, in
communal houses, every action was fully known, making indi-
vidual freedom of thought and act virtually impossible. A man
[602] is chiefly influenced by his relatives who take a great share in
what the white man would consider purely family affairs. The
effect of the group upon the individual must not be overlooked,
nor can it be over-stressed in a study of these people.

177 The education and conversion of the younger men have
626 enormously lessened their reliance upon their fellows. In former
182
561

times, older relations were revered, not only as senior members of the ancestral family, but as those most familiar with myths and other cherished possessions. With the spread of new ideas, the young people no longer respect the love of their elders, and consequently do not heed their admonitions and advice. Theoretically, such self-reliance would seem desirable, but in practice it has led to unfortunate results. A young man, considering himself superior to the older people, glories in acting on his own initiative, but too often he lacks the requisite strength of character to guide his own life. If he wishes to drink, he does so; if he desires to marry, he chooses his mate without considering the transmission of ancestral rights which traditional unions in former times; if he tires of his wife, he deserts her for another; if he chases or steals, he is no longer restrained by relatives who fear disgrace. The elders, incapable of stemming the tide, watch sadly and not seriously whether the coming of the white man has brought compensation for the loss it has caused. It is deplorable that the emancipation of the younger men and women has taken place before the development of the sense of individual responsibility and conscience which public opinion formerly rendered less necessary. Christianity provides a moral code for those who are fully convinced, but for the many in the transition stage, the break-down of the old system of family influence has been tragic.

Profound religious beliefs and lack of individual initiative are shared by all Bulu Ceels with the exception, perhaps, of a few of the younger people who, having been educated at white man's schools, have adopted the new outlook unconditionally. In most characteristics they display as wide variability as any other people. In truthfulness, for example, they range from one extreme to the other. As the writer became familiar with the elder men, he found it possible to recognize without difficulty the strength of some and the weakness of others. There are liars, but they can be easily detected owing to their lack of finesse. It is a pleasure to record the reliability of the author's friends and informants. Their veracity was checked repeat-

[illegible] ally and complete confidence was established, simplifying work in the field to an enormous extent. Equal trust could be placed on these men in other respects; articles of value were repeatedly left in their houses with the absolute certainty that they would be guarded with care. Some few individuals there were, however, who were neither honest nor trustworthy. Bella Coola religion is not concerned with ethics, but public opinion demands honesty in dealing with relatives or friends. In former times, for example, debts incurred by an individual were considered a liability by his relatives. If a man died after buying goods on credit for a potlatch, his family were disgraced if they failed to pay his bills; now, unfortunately, nothing concerns the younger people, many of whom try to avoid meeting even their own debts, much less those of dead relatives. Individual conscience has not replaced the tribal and, more specifically, family influence. Dishonesty in small matters is not uncommon, particularly in dealing with white people who, according to the Bella Coola, were the first to transgress. The older people loudly bemoan the lack of morality of the younger and even, probably with entire justification, that they would have been prevented by the open life which prevailed when several families shared a single house. On the whole, however, the average Bella Coola is probably no less honest than the average white man.

Individuals vary enormously in mental ability. In making this investigation, it was necessary to interview all the older people of the tribe. Disregarding those unwilling to provide information, it was found that some absolutely lacked the ability to explain matters with which they were familiar; some did not have sufficient patience to be good teachers; some were so forgetful that they would omit necessary points in a story or account; some were downright stupid, whereas others displayed mental ability of no mean order. In reading ethnological literature, one is apt to think of the troubles experienced by the author, and to overlook the fact that natives have as

great difficulties in explaining their customs, as the white man has in understanding them.

The writer was impressed by the brilliance shown by several of the natives. Joshua Moody, for example, is essentially the philosopher. More individualistic than most of his schoolmates, he was one of the first to adopt Christianity and has been a faithful follower of the new creed. Deeply interested in religious questions, he has stored up what has been told him of the Bible and pondered deeply on all problems of life. Not particularly practical, subject to fits of anger or moroseness, but with a meditative temperament which delights in seeking biblical parallels and synonyms for Bella Coola practices, he is the kind of mind which, in other walks of life, would have produced the professor of philosophy. Jim Pollard is quite another type. Essentially practical, he has devoted his energies to keeping abreast of changing conditions. He is the best singer and composer in Bella Coola, the best canoeman for miles, he has learnt to handle a motor-boat engine, to set prospectors for minerals, and has succeeded in amassing and saving a considerable amount of money. Jim recalled all other schoolmates in closeness and logical presentation of his explanations, though he showed a slight nervousness, intelligible enough, in glossing over aspects which he knew would be considered unpleasant. If Jim had been a white man, he would undoubtedly have made his mark in the world of business. The late Captain Schooner differed from sixteen of the preceding. Quite dour, and uncouth, he, perhaps, came nearest to the original, unsophisticated Bella Coola type. Heavy in build, coarse in humour and expression, he had a heart of gold and was a fine *example of a native gentleman. He was glad to assist anthropologists in recording ancient lore, being intensely proud of* the traditions of his ancestors. A friendship developed from this which is one of the writer's happiest memories. Often in the evenings life in general was discussed, the war, the rush of progress to big cities, the quest for wealth, the spread of white civilization, and the problems raised by the contact of peoples.

Schooner lacked the natural acumen of Joshua and Jim, but he revealed himself as a tribal patriarch, proud of his family's history and eager to assist his grandchildren and great-grandchildren, but feeling himself lost and helpless in the struggle before them. With sadness, but without bitterness, he used to speak of the approaching end of Bella Coola culture, and his words brought home the tragedy which the spread of civilization brings to so many, and the responsibility resting upon the white people as a whole.

Until an intelligence test is devised to correlate the mental ability of the white man with that of the native, it is impossible to compare the two scientifically. None the less, the writer deliberately expresses the opinion that Joshua Moody and Jim Pollard are two of the most brilliant men he has met in any walk of life. They are undoubtedly the most able of the Bella Coola, others have only slightly less ability, while the mass of the population compares favorably with an average white community. Their ability, however, is definitely conditioned by their conservatism. Absolute trust in the traditions of their ancestors has checked speculation, so the established explanation is never questioned; new inventions, contributed by natives, have been regarded as almost sacrilegious; the force of public opinion, while valuable as a deterrent to anti-social practices, has effectively restrained innovations. The Bella Coola are a good example of a community where development has been accepted by extreme conservatism fostered by religious beliefs.

Taking into account the material obstacles, the achievements of these people have not been insignificant. In former times, providing only with tools of stone and implements of copper, they built graceful canoes, made watertight boxes, bowed planks from mighty cedars, and erected large houses which called for considerable engineering skill. Judged by native standards, their carving and painting lacked artistic delicacy, but is required no more ability to portray your designs to them than their own standards. Passing from the purely mechanical

Hallwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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on the esthetic, their skill in dancing and dramatics is noteworthy. No one who has witnessed a native dance can fail to have been impressed by the performance of the participants and the sage-craft of the carpenters. The fact that no system of writing had ever been devised has prevented the establishment of native literature, but the practice of passing down as treasure folklore by word of mouth shows their narrative powers as well as their faculty for remembering details. At present it is difficult to appreciate what must have been their energy in earlier times when they faced the struggle for existence, armed with stone tools. Abundant salmon gave them abundance, but only when weirs had been built with great labour. Though game was plentiful, the hunter was equipped with a weapon more formidable than a bow and arrow. The simplest task required patience and skill undreamed of by the average white man. If the reader will allow his imagination to carry in backwards two hundred years, he will realize that the mere provision of food and clothing necessitated constant effort and tireless exertion.

Beside a hand with many admirable characteristics, the Bella Coola display others which strike the white man as unpromising. A first impression is the untidiness of their houses. Exteriorly, they are often fairly neat, but confusion reigns within. Clothing, instead of being hung up, is left lying on the floor; bed-coverings are piled carelessly; dirty dishes cover the tables; dogs and children swarm over the floor; flies abound; it is dirty and slovenly. The house itself may be unpainted; a window lacks glass and has been boarded up; the roof sags, or the steps are falling down. Nor are the surroundings more attractive. There is one struggling flower-bed in the village, but elsewhere the houses are surrounded by waste of mud where horses and cattle wander, dogs prowl, and children play. In the distance the mountain peaks rise in splendour, but near at hand all is squalid and unkempt.

They are only slightly more particular about their personal appearance. Dirt does not distress them. They wash occa-

Z: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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515 sionally, in a half-hearted manner, but it is not unusual for a man to allow the basin of water in which he makes his ablutions to remain standing for two or three weeks. Not many [177] years ago the Carriers taught their neighbours to make a kind 246 of soap from the ashes of burnt cottonwood sticks thrown into 388 water; with this clothes are washed irregularly and in most 785 cases from sheer necessity only. In former times bathing was 177 a semi-sacred rite, but this fell into disuse with the passing of the old religion, and the use of soap and water merely for the 391 sake of cleanliness has not become a daily habit. The women have more vanity; the younger girls especially like to have new clothes, though they wear them carelessly, heedless of fit. [194] An effort is often made to clean up for ceremonial dances, but it entails little more than the removal of the more obvious dirt and the putting on, over unchanged undergarments, of a sweater. Pride in personal appearance, love of cleanness, delight in a clean house, are all quite foreign to the Bella Coola.

956 Probably the reason for lack of comforts in the houses is simply that the people do not feel the need for them. They [264] consider it no hardship to sit on a rickety chair, scoop up food 231 from a common dish and, if they think of it, throw morsels [152] down to the dog or the cat. The smell, the flies, the dirt, the chaos do not concern them. Capable of undergoing privations, hardships, and even sufferings, they think neither of the comfort of themselves nor of others. Their domestic animals are 331 often treated abominably, not through lack of affection or cruelty, but from callousness. More than once the writer has seen a favourite dog steal a piece of food from the table. Its master, after a furious blow or kick at it, would suddenly, as if by inspiration, throw a choice bit to the animal, saying:

"Why, he must have been hungry!"

Though the Bella Coola feel a kinship with animals unknown to the white man, it is not combined with any recognition of their feelings as living creatures. There are, of course, many exceptions, but on the whole public opinion demands [577] generosity and kindness only towards human members of the group. The moral code is not concerned with animals.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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group. The moral code is not concerned with animals. The life of the Bella Coola would be unbearable to most white people, yet they find it far from unpleasant. They sigh at present conditions, but there is much to amuse them notwithstanding. If several people are talking together, one is sure to hear bursts of laughter every few minutes. It takes little to interest them; a story they have heard a hundred times, the troubles of a neighbour with his wife, the eccentricity of a white man, the stupidity of the investigator, any of these is enough to cause a hearty laugh. When collecting information, it was constantly necessary to joke with them; the most feeble witticism was enough, but they lost interest in the work unless kept smiling. Their sense of humour is not refined; jests about sexual matters are common and are enjoyed alike by men, women, and children. It is not that their tastes are perverted, but rather that they have no reticence in discussing this topic, so they find it easy to see the ludicrous aspects of a subject which is ever near the surface in their minds. They have no hesitation in poking fun at their friends; a successful practical joke, such as hiding the writer's tobacco, is enough to fill them with amusement. If the victim shows temporary resentment, the glee of his friends is complete, and shrieks of laughter usually terminate the trick.

Unless the white man who comes to live among the Bella Coola is unusually broad-minded, he is at first repelled by the dirt and squalidness prevailing everywhere; even the people themselves seem unnatural. He finds it difficult to realize the sincerity of their religious beliefs, and the manner in which these influence their daily lives is hard to grasp. The potlatch system appears so grotesque that it seems to reflect a psychology diametrically opposed to his own. The force of public opinion on personal conduct is almost incomprehensible. Gradually, however, he begins to understand the reasons underlying Bella Coola life. The potlatch becomes intelligible when regarded as a means of achieving fame; constant attention to supernatural beings is natural considering the firm conviction

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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105 of their omnipresence; the guiding force of public opinion is
182 seen as a check on individual licence, fostered or inculcated by
[122] the ties which hold together ancestral families and make it impossible for a man to lead an isolated life where others will not be affected by his actions. If the white man is willing to receive new ideas, he will learn much from the comments of the Bella Coola on his own customs. Many have been to
[551] Victoria or Vancouver, and they feel that the contrasts of wealth observable in such big cities are atrocious; they ask
[602] how this is compatible with Christianity. They feel that it is unnatural for a man not to receive support from his cousins of
[552] all degrees; that the hoarding of wealth for the mere gratification of personal desires is selfish; that the selling of land is extraordinary; and that failure to ascribe every incident to supernatural causes is sacrilegious. These differences of viewpoint go so many matters explain the first impression of strangeness. A careful investigator comes to realize that he is among a people who fundamentally differ but slightly from his compatriots, though outwardly they have little in common. With respect to love, ambition, parental affection, sense of honour, pride, intelligence, even humour and vanity, the Bella Coola are essentially similar to ourselves. Unfortunately, these characteristics are expressed in ways unintelligible and often repellent to the casual observer. If he will only look beneath the surface, he will find a people who are neither saints nor sinners, but essentially human, with the faults and follies as well as the elements of strength and wisdom which comprise, as Kipling puts it, "Men in a world of men."

[77] The coming of the white civilization has been retrogressive
[96] to the Bella Coola. Within two generations they have been
[96] reduced to a more lowlife; instead of living in scattered villages, roaming the mountains for game and fishing at will, they now dwell in a single settlement and the taking of animals and fish is subject to law; the introduction of metal tools and mechanical appliances has revolutionized their mode of life; new foods, new clothing, new furniture has altered their living conditions; fermented drink has promoted a factor unknown

2:34:Hewitt E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

to their forefathers. Profound as these material changes have been, those of a psychological nature have been even more important. New worlds have been thrown open to them, stimulating ideas have been brought to their attention, and they have realized for the first time that the world is infinitely larger than they had imagined. Hand in hand with this extension of knowledge has gone disbelief in their own ancient lore. The white man, whose superiority and mechanical skill they admit, positively denies the accuracy of their mythology, and laughs at the dramatic performances which were wont to fill the winter with engrossing interest. Such sins can flourish only in an attitude of profound belief; this has been so shaken that the dances continue listlessly, a mere shadow of a once living art. The young people were the first to endorse a scepticism that has rapidly grown into disbelief of the faith of their ancestors, and a half-concealed scorn for their elders, the upholders of the old customs. Worse of all, prohibition of the potlatch has made it impossible for a man to reach a position of social eminence. Moreover, since the holding of any sort of ceremonial requires a distribution of gifts, formal gatherings of all kinds have become virtually impossible; even marriages have no longer the social support that formerly made them so lasting.

These cumulative blows would be enough to shake any civilization, and that of the Bella Coola has been entirely unable to adjust itself to the new conditions. The young people, having lost respect for their elders, are deprived of the advice and support essential to the continuity of culture. They see the white man's dress, they want his mechanical devices, but have failed to assimilate them. For example, a gramophone in a Bella Coola house is an anachronism, while several similar articles spoil the old picture but do not provide a new one. Seeking to copy the new ways thrown open to them, they have achieved the outward show but not the substance, and in so doing have destroyed their own culture. In the old days they were ambitious to hold potlatches and willing to work steadily towards that goal; now, new desires have not kept pace with

8: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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their carving ability and a man can satisfy his wants by working for a few months each summer. The decline of ceremonials has left a blank in their lives, too easily filled, alas, with drinking, idleness, and vice. It is inevitable that the old rites and old customs should pass, but the prohibition of these before new ones had taken their place, has been disastrous. The Bella Coola have lost their pride, a calamity as fatal to a people as to an individual.

They have shown undoubted ability in developing such of their own talents as fit the needs and requirements of the white man. Expert carpenters for generations, they have readily learned the use of new tools and now build houses and boats of considerable constructional skill. They have proved themselves valuable employees of the canneries which rely to a large extent upon Indian labour. Under instruction from a white teacher, a number of the younger men have formed a band which gives creditable performances with wind and percussion instruments. One can only deplore the fact that the skill of the Bella Coola in carving, painting, acting, singing, composing, and story-telling could not have been guided into channels where it would have developed and added lustre to the new world in which they find themselves.

The white man's civilization presses forward as an overwhelming flood, lifting out the cultures of lesser peoples in all parts of the world. This is inevitable, probably it is well that it should be so, but it offers little consolation to a tribe like the Bella Coola. Their life has been destroyed; and, wonderingly, half-pensively, half-plaintively, the survivors watch the downfall of all that their ancestors cherished. Too often the white man fails to understand this; too often he fails to realize that progress, as he sees it, is wiping out valuable elements of civilizations other than his own instead of seeking the good in them and preserving it for the benefit of himself and the native alike. The Bella Coola culture is dying, and with it will pass forever something created by a Canadian people, not great perhaps, but indelibly stamped with their personality.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 21

Photograph by the author

River canoe

[p 532 (A)]

2: McDowalds E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

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PLATE 22

Photograph by G. C. Smith, looking down on crater

Quick opening

[φ 532 (B)]

2:McDowell, E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA DeGarmo NEA

[p 533]
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

MECHANICAL PROCESSES

No attempt was made to study either the material culture of the Bella Coola, or their methods of manufacturing, but information on some points was obtained incidentally. All ceremonial and religious features connected therewith have already been described.

THE TAKING AND PREPARATION OF OLACHEN

The run of olachen, eulachon, comes about the end of April, and as many as possible are caught. In preparation, nets, [illegible], are taken from the house where they have been stored during the winter and repaired. If necessary, new nets must be manufactured. By selling nettle (*Urtica*) fibre had been by the women for this purpose. ide of this the material on their legs, they produce a thin twine. For strong great are then interwoven, making a finished cord capable of and at the ocean. The nets are constructed by the men. The nets employed, greatest time, which is said not to differ from that formerly water and consists of a pole-like stick, cord is cross-woven, upon an The cord and tapering very gradually to the other, which is closed. eight feet, length is about thirty feet, the diameter at the open end about and at the closed end about three feet. A net not in dispute a mixture of boiled hemlock bark or dogbane is, and then boiled in tobacco or willow bark to prevent the leaves from slipping.

The setting out of a net is not an easy task, as care is there are agree to work in partners. In the present instances these people eighty are not supported and each group selects a suitable spot. The hour been rock is where the water is about three feet deep and runs pidly, but without ripples, over a smooth piece of the bottom, such a place is called a slide. When the fish begin to run plentifully, the persons paddle out to set their nets, taking with them four stakes, each about an foot in length. The weight of a full net is considerable, so the poles are to be driven down at least six feet, a difficult task on account of the stony bottom. Selecting the exact spot, one of the men, stands, is set upright and held in position by being tied to a cross-piece, subpoena, fastened on the canoe for the purpose. While his two partners hold the craft steadily, the third man begins to pound down the poles, road mauls are now commonly used, but in former times this work was done with an unhafted stone maul, hammer. The fisherman adjusts another conveniently until the top of the pole has been driven down as within

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226 about a foot of the surface. In the same slow manner a second stake is driven in, about ten feet from the first, and in such a position that the main force of the current would strike at right angles a line drawn between the two. Then two more stakes are placed in position, slightly below the first pair, and nearer together, as shown in the diagram (Figure 2). The posts are often driven below the main run of the fish, and the fixing of the net delayed until that time. It is fastened to the four stakes, with its open end, which faces upstream, forming a rough oval, ten feet wide, of which the lower side rests on the bottom and the upper is at the surface. The outer stakes hold the upper edge, the inner ones secure the lower brim. The shelves are slow-swimming fish which work their way upstream with the rising tide, and, when it turns, drift back into the net. Once within the opening, they lack strength to drive forward against current and tide, and are forced into the closed bottom, floating downstream, in thousands. At the peak of the season, a net is often extended to its full dimensions with a solid mass of fish, throwing a tremendous strain on supports and mesh-work alike. During the day, the mouth is closed with a cross-piece, ostensibly, to prevent floating objects from drifting within and damaging it, and opened during the night or whatever hour the tide turns.

FIG. 2. Diagram showing position of the stakes supporting an shelves net.

Early in the morning begins the landing of the fish. The partners paddle out to the bottom of their net and, with considerable exertion, lift it into the canoe. A cord is tied around the bulged mass, cutting off a section, and the end is opened so that the fish from it fall into the bottom of the craft. Another part is dealt with in the same manner, then a third, and so in succession until the gleaming shelves are piled so deeply that no more can be landed with safety. Sometimes two or three loads, each of many thousands, are taken from a single net. The partners slowly pole to shore where, at the present time, their wives and children wait to unload the canoe. The fish are packed into baskets, carried on the back with the aid of a tump-line, and taken to pits which have been prepared ~~[112]~~ 226 251 ~~[113]~~ ~~[114]~~ ~~[115]~~ ~~[116]~~ ~~[117]~~ ~~[118]~~ ~~[119]~~ ~~[120]~~ ~~[121]~~ ~~[122]~~ ~~[123]~~ ~~[124]~~ ~~[125]~~ ~~[126]~~ ~~[127]~~ ~~[128]~~ ~~[129]~~ ~~[130]~~ ~~[131]~~ ~~[132]~~ ~~[133]~~ ~~[134]~~ ~~[135]~~ ~~[136]~~ ~~[137]~~ ~~[138]~~ ~~[139]~~ ~~[140]~~ ~~[141]~~ ~~[142]~~ ~~[143]~~ ~~[144]~~ ~~[145]~~ ~~[146]~~ ~~[147]~~ ~~[148]~~ ~~[149]~~ ~~[150]~~ ~~[151]~~ ~~[152]~~

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for treatment in other ways. Some are fried immediately, but the Bella Coola think they lack flavour, although most white men regard them as delicious. Many hundreds are dried for winter use in one of the following methods:

(A) Cedar-sticks, each about three feet in length, are split from the solid stem and smoothed down to a diameter of about one-half inch. One of these is passed through the gills and mouth of one fish after another until the rod is filled with a row of eulachon, their tails hanging downwards. Dozens of these sticks are suspended horizontally over the central fire in a house, or, in brilliant sunshine, hung in the open. When dried to a certain extent, they are stored in the upper parts of the houses where the process continues whenever a fire is lit. When so stored they keep almost indefinitely.

(B) Narrow strips, each four to five feet in length, of flexible cedar-bark, are prepared by the women. The fisherman takes the ends of two of these, ties one around a fish's head, and the other around its tail. Another eulachon is tied parallel to the first, and then others, until the two cords are supporting thirty to forty fish, each separated by about one inch. The middle of the strings is laid across a horizontal bar above a fire or in the open, and the process of drying continues as in the last method. The fish are subsequently cooled five if a large blaze is built up in a house, so careful people remove their eulachon before a feast or other celebration.

Though dried eulachon provide a useful article for winter diet, the fish are chiefly valued for their grease, *ulel*, which is used as a condiment with all kinds of berries. It is sometimes extracted from the fresh fish, but the Bella Coola consider this to be wasteful and prefer to wait until the eulachon have remained in the pits for ten days to two weeks. Warm weather hastens the process, but in any case nothing is done until the disgusting smell has penetrated for miles, proving that putrefaction is well advanced. In former times, all boiling was done with hot stones, but at present boxes with iron bottoms are used as kettles. These are of various shapes and sizes, an average being, perhaps, four feet long, three feet wide, and eighteen inches deep. These are set on fireplaces which vary according to the ingenuity of the owner. Some are excavated in the river bank, lined with stones set in clay, and fired at the inner end with an old sacrapipe to provide draught for the minimum furnace. The box-kettle is placed on the ground over the excavation and the cook pours in water. Then his wife, children, and friends bring the putrid fish, which they boile in until only a few inches of water are visible. A slow fire is built beneath, and, as the mixture begins to boil, the cook stirs it with a freshest stick having a slightly flattened blade. Presently the grease begins to rise to the surface whence it is skimmed off and placed in recep-

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258 [415] [171] [415] [431] [262] 258 496 cache; metal coal-oil cans are found convenient for this purpose and have almost replaced wooden boxes. After repeated storage and skimmings, all that remains is a mass of putrid flesh, bearing no resemblance whatever to the fish from which it came. The Kitlahs are said to compress this into cakes for eating, but the Bella Coola throw it away. Some cooks boil out the drops by hand, but many of the box-bottles have a bung-hole at the bottom which, when opened, allows the semi-liquid remains to flow out into a rough trough leading to the river. As soon as one batch of slachen has thus been disposed of, another is boiled and refined in the same way. The grease keeps indefinitely and is a useful article of barter with the Carrier as well as a staple of Bella Coola diet. Although the preparation removes much of its offensive odour, slachen grease has an unpleasant taste to the white man.

During the boiling, all other activities are suspended and the people spend practically all their time on the river bank. If the fish are allowed to rot too long, much of the grease is lost, so men, women, and children are pressed into service to make the most of the short period. The men rise at dawn to scan the foam on the bank, the women and children follow with food, and for several days the whole village camps, as if on a picnic, amid an indescribably foul smell that almost sickens anyone passing within hundreds of yards. There are tasks for everyone; the fish must be carried from the pits to the furnaces, wood must be brought, the fires stoked, the bottles stirred, the grease carried away, the foaming repeated, food cooked, and a hundred other chores. It is a scene of great activity, carried on with good humour and merriment, for the Bella Coola realize that they are storing up luxuries for the following winter. Even the dogs seem to share the general enthusiasm, and do not disdain to eat the drops from the bottles, which, when emptied into the river, attract numerous crows and gulls, to the joy of small boys with burning desires.

BELLA COOLA CANOES

501 [505] 502 Although travel and transport by water is still as vital to the Bella Coola as it was to their fathers, the motor boat is fast replacing the canoe, and the science of manufacturing their own craft is being lost. In former times several types were constructed, but only one of these is still employed—the spoon canoe, *ai-ka*, used on rivers (see Plate 21). These vary from twenty to thirty feet or more in length, and are about four feet wide; they are without keels, and there is no difference between the bow and stern. Although one man can handle such a craft in smooth water, at least two are required for a journey of any length, and four in the usual crew. The captain, who is either the best waterman or the one most familiar with the route, stands in the stern, the second is concerned in

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the bow. The crew take their places at equal intervals between, each 502
ready to work on the opposite side from the man in front. Each is provided with a ten-foot pole and also a paddle for use in spots where the river is too deep for poling. The rivers of central British Columbia are shallow, but swift, and their navigation requires considerable skill. Going upstream, the captain constantly seeks the smoothest water, where he knows the current will be least strong, and uses his pole to keep the craft headed in the right direction. Should it be caught in a violent eddy, he exerts his full strength, and it is his voice that rallies the crew for a final exertion to shove the canoe through. Coming downstream is more dangerous though less wearying. The water is so cold and the current so swift that a capsizing usually causes the drowning of one or more of the occupants, and the captain must never relax. Spoon canoes are very [501]
stable, and cannot be upset by a faulty distribution of weight. This is essential in view of the rapids, but they are heavy and cumbersome, unsuited to carrying large loads.

When a carpenter wishes to make a canoe, he fells a cedar of suitable 396
size and trims off bark and branches to leave the central stem available. [412]
Slowly and laboriously he chips with his adze until he has hollowed out the trunk to the proper shape, and at the same time has smoothed away the outer surface. Sometimes a small fire is built on the trunk so that it will char the wood beneath and make it easier to remove, but the carpenter must be careful that the flames do not spread too far. Finally, as his work reaches completion, he becomes ever more painstaking than before. The sides and bottom are whittled to a thickness of no more than three inches, and at this stage a faulty stroke may pierce the shell and ruin the toil of weeks. When completed, it is necessary to widen and harden the canoe. A fire is built beside it and stones thrown into the flames to heat; these lifted out and dropped into the water with which the craft has been partly filled. Steam rises, and the carpenter confines it by covering the canoe with matting, at the same time endeavouring to pull and force the sides apart. Sometimes he can do so by mere muscular effort, more often it is necessary to lay transverse thwarts within and, by pounding them downwards, extend the sides. No great extension is possible, nor is it required, but the steaming process is considered to harden the wood as well as widen the canoe.

Until five or ten years ago, the Bella Coola made another type of 501
canoe, *ilpin*, for use on the ocean. A few examples of this style are still in existence (see Plate 22). Though approximately the same length as river canoes, they are proportionately much deeper and narrower, and an extension downwards near the stern serves in place of a keel. These craft are sufficiently sea-worthy to weather any ordinary storm. Several

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501 of the older people remember seeing in their youth another type, *lakan*, with a high raised prow; this may have been identical with the *mdka* which others describe as having an elevated bow and a low stern. An entirely different craft was the *tamkwl'i*, named from one of the geese, [525] probably the white-fronted goose. A strip of maple fastened along each side caught the water in moving, with a sound like that of the peculiar rustling flight of the bird. The bow was often carved in the form of a [532] bird's head and the stern in that of a tail to further the resemblance. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of these canoes, though some had heard of them from their grandparents. The large, open type of canoe made by the Haida was known to the Bella Coola, but not constructed by them. Sails were used on all ocean-going canoes; they were usually of matting, though skins sewn together were occasionally employed.

501 Canoes are occasionally lashed together. In several *kusiut* dances a wide platform for dancing is required, and the need is met by lashing 535 planks crosswise over two canoes, near the bow and stern, thus fastening them together. Planking is laid on the two supports and a platform so constructed. Careful inquiries showed that this fastening was merely a temporary arrangement; the booms were not bound in any particular manner, nor was there any fixed distance between the craft. Sometimes 501 the same expedient was used for transport when the load was too heavy [171] for two canoes separately, a device which is said to have been used more commonly by the tribes of the outer coast than the Bella Coola. Canoes lashed together are termed *ds-awanāy*.

Rafts, *sutskwl'a*, consisting of rough logs fastened together with cross-pieces, were commonly used on the lakes of the interior, and occasionally for river work when canoes were unavailable and there was no time to make them. Another expedient in similar emergencies was to [177] make bark canoes, such as are still constructed by the Carriers. The Bella Coola regard the construction of these as definite copying, and do not profess to have as much skill as their teachers whose canoes, it is said, can be folded for portaging. There is a tradition that, many generations ago, a few clever Bella Coola knew how to make skin canoes.

THE PREPARATION OF CEDAR-BARK

314 Early spring is the time to *suxukuls*, that is, to gather the inner bark [22] of the cedar. Men occasionally assist in the task, though this is really [462] woman's work. The worker selects a small cedar, choosing one about six inches in diameter, with smooth trunk and relatively free from knots. With a knife she makes a horizontal incision in the bark, two or three feet [412] from the ground, sometimes girdling the sapling. Then she inserts her

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lute, a tool consisting of a slightly bent stick with sharpened point, uses 314
the cut, and runs it upwards to make a vertical incision as high as she
can reach. Going around to the other side of the tree, the woman makes [412]
another cutting of the same kind. Finally, she inserts her fingers at the
bottom and pulls gently outwards, so that the bark is drawn off in a long
streamer which tapers to a point at the top. The other half section of
the tree is similarly stripped; this treatment frequently kills saplings
which can then be used for fire-wood. Although small trees are preferred,
a woman sometimes collects her bark from a large one by means of many
vertical incisions.

The bark is taken home without further preparation. The woman
carefully peels off and throws away the rough outer bark, leaving the
smooth inner covering, *ḳapi*, which alone is valuable. If the weather is
fine, this is dried in the sun for two or three days; otherwise, it is placed
over a fire within the house. When all moisture has been removed, it is
rolled up and kept for future use. The bark can be used for making [285]
baskets with no further treatment except splitting into bands of the
proper width.

When pounded bark, such as is widely used for ceremonial purposes, 287
is required, the woman prepares the necessary tools. Two small sticks,
each about six inches in length and one-half inch in diameter, are used as
tweezers, *ḱipla*, though the bark can, if necessary, be held in the hand.
Two beating sticks are required, each about two feet in length, six inches
wide, and half an inch thick; one edge of each is rounded off, though not
sharpened to a cutting surface. When all is ready, the woman crouches
on the floor, with the lower beater, *ḳpaq*, held stationary before her on a
box or other raised rest, and lays an end of the bark over the rounded
edge. Taking the other, the upper beater, *ẋpiksa*, in her right hand, she
strikes downwards so that its edge slides down the side of the stationary
stick, bruising the fragment of bark. With her left hand she pushes the
piece slightly further over the edge, and again the upper beater falls.
This is repeated time after time until the whole length is pulverized and
softened. It is tiring work, but a woman accomplishes more in an hour
than seems possible as her muscles become accustomed to the shearing
motion. The bark becomes broken and frayed but its tensile strength
is sufficient to prevent it from falling apart. Then the woman brushes it
with shavings to remove loose fragments and the work is done. This
type of pounded cedar-bark is called *ẋw'*.

ẋw' is usually dyed red before being used for ceremonial purposes and 287
is then termed *mal'*. In winter the dye is made from alder-bark with 286
pieces of the wood attached, but in summer only scrapings from the inner
bark are used. Water is placed in a vessel, urine added, pieces of alder [224]

287 [illegible] in, and her [illegible] lifted in to have the mixture. Even at the
316 present time dye is never made on a cove, so it is thought that the gradual heating by means of stones is essential. As it becomes warm, the woman thoroughly rubs the ingredients with her hands, then, when it boils, some of the bark is lifted out and more added. This process is continued until the brew is deep red in colour. It is allowed to stand for a few minutes before the pounded cedar-bark is placed in it. The operator gently works it around until it is saturated, then lifts it out and hangs it up to dry. Several pieces of bark can be dyed in one solution, though it is necessary to add more cedar-bark and more stones to maintain the proper strength and heat.

[285] Although red cedar-bark is the kind most commonly used, the Bella
[177] Coola sometimes use the yellow cedar for mats and blankets, as we learn from the Bella Bella.

THE MANUFACTURE OF PAINT

316 Paint, such as was used both for decorating the body and for pen-
[302] [illegible] designs on wood, was obtained from a kind of rock found near
[339] the head of a creek, covering the Bella Coola from the south near Sand
[317] Fragments of the red stone were broken off, thrown into a vessel containing water, and brought to a boil by the insertion of hot stones. Under the action of heat the rock became soft so that the manufacturer was able to pulverize it and run off the semi-liquid mixture into a small box. He would then place cedar-bark and salmon roe, and spit into the paint, thoroughly mixing his saliva with it. When dry, the mixture was ready for use, and could be kept indefinitely.

[539] Anyone could paint who had the artistic skill, and it was chiefly artists
[177] who used to make this kind of paint. Since the introduction of the white man's brilliant colours, there has been no demand for the duller native shade, and the making of paint has been discontinued.

APPENDIX 4

STRING FIGURES

THE only form of practice which it was practical to investigate in any detail was the construction of string figures. These seem to have no ceremonial or religious significance, they are made for recreation only, and it was found easy to learn a number while paying the way for other kinds of research. In fact, interest in them was one of the ways in which the writer became friends with a number of Bella Coola. As is to be expected, some individuals are more proficient in constructing complicated string figures than others, the old women being particularly adept. Having the long labour which occur in all the dances is a common right; so we so old women teaching a group of young girls the figures which she herself learns when young. Some men remember a number from their youth, but the making of designs with string is regarded as more fitting for girls and women. Songs accompany many of the figures, and the singing of these is considered an essential part of the construction. It was noticed that many more figures were known long ago; in fact, several of those here recorded were only obtained after repeated efforts on the part of an old woman to reconstruct those which she had been shown when a child. No attempt was made to learn all the Bella Coola figures, a larger number could doubtless have been collected, but those here described are the ones most commonly made.

The nomenclature used is that described by Miss Haddon,[1] to itself following the method used by Rivers and Haddon. It will be observed that the number is familiar with this, including the meaning of the terms, "Opening A," "Position 1," and "Shoulder." A string about four feet long will be found most convenient for making the Bella Coola figures.

1. A WOODEN RING

Double the loop, two strands now take the place of the usual one, but these will be referred to as a single string or loop. The figure can be made equally well with a string one-half the usual length.

Place string as a single loop over left thumb and index finger and the right hand.

With right index finger hook down the string passing directly across left thumb and index finger and draw out to right, allowing right hand loop to slip over this hooked-down string.

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[1] A. Haddon, Cat's Cradle from Many Lands (London, 1911).

[String Figures]

[illegible] THE WHALE CHILD (illegible)

[illegible] Insert right hand from dorsal side into the loop formed down by right index finger, releasing this finger in the process.

With tips of right thumb and index finger grasp left radial radial string and left ulnar thumb string, taking care that the grasping fingers pass to the dorsal side of the (straight) left ulnar radial thumb string.

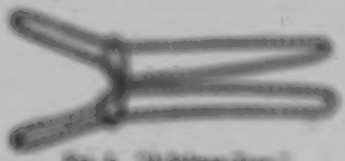

Fig. 6. "V-Ribbon Trap"

Draw these two strings out to the right, allowing the original right hand loop to slip over them.

This completed figure represents a ribbon trap. The opening pointing towards the left (Figure 6).

Fig. 7. Spring [illegible]

Opening 2 with middle fingers.

Bring middle fingers together, tip to tip, transfer right middle finger loop to left middle finger, and left middle finger loop to right middle finger, passing 1 over the loop just transferred.

Extend.

Insert left thumb into left middle finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop to the thumb, keeping 1 dorsal to the loop already held.

Insert left thumb into left little finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop to the thumb, keeping 1 dorsal to the two loops already held.

Insert left little finger into left thumb loops from proximal side, passing to radial side of the two proximal ulnar thumb strings, and to ulnar side of dorsal ulnar thumb string, hook this string down with little finger through thumb loops.

Insert left index finger into left thumb loops from dorsal side, passing to ulnar side of the two dorsal radial thumb strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb strings, turn index finger up away from manipulator, taking up this string on the dorsal aspect of the tip of the index finger.

Release left thumb.

Release right thumb and little finger.

Extend.

This completed figure (Figure 7) shows the final easily to draw to extend.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 4

Fig. 1. "A Knot Hook"

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 4 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

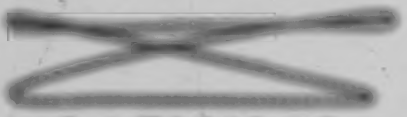

Fig. 2. "Hook Knot Opening"

[illegible]

[illegible] Grip index fingers together, tip to tip, and transfer right index finger loop to left index finger, and left index finger loop to right index finger [illegible] just transferred.

Spread middle fingers.

[illegible] middle fingers into index finger loops from proximal side.

[illegible] middle and index fingers towards the manipulator, passing index fingers to distal side of radial thumb string, and middle fingers to proximal side [illegible] radial thumb string, grasping this string between tips of these fingers.

[illegible] through index finger loop, allowing this loop to slip off. The string [illegible] firmly held between tips of fingers is now wrapped around tips of [illegible] fingers.

Spread thumbs.

[illegible] represents the warps resting on a framework. (Figure 7).

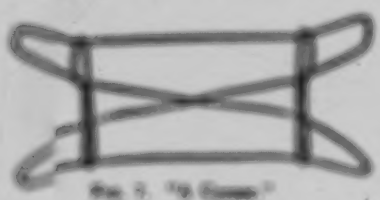

Fig. 7. "A Cradle."

Pass thumbs away from manipulator into the lower section of the central triangle.

Release ring and little fingers.

Gently extend, and the figure becomes two warps.

IV. THE WARP

Now loop over thumbs, which should be about four inches apart, and straight string between their radial sides, and the long pendent strings hanging down from other sides of thumbs on palmar aspects of hands.

Lift index fingers take up radial thumb strings from proximal side.

Lift left thumb take up right radial thumb string from proximal side.

Spread right thumb.

Lift right thumb into left thumb loops from proximal side and take up [illegible] loops.

Extend figure.

Lift thumbs proximally to other side of index finger loops, and take up [illegible] index finger string on their backs.

Spread index fingers.

Now we now have loops on the thumbs which should be loops in their original order.

Lift index fingers through the three thumb loops from proximal side, [illegible] and then down and away from manipulator to other side of distal

and middle elbow thumb strings, and to the proximal side of the proximal elbow thumb string, by twisting the index fingers back this string down, with the index fingers, through thumb loops.

With little fingers hook down the strings hooked down by index fingers.

Release index fingers.

Release the two straight radial thumb strings.

Extend figure.

This completed figure shows two lays, the loops passing from radial thumb string to elbow little finger string, playing a game which resembles hide-and-seek (Figure 6).

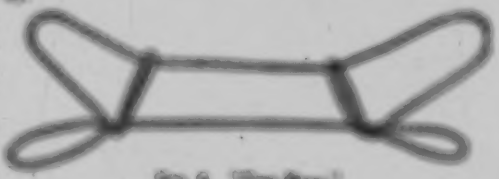

Fig. 6. "Two Boys."

The left hand lay hides: hook down the lay with left index finger.

The right hand lay runs to try to find him: insert left thumb into right thumb loop from proximal side, release right thumb, and extend. This shows the right hand lay over the left hand, but he cannot see the left hand lay, who is concealed.

Sing: "Jack" (4). "Where is he?"

The right hand lay returns to his station.

Insert right thumb into left distal thumb loop from proximal side and lift off this loop.

Extend.

The left hand lay emerges from his hiding place.

Release left index finger.

Sing: "Jamieson go'ln. Here he is."

The process of hiding and running to find can be repeated indefinitely, and with either lay.

6. A [illegible]

Bolla Coola opening.

Insert middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side, and hook down radial index finger strings.

Bend index and middle fingers towards manipulator, to distal side of elbow thumb string, passing index fingers to distal side of radial thumb string, and middle fingers to proximal side of radial thumb string, holding this string between tips of fingers.

Bend index and middle fingers up and away from manipulator, thus

524 wrapping radial thumb string around tips of index fingers, and allowing original index finger loops to slip off.

Release thumbs.

There is now a St. Andrew's Cross in the centre of the figure. With each thumb take up the upper arm of the cross nearest to it from the proximal side.

Release index fingers.

Transfer loop hooked down by ring and little fingers of each hand to little fingers of each hand, without altering direction of loop.

Fig. 9. "A Bubble."

Insert index fingers into little finger loops from distal side, hand them towards one, equidistant to proximal side of radial little finger strings, of one thumb strings, and radial thumb strings, then hand them up and away from one, equidistant to distal side of radial thumb string, and to proximal side of the straight string which crosses the figure forming a loop between thumb string and radial little finger string of each hand. Hook this string on index fingers and return, taking it up on the distal aspect of index fingers.

Release thumbs.

[205] The loops just released encircle the ears of the rabbit. With thumbs press the ears through little finger loops and thence with middle fingers, thereby making the figure appear more like this (Figure 9).

61. THE LONG FOOD OF BUTTER

524 Bella Coola opening.

631 Insert middle, ring and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

With thumbs take up radial index finger strings from proximal side and return through thumb loops, allowing original thumb loops to slip off.

Insert middle fingers into thumb loops from proximal side and take up on the backs of middle fingers the strings passing across the palmar aspect of thumbs, returning thumbs to normal position.

With back of left middle finger grip right middle finger loop and release right middle finger.

With hook of right middle finger grip left middle finger loop and lift this loop from left middle finger.

Release thumbs and extend.

Pass thumbs to proximal side of index finger loops into hooked down middle finger loops from distal side and pick up radial middle finger strings.

Release index fingers but do not extend.

The long position loops represent the gnats. Lift the figure and hold the hand so that both loops can be taken into the mouth, where they can be represented as that they will hang close together.

Gently squeeze the soft (ie. fingers which are hook up down loops), this causes the gnats to become crazy (Figure 10). It is difficult to prevent the loops from falling apart, as they always do unless well maintained.

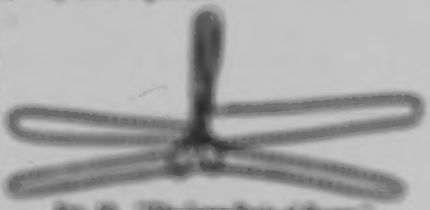

Fig. 10. "The Long Pole of Gnats"

The two lozenges which appear in the central face of the figure represent Raven's mandible.

This figure is also called, more simply, the gnats.

[illegible]

Position 1:

With thumbs side up allow both finger strings from distal side.

With middle fingers side up position strings as in figure 9.

Pass thumbs to proximal side of index finger loops and side up radial both finger strings from proximal side.

With both fingers hook down about middle finger strings, allowing original both finger string to slip off.

Pass both of ring fingers into loops/hooked down by both fingers from proximal side.

With ring fingers hook down proximal about thumb strings, removing through loops/hooked down by both fingers.

Release both fingers.

With both fingers hook down the loop/hooked down by the ring fingers.

Release ring fingers.

Release middle fingers.

Pass index fingers into thumb loops from distal side, then level up, towards, towards manipulator to radial side of proximal radial thumb string and to other side of distal radial thumb string, then level down and towards away from manipulator, and hooking to distal side of both sides.

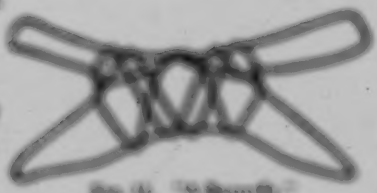

Fig. (1). "A Butterfly."

thumb strings, then taking up the left radial thumb string on the backs of index fingers.

Release thumbs.

This shows the butterfly with wings extended, the hand being the complicated network of strings in the upper centre of the figure (Figure 11).

To untangle the strings, to make the butterfly vanish, with thumbs hook down pulleys strings and release index and little fingers.

[illegible] THE [illegible] [illegible]

Hold Cords spanning.

Insert middle, ring and little fingers of each hand into index finger loops and hook down radial index finger strings.

Place index fingers to thumb side of radial thumb strings, and middle fingers to proximal side of radial thumb strings, checking this string between tips of these fingers.

Remove thumbs through index finger loops, allowing these loops to slip off.

Release thumbs.

With thumbs take up these index finger strings from proximal side.

Release index fingers.

Bring thumbs together, tip to tip, and transfer right thumb loop to left thumb.

Bring ring and little fingers of each hand together, tip to tip, to radial side of left thumb loops, and transfer loop hooked down by left ring and little fingers to back of right ring and little fingers.

With left index, middle, ring and little fingers hook down left ulnar thumb strings.

Release left thumb.

Insert right index and middle fingers from proximal side into loops hooked down on right ring and little fingers, thus widening this loop.

Turn palms of hands towards manipulator, with hands pointing upwards, thus by so doing the fingers would point upwards if they were not here now to hook down strings.

Remove right hand contact-thumbnail, and left hand thumbnail through ulnar fingers, causing a triangle to appear in the centre of the figure (Figure 12).

This triangle represents the gamut in which Dragon-fish, "The Fire-Sucker," applies for spinning uniform. Another person should take the part of Dragon-fish by inserting a finger through the central triangle. The following dialogue takes place:

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Fire Dance. "What do you want?"

Dragon-fish. "I must seek visitors, please, my fire has gone out."

C.(A). "All right. Go and bring whatever you usually use for carrying coals."

Dragon-fish is shown fire in a long iron rod ending with five fingers and mouth open at wide gesture. The measure should link the finger to food embers in the figure.

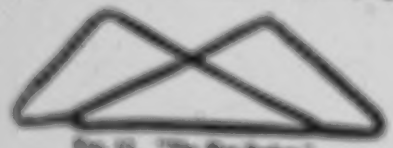

Fig. 12. "The Fire-Seeker."

Fire Dance. "Why have you been so long?"

Dragon-fish. "I was given only food by the people in that house over there."

C.(A). "What did you say?"

C. "I am hungry, genius."

C.(A). "What did you see in that?"

C. "A pair of black embers."

C.(A). "What kind of fish was it served in?"

C. "A shell."

C.(A). "What did you see in a white shell?"

C. "A pair white fish, a crisp in a saffin."

C.(A). "What did you see in Cassavania?"

C. "A set of fish golden from a coupon."

C.(A). "Right. Give fish venison."

Reverse the movements marked * and the triangle comments in the corner of the figure, touching thumb and 5 fingers.

The word use is gain, "[illegible]," the Sulu Code equivalent for "Silk shirt." "Shell." "[illegible] on land." or any other mark equivalents, and use all numbers giving the thumb embers.

This strong figure illustrates 10 numbers that could place long ago.

10. A TWO-ARM FIGURE WITH A FINGER.

Place strong two-hollow, middle and ring fingers.

With both fingers side up, initial index finger strong and other ring finger strong from processed side.

With right middle finger side up left palmer strong from processed side, and with left middle finger side up right palmer strong, as in Opening 8.

Place thumbs in thumb side of initial index finger strong, and in processed side of all other strongs, strong in processed other little finger strong, which gives strong the thumb square of the hand, from processed side.

Left and thumb strong are in the palmer square of the hand.

Thumb strong, middle pulling right.

Two loops now pass around about little finger string, radial little finger string, and about middle finger string of each hand, with the "upper" of each loop on the angle formed by the crossing of radial middle finger string and about thumb string. In each case the upper aspect of the loop is parallel to the palmar aspect of the hand. With the mouth, or the help of an assistant, insert a thin stick, about six inches in length, between the right middle and ring fingers from the dorsal aspect of the hand, through the loop around the right hand, then through the other loop, and out between the middle and ring fingers of the left hand. The stick should project an equal distance behind the dorsal aspect of each hand.

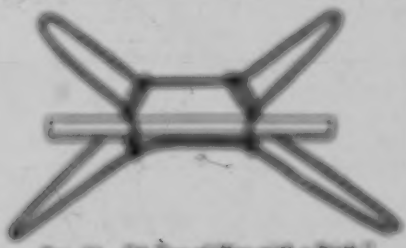

Fig. 12. "A Signal Fire with a Stick."

Release middle fingers.

Gently unwind.

The two loops tighten on the stick (Figure 12), and as the hands are separated the two "bars," that is, the loops extending from the radial thumb string to about little finger string, are seen hugging at the stick. Continue separating the hands, and the stick can drawn the stick from his opponent's grasp and return it away either to the right or to the left.

9. A Star and a Wheel

From the string tie a double loop, so that each string or loop normally single is now double, such a string or loop will be described as single throughout. The figure can be done equally well with a string of half the ordinary length.

Bella Coola opening.

Secure middle, ring, and little fingers over index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

Pass left index finger to ulnar side of right ulnar index finger string and hook down right ulnar index finger string.

Release right index finger, but do not draw right.

Pass right index finger to ulnar side of left ulnar index finger strings and hook down the two left ulnar index finger strings, but do not draw right.

Each index finger is now hooking down two strings.

Pass index fingers to palmar side of ulnar thumb string, and by hooking index fingers outwards, take up this string on the dorsal aspect of each, allowing the two strings hooked down by index fingers to slip off.

APPENDIX B

[illegible]

Formal

Insert middle fingers into index finger loops from proximal side.

Pass middle fingers to proximal side of radial thumb strings, and index fingers to distal side of radial thumb strings, holding this string between the tips of these fingers, bend index and middle fingers up and away from manipulators, taking up radial thumb strings on dorsal aspect of the tips of index fingers, and allowing the original loops to slip off.

Release middle fingers.

Release thumbs.

This shows a man and a woman standing up, facing one another (Figure 10). By pressing radial ring finger strings, with thumbs, away from manipulators, the figures can be made to come together to an embrace.

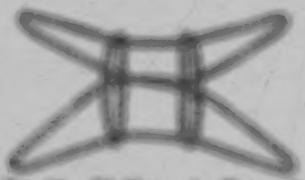

Fig. 10. "A Man and a Woman."

11. *Kiowa yucca*[1]

Bella Coola opening.

Pass thumbs proximal to index finger loops and take up alien index finger string on their backs.

Release index fingers.

Hook down distal alien thumb strings with middle, ring, and little fingers.

Pass index fingers into thumb loops from distal side, to radial side of distal alien thumb string, and to the alien side of proximal alien thumb string, thence to distal side of proximal radial thumb string; bend index fingers down and up, away from manipulators, taking up this string on their distal aspects.

Release thumbs.

Pass thumbs into the loop hooked down by middle, ring, and little fingers of each hand from the distal side, and consider this loop as the thumb.[1]

Extend with backs of hands towards manipulators.

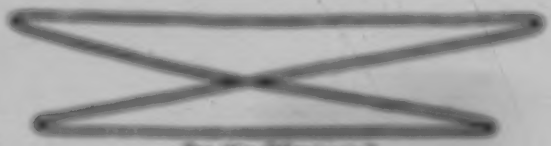

Fig. 11. "Kiowa yucca."

[1] This is a robust Bella Coola, the meaning of which has been forgotten.

326 This shows one usage of Fleet-pole (Figure 10).

(1)Place thumbs pointed to index finger loops and take up about index finger strings on their backs.

Release index fingers.

With middle, ring, and little fingers hook down thumb about thumb strings.

Insert index fingers into thumb loops from thumb side and take up proximal about thumb string from thumb side.

Release thumbs.

Place thumbs into loops hooked down by middle, ring, and little fingers from the thumb side, and transfer this loop to the thumbs.(2)

This shows the figure in the same form as previously obtained. The movements from (1) to (2) can be repeated indefinitely, and should be done a number of times while the manipulator says, "Fleet-pole, Fleet-pole." With a little practice the movements from (1) to (2) can be made almost as fast as the word can be said.

Another form of Fleet-pole is usually made from this point by re-passing from 4 to 3.

This figure, the second form of Fleet-pole, cannot be repeated.

(3). *Mikkwaila*, or rock weasel

Hold Cradle spacing.

Pass the middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from the proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

Bend index and middle fingers towards manipulator, passing index fingers to thumb side of radial thumb string, and middle fingers to proximal side of radial thumb string, holding the string between tips of fingers.

Bend index and middle fingers up away from manipulator, taking up radial thumb string on thumb aspect of the tips of index fingers, and allowing the original loop to slip off index fingers.

Release thumbs.

Take up with each the straight radial index finger string in the course of the figure.

Release ring and little fingers.

Open upon the hands, causing the network of strings in the course of the figure to work up to the middle.

Grip this series of transversal strings with the lips.

Bring right index finger, tip to tip, with left little finger, and complete index finger loop to little finger.

APPENDIX B

[illegible]

Place right middle finger down in the mouth between left index finger loop and left little finger loop.

Release fan, the right middle finger preventing the seven drawings you released from moving towards the left hand.

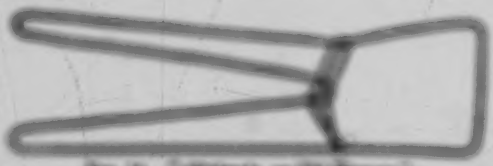

FIG. 1b. "[illegible] in the [illegible]"

Grip mouth using with tips of right thumb and index finger, and release mouth.

Return to normal position.

Quickly release right middle finger, so the away from extending the loop held between tips of right thumb and index finger, for inserting in this loop all the fingers of the right hand. Re-quickly partnap the hands, the figure in the middle, which represents the left hand, can be made to travel towards the left hand. This movement is sometimes improved by extending the left index finger loop for inserting in it the left thumb, and separating these two digits (Figure 1d). As the figure is moving, the conversation runs:

"I cannot wait	and left hand"
"Where are you going	left hand"

The "left hand" replies:

"[illegible]	[illegible]
I am going to wait left hand	in the human hand."

The interrogator continues:

"Left hand	"[illegible]	"[illegible]
Be careful	Are you left hand (to you go)	towards Green Mist?"

Release left little finger and the "left hand" falls.

FIG. 2 TRICK

Bella Costa opening.

Place middle, ring, and little fingers of each hand into index finger loops from proximal side and hold down the radial index finger string.

Reproduced in [illegible] FIG. 2 (b), Pictorial Magazine of Conjuring Magic, Jan. February [illegible]. This issue further demonstrates.

This issue is in the usual volume of the [illegible] although when I was handed in the photographs by Magic Institute as going to make difference, Mind you was doing it.

[illegible]	[illegible] left hand	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

With middle fingers take up slack thumb string from proximal side and secure through index finger loops.

Insert ring fingers into middle finger loops from proximal side.

Hold middle and ring fingers towards manipulator. Hold side of index finger loops, passing middle fingers to distal side of radial thumb string, and ring fingers to proximal side of radial thumbstring. Grasp radial thumb string between tips of these fingers and secure through middle finger loops, thus wrapping the string in sprayed round the tips of middle fingers.

Release index fingers.

Release left fingers.

Bring thumbs together, tip to tip, and transfer right thumb loop to left thumb.

Insert right index finger into right middle finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop, releasing middle finger.

Bring right hand clockwise through 180 degrees, & draw the loop towards palm on index finger & now hold on back of middlefinger, but low and from towards.

With right middle finger hook down, anchoring, the string which passes from ulnar side of right index finger to radial side of left middle finger.

With right ring finger hook down left radial middle finger string.

Release left middle finger.

Draw left index, ring, and middle fingers into left thumb loops from proximal side and hook down these loops.

Release left thumb.

You show the "Fish" string cradle, hook hanging left, ready to pass (Figure 11).

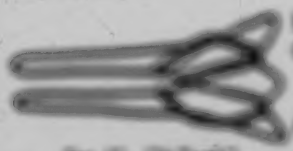

Fig. 11. "A Fish"

Pass left thumb and ring hooked down by left index, ring and middle fingers from ulnar side.

The left thumb represents a stick.

The manipulator then carries on the following dialogue with thumb:

"Underneath?" "Where is you going?"

Underneath is the reply.

"O shucks, I am going to get some hamburgers."

"Underneath cradle's ahead?" "But how will you a ride to reach up to them?"

"Underneath, I am hungry."

"Why bothers the shucks, Dick Allen?"

As the manipulator says "Go ahead!" release right index and ring fingers and with a swinging motion the "road" can be made to jump towards the left, over the left thumb. 524 [225]

a. Vaud

(Second method of construction)

Bella Coola opening.

Insert middle, ring, and little fingers of each hand into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

With middle fingers take up ulnar thumb strings from proximal side.

With middle fingers hook down ulnar index finger strings, allowing loops just taken up to slip off. The strings formerly hooked down by middle, ring, and little fingers are now held down by ring and little fingers.

Release index fingers.

Each ulnar thumb string is held down by a loop. With index fingers take up ulnar thumb strings from proximal side between loop and centre of figure.

With index fingers take up radial thumb strings from distal side and return, allowing original index finger loops to slip off.

Release middle, ring, and little fingers.

Take up with mouth the straight radial index finger string in centre of figure.

Bring thumbs together, tip to tip, and transfer right thumb loop to left thumb, releasing right thumb.

Transfer right index finger loop to hook of right index by twisting finger without removing string, which throws original radial string on to ulnar side.

With right middle finger hook down string passing from mouth to left index finger between the mouth and the point where other strings cross.

Release mouth.

With right ring finger hook down left radial index finger string which runs straight across to right hand.

Release left index finger.

Insert left index, middle, and ring fingers into hooked down loop of left thumb.

Release left thumb.

Gently extend the figure by spreading the loop held on backs of left fingers, at the same time manipulating it so that the loops held by right index, middle, and ring fingers are of approximately the same length. It is sometimes difficult to get a satisfactory figure.

The completed figure (Figure 11) represents a road spanning pass [225]

necessary to jumping. Release right index and ring fingers, and by means of a swinging movement with both hands the cord can be made to jump to the left, over the left thumb, which should be inserted into hooked down loops of left index, middle, and ring fingers from distal side.

[p. 24 [p. 25]]

201. CROSSING A RIVER

Place string as a simple loop over thumbs and index fingers.

With middle, ring, and little fingers hook down radial thumb string and show index finger string.

With right index finger take up string passing directly across left thumb and index finger from proximal side.

With left index finger take up string passing directly across right thumb and index finger from distal side.

Extend, at the same time releasing middle, ring, and little fingers.

Pass left middle, ring, and little fingers proximal to left proximal index finger loop, and hook down left distal radial index finger string.

Pass right middle, ring, and little fingers proximal to both right index finger loops and hook down right ulnar thumb string—which is the same string as just hooked down by left middle, ring, and little fingers.

Pass left middle finger into left index finger loops from proximal side and hook down proximal radial index finger string.

Pass right middle finger into right index finger loops from proximal side and hook down both radial index finger strings.

Bend towards manipulator middle and index fingers of each hand, passing middle fingers to proximal side of the straight radial thumb string, and index fingers to distal side of same string. Grip this straight string between tips of middle and index fingers.

Turn middle and index fingers down and up away from manipulator, taking up radial thumb string on distal aspect of index fingers, and allowing original strings to slip off.

Release thumbs.

Extend gently.

**** A loop now crosses the canon of the figure from the angle formed by the junction of left ulnar index finger string with left radial little finger string, to the right palmar string. With right thumb take up the radial string of this loop from distal side.

Insert left thumb into right thumb loop from proximal side and extend this loop on both thumbs.

With thumbs take up radial index finger strings from proximal side.

Spread thumbs.

Release index fingers. ****

J. McDowell E-1 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellevue NEA

524

Insert index fingers into thumb loops from proximal side and transfer these loops to index fingers.

Repeat from **** to **** with the double loop which now crosses the figure in the same position as the single loop previously described.

This completed figure (Figure 18) shows a woman, the closely paired strings running horizontal, by in the centre of the figure, who wishes to cross a river.

FIG. 18. "Crossing a River."

The manipulator sings, as if the woman were speaking.

Rescuer	*crossing*
Come to look on	across the river.

One of those who have fur from the village on the opposite shore answers;

Turnabout	*sit*	*Observer*
Go higher up	to	to place where there are projecting stones that make a causeway.

The woman does so. Release right index finger and she raises her clothing above her knees. By separating hands she can be made to move to the left across the river.

Another explanation of this figure is that it represents a man with a short leg who wishes to cross a river. As he hesitates, fearing lest he be swept away, his associates make fun of his deformity; he lengthens his leg, presumably by magical means, and confounds them by crossing with ease.

97. A PORCUPINE

Opening A with middle fingers.

Bring middle fingers together, tip to tip, and transfer right middle finger loop to left middle finger, and left middle finger loop to right middle finger, over the loop just transferred.

Insert left thumb into left middle finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop to thumb, keeping it distal to loop already held, and releasing left middle finger.

Insert left thumb into left little finger loop from proximal side, and transfer this loop to thumb, keeping it distal to the two loops already held, and releasing left little finger.

Insert left little finger into left thumb loops from proximal side, passing to radial side of the two proximal sheer thumb strings, and to

J: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

524 silver side of distal silver thumb string; hook down this string through thumb loops.

Insert left index finger into left thumb loops from distal side, passing to silver side of the two distal radial index finger strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb string; hand index finger upwards and away from manipulator, taking up this proximal radial thumb string on dorsal aspect of index finger.

Release left thumb and extend.

There is now a diamond-shaped figure of two strands near the left hand; pass left thumb into this diamond away from manipulator and take up on its back the two strings forming the right lower side of the diamond.

Insert left index finger, with its loop, into left thumb loops from proximal side.

FIG. 19. "A Porcupine."

With tips of right thumb and index finger lift loop from left index finger, drawing this loop through left thumb loops.

Release left thumb and index finger.

Replace loop held between tips of right thumb and index finger on left thumb, without twisting.

Release right thumb and little finger.

Extend right middle finger loop by passing into it, from proximal side, all the digits of the right hand.

Extend and the porcupine appears (Figure 19). Its head is here downwards near the left hand, and its tail is the loop around the right radial thumb string.

[525] The manipulator sings:[1]

Ayuwikinu-ina	*nuyuwikuiu'*	*ushuumun-ina*	*ulwuhy-ina*
Don't hurry away,	go easily,[2]	when you go	to your home,

Ukilhukilum
O porcupine!

XVI. AN EAGLE'S NEST

Opening A with middle fingers.

Insert thumbs into middle finger loops from proximal side and transfer these loops to thumbs, keeping them distal, and at the same time releasing middle fingers.

[526] [527]

1. Recorded on song VII D 105, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
2. Some indicating address to a feminine creature.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Insert thumbs into little finger loops from proximal side and transfer these loops to thumbs, keeping the three loops in their proper order, and at the same time releasing little fingers. 524

Insert little fingers into thumb loops from proximal side, passing to radial side of proximal and middle ulnar thumb strings, and to ulnar side of distal ulnar thumb string, and hook down this string through thumb loops.

Insert index fingers into thumb loops from the distal side, passing to ulnar side of distal and middle proximal thumb strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb string; turn fingers up away from manipulator, taking up this string on tips of index fingers.

Release thumbs.

Each index finger loop is now crossed by two strings; one of these passes as a simple loop around the ulnar index finger string, whereas the other is wrapped around the same string; with the backs of thumbs take up the former string from the proximal side.

With right thumb take up left radial thumb string from proximal side.

Release left thumb.

With left thumb take up both right radial thumb strings from proximal side.

Pass thumbs into index finger loops from proximal side.

Navaho both thumb strings.

Release index fingers.

Insert index fingers into thumb loops from proximal side, taking up these loops.

Release thumbs.

The figure now consists of two straight lines with two triangles between them, the base of each triangle (consisting of two strings) being vertical and parallel to the other; pass thumbs into their respective triangles, away from manipulator, and take up the bases on the backs of thumbs.

Bring thumbs together, tip to tip, and transfer right thumb loop to left thumb, and left thumb loop to right thumb, over the loop just transferred.

FIG. 20. "An Eagle's Nest."

[825]

With the tips of right thumb and middle finger grasp the left double thumb loop, remove from left thumb, rotate through 180 degrees anti-clockwise, and replace on left thumb.

Repeat for right double thumb loop.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEB

524 Pass thumbs into index finger loops from proximal side.
Navaho both proximal thumb strings.
Release index fingers.
[525] Extend, and the Eagle's Nest appears (Figure 20).

XVII. THE CRIPPLE

Opening A with middle fingers.

Pass thumbs proximal to middle finger loops and take up radial little finger strings from proximal side.

With little fingers hook down ulnar middle finger strings, allowing original little finger loops to slip off.

Release middle fingers.

Extend loop hooked down on little fingers by passing into each the hooks of the ring and middle fingers.

With middle fingers hook down proximal ulnar thumb string, allowing the loop hooked down on middle, ring, and little fingers to slip off.

Transfer loop hooked down by middle fingers to hooks of little fingers, without twisting.

Insert index and middle fingers into both thumb loops from the distal side and grasp the proximal radial thumb string between the tips of these fingers; bend upwards and away from manipulator taking up this string on tips of index fingers.

Release middle fingers.

Release thumbs.

A straight string now passes on the ulnar side of the central figure from one palmar string to the other; with thumbs take up this string from proximal side near each palmar string.

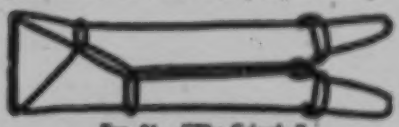

FIG. 21. "The Cripple."

With middle fingers hook down index finger loops, without releasing index fingers.

Place thumbs, tip to tip, with index fingers, and transfer each thumb loop to its respective index finger, passing over the loop originally on the index fingers, that is, so that each original thumb loop is now a proximal index finger loop.

With thumbs take up distal radial index finger string from proximal side.

Release middle fingers.

Release index fingers.

Extend hooked down loop of left little finger by passing into it the hooks of left index, middle, and ring fingers.

[illegible] (1902-1904) 1968
NEN Reflecords NEN

With left index, middle, ring, and little fingers hook down from proximal side the right ulnar little finger string. 524

Release right little finger.

With right little finger hook down right ulnar thumb string.

Release right thumb.

With right index finger hook down left radial thumb string.

Release left thumb.

By extending gently the figure appears. The crooked figure near the left hand represents the cripple, the upright figure near the right hand with projecting nerve represents a man with umbilical hernia (Figure 21).

The following dialogue is sung accompanying this figure:*

The man with hernia sings:

Ewi, ewi, ewi,	*ahkhuwa*	*ahwahkhuwa!*
Hi! Hi! Hi!	Hurry up,	you cripple.**

The cripple answers:

Ahwaiyaahwa	*ahwahkhuwa!*	*ewi, ewi, ewi*
Don't say that	you man with umbilical hernia.	Hi! Hi! Hi!

XVIII. THE *Ewing*

Belle Coola opening.

Pass middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side, and hook down radial index finger string.

With thumbs take up radial index finger string from proximal side, keeping this string distal.

Bring hands together; insert left thumb into right distal thumb and index finger loop from proximal side; lift this loop from thumb, but not from the index finger, without extending.

Insert right thumb into left middle thumb and index finger loop from proximal side and lift this loop from left thumb, but not from index finger.

Extend.

There are now two loops on each thumb and one on each index finger.

Pass middle fingers into loops hooked down by ring and little fingers from proximal side.

Each loop hooked down by the middle, ring, and little fingers is crossed by the proximal ulnar thumb string; with backs of middle fingers take up this string where it crosses the hooked down loop.

Pass middle fingers, still carrying on their backs the string just picked up, through index finger loops from proximal side, and into both thumb loops from distal side.

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*Recorded as song VII D 4a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. [126]
**The form indicates that a nonmale cripple is indicated. [193]

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Release index fingers, the index finger loop is now held on the backs of the middle fingers.

Lift distal thumb loop from thumbs, this loop is now held on backs of middle fingers.

Pass index fingers into the three loops hooked down on middle fingers from proximal side.

Pass index fingers distal to radial thumb string, and middle fingers proximal to radial thumb string, clutching this string between tips of fingers, hand fingers upwards and away from manipulator, taking up this string on tips of index fingers.

Release middle fingers.

Release thumbs.

Gently extend.

Fig. 22. "The Swing."

This shows the swing, with thumbs gently depress the two pendant loops in the centre and the eyes become evident (Figure 22).

The manipulator sings:[1]

Pitipitik-kamy	*cockatoo!*	*mysterious relatives.*
Between your eyeballs,[2]	*it is too dangerous,*	*O, dreaded and powerful one!*

Pass thumbs from distal side over the loops hooked down on ring and little fingers.

Bend index fingers downwards and away from manipulator, and upwards towards manipulator through the loop hooked down on ring and little fingers, and tip to tip with thumbs, releasing thumbs when complete.

Pass thumbs into distal index finger loops from proximal side and transfer each loop to its respective thumb.

Release index fingers.

This shows the swing with eyeballs removed, appearing as a hammer (Figure 23).[3]

Fig. 23. "Raven's Hammer."

As the figure appears the manipulator sings:

Suppose	*Raven*	*she was struck.*
The hammer of	Raven	long, long ago.

[1] The song accompanying the whole figure was recorded on song VII D 18, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[2] This refers to the belief that the swing projects death darting rays from its eyes.

[3] No explanation is offered for the association between a swing and Raven's hammer.

[126]
[992]

There is now a diamond in the centre of the figure, divided into two triangles by a double horizontal string.

Place index fingers towards manipulator through the upper diamond and hook down the double string that crosses the thumb loop, keeping these two strings to silver side of thumb loop.

Place index fingers to thumb side of thumb loops, hook down, then upwards and away from manipulator, taking up the radial thumb string on the tips of the index fingers, and allowing the two strings previously held to slip off.

Fig. 34. "Raven's Visaged"

Release thumbs.

This shows (Figure 34) the ventriloquist of Raven, long, long ago. The song which accompanies this figure is in ordinary Bella Coola and the meaning of the word ventriloquist is not now known. One informant furnished the opinion that it might be connected with a similar word meaning visaged.

Song:

Ventriloquist	*Raven*	*who was seen*
The ? of	Raven	long, long ago.

The string passing from the silver side of the index fingers to the radial side of the little fingers is crossed by two strings, each of which forms a loop around it; with thumbs hook down this string between the two loops.

Release index fingers.

Transfer loops from backs of thumbs to backs of thumbs by weaving.

This shows the whoziness of Raven, long, long ago (Figure 35).

Song:

Adzelo	*Raven*	*who was seen*
The whoziness of	Raven	long, long ago.

Place index and middle fingers tip to tip with thumbs, and transfer thumb loops to index and middle fingers.

Place right index and middle fingers tip to tip with left index and middle fingers and transfer loop from the former to the latter.

Place little fingers together tip to tip and transfer right little finger loop to left little finger.

Fig. 35. "Raven's Whoziness."

524 With right index, middle, ring, and little fingers hook down little left elbow index finger strings.

Release left index and middle fingers.

Fig. 32. "Raven's Five-Bringer."

Weave left little finger hooked down loop for passing into it from proximal side left index, middle, and ring fingers.

This shows the Five-Bringer (one who brings embers to light a fire) of Raven, long, long ago (Figure 32).

Sing:

Proportion	*Raven*	*who one-interval*
The five-bringer of	Raven,	long, long ago.

Release index fingers.

Pass thumbs and index fingers from below between the two radial middle finger strings, taking up one string on the backs of the thumbs and one on the backs of the index fingers, thus widening the preceding figure.

This shows the loss of Raven, long, long ago.

Sing:

Ordinal	*Raven*	*who one-interval*
The loss (or embers used of)	Raven	long, long ago.

Release thumbs, allowing the loop just dropped to be caught on backs of index fingers, the figure has now returned to the Five-Bringer of Raven.

There is now a two-stringed triangle in the centre of the figure; pass left middle finger through this triangle towards manipulator and hook down the double strings forming the base of the triangle.

Release left index, ring, and little fingers.

Pass backs of left index, ring, and little fingers into loop hooked down on left middle finger, thus widening this loop.

This shows the upright house-pass of Raven, long, long ago (Figure 33).

Sing:

Palpation	*Raven*	*who one-interval*
The house-pass of	Raven,	long, long ago.

Release index fingers.

Pass thumbs and index fingers from below between the two radial middle finger strings, and take up one string on the backs of the thumbs and one on the backs of the index fingers, thus widening the preceding figure.

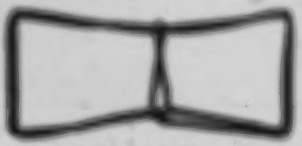

Fig. 33. "Raven's House-Pass."

This shows the *ridiki*[1] of Raven, long, long ago.
Sing:

Nyawanuhiw	*Ipuw*	*ulla ma-ma-ni*
The *ridiki* of	Raven,	long, long ago.

Release middle, ring, and little fingers.
With little fingers hook down radial thumb strings.
Release thumbs.
Pass left middle finger through left index finger loop from proximal side.

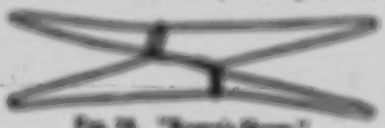
Fig. 38. "Raven's Horse."

Place right index finger tip to tip with left middle finger and transfer right index finger loop to left middle finger.
Place right index finger tip to tip with left index finger and transfer left index finger loop to right index finger.
Pass left index finger into left middle finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop.
This shows the horse of Raven, long, long ago (Figure 38).
Sing:

Ingunin	*Ipuw*	*ulla ma-ma-ni*
The horse of	Raven,	long, long ago.

Release right index finger.
This shows the dog of Raven, long, long ago.
Sing:

Wawuw	*Ipuw*	*ulla ma-ma-ni*
The dog [an archaic word] of	Raven	long, long ago.

String Tricks

1. A Cutting

Place string over left little finger as a simple loop, holding it with right hand at a distance of about six inches from left hand; this distance should be maintained throughout the movements by allowing more string to pass through right hand.

Pass left ring finger distal to radial little finger string and take up ulnar little finger string from proximal side.

[1] The aperture in the horizontal staging in front of the houses which serves as a toilet.

594 Pass left middle finger distal to radial ring finger string and take up radial little finger string from proximal side.

Pass left index finger distal to radial middle finger string and take up radial ring finger string from proximal side.

With left thumb take up radial index finger string and radial middle finger string from proximal side, keeping the former distal.

With left index finger take up distal radial thumb string from proximal side.

Pass left middle finger distal to distal ulnar index finger string and take up proximal radial thumb string from proximal side.

Pass left ring finger distal to distal ulnar middle finger string and take up distal ulnar index finger string from proximal side.

Pass left little finger distal to distal ulnar ring finger string and take up distal ulnar middle finger string from proximal side.

Release thumb, at the same time pulling with the right hand and the figure disappears. There appears to be no story attached to this figure.

[illegible]. THE [illegible] OF [illegible]'S [illegible]*

Place string as a simple loop over left thumb with long, pendent loops hanging down on palmar aspect of left hand.

Pass right thumb and index finger from distal side into left thumb loop, at the same time hooking down the two pendent strings with right middle, ring, and little fingers.

Separate right thumb and index finger; turn right hand upwards, and clockwise, without releasing strings hooked down by right fingers. The left radial thumb string should now run straight across to ulnar side of right thumb, and thence across its distal aspect to radial side of thumb, from where it is hooked down by the three fingers of the right hand. The left ulnar thumb string should run straight across to ulnar side of right index finger, from where it is hooked down by the three fingers of the right hand. The distance between the hands should be about three inches; this must be maintained throughout the figure by allowing more string to pass through the hooked-down fingers of the right hand, as required.

[773] [125] *We already described, in the beginning of time story of the first canoes to earth floated down from above as crows. It is assumed that the plumage of these birds must have been attached to the weavers in some way, the "fastenings" illustrated in this figure. On reaching earth, these coverings were taken off without difficulty, an action represented in this design by the facile loosening of the complicated cat's-cradle work of strings. This figure was collected from a man whose first ancestor came to earth as a crow; his descendants consequently stated that the pattern represented the specific fastenings of his own forefather's plumage.

With left little finger take up right silver thumb string from distal side.

Reverse right hand anti-clockwise through 180 degrees, with left index finger take up right radial index finger string from distal side.

Reverse right hand clockwise through 180 degrees, with left ring finger take up right silver thumb string from distal side.

Reverse right hand anti-clockwise through 180 degrees, with left middle finger take up right radial index finger string from distal side.

Reverse right hand clockwise through 180 degrees, with left ring finger take up right silver thumb string from proximal side.

Reverse right hand anti-clockwise through 180 degrees, with left index finger take up right radial index finger string from proximal side.

Fig. 20. "The Footstep of Rover's Passage."

Reverse right hand clockwise through 180 degrees, with left little finger take up right silver thumb string from proximal side.

Reverse right hand anti-clockwise through 180 degrees, with left thumb take up right radial index finger string from proximal side.

Release right hand.

This shows the footsteps of Rover's passage (Figure 20).

Let loop from left middle finger, pull the pendant strings and the figure disappears.

APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY OF FLORA AND FAUNA

This glossary does not give the scientific names of all the flora and fauna known in the Bella Coola, as some of all mentioned in the monograph, but only those of which the local designations are unknown. In cases of the common mammals, no scientific terminology has been attempted, since the multiplicity of subspecies makes identification almost impossible, and the popular name is sufficient for general purposes. In regard to plants, a difficulty lies in the fact that Bella Coola nomenclature is not always strictly accurate botanically. Two or more distinct forms, for example, may be grouped together on account of their similar use as food, and one name applied to them indiscriminately. Conversely, different terms are sometimes given to various parts of the same tree, the roots, the bark, the leaves, and so on. These factors combine to complicate the study of other ethnobotanic or ethnozoologic, and necessitate the collection of a large number of specimens. The late W. H. I. Smith has done so, and this glossary could not have been compiled without his assistance, though the writer is responsible for any errors in it.

Alder	*Alnus rubra* Bong.
Aspen, American	*Populus tremuloides* Michx.
Bearberry, Red	*Arctostaphylos Uva-ursi* (L.) Spreng.
Bilberry, Dwarf	*Vaccinium myrtillus* Michx.
Bilberry, Tall	*Vaccinium ovalifolium* Smith.
Bilberry, Thin-leaved	*Vaccinium membranaceum* Dougl.
Birch	*Betula* sp.
Blackberry	*Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.
Blackfish—the Killer Whale.	
Blueberry	*Vaccinium parvifolium* Smith.
Bracken	*Pteris aquilina* (L.) var. *lanuginosa* Bong.
Buffaloberry, Canadian	*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.
Bunchberry	*Cornus canadensis*, L.
Cedar, Red	*Thuja gigantea* Nutt.
Cedar, Yellow	*Chamaecyparis nootkatensis* (Lamb.) Spach.
Clover, Perennial	*Trifolium fimbriatum* Lindl.
Cod, Black	*Anoplopoma fimbria* Pallas.
Cod, Red Rock	*Sebastodes ruberrimus* Cramer.
Cottonwood	*Fimbrystylis* sp.
Cottonwood, Black	*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.
Cow Parsnip	*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.
Crabapple	*Pyrus diversifolia* Bong.
Cranberry	*Viburnum pauciflorum* Raf.

[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]	*Pinus cembra* Dougl.
[illegible]	*Pinus* [illegible]
[illegible]	*Lonicera* [illegible] *Prunus* [illegible]
[illegible]	*Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.
[illegible]	*Rubus strigosus* Michx.
[illegible]	*Carex* [illegible]
[illegible]	*Plantago* [illegible]
[illegible]	*Pinus ponderosa* Pursh.
[illegible]	*Gaultheria Shallon* Pursh.
[illegible]	*Oxycoccus macrocarpus* Wallman
[illegible]	*Oxycoccus lens* Wallman
[illegible]	*Oxycoccus gaultheria* Wallman
[illegible]	*Oxycoccus vitis* Wallman
[illegible]	*Oxycoccus vulnerarius* Wallman
[illegible]	*Salix pentandra* Richardson
[illegible]	*Rubus parviflorus* Nutt.
[illegible]	*Sambucus racemosa*
[illegible]	*Lycopodium lucidulum* (L.) Schum.
[illegible]	*Aralia nudicaulis*
[illegible]	*Symphoricarpos racemosus* Michx.
[illegible]	*Pinus ponderosa* (Doug.) Laws.
[illegible]	*Pinus monticola* (Mill.) B.S.P.
[illegible]	*Fragaria* sp.
[illegible]	*Salix sphenophylla* Hook.
[illegible]	*Alnus* sp.
[illegible]	*Lonicera ciliosa*
[illegible]	*Rubus lacinatus*
[illegible]	*Symphoricarpos polycarpus* (Engelm.) Greene
[illegible]	*Circaea alpina*
[illegible]	*Salix* sp.
[illegible]	*Ribes lacustre parviflorum*

APPENDIX B

BELLA COOLA-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

DURING the period in the field, the writer's attention was devoted entirely to archæological and religious investigation, and no attempt was made either to analyze the intricacies of the Bella Coola language or to record texts. This part of the monograph consists only of words which were collected furtuitously, and no effort was made to compile an adequate list, or even a representative one. This explains the preponderance of proper names, and the large number of nouns connected with rituals of all kinds, some of which are rapidly disappearing from common usage. Many of these were used by the writer continually in gathering technical data, and their incorporation is unquestionably correct. A few words, however, were not rechecked on different occasions, or from different informants, so that some errors may have crept in, either in translation or in recording. No terms have been employed of which the writer has any real doubt, but the same accuracy is not claimed for this vocabulary as for the monograph as a whole. Lack of knowledge of Bella Coola grammar made it impracticable to utilize the words recorded in the songs, since many of them include affixes and other grammatical elements that affect the root.

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[114]
[145]

In listing the words alphabetically, the following arbitrary system of letter order has been followed and all symbols have been disregarded, for example, *a* and *ā* are not separated.

- *a* follows *a*.
- *ā* follows *a*.
- *ä* follows *a*.
- *ł* follows *l*.
- *l̄* follows *l*.
- *ł* follows *a*.

A

a'alk: 1—Loosely organized society of which the members can perform four types of dances.
2—Member of the society.
Ababbis: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Abalkim: Chief of sea-lions in the beginning of time.
Abesh, *ecesim*, *abesnk*: Resident.

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[575]

*[illegible]
[illegible]

alnaxbim: Name of women adopted over that previously received as an honorary present.
Anaxbidim: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Ainalem: 1—Supernatural beings who dress as the sun moves.
2—Name of the supernatural women, footwear of the sun is occasionally applied to the being herself. The sound is produced by the footwear whistles.
Anaxbidim: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Ainalem: "The Coming of Foul Weather," in the language of supernatural beings. The phenomenon is semi-anthropomorphized.
Ainaxx: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Ancient chief from whom the village is supposedly named.
Aipaxxnaxbim: Earlier name of a Bella Coola dance, the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
[821] *Aipaxxxi*: Supernatural beings who blacken the face of the moon or eclipses.
Ainaxbim: 1—One of the first women to settle on *Tsi'a* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of an enemy chief mentioned in an ancient story.
Aiaxbi: 1—One of the designations of *Kanaxin*, the mysterious supernatural woman.
2—Exercise, awe-inspiring, adorable.
[326] *ainaxxx*: Being consisting of two long rights with cross-ears.
[324] *ainaxbidim*: Seven horses.
Ainaxxi: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.
ainaxxxm: Label.
Ainalem: 1—One of the fugitives to settle on Calvert Island in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwalc* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Ainaxx* in the beginning of time.
ainlaxbim: Snake supporting shelters not.
[796] *ainaxbimem*: Ritual repeated at intervals between the allotment of tasks for a potlatch, and the coming of a supernatural being to the first sound initiate.
ai'i, plural, *aaiii'ium*: Herald.
Ainlaxxm: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.
[599] *aiac*: Third part of song.
aiac: Pleasure expedition of boys and girls to the forest.
[517] *Ai'ac*: Name of an industrial site.
[821] *Aipaxbim*: Supernatural man-eater, patron of Cannibals.
Aipaxxim: Stick decorated with abalone shell used by one of the settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
Aipaxxim: Supernatural female ferry-picker resident in the land of the dead.
ainin: Appearance.
Ainlaxbim: Bay of the Thousand Islands near Namu.
Ainlaxxi: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.
ainalin: Cannibal.
[377] *ainaxbim*: Marriage with sister of a deceased wife; the word is undoubtedly connected with the verb, *to separate*.
Ainlaxi: Supernatural creature similar to a human being.
Aiala: Supernatural woman, wife of Cold Wind and mother of Ice.
Ainlaxi: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
ainlaxm: The transference of a name, during the period of engagement, from the father of the future bridegroom to the father of the future bride.
[425]
[553]
[584]

Ahkaiskiwin: Supernatural being sent by Creator to meet Nishiyuna.
ahkoi: "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a crash whose father, a chief, will certainly give a potlatch to participate in the path to social importance, though he has not yet done so. Such a tot is served commensurately to other tots.
Ahkoiyi: Medicine chief covered with sand by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
Ahkoiyi-nahkoi: One of the first women to settle at *Tsi'ii* in the beginning of time.
ahtsoli: Word of unknown meaning often supplied to footmen as complimentary term for the first night of a dance dance.
ahtsokwan: "A Dragging Arrow" (as one dragging with a heavy leg). The name applied to the remembrance of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being superfeasted.
ahtsu: Tanned hide of any kind.
Ahtsumatsu: Ancestral name of a Ness man.
ainy: Performed, adjusted.
aitsumsum: Those who perform to assist marriage dances.
Ajumkwakim: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.
Ai-nahkoi: One of the first men to settle at *Tsi'ii* in the beginning of time.
aiqinkin, "Weapons of War": The term applied to the property distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and her prior to entering her house.
aiqualus: Gifts given in secret, soon after betrothal, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride.
aiqualus: Wrapped.
Aiqumsa: Ancestral supernatural woman, synonym for *Sisemiaak*.
Aiumsumsum: One of the men who came to earth at *Mount Tsimsi* in the beginning of time.
Ai-kinai: Totem pole erected by the first settlers at *Ness* in the beginning of time.
akinai: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower.
akla: Sound sung in fast time.
ala: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it.
Ala-yaiwa: Daughter of the first settlers at *Sulia* in the beginning of time.
alaskin: Secret dances whose dogma becomes apparent through an accident.
alaskin: Synonym for *paamdjat*, one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased.
alaskin: 1—Night time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.
ala: Come, imperative singular.
Alawa: 1—One of *Sawan's* sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at *Hawaiki* in the beginning of time.
alid-kiin: Control seat behind the fire.
alidjiskin: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-weir.
Alikamlaka: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola valle.
alikalaus: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun.
Alka-yaawan, "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf.

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Ala: enemy village.

Alaxcalk, "Site of the Fishing Point": Name given to a hill where are was disposed to labours.

[436] *Alaxcumalis*: Refusal to lend to an member a family genealogy, such as the employment of marriage dances.

[379] *Alaqalaxcum*: Shed erected when a chief's fellow villagers are called to prepare to an announcement of his coming potlatch.

Alaxcuqum: Name of a Kwakiutl dancer.

Alaxa, "The Opening of the Sky":

1.—One of the five men in myth at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

2.—One of the five men in myth at Dean in the beginning of time.

3.—Name of a Snake-dancer.

Alaxalaxkum: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.

Alaxcumalaxa: One of the five men in myth at Alaxcal in the beginning of time.

[375] *Alaxcumum*: Guest having the ability to enter the back-room and meet mistress concealed there. The function probably considers the employment of his ability.

Alqlaxa: Children, supernatural beings who restore supernatural Cannibals.

[329] *Alqumum*: Unusual hearing of myths.

Alaxumum: Wife of Paxalalla, the supernatural hunter.

Alaxa-Kalaxa: Supernatural calendrical experts.

Alaqalaxla: Husband of *Kal'Ulmalaxa*, he is known only in Kimsquit.

[372] *alaxcumalk*: Earlier dance of mystery.

alaxcumaxum: Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning ceremony.

[374] *alaxcumaxumqa*: Call used by heralds when announcing to a mourning ceremony.

[425] *alaxcumlalx*: The "Dragging Across" of a name, crest, or other intangible property, requires from wife or husband either an marriage or force or a repurchasing of the wife.

[584] *alaxcum*: To drag a heavy burden.

[462] *alaxcha-ex*: Cloudiness mixed with shadow grown.

alaxcum: Visit to be repaid by a faster return.

[821] *Alaxcalkum*, "Facing Both Ways": Second name when the crests relation.

alaqlaxcum, "The Attention Time": Shaded assemblage of the Bellacoolas after departure of a Cannibal.

[547] *alqalalaxa*: Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.

Alqalalaxla: 1.—Supernatural being who revives mortals.

2.—Name received by a shaman from this being.

alla: Food.

[425] *alqlaxum*, "Food Supplies": The term applied to the giving of the use of land or marriage.

Alqalaxl, "Stockaded": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

[756] *alqalla*: Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in alternate strands.

[882] *alqaxl*: Guardial, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.

[825] *Alqaxalqaxa*: Supernatural name of shadows, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.

Alqaxl'Qlal, "A Gloom Downwards": Name given to an *Alqalaxl* man in the beginning of time.

[illegible] (P)

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[illegible]: Something long sought for on account of its reported desirability, such as undiscovered wood.

[illegible] [illegible]: Chiefs whose parents were long engaged and who is accordingly regarded as being well prepared for [554]

[illegible]: Death which occurred within the dark moon.

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle in Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Queen of a potlatch.

[illegible]: "The Sickness". Name assumed by Qwanos in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: "What Has Been Shaken Off". Name applied to property distributed when a woman has been carried through the roof. The implication is that they are then shaken from the fingers of the deceased. [431] [764]

[illegible]: 1—The supreme god.
2—One of the first men to settle on the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
4—Fish of a three repository.

[illegible]: 1—Mountain on the north side of the lower Bella Coola.
2—Name assumed by one of the first settlers on Dean in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Old people, especially parents, this is a polite term for direct address. [601]

[illegible]: Supernatural artisans who made mankind in the beginning of time. [576]

[illegible]: Preserve given to validate the initiation of a doctor. [331]

[illegible]: Assumed name of a Bella Coola woman. [463]

[illegible]: Professional mourner.

[illegible]: Professional dancer on marriages.

[illegible]: Professional hunter.

[illegible]: Professional warrior.

[illegible]: Kimsquit fisherman living in the last century.

[illegible]: Chieftain son.

[illegible]: Celebrated hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: Second oldest sibling. [601]

[illegible]: Repository of a Kimsquit Cannibal whose crimes are effaced.

[illegible]: Professional warrior. [463]

[illegible]: Professional river guard.

[illegible]: Mountain near mouth of the Kimsquit River.

[illegible]: Shaman.

[illegible]: 1—Meeting of those who have given potlatches. [753]
2—Undetermined disease said to attack only chiefs.

[illegible]: Marriage association, i.e. those who, not being relatives, wish to associate themselves with the bride's family in the financial transactions of a marriage.

[illegible]: Name applied to the supernatural artisans with reference to their construction of everything used by mankind.

[illegible], "Cloud-Covered": Name applied to the supernatural being Nutlpum with reference to his frequent invisibility.

[illegible], "The Highest of All Chiefs' Sons." Name of Qwanos's son in the beginning of time.

[illegible], "Falling Star-Fish": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

[illegible], "The Roof-Maker": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

[illegible]: One who has received a commission for carpentry work in preparation for a potlatch. [465]

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Skimsim-a, "Left Foot": Since repository named from part of a supernatural creature.

Skymlaks: Kitamaat human living in the last century.

[825] *skyuwat*: Dentalium shell.

slaxsi'ax, "Not Finished": Said concerning a *hamat* who has between initiation and his first complete dance.

[298] [881] *slawum*: Small cup of grass and dentalium shells worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.

slewala: Guest, especially from afar, to a *hamat* dance.

Slexulaxum: 1—Supernatural herald.

2—Assemblage of the people for possession of different kinds, especially shamans' dances and gambling competitions in connection with the Mystery dance.

3—Kitamaat name for the first night of a *hamat* dance.

slexqlaix, "A Surpassing": Said of cases where a wife's relatives have given more presents to the husband's than they have received in return.

[576] *smax*: Place of concealment of a Mystery dancer's power.

[601] *s'mamlayk*: Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for indirect address.

smatax: Rightful location, especially the validated position of a chief in a house.

[415] *smiqay*: Dishes carved with ceremonial crest.

smilgk: 1—Moose.

2—Daughter of the first settlers at *Bella*.

[825] *smi*: Spring salmon.

smlu: Spring salmon house.

Smlulkk: Professional name of a *hamat* marshal.

Smnkkk: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of the Bella Coola River.

smlimlum: 1—The allotment of work to *hamat* in the manufacture of masks and other requirements.

2—Hence, the time when such tasks are assigned, the second evening of a *hamat* dance.

Smlmlulmmlaix, "The Resident Maker": Name given to the daughter of the first settlers at *Bella*.

[575] *smnwala* or *sinwala*: That which serves as pattern, picture, or model for a *hamat* ritual.

snaxlpat: Second night of a potlatch.

[226] *snawmlat*: Artificial, pier-like structure built into a river for use in hand-net fishing.

Snilaxsis, "Where People Go": A reflecting pool created by Raven at Kimsquit.

Snotolwials: Cave near Dean Channel.

Snqaqmdimat, "The Dancer Whose Only Noise-Making Instrument Is His Body": One of *Thlexpliite-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Sno'klwulsis: Supernatural woman who guards repositories.

Snutkkkmat: 1—"The Open-Mouthed" (in the sense of open to suck forth sickness): One of *Thlexpliite-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

[756] [823] 2—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.

snuxum: Swift running water.

snlhmqsnum: 1—Ranks of ordinary individuals; this term is used to distinguish those who are being initiated into the *nusk* society.

2—Something supernatural seen when awake.

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Anakhimis: *Kwakiutl* name of a Kimsquit woman.
anakhitlmut, "This Is to Make Straight Your Road": Said when a call is answered, or food thrown upon a fire for the dead.
Anakwalo, "Place of Big Stones in the River": Village at Kwatna.
Anakhlakim: Women immolated in a repository and hence become supernatural.
anakhlil': Rainbow-coloured rose-ring worn by Death.
Anakpakmis: Supernatural name of Hawk.
anakiut': Sheet used by which the tongue is held during the *kusiut* dance.
Anakhimun: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Anakhmuis, "The One that Fills the Rivers": Supernatural name of hump-back salmon.
anakhnut: Nose-ring.
anakhnut: Mourning song composed for a chief and, apparently, the singing of one.
Anakmun: Place on the north-west side of Dean Channel, about nine miles from its head, where curative power is petrified.
Anamatkum: Supernatural beings who remind the supreme god of his *kusiut* duties.
Anamkukmun: Supernatural being who restores those killed by the receipt of too much power from *Tlenxpilitsa*.
anamqum: Meeting of chiefs, *anhum*.
anamui: Person who catches early eulachon in a hand-net.
anapelkum: Buoyant stones such as are found in a lake near the headwaters of the Bella Coola.
Anapamkilt: Supernatural being who regulates the height of tides in rivers.
anapatmun: To await, especially a supernatural being.
Anapmalsis: Son of the first settlers at *Satlis*.
Anapkinis, "What Fills People": Name created by *Smanu* in the beginning of time with reference to his stores of salmon.
anapnunum: Silent waiting in darkness before a *kusiutum* dance.
Anapuntilkum: Supernatural being who gives inspiration.
Anaselsielsielsis: 1—Supernatural name of *nulaut*.
2—Method of killing practised by *nulaut*.
Anaselsielsielsis: Name of a Bella Coola shaman.
Ana-shaxtlum: Name of a Kimsquit woman.
anaula'alsiatmu: The rare prerogative of changing from *kusiut* to *nuaut* rites on alternate nights.
Anaskiatum, "The Saviour": One of *Tlenxpilitsa's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Anaskmatlum: One of the first men to settle at *Tal is* in the beginning of time.
anaskamnay: Peculiar cry uttered by a *kusiut* scratcher.
Anaspanu-sis: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Anasq: Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.
anaspelsiatsis, "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts: Identical with *selsenat*, q.v.
Anaxyalsis: One of the first women to settle at *Slskiut* in the beginning of time.
Anatsklmulmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
anatsu: 1—Excavated house furnished with stepped platforms for guests.
2—Village at Kwatna.

[825]
[301]
[593]
[778]
[226]
[523]
[424]
[198]
[342]

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Anuhlo: Village near mouth of the Dean River.
Anulaktem: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Anutqmo-ent, "Lobrotted": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Anuwulaic: Name obtained by an *Alpalind* man in the beginning of time.
Anuqulumut, "Quivering To and Fro": One of *Thinqhlaw-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Anuximlic: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.
Anuximu-a: 1—*Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola woman.
2—"Left Hand": *Stuac* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
[431] [426] *anuqqp'*: Term applied to the giving of a copper, indicating that 100 per cent interest is expected in return.
Anuslumukmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
[463] *anuwinhlw-aic*: *Kwiat* prologium, at Kimsquit only, of throwing masks on the fire.
Anuwulaktmah, "The Moving House": One of the names of the supreme god's dwelling.
anuyus: 1—Owner of a puppet-person.
2—Synonym for *alqwdmmimum*, q.v.
Anuyukhulaic: Supernatural being who rules *Ankaciut* of their thoughts at the Mystery dance.
Ao-ai: 1—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Alpalind* in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Bella chief.
aju: Excreta.
Ajuul-a, "The Privy One": Name taken by a chief for himself in virtue of the remarks made about his habits.
[825] *Ajulaic*: *Kwak* name of a Kimsquit man.
[824] *ajum*: Herring eggs.
ajumuqly: Cormorant.
ajus: Type of sea-going canoe.
[825] *ajus*: Harlequin duck.
Ajulaiyatmamum, "The Constant Eater": Term used by hunters to Eagle.
Ajus-ai, "Canoe Town": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
ajusuuqly: Canoes lashed together.
Ajus: Locality on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head, including the area beneath the surface of the water.
[601] *ajusiut*: 1—Second oldest sibling.
2—Second part of song.
[775] *ajustmum*: 1—"They Who Have Become Supernatural": Title preferred by ghosts.
2—Women living in the moon.
Ajusumuqy: Inhabitants of the village of *Ajus*.
[424] *ajusumulus*: Person with good memory commissioned to remember family prerogatives.
Ajus, "At the Head": Village southwest of the head of South Bentinck Arm.
akaiaiu: Totem-pole, literally, "Outside Post."
[752] *akaulum*: Shaman with power derived from ghosts.
akhalum: Ceremonial bathing at dawn.
[519] *Akhalulaic*: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola woman.
Akhulik: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.

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Ayhhu: Village at Salmon House, on the upper Dean River.
ayhma: Position between two fires.
ayiut: 1—Raised bed behind the fire used by a person seeking power, or by one who has been in contact with the supernatural.
2—Waterfall.[1] [829]
ayumiss: To teach.
ayumiustut: Hereditary has handed down secretly in a family. [424]
Ayumuks: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
ayumu: Sacred song in show time. [588]
ayukha: 1—Box, archaic; house, seat.
2—One of the nights of a potlatch, probably that on which a representation of the deceased appears.
ayus: Rocky Mountain jay. [825]
ayuwat: Carved house post.
Ababwist: Wife of *Sandy*; both were changed to stone in the beginning of time.
acatcoat: That part of a house between fire and doorway.
Acatcinaiuts: Expedition of the supernatural being *Wawiwa* against herons and fish.
Ac gamas: *Sumaat's* fish-dam in the beginning of time; the name has since been used by his descendants.
acquatsis: Only sister in a family of several brothers. [601]
acq": Seals.
acumalum: Steaming in medicinal smoke as a curative measure. [825]
adaqwis: Fir. [755]
Ahatsistak: Evil male supernatural being.
a-kma: 1—Death, not anthropomorphized. [824]
2—Dead.
akwat": Kingfisher. [825]
ala: Fish-hook. [227]
Alakam, "They of the Huge Jaws": Supernatural beings resident in the land shown.
alchmas: *Kaetsa* spy.
analqal: *plural, analqalal, neutro plural, analqaual:*
1—Person who has not given a potlatch, a commoner.
2—Ancestral name of a Kitsaquit woman.
Ahlak: *canoe* village.
Apa: *Sisaa* man mentioned in an ancient story.
apa-hanqlat, "He Urinates Over Himself." The implication is that this is an indication of misfortune, hence the word really means snow. It is the Kitsaquit variant of *a-ssaqlat.* [787]
a-ssaqlat: Omen of death.
Apa'i, "Occupied Mound": 1—Village at Kwatsa.
2—Artificial mound at *Falls.*
3—Village on the Kitsaquit River.
4—Island near Ocean Falls.
Apa'i-ma Wamalaxis, "Place of Dogs": Locality near Ocean Falls where the dogs came to earth in the beginning of time.
apaum-i: Varied thrush. [825]

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[1] The latter is a favourite place for obtaining power, the probable reason for the identity of the two terms.

Ayaat: Locality near *Staas* where berries are plentiful.
A'yaaq: Chief living at *Tal'o* in the beginning of time.

A

ax'ki'a: One of the *a'ki'i* dances.
axu: I, first person singular.
[262] *'ax*: Herring eggs when brought into house ready for preparation as food.

B

Ankaal': Supernatural animal.
*Ankit**: One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
ba'pka: To guess, as done by the uninitiated at a Mystery dance.
Baskuqwaxna or *Baskuqwanlaxna*: Kwakiutl supernatural being.
[225] *bilil'*: Lamprey.
Bilbaa: *Kwiat* name of a *Salia* man.
bilxwa'i: Abalone shell.
Bilxwakla: Influential Kwatna woman who died about 1870.
[282] *bilpal*: Ball-capped hat worn by chiefs.
[622] *Bis'gaaa*: A Kimsquit component.
Bis'xatem: *Staas* man mentioned in an ancient story.
bujo: Supernatural, man-like creature.

D

[821] [772] *da xaay**/*da xa xaay**: The sky, regarded as the lower side of a land inhabited by supernatural beings.
Dakdak alaxs: 1—"The Comet," synonym for *Nankynem*.
2—The *kwiat* prerogative of seeing *Nankynem*.
Dakdakxa, "The Eyes-Comet": Synonym for *Nankynem*.
Dakdakxwaxna: Supernatural being who owns *Nankynem*.
Dakdakxwaxs: Supernatural dog salmon resident in the land above.
[601] *di kaamaxs di xwaxs*: Nuxa's husband.
di kaamaxs tsi aakxem: Aunt's husband.
Dapem'xaal: One of the first men to settle at *Alpaklaal* in the beginning of time.
daxsa: Archaic term for *kwiat* Breaker?
[824] *daxlil*: Frayed cedar-wood, as used for tinder.
[372] *djaxlaki*, plural, *djaljaklaxw*: Son; term used in direct address for an adult.
[601] *Djaxka*: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Dji kwaxsil, "The Slave Owner": Designation of the supernatural woman *Kwaxsis*.
[101] *Djuklaxw*: Collective term applied to the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples of the mainland.
Djuqlja xa: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
*Dukwaq**: Chief of abalone shell people on the lower Fraser in the beginning of time.
*Dukwaq**: One of the first men to settle at *Staas* in the beginning of time.
Dukwpaa: One of the first women to settle at *Tal'o* in the beginning of time.

*This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.
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E

mayu or mayuli: Medicine; generic term for all remedies of a magical or medicinal nature. [278]
e'ne: Cotton, term in common usage.
emis: Nephew or niece. [601]

A

ellemlis: Ancestral name of a *Snulli'ed* man.
'ealalaw'a: Daughter of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
ealalatelsis: Moon, semi-anthropomorphized.

M

Ani ehkiile: 1—Bella Bella term, commonly used in Bella Coola, for *ecsmk* official
2—*Kacisi* name of a Bella Coola man.
Anisisi: Type of sea-going canoe used by the Haida; the word may be a corruption from English.
Ani k-hale: Man who descended to the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
Ana'a: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Anokas: Mythical, supernatural bird. [825]
Ahamsa: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nacmsis* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.
Ash: Pitch.
Ach: Call used by members of the *Acisi* society to strengthen their fellow-members.

I

Ibe': Pounded cedar-bark, soaked. [824]
Ibiis: Zigzag course up or down a mountain slope.
Ikiyai: Twalshi's dog.
Ilhwai'a: One of the first women land down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
Ikhetsi the cots: Bandage of soaked cedar-bark placed around an infant's head to produce cranial deformation. [856]
Ikhcsis, Bandage: Term applied to preserve distributed as 'ridicule' for the bringing of a will-Cancihal. [451]
Ik: One of the *Ivielleria*.
Imahmalkyaskas: Abbreviated rite of *Nankyaw* dance.
Imsim: Nun.
I'mistikis: *Acmsk* name of a Kwagulit man.
Imimkhaiis, "The Mouse": Male supernatural child who famous *Nankyaw's* uncle.
Ipsmq, "Hold Him Down": Cry used in Cancihal dances.
Ipsmlkel, "Assign": Bird to spring salmon during the ritual connected with the first taking of these fish. [226]
Ikhsmisem: Alleged singing of a sound initiate's song by the supernatural being, *Mokkilis*.
Ik'ik'yem: Reduction of the value of an inconsequent present by immediate return of part of it. [426]
i-ple: Man. [824]
imahsmmkhlin: Polyandry.

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#192 *istutmap*, "Come and eat": Invitation to the *kukusiut* to assemble in a performer's house.
iutia: House beams.
iut·sta: Messenger bearing invitation to a potlatch.
[152] *iuliktas:* Massage.
[585] *iskhlemsk:* 1—Presents, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter visit his house on the wedding day.
[431] 2—Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's kinsmen prior to her repurchase.
[583] *iswandjut*, "The Throwing Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders": Said of the repayment by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's kinsmen.
itswalsta: 1—Battering-ram.
2—The destruction of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.
Iximlatam: One of the names of the supreme god.
[201] *iyahmastam:* Notification, by pressure on the foot, to a chief to go to the meeting-place.
[533] *iuleanm:* The employment of frenzied stick-beating.
Iuje-mam: Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.
iuxtéxpémus, "The Hearing": Synonym for *nlatmam*, q.v.; this is a Kimsquit term only.
i-ytimut: Kusiutem rite in which the performer appears to be burnt to death.
i-yualmam: The casting of *kusiut* masks on the fire.
Iyumk, "Far from the River": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
[547] *iswail:* Abortion.
i-swsila, "Disappointed": said of the supernatural beings called by a *wi·á* dancer who arrive too late for the potlatch.

ilhas: Slave from the lower Fraser owned in Kimsquit during the last century.
[101] *ilpulanmp:* Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.
[601] *ilpulatulatamas:* Half-brother or half-sister.
imilt: 1—Man.
2—Son; term used by old person in direct address to adult.
3—Husband.
[614] *imilhasta:* Male relative of same ancestral family.
imilhiwa: Woman who performs man's work.
[601] *imiltpasta:* Single brother in a family with several sisters.
[431] *imimlhi, plural, imimlhaksi:* Small boy, especially son; term used in indirect address.
[584] *iplatit*, "Working Clothes": Presents given by the relatives of the future bride to the kinsmen of the future bridegroom at the first announcement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.
[821] *iniinawul:* Cold wind of the mornings, semi-anthropomorphized.
iniaiy: Bella Bella term for the *iniamp*.
[563] *iniamp:* Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

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xxxiał, "The Time for *Kusiut* Rites": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]
xyyyxyut: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Alpałtał* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle on the lower Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Suaał* name of a Kimsquit man.
xłałałk: One of the supernatural carpenters.
xłstmmmmm: The repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]
xnsiek': Synonym for *xpundjut*, a present for which a return is not expected. [431]
xnzmadjut: Hereditary tendency.
xpm: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuax* man. [827]
xrłay: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *łłałwił* is problematical. [825]
xnłpłam: One of the first men to settle at *Xomp-ts* in the beginning of time.
xpałłmstrm'xismut-al-ał: The entrusting of a woman to a husband's care. This phrase is used by a wife's relatives when about to rebuy her as expressing their somewhat boastful sentiments concerning the relations entered into at marriage. [583]
xpw-ałałmadjałłaix: Sterile supernatural visitation.
xrłałaix: 1—To strengthen, or to shore up. [787]
2—Goods provided by a wife to strengthen her husband's position. [556]
xsłałmłq, "Different from All Others": Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
xskwaw-i: Wife of North Wind, a supernatural being resident in a side valley of the upper Bella Coola.
xsłłwnladjut: Supernatural aid granted to the unfortunate.
xsłpstlamsymandjinas: Son of Raven and one of the first settlers at *Tał-ia* in the beginning of time.
xrwłwnłaix, "The Track of the Sun": *A'all* name obtained in the beginning of time.
xrwnłłxmłaix: Supernatural name of *xsiuł*.
xspustm, "Commander": 1—Said to be the word from which *Alpustm* is derived.
2—One of the names of the supreme god.
xsłłłmosaix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smoaax* in the beginning of time.
xrwapłłstadjut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
xrwał-a: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuax* man.
xrwimstała: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
xr-wnnaias: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Xomp-ts* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
xrpłpstaix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smoaax* in the beginning of time.
xspełam, "The Walker": Supernatural being resident in a glacier near the overland trail between *Snałł* and *Tał-ia*.

K

kai: 1—Snow. [821]
2—Unidentified berry. [824]
Kaiaałłix: Name obtained from a supernatural being by a Bella Bella man.
Kakwnił: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
łakix: Crow. [825]
Kakałka: Locality in the Bella Coola valley mentioned in an ancient story.

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[824] *kā'nēk:* Tree, probably birch.
Kaiszkā': One of the first men to settle at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.
Kalāka: One of the first men to settle at *Snaiali* in the beginning of time.
Kalkum: Bella Bella woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Kalul: Kimsquit man.
[222] *Kālpum:* *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[262] *kalpum:* The gathering of fern root for food.
Kalymōlmm: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Snuz* in the beginning of time.
Ka'lsn-a: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[585] *kalmālāmsis:* Public oration, previous to marriage, of the bride's ancestral myths in order to cause children to be born.
[842] *kālpum:* Ritual on the day before a marriage, including the oration of myths by the bride's relatives, the choosing of assistants, and the singing of songs of all kinds.
[576] *Kāmai-ōs:* 1—Mysterious supernatural woman.
2—"Please," or "Thank You," a word implying benison.
Kāmalsmy':* 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nulmas* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxalst* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of the first sky that fell in the beginning of time.
Kāmalsīlt: Lazy supernatural beings who accompanied *Nuxlymm.*
Kāmalymm: Man mentioned in an origin myth of *Alpalind.*
Kāmatsluks: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kāmatsmy':* House brought to earth by first settlers at *Nuxalst* in the beginning of time.
[824] *kamā':* Kelp.
[227] *kāmala:* Cod hook.
kāmat: Termination.
[824] *kāmā-i:* 1—Shelf fungus.
2—*Kusiut* dance in which a shelf fungus is used.
Kāmilka: One of the first women to settle at *Snuz* in the beginning of time.
kāmimat: Ceremonial error.
Kāmsis: Herald of a *Tāl'is* chief in the beginning of time.
kānka: Trap.
Kāmslalkim: 1—Daughter of the first settlers at *Sāilis* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of *Qāymai*, one of the first settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[264] *kanlikts:* Assemblage of the people for a meal of any kind.
Kāsnpāklmm: One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
Kāswīkdjīn-a: Supernatural berry-picker resident in the land of ghosts.
[825] *kāpai:* 1—Hump-back salmon.
2—Convex transverse beam near front and rear of house.
3—Mountain on the Dean River.
Kapsis: *Sisaak* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kāsīna: Man mentioned in an ancient story of Raven.
[756] *kāsiut:* The seeking for shaman's power by a lad.
[825] *kāsmis:* Golden eagle.
kātkm: Top, toy.
[524]

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hatsen: Tail.
hatskit: Ants.
hte: Black hawthorn.
Kalsw-i: *Kuxiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kamilkm: Ancestral name of the wife of *Tsuky* who was changed to stone in the beginning of time.
hauli: Region.
Kapuskjut: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
hauly: 1—Marriage, properly arranged and legalized.
2—The actual wedding day.
Kawdsw-i: *Kuxiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.[1]
hdai: Bark bucket for holding liquids.
hdamskjut: The seeking of assistance from a man who owns a curing repository.
hdamskuxum: Investment-present, i.e., one for which a return is expected.
hdaste: Back-room in which *xusut* initiates and others are concealed.
hdzu: Woman during catamenia.
hdzlu, "What Was Sent Down": Intangible possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
hemapste: Wooden tongs such as are used for lifting hot stones.
hdzlmkjut ale hemstpste: *Kuxiuxw* rite in which the performer appears to be drowned.
hel aie or *hel aig*, "The Gainer": One who has been initiated as a member of the *hxuiut* society but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through unauthorized knowledge or through successful participation in either a *hxuiuxw* or a Mystery dance.
hdulu, "Rendered Incapable of Returning": Said of an uninitiated person who is alleged to have stumbled on a repository.
Kaldzap: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
hastuxw: The dormant waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one visitation, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability.
hipa, *mentw*, *hipase*: Grandmother.
hlkstumsw-i: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
Ki'inistat: Name given to their canoe by the first settlers at *Stase* in the beginning of time.
Kiladzumsuxs, "The Wise One": One of Raven's names as chief.
Kimilkm: One of the first women to settle at *Alpistat* in the beginning of time.
Kim'o-i: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
kimsuxw: 1—Crab.
2—Enormous crab-like creature, alleged to be found far in the forest.
Kipulu: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts.
kipl: Red elderberry.
kiple: Wooden tweezers used in the pounding of cedar-bark.
kis: Unidentified plant.
kistm: To toast dried salmon.
kistsumsulu: Supported, in the sense of held in place by physical assistance.
Kistpuat: Locality on Dean Channel, west of *Tsawalk*.
Kitsu: Place on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

[1] This name appears to be an entirely different word from *Kalsw-i*.

#192 *Kulmuxmow*: The chasm that keeps a foolish man from success as a chief; the concept is semi-anthropomorphized.
kúnte: First ceremonial discharge.
Kulóc: enemy village.
kulsta: Supernatural creature dwelling in the ocean.
[956] *Kulyokkmat*: Shaman who received power from ghosts.
Kumlemalcoxtin: Bella Coola hunter.
[108] *Kumpéut*, "Canyon": Bella Bella designation for the Dean River, whence the anglicized *Kimsquit* has been derived.
Kundcat: Nass River.
Kunlhcal: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[825] *kutc*: 1—Whale.
2—Ancestral name of a *Tal'ée* woman; this is said to be an exclusively feminine designation.
Kúl'cmat: 1—Name acquired by a Bella Bella man in the beginning of time.
2—Influential *Kemgaio* chief, who died about 1910.
[825] *l'lac'*: Muskrat.
[824] *lá*: White fir (?).
lmaw-c: Herring.
lmmdjat: Prerogative of biting oneself.
lmum: Dried salmon.
lmumdjat: Synonym for *ánalla*: one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of masked representations of the deceased. The word is derived from *lmum*.
[825] *lnhalkhm*: Porpoise.
Lnhcolcum: Supernatural being who behaves in an erotic manner.
[845] *ln'la*: Twin whose birth is attributed to salmon.
[824] *Ln'lainate*: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
lnlahcc: Unidentified berry (strawberry?).
Lulcta: Supernatural female shaman who guided *Wawina*.
Lul'ucyulmp: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
lulw'kmp, "Earthy Ones": Ghosts.
[533] *lulukmp*: Land, region, earth.
lulule: First part of song.
Lutcl': Treeless mountain about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.
[825] *Lpuyutcucailain*, "The One Who Makes Us Fat": Supernatural name of coho salmon.
[765] *lpuxtum*: Goods distributed to validate songs used at a mourning ceremony when no representation of the deceased has been employed.
[578] *lpuxtm*: Insult offered to foreigners at potlatches concerning their manners or food.
[609] *lrumbaxain* or *lrúmbaxnám*: Synonym for *lnlumbaxnám*, investment present.[1]
[426] *Lumaxmulmat*: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[601] *lulpi*, *mentlu*, *lulpai*: Grandfather.
lulsaimt: *Kwiat* ceremonial at which foreigners are present.
luln: The construction of salmon-weirs.

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[1] This was the pronunciation of the word by the individual with an idiosyncratic *r* sound.

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halkwaut: Generic term for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future bride. [431]

Kakhkhwaijut: Supernatural being whose stomach is cut in the land above. [584]

hamai: Good-bye. [576]

Kanhanilkuts, "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being *Winwin*.

hasiam: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular *kusiut* dances.

hasiu-nas: Said to be identical with *sulubwaits*, the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor. [756]

hasiut: *plural, hakasiut; meaning, hasiut; meaning plural, kukusiaot:*

1—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season. [575]

2—Member of the society.

3—"The Learned One": Designation occasionally applied to a supernatural being, especially a petrified one, or to a person having power to cure the sick. [756]

Kasiut: Kitamaat female shaman living in the last century.

hasiu: Beloved one, especially a child; this is the vocative form of the word.

hasiyum: Orphan.

Kaus'kila'yakas: Woman dwelling at Port Rupert in the beginning of time.

Kawayla: Smith Inlet.

Kaukaut'la: Supernatural name of Cormorant.

kas-kasa: Mosquito. [825]

Kastamaldi: Mosquito name acquired by the first settlers at *Stuxx*.

kaskas: Unidentified bird of which the note is an omen of death. [763]

Kaslain: *Kasiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Kaslilmas: *Kasiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Kaslo-ximut: *Kasiut* name of a male Green Bay Cannibal.

kasl-ta-i: Smooth greenstones, "jadeite," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. [823]

kaslil: Evergreen bough. [824]

Kaslilmi: Famous Bella Coola warrior.

kasyuai: One of the sculpins.

Kasaiu: *Kasiut* name of a Kitamaat man.

Kast-ma'a, "The Big One": Lustful male supernatural being.

Kastwalin: Man who came to earth near *Ilaco* in the beginning of time.

Kas-tsas: Kitamaat woman.

Kasiuis: Kitamaat man mentioned in an ancient story.

Kasiuas: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.

Kasiuas: Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

Kasiuskain, "One Who Sins without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Kapala: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nuxalk* chief; the word is a synonym for *Wiwas-ala*.

Kaldlas Nuxkempa: One of the nine supernatural siblings. [533]

kakwakilas-ais: Lullaby.

kasi yais: Archaic expression used in a string figure.

kalis: 1—Pen or trap in the creek for salmon. [226]

2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

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[825] *Lāklakla:* Kimsquit man mentioned in ancient story.
lā·kts: Squirrel.
Laqwomais: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ḳemqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
2—Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
[463] *Laxaiyao·k':* Name of a professional warrior; the word is said to have originated in Kitkatla but has remained for many generations in Kimsquit.
La'qlx: Atnarko River, northern fork of the Bella Coola.
Lalāmik: *Susook* name of a Kimsquit man.
Lalaimkila, "The Brusher Off [of Goats]": Professional name of one of the first settlers at *Snuloli* in the beginning of time. This may be the same word as *Lalemkila.*
Lalemkila: Another name for *Twalaiłit,* the supernatural hunter. This may be the same word as *Lalaimkila.*
[825] *Lilirwumlaix:* 1—"The Beautifier": Supernatural name of Otter.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[886] *lipdjuditls:* Return in old age to the thoughts and actions of infancy, senile decay.
[426] *lisdjut:* To repay indebtedness of any kind, especially presents received at potlatches.
[583] *lisliwadjut,* "A Paying": An arrangement by which a man's sons-in-law give him as "wife" an infant female relative by way of repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters.
listmax: Wrestling or shoving.
lilstem: Abbreviated Cannibal rite.
Le·qwe·t: 1—Famous Bella Bella chief.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
lulusta: Mask.
lute: Tool for making vertical incisions in the bark of cedar trees.

Ł

Łakwakila: Tsawat man living in the beginning of time.
Łalaiuks: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.
[823] *łalia:* 1—Copper.
2—Unidentified town on the outer coast, mentioned in a story of the beginning of time.
3—Chief of this town.
łaliaaiuts: Daughter of chief of the town of Copper.
łaliaalail: Copper canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
łaliaks: Man's name, created by the first settlers at *Sātlia,* in the beginning of time.
łaliakdja: Name taken for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
łaliaks: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
łaliamg: Susook name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Ālqałaxl* in the beginning of time.
łaliāxas, "The Copper One": One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

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ɬáhaxsa: One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
ɬahamł: Unidentified town on the outer coast mentioned in a *Staus* story of the beginning of time.
ɬáłłáliamdimut: Name acquired by one of the first settlers at *Snaidi* in the beginning of time.
ɬáłxmán·a: *Smaaxa*'s son in the beginning of time.
łáłx·i: Small portable canoe.
łáłtam: Desertion of a spouse. [586]
ɬáxsmai: 1—"The Copper One."
2—"Snow," in the language of Deer.
łahmomakywas: Imitation potlatch carried out by *nusaxkamy*.
łaknus: Bella Bella Cannibal living in the beginning of time.
łiliwunimut, "The Scatterer of Eagle Down": Name created by *Smaaxa* for his son in the beginning of time.
łima: To loot.
łistłakikka: Bella Bella supernatural being who brings food.
łixwnimut: Person of placid disposition.
łółła: Bull-roarer.
łót: To excise rot; the word for potlatch, *łm*, is supposedly derived from this. [556]
łm: Potlatch.
łmkmitł: The binding down of a Cannibal with rope.
łmolim: Unidentified autumn moon, probably the fourth after the summer solstice. [821]
łmolit di Nusaxkamy, "The Potlatch of the *nusaxkamy*": Second moon after winter solstice. [805]
łkamkila, "First of All": One of the first men to settle at *Nuxłit* in the beginning of time.
łółwadjut: Shaman's ritual error, such as the curing of one who is ceremonially unclean. [756]
łkumkksta: Miniature totem-pole such as is used in mourning ceremony.
łmanłmm: Partnership of a poor man with a chief about to give a potlatch, so that the former may repay debts, for which his poverty required no compensation, and thus start himself on the path towards greatness. [556]
łmanzimtim: The turning over of a mountain.
łu'ya: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
łqomkksta: Stick decorated with copper bangles used in mourning rites by one of the first settlers at *Quiyai* in the beginning of time. [765]
łqia: The painting of the face as a sign of mourning. [302]
'łxmdimut: Cannibal *kusiut* name used by the first settlers at *Satlia* in the beginning of time.
łziqłam: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola male Scratcher.
łuklai: Aversion.
łuxwala: 1—*Kusiut* name of a *Tsimatł* man.
2—Shamanistic power.
łulłulmut: Visitation from the life of a recently dead friend, notification of which is conveyed by a start or other feeling of discomfort. [775] [787]
łulqwa·i: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. The first to use this designation was a relative of the earliest settlers in the beginning of time.
łulukwalnmm, "The Giver of Shamanistic Power": One of the names of *Tłitsaplilaxa*, and hence a designation given to shamans.

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Łułłmut: *Kuziut* name of a *Nuxalk* man.
Łułł'nmut: *Kuziut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[824] *łuqul:* Inner bark of cedar.
łuzałmsk, "A Stripping Off": The giving, on demand, by a marriage dancer of his clothing to a herald.
'Łuxwaqałeis: Supernatural name of Raven.
[828] *łwusis*, "Frenzied": Term applied to Cannibals and other destructive *łukuziut* when in a state of madness.
łqwam: Occasional exclusion of all but the singers from a house where a shaman is performing.
Łxwuxwuxłais: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
Łxwuxtuam: *Kuziut* name, probably of Kwakiutl origin.

M

Ma'cilsa: Female dancer mentioned in a Raven story.
Małziut: *Kuziut* name of a *Xumpo'is* man.
[601] *mama, mamie, mamqa:* Mother, term used by children.
Mamaiya: Celebrated *Xuais* hunter.
[825] *mam-aiya:* Butterfly.
mam-ałka: Measuring worm.
[824] *mam-u:* Fly, insect.
ma'mnxa: Swamp gooseberry.
[601] *mau:* 1—Father, common term in indirect address.
2—Occasional designation for the supreme deity.
[614] *maudimut:* Stepfather.
maumauuk: Elderly male relatives of same ancestral family.
Mazuy'': 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nułłmx* in the beginning of time.
2—Form of the name *Dudzuy''* when used by a male child.
Mazuy''an-a: Form of the name *Dudzuy''* when used by a female child.
Małłsłłiuk: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[804] *Małłsperuuk:* One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[825] *ma-łqi:* Measure of distance equal to the breadth of one thumb plus one finger.
ma-tsq': Toad.
małqus: Supernatural giant toad.
malsa: Salmon eggs.
ma-uqa: Old male sea-lion.
[825] *ma-uułkła:* Water ouzel.
Maqauuts: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[601] *Mazaxilian*, "Long Neck": One of the supernatural names of Great Blue Heron.
mazai'i: Co-husband in a polyandrous household.
[824] *ma'zual-i:* One of the paralays.
mełul: Berry, black in colour.
Mazmałłsma: Generic term for the four supernatural Carpenters.
mazmułqa: Spruce.
Miał'sila: One of the first men to settle at *Sałła* in the beginning of time.
Miłhama: Land of salmon.
[224] *Mi'ula:* Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
mił-a: Stick carried by hunters when penetrating into the mountains.
[824] *miłła'':* Red bearberry.

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mimisqulp: Leaf of salalberry.
mis-mulyat: 1—Omen of misfortune, such as preceded the outbreak of smallpox, hence, [824]
2—Smallpox. [787]
mika: Type of sea-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.
mna, mentin, mnan: Child. [601]
Mnaklai: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.
mnl': Excreta.
mnmnts, mentin, mnmnsin-i: Ancestral family, practically equivalent to *ahidow* when used by an old person. [614]
mnshtmnsts: The commemoration of a chief's potlatches and other major ceremonies by means of plain posts erected near his grave. [211]
Mnslats-mum, Tide-Measurer: A supernatural being.
Mnsdu: Man mentioned in a song. [764]
Mslkhila: Supernatural being who gives potency to *nsaat* rites.
mshtsts: Grandiloquent expression used by the *kukuxtat* with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives. [776]*
mshkhum: 1—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living. [775]
2—To visit, term used with reference to the coming of a masked representation of a dead person; the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.
mul': Pounded, dyed cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.
mulwuk: Head-ring of cedar-bark worn by *kuxtat* initiates in the upper Bella Coola valley.
mqslu: Lice.
mqsnila: Adolescent youth. [825]
mqsmsk': Blue grouse.
mqsmsnlkhlnda: Dentalium-shell ear-rings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion. [301]
mu: Hand net for catching eulachon. [227]
mulcmkhsts: Yellow cedar staves decorated with swan feathers such as is carried by a Mystery dancer.
mustmus: Wrestling.
Mstsw-a: Rivers Inlet man living in the last century.

N

Nais'ahwa: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Ni'mu: Bella Bella village; the Anglicized form is Namu.
nsw: Grizzly bear.
Nsnsstis: Name received from Grizzly Bear by a Kimsquit man in the beginning of time. [825]
Nsnsit: *Kuxlat* name of a *Nuxalkt* man.
Nsnskhui: One of the first men to settle at *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
Nsnskhuit: One of the names of Mount *Nuxalkt* as chief.
nsw-lmut: Non-ceremonial weeping, usually individual, and always with real feeling. [827]
Nsss: Indeterminate locality in the distant east. [152]

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[192] *ne'ple*: Miniature copper ornament worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.
[301] *Ne ne*: Bella Bella man living in the beginning of time.
neem: To dance.
[825] *nemenda*: Those who dance at marriages.
nemes: Mallard duck.
[824] *nemenemem*: Night of potlatch on which masked imitators appear for a short dance.
nemh: Berries of Canadian buffalo berry.
[415] *nehcatn*: Thimble-like wooden dish.
'nemlcohain: Ceremonial seating of chiefs according to their validated places in a house.
Nemutim: Name acquired by a Rivers Inlet man from sea-lions in the beginning of time.
Nemulim: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
'Nee-nee-e: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Scratcher; the designation was derived from Rivers Inlet.
Ne-ule-e: Celebrated Kitkatla chief.
Ne-ewnkie: Influential Bella Coola chief.
[776] [784] *Nehudikaio*, "The Resident": Supernatural being dwelling under rivers who punishes infractions of taboos concerning them.
nehemem: 1—Fourth day of a *kusiut* dance, on the evening of which masked figures appear.
2—Something exposed to view.
Nepepe: Old woman resident in Sea-lion's house in the beginning of time.
nenel, "Little Dance": Term of grandiose humility.
nenenem: Gathering of the people for a non-sacred dance after the *kusiut* season.
Nenee-mehcatn: 1—"The Dancer Near the Fire": One of *Thtcaplilan-a*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Nenenelmelem: *Kusiut* name of a *Nuxalk* man.
nienlemem: One who has preserved a marriage song.
nienmelmel: The intangible strengthening that comes to a bridegroom as a result of the owning of his ancestral myths and the giving of presents to the bride's relatives when they first come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] [431] *Nindhelm*: Daughter of the first people who came down to Mount *Tsnisi* in the beginning of time.
[524] *nisly'cutl*: Wooden ring used in a game.
Nikeeh: Place on Dean Channel, about three miles from the head, where the deer formed a colony soon after the beginning of time.
[825] *nikpaps*: Otter.
Nimlkeh: Name of a certain spot where mountain goats are wont to congregate for mating.
Nimtumlem: 1—"The Restorer": One of *Thtcaplilan-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—One of the first men to settle in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[552] *nimun*, "Brought to Life": Term applied to a copper brought back from a cemetery and renamed.
Nimmelmel: Shaman's name derived from *Thtcaplilan-a*.
nintemlem: "I have saved you."

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nixobàxta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract. [424]

Nixpi: Expert supernatural dancer; to his associates he is a yearling mountain goat.

nmlq or *nmlpàmut:* First complete dance given by a *kusiut* initiate. [825]

mmmk: Mammal, any kind.

Nnixwanaix: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

Noàkila: 1—One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuisli* in the beginning of time.

Noàkynm: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Noamtaxeik: Name given to his grandson by one of the first settlers at *Siskiut* in the beginning of time.

nolcista: *Kusiut* prerogative as a Breaker; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.

nolpàkta: Sloping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kimsquit, *kusiut* masks are hung.

nomnuk: The making and use of hand nets for olachen.

Nonodjanostem: 1—"The Adviser": One of the names of the supreme god. [622]
2—Chiefs of a village, collectively; virtually, "The Sages."

no'enàtlm: 1—Ceremony at which *sisook* names are validated in the eyes of the fellow-villagers. [553]
2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed. [796]

no'endjut: Assemblage of the *kukusiut* to practise difficult rites.

No-fuma, "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": *Tlaiyàkam* name given to a deserting wife.

Nowàkila: One of the names of Raven as chief.

nowlxibàtum: Sentence of death passed by the *kukusiut* on one of their fellows as punishment for an error. [688]

nuaiyoo: A loan, especially of an ancestral right. [426]

Nuàhulmm: Synonym for *Noàkynm,* the supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Nu'eas, "Inhospitable": Name taken by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

nuàpsulta: Toilet-hole.

nuasko: Birth. [821]

Nuàkàqas: Anthropomorphized evil cold wind. [769]

nudak-an: Rhetorical term of respect for aged dead.

nudak-an du lhmsta: 1—High tide. [823]
2—Long life.

nudjiqasta: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold olachen-net post steady while being driven.

Nu'gmàj, "Place of Foul Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Nuk^w: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.
2—River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.

Nuakmàtsaix: Synonym for *Sximsximuk,* an immoral supernatural woman.

nukàl: The achievement of success against supernatural odds; the term is used with reference to the solutions of the riddles of the Mystery dance.

nukàmlmàxum: Any non-sacred dance held at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season. [535]

Nukaw-aa: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

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Nuáqnáam: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

Nuásta: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.

nujaxem: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a *kasiut* who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an uninitiated person.

nukómsk': Grease extracted from sockeye salmon heads.

[825] *Nukiadji:* Ancestral name of a *Stax* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.

[778] *nukila sta:* 1—Spider.
2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where cures are effected; the power is derived from a spider petrified there.

Nukis, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nukokwisodjas, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[552] *Nulíqumutl di mak',* "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.

Nulalumuth: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Nuskymm's* departure to warn *kukasiut* to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.

[356] 2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.

Nulalulaks, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[431] *nulaym:* Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.

Nulilqalank, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.

Nulisyumanka: One of the first women to settle at *Tál-is* in the beginning of time.

nulmómankás: Fastenings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.

Nulkitl: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.

nulmatkás: Bonds used to fasten a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nulmómankás.*

[428] *nulmastmas:* Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.

nulostmit-sta, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *nusak* head-drum.

nulj: Landslide, such as is caused by *Tsulálit* or *sciut.*

Nulqanlais: Name given to their sister by the first settlers at *Nuqwalt* in the beginning of time.

nulqnis, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a poultice which is thrown away after serving its purpose.

nulqstas: House-posts nearest to front door.

nulnikts: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[426] [556] *nulsmómmum,* "Belt Goods": Goods borrowed during a potlatch by a dancer who finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to fasten up his clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.

nulsudjim: Cry uttered by a *nusak* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *nusak* novices.

[342] *nulsinqailais:* The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *nusak* novice.

nulsmálkals: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.

numálkals: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.

Numómus, "Place of Flag": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

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nxmas, nxcatix, nxmastas: Member of same sex and same ancestral family as speaker. [601]

Nxmáslam: Supernatural being who comes with *Nxáxymm* to bring a call to the latter's protégé. [614]

Nxmlskmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

nxmil: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract. [826]
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.

nxmnxnxlts: Toilet-hole.

nxmlstxm: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony. [465]

nxmslomxmas: Exchange marriage. [583]

nxmpáltlxm: Passenger.

Nx'mts: Place near *Nuliax.*

Nxmxmlaix: *Kwiat* name created by *uyuyuyut* at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

nxmxsi di mának: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

nxmxsi ti stánas: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

Nxnxsa'ts, "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Nxnxtmunk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nxnxdjipxm: Supernatural being who created repositories in the beginning of time.

Nxnxlxunk: One of the *four* supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nxnxlpxnm: House occupied by the first settlers at *Nuitpmult* in the beginning of time.

nxnx'l'xtimut: The use of potent medicines after seeing a giant toad.

nxnxlxwxtxtmm or *nxnxlxwxtxtimut:* 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dyed cedar-bark to *Thixplitx-a.* [782]
2—The making of offerings to ghosts by the casting of food on a fire. [775]

Nxpxmx-ak: One of the *four* supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nxpxmxlxhdimut: Male supernatural being who travels with *Nxáxymm,* takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.

Nxnxxha: Mother Nature.

nxnxpp: Fisherman with inherited right to use of a salmon-weir or of a place for catching olachen. [424]

nxnxpmxxmdy, "A Calling Back", or "A Seizing": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural artisans having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [226] [761]

Nxnxjxmdi, "Where Water Entered": House of one of the first groups of settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Nxnxpmlxlxts: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nxnxpxhlxlxipxx-a: Professional name of a female dancer.

Nxnxpxlxtxmm: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.

Nxnxlxmut: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nxnxxmunk: One of the *four* supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nxnxxmxlxk: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Nxnxlkhxntxm, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [825]

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Nanatsypmax: Woman endowed supernaturally by *Ana'Skwalaix* and serving as patron (?) to a *hamatsa* dancer.

[789] *nanalitsi*: Omen of death.

Nanatsumalaxm, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Tlitsqilitsa*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nanaxwalaix: 1—Man dwelling in *Sumaqma*'s house.
2—*Kwakiutl* name of a Kimsquit woman.

nanaqim: The cry of *hi, hi*, uttered by Cannibals.

Nanaxwaq: *Kwakiutl* name assumed by a *Dzaxe* woman in the beginning of time.

[424] *nanayamax*: *Kwakiutl* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and *qalaxam* is obscure.

Na'aramhamnaix, "The Widower": One of Raven's names as chief.

[535] *naqlaxcilal-ax*: Synonym for *ksnatam*: Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

Naqhanbilan, "Hardfeably Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[302] *naqlaw-ccala*: The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.

naqlalaw-i: Medicine brewed in a skull.

Naqlymalx, "Place of Much *Naymalx*": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Naqnqalmix: *Nuxalk* name of a Kimsquit man.

Naqilaqalaw-a: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[305] *naqlaxcaw-ii-ax xaxy"ala*: One year.

[528] *naqam*: Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.

naqlaxil, "Empty House": House in which a *hamatsa* dance is taking place.

naqlalqax: The throwing of grease on a fire to heat, both literally and figuratively, a rival.

[821] *Naqlaly"*: 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.

[827] *naqalitsa*: Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

naqwaxaxi: Howl-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *hamatsa* and other important *hamatsa* rites.

[777] *naq"xaxcilim*: Unexpected stroke of good fortune.

Naqwilhamlaix: *Xaxli* name of a Kimsquit man.

[772] *Naqwalax*: Site of an ancient town on Schooner Pass.

Naqwhlaly: The upper heaven.

naqlaxa: Woman with thick pubic hair.

Naqwaxalaqlaw-i: A *Dzaxe* ceremony.

Naxlqaxamaix, "Where *Alqaxaw* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[824] *naxlaqaxa-aqy*: Cottonwood bark.

Naxlqaxaxi'ax, "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Dzaxe* in the beginning of time.

naxlaqay: Canoe-maker.

Naxlaxa: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Naqlalx*.

naxlalaqay: Children's dance which serves as training for *hamatsa* rites and to provide entertainment.

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[869]

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nuxla: The visit to every house in the village by a Mystery dancer on receipt of his call.

nuxiwal, plural, nuxuxiwal: Singer.

nuxlwalas: Quiver for carrying arrows. [415]

Nuxmuxu: Mountain near *Ałáw-da-i*.

nuxtatl or *nuxtatlap*: Second day of a *hamat* dance.

Nuxtilaiaiahm: Synonym for *Tutmal-ox*: Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.

nuxhiuxtin: Repository.

nuxhali: Any unusual occurrence, regarded as an omen of death. [763]

Nuxlalamuta, "Whence Things Came Down": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

nuxlulutin: Wash-basin, especially the supernatural one that remains in the land above.

Nuxlaqal: 1—Supernatural being presiding over the Land of Ashes.
2—Locality on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, not far from the head.

Nuxlamin: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tunisi* in the beginning of time.

Nuxlmidjuxin: Axe carried in the beginning of time by the man who was later turned to stone as Mount *Nuxlalit*.

Nuxlmuxal: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tunisi* in the beginning of time.

Nuxlulukmap: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

nuxlqin: Wasps' nest. [825]

Nuxlwalukwala: One of the first women to settle at *Sqalali* in the beginning of time.

nuxlwuxtin: House in which a memorial potlatch is being held.

Nuxlzum: Mountain on south side of lower Bella Coola.

Nuxlzumuxulum, "The Cherished One": Designation applied to one of the sons of *Alqunim*.

nuxlumin: House in which a potlatch is taking place.

nuxlmp: One who has gone to give potlatches in a new sphere; this rhetorical expression is commonly used when referring to a dead chief. [195]

nuxlhlum: Wash-basin used by a shaman when curing. [756]

Nuxlhlumidjat, "He Whose Wash-Basin Is in His Own Body": One of *Tlinqa-lilm-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

nuxlumuxulin: Enclosure behind fire in which *hamat* dancers are secluded. [764]

nuxlpmin: Cleansing rites in connection with death.

Nuxlwalimp: *Tlaiyahum* name acquired by a Kimsquit man as a result of a supernatural experience.

Nuxmlxmal: 1—Eagle that perched on a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time.
2—Name, derived from that of the eagle, of one of the first men to settle at *Ałaxa* in the beginning of time.

Nuxmit-a: 1—"Place of Storm": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxlalit* in the beginning of time.

Nuxmit-aiw-a, "Woman of *Nuxmit-a*": Probably wife of *Alqunim*.

Nuxmilsin: Mountain on north side of lower Bella Coola.

Nuxmilimulu: Subterranean chamber in which rivers were confined in the beginning of time. [772]

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*197 *Nusnánnqk:* Area around a spring near *Nuliten.*
[198] *nusmísta:* Chamber-vessel in the language of supernatural beings.
Nusnísta: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Nusqíkunsta, "Place of Meeting": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nusqusta Smaisíkila, "The Peace-Giving *Smaisíkila*": Designation of the supreme god with reference to the function of peace.
Nusqápa: Skeena River.
Nusqéqlet, "Place of Many Spring Salmon": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
Nusqalst-a: 1—Chamber-vessel.
2—Nickname of a Kimsquit child.
Nusqalst, "Place of *Sqalst*": 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Mountain, the loftiest in the Bella Coola valley, near the village.
Nusqatl: ustmy village.
nusqédjot: Kusiutm rite in which the performer pretends to have his stomach cut.
nusqilbutsax: Person fastened to the ground with roots.
[826] *nusqo:* Person suffering from umbilical hernia.
nusqodjunmsta: Appurtenances for washing given by the dancer of a potlatch to his guests.
[431] *Nusqulwaista:* House of the supreme god during the winter dances of the supernatural beings.
nusqual: 1—One of the *s'alt* dances.
[825] 2—Yearling mountain goat.
3—Man dwelling in *Qamoqua's* house.
nusqualsi: The alleged attraction of the spirit of an uninitiated person to a performer in the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place.
Nusqualwaista: Variant of *Nusqulwaista.*
Nusqualwalmit Nostkymm: Supernatural dancer who comes in *Nostkymm's* canoe.
[198] *Nusqualsis,* "Kingfisher," in the language of supernatural beings: Ancestral name of a herald who came down to the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Nusqualnaista, "The Making Place" (with reference to *qualnasta*): One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nusqualtu-i: 1—Man mentioned in an ancient story of Green Bay.
2—Man mentioned in an ancient story of *Stuax.*
Nusqu"los: Supernatural merry-maker or clown.
[825] *nusquelsit:* The annual scattering of birds by the supreme god in the land above.
Nusqut: Locality near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.
[583] *nusqutsnmsta,* "Washing Appurtenances": Term applied to presents given to a husband by his wife's relatives when rebuying her.
[431] *Nusshlsta:* Locality near *Stuxp.*
nushsnshla, "Ground Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate *nsaak* initiates with regard to the ground over which they will dance, or
[556] chiefs to the ground over which they will tread.
[431] *nushsmdsta,* "Seat Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate the seat of a chief or of a *nsaak* dancer.
Nusltlup: Herald of *Smaaux* in the beginning of time.
Nusltmontnmsta, "Place Where People Were Made": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nuslshmgs: Carpenter.
nuslqumsta-a: Smear of red paint.

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Nuxate ewp, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kitamaat man long ago. [192*]
nuxwinum: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige. [578]
Nuxu: 1—Bamon district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, adjective.
Nuxpalyip: *Tal'ia* bird hunter.
Nuxpmda: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tal'ia* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alpalist* in the beginning of time.
3—Ball of the universe which, when broken, released the sun. [772]
Nuxpmxiite-a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Alpalist* in the beginning of time.
Nuxup: 1—(Probably) "The Place of Borrowers": Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
nuxt'ghate: Repository, archaic term.
nuxtwa-it nutxum: The assumption of a name upon earth. [431]
nuxwalmpsha, "Things to Sweep the Floor With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage. [585]
nuxwp-ghe: Wooden dish used for washing an infant.
nuxwilomtem: Abstinence from acts of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine. [415] [785]
nuxlelim: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient. [756]
Nuxnakaw: Name of a celebrated shaman.
Nulem: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
Nuld, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
nulnaqum: Alteration of a dance from *nuxnk* to *hamat*. [825]
nulbalcite: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck.
nulalalamum, "A Drying-Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband. [516]
nulalalnum: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion. [431]
Nulina, "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Nulaqhl: Totem-pole of the first settlers at *Nuqhlit* in the beginning of time.
nulhwnk: Parents of twins. [845]
nulnqmu: Wall. [825]
Nulnlimsis: Mythical house in the sky.
Nulnymalt: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nulnlelem: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Tlenqiliu-a* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *nulnlem*. [756]
nulnlqnum: A creation of new *hamat* names, such as is necessitated by a disaster, or at the will of a mighty chief. [553]
nulnnalem: *Kwakiutl* rite in which the performer pretends to swallow hot stones.
nulnlnum: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to heralds by a person uplooked in Otter dance. [431]
2—Presents given by guests at a potlatch to their host and his associates.
nulqnu, "The Face Maker": Name given to a woman who points upon the head-ages used to produce cranial deformation in an infant. [856]
Nulqwalt, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kitamaat village.
Nulsimla: *Kwakiutl* name of a *Tsimsit* man.

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#192 *nuhuinuis*: Synonym for *qumo'o*, the large cone-shaped sound whistle.
[534] *Nalya-ed*: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nalya-ked: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nalqytchwa-c, "Nearest River": River flowing from the north into the northern corner of the head of North Bentinck Arm. The Anglicized form is Nuletscomoy.
[103]
[823] *na'nqulnis*: Stone supernaturally born from another at sea level.
Nemsist-o: *xtimy* village.
Nemulnk, "The Mother of Dogs": Name given to a Bella Bella woman in an ancient story.
Nuyalk: Bella Coola valley.
[101] *Nuyalkmy*: Inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley.
Nuyem: *Kwiet* name of a *Sisaa* man.
Nuyem: Name of a female composer.
Nuyumulnis, "The Light Giver": One of the names of the supreme god.
nuyu: Light.
Nuzim: *Kwiet* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Nuzimulkis: *Ts'ape* name of a Kimsquit man.
Nuymulnuzo-a, "Stick-Breaker": Name taken by daughter of the first settlers at *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
[825] *nuzzuzzed*: Mountain goat with long hair on its chest.
nuzzuzzed, "The Silent Night": The hushed assemblage of *kukwiat* after departure of a Cannibal.
[227] *nzimnzim*: Cross-piece which holds open mouth of stacken net.
Nzumulc: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
[585] *nzzwulcknum*: Public promise by the parents of bride and bridegroom on the wedding night that names will be provided for resultant children. This is combined with an oration of origin myths. The term is also used for a similar promise of rights to hunting grounds, although the granting of this is automatic.
[425]
[828] *Nzpa*: Mountain near *Sisaa*.
nzpahlkhmut: Person who wanders away from home in desperadoey.
Nzpal-ainis: One of the first women to settle at *Tal-is* in the beginning of time.
Nu'yuz-tsim: Land of salmon.

O

o'alqum: Kimsquit term for *o'kik*, orchis.
O-i: Kwatsa lad mentioned in an ancient story.
[824] *okal*: Grass with edible roots growing on tide-flats.
[262] *Olqumuy*: Valley pre-emptied by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Olqulmut: Herald who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
oly: 1—The *kwiet* perceptive of scratching.
2—Red, *adjective*.
Olzw-i: *Kwiet* name of a *Sisaa* man.
Omlyaiya, "The Worthless One": Name assumed by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[825] *Omlukkmut*, "The One that Changes Itself": Supernatural name of spring salmon.
[264] *'omtsulil'*: Assemblage of the people for food of any kind.

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ownhalaio: Goods obtained by a man's own exertions and forming the nucleus of his wealth for a potlatch. [556]
ownhalo, plural, ownhalas: *Kwiat* patron.
O'mitat: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
O'mitlka: One of the first women to settle at *Ztuna* in the beginning of time.
O'mitlmai: Son of Raven in the beginning of time.
Omqumkikka: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Sisikiut* in the beginning of time
3—One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Tsimsit* woman who died about 1915.
'Ooilum: enemy village.
Oopt: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola *kwiatem* dancer.
Ooskut: 1—Ancestral name of a *Snaloh* man.
2—Celebrated Kimsquit hunter.
'ooitmat: Any non-sacred rite, especially an *o'alt* dance held subsequent to the *kwiat* season.
Ooiromhtsa: *Kwiat* name of a Kimsquit *kwiatem* dancer.
Oopmuk: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
ooxstlpamm: The taking of food to another tribe for ceremonious bestowal.
Ootsiowa: Supernatural being who sleeps perpetually, literally, "The Sleepy One."
Opwikamp: 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.
o'pal: Skunk cabbage. [824]
Opulkin: Supernatural being, herald of *Alpuntsw.*
ospk: The steeping of *nsaad* novices in smoke, this being the final rite of initiation.
Ojemai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxalat* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Sisikiut* in the beginning of time. [226]
ospa: Temporary fish-dam of interlocked branches.
Ojnaw i: Small mountain on south side of the Bella Coola valley behind *Xmqo-ti.*
O-pai: Place near *Ztuna.*
'Opmkkkmat: One of the first men to settle at *Xwiyal* in the beginning of time.
opmkkmal': The leading screen of a bride to a groom during a wedding. [585]
ostkuiem: Hereditary tendency.
ostkkin: One made sick by salmon, especially a woman who suffers from this cause through disregard of adolescence taboos. [827]
ostpan: Variety of dog salmon found at Bella Bella. [784]
o xmstlpamain: Conferring of ancestral names at a potlatch. [825]
oxstmamain: The performance of a *kwiat* dance with supernatural dog salmon as patron.
Oxsqkpamy, "Treeless Place": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
oxpkim: Distribution of strips of mountain goat skin at marriage. [585]
oxtamuuk: "Where are you going?"
Oxtalkay", "Lake-Swallower": A mythical monster.
ozhmilaio: First night of a potlatch. [601]
ohik: Third oldest brother or sister.
Olkaya: Name of Mink as chief.
O-kwi di Sxkmap: One of the names of the supreme god.
Olowa: Celebrated *W'uyal-a* warrior.

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stsalu: Promontory on hunting ground extending into ocean.
Ostsow'i: Kimsquit fisherman.
Ostsi: Calvert Island.
Ostsowm: Synonym for *Xemsemkstis*, one of the nine supernatural siblings.

P

[415] *ptsi'i:* Small wooden dish.
Pskuti: Legion messenger of the dead.
Pu'i: Place on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
[585] *pstsutsum:* Synonym for *nuptsxibi'um:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to
[431] those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day.
They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.
Pstsitsu: Ancestral name of a *Nuxalk* man.
[412] *pstsulu:* Bone needle.
psuutlu: Anything powerful and dreaded; the word is frequently applied, rhetorically, to Cannibals.
Pu'sulu: Small stream rising north of the Bella Coola valley and east of the Nuxlestsumay; it flows into the head of South Bentinck Arm between the Nuxlestsumay and the Bella Coola.
Piputlu: Bella Coola man figuring in a story.
pulsi: Herring scales.
punsuts: Dance-apron.
Punyhlu: One of the first men to settle at *Snulsli* in the beginning of time.
[825] *pkum:* Mosquito.
Pumpulstsdimut: Name assumed by *Smasas* in the beginning of time.
pu'qmuis: Variety of *snung.*
Putlu: Celebrated Bella Coola chief who died about 1880.
Pu'sulu: Moustche Nose, the point between Labouchere Channel and North Bentinck Arm.
[824] *putsqi:* False hellebore.
[411] *pulsnu:* Bow, weapon.
Psyuy, "Fallen Heavily with a Crash," as when a dead tree thunders to earth: The term is used rhetorically when referring to the death of an old and influential chief.
[195] *Psuisi:* Tree, probably birch, used for torches.
[372] *psluu:* Meeting of chiefs.
[825] *psi:* Halibut.
[825] *ps':* Crabapple.
[824] *psuli:* Bunchberry.

Q

Qa'sklis: Rivers Inlet man, living in the last century.
[525] *qsi:* King stick in a gambling game.
qsisuyumlsi: Women's drooling cry uttered at the appearance of a masked dancer.
qsi-nuyi: Uncommon term for the second day of a *Snaisi* dance, applied to the rites taking place during the day itself only.
Qsiyu: Name conferred on the grandson of *Smasas* in the beginning of time.
Qsi'lis: Man mentioned in a story.
Qslmu: 1—One of the first women to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
2—Celebrated Bella Bella chief.

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[illegible]: Omen of death, generic term. 192*
[illegible]: One of the berries, probably raspberry. [787]
[illegible], *vocative*, *[illegible]*: Mother, term used by child.
[illegible]: Celebrated Carrier chief. [824]
[illegible]: 1—Village on west bank of the Necleetsconnay, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. [601]
2—Mountain behind the village.
[illegible]: *am'lel*-a name of a Kimsquit man.
[illegible], *vocative*, *[illegible]*: 1—Term used for spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish. [825]
2—Term used by *[illegible]* to human beings, who are like salmon to them.
3—Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings. [198]
[illegible], "Rope Fastenings," i.e., something binding: The function of the "Bed Covering" and other presents given with a wife which bind her to her husband. [585]
[illegible]: Unidentified species of duck. [431]
[illegible]: Kwakiutl term for "The Weeper," a female supernatural being.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man. [825]
[illegible]: *[illegible]* chief living soon after the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Herald who came with the first settlers to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Carrier pronunciation of *Tcafos*, one of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* with ability to produce a puppet-patron, cf. *[illegible]*.
[illegible]: Sweat-bath. [515]
[illegible]: Slave mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Star-fish. [825]
[illegible]: Rabbit.
[illegible]: Salmon-berry. [824]
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Unidentified plant.
[illegible]: Black cod. [825]
[illegible], "A Wiping of the Feet upon the Ground of Chiefs": Term applied to a deadly insult offered to persons of importance. [578]
[illegible]: Wooden armour.
[illegible]: 1—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm. [714]
2—Island off Rivers Inlet.
3—Island.
[illegible]: One of the names of Raven as chief.
[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Siskiutl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Unidentified migratory bird, black in colour. [825]
[illegible]: Scratch River, near Bella Bella.
[illegible]: One of the *a'alk* dances.
[illegible], "Head": *Stuix* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
[illegible]: A verbal exposure of what should have remained concealed, such as comments upon the slave ancestry of a person whose blot in this respect has been covered over by lavish giving. [578]
[illegible]: Presents distributed by a wife to strengthen her husband's seat, and thus prevent him from "wobbling." [431] [556]

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qmāthwelp: The dancing, by several of his associates, to "help" a *kusiut* performer.
Qnuml: Undefined locality in the Bella Bella area.
Qo: Mountain above *Stuax.*
[777] *qokān·i:* Supernatural bird, bringer of good luck.
[825] *Qolbaiul:* Locality near the head of Dean Channel.
qolon: 1—Beaver.
2—*Nusāxkāmx* name of a Kimsquit man.
Qolosti: Man mentioned in a song.
Qolliaokmx: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuax* man with prerogative of biting himself.
qoludik: The location in a house taken by a wife when ceremonially seated behind her husband.
Qolxwelioll: Influential *Nusḑalst* chief who died about 1910.
Qomānakwala: Ancestral name of a *Stuax* chief; the designation may be of Kwakiutl origin.
Qomcua: 1—One of the nine supernatural beings.
2—White person.
3—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
ḑomniḑxwl: Clean, dry skull.
ḑomoqmai·s: Stump, in the language of Raven.
Qomoqua: 1—Supernatural being, lord of the under-sea world.
2—Ancestral name of a *Qomqo·ts* man.
Qomo'sala: Man living in Bella Bella in early times.
Qomotla: Ancestral name of a *Tsmoil* woman.
[534] *qomo·ts:* Large, cone-shaped whistle used in *sisaok* rites.
Qomqo·ts, "Salty?": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
ḑopai: To drift over, of smoke.
Qopumpmān·a: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
[252] *ḑopsta:* Framework of split sticks for toasting salmon.
[534] *ḑopta:* Drum.
Qoḑmai: One of the first men to settle at *Nusḑalst* in the beginning of time.
Qoqoyel: Bella Bella village.
qosa: Kwakiutl term for "eagle down" presents.
qothm: Third day of a *kusiut* dance.
Qotlnālas: Harbour on Labouchere Channel.
Qotlnalas: Settlement in the Carrier country.
[581] *qotsekm,* "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud.
[825] *qotsik:* Wolverine.
[567] *qotslilsis dimmes,* "A Washing to Free from Taint": Term applied to a ceremony to clear the path of the children when a husband has married a slave wife or *vice versa.*
Qowi: 1—One of the names of Raven as chief.
2—*Tlaiyākam* name of a Kimsquit man.
3—*Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Qoxlanoa: Supernatural woman from whom the Carpenters are said to have derived their skill in the beginning of time.
Qoxolān·i: 1—*Kusiut* name of a *Tsmoil* man.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
[825] *qoxox:* White swan.

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qaxta, "Bed Covering": Term applied to the presents given as such to the party of a bridegroom when they enter the bride's house on a wedding day. [585]

ḳhāmdjut, "A Shaking of the Fingers": Rhetorical allusion to presents regarded as "Dust." [431]

ḳpāndiktmm: To revolve sunwise. [195]

Ḳpānpāndiktmmlaix, "The One Who Revolves Sunwise to Give Strength": One of *Thiccāphlān·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Ḳhāḳlxs: Place of petrified power near Kwatna.

Ḳixman: Village on the Skeena River. [778]

ḳtaiset: Supernatural creature resembling a diminutive human being.

ḳubtl: Salmon liver. [825]

ḳuks: Co-wife in a polygynous household.

ḳulus, *vocative*, *ḳuluais*: Wife's brother, or sister's husband, man speaking. [595]

ḳulxwaix: Gathering of the supernatural beings for the performance of dances in the land above. [601]

ḳuma: Unidentified salt water fish, said to be called "Lard-fish" by white men. [825]

Ḳunqumm ul di dā Sgem, "The Unlooser of Light": One of Raven's names as chief.

ḳupstānm: 1—The ability of a chief to sit down ceremonially in virtue of the goods distributed for his seat, the ground over which he walks, and other requirements.

2—The initial establishment of a youth as chief.

ḳuputsālets: Stone axe.

ḳus: Period of engagement. [412]

Ḳwahila: *Ḳwaqo·ts* man.

Ḳwai·lils: 1—One of Raven's names as chief.

2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Ḳwaiutsmlaix: *Stuax* man mentioned in an ancient story.

Ḳwaixestu·i: Shaman's name of a *Stuax* woman.

Ḳwaixmas, "Begrimed": Name of a copper often cast into fire.

ḳwalts: Unidentified (and probably mythical) type of lizard, allegedly about four feet long, found near Dean Channel. [825]

ḳwalem, *vocative*, *ḳwalām*; *plural*, *ālḳwalām*: Eldest brother or sister. [601]

Ḳwa'lems: Name, in the Bella Bella language, given to a wooden woman made by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

ḳwalik: Gull. [825]

ḳwal'ma'ks, "Eldest": Term of respectful address to Porcupine as senior of all animals.

Ḳwalwalelim, "The Mover": Name given to their house by one of the first groups of settlers at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.

Ḳwalna: Term from which the Anglicized "Kwatna" is derived: Generic name for the villages at Kwatna Harbour, Burke Channel. [103]*

Ḳwamens·ks: Chief living on the upper *Tcawat* in the beginning of time.

ḳwanā·xsta: Large box used for boiling olachen. [415]

Ḳwapx: Village south-west of the head of South Bentinck Arm.

Ḳwaqmai: Place on Schooner Pass.

Ḳwaqwasila: *Sisaok* name of a Bella Coola man.

ḳwatlnokum: Marks made to commemorate an event, such as carvings at chiefs' meeting-place, virtually a *memorial*. [211]

ḳwatlnusam: Figure representing crest.

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[773] *ɣwatlnusta:* 1—Tally post, one of the supernatural elements possessed by all human beings.

[777] 2—Inviable supernatural element which constantly moves before the face.

ɣwatlnsta; vocative, ɣwatlnstas, (rarely, *ɣwalhsta*): Crest.

[825] *ɣwax:* Raven.

ɣwax: Big old male mountain goat.

Ɣwaxila: Ɣomgo·ts man living in the last century.

Ɣwaxlaklis: Celebrated Kwakiutl chief.

Ɣwaxqwax·wamm: Name of a shaman who received his power from Raven.

[601] *Ɣwaxwats:* One of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.

ɣwaxwam: Fourth oldest, or youngest, brother or sister.

ɣwa'yalaks: Steller's jay.

Ɣwakutl: Kimsquit woman.

[825] *ɣwana:* Woman's pubic hair.

ɣwata: Sea-lion cub.

[431] *ɣwem:* Those who are present and receive gifts when an announcement of a marriage is first made.

Ɣweta: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

ɣwia·x'sem: A revelation, such as the sight of a supernatural being or object usually concealed.

[825] *ɣwilais:* Yearling seal.

ɣwimap: Word used in inviting to a marriage announcement.

Ɣwinae: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Ɣwiqwaxaowa: Kwakiutl supernatural being, said to be identical with *Ālqunīam.*

Ɣwixlokilak": *Nusqual* name of a Kimsquit man.

Ɣwiyai: Bella Bella village west of Namu.

Ɣwl: Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.

Ɣwlaiyu: Professional female marriage droner who came down to Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Ɣwlaxwoa: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

Ɣwliutl, "Place of Herbage": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.

ɣwnta: Inspiration, in the sense of the source of a *kusiut* dancer's power of thought.

[583] *Ɣwosalk:* Village west of Kwatna, settled in the beginning of time.

ɣwoxlaxdjut: Actual goods used for the repurchase of a wife.

[854] *Ɣwoyusditsas:* Ancestral name of a Kimsquit chief.

ɣwutlt: Cradle.

Ɣwu'nāk': *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

Ɣwun·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[581] *ɣ"xlin:* The noble and rightful sentiments engendered in both families by an elaborate marriage, either real or fictitious. The word embodies the concepts of financial interdependence and of consequent mutual strength.

[195] *ɣxwakim:* The transference of activities to a new sphere; the term is used, rhetorically, when referring to the death of a skilled craftsman.

S

saiks: 1—Skeleton.

2—Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Saikwaio·sem: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

sai·mis Ḿalas: The constant blinking of the eyes.

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Saiuit: Thunder, anthropomorphized. 192
Saiyuno: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. 821
sałaiti: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property. 173
sa·łhałsmm: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kusiut* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food. 431
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal.
sa·łpsta: Cannibalistic incubus. 257
sa·łpsmm: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day. 585
sałiskłdimut: Profession of *kusiut* executioner. 431
sałukwałs: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him. 463
sąml: Sockeye salmon. 825
Sąnułpmułłs Alquntąm: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sanunusmmlaix: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land above.
Sąnułłm or *Sąnułłsmdimut:* One of the names of Mount *Nusąłst* as chief.
Sąnuximąxuts, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Stuax* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sąhx; vocative, *sąhi;* vocative plural, *sąhxwa·ks:* Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
sa·łła: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Sąłłia: Village at point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Sąłłyenuts: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Sa·łma: Death, anthropomorphized. 761
sałołts: Whetstone, *archaic.* 412
Sa·tsk': 1—Kimsquit River.
2—Village near the mouth of the river. 101
Sa·tskamp: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley.
satskwał·a: Raft.
Sa·łamnąn·i: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
sawa: Pillow. 573
sawadjut, "Pillowness": *Kusiut* ceremonial at which no call is present.
sazi, vocative, *sazinao:* Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family. 601
Sazinao: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story.
sąxłum: Bracken. 824
sąxwąnos: Tide flats. 823
sakdjułk: Heart.
Sałwałasąm: That part of *Sonq'ut* which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Sąmhotł: Village on Rivers Inlet.
Sąmsiutąn·i: Part of a peculiar repository.
sąmsąmłkdimut, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steelhead salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
sa'mtsts, "Resting Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this. 805
sankwołsąm: Leader of musicians. 821

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sa·qua·t: String figure.
Saskwanuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sdjidji'is:* Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sekakmân·a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sekilaxt:* Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
sekima siskamûsk: River net for salmon.
[822] *Sesalant:* Echo.
Sexexkûlaix: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Sexnxqualqulaoslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Ṭlitcāplilān·a's* names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Siâlxelâx:* Ancestral name created on earth by a *Ḷomqo·ts* man.
Siaḳum, "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[825] *siâqsiu:* One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
[805] *Siâskaos di Ano°likwolsaix*, "The Coming of *Ano°likwolsaix*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
siusla: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Si'islalil*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Si'iswai·stl, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *si'illiukek:* Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of mar-
[431] riage is broached.
si'iyikm, "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Sûmi*, "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Sûsûml*, "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Sikâsmuk, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] *siki*, "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *nsaok* rites.
Sikilikmm: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Siḳuly*, "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikualxwlxkx: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikuldjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Sikum: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
[226] *Siliaz:* Celebrated composer.
siltmaq: Salmon-weir.
[827] *sinaqyme'ax: Susaok* head-dress.
sininits: Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
[761] *si·nipadjaxstmax:* Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Simpicus: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[805] *Sinomuk*, "Time for the Use of Olachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[726] *Sinulkemitl*, "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinunukalâhm: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

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Sinuyul: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Sinuximāl: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Sinux* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sio°msta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative of imitating coitus. [424]

siḥālyālosuts: Song sung by a *kusiatem* dancer on recovery from apparent death.

siḥkim: Regular beatings given to a male child. [861]

Siqālyam, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

Siqalusnām: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Siqulxwaix di Siut, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

siqwaldjut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]

siqwsk: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage.

sisests: Departure to a new locality. [425]

sisi, vocative, sisai: Father's brother or mother's brother.

sisut: Paddle. [601]

sisutsta: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

Siskunsta: One of the names of the supreme god.

Sisliuq': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [778]

siut, vocative, sisot: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being, "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qomo·ts,* the large *sisook* whistle.
4—Killer whale. [825]
5—Song.
6—*Kusiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Siutan·i: Part of a peculiar repository.

Siutamkila: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

siutnāles: Wordless chorus. [533]

Siwal·ōs, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Siwid: Celebrated *Djōldamx* chief living in the last century.

sinlikum: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a despondent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]

Siyman·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sixsān·imutsta: Place where healing power is petrified.

Sixsinḥutmam: Synonym for *Mulakila,* the supernatural being connected with *sisook* rites.

sixwismaq: *Kusiut* dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, *ānānuskx,* for the user's protégé on earth.

sixwoḥāxkmuk: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage. [584]

sixwul: Unmarried mother. [848]

siyentla: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *sientla* may be connected with this.

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sire: Supernatural good luck.

[821] *nkuoos:* Fog.

[825] *nkn':* Pack-rat.

nlk: Mind or mentality.

[828] *nlqtan:* Place of lucky finds, such as a point where whales drift ashore.

nlxetkältwa: Cannibal recently returned from the land above.

Sälislän·i: One of the first women to settle at *Sätlia* in the beginning of time.

[825] *nmd:* Mountain.

nmlk or *nmlkts:* Salmon, generic form.

nmlqmnikdas: (Probably) viscera of an animal, *archaic.*

Sumsiutaäks: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.

[173] *nmsma:* Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be related by anyone.

Sumtus: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.

[822] *Sunk'luxum:* Bella Coola chief.

[828] *Sunqlominit:* Darkness, anthropomorphized.

nnqus: Anger.

nnx: Sun.

Sunxäkila: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at *Alqälxl* in the beginning of time.

Sunxälotla: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—*A'alk* name of a Kimsquit man.
4—*Suaok* name of a Kimsquit man.

Sunxan·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.

[827] *nnxkt:* Mucus.

Sunxl, "Sunny": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

nqulaiät: Game played with miniature spears.

[575] *nsaok:* 1—Society intimately connected with chiefs.
2—Member of the society.

nsintl: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a double-headed salmon.

Sunxakila: Shaman's name of a *Sunxl* woman.

nskiek': Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Ttitsplitan·a* to the one favoured.

[601] *nskum:* Father's sister or mother's sister (in either direct or indirect address).

[583] *nsmmäs:* The ceremonial strength acquired by a child through the repurchase of its mother.

[431] *nsqo·si:* Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.

[585] *nspunk':* Western dock (plant).

[824] *nsxnatnulep:* Snowberry.

nxnqoinu: Distribution of carpentry tasks prior to a potlatch.

nxmmsta, "Food Supply": Synonym for *sal'alum,* ancestral hunting-ground.

[825] *skalk":* Porcupine.

[824] *skal·ats:* Black huckleberry.

[821] *skälatslaix:* Eye-lashes of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

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shalt': Devil's-club.
shalnamadits: To lament ceremonially, the term used to describe the reason for a memorial potlatch. [824]
Shāml, "Ashes": Ancestral name created for a *Snuhali* chief about 1910. [765]
shamtsk: Supernatural creature dwelling in water.
shāy: Anus.
shānm: Splinters projecting upwards from the bole of a broken tree-trunk. [824]
Shamdzyman·a: One of the first women to settle at *Snuhali* in the beginning of time.
Shatpts: Chief of the spring salmon.
shatsāmhm: Narrow strips of goat skin with wool attached, distributed at marriage. [585]
shelints: Merganser. [825]
shelwadjut, "The Opening": Ceremony when the first public presents are given to the family of a future wife, following the announcement of betrothal. [584]
shi: To cure, especially with the aid of a frenzied beating of sticks. [431]
Shimuteitl: Stuax man mentioned in an ancient story.
shimap, "Cure Ye!": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the upper Bella Coola valley.
shinwās: Cloud. [825]
shma: Thick hide, either of moose or caribou. [412]
shma: Semi-circular knife used by women for cutting salmon.
shmaix, shmanl, or *shmdjut:* 1—Frenzied beating of sticks for curing purposes, especially when the patient is a member of a secret society. [755]
2—Final *kusiut* rite at end of the ceremonial season.
shmim: To cure by means of the frenzied pounding of sticks.
Shml, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log": *a'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
Shmnānl: House used by a group of first settlers near *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Shmnulān·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Nusdalst* in the beginning of time.
shu'tcalx: Fungus. [824]
shlsmaiaxts: 1—Box made of strands of cedar-bark. [415]
2—Ancient name of *sisook* head-dress.
shq: Ceremonial designs executed on the exterior front wall of a house.
shshk': Rose.
Shslikman·a: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.
shstl: Wasp. [825]
Shsisamnasta: Rock on shore of North Bentinck Arm where war trophies were washed. [727]
Shymshtl: Name of house brought down by first settlers at *Siskistl* in the beginning of time; the term was also applied by them to one of their female relatives.
shsi, vocative, shsai: Parent-in-law or child-in-law. [601]
shtāy: Suitable place in the river for setting olachen nets.
shtsa: Game played with throwing stones.
shusiut: Synonym for *yeaxmax*, the tangible or intangible prerogative possessed by some *kukusiut* in addition to a dance rite. [424]
shwakus: River sculpin. [825]

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[765] *skwanat:* 1—Memorial potlatch.
2—Mourning song.
3—The wailing of mourners at a grave.

[763] *Skwanat-an-a*, "The Weeper": Female supernatural being whose appearance indicates the death of a chief.

skwanatinkusaix: Professional *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to sing of *Snitmdu-a* during *kusiutem* dances.

skwatsta: Name.

Skwo-ts: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

[824] *Sla-kl:* Whitewater River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola.

slaos: Long grass suitable for pasturage.

[252] *slaqk'i:* Smoked spring salmon with the bone removed.

slaxki: Many, *adjective*.

[554] *slaxmidjut*, "The One with Many Descendants": Term used to describe an elderly man with many children and grandchildren.

Sla-: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[601] *sleli:* Game, resembling a tug-of-war, played with wooden loops and spears.

slemts, vocative, slemtsakais: Grandchild; the vocative indicates endearment.

[578] *slexmenix:* The deposition of eagle down on the heads of those quarrelling to pacify them.

sli-s: Gall bladder.

sloptsta: 1—Breathing.
2—Sound of a *nsaak* whistle, referred to as the breathing of *Mislakila*.

sluk': Olachen grease.

Sluxlkwaily: 1—Ancient village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[778] 2—Place of petrified power at site of ancient village.
3—Semi-anthropomorphized being responsible for power in this locality.

Slilm: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of every river.

slumsta: The voice.

[824] *slumi:* Dried elderberries.

slukwala: 1—Shaman-like power, as brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Coola woman.

[821] *slulym:* Eclipse.

slwosamlikw': 1—One who keeps in touch with a concealed Cannibal.
[424] 2—One who has the inherited right to assist *kusiut* or *nsaak* dancers; this prerogative occurs in Kimsquit only.

Smaialkila: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaialotla: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaien-a: 1—Synonym for *Sluxlkwaily*, q.v.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

[424] *smaiusta:* A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first people in the beginning of time.

smamatsinulp: Debris from cones eaten by squirrels.

Smaoan, "The First": One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Smaoaxk: Man mentioned in an origin myth of a southern locality.

smai-ung, vocative, smai-ung: Friends.

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xnu-ti: A place of petrified power, i.e., a locality where a supernatural being has been rendered incapable of moving. [778]

xnuil ki xnuxnu, "Petrified Name": Designation brought from above in the beginning of time.

xnu-ki: 1—Mussel. [825]
2—Freshwater mussel.

xnuxnuuli: One of the thrushes.

xnuqtmlit: An animal, especially a bear, showing a kindly disposition towards man.

Sudhult: Ätsu-ku-i man mentioned in an ancient story.

xulil': 1—Gum.
2—Name of son made by Raven in the beginning of time.

xulq: Slave.

Suqhkila: One of the first men to settle at *Sätia* in the beginning of time.

xulqom: Visionary receiving power direct from the supreme god.

xuiundmqs: Worm or larva living under the ocean.

Suiustikuu-a: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.

Suinia: Supernatural being who holds earth in position.

Suitmsu-a: Supernatural woman who restores those who suffer misfortune in the performance of *kusiut* rites.

Suuskla'ilx: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola woman; it was obtained at *Tal-is* in the beginning of time.

xumq: 1—Mythical monster. 2
2—Man living at Kimsquit in early times.

xumqs di xuq'dai: Posts of the sun, the barriers which cause it to retrace its course at the solstices. [821]

xumqs ne xuulix: Variety of *xumq* living above tree line.

Suqmulhaista: Stealer of thoughts, an invisible barrier within the door which prevents a man from carrying out a potlatch by robbing him of his good intentions. The concept is anthropomorphized as a supernatural being. [828]

Sus-ahdilx: Island south-west of Bella Bella.

Sus'ulult: Alquntem: Deer son of the supreme god.

Sus'uiqundy, "On the Point": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Susqulqs: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

xus'alyum: Ceremonial collar of hemlock-bark, dyed cedar-bark, and undyed cedar-bark such as is given to *Thiexplitäu-a.* The word may refer to the throwing of this on the fire.

xusdust'ak: Unidentified berry. [824]

xushlmals: Top used by one of the sons of the supreme god.

Sushlmals: Supernatural being resident above who has the power of causing things to curl up and come to him.

xushimtq: Part of house behind fire.

xushlisik: Unidentified plant. [824]

xushlumi: Piece of wood, rolled hard and smooth in a landslide.

Sushwuinmtik: Chief of supernatural singers who accompany *Nuskymm.*

xushumdi: Twin.

Susqulqtli: 1—Cannibalistic supernatural woman, formerly resident in the supreme god's house.
2—Old woman resident in *Xumqum's* house.

Susuu-lme: Locality containing repository of name received from Death.

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Snapâ·q': Affluent of the middle Bella Coola.
Snafuaix: Kimsquit woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Snqwarwâls: 1—Copper Raven that perched on house of first settlers at *Alqâlxl* in the beginning of time.
2—Name given to the Raven design used by the first settlers at *Stuxr* in the beginning of time.
snuseiks: Skeleton. The word is obviously a derivative of *saiks.*
Snaxlkâls: 1—"The Wise One": One of the more important supernatural beings.
2—Ancestral name of a *Tsmoil* man
Snaxmkâls: Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Alqâlxl*, probably a supernatural designation.
Snaxmlkânk': Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Alqâlxl*, probably a supernatural designation.
[374] *Snaxlulus*, Cold: A supernatural being.
Snaxlaxwai, "The Mystery of *Alqunxâm*": The place where the supreme god puts what he wishes to conceal, such as the correct solution of the Mystery dance. The concept is semi-anthropomorphized.
snaxq: Generic name for several supernatural animals.
snaxpndjâx·a: Right front corner of a house on entering.
Snakri: Pronunciation of *Swakli* by a man with idiosyncratic *r* usage.
Swakli, "Place of Dog Salmon": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
[765] *snatlânhn*, "A Shoring Up": Term used to describe the functions of mourning songs.
Swalkwals, "Box": 1—One of the first women to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—Box in *Xemqma*'s house.
3—Name of a *Tâl·ia* man derived from the last.
Swalle·tl, "Place of Nq Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Swathmy: *Kwisut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Swatqomikeista: Point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
[821] *swatsâlâtst:* Race of dwarfs, presumably mythical.
[778] *Swatsiaxwaxm:* Whirlwind, anthropomorphized.
Swalxlkâls: Generic term for four supernatural, eagle-like creatures.
Swawals: Place on South Bentinck Arm where curative power is localized.
swaxwâkwat, "Bring Light": Call of invitation to a *kwisut* dance in the lower Bella Coola valley.
swaxwâk: One who seeks embers.
Swaxwathwâx·a: One of the first women to settle at *Tâl·ia* in the beginning of time.
Swaxwalâls: Name of first settlers at *Alqâlxl* in the beginning of time.
Swayaklwax·a: Rivers Inlet name used by a Bella Coola *kwisut* woman.
[484] *âslits:* Food carried for consumption on a journey; the term is also applied to the provender brought from above by the first people in the beginning of time.
sel'oksn: Hunting-ground owned by an ancestral family.
Sem: Woman mentioned in a song.
sengʷ: see dâ sonxʷ dâ.
Senxwatks: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nulkax* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Senxwax·a: One of the first women to settle at *Nulkax* in the beginning of time.
[431] *senxwadjat:* Synonym for *sywadj*, the preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch.

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Sonq'mai: *Kuziut* name of a *Stuix* man.
Sopiu: *Kuziut* name of a *Tsmqil* man.
sqalaxmm: Scalp.
sqmalskl': Gnarled projection of wood from a birch knot. [824]
Spaixhaxymmaw-a: Supernatural being who wakens his fellows in the morning.
Spaukalhnais: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
spaniasta: Temporary camping-place.
Spatcalsh, "The First Born": Name brought from Kitlobe to Kimsquit by a marriage in the beginning of time.
spalsi: Star.
sphum, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud. [581]
spepandosts: The forcing upwards of water at high tide, through openings in the rocks at sea-level. [823]
shilhikmm: Person who pounds cedar-bark.
shikts: Tools for pounding cedar-bark, specifically the upper beater.
Shihiqinaw-i: Region on the east side of Dean Channel, about one mile from its head, where supernatural power is localized. [778]
Spl'ewanta: Island west of Namu.
spka: 1—Pudenda.
2—Variety of *smmq* with female organs.
spanhkua: Unidentified berry. [824]
S'ki', Cold Wind: A supernatural being. [821]
Shhunsta: Meeting place of chiefs on rock ledge behind *Qumqw-ts;* the term is probably applied to any meeting place of chiefs.
shla: War-knife used by Raven in the beginning of time.
sputy: Olachen. [825]
spux: Eagle down.
spundjut, "Eagle Down-nose": Rhetorical reference to a present for which no return is expected. [431]
spuxpux: Long, delicate feathers on an eagle's breast. [825]
Spurpunhalinin: *Kuziut* name of a woman sent down near *Nuqhalt* in the beginning of time.
Spurpuxp'mpdimut: *Sisaak* name of *Xanis* origin.
Spuxpunta: *Sisaak* name of a Kimsquit woman.
sqil-a: Unidentified berry. [824]
sqauk: Alder wood, dead and dried. [825]
sqihts: Spring salmon which have spawned.
sqnk: Hunting ability. The term usually refers to the ability of the supernatural artisans to hunt, i.e., to kill, human beings.
sqalst or sqalstmt: Stone, suitable for axes, found on Mount *Nuqhalt.* The name of the mountain is said to be derived from this. [316]
sqama: 1—Chest. [103]*
2—Smoke cure for diseases of the chest.
Sqamt: Land of Ashes.
sqaxnsts: First proposal of marriage if made by relatives of the man. [584]
sqals: River sand mixed with small pebbles.
Sqatrals: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola River. [823]
sqaxm: Flood.

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xpaldp: Cedar roots.
xpal: Sling.
xpalpalem: To use a sling.
xpili: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slave ancestry.
xpimamas: Fleecy cloud.
xpiski: Muzzle-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary food.
xpma: Wooden comb.
Xpu'i: Land of Ashes, alternative term for *Squmi*.
xpo: Umbilical hernia.
xpulpum: Distant relative of female sex, when referred to by man.
xpulsiajar: Long phallus.
Xpumil: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
xpuxa: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
xpuxly: Food distributed for carrying away as *xpuxa*.
xpuli: Large, flat, soft basket of broad strips of bark.
xpumuxy: Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
xpulp: Maple.
xpum: Sudden start that expels the spirit.
xpupait: Outer plank of cedar, convex and bark-covered on one side.
xpusal: Love song or other non-ceremonial composition.
xpuskus: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium*.
xpuskuskus: 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions to the faults of someone present.
2—Singers who use this type of composition.
xpusl ans: Large, unidentified bird.
Xpuskus: Heat: A supernatural being.
Xpuk: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.
xpu'ua: Loon.
xsai ti: Mountain goat marrow, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of preventing hunger.
Xsalpkaum, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Five Sticks": *Ala* name obtained in the beginning of time.
xsalsmy; *plural*, *xsalsmy*; *vocative plural*, *xsalsmy*:
1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Sqalsal* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Smal* in the beginning of time.
4—Name created by *Smamas* for a grandson.
5—*Smal* name of a Kitamaat man.
xsin: Mother, term commonly used by an adult in indirect address.
xsnakkiskum: Bat.
xsnalmut: Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
xsnamum: Elderly female relatives of the same ancestral family as the speaker.
xsnk: Whetstone.
Xsnu: Man mentioned in a story.
Xsq': Mountain near *Tal'ds*.
xsqkum, "What Is Hidden": The correct solution of the Mystery dance.
xsumum: Archaic term for chisk, now used only rhetorically.
xsuk: Cranberry.

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[illegible]: Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
[illegible]: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
[illegible]: That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
[illegible]: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being. [519]
2—Sleep, intangible *hamat* prerogative.
[illegible]: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [585]
[illegible], "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]
[illegible]: Shadow.
[illegible]: Hammer, *archaic*. [412]
[illegible]: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law.
[illegible]: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other. [601]
[illegible]: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
[illegible]: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
[illegible]: 1—Caribou hide.
2—Thong made of caribou hide. [825]
[illegible]: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
[illegible]: Caribou.
[illegible]: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
[illegible]: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
[illegible] or *[illegible]*: Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
[illegible]: Body.
[illegible]: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
[illegible]: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
[illegible]: Mountain goat grease. [824]
[illegible]: Canoe.
[illegible], "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Octopus. [825]
[illegible]: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
[illegible]: Red rock paint. [386]
[illegible]: Singer's baton.
[illegible]: Yew.
[illegible]: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones. [823]
[illegible]: 1—Memorial post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
[illegible]: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story. [262]
[illegible]: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
[illegible]: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
[illegible], "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
[illegible]: Black raspberry.
[illegible]: Green. [824]

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*192 [825] *Sulukā*: Mountain on west side of the Kimsquit River.
sulu-ā'xlme-lma: One of the river sculpins.
sumhumā: To gather cedar-bark.
Sumtma: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning
Sunā: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Sutlulu, "Winter Trail": Locality, perhaps village, on the upper Kimsquit River.
[101] *Sutkmq*: Generic name of the inhabitants of the Dean valley.
Sutmlk: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
Swuslu: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Swuq: Mountain at Kimsquit which was in human form in the beginning of time.
swulxmodmut: Meeting of the senior supernatural beings to discuss ceremonial matters at the winter solstice.
swulstu: Provender provided by the supreme god for the first settlers in the beginning of time.
swu'swu: Mud.
swuitu: Person or object which is taboo.
Swuiswuu: Evil supernatural being.
Sqaislwu, "Maker of Good Weather": Supernatural name of dog salmon.
sxāhmem pāi mānu: Term of opprobrium applied to a child whose father drove away his mother.
sqāksta: Sorcerer's box.
Sxā-lhutemāx-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
sqāu: Female lover, especially a paramour.
sqāum: Male lover.
Sqaqa-ā: One of the first women to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
sqow: The bursting forth of light.
[785] *sustain*: Ceremonial chastity.
[831] *sustmdjut*: The state of practising ceremonial chastity.
sustmmi: Power engendered by ceremonial chastity.
sqak: 1—Sorcerer.
2—*Kwiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Sqakāqāsstu-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
sxim: Cedar-bark cord.
Sximqtma: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Sximsimdi: Immoral supernatural woman.
sxlā': Afterbirth.
Sqiyustu-a: Chief of the dogs in the beginning of time.
[838] *Sqoxtu*: 1—Hermaphrodite, a supernatural being.
[761] 2—Man who performs woman's work.
sxumtmuxtu khl': Life, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
[821] *Sxā'lānā*, South Wind: A supernatural being.
Sxāhā, "Angry Moon": First moon after the winter solstice.
[805] *sxlu-ā'*: Poisonous supernatural creature that travels with the War-Party of the Tribe.
sxlumuk: "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts. The word has two meanings:
[532] 1—Carved human figure set up by a shaman near the vessel of grease which is thrown on a fire.
2—Nickname bestowed on a man.

Spqymatax: Supernatural children guarded by the hermaphrodite in the land above.
Sputl: Name taken by a *Stax* man in the beginning of time.
sxtmqmmt: Place in stream or river where a salmon has just jumped.
sxmmtl'-a: Name created upon earth.
sxmqmtmt: Deer. [825]
sxmut: Water-tight receptacle made from the internal organs of a mountain goat. [415]
Sxmkmymstm, "What Sweeps Away the Food": First moon after the winter solstice. [805]
symmmqk, "Tears": Preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch. [431]
sxw'ltimkis, "Short-lived": Rhetorical term used with reference to the death of a young chief. [195]
sqymwt: An adolescent girl, not yet subject to the full taboos of womanhood.

T

Iskhlit: Cave.
lut: 1—Son, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for lads unrelated to the speaker. [601]
2—Masculine suffix.
Tsiskmnk: 1—One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Swalwt* in the beginning of time.
tsimmmnk: Desertion of husband by his wife. [586]
lsin: Dorsal fin of a fish.
tsinimp: Heavy kind of copper. [825]
tsimmax: Tournament between rival villages. [628]
Tsl-ic: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm. [101]
2—Generic name applied to all villages on South Bentinck Arm.
Tslskm-a: *Nuxqual* name embodied in a *Swalwt* origin myth.
Tsmtmnk-pts, "The Breather": One of *Thxqhlaw-a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Tsmskm: *Stax* man mentioned in an ancient story.
tspmmmtmm: The issuing abroad of invitations to a memorial potlatch.
lsqts: Forest consisting of dense underbrush between big trees. [824]
lsqul: Blood-stained cedar-bark pad.
Tsu-a: 1—Bird arrow.
2—Weapon, invisible to mortals, with which a wolf kills its prey.
Tsut, sometimes, *Tsiss:* 1—Designation of supreme god used in prayer. [601]
2—Father, term used by child. [824]
Isltsmdp: Water-lily.
Tsqa-ak: Land inhabited by the Kwakiutl.
Tsnkwmm: Leading chief of *Skqulxw* and reputed founder of the village.
Tsqqkmm: Bella Coola chief living in the last century.
Iskim: Type of sea-going canoe with bow and stern identical. [825]
tsmkmd-k: 1—White-fronted goose. [601]
2—Type of sea-going canoe named from the bird.
Isnm: Husband (*Ai Isnmmtlut:* My husband).
tsmmt': River.
Tsmmmtlm: Chief who came to Cape Mudge in the beginning of time and later moved to Bella Coola.

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Tapendzicla: Bella Bella chief mentioned in a semi-historical account.

[825] *Tawaki*: Northern tribe, possibly Haida.

tcli: Dog salmon.

Tcalkwq, "Where Feet Are Showered": Village on shore of North Bentinck Arm west and north of the Neclestumoosy River.

tcqaqoa i: Owl.

[601] *tcai*: 1—Daughter, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for girls unrelated to the speaker.
2—Feminine suffix.

Tcetsacha: 1—One of the names of Mount *Nuqhalt* as chief.
2—Man who descended to Mount *Nuqhalt* in the beginning of time.

Tcetsuk: Supernatural name of bald eagle.

tcitsaalal: 1—Type of expansible house brought down from above by several of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
2—One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[825] *tcetsilma*: White dog with black and red face.

[824] *tcilcilalcum*: Pleasure walk.

*tcilt**: Cedar-bark.

[411] *tce e*: Sealing spear.

[825] *tcen*: Snake.

*Tcepelcle**: Mountain near the Dean River.

Tcepo: One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean River in the beginning of time.

[824] *tcicmaly*: Red cedar tree.

Tcewat: Locality on mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island, probably Knight Inlet.

tcewmaa'ata: Unidentified grape-like tuber.

Tcelkwq: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[342] *tcile*: Underground house with entrance and flue combined.

Tcila: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.

Tcilcaal: One of the first men to settle at *Nuqhalt* in the beginning of time.

[825] *tcimaa i*: Large clam-shell.

Tcimlaic: *Sacred* name of a *first* man.

Tcinelkaa: Lad mentioned in an ancient story.

tcipa: Fisher.

Tcinmalqaq, "The Sleep Giver": Name of a female shaman.

[601] *tci pma di ema*: Nephew's wife, term of indirect address.

tci pma di eici: Uncle's wife, term of indirect address.

Tcicmaal: Man mentioned in an ancient story of the upper Bella Coola valley.

Tcikaa: Celebrated Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

Tcil'inlya, "He of the Pests": Nickname given to a lad mentioned in an ancient story.

tcimili: Valley.

Tcawat, "Where the River Covers the Stones": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Tcaqwak: Locality on Fitzhugh Sound.

[824] *Tcacia*: Mountain in the Carrier country.

tcaakcumaly: Unidentified hollow-stemmed plant.

Tcaakcumalqa'a, "Where There Is Much *tcaakcumaly*": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

APPENDIX D

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Tsalt: River on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
Tsqumit: Mountain near Dean Channel.
Tsza-a: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
tsilan: To marry.
tsimsem: 1—Marriage in which the woman's relatives make the first proposal, especially one hurried owing to bereavement or other financial stringency in the man's family. [584]
2—Marriage without lengthy engagement.
tsisla: One having a voice like an eagle's.
Ts'qumiyaum, "A Holding": The arrangement by which a man's son-in-law gives him an "wife" an infant female relative in repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters. [583]
Ts'ets: Clover. [824]
Ts'ulala: Robin. [825]
Ts'uxwtem: Game played with bows and arrows. [411]
Ts'uxwmin: Arrow. [412]
tsyin: Adze. [825]
Tsxwma: Snow mud without handle for driving fish-net stakes. [586]
tu: Black bear. [825]
tsiyahum: 1—One of the *a'ulk* dances.
2—Ceremonial hold to shame a deserting husband or wife.
3—Name taken by an early *tsiyahum* dancer at Kimsquit.
tsitsu: Snail.
Tsiksmit: Bella Bella woman married by *Swanee* of Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Tsiksmitla: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Kwiyai* in the beginning of time.
2—Name acquired by one of the first men to settle at *Dean* in the beginning of time.
3—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Tsiksmitlaqa: Woman dwelling on the coast south of Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
tsitsuu-i: Knife of mountain goat horn. [412]
tsitsulk: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *ustay* is problematical. [825]
Tsiksilla: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tsiksi'ial: 1—Supernatural woman known to the people of Smith Inlet.
2—One of the first women to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tsu'ksem: Servant to the supernatural being *Nu'ulayak*.
Tsuwiks'ila: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tsqumi-ila: Supernatural woman resident in the land above. This word is said to be unrelated to *Tsqumit-la*, although a common origin seems probable.
Tsqumit-la: 1—Supernatural child resident in the land above.
2—Name acquired by a female child in the beginning of time. [824]
tsqin: Fish-hook.
tsqaqa: Correct term, in the language of Raven, for skull-cap worn by adolescent girls. See *skamen*.
tu'ewala: The pouring, by a shaman, of grease from two vessels on the fire as a means of curing the sick.
Tsuwau: One of the first women to settle in the Dean valley in the beginning of time.

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Thwumymid: Name acquired in the beginning of time by a Rivers Inlet man from a sea-lion.
[825] *tsukuddout*: Sardine.
Tsitmaratskla, "The Walking One": Supernatural name of the water ouzel.
tsitwuts: Song sung during Cannibal dance while the performers run from house to house.
[825] *tsima*: Mountain goat snow.
Tsiola: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stuce* in the beginning of time.
2—Wife of Mount *Nusdalt*, when in human form at the beginning of time.
Tsiscaplitte-a: One of the nine supernatural siblings, a woman who brings aid to those in sickness and is thus the initiator of shamans.
[825] *tsiscin*: Sea-lion.
Tsmusdimut, "Be Like a Person": Instruction given to a stick in the beginning of time. This designation has since been used as an ancestral name.
[821] *tsul*: 1—Moon.
2—The zenith.
[825] *tsululp*: Virulent skin disease.
tsupu-i: Cormorant.
Tsupu-ii, "Small Mound": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Tsupuiz, "Maligner" or "Defamer": A supernatural being.
tsu: 1—Gaff.
2—To cut wood for masks.
tsumap: "Cut!" Call used on second day of *kusiut* dances.
[823] *tsupulum*: Small trickle that flows from rocks near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel. The term is probably applied to other similar rivulets.
[415] *tsulai*: Water-tight basket.
tsuiu: Water-washed stump with smoved, radiating roots.
[824] *Tsuqu*: Region on the upper Kitlope River.
[482] *tsumt*: Tump-line.
tuku: Novel.
Tukuti: Raven's canoe in the beginning of time.
[825] *tulu*: Mink.
tumidjut, "He of the Big Family": Term used to describe a man with many descendants.
[583] *tup-a*: Synonym for *dzundzumum*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. This term is perhaps used in Kimsquit alone.
[825] *tupiuu*: 1—Fawn.
2—*Nusdzkmp* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[821] *Tpikua*: Star in the Great Bear.
tpuuj: Lower of the two beaters used in the preparation of cedar-bark.
Tpuuzdzu, "Facing": Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, synonymous with *Tsi-ia*.
[291] *tsuchuti*: Hat with flat top and broad brim.
tsuiu: Sunscreen.
Tsuiulitl: Kimsquit shaman mentioned in an ancient story.
Tsu-kmut: Bella Coola warrior living in the last century.
Tsulitu: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
Tsul: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Tsumkum: Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.
tsu-ti: Green barnacles on water-covered stones.
[825] *tsitsu*: Large woodpecker, species unidentified.

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Tsi-dis: Kithobe River.
Tsilmukis: Eagle that perched on top of a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time. [825]
Isima: Animal's entrails.
Isi-a: Note of the *kwakwa*, foretelling death. [763]
Isiseui: Cormorant, in Bella Bella language.
Isskkumm: Goods taken to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him. [586]
Tskwi: Rescoution Bay.
Tsilit, bald eagle: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley. [431]
2—Bald eagle. [825]
3—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Ina: Novice, either *kwaiut* or shaman.
Inattmem or *Inattlaia:* First night of a *kwaiut* dance.
Ishnkkimut: 1—Heavy coppers in *Xemqmu's* house.
2—Name obtained from these by a *Sisila* man in the beginning of time.
Ishi-kdimut: *Kusiutem* rite in which the performer's head appears to be pulled off. [415]
Isla: Closely woven basket of spruce roots.
Islaqumsis: Any act of an unclean nature which prevents a supernatural being from seeing the perpetrator. [784]
Isla: Presents distributed when a *nusek* initiate dances. They are provided by the donor "To Shield Our Eyes" from the *tsewinam* and serve to recompense the carpenters and others who have assisted in the rite. [431]
Isma: Belt. [465]
Isna: Nettle. [824]
Tsemilaks: Woman resident in the far north in the beginning of time.
Isqadjat: The giving of presents to the servants and associates of the donor of a potlatch in return for being served with food in a rude manner. [431]
Isqeat: Small woodpecker, species unidentified. [824]
Isqatka: Winter wren.
Isqmuk: Spawning sockeye salmon. [825]
Isskiks: Intangible *kwaiut* prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the genitalia. [424]
Isulkm: Prompter.
Tsumkiaks: One of the first women to settle at *Sualili* in the beginning of time.
Tsuskiiki: One of the first men to settle at *Tsmsil* in the beginning of time. [824]
Isuwatqs: Unidentified tree of which the bark was smoked. [825]
Isutskmqs: To grasp firmly with both hands, *archaic.*
Isxpsa-i: Trout, *plural.*
Isxa'ata'akmk: Ceremony resembling a potlatch given by a chief for the benefit of his fellow-villagers, especially during the year preceding his main rite.
Isxya, "What Is Good": Synonym for *Ahmtmmmem,* the repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]
Tsimsi-as: Synonym for *Nuxinkinuikm:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.
Isxwinam: 1—Masked figure, usually in crest form, which appears to *nusek* and *a'ali* initiates.
2—An appearance, that is, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.
Tsuklite: Supernatural hunter of mountain goats.

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*192 *Twalosdimut:* One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

twihmdimut, "A Coming up from Below into Plain Sight": Term used with reference to the obtaining of a call through the medium of Dark-Shade.

[424] *tsāmātl,* "Whence We Came": A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

*103 *Tsēltsik:* Old village near the head of Dean Channel, at the site of the present cannery on the opposite side of the fiord from Manitou Cannery.

Tsunpu-ioqim: Tree, inhabited by owls, behind the supreme god's house.

twunikwalotl: Space in a house between central fire and row of chiefs seated behind it.

U

U·sqāxus, "What Is Wanted Is Lacking": Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Alqālāxl* in the beginning of time.

W

Waāks: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuloli* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwulst* in the beginning of time.
4—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
5—Name of the Kimsquit River as chief.
6—*Sisook* name of a Kimsquit man.

[825] *wai·s:* 1—Cohoe salmon.
2—Name acquired by a man from cohoe salmon.

Waiuxum: Man who descended to the Clearwater River in the beginning of time.

Wakitmai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
2—Fraser River.

Wakwas: Village at Kwatna Inlet. This word is in the Bella Bella language.

Walqkitmai: One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.

[825] *wal·āsgia:* Lynx.

[586] *walikw':* Woman who has deserted her husband.

wakmptmm: To express a desire concerning the disposal of one's goods after death.

walicinu: "I go."

[824] *walilikwātsālātsālāts,* "The Most Potent of the Pond": Water-lily.

Wanqt: Name of *Smaoan*'s grandchild in the beginning of time.

Wanuq: 1—Rivers Inlet.
2—Collective term for the villages on its shores.

Waoaqslaix: Nusāxkāmx name of a Kimsquit man.

Waowal·is: Celebrated shaman, ~~central figure~~ in an ancient tale.

Waoyal·a: Tribal name of one of the Bella Bella-speaking groups.

Wa·put: Mountain near *Stuax.*

Wasila: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

waskusiutaix: Death in the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place.

[593] *was·nān·imutsts:* Mourning songs regarded as expressions of real, not ceremonial, grief.

[765] *wasonx^w wawstkloqosil:* Synonym for *sonx^w*: The sky.

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Wat·a: *Xuxais* woman living in the beginning of time.
wals: Dog. [825]
wewnic: Dog, archaic.
wa·xsia: Cape of yellow cedar-bark. [291]
waxwaxtsia: Brother or sister of grandparent.
Wiakai: One of the first women to settle at *Snuloli* in the beginning of time. [601]
Wiaqaii: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuux* in the beginning of time.
Wikwan·ekwla: Synonym for *Kwla*: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nusqalst* chief.
Wikwanutl: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
wina, vocative, winao: War-party.
Winās: Slave living at *Nusqalst* several generations ago.
winās di qak, "War-Party of the Ocean," or *winās di sā·ildjo·ts,* "War-Party of the Tides": Supernatural being.
Winwina: Supernatural being who captured birds and fish for the benefit of mankind.
Winwintmak: Supernatural being, perhaps identified with one of the warm winds.
winxta: Assistance rendered by the inhabitants of a town to a neighbouring settlement being attacked. [628]
Wipitpawakts: Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time. [726]
Wisamkilak: *Smooan*'s daughter-in-law in the beginning of time.
Wi'tālao: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Wilnlks: *Sisook* name of a Kimsquit man.
Wixas: Man who travelled to the Skeena River in the beginning of time.
Wixon: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
wl·a: *Kusiut* dance in which the nine supernatural siblings are summoned to earth.
Wlq: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Wlx: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
wlx: Cripple.

X

Xaitqalatl: Ancestral name of a *Tāl·io* man.
Xaiqts: Stream entering the Bella Coola from the north near *Nulkux.* [821]
Xai·utl: Continuous North Wind, anthropomorphized.
xak'loi·: Cry raised as each of the first spring salmon is brought ashore. [226]
Xālaiya: Step-daughter of Raven in the beginning of time.
xaqants: Great blue heron. [825]
Xas: Designation of a tribe, probably a branch of the Carriers, dwelling far to the south-east of the Bella Coola.
xāxuff: Canada goose.
xal·a: Root of *qāymāts,* an unidentified plant.
Xekalus: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Xekwotsaw·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xelitmai: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
xem: The successive rising of the sun from day to day. This word, which is common in derivatives, appears usually to be pronounced *xem* after *s.* [821]
Xemcua: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Snuloli* in the beginning of time.

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Xemlaix: One of the first men to settle at *Ḷomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
Xemtmm: Kusiut name of a *Slskistl* man.
Xemxemālatla: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Xemxemlaix: Sisook name brought from above in the beginning of time.
Xemxemtmm: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqalaxl* in the beginning of time.
[533] *xe·tla:* Boastful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.
Xedilkos: One of the first men to settle at *Ḷothnalos* in the beginning of time.
Xelāsu: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit woman. The designation is of Bella Bella origin.
[825] *ǵaga:* Marten.
[412] *ǵili:* Stone axe.
xlxul: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
[203] *Ximpdimut:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximxmlaix: A'alk man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximxmoslaix: Celebrated female shaman.
ǵinǵinās·i, plural, ǵinǵināsoksi: Little girl.
[821] *Xinǵines:* 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
[517] 2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.
Xixois: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
Xuximān·a, "Right Foot": *Stuix* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
Xuǵis: Mountain in the Carrier country.
xuxmānoās: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
xlāxtmm: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
xlāni: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
Xlikwals: Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[586] *xlokin·imut:* The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
Xmaxots: Locality below *Nusḷalst.*
[825] *ǵmǵmatsl:* Minnows.
[601] *ǵnes:* Woman, or wife in indirect address (*tci ǵnesisix:* My wife).
ǵnesāxta: Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
[614] *ǵnesdām* or *nuǵnesdām:* The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.
[423] *Xnutli:* Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
xokult: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
Xolāxwosem: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[785] *xoldjut:* Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[831] *Xomtsla:* Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Xomxomqa: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
Xonǵotām: Supernatural scoop-net fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
Xoqotlis: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

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xoxa: Kwakiutl term for presents distributed as "Eagle down."
ǫota: Scoop-net for catching salmon in rivers. [227]
ǫǫpanhǫta: Head-dress of eagles' tails worn by *kusiut* dancers.
xwanuil: Spring water. [292]
Xwantlo: Settlement in the Carrier country.
xwe-k': Cow parsnip. [824]
Xwelbon: Name obtained in the beginning of time from the Skeena people in whose language it is said to mean *whale.*
Xwinxwitsakumlaix: Shaman who obtained his power from Thunder.
Xwinumkila: Daughter of a Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
xwlxwulla: Wrestling.
Xwodjan·i, "The Crash": Name taken by one of the first settlers at *Nuilnx* in the beginning of time but long since changed to a *kusiut* designation.
xwonxwonm: 1—Hummingbird.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Älqälaxl* in the beginning of time. [825]
xwonxwontäl·aix: Puppet-patron in the form of a hummingbird.
xwopa·xts di siut: The concluding ritual of the *kusiut* season.
ǫwosan·i: Gambling game played with crabapple sticks. [525]
Xwoinkmis, "The One Whose Work Has Failed": Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
xwpintmak: The desertion of her husband by a wife. [586]

Y

Yäkotlis: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Yä·k"axwarma: Kimsquit man mentioned in an allegedly historical account. [576]
yao: "Hello!" "Hail!" or "Greetings!"
ye··: Exclamation having the significance of, "May you have a safe passage," said when a corpse is drawn through the roof.
Yeälos: One of the first men to settle at *Nutsqualt* in the beginning of time.
'Yeäxdji: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
yeaxwax: 1—Prerogative, tangible or intangible, which some *kukusiut* possess in addition to a dance.
2—Similar prerogative formerly displayed in *xsaok* rites.
yeix: 1—Call, that is, that which impels a *kusiut* to dance.
2—*Kusiut* whistle.
Ye'mdjalaos: Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
yeotla: Term, implying both wealth and good fortune, applied to a man able to give a memorial potlatch soon after the death of a relative.
yeyä'timut: Presents given by a prospective bridegroom to his future father-in-law. [431]
ye: Good, *adjective.* [584]
yeki: Mountain goat. [825]
Yel·äxlaix: Goose Island.
yehle: "All Right," cry used in a *kusiut* dance.
Yelhal·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Yelyelhuslaix: One of the first men to settle at *Älqälaxl* in the beginning of time.
yelkulmem: Bringing down of a call by means of the rite of *sawadjut.*
yellailaixl: Presents given by the bride's relatives to the groom's when they enter her house on the wedding day. [431] [585]

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[728] *yuhmax:* Peace ceremony.
Yekhin: Bella Coola carpenter living in the last century.
yen·imut: Ceremonial error.
[534] *Yentsänl:* House of the first settlers at *Sätlia* in the beginning of time.
yat·en: Rattle.
[425] *yat·imm:* The sending back of a name to the family of its original owners through a return marriage, or the proposal to do so, made by the relatives of the wife.
[589] [554] *yetsält*; *plural*, *yeetsält*; *vocative plural*, *yeetsält:* A woman who has attained an honourable position through being many times repurchased from her husband; virtually, a female chief.
Yelsqwikaiya: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
Yexasila: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
[825] *yexdimut:* Fire-holder carried by Thunder.
yexo'maitl: Old, female sea-lion.
Yexthin: Ancestral name of a *Sinxl* man.
Yexwomaitl: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Yulätimut: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[372] *yuhmta:* Sticks for making fire.
yuhälx: Promontory.
yu'pätl: The actual appearance of a performer at an *a'alk* dance during a potlatch.
Yuqwa·t: *ustämy* village.
Yuyuhmpl: Stone on the shore of Dean Channel believed to have been a man a long time ago.
Yuyulk"mai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Äiqälxl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuhli* in the beginning of time.

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Fish-hook
Fish-spear
Flag
Flattery
Food
Forest
Fortune
Fowl
Fox
Frog
Fruit
Fuel
Funeral
Furs
Gambling
Game
Gardening
Gift
Gold
Gossip
Grandchildren
Grandfather
Grandmother
Grandparents
Grandson
Grave
Grease
Greed
Grey-bear
Grey-hair
Grey-head
Grey-hound
Grey-land
Grey-man
Grey-mouse
Grey-rock
Grey-sea
Grey-sky
Grey-stone
Grey-tree
Grey-water
Grey-wind
Grey-wolf
Grey-wood
Grey-wood-pecker
Grey-wood-tick
Grey-wood-worm
Grey-wood-wren
Grey-wood-yellow
Grey-wood-yellow-bird
Grey-wood-yellow-bird-nest
Grey-wood-yellow-bird-nest-egg
Grey-wood-yellow-bird-nest-egg-shell
Grey-wood-yellow-bird-nest-egg-shell-fragment
Grey-wood-yellow-bird-nest-egg-shell-fragment-bone
Grey-wood-yellow-bird-nest-egg-shell-fragment-bone-marrow
Grey-wood-yellow-bird-nest-egg-shell-fragment-bone-marrow-fat
Grey-wood-yellow-bird-nest-egg-shell-fragment-bone-marrow-fat-oil
Grey-wood-yellow-bird-nest-egg-shell-fragment-bone-marrow-fat-oil-lamp
Grey-wood-yellow-bird-nest-egg-shell-fragment-bone-marrow-fat-oil-lamp-wick
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/For a Bella Coola-English vocabulary which includes place names, personal names, and names of spirits, gods, mythological characters and places, see category 116, pp. 573-630./

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/For information on the role of "heralds" in the winter ceremonial dances of the kusiut society see category 116, pp. 41-241./

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/For a discussion of Bella Coola songs and the text of songs see category 116, pp. 267-337./

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/The text of Bella Coola stories relating mythological and historical events will be found in category 116, pp. 386-517./

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/For songs and dialogue which accompany the making of string figures see category 116, pp. 543-567./

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/Native accounts of warfare between the Bella Coola and neighboring tribes will be found in category 116, pp. 346-377./

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/For a discussion and description of the winter ceremonial dances see category 796./

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/For a discussion of the kusiut society, including its ritual and origin myths, see category 116, pp. 1-271./

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/For texts and commentaries on songs used in burial rites see category 116, pp. 305-331./

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/For a description of the ritual of specific dances of the kusiut society see category 116, pp. 41-271./

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/For information on sanctions employed to discipline members of the kusiut society see category 116, pp. 1-266./

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/The locus of political power and authority appears to be the hamatsa society. For information on this secret society, its disciplining of members, and its relations with the uninitiated see category 116, pp. 1-266./

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[title page]

St. Smith. E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NEA Bellacoola NEA

SYMPATHETIC MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE BELLACOOLA

By MARLOW S. SMITH

MANY OF the Bellacoola Indians today believe in sympathetic magic and witchcraft, after over a hundred years of contact with white men. Most of them live within hearing of the bells of the mission church, and the government school. Not a few of the men take logging contracts; some of them build and operate motor boats; many of them join the fishing fleets of the salmon canneries; most of the women work in the canneries; and all deal at the white men's stores.

The Bellacoola lived on the heads of the long inlets half way up the Pacific Coast of Canada and in the tributary Bella Coola valley. Now, numbering perhaps two hundred and fifty, they, with the exception of a few families, are concentrated on one reservation at the mouth of the Bella Coola river. The Bella Coola valley has been called the Doorway of Canada. This was where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada overland, reached the sea.

Aboriginally, the Bellacoola were of the North Pacific Coast culture of Swanton, which is characterized by the extensive use of red cedar and its products, particularly salmon, the making of graceful, sea-going canoes, each hewn from a single cedar, the erection of large rectangular houses made of cedar planks, with carved house posts and totem poles, lack of pottery, and superiority in carpenter work, carving, and painting. This culture belongs to the Northwest area, but the Bellacoola were marginal to a certain extent. The art of the area was their best known from the paintings and carvings of the totem poles, largely of conventionalized animal forms. The life centered around a very highly developed social organization, an extensive and powerful financial system, and property rights to names, rituals and houses. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. They

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are apparently more recent comers to the coast than their neighbors and have not fully adopted the coast culture.

The following examples of sympathetic magic and witchcraft, collected during 1920 to 1923 among the Bellacoola, illustrate the extent of their belief in this direction. 114 121

Most of this information was given me by the late Captain Schooner, born about 1848, and Joshua Woody, born about 1854, both apparently full-blood Bellacoola Indians. Neither of them spoke English and both gave me the data in Chinook jargon, which I have endeavored to interpret and arrange in logical order, but have tried to render it as nearly as possible the Indian mode of thought, feeling and expression. Schooner was a pagan gentleman. Joshua has great knowledge of plants and animals, and is a Bellacoola scientist, but his great ambition and jealousy, combined with his dishonesty in giving up his own people's customs and adopting a very thin veneer of Christianity, color his statements relating to beliefs, although his plant and animal data have always withstood cross examination and comparison with the data supplied by other Indians. Alec Davis and Mrs. Willie Black told of the road. They do not talk English and spoke me in Chinook jargon. Only the accounts about the grizzly bear skin and the bracelet of beaver skin, which were given me by Pete Stuwaiqen, were told in English. 15 [141] [19]

The material was not given as accounts of magic or witchcraft, but rather as part of the data regarding the properties of plants and animals of which I was endeavoring to collect as complete information as possible. 114 121

Joshua, who is even younger than Captain Schooner, remembers the time when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in the Bella Coola valley, and when they saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently these men remember the old Bellacoola beliefs before they were much, if at all, affected by European ideas. 114 115

It will be noticed that magic among the Bellacoola is considered of two kinds: for beneficial and injurious purposes, and that the materials giving effect to it are of both plant and animal origin. 787 794

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759 The beneficial purposes include: making a child grow up to
78 be a good dancer, industrious, a swift berry picker, or a strong
856 man; curing lung trouble; making the river crude where wanted; and two ways of stopping rain. The injurious purposes include: two ways of making a person grow up to be a thief; the causing of craziness and quarrelsomeness and the three ways of causing death.

754 The materials and actions used include: ashes of aspen leaves;
78 a dead toad, used with hair, with a red cedar bark face wiper,
824 and with hot pieces of thimble berry shoots which were accidentally dropped while being eaten; ashes of a yellow jacket's nest;
825 a living raven with phlegm; beaver paws, in two instances; a skin bracelet from a beaver's foreleg; a dead wood-rat; a dead mouse; a grizzly bear's skin; a living red squirrel with a bit of aspen fringe; setting fire to a wood-rat's house; and poking an ant hill.

78 To make a person a good dancer the ashes of the burned leaves
856 of the aspen or trembling poplar were said to be useful, but Jackson said this may have been a joke. The Bellacoola Indians say the leaves dance. They never say that they tremble. When
856 a baby was born, if the parents talked about it and the father desired that the baby grow up to be a good dancer, the mother or father got the leaves, burned them and put the ashes on the baby's hands, knees and elbows. When telling of this Jackson held his hands with the finger tips up and moved them as the Bellacoola do in dancing. Both rich and poor were danced.

78 A baby girl would grow up to be industrious, it was believed,
825 if the warm finds of a recently dead beaver were applied to her.
824 The Bellacoola apparently observed the great industry of the beaver.

To make a baby girl grow up to be a fast berry-picking woman, the ring of skin from between two cuts around a beaver's foreleg was put on her wrist and was left on until it were off.

To make a boy grow up to be a strong man, a skin of the [illegible]

755 For phlegm on the lungs, more permanent than a simple cold,
825 the patient expectorated in something and some one recently mixed the fresh phlegm with salmon eggs and put the mixture

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out for the ravens to eat. This was done four times, and if a raven ate it, the patient recovered, according to Captain Schooner's belief. As the call of the raven sounds somewhat like a person affected with phlegm in the throat, this may be a case of sympathetic magic, at any rate it is one of witchcraft.

(314)

To make the river erode at a certain place in order to break a log jam, a beaver's foot was buried in each of several spots in the place.

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A continuous rain would cease, and the sun would come out, it was said, if the people set fire to a wood-rat's house.

When it rained too much the Bellacoola Indians poked down an ant hill and said, "Give us warm sunshine." They believed this would bring results, but now that Joshua is a Christian he says he does not believe it and says it is useless play talk.

Bad boys or girls, but not adults, would take a dead mouse, warm it over a fire, and rub the warmed mouse on the hands of a baby. This made the baby steal when it grew up. The so-called stealing habits of the mouse were supposed to be transferred to the child.

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The still warm body of a freshly killed wood-rat was used in the same way to make a baby, boy or girl, "crazy," and grow up to be a constant thief. The notorious habits of the wood-rat, as well as those of the mouse, were evidently well recognized by the Bellacoola.

To make people crazy, the red squirrel had to be properly used by a shaman and then it possessed strong power. One woman who had been made crazy in this way died in 1887. She did not like the shaman and he did not like her. He stole her apron. She was crazy. He took it into the forest and performed witchcraft because he wanted to spoil her life by making her crazy. He caught a red squirrel alive, possibly in a little basket. He had a box called a "bad box," in which he kept his things of evil power. He put some of the fringe of her apron around the red squirrel and let it run her crazy. The woman then became crazy and sometimes fell down, but part of the time she seemed well. My Indian informant, Joshua, had seen her. This example of sympathetic

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magic probably originated from observing the many very erratic and apparently purposeless movements of the red squirrel.

When one wished to cause the child of one's enemy to grow up to be a quarrelsome person, a yellow jacket's nest was burned and the ashes were rubbed on the face, hands, and arms of the child. When the child grew up, it was believed, he or she would fight with everyone. The yellow jacket's natural defense of its nest is interpreted as quarrelsome, even by white people.

The toad was a powerful medicine for the bad bee used in witchcraft.

To make a man or woman die of cruelness, one of the hairs of the person's head was put in the body cavity of a disembowled toad.

To make a person's face swell and suppurate until death came, the little pieces of softened red cedar bark used to clean the person's face were put in the body cavity of a disembowled toad. The idea underlying this was probably the reproduction of the warts of the toad on the face of the person.

To make a person die, a piece of the young shoot of a thimble berry, hair by that person while eating, was put in the mouth of a toad. Death was supposed to take place in half an hour.

One very old man, John by name, boasts of having killed seven people by means of his bad bee used in witchcraft, especially of having caused the death of Mr. John Clayton, who was the first white man to remain long in this area, having kept the Hudson's Bay store at Bella Coola, and later a store of his own, but who died far away from Bella Coola in 1909.

Mrs. Samuel King who died in 1913 was said to have been poisoned by Willie Mack. Her father, Captain Johnson, was said to have stated that Willie would die in July on the anniversary of her death. Willie Mack died in the summer of 1913. Captain Johnson died a few days later. He was said to understand understand witchcraft thoroughly. It was said that people often cut off the collars of Willie Mack's shirts. Willie Mack's father was too great a chief so that people were ashamed, and consequently killed Willie by means of witchcraft with something in a bad bee.

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Charlie West, a Carrier Indian from Ulkatcho, believed that Mrs. Samuel King had been killed by Willie Mack's witchcraft. Alexander Chinnow, a Bellacoola Indian, believed that Willie Mack had been killed by Captain Schooner's witchcraft in revenge for his daughter's death, and that Captain Schooner died of witchcraft on the part of Willie Mack.

That Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to visit the Bellacoola, performed acts of witchcraft on the beach, was strongly asserted by Indian, who would not believe me that Mackenzie was probably taking observations, determining his geographical position.

Ethnology Museum of Canada,
Ottawa.

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ETHNOLOGY AMONG THE BELLACOOLA AND CARRIER INDIANS

By HARLAN I. SMITH

B 1/31

THE Bellacoola Indians live in the Norway of Canada, about midway of the Pacific Coast, where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada, reached the sea—that is, about half way between Vancouver and Prince Rupert. Their country is around the head of the bitter about sixty miles in from or east of Ocean Falls and the usual route of the steamers up and down the coast. This inland passage is with few exceptions protected by the outer fringe of islands. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. The people are of the typical North Pacific Coast culture, characterized by the extensive use of red cedar and its products, especially salmon, large houses of split cedar planks with carved house posts, and totem poles, and houses mapping crests flag out of cedar. They were expert carpenters and had a peculiar art, especially in painting and carving, largely of conventionalized animal forms—a valuable contribution to the art of the world. This art may become of great financial value to the manufacturers of this country as well as a magnet capable of exploitation to bring to tourists with money from foreign lands. These Indians had a very highly developed social organization, many dances and rituals, and a complex financial system popularly known as the potlatch.

B 1/35

C 1/31 [1/34]

The Carrier Indians of Ulkatcho, on the other hand, live in the high plateau of the semi-arid region, perhaps 70 miles northeast of the Bellacoola. They differ from the Bellacoola in language, appearance, and culture perhaps as much as do the Turks from the English. They had a less realistic art, which was largely geometric and pictographic, highly conventionalized and symbolic. Their social organization and financial system also were less highly developed.

B 1/36

From time to time during 1920-1922 inclusive, I have secured from both these peoples data about their use of materials. Part

of these data refer to insects, and may be of interest to entomologists, although my spelling of Indian words is very problematical, because some of the words I can neither hear nor make, and I am unable to record adequately many of those that I can hear. The data here given are preliminary to a complete working over of my notes, but are believed to be nearly complete.

Insects apparently were not so well observed by the Ojibwayas as were useful mammals and plants, the stinger of the bumble-bee, for instance, being supposed to be in its mouth. Five insects had names, that is, mainly those which were used or which troubled the Indians. Insects were not used for food, and honey was unknown until after the coming of the white man. The head of the gold-fly was used as a pattern in painting designs, the wing of the yellow jacket in sympathetic magic or witchcraft, and "fly spit" was said to be good for warts. They had a story about the bumble-bee.

Among the Ojibwayas also observation of insects was weaker than that of mammals and plants, and they apparently had names for only a few insects, those which troubled them. Not bees gathered nor method of taking prey were known. Insects were of no use to the Ojibwayas whatever. No instance was observed of an Indian covering himself with a bunting fly held in his mouth. They employed smudges, fish oil, grease of the rattlesnake, and blankets of cow parsnip with oil to protect themselves from mosquitoes, black flies and no-see-ums, and smoke to protect tents from flies.

The fish lice, among the Ojibwayas, is called [illegible]. It is said to be common in Ojibwayas but that it was unknown that there was no story about it. My informant voluntarily showed me the pike made by the larvae of this insect and, striking aside for this purpose, demonstrated the well-known method of taking to prey.

The grasshopper (Pokopinsi), that makes a noise by rubbing its wings together when it flies, was called [illegible], among the Ojibwayas.

"Fly spit," that is the material surrounding a nymph of a spittle insect, also known as a frog hopper (Cercopidae), is said

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

A fly which does not bite, perhaps the house fly among the Bulkeeds, was called Mamnish, and was said to lay its eggs on fish and fish eggs. The place called Nemmenish was so named because the people thought they saw flies and they said mamnish, but when the supposed flies fell they were seen to be beads.

Among the Ulatchs, this fly was called Arthus, and was said to lay its eggs on clothes. To keep off flies of all kinds and mosquitoes the Shamans of the cow parsnip, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx, called Yuan in Ulatchs, were put in all of the cabins that a sick child and the mixture was put on the body. Every food that was cooked was smoked so that flies would keep away from it. This secret used as fish bait.

The Gad-fly, *Ahmaw* sp.? probably *Gymnomia* G. G. of the family *Tabanidae*, which is commonly called horsefly, is numerous when the leaves come down to Bella Coola from the interior. Among the Bulkeeds it is called Tilt lay coil. It is said to lay its eggs in the backs of the earlbeas in July, and these hatch into "worms." The eye and eyes, being pretty, were used long ago as a pattern for a design which was painted on the house. There was no name for this fly.

Among the Ulatchs, this gad-fly is called Chu ca, and a smaller one is called Chu cha yun, yun signifying small. Once I was told that no medicine was used to keep off the gad-fly, but no mention occurs that cottonwood gum with oil was used. Apparently for its own amusement, my Ulatchs Indian informant held one of these flies by the abdomen inside his mouth and made it hum.

The black, white black biting fly, horse fly (*Gymnomyia* sp.?) apparently considered as one, are called Tickple and in Bulkeeds. They are called Chu cha yun in Ulatchs yun signifying small.

The black fly, *Simuliidae*, among the Bulkeeds is called Tiam cum cum ch co ch hell.

Among the Ulatchs it is called Wiachs, while Tah is the name of black fly, mosquitoes, and no-see-ums. All these were kept off with a smoke smudge made with a fire of any kind of wood on which one put such things as grass, wet, or cotton wood,

B C [illegible] or grass. Black flies were sometimes kept off by putting oil of [illegible] or tree on the face and hands. Cottonwood gum with oil was also used for this purpose.

The No-see-um among the Bellacoola is called Skaqk or al ka.

C [illegible] Among the Ulkatcho the no-see-um is called Whelkuil and it is said that the bite of this little fly causes swelling and sickness. It was kept off in the same manner as the black fly.

Mosquitoes, Cokulsin, among the Bellacoola, were called Pilim.

C [illegible] Among the Ulkatcho they were kept off with smoke in the same manner as the black fly, and with ointments of the cow parsnip in oil in the same manner as flies. It is not clear if the gum of the cottonwood was or was not used for this purpose, as it was to keep off no-see-ums.

C [illegible] Among the Ulkatcho "worms" were not used as fish bait.

Victoria Memorial Museum,
Ottawa, Canada.

[illegible]

CANADA

DEPARTMENT OF MINES

[illegible]

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CANADA

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[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[Title Page]

[illegible] SECTION OF THE BELLA COOLA AND VEDDER-RIVERS, THE CHUKS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

By Stefan J. Smith

INTRODUCTION

This paper describes the entirely oralcy of two tribes of British Columbia, the Bella Coola of Bella Coola valley, the Chukes of Chuckes River, the Chukes are live in the central inland belt of British Columbia, and the Bella of the Southwest of Chuckes River. Among the Bella Coola the societies are largely family associations formed by a few individuals only. In fact, each family has some different ancestry for the same specific ancestors but this is not the case among the other tribes. Everything related primarily with largely into the structure of Chuckes, but are considered here in this report. It was impossible for the Indians to disparage many of their ancestry, so that the distributions given here are in many cases problematic.

Most of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1938-39, by Julius Nicely, apparently a full-blood Bella Coola Indian, born about 1870. He did not speak English to give the many in Chinook jargon, which has been interpreted and arranged in logical order. Julius is an Indian educated with great knowledge of the local plants and animals. He remembers when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in Bella Coola valley and when the Christians and only one other white man lived near to him. Consequently he was good the old Bella Coola customs which have in two ways affected by European ideas.

Some of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1938-39 by the late Francis Sampson, also apparently a full-blood, born about 1870, who died the Chinook jargon. Also Charlie Alexander Clayton, Lucie Hall, and other Bella Coola Indians likewise gave information and corroboration.

Most of the information relating to the Southern Carrier Indians of Chuckes was secured during 1938-1939 from Charlie Wren (also known Charlie or Hawkeyes Charlie, a native of that place, born about 1870). Charlie speaks the peculiar form of broken or pidgeon English, commonly employed for communication between the whites and the Carrier and Chilcotin Indians of this region.

The information about the Sheet and the Southern Carrier of Chuckes is from data that were kindly furnished by Mr. D. Jenness.

The information relating to the Chukes has access to 1938-39 from the late John Prudes and Abraham Prudes of Chuckes, John Prudes and Jack Sebastian of Chuckes, with additions and corroboration from a few others all of Chuckes Indians apparently full-blood. The information was secured mainly in English, although Abraham Prudes used also the Chinook jargon.

The method the notes employed was to submit questions of the chiefs to the informants and publish their meaning of their use. All the information thus obtained only the mentioned persons has been accepted here. The plants were later identified by Mr. H. D. Skeels of the National Museum, Ottawa.

POLYPODIACEAE, FERN FAMILY

Polypodium vulgare L., Polypody, Fukaatsu Swan Fern

Sioux Indian: Sores—sometimes mixed with leaves of the red cedar (*Thuja plicata* Don) or with other medicinal roots which the informant has forgotten—boiled, and the warm decoction taken internally for pains in the stomach, but not for vomiting or diarrhoea. Pulver on smoke use a pungative.

Roots chewed for coughs were chewed.

Southern Cheyenne: Dog used.

Asplenium ruta-muraria Sugr., Lady Fern

Sioux Indian: Little roots chewed off, from five to ten minutes, mixed or done with roots or branches of the current (*Ribes hudsonianum* Richards. var.) boiled strongly, but for a short time only, and the decoction used as a wash for sore eyes.

Southern Cheyenne: Dog used.

Asplenium spleniomanes Sw., Spleen Fern

Sioux Indian: Root taken raw to neutralize poisoning from eating several kinds of mushrooms in the early part of the summer.

Fern, species unknown

Southern Cheyenne: Root boiled and the decoction taken internally for worms.

Gilmore: The large, round, green rootstock, but not the rootlets, mixed with roots of Indian Ipecac (*Gillenia trifoliata* (Linn.) and devil's club (*Fatsia horrida* Sm. K. and H.), a little gum of wood pine (*Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.) or ponderosa spruce (*Picea ambrosiana* Carr), and root of devil's cabbage (*Lycoctonum barbatum* Nuttall), mashed a little, put pulled in a bag or sheet, which is brought to a boil. Also used for dysentery, and as a plaster on the chest for hemorrhage of the lungs.

OPHIOGLOSSACEAE, GRAPE FERN FAMILY

Botrychium dissectum L., Cutleaf Grape Fern

Southern Cheyenne: Inserted in the nose to cause bleeding and cure headache.

TAXACEAE, YEW FAMILY

Taxus brevifolia Nutt., Yew

Sioux Indian: Branches with leaves boiled, and the decoction taken internally for the lungs. Pulver a pungative and an emetic.

E. Smith. E-9 (1930-1933)[illegible] NEB Bulletin NEB
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CUPRESSAE, PINE FAMILY

Juniperus communis L., *Juniper*

Folk Uses: Roots, leaves, branches and bark boiled, and the decoction taken internally as often as desired for many ailments, including a cough from the lungs, and pain in the stomach. Bathed a purgative say an emetic.

Southern Carrier: Branches boiled, and the vapor inhaled for headache and pain in the chest.

Northern Carrier: Tips boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative, also for a cough.

Juniperus sp.

Ottawa: Entire plant, including roots and berries, boiled for a day, and the decoction, when cool, taken internally for many ailments, including hemorrhage and kidney trouble. A purgative and diuretic.

Thuja plicata Don, Red Cedar

Folk Uses: Tree with bark used to bind up wounds, and to cover positions of false bighorn (*Ovis canadensis* Nels.) and of tail bighorns (*Ovis canadensis* nelsoni L.).

Leaves, sometimes with the gum-resinous cones, boiled, and the hot decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach. Bathed as emetic and a purgative.

Leaves powdered by pounding, mixed with a little cold water and taken internally for pain in the stomach, also externally for coughs and internal pains, as heart trouble, rheumatism, swollen neck, and pain in the stomach. (See also Polypody, page 49.

Ottawa: Bite used.

Chamaecyparis nootkatensis (Lamb) Spach, Yellow Cypress, Yellow Cedar

Folk Uses: A little with bark used to cover positions of false bighorn (*Ovis canadensis* Nels.) and of tail bighorns (*Ovis canadensis* nelsoni L.).

Pinus monticola Dougl., Western Pine, Lone Pine

Folk Uses: Gum applied to cuts.

Gum chewed and applied as broken skin.

Gum on the ends of branches, collected in November, December, and January, boiled and the decoction taken internally for "consumption."

Gum—like that of ponderosa species (page 51) and western larch (page 51)—mixed with the boiled shoots and leaves, or the dried and pulverized bark, of false bighorns (page 49), and applied as a poultice (sometimes spread on red cotton cloth) on the chest for heart trouble, and to the arms for rheumatism. Around the skin which was at three days, but was sometimes left on as long as two weeks.

Southern Carrier: One dozen bulbs, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach. Essential the decoction made from the bark of the roots (page [illegible]), or from the root dozen and bark of the highest spines (page [illegible]), but the last-mentioned are different most effective.

Northern Carrier: Usually due mixed with large vessels (one of the "British Columbia plant" (Prince [illegible]), the inside bark of the wild gooseberry (Rose [illegible]), bark of the mountain dogwood (Cornus [illegible] Nuttall), the bark pulp of raspberry canes (Rubus [illegible]), stems of the "raspberry" (Thimble raspberry, Western raspberry Nuttall), and the inner bark of the wild rose (Rose [illegible]), placed in a vessel holding two gallons of water, boiled down to a half decoction, strained, and bottled. Drink one tablespoonful taken, as needed and warm, for constitutional weakness or paralysis, or if the body was covered with sores.

Eyes diseased by heating a green piece of glue (no?) painted on the eye to remove white scum and to cure sore blindness.

Others: Flesh covered and the saliva swallowed for a cough.

Others: Some bark (scraped from the wood) with a bare scraper when the outer bark (of bark removed) outer bark for food and as a blood purifier. Purgent the body to feel bad as bare to as bear.

Shavings of the yellow cedarwa (Indian food after removal of the bark bulbs), the decoction placed in oil, and taken internally as a purgative and diuretic for many serious ailments, including gonorrhoea. Said to produce beneficial results in "consumption."

Young needles (plucked in June and eaten as a purgative and diuretic.

For use with a lens, see page [illegible].

[illegible] Wound Pus, Bumps Pus

Pelle Cedar: Bark of root or of stem bulbs, and the decoction taken internally every day for tuberculosis and stomach trouble. Said to have cured many cases of tuberculosis.

Gum from bark (Indian food on young trees method), mixed with mountain goat tallow, and taken internally for sore throat, also placed on a bad sores and eyes.

Young green leaves bulbs, mixed with bark of skunk cabbage (Symplocarpus foetidus Salisb.) gathered in October, or the bulb gathered in April, gets, dried on top of the house, roasted, mixed with a small quantity of slightly roasted roots of the sun parsnip (Frasera speciosa Douglas Nuttall), one or two ounces of the green bark of the black cottonwood (Populus trichocarpa T. and G.), and then on the outside of bark underside all placed in small sun dry, then bulbs and bark in a box for a bad gathered. Children (children) said to be sore eyes to be prepared.

Southern Carrier: Two and for medicine, for bowels not diagnosed.

Chilcotin: Six each.

(6)

Allow up:

Feathers (large): Dark bulbul to moist and the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

Cow meat as an ointment on wounds, and especially on bones.

Albino: Cow applied to wounds.

Albino: Bibi bone bark, spread from the trunk of the tree, after removal of the outer bark, taken internally for constipation.

Cow from the bark (Ghana) taken internally as a purgative and diuretic for "homosexuality", gonorrhoea, and sexual abuse (bites of) insects. Applied externally to cuts and sores, especially the sores of gonorrhoea.

The young sores, obtainable in August, dried sprays, crushed, and used for the same purposes as the gum from the bark (Ghana).

See also item, page 40.

Pseudomonas aeruginosa Bibi, Tomato Fly

Bibi Fudu: Cow bulbul and taken internally, while warm, as a diuretic for gonorrhoea.

Cow spread on and under bark applied to cuts. (The informant said that although gum of scrub plum (see page 40), baobab (see page 41), and Gabbard spores (see page 6) were good, Douglas Bi gum made cuts worse.)

Cow mixed with English (Dutch) oil or if that was not available, collection oil, taken, two spoonfuls at a time, with warm water, as an emetic and purgative for colds, flatulence, gonorrhoea, constipation, intestinal colds and diarrhoea.

Southern Cameroon: Not used.

Albino: Not used.

Tangy Intermediate (Dut) Bark, Wharton Diseases, and Tangy Intermediate Can, Wharton Diseases

Bibi Fudu: Leaves dried and applied to bones.

See also scrub plum (page 40).

Cow treated and applied to cuts. Dry bulbul for a diuretic for gonorrhoea.

Burning twigs applied to the skin for various internal ailments.

Southern Cameroon: Not used.

Albino: Not used.

Plane deciduous Can, Tomato Sweep

Bibi Fudu: Tips of small, hot out of bulb, sprouts mixed with the sweep (Bibi Gnamonia, Dogo), white bamboo (Dogo, another Bunda bark), and crushed bibi (Dogo and spread of garden monitors) (Gymnarchus niloticus Bibi), boiled and taken internally for gonorrhoea.

Bee from the pulled scrub taken in doses of two half a cup to a cupful on a baseline from May to August.

[illegible]

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Salix Sericeolanata Hook., Woolly

Folk Use to: Pulled inner bark and the dust of *Salix lucinda* Bonpl. for sore; but charred from the stick and used for diarrhoea.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gibbons: Not used.

Salix sp., Willow

Silver: Young willow charred and the ashes applied to emerged sores.

White pondbery tops charred for a cough.

Populus tremuloides Michx., Aspen, Trembling Poplar

Folk Cure: A quantity of bark from the roots boiled, and the decoction taken internally from seven to ten times a day for gonorrhoea with hemorrhage from the urethra. A very bitter decoction, said to be a good remedy that stopped the hemorrhage.

Southern Carrier: Bark used instead of Gibbons spruce bark (page 51) to make a decoction for pain in the stomach. Considered inferior to the spruce bark.

Silver: Bark pulverized by pounding, moistened with water, and applied as a paste to wounds.

Bark scraped, scrapings steeped in hot water, and the decoction taken internally for worms. Caused a steel immediately.

Gibbons: Bark of roots charred or smoked and put on cuts.

Bark alone boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative. Not as emetic.

Populus wislizenii T. and G., Bigtooth Cottonwood

Folk Cure: Leaves, say to fifteen years old, from the lower leaves lying rotting on the ground, boiled, and the decoction used as a bath, the patient sitting in it up to his neck for about two hours to ease pain in the body, not rheumatism. A hot stone added from time to time, and the bath repeated the next day.

The body with their nails boiled and the decoction used as a hair wash. See also white fir (page 63).

Half a capful of buds, plucked some time between December and March, mixed with two tubs of raw parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.), a half capful of buds of mountain alder (*Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt.), and a little water, smashed, and applied warm, but smashed, as a poultice for pains in the lungs or like the decoction. Said to effect a cure in two days, but harmful if left on longer.

See also western fern (page 62).

Southern Carrier: Body with their nails boiled for one or two hours, and the decoction taken internally for coughs and lung affections.

Buds from the buds applied to the face as a cosmetic, or, with the addition of oil, to small scratches, black flies and gnattes.

Roots and bark not used; buds are boiled to make a hair wash.

Northern Carrier: Green roots charred to a pulp and applied to wounds to stop bleeding.

Inside bark boiled and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

Gibbons: Cottonwood bark boiled and the roots mixed with bear grease for a hair pomatum.

Roots, barks, and seeds not used.

WITHACHAR

Myrica Cerifera L., Sweet Gale

Folk Uses: Decoction, secured at any time of the year, pounded with their bark, boiled, and the decoction taken internally for gonorrhoea. A diuretic. The decoction, which was kept in a tin made of red cedar wood with a little wine to keep out the dark, caused in two or three days and twenty unclean.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

WITHACHAR, BUSCH FAMILY

Abies alcalicola (Eng.) Sarg., Cedar Acres

Folk Uses: Cones used as a remedy for some unspecified complaint.

Abies mexicana Nutt., Mexican Acres

Folk Uses: Cones used as a remedy for some unspecified complaint.

See also bark mentioned (page 84).

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gibbons: Pastilles within crushed, and the mass eaten raw as a laxative.

Pastilles within and shavings eaten raw, or also boiled in water and the decoction taken internally three times a day, as a diuretic for gonorrhoea. Said to effect a cure in one week.[1]

Abies rubra Sang., Red Acres

Folk Uses: Bark boiled, and a cupful of the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

Southern Carrier: Sap applied to cuts. Not used for a medicinal decoction.

Northern Carrier: Inside bark ground, steeped in water, and injected with a syringe made from the wing of a bird, for bilousness.

Gibbons: Bark and roots boiled for sheep ticks and the decoction drunk in the morning for a cough.

Bark from the stem, but not from the roots, scraped, mixed with water, and the infusion taken internally, as an emetic and purgative, for headache and many other maladies.

WITHACHAR, WITTLE FAMILY

Cretes Lyelli Wats., Wiscasset Berries

Folk Uses: Used for a form of paralysis where the patient had been unable to walk for a long time. Drinks among daily, causing urine and gradual revival of sensation. In one case said to have effected a cure in ten days.

See also western dock (page 84).

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gibbons: Entire plant boiled, and the decoction taken internally for many diseases, including hemorrhage and bladder troubles.

Bringing not used.

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[1] Gibbons informant stated that the Tongchaw of the area, with a description of [illegible] used as an emetic, purgative, and diuretic, and he had the Tongchaw name for it [illegible].

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Tsimshian, NES

ARISTOLOCHIACEAE, DUTCHMAN'S PIPE FAMILY

Asarum caudatum Lindl., Wild Ginger

Bella Coola: Boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting.

Boiled, and applied externally for headache, intestinal pains, and pain in the loins.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

POLYGONACEAE, BUCKWHEAT FAMILY

Rumex acetosella Wats., Wiscous Dock

Bella Coola: Roots roasted for a short time in a hole in the earth among the ashes of a fire, covered with earth, mashed, and applied to painful as a poultice for boils. Both leaves and roots used, according to another informant, and the poultice applied to wounds as well as boils.

Leaves used for a sweat bath for pains similar to rheumatism all over the body. Stones were heated, a little cold water spread over them, and leaves spread on the mass; or else the leaves were spread on hot ashes. The patient sat or lay naked directly on the leaves, and was covered with blankets. Western Hemlock (*Tsuga Heterophylla* Sarg.), small branches of black cottonwood (*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.) with the leaves on them, or the small kelp found on rocks were sometimes used when leaves of the western dock could not be obtained.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

LORANTHACEAE, MISTLETOE FAMILY

Arceuthobium campylopodum Piath., Dwarf Mistletoe

Bella Coola: Boiled, and decoction taken as a potent medicine for hemorrhage of the lungs.

Southern Carrier: Boiled, and decoction taken freely for hemorrhage from the mouth, tuberculosis of the lungs, and consumption.

SYMPHORACEAE, WATERLILY FAMILY

Symphoricarpos polymorphus (Hooker.) Gray, Trailing Snowberry

Bella Coola, old custom: Used in a magical way for pain in all parts of the body. A rope as many times as long as a man's leg was cut from the bark of a pole with a hatchet; pole sharpened like a shovel. A hollow was made in it, stones placed in the mouthfuls, and hot stones added. The stones were changed four times, after which the patient drank one or two mouthfuls of the water. He repeated the dose each day for four days. To be effective the rope had to be thrown back into the water, not on the ground.

Present custom: Root boiled twelve hours, and decoction taken internally for pain in any part of the body, such as "consumption", rheumatism, heart disease, and gonorrhoea. Considered good for the blood. Not used as a diuretic, or for diarrhoea, constipation, or vomiting.

Gitksan: Infusion of scrapings of inner root (or according to another informant, heart of root, boiled) taken internally for hemorrhage of the lungs and as a consumptive.

RANUNCULACEAE, BUTTERCUP FAMILY

Anemone globosa Nutt. (A. multifida Poir.), Wind-Flower

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Plant, except roots, boiled and decoction taken internally for any sickness. Leaves of crushed leaves inhaled for cold in the head or lungs; for this purpose leaves sometimes placed in water and heated.

Gitksan: Squeezed juice in sweat bath for rheumatism. A decoction of the plant sometimes used for the same purpose.

Trautvetteria grandis Nutt., False Bronchus

Bella Coola: Roots pounded in a little water, and the resulting juice, covered with a little soft bark of the red or yellow cedar, applied as a poultice to boils and left on for half a day or a day. Said to promote suppuration and opening of the boil, but to cause such intense burning that it could not be applied to children. Considered less strong than the tall buttercup (page 57), but, like it, preferred to the red paintbrush (page 81), which was used in the same way.

Thalictrum occidentale Gray, Meadow Rue

Gitksan: A small piece of the root chewed, and some of the juice swallowed, for headache, eye trouble, and sore legs. Considered phlegm and possibly conducted the circulation of the blood.

Ranunculus uncia L., Tree Bronchus

Bella Coola: Roots used as a poultice for boils in the same way as those of the false bugbane (page 57), but considered stronger and better.

CRUCIFERAE, MUSTARD FAMILY

Sisymbrium incisum Eng., A Sinew Mustard

Gitksan: Mashed and applied to bad sore.

CRASSULACEAE, ORPINE FAMILY

Sedum spathulifolium Hook., Stonecrop

Bella Coola: Leaves of the plant boiled in blanketed water to stop the flow of milk. Said to take effect in one day. Leaves warmed and applied externally for the same purpose.

SAXIFRAGACEAE, SAXIFRAGE FAMILY

Ribes bracteosum Dougl., Black Currant

Bella Coola: See blackberry sprouts, page 81.

Ribes lacificum Pursh. var., Currant

Bella Coola: Roots boiled in a very small box with hot stones and the resulting decoction used each day for washing the eyes when filled with cataract.

See also lady fern (page 68).

Southern Carrier: Not used.

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Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

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Ribes lacustre Pair., SWAMP GOOSEBERRY

Bella Coola: Roots boiled and the decoction taken internally many times a day to cure constipation.

Leaves chewed and cud tied on sores caused by the prickers of the plant; if leaves unobtainable the bark substituted after singeing off the prickers.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Bark boiled and used as a remedy for some unspecified malady.

B
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757

Ribes divaricatum Dougl., COMMON GOOSEBERRY

Bella Coola: Bark or roots, sometimes mixed with those of the wild crab apple (*Pyrus diversifolia* Bong.), boiled, and the decoction used as an eye-wash three times a day for soreness and approaching blindness.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Ribes sp., GOOSEBERRY

Northern Carrier: *See* scrub pine, page 49.

Saxifraga Bongardi Prest., SAXIFRAGE

Bella Coola: Roots and leaves gathered in the autumn, placed in a very small box with a very little water, and boiled. Decoction taken cold, or preferably hot, in quantity to cure strangulation of the bladder. Said to effect a cure in one day.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

ROSACEAE, ROSE FAMILY

B
C
137
757

Prunus emarginata Dougl., WILD CHERRY

Bella Coola: Roots and inside bark boiled with much water and the decoction taken in quantity daily for heart trouble.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Rubus spectabilis Pursh., SALMON BERRY

Bella Coola: Bark of roots boiled and taken internally for certain stomach troubles, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Rubus sp., RASPBERRY

Northern Carrier: *See* scrub pine, page 49.

Fragaria bracteata Heller., STRAWBERRY

Bella Coola: Not used, but said to be used by Haida of Queen Charlotte Islands to cure vomiting.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

S: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE5
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

Rosa sp., WILD ROSE

Bella Coola: Roots and branches boiled, and the decoction taken internally, even ten cupfuls a day if desired, as a purgative for pain in the stomach. 137 757

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Northern Carrier: See scrub pine, page 49.

Sikani: Roots crushed, steeped in water, and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

Gitksan: Not used.

Physocarpus opulifolius (L.), Maxim., NINE-BARK

Bella Coola: Inner bark boiled for two hours, and two to four cupfuls of the decoction at blood heat taken internally as an emetic for persons dizzy with pain. Four or five cupfuls of lukewarm water then taken as a cleansing emetic and repeated about five times. 137 757

Inner bark boiled a long time (when it ceased to have emetic properties), one cupful of the hot decoction taken internally, and thereafter applied externally as a wash twice a day for gonorrhoea and scrofulous glands in the neck. Said to be a laxative that caused the glands to break, discharge fully, and heal. A cupful taken internally daily in advanced cases. 6 [L4]

Southern Carrier: Bark (gathered near the coast) boiled for two hours, and two cupfuls of the decoction taken as an emetic, or one cupful as a purgative. Said to act in half an hour, and to be an excellent remedy, but fatal in too large a dose.

Aruncus sylvester Kost., GOAT'S BEARD

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and one or two cupfuls of the decoction (or as much as desired) taken internally for pain in the stomach and gonorrhoea. A diuretic, but neither a laxative nor an emetic.

Roots boiled in grease of mountain goat (*Oreamnos montanus* Ord.) for a day and the decoction taken internally for smallpox. T [757]

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Geum macrophyllum Willd., LARGE-LEAVED YELLOW AVENS

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea, or vomiting. Leaves, usually chewed but sometimes bruised, applied to boils.

Southern Carrier: Leaves boiled and the decoction taken internally for any sickness.

Leaves boiled and applied to bruises.

Pyrus sitchensis (Roem.) Piper., MOUNTAIN ASH

Bella Coola: Bark of the roots, and sometimes the inner bark of the stem, collected at any time of the year, boiled for an hour, and the hot decoction, weak or strong, preferably the latter, taken internally for the stomach or rheumatism. Said to effect a cure in from one to seven days. Not taken for diarrhoea, or vomiting; and for rheumatism sometimes poured into a large box and used as a bath. Used also as an eye-wash. 137 757

Southern Carrier: Bark chewed for colds.

Gitksan: Fresh fruit crushed and eaten raw as a strong purgative.

J. Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NEB Bellacoola NEB
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TSIMSHIAN NE 15

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Pyrus diversifolia Doug., Crab Apple

Bella Coola: See common gooseberry (page 56).

Gitksan: Juice, scraped from peeled trunk, used as an eye medicine.

Trunk and branches, or scrapings from inside of bark, boiled until thick, and the decoction taken internally over a period of from four to six months for "consumption" and rheumatism. Said to be a fattening medicine, both laxative and diuretic.

Amelanchier florida Lindl., Juneberry, Saskatoon

Bella Coola: See tideland spruce (page 51).

EMPETRACEAE, CROWBERRY FAMILY

Empetrum nigrum L., Crowberry

Bella Coola: Green leaves, with or without berries, boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

P
137
957

VIOLACEAE, VIOLET FAMILY

Viola adunca Sm. var. **glabra** Brain., Violet

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Entire plant boiled and one or many cupfuls of the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting.

Gitksan: Not used.

ELAEAGNACEAE, OLEASTER FAMILY

Shepherdia canadensis Nutt., Soapberry

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Northern Carrier: Root boiled in water and the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

[IL4]

Gitksan: Roots, stem, and branches boiled, and the decoction used as a wash for gonorrhoea.

Bark, branches, and leaves without roots boiled, and the decoction taken internally for chronic cough.

See also tideland spruce (page 51).

ONAGRACEAE, EVENING PRIMROSE FAMILY

Epilobium angustifolium L., Fireweed

Bella Coola: Root roasted in ashes, mashed between hands or stones, and applied to boils.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

UMBELLIFERAE, PARSLEY FAMILY

Cicuta maculata sp., Water Cowbane

Folk Uses: Tea to Bloom kids pieces of root, as large as the end joint of the thumb, ground by rubbing on a stone; two capfuls placed in water warmed to blood heat, and two capfuls of the decoction (according to the strength of the patient) taken internally as an emetic. Decoction used (sometimes as a purgative instead of an emetic) within five or ten minutes, but last its power if heated too much. Warm water taken afterwards until the patient vomited four or five times and the stomach was entirely cleaned. Used also for pneumonia.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Heracleum lanatum Michx., Cow Parsnip

Folk Uses: Roots crushed, baked (or boiled in a box with hot stones), and applied as a poultice for boils. If too hot a poultice injured the skin.

Root, crushed and boiled in an opened boil and left from half a day to a day. Pus said to come away with the root.

See also white fir (page 34), balsam fir (page 36), black cottonwood (page 54), and false hellebore (page 57).

Southern Carrier: Blossoms steeped in sulphur or other oil and the mixture rubbed on the body to keep off flies and mosquitoes.

Southern Carrier: Roots applied to swellings and bruises.

Eskimo: Roots crushed and applied to swellings of neuralgia or rheumatism.

Ojibwa: Roots crushed and applied to boils, rheumatic and other swellings.

Angelica pinnata Nutt.

Folk Uses: Roots boiled and decoction taken internally as a purgative. Not an emetic. Sometimes used raw, but never crushed.

Ojibwa: Roots well boiled with twigs of squashberry (Viburnum pauciflorum Raf.) from which the bark had not been removed, and decoction taken internally for headache and weak eyes.

Ligusticum scothicum L., Lovage

Folk Uses: Leaves spread over a hot stone or stones and used as a medicinal bed for the sick.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Cicuta douglasii (DC.) C. and R., Water Hemlock, Poison Parsnip

Folk Uses: Roots used as a purgative.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

ARALIACEAE, GINSENG FAMILY

Aralia nudicaulis L., Sarsaparilla

Folk Uses: Roots boiled in a box with hot stones, and decoction taken internally as often as desired for pain in the stomach, or merely as a beverage. Nowadays sweetened with a little sugar. Stem, or its bark, not used.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Ojibwa: Not used.

Parnassia kotzebue Fen. (E. and H.), Pierce's Grass

Pelle Cuda: Bark of roots chewed, and juice swallowed with a little water as a stomach purgative.

Bark of roots and entire boiled, and some on two capfuls of the decoction taken internally as a purgative, or one capful, three times a day for a week or two, in case dysentery.

Southern Carrier: Bark boiled, and one or two capfuls of the decoction taken internally before and after childbirth as a purgative.

Northern Carrier: Inside layer of the inner bark rolled into pills and employed to engage in the stomach and bowels, especially after a purgative. Boiled also as a purgative, especially if much bile exists with it.

Gitksan: A decoction used as a purgative in the treatment of gonorrhoea. Believed to make the knitting of broken bones if taken internally.

Boiled, together with entire plant of monotheory (*Hypopitys monotropa* Hall), and the decoction taken internally as a diuretic and purgative, for dropsy or any sickness. Used externally for bruises.

For use with a lure (See page 66).

CORNACEAE, DOGWOOD FAMILY

Cornus canadensis L., Bunchberry, Dogwood, Dwarf Cornel, Pomegranate

Pelle Cuda: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Whole plant, without leaves, boiled, and the strong decoction used as an eye-wash.

Northern Carrier: Used as a medicine for some unspecified malady.

Gitksan: Not used.

Cornus stolonifera Michx., Red-Osier Dogwood, Red Willow

Pelle Cuda: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Northern Carrier: See medi plan, page 69.

Gitksan: Not used.

ERICACEAE, HEATH FAMILY

Pyrola secunda L., Wintergreen

Pelle Cuda: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Roots, gathered at any time of the year, boiled, and the strong decoction used as an eye-wash.

Pyrola bracteata Hook., Wintergreen

Pelle Cuda: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Leaves boiled, and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

Pyrola asarifolia Michx., Wintergreen

Pelle Cuda: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Leaves and roots, gathered at any time of the year, boiled for about two hours, and the warm decoction used as an eye-wash.

Gitksan: Not used.

Symphoricarpos racemosus Michx., Common Snowberry

Sills Creek: Branches, large and small, with the bark left on, boiled and the decoction taken internally daily as the best cure for gonorrhea. A diuretic. Roots, blossoms, and berries not used for medicine, unless, as one informant stated, the berries were used with the tansies.

See also Kirkland spruce (page 51).

Southern Carrier: Juice of ripe berries used to cure eyes.

Gibson: Not used.

Symphoricarpos vulgaris L., Red-Fruited Snow

Sills Creek: Bark of the root placed in water, a few hot stones added until water reached blood heat, and decoction used as a powerful emetic and purgative for pain in the stomach.

Bark of the roots pounded with the teeth, chewed, gratuitously with a little cold water, and juice swallowed as an emetic and purgative. Bark acts within half an hour.

Southern Carrier: Roots boiled, and two cupfuls of the warm decoction taken internally twice a day as a purgative.

Northern Carrier: Roots brewed, the first water discarded and the second taken internally as a purgative.

Gibson: Bark boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

Gibson: Bark of roots scraped off, water added to the bark, and the infusion taken internally as an emetic and purgative.

Viburnum prunifolium Ref., Sarrowbery

Sills Creek: Bark chewed, and the juice swallowed for whooping cough and cold on the lungs.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Northern Carrier: Inside bark crushed, steeped in cold water until the water turned green, and one cupful of the infusion taken internally as a purgative and for dysentery.

Gibson: Bark and twigs boiled, and one cupful of the decoction taken internally in the morning for coughs and "consumption". Said to be always taken in conjunction with devil's club (page 62). See also *Cephalanthus occidentalis* Nutt., page 81.

VALERIANACEAE, VALERIAN FAMILY

Valeriana septentrionalis Rydb., Valerian

Sills Creek: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Roots, mixed with grease, used for perfume.

Northern Carrier: Valerian? Blossoms crushed, and the oil, often mixed with fat from a black bear hide, applied as a hair tonic. Believed to make the hair smooth and shiny, to help its growth, and to give it a fragrance.

Gibson: Entire plant steeped in bear grease and the grease applied to hair and face as a perfume.

Valeriana sitchensis Bong., Valerian

Southern Carrier: Leaves mixed with grease used as a perfume for the hair.

COMPOSITAE, COMPOSITE FAMILY

Achillea Millefolium L., Yarrow

Bella Coola: Leaves chewed and applied to burns.

Southern Carrier: Entire plant, except the roots, boiled, and the decoction taken internally at frequent intervals for colds.

Leaves chewed and applied to sprains and swellings.

Gitksan: The young plant, except the roots, gathered between June 1 and July 15, boiled, and the decoction applied for sore throat. Roots, marked by the road stakes, dug out at other seasons and used instead.

Artemisia discolor Dougl., Sagebrush, Coast Wormwood

Bella Coola: Used for medicine.

Southern Carrier: Chewed and applied to sprains and swellings.

Northern Carrier: Sagebrush (sp. ?) steeped in water and the hot decoction taken internally for headache.

Artemisia Herwilii Greene, Sagebrush

Bella Coola: Leaves boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pains in the body, but not for pains in the limbs. Not used for colds.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Taraxacum officinale Weber., Common Dandelion introduced

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting. Remedy said to have been learned from white men.

Gitksan: Not used.

Lactuca spicata (Lam.) Hitchc., Tall Lettuce

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and many cups of the decoction taken internally for heart trouble, hemorrhage, pains in the body (but not in the limbs), for vomiting, or for diarrhoea. Neither an emetic nor a purgative. Milky juice not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Prenanthes alata (Hook.) Gray, Rattlesnake Root

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, two or three cupfuls of the decoction taken internally daily for colds. For a baby only a small spoonful given three or four times a day.

Bella Coola: Chewed, and applied to burns or to any painful part of the body.

Boiled, and two or three cupfuls of the decoction taken internally daily.

Malum sylvestre Bland, Moss

Southern Carrier: Entire plant, except the "roots", boiled, and two or three cupfuls of the decoction used to bathe a swollen face.

Fomes Lactis (*Sacc.*), more generally known as **Polyporus officinalis** Fries, or **Boletus Purgans**.

Indian Uses: This (?) fungus ground, steeped in water, and the decoction taken internally for gonorrhoea.

Southern Carrier: If found on the Douglas fir tree, dried, powdered, a handful steeped in boiling water and the tea decoction taken internally as an emetic and purgative. Said to act violently on bowels. Not used if found on any other tree.

(According to Dr. John Dearness, this is a medical polypore, perhaps the only fungus used by pharmacists. Dyer, Davis, and Cooper make a fluid extract and a tincture which is prescribed for the relief of night sweats in tuberculosis. The fungus is a cathartic in large doses. Its medicinal virtues have long been known in the old world.)

Boletus spp. B. and C., Pine Bun.

Indian Uses: Spores dusted on wounds, sores of gonorrhoea, and supporting some other dues bolts.

LICHEN

Indian Uses: A certain long, white lichen, if found on the red alder tree, warmed, and applied to a broken boil or suppurating sore.

Usnea sp., Lichen.

Indian Uses: Entire plant, if from red-alder, dogwood (*Cornus stolonifera Michx.*) or crab apple (*Pyrus diversifolia Bong.*), but not from willow (*Salix sp.*), boiled, and five ounces of the tea decoction taken internally daily for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea, constipation, or vomiting. Boiled a purgative not an astringent.

Entire plant boiled and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

Entire plant pulverized and applied to skin.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

KELP

Indian Uses: A small kelp found on the rocks sometimes used for a sweat bath. *See western dock, page 56.*

WOOD SAP

Indian Uses: The sap that oozes from any kind of wood when burning considered a good remedy for sore.

MOUNTAIN GOAT

Oreamnos Montanus, Ord., **Mowtsuc Goat**

Indian Uses: Mountain goat fat boiled with droppings of goat that had fed on roots, and the mixture given to babies once or twice a day for colds.

Goat meat with droppings of the bushy-tailed woodrat, commonly called packrat (*Neotoma cinerea*), taken internally with water as a remedy for scouring babies when they had colds.

[illegible]

Sphingulus, Sycomus Sycous, or Whightlin, Sycomus Sycous

Sulu Codex: Oil was used as a remedy.

Southern Carrier: Oil removed, used a cupful taken as a purgative for women.

[illegible]

Lagopus sanctijacobus columbianus Shoals, Tree Sycous Sycomus Tumorus Sycus

Northern Carrier: Stop opened, containing stomach containing something like the skin of an egg removed, and the liquid applied to a foot diseased by frostbite. Considered a sure cure.

BIRD SQUIRREL

Sciurus hudsonicus Erxleben

Sulu Codex: Opened along the under side and applied as a remedy to badly broken sinews in the groin.

GIANT SLUG

Sulu Codex: Slug made to crawl into a baby's mouth to cure loss of skin on the inside of its eyelids.

Slug opened, and bound tightly over large cut.

SEA CUCUMBER

Sulu Codex: Discretion of the water in which the sea cucumber was boiled, taken internally as a specific against heartburn. Not a purgative.

SPITTLE INSECT

Cercopidae, Sycous Tumorus, Pons Sycous

Sulu Codex: "Fly spit," i.e., the material surrounding a nymph of a spittle insect, applied to sores.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

WOODWORMS

Gibbons: Pulverized and applied to cuts.

COPPER

Sulu Codex: Fine particles scraped from clean copper (not not from a weathered green surface) placed in sore eyes.

Gibbons: Copper ground, poured into a bowl of cold water, first water poured off, and second water taken internally as a harmless contraceptive.

CHARCOAL

Northern Carrier: Charcoal dusted under the eyes to prevent snow-blindness.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Bella Fonte: [illegible] range of very dry handbells used to ease the pain [illegible]
Hyalgum Farrier: [illegible] used as a blister for a bad pain in the leg before applying an ointment.

[illegible]

Oldman: [illegible] taken from a bleak (or sometimes a handbell), [illegible] and used to ease a [illegible] pain.

[illegible]

Hyalgum Farrier: [illegible] placed in a dish of cold water, the hand covered with a cloth and the cloth dampened for a bad cough.

SCALDED WATER

Hyalgum Farrier: A hole made in the ice and the [illegible] in the [illegible] water when they were frozen.

[illegible] WATER

Bella Fonte: [illegible] water used as an emetic.

[illegible]
[illegible]

REPORT

OF THE

SIXTY-FIRST MEETING

OF THE

BRITISH ASSOCIATION

FOR THE

ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE

HELD AT

CARDIFF IN AUGUST 1891.

[title page]

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1892.

OFFICE OF THE ASSOCIATION: BURLINGTON HOUSE, LONDON, W.

[illegible] the shore of the Pacific to 1793. As a result of this intercommunication between the Bilqula and Tsimsh it is found that known essentially similar to those of the Coast Indians in mode of construction and ornamentation, though smaller and less skillfully built, owing, for school to the upper reaches of the Salmon and Skeena rivers; while, on the other hand, the practical identity of some points in the mythology of the Bilqula with that of the Tsimsh of the interior is a clear instance of widespread influence.

The second part of the report will be found to contain the most complete series thus far obtained of anthropological measurements relating to the tribes of the North West Coast, with a discussion by the author of the data which these afford, in which several points of value are brought out and important suggestions are made for further inquiry. In this connection it must be mentioned that the committee are much indebted to the courtesy and enlightened liberality of Major J. W. Powell, Director of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, who has permitted Dr. Boas to incorporate with the measurements obtained in British Columbia those made by him in Washington and Oregon under Major Powell's direction. It has thus been possible for Dr. Boas to give to his treatment of this subject a comprehensive character, which could not otherwise have been obtained, by enlarging the scope of his discussion so as to include the more or less intimately related tribes of the Pacific States with those of the Province of British Columbia itself.

Third Report on the Indians of British Columbia.
By Dr. Franz Boas.

104 The following alphabet has been used in the report:—

The vowels have their continental sounds, namely: a, as in *father*; e, like a in *mate*; i, as in *machine*; o, as in *note*; u, as in *rule*.

In addition the following are used: ä, ö, as in German; *ewse* in *how*; *owse* in *flower* (Lepsius's ę).

Among the consonants the following additional letters have been used: *g'*, a very guttural *g*, similar to *gr*; *k'*, a very guttural *k*, similar to *kr*; *q*, the German *ch* in *buch*; *x*, the German *ch* in *ich*; *ɣ*, between *g* and *x*; *sowsh* in *show*; *c*, as *th* in *thin*; *dl*, an explosive *l*; *ł*, a palatal *l*, pronounced with the back of the tongue (*dorso-apical*).

THE BILQULA.

105 The Bilqula, who are generally called Bella Coola, are the most northern tribe belonging to the Salish family. They are separated from the tribes speaking allied languages by the Chilcotin (of the Tsimsh stock) in the interior, and on the coast by the Kwakiutl. Their language is—considered grammatically—more closely related to the dialects of the Coast Salish than to those of the tribes of the interior. A number of terms referring to the sea and sea-animals are the same in Bilqula and in the dialects of the Gulf of Georgia; so that we may safely assume that the two groups of tribes were at one time closely related, and that the Bilqula were differentiated from this group. They inhabit the coasts of Bentinck Arm and Dean Inlet, as shown on the map accompanying the sixth report of the committee, and 000 extend far up Bella Coola River. Since the end of last century they

Tribes. The tribes of this tribe are [illegible] have detailed from to southern and a few only of their then southern villages are still inhabited, namely, Bella on the head of Dean Inlet, Dsai'a'i, at the mouth of Salmon River, Nuxa'lin (which embraces five villages) at the mouth of Bella Coola River, Ts'a'ts, twenty-eight miles up Bella Coola River, and Ts'ilo, at the head of South Bentinck Arm. The dialects of Dsai'a'i and Bella differ slightly from that of the other villages. The following is a list of their ancient villages, most of which are still inhabited at certain seasons, although not regularly:—

1. Bella.
2. Dsai'a'i. The tribe of this place is called Dsai-ai.
3. Nuxa'lin, embracing the villages K'ninkt'in and Sisk'ai'al on the north side, Ts'ai'ts and Dsiai'ainkint on the south side of the river.
4. Gengli.
5. Tsinai'ali.
6. Sai'i'ali.
7. Ts'ai'ts.
8. Sai'ainti.
9. Sisk'ai'aquoto.
10. Tsqumk'a'ai.
11. Ts'ai'ts'ilai.
12. Sisiklig.
13. Ts'ilo, twenty-eight miles from the sea.
14. Sai'a'ilai. Nos. 6 to 14 are situated along Bella Coola River, and are given as they are met with in ascending the river.
15. Ts'ai'ai, at the confluence of Bella Coola and Dean (?) Rivers.
16. Ts'ai'a, at the head of South Bentinck Arm, embracing K'ne'ya, Ts'ai'a, Ts'ai'a', A'ata.
17. K'ne'ya, at the bay of that name in the southern entrance of Bentinck Arm. On the north entrance of Bentinck Arm were the Kilts'ai, but it is doubtful whether they belonged to the Bilqula or to the Ht'dank. The latter call the people of Dean Inlet K'ninkt'in.

Each of these tribes is subdivided into gentes, which appear to be arranged in exogamic groups. I learnt the names of the following gentes, which bear the names of their ancestors:—

Gentes of the Kuqa'kwa:

1. Tak'ai'a (looking down on his family).
2. Sqaqqai'kwa; Qi'mistan name: Ma'kaylhell (see p. 411).
3. Sisiqlit'aq.
4. Ka'lalqi'ana.
5. Ts'ilas.

Gentes of the Nuk'a'ainxu:

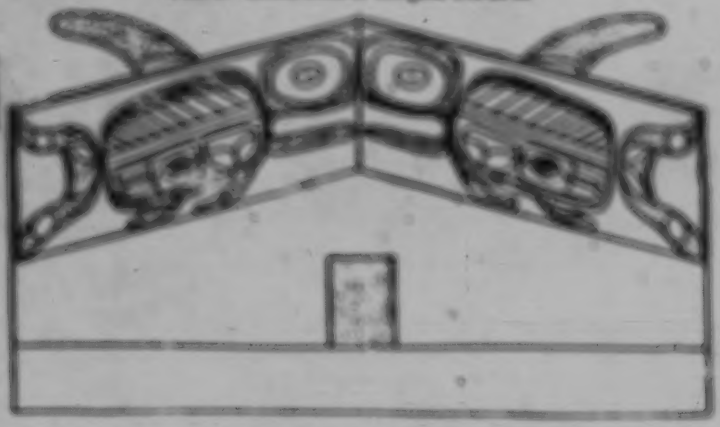
1. Ti'ak'aunt'ai.
2. K'inqi'ik'ai.
3. ?

Gentes of the Tsic'aai:

1. Iak'ainxit (smoking good fire); Qi'mistan name: T'i'i'ai-lakit (an cave protecting from rain).
2. Sqaiai'ili.
3. Tsaqai'ai'ayas.
4. Ha'ainili.

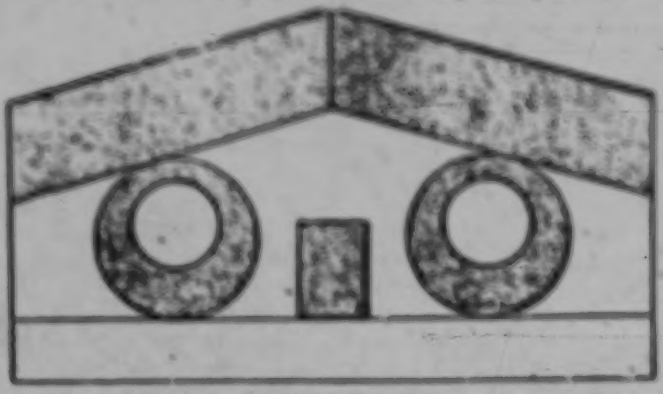
[illegible] The evidence which I was present regarding the form of intermarriage in the Haidaqa, I imagined of Pond Dirlas, I could refer to Kuiq, a number of the Sakirlaiwi gens, whether he might marry a Sqanlaiwi woman; this suggestion he rejected with the greatest indignation.

Fig. 5.—Show front of the gens Kiskaiwi.



Structure of the first two gentes, he replied: Iskai ma, ma, ma, ahaiwi ta Iskamaqa, neither are members of the first two gentes, while the first and second may marry among the third and fourth. He answered for

Fig. 6.—Show front of the gens Kiskaiwi, representing the crest.



this by stating that Iskiskaiwi's son married Qaskiskiski

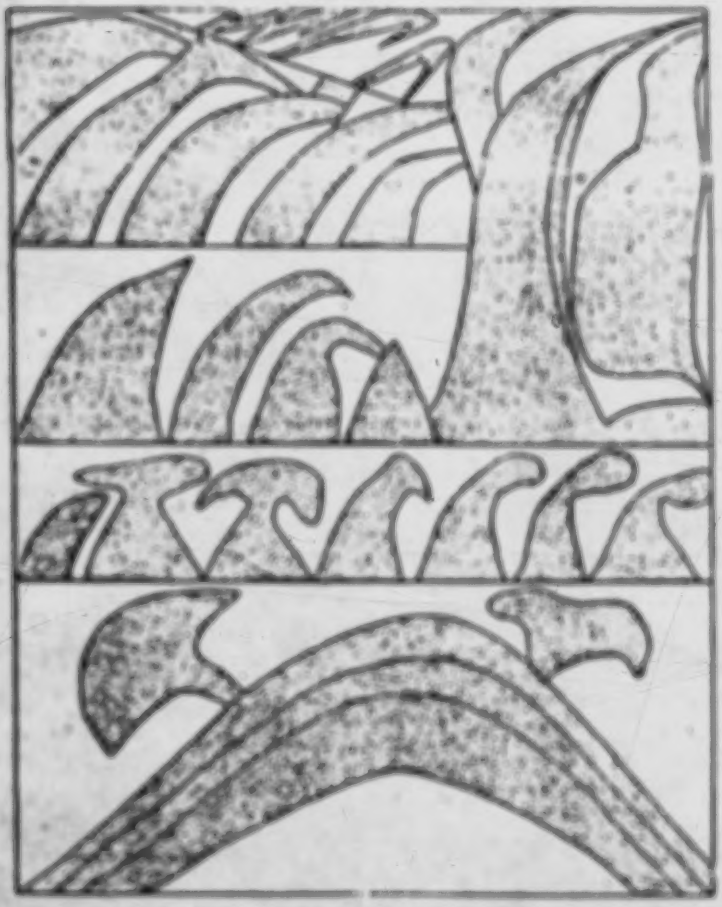
6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

tribes. The crest is represented in paintings on the house-front and on dancing implements.

The gens Tsik'ak'is has a killer-whale (*Delphinus orca*) painted on the house-front (fig. 1). The tradition says that the ancestor of this gens

614
614
532
342
713

FIG. 1.—Crest of the gens Snai'ks, showing the mountain hawk'ban, with two clouds near its summit; above a cloudless sky.



one day, when hunting in the mountains, found a house on which a killer was painted. The chief who lived in the house invited him and presented him with his crest for himself and for his descendants. The crest consists of the killer-whale, eagle, owen, and hawk.

The crests of all gentes were obtained in the manner.

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614 The gens Spatsi'lk have bumkows painted on the house-front, and use
532 in dances the mask of a large kind of whale (ł'ooh), of the crow, and of
the black bear.
942 The gens Tsemqa'skyas use the mask of Ōxsmitl'ma (=the sleeper)
and the eagle.

The gens Tl'ah'amnl'ok of the Nuk'a'lstems use the moon (fig. 2).

The gens Ialc'atsmit of the Talc'ma use the raven, robin (ooi'a-gwa'l),
eagle, whale, the bird t'ooilala (goose?), and s'ulal'ots, the food-tide.
They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the
sang'ots suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. 410).

The highest gens of Nuł'a'l has the name Sual'ts (=the north wind).
He has the mountain Sawt'kaf surrounded by a cloudred sky, and with
clouds on its sides, painted on the house-front (fig. 3). Another object
belonging to his crest represents waves.
614 The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the deci-
851 sion being left to the choice of the parents.

Secret Societies and the Potlatch.

171 The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Bilqula
575 are still more closely interwoven than they are among the Kwakiutl, and
must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch,
the Sisna'ka, and the Ka'wit. The Sisna'ka corresponds to the Tlodz'qa
of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the Ka'wit to the Ts'ensa'ka. The
556 Bilqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine
773 brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Qō'ntsiza, to whom
776 even the warriors is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Qō'ntsiza.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Qōmqamatl'ela.

[532] [575]

house in the far west, and rises 8 | 8 every morning when the sun rises.
He has to take care that the sun rises properly. The first six of these deities

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are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the Ki'wit'tsum dances make their appearance, and are represented by masks which I have copied. Qi'ntsim and Qmqmaili'ula wear the design of the full moon, indicated in the mask Qi'ntsim (fig. 4) by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Qmqmaili'ula has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin (fig. 5). Aiomki'ikya (fig. 6) and Aiomaili'ula (fig. 7) wear the design of the crescent, drawn

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FIG. 6.—Mask representing Aiomki'ikya.

FIG. 7.—Mask representing Aiomaili'ula.

in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second. The fifth, K'mek'mekl'ikya, and K'u'wistim have designs representing stars (fig. 8), both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is K'ula'qwa, whose face represents the blossom of a mountain-berry bush (fig. 9). The next in order, Kalil'ima (—who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue (fig. 10). The ninth, Ki'ma'l'i wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bluish blanket. The last of the series is a woman called Ti'ma'qstikim (=the sister), the sister of all the others. Her face is painted with a bluish-blue with green (fig. 11). She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

The Sisa'ku, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of gentes, is presided over by a being that lives in the sea. A man who had gone out hunting met the Sisa'ku, and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned he asked the people to clean their houses, and to clean them with clean sand, before he commenced to enter. Then he danced the Sisa'ku, and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with

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575 773 776 776 tools of cousins skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sea. Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Sisaw'ka. Besides this it is stated that the Raven gave each gens its secrets.

Fig. 8.—Mask representing K'ooh'ooka'kaya.

Fig. 9.—Mask representing K'ala'qoka.

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619 632 632 Each gens has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the Sisaw'ka only, and are otherwise kept a deep secret, i.e., they are the sacred posses-

Fig. 10.—Mask representing Kold'ma.

Fig. 11.—Mask representing Ts'ooq'qoldma.

[575] [776]

[575] [776] sions of each gens. All gentes, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the seven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent.

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ornament. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become Sisaa'ka. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nesk'ɛ-la'sta, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is a member of the gens Talo'stimôt of the Talio'mɛ, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a Kû'siût name, which remains the same throughout life; and a Qê'mtsica name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nesk'sla'sta's (which is his Kû'siût name) present Qê'mtsica name is Atl'itlɛnnɛ'lna'sain, but at his next potlatch he intends to take the name of Kalia'kia. These names are also the property of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Kû'siût names of the members. In two cases only the Qê'mtsica names have been ascertained (see p. 409). When a man possesses several Sisaa'ka secrets he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their Sisaa'ka secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisaa'ka secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the Sisaa'ka carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debts. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Kû'siût is presided over by a female spirit, called Anɛ̂likûtsai'ɛ. The abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anɛ̂likûtsai'ɛ invited her into her cave and taught

575 her the secrets of the Kû'siôt. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whoever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kû'siôt. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kû'siôt.'

575 Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kû'siôt. When a man has
776 seen Amâlikûtsai'a sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a Kû'siôt. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Kû'siôt lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kû'siôt are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband,
424 as in the case with the Sisau'ku dances (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
[424] by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Kû'siôt is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kû'siôt name, which
[551] he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kû'siôt names,
[428] which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pô'pô until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Ti'akû'ell. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[554] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisau'ku, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kû'siôt have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] tlaqô'tla (the Hâ'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ô'lxq (the Nô'tlamâl of the Kwakiutl), and the Dâ'tla (the Nô'ntaintâl of the Hô'itsuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Kû'siôt novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the tlaqô'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
785 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs hold
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[246] killed, in order to serve as food for the tlaqô'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the tlaqô'tla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the house. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

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out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite 575
naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he cannot catch
anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, [774]
which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the
shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after [756]
they have recovered it the tlaqō'ila dances clothed in a bear-skin and
wearing a large headring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red [292]
and white cedar-bark. Some tlaqō'ila do not bite people, but merely [301]
devour raw salmon, or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who
bite people will also eat corpses. The tlaqō'ila has to observe a number
of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble.
He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being
reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his
house.

The Ō'lēq (= the laugher) and the Dā'tia (= the thrower) do not go [785]
into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their
first dance. The Ō'lēq 'makes fun of everything' and scratches people
with his nails. The Dā'tia carries stones and sticks, and breaks household
goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day he
pays for it at night when he dances. The Ō'lēq and the Dā'tia must stay
for one month, after they have danced, in their houses.

If a person transgresses the laws of the Kō'sōit, for instance when the 575
tlaqō'ila gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no 688
right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in
dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the
offender is called before the court. After his offence has been proved he
is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not
willing, and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on
himself, the guilty party is spared, and the substitute is killed in his stead.
The execution of the judgment is entrusted to the shaman, who bewitches
the condemned person by throwing disease into him, or by poisoning him
in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman
is a shell, bone, or finger-nail, around the middle of which objects a human
hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender he will fall sick. Blood
collects in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and
with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested
any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in 575
the Kō'sōit are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. 532
Novices must wear a necklet of red cedar-bark over their blankets for a
whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, 796
and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others
the thunder-bird and his servant Atlqula'tzxum, who wears a mask with [776]
red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side
to the left-hand lower side, and a staff with red and blue spiral lines,
appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Qō'mōtsin and his
brothers and his sister (see p. 412), Mamamlā'niq and his fellows, the
raven and the Nanqō'mia, and many others.

Customs regarding Birth, Puberty, Marriage, and Death.

When the time of delivery approaches, the woman leaves the house 844
and resorts to a small hut built for the purpose. She is assisted by pro-

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844 fessional midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
[846] the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[845] near the room for a year (according to Nuk'ulu'ets, for ten days), else the salmon would take offence.

553 The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole
[852] tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive
[854] small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member of the Ka'aitt, when it is given its Ka'aitt name. This ceremony takes place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qu'mtaka name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[292] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
[821] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[265] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She
[261] must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee, 1890, p. 838).

584 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his
[431] friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has
[527] been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and
[302] accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and
585 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[431] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his Sisa'ka secrets as soon as the pair have their first child.
[851] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

586 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be. 764 [301] [321] [766] [567] [775]

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they shave four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, shaving new trees every day. Meanwhile they cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones. 765 783 [995] 765 [302]

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or chicken. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person. [262] [828] [822]

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was "the same as giving away the house of the deceased." 765 556

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to 773 171

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what cause this divergence is due. Mythology and religion are so closely connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Bilqula is Snq, the sun-god (compare *sinq*, sun). The rays of the sun are his eyelashes. When prayed to he is called Tsat'an. In praying the Bilqula look heavenward. I obtained the following formulas: *Ailkuw itlō'tlenq, Tsat'an*, 'Look on us where we are crying, Tsat'an;' and *Tsat'an, atlkmaltnomdō'tlq*, 'Take care of us, Tsat'an.' Snq is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and does not interfere with the actions and thoughts of man. These are given by Masmasalā'niq. According to the tradition of the Bilqula, before the liberation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is nowadays, four deities lived on the earth: Masmasalā'niq, Yula'timot, Matlapē'eqoek, and Itl'itlu'lak. The raven wished to obtain the sun, but he was unable to liberate it. Then he went to these deities and asked their help. They ascended to the sky, and tore the curtain, which up to that time had been expanded between heaven and earth, hiding the heavenly orbs. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The raven ascended to heaven through the rift made by Masmasalā'niq, and found there a beautiful prairie country in which all the birds lived. Masmasalā'niq and his brothers painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his arts. The raven was not content with the sun, and resolved to try and find a better one. He flew to the house of a great chief, who kept the *nusqē'mia* (*nu-tam*-place of, *sqi'm*=the day is dawning). The *nusqē'mia* was a small round receptacle closed all around like an egg. The chief guarded it jealously, and kept it suspended from one of the rafters of his house. The raven knew that he could not obtain it by sheer force, and resorted to a ruse. He assumed the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and let himself drop into the pond from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pond, swallowed the leaf, and thus became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the raven himself. The old chief loved the boy dearly, and allowed him to play with the *nusqē'mia*. This was what he desired. He ran out of the house, broke it, and flew away in the shape of a raven.

After the sun had thus been obtained Masmasalā'niq said: 'Let us make man.' He made the image of a man out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Matlapē'eqoek and Itl'itlu'lak tried likewise to carve human figures and to give them life, but they failed. Finally, Yula'timot carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in each country, and they became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Masmasalā'niq gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to catch salmon, to build houses. He made rivers everywhere, that man should have water to drink, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by man.

The Bilqula believe that Masmasalā'niq and his brothers still continue to give new ideas to man. They say that any new design of painting or carving, or any other new invention made by a member of their tribe, has been given to him by Masmasalā'niq.

The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been relegated to above.

The soul is believed to dwell in the nape. It is similar in shape to a bird inclosed in an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies away its owner must die. Shamans are able to see and to recover souls.

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By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy. 774 756 [828] [753] [828]

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Snq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Snq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself. 756 [776]

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: 'When an Awiky'ô'noq wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Ma'tom) who will initiate him. No Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way.' [171]

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 612), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called *smk*. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms. 753 755 754 [825]

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die. 682 754 [825]

I add here a few current beliefs:— 827

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry. [777]

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die. 825

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky. 763

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WARS.

When a war party was organised the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their 726 714

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726 hair with white eagle-down. Warriors when on a war party must not
[714] drink more than four mouthfuls of water, else they would be killed. A
watchman was appointed in each canoe, who sat in the bow. On landing
[297] near the village of their enemies they divided themselves into a number
of parties, one house of the village being assigned to each. Then, early
in the morning, when all were asleep, they rushed up to the village utter-
ing their war cry 'wai!' They took a stand at the fire which burns
in the centre of the house, and if any one of the enemies succeeded in
taking up his arms and came out of his bedroom they killed him. Then
727 they entered the bedrooms, killed the men, and took the women and children
along as slaves. The heads of the dead were cut off, the houses burnt,
and they returned home singing war-songs. The heads which they had
taken along were then scalped, and the scalps tied to each end of a pole.
When they approached their village one man stood up in the bow of each
canoe and swung the pole to which the scalps were attached, and they all
sang songs, in which their deeds were recounted. The scalps were
valued the higher the longer and fuller the hair. They were used in the
Sisan'ku.

648 The following tales of war expeditions offer some points of interest.
726 About thirty or forty years ago there was a famine at Bella Coola. The
people went overland to Knight Inlet, which belongs to the Tenaqtaq, a
[731] tribe of the Kwakiutl, to fish there. The Tenaqtaq made fun of them,
took from them the fish they caught, tore the blankets from the backs of
the women, and seduced many of them. Finally the Bilqula returned
home. There they held a council and resolved to make war upon the
Tenaqtaq. The Tsimsh joined them in this expedition. They crossed the
mountains in four days. When they approached Knight Inlet they sent
two spies in advance, who were to count the number of houses in the
village of the Tenaqtaq. Early in the morning they attacked the houses
and killed a great many men. The Tenaqtaq could not escape, as they
were hemmed in by the river. The Bilqula slew them with knives,
lances, and stone axes. They took away the clothes of the women,
leaving them naked, and subjected them to shameful insults in revenge
for the disgrace put upon their wives and daughters. Then they burnt
the village.

About thirty-five years ago the Talio'mx were attacked by the
Kwakiutl. Originally they intended to attack Nuqa'lkx, but the raven,
according to the narrator, changed their mind, as he always protects the
village of Nuqa'lkx. They came in many canoes, while most of the
Talio'mx were at the lake, which is situated above that town, fishing.
Four men were in charge of the village, and a number of old men and
women had also remained at home. The father of Nuk'alx'ska, who told
me of these events, happened to be out picking berries, accompanied by
his wife. He saw the canoes passing by and kept himself hidden. The
[712] village of Talio was at that time surrounded by a strong stockade, which
consisted of a double row of palisades crowned with thorns. At each
corner there was a strong box fastened on the stockade like a tower.
Here watchmen were stationed, who were able to shoot at the enemy
while being themselves protected. At that time the Talio'mx had only
four guns. The Kwakiutl sent out two spies, who reported that the
village was well fortified. The Talio'mx had seen the canoes coming and
were on their guard. The Kwakiutl thought that they would not be
able to enter the village until after the stockade had been destroyed.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

They resolved to make an attempt to burn it and to break open the door. 648
On the following day they came up to the village, but the guard on the 726
towers used their guns to such good effect that the enemy had to retreat with severe losses. They made still another attempt, but with no better success. They had lost many men, while only two old men of the Talio'mx, Tsanxi'akyas and A'k'ias by name, and one woman had been hurt. The latter had been killed. When the Kwakiutl turned back a messenger was at once sent up to the lake to call the young men, who then went to Nuqa'Tkx to ask for help. The Kwakiutl passed close to Nesk'ala'sta's father's canoe, but they were so terrified by the losses they had sustained that they passed by without so much as noticing it. Two of their number were so ashamed of their defeat that they would rather remain in the enemy's country than return with their friends, and they stayed ashore. Meanwhile the Talio'mx and the Bilqula were pursuing the fugitives. They had reached the outlet of Bentinck Arm without overtaking them. Then their chiefs resolved to return, as they believed that their enemies had a long start upon them. Later on they learnt that the Kwakiutl were at that moment only a few miles from them, about to continue their homeward journey, after having encamped at the outlet of the channel. Afterwards the Talio'mx found the two men who had remained ashore. They called them and promised to send them back to their friends, saying that the war had ended, and that they had no grudge against them. The men were, however, too much afraid, and finally starved to death.

Later on the Talio'mx and Bilqula organized an expedition against the Kwakiutl to take revenge for the unprovoked attack. A chief named Kuxsi'la, whose father was a Talio'mx, while his mother was a Kwakiutl, was their leader. They intended to attack the Lo'kwiltok and the Kwe'k'ala'tsaq. When they approached the village of the latter they sent a canoe ahead to search for the village, and to report the number of houses. For two days they were unable to find the village, which lies in a labyrinth of islands; but finally they found it, and saw that it consisted of sixteen houses. On the next morning they attacked it. The tribe was wholly taken by surprise and almost all of them were killed. Kuxsi'la's mother lived at this place, and when she heard the Bilqula coming she asked at once for her son, and was taken care of by him. Only five men and four women escaped. The Bilqula allowed these to run away, as they had killed as many as they desired. Anakxi'tsem, a chief of the Sisqila'mx, was the only man of the Bilqula who was wounded. He died on the way home. They returned, but in the country of the Na'kwartok they were overtaken by four Kwakiutl canoes which pursued them. The Bilqula were victorious, but Kuxsi'la induced them to desist. During the fight two of the women, whom they had taken as slaves, and one boy jumped overboard, and were rescued by the Kwakiutl.

MEDICINE.

Boils are treated by cauterization with dry bark or with gunpowder. 752
Sometimes a series of parallel cuts is made over swellings or boils. Fractured bones are set, and fastened between splints of cedar-bark.

Enemata of shark oil or chicken oil are given by means of a kelp tube, 757
with a mouthpiece made of the wing-bone of an eagle. Snake poison is [237]
collected and used as a poison. Women wear tight anklets to prevent 700

751 Women wear tight anklets to prevent
the calves of their legs from slipping down.' During their monthly
481 periods women place soft cedar-bark in the vagina. The bark is afterwards
824 burnt in the woods. The smoke of this fire is believed to be poisonous.

It is evident that the culture of the Bilqula is very greatly influenced
177 by that of the Kwakiutl. The secret societies and the potlatch ceremonies
551 are almost a copy of those of the Hēiltsuk'. This influence has been so
556 deep that names of even deities and of the mythical ancestors of certain
575 gentes are purely Kwakiutl words, or have at least Kwakiutl endings. Thus
776 the name Alemk'ilkya (see p. 413) is purely Kwakiutl, meaning 'good all
771 over the world.' K'tsak'tsak'ilkya is also a Kwakiutl word, meaning
'the rich one of the world.' The chief's name, Mā'lakyilaīl (see p. 409)
belongs to the same class of Kwakiutl names. On the other hand, the
religious ideas of the Bilqula are very curiously developed, and apparently
but slightly influenced by their neighbours. The whole Mamamalā'ula
tradition is peculiar to them, but has been partly adopted by the Awiky'-
ē'ntq, with whom the Bilqula have intermarried.

[pp. 425-449 not processed]

7;Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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II. — The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians.

By Franz Boas.

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[p. 25]

I.

105 The Bella Coola are a small tribe inhabiting the coasts of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm, two long and narrow fiords situated in about latitude 52° north, in British Columbia. Their habitat extends along Bella Coola River, which empties into North Bentinck Arm. The name "Bella Coola" is a corruption of the word "Bilxula," by which name the tribe is known to the Kwakiutl. There is no term in their own language embracing all the tribes speaking the Bella Coola language. It seems that at a former time the tribe was quite populous; but, owing to various epidemics and the introduction of other diseases, its numbers have dwindled down, so that at the present time it has been reduced to only a few hundred souls. The
105 language spoken by the tribe belongs to the Salishan family, more par-
197 ticularly to the group of dialects spoken along the coasts of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia. The great similarity between the Bella Coola and the other Coast-Salishan dialects leads me to assume that at one time the tribes speaking these dialects inhabited contiguous areas. At the present time the Bella Coola are separated from other tribes speaking Salishan languages by a considerable stretch of country, which is inhabited by tribes of Athapascan and Kwakiutl lineage. Vocabulary and grammar have been highly modified, particularly by an excessive elision of vowels. The relation of their language to the other dialects of the Coast Salish is similar to that of the Tillamook, another language belonging to the Salishan family, which is spoken on the coast of Oregon, in an area separated from the rest of the Salishan territory by the district inhabited by the Chinook.

105 Physically the Bella Coola bear evidence of long-continued contact with the northern Coast tribes, and also with the Athapascan tribes of the interior.
144 Evidently intermarriages have been quite frequent, so much so that their present physical appearance differs considerably from that of the southern Salishan tribes, of whom they form a branch. The same is true in regard to their customs and beliefs, which differ fundamentally from those of the southern Salishan tribes.

121 In the present paper I shall describe the mythology of the Bella Coola, and discuss its development.

II.

114 Our previous knowledge of the mythology of this tribe is based on studies made by Adrian Jacobsen, Filip Jacobsen, Gunkes, and the writer. In 1886 I published a few brief notes on their traditions.[1] Gunkes pub-

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1886, p. 446.

published some remarks on the religious life of the Bella Coola in 1886,[1] which, however, contain so many misconceptions that they cannot be used to advantage. At the same time I published a brief description of the tribe, based on information received from a small group of members of the tribe who were travelling in Germany. In this description also there are a number of misconceptions. The Indians were shown a collection of masks from Vancouver Island with which they were not familiar. They gave, however, explanations of these masks, judging by the similarity to masks of their own tribe; consequently the explanations given there are not correct.[2] In 1890 I fell in with a number of Bella Coola who were fishing for salmon in Fraser River. The information obtained from them was published in the reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1891.[3] A. Jacobsen published a description of their ceremonies in 1895.[4] Philip Jacobsen described some of their traditions and customs in 1894 and 1895.[5] I published a collection of traditions in 1894 and 1895.[6]

III.

All the collections which have been made heretofore do not bring out clearly the principal characteristic of the mythology of the Bella Coola. The tribes of the North Pacific coast consider the Sun as the most important deity, but at the same time they believe in a great many beings of supernatural power. For this reason their whole mythology is very unsystematic. The Bella Coola, on the other hand, have developed a peculiar mythology, in which a number of supernatural beings have been co-ordinated. A system has been evolved which justifies our terming the supernatural beings "deities." The general features of this system are as follows:—

The Bella Coola believe that there are five worlds, one above another. The middle one is our own world, the earth. Above it are spanned two heavens, while below it there are two underworlds. In the upper heaven resides the supreme deity, a woman who interferes comparatively little with the fates of mankind. In the centre of the lower heaven, that is in the zenith, stands the house of the gods, in which reside the Sun and all the other deities. Our own earth is an island swimming in the ocean. The underworld is inhabited by the ghosts, who are at liberty to return to heaven, whence they may be sent down again to our earth. The ghosts

[1] Original Mythologien der Bella Bella Indianer. Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1886, pp. 479-486.
[2] Ibid., pp. 486-488.
[3] Fourth Report of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, pp. 1-15. Report of the Ninth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Leeds, 1890, pp. 262-268.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1895, pp. 371-380.
[5] Globus, Illustrirte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde, 1894, pp. 173-176; 1895, pp. 1-3, 33-36.
[6] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, pp. 501-508; 1895, pp. 176-179.

772 who die a second death sink to the lowest world, from which there is no
[775] return.

The upper heaven is called Ainl'ax, or Sneix'ak'a'n ti Stex'ulx', or Stexaxa. Omq'a'mkilk'a. The deity ruling there is a woman who is called
[774] Qmsi'ts, or Tsi'ontsaxts. ("our woman"), or Ek'lyak'tsatsa'n. ("afraid of nothing").

772 This heaven is described as a prairie without any trees. It is said that
776 in order to reach it one must go up the river from the house of the gods in the lower heaven. In another tradition it is said that in travelling from the lower heaven to the upper heaven one has to pass the rest in the sky which is called Tsi.ns'tinx ti Stex'ulx'. The house of the supreme deity stands in the far east, and a gale is continually blowing over the open country, driving every thing towards the entrance of her house. Near the house, however, it is calm. In front of the house stands a post in the shape of a large winged monster, and its mouth is the entrance to the house. In front of the house-door there is gravel of three colors,—blue, black, and white. Behind the house is a salt-water pond in which the goddess bathes. In this pond lives the s'ulx, or xsalmalt'xam. This being sometimes descends to our world. Wherever it moves, the rocks burst, and slide down the sides of the mountains. It is described as a snake or a fish (see pp. 44, 66).

773 In the beginning of the world the mountains were of great height.
923 They were human beings who made the world uninhabitable. Qmsi'ts made war upon the mountains. She vanquished them, and made them smaller than they used to be. During this fight she broke off the nose of the mountain Yelyale'ns., which is situated near Nuxl'a'l. Its face may be recognized even now; and the Indians say that when its name is called, it answers. There are two mountains near the head-waters of Bella Coola River. The one is called Sneix'ulkmal'i.; the other one, Na'xxi. The former had a fire, called Sneinl'k'ulmata, burning in his house. This fire warned him of the approach of enemies. When Qmsi'ts made war upon the mountains, the fire warned its master. Qmsi'ts was coming down the river in her canoe, which is named "T'ikus." When she approached, he broke her canoe, and she returned to heaven. The canoe has been transformed into stone, and may be seen to this day at the foot of the mountain Sneix'ulkmal'i. It is said that Qmsi'ts visits the earth every now and then. Her visits cause sickness and death. She is described as a great warrior.

772 In the centre of the lower heaven, which is called Stex', stands the
776 house of the gods. This house is named Nsems'ts (the House of Myths), or Nuxl'ousmal'xata ("where man was created"), or Nuxl'alas'mata ("the house from which people come down"), or Nuxpilasal'xata ("the house to which people go"). In front of the house stands a post called Nsiasl'xta. It is painted with representations of all kinds of birds. A

white crane (?), Qq'ots, is sitting on top of the post. The master of the house is Snaa, the Sun. He is also called Ts'ats ("our father"), or Sunal'yaxilla ("the sacred sun"), or Sunayakt'ax.la. It seems that he is the only deity to whom the Bella Coola pray. They do not pray to Qsnal'ia, the deity of the supreme heaven. I have not found any prayers directed to the other deities of the lower heaven. I recorded a number of such prayers directed to the Sun. They are as follows:— 772 776 776 783 539

Ash'ts'ni(?)ism Tsiaa'! ("Look on us where we are going, Father!")

Tsiaa'! ash'alex'ustit'ia! ("Take care of us, Father!")

Tsiaa'! ch'ulx'ustal'ia ale ustustal'ia! Tsiaa' ustp'alex'ustia! ("Father! take care of our road; Take care of us!")

After a long-continued rain, they pray:—

Tsplat'ism Tsiaa'! hin'k'lexustal'ia, Tsiaa'! ("Wipe your face, Father! that it may be fair weather.")

The mountain-goat hunter prays:—

Ooqs yaxustiaa, Tsiaa', ta ustustu'ustuk, Sustqalat'ian'! ("Let your children look at us, Sustqalat'ia, Father!")

A person pursued by misfortune prays:—

Nuqlaustk'l'ustu Tsiaa'! ustqustk'ustu ta q'lqustustustal'a'a. ("Make me happy, Father! You have given me too much misfortune.")

A sick person prays:—

Nuqlaustk'l'ustu Tsiaa'! ch'a ustqlustustal'ustu Tsiaa'! ("Let my life be long, Father!")

The successful hunter, or the woman who has found a plentiful supply of berries, prays:—

Nustqlustustk'l'ustu ta nalustal'ala ch'a nuqlaustk'l'ustu ch'a yaxustu ustustk'l'ustu ta ts'ala ch'ank'a ta ts'qlaxal'ala'a. ("Father! You make me happy. You give me what I desire. Then I find what I wished for.")

The Bella Coola also make offerings to the Sun. Hunters throw four small slices of seal-meat, of mountain-goat tallow, etc., into the fire as an offering to the Sun, in order to obtain success in hunting. Sick people have parts of their clothing, which they decorate with red cedar-bark, for an offering to regain health. 776 783

The second deity, who is called Ash'ustal'ia, seems to be of equal importance. Snaa and Ash'ustal'ia stay in the rear of the House of Myths. Near the fire stays Sustch'alx'a'la. He is an old man who formerly ruled over 776 [712]

the House of Myths, but who has given up his place in favor of Raven and Ack'uxtl'in. These two might be called the values of mankind. In most traditions they are described as trying to destroy man, notwithstanding the fact that they are considered the creators of mankind. This peculiar characteristic of these deities is clearly brought out in the traditions recorded on pp. 50 ff. In one legend which I collected in 1890, Ack'uxtl'in's mother, Nemamik-tequen'ts, is described as a Cannibal, who leaves her long uvula in the care of man, and sucks out his brain. Eventually she was transformed into the mosquito.[1] I did not hear her mentioned as one of the deities residing in the House of Myths. According to the same tradition, the salmon were obtained by a man who gambled with Ack'uxtl'in, the stake being the salmon. Ack'uxtl'in lost, and the man took the salmon down from heaven. Another legend of the origin of the salmon is recorded on p. 58, where it is told how the birds obtained the salmon. According to still another tradition (p. 94), the Raven obtained the salmon by marrying a salmon girl. In the tradition quoted above, Ack'uxtl'in also gives to man the power to cure disease by means of the water of life, which the shaman sprinkles on the sick person.

A number of inferior deities live in the House of Myths. They might be called the ministers of the principal deities. In order to understand their functions, it is necessary to state that the deities residing in the House of Myths have particular charge of the religious winter ceremonial of the Bella Coola which is called ki'xtas, and which corresponds to the ts'ooxtqs of the Kwakiutl. I have described this ceremonial and its importance in the social life of the Kwakiutl, in another paper.[2] The ki'xtas is of equal importance to an understanding of the social life and mythology of the Bella Coola. It is sufficient to say at this place that the ceremonials performed during the ki'xtas are mostly dramatic representations of myths relating to the various deities, particularly to those of the House of Myths; therefore masks representing these deities are used in the ceremonials. Plates VII to XII[3] show a series of these masks. Figs. 1, 2, and 4 (Plate VII) are Sun, Ack'uxtl'in, and Sunk'alex'ts. The functions of many of the inferior deities seem to refer solely to the ki'xtas. These deities and their functions are as follows: Sk'ark'ul'e (Plate VII, Fig. 6) subdues the death of man and animals. According to one statement that I received, there are four deities of this name in the House of Myths. It is his particular duty to kill those who transgress the laws of the ki'xtas. This duty is assumed by Jacobsen, who calls him Sek-ulk Kalla.[4] Nemel'ooqi'ts (Plate VII, Fig. 7), or the Sweep of the House of Myths, sits by himself in one

[1] Contributions to the Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians, Anthropological Publications, p. 100.
[2] Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, pp. 311-377.
[3] Drawings by Mr. Stewart Culin.
[4] Contributions to the Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians, Anthropological Publications, p. 100.

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owner of the house. He prevents those who are not initiated in the secrets of the ka'ulat from approaching the house. The Sacsa'q is a fabulous monster, the peculiarities of which are described in a number of traditions (see pp. 83 ff.). S'ants.a'mana'k (Plate VII, Figs. 12 and 13) is a boy who performs ka'ulat dances all the time. When the deities resolve to send a new dance down to our world, it is conveyed by S'ants.a'mana'k. It is the office of another deity to sing, accompanying the ka'ulat dances of the gods (Plate VII, Fig. 3). Anuqal'ulem is a deity in regard to whose functions I have not been able to obtain detailed information. It is said that he intervenes on behalf of man when Sisa and Ack'uxal'u threaten to punish him. There are two goddesses in the house who also intervene in favor of man when the principal deities threaten him with death and sickness. Their names are Sumsal'ua (Plate VII, Fig. 9) and Ainlit'uxa (Plate VII, Figs. 10 and 11). They wake man after sleep. Without their help, nobody could wake from sleep. Ainlit'uxa is at the same time the guardian of the moon. Every month she restores the moon to her full size, and she cleans her face after an eclipse. The moon is called A'ns.'ts.g'ds (Plate X, Fig. 10). The eclipse is produced by several deities called Aiq'ul'yumsm, which means "painting the face black" (Plate X, Figs. 4-6). It is believed that at this time the moon performs one of the most sacred ceremonies of the ka'ulat, which are thought to be very dangerous to the performer. The black paint with which her face is covered is supposed to be a protection against these dangers. Ainlit'uxa cleans off the paint after the dance has been completed. According to Jacobsen,[1] the Indians say that during an eclipse the moon (Ensklel'ulitsa) paints her face black. The same deities are believed to paint and to clean the faces of human ka'ulat dancers. Sumsal'ua and Ainlit'uxa also resuscitate those who are killed by the dangerous performances of the ka'ulat.

While the functions of the beings enumerated here are mostly concerned with the ka'ulat, others are more immediately concerned with the affairs of the world. Important among these is K'ucuk'a'n (Plate VII, Fig. 5). Sisa is the creator of man, but his work is supplemented by that of the god K'ucuk'a'n. When Sisa creates a new-born child, K'ucuk'a'n gives the child its individual features. Before children are born, the goddess named Nacqamalal'a or Sumsmal'ulas Sacsalil'ua.ala places them in a cradle and rocks them. After she ceases rocking them, the children are sent down to our world. She also rocks the young of all animals; and when she stops, Sisa sends them down to our world to be born. At the same time he ordains that their skins and their flesh shall serve for clothing and food for man. Nacqamalal'a might therefore be called the deity

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 100.

[77K] having charge of the birth of all animal beings. While she is reaching the
[Bro] [illegible], she sings, —

[639] "[illegible]
[illegible]"

Another deity living in the House of Myths is the mother of flowers, called Nuxt'mqa (Plate X, Figs. 7 and 9), the daughter of Sinkpa'ux.ts. It seems that this last name means "going to the right." This evidently refers to the fact that the Sun is believed to move on his path towards the west, [illegible] forward, and consequently during the spring months towards the sky
[621] moving towards the right; so that Sinkpa'ux.ts, moving to the right, means at the same time the springtime, when the sun is moving up the sky. This is the time when flowers begin to [illegible]. Every spring Nuxt'mqa gives birth to all the plants in the order in which they begin to appear. A shaman is called to her aid by two old women who assist her (Plate X, Figs. 8 and 11).

Every year, at the time of the winter solstice, the deities determine who shall die during the coming year. Two beings called Kakimul'ts. ska xnxt'mm are placed on the ends of a long plank, which is supported at its
[761] centre, and swings like a seesaw. Then all the men and all the animals are called to stand near the ends of the plank. When one of the swinging beings falls down from the plank, the person standing near it will die sooner than the one standing at the opposite end. The deities have a messenger called Nuxwhm'bika (that means "long ear"), who carries all the news from our earth up to the House of Myths. Ak'amt'm has two children, — the elder, who is called Sant'lexnlts Ak'amt'm, that is, "the foolish son of Ak'amt'm" (Plate VII, Fig. 8), and [illegible] Ak'amt'm. I have not been able to learn any thing in regard to the functions of these two beings.

While Sasa and Ak'amt'm are principally concerned with the fates of mankind, they do not personally interfere with the doings of men. Their thoughts are carried out by four brothers, who are called collectively Mas-
[illegible]'ala, or Qaalx'ustqamas (Plate VIII, Figs. 1–4). These brothers are Mas.qat'lauk ("the one who finishes his work by chopping once"), Yala'-
[illegible] ("the one who finishes his work by rubbing once"), Mas.qat'cauk
("the one who finishes his work by cutting once"), and [illegible]. They
[772] have a sister called [illegible]. These four brothers live in an elevated room in the rear of the House of Myths. They are engaged in carving and painting. It is said that they gave man his arts. They taught him to build canoes, to make houses, to build houses, and to carve in wood and to

point. They taught him the methods of hunting, and, according to some, they made the fish. The Bella Coola say, when carving a design, that Mamamalt'sis gives them the idea which they are working out. 776

Sisaa has a daughter named Sp'ex'p'ik'ua'ts, who invented the art of working cedar-bark. Her figure is also used in the kq'sist ceremonial, in which the invention of the preparation of cedar-bark is represented. This deity has an assistant called Omatsu'k', who supports the stick over the edge of which she is breaking the bark. When first breaking bark, she shouts, "Aatsx sisya'ltxaa ti Omatsu'k'atsx" ("Bring to me Omatsu'k'"). After he has been given to her, she shouts, "Aatsx sisya'ltxaa ta tspek'a.ts" ("Bring me the board on which to break the bark"). After receiving this, she demands the cedar-bark breaker, saying, "Aatsx sesskpaa.ai'ts ta sp'k'a'ists." Finally she asks for cedar-bark, saying, "Aatsx k'a.ala.Alamx-lats ti sp'k'a'ustsx." Then she begins to work, singing,— [579] [539] [539]

"E ses ask'a'usset ti ses'a'usts ta ka'a
E ses ttsaad ta sal Sp'ex'p'ik'ua'ts ses'a'usts ta ka'a"

("Behold me, ye who are not initiated!
I am the Cedar-bark Breaker of Sp'ex'p'ik'ua'ts.")

It seems that most of the Bella Coola maintain that the Raven also lives in the House of Myths, but this point of their mythology is somewhat obscure and contradictory. According to the tradition of a number of families, the Raven was one of the beings sent down by Sisaa to our world to become the ancestor of men, but at the same time it is told that he invented certain arts. It is stated that he made the first salmon-trap (ex.k'a'l), which is used in connection with the salmon-weir. 776 773

It is also said that Mamamalt'sis attempted to make the whistles for the winter ceremonial, but he was unsuccessful, and that the Raven succeeded in making them; also that the Raven came down to give the world its present shape. He instituted the festivals of the Bella Coola, and then returned to the House of Myths.

Besides all these deities, there are nine brothers and their sister particularly concerned with the observances of the kq'sist ceremonial (Plate IX, Figs. 1-9). The names of the brothers are, Xtsaatsmalt'a.la, Xt'ansiwa, Omq'amk'ilk'a, Q'o'ansiwa, Aimalt'a.ala, Al'amk'ilk'a, K'ic'lias, Q'alaxt'ua, A'l'amk'; and of their sister, i.'ltsat'aplai.ana. These deities are painted with certain designs. Xtsaatsmalt'a.la and Xt'ansiwa are painted with the designs of the full moon (the former carries a staff wound with red and white cedar-bark); Omq'amk'ilk'a and Q'o'ansiwa, with the design of the half-moon; Aimalt'a.ala and Al'amk'ilk'a, with the design representing the stars; K'ic'lias, with the design of the rainbow; Q'alaxt'ua, with the de- 776 776 532

776 sign of the salmon-berry blossom: A't'mâk^a has the shape of a kingfisher; and L'ëtsa'aplëLana is painted with the design of a sea-lion bladder filled
532 with grease. She wears rings of red and white cedar-bark. The carving representing the kingfisher has the wings attached to the sides of the head, while the tail rises over the forehead. Xëmxëmalâ'oLla is said to carry a small woman in his arms. Her name is Nuspô'xta. When the brothers and their sister threaten to do harm to man, she entreats them to desist. In some traditions these deities are described as the children of ALk'unta'm.[1]

776 In one tradition L'ëtsa'aplëLana[2] is described as visiting houses and
773 stealing provisions. She is then pursued by the person whom she has wronged, and returns to the House of Myths. The deities are unable to cure her; but the person who wounded her is called in, and withdraws his arrow, whereupon she recovers.[1] Formerly I had the impression that these
[114] ten deities were particularly concerned with the sisau'k^a ceremonial,[2] but this
[575] impression has not been substantiated by the information I received during the past year. The ten deities appear much rather as deities of the kô'siut.

575 In the rear of the House of Myths there is a room named LlÔ'sta, in
773 which the son of the deities lives. His name is Ba'gxôLla or Snupaaxola'lt.
776 When SëNx and ALk'untâ'm desire to destroy their visitors, they send them past the door of Ba'gxôL'a's room. The latter then rushes out of his room
[772] and devours the visitors. He also initiates the Cannibal. According to the tradition of the tribe Së'nxLëmx^a, they acquired membership in the Cannibal Society in the following manner: Ba'gxôLla came down to the mountain Sqtsl, where he met with the son of SëNxalô'Lëla, the first of the tribe. He conducted him up to the House of Myths. He took him into his room, and gave him the name Q'oalaiu'tstimot. He put a snake into his body, which enabled him to pass through the water. When the youth applied his mouth to the body of a person, the snake tore pieces of flesh from the body, and devoured it. Then Ba'gxôLla took the youth to the upper heaven, past the rent in the sky, and to the house of the supreme deity, Qama'its. The two approached the house, being blown towards it by the strong gale prevailing in the open country of the upper heaven. They found Qama'its sitting in front of her house; and she said to Ba'gxôLla, "Why don't you come in? You wish that your friend should obtain great supernatural power. Bring him to my house, and I will give him what you desire. Stay for a short while where you are, and I will show you what I am doing. Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." After a little while the post closed its eyes. It grew dark at once, and the two visitors fainted, but soon they recovered. When the post opened its eyes again, it grew light. The visitors remained sitting on the ground, and

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 994.
[2] Seventh Report on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, p. 6.

suddenly a strong wind began to blow, which rolled them over the prairie until they reached the door of the house. Then suddenly the wind calmed down. They remained sitting on the ground near the doorway; and Qama'its said, "Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." They were sitting opposite each other, watching the post; and when it closed its eyes, they were transformed into two stones, but they soon regained human shape. Then Qama'its asked them to enter. Now the woman took the youth's blanket, and gave him another one made of bear-skin set with fringes of red cedar-bark. She told him that this blanket was to keep him warm, and that it would direct his course. Next she fetched some water from the salt-water pond behind her house. She sprinkled it over the faces of her visitors, and told the youth to sing about his experiences in the upper heaven when performing the Cannibal dance. If she had not sprinkled the faces of her visitors with water, they would have died. She said to the youth, "Your country is not far away. Do not be afraid of the dangerous road that you have to pass. Later on there shall be many Cannibals like you. Do not be afraid to touch the food that another Cannibal may offer to you. You are strong because you have seen me." Then Qama'its sent him back to the lower sky. Here the gods placed him on the back of a bird (Sq'xsgn), which carried him down to the sea. As soon as the bird reached the water, it uttered its cry, and at the same time the young man uttered the cry of the Cannibal. The people heard it, and said to one another, "That must be the boy whom we lost some time ago." They connected many canoes by means of planks, and paddled out to the place where the bird was swimming about. They covered the canoes with red cedar-bark and eagle-down, and tried to capture the youth; but when they approached, the bird swam towards the village. They surrounded it with their canoes; but the bird flew up, and disappeared in the sky, and at the same time the youth flew towards the village. When the people landed, he attacked them, taking hold of their arms; and the snake, which was still in his body, tore pieces of flesh out of their arms. The people sang and beat time in order to appease him. 575 773 776

In a second room in the rear of the House of Myths, next to that of the Cannibal, lives Kôkô'sLXEm, another son of the deities. His room is called Nus'ô'lxsta. He initiates the Olx-dancer (see Chap. VI). 776 575

The path of the Sun is guarded by a number of deities. At sunrise is stationed the Bear of Heaven, Snanô's ti Sônx t'aix (Plate X, Fig. 2). He is described as a fierce warrior, who protects the Sun against the attacks of his enemies, and he is the cause of the warlike spirit of man. His hair is tied up in a knot on top of his head. His mask is used in the sisan'k [772] [821]

776 ceremonial, and sometimes in the ka'siut. The following song belongs to
575 his mask and dance:—

[539] Nanemô'tstauit ti q'ûqaki'mtst'aix'. Nô'nq'awêxum ts'ên t'ayôłałat'aix' ayati
snanô'a ti wônx' t'aix', wâ, nôn, ai!

("Cry now, as though you had left me! I shall tie up my hair, warriors, like the Bear of Heaven.")

776 At sunset stands an enormous post which is called Nutêexoa'axtatas ti
821 Sônx' t'aix'. It supports the sky, and prevents the Sun from falling down into the lower world. The trail of the Sun is described as a bridge which was built by Masmasala'nix. The bridge is as broad as the distance between the winter solstice and the summer solstice. The Sun walks, his face turned towards the west. In summer he walks on the right-hand side of the bridge, in winter on the left-hand side of the bridge, which explains the varying heights of the sun in the course of the year. The extreme right and extreme left of the bridge are called Sê'ɛmt ("the place where he sits down," that is, the solstices). At each of these points a being is placed who is called Ałk·x·ê'łnɛm (Plate X, Fig. 3). It is their duty to see that the Sun does not tarry too long at the solstice. If in summer or winter he should be inclined to stay too long or to return too soon, they regulate his course. When the Sun tarries too long at the winter solstice, the people say, "êx tsês pa'nia" ("salmon will be dried late this year"). If he leaves it without tarrying, they say, "êk·!x· tsês pa'nia" ("soon we shall dry salmon"). Three guardians named Naqumiqa'otsaix (Plate X, Fig. 1) accompany the Sun on his course, dancing around him all the time. The halo is called Itwu'xtsia ti Mânł t'aix· ("the cape of our father"). A sun-
[73] dog that appears westward from the Sun is called Ałqôł ti Mânł t'aix· ("the
[753] painted face of our father"). The Bella Coola believe that when it drops down to our earth, it causes epidemics. During an eclipse the Sun is believed to lose his torch. The rays of the Sun are his eyelashes.

There are twenty-four guardians appointed to take care of the sky. They are called Nexolak·ai'x·. According to tradition, the sky must be continually fed with firewood. Once upon a time they put too much firewood into the sky and made it burst. All the pieces except one, called S'ałwalô'ɛm, fell down to our earth. The fragments hit the faces of the twenty-four guardians, and distorted them. They tried to mend the sky, but did not know how to do it. They went down the river, and came to Masmasala'nix, whose assistance they asked. Masmasala'nix gathered up the broken pieces, and glued them together. Up to that time the Sun had staid in the east, but now he began to go on his daily course. At that time Masmasala'nix built the bridge over which the Sun travels every day. He placed a wedge in the opening of the sky, into which the Nexolak·ai'x·

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have to put the firewood. This opening is called K'awa'omsta, that is, "mouth kept open by means of a wedge." Mamasala'nix spoke: "The sky shall not burst again. This wedge shall keep its mouth open." The following ka'siut song refers to these deities: — 776 821

[539]

Ai'mms ti mmmal' tlexs ti ai'ax'tagi t'aix
Aiēx ti mmmal' ōx. ti S'ālxalō'omm ti Sōmx' t'aix.
Sīx yalxēx ti ai'lxnē ti mmmal'.
Sīx mdga wq exmē'x ti K'awa'omstash ti Sōmx' t'aix ti mmmal.

("My child perished like the sky when it broke
Go to S'ālxalō'omm of the sky, my child!
Gladden my heart, my child!
Sit down in the mouth of the sky, my child!")

Our world is called A'nēkō'ōt, or Qenkī'lst, that is, "the land below." It is an island swimming in the boundless ocean. In the far east a giant is sitting with legs apart, who is called Alēp!alaxtnaix'. He holds a long stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar by means of two stone ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake: and the Bella Coola say, "Snēnik"pstak'intōls," that is, "he takes hold of our world." When he moves our earth westward, we have epidemics. When he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears. 772 776 823 [731] [753]

In the ocean lives a being called Sēlāts, who twice every day swallows the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the ka'siut ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various levels of the sea.

The world below us is the country of the ghosts (kōlk"lolg'mx'). It is called Asiutā'nxm. Descriptions of the ghosts' country are principally obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the sandy banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with sharp stones. When it is summer here, it is winter there. When it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their heads. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls, on reaching the lower world, receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform 772 775 [756] [787]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NEb Bellacoola NEb

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their kā'sist. It is just below the burial-place of each village. The dancing-house is very large and long. It has four fires. The women stay on the floor of the house, while the men sit on an elevated platform. The houses have doors, but the ghosts who first reach the lower world enter the house through the smoke-hole. A rope ladder placed in the smoke-hole facilitates their entrance. Two men stand at the foot of the ladder. They are called Anset.'xemlal'x'. For a person who has once entered the dancing-house there is no return to our earth. The souls are at liberty to return to the lower heaven, which they reach by ascending the rope ladder. Those who return to the lower heaven are sent back to our earth by the deities, to be born as children in the same family to which they belonged. Those who enjoy life in the country of the ghosts, and who do not return to heaven, die a second death, and then sink to the second lower world, from which there is no return.

I received another description from an old man. He stated that he reached the country in his canoe. He saw two trails, — one the trail of the living, one that of the dead. He followed the trail of the dead, and reached a village in which there was a dancing-house. The language of the ghosts differed from that of the living (see p. 42).

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[823]

The Bella Coola believe that in the far west is situated the land of the salmon, which is called Mta'ltsa. The salmon leave this country early in the spring every year, and ascend the rivers. They are believed to return to their own country in the fall. The following tradition is of importance, explaining the manner in which the salmon were first brought from their country to the rivers of our world: —

Once upon a time a man named Winwt'na lived at Q'ō'nqōtis. One day he was sitting in front of his house, looking at the river. He thought, "I wish fish would ascend this river." At that time not a single salmon visited Bella Coola River. Winwt'na entered his house and lay down, thinking about the salmon. One night while he was asleep he dreamt that with the help of all the animals he had made war upon the salmon, that he had vanquished them, and that since that time the salmon had ascended Bella Coola River. When he awoke he invited all the animals to his house, and told them about his dream. They all came, and when they had entered he shut the door. Then he spoke: "My brothers, I have invited you to my house that you may hear what I wish to do. You shall help me to obtain what I desire." The Mink asked him in what they were to assist him; and he replied, "I want to go to Mta'ltsa. There is not a single fish in our river, and I dreamt that with your help I vanquished the fish. Let us make war upon them. I shall certainly take some slaves, and we will place them in this river." Mink retorted, "I am glad that you are speaking,

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in regard to this matter. I asked my father the Sun (see Chap. V) to give us salmon, and I think he gave you the dream which you told us."

All the birds agreed, and they resolved to start as soon as possible. Then Winwt'na asked Masmsala'nix to build a canoe. The latter complied with his request, and made a self-moving canoe, to which he gave the names "Wisaioseus," and "Kuskuu'qstus." In the third moon after the winter solstice the canoe was completed, and Winwt'na started, accompanied by the clouds, the birds, and by all the animals. The Hermaphrodite was sitting in the stern of the canoe. They went down the fiord; and when they passed the village of Bella Bella, they saw the Cormorant sitting on the beach, who asked to be taken along as a passenger. They travelled westward for a long time, and finally they reached the country of the Salmon. They saw that there were no trees. The country was a vast prairie. A large sun was shining in the sky. Soon they descried the village of the Salmon. They sent out the Raven as a spy. When he returned, he told them that in the evening the Salmon were in the habit of playing on the beach. Mink suggested that this would be the best time for carrying some of them away. Then the Crane (according to another version, the Hawk) said, "I shall carry away the Sockeye Salmon." The Wren said, "I shall carry away the Humpback Salmon." The Kingfisher (according to another version, the Crane) said, "I shall carry away the Dog Salmon." The Raven said, "I shall carry away the Silver Salmon." The Fish-Hawk said, "I shall carry away the Olachen and the Salmon Trout." The Cloud said, "I shall carry away the Spring Salmon." Finally the Cormorant said, "I am only a passenger, and I will take whatever I can get." The Mink remarked, "I will not say what I am going to carry away: I only want to tell you that you must each take one male and one female. Now start. You are invisible to the Salmon. When you approach them, they will not be able to see you, just as we cannot see the ghosts, even when they are walking by our side." They left Wiewt'na to guard the canoe. Then all the birds and the Mink took each one male and one female child of the various kinds of fish. When they carried them off, the children fainted, as though their souls had been taken away. Their bodies remained at the place where they had been playing. The Salmon did not see their captors, and did not know why the children were fainting. The birds returned to the canoe, carrying the fish. Then Winwt'na said, "Let us go on and see what is beyond the country of the Salmon." Soon they arrived at a place called Qoale'nia (this name is not quite certain), in which vast numbers of berries were growing. Here the Hermaphrodite went ashore, and picked all kinds of berries, which she carried into the canoe. Then they returned home. For seven months they had staid in the country of the Salmon. They reached the coast shortly after the winter solstice (?). When they passed Bella Bella, the Cormorant

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE5

773 825 said, "This is my home. I will go ashore here." He went, and took along the Salmon which he had captured. Ever since that time there are salmon at Bella Bella. The others travelled on, and came to the mouth of Bella Coola River. Then they threw all the various kinds of fish into the water. The Salmon jumped, and began to ascend the river. Then Winwī'na arose in his canoe and told each at what season he was to arrive. He scattered the berries over the mountains and through the valleys, and told them at what season to ripen. After he had done so, he invited his companions into his house, and gave them a feast.

773 825 192 In this tradition the birds and animals are not called by their ordinary names, but by mythical names. These names are as follows:—

ENGLISH.	ORDINARY NAME.	MYTHICAL NAME.
Spring salmon	ämt.	t'ōh'ō'ls'timōt
Sockeye salmon	sämt.	nanätsak·mēxaxnt'm ("very long")
Humpback salmon	k'ap'ai'	snuk'pämai'x.
Dog salmon	tlīl	sasia'lton ("fair weather")
Silver salmon	wa'ls	k'pōtōhōnō'laix ("making himself beautiful")
Salmon (sp.?)	——	ō'sip'äq
Cloud	sk·ī'ē'nons	tsa'hosk· ("long hand")
Hawk (?)	stsīx'n'ex	snuk·'k'iqnaix· ("looking down into water")
Wren	mōxat'a'laqa	t.'lk'ma'lnt.aix· ("jumper")
Crane	xaq'ā'ns	mexexē'lien
Raven	qoa'x	t.xoa'xoaqnai'laix· ("rising early")
Cormorant	t.'ō'pana	k'oa'k'nagrla
Hermaphrodite	ex'inta	st.a'ya'ō

773 According to the belief of the Bella Coola, Winwī'na's canoe arrives from the country of the Salmon every year. It stays in the country of the Bella Coola for nine months, and then returns to the country of the Salmon. At the moment when it leaves, another canoe, which is named "Nō'ak·nem" or "Nunuk·su'tanem," which brings the kū'siut ceremonial, arrives from the country S'anōk!pta'ltna. The canoe reaches a distant point of land before the departure of the canoe of the Salmon. After four days it reaches a nearer point of land. Four days more, and it is seen at the point of land nearest to the mouth of Bella Coola River. Another four days, and it reaches the mouth of the river. The Indians believe that there is a house named Snō'amlitnank· at this place. A post is standing in the water in front of the house. It is called Snutexoalaxbtana'nk·. In the house live three men who are named Naspaulaxxai'x, Ā'mlīag·ilis, and Tixti·k·'a'nemem. The canoe is tied up in front of this house. As soon as it arrives, the kū'siut ceremonial begins. At the head-waters of Bella Coola River, forming the watershed between Bute Inlet and Bentinck Arm, is a mountain called

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NEb Bellacoola NEb

Smaya'ma, that is considered a human being. It is said that his children make the canoe go up Bella Coola River with the rising tide, A'nxumk'ila. The canoe travels the distance from the mouth of the river to the mountain Smaya'na in a single tide. The canoe "Nó'ak'nem" stays for four months. Then the canoe "Kunkunu'qtstuls" returns from the country of the Salmon, while "Nó'ak'nem" leaves again. It is said that all the gods of the House of Myths come to the villages of the Bella Coola in the canoe "Nó'ak'nem." 773 [776]

The arrival and the departure of these canoes are strictly regulated according to the calendar of the Bella Coola, which for this reason should be explained in connection with their beliefs. The Bella Coola divide the year into two parts, which are separated by the winter and summer solstices. The solstices are periods of indefinite length, between which five months are counted. Each solstice is reckoned, therefore, as approximately six weeks. The names of the months are as follows: — 773 805 821

Sé'mt (*winter solstice*)	Sé'mt (*summer solstice*)
Sxólt'mx'nem	Sl'uxum
A'xó'nstumá	Sexe'x'mel
Sinq'u'm	Sinulá'hsemtnem
Siqió'k'	Tsi sitak'ím tsi.zu Ananlikuts'ai'x'
Sinó'moak'	Lemuté'm

The canoe "Nó'ak'nem" arrives, and "Kunkunu'qtstuls" leaves, in the month Sinulá'hsemtnem. The canoe "Nó'ak'nem" leaves, and "Kunkunu'qtstuls" returns, in the month Sxólt'mx'nem.

At the moment when the canoe "Nó'ak'nem" arrives, a deity called Ananlikuts'ai'x' (Plate XII, Figs. 1 and 2), who is believed to live in a cave, opens the door of her abode. There is one deity of this name to each village. Her cave is called Nuskésiú'tsta. It is said that one Ananlikuts'ai'x' lives on the mountain Sqtsi. Her house is described as a large hollow bowlder suspended from the top of the mountain by means of a rope. Each Ananlikuts'ai'x' has an older sister who is called Nutsé'xnem. When the canoe "Nó'ak'nem" appears, and she opens her door, she steps outside and stands in front of her house, dancing, with trembling hands. When a person sees her, he faints. His soul is taken into her house, and is initiated into the secrets of the kn'siut. 773 776 [575]

A particular Nuskésiú'tsta is believed to be at the foot of the creek Anó'nk', on the northern side of North Bentinck Arm, near the mouth of Bella Coola River. A woman called Nustsxoaxló'stxuit, lives there. She is described as emaciated, of black skin, and as wearing a black blanket. A certain chief who lived long ago was the first to see her. He was initiated by her, and after his return he performed a dance, and told what he had seen. Then he died.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

776 There is a special deity who initiates the shamans. His name is LALA-
ia'it, or Sxai'cxnax (Plate XI, Fig. 9). He lives in the woods. He carries
[756] a wooden wand wound with red cedar-bark, which he swings in his hands, producing a singing noise. Around his neck he wears a large ring made of strips of bear-skin and red cedar-bark. He sometimes plays in ponds which are believed to be in certain mountains. When he jumps into the water, it boils. When a woman meets him, she begins to menstruate; when a man meets him, his nose begins to bleed. When initiating a person, he touches the chest of the latter with his wand, and paints his face with the design of the rainbow. Then he swings his wand, the noise of which causes the person who hears it to faint. He creates sexual desire in man
[787] and animals. A shaman who was initiated by this being told me that he very often sees LALAIA'IT, who tells him who will die and who will fall sick. Sometimes he sees that the body of a person is black. Others he sees dancing on their heads. These are signs that they will die at an early date. I obtained from this man the description of the visit to the country of the ghosts, quoted before (p. 38). He told me that when reaching the country of the dead, he saw the ghosts of his deceased relatives sitting in the house. When they saw him, they began to weep, and said, "Don't come here. We don't want to see you so soon." While they were speaking to him, the chief's speaker entered the house, and called all the people to come to the dancing-house of the ghosts. One of the ghosts painted his face black and white, and tied long strips of white and red cedar-bark in his hair. The people were called four times. Then they started to go to the dancing-house. The entrance to the door was over a narrow plank. When he had just stepped on the plank, he suddenly saw LALAIA'IT, with his large neck-ring made of red cedar-bark and strips of black bear-skin, who took hold of him, turned him round, and told him to return to his own country, because, if he should once enter the dancing-house, he would not be able to return. Then he revived; and from that time on, LALAIA'IT was his supernatural helper.

A. Jacobsen describes this spirit as follows:[1] —

776 "The most prominent among the spirits of the shamans is Kle-klati-e'il
756 [LALAIA'IT]. He lives in the woods, where the youth who intends to be initiated tries to find him. When the spirit meets him, the youth faints. When he recovers, he begins to sing a song, the tune and words of which have been given to him by the spirit. Now he has become a shaman, who uses this song in all his incantations; but he does not retain it throughout life, because he meets his guardian spirit almost every year, and then he receives new songs. The Indians believe that Kle-klati-e'il has human shape, but he is clothed in cedar-bark, and wears a great many rings of cedar-bark.

[113] [1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 104.

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Some of these he gives to the shaman. . . . A third spirit is the Skaia [Sxal'ĉuoax], which is believed to live in rivers, and to have the shape of a salmon. When a shaman who is inspired by this spirit makes an incantation in a house, singing and dancing, as all the shamans do, whoever approaches the house and hears the song turns back. They believe that whoever passes the house during the incantation will be punished with death by the spirit Skaia." 776 756

I believe this spirit is identical with LALAIT'E., who, as stated before, has the second name Sxal'ĉuoax. According to Jacobsen, some shamans are initiated by the ghosts. He says that the ghosts are believed to have bald heads and blue faces. I am under the impression, however, that the people initiated by them are not shamans, but ka'sint dancers (see Chap. VI). [775] [575]

Another being who initiates shamans is described in the following tradition: — 539

Once upon a time there was a man and a woman who had four sons. The three elder ones died. Then the father and mother and the youngest brother were very unhappy, and the old people cried for grief until they died. The young man was now left all alone. He left his village, intending to go away and never to return. He pulled his blanket over his head and walked on. Sometimes he would stop to pray. He lived on the meat of mountain-goats which he shot. He built a small hut high up on the mountains, and dried the meat. He was crying and praying all the time. He prayed to the Sun to give him a gift which would restore his happiness. One day early in the morning he ascended the mountain. He addressed the rising Sun, saying, "Look at me, how unhappy I am." After he had gone a short distance he came to a ravine. The bed of the ravine was filled with pretty pebbles. There he met a beautiful man, who was no other than the Sun, who had descended from the sky. He had caused the water of the creek that runs through the ravine to disappear. When the young man saw the stranger from a distance, he thought, "He seems to be looking for me." He went nearer; and when they met, the Sun said, "I am the one to whom you are praying all the time, and I come to help you. Now be happy. When you open your mouth and speak to me, I know your thoughts at once. I help those who address themselves to me. Take this." With these words he handed the young man a switch carved in the shape of a man. The Sun was carrying it under his arm, the point of the switch directed downward. "Fold your arms and hold this switch to your chest, and then return to the village. When you approach any one, hide the switch under your arm. You will find a person who wears a nose-ornament of beautiful green color. Then you must try to hit the ornament with this switch, and throw it to your right side." 756 776

539 He walked on, and after a while he noticed a man sitting at a distance.
756 Then he hid the switch under his arm. When he came near, he saw that
776 the man wore a large green nose-ring. He hit it with his switch, and threw it to the right-hand side. Then the man said, "You have attained me as your supernatural helper. Your name shall be S'a'tems [from 'a'tema,' 'dead']. Many people have seen me, but nobody has done what you did. If you had not struck my nose-ornament, you would have died on seeing me. You shall have the power to heal the sick by the touch of your hands. Whenever a person dies and is put into a box, after the box has been placed in the burial-ground, go there. You will find me sitting on the coffin. If then you knock the nose-ring from out of my nose, I shall leave, and the dead will revive. He will break the box, and will arise."

Then the young man felt very glad. He returned to the village, and by following the instructions of the spirit he resuscitated the dead. He was given many blankets, and the men whom he had resuscitated gave him their daughters in marriage.

756 Other shamans are initiated by L'etsa'apletana. The same man who
776 gave me the record of his supposed visit to the country of the ghosts (see p. 38) told me that at another time he saw L'etsa'apletana flying in the air outside of his house. She wore a ring of red cedar-bark around her neck. She was turning round all the time. Songs were coming from all parts of her body. Although she did not open her mouth, it sounded as though a great many people were singing. She gave him a song, or, as the narrator expressed it, "she threw a song into his body." At that time he was sick, suffering from a wound in his leg inflicted by an axe. He said four days after meeting the spirit he was able to walk, and since that time she has assisted him in curing diseases.

The st'ist, is another helper of the shaman, and the means of curing disease (see p. 38). It appears that it obtains its supernatural power from the fact that it lives in the water in which the supreme deity washes her face. When a person sees a st'ist, he should throw sand on it, by which means he will be able to catch it. Its skin is so hard that it cannot be pierced with a spear or knife. The person who catches it should not try to cut it with his knife, but should stretch his hand backward, and thus he will find the leaf of a holly, which is the only thing that can cut its skin. He should not touch the st'ist, with his hands, but hold it with hemlock twigs. He should wrap it in white cedar-bark and tie it up in his blanket. If it is not thus tied up, it will disappear. It must not be taken into the
[755] house, but should be placed in a small box and hidden under stones, or buried in a hole under the root of a tree. It is a most potent means of curing disease. Sick people will buy small pieces of the st'ist, for which

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they pay high prices. The piece is thrown into water, in which it is kept for four days. Then the water is used for washing the body. If a healthy person uses this water, he will live to an old age. Sick persons chew the white cedar-bark in which it is wrapped up, in order to regain health. They must not swallow the cedar-bark, but only the saliva that gathers in their mouths. A person who has chewed the cedar-bark becomes invulnerable. The eye of the at'sinx is described as about a foot in diameter, and as transparent as rock crystal. 756 776 [755]

Tox'lax.'it is the spirit who protects the mountain-goat hunter. He himself is invisible; but great hunters sometimes see his hat, his moccasins, or his mountain staff moving about. The following tradition describes some of his characteristics: — 776 539

The Raven and the Lynx lived in one house, each occupying one side. Early in the morning the Raven went out to catch salmon with the harpoon. He was very successful, and carried the fish home. Tox'lax.'it watched the Raven, who, when he arrived at the house, roasted his salmon. The children of the Lynx were sitting near by, and looking at the Raven while he was roasting the fish. They wished to participate in the meal, but he did not give them anything. Then the children were very sad. Now the Lynx made up his mind to make arrows and to go hunting mountain-goat. He went out and cut some wood for his arrows; then he told his wife to make a quiver, which he called Ts'o'lapala. She did so, and wove a quiver of cedar-bark. The Lynx was quite impatient for the sun to rise, so eager was he to start hunting. Early in the morning he arose and ascended the mountain. When he reached the limit of the trees, he sat down on a flat rock and looked for goats. Then he saw the staff of a man who was coming down the mountain. He did not see the person himself. He thought, "Who is that? Who may be hunting here?" The stick approached him; and when it came near, he saw Tox'lax.'it, who wore a large hat. His hat was named Q!p'it (that means a "barren mountain-top"). Tox'lax.'it reached the Lynx, and sat down opposite him. Neither spoke a word. After a while Tox'lax.'it arose, took the arrows of the Lynx, and said, "How beautiful these arrows are!" He took up one after another until he had looked at all the four arrows of the Lynx. Then he asked, "Who made these arrows?" The Lynx did not reply. Tox'lax.'it asked again, "Who made these arrows?" Then Lynx replied, "Tox'lax.'it made my arrows." Then Tox'lax.'it was very much pleased, and said, "Is he the one who made your arrows?" — "Certainly!" replied Lynx. Then Tox'lax.'it took his arrows and threw one after another down the mountain, and said to the Lynx, "Now go down the mountain and look at your arrows. If you spoke the truth, every

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one of them will have killed a large mountain-goat." The Lynx descended the mountain, and saw that every one of his arrows had killed a goat. Then he was glad, because now he had food for his children. He jumped and danced for joy. And Tsi'lan,'k said, "I am Tsi'lan,'k. I am so called because I am the mountain-goat hunter. Now return to your village. From now on, I am your supernatural protector. The next time you go hunting, and you do not find any mountain-goats, sit down and throw your arrows down the mountain. Every one will kill a goat. But do not lose those arrows. If you should lose them, you would never kill another mountain-goat." The mountain-goats were so large, that Lynx took only their fat, which he put into his quiver and climbed down the mountain. He arrived at his house in the afternoon. He left his quiver outside, and the Raven saw him coming in. The Lynx sat down by the side of his wife. He did not say a word. His wife and his children also received him in silence. In the evening, when it was dark, he said to his wife, "Go and fetch my quiver. It is hanging outside on a stick." She went there and tried to lift it, but it was too heavy. She returned to her husband and told him that she was not strong enough to lift it, and asked him to fetch it himself. He said, "It is not heavy." He went out himself and brought it in. He opened it and took out the fat; and he gave some of it to his children, but he did not give any to the Raven's children. Then the Raven was very sad. After a little while, the Raven's children began to cry, because they wanted some of the fat.

Early the next morning the Lynx went to fetch the meat of the mountain-goat. The Raven watched him, and saw where he went. When he saw that the Lynx had killed mountain-goats, he made up his mind to go hunting too. He told his wife to make him a quiver while he went out to cut wood for his arrows. In the evening the quiver and the arrows were done. In the afternoon the Lynx came home, bringing the meat of the mountain-goats. Early the next morning the Raven started, following the tracks of the Lynx. He reached the place where the Lynx had sat down. He sat there, and placed his arrows by his side. He looked around for mountain-goats. After some time he saw a staff moving along in the distance. It approached, and soon he saw a man coming down the mountain. It was Tsi'lan,'k. He reached him, and sat down opposite the Raven. They did not speak a word. After a while Tsi'lan,'k arose, took up the arrows, and said, "Man, your arrows are beautiful. Who made them?" The Raven did not reply. Then Tsi'lan,'k said again, "Tell me who made your arrows." Then the Raven answered, "The name of the man who makes my arrows is Raven." Then Tsi'lan,'k took the arrows, threw them down the mountain, and said to the Raven, "You are bad!" And he turned back, and ascended the mountain. The Raven went down the mountain, trying to find his arrows.

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They had hit a stone, and their points were broken. He staid there some 539
time, and when it was utterly dark he returned home. Before he reached 776
his house, he cut his own belly and took out some of the fat from his intestines. He cut it in five pieces, and replaced his intestines. He put the fat into his quiver. When he reached his house, he hung the quiver up outside, and entered. He imitated everything the Lynx had done. When it grew dark, he told his wife to fetch his quiver. She brought it, and he told her to open it and to feed his children. She took the fat out, placed it on a stick, and put it near the fire; and as soon as it grew warm, the Raven cried, "Tsi! Don't put it so near the fire. I feel sick when you do so." He jumped up, took hold of the fat, and put it back in his belly. The Lynx said, "Formerly I fed your children, but you were the first one to treat me properly. You did not give any food to my children." Then the Lynx took some fat, and flung one piece to each of the Raven's children. He cut some meat and gave it to them also. Then the Raven said, "I will give you one of my children, that it may grow up in company with yours."

It is said that the former spirit Tsi'lm.'k was killed at one time by an 713
Indian who took his place. This tale is recorded in Chap. IV. It belongs to 776
the tribe of the village Nuxt'q'l. A similar tradition is told of Anim,* [70]
by which name the Carriers call the Raven, their principal culture hero. Many traditions referring to Anim are common to the Carriers, the Bella Coola, and the Awik'nais of Rivers Inlet.

The Bella Coola believe that a being called K'mm is the father of all 776
mountain-goats. When a hunter meets him, he thinks he sees a kid. Then 025
he should close his eyes and open them again. If the animal is K'mm, it will appear in its real shape as a buck of enormous size. The hunter should then ascend the mountain. If he should descend, he would fall and die.

The thunder-storm is produced by the Thunder-bird, who lives on the 776
mountains, in the company of a number of spirits, who are considered his [62]
particular friends. The Thunder-bird himself is represented by a black mask with red nostrils. The nose is strongly curved, the forehead bulges forward, and the chin protrudes almost as far forward as the nose (Plate XI, [572]
Fig. 1). His herald is called Acoalc'tamum (Plate XI, Fig. 2). His face is painted with orange and blue stripes, and he carries a speaker's staff, which is painted with spirals of the same color. He watches the door of the Thunder-bird's house. In his house live the Rabbit (Plate XI, Fig. 3); the Owl, who is considered the rival of the Thunder-bird (Plate XI, Fig. 4); the Mountain, c'qas (Plate XI, Fig. 5); the Raindrop (Plate XI, Fig. 6). [575]

* Cf. the Anim of the Carriers (Footnote 1, p. 46). Other myths of Anim, cf. p. 50.

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776 The Thunder-bird and his companions appear in the kl'ulat ceremonial.
575 When they enter the house, a dancer appears who carries an instrument in
[534] the shape of a bird-rattle (Plate XI, Fig. 1), which is provided with holes in its lower side, and has a horse head. This implement is filled with cedar-bark and eagle-down, and is shaken by the dancer. The eagle-down is then made to fly about in the house, symbolizing the wealth and power of the Thunder-bird.

IV.

184 In the preceding pages I have summarized the principal features of
773 Bella Coola mythology, which are characteristic of the traditions of the whole tribe. Besides these, there are other groups of traditions which are very conflicting. One reason for the existence of numerous contradictory traditions must be looked for in the peculiar social organization of the Bella Coola. In former times, when the tribe was populous, the Bella Coola inhabited a great many villages. The inhabitants of each village are considered the descendants of a number of mythical ancestors who were sent down by Sun. Each of these village communities has traditions of its own, which are its property, and which are not well known to the rest of the tribe. Many of these traditions refer to the origin of our world, and for this reason a number of the most important myths differ in various villages. Indications of such conflicting ideas may be found in the traditions recorded in the preceding pages. To make this subject clear, it is necessary to describe somewhat fully the traditions belonging to a number of village communities. Before recording these traditions I shall enumerate the villages of the tribe.
103 The following list is the result of repeated inquiries. In it the names and
361 locations of the villages are given in consecutive order from the mouth of
773 Bentinck Arm upward along Bella Coola River, and the names of the mythical ancestors of the village communities have been added where these have been ascertained.

Village.	Location.	Ancestors.
1. Q'ul'ten	At the bay of this name.	
2. Ne'ln	At the entrance of South Bentinck Arm.	Tsmul'ts.
3. Nuxul'q	On South Bentinck Arm.	Sunsulut'k'ts, Ts'ensul'-ulent, Ne'ln, and their sister E'ne'ts'ents.
4. Ts'ln'ln	At the entrance of the valley opening on the south side of the mouth of Bella Coola River.	Sul'lemx, Ts'ex'ts'ts', Skuxul'i, Sul'i.
5. Anqlo'ut	The present division at the south side of Bella Coola River, near the mouth.	Sqal'ut, Kamul'tem-ulem, Sunsulut'k'ts, and their sister Lanqlo'tem.

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Tribes.	Locations.	Villages.
6. Ts'ēmēnsk'ēp	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 5.	
7. Ts'ē'ts'ēkēmē	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 6.	
8. Sēlkē'lē	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 7.	
9. Sē'qēs	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 8.	
10. Nēk'ē'ls	South side, near mouth of Bella Coola River.	Q'ī'c'ī.
11. Q'ī'ēnqēlē	South side, near mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 10.	Xē'nēlēs, Ts'ēnq'ēnkēlēlē, and their sister Nēmē'ēs.
	(Nos. 9-11 jointly are called Nuxa'lk.)	
12. Nēmēs	About one mile above Nuxa'lk.	Ts'ēs'lēmēnē, Ts'ēnē'ēnēlēs, Nēnē'ēs'ēlē, and their sister Nēnē'ēnēs.
13. Tsēmēnē'ēs	On Bella Coola River, above No. 12.	Xē'ēk'ēs, Tsēcēnēnēnēk'ēl'ēs, and their sister Nēnēk'ēnē'ēs.
14. Nēē'ēlē	On Bella Coola River, above No. 13.	Ēēk'ēl'ēs.
15. Nēē'ē'ēs	On Bella Coola River, above No. 14.	Ēēnēnē'ēs.
16. Nēnē'ēnēs	At junction of Nēnē'ēnēs and Bella Coola Rivers.	Q'ēnēnēk'ēs'ēs.
17. Ānē'ēnēs	On Bella Coola River, above No. 16.	E'ēnēk'ēs or Ānq'ēnēs'.
18. Nēnq'ēnēnēs	On Bella Coola River, above No. 17.	Ānēnqēk'ēnēnēs', Ts'ēq'ēnē, one more than, and their sister.
19. Tsēnēnēq'ēnē	On Bella Coola River, above No. 18.	
20. Nēnq'ē'ēs	On Bella Coola River, at foot of Mount Nēnq'ē'ēs, above No. 19.	Tsēnē'ēkēs.
21. Nēnē'ē'ēs	On Bella Coola River, above No. 20.	Nēnēnēnē'ēs', Nē'ēs'ēnē, Nēnē'ēs, and their sister Q'ēnēnēnē'ēs.
22. Nēē'ēs	28 miles above mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 20.	Ālēs'ēnēē'ēs or Nēnē'ēs'ēs', Nēnē'ēs, Xē'ēnēnēs, Ānēnē'ēs, Kēnē'ēs, Nēnēqē'ēs, and their sister Kēnēnē'ēs.
23. Nēē'ē'ēs	On Bella Coola River, above No. 22.	
24. Nēē'ēs	On Bella Coola River, above No. 23.	
25. Q'ēnē'ēs	At head of South Dentlack Arm.	
26. Nēē'ēs	" " " "	
27. Ānē'ēs	" " " "	
	(Nos. 25-27 jointly are called Tē'ēs.)	
28. Nēnē	At mouth of Nēnē'ēs River, Dean Inlet.	
29. Nēnē	Dean Inlet.	

[illegible]

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361 773 It is very remarkable, that, besides the ancestors of the villages enumerated here, the Bella Coola state that the Sun created a number of men whom he sent down to a mountain on Skeena River, and that they became the ancestors of a part of the Tsimshian. Another group of men was sent down to Dean Inlet, and later on migrated to Bella Coola River. The names of these villages and men are as follows: —

[103]

Villages.	Ancestors.
Nesup'ner (Skeena River)	Tsqa'mem, A'nnk, Ma'ya, and their sister K'ntsqa'k.
Ne'ne (Dean Inlet)	Sisaukan, Ts[illegible]'ents, Sqa'k-pa'ntsis, [illegible].

The full traditions relating to them will be found at the end of this chapter. Each of these ancestors, when sent down to our world, received a salmon-weir, which was placed across the river at the locality where they built their village. I shall now relate a number of traditions of the various villages.

Tsimpsian of Ne'ne.

080 In the beginning our world was dark. At that time Tsimsi'ns descended from heaven, and reached our world on a mountain near the river Wa'k-tempi (Fraser River). Here he built a house, in which he lived in the company of the Raven. The latter had a black canoe which was called "Raven." The two resolved to travel in order to find people. They descended the river until they came to the sea. After some time they reached a house which was covered inside and outside with abalone shells. The totem-post of the house was also covered with shells. It shone like the sun. They saw a canoe on the beach, and this too was completely covered with abalone shells. A chief, whose name was Pelsaxt'ner ("abalone man"), invited them to enter his house. As soon as Tsimsi'ns reached this place, the sun rose. If he had not found the place of the abalone chief, there would be no sun. Tsimsi'ns did not wish to stay. He looked at the house, and saw something turning about on top of it. When they came nearer, he saw that it was a Mink, which was running about on the roof. Many people were inside the house. When Tsimsi'ns approached and saw the beautiful canoe, he wished to have it. He offered the chief their canoe in exchange. This offer was accepted, and Tsimsi'ns travelled on with the abalone chief. The Raven said with the abalone chief. Tsimsi'ns continued his travels, following the course of the sun. First he travelled southward, and came to the post which stands in the west of our world. From here he travelled on, and reached the copper country, which is situated

[pp. 51–113 not processed]

9/Boas E-5 (BBS-ca. 1895)/900 NEA Bellacoola NBS

the middle of the water, the barnacles and worms bit her. She jumped up, and the canoe capsized. The birds swam ashore. After a short time the barnacles and sea-worms came ashore too. They looked very stout, because they had eaten the bear. Then the youth said to the girl, "There are two trails here,—one leading to the left, the other to the right. You follow the one, I will follow the other. If the trails meet, we will marry; if they do not, we have separate forever. They started, and after a while met each other. Then the youth married the girl. (Hook of the Bear, Plate X, Fig. 11.)[1]

VI.

It is necessary to make a few remarks on the relation of the ceremonials of the Bella Coola Indians to their mythology. I have not seen any of their ceremonials, and my descriptions are based on inquiries, and upon the accounts published by Filly and Adrien Jacobsen.

The Bella Coola have two ceremonials,—the sisnu'k and the ts'ists, which correspond to the xat'kwa and the ts'ists'ops of the Kwakiutl. I have described these ceremonials fully in another paper.[2] The sisnu'k ceremonials are mostly dramatic representations illustrating the clan legends, some of which have been recorded in Chap. IV, while the ts'ists ceremonials are dramatic representations of the initiation of members of various clans into certain secret societies. Among them, the Cannibal Society, the Society of the Laughers, and the Society of the Throwers, are the most important. These are called by the Bella Coola the sisnu'k'ais, Olo, and Dō'ds. I described on pp. [illegible] the spirits presiding over the two first-named societies. The information which I obtained on these points is perfectly clear and consistent. I cannot quite reconcile the explanations given by A. and F. Jacobsen to the accounts which I received. It seems that their accounts do not clearly distinguish between the opinions held by various tribes. In the article above referred to, I described fully the opinions held by the Kwakiutl in regard to the origin of their Cannibal Society. They believe that a spirit called Bēēkūnkwa'wat initiates the Cannibals. He is represented as having an enormous black head with dilated nostrils and large mouth. I have made frequent inquiries among the Bella Coola, but received the uniform answer that this being does not initiate their Cannibals. It is not impossible that a few families may have adopted this tradition from the Kwakiutl tribes, but I have not been able to find it among the Bella Coola. Jacobsen maintains that Bēēkūnkwa'wat is the particular spirit of the Cannibal among the Bella Coola, and brings forward the well-known

[1] Additional legends of the Bella Coola have been published in the publications quoted on pp. 41, 42.

[2] General Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. [illegible]

tradition of the Ax'k'ists as an explanation of the ceremonial. The only modification which I saw in this tradition is that the Cannibal's wife is described as making out through their sore the brains of children,—an incident which I heard related of the mother of Ax'k'ent'n.[1] He calls him "Beck-Beck-Kwakwak, and in the Bella Coola dialect, Pih-Pih Kwakwaxlen." This word is decidedly of Kwakiutl origin, meaning "the one who eats human flesh at the mouth of the river (or at the north end of the world)." Neither here I have able to find any mask representing this being among the Bella Coola tribe. The masks which they use in connection with the Cannibal ceremony are of quite a different character (Plate XII, Figs. 1-6). I am the more inclined to think that Mr. Jacobsen did not clearly distinguish between the customs and traditions of various tribes, since he introduces "Gaskilla Ko" (Qi'ing'ilak') in the traditions of the Bella Coola, while it is distinctively a legend of the Kwakiutl tribes of the extreme northwest of Vancouver Island. Jacobsen does not distinguish clearly between the sisa'k' and the ki'ut, stating that the ki'ut dances are performed during the sisa'k' in the same way as, among the Kwakiutl, a tai'kos may be celebrated during the tsi'ts'ainga. This may be, but theoretically the two ceremonials must be considered entirely distinct. According to the information which I received, sisa'k' dances may be held in summer, in which case the ki'ut could not possibly form part of the sisa'k' ceremonial. When, on the other hand, the sisa'k' takes place during the ki'ut period, it would naturally be accompanied by ki'ut dances.

As stated below, the sisa'k' is a ceremonial in which the legend of the clan is illustrated by means of dramatic performances. At the same time valuable presents are distributed among the guests who are invited to witness the ceremonial. The value of the gifts amounts often to several thousand dollars. At this time the family legend is told in general outlines, but the details of the legend are kept a secret, and are transmitted only to those who are initiated in the sisa'k' of the clan. It seems that we must consider the transmission of the sisa'k' legend in the following manner: At any given time it is the property of the chief of the family, who, at the time of the celebration, transfers his rights to his successor, generally to his son. The full tradition is kept secret by the owner. It seems that there is a close analogy between the conditions prevailing in the northwest and those found among the southwestern Indians, among whom certain priests are guardians of traditions. Among the tribes of the northwest coast the chief of a family is the guardian and owner of the family tradition, while among the southwestern tribes the priest is the guardian of the traditions belonging to a clan or to a fraternity. My impression is, however, that among the northwestern

[1] Unfortunately the Indian translator for ethnographic linguistic and linguistic, was a man
[2] Ibid., vol. 2, 140

Tillamook E-1 (1886-ca. 1893)/900 NEA Bellacoola NEA

[824] [575] Indians the tradition is considered much more clearly the property of the person who has it in charge than it is among the southwestern Indians. A description of the sisa'k' ceremonial has been given by Jacobsen in the paper above referred to.[1]

[604] [424] A clan legend which is illustrated in the sisa'k' ceremonial is called by the Bella Coola "Semsem" or "Sasi'yems." These traditions are the exclusive property of each clan. The laws according to which they descend from generation to generation differ from the laws prevailing among the other [621] Coast tribes. The inhabitants of each Bella Coola village are not subdivided into clans, gentes, or septs; but each village community forms a unit, and possesses the same tradition. In order to keep the tradition in the tribe, the [614] [424] [582] law requires that no person shall marry outside of his own village community. Thus the clan tradition is kept the exclusive property of the village community by means of endogamy. I have made very careful inquiries in regard to this point, and all the old men make substantially the same statement. Even marriages among near relatives are permitted;[2] and although marriages of people who are distantly related, or not related at all, are preferred, it even happens that cousins marry, or that an uncle marries his niece, in order to keep the clan tradition from being acquired by another village community. It seems, however, that, owing to the influence of the Coast tribes, the endogamic system has begun to give way to an exogamic system. Powerful [622] and wealthy chiefs marry outside of their own village community, in order to secure an additional clan legend through marriage. This new system agrees with the one prevalent among the Kwakiutl tribes.

[575] [604] [796] The hi'nat, as stated before, is a religious ceremony in which all the deities of heaven are personified. The members of various clans are initiated according to their clan traditions; but the same societies and the same deities appear in the traditions of all the various clans. From what little I have been able to learn, it seems that there is an elaborate opening of the whole ceremonial, corresponding to the opening of the ceremonial among the Kwakiutl.[3] I received the following description of the opening ceremony:—

[575] [796] The person who invites to the hi'nat, that is to say, the man whose son is to be initiated into one of the secret societies according to the tradition of his clan, requests a person who is called E'xem to invite the nine brothers and their sister, who reside in the House of Myths, and in whose charge the [796] hi'nat is placed. The names of the brothers are Xemsemsala'xa'la, Xa'mnlwa, Qmq'mnk'lik'a, Q'a'nmlwa, Ainmla'xa'la, A'mnk'lik'a, K'ek'lim, Q'ulnat'wa, A'mnk'; and that of their sister, L'ma'qaxlana (see p. 11). In the rear of the house an elevated room is prepared for E'xem, in which he lies down. He is covered with rings made of red cedar-bark. For four days he stays

[1] Dorsey, Ohio, pp. 1-42.

[2] I have described this fully in the Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for this, my good.

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in this room. Then the host sends messengers to invite the people. They take staffs, and tie red cedar-bark round their heads, and go from house to house, singing, "Nayuxdets wa ninnap'ineme' he!" (="I wish to find some one who understands the winter ceremonial.") This they repeat in every house. Then they return to the host's house, who sends them out again, ordering them to sing, "Qaus'ak'ten tsetts wa ninnap'ineme' he!" (="I wish the dancers would wash their hands.") Again they return to his house. They are sent out once more with the message, "Xo'tsak'emdets wa ninnap'ineme' he!" (="I wish the dancers would make their hands tremble.") They return once more to the chief's house, and are sent out again with the message, "Tupunak'tets wa ninnap'ineme' he!" (="I want the dancers to look at their hands.") Now the dancers are ready, and come to the house. Then E'xem arises and dresses. He puts on a head-dress of birds' skins, ornamented with red cedar-bark. He is accompanied by women. Another man, who is called Nuxa'a'ms., adorns himself with red cedar-bark. He carries in his right hand a small baton covered with red cedar-bark. In his left he carries a larger stick, on which he beats time with the small baton. He sits down, and now all the people enter. First of all, E'xem comes in, accompanied by many women. Nuxa'a'ms. begins to sing and to beat time, and E'xem shouts, "Ous!" E'xem walks around the fire, keeping it to his left, and shaking his bark. Before he begins the circuit, he gives four jumps near the door. Four times he goes round the fire, and every time he reaches the door he gives four jumps. As soon as he does so, Nuxa'a'ms. beats time slowly. When E'xem has finished his dance, the people take him to a place near the door, and a woman sings near him. Nuxa'a'ms. and the people join her, then she dances her winter dance. Before she quite finishes, the people make her stop, and another woman begins her dance. Nuxa'a'ms. beats time, and the other people join his song. The people make her stop again. Then a great many people perform their dances. Now E'xem appears again, crying, "Ous!" and Nuxa'a'ms. beats time. Again he jumps four times to the right and four times to the left when reaching the door. After this, two more men and two more women perform their dances. After this has been done twice, E'xem stands near the door, looking upward, and says, "They are very near now." By this time the whole house is full of people. He goes around the house three times, dancing. Then he stays near the door, looking upward, saying all the time, "They are near by." When he reaches the door the fourth time, he cries, "They have arrived! Now they are here, dancing on the roof." E'xem continues to dance in the house, in order to induce them to come down. The first to come down is Xemxemsalt'ea.la, who stops at the rear of the house and sits down. E'xem continues to dance, and the others enter in order. E'xem stands near them and says, "Now I have placed

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575 796 them. Let the chief give them red cedar-bark." The people take small pieces of blankets, and sew red cedar-bark on to them in designs corresponding to the paintings on the faces of these deities, and they give these to the deities in order to appease them. Then they throw grease into the fire. During all this time Ê'xêm stands in the rear of the house; and when a painting has been finished, the man who offers it to the deity shouts, "Xêmxêmalâ'ôL.la t'aix·tau'!" ("This is Xêmxêmalâ'ôL.la.") And Ê'xêm sings, "Yayak·lamêts'ek·a wa k'WALTENai'x·AL t'aix· tai'ya; ALT'AL.'ô'mataxstôs nusk·asiôtstai'x· asELkulatôtita'ya." As soon as he has finished his song, a loud noise is heard on the roof, as though a heavy stone were falling down. Ê'xêm arises and performs a dance, while the noise of whistles is heard proceeding from him.

575 I am not familiar with the details of the ceremonial, and shall proceed to record the principal characteristics of the various societies. The Cannibal is initiated in the House of Myths by BA'EXÔL.la. I recorded above (p. 34) how a young man was initiated by this spirit, and how he was returned to his friends. The return of the Cannibal is accompanied by ceremonies similar [184] to those recorded in this tradition. It seems that the ceremonies of the Cannibals of various families are much alike, each having a tradition of its own referring to the initiation. It is believed that all the Cannibals, during their initiation, go up to the sky. I was told that on this journey they have to take human flesh along for food. It is said that in former times the chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for BA'EXÔL.la. The offer was accepted, and a [266] payment made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the BA'EXÔL.la order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods.

The spirit appears to the novice while he is in the woods, and takes him up to the House of Myths, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside of the houses. He has lost all his hair except a little in the median line of the head. It is believed that it has been torn off by the strong wind blowing in the higher regions. Some Cannibals do 575 796 not devour human flesh, but tear dogs to pieces or devour raw salmon. The ceremonial consists in pacifying the Cannibal, and exorcising the spirit that possesses him. This is the object of the ka'siut ceremonial. After a Cannibal has returned, the people try to capture him. When he is first heard to approach, the speaker, whose face is painted black, and who wears a cedar-bark ring, and is covered with eagle-down, shouts, "Tix·ma'ts'EN tak·'axta'LIL tsaL'ai'ôts'ai. P'alx·êxtsalstsEnai' tix·ma'ts'EN tasiswalô'LIL t'aL'aiôtst'ai'!" ("Arise, it may be our Cannibal. Awake!") The Cannibal is accompanied by four assistants, who are called ALILpa, and who from time to time utter

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the cry, "Hoip!" which is intended to pacify the Cannibal. They wear masks (Plate XII, Figs. 4 and 5). The people try to throw a noose over his head; but he throws it off, refusing to be captured. Then the people shout, "Ya'i!" beating time rapidly. The Cannibal tears the ropes that hold him, and disappears. Then the people follow him, and search for him until they find him. As soon as they approach, he attacks them, but gradually he becomes quieter. Then the speaker (Alk°) invites the people to the dancing-house, saying, "Ip'a'nap kukusiau't!" That means, "Dance, dancers!" Now the Cannibal opens the door, accompanied by his assistants. He wears the mask shown in Plate XII, Fig. 3. At once a number of women arise, ready to surround him as soon as he enters the house. They are called Atal'au'ltemx°. The speaker, who holds a staff, arises and shouts, "Ô n ya'li-watimôtx Alqôtayak·ai's!" That means, "Act like a real Cannibal." The Cannibal utters his cry, "Hoaaa, hoaaa, hoaaa!" ending with a long deep growl. He stays in the doorway for a long time. Then he steps into the house, turns his left shoulder outward once, bites one man on the right-hand side of the house, and one on the left-hand side, and then performs his circuit of the fire, leaving the fire to his left. In dancing he holds his fists in front of his chest, one on each side. He moves in a stooping position, raising his feet very high. He dances for four nights, during which time the people try to pacify him by means of songs and dances. After he has first been induced to enter the house, he becomes quieter. Then he tells the people what he has seen during his absence, and the song-leader makes a song on the subject. The women do not learn about the events that took place during his absence until they hear the song. After four days the ceremony of exorcising the S'a'ltpsta (Plate XII, Figs. 6 and 7), the monster that possesses him, is performed. A large dish is ornamented with red cedar-bark; and the assistant of the S'a'ltpsta (Plate XII, Fig. 8), by means of incantations, makes the Cannibal vomit the snake, or the wolf, or the eagle, that possesses him. Then he is seen to carry the head of the animal under his left arm, while the body is seen in the rear, being held by his assistants. Then this animal is seen to vomit flesh and blood into the dish which has been prepared for the purpose. The Cannibal's assistants cover the body of the animal with down, while they cry from time to time, "Hoip!" Then the people beat time very rapidly, and suddenly the S'a'ltpsta has disappeared. The people beat time four times, and after this the Cannibal has become like an ordinary man. He walks around the fire, which he keeps to his right, and says, "Now Ba'gxôlla has left me." The contents of the dish are thrown into the water, but the dish itself is burned in the dancing-house. It is supposed that it is thus conveyed to heaven. After the dish has been burned, the Cannibal does not dance any more. Then a bed is prepared for him in the rear of the house, in which he must stay for four days. After this, he is

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575 allowed to re-enter the houses; but before doing so for the first time, he
796 must stop at the door and shout, "Wa, wa, wa!" Then he jumps over the threshold. Accompanied by many men, he is led, after four days more, to the river for final purification. He is pushed into the water, but struggles to free himself. He tries to duck his companions, and utters his cries. Finally he is led back. Then he weeps, because the spirit has left him entirely. The people beat time while he is going back to the house. Then he is offered a piece of salmon, which is placed on his throat, while the people shout, "Hoip, hoip!" The salmon is taken away again, and after some time he is allowed to take one bite. Then he must lie down. After the dancing season is ended, he is again allowed to eat in the same way as other people do. The piece of salmon that was placed on his throat is eaten by children as a protection against sickness. Finally a ceremony is performed which is called "taking the lip of the S'a'i.psta out of the Cannibal's body." While this is being done, the people cry, "Hoip!" Then they throw the lip upon another Cannibal, who at once falls into an ecstasy. Then the shaman takes it back and throws it up towards the sky, where it disappears. The dish and the spoon that the Cannibal used during his ecstasy are destroyed. For four years he must wear a small ring of red cedar-bark, in summer as well as in winter.

The Ölx is also initiated in heaven by the being described before (p. 35). There are different traditions regarding his initiation among different clans. Some Ölx, during their performances, walk ropes which are stretched
[534] through the house. When he returns from his initiation, small whistles, called ea.i'laxa, which imitate the voices of eagles, are heard outside of the houses. Then the Ölx enters in a state of ecstasy, scratching the people who assemble to hold him, and tearing their blankets. Finally the people succeed in placing a blanket over his head, and he begins to come to his senses. When he enters the house, the people beat time, then he teaches the chorus-leader a song. The mask worn by the Ölx is quite large, and characterized by a large nose (Plate XII, Fig. 9). He carries a dancing-club (Plate XII, Fig. 10), and rings made of red cedar-bark. He is accompanied by two assistants, who also wear masks.

VII.

121 We will now discuss the probable origin of the mythology described in the preceding pages. In order to do so, it is necessary to make a brief statement in regard to the social organization of the neighboring tribes. In
114 another paper[1] I have fully discussed the considerable amount of borrowing
177 that has taken place among the Coast tribes, and the relation of their

[1] Indianische Sagen von der nord-pacifischen Küste Amerikas, Berlin, 1895, pp. vi + 363.

[112]

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mythologies to those of the interior. It is unnecessary to revert to this subject here. The similarity of the Bella Coola legends to those of the other Coast tribes on the one hand, and to the traditions of the Athapascan tribes on the other, is evident. 114 177

It is, however, important to compare their social organization with that of the neighboring tribes, in order to gain a clearer understanding of the origin of their peculiar organization. As stated before, the Bella Coola are divided into village communities, which are organized on an endogamic basis. Each village community has its tradition, which is represented in certain ceremonies. The supernatural beings which play a part in these traditions are personified by certain dancers. Other Coast tribes have a much more complex organization. The Tlingit and Haida are divided into two clans, each of which is subdivided into a great many families, which, as it would seem, were originally village communities. This opinion is based on the fact that the names of many of the families must be translated as "inhabitants of such and such a place." The two clans are present in all the villages of the tribe, each family belonging to either one clan or the other. The Tsimshian have the same system, except that the number of clans is four instead of two. Each tribe is divided into families, which embrace the inhabitants of a certain region; but all the families of the whole tribe are classified according to the four clans. Among the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian, descent is purely maternal; among the northern Kwakiutl tribes, conditions are somewhat different, according to observations made by Dr. Livingston Farrand. Here we have village communities which are subdivided according to four clans in the same way as those of the Tsimshian, but descent is not purely maternal. There is a strong preponderance of the latter form of descent, but parents are at liberty to place their children in either the paternal or maternal clan. The preponderance of maternal descent is, however, so strong, that from my previous occasional inquiries I drew the inference that descent was purely maternal. 621 171 [196] [176]

Among the southern Kwakiutl tribes the families constituting a village community are subdivided into a number of clans, but each clan is confined to one village. We do not find a limited number of clans pervading the whole tribe, as we do among the northern tribes. An analysis of the social organization of this tribe has shown that the present organization has evidently developed from a previous simpler state, in which the tribe was divided into single village communities. The present more complex organization resulted from the amalgamation of various villages. Owing to the influence of the totemism of the northern tribes, each village community adopted a crest, which in course of time became the totem of the clan.[1] The Kwakiutl have a peculiar organization, which may be considered a transitional stage between

[1] "Social Statistics of the Kwakiutl Indians" (Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, p. 330). [113]

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171 maternal and paternal institutions. Descent is in the paternal line; but a
621 man, at the time of his marriage, receives his father-in-law's crest as a dowry, which he holds in trust for his son, so that actually each individual inherits the crest of his maternal grandfather. The clans are exogamic.

The organization of the Salish tribes of the southern coast, who are linguistically closely related to the Bella Coola, is somewhat similar to that of the Kwakiutl. They are divided into village communities, a few of which have amalgamated, as, for instance, among the Salish tribes of Vancouver Island, among whom the tribe consists of a number of septs, each of which owns a separate village. Here the influence of northern totemism is very much weaker. While most of the village communities have certain crests, these do not play so important a part in the social life of the tribe or in its mythology as they do among the Kwakiutl, and the village communities are not exogamic. The Salish tribes of the interior are organized in very loose village communities without any trace of totem.

The fundamental difference between the northern tribes and the southern tribes consists, therefore, in the fact that the northern tribes have a limited number of clans which are present in all the villages, while among the southern tribes the village community is the only unit of organization.

The organization of the Bella Coola resembles most closely that of the Coast Salish tribes of southern British Columbia. In both cases the tribe is divided into village communities, which possess crests and traditions. This latter feature is, however, very much more strongly developed among the Bella Coola than among the southern tribes. They differ in their laws of intermarriage. While among the southern Coast Salish tribes there is a tendency to exogamy, the Bella Coola have developed a system of endogamy.

The tribes of the Coast Salish of the Gulf of Georgia claim descent from mythical ancestors, who are believed to have originated at the place which the tribe now inhabit. A number of traditions of this kind bear evidence of having been derived from historical events. Some of the tribes in the delta of Fraser River have traditions which refer to the amalgamation of tribes who descended from the mountains, and who are described as the descendants of animals living in the mountains, and of the natives of the delta.[1] I believe
174 that the tribal traditions of the Bella Coola which were told in a previous chapter also bear evidence of the historical fates of the tribe. It is very remarkable that the important tradition of Tötoo'nx gives Fraser River as the place to which he descended from heaven. In another tradition, Bute Inlet is given as the place at which one of the Bella Coola tribes originated. In still another one, Skeena River is mentioned as the home of one of the tribes (see p. 69). I do not doubt that these allusions to territory

[113] [1] Ninth Report of the Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science on the North-western Tribes of Canada, 1890, p. 3.

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inhabited by Salish tribes refer to the early separation of the Bella Coola tribe from the related tribes of the Gulf of Georgia, and that in their traditions they have retained the memory of the emigration of part of the tribe from the southern territory. It seems also probable that the allusion to the origin of one family of the tribe on Skeena River refers to a mixture with the tribes inhabiting northern British Columbia. 174

The traditions of the tribes also describe the style of house used by the ancestors of certain village communities; and it is interesting to note that some of these houses correspond to the subterranean lodges that were in use among the Chilcotin, while others correspond to the tents that were in use among the Carriers. It is said that the ancestor of the Nuxalk'ix used the subterranean lodge which is called tsi'pa (see p. 87), while the ancestor of the Nusq!a'lst used the skin lodge which is called sk·ma (see p. 64). 171 174 177 342

Since the Bella Coola retain the fundamental traits of the social organization of their congeners in the south, and since their traditions bear evidence of an emigration from that region, and since, furthermore, the linguistic evidence proves that the Bella Coola and the Coast Salish at one time inhabited contiguous areas on the coast, we are justified in assuming that the general culture of the Bella Coola at the time of their emigration must have resembled that of the Coast Salish. The question then arises, How did the peculiar endogamic system and the remarkable mythology of the Bella Coola originate from the much simpler forms that we find among the Coast Salish? 174

One of the most remarkable features in the inner life of the tribes of the northern coast of British Columbia is the great importance of the clan legend, which is considered one of the most valuable properties of each clan or family. It is carefully guarded in the same way as material property, and an attempt on the part of a person not a member of the clan to tell the tradition as his own is considered one of the gravest offences against property rights. The possession of a clan tradition is felt by the Indian to be one of his most important prerogatives. When, therefore, the Bella Coola settled on Bella Coola River, and were thrown into contact with the northern Coast tribes, the lack of a well-developed clan tradition must have been felt as a serious drawback. The physical appearance of the Bella Coola proves that at one time they must have intermarried to a great extent with the Bella Bella. Through these marriages the peculiar customs of the Coast tribes were first introduced among them. This is shown by the fact that a great many of the mythological names can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin, of which stock the Bella Bella are a branch. Thus the name for their supreme deity, Smai'yakila, is a Kwakiutl word meaning "the one who must be worshipped." The name Ō'mq'ōmkilika is also of Kwakiutl origin, and may be translated as "the wealthiest one." The great frequency of 174 177 424 614 [144] 174 177 776

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174 words of Kwakiutl derivation will become clear by a glance at the following
177 list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin:—

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a'ɛ̄ɛkoula = shaman.
Alk* = speaker.
[195] É'mask'ln (p. 49) (Kwakiutl, Hę'mask'ln) = the greatest chief.
Hau'hau (p. 106) = a fabulous bird.
L'ā'qoag'ila = the copper maker.
L'ā'qumēlks = sister of Masmasolā'nix (the ending, *ilx*, designates "woman" in Kwakiutl).
Lēqumaii' = mythological name of deer.
Ma'lsk'ilaL.
Mxntsi't (p. 48).
Mta'lina = the country of the salmon (p. 38) (Kwakiutl, mē) = salmon.
No'akila (pp. 49, 66).
O'meatk'as (p. 30) = the real O'mēsL.
O'meat.mai (p. 70).
Omq'ōmk'lik'a (p. 33) (Kwakiutl, Q'ō'mq'ōmkilik a) = the wealthiest one.
Pō'LaS.
Qanāstola'qs (p. 49).
Q'ōmō'qos (p. 32) = the wealthy one.
Q'ō'mqātis (p. 49) = rich at opposite side of river.
Q'ō'mtsiwa (p. 33) = wealthy at mouth of river.
Smai'yakila (p. 29) = the one who must be worshipped.
sl'siut = a fabulous fish or snake (pp. 18, 44, 48).
Smayalō'otla (p. 29).
T'ō'pewas (p. 97) = the fawn.
Winwi'na (p. 38) = war.
Wa'k'itxmai (p. 30) = the greatest river.

174 With these names and customs the clan traditions must have found their
177 way to the Bella Coola, but their social organization differed fundamentally
424 from that of the Bella Bella branch of the Kwakiutl. While the latter,
614 owing to intimate contact with the northern tribes, had adopted the four-clan
[621] system with prevalent maternal descent, the Bella Coola were still distinctly divided into village communities that were not exogamic. It seems very likely that the jealousy with which the ownership of a clan tradition was guarded by the Coast tribes was very early introduced among the Bella Coola. Two means were available for preventing outsiders from acquiring the traditions. Among the Coast tribes with prevailing maternal institutions, among whom a limited number of clans existed, the ordinary law of inheritance was sufficient to retain the tradition inside of the clan. Not so among the Bella Coola.
174 If their organization at an early time was similar to that of the Coast Salish,
182 it is likely that the child was counted as well a member of the father's as
424 of the mother's family, although the young woman generally moved to the
614 village occupied by her husband. If the child belonged to the families of both parents, it had the right to use the tradition of either family; and consequently in the course of a few generations, the traditions acquired by
[591] each family would have spread practically over the whole tribe. There were
[851] only two methods possible to avoid this result. The one was to prevent marriages outside the village community; and this method would seem to have been most natural for a tribe organized in village communities, members
[621] of which were allowed to intermarry. The other method would have been to regulate the laws of inheritance in such a way that the child had to

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follow either father or mother, but that it had not the right to use the property of both parents. It seems to my mind that the former method was more likely to develop under the existing social conditions, and that to this reason we must ascribe the development of an endogamic system among the Bella Coola. The occurrence of endogamic marriage among this tribe is quite isolated on the Pacific coast. All the other tribes have exogamic institutions, and by this means preserve their property rights. It is interesting to note that the southern Kwakiutl, who originally seem to have been organized in village communities, have adopted exogamic institutions; but there is a notable difference, in the organization of the village community, between the Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl. Among the Bella Coola we generally find four ancestors to each village,—usually three men and one woman. It is true that these are generally called brothers and sister, but they were created independently by Sgnx, and are therefore not necessarily considered as blood relations. Among the Kwakiutl the village community are considered the descendants of one single being; consequently, among the latter tribe they are all relatives, who are forbidden to intermarry; while among the Bella Coola they are not relatives, and may intermarry.

My inference is, therefore, that the curious social system of the Bella Coola developed through the influence of the customs of the Coast tribes upon the loose social unit of the Salish village community. The possession of clan traditions was felt as a great advantage, and consequently the desire developed to possess clan traditions. These were acquired partly by intermarriage with the Coast tribes, as is shown by the fact that many of these traditions are borrowed from these tribes, partly by independent invention. The desire to guard the traditions which were once acquired led to the development of endogamic institutions, in order to prevent the spread of the traditions over the whole tribe.

The jealousy with which the traditions are guarded has had the effect of making each family try to prevent other families from knowing its own clan tradition. For this reason the clan traditions of the whole tribe are remarkably inconsistent. We find, for instance, that the well-known raven legend of the northern Coast tribes has been utilized by many families as a family tradition. But while one family uses one part of the tradition, other families use other parts of the same tradition. Thus it happens that among the Bella Coola we find the most contradictory myths in regard to important events in the world's history. Some families maintain that the Raven liberated the sun, while, according to another one, the Mink was essential in bringing about the present state of affairs. Still others say that Totoso'nx, during his travels, caused the sun to appear. The discrepancies in the traditions referring to the visit of the Mink and Wasp to their father, the Sun, are also very remarkable. Although a considerable amount of

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174 contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast,
424 they nowhere reach such a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I presume
614 the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts for this curious condition.

The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to SEBX or Ta'ata bear a
171 remarkable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Laxha,
782 the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face it will be clear weather, and man will be happy; consequently the prayer to
[821] the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from
177 the Coast tribes is the kē'siut ceremonial, with which are connected the various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism.
575 The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the
773 Kwakiutl are practically identical. I told above (p. 34) the legend explaining the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another
796 tradition is told to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsl'waē, who lives in the forest, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by three distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the
174 development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious incon-
773 sistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the word and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not co-ordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

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[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 646 ff.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Our analysis shows that this system cannot be considered as an importation, but that it probably developed among the Bella Coola themselves. After they removed to their new home, a mass of foreign ideas had come into their possession through contact with their new neighbors. While these new ideas were being remodelled and assimilated, they stimulated the minds of the people, or of a few members of the tribe, who were thus led to the formation of an elaborate concept of the world. The concept which they have developed agrees in all its main features with those created by men of other zones and of other races. The mind of the Bella Coola philosopher, operating with the class of knowledge common to the earlier strata of culture, has reached conclusions similar to those that have been formed by man the world over, when operating with the same class of knowledge. On the other hand, the Bella Coola has also adopted ready-made the thoughts of his neighbors, and has adapted them to his environment. These two results of our inquiry emphasize the close relation between the comparative and the historic methods of ethnology, which are so often held to be antagonistic. Each is a check upon rash conclusions that might be attained by the application of one alone. It is just as uncritical to see, in an analogy of a single trait of culture that occurs in two distinct regions, undoubted proof of early historical connection as to reject the possibility of such connection, because sometimes the same ideas develop independently in the human mind. Ethnology is rapidly outgrowing the tendency to accept imperfect evidence as proof of historical connection; but the comparative ethnologist is hardly beginning to see that he has no right to scoff at the historical method. Our inquiry shows that safe conclusions can be derived only by a careful analysis of the whole culture. The growth of the myths of the Bella Coola can be understood only when we consider the culture of the tribe as a whole. And so it is with other phenomena. All traits of culture can be fully understood only in connection with the whole culture of a tribe. When we confine ourselves to comparing isolated traits of culture, we open the door to misinterpretations without number.

If, then, the demand is made for a more critical method in the comparative study of ethnology than it has generally been accorded, it does not imply a depreciation of the results of the method. When the human mind evolves an idea, or when it borrows the same idea, we may assume that it has been evolved or accepted because it conforms with the organization of the human mind; else it would not be evolved or accepted. The wider the distribution of an idea, original or borrowed, the closer must be its conformity with the laws governing the activities of the human mind. Historical analysis will furnish the data referring to the growth of ideas among different people; and comparisons of the processes of their growth will give us knowledge of the laws which govern the evolution and selection of ideas.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VII.

Cross-hatchings indicate black; vertical hatchings, red; horizontal, blue; diagonal, green; dots, orange; white, natural color of wood.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Sisa (front and profile). Natural color, nostrils red, eyebrows black. Height, 29 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{9}$.

Fig. 2.—Mask representing Ala'uatl'a (front and profile). Natural color, nostrils red, eyebrows black. Height, 30 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{9}$.

Fig. 3.—Mask representing the Singer of the House of Myths. Blue, red, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{9}$.

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Sudala'ala'k'a (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{9}$.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing K'u'ts'ek'ul'a (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{9}$.

Fig. 6.—Mask representing Sis'ek'ul'a (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 31 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{9}$.

Fig. 7.—Double mask representing Nuxul'aeq'ala (opened, closed, and profile of inner mask). Inner face, red, blue, and black; inner side of wings, black and red; outer face, black, red, blue. Height, 14 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{9}$.

Fig. 8.—Mask representing Sunl'ala'ala Ala'uatl'a (the deer). Nostrils and mouth, red; forehead and eye region, blue; eyebrows, eyes, nose, black; rest, natural color. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{9}$.

Fig. 9.—Mask representing Sulaua'ua. Natural color, black, spots blue, lines red. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{9}$.

Fig. 10.—Mask representing Ala'ulil'aua (front and profile). Black, blue, red. Height, 10½ inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{9}$.

Fig. 11.—Mask representing Ala'ulil'aua (front and profile). Red, green, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{9}$.

Fig. 12.—Mask representing S'ualu.s'uala'k. Natural color, black, orange. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{9}$.

Fig. 13.—Mask representing S'ualu.s'uala'k. Blue, black, red, natural color. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{9}$.

[Facing End Plate VII]

[End Plates I-VI not processed]

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Masks of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate VII.]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NES Bellacoola NES

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VIII.

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All Crooked-beak colours black, central feathers red, terminals blue; white, natural color of wood.

Fig. 1.—Mask representing Mas-ap'ēmēk (profile and front). Black, red, blue. Height, 18 inches. Cat. No. 1185.

Fig. 2.—Mask representing Yels'ēmēk, and details of ornaments attached to head-ring. Black, red, blue. Height, 31 inches. Cat. No. 1187.

Fig. 3.—Mask representing Mas'ap'ēmēk. Black, red, blue. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. 1186.

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Ts'ēs'ēnk. Black, red, blue. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1188.

[Facing End Plate VIII]

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Masks of the Haida Crests Indians.

[End Plate VIII]

7:Bms E-5 (1884-ca. 1890)1900 NES Bellacoola NES

EXPLANATION OF PLATE IX.

All Cowichan tableau black; vertical feathers, red; white, natural color of wood.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Xwexwmilt'ela (front and profile). Design: full moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, 13½ inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 2.—Mask representing Xd'mwiwa (front and profile). Design: full moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 3.—Mask representing Ôwq'tsuki'lik'a (front and profile). Design: half-moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Q'ô'mwiwa (front and profile). Design: half-moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Al'mwki'lik'a (front and profile). Design: sun. Natural color, black, red. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 6.—Mask representing K'ô'lim, wearing a ring of red cedar-bark (front and profile). Design: rainbow. Natural color, black, red. Height, 14 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 7.—Mask representing Q'ôwsd'wa (front and profile). Design: salmon-berry blossom. Natural color, black, red. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 8.—Mask representing À'Vmlâ' (the kingfisher). Wings or sides of head, tail over the forehead. Natural color, black. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 9.—Mask representing c'lmô'qyilchen, wearing a ring of red and white cedar-bark (front and profile). Design: grouse-blinker. Natural color, black, red. Height, 14½ inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

[Facing End Plate IX]

7:Boas E-5 (1886--ca. 1896)900 NEB Bellacoola NEB

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Masks of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate IX]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NEA Bellacoola NEA

EXPLANATION OF PLATE X.

∴ Cross-hatchers indicate black; vertical hatchers, red; diagonal, green; white, natural color of wood, except in cases where the whole mask is black.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Nayamiyo'mais. Black, red; ornamented with red cedar-bark. Height, 16 inches. Cat. No. 1187.

Fig. 2.—Mask representing the Bear of Heaven. Green, black, red. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1187.

Fig. 3.—Mask representing Ash'a'Lomm (front and profile). Natural color, red, black, green. Height, 8 inches. Cat. No. 1187.

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Aiq'ne'yomem (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. 1187.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Aiq'ne'yomem (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. 1187.

Fig. 6.—Mask representing Aiq'ne'yomem (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. 1187.

Fig. 7.—Mask representing Nomi'omp, before the birth of the flowers (front and profile). Greenish with faint reddish spots, black. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. 1187.

Fig. 8.—Mask representing the shaman of Nomi'omp (front and profile). Black, white streaks under eyes. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1187.

Fig. 9.—Mask representing Nomi'omp, after the birth of the flowers (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. 1187.

Fig. 10.—Mask representing A'ne'Ka'Ge (the moon). Natural color, black. Height, 18 inches. Cat. No. 1187.

Fig. 11.—Mask representing attendant of Nomi'omp (front and profile). Natural color, red, black. Height, 11½ inches. Cat. No. 1187.

Fig. 12.—Mask representing the Black Bear. Natural color, green, red, black. Length, 13 inches. Cat. No. 1187.

[facing End Plate X]

[End Plate X]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XI.

(1) Cross-hatchings indicate black; vertical hatchings red; horizontal lines, blue; dots, orange; white, natural color of bone except in case where the whole head is black.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing the thunder-bird (front and profile). Black, red. Height, 17½ inches. Cat. No. 18[illegible].

Fig. 2.—Mask representing Kwakil'usam (front and profile). Ornamented with red cedar-bark. Orange, blue. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. 18[illegible].

Fig. 3.—Mask representing the rabbit. Set with mountain-goat skin. Natural color, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. 18[illegible].

Fig. 4.—Mask representing the owl. Black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. 18[illegible].

Fig. 5.—Mask representing t'ā'yam (the mountain). Natural color, black. Height, 14½ inches. Cat. No. 18[illegible].

Fig. 6.—Mask representing the raindrop. On top of the mask is a long switch set with feathers, only the lower part of which is shown. Natural color, black. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. 18[illegible].

[796] Fig. 7.—Bird-shaped implement worn by a companion of the thunder-bird. It is filled with eagle-down. During the dance it is shaken, and the down flies out of the holes in the lower part of the implement and from the back. Length, 18 inches. Cat. No. 18[illegible].

Fig. 8.—Mask representing the sea-monster Q'ā'ts'ts. Red, blue, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. 18[illegible].

Fig. 9.—Mask representing the spirit xwalā'k. Black, orange, set with bear-skin. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. 18[illegible].

Fig. 10.—Mask representing the hermaphrodite (front and profile). Natural color, red, black. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 18[illegible].

[facing End Plate XI]

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Masks and Carving of the Haida Canoe Indians.

[End Plate XI]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NES Bellacoola NES

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XII.

Contributors indicate black; vertical lachrymal, red; horizontal, blue; white, natural color of wood.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Anutlkun'a'x (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 2.—Mask representing Anutlkun'a'x (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 3.—Mask worn by the Cannibal dancer (front and profile). Natural color, black, red. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 4.—Mask worn by the assistant of the Cannibal dancer. Blue, red, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 5.—Mask worn by the assistant of the Cannibal dancer (front and profile). Blue, red, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 6.—Carving representing the S'k'qana in the shape of an eagle. Red. Length, 11 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 7.—Carving representing the S'k'qana in the shape of a wolf. Red, black. Length, 12 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 8.—Mask worn by the assistant of the S'k'qana (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 8 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 9.—Mask worn by the Ōts (front and profile). Red, blue, black. Height, 14½ inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 10.—Club carried by the Ōts. Red, blue, black. Length of head, 7 inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

[facing End Plate XII]

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Masks and Carvings of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate XII]

[End Plates XIII - XXVII not processed]

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF REGENTS

OF THE

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,

SHOWING

THE OPERATIONS, EXPENDITURES, AND CONDITION
OF THE INSTITUTION

FOR THE

YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1895.

REPORT

OF THE

U. S. NATIONAL MUSEUM.

[title page]

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1897.

DDD One of them must wash his body, one must wash his head, and the two others hold him. In return they receive one or two blankets each. During this ceremony the quqq'ö'lEñ, who are described as wild men, dance around the novice. They have ropes tied around their waists, and are held by other members of the society by these ropes. Then the xEnxanl'tEl lead the novice into the woods, where he remains for a long time, until he meets the spirit that initiates him. It seems that during this time he is secretly led to the house in which the xEnxanl'tEl continue to celebrate festivals at the expense of the novice's father, and there he is taught the secrets of the society. During this time, until the return of the novice from the woods, the house is tabooed. A watchman is stationed at the entrance, who keeps out uninitiated persons. During the absence of the novice, his mother prepares cedar bark ornaments and weaves mountain goat blankets for his use. One afternoon he returns, and then his father gives a feast to let the people know that his child has returned. The latter performs his first dance, in which he uses masks and cedar bark ornaments. This dance is called nuxnEä'mEñ. On this day the father must distribute a great number of blankets among the xEnxanl'tEl. The initiated are permitted to take part in the feast, and sit on one side of the house. The new member spends all his nights in the woods, where he bathes. In the spring the new member, if a man, is thrown into the sea, and after that is free from all regulations attending the initiation. One of the principal regulations regarding novices of the xEnxanl'tEl is that they must return from the woods in the direction in which the sun is moving, starting so that the sun is at their backs. Therefore they must sometimes go in roundabout ways. They must go backward through doors, which are sLä'lEqam (supernatural) against them. Frequently the siö'ua (a female shaman) is called to bespeak the door in their behalf before they pass through it. Before their dance the siö'ua must also address the earth, as it is supposed that else it might open and swallow up the dancer. It is also sLä'lEqam against the novice. The expression used is that the earth would "open its eyes" (k'u'nalasEn); that means, swallow the novice. In order to avert this danger, the siö'ua must "give a name to the earth," and strew red paint and feathers over the place where the novice is to dance.

THE BI'LXULA.

121 The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Bi'lxula
171 are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the sisax'k·, and the kö'siut. The sisan'k· corresponds to the Lsö'laxa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the kö'siut to the
556 ts'ö'ts'ö'qa. The Bi'lxula believe that the potlatch has been insti-
773 tuted by ten deities, nine brothers and one sister, the foremost among
776 whom is Xö'mtsica, to whose care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful house in the far east, and cries "ö, ö,"

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every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the kū'siut these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks. Xē'mtsioa and Xēmxēmalà'oLa wear the design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xē'mtsioa by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xēmxēmalà'oLa has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin. Aiumkī'lik·a and Aiumalà'oLa wear the design of the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second masks. The fifth Q'ōmq'ōmkī'lik·a and Q'ō'mtsioa have designs representing stars, both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is Qula'xawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kulō'lias (who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue. The ninth, At'amā'k, wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called L'ētsā'aplēLāna (the eater), the sister of the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

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The sisau'k·, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had gone out hunting met the sisau'k· and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to enter. Then he danced the sisau'k· and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the sisau'k·. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the sisau'k· only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, can not become sisau'k·. A person can not take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'ēlu'sta, the Indian, to whom I

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424 owe my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the
532 gens Ialô'stimôt of the Taliô'mx·, stated that he had received the raven
614 when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received
[115] the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his
[556] next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new
424 secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a kû'siut
551 name, which remains through life, and a Xê'mtsioa name, which is
556 changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'ɛlu'sta's (which is his kû'siut
575 name) Xê'mtsioa name was AL'ILEMNE'lus'aix·, but at his next pot-
614 *latch he intended to take the name of Kalîn'kis.* These names are also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names. When a man possesses several sisau'k· secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisau'k· secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisau'k· secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more.
[426] The crest and the sisau'k· carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular clan.

426 The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl.
556 The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going to pay the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

575 The kû'siut is presided over by a female spirit, called Anañlikuts'-
773 ai'x·. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from
776 February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to
535 have been the first to find her. Anañlikuts'ai'x· invited her into her cave and taught her the secrets of the kû'siut. She wore ornaments of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

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woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the kū'siut. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the kū'siut." 575 773 776 535

Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the kū'siut. When a man has seen Anaūlikuta'al'x· sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a kū'siut. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each kū'siut lasts three days. 575 776 535

The various dances performed by members of the kū'siut are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisau'k· dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the kū'siut is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kū'siut name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of L'akō'oL. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the sisau'k·, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kū'siut have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the ƛaxō'ʟa (the hā'mata'a of the Kwakiutl), the ō'lƛx (the nū'ʟmaʟ of the Kwakiutl), and the dā'tia (the nō'ntsistalaʟ of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kū'siut novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation. 535 575 614 575 [426] [551] [428] [556] [171] [554]

When the ƛaxō'ʟa is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the ƛaxō'ʟa. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the ƛaxō'ʟa order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears 575 785 787 [266]

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575 to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one
[785] morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all
[787] his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze
blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone
[152] whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his
own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the
[774] body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try
[756] for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recov-
ered it the ELAXŌ'LA dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large
[292] head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark.
[301] Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the S'Ā'LPSTA (fig. 200),
the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that
[532] of BaxbakuālanuXsl'waē of the Kwakiutl. Some ELAXŌ'LA do not
[171] bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and
[266] devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The
ELAXŌ'LA has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his
[525] initiation he must not
[834] gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

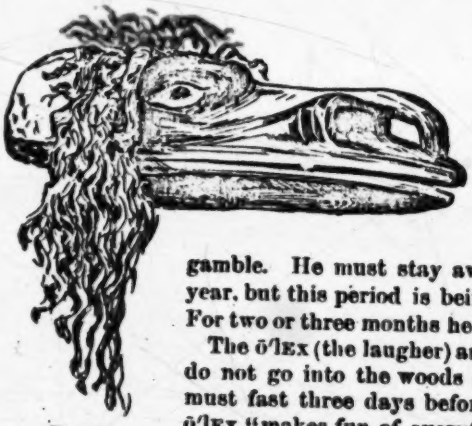

Fig. 200.
MASK OF THE S'Ā'LPSTA.
Bi'lxula.
Cat. No. 19509, U. S. N. M.
Collected by F. Boas.

The ō'lEX (the laugher) and the dā'tia (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The ō'lEX "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The dā'tia carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The ō'lEX and the dā'tia, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

575 If a person transgresses the laws of the kū'sint, for instance, when
688 the ELAXŌ'LA gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he
has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a
mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in
[592] council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense
has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty
of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing
575 to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the sub-
688 stitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted
754 to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing dis-
756 ease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way.
The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around

8;Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender, he will fall sick. Blood is believed to collect in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the kū'siut are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklace of red cedar bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others, the thunder bird and his servant, ALxulā'tENum (who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and carries a staff with red and blue spiral lines), appear in the dances. *Prominent* masks are also Xē'mtsioa and his brothers and his sisters; Masmasalā'nix and his fellows, the raven and the nuxē'mta, and many others.[1]

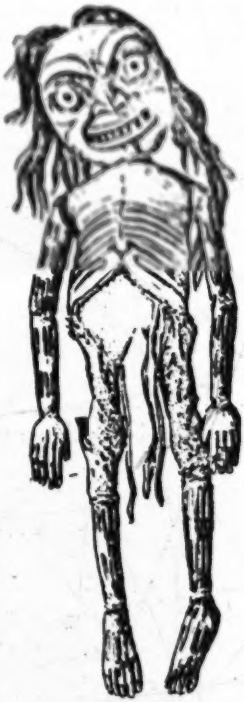

Fig. 201.
HEADDRESS OF ŌLALA'.
Haida.
Cat. No. [illegible], U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

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THE TSIMSHIAN, NĪSQA', HAIDA, AND TLINGIT.

The tribes of this group learned the ceremonial avowedly from the Hē'iltsuq. Although I have not witnessed any part of their ceremonials, the descriptions which I received bring out with sufficient clearness its similarities to the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl. The ceremonials seem to be almost identical among all these tribes. It is most complete among the southwestern Tsimshian tribes, particularly the G·itxā'La, but has been adopted by all the tribes of the coast. It is said that it reached the Haida not more than a hundred years ago.

I will tell here what I learned from the Nisqa'. They have six societies, which rank in the following order: The sEmhalai't, mēiLa', lōLE'm, ōlala', nanēstā't, hōnana'L, the last being the highest. The sEmhalai't is really not confined to the winter ceremonial, but is obtained when a person acquires the first guardian spirit of his clan and performs the ceremony belonging to this event. The tradition of the origin of these ceremonies localizes the events at Bellabella, and it

[1] See "Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas," page 241, by F. Boas.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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PREFACE

THE term Bella Coola can be applied to the Indians who formerly occupied more than twenty villages on the lower Bella Coola River in central British Columbia, to their near kinsfolk on the Kimsquit River, and to those living at the head of South Bentinck Arm. Disease and changed conditions consequent upon the coming of the white man have so reduced their numbers that the last two groups of settlements have been virtually abandoned, while only one village remains in the Bella Coola valley. This is located on a reserve near the mouth of the river, and its four hundred inhabitants comprise practically all the survivors of what was once a tribe of several thousand people, with a distinctive language and culture of their own.

The material contained in this monograph was collected in this one village many years ago for the National Museum of Canada.[1] I was in the field during two periods that extended from March to August, 1922, and from September, 1923, to February, 1924. My field notes were worked up and the completed manuscript submitted to the Museum in 1926. Since that time it has suffered various vicissitudes. Recommended for publication by the Chief of the Anthropological Division, it passed through the hands of various editors; questions were raised about its size and the suitability of detailed studies of social anthropology in a government publication, and by the time these matters were adjusted, funds for extensive publications were unavailable and the manuscript was put aside. Since the aim of the investigation was to record, as far as possible, the sum-total of the complex and interwoven social life of the Bella Coola, I did not think it desirable to prepare short articles[2] summarizing different aspects, preferring to await an

[1] Then the Victoria Memorial Museum.

[2] The only exception was a short article on Bella Coola supernatural animals published in the Ontario Annual Archaeological Report for 1924-25, pp. 17-27.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

128 opportunity for the publication of the manuscript as a whole. I am deeply grateful to the Canadian Social Science Research [121] Council for making this possible, and to their anonymous readers, many of whose suggestions I have utilized in the final draft, and to the University of Toronto Press for their subsidization.

Though the lapse of time between the field investigation and the appearance in print of the results is unfortunate, it is a matter of less importance than would be the case in other branches of science. To the student of social institutions, the significant fact is that a certain group of *homo sapiens* has practised certain customs, whether in 1922 or 1948 is imma- [121] terial. Furthermore, the aim of the investigation was to collect information on Bella Coola life as it was *before* the breakdown of their own culture, and for this, data collected between 1922 and 1924 are more valuable than those acquired today. The manuscript was prepared from my extensive field notes, when the material was still fresh in my mind, and, with the exception of this preface and a few minor changes in editing,[1] is presented as it was written in 1924-26.

121 When studying the Bella Coola, I was definitely under the influence of the English school of anthropologists. To Haddon, Rivers, and Seligman, to name the outstanding English field anthropologists of their generation, the study of a native tribe meant an expedition to some far-off corner of the world, to a people about whom little was known. A return visit was improbable; aboriginal customs were passing away, hence it was the duty of the field investigator to learn and to record every scrap of information. I remember Dr. Haddon's insistence that it might be some trivial detail which would throw light on culture distribution, and hence, perhaps, aid in the reconstruction of tribal or racial movements, or in theoretical studies of the development or degeneration of institutions. Characteristic of this school, too, was an intense human interest in field

[1]Especially in changing the number of years which has elapsed since various incidents took place.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NE4 Bellacoola NE4

work. To overcome the difficulties of language, of suspicion, and of native reticence was a task in itself. And only when this was accomplished and the investigator recognized as a friend, could the information be obtained upon which the investigator was to describe "his people." As a broad generalization, the attitude of American anthropologists to field work in America is very different. Indians live near at hand; well-educated interpreters and informants are usually available; there is no thought of gleaning information from suspicious natives at the ends of the earth; and, perhaps most important of all, so much of Indian life has disappeared that the American anthropologist must learn by interview and question, rather than by observation and participation. The American school has tended to return repeatedly, often for short periods, to a small group or even to a single informant, and to publish intensive studies of aspects of culture with which the investigator is concerned.

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Both approaches have their advantages. Anthropologically, using that term in its broadest sense, American Indians are better known than the natives of other continents; the professional anthropologist knows where to find detailed studies in technical journals and government publications, and to combine them if he wishes to know the life of a people as a whole. But to the anthropologist who is not a specialist in America, as well as to scholars in other social sciences, this lack of synthesis is a definite deterrent, and it may well be asked whether the anthropologist has played his part in making known the results of his branch to workers in cognate fields. It was this which led R. H. Lowie to publish his *Crow Indians*,[4] and though the author reiterates that the volume contains little that he had not made known in earlier writings[5] in anthropological journals, it is safe to say that the *Crow Indians* will be read, quoted, and used when other reports on which it is based have been forgotten.

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[4]New York: 1935.
[5]*Id.*, p. xi.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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121 If I were to investigate and report on the Bella Coola at
128 the present time, I would undoubtedly be influenced by many years of contact with American anthropologists and their work. I would assume a greater knowledge of North-West coast institutions, less interest in the details of ceremonial rites, and it would be impossible not to avoid comparisons with, and observations upon, the theoretical implications of many of the facts recorded. But though every field investigator is strictly objective as to the facts he collects, yet his interests, and his method of presenting them, are coloured by his background; in my case, by the older school of English anthropology. On the whole, I think this is fortunate. It means that the Bella Coola are portrayed as I saw them when I came fresh to a new field, practically uninfluenced by problems of North-West coast culture, and fully prepared to throw myself into their life. They were "my people," not a group in which I was interested because they had, or had not, certain culture traits with which I was concerned. In the course of my teaching experience, furthermore, I have wished repeatedly to give serious students detailed field monographs in which are recorded the interwoven social, religious, and folk-lore concepts of a people, the sum-total of their mental life, collected by one man at one time. This I have tried to do for the Bella Coola.

123 Following the English tradition, I wish to record how this material was collected. Before leaving for British Columbia,
[115] I was advised by the late H. I. Smith, who had worked in the area, to talk to Joshua Moody (see Plate 2), an elderly Bella Coola Indian with whom Smith had worked. On explaining to Joshua that I had come to record in permanent form the traditions and lore of *his* people, Joshua grinned broadly and promised his help. Unfortunately, he spoke only a few words of English. I tried interpreter after interpreter, Indian and white, with only fair success, and my difficulties increased with the
[464] opening of the canning season and the consequent employment of the younger men and women. I was urged to learn the
[122] Chinook jargon, which serves widely as a *lingua franca* on the
[198]

CHAPTER IV

GAMES

517 THE subject of games, lying on the border-line of social
18.1 customs, was one which was not fully investigated. The
[177] Bella Coola, like all other peoples, have a number of sports and pastimes and although the old diversions are being forgotten by the younger people, many of the old men and women are familiar with those played in their youth. As isolated customs these may be of small value, but games of all kinds often preserve ancient practices and, as providing useful clues to the spread of peoples or of culture, are worthy of investigation. Unfortunately, lack of time made it impossible to give the subject the attention it deserved, and the few games here described must not be considered an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

526 Though less fond of competitive sports than the Indians
[171] of the Plains, the Bella Coola enjoy canoe-racing and wrestling.
[628] The former appears to have been an ancient diversion; picked crews from different villages competed amid the encouraging shouts of their fellows, and even now the younger men are anxious to display their skill in this respect. Wrestling, which
[177] used to be common during all non-sacred gatherings, has almost entirely disappeared since the prohibition of the potlatch.

538 The favourite sedentary pastime, enjoyed equally by young
[517] and old, is the telling of stories. Those of a sacred nature, especially ancestral myths, are reserved of course for cere-
[825] monial occasions, but the older men and women remember many tales describing the exploits of birds and animals which are recounted again and again to the enjoyment of the listeners, although they may have heard the same recital fifty times. Children enjoy the companionship of some old story-teller and it is a common sight to see an old man or woman, surrounded by an eager group, explaining once more how Raven outwitted
[867] his rivals or was himself led into difficulties. Many of these stories are somewhat indecent; others appear brutally frank,

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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APPENDIX A

MECHANICAL PROCESSES

NO attempt was made to study either the material culture of the Bella Coola, or their methods of manufacturing, but information on some points was obtained incidentally. All sociological and religious features connected therewith have already been described. 121

THE TAKING AND PREPARATION OF OLACHEN

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The run of olachen, *cpaiq*, comes about the end of April, and as many as possible are caught. In preparation, nets, *ddu'a*", are brought out from the boxes where they have been stored during the winter, examined, and repaired. If necessary, new ones must be manufactured out of nettle (*lima*.) fibre laid away by the women for this purpose. By rolling the material on their legs, they produce a thin twine; five strands of this are then interwoven, making a finished cord capable of resisting great strain. The nets are constructed by the men. The type used at the present time, which is said not to differ from that formerly employed, consists of a purse-like sack, oval in cross-section, open at the wider end and tapering very gradually to the other, which is closed. The total length is about thirty feet, the diameter at the open end about eight feet, and at the closed end about three feet. A new net is dipped in a mixture of boiled hemlock-bark to darken it, and then boiled in a solution of willow-bark to prevent the knots from slipping.

[226] [221] [232] [462] [286] [386]

The setting out of a net is not an easy task, so two or three men agree to work as partners. In the present degenerate days, property rights are not respected and each group selects a suitable spot. The best location is where the water is about three feet deep and runs rapidly, but without ripples, over a smooth piece of the bottom; such a place is called a *skllay*. When the fish begin to run plentifully, the partners paddle out to set their net, taking with them four stakes, each about ten feet in length. The weight of a full net is tremendous, so the poles have to be driven down at least six feet, a difficult task on account of the stony bottom. Selecting the exact spot, one of four posts, *alkdjalos*, is set upright and held in position by being tied to a cross-piece, *nudjiqosta*, fastened to the canoe for the purpose. While his two partners hold the craft steady, the third man begins to pound down the stake; metal mauls are now commonly used, but in former times this work was always done with an unhafted stone maul, *lxwema*. The fishermen relieve one another intermittently until the top of the pole has been driven down to within

226 [476] [423] [178] [412]

APPENDIX B

STRING FIGURES

THE only form of pastime which it was practical to investigate in any detail was the construction of string figures. These seem to have no ceremonial or religious significance; they are made for recreation only, and it was found easy to learn a number while paving the way for other kinds of research. In fact, interest in them was one of the ways in which the writer became friends with a number of Bella Coola. As is to be expected, some individuals are more proficient in constructing complicated string figures than others, the old women being particularly adept. During the long delays which occur in all the dances it is a common sight to see an old crone teaching a group of young girls the figures which she herself learnt when young. Some men remember a number from childhood, but the making of designs with string is regarded as more fitting for girls and women. Songs accompany many of the figures, and the singing of these is considered an essential part of the construction. It was evident that many more figures were known long ago; in fact, several of those here recorded were only obtained after repeated efforts on the part of an old woman to reconstruct those which she had been shown when a child. No attempt was made to learn all the Bella Coola figures; a larger number could doubtless have been collected, but those here described are the ones most commonly made.

The nomenclature used is that described by Miss Haddon,[1] in itself following the method used by Rivers and Haddon. It is assumed that the reader is familiar with this, including the meaning of the terms, "Opening A," "Position 1," and "Navaho." A string about four feet long will be found most convenient for making the Bella Coola figures.

1. A SALMON-TRAP

Double the loop; two strands now take the place of the usual one, but these will be referred to as a single string or loop. The figure can be made equally well with a string one-half the usual length.

Place string as a simple loop over left thumb and index finger and the right hand.

With right index finger hook down the string passing dorsally across left thumb and index finger and draw out to right, allowing right hand loop to slip over this hooked-down string.

[1] K. Haddon, *Cat's Cradle from Many Lands* (London, 1911).

S. Smith - E-9 (1919-1923) 1925
NBS Bellacoola NBS

are apparently more recent comers to the coast than their neighbors and have not fully adopted the coast culture.

The following examples of sympathetic magic and witchcraft, collected during 1920 to 1923 among the Bellacoola, illustrate the extent of their belief in this direction.

Most of this information was given me by the late Captain Schooner, born about 1840, and Joshua Woody, born about 1846; both apparently full-blood Bellacoola Indians. Neither of them spoke English and both gave me the data in Chinook jargon, which I have endeavored to interpret and arrange in logical order, but have tried to render in as nearly as possible the Indian mode of thought, feeling and expression. Schooner was a proper gentleman. Joshua has great knowledge of plants and animals, and is a Bellacoola scientist, but his great ambition and jealousy, combined with his disloyalty in giving up his own people's customs and adopting a very thin veneer of Christianity, color his statements relating to beliefs, although his plant and animal data have always withstood cross examination and comparison with the data supplied by other Indians. Mr. Davis and Mrs. Willie Mack told of the trail. They do not talk English and spoke to me in Chinook jargon. Only the accounts about the grizzly bear skin and the bracelet of beaver skin, which were given me by Mrs. Stanniger, were told in English.

The material was not given as accounts of magic or witchcraft, but rather as part of the data regarding the properties of plants and animals of which I was endeavoring to collect as complete information as possible.

Joshua, who is even younger than Captain Schooner, remembers the time when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in the Bella Coola valley, and when they saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently these men remember the old Bellacoola beliefs before they were much, if at all, affected by European ideas.

It will be noticed that magic among the Bellacoola is considered of use both for beneficial and injurious purposes, and that the materials giving effect to it are of both plant and animal origin.

Nat. Museum II-5 (1928-1932)1929 NGA Ballantyne NGA
CATTLE NGA
TUMMEKEN NGA
SCANA, NGA

67

NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BELLA COOLA AND NEIGHBORING TRIBES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

By Harlan I. Smith

INTRODUCTION

The paper describes the natural media of the tribes of British Columbia, the Bella Coola of Bella Coola valley, the Kitlat of Dean River, the Carrier who live in the country inland both of these tribes, and the Shuswap of the headwaters of Dean River. Among the Bella Coola the envelopes are largely family possessions known to a few individuals only, so that one family may have different months for the same specific complaint, but this is not the case among the other tribes. Knowledge of medical practice does largely into the treatment of disease, but no attempt is made to discuss it in this report. It was impossible for the Indians to diagnose many of their maladies, so that the identifications given here are in many cases problematical.

Most of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1906-07 by Julius Moody, apparently a full-blood Bella Coola Indian, born about 1848. He is the last man living to give the days in Chinook jargon, which has been memorized and arranged in local order. Julius is an Indian possessed with great knowledge of the local plants and animals. He remembers when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in Bella Coola valley, and when the inhabitants were only one other white man every year or two. Consequently he was could the old Bella Coola material either before it was much affected by European ideas.

Some of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1906-07 by the late Captain Johnson, also apparently a full-blood, very aged man, who used the Chinook jargon. Mr. Peter Stevens Clayton, Louis Hall, and other Bella Coola Indians furnish gave information and corroboration.

Most of the information relating to the Northern Carrier Indians of Cheslatta Lake comes during September from Charlie Weh, also known as Charlie or Hanlonn Charlie, a native of that place, born about 1871. Charlie uses the peculiar form of broken or pidgin English commonly employed for communication between the whites and the Carrier and Chilcotin Indians of this region.

The information about the Sikani and the Northern Carrier of Sagadoque is from step but more fully supplied by Mr. D. Jenness.

The information relating to the Chilcotin was secured in Victoria from the late John Pierre and Alexander Pierre of Stwecqen, Lake Pierre and Job Robinson of Hanceton, with additions and corroboration from a few others, all the Chilcotin Indians, apparently full-blood. The information was secured mostly in English, although Alexander Pierre used also the Chinook jargon.

The method the writer employed was to submit questions of the chiefs to the informants and question them concerning all their uses. All the information thus obtained only the medicinal recipes has been recorded here. The plants were last checked by Mr. M. O. Malte, of the National Museum, Ottawa.

I.

[105] The Bella Coola are a small tribe inhabiting the coast of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm, two long and narrow fiords situated in about latitude 52° north, in British Columbia. Their habitat extends along Bella Coola River, which empties into North Bentinck Arm. The name "Bella Coola" is a corruption of the word "Bilxula," by which name the tribe is known to the Kwakiutl. There is no term in their own language embracing all the tribes speaking the Bella Coola language. It seems that at a former time the tribe was quite populous; but, owing to various epidemics and the inroads of other Indians, its numbers have dwindled down, so that at the present time it has been reduced to only a few hundred souls. The language spoken by the tribe belongs to the Salishan family, more particularly to the group of dialects spoken along the coast of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia. The great similarity between the Bella Coola and the other Coast-Salishan dialects leads us to assume that at one time the tribes speaking these dialects inhabited contiguous areas. At the present time the Bella Coola are separated from other tribes speaking Salishan languages by a considerable stretch of country, which is inhabited by tribes of Athapascan and Kwakiutl lineage. Vocabulary and grammar have been slightly modified, particularly by an extensive choice of words. The relation of their language to the other dialects of the Coast Salish is similar to that of the Tillamook, another language belonging to the Salishan family, which is spoken on the coast of Oregon, to an area separated from the rest of the Salishan territory by the dialects inhabited by the Chinook.

[106] [107] Physically the Bella Coola bear evidence of longcontinued contact with the northern Coast tribes, and also with the Athapascan tribes of the interior. Evidently intermarriages have been quite frequent, so much so that their present physical appearance differs considerably from that of the southern Salishan tribes, of whom they form a branch. The same is true in regard to their customs and beliefs, which differ fundamentally from those of the southern Salishan tribes.

[108] In the present paper I shall describe the mythology of the Bella Coola, and discuss its development.

II.

[109] Our previous knowledge of the mythology of this tribe is based on studies made by Oliver Jacobsen, Philip Jacobsen, Graham, and the writer. In 1900 I published a few brief notes on their traditions.[1] Graham pub-

[1] Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1900, p. 320.

the middle of the water, the barnacles and worms bit her. She jumped up, and the canoe capsized. The birds swam ashore. After a short time the barnacles and sea-worms came ashore too. They looked very stout, because they had eaten the bear. Then the youth said to the girl, "There are two trails here,—one leading to the left, the other to the right. You follow the one, I will follow the other. If the trails meet, we will marry; if they do not, we have separate forever." They started, and after a while met each other. Then the youth married the girl. (Book of the Bear, Plate X, Fig. 11.)[1]

VI.

It is necessary to make a few remarks on the relation of the ceremonials of the Bella Coola Indians to their mythology. I have not seen any of their ceremonials, and my descriptions are based on tradition, and upon the accounts published by Philip and Adrian Jacobsen.

The Bella Coola have two ceremonials,—the *tsauk* and the *kwakiut*, which correspond to the *cultus* and the *winalagi* of the Kwakiut. I have described these ceremonials fully in another paper.[2] The *tsauk* ceremonials are mostly dramatic representations illustrating the clan legends, some of which have been recorded in Chap. IV., while the *kwakiut* ceremonials are dramatic representations of the initiation of members of various clans into certain secret societies. Among these, the Cannibal Society, the Society of the Laughers, and the Society of the Throwers, are the most important. There are called by the Bella Coola the *sisutl'ulu*, *Ots*, and *Dzila*. I described on pp. 50 ff. the spirits presiding over the two first-named societies. The information which I obtained on these points is perfectly clear and consistent. I cannot quite reconcile the explanations given by A. and P. Jacobsen to the accounts which I received. It seems that their accounts do not clearly distinguish between the opinions held by various tribes. In the article above referred to, I described fully the opinions held by the Kwakiut in regard to the origin of their Cannibal Society. They believe that a spirit called *Baxbakualanuxsi'wae* initiates the Cannibals. He is represented as having an enormous black head with dilated nostrils and huge mouth. I have made frequent inquiries among the Bella Coola, but received the uniform answer that this being does not initiate their Cannibals. It is not impossible that a few families may have adopted this tradition from the Kwakiut tribes, but I have not been able to find it among the Bella Coola. Jacobsen maintains that *Baxbakualanuxsi'wae* is the particular spirit of the Cannibal among the Bella Coola, and brings forward the well-known

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca.1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

allowed to re-enter the houses; but before doing so for the first time, he must stop at the door and shout, "Wa, wa, wa!" Then he jumps over the threshold. Accompanied by many men, he is led, after four days more, to the river for final purification. He is pushed into the water, but struggles to free himself. He tries to duck his companions, and utters his cries. Finally he is led back. Then he weeps, because the spirit has left him entirely. The people beat time while he is going back to the house. Then he is offered a piece of salmon, which is placed on his throat, while the people shout, "Hoip, hoip!" The salmon is taken away again, and after some time he is allowed to take one bite. Then he must lie down. After the dancing season is ended, he is again allowed to eat in the same way as other people do. The piece of salmon that was placed on his throat is eaten by children as a protection against sickness. Finally a ceremony is performed which is called "taking the lip of the S'ā'tpata out of the Cannibal's body." While this is being done, the people cry, "Hoip!" Then they throw the lip upon another Cannibal, who at once falls into an ecstasy. Then the shaman takes it back and throws it up towards the sky, where it disappears. The dish and the spoon that the Cannibal used during his ecstasy are destroyed. For four years he must wear a small ring of red cedar-bark, in summer as well as in winter.

The Ōts is also initiated in heaven by the being described before (p. 35). There are different traditions regarding his initiation among different clans. Some Ōts, during their performances, walk ropes which are stretched through the house. When he returns from his initiation, small whistles, called cat'lana, which imitate the voices of eagles, are heard outside of the houses. Then the Ōts enters in a state of ecstasy, scratching the people who assemble to hold him, and tearing their blankets. Finally the people succeed in placing a blanket over his head, and he begins to come to his senses. When he enters the house, the people beat time, then he teaches the chorus-leader a song. The mask worn by the Ōts is quite large, and characterized by a large nose (Plate XII, Fig. 9). He carries a dancing-club (Plate XII, Fig. 10), and rings made of red cedar-bark. He is accompanied by two assistants, who also wear masks.

VII.

We will now discuss the probable origin of the mythology described in the preceding pages. In order to do so, it is necessary to make a brief statement in regard to the social organization of the neighboring tribes. In another paper[1] I have fully discussed the considerable amount of borrowing that has taken place among the Coast tribes, and the relation of their

[1] Indianische Sagen von der nordpacifischen Küste Amerikas, Berlin, 1895, pp. 41 ff. [illegible]

One of them must wash his body, one must wash his head, and the two others hold him. In return they receive one or two blankets each. During this ceremony the quqq'ō'lEñ, who are described as wild men, dance around the novice. They have ropes tied around their waists, and are held by other members of the society by these ropes. Then the xEnxant'tEl lead the novice into the woods, where he remains for a long time, until he meets the spirit that initiates him. It seems that during this time he is secretly led to the house in which the xEnxant'tEl continue to celebrate festivals at the expense of the novice's father, and there he is taught the secrets of the society. During this time, until the return of the novice from the woods, the house is tabooed. A watchman is stationed at the entrance, who keeps out uninitiated persons. During the absence of the novice, his mother prepares cedar bark ornaments and weaves mountain goat blankets for his use. One afternoon he returns, and then his father gives a feast to let the people know that his child has returned. The latter performs his first dance, in which he uses masks and cedar bark ornaments. This dance is called nuxnEä'mEñ. On this day the father must distribute a great number of blankets among the xEnxant'tEl. The initiated are permitted to take part in the feast, and sit on one side of the house. The new member spends all his nights in the woods, where he bathes. In the spring the new member, if a man, is thrown into the sea, and after that is free from all regulations attending the initiation. One of the principal regulations regarding novices of the xEnxant'tEl is that they must return from the woods in the direction in which the sun is moving, starting so that the sun is at their backs. Therefore they must sometimes go in roundabout ways. They must go backward through doors, which are stä'lEqam (supernatural) against them. Frequently the sō'na (a female shaman) is called to bespeak the door in their behalf before they pass through it. Before their dance the sō'na must also address the earth, as it is supposed that else it might open and swallow up the dancer. It is also stä'lEqam against the novice. The expression used is that the earth would "open its eyes" (k'u'nalaxa); that means, swallow the novice. In order to avert this danger, the sō'na must "give a name to the earth," and strew red paint and feathers over the place where the novice is to dance.

THE BI'LXULA.

121 171 The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Bi'lxula are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the sisan'k', and the kē'sist. The sisan'k' corresponds to the tsō'lxa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the kē'sist to the tsō'tsō'atqa. The Bi'lxula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Xō'mtsiss, to whose care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful house in the far east, and cries "ä, ä,"

556 773 776

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121 128 If I were to investigate and report on the Bella Coola at the present time, I would undoubtedly be influenced by many years of contact with American anthropologists and their work. I would assume a greater knowledge of North-West coast institutions, less interest in the details of ceremonial rites, and it would be impossible not to avoid comparisons with, and observations upon, the theoretical implications of many of the facts recorded. But though every field investigator is strictly objective as to the facts he collects, yet his interests, and his method of presenting them, are coloured by his background; in my case, by the older school of English anthropology. On the whole, I think this is fortunate. It means that the Bella Coola are portrayed as I saw them when I came fresh to a new field, practically uninfluenced by problems of North-West coast culture, and fully prepared to throw myself into their life. They were "my people," not a group in which I was interested because they had, or had not, certain culture traits with which I was concerned. In the course of my teaching experience, furthermore, I have wished repeatedly to give serious students detailed field monographs in which are recorded the interwoven social, religious, and folk-lore concepts of a people, the sum-total of their mental life, collected by one man at one time. This I have tried to do for the Bella Coola.

123 Following the English tradition, I wish to record how this material was collected. Before leaving for British Columbia, [115] I was advised by the late H. I. Smith, who had worked in the area, to talk to Joshua Moody (see Plate 1), an elderly Bella Coola Indian with whom Smith had worked. On explaining to Joshua that I had come to record in permanent form the traditions and lore of *his* people, Joshua grinned broadly and promised his help. Unfortunately, he spoke only a few words of English. I tried interpreter after interpreter, Indian and white, with only fair success, and my difficulties increased with the [464] opening of the canning season and the consequent employment of the younger men and women. I was urged to learn the [122] Chinook jargon, which serves widely as a *lingua franca* on the [198]

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coast, and began the study with much misgiving. The results were surprisingly satisfactory.

After a few weeks I found that I had sufficient knowledge of Chinook to dispense with interpreters and deal directly with the older people, a tremendous advantage. Pride of ancestry is one of the strongest characteristics of the Bella Coola, and once convinced of my sincere interest in and respect for their history, they were willing to talk. They resent the condescension with which most white men regard them, so that contact with one who was friendly and sympathetic came as a pleasant surprise. There were, of course, difficulties. The canning season had begun and every able-bodied man was working away from the village. The conviction of each person that he was the best source of information, and that conferences with another were useless or unreliable, caused distrust. The desire of each informant to discuss only what interested him; the complexity of Bella Coola life itself; the necessity of checking every statement, and the extreme difficulty of doing so on account of discrepancies in the myths of different families; the fear, almost groundless, of each individual that someone else had infringed on his rights by recounting some legend; and, not least, the need for tact, patience, and a sense of humour under all conditions, were some of the obstacles to be surmounted. Nor was Chinook entirely satisfactory. It has enough words for matters pertaining to fishing, hunting, and trading, but for the realms of sociology or theology it is inadequate. This difficulty could not have been overcome without the patient help of my informants. Animated by the desire to help, they used every expedient in the way of parallel and synonym to explain obscure terms. Sometimes a younger man was called in for some abstruse meaning; more often it gradually became clear from different applications. Once the significance of a word was definitely understood, I made a note of it and used it henceforth. A useful vocabulary was thus built up, and conversations were carried on in mixed Bella Coola and Chinook, eked out by whatever English words were known by the person with

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124 whom I was working. Before I left, this medley contained so much Bella Coola that it was unintelligible to white people who knew Chinook alone.

Activities in the canneries would have interfered seriously with my work during the summer of 1922 if two men had not [115] been confined to the village, Captain Schooner owing to an injured wrist, and Jim Pollard by the illness of his wife. These two men were willing to work half a day apiece without jealousy. Each was intensely proud of the traditions of his people and, realizing that their culture was passing away, was glad to assist in making it permanent in writing. An intimacy sprang 123 up between Captain Schooner (see Plate 3) and myself culmin- [597] ating in my adoption, a circumstance which established and improved my position in the community. In this way I was enabled to collect a large amount of material before July when it was necessary for me to leave for the east.

In September, 1923, when I returned to Bella Coola, I found that Captain Schooner had died a few months before, respected alike by white men and Indians. With the aid of others with whom I had made contact it was possible to obtain much new information, as well as to clear up many obscure points. The previous summer I had been so overwhelmed with material that I had no time to collate it in the field and the gaps only became apparent after a year's study. The men were so busy hunting and laying in stocks of fire-wood, however, that I found it difficult to arrange regular hours of work, but this was a trifle compared with the initial difficulties of my first trip. In October, when the Bella Coola began to prepare for 123 the winter dances, they had to appoint a successor to Captain 796 Schooner, who had played a leading part in their production. 887 Having been adopted by him, it was suggested that I take his place, a proposition which I readily accepted. This admitted me to the ranks of the old men, and I imagine that my interest encouraged them to hold more ceremonials than they had done for several years. In former times, a number of the older men used to devote much time and thought to the composing, re-

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membering, and rendering of songs; in 1923 it was found that Jim Pollard (see Plate 4) alone had a sufficiently accurate memory to act as announcer. As more and more men wished to perform, he found himself unable to keep the texts in order, and asked me to join the choir as prompter. I held this position for the rest of the winter, taking a full part in every ceremony. Although the old customs had broken down enormously, this actual participation enabled me to understand the winter dances in a manner impossible from mere description. Later on, phonographic records were made of many of the songs used, thus preserving specimens of the fast disappearing music.

My intimate association with the Bella Coola enabled me to collect the material here presented which, having been verified and reverified, I have every reason to believe is correct. Nevertheless, it has one serious defect owing to the lack of acuteness of my ear. I found it almost impossible to differentiate certain sounds; in fact, I sometimes recorded the same word with different spellings. Consequently, I cannot guarantee the accuracy of the native terms used in this monograph. Moreover, I was entirely unable to analyze proper names, which would have been of great value in understanding the attributes of supernatural beings.

When writing up field notes, the realization of my own inefficiency in the recording of sounds tempted me to rely upon the spelling of Boas whenever possible. After considerable hesitation, I rejected this course for the following reason. Ethnological work falls into two categories, descriptive and comparative. This monograph is of the former type, based on actual work in the field and the inclusion of any material from another source would destroy its originality. I believe that a descriptive work should consist exclusively of the author's own research, and I have adhered to this principle in spite of the advantages which would have followed the use of Boas' linguistic terms. For the same reason no attempt has been made to compare the customs and beliefs of the Bella Coola with those of other tribes, although this would undoubtedly have shed

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*556 578 Island chief was felt by the Bella Coola to be quite natural; one of their own chiefs might have resented the insult in the same manner. This account may have no historical basis, but it is a clear example of Bella Coola sentiment.

*556 648 558 [765] Further examples may help to clarify this point. A few years ago a number of Kwakiutl Indians visited Bella Coola to perform a mourning ceremony in honour of a deceased Bella Coola who had a Kwakiutl name from his grandfather, a member of that tribe. All the natives were invited to a large house, where the visitors gave a dance according to their own ancestral myths; the songs which were used recounted the history of the Kwakiutl name of the dead man. After thus displaying their prerogatives, they felt themselves obliged, and proud, as hosts, to give presents as validation. The sum of $546 was distributed among the guests. Realizing that it would be impossible to return such a sum by holding ceremonials in Fort Rupert, the home of the Kwakiutl, the leading Bella Coola decided to return the compliment immediately. The amount to be given was discussed at great length. Appreciating the courtesy of the foreigners in thus coming to pay honour to the deceased, it was not wished to insult them by giving a larger present, which would have had the effect of intimating that the recipients considered the $546 a trifling amount. Accordingly it was finally agreed to give the visitors about $300, which was done as validation of a Bella Coola ceremony at which the strangers were present. Thus the hosts allowed themselves to be shamed as a mark of courtesy. Not to be outdone in politeness, the Kwakiutl chief made a speech, expressing his willingness to allow the Bella Coola to drive him (this occurred in the days of horses and carts) to the wharf to take the steamer. In other words, he allowed the Bella Coola to put him in their debt, as they had allowed him and his party to do with respect to the distribution of money. The visit terminated with friendly relations maintained on both sides.

*423 533 *556 424 The need of validating every ceremonial act by presents can be further illustrated by the following instance. When

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the writer was in Bella Coola, a non-ceremonial entertainment was given one evening at which several men sang and performed. The writer was asked to sing a Bella Coola song, which he did in the belief that it was not one that was incorporated in the ancestral myth of anyone. Unfortunately, his teacher had erred, and as soon as the song was completed an old woman arose and stated that it belonged to her ancestral family. She avoided the difficulty of its singing by immediately announcing that the singer was her "son." Thus the writer was adopted into a Bella Coola family, a circumstance which aided him considerably in collecting information. This did not alter the fact that a ceremonial song had been sung. Accordingly, the woman gave presents to the guests, thereby legalizing the adoption, and saving herself from the disgrace of having one of her songs used as if it were a matter of no consequence, free to anyone.

123 533 556* 424 [597]

SEATING

Presents are also a means of obtaining seats. Every Bella Coola has at least one name embodied in an ancient myth. A man who wishes to become a chief can do so only by giving lavish presents to make his designation "strong," "firm," or "bright," to use Bella Coola expressions. Such gifts increase the importance of the owner's name, and they obtain for him the right to a seat, more or less definitely located, in the house. Since all Bella Coola habitations are built on similar lines, a man can occupy his wonted position when summoned to a ceremony in any house. The validating of ancestral names and the acquisition of seats are among the important features which occur at potlatches.

554 556* [622] [424] [553]

In the beginning of time, when the first people were sent down to populate the earth, it is assumed that each who established a village, consisting of a single house, seated himself in the best spot within the dwelling, namely the central position behind the fire; his younger relatives ranged either beside him

[773]

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*556 769 a man and assuage his sorrow to know that he has shown fitting respect to the dead, there is also a gain in social prestige. As the whole community respects, admires, and sometimes envies a man for having carried out a memorial potlatch, there is no doubt that he is pleased and gratified to such an extent that his grief is dulled. These two factors must constantly be kept in mind; memorial potlatches serve to commemorate the dead, but in so doing they add to the social importance of the donors. The two combine to bring considerable comfort to the chief who has lost a dear relative. In some cases the social prestige is the real motive, the grief assumed and unimportant; but in others the latter is the only factor that matters, and a chief is entirely oblivious to any increase in his own status. In most memorial potlatches, both feelings are present in the mind of the donor, and both are gratified.

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF A FUNERAL

764 114 In the preceding pages, an attempt has been made to describe the traditional death rites of the Bella Coola. The following section comprises a detailed account of funeral ceremonies witnessed in 1922. The contrast between these and the ones already recorded, will indicate some of the changes [178] in custom which are of such importance in studies of cultural [182] growth or decline. The following description will also serve [57] to demonstrate a point repeatedly mentioned, the manner in which business transactions and arrangements of all kinds take place whenever the people have been called together.

[123] On June 27, 1922, the death occurred in Bella Coola of Jessie, Mrs. Samuel King, daughter of Captain Schooner. The latter, now deceased, was one of the writer's most trusted friends, and as a result of this friendship it was possible not only to attend the actual rites, but to ascertain much of the feeling underlying them. This advantage had its drawbacks, since it was manifestly impossible to question either the father or the husband of the woman too closely. The details will be de-

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777 The last appearance of such a stone was in Dean Channel,
* 787 to the father of an elderly Bella Coola, who was too amazed
823 to take advantage of it. As far as could be ascertained, in 1922 there was only one stone which was regarded by the owner as having brought him good fortune. It had been obtained by one of his elderly relatives who died about 1906. This man had been walking beside the Bella Coola River one spring day when he happened to notice a woodpecker perched on one of the posts supporting an olachen net. Without taking his eyes from it, he idly stooped down and threw a pebble at the bird which flew to the bank, lit on a pile of stones, and became one of them. Realizing that here might be the means of obtaining supernatural good fortune, if properly handled, the man watched for some time, then went forward, picked up the stone, covered it with evergreen boughs and wrapped the whole in a strip torn from the white-man's shirt he was wearing. With the axe he was carrying he cut a recess in a tree, put the object in it and covered the hiding place with the original bark. He said nothing about it, but the stone brought him such good luck that he obtained large quantities of everything desirable.

777 In later years the man, after replacing the stone in the hole
823 of the tree, went away to Victoria; when he returned, years later, it was still there. By placing it in his box he again prospered in all his ventures. When an old man the owner presented the stone to a relative who still treasures it. It is red, about a foot in length, shaped somewhat like a human figure without arms or legs, but with a prominent navel opening. See Fig. 2. The owner has kept it for years, hiding it even from his wife and allowing no white man to see it. He had been perfectly willing to have photographs taken of most of his ceremonial objects, but declined to permit this to be done with his valued stone, and carefully hid it in a box after showing it. When he wished to use the transformed bird, it was wrapped in his old shirt, together with a small amount of money or what-

•[23]

Fig. 2
Lucky Stone

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men had vanished. It is possible that in this particular case there was a belief that *Alqunŭm* granted the wish when convinced that all had the same desire, but this element is often entirely lacking.

Belief in the power of thought is a concept which the investigator constantly meets in Bella Coola at the present day. For example, in 1921 a government official working in the valley, purchased a representation of a merganser which had been used in a ceremonial.[1] Although this should have been destroyed after use, no difficulty would have been raised if the transaction had remained a secret. Unfortunately, the buyer allowed the object to be seen by several Bella Coola and by some Carriers. This caused indignation throughout the community and news of it reached the Bella Bella, who concluded that the vendor would suffer disaster for allowing a secret object to be seen by the despised Indians of the interior. Within a year, his wife died. The Bella Bella believed that his sin had brought its own punishment, but the Bella Coola, who knew the details of the sale and did not consider the exposure of the article to have been the fault of the seller, attributed it to the power of the thoughts of the Bella Bella. They all expected that he would be punished; therefore he was punished; the expectation was sufficient to effect its own fulfilment. This incident was too fresh in the minds of several men to allow them to sell ceremonial objects to the writer.

The most common form taken by this conviction is with regard to death; if it is believed that a man will die, he is almost certain to do so. In June, 1921, a woman died in Bella Coola and her father claimed that she had been murdered by a certain man either with material poison or by magical means. He took no direct steps in revenge but stated emphatically that the man whom he suspected would die within a year. The threatened man knew of this, and more than once said that he

[1] The article, now in the National Museum of Canada, consists of a cloth and wood representation of a merganser canoe such as was used by *Nanŭlk* in the beginning of time.

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*575 not considered necessary. With few exceptions, hereafter to
796 be noted, *kusiut* masks are burnt at the conclusion of each
532 ceremony, a practice which probably originated in order to
[171] avoid the possibility of their being seen by the uninitiated. The Bella Coola state that this is one of the most striking differences between their rites and those of the Bella Bella.

*575 Next in importance to masks are whistles (see Plate 2).[1]
796 The large, cone-shaped form used in *susook* ceremonial is re-
534 placed in *kusiut* dances by a smaller type consisting of portions of wood glued together, which can be blown with ease from
[237] beneath a concealing blanket. Another type has bellows consisting of a mountain goat bladder, which is held beneath the arm-pit so that it can be worked invisibly. During the summer the whistles are kept by one individual, usually a
[422] marshal. Specific information concerning the ownership of these whistles could not be obtained; it appears that any *kusiut* can make one, or have one made for him by a skilled carpenter, and that their retention by one person during the summer is merely for convenience. They are freely lent to
[420] anyone for use in a ceremony.

*575 In some dances special objects are used in connection with
796 dramatic performances, such as bull-roarers, wooden repre-
532 sentations of animals, birds, or miniature human beings. One old man described a pipe formerly used at *Tāl-io*, which had
[534] a carved bowl as large as a tea-cup with three radiating stems.
[824] It was carved from a knotty excrescence on a beech bole. Little could be learnt of its history, except that it was supposed to have been carved by a chief with the design of his patron and displayed through pride.

*575 The usual guests at a performance of the type just sum-
604 marized are the dancer's fellow-villagers and any strangers
796 who happen to be present in the town. Great as is the desire of the *kukusiut* to impress their uninitiated tribesmen, they
[648] are still more eager to impress strangers, hence the presence of Carriers adds piquancy to the rites. The writer believes
[123] that his presence and interest encouraged the Bella Coola to

[1] [see category 116, p84(B) - ANALYCT]

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perform several ancient rites through a desire to "show off" before someone who was ignorant. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials, and to judge a man's worth by his lavishness in them, but this is only a modern development due to the prohibition of the potlatch. Nevertheless, even in former times some individuals preferred to invite foreign guests to *kusiut* dances and to give them valuable gifts rather than to save these for potlatches; such a ceremony is called a *kukusiutsk*. Whenever strangers are present at a *kusiut* dance they receive small pieces of dyed cedar-bark as proof of the friendly intentions of the host. The general consensus of Bella Coola opinion is that it is foolish for a man to concentrate on *kusiut* performances, particularly if he impoverish himself to the detriment of potlatches.

Although foreign guests are seldom invited to *kusiut* rites, a dancer frequently calls in his fellows from adjacent villages. But as the ceremonial season is simultaneous in the different settlements, with almost nightly performances, it is often impossible to avoid conflict in dates. Which invitation shall have preference is decided in the following manner:

During the days of *qathm* and *nakazam* the dancer sends a herald of powerful physique to invite guests from as many villages as he wishes. Simultaneously, a messenger may be approaching from the opposite direction with a similar invitation. Each envoy watches carefully around each bend in the path for his rival, and whichever can first call out his message is entitled to continue to give his invitation in the village of the outwitted herald. It is considered exceedingly bad taste to decline a summons, so the ceremony to which the defeated herald was bearing an invitation must be postponed. Sometimes the two messengers sight one another simultaneously, and the relative priority of their messages is then decided by a contest of strength. The rivals stand in the path, shoulder to shoulder, arms close to their sides, and shove with all their strength, the winner being the one who can force his opponent to move his feet. This last means of deciding is used exclu-

type of cookery can be carried out only during the ceremonial season.

After killing and eating a human being, a Cannibal must conceal himself for a considerable period, sometimes as long as four years. The uninitiated are told that the great power within him has taken him so far into the upper regions that one or more years must elapse before his return. During this time he can be seen only by *Sakaciac*. The writer was told of one unfortunate corpse-eating Cannibal, *Echoler*, who was virtually secluded for eight years, since a stone was cast at his feet every time he reappeared, thus forcing him to kill and eat. This curse had been dormant for a number of years until conferred on the writer, who failed to uphold the prerogative.

One other type of Cannibal prerogative remains to be described, namely, that of biting oneself. This is even less common than that of corpse-eating, being enjoyed only by two individuals, *Sallaskaay of Ilgaa* and *Snong of the Kimsquit River*. The following account of the origin of the latter's prerogative was obtained:

Many years ago, even after the first people came to the world, the crowd of the *hamatsa* dances was much more amazing than it is at present. In that time the inhabitants of the earth were still endowed with such supernatural powers that they were able to perform feats that people of the present day can appreciate only with the aid of competent witnesses. There was then living in one of the villages on the Kimsquit River a certain *Snong* who had the prerogative of biting himself. He once went hunting on one of the mountains, and when he failed to return the people were convinced that he had eaten so heavily of his own flesh that he had died. Although search was made for his body, it was not until the following year that a professional hunter found the skeleton. From the position of the bones it was judged that their condition was strange: he had killed himself by eating too much of his own flesh. The chiefs and other influential *hahamatsa* held a meeting at which it was decided that hundreds *hamatsa* dances would only be acted, not carried out in reality. The following winter the name and prerogative were transferred to the son of the dead man, who bit himself, but not sufficiently deeply to cause serious injury.

[The Fingus Tower]

ON THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

"I want a strong man. I want an Indian," running a *Dacian of powerful physique.*

The man so designated comes forward, passes once, twice, around the cord, seizes it with both hands, and strains to pull up the fingus. Sometimes he fails to make it appear at all, or he may be able to produce the upper part of the fore-head, and he soon returns to his place, baffled. The unin-ciated realize that it is a mere fingus, and the puzzle to them is how X can lift it so easily when another fails. The explan-ation lies in the long rope, of which they are unaware, passing down through the floor of the house to the space between it and the ground. There are concealed four strong Indians whose duty is to hold the cord and allow it to be hauled up to a distance indicated by whispered instructions. It would be a major disaster should they become careless or should the rope break. A second *Dacian* is called forward, but has no greater success than his predecessor, and a third and a fourth also fail. The heralds keep up a running fire of comments, for instance, if one man is able to raise the fingus two-thirds they remark on the fact, saying that he must be a good man to whom the supernatural beings are favourably disposed. If, on the other hand, the cord is drawn down, removing the skin from the palms of the would-be pullers, they comment unsympathetically on the feeble manifestations towards him. When four Dacian have tried and failed, X again demonstrates his strength, or the willingness of the supernatural beings to respond to his pulling, by lifting the fingus and dangling body into view. Once more a herald calls out:

"The *Dacian* were someone to pull."

The challenge is now open to anyone, member of the audience or uninitiated, and one after another comes forward, circles the rope, and tries his strength—but without avail. Even the use of the *Dacian* dance hall cannot recruit the mirth of the spectators when the rope is quickly pulled below, a painful experience as the writer knows to his cost. Often it is a little girl

[The Dance of Thunder]

with clear, ringing voice. It proceeds to pull forth [illegible] and walks up one of the spectators, pulling the weapon at him and humming furiously. The actor with the part of a supernatural mosquito or one of the dancers hold in the actors of [illegible] and remembers the expression of fear on the face of a younger member of the audience when about to be "stung." The victim was certainly afraid on that occasion, and if that feeling could survive the break-down of belief, it is not to be wondered at that fear was universal in the days when the Gallurini were thought to be possessors of supernatural powers. Another being who often appears at a dance of Thunder is Dutrenoux Dripping-from-the-Roof. The medical figure walks slowly around the fire and *Dal'Ombrano* explains that this is the water which drops from a hole in the plastering. The Clarion [illegible] are never omitted, and always cause amusement until the gravity of the rite. One after another, the supernatural beings appear from the enclosure, circle the fire, and withdraw, accompanied by the sage remarks of *Dal'Ombrano*. Finally there is a long pause, broken when a medical figure slowly emerges forth. It is Death, who appears at the same time as the other supernatural beings but arrives on foot while present at the dance of Thunder. Death circles the fire and disappears. At this point the uninitiated are expelled and the rite concludes as usual.

Dancers whose patrons are Thunder, Earthquake, Sun, or Moon do not confine their dances to the ceremonial season, but perform whenever a manifestation of their patrons occurs. If Thunder is heard, no matter what the time of day or season of year, X stands up and cries out:

"Ye lie does not refer to Thunder by name] is dancing too lustily up aloft. *Ewe* ..."

The call of *ewe* ... is thought to have a quieting effect on Thunder. Any Bellarini woman present at once dress, then, accompanied by a number of his associates, X proceeds to the lower house of the village where the same ritual is repeated. This is done in every dwelling, after which X returns home and

When all hope has been abandoned, they are summoned and the relative completes the ceremony, doing only that part of it left undone by the original designee of the cult. The principle in the same as that described when a novice dies, that someone must finish the rite. This aspect of the Dorier ceremonial is still preserved unanimously as the writer found to be true. It was proposed that he be formally initiated into the society, but this was not allowed on the ground that he would not be present the following winter to complete the rite commenced by the coming of the cult.

The Dorier Rite

The commencement of the Dorier season is regulated by the coming of Nathyum, but its conclusion is a matter of arrangement. By February the number of Dorier wishing to dance has become negligible and the mandals decide to terminate the ceremonial season. It must be remembered that an enclosure has been built in every house where an important Dorier dance has taken place, and that so long as there are in existence the uninitiated have not been allowed to live in these houses. The social life of the community has accordingly been profoundly disturbed. Of course several dances may have taken place in a single dwelling, but even allowing for that, the fact remains that the uninitiated have been forced to dwell temporarily in perhaps only one or two houses. The most obvious mark of the end of the ceremonial season is the destruction of these enclosures.

A few nights after the last sabrum, the heralds summon the Dorier to the house in which it took place. They are dress but the usual dressing is omitted. Presently sticks are distributed and one of the singers takes his place to lead in the customary funeral hearing. But before he raises his horn, one of the mandals, or another Dorier with ability to clear magic, stops to the centre of the house and spins rapidly in all directions, his aim being to deluge the house and spectators with a spray of saliva. Then the singer leads the hearing of

Z: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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575 796 781 figures are really beings from another world. The explanation lies in the profound belief of all Bella Coola in the near presence of the supernatural; consequently, a supernatural explanation is the one normally given for all unusual incidents. The dances themselves are filled with strange manifestations, particularly the weird whistling concerning the origin of which the uninitiated have no idea. Once convinced by this means of the presence of unknown powers, it is easy for them to believe that the masked figures are visitors from the other world. Nor was their belief in former days shaken by certain representations which were palpably false, such as that of the sun. No one could believe that the disk which moved across the back of the house was the sun itself; but on the other hand it seemed marvellous to the uninitiated, ignorant of the means used to portray it. To the white man there seems a fundamental difference between a supernatural being and the representation of a strange object made to move by unseen means, but to the Bella Coola both belong to another realm, and are accordingly akin. Moreover, there were occasions when the uninitiated must have seen the shifting or actual falling of a mask, for example, during the fight with wasps. But here again the deep belief of the non-members came to the help of the *tsakwiat*, who told their guests that this was caused by the coming of a call to the actor, and what might easily have become doubt and suspicion was thus changed to respect.

[178] The writer laboured under two tremendous difficulties in collecting information about *tsaiat* matters; the present dances are mere shadows of what they formerly were, and there are [125] no more uninitiated. His presence and quest for information served to stimulate interest and led to a partial revival of the old rites, but the bulk of his material was obtained from informants rather than from actual observation. It is a universal [114] characteristic of mankind to idealize accounts of former practices, so it is not only possible, but probable, that the foregoing descriptions are more perfect than many of the rites to which

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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the *kuikum*, *prompter*, is equally important, though less obvious. As many as one hundred songs may be in constant use in the course of a single *kwiat* season, and it is impossible for any one individual to remember them sufficiently well never to become confused when calling them out. Consequently, one or more prompters sit beside the announcer, ready to whisper to him the words of the next subdivision. Prompters are expected to be thoroughly familiar with the myths of all performers and, since they neither announce nor sing, they are able to concentrate their whole attention on remembering the words which have been considered suitable. 533* 796* 575*

This somewhat complicated mechanism ensures a minimum of error in all important cases. Mistakes do creep in, however, and it is related with glee how on one occasion the singers completely forgot a text and substituted a description of a mask used at the rite in question. Moreover, even the solemnity of a *kwiat* dance cannot entirely check the love of the Bella Coola for practical joking. A blind singer once laid down his stick for a moment, whereupon one of his companions kicked it away. It appears to be virtually impossible for a man to sing unless he can accompany himself by rapping, and the frantic efforts of the sightless one to recover his baton almost betrayed his companions into obvious mirth. Occasionally, too, a prompter neglects his task* and the announcer is forced to improvise, while the leader endeavours to conceal the error by lengthening the pause between subdivisions. 533* 796* 575* 522

Marriage songs, shaman songs, non-ceremonial songs, and a few others of special type are sung by an individual, unaccompanied. The technique is, therefore, quite different from that just described. Dance songs of all kinds should, if complete, have the three parts; these are indicated as *A*, *B*, and *C* 533*

*During the winter of 1922-4 there was only one man in Bella Coola with sufficient skill and poise to act as announcer and prompter. He found it impossible to perform both duties and requested the aid of the writer as prompter. The texts were written down, and it was the writer's duty to sit beside the announcer, waiting for a nudge signifying that he had forgotten the next subdivision. From personal experience the writer can state that the task of prompter is exacting to the extreme. [123]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

grave difficulties in explaining their customs, as the white man has in understanding them. 153 124

The writer was impressed by the brilliance shown by several of the natives. Joshua Moody, for example, is essentially the philosopher. More individualistic than most of his tribesmen, he was one of the first to adopt Christianity and has been a faithful follower of the new creed. Deeply interested in religious questions, he has stored up what has been told him of the Bible and pondered deeply on all problems of life. Not particularly practical, subject to fits of anger or moroseness, but with a meditative temperament which delights in seeking biblical parallels and synonyms for Bella Coola practices, his is the kind of mind which, in other walks of life, would have produced the professor of philosophy. Jim Pollard is quite another type. Essentially practical, he has devoted his energies to keeping abreast of changing conditions. He is the best singer and composer in Bella Coola, the best canoeman for miles; he has learnt to handle a motor-boat engine, to aid prospectors for minerals, and has succeeded in amassing and saving a considerable amount of money. Jim excelled all other informants in clearness and logical presentation of his explanations, though he showed a slight tendency, intelligible enough, to gloss over aspects which he knew would be considered unpleasant. If Jim had been a white man, he would undoubtedly have made his mark in the world of business. The late Captain Schooner differed from either of the preceding. Older than they, and uncovered, he, perhaps, came nearest to the original, uncontaminated Bella Coola type. Heavy in build, coarse in humour and expression, he had a heart of gold and was a fine example of a native gentleman. He was glad to assist most patiently in recording ancient lore, being intensely proud of the traditions of his ancestors. A friendship developed from this which is one of the writer's happiest memories. Often in the evenings life in general was discussed, the war, the rush of progress in big cities, the quest for wealth, the spread of white civilization, and the problems raised by the contact of peoples.

115 177 [153] [123]

Z:Mc Ilwraith E-5 [1922-1924] 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

APPENDIX 9

STRING FIGURES

THE only form of pastime which it was practical to investigate in any detail was the construction of string figures. These seem to have no ceremonial or religious significance; they are made for recreation only, and it was found easy to learn a number while passing the way for other kinds of research. In fact, interest in them was one of the ways in which the writer became friends with a number of Bella Coola. As is to be expected, some individuals are more proficient in constructing complicated string figures than others, the old women being particularly adept. During the long delays which occur in all the dances it is a common sight to see an old crone teaching a group of young girls the figures which she herself learnt when young. Some men remember a number from childhood, but the making of designs with string is regarded as more fitting for girls and women. Songs accompany many of the figures, and the singing of these is considered an essential part of the construction. It was noted that many more figures were known long ago; in fact, several of those here described were only obtained after repeated efforts on the part of an old woman to reconstruct those which she had been shown when a child. No attempt was made to obtain all the Bella Coola figures; a larger number could doubtless have been collected, but those here described are the ones most commonly made.

The nomenclature used is that described by Miss Shelton,[1] in itself following the method used by Rivers and Shelton. It will be assumed that the reader is familiar with this, including the meaning of the terms, "Opening A," "Position I," and "Dipodic." A string about four feet long will be found most convenient for making the Bella Coola figures.

1. A SALMON-TRAP

Double the loop; two strands now take the place of the usual one, but these will be referred to as a single string or loop. The figure can be made equally well with a string one-half the usual length.

Place string as a simple loop over left thumb and index finger and the right hand.

With right index finger hook down the string passing directly across left thumb and index finger and draw out to right, allowing right hand loop to slip over this hooked-down string.

[1] M. Shelton, Cat's Cradle from Many Lands (London, 1913).

b:Mc Dowelth E. (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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ment, and began the study with much misgiving. The results were surprisingly satisfactory.

After a few weeks I found that I had sufficient knowledge of Chinook to dispense with interpreters and deal directly with the older people, a tremendous advantage. Pride of ancestry is one of the strongest characteristics of the Bella Coola, and once convinced of my sincere interest in and respect for their history, they were willing to talk. They resent the condescension with which many white men regard them, so that contact with one who was friendly and sympathetic came as a pleasant surprise. There were, of course, difficulties. The canning season had begun and every able-bodied man was working away from the village. The conviction of each person that he was the best source of information and that conferences with another were useless or unreliable, caused distrust. The desire of each informant to discuss only what interested him; the complexity of Bella Coola life itself; the necessity of checking every statement, and the extreme difficulty of doing so on account of disagreement in the myths of different families; the fear, almost groundless, of each individual that someone else had infringed on his rights by recounting some legend; and, not least, the need for tact, patience, and a sense of humour under all conditions, were some of the obstacles to be surmounted. Nor was Chinook entirely satisfactory. It has enough words for matters pertaining to fishing, hunting, and trading, but for the realms of mythology or theory it is inadequate. This difficulty could not have been overcome without the patient help of my informants. Sometimes a parallel and synonym to explain obscure passages in the myths; younger man was called in for some obscure. Sometimes often it gradually became clear from some meaning; no Once the significance of a word was different application I made a note of it and used it henceforth. A useful vocabulary was thus built up, and conversely. A useful vocabulary mixed Bella Coola and Chinook, and these were carried such words were known by the person with me by whatever E

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

124 whom I was working. Before I left, this medley contained so much Bella Coola that it was unintelligible to white people who knew Chinook alone.

Activities in the canneries would have interfered seriously with my work during the summer of 1922 if two men had not [115] been confined to the village, Captain Schooner owing to an injured wrist, and Jim Pollard by the illness of his wife. These two men were willing to work half a day apiece without jealousy. Each was intensely proud of the traditions of his people and, realizing that their culture was passing away, was glad to assist in making it permanent in writing. An intimacy sprang [123] up between Captain Schooner (see Plate 3) and myself culmi- [577] nating in my adoption, a circumstance which established and improved my position in the community. In this way I was enabled to collect a large amount of material before July when it was necessary for me to leave for the east.

In September, 1923, when I returned to Bella Coola, I found that Captain Schooner had died a few months before, respected alike by white men and Indians. With the aid of others with whom I had made contact it was possible to obtain much new information, as well as to clear up many obscure points. The previous summer I had been so overwhelmed with material that I had no time to collate it in the field and the gaps only became apparent after a year's study. The men were so busy hunting and laying in stocks of fire-wood, however, this was a trifle compared with the initial difficulties of my first trip. In October, when the Bella Coola began to prepare for 123 the winter dances, they had to appoint a successor to Captain 796 Schooner, who had played a leading part in their production. 887 Having been adopted by him, it was suggested that I take his place, a proposition which I readily accepted. This admitted me to the ranks of the old men, and I imagine that my interest encouraged them to hold more ceremonials than they had done for several years. In former times, a number of the older men used to devote much time and thought to the composing, re-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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kenzie, making his memorable overland trip to the Pacific, records coming upon Indian villages at every few miles of his course. Boas describes the way in which the inhabitants of each of these claim to be descended from one group of ancestors.

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Though it is impossible to estimate the former population of the Bella Coola valley with any degree of accuracy, it must have been in the thousands. In 1921 there were surviving rather more than three hundred individuals, who live in one village on an Indian reserve near the north bank of the Bella Coola River, about a quarter of a mile from the sea. In the last century the tribe was stricken with smallpox, and since then consumption, venereal disease, measles, and other diseases of the white man have taken their deadly toll. Changed conditions of life and decay of the rich ceremonial around which centred their interests in the old days are also contributory factors in their decline. Within the last few years, however, the population has begun to increase.

[164] [177] [182]

Bella Coola Villages

361

The following list of Bella Coola villages was obtained. In an effort to learn which had been deserted in recent years, the writer always asked whether or not a town was occupied at the time of Mackenzie's visit, an event of such great interest to the grandparents of the older people that the memory of it is still preserved. Villages said to have been occupied at that time are marked with an asterisk.

[124] [175]

[illegible] which is about one mile in width (see Plate 3). The Bella Coola, flowing from the east, enters at the southern edge, and the *Nulqaitkwa-e* winds in from the north to the opposite angle of the head of the fiord. This stream, "The Nuxwat River" of the Bella Coola, so-called because of its proximity to the sea, is shown on maps as the Neclatacoomy. Between the mouths of these two is the *Pa-ech*, a small stream rising

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1:McDougalth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

831 once was enough to kill an enemy, as if his spirit had been
785 driven from his body by a sudden start. Even in recent times
[993] it is said that individuals who have observed ceremonial chas-
[994] tity have been able to perform miraculous feats. A few years
ago a Bella Bella man lost two sons and was trying to get
enough money to buy a totem-pole for them. With this in
view, he observed chastity for almost a year. Then he went
seal hunting, and had killed a large number of the animals
when, standing up in his boat, the sail blew against him so
that he was thrown overboard. But he was so strong that he
simply walked on the surface of the water and re-entered his
[994] boat, none the worse for his mishap. The man who cited this
instance stated that a number of Bella Bella had seen the
occurrence and could vouch for it.

Ceremonial chastity is not a matter about which the Bella
[124] Coola are willing to talk. It concerns both their religious and
family life, in neither of which are strangers welcome. But
when an investigator becomes on friendly terms, and gains
some understanding of the inner lives of the people, he begins
to realize its importance. Ceremonial chastity is not only
[995] potent in itself, but it is also the favourite means by which a
man can cleanse himself of the impurities of human existence
so that he finds favour with the supernatural.

1:McDowalth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA BeDaccola NEA

614 extinct, are unusual; normally, the group is largely centred in
621 one village, but with members scattered in other localities. There is no central organization. It is generally recognized that such a unit belongs in the village where its first ancestors settled, and the leading chief of that village is, therefore, an important person in the family, though without status of [602] "head" of it. His advice may be appealed to in cases of dis- [553] putes concerning names, but he lacks judicial authority. Theoretically, the descendants of the elder of two first people are considered as "elder brothers and elder sisters" of those descended from a younger brother or sister; but this is nothing more than an accepted fact; it plays no part in the social life of the community.

552 In addition to human names, the origin myths include those
614 applied to dogs. The first ancestral group had dogs, and these
773 animals had names, or were given them by their powerful masters. Ever since that time their descendants can apply these designations to their own dogs. It is unnecessary to validate such names, but no two canines can be given the same one at the same time, according to the rule which governs the bestowal of human names. This matter was not investigated in detail, and the only dog's name collected was one for which [539] the origin myth is as follows:

When Tsi'a was first settled in the beginning of time, the houses were built in parallel rows, one above the other, up the side of a steep bank. In the very top was a white house, built over such a steep incline [526] nearly death bring their gift to the dog the name, *Nutlpaskuar* is about "Rolling successors," which has since been preserved in the ancestral family of his descendants.

LAND

● 124 Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining information
433 about land tenure. The Bella Coola resent keenly the way in
177 which their land has been occupied by white settlers without, according to their standpoint, proper compensation. Qua-

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NES Bella coola NE6

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tions on this subject always excited them, but every effort was made to verify the following statements.

As with names, the easiest way to understand the rights of the unmoral family in land is by first considering the mythological explanation, which mirrors conditions as they existed at the coming of white men. On reaching the earth the first people are believed to have prospected for suitable settlement sites, places where salmon and eulachon could be caught, and if possible, near side valleys where berries were abundant. There they released the animals and plants which they had brought with them, on which they thenceforth subsisted, in accordance with the supreme deity's instructions. The members of the group pre-empted these areas for themselves. Waste land, far from any village was, and still is, free to anyone. A few years after the first settlements had been made, according to the myths, the supreme god came down to Smaquit a certain *Alpoxtin* who allotted and marked the territory which was the property of each community; so that no a village consisted merely of a group of the first settlers. No similar myth was recounted for either Bella Coola or Tal'o, although their concepts with regard to land are identical with those of the Kimsquit. This really gave a sacred sanction to the possession of land, an important matter to a people so religiously inclined as the Bella Coola.

The system of land tenure follows the same somewhat 423
obscure principles that govern the possession of names in an 614
unmoral family. Hunting and collecting grounds appropriated by the first people, or by their immediate descendants, are the [illegible] Coola refer to as [illegible], which means "Food Supply." The Bella [illegible]ed, *nayumsis*,

It will thus be seen that a hunting-area [illegible] of any single individual, but belongs to a [illegible] t the property [illegible]ment of whom live in a single town. The [illegible]up of persons, who intends to give a potlatch usually gives [illegible]tives of a man [224] exclusive rights to the hunting-ground. As [illegible], temporarily, [461] [illegible]h names, there

CHAPTER VI

ORIGIN MYTHS

Introductory—Bella Coola Origin Myths—Origin Myths of Other Tribes—Early Traditions Having the Ceremonial Significance of Origin Myths—Jesuit Origin Myths

Introductory

EXAMPLES will be given here of the origin myths, which are believed to authorize so much of the ritual already described, and to which repeated reference has been made. In 1898 Professor Boas published such an admirable collection of traditions of this type (pp. 50 ff.) that the present writer paid little attention to the subject. The Bella Coola, however, are so intensely proud of the deeds of their first forefathers that several insisted on recounting them before they were willing to do other work; in consequence, a fair number of myths was collected through necessity. Since tales of this type were recounted almost entirely at potlatches, their significance has declined since the prohibition of this rite. Consequently, many legends are only remembered in part; the abbreviated and often pointless series of anecdotes here recorded can be no more than a small part of the rich field which must once have existed among the Bella Coola.[1]

As Professor Boas has clearly shown, origin myths relate how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god sent down to earth the first ancestors of the Bella Coola people, each usually

[1] In writing up this field material, it was my original intention to place all legends together in a separate section, or appendix, following a common anthropological practice. This, however, would have been contrary to Bella Coola thought since origin myths, for example, are regarded as entirely different from other sacred stories, or from incidents connected with shamans,—to name two other groups of what are usually described as "legends." I recognize that the insertion of this chapter of origin myths interrupts the sequence of presenting Bella Coola culture, but I believe that it is the way which the Bella Coola themselves would regard as logical, and that it brings out the essential interactions of this type of myth upon their whole life.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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CHAPTER I

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

General Observations on the Kuciut Society — Powers and Functions of the Society — Initiation — The Ritual of Specific Dances — Various Origin Myths — Kuciut Prerogatives Other than Dances — The Death of a Kuciut — The Final Rite — Concluding Observations and History.

General Observations on the *Kuciut* Society

IN view of the importance of the *kuciut* society in the lives of the Bella Coola, it would seem logical to have described it in an earlier part of this monograph. Though an integral part of the complicated structure of social organization, it is a secret, semi-religious grouping which can best be treated separately. The word *kuciut* is connected etymologically, according to native belief, with *ciut*, the term for a supernatural being. Thus the meaning of the society's designation is "The Supernatural," or "The Learned," for *ciut* has both these significations. A member of the society is likewise called a *kuciut*, plural, *kukuciut*.

The investigator soon learns of the existence of the society. If he asks a man his name, and then inquires further what type of designation it is, the answer is always that it is his *kuciut* name, that is, the one by which he is known as a member of the society. Ancestral names are used only at potlatches or other ceremonial occasions, whereas an individual's *kuciut* appellation is the one which he uses commonly. Moreover, for about three months of every year the Bella Coola live in an atmosphere of *kuciut* dances with a performance, or its preliminaries, taking place almost every night. Preparations for this ceremonial season, for so it may be termed, begin four days after the September moon is full, while the actual dances commence early in November and are continued until March. During this period the *kukuciut* are believed to be in intimate

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

but a proud and energetic dancer sometimes repeats a ceremony three or four times.

THE SUN DANCE*

One of the forms in which *Alpuxiów* appears is that of the Sun, and in that case he is referred to as *Sowalulu*. Considering the importance of this deity, it is rather surprising that the *kwiat* dance of which he is patron is not more impressive. Efforts were made to obtain full details of the ceremonial from several informants, but only a number of incidents and a bare outline could be obtained. In part this was due to the fact that none of the informants* were themselves *protégés* of *Alpuxiów*, but this is not in itself sufficient to explain the comparative unimportance of the dance, since full accounts were obtained of other rituals from those who did not own them.

Nothing was learnt of the origin of any of the Sun dance prerogatives, except that ancestors of the owners obtained them from *Alpuxiów*. It is a common right, and *kekwiat* having *Alpuxiów* as patron are found in every village, among them being *Sparlin i* of *Tremil*, and *Nuxwudzulaix* of *Nuxalk*. As far as could be ascertained, the ritual of various Sun dance performances is identical, so one account will suffice and the dancer can be termed X.

Like other *kwiat* dancers, X can perform at any time during the ceremonial season, subject to the approval of the marshals. The call comes to him in the normal manner, the uninitiated are expelled, and the *kekwiat* gather in his house to practise the songs which the singers have just composed. The chorus is of *Alpuxiów*, describing his manifold functions, and particularly that of guiding the Sun. The following day a second song with similar chorus is composed, and in the evening the tasks are allotted for the manufacture of masks. Four are required; a large one representing *Alpuxiów* himself, one of

*Needless to say, no connection or similarity is implied with the dance of the same name in other areas.

*Except one man who had forgotten all details since his conversion to Christianity many years before.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEb Bellacoola NEb

As they grow older the plainness of feature is more pronounced, 142 145
accompanied by increasing heaviness of body (see Plate 16).
Many of the adults are corpulent and move with slow, awkward 481
gait. As a rule the men have great strength and are capable
of prolonged and arduous exertion, particularly in paddling; 147
in fact, constant use of canoes may have developed this powerful, ungainly build. Few are good walkers or packers; such, if they are found, usually belong to the lighter interior type.
Among the grown people the face, though unbeautiful, often has 142
a kindly expression, even becoming attractive in laughter or 145
when a friendly grin spreads from ear to ear. With advancing age the prominent nose seems to grow larger, frequently becoming almost aquiline (see Plate 17). Many of the older people assert that this was even more common in former times.
In time the face becomes lined with wrinkles and the body appears to shrink (see Plate 18). The teeth are in many cases
worn down to the gums; this seems to cause no discomfort [194]
though an old person cannot utter the glottal stops and velar sounds with which the language abounds without emitting a fine spray of saliva. They are absolutely unable to pronounce several of the Bella Coola words, while the constant spitting
is a disagreeable feature of their conversation, particularly to [124]
an investigator striving, often vainly, to record sounds accurately. The deep wrinkles of old women give them a benign "grandmotherly" expression, which makes them more attractive in extreme age than in youth (see Plate 19). Senile decay is 886
so frequent that the return to infancy in mind as well as in 145
physical powers is regarded as normal.

Among the coastal tribes hair on the face is not uncommon, 142
but in this characteristic the Bella Coola are pre-eminent.
Nearly all the men have sparse moustaches, at least; many 144
have a heavy growth, and several are full-bearded. That this 302
was due to white mixture was assumed at first, but no evidence could be found to support this view. There are a number of half-bloods in the community but they are no more hirsute than the full-blooded Indians. Razors are now almost univer-

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

times, older relatives were revered, not only as senior members 177
of the ancestral family, but as those most familiar with myths 626
and other cherished possessions. With the spread of new ideas, 182
the young people no longer respect the lore of their elders, and 561
consequently do not heed their admonitions and advice. Theoretically, such self-reliance would seem desirable, but in practice it has led to unfortunate results. A young man, considering himself superior to the older people, glories in acting on his own initiative, but too often he lacks the requisite strength of character to guide his own life. If he wishes to drink, he does so; if he desires to marry, he chooses his mate without con- [581]
sidering the transmission of ancestral rights which stabilized unions in former times; if he tires of his wife, he deserts her for another; if he cheats or steals, he is no longer restrained by relatives who fear disgrace. The elders, incapable of stemming the tide, watch sadly and ask seriously whether the coming of the white man has brought compensation for the loss it has caused. It is deplorable that the emancipation of the younger men and women has taken place before the development of the sense of individual responsibility and conscience which public opinion formerly rendered less necessary. Christianity provides a moral code for those who are fully converted, but for the many in the transition stage, the break-down of the old system of family influence has been tragic.

Profound religious beliefs and lack of individual initiative 181
are shared by all Bella Coola with the exception, perhaps, of a 177
few of the younger people who, having been educated at white man's schools, have adopted the new outlook unconditionally. In most characteristics they display as wide variability as any 577
other people. In truthfulness, for example, they range from one extreme to the other. As the writer became familiar with 124
the older men, he found it possible to recognize without difficulty the strength of some and the weakness of others. There are liars, but they can be easily detected owing to their lack of finesse. It is a pleasure to record the reliability of the author's friends and informants. Their veracity was checked repeat-

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

577 edly until complete confidence was established, simplifying
[124] work in the field to an enormous extent. Equal trust could be placed on these men in other respects; articles of value were repeatedly left in their houses with the absolute certainty that they would be guarded with care. Some few individuals there were, however, who were neither honest nor trustworthy.
[771] Bella Coola religion is not concerned with ethics, but public
626 opinion demands honour in dealing with relatives or friends.
577 In former times, for example, debts incurred by an individual were considered a liability by his relations. If a man died after
[424] buying goods on credit for a potlatch, his family were disgraced
[102] if they failed to pay his bills; now, unfortunately, nothing con-
[177] strains the younger people, many of whom try to avoid settling even their own debts, much less those of dead relatives. Individual conscience has not replaced the tribal and, more specifically, family influence. Dishonesty in small matters is not
[648] uncommon, particularly in dealing with white people who,
[177] according to the Bella Coola, were the first to transgress. The older people bitterly lament the lack of morality of the younger and state, probably with entire justification, that they would have been prevented by the open life which prevailed when several families shared a single house. On the whole, however, the average Bella Coola is probably no less honest than the average white man.

153 Individuals vary enormously in mental ability. In making
124 this investigation, it was necessary to interview all the older people of the tribe. Disregarding those unwilling to provide information, it was found that some absolutely lacked the ability to explain matters with which they were familiar; some did not have sufficient patience to be good teachers; some were so forgetful that they would omit necessary points in a story or account; some were downright stupid, whereas others displayed mental ability of no mean order. In reading ethnological literature, one is apt to think of the troubles experienced by the author, and to overlook the fact that natives have as

Sabatier Dowrath E-1 (1922-1924)948
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grave difficulties in explaining their customs, as the white man has in understanding them.

The writer was impressed by the brilliance shown by several of the natives. Joshua Moody, for example, is essentially the philosopher. More individualistic than most of his tribesmen, he was one of the first to adopt Christianity and has been a faithful follower of the new creed. Deeply interested in religious questions, he has stored up what has been told him of the Bible and pondered deeply on all problems of life. Not particularly practical, subject to fits of anger or moroseness, but with a meditative temperament which delights in seeking biblical parallels and synonyms for Bella Coola practices, his is the kind of mind which, in other walks of life, would have produced the professor of philosophy. Jim Pollard is quite another type. Essentially practical, he has devoted his energies to keeping abreast of changing conditions. He is the best singer and composer in Bella Coola, the best canoeman for miles; he has learnt to handle a motor-boat engine, to aid prospectors for minerals, and has succeeded in amassing and saving a considerable amount of money. Jim excelled all other informants in clearness and logical presentation of his explanations, though he showed a slight tendency, intelligible enough, to gloss over aspects which he knew would be considered unpleasant. If Jim had been a white man, he would undoubtedly have made his mark in the world of business. The late Captain Schooner differed from either of the preceding. Older than they, and uncorrupted, he, perhaps, came nearest to the original, uncontaminated Bella Coola type. Heavy in build, coarse in humour and expression, he had a heart of gold and was a fine example of a native gentleman. He was glad to assist most patiently in recording ancient lore, being intensely proud of the traditions of his ancestors. A friendship developed from this which is one of the writer's happiest memories. Often in the evenings life in general was discussed, the war, the rush of progress in big cities, the quest for wealth, the spread of white civilization, and the problems raised by the contact of peoples.

group. The moral code is not concerned with morals. The life of the Bahá'í Cause would be unbearable to most white people, yet they find it far from unpleasant. They sigh at present conditions, but there is much to amuse them meanwhile. If several people are talking together, one is sure to hear bursts of laughter every few minutes. It takes little to amuse them; a story they have heard a hundred times, the troubles of a neighbour with his wife, the eccentricity of a white man, the stupidity of the immigrant, any of these is enough to cause a hearty laugh. When collecting information, it was constantly necessary to joke with them; the most trifling attention was enough, but they lost interest in the work unless kept smiling. Their sense of humour is not refined; jokes about sexual matters are common and are enjoyed alike by men, women, and children. It is not that their minds are perverted, but rather that they have no reference to discussing this topic, so they find it easy to see the ludicrous aspects of a subject which is ever near the surface in their minds. They have no hesitation in poking fun at their friends; a successful practical joke, such as hiding the actor's reflector, is enough to fill them with amusement. If the victim shows temporary resentment, the glee of his friends is complete, and shrieks of laughter usually terminate the row.

Unless the white man who comes to live among the Bahá'í Cause is unusually broad-minded, he is at first repelled by the dirt and squalidness prevailing everywhere; even the people themselves seem unnatural. He finds it difficult to realize the sincerity of their religious beliefs, and the manner in which these influence their daily lives is hard to grasp. The polyandrous system appears so grotesque that it seems to reflect a psychology diametrically opposed to his own. The force of public opinion on personal conduct is almost incomprehensible. Gradually, however, he begins to understand the reasons underlying Bahá'í life. The polyandrous becomes intelligible when regarded as a means of achieving force; constant attention to supernatural beings is natural considering the free conversation

G. Smith. [illegible] (1903-1905)[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] OF THE BELLA COOLA AND [illegible] TRIBES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

By Harlan I. Smith

INTRODUCTION.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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marching, and enlisting of songs; in 1923 it was found that Jim Pollard (see Plate 2) alone had a sufficiently accurate memory to act as announcer. As more and more men wished to perform, he found himself unable to keep the men in order, and asked me to join the chain as prompter. I held this position for the rest of the winter, taking a full part in every ceremony. Although the old customs had broken down enormously, this actual participation enabled me to understand the winter dances in a manner impossible from mere description. Later on, phonographic records were made of many of the songs used, thus preserving specimens of the fast disappearing music.

My intimate association with the Bella Coola enabled me to collect the material here presented which, having been verified and recorded, I have every reason to believe is correct. Nevertheless, it has one serious defect owing to the lack of aptitude of my ear. I found it almost impossible to differentiate certain sounds; in fact, I sometimes recorded the same word with different spellings. Consequently, I cannot guarantee the accuracy of the native terms used in this monograph. Moreover, I was entirely unable to analyze proper names, which would have been of great value in understanding the attributes of supernatural beings.

When writing up field notes, the realization of my own inefficiency in the recording of sounds tempted me to rely upon the spelling of Boas whenever possible. After considerable hesitation, I rejected this course for the following reason. Ethnological work falls into two categories, descriptive and comparative. This monograph is of the former type, based on actual work in the field and the inclusion of any material from another source would destroy its originality. I believe that a description work should consist exclusively of the author's own research, and I have adhered to this principle in spite of the advantages which would have followed the use of Boas' linguistic terms. For the same reason no attempt has been made to compare the customs and beliefs of the Bella Coola with those of other tribes, although this would undoubtedly have shed

put his grandfather into the ground beside his grandmother but it may all be for the best."[illegible]

There is no doubt that conditions of this nature assist the mourning relatives to bear up under their grief. This fact was emphasized by several Bella Coola, and in addition the writer was able to observe it on several occasions. They readily respond to suggestions of any kind and undoubtedly derive comfort from the laudatory comments of influential chiefs.

Speeches of this general nature are always delivered as the grave is being filled in. Sometimes this work is finished before all who wish to do so have expressed themselves, sometimes the remarks are so short that they are ended before all the earth has been thrown back. When the hole has been filled to ground level, it is stamped down and the surplus earth scattered out of sight among the bushes, no mound being thrown up.

Great care is always taken to prevent the return of the ghost. In addition to the weighting with stones already described, other methods are used before the funeral party leaves the cemetery. [illegible] boards are usually laid flat over the grave and rocks piled on them for the way up from below. A further precaution is the setting upright of four stakes, one at each corner of the hole, and fastening ropes of cedar-bark between them along the east and west sides of the grave. The significance of this is not fully understood, except that the ghost cannot pass the ropes. Four spruce saplings are cut and placed either between the grave and the village, or one on each side of the hole, these alone seem less an effective barrier.

While these precautions are being taken, any clothing and utensils brought to the grave and not already consumed are thrown on the fire and allowed to burn brightly. The ashes

[illegible] [illegible]

was not carefully observed. Those waiting to dig took turns with the tools; there was no supervision, and no orders given. When the grave was ready, Jim Pollard asked Julius to perform the rite with the spruce bough, which he did with a branch brought by one of the youths. The young men lowered the coffin into the grave while the band continued to play. The missionary then read the Christian burial service, after which he withdrew. Some of the young men brought planks from old houses nearby, moved them to the side of the grave and laid them over the coffin as a cover. At this juncture Julius, one of the oldest and most conservative of the Bella Coola, rose to speak. First he offered consolation to the mourning relatives by pointing out that all must travel the same road. Then he spoke to Jesus, telling Him not to linger, but to travel back the path of her ancestors from generation to generation until she reached the place where they first came down from above, and dance to music in Nuxalk. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of the speech, which was punctuated by calls of "Ho!" from the male Bella Coola. The next speaker was Jim Pollard, the most influential Kimsquit and a personal friend, though not a relative, of Captain Schooner's.

"Go," he said to the dead woman, "Go to the localities from which came your first forefathers in the beginning of time. There you will find your most valuable ancestral possessions. Go to them, do not linger and lose yourself on the road from generation to generation."

Turning to George Nelson, he went on, "Do not be disconsolate, all of us must travel the same road. It was made by no man, it is the work of Hyamsim."

Looking back once more to the grave, he said, "In Kimsquit we buried many illustrious relatives of yours. You will be among friends, whereas we are left to lament your departure."

It was impossible to write down the words at the time and the above record is not literally correct, although it expresses the gist of the speech.

Captain Schooner whispered to Robert Hood, another of the

The details of this incident are sufficiently circumstantial to presuppose a distorted historical event. Moreover, many of the old people had heard of the incident, another indication of the accuracy of the tradition. So far as could be judged, some of the vision must have reached Bella Coola about the year 1800.[1] It is said that the Indians sang the following song in a language unknown to any of its hearers: *Ayamkwa ayamkwa ayamkwa yaiyiya.*[2] None of the older men appear to have any idea of the meaning of these words, or even of the language to which they belong.

No event has had such profound effect on the lives of the Indians of British Columbia as the coming of the white man. It would be surprising if leading backwards, they did not find that it had been foretold by prophets. The preceding story is the only Bella Coola example of such a belief, although echo of a similar kind are found widely throughout the province. In addition, there are a few traditions of prophecies fulfilled by the white man. One of these is that long, long ago, a shaman named Ilan in the future the dead would return with the ability to make fire by striking the end of a small rang along a rough surface, and that, soon after, all the Indians would die. The Bella Coola consider that traditions are referred to in the first part of the statement, and most their view depends

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

[illegible]

[illegible] e passengers in *Nuikpum*'s canoe are a number [illegible] to replace the usual crew on this occasion. Each [illegible] ne type of mask, painted with red diagonals, and [illegible] ulbers* projecting from the top.* After the un- [illegible] e guard, for some time upon the wonders, their [illegible] ewiwatik, takes his place and his followers begin [illegible] s ancient song, believed to be sung in *Nuikpum*'s [illegible] ne Bella Coola. The theme is:

[illegible] mortals, I am *Nanamuikhimar Nuikpum*, the [illegible] uikpum."

[illegible] ute starts, a figure rises from among the singers, [illegible] ak with heavy eye-brows* and carrying a light [illegible] is four to length, wound spirally with alternate [illegible] d and unfixed cedar-bark and crowned with a [illegible] d bark. Holding this in his hand he begins to [illegible], running back and forth a few steps at a time [illegible] e bearing of sticks, lifting his feet freely from the [illegible] bending back and forth in airy grace, all the while [illegible] and to and fro. There are no fixed steps, the only [illegible] ect be convey the impression of being light of foot [illegible] dancer; accordingly, the person selected for this [illegible] e with these qualifications. As he moves, *Ax'lik-* [illegible] ne to the uninitiated that this is *Nanamuikhimar*, [illegible] ent rapers who accompanies *Nuikpum* antiguards [illegible] At this point *Ax'likmalum*'s own song may or [illegible] ng. It never varies, and is believed to have been [illegible] n from dim antiquity. X himself must be the [illegible] dingly it can be sung only when the dancer has a [illegible] If this is the case, the mandals request him to [illegible], if necessary, teach him the exact words. X, [illegible] ed the fire, sings alone and unaccompanied, then [illegible] peat the song in unison with the beating of their [illegible] ax'likmalum himself dances, using, of course, the [illegible] s. At this juncture the uninitiated must be en- [illegible] ldren are sent out.

[illegible] e model was purchased for the National Museum of Canada [illegible] e model was obtained for the National Museum of Canada

[The Dance of Wild]

The last to enter himself is *Endlisa Nuxkinqim*, an eleventh individual, who always wears more presents than anyone else. When X announces that the beings above have taken their places, a carpenter brings forward the object covered with cedar-bark and painted with a design of *Kwocumdidzis*,* holds it above X's head, and then gives it to a herald who casts it into the fire. At the same time X throws on the flames some dyed cedar-bark, some undyed cedar-bark, a little eagle down, and some chicken grouse, saying:

"Please *Kwocumdidzis*,* accept this offering and be present," and throws his hands up in the air as if casting some object upwards.

Still dancing, X calls out *hoji* several times.

The painted representation and the cedar-bark are objects which *Kwocumdidzis* likes to receive; the chicken grouse supplies the flame on which they ascend to him.[1] The same procedure is repeated for the eight other brothers, with slight variations in the words addressed to each. To *Gwgwedzidzis*, for example, X says:

[534] *Gwgwedzidzis*
Wunlipachin cilkwaxil[2]
Gwgwedzidzis
Gwgwedzidzis[3]

Kwocumdidzisxwa
ts'ilx-ptsa ulkwa ts'ax,

ts'ilxwa-xwulk
the recipient,[4]

When the time comes to invite the hungry *Tlitlcqilkin* to an offering of food instead of bark to cast upon the flames, X continues to dance after the final gift, and presently a shaman is heard on the roof while some *Sacrist*, chosen beforehand for the purpose, compresses a hidden bladder-whistle which the assembled know to the voice of the owl. Whether they be-

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[184] The Kwoqwi the offerings are made by a doctor who has this prerogative in connection with the same *Tlitlcqilkin*.

[174] With other name in Dzakwa, "The Receiver of Many Gifts."

[illegible] Object also to one of the larger compartments, the service made are to identify.

[illegible] This designation, properly applied only to *Kwocumdidzis*, is often used for the brothers as well.

[illegible] These words are virtually sung, with vocalist has reaching the end of each subdivision. A musical rendering of the music for the Federal Museum of Canada, sound 1[illegible] in the singer, Jim Pelkula.

[illegible]

[The Dance of Life]

[illegible] *[illegible]* and *[illegible]* revolving curtains at the same time.

Bellhandlum does not fail to point out to the uninitiated: "That is the way to sings up above. Look at him! That is what he does in his own home."

If foreigners, guests for the potlatch, are in attendance, *Bellhandlum* adds that the supernatural beings are disappointed at having been called too late for it. Then the uninitiated are expelled, the masks burnt, and the *bellacoolas* departed.

A few further notes are necessary on this dance. If a potlatch is to be given after the *burial* season, the calling of these supernatural beings is sometimes reserved to the last *burial* dance, and any foreigners present, or uninitiated guests, are told that the beings have come for the ceremony. There is thus a superficial appearance of confusion between these *burial* persons and *scaul* dancers. It is nothing more than a ruse. Hence, since the nine brothers do not appear at the potlatch, and nothing is said to explain their absence, it is merely a subterfuge to increase the interest of the rite. Nor is any connection necessary; in fact, X usually chooses to call the two other *burial*, without the spectacular throwing of presents on the fire. In this case X and the mandals consult and select the proper day for the beginning of the ceremony. On the night preceding that chosen, the *bellacoolas* are called to X's house and one of the mandals announces that he can hear X's call wanting to come to him. He answers simply:

"I am afraid."

The uninitiated are not expelled from X's house, so that they know what is to take place. No ritual occurs on that evening, but one of X's friends remains constantly with him, so X is easier in any emergency. *Bellacoolas* are often seen up the slopes of the neighbouring mountains with whistles which the uninitiated hear, and which lead them to believe that supernatural beings are in the vicinity.

[illegible] The photographic record was made of this, National Museum of Canada, negative [illegible], for Dubois.

CHAPTER III

SONGS

533*

Introductory — Scandi Songs — Ko-ko Songs — Bulu Songs — Wandolebeng Songs — Marriage Songs — Mourning Songs — Dance Songs — Easter Songs — Non-Ceremonial Songs.

Introductory

THE singing of songs is an essential part of all Bulu Ceremonies so that a study of them is important, entirely apart from their musical value. They may throw light on the beliefs of the performers, on the aims of the ceremonies, and, above all, give concrete instances of what the uninitiated are led to believe. This is particularly true of those used in Initiation, and for this reason all songs have been followed until this chapter in which they can be grouped together.

The text of songs are difficult to obtain. Snatches of many are remembered, but few individuals are acquainted with the complete version. A phonograph was used to record the music, and it was soon found that very few people were qualified to sing into the machine. Some became confused and forgot the words, some began to laugh, and some lacked the poise to attempt to sing. One elderly Kwasiri man, Jim Pulawi, was found to be the best and most reliable singer, and he was used almost exclusively for phonographic work. Above the records are arranged with his musical technique. Others approached his ability, but he alone possessed an art which had been common in former days. Over one hundred songs were obtained with the assistance of this man.

The text was always obtained before a song was sung into the machine, thus ensuring that the recorded version agreed with the written words. Even with this check, the writing down of songs is extremely difficult. Chord endings are widely employed, consisting of non-essential syllables inserted for musical effect. It was often impossible to record them in the

[illegible] ness, although they are obvious on the phonograph records. In singing, moreover, sounds, especially vowel sounds, are altered to fit the tune, a factor which accounts for further discrepancies between record and tune. A frequent device is reduplication, a word or group of words is repeated in singing when not called for in the spoken version. Finally one sound occurs in singing which is practically unknown in speaking, a roller r (recorded as ɹ) which gives a whistling effect. Most choruses and some which songs consist of meaningless sounds, in such cases the tune alone is important and no attempt was made to record the syllables.

It was quite as difficult to obtain interpretations as to record texts. Songs which have been handed down for generations cannot be expected to contain expressions which are meaningless even to the older men; some recently composed are full of metaphorical devices to conceal their real significance from the uninitiated. The result is consequently a series of words which, taken one at a time, convey no meaning. In many cases it was impossible to obtain literal translations, even with the willing assistance of younger men familiar with English. Every effort was made to get the general meaning, and it is felt that this object was adequately achieved, though the transcriptions may not be sufficiently accurate for grammatical analysis.

Singers function in every community. In fact, to become famous depends to largely upon their efforts that they are always important members of the community. Some singers are created by the initiation of an ancestral prerogative, others by having composed a suitable tune. The young man who has done so, calls one of the established musicians aside and hums it to him. If the tune is favorably impressed, he may have [illegible] repeat it to his fellows, and if it wins their approval, the composer may be asked to join their ranks for the occasion on which it is to be used. Thus encouraged, the young man is likely to try again, or he may be invited to assist at some ceremony for which a large number of singers is required. If proficient, he is certain to win recognition in course of time,

emphatically that the songs which they used were quite more than series of meaningless phrases, often in languages unknown to the listeners. It was possible to collect the following examples of this type.

533*
756

(Text [illegible])

(a) Recorded on wax [illegible], National Museum of Can. stages, Jan. [illegible]

It is believed that this song was composed by [illegible], but no one has any knowledge of when, or for what purpose, it was made. It [illegible] used to in Bella Coola many [illegible] ago, and the words and tune have since been remembered. [illegible] ya is said to be the word for man in a language spoken on [illegible] side of Vancouver Island, so it is assumed that the ritual must have come from that region.

The second example consists of a single word.

(Text [illegible])

(a) Recorded on wax [illegible], National Museum of Can. stages, Jan. [illegible]

Hyalton is in a language unintelligible to any the Bella Coola. This word and tune are supposed to have more meaning than the first example.

Easter Songs

533*
575*
996*
[124]
[756]

Easter Songs are the only songs now carried out the Bella Coola with some approximate completeness, and my of the songs used at them are still remembered by all. number of dances took place during the period of mourning and the music of all the songs used were collected, as well the music of the majority. This explains the full versions the examples in this section as compared to the preceding. Moreover, it is probable that Easter songs, composed It was by the singers, have always been more logical than employed by shamans to which the fetish of supernatural action has been preserved. In former times, Easter songs ve always

524

Pass right middle finger close to the mouth between left index finger loop and left little finger loop.

Release tips, the right middle finger preserving the series of strings just released from running towards the left hand.

FIG. 16. "[illegible], an Old Woman."

Grip tenth string with tips of right thumb and index finger, and release tenth.

Return to normal position.

Gently release right middle finger, at the same time extending the loop held between tips of right thumb and index finger, by inserting in this loop all the fingers of the right hand. By gently parting the hands, the figure in the middle, which represents the old woman, can be made to travel towards the left hand. The movement is sometimes improved by extending the left index finger loop by inserting in it the left thumb, and separating these two digits (Figure 16). As the figure is moving, the manipulator sings:*

[illegible]	[illegible]
Where are you going	old woman?

The "old woman" replies:

[illegible]	[illegible]
I am going to sick land	on the bottom house.*

The interrogator continues:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Be careful	but you fall down (as you go)	towards House Sides?

Release left little finger and the "old woman" falls.

FIG. 6 TOOD

Bella Coola opening.

Pass middle, ring, and little fingers of each hand into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down the radial index finger string.

Recorded on song 112 D (A), National Museum of Canada, origin, Jim Pakook. [126]

*The house further downstream.

*This seems to be the usual version of the song, although when it was recorded on the phonograph the singer insisted on giving a more elaborate third part concerning [illegible]:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	old woman		

524 silver side of distal silver thumb string; hook down this string through thumb loops.

Insert left index finger into left thumb loops from distal side, passing to silver side of the two distal radial index finger strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb string; hand index finger upwards and away from manipulator, taking up this proximal radial thumb string on distal aspect of index finger.

Enlarge left thumb and extend.

There is now a diamond-shaped figure of two strands near the left hand; pass left thumb into this diamond away from manipulator and take up on its back the two strings forming the right lower side of the diamond.

Insert left index finger, with its loop, into left thumb loops from proximal side.

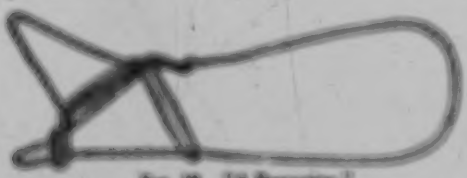

FIG. 19. "A Porcupine."

With tips of right thumb and index finger lift loop from left index finger, drawing this loop through left thumb loops.

Release left thumb and index finger.

Replace loop held between tips of right thumb and index finger on left thumb, without twisting.

Release right thumb and little finger.

Extend right middle finger loop by passing into it, from proximal side, all the digits of the right hand.

Extend and the porcupine appears (Figure 19). Its head is here downwards near the left hand, and its tail is the loop around the right radial thumb string.

[525] The manipulator sings:[1]

Spreadeagle-ing	Supercilious!	Whenever you	Shuttle you
Don't hurry away,	go easily!	when you go	to your home,

shuttle!
O porcupine!

OTL, OR SOCIAL'S NEST

Opening 8 with middle fingers.

Insert thumbs into middle finger loops from proximal side and transfer these loops to thumbs, keeping them distal, and at the same time releasing middle fingers.

[526] [196] [1] Recorded as song VII D 16, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pelkmit. It has indecently obvious to a feminine creature.

Jenness Eskimo E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

With left index, middle, ring, and little fingers hook down from proximal side the right elbow little finger string. 524

Release right little finger.

With right little finger hook down right elbow thumb string.

Release right thumb.

With right index finger hook down left radial thumb string.

Release left thumb.

By extending gently the figure appears. The crooked figure near the left hand represents the cripple, the upright figure near the right hand with projecting curves represents a man with umbilical hernia (Figure 21).

The following dialogue is sung accompanies this figure:*

The man with hernia sings:

Ai, ai, ai,	*ahkhaw*	*chwkhaw!*
Hi! Hi! Hi!	Hurry up,	you cripple.**

The cripple answers:

Ooniyaahw	*chwqhaw!*	*ai, ai, ai*
Don't say that	you man with umbilical hernia.	Hi! Hi! Hi!

SIXTH. THE *Swing*

Bella Coola opening.

Pass middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side, and hook down radial index finger string.

With thumbs take up radial index finger string from proximal side, keeping this string distal.

Bring hands together; insert left thumb into right distal thumb and index finger loop from proximal side; lift this loop from thumb, but not from the index finger, without extending.

Insert right thumb into left middle thumb and index finger loop from proximal side and lift this loop from left thumb, but not from index finger.

Extend.

There are now two loops on each thumb and one on each index finger.

Pass middle fingers into loops hooked down by ring and little fingers from proximal side.

Each loop hooked down by the middle, ring, and little fingers is crossed by the proximal elbow thumb string; with backs of middle fingers take up this string where it crosses the hooked down loop.

Pass middle fingers, still carrying on their backs the string just picked up, through index finger loops from proximal side, and into both thumb loops from distal side.

---

*Recorded as sung VII D 4a, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pelkus. [126 195]

**The form indicates that a somewhat cripple is indicated.

J. McIlwraith E-5 (1912-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

Release index fingers; the index finger loop is now held on the backs of the middle fingers.

Lift distal thumb loop from thumbs; this loop is now held on backs of middle fingers.

Pass index fingers into the three loops hooked down on middle fingers from proximal side.

Pass index fingers distal to radial thumb string, and middle fingers proximal to radial thumb string, clutching this string between tips of fingers; bend fingers upwards and away from manipulator, taking up this string on tips of index fingers.

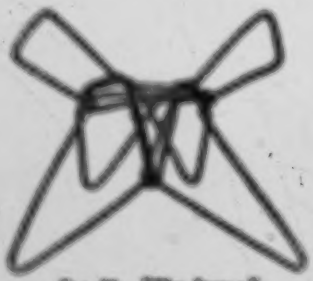

Fig. 22. "The Snowy."

Release middle fingers.

Release thumbs.

Gently extend.

This shows the *snowy*; with thumbs gently depress the two pendent loops in the centre and the eyes become evident (Figure 22).

The manipulator sings:[1]

Nuxpiqitk-kamy	*sacrificial*	*supernatural paraphrase.*
Known your symbols,[2]	is to me dangerous,	O, dreaded and powerful one!

Pass thumbs from distal side into the loops hooked down on ring and little fingers.

Bend index fingers downwards and away from manipulator, and upwards towards manipulator through the loop hooked down on ring and little fingers, and tip to tip with thumbs, releasing thumbs when complete.

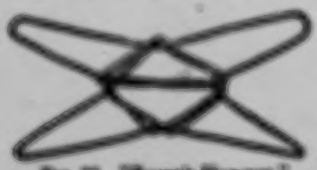

Fig. 23. "Raven's Hammer."

Pass thumbs into distal index finger loops from proximal side and transfer each loop to its respective thumb.

Release index fingers.

This shows the *snowy* with eyeballs reversed, appearing as a hammer (Figure 23).[3]

As the figure appears the manipulator sings:

Sagamen	*Quat*	*she can stand.*
The hammer of	Raven	long, long ago.

[1] The song accompanying the whole figure was recorded on song VII D 18b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pakuck.

[2] This refers to the belief that the *snowy* projects death darting rays from its eyes.

[3] This explanation is offered for the association between a *snowy* and Raven's hammer.

S: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

MATERIA MEDICA OF THE BELLA COOLA AND NEIGHBOURING TRIBES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

By Harlan I. Smith

INTRODUCTION

This paper describes the materia medica of four tribes of British Columbia, the Bella Coola of Bella Coola valley, the Gitksan of Skeena river, the Carrier who live in the territory behind both of these tribes, and the Sekani of the headwaters of Peace river. Among the Bella Coola the medicines are largely family possessions known to a few individuals only, so that two families may have different remedies for the same specific complaint; but this is not the case among the other tribes. Everywhere magical practices enter largely into the treatment of disease, but are not touched upon in this report. It was impossible for the Indians to diagnose many of their maladies, so that the identifications given here are in many cases problematical.

Most of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1920-22, by Joshua Moody, apparently a full-blood Bella Coola Indian, born about 1848. As he did not speak English he gave the data in Chinook jargon, which has been interpreted and arranged in logical order. Joshua is an Indian scientist with great knowledge of the local plants and animals. He remembers when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in Bella Coola valley, and when the inhabitants saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently he can recall the old Bella Coola material culture before it was much affected by European ideas.

Some of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1922-23 by the late Captain Schooner, also, apparently, a full-blood, born about 1848, who used the Chinook jargon. Alec Davis, Alexander Clahsam, Louis Hall, and other Bella Coola Indians likewise gave information and corroboration.

Most of the information relating to the Northern Carrier Indians of Tlatchie was secured during 1920-1922 from Charlie West, alias Pretty Charlie or Handsome Charlie, a native of that place, born about 1871. Charlie used the peculiar form of broken or pidgeon English commonly employed for communication between the whites and the Carrier and Chinookan Indians of this region.

The information about the Sekani and the Northern Carriers of Hagwilget is from stray field notes kindly supplied by Mr. D. Jenness.

The information relating to the Gitksan was secured in 1922-26 from the late John Fowler and Abraham Fowler of Kitwanga, Luke Fowler and Bob Robinson of Hazelton, with additions and corroboration from a few others, all old Gitksan Indians, apparently full-blood. The information was secured mainly in English, although Abraham Fowler used also the Chinook jargon.

The method the writer employed was to submit specimens of the plants to his informants and question them concerning all their uses. Of the information thus obtained only the medicinal portion has been presented here. The plants were later identified by Mr. M. O. Malte, of the National Museum, Ottawa.

B
BCS
121
757
101
131
B
429
B
115
191
C
115
C
198
S
127
T
115
T
191
B
BCS
129
122

McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NER Bellacoola NER

128 light on obscure points. That is a task for the comparative student and nothing but confusion would result from such an incorporation in this volume. For the benefit of the reader, [114] footnotes have been inserted referring to *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*[1] by Boas, the most comprehensive description of the tribe. In the field I deliberately disregarded published accounts.

182 And what of these people, the subject of this book?

The intimate experiences of the second winter in Bella Coola only confirmed my feeling of sadness at the decay of the old arts and crafts. Music, painting, carving, weaving, story-telling, acting, all are passing away. Only a handful of the tribe survives, and of them the younger people ape the white man and have little interest in the lore and customs of their fathers. I know of few sadder experiences than talking with some Bella Coola patriarch and realizing the tragedy which he feels at the termination of his people's culture.

Though the individual may suffer, civilization must press onward and the life of the Indian will soon disappear. With it will pass forever manners, customs, beliefs, rites, and knowledge, data of value to students of man both now and in the future. Every year lessens the amount of information available. In Bella Coola, for example, the death of Captain Schooner left a gap which none could fill. Others must follow him, and within a short time there will be no ethnological work possible in that tribe. A tithe of the people may survive, but their culture, the growth of generations, will have been swept away.

100 Most of those to whom I am indebted for help in this study have passed away. Dr. A. C. Haddon and Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, both of Cambridge University, who were my mentors in anthropology, are dead; so too is Dr. E. Sapir, former Chief of the Anthropological Division in the National Museum, who gave me instruction in phonetics, and Mr. H. I. Smith, Dominion [127] Archaeologist, to whom are owing most of the photographs re-

[1] Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. II, 1898.

produced here. I can only place on record my deep obligation and gratitude to each of these four. Dr. D. Jenness, who succeeded Dr. Sapir, was most co-operative. In Bella Coola, I was treated with uniform kindness by the white inhabitants, particularly Mrs. Clayton, Mr. and Mrs. Burt Robson, and Mr. and Mrs. Andy Christensen.

Finally, and most important of all, I wish to express my appreciation to the Bella Coola themselves. Without their generous, kindly and helpful co-operation, this book could never have been written. I came as an uninvited stranger; they treated me as a friend and a guest; and I left with intense regret. My chief friends were Joshua Moody, Captain Schooner, and Jim Pollard, but I was also greatly assisted by Mr. Willie Mack, Mr. and Mrs. Tallio Charlie, and Mr. and Mrs. Lame Charlie. To a host of others I am indebted in only a slightly less extent. The aid and friendship of these men and women is one of my pleasantest memories, and one which I wish to record in all gratitude and appreciation.

In the actual publication of this complicated manuscript, I have likewise been fortunate in receiving co-operation and help. The University of Toronto Press accepted it for publication during the war, facing—and overcoming—the inevitable shortage of materials and of skilled craftsmen. Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining the type for phonetic symbols; to avoid undue duplication all native words, whether proper or common names, have been printed in italics. It is a tribute to the Press that it has completed the work. I am especially indebted to several former members of the editorial staff: Mrs. Hewitt, who supervised the initial editing, and her assistants, Mrs. Hackett and Mrs. Buzek. Mr. Weir, foreman of the composing room of the Press, has surmounted endless difficulties with enthusiasm and ingenuity. I am also grateful to Miss Harman, Associate Editor, who took the responsibility for final production details. Mr. Burns, General Manager of the Press, and Professor Brown, Editor, have both been helpful and co-operative throughout.

PREFACE

THE term Bella Coola can be applied to the Indians who formerly occupied more than twenty villages on the lower Bella Coola River in central British Columbia, to their near kinsfolk on the Kimsquit River, and to those living at the head of South Bentinck Arm. Disease and changed conditions consequent upon the coming of the white man have so reduced their numbers that the last two groups of settlements have been virtually abandoned, while only one village remains in the Bella Coola valley. This is located on a reserve near the mouth of the river, and its four hundred inhabitants comprise practically all the survivors of what was once a tribe of several thousand people, with a distinctive language and culture of their own.

The material contained in this monograph was collected in this one village many years ago for the National Museum of Canada.[1] I was in the field during two periods that extended from March to August, 1911, and from September, 1913, to February, 1914. My field notes were worked up and the completed manuscript submitted to the Museum in 1916. Since that time it has suffered various vicissitudes. Recommended for publication by the Chief of the Anthropological Division, it passed through the hands of various editors; questions were raised about its size and the suitability of detailed studies of social anthropology in a government publication, and by the time these matters were adjusted, funds for extensive publications were unavailable and the manuscript was put aside. Since the aim of the investigation was to record, as far as possible, the sum-total of the complex and interwoven social life of the Bella Coola, I did not think it desirable to prepare short articles[2] summarizing different aspects, preferring to await an

[1] Then the Victoria Memorial Museum.

[2] The only exception was a short article on Bella Coola supernatural animals published in the Ontario Annual Archaeological Report for 1916-17, pp. 17-27.

[illegible] Dawson [illegible] (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

128 opportunity for the publication of the manuscript as a whole.
[124] I am deeply grateful to the Canadian Social Science Research Council for making this possible, and to their anonymous readers, many of whose suggestions I have utilized in the final draft, and to the University of Toronto Press for their subsidization.

Though the lapse of time between the field investigation and the appearance in print of the results is unfortunate, it is a matter of less importance than would be the case in other branches of science. To the student of social institutions, the significant fact is that a certain group of *homo sapiens* has practised certain customs, whether in 1922 or 1948 is immaterial. Furthermore, the aim of the investigation was to collect [121] information on Bella Coola life as it was *before* the breakdown of their own culture, and for this, data collected between 1922 and 1924 are more valuable than those acquired today. The manuscript was prepared from my extensive field notes, when the material was still fresh in my mind, and, with the exception of this preface and a few minor changes in editing,* is presented as it was written in 1924-26.

121 When studying the Bella Coola, I was definitely under the influence of the English school of anthropologists. To Haddon, Rivers, and Seligman, to name the outstanding English field anthropologists of their generation, the study of a native tribe meant an expedition to some far-off corner of the world, to a people about whom little was known. A return visit was improbable; aboriginal customs were passing away, hence it was the duty of the field investigator to learn and to record every scrap of information. I remember Dr. Haddon's insistence that it might be some trivial detail which would throw light on culture distribution, and hence, perhaps, aid in the reconstruction of tribal or racial movements, or in theoretical studies of the development or degeneration of institutions. Characteristic of this school, too, was an intense human interest in field

*Especially in changing the number of years which has elapsed since various incidents took place.

U.S. Geological Survey [illegible]
USGS Bulletin [illegible]

work. To overcome the difficulties of language, of suspicion, and of native reticence was a task in itself. And only when this was accomplished and the investigator recognized as a friend, could the information be obtained upon which the investigator was to describe "his people." As a broad generalization, the attitude of American anthropologists to field work in America is very different. Indians live near or land; well-educated interpreters and informants are usually available; there is no thought of gleaning information from suspicious natives at the ends of the earth; and, perhaps most important of all, so much of Indian life has disappeared that the American anthropologist must learn by interview and question, rather than by observation and participation. The American school has tended to return repeatedly, often for short periods, to a small group or even to a single informant, and to publish intensive studies of aspects of culture with which the investigator is concerned.

Both approaches have their advantages. Anthropologically, using that term in its broadest sense, American Indians are better known than the natives of other continents; the professional anthropologist knows where to find detailed studies in technical journals and government publications, and to combine them if he wishes to know the life of a people as a whole. But to the anthropologist who is not a specialist in America, as well as to scholars in other social sciences, this lack of synthesis is a definite deterrent, and it may well be asked whether the anthropologist has played his part in making known the results of his branch to workers in cognate fields. It was this which led R. H. Lowie to publish his *Crow Indians*,[1] and though the author reiterates that the volume contains little that he had not made known in earlier writings[2] in anthropological journals, it is safe to say that the *Crow Indians* will be read, quoted, and used when other reports on which it is based have been forgotten.

[1] New York: 1935.
[2] *Id.*, p. ix.

121 If I were to investigate and report on the Bella Coola at the present time, I would undoubtedly be influenced by many
128 years of contact with American anthropologists and their work. I would assume a greater knowledge of North-West coast institutions, less interest in the details of ceremonial class, and it would be impossible not to avoid comparisons with, and observations upon, the theoretical implications of many of the facts recorded. But though every field investigator is entirely objective as to the facts he collects, yet his interests, and his method of presenting them, are coloured by his background; in my case, by the older school of English anthropology. On the whole, I think this is fortunate. It means that the Bella Coola are portrayed as I saw them when I came fresh to a new field, practically unaffected by problems of North-West coast culture, and fully prepared to throw myself into their life. They were "my people," not a group in which I was interested because they had, or had not, certain culture traits with which I was concerned. In the course of my teaching experience, furthermore, I have wished repeatedly to give serious students detailed field monographs in which are recorded the interwoven social, religious, and folk-lore concepts of a people, the sum-total of their mental life, collected by one man at one time. This I have tried to do for the Bella Coola.

123 Following the English tradition, I wish to record how this material was collected. Before leaving for British Columbia,
[115] I was advised by the late H. I. Smith, who had worked in the area, to talk to Joshua Moody (see Plate 1), an elderly Bella Coola Indian with whom Smith had worked. On explaining to Joshua that I had come to record in permanent form the traditions and lore of *his* people, Joshua grinned broadly and promised his help. Unfortunately, he spoke only a few words of English. I tried interpreter after interpreter, Indian and white, with only fair success, and my difficulties increased with the
[464] opening of the canning season and the consequent employment of the younger men and women. I was urged to learn the
[122] Chinook jargon, which serves widely as a *lingua franca* on the
[198]

numbering, and ordering of songs, in 1923 it was found that Jim Pollard (see Plate 4) alone had a sufficiently accurate memory to act as informant. As more and more men wished to perform, he found himself unable to keep the songs in order, and asked me to join the chorus as prompter. I held this position for the rest of the winter, taking a full part in every ceremony. Although the old customs had broken down enormously, this actual participation enabled me to understand the winter dances in a manner impossible from mere description. Later on, phonographic records were made of many of the songs and thus preserving specimens of the fast disappearing music.

My intimate association with the Bella Coola enabled me to collect the material here presented which, having been verified and reverified, I have every reason to believe is correct. Nevertheless, it has one serious defect owing to the lack of experience of my ear. I found it almost impossible to differentiate certain sounds; in fact, I sometimes recorded the same word with different spellings. Consequently, I cannot guarantee the accuracy of the native terms used in this monograph. Moreover, I was entirely unable to analyze proper names, which would have been of great value in understanding the attributes of supernatural beings.

When writing up field notes, the realization of my own inefficiency in the recording of sounds tempted me to rely upon the spelling of Boas whenever possible. After considerable hesitation, I rejected this course for the following reason. Ethnological work falls into two categories, descriptive and comparative. This monograph is of the former type, based on actual work in the field and the inclusion of any material from another source would destroy its originality. I believe that a descriptive work should consist exclusively of the author's own research, and I have adhered to this principle in spite of the advantages which would have followed the use of Boas' linguistic terms. For the same reason no attempt has been made to compare the customs and beliefs of the Bella Coola with those of other tribes, although this would undoubtedly have shed

light on obscure points. There is a rush for the comparative student and nothing but confusion would result from such an incorporation in this volume. For the benefit of the reader, references have been inserted referring to *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*[1] by Boas, the most comprehensive description of the tribe. In the field I deliberately disregarded published accounts.

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stream, on which the salmon-weir stood, was carried away.[10]

The following village may be included with the above: [173]

(21) *Nacoop*: on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, to the east of the creek that flows into it at Green Bay. This long-deserted village was built so close to the ocean that high tides reached almost to the houses. According to one informant, the name was derived from that of the first chief sent down from above to that spot; while another connected it, etymologically, with *Naco*, the name of the barren district some four and a half miles up the valley of the creek. In recent years this village site has been used only as a summer camp. [173]

The name given to the Bella Coola valley is *Nuxalk*; that given to the inhabitants of the valley, excluding those of village no. 27, is *Nuxalkmc*.[11] 101 103

Two points must be considered with regard to the above list of towns: In the first place, can it be regarded as an accurate list, or do the towns belong to the realm of mythology? In the second place, are the customs and beliefs of the inhabitants of the different towns sufficiently similar to be described without reference to local differences? 128 173 361

The first question is difficult to answer. The Bella Coola undoubtedly consider the existence of these towns to be an historical fact, but so do they regard the peopling of the earth by men created in the land above. Nevertheless, the above list appears to be substantially correct. The Bella Coola, although now collected into a single village, still remember their ancient homes. One man, for example, stated as a matter of course that he was a man of *Snuhli*. Further inquiry elicited the information that he had been born at *Sinxl*, where his father had moved at the time of the smallpox epidemic. It later appeared that my informant's father was born at *Tsmoil*, had married there, and that it was his father who had moved [164] [166]

[10] This explanation may be only legendary.

[11] Boas, p. 49, states that *Nuxalk* is only applied to the lower villages of the valley. All the writer's information was contrary to this view. [114]

128 from *Swalik*. My informant's grandchildren regard themselves as *Swalik* here, and their custom are embodied in myths
173 of that village, although their fathers have not lived there
361 for five generations. There is no reason to suppose this case
166 exceptional. Other instances were obtained of movements of people from one village to another at earlier times, and there seems no cause to doubt the general accuracy of these. Names
[53.4] embodied in the origin myths of different towns are used as prerogatives and have been potent factors in keeping their memory alive. Uncertainties and inaccuracies there must be in the foregoing list, but on the whole it appears to be fairly reliable, since few contradictions were received from different informants.

128 Accounts obtained of the same ceremonies from the descen-
184 dants of people of different villages were found in most cases to be identical. There were a few differences in custom between
[79.6] the people of *Stuie* and those of the other upper valley towns on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the lower valley on
[101] the other. These will be mentioned when necessary, but on the whole the inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley can be considered as a tribal entity.

114 Boas (p. 48) gives a list of Bella Coola towns which agrees
361 fairly well with the above. Among his villages are included *Pe·ɔ·ɔ·ɔ* (no. 4), *Nalqɔ·ɔ·ɔ·ɔ·ɔ·ɔ·ɔ·ɔ* (no. 7), and *Nuxálcum* (no. 16).[18] All the older people agreed that these are the names of streams, though settlements located on them may have been known by the same designations. Names of the five villages recorded by Boas, nos. 6, 8, 9, 19, and 24, were not known by several old men questioned on the subject.

101 The villages of the Bella Coola valley did not form a political
619 unit; each was independent. A common language was spoken throughout and the inhabitants of the different towns recog-
[63.1] nized that their origins and customs were similar. This was
[19.7] also recognized to be the case with regard to the people living on South Bentinck Arm, and at the head of Dean Channel.

[18] Using in each case the spelling of this monograph.

"The Coming of *Ewwhlmain*."[4]

Fifth moon after the summer solstice: *uwnisl*, "The Time for Easter Dances,"[5] or *Sipalwmin di Sisi*, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings."

Sixth moon after the summer solstice: *Sisni*, "Sits Down," that is, when the sun reaches the solstice.

First moon after the winter solstice: *Iwmlmgwum*, "What Sweeps Away Food," or *Sulkli*, "Angry Moon."

Second moon after the winter solstice: *Mmnulmwi*, "Facing in Both Directions," that is, half the month belongs to winter and half to summer, or *Lemulc di Nuxkikmp*, "The Potlatch of the *Nuxkikmp*" (I, p. 184).

Third moon after the winter solstice: *Sinqum*, "When Herrings Spawn." These fish are said to have arrived on the same day of this moon as the winter solstice in the December one.

Fourth moon after the winter solstice: *Siltulp*, "Time for Making Salmon Weirs."

Fifth moon after the winter solstice: *Sinemwul*, "Time for Making Hand-Nets for Olachen."

Sixth moon after the winter solstice: *Sicdwl*, "Time for Eating Spring Salmon." It is in this month that the summer solstice occurs.

The chief difficulty experienced by the Bella Coola in computing time rests on the fact that each month is judged by the moon, whereas the main periods of the year depend upon the solstices. One old man, from whom much of this information was obtained, stated that trouble always came at the winter solstice when the month was divided into two sections. The above list is obviously incomplete and incoherent, but it was the best available.

Supernatural Beings

In any primitive community the social, religious, political, and economic aspects of life are so interwoven that they

[4] See vol. II, p. 8 for a description of this mythical being.
[5] See vol. II, chap. i, for a description of these dances.

cannot be considered as distinct subjects, not only does this present difficulties to the investigator in the field, but it also makes it so easy task to describe the facts as obtained. With many tribes, it is possible to deal first with the social life, and later with religion, shamanism, and other associated topics. Such a form of presentation has many advantages and would, if possible, have been followed. Unfortunately, the social organization and rank of the Bella Coola largely depend upon their religious beliefs as expressed in their mythology, and an understanding of at least the main features of these is essential. In this chapter a summary of these has been made, leaving for later description personal relations with the supernatural world and other points which do not profoundly influence the beliefs and practices of the whole community.

Like other peoples, the Bella Coola differ considerably in the fervour of their religious beliefs. But even allowing for individual variation, religious experiences and beliefs are matters of frequent occurrence and profound importance to the great majority of the tribe. The supernatural world is close around them; a sudden thought is caused by the intervention of a supernatural being; the peculiar action of an animal is an occurrence fraught with grave meaning; an unexplained sound always receives a supernatural explanation. The old beliefs survive even among members of the community who are nominal Christians, and those who hold to their ancient religion live in an atmosphere of the supernatural. The white man, whose scientific training and logic lead him to find a natural explanation for an incident, is puzzled and somewhat amused at what he often calls the childish beliefs of the Indian. The Bella Coola, on the other hand, seeing the hand of the supernatural in every untoward event, considers the attitude of the white man in seeking a natural explanation to be almost irreverent. The mental attitude of the Bella Coola to the supernatural does not differ vitally from that of the white man under like conditions; but whereas to white men religious experiences are most unusual, they are common occurrences to

of the fire devourer, 372
the Bella Coola. We can trace the con- ugh ignorant of the 776
and it may be that he lacks form. T ola realize that the
law of conservation of matter, the Bella ostulate a land far [772]
would must have gone somewhere, and d lies in shadowy
across the western sea where burnt ern though it lacks
heaps, such bilbo retaining its original ted over by an evil
material substrata. This region is pos. 468).
being with a desire for human flesh (H he anthropomorphic 776
The above list by no means exhausts this world. Those
beings resident either in Hawaiki or office to make clear
described are the most important, and beings of this type.
the religious attitude of the Bella Coola dances only, and a
Others appear in connection with dancil vol. II, chap. i,
consideration of them can be deferred manism and allied
whereas some belong essentially to o
subjects treated in vol. I, chap. vi.

with which the Bella [781]
The attitude of mingled hope and fr pomorphic beings is
Coola regard their supernatural anthoncerning zoomorphic
typical of their thoughts and actions orld the dividing line
creatures as well. In the supernatural clearly defined; fabu-
between human and animal beings in supermen, and can be
bulk monsters have the mentality of ay as are anthropo-
appeased, beseeched, or cajoled precis form, supernatural
morphic beings. Like those of human beings with whom
animals can bestow good or evil on hum own in this chapter [128]
they come in contact. The division for convenience; it
must, therefore, be regarded as merel he minds of the Bella
does not correspond to a distinction in
Coola. wn to the Bella Coola
One of the most dreaded animals kn f a large grizzly bear,
is the *swaq*, a monster about the size in colour. It walks
with long, silky, beautiful hair, blue-gre hat its long fore-legs
almost upright on short hind legs, so provided with sharp
touch the ground at intervals; these a

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CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Ancestral Family—The Village Community—The Family—Kinship Terms—Slaves

AS in other communities, the social, religious, and economic aspects of Bella Coola life are interdependent, but there is an added complexity in the influence of mythological concepts. This not only complicates investigation in the field, but it also renders a logical description of their customs difficult. Some reference to practices recorded in detail in later chapters is unavoidable. 128 182

In many communities, ethnologists have been able to begin with the social organization of the people. Among the Bella Coola, this is impossible, since their religious beliefs colour every aspect of their life, and these must be understood by anyone who wishes to comprehend their culture as a whole. In this chapter, too, it is necessary to commence with a description of that aspect of mythology which serves as the cohesive bond to one of the social units, the ancestral family.

Ancestral Family

As recorded in the last chapter, it is believed that in the beginning of time *Ālquntām* caused the first men and women to be created in his house above and sent them down to populate the earth. They came in groups of two, three, four, or more, brothers and sisters, or more rarely man and wife, to different parts of the Bella Coola valley. They brought with them tools, houses, clothing, even sustenance in the shape of fish and animals. More important, from the point of view of social organization, they brought with them names and ceremonial prerogatives. In fact, the Bella Coola believe that their culture was created by *Ālquntām* in the distant past, and has not been the result of slow growth. It is true that there 773 [829]

423 614 [773] [224] [428] [431] [428] [427] [431] [671] 226 [423] [577] [626] [128]

sumed that ten is the largest number of traps possible at that weir. Those who have the right to that weir are the members of the ancestral family with the names of those first users. At this point the logic of the Bella Coola fails to uphold the mythological pattern. No salmon-weir has remained in existence since the beginning of time; when one broke, owners were sometimes infants, and those who repaired the break became regarded as the rightful possessors. The system of ownership prevailing at the time of abandoning the weirs, was that *individuals*, not groups, had rights to certain sections of the weir which were willable like other personal property. In most cases this right was transmitted with a name, marking the section of weir, which had to be duly validated by presents. In other cases, the intangible ownership was willed without any mark whatever.[9] Unless bequeathed in this way, disputes were frequent. Rights of this kind were never sold although an owner often leased his section for a night, or longer period, receiving goods in return, and not forfeiting his ownership thereby. This was particularly common when the renter was planning to give a potlatch. No case was heard of in which the right to a certain section of salmon-weir was given to a non-member of the ancestral family. Theoretically, this was possible, but practically it would be so inconvenient that it is most unlikely ever to have occurred, since the Bella Coola is never such a slave to legal privileges that he fails to be guided by common sense.

Although individual ownership is thus recognized with regard to sections of salmon-weirs and suitable places for olachen-nets, the owner is bound to share his haul. When he catches a large number of fish, anyone, whether related to him or not, can demand some. He cannot refuse, since to do so would brand him as selfish. The effective check on this system

[9] Great difficulty was experienced in learning about the distribution of rights to sections of salmon-weirs. The evidence is conflicting, and though every effort was made to verify and check the above, there may be further regulations which were not learnt.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

614 The recent decay of Bella Coola culture may have destroyed
[182] traces of more definite obligations with respect to the ancestral family, but all the evidence indicates that it has always been a fluid unit. Its very lack of functions makes it difficult to
[128] discuss, and the above account was pieced together from scraps of information collected from many different people at various times; yet, intangible though it be, it is a very real unit to the Bella Coola and pervades their life. Each individual knows those to whom he is related. In many cases the exact kinship is lost, but it is remembered that a man from such-and-such a village married a woman from another village, and it is proved from the use by their descendants of names from the same origin myth. The concept of physical strength imparted by a closely akin ancestry is always present and gives a person the real "power" in the village founded by those first ancestors
614 of his. For the ancestral family is usually thought of in terms
621 of villages. A man belongs to the village where his first ancestor came to earth, though he is equally a member of other towns into which his ancestors may have married. A
[554] man without ancestry, without *sal'olam*, is a miserable creature; he has no home in this world, or, theoretically, in the world to come. The ancestral family is a unit essentially held together by the ties of sentiment and pride of ancestry.

614 In addition to the above social elements of the ancestral
827 family, it is felt that all its members have certain tendencies. If one of the first ancestors had a certain physical peculiarity, or met with a particular kind of fortune, either good or bad, his descendants are more likely to experience the same than any other people. These tendencies may skip many generations, and may be inherited either through the mother or the father. In fact, Bella Coola belief on this point closely agrees with modern knowledge of heredity; the term for such an inheritable tendency is *xalaxalém* or *xalxamudjat*. Such characteristics are:

(1) Proficiency in using tools;
(2) Ability as a hunter;

1777 from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not diffi-
424 cult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking,
551 even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella
575 Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella
[773] prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time of the coming of the white man. There has since been general decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situation is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the investigator.

428 *Sisaak* names are willed and inherited in the manner already
551 described for other prerogatives. The type of dance, and the
575 time of use, will be described in the following section of this chapter.

The Potlatch

* 556 It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank
● 128 among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a number of features which, logically, should have been postponed until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has been made to lessen references to non-ritualistic features by the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chieftainship and the *sisaak* society. Other ideas will require rather lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems preferable to the use of many foot-notes, its only alternative.

General Observations

104 In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "pot-
* 556 latch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents,
[431] and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella Coola, such distribution of gifts is necessary at every ceremonial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most important of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach, the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

CHAPTER V

FEATURES ASSOCIATED WITH THE POTLATCH

Heralds—Totem-Poles—Coppers—Professional Prerogatives—A'alk Dances—Miscellaneous Ceremonies

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THE ritual of the potlatch is so complicated that, in order to present a coherent account of it, it has been necessary to omit entirely some features that occur at many potlatches, and to refer briefly to others. This chapter is devoted to an elaboration of these points, thus avoiding the use of lengthy foot-notes in the preceding chapter.

HERALDS

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The principal functions of heralds[1] have already been described. They go from house to house inviting the people to assemble for the different ceremonies connected with the potlatch, but that is only one of their many duties. They likewise bear invitations to all types of ceremonies, such as marriages, mourning rites, or *burial* dances; in fact, they act as town criers. A person holding any public rite requests one or more heralds to deliver the invitation which is repeated in every house of the village in order from bottom to top.[2]

There are variations, of course, according to the rites to be performed. At a potlatch, the first duty of a herald is to seat the guests in their proper places. This requires not only a good memory, but also considerable tact, since errors with foreign guests cause friction and embarrassment, and diminish the prestige of the whole ceremony. During the actual progress of the rites, a herald must constantly add dignity to the occa-

[574 628 578]

[1]Herald, *ali**, plural, *mali**ni, not to be confused with *a'alk*, the name of a society (I, p. 578).

[2]This order may seem have had a ceremonial significance but it has been considered for a long time merely a matter of convenience. When giving presents also, a man follows the same order in his mind and names first the occupants of the bottom house, thus minimizing the danger of overlooking a guest.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

expenditure though he must forgo the prestige enjoyed by a man who has been able to elevate his professional dames in a lavish manner. Selection is a constant factor in the social life of a Bella Coola; the man who uses all his wealth to acquire a firm seat cannot be "strong" in *nusté* matters; the man who desires to specialize in *kusiut* affairs cannot afford to display an elaborate totem-pole. Amid these conflicting desires, it often happens that a man somewhat neglects his professional prerogatives, especially those of which the dignity has been slightly lessened through superior skill shown by individuals endowed with no more than native ability. Upstarts of this kind have always infringed upon professional dignity, and the coming of the white man has added a new factor which has almost destroyed vocational prerogatives.

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A'alé Dances

The most important, as well as the most spectacular, dances that occur at potlatches are those given by members of the *nusté* society. In addition to these, a feature of many potlatches is the performance of *a'alé* dances.[1] As already mentioned, from 1870 onwards there have been many changes in *nusté* ritual; new elements have been acquired by the marriages of Bella Coola to members of the coastal tribes, with the result that details of procedure vary at every ceremony according to the prerogatives of the donor. Since 1910, the influence of white civilization has increased to such an extent that *nusté* ceremonials have virtually been abandoned. This took place at a time when the ritual was in transition, a state of affairs which rendered difficult the collection of coherent information. *A'alé* dances are associated with *nusté*, but the addition of new features to the latter was accompanied by a decay of the former. Both societies have now almost ceased to exist, but whereas the *nusté* organization was abandoned during a period of change and accretion, that

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[1] Called *s'alpem* in Kitamaat.

177 of the *a'alk* came to an end when it
535 importance. It was impossible to ob as already waning in
575 information about the latter as was gin as much detailed
128 possible that some of the facts recorded ired, and it is even
nuxuł ceremonial really belong to *a'alk* in connection with

The right to perform an *a'alk* dance rites.

424 validated ancestral prerogative of which depends upon a duly
535 an *a'alk* name. Some of the first pers the obvious mark is
575 designations and dances with them from brought down such
of time, a few were acquired on this ea above in the beginning
[773] natural beings. Those who have righ as gifts from super-
house organization which may be ter of this kind form a
This is closely associated both with the d the *a'alk* society.
chiefs, owing to the occurrence of the *saok* society and with
in the same ancestral myths. One of three types of names
[554] family may use his goods to validate mber of an ancestral
another to make himself a *nuxuł*, a th his ancestral name,
and an important chief, endowed with a to become an *a'alk*,
be able to do all three. lity and wealth, may

A'alk dances are less spectacular th
nuxuł or *kwaiat* societies, nor are an those of either the
The prerogatives of a member are lines or whistles used.
right to perform a certain dance, and ted to his name, the
commonly describes some feature of his use of a song which
types of dances are considered to ancestral myth. Four
of acquiring and using any one of the *a'alk*; the methods
unnecessary to describe the differen are similar, so it is
account of the performance of each. s before the actual

If there is a dormant *a'alk* preroga
554 family of the donor of a potlatch, he usu ive in the ancestral
575 this as one of the features of his ceremony chooses to validate
his wife and other relatives to ensure th y. He first consults
be forthcoming, and if this matter can sufficient goods will
tently, he chooses some young relative e arranged satisfac-
dormant right. It would be most unu the recipient of the
lected to decline the honour. Or usual for the youth se-
man, other than the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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CHAPTER VI

ORIGIN MYTHS

Introductory—Bella Coola Origin Myths—Origin Myths of Other Tribes—Early Traditions Having the Ceremonial Significance of Origin Myths—Sisaok Origin Myths

Introductory

773 EXAMPLES will be given here of the origin myths, which
128 are believed to authorize so much of the ritual already described, and to which repeated reference has been made.
[114] In 1898 Professor Boas published such an admirable collection of traditions of this type (pp. 50 ff.) that the present writer paid little attention to the subject. The Bella Coola, however, are so intensely proud of the deeds of their first forefathers
[124] that several insisted on recounting them before they were willing to do other work; in consequence, a fair number of myths was collected through necessity. Since tales of this type were recounted almost entirely at potlatches, their significance has declined since the prohibition of this rite. Consequently, many legends are only remembered in part; the abbreviated and often pointless series of anecdotes here recorded can be no more than a small part of the rich field which must once have existed among the Bella Coola.[1]

424 As Professor Boas has clearly shown, origin myths relate
773 how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god sent down to earth the first ancestors of the Bella Coola people, each usually

[1]In writing up this field material, it was my original intention to place all legends together in a separate section, or appendix, following a common anthropological practice. This, however, would have been contrary to Bella Coola thought since origin myths, for example, are regarded as entirely different from either mere stories, or from incidents connected with shamans,—to name two other groups of what are usually described as "legends." I recognize that the insertion of this chapter of origin myths interrupts the sequence of presenting Bella Coola culture, but I believe that it is the way which the Bella Coola themselves would regard as logical, and that it brings out the essential interactions of this type of myth upon their whole life.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

178 versions of the myth given (vol. I, pp. 313-19) is a case in point.
773 The first was told as a *smaiusta* by a woman who claimed to be a descendant of the people figuring in it; the second, as a story, *sumsma*, by a man. In view of the reliability of both informants, it seems highly probable that this is a story, partly converted to a myth. In other examples there are incidents resembling the supernatural tales given in vol. I, chap. IX, and here too it appears probable that *sumsma* have been assimilated into *smaiusta*. It is complimentary to the truthfulness [577] of the Bella Coola, and to the respect they show for intangible [424] property, that none of the myths recorded were *smaiusta* owned by others. Repeatedly an informant would say that he knew one, but would not tell it since it belonged to some other family.

128 After collecting a few myths, in each of which it was stated
773 that the first settlers at village X were A, B, and C, with their sisters, P and Q, it seemed as if it would have been possible, before the culture of the Bella Coola had fallen into its present decay, to make a census of those whom they believe to have been first settlers of this earth, and that such a list would have had few contradictions. This was soon found to be false. Two myths may give different people as the first occupants of a certain village, nor does such contradiction trouble the Bella Coola. Each man, convinced of the authenticity of his own family account, is quite willing to believe that the one belonging [811] to someone else is equally correct. This characteristic lack of logical consistency has already been mentioned in other connections. Boas (p. 61) likewise gives an instance of uncertainty as to the first occupants of a village, though, on the whole, he found Bella Coola mythology to be more codified than the present writer has done. In view of their lack of systematization in other matters, it would have been surprising if they had evolved a census of their first ancestors, accepted by all as accurate.

Another matter to be considered at this point is the simi- [178] larity of detail in many myths. In part this can be explained

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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by the assumption that *sumsma* have been elevated into *smaiusta;* in this case it would not be impossible for the same story to have been used by two or more families. A more common explanation is the splitting of myths. Although, theoretically, one can never be altered, and portions in the possession of other individuals are remembered as such, there must have been many cases in which the owner of a section told the whole as his own property. This would not be difficult in cases where he moved away from the other members of his family. In course of time, with the assimilation of elements in themselves not strictly mythological, two myths would evolve having a few incidents in common. If asked concerning this, the Bella Coola explain that the first people were quite as capable of doing the same things as two modern men. The occurrence of the same name, or names, in different myths does not, according to them, prove a connection, since many of the first people had the same names.

128 178 773

Finally, there have been included a number of myths dealing with the coming to earth of people in other localities. Probably these are, in origin, those of other tribes, more or less assimilated to the Bella Coola pattern. Each was said to have been obtained by the marriage of one of the descendants of the people described therein with a Bella Coola.

No further explanation is needed for the following myths which are arranged, as far as possible, according to the list already given of Bella Coola towns.

Bella Coola Origin Myths

539 *

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Alqālāxl*[1]

In the beginning of time, *Alqunxtm*, in his form of *Sunx*, the Sun, sent down a man, *Y'xyalk'mai*, to Mount *Nuxmāllaix* (also called *Alqunxmālāxlx*, *Sqatsdx*, and *Alkikumālāxlx*), a mountain on the north side of the Bella Coola River about two miles from the sea, near the upper end of the Indian reserve. With him came *Xwexwexum*, the Hummingbird,

[1]Related by Mrs. Webber.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

with the others, including the one who had just been leader, as followers. It is said that there was rarely friction among the joint husbands, since each realized that his turn would come as head of the household, and meanwhile the wife endeavoured to share her favours indiscriminately. The children were considered equally the offspring of each husband, thus automatically acquiring membership in several ancestral families. Such were regarded as indeed fortunate, provided with every potential means of assistance in the struggle of life. 595 556 [851]

Recognizing its importance, every effort was made to verify this information. Further questioning elicited the statement that the informant had never seen a case of this, though he asserted that when a young man he had often heard of it and that the custom had then only recently died out. Another old man and an elderly woman confirmed the above statement almost word for word, and each added that it was well known when they were young, though they had never actually seen it in practice. One man believed that the custom had formerly prevailed in several parts of the coast, and said that he had heard of its occurrence among the "*Kwatrino*" people near Newitte. Considering the reliability of his informants, the writer gives as his personal belief that the institution of polyandry among the daughters of chiefs occurred in Bella Coola not many years ago. Knowledge of the term of address for co-husband, already given, is strong evidence in support of this view. 128 595 556

DISCREDITABLE MARRIAGES

Since it has been assumed that Y is the daughter of a chief, properly married with due formality, it is necessary to digress still further from the account of her relations with X to describe connections of a less creditable nature. The most common of these was with slaves. Though frowned upon by all Bella Coola ethics, such alliances, of a permanent nature, do not appear to have been rare. In some cases it was a man who thus demeaned himself, in some a woman. Since no slave could provide the goods necessary for an elaborate wedding, the 567 588

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

blankets" for the child. The advantages to the donors were that they had an opportunity of showing their dignity, and it would always be a mark of pride for the child to be able to boast of the way in which she had been "held." 556 601 858

Ceremonial marriage clearly demonstrates two strong Bella Coola characteristics; namely, the desire publicly to enter into financial undertakings to demonstrate the wealth of the contracting party, and the desire to increase the prestige of children by means of this wealth expended indirectly on their behalf.

EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

Although the Bella Coola do not regard marriage primarily as a means of regulating relations between the sexes, yet the connection between the two is sufficiently close to warrant description in this chapter. A man considers intercourse as one of the normal phenomena of life: by marrying he has exclusive rights to his wife, but few moral restraints deter him from anyone else to whom he can gain access without infringing the prerogatives of some other husband. Moreover, sexual intercourse is not regarded solely as a gratification of desires; it has a significance which can be described, not inaptly, as holy. As already explained, two favourite methods of obtaining success in any undertaking are by preserving lengthy continence or by observing ceremonial chastity. If a young unmarried man or widower should wish to make use of this latter means, he is compelled to have relations with a woman to whom he has no just claims. This is universally recognized, nor is there the slightest odium attached to the man. The only essential is that he neither violate another's wife, nor force a young girl against her will. 551 831 837

At the present time there is great laxity in Bella Coola, a condition which makes it difficult to judge the state of affairs in former times. Every effort was made to obtain satisfactory evidence, and the following was verified and re-verified with the older men. [128]

A wife, properly married with full ceremony, was usually 837 839

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

535 contact with supernatural beings, so that it is a time for grave
*575 thoughts and decorous behaviour. Even by day the members
796 pass from house to house with dignified mien, not loitering
[787] around the sidewalks nor indulging in frivolity. Every effort is made to prevent quarrels between members who are expected to show by their appearance and actions the gravity of the rites in which they are engaged. Night after night they assemble at the house wherein the dance is taking place; those who have performed, and are therefore most closely in touch with the supernatural, even sleep there, not returning to their own houses until March. A dance usually lasts four nights, and during that time the performer's house, in which it takes place, is termed a *nuqpik*, "An Empty House." The significance of this designation is unknown.

178 Membership in the society depends on a duly validated
*575 ancestral prerogative to perform one of the many *kusiut* dances.
[424] At the present time every Bella Coola is a *kusiut*, even babes in arms being initiated, but formerly no one was admitted until he or she had reached an age of discretion. Some informants went so far as to say that the hair of an initiate must have begun to turn grey, and all agreed that no one was ever admitted until at least twenty, or more often, twenty-five years of age. Initiates were frequently still older; one woman, for example, stated that her mother was past the age of child-bearing before admission. Since only a member of the society
[551] could be called by a *kusiut* name, the uninitiated continued to be known by the ancestral names conferred on them at infancy until they received *kusiut* designations. The importance of the
178 society depends on the belief of the uninitiated in the super-
*575 natural powers of its members, and as there are now none to
796 impress, the rites carried out today are little more than pic-
128 tures of what took place years ago. It is the aim of the Bella Coola to carry out the dances as if uninitiated persons were in attendance, and since most of the following information was obtained from men who well remembered their sensations when not members of the society, it is justifiable to use the present

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575* tense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a [178 number of young men and women ignorant of the significance [796 of the rites. Formerly, the *kukusiut* often had difficulty in im- [128 pressing the uninitiated with their prowess, and feuds with the [578 *a'alk* were common.

Although membership in the *kusiut* society depends on an 554 ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution. 556 A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *kusiut* 575* prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great importance within the ranks of the society. Nor are the prerogatives considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that [567 slaves are often admitted as *kukusiut* by their masters. An important *kusiut* is not esteemed by the community in the same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, membership in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a 575* member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *kusiut* organization can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an 869 uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without spe- [784 cial invitation, he dares enter the house where a *kusiut* dance [774 is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that [626 it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non- 000

2: McIlwraith E25 (1922-1924) 1948
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B 721 these accounts seemed to be exaggerations, and the casualties were probably few. The Bella Coola did not have the same [554] admiration for the successful warrior as for the man who gave many potlatches, while everything indicates that their raids B [703] were on a small scale, rendered singularly ineffective by lack of discipline.

Specific Accounts

B 72 Active warfare has been so long discontinued on the coast that none of the living Bella Coola can describe conditions as 128 they existed during hostilities. It was possible to collect the 539 following accounts of raids and adventures which, though individually of small value, illustrate tactics and strategy, and recount incidents which throw light on the frame of mind of the participants.

B T

KITKATLA WAR

648 For many years there was animosity between the Bella 721 Coola and the Kitkatla who, with the advantage of strong government, used to sweep down from the north for salmon and slaves. Bella Coola itself was comparatively immune from attack, but the Kimsquit people suffered severely. The attackers were not always successful; one old man related how, when his mother's mother was an infant, they were driven off with the loss of four canoes and many men. The fact that this B incident had been remembered for so many years indicates that T it was unusual.

567 Slaves captured in this way were traded from tribe to tribe 439 and rarely escaped. When an elderly Bella Coola was a lad, there was considerable excitement in the community owing to [727] the return of *Slukwala*, a woman who had been carried off when a girl. She had been traded to a northern tribe among whom, she said, it was customary to crush captives beneath totem-poles and house-posts. Her diligence saved her from this fate, and she was passed on until she reached the far north, on the

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

APPENDIX B

STRING FIGURES

THE only form of pastime which it was practical to investigate in any detail was the construction of string figures. These seem to have no ceremonial or religious significance; they are made for recreation only, and it was found easy to learn a number while paving the way for other kinds of research. In fact, interest in them was one of the ways in which the writer became friends with a number of Bella Coola. As is to be expected, some individuals are more proficient in constructing complicated string figures than others, the old women being particularly adept. During the long delays which occur in all the dances it is a common sight to see an old crone teaching a group of young girls the figures which she herself learnt when young. Some men remember a number from childhood, but the making of designs with string is regarded as more fitting for girls and women. Songs accompany many of the figures, and the singing of these is considered an essential part of the construction. It was stated that many more figures were known long ago; in fact, several of those here recorded were only obtained after repeated efforts on the part of an old woman to reconstruct those which she had been shown when a child. No attempt was made to learn all the Bella Coola figures; a larger number could doubtless have been collected, but those here described are the ones most commonly made.

The nomenclature used is that described by Miss Haddon,[1] in itself following the method used by Rivers and Haddon. It will be assumed that the reader is familiar with this, including the meaning of the terms, "Opening A," "Position 1," and "Navaho." A string about four feet long will be found most convenient for making the Bella Coola figures.

1. A SALMON-TRAP

Double the loop; two strands now take the place of the usual one, but these will be referred to as a single string or loop. The figure can be made equally well with a string one-half the usual length.

Place string as a simple loop over left thumb and index finger and the right hand.

With right index finger hook down the string passing dorsally across left thumb and index finger and draw out to right, allowing right hand loop to slip over this hooked-down string.

[1] K. Haddon, *Cat's Cradle from Many Lands* (London, 1912).

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

APPENDIX C

GLOSSARY OF FLORA AND FAUNA

824 825 128

THIS glossary does not give the scientific names of all the flora and fauna known to the Bella Coola, or even of all mentioned in this monograph, but only those of which the usual designations are ambiguous. In cases of the common mammals, no scientific terminology has been attempted, since the multiplicity of sub-species renders identification almost impossible, and the popular name is sufficient for general purposes. In regard to plants, a difficulty lies in the fact that Bella Coola nomenclature is not always strictly accurate botanically. Two or more distinct ferns, for example, may be grouped together on account of their similar use as food, and one name applied to them indiscriminately. Conversely, different terms are sometimes given to various parts of the same tree, the roots, the bark, the leaves, and so on. These factors combine to complicate the study of either ethno-botany or ethno-zoology, and necessitate the collection of a large number of specimens. The late Mr. H. I. Smith has done so, and this glossary could not have been compiled without his assistance, though the writer is responsible for any errors in it.

824 825

Alder	*Alnus rubra* Bong.
Aspen, American	*Populus tremuloides* Michx.
Bearberry, Red	*Arctostaphylos Uva-ursi* (L.) Spreng.
Bilberry, Dwarf	*Vaccinium caespitosum* Michx.
Bilberry, Tall	*Vaccinium ovalifolium* Smith.
Bilberry, Thin leaved	*Vaccinium membranaceum* Dougl.
Birch	*Betula* sp.
Blackberry	*Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.
Blackfish—*See* Killer Whale.	
Blueberry	*Vaccinium parvifolium* Smith
Bracken	*Pteris aquilina* (L.) var. *lanuginosa* Bong.
Buffaloberry, Canadian	*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.
Bunch-berry	*Cornus canadensis*, L.
Cedar, Red	*Thuja gigantea* Nutt.
Cedar, Yellow	*Chamaecyparis nootkatensis* (Lamb.) Spach.
Clover, Perennial	*Trifolium fimbriatum* Lindl.
Cod, Black	*Anoplopoma fimbria* Pallas.
Cod, Red Rock	*Sebastodes ruberrimus* Cramer.
Cormorant	*Phalacrocorax* sp.
Cottonwood, Black	*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.
Cow Parsnip	*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.
Crabapple	*Pyrus diversifolia* Bong.
Cranberry	*Viburnum pauciflorum* Raf.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

APPENDIX D

BELLA COOLA-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

DURING the period in the field, the writer's attention was devoted entirely to sociological and religious investigation, and no attempt was made either to analyse the intricacies of the Bella Coola language or to record texts. This part of the monograph consists only of words which were collected fortuitously, and no effort was made to compile an exhaustive list, or even a representative one. This explains the preponderence of proper names, and the large number of nouns connected with rituals of all kinds, some of which are rapidly disappearing from common usage. Many of these were used by the writer continually in gathering technical data, and their interpretation is unquestionably correct. A few words, however, were not rechecked on different occasions, or from different informants, so that some errors may have crept in, either in translation or in recording. No terms have been employed of which the writer has any real doubt, but the same accuracy is not claimed for this vocabulary as for the monograph as a whole. Lack of knowledge of Bella Coola grammar made it impracticable to utilize the words recorded in the songs, since many of them include affixes and other structural elements that affect the root.

128 ● 192* [114] [193]

In listing the words alphabetically, the following arbitrary system of letter order has been followed and all symbols have been disregarded, for example, *a* and *á* are not separated.

a follows *a*.
ə follows *a*.
e follows *e*.
i follows *i*.
l follows *L*.
u follows *u*.

A

a'alk: 1—Loosely organized society of which the members can perform four types of dance.
2—Member of the society.
Ahnkha: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Abeikim: Chief of sea-lions in the beginning of time.
ábenk, vocative, ábeenk: Resident.

192* [575]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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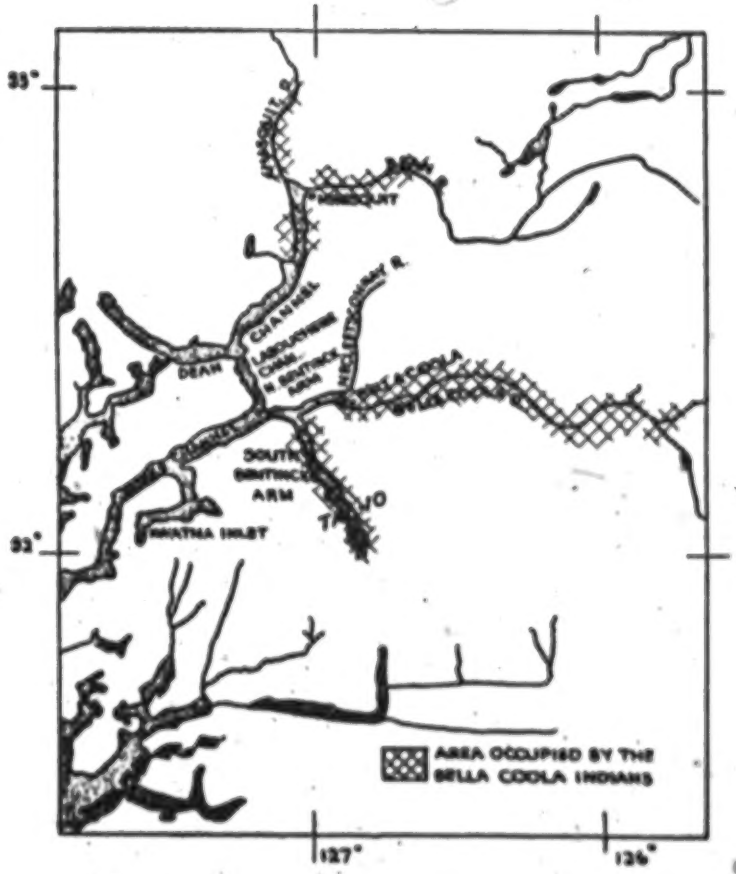

Map of the Bella Coola area

[facing p. 1]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

101
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133

Map of the Bella Coola area

[P. X]

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

SYMPATHETIC MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE BELLACOOLA

By HARLAN I. SMITH

177 754 789 [797] [658] [464] MANY OF the Bellacoola Indians today believe in sympathetic magic and witchcraft, after over a hundred years of contact with white men. Most of them live within hearing of the bells of the mission church, and the government school. Not a few of the men take logging contracts; some of them build and operate motor boats; many of them join the fishing fleets of the salmon canneries; most of the women work in the canneries; and all deal at the white men's stores.

101 ●131 [160] The Bellacoola lived at the heads of the long inlets half way up the Pacific Coast of Canada and in the tributary Bella Coola valley. Now, numbering perhaps two hundred and fifty, they, with the exception of a few families, are concentrated on one reservation at the mouth of the Bella Coola river. The Bella Coola valley has been called the Norway of Canada. This was where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada overland, reached the sea.

105 Aboriginally, the Bellacoola were of the North Pacific Coast culture of America, which is characterised by the extensive use of red cedar and sea products, particularly salmon, the making of graceful, sea-going canoes, each hewn from a single cedar, the erection of large rectangular houses made of cedar planks, with carved house posts and totem poles, lack of pottery, and expertness in carpenter work, carving, and painting. This culture belongs to the barefoot area, but the Bellacoolas wore moccasins to a certain extent. The art of the area was that best known from the paintings and carvings of the totem poles, largely of conventionalized animal forms. The life centred around a very highly developed social organization, an extensive and powerful financial system, and property rights to names, rituals and honors. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. They

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6, Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

ENTOMOLOGY AMONG THE BELLACOOLA AND CARRIER INDIANS

By HARLAN I. SMITH

B 131

THE Bellacoola Indians live in the Norway of Canada, about midway of the Pacific Coast, where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada, reached the sea; that is, about half way between Vancouver and Prince Rupert. Their country is around the head of the inlets about sixty miles in from or east of Ocean Falls and the usual route of the steamers up and down the coast. This island passage is with few exceptions protected by the outer fringe of islands. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. The people are of the typical North Pacific Coast culture, characterized by the extensive use of red cedar and sea products, especially salmon, huge houses of split cedar planks with carved house posts, and totem poles, and immense seagoing canoes dug out of cedar. They were expert carpenters and had a peculiar art, especially in painting and carving, largely of conventionalized animal forms—a valuable contribution to the art of the world. This art may become of great financial value to the manufacturers of this country as well as a magnet capable of exploitation to bring in tourists with money from foreign lands. These Indians had a very highly developed social organization, many dramas and rituals, and a complex financial system popularly known as the potlatch.

B 105

C 101 [131]

The Carrier Indians of Ulkatcho, on the other hand, live in the high plateau of the semi-arid region, perhaps 75 miles northeast of the Bellacoola. They differ from the Bellacoola in language, appearance, and culture perhaps as much as do the Turks from the English. They had a less realistic art, which was largely geometric and pictographic, highly conventionalized and symbolic. Their social organization and financial system also were less highly developed.

B C 114 104

From time to time during 1920-1923 inclusive, I have secured from both these peoples data about their use of materials. Part

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE8
Carrier NE9
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

MATERIA MEDICA OF THE BELLA COOLA AND NEIGHBOURING TRIBES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

By Harlan I. Smith

INTRODUCTION

This paper describes the materia medica of four tribes of British Columbia, the Bella Coola of Bella Coola valley, the Gitksan of Skeena river, the Carrier who live in the territory behind both of these tribes, and the Sikani of the headwaters of Peace river. Among the Bella Coola the medicines are largely family possessions known to a few individuals only, so that two families may have different remedies for the same specific complaint; but this is not the case among the other tribes. Everywhere magical practices enter largely into the treatment of disease, but are not touched upon in this report. It was impossible for the Indians to diagnose many of their maladies, so that the identifications given here are in many cases problematical.

Most of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1920-22, by Joshua Moody, apparently a full-blood Bella Coola Indian, born about 1868. As he did not speak English he gave the data in Chinook jargon, which has been interpreted and arranged in logical order. Joshua is an Indian scientist with great knowledge of the local plants and animals. He remembers when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in Bella Coola valley, and when the inhabitants saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently he can recall the old Bella Coola material culture before it was much affected by European ideas.

Some of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1922-23 by the late Captain Schooner, also, apparently, a full-blood, born about 1848, who used the Chinook jargon. Alec Davis, Alexander Clelman, Louie Hall, and other Bella Coola Indians likewise gave information and corroboration.

Most of the information relating to the Southern Carrier Indians of Ulkatcho was secured during 1920-1922 from Charlie West, alias Pretty Charlie or Handsome Charlie, a native of that place, born about 1871. Charlie used the peculiar form of broken or pidgeon English commonly employed for communication between the whites and the Carrier and Chilcotin Indians of this region.

The information about the Sikani and the Northern Carriers of Hagwelget is from stray field notes kindly supplied by Mr. D. Jenness.

The information relating to the Gitksan was secured in 1923-26 from the late John Fowler and Abraham Fowler of Kitwanga, Luke Fowler and Bob Robinson of Hazelton, with additions and corroboration from a few others, all old Gitksan Indians, apparently full-blood. The information was secured mainly in English, although Abraham Fowler used also the Chinook jargon.

The method the writer employed was to submit specimens of the plants to his informants and question them concerning all their uses. Of the information thus obtained only the medicinal portion has been presented here. The plants were later identified by Mr. M. O. Malte, of the National Museum, Ottawa.

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18:Ernst E-4, 5 (1932-1940)1952
NEII Nootka NEII
Quileute NEIL
Makah NEIM
Bella Coola NEL
[p4]
NSK
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B
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131

From map prepared by W. A. Newcombe for the Provincial Museum, Victoria, B.C.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

824 their houses. Dishes, benches, cooking-boxes, cradles, totem-
[322] poles, canoes, all were carved from this wood. The bark was
[285] woven into baskets, and when dyed formed the most common
[531] ceremonial decoration.

Even within the forty miles of the river valley formerly
132 occupied by the Bella Coola there are considerable variations in climate. At the mouth of the river the typical Pacific coast type is found, without great extremes of temperature and with much rain, especially in winter time. During winter, the moisture is precipitated as snow a few hundred feet above the valley, and the limit of the snow can be watched on the mountain slopes, rising or falling a few feet from day to day. Farther up the valley, the winters are colder and in many cases snow lies for weeks on the ground, and in the upper part of the Bella Coola area the winters are severe, although much more moderate than on the upper regions immediately to the east.

173 What has been the history of the inhabitants of this land?
[776] They believe that long, long ago, *Ałquntām*, the supreme god, caused their first ancestors to be created in his house, *Nusmāt·a*, in the land above, and sent them down to populate the Bella Coola valley. These first people came in groups of two or three, brothers and sisters, or occasionally man and wife, each group descending, in many cases in animal form, to a certain mountain and then making their home at its foot. They brought with them animals and fish, tools and houses, also the knowledge of ceremonial dances. In fact, they differed from the Bella Coola of the recent past only in having greater supernatural power. These first people increased with extraordinary rapidity, until each group grew into a village, bound together by a knowledge of their first ancestor. In
173 course of time the occupants of certain villages combined, as
361 some increased more rapidly than others, but on the whole each settlement maintained its character of being the descendants of one group of the first settlers of this world.

[175] This mythological belief is a fair picture of Bella Coola life as it was when the first white man visited the valley. Mac-

McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 194
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Bellacoola NE6

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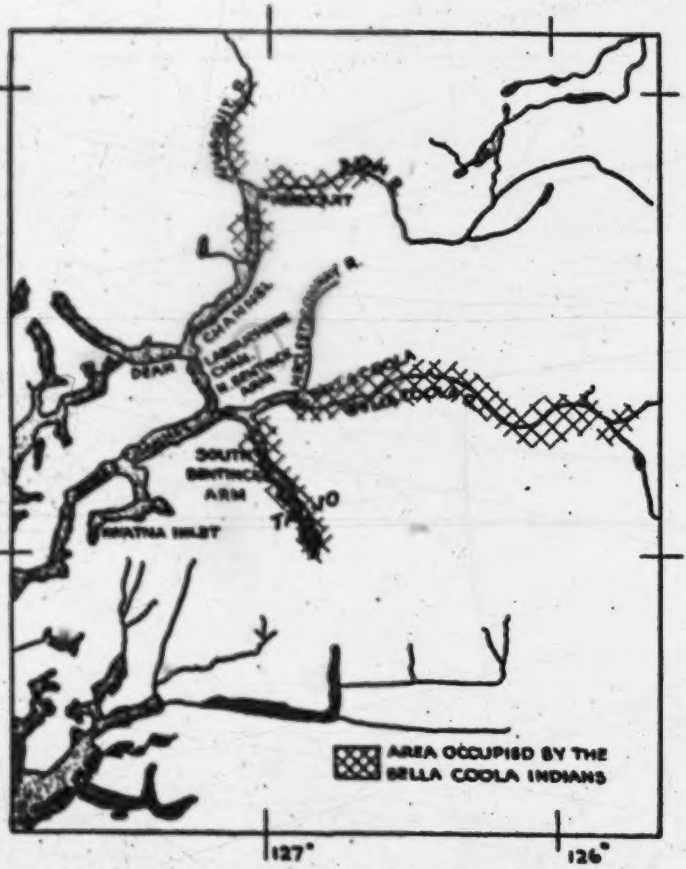

Map of the Bella Coola area

[facing p. 1]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

CHAPTER I

LOCATION AND ENVIRONMENT

Location—Bella Coola Villages—Tribal Organization—Neighbouring Tribes

Location

"BELLA COOLA" is the common designation of those Indians who, until a few years ago, inhabited the valley of the Bella Coola River in central British Columbia. Boas has recorded[1] that the name is a mis-pronunciation of *Bilxula*,[2] a Kwakiutl word of doubtful origin which white pioneers assumed to be the appellation of the people in question. There is no term in their own language to include the groups treated in this monograph. Linguistically, the Bella Coola form an isolated island of Salish-speaking people, separated from others of the same stock by tribes of Athapascan and Kwakiutl lineage.[3] Culturally, they belong to the central section of the North Pacific coast area.[4]

The Bella Coola River rises among the mountainous uplands of central British Columbia. Its two main branches fall rapidly, about forty-five miles from the sea, into two deep gorges which unite, some five miles farther on, to form the valley of the Bella Coola. Down this the river rushes in serpentine curves (see Plate 5). Too shallow and too rapid for the use of large boats, even if such had been known to the Bella Coola, it serves to bear their dug-out canoes, each hewn from some mighty cedar. The valley is never wider than two or three miles and is hemmed in by lofty snow-capped moun-

[1] *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians* (Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, 1898), vol. II, part 2, p. 25. Repeated reference will be made to this work, and when Boas is quoted without further description, the reference will be to this memoir.

[2] Pronounced *Bilxwala* by a Kimsquit man endeavouring to quote a Kwakiutl.

[3] Boas, p. 26.

[4] Clark Wissler, *The American Indian* (2nd ed., New York, 1922), p. 227.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

133 tains. From each pocket between these mountains an ice-
137 cold affluent comes swirling down to the main river. The predominant tree in the river valleys is the cedar[1] which in many cases attains great girth and height. Cottonwoods flourish in places, and everywhere there is an almost impenetrable undergrowth of devil's club, berry bushes, and other shrubbery of almost tropical density. On the lower slopes of the mountains, moss-festooned pines and spruces are the most common trees, gradually becoming smaller and fewer until the
133 barren peaks are reached. The mountains rise so precipitously that their snowcaps and glaciers seem to overhang the valley, a narrow ribbon of green winding far below. The range of vision from the bank of the river is limited by the all-encircling mountains. Here and there a distant vista opens up to expose peak after peak, but on the whole there is a feeling of confinement, in contrast with the open wastes of the upper country where the Bella Coola rises. Mountains, forests, flowing water, these are the three dominant impressions of the country (see Plate 6).

136 The mammals of central British Columbia, although comparatively common, have never been of primary importance.
[291] The marten, the wolverine, the lynx, and bears, both black and grizzly, were formerly hunted for their skins to serve as
[262] cloaks. Deer were killed whenever possible, but formed a negligible item of diet. The beaver also was prized for its
[439] flesh. The skins of moose and caribou were traded from the Carrier Indians, but neither of these animals was found in the
[286] Bella Coola area. The mammal of greatest economic importance was the mountain goat, the wool of which was woven into
[237] blankets. Smoked goat meat was formerly found in every
[251] house and was almost the only flesh available during the winter. Small game was abundant, but seals were a luxury.
[262] Neither were birds of great importance to the Bella Coola.
[223] Members of the tribe resident near the sea-coast used to kill

[1]Appendix C contains a glossary of the scientific names of the flora and fauna mentioned in this monograph.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

kenzie, making his memorable overland trip to the Pacific, records coming upon Indian villages at every few miles of his course. Boas describes the way in which the inhabitants of each of these claim to be descended from one group of ancestors. 173 361 175

Though it is impossible to estimate the former population of the Bella Coola valley with any degree of accuracy, it must have been in the thousands. In 1922 there were surviving rather more than three hundred individuals, who live in one village on an Indian reserve near the north bank of the Bella Coola River, about a quarter of a mile from the sea. In the last century the tribe was stricken with smallpox, and since then consumption, venereal disease, measles, and other diseases of the white man have taken their deadly toll. Changed conditions of life and decay of the rich ceremonial around which centred their interests in the old days are also contributory factors in their decline. Within the last few years, however, the population has begun to increase. 161 [164] [177] [182]

Bella Coola Villages

The following list of Bella Coola villages was obtained. In an effort to learn which had been deserted in recent years, the writer always asked whether or not a town was occupied at the time of Mackenzie's visit, an event of such great interest to the grandparents of the older people that the memory of it is still preserved. Villages said to have been occupied at that time are marked with an asterisk. 361 [124] [175]

Three rivers empty into the head of South Bentinck Arm, which is about one mile in width (see Plate 7). The Bella Coola, flowing from the east, enters at the southern edge, and the *Nulxₓtskwan·e* winds in from the north to the opposite angle of the head of the fiord. This stream, "The Nearest River" of the Bella Coola, so-called because of its proximity to the sea, is shown on maps as the Necleetsconnay. Between the mouths of these two is the *Pe·ɜslo*, a small stream rising 133 [103]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

133 on the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, east of the Necleetsconnay. Before merging their waters with North Bentinck Arm the three flow more slowly and there are extensive tide-flats (see Plate 8). Several villages formerly clustered
361 around their mouths.

(1) *Q̓āmeux:* on the west bank of the Necleetsconnay about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. Nothing is known of this long-abandoned village of which even the name is uncertain. The mountain that rises behind its site is called *Q̓āmeux*, and it is supposed that the village had the same designation. Some of the older people state that there was no town, only a temporary hunting station, at this spot.

(2) *T̓əsällumx̣*, "Short Feet": on the very shore of North Bentinck Arm, west and north of the mouth of the Necleetsconnay. The fiord terminates in a tolerably square end, running north and south, and this town was at the northern edge. It was built on piles and the inhabitants could step to the ground only at low tide. This is the explanation given of the peculiar name, a reference to the curtailed walking space. Long ago it was a large town, but was probably occupied only
[166] during the winter. In summer the people are believed to have moved to *Numäm·uc*, "The Place of Flies," on the north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

[712] *(3) *Ält̓qäläxl*, "The Fenced Town," so called because it was stockaded: near the south bank of the *Pe·əslə*, about a quarter of a mile from the sea, near the site of the present mission church. It was inhabited until about 1870. According to one informant this village was founded by a certain *T̓äxlexwam*, a descendant of *T̓aiakwala*, who decided to move close to the river.

(4) *T̓łoq̓o·tl*, "Small Mound," so called from the knoll on which it was situated: above *Ält̓qäläxl*, and about one-half mile to the north of the present Bella Coola River. Its site is crossed by the road connecting the Indian village of Bella Coola with the white settlement of the same name.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

361 the north bank of the Bella Coola,[1] near the lower slope of the mountain, and about three miles from the sea. It is probable that there was a town at this spot very long ago, according to the statement of one old man, and the numerous repositories (II, p.8) in the vicinity support this view.

*(11) *Sınxł*, "Sunny," or "Fallen Sun": on the south side of the Bella Coola opposite the preceding. It was deserted about 1907. This was a fairly large town, though never as big as *Q̣omqo·ts*. The name is derived from Sun, *sınx*, and there [173] are two explanations given for it. One informant states that [178] the name came from the many revelations of the Sun to the first people there; another that the first chief, said to have been named *Stälımx*, erected a large totem-pole, decorated with the figure of a sun. This blew down, in consequence of which the people called their town *Sınxł*, "Fallen Sun."

*(12) *Sqomełł:* on the south side of the Bella Coola about three miles from the sea, and a short distance below the end of the present bridge. The meaning of the name is unknown.

*(13) *Tcımotł*, "Where the River Is Sufficiently Deep to Cover the Stones, but Shallow Enough for Rapids": the upper continuation of the last-named. It was deserted during the [164] smallpox epidemic. The name of the chief who came there [173] at the beginning of time was given as *Ṫswakilak*.

(14) *Sno'oniqwlx*, "On the Point": on a curving promontory on the south bank of the river about four miles from the sea. It was long ago swept away when the river changed its course.

(15) *Nu'exmäq*, "The Place of Foul Water": on the north [133] bank of the Bella Coola a little above the preceding, at a place where there were a number of stagnant pools between the river and the mountains. No one knows how long ago this town was abandoned; but as the names of people living there figure in stories which are said to be of no great antiquity, it

[133] [1]The river frequently changes its course, so that village sites now at a considerable distance from it may once have been on its banks.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

361 able for axes, which occurs in the valley of a small stream on
[316] the slope of the mountain.

*(23) *Nulleax*, "The Place Where There Are No Falls": an affluent from the north enters the main Bella Coola about thirty-one miles from the sea and the town was located on this creek about two hundred yards above its junction with the Bella Coola. The ruins of this moderately large town were still
[175] standing about 1870. Mackenzie reached the Bella Coola River at this place. At the time of his arrival the population was
[166] larger than usual, because the salmon-weir had withstood
[226] some heavy freshets which had destroyed several weirs on the Bella Coola, and driven the inhabitants of other villages to *Nulleax*.

[133] It is said that the affluent at *Nulleax*, the stream *Xaiqts*, is the only one in the whole Bella Coola valley that does not drop precipitously into a ravine leading to the main river. Its source is a spring at the end of a pocket-like valley, at the base of steep cliffs, but it does not fall down these. The town is named from this circumstance. The area around the spring is called *Nusnäxıngkt*, and it is said that some families living on the Skeena sing of it as the spot where their first ancestors came to earth, although their descendants do not know where it is located.

*(24) *Stuux:* on the point between the *La'xılx* (Atnarko) and *Sla·kl* (Whitewater) rivers which join to form the Bella Coola. This, the most populous of the upper river towns, was deserted not long ago. The meaning of the name is unknown.

(25) *Qwliutl*, "The Place of Herbage": on the north side of the Atnarko River, a few hundred yards above the forks. This small town was deserted many years ago. The name was
[137] given on account of the hill behind the village being covered with a rank growth of plants and small bushes, but no trees.

[133] (26) *Snuhk·tl*, "The Place of Falls," so called from the strong rapids of the Atnarko at this point: on the north side
[173] of the river about ten miles from the forks. This large town was long ago deserted when a large rock in the midst of the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Indians from both of these areas were interviewed and it was found that, except for minor details in certain beliefs, their customs were identical with those of the Bella Coola proper. Accordingly, in this monograph, the term "Bella Coola" will be taken to include the inhabitants, not only of that valley, but of South Bentinck Arm and the head of Dean Channel. Those living on South Bentinck Arm will be referred to as *Täl·io* people, the Bella Coola term for them; those of Dean Channel as Kimsquit, the name by which they are generally known. It is an anglicized form of the word *Kimgkwit*, meaning "Canyon," by which the Bella Bella designate the people of Dean River. 101 619

VILLAGES ON SOUTH BENTINCK ARM

(28) *Sätlia:* on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the point that marks its junction with North Bentinck Arm. Food was obtained from an ocean fish-trap.[11] Long deserted except as a summer camp. 361 [226]

(29) *Qankilst*, "Island": east side of South Bentinck Arm, slightly north of the island opposite the Hot Springs on the west side of the fiord. The town took its name from this island. In summer the numerous inhabitants lived immediately opposite it, at a place where they had an ocean salmon-trap; in winter they moved to a fortified spot at the base of a mountain slightly farther to the north. This village was blotted out by a landslide one spring long ago, and the few survivors were unable to re-establish it. [133] [226] [221] [731]

*(30)[14] *Tsaoltmem:* on the east side of the fiord about four miles above the last-named. A small town, whose inhabitants lived on the catch from their ocean fish-trap; it was recently deserted. [226]

[11]Ocean fish-traps work as follows:—A pen is made by a series of stakes, into which the salmon enter at high tide. It is then closed and, as the falling tide lays bare the mud, the imprisoned fish can be scooped out by hand or in hand-nets.

[14]Mackenzie did not visit either South Bentinck Arm, or Kimsquit, but it will be convenient to continue the use of asterisks to mark those towns which are said to have been inhabited at that time. [175]

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

361 (31) *Ḱxdis*, "Ocean Fish-Trap": on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the *Nuik"* River. [226] It is doubtful whether this was a town, or merely a camping place of the people of *Nuik"* when using their salmon-trap.

*(32) *Nuik":* on a raised mound at the south side of the mouth of the *Nuik"* River, which enters the head of South [731] Bentinck Arm from the east. The meaning is unknown. This [164] was a populous town until the inhabitants were decimated by an epidemic of smallpox.

*(33) *Täl·io:* on the west side of the mouth of the river of the same name which flows into South Bentinck Arm from the south. The location of this village was constantly changed, [133] owing to destructive variations in the course of the river. It was formerly a large town, and has been deserted only since 1900. This village had another name, *Ṭqwantłos*, "Facing," so called because its houses faced those of the town of *Nuik"*.

*(34) *Ȧs·ux"*, "At the Head": at the head of South Bentinck Arm there is a bay running south-west, into the upper end of which a small stream empties. The trail leading to the [487] lake at the head of Rivers Inlet follows this valley. *Ȧs·ux"* was located on this creek, at some little distance from the ocean; the name was derived from the geographical location of the town. It has not long been deserted and must have been a populous place to judge from the numerous repositories (II, p. 8).

(35) *Q̓wapx:* on the east side of the mouth of a creek flowing into the bay at the head of South Bentinck Arm, from the south. This town was of moderate size. The meaning of the name is unknown. It is thought to be in the Rivers Inlet language.

VILLAGES AT KIMSQUIT

[133] Two rivers, the Dean from the east, and the Kimsquit from the north, flow into the head of Dean Channel, and the villages of this area can be grouped according to the two rivers.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bellabella NE5

THE *ıstämx*[1]

BB
BC
563
361
[164
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197]

Before the smallpox epidemic, about 1865, there were towns on the fiords and villages of Dean Channel between Kimsquit and Bella Bella. The inhabitants were called *ıstämx* by the Bella Coola, and *ıstaitx* by the Bella Bella. Their settlements were at Elcho Harbour, Green River, Cascade Inlet, and at several unidentified places. Their language is said to have differed slightly from that of the Bella Bella, but the people themselves married freely with both Kimsquit and Bella Bella, thus forming a connecting link between these tribes.

A list of *ıstämx* towns was obtained from one old man, who claimed to be a descendant of the people. It was impossible to verify this information, and since he himself was not an ideal informant, the following can be regarded only as approximately correct.

(1) *Ällko:* at Elcho Harbour.

(2) *Kılde·t:* on a fiord one mile above the last-named.

(3) *Ällhk* or *Yuqwa·t:* on a river three miles above the preceding.

(4) *Nuwaisä·x:* on a river two miles above the preceding.

(5) *Nusqatl:* on a fiord three miles above the preceding.

(6) *'Omlıom:* on a fiord three miles above the preceding.

(7) *Ṣuxwlk:* on a river two miles above the last-named and thirty miles below Kimsquit.

According to the old man from whom the above list was obtained, *Nuxwlst*, at Kimsquit, recorded earlier as village no. 45, was also populated by *ıstämx* people. There was so much intermarriage between the two groups that it is now impossible to ascertain whether the inhabitants not only of *Nuxwlst*, but of *Suxwlk* as well, were predominantly Kimsquit or *ıstämx*.

BC
484
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[648]

The open plateau in which the Bella Coola River rises has always made travel possible for long distances, so that not only

1 [A Bellacoola term for the people of mixed Bellabella - Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel" - See 2: McIlwraith, cat. 116, p584 - Analyst]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NF5

133 the neighbouring Carriers, but Chilkotin as well sometimes
484 descended to the valley. On the coast, though the dense under-
[648] brush prevented travel along the shore, the long fiords, shel-
tered from the open Pacific, were ideal for the use of canoes.[16]
[501] Comparatively lengthy journeys were neither difficult nor
648 uncommon. The *Täl·io* people were usually on amicable
terms with the inhabitants of Rivers Inlet, and the Kimsquit
with the Kitlobe. The Bella Coola were accustomed to attend
[574] potlatches at Alert Bay and Fort Rupert,[17] Knight's Inlet,
and Bute Inlet, receiving their hosts, in turn, at Bella Coola.
On the other hand, there was little friendly intercourse with
the northern tribes, of which the Kitkatla especially were dread-
ed by the residents of the central coast. Until recent years the
Bella Coola had no direct knowledge of other Salish-speaking
peoples, although some of the Chilkotin told them of a tribe
living far to the south, in the interior, whom they encountered
in some of their wanderings and used to term *Nuxälkumx*, recog-
nizing the similarity between their language and that of the
[197] Bella Coola. A few years ago several Bella Coola attended a
[871] boarding-school and were amazed to find that many of their
words were understood by fellow-students from Chilliwack.

648 To sum up: The Bella Coola were in close contact with
177 the neighbouring coastal tribes, with the members of which
they felt themselves to have cultural affinities. They recognize
that they have received many ceremonial rites from their
neighbours, and must have adopted other elements of culture
which they now consider indigenous. It is probable that cer-
tain Bella Coola customs must likewise have been transmitted
to other tribes, but such lie without the scope of this mono-
graph. The outlying villages were in close contact with foreign
neighbours, and tended to assimilate elements of their culture,
[101] but, on the whole, the Bella Coola present a tribal unity with
distinctive local customs, falling within the general pattern of
coastal culture.

[16]For types of canoes, see Appendix A.
[17]The principal Kwakiutl villages.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

●133

PLATE 1

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Mouth of the Bella Coola valley looking west

[4 26 (A)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 5

[オ26(E)]

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

On the Bella Coola about ten miles from the sea

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I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEb Bellacoola NEb

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PLATE 6

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Looking across the Bella Coola and up a side valley about three miles from the sea

[426(F)]

1; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 7

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Looking down North Bentinck Arm. The river on the right is the Necleetsconnay, the Bella Coola enters at the extreme left.

[ナ26(G)]

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137

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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PLATE 8

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

The tide-flats at the head of North Bentinck Arm

[Gp 26 (H)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

782 next day the weather was fine. This particular method of
424 praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the begin-
821 ning of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family.
[785] With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of
[177] customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grand-father of the man from whom the information was obtained.

SACRIFICE

782 It might be expected that a clear division should be made between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears
[824] dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any
[824] supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts
[825] of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether
[261] or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire titbits of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*Wai, wai, wai,*" "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural
[502] powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Mesatche Nose,
[133]
[756]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

the point between Labouchere Channel and Bentinck Arm, there is danger from treacherous currents, so, when a shaman passes either of these places, he lays some food on the water and puffs eagle down into the air as he asks for help. If no shaman is in the canoe, this is done by the captain. 782 133 502 756

The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is *Ṫłitcäplilän·a*, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and gives power to shamans. Whenever a hunter kills an edible animal in the forest, he cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws them into his fire to gain her goodwill. Long, long ago, *Ṫłitcäplilän·a* appeared to a hunter, seized some of his quarry, and told him of her wishes with regard to presents; these have since been obeyed by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of a man absent in the mountains or at sea throw scraps of food on the fire and ask the protection of *Ṫłitcäplilän·a* for the one in danger. In this case, it is clear that objects thrown into flames are received and appreciated by *Ṫłitcäplilän·a*. 776 224 773

Mınakais, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accompanies his words by blowing up into the air small particles of eagle down. Prayers in connection with the departure of war or hunting expeditions have already been mentioned, but before starting on any journey by canoe, the captain is careful to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and four of yellow cedar-bark. The blowing upwards of eagle down is a common accompaniment to all kinds of prayers, but, if none is available, cedar-bark can be used equally satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water, otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and considered valuable by *Ałquntäm*, but they emphasize and accompany the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's sincerity. 776 484 824 825

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on presents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw 775 782

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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PLATE 9

[P 186 (A)]

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

The site of *Q̓omqo·ts*, with the remains of the old village

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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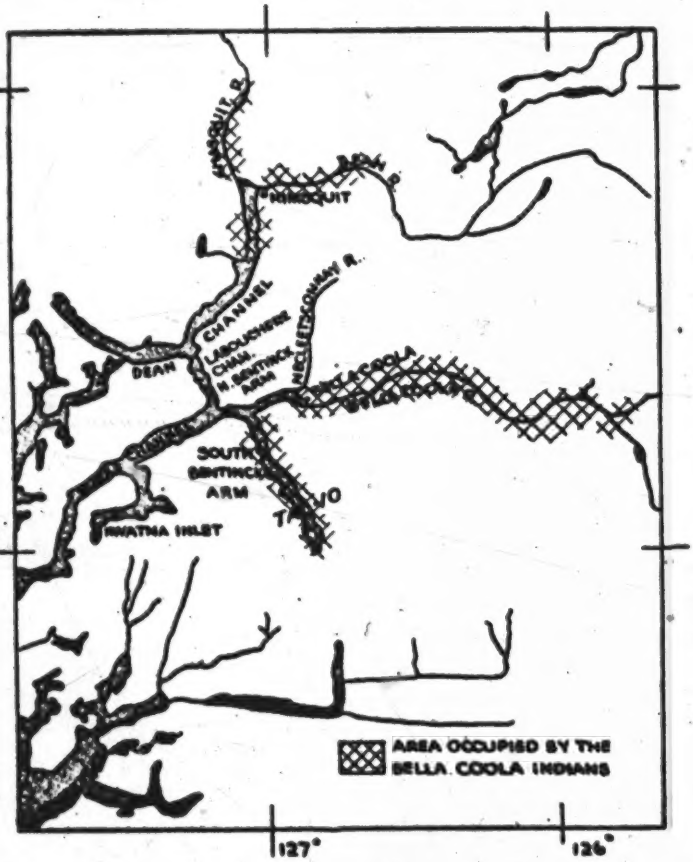

Map of the Bella Coola area

[P. X]

seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject. 721 575 622

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Stuux* and *Ałqäläxł* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe. 648 685 626 556 688 628 727 777

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Täl·io*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack. 642 648 133 161

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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PLATE 21

Photograph by the author

River canoe

[p 532 (A)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

133 tains. From each pocket between these mountains an ice-cold affluent comes swirling down to the main river. The 137 predominant tree in the river valleys is the cedar[4] which in many cases attains great girth and height. Cottonwoods flourish in places, and everywhere there is an almost impenetrable undergrowth of devil's club, berry bushes, and other shrubbery of almost tropical density. On the lower slopes of the mountains, moss-festooned pines and spruces are the most common trees, gradually becoming smaller and fewer until the 133 barren peaks are reached. The mountains rise so precipitously that their snowcaps and glaciers seem to overhang the valley, a narrow ribbon of green winding far below. The range of vision from the bank of the river is limited by the all-encircling mountains. Here and there a distant vista opens up to expose peak after peak, but on the whole there is a feeling of confinement, in contrast with the open wastes of the upper country where the Bella Coola rises. Mountains, forests, flowing water, these are the three dominant impressions of the country (see Plate 6).

●136 The mammals of central British Columbia, although comparatively common, have never been of primary importance. [291] The marten, the wolverine, the lynx, and bears, both black and grizzly, were formerly hunted for their skins to serve as [262] cloaks. Deer were killed whenever possible, but formed a negligible item of diet. The beaver also was prized for its [439] flesh. The skins of moose and caribou were traded from the Carrier Indians, but neither of these animals was found in the [286] Bella Coola area. The mammal of greatest economic importance was the mountain goat, the wool of which was woven into [237] blankets. Smoked goat meat was formerly found in every [251] house and was almost the only flesh available during the winter. Small game was abundant, but seals were a luxury. [262] Neither were birds of great importance to the Bella Coola. [223] Members of the tribe resident near the sea-coast used to kill

[4]Appendix C contains a glossary of the scientific names of the flora and fauna mentioned in this monograph.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

quantities of ducks and geese, and the inhabitants of the inland villages sometimes made hunting expeditions to the nesting places of wild-fowl in the lakes of the interior uplands. Although numbers of birds were sometimes killed in this way, they were never a steady article of diet. The same is true of grouse. Always plentiful, these birds were commonly killed, but never in large numbers. 223 [136] [262]

The basis of the food supply was fish. The river teemed with salmon, which enabled the country to support its relatively large population. Spring, sockeye, hump-back, dog, and cohoe salmon, all entered the river in thousands during the spring and summer, while the steel-head could be caught throughout the year. They were taken in weirs and their flesh smoked for winter use. Throughout the year, salmon was the principal article of diet. Second in importance was the olachen, a fish somewhat resembling a herring, which entered the river in great numbers during April or May. They were taken in purse-like nets,[8] allowed to rot for ten days or two weeks, and then boiled. The grease was skimmed off and kept indefinitely to be used as a relish for other foods. It was always a sign of poverty if a person were obliged to eat berries without olachen grease. Trout and bull-heads were found in the river, but were not sufficiently plentiful to be of importance. 226 262 [251] [252] [263] [237] [735] [556]

Although no form of agriculture was practised, the Bella Coola used vegetable food to a considerable extent. Berries were abundant; some were eaten raw, but many more were pounded into a pulpy mass and dried in the sun. Cakes prepared in this way kept indefinitely and formed one of the regular winter foods. The bark of the hemlock and cottonwood was eaten, as well as the roots of many plants. In recent years many of these have not been used, so that an investigator is apt to overlook their great importance in early times. Although useless for food, the cedar was the corner-stone of Bella Coola material culture. From its trunk were split out, with wedges, the wide planks which formed 262 [241] [251] [178] 824 322

[8]See Appendix A for a description of olachen fishing.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

hers, which, with her supernatural power, she was able to do. She reluctantly granted his request, and Raven became very proud of his splendid locks. 539*

Next year, when Raven caught sockeye salmon he obeyed his wife's instructions by carefully hanging the fish up to dry without removing the heads. One day, however, his long hair became entangled with the teeth of a drying salmon, and in a fit of anger he wrenched off its head, throwing it outside the door. His wife was so vexed and grieved that she cried and cried until her face was swollen and Raven became frightened at her continued lamentation. After he had left the house, Sockeye Salmon told her sisters-in-law to make a fire and put on it all her personal possessions. She said that she intended to leave that night, and that the smoke would animate her husband's salmon, but not those caught by his sisters. When it was dark she carried out her threat. She whistled, and Raven's fish came to life; then she ran to the river, raised the edge of the water as if it had been a blanket and plunged beneath, followed by them.

Raven tried in vain to pursue, but lost both his wife and his salmon.

Animal Stories

Raven is more frequently endowed with human characteristics to serve as the central figure in stories than any other bird or mammal, but the following are examples of similar tales centring around other figures. 538 825

MINK AND CAT-FISH[32]

539*

Once upon a time, long, long ago, before men and animals had grown so unlike one another, Mink went to the home of a Cat-Fish woman, who politely invited him to stay for a meal. When he had finished eating he said to his hostess:

"Are you afraid of anything?"

"No," she replied.

"Are you not afraid of Grizzly Bear?"

"No," answered the woman again.

Mink repeated his question with regard to Wolf, Black Bear, Wolverine, Cougar, and all the other fierce animals, but Cat-Fish assured him that she feared none of them. At length he asked:

"Are you afraid of Owl?"[33]

[32]There are no true cat-fish in Bella Coola; the species so designated is probably one of the sculpins. [136]

[33]He meant the western horned owl.

[see pp. 419-433. — ANALYST]

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

B C 137 757 **Fomes Laricis** (Jacq.), more generally known as **Polyporus officinalis** Fries, A SHELF FUNGUS

Bella Coola: This (?) fungus ground, steeped in water, and the decoction taken internally for gonorrhoea.

Southern Carrier: If found on the Douglas fir tree, dried, powdered, a handful steeped in boiling water and the hot decoction taken internally as an emetic and purgative. Said to act within an hour. Not used if found on any other tree.

B C [171] (According to Dr. John Dearness, this is a medical polypore, perhaps the only fungus used by pharmacists. Park, Davis, and Company make a fluid extract and a triturate which is prescribed for the relief of night sweats in tuberculosis. The fungus is a cathartic in large doses. Its medicinal virtues have long been known in the old world.)

B 137 757 **Bovista pila** B. and C., PUFF BALL

Bella Coola: Spores dusted on wounds, sores of gonorrhoea, and suppurating sores other than boils.

LICHEN

Bella Coola: A certain long, white lichen, if found on the red alder tree, warmed, and applied to a broken boil or suppurating sore.

Sticta sp., LICHEN

Bella Coola: Entire plant, if from red-osier dogwood (*Cornus stolonifera* Michx.) or crab apple (*Pyrus diversifolia* Bong.), but not from willow (*Salix* sp.), boiled, and five cupfuls of the hot decoction taken internally daily for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea, constipation, or vomiting. Neither a purgative nor an astringent.

C [757] Entire plant boiled and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

Entire plant pulverized and applied to skin.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

KELP

B 757 *Bella Coola:* A small kelp found on the rocks sometimes used for a sweat bath. *See* western dock, page 56.

WOOD SAP

Bella Coola: The sap that oozes from any kind of wood when burning considered a good remedy for sores.

MOUNTAIN GOAT

B ●136 757 **Oreamnos Montanus**, Ord., MOUNTAIN GOAT

Bella Coola: Mountain goat fat boiled with droppings of geese that had fed on roots, and the mixture given to babies once or twice a day for colds.

Goat meat with droppings of the bushy-tailed woodrat, commonly called packrat (*Neotoma cinerea*), taken internally with water as a remedy for nursing babies when they had colds.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE 15

SKUNK

Spilogale, Spotted Skunk, or **Mephitis**, Striped Skunk

Bella Coola: Oil not used as a remedy.

Southern Carrier: Oil warmed, and a cupful taken as a purgative for worms.

HARE

Lepus americanus columbiensis Rhoads, The British Columbia Varying Hare

Northern Carrier: Hare opened, ruminating stomach containing something like the white of an egg removed, and the liquid applied to a foot blistered by frost-bite. Considered a sure cure.

RED SQUIRREL

Sciurus hudsonicus Erxleben

Bella Coola: Opened along the under side and applied as a remedy to badly broken chancres in the groin.

GIANT SLUG

Bella Coola: Slug made to crawl into a baby's mouth to cure loss of skin on the inside of its mouth.

Slug opened, and bound tightly over large cut.

SEA CUCUMBER

Bella Coola: Decoction of the water in which the sea cucumber was boiled, taken internally as a specific against heartburn. Not a purgative.

SPITTLE INSECT

Cercopidae, Spittle Insect, Frog Hopper

Bella Coola: "Fly spit," *i.e.*, the material surrounding a nymph of a spittle insect, applied to sores.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

WOODWORMS

Gitksan: Pulverized and applied to cuts.

COPPER

Bella Coola: Fine particles scraped from clean copper (but not from a weathered green surface) placed in sore eyes.

Gitksan: Copper ground, poured into a vessel of cold water, first water poured off, and second water taken internally as a harmless contraceptive.

CHARCOAL

Northern Carrier: Charcoal daubed under the eyes to prevent snow-blindness.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

133 tains. From each pocket between these mountains an ice-
cold affluent comes swirling down to the main river. The
137 predominant tree in the river valleys is the cedar[4] which in
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trable undergrowth of devil's club, berry bushes, and other
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[139] flesh. The skins of moose and caribou were traded from the
Carrier Indians, but neither of these animals was found in the
[286] Bella Coola area. The mammal of greatest economic impor-
[237] rance was the mountain goat, the wool of which was woven into
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[251] house and was almost the only flesh available during the
[262] winter. Small game was abundant, but seals were a luxury.
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[223] Members of the tribe resident near the sea-coast used to kill

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1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

was probably deserted not many years ago. Probably a large town since it was a good fishing place. 361

(16) *Ṫsilkt*, "Bald Eagle": also on the north shore of the river, a little above the last-named. Probably washed away by a flood long ago, although traces of the salmon-weir were still visible recently. [226]

(17) *Nuqāxmāts*, "The Place of Much *qāxmāts*" (the fern *Asplenium cyclosorum*): on the north side of the river about one mile above the preceding. This large town is believed to have been deserted long ago, though, in apparent contradiction, traces of it are said to be still visible. [137]

*(18) *Snulǝli*, "The Place of Dog Salmon": on the south bank, above the last-named, at a place where a small stream enters the Bella Coola River; this divided the town into two sections. It was long deserted and the river has carried away that part of the village below the creek. The name is derived from an enormous dog salmon which is believed to have been seen at long intervals in a waterfall near this spot, always with a water ouzel perched on its back. [825]

(19) *Oq̓mikumx̌*: on the lower end of the island near Hagenburg post office, eleven miles from the ocean. Although long deserted, traces of this village can still be seen. The meaning of the name is unknown.

*(20) *Nukils*, "The Place of the Whirlpool": on the south side of the river, eleven and a quarter miles from the sea. It was a village of moderate size, recently abandoned. The first occupant was said to have been *Ł̓kamkila*, which means, "The First of All." [173]

*(21) *Ǎsān·ān·i*, "The Concave Town," so called because it spread around the shore of a bay scooped out by the Bella Coola: south side, slightly above the influx of the *Nusālum* River, thirteen and a quarter miles from the sea. It was deserted about 1880.

*(22) *Nusq̓alst*, "The Place of *Sq̓alstutl*": on the north side of the river, opposite the mountain of the same name. It also was deserted about 1880. *Sq̓alstutl* is a kind of stone suit- [316]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

361 able for axes, which occurs in the valley of a small stream on
[316] the slope of the mountain.

*(23) *Nalleax*, "The Place Where There Are No Falls": an affluent from the north enters the main Bella Coola about thirty-one miles from the sea and the town was located on this creek about two hundred yards above its junction with the Bella Coola. The ruins of this moderately large town were still
[175] standing about 1870. Mackenzie reached the Bella Coola River at this place. At the time of his arrival the population was
[166] larger than usual, because the salmon-weir had withstood
[226] some heavy freshets which had destroyed several weirs on the Bella Coola, and driven the inhabitants of other villages to *Nalleax*.

[133] It is said that the affluent at *Nalleax*, the stream *Xaiqt*, is the only one in the whole Bella Coola valley that does not drop precipitously into a ravine leading to the main river. Its source is a spring at the end of a pocket-like valley, at the base of steep cliffs, but it does not fall down these. The town is named from this circumstance. The area around the spring is called *Nuxwáuxqki*, and it is said that some families living on the Skeena sing of it as the spot where their first ancestors came to earth, although their descendants do not know where it is located.

*(24) *Stuax*: on the point between the *La'xale* (Atnarko) and *Sle-ál* (Whitewater) rivers which join to form the Bella Coola. This, the most populous of the upper river towns, was deserted not long ago. The meaning of the name is unknown.

(25) *Xwlaal*, "The Place of Herbage": on the north side of the Atnarko River, a few hundred yards above the forks. This small town was deserted many years ago. The name was
[137] given on account of the hill behind the village being covered with a rank growth of plants and small bushes, but no trees.

[133] (26) *Swalk'al*, "The Place of Falls," so called from the strong rapids of the Atnarko at this point: on the north side of the river about ten miles from the forks. This large town
[173] was long ago deserted when a large rock in the midst of the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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PLATE 3

Photograph by H. L. Smith, National Museum of Canada

On the Bella Coola about ten miles from the sea

[#26(E)]

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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PLATE 6

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Looking across the Bella Coola and up a side valley about three miles from the sea

[4-26(F)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 7

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Looking down North Bentinck Arm. The river on the right is the Necleetsconnay, the Bella Coola enters at the extreme left.

[p 26 (G)]

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2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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PLATE 6

Photograph by H. I. Smith *National Museum of Canada*

Repository of a dog-eating cannibal

[p. 84 (F)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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PLATE 21

Photograph by the author

River canoe

[p 532 (A)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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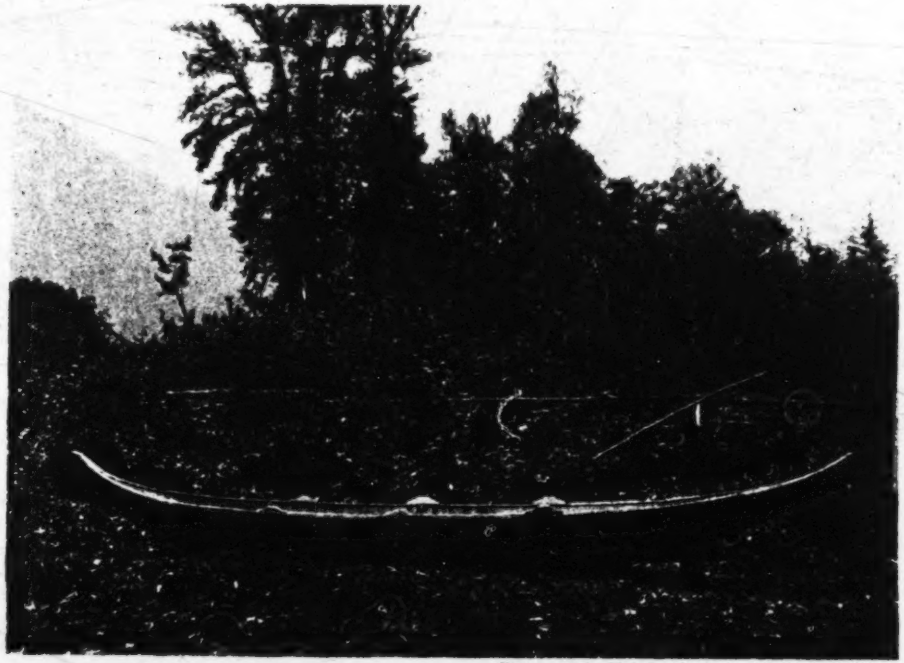
501

PLATE 22



Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Ocean canoe

[p 532 (B)]

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE 15

B
C

POLYPODIACEAE, FERN FAMILY

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Polypodium vulgare L., Polypody, Parasitic Sword Fern

Bella Coola: Roots—sometimes mixed with leaves of the red cedar (*Thuja plicata* Donn) or with other medicinal roots which the informant had forgotten—boiled, and the warm decoction taken internally for pains in the stomach, but not for vomiting or diarrhoea. Neither an emetic nor a purgative.

Roots chewed for swollen sore throat.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Asplenium cyclosorum Rupr., Lady Fern

Bella Coola: Little roots cleaned off, from five to ten centres, mixed at times with roots or branches of the currant (*Ribes laxiflorum* Pursh. var.), boiled strongly, but for a short time only, and the decoction used as a wash for sore eyes.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

B
[752]
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Aspidium spinulosum Sw., Shield Fern

Bella Coola: Root eaten raw to neutralize poisoning from eating several kinds of shell-fish in the early part of the summer.

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Fern, species uncertain

Northern Carrier: Root boiled and the decoction taken internally for worms.

Gitksan: The large, round, green root-stock, but not the rootlets, mashed with bark of balsam fir (*Abies grandis* Lindl.) and devil's club (*Fatsia horrida* Sm. B. and H.), a little gum of scrub pine (*Pinus contorta* Dougl.) or tideland spruce (*Picea sitchensis* Carr), and root of skunk cabbage (*Lysichiton kamtschatcense* Schott), warmed a little, and applied to a boil or ulcer, which it brought to a head. Also used for rheumatism, and as a plaster on the chest for hemorrhage of the lungs.

C

LYCOPODIACEAE, CLUB MOSS FAMILY

137
757

Lycopodium clavatum L., Common Club Moss

Southern Carrier: Inserted in the nose to cause bleeding and cure headache.

B

TAXACEAE, YEW FAMILY

137
757

Taxus brevifolia Nutt., Yew

Bella Coola: Branches with leaves boiled, and the decoction taken internally for the lungs. Neither a purgative nor an emetic.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

CONIFERAE, PINE FAMILY

Juniperus communis L., JUNIPER

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Bella Coola: Roots, leaves, branches, and bark boiled, and the decoction taken internally as often as desired for many ailments, including a cough from the lungs, and pain in the stomach. Neither a purgative nor an emetic.

Southern Carrier: Branches boiled, and the vapour inhaled for headache and pain in the chest.

Northern Carrier: Tips boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative, also for a cough.

Juniperus sp.

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757

Gitksan: Entire plant, including roots and berries, boiled for a day, and the decoction, when cool, taken internally for many ailments, including hemorrhage and kidney trouble. A purgative and diuretic.

Thuja plicata Donn, RED CEDAR

Bella Coola: Very soft bark used to bind up wounds, and to cover poultices of false bugbane (*Trautvetteria grandis* Nutt.) and of tall buttercup (*Ranunculus acris* L.).

Leaves, sometimes with the gum-coated cones, boiled, and the hot decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach. Neither an emetic nor a purgative.

Leaves powdered by pounding, mixed with a little cold water and taken internally for pain in the stomach, also externally for coughs and internal pains, as heart trouble, rheumatism, swollen neck, and pain in the stomach. *See also* Polypody, page 48.

Gitksan: Not used.

Chamaecyparis nootkatensis (Lamb) Spach, YELLOW CYPRESS, YELLOW CEDAR

B
137
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Bella Coola: A little soft bark used to cover poultices of false bugbane (*Trautvetteria grandis* Nutt.) and of tall buttercup (*Ranunculus acris* L.).

Pinus contorta Dougl., SCRUB PINE, JACK PINE

B
[752]

Bella Coola: Gum applied to cuts.

Gum chewed and applied to broken skin.

B
[164]

Gum at the ends of branches, collected in November, December, and January, boiled and the decoction taken internally for "consumption."

Gum—like that of tideland spruce (page 51) and western hemlock (page 51)—mixed with the baked stems and leaves, or the dried and pulverized bulb, of false hellebore (page 53), and applied as a poultice (sometimes spread on red cedar bark) to the chest for heart trouble, and to the arms for rheumatism. Burned the skin within two or three days, but was sometimes left on as long as two weeks.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14
Chilcotin NE8

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Southern Carrier: New shoots boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach. Resembled the decoction made from the bark of the aspen (page 54), or from the new shoots and bark of the tideland spruce (page 51), but the last-mentioned considered most efficacious.

Northern Carrier: Needle tips mixed with large needle tips of the "British Columbia pine" (*Pinus* sp.?), the inside bark of the wild gooseberry (*Ribes* sp.?), bark of the red-osier dogwood (*Cornus stolonifera* Michx.), the inside pulp of raspberry canes (*Rubus* sp.), stems of the "bearberry" (?black twin-berry, *Lonicera involucrata* Banks?), and the inner bark of the wild rose (*Rosa* sp.), placed in a vessel holding four gallons of water, boiled down to a thick decoction, strained, and bottled. About two tablespoonfuls taken, at sunrise and sunset, for constitutional weakness or paralysis, or if the body were covered with sores.

Gum obtained by heating a green piece of pine (sp.?) painted on the eye to remove white scum and to cure snow-blindness.

T

Sikani: Pitch chewed and the saliva swallowed for a cough.

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Gitksan: Inner bark (scraped from the trunk with a bone scraper after the outer bark had been removed) eaten both for food and as a blood purifier. Purged the body in from half an hour to an hour.

T
[164]

Shavings of the yellow resinous timber found after removal of the bark boiled, the decoction placed in oil, and taken internally as a purgative and diuretic for many serious ailments, including gonorrhoea. Said to produce beneficial results in "consumption."

Young needles plucked in June and eaten as a purgative and diuretic.

For use with a fern, *see* page 48.

B
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Abies grandis Lindl., White Fir, Balsam Fir

Bella Coola: Bark of root or of stem boiled, and the decoction taken internally every day for tuberculosis and stomach trouble. Said to have cured many cases of tuberculosis.

Gum from bark blisters found on young trees warmed, mixed with mountain goat tallow, and taken internally for sore throat; also drawn on a hair across sore eyes.

Young, green leaves baked, mixed with fruit of skunk cabbage (*Lysichiton kamtschatcense* Schott.) gathered in October, or the buds gathered in April, split, dried on top of the house, roasted, mixed with a small quantity of slightly roasted roots of the cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.), one or two cupfuls of the gummy buds of the black cottonwood (*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.), and four or five cupfuls of fresh eulachon oil, allowed to stand one day, then boiled and kept in a box for a hair perfume. Kitimat Indians said to be more expert in its preparation.

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[171]
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Southern Carrier: Tree used for medicine, but details not obtained.

Chilcotin: Not used.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE8
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

Abies sp.

Northern Carrier: Bark boiled in water and the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

Gum used as an ointment on wounds, and especially on burns.

Sikani: Gum applied to wounds.

Gitksan: Juicy inner bark, scraped from the trunk of the tree, after removal of the outer bark, taken internally for constipation.

Gum from the bark blisters taken internally as a purgative and diuretic for "consumption," gonorrhoea, and many other serious ailments. Applied externally to cuts and sores, especially the sores of gonorrhoea.

The young cones, obtainable in August, sliced across, mashed, and used for the same purposes as the gum from the bark blisters.

See also fern, page 48.

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[64]

Pseudotsuga taxifolia Britt., Douglas Fir

Bella Coola: Gum boiled and taken internally, while warm, as a diuretic for gonorrhoea.

Gum, spread on red cedar bark, applied to cuts. (One informant said that although gum of scrub pine (*see* page 49), hemlock (*see* page 51), and tideland spruce (*see* page 51) were good, Douglas fir gum made cuts worse.)

Gum mixed with dogfish (shark) oil or, if that were not available, eulachon oil, taken, two spoonfuls at a time, with warm water, as an emetic and purgative for colds, rheumatism, gonorrhoea, constipation, intestinal pains, and diarrhoea.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

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[237]

Tsuga heterophylla (Raf.) Sarg., Western Hemlock, and **Tsuga Mertensiana** Carr, Mountain Hemlock

Bella Coola: Leaves chewed and applied to burns.
See also scrub pine (page 49).

Gum warmed and applied to cuts. Not boiled for a diuretic for gonorrhoea.

Burning twigs applied to the skin for various internal ailments.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

B
[752]

Picea sitchensis Carr., Tideland Spruce

Bella Coola: Tips of small, but not of large, spruces mixed with blue currant (*Ribes bracteosum* Dougl.), young juneberry (*Amelanchier florida* Lindl.), and crushed branches (leaves and stems) of garden snowberry (*Symphoricarpus racemosa* Michx.), boiled and taken internally for gonorrhoea.

Sap from the peeled trunk taken in doses of from half a cup to a cupful as a laxative from May to August.

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5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

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Ripe cones boiled, and the decoction taken internally for a pain. Neither an emetic nor a laxative. A bed consisting of a sack of ripe cones, placed on top of hot stones, used by rheumatics. Cones also burned to fumigate rheumatics.

A piece of the bark 5 feet long by 2 feet wide used as a mat in a hot bath for rheumatism. Many stones were heated, a little sand strewn over them, the bark spread above with the inside uppermost, and the patient, naked, lay on the bark, covering himself with one or more blankets. A similar bed, but with the bark covered with a few leaves of devil's club (*Fatsia horrida* Sm. B. and H.), used for chronic backache.

B
[752]

Gum applied to small cuts, broken skin, and suppurating sores.

Branches used to whip a burned arm or leg until the blood came.

Gum boiled and taken internally while hot as a diuretic for gonorrhoea.

See also scrub pine (page 49).

For use with fern. *See* page 48.

C
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The buds or new shoots, with the gum sometimes found around the outside when they are about half an inch long, boiled in water, and the decoction taken internally for tuberculosis.

Southern Carrier: New shoots and bark of small branches boiled for about two hours, and the decoction taken internally, one or two cupfuls at a time, for pain in the stomach, but not for vomiting, diarrhoea, or constipation. Said to effect a cure in one day, and preferred to the decoction made of scrub pine (page 49) or aspen (page 54).

Gum from new shoots and small branches, scraped out with a little stick, placed in the eyes for snow-blindness.

S
[757]

Sikani: Inside bark scraped and chewed for a cough.

Needles chewed, and the saliva applied to external sores.

Gum, obtained by splitting the tops, applied with a stick to white spots on the eye.

The "flower" boiled and the decoction taken internally for pain in the chest.

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[237]
[164]

Gitksan: Gum extracted from the wood by boiling in water, added to eulachon oil, salmon oil, bear grease, ground-hog fat, lard, etc., and taken internally before meals for consumption.

Twigs bearing both leaves and bark boiled with entire roots of scapolallie (*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.); one cupful of the strong decoction taken internally three times a day for rheumatism.

B
T

ARACEAE, ARUM FAMILY

Lysichiton kamtschatcense Schott., Skunk Cabbage, Yellow Arum

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Bella Coola: Roots used with oil as a hair tonic.

Roots boiled, and the sweet decoction taken internally for stomach trouble.

See also white fir (page 50).

Gitksan: Root well mashed with water and applied externally for blood poison and boils. Said to bring boils to a head. For use with a fern (see page 48).

S: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE5

Smoke from the burning roots inhaled for bad dreams, influenza, and rheumatism (a remedy avoided by medicine men, lest it destroy their magical power). Roots themselves considered poisonous.

Leaves used to sit or lie on when taking a sweat bath for rheumatism; also spread over the afflicted parts.

Calla palustris L., WATER ARUM

Gitksan: Roots well boiled and the decoction taken internally for cleaning the eyes of the blind, for hemorrhage, for short breath, and influenza.

LILIACEAE, LILY FAMILY

Clintonia uniflora Kunth., QUEENS CUP

Bella Coola: Boiled and used to wash the body. One leaf toasted and applied as a poultice to eyes or wounds.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Smilacina racemosa L., FALSE SOLOMON'S SEAL

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Roots boiled and decoction taken internally as a very strong medicine for rheumatism, sore back, and kidney trouble. A purgative. Bark and leaves useless. Roots mashed and bound on cuts.

Veratrum viride Ait., FALSE HELLEBORE

Bella Coola: Small bulbs or scrapings of large bulbs, boiled, and one cupful or less of the decoction, according to the strength of the patient, taken internally for chronic cough, gonorrhoea, constipation, pain in the stomach, and many illnesses. Two or three cupfuls acted as an emetic. Said to be poisonous if eaten raw.

Small pieces of the raw root swallowed with a little cold water as an emetic for pains in the stomach. More water taken if all the pieces not vomited. Overdose considered fatal.

See also scrub pine (page 48).

Southern Carrier: Entire roots dried in the sun, and powdered by rubbing on a stone. About a dessertspoonful of the powder taken in hot water as an emetic for sickness. Too strong a decoction considered fatal.[1]

SALICACEAE, WILLOW FAMILY

Salix lasiandra Benth., WILLOW

Bella Coola: Six sticks about a foot long charred, and pulverized on a stone. A teaspoonful of the powder taken in a cupful of cold water for diarrhoea. Said to effect a cure in two or three hours.

A piece of the inner bark folded once and the folded edge inserted into a knife cut; other edges then separated and flattened down, and the wound covered with eagle down. Thought to make the pus come out. Same process used to heal incisions in the abdomen made by those who tried to cure pain in the stomach.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

[1] The late Dr. C. F. Newcombe informed the writer that this plant seems to be used by every tribe in whose territory it grows.

S: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE5 Bellacoola NE5
Cayiee NE7
Tsimshian NE5
Sekani NE14

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Salix Scouleriana Hook., WILLOW

Bella Coola: Folded inner bark used like that of *Salix lasiandra* Benth. for cuts; but charcoal from the stick not used for diarrhoea.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Salix sp., WILLOW

Sikani: Young willow chewed and the saliva applied to external sores.

White powdery tops chewed for a cough.

Populus tremuloides Michx., ASPEN, TREMBLING POPLAR

Bella Coola: A quantity of bark from the roots boiled, and the decoction taken internally from seven to ten times a day for gonorrhoea with hemorrhage from the urethra. A very bitter decoction, said to be a good remedy that stopped the hemorrhage.

Southern Carrier: Bark used instead of tideland spruce bark (page 37) to make a decoction for pain in the stomach. Considered inferior to the spruce bark.

Sikani: Bark pulverized by pounding, moistened with water, and applied as a paste to wounds.

Bark scraped, scrapings steeped in hot water, and the decoction taken internally for worms. Caused a stool immediately.

Gitksan: Bark of roots chewed or mashed and put on cuts.

Bark alone boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative. Not an emetic.

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957
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[302]

Populus trichocarpa T. and G., BLACK COTTONWOOD

Bella Coola: Leaves, ten to fifteen years old, from the lower layers lying rotting on the ground, boiled, and the decoction used as a bath, the patient sitting in it up to his neck for about two hours to cure pain in the body, not rheumatism. A hot stone added from time to time, and the bath repeated the next day.

The buds with their resin boiled and the decoction used as a hair wash. *See also* white fir (page 50).

Half a cupful of buds, picked some time between December and March, mixed with two roots of cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.), a half cupful of buds of mountain alder (*Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt.), and a little water, mashed, and applied warm, but uncooked, as a poultice for pains in the lungs or hips like rheumatism. Said to effect a cure in two days, but harmful if left on longer.

See also western dock (page 56).

Southern Carrier: Buds with their resin boiled for one or two hours, and the decoction taken internally for coughs and lung affections.

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[302]
[826]

Resin from the buds applied to the face as a cosmetic, or, with the addition of oil, to repel mosquitoes, black flies, and gadflies.

Roots and bark not used; buds not boiled to make a hair wash.

C
[152]

Northern Carrier: Green roots chewed to a pulp and applied to wounds to stop bleeding.

Inside bark boiled and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

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[957]

Gitksan: Gummy buds boiled and the resin mixed with bear grease for a hair perfume.

Roots, leaves, and seeds not used.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6 ●
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

MYRICACAE

Myrica Gale L., Sweet Gale

Bella Coola: Branches, secured at any time of the year, pounded with their bark, boiled, and the decoction taken internally for gonorrhoea. A diuretic. The decoction, which was kept in a box made of red cedar wood with a little cover to keep out the dust, soured in two or three days and became useless.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

BETULACEAE, BIRCH FAMILY

Alnus sitchensis (Reg.) Sarg., Green Alder

Bella Coola: Cones used as a remedy for some unspecified complaint.

Alnus tenuifolia Nutt., Mountain Alder

Bella Coola: Cones used as a remedy for some unspecified complaint.

See also black cottonwood (page 54).

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Pistillate catkins crushed, and the mass eaten raw as a laxative.

Pistillate catkins and shavings eaten raw, or else boiled in water and the decoction taken internally three times a day, as a diuretic for gonorrhoea. Said to effect a cure in one week.[1]

Alnus rubra Bong., Red Alder

Bella Coola: Bark boiled, and a cupful of the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

Southern Carrier: Sap applied to cuts. Not used for a medicinal decoction.

Northern Carrier: Inside bark ground, steeped in water, and injected with a syringe made from the crop of a bird, for biliousness.

Gitksan: Bark and roots boiled for about six hours and the decoction drunk in the morning for a cough.

Bark from the stem, but not from the roots, scraped, mixed with water, and the infusion taken internally, as an emetic and purgative, for headache and many other maladies.

URTICACEAE, NETTLE FAMILY

Urtica Lyallii Wats., Western Nettle

Bella Coola: Used for a form of paralysis where the patient had been unable to walk for a long time. Limbs stung daily, causing sores and gradual revival of sensation. In one case said to have effected a cure in ten days.

See also western dock (page 56).

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Entire plant boiled, and the decoction taken internally for many illnesses, including hemorrhage and bladder troubles.

Stinging not used.

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[1] Gitksan informant stated that the Tsimshian of the coast made a decoction of this tree which served as an emetic, purgative, and diuretic, and was used for poisoning yourself by eating too much.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Cartier NE7
Tsimshian NE16

ARISTOLOCIHACEAE, BIRTHWORT FAMILY

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Asarum caudatum Lindl., WILD GINGER

Bella Coola: Boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting.

Boiled, and applied externally for headache, intestinal pains, and pain in the knees.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

POLYGONACEAE, BUCKWHEAT FAMILY

Rumex occidentalis Wats., WESTERN DOCK

Bella Coola: Roots roasted for a short time in a hole in the earth among the ashes of a fire, covered with earth, mashed, and applied in quantity as a poultice for boils. Both leaves and roots used, according to another informant, and the poultice applied to wounds as well as boils.

Leaves used for a sweat bath for pains similar to rheumatism all over the body. Stones were heated, a little cold sand spread over them, and leaves spread on the sand; or else the leaves were spread on hot ashes. The patient sat or lay naked directly on the leaves, and was covered with blankets. Western Nettles (*Urtica Lyallii* Wats.), small branches of black cottonwood (*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.) with the leaves on them, or the small kelp found on rocks were sometimes used when leaves of the western dock could not be obtained.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

LORANTHACEAE, MISTLETOE FAMILY

Arceuthobium americanum Nutt., SMALL MISTLETOE

Bella Coola: Boiled, and decoction taken as a potent medicine for hemorrhage of the lungs.

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[164]

Southern Carrier: Boiled, and decoction taken freely for hemorrhage from the mouth, tuberculosis of the lungs, and emaciation.

NYMPHACEAE, WATER-LILY FAMILY

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Nymphaea polysepala (Engelm.) Greene, YELLOW POND-LILY

Bella Coola, old custom: Used in a magical way for pain in all parts of the body. A root in many cases as large as a man's leg was cut free from the bed of a pool with a hemlock pole sharpened like a shovel. A hollow was made in it, water placed in the receptacle, and hot stones added. The stones were changed four times, after which the patient drank one or two cupfuls of the water. He repeated the dose each day for four days. To be effective the root had to be thrown back into the water, not on the ground.

B
[164]

Present custom: Root boiled twelve hours, and decoction taken internally for pain in any part of the body, such as "consumption", rheumatism, heart disease, and gonorrhoea. Considered good for the blood. Not used as a diuretic, or for diarrhoea, constipation, or vomiting.

T
757
[842]

Gitksan: Infusion of scrapings of toasted root (or according to another informant, heart of root, boiled) taken internally for hemorrhage of the lungs and as a contraceptive.

9: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE4 Bellacoola NE5
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

RANUNCULACEAE, BUTTERCUP FAMILY

Anemone globosa Nutt. (*A. multifida* Poir.), Wind-Flower

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Plant, except roots, boiled and decoction taken internally for any sickness. Aroma of crushed leaves inhaled for cold in the head or lungs; for this purpose leaves sometimes placed in water and heated.

Gitksan: Handfuls eaten in sweat bath for rheumatism. A decoction of the plant sometimes used for the same purpose.

Trautvetteria grandis Nutt., False Buckeye

Bella Coola: Roots pounded in a little water, and the resulting mass, covered with a little soft bark of the red or yellow cedar, applied as a poultice to boils and left on for half a day or a day. Said to promote suppuration and opening of the boil, but to cause such intense burning that it could not be applied to children. Considered less strong than the tall buttercup (page 57), but, like it, preferred to the cow parsnip (page 61), which was used in the same way.

Thalictrum occidentale Gray, Meadow Rue

Gitksan: A small piece of the root chewed, and some of the juice swallowed, for headache, eye trouble, and sore legs. Lessened phlegm and possibly ameliorated the circulation of the blood.

Ranunculus acris L., Tall Buttercup

Bella Coola: Roots used as a poultice for boils in the same way as those of the false buckeye (page 87), but considered stronger and better.

CRUCIFERAE, MUSTARD FAMILY

Sisymbrium tenuiflorum Eng., A Hedge Mustard

Gitksan: Mashed and applied to bad cuts.

CRASSULACEAE, ORPINE FAMILY

Sedum spathulifolium Hook., Stonecrop

Bella Coola: Leaves of the plant before it blossomed eaten to start the flow of milk. Said to take effect in one day. Leaves warmed and applied externally for the same purpose.

SAXIFRAGACEAE, SAXIFRAGE FAMILY

Ribes bracteosum Dougl., Blue Currant

Bella Coola: See tideland spruce, page 81.

Ribes lacustrum Pursh. var., Currant

Bella Coola: Roots boiled in a very small box with hot stones and the weak decoction used each day for washing the eyes when filled with matter.

See also lady fern (page 48).

Southern Carrier: Not used.

St Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NEA Bellacoola NEA
CAYUCT NE 9
TLIMSHIAN NE 15

Ribes lacustre Pur., Swamp Gooseberry

Bella Coola: Roots boiled and the decoction taken internally many times a day to cure constipation.

Leaves shaved and rub tied on sores caused by the pricks of the plant; if leaves unobtainable the bark substituted after singing off the prickers.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Others: Bark boiled and used as a remedy for some unspecified malady.

Ribes divaricatum Dougl., Coastal Gooseberry

Bella Coola: Bark or roots, sometimes mixed with those of the wild crab apple (*Pyrus diversifolia* Doug.), boiled, and the decoction used as an eye-wash three times a day for soreness and approaching blindness.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Ribes sp., Gooseberry

Further Carrier: See notch pine, page 48.

Saxifraga Bongardii Fenz., Saxifrage

Bella Coola: Roots and leaves gathered in the autumn, placed in a very small box with a very little water, and boiled. Decoction taken cold, or preferably hot, in quantity to cure strangulation of the bladder. Said to effect a cure in one day.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

ROSACEAE, ROSE FAMILY

Prunus emarginata Dougl., Wild Cherry

Bella Coola: Roots and inside bark boiled with fresh water and the decoction taken in quantity daily for heart trouble.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Others: Not used.

Rubus spectabilis Pursh., Salmon Berry

Bella Coola: Bark of roots boiled and taken internally for certain stomach troubles, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Others: Not used.

Rubus sp., Raspberry

Further Carrier: See notch pine, page 48.

Fragaria bracteata Heller., Strawberry

Bella Coola: Not used, but said to be used by Haida of Queen Charlotte Islands to cure vomiting.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Others: Not used.

9: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

Rosa sp., Wild Rose

Bella Coola: Roots and branches boiled, and the decoction taken internally, even ten cupfuls a day if desired, as a purgative for pain in the stomach.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Northern Carrier: See marsh pine, page 63.

Sekani: Roots crushed, steeped in water, and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

Gitksan: Not used.

Physocarpus opulifolius (L.), Maxim., Nine-Bark

Bella Coola: Inner bark boiled for two hours, and two to four cupfuls of the decoction at blood heat taken internally as an emetic for persons dizzy with pain. Four or five cupfuls of lukewarm water then taken as a cleansing emetic and repeated about five times.

Inner bark boiled a long time (when it seemed to have emetic properties), one cupful of the hot decoction taken internally, and thereafter applied externally as a wash twice a day for gonorrhoea and scrofulous glands in the neck. Said to be a laxative that caused the glands to break, discharge fully, and heal. A cupful taken internally daily in advanced cases.

Southern Carrier: Bark (gathered near the west) boiled for two hours, and two cupfuls of the decoction taken as an emetic, or one cupful as a purgative. Said to act in half an hour, and to be an excellent remedy, but fatal in too large a dose.

Arnica sylvestris Kuntz., Goat's Beard

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and one or two cupfuls of the decoction (or as much as desired) taken internally for pain in the stomach and gonorrhoea. A diuretic, but neither a laxative nor an emetic.

Roots boiled in grease of mountain goat. (*Oreamnos montanus* Ord.) for a day and the decoction taken internally for smallpox.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Geum macrophyllum Willd., Large-Leaved Yellow Avens

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea, or vomiting. Leaves, usually chewed but sometimes brained, applied to boils.

Southern Carrier: Leaves boiled and the decoction taken internally for any sickness.

Leaves boiled and applied to bruises.

Pyrus sitchensis (Roem.) Piper., Mountain Ash

Bella Coola: Bark of the roots, and sometimes the inner bark of the stem, collected at any time of the year, boiled for an hour, and the hot decoction, weak or strong, particularly the latter, taken internally for the stomach or rheumatism. Said to effect a cure in from one to seven days. Not taken for diarrhoea, or vomiting; and for rheumatism sometimes poured into a large box and used as a bath. Used also as an eye-wash.

Southern Carrier: Bark chewed for colds.

Gitksan: Fresh fruit crushed and eaten raw as a strong purgative.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

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Pyrus diversifolia Bong., CRAB APPLE

Bella Coola: See common gooseberry (page 58).
Gitksan: Juice, scraped from peeled trunk, used as an eye medicine.

Trunk and branches, or scrapings from inside of bark, boiled until thick, and the decoction taken internally over a period of from four to six months for "consumption" and rheumatism. Said to be a fattening medicine, both laxative and diuretic.

Amelanchier florida Lindl., JUNEBERRY, SASKATOON

Bella Coola: See tideland spruce (page 51).

EMPETRACEAE, CROWBERRY FAMILY

Empetrum nigrum L., CROWBERRY

Bella Coola: Green leaves, with or without berries, boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

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VIOLACEAE, VIOLET FAMILY

Viola adunca Sm. var. **glabra** Brain., VIOLET

Bella Coola: Not used.
Southern Carrier: Entire plant boiled and one or many cupfuls of the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting.
Gitksan: Not used.

ELAEAGNACEAE, OLEASTER FAMILY

Shepherdia canadensis Nutt., SOAPBERRIES

Bella Coola: Not used.
Southern Carrier: Not used.
Northern Carrier: Root boiled in water and the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

[1]4

Gitksan: Roots, stem, and branches boiled, and the decoction used as a wash for gonorrhoea.

Bark, branches, and leaves without roots boiled, and the decoction taken internally for chronic cough.

See also tideland spruce (page 51).

ONAGRACEAE, EVENING PRIMROSE FAMILY

Epilobium angustifolium L., FIRE WEED

Bella Coola: Root roasted in ashes, mashed between hands or stones, and applied to boils.
Southern Carrier: Not used.
Gitksan: Not used.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
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UMBELLIFERAE, PARSLEY FAMILY

Osmorrhiza sp., Sweet Cicely

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Bella Coola: Ten to fifteen little pieces of root, as large as the end joint of the thumb, ground by rubbing on a stone; two cupfuls placed in water warmed to blood heat, and two cupfuls of the decoction (according to the strength of the patient) taken internally as an emetic. Decoction acted (sometimes as a purgative instead of an emetic) within five or ten minutes, but lost its power if heated too much. Warm water taken afterwards until the patient vomited four or five times and the stomach was entirely cleaned. Used also for pneumonia.

C [757]

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Heracleum lanatum Michx., Cow Parsnip

B C T S 137 757

Bella Coola: Roots crushed, baked (or boiled in a box with hot stones), and applied as a poultice for boils. If too hot a poultice injured the skin.

Raw, uncrushed root inserted in an opened boil and left from half a day to a day. Pus said to come away with the boil.

See also white fir (page 50), balsam fir (page 50), black cottonwood (page 94), and false bugbane (page 57).

C [751] B 75

Southern Carrier: Blossoms steeped in eulachon or other oil and the mixture rubbed on the body to keep off flies and mosquitoes.

Northern Carrier: Roots applied to swellings and bruises.

Sikani: Roots mashed and applied to swellings of neuralgia or rheumatism.

Gitksan: Roots mashed and applied to boils, rheumatic and other swellings.

Angelica genuflexa Nutt.

B T 137 757

Bella Coola: Roots boiled and decoction taken internally as a purgative. Not an emetic. Sometimes used raw, but never roasted.

Gitksan: Roots well boiled with twigs of squashberry (*Viburnum pauciflorum* Raf.) from which the bark had not been removed, and decoction taken internally for headache and weak eyes.

Ligusticum scothicum L., Lovage

B C 137 757

Bella Coola: Leaves spread over a hot stone or stones and used as a medicinal bed for the sick.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Cicuta Douglasii (DC.) C. and R., Water Hemlock, Poison Parsnip

Bella Coola: Roots used as a purgative.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

ARALIACEAE, GINSENG FAMILY

Aralia nudicaulis L., Sarsaparilla

B [272]

Bella Coola: Roots boiled in a box with hot stone, and decoction taken internally as often as desired for pain in the stomach, or merely as a beverage. Nowadays sweetened with a little sugar. Stem, or the bark, not used.

T [757]

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

BCT 137 757 **Fatsia horrida** Sm. (B. and H.), DEVIL'S CLUB

Bella Coola: Bark of roots chewed, and juice swallowed with a little water as a powerful purgative.

Bark of roots and stems boiled, and three or four cupfuls of the decoction taken internally as a purgative; or one cupful, three times a day for a week or two, to cure rheumatism.

C [844] *Southern Carrier:* Bark boiled, and one or two cupfuls of the decoction taken internally before and after childbirth as a purgative.

Northern Carrier: Inside layer of the inner bark rolled into pills and swallowed for cramps in the stomach and bowels, especially after a purgative. Acted also as a purgative, especially if much hot water taken with it.

T [752] *Gitksan:* A decoction used as a purgative in the treatment of gonorrhoea. Believed to assist the knitting of broken bones if taken continually.

Boiled, together with entire plant of squashberry (*Viburnum pauciflorum* Raf.), and the decoction taken internally as a diuretic and purgative, for strangury or any sickness. Used continuously for rupture.

For use with a form (*See* page 48).

CORNACEAE, DOGWOOD FAMILY

Cornus canadensis L., BUNCHBERRY, DOGWOOD, DWARF CORNEL, PIGEONBERRY

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Whole plant, without berries, boiled, and the strong decoction used as an eye-wash.

Northern Carrier: Used as a medicine for some unspecified malady.

Gitksan: Not used.

Cornus stolonifera Michx., RED-OSIER DOGWOOD, RED WILLOW

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Northern Carrier: *See* scrub pine, page 49.

Gitksan: Not used.

BC

ERICACEAE, HEATH FAMILY

137 757 **Pyrola secunda** L., WINTERGREEN

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Roots, gathered at any time of the year, boiled, and the strong decoction used as an eye-wash.

Pyrola bracteata Hook., WINTERGREEN

Bella Coola: Not used.

BCT *Southern Carrier:* Leaves boiled, and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

137 757 **Pyrola asarifolia** Michx., WINTERGREEN

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Leaves and roots, gathered at any time of the year, boiled for about two hours, and the warm decoction used as an eye-wash.

Gitksan: Not used.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

Ledum groenlandicum Oeder, LABRADOR TEA
Bella Coola: Leaves boiled, and the decoction used as a simple beverage, or for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting. Neither an emetic nor a purgative.
Southern Carrier: Not used formerly, now as a beverage only.
Gitksan: Leaves boiled, and the decoction used as a diuretic, or merely as a beverage.

Gaultheria shallon Pursh, SALAL
Bella Coola: Leaves toasted, pulverised by rubbing, and applied to cuts.
Southern Carrier: Not used.

LABIATAE, MINT FAMILY

Prunella vulgaris L., HEAL-ALL
Bella Coola: Roots, leaves, and blossoms washed, boiled, and a cupful of the weak decoction taken internally for the heart. Not used for diarrhoea or vomiting.
Southern Carrier: Not used.
Gitksan: Not used.

Mentha canadensis L., MINT
Bella Coola: Entire plant boiled, and the decoction taken internally, as often as desired, for pain in the stomach. Not used for vomiting, constipation, or diarrhoea.
Southern Carrier: Entire plant boiled, and a cupful of the decoction taken internally for the stomach, colds, lung affections, and various ailments.
Gitksan: Not used.

SCROPHULARIACEAE, FIGWORT FAMILY

Castilleja miniata Dougl., PAINT-BRUSH
Bella Coola: Not used.
Southern Carrier: Not used.
Gitksan: Entire plant boiled, and the decoction taken internally for bleeding, stiff lungs, sore eyes, and lame back, possibly caused by kidney trouble. A purgative and diuretic.
Seeds boiled and the decoction taken internally for coughs.

CAPRIFOLIACEAE, HONEYSUCKLE FAMILY

Lonicera involucrata Banks., BLACK TWIN-BERRY
Bella Coola: Leaves chewed and cud applied for itch.
Leaves chewed and applied to boils, after they were cut open, to draw out the poison.
Leaves crushed and applied to burns and sores of gonorrhoea.
Bark toasted, pulverized, and applied to sores of gonorrhoea.
Bark boiled and decoction taken internally for cough.
Southern Carrier: Bark boiled for five hours, and the decoction used daily as an eye-wash. Roots, leaves, and berries not used.
Northern Carrier: *See* scrub pine (page 49).
Gitksan: Fresh juice of berries used in sore eyes. Inner bark (when berries not available) soaked in water, and the milky solution used in the eyes.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

B C T 137 757 B [164]

Symphoricarpus racemosa Michx., GARDEN SNOWBERRY

Bella Coola: Branches, large and small, with the bark left on, boiled, and the decoction taken internally daily as the best cure for gonorrhoea. A diuretic. Roots, blossoms, and berries not used for medicine, unless, as one informant stated, the berries were used with the branches.

See also tideland spruce (page 51).

Southern Carrier: Juice of ripe berries used in sore eyes.

Gitksan: Not used.

B C T 137 757

Sambucus racemosa L., RED-FRUITED ELDER

Bella Coola: Bark of the roots placed in water, a few hot stones added until water reached blood heat, and decoction used as a powerful emetic and purgative for pain in the stomach.

Bark of the roots peeled with the teeth, chewed, preferably with a little cool water, and juice swallowed as an emetic and purgative. Said to act within half an hour.

Southern Carrier: Roots boiled, and two cupfuls of the warm decoction taken internally twice a day as a purgative.

Northern Carrier: Roots brewed, the first water discarded and the second taken internally as a purgative.

Sikani: Bark boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

Gitksan: Bark of roots scraped off, water added to the bark, and the infusion taken internally as an emetic and purgative.

B C T 137 757

Viburnum pauciflorum Raf., SQUASHBERRY

Bella Coola: Bark chewed, and the juice swallowed for whooping cough and cold on the lungs.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Northern Carrier: Inside bark crushed, steeped in cold water until the water turned green, and one cupful of the infusion taken internally as a purgative and for dysentery.

Gitksan: Bark and twigs boiled, and one cupful of the decoction taken internally in the morning for coughs and "consumption". Said to be always taken in conjunction with devil's club (page 62). *See also Angelica genuflexa* Nutt., page 61.

VALERIANACEAE, VALERIAN FAMILY

B T 137 278 T C [302] [237]

Valeriana septentrionalis Rydb., VALERIAN

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Roots, mixed with grease, used for perfume.

Northern Carrier: Valerian? blossoms crushed, and the oil, often mixed with fat from a black bear hide, applied as a hair tonic. Believed to make the hair smooth and shiny, to help its growth, and to give it a fragrance.

Gitksan: Entire plant steeped in bear grease and the grease applied to hair and face as a perfume.

C [302]

Valeriana sitchensis Bong., VALERIAN

Southern Carrier: Leaves mixed with grease used as a perfume for the hair.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

COMPOSITAE, COMPOSITE FAMILY

Achillea Millefolium L., YARROW

Bella Coola: Leaves chewed and applied to burns.

Southern Carrier: Entire plant, except the roots, boiled, and the decoction taken internally at frequent intervals for colds.

Leaves chewed and applied to sprains and swellings.

Gitksan: The young plant, except the roots, gathered between June 1 and July 15, boiled, and the decoction gargled for sore throat. Roots, marked by the dead stalks, dug out at other seasons and used instead.

Artemisia discolor Dougl., SAGEBRUSH, GREEN WORMWOOD

Bella Coola: Used for medicine.

Southern Carrier: Chewed and applied to sprains and swellings.

Northern Carrier: Sageorush (sp. ?) steeped in water and the hot decoction taken internally for headache.

Antennaria Howellii Greene, EVERLASTING

Bella Coola: Leaves boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pains in the body, but not for pains in the limbs. Not used for colds.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Taraxacum officinale Weber., COMMON DANDELION introduced

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting. Remedy said to have been learned from white men.

Gitksan: Not used.

Lactuca spicata (Lam.) Hitchc., TALL LETTUCE

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and many cups of the decoction taken internally for heart trouble, hemorrhage, pains in the body (but not in the limbs), for vomiting, or for diarrhoea. Neither an emetic nor a purgative. Milky juice not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Prenanthes alata (Hook.) Gray, RATTLESNAKE ROOT

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, two or three cupfuls of the decoction taken internally daily for colds. For a baby only a small spoonful given three or four times a day.

Bella Coola: Chewed, and applied to burns or to any painful part of the body.

Boiled, and two or three cupfuls of the decoction taken internally daily.

Mnium affine Bland, MOSS

Southern Carrier: Entire plant, except the "roots", boiled, and two or three cupfuls of the decoction used to bathe a swollen face.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

B C 137 757 **Fomes Laricis** (Jacq.), more generally known as **Polyporus officinalis** Fries, A SHELF FUNGUS

Bella Coola: This (?) fungus ground, steeped in water, and the decoction taken internally for gonorrhoea.

Southern Carrier: If found on the Douglas fir tree, dried, powdered, a handful steeped in boiling water and the hot decoction taken internally as an emetic and purgative. Said to act within an hour. Not used if found on any other tree.

B C [171] (According to Dr. John Dearness, this is a medical polypore, perhaps the only fungus used by pharmacists. Park, Davis, and Company make a fluid extract and a triturate which is prescribed for the relief of night sweats in tuberculosis. The fungus is a cathartic in large doses. Its medicinal virtues have long been known in the old world.)

B 137 757 **Bovista pila** B. and C., PUFF BALL

Bella Coola: Spores dusted on wounds, sores of gonorrhoea, and suppurating sores other than boils.

LICHEN

Bella Coola: A certain long, white lichen, if found on the red alder tree, warmed, and applied to a broken boil or suppurating sore.

Sticta sp., LICHEN

Bella Coola: Entire plant, if from red-osier dogwood (*Cornus stolonifera* Michx.) or crab apple (*Pyrus diversifolia* Bong.), but not from willow (*Salix* sp.), boiled, and five cupfuls of the hot decoction taken internally daily for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea, constipation, or vomiting. Neither a purgative nor an astringent.

C [757] Entire plant boiled and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

Entire plant pulverized and applied to skin.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

KELP

B 757 *Bella Coola:* A small kelp found on the rocks sometimes used for a sweat bath. *See* western dock, page 56.

WOOD SAP

Bella Coola: The sap that oozes from any kind of wood when burning considered a good remedy for sores.

MOUNTAIN GOAT

B 136 757 **Oreamnos Montanus**, Ord., MOUNTAIN GOAT

Bella Coola: Mountain goat fat boiled with droppings of goose that had fed on roots, and the mixture given to babies once or twice a day for colds.

Goat meat with droppings of the bushy-tailed woodrat, commonly called packrat (*Neotoma cinerea*), taken internally with water as a remedy for nursing babies when they had colds.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE 15

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SKUNK

Spilogale, Spotted Skunk, or **Mephitis,** Striped Skunk

Bella Coola: Oil not used as a remedy.

Southern Carrier: Oil warmed, and a cupful taken as a purgative for worms.

HARE

Lepus americanus columbiensis Rhoads, The British Columbia Varying Hare

Northern Carrier: Hare opened, ruminating stomach containing something like the white of an egg removed, and the liquid applied to a foot blistered by frost-bite. Considered a sure cure.

C
[D52]

RED SQUIRREL

Sciurus hudsonicus Erxleben

Bella Coola: Opened along the under side and applied as a remedy to badly broken chancres in the groin.

B
137
757

GIANT SLUG

Bella Coola: Slug made to crawl into a baby's mouth to cure loss of skin on the inside of its mouth.

Slug opened, and bound tightly over large cut.

B
[D52]

SEA CUCUMBER

Bella Coola: Decoction of the water in which the sea cucumber was boiled, taken internally as a specific against heartburn. Not a purgative.

SPITTLE INSECT

Cercopidae, Spittle Insect, Frog Hopper

Bella Coola: "Fly spit," *i.e.*, the material surrounding a nymph of a spittle insect, applied to sores.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

B
C
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757

WOODWORMS

Gitksan: Pulverized and applied to cuts.

T
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[D52]

COPPER

Bella Coola: Fine particles scraped from clean copper (but not from a weathered green surface) placed in sore eyes.

Gitksan: Copper ground, poured into a vessel of cold water, first water poured off, and second water taken internally as a harmless contraceptive.

B
T
757

T
[842]

CHARCOAL

Northern Carrier: Charcoal daubed under the eyes to prevent snow-blindness.

C
751

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 2

115
142
291
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Joshua Moody

[p 26 (B)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 3

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142
302
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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Captain Schooner

[y 26 (c)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 4

115
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Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Jim Pollard

[726 (D)]

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 11

142
231
291
516
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Photograph by the author

A Bella Coola couple with their dogs; the one on the left is a chief.

[p 186 (c)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 3

575*
796*
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342
292
791

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Sôi producing a crystal from his stomach

[p. 84 (c)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575*
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142●
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292
787

PLATE 5

Photograph by M. J. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Camified with incubus in form of a bear

[p. 84 (E)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 10

575
746
532
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Photograph by the author

Dancer carrying the fungus

[p. 164 (D)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 13

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291
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Photograph by the author

Mrs. Joshua Mandy (left) and Mrs. Willie Mack, two Bella Coola women

[p 516 (A)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 14

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Mrs. Jim Pollard, a Kitsaquit woman

[p 516 (B)]

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

PLATE 11

142
291
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Mrs. Jim Pollard, profile

[p 516(3)]

162
391
392
392

PLATE 16

Photograph by the author

Brother Schumacher, a Bella Coola man, and his children

[p 516 (7)]

PLATE 17

142
E91
302
W3

Photograph by A. J. Hanna, National Museum of Canada

Lame Charlie, a Bella Coola man

[p 516 (E)]

PLATE 10

142
201
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Photograph by R. J. Cantin, Forestry Branch, of Canada

Eugenia Wynne, an aged Bella Coola man

[p 516 (F)]

2:McDowell E-5 (1923-1924) 1948
NEL Bilacoola NE6

PLATE IX

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291
302

[illegible]

Gladys Wary, a Kitsegukla woman

[p 516 (G)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 30

1420
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Photograph by the author

Alec Davis, a full-blooded
Bella Coola

[p 516 (H)]

CHAPTER VI

THE MAN HIMSELF

Physique — Character

Physique

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142 145 Judged by white standards the Bella Coola are far from prepossessing in appearance. Even the children are plain and stolid, with little if any of the grace and appeal of childhood.

[1] Cf. Boas, p. 10.

As they grow older the plainness of feature is more pronounced, accompanied by increasing heaviness of body (see Plate 16). Many of the adults are corpulent and move with slow, awkward gait. As a rule the men have great strength and are capable of prolonged and arduous exertion, particularly in paddling; in fact, constant use of canoes may have developed this powerful, ungainly build. Few are good walkers or packers; such, if they are found, usually belong to the lighter interior type. Among the grown people the face, though unbeautiful, often has a kindly expression, even becoming attractive in laughter or when a friendly grin spreads from ear to ear. With advancing age the prominent nose seems to grow larger, frequently becoming almost aquiline (see Plate 17). Many of the older people assert that this was even more common in former times. In time the face becomes lined with wrinkles and the body appears to shrink (see Plate 18). The teeth are in many cases worn down to the gums; this seems to cause no discomfort, though an old person cannot utter the glottal stops and velar sounds with which the language abounds without emitting a fine spray of saliva. They are absolutely unable to pronounce several of the Bella Coola words, while the constant spitting is a disagreeable feature of their conversation, particularly to an investigator striving, often vainly, to record sounds accurately. The deep wrinkles of old women give them a benign "grandmotherly" expression, which makes them more attractive in extreme age than in youth (see Plate 19). Senile decay is so frequent that the return to infancy in mind as well as in physical powers is regarded as normal.

Among the coastal tribes hair on the face is not uncommon, but in this characteristic the Bella Coola are pre-eminent. Nearly all the men have sparse moustaches, at least; many have a heavy growth, and several are full-bearded. That this was due to white mixture was assumed at first, but no evidence could be found to support this view. There are a number of half-bloods in the community but they are no more hirsute than the full-blooded Indians. Razors are now almost univer-

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

142 144 [302] sally used but the older people state that beards were by no means rare in former times. Careful inquiries were made concerning the ancestry of a man, about seventy years of age in 1922, whose curly beard suggests that he must be a half-breed, as indeed he is assumed to be by the white settlers of the valley. His father was *Potlas*, the most influential chief of recent years, his mother was herself the daughter of an important chief. None of the older men had ever heard the slightest rumour of faithlessness on her part. There were white [648] traders on the coast at the time of his birth, and intercourse with [567] slave women and others of low family was not uncommon, but [622] it would have been difficult for a chief's wife to misconduct herself, and still more difficult for her to conceal all knowledge of it in view of the open life which prevailed at that period. Moreover, it is said that *Potlas* himself had a similar beard, as did also the parents of several men who in 1922 were fifty or sixty years of age.

142 144 Although the possibility of white mixture cannot be overlooked in the case of this one individual, one must not disregard the opinion of the people themselves on hairiness in general. They are proud of it and regard beards and moustaches as marks of virility given to them by *Alqaxniw*; baldness and lack of facial hair are considered a sign of weakness. They aver that their fathers and grandfathers were even more hairy than they. Furthermore, they point out with pride [186] that this is a difference between themselves and the tribes of the interior, who are, as they say in scorn, "hairless like Chinaman." Finally, it is noteworthy that the hair on the head of many Bella Coola is wavy, or even curly (see Plate 20), instead of straight as among the majority of Indian tribes.[1]

Character

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2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

not likely to occur at the present time; in fact, they belong to the golden age of the distant past. In addition, a few tales are popularly told, not for their wealth of interesting detail, but as historical incidents. Some of these contain exaggerations that verge on mythology, whereas others, especially those dealing with certain individuals not long deceased, have clearly a foundation of truth. The themes include tales of travel, hunting exploits, the experiences of criminals, and varied subjects. 538 173

THE WIFE WHO WAS SOLD AS A SLAVE 539*

This story describes the adventures of a Bella Coola woman, daughter of a chief named *Tsakwum*, who was married to a Bella Bella chief. The latter's father sold her as a slave to *Trahse*, a Kitkatla chief and ancestor of the chief with the same name who was so feared by the Bella Coola. This was, of course, contrary to all established custom. *Trahse* carried the woman away to Kitkatla, whence there seemed little hope for her return.

Trahse owned a number of crabapple trees at Kitlobe which he visited every autumn to collect and preserve the fruit. The woman had been with him for some time when he went as usual for the ripe apples. Members of different tribes can be distinguished by their different physique and a Kitlobe, recognizing that the woman was a Bella Coola, asked her how she came to be with *Trahse*. She told him how she had been sold, disgracefully, and he promised to help her return home. Telling her to conceal her plans, he bade her to be ready to flee early the following morning. At the appointed time he appeared, bringing dried eulachon, grease, moccasins, and other equipment, wrapped in a seal's stomach. He sketched on the ground the overland route to Kimsquit, telling her how many affluents of the Kitlobe River she must pass before fol- [144] lowing one to the south, thence across the divide, and down the Kimsquit River.

The woman started out, but after several days of travel realized that she had passed the place where she should turn south, and was lost. In point of fact, she was at this time near Ootsa Lake. She headed back in the hope of recovering her trail, but snow fell and she could go no farther; to make matters worse she had consumed all her eulachon, and most of the grease. The unfortunate woman sought shelter under a big tree, where in time she was completely covered with snow. Every day she ate a small

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CHAPTER VI

THE MAN HIMSELF

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

As they grow older the plainness of feature is more pronounced, accompanied by increasing heaviness of body (see Plate 16). Many of the adults are corpulent and move with slow, awkward gait. As a rule the men have great strength and are capable of prolonged and arduous exertion, particularly in paddling; in fact, constant use of canoes may have developed this powerful, ungainly build. Few are good walkers or packers; such, if they are found, usually belong to the lighter interior type. Among the grown people the face, though unbeautiful, often has a kindly expression, even becoming attractive in laughter or when a friendly grin spreads from ear to ear. With advancing age the prominent nose seems to grow larger, frequently becoming almost aquiline (see Plate 17). Many of the older people assert that this was even more common in former times. In time the face becomes lined with wrinkles and the body appears to shrink (see Plate 18). The teeth are in many cases worn down to the gums; this seems to cause no discomfort, though an old person cannot utter the glottal stops and velar sounds with which the language abounds without emitting a fine spray of saliva. They are absolutely unable to pronounce several of the Bella Coola words, while the constant spitting is a disagreeable feature of their conversation, particularly to an investigator striving, often vainly, to record sounds accurately. The deep wrinkles of old women give them a benign "grandmotherly" expression, which makes them more attractive in extreme age than in youth (see Plate 19). Senile decay is so frequent that the return to infancy in mind as well as in physical powers is regarded as normal.

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Character

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I.

105 The Bella Coola are a small tribe inhabiting the coasts of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm, two long and narrow fords situated in about latitude 52° north, in British Columbia. Their habitat extends along Bella Coola River, which empties into North Bentinck Arm. The name "Bella Coola" is a corruption of the word "Bilhula," by which name the tribe is known to the Kwakiutl. There is no term in their own language embracing all the tribes speaking the Bella Coola language. It seems that at a former time the tribe was quite populous; but, owing to various epidemics and the introduction of other diseases, its numbers have dwindled down, so that at the present time it has been reduced to only a few hundred souls. The
105 language spoken by the tribe belongs to the Salishan family, more par-
(47) ticularly to the group of dialects spoken along the coast of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia. The great similarity between the Bella Coola and the other Coast-Salishan dialects leads me to assume that at one time the tribes speaking these dialects inhabited contiguous areas. At the present time the Bella Coola are separated from other tribes speaking Salishan languages by a considerable stretch of country, which is inhabited by tribes of Athapascan and Kwakiutl lineage. Vocabulary and grammar have been slightly modified, particularly by an extensive choice of words. The relation of their language to the other dialects of the Coast Salish is similar to that of the Tillamook, another language belonging to the Salishan family, which is spoken on the coast of Oregon, to so were separated from the rest of the Salishan territory by the tribes inhabited by the Chinook.

105 Physically the Bella Coola bear evidence of longcontinued contact with
(48) the northern Coast tribes, and also with the Athapascan tribes of the interior. Culturally, intermarriages have been quite frequent, so much so that their present physical appearance differs considerably from that of the southern Salishan tribes, of whom they form a branch. The same is true in regard to their customs and beliefs, which differ fundamentally from those of the southern Salishan tribes.

(51) In the present paper I shall describe the mythology of the Bella Coola, and discuss its development.

II.

114 The previous knowledge of the mythology of this tribe is based on studies made by Albert Jacobsen, Philip Jacobsen, Gladstone, and the writer. In 1895 I published a few brief notes on their traditions.[1] Gladstone pub-

115 [1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1895, p. 416.

Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)990 NEB Bellacoola NEA

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exhibited by Salish tribes refer to the early separation of the Bella Coola tribe from the related tribes of the Gulf of Georgia, and that in their traditions they have retained the memory of the emigration of part of the tribe from the southern territory. It seems also probable that the allusion to the origin of one family of the tribe on Skeena River refers to a mixture with the tribes inhabiting northern British Columbia.

171

The traditions of the tribes also describe the style of houses used by the 174
inhabitants of certain village communities; and it is interesting to note that 177
some of these houses correspond to the subterranean lodges that were in use 342
among the Chilcotin, while others correspond to those that were in use among the Carriers. It is said that the ancestor of the Nuxalk used the subterranean lodge which is called tsi'pa (see p. 83), while the ancestor of the Nuq'a'ni used the skin lodge which is called skoxs (see p. 94).

174

Since the Bella Coola retain the fundamental traits of the social organization of their congeners in the south, and since their traditions bear evidence of an emigration from that region, and since, furthermore, the linguistic evidence proves that the Bella Coola and the Coast Salish at one time inhabited contiguous areas on the coast, we are justified in assuming that the general culture of the Bella Coola at the time of their emigration must have resembled that of the Coast Salish. The question then arises, How did the peculiar endogamic system and the remarkable mythology of the Bella Coola originate from the much simpler forms that we find among the Coast Salish?

174

One of the most remarkable features in the inner life of the tribes of 177
the northern coast of British Columbia is the great importance of the clan 324
legend, which is considered one of the most valuable properties of each clan 614
or family. It is carefully guarded in the same way as material property, and
an attempt on the part of a person not a member of the clan to tell the
tradition as his own is considered one of the gravest offences against property
rights. The possession of a clan tradition is felt by the Indian to be one of
the most important prerogatives. When, therefore, the Bella Coola settled
on Bella Coola River, and were thrown into contact with the northern Coast
tribes, the lack of a well-developed clan tradition must have been felt as a
serious drawback. The physical appearance of the Bella Coola proves that [144]
at one time they must have intermarried to a great extent with the Bella
Bella. Through these marriages the peculiar customs of the Coast tribes
were first introduced among them. This is shown by the fact that a great
deal of the mythological names can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin,
of which stock the Bella Bella are a branch. Thus the name for their
[illegible] [illegible] Kwakiutl, word [illegible] [illegible] 174
[illegible] may be translated as "the wealthiest one." The great frequency of 176

CHAPTER VI

THE MAN HIMSELF

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NEA Bellacoola NEA

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there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by members of the *Secret* society that none would dare go there. If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formerly have been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-place of the *Sisnaq'a* chiefs is on a ledge of rock jutting out over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village. The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side, screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a cul-de-sac, so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can come. The ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of other villages lack such natural settings, though all are at the bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some of them are decorated with rude carvings, pecked into the stone. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago, by chiefs when they were composing songs; they pecked out the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure, perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with the rite, to recall the occasion. No carvings have been made within the life-time of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that they had further significance, now unknown.

When a chief wishes to summon his fellows for a meeting he visits each and notifies him by a simple pressure of the foot, in many cases unobserved even by those sitting near. The person so called slips away, unostentatiously, to the meeting-place.

The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows became an object of envy. Their mythology contains many examples of the murder of some powerful chief by rivals of his own village, and informants of today state that these records are true. One intelligent man asserted that his father had

beneath the surface, and throw it to a second time. Repeat this four times. If the wrapping has been carefully fastened, little water leaks in and the child suffers no discomfort. This causes him to grow up confident and brave with regard to canoeing and every kind of activity on the river. Like the last medicine, this is not proper for one who has held sexual intercourse. It cannot be applied to a girl since heavy sea unfavourable to women who must observe many taboos concerning them.

To Cause Modesty and Respect for One's Elders

When a boy is about six or eight years of age, his father leaves him lightly, four times, with a cane-end. This is done in the early morning, then he takes his son to work immediately. Four days later the beating and washing are repeated. From this time on, a person should whip his son four times every fourth morning until he is old enough to marry. The force of the chastisements increases as the lad grows older, so that when he is about fourteen years of age, he is beaten with the full force of his parent's arm. It is a point of honour for a lad to endure his whippings without whimpering; one who shows the pain he is suffering is laughed at by his fellows and not allowed to work with them. This medicine makes a child strong, manly, respectful to his elders, and, generally, the type of individual to whom supernatural beings are likely to show favour.

This practice has long been discontinued and it was impossible to learn whether or not it had ever been carried out with full vigour. Several of the older men stated that in their childhood they had been beaten periodically by their fathers, but none had had this last over a period of years. It was claimed that such had been the case in earlier times, but it seems almost certain that this type of chastisement could never have been carried out regularly. During the winter, for example, when social dances were taking place, the whole community used to sleep late and it is impossible that a father was every fourth

[illegible]

[illegible] 575°
196°

[illegible]

During the following day a hole is dug behind the fire of sufficient depth to conceal X, when standing in it, to high as the thighs. Towards dusk he takes up his position in the pit, his face is blindfolded and he wears the customary cotton-bark collar and a belt upon to hold the frame in place. Six assistants lay down on the floor immediately in front of him with his head in the hole beside X's feet so that the two men, instead of appearing as such, seem to be only one extend upon the ground. To right hole the Initiator take their places and the more influential members of the society pass forward to see that X and his assistants are properly disguised so that the fact that they are really two is not apparent. When all is in readiness, the Bella Coola proceed to for a bewitch to summon the waiting uninitiated, but in Kimsquit one of the mandala orders some of the younger men to extinguish the fire, before this is done, so that as the non-members come to the dance they have not be warned by finding the house in deep darkness. The bewitch guide them to their places in the front corners, where they sit in shuddering expectancy for about an hour. The silence is broken only by the occasional sound of a whistle and the bizarre bewitching of the gongs. Suddenly the hush is shattered by the voice of a dancer calling out four times as he at, the consecration song is pass.

To the spellbound uninitiated it seems as if the supernatural beings surrounding him had become too much for him, so that he cried out in the agony of his soul. Immediately the lamp have been placed in readiness and a fire is quickly kindled. The Cannibals growl savagely in their corners and the uninitiated shrieks. From this point forth the ritual in Bella Coola and Kimsquit is identical.

X circles the fire, screeches, four times and appears to sustained on the floor with outstretched legs though in reality he is standing in the hole. One of the dancer stands up and announces:

[The Dance of the Supernatural Charmer]

575*
796*
[522]
[609]
[152]

and dance. This for strangers is not a song Bello Conio sentiment and the audience laughs heartily at the spectacle of the doddering old man in vain pursuit of heartless women who is forever young. A considerable number of *kokoriri* always accompany the procession, pushing our way out with *Bo'lilimalum* and *Singerer*. Several of them carry whistles concealed beneath their aprons and the use of these serves to maintain the dignity of the occasion.

[522]

[593]

So many masked figures are said that all must accompany *Sarasarand* into each house. These usually do go remain on the sidewalk outside, holding one of her horn, a live male mountain goat. In the next house another group of the charmer's victims enters and the ceremony just described is repeated. The same is carried out in every dwelling in the village. *Sarasarand* and her followers stay a few minutes in X's house before starting out on a second rund, in which the same ritual is carried out. This is done one more, so that each house is visited four times.

By this time dusk has fallen and all *to kokoriri* except those acting as escort to X have gathered in his house. Presently the uninitiated are called in. *Sarasarand* is standing on a low box behind the fire, encouraging or mocking lovers to come to her, and bestowing her affection indiscriminately in a heartless manner. The rituals dance up other to and fro ceaselessly and though blows are not usually exchanged, great care must be taken to prevent maidens falling in the [522] much excitement. The efforts of the unfortunate *Singerer* to each his dance are always a source of merriment. *Bo'lilimalum* is said explain the significance of it all. Sometimes a cradle is brought in, over which *Sarasarand* croons while a [593] song is sung, describing her as the mother of many creatures of whom the fathers are animals. It is uncertain whether this part of the ceremony takes place before or for the dance fight or, indeed, whether it is not another type of *nakawa* which X can use at will. The ritual concludes in a normal way with the expulsion of the uninitiated, the dancers of *Bo'lilimalum*,

X:McIlwraith E-9 (1922-1924)1948
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(d) That is: I incorporate myself into.

(e) The reference is to another of *Sisaqal*'s myths dealing with the coming to earth of *Humai* over *Kimsquit*. *Sisaqalmit* was the name of his house. 533*

(f) Referring to Green Island once more.

(g) That is: Green Island where our relatives, the Bella Bella, get their food, had just emerged and become visible. It was impossible to obtain a separate translation of these two subdivisions.

(h) Referring again to Green Island. This small piece of land is shaped like a whale, and, as already described, it was originally one. *Hawaiim* bade the animal come to the surface to be changed to stone; then *Wanko* settled down as soon as the water had dried from what had been its back. [773] [823]

(m) The literal translation of each subsection may be inaccurate.

Song Used for Yetlin of Kimsquit(a)

A *Yuwalwaskw*	*mahwahwahal*	*ninwaxilwaskw*	*skwaqWaskw*
It is good(b);	*mai(c)?* —	has lifted	the sky(d).

[music not correct]

B *Kyawaqalwaskw(e)*	*skwaxwaskw*	*skwajalkwaskw*
He was Raven(f),	the supernatural one	where he descended

skwahwhwaskw
the pass(g).

[music not correct]

C *Swaqwin-ulwaskw*	*skwinkwaqlal*	*xyalkwaskw*	*xalqlkwaskw*
He is bright(h),	the chief	Yetlin,	he marries

xwawhkhkhkwaskw	*ahhhkwa-sakw*
a unique	copper(i).

(a) Recorded on song VII D 47a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pelkmit. This song is said to have been composed over one hundred years ago and since used repeatedly.

(b) With the significance of: It is highly satisfactory.

(c) The meaning of this word is obscure. It refers to the coming of Yetlin with the added implication of a memorial. It applies to the memorial rite being given. [765]

(d) When a chief dies, it is said that the people in their grief feel as if the sky were pressing them down. A memorial rite lessens their sorrow and lifts the burden. [152]

(e) When this word was being sung for the phonograph, the singer erred and replaced it by part of the first word of the third part.

(f) That is: He was in the form of a raven. The reference is to one of the five ancestors of Yetlin.

(g) Meaning one of the pass which stretched between earth and sky in the beginning of time. [773]

(h) This refers to Yetlin. He was formerly weighed down with grief, but by giving a memorial rite he is like the sun as it shows our brilliantly from behind the clouds.

(i) A reference to a special kind of copper mentioned in the chief's origin myth.

§57 horse-shoe hunting birds and small animals with miniature bows and arrows, or snaring them in nooses of grass or string. Little girls make playhouses in which they cook wonderful meals of berries, with perhaps the addition of a wooden fish. On the whole, however, the children do not seem into play as boisterously as white boys and girls, nor do they seem to derive as much pleasure from it. In former times, when clothing was scanty, small lads used to delight in pulling nettles and beating one another with the stinging branches; this must have caused considerable pain, but it was a point of honour not to cry out, and anyone, perhaps caught unawares, who showed discomfort, was laughed at as a coward. Both boys and girls are fond of swinging, and even adult women sometimes find time to enjoy themselves by swaying to and fro at the end of a rope.

Young Bella Coola do not have as many toys as white children, and none of them is complex. Some girls have crude wooden dolls, though elaborate figures are reserved for use in *Dance* dances. Perhaps the most cherished plaything is a small puppy or, in more years, a kitten, though the unfortunate animal is handled and mauled without consideration. A good carpenter may make for his son a wooden top or a bullroarer, to the envy of his less fortunate friends. Both types of toys are said to be used in *Kwakiutl* and at some *Dance* dances the medical figures carry them to play with.

There is one game, *ilili*, which the salmon are said to delight to watch, and which is accordingly played by boys as soon as the first spring salmon have been dispatched with fishing rods. Each makes for himself, or is given by his father, a wooden spear with a projecting barb, fastened as shown in the accompanying sketch (see Fig. 6). A loop of branches is made and thrown into a pool of eddy-water, or slow-moving water, on each side of which stands a rival group of competitors. At a signal, all throw their spears simultaneously, with the intention of passing them through the ring, so that the barb of each will

Fig. 6
"Fish spear."

515 cionally, in a half-hearted manner, but it is not unusual for a man to allow the hair of years in which to make his ablutions to remain matting for two or three weeks. Not many years ago the Carrier taught their neighbours to make a kind of soap from the ashes of burnt cottonwood sticks thrown into water; with this clothes are washed irregularly and in most cases from sheer necessity only. In former times bathing was a semi-sacred rite, but this fell into disuse with the passing of the old religion, and the use of soap and water merely for the sake of cleanliness has not become a daily habit. The women have more vanity; the younger girls especially like to have new clothes, though they wear them continually, bandana of fr. An effort is often made to dress up for ceremonial dances, but it usually lasts more than the removal of the more obvious dirt and the putting on, over unchanged underganments, of a costume. Pride in personal appearance, love of cleanliness, delight in a clean house, are all quite foreign to the Bella Coola.

356 Probably the reason for lack of comforts in the houses is simply that the people do not feel the need for them. They consider it no hardship to sit on a rickety chair, scoop up food from a common dish and, if they think of it, throw scraps down to the dog or the cat. The smell, the flies, the dirt, the chaos do not concern them. Capable of undergoing privations, hardships, and even sufferings, they think neither of the comfort of themselves nor of others. Their domestic animals are often treated abominably, not through lack of affection or cruelty, but from carelessness. More than once the writer has seen a favourite dog steal a piece of food from the table. In reason, after a furious blow or kick or it, would suddenly, as if by inspiration, throw a choice bit to the animal, saying:

"Why, he must have been hungry!"

Though the Bella Coola feel a kinship with animals unknown to the white man, it is not combined with any recognition of their feelings as living creatures. There are, of course, many exceptions, but on the whole public opinion demands generosity and kindness only towards human members of the group. The moral data is not concerned with animals.

APPENDIX D

[illegible]

[illegible]: Level of attainment.
[illegible]: 1.—Illness or misfortune, such as precedent the outbreak of smallpox, famine.
2.—Smallpox.
[illegible]: Type of emigrating scene with raised green and small moon.
[illegible]: [illegible]
[illegible]: Separate girl when addressed to groups.
[illegible]: Eternity.
[illegible]: Personal family, practically equivalent to children when used by an old person.
[illegible]: The commencement of a chief's publicities and other major ceremonies for access of plant grain crushed near his grave.
[illegible]: Supernatural being.
[illegible]: Man successful in a coup.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who gives pensions to social class.
[illegible]: Conventional expression used for the betrayal with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives.
[illegible]: 1.—The position of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relationships formerly existing between the dead and the living.
2.—To vary, term used with reference to the marriage of a medicine man, ceremonies of a chief's grandsons, the significance is similar to that ascribed to the first meaning.
[illegible]: Powerful, third water-hole used in dances, ceremonial objects.
[illegible]: Meeting of water-hole men by tribal ceremony in the upper Bulla Creek valley.
[illegible]: Sun.
[illegible]: Kalkaroo south.
[illegible]: Man grade.
[illegible]: Ceremonial dance-dull carvings worn by initiatedate girls during initiation.
[illegible]: Hand axe for cooking chicken.
[illegible]: Fallen water stone deserved with cross feathers such as is worn by a Wyanny dance.
[illegible]: Wrestling.
[illegible]: Dance take man living in the last century.

[illegible]

[illegible]: Day of the first man to guide a Dutch Lake in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Bulla Bulla village, the Daylighted Sun in Yuma.
[illegible]: Grinding lake.
[illegible]: Place received from Grinding Stone for a Kinnapin man in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Earlier name of a Kinnapin man.
[illegible]: Day of the first man to guide an Ilma in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Day of the return of Mount Kinnapin to Alpa.
[illegible]: Non-commercial weighing, usually individual, and always with cast fishing.
[illegible]: Subcommission healthy in the distant past.

to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is found outside the lodge. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and tells everyone where he has been and what he has seen. If he has not taken anyone to will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shaman must try for two days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the shaman's dances, clothed in a loincloth and wearing a large head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark, demonstrate his success wearing the mask of the Oyegyak (Fig. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that of Sachakonkanchal'ent of the Kwakiutl. Some shamans do not bite people, but merely throw red cedar or sea-bags to pieces and disembowel them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The shaman has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not have his hair cut.

Fig. 200
Mask of Oyegyak, shaman.
[illegible]

The Ulo'ko (the laughter) and the Ha'ma (the thunder) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The Ulo'ko "makes fun of everything" and ridicules people with his voice. The Ha'ma carries stones and sticks and begins boisterously gamble and amuse. If he has forgotten some object during his fast, he pays for it at eight o'clock in the morning. The Ulo'ko and Ha'ma, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

If a person transgresses the laws of the Oyegyak, for instance, when the shaman gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person disturbs the ceremonies or makes a mistake in handling his paraphernalia, he is liable. The chief summons to council and the offender is called before the court. After he offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the relative killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted to the shaman, who furnishes the mechanical power by throwing the man into fire or by pulverizing him in some other (mechanical?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a stick, bone, or finger-nail, around

E. McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bella Coola NEB

[577] [124] ally until complete confidence was established, simplifying work in the field to an enormous extent. Equal trust could be placed on these men in other respects; articles of value were repeatedly left in their houses with the absolute certainty that they would be guarded with care. Some few individuals there were, however, who were neither honest nor trustworthy. [77] [126] Bella Coola religion is not concerned with ethics, but public opinion demands honour in dealing with relatives or friends. In former times, for example, debts incurred by an individual [577] [424] were considered a liability by his relatives. If a man died after buying goods on credit for a potlatch, his family were disgraced [601] [177] if they failed to pay his bills; now, unfortunately, nothing concerns the younger people, many of whom try to avoid meeting even their own debts, much less those of dead relatives. Individual conscience has not replaced the tribal and, more specifically, family influence. Dishonesty in small matters is not [648] [177] uncommon, particularly in dealing with white people who, according to the Bella Coola, were the first to corrupt them. The older people bitterly lament the lack of morality of the younger and state, probably with some justification, that they would have been prevented by the open life which prevailed when several families shared a single house. On the whole, however, the average Bella Coola is probably no less honest than the average white man.

● [153] [124] Individuals vary enormously in mental ability. In making this investigation, it was necessary to interview all the older people of the tribe. Disregarding those unwilling to provide information, it was found that some absolutely lacked the ability to explain matters with which they were familiar; some did not have sufficient patience to be good teachers; some were so forgetful that they would omit necessary points in a story or account; some were downright stupid, whereas others displayed mental ability of no mean order. In reading ethnological literature, one is apt to think of the troubles experienced by the author, and to overlook the fact that natives have as

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great difficulties in explaining their customs, as the white man has in understanding them.

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[123]

The writer was impressed by the brilliance shown by several of the natives. Joshua Moody, for example, is essentially the philosopher. More individualistic than most of his tribesmen, he was one of the first to adopt Christianity and has been a faithful follower of the new creed. Deeply interested in religious questions, he has stored up what he has been told him of the Bible and pondered deeply on all problems of life. Not particularly practical, subject to fits of anger or moroseness, but with a malicious temperament which delights in seeking biblical parallels and synonyms for Bella Coola practices, he is the kind of mind which, in other walks of life, would have produced the professor of philosophy. Jim Pollard is quite another type. Essentially practical, he has devoted his energies to keeping abreast of changing conditions. He is the best singer and composer in Bella Coola, the best canoeman for miles; he has learnt to handle a motor-boat engine, to aid prospectors for minerals, and has succeeded in amassing and saving a considerable amount of money. Jim excelled all other informants in clearness and logical presentation of his explanations, though he showed a slight tendency, intelligible enough, to gloss over aspects which he knew would be considered unpleasant. If Jim had been a white man, he would undoubtedly have made his mark in the world of business. The late Captain Schooner differed from either of the preceding. Older than they, and unconverted, he, perhaps, came nearest to the original, unsophisticated Bella Coola type. Heavy in build, coarse in humour and expression, he had a heart of gold and was a fine example of a native gentleman. He was glad to assist most patiently in recording ancient lore, being immensely proud of the traditions of his ancestors. A friendship developed from this which is one of the writer's happiest memories. Often in the evenings life in general was discussed, the war, the rush of progress in big cities, the quest for wealth, the spread of white civilization, and the problems raised by the contact of peoples.

[123]

Schooner lacked the moral acumen of Joshua and Jim, but he revealed himself as a tribal patriarch, proud of his family's history and eager to assist his grandchildren and great-grandchildren, but feeling himself lost and helpless in the struggle before them. With culture, but without literature, he used to speak of the approaching end of Bella Coola culture, and his words brought home the tragedy which the spread of civilization brings to so many, and the responsibility resting upon the white people as a whole.

Until an intelligence test is devised to correlate the mental ability of the white man with that of the native, it is impossible to compare the two scientifically. None the less, the writer deliberately expresses the opinion that Joshua Moody and Jim Pollard are two of the most brilliant men he has met in any walk of life. They are undoubtedly the most able of the Bella Coola; others have only slightly less ability, while the mass of the population compares favorably with an average white community. Their ability, however, is definitely conditioned by their conservatism. Absolutism even in the traditions of their ancestors has checked speculation, so the established explanation is never questioned; new inventions, unauthorized by custom, have been reported as almost sacrilegious; the force of public opinion, while valuable as a deterrent to anti-social practices, has effectively restrained innovations. The Bella Coola are a good example of a community where development has been retarded by extreme conservatism fostered by religious beliefs.

Taking into account the material character, the achievements of these people have not been insignificant. In former times, provided only with tools of stone and occasional copper, they built graceful canoes, made watertight boxes, hewed planks from mighty cedars, and erected large houses which called for considerable engineering skill. Judged by native standards, their carving and painting lacked artistic delicacy, but it required no mean ability to portray crest designs to meet their own standards. Passing from the purely mechanical

to the authors, their skill in dancing and dramatics is noteworthy; no one who has witnessed a native dance can fail to have been impressed by the performance of the participants and the stage craft of the organizers. The fact that no system of writing had ever been devised has prevented the establishment of a native literature, but the practice of passing down an extensive folklore by word of mouth shows their memorizing powers as well as their facility for remembering details. At present it is difficult to appreciate what must have been their energy in earlier times when they faced the struggle for existence, armed with stone tools. Abundant salmon gave them adequate food, but only when weirs had been built with great labour. Though game was plentiful, the hunter was equipped with nothing more formidable than a bow and arrow. The singlets and required patience and skill unknown of by the average white man. If the reader will allow his imagination to carry him backwards two hundred years, he will realize that the mere provision of food and clothing necessitated constant effort and cealess exertion.

Hand in hand with many admirable characteristics, the Bella Coola display others which strike the white man as unpromising. A first impression is the untidiness of their homes. Externally, they are often fairly neat, but confusion reigns within. Clothing, instead of being hung up, is left lying on the floor; bedcoverings are piled carelessly; dirty dishes cover the tables, dogs and children crawl over the floor, flies abound; all is dirty and slovenly. The house itself may be uncomplicated; a window lacks glass and has been boarded up; the roof leaks, or the steps are falling down. Nor are the surroundings more attractive. There is no struggling flower bed in the village, but elsewhere the houses are surrounded by wastes of mud where hogs and cattle wander, dogs prowl, and children play. In the distance the mountain peaks rise in splendour, but near at hand all is squalid and unkempt.

They are only slightly more particular about their personal appearance. Men does not discuss them. They wash occa-

1:66:Dovetik E-5 (1922-1924)949
NEA Dollecode NEA

these just described. The giving of these at this time is not obligatory, nor does it affect the validity of the coming marriage. It is merely a mark of friendly feeling between the two groups of relatives, and, by adding to the importance of the event, increases the personal strength of the unborn children. 58

If either X or Y should die during the period of engagement, the presents, or their equivalent, must be returned to the donors. No formal methods are employed to ensure this, but the force of public opinion suffices to compel a man to do that which is proper; in fact, he is anxious to do so. If Y should die, an effort is made to replace her with a sister, cousin, or other near relative, so that the friendly relations entered upon by the two families may not be lost. The gifts mutually given by the two families may be returned and redistributed or the substitute simply takes Y's place without further arrangement. Sometimes, in spite of the wishes of their parents and the elaborate rites carried out, either X or Y breaks the engagement by going to live with somebody else. It is then a mark of pride for the family of the offender to return the gifts they have received, and almost equally a mark of honour for the aggrieved party to give back what has been bestowed upon them, in order to demonstrate how little value they place on the possession of goods. 584 [583] [624] [154] [583]

Though a lengthy engagement is desirable, it may be curtailed. If, for example, one of X's relatives should die before the usual period has elapsed, Y's father may suggest an immediate wedding. He knows that X's family will have heavy expenses in connection with the burial and mourning rites, hence it is courteous to offer a quick marriage with the financial advantages accruing to them at the ceremony. In this case, X either does not work at all for Y's family, or for only a short time. Moreover, if Y reaches marriageable age without her father receiving suitable proposals, he can himself take the initiative by consulting the parents of an eligible young man. If the suggestion is agreeable, the engagement is announced in the manner already described, and the marriage takes place [964]

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NES Bellacoola NES

Dances portraying supernatural beings, carried out with full vigour until a few years ago, further fostered belief in them among participants and uninitiated alike. Consequently, many of the young and middle-aged men claim to have seen visions similar to those of their elders. The incident already described (I, p. 30) of the stump which was thought to be a grizzly bear is a case in point. On another occasion a young man mentioned casually that a few evenings before he had seen a headless man walking along the road and that, wishing to view the monstrosity more closely, he had tried unsuccessfully to strike a match. The reason was obvious to him; the power of the supernatural visitor prevented the match from lighting. The man, who was undoubtedly convinced of the apparition, may have seen something, perhaps a wheel of fog, somewhat resembling a headless body. A white man would have considered such a sight impossible and absurd, whereas the Bella Coola felt little surprise at the appearance of such a creature and promptly accepted it for what it seemed to be.

Mental activities as well as optical illusions are likewise ascribed to supernatural agency. These include profound agitations of the mind, and even what a white man would consider a passing thought. For instance, one morning when about to start work, a certain man stated that he would have good fortune during the day, that a dream had foretold it. At the time he was moving to a new house and needed help to shift a heavy stove. During the course of the day a number of white men happened to pass by and stopped to speak to him; the stove was mentioned, they offered to move it for him, and did so easily and quickly.

"There you are," said the man, "I told you I was going to have good fortune today."

On another occasion the same man claimed to have felt that misfortune had happened to him and soon learnt that one of his sons had been arrested on a charge of drunkenness and disorderly conduct. The man affirmed that he had this premonition before being aware of its cause.

1:66:Swanton E-5 (1922-1924)948
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and those who have knowledge of them are sorcerers. Even a man of this kind is not outside the pale of society unless he practises indiscriminately; members of the *Sacrat* society, for example, frequently employ one to kill an individual who has offended against their regulations (I, p. 740). A man is regarded as a sorcerer not on account of his knowledge but on account of the ends to which he applies it.

Closely related to, if not identical with, the belief that certain consequences follow certain acts, is the conviction that the infraction of ritual prohibitions brings disaster. There are many such taboos, for so they may be called. Though most important at the critical periods of life, puberty, pregnancy, while observing ceremonial chastity, and so forth, there are many which must be obeyed at all times.

Restrictions pertaining to the river and regulations at birth and death have already been described. Like magical acts, these often verge on the religious owing to the belief that disregard offends supernatural beings. On the whole, however, it seems as if most infractions bring their own punishment without intervention of higher powers, a concept which throws taboos into the category of magic rather than of religion, with the ever-present proviso that the two cannot be separated entirely from one another. With them may be associated a number of ritual acts connected with fishing and hunting in which, though the element of propitiation is not absent, it is satisfied by the performance of definite rites. Finally, there have been included in this chapter a number of unimportant beliefs, the psychology of which cannot be analysed.

What is the basis of these rites defined as Medicine, Magic, and Taboo? As already described, the Bella Coola either do not explain their origin and function, or merely state that *Alpoxtow* is responsible, as he is for every activity of life. This is unsatisfactory because many which, viewed scientifically, have neither curative nor causative power, produce the desired end. A child who has been "made" a carpenter during infancy, usually grows up to be proficient in that profession; the person

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154 who has been "cured" of an illness, recovers; the man whose
791 death has been "caused" by magic, dies. An average white
789 man would consider such statements to be erroneous, but they not only figure in stories and beliefs, but some of them have been actually observed by the writer. The explanation lies in the susceptibility of the Bella Coola to suggestion. The conviction that he is to die so weakens a man that death often results; belief that he is to recover, aids a sick person to throw off the malady. This sentiment, intelligible in case of disease, is equally applicable in other matters. The child who has been [868] endowed with carpentry skill grows up with the conviction to assist his labours. Moreover, his relatives and friends are also aware of it, and he receives every opportunity to practise, so that the outcome desired is often the consequence of the act.
789 Though the Bella Coola do not appreciate that psychological
828 and sociological factors may be the real cause of the result, they realize the importance of the power of thought. For [771] example, if a group of people is unanimous in wishing some end, or expects some event to happen, it is believed that their thoughts are strong enough to bring about its occurrence. The following examples illustrate this point:

It is said that when the white man first came to British Columbia, a tribe of Indians was living in a secluded valley, far to the south. As more and more settlers arrived, the occupants were driven from their homes and forced into the barren [789] mountains. One night, *Alqwstáw* came in a vision to one of the natives, saying:

"I see what you desire; you want the white men to withdraw. You, yourself, are helpless. But if all your fellows wish the same, the white men will depart."

The man told all his friends and they agreed to concentrate the next night on their wish to expel the white man. A few failed to do so, and nothing happened. The second night there was the same lack of unanimity. The desire to drive away the intruders grew stronger in course of time, until one night this was the centre of the thoughts of all; next morning the white

1:34c:Dwratch E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

itself to be by withstanding the crushing weight of stone and earth. An old Kimsquit man expressed the firm conviction that his great age was the result of this treatment soon after birth. 789 856 816 [824]

To Cause Imperviousness to Cold

Kill a water ouzel, warm it at a fire, then press it against every part of the infant's body. This makes him as heedless of cold water as the bird. A merganser may be used in the same way, or the foot of one be placed in the child's hand and patted as his fingers clutch it. 789 825 856

To Cause a Quarrelsome Disposition

Burn the nest of wasps and rub the ashes on the infant's face. He will become as bellicose and quick to resent injury as the insects. One old man who habitually beats his wife explains that this is involuntary, since he was treated in this way when a child. Fighting is no longer allowed, so the only person on whom he can exercise his martial ardour is his wife. The woman regards this treatment as a matter of course and the reason is accepted as valid by her associates. [155]

To Cause Success in Thieving

Kill a pack-rat, warm it at a fire, and rub the carcass lightly over the infant's body. This will make him as successful a thief as the animal. Other methods are to cut off a foot and pat this as the infant clutches it in his fingers, or to rub its hands with the ashes of a burnt rat.

To Cause Success in Singing

Catch a live robin or *smurmuxels* (probably one of the thrushes), warm it at a fire, and rub it lightly against the infant's throat, saying: 533 789 825

"May he be a singer like you." 856

Then release the bird, and the child will grow up a songster. The following story is told of the power of the *smurmuxels*'s song: [539]

names to their dog, and had distributed presents to validate the bestowal. Consequently, the animal is a chief (see Plate xx) and can do as he likes. When it dies it will be mourned as a chief. Moreover, a number of people have received the presents which they received at the time the dog was made a chief, and this money is kept by the women and her husband, to be used when they perform the rite of mourning for the dog at death.

When this is possible, in the present degenerate days, it is not difficult to understand how, formerly, a great chief felt himself above the restraints that hindered lesser men. The last great Bella Coola chief was *Pathe*, who died between 1870 and 1880. His influence and power were so great that he was a virtual ruler, daring anything. If he requested a young man to take his food box home and the youth was slow to obey, *Pathe* had no hesitation in killing him on the spot. Such great power, though unusual, is intelligible to the Bella Coola, since *Pathe* gave far more potlatches than any of his contemporaries. Other chiefs have been known to attempt a similar arbitrary use of power, but have failed, since their prestige was not great enough to justify it. The fame of a mighty chief spreads up and down the coast, and protects him and the members of his family from being ambushed and slain in any sporadic foray. During an actual fight, however, a chief had to take his chances with the rest, but the comparative immunity was a great advantage.

The Bella Coola recognize the fundamental differences between their own concepts about chieftainship and those of other coastal tribes with whom they come in contact. This point was mentioned in the course of conversation by several men. The most powerful chief known to them was *Tsilaa*, who, they say, was virtual monarch of the Kitkatla. None of his subjects could go hunting without his permission, and he had rights to a certain share of their booty. At any ceremony presents had first to be given to him, and if he were slighted in this respect, he would kill the offender. It is be-

[See art. 116, p 186 (c) - ANALYST]

(a) The strengthening of the donor's sect.

(b) The strengthening, or initial establishment, of sects for a number of young relations of the donor who may, or may not, be those who are being initiated into the *sunet* society. Other youths may also be established as sects by their relations.

The duration of a potlatch varies with the number of sects being performed. The preliminaries, including the beginning of seclusion for *sunet* initiates, requires at least several weeks, in some cases months. There is further delay of a week or more after the arrival of the first guests, so only when the last party has arrived can the actual potlatch begin. This can then be completed in three days and nights, although if many initiates are performing their *sunet* dances, a longer time is required.

What are the consequences of giving a potlatch?

In the first place the donor spreads the fame of his name far and wide, also the myth with which it is incorporated. Thus he increases the renown of his ancestors, a source of intense pride and gratification.

More important even than this, it elevates the donor himself. With the proper carrying out of the complicated ritual and the knowledge that his name is now known among different tribes, a man experiences a feeling of mental superiority which enables him to take a leading part in the affairs of his community. In Bella Coola a chief (*ntlhaq*) is a person whose influence is paramount owing to his success in giving potlatches.* If several chiefs in one village have given potlatches, he who has given most is generally of greatest importance, although often a man of forceful character who has held, for example, five potlatches will be regarded with greater respect than one of lesser weight, even if he has given six. The whole system is exceedingly fluid, as might be expected where chieftainship depends on individual prowess. In theory, the man who holds the name of the first person to occupy a village, or

*Particularly if he has given four potlatches and was accordingly be described as a *nuxnit* chief (I, p. 172). In *sunet* songs the archaic word *ntlhaqmix* is also sometimes employed for "chief."

was being feared and hated by all. Yet his prerogative was so strong that he could not cease to act. He found by chance a cave near the top of precipitous Mount Nuxmalk, not far from his village, and told everyone that he would die there, where no one would ever be able to spit or urinate upon his grave. One autumn, when an old man, he disappeared, and although search parties scoured the woods for him, they were unsuccessful. Next spring, some young men visited the cave in which they found his badly decomposed corpse; the warrior had kept his promise.

701 693

The profession of warrior carries with it prohibitions and requirements other than with regard to killing. Such men are thought always to be so wild and restless that they cannot sleep at night, but prowl around the village watching for possible foes. In actual fact, warriors seldom sleep quietly throughout the night. They have one restriction of a social nature, in that they can never be confined in the back-room [575] or intrude into the *nuxmalk* society. Consequently, no *tsawiwas* ever comes to one of them. When one gives a potlatch, a rather beautiful song is sung for him so he remains in the central part of the house. What affiliation this brings him with the *nuxmalk* society is obscure.

701

It is difficult to say to what extent a professional warrior believes in his own powers, since there is, and must always have been, great individual variation. The white man finds it difficult to understand the psychology of a man who considers himself bound to kill on request, simply because presents have been distributed to make him a warrior. It must be remembered that this is one of the most pervasive features of Bella Coola life; functions of all kinds depend upon validated prerogatives, and there is no doubt that a man who has one of this kind is actually influenced to such an extent that he begins to believe in his own prowess. It was unusual for a warrior to exercise his powers as freely as did the *Ititi-ne-i* man, but the Bella Coola have no difficulty in explaining this:—his prerogative had been confirmed with more lavish expenditure

156 701

901 than that of anyone else. The Bella Coola do not rationalize
156 in a scientific manner; if a man holds a belief firmly, he acts on it without questioning its logic. Moreover, if a professional warrior functions a number of times, this in itself is enough to strengthen his conviction that he must act henceforth in the same way. It can be said with confidence that the owner of
[463] a professional prerogative has considerable belief in his own powers, that this acts on himself to render him proficient, and that the majority of the community have respect for his capabilities.

555 THE PROFESSION OF SINGER

424 Singing is one of the professions open to a Bella Coola
533 either through natural ability or an ancestral prerogative. There is a constant need for men able to sing and compose
[463] songs for every kind of ceremonial, so a young man of talent has little difficulty in gaining admittance to the choir. He may even win great distinction and become recognized as the leading authority on musical matters. None the less, his success is considered to be accidental and unsubstantial, lacking the foundation that comes from the possession of a duly validated professional prerogative. A person made a singer by the latter means may be entirely unable to compose; in this case he is not a member of the choir, although he enjoys the social distinction which he has won by distributing goods to confirm his professional name. The singer most respected is he who combines with natural ability a confirmed prerogative to give substance and power to his position and composi-
[553] tions. At the death of such an one, an effort is always made
428 by the members of his ancestral family to transmit the name
[578] to a youth who has shown musical promise. Arguments and differences of opinion are common among the members of the choir and in such cases the self-assurance and influence of a man whose position has been made strong by the distribution of presents often outweighs that of one who can rely only on his actual ability.

(g) The bearing of exceptionally well-behaved children; 614
(h) The bearing of exceptionally naughty children; 827
(i) Disposition to steal;
(j) Uncontrollable sexual desires;
(k) Sudden death, that is, members of certain unusual families are less apt than others to die of disease or old age;
(l) Death by drowning. One informant, in whose family this is a tendency, has twice been thrown into the water and barely escaped. He fully expects to meet his fate in this manner;
(m) Insanity (not a common malady); [158]
(n) Dribbling at the mouth with increasing age;
(o) Liability to contract the skin disease known as *tinkah*. 614
With regard to the transmission of this disease the surprising 827
information was received that if a relative of a sufferer should 783
drink from the same bucket or use the same spoon as the 177
patient, he is likely to contract the disease, whereas another person can use them with impunity. This statement may be based on a knowledge of germs learnt from the white man, and warped by a belief in inheritable tendencies, although it is amazing that the theory of germs could have reached the elderly Bella Coola. Possibly this statement is a relic of an old belief in the transmissibility of disease through contact, but it is more reasonable to ascribe it to white influence.

In a later chapter an account is given of certain occupa- 614
tional abilities, including that of carpentry, which must be 827
confirmed and validated by presents. The above are quite different; they are either present or absent without any action on the part of the individual.

The Village Community

The village community referred to in the preceding section 614
consists, fundamentally, of the descendants, traced in the 621
patrilineal line, of the reputed first settlers to occupy a site. Since a Bella Coola always describes himself as a native of such-and-such a town, it follows that the village community

heart caught fire, his goods were destroyed, and he, himself, barely escaped. The Bella Coola regard coincidences of this kind as confirmation of their beliefs.

As in the last instance, death does not always follow the hearing or seeing of an omen; it may simply presage some calamity. It is dangerous for a person to be addressed by a dog, although it is well known that dogs understand human speech and can talk if they desire. At the time of the writer's visit, it was a matter of general knowledge that a dog had spoken to a middle-aged Bella Coola woman a few years earlier. The animal was shot immediately, and the woman never revealed what it had said, but in spite of these precautions she became insane and has never fully recovered.

The green man, Tsyalempt, near Kimsquit, who figures so prominently in Bella Coola mythology, is another death omen. In early times, all who passed his station used to call out to him, and it was thought that those whom he failed to answer would die within a year. In that case, the voice was welcome, but the speech of an owl is still regarded with dread. If one of these birds utters the name of a dead person, the individual hearing it will soon die.

Besides these well-recognized omens, the Bella Coola believe that any peculiar visitation or hallucination is a probable precursor of disaster. In many cases these fears are unjustified, but there are always sufficient accidents and misfortunes to corroborate their belief. An old Kimsquit man told of the manner in which his son had once come rushing into the house saying that he had seen a strange, black-faced creature. His father feared that it might have been *Sasiaruas*.—

"Perhaps it was," continued the old man, "for my boy soon died."

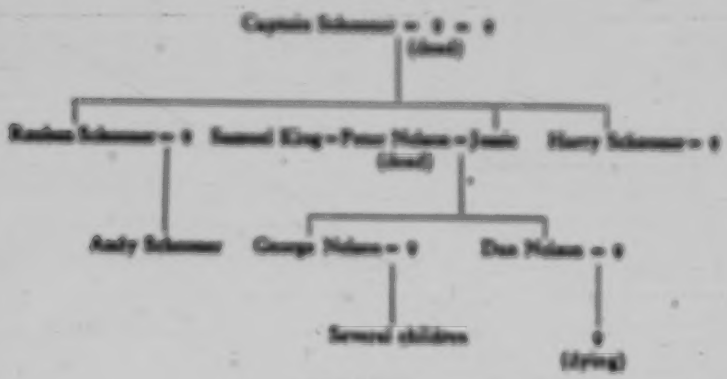
Irrespective of the actual cause of death, about which the father is uncertain, he is convinced that he knew of its coming by his son's omen-apparition.

U.S. Geological Survey 1922-1924 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEB

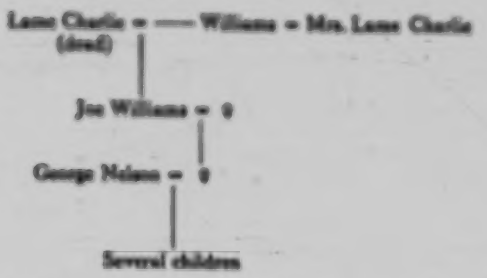
scribed, in spite of some repetition entailed thereby, both to record customs surviving the decay of Bella Coola ritual, and as a means of illustrating the sentiments of the participants. To avoid native terminology, white man's names will be used throughout. It will be necessary to understand the relationships of those taking part in the ceremony, as shown in the following pedigrees:

764 [114] 601 764

PEDIGREE I*



PEDIGREE II



Samuel King was a widower with one daughter at the time of his marriage to Jessie, by whom he had no children. His

764 159

*No attempt has been made to record the complete pedigrees; only those who took part in the ceremony are indicated.

company, George Nelson, had not been living with his wife for about one year.

Early in the afternoon of June 27, Captain Schooner was notified by telephone of the serious illness of his daughter at the cannery where she was working. He set out immediately, but found her dead on his arrival. Without waiting to consult Samuel King, he called together the chiefs who happened to be in the vicinity, Willie Mack, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Bobby Nobby, and Alexander Clellaman.[29] He informed them that he did not propose to let his daughter be thrown carelessly into the ground like a dog, but that he was going to hold a memorial potlatch immediately after the funeral. Schooner, being a *nemid chief* as well as father of the dead woman, was able to do as he liked, and no one objected to this plan, although in former times such a ceremony neither took place at once, nor in summer. If Samuel had been present, he would have been consulted as a matter of course. It was quite fitting for Jessie to be buried by her father, since she had borne her husband no children, and had been rebought several times. Moreover, Samuel lacked the determination and prestige of his father-in-law. Having settled this main point, Captain Schooner intimated that as Jessie's granddaughter, Dan Nelson's infant, was at the point of death, it would be well to combine the mourning for both at the single ceremony. No mention was made of the amount to be used for the rite. Schooner himself had $200 to expend for the purpose which would have been sufficient, and his attitude was that he neither knew nor cared whether his relatives would assist him. Soon after the other chiefs had left, Reuben Schooner arrived from the logging-camp from which he had been summoned. Father and son discussed arrangements not only for the actual interment, a simple matter, but for the memorial potlatch. It was decided that the dead woman should return as a composite figure consisting

[29] None of these was closely related to the Schooner family.

of Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, three of her crests of which the masks were available. They agreed that Timothy Snow[20] was the best carpenter available and that he should be commissioned to put them in shape and arrange their use. Reuben wanted to sing a sacred mourning song, to which he had a prerogative derived from his Bella Bella mother, and it was also decided that the band[21] should play. Reuben informed his father that he would contribute $50 towards the expenditure.

Meanwhile Jessie had been washed by female friends, clad in her best clothing, and laid in her coffin. This was a rough box, contributed by the manager of the cannery and shaped like a white man's coffin. At intervals, women came near and wailed dolorously without bending others similarly engaged. The news was carried to all the Bella Coola, those men who owned gasoline launches taking the word to the logging-camps without being requested to do so. A Carrier Indian who happened to be returning from the cannery spread the word through the village, where each woman who received the message hurried off to some friend, with whom she began to wail.

Early on the following morning, Captain Schooner returned home with his wife, Jessie's stepmother. He had been crying and was sad, but seemed willing to talk. He spoke of the proposed memorial potlatch, and expressed the sentiments recorded on vol. I, p. 473. He was grave and dignified, absolutely determined to perform what he considered to be the necessary ritual, oblivious of consequences, and heedless of what he held to be an unjust law. During that summer, Captain Schooner had been a rather heavy drinker, but on this occasion he abstained from wine, and said that he hoped no one would show disrespect to his daughter by appearing in a drunken condition either at the funeral or the subsequent rites. It is

[20]He was not closely related to the Schooners.

[21]Most of the younger Bella Coola were members of the band, performing white man's music on white man's instruments. Andy Schooner was bandmaster, but it is unlikely that this influenced the decision, since the performance of the band was customary at funerals when the writer was in Bella Coola.

worthy of record that his wishes were scrupulously obeyed. During the morning he was visited by the singers and other chiefs to discuss details of the coming ceremonial.

Meanwhile Samuel King had been summoned from his logging-camp. He wished to show his own grief, and also his sorrow that the union between his family and the Schooners, forged by his marriage to Jessie, should be terminated. No children had been born to cement the bond. He consulted his brother and sister, who agreed with him that a marriage between his daughter, by a former wife, and George Nelson would be desirable. The girl was consulted and raised no objections. Samuel then addressed Captain Schooner who was favourably disposed, as it was decided that this ceremony should take place in connection with the memorial potlatch. It would be a real, not a fictitious marriage, as the girl had reached adolescence several years previously.

Another visitor to Captain Schooner that morning was Joe Williams. Several years earlier, when he had given a ceremony in honour of two of his children who had died, Captain Schooner had contributed $100 as "A Blanket for George Nelson's Wife." This was really part of the marriage transaction, although deferred for a number of years after the actual time of the wedding. This sum had been divided as follows: $20 to Joe Williams; $20 to Mrs. Joe Williams; $10 to Mrs. George Nelson; $10 to her brother; $20 to Lame Charlie; and $20 to Mrs. Lame Charlie. Joe consulted the recipients and found that all were willing to repay their indebtedness at this time. Captain Schooner did not ask for it, but Joe was glad of the opportunity to do the proper thing at the right time and thus rise in popular estimation. He and his relatives decided to return $150, a sum which he mentioned to Captain Schooner that morning.

Joe Williams, his wife, and Mrs. George Nelson also decided to take advantage of the gathering to rebuy the last named from her husband. The fact that they had been separated for at least a year and that the woman had been living an immoral

He did not stop the ceremony of rebuying her "to make good the peck" of her children. For this purpose they decided to give a copper and a sum of money; it was impossible to know the exact amount. Joe told Captain Schooner of their intention.

About noon the body was brought in a canoe from the cemetery to its closed coffin and lifted where on a convenient spot near the cemetery. Those manning the canoe were young men who happened to be at the cemetery, irrespective of whether or not they were related to Jessie. The coffin was laid on a grassy place and Captain Schooner seated himself beside it. People were passing and repassing, some sat down for a time, then moved off to dinner. Occasionally, a woman would sit and wail, the most constant being Reuben's married daughter; Captain Schooner moved around talking to his friends amidst the mild wailing. About 1.30 p.m. everyone in the village had assembled, including a number of Carrier Indians, anxious to see the sight. Captain Schooner withdrew to his house after asking Bobby Nobby to summon the chiefs to meet him there. The messenger, who thus acted as herald, went around the gathering whispering to each; in addition to those notified at the cemetery the preceding evening he called all the older and most influential Bella Coola, Albert King, Samuel King, Joe Williams, Joshua Moody, Alec Davis, Lame Charlie, Judas, and Nebuchadnezzar. Captain Schooner requested the last named, an important chief, to take charge of the ceremony. At this time Samuel King told Nebuchadnezzar, who informed the others, what had been arranged for his daughter and they agreed that it was good. It was tacitly assumed that George Nelson would be delighted; probably he had been on friendly terms with the girl for some time. Joe Williams also told Nebuchadnezzar the two business propositions that he intended to carry out, the return of the money to Captain Schooner, and the rebuying of his daughter. Nebuchadnezzar informed the people concerned. At this meeting it was decided that various chiefs should speak after the Christian service at the grave.

764 139 Meanwhile the rest of the population was sitting near the coffin. They wore no special dress or other mark of grief. Samuel King and some of his relatives had brought bundles containing Jessie's clothing, pots, pans, and other personal possessions, which they set down near the coffin. About two [533] o'clock the band gathered and began to play, the favourite [177] selection being "Annie Laurie." This went on for some time after the return of the chiefs from Captain Schooner's house. They had decided that *Tál·ia* Jenny, one of Captain Schooner's distant relatives, should carry the fire in front of the body. When all was ready she lit a bundle of rags, placed it in a pot, and set off for the cemetery, followed by all in a straggling and orderless procession. Some strong young men bore the coffin, for Jessie must have weighed over two hundred pounds; some brought tools for digging the grave; others took the bundles of clothing. There was no fixed allotment of tasks; a man or woman carried anything or nothing according to his or her wish.

The cemetery is situated about fifty yards behind the old village of *Qemqo·ti*. The heavy timber has all been cut away and second growth has sprung up everywhere except around the newer graves. Captain Schooner had decided that his daughter should be buried near several of her relatives, and it was to this spot that Jenny led the procession. She set the pot down near the site of the grave, and the coffin likewise was placed on the ground nearby. Captain Schooner, Jim Pollard, and a few of the other old men chose the exact situation and a number of the young men began to dig. Jenny, and other women, added pieces of Jessie's clothing to the fire so that a constant small blaze was kept up. As the grave was being dug [533] the band performed at intervals, while the women sat wailing near the fire. Other men and women were seated on the ground or walking around idly near the grave, talking but [852] seldom laughing, while the Carriers were a little farther away. Children were playing around. The grave was dug about five feet deep, in shape corresponding to the coffin, but orientation

Libr. Dowsith E-5 (1922-1924)969
NEB Bellacoola NEB

was not carefully observed. Those wishing to dig took turns with the tools; there was no supervision, and no orders given. When the grave was ready, Jim Pollard asked Judas to perform the rite with the spruce bough, which he did with a branch brought by one of the youths. The young men lowered the coffin into the grave while the band continued to play. The missionary then read the Christian burial service, after which he withdrew. Some of the young men brought planks from old houses near-by, sawed them to the size of the grave and laid them over the coffin as a cover. At this juncture Judas, one of the oldest and most conservative of the Bella Coola, rose to speak. First he offered consolation to the mourning relatives by pointing out that all must travel the same road. Then he spoke to Jessie, telling her not to linger, but to travel back the path of her ancestors from generation to generation until she reached the place where they first came down from above, and thence to ascend to *Nuxmāl-a*. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of the speech, which was punctuated by calls of "*Ye*" from the male Bella Coola. The next speaker was Jim Pollard, the most influential Kimsquit and a personal friend, though not a relative, of Captain Schooner's.

764 159 [593] [797] 764 159 537

"Go," he said to the dead woman, "Go to the localities from which came your first forefathers in the beginning of time. There you will find your most valuable ancestral possessions. Go at once, do not linger and lose yourself on the road from generation to generation."

Turning to George Nelson, he went on, "Do not be downhearted, all of us must travel the same road. It was made by no man, it is the work of *Alquntām*."

Looking back once more to the grave, he said, "In *Qomqo-ts* are buried many illustrious relatives of yours. You will be among friends, whereas we are left to lament your departure."

It was impossible to write down the words at the time and the above record is not literally correct, although it expresses the gist of the speech. [126]

Captain Schooner whispered to Robert Hood, another of the

764 159 203 769 556*

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

older Bella Coola, asking him to announce that he, Schooner, with Dan and George, was going to hold a memorial potlatch that evening to which all were invited. Robert is not a herald but undertook this duty owing to the absence of qualified heralds. Meanwhile the grave had been filled in and the people began to drift away as it rose to ground level. Their attitude throughout had resembled that of white people at a funeral, and the hilariousness that characterizes so many Bella Coola gatherings was entirely absent except among the playing children. By 4.30 P.M. all had left the scene.

In view of the large number of guests expected it had been decided to hold the memorial potlatch, not in one of the old-fashioned houses, but in the village hall, built according to the white man's style of architecture and illuminated with swinging gasoline lamps. This is a large, rectangular building, undivided by partitions, with a stage at one end and a door at the other. About 6.30 P.M. the singers, Nebuchadnezzar, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Alec Davis, Kimsquit Alec, and Robert Hood, gathered at the hall and seated themselves below the stage. Billy Pollard had prepared a mourning song during the day, Kimsquit Alec another, and it was decided to use two others that were well known to all. The singers sat and practised these four for some time, while at intervals various Bella Coola strolled in, listened for a few minutes, then walked out again. Anyone was allowed to do so, but few availed themselves of the opportunity. Meanwhile Captain Schooner had brought $10 worth of rice, raisins, and condensed milk which he placed beside a huge iron cauldron outside the front door. Jim To-Morrow, a Bella Coola of no great intelligence, volunteered to act as cook and soon had a fire blazing and the food boiling.

About 8.00 P.M. the people began to assemble, bringing their own plates and other utensils. After considerable delay and chatter, the guests took their places in the hall, seating themselves regardless of rank on benches ranged along the two side walls and massed at the rear. By mutual consent a portion of the single row of benches along the left wall was reserved

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

The explanation of these manifestations of the supernormal, 987*
for such they are considered to be, lies in the conviction that 811
every activity of the mind is due to supernatural causation, [828]
the functioning of the spirit. In the round of daily life there [774]
are always good and bad incidents; the person who wakes
expecting to meet one or other before nightfall recognizes the
fulfilment of his premonition in some small occurrence, and
narrates it to his fellows as proof of what he had told them in
the morning. In case of some major event, such as death or
disaster, the Bella Coola assume that some previous indication
must have been given. Looking back after the event, a man
easily persuades himself that he "felt" a warning, and is more
than ever convinced that his spirit, the cause of his thoughts, [774]
has supernatural ability.

Conviction in the near presence of the supernatural has had 177
somewhat surprising results with regard to Christian Bella 987*
Coola. A man converted in middle life carries all the fervour
and realism of the old religion with him to the new, and feels 781
thoroughly familiar with the atmosphere of the Old Testament. 797
Visitations, such as therein described, are similar to those
experienced by his fathers and himself, and he scorns the white
man who questions their literal accuracy. He continues to
hear the voices of supernatural beings, and to interpret mental [828]
pictures as visions, but he ascribes them to the beings of the
white man's religion. The following is a rather striking illustration of this point:

A number of years ago a devout Christian, who may be 157●
designated X, was a patient in the hospital at Bella Bella. In 177*
the same ward was a young Bella Bella lad whose sickness
refused to yield to treatment. X, becoming interested in his 787*
neighbour, began to ponder about his condition, until presently 781
he felt convinced that the sufferer would be better by seven 797
o'clock the following morning, and told him so. A marked
improvement was noticeable by the time predicted, but the
white doctor foolishly (according to X) gave his patient some

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

●159 177 more medicine and he became worse. The same thing happened
* 787 on the following day. The sick boy grew steadily worse until,
781 nine days later, he felt that he was dying and asked X to help
797 him.

"No," replied X, "I am no doctor. But you will be all right. I see Holy Ghost, Holy Spirit, Baptism, and Believe-it [Faith?] by your bed. Repent and you will be saved."

X added that the Bella Bella saw and repented before his death so that he has undoubtedly been saved.

X is a friend of the writer's and a man with whom he worked for a number of months and whom he feels that he knows intimately. He is almost invariably truthful, and any falsehoods he uses are clumsy and easily detected. In this case there is no doubt but that he believes he saw these four figures as four white human beings. He was in an emotional condition at the time, hoping and expecting to see something of the kind. In earlier days he would have seen supernatural beings of the Bella Coola pantheon with equal conviction. On quite another occasion, when he was preaching, the same man felt what seemed to be a heavy drop of water fall on his head. He was in the open at the time and, looking up, was surprised to find nothing from which it could have fallen. He realized that it must have been power which had come to him, and forthwith he began to preach as he had never preached before. He expected supernatural assistance, and the belief that it had been granted to him undoubtedly strengthened his efforts.

* 787 All Bella Coola are not equally liable to visions and mental
781 visitations. Some, such as X, are constantly experiencing
159 them, whereas others of more stolid disposition do not feel the presence of the supernatural to the same extent. None the less, beings of the other world are constantly around them and, before the introduction of Christianity, it is unlikely that any individual passed through life without coming in contact with some manifestation of the supernatural. Consequently, stories
* 787 descriptive of this are intelligible to the Bella Coola, bizarre

778 the rock shelter half a mile away. Here he must lie alone,
755 without food, for four days. If he is in a pure condition from
the observance of chastity, he then feels the earth shake and
[787] hears a sound like a mighty landslide, though it is inaudible
to those waiting in the cave. If the patient is frightened and
tries to flee, he will die, but if he lies still he will be able to spit
out the dead frog, or it will become so soft that it can drip
from his nose. He then washes in the stream that flows
through the ice-cavern, thus completing the cure. The malady
[785] will return unless chastity is practised for one year.

Finally, in dreams a man is sometimes carried away to one
756 or other of these curing places, or to several of them, and is
787 there made a shaman. It will be noted that this method of
acquiring the ability differs from those previously described,
but his functions are the same as those whose power has been
obtained in one of the usual ways.

Dreams

787 The last type of contact with the supernatural is by means
of dreams. Psychologically, these are akin to visions; indeed,
it is often impossible to learn whether the experiences described
in an ancient story occurred during sleep or when awake. The
[774] Bella Coola believe that dreams are caused by the spirit of the
individual; they are, therefore, supernatural and worthy of
attention, but in spite of this, it was difficult to obtain detailed
accounts. The reason seems to lie in the intangibility of the
experiences themselves. Unless one is sufficiently striking, it
passes into oblivion as a fruitless manifestation of the workings
of the spirit. Many of the visions seen in ancient times by
those who had fasted or otherwise reached an emotional state,
must have been dreams, but they have ceased to be recognized
as such in the course of generations. The Bella Coola of today
[159] state emphatically that they receive warning of future events
during sleep, but the only individual from whom it was pos-
sible to obtain coherent descriptions was the elderly man
previously described as X (I, p. 515).

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In his younger days X was somewhat wild, taking his full share in the frivolities of the village, and having a fondness for wine which he brewed himself. On one occasion he prepared a barrel of the mixture, half of which he promptly consumed with the aid of a few friends, then, semi-intoxicated, he fell asleep. He dreamt that there came to him what must have been a male being, although all that was visible was the lower half of his body, which was gleaming white. The apparition seized X by the nape of the neck, lifted him from the floor, and carried him across the house to the barrel of wine, revolving sunwise on himself the while. 159 ● 787 * [273]

"You made this fearful stuff," said his supernatural visitor. "It will make your life dirty, as dirty as this."

Still turning sunwise on himself, with these words he carried X to the doorstep and held him suspended, face downwards over it. Everyone who enters must tread there, so that it is recognized as being the dirtiest part of the house, and X had no doubt about the meaning of the apparition's remark. This experience was so vivid and impressive that X asserted he immediately became a Christian and abandoned his evil ways. At the present time he is one of the few Bella Coola not addicted to home-brew. [797] [273]

A few years later the same being came a second time. X had been ill for a number of months with a sickness caused, so he believed, by a sorcerer. His friends had carried him to baths in the Hot Springs and the treatment helped his condition considerably, but a little later he suffered a relapse, and was so wretched that he told his mother he would die presently. The same night he was visited by his apparition, but this time he could see the whole body; it was a man with large, powerful frame and a face so white that he could not bear to look at it. The figure was clad in undyed cedar-bark, and X immediately realized that he would recover, though he knew he would not be granted the same power as if the clothing had been of dyed cedar-bark such as is worn by supernatural shamans. The dream-man told X that he had come to him because of the clean condition he had attained by washing in the Hot Springs, followed by continence, and warned him that he must continue this for a year from the time of his immersion or he would die, but that if he obeyed this injunction he would recover. His visitor, who was, of course, a supernatural being, took X under one arm and carried him far to the south, where he washed him in a hot spring at the base of a steep mountain. Then he vanished; X arose and prepared to make his way home, but, lo, he was there already. Reflecting later, X concluded that his body must have remained in his house, and that it was either his spirit or his life that had been carried away. [755]

As X lay asleep the next night, the same being came to him and

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* 787

carried him far away to the west, where he was washed in another spring, and as before found himself at home immediately after his immersion. The following night the apparition took him to the north; he found himself on the shore of a lake where an expert carpenter, *Qwaistsamlaix*, was making tiny canoes of jack pine. The trees were only about six feet in height, smaller than any human craftsman would think of using. The supernatural being told *Qwaistsamlaix* to make a canoe for X; he did this within a few minutes and the apparition vanished as soon as X was aboard. The craft moved with the speed of light and X was carried across the lake, only to find himself once more at home. The fourth night the being bore him to the east, washed him in a hot spring, and vanished as he had done on his first and second appearances. The repetition of this experience four times fully convinced the patient that he would recover. His health improved at once; in fact, his appetite had returned after his first dream.

As X lay sleepless[11] the next night, it suddenly seemed to him that the world had become flat and open. From his couch he could see in all directions; the trees had disappeared, the mountains had vanished, and the walls of the houses did not bar his vision, so that he could watch what was happening in *Tsmoti* several miles up the valley. He saw a naked, black creature, with curly hair like that of a negro, rise from one of the small ponds on the south side of the Bella Coola valley about two miles from the sea. Helpless, he watched the being draw nearer; it entered his own house, seized him, and rolled him to and fro on the floor with wild contortions. Then it passed on to the next house where X saw it grip a sick girl lying there and treat her in the same way. After a few minutes the black apparition fled far away to the south where at length it vanished from view. In the morning he told his mother what had happened, adding that he thought he would lose his senses.

His mother, worried at her son's hallucinations, agreed to remain awake with him the following night. Again he saw the black monster rise from the lake, and he called to her in fear, but she could see nothing. Once more it came nearer, entered the house, and rolled X over and over, in spite of his struggles and in spite of his mother's presence. She could see his movements, but could neither restrain him nor see the cause. When the being left him it entered the adjacent house and again attacked the sick girl lying there, then disappeared southward. The same procedure was repeated on the third night, but on the fourth, after pummel-

[11] As already mentioned, it is often difficult to differentiate between dream and vision. X definitely stated that he was awake at the time, but the experience seems to be of the nature of a dream and has, therefore, been included in this section.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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ling X, the monster carried away the girl. X watched and knew that it must have taken her life; so it transpired, for in the morning she was found dead. The black being did not reappear the following night. 159 787

X soon became fat and well, to the surprise of all, and many of the chiefs asked him to give a shaman's dance. He declined, not having received name, instructions, song, or tangible object from the white, supernatural being who had befriended him. He did not even know his benefactor's name. [756]

At intervals during his life-time, X has seen the white supernatural being and, more rarely, the black one in his dreams. The most vivid occasion was when he heard a sound in the attic of his house and climbed up outside to investigate. The ladder broke, precipitating him through an unglazed window into the loft with a broken leg. All night he lay there in agony, and it was not until the next day that his friends were able to lower him in a sling and take him to *Qomqo-ts* en route to the hospital at Bella Bella. Their departure was delayed by a storm and as X lay suffering he told his wife that it would have been better if he had broken his neck instead of his leg. That night, while half-asleep, the world again became open to him and he saw the black creature come bounding along the trail towards him; it entered the house, jumped around him, and finally leapt into his body. He called to his wife to burn dried salmon beneath his bed to expel the evil monster; this had the desired effect though he did not see its actual departure. The next night the white apparition came to him, telling him that he had erred seriously in wishing for death, that one should accept what was in store for one and not oppose *Alqwastám*'s wishes. The being went on to say that it was wicked to prepare too far in advance, and intimated that X's misfortune was the result of having made ready tools for clearing an unnecessary tract of land.[18] [755]

The white being has even appeared during his waking hours. On one occasion he felt it coming when he was in the mission-house, where the missionary was writing a letter for him. Although still invisible, X knew what was approaching and tried to close the door but he was helpless. In came the apparition, at sight of whom X swayed so violently that the missionary asked what was the matter. It went away again in a moment, leaving X shaken and bathed in perspiration. [797]

The experiences just described lie on the border-line between dream and vision. X has frequently seen the apparition

[18]This occurred during the first war, and X remembered having heard that the Germans had laid up stores of munitions. He concluded that this must be evil and that they would fail accordingly. He repeated this statement on many occasions and claims to have foretold the result of the war from his vision.

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in his sleep, and hopes that it will grant him specific supernatural power. He realizes that he could increase the probability of obtaining this by ceremonial chastity, and believes that it would come to him if he went alone to the woods and lay fasting for some time. Another means would be to concentrate his thoughts upon the desired end, but X is too good a Christian to do so; he is in the unhappy position of knowing too much of two religions to be able to practise either unreservedly. Such experiences are not likely to occur to any but a man of high-strung, imaginative temperament, to whom dreams and mental excitements appear especially vivid. X is intensely religious, so that it is easy for him to interpret every phenomenon in terms of the supernatural. It will be noted that most of the dreams just described took place when he was sick, precisely the time when hallucinations are to be expected. They were more coherent than those of most Bellà Coola, though the difference is one of degree rather than of kind.

Most dreams are comparatively simple, and the information received in them is intelligible. They come to all, irrespective of rank or prerogative. Nevertheless, it is believed that an inheritable tendency runs in some families; this does not mean that all members of such a group dream constantly, but they are more likely to do so than others. Those occurring at the winter solstice are more carefully observed than at other times, since it is then that the supernatural beings decide events for the coming year and a man's spirit may be able to inform him of what has been decided. Consequently, as soon as *Alqunùm* enters *Nusmùt a*, wise men separate from their wives and concentrate on dreaming, hoping to learn what is in store for them. For instance, if a man sees himself seated before a large pile of goods, he knows that he will have the good fortune to do this during the coming year; on the other hand, if he foresees ill luck, it means that he will be unfortunate. Another time when dreams are especially desired is before the summer solstice when hunters in particular observe ceremonial chastity. This purification not only increases the likelihood of such

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experiences, but adds to the reliability of their prognostications. At that season, if a hunter dreams that he will not be successful, he remains at home knowing that it will be useless for him to seek game. 787 [785 224]

Though dreams are considered and remembered most carefully at the solstices, it must not be imagined that they are disregarded at other seasons. Often there is neither mental picture nor apparition, merely a voice, the sound of which indicates that the hearer will be fortunate the following day. Instead of a voice without body, a dream may consist of a speechless apparition which indicates by gestures the fate in store for the dreamer. One elderly Bella Coola who keeps a small shop states that he can usually tell in this way whether or not he will sell much goods during the coming day. Many years ago, after frequent visits from a being of this kind, the man became the leading fisherman for one of the canneries; he attributed his success to his nameless benefactor, for whose benefit he threw a number of small pieces of food into the fire. Occasionally, specific information or advice is received. On one occasion, when this same man was ill, he dreamt that a supernatural being appeared and told him to wash in the river, that it was breath to all human beings; he did so regularly, and was soon restored to health. Sometimes the information is with regard to the future. On the night of January 15, 1924, he dreamt that two naked Carriers were standing beside his bed. He asked them what they wanted, and why they were without clothing. 159 787

"We always appear as an omen of trouble in the land," they answered.

Next day there was a heavy fall of snow which he regarded as fulfilling the prophecy. The dreamer was X, the man of imaginative temperament who had beheld the white and black supernatural beings. These instances illustrate the manner in which the same individual has repeated experiences of similar type. X claims that he began to dream when a small child,

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787 and that his mother stated that all her ancestors had done
[859] likewise.

Another instance of advice conveyed in this manner was
756 told by a Kimsquit man who related that a number of years
787 ago a pregnant woman had dreamed that *Alqunàm* appeared
to her and told her not to destroy what she would presently
bear. In due course she was delivered, but the infant was a
[847] repulsive cripple, blind and deformed. Remembering the
admonition, the mother refused to slay her child as many of
her friends advised. Soon it was apparent that he was super-
naturally endowed; as proof of this he repeated comments
which had been made to his mother within a few minutes of
his birth. As he grew older he developed shamanistic powers
so that he was able to converse with the dead, the only instance
known of this ability being granted from birth. He also had
wonderful talent as a singer and, though he must have died
about 1850, the Bella Coola still recount his skill in this respect.
[847] He would unquestionably have been killed but for his mother's
warning.

787 Instead of imparting verbal information, dreams frequently
foretell the future by means of images of events about to
happen. For example, if a man dreams of owning large num-
[224] bers of pelts, it signifies that he will have success in hunting,
and he starts for his trap-line without delay. So, too, warnings
are conveyed. A number of years ago a slave woman of *Sinxl*,
who was not a member of the *kusiut* society, dreamt that she
saw herself bitten in many places and lying covered with blood.
Within a few days she met a Cannibal dancer (II, p. 71), who
was supposed to have vanished into the land above; he killed
her and lacerated her body, as she had seen. A Kimsquit
man told of a similar instance that happened to a member of
the party with which he had been hunting a number of years
previously. One night he was wakened by one of his com-
panions, *Tsàlits*, calling out that he was afraid because he had
dreamt that one side of their canoe was shattered. The
hunters were impressed, because they knew he had long ob-

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PREFACE

THE term Bella Coola can be applied to the Indians who formerly occupied more than twenty villages on the lower Bella Coola River in central British Columbia, to their near kinsfolk on the Kimsquit River, and to those living at the head of South Bentinck Arm. Disease and changed conditions consequent upon the coming of the white man have so reduced their numbers that the last two groups of settlements have been virtually abandoned, while only one village remains in the Bella Coola valley. This is located on a reserve near the mouth of the river, and its four hundred inhabitants comprise practically all the survivors of what was once a tribe of several thousand people, with a distinctive language and culture of their own.

The material contained in this monograph was collected in this one village many years ago for the National Museum of Canada.[1] I was in the field during two periods that extended from March to August, 1922, and from September, 1923, to February, 1924. My field notes were worked up and the completed manuscript submitted to the Museum in 1926. Since that time it has suffered various vicissitudes. Recommended for publication by the Chief of the Anthropological Division, it passed through the hands of various editors; questions were raised about its size and the suitability of detailed studies of social anthropology in a government publication, and by the time these matters were adjusted, funds for extensive publications were unavailable and the manuscript was put aside. Since the aim of the investigation was to record, as far as possible, the sum-total of the complex and interwoven social life of the Bella Coola, I did not think it desirable to prepare short articles[2] summarizing different aspects, preferring to await an

[1] Then the Victoria Memorial Museum.

[2] The only exception was a short article on Bella Coola supernatural animals published in the Ontario Annual Archaeological Report for 1924-25, pp. 17-27.

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kenzie, making his memorable overland trip to the Pacific, records coming upon Indian villages at every few miles of his course. Boas describes the way in which the inhabitants of each of these claim to be descended from one group of ancestors. 173 361 175

Though it is impossible to estimate the former population of the Bella Coola valley with any degree of accuracy, it must have been in the thousands. In 1922 there were surviving rather more than three hundred individuals, who live in one village on an Indian reserve near the north bank of the Bella Coola River, about a quarter of a mile from the sea. In the last century the tribe was stricken with smallpox, and since then consumption, venereal disease, measles, and other diseases of the white man have taken their deadly toll. Changed conditions of life and decay of the rich ceremonial around which centred their interests in the old days are also contributory factors in their decline. Within the last few years, however, the population has begun to increase. 161 [164] [177] [182]

Bella Coola Villages

The following list of Bella Coola villages was obtained. In an effort to learn which had been deserted in recent years, the writer always asked whether or not a town was occupied at the time of Mackenzie's visit, an event of such great interest to the grandparents of the older people that the memory of it is still preserved. Villages said to have been occupied at that time are marked with an asterisk. 361 [124] [175]

Three rivers empty into the head of South Bentinck Arm, which is about one mile in width (see Plate 7). The Bella Coola, flowing from the east, enters at the southern edge, and the *Nulqatskwan-e* winds in from the north to the opposite angle of the head of the fiord. This stream, "The Nearest River" of the Bella Coola, so-called because of its proximity to the sea, is shown on maps as the Necleetsconnay. Between the mouths of these two is the *Pe-xlb*, a small stream rising 133 [103]

seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject. [721] [575] [622]

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Stuax* and *Ałqāłxl* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe. [648] [685] [626] [556] [688] [628] [727] [777]

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Tāl·io*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack. [642] [648] [133] [161]

105 of their omnipresence; the guiding force of public opinion is
182 seen as a check on individual licence, fostered or inculcated by
[626] the ties which hold together ancestral families and make it impossible for a man to lead an isolated life where others will not be affected by his actions. If the white man is willing to receive new ideas, he will learn much from the comments of the Bella Coola on his own customs. Many have been to
[556] Victoria or Vancouver, and they feel that the contrasts of wealth observable in such big cities are atrocious; they ask
[602] how this is compatible with Christianity. They feel that it is unnatural for a man not to receive support from his cousins of
[956] all degrees; that the hoarding of wealth for the mere gratification of personal desires is selfish; that the selling of land is extraordinary; and that failure to ascribe every incident to supernatural causes is sacrilegious. These differences of viewpoint on so many matters explain the first impression of strangeness. A careful investigator comes to realize that he is among a people who fundamentally differ but slightly from his compatriots, though outwardly they have little in common. With respect to love, ambition, parental affection, sense of honour, pride, intelligence, even humour and vanity, the Bella Coola are essentially similar to ourselves. Unfortunately, these characteristics are expressed in ways unintelligible and often repellant to the casual traveller. If he will only look beneath the surface, he will find a people who are neither saints nor sinners, but essentially human, with the faults and follies as well as the elements of strength and wisdom which comprise, as Kipling puts it, "Men in a world of men."

177 The coming of the white civilization has been cataclysmic
[161] to the Bella Coola. Within two generations they have been reduced to a mere handful; instead of living in scattered vil-
[361] lages, roaming the mountains for game and fishing at will, they now dwell in a single settlement and the taking of animals and fish is subject to law; the introduction of metal tools and mechanical appliances has revolutionized their mode of life; new foods, new clothing, new furniture has altered their living conditions; fermented drink has presented a factor unknown

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
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SYMPATHETIC MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE BELLACOOLA

By HARLAN I. SMITH

177 754 789 [797] 658 [464] MANY OF the Bellacoola Indians today believe in sympathetic magic and witchcraft, after over a hundred years of contact with white men. Most of them live within hearing of the bells of the mission church, and the government school. Not a few of the men take logging contracts; some of them build and operate motor boats; many of them join the fishing fleets of the salmon canneries; most of the women work in the canneries; and all deal at the white men's stores.

101 131 [161] The Bellacoola lived at the heads of the long inlets half way up the Pacific Coast of Canada and in the tributary Bella Coola valley. Now, numbering perhaps two hundred and fifty, they, with the exception of a few families, are concentrated on one reservation at the mouth of the Bella Coola river. The Bella Coola valley has been called the Norway of Canada. This was where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada overland, reached the sea.

105 Aboriginally, the Bellacoola were of the North Pacific Coast culture of America, which is characterized by the extensive use of red cedar and sea products, particularly salmon, the making of graceful, sea-going canoes, each hewn from a single cedar, the erection of large rectangular houses made of cedar planks, with carved house posts and totem poles, lack of pottery, and expertness in carpenter work, carving, and painting. This culture belongs to the barefoot area, but the Bellacoolas wore moccasins to a certain extent. The art of the area was that best known from the paintings and carvings of the totem poles, largely of conventionalized animal forms. The life centred around a very highly developed social organization, an extensive and powerful financial system, and property rights to names, rituals and honors. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. They

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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Since the end of the last century they have dwindled down in numbers, and a few only of their once populous villages are still inhabited, namely, Sâtaq, at the head of Dean Inlet; Nûtl'ɛ'l, at the mouth of Salmon River; Nuqa'lkn (which embraces five villages, at the mouth of Bella Coola River; Stû'in, twenty-eight miles up Bella Coola River; and Tâ'lio, at the head of South Bentinck Arm. The dialect of Nûtl'ɛ'l and Sâtaq differs slightly from that of the other villages. The following is a list of their ancient villages, most of which are still inhabited at certain seasons, although not regularly:— 161 361 [197] 103 361

1. Sâtaq.
2. Nûtl'ɛ'l. The tribe of this place is called Sôtalɛmn.
3. Nuqa'lkn, embracing the villages K·ômkô'tza and Stakê'etl on the north side, Pê'iɛzla and Nutnê'intakônê on the south side of the river.
4. Sɛnqtl.
5. Tsômô'otl.
6. Snû't'alè.
7. Nû'knits.
8. Asɛ'nanê.
9. Nuk·â'aqmats.
10. Tsqosqk·â'nê.
11. Nû'sk·'ɛlst.
12. Nûtltlê'iq.
13. Stû'in, twenty-eight miles from the sea.
14. Snû'tl'ɛlstl. Nos. 4 to 14 are situated along Bella Coola River, and are given as they are met with in ascending the river.
15. Slâ'aqtl, at the confluence of Bella Coola and Driver (?) Rivers.
16. Tâ'lio, at the head of South Bentinck Arm, embracing K·'on'pq, Tâ'lio, Nû'ik', A'sêq.
17. K·oâ'tlna, at the bay of that name in the southern entrance of Bentinck Arm. On the north entrance of Bentinck Arm were the Kiltê'itl, but it is doubtful whether they belonged to the Bilqula or to the Hê'iltsuk. The latter call the people of Dean Inlet Kî'mkuitq. [101]

Each of these tribes is subdivided into gentes, which appear to be arranged in exogamic groups. I learnt the names of the following gentes, which bear the names of their ancestors:— 614

Gentes of the Nuqa'lkmn:

1. Tok·oâ'is (=looking down on his *family*).
2. Spuqpuqô'lɛmq; Qê'mtsiɛs name: Mâ'lakyilatl (see p. 415)
3. Siatlqêlâ'aq.
4. Kɛ'ltâqk·aua.
5. Pô'tlas.

Gentes of the Nusk·'ɛ'lstɛmn:

1. Tî'ak·anmô'ot.
2. K·ôoqôtlâ'nê.
3. ?

Gentes of the Tâlio'mn:

1. Ialo'stɛmôt (=making good fire); Qê'mtsiɛs name; T'â't'ɛnatsît (=a cave protecting from rain).
2. Spatsk'ûi.
3. Tsmqoâ'akyas.
4. Ha'mtsît.

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(5) *Anutsqwa xstl*, "Labretted": the eastern continuation of the last mentioned.[1] The name is explained as follows: 361

One of the people who came to the earth in the beginning of time, *Taiakwala* by name, travelled to the Skeena River, and there saw women wearing labrets. On his return to Bella Coola he settled at *Anutsqwa xstl* and carved on his totem-pole[2] the figure of a woman with an abalone-shell labret as a memorial of his voyage. Visitors coming to his potlatches named the town from this figure. [173]

This was one of the largest towns in the valley.

?*(6) *Aimā ts:* a small town to the north of the last, not far from the *Pe xsls*. It is assumed that it was founded by a descendant of *Taiakwala* named *Aimā ts*. The consensus of opinion is that it has not been occupied for many years, but one informant recently dug up a clay pipe on the alleged site. 172

*(7) *Slskistl*, "What Has Been Divided": on the south shore of the Bella Coola River about a quarter of a mile from the sea. This village was founded by a certain *Sril*.

*(8) *Somqo ts*, meaning doubtful, perhaps "Salty": this, the most populous village of the valley in the recent past, is still inhabited by one or two families. The inhabitants of other towns explain its large population by marriages with slaves. This is the upper, or eastern, continuation of the preceding, and the two in combination formed a row of houses stretching for three-quarters of a mile (see Plate 9). 162 572 569

(9) *Ooosskpamy*, "The Treeless Place": on the north side of the Bella Coola, supposedly about half a mile above *Aimā ts*. This village was long ago deserted.

(10) *Tsuskuwulpa ts*, "Where There Is Much *kuskuwulp*," a kind of hollow-stemmed plant: some distance from

[1] Several towns, each consisting of a single row of houses, are regarded as forming two villages. In such cases there is no visible boundary mark.

[2] The Bella Coola believe that their early ancestors used totem-poles; repeated reference to them will be made, even though the work of Barbeau and others on the recent origin of totem-poles on the North-West Coast indicates that the Bella Coola concepts are not historically accurate. [778]

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601 Coola social organization, and of the absence of standardized obligations based upon specific relationships.

Slaves

567 Since a slave was[11] without status in the Bella Coola com-
[554] munity, it is perhaps incorrect to include a description of slavery in a chapter on social organization; but as slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages, it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was
162 impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of their number in
567 Bella Coola; slavery has been so long abandoned that the present natives could only hazard vague guesses. Judging from conversational remarks by elderly men, it seems probable that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as thirty to forty per cent of the total population.

567 When a party raided a village most of the inhabitants were
927 slain, but some, especially children, young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. As far as could be learned, once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief
[422] or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

567 Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold.
437 The Bella Coola were usually so well provided with salmon that they were able to exchange these fish with the members
[622] of other tribes for slaves. Lack of strong chieftainship among
726 the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of
[431] their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category
773 belong those obtained as presents at potlatches. If, however, a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was

[648] [11]One of the first efforts of the white man's establishment in British Columbia was the freeing of all slaves. Consequently the past tense is used in this section.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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to a guest was regarded as amusing. In recent years, however, 837
some husbands have made a practice of renting their wives to [648]
white men. This is not considered creditable, but the Bella 548
Coola do not strongly condemn breaches of the moral code, [183]
which are regarded as the affair of the husband alone. There is said to be a Bella Bella custom by which a wife takes as recognized paramour one of the friends of her husband who is thought not only to know of this but to receive the presents which the lover gives his wife. The two continue to be friends and often hunt together; in fact, their mutual interest in the woman is a bond between them. No trace of this practice [171] could be found in Bella Coola.

POLYGAMY

It has thus far been assumed that the Bella Coola are 595
monogamous, an assumption correct only since the period of 556
white dominance. Previous to that time it was quite common [177]
for wealthy men to have three, four, or more wives. *Potlas*, the important chief so often mentioned, had nine, ten, or eleven, the exact number is not known. A man wishing to take a second wife could do so in the manner already described, although the period of engagement was usually much shorter, and working for his parents-in-law was not expected. The reason for this was obvious to the Bella Coola. None but a chief of importance could afford more than a single wife, and such an one could not be expected to demean himself by working for anyone else. Besides, parents were glad to have their daughters married to a great chief, so willingly omitted the customary period of servitude. Few attained the distinction of having several wives. As far as could be learnt, [162]
the number of the sexes seems always to have been about equal, in itself a check to polygyny in a community where practically every adult had a wife. A number of males were always slain in war, and it is to be assumed that polygyny was made possible only through the surplus of women thus caused. The great majority of men had a single wife, some chiefs had

721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided
648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
[727] of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but
[628] were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the help of *Xemqo-ti*, the most exposed one, although there was no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of
[776] this town attributed their protection to *Alquntám*, and used to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola
[361] itself was comparatively free from molestation, Kimsquit and
[162] *Tálio*, with smaller populations and less strategic positions, were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and entered by a water-gate with a drop-door.[1] This water-gate protected the
[648] residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one
[726] Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders, armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way
[642] and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong govern-
[623] ment was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being assailed, the members of the town would discuss retaliation,
[622] and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was de-
[701] cided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[1] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

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be made more powerful by magical means or the ritual acts of relatives. Although these often entail great labour and expense, parents seldom neglect their duty; in fact, care for their children is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics, though the methods used are so foreign to the white man that he has difficulty in realizing their meaning. The hope of both parents is to have children to carry on their names; infanticide is unknown and the death of an infant is mourned almost as much as that of an adult. Sterility and impotency are frequent causes for divorce.

At the present time there is a high birth-rate in Bella Coola, although the heavy infant mortality prevents any appreciable increase in the population. In the old days, it is said, there were always large families, though much confidence cannot be placed in this statement. In families where there are several children, the first-born, whether boy or girl, assumes an important position. His or her influence, as eldest, is naturally considerable, and the parents foster this through the vague feeling that it is proper for the eldest to be the most important in the family. In adult years, and after marriage, the influence of the eldest of a family continues to have considerable weight with younger brothers and sisters.

If a man is poor he cannot hope to have more than one wife, and his family circle will be limited to their children, and perhaps to elderly parents. On the other hand, a wealthy and powerful man usually has a larger family. Not only may he have several wives, but his aged relatives, and those of his wife, look to him for support and assistance. Such are usually welcome to live in his house; they lend what aid they can in collecting food, and it gratifies a man's pride and sense of power to be closely surrounded by a large family. The Bella Coola are, on the whole, considerate to their aged relatives.[10]

[10]This is not true of the present. During the winter of 1923-4 a feeble old man, living alone, was often in actual want of food. Disliked and degraded, of a mean disposition himself, none of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were nephews, would take him into their houses. Commenting on this man's fate, several informants pointed out how, in the old days, such a one could have found

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CHAPTER VII

BIRTH, ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE

Birth—Childhood Instruction—Puberty Rites—Marriage

Birth

IT was impossible to obtain definite data on the fertility of Bella Coola women, or on the period elapsing between marriage and the birth of the first child. Sterility is rare, though by no means unknown; on the other hand, there are several families with as many as eight or nine children. The changed conditions which have followed the advent of the white man seem to have had little influence on the high birth-rate, although infant mortality has increased enormously. Within the last few years this has diminished, so that the Bella Coola are now holding their own. Children are always desired, and although methods of abortion and infanticide have been known for many years, neither practice seems to have been sufficiently common to have produced an appreciable effect on the population.

Pregnancy usually occurs during the year following marriage. Though its actual dependence upon coition is fully realized, yet the Bella Coola, religiously minded in this as in all other aspects of life, ascribe the condition to the four *Mesmesälänx* acting on the behest of *Alquntäm*. It is believed that the Carpenters carve out the child who is to be born in the same way that a human craftsman manufactures some complicated object. Most individuals do not theorize to any extent upon the course of biological development, but are content to assume that *Alquntäm* has made the coming birth possible.

During pregnancy the expectant mother must observe certain restrictions. If she chews gum, she will have a difficult delivery; if she eats salmon tails, the feet of the infant will appear before the head, and although skilled assistants can usually rotate a child, this is a painful process which should be avoided.

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kenzie, making his memorable overland trip to the Pacific, records coming upon Indian villages at every few miles of his course. Boas describes the way in which the inhabitants of each of these claim to be descended from one group of ancestors. 173 361 175

Though it is impossible to estimate the former population of the Bella Coola valley with any degree of accuracy, it must have been in the thousands. In 1922 there were surviving rather more than three hundred individuals, who live in one village on an Indian reserve near the north bank of the Bella Coola River, about a quarter of a mile from the sea. In the last century the tribe was stricken with smallpox, and since then consumption, venereal disease, measles, and other diseases of the white man have taken their deadly toll. Changed conditions of life and decay of the rich ceremonial around which centred their interests in the old days are also contributory factors in their decline. Within the last few years, however, the population has begun to increase. 161 [164] 177 [182]

Bella Coola Villages

The following list of Bella Coola villages was obtained. In an effort to learn which had been deserted in recent years, the writer always asked whether or not a town was occupied at the time of Mackenzie's visit, an event of such great interest to the grandparents of the older people that the memory of it is still preserved. Villages said to have been occupied at that time are marked with an asterisk. 361 [124] 175

Three rivers empty into the head of South Bentinck Arm, which is about one mile in width (see Plate 7). The Bella Coola, flowing from the east, enters at the southern edge, and the *Nulxuxtskwan·e* winds in from the north to the opposite angle of the head of the fiord. This stream, "The Nearest River" of the Bella Coola, so-called because of its proximity to the sea, is shown on maps as the Necleetsconnay. Between the mouths of these two is the *Pe·ssb*, a small stream rising 133 [103]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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361 the north bank of the Bella Coola,[1] near the lower slope of the mountain, and about three miles from the sea. It is probable that there was a town at this spot very long ago, according to the statement of one old man, and the numerous repositories (II, p.8) in the vicinity support this view.

*(11) *Sınxl*, "Sunny," or "Fallen Sun": on the south side of the Bella Coola opposite the preceding. It was deserted about 1907. This was a fairly large town, though never as big as *Qomqo·ts*. The name is derived from Sun, *sınx*, and there [173] are two explanations given for it. One informant states that [178] the name came from the many revelations of the Sun to the first people there; another that the first chief, said to have been named *Stältımg*, erected a large totem-pole, decorated with the figure of a sun. This blew down, in consequence of which the people called their town *Sınxl*, "Fallen Sun."

*(12) *Sqomell:* on the south side of the Bella Coola about three miles from the sea, and a short distance below the end of the present bridge. The meaning of the name is unknown.

*(13) *Tcımotl*, "Where the River Is Sufficiently Deep to Cover the Stones, but Shallow Enough for Rapids": the upper continuation of the last-named. It was deserted during the [164] smallpox epidemic. The name of the chief who came there [173] at the beginning of time was given as *Tswakilak*.

(14) *Sno'oniqwlg*, "On the Point": on a curving promontory on the south bank of the river about four miles from the sea. It was long ago swept away when the river changed its course.

(15) *Nu'exmäq*, "The Place of Foul Water": on the north [133] bank of the Bella Coola a little above the preceding, at a place where there were a number of stagnant pools between the river and the mountains. No one knows how long ago this town was abandoned; but as the names of people living there figure in stories which are said to be of no great antiquity, it

[133] [1]The river frequently changes its course, so that village sites now at a considerable distance from it may once have been on its banks.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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stream, on which the salmon-weir rested, was carried away.[10] 361

The following village may be included with the above: [173]

(27) *Nusxeq:* on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, to the east of the creek that flows into it at Green Bay. This long-deserted village was built so close to the ocean that high tides reached almost to the houses. According to one informant, the name was derived from that of the first chief sent down from above to that spot; while another connected it, etymologically, with *Nusx*, the name of the barren district some four and a half miles up the valley of the creek. In recent years this village site has been used only as a summer camp. [173]

The name given to the Bella Coola valley is *Nuxälk*; that given to the inhabitants of the valley, excluding those of village no. 27, is *Nuxälkımx*.[11] 101 103

Two points must be considered with regard to the above list of towns: In the first place, can it be regarded as an accurate list, or do the towns belong to the realm of mythology? In the second place, are the customs and beliefs of the inhabitants of the different towns sufficiently similar to be described without reference to local differences? 128 173 361

The first question is difficult to answer. The Bella Coola undoubtedly consider the existence of these towns to be an historical fact, but so do they regard the peopling of the earth by men created in the land above. Nevertheless, the above list appears to be substantially correct. The Bella Coola, although now collected into a single village, still remember their ancient homes. One man, for example, stated as a matter of course that he was a man of *Snuləli*. Further inquiry elicited the information that he had been born at *Sunxl*, where his father had moved at the time of the smallpox epidemic. It later appeared that my informant's father was born at *Tcumotl*, had married there, and that it was his father who had moved [164] [166]

[10] This explanation may be only legendary.

[11] Boas, p. 49, states that *Nuxälk* is only applied to the lower villages of the valley. All the writer's information was contrary to this view. [114]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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361 (31) *Ḳxdis*, "Ocean Fish-Trap": on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the *Nuik"* River. [226] It is doubtful whether this was a town, or merely a camping place of the people of *Nuik"* when using their salmon-trap.

*(32) *Nuik":* on a raised mound at the south side of the mouth of the *Nuik"* River, which enters the head of South [731] Bentinck Arm from the east. The meaning is unknown. This [164] was a populous town until the inhabitants were decimated by an epidemic of smallpox.

*(33) *Tāl·io:* on the west side of the mouth of the river of the same name which flows into South Bentinck Arm from the south. The location of this village was constantly changed, [133] owing to destructive variations in the course of the river. It was formerly a large town, and has been deserted only since 1900. This village had another name, *Ṭqwantlos*, "Facing," so called because its houses faced those of the town of *Nuik"*.

*(34) *Ȧs·ux"*, "At the Head": at the head of South Bentinck Arm there is a bay running south-west, into the upper end of which a small stream empties. The trail leading to the [487] lake at the head of Rivers Inlet follows this valley. *Ȧs·ux"* was located on this creek, at some little distance from the ocean; the name was derived from the geographical location of the town. It has not long been deserted and must have been a populous place to judge from the numerous repositories (II, p. 8).

(35) *Ḳwapx:* on the east side of the mouth of a creek flowing into the bay at the head of South Bentinck Arm, from the south. This town was of moderate size. The meaning of the name is unknown. It is thought to be in the Rivers Inlet language.

VILLAGES AT KIMSQUIT

[133] Two rivers, the Dean from the east, and the Kimsquit from the north, flow into the head of Dean Channel, and the villages of this area can be grouped according to the two rivers.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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174 reliable traditions of Carrier settlements there. The probable explanation is that the Bella Coola formerly extended over the area, either in actual fact or according to mythology, but were supplanted by the Carriers.

175 The Dean River is called *Nulɔl*, and the generic name for the people of the Dean valley is *Sutslmx*. About eighty years [101] ago a smallpox epidemic so reduced the villages on the Kims- [164] quit that the survivors abandoned them and moved to the [731] Dean. At that time a certain Kimsquit man is believed to have said: "We will take their places and kill even their dogs."

Since that time, the joint settlement has suffered one [164] epidemic after another, until a mere handful of the people [731] survive, and they are almost entirely descended from the Kimsquit River immigrants. Within the last few years, these have requested permission from the Bella Coola to abandon Kimsquit entirely and live among them. The two groups have [628] always been on the best of terms, but the Bella Coola have not forgotten the fate of the Dean River people and have been unwilling to admit the Kimsquit survivors.

Villages on the Kimsquit River, Sä·tsk'

361 *(44) *Sä·tsk':* this large and important town, at the mouth of the river, was deserted at the time of the smallpox epidemic.

*(45) *Nuxwdst:* this settlement can be grouped with the last-mentioned, although situated on the shore of Dean Channel, at the site of the present Manitou Cannery, six miles away. No meaning of the name is known.

Tribal Organization

619 The subject of this monograph is the people of the above forty-five villages. They will be referred to as a *tribe*, and as this term is customarily limited to a political unit, a brief justification for its use is necessary.

342 Each Bella Coola village consisted of a single row of houses, 361 built along the shore of a river or the ocean. The front doors

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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THE *ıstämx* [1]

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Before the smallpox epidemic, about 1865, there were towns on the fiords and villages of Dean Channel between Kimsquit and Bella Bella. The inhabitants were called *ıstämx* by the Bella Coola, and *ıstaitx* by the Bella Bella. Their settlements were at Elcho Harbour, Green River, Cascade Inlet, and at several unidentified places. Their language is said to have differed slightly from that of the Bella Bella, but the people themselves married freely with both Kimsquit and Bella Bella, thus forming a connecting link between these tribes.

A list of *ıstämx* towns was obtained from one old man, who claimed to be a descendant of the people. It was impossible to verify this information, and since he himself was not an ideal informant, the following can be regarded only as approximately correct.

(1) *Älko:* at Elcho Harbour.

(2) *Kıldeıt:* on a fiord one mile above the last-named.

(3) *Älllık* or *Yuqwa t:* on a river three miles above the preceding.

(4) *Nuwaisä·x:* on a river two miles above the preceding.

(5) *Nusqatl:* on a fiord three miles above the preceding.

(6) *'Omllom:* on a fiord three miles above the preceding.

(7) *Suxwlk:* on a river two miles above the last-named and thirty miles below Kimsquit.

According to the old man from whom the above list was obtained, *Nuxwlst*, at Kimsquit, recorded earlier as village no. 45, was also populated by *ıstämx* people. There was so much intermarriage between the two groups that it is now impossible to ascertain whether the inhabitants not only of *Nuxwlst*, but of *Suxwlk* as well, were predominantly Kimsquit or *ıstämx*.

BC
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[648]

The open plateau in which the Bella Coola River rises has always made travel possible for long distances, so that not only

1 ["Bellacoola term for the people of mixed Bellabella - Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of 'Dean Channel' - see 2: McIlwraith, cat. 116, p584 - Analyst]

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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621
623 ters, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact
[535] this ceremonial unity is its most important function.
[796] With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the
361 river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built
[184] type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them
[342] stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many
[171] cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there
[481] is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox
[164] epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space.
[433] Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

342 The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire,
[354] often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side-walls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the different families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The
[592] number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an
[622] important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and any-
[261] one present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with
[353] carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall.
[535] A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important in dances.

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835 and influence may have won for him. One or two instances
556 are known of contact between parent and child, a matter in which it is the duty of no one to interfere; if a person thus flouts public opinion, it is his own affair.

648 In view of the firmness of the marriage bond and the ab-
167 sence of professional prostitutes, it is difficult to explain the wholesale exodus of Bella Coola women to Victoria in the last century. In some peculiar manner this came to be regarded as socially proper. The daughters both of chiefs and commoners trooped off for a varying period of months or years
[164] and those who returned brought back venereal diseases which appear to have been unknown before that date. Few of them bore children afterwards, a factor of prime importance in estimating the reasons for the decline of the Bella Coola. The motives which led the women to the city seem to have been: (1) the desire for wealth; (2) the influence of strong liquor; (3) the lure of a strange environment; (4) the attraction of the white men, on account of their higher culture.

It is fortunate for the Bella Coola that this fatal custom has ceased to be considered estimable, although the harm already done may be irremediable.

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tries to speak to living relatives, but his whistling language is unintelligible and frightens the hearer. Ghosts dislike urine, and the only means known to keep them away from a house is to sprinkle this liquid outside the door, a common Bella Coola custom. There is no actual danger in hearing a ghost, and little even in seeing one, provided the observer does not relate his experience, but should he try to do so, something happens to his mouth as if an invisible hand had been clamped over it to prevent his words issuing forth. He can neither eat nor drink and soon dies.[46] It is possible that other beings are responsible for this same affliction, but as no sufferer has ever been able to explain the cause of his ailment, no one knows. The most dangerous ghost is that of a person who, buried without a nose-ring, is unable to disintegrate into his elements. The sight of such an apparition causes almost immediate death through contraction and closing of the mouth.

775 [789] 761 775 753 [764]

An unpleasant habit of ghosts is the throwing of stones at the living. This is done partly from a love of mischief, and partly to remind their relatives of their needs. An old Kimsquit man described how, when encamped on King Island, he had almost been struck by a stone which seemed to fall from a tree. He realized that it must have been thrown by a ghost, and his opinion was confirmed when he found he could not speak. He instantly built a fire and cast on it both food and clothing as offerings to the dead, which had the effect of loosening his mouth. Pondering on the reason, he remembered that one of his relatives had died not far away, and that he had failed to give him any crumbs for a long time. In this case, as in many others, the stone was visible, though the thrower remained invisible.

775 [753] [755]

Even near approach to ghosts is sometimes dangerous. The same man related how, when hunting, he heard what he thought was the note of a water ouzel, and passed by heedlessly. In a few minutes he thought he heard the cackling of geese, but the sound, instead of continuing to come from a pond a few hun-

[46]The disease attributed to the actions of ghosts may be lock-jaw.

[164]

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obtained two wives, the name of one being *Thisla*. He returned to Bella Coola with them.

Nänalskwitl knew that presently he was fated to become immobile, a seat of petrified power. Since he was able to select where this was to be, he chose the site of Mount *Nusqalst*, midway in the Bella Coola valley, as a convenient place to overlook the doings of men. Before he transformed himself into this mountain, he determined that he would have people visit him; accordingly he changed his axe, *Nuskumidjusta*, which he carried concealed beneath his blanket, into *sqalst*, a stone much used for axes and adzes. Until the introduction of white man's tools his wish was gratified; people came from far and near to obtain the necessary material.

The human origin of the mountain is still remembered, since it is often spoken of by its chiefly names, *Nänalskwitl* and *Thisla*, relics of its existence as a man. This story is regarded as an origin myth, and as such might have been included in vol. I, chap. VI.

This mountain is regarded with awe by the Bella Coola on account of its great height, but it seems to lack most of the characteristics ascribed to other places where power has been petrified.

(10) On one of the mountains above Cascade Inlet there used to be a stone eagle with outstretched wings which came to this earth with the first people, but was petrified one day when drying its wings after fishing. About 1860 part of its beak fell away. A change in the condition of any of these places had long been regarded as an omen of misfortune, so the epidemic of smallpox that soon after ravaged the coast was not unexpected.

(11) *Allssmos*: An unidentified spot where a *smuq* of the mountain was petrified. At this place there is a small pool which is the repository (II, p. 8) of a certain *kusiut* dancer.

(12) *uxsekam*, "The Walker," the name both of a supernatural being and the spot where it is localized. This is not far from the glacier that lies near the junction of the trails from *Snuhsli* and *Täl·io*; it is the largest one in the vicinity of Bella Coola and is said to move its position. The being is in some way connected with it, hence the name.

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* 539 * 787 777 Bella Bella man was fishing when a salmon jumped into his canoe and died at once, without the usual flopping and struggling. The fisherman took it home and ate it, though his wife refused to touch it, as being uncanny. Presently the man's lower jaw became diseased and he lost his teeth. The salmon must have been a *sisiutl*.[18]

The mere sight of a *sisiutl* does not bring the misfortune which follows the killing of one by faulty means. On the other hand, if slain in the proper manner great good fortune will result. One method is to put a stick near it in the water, whereupon the fish will jump ashore and flop around, shedding its scales. The hunter should then kill it and, crouching down, say:

"I wish I had a salalberry leaf, or a piece of dead alder."

Both of these have sharp-cutting edges. If he then puts his right hand behind him, whichever he has asked for will be there, though no one knows how it comes. Then he must cut the fish lengthwise into two parts, throw away the right half and the head, wrap the left in his cape,[19] and run from the spot, taking care to go neither up nor down hill. Soon a landslide will take place, sweeping away the ground on which he has stood, even though it be level. He must hide the half *sisiutl* in a hole in a cedar tree for one year without saying anything about his treasure. During this period he must not hunt or embark on any other important enterprise.

When the year has elapsed he may tell the people of his experience and sell tiny fragments of the *sisiutl* for large sums. The purchasers wrap these fragments in cedar-bark and with them daub fish-weirs and traps, thus attracting animals and fish. A man obtaining a *sisiutl* in this way can show his children where it is concealed, and so transmit his power to them.

THE CATCHING OF A *Sisiutl*

Not many years ago, a certain *Owlxān·i* constructed an ocean salmon-trap below Kimsquit. One moonlight night he saw in it a white, gleaming salmon and at once jumped to the conclusion that it was a *sisiutl*. Being a wild, reckless fellow, he determined to try to obtain supernatural good fortune from his prey, though he was ignorant of the proper procedure. Waiting until the receding tide had almost laid bare the floor of his pen, he leapt down from the weir and clubbed the salmon to death, heedless of the scales which it was shedding in all directions. Then *Owlxān·i* cut it

[164] [823]

[18]It appears that the fisherman was a victim of pyorrhœa, in consequence of which his teeth were extracted by a dentist, but the patient is convinced that his misfortunes are due to the salmon which entered his canoe.

[19]The left of anything is said to be more valuable than the right because when a man dances it is the left side which is nearer the sun.

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"Please remedy the invalid." 755

This is virtually a prayer, addressed to the deceased owner of the skull, and accordingly verges on appeal to the dead. None the less, there is no concept of active supplication to any individual ghost, but rather of acquiring aid by the use of a supernatural object.

For one year after this treatment, sexual intercourse is forbidden to both practitioner and patient. The latter, though not the former, dies if either fails to observe this taboo. The use of an old man to apply the medicine is to lessen danger from this source. The owner of this remedy is always liberally rewarded and some old men carefully preserve a skull under a rock-ledge in order to be ready if called upon. [785] [761]

For Smallpox

Pick up a toad, and tear off its head with the teeth, swallowing some of the blood. 757

This is an ancient remedy for some other ailment which was tried as a last resort during the smallpox epidemic. One man who succeeded in practising it on four successive days was cured of the dread disease.

For Consumption

Boil leaves and stems of a certain fleshy plant (not identified) in water and drink the decoction. The potency of the medicine increases accordingly to the number of plants used.

This medicine was a Nootka Indian's hereditary cure for a cough which was found to be effective for consumption as well. The malady was so prevalent on the coast in the last century that it seemed as if the inhabitants were doomed; this remedy was allegedly discovered at that time and knowledge of it spread rapidly from tribe to tribe, saving the lives of hundreds. The Bella Coola recognize that this was a private medicine, but have ceased to regard it as such and have no hesitation in applying it whenever required. [177] [164]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

(3) Pound bark and wood of the black hawthorn in water and drink the brew. 757

(4) The following medicine must be prepared by the patient himself. It is not generally known, but the woman from whom the information was obtained claimed that it had been used with success by her brother.

Obtain a human bone, or a piece of a coffin, and burn it secretly in the forest at some distance from the village. Mix the ashes with dog-fish oil. After preparing the medicine the patient must remain alone in the woods for four days. He can then return home and rub the mixture on his genital organs to reduce the swelling. The sufferer must remain continent for one year or the disease will return with increased malignancy.

It was impossible to learn which types of venereal disease are believed to be curable by these medicines. Nor could definite information be obtained concerning the length of time that the Bella Coola have suffered from these maladies. Most of the old people affirmed that they were unknown before the coming of the white man, although one elderly woman was emphatic in stating that they had experienced them for many generations. 164

For Difficult Delivery (three means) 757 845

(1) The usual remedy, which has been described already, is to apply hot ashes to the woman's feet as soon as the pangs of delivery are felt.

(2) If delivery has been delayed beyond the usual time, it can be accelerated by giving the woman a morsel of the testicle of a beaver mixed with water. This causes the infant to be born at once.

(3) In case of extremely protracted delivery, a husband can help his wife by urinating upon her head.

For Breast Trouble 757

The cure for a pain in a woman's breast is to make a deep incision so that the blood flows freely.

Z: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

* 575 *kukuziut* send back X's call in the usual manner. Then, two
* 996 by two, the masks are cast on to the fire and the ceremonial is over.

THE DANCE OF THE TALLY POSTS

[773] As previously described, a tally post is erected in the land
[777] above for every Bella Coola at birth. As long as this memorial
[753] is upright and firm, the individual to whom it refers enjoys health and prosperity, but if it becomes crooked he falls ill.
[424] The uninitiated believe that several *kukuziut* have the prerogative of climbing to the land above during the ceremonial season and straightening leaning tally posts. This is such a
[178] useful ability that it must have exercised great influence on the uninitiated in early days, but the rite has not been properly
[64] carried out since the smallpox epidemic in the last century. The following account was obtained from two old men
[115] who remembered the manner in which a certain *Onikutl of Tsmoil* performed a year or two before "The Great Sickness." Neither of the informants was a *kuziut* at the time, but they were able to supplement their recollections of the dance with what they afterwards learnt when initiated, so the following account is probably accurate in outline though deficient in detail. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X, and describe the ceremony in the present tense. It was also performed at Kimsquit many years ago.

The rite resembles *kuziutem* dances in many respects. X must obtain the consent of the marshals during the preceding summer, and their permission is refused unless the prospective dancer is a man of proved discretion. If they agree, X asks a
[283] number of *kukuziut* women to help him by making a very long and strong rope of nettle fibre. At intervals the work-women gather for the purpose in the back-room of X's house, taking
[688] care that no uninitiated see what they are doing. Every effort is made to ensure that there is no flaw in the rope as a break would be a serious matter, punishable by death.

Near the winter solstice the marshals choose a suitable time

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923):1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

CONIFERAE, PINE FAMILY

Juniperus communis L., JUNIPER

B 137 757

Bella Coola: Roots, leaves, branches, and bark boiled, and the decoction taken internally as often as desired for many ailments, including a cough from the lungs, and pain in the stomach. Neither a purgative nor an emetic.

Southern Carrier: Branches boiled, and the vapour inhaled for headache and pain in the chest.

Northern Carrier: Tips boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative, also for a cough.

Juniperus sp.

B 137 757

Gitksan: Entire plant, including roots and berries, boiled for a day, and the decoction, when cool, taken internally for many ailments, including hemorrhage and kidney trouble. A purgative and diuretic.

Thuja plicata Don, RED CEDAR

Bella Coola: Very soft bark used to bind up wounds, and to cover poultices of false hughane (*Tronsmitria grandis* Nutt.) and of tall buttercup (*Ranunculus acris* L.).

Leaves, sometimes with the gum-coated cones, boiled, and the hot decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach. Neither an emetic nor a purgative.

Leaves powdered by pounding, mixed with a little cold water and taken internally for pain in the stomach, also externally for coughs and internal pains, as heart trouble, rheumatism, swollen neck, and pain in the stomach. *See also* Polypody, page 48.

Gitksan: Not used.

Chamaecyparis nootkatensis (Lamb) Spach, YELLOW CYPRESS, YELLOW CEDAR

B 137 757

Bella Coola: A little soft bark used to cover poultices of false hughane (*Tronsmitria grandis* Nutt.) and of tall buttercup (*Ranunculus acris* L.).

Pinus contorta Dougl., SCRUB PINE, JACK PINE

B [152]

Bella Coola: Gum applied to cuts.

Gum chewed and applied to broken skin.

B [164]

Gum at the ends of branches, collected in November, December, and January, boiled and the decoction taken internally for "consumption."

Gum—like that of tideland spruce (page 51) and western hemlock (page 51)—mixed with the baked stems and leaves, or the dried and pulverized bulb, of false hellebore (page 53), and applied as a poultice (sometimes spread on red cedar bark) to the chest for heart trouble, and to the arms for rheumatism. Burned the skin within two or three days, but was sometimes left on as long as two weeks.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE5
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14
Chilcotin NE8

Ca
I
5
137
757

Southern Carrier: New shoots boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach. Resembled the decoction made from the bark of the aspen (page 54), or from the new shoots and bark of the tideland spruce (page 81), but the last-mentioned considered most efficacious.

Northern Carrier: Needle tips mixed with large needle tips of the "British Columbia pine" (*Pinus* sp.?), the inside bark of the wild gooseberry (*Ribes* sp.?), bark of the red-osier dogwood (*Cornus stolonifera* Michx.), the inside pulp of raspberry canes (*Rubus* sp.), stems of the "bearberry" (?black twin-berry, *Lonicera involucrata* Banks?), and the inner bark of the wild rose (*Rosa* sp.), placed in a vessel holding four gallons of water, boiled down to a thick decoction, strained, and bottled. About two tablespoonfuls taken, at sunrise and sunset, for constitutional weakness or paralysis, or if the body were covered with sores.

Gum obtained by heating a green piece of pine (sp.?) painted on the eye to remove white scum and to cure snow-blindness.

T

Sikani: Pitch chewed and the saliva swallowed for a cough.

[912]
[262]

Gitksan: Inner bark (scraped from the trunk with a bone scraper after the outer bark had been removed) eaten both for food and as a blood purifier. Purged the body in from half an hour to an hour.

T
[164]

Shavings of the yellow resinous timber found after removal of the bark boiled, the decoction placed in oil, and taken internally as a purgative and diuretic for many serious ailments, including gonorrhoea. Said to produce beneficial results in "consumption."

Young needles plucked in June and eaten as a purgative and diuretic.

For use with a fern, *see* page 48.

B
Ca

Abies grandis Lindl., White Fir, Balsam Fir

137
757
[164]

Bella Coola: Bark of root or of stem boiled, and the decoction taken internally every day for tuberculosis and stomach trouble. Said to have cured many cases of tuberculosis.

Gum from bark blisters found on young trees warmed, mixed with mountain goat tallow, and taken internally for sore throat; also drawn on a hair across sore eyes.

Young, green leaves baked, mixed with fruit of skunk cabbage (*Lysichiton kamtschatcense* Schott.) gathered in October, or the buds gathered in April, split, dried on top of the house, roasted, mixed with a small quantity of slightly roasted roots of the cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.), one or two cupfuls of the gummy buds of the black cottonwood (*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.), and four or five cupfuls of fresh eulachon oil, allowed to stand one day, then boiled and kept in a box for a hair perfume. Kitimat Indians said to be more expert in its preparation.

B
[302]
[171]
Cn
[757]

Southern Carrier: Tree used for medicine, but details not obtained.

Chilcotin: Not used.

S: Smith E-5 (1920-1923):1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
CARRIER NE9
THOMPSON NE15
SEMAN: NE14

Abies sp.

Northern Carrier: Bark boiled in water and the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

Gum used as an ointment on wounds, and especially on burns.

Sikanni: Gum applied to wounds.

Gitksan: Juicy inner bark, scraped from the trunk of the tree, after removal of the outer bark, taken internally for constipation.

Gum from the bark blisters taken internally as a purgative and diuretic for "consumption," gonorrhoea, and many other serious ailments. Applied externally to cuts and sores, especially the sores of gonorrhoea.

The young cones, obtainable in August, dried across, mashed, and used for the same purposes as the gum from the bark blisters.

See also here, page 68.

Pseudotsuga taxifolia Britt., Douglas Fir

Bella Coola: Gum boiled and taken internally, while warm, as a diuretic for gonorrhoea.

Gum, spread on red cedar bark, applied to cuts. (One informant said that although gum of scrub pine (see page 68), hemlock (see page 81), and tideland spruce (see page 81) were good, Douglas fir gum made cuts worse.)

Gum mixed with dogfish (shark) oil or, if that were not available, eulachon oil, taken, two spoonfuls at a time, with warm water, as an emetic and purgative for colds, rheumatism, gonorrhoea, constipation, intestinal pains, and diarrhoea.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Tsuga heterophylla (Raf.) Sarg., Western Hemlock, and **Tsuga Mertensiana** Carr., Mountain Hemlock

Bella Coola: Leaves chewed and applied to burns.

See also scrub pine (page 68).

Gum warmed and applied to cuts. Not boiled for a diuretic for gonorrhoea.

Burning twigs applied to the skin for various internal ailments.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Picea sitchensis Carr., Tideland Spruce

Bella Coola: Tips of small, but not of large, spruces mixed with blue currant (*Ribes bracteosum* Dougl.), young juneberry (*Amelanchier florida* Lindl.), and crushed branches (leaves and stems) of garden strawberry (*Symphoricarpus racemosus* Michx.), boiled and taken internally for gonorrhoea.

Sap from the peeled trunk taken in doses of from half a cup to a cupful as a laxative from May to August.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NES Bellacoola NES
COTTIER NES
TSIMSHIAN NES

ARISTOLOCHIACEAE, BIRTHWORT FAMILY

B
139
[16]

Asarum caudatum Lindl., Wild Ginger

— *Bella Coola:* Boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting.

Boiled, and applied externally for headache, intestinal pains, and pain in the knees.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

POLYGONACEAE, BUCKWHEAT FAMILY

Rumex occidentalis Wats., Western Dock

Bella Coola: Roots roasted for a short time in a hole in the earth among the ashes of a fire, covered with earth, mashed, and applied in quantity as a poultice for boils. Both leaves and roots used, according to another informant, and the poultice applied to wounds as well as boils.

Leaves used for a sweat bath for pains similar to rheumatism all over the body. Stones were heated, a little cold sand spread over them, and leaves spread on the sand; or else the leaves were spread on hot ashes. The patient sat or lay naked directly on the leaves, and was covered with blankets. Western Nettles (*Urtica Lyallii* Wats.), small branches of black cottonwood (*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.) with the leaves on them, or the small kelp found on rocks were sometimes used when leaves of the western dock could not be obtained.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

LORANTHACEAE, MISTLETOE FAMILY

Arceuthobium americanum Nutt., Small Mistletoe

Bella Coola: Boiled, and decoction taken as a potent medicine for hemorrhage of the lungs.

C
[164]

Southern Carrier: Boiled, and decoction taken freely for hemorrhage from the mouth, tuberculosis of the lungs, and emaciation.

NYMPHACEAE, WATER-LILY FAMILY

B
[165]

Nymphaea polysepala (Engelm.) Greene, Yellow Pond-Lily

Bella Coola, old custom: Used in a magical way for pain in all parts of the body. A root in many cases as large as a man's leg was cut free from the bed of a pool with a hemlock pole sharpened like a shovel. A hollow was made in it, water placed in the receptacle, and hot stones added. The stones were changed four times, after which the patient drank one or two cupfuls of the water. He repeated the dose each day for four days. To be effective the root had to be thrown back into the water, not on the ground.

B
[164]

Present custom: Root boiled twelve hours, and decoction taken internally for pain in any part of the body, such as "consumption", rheumatism, heart disease, and gonorrhoea. Considered good for the blood. Not used as a diuretic, or for diarrhoea, constipation, or vomiting.

T
[162]

Ootsuno: Infusion of scrapings of toasted root (or according to another informant, heart of root, boiled) taken internally for hemorrhage of the lungs and as a contraceptive.

Rosa sp., Wild Rose

Bella Coola: Roots and branches boiled, and the decoction taken internally, even ten cupfuls a day if desired, as a purgative for pain in the stomach. B 137 759

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Northern Carrier: *See* scrub pine, page 49.

Sekani: Roots crushed, steeped in water, and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

Gitksan: Not used.

Physocarpus opulifolius (L.), Maxim., Nine-Bark B

Bella Coola: Inner bark boiled for two hours, and two to four cupfuls of the decoction at blood heat taken internally as an emetic for persons dizzy with pain. Four or five cupfuls of lukewarm water then taken as a cleansing emetic and repeated about five times. 137 759

Inner bark boiled a long time (when it ceased to have emetic properties), one cupful of the hot decoction taken internally, and thereafter applied externally as a wash twice a day for gonorrhoea and scrofulous glands in the neck. Said to be a laxative that caused the glands to break, discharge fully, and heal. A cupful taken internally daily in advanced cases. B [164]

Southern Carrier: Bark (gathered near the coast) boiled for two hours, and two cupfuls of the decoction taken as an emetic, or one cupful as a purgative. Said to act in half an hour, and to be an excellent remedy, but fatal in too large a dose.

Aruncus sylvester Kost., Goat's Beard

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and one or two cupfuls of the decoction (or as much as desired) taken internally for pain in the stomach and gonorrhoea. A diuretic, but neither a laxative nor an emetic.

Roots boiled in grease of mountain goat (*Oreamnos montanus* Ord.) for a day and the decoction taken internally for smallpox. T [159]

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Geum macrophyllum Willd., Large-Leaved Yellow Avens

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea, or vomiting. Leaves, usually chewed but sometimes bruised, applied to boils.

Southern Carrier: Leaves boiled and the decoction taken internally for any sickness.

Leaves boiled and applied to bruises. B

Pyrus sitchensis (Roem.) Piper., Mountain Ash

Bella Coola: Bark of the roots, and sometimes the inner bark of the stem, collected at any time of the year, boiled for an hour, and the hot decoction, weak or strong, preferably the latter, taken internally for the stomach or rheumatism. Said to effect a cure in from one to seven days. Not taken for diarrhoea, or vomiting; and for rheumatism sometimes poured into a large box and used as a bath. Used also as an eye-wash. 137 759

Southern Carrier: Bark chewed for colds.

Gitksan: Fresh fruit crushed and eaten raw as a strong purgative.

S: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

Ledum groenlandicum Oeder, LABRADOR TEA
Bella Coola: Leaves boiled, and the decoction used as a simple beverage, or for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting. Neither an emetic nor a purgative.
Southern Carrier: Not used formerly, now as a beverage only.
Gitksan: Leaves boiled, and the decoction used as a diuretic, or merely as a beverage.

Gaultheria shallon Pursh, SALAL
Bella Coola: Leaves toasted, pulverised by rubbing, and applied to cuts.
Southern Carrier: Not used.

LABIATAE, MINT FAMILY

Prunella vulgaris L., HEAL-ALL
Bella Coola: Roots, leaves, and blossoms washed, boiled, and a cupful of the weak decoction taken internally for the heart. Not used for diarrhoea or vomiting.
Southern Carrier: Not used.
Gitksan: Not used.

Mentha canadensis L., MINT
Bella Coola: Entire plant boiled, and the decoction taken internally, as often as desired, for pain in the stomach. Not used for vomiting, constipation, or diarrhoea.
Southern Carrier: Entire plant boiled, and a cupful of the decoction taken internally for the stomach, colds, lung affections, and various ailments.
Gitksan: Not used.

SCROPHULARIACEAE, FIGWORT FAMILY

Castilleja miniata Dougl., PAINT-BRUSH
Bella Coola: Not used.
Southern Carrier: Not used.
Gitksan: Entire plant boiled, and the decoction taken internally for bleeding, stiff lungs, sore eyes, and lame back, possibly caused by kidney trouble. A purgative and diuretic.
Seeds boiled and the decoction taken internally for coughs.

CAPRIFOLIACEAE, HONEYSUCKLE FAMILY

Lonicera involucrata Banks., BLACK TWIN-BERRY
Bella Coola: Leaves chewed and cud applied for itch.
Leaves chewed and applied to boils, after they were cut open, to draw out the poison.
Leaves crushed and applied to burns and sores of gonorrhoea.
Bark toasted, pulverised, and applied to sores of gonorrhoea.
Bark boiled and decoction taken internally for cough.
Southern Carrier: Bark boiled for five hours, and the decoction used daily as an eye-wash. Roots, leaves, and berries not used.
Northern Carrier: See scrub pine (page 49).
Gitksan: Fresh juice of berries used in sore eyes. Inner bark (when berries not available) soaked in water, and the milky solution used in the eyes.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

B C T 137 757 B [164]

Symphoricarpus racemosa Michx., GARDEN SNOWBERRY

Bella Coola: Branches, large and small, with the bark left on, boiled, and the decoction taken internally daily as the best cure for gonorrhoea. A diuretic. Roots, blossoms, and berries not used for medicine, unless, as one informant stated, the berries were used with the branches.

See also tideland spruce (page 51).

Southern Carrier: Juice of ripe berries used in sore eyes.

Gitksan: Not used.

B C T 137 757

Sambucus racemosa L., RED-FRUITED ELDER

Bella Coola: Bark of the roots placed in water, a few hot stones added until water reached blood heat, and decoction used as a powerful emetic and purgative for pain in the stomach.

Bark of the roots peeled with the teeth, chewed, preferably with a little cool water, and juice swallowed as an emetic and purgative. Said to act within half an hour.

Southern Carrier: Roots boiled, and two cupfuls of the warm decoction taken internally twice a day as a purgative.

Northern Carrier: Roots brewed, the first water discarded and the second taken internally as a purgative.

Sikani: Bark boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

Gitksan: Bark of roots scraped off, water added to the bark, and the infusion taken internally as an emetic and purgative.

B C T 137 757

Viburnum pauciflorum Raf., SQUASHBERRY

Bella Coola: Bark chewed, and the juice swallowed for whooping cough and cold on the lungs.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Northern Carrier: Inside bark crushed, steeped in cold water until the water turned green, and one cupful of the infusion taken internally as a purgative and for dysentery.

Gitksan: Bark and twigs boiled, and one cupful of the decoction taken internally in the morning for coughs and "consumption". Said to be always taken in conjunction with devil's club (page 62). *See also Angelica genuflexa* Nutt., page 61.

VALERIANACEAE, VALERIAN FAMILY

B C T 137 278 T C [302] [237]

Valeriana septentrionalis Rydb., VALERIAN

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Roots, mixed with grease, used for perfume.

Northern Carrier: Valerian? blossoms crushed, and the oil, often mixed with fat from a black bear hide, applied as a hair tonic. Believed to make the hair smooth and shiny, to help its growth, and to give it a fragrance.

Gitksan: Entire plant steeped in bear grease and the grease applied to hair and face as a perfume.

C [302]

Valeriana sitchensis Bong., VALERIAN

Southern Carrier: Leaves mixed with grease used as a perfume for the hair.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

594 be made more powerful by magical means or the ritual acts of
869 relatives. Although these often entail great labour and expense, parents seldom neglect their duty; in fact, care for their children is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics, though the methods used are so foreign to the white man that he has difficulty in realizing their meaning. The hope of both
[847] parents is to have children to carry on their names; infanticide is unknown and the death of an infant is mourned almost as
[586] much as that of an adult. Sterility and impotency are frequent causes for divorce.

163 At the present time there is a high birth-rate in Bella Coola, although the heavy infant mortality prevents any ap-
[165] preciable increase in the population. In the old days, it is said, there were always large families, though much confidence cannot be placed in this statement. In families where there are
593 several children, the first-born, whether boy or girl, assumes an important position. His or her influence, as eldest, is naturally considerable, and the parents foster this through the vague feeling that it is proper for the eldest to be the most important in the family. In adult years, and after marriage, the influence of the eldest of a family continues to have considerable weight with younger brothers and sisters.

592 If a man is poor he cannot hope to have more than one wife, and his family circle will be limited to their children, and per-
556 haps to elderly parents. On the other hand, a wealthy and
[595] powerful man usually has a larger family. Not only may he have several wives, but his aged relatives, and those of his wife,
[602] look to him for support and assistance. Such are usually welcome to live in his house; they lend what aid they can in collecting food, and it gratifies a man's pride and sense of power to be closely surrounded by a large family. The Bella
[888] Coola are, on the whole, considerate to their aged relatives.[10]

[10]This is not true of the present. During the winter of 1923-4 a feeble old man,
[178] living alone, was often in actual want of food. Disliked and degraded, of a mean disposition himself, none of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were nephews, would take him into their houses. Commenting on this man's fate, several informants pointed out how, in the old days, such a one could have found

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

CHAPTER VII

BIRTH, ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE

Birth—Childhood Instruction—Puberty Rites—Marriage

Birth

IT was impossible to obtain definite data on the fertility of Bella Coola women, or on the period elapsing between marriage and the birth of the first child. Sterility is rare, though by no means unknown; on the other hand, there are several families with as many as eight or nine children. The changed conditions which have followed the advent of the white man seem to have had little influence on the high birth-rate, although infant mortality has increased enormously. Within the last few years this has diminished, so that the Bella Coola are now holding their own. Children are always desired, and although methods of abortion and infanticide have been known for many years, neither practice seems to have been sufficiently common to have produced an appreciable effect on the population.

Pregnancy usually occurs during the year following marriage. Though its actual dependence upon coition is fully realized, yet the Bella Coola, religiously minded in this as in all other aspects of life, ascribe the condition to the four *Mesmesälänx* acting on the behest of *Älquntäm*. It is believed that the Carpenters carve out the child who is to be born in the same way that a human craftsman manufactures some complicated object. Most individuals do not theorize to any extent upon the course of biological development, but are content to assume that *Älquntäm* has made the coming birth possible.

During pregnancy the expectant mother must observe certain restrictions. If she chews gum, she will have a difficult delivery; if she eats salmon tails, the feet of the infant will appear before the head, and although skilled assistants can usually rotate a child, this is a painful process which should be avoided.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

as easy as possible. Women seldom experience difficulty and 844
suffer, on the whole, less than do white mothers. It is believed
that *Sxaiaxwax*, though invisible, is present on every occasion; [776]
the rendering of assistance at childbirth is his one kindly act.

The umbilical cord was formerly cut with a mussel shell, [177]
but for many years the use of a metal knife has been customary.
The after-birth usually comes away easily, but if there is delay, [845]
hot ashes are placed around the feet and at the back of the
woman to accelerate its expulsion. It is immediately buried
or placed beneath a large tree in the forest; if burnt, the infant
will always be weakly. While one of the assistants disposes of
it, another washes the new-born child. The cloths and dishes
used for this purpose are burnt; failure to do so is believed to [826]
cause the child to become blind through a white film forming
over the eyeballs. Then the mother and midwives return to
the house with the infant, who is a source of tremendous in-
terest to the community. It is proper for the father to recom-
pense the attendants at once, in accordance with their skill
and his generosity. A woman who has had several children
often assists the daughter of a friend, then, as she gains more
experience, her reputation grows and her help is more com-
monly sought. At the time of this study, 1922, the sum of [465]
$2.50 was considered suitable recompense for a fairly pro-
ficient midwife.

A new-born child takes the breast readily and a mother 853
would be considered harsh indeed if she failed to suckle her
infant whenever it cried, since scientific hours for feeding are
not known. A child is wrapped in a shawl or a blanket and 854
carried by the mother wherever she goes; when in the house
it sprawls contentedly on the floor, unhampered by clothing.
When the umbilical cord falls, it is preserved by the mother. [846]
Soon after birth, the parents make provision for their child's
welfare by magical means (I, p. 700). The heavy infantile
death-rate of the Bella Coola cannot be attributed to lack of [165]
love or care on the part of parents, but the attention lavished is
commonly not of the kind that assists a weakly child to survive
the perils of infancy.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

133 on the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, east of the Necleetsconnay. Before merging their waters with North Bentinck Arm the three flow more slowly and there are extensive tide-flats (see Plate 8). Several villages formerly clustered around their mouths.

361

(1) *Q̣āmeux:* on the west bank of the Necleetsconnay about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. Nothing is known of this long-abandoned village of which even the name is uncertain. The mountain that rises behind its site is called *Q̣āmeux*, and it is supposed that the village had the same designation. Some of the older people state that there was no town, only a temporary hunting station, at this spot.

(2) *Ṭəsällumx*, "Short Feet": on the very shore of North Bentinck Arm, west and north of the mouth of the Necleetsconnay. The fiord terminates in a tolerably square end, running north and south, and this town was at the northern edge. It was built on piles and the inhabitants could step to the ground only at low tide. This is the explanation given of the peculiar name, a reference to the curtailed walking space. Long ago it was a large town, but was probably occupied only during the winter. In summer the people are believed to have moved to *Numām·uc*, "The Place of Flies," on the north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

[166]

*(3) *Äłqäläxł*, "The Fenced Town," so called because it was stockaded: near the south bank of the *Pe·əslə*, about a quarter of a mile from the sea, near the site of the present mission church. It was inhabited until about 1870. According to one informant this village was founded by a certain *Ṭäxlexwam*, a descendant of *Ṭaiakwala*, who decided to move close to the river.

[712]

(4) *Ṭłoq̣o·tł*, "Small Mound," so called from the knoll on which it was situated: above *Äłqäläxł*, and about one-half mile to the north of the present Bella Coola River. Its site is crossed by the road connecting the Indian village of Bella Coola with the white settlement of the same name.

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361 able for axes, which occurs in the valley of a small stream on
[316] the slope of the mountain.

*(23) *Nulleax*, "The Place Where There Are No Falls": an affluent from the north enters the main Bella Coola about thirty-one miles from the sea and the town was located on this creek about two hundred yards above its junction with the Bella Coola. The ruins of this moderately large town were still
[175] standing about 1870. Mackenzie reached the Bella Coola River at this place. At the time of his arrival the population was
[166] larger than usual, because the salmon-weir had withstood
[226] some heavy freshets which had destroyed several weirs on the Bella Coola, and driven the inhabitants of other villages to *Nulleax*.

[133] It is said that the affluent at *Nulleax*, the stream *Xaiqts*, is the only one in the whole Bella Coola valley that does not drop precipitously into a ravine leading to the main river. Its source is a spring at the end of a pocket-like valley, at the base of steep cliffs, but it does not fall down these. The town is named from this circumstance. The area around the spring is called *Nusnäxwnxkt*, and it is said that some families living on the Skeena sing of it as the spot where their first ancestors came to earth, although their descendants do not know where it is located.

*(24) *Stuux:* on the point between the *La'xlx* (Atnarko) and *Sla·kł* (Whitewater) rivers which join to form the Bella Coola. This, the most populous of the upper river towns, was deserted not long ago. The meaning of the name is unknown.

(25) *Qwliutł*, "The Place of Herbage": on the north side of the Atnarko River, a few hundred yards above the forks. This small town was deserted many years ago. The name was
[137] given on account of the hill behind the village being covered with a rank growth of plants and small bushes, but no trees.

(26) *Snułk·tł*, "The Place of Falls," so called from the
[133] strong rapids of the Atnarko at this point: on the north side of the river about ten miles from the forks. This large town
[173] was long ago deserted when a large rock in the midst of the

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stream, on which the salmon-weir rested, was carried away.[10] 361

The following village may be included with the above: [173]

(27) *Nusxeq:* on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, to the east of the creek that flows into it at Green Bay. This long-deserted village was built so close to the ocean that high tides reached almost to the houses. According to one informant, the name was derived from that of the first chief sent down from above to that spot; while another connected it, etymologically, with *Nusx*, the name of the barren district some four and a half miles up the valley of the creek. In recent years this village site has been used only as a summer camp. [173]

The name given to the Bella Coola valley is *Nuxälk*; that given to the inhabitants of the valley, excluding those of village no. 27, is *Nuxälkmx*.[11] 101 103

Two points must be considered with regard to the above list of towns: In the first place, can it be regarded as an accurate list, or do the towns belong to the realm of mythology? In the second place, are the customs and beliefs of the inhabitants of the different towns sufficiently similar to be described without reference to local differences? 128 173 361

The first question is difficult to answer. The Bella Coola undoubtedly consider the existence of these towns to be an historical fact, but so do they regard the peopling of the earth by men created in the land above. Nevertheless, the above list appears to be substantially correct. The Bella Coola, although now collected into a single village, still remember their ancient homes. One man, for example, stated as a matter of course that he was a man of *Snuləli*. Further inquiry elicited the information that he had been born at *Sunxl*, where his father had moved at the time of the smallpox epidemic. It later appeared that my informant's father was born at *Tcumötl*, had married there, and that it was his father who had moved [164] [166]

[10] This explanation may be only legendary.

[11] Boas, p. 49, states that *Nuxälk* is only applied to the lower villages of the valley. All the writer's information was contrary to this view. [114]

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128 from *Snuɔli*. My informant's grandchildren regard them-
173 selves as *Snuɔli* boys, and their names are embodied in myths
361 of that village, although their forbears have not lived there
166 for five generations. There is no reason to suppose this case exceptional. Other instances were obtained of movements of people from one village to another at earlier times, and there seems no cause to doubt the general accuracy of these. Names
[554] embodied in the origin myths of different towns are used as prerogatives and have been potent factors in keeping their memory alive. Uncertainties and inaccuracies there must be in the foregoing list, but on the whole it appears to be fairly reliable, since few contradictions were received from different informants.

128 Accounts obtained of the same ceremonies from the descen-
184 dants of people of different villages were found in most cases to be identical. There were a few differences in custom between
[796] the people of *Stuux* and those of the other upper valley towns on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the lower valley on
[101] the other. These will be mentioned when necessary, but on the whole the inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley can be considered as a tribal entity.

114 Boas (p. 48) gives a list of Bella Coola towns which agrees fairly well with the above. Among his villages are included
361 *Pe·ɔsɔ* (no. 4), *Nukɣuɣtskwan·e* (no. 7), and *Nusälsum* (no. 16).[11] All the older people agreed that these are the names of streams, though settlements located on them may have been known by the same designations. Names of the five villages recorded by Boas, nos. 6, 8, 9, 19, and 24, were not known by several old men questioned on the subject.

101 The villages of the Bella Coola valley did not form a political
619 unit; each was independent. A common language was spoken throughout and the inhabitants of the different towns recog-
[631] nized that their origins and customs were similar. This was
[197] also recognized to be the case with regard to the people living on South Bentinck Arm, and at the head of Dean Channel.

[11]Using in each case the spelling of this monograph.

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835 and influence may have won for him. One or two instances
556 are known of contact between parent and child, a matter in which it is the duty of no one to interfere; if a person thus flouts public opinion, it is his own affair.

648 In view of the firmness of the marriage bond and the absence of professional prostitutes, it is difficult to explain the
167 wholesale exodus of Bella Coola women to Victoria in the last century. In some peculiar manner this came to be regarded as socially proper. The daughters both of chiefs and commoners trooped off for a varying period of months or years
[164] and those who returned brought back venereal diseases which appear to have been unknown before that date. Few of them bore children afterwards, a factor of prime importance in estimating the reasons for the decline of the Bella Coola. The motives which led the women to the city seem to have been: (1) the desire for wealth; (2) the influence of strong liquor; (3) the lure of a strange environment; (4) the attraction of the white men, on account of their higher culture.

It is fortunate for the Bella Coola that this fatal custom has ceased to be considered estimable, although the harm already done may be irremediable.

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One." An informant, wishing to emphasize the care lavished on this being, pointed to a photograph from an illustrated paper of Princess Mary, Viscountess Lascelles, bending over her infant. He remarked that this was the kind of attention shown by *Xemxemālstla* to his charge. 776 *

Of slightly greater importance is the hermaphrodite, *Spuntz*. He resides in the land above, and spends most of his time outside the walls of *Nusmāt-a*, acting as guardian to a number of young girls, the children of various supernatural beings. On many occasions he has descended to this world and has been seen by mortals, who recognize him by his peculiar nasal voice, intermediate between that of a man and a woman. It is supposed that human hermaphrodites have been affected in some mysterious way by their supernatural prototype. 776 * 838 838

Several informants stated that they had heard of hermaphrodites among other tribes, and thought that such existed among their own people in early times, but the term is usually applied, without physiological significance, to two types of individual supposedly affected by *Spuntz*. Several cases are alleged of a male infant changing to a female on being washed and brought into the house. One of these, a girl about twelve years of age, was living in Bella Coola in 1923. The basis for these accounts is certainly error concerning the sex of a new-born child. The second class consists of those who desire to perform the work of the opposite sex. For example, if a boy shows an aptitude for woman's work, the parents, realizing that he wants to be a girl, dress and treat him accordingly. One informant knew of a Kimsquit boy, two Bella Bella, and several Kitimat to whom this had occurred. Henceforth they dressed as women, but in due course they took wives whom they helped in all feminine tasks. Another informant knew of two cases of the kind in which the men did not marry and were believed to have an aversion to women. One instance is known of a Kitimat woman who, having assumed man's costume and occupations, refused either to marry or to have anything to do with her own sex. Another case is of a Carrier 171 838

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838 woman who dressed as a man and used to hunt successfully,
[171] though she was married. Such practices are said to have been not uncommon among the Haida. The women were considered bold and independent, but the Bella Coola of today know little
*[776] about them, and are not even certain that *Spuntz* is responsible for a female assuming the actions of a male. It will be readily understood that he is not regarded with much awe, nor does he influence their daily lives.

*776 Another supernatural being, uninfluential though resident
[822] upon earth, is Echo, *Satsalāni*, "The Voice Repeater." The Bella Coola regard him as a male being, in human form, and recognize his presence whenever sounds reverberate. He figures in mythology, occasionally appears as a masked figure at
[575] *kwiat* or *nusek* dances, but has neither helped nor harmed human beings for so many generations that he is accordingly neglected.

*776 A supernatural being from whom many Bella Coola have
787 had unpleasant visitations is *Sīlmsila*, the cause of nightmares.
828 He is a man-like creature with black face and an enormous head which he constantly scratches. His home is in *Nusmāt-a*, but he frequently descends to this world and frightens sleepers. If a person scratches his head while asleep it is because he has just seen *Sīlmsila* doing so, and if he walks in his sleep it is to escape this supernatural visitor. A sleep-walker is usually aroused by having a bucket of water thrown over him. A
[751] person frequently troubled by *Sīlmsila* can avoid him by painting a black circle around each eye before going to sleep.

*776 With the exception of *Alqantēm*, the supernatural beings thus far described play little part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They believe in their existence, but do not expect to meet them, and do not believe that they exercise much influence on the course of their daily life. Supernatural beings of this ineffective
781 type are exceptional. A man goes into remote parts of the mountains, or even into little frequented areas around his
*776 village, with mingled fear lest he encounter an actively malicious being, and hope that he may meet a benevolent one. More-

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424 nearest answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the
979 Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the
825 narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience, and added that though he was quite willing to accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not
[582] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of exogamy.

211 Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet
424 they have some importance in the realm of social life. The
993 portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy
825 chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a
[532] design is impressed with the glories of the family history of
[556] the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of
[304] the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delineation is a memento of family history. For that reason a man is often tattooed* with his crest, that derived from his father's first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow. After the death of a chief a memorial-post is erected near his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

[171] [184] *It is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal tribes but also the Carriers. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated themselves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with potlatches; in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the back-room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material; the second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were baked for a long time and then ground into a powder. This keeps indefinitely and can be made ready for use by mixing with water. As far as could be learnt, any skilled craftsman might perform the operation.

[384]

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226
lies in public opinion which expresses contempt for a lazy man 626
who is constantly begging.

To anyone familiar with the definite social groupings of a 614
tribe divided into clans or land-owning families, the ancestral family of the Bella Coola must appear as a vague and unreal unit, only distinguished by its intangibility. So it was found when investigating in the field. When information began to accumulate, it seemed as if there must be some definite obligations incumbent upon all members of the ancestral family, but none could be found. Without asking a direct question, the point was raised whether, if a man were killed, the members [627]
of his ancestral family would unite to avenge him. Conversely, were they liable for the deeds of any member? In each case the reply was in the negative; these matters concern only the immediate family. In regulating marriage the ancestral family [582]
is important, since it is wise for a man or woman to seek his mate within the members of that group, though it is not compulsory. Theoretically, the terms of kinship applied to members of the immediate family may be extended to members of [601] [178]
the ancestral family, but in practice this is rarely the case, and, if so, is functionless. It might be argued that this somewhat wide application of kinship terms, verging on the classificatory usage, is a relic of an earlier, and now broken-down, clan system. It is impossible to prove or to deny such a contention. When trying to discover whether the members 614
of an ancestral family ever contributed to a potlatch whereby 622
one of their fellows established himself as a chief, the following 431
interesting comment was received. The previous winter the 171
informant had been in Bella Bella, and there the point was raised by a Bella Bella chief whom he quoted as follows:

"We laugh at you Bella Coola because each of you is always trying to be chief. Our system is much better; we all help our chiefs."

The man agreed with the Bella Bella man that there was an important difference between the practices of the two tribes.

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621 623 [535] [996] 361 [184] [342] [171] [487] [164] [433] 342 [354] [572] [223] [261] [353] [535]

ture, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact this ceremonial unity is its most important function.

With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space. Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side-walls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the different families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and anyone present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall. A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important in dances.

622 556 431 broader principles of chieftainship. The first essential is to consider the principles of present-giving.

PRESENTS

556 431 424 Consider, for example, a man who wishes to take for himself one of his ancestral names, and at the same time to display certain features of his ancestral myth—a particular type of house, totem-pole, or dance used by one of his forefathers. He invites guests to his house, displays the feature of his myth, and must give a present to each to show the value of his prerogative and to demonstrate that he has not merely casually usurped the function in question. In giving a present of, for instance, $20, it is as if he said to the recipient:

"See! These are the glories of my ancestors of whom I am the descendant. I have a part in their fame. To make this valid I give you from my wealth a mere trifle, a matter of no consequence to me, who am so firmly established in the path of my ancestors."

556 431 The guest receives the money with mixed feelings. On the one hand he has received $20 as a "present." But if he wishes to elevate his own position and his own prestige, together with that of his ancestors, it is incumbent on him to repay this sum with interest. Contrary to the practice among some other coastal tribes, there is no fixed rate of interest among the Bella Coola. An ambitious man who seeks to become a chief will strive to the utmost to pay back with heavy interest when he himself gives a ceremony so that his fame will be carried far and near. If he should repay only the principal, he would be regarded as having done all that was obligatory, but should he fail to do even so much, he would soon sink to a position of little consequence, no matter how lofty and distinguished his ancestral name might be.

[171] [558]

171 556 558 In this respect there is a parallel between the Bella Coola and ourselves. A man invited to a dinner party is not compelled to return the compliment, but if, in the course of

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time, he fails in any way to reciprocate the hospitality, he loses his place among his special associates. So, likewise, the Bella Coola who receives present after present, but fails to give any in return gradually receives smaller and smaller gifts and in time loses his social position and influence entirely. As with ourselves, too, there is a disguised feeling of contempt for the parvenu, the man who, lacking the traditional dignity attached to one of the names which came from above at the beginning of time, has elevated the fame of a more recent name by ostentatious giving. But in Bella Coola, as with ourselves, success is the great criterion, and the donor finds his influence little impaired by the lack of one of the ancient origin myths. It is dangerous to cite similarities between the social practices of divergent peoples, and this one must not be stretched too far. The pride of a man in being able to incorporate himself in the traditions of his ancestors is lacking with the host at a dinner party, nor does the latter, to any extent, attain the status of chief through his hospitality. Further, a Bella Coola will sometimes endeavour to shame the poverty of a guest by giving him a large present. Unless the recipient is willing to admit his inferiority he must repay this with a still larger gift. The original donor will then vindicate himself by increasing the value of his next gift until a fierce competition ensues. This feature of rivalry in generosity is rare in Bella Coola, and never reached the same proportions that it did among the Kwakiutl.

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The following is a good instance of the manner in which a haughty man regards the acceptance of gifts. A Rivers Inlet man married a Calvert Island woman who went to live with her husband. The man's mother, to show her amiable feelings towards the marriage, frequently gave thick slices of boned spring salmon, a great delicacy, to the family of her daughter-in-law. The Calvert Island chief considered these presents an insult to him, as if the Rivers Inlet people thought that he and his people were so poverty-stricken they lived on skin and bones. To avenge this slight he made war on the Rivers Inlet Indians and slew many of them. This attitude of the Calvert

556 578

554 or sat in two rows, facing one another, on opposite sides of the
556 central fire, parallel to the side walls of the house. When these
[773] first ancestors died, the name of each was passed on to some
[551] descendant. The Bella Coola feel that he who bears the name
[171] of the first settler in a village should have his ancestor's seat. Comparison with the practices of other coastal tribes suggests that formerly the Bella Coola must have had a definite series of seats in their houses, either according to the rank of the occupant, or according to the rank of the ancestor whose name he bore. The most careful investigation, however, failed to show such a system of ranked seating. The only indications that such may once have been customary, are found in the feeling today that the bearer of the first chief's name ought to occupy the central seat behind the fire, and in the expression, "He seats himself where his ancestor sat," when a youth is given his place in the house.

[551] A seat can be claimed and an ancestral name assumed at any age. Goods must be given away which are said to be "covering" for the young man, to have "flowed away," or to have "become nothing" for the name. These validate the official assumption of the designation. With it is given a place in the house. A seat is chosen at the side of the fire, and the goods mark that spot as his in conjunction with the name.
[424] The seat itself is not material, though the general location on which a person shall sit is indicated. His "seat" is the goods that have been expended. Several men may have positions at practically the same spot, but when all are seated they merely move slightly so that all have room. There is no thought of one person infringing on the location of another. A parent who gives ample wealth at successive potlatches may seek for his son a seat behind the fire. Such is entirely his own affair and if sufficient goods are distributed the son may seat himself in that place, but if the gifts are of little value the occupant is secretly held in derision, as having a seat that is unsound, or unfirm. In later years the man may expend large sums in strengthening his seat; by so doing he wins recognition from

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names to their dog, and had distributed presents to validate the bestowal. Consequently, the animal is a chief (see Plate 11) and can do as he likes. When it dies it will be mourned as a chief. Moreover, a number of people have returned the presents which they received at the time the dog was made a chief, and this money is kept by the woman and her husband, to be used when they perform the rite of mourning for the dog at death. 231 552 622 766

When this is possible, in the present degenerate days, it is not difficult to understand how, formerly, a great chief felt himself above the restraints that hindered lesser men. The last great Bella Coola chief was *Potlus*, who died between 1870 and 1880. His influence and power were so great that he was a virtual ruler, daring anything. If he requested a young man to take his food box home and the youth was slow to obey, *Potlus* had no hesitation in killing him on the spot. Such great power, though unusual, is intelligible to the Bella Coola, since *Potlus* gave far more potlatches than any of his contemporaries. Other chiefs have been known to attempt a similar arbitrary use of power, but have failed, since their prestige was not great enough to justify it. The fame of a mighty chief spreads up and down the coast, and protects him and the members of his family from being ambushed and slain in any sporadic foray. During an actual fight, however, a chief had to take his chances with the rest, but the comparative immunity was a great advantage. 556* 622 [156] [628] [726]

The Bella Coola recognize the fundamental differences between their own concepts about chieftainship and those of other coastal tribes with whom they come in contact. This point was mentioned in the course of conversation by several men. The most powerful chief known to them was *Tcubsa*, who, they say, was virtual monarch of the Kitkatla. None of his subjects could go hunting without his permission, and he had rights to a certain share of their booty. At any ceremony presents had first to be given to him, and if he were slighted in this respect, he would kill the offender. It is be- 171 556* 622 829

[See out. 116, P 116 (c) - ANALYST]

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171 lieved that all the Kitkatla chiefs were powerful, but *Tcibsia*
556 was the greatest of all. It is said that one of his prerogatives[1]
622 was to exercise *jus primae noctis* whenever a Kitkatla was
829 married. Without question, tales of this chief's prowess have become exaggerated in transmission, none the less they show that the Bella Coola realize the great importance of the northern chiefs. Concerning their nearer neighbours, the Bella Bella, the Bella Coola understand the way in which the members of a family combine to help their chief in the giving of presents. They say that the Bella Bella consider the Bella Coola practice of each one endeavouring to make himself a chief to be foolish in the extreme. Such is also said to be the opinion among the Kwakiutl, who support their contention that in Bella Coola all are chiefs, from the fact that flooring exists under the seats of all, whereas in Fort Rupert, their home, such occurs only beneath the seats of chiefs.

262 Corresponding to the extreme paucity of functions pos-
574 sessed by Bella Coola chiefs, their prerogatives are likewise
622 scanty. Indeed, they take their validated seats only during certain rites of the secret society connected with chiefs, at potlatches, and at ceremonial meals. These last occur whenever a deer or seal is killed; the latter is considered a great delicacy.[2] Anyone can kill a seal, but it would be unthinkable for a Bella
[225] Coola to share its flesh with his immediate family only. The
[252] animal is cleaned, the hole made by bullet or spear carefully plugged, and the carcass boiled whole in a large box. Mean-
[203] while a herald (I, p. 244) summons the chiefs to the house where the successful hunter lives. If the meal is to consist merely of one small seal, only a few chiefs are invited, those of greatest influence through their possession of "strong" seats. When several seals have been killed, the number invited is corres-
[562] pondingly larger, but no woman may partake unless she ranks

[1]This is said to have been a personal prerogative, not shared by all chiefs, and requiring validation by valuable presents.

[178] [2]Only traces of the rite described in this paragraph occur at the present time. In fact, the reservation of seal meat for chiefs alone was discontinued towards the close of the last century.

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grease have been placed in readiness. X selects as many 556*
youths as the number on whom he intends to confer the names 575
which have already been announced and validated among the
Bella Coola, but are now to be made known to the foreign 553
guests. He seats the lads, who are to substitute for the initiates, on the various boxes. Everybody understands that these are merely representatives. X requests two chiefs to act as his announcers, choosing two with good voices and abundant self-confidence. To one of these X whispers the *susaok* name of one of the initiates.

"His name is now——" calls out the announcer, pointing to one of the substitutes, and the listeners readily recognize the initiate intended, from the use, in conjunction with his new designation, of his well-known ancestral name. The heralds repeat the new name with the usual badinage, so that it be- [203]
comes well known to all present. In like manner the *susaok* name given to each initiate is publicly announced. The substitutes receive no advantage from their part in the proceedings.

Then the boxes are opened and red elderberries poured into 556*
the canoes in front of the guests. Stones are provided with 264
which the visitors pound the fruit into pulp which they pro-
ceed to mix with their hands, as olachen grease and cranberries [252]
are added. Then X's helpers distribute spoons and the feast commences. All start to eat, but after an interval one of the leading Bella Coola chiefs strikes the side of his canoe with a spoon, as a signal that all must stop. X has several dishes in [415]
readiness. If he is wealthy some of these will be carved in the [532]
shape of beaver, eagle, or other form in which an ancestor appeared. These dishes are filled with the food which all have been eating and then placed before the principal chiefs, who thus have a second supply. At this point the singers begin to 533
beat out an ancient song of the type known as *xe·tla*. Each
of these has been handed down from the distant past; when 556*
some chief, ancestor of X, had it composed for himself at a
potlatch. The theme is always about the form or fame of his [171]

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533 earliest ancestors, and the text is commonly grandiloquently
*556 phrased.[19] Frequently the singers alter the words slightly to
suit the occasion, and sometimes compose entirely new words
●[171] for an old tune. As they sing, they are aided by some of X's
friends who rise and stand between the fire and the front door.
[532] They occasionally wear forehead masks carved with his crest
to add dignity to the rite.

203 After the song the chiefs continue their meal, and there is
much practical joking with the heralds.

522 "Don't you want some food?" X calls to one of them.

*556 Without waiting for an answer he throws a box containing the liquid pulp, inclined at such an angle that the mess is spattered over the recipient. Occasionally, a herald will succeed in catching a box without spilling the contents, but usually he is smeared from head to foot, while the spectators shriek with laughter. It is one of the functions of a herald to be a laughing stock for the visitors.

*556 During the afternoon X's wife and the members of her
583 family deliver to him the goods which they have amassed to "re-buy" her from her husband. These are called "washing material," as if they supplied X with wash-basin and toilet necessities. The speaker orates how the wife has lived up to her obligation in making this presentation, and how it will clear the path for her children. These goods will later on be distributed by X. They can be used for:

(1) Repayment of potlatch debts, or

(2) Making potlatch investments, or

(3) Validating names, either *susook* or ancestral, for the children of his relatives.

It would be most disgraceful should any of the goods be applied to validating *susook* names for any of X's own children, because they have come from his wife's people and react to the advantage of her children in any case. These goods are

[19] Though not to the same extent as among the Kwakiutl where the words may describe how the sky is supported on a chief's shoulders, or how he has pushed his head into the land above.

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*556 [575] (11) Dismissal of the supernatural power possessed by the *nusook* initiates, thereby enabling them to return to normal life in the community.

*556 578 171 All day, food is being distributed in X's house with guests in almost constant attendance. Not only are large presents of food made to any chief who has previously shown generosity to X, but he also takes this opportunity to bestow insults on anyone from whom he has received the same. Among the Bella Bella and people of Rivers Inlet guests were frequently ridiculed with respect to their habitual diet or mode of life. Unquestionably, the Bella Coola sometimes did likewise, both at potlatches and at *kusiut* rites to which strangers were invited. Although it is dangerous to dogmatize on this point, because the practice has long since fallen into disuse, it appears highly probable that mockeries were less prevalent in Bella Coola than at other places on the coast.

*556 558 628 It is comparatively common, however, for a chief to shame a guest by a lavish disregard for valuables. News is constantly passing from town to town, so that the intended victim usually hears what is in store for him. A guest always takes valuable goods with him when he goes to a potlatch, but one who expects to be insulted takes care to have an unusually large supply. The host seats this particular visitor close to the fire, and during the afternoon or early evening he throws large quantities of grease and food upon it, to demonstrate "the warmth" and "fineness" of his house. The guest experiences physical discomfort from the extreme heat, and suffers mental pangs at having a rival boast of his power and fame. To assert his own importance he will throw goods on the fire, as if they were water to extinguish it, and the host will counter by throwing on more valuables. The contest is continued until the goods of the guest are exhausted, or the host fears to burn more lest he should not have enough left to validate the potlatch. He who has destroyed most is considered to have shown his superiority. [578] The Bella Coola state that such rivalry was unknown between chiefs of the same village.

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The following is an account of a feud which took place about 1870: 556* 558 628

The people of *Sıuxl* had gone to a potlatch at *Tāl·io* with a plentiful supply of goods, expecting to be insulted in revenge for a slight cast upon their host when visiting *Sıuxl*. They were allotted places close to the fire, upon which the donor cast a large quantity of olachen grease until the intense heat almost roasted his guests. Not one of them moved; to have done so would have meant an admission that they were being made uncomfortable by their host's demonstration of wealth by this waste of valuable food. Presently, *Sıuxālotla*, the leading chief of the visitors, stood up and called for "water" to douse the flames, meaning goods of equal or greater value, to indicate that he was as wealthy as his host and as little afraid of destroying valuables. His companions threw on the fire boxes filled with skins, but *Sıuxālotla* desired still further to demonstrate his prowess. Hastily, he asked some of the other Bella Coola present to lend him a sea canoe (of the large type called *Haidāl*), promising to repay with two of the same kind. The Bella Coola agreed and the craft was carried in, the bearers showing their disregard for the host by breaking his door as they did so. The canoe was thrown on the fire and the flames mounted. *Sıuxālotla* called upon his *Tāl·io* rival to douse that fire. The latter was afraid to do so, being aware that he had barely enough goods to pay his debts at the coming distribution. Accordingly, he tacitly acknowledged the superiority of *Sıuxālotla*, who thus rose in public esteem. [501]

It is very difficult to discover just how often such destruction of goods took place. The Bella Coola realize that the prevalence of this practice among the Kwakiutl led to the potlatch being forbidden by law, and are reticent on the subject. Reliable informants agree that it was a fairly common custom in the early days, although it never went to the extremes prevailing at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay, where, too, was common the breaking of coppers in anger, an act unknown in Bella Coola. In other respects, also, the potlatch among the Bella Coola appears to be less important and less complicated in ritual than among the Kwakiutl, so it is highly probable that the above statement is correct. 556* 558 171

Another method of shaming a guest is to serve him, or any member of his party, so clumsily or gracelessly with food that it is spattered over him. In some cases this happens acci- 558 556*

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426 sufficient goods, though every man is understood to be master of his own affairs.
* 556 After paying his debts X still has many heavy expenses in connection with the *susaok* initiates, and the young people for whom he is obtaining seats. Goods for these purposes have been put on one side. The remainder he now proceeds to give away as investment presents. His exhibition of ancestral prerogatives, and the guise in which his ancestors are now living, as eagle, raven, whale, or such like, have been duly validated by the presents given on the preceding evening, and his social status has been cared for by the payments to his craftsmen and other creditors. Thus investment presents are not essential, though a man always endeavours to give them, both for economic and social reasons. There are no definite laws regarding their distribution. X is guided in his choice of recipients[19] by the following considerations:

(1) If a certain chief is likely to give a potlatch soon he knows that a present given him will be returned with interest.

(2) He desires to give something to a chief from whom he has often received favours.

(3) He wishes to ingratiate himself with a powerful chief by presents.

426 (4) He wishes to give presents to a chief with whom he is not on friendly terms. Unless the latter reciprocates, it will
* 556 be considered that X has shown his superiority.

558 (5) Usually an important chief will receive more valuable presents than one of lesser rank. This custom is not governed by any fixed scale, and an important chief may be deliberately slighted, if X thinks that he has not shown him, X, sufficient respect.

It is considered the height of folly to give presents without due regard to their return.

The amount of gifts depends entirely on the wealth and desires of X. If he wishes to increase his fame, he will endea-

[171] [19]Only one present is given to each man, irrespective of the number of names he may have. The Kwakiutl are said to give a gift for each designation.

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*556 575 783 789 with the objects back on the fire. In some cases four sets of cloths are used. This rite, which is regarded as very important, frees the lads from the supernatural powers with which they have been endowed, and permits them finally to leave the back-room and return to normal life, just as their earlier cleansing freed them from the *tutwinam*. During their period of seclusion no initiate can perform a *kusiut* ceremony of any kind. The supernatural beings of the two societies, though closely akin, are yet independent, and it would be unthinkable for a man to enter into contact with the two at the same time, unless he should be the owner of a rare prerogative enabling [424] him to do so. Only a few men have the right, which undoubtedly was derived either from the Bella Bella or the [177] people of Rivers Inlet.

*556 575 X pays the functioning *siki* with new clothing. This completes the whole ceremony. The guests either return home or adjourn to some other house where a potlatch is taking place, [465] but no rites mark their departure.

*556 171 Such, then, are the principal features of the Bella Coola potlatch. Without making a careful comparison of its features with those of neighbouring tribes, the following points stand out with great clearness:

(1) The basic concepts of the potlatch in Bella Coola are the same as those of the rite practised elsewhere on the coast.

(2) A potlatch has not the same importance at Bella Coola as it has on other parts of the coast, especially among the Kwakiutl. All informants stated repeatedly that they did not [186] carry their potlatches to the same lengths as did the "foolish" Kwakiutl, nor were they as keen financiers. A Bella Coola would never entirely impoverish himself by lavish giving.

(3) The potlatch, though fundamentally the same as it is elsewhere on the coast, has certain rites characteristic of the locality. The central Bella Coola feature, the return of a dead ancestor, is not equally important elsewhere. It would be interesting to be able to trace the history of this. The most

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probable conjecture, and it is impossible to make more than a conjecture, is that it is a concept which has developed among the Bella Coola in association with their specialized theology and has been incorporated into the potlatch complex. On the other hand, the return of the dead may be an old feature, decayed in other tribes through the ever-increasing economic aspects of the potlatch, which are of less import in Bella Coola. Whether or not *Mulakila* is of Bella Coola origin is questionable; he may be merely an altered form of a supernatural being found among other coastal tribes. 556* 176

(4) The potlatch concept, that is, the necessity of distributing presents to validate every transaction, and to establish a man's status, is an old custom. The whole trend of Bella Coola thought supports this view, and it is to be expected from the prevalence of the same idea among other coastal tribes.

Unquestionably, the introduction of white men's tools has made it easier to give a potlatch. In the old days, as informants reiterated again and again, it was a matter of years to save up the essential skins and goods, so that a potlatch was a rare event. Now a man is able to work in a cannery for a single season and earn enough for an elaborate ceremony. Accordingly, most of the old names have been duly validated, whereas long ago some of them might have lain dormant for generations. The descendants of old, influential families smile ruefully: 556* 177

"Now everyone is a chief," they say.

It appears that the facility for giving potlatches has increased the feature of the destruction of goods, in fact that this is little more than an excrescence on the ancient ritual. Thus it may be said that the coming of the white man has facilitated the giving of potlatches, has somewhat changed their form, but has not altered their concept.

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Totem-Poles

A feature embodied in many ancestral myths is a description of the totem-pole[1] erected by a group of the first people, either according to a design given them by *Ālquntām*, or in consequence of their experiences on this earth. It is the privilege of a chief descended from that group to erect such a pole, under the same restrictions as apply to the portrayal and use of other features belonging, not to him individually, but to the ancestral family as a whole. Totem-poles are also frequently erected to depict incidents connected with the ancestors of a chief, even if there is no mention of one in his ancestral myth. In either case, the setting-up is a source of pride to the chief; especially as it emphasizes the importance of his ancestors, and its display must be duly validated. Theoretically, this may be done at a gathering of less importance than a potlatch, but in practice it occurs at no other ceremony, since a chief wealthy enough to erect a pole naturally desires it to be seen by as many persons as possible. 211 556* 778 [773] [614]

Poverty limits the number of totem-poles, but is not sufficient to account for their relative rarity. It is a matter of pride for a chief in whose ancestral myth there is mention of a pole to erect one, but all myths do not include totem-poles. Consequently the absence of one before the door of the chief's house is not proof of the owner's poverty or lack of importance. This matter was investigated with great care, and all the older people reiterated that the number and size of their poles were never as great as among the northern tribes. [171]

When a chief is preparing for a potlatch, he allots, among other carpentry tasks, the construction of a totem-pole, if he is sufficiently wealthy to reward the artisan and to validate the erection in the customary manner. If a special design is embodied in the ancestral myth containing the name which he is about to assume, or to make strong, he indicates that design to the carpenter. In the story of *Ālkwi* (I, p. 312), for [532]

[1] *Ashaiāl*, "Outside Post."

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211 in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at
*556 the front door of the house with an opening at its base through
778 which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be solid
532 and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice in
[184] either case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ancestral cloaks by means of paintings on the front wall of his house, or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, if such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief entitled to display a totem-pole may choose to use only paintings. If he validates these by presents, they give him the same dignity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cannot validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola poles are only about fifteen to twenty feet in height, and though
[171] it is possible that a few families had prerogatives entitling them to construct lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is unlikely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand before the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even none at
[764] all. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 461). Otherwise it remains standing until some other occupant of the house wishes to erect another in its place, when the first is pulled down and neglected.

Coppers

*556 The Bella Coola use coppers for only two purposes: casting
[769] on the ground upon which the representation of a deceased relative had trodden, or throwing into the fire when the figure has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make bone for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when a copper is employed is so important that to obtain one and increase its value is a vital consideration for every chief.

[177] Most of the coppers now used by the Bella Coola are made
[439]

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village at some ceremony, exactly as a child's name is conferred. Designations are chosen with respect to the appearance of the copper, or some incident connected with its history. Such a designation is *Qwaixwos*, "Begrimed," applied to a copper thrown many times into the fire. If, for instance, $50 be expended for a name, the value of a $30 copper is henceforth $80. 435 552 556*

(3) *By Making Gifts.* The owner of a copper can increase its value by calling together the other chiefs of his village, and sometimes of adjacent ones as well. After the customary meal, the owner expounds the history of his possession, giving details of its value. Then he passes it to one of his guests, who, unless he wishes to insult his host, must hold it upright, that is, with the broad end uppermost. The owner gives it in turn to each of his guests. To validate the display, the owner must bestow gifts on all present, and the total value of these is added to the value of the copper. Such gifts are not strictly returnable, although it is customary for chiefs to show their generosity and prowess to their fellows by a later repayment with interest. 435 556* [578] [426]

By these means the original purchaser of a worthless copper can increase its value to such a point that it can be used at a potlatch. There is no established custom about this. Coppers are not as valuable in Bella Coola as, for instance, at Fort Rupert, and it is unlikely that any are ever worth more than $300, and the average value is probably between $150 and $200. Considerable time is required to raise the value of a copper to this sum and the owner in many cases finds that he has all the other requirements before his copper is ready for use. In that case, he tries to buy another which has been raised to sufficient worth by its owner. Everyone knows the values of the different coppers in the community, and the intending purchaser calls his fellow-chiefs to his house and offers to buy one valued, for example, at $150. If the owner consents to sell, he usually endeavours to get as much as possible, perhaps $175. The sum is publicly paid and is henceforth the value of the copper, which is transmitted to the new [171] 435 437 556*

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435 owner with a statement of its history and the amount expended
437 on it. The purchase of a copper is, therefore, a good business
*556 transaction, and it might be assumed that a chief with keen commercial instinct would endeavour to acquire as many as
[171] possible. This is said to be the case in Fort Rupert, but in
[183] Bella Coola public opinion is averse to the obtaining of coppers unless for use at potlatches. As every ambitious chief hopes to give potlatches, he can always claim that the acquisition of a copper is for this end, and that the sale of it is from a kindly desire to assist a fellow-chief who is nearer the desired goal than he himself. Consequently, the sale of coppers is tolerably common, and a chief is not considered to be mercenary unless he sells too frequently.

426 The intending donor of a potlatch can now proceed to the ceremony, secure in the possession of a copper worthy to be
*556 thrown on the fire after the passage of his deceased relative. In addition, he may own another copper of too small value for this purpose. As described in the last chapter, he repeatedly calls together the inhabitants of his own village to rites which he validates by the distribution of presents, and at which he also gives away investment presents. He may decide to use his second copper for this purpose. All investment presents,
[558] which are given only to men of standing in the community, must be repaid with interest unless the recipient is willing to decline in popular estimation; but when a gift of this kind consists of a copper, a return of 100 per cent is expected on the transaction. Bestowal of a copper in such circumstances is not spoken of as an investment present, *kəlämkusnäm*, but as *änuxop'*, which has the definite significance of something that must be returned with 100 per cent interest. If the value of the copper were $25 before this bestowal, it is now $50, since the new owner must repay this amount to the chief planning to give the potlatch. The new owner can use the copper in any way he desires; if he repays a previous indebtedness, he cancels $50 by giving it; whereas if he bestows it as *änuxop'*, announcement is made that its value is $50, and he expects to

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551 dropped. *Kwa'hila'yakw* is held by a Fort Rupert chief. Several *hamat* names, with dances, were obtained from *Tsēlwalut* where the travellers saw them being performed; among them were *Anadektsaix* and *Dadaxpas*, which are now used by two Bella Coola women. *Ailsanka* is now a Cannibal (II, p. 71) name. *At Tāl'ts Ā'ēmlaxis* gave a *hamat* dance, and with his own power made there a repository as if he had brought it with him from *Tsēlwalut*. This was only possible because of his supernatural power as one of the first people, strengthened by his becoming a *shamas* through seeing *Tsēlwalut*.

SECOND ORIGIN MYTH OF *Tāl'ts*[a]

539 In the beginning, there came down to the Skuna River,[b] *Nanpipa*, *Nusyemda*, *Wisqaii*, and their younger sister *Nadiaxumaxlis*; they brought from *Alqantlem* some of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *naxnox* ceremonials.[c] The three travelled all over the coast seeking a place in which to settle, and always the whistles kept calling out of their own accord, giving advice. Finally they decided to locate at *Tsēlto*, the head of South Bentinck Arm.

When they had lived there for some time, the neighbours objected to the din of the whistles, which drove away olachen and herring, so *Nusyemda* built a high, narrow mound of refuse, on the tip of which he constructed his house. The building was peculiar; its door opened horizontally and used to close with a crash when anyone entered. On either side of the hill there lived a *snung*, whose keen ears could hear the wailing of an infant at any distance. In those ancient days, these beasts were [776] like dogs and did not annoy mortals; they were servants to *Nusyemda*. One day he learnt that a raiding-party was approaching, but instead of being afraid he instructed the *snung* to use their power when it drew near. When the hostile canoes came in sight the two creatures reversed their eyeballs, causing a blinding flash which stunned the occupants of the canoes. After a little they recovered consciousness and again came on, but again the *snung* reversed their eyeballs with a like result. When this had happened several times the raiders withdrew discouraged.

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[a]Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

[b]It is not uncommon for the Skuna to figure as the place where some of the first people came to earth; but few descended nearer to Bella Coola than that region.

[c]This prerogative is less common among the Bella Coola than the Bella Bella.

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having *Nuxmit'a*, *Hamat* had asked *Hpamim* what they should do for a place to live and the deity had promised to provide them with one. The first night the brothers slept in the open, but the next morning they found a house completed for them on the shore of the fiord; it was of the semi-subterranean type with a central pit for the fire, surrounded by stagings. *Hpamim* had made it peculiar in several respects. When the tide rose, water was forced up through passages in the rock so that it burst within the dwelling in miniature waterspouts. The upright posts were carved in representations of Thunder, and the paintings on the back-wall were of *Sisuq*. Echo was there, invisible as usual, but repeating everyone's speech, while around the floor ran countless mice. The name of the house was *Nawagwalc*, "Where Water Enters."

After a time, when the people had increased on the earth, *Hamat* invited the chiefs, there were none other then, for a potlatch. The guests saw the wonders of the house and marvelled.

Three times *Hamat* did this, but when he, or a descendant, attempted to do so for the fourth time, the supernatural power which had been present at the first potlatch had vanished; no carpenters were called upon to reproduce the original features. The painting of *Sisuq* and the carving of Thunder presented no difficulties, though the latter was transferred from the house to the totem-pole without. Masks were made to represent the spouting water and manufactured mice ran on the floor by means [illegible] the carpenters are called upon to make realistic replicas, a form of dramatization responsible for features of potlatches not only among the Bella Coola but also, it is said, of the Bella Bella, Kitlobe, and the Tsimshian peoples.

ORIGIN MYTH OF AN UNIDENTIFIED TOWN[17]

In the beginning of time the supreme god sent down two brothers, *Wetkis* and *Kwatwaslas*, to Mount *Wa-pat*, some thirty miles up the Bella Coola River not far from *Stuie*. They looked around, not knowing which way to go or what to do. Glancing down they saw smoke arising; it was from *Alkwi's* fire, but this they did not know, because there were few people in the land, and no one knew anything about his neighbours. *Kwatwaslas* travelled a short distance upstream until he heard the sound of beating, which puzzled him, so he advanced slowly until he saw a house, to the roof of which he cautiously climbed and looked down inside. Many people had assembled there; they were land-otters giving a dance,

[17]Related by Judas, an old man suffering from senile decay. It is unquestionably a fragment of a longer myth.

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843 be avoided. If she walks on a beaver dam, or dips her head
825 into a pool made by this animal, the birth of her infant will be blocked in the same way that the dam restrains a stream. This difficulty can be obviated, however, by dipping up the water with her hands instead of bending her head to the surface to drink. As far as possible, she must avoid being startled by
[774] small animals or reptiles; even if the excitement so caused is too slight to expel her own spirit, it may be sufficient to damage that of the foetus. Such dangers can be countered by means of magical rites (I, p. 720). Her husband is also subject to certain injunctions and prohibitions. If he eats beaver meat his wife's delivery will be difficult. He must preserve a small piece of the skin or an eye of every animal that he kills; a few
[846] days after birth the child is steeped in the smoke of a fire on which these articles have been thrown. This prevents injury from the father's quarry.[5]

A pregnant woman continues to reside in her own house, where her condition is a source of interest to her friends and relatives. There are no midwives with inheritable professional
844 prerogatives, but as the time for delivery draws near, arrange-
[424] ments are made for the mother or some other experienced female relative to be in attendance. It is quite proper for the husband to attend to this point, though it is customary for elderly female relations to do so, sometimes those of the wife, sometimes those of her husband. A woman who, having herself borne children, has assisted at many births with success, is often requested to be present, and it is taken as a matter of course that she will be rewarded for her services.

When the pains of labour begin, the patient leaves the house with her assistant or assistants. In summer the party goes to some lonely spot in the woods where a rude wind-break may have been erected; in winter, to a sheltered spot beneath a house. No man can be present, a point in which the Bella
[171] Coola state that their culture differs from that of the Kwakiutl. The midwife manipulates the infant so that the birth is made

[5] This rite is described in detail later (I, p. 720).

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581 Confidently believing that he has descended from ancestors
[858] who came to this earth in the beginning of time, a Bella Coola wishes to have his children firmly established in the path of his forbears. This can be accomplished only with the aid of a suitable mother. It follows that marriage is not primarily a matter of affection, but of the ancestral eligibility of the contracting parties.

CHOICE OF MATE

584 Since the initiative for marriage is taken by the man in
581 almost all cases, it will be convenient and proper to describe the factors which enter into the search for a wife, remembering that the converse govern the decision of the woman and her relatives. The choice of the woman who is to be the mother of the children who will carry on the traditions of the ancestral family is a matter of too great importance to be entrusted to any young person. Accordingly, while their son is yet a child, his parents often discuss who would be a suitable wife for him. They view the matter from a strictly business standpoint.
581 Proud of their own ancient lineage, they would not demean themselves by allowing their son to marry a girl who could not trace her ancestry back to the first people, or with one whose forbears had disgraced themselves by marriage with slaves. Instead, it is a matter of pride for parents to have as daughter-in-law the child of a powerful chief. Nor can they choose a
582 woman too closely related to their son. Marriage with a sister, an aunt, a niece, or any first cousin is strictly prohibited. No reason for these laws could be obtained; the Bella Coola consider that it would be "indecent" or unclean so to marry, but have theorized no further about the matter. An adopted child
[597] is regarded in the same light as an own child. The Bella Coola
[829] know, and are amused by, the regulation of marriage according to crests among the northern tribes, but practise nothing of
[171] the same nature themselves. In fact, marriages usually take place among those who are descended from one ancestor and who have, accordingly, the same crest, though the significance

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of the town in very different from its use among the northern tribes.

Having eliminated those girls who are too closely related, or who are unwanted on account of the poverty of their parents, the father and mother can concentrate on others of about the same age as their son. The most desirable is a member of the ancestral family of one of the parents. This obviates the dangers and difficulties of marriage with a stranger, and any children will be born into the close-knit circle of related ancestors stretching back to the beginning of time. They consider that such a child is fortunate, as if he were held close in the spiritual embrace of his powerful forefathers of antiquity. Each ancestral family is jealously proud of its ancient traditions and prerogatives, and as some of these are transmitted at marriage, it follows that a mating within its ranks is desirable from a business standpoint. Moreover, it is recognized that the husband obtains more presents than the wife at the wedding and that her relatives are more likely to be generous when their son-in-law is one to whom they are related. Indeed, some ancestral families are so "stingy," (to use the Bella Coola expression), that for generations they have habitually married endogamously. In such cases it is not unknown for the children of first cousins to mate, though this is usually regarded as not quite proper. The most common marriages are between the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of first cousins, or between the child and grandchild of a first cousin when of suitable age. According to mythology, unions have sometimes taken place between brother and sister in order to preserve the traditions within the family, and it appears highly probable that marriages have occasionally occurred between first cousins, although no specific instances of this could be learnt. As long as the laws against incest are observed, any girl of appropriate age who is addressed as *namas* (I, p. 125) is a fit partner. Since ancestral families have usually become localized in certain villages, there is a strong leaning to local endogamy, though this is not compulsory. The restrictions

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to a guest was regarded as amusing. In recent years, however, some husbands have made a practice of renting their wives to white men. This is not considered creditable, but the Bella Coola do not strongly condemn breaches of the moral code, which are regarded as the affair of the husband alone. There is said to be a Bella Bella custom by which a wife takes as recognized paramour one of the friends of her husband who is thought not only to know of this but to receive the presents which the lover gives his wife. The two continue to be friends and often hunt together; in fact, their mutual interest in the woman is a bond between them. No trace of this practice could be found in Bella Coola.

[537] [541] [542] [543] [171]

POLYGAMY

It has thus far been assumed that the Bella Coola are monogamous, an assumption correct only since the period of white dominance. Previous to that time it was quite common for wealthy men to have three, four, or more wives. *Pielac*, the important chief so often mentioned, had nine, ten, or eleven, the exact number is not known. A man wishing to take a second wife could do so in the manner already described, although the period of engagement was usually much shorter, and working for his parents-in-law was not expected. The reason for this was obvious to the Bella Coola. None but a chief of importance could afford more than a single wife, and such an one could not be expected to demean himself by working for anyone else. Besides, parents were glad to have their daughters married to a great chief, so willingly omitted the customary period of servitude. Few attained the distinction of having several wives. As far as could be learned, the number of the sexes seems always to have been almost equal, in itself a check to polygyny in a community where practically every adult had a wife. A number of males were always slain in war, and it is to be assumed that polygyny was made possible only through the surplus of women thus caused. The great majority of men had a single wife, some chiefs had

[545] [556] [177] [162]

mourners may be marked with the same ritual as at a potlatch, but there is always curtailment of usual features if rites of that nature are to be omitted.

Meanwhile other preparations have not been neglected. Among the prerogatives embodied in many origin myths, is that of the presence of professional mourners at memorial potlatches. If mention of these is made in the ancient tradition of the donor's ancestral family, it is a matter of pride for him to do as was done by his ancestors in the distant past. For example, it may be recorded that at the memorial potlatch of some ancient chief, a number of his younger relatives appeared with red paint smeared upon their faces, with finely chopped undyed cedar-bark in the hair, or with bands of the same material across their heads. *Alpaxtow* had decreed that they should thus exhibit their grief, and the descendants of the chief have since had the privilege of doing likewise. Such signs of mourning may not, however, be worn without proper validation. It is only the members of the ancestral family who are entitled to don these marks, and among them, only those whose right has been confirmed by the distribution of presents. This is a masculine professional prerogative, known by the same name as the feminine one of wearing a drooping ary to which it is closely akin. The right is verified at memorial potlatches, and the donor of one is glad to do so as a means of displaying his own wealth as well as of making plain the glory of his ancestors to whom the one being commemorated has returned. There is no mention of professional mourners in the myths of many families, nor are they ever so important in Bella Coola as among the Bella Bella and other tribes of the outer coast. If such belong to the family of the donor, he notifies the incumbents and asks them to be ready, although, eager to act, they seldom wait for such an invitation.

The most difficult task is the preparation of mourning songs at which the singers toil for several weeks. The donor first invites them to his house and recounts the myths from which they must be composed. These may include several traditions

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754 gratification of killing their enemies. To achieve this end, a
756 member of the family claims to be a shaman and his relatives
loudly acclaim him. It is not difficult for a man with skill in conjuring to perform some simple dramatic act, probably one carried out by an ancient shaman, which he announces has been shown to him by a supernatural being who has given him power to cure the sick. Then the sorcerer selects a suitable victim and causes him to become ill by placing something taken from him in contact with his medicine. If the malefactor is fortunate, the victim will consult the "shaman" who will effect a cure and be paid for it, ignorant of the fact that his recovery has been due to the removal of the article by the practitioner's accomplice. This deception is especially difficult to expose if the sorcerer has a box containing grease boiled from human bodies, since the sickness increases or diminishes accordingly to the depth to which the article is sunk. This is one of the ways in which some shamans have built up great reputations as sorcerers.

The psychology of sorcery is similar to that of other kinds of magic. It is not possible for the malefactor to tell his victim that he has stolen a nail paring, for example, and that he will die because it has been placed in a decoction of human grease. But if the attending shaman is an accomplice, he can inform the sufferer that his malady has been caused by a sorcerer and this belief profoundly affects him. He feels that he will die unless a remedy be found, and if the shaman assures him that he has rendered the evil influence impotent, his chances of recovery are increased accordingly. So, likewise, the members of families who possess remedies against the activities of sorcerers often work in conjunction with one. It is therefore not surprising that the Bella Coola should firmly believe in their machinations and affirm that they have killed many thousands of people in the course of generations. The belief in magic would itself be sufficient to explain this, but it is strengthened by the social and economic aspects of a sorcerer's vocation. The container in which the potent mixture is kept

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is spoken of in the Chinook jargon as a *mesatche box*, that is, a "dirty," "unclean," or "repulsive" box, and this term is one which is mentioned whenever an unexpected death takes place, or whenever a coastal Indian is accused of loitering around a deserted camp or of stealing into another's house. The belief is not limited to the Bella Coola, but has formed the basis for criminal cases all over the coast of British Columbia. It is difficult to find words sufficiently strong to express the disgust, loathing, and fear with which the Bella Coola regard a person suspected of sorcery. 754 171 [554]

Ability in this respect carries with it certain prohibitions. A sorcerer would lose his power if he should wash or blow his nose except when about to commit murder. The one old Bella Coola now thought to be a sorcerer never washes; he knows that if he did so, he would be immediately accused of plotting someone's death. This man is greatly feared, as he is said to have a collection of spittle from every member of the tribe; efforts have been made to break into his house and steal this, but it has never been found. He takes credit for the death of at least one white man in the valley. A peculiar impediment suffered by all sorcerers is a prohibition against turning around, although no one knows why doing so should deprive them of their strength. The explanation may be that their power would recoil upon themselves, a concept well illustrated by the following incident: 754 [515] [827]

When the first Christian Bella Coola left the old village to settle near the mission station, they were regarded with dislike and suspicion by their fellow-villagers. One day, one of them happened to follow a trail through the woods which led her to a rude shelter in which was a bundle. Hastily summoning her fellows, they opened it and found an article of clothing belonging to each Christian. The man who told this incident described his fear on finding a dirty shirt of his own among the others. They felt that the garments had been collected by a young man who claimed to be a shaman, but whom they suspected to be merely the accomplice of a sorcerer, and this was soon proved to be the case. He was insufficiently trained; instead of touching the patient's body with his stick, he used to seek wherever the pain was located and then

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doings, and offered to make them members of the *kusiut* society in return for their silence. Though uninitiated persons, even this tempting bribe was refused by the two youths. Next, each of the malefactors offered a daughter as wife to each of the partners, and they accepted this bargain. For their part, the sorcerers were glad to escape at any cost, since they had been caught red-handed; they knew that henceforth they would have to assist their captors, but this was preferable to exposure. 539 754

The two groups parted company; the boys continued their journey to the upper village and the sorcerers went on their way to some cave in the mountains. Within a few weeks, each youth married the daughter of one of the malefactors, with whose assistance they were able to give potlatches and become influential personages.

A FAMILY OF KWATNA SORCERERS

Near the village of Kwatna there used to be two cemeteries. One was on a small point of ground at the mouth of the river which became an island at high tide; here were interred the bodies of chiefs alone, a custom said to be without parallel on the coast. It is not known why there should have been this special burial-ground, but the place was always spoken of as "The Chiefs' Island." Instead of being buried, coffins containing commoners were laid on ledges of rock at the base of a cliff behind the village; this custom, though unusual, is known elsewhere on the coast, at Kimsquit and Port Simpson, for example. [764] [171]

Many generations ago, there was a time when the corpses of commoners frequently disappeared from the ledges on which they had been placed, and although it was believed that a sorcerer was responsible, no one knew whom to blame. One old woman had lost nearly all her numerous relatives when she realized that, though there had been many deaths in the village and some families had been almost wiped out, no members of one group had been taken. This roused her suspicions; she soon noticed that whenever anyone was sick, four brothers of the family in question always made some plausible excuse to leave the village and proceed up the other arm of the inlet. She concluded that this could be no mere coincidence, the four must be sorcerers. Within a short while, another of her relatives fell ill and died in spite of all that could be done; this reduced her family to herself and her infant. On the day after the funeral, the four brothers said that they wanted to gather hemlock boughs and set off in a canoe up the other arm of the inlet for the purpose. They did not come back at night and the villagers assumed that they had been delayed and had camped. The bereaved woman, however, who had hidden herself below the village, saw the brothers paddle back around the

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phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe. 784

FOOD TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN

262

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would derange the catamenia and cause profuse growth of hair. 562

Women of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do so would cause a difficult delivery. [841] [826]

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat toasted salmon until the sticks have been removed which held it in front of the fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded. [844] [845]

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when nearing the hunting or fishing-ground. 224 [226] [264]

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola. [171]

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness. [825] [753]

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the men remove only an eye, place it in a notched stick and set this under an over- [732]

*575 not considered necessary. With few exceptions, hereafter to
796 be noted, *kusiut* masks are burnt at the conclusion of each
532 ceremony, a practice which probably originated in order to
avoid the possibility of their being seen by the uninitiated.
[171] The Bella Coola state that this is one of the most striking
differences between their rites and those of the Bella Bella.

*575 Next in importance to masks are whistles (see Plate 2).
796 The large, cone-shaped form used in *sisaok* ceremonial is re-
534 placed in *kusiut* dances by a smaller type consisting of portions
of wood glued together, which can be blown with ease from
[237] beneath a concealing blanket. Another type has bellows con-
sisting of a mountain goat bladder, which is held beneath
the arm-pit so that it can be worked invisibly. During the
summer the whistles are kept by one individual, usually a
[422] marshal. Specific information concerning the ownership of
these whistles could not be obtained; it appears that any
kusiut can make one, or have one made for him by a skilled
carpenter, and that their retention by one person during the
[420] summer is merely for convenience. They are freely lent to
anyone for use in a ceremony.

*575 In some dances special objects are used in connection with
796 dramatic performances, such as bull-roarers, wooden repre-
532 sentations of animals, birds, or miniature human beings. One
old man described a pipe formerly used at *Tāl-io*, which had
[534] a carved bowl as large as a tea-cup with three radiating stems.
[824] It was carved from a knotty excrescence on a beech bole.
Little could be learnt of its history, except that it was sup-
posed to have been carved by a chief with the design of his
patron and displayed through pride.

*575 The usual guests at a performance of the type just sum-
609 marized are the dancer's fellow-villagers and any strangers
796 who happen to be present in the town. Great as is the desire
of the *kukusiut* to impress their uninitiated tribesmen, they
[648] are still more eager to impress strangers, hence the presence
of Carriers adds piquancy to the rites. The writer believes
[123] that his presence and interest encouraged the Bella Coola to

1 [see category 116, p 84(B) - ANALYST]

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*575 sively when the villages in which the dances are taking place
203 are adjacent or separated by such a short distance that envoys cannot meet *en route*.

*575 A word may be said about the attitude of the Bella Coola
177 to the dances of other coastal tribes. They know that the
829 Bella Bella, Rivers Inlet, Kwakiutl, and Kitkatla people have *kusiut* societies, but until recently their members were con-
[648] sidered to be uninitiated, as Bella Coola were when they visited foreign tribes.[1] A few years ago the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, and Rivers Inlet people decided that their rites were sufficiently akin to permit membership in one tribe to carry with it membership in the others:

"We have now one repository," they say.

This development is due to ease of communication and diminution of population in the three tribes. None the less, the Bella Coola recognize differences between their own rites and those of their neighbours. They say that no other tribe
[171] has repositories; also that in the other tribes the *kusiut* society is more intimately connected with the chiefs, in fact, that in Bella Bella and Fort Rupert the Cannibals are the chiefs, whereas in Bella Coola even a poor man, uninfluential in every other respect, can be one.

*575 Theorization is out of place in a descriptive monograph such as this, but the writer gives it as his personal opinion that
177 the Bella Coola have adopted much, if not all, of the *kusiut*
[796] ceremonial from other coastal tribes, though they have profoundly altered it in respect to certain ancient beliefs connected with localized guardian spirits and the patrons of ancestral families. He further believes that it will be found that this Bella Coola technique has in its turn affected the Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet Indians. There seems little doubt that the
[171] Bella Coola are correct in saying that the society is more im-
[796] portant among them than among their neighbours, and the writer feels that dances and rituals of different types have certainly been adapted to the *kusiut* pattern of the Bella Coola.

[1] Except a few individuals who had adopted foreign prerogatives.

[The Dance of NeaLxnim]

*575 arms being brought into play, so that the whole hands are con-
*796 stantly quivering without spasmodic movements. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a skilful performer, and the inces-
535 sant shaking is continued without stop throughout the dance.
[533] Most *kasiut* songs are in five parts, which may be described as three verses, separated by two choruses. Near the beginning of the first verse X stands up, raises his arms, shakes his fingers, then slightly bends his legs and begins to step in time to the beating of the sticks. Some dancers remain almost stationary, marking time, to use the military term, others advance in steps of an inch or so, at intervals slowly revolving sunwise.[18] Sometimes X introduces a variation by bending from side to side, in which case one hand rises above the other. If the time of the song is very slow, he sinks, bending his knees to a great extent, and advances in more lengthy strides, never ceasing to shake his hands. At each chorus the time becomes so rapid that it is impossible to move the feet in accordance with it, and then X crouches, his shaking hands the only movement. If it
[424] is a woman who is dancing—like most *kasiut* prerogatives, this
[563] one is not limited to men—the style of dancing is quite different. Keeping the upper part of each arm close to her body, the dancer extends her fore-arms, outwards, parallel to the ground, with the palms upwards. Like a man, she shakes her wrists, but few female dancers move from the spot on which they start, except perhaps to turn around, sunwise. Heralds always keep up a running fire of comments, especially when a woman is dancing, urging her not to be bashful, but to allow her breasts to shake. Some dancers have merged into one
[424] prerogative rights acquired from different coastal tribes. In such cases they perform in two or more styles, each part according to one prerogative.

Kaiaiut are always ready to assist one of their fellows, so that three or four friends are always willing to accompany the dancer. They stand close behind him, at frequent intervals blowing over his head the eagle down which either X, or some

[171] [18] The Bella Coola move that the Bella Bella revolve counter-sunwise.

[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

of his relatives, has given them for this purpose. When he 575*
crouches during the chorus they crowd close around, almost 796*
concealing him. Particularly in those dances fraught with 535
danger to the performer, it is customary for any number of his
friends, either men or women, to dance to "help" him. Anyone wishing to do so merely stands up and begins, in time to the music, irrespective of what part of the house he may be in. [593]
It is considered contrary to good manners for a father so to help his son, or a brother a brother, but a dancer is pleased to have aid from anyone else. It is said that in Bella Bella [171]
certain *kukusiut* have definite prerogatives of helping in this way, but this is not the case in Bella Coola. Throughout every dance the *kukusiut* women utter their droning cry. [533]

This, then, is the type of dance which the uninitiated in 575*
the lowest house see. They hear the song, too, and gaze with 796*
awe at X, imbued as he is with the supernatural power of sight. Then the sounding-boards are picked up and taken to the next house, where the whole ceremonial is repeated. This is done at each house of the village.[19] All the *kukusiut* now return to X's house, where he once more dances to his song. A box-drum is always used to help the singers in keeping time, and [534]
when the song has been finished two men continue in turn to beat it all day. X always arranges to have a relative or friend superintend the distribution of food, which follows his final [574]
dancing. As the *kukusiut* are eating, the marshals deliver their usual admonishments, a task that accompanies every meal. Then they call on the people to erect a raised platform between the fire and the back-wall of the house. Materials have been placed in readiness so that it is an easy matter to build a framework a few feet in height, of which the flat top is screened by a matting wall about three feet high. This is often decorated [531]
with designs of dyed cedar-bark without ritual significance as far as the Bella Coola of today are aware. X climbs to this platform, the *kukusiut* disperse, and only the incessant pounding of the drum proves that some unusual event is taking place.

[19] In Bella Coola, but perhaps not in Kimsquit. [184]

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pelled; a Cannibal (II, p. 71) begins to growl and those who are not members of the society leave hastily. 575* 796*

The next event is the burning of the masks. The wearers remove them and lay them on the floor in front of the back-room at the point marked O in the accompanying sketch. Then X asks a friend to help him. The person chosen picks up any two of the masks and carries them around the fire, sunwise, through B, where X is standing, to the point marked A (see Fig. 1). The helper throws one mask on the fire, and as he does so X lifts his arms, as if throwing up some heavy weight, at the same time uttering *hoip̓*, which has a beneficial effect in returning the mask whence it came. [789]

Fig. 1.
Diagram showing positions of participants during mask-burning.

As one informant put it: "May you have a safe journey."

The assistant throws the second mask on the fire, and again X throws up his arms and cries *hoip̓*. He crosses to A where he twice repeats the same cry, then returns to B. The assistant picks up two more masks and throws them on the fire at the same place and in the same manner as the two preceding, X also doing as he did before. The masks are taken two at a time until all have been burnt. [532] The explanation given is to avoid the danger of the uninitiated seeing them, but whether or not this is a mere rationalization is doubtful. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella do not burn their masks. [171] Next the singers strike up the first of X's songs and he dances, while musicians and audience join in; this is repeated for each of his songs. If it is desired to hasten the ritual, the lengthy singing and dancing is replaced by X giving only a short dance, unaccompanied by music. The Bella Coola do not appear to understand why they dance at this time, although it is said that it makes easy the departure of the masks.

In Kimsquit the ritual of mask-burning is slightly different, [184]

[The Dance of Wil·a]

About dusk on the following day X, who is in his own house, suddenly stands up and cries out: 575* 796*

"Yes. It has come. I am afraid. Yes! I will do as you bid me." 787

The *kukusiut* women begin to drone and the uninitiated are expelled. Heralds announce that a *kusiut* has been pressed to earth, and presently they go to every house inviting the *kukusiut* to gather in X's. From this point on, the rite of *lsuxtämem* continues in the manner already described.

The ability of X to summon these nine brothers from above is a special prerogative; other *kukusiut* have one or other of them as patron, but lack the power to call the whole number to earth. One *kusiut* has exclusive knowledge of the mat which is spread for *Omqomkilka* when the other supernatural beings summon him to a ceremony; another of the place where the brethren obtain their eagle down. Detailed information was not obtained about these ceremonies. [424]

THE CANNIBAL DANCE

Of all *kusiut* dances, the one of which the uninitiated are most afraid, and which is, therefore, the strongest, is the Cannibal dance. It is believed that the performer is exposed to greater dangers than in any other rite, and observers have the most spectacular ocular demonstrations of his powers. The patrons of most Cannibals are *Älquntäm*, *Saxsexkälaix*, or *Kämai·ts*, who implant in their protégés a wolf, bear, or eagle, causing them to devour strange foods. The Bella Coola consider that a man is equally a Cannibal whether he has the prerogative of eating corpses, biting the living, eating dogs or raw salmon, or biting himself. The most common of these is the right to bite the living, and few of the older people are not scarred thereby. Fear of Cannibals is one of the strongest causes for the respect with which the uninitiated regard the *kusiut* society, but though the holders of prerogatives of this type are regarded with awe on account of their powers, they are not considered as chiefs, as the Bella Coola say is the case

575* 796* 424 [981] [776] [787] [781] [171] [622]

[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 among the Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and Rivers Inlet people.
*796 Indeed, in Bella Coola a poor man may be the most dreaded Cannibal of all, if he has been able duly to validate and per-
[171] form his right in this respect. Nor is the dance carried out
[622] with the same rigour in Bella Coola as among the tribes of the outer coast.

[424] The ritual of different prerogatives varies to such an extent
that several accounts must be given, in spite of the repetitions
[184] that this form of presentation entails. On account of the length of time necessary, a Cannibal dance usually begins early in the season. The following describes the manner in
[115] which *Kämätslaks* of Kimsquit, who can bite the living, carried out his rite; it was obtained from his brother, who is thoroughly conversant with the details. It will be convenient to refer to *Kämätslaks* as X, and to use the present tense throughout.

A meeting is held at which the marshals and others choose, in agreement with X and his relatives, a day suitable for him to commence his performance. Under normal circumstances
[787] it is on some *qothm* that a marshal announces that he can hear X's call, and on the following evening, when the ritual has been completed, the uninitiated are startled to hear continuous whistling from the slopes of the mountains near the village.
[534] The instruments used are of the usual bladder type, but the
[776] long-drawn-out sound, termed *Aiislāxa*, is said to be the voice of the kindly supernatural woman, *Snitsmän-a*.*

*The sole function of this being seems to be the restoring to life of those who appear to have been killed in the performance of *kaxlat* rites. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether or not she is identical with *Tlintqlitte-a*. The noise which heralds her coming is produced by the whistles of four *kaxlat* who throughout the night range the forests and mountains within ear-shot of the village. By bending their heads up and down, they are able to increase the weirdness and apparent elusiveness of the sound. The four travel in single file; the leader blows, and when his breath is nearly exhausted he presses the hand of the second man, who starts whistling forthwith, while the original leader drops to the rear. As the second becomes weary, he signals in the same way to the third, and so on; in this way the whistling is continuous, and the uninitiated are convinced that it cannot be caused by mortals, even if such an idea should occur to them. If a non-member
[288] should meet the four, they would at once kill him or make him a prisoner, keeping him out of sight until he could be initiated into the society.

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[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 is writhing so violently that it appears as if it would be only a
*796 few moments before he breaks loose and runs amuck. Closely
787 guarded by a band of *kukusiut*, the second Cannibal is now taken to every house of the village. He seems to be striving to enter, and to be restrained by the *kukusiut*. All the time he growls and calls out:

I .....

The call of *xwa* can be used only by a Cannibal who has returned from the realms above. X meanwhile remains in his own house, to which the substitute is finally brought and the cannibalistic incubus returned by the call of *ye* .... four times repeated.

It was impossible to learn the details of a rite that occurs during the afternoon of this day. The singers have composed
[533] two songs for X, one describing his adventures in the land aloft, and the other the return of the incubus which made him a flesh-eating brute. It appears probable that during the afternoon the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to learn these songs. It might be added that the ritual of a Cannibal dance differs widely from that of most *kusiut* ceremonies, since there is no *qoiim* and no *nakuam*; the uninitiated believe that the whole affair is so serious that they are not surprised at ritualistic eccentricities.

In the evening the *kukusiut* are first summoned to X's house, and later the uninitiated. X is sitting close to the singers, with a number of *kukusiut* grouped around him in case he should become frenzied. The singers first sing over the
[533] song describing the return of the Cannibal power, with the *kukusiut* joining in softly. The chorus of every Cannibal song consists of the words:

Hämämai, hämämai, häm', häm'.

• [171] It is said that this same refrain is used in all Cannibal songs by the Bella Bella and Fort Rupert people; the Bella Coola, ignorant of the meaning of the words, affirm that they have none.

[533] X now talks in a low tone of voice to the singers, as if

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Several Bella Coola were questioned concerning the Cannibal spirit which Boas has described for the Kwakiutl. Some had never heard of such a creature, others had vague knowledge concerning it, and two men were able to give it a name. The one called it *Bäxbäxqwanälociwa*, the other *Bäxbäxqwaiwa*. All informants agreed that this creature was not a part of the Cannibal rites of Bella Coola and one man suggested that the cannibalistic incubus rendered it unnecessary. The Bella Coola believe that this Cannibal spirit is used in Bella Bella. During 1923 there came to Bella Coola an old Kimsquit Indian who had left his home many years ago and had since been living at Smith Inlet(?). With him came his son, a grown man, who had inherited from his mother a Kwakiutl Cannibal prerogative which he displayed in the winter of 1923-4. After the dancer had, theoretically, returned from the regions above, a large masked figure representing *Bäxbäxqwaiwa* entered through the front-door. As the singers beat time, it hopped to and fro, up and down, with snapping beak. The Bella Coola were intensely interested, and one had only to listen to their remarks when wondering what it might be, to be convinced that the Cannibal spirit is a strange concept to them. The most frequent hypothesis was that it was a *haohäo*, since the masked figure did resemble this supernatural bird. The Bella Coola greatly admired the dance, and were by no means ashamed to confess their inferiority as dancers to the Kwakiutl. After the disappearance of the masked figure, the singers sang the Cannibal's song and he danced in normal fashion, which was commented upon as another difference in custom.

575* 796* 776 [171] [171] [428] [424] [186] [171]

THE SCRATCH DANCE

Only less awe-inspiring than the Cannibal dance is the Scratch dance. Those *kukusiut* who have this prerogative are able to scratch the bodies of their fellows, so that long, bloody weals result. The privileges and restrictions of Scratchers are closely akin to those of Cannibals, as the following points show:

575* 424 [796]*

[The Scratch Dance]

*575 and the heralds keep telling all to be attentive. The chorus
*796 for every Scratcher's song consists of the supposedly meaning-
[533] less words, *'aii, 'aii*, as if a child were crying. It is said that the
[171] same refrain is used for Scratch dances by every coastal tribe. After this practice the singers chant forth X's song more loudly, the audience joins in, and he dances. The Scratch
*575 dance differs from all other *kusiut* ones in that there are no
*796 fixed movements, with the exception of keeping time to the
535 beating of sticks with the feet. The dancer sometimes bends down and forward, with arms closely pressed between his legs, or he bends back with arms thrown upwards; to and fro and back and forth he goes with high steps or short mincing ones, with hops or jumps, his arms waving like the arms of a windmill. The best Scratch dancer is the one who can put most action and originality into his movements. The weird effect is increased by moving the facial muscles to cause strange grimaces. Four *kukusiut*, two before and two behind, accompany
*575 X. At intervals he becomes excited and seizes his own hair
*796 as if in internal agony, whereupon his guardians press the back of his neck and call *hoip* to soothe him. His dance completed, he sits down, and no other performers follow him. The
[431] presents provided by X and his relatives are then distributed, those scratched and the song makers being the chief recipients, although everyone receives something. Then there is the usual meal, accompanied by admonitions from the marshals, followed by X dancing once more to his song.

Unlike most *kusiut* ceremonials, this does not complete the night's rites. Accompanied by a number of *kukusiut*, X visits every house in the village, and dances around the fire with wildly waving arms while the whistle sounds eerily. Since the
[535] musicians do not beat time, his dance is without rhythmic qualities, otherwise it follows the lack of pattern just described. When he is brought back to his own house, the frenzied beating of sticks is twice repeated to soothe him, and water is thrown over him. Thus pacified, X goes to sleep and the *kukusiut* quietly disperse.

[The Breaker Dance]

they do not like. No compensation can be claimed, on the theory that supernatural beings do not have to pay for any damage they may do. Although the property of some *kukusiut* is destroyed, the chief sufferers are the uninitiated; this serves to increase their fear and respect for the society with which such all-powerful beings are in league. After visiting every house in the village, the party returns to X's, where the masks are burnt, the call sent back, and the proceedings conclude in the usual manner.

A certain amount of information concerning the history of the Breaker dance was obtained from *Syuł*, the owner of the prerogative just described. He is a well-informed man, but the writer had no opportunity of comparing his beliefs with those of his associates, so the following must be regarded as unsubstantiated evidence. This man stated that the Breaker dance is the most important of all in Bella Bella, and that many Bella Coola prerogatives have been obtained from this source, although some of their first ancestors likewise enjoyed it. He further stated that the term, *nałbista*, by which the Bella Coola always designate a Breaker, is of Bella Bella origin, and that the ancient Bella Coola term was *dztia*.* *Syuł* also told of an occasion when a number of Bella Bella, present on the *qaław* night of a Bella Coola ceremony, were disturbed when eating by the thud of a stone thrown, from outside, against the wall of the back-room. Out rushed a number of *kukusiut*, incensed at the disrespect shown to their gathering. They caught the offender, but released him when he was found to be a Bella Bella Breaker, foolishly demonstrating his prowess. The marshals decided to retaliate and arranged with two Bella Coola Breakers to exercise their rights and destroy the canoes and food-boxes of their guests. They did so, and later paid for the damage. The Bella Coola were thus able to demon-

*Syuł and several of his children are the only Bella Coola known to the writer who habitually use the sound "s." For example, he says "*Ewalsi*," instead of "*Ewalsł*." He says that he is himself unable to distinguish any peculiarity in his own pronunciation, although other Bella Coola are aware of it.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

are present, to forget an answer is not a serious matter, but later on the uninitiated are similarly invited to guess and then correct remembering is essential. After this has gone on for some time, the singers strike up the tune of a song which they have already composed for X.* The theme is always of the land above and the wordless chorus, which is said to be the same for Mystery dancers all over the coast, is *'a'yaiwale*. The audience listen attentively so that they will be able to join in. When this has been sufficiently practised, a meal is served, amid the admonitions of the marshals. After a second practice of X's song, all is ready for a circuit of the village, the fact that it is about two or three o'clock in the morning being of no consequence.

X leads the party, followed by a considerable number of *ʌuʌaxiut*, among whom must always be his four remembrancers. They go to the lowest house of the village, which X enters, carrying his stick horizontally above his head, and proceeds with mincing steps to the central position behind the fire. He turns on himself and thrusts his staff to the floor where, to the surprise of the uninitiated, it remains upright. They do not know that the end is pointed with bone and that he has taken care to drive it down into a crack. The singers beat out X's song, in which all the *ʌuʌaxiut* join, but he does not dance. One of the singers next calls upon the people to beat time furiously with sticks brought for the purpose, and X becomes excited, shrieking out:

"Move! Move!"

It is supposed that this clamour soothes his mental anguish. A herald calls on members of the household to register their guesses, uninitiated as well as *ʌuʌaxiut* being encouraged to do so. The remembrancers use their best efforts to bear in mind the answers which are pouring in. One of the marshals ex-

*The actual tune and some of the words may have been chosen by the singers during the day, or several of them have composed tunes and now beat them out in succession until all have agreed on the best composition. Meanwhile the guests wait patiently, for time is of no moment in *ʌuʌaxiut* dances.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575* 796* 539 424 [777] [551]

tune previously described. To the Bella Coola philosopher, apparently no explanation is needed of the manner in which *Saiks* was allowed to use his experience as the basis of a *kusiut* dance. The assumption is that he was a *kusiut* at the time of his experience, although this is not clearly stated. The last to use the name died about 1910, each *Saiks* having had the prerogative of giving the Thunder dance.

THE GHOST DANCE*

575* 796* [775] [756] [424]

Among the numerous patrons of *kusiut* dancers are Ghosts. The term, *ăskandzi*, applied to a shaman whose power is derived from a ghost, is also applied to *kusiut* with one as patron, but the two functionaries must not be confused. It is a fairly common prerogative and there are Ghost dancers in every village, their right depending in every case on some experience of an ancestor with a ghost. The following is an account of the manner in which *Sapas* of *Tsmasil* performed his ritual; it may be regarded as typical of all, and the dancer can be referred to as X.

At any time during the ceremonial season X consults with the marshals to decide upon a suitable time for his performance. On the evening preceding, normally the *gatlum* of some other *kusiut*, the marshals state that his call is imminent; X makes his final arrangements and asks the assistance of a number of his fellows.

575* 796* 787 [775]

When the *nalaxam* rites of the following evening have been completed and the uninitiated have returned to their own houses, they are startled to hear whistling from the forest near at hand. It is not the instrumentally produced sound that accompanies the coming of a call, but tuneless whistling with the mouth; everyone knows that this is the language of ghosts. A visitation from them is by no means unknown, and always dreaded, so at once there is excitement and everyone cowers in the bedrooms. Presently heralds go through the village

*This relationship is implied with the dance of the same name among Indians of other culture areas. [171]

[The Ghost Dance]

*575 leave their bedrooms, but peer curiously and fearfully around
*796 the edge of the boards. Finally the party returns to X's house, whence the uninitiated hear the sound of sticks being beaten in a frenzied manner, but without the usual rhythmic conclusion. Each *kusiut* beats as he likes, because it is an affair
[775] of the dead with whom all things are queer and unnatural.

*575 The ghosts wash and take their places in X's house where
*796 the singers are working on a new song. The words, as if spoken
775 by the dancer, describe the land of the dead; how everything
533 is green there; how the river flows from west to east so that the sun travels upstream; how the shades wished to make him a chief, and deceived him by not giving proper presents; how he visited the various towns scattered along the river, finding the bone in one of the houses; and finally how the dead told him of any mistakes in ritual that had been committed in the Bella Coola villages, in Kimsquit, or in *Tāl-io*. This last is, of course, common knowledge, but the Ghost dance is the only *kusiut* ceremonial in which such information is used in the text of a song. Details are given, but the wording is so ambiguous that when the uninitiated later hear the song they do not comprehend its meaning. Since the *kukusiut* have concealed the error referred to, the necessity for veiled allusions is apparent. Everything connected with the Ghost dance is carried out in the reverse order; thus, the reference of X to presents which he did not receive is merely an intimation that he will presently bestow gifts on the singers and the other *kukusiut* who have assisted him. The wordless chorus of the tune consists of
● [171] *'aiye'axwaia*, a phrase said to be the same for Ghost dances among all the coastal tribes. The singers practise this song while the audience listens attentively; then it is sung vigour-
*575 ously by all, while X dances. His style differs from that of all
*796 other *kukusiut*; first one arm and then the other is kept ex-
535 tended, downwards, at an angle in front of the body with the
424 forefinger pointing to the ground. This method of dancing is the prerogative of all Ghost dancers and provides a variation to the somewhat monotonous performances on different

gotlem.

but a proud and energetic dancer sometimes repeats a ceremony three or four times.

THE SUN DANCE*

One of the forms in which *Alpaxóm* appears is that of the Sun, and in that case he is referred to as *Xemúlalis*. Considering the importance of this deity, it is rather surprising that the *Sacrier* dance of which he is patron is not more impressive. Efforts were made to obtain full details of the ceremonial from several informants, but only a number of incidents and a bare outline could be obtained. In part this was due to the fact that none of the informants* were themselves prestigiés of *Alpaxóm*, but this is not in itself sufficient to explain the comparative unimportance of the dance, since full accounts were obtained of other circuits from those who did not own them.

Nothing was learnt of the origin of any of the Sun dance prerogatives, except that ancestors of the owners obtained them from *Alpaxóm*. It is a common right, and *Sacrier* having *Alpaxóm* as patron are found in every village, among them being *Qwaxlas i of Tsimail*, and *Nuxmalkmalaxs of Nuxalk*. As far as could be ascertained, the ritual of various Sun dance performances is identical, so one account will suffice and the dancer can be termed X.

Like other *Sacrier* dancers, X can perform at any time during the ceremonial season, subject to the approval of the marshals. The call comes to him in the normal manner, the uninitiated are expelled, and the *Sacrier* gather in his house to practise the songs which the singers have just composed. The theme is of *Alpaxóm*, describing his manifold functions, and particularly that of guiding the Sun. The following day a second song with similar theme is composed, and in the evening the tasks are allotted for the manufacture of masks. Four are required; a large one representing *Alpaxóm* himself, one of

*Needless to say, no connection or similarity is implied with the dance of the same name in other areas.

*Except one man who had forgotten all details since his conversion to Christianity many years before.

(g) A reference to a wooden sidewalk in the lead above, described directly on [illegible] 533*
[illegible] the [illegible].

(h) The significance is as follows. The Cowchal has powerful [illegible] rule written on the sidewalk, it resulted on that account the dwelling upon it was resulted on [illegible] the lead boys holding a metal bar struck by a horse's hammer.

(i) Accordingly, the dancer's partner, guards his path along the sidewalk for [illegible] the figure. This has the further implication of greyish, more deep [illegible] referred to as that Puppet all during the dancing. The whole phrase is consistently [illegible].

(j) The dancer's partner.

Song Text for Sometimes, a Traditional Cowchal Dancer(h)

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
They(j) prefer me	any one Ruth(k),	then stick

[illegible]
Quite [illegible](l)

[illegible]

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
They(j) called me,	[illegible] Ruth, [illegible](g),	when [illegible] to me

[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible](k).

[illegible]

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
They come to me	the [illegible](l),	the [illegible](j)

[illegible]
of [illegible](j)(l).

(k) This song had long been resident in Rolly Fields and devoted to perform the Cowchal dance, in the great interest of the Rolly Fields. This took place during the latter months of 1924, the time time that such that was [illegible]. [177]

(l) Accordingly as song 1[illegible] in the, Traditional Museum of Fields, singers, Jim Roberts. The song was composed by Kimmyon Ohio, and is probably considered from the Cowchal.

(1) This is. The supernatural beings.

(2) This is. Human Rule.

(3) This is a Cowchal supernatural being, the dancer's partner, and equivalent to the Rolly Fields Ohiamb-ko. This dancer's call consequently was and [illegible] [171]
in a meaning the.

(1) This is. The supernatural beings.

(2) This is. [illegible] and the other supernatural [illegible] called out.

(3) This is. When [illegible] has moved to see the dancer during [illegible] dials. [illegible] is a Cowchal supernatural being who is model to their Cowchal dances.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

CHAPTER IV

GAMES

THE subject of games, lying on the border-line of social customs, was one which was not fully investigated. The Bella Coola, like all other peoples, have a number of sports and pastimes and although the old diversions are being forgotten by the younger people, many of the old men and women are familiar with those played in their youth. As tribal customs these may be of small value, but games of all kinds often preserve ancient practices and, as providing useful clues to the spread of peoples or of culture, are worthy of investigation. Unfortunately, lack of time made it impossible to give the subject the attention it deserved, and the few games here described must not be considered as exhaustive treatment of the subject.

Though less fond of competitive sports than the Indians of the Plains, the Bella Coola enjoy canoe-racing and wrestling. The former appears to have been an ancient diversion, picked crews from different villages competed until the encouraging shouts of their fellows, and even now the younger men are anxious to display their skill in this respect. Wrestling, which used to be common during all non-sacred gatherings, has almost entirely disappeared since the prohibition of the potlatch.

The favourite indoor pastime, enjoyed equally by young and old, is the telling of stories. Those of a sacred nature, especially ancestral myths, are reserved of course for ceremonial occasions, but the older men and women remember many tales describing the exploits of birds and animals which are recounted again and again to the enjoyment of the listeners, although they may have heard the same recital fifty times. Children enjoy the companionship of some old story-teller and it is a common sight to see an old man or woman, surrounded by an eager group, explaining once more how Raven rescued his uncle or was himself led into difficulties. Many of these stories are somewhat indecent, others appear brutally frank,

2: Mc Dermith E-9 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

he is wrong, he pays them. It is said that in former times each stick used to be painted with a special device, and that each had its own name; even nowthey are beautifully made and highly polished by much passing from hand to hand. The Carriers play the same game but use beaver teeth instead of sticks. Formerly it was not uncommon for a man to bet his goods, his wives and children, and even himself at this game. If he lost, the persons so wagered became slaves of the victor unless redeemed by their friends. Women, too, gambled freely; in fact, neophytes recently admitted into the *hamat* society were the only men to whom his pastime was forbidden.

Of actual games, the one most commonly played is *skiu*. As many as eight or ten contestants can take part, each providing himself with one, two, or three stones,[1] perked down to the proper shape. Each is about six inches in length, three inches wide, flat on one side, and oval on the other, well rounded at either end. Before the coming of the white man, when the Bella Coola historically used stone, it is said that one of these could be made in a few minutes. A mark is set up, and the first player throws his missile in the air, endeavouring to make it come to rest close as possible to the target. The game is usually played on an open space near the village, but even on comparatively smooth ground there is great chance of bouncing and the thrower must gauge this possibility as well as have correct direction and distance. The second player likewise throws his stone, trying to land it nearer the target, or to knock away his rival's. In so doing, the latter, lying on the ground, is often broken, which puts its owner out of the game for the time being. Then all have thrown, the one who has come nearest the mark is the winner. Sometimes each contestant throws two or more stones, and sometimes sides are chosen. Large number of broken gaming stones can be found near every old villagesite, confirming the statements of the older men and women concerning the universality of the sport

[1] Whether which this is was said either to be derived from that of a foreign, or that the latter is derived from it.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

$539

"Cut him in pieces," she said, "as you would with salmon preparatory to smoking."

Mink was in the canoe and heard her injunction. He willed that the captain should steer a course near the shore, and when the canoe was rounding a point he jumped overboard and succeeded in reaching the land, where he sought refuge. The raiders chased him on shore so hotly that Mink was finally forced to hide in a small hole under the rocks, but on entering it he took with him some shell-fish. One of the pursuers, seeing the hole, thrust his spear down into it, but Mink smeared on this the entrails of the shell-fish. When the raiders saw the gore on the spear they concluded they had killed him and went off.

As soon as his enemies had gone away, Mink crawled out and grabbed the old woman by the back of the neck, yelling in her ear:

"What did you call out to the raiders?"

"I told them to take good care of you," she replied, "that you were like a son to me."

"Did you indeed?" said Mink, who had heard perfectly what she said.

First he bit off her legs, then chewed to pieces the rest of her body, shredding it into scraps which he threw into the water, telling them to become crabs.

This is the origin of crabs.

THE FIRE

Almost three generations after the first people had come to this earth, Mink went up to *Nuxwit-a* and asked *Kiyamtsin* to lend him his robe, so that he might take his place as sun. The request was granted, but, once given control of the sun, Mink guided the canoe-like luminary so close to earth that the rivers and oceans boiled, and it was only in the glaciers that the people were able to exist. As *Kimquit* a moss and his dog were turned to stone; it is said that they can still be seen in this form.[*]

[221]

Animals as well as men suffered from Mink's wickedness. Grizzly Bear's coat was singed to its present rusty colour; Weasel tried to hide himself but failed to draw in the end of his tail which was burnt black, a mark still carried by all his descendants; Clam closed his shell for protection and so was blackened only at its orifice; all the other creatures suffered in various ways.

¶[171] [*] A similar belief is said to be shared by the Cowichan people of Vancouver Island. About 1900, a considerable amount of charred wood was found four feet beneath the surface of the ground, on the mountain west of the Duncan River. The Bella Coola consider this to be proof of the disaster.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

158 [415] [171] [415] [431] [264] 158 476

racks; metal coal-oil cans are found convenient for this purpose and have almost replaced watertight boxes. After repeated storings and skimmings, all that remains is a mass of putrid flesh, bearing no resemblance whatever to the fish from which it came. The Kitlahs are said to compress this into cakes for eating, but the Bella Coola throw it away. Some cooks bail out the drops by hand, but many of the box-kettles have a bung-hole at the bottom which, when opened, allows the semi-liquid remains to flow out into a rough trough leading to the river. As soon as one batch of oolachan has thus been disposed of, another is boiled and refined in the same way. The grease keeps indefinitely and is a useful article of barter with the Carriers as well as a staple of Bella Coola diet. Although the preparation removes much of its offensive odour, oolachan grease has an unpleasant taste to the white man.

During the boiling, all other activities are suspended and the people spend practically all their time on the river bank. If the fish are allowed to rot too long, much of the grease is lost, so men, women, and children are pressed into service to make the most of the short period. The men rise at dawn to start the fires on the bank, the women and children follow with food, and for several days the whole village camps, as if on a picnic, amid an indescribably foul smell that almost strikes anyone passing within hundreds of yards. There are tasks for everyone; the fish must be carried from the pits to the furnaces, wood must be brought, the fires attended, the kettles stirred, the grease carried away, the fireplaces repaired, food cooked, and a hundred other chores. It is a scene of great activity, carried on with good humour and merriment, for the Bella Coola realize that they are storing up luxuries for the following winter. Even the dogs seem to share the general contentment, and do not disdain to eat the dregs from the kettles, which, when emptied into the river, attract numerous crows and gulls, to the joy of small boys with burning desires.

BELLA COOLA CANOES

501 [505] 502

Although travel and transport by water is still as vital to the Bella Coola as it was in their fathers, the motor-boat is fast replacing the canoe, and the science of manufacturing their own craft is being lost. In former times several types were constructed, but only one of these is still employed—the spoon canoe, *ts'ela*, used on rivers (see Plate 21). These vary from twenty to thirty feet or more in length, and are about four feet wide; they are without keels, and there is no difference between the bow and stern. Although one man can handle such a craft in smooth water, at least two are required for a journey of any length, and four in the usual case. The captain, who is either the best waterman or the one most familiar with the route, stands in the stern, the second is crouched in

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

of the older people remember using in their youth another type, *ikkas*, with a high raised prow; this may have been identical with the *nulka* which others describe as having an elevated bow and a low stern. An entirely different craft was the *nuskwa'i*, named from one of the gens, probably the white-headed gens. A strip of maple fastened along each side caught the water in moving, with a sound like that of the paradise rustling flight of the bird. The bow was often carved in the form of a bird's head and the stern in that of a tail to further the resemblance. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of these canoes, though some had heard of them from their grandparents. The large, open type of canoe made by the Haida was known to the Bella Coola, but not owned by them. Sails were used on all ocean-going canoes; they were usually of matting, though skins sewn together were occasionally employed.

Canoes are occasionally lashed together. In several dances dances a wide platform for dancing is required, and the need is met by lashing planks crosswise over two canoes, near the bow and stern, thus fastening them together. Planking is laid on the two supports and a platform is constructed. Careful inquiries showed that this fastening was merely a temporary arrangement; the boxes were not bound in any particular manner, nor was there any fixed distance between the craft. Sometimes the same expedient was used for transport when the load was too heavy for two canoes separately, a device which is said to have been used more commonly by the tribes of the outer coast than the Bella Coola. Canoes lashed together are termed *ts-ennetz*.

Rafts, *cuxlwa'a*, consisting of rough logs fastened together with cross-pieces, were commonly used on the lakes of the interior, and occasionally for river work when canoes were unavailable and there was no time to make them. Another expedient in similar emergencies was to make bark canoes, such as are still remembered by the Carrier. The Bella Coola regard the construction of these as definite copying, and do not profess to have as much skill as their northern tribes. Canoes, it is said, can be folded for portaging. There is a tradition that, many generations ago, a few clever Bella Coola knew how to make skin canoes.

THE PREPARATION OF CEDAR-BARK

Early spring is the time to *cuxlmali*, that is, to gather the inner bark of the cedar. This occasionally starts in the lodge, though this is really women's work. The worker selects a small cedar, choosing one about six inches in diameter, with smooth trunk and relatively free from knots. With a knife she makes a horizontal incision in the bark, two or three feet from the ground, sometimes girdling the sapling. Then she inserts her

Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NEB Bellacoola NEB
CARRIER NEB
TSIMSHIAN NEB
SENECA NEB
CHICOTIN NEB

Southern Carrier: New shoots boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach. Resembled the decoction made from the bark of the aspen (page 34), or from the new shoots and bark of the ribbed spruce (page 81), but the last-mentioned considered most efficacious.

Northern Carrier: Needle tips mixed with large needle tips of the "British Columbia pine" (*Pinus* sp.?), the inside bark of the wild gooseberry (*Ribes* sp.?), bark of the red-osier dogwood (*Cornus stolonifera* Michx.), the inside pulp of mayberry cones (*Ribes* sp.), moss of the "lousberry" (black twinberry, *Lonicera involucrata* Banks?), and the inner bark of the wild rose (*Rosa* sp.), placed in a vessel holding four gallons of water, boiled down to a thick decoction, strained, and bottled. About two tablespoonfuls taken, at sunrise and sunset, for constitutional weakness or paralysis, or if the body was covered with sores.

Cure obtained by boiling a green piece of pine (sp.?) painted on the eye to remove white scum and to cure snow-blindness.

Sikanni: Pitch stewed and the saliva swallowed for a cough.

Gitksan: Inner bark (scraped from the trunk with a bone scraper after the outer bark had been removed) eaten both for food and as a blood purifier. Purged the body in from half an hour to an hour.

Shavings of the yellow resinous cinder found after removal of the bark boiled, the decoction placed in oil, and taken internally as a purgative and diuretic for many serious ailments, including gonorrhea. Said to produce beneficial results in "consumption."

Young needles plucked in June and eaten as a purgative and diuretic.

For use with a bow, see page 68.

Abies grandis Lindl., White Fir, Balsam Fir

Bella Coola: Bark of root or of stem boiled, and the decoction taken internally every day for tuberculosis and stomach troubles. Said to have cured many cases of tuberculosis.

Gum from bark blisters found on young trees warmed, mixed with mountain goat tallow, and taken internally for sore throat, also drops on a hot stone sore eyes.

Young green leaves boiled, mixed with buds of skunk cabbage (*Lysichiton camtschatcense* Schott.) gathered in October, or the buds gathered in April, dried on top of the house, roasted, mixed with a small quantity of slightly roasted roots of dog rose, namely (*Rosa nutkana* Presl.), one or two ounces of the gummy buds of the black cottonwood (*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.), and four or five ounces of bark extractive oil, allowed to stand one day, then boiled and kept in a box for a hot perfume. Gitksan Indians said to be more expert in the preparation.

Southern Carrier: Tree used for medicine, but details not obtained.

Chilcotin: Not used.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NEH Bellacoola 306
CARTIER NEN
TL MORIAN NEKS

Smoke from the burning roots inhaled for bad dreams, influenza, and rheumatism (a remedy avoided by medicine men, lest it destroy their magical power). Roots themselves considered poisonous.

Leaves used to sit or lie on when taking a steam bath for rheumatism; also spread over the affected parts. T 137 757 [838] [756]

Calla palustris L., Water Arum

Gitksan: Roots well boiled and the decoction taken internally for clearing the eyes of the blind, for hemorrhage, for short breath, and influenza. B 137 757

LILIACEAE, LILY FAMILY

Chlorogalum pomeridianum Kunth., Soaproot

Bella Coola: Boiled and used to wash the body. Can be used and applied as a poultice to sore or wounds.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used. B 137 757

Smilacina racemosa L., False Solomon's Seal

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Roots boiled and decoction taken internally as a very strong medicine for rheumatism, sore back, and kidney trouble, a purgative. Bark and leaves unknown. Roots smelled and tasted as bulb. T [752]

Veratrum viride Ait., False Hellebore

Bella Coola: Small bulbs or scrapings of large bulbs, boiled, and one cupful or less of the decoction, according to the strength of the patient, taken internally for chronic cough, pneumonia, constipation, pain in the stomach, and many illnesses. Two or three cupfuls avoided as emetic. Said to be poisonous if eaten raw. B 137 757

Small pieces of the root root swallowed with a little cold water as emetic for pain in the stomach. Hot water taken if all the pieces not vomited. Overdose considered fatal.

See also aconite root (page 48).

Southern Carrier: Roots were dried in the sun, and periodically rubbing on a stone. About a teaspoonful of the powder taken in hot water as an emetic for sickness. Too strong a decoction considered fatal.

SALICACEAE, WILLOW FAMILY

Salix lasiandra Benth., Western

Bella Coola: Six sticks about a foot long charred, and powdered on a stone. A teaspoonful of the powder taken in a cupful of cold water for diarrhoea. Said to affect a man in rain or three hours. B 137 757

A piece of the inner bark boiled were and the bitter stuff boiled into a dark red, other edges then squeezed and flattened down, and the mould covered with eagle down. Thought to make the pus come out. Same process used to heal tumours in the abdomen made by dogs who tried to eat pain in the stomach. B [757] [752]

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used. B [771]

(This was Dr. C. H. Townsend's answer the same time this plant seems to be used by every tribe in British Columbia I guess.

B
C

137
757

Fomes Laricis (Jacq.), more generally known as **Polyporus officinalis** Fries, A Shelf Fungus

Bella Coola: This (?) fungus ground, steeped in water, and the decoction taken internally for gonorrhoea.

Southern Carrier: If found on the Douglas fir tree, dried, powdered, a handful steeped in boiling water and the hot decoction taken internally as an emetic and purgative. Said to act within an hour. Not used if found on any other tree.

B
C
[171]

(According to Dr. John Dearness, this is a medical polypore, perhaps the only fungus used by pharmacists. Park, Davis, and Company make a fluid extract and a triturate which is prescribed for the relief of night sweats in tuberculosis. The fungus is a cathartic in large doses. Its medicinal virtues have long been known in the old world.)

B
137
757

Boviista pila B. and C., Puff Ball.

Bella Coola: Spores dusted on wounds, sores of gonorrhoea, and suppurating sores other than boils.

LICHEN

Bella Coola: A certain long, white lichen, if found on the red alder tree, warmed, and applied to a broken boil or suppurating sore.

Sticta sp., Lichen

Bella Coola: Entire plant, if from red-osier dogwood (*Cornus stolonifera* Michx.) or crab apple (*Pyrus diversifolia* Bong.), but not from willow (*Salix* sp.), boiled, and five cupfuls of the hot decoction taken internally daily for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea, constipation, or vomiting. Neither a purgative nor an astringent.

C
[159]

Entire plant boiled and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

Entire plant pulverized and applied to skin.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

KELP

B
757

Bella Coola: A small kelp found on the rocks sometimes used for a sweat bath. See western dock, page 56.

WOOD SAP

Bella Coola: The sap that oozes from any kind of wood when burning considered a good remedy for sores.

MOUNTAIN GOAT

B
136
757

Oreamnos Montanus, Ord., Mountain Goat

Bella Coola: Mountain goat fat boiled with droppings of goose that had fed on roots, and the mixture given to babies once or twice a day for colds.

Goat meat with droppings of the bushy-tailed woodrat, commonly called packrat (*Neotoma cinerea*), taken internally with water as a remedy for nursing babies when they had colds.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

614 The gens Spatsa'tlh have hooksers painted on the house-front, and use in dances the mask of a large kind of whale (i-'ents), of the crow, and of
532 the black bear.

342 The gens Tsemqut'skyas use the mask of Ôsnatsît'ma (=the sleeper) and the eagle.

The gens Ti'ah'semi'ot of the Nook'a'latsmo use the moon (fig. 2).

The gens Iale'stimit of the Talio'mo use the raven, robin (mi'a'gem), eagle, whale, the bird *t'ioelale* (grouse?), and *s'ellel'ots*, the flood-tide. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the *ceng'ots* suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. 420).

The highest gens of Nuî'a'l has the name Smi'ya (=the north wind). He has the mountain Sowi'kas surmounted by a mackerel sky, and with clouds on its sides, painted on his house-front (fig. 3). Another object belonging to his crest represents waves.

614 The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the decision being left to the choice of the parents.
851

Secret Societies and the Potlatch.

171 The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Bilqula are still more closely interwoven than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the Sisna'ka, and the Ka'ulth. The Sisna'ka corresponds to the Tlokala of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the Ka'ulth to the Ts'ônaka'a. The
575 Bilqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by two deities, one brother and one sister, the foremost among whom is Qô'ômôm, to whom
556 773 776 the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Qô'ômôm. Fig. 6.—Mask representing Qwaqwemô'ôla.

[532] [575]

house in the far east, and arises at 4 o'clock every morning when the sun rises. He has to take care that the sun rises properly. The first six of these deities

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned outward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, headdresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the column. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by as many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be.

764 [307] [321] [766] [567] [775]

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a throw-hook into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four throw-hooks into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they shoot four small arrows and swap through the shells, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, showing new trees every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones.

765 783 [775] 765 [302]

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to comb or cut nails for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or chicken. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. These observances are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person.

[302] [326] [322]

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relatives invite the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion to sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was the custom to giving away the house of the deceased.

765 656

Religious and Superstitious.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to

773 [775]

* * *

773 what cause this divergence is due. Mythology and religion are so closely
[71] connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Bilqula is Sun, the sun-god (compare sing. sun). 773 The rays of the sun are his symbolism. When prayed to he is called Tsal'ex. In praying the Bilqula look heavenward. I obtained the following formulas: *Allexe ulz'ding, Tsal'ex,* 'Look on us where we are 774 going, Tsal'ex,' and *Tsal'ex, ulz'ulzmmlz'ilg,* 'Take care of us, Tsal'ex.' [70] Sun is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and does not interfere with [59] the actions and thoughts of men. Three are given by Mamamelq'ing. According to the tradition of the Bilqula, before the liberation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is nowadays, four deities lived on the earth: Mamamelq'ing, Tsla'ioxet, Mathqa'ayuk, and Ial'ala'lak. The raven wished to obtain the sun, but he was unable to liberate it. Then he went to these deities and asked their help. They assembled in the sky, and tore the curtain, which up to that time had been suspended between heaven and earth, hiding the heavenly orbs. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The raven ascended to heaven through the rift made by Mamamelq'ing, and found there a beautiful prairie country in which all the birds lived. Mamamelq'ing and his brethren painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his wife. The raven was not content with the sun, and resolved to try and find a better one. He flew to the house of a great chief, who kept the sunq'ulz (no-daughter of, sq'uwelse dog in drawing). The sunq'ulz was a small round receptacle closed all around like an egg. The chief guarded it jealously, and kept it suspended from one of the rafters of his house. The raven knew that he could not obtain it by show force, and resolved to a ruse. He assumed the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and let himself drop into the pool from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pool, swallowed the leaf, and thus became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the raven himself. The old chief loved the boy dearly, and allowed him to play with the sunq'ulz. This was what he desired. He ran out of the house, broke it, and flew away in the shape of a raven.

After the sun had thus been obtained Mamamelq'ing said: 'Let us make men.' He made the image of a man out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Mathqa'ayuk and Ial'ala'lak tried likewise to carve human figures and to give them life, but they failed. Finally, Tsla'ioxet carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in each country, and they became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Mamamelq'ing gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to catch salmon, to build houses. He made rivers everywhere, that men should have water to drink, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by men.

The Bilqula believe that Mamamelq'ing and his brethren still continue to give new ideas to men. They say that any new designs of painting or carving, or any other new inventions, made by a member of their tribe, has been given to him by Mamamelq'ing.

[78] The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been referred to above.

774 The soul is believed to dwell in the eyes. It is similar in shape to a bird inclosed in an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies away the owner dies. Shamans are able to see and to recover souls.
[74]
[75]

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NEA Bellacoola NEA

By laying their hands on the rope of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the rope of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy.

The art of shamanism is borrowed by Ewq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Ewq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself.

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes we informant said: "When an Ewlky'i'ung wishes to become a shaman he goes to the mountains where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Ma'ioma) who will initiate him. In Hagula one obtains the art in such a way."

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A similar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the "ely'a" of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 113), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions worked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called yaut. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is included in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms.

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If meat is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is hot, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die.

I will have a few current beliefs:—

Drumming indicates that people are talking about me.

Slight chapping of the neck indicates rain, but coarse good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky, of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry.

If a dog frisks and howls in the sheep the owner will die.

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky.

Wars.

When a war party was expected the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar bark and covered their

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca.1890)900 NEA Bellacoola NEA

They had hit a stone, and their points were broken. He staid there some time, and when it was nearly dark he returned home. Before he reached his house, he cut his own belly and took out some of the fat from his intestines. He cut it in five pieces, and replaced his intestines. He put the fat into his quiver. When he reached his house, he hung the quiver up outside, and entered. He imitated everything the Lynx had done. When it grew dark, he told his wife to fetch his quiver. She brought it, and he told her to open it and to feed his children. She took the fat out, placed it on a stick, and put it near the fire; and as soon as it grew warm, the Raven cried, "Tsi! Don't put it so near the fire. I feel sick when you do so." He jumped up took hold of the fat, and put it back in his belly. The Lynx said, "Formerly I fed your children, but you were the first one to treat me properly. You did not give any food to my children." Then the Lynx took some fat, and flung one piece to each of the Raven's children. He cut some meat and gave it to them also. Then the Raven said, "I will give you one of my children, that it may grow up in company with yours."

It is said that the former spirit Tsi'lus'a was killed at one time by an Indian who took his place. This tale is recorded in Chap. IV. It belongs to the tribe of the village Nuxu'q'. A similar tradition is told of Anu,[1] to which some the Carrier call the Raven, their principal culture hero. Many traditions referring to Anu are common to the Carrier, the Bella Coola, and the Awik'enox of Rivers Inlet.

The Bella Coola believe that a being called K'ium is the father of all mountaineers. When a hunter meets him, he thinks he sees a fish. Then he should close his eyes and open them again. If the animal is K'ium, it will appear in its real shape as a buck of enormous size. The hunter should then succeed the mountain. If he should descend, he would fall and die.

The thunder-storm is produced by the Thunder-bird, who lives on the mountains, in the company of a number of spirits, who are considered his particular friends. The Thunder-bird himself is represented by a black mask with red mouth. The nose is strongly curved, the forehead bulges forward, and the chin protrudes almost as far forward as the nose (Plate XI, Fig. 1). His beaded is called Ac-cuk'ic'nnum (Plate XI, Fig. 2). He face is painted with orange and blue stripes, and he carries a speaker's staff, which is painted with spirals of the same color. He watches the door of the Thunder-bird's house. In his house live the Rabbit (Plate XI, Fig. 3); the Owl, who is considered the rival of the Thunder-bird (Plate XI, Fig. 4); the Mountain, c'ilqas (Plate XI, Fig. 5); the Rainbow (Plate XI, Fig. 6);

[1] Contradictory to Boas's statement in his monograph on Tsimshian myths (Pag. 4, 5).

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mythologies to those of the interior. It is unnecessary to revert to this subject here. The similarity of the Bella Coola legends to those of the other Coast tribes on the one hand, and to the traditions of the Athapascan tribes on the other, is evident.

It is, however, important to compare their social organization with that of the neighboring tribes, in order to gain a clearer understanding of the origin of their peculiar organization. As stated before, the Bella Coola are divided into village communities, which are organized on an endogamic basis. Each village community has its tradition, which is represented in certain ceremonies. The supernatural beings which play a part in these traditions are personified by certain dances. Other Coast tribes have a much more complex organization. The Tlingit and Haida are divided into two clans, each of which is subdivided into a great many families, which, as it would seem, were originally village communities. This opinion is based on the fact that the names of many of the families must be translated as "inhabitants of such and such a place." The two clans are present in all the villages of the tribe, each family belonging to either one clan or the other. The Tsimshian have the same system, except that the number of clans is four instead of two. Each tribe is divided into families, which embrace the inhabitants of a certain region; but all the families of the whole tribe are classified according to the four clans. Among the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian, descent is purely maternal; among the northern Kwakiutl tribes, conditions are somewhat different, according to observations made by Dr. Livingston Farrand. There we have village communities which are subdivided according to four clans in the same way as those of the Tsimshian, but descent is not purely maternal. There is a strong preponderance of the latter form of descent, but persons are at liberty to place their children in either the paternal or maternal clan. The preponderance of maternal descent is, however, so strong, that from my previous received impress I drew the inference that descent was purely maternal.

Among the southern Kwakiutl tribes the families constituting a village community are subdivided into a number of clans, but each clan is confined to one village. We do not find a limited number of clans pervading the whole tribe, as we do among the northern tribes. An analysis of the social organization of this tribe has shown that the present organization has evidently developed from a previous simpler state, in which the tribe was divided into single village communities. The present more complex organization resulted from the amalgamation of various villages. Owing to the influence of the customs of the northern tribes, each village community adopted a crest, which in course of time became the totem of the clan.[1] The Kwakiutl have a peculiar organization, which may be considered a transitional stage between

[1] "Totem Poles of the Kwakiutl Indians" (Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895 p. 329)

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

inhabited by Salish tribes refer to the early separation of the Bella Coola tribe from the related tribes of the Gulf of Georgia, and that in their traditions they have retained the memory of the emigration of part of the tribe from the northern territory. It seems also probable that the allusion to the origin of one family of the tribe on Skeena River refers to a mixture with the tribes inhabiting northern British Columbia.

The traditions of the tribes also describe the style of house used by the ancestors of certain village communities; and it is interesting to note that some of these houses correspond to the subterranean lodges that were in use among the Chilcotin, while others correspond to the tents that were in use among the Carrier. It is said that the ancestor of the Nuxa'lin used the subterranean lodge which is called tsîpa (see p. 63), while the ancestor of the Nuqa'lin used the skin lodge which is called skûsa (see p. 64).

Since the Bella Coola retain the fundamental traits of the social organization of their congeners to the south, and since their tradition has evidence of an emigration from that region, and since, furthermore, the linguistic evidence proves that the Bella Coola and the Coast Salish at one time inhabited contiguous areas on the coast, we are justified in assuming that the general culture of the Bella Coola at the time of their emigration must have resembled that of the Coast Salish. The question then arises, How did the peculiar contiguous totem and the remarkable mythology of the Bella Coola originate from the much simpler forms that we find among the Coast Salish?

One of the most remarkable features in the inner life of the tribes of the northern coast of British Columbia is the great importance of the clan legend, which is considered one of the most valuable properties of each clan or family. It is carefully guarded in the same way as material property, and an attempt on the part of a person not a member of the clan to tell the tradition or to own it considered one of the gravest offences against property rights. The possession of a clan tradition is felt by the Indian to be one of his most important prerogatives. When, therefore, the Bella Coola settled on Bella Coola River, and were drawn into contact with the northern Coast tribes, the lack of a well-developed clan tradition must have been felt as a serious drawback. The physical appearance of the Bella Coola proves that at one time they must have intermarried to a great extent with the Bella Bella. Though these marriages the peculiar customs of the Coast tribes were first introduced among them. This is shown by the fact that a great many of the mythological names can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin, of which stock the Bella Bella are a branch. Thus the name for their supreme deity, Snai'yakla, is a Kwakiutl word meaning "the one who must be worshipped." The name Qwaqwakîka is also of Kwakiutl origin, and may be translated as "the wealthiest one." The great frequency of

follow either father or mother, but that it had not the right to use the property of both parents. It seems to my mind that the former method was more likely to develop under the existing social conditions, and that to this reason we must ascribe the development of an endogamic system among the Bella Coola. The occurrence of endogamic marriage among this tribe is quite isolated on the Pacific coast. All the other tribes have exogamic institutions, and by this means preserve their property rights. It is interesting to note that the northern Kwakiutl, who originally seem to have been organized in village communities, have adopted exogamic institutions; but there is a notable difference in the organization of the village community, between the Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl. Among the Bella Coola we generally find four ancestors to each village,—usually three men and one woman. It is true that these are generally called brothers and sister, but they were created independently by Sun, and are therefore not necessarily considered as blood relatives. Among the Kwakiutl the village community are considered the descendants of one single being; consequently, among the latter tribe they are all relatives, who are forbidden to intermarry; while among the Bella Coola they are not relatives, and may intermarry.

174 182 424 614 171 174 621 [173]

My interest is, therefore, that the curious social system of the Bella Coola developed through the influence of the customs of the Coast tribes upon the loose social unit of the Salish village community. The possession of clan traditions was felt as a great advantage, and consequently the desire developed to possess clan traditions. These were acquired partly by intercourse with the Coast tribes, as is shown by the fact that many of these traditions are borrowed from these tribes, partly by independent invention. The desire to guard the traditions which were once acquired led to the development of endogamic institutions, in order to prevent the spread of the traditions over the whole tribe.

174 177 424 614 [512]

The jealousy with which the traditions are guarded has had the effect of making each family try to prevent other families from knowing its own clan traditions. For this reason the clan traditions of the whole tribe are remarkably inconsistent. We find, for instance, that the well-known raven legend of the northern Coast tribes has been utilized by many families as a family tradition. But while one family uses one part of the tradition, other families use other parts of the same tradition. Thus it happens that among the Bella Coola we find the most contradictory myths in regard to important events in the world's history. Some families maintain that the Raven liberated the sun, while, according to another one, the Mink was essential in bringing about the present state of affairs. Still others say that Tsmo'ets, during his travels, caused the sun to appear. The discrepancies in the traditions referring to the visit of the Mink and Wasp to their father, the Sun, are also very remarkable. Although a considerable amount of

174 424 614

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NEA Bellacoola NEA

174 contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast,
424 they nowhere reach such a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I presume
614 the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts for this curious condition.

171 The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to Sunx or Ta'ats bear a
782 remarkable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Lasha, the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face it will be clear weather, and man will be happy; consequently the prayer to
[821] the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from
177 the Coast tribes is the k0'siut ceremonial, with which are connected the various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism.
575 The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the
773 Kwakiutl are practically identical. I told above (p. 34) the legend explaining
796 the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another tradition is told to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsf'wae, who lives in the forest, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practiced by three distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the
174 development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious incon-
773 sistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the word and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not co-ordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

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[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 336-8.

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(550) One of them must wash his body, one must wash his head, and the two others hold him. In return they receive one or two blankets each. During this ceremony the qaqa'ioth, who are described as wild men, dance around the novice. They have ropes tied around their waists, and are held by other members of the society by these ropes. Then the cinnamon bird has the novice into the woods, where he remains for a long time, until he meets the spirit that initiates him. It seems that during this time he is secretly led to the house in which the cinnamon bird continues to celebrate festivals at the expense of the novice's father, and there he is taught the secrets of the society. During this time, until the return of the novice from the woods, the house is tabooed. A watchman is stationed at the entrance, who keeps out uninitiated persons. During the absence of the novice, his mother prepares cedar bark ornaments and weaves mountain goat blankets for his use. One afternoon he returns, and then his father gives a feast to let the people know that his child has returned. The latter performs his first dance, in which he uses masks and cedar bark ornaments. This dance is called nuxalk'auch. On this day the father must distribute a great number of blankets among the cinnamon bird. The initiated are permitted to take part in the feast, and sit on one side of the house. The new member spends all his nights in the woods, where he bathes. In the spring the new member, if a man, is thrown into the sea, and after that is free from all regulations attending the initiation. One of the principal regulations regarding novices of the cinnamon bird is that they must return from the woods in the direction in which the sun is moving, starting so that the sun is at their backs. Therefore they must sometimes go in roundabout ways. They must go backward through doors, which are sa'lagam (supernatural) against them. Frequently the sa'ua (a female shaman) is called to bespeak the door in their behalf before they pass through it. Before their dance the sa'ua must also address the earth, as it is supposed that she it might open and swallow up the dancer. It is also sa'lagam against the novice. The expression used is that the earth would "open its eyes" (k'a'nalamx); that means, swallow the novice. In order to avoid this danger, the sa'ua must "give a name to the earth," and show red paint and feathers over the place where the novice is to dance.

THE S'LOLA.

(551) The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the S'lola are still more closely interwoven than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the polatch, the sisa'k, and the k'wak. The sisa'k corresponds to the tsa'ksa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the k'wak to the ts'a'ts'aqa. The S'lola believe that the polatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Xa'xalana, to whom care the novices is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful house in the far east, and cries "a, a,"

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773
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[575] [576] [577] [578]

wanted to dance in the same way as she was her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with smoke. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the Grass. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Grass."

[579] [580] [581]

Over since that time the Dillonite dance the Grass. When a man has seen Kwakhatatl's sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a Grass. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the labor house. Each Grass lasts three days.

[582] [583] [584]

The various dances performed by members of the Grass are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the clan's dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may relinquish the dance to the borrower [illegible] way return it at any time. Membership of the Grass is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given the Grass name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Tsipa will be was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of Ahkwa. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the clan's, the initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "know" of the dances which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Grass have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the Ahwitla (the initiate of the Kwakhatl), the Ahwa (the adjunct of the Kwakhatl), and the Ahwa (the attendant of the Kwakhatl). These grades are also hereditary. A female novice may acquire these at once at her first initiation.

[585] [586] [587] [588]

When the Ahwitla is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The whole held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the Ahwitla. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the medicine of the Ahwitla ate dressed one half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears

[illegible] to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is tortured. Early one morning he returns, and he heard outside the house. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and tells everyone where he was he has told all. If he was not rotten, anyone he will tell his wife. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shaman must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have convened in the shaman's house, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of cast metal bells, [illegible] he appears wearing the mask of the [illegible] (fig. [illegible]), the spirit which tormented him. This mask corresponds exactly to that of [illegible] of the [illegible] from whom he [illegible] his people, but merely [illegible] two [illegible] to [illegible] and [illegible]. Therefore his people will also [illegible] [illegible] shaman has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not [illegible] [illegible] gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

Fig. [illegible]
[illegible]

The [illegible] (the daughter) and the [illegible] (the daughter) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The [illegible] "makes fun of everything" and sometimes gambles with his wife. The [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] and breaks household goods and utensils. If he has forbidden some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he leaves. The [illegible] and the [illegible], after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

If a person transgresses the laws of the [illegible], for instance, when the shaman's [illegible], or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person disobeys the commandments or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The death sentence is passed and the execution is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the substitute killed in his stead. The members of the judgment is intended to the shaman, who furthermore the condemned person by throwing the [illegible] [illegible] or by pulling him to some other [illegible]. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, covered

(c) *Bonaqua* and, "Laboured" the eastern continuation of the last mentioned.[1] The name explained as follows:

One of the people who came to be earth in the beginning of time, *Tundlanda* by name, resided on the Skeena River, and there saw women wearing labrets. On his return to Bella Coola he settled at *Bonaqua* and set carved on his totem pole* the figure of a woman with an abalone shell labret as a memorial of his voyage. Unbecoming to his particular consort the totem from his figure.

This was one of the largest towns in the valley.

*(d) *Kimsquit*: a small town some north of the last, not far from the *Dean*. It is noteworthy that it was founded by a descendant of *Tundlanda* named *Imsiq*. The consensus of opinion is that it has not been occupied for many years, but one informant recently dug up a clay pipe on the alleged site.

*(e) *Sukuk*, "Where the Sun Divided": on the south shore of the Bella Coola River about a quarter of a mile from the sea. This village was founded by a certain *Sell*.

*(f) *Xenqui*, meaning doubtful, perhaps "Salty": this, the most populous village of the valley in the recent past, is still inhabited by one or two families. The inhabitants of other towns explain its large population by marriages with slaves. This is the upper, or eastern, continuation of the preceding, and the two in combination formed one of houses stretching for three-quarters of a mile (see Fig. 9).

(g) *Gwalkuna*, "The Trading-place": on the north side of the Bella Coola, apparently about half a mile above *Kimsquit*. This village was long ago deserted.

(h) *Tsetlumsilla*, "Where There Is Much Anchovy-oil," a kind of hollow-crowned nest: some distance from

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* Recent totem, with remaining of a small set of houses, are reported as being the last (Figure). In each case this is on the boundary south.

* The first, from Salmon Bay, Bella Coola, contains small crown-pieces, supposed [illegible] to have left the town, one though a work of Barbeau and others on the same coast of some years ago in the Pacific Coast indicate that the Bella Coola totemic art are historically recent.

he is wrong, he pays them. It is said that in former times each stick used to be painted with a special device, and that each had its own name; even now they are beautifully made and highly polished by much passing from hand to hand. The Carrier play the same game but use heavy sticks instead of sticks. Formerly it was not uncommon for a man to lose his goods, his wives and children, and even himself at this game. If he lost, the persons so wagered became slaves of the victor unless redeemed by their friends. Women, too, gambled freely; in fact, neophytes recently admitted into the *kwaxa* society were the only ones to whom this pastime was forbidden.

Of actual games, the one most commonly played is *ółóo*. As many as eight or ten contestants can take part, each providing himself with one, two, or three stones,[1] packed down to the proper shape. Each is about six inches in length, three inches wide, flat on one side, and oval on the other, well rounded at either end. Before the coming of the white men, when the Bella Coola habitually used stone, it is said that one of these could be made in a few minutes. A mark is set up, and the first player throws his missile in the air, endeavouring to make it come to rest as close as possible to the target. The game is usually played on an open space near the village, but even on comparatively smooth ground there is great chance of bouncing and the thrower must gauge this possibility as well as have correct direction and distance. The second player likewise throws his stone, trying to land it nearer the target, or to knock away his rival's. In so doing, the latter, lying on the ground, is often broken, which puts its owner out of the game for the time being. When all have thrown, the one who has come nearest the mark is the winner. Sometimes each contestant throws two or more stones, and sometimes sides are chosen. Large numbers of broken gaming stones can be found near every old village site, confirming the statements of the older men and women concerning the universality of the sport

[1] It seems called *ółóo*, a name and other is the derived from that of a fungus, so that the latter is derived from it.

in former times. Mitu might almost be called the Bulla Cuela national game, although it is now (1922) seldom played.

A game with somewhat similar rules is *yunkirik*, played with small wooden spoons tipped with bone. When a number of men or boys decide to play, they choose two captains who in turn select their teams; any number can take part, provided that the sides are equal, but five each is usual. There is a special name for each player according to his position, and he lays against the corresponding member of the other team. A mark is set up, and one of the captains throws his spoon, so that it will stick upright in the ground as near the target as possible. The rival leader endeavours to beat this, and if he fails, his second man throws, and each in succession until one comes closer to the goal than the rival captain. Then the leader's number two rises to beat the last thrower, followed by those on his own side until one succeeds in all all have thrown. The game thus ends when all of one side have thrown unsuccessfully. The winning side is, of course, the one to which belongs the player whose throw is nearest the target. Each member of the losing team pays his wager to his adversary and a second round is begun.

The game is now rarely indulged in, but in former times games used to continue all day, and valuables were lost in the gambling which was considered to be a necessary part of it. Men used to observe ceremonial chastity to increase their chances of success and the game was regarded with admiration by younger lads. The rival team of a village often used to visit other towns to compete against their representatives, and the games were contested amid heated excitement on the part of the supporters. This occasionally led to serious fighting.

Another sport of a similar type is *ochiary*; a mark is set up and each competitor tries to lodge his spoon as close to it as possible. This game has now entirely lost favour, the young men preferring a type of football played without strict attention to rules, but with great energy.

Bulla Cuela children, too, have their games and recreations, many of them of an imitative nature. Little boys enjoy rolling

their houses. Dishes, benches, cooking-boxes, cradles, stanchions, canoes, all were carved from this wood. The bark was woven into baskets, and when dyed formed the most common ceremonial decoration.

Even within the forty miles of the river valley formerly occupied by the Bella Coola there are considerable variations in climate. At the mouth of the river the typical Pacific coast type is found, without great extremes of temperature and with much rain, especially in winter time. During winter, the moisture is precipitated as snow a few hundred feet above the valley, and the limit of the snow can be watched on the mountain slopes, rising or falling a few feet from day to day. Farther up the valley, the winters are colder and in many cases snow lies for weeks on the ground, and in the upper part of the Bella Coola area the winters are severe, although much more moderate than on the upper regions immediately to the east.

When we leave the history of the inhabitants of this land? They believe that long, long ago, *Alquntam*, the supreme god, caused their first ancestors to be created in his house, *Nuxwatl*, in the land above, and sent them down to populate the Bella Coola valley. These first people came in groups of two or three, brothers and sisters, or occasionally men and wife, each group descending, in many cases in animal form, to a certain mountain and then making their home on its foot. They brought with them animals and fish, tools and houses, also the knowledge of ceremonial dances. In fact, they differed from the Bella Coola of the recent past only in having greater supernatural power. These first people increased with extraordinary rapidity, until each group grew into a village, bound together by a knowledge of their first ancestor. In course of time the emigrants of certain villages continued, or some increased more rapidly than others, but on the whole each settlement maintained its character of being the descendants of one group of the first settlers of this world.

This mythological belief is a fair picture of Bella Coola life as it was when the first white men visited the valley. Wher-

Lewis, making his memorable overland trip to the Pacific, records coming upon Indian villages on every few miles of his course. Ross describes the way in which the inhabitants of each of these claim to be descended from one group of ancestors.

Though it is impossible to estimate the former population of the Bella Coola valley with any degree of accuracy, it must have been in the thousands. In 1901 there were surviving within more than three hundred individuals, who lived in one village on an Indian reserve near the north bank of the Bella Coola River, about a quarter of a mile from the sea. In the last century the tribe was stricken with smallpox, and since then consumption, venereal diseases, measles, and other diseases of the white man have taken their deadly toll. Changed conditions of life and decay of the rich ceremonial around which centred their interests in the old days are also contributory factors in their decline. Within the last few years, however, the population has begun to increase.

Bella Coola Villages

The following list of Bella Coola villages was obtained by an effort to learn which had been deserted in recent years, the writer always asked whether or not a town was occupied at the time of Mackenzie's visit, an event of such great interest to the grandparents of the older people that the memory of it is still preserved. Villages said to have been occupied at that time are marked with an asterisk.

There seem empty now the head of South Bentinck Arm, which is about one mile in width (see Plate 1). The Bella Coola, flowing from the east, enters at the southern edge, and the Nuxalk-Bella-a winds in from the north to the opposite angle of the head of the Arm. This stream, "The Dearest River" of the Bella Coola, so-called because of its proximity to the sea, is shown on maps as the Nuskumamuxw. Between the mouths of these two is the *Ts-ioli*, a small stream rising

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(c) *Ăwatqmo xoĕ*, "Labrend": the eastern continuation of the last mentioned.* The name is explained as follows:

One of the people who came to the earth in the beginning of time, *Tsiskwate* by name, travelled to the Skeena River, and there saw women wearing labrets. On his return to Bella Coola he settled at *Ăwatqmo xoĕ* and carved on his totem-pole* the figure of a woman with an abalone-shell labret as a memorial of his voyage. Visitors coming to his particular town named the town from this figure.

This was one of the largest towns in the valley.

*(d) *Ăimd ts*, a small town to the north of the last, not far from the *Pe xoĕ*. It is assumed that it was founded by a descendant of *Tsiskwate* named *Ăimd ts*. The consensus of opinion is that it has not been occupied for many years, but one informant recently dug up a clay pipe on the alleged site.

*(e) *Skhăĕ*, "When The Rope Divided": on the south shore of the Bella Coola River about a quarter of a mile from the sea. This village was founded by a certain *Ĕell*.

*(f) *Xmqo ts*, meaning doubtful, perhaps "baby": this, the most populous village of the valley in the recent past, is still inhabited by one or two families. The inhabitants of other towns explain its large population by marriages with slaves. This is the upper, or eastern, continuation of the preceding, and the two in combination formed a row of houses stretching for three-quarters of a mile (see Plate 9).

(g) *Qwăqkqmq*, "The Tomtom Place": on the north side of the Bella Coola, apparently about half a mile above *Ăimd ts*. This village was long ago deserted.

(*a*) *Tsăĕ-wăqlqs ts*, "Where There Is Much Inshore-ally," a kind of hollow-gunwaled place: some distance from

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*Several towns, each consisting of a single row of houses, are regarded as being one village. In such cases there is no visible boundary mark.

*The Bella Coola believe that their early ancestors used totem-poles, repeated reference to them will be made even though the work of Barbeau and others on the totem origin of totem-poles on the North-West Coast indicates that the Bella Coola example are not historically accurate.

the north bank of the Bella Coola,* near the lower slope of the mountain, and about three miles from the sea. It is probable that there was a town at this spot very long ago, according to the statement of one old man, and the numerous repetitions (II, p.8) in the vicinity support this view.

*(xx) *Sunuk*, "Sunny," or "Fallen Sun": on the south side of the Bella Coola opposite the preceding. It was deserted about 1877. This was a fairly large town, though never as big as *Semqo'ts*. The name is derived from *Sun*, *sun*, and there are two explanations given for it. One informant states that the name came from the many residences of the Sun to the first people there; another that the first chief, said to have been named *Sallaus*, erected a large totem-pole, decorated with the figure of a sun. This blew down, in consequence of which the people called their town *Sunuk*, "Fallen Sun."

*(xxi) *Sqemuk*: on the south side of the Bella Coola about three miles from the sea, and a short distance below the end of the present bridge. The meaning of the name is unknown.

*(xxii) *Tsemsil*, "Where the River Is Sufficiently Deep to Cover the Stones, but Shallow Enough for Rapids": the upper continuation of the last-named. It was deserted during the smallpox epidemic. The name of the chief who came there at the beginning of time was given as *Tsemsilist*.

(xxiii) *Ooi'ucqmuk*, "On the Point": on a curving promontory on the north bank of the river about four miles from the sea. It was long ago swept away when the river changed its course.

(xxiv) *Ts'ucmuk*, "The Place of Foul Water": on the north bank of the Bella Coola a little above the preceding, at a place where there were a number of stagnant pools between the river and the mountains. No one knows how long ago this town was abandoned, but as the names of people living there figure in stories which are said to be of no great antiquity, it

* The river frequently changes its course, so that things that now are a considerable distance from it may once have been on its banks.

was probably deserted not many years ago. Probably a large town since it was a good fishing place. [361]

(xi) *Tsalki*, "Bald Eagle": also on the north shore of the river, a little above the last-named. Probably washed away by a flood long ago, although traces of the salmon-weir were still visible recently. [224]

(xii) *Nagiwanda*, "The Place of Much gitanda" (the low *Rhododendron ferrugineum*): on the north side of the river about one mile above the preceding. This large town is believed to have been deserted long ago, though, in apparent contradiction, traces of it are said to be still visible. [317]

"(xiii) *Sendak*, "The Place of Dog-Salmon": on the south bank, above the last-named, at a place where a small stream enters the Bulkley Cache River; this divided the town into two sections. It was long deserted and the river has carried away that part of the village below the creek. The name is derived from an uncommon dog salmon which is believed to have been seen at long intervals in a waterfall near this spot, always with a worse mind perched on its back. [325]

(xiv) *Gipenkwan*: on the lower end of the island near Hagwilget post office, eleven miles from the mouth. Although long deserted, traces of this village can still be seen. The meaning of the name is unknown.

"(xv) *Nidzik*, "The Place of the Whirlpool": on the south side of the river, eleven and a quarter miles from the sea. It was a village of moderate size, recently abandoned. The last occupant was said to have been *Gitanmidz*, which means, "The Place of Ali." [173]

"(xvi) *Kuhs da i*, "The Concave Town," so called because it spread around the shore of a bay occupied now by the Bulkley Cache: south side, slightly above the inlet of the Nanikut River, thirteen and a quarter miles from the sea. It was deserted about 1880.

"(xvii) *Ferdzin*, "The Place of Spawn": on the north side of the river, opposite the mouth of the same name. It also was deserted about 1880. *Spawn* is a kind of green-milk [316]

[illegible] ville for one, which occurs in the valley of a small stream on the slope of the mountain.

"(c) *Nalkun*, "The Place Where There Are No Falls"; an affluent from the north enters the main Bella Coola about thirty-one miles from the sea and the town was located on this creek about two hundred yards above its junction with the Bella Coola. The ruins of this moderately large town were still standing about 1870. Mackenzie reached the Bella Coola River at this place. At the time of his arrival the population was larger than usual, because the salmon-weir had withstood some heavy freshets which had destroyed several weirs on the Bella Coola, and driven the inhabitants of other villages to *Nalkun*.

It is said that the affluent at *Nalkun*, the stream *Xwijk*, is the only one in the whole Bella Coola valley that does not drop precipitously into a ravine leading to the main river. It enters in a spring at the end of a pocket-like valley, at the base of steep cliffs, but it does not fall down them. The town is named from this circumstance. The area around the spring is called *Tsemkwaqlk*, and it is said that some families living on the Skeena sing of it as the spot where their first ancestors came to earth, although their descendants do not know where it is located.

"(n) *Snaw*: at the point between the *Ta'ach* (Dowitchi) and *Ala'ai* (Whitewater) rivers which join to form the Bella Coola. This, the most populous of the upper river towns, was deserted not long ago. The meaning of the name is unknown.

(o) *Qulnak*, "The Place of Shelter"; on the north side of the *Atnarko* River, a few hundred yards above the falls. This small town was deserted many years ago. The name was given on account of the hill behind the village being covered with a rank growth of plants and small bushes, but no trees.

(p) *Snaik-a*, "The Place of Falls," so called from the strong rapids of the *Atnarko* at this point; on the north side of the river about ten miles from the falls. This large town was long ago deserted when a large rock in the middle of the

[illegible], on which the salmon-nets rested, was carried away.*

The following village may be included with the above.

(iv) *Wanuq*: on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, to the east of the creek that flows into it at Green Bay. This long-deserted village was built so close to the water that high tides reached almost to the houses. According to one informant, the name was derived from that of the first chief who came down from above to that spot; while another connected it, etymologically, with *Wam*, the name of the barren district some four and a half miles up the valley of the creek. In recent years this village site has been used only as a summer camp.

The name given to the Bella Coola valley is *Nuxalk*; that given to the inhabitants of the valley, including those of villages no. iv, is *Nuxalkmq*.*

Two points must be considered with regard to the above list of towns. In the first place, can it be regarded as an accurate list, or do the towns belong to the realm of mythology? In the second place, are the customs and beliefs of the inhabitants of the different towns sufficiently similar to be described without reference to local differences?

The first question is difficult to answer. The Bella Coola undoubtedly consider the existence of these towns to be an historical fact, but as they regard the peopling of the earth by men created in the land above. Nevertheless, the above list appears to be intrinsically correct. The Bella Coola, although now collected into a single village, still remember their ancient homes. One man, for example, stated as a matter of course that he was a man of *Snaitlili*. Further inquiry elicited the information that he had been born at *Xaxli*, where his father had moved at the time of the smallpox epidemic. It later appeared that my informant's father was born at *Pumalli*, had married there, and that it was his father who had moved

* This information was by no means complete.

* Many of the towns here named is still applied to the town villages of the valley. All the other information was entirely to this date.

128 from *Swalik*. My informant's grandchildren regard themselves as *Swalik* boys, and their names are embodied in myths
173 of that village, although their fathers have not lived there
361 for five generations. There is no reason to suppose this case
166 exceptional. Other instances were obtained of movements of people from one village to another at earlier times, and there seems no cause to doubt the general accuracy of these. Names
[55] embodied in the origin myths of different towns are used as pronunciations and have been potent factors in keeping their memory alive. Uncertainties and inaccuracies there must be in the foregoing list, but on the whole it appears to be fairly reliable, since few contradictions were received from different informants.

128 Accounts obtained of the same ceremonies from the descendants of people of different villages were found in most cases to
184 be identical. There were a few differences in custom between
[99] the people of *Stuie* and those of the other upper valley towns on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the lower valley on
[101] the other. These will be mentioned when necessary, but on the whole the inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley can be considered as a tribal entity.

114 Boas (p. 48) gives a list of Bella Coola towns which agrees fairly well with the above. Among his villages are included
361 *Pe-ede* (no. 4), *Nalqaxdzaxa* (no. 7), and *Nuxlkow* (no. 16).* All the older people agreed that these are the names of streams, though settlements located on them may have been known by the same designations. Names of the five villages recorded by Boas, nos. 6, 8, 9, 13, and 14, were not known by several old men questioned on the subject.

101 The villages of the Bella Coola valley did not form a political unit; each was independent. A common language was spoken
619 throughout and the inhabitants of the different towns recognized that their origins and customs were similar. This was
[631] also recognized to be the case with regard to the people living
[191] on South Bentinck Arm, and at the head of Dean Channel.

*Owing to such case the spelling of this ensemble.

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Villages near the Dean River 361

"(38) Awaklo: the present site of the Kimsquit Indian village near the mouth of Dean River. The meaning of the name could not be learned.

"(39) Nakil, "Canyon": on the shore of Dean River at the bottom of the canyon. This large town was only recently deserted.

(40) *Ayat-i,* "Occupied Mound": on the south side of Dean River about one mile from the sea. This small town was deserted many years ago. The name is derived from the small mound on which it was built.

"(41) Nacqmak, "Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": on south side of Dean River, about one and a quarter miles from the sea. A large town recently deserted.

"(42) Nacqlin, "Place of Many Spring Salmon": on south bank about twenty-five miles from the sea. This spot was not settled when people first occupied this world, but later *Alpertsin* (I, p. 390) took possession of it. [173]

(43) *Sqmuk:* east side of river twenty-eight miles from the sea. There is doubt about this town. It is said to have been a colony of the Kimsquit River settlement, a statement difficult to understand.

(44) *Sinal-ac,* "Where Canoes Are Left": on the north side of the river about thirty-five miles from the sea. Immediately opposite was *Sulhaka,* "Winter Trail." These two are considered as forming one town, but were probably never more than camping grounds at the spot where the winter trail to the interior left the river. It is possible, however, that they formed a town, since the names of the alleged first settlers in the beginning of time are preserved. [187] [173]

"(45) Ilikka: at Salmon House on the upper Dean River.

The history of the villages on the upper Dean is puzzling. Mythological accounts of their founding were obtained, and some of the older people stated that they had been occupied until recent years. On the other hand, there are apparently 174

536 [551]

The names enrolled in this myth are still in use. That of *Nuhlkis* was enlisted at a potlatch during the winter of 1921, after being dormant since the death of the eighth *Nuhlkis*, an old man, which had taken place some thirty years previously.* To illustrate this myth a representation is made of the mergansar canoe, a specimen of which, obtained by Mr. Harlan I. Smith, is now in the National Museum, Ottawa.

According to another version of this myth, *Nuhlkis* and his party came to earth at Anahim Lake, in the country of the Carrier, bringing with them the coal-head salmon. They first went to *Nuxalk*, but *Nuhlkis* did not like the place, so released only a few of the fish. They returned to Anahim Lake, and from there went to Salmon House. They found the spot so desirable that they settled and set for their store of coal-head salmon. That is the reason why this fish is so plentiful in the Dean River, and so scarcely rare in the Bella Coola.

[125]

ANCIENT MYTH OF *SEMAS*[1]

In the beginning of time *Hamatsa* concerned an abalone-shell covered post which reached from *Nuxalk* to *Hemalgamon*, a mountain near the Kimsquit River, six far from its mouth. To this place came from above two men, *Semas*, "The First One," and his younger brother, *Omgemhlida*. The former flew down as an eagle, but the latter, in human form, crawled down the post, which vanished after he had reached the earth. *Semas* spread his wings, like a mother bird, to shelter his younger brother. *Hamatsa* had given *Omgemhlida* a box containing eulachon salmon, with instructions to throw them into the ocean, where they would increase rapidly so as to feed he him and his elder brother. He also taught the two how to build a salmon-weir to catch the fish. The brothers climbed down the mountain-side to the mouth of the Kimsquit River, where *Omgemhlida* became a man and now built his canoe close above. He then released the salmon so he had been instructed, and also another present from *Hamatsa*, a *mitsqui* (I, p. 122), which was to serve as bait not only for fish but also for wealth and goods.

Semas declined to assume human form immediately, so began to repent, and his younger brother, and so being thus left alone, started to

[173]

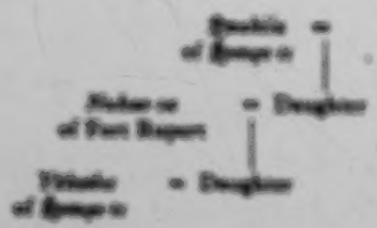
*This was the only instance given of an approximation of the interval since the first peopling of the earth. The Bella Coola usually reply, "long, long ago," and have not questioned further. This myth was received from a reliable informant, but it is doubtful whether the statement concerning the "eighth" *Nuhlkis* would find credence among most Bella Coola. Even if it should be the eighth, that would be of little value in estimating the period in which the Bella Coola believe the earth to have been populated, since names may remain dormant for generations.

[1] Related by Jim Pelkum.

1:56:Dorsett E-3 (1922-1924)949
NEA Bellacoola NEA

In the beginning of time it is believed that a son of *Iwanax* married the daughter of a Kitlobe chief (I, p. 330). As dower she brought her husband several Kitlobe women, which were transmitted in time to her children and which remained in *Iwanax's* house, Kimsquit, for many generations. The Bella Coola believe that it was remembered for hundreds of years that these designations did not belong there. Whenever one was conferred, the myth was recounted to tell how it first came to Kimsquit; whereas in Kitlobe when the myth from which the names were taken was related, it was always added that these in question could not be used since they were now in Kimsquit. About one hundred and fifty years ago, *Anqual*, a Kimsquit woman, was married to a Kitlobe man to repay this debt, and ensure friendship between the two tribes. She took as dower the names long ago brought from Kitlobe. Similarly, if any name or other prerogative of an ancestral myth has been alienated from the ancestral family to which it belongs, a father searches for a woman who will be able to restore it to his son as a marriage gift. The word used for searching is "hunt," the term applied to seeking for hunting animals.

The accompanying pedigree illustrates a return marriage. *Qualsilo's* daughter was married to a Fort Rupert man and took with her as dower several Bella Coola names and other prerogatives. The loss of these was remembered and they were brought back by the marriage of *Tilakulo*, a member of *Qualsilo's* ancestral family, with a daughter of the woman who had gone to Fort Rupert. Usually several generations elapse before a return marriage is made. This incident was perfectly well known to the son of *Tilakulo*.



If parents who are seeking a wife for their son have also a daughter approaching marriageable age, they may try to avoid a later return marriage by arranging that their daughter shall be married to a brother, or other near relative, of their son's wife. Exchange marriage was formerly more common than [178]

777 A visitation is not regarded as an inheritable right, but as a
* 787 tendency; for generations no member of a family may see one
of these beasts, but the tradition is preserved, and when one
[824] is seen it is recalled that such have been observed by ancestors
of the fortunate one. Instances have occurred in which a
person has obtained good luck without the tradition of this
being in his family, but they are rare. On the other hand, a
man may lose the advantage of his possession, even if he own
[785] a portion of a *mätqas* or a *xaiatl*, through failure to observe
ceremonial chastity.

776 Some of the Bella Coola believe that the *mätqas* and the
xaiatl are the same animal, which can assume these two forms;
others that the two are distinct supernatural creatures. In any
case the powers and characteristics ascribed to them are the
same. Most families have a tradition regarding the appear-
[173] ance of the one or the other to their ancestors, and the infor-
[184] mation to be derived from them is always about that particular
creature. Hence the details here described are probably not
all known to any one individual.

* 787 The different types of appearances, and the different types
811 of taboos called forth, should be noted. These are due to
182 failure on the part of the Bella Coola to rationalize the sum
total of their concepts. Each man recounts what he believes
to have happened to one of his ancestors or friends, irrespec-
tive of whether or not the methods used may be in direct
contradiction to those employed by someone else on another
occasion. A man who has heard of the *mätqas*, for example,
from his father and mother, may describe contradictory means
of dealing with the creature, and in each case may affirm that
disaster would have followed if the method described had not
been carried out. Such lack of co-ordination is typical of the
Bella Coola.

777 According to an elderly Kimsquit man, the *mätqas* was
brought down in the beginning of time by one of his own
* 787 ancestors, *Ompemtikla*. It is to this fact that he attributes
[773] his own near approach to one on two occasions. As it is fre-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

* 539
* 787

The woman's husband was not dismayed at her death, knowing she deserved it on account of having spoken harshly to her son-in-law. This was the only occasion on which *Tsislit* killed anyone. After the funeral he said to his father-in-law:

"I am sorry for what has happened. If I had intended to slay your wife I should have done so by means of my supernatural power, whereas her death was caused accidentally by the too-great force latent in my own body."

"Do not let this event trouble you," the other man replied. "We all realize that my wife was in the wrong and thus caused her own death. I will take a new wife from among your relatives, and there the matter will drop."

A year later the marriage took place and the death of *Tsislit*'s mother-in-law was thus amicably settled.[1]

THE GOOD FORTUNE OF *Yelhal·a*

Yelhal·a was very poor. He hunted diligently but was never successful, and the people of the village used to laugh at him. When feasts were given, *Yelhal·a* received a share, but he was never able to reciprocate, and this preyed on his mind. One day he set out at dawn for the mountains with his stick and his dog, but though he hunted industriously he returned at night with nothing better than herbs to cook for his supper. Undaunted, he set off again the following day, but had no better success, and again brought back only vegetables for his evening meal. He placed these on a stick before the fire to dry, and lay down, weary and depressed. Presently he saw a man enter the house and stand on the other side of the fire; around his head he wore a snake, which stamped him as a shaman. It was *Twalálit*, but *Yelhal·a* did not know this.

"*Yelhal·a*, what are you cooking?" asked the visitor.

"Mountain goat liver," he lied in answer.

Twalálit next inquired, "Is your dog a good mountain goat dog?"

"Yes," replied *Yelhal·a*, untruthfully. "Every day he goes hunting he kills twenty mountain goats."

"Is your stick a good one?" inquired *Twalálit*.

"Yes," answered *Yelhal·a*, "I always kill a great many mountain goats with it."

Twalálit then suggested that they exchange dogs and sticks. *Yelhal·a*, though at first unwilling, at length consented, and his visitor went away, leaving his own staff and dog behind.

[173]
[424]

[1] The above is regarded as an historical account, and the descendants of those who figure in the story consider that they have prior rights to relate it. But as it has no ceremonial significance, this claim is not pressed.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

575 in a flesh-coloured bathing-suit, imitating the nakedness of
796 earlier years. The writer was talking to one of the marshals,
178 a very old man, and remarked how different the present rites must appear to him.

"Yes," replied the old man. "But after all, the change is not so great. In former years we imitated what the supernatural beings did, now we imitate what our fathers did."

Many ethnologists, acquainted with the elaborate rituals carried out on the coast early in this century, have expressed surprise at the rapidity with which these have dwindled to mere shadows. The writer believes that one factor for the Bella Coola decline in ritual, is the realization that the rites are imitative, and that accordingly their significance need not be lost when further imitation is added.

575 Further research would undoubtedly have added particu-
796 lars of the manner in which other Cannibals carried out their rites, but to obtain the full details of all would have been detrimental to other types of investigation; it is believed that the above descriptions are typical. Before passing to other dances, a few general remarks on the Cannibal ritual may prove useful.

575 In view of the arduous character of the dance, and the
796 necessity for impressing the uninitiated with the great power
424 of the Cannibals, the marshals usually prohibit a man from
[562] acting unless he is physically strong. Rarely, however, a woman is allowed to be a Cannibal if she has the necessary prerogative, but usually only if she is the last survivor of her family. In such cases the shorter rite is the more common.

[538] As before stated, *kusiut* origin myths are supposed to be
[173] remembered, but in practice few *kukusiut* know the history of their prerogatives. The process of forgetting has undoubtedly increased in the last few years, but the writer feels confident that they were never maintained with the same care as origin myths connected with the first people.

*575 long ago the *kwoi* society was composed of individuals re-
*796 garded as having supernatural endowments, and who perhaps
178 believed this themselves. In course of time their influence
184 increased to such an extent that they were able to convince
[532] non-members of the supernatural origin of objects used in their
ceremonial.

[115] Unfortunately, information from Kimsquit was obtained almost exclusively from one old man, who, though a member well informed in *kwoi* matters and in many ways an almost ideal informant, had long since realized that the dancers could be nothing more than representations, and it is possible that his remarks were coloured by this knowledge. Though he tended to minimize the attitude of belief with which the uninitiated regarded masked figures, yet he fully agreed with [781] every testament made by the Bella Coola themselves with regard to the firm belief of non-members concerning the supernatural powers of the dancers. He also confirmed statements [688] respecting punishment if an error should occur, and mentioned the shooting of a Bella Bella dancer who had allowed his mask to fall during a *nusk* dance. As far as actual ritual is concerned, the differences in procedure between Bella Coola and Kimsquit are unimportant, and differences in belief are less than they appear at first sight. The Bella Coola *kwoi* seem to have perfected their organization and to have been [781] able to impress the uninitiated to a greater extent than their Kimsquit fellows, but the fundamentals of the society are identical.

*575 Traditions concerning the early history of the society are
*796 probably of little value historically, but they are important as
● 173 indicating the mental attitude of the Bella Coola. Considering the importance of the society there are relatively few accounts of what took place long ago; the Bella Coola know that it exists, believe that the rites are identical with those carried out by their ancestors for generations, and theorize no further. It was only in the beginning of time that things were radically different; it is believed that then all the people were endowed

with such power that they killed one another in their performances. Consequently, they decided to dance only in the winter months, and merely to remove the actions which had been previously carried out.

There are other traditions, probably with an historical basis, describing conflicts with the *o'ult*. The Bella Coola say that long, long ago there were not enough *Sisiutl* names to go around for the old people to be admitted to the society, and that though members were reported to having supernatural powers, yet the *o'ult*, confident in their numbers and strength, used frequently to assail the supremacy of the *Sisiutl*. On one occasion, when the latter had prepared an elaborate feast of smoked goat flesh for distribution, the *o'ult* collected their weapons and demanded a share of the feast. The *Sisiutl*, furiously angry, felt compelled to yield, though later they took revenge through the destruction wrought by many Cannibals and Screechers when frenzied. It is said that even recently if the *Sisiutl* did not invite the *o'ult* to one of their dances, they were always careful to placate them by sending half of the food as a present.

Sometimes the *o'ult*, collectively, were bold enough to kill a *Sisiutl*, particularly if something had gone amiss in a dance house. Or other motives might be strong enough to outweigh respect for a member of the society. On one occasion a chief, who was not a member of the society, was told that his wife, who was, had been in the habit of prowling off at night with a Cannibal. The jealous husband prepared his bear-spear and slew the Cannibal when next he entered his house during a frenzied rampage of the village. *Sisiutl*, both from that village and others in the vicinity, combined to cause the murderer's death with the aid of a member of the society who was a professional killer.

Success did not always come to the *Sisiutl* in quarrels between members of the two societies. Long ago, the *o'ult* were invited to a *potlatch* in a village in the upper Bella Coola valley. One of their own dances was taking place, but they

[illegible]

[illegible] 578

[illegible]

[illegible] 578

[illegible] 578

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] to [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] that the adze were too great for him. The Cannibal [illegible] that this powerful man could be initiated into [illegible] society he would be [illegible] of strength, so he said:

"You are now an initiate of mine."

Kwamdalis [illegible] but this meant he was to be initiated into the [illegible] society. He agreed, but asked to be permitted to complete the [illegible] which he was performing that evening, and to get bearing [illegible] which he had gone to the forest. The *Bakaxtai* were only too willing to grant this dispensation in their joy at having a valuable recruit.

On his return to the village, *Kwamdalis* told his fellow o'wih that he was going to be a member of the society. They were greatly grieved at loss of their leader. That night they gave the dance which had been started and completed a song of which he (*Kwamdalis*) was the very in which their circle had fallen until their heads were upside down. The *Bakaxtai*, marked to this end, found that this was a prelude to further trouble with the o'wih, but *Kwamdalis* did carried out his promise and was enrolled as a member. Much of this [illegible], many of his [illegible] associates were admitted as *Bakaxtai*, and ever since that time there has been relatively little friction between the two societies. In due course the Cannibal gave his dance with a song describing how he had met a strange creature [illegible] whom he had prevailed; this was, of course, the uninitiated *Kwamdalis*.

[205] To these two is attributed the origin of the practice of [illegible] to decide priority of invitation giving. It is said that both *Kwamdalis* and the Cannibal once wished to invite the people to a ceremony on the same evening and agreed to shove against each other to decide which should have preference. *Kwamdalis* prevailed, and the Cannibal duly postponed his dance and went with his associates to the winner's house.

[196] As before stated, stories of this kind dealing with the alleged history of the society are of slight value. As far as they go, they agree with other evidence pointing to the gradual growth of the *Bakaxtai* society from a band of elders endowed with supernatural power to a society with enormous prestige, dominating the life of the community and entirely overshadowing the o'wih who seem once to have been their rivals.

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Another account of the flood states that while many persons fled to Mount *Nuxalk*, others took refuge on the summit of the mountain opposite to it, on the north side of the Bella Coola River. The waters continued to rise until the latter group was on the point of being submerged, when it occurred *Nuxalk* to give it some of itself. *Nuxalk* complied, and gave to the other the small bark that projects from its summit. The man was saved.

Kimsquit was also flooded at the same time. The Kimsquit River rose until the people were driven to the slopes of the mountain now known as *Sellelid*, to the west of the river. There they were forced to camp for several months, and it is from this event that the river received its name, which means "Many Houses." The Dean River people were driven to Mount *Saxit*, where, in later years, indications of their sojourn were to be found, such as mooring loops for canoes, holes for lifting fish-traps, and various utensils. One man tried to remove some of these relics, but they crumbled in his hands as if they had been burnt paper.

According to Bella Coola belief, the flood was not limited to any one locality. As evidence of its occurrence in Fort Rupert the following myth was related by a man who had heard it from his father's father, a Fort Rupert Indian.

One of the latter's ancestors, having dreamt that a flood would cover the earth, prepared a great quantity of gum with which he pitched his house both inside and out. Presently it began to rain, and the deluge continued until the whole land was covered, but this man dwelt secure in his rain-proof house. When at last he heard the sound of dogs on the roof, he knew that the flood must have diminished as it dared upon his door. When he and his family went outside they found on the shore two *eulachi*, the supernatural double-headed salmon that cause land-slides. From this event the man took the designation, *Nakao-ca*. When the present owner of the name performs his ceremonial, the hearing-boards are in the shape of a *eulachi*, and there appears a masked figure of a man who always shields his face with his arm. This appears to be an allusion to the man protecting himself from the waters.[16]

It is said that the time of the great heat[17] occurred soon after the flood.

Historical Stories

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Although the Bella Coola regard all the stories included in this chapter as chronicles of events, yet they realize that all the preceding possess elements of the supernatural which are

[16] It was impossible to have the type of ceremonial of which this story serves as origin myth; it has accordingly been included in the miscellaneous section.

[17] Various accounts of this have already been given; see vol. II, p. 434 and p. 500.

not likely to occur at the present time; in fact, they belong to the golden age of the distant past. In addition, a few tales are popularly told, not for their wealth of interesting detail, but as historical incidents. Some of these contain exaggerations that verge on mythology, whereas others, especially those dealing with certain individuals not long deceased, have clearly a foundation of truth. The themes include tales of travel, hunting exploits, the experiences of criminals, and varied subjects.

THE WOMAN WHO WAS LOST IN A GLADE

This story describes the adventures of a Bella Coola woman, daughter of a chief named Tsakwasin, who was married to a Bella Bella chief. The latter's father sold her as a slave to Tsilaxa, a Kitlope chief and cousin of the chief with the same name who was so feared by the Bella Coola. This was, of course, contrary to all established custom. Tsilaxa carried the woman away to Kitlope, where there seemed little hope for her return.

Tsilaxa owned a number of crabapple trees at Kitlope which he visited every autumn to collect and preserve the fruit. The woman had been with him for some time when he went as usual to the ripe apples. Members of different tribes can be distinguished by their different physiques and a Kitlope, recognizing that the woman was a Bella Coola, asked her how she came to be with Tsilaxa. She told him how she had been sold, disgraceffully, and he promised to help her return home. Telling her to conceal her plans, he bade her to be ready to flee early the following morning. At the appointed time he appeared, bringing dried clothes, grease, moccasins, and other equipment, wrapped in a seal's stomach. He sketched on the ground the overland route to Kemano, telling her how many affluents of the Kitlope River she must pass before following one to the south, thence across the divide, and down the Kemano River.

The woman started out, but after several days of travel realized that she had passed the place where she should turn south, and was lost. In point of fact, she was at this time near Ocean Lake. She headed back in the hope of recovering her trail, but snow fell and she could go no further; to make matters worse she had consumed all her clothes, and most of the grease. The unfortunate woman sought shelter under a big tree, where in time she was completely covered with snow. Every day she ate a small

[illegible] [82]
[illegible]: Water-name of a Kitsumpt town. [831]
[illegible]: Material garment, the term does not include unwoven textile or other personal property. [173]
[illegible]: 1.—Dress interfered by the dress of a Water-house, the term is also applied to generic gives instead of food. [831]
2.—Food eaten as for this purpose, or even for a meal. [321]
[illegible]: Constellation, [illegible]. [285]
[illegible]: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to the house on the wedding day. [831]
[illegible]: Profession of horse-[illegible]. [831]
[illegible]: Object dressed by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him. [831]
[illegible]: Indian salmon. [825]
[illegible]: One of the sons of the supreme god.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of [illegible] to the land above.
[illegible]: One of the sons of Winter Produce as chief.
[illegible], "The Light Bringer": 1.—One of Raven's names as chief.
2.—Personal name of a Raven man.
3.—Exclusive Bella Coola name and chief [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] chief, known to Canada, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
[illegible]: Spear-shaped river [illegible].
[illegible]: Village on [illegible] between North and South Bentinck Arm.
[illegible]: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
[illegible]: Death, [illegible]. [761]
[illegible]: Whatever, [illegible]. [812]
[illegible]: 1.—Kitsumpt River. [101]
2.—Village near the mouth of the river.
[illegible]: Inhabitants of the Kitsumpt River valley.
[illegible]: Bull.
[illegible]: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
[illegible]: Pillow. [804]
[illegible], "Pillowed": Burial ceremonial at which an [illegible] is present.
[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family. [601]
[illegible]: Proper name of a younger brother mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Brother. [824]
[illegible]: Tide flat. [825]
[illegible]: Shore.
[illegible]: That part of *[illegible]* which did not fall to the crash at the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Village on Rivers Inlet.
[illegible]: Part of a peculiar [illegible].
[illegible], "Bite Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably [illegible] head salmon, elevated by Raven in the beginning of time.
[illegible], "Running Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this. [805]
[illegible]: Leader of [illegible]. [821]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

U.BC-Geneva Ms. 9 (1922-1924)[illegible]
NEB Bella Coola NEB

Villages near the Dean River 361

*(36) *Awatlin:* the present site of the Kimsquit Indian village near the mouth of Dean River. The meaning of the name could not be learned.

*(37) *Nakel*, "Canyon": on the shore of Dean River at the bottom of the canyon. This large town was only recently deserted.

(38) *Ape'i*, "Occupied Mound": on the south side of Dean River about one mile from the sea. This small town was deserted many years ago. The name is derived from the small mound on which it was built.

*(39) *Natsqmalt*, "Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": on south side of Dean River, about one and a quarter miles from the sea. A large town recently deserted.

*(40) *Nacqlqin*, "Place of Many Spring Salmon": on south bank about twenty-five miles from the sea. This spot was not settled when people first occupied this world, but later *Alpenlim* (I, p. 330) took possession of it. [173]

(41) *Iymuck:* east side of river twenty-eight miles from the sea. There is doubt about this town. It is said to have been a colony of the Kimsquit River settlement, a statement difficult to understand.

(42) *Simal ax*, "Where Canoes Are Left": on the north side of the river about thirty-five miles from the sea. Immediately opposite was *Sulkaha*, "Winter Trail." These two are considered as forming one town, but were probably never more than camping grounds at the spot where the winter trail to the [487] interior left the river. It is possible, however, that they [173] formed a town, since the names of the alleged first settlers in the beginning of time are preserved.

*(43) *Aitha:* at Salmon House on the upper Dean River.

The history of the villages on the upper Dean is puzzling. 174
Mythological accounts of their founding were obtained, and some of the older people stated that they had been occupied until recent years. On the other hand, there are apparently

reliable traditions of Carrier settlements there. The probable explanation is that the Bella Coola formerly extended over the area, either in actual fact or according to mythology, but were supplanted by the Carriers.

The Dean River is called *Nadel*, and the generic name for the people of the Dean valley is *Sacclang*. Almost eighty years ago a smallpox epidemic so reduced the villages on the Kimsquit that the survivors abandoned them and moved to the Dean. At that time a certain Kimsquit man is believed to have said: "We will take their places and kill even their dogs."

Since that time, the joint settlement has suffered one epidemic after another, until a mere handful of the people survive, and they are almost entirely descended from the Kimsquit River immigrants. Within the last few years, these have requested permission from the Bella Coola to abandon Kimsquit entirely and live among them. The two groups have always been on the best of terms, but the Bella Coola have not forgotten the fate of the Dean River people and have been unwilling to admit the Kimsquit survivors.

Villages on the Kimsquit River, Sa-ta'

*(44) *Sa-ta'*: this large and important town, at the mouth of the river, was deserted at the time of the smallpox epidemic.

*(45) *Nawulet*: this settlement can be grouped with the last-mentioned, although situated on the shore of Dean Channel, at the site of the present Manicou Cannery, six miles away. No meaning of the name is known.

Tribal Organization

The subject of this monograph is the people of the above forty-five villages. They will be referred to as a *tribe*, and as this term is customarily limited to a political unit, a brief justification for its use is necessary.

Each Bella Coola village consisted of a single row of houses, built along the shore of a river or the ocean. The front doors

[illegible] 534 [illegible] by other myths which [illegible] time of their own record. From this night [illegible] became a shaman and said when he had sun when he was giving a dance of his own. His brother [illegible] were downstream and he came to a large house at [illegible] outside of which stood a large hollowed. He saw was in this house and [illegible] took possession of it.

A PROMINENT CHIEF MOVES[27]

Long ago at the time the world was first populated there were no rivers anywhere, for such were confined underground in a cavern-like place called [illegible], the approach to which was barred by a huge boulder. Not only were the rivers shut up, but with them were their occupants, including the salmon. Four Eagle tried to break this barrier, but without avail; then Raven succeeded. Since then the Bella Coola River has flowed to its present course. But the Tosno River was still in bondage, to the disgust of the chiefs who wished to travel up it to the home of the chief, [illegible]. The Carpenter, [illegible], took pity on them and by breaking the barrier permitted them to reach their destination.

Origin Myths of Other Tribes

179 538 [424] As has been repeatedly stated, the Bella Coola have obtained many prerogatives by marriages with the members of neighbouring tribes. Among these are, according to their belief, myths dealing with the peopling of distant localities. Ceremonially and sociologically, such traditions have the same importance as myths that describe Bella Coola as the final place of settlement of the first inhabitants. Accordingly, they can be given at this point.

179 538 174 114 In the previous section the original landing-places of some of the individuals described is said to have been outside the Bella Coola valley. Boas, discussing this fact (p. 111), suggests that such myths may reflect the movements of the ancestors of the Bella Coola from the parent Salish stock. Though this is a plausible hypothesis, it is also possible that

[27]This place could not be identified.
[28]Related by Louie Charlie.

a foreign myth, obtained by marriage, might have been altered in the course of generations to the Bella Coola version, preserving as the only foreign element that of settlement at a distance at the beginning of time.

CHICOD MYTH OF OWIKI*

In the beginning of time *Ayamim* learned that four brothers dwelt in a cave down to the north. The elder, whose name was *Hiaiaiis*, came down from a hole in *Nuxmit* and told his younger brothers to stay while he went ahead to reconnoitre. He took the form of a wolf and, as soon as he had reached the north, went far to the east, where he obtained some abalone shells. Then he returned to *Ayamim*'s house, left his spoil with his brothers, and again went off alone to the east. This time he brought back some copper. After this he was ready to settle, so the four assumed the form of wolves and went down to Calvert Island, Owiki, as the Bella Bella call it. There they assumed human form and their wolf skins turned back skin.

Ayamim did not give them food to carry with them, but he told them they would find sea-lions waiting to be killed on Sea-lion Island. Accordingly they hunted on that island, as their descendants, the people of Owiki, have done to this day.

Ayamim had given *Hiaiaiis* a box containing some of the cone-shaped whistles used in coast dances. The three elder brothers decided that they alone should perform the coast ceremonial and that, accordingly, the youngest should be kept in ignorance of the contents of the box, as uninitiated people are at the present time. He was a mere boy and his elder brothers used to leave him at home when they went hunting, but they had given him the most explicit instructions not to open the carefully roped box, containing their treasures.

All went well for some time, but finally the boy yielded to temptation and opened the box. His brothers returned unexpectedly, and found him examining the whistles, with his head almost out of sight within. They decided to kill him at once. They crowded up, closed the cover on his head, and sat on the box until life was extinct. Then they laid the body on the ground before them as they sat behind the fire, and sent one of their number out to gather three small pliant sticks. When this was done they covered the corpse with angle dawn and sat on the ground around it, raising and lowering the sticks as if they were throwing objects into the

*Obtained by Judson Moody.

only for a chief, can be employed for a dead child. In this case, the theme describes the efforts of the parents to incorporate the deceased in the traditions of their ancestors, and the number of times he had been commemorated. The text of one such a few years ago is:

"We said, Hail! Assuredly [the child's crest was the bird when she was born. What more could we have done? Why did she leave us?"

The text may refer to the prerogative of employing mourners, as in the following:

"Come ye professional mourners, help me to give voice to my lamentations."

The tunes of mourning songs are usually remembered from year to year, and the singers may merely alter words to make an old song applicable. In some cases, such compositions are changed so slightly that they become virtually possessions of an ancestral family, and may then be preserved for generations until even the history of the names embodied is forgotten. Occasionally, ancient relationship between two such groups can be deduced from the occurrence of the same names in their mourning songs, although all traditions of intermarriage have been forgotten. There is considerable difference between the tunes of *cheamit* and *swahunlet*; in fact, this distinction may be more important than the themes, since the latter do not invariably conform to the types just described. A few items of ancestral history may be incorporated into a song dealing primarily with the actions of the deceased and his seven. Sometimes four of one type are used, sometimes two of each. Much thought is devoted to the compositions, the singers meeting every day to try over and improve one another's efforts. The texts, long and complicated, require much practice, since any error would be an admission of gross inefficiency. These daily rehearsals take place in the donor's house and he is required to provide food for the singers. It is not uncommon to use a song of Bella Bella origin, since the Bella Coola admit that members of that tribe excel in compositions of this type.

The details of this incident are sufficiently circumstantial to presuppose a distorted historical event. Moreover, many of the old people had heard of the incident, another indication of the accuracy of the tradition. As far as could be judged, news of the vision must have reached Bella Coola about the year 1800.* It is said that the *xnāpow* sang the following song in a language unknown to any of his hearers: *Ayaimaw ayaimaw ainīk aymamar gaiciya.*** None of the older men appear to have any idea of the meaning of these words, or even of the language to which they belong.

No event has had such profound effect on the lives of the Indians of British Columbia as the coming of the white man. It would be surprising if, looking backwards, they did not feel that it had been foretold by prophets. The preceding story is the only Bella Coola example of such a belief, although tales of a similar kind are found widely throughout the province. In addition, there are a few traditions of prophecies fulfilled by the white man. One of these is that long, long ago, a shaman stated that in the future the dead would return with the ability to make fire by rubbing the end of a small twig along a rough surface, and that, soon after, all the Indians would die. The Bella Coola consider that matches are referred to in the first part of the statement, and read their own doom

*The approximate date was determined in the following manner: The most complete account of the event was obtained from a man fifty-six years old in 1924 who had heard the details from his mother. He was the youngest of a large family, so it is probable that his mother was about forty-five years of age when he was born. When a child of about ten, she had been told of the vision by a woman just passed the age of child-bearing, who had recently reached adolescence when news of the event reached Bella Coola. The figures can be arranged in tabular form.

Duration of the informant's life	56 years.
Interval between his birth and the time his mother heard the news	35 years.
Interval between transmission of the news to the informant's mother and its receipt in Bella Coola	35 years.
Total	126 years.

Allowing for exaggerations, this would make the correct date about 1800.

**A phonograph record was made of this song for the National Museum of Canada. Recorded as song VII D 21b; singer, Jim Pollard.

[illegible] maternal and paternal institutions. Descent is in the paternal line; but a man, at the time of his marriage, receives his father-in-law's crest as a dowry, which he holds in trust for his son, so that actually each individual inherits the crest of his maternal grandfather. The clans are exogamic.

The organization of the Salish tribes of the southern coast, who are linguistically closely related to the Bella Coola, is somewhat similar to that of the Kwakiutl. They are divided into village communities, a few of which have amalgamated, as, for instance, among the Salish tribes of Vancouver Island, among whom the tribe consists of a number of septs, each of which forms a separate village. Here the influence of southern tribes is very much earlier. While most of the village communities have certain crests, these do not play as important a part in the social life of the tribe or in its mythology as they do among the Kwakiutl, and the village communities are not exogamic. The Salish tribes of the interior are organized in very loose village communities without any trace of totem.

The fundamental difference between the northern tribes and the southern tribes consists, therefore, in the fact that the northern tribes have a limited number of clans which are present in all the villages, while among the southern tribes the village community is the only unit of organization.

The organization of the Bella Coola resembles most closely that of the Coast Salish tribes of southern British Columbia. In both cases the tribe is divided into village communities, which possess crests and traditions. This latter feature is, however, very much more strongly developed among the Bella Coola than among the southern tribes. They differ in their laws of intermarriage. While among the southern Coast Salish tribes there is a tendency to exogamy, the Bella Coola have developed a system of endogamy.

The tribes of the Coast Salish of the Gulf of Georgia claim descent from mythical ancestors, who are believed to have originated at the place which the tribe now inhabit. A number of traditions of this kind bear evidence of having been derived from historical events. Some of the tribes in the delta of Fraser River have traditions which refer to the amalgamation of tribes who descended from the mountains, and who are described as the descendants of animals living in the mountains, and of the natives of the delta.[1] I believe that the tribal traditions of the Bella Coola which were told in a previous chapter also bear evidence of the historical fates of the tribe. It is very remarkable that the important tradition of Tsmai'ax gives Fraser River as the place to which he descended from heaven. In another tradition, Bute Inlet is given as the place at which one of the Bella Coola tribes originated. In still another one, Skeena River is mentioned as the home of one of the tribes (see p. 6p). I do not doubt that these allusions to territory

[1] Sixth Report of the Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, 1906, p. 3.

7:Boas E-5 (1884-ca. 1890)500 NEB Bellacoola NEB

inhabited by Salish tribes refer to the early separation of the Bella Coola tribe from the related tribes of the Gulf of Georgia, and that in their traditions they have retained the memory of the emigration of part of the tribe from the southern territory. It seems also probable that the allusion to the origin of one family of the tribe on Skeena River refers to a mixture with the tribes inhabiting northern British Columbia.

The traditions of the tribes also describe the style of house used by the ancestors of certain village communities; and it is interesting to note that some of these houses correspond to the sahsvaanan lodges that were in use among the Chilcotin, while others correspond to the tents that were in use among the Carriers. It is said that the ancestor of the Nuxa'ix used the sahsvaanan lodge which is called ts'pa (see p. 93), while the ancestor of the Nuq'a'ist used the skin lodge which is called skwa (see p. 94).

Since the Bella Coola retain the fundamental traits of the social organization of their congeners in the south, and since their traditions bear evidence of an emigration from that region, and since, furthermore, the linguistic evidence proves that the Bella Coola and the Coast Salish at one time inhabited contiguous areas on the coast, we are justified in assuming that the general culture of the Bella Coola at the time of their emigration must have resembled that of the Coast Salish. The question then arises, How did the peculiar endogamic system and the remarkable mythology of the Bella Coola originate from the much simpler forms that we find among the Coast Salish?

One of the most remarkable features in the inner life of the tribes of the northern coast of British Columbia is the great importance of the clan legend, which is considered one of the most valuable properties of each clan or family. It is carefully guarded in the same way as material property, and an attempt on the part of a person not a member of the clan to tell the tradition as his own is considered one of the gravest offences against property rights. The possession of a clan tradition is felt by the Indian to be one of his most important prerogatives. When, therefore, the Bella Coola settled on Bella Coola River, and were thrown into contact with the northern Coast tribes, the lack of a well-developed clan tradition must have been felt as a serious drawback. The physical appearance of the Bella Coola proves that at one time they must have intermarried to a great extent with the tribe Bella. Through these marriages the peculiar customs of the Coast tribes were first introduced among them. This is shown by the fact that a great many of the mythological names can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin, of which stock the Bella Bella are a branch. Thus the name for their supreme deity, Sna'yakila, is a Kwakiutl word meaning "the one who must be worshipped." The name G'aq'ankilla'a is also of Kwakiutl origin, and may be translated as "the wealthiest one." The great frequency of

174 177 776 words of Kwakiutl derivation will become clear by a glance at the following list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin:—

[105]

s'ulkanu = shaman.
nik' = spoken.
K'ûsuk'in (p. 40) (Kwakiut. Ki'ûsuk'ala = the present chief.
Hus'ûsu (p. xxii) = a fabulous bird.
s'Ûpîng'in = the copper maker.
s'Ûyanûlu = name of Wunsuk'ûs (the ending, the designation "xanuk" in Kwakiutl).
xûqanuk' = mythological name of dove.
Ma'lok'ûs.
Mûsuu's (p. 38).
Sîs'ûsu = the country of the salmon (p. 38) (Kwakiut. sa') = salmon.
Sa'ûkûs (p. xx, 60).
s'Ûsuuk'in (p. xx) = the red s'Ûsuuk.
s'Ûsuuxnuk (p. xx).
s'usu'ûsuk'ûs (p. xx) (Kwakiut. Q'ûs'ûsu'ûsûk s) = the cuttings one.
Yû'ûm.
Qûskûnk'in (p. xx).
Q'ûmal'qûn (p. xx) = the wealthy one.
Q'ûs'ûqûlûs (p. xx) = rich at opposite side of river.
Q'ûs'ûsûnûs (p. xx) = wealthy at mouth of river.
Sûsu'yûkûs (p. xx) = the one who must be worshipped.
s'ûsu = a fabulous fish or snake (pp. xx, xx, 38).
Sûsûqûl'ûs (p. xx).
Ts'ûqûnûs (p. xx) = the bird.
Sûsu'ûs (p. 38) = sun.
Ts'ûsûsûs (p. xx) = the gaunt man.

174 177 424 614 [201] With these names and customs the clan traditions must have found their way to the Bella Coola, but their social organization differed fundamentally from that of the Bella Bella branch of the Kwakiutl. While the latter, owing to intimate contact with the northern tribes, had adopted the four-clan system with prevalent maternal descent, the Bella Coola were still distinctly divided into village communities that were not exogamic. It seems very likely that the jealousy with which the ownership of a clan tradition was guarded by the Coast tribes was very early introduced among the Bella Coola. Two means were available for preventing outsiders from acquiring the tradition. Among the Coast tribes with prevailing maternal institutions, among whom a limited number of clans existed, the ordinary law of inheritance was sufficient to retain the tradition inside of the clan. Not so among the Bella Coola. If their organization at an early time was similar to that of the Coast Salish, it is likely that the child was counted as well a member of the father's as of the mother's family, although the young woman generally moved to the village occupied by her husband. If the child belonged to the families of both parents, it had the right to use the tradition of either family; and consequently in the course of a few generations, the traditions acquired by each family would have spread practically over the whole tribe. There were only two methods possible to avoid this result. The one was to prevent marriages outside the village community; and this method would seem to have been most natural for a tribe organized in village communities, members of which were allowed to intermarry. The other method would have been to regulate the laws of inheritance in such a way that the child had to

follow either father or mother, but that it had not the right to use the property of both parents. It seems to my mind that the former method was more likely to develop under the existing social conditions, and that to this reason we must ascribe the development of an endogamic system among the Bella Coola. The occurrence of endogamic marriage among this tribe is quite isolated on the Pacific coast. All the other tribes have exogamic institutions, and by this means preserve their property rights. It is interesting to note that the northern Kwakiutl, who originally seem to have been organized in village communities, have adopted exogamic institutions; but there is a notable difference, in the organization of the village community, between the Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl. Among the Bella Coola we generally find four ancestors to each village,—usually three men and one woman. It is true that these are generally called brothers and sisters, but they were created independently by Sun, and are therefore not necessarily considered as blood relations. Among the Kwakiutl the village community are considered the descendants of one single being; consequently, among the latter tribe they are all relatives, who are forbidden to intermarry; while among the Bella Coola they are not relatives, and may intermarry.

We intimate is, therefore, that the exogamic social system of the Bella Coola developed through the influence of the customs of the Coast tribes upon the home social unit of the Salish village community. The possession of clan traditions was felt as a great advantage, and consequently the desire developed to possess clan traditions. These were acquired partly by intermarriage with the Coast tribes, as is shown by the fact that many of these traditions are borrowed from these tribes, partly by independent invention. The desire to guard the traditions which were once acquired led to the development of endogamic institutions, in order to prevent the spread of the traditions over the whole tribe.

The jealousy with which the traditions are guarded has had the effect of making each family try to prevent other families from knowing its own clan traditions. For this reason the clan traditions of the whole tribe are remarkably inconsistent. We find, for instance, that the well-known raven legend of the northern Coast tribes has been utilized by many families as a family tradition. But while one family uses one part of the tradition, other families use other parts of the same tradition. Thus it happens that among the Bella Coola we find the most contradictory myths in regard to important events in the world's history. Some families maintain that the Raven liberated the sun, while, according to another one, the Hawk was essential in bringing about the present state of affairs. Still others say that Tsimal'ya, during his travels, caused the sun to appear. The discrepancies in the traditions referring to the visit of the Hawk and Wren to their tribes, the Sun, are also very remarkable. Although a considerable amount of

contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast, they evidence such such a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I perceive the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts for this curious condition.

The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to Sun or Ti'ens bear a remarkable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Lodzin, the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face it will be clear weather, and men will be happy; consequently the prayer to the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from the Coast tribes is the ki'ut ceremonial, with which are connected the various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism. The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the Kwakiutl are practically identical. I will show (p. 34) the legend explaining the origin of cannibalism.[1] Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another tradition is still to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called Sechekulanuxwat, who lives in the forest, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by these distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious inconsistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the world and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not coordinated, we here have a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 56-8.

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One analysis shows that this myth
tation, but that it probably developed
After they removed to their new home,
into their possession through contact with
new ideas were being assimilated and
of the people, or of a few members of
formation of an elaborate concept of the
have developed spontaneously in all its main
other zones and of other races. The
agreeing with the class of knowledge
culture, has reached conclusions similar
man the world over, when operating
On the other hand, the Bella Coola
thoughts of his neighbors, and has adopted
two results of our inquiry emphasize
parative and the historic methods of ethnology
antagonistic. Each is a check upon the
by the application of one alone.
analogy of a single trait of culture
substantial proof of early historical con-
such connection, because sometimes the
the human mind. Ethnology is mainly
imperfect evidence as proof of historical
ethnologists is hardly beginning to see
historical method. Our inquiry shows
only by a careful analysis of the whole
of the Bella Coola can be understood
the tribe as a whole. And so it is with
culture can be fully understood only
of a tribe. When we confine ourselves
culture, we open the door to misinterpretation.

If, then, the demand is made for
parative study of ethnology then it has
imply a demonstration of the results of
evolves an idea, or when it borrows the
has been evolved or accepted because
the human mind; else it would not
the distribution of an idea, original or
conformity with the laws governing
Historical analysis will furnish the
among different peoples; and comparative
will give us knowledge of the laws which
of ideas.

cannot be considered as an impor-
among the Bella Coola themselves.
a mass of foreign ideas had come
h their new neighbors. While these
assimilated, they stimulated the mind
the tribe, who were thus led to the
e world. The concept which they
tures with those created by men of
mind of the Bella Coola philosopher.
common to the earlier strata of
to those that have been formed by
with the same class of knowledge.
has also adopted ready-made the
ted them to his environment. These
he close relation between the com-
ology, which are so often held to be
h conclusions that might be attained
is just as unethical to see, in an
hat occurs in two distinct regions,
nection as to reject the possibility of
same ideas develop independently in
y outgrowing the tendency to accept
al connection; but the comparative
that he has no right to scoff at the
that safe conclusions can be derived
culture. The growth of the myths
only when we consider the culture of
ith other phenomena. All traits of
a connection with the whole culture
es to comparing isolated traits of
tations without number.
a more critical method in the com-
generally been accorded, it does not
he method. When the human mind
e same idea, we may assume that it
it conforms with the organization of
be evolved or accepted. The wider
borrowed, the closer must be its
the activities of the human mind.
a referring to the growth of ideas
on of the processes of their growth
h govern the evolution and selection

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

824 their houses. Dishes, benches, cooking-boxes, cradles, totem-
[322] poles, canoes, all were carved from this wood. The bark was
285 woven into baskets, and when dyed formed the most common
[531] ceremonial decoration.

132 Even within the forty miles of the river valley formerly occupied by the Bella Coola there are considerable variations in climate. At the mouth of the river the typical Pacific coast type is found, without great extremes of temperature and with much rain, especially in winter time. During winter, the moisture is precipitated as snow a few hundred feet above the valley, and the limit of the snow can be watched on the mountain slopes, rising or falling a few feet from day to day. Farther up the valley, the winters are colder and in many cases snow lies for weeks on the ground, and in the upper part of the Bella Coola area the winters are severe, although much more moderate than on the upper regions immediately to the east.

173 What has been the history of the inhabitants of this land?
[776] They believe that long, long ago, *Alqantăm*, the supreme god, caused their first ancestors to be created in his house, *Nuxmăt·a*, in the land above, and sent them down to populate the Bella Coola valley. These first people came in groups of two or three, brothers and sisters, or occasionally man and wife, each group descending, in many cases in animal form, to a certain mountain and then making their home at its foot. They brought with them animals and fish, tools and houses, also the knowledge of ceremonial dances. In fact, they differed from the Bella Coola of the recent past only in having greater supernatural power. These first people increased with extraordinary rapidity, until each group grew into a village, bound together by a knowledge of their first ancestor. In
173 course of time the occupants of certain villages combined, as
361 some increased more rapidly than others, but on the whole each settlement maintained its character of being the descendants of one group of the first settlers of this world.

[175] This mythological belief is a fair picture of Bella Coola life as it was when the first white man visited the valley. Mac-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

kenzie, making his memorable overland trip to the Pacific, records coming upon Indian villages at every few miles of his course. Boas describes the way in which the inhabitants of each of these claim to be descended from one group of ancestors. 173 361 175

Though it is impossible to estimate the former population of the Bella Coola valley with any degree of accuracy, it must have been in the thousands. In 1922 there were surviving rather more than three hundred individuals, who live in one village on an Indian reserve near the north bank of the Bella Coola River, about a quarter of a mile from the sea. In the last century the tribe was stricken with smallpox, and since then consumption, venereal disease, measles, and other diseases of the white man have taken their deadly toll. Changed conditions of life and decay of the rich ceremonial around which centred their interests in the old days are also contributory factors in their decline. Within the last few years, however, the population has begun to increase. 161 [164 177 182]

Bella Coola Villages

The following list of Bella Coola villages was obtained. In an effort to learn which had been deserted in recent years, the writer always asked whether or not a town was occupied at the time of Mackenzie's visit, an event of such great interest to the grandparents of the older people that the memory of it is still preserved. Villages said to have been occupied at that time are marked with an asterisk. 361 [124 175]

Three rivers empty into the head of South Bentinck Arm, which is about one mile in width (see Plate 7). The Bella Coola, flowing from the east, enters at the southern edge, and the *Nulpqtskwan-e* winds in from the north to the opposite angle of the head of the fiord. This stream, "The Nearest River" of the Bella Coola, so-called because of its proximity to the sea, is shown on maps as the Neclectsconnay. Between the mouths of these two is the *Pe-ulo*, a small stream rising 133 [103]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

361 able for axes, which occurs in the valley of a small stream on
[316] the slope of the mountain.

*(23) *Nalleax*, "The Place Where There Are No Falls": an affluent from the north enters the main Bella Coola about thirty-one miles from the sea and the town was located on this creek about two hundred yards above its junction with the Bella Coola. The ruins of this moderately large town were still
[175] standing about 1870. Mackenzie reached the Bella Coola River
[166] at this place. At the time of his arrival the population was larger than usual, because the salmon-weir had withstood
[226] some heavy freshets which had destroyed several weirs on the Bella Coola, and driven the inhabitants of other villages to *Nalleax*.

[133] It is said that the affluent at *Nalleax*, the stream *Xaigu*, is the only one in the whole Bella Coola valley that does not drop precipitously into a ravine leading to the main river. Its source is a spring at the end of a pocket-like valley, at the base of steep cliffs, but it does not fall down these. The town is named from this circumstance. The area around the spring is called *Nazuāuxgit*, and it is said that some families living on the Skeena sing of it as the spot where their first ancestors came to earth, although their descendants do not know where it is located.

*(24) *Stuax*: on the point between the *La'xulx* (Atnarko) and *Sla-kl* (Whitewater) rivers which join to form the Bella Coola. This, the most populous of the upper river towns, was deserted not long ago. The meaning of the name is unknown.

(25) *Qulaal*, "The Place of Herbage": on the north side of the Atnarko River, a few hundred yards above the forks. This small town was deserted many years ago. The name was
[137] given on account of the hill behind the village being covered with a rank growth of plants and small bushes, but no trees.

(26) *Swalk-al*, "The Place of Falls," so called from the
[133] strong rapids of the Atnarko at this point: on the north side
[173] of the river about ten miles from the forks. This large town was long ago deserted when a large rock in the midst of the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Indians from both of these areas were interviewed and it was found that, except for minor details in certain beliefs, their customs were identical with those of the Bella Coola proper. Accordingly, in this monograph, the term "Bella Coola" will be taken to include the inhabitants, not only of that valley, but of South Bentinck Arm and the head of Dean Channel. Those living on South Bentinck Arm will be referred to as *Tâl'ło* people, the Bella Coola term for them; those of Dean Channel as Kimsquit, the name by which they are generally known. It is an anglicized form of the word *Kimpkuu*, meaning "Canyon," by which the Bella Bella designate the people of Dean River. 101 619

VILLAGES ON SOUTH BENTINCK ARM

(28) *Sâtlia:* on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the point that marks its junction with North Bentinck Arm. Food was obtained from an ocean fish-trap.* Long deserted except as a summer camp. 361 [226]

(29) *Xenkilt*, "Island": east side of South Bentinck Arm, slightly north of the island opposite the Hot Springs on the west side of the fiord. The town took its name from this island. In summer the numerous inhabitants lived immediately opposite it, at a place where they had an ocean salmon-trap; in winter they moved to a fortified spot at the base of a mountain slightly farther to the north. This village was blotted out by a landslide one spring long ago, and the few survivors were unable to re-establish it. [133] [226] [221] [731]

"(30)" *Tsaxhlow:* on the east side of the fiord about four miles above the last-named. A small town, whose inhabitants lived on the catch from their ocean fish-trap; it was recently deserted. [226]

*Ocean fish-traps work as follows:—A pen is made by a series of stakes, into which the salmon enter at high tide. It is then closed and, as the falling tide lays bare the sand, the imprisoned fish can be scooped out by hand or by hand-nets.

*McIlwraith did not visit either South Bentinck Arm, or Kimsquit, but it will be convenient to continue the use of asterisks to mark those towns which are said to have been inhabited at that time. [175]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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174 reliable traditions of Carrier settlements there. The probable explanation is that the Bella Coola formerly extended over the area, either in actual fact or according to mythology, but were supplanted by the Carriers.

175 The Dean River is called *Nulɔl*, and the generic name for the people of the Dean valley is *Sutslɔmx*. About eighty years [101] ago a smallpox epidemic so reduced the villages on the Kims- [164] quit that the survivors abandoned them and moved to the [731] Dean. At that time a certain Kimsquit man is believed to have said: "We will take their places and kill even their dogs."

Since that time, the joint settlement has suffered one [164] epidemic after another, until a mere handful of the people [731] survive, and they are almost entirely descended from the Kimsquit River immigrants. Within the last few years, these have requested permission from the Bella Coola to abandon Kimsquit entirely and live among them. The two groups have [628] always been on the best of terms, but the Bella Coola have not forgotten the fate of the Dean River people and have been unwilling to admit the Kimsquit survivors.

Villages on the Kimsquit River, Sä·tsk'

361 *(44) *Sä·tsk':* this large and important town, at the mouth of the river, was deserted at the time of the smallpox epidemic.

*(45) *Nuxwlst:* this settlement can be grouped with the last-mentioned, although situated on the shore of Dean Channel, at the site of the present Manitou Cannery, six miles away. No meaning of the name is known.

Tribal Organization

619 The subject of this monograph is the people of the above forty-five villages. They will be referred to as a *tribe*, and as this term is customarily limited to a political unit, a brief justification for its use is necessary.

342 Each Bella Coola village consisted of a single row of houses, 361 built along the shore of a river or the ocean. The front doors

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 781 626 their faces. In spite of what he may have seen, the lad cannot rid himself of the supernatural fears with which he has been inculcated from childhood, and the experience is terrifying to a degree. It may be that he has seen some of the whistles, and thereby learnt that the strange sounds are made by men, not by supernatural beings. In this case he is shown their mechanism in detail, and warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells others of his knowledge. Fear impels him to silence, and at the same time he realizes that what he has discovered has placed him in a superior position to that of his former associates. He feels, too, that he has been admitted into the ranks of the society in which his father, grandfather, and ancestors have distinguished themselves, and that it would be desecration to make light of what they have held sacred. Finally, an initiate does not at first grasp the fact that all the rites are deceptions, and by the time that this is apparent to him he has become so thoroughly a part of the organization that he has no thought of betraying his associates, upsetting a vital part in the complicated fabric of Bella Coola life, and exposing himself to ruin and death. A logical white man might think these considerations insufficient, but the existence of the society proves that the varied motives operate so strongly that a young man does keep silence. Some informants state that hypnotism was formerly used to ensure obedience. [828]

*575 ● 176 781 424 The *kukusiut* are always ready to deal with an emergency such as sometimes occurs in spite of every precaution. It is remembered that about one hundred and fifty years ago during a dance at the village of *Nuqāymāts*, a figure, representing one of the supernatural beings, had the misfortune to drop his mask, the strings by which it was tied having worn through. The house was crowded with uninitiated to whom the deception at once became apparent. For a moment there was wild confusion, but the senior *kukusiut* rose to the occasion and closed the door, allowing no uninitiated person to leave. Then a *kusiut* was sent out with a whistle which he sounded as if the supernatural being of which it was the voice was growing

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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nearer and nearer, till finally a thump was heard on the roof. 575*

O . . . , cried out the *kukusiut*, "it is my patron." 176 ●

The uninitiated were told that in consequence of the disaster, the supernatural beings had sent calls to this earth for all within the house. Even small children were admitted on this occasion. Those *kukusiut* in whose families were dormant prerogatives at once explained to their relatives that the call was from the patron of one of these, and that henceforth the person addressed was a protégé of that being. But even with the assistance of all the *kukusiut*, there were not sufficient privileges for all who had seen the accident. The explanation hastily agreed upon for those who could not otherwise be provided with prerogatives, was that a supernatural being mentioned in the myth from which the uninitiated had derived his ancestral name had come as patron. Repositories were stated to exist in various places near the village for the designations thus created, and order had been restored before morning. This event was described by so many informants that its historical accuracy can hardly be challenged. Those so initiated were said to have become "*kukusiut* under easy circumstances"; as prerogatives they had merely the right of singing about their respective patrons, not of performing any particular dramatic dance; but they were, none the less, fully qualified members of the society. The prestige and influence of this organization can be estimated by the fact that it was thus able to carry through a wholesale initiation without its secrets becoming known in adjacent villages. Those admitted, though realizing that deception was being practised, were so overawed by the other members of the society that they accepted what was told them without question, entirely failing to use their common sense. Thus, this incident, which had at first threatened disaster, ultimately reacted to the advantage of the *kukusiut*. It is true that their prestige was somewhat diminished by the admission of young people, but in compensation they claimed many new patrons, including several regarded with veneration owing to their occurrence in ancestral myths. Since the latter 575*
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[176]

part of the last century it has become customary to explain the dropping of a mask as due to a sudden call to the bearer.

Another means by which the *kukuxiut* protect themselves from doubting non-members is by the use of spies. The marshals (II, p. 16) of the society select some intelligent youth and ask the consent of his father, or other guardian, to make him a spy. If this is granted, the youth is lured into the woods and carried forcibly to the sacred meeting-place, where he finds the senior *kukuxiut* of his village seated, an awe-inspiring band. They explain to him the deceits used, show him the whistles and other equipment, and instruct him that it is his duty to inform them if he hears any uninitiated person casting doubts on the rites of the society. Proud of his trust, and fearful of what [626] would happen should he fail to carry out his duties, the spy begins his work. Ignorant of his knowledge, the uninitiated have no hesitation in talking with him and if he hears one of them expressing doubts as to the powers of the society, or telling that he has seen the sacred meeting-place or some of the regalia, he at once notifies one of the marshals. The over-confident person is then initiated. Thus the *kukuxiut* are constantly recruiting their strength from the most intelligent uninitiated, thereby adding to the influence of their society and lessening the dangers from non-members.

Sometimes a man is forced to undertake the task on account of too great knowledge of *kuxiut* matters. The following incident, related by a spy, is worth recording as a concrete example of this point:

Between 1870 and 1880, a Rivers Inlet Cannibal performed the Cannibal dance in Bella Coola, presumably being entitled to do so by a Bella Coola name and prerogative. During his period of seclusion he died [961] from a sudden hemorrhage, and the uninitiated were told that he had been carried away to the mysterious regions of the sky, the customary explanation in such circumstances. Soon afterwards some Bella Coola returned from Victoria, and an old woman told them the news, ignorant of the fact that an uninitiated lad of fifteen had entered the house and was listening eagerly. A careless movement betrayed his presence to the horrified *kukuxiut* and the boy fled, terrified at the turn of events.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 while X dances to and fro behind the fire. In succession the
*796 six songs previously composed are resung and X dances to
533 each. The singers would be disgraced should they forget either a tune or a text, so they take advantage of *lsuxtämem* to practise them all. Later in the season, when numerous *kukusiut* have received calls, the singers beat out the time and words for each and the owner dances. The general effect is remarkably impressive in the dim light of one of the large wooden houses, nor is the music displeasing to the ear. After the singing of X's seventh song, there is a pause while food is distributed amid the admonitions of the marshals. Once more the singers take up their sticks and beat out the song most recently composed for X; the audience joins in softly and he dances. The *kukusiut* now disperse with the exception of the novices who sleep in X's house. He himself does not withdraw to his platform. The ritual of X's *lsuxtämem* differs from that of most *kukusiut* since his comrades have already learnt six songs for him. On most occasions they hear and practise one only, to which he dances in the manner described.

*575 The next day is *nusiutälsap*. About eleven o'clock in the
*796 morning the heralds go to every house calling out:

532 *Tlpänap, llpänap, kukusiaot*, "Cut, cut, ye *kukusiut*."
*[203] The uninitiated do not realize that this is an invitation to gather to cut wood for masks. X, or his relatives, always provides a meal which is eaten before the main work is attended to. Then the singers group themselves and compose still
[533] another song[11] for X, with the same theme, but different words, as the one composed the previous evening. When ready, they chant it loudly so that all can hear and learn, and then sing it with the audience joining in, while X dances. After a short pause, X asks as many of his comrades as he desires to go with
[784] him to the forest to cut wood. Some member of the party carries a whistle which he sounds at intervals, thus warning

●[176]

[11] This would normally be a dancer's second song, the large number practised for X before the coming of his call being unusual. Not many years ago a powerful chief created the innovation of having one song only instead of two. Some *kukusiut* follow his example whereas others still use two.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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773 what cause this divergence is due. Mythology and religion are so closely
[171] connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Bilqula is Snq, the sun-god (compare sinq, sun).
773 The rays of the sun are his eyelashes. When prayed to he is called
776 Tsàt'an. In praying the Bilqula look heavenward. I obtained the following formulas: *Atlkuw itlò'tlenq, Tsàt'an*, 'Look on us where we are
[782] going, Tsàt'an;' and *Tsàt'an, atlkmalinowdò'tlq*, 'Take care of us, Tsàt'an.'
[539] Snq is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and does not interfere with the actions and thoughts of men. These are given by Masmasalà'niq. According to the tradition of the Bilqula, before the liberation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is nowadays, four deities lived on the earth: Masmasalà'niq, Yula'timot, Matlapò'eqoek, and Itl'itlu'lak. The raven wished to obtain the sun, but he was unable to liberate it. Then he went to these deities and asked their help. They ascended to the sky, and tore the curtain, which up to that time had been expanded between heaven and earth, hiding the heavenly orbs. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The raven ascended to heaven through the rift made by Masmasalà'niq, and found there a beautiful prairie country in which all the birds lived. Masmasalà'niq and his brothers painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his arts. The raven was not content with the sun, and resolved to try and find a better one. He flew to the house of a great chief, who kept the *nsep'mts* (*ns*-fem.place of, *sp'm*=the day is dawning). The *nsep'mts* was a small round receptacle closed all around like an egg. The chief guarded it jealously, and kept it suspended from one of the rafters of his house. The raven knew that he could not obtain it by sheer force, and resorted to a ruse. He assumed the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and let himself drop into the pond from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pond, swallowed the leaf, and thus became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the raven himself. The old chief loved the boy dearly, and allowed him to play with the *nsep'mts*. This was what he desired. He ran out of the house, broke it, and flew away in the shape of a raven.

After the sun had thus been obtained Masmasalà'niq said: 'Let us make man.' He made the image of a man out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Matlapò'eqoek and Itl'itlu'lak tried likewise to carve human figures and to give them life, but they failed. Finally, Yula'timot carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in each country, and they became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Masmasalà'niq gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to catch salmon, to build houses. He made rivers everywhere, that man should have water to drink, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by man.

The Bilqula believe that Masmasalà'niq and his brothers still continue
[176] to give new ideas to man. They say that any new design of painting or carving, or any other new invention made by a member of their tribe, has been given to him by Masmasalà'niq.

The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been referred to above.

774 The soul is believed to dwell in the nape. It is similar in shape to a
[826] bird inclosed in an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies
764 away its owner must die. Shamans are able to see and to recover souls.
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1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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PREFACE

THE term Bella Coola can be applied to the Indians who formerly occupied more than twenty villages on the lower Bella Coola River in central British Columbia, to their near kinsfolk on the Kimsquit River, and to those living at the head of South Bentinck Arm. Disease and changed conditions consequent upon the coming of the white man have so reduced their numbers that the last two groups of settlements have been virtually abandoned, while only one village remains in the Bella Coola valley. This is located on a reserve near the mouth of the river, and its four hundred inhabitants comprise practically all the survivors of what was once a tribe of several thousand people, with a distinctive language and culture of their own.

The material contained in this monograph was collected in this one village many years ago for the National Museum of Canada.[1] I was in the field during two periods that extended from March to August, 1922, and from September, 1923, to February, 1924. My field notes were worked up and the completed manuscript submitted to the Museum in 1926. Since that time it has suffered various vicissitudes. Recommended for publication by the Chief of the Anthropological Division, it passed through the hands of various editors; questions were raised about its size and the suitability of detailed studies of social anthropology in a government publication, and by the time these matters were adjusted, funds for extensive publications were unavailable and the manuscript was put aside. Since the aim of the investigation was to record, as far as possible, the sum-total of the complex and interwoven social life of the Bella Coola, I did not think it desirable to prepare short articles[2] summarizing different aspects, preferring to await an

[1] Then the Victoria Memorial Museum.

[2] The only exception was a short article on Bella Coola supernatural animals published in the Ontario Annual Archaeological Report for 1924-25, pp. 17-27.

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kenzie, making his memorable overland trip to the Pacific, records coming upon Indian villages at every few miles of his course. Boas describes the way in which the inhabitants of each of these claim to be descended from one group of ancestors. 173 361 175

Though it is impossible to estimate the former population of the Bella Coola valley with any degree of accuracy, it must have been in the thousands. In 1922 there were surviving rather more than three hundred individuals, who live in one village on an Indian reserve near the north bank of the Bella Coola River, about a quarter of a mile from the sea. In the last century the tribe was stricken with smallpox, and since then consumption, venereal disease, measles, and other diseases of the white man have taken their deadly toll. Changed conditions of life and decay of the rich ceremonial around which centred their interests in the old days are also contributory factors in their decline. Within the last few years, however, the population has begun to increase. 161 164 177 182

Bella Coola Villages

The following list of Bella Coola villages was obtained. In an effort to learn which had been deserted in recent years, the writer always asked whether or not a town was occupied at the time of Mackenzie's visit, an event of such great interest to the grandparents of the older people that the memory of it is still preserved. Villages said to have been occupied at that time are marked with an asterisk. 361 24 175

Three rivers empty into the head of South Bentinck Arm, which is about one mile in width (see Plate 7). The Bella Coola, flowing from the east, enters at the southern edge, and the *Nulpatchwanc* winds in from the north to the opposite angle of the head of the fiord. This stream, "The Nearest River" of the Bella Coola, so-called because of its proximity to the sea, is shown on maps as the Neclectsconnay. Between the mouths of these two is the *Pe-sub*, a small stream rising 133 103

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133 the neighbouring Carriers, but Chilkotin as well sometimes
484 descended to the valley. On the coast, though the dense under-
[648] brush prevented travel along the shore, the long fiords, shel-
[501] tered from the open Pacific, were ideal for the use of canoes.[16]
648 Comparatively lengthy journeys were neither difficult nor uncommon. The *Tal-io* people were usually on amicable terms with the inhabitants of Rivers Inlet, and the Kimsquit with the Kitlobe. The Bella Coola were accustomed to attend
[574] potlatches at Alert Bay and Fort Rupert,[17] Knight's Inlet, and Bute Inlet, receiving their hosts, in turn, at Bella Coola. On the other hand, there was little friendly intercourse with the northern tribes, of which the Kitkatla especially were dreaded by the residents of the central coast. Until recent years the Bella Coola had no direct knowledge of other Salish-speaking peoples, although some of the Chilkotin told them of a tribe living far to the south, in the interior, whom they encountered in some of their wanderings and used to term *Nuxálkmx*, recognizing the similarity between their language and that of the
[197] Bella Coola. A few years ago several Bella Coola attended a
[871] boarding-school and were amazed to find that many of their words were understood by fellow-students from Chilliwack.

648 To sum up: The Bella Coola were in close contact with
● 177 the neighbouring coastal tribes, with the members of which they felt themselves to have cultural affinities. They recognize that they have received many ceremonial rites from their neighbours, and must have adopted other elements of culture which they now consider indigenous. It is probable that certain Bella Coola customs must likewise have been transmitted to other tribes, but such lie without the scope of this monograph. The outlying villages were in close contact with foreign neighbours, and tended to assimilate elements of their culture,
[101] but, on the whole, the Bella Coola present a tribal unity with distinctive local customs, falling within the general pattern of coastal culture.

[16] For types of canoes, see Appendix A.
[17] The principal Kwakiutl villages.

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CHAPTER II

RELIGION

The Universe—Supernatural Beings—Supernatural Elements in Human Beings—Means of Propitiation

The Universe

ONE of the subjects about which Bella Coola philosophers pondered in former times, and about which definite information has come down to the present generation, is the universe. The young people, who have absorbed a certain amount of education from the white man, are scornful of the beliefs of their fathers, but it was possible to obtain the following information from a few of the older men and women. 772 [177]

They say that the earth is circular and flat, like an island. What it rests upon is problematical, though the assumption is that it is water. The world is kept from capsizing by the supernatural being, *Sninia*, who lives amid the ice in the far north; he grasps a rope to which the earth is fastened, and he keeps it steady by maintaining a tension on the rope to hold the world against his feet. Long, long ago *Sninia* was seen by human beings, but in later years no one has penetrated to his distant home and the Bella Coola have little regard for him. It was in the distant past, also, that human beings discovered the earth to be round, after certain semi-supernatural men had made a circuit of it. The four corners of space have not the same importance to the Bella Coola as they have, for example, to the Indians of the Plains. It is only through questioning that the investigator learns that the East is regarded as the top of the world, the South is the sun at its zenith, the West is the bottom, and the North is nothing, merely the opposite to the south. These beliefs play little part in the lives of the people. [776] [823]

Above our earth stretches an inverted dome, its edges resting on those of the world. This dome, the sky, is called

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cannot be considered as distinct subjects; not only does this present difficulties to the investigator in the field, but it also makes it no easy task to describe the facts so obtained. With many tribes it is possible to deal first with the social life, and later with religion, shamanism, and other associated topics. Such a form of presentation has many advantages and would, if possible, have been followed. Unfortunately, the social organization and rank of the Bella Coola largely depend upon their religious beliefs as expressed in their mythology, and an understanding of at least the main features of these is essential. In this chapter a summary of these has been made, leaving for later description personal relations with the supernatural world and other points which do not profoundly influence the beliefs and practices of the whole community. 128 771

Like other peoples, the Bella Coola differ considerably in the fervour of their religious beliefs. But even allowing for individual variation, religious experiences and beliefs are matters of frequent occurrence and profound importance to the great majority of the tribe. The supernatural world is close around them; a sudden thought is caused by the intervention of a supernatural being; the peculiar action of an animal is an occurrence fraught with grave meaning; an unexplained sound always receives a supernatural explanation. The old beliefs survive even among members of the community who are nominal Christians, and those who hold to their ancient religion live in an atmosphere of the supernatural. The white man, whose scientific training and logic lead him to find a natural explanation for an incident, is puzzled and somewhat amused at what he often calls the childish beliefs of the Indian. The Bella Coola, on the other hand, seeing the hand of the supernatural in every untoward event, considers the attitude of the white man in seeking a natural explanation to be almost irreverent. The mental attitude of the Bella Coola to the supernatural does not differ vitally from that of the white man under like conditions; but whereas to white men religious experiences are most unusual, they are common occurrences to 771 177 771

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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the Indian. A native convert, for example, finds no difficulty in understanding the Old Testament, for the frequent manifestations of the supernatural are like those to which he has been accustomed. One intelligent Indian went so far as to say that he was a better Christian than any white man because he believed every word in the Old Testament, while he had heard that white men doubted the historical accuracy of some of the stories there recorded.

The following incident illustrates rather clearly the attitude of the Bella Coola towards the supernatural. A few years ago a party, consisting of a number of Indians and one white man, was proceeding by canoe up Dean Channel. On the shore, some distance ahead of them, they saw what seemed to be a grizzly bear with its pelt showing the white sheen so much desired by hunters. Hoping for a shot at the animal, they paddled in behind a long point which offered a hidden means of approach. But as the canoe cautiously rounded the tip, within easy rifle range, all that could be seen was a white water-washed stump, somewhat resembling a bear in shape. To the white man it was obvious that they had all been deceived by this resemblance in the distance, but to the Bella Coola it was equally obvious that the bear had changed into a stump. A bear had been there, they had seen it, now there was a stump: "The bear must have changed itself," they said.

If the reader grasps the mental attitude which explains an optical illusion as a manifestation of the supernatural, he will be able to comprehend the important part played by supernatural beings in the lives of the Bella Coola. Creatures of this type, some anthropomorphic and others zoomorphic, range not only the mountains and forests of British Columbia, but also the waters beneath and the sky above. Their true home is on the flat country above the sky; most of them are merely visitors to this world. Supernatural beings of all kinds are termed *sisut*. The attitude of Indians towards them, and their concepts concerning them, can best be understood by the stories in vol. I, chap. x, and vol. II, chap. v. Bella Coola beliefs are

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775 hanging a number of bird and animal cloaks, representing ravens, eagles, whales, grizzly bears, black bears, and a few others. *Alquntăm* asked each individual which of these cloaks he preferred to wear. One selected a raven, another an eagle, and so on. Each donned his choice from the wall and immediately became the bird or animal chosen. *Alquntăm* gave each man or woman one or more names, and some food in compressed form; then sent him down in avian or mammal form. Even the animals could travel through the air like birds, and each landed on the peak of a mountain in the Bella Coola country, took off his cloak, and reassumed human form. The discarded coverings floated back up to *Nazmăt·a*. A few individuals, instead of coming to earth in animal form, swarmed down posts which stretched between the worlds.

•177 This myth is fervently believed by the Bella Coola. Even
773 Christian Indians, though they readily admit the biblical creation as applied to the white race, remain convinced of the manner in which their own ancestors came into being. At the present time, though most ancient beliefs are rapidly passing away, few, if any, Bella Coola doubt this account of the creation of their forefathers. Their conviction rests not only on the religious aspect of their life, but on the sociological. A man's
[551 most treasured possessions are the name brought down from
424] above by his ancestor in the beginning of time, the knowledge of the form taken by that ancestor, and information about the place where he landed. A collection of myths of this kind is given in vol. I, chap. VI. Lacking knowledge of his first an-
[622] cestor's form, a Bella Coola has slight chance of becoming a
554 chief; such lore is the birthright of every descendant of one of
561] these first people, and those without it are almost certain to be the offspring of slaves. The social aspects of creation myths will be described later; at this point a broad outline must suffice. *Nazmăt·a*, "The House of Myths," is the place in which these myths were made, and are now stored, two reasons for its importance in the eyes of the Bella Coola.

[775] *Nazmăt·a* is not only connected with the history of an indi-

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vidual's ancestors; it enters into his own future as well. When a Bella Coola dies, his spirit (I, p. 94) travels back on the path of his ancestors from generation to generation until it reaches the spot where the first one came to earth; there it assumes the bird or animal cloak used on that occasion and floats aloft to *Nusmāt·a* to live forever. Small wonder, therefore, that this house figures prominently in the thoughts of the Bella Coola, and that they cling tenaciously to a belief in it. 177 773 775

Knowledge of *Nusmāt·a* has been inherited almost entirely from the first ancestors of the Bella Coola, and only a few items of information could be gleaned concerning it. Most men think of it as an enormous replica of their own houses, but one individual, of philosophic temperament, expressed the opinion that it was without any inner partitions. His belief was based on the following incident: 772

Some years ago a young man died without apparent reason. His sorrowing father kept wondering: 772 787

"Why has my son died? Can he have committed some crime or made some mistake?"

Despondent and grief-stricken, for a whole year the man did not wash, ate little, and slept on the floor. At last he wandered away, alone, into the mountains. Night overtook him and he lay down to sleep without food. His son came to him in a dream, telling him not to lament, that he was in a better place than this world, for *Ālquntām* had recalled him to *Nusmāt·a* to use his voice, which was unusually powerful, as a means of conveying his wishes to the other occupants of the house. Thus comforted, the father returned home in the morning, washed, and again behaved normally. My informant suggested that cross walls would be a bar to the strongest voice, and that *Nusmāt·a* must consequently be partitionless.

Nusmāt·a contains not only the spirits of all deceased Bella Coola, it is also the home of most of the supernatural beings. These frequently descend to visit the earth, but always return to the house above. So far as could be learnt, the only being irremovably located there is an old woman, *Snuiqulxāls*. The most prominent article of furniture in *Nusmāt·a* is *Ālquntām*'s seat, in the central position behind the fire. Over it is laid 772 776 * [775]

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* 776 is in the upper Bella Coola valley near Firvale, cause cold
773 breezes by blowing them through their anuses. *uxlaxwan·i* es-
[821] pecially is a prominent figure in mythology (I, p. 670), but she has not appeared for many generations and her actions belong to legend rather than to either religion or social practices. It is said that she has four sons who once wanted to break a large number of grass stalks. Finding it difficult to do so on account of their toughness, they asked their mother to freeze them; she did this and destroyed every other plant at the same time.

* 776 Another anthropomorphic being is *Sxk'lätl*, the super-
821 natural South Wind of winter who brings storm and snow.
● 177 The Carriers affirm that every icicle which grows down until
[731] its end is in the snow is his walking-stick, and that to break one causes famine. Some Bella Coola have adopted this belief and carefully refrain from destroying such icicles.

* 776 Supernatural beings experience the same difficulty as mortals in reckoning the passage of time. A number of calendrical experts live in the land above, whose duty it is to record both months and years. They are called *Älmınskällwaiyaix* or
[575] *Älmınskitlnum*. They have been seen occasionally, and are shown, as masked figures, at *sısaok* (I, p. 180), but not at *kusiut* dances. Two of these beings always appear, and they argue about their observations after the fashion of humans.

Another denizen of *Nusmät·a* of slight importance in the social life of the Bella Coola is *Xemxemälotla*, a friend and
[575] associate of *Älquntäm*. He acts as patron of *kusiut* dancers, and in this manner is brought to the notice of mortals. In the land above his function is to cherish *Ťläqmä·ks*, a being resembling a diminutive man, created by *Älquntäm* as a child to all supernatural beings. *Xemxemälotla* is its guardian or nurse; and for safety he usually keeps his charge in the far distant upper land above *Nusmät·a*, where *Älquntäm* frequently visits the two. In some mysterious manner, *Ťläqmä·ks* has been
[777] known to reach this earth, giving good fortune to the lucky finder. He is in many cases spoken of as "The Cherished

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of his disguises. For example, he once appeared at New Westminster in the form of a handsome white man; a Bella Coola girl yielded to his pleadings, but as soon as he had left her, she began to bleed and died.[11] He is so evil that shamans can rarely cure anyone visited by him. *Sxaiaxwax* usually carries a stick which he need only to point at a woman to cause her death.

Nor are men exempt from *Sxaiaxwax*'s visitations. Sometimes he sneaks up behind a man and seizes his arms, so that he cannot see who has gripped him. He is soon released but no matter how quickly he turns around can never see his captor. Presently he begins to bleed from mouth and nose and death follows. *Sxaiaxwax* may become visible under such conditions. One old man stated that his son had once been playing outside the village at Kimsquit when he rushed into the house weeping and saying that he had been seized by a black-faced man. In a few minutes his nose began to bleed so that his father knew it was *Sxaiaxwax* who had visited him. Nothing was of any avail and the lad died. His approach is usually heralded by a series of grunting, explosive puffs, like those of a big bear rising sulkily. If, warned by the sound, the hearer turn sharply, he can escape danger. An informant described how, when camped on Labouchere Channel, he had once gone to the river for water with two companions, a man and a woman. They all heard these gasping puffs and turned, but he alone had jumped from the path quickly enough. The other two began to pant like *Sxaiaxwax* himself; blood gushed from their mouths and genital organs and they soon died.

Like other supernatural beings, *Sxaiaxwax* has his limitations. Though he comes to this earth he can travel only on fixed paths, invisible to mortals. If either a man or a woman is unfortunate enough to fall asleep on one of these tracks, it is

[11] A curious blending of aboriginal and white man's beliefs was recorded in connection with this incident. It is said that as the girl's seducer left her, carrying his hat in his hand, she saw two horns rising from his forehead and realized that her lover had been *Sxaiaxwax*.

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including the dreaded point, Mesatche Nose, in human form. As each came in, water swirled in and the canoe was tossed as if in a whirlpool; if it had capsized the occupants would have been devoured, but on each occasion one of the hunters threw a morsel of false hellebore on the surface, which stilled the waves. At last *Ḷomoqwa* and his friends admitted defeat, granted the four fishermen the powers of shamans, and gave them certain prerogatives. 539 776 *

Though *Ḷomoqwa* is usually unkind to mortals, and is correspondingly feared, instances are known in which he has bestowed shamanistic powers for no apparent reason. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella know more about *Ḷomoqwa* than they do, since he is essentially an ocean being and the Bella Bella are ocean people. It is possible that the Bella Coola concepts of this supernatural personage are entirely of Bella Bella origin. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that *Ḷomoqwa* seldom appears in connection with the *kusiut* society, but frequently with the *sisaok* society, many of the rites of which came from Bella Bella. [756] 177 ● 776 * [575]

Since human beings can travel on the sea only by means of canoes, it is not surprising that the Bella Coola think of supernatural beings as doing likewise. Their beliefs include at least three huge canoes, manned by supernatural beings. The most important is that of *Noākxnum*,[16] the name of its captain, whose crew consists of a number of supernatural birds and the hermaphrodite. Every year they come from the lands of the salmon and the berries, in the far west beyond the sea, and bear these to the coast of British Columbia. This belief, which runs counter to the conviction that *Ālquntām* caused the animals and plants to grow, is merely one of the many inconsistencies of Bella Coola theology. *Noākxnum* comes every autumn on his way to attend the gathering of the supernatural beings in the land above, and his arrival in the Bella Coola River marks the commencement of the *kusiut* dances. He is one of the most important of *kusiut* patrons and his powers and functions are described in the chapter devoted to that 773 776 * [575]

[16]Cf. Boas, p. 40.

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775 walk backwards, or on their heads. Mortals sometimes see ghosts, but the apparition seals their lips so that they cannot [761] recount their experiences. Death invariably follows. Shamans [756] and other mortals endowed with great powers have been able to penetrate to the realm below, and the knowledge of conditions there has been derived from their accounts. Food is scarce in that land and ghosts are often driven up to earth to 264 search for it. Even a small morsel is enough to satisfy their 775 hunger, so that mortals throw fragments on the fire for the benefit of their dead relatives. If a person drop a crumb it is because a ghost has hooked it away from his hand; no wise Bella Coola ever picks up such a morsel, knowing that to do so would offend the hungry spectre. Deceased beings are 775 generally feared, although instances are known in which they have shown kindness, particularly to their relatives. Like so [575] many supernatural beings, they figure most prominently as patrons of *kusiut* dancers (see vol. II, chap. 1). Further information concerning them is contained in the description of life after death.

* 776 Not even a complete list of beings would exhaust the ●177 beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural, since any unexpected visitation is attributed by them to this source. For example, when Mackenzie appeared, the first white man with whom the Bella Coola had come in contact, they thought that he must be from another world. Some thought him a dead man returned to life, and others considered him a supernatural visitor from above who had fallen down to earth, as did their first ancestors. The latter view prevailed, and it was ultimately decided that he must be *Qomcua*, a supernatural being resident aloft of whom little was known. This name was applied to him, and it has since been given to all white men.[19]

[19]Although it was in 1793 that Mackenzie passed down the Bella Coola valley, a number of stories of that event were still remembered in 1922. What most impressed the Bella Coola was his ability to make fire quickly. One man, now living, stated that he had heard from his mother that her father had spoken with him. Traditions of this type are valuable as reflecting the interests of a people, but their historical accuracy may well be doubted. One Kimsquit man, for example,

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The religious concepts of the Bella Coola are not limited to explanations of strange apparitions, nor to knowledge of a wide range of supernatural beings, anthropomorphic or zoomorphic. Many in whom they believe are invisible and intangible, though none the less potent. Almost every incident of life is attributed to the help or hindrance of a supernatural agency. If a fisherman constructs a salmon-weir, with a considerable amount of work, the Bella Coola ascribe his success to the assistance of some supernatural being or supernormal power; mere labour would never have sufficed. If a man has phenomenal success in hunting, it is because the supernatural has helped him in some way. It is not necessary that an anthropomorphic being should appear; they seldom do, but none deny that in some form or another supernatural ones have aided the enterprise. 771 776* [226] [224]

This attitude is clearly evident in Bella Coola beliefs concerning the construction of canoes. Many professions depend upon prerogatives without which a person cannot hope to succeed. This is not true of canoe-makers, although it is a great advantage to one of them if *Yulätimut*, the Master Carpenter, appeared to his ancestors in the beginning of time. Even without this in many cases a man can succeed in making a canoe if he is aided by a supernatural teacher, or Model Maker. No one knows much about this being, nor even whether there is more than one of them, but it is through his kindly intervention that a man is able to complete his complicated task. If carpenters who have left a half-finished canoe in the woods, hear adze beats, as they are returning to it, they remain away from the spot, knowing that their work is being done with superhuman efficiency by a supernatural artisan. Under such circumstances even a solitary man can construct one of the large, ocean-going canoes. About 1880 an expert carpenter, named *Yelxhn*, was making 396 776* [463]

stated definitely that his mother had told him Mackenzie came down the Dean River when her uncle was a young man. As if to confirm this statement he added the inconsequential detail that Mackenzie, in dire straits for food, killed and ate a dog, and that he was given a marmot-skin blanket. 776* 177

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539 watch without being seen. The creature acted as if frightened;
* 776 it kept looking backwards, then hurriedly scraped up some clams with its forepaws, dashed off with these into the forest, and came back for more. The chief decided to attack the animal. A frontal approach was impossible owing to lack of cover, so he landed and crept stealthily through the forest, armed with his Hudson's Bay Company's musket. Presently he stumbled upon a heap of clams which the animal had collected. He waited until it returned with another load, then raised his musket and fired. Instead of killing the *boqs*, its supernatural power was so great that the hunter's musket burst in his hands, though he himself was not injured. The *boqs* shrieked and whistled as if in anger, and at once hordes of its mates came dashing out through the forest. The frightened chief rushed out on the beach and called to his comrades to save him. They brought the canoe close to the shore so that he could clamber aboard, and then paddled away unharmed.

● 177 The Bella Coola believe that *boqs*, unlike most supernatural
* 776 animals, have not abandoned the country since the coming of
539 the white man. One man was most insistent that they still lived on King Island, and promised to point one out if a visit were made to that spot. This man refuses to camp at the place where, he affirmed, *boqs* are common. Another informant stated that though he had never seen one of the monsters, a horde of them surrounded his camp near Canoe Crossing for a week. Every night he heard them roaring and beating on trees and branches. A curious blending of old and new beliefs was recorded in connection with this statement. This man remarked that he was once gathering firewood when he heard the creatures closing in upon him. His head swam with terror, until he remembered that he was a Christian; he called on Jesus to help him, grasped his axe, and dashed towards the place from which the loudest sounds were coming. He heard the animals moving off all round him, but failed to see any of them.

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773 that tally posts have mentality, and suggested that it might
777 be these which attend the gathering of the supernatural beings at the winter solstice instead of an element from the human body itself.

One elderly Bella Coola, of philosophical temperament, described *ḳwatlnusta* in terms far removed from the accounts of tally posts. According to him, every individual receives this supernatural possession at birth, and it remains with him, in close association with his body, throughout life. It stays in front of his face, invisible, yet having substance, and con-
[431] stantly shaking from side to side. If a man fails to receive a present at a potlatch, it is because his *ḳwatlnusta* has ceased
[828] to move. When stationary it is not transparent, and not only hides its owner from the donor's sight, but acts as a barrier to
[756] his thoughts. The same man stated that this element can leave the body, can be seen by shamans, and that it is the one
[775] which ascends at the winter solstice to *Nusmāt·a*. At death it is believed to accompany the spirit and the life to the land above.

177 There seems no reason to doubt that the concept of tally
773 posts is an ancient belief. Nor does the application of the term *ḳwatlnusta* to another immaterial possession of quite
777 another type destroy this probability. It must be remembered that within the last eighty years the Bella Coola have suffered not only from the tremendous upheaval caused by the coming of the white man, but have been reduced to a mere fraction of their former numerical strength by various epidemics. These factors have led to the partial forgetting of ancient beliefs, with consequent confusion. It is probable that the use of the same term for the tally post, intimately connected with an individual's life although situated in the land above, and for an invisible and intangible possession which goes in front of him, is due to this recent decay of ancient convictions. If this be true, it merely means that in former times the Bella Coola had yet another supernatural element to govern and influence their lives.

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782 next day the weather was fine. This particular method of
424 praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the begin-
821 ning of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family.
[785] With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of
[177] customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grand-father of the man from whom the information was obtained.

SACRIFICE

782 It might be expected that a clear division should be made between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears
[824] dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any
[824] supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts
[825] of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether
[261] or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire titbits of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*Wai, wai, wai,*" "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

[502] Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural
[133] powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Mesatche Nose,
[756]

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This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail in vol. I, chap. VII, but mention of it here has been necessary to explain the composition of the ancestral family. 582 [614]

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to marry foreign women in order that they, or their children, might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a trend towards exogamy has arisen from the same reason which is supposed to have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said that this practice was initiated by a certain *Potles*, father of a man about sixty years old in 1923. White influence probably had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its wide adoption has been made more easy by the establishment of peaceful conditions on the coast. [554] [177]

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestry, it is unlikely that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These are of two kinds: names and land. 614 554

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bella Coola nomenclature is that each name must have originated in connection with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable to apply a casual designation to a child. At a person's death his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were all given designations by *Alquntām*; these have been carefully handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying 551 [168] [553] [773] [428]

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614 extinct, are unusual; normally, the group is largely centred in
621. one village, but with members scattered in other localities. There is no central organization. It is generally recognized that such a unit belongs in the village where its first ancestors settled, and the leading chief of that village is, therefore, an important person in the family, though without status of [622] "head" of it. His advice may be appealed to in cases of dis-[553] putes concerning names, but he lacks judicial authority. Theoretically, the descendants of the elder of two first people are considered as "elder brothers and elder sisters" of those descended from a younger brother or sister; but this is nothing more than an accepted fact; it plays no part in the social life of the community.

552 In addition to human names, the origin myths include those
614 applied to dogs. The first ancestral group had dogs, and these
773 animals had names, or were given them by their powerful masters. Ever since that time their descendants can apply these designations to their own dogs. It is unnecessary to validate such names, but no two canines can be given the same one at the same time, according to the rule which governs the bestowal of human names. This matter was not investigated in detail, and the only dog's name collected was one for which [539] the origin myth is as follows:

When *Tal-is* was first settled in the beginning of time, the houses were built in parallel rows, one above the other, up the side of a steep knoll. At the very top was a toilet-house, built over such a steep incline [514] that excrement rolled down the hillside. In consequence, one of the early chiefs living there gave to his dog the name, *Nuk̓ʷnmatl di mutl'*, "Rolling excrement," which has since been preserved in the ancestral family of his descendants.

LAND

124 Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining information
423 about land tenure. The Bella Coola resent keenly the way in which their land has been occupied by white settlers without,
●177 according to their standpoint, proper compensation. Ques-

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tions on this subject always excited them, but every effort was made to verify the following statements.

As with names, the easiest way to understand the rights of the ancestral family in land is by first considering the mythological explanation, which mirrors conditions as they existed at the coming of white men. On reaching this earth the first people are believed to have prospected for suitable settlement sites, places where sālmon and olachen could be caught, and if possible, near side valleys where berries were abundant. Here they released the animals and plants which they had brought with them, on which they thenceforth subsisted, in accordance with the supreme deity's instructions. The members of the group pre-empted these areas for themselves. Waste land, far from any village was, and still is, free to anyone. A few years after the first settlements had been made, according to the myths, the supreme god sent down to Kimsquit a certain *Ālquntām* who allotted and marked the territory which was the property of each community; at that time a village consisted merely of a group of the first settlers. No similar myth was recounted for either Bella Coola or *Tāl·io*, although their concepts with regard to land are identical with those of the Kimsquit. This really gave a sacred sanction to the possession of land, an important matter to a people so religiously inclined as the Bella Coola.

The system of land tenure follows the same somewhat abstruse principles that govern the possession of names in an ancestral family. Hunting and collecting grounds appropriated by the first people, or by their immediate descendants, are the property of their offspring, the ancestral family. The Bella Coola term for such an area is *sol'loam*, also called, *sixsnumsta*, which means "Food Supply."

It will thus be seen that a hunting-area is not the property of any single individual, but belongs to a group of persons, most of whom live in a single town. The relatives of a man who intends to give a potlatch usually give him, temporarily, exclusive rights to the hunting-ground. As with names, there

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the Germans it would have been moral and proper according to Bella Coola ethics, but to take land was unheard of. 423 [727]

Since land is only valued for hunting or collecting purposes, it is not divided into small areas. Any man can build his house at will near the village. It is said that at Kitlobe the crab-apple trees are the property of different ancestral families, themselves members of different tribes, but this is unknown in Bella Coola. It may be mentioned that the Bella Coola somewhat naïvely assume that all other coastal tribes have [829] ancestral families similar to their own, although they recognize that some of them also have a clan system which has no counterpart in their social organization. Since the concentration of the tribe on a small reserve and the beginning of [177] agriculture, a system of individual ownership of cultivated land has sprung up. It is realized that if a man clears and [428] cultivates a field, the produce is his own, and he can will this land to whomsoever he pleases. Likewise a man who rings a tree to kill it for firewood is the sole owner. The Bella Coola regard uncultivated land in the reserve as being at the disposal of anyone, a concept which appears not to have been taught them by any white administrator. Its origin seems rather to lie in the old belief that any unpreëmpted land, far removed from a village, can be used by anyone. It is recognized that the reserve cannot be considered as a *sel'elam* belonging to any ancestral group, hence it is free to all. One corner of it, however, includes the lower part of a side-valley formerly used by the people of *Tsmoil*. An old man, whose ancestral family lived in that village for generations, has set his bear-traps in [614] this corner of the reserve for a number of years without interference from other hunters, who go far afield with their traps. Even within the limits of the reserve it is felt that this man has the prime right to that area for the use of himself and his family.

Theoretically an ancestral family may die out. Several 614 accounts were received of old men who, believing themselves 428 to be the sole survivors of their family, bequeathed their names 721

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(3) The bearing of exceptionally well-behaved children; 614
(4) The bearing of exceptionally naughty children; 827
(5) Disposition to steal;
(6) Uncontrollable sexual desires;
(7) Sudden death, that is, members of certain ancestral families are less apt than others to die of disease or old age;
(8) Death by drowning. One informant, in whose family this is a tendency, has twice been thrown into the water and barely escaped. He fully expects to meet his fate in this manner;
(9) Insanity (not a common malady); [158]
(10) Dribbling at the mouth with increasing age;
(11) Liability to contract the skin disease known as *tofaly*. With regard to the transmission of this disease the surprising information was received that if a relative of a sufferer should drink from the same bucket or use the same spoon as the patient, he is likely to contract the disease, whereas another person can use them with impunity. This statement may be based on a knowledge of germs learnt from the white man, and warped by a belief in inheritable tendencies, although it is amazing that the theory of germs could have reached the elderly Bella Coola. Possibly this statement is a relic of an old belief in the transmissability of disease through contact, but it is more reasonable to ascribe it to white influence. 614 827 753 177

In a later chapter an account is given of certain occupational abilities, including that of carpentry, which must be confirmed and validated by presents. The above are quite different; they are either present or absent without any action on the part of the individual. 614 827

The Village Community

The village community referred to in the preceding section consists, fundamentally, of the descendants, traced in the patrilineal line, of the reputed first settlers to occupy a site. Since a Bella Coola always describes himself as a native of such-and-such a town, it follows that the village community 614 621

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in dances. In front of most houses rises a short totem-pole,* either pierced for the doorway, or standing on the opposite side of the sidewalk.

The Family

It is probably no exaggeration to say that in every part of the world the most important social unit is the family. It certainly is among the Bella Coola, yet its lack of definite social obligations makes it difficult to define. Reduced to minimum size, the family consists of a man, his wife, or wives, and his children. Such a unit occupies one of the bedrooms of a large house, and it is to such a family that an infant automatically belongs at birth. Disregarding for the moment ceremonial obligations, which are shared by others, it is the father and mother who are responsible largely for the upbringing of the child. Such education as he receives comes from them, with the assistance of members of the ancestral family. This is chiefly imitative; a boy, as he increases in strength, follows his father on hunting expeditions or fishing. The mother teaches her daughters how to make baskets, and they follow her when she gathers berries, or when she cooks and performs household duties. The Bella Coola are fond of children, in many cases to the extent of over-indulging them, and they grow up amid the open life of the large houses, absorbing information of all kinds without being aware of so doing.

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Only two kinds of functional training need be mentioned. A wise father carefully trains his sons to remember their debts (I, p. 369), and the method of teaching ancient myths has already been described; otherwise there is little direct instruction. On the other hand, parents devote great care to furnishing their children with every possible means of strengthening their supernatural elements on which success depends. These can

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*Since the Bella Coola believe that totem-poles were used by their ancestors in early times, they are included in this description of a village, without reference to their development in post-European times. This account is compiled from descriptions given by elderly informants; it is inevitable, therefore, that changes due to European contact may be included.

[177]

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of the father or the mother. In June, 1922, a Bella Coola girl had reached the age of about six months without having received a name. There was much adverse criticism about the parsimony of her father's father and her mother's father, who were held equally to blame, but who had really been deterred by fear of the law prohibiting the potlatch. 612 614 553

As a child grows older he is helped in the performance of ceremonial rites by his parents and by their brothers and sisters. In this, too, it is considered a mark of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his ancestral family, he has no hesitation in favouring the children of either a brother or sister, since, like his own, they are all members of the same ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit[11] it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children; not that there is any lack of knowledge of the real father, but rather as a mark of respect and family feeling displayed by a man to his sister. Moreover, in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is most improper for a name which a man has raised to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much goods to be passed to his own son; it should go to a distant relative. When a father validates a name for his child it should be one long dormant. 593 604 852 [558] [614] [553]

One aspect of the manner in which the family merges imperceptibly into the ancestral family can be seen in the inheritance of names. When a man calls his relatives together to make his will he is guided in the choice of recipients by the characteristics of his children. An able son receives much from his father, but lazy children are slighted without hesitation. This is particularly true of names with which are bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whereas, as previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the importance depends 593 614 428 553

[11]According to an intelligent Bella Coola informant, a Bella Bella pays greater attention to the children of his brothers and sisters than to his own offspring, and the same man expressed the opinion that the Kimsquit practice was due to Bella Bella influence. Kimsquit informants denied this, though emphasizing the important part taken by an uncle in obtaining prerogatives for his sisters' children, in some cases to the detriment of his own, which is rare in Bella Coola. [184] [177]

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differentiate between cross- and ortho-cousins, and the unsystematic groupings of nephews and nieces show "family," as opposed to classificatory, principles. Finally, rhetorical terms for the ancestral family, for many ancestors, and many descendants, correspond to the importance of a large number of relatives in Bella Coola thought. 601 [602]

In many parts of the world the classificatory system of relationship occurs where the community is divided into clans. The occurrence of some of these features among the Bella Coola raises the question of whether or not they should be regarded as survivals from an earlier clan form of social organization. The Bella Coola may once have had clans, but their relationship system does not furnish any real evidence to this effect. The reciprocal terms really have the significance, "Relation by marriage of the same generation," or "of a generation once removed," a form of address which does not require explanation in any ancient form of social organization. Moreover, the importance of the eldest child, as potential transmitter of the glories of the ancestral family, is sufficient reason for differentiating brothers and sisters in terms of their relative ages. This feature suggests that in former times this was more important than it has been in the recent past. It is not implied that the Bella Coola never had a clan system, as such may have been the case many generations ago, but their kinship terminology can be explained without that hypothesis. The somewhat wide application to cousins of terms which are properly limited to brothers and sisters may easily have been derived from a process of copying. The Bella Coola are well acquainted with the clan system of the northern coastal tribes, so that it is by no means impossible, or unlikely, that they should have adopted the principle of applying the same kinship term to many individuals, and hence to members of their own ancestral families. Finally, the somewhat vague and unsystematic application of terms to relatives according to whether or not they are members of the immediate family, is a feature not at all surprising in view of the essential fluidity of Bella 601 614 178 [561] [177] 601

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ened by the age-long power of his ancestor. Finally, in old age, a powerful chief is careless where he seats himself; his fame is so great that he can afford to disregard all conventions.

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POWER OF CHIEFS

It will be seen from the foregoing that chieftainship among the Bella Coola does not depend on hereditary rank, still less on an elective principle, but on the individual's prestige as displayed, especially in his ability to acquire for himself a firm seat by the giving of presents. As he continues to do so his influence becomes ever greater. Consequently, it is impossible to state clearly what are the powers of a chief; such depend upon his prestige and influence. For a Bella Coola chief has no executive or judicial authority; what deference is shown to him depends on his success as a man, a factor which is constantly rising or falling.

The coming of the white man has enabled the Bella Coola to earn comparatively large sums of money by trapping and fishing. This in turn has enabled nearly everyone to give at least one potlatch, a very different state of affairs from that which prevailed in the last century when it required years of toil for a man to amass the necessary food and skins. Consequently, in many towns there were no men who had given potlatches, so that a man's prestige was estimated by the presents he had given at smaller ceremonies. Sometimes, moreover, a man preferred to increase his fame by giving rites of a different nature, such as *hoxiut* dances, and the presents then distributed might elevate him in the eyes of the community, to a position above that of a man who had given a potlatch. This, however, was unusual.

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After a fourth potlatch a man is accorded a position of eminence, and is termed a *nemit* chief. *Nemit* is an untranslatable word, with the significance of "passage," an allusion to the amount of goods which have passed through his hands. Jealous and vulgar-minded persons pun on the word, applying

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thus been slain about seventy years earlier. It appears that attempts were commonly made to kill chiefs by means of sympathetic magic, and it is quite possible that such attempts, becoming known, preyed upon the minds of the victims to such an extent that death resulted.

WEALTH

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Since wealth is so important in chieftainship, it would be desirable at this point to consider the concepts of wealth. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a satisfactory treatment of this subject. The coming of the white man altered the economic aspects of Bella Coola life so radically, and at such an early period, that concrete examples of economic interdependence, so useful in a thorough study, could not be obtained in the field. It is possible that greater attention to this subject might have produced more satisfactory results, but I am doubtful of this.

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In the old days, "wealth" was of two categories: (a) Prerogatives, tangible or intangible, which could be shown, pictorially or dramatically, or could be expounded in words; and (b) Goods which could be distributed for validating such prerogatives. Individual possessions, unsuited for distribution, were hardly considered as wealth; a sewing-machine, a bottle of whiskey, a bed, or some other luxury might give satisfaction to the owner, but did not increase his importance in the eyes of his fellows. The value of objects was only for their use in ceremonial distribution; indeed, prior to such distribution, they were only of potential value. This attitude controlled Bella Coola economics in the early days of contact, and still influences their behaviour. A native store-keeper once ruefully commented on the fact that he would gain no advantage from the goods on his shelves, since he hoped merely to sell them, not to give them away.

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A man's relatives were expected to help him in the acquisition of goods, but the extent of their contributions was never

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present, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried farther afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in attendance. Every individual duly secluded and given a *nusuk* name feels himself ceremonially allied to others who have had a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be termed the *nusuk* secret society. 553 556* 575

The close connection between this society and chiefs is obvious from the presence of names of each type in the same ancestral myths. None the less, every chief, that is a person with duly validated ancestral name and seat, is not a *nusuk*, unless he has validated a *nusuk* name for himself and undergone the period of seclusion. Conversely, a man may be a duly authorized member of the *nusuk* although lacking a seat and the other marks of chieftainship. The relationship is, however, so close that the Bella Coola think of the *nusuk* society as a society of chiefs. *Nusuk* dances take place at potlatches and funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance. Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use some of his goods for the acquisition of a *nusuk* name. Such a case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in the summer of 1913. Theoretically, he was ignorant of *nusuk* rites, but after much discussion these were used on account of his importance as a *nuxnit* chief, an instance of the manner in which a man's personal importance over-rules ceremonial dictates. 575 622 [553] [535] [766] [185]

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *nusuk* name-prerogatives came to this earth at the beginning of time with their first ancestors, and that many more have been acquired later by supernatural experiences. These were especially common among their forbears as they ranged over this earth seeking places to settle in the beginning of time. No *nusuk* name can be assumed casually; each must have had a specific origin. There are few *nusuk* origin myths, though theoretically there should be one to account for every name. The explanation appears to lie in the undoubted fact that many *nusuk* prerogatives have been acquired comparatively recently 424 551 575 773 [77]

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177 from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not diffi-
424 cult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking,
551 even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella
575 Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella
[773] prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time of the coming of the white man. There has since been general decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situation is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the investigator.

428 *Sisaok* names are willed and inherited in the manner already
551 described for other prerogatives. The type of dance, and the
575 time of use, will be described in the following section of this chapter.

The Potlatch

556 It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank
128 among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a number of features which, logically, should have been postponed until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has been made to lessen references to non-ritualistic features by the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chieftainship and the *sisaok* society. Other ideas will require rather lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems preferable to the use of many foot-notes, its only alternative.

General Observations

104 In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "pot-
556 latch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents,
[431] and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella Coola, such distribution of gifts is necessary at every ceremonial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most important of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach, the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

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of his village, hence they will not feel it incumbent upon them to intervene. But news travels, and in course of time the *nuuk* members of some other tribe will decide to send a raiding party against X's village. All informants agreed most emphatically that this custom prevailed among the coast people from the Tsimshian country to Alert Bay, but specific examples could not be obtained. The Bella Coola regard such a raid as the proper course to pursue, and belligerent tribes may have used an irregularity in the potlatch rites as an excuse for an assault. It is clear, however, that this custom never attained such prominence that it could be called a law. 556* 688 628

The following is an instance of the Bella Coola outlook on the question: 556* 688

The father of an informant had had such success in giving potlatches that his neighbours were jealous. On one occasion he prepared a representation of a whale, an elaborate wooden frame, fifteen feet long, operated by men concealed within and carrying passengers; this was a figure which entered into his ancestral myth. One of the carpenters who made it, bribed by a jealous rival of the donor of the potlatch, arranged that the lower jaw of the whale should fall to the floor during the proceedings. This revealed the mechanism of the structure. White influence on the coast prevented an incursion of foreign raiders, but according to this informant, the chiefs determined that his father should die, and they employed a sorcerer for this purpose. His father and eleven other relatives died soon afterwards. This man, the sole survivor, ascribes his escape to his adoption of Christianity. [578] [532] [578] [177] [754]

Another instance of the penalty which follows errors in potlatch ritual occurred a few years ago, when a number of young men used the cone-shaped whistles openly, as if they had been toys. The presence of the white man prevented any open steps towards punishment, but before long all the youths died. No one knows what caused their deaths, though probably they were due to an expert in black magic acting on the instructions of a senior *nuuk*. [534] [177] [754]

After the prayer, X and his family give more food to their guests, whose boxes containing what they are to carry away are increasing in number. By his lavishness, X increases his prestige in the eyes of his fellow-villagers. 556*

If he can afford to build a new house embodying the form [335]

are built. The central fire is laid in the bottom of the pit, a few feet above that is the platform where the guests are seated, and the ground-level is a few feet above that again. A few instances are remembered of houses having been built with two, and even three, of these tiers, or platforms. In those cases it appears certain that this type of construction was embodied in a myth derived from Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people, where, according to the Bella Coola, large houses, of five or six tiers, were not unknown. 342 424 556* [177]

X uses his own discretion in choosing his workmen,[1] avoiding only his own relatives and those of his wife. The question of pay is never broached, but it is understood that X will recompense those who have worked for him. The scale on which he does so will depend entirely on his generosity. This is one of the ways in which a chief helps the poor people of his village. More food is distributed to "sharpen the wedges." 335 556* 465

While a man is engaged on his allotted task any food or other articles which he or his family may obtain belongs to X. If a man who hews the planks takes his wife with him and she chances to pick berries while he is at work, these must be given to X who will distribute them with his other food at the potlatch, and it will be announced from whom he has received them. If a man's friends should help him to complete his task and then all go hunting, any skins acquired will belong to X; but when he repays his indebtedness he is expected to reward the worker, not only for his carpentry, but also for the berries or pelts. As X must give lavishly to prove his chief-like generosity, the collection of foods or skins by his workmen is profitable for them.

The guests have been passing in and out of X's house all day and towards dusk all again assemble within. Suddenly the door is burst open by a number of young men carrying a large log, like a battering-ram. The majority of the bearers are *ssaok*, though they may obtain assistance from those who are not members of the society. The people within the house spring up to eject the ram, and a sham battle ensues. Back- 556* [575]

1 [ie. to build a new house for a potlatch. -ANALYST]

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with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *sisaok* ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from these, and sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy being had landed there. At once there is great excitement within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove them to be at hand. No one is allowed to leave except a *sisaok siki*[9] who is skilled in dealing with *Mulakila*,[10] also called *Sixsixqwtnam*, the supernatural being closely connected with the *sisaok* ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *siki* raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance.

533 575 556* [781] [776]

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

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[9]The accounts of all informants agree that much of the *sisaok* ritual was newly imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements, *Pottes*, a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella wife, also one from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with them as dower certain *sisaok* prerogatives. It is said that previous to that time the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the youths secluded in the back-room, nor to dispel the beings at the conclusion of the rites. On the other hand, some Bella Coola claim that their first ancestors brought the whistles with them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural beings is a recent addition to the potlatch, which accounts for the contradictory accounts, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It appears certain that the prerogative of *siki* has recently been obtained from the Bella Bella. *Siki* means "the one who cures," and the name is given to the man whose prerogative it is to tend the *kusiut* initiates in whom supernatural powers are located. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for *sisaok* matters, known as a *hai-alakila*. Through intermarriage several Bella Coola have recently obtained this prerogative; in each case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to these, so favoured, the term *siki*, as they do for the *kusiut* "curer," though the Bella Bella name, *hai-alakila*, is used with equal frequency. The present *siki* have endeavoured to claim for themselves certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by any *sisaok*. In this account of a potlatch it is assumed that a *siki* is functioning on all occasions, but in many cases any senior *sisaok* is considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *sisaok* was regarded as capable of doing so.

177 424 533 575 556* [425] [583] [563] [791]

[10]Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a certain *Smasan* of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time. [177]

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capped by the mask. If the *tutwinam* represents Wasp[14] or Grizzly Bear, he does not make a circuit and a fluent *sisaok* explains that to do so would be unsafe owing to the ferocity of these animals. When the song is ended, the figure passes into the back-room. After a short interval it reappears, recrosses the house, and leaves by the front door, to the accompaniment of increased whistling. 533 556* 575 [535]

A few myths embody two *tutwinam*. In this case, a second figure presently enters and the same ritual is repeated for a second song. This usually differs, musically, from the first, being in three parts and with even more rapid time. More often, the second song is merely beaten out by the singers without the appearance of a *tutwinam* to supply an obvious source.

This is the normal, but not the only practice with regard to a *tutwinam*. In some cases the figure does not appear until after the singing of the first song, and the uninitiated are told that it has been attracted by the music. In this case it passes into the back-room, later to reappear and leave by the front door. An announcement is made that it has brought a strange power, that Y has become peculiar, and that his name is now, for example, *Qwaqwasila*. A herald bears this news through the village. A second song is then sung in due course. 556* 575

The *tutwinam* is difficult to classify among Bella Coola supernatural beings. It appears in the form of an ancestral crest, but the *sisaok* do not seem to have taught the uninitiated to regard it as Y's actual forefather. It remains as a supernatural embodiment of his crest, a materialization of an element of family history, and a motive for the use by Y of a mask representing the apparition. The uninitiated do not seek further; they have seen a wonderful sight and are content. [776]

Several of the older *sisaok* stated that the *tutwinam* concept was not indigenous to Bella Coola; it had been recently [177] [776] [773] [825]

[14]None of the first people came to earth as Wasps, but several received so much help from these insects that they are regarded as crests by the descendants of those whom they assisted.

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* 556 adopted, probably as a prerogative obtained through mar-
575 riage, from the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people. The diver-
● 177 sity in ritual supports this view. There was not sufficient
[776] time for the procedure to become stabilized between the intro-
duction of the concept and the dislocation of Bella Coola social
life through the influence of the white man. It is also possible
that the *tutwinam* was added to *sisaok* rites from the older
a'alk society (I, p. 273).

532 Whatever may have been the history of the *tutwinam*, it
provides Y with a mask, or with two, if two figures have ap-
* 556 peared. He guards them jealously, though secretly, through-
575 out his life and uses them only on rare ceremonial occasions.
It is one of these masks which will be brought out if one of his
[769] family gives a dramatic representation of his return after death.
[428] A mask of this type is sometimes willed, but the legatee alters
the design before using it.

* 556 A short pause follows the singing of the second, or third,
song, during which some chief or chiefs may make a laudatory
575 speech concerning Y's family history. Then the singers again
[537] sing the first song, and *sisaok* members of the audience join in.
[533] Similarly, the second song is practised. These two are sung,
time after time, until the *sisaok* have thoroughly mastered
them. When the singers consider that this has been accom-
plished, they tell X, who communicates with the *sisaok* man
outside who has the whistle, and again its eerie notes are heard.
[781] Some of the uninitiated, believing that the supernatural being
who gives potency to the ritual is at hand, hurriedly leave in
fear. At the same time some of the *sisaok* conduct to the back-
room the second initiate whose songs are to be sung that night.
The procedure in his case is identical with that described for Y.
Usually it is considered sufficient to seclude two on one night,
though three may be attempted. When the songs of the last
have been sung, food is distributed and the people disperse.

A few nights later the same ritual is repeated for two more
initiates, who join their predecessors in the back-room. Here
they spend their time in idleness, the only essential being the

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Poor people, white guests, or others from whom no return can possibly be received, share equally in the distribution; the money goes to all to validate the transaction. On the other hand, X expects that the presents, if any, made to a few individuals after the general distribution, will be returned with interest. In selecting the recipients of these he has been animated, first, by the necessity of repaying old debts, and secondly by his desire to make good investments in the shape of presents to those likely to show their chiefly nature by returning with heavy interest. No request is ever made for such repayment, but as the transaction has been publicly announced, a man fears to fail to repay, since that would lower his prestige. No one may refuse a present, no matter how embarrassing it may be. 553 556* 575 [558]

After the gifts have been distributed the songs of the initiates are practised. Members of the *susaok* society join in with the singers; the other spectators listen attentively, full of interest, but take no part. X with his helpers then gives food to all, and they depart. [533]

Before the coming of the white man a potlatch was a rare event, and *susaok* members were initiated at local gatherings. The period of confinement was the same as that just described, but instead of merely practising the songs during the interval, the initiates appeared and danced to them. It will be convenient here to describe that ritual, emphasizing the fact that at a potlatch, when the initiates can be confirmed in the presence of foreign guests, this preliminary rite does not take place. 535 556* 575 177

After the distribution of goods the singers beat out[16] the tune of any one of the initiates, and all emerge in close succession from the back-room, each wearing a blanket, without distinctive design, a collar of dyed and pounded cedar-bark decorated with pendant weasel skins, and the distinctive *susaok* head-dress (see Plate 15).[1/2] This consists of a circlet of grizzly bear claws, surmounted in front by a small forehead mask; from the inner side of the circlet there rise a number of sea-lion 292 535 556* 575 237

[16]The present tense is used for uniformity.

1/2 [see cat. 116, facing p 218 - ANALYST]

242 whiskers over which is scattered eagle down. From the back
535 of the head-dress hang weasel skins. In Bella Bella it is said to
* 556 be customary for a skin to be added on every occasion when a
575 *susaok* is confined to the back-room. This may happen as many as fifteen times to the child of wealthy parents, and a few Bella Coola have adopted the practice of marking each with a skin.
[237] Usually, some six or nine are hung in two tiers, without consideration of the number of times the wearer has been in seclusion. The central figure of the forehead mask is a head with
[532] a hooked nose, the recurved hook being joined to the face itself. This figure does not vary with the wearer's ancestral myth, and no one knows what it represents. This design is
[177] said to have been introduced to Bella Coola from the north a few generations ago; before that time the head-dress consisted
[237] of a circular band of dyed cedar-bark, decorated with the tail
[824] feathers of one of the large woodpeckers. The Bella Coola call it simply, "forehead mask." Each initiate carries a hollow
[532] rattle, carved in the shape of a bird, which he holds in his right
[534] hand, belly uppermost. Long, long ago, when a dancer failed to do so, the rattle became alive and the bird flew away; hence, this rule has been obeyed ever since.

535 Each initiate takes up his station in some part of the house
* 556 behind the fire and dances to the beating of the sticks. The left hand of each is clasped behind his back and in his right he
575 holds the rattle and keeps it in constant motion by shaking his wrist. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a good dancer. Keeping the body stiff and the legs close together, he rises with slight jumps, barely altering his position on the floor. Sometimes he slowly turns around sunwise[17] in his series of jumps, at other times he does not alter his position. The head is bent from side to side and downwards at each jump, causing the eagle down to fly in all directions. *Susaok* assistants blow more of the material on to the head-dress at intervals (see Plate 16).[1/1]

[821] [17]The Bella Coola believe that the sun moves from east to south to west to
[796] north. Many ceremonial movements follow this direction, which will henceforth be described as sunwise.

1/1 [See cat 116, facing p 219 - ANALYST]

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turns, clad in his ceremonial costume, including a long cape with pockets. With him come the four or five young men who have just finished dancing. The singers beat time furiously with their sticks, and the *siki* whirls round and round, working himself into a frenzy with twists and gyrations. Gradually, he approaches one of the initiates, and pretends to pluck something from his body. As he opens his hands the spectators see that there is something in them, what exactly, they cannot distinguish. Only those who are *sisaok* understand that, whatever it is, it has been palmed from one of his cape pockets. He pretends to throw this object upwards, at the same time slipping it back into his cape. As the article is, theoretically, thrown aloft the sound of whistling is heard, which grows weaker and weaker till it finally ceases. Meanwhile the heralds discourse loudly with one another about how the "eagle" or whatever it is, has been extracted, and is now returning above. The same procedure is repeated for the other initiates. This concludes the night's ceremony. Food is distributed and the people disperse. 556* 575 789

The employment of a foreign *siki* to expel the power from the initiates is necessary since this particular prerogative is not native to Bella Coola. Formerly the expulsion was done in the back-room without any elaborate ceremony. This rite marks the admission of initiates into the *sisaok* society although they cannot yet leave the back-room. It must be understood, however, that a youth may be initiated several times, on each occasion receiving new songs and perhaps a different mask. In this way his prestige as a *sisaok* is increased, and the son of a powerful chief will often be initiated ten or more times. A mask so acquired is preserved in concealment as the personal property of the owner who may use it at potlatches on future occasions. It will be the guise in which a dead person returns to visit the living. After being used for this purpose, a mask may be burnt, or willed to a near relative of the deceased, who slightly alters the painting before using it himself. [424] [177] 556* 575 [422] [532] [428]

It is somewhat difficult to understand the attitude of those [781]

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There now remains only the necessity of removing from the house itself the supernatural power with which it is firmly believed to have been impregnated throughout the many weeks of the ceremony. Should this not be done, it would be so strong that only *sisaok* could thenceforth live in it, and no *kusiut* rite could be performed therein. One of the senior chiefs, acting on X's behalf, requests as many *siki* as are present to go to the back-room. At the same time a drum is beaten slowly. The *siki* call out loudly, in unison, *hoip* four times. The whistles sound from the back-room with ever-lessening intensity, as if the supernatural being, whose voice they are, were going away. It is said that this practice has been comparatively recently adopted from Rivers Inlet: there used to be nothing of the kind. The *siki* re-emerge, and one of them stands behind the fire with his stick which he beats on the floor and calls on the audience to shout with him, "*hi* . . . ." This is done four times. It serves to purify the house from the supernatural power with which it has been saturated. The people then disperse, without food.

556 * 575 783 789 [177]

Goods from the general store are reserved to pay these men for their services, and also for cleansing the initiates from the powers with which they have been imbued, a rite that takes place the following morning in the presence of several *siki* alone. The initiates are brought from the back-room and seated in a close circle between the door and the fire.[11] A foreign *siki* is chosen by X to perform the actual cleansing rite. He has been asked beforehand and has come provided with a long pole and some soiled clothing. It is immaterial whose this is, provided that it has been in contact with a human body; the most potent articles are catamenial cedar-bark pads.

[465] [778] [841]

The *siki* covers the young men with a large cedar-bark mat. Then he fastens the clothing or pads to his pole and holds the end in the fire until they are smouldering. Then he swings it four times over the heads of the initiates and throws the stick

[11]Behind the fire according to some informants.

*556 with the objects back on the fire. In some cases four sets of
575 cloths are used. This rite, which is regarded as very impor-
783 tant, frees the lads from the supernatural powers with which
789 they have been endowed, and permits them finally to leave the back-room and return to normal life, just as their earlier cleansing freed them from the *tutwinam*. During their period of seclusion no initiate can perform a *kusiut* ceremony of any kind. The supernatural beings of the two societies, though closely akin, are yet independent, and it would be unthinkable for a man to enter into contact with the two at the same time, unless he should be the owner of a rare prerogative enabling
[424] him to do so. Only a few men have the right, which un-
[177] doubtedly was derived either from the Bella Bella or the people of Rivers Inlet.

*556 X pays the functioning *siki* with new clothing. This com-
575 pletes the whole ceremony. The guests either return home or adjourn to some other house where a potlatch is taking place,
[465] but no rites mark their departure.

*556 Such, then, are the principal features of the Bella Coola
171 potlatch. Without making a careful comparison of its features with those of neighbouring tribes, the following points stand out with great clearness:

(1) The basic concepts of the potlatch in Bella Coola are the same as those of the rite practised elsewhere on the coast.

(2) A potlatch has not the same importance at Bella Coola as it has on other parts of the coast, especially among the Kwakiutl. All informants stated repeatedly that they did not
[186] carry their potlatches to the same lengths as did the "foolish" Kwakiutl, nor were they as keen financiers. A Bella Coola would never entirely impoverish himself by lavish giving.

(3) The potlatch, though fundamentally the same as it is elsewhere on the coast, has certain rites characteristic of the locality. The central Bella Coola feature, the return of a dead ancestor, is not equally important elsewhere. It would be interesting to be able to trace the history of this. The most

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probable conjecture, and it is impossible to make more than a conjecture, is that it is a concept which has developed among the Bella Coola in association with their specialized theology and has been incorporated into the potlatch complex. On the other hand, the return of the dead may be an old feature, decayed in other tribes through the ever-increasing economic aspects of the potlatch, which are of less import in Bella Coola. Whether or not *Mutlakila* is of Bella Coola origin is questionable; he may be merely an altered form of a supernatural being found among other coastal tribes. 556* 171

(4) The potlatch concept, that is, the necessity of distributing presents to validate every transaction, and to establish a man's status, is an old custom. The whole trend of Bella Coola thought supports this view, and it is to be expected from the prevalence of the same idea among other coastal tribes.

Unquestionably, the introduction of white men's tools has made it easier to give a potlatch. In the old days, as informants reiterated again and again, it was a matter of years to save up the essential skins and goods, so that a potlatch was a rare event. Now a man is able to work in a cannery for a single season and earn enough for an elaborate ceremony. Accordingly, most of the old names have been duly validated, whereas long ago some of them might have lain dormant for generations. The descendants of old, influential families smile ruefully: 552* 177

"Now everyone is a chief," they say.

It appears that the facility for giving potlatches has increased the feature of the destruction of goods, in fact that this is little more than an excrescence on the ancient ritual. Thus it may be said that the coming of the white man has facilitated the giving of potlatches, has somewhat changed their form, but has not altered their concept.

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211 in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at
*556 the front door of the house with an opening at its base through
778 which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be solid
532 and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice in
[184] either case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ancestral cloaks by means of paintings on the front wall of his house, or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, if such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief entitled to display a totem-pole may choose to use only paintings. If he validates these by presents, they give him the same dignity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cannot validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola poles are only about fifteen to twenty feet in height, and though
[171] it is possible that a few families had prerogatives entitling them to construct lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is unlikely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand before the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even none at
[764] all. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 461). Otherwise it remains standing until some other occupant of the house wishes to erect another in its place, when the first is pulled down and neglected.

Coppers

*556 The Bella Coola use coppers for only two purposes: casting
[769] on the ground upon which the representation of a deceased relative had trodden, or throwing into the fire when the figure has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make bone for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when a copper is employed is so important that to obtain one and increase its value is a vital consideration for every chief.

[177] Most of the coppers now used by the Bella Coola are made
[439]

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of metal obtained from the white man, if not actually machine-made for trading purposes. They resemble the familiar shape found in all parts of the British Columbia coast and vary in length from about six inches to as much as three feet. There is considerable difference in thickness; some of the newer ones are thin plates, others are heavy and appear to be old. The early white traders realized the value placed by the Indians on their coppers and these were soon imitated and became important articles of barter. The Bella Coola state that many of the early Hudson's Bay Company's coppers were made of drawn wire, but this type seems to have passed out of existence, since all the specimens seen in Bella Coola consisted of flat metal plaques. 556* 177 439

The Bella Coola maintain that their ancestors have, since the beginning of time, used two kinds of coppers. One variety, known as *lâlia*, resembled the plaques produced by white men. This is the term in common usage for all kinds of coppers at the present time. The other variety, *taitaimg*, is said to have been thicker and heavier and was made by heating the metal in a fire, beating it into the required shape. Long, long ago, coppers of this kind were sometimes found in the forest by hunters who were thus rewarded for observance of ceremonial chastity, but most were obtained in trade from the northern tribes. One of these is said to be preserved at Kimsquit, but none is said to have been owned by a Bella Coola within the last few years. 556* [325] [439]

The Bella Coola believe that *taitaimg* can only be manufactured in one district, far to the north, at the mouth of an unknown river. There, it is said, the chiefs range themselves along the river bank, each armed with a spear, and each with a number of slaves behind him. When the tide is highest, salmon of some peculiar kind appear at the surface of the water. If one comes within reach of a spearman, he lunges at it, but invariably misses; then the chief drops his spear, seizes one of his slaves and kills him by cutting his throat. A small piece of 556* 773

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* 556 773 flesh cut from the body is fastened to the point of the spear, making it so potent that when next the chief lunges at a salmon he transfixes it and brings it ashore. He warms the fish at a fire and then pounds it on a stone until it becomes a copper.

No Bella Coola has visited this distant river for many generations and the belief concerning the manufacture of *taitaimy* appears to have been handed down from dim antiquity. Coppers of this kind are said to have been considered much more valuable than the usual *łáłia*, but were always uncommon. In addition to their ordinary uses, they had a certain curative value. If the owner of one was ill, he used to clean it [755] with a rough stone and water; then he would drink four cupfuls of the liquid which contained minute fragments of metal. In almost every case a speedy recovery followed. In all other respects *łáłia* or *taitaimy* could be used indiscriminately.

Łáłia are likewise said to have a supernatural origin. When found in the forest, they are due to the supernatural salmon- [996] like being, *ʌsiatl*, having changed itself into one. None has been found in recent years because the *ʌsiatl* have moved away owing to their dislike of the smell of human footsteps and the taint of smoke.

These stories serve to emphasize the complete ignorance of [325] the Bella Coola concerning the methods of manufacturing coppers. It is possible that long ago they were able to make their own by pounding the native metal, but if so it is surprising that some traditions to this effect were not preserved. On the other hand, there is little reason to doubt their use of • [177] coppers, obtained from the northern tribes, antedating the coming of the whites. All informants agreed on this point, and the frequent references to coppers in mythology likewise point to considerable age. In many of the ancestral myths there are accounts of the obtaining of coppers by some of the [551] first people, and many ancestral names, both of men and women, are derived from them.

[237] The Bella Coola attribute the value of coppers to the fact

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435 immediately before, or during the early stages of a potlatch, in
*556 order to receive goods immediately, but with the proviso that
[492] it shall be returned to him for throwing into the fire. This
[426] method has the advantage of providing the chief with goods when required, and doubles the worth of the copper.

Coppers are not always rescued from the ashes and given to poor men. If one is still lying in the fire after several days,
[764] the donor of the potlatch removes it and fastens it to the memorial-post over the grave of his deceased relative. It may be left there, or another chief wanting a copper may buy it from the donor and increase its value in the usual manner. Only a small price is paid in such circumstances, since the copper, having served its purpose, is practically valueless.

● 1177 The Bella Coola state that in ancient times coppers were
435 worth less than at present, and that the change in sentiment
*556 regarding them is due to Kwakiutl influence. All agree that the value placed upon them at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay is greater than elsewhere on the coast. The Bella Coola believe that the Kwakiutl distribute presents in respect to their coppers and that their values mount to enormous sums when the gifts are returned. It is clear that the importance of coppers, like the potlatch and other elements of culture, has increased in recent years through the influence of the coastal tribes.

*556 It is almost impossible to define coppers in the nomenclature of economic theory. They are not mere articles of barter, since they have no practical use outside the ceremonies of chiefs. Nor are they standardized units of trade or cur-
[436] rency, since each differs not only from all other coppers, but
[211] also at different periods. In a sense they serve as tokens of
[532] what has been expended; representations of them may be carved and painted on totem-poles where they serve as marks of the goods which the chief has given away, but this is only
[426] a minor consideration. A copper can perhaps best be described as an investment which can be applied only to one purpose,
[435] "the making of bone for a deceased" person. It grows more valuable at every transmission in accordance with the goods ex-

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688 his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the
693 upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse
into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the
[177] coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without
hesitation.

THE PROFESSION OF UTTERING A DRONING CRY

424 At the appearance of masked figures representing super-
551 natural beings, whether in *tsaok* or *kusiut* dances, many of the
[575] women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry
[463] which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness
[431] of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral
[773] prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents.
Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women
were given by *Alquntám*, or acquired in other ways, the right
to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with
respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously de-
scribed, many of the first women possessed this privilege,
which is accordingly common at the present time. A name
[553] of this type is usually confirmed in girlhood, sometimes even
in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be
validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One
of these names is *Nuuqwelelslaipen-a*, which has reference to
[773] the blue-green sheen of some abalone-shell brought from the
east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the
ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many
[178] years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this
prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to
drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to
increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

424 There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incum-
767 bent to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of
463 time, *Smaoan* of Kimsquit married *Tlitkwaitl*, the daughter of
773 a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been
transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kims-
quit.

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THE PROFESSION OF CARPENTER

As with singers, there are many carpenters who ply their trade without the advantage of an ancestral prerogative. They, also, may be expert and receive credit for their skill, but they can never achieve quite the distinction that comes to a man who has been made a carpenter by the distribution of presents. The latter may be so clumsy with tools that no one would ever trust him to make a canoe, or even a mask; but he is, socially, a carpenter, whereas a skilled artisan lacking a prerogative is admired for his ability but has no foundation of social esteem. In transmitting a professional carpenter's name, however, an effort is always made to give it to a youth with a bent in that direction.

The most esteemed carpenters are those who can make canoes, a trade which requires no special prerogative. In the beginning of time, *Yulātimut* was the canoe-maker *par excellence;* he assisted many of the first people, and no one can have a professional prerogative as carpenter unless this supernatural being appears in his ancestral myth. The Bella Coola ascribe the skill of the Bella Bella in carpentry to the fact that *Yulātimut* married a Bella Bella woman in the early period of the world and that many of that tribe are his descendants. In the old days, before the coming of the white men, carpenters were always respected as esteemed members of the community. Chiefs always cared for them, and they received abundant food at every ceremonial. None the less, they were not wealthy, and only in recent years, since the Bella Coola have realized the value put upon good craftsmanship by the white men, has it become customary to give valuable presents to carpenters. Ceremonially, they have considerable influence, since the carpenter who makes a mask usually decides who shall wear it and takes charge of the fitting and adjustment. He is also held responsible for any accident such as its falling when in use or for mechanical defects.

224 THE PROFESSION OF HUNTER

424 Another profession which is entered by means of an ancestral prerogative is that of hunting. Many Bella Coola have validated their right to this vocation, some by confirming names created by their early ancestors, others by legalizing dues brought down from above in the beginning of time. One of the latter is *Lalaiwkila*, "The Brother Off," so called because the owner is such a successful hunter that he can sweep mountain goats from the mountains as easily as an ordinary person can brush insects from a wall. Unlike the professions of carpenter and singer, it is believed that legalization of a hunter's name always brings success to the holder, perhaps because everyone is more or less successful, it follows that whatever good fortune is achieved by a professional hunter can be attributed to the validation of his prerogative. Others, lacking this assistance, may be proficient, but their success never carries with it the social prestige gained by a man who has distributed goods to substantiate the prerogative.

224 There is a difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as 424 to whether or not certain hunting methods are inherentlie prerogatives. With the introduction of rifles, these have long been discontinued, and no definite information was obtained regarding the social position of their users. Several of the older men believed that the contrivances depended upon ancestral prerogatives, whereas others stated that they were merely individual discoveries which could have been, and in many cases were, imitated by anyone. It seems probable that most of the following practices are prerogatives, although it may be that they are no more than special hunting devices suitable only in certain areas and, therefore, limited to the members of the ancestral family owning that particular locality.

224 The method about which the most definite information was 424 obtained, was one formerly employed by a certain *Ts'aqalqiy* to catch goats at *Tal'ic*. According to one elderly Bella Coola,

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expenditure though he must forgo the prestige enjoyed by a 424
man who has been able to elevate his professional names in a 556
lavish manner. Selection is a constant factor in the social life 182
of a Bella Coola; the man who uses all his wealth to acquire a
first seat cannot be "strong" in *sunsi* matters; the man who
desires to specialize in *kwiat* affairs cannot afford to display
an elaborate totem-pole. Amid these conflicting desires, it
often happens that a man somewhat neglects his professional
prerogatives, especially those of which the dignity has been
slightly lessened through superior skill shown by individuals [535]
endowed with no more than native ability. Upstarts of this [177]
kind have always infringed upon professional dignity, and the
coming of the white man has added a new factor which has
almost destroyed ceremonial prerogatives.

A'alt Dances

The most important, as well as the most spectacular, dances 177
that occur at potlatches are those given by members of the 535
sunsi society. In addition to these, a feature of many pot- 575
latches is the performance of *a'alt* dances.[1] As already men-
tioned, from 1870 onwards there have been many changes
in *sunsi* ritual; new elements have been acquired by the mar- [184]
riages of Bella Coola to members of the coastal tribes, with the [196]
result that details of procedure vary at every ceremony ac-
cording to the prerogatives of the donor. Since 1900, the
influence of white civilization has increased to such an extent
that *sunsi* ceremonials have virtually been abandoned.
This took place at a time when the ritual was in transition,
a state of affairs which rendered difficult the collection of
coherent information. *A'alt* dances are associated with
sunsi, but the addition of new features to the latter was
accompanied by a decay of the former. Both societies have
now almost ceased to exist, but whereas the *sunsi* organization
was abandoned during a period of change and accretion, that [128]

[1] Called *cuipa* in Kwakiutl.

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177 of the *a'alt* came to an end when it was already waning in
535 importance. It was impossible to obtain as much detailed
575 information about the latter as was desired, and it is even
128 possible that some of the facts recorded in connection with *nuxut* ceremonial really belong to *a'alt* rites.

The right to perform an *a'alt* dance depends upon a duly
424 validated ancestral prerogative of which the obvious mark is
535 an *a'alt* name. Some of the first people brought down such
575 designations and dances with them from above in the beginning
[173] of time, a few were acquired on this earth as gifts from supernatural beings. Those who have rights of this kind form a loose organization which may be termed the *a'alt* society. This is closely associated both with the *nuxut* society and with chiefs, owing to the occurrence of these three types of names in the same ancestral myths. One member of an ancestral
[554] family may use his goods to validate his ancestral name, another to make himself a *nuxut*, a third to become an *a'alt*, and an important chief, endowed with ability and wealth, may be able to do all three.

A'alt dances are less spectacular than those of either the *nuxut* or *kwaxa'* societies, nor are rattles or whistles used. The prerogatives of a member are limited to his name, the right to perform a certain dance, and the use of a song which commonly describes some feature of his ancestral myth. Four types of dances are considered to be *a'alt*; the methods of acquiring and using any one of these are similar, so it is unnecessary to describe the differences before the actual account of the performance of each.

554 If there is a dormant *a'alt* prerogative in the ancestral
575 family of the donor of a potlatch, he usually chooses to validate this as one of the features of his ceremony. He first consults his wife and other relatives to ensure that sufficient goods will be forthcoming, and if this matter can be arranged satisfactorily, he chooses some young relative as the recipient of the dormant right. It would be most unusual for the youth selected to decline the honour. Or some man, other than the

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575 574 535 [533] [525] [526] [178] presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds. These conclude the chief features of the *a'alk* dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *nuaxé*, they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

A'alk origin myths

551 575 773 Theoretically, every Bella Coola *a'alk* should be able to record the myth in which his name is embodied, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both ancestral and *a'alk* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *a'alk* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *a'alk* can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kimsquit *nuxpual* for his name *Sneáiletc* which came to earth with *Smaxan* (I, p. 332) in the beginning of time. Another Kimsquit *a'alk*, *Tlaiyáłam*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sinupal* (I, p. 326), who assumed the designation of *Tlaiyáłam* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *Wi'ináiac*.

539 The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once,[1] long, long ago, *Ilpantlm* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *Sanaw-a*, and a mortal; so he

[115] [177] [1] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

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556 performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical
[182] concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch, are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly
[577] displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a
576 major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a
574 meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do otherwise would be considered rude. The person summoned must take at least a trifle to show that he is not churlish and too proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shares
[177] whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of the family should be the first to taste any wine[1] as proof that
[273] it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better
[342] than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse
[414] through the construction of individual family houses with doors and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suit-
476 able place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his
[226] catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon, the first solicitor is given one, later comers, none at all. When a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to raise it and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a
[685] despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy;
[626] hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried
[224] to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

556 Presents of this kind increase the prestigé of the donor who
431 has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

[1] This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of home-brew.

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539 aided by alder sticks which beat time of their own accord. From this sight *Kwatlnuslsa* became a shaman and used what he had seen when he was giving a dance of his own. His brother *Wāāksi* went downstream until he came to a large house at *Kākothn*[58] outside of which stood a huge bull-head. No one was in this house and *Wāāksi* took possession of it.

A FRAGMENTARY ORIGIN MYTH[59]

Long ago at the time the world was first populated there were no rivers apparent, for such were confined underground in a cavern-like prison called *Nusmātllixwaix*, the approach to which was barred by a huge boulder. Not only were the rivers shut up, but with them were their occupants, including the salmon. First Eagle tried to break this barrier, but without avail; then Raven succeeded. Since then the Bella Coola River has flowed in its present course. But the *Tcawat* River was still in bondage, to the disgust of the olachen who wished to travel up it to the home of the chief, *Qwamaxa'lis*. The Carpenter, *ulstlulāk*, took pity on them and by breaking the barrier permitted them to reach their destination.

Origin Myths of Other Tribes

177 538 [424] As has been repeatedly stated, the Bella Coola have obtained many prerogatives by marriages with the members of neighbouring tribes. Among these are, according to their belief, myths dealing with the peopling of distant localities. Ceremonially and sociologically, such traditions have the same importance as myths that describe Bella Coola as the final place of settlement of the first inhabitants. Accordingly, they can be given at this point.

177 538 174 114 In the previous section the original landing-places of some of the individuals described is said to have been outside the Bella Coola valley. Boas, discussing this fact (p. 122), suggests that such myths may reflect the movements of the ancestors of the Bella Coola from the parent Salish stock. Though this is a plausible hypothesis, it is also possible that

[58] This place could not be identified.
[59] Related by Lame Charlie.

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a foreign myth, obtained by marriage, might have been altered in the course of generations to the Bella Coola pattern, preserving as the only foreign element that of settlement at a distance at the beginning of time.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Owiki*[88]

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In the beginning of time *Ālquntām* decreed that four brothers should be sent down to this earth. The eldest, whose name was *Ālkālālis*, gazed down from a hole in *Nusmāt·a* and told his younger brothers to wait while he went ahead to reconnoitre. He took the form of a wolf and, as soon as he had reached the earth, went far to the east, where he obtained some abalone-shells. Then he returned to *Ālquntām*'s house, left his spoil with his brothers, and again went off alone to the west. This time he brought back some copper. After this he was ready to settle, so the four assumed the form of wolves and went down to Calvert Island, *Owiki*, as the Bella Bella call it. Here they assumed human form and their wolf cloaks floated back aloft.

Ālquntām did not give them food to carry with them, but he told them they would find sea-lions waiting to be killed on Sea-lion Island. Accordingly they hunted on that island, as their descendants, the people of *Owiki*, have done to this day.

Ālquntām had given *Ālkālālis* a box containing some of the cone-shaped whistles used in *sisaok* dances. The three elder brothers decided that they alone should perform the *sisaok* ceremonial and that, accordingly, the youngest should be kept in ignorance of the contents of the box, as uninitiated people are at the present time. He was a mere boy and his older brothers used to leave him at home when they went hunting, but they had given him the most explicit instructions not to open the carefully roped box, containing their treasures.

All went well for some time, but finally the boy yielded to temptation and opened the box. His brothers returned unexpectedly, and found him examining the whistles, with his head almost out of sight within. They decided to kill him at once. They crawled up, closed the cover on his head, and sat on the box until life was extinct. Then they laid the body on the ground before them as they sat behind the fire, and sent one of their number out to gather three small pliant sticks. When this was done they covered the corpse with eagle down and sat on the ground around it, raising and lowering the sticks as if they were throwing objects into the

[88]Related by Joshua Moody.

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air. As they did so the feathers began to move, gradually rising in the air until some passed through the roof. It was as if a miniature whirlwind of gentle power were agitating them. As the three continued to use the sticks, the corpse itself began to move, finally disintegrating into the down and passing through the roof. As it did so the three said:

"Go back whence we came. *Ye* · · · · · ·."

Since that time the people of *Owiki* have disposed of their dead in this manner.

The first *Ālkalālis* brought with him from above not only the right to a *ssaok* dance, but also a Cannibal *kusiut* dance (II, p. 71) with the Bella Bella name *Łeknus*. He had, moreover, the rare privilege of performing *kusiut* and *ssaok* rites on alternate nights.

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This myth is important since it embodies an account of the disappearance of a corpse through a roof, a method of removal of the dead now practised by the Bella Coola in the case of chiefs. This means is recognized by the Bella Coola to have been a recent introduction from either Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet to *Tāl·io*, and thence to Bella Coola. Judging from this account, it would appear that such a method of removal of a corpse must be considered as originally a prerogative embodied in a myth, although it has ceased to be regarded as such in Bella Coola. The man from whom this tradition was obtained said it was only one of the type current in Bella Coola, though such are common in Bella Bella. It was obtained by the marriage of one of his ancestors to a woman of *Owiki*, and was used as theme for a mourning-ceremony at the death of his sister.

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AN EARLY BELLA BELLA MYTH TRANSMITTED BY MARRIAGE TO BELLA COOLA[51]

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In the beginning of time, when the population of the earth consisted only of the few people who had come down from above, *Yulātimut* went to the Bella Bella town, *Qoqoyel*, where, as was common at that period, people had no houses but were sheltered under huge trees which *Ālquntām* had placed there for that purpose. *Yulātimut* was in the form of a man at the time and fell in love with a girl of the village. Her father, *Nā·tci*, agreed to the match and the two were married. The husband never slept with his wife; when he wished children, he willed that they

[51]Related by Joshua Moody.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bellabella NE5

BC 539*

to death. *'Oywolikdmut* was the most prosperous of the brothers; so much had his wealth increased that he was able to call the people from all parts of the coast to a potlatch.

BB 539

Ālqunūm had given *Ilākwakila* the honourable prerogative or duty of singing the mourning song whenever anyone died. When it was time for her to function she painted her face with a design representing a rough sea, and beat time on the floor with a stick, *łqomkskta*, on which were jingling copper bangles. The theme was how Raven had brought her help on all occasions.

BC [424] [533]

The right to sing this song has since been preserved as a prerogative in the ancestral family descended from these four brothers. No name accompanies it, but the right must be validated by the giving of presents.

Early Traditions Having the Ceremonial Significance of Origin Myths

BC 539*

The following are examples of myths which are used as authorization for potlatches even though they do not deal with the actual peopling of this earth. It will be noted that they describe the adventures of early settlers, and only with non-Bella Coola. All are claimed to have been obtained by intermarriage with the descendants of individuals mentioned in them.

BC [177]

AN EARLY *ułāmx* MYTH[71]

BB 539

Not long after the first people had come to this earth, Raven taught an *ułāmx* chief, *Qā·pxook* by name, how to catch black cod with hook and line. It was summer at the time, and *Qā·pxook* began to make preparations for fishing early the following year. He instructed his wife to take three female assistants with her to the woods to collect a large quantity of cedar-bark for making the line, which had to be at least three hundred yards in length, owing to the depth at which black cod are found in Labouchere Channel. The four women returned four days later with a large amount of the material, on which they worked all summer and the following winter. Meanwhile *Qā·pxook*, with three other men to help him, was busy manufacturing hooks of the usual British Columbia type. They were made from the knots of dead and fallen hemlocks; the interior was first cut out, bent into the desired shape, smeared with mountain

BC 539*

[71]Related by Jim Pollard.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bellabella NE5

BB 539 BC 539 BC BB [226] [825]

a person has been in contact with supernatural beings to enable him to enter.

Ailsamka told them everything, that her mother had failed to teach her how to cut up black cod, "so *Ḷomoqwa* sent blackfish to catch me so that I could be taught," she said. "You must be very careful to cut them up properly or trouble will come upon you."

The correct method, as taught by Raven, is to split the fish cleanly without severing the bones. *Ḷā·pxaok*'s daughter had erred by cutting the one which is equivalent in a fish to the human collar-bone. She told them of the fish that abounded in *Ḷomoqwa*'s house; of the red-fish, which disobeyed their mother by playing outside the house so that their stomachs were often forced out from their mouths[n] and they floated up to the surface; of *Ḷomoqwa* himself and his large hat; and of the other denizens of the underworld. The people listened attentively and ever after cut up black cod in the prescribed fashion, though if *Ailsamka* had not been carried off to *Ḷomoqwa*'s house Raven's teaching would undoubtedly have been forgotten.

Not long after his daughter's safe return *Ḷā·pxaok* gave a potlatch. He took for himself the name *Ḷomoqwa*, and at the same time reproduced in his own house as much as possible of what his daughter had described. Thus there were imitation fishes, especially the halibut, around the house, while the red-fish were shown as wooden models that could be drawn up to the roof by hidden strings representing the manner in which the fish float up to the surface of the ocean. *Ḷomoqwa*, himself, was shown wearing his large ball topped hat, of the type known as *biḳotl*.[n]

While *Ailsamka* was under the water *Ḷomoqwa* had shown her *sisaok* whistles, and at this potlatch they were used while the girl was concealed within the back-room as a *sisaok* initiate.

BC [77] [556]

This was the[n] origin of the *sisaok* ceremonial, which spread in time from the *sisdmy* people to the Bella Coola. The name *Ḷomoqwa* passed to one of *Ḷā·pxaok*'s descendants who, when he gave a potlatch, arranged

BC BB [424] [492] [532]

[n]The red-fish is an unidentified deep-sea fish which dies in shallow water through lack of pressure.

[n]This style was always worn by *Ḷomoqwa* and *Alqunitm* and, as many of the first people obtained their power from one or other of these beings, the prerogative of using such hats at potlatches is quite common. They are made of cedar roots, are waterproof, and are usually painted with one of the wearer's ancestral crests. When either *Ḷomoqwa* or *Alqunitm* is shown on a totem-pole he is displayed with one of these hats.

[n]It will be noted that the narrator tacitly assumes any origin recorded in his myth to be the sole, or authentic one.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bellabella NE5

BC 539*
BB [539]
BC [556] [177]

his house in imitation of *Ḷomoqwa*'s; since then any possessor of this ancient name has done likewise. From that time *Ḷomoqwa* has been a common Bella Bella *tutwinam*, and is always shown with his huge hat.

The narrator obtained this myth through the marriage of his mother's mother with an *ułāmx̣* man.

A MYTH OF SEA-LION ISLAND[78]

In the beginning of time the sea-lions came down to earth at an island outside Rivers Inlet where they bred and multiplied. The place is still known as Sea-Lion Island and hunters from all parts of the coast used to go there, as the animals were not only good food but easy to kill.

On one occasion a man had wandered apart from his companions and met a stranger who invited him home. He accepted and followed his host into a nearby house, though he had never known before that there was one in the vicinity. Once within, the door closed with a metallic crash and the rash explorer vanished from the sight of his companions, who thought that he must have been drowned. But he had really entered a sea-lion house. The animals were sitting around their fires exactly as human beings are accustomed to do; in fact, the only strange thing was that they were using human knee-caps as dishes. He listened to their conversation:

"Lend your dish to *Nɛqaqa*," he heard one of the animals say to a friend.

Nɛqaqa was an old woman who was sitting in one corner of the house.

"The dish will be too small to hold a meal," thought the mortal.

The sea-lions could understand his thoughts.

"Don't say that," said one of them. "*Nɛqaqa* has the power of making the food inexhaustible."

Presently one of the beasts gave the man a knee-cap dish containing a minute morsel of halibut soaked in oil.

"That won't be enough for me," he thought.

But again a sea-lion comprehended what was in his mind. It was true. The man ate and ate until he could eat no more, but the amount of food on his plate did not diminish.

He stayed with them for several months, but at last grew homesick and lonely. The sea-lions read his unvoiced desires.

"Your home is not far away," said one of them. "We will send you there whenever you like. You can travel on a wave; would you prefer one that will carry you at one sweep, at two, at three, or at four?"

The man thought of the jolt with which he would strike the beach if

[78]Related by Steamboat Annie.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bellabella NE5

Other people had come down to earth at the same time as *Kāsān·a*, and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of Gas Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, so entered, and laughed heartily to find her made of rotten wood. They kicked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they seated themselves in her place, worked diligently at the blanket and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and hid themselves.

BB 539 BC 539 *

Soon *Kāsān·a* entered. He embraced the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that she had burnt her head, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. At this the two girls who were hiding burst out laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to *Kāsān·a* that he choose one of them for his wife; he agreed, selected the elder and married her. He built a house on a hilltop where they lived and to which he called people from far and near when he gave a potlatch.

Sisaok Origin Myths

As already stated, many *sisaok* names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the *sisaok* origin myth is the same as the ancestral myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or takes it from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were obtained which deal solely with the acquisition of a *sisaok* prerogative. No doubt this is chiefly to be explained by the fact that most *sisaok* rites have been derived from the Bella Bella.

BC 773 551 575 [787] [556] [177]

THE ORIGIN OF THE *Sisaok* NAME, *Spuxpuxxā·mpdimut*[80]

About 1840, a party of *Xixais* Indians[81] spent the winter in Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg so

BC 539 * 609 424

[80]Related by Joshua Moody.

[81]It was impossible to identify this tribe. According to the Bella Coola they are akin to the Carriers, but have adopted the use of totem-poles, *kusiut* dances

BC [829]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

as easy as possible. Women seldom experience difficulty and 844
suffer, on the whole, less than do white mothers. It is believed [776]
that *Sxaiaxwax*, though invisible, is present on every occasion; the rendering of assistance at childbirth is his one kindly act.

The umbilical cord was formerly cut with a mussel shell, [177]
but for many years the use of a metal knife has been customary. The after-birth usually comes away easily, but if there is delay, [845]
hot ashes are placed around the feet and at the back of the woman to accelerate its expulsion. It is immediately buried or placed beneath a large tree in the forest; if burnt, the infant will always be weakly. While one of the assistants disposes of it, another washes the new-born child. The cloths and dishes used for this purpose are burnt; failure to do so is believed to [826]
cause the child to become blind through a white film forming over the eyeballs. Then the mother and midwives return to the house with the infant, who is a source of tremendous interest to the community. It is proper for the father to recompense the attendants at once, in accordance with their skill and his generosity. A woman who has had several children often assists the daughter of a friend, then, as she gains more experience, her reputation grows and her help is more commonly sought. At the time of this study, 1922, the sum of [465]
$2.50 was considered suitable recompense for a fairly proficient midwife.

A new-born child takes the breast readily and a mother 853
would be considered harsh indeed if she failed to suckle her infant whenever it cried, since scientific hours for feeding are not known. A child is wrapped in a shawl or a blanket and 854
carried by the mother wherever she goes; when in the house it sprawls contentedly on the floor, unhampered by clothing. When the umbilical cord falls, it is preserved by the mother. [846]
Soon after birth, the parents make provision for their child's welfare by magical means (I, p. 700). The heavy infantile death-rate of the Bella Coola cannot be attributed to lack of [165]
love or care on the part of parents, but the attention lavished is commonly not of the kind that assists a weakly child to survive the perils of infancy.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

585 covering" or "rope fastening" for her. Within a few days or weeks, they must invite their fellow-villagers to a ceremony of some kind. If it is winter this can be a *susack* dance, but in summer it must be a non-sacred affair. Y's father and other relatives attend, furnished with the usual gifts. When the ceremony is over and the time has come for the distribution of presents, a herald calls out that X has no seat. If he has already been established in one he calls out that it is not firm.[1] Y at once brings forward some of the goods provided by her relatives, and places these with the goods which X's family received at the wedding and are about to give away. The whole is then divided among the guests, together with presents provided by X for Y's relatives. The actual purpose of the rite may be to obtain names for some of X's young relatives or to establish seats for them: it is immaterial to Y's people to what end they are applied. Within recent years this [182] has sometimes taken place at a *kusiut* dance, but such overlapping between the two types of ceremonial is probably an innovation due to decay.

● 177 585 About 1910 an effort was made to introduce a marriage custom of the Kwakiutl. According to the Bella Coola, among them the wife gives to her husband's relatives one or more boards studded with teeth of the sea-otter. This makes teeth for the bride, so that if she ever quarrels with another woman she can draw back her lips and shame her rival by saying:

"What can you do? You have no teeth, while I have two sets," or as many boards as have been given at her marriage.

[563] The grandson of a Fort Rupert Kwakiutl, living in Bella Coola and considered a member of the tribe, owned one of these boards and used it at the marriage of his daughter in 1914. It was first given to the mother of the bridegroom, and repurchased with a copper; then given to the bridegroom, and redeemed; finally given, and again repurchased, from the father of the groom. The woman for whom this was done can

[1] The preferred time for this establishment is during a potlatch and the ritual connected with it has already been described (I, p. 167).

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

thus boast that she has three sets of teeth, but as the practice has not found favour in Bella Coola, it is little to her advantage.[4] 585 [177]

These complicated marriage rites are necessary to satisfy the pride of the two families in their origin myths, and the need to establish the resultant children in the paths of their ancestors. Among slaves or others who lack ancestral prerogatives, marriage is an affair of slight worth. Such persons simply live together with little ceremony, though they always try to give at least a feast so that there may be witnesses of the transaction. It is immaterial whether or not they marry their own relatives, since no ancestral prerogatives are to be transmitted. [556] [567] [581]

MARRIED LIFE

Y usually lives in the house of X's father, though economic circumstances may compel her husband to live in her home. If the parents are very wealthy, a house may be built for the young people, but usually their home is one of the bedrooms in the house of X's father; this patrilocal residence exposes Y not only to good advice from her mother-in-law, but often to caustic criticism. The married life of X and Y does not differ materially from that of other young couples in any part of the world, and is accordingly difficult to describe. Although love rarely enters into the original choice of a mate, a serviceable substitute is found in the mutual respect for each other's ancestry, and the knowledge of the importance of the rites performed with the aid of each other's elderly relatives. The young people realize that marriage affects the families of both, and accordingly accept it as a matter of course. The Bella Coola are fond of children. Their birth is a matter of sincere rejoicing, partly because it binds the two families more closely together, but parental affection is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics. The parents usually spoil their children; infants, especially, are never chastised and rarely 591 [556] 593 855 [861]

[4] The board used on this occasion was purchased for the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

to a guest was regarded as amusing. In recent years, however, 837
some husbands have made a practice of renting their wives to [48]
white men. This is not considered creditable, but the Bella 548
Coola do not strongly condemn breaches of the moral code, [183]
which are regarded as the affair of the husband alone. There is said to be a Bella Bella custom by which a wife takes as recognized paramour one of the friends of her husband who is thought not only to know of this but to receive the presents which the lover gives his wife. The two continue to be friends and often hunt together; in fact, their mutual interest in the woman is a bond between them. No trace of this practice [171]
could be found in Bella Coola.

POLYGAMY

It has thus far been assumed that the Bella Coola are 595
monogamous, an assumption correct only since the period of 556
white dominance. Previous to that time it was quite common [177]
for wealthy men to have three, four, or more wives. *Potlas*, the important chief so often mentioned, had nine, ten, or eleven, the exact number is not known. A man wishing to take a second wife could do so in the manner already described, although the period of engagement was usually much shorter, and working for his parents-in-law was not expected. The reason for this was obvious to the Bella Coola. None but a chief of importance could afford more than a single wife, and such an one could not be expected to demean himself by working for anyone else. Besides, parents were glad to have their daughters married to a great chief, so willingly omitted the customary period of servitude. Few attained the distinction of having several wives. As far as could be learnt, [162]
the number of the sexes seems always to have been about equal, in itself a check to polygyny in a community where practically every adult had a wife. A number of males were always slain in war, and it is to be assumed that polygyny was made possible only through the surplus of women thus caused. The great majority of men had a single wife, some chiefs had

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

ciety. These are given several times, serving to recall the 533
ceremonies in which the chief took part during his life. At 575
intervals, the new song is repeated and *nuuk* members of the 766
audience join in as they become familiar with the words. Fre-
quently one or more relatives of the deceased dance in his [535]
stead during the singing. The details of this rite, especially
of the songs used at it, differ considerably according to the
actions of the person during life; if a mighty chief, the donor
of many potlatches, this fact is described in the song, whereas
only an incident from the ancestral myth can be used for a
young *nuuk*. If some of his female relatives are professional [767]
wailers, they function during the ceremony. In all circum-
stances, the rite aims to comfort the grieving kinsmen, an end
which it usually achieves.

As already described, *nuuk* ceremonial was in a state of 575
transition at the time of the coming of the white man. Pre- 766
vious to that date, a spectacular funeral prerogative had been 177
adopted from Rivers Inlet,[4] which has since been claimed by a 424
number of *nuuk*. All the Bella Coola know of this ceremony,
and most of them desire to perform it at the death of a dearly [178]
loved relative; at the present time this is possible owing to the
slight regard paid to prerogatives, but it is certain that a few
years ago it would have been forbidden to most people, and
that it was never a universal Bella Coola rite.

When this rite is performed, the corpse is allowed to remain 575
in its coffin for at least one night after the day on which 766
Mutlakila came and the *nuuk* songs were sung. Meanwhile
the carpenters have prepared an imitation body, usually of 532
rags on a light framework, and a wooden representation of the
deceased's crest. Since this figure is to come through the roof
and carry aloft the corpse, stout hooks are attached to its feet.
In theory, the bird or animal disguise used by the first ancestor

[4] One old Bella Coola stated that this prerogative was obtained during his own lifetime from a Rivers Inlet chief who moved to *Tal'ia*. It is impossible to state accurately when this ritual was adopted by the Bella Coola, though it is unquestionably of recent origin.

1:36:Howatth E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEh Bellacoola NEh

thrown on it. One rather philosophic old man suggested that in this way the soul could easily return to *Nuxmit-a*. It is possible that this means of disposal was carried out in former times, but no informant had actually seen it practised. The Bella Coola state that cremation is carried out by the Kitlobe* and the Carriers. On the morning after a burning, young men of the former tribe rush to the spot and smear their faces with the semi-charred bones, amid much shouting. The Carriers are said to stand with their bodies inclined over the burning corpse and to smear on their faces any grease exuded from it. The accuracy of these statements is very doubtful, and can have no bearing on the reputed practice of cremation among the Bella Coola. 764 764 829

The bodies of rich or poor, chiefs, commoners, or slaves, all are buried in a similar manner though with differences in the complexity of ritual. Nor is any different method practised for criminals, murdered people, or those committing suicide. It is believed that in case of self-destruction the body cannot separate into its elements and reach *Nuxmit-a*; that part which becomes the ghost is able to go to the land below, but neither spirit nor life can ascend. According to one man, who may, however, have been affected by Christian influence, this is because *Alqantim* decrees the length of life and any willful shortening is insulting to him. Suicide is rare among the Bella Coola and four cases only were heard of. One woman killed herself in shame at having accidentally set fire to a village, another because her husband was unduly jealous, and two men through bladder stricture. 766 762 [775]

On the whole, Bella Coola methods for disposal of the dead have altered but little since the coming of the white man. The change from sub-aerial exposure to interment was probably not due to foreign influence although the introduction of metal shovels has facilitated the digging of graves and probably hastened the movement. A change in posture has, however, taken place. In former times, a corpse was always buried 777 764

*If not at present, at least within the memory of elderly people.

177 squatting, now it is customary to use the extended position.
964 It is impossible to state whether this is the direct result of white teaching, or whether the ease with which large boxes can now be made has led to interment at full length.

RITES FOLLOWING DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

968 Interment of the corpse does not end the ceremonial occasioned by a death in the community. As already described, some of the clothing and utensils of the dead person are burned during the funeral, but all are not destroyed at that time. The proportion kept for future treatment is immaterial, nor is there any established usage concerning the type of object reserved. During the days following the funeral, relatives of the deceased carefully gather his clothing, cooking utensils, rifles, and all other articles which have been his personal property or used exclusively by him. On the fourth day, these are taken to the cemetery by his immediate family, accompanied by as many of their friends as wish to show their sympathy. A fire is kindled near the grave and on it is deposited whatever can be burnt; other objects are either cast into the flames or piled near at hand (see Plate 17). It is most important that every article belonging to the deceased should be disposed of in this way. There are two reasons for this. First, it is considered indecent to use the possessions of a dead person; they would have the effect of poison on anyone doing so. Secondly, the ghost of the de-
[995] [75] ceased receives goods that are burnt or deposited on the grave four days after the funeral. If deprived of what belongs to him, a ghost punishes the offenders by causing sickness.
178 Occasionally a new rifle, or some other treasured possession,
968 is kept by a relative or friend; this is contrary to the established custom, but is justified by considering the article to be a gift from the deceased or a mementoof him. No one would accept such a legacy unless he felt sure that the dead man

entertained such kindly sentiments towards him that he would be glad to have his friend receive it. 768 [178] 768

In recent years the number of incombustible objects has increased enormously with the introduction of metal utensils, gramophones, and other things obtained from white traders. Although these are considered to be of use to the ghost, and must be carefully placed near the grave, they can be publicly exchanged for others by a relative. The sentiments expressed on such occasions are that the ghost, though aware of what is taking place, does not resent an open transfer; and that it is unnecessary to deposit the equivalent of what has been removed. There is undoubtedly a vague idea that the ghost uses, not the actual object, but its essence, which is received by the deposition. It must be emphasized that this feeling has not become crystallized to such a state that it is customary to replace goods buried in the grave with others. Such a change is a rare event and would cause animosity if carried out by anyone except a near relative. 177 775 [578]

Sometimes a dying person requests that a house be erected over his grave, a common Bella Bella custom. This is built immediately after the funeral and articles that cannot be burnt are placed within it instead of being piled on the ground. The sorrowing relatives may choose to erect a picket fence around the spot, but no other mark for the grave is put up until a memorial potlatch several years after death. House or fence soon falls into decay and rarely an effort is made to repair either. Nor is the grave itself disturbed. Cow-parsnips, which are much used for food, grow frequently in cemeteries, but no one would gather the shoots that rise above a grave; they are food belonging to the dead person. The white man has taught the Bella Coola how to plant apple-trees and these are often set out in graveyards, though the fruit is allowed to fall to the ground for the benefit of those interred beneath. The Bella Bella are said formerly to have replaced at intervals the coffin containing a dead person, but this seems never to have been a Bella Coola practice. Indeed, a grave is never 764 [763] [177] [262] [245] [177] 765

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

765 religious rites affecting the whole community. In spite of the prohibitions enforced, it is said that a widow or widower usually becomes fat after the death of a partner. This observation agrees with several instances known to the writer, but whether it is of universal application is doubtful, although the Bella Coola emphatically state that this is the case.

Memorial Rites

THE MEMORIAL POTLATCH

177 556 769 [622] The most important, as well as the most complicated, mourning rite is the memorial potlatch, *sêwanit*, for which so much wealth is required that it can be carried out by chiefs alone. This ceremony, being associated with *nusuk* rites, has altered enormously in form within recent years. Before the introduction of cone-shaped whistles and other foreign elements, it was almost indistinguishable from an ordinary potlatch and the two were occasionally combined, having as central feature the return of the deceased in the form of his crest. Among the tribes of the outer coast, especially the Bella Bella, the two types of ceremonial were apparently distinct, and as the Bella Coola adopted more and more of their neighbours' *nusuk* ritual, they followed their custom in this respect as well. It is said that a certain *Nuhkila*, uncle of a man about sixty years of age in 1922, was the last to combine both. The Bella Bella felt that he had thereby committed a ritual error for which he would be punished; within a few years he died, and the Bella Coola assumed that this was due to the unanimous expectation of his death on the part of the Bella Bella. From that time onwards, the Bella Coola were careful to separate features belonging to potlatches from those of memorial potlatches.

After a comparatively few years, the white man's domination had increased so enormously on the central coast that the potlatch, including both types, was prohibited by law. Owing to the consequent difficulty of performing complicated [648]

rites, the Bella Coola were again led to carry out at a single gathering features which properly belonged to several. To combine the memorial potlatch with the potlatch, being a return to an earlier custom, presented no serious difficulties and was consequently widely adopted. The Kimsquit people, moreover, seem never to have adopted the clear Bella Bella differentiation, and as the rapid decrease in population drew them in ever closer contact with the Bella Coola, their influence tended to lessen differences between the two ceremonials.

At the present time, a memorial potlatch is almost identical with an ordinary potlatch in practice. The same rites are often carried out at both, each varies considerably, and when the distinctive elements are omitted the two become indistinguishable. None the less, they are never confused in the minds of the participants. The house where a potlatch, *lim*, is taking place is called a *nutlamin*, that where a memorial potlatch, *ilwandi*, is occurring, a *nutlamindim*. In giving invitations and making comments, heralds are careful not to refer to the ritual under the wrong name; in fact, it may be said that the chief difference between the two is in the minds of the donor and his guests. Sociologically, both are considered to be on a par. Equal wealth is required, and each can be performed only by a chief, both on account of the expenditure involved and owing to the difficulties in procedure which are thought to be too great for a lesser man to surmount.

Difference in the donor's motives is usually sufficient to separate a memorial potlatch from an ordinary one. The latter is given by a chief desirous of increasing his prestige by lavish expenditure, for which one of the excuses is the validation of the appearance of a dead relative. Although this is the central feature, so many other rites are performed that it is sometimes obscured or may, indeed, be omitted entirely. On the other hand, a memorial potlatch occurs as soon as possible after the death of a father, mother, or other dearly loved kinsman, and it is clear to all that the donor's reasons for the rite are to commemorate the deceased, and to console himself and his immo-

(see Plate 23). So, too, wooden representations of coppers are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are commemorated in this way, a father often places over his daughter's grave pictures of the goods used to ransom her from her husband; wooden plaques representing coppers are commonly used for this purpose.[a] Such symbols are usually cut down after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for them to remain standing too long. The function of this type of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person as judged by the ritlam given away by him, or on his behalf, during his life-time. With the introduction of writing, the Bella Coola have been quick to recognize it as an easy means for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In consequence, signs are often painted and erected, giving in figures a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent introduction has been the cenotaph. One of these is often set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate his memory, and a representation of his crest to record his ceremonial history. Such a memorial combines the functions of the first and third types.

As the carpenters labour on the memorials, other arrangements for the ceremony proceed apace. As at a potlatch, the fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited especially to his house for the performance of some dances, but this formal is often omitted, especially if there are no neighbors to be invited. The meat to be worn by the deceased relative must be prepared in secret, or if several are to be commemorated at the single ceremony, one must be made ready for each. As the time drawn near, envoys are dispatched to invite foreign guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This has been customary for many years, but during the period when no features of the potlatch were allowed at a memorial potlatch, the latter was sometimes carried out in the presence of the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the

[a] The National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, has specimens of these wooden coppers.

only for a child, can be employed for a dead child. In this case, the dance describes the efforts of the parents to incorporate the deceased in the traditions of their ancestors, and the number of times he had been ceremonially married. The text of one used a few years ago is:

"We said, Hail! *Amalalis* (the child's own) was the hail when she was born. What more could we have done? Why did she leave us?"

The text may refer to the prerogative of employing mourners, as in the following:

"Come ye professional mourners, help me to give voice to my lamentations."

The tunes of mourning songs are usually remembered from year to year, and the singers may merely alter words to make an old song applicable. In some cases, such compositions are changed so slightly that they become virtually possessions of an ancestral family, and may then be preserved for generations until even the history of the tunes embodied is forgotten. Occasionally, ancient relationship between two such groups can be deduced from the occurrence of the same tunes in their mourning songs, although all traditions of intermarriage have been forgotten. There is considerable difference between the tunes of *chiefs* and *doctors*; in fact, this distinction may be more important than the dances, since the latter do not invariably conform to the types just described. A few tunes of ancestral history may be incorporated into a song dealing primarily with the actions of the deceased and his wives. Sometimes four of one type are used, sometimes two of each. Much thought is devoted to the compositions, the singers meeting every day to try over and improve one another's efforts. The tunes, long and complicated, require much practice, since any error would be an admission of gross inefficiency. These daily rehearsals take place in the dancer's house and he is required to provide food for the singers. It is not uncommon to use a song of Bella Bella origin, since the Bella Coola admit that members of their tribe excel in compositions of this type.

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Such an adoption occurs only when the deceased was the owner of a Bella Bella myth and the song in question had been used to mourn a real or fictitious relative. It is contrary to custom to use the tune or words of a song not composed for a member of the deceased's ancestral family.

The actual delivering of invitations by the envoys to the desired guests does not differ from the manner already described, except that they are asked "to come to visit the sick [donor]." The significance is, of course, that the mourner's condition is that of a patient. To indicate the reason of their visit, guests at a memorial potlatch always wear a little dyed cedar-bark around their heads.

On arrival, the first party of foreign guests is conducted to the donor's house, where they make themselves comfortable in the section allotted to them by the heralds. An elderly Bella Coola chief who is a famous orator has been asked by the donor to speak, and he rises to do so as soon as his fellow-villagers have entered and taken their places. No set phrases are used, but the speaker usually begins by reminding all present of the way in which their ancestors were created in Heaven, and how all must return thither. It is an occasion on which eloquence is essential, and the speaker delights in using as many archaic words and rhetorical expressions as possible, with constant reference to religious beliefs and ancient history as recorded in mythology. Then he speaks of the death which is the occasion of the ceremony. If the deceased were an old man, he is referred to by a special term not in common usage, *nadad-ás*, which implies wisdom and respect as well as extreme age. The orator states that he has fallen, using the term *ḡayás*, normally applied to the thunderous crash of some mighty tree. He speaks of a young chief as *xwĕlimdzi*, short-lived, a person who has been burned down by the supernatural Carpenters. He continues by describing the works of the deceased, the number of potlatches he gave and the manner in which his name was known to many tribes. Finally he tells of the donor's grief, and of how this "sickness" has been alle-

1:36:Dewalth E-9 (1922-1924) 1948
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departed. A few days later the same ritual was carried out again, with a similar lavish distribution of food. This was often done at intervals of two or three days for several weeks, depending on how much food the donor was prepared to use. The amount required was so great that the rite was considered, in some ways, more difficult than a potlatch.

As already mentioned, however, it became customary in the last century to incorporate features of the ordinary potlatch into one of a memorial nature. In such cases the first singing of the mourning songs with display of marks by the professional mourners is as just recorded, but there is no recalling of the guests merely to listen once more to the songs. Instead, the ritual differs but slightly from that of an ordinary potlatch as already described (I, p. 182). An occasion is found to conduct the guests to the memorial-posts erected, and to inform them of the significance of the designs depicted. This same practice has been continued since the introduction of newspapers, and the meaning of the writing upon them is interpreted. The story of the deceased in the form of his crest, and the subsequent use of a copper, is the same as already recorded. This is frequently followed by the singing of a *nuxsk* mourning song if one of the near relatives owns this prerogative of foreign origin. If so, he walks slowly around the fire in a wide circle, shaking his rattle, and singing, unaccompanied. Most, if not all of these songs, are in the Bella Bella language and the right to use one has in every case been obtained through intermarriage with a member of that tribe. At intervals, heralds call out:

"Listen to the chief's lament."[27]

When presents are distributed to validate the whole ceremony, mention is always made of the different features for which they are given. As at a potlatch, the most important is the nature of the dead, but at a memorial potlatch another material is the display of the memorial-posts. These have been carved, painted, and set up, but are worthless unless validated

[27] There is no reason why this should not take place at a potlatch, but no instance of its performance was noted.

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159 Meanwhile the rest of the population was sitting near the coffin. They wore no special dress or other mark of grief. Samuel King and some of his relatives had brought bundles containing Jessie's clothing, pots, pans, and other personal possessions, which they set down near the coffin. About two [533] o'clock the band gathered and began to play, the favourite [177] selection being "Annie Laurie." This went on for some time after the return of the chiefs from Captain Schooner's house. They had decided that *Tál-io* Jenny, one of Captain Schooner's distant relatives, should carry the fire in front of the body. When all was ready she lit a bundle of rags, placed it in a pot, and set off for the cemetery, followed by all in a straggling and orderless procession. Some strong young men bore the coffin, for Jessie must have weighed over two hundred pounds; some brought tools for digging the grave; others took the bundles of clothing. There was no fixed allotment of tasks; a man or woman carried anything or nothing according to his or her wish.

The cemetery is situated about fifty yards behind the old village of *Xemqo-ts*. The heavy timber has all been cut away and second growth has sprung up everywhere except around the newer graves. Captain Schooner had decided that his daughter should be buried near several of her relatives, and it was to this spot that Jenny led the procession. She set the pot down near the site of the grave, and the coffin likewise was placed on the ground nearby. Captain Schooner, Jim Pollard, and a few of the other old men chose the exact situation and a number of the young men began to dig. Jenny, and other women, added pieces of Jessie's clothing to the fire so that a constant small blaze was kept up. As the grave was being dug [533] the band performed at intervals, while the women sat wailing near the fire. Other men and women were seated on the ground or walking around idly near the grave, talking but seldom laughing, while the Carriers were a little farther away. [852] Children were playing around. The grave was dug about five feet deep, in shape corresponding to the coffin, but orientation

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day after the funeral, the relatives of the dead person burn the 775
remainder of his property, which passes through the earth to
the ghost for whom it is intended. Ghost-singers have taken [768]
their places and begin to beat out music, and presently the
recently deceased appears, stepping backwards from the back-
room in time to the beating of sticks. He is at once surrounded
by his fellows, each anxious to learn the latest news of relatives
still alive. This dance is really to welcome the new arrival,
and takes place irrespective of his rank. After it has been
held, it is hopeless to attempt to rescue a dead person, although
that has been done several times during the four days imme-
diately succeeding death.

Only shamans are able to peer down into the land of the [756]
dead, though stories are told of inadvertent visits to it in
relatively recent times. Human beings are prevented from
visiting their dead relatives, but the latter, being supernatural,
can come to the earth at will. They are always dreaded, and
anyone who hears their whistling or their tongueless chatter
cowers in his house, and hopes they will pass by. Shamans [756]
can understand their speech and to them the dead explain their
mission. If the relations of a dead person have failed to burn [768]
all his personal possessions, he returns to earth to inform them,
through a shaman, of the omission. The house is scoured for
anything left and it is burnt at once near the grave, though no
one knows how a ghost would punish failure to give him his
property. Thoughtful people, remembering the scarcity of [264]
food in the land below, frequently give presents to their dead
relatives by casting small morsels of food on the side of the [772]
central fire nearest the front door, beneath which is a passage
to the lower regions. The food becomes magnified as it falls
down this, so that even small fragments are sufficient to feed
many hungry ghosts. Since the introduction of metal stoves,
it has become customary to throw food into a fire kindled for [177]
the purpose in the cemetery; the most suitable time is at dusk,
although people are always afraid that spectres may be prowl-
ing around at that hour. If sufficient presents are not given [756]

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539 775 hurry back. After as short a visit as they thought polite, they asked to be ferried back across the river and retraced their steps to the cave where they had slept the previous night. It was dusk by this time and they lay down to sleep. During the night the cave rotated on itself once more, and in the morning they were delighted to find themselves in the mountains above the Dean River.

This was the first time that anyone had penetrated to the land of ghosts, and the friends of the four brothers were intensely interested in the account of their experiences. It was October at the time, but they explained that it was late winter in the land below. No one knows why or how the four brothers had received the power to pass into the land of ghosts, although it is assumed that *Sqwastw* must have granted them the boon.

A Kitlobe Story of a Descent to the Land of Ghosts

● 179 539 775 The following story was related by an elderly man who had heard it about ten years previously from three Christian Kitlobe who had been his fellow-passengers on a steamship between Vancouver and Bella Coola. It is not a Bella Coola story, although it has been circulated among members of the tribe as an interesting tale. The facts recorded in it do not agree entirely with their beliefs, but that is a matter of no [829] consequence to the Bella Coola who, having their own knowledge, consider it quite natural that the other tribes should have other concepts.

539 775 About one year before the story was told, a Kitlobe woman had died, leaving her husband and one grown-up daughter to mourn her. The husband refused to be comforted, and used to fall into a paroxysm of weeping whenever he saw any of his wife's clothing or goods. About a week after her funeral he took her clothing to the cemetery intending to burn it, but instead sat down on the ground to weep. Presently he noticed a passage beside him, down which he crawled until he came to a flat, rich land more prosperous than this world, where he wandered along aimlessly till he heard the sound of singing and hid himself behind a clump of bushes. There seemed to be five or six groups of people in different sections of the country, and the song was taken up in succession by each group. When he had remained in his hiding-place for some time, two people in new, white clothes passed so close to him that he could hear the rustling of their garments. He recognized one of the

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534 975 human beings, knock crumbs to the ground with minute hooks, and punish by beating with the same barbs anyone who offends them by picking up such morsels. The girl heard her father say that in future he would be more careful to throw fragments of food on the fire, since he now knew that these were not only desired by the dead, but were necessary to them. Her mother must have asked whether they had eaten all the dried salmon, for her father answered:

"No. We have been so grief-stricken at your death that we have eaten hardly anything."

After a pause the girl heard her father say "All right," and judged that her mother had said she would go to get some. In a moment the door opened, though no one appeared, and the thoroughly awed girl heard the sound of light footsteps. She saw the ropes with which the box was bound unloosened without visible agent, and the salmon piled in a neat heap on the floor, then the bundle seemed to rise of its own accord and pass out through the front-door without human aid. After an interval the father appeared and asked his daughter where her mother had gone. The frightened girl told what she had seen, and both were amazed and puzzled. At last it dawned on the grieving husband that his wife must have stolen the food for the benefit of her friends below and had returned to her new home.

The husband, now twice bereaved, was filled with woe at this second loss, which was unexpected as his wife had said nothing of her intention of leaving. After deliberating for several days, he descended again to the land of ghosts, heedless of his daughter's appeals. He concealed himself in the same spot as before, and soon heard singing; but this time the words and tune were different and he listened intently. To his horror, the theme was of the ingenuity of a dead woman who had revisited her home, deceived her husband, and brought away a supply of dried salmon for the use of the ghosts. He recognized that the song must refer to his own wife and, grieved and humiliated, he returned home forthwith. He warned his daughter to say nothing of what had occurred and she obeyed his instructions, not wishing their shame to become known. A few days later, however, a number of friends gathered to console the husband; he became intoxicated, told the guests his adventure, and taught them the songs used by the dead.

A Carrier Story of an Ascent to the Land of the Dead

177 534 The following, like the last, is not a Bella Coola story. It is one known to a number of Kitsaquit and deserves inclusion

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among Bella Coola tales if only for the reason that stories of foreign origin, when told sufficiently often, tend to be considered indigenous and the facts recorded in them accepted and incorporated into Bella Coola belief. This factor is undoubtedly responsible for many conflicting elements in their theology. The following story has every indication of Christian influence but is not less interesting on that account, as illustrating the process of assimilating new ideas into mythology.

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About 1870, *Mimaiye*,* a Tsimsi Indian from Ootsa Lake, and his brother were trapping beaver in one of the lakes of the interior. They were both good hunters and every morning killed at least one of the animals. *Mimaiye* was a strong, apparently healthy man, but one morning he fell dead. His grief-stricken brother was puzzled to know what to do with the body. It was winter, and the heavy snow and frozen earth made interment impossible, while lack of fire-wood made cremation out of the question, so he merely tied up the corpse to await better weather. Meanwhile *Mimaiye* had gone aloft, where he saw a huge house containing many rooms. He went to the door of one, where a man was sitting with a huge book before him.

"What do you want?" asked the man.

Mimaiye did not answer and his questioner continued:

"Your name is not here. Why did you come?"

This happened in one room after another, for *Mimaiye* tried them all. Finally, at the end of the house, he came to the seat of the chief, who said to him:

"You have made a mistake. The time for you has not yet come. If you want to stay, you can do so by drinking this."

He showed *Mimaiye* a glass containing a green liquid.

"If not," continued the chief, "you must drink this," and he showed him another glass filled with a white liquid.

Throughout this speech *Mimaiye* had heard a strange rumbling and wondered what could be its cause. Happening to glance out through a window at the rear of the house, he saw a huge, metal ball constantly revolving and giving forth the rumbling sound as it did so. From within

*This story was related by Jim Pollard, an elderly Kwakiutl, who stated that as a young man he had known *Mimaiye*, who was about fifty years older than he. This tale is interesting as showing the manner in which a misinformation can become accepted as fact within a short space of time. *Mimaiye* must have been a man of imaginative temperament who was overtaxed after his inexperienced companions told to him by some white men.

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came wailing voices and at intervals an agonized face appeared at one of the many small openings in the surface of the sphere. The supreme being, for the chief was none other, told him that those within the ball were evil persons, those who had committed theft or murder during life. *Mämaiyu*, though innocent of these crimes, decided that he would be safer on earth and asked for the glass with the white liquid, which he hastily drained. The supreme deity inquired what present he would like as token of the visit, and he requested a beaver-axe, that is, one with a crooked handle such as beaver use.[a]

At the moment when *Mämaiyu* drank the white liquid, his brother saw his body move very slightly. He hastily warmed some mountain goat grease and with this rubbed his face and mouth. At first he was unable to speak, owing to his muscles having become rigid from the cold, but they loosened gradually so that he was able to recount his experiences. *Mämaiyu*'s axe, being of supernatural origin, was invisible to all human beings, but this did not affect its potency, and from that time onwards the owner could catch beaver as easily as other men could catch salmon.

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The information contained in this story does not correspond at all with Bella Coola beliefs concerning the fate of the dead. They tell it, and assume that such experiences are normal for dead *Xuxais*, though unknown to their own people.

[825]

[a]The Bella Coola know that beaver must have axes of this kind to accomplish their work, although white people, deceived by the invisibility of these, believe the animals use their teeth. *Mämaiyu* received an axe of this type.

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The explanation of these manifestations of the supernormal, 787*
for such they are considered to be, lies in the conviction that 811
every activity of the mind is due to supernatural causation, [828]
the functioning of the spirit. In the round of daily life there [774]
are always good and bad incidents; the person who wakes
expecting to meet one or other before nightfall recognizes the
fulfilment of his premonition in some small occurrence, and
narrates it to his fellows as proof of what he had told them in
the morning. In case of some major event, such as death or
disaster, the Bella Coola assume that some previous indication
must have been given. Looking back after the event, a man
easily persuades himself that he "felt" a warning, and is more
than ever convinced that his spirit, the cause of his thoughts, [774]
has supernatural ability.

Conviction in the near presence of the supernatural has had 177 ●
somewhat surprising results with regard to Christian Bella 787*
Coola. A man converted in middle life carries all the fervour
and realism of the old religion with him to the new, and feels 781
thoroughly familiar with the atmosphere of the Old Testament. 797
Visitations, such as therein described, are similar to those
experienced by his fathers and himself, and he scorns the white
man who questions their literal accuracy. He continues to
hear the voices of supernatural beings, and to interpret mental [828]
pictures as visions, but he ascribes them to the beings of the
white man's religion. The following is a rather striking illustration of this point:

A number of years ago a devout Christian, who may be 159
designated X, was a patient in the hospital at Bella Bella. In 177
the same ward was a young Bella Bella lad whose sickness
refused to yield to treatment. X, becoming interested in his 787*
neighbour, began to ponder about his condition, until presently 781
he felt convinced that the sufferer would be better by seven 797
o'clock the following morning, and told him so. A marked
improvement was noticeable by the time predicted, but the
white doctor foolishly (according to X) gave his patient some

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177 more medicine and he became worse. The same thing happened
* 787 on the following day. The sick boy grew steadily worse until,
781 nine days later, he felt that he was dying and asked X to help
797 him.

"No," replied X, "I am no doctor. But you will be all right. I see Holy Ghost, Holy Spirit, Baptism, and Believe-it [Faith?] by your bed. Repent and you will be saved."

X added that the Bella Bella saw and repented before his death so that he has undoubtedly been saved.

X is a friend of the writer's and a man with whom he worked for a number of months and whom he feels that he knows intimately. He is almost invariably truthful, and any falsehoods he uses are clumsy and easily detected. In this case there is no doubt but that he believes he saw these four figures as four white human beings. He was in an emotional condition at the time, hoping and expecting to see something of the kind. In earlier days he would have seen supernatural beings of the Bella Coola pantheon with equal conviction. On quite another occasion, when he was preaching, the same man felt what seemed to be a heavy drop of water fall on his head. He was in the open at the time and, looking up, was surprised to find nothing from which it could have fallen. He realized that it must have been power which had come to him, and forthwith he began to preach as he had never preached before. He expected supernatural assistance, and the belief that it had been granted to him undoubtedly strengthened his efforts.

* 787 All Bella Coola are not equally liable to visions and mental
781 visitations. Some, such as X, are constantly experiencing
159 them, whereas others of more stolid disposition do not feel the presence of the supernatural to the same extent. None the less, beings of the other world are constantly around them and, before the introduction of Christianity, it is unlikely that any individual passed through life without coming in contact with some manifestation of the supernatural. Consequently, stories
* 787 descriptive of this are intelligible to the Bella Coola, bizarre

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though they may be to the white man. It is hoped that the preceding illustrations, drawn from recent times, will explain the mental attitude of the Bella Coola better than incidents from folk-lore of the distant past. 787

Disregarding thoughts which, since they are caused by the spiritual elements of the human body, are ever present, relations with the supernatural may be divided into the following categories: [825] [774]

(1) Appearance of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. Strictly speaking, every fleeting sight of a supernatural being belongs to this category, but it will be convenient to describe only experiences of a peculiar kind, such as the Bella Coola call *qun ahálewudjulaic*. Usually manifestations of the supernatural have certain effects; consequently, there are relatively few incidents of this kind recorded.

(2) Supernatural aid vouchsafed to a man or a woman in distress. There are many tales illustrating this, which are told and retold to the children. In most cases the assistance is given to one who has undeservedly, according to Bella Coola concepts, fallen into misfortune.

(3) Supernatural good luck. This may be obtained by anyone, and consists of the acquisition of a supernatural object to attract, not only fish and animals, as if it were a potent bait, but money and goods as well. [777] [224] [222]

(4) Acquisition of shamanistic power, with or without the ability to cure the sick. This may be received from one of two sources: [756]

(a) *Thindpilite a* or some other supernatural being.

(b) Ghosts, which are likewise supernatural. [775]

(5) Obtaining prophetic powers direct from the supreme god. There are few instances of this, and none that is ascribed to a remote period. It is possible that all examples of this kind can be attributed to indirect Christian influence. [777]

(6) Obtaining power from a supernatural being localized in a particular spot. This usually takes the form of succour when [756]

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receive such pretty objects, restores the sick, though she does not herself come to do so. 755 756

The shaman now sends a young man out to fill his curing basin. When this is done, he carries it around the fire, once, sunwise, and sets it down beside the patient. The practitioner drinks from it, and casts some eagle down on the surface. If it revolves sunwise, it signifies that the patient will soon recover, and the shaman proceeds to wash him with the water; if it remains stationary or revolves in the opposite direction, it is an unfavourable sign, and he throws the water out of the door. More is then brought, and the procedure repeated until it revolves sunwise. Although no Bella Coola can state definitely how this is performed, the consensus of opinion is that it is done by twisting the box slightly. [762] 755 756 789

Shamans are not the only ones who make offerings to *Tsimsyáliks*. It is generally known that she likes to receive things, so a sick person often throws on the fire a little grease, some of his own clothing, or other objects of small value. By so doing he hopes that she may appear, or that the sickness will vanish as the object is consumed in the flames. A person in good health sometimes makes like offerings, either on the central house fire or on one built behind the house, at the same time asking *Tsimsyáliks* to help guard him. 755 782 751 782

(v) In recent years some shamans have been in the habit of displaying the sickness in visible form; this is said to have been a practice adopted from the Bella Bella. After throwing himself on top of the patient the shaman sucks violently, and produces such an object as a toad, a snail, or a stick of wood, which he claims to have been the cause of the malady. This has, of course, been concealed throughout in his mouth. This belief is fostered by the undoubted skill of some shamans in conveying such foreign substances as a salmon bone, wedged in a patient's throat, or a sliver. In such cases he first works with his fingers to force the object near the surface. It is believed that some shamans are so powerful they can draw forth foreign substances by the mere application of their stick 755 756 [771]

755 to the part affected. In such a case the object, a toad for
* 756 example, becomes visible at the end of the staff. Conjuring is employed to do this, and often a tuft of dyed cedar-bark is used, which makes the deception still easier. Shamans are very expert in such matters. It is said that when two rival shamans once disputed about their prowess, one of them cast his stick on the ground and it became a snake, whereupon the other did likewise; and his became a toad which hopped after
• [177] the snake. The Bella Coola find biblical parallels for such revelations of power in the transformation of Aaron's rod, and the appearance of fire on Mount Carmel.

Shamanistic Ceremonies

554 In addition to his professional abilities, a shaman has also
* 756 certain social prerogatives. As has been mentioned, many
787 shamans lack the power to cure, but they may have seen some feat during a dream, or during a visitation from *Tlitsáplidè·a*. It enhances a man's social prestige if he can graphically display whatever he has observed. It follows that the rites about to be described are often, perhaps usually, performed by a person unable to cure the sick, but it must be remembered that to the Bella Coola there is no social difference between a shaman who can cure with the aid of a basin, and one who lacks this power. Each has merely received a different gift from his supernatural benefactor. There seems little doubt that a man of imagina-
* 756 tive temperament frequently invents a feat of this type, or
787 rather that he ponders over one until he either dreams of it, or imagines himself to have done so. Certainly, after he has performed such a rite, he deludes himself into believing that he has had supernatural authorization for it. Conjuring feats performed long ago by shamans, feats practised by the members of other tribes, personal inventions, either actually or theoretically dreamed of, all these are among the sources from which shamanistic dances are derived. It follows that almost
* 756 anyone who has the necessary skill is able to perform, provided
556 that he has sufficient food to validate the ceremony. Thus this

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Direct Revelations from the Supreme God

As has been noted, a shaman receives his power from one or other supernatural being, not from the supreme god, *Ayantsin*, himself. Yet instances are known to the Bella Coola of such benefactions, and to a visionary so endowed the term *sxdzow* is applied. In every case a revelation of this type is considered to have taken place comparatively recently. In view of the manner in which biblical tales, introduced by Europeans, have spread from tribe to tribe in distorted form, it is not improbable that all such examples of the direct appearance of the supreme being can be traced to this source. Having heard from the white men of cases where the deity has appeared to men, the Indians would be only too ready and willing to accept and transmit such a tale, since it belongs to their general culture pattern. In the example here given, the instructions about dissemination of the knowledge imparted in the vision, as well as the claimed foreknowledge of European houses, strongly suggests a post-white man origin. Further, once the concept of the possible appearance of the supreme god is accepted—and no Bella Coola would question the accuracy of accounts heard from others—it would be a simple matter to attribute the powers of very strong shamans to this source. Accordingly, several typical shaman stories have been included in this section because it is claimed that the principal characters in each was a *sxdzow*; it is highly probable, however, that if such a tale could have been collected when the whites first reached British Columbia, he would have appeared as nothing more than a shaman.

a *Sxdzow*

A man whose home was on the lower Fraser was once cooking fish with hot stones in a box. To do this properly he needed four sets of heaters; when the food was nearly ready and he was dropping one of the fourth collection of stones into the box, the tongs, weakened by much hard usage, broke. The stone fell into the boiling water with a splash, severely burning the man, who, as it was salmon time, was no clothing.

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Even in his pain he thought of the way in which human beings are less protected than beasts and this idea troubled him so much that he fainted. *Ayantlem* saw that the man was distressed and while he was still unconscious appeared to him, saying:

"I see you are worried about your lack of clothing. I have a message for you. Strange people, somewhat resembling yourselves, are approaching from the far east. They will help you out of your plight. You will find them cooking without the cumbersome boiling box; their houses will be warm and they will even have smooth coverings to their floors; there will be special places for sleeping and wonderful cooking-pots. Though all be warm in these houses, yet the fire will be invisible."

As a result of the vision the man became a recluse. In the autumn he moved toward the coast and built for himself a house of special type with a raised sleeping platform in it, reached by a ladder.

Ayantlem had told him to transmit his message to other tribes, and for this purpose he travelled to the sites of Swanlk, Comox, and Nanaimo, telling what he had heard in his vision. He further said that the newcomers would wear clothing, leaving only hands, feet, and face exposed. This, too, he had learnt from the vision, also that the strangers would arrive during the generation of his hearers.

He fellow villagers used to eat large quantities of clams, which could be gathered only at the time of full-moon or new-moon, when the receding tide exposed a great expanse of clam-bed. The people decided to test his power by asking him if he could not gather the shell-fish at a time when the tide was medium and the beds covered. The visionary was on his platform in the upper part of his house, but without raising his head, he said:

"Yes, get ready; I will join you immediately."

He descended, passed through the doubting crowd which made way for him, and went to the ocean, with eyes tightly closed. Arrived at the water, he lowered his hand to feel it, then carefully put his foot under the surface, as if it were a rock. He advanced with short steps, going through the motions of one who rolls something back with his feet, and as he did so the water piled up as if it had been a rock, exposing the clam-bed. When he felt sands under his feet he knew that the outer edge of the bed was reached and accordingly stopped, turned his back to the sea, which was now high as a wall, and held it back, without becoming wet. He called to his villagers who came and gathered the clams, though some looked doubtfully at the wall of water before them. When all who wished had done so, he ordered them to leave and returned towards the shore himself, the water following him, became normal and recovered its former area.

197 The details of this incident are sufficiently circumstantial to presuppose a distorted historical event. Moreover, many of the old people had heard of the incident, another indication of the accuracy of the tradition. As far as could be judged, news of the vision must have reached Bella Coola about the year 1800.* It is said that the *sxlyem* sang the following song in a language unknown to any of his hearers: *Ayaimaxa ayaimaxa sisilx sexamaxa gaxiyu.*** None of the older men appear to have any idea of the meaning of these words, or even of the language to which they belong.

No event has had such profound effect on the lives of the Indians of British Columbia as the coming of the white man. It would be surprising if, looking backwards, they did not feel that it had been foretold by prophets. The preceding story is the only Bella Coola example of such a belief, although tales of a similar kind are found widely throughout the province. In addition, there are a few traditions of prophecies fulfilled by the white man. One of these is that long, long ago, a *shaman* stated that in the future the dead would return with the ability to make fire by rubbing the end of a small twig along a rough surface, and that, soon after, all the Indians would die. The Bella Coola consider that matches are referred to in the first part of the statement, and read their own doom

[194] *The approximate date was determined in the following manner. The most complete account of the event was obtained from a man fifty-six years old in 1924 who had heard the details from his mother. He was the youngest of a large family, so it is probable that his mother was about forty-five years of age when he was born. When a child of about ten, she had been told of the vision by a woman just passed the age of child-bearing, who had recently reached adolescence when news of the event reached Bella Coola. The figures can be arranged in tabular form.

Duration of the informant's life	56 years.
Interval between his birth and the time his mother heard the news	35 years.
Interval between transmission of the news to the informant's mother and its receipt in Bella Coola	35 years.
Total	126 years.

Allowing for exaggerations, this would make the correct date about 1800.

[196] **A phonograph record was made of this song for the National Museum of Canada. Recorded as song 910 D 10b, singer, Jim Pelkmit.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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in the second, as indicated by their diminished population. It is also said that about 1850, when a party of Bella Coola had camped for the night near Ocean Falls, one of the sleepers wakened his comrades by calling on them to look at the brilliant lights. No one then understood what he meant, but the meaning has become clear since the installation of electric lights in the town. 177 756* 787*

In addition to the preceding, a number of stories of the regular shaman type were collected, in which, however, the principal figure is said to have been a *snâsem*. They are included in this section for the reasons already mentioned. 539 756* 787*

A POTENTIAL *Snasem*

The mother of an elderly Bella Coola used to receive direct communications from *Alquntâm* which gave her the necessary qualifications for a *snâsem*, though she did not wish to exercise her power. She was able to see over the whole earth, and to talk to sun, moon, and stars in a language which the other Bella Coola did not understand. She built a small house for herself in the woods where she usually slept alone; sometimes her husband joined her, but he was always afraid of the gigantic toads and other monsters that were her companions.

THE WOMAN WHO COULD CALL THUNDER

About one hundred years ago there was living in a village at the mouth of the Dean River, a man, *ursinmûlis*, and his wife, *Snaqûsis*. He was a famous hunter who frequently observed ceremonial chastity and his wife claimed to be a shaman, but the inhabitants of the villages on both the Dean and Kimsquit rivers doubted this, as did also those living in the lower Bella Coola valley. *Snaqûsis* was so boastful and disagreeable that at last the chiefs held a meeting and went one day to her house, where they told her that if she failed to give a satisfactory demonstration of her powers she would be killed.* Some were ashamed to doubt her word, but the consensus of opinion was that she should prove her claims, so they all sat down in her house and waited. She looked around and selected one man, *Kûlkûl*, without apparent reason, and told him that he was to

*Such power on the part of chiefs is most unusual and, though it was related without comment by the narrator, should not be regarded as historically correct. [622]

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THE ORPHAN HUNTER
(*Second Version*)

Djuskp[a] was a poor orphan boy who lived with and looked after his sister. Eager to be a hunter, he made a bow for himself and begged her to make *A* string for it. First she offered to braid it of cedar-bark, but he would have none of it, and, when he likewise refused to accept one of moss, she was in despair, saying that she had nothing more that she could use. Then *Djuskp* persuaded her to give him some of her hair, which he twined into a bow-string. His sister told him never to shoot upwards, and he promised to obey her injunction. He was a fairly successful hunter, and killed a large number of squirrels whose skins his sister sewed into clothing for her brother and herself.

One day when *Djuskp* was hunting he saw a black bear in a tree. It seemed an easy mark, so easy that he felt certain of success and quite forgot his sister's instructions not to shoot upwards. Already he seemed to see himself clad in a fine bear-skin cloak, and ripped his squirrel-skin covering to pieces in anticipation. He shot at the bear, but the arrow, missing its mark, lodged in the tree; again he tried with like result. As this exhausted his quiver, *Djuskp* decided to climb after his arrows. Up he went, the bear clambering up and up above him, but he did not realize that the tree was growing rapidly, until, when he looked down, he saw, to his amazement, that the earth had disappeared from sight. After a moment's hesitation, he resolutely continued his climb. Finally the tree penetrated the floor of the land above, to which the hunter crawled with the aid of his bow.

Djuskp found himself in a flat country where he wandered on until he reached four large runways, such as any large animal might have made. Presently he heard a far-off rumble, a light appeared in the distance, and the sun came roaring up one of the paths. The heat became intense, but as the sun disappeared, the temperature returned to normal. *Djuskp* decided to set the string of his bow as a noose in one of the runways and, when he had done so, lay down to sleep.

Next morning he was awakened by the same distant rumbling; again the sun came near and was caught in his noose. As the heat was unbearable, *Djuskp* tried to reach with his bow to pull away his loop, but was driven back by the warmth. Then a mouse came to his aid, which *Djuskp* sent in to gnaw at the string, but the animal was roasted to death. He pulled it forth with his bow and revived it by sprinkling it with paint. Again he despatched the little creature, but a second time it was overcome

[a]The name of the hero appears in different forms; it is probably a Carrier word incorrectly pronounced by the Bella Coola.

evening of *Tlenqipitlen*-a, and joined with a pretty girl engaged in the same task. When he returned home he with-had vanished. His jealousy was so great that she had gone back to the land of the supernatural.

THE DEATH OF *Nanuwenuldi*.*

One May day, sometime about 1870, a certain *Nanuwenuldi* was hunting at *Tsemsh*, below *Kimsquit*. He had climbed far up a mountain when he saw a black bear in an open space. Coming within range, the man fired at the animal with his Hudson's Bay Company musket, and apparently struck it, for it rolled around wildly before slowly moving away. The hunter followed, hoping for a second shot. When the bear had almost reached the further end of a log which spanned a chasm it turned round, and *Nanuwenuldi* saw, to his utter astonishment, that its face was identical with his own. Forgetting to fire, the hunter stood, stricken motionless with wonder, his musket in his hand. The quarry moved slowly off, then paused to look back, and again *Nanuwenuldi* saw that its face was the image of his own. He dared not fire, nor did he dare follow the animal. One of his ancestors had received power from a bear, so he should not have been surprised at this situation, and, if he had been brave, he would have followed the animal to its home where he would have been made a chamen. In any appearance of the supernatural, whether or not the beholder take advantage of it, he should not mention what he has seen, and for one year should remain close to his house. *Nanuwenuldi* obeyed only the first of these requirements.

Next March *Nanuwenuldi*, with a companion whom some say *Ayimdem*, set out for the same hunting-ground. As they neared their destination *Nanuwenuldi*, who was anxiling to game while his friend paddled, saw a goat far up the slope of a mountain. It had long far hanging from its throat, such a goat as the people of old said had the power to kill men. He suggested that they land and hunt the animal the following day. The two camped on the very spot used by *Nanuwenuldi* the previous year, and that night he told his friend about his earlier experience, saying that he had just remembered it. *Ayimdem*, foolishly, did not dissuade him from his hunting venture.

Next morning *Nanuwenuldi* set off with his dog and his stick, leaving *Ayimdem* in camp. After some time the latter heard a shot, and idly wondered how his companion was faring. Towards dusk the dog returned alone, and *Ayimdem* at once heard that his friend had met with misfor-

*Although this story does not describe the obtaining of supernatural power, as the exploits of a person so endowed, it is inserted in this section to show a man lost in the presence of the supernatural, from which visitor might have been gained.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

the hut received his dreamed power was Qi-tlas. The boy spent one night in the hut below, then returned to the village, carrying the stick with him. A which was hung of course, dropped since his departure, as the people supposed he had been trying to obtain power. When he did not display it as usual, they jeered at him, but he said nothing. Then night he killed one of his father's murderers in the manner which he had been taught, and did the same every night until all who had taken part in his parent's death had been dispatched. Then he regained his father's honors and became wealthy.

The orphan had not still become a shaman through the assistance of Qi-tlas. He had also acquired the name, he distinctly carrying with it a [illegible] prerogative, which has fallen recently been forgotten. The name was first used by the father of a man now living, but he disliked it on account of its similarity in the word for "death," it they said accordingly, changed it.[illegible] The repository (1) of Qi-tlas was the cave wherein the [illegible] still dwell, it is still called, nowadays, "The Place of Death."

Qi-tlas was not the only man to whom a figure is supposed to the beginning of time. The [illegible] (1) of [illegible] is one [illegible] of which the name [illegible] has also been preserved by the descendants of the first man. From the [illegible] recently some of the [illegible] have been seen. Such is the account, however, a certain man not too often undergoing [illegible] in the Hot Springs, and in 1900 a [illegible] and another or a [illegible], but [illegible] to the effects to such is. There is a tendency for such visitations to appear only to those whose ancestors have seen them, and there is no tradition of such an occurrence in the tribe's family, to my [illegible] knowledge. Perhaps he are only a [illegible] which demonstrated to supernatural power by appearing to a [illegible] family.

THE MAN'S SUPERIOR

Two brothers, the youngest of whom was named Pagwanilin, went to hunt mountain goats in the upper valley of the river which enters Dean Channel from the Great Bay. In some unknown fashion Pagwanilin noticed that supernatural power had been granted to him, and secretly [illegible] movements to any [illegible] when his brothers were hunting. Every day the three went out after goats, but without success. They did not realize that this was because the youngest brother was keeping the [illegible] to away by singing to them and giving them [illegible] of food. They went on for several days.

Then Pagwanilin said, "You stay in camp today, I will go my [illegible]."

[illegible]

[757] about one week. This causes the skin to turn white and draws out the worm.

[758] [759] (c) The usual remedy for boils and similar sores is cutting. There are no professional surgeons so that a patient merely requests a friend in whom he has confidence to perform the operation which is now carried out with a metal knife instead of an obsidian blade. A man frequently performs on himself and it is not uncommon to see a Bella Coola sitting nonchalantly with clothing streaming down his leg into a receptacle filled with water. Even when a boil is on the buttocks, it may be cut by sitting down on a knife, but in this case a friend is always present to state when the position is correct.

[760] [761] *For Ulcers and Abscesses*

A few individuals, at present two at Bella Coola and one at Kimsquit, have the necessary skill to locate and operate on ulcers of the stomach. They have no inherited prerogative, their ability is due solely to practice and good sense. If a person suffers from internal pains and believes them to be caused by an ulcer, he requests one of these men to help him. The practitioner kneads and handles the patient to locate the growth, and suggests operating if he thinks it necessary. He measures off on the blade of a knife the depth required for the incision and obtains consent to make such a cut. If the sufferer considers it too deep, he may indicate a shorter distance on the knife, or he may desire a still deeper cut. As soon as patient and surgeon have agreed upon the depth of the wound, the latter inserts the knife to the proper distance, twists it around, and draws it out. If he has diagnosed correctly, pus comes pouring out; the wound is drained by the insertion of an eagle quill, and in every case the patient recovers. Several instances are remembered of too deep cutting, resulting in penetration of the intestine and death. A surgeon is always suitably remunerated for his work.

It is believed that such operations were performed before the introduction of metal knives. Whether or not this be true,

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"Please remedy the invalid." 755

This is virtually a prayer, addressed to the deceased owner of the skull, and accordingly verges on appeal to the dead. None the less, there is no concept of active supplication to any individual ghost, but rather of acquiring aid by the use of a supernatural object.

For one year after this treatment, sexual intercourse is forbidden to both practitioner and patient. The latter, though not the former, dies if either fails to observe this taboo. The use of an old man to apply the medicine is to lessen danger from this source. The owner of this remedy is always liberally rewarded and some old men carefully preserve a skull under a rock-ledge in order to be ready if called upon.

For Smallpox

Pick up a toad, and tear off its head with the teeth, swallowing some of the blood. 757

This is an ancient remedy for some other ailment which was tried as a last resort during the smallpox epidemic. One man who succeeded in practising it on four successive days was cured of the dread disease.

For Consumption

Boil leaves and stems of a certain fleshy plant (not identified) in water and drink the decoction. The potency of the medicine increases accordingly to the number of plants used.

This medicine was a Heenlka Indian's hereditary cure for a cough which was found to be effective for consumption as well. The malady was so prevalent on the coast in the last century that it seemed as if the inhabitants were doomed; this remedy was allegedly discovered at that time and knowledge of it spread rapidly from tribe to tribe, saving the lives of hundreds. The Bella Coola recognize that this was a private medicine, but have ceased to regard it as such and have no hesitation in applying it whenever required.

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756 *For Insanity*

177 The Bella Coola have no medicine for this disease, although they are familiar with one used by the Kwakiutl, which was applied not long ago to a Rivers Inlet youth by two old women, one from Newitna and the other from *Djoldinus*. They exhumed a recently buried corpse, took a small piece of skin from the left side of the base of the neck, left this for twenty-four hours in a small stream, and then allowed it to stay for another twenty-four hours in a cup filled with water. This liquid was drunk by the patient who immediately recovered his sanity. He was next given water in which had been boiled needles from the yellow cedar; this strengthened him and prevented a relapse. The patient, now cured, observed continence for a year; failure to obey this injunction would have caused his death.

[185] [761] The Bella Coola assume that this remedy is the property of Kwakiutl ancestral families who alone are entitled to use it. The practitioners are always suitably recompensed and do not undertake the treatment except at the request of one of the patient's relatives. Kwakiutl experts have been brought to Bella Coola several times within recent years to cure cases of insanity, but great secrecy is maintained concerning the methods employed. They are considered to be effective, in proof of which the attention of the writer was directed to two men who were said to have been raving lunatics before undergoing a Kwakiutl treatment. It is probable that the individuals had been subject to periodic fits of insanity and that a temporary improvement was regarded as a definite cure.

757 *For Venereal Disease* (four means)

(a) Boil scrapings of false hellebore roots in water for a long time and drink the decoction. If it is too strong, add more water.

(b) Pound *cha'tcalt*, a kind of fungus, in water and drink for fever.

Z:McDougall E-9 (1922-1924) 1948
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elaborate *kwiat* ritual which failed;

Nawalm, meaning unknown;

"The One who Guards the Ritual by Gripping with his Teeth";

"The Twister";

"The Dog-Touched One."

When a *kwiat* acts contrary to the interests of the society the marshals gather in the sacred meeting-place of the village, with other senior *kwiatsin*. There is no definite order respecting who shall, or shall not, be summoned. The matter is discussed until unanimity of opinion is reached, although a marshal, particularly if he is also a rich and influential chief, is the guiding spirit. In *Wuquinuxwa* the supernatural being *Sisiutlaxa* kills any supernatural *kwiat* who acts, as in this world it is always said that a verdict of death has been given by this being. Several of these at the meeting are sent out to turn the victim who, brought before the group, is told that he is to die. He is seized, thrown on his back, and a pole laid across his neck; two men sit on each end until the man is dead.* Sometimes less drastic punishments are meted out. About 1880, when the influence of the white man had become evident on the coast, a dancer who had been, theoretically, disembowelled and was supposed to remain for months within his house to recover from the operation, insisted on fleeing to Quatsino to a woman with whom he was in love. When he returned to Bella Coola a meeting was held to decide whether or not he should be killed. Four of the white men prevented summary punishment, but the marshals insisted that the offender submit himself to periodic scrutiny on the assumption that a rail so that it would appear to the uninitiated that he was suffering from a deep wound. The offender was doubtful to escape thus lightly.

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* Incidentally the relative of a condemned person gives him by saying that he must not be killed. This means that the speaker is willing to die as a substitute. He is assumed to die course, but the mechanism by which the affiliate of the victim is engaged is not clear.

perform several ancient rites through a desire to "show off" before someone who was ignorant. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate on *hamat* ceremonials, and to judge a man's worth by his boldness in them, but this is only a modern development due to the prohibition of the potlatch. Nevertheless, even in former times some individuals preferred to invite foreign guests to *hamat* dances and to give them valuable gifts rather than to save them for potlatches; such a ceremony is called a *kekwanat*. Whenever strangers are present at a *hamat* dance they receive small pieces of dyed cedar-bark as proof of the friendly intentions of the host. The general consensus of Bella Coola opinion is that it is foolish for a man to concentrate on *hamat* performances, particularly if he impoverish himself to the detriment of potlatches.

Although foreign guests are seldom invited to *hamat* rites, a dance frequently calls in his fellows from adjacent villages. But as the ceremonial season is simultaneous in the different settlements, with almost nightly performances, it is often impossible to avoid conflict in dates. Which invitation shall have preference is decided in the following manner:

During the days of potlatch and rehearsal the dancers sends a herald of powerful physique to invite guests from as many villages as he wishes. Simultaneously, a messenger may be approaching from the opposite direction with a similar invitation. Each envoy carries carefully around each hand in the path for his rival, and whichever can first call out his message is entitled to continue to give his invitation in the village of the unnerved herald. It is considered exceedingly bad taste to decline a summons, so the ceremony to which the defeated herald was bearing an invitation must be postponed. Sometimes the two messengers sight one another simultaneously, and the relative priority of their messages is then decided by a contest of strength. The rivals stand in the path, shoulder to shoulder, arms close to their sides, and shove with all their strength, the winner being the one who can force his opponent to move his feet. This last means of deciding is used exclu-

*575 [229] only when the villages in which the dances are taking place are adjacent or separated by such a slight distance that envoys cannot meet en route.

*576 [177] [224] [64] A word may be said about the attitude of the Bella Coola to the dances of other coastal tribes. They know that the Bella Bella, Rivers Inlet, Kwakiutl, and Kitkatla people have *Tsaiat* societies, but until recently the members were considered to be uninitiated, as Bella Coolas were when they visited foreign tribes.* A few years ago the Bla Coola, Bella Bella, and Rivers Inlet people decided that the rites were sufficiently alike to permit membership in one tribes carry with it membership in the others.

"We have now one repository," the say.

This development is due to ease of communication and intermixture of population in the three tribes. None the less, the Bella Coola recognize differences between their own rites and those of their neighbours. They say that no other tribe has repository, also that in the other tribes the *Tsaiat* society is more intimately connected with the birds, in fact, that in Bella Bella and Fort Rupert the Cowhids are the chiefs, whereas in Bella Coola even a poor nonsinfluential in every other respect, can be one.

[171] *576 [177] [196] Transcription is out of place in a narrative monograph such as this, but the writer gives it as his personal opinion that the Bella Coola have adopted much, but all, of the *Tsaiat* ceremonial from other coastal tribes, though they have profoundly altered it in respect to certain minor beliefs connected with mythical guardian spirits and departures of ancestral heroes. He further believes that it will be found that the Bella Coola technique has in its turn tested the Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet Indians. There seemingly doubt that the Bella Coola are correct in saying that *Tsaiat* society is more important among them than among their neighbours, and the writer feels that dances and crests of distant types have recently been adapted to the *Tsaiat* parts of the Bella Coola.

[171] [179]

* Except a few individuals who had obtained the prerogatives.

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and the patron shifts his protection to the substitute. Non-members are told that the death was due to one of the many dangers connected with the society. 575* 766

It is said that, in former times, the *kakaxiut* sometimes held a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discontinued. In 1922, however, memorial songs were sung for dead *kakaxiut*, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to prohibition of the potlatch. 575* 769 533 177

The Ritual of Specific Dances

General observations about the dances

A detailed description of various *kaxiut* dances can now be given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference between them that each will require a separate account, although considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning in connection with the first dance those features common to all. The initial performer is always he who has the prerogative of using the supernatural canoe which comes from the Land of the Salmon to visit *Nuxpelmucin*. Several *kakaxiut* have the capacity of this craft as patron, and if each should wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so. Thereafter there is no order for different dances; the marshals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does so without conflicting with another. The first dance described is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *kaxiut* season. 575* 796* [824] [776]

The dance of *Nuklymut*[*]

The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the September moon is full there starts from the Land of the Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *Nuklymut*, commanded by a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly 777 778 825

[*] Cf. Boas, p. 46.

[The Dance of Nuakunim]

*576 *996 [599] [177] watches from old songs. The Bella Bella are said to use the same compositions from year to year, and recently some of these, both tunes and foreign words, have been adopted by the Bella Coola. Long ago the marshals would have prohibited this custom even if the user had legitimately obtained the foreign prerogative by marriage.

[205] As the time draws near for *Nuakunim* to start his voyage, X anxiously consults any of the older *kukwiut* who may be calendrical experts as to the exact date. The system of reckoning time is not sufficiently exact to avoid errors, but the day ultimately arrives on which, after much discussion, it is agreed that *Nuakunim* is leaving. Word is passed around to the singers, who sleep that night in X's house, ready for their duties on the morrow.

Early in the morning X stands up, gazes fondly towards the west, and calls out:

[187] "Once more I see what I saw last year," or some other more or less specific clause to a vision.

It is believed that *Nuakunim* must round four points before reaching Bella Coola; in fact, his journey towards the sea is similar to that of a canoe pushing up one of the long fords.

[177] Some of the marshals are always in readiness and one of them with a herald to go to every house, repeating what X has said. This serves both to impress the uninitiated, and to notify the *kukwiut* of when to attend to take place. The messenger does so, and when all have gathered, the singers, seated behind the fire, begin to hear out one of the songs composed during the summer months. The theme is of X's phenomenal eye-sight, due to his person having sent to him the supernatural being, *Nuakunimsum*, at the moment of his departure. This being does not seem to possess corporal form, but is rather a sight-producing medium. In the song he is often likened to a swift-flying bird; when the uninitiated hear of this they are suitably impressed with the remarkable ability of X at having such a creature sent to him. X, who has donned a head-dress consisting of the white tails of two eagles, dances

*[203] *576 *996 [599] [177] [174] [184]

This ejaculation is supposed to make the work of manufacture less difficult. The same procedure is repeated with every mask ordered, except that if the being to be represented is a woman, X's ejaculation is *i* —. Any factor can make a mask, but the preference is always given to a man who has shown ability in previous tasks. The carpenters endeavour to follow well-recognized designs for many representations, but a great deal of latitude is allowed, and a workman receives greater praise and fame for carving out a fine and distinctive piece of new design, than for rigid adherence to a former type. This, combined with the burning of masks and consequent loss of permanent patterns, is responsible for the variability in Bella Coola forms, and the difficulty which they themselves experience in recognizing personal beings.

As soon as all the carpentry has been allotted, the singers strike up one of X's eight songs. Whether or not he dances to them is a matter about which there is a difference of opinion among informants. In any case the re-singing or *variation* is purely for rehearsal, made necessary by the large number of songs. Later on in the *factor* season, the songs of other dancers may be practised on this night, and if the owners wish to practice their songs, it is quite proper for them to do so. Finally, a meal is distributed, while the mantels dancers in the usual way. There are factors of all *factor* dances, and the food distributed is regarded as a free-will gift, without thought of repayment. After eating, the *factor* dancers, X must sleep within his own house, but no longer remain within the platform enclosure.

The next day, the twenty-sixth of the ceremony, is quiet. Early in the morning a herald summons to X's house, where the blocks have been left, all those to whom work has been assigned. All morning they carve diligently. The speed with which masks are completed is surprising, although this has undoubtedly increased since the introduction of metal tools. In the middle of the day a few *factor* men, or women, are invited to share "the carpenters' meal," as the food provided

has been in contact. Their attitude of uncertainty as to whether they are gazing upon real supernatural beings or an representations of them has already been described, but the uninitiated do not dwelling on the point—they are seeing strange sights about which X and the *Initiator* know, that is enough for them.

Behind the fire they see a cone-shaped structure, a model of *Washkyma's* craft, with six or eight masked heads, his passengers, appearing over the sides. Near this are four more disguised figures, three standing and one sitting. *Ba'ttimaiam* ranges in the vicinity, while X himself stands behind, as usual, swinging one arm over the heads of the strange beings and wearing a drooping eye. *Ba'ttimaiam* explains to the uninitiated that the figures have come from afar, that they are powerful, but not to be afraid, since X's drum gives protection to them from the supernatural ones. He points to one of the figures whose mask is painted with the design of a salmon.[illegible]

"See!" she says, "There is Washkyma; unless he brings the salmon they cannot come to our river."

Another of the standing figures is described as *Dzilkhlakwa*, and the other as *Hahamatsum*. In each case the name briefly the functions of the being. The seated figure, who wears a large hat and rests on a rail, is the Receiver. Great is the mystification of the uninitiated at seeing these supernatural beings[illegible] normally visible only to X. How does they get here? Another frequent display is of a group of masked figures playing *lahal* (II, p. 262). If this has been done, *Ba'ttimaiam* explains that this game is of interest to the salmon and that it is therefore played in Washkyma's canoe.

[illegible]

[The Cannibal Dance]

The most feared of all Cannibals are those who have the unusual prerogative of eating corpses. At present (1901), there is only one man with this right, whereas at least seven can kill the living. His prerogative was recently obtained from the people of Rivers' Inlet, although the cannibalistic devouring of corpses was well known to the Bella Coola in former days. All informants agreed, however, that the actual eating of a body was practically unknown.* Even when one was provided and the Cannibal dragged it from house to house, accompanied by an escort of fishermen, though he took his teeth into the flesh and pulled forth morsels of the corpse, he invariably disposed of them as soon as he was out of sight of the uninitiated, as in the case of the dog. Of course, blood and small pieces of flesh must have been swallowed inadvertently, but the rite was always essentially symbolic, not real. More often, the "corpse" consisted of a wooden frame-work, shaped like a human body, and covered with the scraped skins of deer or dogs. The interior was filled with the flesh of an animal, and the whole buried in the graveyard until the meat had become foul. The uninitiated, from a distance, watched the unburying of this object and concluded that it really was a long-buried body. Fear prevented them from making a close inspection, so that the defects of the imitation were not apparent. The frames were kept hidden from year to year, as impositive non-members who chanced to stumble upon one would have to be initiated or die.

On account of the long time that has elapsed since a genuine corpse-eating Cannibal dance was carried out, it was found impossible to obtain a detailed account of the ritual. This deficiency is unimportant, since all informants agreed that it closely resembled other Cannibal dances.

Like other Cannibals, one who has the prerogative of eating dead human flesh can perform as often as he desires, subject only to the approval of the members, who have no hesitation

*Figures from the ceremonial eating of a man of qualification was found among the Bella Coola.

[The Breaker Dance]

they do not like. No compensation can be claimed, on the theory that supernatural beings do not have to pay for any damage they may do. Although the property of some *kakoax* is destroyed, the chief sufferers are the uninitiated; this serves to increase their fear and respect for the society with which such all-powerful beings are in league. After visiting every house in the village, the party returns to X's, where the masks are burnt, the call sent back, and the proceedings conclude in the usual manner.

A certain amount of information concerning the history of the Breaker dance was obtained from *Ijsak*, the owner of the prerogative just described. He is a well-informed man, but the writer had no opportunity of comparing his beliefs with those of his associates, so the following must be regarded as unauthenticated evidence. This man stated that the Breaker dance is the most important of all in Bella Bella, and that many Bella Coola prerogatives have been obtained from this source, although some of their first ancestors likewise enjoyed it. He further stated that the term, *nakoax*, by which the Bella Coola always designate a Breaker, is of Bella Bella origin, and that the ancient Bella Coola term was *dotsa*.* *Ijsak* also told of an occasion when a number of Bella Bella, present on the *gelon* night of a Bella Coola ceremony, were disturbed when seeing by the cloud of a stone thrown, from outside, against the wall of the back room. Out rushed a number of *kakoax*, incensed at the disrespect shown to their gathering. They caught the offender, but released him when he was found to be a Bella Bella Breaker, forthwith demonstrating his prowess. The marshals decided to swallow and arranged with two Bella Coola Breakers to exercise their rights and destroy the canoes and food-boxes of their guests. They did so, and later paid for the damage. The Bella Coola were thus able to demon-

*Ijsak and several of his children are the only Bella Coola known to the writer who habitually use the sound 'x'. For example, he says 'Dexlex,' instead of 'Dedek.' He says that he is himself unable to distinguish any peculiarity in his own pronunciation, although other Bella Coola are aware of it.

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

and must never gossip or mingle casually with the outsiders. 575* In addition to a band of dyed cedar-bark on his head he wears 796* one around his stomach.

A number of years ago, when the influence of the white man had become strong enough to undermine the old ritual, a Bella Coola *Sacrium* dancer, instead of remaining in seclusion after the dance, ran away to Kimsquit where lived a young woman with whom he was in love. In the old days this would have led to punishment by a dried urine. When the offender wished to return to Bella Coola he was afraid of the wrath of the marshals, but plucked up courage to come back after several months. The marshals seized him and scratched his stomach with a metal nail so that the uninitiated, seeing the wound, might be led to believe that the man had been severely cut. Periodically the scabs were pulled off to re-inflame the injury and make it appear that a deep gash was slowly healing. The offender, of course, could not protest, since he was a *Sacrium* who had broken the law and was fortunate in escaping so lightly.

575* 796* 688 177

The Beheading Dance

Another of the *Sacrium* dances which can be performed by 575* a *Sacrium* is that of having his head pulled off. Like the 796* Stomach-Cutting dance, it is the prerogative of a Kimsquit man named *Ontwaltras*. He carried out the rite a few years [524] after he had performed the one just described. The main points of ritual being identical for all *Sacrium* dances, minor points already recorded can be omitted. As before, it will be convenient to name *Ontwaltras* X, and to describe the dance in the present tense.

Early in the summer X informs one of the marshals of his desire to have his head pulled off the following winter. The one consulted discusses the matter with his fellows; in this case no objections were raised as *Ontwaltras* had already performed a *Sacrium* dance and it was felt that he was reliable. As soon as permission is granted, the would-be dancer asks the [532] best carpenters to meet him in a lonely place in the forest and

[The Dance of Winning]

way as with the salmon, except that the jumping is omitted. The order of display is according to the time of ripening for each, but there is so much difference of opinion about this that no rigid order is maintained. The first shown is always the sow-parsnip, but after that there is no definite sequence. The following "berries" were shown at a dance not many years ago: sow-parsnip; *false huckleberry*; wild gooseberry; red bilberry; thin-leaved bilberry; blueberry; black huckleberry; red elderberry; dwarf bilberry; *false dogwood*; salalberry; Canadian buffalo berry; wild red raspberry; blackberry; *Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.; salmonberry; black hawthorn; flowering juneberry; bunchberry; wild rose; red huckleberry.

The informant was not certain that the above was the exact order in which the berries were shown on the occasion described. It is probable that it is approximately correct, however, since he added that the wild strawberry had also been shown, but as he could not remember its correct place he had omitted it. Other old men stated that the following food plants had been used as other *Winning* dances: *Alt*, one of the *Fritillaria*, species undetermined; perennial clover; black raspberry; crabapple; cranberry; fern root; bracken root. Foods introduced by the white man were shown at a recent dance, including: potato, carrot, turnip, and a miniature can of preserved peaches, such as are commonly used in the manufacture of native wine.

Sometimes no one is able to guess the object represented, and when all have grown discouraged the exhibitor puts his ear against K's mouth. The uninitiated assume, of course, that the dancer's supernatural power makes it easy for him to tell the answer and that he is communicating the information to the hearer who promptly gives it. If an uninitiated person should guess the correct response rapidly, it is taken for granted that she has found favour with the supernatural beings. When the last berry has been thrown on the fire, a *bardic* stands up and starts a song describing the Thermaphrodite and his actions in the land above. The singer provides his own time by beating

the one that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make good the peril" of the person. It would formerly have been a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with death by the marshals. One informant vividly recalled his fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his conversion to Christianity, and reiterated that he had been in deadly peril from the marshals in spite of the white man's law. 575* 796* 821 688 177

THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron to *hatsin* dancers, the Moon also has many human protégés. Among them is *Nalaiwale*, "The Moon When It Is Uncle-around," of *Tsimali*, from whom the following account of the Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as X. 776 355 424

The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to X's wishes and the consent of the marshals. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *hatsin* presently assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

Ailatsiwa:[a] A woman who lives in the moon and who can be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of water. 575* 796*

The two *Ilipaulatsi*: These two beings are able periodically to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse. 821 776

The two *Intsimale-o*:[b] These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who come to earth to assist sinkers *hatsin*.

The song also describes how no supernatural being dares to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition similar to that obeyed by uninitiated with regard to passing outside a house where a *hatsin* ceremony is taking place. 784

[a] *Ailatsiwa* is the usual term for ghost, no reason was given for the application of the same designation to the women living in the moon. 775 192

[b] There is difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not there is more than one of these beings.

Z: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

instrument is the drum.[1] In former times the drum consisted wholly of a box, though recently skin drums have been adopted from the Carriers. There is usually one singer especially proficient in using this, though sometimes another takes his place; all such arrangements are completed during the final rehearsal. A final decision is also reached as to who shall fill the three principal parts, *ranhwolsàm*, *àhaia*, and *lualkm*. It is the duty of the *ranhwolsàm* or *leader*, to regulate the time; he squats facing the others, who are grouped in a close semicircle, and indicates the rhythm by pounding with his stick on the floor. When a song is to start, he first taps rapidly, then modifies and regulates it throughout. The leader should be the best musician among the singers, and the same individual usually functions on all occasions although a rearrangement is sometimes necessary. In the centre of the singers sits the *àhaia*, *announcer*, who must possess a powerful voice. As already mentioned, every song consists of three parts, each with several subdivisions. When the leader has beaten time rapidly to indicate that the singers are ready, the announcer bellows out the words of the first subdivision so that all the audience can hear them. Crash! goes the leader's stick and his voice gives the key for singing the words just called out, in which the audience is expected to join. As they are finishing, the announcer roars the next subdivision, and the same procedure is repeated. Instead of proceeding to the third, the announcer often next returns to the first, following it by the second. The subdivisions of a single part are never sung through in order once only, there are always repetitions and ramifications according to the discretion of the announcer. At the end of the first part, the leader again beats time rapidly in which his fellow-singers join. If a dancer is performing, he crouches down without making any effort to keep time with the rapid tapping, and the singing ceases. After a short pause, the second part is sung in the same manner, followed likewise by the third. The function of

[1] Rattles, made of dried maple, are used by some *nusàl* dancers, but they can hardly be termed musical instruments.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

*533 prerogative, he was debarred from seclusion in the back-room and consequent
[701] initiation as a *nusek*. The exact relationship between warriors and members of
575 the *nusek* society is obscure.

424 (*b*) *Lasaiyae-k'* is a Kitkatla name from the north. The first owner moved to Kitlobe where he married, and the designation was transmitted to his descendants.
One of the latter migrated to Kimsquit, where the name has since been handed
177 down from generation to generation though its original source has not been forgotten.

(*c*) Recorded as song VII D 36, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been used about 1870.

(*d*) Vocative form.

(*e*) That is: I double my importance. This kind of expression is popular among chiefs.

[424] (*f*) *Xwai* is one of the ancestral names of Raven, the dancer's crest. In thus addressing the bird, he called attention to his ancestral history.

[262] (*g*) The home of the first *Lasaiyae-k'* was near a point where dead whales often drifted ashore. The dancer likens himself to a whale on which people will dine.

(*h*) Such repetition is not uncommon. The dancer implies that his wealth will be divided in a manner similar to the cutting up of a whale's carcass.

(*i*) A promontory owned by the first *Lasaiyae-k'*.

(*j*) That is: I summon people [to a feast.]

(*k*) An invitation not to be taken too literally.

Xe-tla Songs

The tunes of *xe-tla* songs are believed to have been handed down, unaltered, for many generations. The words, too, are frequently ancient although the singers sometimes make slight changes so that they will be more suitable for the chief in whose honour they are being sung. Owing to the decline of cere-
[796] monials in which they were used, few *xe-tla* songs are now remembered.

Xe-tla Song Used by Simaqut of Kimsquit(a)

[727] *A Alimayuwa* | *Ahlawal'alhdal* | *Di nahaitmplai* | *dinailimil*
Come! | See! | The chief | a man stands in the bow(b)

di yalaxal'aikdai
of those who travelled everywhere.

[WOMAN'S SONG]

B Alaiyuhaqaqaxis | *Di'anaxakilaha* | *aiyamyamitilaha*
He did so, | my pature(c), | whence I came(d),

[illegible]	[illegible]	533*
be circled and returned	Song[illegible].	

[illegible]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded on song VII D 30a, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pelland.
(b) A sign of victory, usually sounded for when a war party is returning. [129]
(c) A reference to [illegible], one of Gisaqtl's four occupants in the beginning of time. He made a journey to the Skeena, returning from there with some and paddles discovered with sun designs. The exploits of his descendant are compared with those of his partners, that is, his four fathers. Such references to family history are sources of pride to the chief being honoured. [773]
(d) That is: From whom I am descended.

Fragment of a Tsimshian Song Used by Gwayu-ulnas of Kitwanqalik

A [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Presently he will be ashamed	that chief	[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

(a) Both tune and theme are said to be of Kwakiutl origin.
(b) Recorded on song VII D 34b, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pelland. [177]

Fragment of a Tsimshian Song Used by Gwagwilgyum of Kitwanqalik

A [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
They are smiling,	greetings to the not-accepted [illegible]	They drink

[illegible]
[illegible]

(illegible)

B and C have been forgotten.

(a) Recorded on song VII D 41b, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pelland.
(b) Laundry: Slide!
(c) This song was used at a potlatch where the host provided soap suds. The tune is said to be very ancient although new words were composed for the occasion. [556] [279]

Full Songs

Full songs somewhat resemble *canoe* songs and, like them, are difficult to collect completely. Parts of many are remem- [575] [796]

(a) A reference to a member referred to the lost chore, described above, or leaving the [illegible]

(b) The significance is as follows. The Council has powerful [illegible] on the sidewalk, is needed so that across the standing upon it was needed so if the lost boys holding a meal has struck to a boy's hammer.

(c) Nevertheless, the Mayor's power, guards his pull along the sidewalk for dishing his fingers. This has the further implication of [illegible] that [illegible] referred to as the Puppet all during the dishing. The whole phase is necessarily obscure.

(d) The Mayor's power.

Step Five (or Sometimes, a Fourteenth Twenty Seven)

8 [illegible] They(1) prefer an	[illegible] my own food(2),	[illegible] then shall

[illegible]
Quantum(1)

[illegible]

9 [illegible] They(2) what are,	[illegible] full, Sometimes(3),	[illegible] other meant to act

[illegible]
[illegible](3).

[illegible]

7 [illegible] They come to an	[illegible] the market(1),	[illegible] the bottom(1)

[illegible]
of [illegible](1).

(a) The man had long been resident in Bells Ends and decided to perform the Knotted dance, in the great revival of the Bells Ends. This took place during the latter season of 1924, the last time that such had ever occurred. [illegible]

(b) Accorded as song 1/1 2 in the National Museum of Canada, stage, Ion Dakota. The song was composed by Kinnport Max, and is probably constituent from the Kwakiutl.

(c) Thus to. The supernatural beings.

(d) Thus to. Human Bell.

(e) Thus to a Knotted supernatural being, the dance's power, and equivalent to the Bells Ends chased dance. The dance's call consequently was not all as a meaning etc. [illegible]

(f) Thus to. The supernatural beings.

(g) Thus to. Sometimes and the other supernatural was which not.

(h) Thus to. When Bellsmenmelle has wanted to see the dance being breakfast staff. Bellsmenmelle has a Knotted supernatural being who is model in that Coastal dances.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

(a) [illegible]

(b) [illegible]

(c) [illegible]

(d) [illegible]

(e) [illegible]

(f) [illegible]

(g) [illegible]

(h) [illegible]

(i) [illegible]

(j) [illegible]

(k) [illegible]

(l) [illegible]

[illegible]

Several prominent [illegible] died during the spring and summer of [illegible]. Memorial [illegible] of the usual nature were held, but in addition several [illegible] were composed and used in their honour during the [illegible] season. When a relative was interred, his song contained numerous references and words of the type normally restricted to mourning songs. Such a combination may occasionally have taken place in former times, but the present comparatively common usage is due to the difficulty of holding regular gatherings. In such case the [illegible] were differentiated, and no description of the proper ceremonial was [illegible]. The following are examples of combined [illegible] and mourning songs.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

When a bar is sung fitting around in the draft, tale-alive gives it as follows: [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

These two words are repeated an indefinite number of times.

(2) Recorded in [illegible], National Museum of Canada, [illegible] the Ashish.

[illegible]

Gambling games have always been popular among the Bella Coola, especially the one known as *kind* which was in all European origin. Contestants sing as they play, but the songs, lacking words, consist merely of a series of meaningless ejaculations. The tunes, however, are remembered, and certain ones are considered to be the proper accompaniment to certain games. When a number of men are singing in unison, they follow the direction of a leader, but at other times the "words" vary according to individual taste. The tunes often are impromptu, and it is often remembered from what game they first came.[1]

A few songs have been adopted from the Carrier and are sung from them straight in the Bella Coola, since the words are unintelligible. The most popular is the following:

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[1] A number of [illegible] are [illegible].

[2] Recorded [illegible], National Museum of Canada, [illegible] the Ashish.

[3] [illegible] Bella Coola [illegible] Type Case of Western Bella Coola, [illegible], National Museum of Canada, [illegible] the Ashish.

[4] Bella Coola [illegible], National Museum of Canada, [illegible] the Ashish.

[5] Bella Coola [illegible], National Museum of Canada, [illegible] the Ashish.

[6] Bella Coola [illegible], National Museum of Canada, [illegible] the Ashish.

(Sing-a-Song-a-Sandy) Bella Coola(s)

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] | [illegible]

(1) [illegible] Obtained this song was derived from the Carrier or the [illegible].

(2) Recorded a song [illegible] National Museum of Canada, singer, [illegible].

(3) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] through the valley and the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to serve under him, but he could not compel the services of anyone except his own slaves. Free individuals often declined to follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join the party. If some of their relations had been slain in the previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the retaliation, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could secure them. No case is known in which all the Bella Coola villages joined in a single expedition; there were often temporary alliances between neighbouring settlements, but complete lack of central organization. The course of events was similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been enslaved by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was to kill a slave belonging to the murderers, though sometimes he had a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a distance with much noise, boasting, and exploitation, but few casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers succeeded in surprising a village at night. Hostilities are a thing of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed information regarding offensive weapons. Armour consisted of maple or birch slats reinforced with mountain sod were around the body and chest; this ensured quick movement, difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were introduced many years ago and armour consequently became useless. Large shields of mountain sod were carried in all canoes.

down of a river where "the white men get money easy." Then Mahmadi began to go south, and was finally sold to an impotent chief living north of Fort Simpson. He used to beat her; to fear, she carried the scars with her to her grave. Mahmadi's master had another slave, a male Bulu Bulu, with whom the woman was on friendly terms since she was related by blood to a Bulu Bulu family and could speak their language. Aroused by her harsh treatment, Mahmadi suggested to her companion to undertake that they kill their master and escape. The man was at first unwilling, but she assured him that she knew the main motivation. The conspirators wanted their opportunity which came when their master was hitting fishing, accompanied only by his two slaves. One evening Mahmadi cooked a large meal for him which made him drowsy so he sat by the fire. Then she sneak behind him, picked up an axe, and killed him by hitting him over the head. The two murderers carefully scraped up all the blood, had sexes to the corpse, and sank it in deep water so that their master's friends would believe that he had been drowned with his slaves. Then the two, having stolen a canoe, paddled off, living by day, and sailing at night until they could gather. After many perils they reached Bulu Bulu, whence Mahmadi returned home.

She had been carried off as a mere girl, but was [illegible] age of child-bearing when she returned and had almost forgotten her native language. The Bulu Cuala were hardly interested in the tale of her adventures, and especially in the way that slaves were buried in Alaska. It was assumed that some of their own captives must have been killed in that way, as slaves from the far north was confined to revenge. It is said that this custom was common among the northern tribes from whom the Bulu Cuala adopted several practices, although this particular one was carried out but once.

The most famous Ottawa chief, and the one most dreaded by the Bulu Cuala, was Pelaty, who is said to have had almost magnetic power over his northern warriors. The name itself was transmitted from one holder to another, but the name

CHAPTER [illegible]

GAMES

The subject of games, lying on the borderline of social customs, was one which was not fully investigated. The Bulu Cards, like all other peoples, have a number of games and pastimes and although the old diversions are being forgotten by the younger people, many of the old men and women are familiar with those played in their youth. As isolated customs these may be of small value, but games of all kinds often preserve ancient practices and, as providing useful clues to the spread of peoples or of culture, are worthy of investigation. Unfortunately, lack of time made it impossible to give the subject the attention it deserved, and the few games here described must not be considered as exhaustive comment of the subject.

Though less fond of competitive sports than the Indians of the Plains, the Bulu Cards enjoy some racing and wrestling. The former appears to have been an ancient diversion, picked men from different villages competed until the outstanding runner of each village, and even now the younger men are anxious to display their skill in this respect. Wrestling, which used to be common during of non-sacred gatherings, has almost entirely disappeared since the prohibition of the potlatch.

The favourite sedentary pastime, enjoyed equally by young and old, is the telling of stories. These of a sacred nature, especially ancient myths, are reserved of course for non-sacred occasions, but the older men and women remember many tales describing the exploits of birds and animals which are recounted again and again to the enjoyment of the listeners, although they may have heard the same recital fifty times. Children enjoy the companionship of some old story teller and it is a common sight to see an old man or woman, surrounded by an eager group, explaining one more but never exercised the child or one himself for any difficulties. Many of these stories are somewhat indecent, others appear broadly funny,

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

island. Ignorant of their whereabouts, they paddled blindly, succeeded in rediscovering their country, and soon after found themselves at Victoria of which they had heard. In the schooner were in the harbour and on the beach they saw a single white man. The latter noticed them and recognized that they were strangers from the shape and decoration of their canoe, and the type of bows they were carrying, each with a hole in the corner, so in regard of those made by the Bella Bella. The men mentioned the peculiarity to his wife, who was herself a Bella Bella, and she came rushing out of the house to welcome those whom she knew at once must be her fellow-villagers. The weary mariners landed and were provided with food and water by the white man's wife.

They stayed for several days at Victoria, rejoicing in their safety, then began to think of returning home. The white husband of the woman who had befriended them urged the travellers to stay and wait for him, promising that he would have guide them north himself, but when he realized that they were unwilling, he gave them other assistance he could. Some of them was familiar with the coast route, and they dared to return and go around the outside of the island along to the fourth reception that had led to the southern end. In the Bella Bella area there is a rough map on the wall, giving those informations about the tribes, fourth fishers, good hiding places, and other lore which he thought would be of value. Then they set forth and reached the north end of Vancouver Island without being seen. Thereafter they were among friendly tribes and could travel openly.

Meanwhile the Bella Bella had despaired of the safety of the long-absent hunters. The father of the chief had invited neighbouring tribes to a memorial potlatch in honour of his son-tribes, on the morning of the day which the rites were to commence, a large canoe was seen approaching the beach. It contained so much European clothing and utensils that those on shore could not recognize the occupants until they were close at hand, but when it was seen that they were the long-lost hunters, they were welcomed with great rejoicing. The only disappointment was to the man who had arranged to marry the wife of the absent chief, she had promised to waiting for a year before remarrying, although the wives of the men had all taken new partners believing their husbands dead.[1]

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[1] It is difficult to explain a story such as the above. It seems impossible that a complete novelty should be about all the coast of California, and yet there is no place off the Oregon or Washington shore in which it could take place. Probably the time has changed and the direction taken by the men have become confused in the years that have passed since the voyage. Though it is highly probable that it was on a basis of truth is the appearance of a canoe driven from that coast to Victoria Island. Recently enough, the Bella Coola do not date it to the familiar

Bulletin NES

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] generations, the name Gilbertson has been remembered among the Chickasaw. It seems to embody an inherentable tendency to lawlessness and killing, for almost all who have been so designated have been murderers. Around 1840 or 1870, a certain Gilbertson married a Bella Coola woman, which brought his activities to the attention of the colonies. He used to be considerable trading on the Hudson's Bay Company's post, although his manner of obtaining furs was necessarily questionable. He had a wide knowledge of the interior and of the routes by which hunters were likely to bring pelts to Bella Coola. If he could learn that a stranger was likely to be travelling along a trail, it was Gilbertson's custom to set out, unknown, to meet him. He would explain to the hunter that he had come to buy furs and he later would always make him welcome. The price was agreed to in a friendly manner and the two would prepare to camp together for the night. Then Gilbertson would say:

"Perhaps you do not know what a dangerous place Bella Coola is? Even now I am running away. If the men think I will be persecuted, thought I will I had a mother in the hands me as I stay."

The unsuspicious hunter would usually offer to lend to Gilbertson a pony, promising his gratitude, would lend to undertake to stay with a hunter. Early in the morning he would rise, shoot the sleeping companion, and his furs and all them at the trading post. Sometimes he would murder two or more fur hunters on a single trip. This is some of who he had amassed great riches, but had also made enemies on a wide scale. Whenever it became too dangerous for him in the interior he would return to Bella Coola and live with his wife's relatives. People sometimes asked him why he continued his notorious work, but he always answered that it was inconsistency to prevent having amassed him with other from a man's wife when he asked.

On one occasion, Gilbertson set out for Salmon House, on the Stuart River, where there was always an encampment of Carriers. He travelled up the valley of the Nechako River and had just reached the open land where the village was when he met two Carriers, bound for Bella Coola with furs. He were he began attempting to kill them and said the girls. Gilbertson prevent the two by saying:

[illegible] with the people, though the old man from whom he [illegible] the [illegible] with the old man with permit of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

been displaced in their customs and beliefs, their habits, pre-
cious, and folk-lore, their outlook both towards the supernatural
world and towards their fellows.

The following additional observations are the result of
personal knowledge, and recorded after considerable thought.

When a white man begins to environment the Bulu Cults,
he cannot fail to be impressed by their deep belief in the super-
natural. To them religion is no mental abstraction, but a
living reality. They feel the presence of strange creatures
around them, and they recognize non-human powers in every
manifestation of their own minds; in fact, every incident, good
or bad, is attributed to supernatural intervention. This does
not mean that they regard life with any indifference, contrary
to [illegible] or otherwise has beliefs them. They realize
that supernatural powers have endowed them with brains, with
physical strength, and with the ability to win favour and gain
help from active superhuman beings, and consequently they
strive to a world teeming with potent forces. The individual
sees in them a white man in the struggle of life, but he over-
turns his fortune, not to help or to be avoided enemies, but
to the assistance of non-human agents. If he is fortunate, it is
because his spirit has been active; if unfortunate, because it
has been too lazy to protect him.

Contact with white men, particularly with missionaries, has
raised considerable problems for the Bulu Cults. The older
people have been but little affected; they may state that they
are Christians, believing in the white man's god, but this often
means only the knowledge of one more supernatural being
whom they add to the already rich pantheon. It is quite effec-
tive with the younger people, particularly with those who have
been away to school. Some adopt the new faith with fervour,
continuing to use the same ritual and to experience the same
mental conditions, but substituting them to Christianity. The
tribes, however, lose of belief in their own faith has caused a
general scepticism. Though they may accept the new religion,
it does not become the vital force which the old was to their

[illegible] Selected beliefs are so deep-rooted in one tribe [illegible] within a few generations. Even those who claim to have adopted the new faith remain convinced of the potency of magic, and of the existence of those supernatural creatures which do not actually conflict with the white man's creed. Such lack of consistency is a multi-side trait, particularly noticeable among the Bafia Coals whose philosophy abounds in contradictions, dependent upon customs handed down to the single works of different families.

The Bafia Coals are convinced not only by the omnipresence of supernatural beings, they are constantly subjected to the influence of their fetishes. They are far less individualistic than white people. It did not bear that he can do as he pleases. Not he can disregard the restrictions of bare men, he often does so, but only because public opinion recognizes that he has earned a position of eminence by giving many [illegible]. The Bafia [illegible] exercise is force because he feels that everyone is aware of his values. The man who performs some ceremony in accordance with an ancestral myth recognizes himself with his fetishes, and is strengthened by the conviction that he has gained their support and approbation. In every phase of life, a person is profoundly affected by the approval or disapproval of his neighbours. In present the construction of small houses, each occupied by a single family, makes it possible for a man to hide himself, or to be more unknown to the eye of the community. This lessens the force of public opinion, although it is even not more proper than conscious in checking anti-social acts. Formerly, in communal houses, every action was fully known, making individual freedom of thought and act virtually impossible. A man is deeply influenced by his relatives who take a great share in what the white man would consider purely family affairs. The effect of the group upon the individual must not be overlooked, and can be the more stressed in a study of these people.

The education and conversion of the younger men have [illegible] their fetishes upon their fathers. In [illegible]

tions, older relations were severed, not only as some members of the ancestral family, but as those most familiar with myths and other cherished possessions. With the spread of new ideas, the young people no longer respect the love of their elders, and consequently do not heed their admonitions and advice. Theoretically, such self-reliance would seem desirable, but in practice it has led to unfortunate results. A young man, considering himself superior to the older people, glories in acting on his own initiative, but too often he lacks the requisite strength of character to guide his own life. If he wishes to drink, he does so; if he desires to marry, he chooses his mate without considering the transmission of ancestral rights which enhibited unions in former times. If he tires of his wife, he deserts her for another; if he cheats or steals, he is no longer restrained by relatives who fear disgrace. The elders, incapable of assuming the role, watch sadly and ask seriously whether the coming of the white man has brought compensation for the loss it has caused. It is deplorable that the emancipation of the younger men and women has taken place before the development of the sense of individual responsibility and conscience which public opinion formerly rendered less necessary. Christianity provides a moral code for those who are fully conversed, but for the many in the transition stage, the break-down of the old system of family influence has been tragic.

Profound religious beliefs and lack of individual initiative are shared by all Bella Coola with the exception, perhaps, of a few of the younger people who, having been educated in white man's schools, have adopted the new outlook unconditionally. In some characteristics they display as wide variability as any other people. In worthfulness, for example, they range from one extreme to the other. As the writer became familiar with the older men, he found it possible to recognize without difficulty the strength of some and the weakness of others. There are liars, but they can be easily detected owing to their lack of fluency. It is a pleasure to record the reliability of the author's friends and informants. Their capacity was checked repeat-

[577] [126] ally until complete confidence was established, simplifying work in the field to an enormous extent. Equal trust could be placed on these men in other respects; articles of value were repeatedly left in their houses with the absolute certainty that they would be guarded with care. Some few individuals there were, however, who were neither honest nor trustworthy. [771] Bella Coola religion is not concerned with ethics, but public opinion demands honour in dealing with relatives or friends. [126] In former times, for example, debts incurred by an individual were considered a liability by his relations. If a man died after [577] [126] buying goods on credit for a potlatch, his family were disgraced if they failed to pay his bills; now, unfortunately, nothing concerns the younger people, many of whom try to avoid meeting even their own debts, much less those of dead relatives. Individual conscience has not replaced the tribal and, more specifically, family influence. Dishonesty in small matters is not [126] [777] uncommon, particularly in dealing with white people who, according to the Bella Coola, were the first to transgress. The older people bitterly lament the lack of morality of the younger and men, probably with some justification, that they would have been prevented by the open life which prevailed when several families shared a single house. On the whole, however, the average Bella Coola is probably no less honest than the average white man.

[153] [126] Individuals vary enormously in mental ability. In making this investigation, it was necessary to interview all the older people of the tribe. Disregarding those unwilling to provide information, it was found that some absolutely lacked the ability to explain matters with which they were familiar; some did not have sufficient patience to be good teachers; some were so forgetful that they would omit necessary points in a story or account; some were downright stupid, whereas others displayed mental ability of no mean order. In reading ethnological literature, one is apt to think of the troubles experienced by the author, and to overlook the fact that natives have as

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great difficulties in explaining their customs, as the white man has in understanding them.

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The writer was impressed by the brilliance shown by several of the natives. Joshua Moody, for example, is essentially the philosopher. More individualistic than most of his tribesmen, he was one of the first to adopt Christianity and has been a faithful follower of the new creed. Deeply interested in religious questions, he has sound up what has been told him of the Bible and pondered deeply on all problems of life. Not particularly practical, subject to fits of anger or moroseness, but with a meditative temperament which delights in seeking biblical parallels and synonyms for Bella Coola practices, he is the kind of mind which, in other walks of life, would have produced the professor of philosophy. Jim Pollard is quite another type. Essentially practical, he has devoted his energies to keeping abreast of changing conditions. He is the best singer and composer in Bella Coola, the best canoeman for miles; he has learnt to handle a motor-boat engine, to aid prospectors for minerals, and has succeeded in amassing and saving a considerable amount of money. Jim excelled all other informants in clearness and logical pronunciation of his explanations, though he showed a slight tendency, intelligible enough, to gloss over aspects which he knew would be considered unpleasant. If Jim had been a white man, he would undoubtedly have made his mark in the world of business. The late Captain Schooner differed from either of the preceding. Older than they, and uncontrolled, he, perhaps, came nearest to the original, uncontaminated Bella Coola type. Heavy in build, coarse in humour and expression, he had a heart of gold and was a fine example of a native gentleman. He was glad to assist most patiently in recording ancient lore, being intensely proud of the traditions of his ancestors. A friendship developed from this which is one of the writer's happiest memories. Often in the evenings life in general was discussed, the war, the rush of progress in big cities, the quest for wealth, the spread of white civilization, and the problems raised by the contact of peoples.

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115 Schooner lacked the mental acumen of Joshua and Jim, but
177 he revealed himself as a tribal patriarch, proud of his family's
[153] history and eager to assist his grandchildren and great-grand-
children, but feeling himself lost and helpless in the struggle before them. With sadness, but without bitterness, he used to speak of the approaching end of Bella Coola culture, and his words brought home the tragedy which the spread of civilization brings to so many, and the responsibility resting upon the white people as a whole.

153 Until an intelligence test is devised to correlate the mental
118 ability of the white man with that of the native, it is impossible to compare the two scientifically. None the less, the writer deliberately expresses the opinion that Joshua Moody and Jim Pollard are two of the most brilliant men he has met in any walk of life. They are undoubtedly the most able of the Bella Coola; others have only slightly less ability, while the mass of the population compares favourably with an
178 average white community. Their ability, however, is deficiently conditioned by their conservatism. Absolute trust in the traditions of their ancestors has checked speculation, as the established explanation is never questioned; new inventions, unauthorized by custom, have been regarded as almost sacri-
[124] legious; the force of public opinion, while valuable as a deterrent to anti-social practices, has effectively restrained innovations. The Bella Coola are a good example of a community where development has been atrophied by extreme conservatism fostered by religious beliefs.

105 Taking into account the material obstacles, the achiev-
[322] ements of these people have not been insignificant. In former times, provided only with tools of stone and untempered copper, they built graceful canoes, made watertight boxes, hewed planks from mighty cedars, and erected large houses which called for considerable engineering skill. Judged by
[533] white standards, their carving and painting lacked artistic deli-
[533] cacy, but it required no mean ability to portray crest designs to meet their own standards. Passing from the purely mechanical

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

515 sionally, in a half-hearted manner, but it is not unusual for a man to allow the basin of water in which he makes his ablutions to remain standing for two or three weeks. Not many [177] years ago the Carriers taught their neighbours to make a kind [246] of soap from the ashes of burnt cottonwood sticks thrown into [388] water; with this clothes are washed irregularly and in most cases from sheer necessity only. In former times bathing was [789] a semi-sacred rite, but this fell into disuse with the passing of [177] the old religion, and the use of soap and water merely for the [291] sake of cleanliness has not become a daily habit. The women have more vanity; the younger girls especially like to have new clothes, though they wear them carelessly, heedless of fit. [196] An effort is often made to clean up for ceremonial dances, but it entails little more than the removal of the more obvious dirt and the putting on, over unchanged undergarments, of a sweater. Pride in personal appearance, love of tidiness, delight in a clean house, are all quite foreign to the Bella Coola.

956 Probably the reason for lack of comforts in the houses is simply that the people do not feel the need for them. They [264] consider it no hardship to sit on a rickety chair, scoop up food [231] from a common dish and, if they think of it, throw morsels [152] down to the dog or the cat. The smell, the flies, the dirt, the chaos do not concern them. Capable of undergoing privations, hardships, and even sufferings, they think neither of the comfort of themselves nor of others. Their domestic animals are 231 often treated abominably, not through lack of affection or cruelty, but from callousness. More than once the writer has seen a favourite dog steal a piece of food from the table. Its master, after a furious blow or kick at it, would suddenly, as if by inspiration, throw a choice bit to the animal, saying:

"Why, he must have been hungry!"

Though the Bella Coola feel a kinship with animals unknown to the white man, it is not combined with any recognition of their feelings as living creatures. There are, of course, many exceptions, but on the whole public opinion demands [577] generosity and kindness only towards human members of the group. The moral code is not concerned with animals.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

105 of their omnipresence; the guiding force of public opinion is
182 seen as a check on individual licence, fostered or inculcated by
[626] the ties which hold together ancestral families and make it impossible for a man to lead an isolated life where others will not be affected by his actions. If the white man is willing to receive new ideas, he will learn much from the comments of the Bella Coola on his own customs. Many have been to
[556] Victoria or Vancouver, and they feel that the contrasts of wealth observable in such big cities are atrocious; they ask
[602] how this is compatible with Christianity. They feel that it is unnatural for a man not to receive support from his cousins of
[556] all degrees; that the hoarding of wealth for the mere gratification of personal desires is selfish; that the selling of land is extraordinary; and that failure to ascribe every incident to supernatural causes is sacrilegious. These differences of viewpoint on so many matters explain the first impression of strangeness. A careful investigator comes to realize that he is among a people who fundamentally differ but slightly from his compatriots, though outwardly they have little in common. With respect to love, ambition, parental affection, sense of honour, pride, intelligence, even humour and vanity, the Bella Coola are essentially similar to ourselves. Unfortunately, these characteristics are expressed in ways unintelligible and often repellant to the casual traveller. If he will only look beneath the surface, he will find a people who are neither saints nor sinners, but essentially human, with the faults and follies as well as the elements of strength and wisdom which comprise, as Kipling puts it, "Men in a world of men."

177 The coming of the white civilization has been cataclysmic
[161] to the Bella Coola. Within two generations they have been reduced to a mere handful; instead of living in scattered vil-
[36] lages, roaming the mountains for game and fishing at will, they now dwell in a single settlement and the taking of animals and fish is subject to law; the introduction of metal tools and mechanical appliances has revolutionized their mode of life; new foods, new clothing, new furniture has altered their living conditions; fermented drink has presented a factor unknown

Lillooet Commonwealth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

to their forefathers. Profound as these material changes have 177
been, those of a psychological nature have been even more
important. New worlds have been thrown open to them,
stimulating ideas have been brought to their attention, and
they have realized for the first time that the world is infinitely
larger than they had imagined. Hand in hand with this exten-
sion of knowledge has gone disbelief in their own ancient lore. [191]
The white man, whose superiority and mechanical skill they
admit, positively denies the actuality of their mythology, and
laughs at the dramatic performances which were wont to fill
the winter with engrossing interest. Such rites can flourish [196]
only in an attitude of profound belief: this has been so shaken
that the dances continue listlessly, a mere shadow of a once
living art. The young people were the first to embrace a
scepticism that has rapidly grown into disbelief of the faith of [171]
their ancestors, and a half-concealed scorn for their elders, the [561]
upholders of the old customs. Worst of all, prohibition of the
potlatch has made it impossible for a man to reach a position [556]
of social eminence. Moreover, since the holding of any type [431]
of ceremonial requires a distribution of gifts, formal gatherings
of all kinds have become virtually impossible; even marriages [581]
have no longer the social support that formerly made them
so lasting.

These cumulative blows would be enough to shake any 177
civilization, and that of the Bella Coola has been entirely 182
unable to adjust itself to the new conditions. The young people,
having lost respect for their elders, are deprived of the advice
and support essential to the continuity of culture. They ape
the white man's dress; they want his mechanical devices, but
have failed to assimilate them. For example, a gramophone
in a Bella Coola house is an anachronism, while several similar
articles spoil the old picture but do not provide a new one.
Seeking to copy the new ways thrown open to them, they have
achieved the outward show but not the substance, and in so
doing have destroyed their own culture. In the old days they
were ambitious to hold potlatches and willing to work steadily
towards that goal; now, new desires have not kept pace with

their earning ability and a man can easily his wages by working for a few months each summer. The decline of community has left a blank in their lives, too easily filled, alas, with drinking, idleness, and vice. It is inevitable that the old vices and old ambitions should pass, but the prohibition of these before new ones had taken their place, has been disastrous. The Bella Coola have lost their pride, a calamity as fatal to a people as to an individual.

They have shown undoubted ability in developing such of their own talents as fit the needs and requirements of the white man. Expert carpenters for generations, they have readily learnt the use of new tools and now build houses and boats of considerable constructional skill. They have proved themselves valuable employees of the canneries which rely to a large extent upon Indian labour. Under instruction from a white teacher, a number of the younger men have formed a band which gives creditable performances with wind and percussion instruments. One can only deplore the fact that the skill of the Bella Coola in carving, painting, acting, singing, composing, and story-telling could not have been guided into channels where it would have developed and added lustre to the new world in which they find themselves.

The white man's civilization presses forward as an overwhelming flood, blotting out the cultures of lesser peoples in all parts of the world. This is inevitable, probably it is well that it should be so, but it offers little consolation to a tribe like the Bella Coola. Their life has been destroyed; and, wonderingly, half-proudly, half-plaintively, the survivors watch the downfall of all that their ancestors cherished. Too often the white man fails to understand this; too often he fails to realize that progress, as he sees it, is wiping out valuable elements of civilizations other than his own instead of seeking the good in them and preserving it for the benefit of himself and the native alike. The Bella Coola culture is dying, and with it will pass forever something created by a Canadian people, not great perhaps, but ineffably stamped with their personality.

of the older people remember seeing in their youth another type, labrets, with a high raised point, this may have been identical with the labrets which others describe as having an elevated base and a low point. Its apparently different craft was the mother's, named from one of the gents, probably the white-footed gent. A strip of maple fastened along each side coupled the canoe in mourning, with a sound like that of the peculiar resting flight of the bird. The bow was often carved in the form of a bird's head and the stern in that of a tail to further the resemblance. Its living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of these canoes, though some had heard of them from their grandparents. The large, open cups of cedar made by the Haida are known to the Bella Coola, but not concerned by them. Sails were used on all ocean-going canoes, they were usually of matting, though skins sewn together were occasionally employed.

Canoes are occasionally lashed together. In several footer dances a wide platform for dancing is required, and the usual is met by lashing planks crosswise over two canoes, near the bow and stern, thus fastening them together. Planking is laid on the two supports and a platform is constructed. Careful inquiries showed that this fastening was merely a temporary arrangement, the beams were not found in any particular manner, nor was there any fixed distance between the craft. Sometimes the same expedient was used for transport when the load was too heavy for two canoes separately, a device which is said to have been used more commonly by the tribes of the upper coast than the Bella Coola. Canoes lashed together are termed *ts-ontsip*.

Rafts, *ts-ulwal'a*, consisting of rough logs fastened together with cross-pieces, were commonly used on the lakes of the interior, and occasionally for river work where canoes were unavailable and there was no time to make them. Another expedient in similar emergencies was to make bark canoes, such as are still constructed by the Carriers. The Bella Coola regard the construction of these as definite copying, and do not profess to have as much skill as their teachers whose canoes, it is said, can be folded for packing. There is a tradition that, many generations ago, a few clever Bella Coola knew how to make skin canoes.

THE PREPARATION OF CEDAR-BARK.

Early spring is the time to *ts-ulwal'a*, that is, to gather the inner bark of the cedar. Men occasionally assist in the task, though this is really woman's work. The worker selects a small cedar, choosing one about six inches in diameter, with smooth trunk and relatively free from knots. With a knife she makes a horizontal incision in the bark, two or three feet from the ground, sometimes girdling the sapling. Then she inserts her

[illegible] flowers to, and has stamen filled in to form the necessary. Even as the process [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] 1-5 (1929-1931) 1931
[illegible]

[illegible] MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE BELLACOOLA

By [illegible]

MANY of the Bellacoola Indians today believe in sympathetic magic and witchcraft, after over a hundred years of contact with white men. Most of them live within hearing of the bells of the mission church, and the government schools. Not a few of the men take logging contracts; some of them hunt and operate motor boats; many of them join the fishing fleets for the salmon canneries; most of the women work in the canneries; and all dress as the white men's stores.

The Bellacoola lived at the heads of the long inlets half way up the Pacific Coast of Canada and in the tributary Bella Coola valley. Now, numbering perhaps two hundred and fifty, they, with the exception of a few families, are concentrated on one reservation at the mouth of the Bella Coola river. The Bella Coola valley has been called the Norway of Canada. This was where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada overland, reached the sea.

Historically, the Bellacoola were of the North Pacific Coast culture of America, which is characterized by the extensive use of red cedar and sea products, particularly salmon, the making of graceful, sea-going canoes, each hewn from a single cedar, the erection of large rectangular houses made of cedar planks, with carved house posts and totem poles, lack of pottery, and expertness in carpenter work, carving, and painting. This culture belongs to the barefoot area, but the Bellacoolas were moccasins to a certain extent. The art of the area was that best known from the paintings and carvings of the totem poles, largely of conventionalized animal forms. The life centred around a very highly developed social organization, an extensive and powerful financial system, and property rights to names, rituals and honors. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. They

Achillea millefolium L., Yarrow

Bella Coola: Leaves chewed and applied to burns.
Southern Carrier: Entire plant, except the roots, boiled, and the decoction taken internally as frequent intervals for colds.
Leaves chewed and applied to sprains and swellings.
Gitksan: The young plant, except the roots, gathered between June 1 and July 31, boiled, and the decoction sampled for sore throats. Roots, washed by the dead stalks, dug out at other seasons and used instead.

Artemisia discolor Dougl., Sagebrush, Coast Wormwood

Bella Coola: Used for medicine.
Southern Carrier: Chewed and applied to sprains and swellings.
Northern Carrier: Sagebrush (sp. ?) steeped in water and the tea decoction taken internally for headache.

Artemisia Gnaphalodes Green, Evergreen

Bella Coola: Leaves boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pains in the body, but not for pains in the limbs. Not used for colds.
Southern Carrier: Not used.
Gitksan: Not used.

Taraxacum officinale Weber., Common Dandelion introduced

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting. Remedy said to have been learned from white men.
Gitksan: Not used.

Lactuca spicata (Lam.) Hooke., Tall Lettuce

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and many cups of the decoction taken internally for heart trouble, hemorrhage, pains in the body (but not in the limbs), for vomiting, or for diarrhoea. Neither an emetic nor a purgative. Milky juice not used.
Gitksan: Not used.

Prenanthes alata (Hook.) Gray, Rattlesnake Root

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, two or three cupfuls of the decoction taken internally daily for colds. For a baby only a small spoonful given three or four times a day.
Bella Coola: Chewed, and applied to burns or to any painful part of the body.
Boiled, and two or three cupfuls of the decoction taken internally daily.

Mimulus alsine Bland, Moss

Southern Carrier: Entire plant, except the "roots", boiled, and two or three cupfuls of the decoction used to bathe a swollen face.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] words of Kwakiutl derivation will become clear by a glance at the following list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin:—

[illegible]

[illegible]

With these names and customs the clan traditions must have found their way to the Bella Coola, but their social organization differed fundamentally from that of the Bella Bella branch of the Kwakiutl. While the latter, owing to intimate contact with the northern tribes, had adopted the four-clan system with gyneaceum maternal descent, the Bella Coola were still distinctly divided into village communities that were not exogamic. It seems very likely that the potency with which the ownership of a clan tradition was guarded by the Coast tribes was very early transferred among the Bella Coola. Two means were available for preventing outsiders from acquiring the traditions. Among the Coast tribes with gyneaceum maternal institutions, among whom a limited number of clans existed, the ordinary law of inheritance was sufficient to retain the traditions inside of the clan. But as among the Bella Coola, if their organization at an early time was similar to that of the Coast Salish, it is likely that the child was counted as well a member of the father's as of the mother's family, although the young women generally moved to the village occupied by her husband. If the child belonged to the families of both parents, it had the right to use the traditions of either family; and consequently in the course of a few generations, the traditions acquired by each family would have spread practically over the whole tribe. There were only two methods possible to avoid this result. The one was to prevent marriages outside the village community; and this method would seem to have been most natural for a tribe organized in village communities, members of which were allowed to intermarry. The other method would have been to regulate the laws of inheritance in such a way that the child had to

[illegible] other [illegible] or mother, but has a half and the right to use the property of both parents. It seems to us, which that the matter method [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to develop under the existing social conditions, and that in the [illegible] we must ascribe the development of an endogamic system among the Bella Coola. The occurrence of endogamic marriage among this tribe is quite isolated on the Pacific coast. All the other tribes have exogamic institutions, and by this means preserve their property rights. It is interesting to note that the southern Kwakiutl, who originally seem to have been organized in village communities, have adopted exogamic institutions; but there is a notable difference in the organization of the village community between the Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl. Among the Bella Coola we generally find four families to each village,—usually three men and one woman. It seems that there are generally called brothers and sisters, but they were essentially independently by birth, and are therefore not necessarily considered as blood relatives. Among the Kwakiutl the village community are considered the descendants of one single being; consequently, among the latter tribe they are all relatives, who are forbidden to intermarry; while among the Bella Coola they are not relatives, and may intermarry.

It interests us, therefore, that the various social system of the Bella Coola developed through the influence of the contact of the Coast tribes upon the home social unit of the Salish village community. The possession of clan traditions was felt as a great advantage, and consequently the desire developed to possess clan traditions. These were acquired partly by intermarriage with the Coast tribes, as is shown by the fact that many of these traditions are borrowed from these tribes, partly by independent invention. The desire to guard the traditions which were once acquired led to the development of endogamic institutions, in order to prevent the spread of the traditions over the whole tribe.

The jealousy with which the traditions are guarded has had the effect of making each family try to prevent other families from knowing its own clan traditions. For this reason the clan traditions of the whole tribe are remarkably inconsistent. We find, for instance, that the well-known raven legend of the northern Coast tribes has been utilized by many families as a family tradition. But while one family uses one part of the tradition, other families use other parts of the same tradition. Thus it happens that among the Bella Coola we find the most contradictory myths in regard to important events in the world's history. Some families maintain that the Raven liberated the sun, while, according to another one, the Hawk was essential in bringing about the present state of affairs. Still others say that Tsimo'ten, during his travels, caused the sun to appear. The discrepancies in the traditions relating to the visit of the Hawk and Wasp to their fellow, the Bear, are also very remarkable. Although a considerable amount of

[illegible] contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the South Pacific [illegible] they continue exist with a degree of intensity [illegible] Bella Coola, and I present the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families [illegible] the various conditions.

The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to Sun or Thing but a considerable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Lord the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun prays he [illegible] a will for their numbers and men will be happy; consequently the prayer to the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from the Coast tribes is the Initiation ceremonial, with which are connected the various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism. The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the Kwakiutl are practically identical. I will show (in [illegible]) the legend explaining the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another tradition is told to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsiwae, who lives in the woods, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the lands of a chief by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by the a distinct tribe is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the various inconsistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the world and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not coordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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quantities of ducks and geese, and the inhabitants of the inland villages sometimes made hunting expeditions to the nesting places of wild-fowl in the lakes of the interior uplands. Although numbers of birds were sometimes killed in this way, they were never a steady article of diet. The same is true of grouse. Always plentiful, these birds were commonly killed, but never in large numbers. 223 [136] [262]

The basis of the food supply was fish. The river teemed with salmon, which enabled the country to support its relatively large population. Spring, sockeye, hump-back, dog, and coho salmon, all entered the river in thousands during the spring and summer, while the steel-head could be caught throughout the year. They were taken in weirs and their flesh smoked for winter use. Throughout the year, salmon was the principal article of diet. Second in importance was the olachen, a fish somewhat resembling a herring, which entered the river in great numbers during April or May. They were taken in purse-like nets,[1] allowed to rot for ten days or two weeks, and then boiled. The grease was skimmed off and kept indefinitely to be used as a relish for other foods. It was always a sign of poverty if a person were obliged to eat berries without olachen grease. Trout and bull-heads were found in the river, but were not sufficiently plentiful to be of importance. 226 262 [251] [252] [263] [237] [735] [556]

Although no form of agriculture was practised, the Bella Coola used vegetable food to a considerable extent. Berries were abundant; some were eaten raw, but many more were pounded into a pulpy mass and dried in the sun. Cakes prepared in this way kept indefinitely and formed one of the regular winter foods. The bark of the hemlock and cottonwood was eaten, as well as the roots of many plants. In recent years many of these have not been used, so that an investigator is apt to overlook their great importance in early times. Although useless for food, the cedar was the corner-stone of Bella Coola material culture. From its trunk were split out, with wedges, the wide planks which formed 262 [241] [251] [178] 824 322

[1] See Appendix A for a description of olachen fishing.

sun attached to another land above the one of which our sky is the underside. Boas (p. 28) has described this upper land in some detail. A number of Bella Coola were questioned on this subject, but for some time no one could be found with knowledge of its existence. At length one of the older people remembered that a man who had died some thirty years ago had a personal story concerned with it, and later a Kimsquit man was able to furnish definite information. He explained that in his family there was a myth dealing with this matter; others might have heard this myth, but since it was not their property, of course they would not be able to impart the facts contained in it, nor would they necessarily believe it. Consequently, an upper land, superimposed above that which is immediately over the earth, cannot be described as a Bella Coola belief; it is shared, so far as could be ascertained, by only two families.

The chief feature of this uppermost world is its distance and unapproachableness. To the supernatural beings living in the intermediate land it is a *far-off* place; in fact, their attitude towards it corresponds to that with which mortals regard the land above their own. The supernatural ones can, when they wish, visit this upper world, which is called *Nuqui-lâlo*. A sun shines there, but it is a different kind of sun from that known to mortals. On the whole it appears that this upper sky-land does not differ materially from either the earth or the land immediately above. No human being has ever reached this distant land, so what little is known about it was brought down in the beginning of time by the first people.

In addition to these two upper worlds, the Bella Coola know of one, or perhaps two, below. One of these is inhabited by ghosts.[1] It somewhat resembles the earth, but is unsubstantial and ethereal. It is considered to be immediately

[1] At the present time the Bella Coola are in a state of transition between the old beliefs and the new. This concept is held only by the older people, so it might be more accurate to describe it as one which they, the tribe as a whole, used to know. It has been thought advisable to use the present tense throughout in recording customs and beliefs which are now rapidly passing away.

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from the moon and stated that there were mountains and snow on it. It is commonly stated that the marks on the moon represent a man carrying a bucket.

The stars figure but slightly either in Bella Coola mythology or thought; it is not even known who made them. Two in the Great Bear constellation are called respectively *Tpikoie* and *Xwpuus*, "Little Girls." A lone star in the same part of the sky, named *A'ise*, is said to be following the girls to the forest for illicit intercourse.

Moon, stars, and shows all the sun, were, and still are to a certain extent, used by the Bella Coola in computing the passage of time. There are no individuals with the definite prerogative of keeping count of time, but formerly wise old men used to do so.[1] Differences of opinion were the rule rather than the exception, a condition which often led to bitter disputes concerning the proper date for starting the winter ceremonials. Boas (p. 41) has recorded the Bella Coola calendar in greater detail than the present writer has been able to do. The making of calendrical observations is a lost art and the following list of the months was all that could be learnt. It will be noted that these agree with Boas in regard to the months in the early part of the year, but not in those between the summer and winter solstices; no explanation is offered for this disparity.

First moon after the summer solstice: *Sikilamtak*, which has the significance, "The Time for Sockeye Salmon to Ascend the River."

Second moon after the summer solstice: *Sl'islalit*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon."

Third moon after the summer solstice: *Sl'ismai·ut*, "The Time for Eating Coho Salmon."

Fourth moon after the summer solstice: *Sioilpum*, "The Time for Gathering Fern Root," or *Sidakoo di Awo'lilwolnix*,

[1] Kimsquit informant stated that there were professional calendrical experts in his home, when he was a young lad although members of the *hamat* society (II, chap. 1) sometimes attended to this matter.

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not systematized; if a man is asked about the powers or functions of a certain supernatural being, he will usually answer by recounting a story in which that being appears. What is known respecting many of the lesser supernatural beings depends upon information contained in stories, and as many of these are personal possessions, it follows that there is tremendous variation in individual knowledge. Psychologically, this is of little importance; there are enough supernatural beings for everyone to know some of them, and to expect to meet or hear them in the forests. To insert many of the stories contained in later chapters would break the sequence of description; all that is here attempted is to give a general summary, in a way foreign to Bella Coola thought. 771 776* [424] [184]

Supernatural beings are by no means all-powerful. It is true that they have miraculous powers and can work weal or woe to human beings who chance to come in contact with them, but likewise they may sometimes be overwhelmed by mortals armed with objects steeped in human essence, such as a blanket which has been worn until it is impregnated not only with the smell, but the physical being of its owner. In particular, shamans or other mortals of great strength have been able to conquer the supernatural ones. Consequently, it may be said that although supernatural beings live on a plane different from that of mortals, they are not omnipotent. Long, long ago, man was able to come in contact with them more frequently, but that golden age when the semi-mythical ancestors of the Bella Coola were living has long since passed away, though it is only within the last few years that such beings, particularly supernatural animals, have become comparatively rare. The Bella Coola give three main reasons for this: 776* [756] [773] 776* 178

(1) Supernatural animals do not like the sound of muskets and have moved far away.

(2) With increasing dependence on the canning industry, fewer hunters penetrate into their haunts in the distant parts of the mountains.

(3) The younger Bella Coola no longer take pains to purify themselves as a means of placating supernatural beings.

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and eagles whom he invites to devour it. In so doing, he does not address them by their usual names, but calls Wolf, *Ałkwi-gunum*, "The Devourer of Meat Which He Does Not Kill," that is, "The Biting Scavenger"; and Eagle, *Ałsiłkuyutmunum*, "The Constant Eater," that is, "The One Who Eats before He Is Hungry." Next morning the flesh has been devoured and the hunter believes his guests have eaten it. Animals and birds, being supernatural, can hear the words of mortals and read their thoughts. The significance of these actions is that animals have the power to conceal themselves, so a hunter must gain their favour before he can hope to succeed. Belief in the efficacy of such customs as these is rapidly falling into decay and bear meat is now often eaten, but the skull is carefully placed in an evergreen tree near where the animal is slain, so that it may come back to life.

224 825 [552] [178] [262]

Fish, likewise, are immortal. In autumn the streams are choked with dead and dying salmon, but the Bella Coola know that they are not really dead, they have merely shed their worthless blankets in accordance with *Ałquntźm*'s decrees. At that season of the year he causes the rivers to rise so that they will sweep away these useless and outworn cloaks.

825 [785] [776] [823]

Although the salmon, from the kindness of their hearts, allow human beings to feast on their blankets, yet they have certain likes and dislikes which are carefully observed. From the time the first spring salmon appear (I, pp. 759-761) until the rising of the July moon, women are not allowed to eat them or to go near the river. Men may eat the flesh, but instead of throwing the bones to dogs, they carefully return them to the river saying:

[262] [784] [562]

"Please come back tomorrow."

If this is inconvenient, bones can be thrown into the woods with impunity.

Salmon, like men and animals, live a human-like existence in their homes far beneath the surface of the ocean. They lack and desire earthly objects, especially pounded cedar-bark (see Appendix A) to use as sponges for their children, so the Bella Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

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974 becomes critical. Only a shaman (I, p. 339) can return one, and
955 if he fails death always results. In some cases a spirit leaves
[953] its owner without apparent reason; he becomes insane, tries
[956] to eat dirt, and his relatives realize at once what is the matter. They summon a shaman who takes off his cape, hangs it like a pouch on his stick, and points it in all directions as he sings his shaman's song. Finally he locates what is missing, and traps it in his cloak, which he places around the sick man. This restores the element and the sufferer recovers immediately. Another method is for the shaman to press the back of the patient's neck, and by blowing and spitting cause the wandering spirit to return. Either cure must be performed by a shaman because of the supernatural power required.

974 Spirits can be extracted in various ways. Shamans can draw one forth by sucking at the back of the neck between their cupped hands; in former times, some were so powerful that they could extract them by their mere presence. During
974 *kwiat* dances (II, chap. i), the uninitiated are told that if they
575 enter the house where a ceremony is taking place, or even pass
[535] on the sidewalk outside the door, their spirits will be drawn from them by the power within and attracted to the dancer or to the sacred platform on which he is concealed. Many
[178] stories are told of this, which were firmly believed by the uninitiated until the last few years. Members of the society claim that their great power acts as a magnet to the spirits of all but their associates, except children in arms; the latter can be taken by their mothers into the house, because their supernatural elements have not developed sufficient strength to
974 leave their bodies. A person may also lose his spirit through a sudden shock. If two people meet unexpectedly in the forest and one of them shouts loudly at the other, even if only in fun, the spasmodic contraction of the muscles is enough to expel it.
[961] The person to whom this happens falls down as if dead, and
[750] though he soon recovers, his spirit has left him, and if it is not brought back by a shaman he dies a lingering death.

975 At death, the spirit permanently leaves the body. In some

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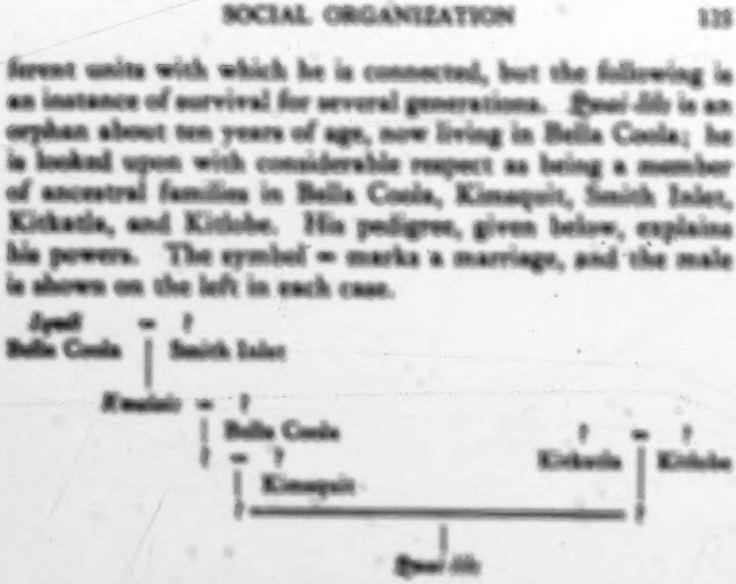
ferent units with which he is connected, but the following is an instance of survival for several generations. *Ḵ̓wai-lib* is an orphan about ten years of age, now living in Bella Coola; he is looked upon with considerable respect as being a member of ancestral families in Bella Coola, Kimsquit, Smith Inlet, Kitkatla, and Kitlobe. His pedigree, given below, explains his powers. The symbol = marks a marriage, and the male is shown on the left in each case.



Theoretically, *Ḵ̓wai-lib* is as much a native of Smith Inlet as he is of Bella Coola where his father made his home. If he should visit Smith Inlet and make known his pedigree, he would be received by the members of the ancestral family of his great-great-grandmother.[1] His welcome would be more assured if he were the owner of a name from their origin myth. Difficulties of communication and frequent wars made it virtually impossible in the old days to keep in touch with relatives in distant tribes, except in the case of a mighty chief who was able to invite visitors from great distances to feasts. Thus names taken by women to foreign husbands were virtually lost to the members of her ancestral family. In the course of a few generations, such designations carried afield would be revived as if dormant by some member of the family, and all recollection of the foreign marriage forgotten.

[628]
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553
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[1] On the Bella Coola are now living in a single village, it was impossible to obtain a numbers instances of the ownership by one individual of rights in a number of localities within the tribal area. It appears certain, however, that the sentiments expressed with regard to *Ḵ̓wai-lib* at Smith Inlet are identical with those formerly held for generations in ancestral families located in different Bella Coola villages.

[628]

The of this process of loss is the assimilation to
an origi names originally brought into the ancestral
family nan from abroad. Unless intercourse and
friendly were maintained by "return marriages," in
a few ge no tradition would be remembered to account
for the this, if used at all, would be interwoven into
the wel ncestral myth. Hence a myth is not static
with re e names embodied in it. These change from
generat eration; it is probable that elements of the
story in like additions and alterations, even though
the pen consider this to be the case.

The la regard the ancestral family as a social unit,
not onl of the present, but as stretching back to the
first ser f the earth. Viewed from this angle, it is in
fact, th admitted to be so by the Bella Coola, a uni-
lateral with patrilineal descent, which may, in both
the mo nd most ancient generations, be marked by
matrilin t instead. A man frequently uses preroga-
tives o rough his mother, her mother, or even her
mother, but it is tacitly assumed that for many
previo ons such rights passed in the patrilineal line.
Sometimes uccession extended back to the beginning of
time; ses, prerogatives were transmitted matrilineally for able period after the settlement of the earth,
before becoming patrilineal.

It thus far assumed that the only prerogative
wrapped ancestral name is a knowledge of the myth
in which bodied. But there are others. For example,
several t inhabitants of the world are said to have
crests les, each of which was displayed by its owner
at the when he took for himself a name. Thence-
forth, erson entitled to use that particular totem-
pole dance he person with the legal right to the name in
question. ame principle governs all dance names; each
entitle to perform a certain ceremonial. Thus it is
possible e the previous definition by saying that:

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names are also willed, but since their value depends on the 578
goods expended to validate them, there is seldom bitterness 614
about their allotment. Indeed, a chief who is the legal owner 553
of a designation which came from above in the beginning of
time, will in many cases choose to elevate his position with [428]
respect to a title of comparatively recent date. But if any
person who is not a member of the ancestral family should [685]
dare to use an ancestral name, all the members rise to avenge
the theft, for such they feel it to be. In recent years, however, [178]
this practice has become comparatively common. In such
cases a man, eager to share in the glories of a myth and able
to give a potlatch, has validated an ancestral name to which
he has no right. The presence of the white man alone
restrains the injured ancestral family. Names are sometimes
lent or hired to those who are not members of the group for [426]
definite sums; the recipient recompenses the individual. If [427]
such names are not returned for several generations quarrels
are apt to arise since the recipient claims to be the real owner
and not the temporary possessor. During his tenancy of the
name he is entitled to any prerogative attached to it, but he
is not considered a *bona fide* member of the ancestral family.

Instances have occurred in which an old man or woman, [428]
believing himself to be the last survivor of an ancestral family,
has donated his names and myth to those who have befriended
him, or these have been taken by those who buried him. Some [557]
individuals are constantly watching to conduct the funerals of
friendless old people in the hope of so obtaining names. But
in almost every case this leads to friction, since it is virtually
impossible for an ancestral family to die out. Perhaps in the
next generation, perhaps in the following one, some youth will
claim descent from the first ancestors of the supposedly defunct
family, and claim the myth and names embodied therein. This [628]
leads to a feud with the person, or his descendants, who has
received the names through aid given to the "last" of the
family.

Such instances of an ancestral family becoming practically 614
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226
lies in public opinion which expresses contempt for a lazy man 626
who is constantly begging.

To anyone familiar with the definite social groupings of a 614
tribe divided into clans or land-owning families, the ancestral family of the Bella Coola must appear as a vague and unreal unit, only distinguished by its intangibility. So it was found when investigating in the field. When information began to accumulate, it seemed as if there must be some definite obligations incumbent upon all members of the ancestral family, but none could be found. Without asking a direct question, the point was raised whether, if a man were killed, the members [627] of his ancestral family would unite to avenge him. Conversely, were they liable for the deeds of any member? In each case the reply was in the negative; these matters concern only the immediate family. In regulating marriage the ancestral family [582] is important, since it is wise for a man or woman to seek his mate within the members of that group, though it is not compulsory. Theoretically, the terms of kinship applied to members of the immediate family may be extended to members of [601] the ancestral family, but in practice this is rarely the case, [178] and, if so, is functionless. It might be argued that this somewhat wide application of kinship terms, verging on the classificatory usage, is a relic of an earlier, and now broken-down, clan system. It is impossible to prove or to deny such a contention. When trying to discover whether the members 614 of an ancestral family ever contributed to a potlatch whereby 622 one of their fellows established himself as a chief, the following 431 interesting comment was received. The previous winter the 171 informant had been in Bella Bella, and there the point was raised by a Bella Bella chief whom he quoted as follows:

"We laugh at you Bella Coola because each of you is always trying to be chief. Our system is much better; we all help our chiefs."

The man agreed with the Bella Bella man that there was an important difference between the practices of the two tribes.

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594 be made more powerful by magical means or the ritual acts of
869 relatives. Although these often entail great labour and expense, parents seldom neglect their duty; in fact, care for their children is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics, though the methods used are so foreign to the white man that he has difficulty in realizing their meaning. The hope of both
[847] parents is to have children to carry on their names; infanticide is unknown and the death of an infant is mourned almost as
[586] much as that of an adult. Sterility and impotency are frequent causes for divorce.

163 At the present time there is a high birth-rate in Bella
[165] Coola, although the heavy infant mortality prevents any appreciable increase in the population. In the old days, it is said, there were always large families, though much confidence cannot be placed in this statement. In families where there are
593 several children, the first-born, whether boy or girl, assumes an important position. His or her influence, as eldest, is naturally considerable, and the parents foster this through the vague feeling that it is proper for the eldest to be the most important in the family. In adult years, and after marriage, the influence of the eldest of a family continues to have considerable weight with younger brothers and sisters.

592 If a man is poor he cannot hope to have more than one wife,
556 and his family circle will be limited to their children, and perhaps to elderly parents. On the other hand, a wealthy and
[595] powerful man usually has a larger family. Not only may he have several wives, but his aged relatives, and those of his wife,
[602] look to him for support and assistance. Such are usually welcome to live in his house; they lend what aid they can in collecting food, and it gratifies a man's pride and sense of power to be closely surrounded by a large family. The Bella
[888] Coola are, on the whole, considerate to their aged relatives.[18]

[178] [18]This is not true of the present. During the winter of 1923-4 a feeble old man, living alone, was often in actual want of food. Disliked and degraded, of a mean disposition himself, none of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were nephews, would take him into their houses. Commenting on this man's fate, several informants pointed out how, in the old days, such a one could have found

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The married sons of a chief usually live in his house, and if he 592
is very powerful the husbands of his daughters may also reside 556
with him. Such a man is at the zenith of power, surrounded 622
by a close group, formed of elderly relatives, of children and 602
grandchildren. Connections by marriage are also added to the family group. At the present time, for example, one Bella Coola man is looking after his brother's widow, and it is felt that she is a member of his family.

Another way in which a rich man can increase the size of 556
his family is by adoption. Parents who have lost an infant 597
may adopt the child of some member of the ancestral family of 614
either father or mother. The matter is usually arranged soon after birth, and the transfer takes place immediately after weaning. The real parents are willing since they know that the adopting parents will be able to validate valuable prerogatives and names for the child, which they themselves are unable to do. This desire for their child's welfare overrules parental love. In such cases the real father or mother can likewise bestow names and other prerogatives on the child, who really becomes a member of two families. This is often done by an [887]
old couple whose own children have married and moved away, and who thus find themselves lonely. It is considered disgraceful for parents to allow their children to be adopted by anyone not a member of their ancestral family, since that would be an admission of inability to bring up a child in the path of his ancestors.

"Your father was not strong," could be said to such a child as a reproach.

In the case of an orphan some wealthy relative is almost 736
always ready to adopt him. Consequently, as he grows up, he 597
receives his full share of the ancestral origin myth, and the names embodied therein, so that the loss of his own parents is of little consequence in the course of life. Occasionally a child is not adopted by relatives, and then his fate is indeed hard.

shelter in the house of any chief, and shared in the food which was being distributed at the almost continuous ceremonial feasts. Now, each family lives alone and no one feels any responsibility for this old man. [178]

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Brother or sister of a grandparent	Addressed as the grandparent, especially when living in the same family. The terms are further widely applied to elderly members of the same ancestral family.	*waxuaxtsis* Seldom used term; more commonly spoken of by name, or as grandparents.
Great grandparents	As grandparents.	As grandparents.
Elderly male relatives spoken of collectively	.....	*mānmānukīsats*
Elderly female relatives spoken of collectively	.....	*sīnsīnamis* These two terms are used with respect to a man's "power" through the possession of many elderly relatives.
Eldest brother or sister	By name, or *ḳualem*.	*ḳualem*
Second oldest brother or sister	By name.	*ás-iko-tl*, or *alisht al di ḳualem*
Third oldest brother or sister	" "	*alisk*
Fourth oldest brother or sister	" "	*ḳwarwam*
Youngest brother or sister	" " or *sapinee*.	*sayi*

[178]

As the present time the intermediate terms are rarely, if ever, used. *Ḳualem* and *sayi* are continually employed, the former for a brother or sister older than the speaker, the latter for a brother or sister younger than the speaker. When necessary sex is usually indicated by giving the person's name, or by the use of sex-denoting particles.

Only brother with several sisters	.....	*smilkpists*
Only sister with several brothers	.....	*ásqwisists*
Stepbrother or sister, same father, different mother	By name, or *ḳualem*, or *sapinee*, according to relative age.	*nunmool di mānee*
Stepbrother or sister, same mother, different father	By name, or *ḳualem*, or *sapinee*, according to relative age.	*nunmool tri sīnee*

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differentiate between cross- and ortho-cousins, and the un- 601
systematic groupings of nephews and nieces show "family,"
as opposed to classificatory, principles. Finally, rhetorical [602]
terms for the ancestral family, for many ancestors, and many
descendants, correspond to the importance of a large number
of relatives in Bella Coola thought.

In many parts of the world the classificatory system of 601
relationship occurs where the community is divided into clans. 614
The occurrence of some of these features among the Bella 178
Coola raises the question of whether or not they should be
regarded as survivals from an earlier clan form of social organization. The Bella Coola may once have had clans, but their relationship system does not furnish any real evidence to this effect. The reciprocal terms really have the significance, "Relation by marriage of the same generation," or "of a generation once removed," a form of address which does not require explanation in any ancient form of social organization. Moreover, the importance of the eldest child, as potential
transmitter of the glories of the ancestral family, is sufficient [561]
reason for differentiating brothers and sisters in terms of their relative ages. This feature suggests that in former times this was more important than it has been in the recent past. It is not implied that the Bella Coola never had a clan system, as such may have been the case many generations ago, but their kinship terminology can be explained without that hypothesis. The somewhat wide application to cousins of terms which are
properly limited to brothers and sisters may easily have been [177]
derived from a process of copying. The Bella Coola are well acquainted with the clan system of the northern coastal tribes, so that it is by no means impossible, or unlikely, that they should have adopted the principle of applying the same kinship term to many individuals, and hence to members of their own
ancestral families. Finally, the somewhat vague and unsys- 601
tematic application of terms to relatives according to whether or not they are members of the immediate family, is a feature not at all surprising in view of the essential fluidity of Bella

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171 lieved that all the Kitkatla chiefs were powerful, but *Tsabsia*
+ 556 was the greatest of all. It is said that one of his prerogatives[1]
622 was to exercise *jus primae noctis* whenever a Kitkatla was
829 married. Without question, tales of this chief's prowess have become exaggerated in transmission, none the less they show that the Bella Coola realize the great importance of the northern chiefs. Concerning their nearer neighbours, the Bella Bella, the Bella Coola understand the way in which the members of a family combine to help their chief in the giving of presents. They say that the Bella Bella consider the Bella Coola practice of each one endeavouring to make himself a chief to be foolish in the extreme. Such is also said to be the opinion among the Kwakiutl, who support their contention that in Bella Coola all are chiefs, from the fact that flooring exists under the seats of all, whereas in Fort Rupert, their home, such occurs only beneath the seats of chiefs.

262 Corresponding to the extreme paucity of functions pos-
574 sessed by Bella Coola chiefs, their prerogatives are likewise
622 scanty. Indeed, they take their validated seats only during certain rites of the secret society connected with chiefs, at potlatches, and at ceremonial meals. These last occur whenever a deer or seal is killed; the latter is considered a great delicacy.[2] Anyone can kill a seal, but it would be unthinkable for a Bella
[225] Coola to share its flesh with his immediate family only. The
[252] animal is cleaned, the hole made by bullet or spear carefully plugged, and the carcass boiled whole in a large box. Mean-
[203] while a herald (I, p. 244) summons the chiefs to the house where the successful hunter lives. If the meal is to consist merely of one small seal, only a few chiefs are invited, those of greatest influence through their possession of "strong" seats. When several seals have been killed, the number invited is corres-
[562] pondingly larger, but no woman may partake unless she ranks

[1]This is said to have been a personal prerogative, not shared by all chiefs, and requiring validation by valuable presents.

[2]Only traces of the rite described in this paragraph occur at the present time. In fact, the reservation of seal meat for chiefs alone was discontinued towards the close of the last century.

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622 there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by
623 members of the *kusiut* society that none would dare go there.
778 If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formerly have
been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-
[575] place of the *Qomqo·ts* chiefs is on a ledge of rock jutting out
over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village.
The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side,
screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a cauldron, so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can enter. The
ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the
most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of
other villages lack such natural settings, though all are at the
bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some
178 of them are decorated with rude carvings, pecked into the
532 stone. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of
778 the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago,
by chiefs when they were composing tunes; they picked out
the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others
[211] were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an
important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure,
perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with
the rite, to recall the occasion. No carvings have been made
within the life-time of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that
they had further significance, now unknown.

622 When a chief wishes to summon his fellows for a meeting
623 he visits each and notifies him by a simple pressure of the foot,
in many cases unobserved even by those sitting near. The
201 person so called slips away, unostentatiously, to the meeting-
place.

578 The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the
old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who
622 succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows
682 became an object of envy. Their mythology contains many
[152] examples of the murder of some powerful chief by rivals of his
own village, and informants of today state that these records
are true. One intelligent man asserted that his father had

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556 769 [575] [535] to a complicated figure such as a whale, and in that case an expert dancer among the guests is called upon to perform. It is announced that this is, "to make clean the road for the dead."

After each masked figure has disappeared, the sound of whistling from without grows gradually weaker, as the apparition returns whence it came. In solemn silence X takes a copper[a] which he has had in readiness, breaks it across his knee,[b] and throws it either into the fire or down on the ground in the track that the figure has taken. Then the announcer calls out loudly:

"It is for his crest.[c] It has 'made bone for the dead.'" Then he continues, speaking for X and using the first person:

"My heart is glad at seeing my father.[d] At death he returned back on the path of my family's ancestors and donned our ancient crest. He now lives in *Nazmät-a*, whence he came to visit us and whither he has now gone back."

[178] The significance of the throwing down of a copper is entirely unknown to the modern Bella Coola, although they still perform the ritual. In some vague way it is felt that "bone," which may imply *stability*, has been provided for the deceased. The act thus appears in the light of an offering to the dead, but this sentiment is not clearly appreciated by the participants in the rite; the present has been made *for*, rather than *to*, the one being mourned.

The copper, now valueless, is picked up by any chief and given to a poor man.

After a short interval a number of youths begin to distribute presents, provided by X, which have been placed in readiness. [562] [431] Gifts of equal value are given to all foreign male guests; while the women receive ones less valuable. These presents

[325] [436]

[a] One of the plaques of native copper, such as were formerly beaten out cold and used as tokens of value by the coast tribes of British Columbia. Their employment by the Bella Coola will be described later in greater detail (I, p. 252).

[b] The breaking is sometimes omitted.

[c] That is: "For the dead man, now in form of his crest."

[d] Or whatever relative the deceased may have been.

688 his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the
693 upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse
[177] into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without hesitation.

THE PROFESSION OF UTTERING A DRONING CRY

424 At the appearance of masked figures representing super-
551 natural beings, whether in *tsaaé* or *kwiné* dances, many of the
[575] women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry
[463] which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness
[431] of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents.
[773] Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women were given by *Alqwntám*, or acquired in other ways, the right to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously described, many of the first women possessed this privilege, which is accordingly common at the present time. A name
[553] of this type is usually confirmed in girlhood, sometimes even in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One of these names is *Nuuuqwelelaiqwa*, which has reference to
[773] the blue-green sheen of some abalone-shell brought from the east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many
[178] years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

424 There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incum-
767 bent to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of
463 time, *Smooa* of Kimsquit married *Tlélwaitl*, the daughter of a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been
793 transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kimsquit.

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556 between the two societies. Presently the elderly *a'alk* returns,
575 clad in his ceremonial costume consisting of the head-gear, a
blanket, and a narrow apron from which hang deer hooves,
[184] small pieces of copper, or other jingling articles. The singers
[292] strike up his song, and he dances near the fire in a manner
depending upon which of the four dances he has the right to
[535] perform. Again the *siki* leaves the house; when he returns he announces that a *tutwinam* is coming with a song for the youth, naming the one who is to be made an *a'alk*. A moment passes, and in stalks a masked figure depicting the form taken by the first ancestor of the novice, or the being from which one of his later forefathers received an *a'alk* prerogative. Sometimes two of these beings appear. The apparition circles the fire, stops beside the singers, and chants a song to them in a low voice. Then it enters the back-room and is seen no more. Presently the singers strike up the song they have just heard. To those who are neither *a'alk* nor *susaok* it seems that the song was brought by the supernatural visitor; in reality, it is the one previously composed by the singers and taught by them to the wearer of the mask to lend realism to the performance. The youth concealed within the back-room does not emerge on this occasion, the song is merely sung in practice. Sometimes the masked figure appears during the daytime and walks openly along the shore of the river like a foreign guest, as indeed it is said to be.

The coming of a *tutwinam* is one of the points of resem-
[184] blance between *a'alk* and *susaok* rites. The older people agree
[178] that this has long been a feature of the former society, adopted by the latter in recent years. The description given in this section appears to be of the original and proper use, although, as already noted, the *susaok* have recently employed *tutwinam* for somewhat different purposes.

It is uncertain whether or not the *a'alk* novice remains secluded any longer within the back-room. In ancient times he probably did, but with the recent growth of the *susaok*

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society and decline of the *a'alk*, concealment has become lim- 575
ited to initiates of the former organization.

No more *a'alk* dances take place during the potlatch pre- [178]
liminaries, but with the coming of the first group of foreign
guests, the host displays as many types of dance as he is en- 556
titled to, including *a'alk* if he has the necessary prerogative. 575
On this occasion other *a'alk*, especially relatives of the donor, 535
give their dances, the only time that such are used at pot-
latches except by novices receiving names. This is repeated
on the arrival of every party of guests.

Meanwhile the novice, or novices, has been practising the proper steps for his appearance, which always occurs immediately before the entry of the masked figure representing the donor's dead relative. As already mentioned, there are four kinds of *a'alk* dances, known as *nusqwal*,[9] *llaiyākam*, *qi'aqa*, and *am'lel-a*. A similar song is used for a dancer of any one [533]
of these four; the text describes some small incident of the ancestral myth in which the name occurs, such as the bringing down of the prerogative by the first incumbent in the beginning of time. At the proper moment, the singers beat this out and the audience joins them in singing it. Then the singers begin to strike rapidly on the floor with double beats, assisted [533]
by the guests who clap their hands in rapid couplets. Out comes the dancer, resplendent in his head-dress decorated with weasel skins, and women with the required prerogative begin to drone. If his prerogative is as a *llaiyākam* or *qi'aqa*, he proceeds to a place beside the fire and begins to run around it, sunwise, in short mincing steps, revolving at the same time on himself. He clasps his hands behind his back and bends down, then stands upright with palms extended upwards, never ceasing to move his feet in rapid steps. This type of dance is far more violent than a *nusaok* one, and the amount of energy expended by a dancer in his rapid circuits of the fire is tremendous. Never, even for a moment, are his feet quiet, while his body twists and bends in an amazing fashion. After two

[9]Among the supernatural beings, the *nusqwal* is a yearling mountain goat. [776]

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575 574 535 [533] [525] [526] [178]

presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds. These conclude the chief features of the *a'alk* dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *ɬɬsaok*, they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

A'alk ORIGIN MYTHS

551 575 793

Theoretically, every Bella Coola *a'alk* should be able to record the myth in which his name is embodied, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both ancestral and *a'alk* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *a'alk* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *a'alk* can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kimsquit *nusqual* for his name *Sinxālotla* which came to earth with *Smaoaw* (I, p. 332) in the beginning of time. Another Kimsquit *a'alk*, *Tlaiyākam*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sinuxtl* (I, p. 326), who assumed the designation of *Tlaiyākam* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *W'i'tālao*.

539

The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once,[1] long, long ago, *Ilquantw* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *Sunaw-a*, and a mortal; so he

[115] [177]

[1] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

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patrons and claiming to possess supernatural powers. In contrast to the *a'alk*, the *kusiut* are well organized and regulated; its members are proud of their powers, and scornful of those who lack the same. Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to understand jealousy between the two. Until relatively recent times, the *a'alk* were numerically stronger, and included some chiefs, whereas the strength of the *kusiut* society depended on the supernatural strength claimed by its members. It is true that individuals occasionally belonged to both, if they happened to possess prerogatives of both kinds, but, as a rule, the *a'alk* were young men and the *kusiut* were older people. This rivalry was formerly so intense that all who were not members of the latter society were often termed *a'alk* irrespective of whether or not they actually possessed dances of that type; Carrier Indians alone were not so designated. During the summer, members of the two societies dwelt amicably together, but during the winter, when dances took place, there were continual bickerings. The *kusiut* constantly endeavoured to impress their rivals with their own prowess; while the *a'alk*, not convinced of the others' power, used to mock them in their songs. This was the usual practice in case of some error in *kusiut* ritual. The *a'alk* frequently disobeyed the orders of the *kusiut* and a number of them once tried to pry up a huge boulder beneath which was the "power" of a certain *kusiut* (II, p. 8). In recent years the *kusiut* society has entirely gained the supremacy, but it is agreed by all Bella Coola that in former years this was by no means the case, and that *a'alk* did not hesitate even to kill one of their rivals.

Miscellaneous Ceremonies

The rites described in this chapter and the one preceding comprise the potlatch of the Bella Coola so far as its details could be learnt. Until the increase of wealth in recent years, the potlatch was rare, and it is unlikely that in any village more than one month in the year was consumed in the

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provided with means of sustenance, a house, and certain supernatural powers. The right to the names of these people, as well as to the type of ceremonial objects used by them, has been the privilege of their descendants. But these early Bella Coola, like their modern descendants, had several designations, each carrying with it a definite prerogative. In a single myth there may be embodied a dozen or more names and incidents which are quoted at the present day to authorize such different phases of culture as dances, rights to hunting-grounds, professions, names of dogs, or *kusiut* prerogatives.[1] Any myth which gives the initial use of a name, a dance, or any other prerogative, is termed a *smaiusta*. Each of these is, or was in the old days, remembered with great care and never recounted in full detail except to the members of the ancestral family whose names are embodied in it. Even at potlatches the full details of the myth are not laid bare. Indeed, if a young man is of a flighty, garrulous disposition, unlikely to preserve the dignity of his ancestral fame, the details are concealed from him. Even at the present time there is much resentment at any unauthorized use of a *smaiusta*, and in the old days this would inevitably have led to bloodshed.

Boas (p. 116) states that the terms *smaiusta* and *sumsma* are synonymous. The writer feels certain that this is an error. It was discussed repeatedly with various Bella Coola, all of whom agreed that a *sumsma* is a mere story which can be told by anyone, whereas a *smaiusta* is a myth possessed by the individual, or individuals, whose prerogatives are derived from it. To the Bella Coola the two are utterly different.

None the less, there is no doubt that records of the past change from one category to the other. A wealthy chief, eager to give a potlatch, but lacking the mythical authorization, must frequently have used a *sumsma*, claiming the hero as an ancestor. There would be veiled amusement at him for doing so, but the prestige of one who can give potlatches is so great that in time his claim would probably be accepted. The two

[1] The details of these will be described later.

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178 versions of the myth given (vol. I, pp. 313-19) is a case in point.
773 The first was told as a *smaiusta* by a woman who claimed to be a descendant of the people figuring in it; the second, as a story, *sumsma*, by a man. In view of the reliability of both informants, it seems highly probable that this is a story, partly converted to a myth. In other examples there are incidents resembling the supernatural tales given in vol. I, chap. IX, and here too it appears probable that *sumsma* have been assimilated into *smaiusta*. It is complimentary to the truthfulness [577] of the Bella Coola, and to the respect they show for intangible [424] property, that none of the myths recorded were *smaiusta* owned by others. Repeatedly an informant would say that he knew one, but would not tell it since it belonged to some other family.

128 After collecting a few myths, in each of which it was stated
773 that the first settlers at village X were A, B, and C, with their sisters, P and Q, it seemed as if it would have been possible, before the culture of the Bella Coola had fallen into its present decay, to make a census of those whom they believe to have been first settlers of this earth, and that such a list would have had few contradictions. This was soon found to be false. Two myths may give different people as the first occupants of a certain village, nor does such contradiction trouble the Bella Coola. Each man, convinced of the authenticity of his own family account, is quite willing to believe that the one belonging [811] to someone else is equally correct. This characteristic lack of logical consistency has already been mentioned in other connections. Boas (p. 61) likewise gives an instance of uncertainty as to the first occupants of a village, though, on the whole, he found Bella Coola mythology to be more codified than the present writer has done. In view of their lack of systematization in other matters, it would have been surprising if they had evolved a census of their first ancestors, accepted by all as accurate.

Another matter to be considered at this point is the simi- [178] larity of detail in many myths. In part this can be explained

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by the assumption that *sumsma* have been elevated into *smáiuste;* in this case it would not be impossible for the same story to have been used by two or more families. A more common explanation is the splitting of myths. Although, theoretically, one can never be altered, and portions in the possession of other individuals are remembered as such, there must have been many cases in which the owner of a section told the whole as his own property. This would not be difficult in cases where he moved away from the other members of his family. In course of time, with the assimilation of elements in themselves not strictly mythological, two myths would evolve having a few incidents in common. If asked concerning this, the Bella Coola explain that the first people were quite as capable of doing the same things as two modern men. The occurrence of the same name, or names, in different myths does not, according to them, prove a connection, since many of the first people had the same names.

Finally, there have been included a number of myths dealing with the coming to earth of people in other localities. Probably these are, in origin, those of other tribes, more or less assimilated to the Bella Coola pattern. Each was said to have been obtained by the marriage of one of the descendants of the people described therein with a Bella Coola.

No further explanation is needed for the following myths which are arranged, as far as possible, according to the list already given of Bella Coola towns.

Bella Coola Origin Myths

Origin Myth of *Ilpálat*[*]

In the beginning of time, *Ilpaxstów*, in his form of *Saw*, the Sun, sent down a man, *Y'xyalt'mai*, to Mount *Nar-mitlaix* (also called *Ilpaxstwaikhs*, *Ispatsk*, and *Ilkilmikhs*), a mountain on the north side of the Bella Coola River about two miles from the sea, near the upper end of the Indian reserve. With him came *Xwaxwaxwa*, the Hummingbird,

[*]Related by Mrs. Walkem.

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plied to provide abundant food for all; it became the ancestor of all the beaver of the upper valley. Owing to their position higher up the Bella Coola, *Taiałwala* and his brothers considered that they were nearer to the sun than any of the people dwelling below, a fact of which they were exceedingly proud. Moreover, having been sent down by him, the sun was their crest. 551

There were two large boulders in the river near the settlement, which *Aiquantw* had shown *Taiałwala* how to use as supports for a salmon-weir. With the help of his brothers, a hole was drilled in one of the rocks; then they felled a large tree upstream and allowed it to drift down until the butt lodged in the perforated boulder and the head swung across against the other. With this as base, other trunks were woven in upright so that the river was almost spanned and a fine dam constructed. In this they caught so many salmon that *Taiałwala* and his brothers were able to call people from far and near to potlatches and feast them liberally on the fish. In course of time their sister was married to a chief from another town. Henceforth, whenever one of her brothers gave a potlatch, he was able to rebuy his sister on a lavish scale with the teeming salmon. The sun had taught the women a song for such occasions, which has since been used as a prerogative by her descendants when rebuying themselves from their husbands. [424] [583]

Taiałwala made a long voyage of exploration during which he reached the Skeena River. He made friends with the inhabitants of the town, *Kyemas*, who gave him the name, *Xwulkas*,[*] meaning whale in their language. Continuing his journey, he ultimately circled the earth before returning home. He obtained several other designations, including *Ailamka* from the Kwakiutl people.[**]

Years after the settlement of *Snaik-ol*, the drilled stone supporting the salmon-weir broke and the ruins were swept away downstream. The people cut their hair and blackened their faces in mourning, then moved to *Stuar* where a number of their daughters had married chiefs.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nasnay*[***]

It is common to add details from a story to a family myth in order to increase its length and importance. Almost cer- [178] [114]

[*] It appears that *Xwulkas* is an attempt to pronounce the English, whale-boat, an interesting example of the way in which modern words have been incorporated into ancient myths and been clothed with the glamour of antiquity. [178]

[**] Such are still used by members of the ancestral family descended from *Taiałwala*. [551]

[***] Related by Mrs. Webber, who had learnt it from her late father, *Sneathlis*, a chief of *Sand*, whose hamlet name was *Sneatlump*.

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539 [178] [114]

tainly this has been done with the following, in spite of the fact that Boas (p. 53) records it in greater detail than the writer was able to obtain. A second version was obtained from a reliable informant who recounted it as a mere tale without hesitation. He may have been ignorant that it was the myth of another family, or may have disregarded that point, though this is unlikely. The content itself strongly supports the view that details of the usual "story" type have been added.

In the beginning of time there came down to the river which enters North Bentinck Arm at Green Bay a man, *Nuxsey*, and his wife, *Sumsiustakka*. They went down the river to Green Bay, since called *Nuxsey* from the man, where they built their house and settled. In time a son was born, to whom they gave the name *Slskło*. The child grew with phenomenal rapidity until before long he had acquired the strength and intelligence of a man. One day *Slskło* went for a walk up the river, carrying his bow and arrows. He met what he thought was a man, though it was really a black bear in human form. The supernatural one invited *Slskło* to go home with him, which the youth did. As soon as he entered the abode he realized that he was in a bear's house, but he did not disclose to his host that he had this knowledge. The bear brought to his guest some skunk cabbage, saying that it was dry salmon; to bears skunk cabbage is dry salmon. The food was broken in small fragments and served on a very small dish so that *Slskło* was afraid that there would not be enough, though Black Bear assured him that he would not be able to eat it all. So it proved. *Slskło* ate and ate until he could eat no more, without diminishing the amount of food on the dish.

Then Black Bear said, "You must spend the night here; tomorrow you can return."

So *Slskło* slept that night in Bear's house.

Next day—it was really next year, because one night in the land of supernatural beings is equivalent to a year in the land of mortals—Black Bear said:

"I make you a shaman (I, p. 539). One end of your bow, as far as the middle, will be as if coated with power. If you have a quarrel with a man just wave that end towards him and he will fall dead. If you wish him to come to life again) wave the other end and he will be revived."

Then Black Bear took off his pelt and gave it to *Slskło*, saying, "If you want to strike down several people, put on my skin, scatter eagle down on it, and then shake yourself. The down will fly in all directions

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* 539

he travelled the whole distance on a single billow, so asked to be sent on a four-billow wave. His canoe was a sea-lion's stomach, into which he climbed through the mouth and which he made watertight by tying up the entrance with the animal's entrails. Whether or not the creature was alive is not clear, but at any rate the man set off in the strange craft. He felt as if he were on the back of an animal which made long, easy, slow bounds; it was the slow surging of a gigantic Pacific comber. After four bounds he untied the neck and found himself at home.

BC
[552]
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Certain names have been preserved from this myth. The name *Nequqa* is now used by a dog, as the owner is the last of her family. Another name is *Tlaxamymil*, "The Crash," derived from the metallic sound of the closing door of the sea-lion house. The name *Namatsta* was also obtained inside the house, but the details of its significance are lost.

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[424]

AN EARLY MYTH OF *Kilde-t*[19]

As has been said, ambitious individuals, especially if they lack origin myths of the customary kind, sometimes claim ordinary stories as such. The following is almost certainly a case in point. It was obtained from an unreliable informant, who claimed it as a family myth, and said he had used it at a potlatch. He asserted that it was a Bella Bella story, transmitted through the marriage of one of his ancestors with a Bella Bella woman. Another informant, well versed in Bella Bella folk-lore, recounted another version of the same myth as a mere tale. There seems little doubt that the first narrator had merely laid claim to a common story to supply the deficiency of a true myth.

In the beginning, there came down to earth at the head of Gas Bay, *Kilde-t*, a solitary man whose name was *Kiadn-a*. He was so lonely that he made for himself from soft punky wood a woman, dressed her in blankets and clothing, and gave her the name, *Qua'lems*, which is in the Bella Bella language. *Kiadn-a* was a great hunter; every day he went out to seek mountain goats, which provided him with great quantities of grease, as well as yarn that he wove into blankets. Before leaving the house he always placed *Qua'lems* in front of a loom, put food beside her and told her to eat as much as she liked and to work diligently.

[19] Related by Kimsquit Alec.

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it is believed that a son of *Smaoan* married the daughter of a Kitlobe chief (I, p. 338). As dower she brought her husband several Kitlobe names, which were transmitted in time to her children and which remained in *Smaoan*'s home, Kimsquit, for many generations. The Bella Coola believe that it was remembered for hundreds of years that these designations did not belong there. Whenever one was conferred, the myth was recounted to tell how it first came to Kimsquit; whereas in Kitlobe when the myth from which the names were taken was related, it was always added that those in question could not be used since they were now in Kimsquit. About one hundred and fifty years ago, *Ätsqiutl*, a Kimsquit woman, was married to a Kitlobe man to repay this debt, and cement friendship between the two tribes. She took as dower the names long ago brought from Kitlobe. Similarly, if any name or other prerogative of an ancestral myth has been alienated from the ancestral family to which it belongs, a father searches for a woman who will be able to restore it to his son as a marriage gift. The word used for searching is "hunt," the term applied to seeking fur-bearing animals.

The accompanying pedigree illustrates a return marriage. *Qwahila*'s daughter was married to a Fort Rupert man and took with her as dower several Bella Coola names and other prerogatives. The loss of these was remembered and they were brought back by the marriage of *Yäkotlɛ*, a member of *Qwahila*'s ancestral family, with a daughter of the woman who had gone to Fort Rupert. Usually several generations elapse before a return marriage is made. This incident was perfectly well known to the son of *Yäkotlɛ*.

Qwahila =
of *Qomqo·ts*
|
Nakso·sa = Daughter
of Fort Rupert
|
Yäkotlɛ = Daughter
of *Qomqo·ts*

If parents who are seeking a wife for their son have also a daughter approaching marriageable age, they may try to avoid a later return marriage by arranging that their daughter shall be married to a brother, or other near relative, of their son's wife. Exchange marriage was formerly more common than [178]

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583 at present, though even now it is considered highly desirable.
[178] The sentiment is that already described: the more closely the parents are bound together by ties of common ancestry, the greater will be their children's ceremonial strength. Further, reciprocal alliances of this type obviate all danger of feuds, since return marriages are not required.

582 In recent years it has become fashionable, or socially
178 "smart," with some Bella Coola families to seek wives from
648 unrelated ancestral families, and even from other tribes. It is said that this practice was initiated by *Potles*, an important chief who died between 1870 and 1880. He sought foreign marriages on acccount of the prerogatives which were brought as dowers by his wives, and considered that such rights, transmissable to his children, more than compensated for the lack of strength provided by related ancestors. Many have followed his example, with the result that some ancestral families have entirely abandoned the endogamic tendency. Boas (p. 124) has made the same observation. Although this exogamic
[581] principle is directly contrary to that which has already been described, yet it should be noted that each has the same explanation—the search for a wife able to bring most to her as yet unborn children.

584 Should the parents consider a foreign woman as wife for
581 their son, then her worth is discussed from every angle. One woman may have the right to good hunting grounds, the family of another may have some valuable *sisaok* prerogatives, a third some *kusiut* rites. Anxious thought is put on the relative values of these. One man had heard of the French system of *dot*, and emphasized strongly how far superior to, and more sensible it was than the Canadian practice. In recent years
[178] the younger Bella Coola have been arranging their own marriages, and the older men lament bitterly that they are influenced only by the beauty and working ability of the girl, not by her real worth, the prerogatives which she can bring to her children.

Although parents consider chiefly the ancestry of their

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584 as soon as possible. Though strictly legal, and commonly practised even long ago, this is not considered a desirable preliminary, since the children lack the strength which would have been theirs if their parents had been long engaged. In recent
● 178 years the custom of short engagements has become popular,
584 though the older Bella Coola feel resentment, saying that the woman is simply "bought" with goods or money at the actual wedding. The return of such sums in due course does not compensate for the omission of the lengthy period of engagement. A few years ago a powerful chief even "bought" husbands for his grand-daughters. His influence was so great that by bestowing large sums on the families of the youths they accepted the young women as wives. The girls in question were desirable in every way, according to Bella Coola standards, but by marrying without a long engagement and suitable presents the husbands, and their families, failed to live up to the dignity of their ancestry. These are breakings down of the ancient rites, and as such are lamented by the older people.

583 Sometimes, despite the wishes of their parents, a boy and
584 girl announce their desire to marry by living together. After much storming, the parents usually decide to make the best of a bad business by performing the marriage rites as soon as possible and by lavish expenditure on them to lessen the impediment placed against the future offspring by lack of long engagement of their parents. But such a child can never be
[858] called an *älqim*, which has the significance of something good that has long been sought for, such as a smoothed-grained tree that carpenters like. It will thus be seen that the marriage ceremony must be carried out, irrespective of whether or not it has been preceded by a lengthy period of engagement in which the first proposal was made by the boy's family, by a shorter one in which the girl's family took the initiative, or by no period of engagement whatever. These rites can now be described.

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ciety. These are given several times, serving to recall the 533
ceremonies in which the chief took part during his life. At 575
intervals, the new song is repeated and *susaok* members of the 766
audience join in as they become familiar with the words. Fre-
quently one or more relatives of the deceased dance in his [535]
stead during the singing. The details of this rite, especially
of the songs used at it, differ considerably according to the
actions of the person during life; if a mighty chief, the donor
of many potlatches, this fact is described in the song, whereas
only an incident from the ancestral myth can be used for a
young *susaok*. If some of his female relatives are professional [767]
wailers, they function during the ceremony. In all circum-
stances, the rite aims to comfort the grieving kinsmen, an end
which it usually achieves.

As already described, *susaok* ceremonial was in a state of 575
transition at the time of the coming of the white man. Pre- 766
vious to that date, a spectacular funeral prerogative had been 177
adopted from Rivers Inlet,[4] which has since been claimed by a 424
number of *susaok*. All the Bella Coola know of this ceremony,
and most of them desire to perform it at the death of a dearly [178]
loved relative; at the present time this is possible owing to the
slight regard paid to prerogatives, but it is certain that a few
years ago it would have been forbidden to most people, and
that it was never a universal Bella Coola rite.

When this rite is performed, the corpse is allowed to remain 575
in its coffin for at least one night after the day on which 766
Mtlakila came and the *susaok* songs were sung. Meanwhile
the carpenters have prepared an imitation body, usually of 532
rags on a light framework, and a wooden representation of the
deceased's crest. Since this figure is to come through the roof
and carry aloft the corpse, stout hooks are attached to its feet.
In theory, the bird or animal disguise used by the first ancestor

[4]One old Bella Coola stated that this prerogative was obtained during his own life-time from a Rivers Inlet chief who moved to *Tăl-ie*. It is impossible to state accurately when this ritual was adopted by the Bella Coola, though it is unquestionably of recent origin.

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575 766 [532] of the deceased, traced patrilineally, should come for the body, but this is difficult to arrange in case of whale, bear, and other marine or land mammals. Consequently, it has been customary to use only raven or eagle for this purpose, and it is assumed that at least one of these birds is present in the ancestral history of every individual as a result of the marriage of some of his forbears with a woman possessing one of these crests.[1] It is a common practice for an influential *sisaok* to prepare a figure of this kind during his life-time and tell a son or other trusted relative where it has been hidden; if this has been done, it obviates the necessity of carpenters manufacturing one at short notice.

Several days are often required to complete these arrangements, but on the first evening possible, which may be two or three days after the death, the people are summoned to the dead man's house. The singers take their usual positions behind the fire and beat out the song used at the mourning ceremony already described; then, as on that occasion, they follow it with a number of the deceased's *sisaok* songs. Once more they strike up the one newly composed and, as it is proceeding, whistling is heard, accompanied by the screaming of an eagle or the croaking of a raven. Those who are not members of the *sisaok* society do not understand that these sounds are produced by hidden members blowing whistles on the roof. There is a crash on the planking and, through a space opened by the removal of several boards, the face of the bird crest can be seen peering in. It is a dramatic spectacle and the audience gasps appreciatively, especially those who see in it a manifestation of the supernatural, testifying to the importance of the deceased. If the stage management has been accurate, the figure appears at the termination of the song, but if it has arrived during the actual singing, the singers beat time slowly and cease to use their voices. The eagle, or raven, keeps squealing repeatedly and gradually comes through

[178] [1]The use of only raven or eagle is probably a degeneration due to recent decay of custom.

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body became eagle down and was wafted upwards is psychologically of the type which might serve as basis for a rite of this kind. If the descendants of the person to whom this had happened had dramatized the incident at subsequent deaths, a custom analogous to the one here described would have arisen. 575 766 424 [773]

DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When possible, it takes place on the day following death, but as many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the performance of the rite just described. Another reason for postponement is the absence of near relatives; if they can be summoned within four or five days, the funeral may be delayed until their arrival. There is always endless discussion concerning the exact details; all relatives and members of the ancestral family take part, though the wishes of a son, brother, or other near kinsman are usually followed. In this, as in so many points of Bella Coola ritual, an influential chief often overrules the desires even of those who are more closely related to the deceased. 764 [796] [554]

Heralds announce the hour chosen,[8] usually about noon, and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even strangers being welcome. Women wail dolorously, and another indication of the occasion is the bundles containing clothing, cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once, with a stone; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed and a hole made in one of the front corners of the house, through which the man throws out the stone. The women redouble their lamentations as an old woman, previously asked to do so, lights a bundle of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and climbs through the opening carrying this. No request has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong men, especially [203] [609]

[8]This is done at present, even after the carrying away of the "body." In former times it was omitted when the corpse was secretly buried by the *sisook*. [178]

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764 are never disturbed, being considered, in some vague way, "bad." The tools used for digging the grave are left standing upright in the loose earth, an action for which no explanation can be given by the Bella Coola. When these various rites have been performed, the funeral party returns to the village and disperses.

766 845 At present, interment is the customary method for disposing of the bodies of all except twins, whose bodies are placed in trees. Formerly, other means were sometimes employed, as 764 they still are occasionally. Instead of inhumation, a coffin 178 was frequently placed on a scaffold close behind the deceased's house. Whenever another relative died, planks were laid across, above the first box, and the new one deposited on these, so that in time the scaffold grew to resemble a house-like structure with many compartments. In the last century a certain shaman, *Åskankots* by name, is said to have pointed out that corpses were frequently carried off by wolves, *snuuq*, and other animals. For this reason he persuaded the people to inter their dead.

764 Somewhat similar to this practice was the placing of corpses in trees. Until the last few years this was sometimes done with poor children; formerly, it was not unknown even for chiefs. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that the coffin containing the body of his grandfather, a chief, was placed in the crotch of a tree where no rain could penetrate. This means of disposal was probably never habitual. Even at the present time, the corpse of a dearly loved child is occasionally placed above, instead of under the ground. If the parents desire to do this, they erect in the cemetery a carved figure of one of their crests and deposit the coffin on top of it. This is, of course, a graphic representation of the deceased's origin myth and symbolizes the way in which the dead person has become associated with it.

According to several of the older men, cremation was practised by the Bella Coola for some time after the first settlement of the earth. A fire was built outside the house and the body

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177 squatting, now it is customary to use the extended position.
764 It is impossible to state whether this is the direct result of white teaching, or whether the ease with which large boxes can now be made has led to interment at full length.

RITES FOLLOWING DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

768 Interment of the corpse does not end the ceremonial necessitated by a death in the community. As already described, some of the clothing and utensils of the dead person are burned during the funeral, but all are not destroyed at that time. The proportion kept for future treatment is immaterial, nor is there any established usage concerning the type of object reserved. During the days following the funeral, relatives of the deceased carefully gather his clothing, cooking utensils, rifles, and all other articles which have been his personal property or used exclusively by him. On the fourth day, these are taken to the cemetery by his immediate family, accompanied by as many of their friends as wish to show their sympathy. A fire is kindled near the grave and on it is deposited whatever can be burnt; other objects are either cast into the flames or piled near at hand (see Plate 17). It is most important that every article belonging to the deceased should be disposed of in this way. There are two reasons for this. First, it is considered indecent to use the possessions of a dead person; they would have the effect of poison on anyone doing so. Secondly, the ghost of the de-
[775] ceased receives goods that are burnt or deposited on the grave
[753] four days after the funeral. If deprived of what belongs to him, a ghost punishes the offenders by causing sickness.
178 Occasionally a new rifle, or some other treasured possession,
768 is kept by a relative or friend; this is contrary to the established custom, but is justified by considering the article to be a gift from the deceased or a memento of him. No one would accept such a legacy unless he felt sure that the dead man

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entertained such kindly sentiments towards him that he would be glad to have his friend receive it.

In recent years the number of incombustible objects has increased enormously with the introduction of metal utensils, gramophones, and other things obtained from white traders. Although these are considered to be of use to the ghost, and must be carefully placed near the grave, they can be publicly exchanged for others by a relative. The sentiments expressed on such occasions are that the ghost, though aware of what is taking place, does not resent an open transfer; and that it is unnecessary to deposit the equivalent of what has been removed. There is undoubtedly a vague idea that the ghost uses, not the actual object, but its essence, which is received by the deposition. It must be emphasized that this feeling has not become crystallized to such a state that it is customary to replace goods laid on the grave with others. Such an exchange is a rare event and would cause animosity if carried out by anyone except a near relative.

Sometimes a dying person requests that a house be erected over his grave, a common Bella Bella custom. This is built immediately after the funeral and articles that cannot be burnt are placed within it instead of being piled on the ground. The sorrowing relatives may choose to erect a picket fence around the spot, but no other mark for the grave is put up until a memorial potlatch several years after death. House or fence soon falls into decay and rarely an effort is made to repair either. Nor is the grave itself disturbed. Cow-parsnips, which are much used for food, grow frequently in cemeteries, but no one would gather the shoots that rise above a grave; they are food belonging to the dead person. The white man has taught the Bella Coola how to plant apple-trees and these are often set out in graveyards, though the fruit is allowed to fall to the ground for the benefit of those interred beneath. The Bella Bella are said formerly to have replaced at intervals the coffin containing a dead person, but this seems never to have been a Bella Coola practice. Indeed, a grave is never

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*556 769 diate family. Confusion is probable only when a chief is bereaved after he has stored up goods and made preliminary preparations for a potlatch; he may then carry out the rites intended, but designate the ceremony a memorial potlatch. [575] More often, however, the affair is limited to rites associated with the deceased. Consequently, there is omission of the initiation of neophytes into the *sisaok* and *a'alk* societies,[11] there is no establishment of new seats for young relatives of the donor, and no strengthening of his own. It must be emphasized once more that there is no unalterable sequence of prescribed rituals at either potlatch or memorial potlatch; the omissions just mentioned are customary, not universal, and when present the ritual of the two ceremonies is identical. Except on those rare occasions when omitted at a potlatch, the return of a dead relative is the central feature of both. [184]

In recent years, the great increase in wealth has made it possible for a chief to perform a memorial potlatch soon after the death of an esteemed relative. This was rarely the case in former times, but as there was no other reason for which valuables were so ardently desired, every expedient was used to obtain the necessary goods. Occasionally, a chief happened to have the needful goods stored up so that he could give a memorial potlatch almost immediately. To such a fortunate individual the term, *yeotla*, was applied, a word difficult to translate but combining the significances of *rich*, *ready*, *fortunate*, and *revered*. [78]

Memorial potlatches, like those of the ordinary kind, are usually held in the early autumn, though occasionally one may be postponed until after the *kusiut* season. When an intending donor has decided that he owns sufficient goods, he first calls in his fellow-chiefs and makes known his intentions, at the same time expounding in considerable detail the myths which he proposes to use as themes for mourning songs, and for other [796] [533]

[11] Performance of such rites at a memorial potlatch would be considered sinful by the Bella Bella and were always omitted during the period when their influence was important.

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departed. A few days later the same ritual was carried out again, with a similar lavish distribution of food. This was often done at intervals of two or three days for several weeks, depending on how much food the donor was prepared to use. The amount required was so great that the rite was considered, in some ways, more difficult than a potlatch.

As already mentioned, however, it became customary in the last century to incorporate features of the ordinary potlatch into one of a memorial nature. In such cases the first singing of the mourning songs with display of marks by the professional mourners is as just recorded, but there is no recalling of the guests merely to listen once more to the songs. Instead, the ritual differs but slightly from that of an ordinary potlatch as already described (I, p. 182). An occasion is found to conduct the guests to the memorial-posts erected, and to inform them of the significance of the designs depicted. This same practice has been continued since the introduction of tombstones, and the meaning of the writing upon them is interpreted. The entry of the deceased in the form of his crest, and the subsequent use of a copper, is the same as already recorded. This is frequently followed by the singing of a *sisook* mourning song if one of the near relatives owns this prerogative of foreign origin. If so, he walks slowly around the fire in a wide circle, shaking his rattle, and singing, unaccompanied. Most, if not all of these songs, are in the Bella Bella language and the right to use one has in every case been obtained through intermarriage with a member of that tribe. At intervals, heralds call out:

"Listen to the chief's lament."[27]

When presents are distributed to validate the whole ceremony, mention is always made of the different features for which they are given. As at a potlatch, the most important is the return of the dead, but at a memorial potlatch another essential is the display of the memorial-posts. These have been carved, painted, and set up, but are worthless unless validated

[27]There is no reason why this should not take place at a potlatch, but no instance of its performance was noted.

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*556 769 a man and assuage his sorrow to know that he has shown fitting respect to the dead, there is also a gain in social prestige. As the whole community respects, admires, and sometimes envies a man for having carried out a memorial potlatch, there is no doubt that he is pleased and gratified to such an extent that his grief is dulled. These two factors must constantly be kept in mind; memorial potlatches serve to commemorate the dead, but in so doing they add to the social importance of the donors. The two combine to bring considerable comfort to the chief who has lost a dear relative. In some cases the social prestige is the real motive, the grief assumed and unimportant; but in others the latter is the only factor that matters, and a chief is entirely oblivious to any increase in his own status. In most memorial potlatches, both feelings are present in the mind of the donor, and both are gratified.

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF A FUNERAL

764 114 In the preceding pages, an attempt has been made to describe the traditional death rites of the Bella Coola. The following section comprises a detailed account of funeral ceremonies witnessed in 1922. The contrast between these and the ones already recorded, will indicate some of the changes [178] in custom which are of such importance in studies of cultural [182] growth or decline. The following description will also serve to demonstrate a point repeatedly mentioned, the manner in [571] which business transactions and arrangements of all kinds take place whenever the people have been called together.

[123] On June 27, 1922, the death occurred in Bella Coola of Jessie, Mrs. Samuel King, daughter of Captain Schooner. The latter, now deceased, was one of the writer's most trusted friends, and as a result of this friendship it was possible not only to attend the actual rites, but to ascertain much of the feeling underlying them. This advantage had its drawbacks, since it was manifestly impossible to question either the father or the husband of the woman too closely. The details will be de-

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764 stepson, George Nelson, had not been living with his wife for
159 about one year.

Early in the afternoon of June 27, Captain Schooner was notified by telephone of the serious illness of his daughter at the cannery where she was working. He set out immediately, but found her dead on his arrival. Without waiting to consult Samuel King, he called together the chiefs who happened to be [622] in the vicinity, Willie Mack, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Bobby Nebby, and Alexander Clallaman.[11] He informed them that 764 he did not propose to let his daughter be thrown carelessly into 769 the ground like a dog, but that he was going to hold a memorial potlatch immediately after the funeral. Schooner, being a *556 *numiit* chief as well as father of the dead woman, was able to 159 do as he liked, and no one objected to this plan, although in [178] former times such a ceremony neither took place at once, nor in summer. If Samuel had been present, he would have been consulted as a matter of course. It was quite fitting for Jessie to be buried by her father, since she had borne her husband no children, and had been rebought several times. Moreover, Samuel lacked the determination and prestige of his father-in-law. Having settled this main point, Captain Schooner intimated that as Jessie's granddaughter, Dan Nelson's infant, was at the point of death, it would be well to combine the mourning for both at the single ceremony. No mention was made of the amount to be used for the rite. Schooner himself had $200 to expend for the purpose which would have been sufficient, and his attitude was that he neither knew nor cared whether his relatives would assist him. Soon after the other chiefs had left, Reuben Schooner arrived from the logging-camp from which he had been summoned. Father and son discussed arrangements not only for the actual interment, a simple matter, but for the memorial potlatch. It was decided that the dead woman should return as a composite figure consisting

[11] None of these was closely related to the Schooner family.

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of Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, three of her crests of which the masks were available. They agreed that Timothy Snow[48] was the best carpenter available and that he should be commissioned to put them in shape and arrange their use. Reuben wanted to sing a *sisaok* mourning song, to which he had a prerogative derived from his Bella Bella mother, and it was also decided that the band[49] should play. Reuben informed his father that he would contribute $60 towards the expenditure.

764 769 556+ 159 [593]

Meanwhile Jessie had been washed by female friends, clad in her best clothing, and laid in her coffin. This was a rough box, contributed by the manager of the cannery and shaped like a white man's coffin. At intervals, women came near and wailed dolorously without heeding others similarly engaged. The news was carried to all the Bella Coola, those men who owned gasoline launches taking the word to the logging-camps without being requested to do so. A Carrier Indian who happened to be returning from the cannery spread the word through the village, where each woman who received the message hurried off to some friend, with whom she began to wail.

764 159 [203]

Early on the following morning, Captain Schooner returned home with his wife, Jessie's stepmother. He had been crying and was sad, but seemed willing to talk. He spoke of the proposed memorial potlatch, and expressed the sentiments recorded on vol. I, p. 473. He was grave and dignified, absolutely determined to perform what he considered to be the necessary ritual, oblivious of consequences, and heedless of what he held to be an unjust law. During that summer, Captain Schooner had been a rather heavy drinker, but on this occasion he abstained from wine, and said that he hoped no one would show disrespect to his daughter by appearing in a drunken condition either at the funeral or the subsequent rites. It is

[769] [273]

[48] He was not closely related to the Schooners.

[49] Most of the younger Bella Coola were members of the band, performing white man's music on white man's instruments. Andy Schooner was bandmaster, but it is unlikely that this influenced the decision, since the performance of the band was customary at funerals when the writer was in Bella Coola.

[78]

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for the Carriers and other foreigners. The cook began to ladle the rice into basins provided by Captain Schooner; these were taken by some of the younger men who poured helpings into the dishes of the guests. Spoons had been forgotten, and there was delay until these were provided by slivers split from a block of wood for the purpose. Contrary to ancient usage, no attempt was made to serve food to the guests in order of their rank. Men, women, and children were sitting everywhere, the infants kept moving around and crying continually throughout the performance, but no one seemed to be disturbed thereby. 769 556* 264 [178] [852]

When everyone had eaten, Nebuchadnezzar, who had been sitting facing the other singers, beat on the floor to attract attention and then rose to speak. He asked the help of all to make the ceremony a success, and thus assuage the grief of the bereaved relatives. 769 556*

Joe Williams and his daughter had taken their places on the right-hand side of the hall and had requested Willie Mack, a fluent speaker and influential chief, to assist them in announcing the financial transactions. They spread a blanket on the floor on which the bills were counted, and beside this Willie knelt. Joe gave him a sum of money, which was counted and re-counted; Willie then held it up in the vain hope that it could be seen by everyone in the hall. He announced the amount, also that it was to rebuy (the divorced) Mrs. George Nelson from her late husband, and that it would "make clean the place where she sat." A young man delivered the money to George who added it to the general stock for later distribution. Next a copper was produced, held up, and presented to him for the same purpose. Meanwhile Joe, assisted by his mother and other relatives, had been counting the money which they proposed to give to Captain Schooner in settlement of the previously contracted debt. One hundred and fifty dollars were produced and handed to Willie Mack, who held them up and announced that it was in return for the $100 given by Captain Schooner on a previous occasion to Joe Williams, his wife, his son, his daughter, his mother, and his stepfather. The bills 769 556* 583 [537] 769 556*

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"Child, *you are an eagle now. You are like Xemcua.*[33] *He* will provide an eagle cloak for you." 769

The theme was continued throughout as if Captain Schooner were speaking and lamenting his daughter. At intervals the phrase was repeated, "My child has fled home." The leader of the singers, Jim Pollard in this case, kept calling out to the audience to cry and sing, and as many of them joined in as had come in earlier to listen to the words. The whole effect was strikingly dignified and impressive. 556* 533

Captain Schooner joined the singers for the second mourning song, since he alone was familiar with the details of the ancestral myth which formed the theme. In former times a bereaved parent would never have been obliged to assist in this way. Kimsquit Alec had composed the tune during the day and Billy Pollard called out the words, line by line, inviting the guests to join in. The theme consisted of instructions to Jessie: [178]

"Go," it ran, "To the mountain whither *Qyil*[34] came. Thence travel to the Skeena where you will assume the form of a whale and be able to spout like one.[35] Go then to the far north where you will enter the copper house within which dwells a copper raven and where the salmon are *taitaimx*."[36]

This song was sung in the manner already described.

The third mourning song was one composed for a *Täl-io* chief, *Smaouxek*, who had lost his daughter during the smallpox epidemic. Its use was justifiable, as *Smaouxek* was Jessie's mother's mother's mother's brother. It had a double significance since the dead woman's mother had allowed it to be used when lamenting the death of a brother of Samuel King, a member of the same ancestral family. Captain Schooner had altered the words to make them applicable to the present situation. The theme was:

[33]One of the first settlers of the earth, an ancestor of Jessie.

[34]Another of her first ancestors.

[35]One of Jessie's first ancestors had landed on the Skeena and there assumed the form and characteristics of a whale.

[36]An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.

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769 "Please stop crying. We have made good your memory.
+556 You are a light to your brother. Go to *Smaoxsk* where he
533 stands among the abalone-shells far to the south.[28] Thence go overland to Rivers Inlet where a *shāmtsk* will serve as canoe for you." You will see the long house where your ancestor obtained shaman's power."[29]

Meanwhile Reuben Schooner had been out of sight behind the curtain of the stage. After a short interval, he emerged
[292] wearing a blue blanket decorated with mother-of-pearl buttons sewn on in raven design. He was followed by two other influential members of the *xsaak* society, Alexander Clallaman and Nebuchadnezzar, similarly attired. Reuben began to sing in a low, sad, penetrating voice of considerable musical power and, followed by the other two, walked slowly in a sunwise circle around the hall, all the time shaking his right hand, held projecting outwards at right angles from his elbow. The song was in Bella Bella, and even the singer did not fully understand the meaning, and few of the audience had any idea of its significance. When the three had almost completed the first circuit, someone brought Reuben a rattle, which he clutched in his right hand as he continued his way. The reason of the shaking at once became evident; he should have had a rattle throughout but few of these were left in Bella Coolā at the time and it
[178] had not been possible to borrow one before beginning his song. Again the three slowly circled the hall, Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar calling out at intervals:

"Listen to the mourning song of the chief."

After the second circuit of the hall, Reuben paused near the singers and spoke to Alec Davis, a *xsaak sibi*. The latter
[424] rose and stated how the prerogative of *sibi*, including the right to sing, unaccompanied, a mourning song on occasions such as this had been transmitted both to Reuben and his brother Harry from *Ao-sti*, a Bella Bella chief to whom they were

[28] An incident in one of Jenie's ancestral myths.
[29] An incident in one of Jenie's ancestral myths.
[30] An incident in one of Jenie's ancestral myths.

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related through their mother. After a little further discussion, Harry took the rattle from his brother and began to sing as he walked around the hall, followed by Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar. Harry was less familiar than his brother with the proper words, but supplied this deficiency by humming. He was also less at ease, and he lacked the musical ability which had made his brother's singing so impressive. After a single circuit, he restored the rattle to Reuben, who continued to go around the hall as he sang. This time he paused at intervals, and kept glancing towards the door, his whole attitude betraying that something was interfering with the previously arranged plans. The purpose of the singing was to summon the dead woman in the form of her crest, but she did not appear. In early times those who were not *Asaad* were told that the words and music penetrated to the upper regions, reminding the deceased of the grief of his relatives and persuading him to return. This belief had passed away at the time of the ceremony here described, but the fiction was continued, and it had been planned that the representation of the deceased should enter when the song was finished. It later transpired that the delay was due to a number of white people who, having gathered at the doorway, made the performer unwilling to put on his masks and disguise. Reuben continued to sing half-heartedly, and finally cried out:

"Perhaps I have lost my power, it does not come."

Alec Davis, who had previously left the hall, came rushing in and called out in a loud voice:

"*Xemsila* [Jessie's ancestral name and the one in connection with which she had been made a chief] is coming. She has been to the scenes of her ancestral myths. Her crests have taken her. She comes as Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, bearing her grandchild."*

The speaker is a morose, rather surly individual, usually undignified and often drunk, but on this occasion his manner had changed in a remarkable degree. His eyes were bright, his

*Although not yet dead, all hope had been abandoned for the child's recovery.

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lowed the actor, blowing eagle down over him repeatedly. After one circuit of the hall, the performer passed out through the front door, from the vicinity of which was heard once more the large whistles and the screaming of the eagle, both growing less distinct as if the bird were flying away. 769 556* 535

The wearer of the mask displayed considerable dramatic talent and succeeded in giving a realistic display in spite of the glaring lights which exposed his bare feet and betrayed the human handicraft of the mask in a manner impossible in the native type of house with a single, central fire as the sole illumination. The Carriers had watched the performance with interest, probably tinged with contempt, but to the Bella Coola it was no mere spectacle, it was a religious rite of the highest importance. All the spectators realized that the figure was human, but this seemed inconsequential as they gazed upon the representation of the dead woman in the form of her crests, to which they believed she had been transformed by death. Even the children were silent, and the only sound during the passage was the wailing of a sleepy infant. The eagle crest belonged to Jessie by virtue of membership in the ancestral family descended from her father's first ancestor, traced patrilineally, who had come to earth at *Tsmesl* in the form of this bird. The blackfish was a crest acquired through her mother; the raven represented a copper raven belonging to an ancestral myth of the dying grandchild. In former times, carpenters would have worked for weeks preparing an elaborate composite figure, but Captain Schooner wished no delay in the ceremony for fear of police interference, so that it was necessary to use what masks happened to be in existence and to place them in conjunction by means of the crude white sheet. Jessie had not been initiated into the *ɬaɬaɬ* society, but no opposition was raised to the use of *ɬaɬaɬ* whistles both on account of her status as chief, and owing to the influence of her father who, a *nuuitl* chief, feared no restrictions and heeded no conventions. Besides, both her brothers were influ- 769 556* 424 178 [575 622]

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769 *556 ential *nsaak*. In former times it is certain that objections would have been raised to this breach of ceremonial privilege.

[424] [178] [575] [622] There was a pause for several minutes after the withdrawal of the figure. Then Reuben threw a copper on the floor in the track taken by the actor "to make bone for the dead woman." A number of chiefs went forward to join the singers and discuss whether or not the copper should be redeemed. No one wished to do so, so Captain Schooner said he would have it fastened to a post over Jessie's grave, a proposition to which all agreed.

769 *556 533 After interminable discussion in which Captain Schooner, Nebuchadnezzar, Reuben Schooner, Jim Pollard, and Alec Davis took the principal parts, it was decided to sing the fourth mourning song at this point. There was no reason why this should not have been done at the customary time, after the other three, but wide latitude in detail was allowed in this [178] ceremony; in fact, exact ritual never flourished in Bella Coola and has become increasingly rare in recent years. This song had been composed a number of years previously when Captain Schooner had called in the Bella Bella to a memorial potlatch, and great care had been expended on its composition owing to the skill of the guests in songs of this type. The words, altered to fit the circumstances, were phrased as if George and Dan were lamenting the loss of their mother and other relatives.

"I, we," they ran, "are thinking of our mother, our brothers, our sisters, our mother's brothers, our mother's sisters, our father's brothers, our father's sisters, of all our dead relatives. Please, ye chiefs from abroad, turn your heads, listen to our wail. You revered great ones, let us all cry together. It is we who have called you hither; look upon us."

This song was sung in the manner already described, except that more of the Bella Coola were familiar with the words and tune and could accordingly join in.

769 *556 Meanwhile Captain Schooner, with his sons Reuben and Harry and his grandsons George Nelson and Andy Schooner, had been crouching in a corner of the hall, poring over the money which was to be distributed to validate the ceremony,

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* 756 like power, and will tell their son to try the same method. In
* 787 this way a descendant of shamans has a better chance to become one than anybody else. Another indication that a person is likely to become a shaman is to be wakened from sleep by a mouse. As he sits up, hastily, thinking that someone has called
[825] him, all that he sees is the disappearing rodent. Mice have a rather peculiar position in the eyes of the Bella Coola, since they believe that these animals regard themselves as superior to mankind.

"The food of mortals is our food," say the mice.

His parents now tell the boy that he is likely to become a shaman, and that he must accordingly take great care of him-
[785] self. If he is an adult, he will begin to observe ceremonial chastity, and in any case will spend much time alone, avoiding the trivialities of life in the village, and will think little about mundane matters. At intervals he goes alone to the forest, especially to some spot beside a waterfall, the kind of place that supernatural beings frequent. Here he lies down, sometimes for several days, with evergreen boughs spread beneath and above him. These are clean and nullify the mortal odour so objectionable to supernatural beings, so that his chance of obtaining a visitation is increased. He does not know what may appear to him, but he carefully remembers his dreams[1] which, as his thoughts are centred on lofty subjects, are likewise about matters of importance. If his dream is sufficiently clear to warrant the term vision, the recipient should remain, fasting, for four days on the spot where it occurred, and should say nothing about it when he returns home. His strength increases with every vision, until at last, sometimes after a period of thirty years or more, he will obtain a real one and the power to cure a disease. Sometimes dreams come to him in the village, but they are more likely to occur in a secluded spot in the
[178] forest. It is impossible to obtain examples of these dreams since, for a long time, no one has been brave enough to seek

[828] [1] The Bella Coola do not differentiate between mental images that appear in sleep and visions seen during waking hours.

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power in this way, but their type can be judged by the shamanistic performances hereafter described, many of which are believed to have been derived from them. 756 * 787 * [178] ●

The members of different families have remembered various means of making a person "clean" so that a supernatural being is likely to visit him. Almost every family knows one or more of these, and an individual who shows signs of becoming a shaman will be taught how to use his family method. In conjunction with this, the seeker after power will further purify himself by abstaining from sexual intercourse, by frequent washing in hot springs, by eating small portions of the tails of snakes and the heads of toads, and by avoiding food prepared by a widow or by a girl secluded after puberty. In this way he hopes that his dreams will be fruitful, and that a vision may be granted him as he lies in the forest on his evergreen couch. 756 * 783 787 * [785]

The following are some of the methods to be practised at dawn every fourth day.

(1) The seeker after power locates a small stream on either side of which there are growing two shoots of devil's club. At dawn he breaks off the four stems and strips from them the bark, which he uses to scrub himself in the cold water. As he does so he says:

"Please give me power that I may see what I wish to see."

This is addressed to the plant itself, not to the supreme god. It is a request to be able to see some one of the many supernatural beings that roam the forests, but which are invisible, or appear only as animals, to all but shamans. The words are not a fixed formula, and similar ones are said in connection with each method. After washing, the seeker for power throws the bark and peeled stem into the water. [782]

(2) Again selecting a secluded stream, the would-be shaman picks up a smooth, water-worn pebble from one side of it, and with this rubs his body, then carefully replaces it in the exact position from which he took it. He repeats the process with a second stone, crosses the stream and does likewise with two stones from the farther margin.

* 756 789 cealed cord succeeded in drawing feathers, previously placed on the surface, around in the direction in which she was dancing. It was impossible to learn the details of the method employed in this trick. The subterfuge was long ago practised by a shaman.

A simple but effective trick was the substitution of a baton made of light maple wood for one of the heavy type used by the singers. The real stick had been passed around the audience and apparently returned to one of the singers, though in reality the false one had been given to him. As he beat time the hollow sound that emanated was a source of surprise to the uninitiated spectators, nor was their wonder lessened when a real baton was again handed around, as if it were the one that had been in use.

[178] According to an informant, the last time that a supernatural being helped the person on whom it had conferred shamanistic power to perform a rite of this kind was about 1870. A man who had fallen from his canoe into the ocean was rescued, but for a long time was ill as a result of exposure. [776] [787] River Measurer, the supernatural being who governs the height of tides in the river, appeared and made him a shaman with the ability to cure through the use of a wash-basin. As this shaman danced, he had a large box filled with water. Presently he called on one of the uninitiated to examine the height of the water and point out to his fellows how high it was. A little later he called a second man who likewise indicated on the outside of the box the height of the liquid within. It had fallen, though its disappearance seemed inexplicable.

781 789 The above furnishes a good example of the attitude of the uninitiated. The informant, a very intelligent Bella Coola, gave a number of instances of the conjuring methods employed, some of which he had helped to carry out. Unquestionably, this was of the same nature, yet, because he was deceived at the time of its performance, he readily believed that the rite was supernatural; since then he had never thought of doubting

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them renders it more likely that they will grant his requests. Therefore, a shaman is usually called upon to perform the following rites: 756* 782

(1) Washing the mouth of a person who has died without voiding from his body the first salmon or olachen of the season (I, p. 436). [764]

(2) Asking assistance for the complicated rites of the potlatch (I, p. 192). [556]

(3) Request for assistance before starting on a journey, by puffing eagle down into the air (I, p. 106). [484]

(4) Request for aid by means of placing food on the water and blowing eagle down into the air at Mesatche Nose and Kwatna (I, p. 109).

In fact a supplication to any supernatural being can be made with greater prospect of success by a shaman than by any other person.

The Power of Shamans

As has been said, a shaman actually has power within himself, and this is so strong that it may be a source of danger to others. If a man should pass behind one so endowed when the latter is eating, his spirit would be drawn from his body into the shaman's mouth, which would close with a click, crushing the spirit and killing the man. This is quite involuntary on the part of the shaman. It happened more than once among the early inhabitants, and since that time people have been very careful not to pass behind an eating shaman; this taboo was still in force until about 1885. A shaman, too, is said to be able to recall a spirit which has left its body, and thus caused illness. It is believed by some that shamans can see the position of a person's tally post, and so judge the length of his life. These examples show the varying beliefs of different Bella Coola concerning the powers of shamans. 756* [761] [264] [178] [755]

But the force within the shaman is really more dangerous to its possessor than to others. As certain "unclean" objects are able to subdue supernatural beings, so do these same ob- 756* 783 841

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a lad has been drowned in spite of efforts to rescue him, means that a beaver has been caught. 787 * 224

To dream of seeing a *kusiut* dancer in full costume means that a fisher, lynx, wolverine, mountain goat, wolf, or black bear has been caught.

To dream of fighting people, especially if arrows are used, means that a grizzly bear has been caught.

To dream of playing children means that deer will be seen the following day.

To dream of swimming means that an otter has been caught.

To dream of fondling a woman and playing with her breasts means that a marten has been caught.

Obscene dreams mean that squirrels or pack-rats have been caught.

To dream of a woman with whom the hunter has held illicit intercourse means that absolutely nothing has been caught.

Until recent years these interpretations were believed without question and no hunter bothered to examine his traps unless he had received such indications of success. A hunter's wife likewise obtains information of her husband's fortune in dreams. [178]

All dreams cannot be translated. One man, for example, stated that in his sleep he had often seen a supernatural being enter his house, turn to the left, pick up one of the heavy floor boards and carry it around the fire as if it had been a tray. The apparition always told him to do likewise, but though he has tried repeatedly in his dreams, he has always found it too heavy. Such an image might serve a shaman as theme for a dramatic performance, though, of course, the element of curing the sick would be lacking. Another dream experienced several times by the same man when ill is that of being carried with the speed of light to a flat land somewhat similar to this, but located on the top of a range of lofty mountains. It contains numerous grassy meadows studded with trees of which the 787 * [756]

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beneath the surface, and throw it in a second time. Repeat this four times. If the wrapping has been carefully fastened, little water leaks in and the child suffers no discomfort. This causes him to grow up confident and brave with regard to canoeing and every kind of activity on the river. Like the last medicine, this is not potent for one who has held sexual intercourse. It cannot be applied to a girl since beaver are unfavourable to women who must observe many taboos concerning them. 825 789 856

To Cause Modesty and Respect for One's Elders

When a boy is about six or eight years of age, his father beats him lightly, four times, with a rope-end. This is done in the early morning, then he takes his son to wash immediately. Four days later the beating and washing are repeated. From this time on, a parent should whip his son four times every fourth morning until he is old enough to marry. The force of the chastisements increases as the lad grows older, so that when he is about fourteen years of age, he is beaten with the full force of his parent's arm. It is a point of honour for a lad to endure his whippings without whimpering; one who shows the pain he is suffering is laughed at by his fellows and not allowed to wash with them. This medicine makes a child strong, manly, respectful to his elders, and, generally, the type of individual to whom supernatural beings are likely to show favour. 789 856 [152]

This practice has long been discontinued and it was impossible to learn whether or not it had ever been carried out with full vigour. Several of the older men stated that in their childhood they had been beaten periodically by their fathers, but none had had this last over a period of years. It was claimed that such had been the case in earlier times, but it seems almost certain that this type of chastisement could never have been carried out regularly. During the winter, for example, when *kusiut* dances were taking place, the whole community used to sleep late and it is improbable that a father rose every fourth [178]

535 contact with supernatural beings, so that it is a time for grave
*575 thoughts and decorous behaviour. Even by day the members
796 pass from house to house with dignified mien, not loitering
[787] around the sidewalks nor indulging in frivolity. Every effort is made to prevent quarrels between members who are expected to show by their appearance and actions the gravity of the rites in which they are engaged. Night after night they assemble at the house wherein the dance is taking place; those who have performed, and are therefore most closely in touch with the supernatural, even sleep there, not returning to their own houses until March. A dance usually lasts four nights, and during that time the performer's house, in which it takes place, is termed a *nuqpik*, "An Empty House." The significance of this designation is unknown.

178 Membership in the society depends on a duly validated
*575 ancestral prerogative to perform one of the many *kusiut* dances.
[424] At the present time every Bella Coola is a *kusiut*, even babes in arms being initiated, but formerly no one was admitted until he or she had reached an age of discretion. Some informants went so far as to say that the hair of an initiate must have begun to turn grey, and all agreed that no one was ever admitted until at least twenty, or more often, twenty-five years of age. Initiates were frequently still older; one woman, for example, stated that her mother was past the age of child-
[551] bearing before admission. Since only a member of the society could be called by a *kusiut* name, the uninitiated continued to be known by the ancestral names conferred on them at infancy until they received *kusiut* designations. The importance of the
178 society depends on the belief of the uninitiated in the super-
*575 natural powers of its members, and as there are now none to
796 impress, the rites carried out today are little more than pic-
128 tures of what took place years ago. It is the aim of the Bella Coola to carry out the dances as if uninitiated persons were in attendance, and since most of the following information was obtained from men who well remembered their sensations when not members of the society, it is justifiable to use the present

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575*
tense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a [178]
number of young men and women ignorant of the significance [796]
of the rites. Formerly, the *kukusiut* often had difficulty in im- [128]
pressing the uninitiated with their prowess, and feuds with the [578]
a'alk were common.

Although membership in the *kusiut* society depends on an 554
ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution. 556
A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *kusiut* 575*
prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a
potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great impor-
tance within the ranks of the society. Nor are the preroga- [527]
tives considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that
slaves are often admitted as *kukusiut* by their masters. An
important *kusiut* is not esteemed by the community in the
same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, member-
ship in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious
advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a 575*
member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *kusiut* organ- 869
ization can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an
uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents
impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut*
and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is
perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They
then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the
good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief
of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes
what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without spe- [784]
cial invitation, he dares enter the house where a *kusiut* dance [774]
is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that
it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient [626]
to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely
enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching
with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non- 000

*575 untranslatable word with the significance of "One who has
778 suffered loss through faulty concealment [of his repository]."
425 Some of these vaults[1] are said to be dangerous to the unin-
[784] itiated who avoid them and in this way the sanctity of some chiefs' meeting-places is guarded.

*575 According to Kimsquit belief, *Ano°likwolsaix* has a hus-
778 band, *Almoqltaikila*, who dwells with her in every repository.
776 If an uninitiated person should chance to find a vault, he falls dead before the power emanating from *Ano°likwolsaix*. Her husband then restores the dead by blowing violently on the back of the victim's neck, accompanying this with cries of *hoip*. When a person is initiated into the *kusiut* society, the uninitiated hear the songs used, in many of which are references to the experiences of the novice with this supernatural pair.

*575 Turning now to the manner in which the *kukusiut* regard their own society, it is evident that the most important duty of each member is to aid in impressing and deceiving the uninitiated. The prestige of the organization depends upon the ability of its members to inspire awe, hence any weakness in fulfilling this obligation is an anti-social act. For this purpose the society acts as a whole. Many *kukusiut* have, for example,
[424] Cannibal prerogatives, and on occasion the Cannibals, having the same functions, work together, but they do not form a separate organization of their own.[2] Many of the means employed to deceive and impress the uninitiated have already been described. Mythology records, and it appears to be a
[773] fact, that long ago the ascendancy of the *kukusiut* was often
[178] challenged by the *a'alk* and other uninitiated, but when the white man came the society had reached a position of such eminence that the powers of its members were unquestioned. Moreover, the combined strength of virtually all the seniors of the tribe was so great that an uninitiated person could not assert himself even if he was suspicious.

[688] Although members of the society exert every effort to con-

[2]The Bella Coola state that such sub-societies are found among the Kwakiutl.

[1] [i.e. - a repository of supernatural power - ANALYST]

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 567 struggling in fear, to the secret meeting-place. Here the marshals discuss what shall be done with him; some suggest that he be killed, others a lesser fate, and finally someone advises his initiation. After apparently due deliberation, this is decided upon; the slave is told the mysteries of the society and is warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells the uninitiated of his knowledge. The actual ceremonial rites of *575 796 admission do not vary according to the preliminaries used.

Initiation can take place at any time during the *kusiut* season. After consulting with the marshals in order to choose an evening when no other dance is to take place, the relatives of the neophyte, whom it will be convenient to term X, invite the *kukusiut* to their house. Sometimes songs are sung by way of rehearsal, at other times food is distributed at once. As the people are eating, one of the marshals stands up to address them, saying that X's relatives propose to take him to the repository of the name ———, so that he may become a *kusiut*. X, to whom this may be the first intimation, is called from his house and taken from the village by several of his kinsmen, with one or more of the marshals. The *kukusiut* disperse and tell the uninitiated in the other houses that X has gone to meet *Ăno'likwolsaix*. His companions hear the news with mingled envy and thankfulness that they are not to have this dangerous privilege.

[178] In ancient times X and his guides may actually have proceeded to his repository, but for several generations at least it has been customary for the party merely to go to some lonely spot in the woods for the night. Those accompanying X tell him as much of the ritual of the society as they think fit, not forgetting to emphasize the trust put upon him, and the fate which will befall him if he should communicate his knowledge. [787] [184] He is expected to report that he went to the repository where, lying face downwards on the ground, he saw *Ăno'likwolsaix*; in Kimsquit he is supposed also to see her husband.[9]

[776] [9]According to one old Bella Coola a sister of *Ăno'likwolsaix* also remains in every repository.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 some ashes which he puts into his mouth and chews. Of course
791 he masticates only the ashes but X, unaware of this, is con-
796 cerned for the fate of his spirit. At last it is restored to him
[774] and he is told that the *siki* has altered it from that of an
[781] uninitiated person to that of a *kusiut*.[11] The psychological effect of this act on the mind of a young man who has not had time to adjust himself to his new knowledge and who is firmly convinced of the powers of the *siki* is tremendous.

The first *siki* now instructs two *kukusiut* sitting on either side of X to lie down to serve as a seat for him. They do so, irrespective of who they may be. If the novice is still ignorant of the full mysteries of the society, the *siki* announces that he is going to get a call for X. He walks around the house, peering here and there as if seeking something, and then pounces as if he had caught an object between his hands. A whistle
[534] is heard, such as the novice knows accompanies the coming of every call; but he does not know that the noise is made by compressing a goat or bear bladder-whistle between two sticks held beneath the armpit. This is the "mystery" of the strange noises.

*575 "Do you know what makes that noise?" ask the two *kuku-*
796 *siut* on whom X is sitting.

If X denies all knowledge, the mystery is explained to him,
[688] and he is warned that he will be killed if he communicates the information to uninitiated persons. If he answers that he knows the cause, he is asked who has told him. Perhaps some lad has been peeking and has told X of what he has seen; in that case the over-inquisitive youth is at once initiated to prevent further leakage of information. As soon as X has learnt the great secret he moves to one side and the singers take their positions behind the fire. His father, or whoever it
[425] may be from whom he is to obtain his name, then stands up
[553] and unfolds its origin, telling which supernatural being is his patron, and the locality of his repository. X sometimes re-

[178] [11]This part of the rite has been omitted for so many years that many of the middle-aged *kukusiut* have forgotten it.

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[The Cannibal Dance]

each house in succession, borrowing filled chamber vessels. 575* Five or six men are waiting for X with these, and as he enters 796* his house, they pour urine over him. Thus restored to partial sanity, he cries out in a different tone of voice, and at once visits every house. The *kukusiut* are still with him, but need not guard him as closely since he is now less liable to frenzy. The uninitiated are greatly relieved at this removal of peril from among them. Later in the day *kukusiut* go to the different houses, asking for choice salmon-grease with which the Cannibal will later be fed. The giving of the first food to X, the later sending aloft of his call, and the restrictions which he observes for the rest of the winter do not differ from those described for other Cannibals.

Snuuq's patron is a *snuuq* of the Mountain which became [776] petrified in the beginning of time. At his repository there is a [778] spring beneath a large boulder. Uninitiated persons passing the spot are often terrified by hearing the growling of a Cannibal from beneath the stone. It is in this place that persons [757] suffering from virulent skin disease are washed by X, as described in a previous chapter.

Few particulars could be learnt of the rite as carried out by *Qolliaohmx*, though it is said to resemble the one just described in every respect. The prerogative was obtained in a vision of [424] one of the Cannibal's early ancestors, who located the reposi- [787] tory of the name beneath a large, flat stone, directly in the [778] old trail up the valley. When anyone treads on it, reverberation is heard. The writer was a spectator when the present 575* *Qolliaohmx* gave his dance in January, 1924, but the rite was 796* performed in such a perfunctory manner that little could be 178 learnt from it. The Cannibal wore two bands of dyed cedar-bark on his left forearm, under one of which was a container of red paint. Uttering his cry of *xua·*, *xua·*, *xua·*, and looking around with a wild air, he frequently buried his face in his arm, between the bands. The red paint made a realistic representation of blood, especially as it dropped with red smudges on the floor. On this occasion, the dancer appeared

*575 in a flesh-coloured bathing-suit, imitating the nakedness of
*796 earlier years. The writer was talking to one of the marshals,
178 a very old man, and remarked how different the present rites must appear to him.

"Yes," replied the old man. "But after all, the change is not so great. In former years we imitated what the supernatural beings did, now we imitate what our fathers did."

Many ethnologists, acquainted with the elaborate rituals carried out on the coast early in this century, have expressed surprise at the rapidity with which these have dwindled to mere shadows. The writer believes that one factor for the Bella Coola decline in ritual, is the realization that the rites are imitative, and that accordingly their significance need not be lost when further imitation is added.

*575 Further research would undoubtedly have added particu-
*796 lars of the manner in which other Cannibals carried out their rites, but to obtain the full details of all would have been detrimental to other types of investigation; it is believed that the above descriptions are typical. Before passing to other dances, a few general remarks on the Cannibal ritual may prove useful.

*575 In view of the arduous character of the dance, and the
*796 necessity for impressing the uninitiated with the great power
424 of the Cannibals, the marshals usually prohibit a man from
[562] acting unless he is physically strong. Rarely, however, a woman is allowed to be a Cannibal if she has the necessary prerogative, but usually only if she is the last survivor of her family. In such cases the shorter rite is the more common.

[538] As before stated, *kusiut* origin myths are supposed to be
[173] remembered, but in practice few *kukusiut* know the history of their prerogatives. The process of forgetting has undoubtedly increased in the last few years, but the writer feels confident that they were never maintained with the same care as origin myths connected with the first people.

nusiutälsap and has part of that day as well as all of *qothm* and *nəhusam* to complete his task. On the evening of *nusiutälsap*, the *kukusiut* are summoned as usual to practise X's two songs. The ritual on this night as well as on the following, *qothm*, appears to be of the usual *kusiut* type although one informant stated that complete silence reigns in order to spread the fiction among the uninitiated in the neighbouring houses that X is waiting quietly to commune with the supernatural beings, and that consequently the customary dancing is omitted. This is probably a modern deviation from the traditional usage. 575* 796* [532] [178]

On the night of *nəhusam* a herald summons the *kukusiut* to X's house with the cry:

> *Tcälätt dənai nəmənkəmi dəkusiutai*
> Come to the little *kusiut* dance. [539]

This is merely a rhetorical remark since the dance is really one of major import. They enter, and are at once given a small meal.[1] Then the cry is raised for the uninitiated. When they are seated, X appears from the back-room, carrying before him the fungus, held by the shorter end of rope projecting above, while the longer is coiled up behind it out of sight. The *kukusiut* begin to beat time furiously as X slowly circles the fire. Then, solemnly and carefully, he sets the fungus on the floor where, to the wonder of the uninitiated, it disappears from sight as though it had sunk into the planks. This is, in fact, the case, since the carpenters have prepared a small hole in the floor through which it disappears, leaving only the cord lying on the surface. Any four *kukusiut* men are called forward to support X and stand, two on either side of him. The dancer bends down, picks up the string easily with one hand and draws up the fungus into sight, taking care not to raise it high enough to expose the longer end of the rope passing through the hole. He lowers his burden and the fungus disappears from sight. X whispers to one of his four assistants and the latter calls out, as if just prompted:

[1] This may be also a modern innovation. [178]

[The Fungus Dance]

575 from a distance. When one of the participants has speared
796 the object, it is drawn to shore and carried into the house.
[424] The uninitiated are then called in and enter, often covering their heads with blankets to prevent their spirits being drawn from them. None of the Bella Coola appears to know what governed, in the old days, the choice between these two performances.

575 The Fungus dance differs considerably from typical *kusiat*
796 rituals already described. In part this is certainly due to decay of custom. When the writer witnessed the dance in the
178 winter of 1923-4 it was carried out very crudely by *Snunéka'kai*, who, unwilling to admit this, was secretive about the proper ritual. Consequently, the performance of the dance was more of a hindrance than a help to the investigator. But even when full weight is given to this circumstance, it is clear that the Fungus dance is peculiar, particularly in the omission of masked figures on *nuhuram*.

575 The ritual on that occasion was further complicated by the
796 fact that *Snunéka'kai* has also the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of either the sun or the moon, and insisted on this
821 fact being brought out in connection with her songs. Four of
[424] these were composed instead of the usual two, and the supernatural beings described in them were:

[533] *Alquntám:* under the name of *Sunálotla*.

[776] The Moon.

Smaien-a: This was introduced on account of being the
[532] place from which the Salmon-Bringer leaps to the sun. A mask representing this place of petrified power is always painted with salmon designs and the blanket of the wearer is decorated in the same way.

The *Snung* mouths that act as posts at the ends of the sun's course.

Shlím: A supernatural being dwelling under the river who is able to use a fungus in a dance held there. Detailed information about this creature could not be obtained.

[533] At any eclipse, no matter what the season of the year or

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[The Mystery Dance]

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plains that until the three correct solutions have been given, X will be able neither to eat nor to sleep. Moreover, this would mean a continuation of the *kwiat* season far into the spring. X is supposed to know the three answers but to be unable to communicate them, though if a nearly correct reply is given, he shows it by dancing violently. A clever actor is thus able to instil considerable action into the proceedings by leading on an eager guesser with movements of increased animation, but the result is always the same—his dancing grows weaker as if the one replying had strayed into a false path. A marshal explains that the failure is due to the supernatural being *Awayalikailais* having robbed the guesser of his mental ability. When the replies have stopped, X takes up his stick and leaves the house, followed by his escort. He enters the dwelling immediately above, where the same performance is repeated: this is done in each house of the village.

All the *kukwiat* return with X to his home where what little is left of the night is passed in eating and in listening to speeches from the marshals.

In the morning the carpenters erect a circular enclosure between the fire and the back-room. It is raised on posts about four feet long, has a diameter of approximately twelve feet, and is surrounded by a wall three or four feet high, often decorated with paintings according to the dancer's wishes. The uninitiated are told that X must remain in this, except when on periodic visits to the other houses, until the three answers have been guessed, and that he must not eat, sleep, or even sit down. In recent years the prohibition with regard [178] to eating has been neglected, but it is said that in the last century one man abstained from all food except fern root for two months. X climbs into the enclosure and throughout the day the uninitiated in the other houses can hear the rattling of his dance apron as he moves to and fro.

Just before dusk the *kukwiat* assemble in X's home, preparatory to sallying forth to every house in the village as on the previous evening. The remembrancers attend him, care-

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[The Mystery Dance]

*575 masks representing the three successful answers. Little atten-
*796 tion is paid to actual design, and the workmen use their ini-
532 tiative to a considerable extent.[a] One mask always made is that of *Snuslaxwai*, a being who appears to act as concealer for *Ałquntām*. As far as could be learnt, if *Ałquntām* wishes to conceal anything from a human being, such as the hiding-places in a Mystery dance, *Snuslaxwai* is entrusted with the task. In addition to the usual well-known supernatural beings, X often orders representations of mammals, birds, or fish; he may even ask a man to make a mask without stipulations and then the finished product is as much a surprise to him as to anyone else. There is no relationship between the masks made
[556] and the guesses registered. If X is wealthy, the number to be constructed may run to fifty or more. *Nusiutālsap* concludes in the usual way as soon as all the work has been allotted.

Two days is not long enough for the completion of such a large number of masks, so *nēhusam* must be postponed, and *qoṭlm* is correspondingly delayed for four days. In the evening the heralds invite first the *kukusiut* and then the eager, though fearful uninitiated. They take their places and in Kimsquit, not
[184] in Bella Coola, marvel at some of the masks hanging behind the fire, though no explanation is vouchsafed them until the following evening. Presently the singers begin to beat out one of
*575 X's songs and he starts dancing violently, only to stop long
*796 before it is ended. The musicians quickly change to another; he performs briefly, then ceases; this is repeated for a third tune, and similarly for a fourth, a fifth, and so on. If the preliminaries have been long drawn out, X may have as many as twenty songs and he dances to a fragment of each. After he has performed, the singers strike up the tune of any *kusiut*

[178] [a] Possibly this disregard for exact portrayal of supernatural beings is a modern degeneration. The Bella Coola of today say quite frankly that they have forgotten many beings used by their ancestors, so have no hesitation in inventing new designs and naming them even for natural phenomena which they consider must be caused by supernatural agency. On the other hand, the burning of masks, which seems to be an old practice, would tend to lessen conventionalization in all but the best-known figures.

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[The Mystery Dance]

statements. Non-members recognize that Deer, Varied Thrush, and Wolf are really persons, but they have no idea who or what they are, while their whole training, combined with the atmosphere with which the whole ceremony is surrounded, makes it easy for them to believe that they are seeing supernaturally endowed animals. If an uninitiated person should voice his doubts, he would be reported at once to the marshals by a spy and forthwith made a *kuziut*. 575* 796* 582 796 [781]

The next to come forth is a figure wearing a mask representing a man, and carrying a long stick to the end of which is tied a bundle of burning rags. The actor must be able to run swiftly, and, as he dashes at full speed around the fire, the strips of cloth are drawn out into a flaming stream behind him, producing a spectacular effect in the semi-gloom. *Ano'lîkwolsaix* explains that this is Shooting Star, a supernatural being who behaves peculiarly and who has, therefore, passed rapidly and without the droning invitation that accompanies the passage of the other visitors. When *Qaxalên-i* gave this dance, the rags were dipped in coal-oil to make them burn brightly, and one informant thought that this particular supernatural one was, perhaps, not shown in the old days. It must be remembered that details of the ceremony are constantly changing according to the skill and inventive ability of the carpenters. [178]

To the accompaniment of *O*..... from the announcer and the droning of the women, there next emerge four masked figures representing the four Carpenters. In whatever ceremonial they appear, their masks are the same because they, as master-artisans, are supposed to have fashioned them for themselves. They dance around the fire without singing and disappear behind the enclosure. *Ano'lîkwolsaix* explains that these are *Masmusâlânux*, the Carpenters of *Naxpalxwaista*.

Now *Oqolikts Alqunîm* comes forth. He is the herald of *Alqunîm* who summons the supernatural ones to *Naxpalxwaista* for the winter ceremonial. He wears a man's mask, surmounted by a wooden bird which can be made to flap its wings by means of a hidden cord, and he carries a staff on top

dakaxiar and lack X's call in the usual manner. Then, two by two, the masks are cast on to the fire and the ceremonial is over.

THE DANCE OF THE TALLY POSTS

As previously described, a tally post is erected in the land above for every Bella Coola at birth. As long as this memorial is upright and firm, the individual to whom it refers enjoys health and prosperity, but if it becomes crooked he falls ill. The uninitiated believe that several *dakaxiar* have the prerogative of climbing to the land above during the ceremonial season and straightening leaning tally posts. This is such a useful activity that it must have exercised great influence on the uninitiated in early days, but the rite has not been properly carried out since the smallpox epidemic in the last century. The following account was obtained from two old men who remembered the manner in which a certain *Ocikuif* of *Tsmusil* performed a year or two before "The Great Sickness." Neither of the informants was a *dasiar* at the time, but they were able to supplement their recollections of the dance with what they afterwards learnt when initiated, so the following account is probably accurate in outline though deficient in detail. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X, and describe the ceremony in the present tense. It was also performed at Kimsquit many years ago.

The rite resembles *Sacinqa* dances in many respects. X must obtain the consent of the marshals during the preceding summer, and their permission is refused unless the prospective dancer is a man of proved discretion. If they agree, X asks a number of *dakaxiar* women to help him by making a very long and strong rope of nettle fibre. At intervals the work-women gather for the purpose in the back-room of X's house, taking care that no uninitiated see what they are doing. Every effort is made to ensure that there is no flaw in the rope as a break would be a serious matter, punishable by death.

Near the winter solstice the marshals choose a suitable time

[The Dance of the Murdered Slave]

* 575 *796 women drone, then she leaves the house, ostensibly to return to her repository up the valley.

The singers at once begin to compose a new song, describing X's visitor and something of her history. The ritual that follows is that of the ordinary *lootémem* and requires no special description. On the night of *nacistálap* a large number of [532] masks are ordered, including one series representing wasps, another of young lads, and still another of the latter with swollen faces. The only other part of the dance with a distinctive ritual is that of *nakanem*.

In the early evening the *kukuciut* assemble in X's house to [532] inspect the enormous wasps' nest which the carpenters have [178] erected behind the fire. In recent years this has been made of canvas, taking the place of matting. Within are several stages, on which the defenders stand, each a *kuciut* wearing a wasp's mask and carrying a miniature bow and arrow. The attackers are other members of the society chosen for their small stature and armed with clubs and branches; each wears a boy's mask and each carries a second, representing the same individual with badly swollen face. Considerable time is required to perfect the arrangements and select the performers, but at last all is in readiness and the uninitiated are called in.

They marvel at the enormous wasps' nest and presently [714] witness an assault on it. The attackers, protected by armour, valiantly beat on the structure with clubs as they swing their [825] branches as if brushing away the angry insects; this is the way that boys normally attack a wasps' nest. The defenders discharge their arrows and at intervals one of the attackers calls out in pain and falls down, presently rising with badly swollen face. The uninitiated do not realize that he has slipped the second mask from beneath his blanket to his face. X stands at one side, throwing his arm with a sweeping motion in the direction of the combat, while *Ana'kiwalaxie* gives her customary explanations. At last the nest is beaten down whereupon one of the Cannibals begins to growl and the uninitiated rush away. The ritual concludes in the usual way.

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assemble to witness the dance of *Alqunŭm*. This is his function in the land above, so it is natural for him to do the same in this world.

THE DANCE OF *Alqunŭm*'S FISHERMAN

Alqunŭm in the land above has a servant who uses a hand-net, *xots*, in fishing for his master. He is accordingly known as *Alqunŭm*'s *Xoxpstŭm*, "Fisherman," and is patron for a *kuciut*.

THE DANCE OF THE TOP

The playful *Sŭwollpumalsh Alqunŭm* has a favourite toy consisting of a stick which can be made to spin between the hands. This top, if it may so be termed, is patron for some *kuciut*. The writer was unable to learn how it is displayed on *nuhuam*.

THE DANCE OF THE PETRIFIED HAMMER

The patron of one *kuciut* is a hammer which in some way was changed to stone in the beginning of time when the Bella Coola River first flowed to the sea.

THE DANCE OF THE GRIZZLY BEAR

A *kuciut* named *Bŭtsut* has, as patron, a grizzly bear resident in *Xmoqua*'s house.

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[178]

VARIOUS ORIGIN MYTHS

In most cases *kuciut* dances have been preserved until the present day, although the myths on which they depend have long since been forgotten, but the reverse is sometimes the case. The following myths, were recorded with few, or no details of the associated dances. In several cases, one of the same type has already been recorded, so that the significance will be apparent.

A COMPOSITE ORIGIN MYTH[20]

Long ago there lived in *Stuac* a man and his wife who were powerful, prosperous, and able to give their children many good names. This

[20]Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

[115]

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figures are really beings from another world. The explanation lies in the profound belief of all Bella Coola in the near presence of the supernatural; consequently, a supernatural explanation is the one normally given for all unusual incidents. The dances themselves are filled with strange manifestations, particularly the weird whistling concerning the origin of which the uninitiated have no idea. Once convinced by this means of the presence of unknown powers, it is easy for them to believe that the masked figures are visitors from the other world. Nor was their belief in former days shaken by certain representations which were palpably false, such as that of the sun. No one could believe that the disk which moved across the back of the house was the sun itself; but on the other hand it seemed marvellous to the uninitiated, ignorant of the means used to portray it. To the white man there seems a fundamental difference between a supernatural being and the representation of a strange object made to move by unseen means, but to the Bella Coola both belong to another realm, and are accordingly akin. Moreover, there were occasions when the uninitiated must have seen the shifting or actual falling of a mask, for example, during the fight with wasps. But here again the deep belief of the non-members came to the help of the *kukusiut*, who told their guests that this was caused by the coming of a call to the actor, and what might easily have become doubt and suspicion was thus changed to respect.

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The writer laboured under two tremendous difficulties in collecting information about *kusiut* matters; the present dances are mere shadows of what they formerly were, and there are no more uninitiated. His presence and quest for information served to stimulate interest and led to a partial revival of the old rites, but the bulk of his material was obtained from informants rather than from actual observation. It is a universal characteristic of mankind to idealize accounts of former practices, so it is not only possible, but probable, that the foregoing descriptions are more perfect than many of the rites to which

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they refer. Even when full allowance is made for this, the fact still remains that the *kukusiut* were able to carry out dances in which they deceived the uninitiated. Above all, it is clear that those who were not members of the society had the greatest respect for the powers of those who were, and although doubt may have existed concerning the identity of the supernatural visitors, there was not the slightest concerning the ability of the *kukusiut* to have, for example, their stomachs ripped open. The writer discussed this point with too many old men and women to have the slightest uncertainty on this point, and he feels confident that anyone who could have listened to the account of a reliable old man concerning his fears when he had "killed" a *kusiut* in this manner, would have shared his conviction.

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It would be fascinating to discuss at some length the probable history of the *kusiut* society, but this would entail a comparison with the rites of other coastal tribes and belongs to the realm of comparative ethnology. This monograph deals only with Bella Coola practices as the writer saw them or heard them described, so that the history of the society can only be treated from this angle. It appears certain that the rites have increased in secrecy. One old marshal with whom the matter was discussed remembered having heard that long ago masks were constructed in the presence of the uninitiated. Considered as an isolated statement this would have little value, but in conjunction with information derived from Kimsquit it becomes of importance. It is true that in Kimsquit the masks are made in secret, but they are shown to the uninitiated as masks, and the writer was told of one instance in which *Tlogats*, during his round of the village, fell into the water and remained there all day, to the amusement of non-members who recognized that he was merely a disguised human being. It is even said that long ago the manufacture of masks was entrusted to influential uninitiated. It is clear that there has been a tremendous increase in secrecy even at Kimsquit, and a great deal more at Bella Coola. The writer believes that

575* 796* 178● 184 532

*575 long ago the *kusiut* society was composed of individuals re-
*796 garded as having supernatural endowments, and who perhaps
178 believed this themselves. In course of time their influence
184 increased to such an extent that they were able to convince
[532] non-members of the supernatural origin of objects used in their ceremonial.

[115] Unfortunately, information from Kimsquit was obtained almost exclusively from one old man, who, though a marshal well informed in *kusiut* matters and in many ways an almost ideal informant, had long since realized that the dances could be nothing more than representations, and it is possible that his remarks were coloured by this knowledge. Though he tended to minimize the attitude of belief with which the un-
[781] initiated regarded masked figures, yet he fully agreed with every statement made by the Bella Coola themselves with regard to the firm belief of non-members concerning the supernatural powers of the dancers. He also confirmed statements
[688] respecting punishment if an error should occur, and mentioned the shooting of a Bella Bella dancer who had allowed his mask to fall during a *sisaok* dance. As far as actual ritual is concerned, the differences in procedure between Bella Coola and Kimsquit are unimportant, and differences in belief are less than they appear at first sight. The Bella Coola *kukusiut*
[781] seem to have perfected their organization and to have been able to impress the uninitiated to a greater extent than their Kimsquit fellows, but the fundamentals of the society are identical.

*575 Traditions concerning the early history of the society are
*796 probably of little value historically, but they are important as
173 indicating the mental attitude of the Bella Coola. Considering the importance of the society there are relatively few accounts of what took place long ago; the Bella Coola know that it exists, believe that the rites are identical with those carried out by their ancestors for generations, and theorize no further. It was only in the beginning of time that things were radically different; it is believed that then all the people were endowed

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173 he lapsed into silence, knowing that the odds were too great for him.
*575 The Cannibal realized that if this powerful man could be initiated into
578 their society he would be a source of strength, so he said:

"You are now an initiate of mine."

Xɪmxɪmlaix understood that this meant he was to be initiated into the *kusiut* society. He agreed, but asked to be permitted to complete the *a'alk* dance which he was performing that evening, and to get beating sticks for which he had gone to the forest. The *kukusiut* were only too willing to grant this dispensation in their joy at having a valuable recruit.

On his return to the village, *Xɪmxɪmlaix* told his fellow *a'alk* that he was going to be a *kusiut* and they were greatly grieved at loss of their leader. That night they gave the dance which had been started and composed a song of which the theme was the way in which their rivals had fallen until their heads were upside down. The *kukusiut*, mocked in this way, feared that this was a prelude to further trouble with the *a'alk*, but *Xɪmxɪmlaix* duly carried out his promise and was enrolled as a *kusiut*. Bereft of their leader, many of his disconsolate associates were admitted as *kukusiut*, and ever since that time there has been relatively little friction between the two societies. In due course the Cannibal gave his dance with a song describing how he had met a strange creature over whom he had prevailed; this was, of course, the uninitiated *Xɪmxɪmlaix*.

[203] To these two is attributed the origin of the practice of shoving to decide priority of invitation giving. It is said that
*[796] both *Xɪmxɪmlaix* and the Cannibal once wished to invite the people to a ceremony on the same evening and agreed to shove against each other to decide which should have preference. *Xɪmxɪmlaix* prevailed, and the Cannibal duly postponed his dance and went with his associates to the winner's house.

As before stated, stories of this kind dealing with the al-
• [178] leged history of the society are of slight value. As far as they go, they agree with other evidence pointing to the gradual growth of the *kusiut* society from a band of elders endowed with supernatural power to a society with enormous prestige, dominating the life of the community and entirely overshadowing the *a'alk* who seem once to have been their rivals.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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but the Bella Coola do not consider this aspect and the children grow up in an atmosphere entirely lacking in restraint of speech. Some stories teach a moral lesson, but they are recounted merely for entertainment. At the present time, no one knows who invented the stories; they have been handed down from dim antiquity and alterations or embellishments are considered improper, while the composition of new tales appears to be unknown. 538 [867] [178]

Another pastime is smoking. Among some Indian tribes the practice has a definite religious significance, but this appears to be lacking among the Bella Coola. Most of the men enjoy either a pipe or cigarettes, and some of the women also indulge, but few carry the habit to excess. All the older people affirmed that their ancestors had smoked for generations. Tobacco was not grown, but kinnikinick, *milix*ʷ', was used, and also a plant known as *lsaix*'. Another smoking mixture was bark of *lsxwatelp*, toasted before a fire until dried and brown, and then crumbled between the hands. These materials have given place entirely to imported tobacco, and the white man's pipe has replaced the native one. The latter consisted of a gooseberry cane from which the pith had been extracted; sometimes a small bowl of elderberry wood was added, but often the mixture to be smoked was simply placed within the end of the hollow stem. 276 [517] [249] [824] [177]

Adults, especially the men, are addicted to gambling. They are fond of placing stakes on a race or other trial of strength, and enjoy all kinds of games of chance. Some of the younger men have mastered a few of the simpler games of cards on which they spend a certain amount of time and money. The favourite gambling game, however, is one found in all parts of the coast, which is played with a pack of fifty-four smoothed crabapple sticks. The rules are complicated and no effort was made to learn more than the general principles. The pieces are divided among the eight or ten contestants and concealed; then one player guesses in whose hand a certain marked stick is hidden. If he is successful, the others pay him a forfeit; if 525

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115 Schooner lacked the mental acumen of Joshua and Jim, but
177 he revealed himself as a tribal patriarch, proud of his family's
[153] history and eager to assist his grandchildren and great-grandchildren, but feeling himself lost and helpless in the struggle before them. With sadness, but without bitterness, he used to speak of the approaching end of Bella Coola culture, and his words brought home the tragedy which the spread of civilization brings to so many, and the responsibility resting upon the white people as a whole.

153 Until an intelligence test is devised to correlate the mental
115 ability of the white man with that of the native, it is impossible to compare the two scientifically. None the less, the writer deliberately expresses the opinion that Joshua Moody and Jim Pollard are two of the most brilliant men he has met in any walk of life. They are undoubtedly the most able of the Bella Coola; others have only slightly less ability, while the mass of the population compares favourably with an average white community. Their ability, however, is defi-
• 178 nitely conditioned by their conservatism. Absolute trust in the traditions of their ancestors has checked speculation, as the established explanation is never questioned; new inventions, unauthorized by custom, have been regarded as almost sacri-
[626] legious; the force of public opinion, while valuable as a deterrent to anti-social practices, has effectively restrained innovations. The Bella Coola are a good example of a community where development has been atrophied by extreme conservatism fostered by religious beliefs.

105 Taking into account the material obstacles, the achievements of these people have not been insignificant. In former
[322] times, provided only with tools of stone and untempered copper, they built graceful canoes, made watertight boxes, hewed planks from mighty cedars, and erected large houses which called for considerable engineering skill. Judged by
[532] white standards, their carving and painting lacked artistic deli-
[535] cacy, but it required no mean ability to portray crest designs to meet their own standards. Passing from the purely mechanical

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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APPENDIX A

MECHANICAL PROCESSES

NO attempt was made to study either the material culture of the Bella Coola, or their methods of manufacturing, but information on some points was obtained incidentally. All sociological and religious features connected therewith have already been described. 121

THE TAKING AND PREPARATION OF OLACHEN

227

The run of olachen, *spuiy*, comes about the end of April, and as many as possible are caught. In preparation, nets, *ähe'xⁿ*, are brought out from the boxes where they have been stored during the winter, examined, and repaired. If necessary, new ones must be manufactured out of nettle-(*lxwa-*) fibre laid away by the women for this purpose. By rolling the material on their legs, they produce a thin twine; five strands of this are then interwoven, making a finished cord capable of resisting great strain. The nets are constructed by the men. The type used at the present time, which is said not to differ from that formerly employed, consists of a purse-like sack, oval in cross-section, open at the wider end and tapering very gradually to the other, which is closed. The total length is about thirty feet, the diameter at the open end about eight feet, and at the closed end about three feet. A new net is dipped in a mixture of boiled hemlock-bark to darken it, and then boiled in a solution of willow-bark to prevent the knots from slipping. [226] [221] [283] [462] [286] [386]

The setting out of a net is not an easy task, so two or three men agree to work as partners. In the present degenerate days, property rights are not respected and each group selects a suitable spot. The best location is where the water is about three feet deep and runs rapidly, but without ripples, over a smooth piece of the bottom; such a place is called a *sklläy*. When the fish begin to run plentifully, the partners paddle out to set their net, taking with them four stakes, each about ten feet in length. The weight of a full net is tremendous, so the poles have to be driven down at least six feet, a difficult task on account of the stony bottom. Selecting the exact spot, one of four posts, *älkdjälos*, is set upright and held in position by being tied to a cross-piece, *nudjiqosta*, fastened to the canoe for the purpose. While his two partners hold the craft steady, the third man begins to pound down the stake; metal mauls are now commonly used, but in former times this work was always done with an unhafted stone maul, *lxwoma*. The fishermen relieve one another intermittently until the top of the pole has been driven down to within 226 [476] [423] [178] [412]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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coast, and began the study with much misgiving. The results were surprisingly satisfactory.

After a few weeks I found that I had sufficient knowledge of Chinook to dispense with interpreters and deal directly with the older people, a tremendous advantage. Pride of ancestry is one of the strongest characteristics of the Bella Coola, and once convinced of my sincere interest in and respect for their history, they were willing to talk. They resent the condescension with which most white men regard them, so that contact with one who was friendly and sympathetic came as a pleasant surprise. There were, of course, difficulties. The canning season had begun and every able-bodied man was working away from the village. The conviction of each person that he was the best source of information, and that conferences with another were useless or unreliable, caused distrust. The desire of each informant to discuss only what interested him; the complexity of Bella Coola life itself; the necessity of checking every statement, and the extreme difficulty of doing so on account of discrepancies in the myths of different families; the fear, almost groundless, of each individual that someone else had infringed on his rights by recounting some legend; and, not least, the need for tact, patience, and a sense of humour under all conditions, were some of the obstacles to be surmounted. Nor was Chinook entirely satisfactory. It has enough words for matters pertaining to fishing, hunting, and trading, but for the realms of sociology or theology it is inadequate. This difficulty could not have been overcome without the patient help of my informants. Animated by the desire to help, they used every expedient in the way of parallel and synonym to explain obscure terms. Sometimes a younger man was called in for some abstruse meaning; more often it gradually became clear from different applications. Once the significance of a word was definitely understood, I made a note of it and used it henceforth. A useful vocabulary was thus built up, and conversations were carried on in mixed Bella Coola and Chinook, eked out by whatever English words were known by the person with

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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773 have been many changes. Raven, the culture hero, taught
829 the early settlers many useful arts, and they were themselves so powerful that they were able to create ceremonial and other prerogatives in a manner impossible to their descendants. Moreover, the people realize that they have been influenced by neighbouring tribes since that time, but in spite of these additions, they believe that their life is patterned on that of their earliest forbears.

[181] As a group, the Bella Coola are philosophers. They demand a reason for everything, though once a reason has been given, and accepted, they think no more about the matter. The elaboration of Bella Coola mythology may be due in part to their desire to explain their social organization; but without question these myths, now accepted as facts, have had a great influence on the lives of the people. In fact the social structure of the tribe has tended to conform to the myths.

621 It is believed that each group of first people formed a village
773 community, and pre-empted hunting-grounds in the vicinity. These usually consisted of small valleys opening from the main
[361] Bella Coola River, tracts which could thus be easily defined.
[226] Each group also took possession of a suitable part of the river for a salmon-weir, or, if located on the coast, a convenient place for an ocean fish-trap. In course of time the first people married, of necessity with members of other villages. According
[591] to mythology, and equally according to modern practice, the women usually moved to the villages of their husbands. When
773 a child was born, it naturally grew up to share in the hunting-grounds of its father's village. Moreover, the father was able to bestow on his child various ceremonial dances; the concepts of some he had brought with him from above, others he had formulated on this earth. It is assumed that all the first people were mighty chiefs, able to initiate rites in a way that few modern men have been able to equal. But the mothers of these children, the first born on this earth, did not surrender the privileges of their own villages at marriage. Consequently, their children were of almost as much interest to the brothers

142 sally used but the older people state that beards were by no
144 means rare in former times. Careful inquiries were made
[302] concerning the ancestry of a man, about seventy years of age in 1922, whose curly beard suggests that he must be a half-breed, as indeed he is assumed to be by the white settlers of the valley. His father was *Potlas*, the most influential chief of recent years, his mother was herself the daughter of an important chief. None of the older men had ever heard the slightest rumour of faithlessness on her part. There were white
[648] traders on the coast at the time of his birth, and intercourse with
[567] slave women and others of low family was not uncommon, but
[622] it would have been difficult for a chief's wife to misconduct herself, and still more difficult for her to conceal all knowledge of it in view of the open life which prevailed at that period. Moreover, it is said that *Potlas* himself had a similar beard, as did also the parents of several men who in 1922 were fifty or sixty years of age.

142 Although the possibility of white mixture cannot be over-
144 looked in the case of this one individual, one must not dis-
826 regard the opinion of the people themselves on hairiness in general. They are proud of it and regard beards and mous-
[302] taches as marks of virility given to them by *Älquntäm*; baldness and lack of facial hair are considered a sign of weakness. They aver that their fathers and grandfathers were even more hirsute than they. Furthermore, they point out with pride
[186] that this is a difference between themselves and the tribes of the interior, who are, as they say in scorn, "hairless like Chinamen." Finally, it is noteworthy that the hair on the head of many Bella Coola is wavy, or even curly (see Plate 20), instead of straight as among the majority of Indian tribes.[2]

Character

●181 It is an almost impossible task to describe briefly the characteristics of a people. Those of the Bella Coola have

[2]This characteristic has led the writer to wonder if it could possibly have been caused by Ainu mixture.

been displayed in their customs and beliefs, their habits, practices, and folk-lore, their outlook both towards the supernatural world and towards their fellows. 181

The following additional observations are the result of personal knowledge, and recorded after considerable thought.

When a white man begins to understand the Bella Coola, he cannot fail to be impressed by their deep belief in the supernatural. To them religion is no mental abstraction, but a living reality. They feel the presence of strange creatures around them, and they recognize non-human powers in every manifestation of their own minds; in fact, every incident, good or bad, is attributed to supernatural intervention. This does not mean that they regard life with stoic indifference, content to murmur *Kismet* at whatever fate befalls them. They realize that supernatural powers have endowed them with brains, with physical strength, and with the ability to win favour and gain help from active superhuman beings, and consequently they strive in a world teeming with potent forces. The individual toils as does a white man in the struggle of life, but he attributes his fortune, not to luck or to his unaided exertions, but to the assistance of non-human agents. If he is fortunate, it is because his spirit has been active; if unfortunate, because it has been too inert to protect him. 181 771

Contact with white men, particularly with missionaries, has raised tremendous problems for the Bella Coola. The older people have been but little affected; they may state that they are Christians, believing in the white man's god, but this often means only the knowledge of one more supernatural being whom they add to the already rich pantheon. It is quite otherwise with the younger people, particularly with those who have been away at school. Some adopt the new faith with fervor, continuing to see the same visions and to experience the same mental exaltations, but attributing them to Christianity. To others, however, loss of belief in their own faith has caused a general scepticism; though they may accept the new religion, it does not become the vital force which the old was to their 177 771 [181]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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177 fathers. Inherited beliefs are too deep-rooted to pass away
771 entirely within a few generations. Even those who claim to
have adopted the new faith remain convinced of the potency
[181] of magic, and of the existence of those supernatural creatures
which do not actively conflict with the white man's creed.
Such lack of consistency is a world-wide trait, particularly
intelligible among the Bella Coola whose philosophy abounds
in contradictions, dependent upon statements handed down
in the origin myths of different families.

626 The Bella Coola are constrained not only by the omni-
[181] presence of supernatural beings; they are constantly subjected
to the influence of their fellows. They are far less individual-
istic than white people. A chief may boast that he can do as
[622] he pleases, that he can disregard the restrictions of lesser men;
he often does so, but only because public opinion recognizes
that he has reached a position of eminence by giving many
potlatches. The duly validated warrior is brave because he
[703] feels that everyone is aware of his valour. The man who per-
forms some ceremony in accordance with an ancestral myth
[769] incorporates himself with his forbears, and is strengthened by
the conviction that he has gained their support and appro-
bation. In every phase of life, a person is profoundly affected
177 by the approval or disapproval of his neighbours. At present
626 the construction of small houses, each occupied by a single
342 family, makes it possible for a man to hide himself, or to do
work unknown to the rest of the community. This lessens the
force of public opinion, although it is even now more potent
than conscience in checking anti-social acts. Formerly, in
communal houses, every action was fully known, making indi-
vidual freedom of thought and act virtually impossible. A man
[602] is chiefly influenced by his relatives who take a great share in
what the white man would consider purely family affairs. The
effect of the group upon the individual must not be overlooked,
nor can it be over-stressed in a study of these people.

177 The education and conversion of the younger men have
626 enormously lessened their reliance upon their fellows. In former
182
561

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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times, older relatives were revered, not only as senior members 177
of the ancestral family, but as those most familiar with myths 626
and other cherished possessions. With the spread of new ideas, 182
the young people no longer respect the lore of their elders, and 561
consequently do not heed their admonitions and advice. Theoretically, such self-reliance would seem desirable, but in practice it has led to unfortunate results. A young man, considering himself superior to the older people, glories in acting on his own initiative, but too often he lacks the requisite strength of character to guide his own life. If he wishes to drink, he does so; if he desires to marry, he chooses his mate without con- [581]
sidering the transmission of ancestral rights which stabilized unions in former times; if he tires of his wife, he deserts her for another; if he cheats or steals, he is no longer restrained by relatives who fear disgrace. The elders, incapable of stemming the tide, watch sadly and ask seriously whether the coming of the white man has brought compensation for the loss it has caused. It is deplorable that the emancipation of the younger men and women has taken place before the development of the sense of individual responsibility and conscience which public opinion formerly rendered less necessary. Christianity provides a moral code for those who are fully converted, but for the many in the transition stage, the break-down of the old system of family influence has been tragic.

Profound religious beliefs and lack of individual initiative 181
are shared by all Bella Coola with the exception, perhaps, of a 177
few of the younger people who, having been educated at white man's schools, have adopted the new outlook unconditionally. In most characteristics they display as wide variability as any 577
other people. In truthfulness, for example, they range from 124
one extreme to the other. As the writer became familiar with the older men, he found it possible to recognize without difficulty the strength of some and the weakness of others. There are liars, but they can be easily detected owing to their lack of finesse. It is a pleasure to record the reliability of the author's friends and informants. Their veracity was checked repeat-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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128 light on obscure points. That is a task for the comparative student and nothing but confusion would result from such an incorporation in this volume. For the benefit of the reader, [114] footnotes have been inserted referring to *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*[a] by Boas, the most comprehensive description of the tribe. In the field I deliberately disregarded published accounts.

182 And what of these people, the subject of this book?

The intimate experiences of the second winter in Bella Coola only confirmed my feeling of sadness at the decay of the old arts and crafts. Music, painting, carving, weaving, story-telling, acting, all are passing away. Only a handful of the tribe survives, and of them the younger people ape the white [illegible] in the lore and customs of their fathers. I know of few sadder experiences than talking with some Bella Coola patriarch and realizing the tragedy which he feels at the termination of his people's culture.

Though the individual may suffer, civilization must press onward and the life of the Indian will soon disappear. With it will pass forever manners, customs, beliefs, rites, and knowledge, data of value to students of man both now and in the future. Every year lessens the amount of information available. In Bella Coola, for example, the death of Captain Schooner left a gap which none could fill. Others must follow him, and within a short time there will be no ethnological work possible in that tribe. A tithe of the people may survive, but their culture, the growth of generations, will have been swept away.

000 Most of those to whom I am indebted for help in this study have passed away. Dr. A. C. Haddon and Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, both of Cambridge University, who were my mentors in anthropology, are dead; so too is Dr. E. Sapir, former Chief of the Anthropological Division in the National Museum, who gave me instruction in phonetics, and Mr. H. I. Smith, Dominion [127] Archaeologist, to whom are owing most of the photographs re-

[a] Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. II, 1898.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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kenzie, making his memorable overland trip to the Pacific, records coming upon Indian villages at every few miles of his course. Boas describes the way in which the inhabitants of each of these claim to be descended from one group of ancestors. 173 361 175

Though it is impossible to estimate the former population of the Bella Coola valley with any degree of accuracy, it must have been in the thousands. In 1922 there were surviving rather more than three hundred individuals, who live in one village on an Indian reserve near the north bank of the Bella Coola River, about a quarter of a mile from the sea. In the last century the tribe was stricken with smallpox, and since then consumption, venereal disease, measles, and other diseases of the white man have taken their deadly toll. Changed conditions of life and decay of the rich ceremonial around which centred their interests in the old days are also contributory factors in their decline. Within the last few years, however, the population has begun to increase. 161 [164] [177] [182]

Bella Coola Villages

The following list of Bella Coola villages was obtained. In an effort to learn which had been deserted in recent years, the writer always asked whether or not a town was occupied at the time of Mackenzie's visit, an event of such great interest to the grandparents of the older people that the memory of it is still preserved. Villages said to have been occupied at that time are marked with an asterisk. 361 [124] [175]

Three rivers empty into the head of South Bentinck Arm, which is about one mile in width (see Plate 7). The Bella Coola, flowing from the east, enters at the southern edge, and the *Nalpatskwan-e* winds in from the north to the opposite angle of the head of the fiord. This stream, "The Nearest River" of the Bella Coola, so-called because of its proximity to the sea, is shown on maps as the Necleetaconnay. Between the mouths of these two is the *Pe-ɔɔlb*, a small stream rising 133 [103]

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It is the life that suffers;
761 whenever the skin is broken. Any wound may prove dan-
[752] gerous, but particularly one that cuts either of the invisible
[827] lines along which vitality flows from the little finger to the little toe. An injury to one of these channels spreads rapidly and is in many cases fatal.

761 It is generally considered that a person dies if his life leaves
his body. In contradiction to this, though the discrepancy
774 seems of slight importance to the Bella Coola, is the belief that it ascends at the winter solstice to the gathering of the supernatural beings in *Nuxmálx* to greet *Alqantám*. It is common knowledge that some part of the human body does this, but there is diversity of opinion regarding which it may be. Some say it is the spirit, but the consensus of opinion is that it is the life. If it is successful and receives presents in the land above, its owner will prosper on earth; if it is unfortunate, he will be the same; if it falls in the crush as the guests hurry forth to escape the heat of *Alqantám*'s entry, he will die. By dreams
761 a man learns the fortune of his supernatural representative,
787 and from them he can judge what is in store for him during the coming year and receive intimations concerning birth and death, secret society matters and, in fact, every phase of human activity, since all are decided at the meeting of *Alqantám* and his associates. Dreams are considered to be especially important at this season of the year (I, p. 608) and information obtained from them may, perhaps, be the origin of the present firm conviction that some portion of the body actually ascends.
[182] Bella Coola beliefs have so broken down in recent years that lack of unanimity concerning the specific part is not surprising, nor does it alter the importance of this conviction. No attempt is made to explain how an individual can remain alive during the annual absence of his life.

761 Although the life is so ethereal, it really consists of four intangible elements which unite to form the immaterial whole. One of these parts, including the voice, is located in the throat, another in the trunk, a third in the legs, and a fourth in the feet; the body is thus divided into four quarters. The con-

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CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Ancestral Family—The Village Community—The Family—Kinship Terms—Slaves

As in other communities, the social, religious, and economic aspects of Bella Coola life are interdependent, but there is an added complexity in the influence of mythological concepts. This not only complicates investigation in the field, but it also renders a logical description of their customs difficult. Some reference to practices recorded in detail in later chapters is unavoidable. 128 129

In many communities, ethnologists have been able to begin with the social organization of the people. Among the Bella Coola, this is impossible, since their religious beliefs colour every aspect of their life, and these must be understood by anyone who wishes to comprehend their culture as a whole. In this chapter, too, it is necessary to commence with a description of that aspect of mythology which serves as the cohesive bond to one of the social units, the ancestral family.

Ancestral Family

As recorded in the last chapter, it is believed that in the beginning of time *Alquntin* caused the first men and women to be created in his house above and sent them down to populate the earth. They came in groups of two, three, four, or more, brothers and sisters, or more rarely men and wife, to different parts of the Bella Coola valley. They brought with them tools, houses, clothing, even sustenance in the shape of fish and animals. More important, from the point of view of social organization, they brought with them names and ceremonial prerogatives. In fact, the Bella Coola believe that their culture was created by *Alquntin* in the distant past, and has not been the result of slow growth. It is true that there 123 [124]

614 The recent decay of Bella Coola culture may have destroyed
[123] traces of more definite obligations with respect to the ancestral
family, but all the evidence indicates that it has always been
a fluid unit. Its very lack of functions makes it difficult to
[125] discuss, and the above account was pieced together from scraps
of information collected from many different people at various
times; yet, intangible though it be, it is a very real unit to the
Bella Coola and pervades their life. Each individual knows
those to whom he is related. In many cases the exact kinship
is lost, but it is remembered that a man from such-and-such a
village married a woman from another village, and it is proved
from the use by their descendants of names from the same
origin myth. The concept of physical strength imparted by
a closely akin ancestry is always present and gives a person
the real "power" in the village founded by those first ancestors
614 of his. For the ancestral family is usually thought of in terms
621 of villages. A man belongs to the village where his first
ancestor came to earth, though he is equally a member of
other towns into which his ancestors may have married. A
[554] man without ancestry, without *ut'alem*, is a miserable creature;
he has no home in this world, or, theoretically, in the
world to come. The ancestral family is a unit essentially held
together by the ties of sentiment and pride of ancestry.

614 In addition to the above social elements of the ancestral
627 family, it is felt that all its members have certain tendencies.
If one of the first ancestors had a certain physical peculiarity,
or met with a particular kind of fortune, either good or bad,
his descendants are more likely to experience the same than
any other people. These tendencies may skip many generations,
and may be inherited either through the mother or the
father. In fact, Bella Coola belief on this point closely agrees
with modern knowledge of heredity; the term for such as is
heritable tendency is *ulkulim* or *ulkumaqlat*. Such characteristics are:

(a) Proficiency in using tools;
(b) Ability as a hunter;

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431 child of a mixed Bella Coola and slave marriage. As long as
527 such an one maintained a position of importance in the com-
578 munity by the distribution of presents, nothing was said, but
[554] if he should fail to do so, he could be, and frequently was,
insulted by having references made to his ancestry. In case
of dispute or rivalry it was always a temptation to refer to
such a blot, but if he had atoned for it with presents, references
were considered improper. Unquestionably, memory of slave
554 ancestry was forgotten in course of time if the line was influ-
567 ential, although recollections of the stigma were always cari-
ed for at least two or three generations. At the present time
the most influential woman in Bella Coola, the one who has
given most presents, is the granddaughter of a Smith Inlet
slave. This man had lived in Bella Coola for many years and
had married another slave, by whom he had a son. The latter
became the husband of an influential Raven woman. When she
became pregnant, her family secured the liberation of her
husband, and gave many presents to "wash the child." One
daughter was born to this couple, the woman just mentioned.
Her mother's relations were influential, and her father was
[555] such an expert cause-maker that he was able to win an honour-
able position for his daughter by presents of his handicraft.
The woman, possessed of considerable ability herself, has been
able to give many ceremonies and so reach a position of emi-
nence. No one dares insult her by mentioning her ancestry,
but everyone knows about it and if her children should fail to
hold their position, they would be open to insult on this score.
The woman has validated names and myths derived both from
her mother and father, without explaining how the Smith Inlet
traditions came to Bella Coola.

To sum up, it may be said that the position of slaves in
Bella Coola was not particularly onerous, though it depended
entirely on the will of their masters. Without status in the
community, a slave could have been abused by a cruel owner,
[182] though the public life of the village, where all lived and ate
together, tended to break down the unnecessarily enforced
differences of rank.

1:McDowalth E-5 (1922-1924)948
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(a) The strengthening of the donor's seat. 532*

(c) The strengthening, or initial establishment, of seats for a number of young relatives of the donor who may, or may not, be those who are being initiated into the *nuxalk* society. Other youths may also be established on seats by their relatives. 796

The duration of a potlatch varies with the number of rites being performed. The preliminaries, including the beginning of seclusion for *nuxalk* initiates, requires at least several weeks, in some cases months. There is further delay of a week or more after the arrival of the first guests, as only when the last party has arrived can the actual potlatch begin. This can then be completed in three days and nights, although if many initiates are performing their *nuxalk* dances, a longer time is required.

What are the consequences of giving a potlatch?

In the first place the donor spreads the fame of his name far and wide, also the myth with which it is incorporated. Thus he increases the renown of his ancestors, a source of immense pride and gratification. 556*

More important even than this, it elevates the donor himself. With the proper carrying out of the complicated ritual and the knowledge that his name is now known among different tribes, a man experiences a feeling of mental superiority which enables him to take a leading part in the affairs of his community. In Bella Coola a chief (*nuhlmq*) is a person whose influence is paramount owing to his success in giving potlatches.[1] If several chiefs in one village have given potlatches, he who has given most is generally of greatest importance, although often a man of forceful character who has held, for example, five potlatches will be regarded with greater respect than one of lesser weight, even if he has given six. The whole system is exceedingly fluid, as might be expected where chieftainship depends on individual prowess. In theory, the man who holds the name of the first person to occupy a village, as

[56] 532* 622 [554] [182]

[1] Particularly if he has given four potlatches and can accordingly be described as a *nuxalk* chief (§ p. 179). In *nuxalk* songs the ordinary word *nhlmmnum* is also sometimes employed for "chief."

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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After bestowal of these presents, the *siki* of the penultimate group of guests shakes his rattle, and exactly the same procedure is carried out by members of his party. They, too, give presents to X and the other Bella Coola chiefs. The same rites are carried out by each party of guests in the reverse order of their arrival. It is frequently near dawn before the first-comers have completed their dances and distribution of gifts. X then gives another meal to all, with no restriction on the choice of food. This concludes the night's ceremony, and the guests depart, except those who are staying in X's house. 556 *

THE POTLATCH: FIRST DAY

Considering the lengthy ceremonials of the preceding evening, it is not surprising that on this day no one stirs early. The guests receive their breakfast in the houses where they are accommodated, and meanwhile a number of young men gather in X's house to assist in the preparation of food for the main meal of the day. During the previous night a large amount of smoked mountain goat has been put in water to soak. This is now placed in a number of food-boxes, ready for distribution, water is added and hot stones lifted in to bring it to a boil. When the water comes to the boil, mountain goat grease is added, and then bearberries; it is usually about two o'clock in the afternoon before the meal is ready. The guests are summoned and the food given them, the chiefs, as usual, receiving more than those of lower rank. After eating they disperse to await the evening rites. [251] [252] [554]

It was impossible to obtain an accurate account of the ritual carried out on the evening of this, the first day of the potlatch proper. The ceremonial was of less importance than those preceding and following, and it has long fallen into disuse. The guests take up their accustomed places, and the Bella Coola members of the *nusek* range themselves near them and behind the fire. The corners next the door are occupied by non-members of the society. The singers beat out two of [182] 556 * 575 [535]

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use his own discretion as to the design. At the top he always 211
places the bird or animal cloak in which his first ancestor, 556
traced patrilineally, came to this earth. Beneath this is the
cloak of his mother's first ancestor if it differs from his father's. 778
There are no fixed rules for other representations. Sometimes 532
a man wishes to display the cloaks of the first ancestors of his
wife, or wives; more often, the designs are of creatures with [773]
which his own ancestors came in contact after reaching this
earth.[4] One of the first settlers, *Smaoan* (I, p. 332), married
a Bella Bella woman from whom he obtained a ceremony connected with a whale, an animal which has often been used on the totem-poles of his descendants. The lower figures on totem-poles often represent creatures from which a recent ancestor of the chief obtained supernatural assistance. Consequently, the number of designs which may be used is legion, and the order of portrayal is immaterial. Moreover, Bella Coola art is not sufficiently realistic for designs to be easily recognized, nor is there standard conventionalization of little used animals; so it follows that the designs on totem-poles are often unidentifiable.[5] This is of little consequence, since their value rests neither upon the artistic skill exhibited, nor even upon their significance in connection with the owner's ancestral myth, but upon the goods expended to validate the display.

All Bella Coola totem-poles are carved from the trunks of [824]
huge cedars, with the wood cut away so that the designs stand
out in high relief. The carvers are allowed great latitude both [184]
in choice of form and colouring, hence there is wide variation

[4]*Ontsamlaix* is the term applied to animals with which ancestors came in contact, other than their cloaks. [825]

[5]This statement represents the layman's point of view, that is, of the Bella Coola who was not himself a carpenter-sculptor. It is probable that an expert would have greater facility in recognizing the conventionalized forms used by his associates, although the whole pattern of Bella Coola culture was opposed to extreme standardization. Unfortunately, wood-carving, in fact art work of every kind, had degenerated to such an extent that only one man with any recognized skill in that respect was still living when this study was made. He was both unreliable and uncooperative, so that it was impossible even to collect examples of his work, still less to record his interpretations of the designs of masks or other objects carved by his predecessors. [184] [182] [115]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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225 small ocean-going canoe, with an assistant who passed his paddle through the water in such a way that a slight phosphorescent streak resulted. This resembled the course of a salmon. In a short time a seal would rise in pursuit of the "fish," and the watchful hunter would harpoon it. The seal would rush off with the head of the weapon, which was attached by a long line to the shaft remaining in the hunter's hand He would play it like a huge fish, until the exhausted animal was drawn to the side of the canoe and clubbed. Several seals were often obtained by this means in the course of a single night.

224 424 The two usual methods of killing mountain goats are by cornering them with dogs and then choking them to death, or by shooting with rifle or bow. There was formerly a special method of snaring which had been handed down as a prerogative from the time of the first people. The hunter used to set his snares on a precipitous path commonly used by goats and had remarkable success. Others might know how to make snares and where the hunter set them, but no one would ever attempt this method of hunting without the proper prerogative. Another right, enjoyed by another hunter, was the catching of bears in a similar way in nooses.

424 556 182 Little need be said in conclusion about these particular privileges, except to emphasize that they are merely an aspect of the principle of validated prerogatives which permeates every phase of Bella Coola life. It is as natural for a man to be made a singer or a hunter by the distribution of presents as it is for him to acquire a dance by the same means. Each is contained in an ancestral myth, and the validation of the prerogative enables the incumbent either to function actively, or at least to enjoy the social prestige attached to the craftsman who has been duly confirmed in his vocation. The necessity of bestowing gifts to validate a prerogative introduces an economic element to the concept, but this is lessened by the fact that a poor man can acquire a name by a relatively small

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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expenditure though he must forgo the prestige enjoyed by a man who has been able to elevate his professional names in a lavish manner. Selection is a constant factor in the social life of a Bella Coola; the man who uses all his wealth to acquire a firm seat cannot be "strong" in *sisaok* matters; the man who desires to specialize in *kusiut* affairs cannot afford to display an elaborate totem-pole. Amid these conflicting desires, it often happens that a man somewhat neglects his professional prerogatives, especially those of which the dignity has been slightly lessened through superior skill shown by individuals endowed with no more than native ability. Upstarts of this kind have always infringed upon professional dignity, and the coming of the white man has added a new factor which has almost destroyed vocational prerogatives.

424 556 182 [555] [177]

A'alk Dances

The most important, as well as the most spectacular, dances that occur at potlatches are those given by members of the *sisaok* society. In addition to these, a feature of many potlatches is the performance of *a'alk* dances.[1] As already mentioned, from 1870 onwards there have been many changes in *sisaok* ritual; new elements have been acquired by the marriages of Bella Coola to members of the coastal tribes, with the result that details of procedure vary at every ceremony according to the prerogatives of the donor. Since 1910, the influence of white civilization has increased to such an extent that *sisaok* ceremonials have virtually been abandoned. This took place at a time when the ritual was in transition, a state of affairs which rendered difficult the collection of coherent information. *A'alk* dances are associated with *sisaok*, but the addition of new features to the latter was accompanied by a decay of the former. Both societies have now almost ceased to exist, but whereas the *sisaok* organization was abandoned during a period of change and accretion, that

177 535 575 [184] [796] [128]

[1] Called *s'alpow* in Kitamaat.

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556 performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical
[182] concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch,
are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of
the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly
[577] displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue
must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a
576 major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a
meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do other-
574 wise would be considered rude. The person summoned must
take at least a trifle to show that he is not churlish and too
proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shares
[177] whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of
[273] the family should be the first to taste any wine[14] as proof that
[342] it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better
[414] than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse
through the construction of individual family houses with doors
476 and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suit-
able place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his
[226] catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon,
the first solicitor is given one, later comers, none at all. When
a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to raise it
and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may
[685] remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a
[626] despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy;
[224] hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried
to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats
or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a
feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

556 Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who
431 has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are
advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The
system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it
was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In
the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little
as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

[14] This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of home-brew.

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ceremony. The child singers first beat out the song of the present donor, then that of his predecessor, to which the latter dances once again. If food is plentiful, *nuxixkämx* ceremonies may be carried out every day for several weeks, or a year or two may elapse without one. A child's song is remembered from year to year and he dances whenever it is beaten out. The name acquired in this way is used semi-jocularly by a lad's comrades. After marriage, it is considered unfitting for a youth to be concerned with *nuxixkämx* and he normally becomes an *a'alt*.

852 867 [796] [533] [535] [551] [885]

Ceremonies of this kind have been discontinued for many years and it was impossible to obtain detailed accounts. The main features are clear: they served to instruct children in the methods of present-giving. According to one informant, there were two types of *nuxixkämx* ceremonial one of the humorous pattern above described in which, however, food alone was given away, and another in which miniature presents were distributed. This man believed that the latter was only possible for the children of wealthy chiefs, and that on such occasions the themes consisted of small incidents in the family myth. In either case, the importance of ceremonial can be judged from the manner in which it was impressed upon mere children.

[182] [556]

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585 covering" or "rope fastening" for her. Within a few days or weeks, they must invite their fellow-villagers to a ceremony of some kind. If it is winter this can be a *sisaok* dance, but in summer it must be a non-sacred affair. Y's father and other relatives attend, furnished with the usual gifts. When the ceremony is over and the time has come for the distribution of presents, a herald calls out that X has no seat. If he has already been established in one he calls out that it is not firm.[7] Y at once brings forward some of the goods provided by her relatives, and places these with the goods which X's family received at the wedding and are about to give away. The whole is then divided among the guests, together with presents provided by X for Y's relatives. The actual purpose of the rite may be to obtain names for some of X's young relatives or to establish seats for them: it is immaterial to Y's people to what end they are applied. Within recent years this [182] has sometimes taken place at a *kusiut* dance, but such overlapping between the two types of ceremonial is probably an innovation due to decay.

177 About 1910 an effort was made to introduce a marriage 585 custom of the Kwakiutl. According to the Bella Coola, among them the wife gives to her husband's relatives one or more boards studded with teeth of the sea-otter. This makes teeth for the bride, so that if she ever quarrels with another woman she can draw back her lips and shame her rival by saying:

"What can you do? You have no teeth, while I have two sets," or as many boards as have been given at her marriage.

[563] The grandson of a Fort Rupert Kwakiutl, living in Bella Coola and considered a member of the tribe, owned one of these boards and used it at the marriage of his daughter in 1914. It was first given to the mother of the bridegroom, and repurchased with a copper; then given to the bridegroom, and redeemed; finally given, and again repurchased, from the father of the groom. The woman for whom this was done can

[7] The preferred time for this establishment is during a potlatch and the ritual connected with it has already been described (I, p. 167).

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556 repurchase of your mother have become nothing beneath your
583 feet."

When such an accident occurs, the relatives of X take some
[558] future occasion to give presents to validate his child, with the announcement:

"The goods used from the repurchase of his mother have become nothing beneath his feet. We hereby supply that deficiency."

Thus it is demonstrated that the relatives of both parents are interested in his welfare, so that his path is clear before him.

553 Many women are only repurchased once, but an effort is
556 made to do this frequently since the more times, the greater
583 her prestige. After several repurchasings it is felt that the names and other prerogatives "dragged across" by Y have become valueless. But since new names have been taken to her husband on each occasion, the marks of friendship between the two families are still plain. Then it is that those first transmitted can be revived by relatives of Y, unless, of course, X has validated them for his children. If there is only one repurchasing, the names remain the definite property of X. This is not a clearly formulated law, merely a sentiment that the earlier names have been covered by those later given, and that accordingly Y's relatives, having done what was proper, can now use the titles once more. There is a constant interchange of names and privileges between families related by marriage.

556 It is virtually impossible to over-estimate the importance
583 of this rite of repurchase among the Bella Coola, one of the few customs preserved tenaciously amid the ruins of their
[182] ancient culture. The writer was forcibly struck with the following instance which occurred while he was in Bella Coola:

About fifteen years before, a young man and woman had married with due formality. After three children had been
[586] born, the mother took to drink and vice until her husband at last repudiated her, retaining possession of the children. The woman, weakened by disease, divorced by her husband, and

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CHAPTER VIII

DEATH

Death Rites—Memorial Rites—Fate of the Dead

Death Rites

DEATH is marked by even more complicated and prolonged rites than marriage. Like so many primitive peoples, the Bella Coola not only carry out elaborate rituals soon after the actual decease, but hold lengthy commemorative and mourning ceremonials in later years. As these require the co-operation of a large number of people, the death of an individual affects a wider circle than his own relatives, and the celebrations have, therefore, an important social as well as religious significance. 76 796 [182]

OMENS OF DEATH

It is not surprising that the Bella Coola, believing in the omnipresence of the supernatural, should consider various peculiar occurrences to be omens of death. One of the simplest of these is to hear the falling of a tree when there is neither wind nor other reason to account for it. Such a fall is audible only to the person whom it warns of approaching death, either to himself or to one of his relatives. A number of men may be in the forest together, when one of them hears the crash of a tree and notices that his companions are unaware of it; he realizes that this is an omen and protects himself by calling out: 763

"Let this evil react against whoever has been plotting evil against me."

The basis of this custom is the belief that someone has been practising black magic against the hearer, who, by this answer, is able to cause the sorcery to recoil upon the malefactor. Even more dangerous than to hear a falling tree, is to have one crash [954] [824]

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*556 769 a man and assuage his sorrow to know that he has shown fitting respect to the dead, there is also a gain in social prestige. As the whole community respects, admires, and sometimes envies a man for having carried out a memorial potlatch, there is no doubt that he is pleased and gratified to such an extent that his grief is dulled. These two factors must constantly be kept in mind; memorial potlatches serve to commemorate the dead, but in so doing they add to the social importance of the donors. The two combine to bring considerable comfort to the chief who has lost a dear relative. In some cases the social prestige is the real motive, the grief assumed and unimportant; but in others the latter is the only factor that matters, and a chief is entirely oblivious to any increase in his own status. In most memorial potlatches, both feelings are present in the mind of the donor, and both are gratified.

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF A FUNERAL

764 114 In the preceding pages, an attempt has been made to describe the traditional death rites of the Bella Coola. The following section comprises a detailed account of funeral ceremonies witnessed in 1922. The contrast between these and the ones already recorded, will indicate some of the changes [178] in custom which are of such importance in studies of cultural growth or decline. The following description will also serve [182] to demonstrate a point repeatedly mentioned, the manner in [57] which business transactions and arrangements of all kinds take place whenever the people have been called together.

[123] On June 27, 1922, the death occurred in Bella Coola of Jessie, Mrs. Samuel King, daughter of Captain Schooner. The latter, now deceased, was one of the writer's most trusted friends, and as a result of this friendship it was possible not only to attend the actual rites, but to ascertain much of the feeling underlying them. This advantage had its drawbacks, since it was manifestly impossible to question either the father or the husband of the woman too closely. The details will be de-

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777 A visitation is not regarded as an inheritable right, but as a
* 787 tendency; for generations no member of a family may see one
[424] of these beasts, but the tradition is preserved, and when one is seen it is recalled that such have been observed by ancestors of the fortunate one. Instances have occurred in which a person has obtained good luck without the tradition of this being in his family, but they are rare. On the other hand, a man may lose the advantage of his possession, even if he owns
[785] a portion of a *mätqas* or a *sisiutl*, through failure to observe ceremonial chastity.

776 Some of the Bella Coola believe that the *mätqas* and the *sisiutl* are the same animal, which can assume these two forms; others that the two are distinct supernatural creatures. In any case the powers and characteristics ascribed to them are the same. Most families have a tradition regarding the appear-
[173] ance of the one or the other to their ancestors, and the infor-
[184] mation to be derived from them is always about that particular creature. Hence the details here described are probably not all known to any one individual.

* 789 The different types of appearances, and the different types
811 of taboos called forth, should be noted. These are due to
●182 failure on the part of the Bella Coola to rationalize the sum total of their concepts. Each man recounts what he believes to have happened to one of his ancestors or friends, irrespective of whether or not the methods used may be in direct contradiction to those employed by someone else on another occasion. A man who has heard of the *mätqas*, for example, from his father and mother, may describe contradictory modes of dealing with the creature, and in each case may affirm that disaster would have followed if the method described had not been carried out. Such lack of co-ordination is typical of the Bella Coola.

777 According to an elderly Kimsquit man, the *mätqas* was
* 789 brought down in the beginning of time by one of his own
[773] ancestors, Omqemkikla. It is to this fact that he attributes his own near approach to one on two occasions. As it is fre

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784 * 575 * 796 [787] sticks, while everyone calls out, *hoip*. This is repeated four times. The sticks continue to sound irregularly as the younger men pull the enclosure to pieces and throw it on the central fire. By these means the *kukusiut* have been freed from their contact with the supernatural and, perhaps even more important, the repositories have been "tied up," to use the native term, for another year. Those members of the society whose dances have taken place in the house now wash the black from their faces and all share a light meal. The marshals take this last opportunity of addressing their fellows, impressing on them the necessity of maintaining the secrecy of the rites during the summer season. Above all, they warn them to hide the whistles and other paraphernalia most carefully. This concludes the season's ceremony in the house in question; some of the *kukusiut* withdraw, others remain, and the uninitiated are free to enter and take up the old threads of family life, as it was before the coming of the first call.

If it is not too late at night the party may move to a second house and remove the taboo from it in the same way. More often this is done on the following night, when a second body of *kukusiut* are allowed to wash. Another house is visited on the next evening, and so on in succession till all the enclosures are burnt and the only visible mark of what has happened is the collar of dyed cedar-bark worn by each novice.

[424] There may be certain prerogatives connected with this finale which could not be learnt owing to its discontinuance for many years. In fact, one old woman claimed to have a definite right to sing at the destruction of the enclosures, but it was unfortunately impossible to investigate the matter.

Concluding Observations and History

* 575 * 796 ●182 571 It is virtually impossible to overestimate the importance of the sociological aspects of the society. During the ceremonial season the whole fabric of social life is altered; families are divided, parents and children being separated in many

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cases though an infant in arms, though uninitiated, can be brought to dances by its mother; distinctions between rich and poor, slave and freeman, become of slight importance; all that really matters is whether a person is or is not a *kusiut*. Membership in the society seems to the uninitiated the most desirable thing in life, although their fears are always so strong that they never cease to dread actual admission. The feeling of class consciousness which exists in a somewhat mild form at other seasons of the year, gives place to a powerful sentiment of superiority on the part of members of the society over those who are not so fortunate. Even the respect normally shown to chiefs is submerged since they, too, are subject to the rule of the marshals.

575* 796* 182● 571 [781]

Apart entirely from this attitude of superiority and inferiority, is the bond of fellowship engendered among members of the society by the rites. Whatever happens, the uninitiated *must* be deceived. Moreover, the psychological effect of gathering nightly in a body for a specific purpose is tremendous. Night after night they eat together; night after night they listen to the words of the marshals, who impress on them the need for co-operation and secrecy, who hold before them the good example set by their fellows who have carried out rites successfully, who emphasize the fact that they are doing as their fathers did. The ceremonial import is of greatest consequence at all these gatherings, but when the uninitiated have withdrawn the *kukusiut* relax somewhat and enjoy themselves. The food itself is always of the best and some of the usual restrictions are removed. It is, for example, the only time that women are allowed to eat the flesh of seals. If this delicacy is provided the marshals enjoy the tidbits, but after Cannibals, novices, and others have received preferential treatment, the remainder is distributed to all and sundry.

[262] 562 [264]

It has been stated by some writers, especially those unfamiliar with the significance of native ceremonial life, that the dances of the coastal tribes are orgies of immorality. This point was investigated with care and it may be stated posi-

575* 796* 577 293 834

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177 fathers. Inherited beliefs are too deep-rooted to pass away
771 entirely within a few generations. Even those who claim to
have adopted the new faith remain convinced of the potency
[181] of magic, and of the existence of those supernatural creatures which do not actively conflict with the white man's creed. Such lack of consistency is a world-wide trait, particularly intelligible among the Bella Coola whose philosophy abounds in contradictions, dependent upon statements handed down in the origin myths of different families.

626 The Bella Coola are constrained not only by the omni-
presence of supernatural beings; they are constantly subjected
[181] to the influence of their fellows. They are far less individual-
istic than white people. A chief may boast that he can do as
[622] he pleases, that he can disregard the restrictions of lesser men; he often does so, but only because public opinion recognizes that he has reached a position of eminence by giving many potlatches. The duly validated warrior is brave because he
[703] feels that everyone is aware of his valour. The man who per-
[769] forms some ceremony in accordance with an ancestral myth incorporates himself with his forbears, and is strengthened by the conviction that he has gained their support and approbation. In every phase of life, a person is profoundly affected
177 by the approval or disapproval of his neighbours. At present
626 the construction of small houses, each occupied by a single
942 family, makes it possible for a man to hide himself, or to do work unknown to the rest of the community. This lessens the force of public opinion, although it is even now more potent than conscience in checking anti-social acts. Formerly, in communal houses, every action was fully known, making individual freedom of thought and act virtually impossible. A man
[602] is chiefly influenced by his relatives who take a great share in what the white man would consider purely family affairs. The effect of the group upon the individual must not be overlooked, nor can it be over-stressed in a study of these people.

177 The education and conversion of the younger men have
626 enormously lessened their reliance upon their fellows. In former
• 182
561

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times, older relatives were revered, not only as senior members 177
of the ancestral family, but as those most familiar with myths 626
and other cherished possessions. With the spread of new ideas, 182
the young people no longer respect the lore of their elders, and
consequently do not heed their admonitions and advice. Theo- 561
retically, such self-reliance would seem desirable, but in practice it has led to unfortunate results. A young man, considering himself superior to the older people, glories in acting on his own initiative, but too often he lacks the requisite strength of character to guide his own life. If he wishes to drink, he does so; if he desires to marry, he chooses his mate without con- [581]
sidering the transmission of ancestral rights which stabilized unions in former times; if he tires of his wife, he deserts her for another; if he cheats or steals, he is no longer restrained by relatives who fear disgrace. The elders, incapable of stemming the tide, watch sadly and ask seriously whether the coming of the white man has brought compensation for the loss it has caused. It is deplorable that the emancipation of the younger men and women has taken place before the development of the sense of individual responsibility and conscience which public opinion formerly rendered less necessary. Christianity provides a moral code for those who are fully converted, but for the many in the transition stage, the break-down of the old system of family influence has been tragic.

Profound religious beliefs and lack of individual initiative 181
are shared by all Bella Coola with the exception, perhaps, of a 177
few of the younger people who, having been educated at white man's schools, have adopted the new outlook unconditionally. In most characteristics they display as wide variability as any 577
other people. In truthfulness, for example, they range from 124
one extreme to the other. As the writer became familiar with the older men, he found it possible to recognize without difficulty the strength of some and the weakness of others. There are liars, but they can be easily detected owing to their lack of finesse. It is a pleasure to record the reliability of the author's friends and informants. Their veracity was checked repeat-

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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group. The moral code is not concerned with animals. The 000
life of the Bella Coola would be unbearable to most white 522
people, yet they find it far from unpleasant. They sigh at present conditions, but there is much to amuse them notwithstanding. If several people are talking together, one is sure to hear bursts of laughter every few minutes. It takes little to interest them; a story they have heard a hundred times, the troubles of a neighbour with his wife, the eccentricity of a white man, the stupidity of the investigator, any of these is enough to cause a hearty laugh. When collecting information, [124]
it was constantly necessary to joke with them; the most feeble witticism was enough, but they lost interest in the work unless kept smiling. Their sense of humour is not refined; jests [831]
about sexual matters are common and are enjoyed alike by men, women, and children. It is not that their tastes are perverted, but rather that they have no reticence in discussing this topic, so they find it easy to see the ludicrous aspects of a subject which is ever near the surface in their minds. They have no hesitation in poking fun at their friends; a successful practical joke, such as hiding the writer's tobacco, is enough to fill them with amusement. If the victim shows temporary resentment, the glee of his friends is complete, and shrieks of laughter usually terminate the trick.

Unless the white man who comes to live among the Bella 105
Coola is unusually broad-minded, he is at first repelled by the 182
dirt and untidiness prevailing everywhere; even the people themselves seem unnatural. He finds it difficult to realize the sincerity of their religious beliefs, and the manner in which these influence their daily lives is hard to grasp. The potlatch system appears so grotesque that it seems to reflect a psychology diametrically opposed to his own. The force of public [626]
opinion on personal conduct is almost incomprehensible. Gradually, however, he begins to understand the reasons underlying Bella Coola life. The potlatch becomes intelligible when regarded as a means of achieving fame; constant attention to supernatural beings is natural considering the firm conviction

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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105 of their omnipresence; the guiding force of public opinion is
182 seen as a check on individual licence, fostered or inculcated by
[626] the ties which hold together ancestral families and make it impossible for a man to lead an isolated life where others will not be affected by his actions. If the white man is willing to receive new ideas, he will learn much from the comments of the Bella Coola on his own customs. Many have been to
[556] Victoria or Vancouver, and they feel that the contrasts of wealth observable in such big cities are atrocious; they ask
[602] how this is compatible with Christianity. They feel that it is unnatural for a man not to receive support from his cousins of
[556] all degrees; that the hoarding of wealth for the mere gratification of personal desires is selfish; that the selling of land is extraordinary; and that failure to ascribe every incident to supernatural causes is sacrilegious. These differences of viewpoint on so many matters explain the first impression of strangeness. A careful investigator comes to realize that he is among a people who fundamentally differ but slightly from his compatriots, though outwardly they have little in common. With respect to love, ambition, parental affection, sense of honour, pride, intelligence, even humour and vanity, the Bella Coola are essentially similar to ourselves. Unfortunately, these characteristics are expressed in ways unintelligible and often repellant to the casual traveller. If he will only look beneath the surface, he will find a people who are neither saints nor sinners, but essentially human, with the faults and follies as well as the elements of strength and wisdom which comprise, as Kipling puts it, "Men in a world of men."

177 The coming of the white civilization has been cataclysmic
[161] to the Bella Coola. Within two generations they have been
[36] reduced to a mere handful; instead of living in scattered villages, roaming the mountains for game and fishing at will, they now dwell in a single settlement and the taking of animals and fish is subject to law; the introduction of metal tools and mechanical appliances has revolutionized their mode of life; new foods, new clothing, new furniture has altered their living conditions; fermented drink has presented a factor unknown

to their forefathers. Profound as these material changes have been, those of a psychological nature have been even more important. New worlds have been thrown open to them, stimulating ideas have been brought to their attention, and they have realized for the first time that the world is infinitely larger than they had imagined. Hand in hand with this extension of knowledge has gone disbelief in their own ancient lore. The white man, whose superiority and mechanical skill they admit, positively denies the actuality of their mythology, and laughs at the dramatic performances which were wont to fill the winter with engrossing interest. Such rites can flourish only in an attitude of profound belief; this has been so shaken that the dances continue listlessly, a mere shadow of a once living art. The young people were the first to embrace a scepticism that has rapidly grown into disbelief of the faith of their ancestors, and a half-concealed scorn for their elders, the upholders of the old customs. Worse of all, prohibition of the potlatch has made it impossible for a man to reach a position of social eminence. Moreover, since the holding of any rank of ceremonial requires a distribution of gifts, formal gatherings of all kinds have become virtually impossible; even marriages have no longer the social support that formerly made them so lasting.

These cumulative blows would be enough to shake any civilization, and that of the Bella Coola has been entirely unable to adjust itself to the new conditions. The young people, having lost respect for their elders, are deprived of the advice and support essential to the continuity of culture. They ape the white man's dress; they want his mechanical devices, but have failed to assimilate them. For example, a gramophone in a Bella Coola house is an anachronism, while several similar articles spoil the old pictures but do not provide a new one. Seeking to copy the new ways thrown open to them, they have achieved the outward show but not the substance, and in so doing have discovered their own culture. In the old days they were ambitious to hold potlatches and willing to work steadily towards that goal; now, new desires have not kept pace with

their earning ability and a man can satisfy his wants by working for a few months each summer. The decline of ceremonials has left a blank in their lives, too easily filled, alas, with drinking, idleness, and vice. It is inevitable that the old ways and old traditions should pass, but the prohibition of those before new ones had taken their place, has been disastrous. The Bella Coola have lost their pride, a calamity as fatal to a people as to an individual.

They have shown undoubted ability in developing each of their new talents to fit the needs and requirements of the white man. Taken captives for generations, they have readily learnt the use of new tools and new build houses and boats of considerable constructional skill. They have proved themselves valuable employees of the canneries which rely to a large extent upon Indian labour. Under instruction from a white teacher, a number of the younger men have formed a band which gives creditable performances with wind and percussion instruments. One can only deplore the fact that the skill of the Bella Coola in carving, painting, acting, singing, composing, and story-telling could not have been guided into channels where it would have developed and added honor to the new world in which they find themselves.

The white man's civilization passes forward as an ever-widening flood, blotting out the cultures of lower peoples in all parts of the world. This is inevitable, probably it is well that it should be so, but it offers little consolation to a tribe like the Bella Coola. Their life has been destroyed, and, wonderingly, half-gently, half-ghastlily, the survivors watch the downfall of all that their ancestors cherished. Too often the white man fails to understand this, too often he fails to realize that primitive, as he sees it, is wiping out valuable elements of civilizations other than his own instead of adding the good to them and preserving it for the benefit of himself and the native alike. The Bella Coola culture is dying, and with it will pass forever something created by a Canadian people, not great perhaps, but indelibly stamped with their personality.

[illegible]

STRING FIGURES

The only form of pastime which it was practical to investigate in any detail was the construction of string figures. These seem to have no economical or religious significance, they are made for recreation only, and it was found easy to learn a number while passing the time for other kinds of research. In fact, interest in them was one of the ways in which the writer became friends with a number of Bella Coola. As is to be expected, some individuals are more proficient in constructing complicated string figures than others, the old women being particularly adept. During the long idleness which occurs in all the dances is a common sight to see an old woman teaching a group of young girls the figures which she herself learnt when young. Some men remember a number from childhood, but the making of designs with string is regarded as more fitting for girls and women. Songs accompany many of the figures, and the singing of these is considered an essential part of the construction. It was noted that many more figures were known long ago; in fact, several of those here recorded were only obtained after repeated efforts on the part of an old woman to reconstruct those which she had been shown when a child. No attempt has made to learn all the Bella Coola figures, a larger number could doubtless have been collected, but those here described are the ones most commonly made.

The nomenclature used is that described by Miss Haddon[1] in itself following the method used by Rivers and Haddon. It will be assumed that the reader is familiar with this, including the meaning of the terms, "Opening A," "Position II," and "Movable." A string about two feet long will be found most convenient for making the Bella Coola figures.

1. A [illegible]

Double the loop, two straight sticks take the place of the usual one, but these will be referred to as a single string or loop. The figure can be made equally well with a string one-half the usual length.

Place string as a single loop over left thumb and index finger and the right hand.

With right index finger hook down the string passing directly across left thumb and index finger and draw out to right, allowing right hand loop to slip over the hooked-down string.

[1] M. Haddon, Int., Studies from Miss Cam. Expedition, 1912.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] mother, but that it had not the right to use the [illegible] property of both parents. It seems to my mind that the former method was [illegible] rather the existing social conditions, and that to the [illegible] to the development of an endogamic system among the Bella Coola. The [illegible] of endogamic marriage among the tribe is [illegible] the coast. All the other tribes have exogamic institutions, and in the most primitive their property rights. It is interesting to note that the moieties [illegible], who originally seem to have been organized in village communities, [illegible] exogamic institutions; but there is a [illegible] difference in the organization of the village community, between the Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl. Among the Bella Coola we generally find [illegible] village—usually three men and one woman. It [illegible] are generally called brothers and sisters, but they are [illegible] independently by birth, and are therefore not necessarily considered as blood relatives. Among the Kwakiutl the village community are considered the descendants of one [illegible] being; consequently, among the latter tribe they are all relatives, and of definite to inheritance; while among the Bella Coola they are not relatives, and are inheritors.

It seems to me probable, that the various social system of the Bella Coola developed through the influence of the customs of the Coast tribes upon the [illegible] of the Salish village community. The possession of the [illegible] was not to a great advantage, and consequently the [illegible] developed in power and tradition. These were acquired partly by intermarriage with the Coast tribes, as is shown by the fact that many of these traditions are borrowed from these tribes, partly by independent invention. The [illegible] to guard by traditions which were once acquired led to the development of exogamic institutions, in order to prevent the spread of the traditions over the Coast tribe.

The [illegible] that the traditions are guarded has had the effect of making each family [illegible] to prevent other families from knowing to one [illegible] traditions of the whole tribe are [illegible]. We find, for instance, that the [illegible] Coast tribes has been utilized by many families [illegible] as with one family [illegible] of the traditions, [illegible] parts of the same tradition. Thus it happens that among the Bella Coola [illegible] that the most contradictory myths in regard to [illegible] family's history. Some families assume that the Bella Coola [illegible] the sea-wolf, according to another one, the Mink was [illegible] the present sons of chiefs. Still others say that [illegible] the sea-wolf, would be one to appear. The discrepancies in the traditions relating to the rank of the Mink and Wing in their father [illegible] considerable. Although a considerable amount of

1:46:Swanton E-5 (1902-1924) 1948
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[225] [773] [774] [775] [411] [774] [262] [185]

to the land above whence, in course of time, it comes down to earth again to reanimate a new body.[*] Consequently, the success of a hunter does not indicate his mastery over an animal so much as the latter's good-will in allowing itself to be slain by one who has pleased him by ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), or by one who has been endowed with skill by some other supernatural being. Men are accordingly careful to obey the wishes of their quarry. Long ago, a mountain goat told a shaman that he and his friends liked soot, so a hunter who has killed one always smears two bands of soot across its face from the right eye to the left side of the mouth. Another shaman was told by a bear never to use owl-feathered arrows since none of his fellows killed with such would return. Plumes of other birds have since been used, probably those of mallard ducks. Sometimes the wishes of an animal require considerable ritual. For example, when a bear is killed, the carcass is stretched upon newly arranged evergreen boughs and skinned. The hunter reverses the pelt so that the tail lies near the neck, with the whole hanging loosely over the body. He pats it four times, as if pressing the skin back into place, and says:

"Please don't linger. Go home and return," or,

"Please come to me tomorrow. Tell your brothers, your sisters, your uncles, your aunts and your other relations to come to me."

Should this be omitted, the animal is likely to stand up, shiver, shake itself, causing the pelt to return to its place, and run away. Yearling mountain goats are especially prone to do this, as already mentioned. Even if an animal does not show its resentment by escaping in this way, it often refuses to return to earth unless the proper rites have been performed over its carcass.

Bears have another aversion: they do not like to be seen by men. So the hunter leaves the skinned body for wolves

[*] There are doubters in Bella Coola as in every other community, and several of the older men express disbelief in the immortality of animals.

1:McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

773 ago the tide came further up the rivers than at present and did
[123] not recede so far. This statement was made by an intelligent old man who said that the change had taken place during his own life-time.

773 One of Raven's most important alterations to *Alpaxém's*
[133] intentions was with regard to the sexual act.

> In the beginning of time, the organs of women were on the forehead, those of men on the palm of the hand, and intercourse was effected by a man rubbing his hand across a woman's brow. Raven found that children would not result from this practice and accordingly altered the organs of both sexes to their present positions. In order to teach mankind the sexual act he then chose a woman and held intercourse with her, telling her that if the practice were carried out secretly and vigorously a child would be born. And nine months later the woman gave birth to an infant. Raven told the first inhabitants of the world that he wished them to have issue; they consequently held intercourse frequently and began many children until their descendants filled the Bella Coola valley.

The attitude of the Bella Coola towards this story is identical with their beliefs concerning Raven as the cause of death.

"Yes," they say, as they repeat the above story in answer to a question, "Raven taught our ancestors how to have children."

773 One side of their nature implicitly believes any story handed
● [195] down from the distant past, but few today are sufficiently naive actually to credit it. The more sophisticated frankly disbelieve, or pretend to do so. Doubts also arose with regard to
[124] Raven as originator of linguistic differences. The Bella Coola state that *Alpaxém* intended only one language for the whole world, but Raven thought that this would lead to conflict and used his power to teach the ancestors of every tribe their special speech.

Many inventions and beliefs are attributed to Raven without any accompanying myth. It is said that almost all geo-
[103] graphical names are thus bestowed by him as places reached in his travels. It was Raven who taught men how to bait
[224] hooks so long from to catch black cod; it was Raven who first

1:McDowalk E-1 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

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[183]

ceed by the age-long power of his ancestor. Finally, in old age a powerful chief is careless where he seats himself; his fame is so great that he can afford to disregard all conventions.

POWER OF CHIEFS

It will be seen from the foregoing that chieftainship among the Bella Coola does not depend on hereditary rank, still less on an elective principle, but on the individual's prestige as displayed, especially in his ability to acquire for himself a first seat by the giving of presents. As he continues to do so his influence becomes ever greater. Consequently, it is impossible to state clearly what are the powers of a chief; such depend upon his prestige and influence. For a Bella Coola chief has no executive or judicial authority; what deference is shown to him depends on his success as a man, a factor which is constantly rising or falling.

The coming of the white man has enabled the Bella Coola to earn comparatively large sums of money by trapping and fishing. This in turn has enabled nearly everyone to give at least one potlatch, a very different sort of affair from that which prevailed in the last century when it required years of toil for a man to amass the necessary food and skins. Consequently, in many towns there were no men who had given potlatches, so that a man's prestige was estimated by the presents he had given at smaller ceremonies. Sometimes, moreover, a man preferred to increase his fame by giving items of a different nature, such as *factor* dances, and the presents thus distributed might elevate him in the eyes of the community, to a position above that of a man who had given a potlatch. This, however, was unusual.

After a fourth potlatch a man is accorded a position of eminence, and is termed a *nemit* chief. *Nemit* is an untranslatable word, with the significance of "prestige," an allusion to the amount of goods which have passed through his hands. Jealous and vulgar-minded persons pun on the word, applying

1:56 Seventh E-5 (922-1524)948
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present, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried farther afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in attendance. Every individual duly included and given a *nuxit* name finds himself commonly allied with others who have had a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be termed the *nuxit* secret society. 553 556* 575

The close connection between this society and chiefs is obvious from the presence of names of both type in the same ancestral myths. Name the less, every chief, that is a person with duly validated ancestral name and cat, is not a *nuxit*, unless he has validated a *nuxit* name for himself and undergone the period of seclusion. Commonly, man may be a duly authorized member of the *nuxit* society, lacking a seat and the other marks of chieftainship. The relationship is, however, so close that the Bella Coola think of the *nuxit* society as a society of chiefs. *Nuxit* dances take place at potlatches and funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance. Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use some of his goods for the acquisition of a *nuxit* name. Such a case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in the summer of 1915. Theoretically, he is ignorant of *nuxit* rites, but after much discussion there was used on account of his importance as a *nuxit* chief, an instance of the manner in which a man's personal importance overrides ceremonial decorum. 575 622 [553] [535] [766] [188]

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *nuxit* name-groupings came to this earth at the beginning of time with their first ancestors, and that many more have been acquired here by supernatural experiences. These were especially common among their forbears as they spread over this earth making places to settle in the beginning of time. No *nuxit* name can be assumed casually; each must have had a specific origin. There are few *nuxit* origin myths, though theoretically there should be one to account for every name. The explanation appears to lie in the well-known fact that many *nuxit* groupings have been acquired comparatively recently 424 551 575 773 [77]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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211 example, there is a description of his totem-pole with a ball
556 at the top, and beneath it an eagle's nest containing two fledg-
798 lings towards which a grizzly bear is endeavouring to climb.
532 This is the only known instance of a pole on which the different figures stand in definite relationship to one another. No explanation is offered beyond the statement that this was the form used by *Alkwi* in the beginning of time. Another ancient pole, used by one of the ancestral families of *Sneed*, consists of [778] a simple shaft surmounted by a sphere; this represents a mountain which enters into their ancestral myth as supporting the sky.

As with all features embodied in ancestral myths, a chief can use his own discretion in cases where he has a choice of design. A totem-pole with specific figures is a common pre-[431] sent from a chief to his son-in-law, and it is a mark of respect [622] for the latter to use and validate this at the first opportunity, [606] in preference to one belonging to his own ancestral family. Since the pole erected at a potlatch may have no association with the ancestral name and myth of the donor, the underlying principle in all cases is that the value of the pole depends upon the quantity of gifts distributed to validate its erection. One man mentioned an instance in which he had become confused with regard to the proper design for the totem-pole connected with his ancestral myth, and had used one belonging to a second myth in association with a name from the first. Both were his property, the transaction was duly validated, and the matter passed off without question. It is possible that the [183] decay of custom which has followed the coming of the white man may have been partly responsible for this error, which was regarded as a somewhat stupid, though not improper mistake; yet it is clear that even when designs are remembered as portions of ancestral myths, they can be alienated from them and validated as isolated objects in the same manner as names and all other features of ancestral myths.

More often, the exact details of a pole are not included in the ancestral myth and a chief wishing to have one erected can

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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435 owner with a statement of its history and the amount expended
437 on it. The purchase of a copper is, therefore, a good business
*556 transaction, and it might be assumed that a chief with keen commercial instinct would endeavour to acquire as many as
[171] possible. This is said to be the case in Fort Rupert, but in
[182] Bella Coola public opinion is averse to the obtaining of coppers unless for use at potlatches. As every ambitious chief hopes to give potlatches, he can always claim that the acquisition of a copper is for this end, and that the sale of it is from a kindly desire to assist a fellow-chief who is nearer the desired goal than he himself. Consequently, the sale of coppers is tolerably common, and a chief is not considered to be mercenary unless he sells too frequently.

426 The intending donor of a potlatch can now proceed to the
*556 ceremony, secure in the possession of a copper worthy to be thrown on the fire after the passage of his deceased relative. In addition, he may own another copper of too small value for this purpose. As described in the last chapter, he repeatedly calls together the inhabitants of his own village to sing which he validates by the distribution of presents, and at which he also gives away investment presents. He may decide to use his second copper for this purpose. All investment presents,
[558] which are given only to men of standing in the community, must be repaid with interest unless the recipient is willing to decline in popular estimation; but when a gift of this kind consists of a copper, a return of 100 per cent is expected on the transaction. Borrowal of a copper in such circumstances is not spoken of as an investment present, *ddimbuxnim*, but as *dwanq'*, which has the definite significance of something that must be returned with 100 per cent interest. If the value of the copper were $25 before this borrowal, it is now $50, since the new owner must repay this amount to the chief planning to give the potlatch. The new owner can use the copper in any way he desires; if he repays a previous indebtedness, he cancels $50 by giving it; whereas if he borrows it as *dwanq'*, announcement is made that its value is $50, and he expects to

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type.

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embedded in her ancestral myth which must be duly validated before she can function. One of these is *Sôwawatsimôx-a*, another is *Ła'ya*. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditized. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to ripen the berries.

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"Get ready to pick red chlorberries for whatever species is ripe! tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. As far as could be learnt, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker; obedience seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared.

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[183]

THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring validation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors conferred as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal or then of professional names. At the present time, it is

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1:McDowalk E-5 (1922-1924)1943
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provided with means of sustenance, a house, and certain supernatural powers. The rights to the names of these people, as well as to the type of ceremonial objects used by them, has been the privilege of their descendants. But these early Bella Coola, like their modern descendants, had several designations, each carrying with it a definite prerogative. In a single myth there may be embodied a dance or more names and incidents which are quoted at the present day to authorize such different phases of culture as dances, rights to hunting-grounds, protections, names of dogs, or *kwaxa* prerogatives.[7] Any myth which gives the initial use of a name, a dance, or any other prerogative, is termed a *snaxnem*. Each of these is, or was in the old days, remembered with great care and never recounted in full detail except to the members of the ancestral family whose names are embodied in it. Even at potlatches the full details of the myth are not told here. Indeed, if a young man is of a flighty, garrulous disposition, unlikely to preserve the dignity of his ancestral fame, the details are concealed from him. Even at the present time there is much resentment at any unauthorized use of a *snaxnem*, and in the old days this would inevitably have led to bloodshed.

Boas (p. 116) states that the terms *snaxnem* and *sacrem* are synonymous. The writer feels certain that this is an error. It was discussed repeatedly with various Bella Coola, all of whom agreed that a *sacrem* is a mere story which can be told by anyone, whereas a *snaxnem* is a myth possessed by the individual, or individuals, whose prerogatives are derived from it. To the Bella Coola the two are clearly different.

Now the law, there is no doubt that records of the past change from one category to the other. A wealthy chief, eager to give a potlatch, but lacking the mythical authorization, must frequently have used a *sacrem*, claiming the law as an *sa*, but the prestige of one who can give potlatches is so great that in time his claim would probably be accepted. The two

[7] The details of these will be described later.

1:96:Dwoath E-5 (1922-1924)968
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to a guest was regarded as amusing. In recent years, however, 37
some husbands have made a practice of renting their wives to [8]
white men. This is not considered credutable, but the Bella [48]
Coola do not strongly condemn breaches of the moral code, [53]
which are regarded as the affair of the husband alone. There
is said to be a Bella Bella custom by which a wife takes as
recognized paramour one of the friends of her husband who is
thought not only to know of this but to receive the presents
which the lover gives his wife. The two continue to be friends
and often have together; in fact, their mutual interest in the
woman is a bond between them. No trace of this practice [71]
could be found in Bella Coola.

POLYGYNY

It has thus far been assumed that the Bella Coola are 95
monogamous, an assumption correct only since the period of 56
white dominance. Previous to that time it was quite common 77]
for wealthy men to have three, four, or more wives. *Pielo*, the
important chief so often mentioned, had nine, ten, or eleven,
the exact number is not known. A man wishing to take a
second wife could do so in the manner already described,
although the period of engagement was usually much shorter,
and working for his parents-in-law was not expected. The
reason for this was obvious to the Bella Coola. None but a
chief of importance could afford more than a single wife, and
such an one could not be expected to demean himself by
working for anyone else. Besides, parents were glad to have
their daughters married to a great chief, so willingly omitted
the customary period of servitude. Two strained the dis-
tinction of having several wives. As far as could be learned, [2]
the number of the sexes seems always to have been about
practically every adult had a wife. A number of males were
always slain in war, and it is to be assumed that polygyny was
made possible only through the surplus of women thus caused.
The great majority of men had a single wife, some chiefs had

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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595 556 two, but only one of great importance could hope to aspire to more, while the case of *Putlu* was considered to be unique and highly desirable.

595 571 A chief's wives always lived in the same house, and it is said that disputes were frequent. *Putlu* endeavoured to prevent jealousy by providing each woman with a special bedroom and sleeping for a single night with each in order. One informant had two wives when a young man, and he found that the only way to avoid constant bickering was by sleeping in one bed, between them. The evidence seems clear that plurality of wives was usually the cause of considerable friction, though this never deterred a man from taking a second wife if he could. The only special rule of incest in this regard was that two sisters could not be married at the same time.

[835 512] 595 183 626 In answer to questions about polyandry, two men told of a licentious woman who had two feeble-minded husbands between whom she used to sleep. The whole affair was considered disgusting, but public opinion did not ostracize the offenders since a person's marital affairs were considered to concern the individual only. It was accordingly assumed that 595 556 the institution of true polyandry did not exist, when, unexpectedly, information was volunteered about its occurrence in the families of influential men. A very powerful chief, if his only child was a daughter, quite frequently married her simultaneously to the sons of other chiefs. She was thus considered most fortunate, since only a wealthy man could provide for a daughter in this way, and expend the large quantities of goods necessary to ensure her proper marriage in each case. The husbands were never brothers, and seldom related, since the ambitious parent widely sought out the daughter with different ancestral families for the benefit of any resultant children. The joint wife was accustomed to live for a number of months in the home of one of her husbands, with her other husbands forming part of his household. She would then move to the house of another, who assumed the leadership of the group,

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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type of dance differs from all other Bella Coola ones, since no inherited prerogative is required. Years ago such exhibitions were common, although curing shamans were rare.

The usual time for a shaman's performance is at the conclusion of the *hoolai* season, though one is sometimes held prior to that period if the would-be performer fears that the food which he has stored up for the event is likely to be frozen.

When he decides to give a dance, the shaman first summons the singers to his house and teaches them a song of his own composition. Theoretically both text and tune should have been received from his supernatural benefactor, but many performers undoubtedly employ songs used by shamans ancestors which they have chanced to remember. Another device is to describe a supernatural being seen in a dream. In some cases there is deliberate deception, but in most the performer persuades himself that he has received supernatural authorization. The texts are full of obscure allusions, a river, for example, is spoken of as swift running water. Often a man will measure a song for years, before collecting the wealth necessary to use it publicly, with the social prestige attached. A shaman always obtains a name from his supernatural benefactor, but if a man merely uses a feat observed in a dream, this is impossible, so he adopts the designation of some deceased shaman, soon convincing himself that it was uttered by the apparition. Others will probably remember this name, hence suspicions may easily be aroused concerning the authenticity of the performance, but it is not customary to voice these. The singers repeat the song which they have just heard, and continue doing so until they have mastered it. Sometimes they compose further songs themselves for the performer. During the practising, those who are not *hoolaiai* are expelled from the house. A shaman is a person who has come in contact with the supernatural; hence he is akin to the members of the society who, therefore, support him during his rite.* A herald is sent out

*Theoretically, a shaman need not be a *hoolai*, but exceptions usually occur only in those of religious and imaginative temperaments, who are in the majority of cases already members of the society.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1926) 1948
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Few prerogatives are used when the uninitiated are present; they are essentially secret, but provide considerable amusement and are a welcome interlude in the serious rites. When the prerogative is made visible, carpenters must be employed to make it, and be paid for their work; hence this part of the ceremonial is often omitted. When no handicraft is required, it is more frequently called into play, but even in such cases its employment is not universal. Not being an essential part of the *kwaxa* rites, the use or omission of a prerogative is a matter which concerns the dancer alone, and he acts strictly in accordance with his own wishes, whether or not he desires the ceremony to be acc repeated by every possible show. It is impossible to estimate with accuracy the relative frequency of employment, but it is probable that prerogatives of the type under consideration are used in about one-third of the *kwaxa* ceremonials.

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If a dancer decides to display a material prerogative, he consults with a carpenter before the coming of his call and asks him to make, for example, a wooden Hummingbird. On the night of *kwaxawam*, when all the *kwaxa* are present, the bird is seen to move across the back-wall of the house, pulled by concealed strings. The dancer rushes to it and appears to catch it, in reality hiding it beneath his clothing. The women drum and the heralds announce to the uninitiated in the neighbouring houses what has taken place. Carefully holding his hands cupped, as if clutching something of great value, the dancer moves to the centre of the house and returns the bird to the land above by throwing his hands upwards while the *kwaxa* call out *hoip*. This is the usual procedure when the prerogative is a bird, a small mammal, or a reptile. The same ceremonial is often repeated on the night of *nuxalkilaq*, particularly if the ritual proper to the occasion does not suffice to occupy the requisite time. If the prerogative is immaterial, the ritual differs. For example, when it is Fog, the dancer stretches his hands upwards, as if receiving something from above, and then makes the motion of throwing this "some-

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1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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128 from *Swabli*. My informant's grandchildren regard them-
173 selves as *Swabli* boys, and their names are embodied in myths
361 of that village, although their forbears have not lived there
166 for five generations. There is no reason to suppose this case exceptional. Other instances were obtained of movements of people from one village to another at earlier times, and there seems no cause to doubt the general accuracy of these. Names [554] embodied in the origin myths of different towns are used as prerogatives and have been potent factors in keeping their memory alive. Uncertainties and inaccuracies there must be in the foregoing list, but on the whole it appears to be fairly reliable, since few contradictions were received from different informants.

128 Accounts obtained of the same ceremonies from the descen-
184 dants of people of different villages were found in most cases to be identical. There were a few differences in custom between [790] the people of *Stuax* and those of the other upper valley towns on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the lower valley on [101] the other. These will be mentioned when necessary, but on the whole the inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley can be considered as a tribal entity.

114 Boas (p. 48) gives a list of Bella Coola towns which agrees
361 fairly well with the above. Among his villages are included *Pe·ɛlb* (no. 4), *Nalqɛtskwan·e* (no. 7), and *Nuxālxm* (no. 16).[10] All the older people agreed that these are the names of streams, though settlements located on them may have been known by the same designations. Names of the five villages recorded by Boas, nos. 6, 8, 9, 19, and 24, were not known by several old men questioned on the subject.

101 The villages of the Bella Coola valley did not form a political
619 unit; each was independent. A common language was spoken throughout and the inhabitants of the different towns recog- [631] nized that their origins and customs were similar. This was [197] also recognized to be the case with regard to the people living on South Bentinck Arm, and at the head of Dean Channel.

[10] Using in each case the spelling of this monograph.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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sun attached to another land above the one of which our sky is the underside. Boas (p. 28) has described this upper land in some detail. A number of Bella Coola were questioned on this subject, but for some time no one could be found with knowledge of its existence. At length one of the older people remembered that a man who had died some thirty years ago had a personal story connected with it, and later a Kimsquit man was able to furnish definite information. He explained that in his family there was a myth dealing with this matter; others might have heard this myth, but since it was not their property, of course they would not be able to impart the facts contained in it, nor would they necessarily believe it. Consequently, an upper land, superimposed above that which is immediately over the earth, cannot be described as a Bella Coola belief; it is shared, so far as could be ascertained, by only two families.

The chief feature of this uppermost world is its distance and unapproachableness. To the supernatural beings living in the intermediate land it is a far-off place; in fact, their attitude towards it corresponds to that with which mortals regard the land above their own. The supernatural ones can, when they wish, visit this upper world, which is called *Naqui-iäls*. A sun shines there, but it is a different kind of sun from that known to mortals. On the whole it appears that this upper sky-land does not differ materially from either the earth or the land immediately above. No human being has ever reached this distant land, so what little is known about it was brought down in the beginning of time by the first people.

In addition to these two upper worlds, the Bella Coola know of one, or perhaps two, below. One of these is inhabited by ghosts.[1] It somewhat resembles the earth, but is unsubstantial and ethereal. It is considered to be immediately

[1]At the present time the Bella Coola are in a state of transition between the old beliefs and the new. This concept is held only by the older people, so it might be more accurate to describe it as one which they, the tribe as a whole, used to know. It has been thought advisable to use the present tense throughout in recording customs and beliefs which are now rapidly passing away.

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not systematized; if a man is asked about the powers or functions of a certain supernatural being, he will usually answer by recounting a story in which that being appears. What is known respecting many of the lesser supernatural beings depends upon information contained in stories, and as many of these are personal possessions, it follows that there is tremendous variation in individual knowledge. Psychologically, this is of little importance; there are enough supernatural beings for everyone to know some of them, and to expect to meet or hear them in the forests. To insert many of the stories contained in later chapters would break the sequence of description; all that is here attempted is to give a general summary, in a way foreign to Bella Coola thought.

Supernatural beings are by no means all-powerful. It is true that they have miraculous powers and can work weal or woe to human beings who chance to come in contact with them, but likewise they may sometimes be overwhelmed by morals armed with objects steeped in human essence, such as a blanket which has been worn until it is impregnated not only with the smell, but the physical being of its owner. In particular, shamans or other mortals of great strength have been able to conquer the supernatural ones. Consequently, it may be said that although supernatural beings live on a plane different from that of mortals, they are not omnipotent. Long, long ago, man was able to come in contact with them more frequently, but that golden age when the semi-mythical ancestors of the Bella Coola were living has long since passed away, though it is only within the last few years that such beings, particularly supernatural animals, have become comparatively rare. The Bella Coola give three main reasons for this:

(1) Supernatural animals do not like the sound of machines and have moved far away.

(2) With increasing dependence on the canning industry, fewer hunters penetrate into their haunts in the distant parts of the mountains.

(3) The younger Bella Coola no longer take pains to purify themselves as a means of placating supernatural beings.

[illegible] are many of them, are carefully used in accordance with the functions of the supreme deity. As a Bulla Coola has many names, corresponding to his membership in various societies, his professional prerogatives, his ancestral myths, and more religious, so has *Myoomin*, who is a supreme, many names, according to his special functions. It would be unbelievable for a Bulla Coola to pray to *Myoomin*, yet it is common for him to pray to *Mosakai* or *Tsin*, other names for the same being. The multiplicity of functions and designations approaches the point of obscuring the unity of *Myoomin*, which in fact, some Bulla Coola even deny. They state that *Sumdalis*, *Mosakai*, *Snowbalis*, and *Nanakulais* are one, but that *Myoomin*, *Snowbalis*, and *Nanakulais* are three distinct supernatural beings. This seeming confusion presents no difficulties to the Indian, since each family has its own myths in which such facts are recorded. He believes them, without questioning those of his neighbors, and it is even possible for an individual to believe two contradictory statements, if he happens to become the owner of two contradictory myths. Evidence collected in the field does not make clear whether the beliefs of the Bulla Coola illustrate an incomplete transformation of a single deity into a number of minor ones, or whether they represent the almost complete fusion of a number of beings in one. Following the practice of the great majority of the Bulla Coola, the supreme deity will be referred to as *Myoomin*.

The most obvious attribute of *Myoomin* is connected with the sun. He can enter it and use it as if it were his canoe. To have he committed a sun, and when he takes charge of the sun it appears as if the latter were a large, self-propelling vehicle boat with windows through which he looks forth. It is said that long ago he allowed sunk to take charge of the sun, but the malicious animal ran it so close to earth thereby nearly have killed almost all living creatures. When *Myoomin* wants the sun he wears a cloak, on the lining of which are salmon, covering this means the sun so earth to turn with salmon.

[illegible]

Whales, too, are sometimes observed in the rivers, but though they appear to resemble those of the ocean they are really their supernatural prototypes.

These human-like dwellers beneath the water can, as in this case, cause death, but they are usually regarded as unfriendly rather than dangerous. But there is one unknown being which the Bella Coola regard with unmixed awe, he is *Kwaxsenx* (see Plate 10), but of his supernatural one beneath the waves, or *Hamatsa* is but of those dwelling above. He lives in an enormous house under the sea which he fills, he eats nothing, and he completely lives that home. The Bella Coola believe that these beings are who human form at will,[1] and assume that their behaviour in *Kwaxsenx's* dwelling corresponds to that of human beings in the house of a worthy chief. In the beginning of time, when men were more powerful than in recent years, this house sometimes rose to the surface of the water and adventurous Bella Coola entered it on various occasions, hoping to their descendants who of the wonders it contained. These accounts have become family myths and are described with others of similar type in Chap. vi, vol. ii. Records of this kind vary greatly in detail, in fact, the agreement lies in broad outline. Sometimes it is stated that footmarks of the sea appear in *Kwaxsenx's* house in the Bella, other myths describe paintings of sea creatures around the walls and the manner in which these are brought to life by *Kwaxsenx*. Irrespective of the exact details, it is clear that he is chief of the unknown beings who serve him and hunt for him, the Bella Bella being especially proficient in this respect. *Kwaxsenx* exerts any right to his protégés and punishes any mortal who is unkind to them.

[1] Such Bella Coola manners concerning the transformation of sea and animals will be described in the sea series of the chapter.

been frightened on any time but rightful increased their fears. Their dogs heard the sound and howled in dread. The women threw on their few sacred white blankets, but only part of them, and some dry salmon, which all superstitious beings eldest. Then she and her husband fled home, moving backwards and forwards and disappointed about in all directions. The little dog was fellow them, but they considered themselves fortunate to reach Bella Coola considered.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural beings you described are fairly exact. They know their appearance, when to expect, and what to do if one is encountered. In addition to these, they assume the existence of numerous of indefinite form which they term cmoq. Any supernatural creature, a talend for example, is spoken of as a cmoq in general, not specific, classification. Consequently, when one Bella Coola may describe as a cmoq is given a distinctive name by someone else with wider knowledge. So far as could be learnt, there is no designation other than cmoq for creatures which move from the cmoq to hyell so that the cmoq for salmon, and spend the summer in the lakes of the interior, or beneath the ice of glaciers. They can assume various forms, sometimes cmoq human, though they usually appear as giant, hairless, bear-like creatures with short legs and brown skin. Their eyes are large, round, and glassy-like. In whatever form these cmoq may appear, they are always certain to bring disaster to the beholder. One of the haunts of cmoq is beneath the glacier on Mount Qimsqa, behind the small mountain which rises behind Kimsquit, on the south side of the Bella Coola River about half a mile from the sea. It is said that only a few years ago a white man, having heard of these creatures, went to that place with a number of Bella Coola. All the latter were able to hear the roaring of the beasts louder than the whistle of a steamer, but the white man scoured and so it, though the power of the cmoq had affected him, for he died on the way back to the village.

Other cmoq are said to live near Kimsquit. The father of

[illegible] cousin's crest to the question replied that his *crest* was the Raven. In Kitkata was a Raven man, too, and to the cousin's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his stay in Vancouver. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience and added that though he was quite willing to accept favors of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It is to be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of totemism.

Animal crests are not objects of religious veneration, nor do they have any importance in the realm of social life. The personal crest serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or on a painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a design is impressed with the glories of the family history of the owner to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but is delineated as a measure of family history. For that reason a man is often tattooed[*] with his crest, that derived from his father's first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left, and is owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow. After the death of a chief a memorial post is erected near his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to bind observers not only of the deceased, but of his family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

[*] [illegible]

[illegible] to understand the attitude of the Bulu Caste to the sexual act itself. Although it is a normal part of life (for no one would voluntarily abstain from all contact) yet the union of man and woman does not lack impact, since in very humanness distinguishes those who practice it in the eyes of supernatural beings, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic. Those who indulge excessively become so over-charged with this characteristic that their undertakings are certain to fail, whereas those who remain continent for a considerable period are so freed from the corruption of material that they become almost supernatural themselves and always succeed in their ventures. If, after a period of restraint, a man holds intercourse, his materially human act adds typical human strength to that accumulated by chastity. Chastity alone gives power, but chastity consummated by intercourse at the proper period increases that power enormously. This somewhat complicated belief is accepted without question by every Bulu Caste, playing an important part in their lives, even in their present degraded condition. The following story illustrates the point rather clearly:

A party of Kingsmen Isle people had been present at a ceremonial at Smith Isle. While returning home, one canoe, containing a chief, his wife, and eighteen or twenty commoners, was caught by an unexpected south wind and driven on the rocky isle, Ono-ahuka, where the lighthouse now stands. The occupants managed to reach shore and to save their canoe. The chief was heavy, but they made a rude shelter of boughs in which they lived while the storm continued. Every day the chief sent out the young men to hunt food, and every day they returned empty-handed. The little food they had left them on landing was soon exhausted and they were starving. One night, when they were almost famished, the chief said to his wife:

"The youths have done their best. Now that death is before us I want to create a kindly feeling. I am going out, probably to die during the night, and I want you to allow each young man to sleep with you. It is a strange request for our condition to succeed, but the story of your shame will never be known, because we shall soon all be dead."

The wife acquiesced. The chief then told one of the young commoners to lie with her, and afterwards to call a councils to do likewise,

[illegible] who, in turn, would pass on the request to their to might each each member of the party. This only is necessary to secure for a commoner to hold intercourse with a chief's wife, but is to enhance for a man to sit another to deep with his wife, as the result was surprised and rather frightened. Moreover, he acceded to the request, passed on the intercourse, and realized. So he was looking a and appeared to the surfaces, and he was able to kill it easily. Such to was followed in the same manner, realized, and then killed a and. Then morning when the chief returned to was delighted that all had turned out in accordance with his hopes. In the same time the wind dropped so that the party was able to return home.

The power which had brought the such within reach of the man had been augmented in their own bodies by these ritual acts after a rather lengthy period of continence. The Bella Coola believe that such a procedure always increases their strength and ability, therefore giving them a better chance to gain favour from supernatural beings, and to take advantage of opportunities offered. Shamans in particular are careful with regard to their marital life since animals know their acts and thoughts, and hide from one who has not made himself "clean" by continence, by mortification, and bathing. Some combine of these three elements, but since continence is the most prominent feature, the term may be considered as "ceremonial chastity."

In its simplest form this consists merely the three elements already mentioned. The longer the continence, the greater the power augmented by its mortification. A man who has practised abstinence for a year has such strength within himself that almost any good fortune may occur, and cases are known in which it has been carried out for even longer periods. More often, an individual practises ceremonial chastity in accordance with a family tradition. One old man gave the following recipe and was most emphatic that it always brought success in hunting and fishing. He added that on the two occasions he had tried it, he had brought back a phenomenal number of skins.

A person planning to set out on an expedition for any pur-

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and the village constitutes a unit for all [illegible]. In fact the economical unity is its most important function.

With the exception of a few villages built on the southern, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many cases have piles beneath their front walls, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies, before the smallpox epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses, anyone may build where there is a vacant space. Much the same arrangement occurs in the one-room villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an seven fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, often with a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side walls are raised the partitions, forming bedplaces for the old Green families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The number of families occupying a house depends on its size, on importance (had with many relatives, often built on commons house which is occupied by one or more families, smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open, people are constantly passing to and fro, and only when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with carved upright posts and painting on the house and back wall. A door through the back wall to the back room, an important [illegible].

of the father or the mother. In June, 1911, a Bella Coola girl had reached the age of about six months without having received a name. There was much adverse criticism about the parsimony of her father's father and her mother's father, who were both equally to blame, but who had ably been deterred by fear of the law prohibiting the potlatch.

In a child grown older he is helped in the performance of ceremonial rites by his parents and by his brothers and sisters. In this way, it is considered a sign of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his original family, he has an instinctive inclination to favouring the children of their a brother or sister, since, like his own, they are all children of the same ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit, it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children, and there is very little of knowledge of the real father, but rather a mark of respect and family feeling displayed by a man to his sisters. Moreover, in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is more improper for a name which a man has won to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much goods, to passed to his own son, it should go to a sister's sister. When a father maintains a name for his child it should have long dormant.

One aspect of the manner in which Atlantic merges imperceptibly into the ancestral family can be seen in the inheritance of names. When a man with his wives together to make his will he is guided in the choice of successors by the characteristics of the children. He will on receiving much from his father, but very children are dismal without hereditary. This is particularly true of men with which are bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whose, as previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the ignorance depends

[Accordingly, a [illegible] Bella Coola [illegible] Bella Bella [illegible] the children of the father [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] Bella Bella children. [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] the

[illegible] years earlier. It appears that attempts were commonly made to kill chiefs by means of sympathetic magic, and it is quite possible that such attempts, becoming known, preyed upon the minds of the victims to such an extent that death resulted.

WEALTH

Since wealth is so important in chieftainship, it would be desirable at this point to consider the concept of wealth. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a satisfactory treatment of this subject. The coming of the white man altered the economic aspects of Bella Coola life so radically, and at such an early period, that concrete examples of economic interpretations, so useful in a thorough study, could not be obtained in the field. It is possible that greater attention to this subject might have produced more satisfactory results, but I am doubtful of this.

In the old days, "wealth" was of two categories: (a) Prerogatives, tangible or intangible, which could be shown, personally or dramatically, or could be expounded in words; and (b) Goods which could be distributed for validating such prerogatives. Individual possessions, unused for distribution, were hardly considered as wealth; a sewing-machine, a bottle of whiskey, a bed, or some other luxury might give satisfaction to the owner, but did not increase his importance in the eyes of his fellows. The value of objects was only for their use in ceremonial distribution; indeed, prior to such distribution, they were only of potential value. This attitude controlled Bella Coola economics in the early days of contact, and still influences their behaviour. A native would hardly care to be fully concerned on the fact that he would gain no advantage from the goods on his shelves, since he hoped merely to sell them, not to give them away.

A man's relatives were expected to help him in the acquisition of goods, but the extent of their contributions was never

[illegible] THE BELLA COOLA SYSTEM

[illegible] unmodified. Boys and girls helped their parents, and there was no definite age at which they ceased to do so. The finality of the Bella Coola system was contrary to any contribution. The more important a chief became, the more did he receive from dependent relatives, but the more did they expect in the way of "return presents." It was advantageous to be generous, within the family circle as well as without, since life was so public that every transaction even of a "private" nature, was well known. Unquestionably, a greedy and strong-minded individual must frequently have taken advantage of help from his housemates, but there was no strict code of ethics to expect of this. In brief, it may be said that the acquisition of wealth was an unmodified, individual, matter; its distribution was likewise according to individual volition, although within a rigidly defined ethical pattern.

Sacred Sources

The ancestral names that chiefs desire to raise to a position of eminence are usually embedded in myths dealing with the first settlement of the earth, names which belong, as has been stated, to the ancestral family. Many of these traditions record other designations as well, each of which carries with it the prerogative of performing a type of dance known as *ceremonial*. These will be spoken of, henceforth, as *sacred* names. The Bella Coola do not know the meaning of this term. These names, like ancestral ones, are the potential property of members of the ancestral family, but can only be assumed when duly validated by presents. Such an assumption follows a period of seclusion in the back-room of the house. Both men and women are eligible. A person may be secluded in this way a number of times, acquiring a new *sacred* name on each occasion, but as presents must be distributed every time, it follows that only the children or relatives of wealthy chiefs can be so favoured. It is desirable to have the bestowal of a *sacred* name occur at a potlatch, since guests from foreign tribes are then

[illegible] THE [illegible] CIRCLE [illegible]

Although guests from different villas are sometimes invited to other communities, it is an patlatchan that they are essential. Since the validity of such connections as marriages, divorces, or the assumption of professional prerogatives depends on the presence of witnesses, and since the importance of such a rite depends on the number of witnesses, a man is always eager to carry out any public performance of a patlatch when he is aware of the attention of foreigners, and the consequent wide diffusion of knowledge of what he has done. The man who has invited guests is usually willing to allow others to perform at his patlatch, since it increases the complexity and importance of the affair. It follows that no two patlatches are alike, one will contain features entirely lacking in another. Moreover, the wealth of the donor determines how many rites he himself will cause to be performed. The fundamental concept of the patlatch is the inviting of guests from abroad to witness rites in connection with an invented myth, especially the return of a recently deceased relative of the donor to visit the living.

In any important patlatch the following rites are carried out, and in the account of the ritual it will be assumed that these rites are taking place. If the reader bears this summary in mind, he is less likely to be confused by the complication of rites.

(1) The return of a dead ancestor to visit the living.

(2) The initiation of young men or women into the ruled society. This includes the validation of a ruled name for each, and a period of seclusion in the back-room. The initiates may either be relatives of the donor of the patlatch, or young persons whose relatives are taking the opportunity to carry out the rite in the presence of foreigners. Some of the initiates may already be members of the society, undergoing a further period of seclusion in order to increase their status by a further distribution of presents.

(3) The payment by the wife of the donor and her family of goods to "release" her from her husband. This is a legal fiction, though necessary to maintain the status of the children.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ing to several companions and others who had helped X [illegible] for his potlatch, but in Bella Coola this was usually done following night.

Now comes what the Bella Coola regard as the most [illegible] part feature of the potlatch.[illegible] The singers strike up one [illegible] songs of a secret nature, perhaps a song chosen for his [illegible] acting. As he dances, shut in his ceremonial curtain [illegible] hand drum, whistling is heard without the house. A masked [illegible] are making the noise and then suddenly is as if [illegible] appears to drop round and round. This is effected either [illegible] whistles of different size or by blowing harder. The [illegible] rushes out of the house. The whistling continues in a [illegible] short bursts, as if a conversation were being carried on [illegible] of language. The masked [illegible] returns, and the audience [illegible] by the mystery of the affair, leaves to his explanation.

"It is so and so," he announces, using the ancestral [illegible] of one of X's deceased relatives. "The ones has come not [illegible] to see (or whatever relation X may be to him) a visit, or bring him to."

While he speaks, continuous whistling is heard from [illegible], but when he leaves the house it once more takes [illegible] form of a dialogue. Suddenly he returns, followed by a [illegible] figure in the centre of a group of members of the secret [illegible] If the deceased's first ancestor had been an eagle, he [illegible] The figure will appear—an eagle mask on his head, [illegible] whole body, except perhaps the feet, covered by a large [illegible] thickly covered with eagle down and furnished with [illegible] wooden wings. The dancer is usually entirely [illegible] costumed, but he is guided by a number of the secret [illegible] presence is attributed to the necessity for guarding and [illegible] honour to the supernatural visitor. Among those who [illegible] there is always a man with a whistle, the [illegible] which simulates the cry of an eagle, and this is [illegible] ancestor. The actor bends in imitation of a bird and [illegible] himself, lifting his head and opening the movable beak [illegible]

[illegible] by

means of a hidden string, while the whistle sounds. Then he 556*
steps down and hops a few steps eagle fashion. Slowly, with 769
pauses and turnings around, the figure circles the fire and
retires through the front door, always attended by a number 535
of masked. The actor displays considerable dramatic ability, 575
and the performance is striking effective in the large, plank-
built house, illumined only by a smoky central fire which [532]
casts flickering shadows over the intently watching audience.
The dogs, alone uninpressed by the solemnity of the occasion,
skulk to and fro.

If a whale is represented, a large wooden frame-work is [592]
carried by several men who walk inside of it. Raven, bear, or
other animals may also be used, according to the ancestral
myth of the deceased. Some of the first people came to this
earth as men, but there have always been a sufficient number
of intermarriages to permit everyone to portray some bird or
beast, obtained from the family into which an ancestor mar-
ried. A supernatural object claimed to have been seen by a
forefather can also be used on these occasions. In some cases
a composite figure is used. Such may have the head of an [532]
eagle, a killer whale projecting from the back, and a raven on
its chest. In such a case these three creatures have been
connected with the ancestry of the deceased, and his spirit is
believed to have assumed these forms. Great individual choice [14]
is allowed in such matters.

If several of X's deceased relatives are being commem-
orated, the sound of whistling is again heard from without, a
short time after the departure of the first masked figure. A
senior named goes out, and the same ritual is repeated. This
time the masked actor represents some other bird or animal.
Thus, or in some cases four, dead people are thus shown,
though one is more customary. The actual management of
the figures is left to the direction of the carpenters who have
made them. Often a foreign workman is employed, as a mark
of respect for his skill. In spite of all precautions there are
often delays about the final preparations, especially with regard

want to give valuable presents, but he need not give any. It is a deep disgrace to any man to be unable to return these presents. Nothing is said, nor does the donor take active steps to receive his returns, but the influence of the recipient perceptibly wanes. It is expected that a heavier rate of interest will be paid on presents received many years before repayment, but again this is a matter of individual volition. The debts of a man who dies while owing for goods received at potlatches are scrupulously discharged by his family. If they fail to do so, their own influence is lessened. 426 556* 558

One method of reducing the value of an investment present can be used by a man who feels unable to repay a large gift. The uncle of an elderly Bella Coola was once guest at a Kimsquit potlatch, where he received, as an investment present, a few large canoe and two hundred blankets. Not wishing to incur so large a liability he at once returned fifty of the blankets to his host for distribution among the guests. Consequently, he was expected to make return for only one hundred and fifty blankets, with whatever interest he desired. This action tended to lower his prestige, since it acknowledged his inability or unwillingness to repay his present. The chief in question, being firmly established in his chiefly status, did not fear to do this, though one of lesser rank would have hesitated to confess his inferiority.

It is on the value of the goods distributed in these three types of presentation; namely, recompense for work done, repayment of debts, and investment presents, that the importance of the potlatch, and consequently of X himself, is virtually judged. These distributions of presents are for the potlatch as a whole, including the return of the dead and the intangible prestige of X; the donations which follow are to validate specific transactions which can be omitted. In one or two families the whole course of the potlatch is changed, since the members have the prerogative of distributing their presents outside the house. In such a case the giving is done during the day instead of at night. Details of this ritual, 426 556* [184 424]

552 [420] [184] [424] which is said to have come as a prerogative obtained through marriage with a Kwakiutl woman, were not obtained.

After the distribution of investment presents comes the strengthening of X's seat.

His wife, aided by members of her family, has placed the necessary goods in readiness, though it is pretended they merely happen to be on hand. A herald takes his place near [208] the door, and another behind the fire. Beside the latter stands a chief, attired in a wood head-dress, who represents X. One of the heralds calls on this substitute to come forward, as if he were just entering the house, and shouts:

"There is no place for him to sit!"

Then he turns to X's wife, saying:

"See if you have not a few tribes in your room to strengthen him."

[192] The word for "strengthen" is *wkdsata*, or *gkdsdstata*, which means, "shoring up," as if X were wobbling on his chief-like base. The words have the other significance of "clothing." They represent the ethereal dignity wherewith a chief is garbed.

X's wife goes to her room, or to the place in the house where the goods are stored, and brings forth a large assortment of valuables, which are piled in a convenient spot. The substitute who is representing X then places himself in the latter's seat, which is to be made more solid by these goods. X's wife may tell the herald that they have still more goods for him, and in that case he calls out:

"His seat is too hard. Have you no soft cloths for it?"

The wife brings forward more goods to make her husband's seat more comfortable. The herald, who has been chosen for [209] his fluency, uses his originality in what he calls for from the wife; soft cloths for the seat is merely an example. In some cases, many presents are given; at other times, if the wife and her family be poor, there are few and of little worth. It is not essential that foreign guests witness the establishment or strengthening of a seat, though their presence means that X's

1:96:Haeckh E-5 (1922-1924)948
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use his own discretion as to the design. At the top he always places the bird or animal cloak in which his first ancestor, traced patrilineally, came to this earth. Beneath this is the cloak of his mother's first ancestor if it differs from his father's. There are no fixed rules for other representations. Sometimes a man wishes to display the cloaks of the first ancestors of his wife, or wives; more often, the designs are of creatures with which his own ancestors came in contact after reaching this earth.[1] One of the first settlers, *Smawa* (I, p. 331), married a Bella Bella woman from whom he obtained a ceremony connected with a whale, an animal which has often been used on the totem-poles of his descendants. The lower figures on totem-poles often represent creatures from which a recent ancestor of the chief obtained supernatural assistance. Consequently, the number of designs which may be used is legion, and the order of portrayal is immaterial. Moreover, Bella Coola art is not sufficiently realistic for designs to be easily recognized, nor is there standard conventionalization of little used animals; so it follows that the designs on totem-poles are often unidentifiable.[2] This is of little consequence, since their value rests neither upon the artistic skill exhibited, nor even upon their significance in connection with the owner's ancestral myth, but upon the goods expended to validate the display.

All Bella Coola totem-poles are carved from the trunks of huge cedars, with the wood cut away so that the designs stand out in high relief. The carvers are allowed great latitude both in choice of form and colouring, hence there is wide variation

[1] *Ahamaskin* is the term applied to animals with which ancestors came in contact, other than their cloaks.

[2] The statement represents the layman's point of view, that is, of the Bella Coola who was not himself a carpenter-sculptor. It is probable that an expert would have greater facility in recognizing the conventionalized forms used by his ancestors, although the whole pattern of Bella Coola culture was opposed to extreme standardization. Unfortunately, wood-carving, in fact art work of every kind, had degenerated to such an extent that only one man with any recognized skill in that respect was still living when this study was made. He was both unreliable and uncooperative, so that it was impossible even to collect examples of his work, still less to record his interpretations of the designs of masks or other objects carved by his predecessors.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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211 in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at
*556 the front door of the house with an opening at its base through
978 which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be solid
582 and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice in
either case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral
[184] myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ancestral cloaks by means of paintings on the front wall of his house, or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, if such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief entitled to display a totem-pole may choose to use only paintings. If he validates these by presents, they give him the same dignity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cannot validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola poles are only about fifteen to twenty feet in height, and though
[171] it is possible that a few families had prerogatives entitling them to construct lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is unlikely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand before the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even none at
[764] all. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 461). Otherwise it remains standing until some other occupant of the house wishes to erect another in its place, when the first is pulled down and neglected.

Coppers

*556 The Bella Coola use coppers for only two purposes: casting
[969] on the ground upon which the representation of a deceased relative had trodden, or throwing into the fire when the figure has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make bone for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when a copper is employed is so important that to obtain one and increase its value is a vital consideration for every chief.

[177 Most of the coppers now used by the Bella Coola are made
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1:McIlwraith X-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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224 THE PROFESSION OF HUNTER

424 Another profession which is entered by means of an ancestral prerogative is that of hunting. Many Bella Coola have [463] validated their right to this vocation, some by confirming names created by their early ancestors, others by legalizing those brought down from above in the beginning of time. [551] One of the latter is *Lelaimkila*, "The Brusher Off," so-called because the owner is such a successful hunter that he can sweep mountain goats from the mountains as easily as an ordinary person can brush insects from a wall. Unlike the professions of carpenter and singer, it is believed that legalization of a hunter's name always brings success to the holder; perhaps because everyone is more or less successful, it follows [555] that whatever good fortune is achieved by a professional hunter [556] can be attributed to the validation of his prerogative. Others, lacking this assistance, may be proficient, but their success never carries with it the social prestige gained by a man who has distributed goods to substantiate the prerogative.

224 There is a difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as 424 to whether or not certain hunting methods are inheritable pre- 184 rogatives. With the introduction of rifles, these have long [177] been discontinued, and no definite information was obtained regarding the social position of their users. Several of the older men believed that the contrivances depended upon ancestral prerogatives, whereas others stated that they were merely individual discoveries which could have been, and in many cases were, imitated by anyone. It seems probable that most of the following practices are prerogatives, although it may be that they are no more than special hunting devices suitable only in certain areas and, therefore, limited to the members of the ancestral family owning that particular locality.

223 The method about which the most definite information was 424 obtained, was one formerly employed by a certain *Nusyalyiq* to catch geese at *Tāl·io*. According to one elderly Bella Coola,

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expenditure though he must forgo the prestige enjoyed by a man who has been able to elevate his professional names in a lavish manner. Selection is a constant factor in the social life of a Bella Coola; the man who uses all his wealth to acquire a firm seat cannot be "strong" in *sisaek* matters; the man who desires to specialize in *bacior* affairs cannot afford to display an elaborate totem-pole. Amid these conflicting desires, it often happens that a man somewhat neglects his professional prerogatives, especially those of which the dignity has been slightly lessened through superior skill shown by individuals endowed with no more than native ability. Upstarts of this kind have always infringed upon professional dignity, and the coming of the white man has added a new factor which has almost destroyed vocational prerogatives.

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A'alk Dances

The most important, as well as the most spectacular, dances that occur at potlatches are those given by members of the *sisaek* society. In addition to these, a feature of many potlatches is the performance of *a'alk* dances.[1] As already mentioned, from 1870 onwards there have been many changes in *sisaek* ritual; new elements have been acquired by the marriages of Bella Coola to members of the coastal tribes, with the result that details of procedure vary at every ceremony according to the prerogatives of the donor. Since 1910, the influence of white civilization has increased to such an extent that *sisaek* ceremonials have virtually been abandoned. This took place at a time when the ritual was in transition, a state of affairs which rendered difficult the collection of coherent information. *A'alk* dances are associated with *sisaek*, but the addition of new features to the latter was accompanied by a decay of the former. Both societies have now almost ceased to exist, but whereas the *sisaek* organization was abandoned during a period of change and accretion, that

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[184]
[796]
[128]

[1] Called *o'alpas* in Kitsequit.

holder of the potlatch, may wish to confirm a prerogative and requests the donor to allow this to take place at his ceremony. Permission is never refused, since the more incidental eyes, the greater is the prestige of the whole. The young man on whom the name is to be conferred is always told what is planned for him, and his relatives instruct him what to do. 556 575

As the time for the potlatch drows near, the donor requests the singers to prepare an *a'alk* song for the youth. The donor always deals with some incident of his ancestral story with which the singers are already familiar. If a number of youths are to be made *a'alk*, a song must be composed for each. The carpenters are also requested to make for the initiate one, or sometimes two, masks representing a supernatural being, either human or animal, connected with the myth in which occurs the *a'alk* name about to be conferred. The design is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family concerned; it is usually, though not necessarily, the same as that employed by the last incumbent of the name. If the designation about to be conferred is one which came down from above in the beginning of time, the mask usually represents the guise adopted by the first user of the name; if the prerogative were obtained on earth, it portrays the being from whom the right was received. These arrangements are made in secret, and are known only to the craftsmen, the donor of the potlatch, and his family. [533] 532 556 575

On the night of *ôkstum*, when the work for the potlatch is allotted, the youth who is to be made an *a'alk* is confined within the back-room of the house, presumably in company with the *nuxnê* initiates, though there is ambiguity on this point. After the general arrangements have been made, an elderly *a'alk* whose aid has been requested, suddenly rushes from the house as if he had heard some noise. One of the *sîsî*, or an influential chief, makes some allegedly witty remark as to why he has gone out, and then follows, taking with him the dance head-dress belonging to the *a'alk*. This is identical with the type worn by *nuxnê*, one of the many points of resemblance 556 575 184 536

between the two societies. Presently the elderly a'alt returns, clad in his ceremonial costume consisting of the headgear, a blanket, and a narrow apron from which long deer leaves, small pieces of copper, or other jingling articles. The singers strike up his song, and he dances near the fire in a manner depending upon which of the four dances he has the right to perform. Again the a'alt leaves the house; when he returns he announces that a *ratsiwam* is coming with a song for the youth, naming the one who is to be made an a'alt. A moment passes, and in walks a masked figure depicting the form taken by the first ancestor of the novice, or the being from which one of his lower forefathers received an a'alt prerogative. Sometimes two of these beings appear. The apparition circles the fire, stops beside the singers, and chants a song to them in a low voice. Then it enters the back-room and is seen no more. Presently the singers strike up the song they have just heard. To those who are neither a'alt nor *nuxat* it seems that the song was brought by the supernatural visitor; in reality, it is the one previously composed by the singers and taught by them to the wearer of the mask to lend realism to the performance. The youth concealed within the back-room does not emerge on this occasion, the song is merely sung in practice. Sometimes the masked figure appears during the daytime and walks openly along the shore of the river like a foreign guest, as indeed it is said to be.

The coming of a *ratsiwam* is one of the points of resemblance between a'alt and *nuxat* rites. The older people agree that this has long been a feature of the former society, adopted by the latter in recent years. The description given in this section appears to be of the original and proper use, although, as already noted, the *nuxat* have recently employed *ratsiwam* for somewhat different purposes.

It is uncertain whether or not the a'alt novice remains secluded any longer within the back-room. In ancient times he probably did, but with the recent growth of the *nuxat*

the same manner the fourth speaker outlines a myth belonging to the uncovered family of X's mother, again with emphasis on the dances used by her ancestors. X, as a member of both uncovered families, can continue his rights from both sides, but it is customary for him to use no more than five or six personas. Should X have no claim to this privilege from either mother or father, an almost unthinkable situation, he is still to borrow the prerogative of using masks from friends. The sentiment on which this custom of myths is based is the one so often mentioned, it marks the close relationship between the future children and their noble ancestors of old, a source of strength to the former.

X's father now names those whom he wishes to assist him on the following day. These are the dancers, who are chosen primarily for their skill in dancing, and secondarily in accordance with their rank. With them he selects a number of persons to stand near and help or "cherish" them as they perform. He also asks the services of some of the women who are professional dancers; of the keeper of the marriage song of his uncovered family; and, finally, of a number of men to act near the singers and assist them with suggestions. It would be most exceptional for anyone so called upon to decline the honour. It is now morning by this time and the guests depart.

On the following morning, the actual wedding day, X's father calls to his house those selected the previous evening as dancers and their assistants. The former wear blankets decorated with small copper ornaments[1] and carry circular wooden rattles provided with handles. Their clothing and rattles may be their own, but if they do not possess suitable attire, it is incumbent on X's father to provide them. Skins are piled up within the house, and some of these are said to "make soft the

[1] On the primary view there is uncertainty as to the proper clothing of a marriage dancer. Several informants stated that it was a copper-decorated blanket, whereas others said that there was no special attire, one man claimed that an attempt was made to imitate the form and costumes of X's first ancestors, and another that naked costume was used. Probably there was no uniformity in custom.

[illegible] above, yet this is believed to have occurred on one occasion to the daughter of a chief.

[illegible] Once, very hundred years ago, the daughter of a Bella Coola chief was married to the son of Tsutsumun, a Bella Bella chief, living at [illegible]. At the marriage, in Bella Coola, valuable presents were given by both families, as the girl was to live in Bella Bella with her husband. Some [illegible] later, Tsutsumun gave a large potlatch to which he had invited guests from all parts of the coast. As is duty bound, his daughter-in-law's relatives gave a certain amount of goods to relay her. They were not wealthy, so that the contribution was of small value. Tsutsumun had expected a larger present, and now found himself unable even to repay his obligations to those who had assembled. He did not immediately show his resentment, but soon afterwards sold his daughter-in-law as slave to a Gitbatla chief. The Bella Coola were justly indignant, but could not make up their minds what to do in such an unprecedented case. The girl cleverly escaped and made her way home after lengthy wanderings (1, p. 310).

[illegible] A husband demands faithfulness on the part of his wife, though he himself is often rather lax. Illicit intercourse is regarded not as a deadly sin, but as an infringement of the husband's prerogatives. But if a woman should bear a child at a time when it was impossible for the husband to have been the father, due to absence, he would probably accept it as his own and do no more than administer a beating, though some jealous men would divorce a wife for this. Bella Coola sentiment on such matters varies with the individual; it is universally considered to be a matter that concerns the husband alone and he can do as he thinks fit. The daughters of chiefs are usually faithful to their husbands, whereas those of poorer persons, unrestrained by the valuables expended at their marriages, are more lax. If the husband should catch an adulterer, he can, if bold, slay him on the spot and the exaction of blood revenge would be uncalled for. Usually a fight ends the matter, though the offender's family may give presents to the aggrieved husband, and his wife's relatives may also make donations to atone for their daughter's failings. A husband does not share his wife with anyone, and a question as to the lending of a wife

husband upon with contempt by her family, was yet determined that nothing she had done should ruin her children's chances in life. Accordingly she demand $300 to her husband to enjoy herself. Marriage is accepted as a matter of course, but to be many times repurchased is the goal of every ambitious woman. In Tibet the custom prevails of depicting on the walls the number of coppers paid for repurchasing a wife. Thus her fame is displayed to all.

It is somewhat difficult for a white man to realize what a privilege the family of a wife considers it to repurchase her from her husband. If the latter is unwilling to give a potlatch, his relations-in-law may urge him to do so, and if he still declines to save himself they take the drastic step of inviting their fellow-villagers to assemble in his house where, with these guests as witnesses, the wife's relations give presents to her husband and his relations. They may make this presentation at any gathering where they are assured of a large audience. In so doing the donors have demonstrated their proper sentiments, in spite of the interests of the husband.

The assurance which the relatives of a wife have given her husband is a matter about which they can boast for the rest of their lives, a fact impressed upon the writer by listening to a quarrel between two Bella Coola men. One of them owned a horse and waggon which the other had hired to move some goods. The latter became very angry, claiming that the former had overcharged him and must be poor and greedy to be so eager to acquire money. The teamster, thus deeply insulted, silenced the other man by reminding him that the only reason he was wealthy was by means of the goods used to repurchase his, the teamster's, sister from her husband, brother of the man with whom he was disputing. To the observer the dispute was made more interesting by the fact that both the husband and wife had been dead for at least fifteen years, but their families had not ceased to remember the financial obligations connected with the marriage.

[illegible] but some if unaware of the fact, then realize that some supernatural, invisible visitor has arrived.

Thevitis go from house to house, and sometimes to adjacent villages as well,[1] inviting the people to pay a farewell visit to the dead man who will soon leave them. In this invitation the *nawal* name of the deceased is used. The guests assemble as one, irrespective of their rank or membership in the *nawal* society. To mark their grief, female relatives pull out tufts of their hair, and both men and women of the immediate family [illegible] their hair shave. The body, either in its coffin or covered with blankets, is placed between the central fire and the back-room, immediately behind the place where the singers take their stations. When all are present, a man or other near relative who is also a fluent speaker, stands up and expounds how the Chief, meaning *Mahdvila*, has come to visit the dead man, and how all should try to understand the song he has brought.[2] A hidden *nawal* has been blowing a whistle intermittently, and the singers pretend to be able to understand words of a song in its notes. In reality they have prepared in advance the new one which they now beat out, accompanied by their voices. The theme either describes the coming of the supernatural visitor, or recounts the number of protection given by the deceased, and the manner in which these will make smooth the path whither he is going in the same way that distributed goods validate a chief's seat in this world. This song is practised and improved upon until the humming of the whistle as if the singers were constantly gaining new ideas and embellishments from the words of the supernatural visitor. Sometimes a few incidents are added from the *nawal* myth. After several repetitions, a relative of the dead man asks the singers to beat out the latter's *nawal* songs, as many of them as are remembered from the time he was first initiated into the so-

[1] The Bala Bala are said to invite foreign guests to this ceremony.

[2] Sometimes the people are present when the coming of *Mahdvila*, heralded by whistling and a drumming on the roof, takes place. There are variations in this, as in all other *nawal* rites.

with to emphasize the importance of this society, even that the deception was always apparent, and that even the hooks and ropes by which the figure was manipulated could be seen. Still others regard the ceremony as a symbolic means of perceiving the manner in which a man's crest comes to carry away his spirit and life. It seems clear that different interpretations must always have been accepted by different members of the community. A young and ingenuous uninitiated, steeped in the atmosphere of the supernatural, may well have believed that he was gazing upon an actual supernatural being, as the senior could desired him to do; others must have recognized that a deception of some kind was being practiced, but domestication is such an important factor in Bella Coola life that individuals often disregard the difference between semblance and reality, and it is contrary to custom for a person to cast aspersions upon the prerogative of another. It is easy for such as one to accept the drama as a symbol or representation of the manner in which the crest carries off the intangible elements of the dead. This is certainly the attitude of the Bella Coola at the present time. Everyone realizes that the crest is of human manufacture and that the corpse itself is not carried away, but the rite is still performed and gratifies the survivors by giving them an opportunity to display their prerogative and the cleverness of the deceased's ancestor.

Perhaps because of its relatively recent introduction, details of the performance of this rite are not fully standardized. In some cases, the crest is made to appear at the same time as *Mulukila*, instead of at a subsequent ceremony. It is assumed that the origin of the rite is in some ancient myth in which the body was actually taken above by the crest, as not copied, with the aid of carpenters, by the descendants of the person to whom this occurred. There are no myths of this nature current in Bella Coola, although it is thought that such must have been common among the peoples of the outer coast to explain the prevalence of the practice in that area. One old man mentioned that an *Owikl* myth in which a

[illegible] [764] [illegible] family. Confusion is probable only when a chief is removed after he has stored up goods and made preliminary preparations for a potlatch. He may then carry out the rites intended, but designate the occasion a memorial potlatch. [775] Where often, however, the effect is limited to rites associated with the deceased. Consequently, there is mention of the initiation of neophytes into the secret cult societies,* there is an establishment of new seats for young relatives of the dead, and an strengthening of his rank. It must be explained once more that there is no unalterable sequence of prescribed rituals in either potlatch or memorial potlatch. The variations just mentioned are customary, not universal, and often present the ritual of the two ceremonies as identical. Except in these rare occasions when combined in a potlatch, the return of a dead relative is the central feature of both.

[84] [77] In recent years, the great increase in wealth has made it possible for a chief to perform a memorial potlatch even after the death of an unnamed relative. This was rarely the case in former times, but as there was no other means by which relatives were so ardently desired, every expedient was used to obtain the necessary goods. Occasionally, a chief happened to have the needful goods stored up so that he could give a memorial potlatch almost immediately. To such a fortunate individual the term, *yanla*, was applied, a word difficult to translate but combining the significances of *rich*, *ready*, *fortunate*, and *wealthy*.

[790] Memorial potlatches, like those of the ordinary kind, are usually held in the early autumn, though occasionally one may be postponed until after the fishing season. When an intending donor has decided that he owns sufficient goods, he first calls in his fellow-chiefs and makes known his intentions, at the same time expounding in considerable detail the myths which he proposes to use as themes for mourning songs, and for other [535]

*Performance of such rites at a memorial potlatch would be considered sacrilege by the Bella Bella and were always omitted during the period when their influence was important.

A relation is not regarded as an inalienable right, but as a tendency. So generations as months of a family may use one of these names, but the tradition is preserved, and when one is seen to be needed that such form has observed by ancestors of the forenamed one. Instances have occurred in which a person has obtained good luck without the tradition of this being in his family, but they are few. On the other hand, a man may lose the advantage of his association, even if he owns a portion of a *mātsqui* or a *wetsi*, through failure to observe ceremonial chastity.

Some of the Bella Coola believe that the *mātsqui* and the *wetsi* are the same animal, whilings assume these two forms; others that the two are distinct supernatural creatures. In any case the powers and characteristics ascribed to them are the same. Most families have a tradition regarding the appearance of the one or the other to their ancestors, and the information to be derived from them is always about that particular creature. Hence the details here described are probably not all known to any one individual.

The different types of appearances, and the different types of unknown called forth, should be noted. These are due to failure on the part of the Bella Coola to rationalize the non-usual of their concepts. Each man recounts what he believes to have happened to one of his ancestors or friends, irrespective of whether or not the methods used may be in direct contradiction to those employed by someone else on another occasion. A man who has heard of the *mātsqui*, for example, from his father and mother, may describe contradictory means of dealing with the creature, and in each case may affirm that disaster would have followed if the method described had not been carried out. Such lack of co-ordination is typical of the Bella Coola.

According to an elderly Kimsquit man, the *mātsqui* was brought down in the beginning of time by one of his own ancestors, Omqumkilda. It is to this fact that he attributes his own near approach to one on two occasions. As it is fre-

538 In the beginning of time it used to sing

789 "I shall see a space and see where the Bella Coola River has been to bounds on account of the running salmon in it."

825 The people used to laugh as it repeated this song year after year, until the bird changed its song:

856 "I shall see a space and see where all is still and clear. There there

[534] will be Death instead of salmon in Bella Coola."

The next year the streams were so clear that no fish could be caught and the surviving people asked the bird to return to its first song. When it did so, the waters became murky so that it was possible to catch salmon once more.

The Bella Bella, not the Bella Coola, use the body of a blue jay to cause an infant to grow up with the ability to master difficult tunes in the same way that the bird has a variety of notes. The method of applying this medicine could not be learnt.

789 Most of the above medicines are well known and can be applied by any parent. If, however, a man has employed one

856 of them successfully on a number of occasions, he is often requested to use his ability for others. In such a case, the father of the benefited child is expected to reimburse his friend.

[184] The application or non-application of such medicines is purely the concern of the child's family; they can use as many as they like, or none at all, according to their discretion.

The following medicines are used during the first year of life:

304 *To Cause Beauty*

789 Bandages of the softest undyed cedar-bark are prepared for infants of both sexes soon after birth. A woman who is a good

856 artist is requested to draw with charcoal two pictures on one

532 of the pieces of bark—of handsome men if the child is a boy, or of lovely women if a girl. An unmarked wrapping is fastened round the infant's head, then the painted one so arranged that one picture is over the forehead, the other over the occiput, and finally other plain bandages to cover the whole. These

[826] are left in place for about one year. They flatten the forehead

*595 *Alpanim* comes and confers on *Sacrist* mercers with *Sacrisbiain*, his assistant in affairs connected with his functions as leader of the supernatural *Sacrists*.[1] This being acts as announcer and intermediary with *Alpanim*, but himself lacks the power of initiating mercers. The two discuss whether or not it is advisable to allow moral *Sacrists* to perform certain dances of the type known as *Sacrisses* (II, p. 108), and if so, they transmit the necessary power to the earthly dancer who has the proper prerogatives, thus enabling him to give a graphic representation of what is done in the upper land.

*595 This is the essence of the *Sacrist* dances. Each portrays a performance given by one of the supernatural beings in the house above, or some other aspect of his activities. Each earthly dancer has as patron a supernatural being, usually the one who carries out the dance of which his own is a model, and between patron and protégé there exists a relationship by means of which the latter receives the power necessary to perform. To do so, the uninitiated believes that he must receive a *gnat*, which can be translated as "call," from his associate above. Moreover, not only is each patron a supernatural being, but each is guided by *Alpanim* in the performance of the *Sacrist* rites in the land above, which indirectly increases the prestige of the protégé.

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*595 [1] The differences of belief of individual Bella Coola, dependent upon family traditions, is nowhere shown with greater clearness than in this meeting of the leaders of the supernatural dances. It is clear that the Bella Coola have no uniformity of belief, even in what might be regarded as fundamental concepts. One informant, well versed in *Sacrist* mercers, asserted that there are five supernatural leaders, *Alpanim* and his assistants, *Sacrisbiain*, *Sacrisplain*, *Sacrisbiain*, and *Sacrisbiain*. Others were equally emphatic that *Alpanim* is the *Sacrist* name of the supreme deity, and that *Sacrisbiain*, *Sacrisbiain*, and *Sacrisbiain*, are merely other designations for the same deity with regard to different functions. This belief has been followed during the monograph, by designating the supreme deity as *Alpanim*, the name by which he is termed with respect to his *Sacrist* powers. These two opinions are not as basically different as appears at first sight. A man is considered as having two, or more, personalities with respect to different rites at which he is called by different names. Since the supreme deity is regarded as a superman, who functions in diverse manners, it is not difficult to understand how these are sometimes ascribed to different individuals, and sometimes to the one under different names.

[828]

*575 this unfortunately leads them to believe in the powers which
424 they claim. Each *Sacrist* prerogative has had one of these
775 origins:
776
[78] (a) It was brought down by the first people. Before coming to this earth each of them saw in the land above his patron, who instructed him in a type of dance, and told him where his repository on this world would be. It is assumed that the earliest men were in contact with all the supernatural beings before coming to this earth, but it is believed that each was "blind" to the powers of his fellows, and thus had only one.

[79] (b) It was derived from an experience with one of the supernatural beings of this world. In this case the repository was either at a spot indicated by the apparition, or at the actual scene of the vision.

(c) A powerful chief sometimes allowed an ancestral to a *Sacrist* name. It is believed that this occurred comparatively frequently in ancient times when chiefs had semi-supernatural power. In such cases each followed his own inclination in the choice of a patron,[1] and usually made his own repository within his house, giving strength to it by killing and burying a slave there. Although several Bella Coola informants described this, Kimsquit Indians denied that it could ever have taken place. They say that all repositories were long ago dug by *Nawadjynum*, a male supernatural being sent down by *Alquetsim* at the beginning of time to prepare the habitations of *Ana'kwulaisis* and her husband. After doing this, he returned to the land above where he has since resided.

[84]

It will thus be seen that the prerogative of a *Sacrist* is always derived from some experience of an ancestor. In carrying out the rite, the dancer feels that he is continuing the works of his forbears, a factor which increases his desire that neither error nor carelessness on his part shall dim the prestige of the society before the uninitiated. And, further, a man who has spent

*575
778

[1] The Bella Coola cite such actions as proof of the amazing abilities of their ancestors.

The making of the masks is allowed to different *hahaiat*, usually in accordance with the dancer's wishes, although a mandal normally gives out the actual tasks. The dancer, or one of his relatives, bestows presents on each person to whom work is allotted. The evening of *nuxnalitsap* is called *nulimalus*.

The third day is *gulus*. Those to whom mask making has been entrusted assemble early in the dancer's house to start their work. About noon they are provided with a meal, to which other *hahaiat* may be invited. By late afternoon, when most of the work has been accomplished, the ships are carefully swept up and burnt, and the house tidied, ready for the uninitiated who will be invited during the evening. On either this day or the one preceding, a platform, with raised sides, is built behind the fire on which the dancer can conceal himself and where he is supposed to remain during the remainder of the four days. About dusk the *hahaiat* are called in; the singers take their places behind the fire, Cannibals, Breakers, and Scratchers are in one of the back corners, where a screening enclosure may have been constructed for them, and the remainder group themselves without distinction around the walls. In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, one or more of the masks may be displayed, suspended from a sloping pole behind the fire. If the singers think it necessary, they may practise the dancer's two songs once more. Then the uninitiated are called in, taking their places near the doorway. The singers beat out one of the dancer's songs and he dances in time to it, and the same is repeated for his second song. After some delay, which appears to be one of the requisites of every *hahaiat* performance, the singers strike up the songs of either a novice or a *hahaiat*, especially one who has already had a call during the ceremonial season, and the one thus summoned dances to his two songs. Late in the season, when many *hahaiat* have performed, only one song may be used, to prevent the ceremony dragging out to an interminable length, and songs of previous years are omitted. In any case, the ritual lasts for most of the night. When all have danced, the

[Kwakiutl Society Initiation]

*[illegible] struggling to free, to the secret meeting-place. There the
[illegible] chiefs discuss what shall be done with him; some suggest
[illegible] he be killed, others a lesser fate, and finally someone advises
initiation. After apparently due deliberation, this is thus
agreed; the slave is told the mysteries of the society and
warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he is
unwilling of his knowledge. The actual ceremonial the
*[illegible] admission do not vary according to the preliminaries of
[illegible]

Initiation can take place at any time during the
season. After consulting with the marshals in order to
an evening when no other dance is to take place, the relatives
of the neophyte, whom it will be convenient to term X, are
the *Sodaxwa* to their house. Sometimes songs are sung like
of rehearsal, at other times food is distributed at once. As
people are eating, one of the marshals stands up to the
them, saying that X's relatives propose to take him to
repository of the name ———, so that he may become
Sacwa. X, to whom this may be the first intimation, is
from his house and taken from the village by several
kinsmen, with one or more of the marshals. The *Sodaxwa*
parts and tell the uninitiated in the other houses that
gone to meet *Awi'kenulaic*. His companions bear the
with mingled envy and thankfulness that they are not
this dangerous privilege.

[178] In ancient times X and his guides may actually have
crawled to his repository, but for several generations it has
been customary for the party merely to go to some
spot in the woods for the night. Those accompanying
him as much of the ritual of the society as they think fit
forgetting to emphasize the trust put upon him, and the
which will befall him if he should communicate his knowledge.
[187] He is expected to report that he went to the repository
[184] lying face downwards on the ground, he saw *Awi'kenulaic*,
Kimaquit he is supposed also to see her husband.*

[176] *According to one old Bella Coola a sister of *Awi'kenulaic* also
every repository.

[Kwakiutl Society Initiation]

X sometimes receives two prerogatives at his initiation, one from each parent, or from some other interested relative. In this case both are expounded. The singers listen intently, knowing that they will later be called upon to compose songs on the theme, or themes. According to some informants they immediately sing one, as if they had just created it, though it was really prepared in advance. The *kukwiut* listen until they have mastered it.

Helpers now distribute the food provided by X's father, or whoever is responsible for his initiation. At every *kwiut* ceremonial the marshals are the first recipients, then the singers, and finally the others without distinction. As the guests are eating, X's father gives presents to all, without deference to rank. An announcer calls out:

"Here are [for example] ten bear-skins from X's mother. They are to obtain for him his cedar-bark bracelets."

These goods are then distributed. Similarly other gifts from various relatives are handed out for his anklets, his blanket, his collar, his head-dress, and all other parts of his clothing. As each item of his ceremonial costume is validated, X dons the prepared article. A novice's head-dress consists of a round roll of dyed cedar-bark, covering a grass frame; in *Staur* and the other villages of the upper valley this is decorated with a tuft of swan's down. The *kukwiut* of these villages also wear a distinctive decoration consisting of a swan's skin with the feathers attached. In recent years it has been customary to pile all the goods together and distribute them as *ály·ll*, which has the significance of "something that has vanished for the novice's dyed cedar-bark." Theoretically, the aim of the donor is to bestow his presents on all equally, but if he finds that he has some remaining, he gives these to the chiefs, or to the relatives of someone whom he expects will soon be a novice. None of the goods used in general distributions are returnable, but a chief who receives an extra gift at the end usually remembers from whom it was received and cancels his indebtedness at the earliest opportunity. There is no close connection between the disbursements and the worth of the

[The Dance of Noakunim]

903 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 *Smaisw-a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nazqulwaiste* to await the coming of *Alqwaiim*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *sulaxam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noākynum* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[785 times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
[831 eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[787 that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that
[620 this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[776 patron was *Noākynum*, but that the marshals requested him not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noākynum*
575 is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the uninitiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
796 the *kusiut* dances begin.
184

It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village,
424 as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
551 slight variations, if any. In *Tcumstl* the *kusiut* who has the prerogative of seeing *Noākynum* is a certain *Qaxolān-i*,[14] in Kimsquit, *Ałuskinuasam*,[15] and in *Slskistl*, *Xemtnum*. Although,

[14]Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qaxolān-i*, who intimated that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman referred to the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.
115
426
578

[15]Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have signif. ances of this type.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

of his relatives, has given them for this purpose. When he 575*
crouches during the chorus they crowd close around, almost 796*
concealing him. Particularly in those dances fraught with
danger to the performer, it is customary for any number of his 535
friends, either men or women, to dance to "help" him. Anyone wishing to do so merely stands up and begins, in time to the music, irrespective of what part of the house he may be in. [543]
It is considered contrary to good manners for a father so to help his son, or a brother a brother, but a dancer is pleased to have aid from anyone else. It is said that in Bella Bella [171]
certain *kukuxiut* have definite prerogatives of helping in this way, but this is not the case in Bella Coola. Throughout every dance the *kukuxiut* women utter their droning cry. [533]

This, then, is the type of dance which the uninitiated in 575*
the lowest house see. They hear the song, too, and gaze with 796*
awe at X, imbued as he is with the supernatural power of sight. Then the sounding-boards are picked up and taken to the next house, where the whole ceremonial is repeated. This is done at each house of the village.* All the *kukuxiut* now return to X's house, where he once more dances to his song. A box-drum is always used to help the singers in keeping time, and [534]
when the song has been finished two men continue in turn to beat it all day. X always arranges to have a relative or friend superintend the distribution of food, which follows his final [574]
dancing. As the *kukuxiut* are eating, the marshals deliver their usual admonishments, a task that accompanies every meal. Then they call on the people to erect a raised platform between the fire and the back-wall of the house. Materials have been placed in readiness so that it is an easy matter to build a framework a few feet in height, of which the flat top is screened by a matting wall about three feet high. This is often decorated [531]
with designs of dyed cedar-bark without ritual significance as far as the Bella Coola of today are aware. X climbs to this platform, the *kukuxiut* disperse, and only the incessant pounding of the drum proves that some unusual event is taking place.

*In Bella Coola, but perhaps not in Kimsquit.

[184]

* 575 salmon are properly looked after, in fact, he is practically the
* 796 supernatural archetype of the River Guardian. *Imimâtnaix*,
776 "The Mooring," is a supernatural child who stays with the Resident, and whose sole function appears to be the mooring of *Nuâkynum*'s craft. *Dakdakâmem* is sent by *Smaiem-a*, who in this connection appears to have human intelligence, to greet *Nuâkynum*, and with him come *Smaiem-a*'s son, *Atâlmâtnum*,* to assist *Nuâkynum* in poling his craft up the river. All these beings are patrons for different *kukuxiut*. The Resident is also known as *Amtâklis*.

* 575 The *kukuxiut* assemble in X's house as on the previous
* 796 occasions; according to some informants two songs are used
787 on this day, others say only one. The people proceed in the usual manner to the lowest house, and make their way up-
[533] stream. When about half through the village, however, X shrieks out that *Nuwâtlam* has brought a call to him. The woman and the heralds cry out loudly, X hastily returns to his own house, from which the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the *kuxiut* whistles sound from within. *Nuwâtlam* is one of the supernatural beings who has travelled with *Nuâkynum* for the sole purpose of bringing a call to X. If the calendrical
[805] experts have been successful in their reckonings, the November
[821] moon will first be visible on the night of this day. Several of the older men admitted that errors were common, and that sometimes four days more had to elapse, in which it was said that *Nuâkynum* was poling up the river. As he passes, his dancers in the different villages receive their calls on successive nights. It is assumed that he can go by several adjacent
[184] settlements on the same night, but the *kuxiut* season is two or three days shorter in *Snuw* and the upper villages than in *Kumpo-ti*. Exact information on this point was unavailable.
* 575 As already described, *Nuâkynum* travels to *Smaiem-a*, whence
* 796 he leaps to *Nuxpulwaiste* and places his pole within the house.
773 All the supernatural beings crowd in after him to wait for *Alquaxâm*, but as soon as the latter enters, *Nuâkynum* seizes his

*Some informants state that there are four of these beings.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

pole and starts his journey downstream. 575*

Now that X has received his call, the ceremonial continues 796*
for four days more, in a manner typical of *kuxiut* dances. Only [773]
variations from the pattern about to be described will be given in later dance rituals.

X spends the rest of this day on which the call has come 575*
to him, the twenty-fourth of the whole rite, within his house. 796*
In the evening a herald summons the *kukuxiut*, this being the 184
night of *kustómow*. In *Stuax* the call used is: 203*

Shinap Stuaxo, "Cure, ye *Stuax* people," because it is
believed that a call almost kills a *Stuax* person. This is probably true for the people of the other villages of the upper valley, but elsewhere this cry is used only when a novice receives his first call. In the lower valley and at Kimsquit the cry is:

Snapuxuldimut kukuxiut, "Bring light, ye *kukuxiut*."

Care is always taken to use the right expression with refer- 575*
ence to the locality of the dancer's repository, irrespective of 796*
where he may happen to be living.

All the *kukuxiut* are expected to attend, in fact, they are 533
glad to do so, but attendance is compulsory for novices only.
When all have assembled, one of the leading singers takes
command. The coming of his call is supposed to have made [787]
X light-headed, and he must be cured by a frenzied beating of sticks four times repeated. During this X himself remains quiescent. The singers now group themselves into a close circle to compose a song describing the supernatural beings seen by X during the day. As a rule, each man has one or more tunes in his mind which he hums to his associates as he softly beats time. Then another does the same, and this is repeated until unanimity of opinion is reached concerning the most suitable. The leader of the choir fits the proper words to this, assisted by his comrades and perhaps by X himself, or someone well acquainted with his prerogative.* As soon as the singers have finished their work they widen their circle and sing the song loudly so that it can be heard and learnt by all.

*This song, like the one used earlier, is sometimes prepared in advance.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

by X is called. Having dined, the guests depart while the craftsmen continue their labours. Towards dusk the house is cleared up, the chips thrown on the fire and everything made ready. On this night the uninitiated are invited, but there is a wide and important difference in ritual between Bella Coola and Kimsquit. In the former the masks are carefully concealed, whereas in Kimsquit one or two, or sometimes all, are suspended behind the fire by the carpenters. It is exceedingly difficult for an observer to understand why this practice does not at once remove all secrecy from the rite. The explanation appears to lie in the fact that the uninitiated, ignorant of how they have been made, see in these strange objects evidence of the power of the *kukuriat*. In Kimsquit, moreover, members of the society emphasize the fact that the dances are supernaturally endowed representations of what the beings above are doing and performing, and it is only at certain rites that they are actually supposed to be present. One old Bella Coola remembered having heard from his grandfather that long before his time the carpenters used to make the masks in their own houses where the uninitiated could see them; the dancer would come in, wave his arm over the craftsman's head and cry *hoip* if the workmanship was excellent. The man who described this expressed his own scepticism, and added that it would have destroyed the key-note of secrecy. A possible explanation of this important difference in ritual will be given at the end of this chapter; for the present it will be enough to point out that the masks are left suspended in Kimsquit, and concealed in Bella Coola.

Towards dusk the herald goes to every house to summon the *kukuriat*, who have adorned themselves for the ceremony by washing and painting, as the uninitiated have also done. The members assemble slowly, in fact an observer finds the interminable delays of every *kuriat* dance most provoking. At last all have appeared and taken their places around the fire, while the uninitiated eagerly wait near the door for the invitation which they know will soon be given. One of the mas-

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

pelled; a Cannibal (II, p. 71) begins to growl and those who are not members of the society leave hastily. 575* 796*

The next event is the burning of the masks. The wearers remove them and lay them on the floor in front of the back-room at the point marked O in the accompanying sketch. Then X asks a friend to help him. The person chosen picks up any two of the masks and carries them around the fire, eastwise, through B, where X is standing, to the point marked A (see Fig. 1). The helper throws one mask on the fire, and as he does so X lifts his arms, as if throwing up some heavy weight, at the same time uttering *hoip*, which has a beneficial effect in returning the mask whence it came.

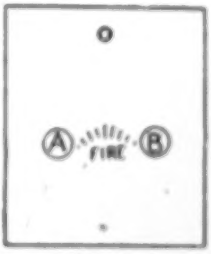

FIG. 1.
Diagram showing positions of participants during mask-burning.

[789]

As one informant put it: "May you have a safe journey."

The assistant throws the second mask on the fire, and again X throws up his arms and cries *hoip*. He crosses to A where he twice repeats the same cry, then returns to B. The assistant picks up two more masks and throws them on the fire at the same place and in the same manner as the two preceding, X also doing as he did before. The masks are taken two at a time until all have been burnt. The explanation given is to avoid the danger of the uninitiated seeing them, but whether or not this is a mere rationalization is doubtful. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella do not burn their masks. Next the singers strike up the first of X's songs and he dances, while musicians and audience join in; this is repeated for each of his songs. If it is desired to hasten the ritual, the lengthy singing and dancing is replaced by X giving only a short dance, unaccompanied by music. The Bella Coola do not appear to understand why they dance at this time, although it is said that it makes easy the departure of the masks. [532] [171]

In Kimsquit the ritual of mask-burning is slightly different, [184]

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 since a certain *kusiut* has the definite prerogative of throwing
*796 them on the fire. As each is tossed into the flames he calls out:
●184 "Please return directly to the supernatural ones."

The only exception is for the mask of *Ano'likwolsaix* for which his cry is:

"Please return directly to your repository."

*575 Before X can again take his normal place in the community
*796 it is necessary to remove from him the call, which is conceived
987 as being something physical that has entered his body. This is the belief taught to the uninitiated so emphatically that the *kukusiut* themselves appear to believe it; at any rate, whatever their inward thoughts, they act as if the call had substance. As soon as the masks have been burnt one of the *kukusiut* suggests that it is time to expel the call. All the *kukusiut* in the house crowd around X, as many as can reach his body pressing against his stomach with their hands, always in an upward direction. Higher and higher they go, from stomach to chest, from chest to neck, as if massaging some object. At last it is thought to have been expelled, and X brings his hands together, as if holding something with great care. Suddenly he throws them up in the air, opening them as he does so, and calling out:

Ānukāldimut ola āmātaxgnu, "Go back to your ancient home."

Those ritual words have been handed down from ancient times and are used by every *kusiut* to dismiss his call. Whither it is sent is problematical. Some say to X's repository, others to *Nusqulxwaista*; the Bella Coola do not know. Often one of his songs has been sung on the sidewalk outside X's house; the call may be returned from there.

This rite ends the ceremony and the *kukusiut* disperse. It is obvious that every *nsbusam* must vary according to the patron of the dancer, but the above is typical of the ritual. A call can now come to any *kusiut*, and one often descends at this time, so that X's *nsbusam* is *lsxtāmem* for another dancer.

*575 For the rest of the ceremonial season X has to observe
*796 certain rules. He must wear his collar of cedar-bark and
302
292

[The Dance of Wila]

"Path Clearers" see to it that no one passes between him and the fire. The uninitiated are not expelled from the house and their curiosity is aroused. Meanwhile the singers prepare songs for X, describing his supernatural patrons, and some *kukusiut* carpenters are instructed to make in secret ten small pieces of wood, about one foot in length and six inches wide, sometimes half-moon shaped. They cover these with dyed cedar-bark on which they paint the designs appropriate to each being.[31] On the morning of the fourth day,[32] X blackens his face with soot or charcoal, obtained by pouring water on a fire, and dons the usual *kusiut* costume. A herald then invites the *kukusiut* to assemble in X's house. Presently they proceed to the lowest house of the village, where the singers beat out the tunes of the "Path Clearers," remembered from a previous year. They dance, while X stands, shifting his feet and moving his apron as if he also wished to perform but was too weary to do so. This is repeated at every house of the village, except that in which the potlatch was held; most of the *kukusiut* follow the procession, as do some of the uninitiated. Finally, with X last of all, they enter the potlatch house, where foreign guests and many uninitiated have assembled.

In Kimsquit the preliminary four days of watching are omitted, but from this point on, the rites of the two areas are practically identical.[33] As X enters, all the *kukusiut* who have pounding sticks begin to beat on the floor and the women drone. Without delay, and without attention to the timeless thumping, X begins to dance, sunwise, around the fire, at intervals casting on it particles of eagle down which have the effect of making the supernatural ones above take their places. He calls out intermittently that he can see the beings above sitting down, and a herald repeats his remarks loudly. In Bella Coola the four "Path Clearers" walk close behind X.

[31]The distinctive designs are given by Boas, to whom the reader is referred.

[32]It is probable that X must first lie down when *Nuŭkymx*'s dancer reports that the canoe is at the mouth of the river.

[33]It is uncertain whether the differences in ritual are typical of Bella Coola and Kimsquit, or merely represent variations in individual prerogatives.

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[The Dance of Wi'.a]

*575 *796 782 The last to seat himself is *Kulilias Nuskämpta*, an obstreperous individual, who always wants more presents than anyone else. When X announces that the beings above have taken their places, a carpenter brings forward the object covered with cedar-bark and painted with a design of *Xemxemälotla*,[48] holds it above X's head, and then gives it to a herald who casts it into the fire. At the same time X throws on the flames some dyed cedar-bark, some undyed cedar-bark, a little eagle down, and some olachen grease, saying:

"Please *Xemxemälotla*,[49] accept this offering and be present," and throws his hands up in the air as if casting some object upwards.

Still dancing, X calls out *hoip* several times.

The painted representation and the cedar-bark are objects which *Xemxemälotla* likes to receive; the olachen grease supplies the flame on which they ascend to him. The same procedure is repeated for the eight other brothers, with slight variations in the words addressed to each. To *Omqemkilka*, for example, X says:

[534]

Ätcipul-ätnälkma Woodpecker-coloured[50] *hmqemkilkaals Omqemkilka.*[51]	*dlxunnälxwumdätonas* is the place where he sits,	*exqätxmsuals* the recipient,[52]

When the time comes to invite the hungry *Thitcäplikäw-a*, an offering of food instead of bark is cast upon the flames. X *575 continues to dance after the final gift, and presently a thud *796 is heard on the roof while some *kusiut*, chosen beforehand for the purpose, compresses a hidden bladder-whistle which the 787 uninitiated know is the voice of the call. Whether they be-

[48] In Kimsquit the offerings are made by a *kusiut* who has this prerogative in connection with the game *Ishälkmas-a*.

[49] His other name is *Ocqäsem*, "The Recipient of Many Gifts."

[50] *Ätcipul-ätna* is one of the larger woodpeckers, the species could not be identified.

[51] This designation, properly applied only to *Xemxemälotla*, is often used for his brothers as well.

[52] These words are virtually sung, each vertical line marking the end of each subdivision. A record was made of the music for the National Museum of Canada; record VII D 6a; singer, Jim Pollard.

[184] [776] [126]

[The Dance of Wila]

*575 *996 houses. The night's ceremony concludes with a meal and the admonitions of the marshals.

No further description is needed of the rites taking place the next day, that of *nasiutâlsap*, when a second song is composed, again dealing with X's patrons, and wood for masks is cut. The evening's ceremonial does not last as long as that of *lustâmem*.

[532] [302] [515] The next day, *gotlem*, the carpenters work at the masks, some of which must be finished by nightfall. Late in the evening both *kukusiut* and uninitiated prepare themselves by painting and washing; at this time the young men provide pans of warm water for their female friends. As already described, the *kukusiut* are the first to enter, followed by the uninitiated when all is ready. In Kimsquit they see the masks [184] of at least some of X's supernatural patrons suspended by cords of dyed cedar-bark from a sloping pole that stretches from the floor at the base of the back-room to the cross-beam behind the fire. It is said, although the informant could not guarantee the truth of the statement, that long ago masks had to be displayed at this dance, though it was optional at others. It is a serious and sacred time, one at which frivolity is quite out of place, and the marshals are in readiness to punish any [488] offender. One very old informant told of having seen a marshal strike down and kill a *kusiut* from another house for holding intercourse with a woman on this night. The heralds *[203] [537] stay near the door, repeating and enlarging on the remarks of the marshals; the fluency of these functionaries always adds appreciably to the success of any Bella Coola rite. On this occasion X and the dancer of *Neâkymm* must perform, followed by those who have danced in former years, according to the desire of the singers; later in the season, when many *kukusiut* have performed, the rite may continue almost till dawn, for all must dance. After the departure of the uninitiated the *kukusiut* eat leisurely, while a marshal addresses them, commenting on the ritual and, perhaps, asking a man

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[The Cannibal Dance]

among the Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and Rivers Inlet people. Indeed, in Bella Coola a poor man may be the most dreaded Cannibal of all, if he has been able duly to validate and perform his right in this respect. Nor is the dance carried out with the same rigour in Bella Coola as among the tribes of the outer coast.

The ritual of different prerogatives varies to such an extent that several accounts must be given, in spite of the repetitions that this form of presentation entails. On account of the length of time necessary, a Cannibal dance usually begins early in the season. The following describes the manner in which *Kämätslaks* of Kimsquit, who can bite the living, carried out his rite; it was obtained from his brother, who is thoroughly conversant with the details. It will be convenient to refer to *Kämätslaks* as X, and to use the present tense throughout.

A meeting is held at which the marshals and others choose, in agreement with X and his relatives, a day suitable for him to commence his performance. Under normal circumstances it is on some *qutlem* that a marshal announces that he can hear X's call, and on the following evening, when the ritual has been completed, the uninitiated are startled to hear continuous whistling from the slopes of the mountains near the village. The instruments used are of the usual bladder type, but the long-drawn-out sound, termed *Ñiulässa*, is said to be the voice of the kindly supernatural woman, *Switsmän·a*.[41]

[41] The sole function of this being seems to be the restoring to life of those who appear to have been killed in the performance of *hamat* rites. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether or not she is identical with *Tlaxoplilan·a*. The noise which heralds her coming is produced by the whistles of four *hulusiut* who throughout the night range the forests and mountains within ear-shot of the village. By bending their heads up and down, they are able to increase the weirdness and apparent elusiveness of the sound. The four travel in single file; the leader blows, and when his breath is nearly exhausted he presses the hand of the second man, who starts whistling forthwith, while the original leader drops to the rear. As the second becomes weary, he signals in the same way to the third, and so on; in this way the whistling is continuous, and the uninitiated are convinced that it cannot be sounded by mortals, even if such an idea should occur to them. If a non-member should meet the four, they would at once kill him or make him a prisoner, keeping him out of sight until he could be initiated into the society.

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*575 restraining him bend too, throwing him back into the centre
*796 of the circle with the aid of the rope and their bodies. Meanwhile the women are droning, and some of them pound on the
787 floor with sticks; intermittent calls of *hoip* and the sound of the whistle add to the weird confusion. The circle of *kukusiut* often revolves around X, each man jumping in time to his neighbours, so that the din is increased. After about ten minutes, the circle gradually contracts to a double line, and the rope is slipped over X's head, as if tying up a dangerous beast. One end is given to a *kusiut* willing to have a call, and he goes around leading X as if he were a captive animal. The heralds go to every house to report what has taken place.[48]

Towards dusk two young *kukusiut* are sent up the mountains. Soon after the sun has set, members of the society gather on the sidewalk outside X's house, to which X is led. He is still struggling, and the *kukusiut* press close around him, as if to restrain him; thereby effectually concealing everything from the uninitiated watching from the doorways of their houses. At a signal from one of the senior *kukusiut*, all the members of the society shriek out *ye* -- at the top of their voices. At the same time X, aided by his fellows, slips from his rope and hides himself within a box-drum, which is then carried back to his house. Warned by the cry, the two lads up the mountains forthwith begin to growl. This furnishes clear proof to the uninitiated that X has been able, owing to the power within him, to slip away from the closest bonds of his fellows and travel aloft. In answer to the growls from above, a *kusiut* with a powerful voice calls out:

"Go aloft on the right road. Your power will enable you to escape the dangers. But do not stray from the narrow trail."

[184] In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, the *kukusiut* then go to every house, crying and wailing, thinking of the Cannibals

[48] It is not clear whether or not the uninitiated are sometimes present at the roping.

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who have gone aloft and never returned,[4] and of course increasing the fear of the uninitiated. They then go back to X's home where a marshal speaks, asking all to keep silence so that they will be able to hear X when he returns from the land above. No noise is permitted during his absence, even the discharge of muskets being forbidden. The man who carries the rope from which X escaped always receives a call on this night, because the supernatural beings have seen the important part he has played in the rite, and his patron recognizes it in this way. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated and, accordingly, the rope-holder is some *kusiut* who wishes to have a call. After the usual curing,[5] one song is composed for the rope-holder, and sung very softly, since the night's ceremony is termed *Ałoliqosnumx*, "The Actionless Night," or *Nuxstimut*, "The Silent Night." The uninitiated believe that the *kukusiut* are filled with woe and foreboding at the fate before X. It is early morning before they disperse. 575* 796* 787 [184]

The next day, *nusiutälsap* for the rope-holder, the usual ritual is omitted since the pretence of grief and fear must still be preserved. Thus the necessary wood for the rope-holder's masks is cut silently. The collar and rope from which X escaped are hung on the wall of his house, and when a herald summons the *kukusiut* during the evening, he bids them assemble to watch over these objects. Although a second song, composed during the day, is practised for the rope-holder, it is done so softly that the uninitiated from neighbouring houses imagine that the *kukusiut* are really brooding over their loss. The only sound that reaches them is an occasional *hoip*, accentuating their fear. After the customary distribution of work and food the *kukusiut* disperse. 575* 796*

On the morrow, the rope-holder's *qothm*, the uninitiated are summoned, because it is assumed that members of the [787]

[4] If a Cannibal dies during his period of concealment he is buried secretly. The uninitiated are told that his power enabled him to cross a yawning chasm in the land above, but then it failed him, so that he was unable to return to his friends. [766] [772]

[5] This consists of the frenzied beating of sticks, repeated four times. [761]

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*575 without apparent cause. It will be convenient to refer to
*796 *Łułulimut* as X.

Having first obtained sanction from the marshals, X begins
[184] his preparations. The continuous whistling that in Kimsquit presages a call to a Cannibal is lacking, but on the morning when it has been decided that X will start his dance, he discards his clothing and goes to the house in which a *kusiut* ceremony is taking place, and from which the uninitiated have accordingly been ejected. After droning for an instant, he suddenly leaps at a man and bites him. The "victim," warned of what is to happen, has probably prepared himself by making a small cut so that his blood can gush forth easily. Then X rushes from the house, growling ferociously, and biting a number of *kukusiut*, either men or women, on arm, neck, or leg. Several co-members accompany the Cannibal, while the uninitiated cower within the bedrooms, hoping to be unobserved. A herald goes continually through the village, calling out:

"The dreaded one [*Pāxotla*] has bitten three [or whatever the number may be] people."

X spends a considerable time rushing around biting people, the effect being greatly magnified by the outcry of his assistants and the terror of the uninitiated who cringe in fear lest they should be bitten by this seeming maniac with the strange power. When weary, X dashes off into the forest to rest; his followers go with him and sit down in two groups, men in one, women in the other.

About noon a herald goes to every house calling out, *ipānap*, which means, "Hold him down."

Two or more *kukusiut* have been sent up the mountain above the village while the others go to X's house, from which the uninitiated were expelled at the first signs of his fury. A rope, previously prepared, is lashed around X in spite of his struggles, and tied to pieces of wood on which several *kukusiut* sit to increase the weight, but arranged so that X can slip out of his bonds without the ruse being apparent. As a dog-eating

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placing their hands against his mouth and neck and pressing downwards to the chest as if forcing some object from his throat, constantly uttering the cry of *hoip*. When the obstacle has been driven down, X is offered his first food, choice morsels of dried salmon. He eats some of this but bites a small piece from the spoon, and does the same with the dish in which water is held to his lips. The assistance of a shaman is often required to feed the Cannibal.

The powers of, and restrictions upon, X for the remainder of the ceremonial season are identical with those already described. At the end of the period, however, the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to rid him of his *sqiols* which, it will be remembered, had been forced from his mouth down into his chest. By means of a violent repetition of *hoip* and pressing with the hands, this is extracted and cast into another *kusiut*. As soon as the latter has received it, he acts as if he had become a Cannibal. Dashing out, he enters each house in turn, growling and calling out *xwa-*, *xwa-*, *xwa-*, and at intervals ripping up the planking from the floor or pulling off boards from the wall. Then the substitute re-enters X's house, where the power is returned to X himself, who, this done, rushes to every dwelling and repeats the growling and destruction. Though the uninitiated realize that two different individuals have appeared as Cannibals, they are too awe-stricken to feel anything but wonder. When he gets back to his own house, X is surrounded by the *kukusiut* who call out *hoip*, in unison four times, while as many of them as can find places press upwards with their hands against his neck and throat to expel the *sqiols*. This succeeds in sending back X's power to the mysterious regions above whence it came. While most of the *kukusiut* beat time vigorously, a number of them pull down the platform and cast it into the fire. They then have a meal, while a marshal gives weighty advice about the care that must be exercised during the coming year in guarding their sacred secrets from the uninitiated; whereupon they all disperse.

The chief contrasts between this rite and the one previously

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described for Kimsquit are the lack of the cannibalistic incubus and the presence of the *sqiolz*. It must be emphasized that these are differences of individual prerogative alone; many Kimsquit Cannibals perform with *sqiolz*, many Bella Coola with incubus. 595* 796* 787 184 424

Although every effort was used to obtain not only the general principles of the rite, but also confirmation of details, it must be remembered that many of these were omitted at the performances observed, so that reliance had to be placed upon the accounts of participants. It is probable that errors of omission have been committed in consequence; these may account for some of the discrepancies, but the most potent factors are undoubtedly lack of uniformity in individual prerogatives, and failure to enforce absolute rigidity in ritual. The two accounts just given by no means illustrate all the variations possible in this dance; others will become evident in descriptions of the rites of Cannibals other than those who can bite the living.

The following is an account of the ritual of a Dog-eating Cannibal, *Oleán i*, of *Sunxt*. Long, long ago one of the ancestors of this man saw a pack of wolves devouring some dogs. In some mysterious way, which even the Bella Coola do not profess to be able to understand, the power of a wolf entered the beholder so that he was impelled to eat dogs. He was then carried away to the mysterious land above where he saw and was assisted by several supernatural beings. The first *Oleán i* was able to transmit to one of his relatives his ability to eat dogs, and the prerogative has since been carried out by his descendants. Should the holder of the name fail to tell his destined heir the details of the experiences which are to be embodied in his songs, his successor can obtain these from the singers who, of course, are familiar with the themes used on previous occasions. The repository of the name, *Oleán i*, is beneath a huge boulder not far from some carved rocks behind the village of *Sunxt* (see Plate 6).[1] It is said that many years ago some reckless uninitiated placed poles as levers beneath 595* 796* 787 773 [424] 595* 796* [798]

[1] [see category 116, p 84 (F) - ANALYST]

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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

meal with admonitions from the marshals; then they too disperse. 575* 796*

During the following day a hole is dug behind the fire of sufficient depth to conceal X, when standing in it, as high as the thighs. Towards dusk he takes up his position in this pit; his face is blackened and he wears the customary cedar-bark collar and a belt-apron to hold the frame in place. An assistant lies down on the floor immediately in front of him with his head in the hole beside X's feet so that the two men, instead of appearing as such, seem to be only one seated upon the ground. As night falls the *kukusiut* take their places and the more influential members of the society press forward to see that X and his assistant are properly disguised so that the fact that they are really two is not apparent. When all is in readiness, the Bella Coola practice is for a herald to summon the waiting uninitiated, but in Kimsquit one of the marshals orders some of the younger men to extinguish the fire, before this is done, so that as the non-members come to the door their fears are increased by finding the house in deep darkness. The heralds guide them to their places in the front corners, where they sit in shuddering expectancy for about an hour. The stillness is broken only by the occasional sound of a whistle and the laboured breathing of the guests. Suddenly the hush is shattered by the voice of a *kuṡiut* calling out four times *ăn-ăn-ai*, the ejaculation used in pain. [184] [192] [152]

To the spell-bound uninitiated it seems as if the supernatural beings surrounding him had become too much for him, so that he cried out in the agony of his soul. Resinous sticks have been placed in readiness and a fire is quickly kindled. The Cannibals growl savagely in their corners and the uninitiated shiver. From this point forth the ritual in Bella Coola and Kimsquit is identical. [184]

X circles the fire, sunwise, four times and appears to seat himself on the floor with outstretched legs though in reality he is standing in the hole. One of the *ănuyax* stands up and announces:

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After a short interval, she is answered by the singer in the lower, western, rear corner of the house as follows: 575* 796*

Saqunkotsänitwewit	*itlasnitsman·aatdja*	*skäpälpälpäläsidus*
Let there come to earth	the voice of *Snitsmän·a*	to revive

533 539

diyälkaipum·ilsutdai
the one who has so injured himself.

The general meaning of this song is obvious, although there are several obscure expressions which serve to increase the wonder and fear of the uninitiated. Silence follows the singing, then whistling is heard and a herald announces that one of the puppet-patrons inserted into X has left him and gone to the region above. Similar whistling announces the departure of others at intervals. When several have done so, it is time for the first to return. A thud, made by a hidden accomplice, is heard on the roof and whistling breaks out afresh. Sometimes the puppet-patron returns to X, but more often to its invoker, and the transference previously enacted is repeated over the body of the dancer who continues to lie as if lifeless. Now and then the uninitiated are invited forward to look at him and they notice that the gaping wound is slowly closing, an easy matter to arrange in the dim light of the house. At intervals the puppet-patrons go and return from the land above, and the proceedings are sometimes enlivened by the owners telling a herald, who in turn informs the audience, what the puppet-patron saw on its journey aloft. Usually each goes and returns four times in the course of the night. Each of the women selected to sing the mourning songs performs once, standing in a corner of the house and waving a wand wound with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. So the long night passes. Towards dawn continuous whistling is heard. This is made by several men with a whistle apiece; each begins to blow as soon as the breath of his partner is nearly exhausted. It is known to be the voice of *Snitsmän·a*. In Kimsquit, but not in Bella Coola, this is the signal for the entry of the giant toad. Carpenters have made a wooden figure of the amphibian and by means of concealed strings it is

575* 796* 787 [533] 575* 796* [776] [184] [532]

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

* 575 The singers have also composed a song for each of the *dwayar*
* 796 and these too must be practised, while the men dance or remain
533 still as they think fit. Since no uninitiated are present the affair is purely a rehearsal. The words of each of these songs is of the manner in which the patron helped X to survive his ordeal. By this time it is late and the *kukusiut* disperse after the usual meal and admonitions of the marshals.

* 575 The next day, *qothm*, the carpenters assemble early in the
* 796 morning to start work. Since X is entitled to portray any of
532 the supernatural beings who are companions of his patron in the land above, it follows that there is wide variation in his choice of masks to be manufactured. The principal supernatural beings are always shown, and any animals, since all are supernatural, can likewise be displayed. As usual, a few *kukusiut* are invited at midday to share the meal provided for the carpenters. The number of masks to be provided is often so great that two days or more are necessary for their completion, in which case no ceremony takes place on the night which would normally be *qothm*; the *kukusiut* merely gather
[533] and again practise their songs.

* 575 But the day after is *qothm*. At dusk the *kukusiut* are called
* 796 in for a final rehearsal of the songs, and then a summons is sent
[515] to the uninitiated, who have been washing and beautifying themselves in eager anticipation. In Kimsquit it is customary
[532] to hang some of the masks on a sloping pole behind the fire and
[584] the sight of these amazes the non-members. First the singers
[781] beat out the song of one of the women mourners and she dances in time to it, while the heralds near the door keep up a steady
[535] stream of remarks, encouraging the woman to perform yet
[834] more strenuously and to have no modesty about shaking her breasts. Then another of the women dances, followed in succession by the third and fourth if that is the number who sang the mourning songs. Next the *dwayar* perform, each in succession accompanying the song composed for him. Now comes the central feature of the evening, the performance of X himself. As the singers strike up the shaman's song which he is

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[The Beheading Dance]

*575 floor. The rope draws through itself, becomes untangled, and
*796 the blood stains previously placed on it become apparent. The
[592] *kukusiut* rehearse the decapitation a number of times until every detail is perfect. Shielded by the gloom of the house, one of the carpenters fastens a thin cord to the portrait-mask and practises drawing it gradually towards X, who finally rises as if restored to life by the return of his head. The mask is actually concealed and X stands up at his natural height. Since this is the feat which will be done in the presence of the uninitiated, it must be worked out with precision. When the marshals are satisfied that everything is in good shape they permit the *kukusiut* to disperse. A similar practice is carried out for the Stomach-Cutting dance if the marshals consider it necessary. The night after the rehearsal the call comes to X, who parades to every house in the village. On his fourth circuit he carries a rope in his hand instead of a knife; the *kukusiut* weep as they did on the previous occasion, and any uninitiated who have seen or heard of the rite realize the fate in store for X. The next day, *nuxnitlap*, a number of *kukusiut* are dispatched for wood, and in the evening some of the work is allotted and arrangements made for singing the mourning songs and for the use of puppet-patrons by the *ênayu*. The marshals take advantage of the opportunity to harangue their hearers.

"Take heed what you do," they say. "*Alqwstêm* and the other supernatural ones have sent down a powerful call to us. Unless we make strong our spirits we will be unable to bear up under the weight of it."

Qulm passes without variation from the type already described, and on the following night the *kukusiut* assemble early for *nakusam*. When they have taken their places, the fire is extinguished; then the uninitiated are called in and guided to their places near the door.[10] After an hour's delay, punctuated by the whistles, the fire is built up and X goes around it four times, while the *kukusiut* beat furiously with sticks. X calls

[184] [10] In Kimsquit only.

[The Mystery Dance]

*575 *796 qoiłm, and it is agreed that the call shall come to him on the following evening.

X's first task is to prepare, or to have made for him, a stick which he will use throughout the ceremony. It is of yellow [184] cedar, about five feet in length; in Kimsquit it is decorated with four bands of swan feathers, in Bella Coola with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark.

[787] The following evening the call comes to X. He utters a low whistle, resembling a hoot, goes towards the fire and slowly revolves on himself. The *łuł̓aziut* women present begin to drone and the uninitiated are expelled. Constantly turning on himself, X slowly moves sunwise around the flames, repeating his hoot three times, once at each side of the fire. He stands behind it and calls out loudly:

"Please say exactly what you want; whatever it is, I will do it."

After the customary frenzied beating, he withdraws to the back-room. Heralds go to all the houses, reporting what has taken place and summoning the *łuł̓aziut*. When all have gathered, X appears and asks for the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a dance-apron. These are provided, put on him and his face is blackened. Under the guidance of a marshal or singer, the *łuł̓aziut* men beat furiously on the floor, without time or rhythm, until the leader motions them to conclude with four thunderous beats. In the stillness that follows X begins to chatter loudly, without using exact words, and everyone realizes that this is an invitation to guess who are the three supernatural beings in whom his power is localized. Some-[424] times the meaning is made still more evident by his carrying the stick previously mentioned, which is the prerogative of Mystery dancers alone. The guests enter into the spirit of the dance and call out their guesses, naming little known supernatural beings, parts of beings, or manifestations of the supernatural; sometimes three or four answer at the same time. The four remembrancers have placed themselves near X and it is their duty to recollect the replies. When *łuł̓aziut* alone

[The Mystery Dance]

*575 This is such an important occasion that leading *kukusiut* from
*796 neighbouring towns are often invited to be present. If this is
[574] to be done, heralds are sent for the purpose during the following day.

Next evening the *kukusiut* are invited to X's house in the usual manner, many of them unaware that the answer is soon to be given. The customary ritual is carried out and the uninitiated summoned in due course. By this time X is supposed to have been weakened by his long fast, and to give colour to that claim, two assistants support him as he totters feebly to and fro in his enclosure. Instead of waving his stick horizontally above his head, X now rests his weight on it, with his helpers holding the ends. After the customary frenzied beating with sticks, X again invites guesses, but still no one can find the three answers. Meanwhile the father or some elderly friend of the youth chosen to guess correctly, slips down to where he is sitting and whispers to him to try, for example, *Aimaltua*. The youth timidly does so, and at once X begins to shake violently, and calls frantically:

"More! More!"

*575 In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, the long drawn-
*796 out whistling of *Snitsmän-a* is heard, though of course the un-
184 initiated do not know that four *kukusiut* have been sent out for this purpose. The excitement becomes intense.

The man who is prompting the successful guesser whispers to him the second answer. The young man calls it out and X becomes more and more excited, shaking wildly and shouting:

"More! More! You mortal."

Finally the third answer is given. In Bella Coola the dancer leaps high in the air from his enclosure and falls to the ground beneath as if dead. *Saipnäs* of Kimsquit, on the other hand, whose patron is the wild *Kekoslum*, becomes frenzied, breaks his stick and enclosure and acts like a raging, though feeble, lunatic. Irrespective of X's behaviour, the marshals ask the uninitiated to withdraw, and the growling Cannibals add point to the request. It is at this juncture in Bella Coola

Z:McIlwraith E-9 (1922-1924) 1968
NEb Bellacoola NEb

[The Mystery Dance]

that the whistle of *Snitzmán·a* is heard. The uninitiated, hearing the sound from the other houses, realize that the kindly being is approaching and are not surprised when a herald presently comes around to announce that X has recovered. In Kimsquit, X's frenzy slowly leaves him, and from this point onwards there are no differences in ritual between the two localities. The singers beat out a new song, prepared in readiness, of which the theme is *Snitzmán·a*, "The Restorer." X dances to it, and afterwards to any four of the numerous songs previously composed for him. Then he sits down, the first time he has done so, in public at any rate, since the beginning of the rite. Food is next distributed, the marshals make their usual remarks and the *kukuziut* finally go to bed. From this point on, the ceremony follows the regular *kuziut* pattern; this occasion, when the riddles are solved, corresponds to *Isustémem*. The successful guesser is dealt with as an initiate in the manner already described. Some of the uninitiated sitting near the youth often realize that he has been prompted by his father, but they regard this as a mere sign of solicitude, assuming that the parent's supernatural power enabled him to solve the problem. It seems clear to them that he could not have known the answer for any length of time because, like others, he had many times guessed and failed.

575v 996v [184] 533

The next day is *nuziustélsap*. In the morning all the *kukuziut* assemble in X's house to learn another new song; this corresponds to the second of a dance which lacks the long preliminaries of this one. A number of *kukuziut* accompany X to the forest to get the necessary wood for the masks. Mystery dancers have the right to exhibit any, and as many, supernatural beings as they please, hence a large amount of wood must be brought back. In the evening comes the allotment of work. X may do it himself, but usually he asks his father, or some other elderly relative to act on his behalf. Since all his relatives contribute, the actual distribution of labour is not a task in which X alone is concerned. *Ana'kéwulsais* must be portrayed, and the three best carpenters are entrusted with

575v 996v 532 [424]

B: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

[The Mystery Dance]

masks representing the three successful answers. Little attention is paid to actual design, and the workmen use their initiative to a considerable extent.* One mask always made is that of *Swaslarwai*, a being who appears to act as concealer for *Alquntám*. As far as could be learnt, if *Alquntám* wishes to conceal anything from a human being, such as the hiding-places in a Mystery dance, *Swaslarwai* is entrusted with the task. In addition to the usual well-known supernatural beings, X often orders representations of mammals, birds, or fish; he may even ask a man to make a mask without stipulations and then the finished product is as much a surprise to him as to anyone else. There is no relationship between the masks made and the guesses registered. If X is wealthy, the number to be constructed may run to fifty or more. *Nuxiatálxap* concludes in the usual way as soon as all the work has been allotted.

Two days is not long enough for the completion of such a large number of masks, so *nalaxam* must be postponed, and *qoilom* is correspondingly delayed for four days. In the evening the heralds invite first the *kukaxiat* and then the eager, though fearful uninitiated. They take their places and in Kimsquit, not in Bella Coola, marvel at some of the masks hanging behind the fire, though no explanation is vouchsafed them until the following evening. Presently the singers begin to beat out one of X's songs and he starts dancing violently, only to stop long before it is ended. The musicians quickly change to another; he performs briefly, then ceases; this is repeated for a third tune, and similarly for a fourth, a fifth, and so on. If the preliminaries have been long drawn out, X may have as many as twenty songs and he dances to a fragment of each. After he has performed, the singers strike up the tune of any *kaxiat*

*Possibly this disregard for exact portrayal of supernatural beings is a modern degeneration. The Bella Coola of today say quite frankly that they have forgotten many beings used by their ancestors, so have no hesitation in inventing new designs and naming them even for natural phenomena which they consider must be caused by supernatural agency. On the other hand, the burning of masks, which seems to be an old practice, would tend to hasten supersedimentation in all but the best-known figures.

Z:McIlwraith R-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEG Bellacoola NEG

has retired from sight. *Ano'likwolsaix* gives her customary dance, her head bent as if she constantly wished to rest it on someone's shoulder, and her opposite arm waving violently. After one circuit of the fire she withdraws from sight behind the matting. Then the marshals tell the uninitiated to withdraw, and the growling Cannibals hurry them forth. The evening's ceremonjals conclude in the usual way, except that the masks are not burnt. 575* 796* [776] [532]

The length of time required for the figures to appear and perform is so great that *nəkusam* can seldom be completed on a single night. When the marshals decide that it is too late for further drama, they can call a postponement at any time; the uninitiated are told to withdraw and the *kukusiut* disperse shortly afterwards. The following evening they are recalled and the ritual is carried on from the point where the break was made. In this account it has been assumed that it is possible to complete the display without postponement.

Four nights later everyone is called back once again. The *kukusiut* first take their places, and then the uninitiated are summoned. The ritual on this occasion is identical with that just described for *nəkusam* with the same promenade of supernatural beings and the same explanations by *Ano'likwolsaix*. After the uninitiated depart the masks are burnt, two at a time, in the manner previously described, this being the last event in the Mystery Dance. [532]

THE DANCE OF *W'inwina*

Nəkkynum is not, according to Bella Coola mythology, the only bringer of salmon to the river, nor is he the only one whose action has been dramatized as a *kusiut* dance. A similar purveyor of fish is *W'inwina*[a] who comes every year to Bella Coola. Boas (p. 38) has recorded the origin myth connected with the rite, and states that the movements of this being influence the duration of the *kusiut* season; this observation was not confirmed. *W'inwina* is supposed to return from the 575* 796* 776 825 184 824

[a] Also called *Kwakwəlijotas*, "What Brings Our Food."

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

land of the salmon early in January, and it is owing to his successful raid that there is a plentiful supply of fish the following year. The fact that the Bella Coola attribute the same function to *Nodźynum* provides no difficulties to native philosophers.

"Different individuals have different stories," they say, and the fact that the two are contradictory is a matter of no consequence.

The incidents described in the following myth are always spoken of as having taken place long ago, and yet the coming of *W'inwina* is an annual event, a confusion disconcerting to the investigator though not to the Bella Coola themselves.

W'inwina[a] once led a raiding party against the salmon, whose home is far to the west, and against the berries who live in a flat and warm country beyond even the land of salmon. His crew consisted of birds who are spoken of in the myth by unusual designations, said to be either their supernatural or their *kwsiut* names. One informant spoke of these beings as individuals, and only added that they were birds as an afterthought, while another emphasized their avian rather than their human characteristics. This is not surprising, considering that the story belongs to the distant past when birds and human beings were not as clearly differentiated as they now are. *W'inwina*'s crew consisted of:

The Bald Eagle, *Tźźkwak*;

The Hawk (*l*) species, *Źnukiqakźaix*;

The Raven, *'Źnwaqźźlaix*, "He Who Talks at Dawn and Wakens Everyone";

The Water Ouzel, *Źźkmarośźźka*, "The Walking One";

The Great Blue Heron, *Masanźźlźw*, "Long Neck";

The Hermaphrodite, *Źźla'yao*;

The Cormorant, *Źwełwźźźla*, who joined the expedition at Bella Bella as a passenger;

Four lazy supernatural beings, *Kamźźźźl*.

The expedition was under the especial protection of *Kalsets*, a female supernatural shaman, who guided the canoe in which the raiders travelled by the force of her intellect as if it had been a compass. After a lengthy journey, the party reached the land of the salmon where the clouds obligingly drifted low in the heavens so that the fish could not see their

[a] A word etymologically connected with wine, the Bella Coola term for raid.

[The Dance of Winwina]

424 Another *kusiut* derived the prerogative of having *Winwina*
773 as patron from a myth previously cited (II, p. 43). After
776 Raven had seen *Noäkxnim* and obtained him for *Ällilimnälaxix*, he flew down the fiord once more, observed *Winwina*, and made him patron for *Omqomkilka*.

*575 The ritual of the dance of *Winwina* does not vary, irre-
*796 spective of its origin; accordingly one account will suffice and the performer can be referred to as X.

[778] This dance occurs also at Kimsquit where the repository
[424] is actually in the ocean a few yards from shore.

[184] *Winwina* is supposed to return to Bella Coola when the January moon is full;[87] accordingly X consults the marshals and makes his preparations slightly before that date. Four days before the full moon, the uninitiated are excluded from the house and a raised enclosure is built between the fire and the back-room. This rite differs from most *kusiut* dances in that the call does not come at this time. Irrespective of whether or not the *kukusiut* happen to be present on the evening of this day, X mounts to the enclosure and sits there, looking westward for the return of *Winwina*. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. X
[292] wears a collar of dyed cedar-bark and a head-dress of eagle tail feathers, but his face is not blackened.

For three nights and three days X remains in the enclosure, gazing to the west, and meanwhile no uninitiated dare even to pass outside of his house. As the fourth night is falling, messengers summon the *kukusiut* who enter and sit in silence as if waiting for something; the heralds inform non-members that X's vigil will soon be over. After an interval they are likewise called in, and eagerly take their places near the door, where they receive a share of the food being served. Suddenly X jumps down from the enclosure and cries out loudly:

"The supernatural young man has left his child with strangers while he has been on a journey. Now he is returning,

[805] [87]Owing to faulty calendrical observations the exact date is seldom found.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*575 *796 They dispute in this manner concerning the capture of every kind of salmon and even about the berries. *Ano°likwolsaix* keeps up a running stream of comments to the uninitiated.

"Listen to the stupid *Kāmālālkl*. That is what they did when they went with *Winwina*. They spent most of their time sleeping, and the rest of it arguing. Don't you be such silly fools as they are. Watch what you are doing, and you may be fortunate enough to see me in the woods and become a *kusiut*."

As soon as the uninitiated have watched these beings for a time, they are expelled and the ritual ends in the usual manner.

763 776 In conclusion, a word may be said regarding the attitude of the Bella Coola to *Winwina* and his canoe. Like all other supernatural manifestations it is capable of bringing good or evil to the beholder. An ancestor of every *Winwina* dancer must have seen it and obtained it as patron, but it is a dangerous visitor none the less. Sometimes, at night, a hunter encamped on one of the fiords hears a grunting sound accompanied by short paddle strokes; if he calls out "*yao!*" loudly, no harm will come to him, but if he omits to do so he will soon die. One informant affirmed that within his lifetime a party of Kimsquit hunters were waiting for high tide when they heard the grunting. They failed to hail the craft and presently a sound reached them as if a number of paddles had been placed in the water to check the course of a canoe; in fact, the ripples splashed on the shore at their feet. In a few years they were all dead.

THE DANCE OF MOTHER-NATURE

*575 *796 824 [184] [776] One of the most interesting of the Bella Coola dances is that portraying *Nunuoska*, who is virtually Mother-Nature, giving birth to the flowers and trees in the spring. The following account is of the manner in which *Kalän·i*, a Kimsquit man, performed the rite. The ritual appears to be identical in Bella Coola, so only one account need be given, and the performer may be spoken of as X.

This dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is
*796 usually added that the animal in question is the one resident
776 in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary
825 river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to
[773] follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the
[821] stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed
[226] his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. As far as could be learnt, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who is patron for a certain *kusiut* is the head of a female herring. Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to
[532] doubt. For the *nebasam* of her protégé, a number of masks representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are prepared. When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dakdakänus*, the supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *kusiut* but the ritual of the dance, known as *osnäxmunaix*, was not obtained. The similarity between *Dakdakänus* and *Dakdakänmem*, those who await *Noäkxnm*, appears merely to be an accidental re-
[192] semblance in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning "to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

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THE DANCE OF *Ämoqltaikila*

In Kimsquit it is believed that *Änoºlikwolsaix* has a husband, *Ämoqltaikila*, who is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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stumble upon a repository and are stricken down by his wife. Like a shaman, he does this by blowing violently upon the back of the victim's neck and calling out, *hoip*. From constant repetition his mouth has become large and round. When displayed on *nebusam*, the mask representing *Ālmoqltaikila* is painted black and has bulging, blown-out cheeks, and a round protruding mouth as if in the act of blowing. Neither the dance nor belief in this figure appear to occur in Bella Coola itself.

575* 796* 776 184 755 532

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BARK-BEATER

In the land above there lives a supernatural woman who spends all her time in pounding cedar-bark such as is used, either dyed or undyed, for ceremonial objects of different kinds. Her name is *Spikpiknum di Sinxälotla* and she is patron for various *kukusiut*. On the *nebusam* of her Kimsquit protégés, she appears as a masked figure engaged in her usual occupation and makes a circuit of the house while a salmon is displayed. The relationship between this being and the salmon is problematical, and it is uncertain whether or not the same rite is practised in Bella Coola.

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THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL AWAKENER

Every morning in *Nusqulxwaista* the woman *Spaixpaxnmän·a* goes around waking up the supernatural beings. She is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. On the *nebusam* of her protégé, a masked figure representing the Awakener goes to every house in the village and pounds on the doors, but does not enter, to the relief of the uninitiated who have sought refuge within the bed-rooms.

575* 796* 776 532

THE DANCE OF DAWN

Not only must the supernatural beings be aroused in the morning, but every day the Sun himself must be requested to appear; this is done by the beings known as *Xemxemtnum*, who are patrons for several *kukusiut*. On *nebusam* they appear and *Ano°likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated who they are and

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[The Dance of Dawn]

* 575 what they do. With them comes the being *Onstcitoma*, "The
* 796 Sleeper," wearing a mask to represent a drowsy man who con-
776 stantly yawns and rubs his eyes. It is explained that this
[532] being delights in sleep and does not care if the sun never rises.

THE DANCE OF THE GREEDY ONE

Nusixilxixaikm, also called *Tutwai·os*, is a greedy creature who spends his time going from one supernatural being to another in the land above, always begging for food. He is patron for several *kukusiut* and on the *nebusam* of one of his
[532] protégés a masked figure representing the Greedy One visits every house in the village asking for food. The uninitiated retreat to the bed-rooms, but the *kukusiut* comply with his
[431] request. In consequence the dancer's house is filled with food which is given away to the *kukusiut* guests.

THE DANCE OF THE REPOSITORY MAKER

[778] Some repositories were constructed in the beginning of time by the supernatural being, *Nunudjixnm*, who is patron for
[532] several *kukusiut*. On the *nebusam* of one of his protégés a figure, masked to represent a male being, appears and *Ano°lik-wolsaix* explains that this is the maker of repositories. It is
[184] uncertain whether this being is found in Bella Coola or only in Kimsquit.

THE DANCE OF *Älquntäm*'S SLAVE

In the land above there lives a slave of *Älquntäm* who spends his time providing fuel for the fires in *Nusqulxwaista*. He is patron for a Bella Coola *kusiut*, though the details of his dance were not obtained.

THE DANCE OF *Älquntäm*'S HERALD

Oqolikts Älquntäm is patron for several *kukusiut*. During the *nebusam* of one of his protégés a masked figure representing him visits every house in the village, bidding the *kukusiut*

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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they refer. Even when full allowance is made for this, the fact still remains that the *kukusiut* were able to carry out dances in which they deceived the uninitiated. Above all, it is clear that those who were not members of the society had the greatest respect for the powers of those who were, and although doubt may have existed concerning the identity of the supernatural visitors, there was not the slightest concerning the ability of the *kukusiut* to have, for example, their stomachs ripped open. The writer discussed this point with too many old men and women to have the slightest uncertainty on this point, and he feels confident that anyone who could have listened to the account of a reliable old man concerning his fears when he had "killed" a *kusiut* in this manner, would have shared his conviction.

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It would be fascinating to discuss at some length the probable history of the *kusiut* society, but this would entail a comparison with the rites of other coastal tribes and belongs to the realm of comparative ethnology. This monograph deals only with Bella Coola practices as the writer saw them or heard them described, so that the history of the society can only be treated from this angle. It appears certain that the rites have increased in secrecy. One old marshal with whom the matter was discussed remembered having heard that long ago masks were constructed in the presence of the uninitiated. Considered as an isolated statement this would have little value, but in conjunction with information derived from Kimsquit it becomes of importance. It is true that in Kimsquit the masks are made in secret, but they are shown to the uninitiated as masks, and the writer was told of one instance in which *Ťloqots*, during his round of the village, fell into the water and remained there all day, to the amusement of non-members who recognized that he was merely a disguised human being. It is even said that long ago the manufacture of masks was entrusted to influential uninitiated. It is clear that there has been a tremendous increase in secrecy even at Kimsquit, and a great deal more at Bella Coola. The writer believes that

575* 796* 178 184 532

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 long ago the *kusiut* society was composed of individuals re-
*796 garded as having supernatural endowments, and who perhaps
178 believed this themselves. In course of time their influence
●184 increased to such an extent that they were able to convince
[532] non-members of the supernatural origin of objects used in their ceremonial.

[115] Unfortunately, information from Kimsquit was obtained almost exclusively from one old man, who, though a marshal well informed in *kusiut* matters and in many ways an almost ideal informant, had long since realized that the dances could be nothing more than representations, and it is possible that his remarks were coloured by this knowledge. Though he tended to minimize the attitude of belief with which the un-
[781] initiated regarded masked figures, yet he fully agreed with every statement made by the Bella Coola themselves with regard to the firm belief of non-members concerning the supernatural powers of the dancers. He also confirmed statements
[688] respecting punishment if an error should occur, and mentioned the shooting of a Bella Bella dancer who had allowed his mask to fall during a *susaok* dance. As far as actual ritual is concerned, the differences in procedure between Bella Coola and Kimsquit are unimportant, and differences in belief are less than they appear at first sight. The Bella Coola *kukusiut*
[781] seem to have perfected their organization and to have been able to impress the uninitiated to a greater extent than their Kimsquit fellows, but the fundamentals of the society are identical.

*575 Traditions concerning the early history of the society are
*796 probably of little value historically, but they are important as
173 indicating the mental attitude of the Bella Coola. Considering the importance of the society there are relatively few accounts of what took place long ago; the Bella Coola know that it exists, believe that the rites are identical with those carried out by their ancestors for generations, and theorize no further. It was only in the beginning of time that things were radically different; it is believed that then all the people were endowed

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

776 575 [534] The Thunder-bird and his companions appear in the kō'siut ceremonial. When they enter the house, a dancer appears who carries an instrument in the shape of a bird-rattle (Plate XI, Fig. 7), which is provided with holes in its lower side, and has a loose back. This implement is filled with cedar-bark and eagle-down, and is shaken by the dancer. The eagle-down is thus made to fly about in the house, symbolizing the wealth and power of the Thunder-bird.

IV.

184 773 In the preceding pages I have summarized the principal features of Bella Coola mythology, which are characteristic of the traditions of the whole tribe. Besides these, there are other groups of traditions which are very conflicting. One reason for the existence of numerous contradictory traditions must be looked for in the peculiar social organization of the Bella Coola. In former times, when the tribe was populous, the Bella Coola inhabited a great many villages. The inhabitants of each village are considered the descendants of a number of mythical ancestors who were sent down by SEMX. Each of these village communities has traditions of its own, which are its property, and which are not well known to the rest of the tribe. Many of these traditions refer to the origin of our world, and for this reason a number of the most important myths differ in various villages. Indications of such conflicting ideas may be found in the traditions recorded in the preceding pages. To make this subject clear, it is necessary to describe somewhat fully the traditions belonging to a number of village communities. Before recording these traditions I shall enumerate the villages of the tribe. 103 361 773 The following list is the result of repeated inquiries. In it the names and locations of the villages are given in consecutive order from the mouth of Bentinck Arm upward along Bella Coola River, and the names of the mythical ancestors of the village communities have been added where these have been ascertained.

VILLAGE.	LOCATION.	ANCESTORS.
1. Q'oā'LNA	At the bay of this name.	
2. Sr'tia	At the entrance of South Bentinck Arm.	Tōtosō'NA.
3. Nusxē'q!	On North Bentinck Arm.	Semsiutā'k'as, Nusqoa'-xlanē, Sxīsta, and their sister Ē'NL'ALANA.
4. Pē'ixla	At the entrance of the valley opening on the north side of the mouth of Bella Coola River.	Stā'tomx· Yuyō'lk", Mkmtsi't, Sisia'L.
5. Atqla'xL	The present mission at the north side of Bella Coola River, near its mouth.	Isyō'yōt, Xemxē'mtx-nkm, Snuxnala'ls, and their sister Lugal'tsia.

?;Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575 796 them. Let the chief give them red cedar-bark." The people take small pieces of blankets, and sew red cedar-bark on to them in designs corresponding to the paintings on the faces of these deities, and they give these to the deities in order to appease them. Then they throw grease into the fire. During all this time É'xêm stands in the rear of the house; and when a painting has been finished, the man who offers it to the deity shouts, "Xêmxêmalá'ôɪla t'aix·tau'!" ("This is Xêmxêmalá'ôɪla.") And É'xêm sings, "Yayak·lamêts'êk·a wa k'waɪtɛnai'x·aɪ t'aix· tai'ya; aɪt'aɪ.'ô'mataxstôs nusk·asiôtstaai'x asɛlkulatôtita'ya." As soon as he has finished his song, a loud noise is heard on the roof, as though a heavy stone were falling down. É'xêm arises and performs a dance, while the noise of whistles is heard proceeding from him.

575 I am not familiar with the details of the ceremonial, and shall proceed to record the principal characteristics of the various societies. The Cannibal is initiated in the House of Myths by Bá'ɛxôɪla. I recorded above (p. 34) how a young man was initiated by this spirit, and how he was returned to his friends. The return of the Cannibal is accompanied by ceremonies similar to those recorded in this tradition. It seems that the ceremonies of the [184] Cannibals of various families are much alike, each having a tradition of its own referring to the initiation. It is believed that all the Cannibals, during their initiation, go up to the sky. I was told that on this journey they have to take human flesh along for food. It is said that in former times the chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for Bá'ɛxôɪla. The offer was accepted, and a [266] payment made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the Bá'ɛxôɪla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods.

The spirit appears to the novice while he is in the woods, and takes him up to the House of Myths, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside of the houses. He has lost all his hair except a little in the median line of the head. It is believed that it has been torn off by the strong wind blowing in the higher regions. Some Cannibals do 575 796 not devour human flesh, but tear dogs to pieces or devour raw salmon. The ceremonial consists in pacifying the Cannibal, and exorcising the spirit that possesses him. This is the object of the kû'siut ceremonial. After a Cannibal has returned, the people try to capture him. When he is first heard to approach, the speaker, whose face is painted black, and who wears a cedar-bark ring, and is covered with eagle-down, shouts, "Tix·ma'ts'ɛn tak·'axta'ɪɪl tɛɪɪ'ai'ôts'ai. P'alx·êxtsalatstɛnai' tix·ma'ts'ɛn tasiswalô'ɪɪl t'aɪ'aiôtat'ai'!" ("Arise, it may be our Cannibal. Awake!") The Cannibal is accompanied by four assistants, who are called Aɪɪlpa, and who from time to time utter

McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

619 others. This differentiated them clearly from all neighbouring
[197] tribes.

B. Ceremonial. A member of a secret society in any of
[575] the above towns was accepted as a member in any other one.
[609] A person of another tribe, even if known to belong to a comparable society, was treated as an uninitiated person.

C. Origin and Religion. The people of Bella Coola, *Tăl·ie*, and Kimsquit felt themselves to be akin through acceptance of the fact that their ancestors had been created together in the beginning of time. This marked them off with
[771] great clearness from all other tribes, especially from the Carriers of the interior. This belief formed a sentimental and religious bond of great strength.

Neighbouring Tribes

648 It is desirable to describe, briefly, the tribes with which the Bella Coola came in contact.

THE CARRIERS

East of Bella Coola, amid the mountains of the interior, roved the Carriers. In summer they often came down to the river valley to fish or trade for salmon, and in winter they were sometimes forced by cold and starvation again to visit the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, or Rivers Inlet people. There was a
[563] good deal of intermarriage between them and the inhabitants of the upper valley, so that the wanderers were able to spend the cold months with relatives. None the less, the Bella Coola
[180] considered these people utterly foreign in habits and beliefs,
[578] and to call a man a "Carrier" was, and still is, a deadly insult. The Carriers lacked the rich ceremonial life of the coastal peoples who, therefore, regarded them with scorn and con-
[796] tempt. The presence of a few of the much-despised Carriers was, however, almost necessary to the correct performance of the winter dances since they were uninitiated spectators whom it was necessary to impress and delude.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bella bella NE5

THE BELLA BELLA

BC 648

West of Bella Coola lived the Bella Bella, known as *ułqwlāsimx*. Although linguistic differences prevented free exchange of ideas, and active hostility was not unknown, there was considerable intermarriage between the two tribes. The Bella Coola recognized the similarity of culture between them; in fact, whereas a Carrier was despised for lack of knowledge of ceremonial and dramatic matters, a Bella Bella was respected for his superior lore in that respect. The Bella Coola believe that many of their rites have been obtained from them.

BB [101] [563] BC [563] [186]

The chief Bella Bella villages are said to have been: *Qwałna*, on "Kwatna" Bay; *Nā'mu*, at "Namu"; *Qwiyai*, four miles from the last-mentioned; *Nulam*.

BB 361 [191] [563]

At *Qwałna*, the nearest settlement, so many of the people spoke Bella Coola that it was practically bilingual. There had been so many intermarriages for generations that the people were not considered foreigners; in fact, Boas includes it among Bella Coola villages (p. 48). There were seven villages on Kwatna Inlet and the Kwatna River which flows in from the south-east.

BC [563] [648]

(1) *Sinułkemitł*, "Where It Spoke": a small outpost on the eastern shore of Kwatna Inlet near the entrance. There may once have been a permanent settlement at the site, but for many years it was used only as a look-out station when raiders were expected.

BB 173 361

It is said that on one occasion, long, long ago, a party of Kwatna people was encamped at this spot, waiting for enemy raiders whose approach had been reported. They did not appear when expected and one of the watchers, wearied by the long wait, said to the genital organs of one of his female companions who had annoyed him:

"Tell us what is going to happen."

"You will all be killed to-morrow," answered a rumbling voice from the organs, to the great amazement of everybody.

So it transpired. The hostile raiders surprised the watchers the next day and only one escaped to tell the tale.

The place has since been known as, "Where It Spoke." It was long ago deserted.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

human beings, in the beginning of time when they were semi-supernatural, sometimes prevailed against him. One story actually records his murder. From the point of view of morality, an angle from which the Bella Coola themselves do not regard him, *Ałquntäm* is neither moral nor immoral; he has the virtues and vices of a man. That, in fact, is a fair summing up of *Ałquntäm*; he is a superman, creator of life, supreme god in the sense that he is chief of the supernatural beings, but not an all-powerful deity.

Compared with *Ałquntäm*, other supernatural beings are insignificant. The Bella Coola do not regard them as a hierarchy with definitely graded rank and power; accordingly, the order in which they are described is immaterial. Reference has already been made to the supernatural Carpenters.[9] There are four of them, created by *Ałquntäm* in the beginning of time; it was they who constructed the mountains and rivers of this land, the animals and birds populating them, and supervised the making of mankind. They are considered to be four brothers, collectively known as *Mesmesälänux*.

The eldest and most powerful is *Yulätimut*, "He Who Completes Any Task with a Single Smoothing Motion."

The second brother is *Mätläbälitcak*, "He Who Completes Any Task with a Single Stroke of an Adze."

The third brother is *Mälläpexwak*, "He Who Completes Any Task with Two Strokes of His Adze."

The fourth and youngest brother is *sltlulak*, "He Who Completes Any Task in a Single Day."

In Kimsquit, *Mätläbälitcak* is often called *Mesmesälänux* and the collective term is not used. These names explain the beliefs of the Bella Coola with regard to the powers of the Carpenters. After their work in the beginning of time, the three younger brothers returned to *Nusmät·a*, where they have since resided, but *Yulätimut* came to earth and married a Bella Bella woman. The Bella Coola admit that members of this

[9]Cf. Boas, p. 32.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

* 776 tribe are superior to themselves in carpentry, and ascribe their
[186] skill to the fact that many of them are descendants of *Yulā-*
[648] *timut*. Some of the coastal tribes are said to believe that *Alquntām* erred in the manufacture of many of the sea mammals, giving them, for example, human heads on fish bodies; he later rectified this by sending his Carpenters to adjust their form. This is not a Bella Coola belief. One elderly man stated that the skill of the Carpenters in painting and modelling was derived from a little girl named *Qaxtanae*; no confirmation could be obtained for this statement and the information was vague and unreliable.

Since their creation of the sky and many features of this world, as well as birds and animals, the Carpenters have entered but little into the lives of the Bella Coola. Like other supernatural beings, they are capable of going anywhere, but for many generations they have not been seen on this earth.
[575] Their most important function, perhaps, is to act as patrons for various *kusiut* dancers. This subject will be described in detail in vol. II, chap. 1; for the moment it is enough to say that many supernatural beings regard members of this semi-sacred society as their protégés, and grant them power to per-
[535] form dances. On these occasions masked figures are used to represent the patrons, thus enlightening uninitiated persons as to the appearance and attributes of various supernatural beings.

Among the many residents of *Nusmāt·a* are two sons of *Alquntām*, *Sānolqumulelts Alquntām* and *Sno'elxelts Alquntām*. The former in particular is dearly loved by his father and is often spoken of as *Nuslexwanuxwdam*, "The Cherished One."
[575] These two beings take no part in the affairs of mortals except as patrons of *kusiut* dancers. Like all supernatural beings they are considered to be immortal. Since *Alquntām* has two sons it is to be assumed that he has, or had, a wife. Her name is not generally known, although she is sometimes spoken of as
[538] *Nusmāt·aien·a*, "The Woman of *Nusmāt·a*." There are also many stories describing his amours with human women resulting in semi-supernatural offspring.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

* 776 encountered on land, but the sea likewise is the home of anthropomorphic creatures. Far beneath the surface is a land much [772] like the earth, inhabited by people resembling humans who sometimes assist a drowning person. The mysteries of this undersea world are known to the Bella Coola chiefly through accounts handed down from generation to generation, though its inhabitants have often appeared at the surface. Their hair is long and somewhat reddish, their bodies are hairless, and their faces are in many cases stained with black. One man stated that about three years before a Japanese, fishing near Namu, had caught in his net one of these people, a girl about two years old. He drew her into his boat, where she squatted on the bottom, docile and submissive. After a time the fisherman became frightened and threw his captive overboard. The [648] Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella, greater seafarers than [186] themselves, have more extensive knowledge of these undersea dwellers.

539 Similar, if not identical, beings live beneath rivers and lakes; they have often been seen on the surface, and occa- * 776 sionally, long, long ago, certain fortunate individuals saw their houses. Accounts of such are embodied in Bella Coola mythology and will be described later. The following can be considered an example of a simple type:

About three hundred years ago, *Lewumewumlaix*, a Kimsquit fisherman, built a pier-like framework, projecting into the Dean River, on which to stand while fishing for salmon with a long-handled[14] scoop-net. One August day he was using his net when, after a number of successful sweeps, it became very heavy. As the net came to the surface he found, to his amazement, that a small boy was hanging on the rim. A number of people who had been watching from the shore, called to him to throw away his net with its uncanny haul. Heedless of this advice, *Lewumewumlaix* tried to lift his net and, on finding it too heavy, began to draw it through the water so as to drag it out on the shore. All went well for the first few yards, till suddenly the boy shoved against the net, pushing the fisherman into the water on the other side of the pier. Immediately the supernatural one vanished from sight. As the bystanders rushed to

[14]The handles of nets of this type are said to have been about thirty feet in length.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

556 with the objects back on the fire. In some cases four sets of
575 cloths are used. This rite, which is regarded as very impor-
783 tant, frees the lads from the supernatural powers with which
789 they have been endowed, and permits them finally to leave the back-room and return to normal life, just as their earlier cleansing freed them from the *tutwinam*. During their period of seclusion no initiate can perform a *kusiut* ceremony of any kind. The supernatural beings of the two societies, though closely akin, are yet independent, and it would be unthinkable for a man to enter into contact with the two at the same time, unless he should be the owner of a rare prerogative enabling
[424] him to do so. Only a few men have the right, which un-
[177] doubtedly was derived either from the Bella Bella or the people of Rivers Inlet.

556 X pays the functioning *siki* with new clothing. This com-
575 pletes the whole ceremony. The guests either return home or
[465] adjourn to some other house where a potlatch is taking place, but no rites mark their departure.

556 Such, then, are the principal features of the Bella Coola
171 potlatch. Without making a careful comparison of its features with those of neighbouring tribes, the following points stand out with great clearness:

(1) The basic concepts of the potlatch in Bella Coola are the same as those of the rite practised elsewhere on the coast.

(2) A potlatch has not the same importance at Bella Coola as it has on other parts of the coast, especially among the Kwakiutl. All informants stated repeatedly that they did not
[186] carry their potlatches to the same lengths as did the "foolish" Kwakiutl, nor were they as keen financiers. A Bella Coola would never entirely impoverish himself by lavish giving.

(3) The potlatch, though fundamentally the same as it is elsewhere on the coast, has certain rites characteristic of the locality. The central Bella Coola feature, the return of a dead ancestor, is not equally important elsewhere. It would be interesting to be able to trace the history of this. The most

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

In one case where an orphan woman, without relatives, repurchased herself by her own arduous labours, the announcement was made: 553 556 583

"Y's belt has come to rebuy her."

The reference was to the manner in which she had looped up her clothing with a belt when working. If Y's father should die after amassing goods to repurchase her, they are used for the purpose intended and the announcement is:

"Y's father's anus has come to rebuy her."

The ancestral family descended from the first settlers at *Snulle·tl* have the prerogative of singing a special song as they rebuy one of their daughters. This was used by their first ancestors on a like occasion. The theme is: [424] [533]

"I, I, I am the highest of you all. No one of you is capable of doing what I can accomplish. You all live on what I void."

The significance of this last sentence is that the village of *Snulle·tl* is farthest up the Bella Coola River. Its inhabitants used to claim that the people of the other villages lived on the refuse which they threw into the river, a source of pride to them. [186]

After announcing the various relatives who have rebought Y, the presents are counted and carried into X's house. The statement concerning their number, who has given them, and for what purpose, is repeated to the foreign guests there assembled, and they are then piled indiscriminately in a large heap for future distribution. At this juncture X calls out:

"Come in, come in," as though he were welcoming arrivals from a distance.

Y's relatives enter, and the ritual of the potlatch continues in the manner already described. The origin myth in which Y's new name is embodied is related in considerable detail, especially its recent history, that is, by whom it was last used and any pertinent items connected with its transmission. If she has received several names from different myths, each is similarly expounded.

As has been said, many women's names have been created 551 553

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

587 carried out *in toto*, since the repurchasing has wiped out the original expenditure. This is not necessary in the case of elderly widows or widowers. It is considered fitting for a widow or widower to wait for at least six months before re-
[186] marrying. The Bella Coola say that in Bella Bella wives are willed, as if they were slaves.

586 In spite of the efforts made to ensure the stability of marriage by elaborate ceremonies and repeated exchange of presents by the two families, divorce is not unknown. Due to the decay of Bella Coola culture, it is now the rule and not the exception. It was difficult to obtain satisfactory data concerning its prevalence in the old days. Unquestionably every effort was made by both families to keep together a husband and wife who had been wed with due ceremony, but it is evident that these attempts were not always successful. If a husband deserts his wife, or she him, and refuses to return, it is considered that the marriage contract is at an end. The usual grounds for desertion on his part are childlessness, inability of the wife to help at potlatches, and habitual faithlessness. Continued cruelty and neglect are the usual reasons for a woman abandoning her husband. These factors seem to have governed divorce in years gone by, as well as at the present time. The most unfortunate consequence, in the eyes of the Bella Coola, is the stigma it casts on the children. The younger ones normally remain with the mother, those older use their own discretion, and sometimes pass back and forth from one parent to the other. Both mother and father continue to take an interest in their welfare, and a child can receive prerogatives from either, irrespective of which he is living with. None the less, there is a sentimental bar against the children of a divorced couple who can be shamed by a reference to the marital faithlessness of a parent. This factor, combined with the difficulties, financial and otherwise, between the two families, explains the efforts made to prevent divorce and the odium with which it is regarded. Of course, if husband and wife are poor persons or slaves, married without elaborate

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NE6

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palm of one hand. The conspirators had been hoping for such an indication, since it gave the information to the brother who was peering through a crack. The younger sister persuaded the older one to hold up her palms to the fire to warm them, thus giving the brother an opportunity to shoot through a knot-hole in the wall of the house. His arrow transfixed his sister's hand and she fell, helpless, whereupon he entered and slew her.

The surviving brother and sister abandoned their home and travelled for a very long time without seeing anyone. Finally, they settled on a mountain top and married. Since that time Carriers have married their sisters.*

[186]

THE MARRIAGE OF *Thiedpilden-a*'s DAUGHTER

Long ago, when the world was still sparsely populated, there were two poor orphans, a brother and sister, quite alone, without relatives. The boy, who was about eighteen years old, took great care of the girl. In summer, when the people scattered over the country in search of food, the two went together to catch and dry salmon for the winter. The brother had great success. He caught many fish which he suspended on a frame to dry, in charge of his sister, while he went away for four or five days. On his return all the drying salmon had disappeared.

[251]

"That is unkind of my sister," he said to himself, "to have eaten all these fish so greedily."

He went to bed without saying anything, but next morning asked her:

"Is it you who have eaten all our food?"

The girl replied in a frightened whisper:

"Don't speak to me about it. I am terrified. A supernatural woman stole it. I think it was *Thiedpilden-a*. I heard something approaching and hid myself. A huge woman came to the drying rack, her snout-like mouth ranged among the fish and sucked them down like lightning, while her teeth rattled as if they were loose in her jaws. She went away as soon as she had finished our salmon."

Next morning the boy hade his sister hide, as he was going to attack the robber of his food. He prepared a bow with a strong arrow and took up his position in ambush overlooking the rack on which hung the salmon he had recently caught. Soon he heard a voice and presently *Thiedpilden-a* appeared, wearing a shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark or shavings bands, plentifully sprinkled with eagle down. Her teeth rattled loudly in their sockets. When near the rack, her mouth formed itself into a snout with which she began to suck in the salmon with a horrible

*This statement is undoubtedly a mere expression of Bella Coola contempt for their neighbours.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Several Bella Coola were questioned concerning the Cannibal spirit which Boas has described for the Kwakiutl. Some had never heard of such a creature, others had vague knowledge concerning it, and two men were able to give it a name. The one called it *Bäxbäxqwanälocîwa*, the other *Bäxbäxqwaiwa*. All informants agreed that this creature was not a part of the Cannibal rites of Bella Coola and one man suggested that the cannibalistic incubus rendered it unnecessary. The Bella Coola believe that this Cannibal spirit is used in Bella Bella. During 1923 there came to Bella Coola an old Kimsquit Indian who had left his home many years ago and had since been living at Smith Inlet(?). With him came his son, a grown man, who had inherited from his mother a Kwakiutl Cannibal prerogative which he displayed in the winter of 1923-4. After the dancer had, theoretically, returned from the regions above, a large masked figure representing *Bäxbäxqwaiwa* entered through the front-door. As the singers beat time, it hopped to and fro, up and down, with snapping beak. The Bella Coola were intensely interested, and one had only to listen to their remarks when wondering what it might be, to be convinced that the Cannibal spirit is a strange concept to them. The most frequent hypothesis was that it was a *hauhau*, since the masked figure did resemble this supernatural bird. The Bella Coola greatly admired the dance, and were by no means ashamed to confess their inferiority as dancers to the Kwakiutl. After the disappearance of the masked figure, the singers sang the Cannibal's song and he danced in normal fashion, which was commented upon as another difference in custom.

575* 796* 776 [171] [171] [428] [424] [186] [171]

THE SCRATCH DANCE

Only less awe-inspiring than the Cannibal dance is the Scratch dance. Those *hakuxiat* who have this prerogative are able to scratch the bodies of their fellows, so that long, bloody weals result. The privileges and restrictions of Scratchers are closely akin to those of Cannibals, as the following points show:

575* 424 [796]*

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

WAR WITH THE CARRIERS

B C 648 721

The only other people with whom the Bella Coola came into frequent conflict were the Carriers. Some of the latter used to spend the winter among the coastal tribes, and had even intermarried with them to a considerable extent, but their mode of life was so different that they were always viewed as foreign in thought and outlook. The Bella Coola despised them for their dirtiness, their fondness for unsavoury food, and, above all, for their ignorance of *kusiut* and *susook* matters. This distrust was mutual and not infrequently led to bloodshed. Owing to the location of the Carriers, they could not be reached by canoes, and the Bella Coola had no liking for long overland journeys. The mobility and relative lack of permanent villages made it difficult to bring the Carriers to bay, so that warfare between them and the Bella Coola usually took the form of a killing followed by a raid for revenge; continued hostility was virtually unknown. The people of the lower villages were scarcely affected, but in former times there seems to have been a considerable amount of intermittent fighting between the inhabitants of the upper valley and the Carriers living east of them.

B [186] B [484]

B C 648 726

The following account, claimed to be historical, describes what was said to be a typical raid, followed by a counter-attack.

On one occasion all the young people of *Suasi*, *Nuktli*, *Ăsăwăwi*, and *Sauisli* went on a picnic to a large, clear tract of ground up the valley, where they spent their time, playing and singing. Towards nightfall two young men, who had not come with the others, drew near cautiously until they could call a girl who was a friend of one of the two. She slipped off quietly from her companions and passed the night with her lover and his comrade in the woods. Towards dawn a party of marauding Carrier Indians swooped down on the sleeping picnickers who, unarmed and unprepared, could make no resistance. With the exception of two pretty girls carried off as slaves, all were slain. The three who had been in the woods hurried back to the villages with the news.

The men of the four towns prepared for action. They went to the picnic ground and brought back the corpses for burial, thus learning for

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

142 sally used but the older people state that beards were by no
144 means rare in former times. Careful inquiries were made
[302] concerning the ancestry of a man, about seventy years of age in 1922, whose curly beard suggests that he must be a half-breed, as indeed he is assumed to be by the white settlers of the valley. His father was *Potles*, the most influential chief of recent years, his mother was herself the daughter of an important chief. None of the older men had ever heard the slightest rumour of faithlessness on her part. There were white
[648] traders on the coast at the time of his birth, and intercourse with
[567] slave women and others of low family was not uncommon, but
[622] it would have been difficult for a chief's wife to misconduct herself, and still more difficult for her to conceal all knowledge of it in view of the open life which prevailed at that period. Moreover, it is said that *Potles* himself had a similar beard, as did also the parents of several men who in 1922 were fifty or sixty years of age.

142 Although the possibility of white mixture cannot be over-
144 looked in the case of this one individual, one must not dis-
826 regard the opinion of the people themselves on hairiness in general. They are proud of it and regard beards and mous-
[302] taches as marks of virility given to them by *Ałquntäm*; baldness and lack of facial hair are considered a sign of weakness. They aver that their fathers and grandfathers were even more hirsute than they. Furthermore, they point out with pride
[186] that this is a difference between themselves and the tribes of the interior, who are, as they say in scorn, "hairless like Chinamen." Finally, it is noteworthy that the hair on the head of many Bella Coola is wavy, or even curly (see Plate 20), instead of straight as among the majority of Indian tribes.[2]

Character

181 It is an almost impossible task to describe briefly the characteristics of a people. Those of the Bella Coola have

[2]This characteristic has led the writer to wonder if it could possibly have been caused by Ainu mixture.

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

105

are apparently more recent comers to the coast than their neighbors and have not fully adopted this coast culture.

The following examples of sympathetic magic and witchcraft, collected during 1920 to 1923 among the Bellacoola, illustrate the extent of their belief in this direction. 114 121

Most of this information was given me by the late Captain Schooner, born about 1848, and Joshua Moody, born about 1868, both apparently full-blood Bellacoola Indians. Neither of them spoke English and both gave me the data in Chinook jargon, which I have endeavored to interpret and arrange in logical order, but have tried to render in as nearly as possible the Indian mode of thought, feeling and expression. Schooner was a pagan gentleman. Joshua has great knowledge of plants and animals, and is a Bellacoola scientist, but his great ambition and jealousy, combined with his disloyalty in giving up his own people's customs and adopting a very thin veneer of Christianity, color his statements relating to beliefs, although his plant and animal data have always withstood cross examination and comparison with the data supplied by other Indians. Alec Davis and Mrs. Willie Mack told of the toad. They do not talk English and spoke to me in Chinook jargon. Only the accounts about the grizzly bear skin and the bracelet of beaver skin, which were given me by Mrs. Stoessiger, were told in English. 115 [191] [191]

The material was not given as accounts of magic or witchcraft, but rather as part of the data regarding the properties of plants and animals of which I was endeavoring to collect as complete information as possible. 114 121

Joshua, who is even younger than Captain Schooner, remembers the time when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in the Bella Coola valley, and when they saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently these men remember the old Bellacoola beliefs before they were much, if at all, affected by European ideas. 114 115

It will be noticed that magic among the Bellacoola is considered of use both for beneficial and injurious purposes, and that the materials giving effect to it are of both plant and animal origin. 789 754

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

MATERIA MEDICA OF THE BELLA COOLA AND NEIGHBOURING TRIBES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

By Harlan I. Smith

INTRODUCTION

This paper describes the materia medica of four tribes of British Columbia, the Bella Coola of Bella Coola valley, the Gitksan of Skeena river, the Carrier who live in the territory behind both of these tribes, and the Sikani of the headwaters of Peace river. Among the Bella Coola the medicines are largely family possessions known to a few individuals only, so that two families may have different remedies for the same specific complaint; but this is not the case among the other tribes. Everywhere magical practices enter largely into the treatment of disease, but are not touched upon in this report. It was impossible for the Indians to diagnose many of their maladies, so that the identifications given here are in many cases problematical.

Most of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1920-22, by Joshua Moody, apparently a full-blood Bella Coola Indian, born about 1868. As he did not speak English he gave the data in Chinook jargon, which has been interpreted and arranged in logical order. Joshua is an Indian scientist with great knowledge of the local plants and animals. He remembers when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in Bella Coola valley, and when the inhabitants saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently he can recall the old Bella Coola material culture before it was much affected by European ideas.

Some of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1922-23 by the late Captain Schooner, also, apparently, a full-blood, born about 1848, who used the Chinook jargon. Alec Davis, Alexander Clelaman, Louie Hall, and other Bella Coola Indians likewise gave information and corroboration.

Most of the information relating to the Southern Carrier Indians of Ulkatcho was secured during 1920-1922 from Charlie West, alias Pretty Charlie or Handsome Charlie, a native of that place, born about 1871. Charlie used the peculiar form of broken or pidgeon English commonly employed for communication between the whites and the Carrier and Chilcotin Indians of this region.

The information about the Sikani and the Northern Carriers of Hagwelget is from stray field notes kindly supplied by Mr. D. Jenness.

The information relating to the Gitksan was secured in 1925-26 from the late John Fowler and Abraham Fowler of Kitwanga, Luke Fowler and Bob Robinson of Hazelton, with additions and corroboration from a few others, all old Gitksan Indians, apparently full-blood. The information was secured mainly in English, although Abraham Fowler used also the Chinook jargon.

The method the writer employed was to submit specimens of the plants to his informants and question them concerning all their uses. Of the information thus obtained only the medicinal portion has been presented here. The plants were later identified by Mr. M. O. Malte, of the National Museum, Ottawa.

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1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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* 776 the top. He concluded that this must be the home of the woman. Before the door of her house, wherever it may be, there are miniature totem-poles which open their painted mouths and speak in the voice of the animal or bird portrayed. The writer did not hear that her home was in the land above [114] *Nusmät·a*, as Boas (p. 28) states. At the present time knowledge of *Kämai·ts* is so scanty that failure to confirm the previous observation is not surprising.

One or two passing remarks of elderly informants imply that *Kämai·ts* may once have been more important to Bella Coola belief than she is now. One old man, already in his [775] dotage, stated that long ago the dead used to dwell in her house. Another declared that long ago prayers were addressed [782] to her, which is never done now. The word *kämai·ts* is commonly used by the Bella Coola in a manner difficult to trans- [192] late. It serves as equivalent for "please" or "thank you," but has an underlying significance of a supernatural benison or appeal. It is not a word to be used in casual conversation; it is reserved for important occasions or times of emotional stress. The comparative unimportance of *Kämai·ts* probably rests on the fact that she belongs merely to the realm of ancient history and has no sociological significance, even as the patron of a *kusiut* dancer.

772 Another supernatural being so far removed from this world that he enters but little into the lives of the Bella Coola, is * 776 *Sninia*. He is the male being whom *Älquntäm* sent down from above in the beginning of time to hold the earth in position, and who has since performed this duty. He lives among the ice of the far north, and has not been seen by mortals for many generations. He holds a rope fastened to the earth; when he is afraid that it has slipped slightly he takes a new grip and pulls the rope taut, pressing the world against the soles of his feet as he sits with legs extended, as a man would do to hold tight a kicking salmon. It is the tightening of the rope which [823] causes an earthquake. If *Sninia* should lose his grip entirely 575 the earth would capsize. He is patron for several *kusiut* * 776 dancers.

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556 *

monograph the term "potlatch" will be limited to this, the *łum*. [104]

Every Bella Coola is, or should be, able to recount how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god, *Älquntäm*, caused his ancestors to be created in his house in the land above, whence they were sent down to populate the earth. A creation legend of this type is a man's most treasured possession.[4] Most myths describe the adventures of these first people, how they prospered in the Bella Coola country until they were able to invite to their homes guests from far and near, to whom they showed what they had achieved, through the assistance of *Älquntäm*, or of some other supernatural being. In so doing they were carrying out *Älquntäm*'s wishes. He told some of these first people that if they accumulated much wealth, in those days chiefly food, there was danger that the provisions first stored would rot, hence they should cut away the bottom of the pile and present it to other men and women. The Bella Coola term for "to cut out that which is rotten" is *łłł*, hence the origin, according to their belief, of the word *łum*, which thus has the significance of "a giving away of long accumulated goods which otherwise might rot."

556 * 773 [424] [192]

By the splendour of his gifts each of the first people able to give a potlatch (*łum*), spread the knowledge of his name and fame to the towns whence his guests had assembled. Further, those who had received dances from *Älquntäm* were able to demonstrate them. In course of time those who had first given potlatches died, but on taking their fathers' names, the sons, or other descendants, endeavoured to uphold the parental tradition by inviting guests from afar and giving them valuable presents. At such a ceremony the family history, or family myth, was recounted, so that the donor of a potlatch not only increased his own prestige, he incorporated therewith the traditions of his parent. This is the essence of the potlatch as carried out today.[5]

[574]

[4]Examples of these are given in vol. I, chap. VI.

[5]It has been found convenient to use the present tense throughout, although the potlatch is not now carried out in its entirety.

[104]

*539 and *Qwax*, the Raven. The former flew ahead to clear a path down the mountain slope for *Yuyulk"mai*. At that time there was no sun, everything was dark and bleak. As they descended the mountain, they remembered that they had forgotten to bring from above the sticks for making fire which *Sınx* had promised them. So Raven assumed the form of a deer, returned to the upper regions, collected the desired appliances, and rejoined his companions below. *Sınx* had given *Yuyulk"mai* a stone hammer to use in making a salmon-weir, so he chose a site near the river, where the village of *Ālqāläxl* now stands, and built a house of evergreen boughs. The perpetual gloom annoyed Raven so that he determined to release light, *sxem*, which he knew was in a container in the house above. Once again he ascended and succeeded in uncovering the light of the sun which has since shone forth on this world. From this Raven took for himself the name, *Qunqwnım uldidā sxem*.

When *Yuyulk"mai* awoke after the first night in his new house, he found a salmon-weir ready for him, built by *Sınx* while he was sleeping. That night he slept again, but nothing had altered in the morning.

*539 During the day, *Sınx* appeared to *Yuyulk"mai*, saying:

551 "I bring you the name, *Sınxälotla*. When you give a potlatch, carve my face on your totem-pole."

The next day *Sınx* came again.

"I bring you the name, *Sınxäkila*," he said. "When you give a potlatch, carve my face on the bench where the chiefs sit."

The third day *Sınx* appeared once more, saying:

"I bring you the name, *Ānuxemlaix*. When you give a potlatch, paint my face on the back wall of your house."

Next day *Sınx* appeared in the form of a stump with numerous radiating roots, scoured and polished by the river.

"You will have the name *Ālqexqi'djut*,"[4] he said. "If you find a hammer used in the construction of salmon-weirs, you will know that other people are living above you on the river. Put abalone-shell on the hammer."

*539 With these instructions *Sınx* went away and never came back.

In course of time, when the population of the earth increased, *Yuyulk"mai* became rich and invited the people to a potlatch. The name he used on this occasion was *Sınxälotla* and he carved the face of *Sınx* on his totem-pole, as he had been instructed to do. A few years later he gave another potlatch, with the name *Sınxäkila*, and this time he carved *Sınx*'s face on the bench where the chiefs sat. When he gave

[192] [4] Meaning, "A glance downwards." It is the word used when a person looks downwards between his legs, or over his shoulders, a reference to the manner in which *Sınx*, from aloft, watches the actions of mortals.

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525 were about to die. During the day he spent much of his time aimlessly
* 539 making miniature wooden darts and circles of pliant wood, such as are
* 787 used in a game, and idly tossing these around. One day when he was so engaged he heard someone come to the door, and looking up he saw a strange man.

"A *wina*[1] is coming to *Djusdju·sa*," said the stranger.

"Come in," replied *Djusdju·sa*.

The stranger was a supernatural being, though whether *Djusdju·sa* was at once aware of this is doubtful.

"What do you bet?" asked the stranger, assuming that they would play with the darts and hoops which *Djusdju·sa* held in his hands.

"Alas, I have nothing," said the miserable man, though all his gambling instincts were aroused. "All I own in the world is a dried salmon fin which I use to chew on; I can barely keep alive with that and clams."

"Come on," said the supernatural stranger; "I will wager this pair of decorated moccasins against your salmon fin."

They gambled and *Djusdju·sa* won.

The loser handed over the moccasins, saying, "Go down to the beach and put just the toes of these shoes into the ocean."

Then he disappeared.

Djusdju·sa placed the toes in the water, and instantly the sea was filled with small herring-like fish called *ḵmän·i*. *Djusdju·sa* caught and devoured as many of these as he wanted, but he did not clean himself, nor did he tell his brothers of his good fortune on their return.

Next day the supernatural stranger again appeared, offering to wager another pair of shoes against one of the hoops which *Djusdju·sa* had made. Once more the lad was victorious, receiving a pair of moccasins which, when dipped in the sea, brought countless spring salmon. The following day he won a pair which attracted the sockeye salmon, and on successive days ones to bring other species of salmon, until he was able to attract every kind. Finally, during his brothers' absence one day, *Djusdju·sa*, throwing off his disguise of lethargy, filled the house with all kinds of salmon. Great was the surprise of the hunters on their return; they asked him if he had become endowed with supernatural power, and he replied that he had. In exchange for being taught to gamble with crab-apple sticks, the supernatural one had so cleaned *Djusdju·sa*'s eyes that he could see where the king-stick[2] was concealed; hence he would be able to win on all occasions.

[192] [628]

[1]*Wina*, the term used for a raiding-party, is also applied to a contest in any game of skill, especially one in which teams or individuals from different villages take part.

[2]This is a marked stick and the players guess in whose hand it is concealed.

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103, 192, 551, 773, 776

/For a Bella Coola-English vocabulary which includes place names, personal names, and names of spirits, gods, mythological characters and places, see category 116, pp. 573-630./

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CHAPTER I

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

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General Observations on the Kusiut Society — Powers and Functions of the Society — Initiation — The Ritual of Specific Dances — Various Origin Myths — Kusiut Prerogatives Other than Dances — The Death of a Kusiut — The Final Rite — Concluding Observations and History.

General Observations on the *Kusiut* Society

IN view of the importance of the *kusiut* society in the lives of the Bella Coola, it would seem logical to have described it in an earlier part of this monograph. Though an integral part of the complicated structure of social organization, it is a secret, semi-religious grouping which can best be treated separately. The word *kusiut* is connected etymologically, according to native belief, with *siut*, the term for a supernatural being. Thus the meaning of the society's designation is "The Supernatural," or "The Learned," for *siut* has both these significations. A member of the society is likewise called a *kusiut*, plural, *kukusiut*. 575* 575* 192 [776]

The investigator soon learns of the existence of the society. If he asks a man his name, and then inquires further what type of designation it is, the answer is always that it is his *kusiut* name, that is, the one by which he is known as a member of the society. Ancestral names are used only at potlatches or other ceremonial occasions, whereas an individual's *kusiut* appellation is the one which he uses commonly. Moreover, for about three months of every year the Bella Coola live in an atmosphere of *kusiut* dances with a performance, or its preliminaries, taking place almost every night. Preparations for this ceremonial season, for so it may be termed, begin four days after the September moon is full, while the actual dances commence early in November and are continued until March. During this period the *kukusiut* are believed to be in intimate 551 575* [124] 535 575* 796 [787]

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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

meal with admonitions from the marshals; then they too disperse. 575* 796*

During the following day a hole is dug behind the fire of sufficient depth to conceal X, when standing in it, as high as the thighs. Towards dusk he takes up his position in this pit; his face is blackened and he wears the customary cedar-bark collar and a belt-apron to hold the frame in place. An assistant lies down on the floor immediately in front of him with his head in the hole beside X's feet so that the two men, instead of appearing as such, seem to be only one seated upon the ground. As night falls the *kukusiut* take their places and the more influential members of the society press forward to see that X and his assistant are properly disguised so that the fact that they are really two is not apparent. When all is in readiness, the Bella Coola practice is for a herald to summon the waiting uninitiated, but in Kimsquit one of the marshals orders some of the younger men to extinguish the fire, before this is done, so that as the non-members come to the door their fears are increased by finding the house in deep darkness. The heralds guide them to their places in the front corners, where they sit in shuddering expectancy for about an hour. The stillness is broken only by the occasional sound of a whistle and the laboured breathing of the guests. Suddenly the hush is shattered by the voice of a *kusiut* calling out four times *än·än·ai·*, the ejaculation used in pain. [184] [192] [152]

To the spell-bound uninitiated it seems as if the supernatural beings surrounding him had become too much for him, so that he cried out in the agony of his soul. Resinous sticks have been placed in readiness and a fire is quickly kindled. The Cannibals growl savagely in their corners and the uninitiated shiver. From this point forth the ritual in Bella Coola and Kimsquit is identical. [184]

X circles the fire, sunwise, four times and appears to seat himself on the floor with outstretched legs though in reality he is standing in the hole. One of the *änuyax* stands up and announces:

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* 575 *796 776 825 184 824 773 824 825 539

land of the salmon early in January, and it is owing to his successful raid that there is a plentiful supply of fish the following year. The fact that the Bella Coola attribute the same function to *Nēākynim* provides no difficulties to native philosophers.

"Different individuals have different stories," they say, and the fact that the two are contradictory is a matter of no consequence.

The incidents described in the following myth are always spoken of as having taken place long ago, and yet the coming of *Winwina* is an annual event, a confusion disconcerting to the investigator though not to the Bella Coola themselves.

Winwina[*] once led a raiding party against the salmon, whose home is far to the west, and against the berries who live in a flat and warm country beyond even the land of salmon. His crew consisted of birds who are spoken of in the myth by unusual designations, said to be either their supernatural or their *kusiut* names. One informant spoke of these beings as individuals, and only added that they were birds as an afterthought, while another emphasized their avian rather than their human characteristics. This is not surprising, considering that the story belongs to the distant past when birds and human beings were not as clearly differentiated as they now are. *Winwina*'s crew consisted of:

The Bald Eagle, *Tcēkwak*;

The Hawk (*l*) species, *Ānukiqakstix*;

The Raven, *'Łaxwaqstlaix*, "He Who Talks at Dawn and Wakens Everyone";

The Water Ouzel, *Tlikmaxstlika*, "The Walking One";

The Great Blue Heron, *Mazaxilian*, "Long Neck";

The Hermaphrodite, *Ala'yas*;

The Cormorant, *Kwakwā'la*, who joined the expedition at Bella Bella as a passenger;

Four lazy supernatural beings, *Kāmalālkl*.

The expedition was under the especial protection of *Kalxsta*, a female supernatural shaman, who guided the canoe in which the raiders travelled by the force of her intellect as if it had been a compass. After a lengthy journey, the party reached the land of the salmon where the clouds obligingly drifted low in the heavens so that the fish could not see their

[192]

[*] A word etymologically connected with wina, the Bella Coola term for raid.

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

*575 *796 [417] During *qothm* and *nuluxam* days the carpenters gather in X's house where they construct a long ladder. The uprights and rungs are of split cedar, and each of the latter is decorated with a tuft of dyed, and a tuft of undyed cedar-bark; two white eagle-tail feathers are fastened to the top. In the afternoon of *nuluxam*, a *kusiut* who is also a chief blackens his face, dons a collar of dyed cedar-bark and sallies forth to invite guests from the adjacent villages. About the same time the smoke-vent in X's house is pushed back and the ladder is erected, projecting a considerable distance above the roof. The uninitiated see it clearly and wonder what it may portend. In the evening the *kukusiut* assemble and the singers beat out X's two songs for the benefit of the guest visitors. Then the uninitiated are called in. They see the lower part of the ladder, and gaze with wonder on X who keeps walking backwards and [292] forwards in his raised enclosure, clad in a dance-apron and a black blanket to which is tied one end of the long rope. Two *kukusiut* assistants hold a section of it as if to anchor him. The dancer carries a rattle which he keeps shaking violently. His two songs are sung and everything is now ready for the main performance. Still shaking his rattle, X climbs the ladder and disappears from sight through the roof, dragging the rope after him. The sound of the rattle grows gradually fainter and fainter, but the cable is steadily drawn up through the opening. It is so realistic that the uninitiated hardly require the explanation given by an eloquent *kusiut* that a strange power has come to X, enabling him to climb up a ladder which lengthens of its own accord until he will ultimately reach the land above. The orator explains how the dancer will be able to straighten the tally posts, and thus have it in his power to govern the life of an individual, though normally it is only the supernatural beings who can do so. In this connection he employs the term [192] *mulatsta*, a word seldom used which has the significance of "A Measuring of the Span of Life."

As at *kusiutum* dances, spies guard the doorway and threaten death to the *kukusiut* unless X return in safety. No

[The Sun Dance]

*575 dance of *Neăkxmm* is omitted owing to the large expenditure
*796 required, X must sing, without a call, in conjunction with the *W'l-a* dancer. In this case also the details are lacking.

[424] Likewise at the winter solstice, when the tarrying *Ălquntăm*
[821] at last enters *Nusqulxwaista* to greet the waiting supernatural *kukusiut*, it is incumbent on his protégé to perform in his honour below. The singers are always ready with a new song for the occasion, and in the evening his fellows assemble in his house to learn it. X wears the usual ceremonial collar, but he lacks the awe-inspiring qualities of a *kusiut* who has had a call. When the song has been sufficiently practised, the uninitiated are brought in to listen to it and to watch the dancing of X. At the conclusion of the performance they are given a little food, provided by X, which they carry away while the *kukusiut* remain to eat at their ease and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. It is probable that the ritual carried out at the beginning of the ceremonial season is identical with the above.
[821] One old man stated that long ago it was customary to dance in the same manner at the summer solstice; this might be expected, but confirmation was unobtainable.

*575 Like the protégé of Thunder, X is sometimes called upon
*796 to perform during the non-ceremonial season. But whereas a
821 Thunder dancer acts when his patron is apparent by peals of sound, X must do so when his patron is invisible through an eclipse.[*] The ritual is almost identical with that already described for a Thunder dancer so nothing but additional details need be inserted. X visits every house shaking a rattle, which is not the case with Thunder dancers. After his circuit of the village, the *kukusiut* gather in his house where the singers are
[533] composing a new song describing the phenomenon. The words explain that Eclipse, the supernatural being *Nuqsulx*[w], has blocked or destroyed the path of the Sun, and add how disastrous it would be if the Sun could not recover its way. Later on, the uninitiated are called in to watch X's dance which, like

[*] The Bella Coola term both for "eclipse" and the being responsible is *Nuqsulx*[w] which also means "A Fire That Has Died Out."

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2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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the one that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make good the path" of the patron. It would formerly have been a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with death by the marshals. One informant vividly recalled his fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his conversion to Christianity, and reiterated that he had been in deadly peril from the marshals in spite of the white man's law.

575* 796* 821 688 177

THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron to *kusiut* dancers, the Moon also has many human protégés. Among them is *Nałuimăx*, "The Moon When It Is Unobscured," of *Tsmotl*, from whom the following account of the Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as X.

776 551 424

The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to X's wishes and the consent of the marshals. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *kukusiut* presently assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

Asiutănem:[11] A woman who lives in the moon and who can be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of water.

575* 796*

The two *Aiqwaiust:* These two beings are able periodically to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse.

821 776

The two *Snitsmăn·a:*[12] These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who come to earth to assist stricken *kukusiut*.

The song also describes how no supernatural being dares to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition similar to that obeyed by uninitiated with regard to passing outside a house where a *kusiut* ceremony is taking place.

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[11] *Asiutănem* is the usual term for ghost; no reason was given for the application of the same designation to the woman living in the moon.

[12] There is difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not there is more than one of these beings.

775 192

*575 natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is
*796 usually added that the animal in question is the one resident
776 in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary
825 river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to
[773] follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded
to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his
house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he
objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the
[821] stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed
[226] his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that
time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. As
far as could be learned, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who
is patron for a certain *lacier* is the head of a female herring.
Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to
[532] doubt. For the *nekaxw* of her protégé, a number of masks
representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are pre-
pared. When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised
figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the
fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dakdakinux*, the
supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *lacier* but the
ritual of the dance, known as *xnkwnamain*, was not obtained.
The similarity between *Dakdakinux* and *Dakdakinuxw*, those
who await *Nakkynux*, appears merely to be an accidental re-
● [192] semblance in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning
"to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection
with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

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THE DANCE OF *Almaqhaikila*

In Kimsquit it is believed that *Awikinalaxa* has a hus-
band, *Almaqhaikila*, who is patron for several *lacier* dances.
His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to

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Nuxalkmc Songs

The texts of nuxalkmc songs are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. The rites in which they were used have long been discontinued and, since they were never ceremonially important, there was nothing to impress either tunes or words on the minds of the singers. In addition, it is probable that the songs were always less carefully constructed than those of other types.

Song Used for Xalset(a), a Kwaqut Man(b)

Kwanamtsinqa	*Ahamtsinkwinqa*	*ximxmalkmalat*
Be happy,	so people,	it is about to come,
ala'alhqyakalat	*alaqalakwinqa*	
that hidden one(c),	Raven.	

[illegible]

Xalset'i	*Xalset'i*	*ma mat yat*
Xalset(d)!	Xalset!	ma mat yat(e).

(a) This word means "Raven." It is most unlikely that it was the dancer's own designation, more probably a nickname used in connection with the nuxalkmc rite.
(b) Recorded as song VII D 56, National Museum of Canada, singer, Louis Hall.
(c) This signifies a person who is hidden ceremonially, such as a *hamat* dancer who has gone to the land above. The dancer expected to be a Cannibal and the rite in which this song was used served as a kind of rehearsal.
(d) This refrain replaces a second and third part of the song itself.
(e) A meaningless series of choral ejaculations.

Song Used for a Kwaqut Woman(a)

Ximxqalqmqalakt	*Sqaiwanakat*	*tsqaiwanakatlaka*	*alayanatlaka*
They heard	of Town(b),	when they were playing	long ago(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 56, National Museum of Canada, singer, Joe Pielasat.
(b) The chorus being of a town, the dancer wore a deer-skin.
(c) As in many nuxalkmc songs, the words refer to an ancient story, probably one describing the adventures of deer and wolves, see vol. II, p. 416.

Song Used for Wanaqlaim, a Kwaqut Man(a)

Lilimayanimq	*mamayaqam ai*	*natqalki*	*qalamqa*
Run in all directions,	as dogs,	for the first time	it is there
ximqalkmat	*xamtsinkwat*	*mamk*	*mamk*
he brings much food(b),	go below the house	?(c)	?(d).

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*583 (c) Recorded as song VII D 3c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louis Hall.
[776] (d) Presumably a reference to *Nankyum*, the dancer's *hatlal* spirit(?).
[192] (e) The meaning of this word is not known; it is considered to be quite distinct from the identical term in Chinook jargon for "dance."
(f) The meaning of the whole song is extremely obscure.

Marriage Songs

*533 As marriage songs, two distinct classes may be considered:
585 A. Those used at weddings;
[582] B. Shaming songs used in connection with divorce rites.
[578] The former are said to have been handed down from the distant past and consist of a few almost meaningless words. The latter are composed whenever required, and consist of foul allusions to the person being ridiculed.

WEDDING SONGS

Sisaw Marriage Song(a)

Nawa-qwalilmaiqwanaxal	*yaw xalqaqlayulus*	*alhaqlqwanlaqala*
Dressed for joy	*Qalaiyu*(b)	when they brought
al'alhaxwanulus	*yaw dalqaqay-mualus*	
the girl	from the place of light(c).	

(a) Recorded as song VII D 3b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.
[778] (b) *Qalaiyu* came down with *xyaxyaxal* in the beginning of time, and brought, as a gift from *Alqaxnim*, the prerogative of dancing at weddings. He landed at
[424] Kimsquit, and no explanation is given by the Bella Coola for the use of this song by the people of *Sisaw*.
[778] (c) A reference to a marriage among the first people on earth. One of *Qalaiyu*'s companions married a woman whose relatives had brought light with them from above.

Kimsquit Marriage Song(a)

Sal'Nlalimqwanulus	*yaw dasmatchlanuls*	*mustqalyustulumulus*
They went down	*Xemtch*(b)	with his relatives
yaw xalqaqlayulanuls		
Qalaiyu (c)(d).		

(a) Recorded as song VII D 3b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

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[illegible] you are the prey of misfortune,	*si* [illegible] you unmarried mother;	[illegible] you are *spill*(*d*), you women	593* 586
[illegible] who pretend to be [illegible](*i*).	*Aiem* Alas(*f*)!	*Yumtsain* I am ashamed,	*comtsain* I am *Sam*(*g*). 578

[WOODLESS CONCO]

B [illegible] Exactly similar	[illegible] is the little boy's nose	[illegible] to that of the round-headed	
[illegible] *Eskeri*(*h*).	*Aiem* Alas!	*Yumtsain* I am ashamed,	*comtsain* I am *Sam*.

[WOODLESS CONCO]

C The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(*a*) This differs from most *Sisyutlam* songs in that *Sam* was an unmarried mother, not a faithless wife. She was held up to scorn by the men of Kimsquit and this song composed for her by a certain *Sisyutlam*. [848]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 36a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) It is said that women, even of slave blood, used to endeavour to increase their importance in the eyes of their children by boasting, falsely, of ancestral history. [554]

(*d*) A term of opprobrium, difficult to translate. It is said to imply slave ancestry, but is more probably a mere epithet, referring to the female organs. [195]

(*e*) This is addressed to women in general. [192]

(*f*) An expression of pain or sorrow, used under all circumstances.

(*g*) The theme is here changed as if it were *Sam* herself speaking. This is a common device in all kinds of songs.

(*h*) *Eskeri* was supposed to be the father of *Sam*'s child.

Mourning Songs

Mourning songs excel all other Bella Coola compositions in length, complexity, and wealth of detail. Especially those composed for mighty chiefs contain numerous references to the ancestral history of the deceased and mention incidents referred to in origin myths, a source of pride to the survivors and of envy to those who listen. 593* [765] [766]

Song Used for Kyai when Mourning his Son, Kyisaeia

A *Sitsuclem* | [illegible] | *Sitlinapsem* | [illegible]
Why has my son done so(*i*)? Come, ye who are residents of foreign lands(*i*)

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*533 (aa) Referring to a spot outside Smith Inlet.
[996] (bb) That is: *Tlelukt'ānā'* had just stilled the rough sea. She was another of *Qwinao*'s first ancestors, the most powerful of a group of four consisting of her brothers, *Nain'akwas*, *Tleowika'lis*, and *Tlāliatlis*, and of herself.
(cc) *Qwinao*'s house, a reference to an incident in *Qwinao*'s ancestral myth.
(dd) The house contained whistles and other valuables which they obtained.
[551] (ee) That is: All people, everywhere, know of *Nain'akwas* and *Tleowika'lis*. Each name, though singular, has a plural significance since the other brothers are likewise implied.
(ff) Referring again to the band of first settlers.
(gg) A place on the mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island.

Song Used for Sinuxetl(a)

A *Y'ao kā'āsmaiustīmqudax*	*dānuĺoldaiāmk'ĺdiĺs*	*yao ikāĺskadnimodaox*
They(*b*) will presently inform(*c*)	my dead relatives(*d*)	when they reach
yao ulāttowuxiqudstao	*dulukājudjimultsidax*	*duolnuditxāmāthmdax*
the outer places(*e*);	they(*f*) see(*g*)	where they first came down.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Kawanāulm-āsmāin*	*aiyawasmaiustaĺsaĺs*	*āltusālainaoskidax*
I clothe myself with(*h*)	my ancestral myth,	as it was
dāsāhuiye mokidax	*pāuwuuqwsum-ālstskidax*	*aiyalāmtsai'aisudax*
in the time	of the *Nunuqsmāls*(*i*)	house.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Skāmāwulumuuuoimī'*	*dāsqwnutsamstānaoĺsandax*	*stāminlqwlāsitl*
Had just emerged(*j*)	the place where our relatives get their food(*k*).	
Aiyadāmāmtsymax	*stāllārikālmut-skidax*	*aiyawaāks-udax*
Thither went	when it became dry(*l*)	*Waāks*.
Stāltiyuklālmudax	*dāno'aqān-āmkldatl*	*aiyatāmān-ukstitl*
That is why	all people, everywhere, know	of my ancestors(*m*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 37, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. Both words and tune were composed by him about 1907.
(*b*) Referring to *Waāks* and his band, (I, p. 350). *Sinuxetl* was descended from this group of first people.
[192] (*c*) The significance of this word is stronger than *inform*. It means that *Waāks* will relate to the deceased their ancestral myth.
(*d*) The chief for whom this song was composed had lost several relatives.
(*e*) Referring to Goose Island, *Yel-ārlaix*, where *Waāks* landed.
(*f*) Referring again to the deceased.
[192] [775] (*g*) The significance of this word is stronger than *see*. It means that those recently dead will gaze with rapture on the places which belong to them owing to their ancestral myth.

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226

Nuthlḑwaqotsmkx	*oldisxtcntcnki*	*oldisxtcntcnki*	
Swallow right down(*c*),	to your very tail,	to your very tail;	

dinustamwakalulan·islaix
why you cannot even break one of our hairs(*d*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 9a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
(*b*) The vocative form is used.
(*c*) That is: Swallow the bait.
(*d*) A reference to the use of human hairs for fishlines. The lad is, of course, trying to "dare" the fish.

Fishing Song(a)

This is a song sung by lads as they splash in the water after minnows, trying to drive them ashore.

Waksdimān·u	*Waksdimān·u*		
Who is your father?	Who is your father?		
Qwalaiyulānk	*dimān·u*	*qwalaiyulānk*	*dimān·u*
"Rotten stomach"(*b*)	is your father;	"Rotten stomach"	is your father.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 26b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) It is uncertain whether this refers to any particular kind of fish, or is merely a general term of opprobrium.

Song Sung to a Cormorant(a)

533*
825

When a cormorant is seen near a canoe, the paddlers often sing the following song. The bird, delighted, is said to come near and dance around the craft.

Qānāxemāks	*dallopān·idax*	*qānāxemāks*	*dalsitaowidax*
Dance,	cormorant,	dance,	cormorant(*b*).

Nustsaik
Take the breast(*c*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 34c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) This is the Bella Bella word for cormorant.
(*c*) The singer insisted on inserting this refrain after the song. It is really a lullaby and it is doubtful whether it normally accompanies the cormorant song.

[192]

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773 825 said, "This is my home. I will go ashore here." He went, and took along the Salmon which he had captured. Ever since that time there are salmon at Bella Bella. The others travelled on, and came to the mouth of Bella Coola River. Then they threw all the various kinds of fish into the water. The Salmon jumped, and began to ascend the river. Then Winwt'na arose in his canoe and told each at what season he was to arrive. He scattered the berries over the mountains and through the valleys, and told them at what season to ripen. After he had done so, he invited his companions into his house, and gave them a feast.

773 825 192 In this tradition the birds and animals are not called by their ordinary names, but by mythical names. These names are as follows:—

ENGLISH.	ORDINARY NAME.	MYTHICAL NAME.
Spring salmon	ämt.	t'oh'ō'ła'timōt
Sockeye salmon	sämt.	nanōiak'anēxtłm'm ("very long")
Humpback salmon	k'ap'ai'	anuk'pmai'x'.
Dog salmon	ijlō	sasa'łłoa ("fair weather")
Silver salmon	wa'ła	k'ipstōtōsa'łaix ("making himself beautiful")
Salmon (sp.?)	——	ō'sip'ēq
Cloud	sk'lē'noas	tsa'koak' ("long hand")
Hawk (?)	stsix'ta'ex	anuk'k'iqtsaix' ("looking down into water")
Wren	moxat'a'łaqa	t.'ik'ma'łat.aix' ("jumper")
Crane	xaq'ā'na	masaxē'łian
Raven	qoa'x	t.xoa'xoaqsai'łaix' ("rising early")
Cormorant	t.'ō'pana	k'oa k'oagała
Hermaphrodite	sx'ints	sta'ya ō

773 According to the belief of the Bella Coola, Winwt'na's canoe arrives from the country of the Salmon every year. It stays in the country of the Bella Coola for nine months, and then returns to the country of the Salmon. At the moment when it leaves, another canoe, which is named "No'ak'nɛm" or "Nunuk'au'tsnɛm," which brings the kō'siut ceremonial, arrives from the country S'anōk!pta'łtua. The canoe reaches a distant point of land before the departure of the canoe of the Salmon. After four days it reaches a nearer point of land. Four days more, and it is seen at the point of land nearest to the mouth of Bella Coola River. Another four days, and it reaches the mouth of the river. The Indians believe that there is a house named Snō'amłtɛnank' at this place. A post is standing in the water in front of the house. It is called Snutēxoałaaxtstɛna'nk'. In the house live three men who are named Naapsułaaxai'x', A'mł.tag'ilis, and Tix'ti'k'a'nɛmem. The canoe is tied up in front of this house. As soon as it arrives, the kō'siut ceremonial begins. At the head-waters of Bella Coola River, forming the watershed between Bute Inlet and Bentinck Arm, is a mountain called

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174 words of Kwakiutl derivation will become clear by a glance at the following
177 list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin:—

776

a'tokoala = shaman.
Alk" = speaker.
E'mask'in (p. 49) (Kwakiutl, He'mask'in) = the greatest chief.
Hau'hau (p. 100) = a fabulous bird.
L'ā'qoqila = the copper maker.
L'ā'qomēlks = sister of Maumaola'nix (the ending, *lks*, designates "woman" in Kwakiutl).
Lēqumail' = mythologic al name of deer.
Ma'lsk'ilat.
Mentsu't (p. 48).
Mia'ltoa = the country of the salmon (p. 38) (Kwakiutl, mē) = salmon.
No'akila (pp. 49, 66).
O'meatk'as (p. 70) = the real O'mēlt.
O'meatmāi (p. 70).
Omq'ōmk'lik'a (p. 33) (Kwakiutl, Q'ō'mq'ōmkilik a) = the wealthiest one.
Pō'tas.
Qanātsla'qs (p. 49).
Q'ōmō'qoa (p. 32) = the wealthy one.
Q'ō'mqātis (p. 49) = rich at opposite side of river.
Q'ō'mtsiwa (p. 33) = wealthy at mouth of river.
Smai'yakila (p. 29) = the one who must be worshipped.
sl'siut = a fabulous fish or snake (pp. 28, 44, 48).
Smyyalō'ola (p. 29).
T'ō'pewas (p. 97) = the fawn.
Winwi'na (p. 38) = war.
Wa'k'intmai (p. 30) = the greatest river.

[95]

174 With these names and customs the clan traditions must have found their
177 way to the Bella Coola, but their social organization differed fundamentally
424 from that of the Bella Bella branch of the Kwakiutl. While the latter,
614 owing to intimate contact with the northern tribes, had adopted the four-clan
[621] system with prevalent maternal descent, the Bella Coola were still distinctly divided into village communities that were not exogamic. It seems very likely that the jealousy with which the ownership of a clan tradition was guarded by the Coast tribes was very early introduced among the Bella Coola. Two means were available for preventing outsiders from acquiring the traditions. Among the Coast tribes with prevailing maternal institutions, among whom a limited number of clans existed, the ordinary law of inheritance was sufficient to retain the tradition inside of the clan. Not so among the Bella Coola.
174 If their organization at an early time was similar to that of the Coast Salish,
182 it is likely that the child was counted as well a member of the father's as
424 of the mother's family, although the young woman generally moved to the
614 village occupied by her husband. If the child belonged to the families of
[591] both parents, it had the right to use the tradition of either family; and consequently in the course of a few generations, the traditions acquired by each family would have spread practically over the whole tribe. There were
[851] only two methods possible to avoid this result. The one was to prevent marriages outside the village community; and this method would seem to have been most natural for a tribe organized in village communities, members
[621] of which were allowed to intermarry. The other method would have been to regulate the laws of inheritance in such a way that the child had to

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524 ulnar side of distal ulnar thumb string; hook down this string through thumb loops.

Insert left index finger into left thumb loops from distal side, passing to ulnar side of the two distal radial index finger strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb string; bend index finger upwards and away from manipulator, taking up this proximal radial thumb string on dorsal aspect of index finger.

Release left thumb and extend.

There is now a diamond-shaped figure of two strands near the left hand; pass left thumb into this diamond away from manipulator and take up on its back the two strings forming the right lower side of the diamond.

Insert left index finger, with its loop, into left thumb loops from proximal side.

FIG. 19. "A Porcupine."

With tips of right thumb and index finger lift loop from left index finger, drawing this loop through left thumb loops.

Release left thumb and index finger.

Replace loop held between tips of right thumb and index finger on left thumb, without twisting.

Release right thumb and little finger.

Extend right middle finger loop by passing into it, from proximal side, all the digits of the right hand.

Extend and the porcupine appears (Figure 19). Its head is bent [825] downwards near the left hand, and its tail is the loop around the right radial thumb string.

The manipulator sings:[1]

Ayawiskisan-inu	*nuyattstkaitl*	*uxkaostuan-inu*	*alasolan-inu*
Don't hurry away,	go easily,[2]	when you go	to your house,

skalkulakas
O porcupine!

XVI. AN EAGLE'S NEST

Opening A with middle fingers.

Insert thumbs into middle finger loops from proximal side and transfer these loops to thumbs, keeping them distal, and at the same time releasing middle fingers.

[1] Recorded as song VII D 18b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
[2] A form indicating address to a feminine creature.

[12L]
[193]

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With left index, middle, ring, and little fingers hook down from proximal side the right ulnar little finger string. 524

Release right little finger.

With right little finger hook down right ulnar thumb string.

Release right thumb.

With right index finger hook down left radial thumb string.

Release left thumb.

By extending gently the figure appears. The crooked figure near the left hand represents the cripple, the upright figure near the right hand with projecting centre represents a man with umbilical hernia (Figure 21).

The following dialogue in song accompanies this figure:[9]

The man with hernia sings:

Xai, xai, xai,	*alkeltumx*	*diwdqlatai*
Hi! Hi! Hi!	Hurry up,	you cripple.[10]

The cripple answers:

Stuaiaiyustnu	*dinusqotai*	*xai, xai, xai*
Don't say that	you man with umbilical hernia.	Hi! Hi! Hi!

XVIII. THE *Snmnq*

Bella Coola opening.

Pass middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side, and hook down radial index finger string.

With thumbs take up radial index finger string from proximal side, keeping this string distal.

Bring hands together; insert left thumb into right distal thumb and index finger loop from proximal side; lift this loop from thumb, but not from the index finger, without extending.

Insert right thumb into left middle thumb and index finger loop from proximal side and lift this loop from left thumb, but not from index finger.

Extend.

There are now two loops on each thumb and one on each index finger.

Pass middle fingers into loops hooked down by ring and little fingers from proximal side.

Each loop hooked down by the middle, ring, and little fingers is crossed by the proximal ulnar thumb string; with backs of middle fingers take up this string where it crosses the hooked down loop.

Pass middle fingers, still carrying on their backs the string just picked up, through index finger loops from proximal side, and into both thumb loops from distal side.

[9]Recorded as song VII D 6e, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. [126]
[10]The form indicates that a masculine cripple is indicated. [193]

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APPENDIX D

BELLA COOLA-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

DURING the period in the field, the writer's attention was devoted entirely to sociological and religious investigation, and no attempt was made either to analyse the intricacies of the Bella Coola language or to record texts. This part of the monograph consists only of words which were collected fortuitously, and no effort was made to compile an exhaustive list, or even a representative one. This explains the preponderence of proper names, and the large number of nouns connected with rituals of all kinds, some of which are rapidly disappearing from common usage. Many of these were used by the writer continually in gathering technical data, and their interpretation is unquestionably correct. A few words, however, were not rechecked on different occasions, or from different informants, so that some errors may have crept in, either in translation or in recording. No terms have been employed of which the writer has any real doubt, but the same accuracy is not claimed for this vocabulary as for the monograph as a whole. Lack of knowledge of Bella Coola grammar made it impracticable to utilize the words recorded in the songs, since many of them include affixes and other structural elements that affect the root.

128
192*
[114]
[193]

In listing the words alphabetically, the following arbitrary system of letter order has been followed and all symbols have been disregarded, for example, *a* and *ā* are not separated.

ə follows *a*.
ɔ follows *a*.
ɛ follows *e*.
ɪ follows *i*.
ɨ follows *ł*.
ʊ follows *u*.

A

192*
[575]

a'alk: 1—Loosely organized society of which the members can perform four types of dance.
2—Member of the society.
Ahakha: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ahsikim: Chief of sea-lions in the beginning of time.
ahsuk, vocative, ahsuk: Resident.

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As they grow older the plainness of feature is more pronounced, accompanied by increasing heaviness of body (see Plate 16). Many of the adults are corpulent and move with slow, awkward gait. As a rule the men have great strength and are capable of prolonged and arduous exertion, particularly in paddling; in fact, constant use of canoes may have developed this powerful, ungainly build. Few are good walkers or packers; such, if they are found, usually belong to the lighter interior type. Among the grown people the face, though unbeautiful, often has a kindly expression, even becoming attractive in laughter or when a friendly grin spreads from ear to ear. With advancing age the prominent nose seems to grow larger, frequently becoming almost aquiline (see Plate 17). Many of the older people assert that this was even more common in former times. In time the face becomes lined with wrinkles and the body appears to shrink (see Plate 18). The teeth are in many cases worn down to the gums; this seems to cause no discomfort, though an old person cannot utter the glottal stops and velar sounds with which the language abounds without emitting a fine spray of saliva. They are absolutely unable to pronounce several of the Bella Coola words, while the constant spitting is a disagreeable feature of their conversation, particularly to an investigator striving, often vainly, to record sounds accurately. The deep wrinkles of old women give them a benign "grandmotherly" expression, which makes them more attractive in extreme age than in youth (see Plate 19). Senile decay is so frequent that the return to infancy in mind as well as in physical powers is regarded as normal.

Among the coastal tribes hair on the face is not uncommon, but in this characteristic the Bella Coola are pre-eminent. Nearly all the men have sparse moustaches, at least; many have a heavy growth, and several are full-bearded. That this was due to white mixture was assumed at first, but no evidence could be found to support this view. There are a number of half-breeds in the community but they are no more hirsute than the full-blooded Indians. Razors are now almost univer-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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224 785 sible, selecting small twigs from which the bark and spines have been rubbed off. This acts as an emetic, so that before washing in the morning he has vomited from his stomach all [824] polluting matter, especially any human hair which animals [278] consider particularly unclean. Before dawn he goes to the [783] river and remains beneath the surface as long as possible, irrespective of the coldness of the water. Then he returns slowly to his house. Four nights later the same acts are repeated. These eight nights of continence are followed by two further periods, each of four nights, making a total of sixteen. Thus fortified, a hunter anticipates great success.

785 A person practising ceremonial chastity is in a condition peculiarly susceptible to disaster, and must observe certain restrictions. If, for example, anyone sees him as he returns from washing in the morning, the power which he has been accumulating so laboriously is lost. Owing to this belief, it is customary for a man to wash long before dawn and to come creeping into his house through a hole in the floor. He must always be the last to retire at night, the first to rise in the morning; and he must say nothing about what he is doing. Intercourse is, of course, absolutely forbidden except on the proper nights, and at other times he must not even put his arm around his wife. Failure to obey these restrictions destroys any advantage from [837] ceremonial chastity, while actual disaster follows should a man's wife misconduct herself with anyone else when he is using her for this purpose. If she is unfaithful, her husband is certain to be slain by an animal when hunting, or to slip and be killed on a mountain trail. Animals know all that human beings do [825] or think, and they punish anyone who is unable to perform ceremonial chastity fittingly. Behind these restrictions there 831 is undoubtedly the sentiment that intercourse, held duly and 785 properly at the right time, is not a mere desire of the flesh, but a ceremonial act. Indeed, when the Bella Coola speak of it in [833] connection with ceremonial chastity, they do not use the [195] common term, *e·m*, which has a coarse implication, but *xoldjut* which has a polite and almost sacred implication.

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593 on the value of the goods distributed in connection with them,
614 usually revert to the ancestral family and can be revived by
553 any member of it. It seems needless to publish lengthy pedi-
428 grees, illustrating the transmission of ancestral names; it will suffice to say that such sometimes pass from father to son, from a man to his brother's son, his sister's son, his sister, his daughter, or to other relatives belonging to the immediate family. On the other hand, with equal frequency, names pass from a man to distant relatives of the same ancestral family.

59 Thus the Bella Coola family, important though it is in the life of the individual, cannot be defined with exactitude either as regards composition or functions; it varies according to the importance of its head, and tends to merge in the ancestral families of the parents.

Kinship Terms

601 In Bella Coola, as in so many parts of the world, kinship terms mirror the social life of the community. The Bella Coola system of nomenclature is not as clear-cut in its application as in other regions, and requires considerable explanation concerning the uses of many of the terms. It will be seen that the system, although fundamentally founded on the family, presents many classificatory features. Whether or not these are to be ascribed to an ancient clan system is most doubtful; a short discussion of that point will be found at the end of this section.

The terms are arranged in the following order: first, an individual's relatives of the preceding generation, then those of the next preceding, with their parents, then those of the present generation, followed by terms for kin of the generations following. Finally come relations by marriage.

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Father.....	*Atso*	*Atsi*
	This term is properly used only by a small child, though often continued by an adult as a term of endearment.	Term used only by a small child.

[195]

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Father (*continued*)....	*mûn* Term used, rarely, by an adult of either sex; *sisso* is more common. *Mûn* is often used by an adult when speaking to any old man as a courtesy title.	*mûn* Used by an adult.
Mother's husband....	*sisse* Terms used by small children.	*sisi*
	mûn Used by adult; more commonly *sisso*.	*mûndimut* Used by adult.
Mother.....	*mômao* Used by baby.	*mômi* Used by baby.
	qômao Used by small child.	*qômi* Used by small child.
	sisin Used by adults of either sex with same limitations as *mûn*.	*sisin*
Father's wife.....	*mômao* or *qômao* Used by small children.	*mômi* or *qômi*
	sisin Used by adults, more commonly *qômao*.	*sisindimut* Used by adults.
	The application to step-parents of the terms usually limited to the real parents is merely a mark of endearment, without social significance.	
Parent of either sex...	*âlqwallaiyely*	*ômstalâykt*
	These terms are used for a parent of either sex when old and feeble. Their use is a mark of courtesy and implies respect for those with wide knowledge of family history.	
Father's brother.....	*sisai*, or by name, or *âlqwallaiyely*	*sisi*
Mother's brother.....	" " "	"
Father's sister.....	*suksom* " "	*suksom*
Mother's sister.....	" " "	"
	If the family contains more distant relatives of the generation preceding that of the speaker, for example, a father's father's brother's son, or a mother's mother's brother's daughter, the terms *sisi* and *suksom* may be applied in courtesy to these individuals.	
Father's father.....	*kukpai*, or more commonly, *sisso*	*kukpi*
Mother's father.....	" " " "	"
Father's mother.....	*kîpao* " " *qômao*	*kîpa*
Mother's mother.....	" " " "	"
	Especially when living together, children usually address their grandparents by the terms properly applied to parents.	

601
195
[888]
[595]
[888]
601

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the food and goods distributed, since it was winter and the 553
people were in dire straits on account of the destruction of all 556 *
their stores. In consequence, the uncle decided to make a new name for his nephew, *Sk̓ámł*, "Charred Wood." By virtue of the goods expended this name became an honourable title, and was maintained by lavish presents. Any similar incident connected with a potlatch can be made the origin of a designation. Another example of a manufactured name is one derived from a peculiarity of the man giving the potlatch. A number of years ago a chief was jeered at by his associates on account of the frequency with which he had to visit the toilet. When next he gave a potlatch he created the name *Ałpstl-a*, "The Toilet One," and gave great dignity to the designation by presents.

Since a seat is valuable only on account of the goods ex- 554
pended in obtaining it with respect to a certain name, it is 556 *
obvious that names and seats are closely associated. A man who wishes his son to succeed to his own location in the house seats the youth, as has been described, at his feet. It may be a matter of years before he actually takes his father's position, but during that time he is treated with respect; he is still a commoner, but it is recognized that his parent considers him likely to "make good" and become a true chief by ability to give presents. Should he fail to do so, inexorably his influence wanes, in spite of his name and duly validated seat. He keeps the latter, but it is no longer considered one of importance. Thus, too, the course of names from generation to generation [551]
is a series of curves; sometimes one is on a pinnacle of glory when "made strong" by a powerful chief, but in the next generation it may fall to the dust through ownership by a [195] ●
weakling. As the Bella Coola express it: It has become hermaphroditized.

A woman is rarely established in a seat, and usually only [562]
when a chief has no sons or other near male descendants. In such a case she receives an ancestral name and has the same status as a male chief. At the present time one important

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the perils of infancy. During this period, the mother observes various magical taboos to ensure the welfare of her offspring, and endeavours to strengthen herself by rubbing her own body with non-odoriferous oils obtained from dog-fish, geese, or fresh olachen. Soft pounded salmon and water are added to an infant's diet as soon as possible, though nourishment from the breast frequently continues until a child is two, or even three years of age. It is not uncommon to delay weaning until the mother is again pregnant, when the child is deterred by the application of soot to the breasts. Marital relations are recommenced as soon as the mother is strong enough; there is no specified period of abstinence, nor does it matter whether or not the woman is lactative.

Occasionally, an infant is born with teeth; such an one is thought to be the reincarnation of a dead ancestor, though no one knows which. A similar belief is held respecting a child with dimples in the lobes of its ears; these are regarded as remnants of the holes pierced for ear-rings. A child that cries in the womb is said to have great intellect.

In former times infanticide was practised for various reasons. If a woman died in giving birth, it was customary for her mother to kill the child unless one of her relatives was able to suckle the motherless infant who was then given to her. It was not unknown for the mother of a large family to ask the midwife to kill the child in order to avoid an addition to her responsibilities. An unmarried girl who became pregnant often went alone to the forest, delivered herself without assistance, and killed her infant. This was considered to be the kindest act, since an illegitimate child was said to be, "Like a Dog." In some cases the prospective mother requested a friend to cause abortion by kneading the stomach and uterus, a method said to be effective and seldom fatal. How to do so is common knowledge, but to practise it is considered disgraceful, and the term *ixwetl*, applied to such an one, is among the most foul of Bella Coola opprobriums. It is believed that a woman who has had several children can in some way prevent

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ning of time. The following speech was made by an elderly Bella Coola chief at the funeral of his great-granddaughter in June, 1922:

"Granddaughter![1] Go with your grandmother[2] to the mountain above *Tsmsil* where my first [patrilineal] ancestor came to earth. Go to the mountain across the river where *Qsil*[3] descended; go to the north where your ancestor found a copper house with a raven inside; go to the Skeena where another of your early ancestors found a whale; go to all the places where your forefathers experienced the incidents recorded in our myths; go and be happy.[4] I do not want these ever-recurring deaths in my family, but I am helpless. I hope that *Sixsixqutsam* will cease hunting us."

Turning to the Carrier Indians who were present, the old man continued: "Thank you for coming twice within two days to share our grief."

Turning back towards the grave, he went on:

"I have made ready the road for you.[5] Your grandfather[6] and I are grieved; our families became united when your parents married, and the bond was cemented by your birth. Now it is lost. When you were born, I rejoiced; now I am sorry. You are all right; you cannot fall because you are supported[7] by the names and fame of your father and mother, your grandfather and grandmother, your uncles and aunts, and your other ancestors who have passed away here in *Qomqo-ts*. You rest with them in your own village where is located your power from the experiences of your forefathers.

[1] The term, *ckmis*, was used, although the child was really a great-granddaughter.
[2] The grandmother had been buried two days previously.
[3] One of the first people to reach this earth.
[4] The places and people mentioned were all described in the myths of the dead child's ancestral family.
[5] A reference to goods distributed by the speaker at a ceremony held a few days previously when it was certain that the child would soon die.
[6] The child's mother's father.
[7] Supported, *kisimamalis*, a word having the sense of physical support. The implication is that the deceased relatives are sitting in such a close circle that the pressure of their bodies is enough to prevent any one of them, including the dead child, from falling.

Such an adoption occurs only when the deceased was the owner of a Bella Bella myth and the song in question had been used to mourn a real or fictitious relative. It is contrary to custom to use the tune or words of a song not composed for a member of the deceased's ancestral family.

The actual delivering of invitations by the mourns to the desired guests does not differ from the manner already described, except that they are asked "to come to visit the sick [donor]." The significance is, of course, that the mourner's condition is that of a patient. To indicate the reason of their visit, guests at a memorial potlatch always wear a little dyed cedar-bark around their heads.

On arrival, the first party of foreign guests is conducted to the donor's house, where they make themselves comfortable in the section allotted to them by the hosts. An elderly Bella Coola chief who is a famous orator has been asked by the donor to speak, and he rises to do so as soon as his fellow-villagers have entered and taken their places. No set phrases are used, but the speaker usually begins by reminding all present of the way in which their ancestors were created in *Nuxalk a*, and how all must return thither. It is an occasion on which eloquence is essential, and the speaker delights in using as many archaic words and rhetorical expressions as possible, with constant reference to religious beliefs and ancient history as recorded in mythology. Then he speaks of the death which is the occasion of the ceremony. If the deceased were an old man, he is referred to by a special term not in common usage, *nulkl-ás*, which implies wisdom and respect as well as extreme age. The orator states that he has fallen, using the term *ferrin*, normally applied to the thunderous crash of some mighty tree. He speaks of a young chief as *cwi'lkmelcc*, short-lived, a person who has been burned down by the supernatural Carpenters. He continues by describing the works of the deceased, the number of potlatches he gave and the manner in which his name was known to many tribes. Finally he tells of the donor's grief, and of how this "sickness" has been alle-

will now be the turn of the one who has recently died. As soon as all have taken their places, an eloquent chief whom aid has been requested for the purpose stands up and recounts the dead's ancestral myth in some detail, mentioning the source and meaning of the mourners' marks and the designs of the totem-poles. Then he continues to the effect that the chief will "cry" by relating the history of his ancestors, which is also the history of the journey taken by his kinsman, and that this recital will show him up. The word used for this, *mutlaskin*, is the one commonly employed for raising a heavy burden with the aid of a lever. Then the singers begin to beat out the first of the mourning songs, accompanying it with their voices and assisted by as many of the audience as are familiar with words and tune. Every effort is made to make the singing as impressive as possible to add dignity to the recital of the journey taken by the person who is being commemorated. The guests listen attentively and are actually impressed by the ancestral history of the dead and his family. All the songs that have been prepared are sung in succession in the same manner. The lack of dancing distinguishes this type of ceremony from all others and adds somewhat to its impressiveness.

After the last song is the proper time for validating young relatives of the dead as mourners. One of the miniature totem-poles, which are light enough to be carried in the hands, is brought from the back room and given to the boy on whom this prerogative is being conferred. An eloquent speaker explains the meanings of the designs as displayed and enough of the family's ancestral history to make clear whence, and how, they were obtained. The singers begin to beat time slowly, and the youth endeavours to keep time with his feet, while he continues to hold the pole.

Meanwhile the dead and his immediate relatives have been arranging the piles of presents with the inevitable counting and re-counting. As at a potlatch, a fluent speaker is commissioned to hold up the objects, once whence they have been obtained,

[illegible]

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type of dance differs from all other Bella Coola ones, since no inherited prerogative is required. Years ago such exhibitions were common, although curing shamans were rare.

The usual time for a shaman's performance is at the conclusion of the *tsaciut* season, though one is sometimes held prior to that period if the would-be performer fears that the food which he has stored up for the coast is likely to be frozen.

When he decides to give a dance, the shaman first summons the singers to his house and teaches them a song of his own composition. Theoretically both word and tune should have been received from his supernatural benefactor, but many performers undoubtedly employ songs used by shamans ancestors which they have chanced to remember. Another device is to describe a supernatural being seen in a dream. In some cases there is deliberate deception, but in most the performer persuades himself that he has received supernatural authorization. The seers are full of obscure allusions, a river, for example, is spoken of as swift running water. Often a man will memorize a song for years, before collecting the wealth necessary to use it publicly, with the social prestige attached. A shaman always obtains a name from his supernatural benefactor, but if a man merely uses a feat observed in a dream, this is impossible, so he adopts the designation of some deceased shaman, soon convincing himself that it was uttered by the apparition. Others will probably remember this name, hence suspicions may easily be aroused concerning the authenticity of the performance, but it is not customary to voice these. The singers repeat the song which they have just heard, and continue doing so until they have mastered it. Sometimes they compose further songs themselves for the performer. During the proceeding, those who are not *tsaciut* are expelled from the house. A shaman is a person who has come in contact with the supernatural; hence he is akin to the members of the society who, therefore, support him during his rite.* A herald is sent out

*Theoretically, a shaman could not be a *tsaciut*, but exceptions usually occur only in those of religious and imaginative temperaments, who are in the majority of cases already members of the society.

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on the floor as is done whenever a supernatural visitor is expected. Tsimalkae entered with his copper bride.

Although no one gave him presents, Tsimalkae's goods increased in a miraculous way. He would leave two blankets in his house and on his return there would be ten, and the same with other goods. He was able to give potlatches, thus wiping away his poverty and making himself a chief. In the course of time he learnt who had murdered his parents and determined to avenge their deaths.

One day he said to his grandmother, "I am going to lie down with my wife. No matter what happens you must not disturb us."

The old woman promised to follow his instructions and Tsimalkae disappeared with his copper wife into the bedroom.

Shortly afterwards one of the murderers of his father was drawing water when an immense eagle swooped down and carried him away, to the amazement and consternation of the people. This increased when a second bird dropped like a plummet on another man, leaving him aloft. Eagle after eagle swooped down, each taking one victim, until half the population of the village had been seized. Tsimalkae's grandmother, realizing that he was responsible for the plague of eagles, was greatly worried; she believed that if she called him the attacks would stop, but she feared to break her promise. At last she summoned up the necessary courage to do so, telling him what was happening.

"Didn't I tell you not to disturb us under any circumstances?" he angrily retorted.

The grandmother drew back, fearing that Tsimalkae would strike her as he followed her from the bedroom. He did not do so, but no more eagles appeared as she had broken his power.

THE MAN WHO MARRIED WOLF*

Once a man was walking in the forest when he met the daughter of Wolf. Each felt a mutual attraction for the other so that he accompanied the woman, who was in human form at the time, to her father's house where they were presently married.

"Marvel," said Wolf to his son-in-law, "if you are wise you will take very good care of your wife. Never slight her."

[145]

*Boas, p. 102, has recorded a myth having many points of similarity with this. He said the word Sqaic, which means literally, "to be in smoke," i.e., he told him, "Never allow smoke to drift over her." Considerable smoke often rose from the open fire of a Bella Coola house, hence the literal translation of his command means that the woman must serve to mend when the draught would blow smoke over her. Of course, the real significance was never to allow anything to impinge on the respect due to the wife.

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[The Dance of Noakanim]

the affair, and so many differences of opinion are voiced that it is often difficult to understand how the ritual can be carried out as smoothly as it is. The masks are tried on, adjustments in the rope fastenings made, and final selection of the wearers approved. In fact, the summoning of the *kukusiut* is regarded by them as an invitation to try on the masks and it is said that the herald sometimes calls them with a cryptic:

"Measure your heads, *kukusiaot*," the significance of which the uninitiated fail to grasp.

At last those who are to wear the masks are chosen. They conceal themselves in one of the two matting shelters, while the other is full of those *kukusiut* who have prerogatives as Cannibals, Scratchers, or Breakers. It is these who are most feared by the uninitiated, and if a slight accident should take place they rush forthsuddenly, frightening the non-members to such an extent that they fail to notice a mistake which would otherwise expose the mystery of the rites.

Meanwhile *Ant'ikwelsaix* at intervals sticks her head around the corner of the door to mock the uninitiated.

"You stupid one!" she gibes. "You and you [naming two uninitiated] almost bund my repository. You came so close to me that I put out my stick and tripped you up. [A safe statement since everyone stumbles over half-buried roots some time or another.] You were so blind that you did not see me. Look where you are going, keep your eyes open, and then you will become a *kusiu*, instead of remaining a nonentity."

The uninitiated, sick at heart over the missed opportunity, resolve to be more alert in future. Difficult though it is for the white man to understand such credulity, yet different elderly informants repeatedly recalled the chagrin with which they had listened to such remarks when young. Childhood impressions of respect and fear are too deeply ingrained for doubt to arise.

At last all is ready and one of the marshals tells a *kusiut* to open the door and call the non-members. In they rush, to crowd near the door and gaze upon the marvels with which X

[The Cannibal Dance]

X, now almost sane, rushes around the house, shouting *xwa·, xwa·, xwa·*, while his call sounds loudly, as the whistle is pressed firmly beneath his armpit or against his stomach, tied under a belt. Often the *kukusiut* slip a rope over his shoulders to prevent him escaping again. Finally, he rushes from the house and all the *kukusiut* crowd close about him on the sidewalk without. As many as possible press upwards against his body with their hands, while they shout, *ye ··*, trying to expel the call upwards. On the fourth repetition it is supposed to have been driven forth, and in answer to the tumultuous shout of the *kukusiut*, there is heard the sound of a whistle from above. The uninitiated do not know that a *kusiut* has been dispatched with one to a mountain peak for this purpose. 575* 796* 787

The *kukusiut* now return to X's house for a meal. The first dish of food is placed before X himself, while one of the marshals addresses him and the audience in the following strain: 575* 796* [539]

Yāxmandjinaxt, ōtōxwa-ks! Ālaits di pāxotla!
Greetings, comrades! Hail to the dreaded one [the Cannibal]!*

*Wai, pāxotlas** *Naxim. Nuqhlaiskt**dudaqa.*
More, dreaded one, *Naxim.** Eat to repletion.

There is no ritual significance attached to any particular words; marshals use their own discretion as to what they say, but the above may be considered a fair example of the kind of remarks addressed to a Cannibal at his first meal. After X has started eating, the other *kukusiut* commence and the marshals deliver their usual admonitions, praising X for what he has done and urging others to emulate his example. Then presents are distributed to those who have been bitten. It is considered that a Cannibal compliments a man by taking a piece of his flesh, and that he is under obligations to the one bitten for the latter having allowed him to exercise his preroga- 575* 796* 431 424

*Pāxotla means "The Dreaded One" or "The Fearless One." X is so called on account of the uncanny cannibalistic incubus that has taken possession of him. [787]

*This is the vocative form of the word.

*Naxim was the name of the performing Cannibal on the occasion that this speech was recorded. [195]

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CHAPTER II

SONGS

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Introductory — Sisaok Songs — Xe'tla Songs — A'alk Songs — Nusäxkämg Songs — Marriage Songs — Mourning Songs — Shaman Songs — Kusiut Songs — Non-Ceremonial Songs

INTRODUCTORY

THE singing of songs is an essential part of all Bella Coola rites so that a study of them is important, entirely apart from their musical value. Their texts throw light on the beliefs of the performers, on the aims of the ceremonies, and, above all, give concrete instances of what the uninitiated are led to believe. This is particularly true of those used in *kusiut* dances, and for this reason all songs have been deferred until this chapter in which they can be grouped together. [790]* [575]*

The texts of songs are difficult to obtain. Snatches of many are remembered, but few individuals are acquainted with the complete version. A phonograph was used to record the music, and it was soon found that very few people were qualified to sing into the machine. Some became confused and forgot the words; some began to laugh; and some lacked the poise to attempt to sing. One elderly Kimsquit man, Jim Pollard, was found to be the best and most reliable singer, and he was used almost exclusively for phonographic work. Hence the records are stamped with his musical technique. Others approached his ability, but he alone preserved an art which had been common in former days. Over one hundred songs were obtained with the assistance of this man. 126 115 533*

The text was always obtained before a song was sung into the machine, thus assuring that the recorded version agreed with the written words. Even with this check, the writing down of songs is extremely difficult. Choral endings are widely employed, consisting of non-essential suffixes inserted for musical effect. It was often impossible to record these in the 126 533* 195

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126 text, although they are obvious on the phonograph records.
●195 In singing, moreover, sounds, especially vowel sounds, are
altered to fit the tune, a factor which accounts for further
*533 discrepancies between record and text. A frequent device is
reduplication, a word or group of words is repeated in singing
when not called for in the spoken version. Finally one sound
occurs in singing which is practically unknown in speaking, a
velar *s* (recorded as *ʃ*) which gives a whistling effect. Most
choruses and some whole songs consist of meaningless sounds;
in such cases the tune alone is important and no attempt was
made to record the syllables.

It was quite as difficult to obtain interpretations as to record texts. Songs which have been handed down for generations abound in archaic expressions which are meaningless even to the older men: some recently composed are full of metaphorical devices to conceal their real significance from the uninitiated. The result is consequently a series of words which, taken one at a time, convey no meaning. In many cases it was impossible to obtain literal translations, even with the willing assistance of younger men familiar with English. Every effort was made to get the general *meaning*, and it is felt that this object was tolerably achieved, though the transcriptions may not be sufficiently accurate for grammatical analysis.

*533 Singers function at every ceremony; in fact, its success
*796 depends so largely upon their efforts that they are always
important members of the community. Some singers are
*575 created by the validation of an ancestral prerogative; others
[554] by having composed a suitable tune. The young man who has
[424] done so, calls one of the established musicians aside and hums
it to him; if the hearer is favourably impressed, he may learn
[555] and repeat it to his fellows, and if it wins their approval, the
composer may be asked to join their ranks for the occasion on
which it is to be used. Thus encouraged, the young man is
likely to try again, or he may be invited to assist at some
ceremony for which a large number of singers is required. If
proficient, he is certain to win recognition in course of time,

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ala xalpamiynas	*nemenmatas*	*nestamnatal;*
eagle down on his head(*i*)	ye children	of chiefs.

nánánánánánánwai

[meaningless concluding hum.]

(*a*) For some unexplained reason this song has been used without change for three generations. It was composed for a certain *Itahmp*, willed by him to *W'ítalas*, who transmitted it to the present user. [424] [428]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 22, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) All suffixes of *dai* should probably be *dain*, but in singing the final *n* sound is usually indistinguishable and has accordingly been omitted throughout. The *d* sound is often sung as *d* but the one spelling has been used consistently. [195]

(*d*) The wordless chorus of this song consists of a series of grunts which are said to be the voice of a heron, the crest of *W'ulkt*.

(*e*) The meaning of this is: What my grandfather brought down.

(*f*) The grandfather of *W'ulkt* had willed to him the right to use this crest. [424]

(*g*) The man from whom this song was obtained did not know what was the crest of *W'ulkt*. He judged from the text that it must have been the heron, although this is not one of the generally recognized birds. [428]

(*h*) Meaning: The heron which has failed to job its prey. When this song was used, a masked figure of a heron appeared and stabbed several of the spectators, who were later reimbursed for having permitted a prerogative to be displayed. [431] [424]

(*i*) An ambiguous expression for presents.

Song of Apalsis of Kimsquit when Initiated into the Sisauk Society(a)

A Yeyailhantimuttymas	*aiwanhmapas*	*Yas ckiciskajiliniyas*
Be of good courage	ye of the potlatch(*b*).	Use up and down(*c*)
dalcultánthalcinyas	*Yaiwatcowainalinas*	*diwajmalcinindai*
your land.	They have met with an accident(*d*),	the house being flooded (*e*).

[WOMAN'S CHORUS]

B Ka'ahkpanatin tsauk	*ahhkaiyaccaipalli*	*kapalkadimatinkawanatin*
Watch their faces [to see]	whom will become ashamed	when rises to flood
cawaiz ahkwanatin	*Kiniatsaiz ahkas*	*dinjanhlhlcapalai*
the Kimsquit River(*f*).	They who use dishes (*g*)	will prepare their biggest crab.

[WOMAN'S CHORUS]

C The third part has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 13a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) The wording shows that the song was to be used at a potlatch.

(*c*) Meaning: Make use of in all directions.

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uz: mumalomsimutu you are the prey of misfortune,	*ni ewulklmutudja* you unmarried mother;	*ewuz tkqulkyamdz* you are *spilt(d)*, you women	533* 586
ewul'klyc ya lamdz who pretend to be virtuous(e).	*Ánana* Alas(f)!	*Yumtcain* I am ashamed,	*ramtcain* I am *Sam*(g. 578

[WOMAN'S CHORUS]

B *Qawamulz alatkidas* Exactly similar	*dzakilthtcalatkidzais* in the little boy's nose	*yas ulkittadzul ts* to that of the round-headed	
aiyayapalatkidai *Ephrat*(h).	*Ánana* Alas!	*Yumtcain* I am ashamed,	*ramtcain* I am *Sam*.

[WOMAN'S CHORUS]

C The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(a) This differs from most *Saiyahaw* songs in that *Sam* was an unmarried mother, not a faithless wife. She was held up to scorn by the men of *Kimsquit* and his song composed for her by a certain *Sis-gwas*. [848]

(b) Recorded as song VII D 38a, National Museum of Canada; singer, jim Pollard.

(c) It is said that women, even of slave blood, used to endeavour to increase their importance in the eyes of their children by boasting, falsely, of ancestral history. [554]

(d) A term of opprobrium, difficult to translate. It is said to imply slave ancestry, but is more probably a mere epithet, referring to the female organ. [195]

(e) This is addressed to women in general.

(f) An expression of pain or sorrow, used under all circumstances. [192]

(g) The theme is here changed as if it were *Sam* herself speaking. This is a common device in all kinds of songs.

(h) *Ephrat* was supposed to be the father of *Sam*'s child.

Mourning Songs

Mourning songs excel all other Bella Coola compositions in length, complexity, and wealth of detail. Especially those composed for mighty chiefs contain numerous references to he ancestral history of the deceased and mention incidents e- ferred to in origin myths, a source of pride to the survivers and of envy to those who listen. 533* [765] [766]

Song Used for Qoai when Mourning his Son, Epimenlai

A *Ámanlas* | *mamlkidamas* | *Ilalangwas* | *ximlaskqai* -
Why has my son done so(b)? Come, ye who are residents of foreign lands(c)

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(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 55, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tal ia* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. 533*

(*b*) So many of *Yexthin*'s ancestors had been drowned that he considered such a fate to be an inheritable tendency and mourned accordingly. This song was composed for a memorial potlatch held after the drowning of three of his sons. [761 827 195]

(*c*) *Xem* means, literally, the successive rising of the sun from day to day; it has therefore, the significance of: The span of life is shortening.

(*d*) This wail replaces the usual wordless chorus.

(*e*) Raven. This is one of his rarely used chief's names.

(*f*) The reference is to an incident related about Raven in the beginning of time. He made, and gave life to a son who was his chief joy and delight. *Alquntam* wondered what the creature might be and sent down one of his eagle-like supernatural birds to seize him. Raven, ignorant of the reason for his son's loss and with no idea that he was being carefully guarded, was absolutely disconsolate. The myth is recorded in vol. I, p. 83. [773]

Shaman Songs

In contrast to the carefully prepared and logically worded mourning songs, many of those used by shamans are extremely incoherent. This is natural in view of the belief, already described, that the words and tune are given to a sick person at the time that he is cured. Those who recover from an illness are convinced that they must have received a supernatural visitation, and at once begin to ponder on the song brought to them at that time. A person of imaginative temperament easily persuades himself that the words which begin to form in his mind were actually brought by an agent, and, having thus deluded himself, it is easy for him to convince others. The coherence of the text thus depends upon the ability of the patient, a factor which explains the extreme lack of skill in many compositions. The examples here given are, perhaps, unusually complete. 533* 756 [753]

Song Used by Ninitsamlais(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A Warumkwalhumqudu	*shānīnitsmlaiqs*
In the beginning(*c*)	the life-giving power(*d*) was made;
yes dial'aiyaiud	*oldānālyinanadai*
that is what we have given	within them(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (*f*)

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B *Nuyamhmlimilink* They(g) sang	*disnuslkhkldinilsdai* over my wash-basin(h);	*dalqāpānm·idals* they all watched over

yululkwalstmm my shaman's power(i).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Ānuqwiklumilink* Became open	*wanuslukwalsida* the place of shaman's power(j);	*amātqamilsais* there I saw

Thiteplilan·alsais
Thiteplilan·a.

(a) This man received his name and his ability to cure the sick from *Thiteplilan·a* about 1850. He was very ill, apparently on the point of death, at the time of his visitation.

(b) Recorded as song VII D 45a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(c) The first part is worded as if supernatural beings were speaking.

(d) The reference is to the healing ability granted to shamans who have themselves been cured when seriously ill.

[753] (e) That is: Human beings. It is believed that a person can be cured only if *Thiteplilan·a* or some other supernatural being implant within the patient's body
[776] some of the healing power.

(f) The two choruses of this song have different tunes, an unusual feature.

(g) Referring to supernatural beings; this part of the song is worded as if *Niniteamlais* were speaking, and describing the time he was made a shaman.

(h) Reference to the wash-basin shows that *Niniteamlais* had the ability to cure the sick.

(i) The theme is worded as if supernatural beings had tended and brooded over the power which they ultimately sent down.

(j) The reference is to *Nusmāt·a* which, as the home of supernatural beings, is consequently the place from which comes a shaman's power. When *Niniteamlais* was at the point of death, it seemed to him that the sky opened above him so that he was able to gaze upon those resident there. He watched the supernatural ones conferring about his own fate, and gazed with joy at the departure of *Thiteplilan·a* to rescue him.

[551]

Song Used by Sikwalwaks(a), a Bella Coola Woman(b)

[195]

A *W'dukstillasmy* It waved up and down	*alyumaso·ay^wals* *Sosy^w(c)*	*disnayāmhmalin* when they(d) sang	*alytlyāmatmila* of salmon(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sosaspanlimlink* They(f) placed eagle down	*disnuskhkhtedidai* within the wash-basin(g)	*alymatm·alsandai* where I was(h);

disnl'ātkmm·āmpālidai he(i) pulled me forth.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

C *Wastl·ıkwainulıs*	*yas dıslukwalalısudai*	*dasalıhmnalıslıs* 533*
I gazed upon	what gave me power as a shaman(*j*)	when it stood up 756

sawtsamnm·a·tlıwalı
in the centre of a place of petrified power(*k*).

(*a*) This was the woman's *kusiut* designation; her shaman's name has been forgotten. [551]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 56, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tal·io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie.

(*c*) That is: The sky moved up and down. Grandiloquent phrases of this kind are frequent in songs used by shamans. [195]

(*d*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*e*) *Łamsmıla* is said to be the word for *salmon* in the language of the supernatural beings; it is used by mortals in the rites following the taking of the first spring salmon. The shaman has received some of her power from a fish. [198] [226]

(*f*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*g*) Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

(*h*) The meaning is obscure. Apparently the shaman had been carried away by *Thıxaplıłw·a* and treated by immersion in a basin in which eagle down was deposited.

(*i*) This refers to the supernatural being, *Ałnuıtsłxum*, who restores to life mortals killed by the receipt of too much power from *Thıxaplıłw·a*. It is clear that this fate befell the shaman. [776]

(*j*) The woman is said to have received power from several sources, salmon, ghosts, and *Thıxaplıłw·a* herself. It is impossible to state which of her supernatural patrons is referred to in this subdivision.

(*k*) The woman must have been taken to one of the spots where cures could be effected by the power of a supernatural being petrified there. [755]

[551]
[776]

Song Used by Nexnax·malıxsir(a), a Kımsquıt Man(b)

A *Ałmıqsıwıqsnamlı*	*wasıustlıłwamlı*	*aıakuıaıat*
Look at the teeming supernatural beings above(*c*), not one is my equal(*d*),		wise one(*c*)!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sıwłalpıtsıyamł'wł*	*sıwıtcyustıwmıłwamlı*	*aıakuıaıat*
You must sometimes waken at night to meditate on what I am bringing your mouth(*f*),		wise one!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Łamsyıłwıtłıł*	*sıłwaıłłıtsıwmamlı*	*aıakuıaıat*
You must sometimes use your wash-basin(*g*),		wise one!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

593*

(a) Recorded as song VII D 11b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This was incorrectly announced on the record as a shaman's song.
(b) The meaning of this is problematical. Ghost dancers habitually deride the dead and this is certainly a veiled allusion of a derogatory nature.
(c) Referring to ghosts.
(d) That is: Each uses the kind of grandiloquent language employed by chiefs. [195]
(e) More specifically, the two uprights nearest the front-door.

Song Used for Qomcua, a Bella Coola Sun Dancer(a)

A Sewtskamaistlaxsl | *nuaiyalilaxstai* | *stsaalltwatsamalit* |
The two | *Alikhza(b)* | drone in unison when

yas dimalinuxmdai
he(c) enters(d).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Ilitsplkamuxsqadai | *dipanpanlkmuxmdai* | *latimalinuxmdai* |
All(e) watch as he draws near at the time they called him(f); is waiting(g) |

dis cmamlkanlkadai
his salmon blanket(h).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Stamlkamaiualim | *yas dilpualc'lmalinuxdai(i)* | *alilinkanlkmadai*
They invite the lofty one to place himself(j) | on his seat;

aiamaaliladai
hail, *Sawalala*(k).

(a) This song was composed for, and used during the *Sacrist* season of 1923-4. The patron of the dancer, a woman, is *Sawalala*, the name of *Alpaxtlm* as Sun. [176]
(b) Referring to the two *Alikhza* who drone daily as sun and moon travel.
(c) Referring to *Sawalala*.
(d) That is: When he enters *Nacwax-a* at the winter solstice to join the gathering of the supernatural beings. It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for these two subdivisions.
(e) Referring to the supernatural beings.
(f) A reference to the gathering of the supernatural beings before the winter solstice.
(g) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for these three subdivisions.
(h) That is: His salmon blanket is waiting. The reference is to *Alpaxtlm*'s blanket with salmon on its lining. [176]
(i) When the song was first used, this subdivision consisted of a repetition of the second subsection of the second part. This was considered poor technique and the phrasing was altered for later occasions.
(j) It was impossible to obtain individual translations of these two subdivisions.
(k) The dancer's patron.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

B C 648 726

The other agreed, so they paddled in and landed at the bottom of the village, heedless of the fact that it was full of Carriers. The *Nuxalk* people seem to have remained passive, but the angry Carriers came rushing forth and *Ojmikmy* spoke proudly to them:

"You would be dead as your chief if we had not lost our weapons."

The two brothers walked slowly up the long sidewalk of the village, while the Carriers skulked around, uttering threats, casting stones and shooting arrows. Some of the latter struck in their backs, but long previously both *Tsi'kmai* and *Ojmikmy* had eaten part of a *xoiaif* which had rendered their bodies impervious to such wounds. Arrived at the upper end of the village, they stopped and waited, making no attempt to defend themselves, until they were killed. At intervals throughout the day the Carriers treated the two bodies with ignominy, now thrusting spears into them, now beating them, and all this time not a single Bella Coola dared even to protest, so much were they filled with fear of the Carriers who, when roused as they then were, fight like mad dogs. In the late afternoon one of the women thrust a knife into the eyes of the fallen warriors. Even this insult did not rouse the *Nuxalk* people themselves, but *Winda*, one of their slaves, felt called upon to take action. Before being captured, he had been a person of importance in his own home and the Bella Coola had allowed him to become a leading member of the *hamiat* society; in the course of time he had become entirely reconciled to his fate, and even thought as a Bella Coola which gave him the necessary assurance to address the Carriers.

B C 648 727

B [567]

"*Wa, wa,*" he said. "See the breadth of the sky." I have never seen, nor have I even heard of such a thing as you have done today. Truly you have wiped your feet on all that is sacred and powerful."

This speech for the first time brought the enormity of their offence home to the Carriers. The actual taking of life did not affright them, but in their excitement they had overlooked what was to *Winda* the most obvious sin: they had passed and repassed on the sidewalk outside a house where a *hamiat* dance was taking place. Thus reminded of the danger to which they had exposed themselves, the Carriers withdrew.

B [648]

Next day the *Nuxalk* people buried the four victims. *Ojmikmy* had been a mighty chief and, being distantly related, they would normally have given him an elaborate funeral, but now they acted as if dazed and unaware of his greatness. A man who owned a powerful medicine put some of it in the eyes of the two who had been mutilated by the Carrier women; as the bodies began to decompose, those who had killed them began to suffer from eye-trouble, and the women became blind. Believing that their sin had caused their misfortune, the Carriers fled home.

B [754]

*To call attention to this way to the breadth of the universe carries with it the implication that it will fall to crush those who have broken a sacred law.

B [714 715]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

192*

nusiha: The visit to every house in the village by a Mystery dancer on receipt of his call.
nusieml, plural, nunusieml: Singer.
nusikuxta: Quiver for carrying arrows. [415]
Nusimusta: Mountain near *Asäw-äw-i.*
nusiutäli or *nusiutälsap:* Second day of a *kusiut* dance.
Nusixilaixaikm: Synonym for *Tutwai-ai:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.
nuskäsiutsta: Repository.
nuskoli: Any unusual occurrence, regarded as an omen of death. [763]
Nuskolämmsta, "Whence Things Came Down": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nusfulusta: Wash-basin, especially the supernatural one that remains in the land above.
Nuskiapk: 1—Supernatural being presiding over the Land of Ashes.
2—Locality on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, not far from the head.
Nuskumäta: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tsnisi* in the beginning of time.
Nuskumidjusta: Axe carried in the beginning of time by the man who was later turned to stone as Mount *Nusfalst.*
Nuskumäsil: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tsnisi* in the beginning of time.
Nu-skokkumg: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
nuskotle: Wasps' nest. [825]
Nuskwulnkäuda: One of the first women to settle at *Snaloli* in the beginning of time.
nuskwuäätsta: House in which a memorial potlatch is being held.
Nu-läum: Mountain on south side of lower Bella Coola.
Nuslexwgmuxulum, "The Cherished One": Designation applied to one of the sons of *Alpuntäm.*
nuslumsta: House in which a potlatch is taking place.
nuslump: One who has gone to give potlatches in a new sphere; this rhetorical expression is commonly used when referring to a dead chief. [195]
nusläksta: Wash-basin used by a shaman when curing. [756]
Nusläksumidjut, "He Whose Wash-Basin Is in His Own Body": One of *Tlinxpläläx-a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.
nuslumuskta: Enclosure behind fire in which *kusiut* dancers are secluded.
nuslpuxta: Cleansing rites in connection with death. [764]
Nuslwulump: *Tlelyäkum* name acquired by a Kimsquit man as a result of a supernatural experience.
Nusmäkowai: 1—Eagle that perched on a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time.
2—Name, derived from that of the eagle, of one of the first men to settle at *Ilnuz* in the beginning of time.
Nusmä-a: 1—"Place of Stories": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nusfalst* in the beginning of time.
Nusmä-aiw-a, "Woman of *Nusmä-a*": Probably wife of *Alpuntäm.*
Nu-mäläix: Mountain on north side of lower Bella Coola.
Nusmäläiwula: Subterranean chamber in which rivers were confined in the beginning of time. [772]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*192

ntsuhs: Promontory on hunting ground extending into ocean.
Ondzawi: Kimsquit fisherman.
Owik: Calvert Island.
Ondzerm: Synonym for *Xemsemalsts*, one of the nine supernatural siblings.

P

[415] *pai s:* Small wooden dish.
Pálaxt: Legless messenger of the dead.
Pa s: Place on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
[585] [431] *pásstum:* Synonym for *nuplásstel'em:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.
Pásstus: Ancestral name of a *Nuxpalit* man.
[412] *pásuls:* Bone needle.
pásuls: Anything powerful and dreaded; the word is frequently applied, rhetorically, to Cannibals.
Pe sds: Small stream rising north of the Bella Coola valley and east of the Nuchatsumnay; it flows into the head of South Bentinck Arm between the Nuchatsumnay and the Bella Coola.
Piqmis: Bella Coola man figuring in a story.
pilit: Herring scales.
pnaxts: Dance-apron.
Pnyhlis: One of the first men to settle at *Swalit* in the beginning of time.
[825] *pkaw:* Mosquito.
Ponyalutsdimat: Name assumed by *Swanas* in the beginning of time.
po qmis: Variety of *snung.*
Pudks: Celebrated Bella Coola chief who died about 1880.
Pu lds: Moustache Nose, the point between Labouchere Channel and North Bentinck Arm.
[824] *pusqt:* False bellebow.
[411] *pulstm:* Bow, weapon.
pyuqs, "Fallen Heavily with a Crash," as when a dead tree thunders to earth: The term is used rhetorically when referring to the death of an old and influential chief.
[195] [392] *psaxtl:* Tree, probably birch, used for torches.
psbum: Meeting of chiefs.
[825] *psc:* Halibut.
psi': Crehaggle.
[824] *psuh:* Bunchberry.

Q

[525] *Qa'ahlis:* Rivers Inlet man, living in the last century.
qai: King stick in a gambling game.
qaimsqmalit: Women's drawing cry uttered at the appearance of a masked dancer.
qai mqqs: Uncommon term for the second day of a *kwakiut* dance, applied to the rites taking place during the day itself only.
Qaiqs: Name conferred on the grandson of *Swanas* in the beginning of time.
Qal ks: Man mentioned in a story.
Qalmx: 1—One of the first women to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
2—Celebrated Bella Bella chief.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

 192*

qwin, "Bed Covering": Term applied to the presents given as such to the party of a bridegroom when they enter the bride's house on a wedding day. [585]

tlemdjat, "A Shaking of the Fingers": Rhetorical allusion to presents regarded as "Dust." [491]

t'paslkinum: To revolve sunwise. [195]

T'paspaslkinmelaic, "The One Who Revolves Sunwise to Give Strength": One of *Thlexpldzw-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

t'sqalus: Place of petrified power near Kwatna. [778]

Tsowme: Village on the Skeena River.

tsuiaut: Supernatural creature resembling a diminutive human being. [825]

tsukel: Salmon lives.

tuk: Co-wife in a polygynous household. [575]

tulmi, *tuzatin*, *tulmin*: Wife's brother, or sister's husband, man speaking.

tulwaic: Gathering of the supernatural beings for the performance of dances in the land above. [601]

tuma: Unidentified salt water fish, said to be called "Lord-fish" by white men. [825]

Tumpanum al di ds Jsem, "The Unbower of Light": One of Raven's names as chief.

tupsinum: 1—The ability of a chief to sit down ceremonially in virtue of the goods distributed for his seat, the ground over which he walks, and other requirements.

2—The initial establishment of a youth as chief.

tupsinuks: Stone axe.

tuz: Period of engagement. [412]

Tuzkila: *Kwagu'ti* man.

Tzaut-lilc: 1—One of Raven's names as chief.

3—*Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.

Tzwistumlaic: *Sisaa* man mentioned in an ancient story.

Tzwiscate-i: Skaman's name of a *Sisaa* woman.

Tzwiscum, "Beginned": Name of a copper often cast into fire.

ualu: Unidentified (and probably mythical) type of lizard, allegedly about four feet long, found near Dean Channel. [825]

ualum, *uzatin*, *ualim*; *plural*, *ulpualim*: Eldest brother or sister. [601]

Ual'kum: Name, in the Bella Bella language, given to a wooden woman made by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

ualtlil: Gull. [825]

Ual'ual'lus, "Elder": Term of respectful address to Porcupine as senior of all animals.

Ualwaulalim, "The Mover": Name given to their house by one of the first groups of settlers at *Tlil'ts* in the beginning of time.

Ualus: Term from which the Anglicized "Kwatna" is derived: Generic name for the villages at Kwatna Harbour, Burke Channel. [108]*

Ualumas'ks: Chief living on the upper Tsowme in the beginning of time.

ualul-ulu: Large box used for boiling chicken.

Ualupu: Village south west of the head of South Bentinck Arm. [415]

Ualupual: Place on Schooner Pass.

Ualupualic: *Kwaui* name of a Bella Coola man.

ualulukus: Marks made to commemorate an event, such as carvings at chiefs' meeting-place, virtually a memorial. [211]

ualumum: Figure representing crest.

192

[773] ɣwalwaxw: 1—Tally post, one of the supernatural elements possessed by all human beings.
[777] 2—Invisible supernatural element which constantly moves before the face.

ɣwalwaxw; vocative, ɣwalwaxwa, (rarely, ɣwalwxa): Crest.

[825] ɣwax: Raven.

ɣwax: Big old male mountain goat.

ɣwaxila: Ɣwaxa'a man living in the last century.

ɣwaylakla: Celebrated Kwakiutl chief.

ɣwaxpaxa: woman: Name of a shaman who received his power from Raven.

[601] ɣwaxwaxa: One of the first men to settle at Ɣaxa in the beginning of time.

ɣwaxwaxa: Fourth oldest, or youngest, brother or sister.

ɣwa'wakla: Stellar's jay.

ɣwakdil: Kitamaat woman.

[825] ɣwaxa: Women's pubic hair.

ɣwaxa: Sea-lion cub.

[491] ɣwaxa: Those who are present and receive gifts when an announcement of a marriage is first made.

ɣwaxa: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.

ɣwaxa'a'xwa: A revelation, such as the sight of a supernatural being or object usually concealed.

[825] ɣwalaxa: Yearling seal.

ɣwaxaqa: Word used in inviting to a marriage announcement.

ɣwaxaxa: Kitamaat man mentioned in an ancient story.

ɣwaxaxaxwa: Kwakiutl supernatural being, said to be identical with Ɣaxaxwa.

ɣwaxbilkla*: Naspaal name of a Kitamaat man.

ɣwaxpa: Bella Bella village west of Namu.

ɣwal: Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.

ɣwalaya: Professional female marriage dancer who came down to Kitamaat in the beginning of time.

ɣwalaxwa: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

ɣwalaxl, "Place of Herbage": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.

ɣwaxa: Inspiration, in the sense of the source of a Earlier dancer's power of thought.

[589] ɣwaxalk: Village west of Kwatna, settled in the beginning of time.

ɣwaxbaqlax: Actual goods used for the repurchase of a wife.

[154] ɣwaxqalaxa: Ancestral name of a Kitamaat chief.

ɣwaxal: Cradle.

ɣwa'xal': Earlier name of a Bella Coola woman.

ɣwaxa: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[581] ɣ'xalla: The noble and rightful sentiments engendered in both families by an elaborate marriage, either real or fictitious. The word embodies the concepts of financial interdependence and of consequent mutual strength.

[195] ɣwaxlla: The transference of activities to a new sphere; the term is used, characteristically, when referring to the death of a skilled craftsman.

Ł

ɬalla: 1—Skeleton.
2—Kitamaat man mentioned in an ancient story.

Łalkaxa-xwa: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.

ɬal-xix ɬlalla: The constant blinking of the eyes.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

 192*

Sqwqwukw: Supernatural children guarded by the hermaphrodite in the land above.
Syuel: Name taken by a *Sisaa* man in the beginning of time.
sxinqmuel: Place in stream or river where a salmon has just jumped.
sxwunit'a: Name created upon earth.
sxwqmnit: Deer.
sxwai: Water-tight receptacle made from the internal organs of a mountain goat.
Sxwukwqmtn, "What Sweeps Away the Food": First moon after the winter solstice.
sxwumqk, "Tears": Preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch.
sxw'ilumkin, "Short-lived": Rhetorical term used with reference to the death of a young chief.
sqwawi: An adolescent girl, not yet subject to the full taboos of womanhood.

[825] [415] [805] [431] [195]

T

tahsin: Cave.
tai: 1—Son, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for lads unrelated to the speaker.
2—Masculine suffix.
Taiatsuis: 1—One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snaik'a* in the beginning of time.
taiawumuk: Desertion of husband by his wife.
taix: Dorsal fin of a fish.
taiximq: Heavy kind of copper.
taiyawaa: Tournament between rival villages.
Tal'ax: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Generic name applied to all villages on South Bentinck Arm.
Talaxka'a: *Nuxpual* name embodied in a *Snaik'a* origin myth.
Tamtimdepaa, "The Breather": One of *Tlinxpilitsa'a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Tamukas: *Sisaa* man mentioned in an ancient story.
tapimamum: The issuing abroad of invitations to a memorial potlatch.
tapin: Forest consisting of dense underbrush between big trees.
tapul: Blanket-sized cedar-bark pad.
ta'a: 1—Bird arrow.
2—Weapon, invisible to mortals, with which a wolf kills its prey.
Tax, *taxaiu*, *Taxu*: 1—Designation of supreme god used in prayer.
2—Father, term used by child.
taikaudy: Water-lily.
Ta'pa'ak: Land inhabited by the Kwakiutl.
Taskwaan: Leading chief of *Sisaa'ak* and reputed founder of the village.
Tayplcum: Bella Coola chief living in the last century.
tekus: Type of sea-going canoe with bow and stern identical.
tendul'a: 1—White-fronted goose.
2—Type of sea-going canoe named from the bird.
temat: Husband (*ti tsukumtlu*: My husband).
temu': River.
Tenumukin: Chief who came to Cape Mudge in the beginning of time and later moved to Bella Coola.

[601]

[586] [825] [628] [101]

[824]

[601] [824]

[825] [601]

556 which is said to have come as a propagation obtained through [420] marriage with a Kwakiutl woman, were not obtained.

[184] After the distribution of investment presents comes the [424] strengthening of X's seat.

His wife, aided by members of her family, has placed the necessary goods in readiness, though it is presumed they merely happen to be on hand. A herald takes his place near [203] the door, and another behind the fire. Beside the latter stands a chief, attired in a *xsaxt* head-dress, who represents X. One of the heralds calls on the substitute to come forward, as if he were just entering the house, and chants:

"There is no place for him to sit!"

Then he turns to X's wife, saying:

"See if you have not a few robes in your room to strengthen him."

[192] The word for "strengthen" is *ulkhaxn*, or *ghelulkxn*, which means, "shoring up," as if X were wobbling on his chief-like base. The words have the other significance of "clothing." They represent the ceremonial dignity wherewith a chief is garbed.

X's wife goes to her room, or to the place in the house where the goods are stored, and brings forth a large assortment of valuables, which are piled in a convenient spot. The substitute who is representing X then places himself in the latter's seat, which is to be made more solid by these goods. X's wife may call the herald that they have still more goods for him, and in that case he calls out:

"His seat is too hard. Have you no soft cloths for it?"

The wife brings forward more goods to make her husband's seat more comfortable. The herald, who has been chosen for [203] his fluency, uses his originality in what he calls for from the wife; soft cloths for the seat is merely an example. In some cases, many presents are given; at other times, if the wife and her family be poor, these are few and of little worth. It is not essential that foreign guests witness this establishment or strengthening of a seat, though their presence ensures that X's

CHAPTER I

LOCATION AND ENVIRONMENT

Location—Bella Coola Village—Tribal Organization—Neighbouring Tribes

Location

"BELLA COOLA" is the common designation of those Indians who, until a few years ago, inhabited the valley of the Bella Coola River in central British Columbia. Boas has recorded that the name is a mis-pronunciation of *Nuxalk*,[1] a Kwakiutl word of doubtful origin which white pioneers assumed to be the appellation of the people in question. There is no term in their own language to include the groups treated in this monograph. Linguistically, the Bella Coola form an isolated island of Salish-speaking people, separated from others of the same stock by tribes of Athapascan and Kwakiutl language.[2] Culturally, they belong to the central section of the North Pacific coast area.[3]

The Bella Coola River rises among the mountainous uplands of central British Columbia. Its two main branches fall rapidly, about forty-five miles from the sea, into two deep gorges which unite, some five miles further on, to form the valley of the Bella Coola. Down this the river rushes in serpentine curves (see Plate 3). Too shallow and too rapid for the use of large boats, even if such had been known to the Bella Coola, it serves to bear their dug-out canoes, such boats from some eighty miles. The valley is never wider than two or three miles and is bounded in by lofty snow-capped moun-

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(4) THE MELA COOLA INDIANS

from *Swalik*. My informant's grandchildren regard themselves as *Swalik* boys, and their names are embedded in myths of that village, although their fathers have not lived there for five generations. There is no reason to suppose this was exceptional. Other instances were obtained of movements of people from one village to another at earlier times, and there seems no reason to doubt the general accuracy of dates. Names embedded in the origin myths of different towns are used as prerogatives and have been potent factors in keeping their memory alive. Uncertainties and inconsistencies there must be in the foregoing list, but on the whole it appears to be fairly reliable, since few contradictions were received from different informants.

Accounts obtained of the same ceremonies from the descendants of people of different villages were found to most seem to be identical. There were a few differences in custom between the people of Dean and those of the other upper valley towns on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the lower valley on the other. These will be mentioned when necessary, but on the whole the inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley can be considered as a tribal entity.

Boas (p. 48) gives a list of Bella Coola towns which agrees fairly well with the above. Among his villages are included *Pa-ooh* (no. 4), *Tsilqutenem* (no. 7), and *Pa-ahkoo* (no. 10).* All the older people agreed that these are the names of streams, though settlements located on them may have been known by the same designations. Names of the five villages recorded by Boas, nos. 5, 6, 9, 13, and 14, were not known to several old men questioned on the subject.

The villages of the Bella Coola valley did not form a political unit; each was independent. A common language was spoken throughout and the inhabitants of the different towns recognized that their origin and customs were similar. This was also recognized to be the case with regard to the people living on South Bentinck Arm, and on the head of Dean Channel.

* Spelling is not use the spelling of his monograph.

S.96:Heredik B.O (1902-1943)948
NEA Bella-coola NEA

spread out on to a wooden platform, which served as sidewalk and extended from one end of the settlement to the other. The outer side of this structure was always supported on piles; in fact, in many cases, the house as well as the whole sidewalk were thus raised from the ground. This type of construction was necessitated by the sloping sites of the villages, but had the added advantage of being a protection against attack. The villages differed in size from insignificant settlements of three to four houses, to one with twenty or thirty, each containing several families. Trees with which the red cedar could be split and worked in large planks made possible the construction of these large, rectangular houses which, with their horizontally laid wallband sloping roofs, presented a picture of stability and relative comfort superior to that of most Indian habitations.

Each village was practically an independent political unit. Neighbouring settlements by many common interests which drew them into contact with one another, but there was no organized cohesion between the towns of the Bella Coola valley, as between those of *Wuikinuxv* and Kimsquit. There was still less to draw them together. There was no supreme chief and no governmental meeting of the tribe as a whole. Not only were the two divisions not bound to support one another in war, thirteen often at loggerheads among themselves. Indeed, bloodshed between towns of the Bella Coola valley itself was not uncommon. Moreover, each group tended to merge with its neighbours. The *Tsilhqot'in* people frequently married with the Stuie Inlet and the Bella Bella, the Kimsquit with the Alexandria Dean Channel and the Kitlope of Gardner Canal, and the Bella Coola of the upper valley with the Carrier.

In spite of these inconsistencies, the application of the word tribe is justifiable for the following reasons:

A. Linguistic. All spoke the same language. There were dialectical differences among the people of Bella Coola, *Tsilhqot'in*, and Kimsquit, but each group could understand the other. We could converse, politely, in our own tongue.

542
561
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[197]

1:McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

others. This differentiated them clearly from all neighbouring tribes.

B. Ceremonial. A member of a secret society in any of the above towns was accepted as a member in any other one. A person of another tribe, even if known to belong to a comparable society, was treated as an uninitiated person.

C. Origin and Religion. The people of Bella Coola, Tsi'o, and Kimsquit felt themselves to be akin through acceptance of the fact that their ancestors had been created together in the beginning of time. This marked them off with great clearness from all other tribes, especially from the Carriers of the interior. This belief formed a sentimental and religious bond of great strength.

Neighbouring Tribes

It is desirable to describe, briefly, the tribes with which the Bella Coola came in contact.

The Carriers

East of Bella Coola, amid the mountains of the interior, dwelt the Carriers. In summer they often came down to the river valley to fish or trade for salmon, and in winter they were sometimes forced by cold and starvation again to visit the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, or Rivers Inlet people. There was a good deal of intermarriage between them and the inhabitants of the upper valley, so that the wanderers were able to spend the cold months with relatives. Name the less, the Bella Coola considered these people utterly foreign in habits and beliefs, and to call a man a "Carrier" was, and still is, a deadly insult. The Carriers lacked the rich ceremonial life of the coastal peoples who, therefore, regarded them with scorn and contempt. The presence of a few of the much-despised Carriers was, however, almost necessary to the correct performance of the winter dances since they were uninitiated spectators whom it was necessary to impress and delude.

1:McDowell E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NES Bellacoola NES
Bellabella NES

THE *oówy*.[1]

Before the smallpox epidemic, about 1862, there were towns on the fords and villages of Dean Channel between Kimsquit and Bella Bella. The inhabitants were called *oówy* by the Bella Coola, and *ooaity* by the Bella Bella. Their settlements were at Elcho Harbour, Green River, Cascade Inlet, and at several unidentified places. Their language is said to have differed slightly from that of the Bella Bella, but the people themselves married freely with both Kimsquit and Bella Bella, thus forming a connecting link between these tribes.

A list of *oówy* towns was obtained from one old man, who claimed to be a descendant of the people. It was impossible to verify this information, and since he himself was not an ideal informant, the following can be regarded only as approximately correct.

(1) *Elko*: at Elcho Harbour.

(2) *Kilb*: on a ford one mile above the last-named.

(3) *Ilkit* or *Tagoo*: on a river three miles above the preceding.

(4) *Nawaid*: on a river two miles above the preceding.

(5) *Naquil*: on a ford three miles above the preceding.

(6) *Outlow*: on a ford three miles above the preceding.

(7) *Isowalk*: on a river two miles above the last-named and thirty miles below Kimsquit.

According to the old man from whom the above list was obtained, *Nawaid*, at Kimsquit, recorded earlier as village no. 41, was also populated by *oówy* people. There was so much intermarriage between the two groups that it is now impossible to ascertain whether the inhabitants not only of *Nawaid*, but of *Isowalk* as well, were predominantly Kimsquit or *oówy*.

The open plateau in which the Bella Coola River rises has always made travel possible for long distances, so that not only

1 [*Bellacoola*, term for the people of inland "Bellabella - Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of "Dean Channel" - See R. McDowell, Ref. 10, p.28 - Analyst]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NFN

the neighbouring Carriers, but Chilkotin as well sometimes descended to the valley. On the coast, though the dense underbrush prevented travel along the shore, the long fords, sheltered from the open Pacific, were ideal for the use of canoes.* Comparatively lengthy journeys were neither difficult nor uncommon. The *Tal'o* people were usually on amicable terms with the inhabitants of Rivers Inlet, and the Kimsquit with the Kitlope. The Bella Coola were accustomed to annual potlatches at Alert Bay and Fort Rupert,** Knight's Inlet, and Bute Inlet, receiving their hosts, in turn, at Bella Coola. On the other hand, there was little friendly intercourse with the northern tribes, of which the Kitkatla especially were dreaded by the residents of the central coast. Until recent years the Bella Coola had no direct knowledge of other Salish-speaking peoples, although some of the Chilkotin told them of a tribe living far to the south, in the interior, whom they encountered in some of their wanderings and used to term *Nuxalkmc*, recognizing the similarity between their language and that of the Bella Coola. A few years ago several Bella Coola attended a boarding-school and were amazed to find that many of their words were understood by fellow-students from Chilliwack.

To sum up: The Bella Coola were in close contact with the neighbouring general tribes, with the members of which they felt themselves to have cultural affinities. They recognize that they have received many ceremonial rites from their neighbours, and must have adopted other elements of culture which they now consider indigenous. It is probable that certain Bella Coola customs must likewise have been transmitted to other tribes, but such lie without the scope of this monograph. The outlying villages were in close contact with foreign neighbours, and tended to assimilate elements of their culture, but, on the whole, the Bella Coola present a tribal unity with distinctive local customs, falling within the general pattern of coastal culture.

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*The term of canoe, see Appendix A.
**The principal Kwakiutl villages.

special type of whistle. Everybodiness remained in this house until he had given four potlatches. Then he removed to *Ape'i*, near *Tal'ai* River on South Bentinck Arm. His house still stands there, but it has become an island around which the clouds come whenever a hostile visiting party is approaching, so as to conceal from them their objective.

From their long residence in this house *Tal'ai* people understand the language of their Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and other coastal neighbours better than do the Bella Coola.

FOUR GROUPS MOVE ON *TAL'AI*[a]

Among the first people sent down to earth were four who landed at the river *Tal'ai*, on the mainland opposite Fort Rupert. Their names were: *Wintcumdzis*, a man who became the leader of the group; *Nyal'a-kis*, a woman; *Anuhkumdzis*, a man; and another woman, *Gumumdzis-mis-a*. They met a man, which helped them by pointing out the proper road to follow and by killing evil things which barred their path. With the assistance they were able to reach *Tal'ai*, where they settled and where *Wintcumdzis* plucked a number of twigs from the branches of a spruce tree near the water. These twigs became the people over whom he was chief.

GROUP MOVES ON *NAKIL*[b]

In the beginning of time there came down to Mount Saulis, near the mouth of the Dean River, two brothers, *Ximsem* and *Gwagul*, their sister *Kilkem*, and their barrel (*kagal*). *Ximsem* came as an eagle, but as soon assumed human form, apparently the others had always been human. They moved down, and formally settled at *Nakil*, near the mouth of the Dean River. *Ximsem* had brought with him as a present from *Ilgamlem*, some chickens, called by their supernatural name, *Alpuxtem-a*, which he threw into the water. They increased rapidly and became the ancestors of all the chickens at *Kimsquit*. Thus provided with food, the brothers prospered so that they were able to give many potlatches. In course of time *Kilkem* was married to *Nakilla*, a chief who had come to earth on the upper Dean River.

In one of their potlatches *Gwagul* performed a *Sagalem* dance, as *Ilgamlem* had instructed him to do before leaving *Nuxalk*-a. Valuable

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[a] Fragmentary version, related by Billy Talbot.

[b] This another version see Boas, p. 65. It was impossible to obtain this myth from any of the descendants of Nakiles; it is unlikely that the above version does so nothing.

PHONETIC KEY*

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VOWELS	CONSONANTS
a, as in father	p, t, k, f, (ph), h, s, (th), b, d, v (as in English)
ä, as in hat	g, voiced ŋ
e, as in fate	ŋ', ŋ', ŋ', ŋ', aspirated nasals
i, as in pique	ŋ, l, ŋ, ŋ, glottalized stops
o, as in note	ŋ, sonorized palatal ŋ
ö, as in nuts	ŋ, sonorized palatal ŋ
u, as in fur	ŋ, ŋ, intermediate between ŋ and sonant
ü, as in out	ŋ, glottalized intermediate
i, as in ill	(ŋ), as in pale
ü, as in pun	s, as in shall
ŋ, obscure vowel like a in alike	ŋ, sonorized ŋ
¶, sonorant vowels, voiced but slighted in enunciation. The same dieresis is used for consonants slighted in enunciation.	ŋ, ŋ ŋ
	ŋ, glottalized ŋ
	ŋ, as in Scottish, doll
	ŋ, voiced ŋ, as in German, soll
	ŋ, sonorized palatal ŋ, as in German, soll
	ŋ, peculiar r-sound, apparently due,

ŋ, for example, ŋ, ŋ ŋ, indicates lengthening of preceding vowel or consonant

ŋ, indicates a glottal stop

ŋ, indicates aspiration

ŋ, indicates accentuation of the syllable or sentence

*Based on the simpler system described in Phonetic Transcription of Sioux Languages, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 66, No. 3, Washington (1916), pp. 3-13.

The i sound was used only for one old man and several of his deliberated pronunciations.

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2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Breaker Dance]

they do not like. No compensation can be claimed, on the theory that supernatural beings do not have to pay for any damage they may do. Although the property of some *kukuwat* is destroyed, the chief sufferers are the uninitiated; this serves to increase their fear and respect for the society with which such all-powerful beings are in league. After visiting every house in the village, the party returns to X's, where the masks are burnt, the call sent back, and the proceedings conclude in the usual manner.

A certain amount of information concerning the history of the Breaker dance was obtained from *Epek*, the owner of the prerogative just described. He is a well-informed man, but the writer had no opportunity of comparing his beliefs with those of his associates, so the following must be regarded as unauthenticated evidence. This man stated that the Breaker dance is the most important of all in Bella Bella, and that many Bella Coola prerogatives have been obtained from this source, although some of their first ancestors likewise enjoyed it. He further stated that the term, *nakwaxa*, by which the Bella Coola always designate a Breaker, is of Bella Bella origin, and that the ancient Bella Coola term was *dettia*.* *Epek* also told of an occasion when a number of Bella Bella, present on the *potlatch* night of a Bella Coola ceremony, were disturbed when seeing by the thud of a stone thrown, from outside, against the wall of the back room. Out rushed a number of *kukuwat*, incensed at the disrespect shown to their gathering. They caught the offender, but released him when he was found to be a Bella Bella Breaker, foolishly demonstrating his prowess. The marshals decided to retaliate and arranged with two Bella Coola Breakers to exercise their rights and destroy the curtains and food-boxes of their guests. They did so, and later paid for the damage. The Bella Coola were thus able to demon-

*Epek and several of his children are the only Bella Coola known to the writer who habitually use the sound "x." For example, he says "*thaxlen*," instead of "*thaxlit*." He says that he is himself unable to distinguish any peculiarity in his own pronunciation, although other Bella Coola are aware of it.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Since the end of the last century they have dwindled down in numbers, and a few only of their once populous villages are still inhabited, namely, Sáxq, at the head of Dean Inlet; Kitl'ó'l, at the mouth of Salmon River; Nuqu'ltn (which embraces five villages, at the mouth of Bella Coola River; Sisi'ut, twenty-eight miles up Bella Coola River; and Ts'ín, at the head of South Bentinck Arm. The dialect of Kitl'ó'l and Sáxq differs slightly from that of the other villages. The following is a list of their ancient villages, most of which are still inhabited at certain seasons, although not regularly:—

1. Sáxq.
2. Kitl'ó'l. The tribe of this place is called Sitalt-ná.
3. Nuqu'ltn, embracing the villages K'nalsi'ten and Sialc'ál on the north side, Ts'ánla and Nelsa'ctaáxnt on the south side of the river.
4. Sisqíl.
5. Tsemt'ál.
6. Sutl'ó'ls.
7. Ts'kaila.
8. Ast'ómt.
9. Sak-s'nqmaín.
10. Tsqamíl-s'ut.
11. Sa'ab-'ólst.
12. Stalítl'aq.
13. Sisi'ut, twenty-eight miles from the sea.
14. Sutl'ólsal. Nos. 9 to 14 are situated along Bella Coola River, and are given as they are met with in ascending the river.
15. Sisi'aqíl, at the confluence of Bella Coola and Dean (?) Rivers.
16. Ts'ín, at the head of South Bentinck Arm, embracing K'ná'ya, Ts'ín, Ts'ík', K'ná'a.
17. K'ná'ten, at the bay of that name in the southern extremity of Bentinck Arm. On the north entrance of Bentinck Arm were the Kitsi'ál, but it is doubtful whether they belonged to the Sitqata or to the Sá'ámsh. The latter call the people of Dean Inlet Ki'ámsq.

Each of these tribes is subdivided into gentes, which appear to be arranged in exogamic groups. I learn the names of the following gentes, which bear the names of their ancestors:—

Gentes of the Nuqu'ltnmt:

1. Tsk-ná'a (extending down on his heels).
2. Sqamqmt'ínmq; Qá'ámsm name: Sisi'ám'ánl (see p. 401).
3. Stalítl'aq.
4. Ka'ámsh-ná.
5. Ts'ínm.

Gentes of the Sisqíl'ámmt:

1. Tlak-ná'ál.
2. K'nqmlá'ál.
3. ?

Gentes of the Tsín'ám:

1. Sáxlmmlt (wearing good fur); Qá'ámsm name: Ts'ín'ám-ná'ál (one now possessing from rank).
2. Sqaíní'ál.
3. Tsqamíl-ám'ám.
4. Sa'ámsh.

I.

The Bella Coola are a small tribe inhabiting the coasts of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm, two long and narrow fords situated in about latitude 52° north, in British Columbia. Their habitat extends along Bella Coola River, which empties into North Bentinck Arm. The name "Bella Coola" is a corruption of the word "Bilhula," by which name the tribe is known to the Kwakiutl. There is no word in their own language embracing all the tribes speaking the Bella Coola language. It seems that at a former time the tribe was quite populous; but, owing to various epidemics and the introduction of other diseases, as hereinafter here detailed shows, so that at the present time it has been reduced to only a few hundred souls. The language spoken by the tribe belongs to the Salishan family, more particularly to the group of dialects spoken along the coasts of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia. The great similarity between the Bella Coola and the other Coast-Salishan dialects leads me to assume that at one time the tribes speaking these dialects inhabited contiguous seats. At the present time the Bella Coola are separated from other tribes speaking Salishan languages by a considerable extent of country, which is inhabited by tribes of Athapascan and Kwakiutl lineage. Vocabulary and grammar have been highly modified, principally by an extensive choice of words. The tribe nearest of their language to the other dialects of the Coast Salish is similar to that of the Tillamook, another language belonging to the Salishan family, which is spoken on the coast of Oregon, to an area separated from the rest of the Salishan territory by the district inhabited by the Chinook.

Physically the Bella Coola have evidence of longcontinued contact with the northern Coast tribes, and also with the Athapascan tribes of the interior. Evidently intermarriages have been quite frequent, so much so that their present physical appearance differs considerably from that of the northern Salishan tribes, of which they form a branch. The same is true in regard to their customs and beliefs, which differ fundamentally from those of the northern Salishan tribes.

In the present paper I shall describe the mythology of the Bella Coola, and discuss its development.

II.

The previous knowledge of the mythology of this tribe is based on earlier work by Adrian Jacobsen, Philip Jacobsen, Tomkins, and the writer. In 1895 I published a few brief notes on their traditions.[1] Tomkins pub-

[1] Anthropology in British Columbia for Anthropology, Geology and Geography, 1895, p. 43.

Libraries E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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121 121 If I were to investigate and report on the Bella Coola at the present time, I would undoubtedly be influenced by many years of contact with American anthropologists and their work. I would assume a greater knowledge of North-West coast institutions, less interest in the details of ceremonial rites, and it would be impossible not to avoid comparisons with, and observations upon, the theoretical implications of many of the facts recorded. But though every field investigator is strictly objective as to the facts he collects, yet his interests, and his method of presenting them, are coloured by his background; in my case, by the older school of English anthropology. On the whole, I think this is fortunate. It means that the Bella Coola are portrayed as I saw them when I came fresh to a new field, practically unfamiliar by problems of North-West coast culture, and fully prepared to throw myself into their life. They were "my people," not a group in which I was interested because they had, or had not, certain culture traits with which I was concerned. In the course of my teaching experience, furthermore, I have wished repeatedly to give serious students detailed field monographs in which are recorded the interwoven social, religious, and folk-lore concepts of a people, the non-total of their mental life, collected by one man at one time. This I have tried to do for the Bella Coola.

123 Following the English tradition, I wish to record how this material was collected. Before leaving for British Columbia, I was advised by the late H. I. Smith, who had worked in the area, to talk to Indian Moody (see Plate 1), an elderly Bella Coola Indian with whom Smith had worked. On explaining to Indian that I had come to record in permanence from the traditions and lore of his people, Indian pledged loyalty and promised his help. Unfortunately, he spoke only a few words of English. I tried interpreter after interpreter, Indian and white, with only fair success, and my difficulties increased with the passing of the earlier years and the consequent employment of the younger men and women. I was urged to learn the Chinook jargon, which serves widely as a lingua franca on the

[124] [125] [126]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

coast, and began the study with much misgiving. The results were surprisingly satisfactory.

After a few weeks I found that I had sufficient knowledge of Chinook to dispense with interpreters and deal directly with the older people, a tremendous advantage. Pride of ancestry is one of the strongest characteristics of the Bella Coola, and once convinced of my sincere interest in and respect for their history, they were willing to talk. They resent the condescension with which most white men regard them, so that contact with one who was friendly and sympathetic came as a pleasant surprise. There were, of course, difficulties. The canning season had begun and every able-bodied man was working away from the village. The conviction of each person that he was the best source of information, and that conferences with another were useless or unreliable, caused distrust. The desire of each informant to discuss only what interested him; the complexity of Bella Coola life itself; the necessity of checking every statement, and the extreme difficulty of doing so on account of discrepancies in the myths of different families; the fear, almost groundless, of each individual that someone else had infringed on his rights by recounting some legend; and, not least, the need for tact, patience, and a sense of humour under all conditions, were some of the obstacles to be surmounted. Nor was Chinook entirely satisfactory. It has enough words for matters pertaining to fishing, hunting, and trading, but for the realms of sociology or theology it is inadequate. This difficulty could not have been overcome without the patient help of my informants. Animated by the desire to help, they used every expedient in the way of parallel and synonym to explain obscure terms. Sometimes a younger man was called in for some obscure meaning; more often it gradually became clear from different applications. Once the significance of a word was definitely understood, I made a note of it and used it henceforth. A useful vocabulary was thus built up, and conversations were carried on in mixed Bella Coola and Chinook, eked out by whatever English words were known by the person with

1:McDowalth E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

from ghosts, and for four days feeds them lavishly. On the fifth morning they proceed to the grave, accompanied by kinsmen of the deceased, and pound on the ground with sticks, asking the dead person whether or not he had been murdered, and if so, the name of the murderer. It is said that in former times the voice of the deceased could always be plainly heard giving the desired information. This ceremony has not been carried out for many years, and exact details are not known by any of the living Bella Coola. It seems clear that ventriloquism must have been employed, requiring active deception on the part of the shamans. 756 775 787 [198]

It was difficult to ascertain to what extent shamans believed in their own powers to understand the speech of ghosts. There is no doubt that the Bella Coola are easily influenced by suggestion, and if an individual is told that he has received help from a ghost, it is not difficult for him to believe that such has been the case. Further, his fellows are convinced of his powers, a circumstance which does not fail to affect him. It may be stated definitely that in many cases shamans have some confidence in their own powers, although they do not hesitate to use deception to increase their prestige. This point will be considered in greater detail in the following chapter.

ACCOUNTS OF EXPERIENCES WITH GHOSTS

Much of the information concerning ghosts is contained in stories which have been handed down for generations and which are regarded as historical records. Some of these must be deferred to the chapters on folk-lore and shamanism, but the following are sufficient to explain the source of many Bella Coola beliefs on this subject.* 534 779

A Ransom from Ghosts

Long, long ago, there lived a little girl who used to cry incessantly. One evening when she was disturbing the whole household by weeping, her father said angrily to her:

*These stories have been included at this point as specific illustrations of the type of legend upon which generalized beliefs depend.

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NEA Bellacoola NEA

756 stated, there is a tendency for such ability to be granted to the descendants of shamans, but this is not necessarily the case. A shaman can instruct his child and so increase the latter's chances of a vision, but the parent can do no more. A single exception to this concept was noted but the following incident was regarded as absolutely inexplicable, a thing beyond expectation or comprehension.

756 789 A certain Kimsquit shaman had the supernatural being from whom he had derived his power actually resident in his body. At the time he obtained the gift, his benefactor had spoken to him.

"Henceforth," it said, "I will live in your right arm, my head located near your wrist, my tail near your elbow. When you cure a sick person place your arm against whatever part of his body is affected and I will drew forth the sickness with my mouth."

Thanks to this assistance, the shaman was able to perform marvellous cures, as the being never failed to suck out the disease. Though aware of his supernatural guest, the shaman himself never saw it except when he summoned it to cure a patient; then it came forth from his arm, though no one else could see it. When he had blown away the sickness, in the usual manner of shamans, the supernatural one returned within his arm, out of sight.

When the shaman grew old he called a friend to him and asked him to receive his power, telling him where, and how, it was localized. The man consented. The shaman then began to talk in the language of supernatural beings, as shamans often do, and presently the supernatural one came forth and became visible to the friend as a small lizard-like creature sitting on the palm of the shaman's hand. This frightened the friend and he declined the creature on the ground that he lacked ceremonial purity, hence his body was not a fitting receptacle. The shaman urged him to receive the creature, but when he continued to refuse, allowed it to return to his own arm. When the shaman died a few years later the friend

1:Mc:Dowalth E-5 (1922-1924)948
NES Bellacoola NES

bitterly regretted his own cowardice, for the wonderful cures stopped, whereas, had he accepted the supernatural guest, he would have been able to perform them. 956* 787

SHAMANS FROM THE DEAD

There remain to be described shamans from the dead, whose abilities and prerogatives are almost identical with those already described. They obtain their power either from the visitation of a ghost in this world, or by a journey to the land of shades below. The following incident explains why shamans alone can hold converse with ghosts. 956* 775 787

Once, long ago, the lover of a young girl died. She was so heart-broken that in her agony, four days after his burial, she lay down on his grave to weep. The dead man was able to visit her and in due time she gave birth to a child, who, like its father, was a ghost, with drawn face and glaring eyes. The perturbed woman tended it in the forest, her love overcoming a feeling of repulsion, and when she returned to her home she endeavoured to prevent her own mother handling the infant, knowing that she would be horrified. The grandmother insisted, but as soon as she saw the ghastly appearance of the child she dropped it in horror, and the infant vanished. [534]

Since then there has been a barrier, resembling a wall of smoke, between mortals and the dead. If the old woman had not dropped her grandchild, the living would still be able to converse with their deceased friends and relatives.

Nowadays, shamans alone are able to lift the barrier and discourse with the ghosts of those who have departed. These are quite common visitors to the land of the living, but only a shaman can understand their languages, of which one is a series of whistles, and the other resembles the attempts at speech made by a tongueless individual. Shamans can learn what the dead require and so transmit the knowledge to the relatives of the deceased. As, long ago, shamans whose powers were derived from animals were able to teach mortals the proper methods of hunting, and the taboos enjoined, so a [198]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

C *Wa'ał-ḱwa'nuxlā* | *yac dis'ł-ma'ła'łłwałał* | *dastłłkwałałł:* 533*
I gazed upon | what gave me power as a shaman(*f*) | when it stood up 756

cwała-ałwaw-a-ła-ułł
in the centre of a place of petrified power(*i*).

(*a*) This was the woman's *łacłał* designation; her shaman's name has been forgotten. [551]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 56, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tal'o* Charlie and Steamboat Annie.

(*c*) That is: The sky moved up and down. Grandiloquent phrases of this kind are frequent in songs used by shamans. [195]

(*d*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*e*) *Ḱwaxwnile* is said to be the word for salmon in the language of the supernatural beings; it is used by mortals in the rites following the taking of the first spring salmon. The shaman has received some of her power from a fish. [198] [226]

(*f*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*g*) Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

(*h*) The meaning is obscure. Apparently the shaman had been carried away by *Thxepłłłw-a* and treated by immersion in a basin in which eagle down was deposited.

(*i*) This refers to the supernatural being, *Ła'wałłałłmum*, who restores to life mortals killed by the receipt of too much power from *Thxepłłłw-a*. It is clear that this fear befell the shaman. [776]

(*j*) The woman is said to have received power from several sources, salmon, ghosts, and *Thxepłłłw-a* herself. It is impossible to state which of her supernatural patrons is referred to in this subdivision.

(*k*) The woman must have been taken to one of the spots where cures could be effected by the power of a supernatural being petrified there. [955]

[551]
[776]

Song Used by Nexada-malcoxin(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A *Łwłqwxwqwnałł* | *wa'łałłłwałł* | *ełałaełaał*
Look at the turning supernatural beings above(*c*), not one is | wise one(*c*)!
my equal(*d*),

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Łwałłłłłłwqwa'łałł* | *ałwałqwałwałwałł* | *ełałaełaał*
You must sometimes wakes at night to meditate on what I am | wise one!
bringing your mouth(*f*),

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Łwłqwłłwałłł* | *ałwałłłłłwałwałłn* | *ełałaełaał*
You must sometimes use your wash-basin(*g*), | wise one!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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Wamnyelnqu	*yulin ñi:*	*ulñxulñulñu*	*ainul'a*	*ainul'a*
?	good opinion	her	*ainul'a*	*ainul'a*

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 66, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) This word has no meaning.
(*c*) This word has no meaning.

The above is a very popular song, said to be ancient. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain a literal translation although the significance is well known. A free interpretation is:

"They say I loved her very dearly? No! The dimple in my left cheek merely smiled at [had a good opinion of] her."

It is often sung when a man is accused of being on unduly friendly terms with a girl.

[198]

Man's Love Song in Chinook Jargon(a)

Klawa:	*kwin*	*naika*	*nanum*
I wonder(*b*)	what	I	think(*c*)
kap-a	*ahah*	*tail*	*klamata*
of	that	chief(*d*)	woman;
kaiyu	*naika*	*nanu*	*pak-a*
a great deal	I	talk	her(*e*);
kila	*cem*	*naika'*	
no	shame(*f*)	I(*g*).	

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 48, National Museum of Canada; singer, Reuben Schooner. The singer completed the record with a Bella Coola song of which the text could not be obtained.
(*b*) Literally: Perhaps. This word is used for many dubitative expressions.
(*c*) This song follows the usual English pattern as it has been arranged in lines.
(*d*) In the sense of: Important.
(*e*) That is: I have been talking a great deal to her.
(*f*) This is the English word "shame" which has been adopted into Chinook.
(*g*) That is: I have had no shame in what I have said to her.

Kitsepsir Woman's Love Song(a)

Sinnqulla	*waiñiuk:*	*ñiñiukpilmuñai*	*alwaqnatñiuñiñiuwmiñiuw*
Why is the man talking so much(*b*)?			I don't like him any more.

2:56:Dewalth. E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
NEA: Bellacoola NEA

Anahlimut: Easter name of a Kimsquit woman.
anahlimut, "This is to Make Straight Your Road": Said when a call is answered, or food thrown upon a fire for the dead.
Anahmlis, "Place of Big Stones in the River": Village on Kwatna.
Anahlahlaic: Women mentioned in a repertory and have become supernatural.
anahlhl'a: Rainbow-coloured nose ring worn by Dzaxis.
Anahlhalaic: Supernatural name of Dzaxis.
anahlhl': Horn used by which the tongue is held during the Sasam dance.
Anahlmiaus: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Anahlmuis, "The One that Fills the River": Supernatural name of long-back salmon.
anahlmt: Nose ring.
anahmuxt: Weaving song composed for a chief and, apparently, the singing of one.
Anahmus: Place on the north-west side of Dean Channel, about nine miles from its head, where curative power is purified.
Anamaxlaus: Supernatural beings who reveal the supreme goal of the hunter dance.
Anamlalaus: Supernatural being who recovers those killed by the escape of one such power from Dzaqulilaus.
anamqan: Wearing of cloth, ermine.
anamsa: Person who catches early chicken in a hand net.
anapachaus: Secret stones such as are found in a lake near the headwaters of the Bella Coola.
Anapanalik: Supernatural being who regulates the height of tides in rivers.
anaplaitum: To wash, especially a supernatural being.
Anaplaulaic: One of the four sachems on Gulle.
Anaplalaic, "What Fills People": Name created by Dzasam in the beginning of time with reference to the source of salmon.
anapnaus: Elders waiting in darkness before a darkness dance.
Anapnaulaus: Supernatural being who gives inspiration.
Anaslaulaic: 1—Supernatural name of *aslaik*.
2—Method of killing practised by *aslaik*.
Anaslaulaus ala: Name of a Bella Coola shaman.
Ana-ghaplaus: Name of a Kimsquit woman.
anaslaik shaman: The new perspective of changing from hunter to *aslaik* when an shaman makes.
Anaslaus, "The Saviour": One of Dzaqulilaus's names and hence a thing-name given to shamans.
Anaslaulaic: One of the four men to settle on *Tal'a* in the beginning of time.
anaslaunap: Paradise not entered by a hunter-avenger.
Anaqaus ala: Easter name of a Kimsquit man.
Anax: Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.
anaqalaus, "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts: Identical with *aslaunap*, q.v.
Anaqalaic: One of the four women to settle on *Ahlaid* in the beginning of time.
Anaslaulaqaus: One of the names of Great Blue Heron on *ahlaid*.
anaxus: 1—Excavated house furnished with engaged platforms for guests.
2—Village on Kwatna.

[192]*
[825]
[301]
[533]
[978]
[226]
[823]
[824]
[198]
[342]

[illegible] THE MILLA CIRCLE [illegible]

*102

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] there is such [illegible] of the supernatural powers possessed by members of the [illegible] society that none would dare go there. If an uninitiated [illegible] one should do so, he would formerly have been either killed [illegible] initiated into the society. The meeting-place of the [illegible] is shown to a ledge of rock jutting out over a [illegible] not a quarter of a mile from the village. The [illegible] over a narrow cleft of the mountain side, [illegible] operation, and suddenly falls into a cauldron, as [illegible] by cliffs that no sunlight can enter. The ledge is [illegible] above the brink of the falls, one of the most [illegible] there imaginable. The meeting-places of other villages [illegible] rock natural settings, though all are at the bases of cliffs, [illegible] more easily distinguished features. Some of them are [illegible] with rude carvings, pecked into the rocks. The [illegible] of the designs is not known to any of the present [illegible]. Some of them were made, long ago, by chiefs when the [illegible] were composing songs; they pecked out the rock to [illegible] to music forming in their minds. Others were made [illegible] of certain events. If a chief gave an important [illegible] he, or one of his friends, carved a figure, perhaps [illegible] of a [illegible], perhaps of some animal connected with the [illegible], to mark [illegible]. No carvings have been made within the [illegible] of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that they had further [illegible], now unknown.

When a chief [illegible] to summon his fellows for a meeting to [illegible] he [illegible] him by a simple pressure of the foot, [illegible] served over by those sitting near. The person [illegible] passed on, unconsciously, to the meeting-place.

The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows became an object [illegible] envy. Their mythology contains many examples of the [illegible] of some powerful chief by rivals of his own village, and [illegible] of today state that these records are true. One informant [illegible] that his father had

[Kosiot Society Initiation]

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

The following morning the *kokwiar* alone are invited to X's house. The marshals meanwhile superintend the laying and lashing of planks across two river dug-outs to form a dancing platform. On this the singers take their places, in addition to as many *kokwiar* as can scramble aboard. The craft is slowly poled either up or downstream, according to the direction of X's repository, and more *kokwiar* accompany it along the bank, the uninitiated watch with keen interest from the background. X and his companions proceed towards the river and as running the lashed-together canoes are taken aboard. The singers strike up any well known *kwiar* tune, and in time to it as many *kokwiar* as possible dance on the platform surrounding the craft. Each man has one style of dancing according to his prerogative, so that the scene is exceedingly varied and animated. X himself crouches in the centre, practically concealed from the uninitiated by the dancers. On reaching the village the whole party hurriedly runs to X's house, from which the uninitiated are rigorously barred for the rest of the day. Those *kokwiar* who accompanied the party along the bank of the river have preceded them and, as X enters, the dancing cry is raised which always heralds the appearance of one who has been in close contact with supernatural beings.

If X is considered trustworthy, he may be allowed to go alone to his repository, although this is only necessary when he takes a second or third prerogative. If this procedure has been followed, X calls those present who he has seen, otherwise his companions do so. The uninitiated leave eagerly from the adjacent houses, wondering anxiously what is taking place. Several *kokwiar* then, or one fellow-initiate in increasing the awe of the lawmen. Presently a herald is sent out. He goes first to the lowest house* of the village, then to successive to those above, announcing in each that:

"Something strange has happened to the son of the chief."

X's name is not mentioned. If his father is not a chief the

*That is, in the new fashion downstream. He always going in such house in order from lowest to top of the village the herald avoids any danger of complaints.

[illegible]

[illegible] "[illegible]": [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

and those who are not. Any chili, provided that he has enough food for a meal, can call in his neighbours, but the one who usually does so is a man who has received his name a year or two before the occasion.

A few days before the time selected, the host asks the singers to compose a new song for him. For a mayoral dance particularly, and in some cases for any one of the other three divisions of the society, the new dance not deal with incidents connected with the host's ancestral story, but with humorous or disgraceful incidents of the present time. If a man has caught an alligator and kept them all for himself, his misfortune is commemorated upon in the song. If a wife has deserved her husband for another man, the actions of the two are mercilessly ridiculed. If a chief has failed to display generosity, it is this over recorded, and reference is made to errors in dance steps. To do this is one of the functions of a mayoral, and the singers are always ready to serve him. In the same time they often add a new incident to the tale belonging to some other chief, thereby so that he too will be able to perform. In this way the song is remembered from year to year, which is different from the customary Bella Coola songs.

On the morning of the day chosen, the host asks one of the singers to hold a drum repeatedly but slowly, as a signal that a non-ceremonial dance is about to take place. Young men, beside go from house to house announcing who is to give the dance. In the late afternoon the people gather in the dance's house where men, women, and children are themselves without distinction of rank, the only reserved place being that for the singers behind the fire. They hold out the host's name and he dances to it, while the singers themselves sing the words to the amusement of the audience. Using their own discretion, they then hold out the name of another chief and he also dances, followed in succession by a third, a fourth, and so many as the singers think fit. Sometimes the songs of rivals are used in a similar manner. When many have danced, the host distributes food to all his guests, not forgetting to give the largest

lieved that all the Kitkatla chiefs were powerful, but Tsilcis was the greatest of all. It is said that one of his prerogatives was to exercise *jus primae noctis* whenever a Kitkatla was married. Without question, some of this chief's powers have become exaggerated in enumeration, since the lore they show that the Bella Coola realize the great importance of the northern chiefs. Concerning their nearer neighbours, the Bella Bella, the Bella Coola understand the way in which the members of a family combine to help their chief in the giving of presents. They say that the Bella Bella consider the Bella Coola practice of each one endeavouring to make himself a chief to be foolish in the extreme. Such is also said to be the opinion among the Kwakiutl, who support their contention that in Bella Coola all are chiefs, from the fact that feasting occurs under the aegis of all, whereas in Fort Rupert, their home, such occurs only beneath the aegis of chiefs.

Corresponding to the extreme paucity of functions possessed by Bella Coola chiefs, their prerogatives are likewise scanty. Indeed, they take their subsidiary aegis only during certain rites of the secret society connected with chiefs, at potlatches, and at ceremonial meals. These last occur whenever a deer or seal is killed, the latter is considered a great delicacy.[1] Anyone can kill a seal, but it would be unthinkable for a Bella Coola to share its flesh with its immediate family only. The animal is cleaned, the hide made by boiler or spear carefully plugged, and the carcass boiled whole in a large box. Whereupon a herald (*l. p. tsaq*) summons the chiefs to the house where the successful hunter lives. If the meal is to consist merely of one small seal, only a few chiefs are invited, those of greatest influence through their possession of "strong" aegis. When several seals have been killed, the number invited is correspondingly larger, but no reason may persuade urbane the cooks

[1] This is not to have been a general prerogative, not shared by all chiefs, and requiring initiation by valuable presents.

[illegible] Only some of the six families in this generale were at the present time, in fact, the conversion of seal aegis to chief's aegis has theoretically occupied the close of the last century.

as a man by the only authentic ownership of a chief's name is lost once right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat food, unless he had been the slayer. If many souls are killed, chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs seat themselves according to their proper positions and are first served with the blood-stained grass that floats to the top of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is cut into strips, measured in some of as many finger breadths, according to the number of guests. The men sit down each face flipper, so that each receives a native strip including one of the ears. The head is always given to the heralds.

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary meals even when no and as does has been killed. On these occasions, as at and feasts, the guests are designated by their ancestral names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also accustomed to meet for the discussion of matters connected with the social commercial, on such occasions their number may be augmented by men of influence in the social society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the Social society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a *wealth chief* is outweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the views of some individual must be accepted. The writer was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

There every village is a place where the chiefs hold such meetings. All the inhabitants know the general location, but

Many often we seek to assess the ancestor of this society but some are here sign to be ancestor of the height of man which has stepped into the ancestral, but earlier not to the world.

[illegible]

Although guests from different tribes are sometimes invited to other communities, it is so polluting that they are essential. Since the validity of such connections as marriages, divorces, or the assumption of professional prerogatives depends on the presence of witnesses, and since the importance of such a rite depends on the number of witnesses, a man is always eager to carry out any public performance or a potlatch when he is sure of the attention of foreigners, and the consequent wider diffusion of knowledge of what he has done. The man who has invited guests is usually willing to allow others to perform at his potlatch, since it increases the complexity and importance of the affair. It follows that no two potlatches are alike, one will contain features entirely lacking in another. Moreover, the wealth of the donor determines how many rites he himself will cause to be performed. The fundamental concept of the potlatch is the inviting of guests from abroad to witness rites in connection with an invented myth, especially the return of a recently deceased relative of the donor to visit the living.

In any important potlatch the following rites are carried out, and in the account of the ritual it will be assumed that these alone are taking place. If the reader bears this summary in mind, he is less likely to be confused by the complication of rites.

(a) The return of a dead ancestor to visit the living.

(b) The initiation of young men or women into the secret society. This includes the collection of a secret name for each, and a period of seclusion in the back room. The initiates may either be relatives of the donor of the potlatch, or young persons whose relatives are taking the opportunity to carry out the rite in the presence of foreigners. Some of the initiates may already be members of the society, undergoing a further period of seclusion in order to increase their status by a further distribution of presents.

(c) The payment by the wife of the donor and her family of goods to "relay" her from her husband. This is a legal fiction, though necessary to maintain the status of the children.

[illegible] ability are always willing to lend goods to those who are plan- [illegible]
ning potlatches in other villages, knowing that the investment is [illegible]
safe and lucrative.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the guests assemble, those who are could meeting on their hands one or more wound skins as a mark of membership in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled, the chair behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners, slaves, and foreigners in the rear corners nearer the door. The hendili seem to and fro between door and fire, their constant exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair. It is the function of a hendili to lend dignity to chiefs for the sake of his observations, but should one fail to live up to his station, the hendili is privileged to constant therein. In some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but as a hendili always receives valuable presents, the office is sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial gain.

A number of young lads, friends or relatives of Ti, distribute the food. It is placed in boxes, an important chief is not called upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests, otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its reward.

Then, the father or other male relative of Ti's wife, or a Kuru friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech, recalling the fame of his own family by describing in general outlines one of the myths of his ancestry, and announcing that Ti's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may be the prerogative of using a spear carved, for example, with the shape of a heron, or a carved box, or a totem pole with carved figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly bear on the wall of his house, or an embroidered robe.

preservation of an air of mystery by keeping out of sight of 555,*
those who are not sacred. Food is brought to them, and mem- 575
bers of the society are free to enter the room at any time.
Some of the older men enlighten T and his fellows with regard
to the secret rites, and especially to the human origin of the
whistle. Proud of his new status, an initiate never dreams of
communicating this information to those who are not members
of the society. As a privilege, the neophytes are sometimes
allowed to go out of sight, care being taken that no uninitiated
person shall see them. The length of the period of confinement
varies according to the number of young people to be admitted,
and on the actual time of the potlatch; the minimum duration
is about two weeks, the maximum, four months. Sometimes
the seclusion is lightened by the arrival of carpenters who
have chosen this secret place to work at the sacred masks.
After all the initiates have been confined to the back-room, X [555]
continues to invite people to his house at frequent intervals to
practise their songs. On each occasion food is distributed, so
that the meetings are expensive to the host, but no donor
grumbles about it, as thereby he establishes his prestige as a
chief.

THE CULMINATION OF SACRED SONGS

The next event is the validation of the initiates' sacred 555
songs,* a ceremony termed *ts'ondim*. X, with the assis- 556 *
tance of his family, piles on the floor of his house the goods 575
which he intends to use for this purpose. In the old days these
consisted of skins, blankets, food, baskets, bows, slaves (sym-
bolized by stones), canoes (symbolized by sticks), and so on.
Nowadays, money is used. Towards dusk a herald summons [203] ●
the people to X's house. For many years it has been cus-
tomary to invite everyone, but it is said that long ago only
the sacred would have been present. When all are seated, [537]

* Validation of the neophytes' songs is essential at the potlatch itself, but chiefs endeavour to display their wealth and generosity to their fellow-villagers as well. Consequently, though donors are eager to perform this rite, it can be omitted entirely without affecting the potlatch.

[illegible]

As the dances proceed, those women who have the prerogative for doing so, utter a peculiar drawing cry. After dancing, the initiates return to the back-room, where they doff their attire. The ceremony concludes with the distribution of food. 595 556* 575 [424]

The initiates are now free to leave their place of concealment, as each has become a legal member of the secret society. Some young men, sons of influential chiefs, are included a number of times, others but once. The shorter a youth is included, the greater is his prestige, because goods must be distributed on each occasion to validate his status. At the present time, there is considerable uncertainty about the exact details of the ceremony, for it has been so many of late years to give potlatches that the simpler rite has fallen into disuse; some informants state that each initiate should emerge alone and dance by himself. This concludes the shorter ceremony, but with a potlatch the dancing is renewed until the coming of the foreign guests. [554]

DELIVERING OF INVITATIONS

Returning now to preparations for the true potlatch, it does not matter whether the ceremonies already described are carried out before or after the departure of messengers to invite guests from abroad. Although X usually consults his relatives and friends as to whom he shall invite, this is entirely optional. In giving his invitations X is actuated, first, by a desire to summon those from whom he has previously received hospitality; having accepted presents from them he must discharge the obligations or sink in social estimation. Considerations of friendship also enter into his selection, and he will likewise invite anyone whom he wishes to put to shame by a lavish display of wealth. It is taken as a matter of course that each guest will be accompanied by a number of followers, members of his family, slaves, or adherents. 556* [203] [553]

Acting on X's instructions, a herald invites the people of his village to X's house. X stands up and announces to them [203] [464]

that he wears an anti-an, giving the name of a chief, to go, for instance, to Bella Bella, to invite a certain person, whose name he gives, to the potlatch. X likewise names those whom he wishes to form the escort. As a sound whistle is used, it is essential either that the chief himself be a senior *sonai*, or that a *sibi* go with him. It is immaterial whether or not all of the crew are members of the society. Nobody is compelled to go, but as all know it will be a matter of pride to X to recompense them, none declines except for some strong reason. X names those whom he wishes to proceed to other tribes, sending one canoe to each group of towns. He arranges their departure according to the distance each must travel, the aim being to have all the guests arrive at Bella Coola at the same time. X is expected to provide food for his guests as soon as they arrive, and as the potlatch cannot start until all have assembled, X tries to ensure simultaneous arrival, no easy matter since the area from which guests are invited extends from the Nass River to Alert Bay.

The mysterious and sacred nature of the potlatch is impressed on the minds of the uninitiated at the time of departure. While the chief who is to bear the invitation, and the members of the crew are ready in the canoe at the beach, there is heard from X's house the sound of a whistle. The uninitiated, unaware of the method by which the noise is produced, consider it to be the voice of some supernatural being connected with the potlatch. Either the messenger himself, or some assistant with him, blows a whistle. This can be done without exposing the method by putting the whistle to the lips under cover of a large blanket. When this has sounded the canoe is free to proceed.

The messenger-chief carries with him his *sonai* mask, which he does if he sees another canoe approaching, while eagle down is scattered over the heads of the paddlers. These two signs indicate that the occupants of the craft are on ceremonial business, therefore must not be molested. For a considerable distance up and down the coast the sacred nature of

1:McDowell E-1 (1922-1924)948
NES Bellacoola NES

the potlatch is recognized to such an extent that an attack upon envoys is unthinkable, though one or two myths recount how this unwritten law was violated on rare occasions. A canoe meeting potlatch messengers veers over to the other side of the channel to give them the right of way.

On reaching the destination the canoe is brought to close to shore until the inhabitants of the village have gathered on the beach, which they swiftly do on the arrival of strangers. The messenger sounds his whistle, the significance of which is fully understood by members of the *nuxalk* society. Any chief who wishes to show his wealth and importance will invite them to his house. As they are landing, he sends a herald to summon a number of influential people of his village, who seat themselves in their rightful places. As the messengers enter they are given seats on the bench behind the fire, the spot usually reserved for chiefs. A number of lads are called in to toast smoked salmon, and when this has been done the fish are broken into shreds by young girls and served to the messengers on a mat, in lieu of a table-cloth. The envoys do not deliver their message as soon as they arrive. On the contrary, they spend the rest of the day aimlessly talking with their hosts, and sleep in the house where they have been received.

The following day likewise passes without ceremony, but towards nightfall the host summons all his fellow-villagers to his house. The singers take up their customary places and beat out a *tsaxiut* tune. Upon hearing his or her air, the owner of it starts to dance. Using their own discretion, the singers beat out the tunes of *tsaxiut* after *tsaxiut*, and each dances. In like fashion the singers beat out *nuxalk* songs, and the owner of each dances. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the dances are merely of a ceremonial, not a sacred, nature. When all have danced, each gives a present to the envoys. These gifts are not returnable. They are merely "eagle down," but it is necessary that something be given to validate the dances. The value is immaterial, so far as the purpose is concerned, though a chief who wishes to exhibit his chief-like

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

203 nature will try to bestow a valuable present. If a man is too
532 poor to give anything, he can avoid the obligation by not
[535] dancing when his tune is beaten out. The presents are piled
[537] together, and then the host, aided by several important chiefs, distributes them to the messengers, at the same time making laudatory speeches. The chief of the envoys receives more than the members of his crew.

Then the messenger-chief stands up and announces the names of those whom X has invited to his potlatch, using in each case the ancestral designation of the person summoned. Then the envoys, in a body, go to every house in the village. Probably all to be invited are present in the house of the chief, yet the messenger-chief must call out in the doorway of each house:

"Chief So-and-so, prepare your paddles and leave tomorrow."

Early next morning the messengers rouse those whom they have invited and, as a mark of respect, help them to carry their goods to the canoes. There is an attitude of shaming com-
[558] bined with that of deference, since those assisted will have been placed under obligations. They also take to their canoes their own recently acquired goods. Envoys and guests set out together in their respective craft, and only separate as they near Bella Coola.

ARRIVAL OF THE GUESTS

556 While the canoes containing the first party of guests remain
575 at anchor to wait for high tide, the envoys proceed at once to X's house, now completely redecorated if not entirely rebuilt. Here a huge fire is blazing, and members of the *nuxalk* society are passing in and out, making ready for the ceremony. Both
[302] men and women beautify themselves by painting their faces in any designs they fancy, and by combing their hair and placing eagle down upon it. The guests at anchor lay planks
[535] across their canoes so as to form a dancing platform. Then, as the tide rises, the singers in the house beat out the tune of

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE4 Bellacoola NE4

grease have been placed in readiness. X selects as many youths as the number on whom he intends to confer the names which have already been announced and validated among the Bella Coola, but are now to be made known to the foreign guests. He seats the lads, who are to substitute for the initiates, on the various boxes. Everybody understands that these are merely representatives. X requests two chiefs to act as his announcers, choosing two with good voices and abundant self-confidence. To one of these X whispers the *sisaok* name of one of the initiates. 556* 575 553

"His name is now——" calls out the announcer, pointing to one of the substitutes, and the listeners readily recognize the initiate intended, from the use, in conjunction with his new designation, of his well-known ancestral name. The heralds repeat the new name with the usual badinage, so that it becomes well known to all present. In like manner the *sisaok* name given to each initiate is publicly announced. The substitutes receive no advantage from their part in the proceedings. [203]

Then the boxes are opened and red elderberries poured into the canoes in front of the guests. Stones are provided with which the visitors pound the fruit into pulp which they proceed to mix with their hands, as olachen grease and cranberries are added. Then X's helpers distribute spoons and the feast commences. All start to eat, but after an interval one of the leading Bella Coola chiefs strikes the side of his canoe with a spoon, as a signal that all must stop. X has several dishes in readiness. If he is wealthy some of these will be carved in the shape of beaver, eagle, or other form in which an ancestor appeared. These dishes are filled with the food which all have been eating and then placed before the principal chiefs, who thus have a second supply. At this point the singers begin to beat out an ancient song of the type known as *xe·tla*. Each of these has been handed down from the distant past, when some chief, ancestor of X, had it composed for himself at a potlatch. The theme is always about the form or fame of his 556* 264 [252] [415] [532] 533 556* [171]

Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1922-1924) 1948
NRS Bellacoola NRS

533 earliest ancestors, and the text is commonly grandiloquently
#556 phrased.[a] Frequently the singers alter the words slightly to
suit the occasion, and sometimes compose entirely new words
[171] for an old tune. As they sing, they are aided by some of X's
friends who rise and stand between the fire and the front door.
[522] They occasionally wear forehead masks carved with his crest
to add dignity to the rite.

203 After the song the chiefs continue their meal, and there is
522 much practical joking with the heralds.

"Don't you want some food?" X calls to one of them.

#356 Without waiting for an answer he throws a box containing the liquid pulp, inclined at such an angle that the mess is spattered over the recipient. Occasionally, a herald will succeed in catching a box without spilling the contents, but usually he is smeared from head to foot, while the spectators shriek with laughter. It is one of the functions of a herald to be a laughing stock for the visitors.

#556 During the afternoon X's wife and the members of her
583 family deliver to him the goods which they have amassed to "re-buy" her from her husband. These are called "washing material," as if they supplied X with wash-basin and toilet necessities. The speaker orates how the wife has lived up to her obligation in making this presentation, and how it will clear the path for her children. These goods will later on be distributed by X. They can be used for:

(1) Repayment of potlatch debts, or

(2) Making potlatch investments, or

(3) Validating names, either *sisaek* or ancestral, for the children of his relatives.

It would be most disgraceful should any of the goods be applied to validating *sisaek* names for any of X's own children, because they have come from his wife's people and react to the advantage of her children in any case. These goods are

[a] Though not to the same extent as among the Kwakiutl where the words may describe how the sky is supported on a chief's shoulders, or how he has pushed his head into the land above.

[552] which is said to have come as a prerogative obtained through
[420] marriage with a Kwakiutl woman, were not obtained.
[184] After the distribution of investment presents comes the
[424] strengthening of X's seat.

His wife, aided by members of her family, has placed the necessary goods in readiness, though it is presumed they merely happen to be on hand. A herald takes his place near the door, and another behind the fire. Beside the latter stands a chief, attired in a round head-dress, who represents X. One of the heralds calls on the substitute to come forward, as if he were just entering the house, and shouts:

[203]

"There is no place for him to sit!"

Then he turns to X's wife, saying:

"See if you have not a few trifles in your room to strengthen him."

[192] The word for "strengthen" is *ulukuna*, or *ploluluna*, which means, "shoring up," as if X were wobbling on his chief-like base. The words have the other significance of "clothing." They represent the ethereal dignity wherewith a chief is garbed.

X's wife goes to her room, or to the place in the house where the goods are stored, and brings forth a large assortment of valuables, which are piled in a convenient spot. The substitute who is representing X then places himself in the latter's seat, which is to be made more solid by these goods. X's wife may tell the herald that they have still more goods for him, and in that case he calls out:

"His seat is too hard. Have you no soft cloths for it?"

The wife brings forward more goods to make her husband's seat more comfortable. The herald, who has been chosen for his fluency, uses his originality in what he calls for from the wife; soft cloths for the seat is merely an example. In some cases, many presents are given; at other times, if the wife and her family be poor, these are few and of little worth. It is not essential that foreign guests witness this establishment or strengthening of a seat, though their presence means that X's

[203]

CHAPTER 4

FEATURES CONNECTED WITH THE POTLATCH

Heralds — Totem Poles — Coppers — Professional Prerogatives — Bark Dances — Miscellaneous Ceremonies

128 #556

THE ritual of the potlatch is so complicated that, in order to present a coherent account of it, it has been necessary to omit entirely some features that occur at many potlatches, and to refer briefly to others. This chapter is devoted to an elaboration of these points, thus avoiding the use of lengthy footnotes in the preceding chapter.

Heralds

203 #556

The principal functions of heralds have already been described. They go from house to house inviting the people to assemble for the different ceremonies connected with the potlatch, but that is only one of their many duties. They likewise bear invitations to all types of ceremonies, such as marriages, mourning rites, or Bear dances; in fact, they act as town criers. A person holding any public rite requests one or more heralds to deliver the invitation which is repeated in every house of the village in order from bottom to top.[1]

There are variations, of course, according to the rites to be performed. At a potlatch, the first duty of a herald is to seat the guests in their proper places. This requires not only a good memory, but also considerable tact, since errors with foreign guests cause friction and embarrassment, and diminish the prestige of the whole ceremony. During the actual progress of the rites, a herald must constantly add dignity to the cere-

[574 628 576]

[1]Herald, *ak'*, plural, *aaak'ak*, not to be confused with *a'ak*, the name of a society (I, p. 370).

[2]This order may once have had a ceremonial significance but it has been considered for a long time merely a matter of convenience. When giving presents also, a way follows the same order in his mind and comes first the occupants of the bottom house, thus minimizing the danger of overlooking a guest.

sion by repeating loudly a few words, or even phrases, from the speeches being delivered, or calling on the audience to notice what has just been said and to listen attentively. A white man would be annoyed at such interruptions, but the Bella Coola consider them evidence of attentiveness.

The making of comments is a duty performed at every sign of economy, but it is indispensable at potlatches, since a chief depends on the heralds to emphasize and explain the points of his family history which are being displayed. One intelligent man likened their functions to a compass, constantly guiding the course of ceremonial life. Without a herald a chief would be as useless as a ship tossed on the ocean with no hand to steer. Although the principal duty of heralds is to avoid the actions of a chief, they can, and are expected to, decide on who fails to carry out the customary requirements. Cases have occurred in which influential men have so far forgotten their function of generosity as to fail to invite their fellows after killing a deer or other large animal; or women have declined to show their abundant leather. Nothing is said at the time, but when next the people have come together for some ceremony, a herald refers to the omission under as slim a disguise that everyone is aware of his meaning. This public ridicule lowers the prestige of a chief to such an extent that he is careful not to offend again. Not many years ago, a certain Kimsquit chief failed to ask others to share some mountain goats which he had killed; at the first opportunity a herald referred to himself as Yaki, Mountain Goat, and all present realized that he was really alluding to the one who had been remiss.

Heralds must exercise care in their criticisms at the expense of chiefs because, unless public opinion is with them, the point of the remark is lost, and they expose themselves to the wrath of the person offended. Nevertheless, heralds always strive to cause merriment, and often take risks with this aim in view. They try to make humorous remarks, and also to cause amusement by their antics. As already described, the donor of a potlatch may throw to one of them a dish containing liquid food

[illegible] to such a man that he contents drifts over the recipient; sometimes, though this is to catch the dish, a herald may deliberately allow the sticky pulp to cover him. The humour of this is increased by the fact that guests at potlatches always receive their food in a ceremonious manner.

Though one of a herald's duties is to act as buffoon, his position is only very slightly derogatory. In the beginning of time, Raven himself did not hesitate to act in this capacity on many occasions. Ever since, the post has usually been occupied by relatives of chiefs, especially by those who are unable to give potlatches. In some cases the position is sought by ambitious young men, willing to endure the slight loss of dignity for the emoluments. Since the basic principle of every Bella Coola ceremony is that the donor must recompense those who have assisted him, heralds are always lavishly rewarded. At potlatches especially, chiefs remember their dependence upon the heralds, and shower presents upon them. One who has allowed himself to be spattered with liquid food to amuse the guests, is suitably compensated, but in any case he receives presents for announcing and seating the guests and for interrupting the speeches. The same principle holds good in all other ceremonies. An elderly informant related that once in his younger days he had been dancing a *xaxat* dance, when two heralds remarked that the ground on which he was dancing was dirty, meaning that it had not been made clean by the distribution of sufficient presents to justify his dance. His mother at once gave the heralds two muskets, valuable articles in those days, to clear her son's path. These belonged to the informant, who knew nothing about the transaction until it had been completed, but he accepted as a matter of course the necessity of giving presents to heralds. If the seat on which a chief is sitting should break, presents must be given to heralds, and if a dollar should fall when a herald is watching, the latter receives gifts. At the marriage of a chief's son, a herald can claim and remove any of the clothing of the bridegroom or his associates. Above all other occasions, when a young chief is

first established on his seat, he must reward the heralds lavishly for their services.

As with so many elements of culture, the Bella Coola ascribe the origin of heralds to the wish of *Hemaism* as expressed to the first people in the beginning of time. Some groups of these early settlers brought with them heralds whose patron had been created by the supreme deity himself in his house in the land above. Such a one was *Kiyat'i* who was a member of *Kimsuo's* (I, p. 346) party at Kimsquit, another was *Olgdimat* who came with *sqwaiyat* (I, p. 392). These heralds functioned in the manner of their descendants of today; others of the first chiefs appointed certain of their relations to perform this service, and by means of the power with which they were endowed, created names with respect to their functions. Besides his ordinary name every herald must have an ancestral appellation of some kind, as well as the probability of possessing *Kaoiat* ones in addition to those of a professional nature. Either by bringing with them from above, or by creation on this earth, each group of first settlers became provided with a herald, whose name is embodied in the ancestral myth describing their experiences. As each of the first heralds died, his name was passed to a successor, and this practice has been carried out from generation to generation until the present. The Bella Coola state that no new names for heralds have been created since the time of the first people, and it is certain that none has been made for many years. Consequently, the number of heralds is strictly limited in accordance with mythological beliefs, and every man who owns one of the ancient designations embodied in an origin myth knows the name of the herald associated with his first namesake.

At the death of a herald his name becomes dormant. Since heralds function at all ceremonies, whether or not the donor belongs to the same ancestral family as themselves, the members of the group sustaining the loss are not deprived of their

203 553 556 618 424 [illegible] ceremonies. Since the loss, one of their prized prerogatives, the visible embodiment of an element in their ancestral myth, is no longer present. In such circumstances, no member of an ancestral family would give a potlatch unless able to revive or to the dormant name to a new herald. The intending donor usually consults with the senior members of the ancestral family as to a suitable incumbent, or especially if he is an influential chief, he may simply use his own discretion. In either case, some relatively young member of the ancestral family is offered the post. If he accepts, the matter is settled; if not, another is invited in his stead. The new herald cannot function until his name and appointment have been validated by the distribution of presents at the potlatch. Such gifts are not reciprocable, since they are held to "have become nothing" for the name. Relatively lavish expenditure for this purpose is one of the many ways in which a chief is able to show his prowess and generosity. Thus established, a herald can carry out his duties thereafter. He functions at every ceremonial, but especially at potlatches given by members of his own ancestral family, to whose origin myth his own name is embodied. From [627] [196] constant participation in all kinds of ceremonials, a herald becomes conversant with every type, and is appealed to as adviser in difficult points of ritual, thus adding to his reputation.

203 556 Although acceptance of the post of herald somewhat curtails a man's activities in other respects, instances are known of energetic men using the gifts received to establish themselves as chiefs, passing on their herald names at the same time to other incumbents. More often, a herald uses his wealth for the benefit of a son or other relative, being satisfied with his own status in the community. He takes a prominent part in every ceremony and is a person of some standing, yet is spared the responsibility of actually giving rise himself, a position which offers many attractions to a man lacking great ambition and initiative.

and those who are not. Boy o'alt, provided that he has enough food for a meal, can call in his neighbours, but the one who usually does so is a man who has received his name a year or two before the occasion.

A few days before the time selected, the host asks the singers to compose a new song for him. For a marginal dance particularly, and in some cases for any one of the other three divisions of the society, the new dance not deal with incidents connected with the host's ancestral story, but with humorous or disgraceful incidents of the present time. If a man has caught an animal and kept them all for himself, his misdeeds is commented upon in the song. If a wife has deserted her husband for another man, the actions of the two are mockingly ridiculed. If a chief has failed to display generosity it is likewise recorded, and reference is made to seven in dance ritual. To do this is one of the functions of a marginal, and the singers are always ready to assist him. At the same time they often add a new incident to the song belonging to some other o'alt dances so that he too will be able to perform. In this way the song are remembered from year to year, which is different from the customary Bella Coola songs.

On the morning of the day chosen, the host asks one of the singers to beat a drum repeatedly but slowly, as a signal that a non-ceremonial dance is about to take place. About noon, heralds go from house to house announcing who is to give the dance. In the late afternoon the people gather in the donor's house where men, women, and children seat themselves without distinction of rank, the only reserved place being that for the singers behind the fire. They beat out the host's tune and he dances to it, while the singers themselves sing the words to the amusement of the audience. Using their own discretion, they then beat out the tune of another o'alt and he also dances, followed in succession by a third, a fourth, and as many as the singers think fit. Sometimes the songs of *nuxal* are used in a similar manner. When many have danced, the host distributes food to all his guests, not forgetting to give the largest

of such song dances to it. Persons who has enough food to provide a meal for all is glad to invite his neighbours to such an affair, but the singers and hereditary chiefs force a stingy man to act as host. Everyone knows his neighbour's resources and the singers have no hesitation in going to the house of a man with an ample supply of food and beginning to have our songs there. The heralds are quick to see what is happening and call the people, with the result that the involuntary host is compelled to provide a meal in order not to be thought mean and churlish. Without waiting for the singers to take the initiative, heralds likewise often invite people to the house of a man whom they know to be well provided with food.

During the summer, the necessity of laying in supplies of salmon makes it impossible to hold many dances, although one of the non-sacred type just described takes place whenever there is a lull in the fishing. In the early autumn, when berries, fish, and game are abundant, the thoughts of chiefs turn to potlatches and the lengthy preliminaries are begun. At this season, too, a chief who lacks sufficient wealth to invite foreign guests, calls in his neighbours for a sacred dance and invites some of his young relatives into their society. The ritual, described in the last chapter, resembles that of a potlatch except that no new house is constructed, there is no return of a dead relative, and the ceremonial connected with the coming of foreigners is necessarily omitted. In some cases a chief performs this type of rite a year before he proposes to hold a potlatch, and explains that he is doing so because he will be unable to give presents to the inhabitants of his own village at the later affair. Gifts so distributed are returnable with interest, though it is not obligatory for recipients to do this in time for the donor to make use of their repayment at his potlatch.

Ceremonials of this nature occupy the Bella Coola during the early autumn, while in winter *tsaiat* dances take place almost nightly. When they are over, it is time for the non-sacred variety of *s'alt* performances, and for another type of rite, *nusāxkźnx*.

[illegible]

Y's family decide when the period of engagement shall be terminated. Although it is considered undignified for X or his relatives to hurry them in this matter, there is always a certain amount of urging. Y's father has strong reason for procrastination. A long engagement strengthens the cause of the children whom his daughter may bear, and hence, he frequently receives presents from X's relatives. As Y's relatives will have to bear the heavier part of the expenses of the wedding, it may be necessary for them to delay it for years while saving the requisite goods. The ceremony may take place at any time of the year. Foreign guests are occasionally invited, but usually only the members of X's and Y's village are present. If the marriage should be with the child of a foreign chief his relatives and friends are present to take part. When Y's relatives decide that they are ready, they choose the actual day after consultation with X's family, though the assumption is that Y's father merely informs X's father of the date.

It is incumbent on X's family to proclaim the event on the day preceding the ceremony. In the late afternoon his father sends a herald through the village calling out:

"*Qaimap*, ye chiefs! *Qaimap*, ye wives of chiefs! *Qaimap*, ye commoners!"

The actual meaning of *qaimap* is unknown, though it is well understood to be an invitation to gather for the announcement of a wedding. In conjunction with the summons, X's secretial name is used, although all in the village are probably well aware of what is about to take place. It is noteworthy that at a marriage the guests, as well as the participants, are called by the secretial names, as opposed to the *facies* ones by which individuals who own such are generally known. Red colouring is much in evidence at weddings; heralds smear their faces with red paint and the guests similarly tint themselves. They wear collars, wristlets, and anklets of undyed cedar-bark, and cover themselves with eagle down.

585 In the gathering dusk all assemble in X's house; Y's relations attend or not as they wish. X's father would feel insulted if anyone else should stay away without a valid excuse, but in point of fact everyone is eager for an evening's entertainment. The singers take their accustomed places behind the fire and the guests arrange themselves in the house without reference to rank. The musicians strike up the *Tsaxiut* song of anyone present, and the person so indicated dances. The first tune used is frequently that of X's father, and then that of his mother, but there is no fixed rule about this. The singers [539] tiffone and beat out tune after tune, and guest after guest dances, but, since none of the supernatural beings is present, the affair is of a non-sacred nature. After exhausting the most popular *Tsaxiut* songs, the musicians beat out the *nuxnl* songs of many of the guests who, in succession, dance to them; the songs of shamans are used in like fashion. Sometimes the singers continue until everyone present has danced, at other times they curtail the ceremony, as they think fit. When they decide to stop, they intimate this to X's father, who superintends the distribution to the guests of whatever kind of food has been provided.

During the meal, a fluent speaker stands up and expounds
537 on behalf of X's father the ancestral myth in which his son's
585 ancestral name is embodied. Sometimes X's father acts as his
[203] own orator, but usually a herald is called upon. Only sufficient details are given to show the importance of X. The myth may either be one of the most ancient type dealing with the first settlement of this earth, or one of later date describing the exploits of X's famous ancestors; but in either case, as shown by the examples given in the last chapter, each contains an account of a marriage. It is always known, although not generally described, that at each of these several dancers performed, their number varying between two and eighteen. The orator, when outlining the myth, stresses this part of it, and always announces how many danced at that time; with the statement that there will be a like number on the morrow. In

them, taking as inconspicuous a part as X does in the whole affair. As the singers start the marriage song, some of X's relatives carry into Y's house a part of the goods which X's relatives have amassed for the occasion, deposit them on the floor near the door, and then withdraw. These goods are said, "to sweep the house." Long ago they are said to have been of great value, though nowadays small presents are considered ample. Any member of Y's family can accept one by picking it from the floor, but as he is expected to return the gift with something of greater value, sometimes nothing is taken. Should none of his relatives appear willing to do so, it devolves on Y's father to accept the present.

When the marriage song has ended, X's father gives to some strong youth narrow strips of goat-skin with the wool still attached. Carrying these in one hand the young man runs up and down the sidewalk, waving his arms, and at intervals throwing one of the strips into the air, away from himself. All the younger people of the village pursue him, and a wild scramble takes place for each strip. Sometimes, instead of running up and down, the tossing is done in a clear space near Y's house. Only the sons of important chiefs are prohibited from this sport, since it is thought to be beneath their dignity. It is an animated scene, in which the participants thoroughly enjoy themselves. Heralds have the right to ask any dancer for his clothing, and unless he is willing to lose this, he must give a present to the one who has demanded it. This is a constant source of amusement to the onlookers. Nothing is known of the origin or meaning of the wholesale giving away of strips of goat-skin, nor why the heralds should be able to demand clothing on this occasion.

"It has always been done," the Bella Coola say simply.

When the noise has somewhat subsided, the singers again beat out the time of the marriage song, and again the dancers begin to perform. Y's father then sends out one of his male relatives, with gifts, "to stop the dance." The bearer gives a present to one of the dancers, who ceases his gyrations, then

but even if unaware of the fact, they realize that some supernatural, invisible visitor has arrived.

Thereafter go from house to house, and sometimes to adjacent villages as well,[1] inviting the people to pay a farewell visit to the dead man who will soon leave them; in this invitation the *nusuk* name of the deceased is used. The guests assemble as one, irrespective of their rank or membership in the *nusuk* society. To mark their grief, female relatives pull out tufts of their hair, and both men and women of the immediate family cut their hair short. The body, either in its coffin or covered with blankets, is placed between the central fire and the back-room, immediately behind the place where the singers take their stations. When all are present, a son or other near relative who is also a fluent speaker, stands up and expounds how the Chief, meaning *Mulielele*, has come to visit the dead man, and how all should try to understand the song he has brought.[2] A hidden *nusuk* has been blowing a whistle intermittently, and the singers pretend to be able to understand words of a song in its notes. In reality they have prepared in advance the new one which they now beat out, accompanied by their voices. The theme either describes the coming of the supernatural visitor, or recounts the number of potlatches given by the deceased, and the manner in which these will make smooth the path whither he is going in the same way that distributed goods validate a chief's seat in this world. This song is practised and improved upon amid the beeming of the whistle as if the singers were constantly gaining new ideas and embellishments from the words of the supernatural visitor. Sometimes a few incidents are added from the *nusuk* myth. After several repetitions, a relative of the dead man asks the singers to beat out the latter's *nusuk* songs, as many of them as are remembered from the time he was first initiated into the so-

[1] The Bella Bella are said to invite foreign guests to this ceremony.

[2] Sometimes the people are present when the coming of *Mulielele*, heralded by whistling and a thump on the roof, takes place. There are variations in this, as in all other *nusuk* rites.

body became angle down and was walled upwards in psychologically of the type which might serve as basis for a rite of this kind. If the descendants of the person to whom this had happened had dramatized the incident or subsequent death, a custom analogous to the one here described would have arisen.

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When possible, it takes place on the day following death, but as many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the performance of the rite just described. Another reason for postponement is the absence of near relatives; if they can be summoned within four or five days, the funeral may be delayed until their arrival. There is always endless discussion concerning the exact details; all relatives and members of the uncontrol family take part, though the wishes of a son, brother, or other near kinsman are usually followed. In this, as in so many points of Bella Coola ritual, an influential chief often overrides the desires even of those who are more closely related to the deceased.

Heralds announce the hour chosen,* usually about noon, and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even strangers being welcome. Women wail dolorously, and another indication of the occasion is the bundles containing clothing, cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once, with a stone; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed and a hole made in one of the front corners of the house, through which the man throws out the stone. The women redouble their lamentations as an old woman, previously asked to do so, lights a bundle of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and climbs through the opening carrying this. No request has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong men, especially

*This is done at present, even after the carrying away of the "body." In former times it was omitted when the corpse was secretly buried by the *camak*.

[illegible] the Bella Coola were again led to carry out at a single gathering features which properly belonged to several. To combine the memorial potlatch with the potlatch, being a return to an earlier custom, presented no serious difficulties and was consequently widely adopted. The Kitsegukla people, however, seem never to have adopted the clear Bella Bella differentiation, and as the rapid decrease in population drove them in ever closer contact with the Bella Coola, their influence tended to lessen differences between the two ceremonials.

At the present time, a memorial potlatch is almost identical with an ordinary potlatch in practice. The same rites are often carried out at both; each varies considerably, and when the distinctive elements are omitted the two become indistinguishable. Name the less, they are never confused in the minds of the participants. The house where a potlatch, *lim*, is taking place is called a *wadmoin*, that where a memorial potlatch, *ulwanit*, is occurring, a *nadwanitin*. In giving invitations and making comments, heralds are careful not to refer to the ritual under the wrong name; in fact, it may be said that the chief difference between the two is in the minds of the donor and his guests. Sociologically, both are considered to be on a par. Equal wealth is required, and each can be performed only by a chief, both on account of the expenditure involved and owing to the difficulties in procedure which are thought to be too great for a lesser man to surmount.

Difference in the donor's motives is usually sufficient to separate a memorial potlatch from an ordinary one. The latter is given by a chief desirous of increasing his prestige by lavish expenditure, for which one of the excuses is the validation of the appearance of a dead relative. Although this is the central feature, so many other rites are performed that it is sometimes obscured or may, indeed, be omitted entirely. On the other hand, a memorial potlatch occurs as soon as possible after the death of a father, mother, or other dearly loved kinsman, and it is clear to all that the donor's reasons for the rite are to commemorate the deceased, and to console himself and his imme-

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(see Plate 25). So, too, wooden representations of coppers are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are commemorated in this way, a father often places over his daughter's grave pictures of the goods used to rebuy her from her husband; wooden plaques representing coppers are customarily used for this purpose.[*] Such symbols are usually cut down after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for them to remain standing too long. The function of this type of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person as judged by the riches given away by him, or on his behalf, during his life-time. With the introduction of writing, the Bella Coola have been quick to recognize it as an easy means for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In consequence, signs are often painted and erected, giving in figures a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent introduction has been the tombstone. One of these is often set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate his memory, and a representation of his crest to record his ancestral history. Such a memorial combines the functions of the first and third types.

As the carpenters labour at the memorials, other arrangements for the ceremony proceed apace. As at a potlatch, the fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited repeatedly to his house for the performance of *sunsak* dances, but this feature is often omitted, especially if there are no neophytes to be initiated. The mask to be worn by the deceased relative must be prepared in secret; or if several are to be commemorated at the single ceremony, one must be made ready for each. As the time draws near, envoys are dispatched to invite foreign guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This has been customary for many years, but during the period when no features of the potlatch were allowed at a memorial potlatch, the latter was sometimes carried out in the presence of the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the

[*] The National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, has specimens of these wooden coppers.

such an adoption occurs only when the deceased was the owner of a Bella Bella myth and the song in question had been used to mourn a real or fictitious relative. It is contrary to custom to use the tune or words of a song not composed for a member of the deceased's ancestral family. 556* 769 [333] [177]

The actual delivering of invitations by the envoys to the desired guests does not differ from the manner already described, except that they are asked "to come to visit the sick [donor]." The significance is, of course, that the mourner's condition is that of a patient. To indicate the reason of their visit, guests at a memorial potlatch always wear a little dyed cedar-bark around their heads. [203] [292]

On arrival, the first party of foreign guests is conducted to the donor's house, where they make themselves comfortable in the section allotted to them by the heralds. An elderly Bella Coola chief who is a famous orator has been asked by the donor to speak, and he rises to do so as soon as his fellow-villagers have entered and taken their places. No set phrases are used, but the speaker usually begins by reminding all present of the way in which their ancestors were created in *Nasmāt·a*, and how all must return thither. It is an occasion on which eloquence is essential, and the speaker delights in using as many archaic words and rhetorical expressions as possible, with constant references to religious beliefs and ancient history as recorded in mythology. Then he speaks of the death which is the occasion of the ceremony. If the deceased were an old man, he is referred to by a special term not in common usage, *nudak·ān*, which implies wisdom and respect as well as extreme age. The orator states that he has fallen, using the term *ḳoyāṣ*, normally applied to the thunderous crash of some mighty tree. He speaks of a young chief as *sxwᵊllāmkis*, short-lived, a person who has been hunted down by the supernatural Carpenters. He continues by sketching the works of the deceased, the number of potlatches he gave and the manner in which his name was known to many tribes. Finally he tells of the donor's grief, and of how this "sickness" has been al-

537 556* 769 [195]

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of Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, three of her crests of which the masks were available. They agreed that Timothy Snow[10] was the best carpenter available and that he should be commissioned to put them in shape and arrange their use. Reuben wanted to sing a *nusaxé* mourning song, to which he had a prerogative derived from his Bella Bella mother, and it was also decided that the band[11] should play. Reuben informed his father that he would contribute $60 towards the expenditure.

Meanwhile Jessie had been washed by female friends, clad in her best clothing, and laid in her coffin. This was a rough box, contributed by the manager of the cannery and shaped like a white man's coffin. At intervals, women came near and wailed dolorously without heeding others similarly engaged. The news was carried to all the Bella Coola, those men who owned gasoline launches taking the word to the logging-camps without being requested to do so. A Carrier Indian who happened to be returning from the cannery spread the word through the village, where each woman who received the message hurried off to some friend, with whom she began to wail.

Early on the following morning, Captain Schooner returned home with his wife, Jessie's stepmother. He had been crying and was sad, but seemed willing to talk. He spoke of the proposed memorial potlatch, and expressed the sentiments recorded on vol. I, p. 473. He was grave and dignified, absolutely determined to perform what he considered to be the necessary ritual, oblivious of consequences, and heedless of what he held to be an unjust law. During that summer, Captain Schooner had been a rather heavy drinker, but on this occasion he abstained from wine, and said that he hoped no one would show disrespect to his daughter by appearing in a drunken condition either at the funeral or the subsequent rites. It is

[10] He was not closely related to the Schooners.

[11] Most of the younger Bella Coola were members of the band, performing white men's music on white men's instruments. Andy Schooner was bandmaster, but it is unlikely that this influenced the decision, since the performance of the band was customary at funerals when the writer was in Bella Coola.

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life did not alter the necessity of rebuying her "to make good the path" of her children. For this purpose they decided to give a copper and a sum of money; it was impossible to learn the exact amount. Joe told Captain Schooner of their intention. 764 159 [583]

About noon the body was brought in a canoe from the cannery in its closed coffin and lifted ashore at a convenient spot near the cemetery. Those manning the canoe were young men who happened to be at the cannery, irrespective of whether or not they were related to Jessie. The coffin was laid on a grassy place and Captain Schooner seated himself beside it. People were passing and repassing, some sat down for a time, then moved off to dinner. Occasionally, a woman would sit and wail, the most constant being Reuben's married daughter; Captain Schooner moved around talking to his friends amidst the eerie wailing. About 1.30 P.M. everyone in the village had assembled, including a number of Carrier Indians, anxious to see the sight. Captain Schooner withdrew to his house after asking Bobby Nehby to summon the chiefs to meet him there. The messenger, who thus acted as herald, went around the gathering whispering to each; in addition to those notified at the cannery the preceding evening he called all the older and most influential Bella Coola, Albert King, Samuel King, Joe Williams, Joshua Moody, Alec Davis, Lame Charlie, Judas, and Nebuchadnezzar. Captain Schooner requested the last named, an important chief, to take charge of the ceremony. At this time Samuel King told Nebuchadnezzar, who informed the others, what had been arranged for his daughter and they agreed that it was good. It was tacitly assumed that George Nelson would be delighted; probably he had been on friendly terms with the girl for some time. Joe Williams also told Nebuchadnezzar the two business propositions that he intended to carry out, the return of the money to Captain Schooner, and the rebuying of his daughter. Nebuchadnezzar informed the people concerned. At this meeting it was decided that various chiefs should speak after the Christian service at the grave. [203] [584] [587]

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was not carefully observed. Those wishing to dig took turns with the tools; there was no supervision, and no orders given. When the grave was ready, Jim Pollard asked Judas to perform the rite with the spruce bough, which he did with a branch brought by one of the youths. The young men lowered the coffin into the grave while the band continued to play. The missionary then read the Christian burial service, after which he withdrew. Some of the young men brought planks from old houses near-by, sawed them to the size of the grave and laid them over the coffin as a cover. At this juncture Judas, one of the oldest and most conservative of the Bella Coola, rose to speak. First he offered consolation to the mourning relatives by pointing out that all must travel the same road. Then he spoke to Jessie, telling her not to linger, but to travel back the path of her ancestors from generation to generation until she reached the place where they first came down from above, and thence to ascend to *Nuxmit-a*. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of the speech, which was punctuated by calls of "*Yo*-" from the male Bella Coola. The next speaker was Jim Pollard, the most influential Kimsquit and a personal friend, though not a relative, of Captain Schooner's.

"Go," he said to the dead woman, "Go to the localities from which came your first forefathers in the beginning of time. There you will find your most valuable ancestral possessions. Go at once, do not linger and lose yourself on the road from generation to generation."

Turning to George Nelson, he went on, "Do not be downhearted; all of us must travel the same road. It was made by no man, it is the work of *Hpuxstim*."

Looking back once more to the grave, he said, "In *Qemqo-i* are buried many illustrious relatives of yours. You will be among friends, whereas we are left to lament your departure."

It was impossible to write down the words at the time and the above record is not literally correct, although it expresses the gist of the speech.

Captain Schooner whispered to Robert Hood, another of the

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older Bella Coola, asking him to announce that he, Schooner, with Dan and George, was going to hold a memorial potlatch that evening to which all were invited. Robert is not a herald but undertook this duty owing to the absence of qualified heralds. Meanwhile the grave had been filled in and the people began to drift away as it rose to ground level. Their attitude throughout had resembled that of white people at a funeral, and the hilariousness that characterizes so many Bella Coola gatherings was entirely absent except among the playing children. By 4.30 P.M. all had left the scene.

In view of the large number of guests expected it had been decided to hold the memorial potlatch, not in one of the old-fashioned houses, but in the village hall, built according to the white man's style of architecture and illuminated with swinging gasoline lamps. This is a large, rectangular building, undivided by partitions, with a stage at one end and a door at the other. About 6.30 P.M. the singers, Nebuchadnezzar, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Alec Davis, Kimsquit Alec, and Robert Hood, gathered at the hall and seated themselves below the stage. Billy Pollard had prepared a mourning song during the day, Kimsquit Alec another, and it was decided to use two others that were well known to all. The singers sat and practised these four for some time, while at intervals various Bella Coola strolled in, listened for a few minutes, then walked out again. Anyone was allowed to do so, but few availed themselves of the opportunity. Meanwhile Captain Schooner had brought $10 worth of rice, raisins, and condensed milk which he placed beside a huge iron cauldron outside the front door. Jim To-Morrow, a Bella Coola of no great intelligence, volunteered to act as cook and soon had a fire blazing and the food boiling.

About 8.00 P.M. the people began to assemble, bringing their own plates and other utensils. After considerable delay and chatter, the guests took their places in the hall, seating themselves regardless of rank on benches ranged along the two side walls and massed at the rear. By mutual consent a portion of the single row of benches along the left wall was reserved

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type of dance differs from all other Bella Coola ones, since no inherited prerogative is required. Years ago such exhibitions were common, although curing shamans were rare. 756* 556

The usual time for a shaman's performance is at the conclusion of the *kwiat* season, though one is sometimes held prior to that period if the would-be performer fears that the food which he has stored up for the event is likely to be frozen. [796]

When he decides to give a dance, the shaman first summons the singers to his house and teaches them a song of his own composition. Theoretically both text and tune should have been received from his supernatural benefactor, but many performers undoubtedly employ songs used by shaman ancestors which they have chanted to remember. Another device is to describe a supernatural being seen in a dream. In some cases there is deliberate deception, but in most the performer persuades himself that he has received supernatural authorization. The texts are full of obscure allusions, a river, for example, is spoken of as swift running water. Often a man will treasure a song for years, before collecting the wealth necessary to use it publicly, with the social prestige attached. A shaman always obtains a name from his supernatural benefactor, but if a man merely uses a feat observed in a dream, this is impossible, so he adopts the designation of some deceased shaman, soon convincing himself that it was uttered by the apparition. Others will probably remember this name, hence suspicions may easily be aroused concerning the authenticity of the performance, but it is not customary to voice these. The singers repeat the song which they have just heard, and continue doing so until they have mastered it. Sometimes they compose further songs themselves for the performer. During the practising, those who are not *kukusiut* are expelled from the house. A shaman is a person who has come in contact with the supernatural; hence he is akin to the members of the society who, therefore, support him during his rite.[8] A herald is sent out

533 756* 556 [195] [553] [183] 756* 556 [575] [203]

[8] Theoretically, a shaman need not be a *kwiat*, but visitations usually come only to those of religious and imaginative temperaments, who are in the majority of cases already members of the society.

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* 756 to make known to all that there will be a dance on the following day, using the name of the shaman. After such announce-
556 ment, it would be most unusual for anyone to think of leaving
[203] a village until after the performance.

Towards dusk on the appointed day the people are summoned to the house of the shaman. Near the door are seated those who are not initiated *kukusiut*; in the inner part of the house are members of the society, with the singers in their
533 accustomed places behind the fire. The shaman stands alone
535 between the fire and the door and sings one of his songs, the time being marked by the words alone. Then he dances, his
* 756 wrists shaking, his head rolling from side to side, and his feet
556 marking time to the beating of sticks, as the singers accompany the singing of his song. If more than one song has been composed he dances to each, always accompanied by other shamans and by them alone. The shaman's costume consists of
[292] the usual blanket, and eagle down is scattered in his hair, with the additional and distinctive mark of intertwined dyed, and undyed, cedar-bark. After every song, the singers beat time very rapidly,[7] too rapidly for the dancer to keep pace with it, so he merely sways backwards and forwards shaking his hands
* 756 violently. Then the shaman, assisted by a few friends whom
556 he has chosen for the purpose, performs a conjuring feat to impress the uninitiated. The *kukusiut* realize that this may be merely a deception, but since real shamans perform something of the same nature, there is always the possibility that it may be genuine. The shaman may choose some feat which he has seen some old shaman perform, or he may use something which he has seen in a dream; or rely purely on his own inventive ability, aided, as he always is, by carpenters. The method of carrying out each trick is carefully guarded, with the result that it was impossible to obtain information about more than a few. After the conjuring act, the shaman gives food to all, followed by presents. If it is the first time that he has given

[7] This fast beating of time is called *ala*; it occurs only in shaman and *nusuk* dances.

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534 one used by some of *Triha*'s ancestors. It was brought to the ocean and
754 thrown in.

TABOOS

784 The Bella Coola regard as taboos those injunctions that are observed in the belief that their neglect would cause automatic punishment. The mechanism of enforcement is frequently not understood; it is enough to know that an unpleasant result would follow disobedience. Some taboos are in force at all times, others only during certain seasons of the year, and still others at critical periods of life. Since the psychology of such [789] beliefs is essentially magical rather than religious, they could justifiably be grouped at this point. Unfortunately, to do so would destroy the continuity of accounts of birth, adolescence, death, ceremonial chastity, and many other aspects of Bella Coola life subject to taboo. The injunctions enforced by the River Guardian, the restrictions observed by a girl after puberty, the continence required after different medicines, all are taboos, disregard of which brings certain punishment. These and many others have already been described in connection with the activities to which they pertain. It is doubtful whether the Bella Coola have a single word to describe taboos [783] in general, though they are all regarded as *sxaiăx*, that is, as something which is ceremonially unclean.

Scarcely to be distinguished from taboos are ceremonial errors, *yun-imut* or *kăn-imut*. Failure to give presents to heralds when a seat breaks beneath a chief or a dancer stumbles, or unnecessary activity during the year's waiting for the fruition of supernatural good fortune are ritual mistakes of this type. Neglect of such regulations brings punishment, though of a lesser kind than the breaking of taboos. If the [688] error has been in connection with a ceremony, the offence can [203] be wiped out by presents to heralds, and the terms *yun-imut* and *kăn-imut* are likewise applied to some of their prerogatives such as the ability to claim clothing during the marriage of a chief's child.

Most taboos and errors can best be described with other

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*575 688 Frequently the marshals and associated *kukusiut* depute others to act as their executioners. Sometimes a shaman who is also a *kusiut* is asked to slay the offender, or a *kusiut* in whose ancestral family a knowledge of means for secret murder has been handed down for generations may be called upon. The executioner is told that if he fails he will himself be killed. Although no Bella Coola would admit that a person so charged had committed murder by other than magical means, it appears highly probable that such was the case. It is believed that long ago the *kukusiut* were able to kill an offending [761] uninitiated person by drawing forth his spirit, wrapping it in [754] undyed cedar-bark and casting it into the fire. The victim would die within a short time.

*575 ●203 628 The desire to carry out *kusiut* ceremonials with proper dignity and ritual not only acts as a strong bond of union among members of the society in a single village, but between those in different towns and even in different tribes. When a marshal has struck a *kusiut*, the ceremony, whatever it may be, is at once stopped. Two *kukusiut* are sent off to bear the tidings to the nearest village up the valley, and two more to the one below. The messengers go beneath the house in which a dance is taking place and knock on the floor of the back-room. Someone presently hears them and a *kusiut* goes out to investigate. When the envoys have told their tale he returns, whispers to the singers, and the ceremony concludes for that night. As soon as the uninitiated, if any are present, have been ejected, the messengers enter with blankets almost covering their faces and seat themselves between the fire and the back-room where the senior members crowd around to listen. From this village two more *kukusiut* are despatched with the news which is thus transmitted with remarkable speed from end to end of the valley. When next the marshals are admonishing the *kukusiut* of their respective villages, they do not fail to draw attention to the way in which the law has been upheld. Conversely, if a marshal hears indirectly that there has been a flaw in the ritual of a neighbouring village,

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he beats in the fire with his stick, and expresses the hope that the name of the marshal in the town where the error took place may be blackened unless he does better. 575* 628 209

As an individual *kuxiut* who errs is punished by a marshal, so is punishment meted out to the members of a village in which any serious accident occurs during a dance. Such disasters are fire, causing concealed *kukuxiut* to appear among the uninitiated, the breaking of a sidewalk on which a number of the members are dancing, or the capsizing of lashed canoes which are used in some of the performances. The obvious effect of such mishaps is to lower the prestige of the *kuxiut* society in the eyes of the uninitiated. The news travels from town to town, and to adjacent tribes. This is a *casus belli* for any village which wishes to attack the one where the disaster took place; in fact, a raid is considered meritorious. Owing to frequent marriages between the members of neighbouring villages, it usually happens that the inhabitants of adjacent settlements are unwilling to attack, but the news spreads until it reaches a town willing to take the lead. The marshals, aided by any other influential *kukuxiut*, discuss the matter and decide on war; uninitiated are called upon to take part, though they are told only that the foray is connected with the rites of the *kuxiut* society which increases rather than decreases their awe. The threatened villagers, knowing that an attack is inevitable, send out sentinels and guards, and, if possible, flee at the last moment to neighbouring towns for safety, allowing the raiders to burn their village and carry off loot. If a fight takes place many people may be killed, but slaves are never taken. In the last century *Stax* attacked *Alqāxel*; the assailants were aided by a number of Chilkotin to whom they were related but who had not the slightest idea of the cause of the raid. Although an attacked town is usually helped by its neighbours, this is not the case when the assault is caused by error in *kuxiut* or *xoxok* ceremonial.

575* 628 688 721 [727] [567]

Nor is punishment for error or disaster in ritual meted out [648]

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The first night is *kuxtálaia* or *kuxtámem*.[4] This is when the call comes to a prospective dancer. This may be heralded by whistling from above, made by a *kuxiat* sent with a whistle to a neighbouring mountain for the purpose, by a thud on the roof, likewise produced by an accomplice, or by no intimation whatever. The dancer utters a low call, sometimes begins to walk in circles with bent head, or to act in some other peculiar manner, while a whistle sounds repeatedly. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house and a herald informs the village that something strange has come upon the dancer. The *kuxuziat* gather in his house, and four times help him by the frenzied, but regular, beating of sticks. Then the singers sing a song previously prepared, the words describing either his patron or the land above. After listening closely, the *kuxuziat* join in and rehearse it until it is familiar. The dancer may or may not perform; if he is inadept in the steps, he does so for practice. If the hour is not too late, the singers may choose, purely for practice, to beat out a number of the songs of those *kuxuziat* who have already performed during the ceremonial season. A meal, provided by the dancer and his family, is then served. The singers next beat out the dancer's song once more and he dances, concluding the evening's performance. Novices and those who have already performed during the season take up their abode in the dancer's house, where they remain for the ensuing four days and nights.

The second day is *nuxiustálap*.[5] Quite early in the morning a herald calls the *kuxuziat* to the dancer's house, an invitation accepted by as many as wish to do so. A second song is usually composed and practised in the same manner as on the previous evening. Several *kuxuziat* are sent to the forest to cut wood for masks, the number of sections required depending upon the number to be used. In the evening all members of the society assemble to practise the songs.[7] The making of the masks

[4] In Kimsquit called *Ałxwultmem*.

[5] The term *qai-uap* is occasionally used for the rites occurring on the day itself.

[7] The rehearsal of the second is sometimes postponed until this time.

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perform several ancient rites through a desire to "show off" before someone who was ignorant. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials, and to judge a man's worth by his lavishness in them, but this is only a modern development due to the prohibition of the potlatch. Nevertheless, even in former times some individuals preferred to invite foreign guests to *kusiut* dances and to give them valuable gifts rather than to save these for potlatches; such a ceremony is called a *kukusiutek*. Whenever strangers are present at a *kusiut* dance they receive small pieces of dyed cedar-bark as proof of the friendly intentions of the host. The general consensus of Bella Coola opinion is that it is foolish for a man to concentrate on *kusiut* performances, particularly if he impoverish himself to the detriment of potlatches.

Although foreign guests are seldom invited to *kusiut* rites, a dancer frequently calls in his fellows from adjacent villages. But as the ceremonial season is simultaneous in the different settlements, with almost nightly performances, it is often impossible to avoid conflict in dates. Which invitation shall have preference is decided in the following manner:

During the days of *qotlum* and *nebusam* the dancer sends a herald of powerful physique to invite guests from as many villages as he wishes. Simultaneously, a messenger may be approaching from the opposite direction with a similar invitation. Each envoy watches carefully around each bend in the path for his rival, and whichever can first call out his message is entitled to continue to give his invitation in the village of the outwitted herald. It is considered exceedingly bad taste to decline a summons, so the ceremony to which the defeated herald was bearing an invitation must be postponed. Sometimes the two messengers sight one another simultaneously, and the relative priority of their messages is then decided by a contest of strength. The rivals stand in the path, shoulder to shoulder, arms close to their sides, and shove with all their strength, the winner being the one who can force his opponent to move his feet. This last means of deciding is used exclu-

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*575 sively when the villages in which the dances are taking place
203 are adjacent or separated by such a short distance that envoys cannot meet *en route*.

*575 A word may be said about the attitude of the Bella Coola
177 to the dances of other coastal tribes. They know that the
829 Bella Bella, Rivers Inlet, Kwakiutl, and Kitkatla people have *kusiut* societies, but until recently their members were con-
[648] sidered to be uninitiated, as Bella Coola were when they visited foreign tribes.[8] A few years ago the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, and Rivers Inlet people decided that their rites were sufficiently akin to permit membership in one tribe to carry with it membership in the others:

"We have now one repository," they say.

This development is due to ease of communication and diminution of population in the three tribes. None the less, the Bella Coola recognize differences between their own rites and those of their neighbours. They say that no other tribe
[171] has repositories; also that in the other tribes the *kusiut* society is more intimately connected with the chiefs, in fact, that in Bella Bella and Fort Rupert the Cannibals are the chiefs, whereas in Bella Coola even a poor man, uninfluential in every other respect, can be one.

*575 Theorization is out of place in a descriptive monograph such as this, but the writer gives it as his personal opinion that
177 the Bella Coola have adopted much, if not all, of the *kusiut*
[796] ceremonial from other coastal tribes, though they have profoundly altered it in respect to certain ancient beliefs connected with localized guardian spirits and the patrons of ancestral families. He further believes that it will be found that this Bella Coola technique has in its turn affected the Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet Indians. There seems little doubt that the
[171] Bella Coola are correct in saying that the society is more im-
[796] portant among them than among their neighbours, and the writer feels that dances and rituals of different types have certainly been adapted to the *kusiut* pattern of the Bella Coola.

[8]Except a few individuals who had inherited foreign prerogatives.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

The following morning the *kukusiut* alone are invited to X's house. The marshals meanwhile superintend the laying and lashing of planks across two river dug-outs to form a dancing platform. On this the singers take their places, in addition to as many *kukusiut* as can scramble aboard. The craft is slowly poled either up- or downstream, according to the direction of X's repository, and more *kukusiut* accompany it along the bank; the uninitiated watch with keen interest from the background. X and his companions proceed towards the river and on meeting the lashed-together canoes are taken aboard. The singers strike up any well known *kusiut* tune, and in time to it as many *kukusiut* as possible dance on the platform surmounting the craft. Each uses his own style of dancing according to his prerogative, so that the scene is strikingly varied and animated. X himself cowers in the centre, practically concealed from the uninitiated by the dancers. On reaching the village the whole party hurriedly runs to X's house, from which the uninitiated are rigorously barred for the rest of the day. Those *kukusiut* who accompanied the party along the bank of the river have preceded them and, as X enters, the droning cry is raised which always heralds the appearance of one who has been in close contact with supernatural beings.

575* 796 [535] [535] [424] [201]

If X is considered trustworthy, he may be allowed to go alone to his repository, although this is only customary when he takes a second or third prerogative. If this procedure has been followed, X tells those present what he has seen; otherwise his companions do so. The uninitiated listen eagerly from the adjacent houses, wondering anxiously what is taking place. Several *kukusiut* blow, or use bellow-whistles to increase the awe of the hearers. Presently a herald is sent out. He goes first to the lowest house[18] of the village, then in succession to those above, announcing in each that:

575* 203● 796

"Something strange has happened to the son of the chief."

X's name is not mentioned; if his father is not a chief the

[18] That is, to the one farthest downstream. By always going to each house in order from bottom to top of the village the herald avoids any danger of omissions.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 call is that something strange has happened to the "mortal." At intervals throughout the day he repeats this announcement, ● 203 and towards nightfall goes around calling:

796 *Skinap, skinap, kukusiaot,* "Cure, cure, ye members of the *kusiut* society, power has come to the son of the chief [or to the mortal]."

The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house, taking their places around the fire; the uninitiated crowd near the doorway. X is seated among his relatives and some of the senior members of the society behind the fire. A herald calls out:

"I want a *siki* to help X."

*575 In every village there are at least two *kukusiut* who have, embodied with their *kusiut* names, the professional prerogative 791 of acting as healer to every novice; it is believed that the 796 ancestor of each obtained a name and this right through a [424] revelation from some supernatural healer. Since that time the owner of the name has been able to insert some of his own ever- [773] present power into a neophyte to enable him to sustain the dangers of admission to the society. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated. The profession of *siki* can be trans- [425] mitted by willing like any other prerogative and it occasionally happens that the same individual is *siki* for both *kusiut* and *susook*. In answer to the herald's call, the two *siki* come forward and crouch behind the fire, one on either side of it. [302] Their faces are blackened with soot, and each wears a blanket, decorated with dyed cedar-bark, thrown loosely over his [292] shoulders, leaving the chest and stomach bare except for an [237] apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Meanwhile beating sticks are distributed among most of the *kukusiut* who strike furiously on the floor with them, without any attempt to keep time; the sole object is to produce the greatest din possible.

One of the *siki* contorts himself in an amazing manner, presses his hands against his stomach as if to force something from it, and rolls from side to side on his haunches, until at length he produces, as if from his body, a rock crystal (see Plate 3).[1] He waves this to and fro in his hands, then goes

[1] [see category 116, p 84(e)- ANALYST]

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173 he lapsed into silence, knowing that the odds were too great for him.
*575 The Cannibal realized that if this powerful man could be initiated into
578 their society he would be a source of strength, so he said:

"You are now an initiate of mine."

Xmxumlaix understood that this meant he was to be initiated into the *kusiut* society. He agreed, but asked to be permitted to complete the *a'alk* dance which he was performing that evening, and to get beating sticks for which he had gone to the forest. The *kukusiut* were only too willing to grant this dispensation in their joy at having a valuable recruit.

On his return to the village, *Xmxumlaix* told his fellow *a'alk* that he was going to be a *kusiut* and they were greatly grieved at loss of their leader. That night they gave the dance which had been started and composed a song of which the theme was the way in which their rivals had fallen until their heads were upside down. The *kukusiut*, mocked in this way, feared that this was a prelude to further trouble with the *a'alk*, but *Xmxumlaix* duly carried out his promise and was enrolled as a *kusiut*. Bereft of their leader, many of his disconsolate associates were admitted as *kukusiut*, and ever since that time there has been relatively little friction between the two societies. In due course the Cannibal gave his dance with a song describing how he had met a strange creature over whom he had prevailed; this was, of course, the uninitiated *Xmxumlaix*.

[203] To these two is attributed the origin of the practice of
*[796] shoving to decide priority of invitation giving. It is said that both *Xmxumlaix* and the Cannibal once wished to invite the people to a ceremony on the same evening and agreed to shove against each other to decide which should have preference. *Xmxumlaix* prevailed, and the Cannibal duly postponed his dance and went with his associates to the winner's house.

[178] As before stated, stories of this kind dealing with the alleged history of the society are of slight value. As far as they go, they agree with other evidence pointing to the gradual growth of the *kusiut* society from a band of elders endowed with supernatural power to a society with enormous prestige, dominating the life of the community and entirely overshadowing the *a'alk* who seem once to have been their rivals.

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*533 *B* *Sāostxtnqwoo* | *olāsults* | *ska'ālpsdulsdai* | *dismāt·umpdjs*
Go within | my house, | I am giving food | to my friends.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

[614] [424] [685] [609]

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 28b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said that this song has been handed down for generations in an ancestral family; they now regard it as a family possession and would consider its use by others to be stealing.

(*b*) Many years ago a solitary Bella Bella used to paddle to Kimsquit almost every year. He was dressed like a chief and had the mien of one, so that his hosts assumed him to be a person of importance. It was later found that he was a poor man. The mocking of foreigners is a common theme of *a'alk* songs.

am'lel·a Song Used for Xumxumlaix(*a*)

*533 575 578 *A* *Nuiwultukāxānamqualan* | *sīkwosmaiktila*
He has fallen so that his buttocks are uppermost, | Hail(*b*)!

Damunmulan·imut | *skusiutdas*
He has come to hurt, | that *kusiut*(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C*. The second and third parts have been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 3c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) A mockingly deferential salutation used in *a'alk* songs describing the *kukusiut*.

(*c*) *Xumxumlaix* was an *a'alk* who is said to have seen a Cannibal *kusiut* when the latter was supposed to be in the land above. A song was composed about the incident, and the above fragment has been remembered for many years. *Xumxumlaix* was initiated into the *kusiut* society; see vol. II, p. 265.

*533 575 796 203 As already described, whenever a dancer is performing, the women utter a peculiar high-pitched drone and the heralds call out remarks suitable to the occasion. A phonograph record[3] was made of the drone, followed by a cry suitable for either *sisdok* or *a'alk* dances. The following words are virtually sung:

Yelestāldimut | *stālumpalsis*
Do not err, | chiefs.

[3]Recorded as song VII D 29c, National Museum of Canada.

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Xemlaix: One of the first men to settle at *Ḷemqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
Xemtmm: *Kusiut* name of a *Slɨkiul* man.
Xemxemálotla: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Xemxemlaix: *Sisauk* name brought from above in the beginning of time.
Xemxemtmm: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqálaul* in the beginning of time.
[533] *xe·tla:* Boastful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.
Xedilkas: One of the first men to settle at *Ḷatlnalas* in the beginning of time.
Xelásu: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman. The designation is of Bella Bella origin.
[825] *'ṣqu:* Marten.
[412] *ṣils:* Stone axe.
xlnl: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
[203] *Xumpdimut:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xumnmlaix: *A'alk* man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xummmoslaix: Celebrated female shaman.
[821] *ṣunpinás·i, plural, ṣunpinásoksi:* Little girl.
[517] *Xunpinas:* 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.
Xuxais: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
Xuximán·a, "Right Foot": *Stuax* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
Xuṣis: Mountain in the Carrier country.
xxmánoás: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
xlástmm: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
xlásl: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
Xlikwals: Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[586] *xlokn·imut:* The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
[825] *Xmaxots:* Locality below *Nuṣḷalst.*
ṣmṣmatsl: Minnows.
[601] *gwes:* Woman, or wife in indirect address (*ki gwaslaix:* My wife).
[614] *gwesásta:* Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
[423] *gwasdám* or *nugwasdám:* The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.
Xnutli: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
xokst: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
Xolaxwosem: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[785] *xoldjut:* Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[831] *Xomtsk:* Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Xomxemqa: Ancestral name of a *Stuax* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
Xonqotem: Supernatural scoop-net fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
Xoqotli: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

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/For information on the role of "heralds" in the winter ceremonial dances of the kusiut society see category 116, pp. 41-241./

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575 P46 [203]

in this room. Then the host sends messengers to invite the people. They take staffs, and tie red cedar-bark round their heads, and go from house to house, singing, "Nayaxdets wa nsnsp'ntsnt' he!" (=I wish to find some one who understands the winter ceremonial.") This they repeat in every house. Then they return to the host's house, who sends them out again, ordering them to sing, "Qaa'sk'ts hostts wa nsnsp'ntsnt' he!" (=I wish the dancers would wash their hands.") Again they return to his house. They are sent out once more with the message, "Xa'tsak'ustsk'ts wa nsnsp'ntsnt' he!" (=I wish the dancers would make their hands tremble.") They return once more to the chief's house, and are sent out again with the message, "Tapanak'ntts wa nsnsp'ntsnt' he!" (=I want the dancers to look at their hands.") Now the dancers are ready, and come to the house. Then E'xem arises and dresses. He puts on a head-dress of birds' skins, ornamented with red cedar-bark. He is accompanied by women. Another man, who is called Nnx'a'ns., adorns himself with red cedar-bark. He carries in his right hand a small baton covered with red cedar-bark. In his left he carries a larger stick, on which he beats time with the small baton. He sits down, and now all the people enter. First of all, E'xem comes in, accompanied by many women. Nnx'a'ns. begins to sing and to beat time, and E'xem shouts, "Oos!" E'xem walks around the fire, keeping it to his left, and shaking his back. Before he begins the circuit, he gives four jumps near the door. Four times he goes round the fire, and every time he reaches the door he gives four jumps. As soon as he does so, Nnx'a'ns. beats time slowly. When E'xem has finished his dance, the people take him to a place near the door, and a woman sings near him. Nnx'a'ns. and the people join her, then she dances her winter dance. Before she quite finishes, the people make her stop, and another woman begins her dance. Nnx'a'ns. beats time, and the other people join his song. The people make her stop again. Then a great many people perform their dances. Now E'xem appears again, crying, "Oos!" and Nnx'a'ns. beats time. Again he jumps four times to the right and four times to the left when reaching the door. After this, two more men and two more women perform their dances. After this has been done twice, E'xem stands near the door, looking upward, and says, "They are very near now." By this time the whole house is full of people. He goes around the house three times, dancing. Then he stays near the door, looking upward, saying all the time, "They are near by." When he reaches the door the fourth time, he cries, "They have arrived! Now they are here, dancing on the roof." E'xem continues to dance in the house, in order to induce them to come down. The first to come down is Xtsaxtsnalt'ca.ln, who stops at the rear of the house and sits down. E'xem continues to dance, and the others enter in order. E'xem stands near them and says, "Now I have played

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Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

Before leaving the subject of supernatural animals, a word must be said concerning the attitude of the Bella Coola to those in whose forms their first ancestors came to earth. If, for example, a man's first ancestor descended as a raven, this knowledge is a valuable possession of himself and his family. Indeed, the most treasured possessions of a Bella Coola are not the material objects collected by him through life, but the intangible rights wrapped up in his ancestral history. These are referred to under four names:

(1) *Smaiuste*, "Preserved Story"; the myth describing the coming to earth of a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(2) *Kelahe*, "What Was Sent Down"; the names and other possessions given by *Alqustém* to a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(3) *Tpémál*, "Whence We Came"; the place to which a man's first ancestors came in the beginning of time, and the one from which they have since spread.

(4) *Qwathuste*.

Various *smaiuste* are recorded in vol. I, chap. vi, and the second and third terms are really part of the first, although to the Bella Coola they are psychologically distinct. *Qwathuste* is the word used for both the birds or animals chosen as cloaks by the first settlers, and also for creatures with which the early people came in contact. The nearest interpretation appears to be, "Crest." When a Bella Coola whose first ancestor came to earth as a raven portrays that bird, it serves as a visible mark of his intangible possession. In former days, if a man carved on stone so that his work and his name would never be forgotten, it was a *qwathudum*, a constant reminder of his greatness to generations then unborn. A *qwathuste*, therefore, combines the concept of *memorial* with that of *crest*, so that Bella Coola speak of the white man's memorials as *qwathuste*. In brief, a man regards the form assumed by his ancestor when coming to this earth as an emblem of the

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ancient history and fame of his family. It is a matter connected with the past, a matter of the mind, a source of pride to him to have such a possession, but a matter that does not affect his daily life. 211 424 773

So far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola crests consist of the following birds and animals: raven, bald eagle, grizzly bear, black bear, wolf, whale, blackfish, merganser, loon, *sâmtsk*, possibly deer, and the mythical double-headed snake, *nsiatl*. To these must be added the sun, because some of the original people came to earth in human form by sliding down his eye-lashes, the sun-beams; and *nuhwikta*, the posts which stretched from earth to the land above, down which a number of the first ancestors of mankind swarmed in human form. The Bella Coola believe that these posts are particularly common memorials among the tribes of the outer coast. According to some accounts it was these posts which supported the first sky until it fell. 825 [776] * [772] [829] [772]

A crest is connected almost exclusively with the distant past. A Bella Coola whose ancestor came to earth as a raven pays no attention to the ravens of the present time. The matter was approached from every possible angle and not the slightest sign of respect toward living specimens of a man's crest could be noticed. A query as to whether or not a man refrained from eating his crest was regarded as highly humorous. Nor is there any trace of fellowship between unrelated families even if they happen to have the same crest. The subject was broached repeatedly, until at last one informant smiled broadly and said: 424 779 825

"I know now what you want to find out, I can tell you all about it."

He recounted how the Kitkatla are, in his opinion, stupid enough to regard as brothers all those who have the same animal story even if they are members of different tribes. He said that when he was a young man at Victoria, where Indians from all parts of the coast used to meet, a Kitkatla had once asked him what was his animal. He was puzzled, but as the [648]

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424 nearest answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the
979 Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the
825 narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience, and added that though he was quite willing to accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not
[582] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of exogamy.

211 Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet they have some importance in the realm of social life. The
424 portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral
773 myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy
825 chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a
[532] design is impressed with the glories of the family history of
[556] the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delinea-
[304] tion is a memento of family history. For that reason a man is often tattooed* with his crest, that derived from his father's first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow. After the death of a chief a memorial-post is erected near his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his
000 family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

[171] [184] *It is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal tribes but also the Carriers. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated themselves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with potlatches; in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the back-room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material; the second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were baked for a long time and then ground into a powder. This keeps indefinitely and can be made ready for use by mixing with water. As far as could be learnt, any skilled craftsman might perform the operation.
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pose should remain continent for several nights to increase his 224
generative powers. He then selects a time for beginning the 785
rite and on the second and fourth nights from that date sleeps with his wife, holding intercourse repeatedly and vigorously until he is utterly exhausted. Before dawn on the third and fifth days he must wash in the river or in some quiet stream. Then follow four nights of restraint, a further intercourse, and washing before dawn. The period is next increased to eight nights, then twelve, and finally sixteen, each with a similar contact and bathing. The nights of abstinence are thus forty [801] in all, a lucky number. An unmarried man can obtain power [836] in the same manner with the assistance of a female friend; it is the act itself that is vital, not the union of husband and wife.

At the present time, only two Bella Coola are said to know [184] this particular type of ceremonial chastity, which they conceal carefully, even refusing offers to buy their knowledge. It is potent at any time, but especially if the periods of continence have been so arranged that they terminate at one of the solstices. Then, indeed, can a hunter set off with every prospect [825] of success, knowing that the human taint disliked by animals [783] has been removed, and been replaced by a ceremonial cleanliness pleasing to them. If the time terminates at the winter solstice, the hunter should set out immediately; if it ends in June, he must remain away from women after his final intercourse. In September or October, when ready to leave for the hunt, he must sleep beside his wife for the last four nights; each night he must place his leg between hers, and each morning the two must wash together. The best fortune of all is obtained by a man who observes this forty-night period for four successive years.

Another, and more common, count[24] is to observe continence for four nights, followed by intercourse. Immediately [824] afterwards, the man should eat as much devil's club[25] as pos- [278]

[24]The record of nights is kept by notches cut in a stick or by knots on a cord. [211]

[25]Or false hellebore. This latter plant is thought to be so poisonous that the eating of even a twig an inch in length is fatal; a very small amount, however, all that is ever taken, acts as a powerful emetic.

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in dances. In front of most houses rises a short totem-pole,* either pierced for the doorway, or standing on the opposite side of the sidewalk. [211] [778]

The Family

It is probably no exaggeration to say that in every part of the world the most important social unit is the family. It certainly is among the Bella Coola, yet its lack of definite social obligations makes it difficult to define. Reduced to minimum size, the family consists of a man, his wife, or wives, and his children. Such a unit occupies one of the bedrooms of a large house, and it is to such a family that an infant automatically belongs at birth. Disregarding for the moment ceremonial obligations, which are shared by others, it is the father and mother who are responsible largely for the upbringing of the child. Such education as he receives comes from them, with the assistance of members of the ancestral family. This is chiefly imitative; a boy, as he increases in strength, follows his father on hunting expeditions or fishing. The mother teaches her daughters how to make baskets, and they follow her when she gathers berries, or when she cooks and performs household duties. The Bella Coola are fond of children, in many cases to the extent of over-indulging them, and they grow up amid the open life of the large houses, absorbing information of all kinds without being aware of so doing.

594 [851] 594 868 855 861

Only two kinds of functional training need be mentioned. A wise father carefully trains his sons to remember their debts (I, p. 369), and the method of teaching ancient myths has already been described; otherwise there is little direct instruction. On the other hand, parents devote great care to furnishing their children with every possible means of strengthening their supernatural elements on which success depends. These can

594 869

*Since the Bella Coola believe that totem-poles were used by their ancestors in early times, they are included in this description of a village, without reference to their development in post-European times. This account is compiled from descriptions given by elderly informants; it is inevitable, therefore, that changes due to European contact may be included. [177]

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622 there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by
623 members of the *kusiut* society that none would dare go there.
778 If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formerly have
been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-
[575] place of the *Ḷomqo·ts* chiefs is on a ledge of rock jutting out
over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village.
The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side,
screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a cauldron, so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can enter. The
ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the
most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of
other villages lack such natural settings, though all are at the
bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some
178 of them are decorated with rude carvings, pecked into the
532 stone. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of
778 the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago,
by chiefs when they were composing tunes; they picked out
the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others
[211] were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an
important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure,
perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with
the rite, to recall the occasion. No carvings have been made
within the life-time of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that
they had further significance, now unknown.

622 When a chief wishes to summon his fellows for a meeting
623 he visits each and notifies him by a simple pressure of the foot,
in many cases unobserved even by those sitting near. The
201 person so called slips away, unostentatiously, to the meeting-
place.

578 The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the
old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who
622 succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows
682 became an object of envy. Their mythology contains many
[152] examples of the murder of some powerful chief by rivals of his
own village, and informants of today state that these records
are true. One intelligent man asserted that his father had

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which X has amassed. These have been collected in boxes near the fire where he, aided by members of his family, is constantly poring over the question of their proper distribution. One or two fluent chiefs have been chosen by X to act as speakers, and, as he tells them which gift is to be given to which man, the speaker holds up the article in question and announces the name of the recipient. It is also proclaimed from whom, and for what reason X has received each assortment of goods, thereby making known the names of those who have contributed. In this way a man is glorified who has repaid with large interest a debt owing to X. In the case of skins or rolls of cloth, the goods about to be given out are held outspread by several people at their full length, prior to being torn into strips. Each beneficiary accepts what is coming to him from the hands of the young men who act as deliverers without displaying either gratitude or disgust, whether or not the present comes up to his expectations. The point of view is that the matter concerns X alone; on his generosity depends his status in the community. 556*

The first gifts distributed are actually payments, though never referred to as such. The Bella Coola consider that X is under obligations to those who have helped him prepare for the potlatch and that he is discharging these obligations by presents. The carpenters who have made the new house, the totem-pole, and other objects used in the rites, must be rewarded, likewise the singers who have composed the songs, the messengers, the women wailers, the masked dancers, the announcers who even now are distributing the goods, the boys helping with the cooking, the guests who make speeches—one and all have to be compensated. It is an anxious time for X, as he must not overlook any of these functionaries. Paper and pencil are now used to assist the memory, but long ago the only aids were bundles of sticks. No system of symbolism was evolved, each man merely chose a stick and designated it in his mind as a reminder to pay such or such an individual. The 556* 465 [211]

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Totem-Poles

A feature embodied in many ancestral myths is a description of the totem-pole[1] erected by a group of the first people, either according to a design given them by *Ālquntäm*, or in consequence of their experiences on this earth. It is the privilege of a chief descended from that group to erect such a pole, under the same restrictions as apply to the portrayal and use of other features belonging, not to him individually, but to the ancestral family as a whole. Totem-poles are also frequently erected to depict incidents connected with the ancestors of a chief, even if there is no mention of one in his ancestral myth. In either case, the setting-up is a source of pride to the chief; especially as it emphasizes the importance of his ancestors, and its display must be duly validated. Theoretically, this may be done at a gathering of less importance than a potlatch, but in practice it occurs at no other ceremony, since a chief wealthy enough to erect a pole naturally desires it to be seen by as many persons as possible. 211 556* 778 [773] [614]

Poverty limits the number of totem-poles, but is not sufficient to account for their relative rarity. It is a matter of pride for a chief in whose ancestral myth there is mention of a pole to erect one, but all myths do not include totem-poles. Consequently the absence of one before the door of the chief's house is not proof of the owner's poverty or lack of importance. This matter was investigated with great care, and all the older people reiterated that the number and size of their poles were never as great as among the northern tribes. [171]

When a chief is preparing for a potlatch, he allots, among other carpentry tasks, the construction of a totem-pole, if he is sufficiently wealthy to reward the artisan and to validate the erection in the customary manner. If a special design is embodied in the ancestral myth containing the name which he is about to assume, or to make strong, he indicates that design to the carpenter. In the story of *Ālkwi* (I, p. 312), for [532]

[1] *Ālnalal*, "Outside Post."

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211 example, there is a description of his totem-pole with a ball
556 at the top, and beneath it an eagle's nest containing two fledg-
778 lings towards which a grizzly bear is endeavouring to climb.
532 This is the only known instance of a pole on which the different figures stand in definite relationship to one another. No explanation is offered beyond the statement that this was the form used by *Ālkwi* in the beginning of time. Another ancient
[773] pole, used by one of the ancestral families of *Sunxl*, consists of a simple shaft surmounted by a sphere; this represents a mountain which enters into their ancestral myth as supporting the sky.

As with all features embodied in ancestral myths, a chief can use his own discretion in cases where he has a choice of
[431] design. A totem-pole with specific figures is a common pre-
[622] sent from a chief to his son-in-law, and it is a mark of respect
[606] for the latter to use and validate this at the first opportunity, in preference to one belonging to his own ancestral family. Since the pole erected at a potlatch may have no association with the ancestral name and myth of the donor, the underlying principle in all cases is that the value of the pole depends upon the quantity of gifts distributed to validate its erection. One man mentioned an instance in which he had become confused with regard to the proper design for the totem-pole connected with his ancestral myth, and had used one belonging to a second myth in association with a name from the first. Both were his property, the transaction was duly validated, and the matter passed off without question. It is possible that the
[183] decay of custom which has followed the coming of the white man may have been partly responsible for this error, which was regarded as a somewhat stupid, though not improper mistake; yet it is clear that even when designs are remembered as portions of ancestral myths, they can be alienated from them and validated as isolated objects in the same manner as names and all other features of ancestral myths.

More often, the exact details of a pole are not included in the ancestral myth and a chief wishing to have one erected can

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use his own discretion as to the design. At the top he always 211
places the bird or animal cloak in which his first ancestor, 556
traced patrilineally, came to this earth. Beneath this is the 778
cloak of his mother's first ancestor if it differs from his father's. 532
There are no fixed rules for other representations. Sometimes [773]
a man wishes to display the cloaks of the first ancestors of his wife, or wives; more often, the designs are of creatures with which his own ancestors came in contact after reaching this earth.[4] One of the first settlers, *Smaoan* (I, p. 332), married a Bella Bella woman from whom he obtained a ceremony connected with a whale, an animal which has often been used on the totem-poles of his descendants. The lower figures on totem-poles often represent creatures from which a recent ancestor of the chief obtained supernatural assistance. Consequently, the number of designs which may be used is legion, and the order of portrayal is immaterial. Moreover, Bella Coola art is not sufficiently realistic for designs to be easily recognized, nor is there standard conventionalization of little used animals; so it follows that the designs on totem-poles are often unidentifiable.[5] This is of little consequence, since their value rests neither upon the artistic skill exhibited, nor even upon their significance in connection with the owner's ancestral myth, but upon the goods expended to validate the display.

All Bella Coola totem-poles are carved from the trunks of [824]
huge cedars, with the wood cut away so that the designs stand [184]
out in high relief. The carvers are allowed great latitude both in choice of form and colouring, hence there is wide variation

[4]*Ainaxamlaix* is the term applied to animals with which ancestors came in contact, other than their cloaks. [825]

[5]This statement represents the layman's point of view, that is, of the Bella Coola who was not himself a carpenter-sculptor. It is probable that an expert would have greater facility in recognizing the conventionalized forms used by his [184] associates, although the whole pattern of Bella Coola culture was opposed to extreme standardization. Unfortunately, wood-carving, in fact art work of every [182] kind, had degenerated to such an extent that only one man with any recognized skill in that respect was still living when this study was made. He was both [115] unreliable and uncooperative, so that it was impossible even to collect examples of his work, still less to record his interpretations of the designs of masks or other objects carved by his predecessors.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

211 in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at
*556 the front door of the house with an opening at its base through
778 which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be solid
532 and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice in
[184] either case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ancestral cloaks by means of paintings on the front wall of his house, or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, if such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief entitled to display a totem-pole may choose to use only paintings. If he validates these by presents, they give him the same dignity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cannot validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola poles are only about fifteen to twenty feet in height, and though
[171] it is possible that a few families had prerogatives entitling them to construct lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is unlikely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand before the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even none at
[764] all. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 461). Otherwise it remains standing until some other occupant of the house wishes to erect another in its place, when the first is pulled down and neglected.

Coppers

*556 The Bella Coola use coppers for only two purposes: casting
[769] on the ground upon which the representation of a deceased relative had trodden, or throwing into the fire when the figure has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make bone for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when a copper is employed is so important that to obtain one and increase its value is a vital consideration for every chief.

[177] Most of the coppers now used by the Bella Coola are made
[439]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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435 immediately before, or during the early stages of a potlatch, in
*556 order to receive goods immediately, but with the proviso that
it shall be returned to him for throwing into the fire. This
[432] method has the advantage of providing the chief with goods
[426] when required, and doubles the worth of the copper.

Coppers are not always rescued from the ashes and given to poor men. If one is still lying in the fire after several days,
[764] the donor of the potlatch removes it and fastens it to the memorial-post over the grave of his deceased relative. It may be left there, or another chief wanting a copper may buy it from the donor and increase its value in the usual manner. Only a small price is paid in such circumstances, since the copper, having served its purpose, is practically valueless.

177 The Bella Coola state that in ancient times coppers were
435 worth less than at present, and that the change in sentiment
regarding them is due to Kwakiutl influence. All agree that
*556 the value placed upon them at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay is greater than elsewhere on the coast. The Bella Coola believe that the Kwakiutl distribute presents in respect to their coppers and that their values mount to enormous sums when the gifts are returned. It is clear that the importance of coppers, like the potlatch and other elements of culture, has increased in recent years through the influence of the coastal tribes.

*556 It is almost impossible to define coppers in the nomenclature of economic theory. They are not mere articles of barter, since they have no practical use outside the ceremonies of chiefs. Nor are they standardized units of trade or cur-
[436] rency, since each differs not only from all other coppers, but also at different periods. In a sense they serve as tokens of
[211] what has been expended; representations of them may be
[532] carved and painted on totem-poles where they serve as marks of the goods which the chief has given away, but this is only
[426] a minor consideration. A copper can perhaps best be described
[435] as an investment which can be applied only to one purpose, "the making of bone for a deceased" person. It grows more valuable at every transmission in accordance with the goods ex-

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Bellabella NE5

BC
+539
BB
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three times, and three mountain goats appeared, dead, on the ground before him. He took the fat from the stomach of a yearling and carried it to his father, who had settled some distance away, as proof that he had had success in his hunting; then returned to the place where he had been abandoned.

Next morning, stick in hand, he went to the edge of the forest where he stood looking away from the site of the settlement, as the supernatural being had instructed him, and prayed to *Minakais* for houses. After praying he looked around and found four large buildings standing on the spot; on the first sat an eagle, on the second a kingfisher, on the third a gull, and on the fourth an owl. The eagle screamed, as eagles are accustomed to do in the early morning, and at once the house on which it sat was filled with all manner of goods, including boxes containing the large cone-shaped whistles such as are used for *sisaok* ceremonials. During the day the kingfisher rattled, the gull called, the owl hooted; and as each uttered its cry the house on which it sat was filled with all kinds of goods, foods, skins, blankets, and household utensils. With the articles so acquired *Ältkexa* gave a potlatch to which he summoned the people from far and near. The whistles sounded, imitating the voices of the four birds which had sat on the dwellings and through the cries of which they had been filled. The Bella Bella chief, *Wipitpawakäs*, covered his head with his blanket because he had nothing to equal the display, so *Ältkexa* gave him a whistle with its box. All the guests were witnesses of the transaction, and it was in this way that the *sisaok* ceremonial reached Bella Bella.

Ältkexa lived to a great age, and during his lifetime moved to several places, in each of which he gave potlatches. His last stopping-place was *Saxwlk*, where he held his largest rite, erecting for the purpose a new house with six tiers of seats to hold the audience. It was there that he died.

BC
[556]
[211]

Whenever a descendant of *Ältkexa* gives a potlatch he erects outside his house a totem-pole on which are the four birds that brought good fortune to his ancestor.

AN ORIGIN MYTH OF *Q̣wiyai*[n]

In the beginning four brothers, *Wadäks*, *Hamcs*, *Kälästak'*, *'Oqwolikdamut*, and their sister *Tlätkwakila*, came to earth at Sea-lion Island, *Spl'xnunsta*, to the west of Namu. They moved to *Q̣wiyai*, but often returned to their landing-place to hunt sea-lions which they would club

[n] Related by Mrs. Webber.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

poverty-stricken," say the elders. "If you do, you will become like them yourself." 867 [735]

As a boy grows older, his father insists that he wash, pray, and practise other ritual acts likely to win approval from supernatural beings. He is frequently beaten to inure him to hardship. By the time a youth is eleven or twelve years of age he has become fully acquainted with the principles of the potlatch system and a wise parent teaches him to remember debts. Taking his son to some quiet spot in the woods, he makes a small bundle of cedar twigs, for example, and tells him: 869 861 211 867

"So-and-so at Bella Bella gave you fifteen beaver skins. When you see this bundle you must think of those skins."

Then he takes another bunch, perhaps of spruce twigs, to represent a present from a Rivers Inlet chief. A bundle of nettle fibre may stand for a Kimsquit debt; one ornamented with a tuft of undyed cedar-bark, a gift from a *Täl·io* chief; a solid piece of alder stem, a local debt; another section of alder stem with a notch in it, another local debt, and so on. The son is expected to listen attentively, and to repeat after his father what each represents. Then the pupil turns his back and the instructor alters the positions of the bundles. His father tells him to look at them and repeat what each signifies. This is repeated time after time until a boy becomes familiar with remembering debts by means of symbols. In later years, if he becomes a chief, he will use this method for bearing his indebtedness in mind. No system of standardized signs has been evolved, each individual merely designates what he wishes by a mark which he alone can recognize.

A child grows up in the community, absorbing information and lore without conscious effort, learning the activities which he will later practise, fearing the supernatural beings that are dreaded by his parents, marvelling at the power of those endowed with supernatural ability, and generally fitting himself for the struggle of life. If his parents are wealthy, he may be fortunate enough to be given a *nuaok* name and to partake in 867 [556]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 18

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Memorial figure and personal possessions on a grave

[p 442 (B)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 19

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Memorial posts showing crests of the deceased

[p442 (c)]

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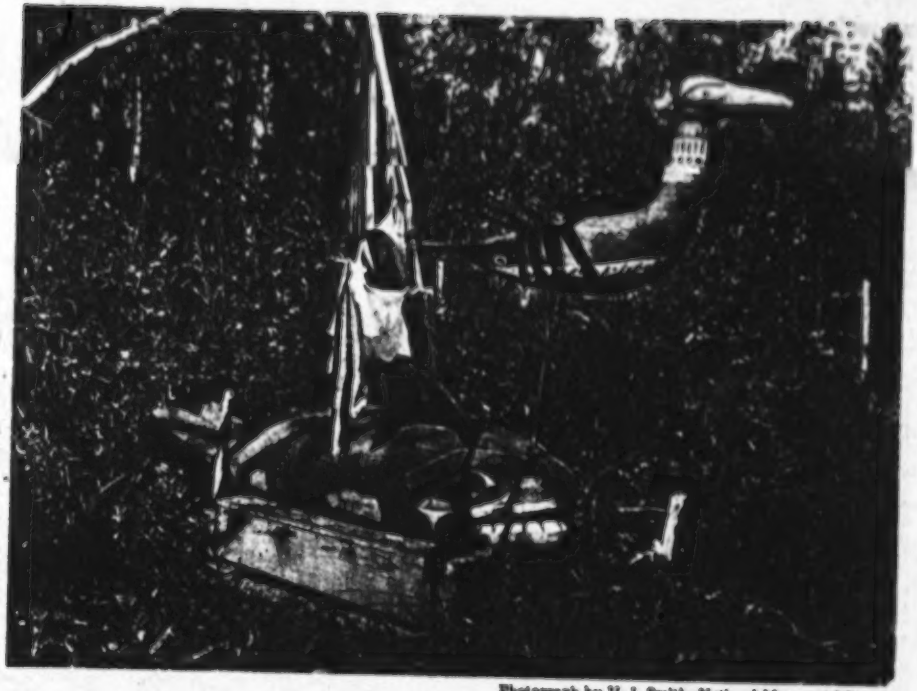
L:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 20



Photograph by H. I. Smith *National Museum of Canada*

Memorial figures of whale and loon

[P 142 (D)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 21

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Totem-pole serving as a memorial post

[p 442 (E)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

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PLATE 22

Photograph by H. I. Smith, Federal Museum of Canada

Memorial post with wooden representations of coppers given away by the deceased

[p442(F)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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PLATE II

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Memaloose point with conical cairns and figures representing slaves

[p 442 (G)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 24

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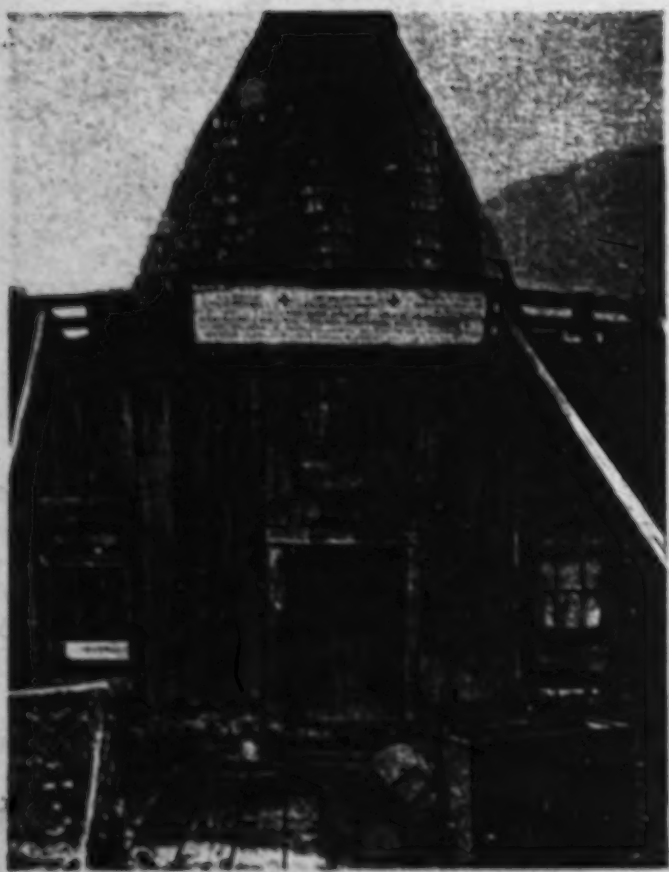

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Painted sign showing the wealth distributed at a potlatch. The animal figures above represent mountain goats.

[4 442 (H)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

prerogatives connected with the ceremony. The actual re- 556*
counting of the myths may be done by a fluent speaker on 769
behalf of the bereaved man, and when he has finished speaking, [533]
it is proper for several of his peers to make complimentary
speeches, lauding the future donor for his intentions. Food is [537]
then served and the gathering breaks up.

The preliminaries of a memorial potlatch do not differ from those of an ordinary one. There is the same counting and recounting of goods, the same giving and receiving of presents, the same lending and borrowing. When at last the donor is ready, the heralds call his fellow-villagers to his house for announcement of the arrangements and allotment of the work. As at a potlatch, food is provided on a lavish scale, and there is the same sham-fight with a battering-ram ending in the destruction of part of the house. Then the carpenters receive their instructions; some to make different sections of the new structure, some to paint ancestral designs on the front and back walls, and some to make the various objects required.

The first difference between a memorial and an ordinary 211
potlatch is apparent at this allotment of work. Instead of a 556*
totem-pole to record the glories of the donor's ancestry,[22] car- 764
penters are requested to make memorial-posts for the dead 769
relative who is being commemorated. These are erected in
the cemetery near the grave and are of three kinds, although
it is unusual for all three to be set up for a single chief.

The first consists of a wooden post carved with the design of one or more of the deceased's crests (see Plates 19 and 20). [532]
These figures are usually representations of the bird or animal cloaks used by his first ancestors; it is customary to portray the one traced through the father on the right, that traced through the mother on the left. Instead of a cloak, the figure may portray the post down which swarmed his first ancestor in the beginning of time, or Mount *Nusqalst* in human form, wearing a broad-rimmed hat as he did before he turned to

[22] Even the construction of a new house and the painting of new designs is often omitted.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

211 stone and served as landing-place for some of the first settlers.
+556 In fact, any of the dead person's crests may be used according
764 to the wishes of the chief giving the memorial potlatch. A
769 figure displayed in this way cannot be used as the guise in which the dead relative returns, but as every individual has several crests, inability to use one does not make it difficult to carry out the rite. According to one well-informed old man, when a design has once been used in a cemetery it cannot again be shown by members of the ancestral family, having itself become "dead." Other informants flatly contradicted this statement, and it seems clear that the above is true only with regard to the use of the figure in connection with the return of the deceased. The erection of the figure serves to remind all beholders, especially foreign guests summoned to the memorial potlatch, of the ancestral myth of the deceased. It is, there-
[778] fore, equivalent to a totem-pole erected during a man's lifetime, in fact, one of these is sometimes moved to the cemetery to serve as a memorial-post (see Plate 21). Instead of placing a representation of the crest in the cemetery, one is sometimes painted on broad boards and placed on some conspicuous promontory where all who pass by will see it and think of the person commemorated.

The second type of memorial consists of plain poles set upright in the cemetery, one for each major ceremony given by the deceased. Potlatches, memorial potlatches, and *kukusiutek*
[609] (II, p. 29) are alone indicated in this way, these being the only ones to which foreign guests are invited. These poles suggest, in a general way, the greatness of the deceased.

The third type of memorial-post comprises representations of the goods given away by the deceased. These are usually
[532] painted on boards attached to a post set up near the grave. On this are pictures of canoes, coppers, slaves, and other valuables distributed at potlatches or memorial potlatches (see Plate 22). Alternatively, there may be a series of small poles, each surmounted by a model canoe manned by miniature human figures, symbolic of a canoe and slaves given away

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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(see Plate 23). So, too, wooden representations of coppers are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are commemorated in this way, a father often places over his daughter's grave pictures of the goods used to rebuy her from her husband; wooden plaques representing coppers are commonly used for this purpose.[24] Such symbols are usually cut down after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for them to remain standing too long. The function of this type of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person as judged by the riches given away by him, or on his behalf, during his life-time. With the introduction of writing, the Bella Coola have been quick to recognize it as an easy means for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In consequence, signs are often painted and erected, giving in figures a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent introduction has been the tombstone. One of these is often set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate his memory, and a representation of his crest to record his ancestral history. Such a memorial combines the functions of the first and third types.

As the carpenters labour at the memorials, other arrangements for the ceremony proceed apace. As at a potlatch, the fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited repeatedly to his house for the performance of *susaok* dances, but this feature is often omitted, especially if there are no neophytes to be initiated. The mask to be worn by the deceased relative must be prepared in secret; or if several are to be commemorated at the single ceremony, one must be made ready for each. As the time draws near, envoys are dispatched to invite foreign guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This has been customary for many years, but during the period when no features of the potlatch were allowed at a memorial potlatch, the latter was sometimes carried out in the presence of the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the

[24]The National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, has specimens of these wooden coppers.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

* 556 departed. A few days later the same ritual was carried out
769 again, with a similar lavish distribution of food. This was often done at intervals of two or three days for several weeks, depending on how much food the donor was prepared to use. The amount required was so great that the rite was considered, in some ways, more difficult than a potlatch.

[178] As already mentioned, however, it became customary in the last century to incorporate features of the ordinary potlatch into one of a memorial nature. In such cases the first
[533] singing of the mourning songs with display of marks by the professional mourners is as just recorded, but there is no recalling of the guests merely to listen once more to the songs. Instead, the ritual differs but slightly from that of an ordinary potlatch as already described (I, p. 182). An occasion is found to conduct the guests to the memorial-posts erected, and to in-
[178] form them of the significance of the designs depicted. This same practice has been continued since the introduction of tombstones, and the meaning of the writing upon them is interpreted. The entry of the deceased in the form of his crest, and the subsequent use of a copper, is the same as already recorded. This is frequently followed by the singing of a *susaok* mourning
[533] song if one of the near relatives owns this prerogative of foreign origin. If so, he walks slowly around the fire in a wide circle, shaking his rattle, and singing, unaccompanied. Most, if not all
[177] of these songs, are in the Bella Bella language and the right to
[425] use one has in every case been obtained through intermarriage with a member of that tribe. At intervals, heralds call out:

"Listen to the chief's lament."[27]

When presents are distributed to validate the whole ceremony, mention is always made of the different features for which they are given. As at a potlatch, the most important is the return of the dead, but at a memorial potlatch another
[211] essential is the display of the memorial-posts. These have been
[764] carved, painted, and set up, but are worthless unless validated

[27] There is no reason why this should not take place at a potlatch, but no instance of its performance was noted.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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556 *
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[211]
[764]

by presents, and the greater the number of these, the greater the value of the memorial. Nothing need be added concerning this point, or other rites, to the detailed description given in vol. I, chap. IV.

Psychologically, the memorial potlatch is of tremendous importance. There may be a vague feeling that the ritual is of actual assistance to the deceased since grease burnt at it reaches him, and is of service to him, but such a belief is no more than an intangible sentiment of no weight in the lives of the people. Quite otherwise is its effect on the survivors, especially on the donor. A memorial potlatch is considered the fitting tribute of respect to a chief, and if none of his near relatives should hold one, they would brand themselves as unmindful of the fame of their dead kinsman. In recent years the white man's law has prohibited the potlatch, but chiefs have often preferred to go to jail rather than to forgo this form of memorial. The reason for this cannot be explained better than in the words of an old man whose only daughter, a "Chieftainess," died in 1922. He determined to hold a memorial potlatch and expressed himself to the writer, as follows: [648]

"If I should fail to do what is right under the circumstances, to do what my ancestors would have done, my heart would be dead, dead as my daughter. But if I call the people, if we sing mourning songs for my child, I will be able to bear my grief. I shall have done what is right, and will be able to hold up my head with anyone, knowing that the rites have been performed for my child which are due her as a chief. If I allow her to be neglected, I would be ashamed and miserable. Jim [another "chief"] warned me when I first told him of my intention that the law forbade such ceremonies. I cannot help that. If I am sent to jail, to jail shall I go. I would rather have that happen than that my daughter should not receive fitting treatment as a chief."

In this case, though only abbreviated rites were carried out, their performance unquestionably lessened the father's grief, a fact observed on several occasions. Not only does it comfort

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

be slaughtered before one is found with skin to match.[47] The marshals carefully supervise all these arrangements, but of course on this night the work alone is allotted. The entrails of several dogs are kept and worn by X between his false stomach and the wooden frame. 575* 796* [281]

After the allotment of tasks in connection with the mechanical work required, the marshals ask four women to come forward. Those selected are usually old people with good voices who, from long experience at the dances, have mastered the two[48] songs used at each *kusiotem* dance. The theme of these never varies and is believed to have been handed down from the distant past. No prerogative is attached; the marshals and singers merely choose four women whom they think will be good performers. The songs resemble those sung at mourning ceremonies; in fact, they are used with that significance when X has been "killed" by disembowelling. The singers, the women chosen, the marshals, and any other *kukusiut* who feel competent to do so, discuss in an animated manner the exact wording and tunes of the songs. Then the musicians beat out the time and the women sing one after another, while the audience drones. In view of the solemnity of the occasion, it often happens that senior singers from adjacent villages are invited to be present to render assistance. The necessity for practising X's songs, apportioning the carpentry, and rehearsing the mourning songs has taken up more time than is usual on a *nusiutälsap* night, and it is late before all is completed. Then, after the usual meal and admonishments, the people disperse. 575* 796* 533

Early the following morning the carpenters and those to whom work has been allotted gather early in X's house. A band, about two feet long, composed of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark is prepared and placed on the 575* 796* 211●

[47] Informants offered no explanation as to why this wholesale slaughter of dogs failed to arouse curiosity and suspicion in the uninitiated. [781]

[48] Or four; there was difference of opinion among Bella Coola informants on this point.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 outside of the house above the central doorway. The middle
*796 of the strip is pressed together so that it forms a projecting
point, some four inches in length. This sign is a warning to
[217] the uninitiated that the *kukusiut* are working within, and none but a member of the society must enter or even pass on the sidewalk outside the door.[69] The central fire is moved forward to leave a larger space than usual between it and the back-room, and two mattings are raised to form two enclosures, one in each of the rear corners.

All day the carpenters work feverishly, and in the evening the *kukusiut* are once again summoned. When last performed, the rite on *qothm* was curtailed, and informants could give only an outline of the proper procedure. It appears that X's two
[533] songs are practised, as well as the two mourning songs sung by the chosen women. Then all sit silent as if in grief, while the women occasionally utter mournful ejaculations, dreading the danger to which X will be exposed. At this juncture the uninitiated are summoned; they are impressed by the gravity and obvious fears shown even by the members of the powerful *kusiut* society. In the tense silence, one of the *änuyex* suddenly bursts forth:

"I will get my puppet-patron and bring him near so that he will be available tomorrow."

He reaches up his arms and makes the motions of drawing something towards him from above, while the *kukusiut* women drone and the singers and others provided with sticks keep up a clamorous beating on the floor. Presently another *änuyex* does likewise, and so on until as many as wish to do so have drawn down their puppet-patrons. The heralds maintain a running fire of comments to aid in impressing non-members. The customary lengthy dancing of *qothm* is omitted, and the uninitiated are expelled at once. The *kukusiut* have the usual

[532] [69] If it is necessary to make numerous puppets this band may be placed in position the previous evening and the carpenters start work a day earlier on the more important tasks.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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192*

mixmixɬulp: Leaf of salalberry.
mla·wadjut: 1—Omen of misfortune, such as preceded the outbreak of smallpox, hence, [824]
2—Smallpox. [787]
mlka: Type of sea-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.
mna, vocative, mnao: Child. [601]
Mnakais: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.
mnk': Excreta.
mnmnts, vocative, mnmnicăn·i: Ancestral family, practically equivalent to *children* when used by an old person. [614]
mnskănmaxta: The commemoration of a chief's potlatches and other major ceremonies by means of plain posts erected near his grave. [211]
Mntlato·smm, Tide-Measurer: A supernatural being. [764]
Mstulos: Man mentioned in a song.
Mtlakila: Supernatural being who gives potency to *sisaok* rites.
mthtsta: Grandiloquent expression used by the *kukusiut* with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives. [776]*
mtlăhsăm: 1—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living. [775]
2—To visit, term used with reference to the coming of a masked representation of a dead person; the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.
mok': Pounded, dyed cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.
mokwuks: Head-ring of cedar-bark worn by *kusiut* initiates in the upper Bella Coola valley.
moqla: Lice.
moqwila: Adolescent youth. [825]
moxmoxk': Blue grouse.
moxmoxliokkănda: Dentalium-shell ear-rings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion. [301]
mu: Hand net for catching olachen. [227]
mudcămkuksta: Yellow cedar stave decorated with swan feathers such as is carried by a Mystery dancer.
mustmux: Wrestling.
Mutan·a: Rivers Inlet man living in the last century.

N

Nain'akwas: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Nă'mu: Bella Bella village; the Anglicized form is Namu.
năn·: Grizzly bear. [825]
Nănăntlis: Name received from Grizzly Bear by a Kimsquit man in the beginning of time.
Nănăll: *Kusiut* name of a *Nuxɬalst* man.
Nănătskwi: One of the first men to settle at *Stmx* in the beginning of time.
Nănalskwitl: One of the names of Mount *Nuxɬalst* as chief.
năn·imnt: Non-ceremonial weeping, usually individual, and always with real feeling. [827]
Naos: Indeterminate locality in the distant east. [15.2]

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qanta, "Bed Covering": Term applied to the presents given as such to the party of a bridegroom when they enter the bride's house on a wedding day. [525]
qhamdjut, "A Shaking of the Fingers": Rhetorical allusion to presents regarded as "Dust." [431]
qpaulitmum: To revolve sunwise. [195]
Qpaqpaulitmamlaix, "The One Who Revolves Sunwise to Give Strength": One of *Thitsplitsu-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Qhufulx: Place of petrified power near Kwatna. [778]
Qsmon: Village on the Skeena River.
qoiout: Supernatural creature resembling a diminutive human being. [825]
qubat: Salmon liver.
quks: Co-wife in a polygynous household. [595]
quluus, *vocative*, *qulusis:* Wife's brother, or sister's husband, man speaking.
qulxmaix: Gathering of the supernatural beings for the performance of dances in the land above. [601]
qume: Unidentified salt water fish, said to be called "Lard-fish" by white men. [825]
Qunqumum ul di dä Sqem, "The Unlooser of Light": One of Raven's names as chief.
qupstämm: 1—The ability of a chief to sit down ceremonially in virtue of the goods distributed for his seat, the ground over which he walks, and other requirements.
2—The initial establishment of a youth as chief.
quputsälets: Stone axe. [412]
qus: Period of engagement.
Qushila: Qunqo-ts man.
Qusi-lilx: 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—*Kastut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Qusiutsamlaix: Stuax man mentioned in an ancient story.
Qusiwastu-i: Shaman's name of a *Stuax* woman.
Qusiwus, "Begrimed": Name of a copper often cast into fire.
qualts: Unidentified (and probably mythical) type of lizard, allegedly about four feet long, found near Dean Channel. [825]
qualsm, *vocative*, *qualsu*; *plural*, *älqualsu:* Eldest brother or sister. [601]
Qus'hums: Name, in the Bella Bella language, given to a wooden woman made by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
qualilx: Gull. [825]
qual'mu'hs, "Eldest": Term of respectful address to Porcupine as senior of all animals.
Qualmalelin, "The Mover": Name given to their house by one of the first groups of settlers at *Tälio* in the beginning of time.
Qualna: Term from which the Anglicized "Kwatna" is derived: Generic name for the villages at Kwatna Harbour, Burke Channel. [103]*
Qualnaus'hs: Chief living on the upper *Tsowat* in the beginning of time.
quanä-uxta: Large box used for boiling olachen. [415]
Quaqa: Village south-west of the head of South Bentinck Arm.
Quaqmaii: Place on Schooner Pass.
Quaqmaxilla: Stuax name of a Bella Coola man.
quathachum: Marks made to commemorate an event, such as carvings at chiefs' meeting-place, virtually a *memorial*. [211]●
quathuxum: Figure representing crest.

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sluxqaliku': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
Stē·tsxom: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
stcuq": That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
Stcitoma: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being. [573]
2—Sleep, intangible *kusiut* prerogative.
stciusnăm: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [585]
Stcqwastlustkwi, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]
ste·ptl: Shadow.
stetqwmas: Hammer, *archaic.* [412]
stekas: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law.
sliatmalqs: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other. [601]
stilwu: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
stip: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
shlkx: 1—Caribou hide.
2—Thong made of caribou hide. [825]
shxom: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
sitaxkt: Caribou.
sihms: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
Sihmsila: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
sihmstā or *sihmstānalos:* Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
sihmstaliktsta: Body.
sihmstanalosăm: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Stixwaxwakniman·a: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Stixwaxwakanam: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
siska: Mountain goat grease. [824]
siskalaya: Castor.
Siskiut, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Slakla: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
sismas: Octopus. [825]
Sloaklas: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
sloquasma: Red rock paint. [386]
slsla: Singer's baton.
slsulk: Text.
slla·qaxs: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones. [823]
stuin: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
Stuxs: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story. [262]
stutum: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
stutusaiks: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
Sly', "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
sukwalt: Black raspberry. [824]
sulstu: Ocean.

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not returnable by X to his wife's family. A question on this point was regarded as highly amusing. If used for investment-gifts, the presents received in return are given to X, not to his wife's relations. 556* 583

A speaker, acting on instructions from the brother or other member of X's wife's family, also announces what names, portions of myth-prerogatives, or other privileges she is bestowing on her husband. After that the people disperse, although they are free to re-enter the house, where, during the afternoon, arrangements are being made for the elaborate ceremonial which takes place that night. 556*

Towards dusk the guests reassemble and take their places as before. Part of the goods which X proposes to give away has been brought in, and, aided by members of his family, he busies himself recounting and making final plans for its distribution. As the Bella Coola have no system of writing, accurate division of goods at a potlatch causes considerable difficulty and worry to the donor. A slighted guest will feel aggrieved, and the sacred nature of the rite will have been subjected to insult if arrangements are not satisfactory. The first business is the settlement of debts by X to the members of his own village. He may perhaps have borrowed fifty blankets ten years previously from a certain individual whom he now intends to repay, with foreign guests as witnesses to the transaction. X always endeavours to reimburse with as large a premium as possible, because by so doing he displays his nobility of mind to the assemblage; but if he can restore only the amount borrowed, or the same with a small increase, there will be no trouble such as might occur should he fail to return at least the principal. When the debt has been settled with interest the matter is at an end, for there is no compulsion upon the man who receives the additional sum to repay this with interest in his turn. The amount previously lent, and the occasion, are always publicly announced, so that all are made aware of his generosity with regard to interest. [212] [578] 426 556*

In Kimsquit it was customary at this stage of the proceed- 556* 184

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(see Plate 23). So, too, wooden representations of coppers are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are commemorated in this way, a father often places over his daughter's grave pictures of the goods used to rebuy her from her husband; wooden plaques representing coppers are commonly used for this purpose.[24] Such symbols are usually cut down after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for them to remain standing too long. The function of this type of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person as judged by the riches given away by him, or on his behalf, during his life-time. With the introduction of writing, the Bella Coola have been quick to recognize it as an easy means for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In consequence, signs are often painted and erected, giving in figures a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent introduction has been the tombstone. One of these is often set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate his memory, and a representation of his crest to record his ancestral history. Such a memorial combines the functions of the first and third types.

211 556 * 764 769 [532] [177] [212] [532]

As the carpenters labour at the memorials, other arrangements for the ceremony proceed apace. As at a potlatch, the fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited repeatedly to his house for the performance of *sisaok* dances, but this feature is often omitted, especially if there are no neophytes to be initiated. The mask to be worn by the deceased relative must be prepared in secret; or if several are to be commemorated at the single ceremony, one must be made ready for each. As the time draws near, envoys are dispatched to invite foreign guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This has been customary for many years, but during the period when no features of the potlatch were allowed at a memorial potlatch, the latter was sometimes carried out in the presence of the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the

556 * 769 [575] [203] [609]

[24]The National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, has specimens of these wooden coppers.

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to the aesthetic, their skill in dancing and dramatics is note- 105
worthy: no one who has witnessed a native dance can fail to [535]
have been impressed by the performance of the participants
and the stage-craft of the carpenters. The fact that no system [538]
of writing had ever been devised has prevented the establish- [212]
ment of a native literature, but the practice of passing down [153]
an extensive folklore by word of mouth shows their narrative
powers as well as their faculty for remembering details. At
present it is difficult to appreciate what must have been their
energy in earlier times when they faced the struggle for exist-
ence, armed with stone tools. Abundant salmon gave them [226]
adequate food, but only when weirs had been built with great
labour. Though game was plentiful, the hunter was equipped [224]
with nothing more formidable than a bow and arrow. The
simplest task required patience and skill undreamed of by the
average white man. If the reader will allow his imagination
to carry him backwards two hundred years, he will realize that
the mere provision of food and clothing necessitated constant
effort and ceaseless exertion.

Hand in hand with many admirable characteristics, the 356
Bella Coola display others which strike the white man as
unprepossessing. A first impression is the untidiness of their
houses. Exteriorly, they are often fairly neat, but confusion
reigns within. Clothing, instead of being hung up, is left lying
on the floor; bed-coverings are piled carelessly; dirty dishes
cover the tables; dogs and children swarm over the floor; flies
abound; all is dirty and slovenly. The house itself may be
uncompleted; a window lacks glass and has been boarded up;
the roof leaks, or the steps are falling down. Nor are the
surroundings more attractive. There is one struggling flower- [247]
bed in the village, but elsewhere the houses are surrounded by [351]
wastes of mud where horses and cattle wander, dogs prowl, and [231]
children play. In the distance the mountain peaks rise in
splendour, but near at hand all is squalid and unkempt.

They are only slightly more particular about their personal 515
appearance. Dirt does not distress them. They wash occa-

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Indians from both of these areas were interviewed and it was found that, except for minor details in certain beliefs, their customs were identical with those of the Bella Coola proper. Accordingly, in this monograph, the term "Bella Coola" will be taken to include the inhabitants, not only of that valley, but of South Bentinck Arm and the head of Dean Channel. Those living on South Bentinck Arm will be referred to as *Tāl·io* people, the Bella Coola term for them; those of Dean Channel as Kimsquit, the name by which they are generally known. It is an anglicized form of the word *Kimgkwit*, meaning "Canyon," by which the Bella Bella designate the people of Dean River. 101 619

VILLAGES ON SOUTH BENTINCK ARM

(28) *Sātlia:* on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the point that marks its junction with North Bentinck Arm. Food was obtained from an ocean fish-trap.[11] Long deserted except as a summer camp. 361 [226]

(29) *Qankilst*, "Island": east side of South Bentinck Arm, slightly north of the island opposite the Hot Springs on the west side of the fiord. The town took its name from this island. In summer the numerous inhabitants lived immediately opposite it, at a place where they had an ocean salmon-trap; in winter they moved to a fortified spot at the base of a mountain slightly farther to the north. This village was blotted out by a landslide one spring long ago, and the few survivors were unable to re-establish it. [133] [226] [221] [731]

*(30)[12] *Tsaoltmem:* on the east side of the fiord about four miles above the last-named. A small town, whose inhabitants lived on the catch from their ocean fish-trap; it was recently deserted. [226]

[11]Ocean fish-traps work as follows:—A pen is made by a series of stakes, into which the salmon enter at high tide. It is then closed and, as the falling tide lays bare the mud, the imprisoned fish can be scooped out by hand or in hand-nets.

[12]Mackenzie did not visit either South Bentinck Arm, or Kimsquit, but it will be convenient to continue the use of asterisks to mark those towns which are said to have been inhabited at that time. [175]

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533 of each song dances to it. Anyone who has enough food to
535 provide a meal for all is glad to invite his neighbours to such
574 an affair, but the singers and heralds can force a stingy man to act as host. Everyone knows his neighbour's resources and the singers have no hesitation in going to the house of a man with an ample supply of food and beginning to beat out songs
[203] there. The heralds are quick to see what is happening and
[626] call the people, with the result that the involuntary host is compelled to provide a meal in order not to be thought mean and churlish. Without waiting for the singers to take the
[203] initiative, heralds likewise often invite people to the house of a man whom they know to be well provided with food.

During the summer, the necessity of living in camps of
221 salmon makes it impossible to hold many dances, although one
796 of the non-sacred type just described takes place whenever there is a lull in the fishing. In the early autumn, when ber-
556 ries, fish, and game are abundant, the thoughts of chiefs turn
796 to potlatches and the lengthy preliminaries are begun. At this season, too, a chief who lacks sufficient wealth to invite foreign
[221] guests, calls in his neighbours for a *nuxnt* dance and initiates
[575] some of his young relatives into that society. The ritual,
[535] described in the last chapter, resembles that of a potlatch except that no new house is constructed, there is no return of a dead relative, and the ceremonial connected with the coming of foreigners is necessarily omitted. In some cases a chief performs this type of rite a year before he proposes to hold a potlatch, and explains that he is doing so because he will be unable to give presents to the inhabitants of his own village
[426] at the later affair. Gifts so distributed are returnable with interest, though it is not obligatory for recipients to do this in time for the donor to make use of their repayment at his potlatch.

Ceremonials of this nature occupy the Bella Coola during the early autumn, while in winter *kwist* dances take place
[575] almost nightly. When they are over, it is time for the non-
[535] sacred variety of *a'alt* performances, and for another type of rite, *nusāxkāmx*.

APPENDIX A

MECHANICAL PROCESSES

NO attempt was made to study either the material culture of the Bella Coola, or their methods of manufacturing, but information on some points was obtained incidentally. All sociological and religious features connected therewith have already been described. 121

THE TAKING AND PREPARATION OF OLACHEN

The run of olachen, eulachon, comes about the end of April, and as many as possible are caught. In preparation, nets, ale'x^u, are brought out from the house where they have been stored during the winter, examined and repaired. If necessary, new ones must be manufactured out of nettle (lone) fibre laid away by the women for this purpose. By rolling [illegible] are then interwoven, making a finished cord capable of resisting great strain. The nets are constructed by the men. The type used at the present time, which is said not to differ from that formerly employed, consists of a purse-like sack, oval in cross-section, open at the wider end and tapering very gradually to the other, which is closed. The total length is about thirty feet, the diameter at the open end about eight feet, and at the closed end about three feet. A new net is dipped in a mixture of boiled hemlock-bark to darken it, and then boiled in a solution of willow-bark to prevent the knots from slipping. 227 226 221 [illegible] 462 286 386

The setting out of a net is not an easy task, as two or three men agree to work as partners. In the present depressed days, property rights are not respected and each group selects a suitable spot. The best location is where the water is about three feet deep and runs rapidly, but without ripples, over a smooth piece of the bottom; such a place is called a *ckilip*. When the fish begin to run plentifully, the partners paddle out to set their net, taking with them four poles, each about ten feet in length. The weight of a full net is tremendous, so the poles have to be driven down at least six feet, a difficult task on account of the stony bottom. Selecting the exact spot, one of four posts, *ckilpiles*, is set upright and held in position by being tied to a cross-piece, *ewdiqwm*, fastened to the canoe for the purpose. While his two partners hold the craft steady, the third man begins to pound down the stake, metal mauls are now commonly used, but in former times this work was always done with an unhafted stone maul, *lowama*. The fishermen relieve one another intermittently until the top of the pole has been driven down to within 224 496 429 178 412

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301 of the older people remember seeing in their youth another type, *ikun*, with a high raised prow; this may have been identical with the *mika* which others describe as having an elevated bow and a low stern. An entirely different craft was the *tsuhnu'i*, named from one of the geese, [125] probably the white-fronted goose. A strip of maple fastened along each side caught the water in moving, with a sound like that of the peculiar cooing flight of the bird. The bow was often carved in the form of a [532] bird's head and the stern in that of a tail to further the resemblance. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of these canoes, though some had heard of them from their grandparents. The large, open type of canoe made by the Haida was known to the Bella Coola, but not constructed by them. Sails were used on all ocean-going canoes; they were usually of matting, though skins sewn together were occasionally employed.

501 Canoes are occasionally lashed together. In several *kwiat* dances a [illegible] 535 planks crossing over two canoes, near the bow and stern, thus fastening them together. Planking is laid on the two supports and a platform so constructed. Careful inquiries showed that this fastening was merely a temporary arrangement; the booms were not bound in any particular manner, nor was there any fixed distance between the craft. Sometimes 501 the same expedient was used for transport when the load was too heavy [171] for two canoes separately, a device which is said to have been used more commonly by the tribes of the outer coast than the Bella Coola. Canoes lashed together are termed *ts'awnia*.

Rafts, *tsuhnu'a*, consisting of rough logs fastened together with cross-pieces, were commonly used on the lakes of the interior, and occasionally for river work when canoes were unavailable and there was no time to make them. Another expedient in similar emergencies was to [177] make bark canoes, such as are still constructed by the Carriers. The Bella Coola regard the construction of these as definite copying, and do not profess to have as much skill as their teachers whose canoes, it is said, can be folded for portaging. There is a tradition that, many generations ago, a few clever Bella Coola knew how to make skin canoes.

THE PREPARATION OF CEDAR-BARK

314 Early spring is the time to *cuculmuh*, that is, to gather the inner bark [221] of the cedar. Men occasionally assist in the task, though this is really [462] woman's work. The worker selects a small cedar, choosing one about [412] six inches in diameter, with smooth trunk and relatively free from knots. With a knife she makes a horizontal incision in the bark, two or three feet from the ground, sometimes girdling the sapling. Then she inserts her

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sion by repeating loudly a few words, or even phrases, from the speeches being delivered, or calling on the audience to notice what has just been said and to listen attentively. A white man would be annoyed at such interruptions, but the Bella Coola consider them evidences of attentiveness. 203 556*

The making of comments is a duty performed at every type of ceremony, but it is indispensable at potlatches; since a chief depends on the heralds to emphasize and explain the points of his family history which are being displayed. One intelligent man likened their functions to a compass, constantly guiding the course of ceremonial life. Without a herald a chief would be as useless as a ship tossed on the ocean with no hand to steer. Although the principal duty of heralds is to extol the actions of a chief, they can, and are expected to, deride one who fails to carry out the customary requirements. Cases have occurred in which influential men have so far forgotten their function of generosity as to fail to invite their fellows after killing a deer or other large animal; or women have declined to share their abundant berries. Nothing is said at the time, but when next the people have come together for some ceremony, a herald refers to the omission under so slim a disguise that everyone is aware of his meaning. This public ridicule lowers the prestige of a chief to such an extent that he is careful not to offend again. Not many years ago, a certain Kimsquit chief failed to ask others to share some mountain goats which he had killed; at the first opportunity a herald referred to himself as *Yaki*, Mountain Goat, and all present realized that he was really alluding to the one who had been remiss. 203 556* 558 626 [224] [222]

Heralds must exercise care in their witticisms at the expense of chiefs because, unless public opinion is with them, the point of the remark is lost, and they expose themselves to the wrath of the person offended. Nevertheless, heralds always strive to cause merriment, and often take risks with this aim in view. They try to make humorous remarks, and also to cause amusement by their antics. As already described, the donor of a potlatch may throw to one of them a dish containing liquid food 203 522 556*

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quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type. 424 767 463

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly validated before she can function. One of these is *Stlxwaxwak-nimdn-a*, another is *Ło'yə*. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditized. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to ripen the berries. 222 424 [463] [551] [562] [532] [789]

"Get ready to pick red elderberries [or whatever species is ripe] tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. As far as could be learnt, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker; obedience seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared. [688] [183]

THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring validation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors confirmed as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal on them of professional names. At the present time, it is 701 [424] [463] [431] [551]

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the front-door facing the river, but has to leave the house 784
through the trap beneath the enclosure where she sleeps. The 881
Bella Coola consider it unthinkable for a girl to disregard these prohibitions, but if this should happen, she would be chased home by her parents, by the Guardian of the River, or, in fact, by any elderly member of the community. The strongest [761]
reason for respecting these regulations is the belief that disobedience brings death; no one knows how it is inflicted, but a careless girl soon dies. During this period she cannot eat [262]
fresh salmon, though she is allowed them if they have been smoked for four or five days. Her scanty meals are brought to her in the enclosure where she is virtually a prisoner. It is true [783]
that she can leave it and wander in the woods, but her comrades avoid her as being in an unclean condition of which they are afraid, and she is barred from taking part in all activities by the river which constitute so large a part of the life of the Bella Coola. A girl cannot pick berries during this time, as no [222]
more would grow in the valley which she had thus defiled; she must not touch anyone, nor allow anyone to touch her; she [573]
must not pass in front of a man; she must go to bed before everyone else in the house, and be the last to arise. The danger [867]
of breaking some taboo is so great that it is safer for a girl to remain within her enclosure where her mother, and other old women, gather to tell her the many things which it is fitting for an adult woman to know. This seclusion is not pleasant, but it unquestionably serves to emphasize the importance of married life to which it is a prelude. The writer remembers an occasion when a Bella Coola family was eating tasty fresh salmon while one of the daughters, who had recently reached adolescence, watched enviously. Her grandfather rose and gave the child an orange, remarking that in his youth little girls did not receive such dainties to ameliorate their lot.

Adolescent girls wear certain distinctive articles of clothing 881
and ornaments. The most noticeable is a skull-cap bound [292]
with grass; this is the only time in a woman's life that a hat is [301]
worn. She also wears ear-rings, each consisting of a neat [439]
1 [ie - one year after puberty - ANALYST]

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[824] *kak'telp:* Tree, probably birch.
Kalasdak': One of the first men to settle at *Q̓wiyai* in the beginning of time.
Kaliaks: One of the first men to settle at *Snulsli* in the beginning of time.
Kalkum: Bella Bella woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Kalotl: Kimsquit man.
[222] *Kalqam:* *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[262] *kalqam:* The gathering of fern root for food.
Kalqsmakmm: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
Ka'lan·a: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[585] *kalumbilumsta:* Public oration, previous to marriage, of the bride's ancestral myths in order to cause children to be born.
[842] *kalqwem:* Ritual on the day before a marriage, including the oration of myths by the bride's relatives, the choosing of assistants, and the singing of songs of all kinds.
[576] *Kamai·ts:* 1—Mysterious supernatural woman.
2—"Please," or "Thank You," a word implying benison.
*Kamalsong*w*:* 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nulkax* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxalst* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of the first sky that fell in the beginning of time.
Kamalalkl: Lazy supernatural beings who accompanied *Nodkymm.*
Kamalqwax: Man mentioned in an origin myth of *Alqalaxl.*
Kamatslaks: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
*Kamatsong*w*:* House brought to earth by first settlers at *Nuxalst* in the beginning of time.
[824] *kamk':* Kelp.
[227] *kamola:* Cod hook.
kamut: Termination.
[824] *kanan·i:* 1—Shelf fungus.
2—*Kusiut* dance in which a shelf fungus is used.
Kanilkas: One of the first women to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
kan·imut: Ceremonial error.
Kanxia: Herald of a *Tal·ia* chief in the beginning of time.
kankos: Trap.
Kannslaliam: 1—Daughter of the first settlers at *Satlia* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of *Ojs*[illegible] one of the first settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the [illegible]eginning of time.
[264] *kaolikta:* Assemblage of the people for a meal of any kind.
Kaospoklamm: One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
Kaowikudjan·a: Supernatural berry-picker resident in the land of ghosts.
[825] *kapai:* 1—Hump-back salmon.
2—Convex transverse beam near front and rear of house.
3—Mountain on the Dean River.
Kaqeix: *Suaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kasana: Man mentioned in an ancient story of Raven.
[756] *kasiut:* The seeking for shaman's power by a lad.
[825] *kasmia:* Golden eagle.
kathm: Top, toy.
[524]

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133 tains. From each pocket between these mountains an ice-
cold affluent comes swirling down to the main river. The
137 predominant tree in the river valleys is the cedar[4] which in
many cases attains great girth and height. Cottonwoods
flourish in places, and everywhere there is an almost impene-
trable undergrowth of devil's club, berry bushes, and other
shrubbery of almost tropical density. On the lower slopes of
the mountains, moss-festooned pines and spruces are the most
common trees, gradually becoming smaller and fewer until the
133 barren peaks are reached. The mountains rise so precipitously
that their snowcaps and glaciers seem to overhang the valley,
a narrow ribbon of green winding far below. The range of
vision from the bank of the river is limited by the all-encircling
mountains. Here and there a distant vista opens up to expose
peak after peak, but on the whole there is a feeling of confine-
ment, in contrast with the open wastes of the upper country
where the Bella Coola rises. Mountains, forests, flowing water,
these are the three dominant impressions of the country (see
Plate 6).

136 The mammals of central British Columbia, although com-
paratively common, have never been of primary importance.
[291] The marten, the wolverine, the lynx, and bears, both black
and grizzly, were formerly hunted for their skins to serve as
[262] cloaks. Deer were killed whenever possible, but formed a
negligible item of diet. The beaver also was prized for its
[439] flesh. The skins of moose and caribou were traded from the
Carrier Indians, but neither of these animals was found in the
[286] Bella Coola area. The mammal of greatest economic impor-
tance was the mountain goat, the wool of which was woven into
[237] blankets. Smoked goat meat was formerly found in every
[251] house and was almost the only flesh available during the
winter. Small game was abundant, but seals were a luxury.
[262] Neither were birds of great importance to the Bella Coola.
[223] Members of the tribe resident near the sea-coast used to kill

[4]Appendix C contains a glossary of the scientific names of the flora and fauna mentioned in this monograph.

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quantities of ducks and geese, and the inhabitants of the inland villages sometimes made hunting expeditions to the nesting places of wild-fowl in the lakes of the interior uplands. Although numbers of birds were sometimes killed in this way, they were never a steady article of diet The same is true of grouse. Always plentiful, these birds vere commonly killed, but never in large numbers.

The basis of the food supply was fish. The river teemed with salmon, which enabled the country to support its relatively large population. Spring, sockeye, hump-back, dog, and cohoe salmon, all entered the river in thousands during the spring and summer, while the steelhead could be caught throughout the year. They were taken in weirs and their flesh smoked for winter use. Throughout the year, salmon was the principal article of diet. Second in importance was the olachen, a fish somewhat resembling a herring, which entered the river in great numbers during April or May. They were taken in purse-like nets,[8] allowed to rot for ten days or two weeks, and then boiled. The grease was skimmed off and kept indefinitely to be used as a relish for other foods. It was always a sign of poverty if a person were obliged to eat berries without olachen grease. Trout and bull-heads were found in the river, but were not sufficiently plentiful to be of importance.

Although no form of agriculture was practised, the Bella Coola used vegetable food to a considerable extent. Berries were abundant; some were eaten raw, but many more were pounded into a pulpy mass and dried in the sun. Cakes prepared in this way kept indefinitely and formed one of the regular winter foods. The bark of the hemlock and cottonwood was eaten, as well as the roots of many plants. In recent years many of these have not been used, so that an investigator is apt to overlook their great importance in early times. Although useless for food, the cedar was the corner-stone of Bella Coola material culture. From its trunk were split out, with wedges, the wide planks which formed

[8] See Appendix A for a description of olachen fishing.

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THE PROFESSION OF HUNTER

224 424 [463] Another profession which is entered by means of an ancestral prerogative is that of hunting. Many Bella Coola have validated their right to this vocation, some by confirming names created by their early ancestors, others by legalizing those brought down from above in the beginning of time. [551] One of the latter is *Lelaimkila*, "The Brusher Off," so-called because the owner is such a successful hunter that he can sweep mountain goats from the mountains as easily as an ordinary person can brush insects from a wall. Unlike the professions of carpenter and singer, it is believed that legalization of a hunter's name always brings success to the holder; [555] perhaps because everyone is more or less successful, it follows that whatever good fortune is achieved by a professional hunter [556] can be attributed to the validation of his prerogative. Others, lacking this assistance, may be proficient, but their success never carries with it the social prestige gained by a man who has distributed goods to substantiate the prerogative.

224 424 184 [177] There is a difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not certain hunting methods are inheritable prerogatives. With the introduction of rifles, these have long been discontinued, and no definite information was obtained regarding the social position of their users. Several of the older men believed that the contrivances depended upon ancestral prerogatives, whereas others stated that they were merely individual discoveries which could have been, and in many cases were, imitated by anyone. It seems probable that most of the following practices are prerogatives, although it may be that they are no more than special hunting devices suitable only in certain areas and, therefore, limited to the members of the ancestral family owning that particular locality.

223 424 The method about which the most definite information was obtained, was one formerly employed by a certain *Nusxalxiq* to catch geese at *Tāl·io*. According to one elderly Bella Coola,

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this practice had been handed down with the name from the 223
beginning of time; another man stated that it was no pre- [424]
rogative and could be used by anyone. The best time for
hunting was at the equinoxes, and *Nusɣalɣiq* always observed [785]
ceremonial chastity in such a way that it terminated at that
date. Before setting out, the hunter prepared a net of the shape shown in the accompanying sketch (Fig. 1). The net was stretched over a wooden framework, about ten feet long and four feet wide; counterbalanced by a long and heavy handle. The whole affair was called, "The House-like Thing." Choosing a still night, the hunter used to set out in his canoe paddled by a number of assistants. *Nusɣalɣiq* would place himself in the bow with his net, and in the middle of the craft a small fire was kept burning with [372]
resinous sticks piled beside it so that it could be kindled into bright flames at a moment's notice. As the canoe was slowly paddled along the shore, the geese were half attracted, half repelled by the light. Unwilling to take to flight, they used to swim around at the edge of the illumination and so were guided into some narrow opening of the shore. Then *Nusɣalɣiq* would throw his net so that the end farthest from the handle first touched the water and as the latter came crashing down it imprisoned a number of birds. Others, bewildered by the light and the falling net, tried to fly outwards and were knocked down by the paddlers. These were retrieved at once and the necks of those caught in the net were wrung at leisure. It is said that this method of hunting was almost always successful.

FIG. 1
Goose Net

Another *Tāl·io* hunting device which, however, was not 225
transmitted and may have been merely an individual stroke
of genius, not an inherited prerogative, was employed to kill [424]
seals. The last to use this method was the father's father of
an elderly Bella Coola. This man used to go out at night in a

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* 756 of these demi-gods of antiquity are favourite themes for stories.
538 The powers of the later shamans have been far less than those
of their forefathers, and their exploits have been of a somewhat
[173] different character. Hence it is possible to divide the subject
into three sections:

(1) Shamanism in the distant past.
(2) Modern shamanism.
(3) Shamans from the dead.

SHAMANISM IN THE DISTANT PAST

Information on this phase is contained in stories and a few anecdotes which describe the achievements of ancient demi-gods, endowed with miraculous powers of various kinds. The tales are similar in type to those dealing with the granting of supernatural aid to the unfortunate, so that it is in many cases difficult to differentiate them. As might be expected these narratives are not exact. Frequently the teller does not know from what being the ancient shaman received his power, nor can he explain the abilities described, which are different from, and superior to, those with which he is familiar. In fact it is customary to describe any mythical hero as a shaman.

[424] Tales of this kind can be related by any one; they are not the personal property of a specific family. Many of them, that of *Waowal·is*, for example, are well known and are told and retold constantly.

In addition to information obtained from stories, a few isolated facts are remembered regarding ancient shamans. It
* 756 is thought that various taboos connected with hunting were
● 223 learnt by them in the distant past. Such restrictions and in-
[224] junctions were firmly believed in and strictly adhered to until a few years ago, and many of them are still observed. The usual method of hunting harlequin ducks is, or was until recently, from a canoe, with a sapling set up in the bow to hide the hunter, crouched with bow and arrow in readiness; several shamans, however, were able to kill the birds by merely
[262] waving the butt-end of a paddle towards them. Such power

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would be of enormous value, since the Bella Coola consider these ducks a great delicacy, and say that their flesh resembles that of seals. In fact, when an invitation to a seal feast is given the words used mean, "come to eat harlequin ducks."

756* 262 223

No attempt was made to collect all the shaman stories current in Bella Coola, but the subject is amply illustrated by those gathered, of which the following is representative.

756* 539

The Adventures of Waowal·is

Long, long ago, there dwelt among the people who lived on the shore of Dean Channel and were partly Kimsquit, partly Bella Bella, a mighty shaman, *Waowal·is*. He was a married man with a son just learning to walk, and an adopted one about twelve years old. One day *Waowal·is* told the latter to fetch water, but the lad was lazy and made no motion to obey, so his foster father kicked him angrily. Whereat the boy cried out:

"What are you hurting me for? Why don't you kick your wife or your partner? They are always sleeping together when you are away."

Waowal·is apparently paid no attention to this, merely saying:

"Stop crying. I am sorry I kicked you so hard. Run along and get the water."

Waowal·is, who was a great hunter, began to get his canoe ready for a seal hunting trip, and told his adopted son to accompany him. The two set off within a few hours. *Waowal·is* owned a stick of which one end contained the power of causing death, and the other of restoring life; he had only to make the motions of throwing this stick at a living creature, death-dealing end foremost, and the one at which it was pointed fell dead. Many seals had been killed by this means when *Waowal·is* asked the boy:

"What was it you said when I kicked you?"

By this time the lad had regained his temper and was sorry he had disclosed what he knew.

"I said nothing," he answered, "but gave a shout of pain."

"You liar," *Waowal·is* calmly replied. "You said that my wife was sleeping with my partner."

The boy, realizing that all was known, answered truthfully:

"Yes, I did say that. I have often seen her doing so when you were absent."

It was late afternoon by this time and *Waowal·is* at once headed back to the village, which they reached soon after dark. No one saw their approach, so *Waowal·is* told the boy to stay with the canoe and the seals

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The religious concepts of the Bella Coola are not limited to explanations of strange apparitions, nor to knowledge of a wide range of supernatural beings, anthropomorphic or zoomorphic. Many in whom they believe are invisible and intangible, though none the less potent. Almost every incident of life is attributed to the help or hindrance of a supernatural agency. If a fisherman constructs a salmon-weir, with a considerable amount of work, the Bella Coola ascribe his success to the assistance of some supernatural being or supernormal power; mere labour would never have sufficed. If a man has phenomenal success in hunting, it is because the supernatural has helped him in some way. It is not necessary that an anthropomorphic being should appear; they seldom do, but none deny that in some form or another supernatural ones have aided the enterprise.

This attitude is clearly evident in Bella Coola beliefs concerning the construction of canoes. Many professions depend upon prerogatives without which a person cannot hope to succeed. This is not true of canoe-makers, although it is a great advantage to one of them if *Yulätimut*, the Master Carpenter, appeared to his ancestors in the beginning of time. Even without this in many cases a man can succeed in making a canoe if he is aided by a supernatural teacher, or Model Maker. No one knows much about this being, nor even whether there is more than one of them, but it is through his kindly intervention that a man is able to complete his complicated task. If carpenters who have left a half-finished canoe in the woods, hear adze beats, as they are returning to it, they remain away from the spot, knowing that their work is being done with superhuman efficiency by a supernatural artisan. Under such circumstances even a solitary man can construct one of the large, ocean-going canoes. About 1880 an expert carpenter, named *Yelxhn*, was making

stated definitely that his mother had told him Mackenzie came down the Dean River when her uncle was a young man. As if to confirm this statement he added the inconsequential detail that Mackenzie, in dire straits for food, killed and ate a dog, and that he was given a marmot-skin blanket.

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human wearer belongs to a sphere differing from that of super- 776*
natural animals and is dangerous to them. Consequently, if 789
worn clothing be thrown on a fire it repels unpleasant visitors.
Other powerful protections are false hellebore, and smoked [824]
salmon roe. A wise hunter always carries these and if he sees
a dangerous creature such as a *sninq*, he chews the two together
and spits them towards the peril. Needless to say, if a kindly
animal is seen, the hunter does not drive it away by these
methods. Why false hellebore should be so effective is a [824]
matter of wonder to the Bella Coola themselves, for as a rule
it is the human essence attached to objects which gives them
their strength over the supernatural. Thus the most powerful
of all charms are pads that have been used by women during [841]
their menses. If a woman travels on the ocean she is careful
to carry some of them with her ready to repel any danger from
the supernatural water beings.[27]

The manner in which the Bella Coola regard mythical 776*
animals and other evidences of the supernatural is illustrated 789
by the following practice. Hunters always want to know the
direction of the wind, and when the breeze is too slight to be 821
discernible they blow upwards a small amount of eagle down, [224]
which is so light that the faintest breath of air will bear it
down wind. What the logical white man considers a natural
phenomenon, appears to the Bella Coola as miraculous; eagle
down, stripped from the dead bird by human hands and stored
for some time within a house, has become so humanized that
it can conquer supernatural powers to indicate the direction
of the wind.

The mythical monsters already described are not the only 776*
animals regarded as supernatural by the Bella Coola. They 825
believe that in the beginning *Ālquntām* created men and beasts
at the same time and in the same place, giving the former the 773
greater share of power, but not exiling the latter to a different
plane of existence. In those early days, the semi-supernatural

[27] This matter will be described more fully in connection with Magic; see vol. I, chap. xi.

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men to see these transformed beings habitually, but even now, or at any rate until a few years ago, shamans were able to lift the intervening veil. From accounts given by those who have had such experience, the Bella Coola believe that *Alquntăm* gave to birds and animals, as well as to humans, the boon of fire, and it is only the unworthiness of men that makes them unable to see the smoke rising from the houses of different creatures. In former times, fortunate hunters were able to do so, and consequently had phenomenal success. The smoke that ascends from the fires of different animals corresponds in colour to that of its owner; a mountain goat's is white, a beaver's, black, a squirrel's, red, a wolf's, gray, and so on. When a goat stamps the earth on a mountain, it rings hollow, as indeed it is to those animals, for their home is within; and when a hunter loses his quarry entirely, it is because the latter has entered its house. Shamans are sometimes able to hear the gatherings of animals under the peaks. Like human beings, they dance to the accompaniment of music, and in all respects behave like them. They have their times of joy and sorrow, of success and failure. When ill they are cured by their own shamans, grizzly bear, *sminq*, and wolverine; these three also dance to welcome the dead. All animals and birds are like brothers, able to converse with each other and living harmoniously together in that other part of their life which only shamans have seen. Porcupine is the oldest, and a hunter always tries to kill one before passing to more important prey. The animals know about the actions of human beings and show their aversion to certain habits by refusing to allow themselves to be seen by anyone practising them. For example, they do not like people to drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked, and no hunter would dream of partaking of that food. Bella Coola mythology is full of accounts of human beings who, with supernatural aid, were able to penetrate to the homes of animals. Tales of this type would be unintelligible without understanding the attitude of the people to the animal and bird kingdoms.

776* 825 [756] [773] [823] [756] [224] [784] [224] [773] [538]

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*776 825 [774] and leapt away apparently uninjured. The Bella Coola say that yearling goats have very strong spirits (I, p. 94) which make possible such actions.

Though generally callous with regard to the sufferings of animals, the Bella Coola are usually careful not to kill more than they need; and knowledge of the supernatural power [224] possessed by animals sometimes leads men to treat them with [226] great consideration. For example, if a bull-head is caught in an olachen net in the river, the fisherman throws it back into the water, saying:

"I have saved you; please do the same for me."

The following incident, believed without question by the Bella Coola, shows the manner in which bull-heads help those who have often befriended them. About 1880 a Kimsquit fisherman, *Ăltakăn·i*, fell into a rapids where he was in great danger of drowning. A bull-head, seeing his plight and mindful of former help, increased his size and shoved *Ăltakăn·i* ashore with its nose.

"I have saved you, mortal," said the bull-head, as he did so.

The ability to increase in size is not restricted to fish, but is shared by small mammals and reptiles. Lizards, for instance, four feet in length, are said to live permanently in a pond about seven miles below Kimsquit; they are termed *çualăs*.

Toads, too, çan aid mortals. If a man see a snake devouring one of them he will, if he is wise, kill the snake and say to the toad:

"Please help me when I am in difficulties."

A toad never forgets its obligations and if that man should fall into a river when the toad is near, the latter will grow large enough to drag him forth.

539 *776 825 755 [753] Snakes are regarded with aversion and disgust. This may be in part due to the belief that they cook for *Ăllăt·iaist* (I, p. 49), but more because these reptiles enter the stomachs of human beings. The Bella Coola believe that snakes are the offspring of a supernatural Mother of Snakes, a mythical being of dread powers. The following story illustrates their beliefs

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concerning the danger of near approach to this creature: 539

Ḱwilais was a man of mixed lineage, Kimsquit and *Pes*, near Newitte. With several companions he was gathering berries when he stepped into a hole and felt numerous tiny creatures crawling over his legs. Looking down, he saw that they were small snakes, that had just been hatched from a Mother of Snakes. He fled, terrified, pursued by the reptiles, which he managed to keep off to some extent by brushing behind him a branch of spiny swamp gooseberry, a known deterrent. When he had out-distanced the snakes he called his companions, told them of his adventure, and returned home. There he repeated the tale. Though *Ḱwilais* did not know it, many of the snakes had succeeded in entering his stomach. Presently he began to swell; his body became larger and larger until he was in danger of bursting. The reptiles within were breeding rapidly. Luckily, one of his fellow villagers knew the proper remedy. A raised bed was made for the sufferer about five feet from the ground where *Ḱwilais* stretched himself on a number of thorny branches, while his friends built a fire of devil's club and swamp goose-berry twigs so that he was fumigated in the smoke. Moreover, to give greater potency, they cast on the flames soiled clothing and pounded cedar-bark pads stained with menstrual blood; even this was of no avail, so finally a woman squeezed out into a vessel some of her menstrual blood which *Ḱwilais* drank. This killed the snakes. The patient began to vomit, emitting a mass of wriggling serpents, and at once began to grow thinner, soon regaining his normal condition. Had he not been able to eject the reptiles, he would have died.

776 * 825 755 [789] [753] [841]

Ḱwilais was not the only one to have this unpleasant experience. Many others have suffered in the same way, but in no case has anyone been able to feel the snakes at the actual place or time of entry.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the power possessed by animals are clearly shown by their attitude with regard to killing them. Man is immortal, so are animals. *Ālqantām* decreed that beasts and birds should serve as food for mankind, but it is only their clothing, their worthless "blanket of flesh," as the Bella Coola express it, which they give to hunters. In the autumn leaves appear to die, but every spring they are reborn. Similarly, when an animal is slain, it merely discards its visible self while its spirit[a] ascends

825 775 224 [774]

[a] *Xemdzedz*, see vol. I, p. 94.

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[775] [774] to the land above whence, in course of time, it comes down to earth again to reanimate a new body.* Consequently, the success of a hunter does not indicate his mastery over an

[785] animal so much as the latter's good-will in allowing itself to be slain by one who has pleased him by ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), or by one who has been endowed with skill by some other supernatural being. Men are accordingly careful to obey the wishes of their quarry. Long ago, a mountain goat told a shaman that he and his friends liked coat, so a hunter who has killed one always smears two bands of ashes across its face from the right eye to the left side of the mouth. Another shaman was told by a bear never to use

[411] owl-feathered arrows since none of his fellows killed with such would return. Plumes of other birds have since been used, preferably those of mallard ducks. Sometimes the wishes of an animal require considerable ritual. For example, when a bear is killed, the carcass is stretched upon neatly arranged evergreen boughs and skinned. The hunter reverses the pelt so that the tail lies near the neck, with the whole hanging loosely over the body. He pats it four times, as if pressing the skin back into place, and says:

[789] "Please don't linger. Go home and return," or,

"Please come to me tomorrow. Tell your brothers, your sisters, your uncles, your aunts and your other relations to come to me."

Should this be omitted, the animal is likely to stand up, skinless, shake itself, causing the pelt to return to its place, and run away. Yearling mountain goats are especially prone to do this, as already mentioned. Even if an animal does not show its resentment by escaping in this way, it often refuses to return to earth unless the proper rites have been performed over its carcass.

[262] Bears have another aversion: they do not like to be eaten by men. So the hunter leaves the skinned body for wolves

[185] *There are doubters in Bella Coola as in every other community, and several of the older men express disbelief in the immortality of animals.

5:96:Swanton E-5 (1922-1924)948
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and eagles whom he invites to dinner it. In so doing, he does not address them by their usual names, but calls Wolf, *Ilkwa-i-gawm*, "The Devourer of Meat Which He Does Not Kill," that is, "The Biting Scavenger"; and Eagle, *Ancikiyawmamum*, "The Constant Eater," that is, "The One Who Eats before He Is Hungry." Next morning the fish has been devoured and the hunter believes his guests have eaten it. Animals and birds, being supernatural, can hear the words of mortals and read their thoughts. The significance of these actions is that animals have the power to conceal themselves, so a hunter must gain their favour before he can hope to succeed. Belief in the efficacy of such customs as these is rapidly falling into decay and bear meat is now often eaten, but the skull is carefully placed in an evergreen tree near where the animal is slain, so that it may come back to life.

Fish, likewise, are immortal. In autumn the streams are choked with dead and dying salmon, but the Bella Coola know that they are not really dead, they have merely shed their worthless blankets in accordance with *Alquntin*'s decrees. At that season of the year he causes the rivers to rise so that they will sweep away these useless and outworn cloaks.

Although the salmon, from the kindness of their hearts, allow human beings to feast on their blankets, yet they have certain likes and dislikes which are carefully observed. From the time the first spring salmon appear (I, pp. 770-771) until the rising of the July moon, women are not allowed to eat them or to go near the river. Men may eat the fish, but instead of throwing the bones to dogs, they carefully return them to the river saying:

"Please come back tomorrow."

If this is inconvenient, bones can be thrown into the woods with impunity.

Salmon, like men and animals, live a human-like existence in their homes far beneath the surface of the ocean. They lack and desire earthly objects, especially pounded cedar-bark (see Appendix A) to use as sponges for their children, so the Bella Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

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place where he is not likely to be disturbed, and addresses the supreme god in a loud tone of voice, requesting his assistance. 782

Although prayers can be said at any time of the day, or at any season of the year, there are occasions when they are more potent than at other times. At dawn, for example, a wise young man is accustomed to go alone to the river to wash and pray. He enters the icy water, blows mucus over his hands, and rubs his body vigorously* either with a smooth pebble, or, if it can be obtained, with a stone taken from the stomach of a sea-lion.* As he scours himself, he asks *Mouhaic* to grant him long life, power, success, and strength. On coming from the water, he repeats his request, and then washes himself again. This process is repeated four times, making eight prayers in all. A young man who does this habitually, and in other ways placates the supreme deity, is likely to have success, and may even be given supernatural assistance by one of the many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. The underlying belief is that *Hyoxitin* actually hears the words spoken and, pleased thereby, aids the petitioner either directly, or by strengthening the supernatural elements in his body. [783]

Mouhaic has power over both rain and dry weather, and is petitioned for whichever is desired. When the sun is obscured by rain clouds, the Bella Coola pray: [821]

"Please clear your face, *Mouhaic*," or,

"Please show us your face, we need you."

Before a man starts on a journey, either by canoe or on foot, he always asks help for his undertaking. [484]

"*Mouhaic*," he prays, "Be with me," or "Go before me," or, "Give me what I want."

Corresponding to the importance of the occasion, prayers are always made before the departure of a hunting or war [824] [825] [826] [515] [296] [825] [825]

*Urine was formerly used for washing both the body and clothing. It was believed to the application of these waste, and undoubtedly had a religious significance. Indeed, washing purely for cleanliness was not believed until recently.

**The Bella Coola were that stones are often found in the stomachs of sea-lions. The specimens, considered of great value, were scarce. It was indistinguishable from a semi-mineralized river pebble.

1:36:Howatt K-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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party. Canoes always start soon after dawn, and each member of the expedition is careful to pray before leaving, and also to avoid eating in case food should in any way interfere with the success of the venture. Before reaching their destination, a chief in each canoe draws from a pouch some eagle down brought for the purpose, holds it before his mouth, and blows a little towards each of the four cardinal points, at the same time asking *Mouskais* to smile on the enterprise and grant a safe return. This does not guarantee success, but it is felt that any disaster which may occur would have been more serious if assistance had not been thus requested.

Although *Alquntam*, under the name of *Mouskais*, is the one to whom prayers are most often addressed, petitions are sometimes made to other beings. In the beginning of time, when Raven had superabundant power, mortals frequently sought his assistance. At the present time, he is sometimes asked for aid, in the belief that he may still have some shreds of his former power, or he is a better position than man to intercede with *Mouskais*. If ravens croak when it is raining, people may ask them to request the supreme being to stop the rain; in such cases, a petitioner is careful to address a raven as *Nemakila*, his title as chief, rather than as *Qoas*. In cold winter weather, a raven is sometimes caught alive, its head smeared with grease, and as it is released, the captor says:

"Please end the cold wind, *Nemakila*."

Prayers are also said half humorously, half seriously, on many occasions. When, for example, clothing has become too ragged for further use, it is thrown on a fire with the remark:

"Please come to me again, now."

The thrower does not actually believe that in so doing he is asking help from his clothing, but it gives him a certain sense of satisfaction thus to have expressed his desires.

The prayers above described can be said by anyone, at any time; they are means of propitiation known to the whole community. In addition, information was obtained about two prayers, each of which is the jealously guarded prerogative

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the point between Labouchere Channel and Bentinck Arm, 782
there is danger from treacherous currents, so, when a shaman [193]
passes either of these places, he lays some food on the water [502]
and puffs eagle down into the air as he asks for help. If no [756]
shaman is in the canoe, this is done by the captain.

The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is [796]
Thitdplilde-a, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and
gives power to shamans. Whenever a hunter kills an edible [224]
animal in the forest, he cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws
them into his fire to gain her goodwill. Long, long ago, [773]
Thitdplilde-a appeared to a hunter, seized some of his quarry,
and told him of her wishes with regard to presents; these have
since been obeyed by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of
a man absent in the mountains or at sea throw scraps of food
on the fire and ask the protection of *Thitdplilde-a* for the one
in danger. In this case, it is clear that objects thrown into
flames are received and appreciated by *Thitdplilde-a*.

Mowakaic, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also [796]
given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accom-
panies his words by blowing up into the air small particles of
eagle down. Prayers in connection with the departure of war
or hunting expeditions have already been mentioned, but [484]
before starting on any journey by canoe, the captain is careful [824]
to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and [825]
four of yellow cedar-bark. The blowing upwards of eagle
down is a common accompaniment to all kinds of prayers,
but, if none is available, cedar-bark can be used equally
satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water,
otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella
Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and
considered valuable by *Mowakaic*, but they emphasize and
accompany the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's
sincerity.

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on pre- 795
sents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the 782
land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw

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who, in turn, would pass on the request so that it might reach each member of the party. Not only is it contrary to custom for a commoner to hold intercourse with a chief's wife, but it is unknown for a man to ask another to sleep with his wife, so the youth was surprised and rather frightened. However, he acceded to the request, passed on the instructions, and washed. As he was bathing, a seal appeared in the surf beside him, and he was able to kill it easily. Each in turn behaved in the same manner, washed, and then killed a seal. Next morning, when the chief returned he was delighted that all had turned out in accordance with his hopes. At the same time the wind dropped so that the party was able to return home.

The power which had brought the seals within reach of the men had been engendered in their own bodies by these ritual acts after a rather lengthy period of continence. The Bella Coola believe that such a procedure always increases their strength and ability, therefore giving them a better chance to gain favour from supernatural beings, and to take advantage of opportunities offered. Hunters in particular are careful with regard to their marital life since animals know their acts and thoughts, and hide from one who has not made himself "clean" by continence, its termination, and bathing. *Sxetsta* consists of these three elements, but since continence is the most prominent feature, the term may be translated as "ceremonial chastity."

In its simplest form this comprises merely the three elements already mentioned. The longer the continence, the greater the power engendered by its termination. A man who has practised abstinence for a year has such strength within himself that almost any good fortune may occur, and cases are known in which it has been carried out for even longer periods. More often, an individual practises ceremonial chastity in accordance with a family tradition. One old man gave the following recipe and was most emphatic that it always brought success in hunting and fishing; he added that on the two occasions he had tried it, he had brought back a phenomenal number of skins.

A person planning to set out on an expedition for any pur-

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pose should remain continent for several nights to increase his generative powers. He then selects a time for beginning the rite and on the second and fourth nights from that date sleeps with his wife, holding intercourse repeatedly and vigorously until he is utterly exhausted. Before dawn on the third and fifth days he must wash in the river or in some quiet stream. Then follow four nights of restraint, a further intercourse, and washing before dawn. The period is next increased to eight nights, then twelve, and finally sixteen, each with a similar contact and bathing. The nights of abstinence are thus forty in all, a lucky number. An unmarried man can obtain power in the same manner with the assistance of a female friend; it is the act itself that is vital, not the union of husband and wife.

At the present time, only two Bella Coola are said to know this particular type of ceremonial chastity, which they conceal carefully, even refusing offers to buy their knowledge. It is potent at any time, but especially if the periods of continence have been so arranged that they terminate at one of the solstices. Then, indeed, can a hunter set off with every prospect of success, knowing that the human taint disliked by animals has been removed, and been replaced by a ceremonial cleanliness pleasing to them. If the time terminates at the winter solstice, the hunter should set out immediately; if it ends in June, he must remain away from women after his final intercourse. In September or October, when ready to leave for the hunt, he must sleep beside his wife for the last four nights; each night he must place his leg between hers, and each morning the two must wash together. The best fortune of all is obtained by a man who observes this forty-night period for four successive years.

Another, and more common, count[24] is to observe continence for four nights, followed by intercourse. Immediately afterwards, the man should eat as much devil's club[25] as poi-

[24]The record of nights is kept by notches cut in a stick or by knots on a cord.
[25]Or false hellebore. This latter plant is thought to be so poisonous that the eating of even a twig an inch in length is fatal; a very small amount, however, all that is ever taken, acts as a powerful emetic.

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224 785 sible, selecting small twigs from which the bark and spines have been rubbed off. This acts as an emetic, so that before washing in the morning he has vomited from his stomach all [824] polluting matter, especially any human hair which animals [278] consider particularly unclean. Before dawn he goes to the [783] river and remains beneath the surface as long as possible, irrespective of the coldness of the water. Then he returns slowly to his house. Four nights later the same acts are repeated. These eight nights of continence are followed by two further periods, each of four nights, making a total of sixteen. Thus fortified, a hunter anticipates great success.

785 A person practising ceremonial chastity is in a condition peculiarly susceptible to disaster, and must observe certain restrictions. If, for example, anyone sees him as he returns from washing in the morning, the power which he has been accumulating so laboriously is lost. Owing to this belief, it is customary for a man to wash long before dawn and to come creeping into his house through a hole in the floor. He must always be the last to retire at night, the first to rise in the morning; and he must say nothing about what he is doing. Intercourse is, of course, absolutely forbidden except on the proper nights, and at other times he must not even put his arm around his wife. Failure to obey these restrictions destroys any advantage from [837] ceremonial chastity, while actual disaster follows should a man's wife misconduct herself with anyone else when he is using her for this purpose. If she is unfaithful, her husband is certain to be slain by an animal when hunting, or to slip and be killed on a mountain trail. Animals know all that human beings do [825] or think, and they punish anyone who is unable to perform ceremonial chastity fittingly. Behind these restrictions there 831 is undoubtedly the sentiment that intercourse, held duly and 785 properly at the right time, is not a mere desire of the flesh, but a ceremonial act. Indeed, when the Bella Coola speak of it in [833] connection with ceremonial chastity, they do not use the [195] common term, *e-m*, which has a coarse implication, but *xeldjat* which has a polite and almost sacred implication.

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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *kusiut* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Alqantây* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy abstin-

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tions on this subject always excited them, but every effort was made to verify the following statements.

As with names, the easiest way to understand the rights of the ancestral family in land is by first considering the mythological explanation, which mirrors conditions as they existed at the coming of white men. On reaching this earth the first people are believed to have prospected for suitable settlement sites, places where salmon and olachen could be caught, and if possible, near side valleys where berries were abundant. Here they released the animals and plants which they had brought with them, on which they thenceforth subsisted, in accordance with the supreme deity's instructions. The members of the group pre-empted these areas for themselves. Waste land, far from any village was, and still is, free to anyone. A few years after the first settlements had been made, according to the myths, the supreme god sent down to Kimsquit a certain *Alqantăm* who allotted and marked the territory which was the property of each community; at that time a village consisted merely of a group of the first settlers. No similar myth was recounted for either Bella Coola or *Tăl-io*, although their concepts with regard to land are identical with those of the Kimsquit. This really gave a sacred sanction to the possession of land, an important matter to a people so religiously inclined as the Bella Coola.

The system of land tenure follows the same somewhat abstruse principles that govern the possession of names in an ancestral family. Hunting and collecting grounds appropriated by the first people, or by their immediate descendants, are the property of their offspring, the ancestral family. The Bella Coola term for such an area is *sal'lcam*, also called, *nxumuta*, which means "Food Supply."

It will thus be seen that a hunting-area is not the property of any single individual, but belongs to a group of persons, most of whom live in a single town. The relatives of a man who intends to give a potlatch usually give him, temporarily, exclusive rights to the hunting-ground. As with names, there

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He is especially rich in caribou-skins, used for foot covering, and goat-skins, so treasured for their wool.[7] He and his wife have laid up abundant food, and, most important of all, his wife's family is wealthy. Rumours have spread that X will soon give a potlatch and perhaps one or more foreign chiefs has given him a large cone-shaped whistle, such as is used in *nuaek* ritual (see Plate 12). These whistles, called *qomo·ts*, are often referred to as the "breath" or "voice" of a chief; they are also called *slopsta*, the "heart" or "wind" of a chief; a third designation is *nalwinuts*. X carefully conceals a whistle in one of his boxes. Such a present expresses the kindly feeling existing between those akin to one another in that they have risen to a position of eminence above the common crowd. Its receipt spurs a man to greater efforts to amass the wealth necessary for giving a potlatch by keeping before his eyes the realization of what another has done. A rival chief never gives such a present. X returns each whistle secretly at the time of his potlatch.

Early in the autumn X decides that he has almost enough wealth. To complete the essential amount he will not hesitate to borrow from his friends. It is most unusual to be refused, for it is incumbent on X, unless he wishes to lose the esteem of the community, to repay his borrowings with heavy interest, and when X distributes his goods at his potlatch it will be announced how he has obtained them, and the lender is proclaimed as a person of sufficient wealth to be able to spare some of it. Goods so loaned are termed "belt goods," a reference to the manner in which a man fastens up his cape with a belt before setting to work. The assumption is that X will have to labour to repay his indebtedness. Failure to repay is a serious matter, and the lender would be justified in seizing a canoe or other valuable article as surety for his debt; in fact, feuds are commonly caused by unpaid debts. Men of business

[7] Formerly, when goat-skin blankets were highly valued, goats were never shot for fear of the blood staining the wool. Instead, they were cornered by dogs, and choked to death in nooses. For preparation, each skin was laid out on the floor and then cut into longitudinal strips, two, three, or four fingers wide.

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sion by repeating loudly a few words, or even phrases, from the speeches being delivered, or calling on the audience to notice what has just been said and to listen attentively. A white man would be annoyed at such interruptions, but the Bella Coola consider them evidences of attentiveness. 203 556*

The making of comments is a duty performed at every type of ceremony, but it is indispensable at potlatches; since a chief depends on the heralds to emphasize and explain the points of his family history which are being displayed. One intelligent man likened their functions to a compass, constantly guiding the course of ceremonial life. Without a herald a chief would be as useless as a ship tossed on the ocean with no hand to steer. Although the principal duty of heralds is to extol the actions of a chief, they can, and are expected to, deride one who fails to carry out the customary requirements. Cases have occurred in which influential men have so far forgotten their function of generosity as to fail to invite their fellows after killing a deer or other large animal; or women have declined to share their abundant berries. Nothing is said at the time, but when next the people have come together for some ceremony, a herald refers to the omission under so slim a disguise that everyone is aware of his meaning. This public ridicule lowers the prestige of a chief to such an extent that he is careful not to offend again. Not many years ago, a certain Kimsquit chief failed to ask others to share some mountain goats which he had killed; at the first opportunity a herald referred to himself as *Yaki*, Mountain Goat, and all present realized that he was really alluding to the one who had been remiss. 203 556* 558 626 [224] [222]

Heralds must exercise care in their witticisms at the expense of chiefs because, unless public opinion is with them, the point of the remark is lost, and they expose themselves to the wrath of the person offended. Nevertheless, heralds always strive to cause merriment, and often take risks with this aim in view. They try to make humorous remarks, and also to cause amusement by their antics. As already described, the donor of a potlatch may throw to one of them a dish containing liquid food 203 522 556*

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THE PROFESSION OF HUNTER

224 424 [463] Another profession which is entered by means of an ancestral prerogative is that of hunting. Many Bella Coola have validated their right to this vocation, some by confirming names created by their early ancestors, others by legalizing [551] those brought down from above in the beginning of time. One of the latter is *Lelaimkila*, "The Brusher Off," so-called because the owner is such a successful hunter that he can sweep mountain goats from the mountains as easily as an ordinary person can brush insects from a wall. Unlike the professions of carpenter and singer, it is believed that legalization of a hunter's name always brings success to the holder; [555] perhaps because everyone is more or less successful, it follows that whatever good fortune is achieved by a professional hunter [556] can be attributed to the validation of his prerogative. Others, lacking this assistance, may be proficient, but their success never carries with it the social prestige gained by a man who has distributed goods to substantiate the prerogative.

224 424 184 [177] There is a difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not certain hunting methods are inheritable prerogatives. With the introduction of rifles, these have long been discontinued, and no definite information was obtained regarding the social position of their users. Several of the older men believed that the contrivances depended upon ancestral prerogatives, whereas others stated that they were merely individual discoveries which could have been, and in many cases were, imitated by anyone. It seems probable that most of the following practices are prerogatives, although it may be that they are no more than special hunting devices suitable only in certain areas and, therefore, limited to the members of the ancestral family owning that particular locality.

223 424 The method about which the most definite information was obtained, was one formerly employed by a certain *Nuxalqiq* to catch geese at *Tál-io*. According to one elderly Bella Coola,

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225 small ocean-going canoe, with an assistant who passed his paddle through the water in such a way that a slight phosphorescent streak resulted. This resembled the course of a salmon. In a short time a seal would rise in pursuit of the "fish," and the watchful hunter would harpoon it. The seal would rush off with the head of the weapon, which was attached by a long line to the shaft remaining in the hunter's hand He would play it like a huge fish, until the exhausted animal was drawn to the side of the canoe and clubbed. Several seals were often obtained by this means in the course of a single night.

224 424 The two usual methods of killing mountain goats are by cornering them with dogs and then choking them to death, or by shooting with rifle or bow. There was formerly a special method of snaring which had been handed down as a prerogative from the time of the first people. The hunter used to set his snares on a precipitous path commonly used by goats and had remarkable success. Others might know how to make snares and where the hunter set them, but no one would ever attempt this method of hunting without the proper prerogative. Another right, enjoyed by another hunter, was the catching of bears in a similar way in nooses.

424 556 182 Little need be said in conclusion about these particular privileges, except to emphasize that they are merely an aspect of the principle of validated prerogatives which permeates every phase of Bella Coola life. It is as natural for a man to be made a singer or a hunter by the distribution of presents as it is for him to acquire a dance by the same means. Each is contained in an ancestral myth, and the validation of the prerogative enables the incumbent either to function actively, or at least to enjoy the social prestige attached to the craftsman who has been duly confirmed in his vocation. The necessity of bestowing gifts to validate a prerogative introduces an economic element to the concept, but this is lessened by the fact that a poor man can acquire a name by a relatively small

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556 performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical
[182] concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch,
are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of
the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly
[577] displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue
must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a
576 major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a
meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do other-
574 wise would be considered rude. The person summoned must
take at least a trifle to show that he is not churlish and too
proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shares
[177] whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of
[273] the family should be the first to taste any wine[14] as proof that
[342] it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better
[414] than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse
through the construction of individual family houses with doors
and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suit-
476 able place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his
[226] catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon,
the first solicitor is given one, later comers, none at all. When
a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to raise it
and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may
remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a
[685] despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy;
[626] hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried
to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats
[224] or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a
feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

556 Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who
has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are
431 advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The
system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it
was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In
the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little
as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

[14] This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of home-brew.

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though they may be to the white man. It is hoped that the preceding illustrations, drawn from recent times, will explain the mental attitude of the Bella Coola better than incidents from folk-lore of the distant past. 787 *

Disregarding thoughts which, since they are caused by the spiritual elements of the human body, are ever present, relations with the supernatural may be divided into the following categories: [828] [774]

(1) Appearance of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. Strictly speaking, every fleeting sight of a supernatural being belongs to this category, but it will be convenient to describe only experiences of a peculiar kind, such as the Bella Coola call *qun-ahilawadjulsix*. Usually manifestations of the supernatural have certain effects; consequently, there are relatively few incidents of this kind recorded.

(2) Supernatural aid vouchsafed to a man or a woman in distress. There are many tales illustrating this, which are told and retold to the children. In most cases the assistance is given to one who has undeservedly, according to Bella Coola concepts, fallen into misfortune.

(3) Supernatural good luck. This may be obtained by anyone, and consists of the acquisition of a supernatural object to attract, not only fish and animals, as if it were a potent bait, but money and goods as well. [777] [224] [226]

(4) Acquisition of shamanistic power, with or without the ability to cure the sick. This may be received from one of two sources: [756]

(a) *Thindpilin-a* or some other supernatural being.

(b) Ghosts, which are likewise supernatural. [775]

(5) Obtaining prophetic powers direct from the supreme god. There are few instances of this, and none that is ascribed to a remote period. It is possible that all examples of this kind can be attributed to indirect Christian influence. [177]

(6) Obtaining power from a supernatural being localized in a particular spot. This usually takes the form of succour when [756]

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539 * 787 She assumed it to be a forest fire, but, when she idly went near to investigate, her amazement was past all bounds at seeing a fine house filled with valuables. Nor was her surprise lessened when she discovered that *'Yeāxdji* was lord of it all. He welcomed her gladly, gave her a hearty meal, and sent back with her some seal meat for her child, only adding that it was to be eaten secretly as he did not wish his father to know of his good fortune.

"But," he added, "I don't mind if you send me any of the people except my father, especially any who were good to me long ago."

The slave woman thankfully carried the meat home to her child. But he, long deprived of proper food, ate so ravenously that night that a lump stuck in his throat and his coughing awoke *Qomo'sala*. The chief pounded the youngster's back until he vomited what was obviously a piece of seal. The slave woman, remembering *'Yeāxdji*'s order, tried to evade her master's questions as to where her son had obtained it, but at last she blurted out the truth, how the abandoned youth had become prosperous.

The slave woman and her friends moved to *Qwiyai*, where *'Yeāxdji* used his power of thought to obtain for them houses filled with everything they could desire. But *Qomo'sala* and those left with him were starving, so that they too were driven to seek his aid, gladly marrying their daughters to him in return for his protection. He rapidly rose to a position of importance, being the husband of both real and fictitious wives, and was even able to provide his elder brothers with mates. Some of the women married to him became almost his slaves, as their families were unable to rebuy them.

Supernatural Good Luck

777 * 787 A third manner in which the Bella Coola can come into contact with powers of another plane is through supernatural good luck. This consists in obtaining something from a supernatural being, usually a portion of its slain body, which acts [224] [226] as a bait to fish, mammals, and even to such inanimate articles as blankets or skins. Even a tiny morsel placed on a weir will attract numerous salmon, or if set on a trap will prove an infallible lure to animals. When put in the owner's box, valuables will be attracted to it as steel to a magnet. Thus the fortunate possessor will be able to give many potlatches and to reach a [432] high position in the community. Since this good fortune is

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quently not until the fourth appearance that a person obtains supernatural good luck, he is still hoping for two more visitations, the second of which he expects to be fruitful. 777 787.*

One day as he was poling up the Kimsquit River he heard a sound resembling thunder proceeding from a log-jam. From descriptions given him by his father, he knew that this must be the voice of a *mätsqus*, but, not having observed ceremonial chastity, he was afraid to investigate, although the sound seemed to follow his canoe for a considerable distance; it only stopped when another canoe approached. From the fact that he alone heard the voice, he knew that it was for him that the creature had come and only the arrival of other people had deterred it from appearing.

On another occasion the same man was close to the nest of a *mätsqus*. He and another hunter were together in the forest above the Dean River and both saw the stone nest behind a waterfall, but for some time each refrained from pointing it out to the other. Towards dusk the first man's attention was called to it by his companion, and they debated on a course of action. Each was desirous of obtaining the benefits to be derived from a successful use of the nest, but each was afraid of the evil consequences should he fail. The friend had observed continence for some time so it was decided that in the morning he should be the one to make the approach; the other man, well versed in these matters, instructed him very carefully what to do. That night both men were too excited to sleep.

Next morning the nest was still in the same place, but the friend hesitated about going up to it, and as they delayed, talking, it vanished in the twinkling of an eye and the opportunity passed.

The nest itself is sufficiently potent to bring good fortune without the *mätsqus*. Not many years ago a man saw one containing a large green egg which he touched with one end of his musket. Then he carefully hid his weapon for one year in a cleft of the rocks where no water could reach it, nor did he mention what he had seen to anyone. When the time had 777 224●

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777 elapsed, he fetched his musket from its hiding-place and again
224 began to use it. Thenceforth he never missed his aim; every shot brought down an animal.

Before the days of muskets good fortune could likewise be obtained by the discoverer of the nest of a *mätqnx*. Each contains small particles of the skin of all animals, including human beings, plucked from them in their sleep by humming birds and toads. The finder must touch the nest with his stick, such as is always carried by hunters, then break it and throw it away, saying as he does so:

"May I see you at . . . tomorrow." This means next year.

He names his favourite hunting-ground. The finder must not say anything to anyone about his discovery, and for one [785] year he must observe continence. If he then goes to the locality mentioned, he will there find his stick, the one which he broke when he touched the nest, though it will be invisible to anyone else. Adhering to its end will be four hairs of the *mätqnx*. These he must hide for a year, wrapped in some of his own clothing, taking care that it is an article which he has long worn and which is accordingly saturated with his essence. [785] During this period, too, he must observe continence. Two years after finding the nest, he will be able to hunt with phenomenal success. The knowledge of this proper procedure has [424] been handed down in an ancestral family for many generations.

On the occasion when the two men had seen the nest they 777 continued their journey, each chiding the other for his failure * 787 to take advantage of the opportunity put in his path. Before long they saw a footprint where no man had been and knew [776] that it must be that of *Tsalälit*, the supernatural hunter of mountain goats. In spite of remonstrances, the comrade scraped up a little dirt from the track into his handkerchief. In this he did wrong, especially as he had failed to take advantage of the opportunity presented to him by the nest of the monster toad. That night as the two were encamped a slide came thundering down beside them, and they barely escaped [761] with their lives. Not long afterwards the erring man died,

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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These become lilies (of the species known as *lilkāndp* or *malilkwāt'ālāt'ālāt*, "The most potent of the pond") from the roots of which a tonic can be brewed. They can be collected by anyone, and the places where they grow are well known, but certain rules must be followed. Before reaching the pond the gatherer must find four spruce saplings, cut from each a bough projecting eastward, and lay these two by two, beside the water, with a space between. After plucking the lily roots he must place them on the ground between the spruce branches and tie the whole into a bundle with strips of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. He must be careful to wind these wrappings clockwise. On arriving at the house where the tonic is to be prepared, the bundle must be thrown in through the smoke-vent, never carried through the door. After these precautions the medicine can be prepared with safety. The roots are cut into thin slices and boiled for four days; a sick person then drinks several cupsful of the brew, which is particularly good for the blood. This remedy is especially effective if the patient is observing ceremonial chastity. The person administering the potion sees to it that the one being treated conforms to certain regulations for forty days. He must not eat fresh meat, fresh salmon, or any food prepared by a widow or a catamenial woman; he must not approach too closely a girl who is secluded following puberty, and he must observe absolute continence, not even sleeping with his wife. Death follows the breaking of any of these taboos.

Although supernatural good fortune is most frequently obtained from either a *mātqaz* or a *nuiatl*, it can be derived from other supernatural beings. In such cases the acquisition is seldom dangerous. The following tale describes the *qokāe-i*.

Long before the coming of the white man, but very long after the first people came to this earth, a certain Kimsquit man, *Wīlmanat*, who was also called *O'mātl*, was searing mountain goats on Mount *Tsqinātl* when he heard on the upper slopes a peculiar cry which he recognized, from descriptions given him by the old people, as the note of a *qokāe-i*.

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This is a supernatural bird about the size of a crow, with a broad hooked beak and blue-black iridescent plumage. Its note resembles that of a swan. The peculiarity of the bird is that its flesh and bones are of mountain goat grease; even its droppings are of this valuable substance, and it is these which are specially prized. Long ago *qokūn-i* were comparatively common, but all have now fled beyond the range of the white man's rifle.

Wikwanul knew what to do, so he crept stealthily up the mountain armed only with his hunting stick. Presently he saw a *qokūn-i* feeding on a mountain goat which had been caught in one of his snares. It answered to the descriptions *Wikwanul* had heard, and he could see that its droppings were like solidified mountain goat grease. The hunter crawled near, and took advantage of the instant when the bird was within the goat's stomach to leap forward and club it as it looked up. *Wikwanul* twisted the neck until the head separated from the body and flung the former behind him, to the right, without noting where it went. This enables the bird to return since, like all other living creatures, when it seems to die it does no more than shed its cloak of flesh. Then the hunter cut the body into halves, threw the right portion in the same direction as the head, and carefully tied the left half in his cape of cedar-bark. Next he collected the droppings and wrapped them in evergreen boughs. Carefully carrying his treasures, he went down the mountain, and hid them in a niche cut in the trunk of a cedar tree, before he went home.

Next day, *Wikwanul* did not hunt but returned to the place, drew out the piece of the bird's body, and dried it over a fire, as if he were toasting salmon for winter use. At night he went home, still refraining from telling anyone what he had done. For four days he cured the meat, then carefully closed the niche and went away.

For one year *Wikwanul* did not hunt. Then he reopened the recess and saw that the meat was fresh and juicy, as if newly prepared. He left it in place, but drew forth the droppings and carried them off in a small bag. Fortune followed him. By using a small piece of the solidified grease on his traps he had wonderful success. At length *Wikwanul* told his fellow-villagers what he had obtained and they were envious of his good luck. He continued to prosper, and at last sold the droppings for a large amount of goods, though he carefully preserved the section of the body itself. When an old man, he showed his son where it was concealed and the latter likewise prospered throughout his life, owing to this possession. When he became old, he in turn told his son about it, so that the young man had the same good fortune as his father and grand-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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father. But the great-grandson was too lazy to take the trouble of going with his father to the place where the section of the bird was hidden, so the treasure was lost.

A fourth giver of supernatural good fortune is one of the mythical creatures termed *snaxg*. This variety lives in the ocean, or rarely in rivers, and can occasionally be seen resting on the surface with its long, golden tresses floating on the water. The hair appears always to be flecked with eagle down, but in reality it is a mass of barnacles, the equivalent of this substance to this under-sea dweller. If the observer is brave, he will paddle cautiously near until he can twist a lock of the hair around his paddle and break it off. He must not touch it with his hands, but must dangle it outside the canoe, still wrapped about his paddle, until he reaches the shore, when he must conceal it in some lonely place for one year. After that period he can use a single hair, or piece of one, as bait; it will be enough to attract animals to his traps or salmon to his weir, exactly as with the mountain goat grease ornament of a *qakin-i* or a stick that has come in contact with a giant toad. If the person who has jerked off the hair with his paddle should be foolish or ignorant enough to bring his spoil into his canoe, he, and all with him, are rendered incapable of movement and the craft with its occupants sinks beneath the sea.

The father's cousin of an informant once saw one of these animals when paddling in company with several companions to Kimsquit. The sea was smooth as glass when their attention was attracted by a number of small ripples, spreading in a half-moon shape from what they realized was the head of a *snaxg*. The hair crossed the ripples, but did not rise or fall with them. The back of the animal's head was nearest the canoe so the opportunity seemed favourable for obtaining some of its hair. Cautiously the men paddled nearer, but at the last moment the steersman feared to drive the canoe in among the golden tresses, so veered off and the craft passed along one side of the mass of hair. The animal had shown no sign of being aware of their presence, but it now began to turn away,

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"It seems as if you attracted the salmon like a magnet," said the father to his son.

The latter did not answer immediately, but later he said:

"You were right," and he told him what had happened.

"You have obtained supernatural good luck," the old man replied simply.

Following his son's instructions the father prepared canoe and house to bring back the flesh of the Mother of Salmon. They collected every scrap of it, which they preserved very carefully, and used small portions as bait to attract salmon to their weir with such success that they became wealthy.

Another supernatural being from whom supernatural good fortune may be obtained is *Nowaxdi-ox*, "The Female Monster." When a chief dies she comes to wail, wandering through the woods near the village, where sometimes she can be seen in the form of a weeping woman. As she cries, she ejects mucus from her nose, which solidifies into a glass-like substance about a foot in length. Anyone who sees her should take the transformed mucus, and wrap it in some article of his own clothing; it will bring him good fortune. About midnight of June 11, 1910, the infant daughter of a Bella Coola died, and about seven o'clock on the following morning the wailing was heard in the woods behind the missionary's house. The brother of the dead child's father ranked off to try to find the weeping one. Luckily he did not succeed, because he did not know about collecting the mucus, and trouble would have come to him had he seen the supernatural being without knowing how to deal with it; in fact, even to hear *Nowaxdi-ox* is considered as cause of death.

It will be seen from the foregoing specific instances that supernatural good luck is usually obtained by the slaying of some powerful creature. But, since every living creature is endowed with superhuman power, it follows that any object obtained from a bird or an animal that has acted in a peculiar way may be the cause of supernatural good fortune if it be kept for one year in the manner previously described. Some-

When the Bella Coola believe that it was heard, the incident is recorded as a fact.

777 stone a man finds a piece of the thick bark of the fir in one of
* 777 his traps. If he throw it away nothing happens, but if he conceal
● [223] it in a hidden enemy for one year and then use it for bait he will have supernatural good luck. Another bringer of good fortune is a green rock, about two feet in diameter, sometimes found far in the forest. There is no danger attached to the appearance of either of these manifestations of the supernatural, which have merely the potential ability to bestow good fortune if the person seeing them knows and practises the proper ritual.

777 Sometimes, long ago, when a number of seals were seen
* 777 approaching the shore a man would notice that they were peculiar. One would disappear beneath the surface, to emerge
223 as a beaver, the beaver would vanish beneath the waves only to come up as a bear, a mountain goat, a deer, or some other animal. If a hunter wished to have phenomenal success at goat hunting, for example, he would wait until one of the seals appeared as a goat and then kill it. The carcass would drift ashore, as a seal, but on being cut open a stone shaped like a mountain goat would always be found in the stomach. To obtain success the hunter would wrap this in a piece of worn clothing, and hide it away beneath an overhanging ledge in some lonely spot in the woods. If left there for one year the stone became a magnet, and its owner, carrying it with him on his hunting expeditions, had amazing success. He had obtained supernatural good fortune, for one particular object. If, after carving upon the seal-mountain goat, the hunter failed to wrap up the stone in some of his clothing it vanished of its own accord.

The last Bella Coola to have supernatural good luck from this source was *Ulnis*, who died about 1900. His extraordinary success as a hunter was derived from a number of stones which his father had obtained from the stomachs of seals in the form of land animals. His prosperity ended when he sold his collection of stones to a Bella Bella man who still uses them with great effect.

of these demi-gods of antiquity are favourite themes for stories. The powers of the lower shamans have been far less than those of their forefathers, and their exploits have been of a somewhat different character. Hence it is possible to divide the subject into three sections:

(a) Shamanism in the distant past.
(b) Modern shamanism.
(c) Shamans from the dead.

SHAMANISM IN THE DISTANT PAST

Information on this phase is contained in stories and a few traditions which describe the achievements of ancient demi-gods, endowed with miraculous powers of various kinds. The rules are similar in type to those dealing with the granting of supernatural aid to the unfortunate, so that it is in many cases difficult to differentiate them. As might be expected these narratives are not exact. Frequently the teller does not know from what being the ancient shaman received his power, nor can he explain the abilities described, which are different from, and superior to, those with which he is familiar. In fact it is necessary to describe any mythical hero as a shaman.

Tales of this kind can be related by any man; they are not the personal property of a specific family. Many of them, that of *Wanuk'a*, for example, are well known and are told and retold constantly.

In addition to information obtained from stories, a few isolated facts are remembered regarding ancient shamans. It is thought that various taboos connected with hunting were imposed by them in the distant past. Such restrictions not infrequently were firmly believed in and strictly adhered to until a few years ago, and many of them are still observed. The usual method of hunting harbopsin ducks is, or was until recently, from a canoe, with a angling net up in the bow to hide the hunter, attached with bow and arrow in readiness; several shamans, however, were able to kill the birds by merely waving the butt-end of a paddle towards them. Such power

[illegible] THE [illegible] CHOLA [illegible]

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As he sang, smoke could be seen rising from behind the house; the youth could see that it came from Parvatam's fire, but the song explained that it was sent down for their mental guest. The singer repeated his song; more smoke ascended from another place, which the lad saw was Mountain Goat's fire. The song was sung again and again, and at each repetition new smoke could be seen, from the fires of Deer, Black Bear, Wildcat, Marten, Beaver, Wolverine, in fact from all animals except Grizzly Bear. The chief explained to his guest that whenever he wanted meat he could go hunting and would be able to see the smoke rising from the fires of various animals.[1]

"Tomorrow you will return home," he continued. "Your brothers (meaning the four wolves that had saved him) will go with you to carry some presents."

Next morning (it was really a year later) the wolves tied up gifts of smoked meat in blankets woven of goat wool and sewn blankets of wildcat, black bear, and marten. The meat, though a large quantity, was reduced to a small compass that the four animals carried it without difficulty. The five travelled back to the spot where the two brothers had sat down to make their ceremony, and at that point the wolves returned to their home.

Now for the first time the lad remembered his brother, and began to weep bitterly, thinking that he must be dead. But presently he heard the sound of footsteps inside the cave through which the porcupine had guided him, they grew nearer, until the younger boy emerged. The elder was overjoyed, but his delight was turned to dismay when he saw that his brother's face was green and haggard, with a strange expression, that he had lost all the fluid from his body, and that his clothes, the same that he had worn when they parted company, were now in tatters. His brother's appearance affected him so much that he fell down dead. The younger lad, however, had been made a shaman by the dead, so he quickly restored his brother. Then exchanged experiences, the younger saying that the dead had given him the name *Kipuka*. His appearance was really improved when he clad himself in a black bear blanket and new moccasins sewn together by the other from the village of the wolves. The two returned home, entering the house secretly and lying down as over

[1] "It is believed that the souls of animals are reincarnated in the human body. Souls which have lived in animals are known different forms. To the ordinary person they appear as beasts, but to souls that have been reincarnating there is harmony living beasts, living shadows and other souls. An individual who is able to see the souls of dead then will have no difficulty in finding the bodies of the animals and hence will have great success in hunting. The spirit was also had one to avoid one Grizzly Bear, the one in form that passing the souls to dangerous.

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in his sleep, and hopes that it will grant him specific supernatural power. He realizes that he could increase the probability of obtaining this by ceremonial chastity, and believes that it would come to him if he went alone to the woods and fasting for some time. Another means would be to concentrate his thoughts upon the desired end, but X is too good a Christian to do so; he is in the unhappy position of knowing one such of two religions to be able to practise either unnaturally. Such experiences are not likely to occur to any but a man of high-strung, imaginative temperament, to whom dreams and mental excitements appear especially vivid. X is intensely religious, so that it is easy for him to interpret every phenomenon in terms of the supernatural. It will be noted that most of the dreams just described took place when he was sick, precisely the time when hallucinations are to be expected. They were more coherent than those of most Bella Coola, though the difference is one of degree rather than of kind.

Most dreams are comparatively simple, and the information received in them is intelligible. They come to all, irrespective of rank or prerogative. Nevertheless, it is believed that an inheritable tendency runs in some families; this does not mean that all members of such a group dream constantly, but they are more likely to do so than others. Those occurring at the winter solstice are more carefully observed than at other times, since it is then that the supernatural beings decide events for the coming year and a man's spirit may be able to inform him of what has been decided. Consequently, as soon as *Hamatsa* enters *Nawadi'a*, wise men separate from their wives and concentrate on dreaming, hoping to learn what is in store for them. For instance, if a man sees himself seated before a large pile of goods, he knows that he will have the good fortune to do this during the coming year; on the other hand, if he foresees ill luck, it means that he will be unfortunate. Another time when dreams are especially desired is before the summer solstice when hunters in particular observe ceremonial chastity. This purification not only increases the likelihood of such

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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experiences, but adds to the reliability of their prognostications. At that season, if a hunter dreams that he will not be successful, he remains at home knowing that it will be useless for him to seek game. 787* [785] [224]

Though dreams are considered and remembered most carefully at the solstices, it must not be imagined that they are disregarded at other seasons. Often there is neither mental picture nor apparition, merely a voice, the sound of which indicates that the hearer will be fortunate the following day. Instead of a voice without body, a dream may consist of a speechless apparition which indicates by gestures the fate in store for the dreamer. One elderly Bella Coola who keeps a small shop states that he can usually tell in this way whether or not he will sell much goods during the coming day. Many years ago, after frequent visits from a being of this kind, the man became the leading fisherman for one of the canneries; he attributed his success to his nameless benefactor, for whose benefit he threw a number of small pieces of food into the fire. Occasionally, specific information or advice is received. On one occasion, when this same man was ill, he dreamt that a supernatural being appeared and told him to wash in the river, that it was breath to all human beings; he did so regularly, and was soon restored to health. Sometimes the information is with regard to the future. On the night of January 15, 1914, he dreamt that two naked Carriers were standing beside his bed. He asked them what they wanted, and why they were without clothing. 159 787*

"We always appear as an omen of trouble in the land," they answered.

Next day there was a heavy fall of snow which he regarded as fulfilling the prophecy. The dreamer was X, the man of imaginative temperament who had beheld the white and black supernatural beings. These instances illustrate the manner in which the same individual has repeated experiences of similar type. X claims that he began to dream when a small child,

787 and that his mother stated that all her ancestors had done likewise.

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Another instance of advice conveyed in this manner was told by a Kimsquit man who related that a number of years ago a pregnant woman had dreamed that *Alquntów* appeared to her and told her not to destroy what she would presently bear. In due course she was delivered, but the infant was a repulsive cripple, blind and deformed. Remembering the admonition, the mother refused to slay her child as many of her friends advised. Soon it was apparent that he was supernaturally endowed; as proof of this he repeated comments which had been made to his mother within a few minutes of his birth. As he grew older he developed shamanistic powers so that he was able to converse with the dead, the only instance known of this ability being granted from birth. He also had wonderful talent as a singer and, though he must have died about 1850, the Bella Coola still recount his skill in this respect. He would unquestionably have been killed but for his mother's warning.

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Instead of imparting verbal information, dreams frequently foretell the future by means of images of events about to happen. For example, if a man dreams of owning large numbers of pelts, it signifies that he will have success in hunting, and he starts for his trap-line without delay. So, too, warnings are conveyed. A number of years ago a slave woman of *Sawl*, who was not a member of the *Sawlw* society, dreamt that she saw herself hewn in many pieces and lying covered with blood. Within a few days she met a Cannibal dancer (II, p. 70), who was supposed to have vanished into the land above; he killed her and lacerated her body, as she had seen. A Kimsquit man told of a similar instance that happened to a member of the party with which he had been hunting a number of years previously. One night he was wakened by one of his companions, *Tsilin*, calling out that he was afraid because he had dreamt that one side of their canoe was charred. The hunters were impressed, because they knew he had long ob-

* 787 If a woman dreams that she has caught two salmon, two
843 small birds, or is holding two infants, the birth of twins is foretold. This type of explanation is obvious; in fact, these examples lie on the border-line between direct and symbolic interpretations.

* 787 Another indication of approaching pregnancy is for a
843 woman to dream of a dead relative; this means that the latter
775 will soon be re-born. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that some fifty years earlier his mother dreamt that her dead mother came to her, saying that she was lonesome and wished to return. Soon afterwards she conceived, and the daughter
[35] born was considered to be the reincarnation of her own grandmother whose names she was promptly given. At the present time, this informant addresses his sister as sister, though he states that as a child he was taught to call her grandmother. As already mentioned, if a new-born infant is a reincarnation, the fact can often be recognized by holes or dimples in the ears, relics of previous boxings for rings. Unless such a birth has been foretold in a dream, it is impossible to know whom the child re-embodies.

* 787 A dream of frequent occurrence in Bella Coola is the return
[76] of the sleeper to the scenes and activities of his childhood. This always signifies a long life. Strangely enough, to dream of being sealed in one's coffin and carried to the grave is translated conversely, and likewise indicates a long life. It is remembered that there were many dreams of fire before the
[731] outbreak of the smallpox epidemic, so it has since been assumed that such presage an outbreak of this disease.

* 787 The only dreams of which the interpretations are wholly
● 224 symbolic are those experienced by hunters. The Bella Coola
[785] explain this by saying that hunters always observe ceremonial chastity and their spirits are, therefore, in a receptive condition to supernatural impressions. When a man has set his traps, he is able to tell from his dreams whether or not any animals have been caught.

To dream that a canoe has been upset in the river and that

1:McIlwraith E-3 (1922-1924)948
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a lad has been drowned in spite of efforts to rescue him, means that a beaver has been caught.

To dream of seeing a *Bacchus* dancer in full costume means that a fisher, lynx, wolverine, mountain goat, wolf, or black bear has been caught.

To dream of fighting people, especially if arrows are used, means that a grizzly bear has been caught.

To dream of playing children means that deer will be seen the following day.

To dream of swimming means that an otter has been caught.

To dream of fondling a woman and playing with her breasts means that a marten has been caught.

Obscene dreams mean that squirrels or pack-rats have been caught.

To dream of a woman with whom the hunter has held illicit intercourse means that absolutely nothing has been caught.

Until recent years these interpretations were believed without question and no hunter bothered to exercise his ingenuity when he had received such indications of success. A hunter's wife likewise obtains information of her husband's fortune in dreams.

All dreams cannot be translated. One man, for example, stated that in his sleep he had often seen a supernatural being enter his house, turn to the left, pick up one of the heavy floor boards and carry it around the fire as if it had been a tray. The apparition always told him to do likewise, but though he has tried repeatedly in his dreams, he has always found it too heavy. Such an image might serve a shaman as theme for a dramatic performance, though, of course, the element of curing the sick would be lacking. Another dream experienced several times by the same man when ill is that of being carried with the speed of light to a flat land somewhat similar to this, but located on the top of a range of lofty mountains. It contains numerous grassy meadows studded with trees of which the

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[534] [787] [725]

mother, "The Eldest," and her spoken of him as the oldest of all animals. He gave guide said:

"I am going to help you a account of your woes. Henceforth you will be able to see the smoke rising from the houses of the different animals."[1]

Thanks to the assistance vas vouchsafed to him, the lad was able to save his family from starvation.

THE FORTUNATE GLUTTON[2]

About four generations ago there was living in Bella Coola a young man who had a prodigious appetite. He used to eat everything, including even quantities of rotten salmon eggs and other putrid foods until arms, face, and stomach all becomefat, oily, and flabby, and he gave off an offensive smell. He was a chief and had married a chief's daughter, but she left him because of his grease and stench. Then he took another girl, who in turn deserted him. Its parents arranged for him one marriage after another until he had became the husband of every available chief's daughter, but no one would lay with him because of his objectionable odour. Finally he married a poor girl who alone remained faithful and bore him a child. The glutto determined to improve his appearance. Accordingly, he obtained a big quantity of mountain goat grease and eagle feathers; then, taking one with him, he left the village and his family without saying whythe was going, in fact, he did not know himself.

He went up the west bar of the Nechetazeeney River until it became a mere brook, then crossed over and returned down the east bank, covering his path with eagle feathers. Then he went up the north bank of the Bella Coola River, protecting every affluent coming from the north; in each case he went onto the west bank, crossed the stream where it had become a rivulet and descended on the east side, all the time leaving behind him a trail of eagle feathers, and all the time eating nothing but the goat grease which he carried with him. When he had penetrated far into the upper reaches of Bella Coola River, he crossed it and descended to south bank, retraversing all tributaries as before. Near the Whitewater he heard a number of young girls singing happily, and a little below this place he comes his own village.

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[1] In every Bella Coola tradition, animals appear to human form to mortals only. They really have their own lodges, dances, and other forms of activity in which they partake in human shape. If one who is fortunate enough to obtain supernatural aid enabling him to see dwellings from their houses can really hear them, and then have phenomenal psychic hearing.

[2] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 108.

[724]

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#539 #787 his identity until, last of all, came his faithful wife with their child. He returned to her and in the course of time became wealthy.

THE GOOD FORTUNE OF *Tsoiolid*

Long, long ago, there lived at Kimsquit a very successful hunter whose name was *Tsoiolid*. One day, during a great famine, he went into the mountains carrying, like all hunters, a walking-stick about eight feet long.* *Tsoiolid* met *Tsoaltlit*, the supernatural hunter, who like himself was carrying a stick and was accompanied by a dog. *Tsoaltlit* greeted him: [224]

"I hereby give you good fortune. Let us exchange sticks. Do not hunt until tomorrow, then make the motion of hurling my staff at mountain goats and they will fall dead."

"I am delighted," *Tsoiolid* replied. *Tsoaltlit* continued:

"I must give you some instructions. When you leave this spot do not go either up or down; keep on the same level around the mountain. When you hunt tomorrow, first kill a porcupine, because he is the oldest of all animals. If you fail to do so, you will lose your power."

Then *Tsoaltlit* vanished, and *Tsoiolid* moved on, taking care neither to go up or down. Presently the spot on which he had been standing fell away in a landslide, such as is caused only by *Tsoaltlit* or a *sasud*. Famous hunters have sometimes seen *Tsoaltlit's* stick moving, or the impressions of it on the ground, and from these visions have gained extraordinary ability to see game; but *Tsoiolid* alone obtained supernatural good fortune from this hunter, owing to the stick given to him. The exchange was of equal value to *Tsoaltlit*, since the staff which he obtained was as potent among supernatural beings as his among mortals. *Tsoiolid* was especially lucky, obtaining, as he did, supernatural good fortune on two separate occasions. [224]

When he returned home he concealed the stick in a tree, though there was really no need for doing so, because, as a supernatural possession, it was invisible to ordinary mortals. He did not tell his wife what had happened to him, and she was very angry at him when, for a whole year, he did not hunt to provide his family with food; this was because he remembered that to the supernatural man "tomorrow" means "next year." It was a time of famine, and the family of *Tsoiolid* was saved from starvation only by the food which he had stored up previously. When a year had elapsed he went hunting, spending four days in procuring a porcupine before pursuing other game. His success was prodigious, in fact but for his efforts the whole village would have been

*Whole of hemlock, spruce, or fir, minus of nature.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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blotted out by starvation.* His fame was so great that many people brought their infant daughters to him as wives.

Tsuiskit had a brother and a sister. The former, whose name was *Sisoc*, was driven by famine to *Kisiquat* in the country of the *cutang* people below Kimsquit. Here he, too, obtained supernatural good fortune from *Tsuiskit*, in exactly the same way as his brother, and like him saved the whole population from starvation. The sister had been married to a Bella Coola, by whom she had two daughters. When one of them, a girl about fifteen years old, had starved to death, the people determined to abandon their village and seek refuge with *Sisoc* among the *cutang*. On the way there, they camped on the shore of Lekouchore Channel, where the remaining daughter was bitten on the arm by a pack-rat, as she lay sleeping beside her mother in a cave. Weakened by lack of food the mother died, and her husband abandoned her corpse and his injured daughter. Some time later a party of Bella Coola chanced to land at the same spot, found the deserted girl still alive, and carried her to her mother's brother, who looked after her. Though angry at his sister's husband, he did not wish to start a feud; to have done so would have grieved his sister, as well as have shown disrespect for the man his dead sister had loved.

During the four years that the famine lasted no berries ripened and there was a universal lack of food of every kind. Soon after it had ended, *Tsuiskit* went to the Bella Coola town of *Algaiskut* to obtain a second wife. He married a young woman, but for almost a year neither slept with her nor went hunting, omissions which so angered her mother that she chided him one day for his failure to carry on his previous occupation. Annoyed by her criticism, *Tsuiskit* left the house. Several of those who had heard her upbraided the old woman for speaking harshly to the famous hunter and her daughter joined in the chorus of disapproval. Although it was winter, *Tsuiskit* caught four geese which he carried home, using his blanket as a pack, and dumped them on the floor before his mother-in-law without saying a word. She fell dead instantly; the sudden news had caused the spirit to leave her body. *Tsuiskit* might have used the stick obtained from *Tsuiskilit*, which had in it the power of life and death, but inasmuch he had merely used the accumulated power which was his through long continuance. In fact he never disclosed the power of his stick.

*The method of hunting introduced by *Tsuiskit* has since been employed by all who hunters. Whenever a porcupine is seen the observer calls it, saying:

"Poosa, may your younger brothers and sisters come."

A man always tries to kill a porcupine when he starts on a hunting trip, and if one should appear when he is stalking bigger game he will stop to kill it, knowing that the chase on spot will not be wanted.

[224]

1:McIlwraith E-9 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

[534] [787] [356] sons, of whom the eldest was about sixteen, though old enough to appreciate the slights put upon their father, could do nothing to defend him.

On a winter day one of these lads felt impelled to follow a trail down the north side of the Bella Coola valley along the edge of salt water. The weather had been cold for some time, but on this day it was so warm that he lay down to doze on the warm rocks. Near his head was a small opening which connected with a long passage to the ocean, and through this he presently heard the heavy breathing of sleeping seals. His burning desires aroused, he went to the edge of the steep crag overlooking the sea and dived in. He bravely penetrated into a narrow passage which led him under the rocks, until with his last gasp he emerged into a cave where there were countless seals. Waiting only a moment, and without disturbing the animals, he dived back through the passage safely.

[411] When he reached home the lad said nothing about what he had seen, but that evening he began to make a seal-spear of the usual type with a wooden handle and a bone point. He asked his father to help him with the carpentry work, and his mother to make a rope for the harpoon head. Though surprised at their son's energy, the parents did as he requested, but the fellow-villagers mocked at his efforts, for the lad was no hunter.

Next morning he asked his father to accompany him, and the two set off in a canoe, carrying the spear which had been made the previous evening. Before starting, the lad requested one of his brothers to have a fire ready for cooking the seal that night. Father and son paddled to the entrance of the subterranean passage, though the old man was, of course, ignorant of its existence. The elder told him to wait, and dived overboard, armed only with a club, for the seal-spear had really been unnecessary. He penetrated through the passage and at once killed a seal pup, less than year, with which he returned to the canoe. The lad explained nothing to his father, so that it seemed to the latter as if his son had dived down into the depths and there slain a seal, after remaining below for an amazingly long time.

When the two returned to the village they were greeted with a shower of laughter at the small size of their quarry. In derision, the villagers took the pup from them and threw it from hand to hand, as if it were a ball.

[224] [225] [574] [554] As already described, it is customary whenever a man kills a deer, a mountain goat, several seals, or any other large game, for him to invite his fellows to a feast. The number of guests depends on the size of the quarry, but in all cases the chiefs are the first to be invited and anyone who fails to do so is laughed at for his stinginess. On this occasion the seal-pup was obviously so small that any general invitation to partake of it was ludicrous. Nevertheless, the lad felt a humiliation in invite not only

1:Mc:Dwrath E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[284]

brother the proper methods of hunting, and how to find bears when strengthened by chastity, without which no hunter can have success. He alone of her brothers was worthy to learn this, because he was still celibate. Among other things she taught him never to hunt bears with arrows fashioned with owl feathers, because she had been told by her husband that one of his fellows shot with such a missile would remain dead, whereas one shot with an arrow tipped with feathers from any other bird would be robust.

The women and her youngest brother hunted constantly, and always returned with skins which they shared with everyone. The other three brothers were very jealous, though their own lack of success was due to their laziness, and failure to observe ceremonial chastity. At intervals the bear used to visit his human wife, and after a year or more she went away with him, never to return.

THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED A BEAR

(Second Version)

Long, long ago, a Cowichan Indian girl was walking along a path on the back of the village when she saw some black bear's dung. She looked to to one side saying aloud:

"Who is so dirty as to defecate here?"

Then she wiped her feet on the grass and went on. Presently, she met a handsome, well-dressed man, a stranger, who asked her if she had recently met anyone.

"No," she replied.

He invited the girl to come and visit him in his house, and she agreed to do so. The trail was long, but in her it caused alarm, owing to his power. Arrived at his house, the stranger asked her to marry him and she consented. When it was bed-time the girl collected soft hemlock boughs to sleep upon.

"I never use such stuff," said her same magnify, as she went out again and brought back devil's club, and gooseberry bushes, saying to him:

"I consent to my choice."

"I always do," he replied.

Then, the man bade her collect fire wood, and she brought some dry sticks from a shed, but he said:

"That does not hold the heat," and he sent her out again.

This time she brought back cedar and he was pleased.

"That is good," he said, "I always use them. Now let us have a meal."

"I don't see anything to eat," she replied, but her husband pulled out

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NES Bellacoola NEI

It is said that one man accidentally swallowed when spitting on a toad, and swallowed the creature. It lived within his stomach for fifty years, causing no discomfort though its master could feel it moving, and its singing could be heard at intervals. This brought him no supernatural power, although he was enabled by it to live to a great age. When at last he died, the toad came hopping out of his throat and was escorted respectfully to the river by his friends who covered the creature with eagle down and dyed and undyed cedar-bark.

Some of the cures already described with regard to animals and fish are similar in nature to this medicine.

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To Cause Obesity

A medicine was formerly used by chiefs to make themselves fat and important-looking, but details of it have been forgotten.

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To Cause Ability in Singing

Catch an *amoxi* (varied thrush?) alive and put it in your canoe against the throat of the woman to whom it is desired to impart the art, saying:

"May she be a singer like you."

Release the bird and the woman will become a good singer.

This bird is considered by the Bella Coola to be the best singer among British Columbia birds, and they say that many animals and fish, including even the halibut, grew to hear its singing.

533
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To Cause Ability in Hunting

There is a poisonous plant which, when eaten, almost kills the eater. If he recovers, he is henceforth endowed with great ability as a hunter. The species could not be ascertained.

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To Cause Change in Weather

If a mild wind is desired: Place the penis of a mouse, goat or beaver on a fire.

If rain is desired: Wash the penis of a large bird and throw it into the ocean or a river, saying:

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1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

that the proximity of such intensely human articles is enough to counteract and render powerless anything of a superhuman nature. Likewise, when a certain woman came in contact with the War-Party of the Tides and began to exhibit symptoms of insanity, she was cured by drinking water in which other women had squeezed out their menstrual pads. Another defence is the burning of dried salmon, fumigation from which is particularly effective for one who suffers from nightmares. Other remedies already mentioned are to cut the right leg and smear a bullet with the resultant blood in order to kill a *cuna*, and to lacerate the inside of the mouth and spit to withstand a capsizing mountain.

The medicine most commonly taken is false hellebore, the use of which was learnt by some ancient shaman. At dusk a hunter should eat a small twig of it, raw; it draws from his stomach everything injurious, particularly women's hairs, which are abhorred by animals, and ensures him success on the morrow. If he takes too much of it, he becomes ill and must swallow the antidote, mountain goat grease or marrow. He should also carry twigs of the plant with him, ready either to swallow or throw in the direction of any dreaded supernatural being whom he may encounter. Eagle down and dried salmon roe are sometimes similarly used.

The powers of a person who has obtained supernatural ability, whether or not he is a shaman, can be destroyed by similar means. For example, a lad treated so that he understands the speech of ravens, will lose his ability if he eats food cooked or prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has lost her husband within the last year, or if he passes through the hole in the floor used by an adolescent girl. The last Bella Coola with this skill was deadened to the meaning of the birds' croaking by lying near his sister one night for warmth, since her mere proximity was enough to nullify his power. This aspect of medicine merges with taboos. So, too, the power of an object can be destroyed by washing; an instance of this is

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe. 784

FOOD TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN 212

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would derange the catamenia and cause profuse growth of hair. 562

Women of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do so would cause a difficult delivery. [841] [826]

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat roasted salmon until the sticks have been removed which hold it in front of the fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded. [844] [845]

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when nearing the hunting or fishing-ground. 224 [226] [264]

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola. [171]

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness. [825] [753]

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the man removes only an eye, place it in a notched stick and set this under an over- [753]

Ishkulwatth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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224 hanging rock where no rain can penetrate. Long ago, some
[182] hunter failed to do this and became blind in consequence, hence the rite has since been carried out.

When a hunter is in the field, his wife must not swing. To do this causes him to go up into lofty and dangerous places as she rises on the swing, and also destroys the power laboriously accumulated by ceremonial chastity.

Ritual Acts

196 Ceremonialism is an extremely important aspect of Bella
226 Coola life, but most of their rites are social or religious rather
189 than magical, so that descriptions of them belong to other chapters. In connection with the taking of the first olachen and salmon, however, a number of ritual acts are performed to bring about desired ends; the element of propitiation is not entirely absent, but on the whole they may be considered as magical.

Rites connected with the first olachen

226 At the height of the olachen run, the fish are so abundant
196 that they can be taken profitably in large purse-nets. They
574 do not, however, come simultaneously, and eager fishermen keep watching for their arrival and catching the struggling fore-runners in hand dip-nets. These fish must not be eaten immediately. Each fisherman arranges a box in the front part of his house in which he deposits them as taken; if several men are doing this in a single dwelling, one box for each will be arranged near the front door. Whenever a dance is held, eagle down is blown over the receptacle to placate the olachen and prevent them from being disturbed by the noise. As soon as a man has caught enough for a feast, he invites all his fellows to his house and the fish are distributed. It is taboo for any woman to share this meal, and it is most improper for a man to summon his neighbours until he has enough olachen to allow each guest to carry home a plentiful supply for his family. In former times, there used to be a number of meals of this kind,

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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#534 "I suppose you have been misbehaving with the lad," he continued. "That is the meaning of your anger."

"Yes," replied his wife. "What are you going to do about it?"

Tsuklilit said no more, nor did he show any resentment; instead he hospitably prepared a comfortable bed for the youth.

"Don't go to sleep," *Ainsmamdm* whispered to him. "If he gets a chance, Tsuklilit always kills my lovers, and unless you keep awake he will murder you. When he yawns, you do the same."

As darkness settled down Tsuklilit yawned noisily, saying:

"When I have been out on the mountains all day it makes me yawn, but I cannot go to sleep."

"It affects me the same way," answered the young man, as he too yawned noisily.

This continued for hours; whenever Tsuklilit yawned the youth imitated him, and neither went to sleep.

It was dawn before Tsuklilit fell asleep and began to snore. *Ainsmamdm* had warned the lad what to do if this happened, so he rose silently, took Tsuklilit's stick,* which was planted upright beside the sleeper, and pointed it at him. Tsuklilit died instantly, as this was the weapon with which he was wont to kill mountain goats by merely pointing.

Up to this time Tsuklilit had always slain his wife's lovers by causing the planks beneath the bed to turn over so that the occupant was precipitated down a chasm, at the bottom of which there was a pile of bones of those he had murdered in this way. It was because *Ainsmamdm* loved the lad that she not only saved him but showed him how to kill her husband.

The young man did not return to his home, but continued to live with *Ainsmamdm*, who made him immortal. He assumed the name and occupation of Tsuklilit and it is he who has been seen by fortunate hunters even within recent years. If the evil old Tsuklilit had not been destroyed there would still be many casualties, but his successor, himself once a hunter, is of a kindly disposition and often gives aid to mortals in their pursuit of game. The old people used to say that unless Tsuklilit helped a hunter he would be unable to kill mountain goats at all.

THE MURDER OF *Tsuklilit*
(Second Version)

Long ago hunters venturing into the mountains in pursuit of goats

[481] [324]

*A straight stick about seven feet long such as is carried by all hunters when they go into the mountains to assist them in climbing. Tsuklilit always carries one.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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ment was intense. One of the chiefs told two boys who were excellent shots to fire, but another interrupted, saying:

"This is too weighty a matter for mere lads."

He himself covered *Sukukmdu·a* and made ready to press the trigger. The murderer, seeing his fellow-tribesmen in the vicinity, tried to stall for time.

"Please do not shoot me," he called out. "I have always been terrified to die that way, please use a knife."

"Some of those you slew were probably terrified of muskets too," the self-appointed executioner grimly replied.

"Wait just a moment," *Sukukmdu·a* pleaded. "I want to speak to my kinsmen."

"So probably did several of those you shot," came the terse answer.

Then the chief fired and *Sukukmdu·a* fell dead. The Chilkotin were armed and seemed on the point of rushing forward to revenge their relative, but the chief took another musket, brandished it in their direction, and said:

"All right. The dogs will eat you too."

A Chilkotin chief pointed out that the Bella Coola were armed and in overwhelming numbers, so advised his angry followers to withdraw. Thus the incident closed without further bloodshed. Some state that *Sukukmdu·a*'s corpse was given to his relatives, others that it was buried by the *kukuxiur* alone in a large grave, beneath the body of *Nusmlsta*.

F 539
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A SUCCESSFUL HUNT

One September, between 1840 and 1850, a certain *Sāuxumdxots* was preparing for a potlatch. Taking twenty men with him as packers, he set out for mountain goats up the valley of the *Sāxlyenuts*, which flows into the main Bella Coola from the north, nearly opposite Mount *Nusqalst*. They camped at a suitable spot, and for several days *Sāuxumdxots* hunted with fair success. On one occasion, when out with his son, he happened to notice a number of female goats on a narrow point of rock, beneath which there was a sheer drop to a jagged pile of boulders. Quickly realizing that there was only one approach to the point where the animals were standing, *Sāuxumdxots* told his son to remain below while he climbed up to stalk his quarry. With extreme caution, he succeeded in getting between the goats and the only line of escape; then he knew they were his, and stood up boldly. He shot two or three, and stampeded the rest into plunging over the precipice where they were crushed to death on the rocks far beneath. The successful hunter climbed down to where his son had remained and the two carried one of the carcasses out to the trail where

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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the packers were to meet them. They were not due to arrive for several hours, so *Sûnaxmûnaxs* cooked the goat and had a plentiful meal ready for his followers. They asked whether he had had any luck, and he answered casually that his son had killed one, but when they expressed regret at his lack of fortune, *Sûnaxmûnaxs* pointed to the pile of dead goats, visible in the distance, and said: 539* 224

"See what my son killed."

Never before had there been such a slaughter of goats at one time, and it was obvious that no time could be lost if the meat was to be smoked before winter. Fortunately, there was a large cave in the vicinity where they established their headquarters. The packers were divided into two parties; some brought in the carcasses, while others kept a fire smouldering, tended the drying meat, and boiled out the grease. It was a slow process and there was a heavy snowfall before it was finished. The snow drifted into the narrow valley to such a depth that it was impossible to think of leaving. The beleaguered hunters were well provided with food; melted snow gave them water, and the cave was sufficient shelter, so their confinement was more irksome than dangerous. Nor did it prove profitless. The smell of food attracted two martens which were so unafraid that they were killed with sticks. All the hunters began to make traps which soon provided them with enough skins to make several of the much-prized blankets. 539* [251] [257]

So the winter dragged away. The wife of one of the packers had a reputation for faithlessness and her husband's companions used to tease him by saying that his wife would have remarried before he got home. This wore on his nerves until he determined to try to reach the village in spite of the snow. He constructed a pair of snow-shoes and set out, carrying with him enough marten-skins for four blankets, packed in a sack made from the stomach of one of the goats. The journey was less difficult than he had feared; he camped for one night, and reached his own village soon after dusk of the next day. Looking through the doorway, he saw his father throwing food into the fire and realized that someone must have died. He called out anxiously, but his parents, who had long since abandoned hope for his son's safety, could not believe that his voice was real, and was not convinced until he actually stood before him. The long-absent one asked for whom the food was being thrown on the fire, and his father replied: [481]

"For you. We thought you must be dead and have burnt almost all your personal possessions."

"That does not matter," replied the son. "We have plenty of meat, grease, and furs."

*536 [237] As soon as the weather moderated, the men of the party returned, each carrying enough marten skins for at least one blanket. Some had as many than three or four cloaks could be made, in addition to the large supplies of cooked game meat and grease.

THE HUNTING OF A LAND OTTER

*539 ● 224 [177] [411] [434] In the early days, when the visit of a trading vessel to Bella Coola was a rare event, it is remembered that an Alexandria chief bought a musket from the captain of the Boston. He paid for it a pile of beaver skins which, when stacked up, was equal in height to the length of the weapon. This was one of the first muskets owned by a Bella Coola and the chief took great care of it, never cleaning it roughly, and hanging it with ropes from the roof of his house whenever he was not actually using it. One day a certain *Indian* asked the owner to lend him the musket to hunt game. This was an slight request, and it was surprising, since *Indian* was not a hunter, but merely pushed in most killed by others. At first the chief was unwilling to allow his prized weapon out of his sight, but at last consented when *Indian* promised to give him half the game that he might kill.

Indian probably thought that even temporary possession of the marvelous musket would make it possible for him to kill game, but when he had climbed up into the mountains, and waited for hours, he had not succeeded even in approaching one. He knew that if he returned home, unsuccessful and without some plausible excuse, he would be laughed at scorn, so he determined to cover his failure. Prior to loss the musket on a boulder until it was bent and battered, then he took a sharp rock and pounded himself until he was covered with blood from head to foot, as if he had been caught in a land slide. When near the village, he lay down on the ground and called lustily for help, so that the people could not hear the sound, but after a short search someone found the would-be hunter, apparently in the last stages of exhaustion. Help was called, and *Indian* carried home, moaning feebly and saying that he would die. He could just whisper that he had been caught in a slide on the other side of the mountain, this explanation being necessary since no one had heard one in the near vicinity. As the apparent sufferer was lying in his house, one man noticed that the patient's wounds were from gashes, not from bruises, and loudly proposed that *Indian* must have mutilated himself to conceal his lack of success. Everyone came crowding around and agreed that this must be the case; *Indian* finally admitted the deception and congratulated his discoverer on his powers of observation. After a few days, he was as well as ever, but the chief had lost his precious musket.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

as the authors, their skill in dancing and dramatics is noteworthy: no one who has witnessed a native dance can fail to have been impressed by the performance of the participants and the stage craft of the carpenters. The fact that no system of writing had ever been devised has prevented the establishment of a native literature, but the practice of passing down an extensive tradition by word of mouth shows their memorizing powers as well as their facility for remembering details. At present it is difficult to appreciate what must have been their energy in earlier times when they faced the struggle for existence, armed with stone tools. Blunderbuss muskets gave them adequate food, but only after extra food had been built with great labour. Though game was plentiful, the hunter was equipped with nothing more formidable than a bow and arrow. This simplest tool required patience and skill unknown to by the average white man. If the reader will allow his imagination to carry him backwards two hundred years, he will realize that the mere provision of food and clothing necessitated constant effort and ceaseless exertion.

Hand in hand with many admirable characteristics, the Bulla Creek display others which strike the white man as unsympathetic. A first impression is the untidiness of their houses. Essentially, they are often fairly neat, but confusion reigns within. Clothing, instead of being hung up, is left lying on the floor, bed-coverings are piled carelessly, dirty dishes cover the tables, dogs and children swarm over the floor. Bits abound, all is dirty and disorderly. The house itself may be uncomplicated, a window lacks glass and has been boarded up, the roof leaks, or the steps are falling down. Not are the surroundings more attractive. There is one struggling flower bed in the village, but elsewhere the houses are surrounded by masses of mud where hens and cattle wander, dogs prowl, and children play. In the distance the mountains peaks rise majestically, but near at hand all is squalid and unhappy.

They are only slightly more particular about their personal appearance. The men are diverse dress. They wear over-

[illegible]: Proper name of a Thunder man.
[illegible]: Proper name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: Sun lack of water.
[illegible], "A Dropping Off": The giving, on demand, by a marriage dancer of [illegible] to a bride.
[illegible]: Supernatural name of Raven.
[illegible], "Frenzied": Term applied to Cannibals and other destructive behavior due to a state of madness.
[illegible]: Frenzied exclusion of all but the singers from a house where a dance is [illegible].
[illegible]: Kwakiutl man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Proper name, probably of Kwakiutl origin.

[illegible]

[illegible]: Female dancer mentioned in a Raven story.
[illegible]: Proper name of a Kwakiutl man.
[illegible], [illegible], woman: Mother, term used by children.
[illegible]: Cultivated Fruit Hunter.
[illegible]: Butterfly.
[illegible]: Shimmering waves.
[illegible]: Fly, insect.
[illegible]: Twenty grandfathers.
[illegible]: 1=Father, common term in indirect address.
2=Ceremonial designation for the supreme deity.
[illegible]: Stepfather.
[illegible]: Elderly male relatives of same unrelated family.
[illegible]: 1=One of the four men to arrive on Dallas in the beginning of time.
2=Name of the name [illegible] when used by a male child.
[illegible]: Name of the name [illegible] when used by a female child.
[illegible]: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[illegible]: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[illegible]: Measure of distance equal to the breadth of one thumb plus one finger.
[illegible]: Crack.
[illegible]: Supernatural giant crack.
[illegible]: Bottom ages.
[illegible]: Old male mother.
[illegible]: Water crack.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible], "Long Dick": One of the supernatural women of Great Blue Heron.
[illegible]: Cultivated in a pitcrabbitroot household.
[illegible]: One of the gambler.
[illegible]: Dark in colour.
[illegible]: Generic term for the four supernatural Carpenters.
[illegible]: Spirit.
[illegible]: One of the four men to arrive on Dallas in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Land of salmon.
[illegible]: Settlements in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Rock carried by hunters when passing into the mountains.
[illegible]: Bad hunters.

[illegible] lieved that all the Kitkatla chiefs were powerful, but Tsakis was the greatest of all. It is said that one of his prerogatives[1] was to exercise *jus primae noctis* whenever a Kitkatla was married. Without question, some of this chief's powers have become exaggerated in tradition, since the law they show that the Bella Coola realize the great importance of the northern chiefs. Concerning their nearer neighbours, the Bella Bella, the Bella Coola understand the way in which the members of a family combine to help their chief in the giving of presents. They say that the Bella Bella consider the Bella Coola practice of each one endeavouring to make himself a chief to be foolish in the extreme. Such is also said to be the opinion among the Kwakiutl, who support their contention that in Bella Coola all are chiefs, from the fact that flowing crests under the mere of all, whereas in Fort Rupert, their home, such crests only beneath the mere of chiefs.

Corresponding to the extreme paucity of functions possessed by Bella Coola chiefs, their prerogatives are likewise scanty. Indeed, they take their ceremonial seats only during certain rites of the secret society connected with chiefs, at potlatches, and at ceremonial meals. Thus last occur whenever a deer or seal is killed, the large is considered a great delicacy.[2] Anyone can kill a seal, but it would be unbecoming for a Bella Coola to share in feast with his immediate family only. The animal is cleaned, the hide made by boiling or spear carefully plugged, and the carcass boiled whole in a large box. Meanwhile a herald (*k.p. tsq*) summons the chiefs to the house where the successful hunter lives. If the meal is to consist merely of one small seal, only a few chiefs are invited, those of greatest influence through their possession of "strong" seats. When several seals have been killed, the number invited is correspondingly larger, but no scramble may prevade unless the carcass

[1] This is said to have been a personal prerogative, not shared by all chiefs, and requiring relatives to submit present.

[2] Dall, some of the rite described in this paragraph seem to the present time. In fact, the consumption of seal meat by chiefs alone has disappeared, namely the close of the last century.

this practice had been handed down with the name from the beginning of time; another was stated that it was so productive and could be used by anyone. The best time for hunting was at the equinoxes, and Waxpaddy always observed ceremonial chastity in such a way that it continued to [illegible] date. Before setting out, the hunter prepared a net of the shape shown in the accompanying sketch (Fig. 1). The net was stretched over a wooden framework, about ten feet long and four feet wide, connected second by a long and heavy handle. The whole affair was called, "The Moon-like Thing." Choosing a still night, the hunter used to set out in his canoe paddled by a number of assistants. Waxpaddy would place himself in the bow with his net, and in the middle of the craft a small fire was kept burning with [illegible] pitch handle in so that it could be kindled into bright flames at a moment's notice. As the canoe was slowly paddled along the shore, the geese were half stunned, half repelled by the light. Unwilling to take to flight, they used to swim around at the edge of the illumination and so were guided into some convenient opening of the shore. Then Waxpaddy would throw his net so that the end farthest from the handle first reached the water and as the latter came crashing down it imprisoned a number of birds. Others, bewildered by the light and the falling net, tried to fly outwards and were knocked down by the paddles. These were secured at once and the necks of those caught in the net were wrung at leisure. It is said that this method of hunting was almost always successful.

Fig. 1

Another Yaiva hunting device which, however, was not commonly used and may have been merely an individual product of genius, not an inherited prerogative, was employed to kill seals. The last to use this method was the father's father of an elderly Bella Coola. This man used to go out at night in a

[illegible] small scattering canoe, with an assistant who passed his paddle through the water in such a way that a slight phosphorescent streak resulted. This resembled the course of a salmon. To a short time a seal would rise in pursuit of the "fish," and the manifold horror would happen it. The seal would sink off with the head of the weapon, which was attached by a long line to the shaft remaining in the hunter's hand. He would play it like a huge fish, until the exhausted animal was drawn to the side of the canoe and clubbed. Sea and sealskin were often obtained by this means in the course of a single night.

[illegible] The two usual methods of killing mountain goats are by cornering them with dogs and then clubbing them to death, or by shooting with rifle or bow. There was formerly a special method of snaring which had been handed down as a prerogative from the time of the first people. The hunter used to sit his snares on a precipitous path commonly used by goats and had remarkable success. Others might know how to make snares and where the hunter set them, but no one would ever attempt this method of hunting without the proper prerogative. Another right, enjoyed by another hunter, was the catching of bears in a similar way to snares.

[illegible] Little need be said in conclusion about these particular privileges, except to emphasize that they are merely an aspect of the principle of ceremonial prerogatives which permeates every phase of Bella Coola life. It is as natural for a man to be made a singer or a hunter by the distribution of prerogatives as it is for him to acquire a dance by the same means. Each is conceived to an unwanted myth, and the validation of the prerogative enables the incumbent either to function actively, or at least to enjoy the social prestige attached to the craftsman who has been duly confirmed in his vocation. The necessity of bestowing gifts to validate a prerogative introduces an economic element in the concept, but this is lessened by the fact that a poor man can acquire a name by a relatively small

[illegible] of whom the father was one woman, though old enough to appreciate the slights put upon his father, could do nothing to defend him.

On a winter day one of the lads felt impelled to follow a trail down the north side of the Bella Coola valley along the edge of salt water. The weather had been cold some time, but on this day it was so warm that he felt there is rain or a warm rain. Near his head was a small opening which connected with long passage to the cave, and through this he presently heard the low breathing of sleeping souls. He burning desire urged he was to hedge of the away way overlooking the sea and dived in. He barely squeezed into a narrow passage which led downwards the rocks, and which has gray to emerged into a cave where there were numbers souls. Lying only a moment, and without disturbing his sleeping, he slithered through the passage safely.

When he reached home that and nothing about what he had seen, he did, creeping to bed, to be a sea-spear of the usual type with a wooden handle and a bone pin. He asked his father to help him with the sea-spear and, with his father to make a rope for the harpoon head. Though surprised at that not enough, the parents did as he requested, for the Bella Coola villages neither his efforts, for the lad was no hunter.

Then running to other brother to accompany him, and the two set off to a cave, carrying the sea which had been made the previous evening. Before leaving he requested one of his brothers to have a fire ready for cooking his another night. Father and son paddled to the entrance of the subterranean passage, though the old man was, of course, ignorant of its existence. The son told him to wait, and dived cleverly under the rock shelf, for the sea-spear had really been unnecessary. He passed through the passage and at once killed a sea-cow, then the cave, and took he returned to the cave. The lad explained nothing to his father than to account to the latter as if he on that dived down into the pool and there slew a seal, after remaining below for so moments to cave.

When the two returned to village they were greeted with a shriek of laughter at the small sea-cow their quarry. To derision, the villagers took the cow from them and the it from hand to hand, as if it had been a ball.

He should describe, it is customary whenever a man kills a deer, a mountain goat, a seal, sea-cow, any other large game, for him to invite his fellows to a feast. The order of guests depends on the size of the quarry, but in all ways the first are the first to be invited and anyone who fails to do so is laughed out his acquaintance. On this occasion the [illegible] was obviously, as neither any general invitation to partake of his hospitality. Nevertheless, the lad felt a feasts to invite not only

quantities of ducks and geese, and the inhabitants of the inland villages sometimes made hunting expeditions to the nesting places of wild fowl in the lakes of the interior uplands. Although numbers of birds were sometimes killed in this way, they were never a steady article of diet. The same is true of geese. Always plentiful, these birds were commonly killed, but never in large numbers.

The basis of the food supply was fish. The river teemed with salmon, which enabled the country to support its relatively large population. Spring, sockeye, humpback, dog, and coho salmon, all entered the river in thousands during the spring and summer, while the steelhead could be caught throughout the year. They were taken in weirs and their flesh smoked for winter use. Throughout the year, salmon was the principal article of diet. Second in importance was the eulachon, a fish somewhat resembling a herring, which entered the river in great numbers during April or May. They were taken in purse-like nets,[7] allowed to rot for ten days or two weeks, and then boiled. The grease was skimmed off and kept indefinitely to be used as a relish for other foods. It was always a sign of poverty if a person were obliged to use herring without eulachon grease. Trout and bullheads were found in the river, but were not sufficiently plentiful to be of importance.

Although no form of agriculture was practised, the Bella Coola used vegetable food to a considerable extent. Berries were abundant; some were eaten raw, but many more were pounded into a pulpy mass and dried in the sun. Cakes prepared in this way kept indefinitely and formed one of the regular winter foods. The bark of the hemlock and cottonwood was eaten, as well as the roots of many plants. In recent years many of these have not been used, so that an investigator is apt to overlook their great importance in early times. Although useless for food, the cedar was the cornerstone of Bella Coola material culture. From its trunk were split out, with wedges, the wide planks which formed

[7] See Appendix A for a description of eulachon fishing.

was probably deserted not many years ago. Probably a large town since it was a good fishing place.

(vii) *Tsuki*, "Bald Eagle": also on the north shore of the river, a little above the last-named. Probably washed away by a flood long ago, although traces of the salmon-weir were still visible recently.

(viii) *Pegikwada*, "The Place of Much *gikwada*" (the fern *Aspidium spinulosum*): on the north side of the river about one mile above the preceding. This large town is believed to have been deserted long ago, though, in apparent contradiction, traces of it are said to be still visible.

"(ix) *Swakiu*, "The Place of Dog Salmon": on the south bank, above the last-named, at a place where a small stream enters the Bella Coola River; this divided the town into two sections. It was long deserted and the river has carried away that part of the village below the creek. The name is derived from an enormous dog salmon which is believed to have been seen at long intervals in a waterfall near this spot, always with a water-weed perched on its back.

(x) *Ogwilkuna*: on the lower end of the island near Bagwhong post office, about miles from the ocean. Although long deserted, traces of this village are still to seen. The meaning of the name is unknown.

"(xi) *Nuskis*, "The Place of the Whirlpool": on the south side of the river, about and a quarter miles from the sea. It was a village of medium size, recently abandoned. The last occupant was said to have been *Ulumkila*, which means, "The Place of Ink."

"(xii) *Kulo-ko-i*, "The Concave Town," so called because it spread around the shore of a bay occupied not by the Bella Coola: south side, slightly above the inlet of the Nuskum River, thirteen and a quarter miles from the sea. It was deserted about 1880.

"(xiii) *Nuqlulu*, "The Place of *Ilpilmel*": on the north side of the river, opposite the mountain of the same name. It also was deserted about 1880. *Ilpilmel* is a kind of stone axe.

[illegible] side for [illegible], which occurs in the valley of a small stream on the slope of the mountain.

"(c) *Tsalkum*, "The Place Where There Are No Falls": an affluent from the north enters the main Bella Coola about thirty-one miles from the sea and the town was located on this south about two hundred yards above its junction with the Bella Coola. The ruins of this moderately large town were still standing when [illegible] reached the Bella Coola Indians on this place. At the time of his arrival the population was larger than usual, because the salmon-runs had withstood some heavy freshets which had destroyed several runs on the Bella Coola, and drawn the inhabitants of other villages to *Tsalkum*.

It is said that the affluent at *Tsalkum*, the stream *Tsalpi*, is the only one in the whole Bella Coola valley that does not drop precipitously into a narrow bending to the main river. It enters in a spring on the end of a pocket-like valley, at the base of steep cliffs, but it does not fall down them. The town is named from this circumstance. The area around the spring is called *Nuxalkuqalp*, and it is said that some families living on the Dawson ship of it in the spot where their first ancestors came to earth, although their descendants do not know where it is located.

"(d) *Tsaxa*: on the point between the *Lelaxik* (Dowdes) and the *Ai* (Whitesaw) rivers which join to form the Bella Coola. This, the most populous of the upper river towns, was deserted not long ago. The meaning of the name unknown.

(e) *Xaxlaxi*, "The Place of Outcrops": on the north side of the Atnarko River, a few hundred yards above the falls. This small town was deserted many years ago. The name was given on account of the hill behind the village being covered with a rank growth of plants and small bushes, but no trees.

(f) *Snaxa-ai*, "The Place of Falls," so called from the strong rapids of the Atnarko at this point: on the north side of the river about ten miles from the falls. This large town was long ago deserted when a large rock in the midst of the

Indians from both of these areas were interviewed so found that, except for minor details in certain bath customs were identical with those of the Bulu Cook Accordingly, in this monograph, the term "Bulu Co be taken to include the inhabitants, not only of the [illegible] of South Bureuch Iron and the land of Dum [illegible] Those living on South Bureuch Iron will be refer [illegible] people, the Bulu Coola were for them, Dum Channel as Kwaqwa, the name by which they are known. It is an anglicised form of the word Kwaqiu [illegible] "Canoes," by which the Bulu Bulu designate [illegible] of Dum River.

[illegible]

(vii) *Ibibio*, on the east side of South Bureuch Ir a quarter of a mile from the point that marks its junc South Bureuch Iron. Food was obtained from an [illegible] Long deserted except as a summer camp.

(viii) *Bonkolo*, "island": east side of South Bureu slightly north of the island opposite the Hot Spring east side of the fiord. The town built to move from th To summer the respective inhabitants lived immediate site is, as a place where they had an open salmon where they moved to a fortified spot on the land of a slightly further to the north. This village was burned a landslide was spring long ago, and the few survi [illegible] to re-establish it.

"(ix)" *Bonkwem*, on the east side of the fiord at [illegible] where the fish [illegible]. A small town, whose inh lived on the south from their winter fish-trap, it was deserted.

[illegible]

[illegible]

361 (31) *Kadic*, "Ocean Fish-Trap": on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the *Nuxl'* River. It is doubtful whether this was a town, or merely a camping place of the people of *Nuxl'* when using their salmon-trap.

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"(32) *Nuxl'*: on a raised mound at the south side of the mouth of the *Nuxl'* River, which enters the head of South Bentinck Arm from the east. The meaning is unknown. This was a populous town until the inhabitants were decimated by an epidemic of smallpox.

[231] [264]

"(33) *Tal-ic*: on the west side of the mouth of the river of the same name which flows into South Bentinck Arm from the south. The location of this village was commonly changed, owing to destructive variations in the course of the river. It was formerly a large town, and has been deserted only since 1900. This village had another name, *Tpewelic*, "Facing," so called because its houses faced those of the town of *Nuxl'*.

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"(34) *Ar-ut*, "At the Head": at the head of South Bentinck Arm there is a bay running south-west, into the upper end of which a small stream empties. The trail leading to the lake at the head of Rivers Inlet follows this valley. *Ar-ut* was located on this creek, at some little distance from the ocean; the name was derived from the geographical location of the town. It has not long been deserted and must have been a populous place to judge from the numerous repositories (II, p. 6).

[488]

(35) *Kwapc*: on the east side of the mouth of a creek flowing into the bay at the head of South Bentinck Arm, from the south. This town was of moderate size. The meaning of the name is unknown. It is thought to be in the Rivers Inlet language.

VILLAGES AT KIMSQUIT

[193] Two rivers, the Dean from the east, and the Kimsquit from the north, flow into the head of Dean Channel, and the villages of this area can be grouped according to the two rivers.

The religious concepts of the Bella Coola are not limited to explanations of strange apparitions, nor to knowledge of a wide range of supernatural beings, anthropomorphic or zoomorphic. Many in whom they believe are invisible and intangible, though none the less potent. Almost every incident of life is attributed to the help or hindrance of a supernatural agency. If a fisherman constructs a salmon-weir, with a considerable amount of work, the Bella Coola ascribe his success to the assistance of some supernatural being or supernatural power; mere labour would never have sufficed. If a man has phenomenal success in hunting, it is because the supernatural has helped him in some way. It is not necessary that an anthropomorphic being should appear; they seldom do, but none deny that in some form or another supernatural aids have aided the enterprise.

This attitude is clearly evident in Bella Coola beliefs concerning the construction of canoes. Many professions depend upon prerogatives without which a person cannot hope to succeed. This is not true of canoe-makers, although it is a great advantage to one of them if Tsilaiwat, the Master Carpenter, appeared to his ancestors in the beginning of time. Even without this in many cases a man can succeed in making a canoe if he is aided by a supernatural teacher, or Model Maker. No one knows much about this being, nor even whether there is more than one of them, but it is through his kindly intervention that a man is able to complete his complicated task. If carpenters who have left a half-finished canoe in the woods, hear adze blows, as they are returning to it, they remain away from the spot, knowing that their work is being done with superhuman efficiency by a supernatural artisan. Under such circumstances even a solitary man can construct one of the large, ocean-going canoes. About 1880 an expert carpenter, named Talelu, was making

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[illegible] Mathews said definitely that his mother had told him Mathews came down the Dean River when he such was a young man. As if to confirm this statement he added the incongruential detail that Mathews, in this avatar he had, killed and ate a dog, and that he was given a supernatural skin blanket.

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NEB Bellacoola NEB

and leaps away apparently uninjured. The Bella Coola say that yearling goats have very strong spirits (I, p. 94) which make possible such actions.

Though generally callous with regard to the sufferings of animals, the Bella Coola are usually careful not to kill more than they need; and knowledge of the supernatural power possessed by animals sometimes leads men to treat them with great consideration. For example, if a bull-head is caught in an eulachon net in the river, the fisherman throws it back into the water, saying:

"I have saved you; please do the same for me."

The following incident, believed without question by the Bella Coola, shows the manner in which bull-heads help those who have often befriended them. About 1880 a Kimsquit fisherman, *Ałxałkw-i*, fell into a rapids where he was in great danger of drowning. A bull-head, seeing his plight and mindful of former help, increased his size and shoved *Ałxałkw-i* ashore with its nose.

"I have saved you, mortal," said the bull-head, as he did so.

The ability to increase in size is not restricted to fish, but is shared by small mammals and reptiles. Lizards, for instance, four feet in length, are said to live permanently in a pond about seven miles below Kimsquit; they are termed *qwalk*.

Toads, too, can aid mortals. If a man see a snake devouring one of them he will, if he is wise, kill the snake and say to the toad:

"Please help me when I am in difficulties."

A toad never forgets its obligations and if that man should fall into a river when the toad is near, the latter will grow large enough to drag him forth.

Snakes are regarded with aversion and disgust. This may be in part due to the belief that they cook for *Ałłk'ałał* (I, p. 40), but more because these reptiles enter the stomachs of human beings. The Bella Coola believe that snakes are the offspring of a supernatural Mother of Snakes, a mythical being of dread powers. The following story illustrates their beliefs

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ago the tide came further up the rivers than at present and did not recede so far. This statement was made by an intelligent old man who said that the change had taken place during his own life-time.

One of Raven's most important alterations to *Ẽqwatim*'s intentions was with regard to the sexual act.

> In the beginning of time, the organs of women were on the forehead, those of men on the palm of the hand, and intercourse was effected by a man rubbing his hand across a woman's brow. Raven feared that children would not result from this practice and accordingly altered the organs of both sexes to their present positions. In order to teach mankind the sexual act he then chose a woman and held intercourse with her, telling her that if the practice were carried out secretly and vigorously a child would be born. And nine months later the woman gave birth to an infant. Raven told the first inhabitants of the world that he wished them to have issue; they consequently held intercourse frequently and begat many children until their descendants filled the Bella Coola valley.

The attitude of the Bella Coola towards this story is identical with their beliefs concerning Raven as the cause of death.

"Yes," they say, as they repeat the above story in answer to a question, "Raven taught our ancestors how to have children."

One side of their nature implicitly believes any story handed down from the distant past, but few today are sufficiently naive actually to credit it. The more sophisticated frankly disbelieve, or pretend to do so. Doubt also exists with regard to Raven as originator of linguistic differences. The Bella Coola state that *Ẽqwatim* intended only one language for the whole world, but Raven thought that this would lead to trouble and used his power to teach the ancestors of every tribe their special speech.

Many inventions and beliefs are attributed to Raven without any accompanying myth. It is said that almost all geographical names are those bestowed by him on places reached in his travels. It was Raven who taught men how to bait hooks on long lines to catch black cod; it was Raven who first

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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773 829 have been many changes. Raven, the culture hero, taught the early settlers many useful arts, and they were themselves so powerful that they were able to create ceremonial and other prerogatives in a manner impossible to their descendants. Moreover, the people realize that they have been influenced by neighbouring tribes since that time, but in spite of these additions, they believe that their life is patterned on that of their earliest forbears.

[181] As a group, the Bella Coola are philosophers. They demand a reason for everything, though once a reason has been given, and accepted, they think no more about the matter. The elaboration of Bella Coola mythology may be due in part to their desire to explain their social organization; but without question these myths, now accepted as facts, have had a great influence on the lives of the people. In fact the social structure of the tribe has tended to conform to the myths.

621 773 It is believed that each group of first people formed a village community, and pre-empted hunting-grounds in the vicinity. These usually consisted of small valleys opening from the main [361] Bella Coola River, tracts which could thus be easily defined. [226] Each group also took possession of a suitable part of the river for a salmon-weir, or, if located on the coast, a convenient place for an ocean fish-trap. In course of time the first people married, of necessity with members of other villages. According [591] to mythology, and equally according to modern practice, the women usually moved to the villages of their husbands. When 773 a child was born, it naturally grew up to share in the hunting-grounds of its father's village. Moreover, the father was able to bestow on his child various ceremonial dances; the concepts of some he had brought with him from above, others he had formulated on this earth. It is assumed that all the first people were mighty chiefs, able to initiate rites in a way that few modern men have been able to equal. But the mothers of these children, the first born on this earth, did not surrender the privileges of their own villages at marriage. Consequently, their children were of almost as much interest to the brothers

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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exactly what right the Bella Bella chief had to dispose of the land. The informant assumed that he must have been powerful enough to dictate to his followers, an unknown possibility in Bella Coola. However, the informant regards the case as typical of what would likely happen should a Bella Coola try to give away land. Out of generosity or gratitude old men have sometimes done so, but always they have forgotten someone, perhaps a mere infant, who on growing up lays claim to the *sol'olum*.

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Hunting-grounds are not the only valuable parts of the country. Even more important are stretches of river suitable for salmon-weirs. Of the same type are good places for olachen-nets, and rocks from which these fish can be caught with scoop-nets. Like hunting-grounds, these are said to have been pre-empted by the first people[1] and have passed into the ownership of the ancestral families descended from them. It is needless to repeat the gradual lapsing of rights to property of this kind in distant areas, since the principle is the same as that already described for land.

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[226]

In one respect, salmon-weirs differ from hunting-areas, since the latter can be used by any number of individuals, whereas the number of salmon-traps possible at any one weir is limited. Again the mythological origin must be given to explain the customary usage. If, for example, a salmon-weir supposedly built by one of the first groups of people was fully manned in the third generation by ten individuals, it is as-

[1]Several Bella Coola myths describe how the first-comers brought with them from above stone hammers for the construction of fish-dams, and how others were provided with miniature dams which grew larger when placed in position. Mr. H. I. Smith kindly gave the writer the following account, received from an elderly Bella Coola:

Long, long ago a certain *Tamakse* lived with his father, the Sun, who decided to send his child to earth. He came down to *Stuxx*, carrying a stone beneath his arm-pit, and accompanied by a Wolf. *Tamakse* made the stone into a pile-driver with a face sculptured upon it, and with this tool drove piles to make a fish-weir. After a while a number of human beings came paddling up the Bella Coola River. In course of time the Wolf returned above, but *Tamakse* remained on earth catching salmon, and teaching the people the method which was in use until the last few years.

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423 sumed that ten is the largest number of traps possible at that
614 weir. Those who have the right to that weir are the members
of the ancestral family with the names of those first cases. At
[773] this point the logic of the Bella Coola fails to uphold the mythological pattern. No salmon-weir has remained in existence
[226] since the beginning of time; when one broke, owners were sometimes infants, and those who repaired the break became regarded as the rightful possessors. The system of ownership prevailing at the time of abandoning the weirs, was that *individuals*, not groups, had rights to certain sections of the weir
[428] which were willable like other personal property. In most
[431] cases this right was transmitted with a name, marking the section of weir, which had to be duly validated by presents.
[428] In other cases, the intangible ownership was willed without any mark whatever.* Unless bequeathed in this way, disputes were frequent. Rights of this kind were never sold although
[427] an owner often leased his section for a night, or longer period,
[431] receiving goods in return, and not forfeiting his ownership thereby. This was particularly common when the renter was planning to give a potlatch. No case was heard of in which the right to a certain section of salmon-weir was given to a non-member of the ancestral family. Theoretically, this was possible, but practically it would be so inconvenient that it is most unlikely ever to have occurred, since the Bella Coola is
[671] never such a slave to legal privileges that he fails to be guided by common sense.

226 Although individual ownership is thus recognized with
[423] regard to sections of salmon-weirs and suitable places for olachen-nets, the owner is bound to share his haul. When he
[577] catches a large number of fish, anyone, whether related to him
[626] or not, can demand some. He cannot refuse, since to do so would brand him as selfish. The effective check on this system

[128] *Great difficulty was experienced in learning about the distribution of rights to sections of salmon-weirs. The evidence is conflicting, and though every effort was made to verify and check the above, there may be further regulations which were not learnt.

line is public opinion which expresses contempt for a lazy man who is constantly begging.

To anyone familiar with the definite social groupings of a tribe divided into clans or land-owning families, the ancestral family of the Bella Coola must appear as a vague and unreal unit, only distinguished by its intangibility. So it was found when investigating in the field. When information began to accumulate, it seemed as if there must be some definite obligations incumbent upon all members of the ancestral family, but none could be found. Without asking a direct question, the point was raised whether, if a man were killed, the members of his ancestral family would unite to avenge him. Conversely, were they liable for the deeds of any member? In each case the reply was in the negative; these matters concern only the immediate family. In regulating marriage the ancestral family is important, since it is wise for a man or woman to seek his mate within the members of that group, though it is not compulsory. Theoretically, the terms of kinship applied to members of the immediate family may be extended to members of the ancestral family, but in practice this is rarely the case, and, if so, is functionless. It might be argued that this somewhat wide application of kinship terms, verging on the classificatory usage, is a relic of an earlier, and now broken-down, clan system. It is impossible to prove or to deny such a contention. When trying to discover whether the members of an ancestral family ever contributed to a potlatch whereby one of their fellows established himself as a chief, the following interesting comment was received. The previous winter the informant had been in Bella Bella, and there the point was raised by a Bella Bella chief whom he quoted as follows:

"We laugh at you Bella Coola because each of you is always trying to be chief. Our system is much better; we all help our chiefs."

The man agreed with the Bella Bella man that there was an important difference between the practices of the two tribes.

a man, or inspector, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience to river rulings. Even since, the owner of his canoe, when it has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this function. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the validation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly certified, but non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the canoe or weirs has always been able to perform his duties.

Even since immemorial certain restrictions have been enforced concerning the river. No refuse may be thrown in, otherwise the ulachan would remain in the ocean. For the same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them from seeing the nets. Occasionally an ulachan with red eyes is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to drive stakes for ulachan nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose husband or wife has died within the last year can anchor at the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of ulachan grease, are considered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the salmon and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringements, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river. The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

[illegible] performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ritual concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch, are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do otherwise would be considered rude. The person summoned must take or leave a bite to show that he is not churlish and too proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shows whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of the family should be the first to taste any wine* as proof that it is not poisoned, but otherwise he farns little, if any, better than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse through the construction of individual family houses with doors and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suitable place for catching eulachon or salmon must give some of his catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon, the first collector is given one, later comers, none at all. When a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to swim in and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy; hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

*This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of home-brew.

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gut, gum, and tail. After a week the lashing was removed and the hooks retained the desired shape. By January all was ready, and the necessary ceremony of fastening them to the line had been completed.

Ts'ēmēl set out from his home with a number of companions to Lakmaxlem Channel, where they caught for bait a large quantity of the small fish known as sardines, *Stakaldaal*.[1] It was then evening and next morning the fishermen threw out the cod line before eating. Ts'ēmēl had great success, catching over a hundred fish at a single time, owing to the manner of hooks on his line. During the winter he lowered his line only once a day, but he fished steadily, drying his spoil at intervals, and when April came and he could make those hooks daily, he had caught an enormous quantity. All who saw his success were amazed, and many copied his method, since that time the use of hook and line for cod has been a common practice.

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When Raven taught Ts'ēmēl how to catch cod he also instructed his wife how to clean and prepare them in a certain manner and added that she must throw the entrails back into the ocean. The woman remembered the latter injunction, and her daughter regularly disposed of the entrails in this way, but they were careless in the manner of cutting the fish. Ēmoqwa, chief of the supernatural beings dwelling beneath the ocean, heard of this and was angry at the insult offered to Black Cod. The underwater beings hunt on behalf of their master, so the latter sent the blackfish with instructions to seize Ts'ēmēl's daughter, a pretty girl named *Ailamka*. This is a Bella Bella word, which probably means "Very Good." The blackfish watched her come to the edge of the sea, waited until she had gone a short distance into the water, and then carried her off. Since she was below the age of puberty the supernatural fish had no fears in approaching her. To those on shore it appeared as if she had been drowned; in reality the blackfish bore her away to Ēmoqwa's house in their canoe, which, like that of the salmon, is invisible to mortal eyes. She found herself among many strange fish, and in the presence of the mighty Ēmoqwa, who wore his usual broad-brimmed hat.

When those who had seen the kidnapping of *Ailamka* told Ts'ēmēl and his wife, they grieved for their daughter as for one dead. In mourning, they stopped fishing and tore their hair. From afar Raven saw their grief and came to ask its cause.

"For some unknown reason I have lost my daughter," Ts'ēmēl answered.

"I think it must be due to your having cut up Black Cod in some manner other than that in which I directed you," said Raven. "If you

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[1] These are commonly used as bait; in fact, *Ahaal* means "bait."

a person has been in contact with supernatural beings to enable him to swim.

Alkunda told them everything, that her mother had failed to teach her how to cut up black cod, "so *Sxnaqme* sent blackfish to teach me so that I could be taught," she said. "You must be very careful to cut them up properly or trouble will come upon you."

The correct method, as taught by Raven, is to split the fish cleanly without severing the bones. *Sk paxel*'s daughter had erred by cutting the one which is equivalent to a fish to the human other-bone. The old dame of the fish that descended to *Sxnaqme*'s house, of the red-fish, which disclosed their mother by playing outside the house so that their stomachs were often forced out from their mouths* and they floated up to the surface, of *Sxnaqme* himself and his large hat, and of the other denizens of the under-world. The people listened attentively and ever after cut up black cod in the prescribed fashion, though if *Alkunda* had not been carried off to *Sxnaqme*'s house Raven's teaching would undoubtedly have been forgotten.

Not long after his daughter's safe return *Sk paxel* gave a potlatch. He took for himself the name *Sxnaqme*, and at the same time reproduced in his own house as much as possible of what his daughter had described. Thus there were imitation fishes, especially the halibut, around the house, while the red-fish were shown as wooden models that could be drawn up to the roof by hidden strings representing the manner in which the fish float up to the surface of the ocean. *Sxnaqme*, himself, was shown wearing his large bell capped hat, of the type known as *Sqpel*.*

While *Alkunda* was under the water *Sxnaqme* had shown her sacred whistles, and at this potlatch they were used while the girl was concealed within the back-room as a sacred initiate.

This was the* origin of the *sacred* ceremonial, which spread in time from the *ocean* people to the Bella Coola. The name *Sxnaqme* passed to one of *Sk paxel*'s descendants who, when he gave a potlatch, arranged

*The red-fish is an unidentified deep-sea fish which dies in shallow water through lack of pressure.

*This style was always worn by *Sxnaqme* and *Sqaxnim* and, as many of the first people obtained their power from one or other of these beings, the prerogative of using such hats at potlatches is quite common. They are made of cedar roots, are waterproof, and are usually painted with one of the wearer's ancestral crests. When either *Sxnaqme* or *Sqaxnim* is shown on a totem-pole he is displayed with one of these hats.

*It will be noted that the narrator tacitly assumes any origin recorded in his myth to be the sole, or authentic one.

though they may be to the white man. It is hoped that the preceding illustrations, drawn from minor cases, will explain the mental attitude of the Bulu Cards better than incidents from folk-lore of the distant past. [787]*

Disregarding thoughts which, since they are caused by the spiritual elements of the human body, are ever present, relations with the supernatural may be divided into the following categories: [828] [774]

(1) Appearance of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. Strictly speaking, every fleeting sight of a supernatural being belongs to this category, but it will be convenient to describe only experiences of a peculiar kind, such as the Bulu Cards call *ayo ebiliwandjelebi*. Usually manifestations of the supernatural have certain effects; consequently, there are relatively few incidents of this kind recorded.

(2) Supernatural aid vouchsafed to a man or a woman in distress. There are many tales illustrating this, which are told and retold to the children. In most cases the assistance is given to one who has undeservedly, according to Bulu Cards concepts, fallen into misfortune.

(3) Supernatural good luck. This may be obtained by anyone, and consists of the acquisition of a supernatural object to attract, not only fish and animals, as if it were a potent bait, but money and goods as well. [777] [224] [222]

(4) Acquisition of shamanistic power, with or without the ability to cure the sick. This may be received from one of two sources: [756]

(*a*) *Tindjilibi-a* or some other supernatural being.

(*b*) Ghosts, which are likewise supernatural.

(5) Obtaining prophetic powers direct from the supreme god. There are few instances of this, and none that is ascribed to a remote period. It is possible that all examples of this kind can be attributed to indirect Christian influence. [775] [777]

(6) Obtaining power from a supernatural being localized in a particular spot. This usually takes the form of succour when [756]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

father. But the great-grandson was too lazy to take the trouble of going with his father to the place where the secret of the find was hidden, so the treasure was lost.

A fourth giver of supernatural good fortune is one of the mythical creatures termed *swap*. This variety lives in the ocean, or rarely in rivers, and can occasionally be seen moving on the surface with its long, golden tresses floating on the water. The hair appears always to be flecked with angle down, but in reality it is a mass of harmless, the equivalent of this substance to the under-sea dweller. If the observer is brave, he will paddle cautiously near until he can cover a lock of the hair around his paddle and break it off. He must not touch it with his hands, but must dangle it outside the canoe, still wrapped about his paddle, until he reaches the shore, where he must conceal it in some lonely place for one year. After that period he can use a single hair, or piece of one, as bait; it will be enough to attract animals to his traps or salmon to his weir, exactly as with the numerous great grease concretions of a gadoid or a cod that has come in contact with a giant squid. If the person who has jerked off the hair with his paddle should be foolish or ignorant enough to bring his spoil into his canoe, he, and all with him, are rendered incapable of movement and the craft with its occupants sinks beneath the sea.

The father's cousin of an informant once saw one of these animals when paddling in company with several companions to Kitsaquit. The sea was smooth as glass when their attention was attracted by a number of small ripples, spreading in a half-moon shape from what they realized was the head of a *swap*. The hair crossed the ripples, but did not rise or fall with them. The back of the animal's head was nearest the canoe so the opportunity seemed favourable for obtaining some of its hair. Cautiously the men paddled nearer, but at the last moment the steersman feared to drive the canoe in among the golden tresses, so veered off and the craft passed along one side of the mass of hair. The animal had shown no sign of being aware of their presence, but it now began to turn away,

as that to floating locks remained between them and its head. As it turned, the hair moved with it, so that, although the impression remained of a floating mat, there must have been some motive power to cause it to remain streaming out straight behind. Each strand moved through the ripples without being affected. Though the paddles strained to the utmost to see the animal's face it thwarted their efforts by this continuous slow turning, until at last the want on their way, disappointed.

Yet another creature from which supernatural good fortune has been obtained is the Mother of Snakes, a creature described in the following story.

A family living at Shalton was reduced to the point of starvation through the failure of their salmon-weir. It seemed as if the fish avoided it. One day a son of one of the women, who had been in trouble with a woman in the lower valley, was off into the woods out far from his village, where he saw what he thought was a black bear. When it came nearer he realized that its chest was tipped with silver and that its tongue kept shooting far beyond its jaw; hence that it must be the Mother of Snakes. This creature combines the qualities of bear and snake; it is always the son of the former, and it appears to have a serpent wrapped around its chest. It always pursues mortals and slays them, unless they know the proper means of escape. Luckily, the youth's father had long ago warned him what to do if chased by one, so he at once dashed off. First he ran downhill, but the animal gained on him; then he ran uphill, but still the monster drew nearer. The only way the fugitive could increase his lead was by ascending or descending in zigzags, since the brute's heavy legs then kept slipping. All day the pursuit continued, until towards dusk, when the youth was almost exhausted, he saw at last what he was looking for, a stump with splinters, projecting upwards. Pushing these apart with his hands, he leapt through the opening thus made, then circled the tree once sunwise, and pulled away one of the jagged spikes. Now the Mother of Snakes must always follow directly in the tracks of its quarry, and as it jumped through the passage the youth struck it across the back with the splinter which he had pulled out. Down fell the monster dead.

With his knife the lad cut off some of the animal's meat which he carried home, saying nothing to his father. Early the next morning the old man went to look at his salmon-weir, but as usual it was empty. As soon, however, as his son drew near, the river became packed with salmon, all heading towards the trap which was soon filled.

[illegible]

"It seems as if you attracted the salmon like a magnet," said the father to his son.

The latter did not answer immediately, but later he said:

"You were right," and he told him what had happened.

"You have obtained supernatural good luck," the old man replied simply.

Following his son's instructions the father prepared canoes and boats to bring back the flesh of the Mother of Salmon. They collected every scrap of it, which they preserved very carefully, and used small portions as bait to attract salmon to their weir with such success that they became wealthy.

Another supernatural being from whom supernatural good fortune may be obtained is *Skwandi-ka*, "The Female Mourner." When a chief dies she comes to wail, wandering through the woods near the village, where sometimes she can be seen in the form of a weeping woman. As she cries, she ejects mucus from her nose, which solidifies into a glass-like substance about a foot in length. Anyone who sees her should take the transformed mucus, and wrap it in some article of his own clothing; it will bring him good fortune. About midnight of June 21, 1922, the infant daughter of a Bella Coola died, and about seven o'clock on the following morning the wailing was heard[1] in the woods behind the missionary's house. The brother of the dead child's father rushed off to try to find the weeping one. Luckily he did not succeed, because he did not know about collecting the mucus, and trouble would have come to him had he seen the supernatural being without knowing how to deal with it; in fact, even to hear *Skwandi-ka* is considered an omen of death.

It will be seen from the foregoing specific instances that supernatural good luck is usually obtained by the slaying of some powerful creature. But, since every living creature is endowed with superhuman power, it follows that any object obtained from a bird or an animal that has acted in a peculiar way may be the cause of supernatural good fortune if it be kept for one year in the manner previously described. Some-

[1] Since the Bella Coola believe that it was heard, the incident is recorded as a fact.

over, and concluded that he had acquired the vigour which she had vowed to impart to him. So she told him simply to come in and swim with them, and again dived back to resume her play with her cubs. After watching the four throwing the stones to and fro, Qwinas dived in, joined their sport, and throw the boulders over so far as they were able for he had acquired the power of a bear. The four left the pool together and when the animals had resumed their form they gave Qwinas a bear blanket. On donning this he, too, became a grizzly bear.

"Now," said the mother bear, "you can go home and take revenge on the murderers of your father. Only remember, you must not do so, or show your strength, for one year. Your name is now *Nimmelle* [a word derived from *nim*, a grizzly bear]. Henceforth I and my cubs will be your friends and will be at hand to help you if you ever need us."

The four bears accompanied Qwinas towards his home, all travelling rapidly in bear form. Near his aunt's house he took off his blanket and carefully hung it up in a secure place; this restored him to human form and he went home, while his bear friends went off into the woods. Qwinas thought that he had been absent only a single day, but when he came to the village he found that it was autumn, although the olachen had been running when he went away. This was because he had been in the land of supernatural beings where one day is the equivalent of a year among mortals. He went to his aunt's door in the twilight. The old woman, who had concluded that her nephew was long dead, was delighted at seeing him return not only alive but appearing strong and well. She had very little food but she gave him the best available.

Obedient to the instructions given him by the mother bear, Qwinas did not immediately take his revenge. All winter he remained almost secluded in his aunt's house, but when spring came and the olachen were running, he paddled down in a river canoe to his father's fishing-ground where the four murderers had built four olachen-traps with firm interwoven branches, capable of resisting any flood. In the canoe with Qwinas was a mere child to whom he had given the nominal place as captain in the stern, while he himself paled in the bow. He guided his canoe against one of the weirs which broke before the impact as if it had been made of twigs, then, in succession he destroyed the three others in like fashion. Next Qwinas began to make four olachen-weirs for himself. Under normal circumstances the construction of one is a long and laborious task, requiring the pounding in of heavy stakes with mallets, but Qwinas, endowed as he was with the strength of a grizzly bear, merely shoved in the posts without effort. As he was working, the four murderers came up, very angry at the destruction of their weirs. One of them struck a savage blow at the destroyer with a stake, but Qwinas merely caught it with one

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phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe.

TABOO TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would disorganize the ceremonia and cause profuse growth of hair.

Women of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do so would cause a difficult delivery.

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat roasted salmon until the sticks have been removed which hold it in front of the fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded.

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when nearing the hunting or fishing-ground.

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola.

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness.

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the men remove only an eye, place it in a notched stick and set this under an over-

226 hanging rock where no rain can penetrate. Long ago, some
[illegible] hunter failed to do this and became blind in consequence, hence the rite has since been carried out.

When a hunter is in the field, his wife must not swing. To do this causes him to go up into lofty and dangerous places as she rises on the swing, and also destroys the power laboriously accumulated by ceremonial chastity.

Ritual Acts

796 Communitalism is an extremely important aspect of Bella
● 226 Coola life, but most of their rites are social or religious rather than magical, so that descriptions of them belong to other
789 chapters. In connection with the taking of the first olachen and salmon, however, a number of ritual acts are performed to bring about desired ends; the element of propitiation is not entirely absent, but on the whole they may be considered as magical.

RITES CONNECTED WITH THE FIRST OLACHEN

226 At the height of the olachen run, the fish are so abundant
796 that they can be taken profitably in large purse-nets. They
574 do not, however, come simultaneously, and eager fishermen keep watching for their arrival and catching the straggling forerunners in hand dip-nets. These fish must not be eaten immediately. Each fisherman arranges a box in the front part of his house in which he deposits them as taken; if several men are doing this in a single dwelling, one box for each will be arranged near the front-door. Whenever a dance is held, eagle down is blown over the receptacle to placate the olachen and prevent them from being disturbed by the noise. As soon as a man has caught enough for a feast, he invites all his fellows to his house and the fish are distributed. It is taboo for any woman to share this meal, and it is most improper for a man to summon his neighbours until he has enough olachen to allow each guest to carry home a plentiful supply for his family. In former times, there used to be a number of meals of this kind,

[illegible] each fisherman provided one who his bow was fitted. 226

No one is allowed to drink water immediately after eating 796
the first eulachon of the spring, since to do so would be a 574
fraud. It is considered most improper for a child to eat [865]
after partaking of this food; if he does so, he is punished
having nettles stuffed into his mouth. As already [illegible],
if a person dies before the first fish have passed through his
bowels, a shaman must wipe his lips with cedar-bark.

After the first meal of eulachon, snares for the sun are 226
driven, and the restrictions become less exacting. Women are [562]
not allowed to assist in fishing, but the men devote their all
time to the task, working with zest and energy.[1] An abundant
supply of eulachon is a source of joy, and all listen eagerly for [825]
the singing of the thrush, omnomonth, which signifies that the
nets are full to burning. Half jocularly, people invite the bird
to come and eat, but his modesty is compared so:

"I shall eat when the river is full."

RITES CONNECTED WITH THE FIRST SPRING SALMON

Salmon is the most important article of Bella Coola diet 226
and the rites which accompany the earliest taking of this fish 796
are relatively complicated. [262]

When the first spring salmon have been caught, they are
laid in the canoe with their heads all pointing rearward up-
stream. The fisherman poles to shore, but instead of landing
his catch, he fastens the salmon to a stake driven at the edge
of the bank so that they remain in the water. A number of
posts are usually placed in readiness, each decorated with
alternate spirals of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned
with an eagle's tail. Each day one or two more fish may be
caught, but all are left in the water until the first have become
soft, thus giving sufficient time for the necessary preparations
on shore. It is the duty of every owner of a salmon-weir to
build near its end a so-called Spring Salmon House, a shake [343]

[1] For a description of eulachon fishing, see Appendix A.
[2] Cf. Boas, p. 78.

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structure with a roof but without side walls. To this the successful fisherman brings long strings of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, eagle down, and spoons made of maple-bark; in this task he is assisted by his relatives as well as by anyone else willing to help.

When all has been prepared, the fisherman asks the men of the village to gather on the bank to assist him. No one is compelled to do so, but in actual fact everyone is glad to be present unless prevented by some valid reason. A friend takes a canoe pole and points at the head of the first salmon, while all call in unison, *xak'loi*, a word for which no meaning is known, and which is said to have been used unintelligibly for many generations. If he is standing on the south bank of the stream, the fisherman passes his left hand outside his right, seizes the fish behind the neck with the former, and by the tail with the latter; then he turns around sunwise, uncrossing his arms, so that his catch is still pointing upstream. If the village is on the north side of the river, the position of the hands is reversed. He carries the salmon to the Spring Salmon House and places it on a layer of fresh cottonwood and willow leaves spread over the ground. A young assistant, who is decorated with bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, lifts from his left arm one of a number of two-foot strips of the same material carried there and lays it over the salmon's head so that part of the string is within its mouth. As he does this he says:

Ipäxellai, qämxämilao,[9] "Accept, O Salmon."

Qämxämila is not the usual word for salmon, but signifies rather, "Food"; it is the designation used by supernatural beings for these fish and is hence applied by *smnq* to their prey, human beings.

After this has been done, eagle down is blown over the fish. A second salmon is likewise taken from the river, with the same cry of *xak'loi*, laid with its head on its predecessor's tail, and the same rite carried out. This is repeated till all are arranged in line, with their heads pointing upstream. The

[9] The vocative form of the word.

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women listening from the village are able to tell how many have been caught from the number of times the cry *sul'lui* is raised. 226 796

Then the salmon are cut up (only shell knives may be used for the purpose) and cooked. Everything must be used, heads, bones, and entrails, the only refuse being the blood which is scraped from the leaves and carried into the woods. The leaves themselves, and the strings of dyed and undyed cedar-bark are thrown into the river in accordance with a desire expressed by *Nsáksum* long ago. When everything is ready for a meal, the men take their places in two rows, facing each other across a coarse bark mat. Bark spoons have been provided, and when the heralds call for food, the fisherman brings the heads of the salmon and the guests make the motions of eating, though in reality these parts are dried and kept for winter. Boxes containing a liberal portion of the choice meat are next served and all eat freely. Each guest puts on one side what he has not consumed as if to carry it away, as is the custom at an ordinary feast, though his share is really left in the shelter until the following day. Finally, a third course is provided, the back of the fish cooked with the bone in position. Like the last, the guests eat as much as they desire and pack up the residue as if to take away. Then they leave the Spring Salmon House. [412] 226 796 574 [251]

All the fish are not cooked on the one occasion. The following day the fisherman again calls back the men of his village. The same type of meal is served, but this time the guests carry away what they do not eat for the benefit of their families. This portion may be eaten by the women without affronting the salmon. [562]

This rite has not been performed in full detail in Bella Coola for many years, and it was impossible to collect information on some points. It is uncertain, for example, whether this ceremony was carried out by every fisherman or whether there used to be certain individuals with the prerogative of dealing with the first catch. The latter appears to be the most logical 226 796 424

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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manner, and was definitely stated to be the case by one well-informed old man. It is clear, however, that every spring salmon was landed with the cry of *xaẽ'lai·*, taken to the Spring Salmon House, and cut up by the men until the time when women were allowed near the river. Another old man stated that the feast took place at night and that only the heads and refuse of the first catch were eaten, the remainder being dried for the winter. Women of child-bearing age were not allowed on the river bank, and were rigorously excluded from the Spring Salmon House until the time when the sun's shadow reached a diagonal scar on the slope of one of the mountains on the north side of North Bentinck Arm. This occurs about August. From that time onwards, there was no calling of *xaẽ'lai·*, and women, except those who were taboo, could cut salmon freely on the bank. It was even stated that refuse of salmon could be thrown into the river after that time. No one knows the origin of this seasonal prohibition, or why it should end when the sun reaches a certain point, but it was faithfully observed in former times.

In Kimsquit similar rites were carried out, the chief variation being that the bodies of four swans were placed in the Spring Salmon House and the fish laid with these at intervals in the line. Moreover, the youth used to bite the back of each salmon as he presented it with the cedar-bark streamer. The same regulations with regard to drinking water, and crying after eating, were enforced for spring salmon as for olachen.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

The following miscellaneous beliefs and customs cannot be assigned to any special aspect of Bella Coola life:

If a spark from a fire jumps out and lights on a person's hand, it is said:

"The fire wants to give you [the person on whom the brand has fallen] food."

If a man sneezes repeatedly, it is said:

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is
*796 usually added that the animal in question is the one resident
776 in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary
825 river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to
[773] follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded
to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his
house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he
objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the
[821] stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed
[224] his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that
time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. As
far as could be learnt, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who is patron for a certain *kusiut* is the head of a female herring. Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to
[532] doubt. For the *nekusam* of her protégé, a number of masks representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are prepared. When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dakdakānas*, the supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *kusiut* but the ritual of the dance, known as *ernāsmanaix*, was not obtained. The similarity between *Dakdakānas* and *Dakdakānmem*, those who await *Nakāpnim*, appears merely to be an accidental re-
[192] semblance in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning "to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

*575
*796
776
184
[755]

THE DANCE OF *Almophaiktila*

In Kimsquit it is believed that *Ana'lākwulaix* has a husband, *Almophaiktila*, who is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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C *Wastl-ts-ma-ts-ulh* | *yaa Xislwalhlaulai* | *Xislhlaulhlulh* 599*
I gazed upon | what gave me power as a shaman(f) | when it stood up 756

tsaxlx-amaxa-a-ts-ulh
in the centre of a place of petrified power(g).

(a) This was the woman's *hamat* designation; her shaman's name has been forgotten. [551]

(b) Recorded as song VII D 16, National Museum of Canada; quarter, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tal'a* Charlie and Steamboat Annie.

(c) That is: The sky moved up and down. Grandiloquent phrases of this kind are frequent in songs used by shamans. [195]

(d) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(e) *Sisaxmulx* is said to be the word for salmon in the language of the supernatural beings; it is used by mortals in the rites following the taking of the first spring salmon. The shaman has received some of her power from a fish. [198] [226]

(f) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(g) Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

(h) The meaning is obscure. Apparently the shaman had been carried away by *Tlitxpilitw-a* and treated by immersion in a basin in which eagle down was deposited.

(i) This refers to the supernatural being, *Ásaxmiktum*, who causes to life mortals killed by the receipt of too much power from *Tlitxpilitw-a*. It is clear that this fact befell the shaman. [776]

(j) The woman is said to have received power from several sources, salmon, ghosts, and *Tlitxpilitw-a* herself. It is impossible to state which of her supernatural patrons is referred to in this subdivision.

(k) The woman must have been taken to one of the spots where cures could be effected by the power of a supernatural being petrified there. [955]

Song Used by Nuxalk-malxsait(a), a Kimsquit Man(b) [551] [776]

A *Ásaxpaxipaxmulx* | *nax-tatlilxwaulx* | *aiahaiaiai*
Look at the teeming supernatural beings above(c), not one is | *wiac ana(c)!*
my equal(d),

[wooden cover]

B *Ásaxhlilxilaxyaa'xulá* | *ataxyaxtamulxaulx* | *aiahaiaiai*
You must sometimes wake at night to meditate on what I am | *wiac ana!*
bringing your mouth(f),

[wooden cover]

C *Ásaxyaxhaulá* | *ataxalhlaxamulx* | *aiahaiaiai*
You must sometimes use your wash-basin(g), | *wiac ana!*

[wooden cover]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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$533

Ha	*tsijiwi!*	*ulilaiam*
Come(c),	let us lie down together	not far away.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 33b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This is the type of song sung by a group of women on a picnic.
(b) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.
(c) This is addressed to another man.

Women's Love Song(a)

Kiwutilidijim	*diyajkutmiyutulai*	*yau ulilawis*	*siyapulut*
I do not want him	to lie down with me	that slave	똘ulut(b).

dyiucytilpiuwuwu	*gituyum ilaw u,*	*tsijkituwuiu*[c]
Don't go too far down(c)	or you will be unable to stop delaying(d).	

Hiwuuiwuulilip	*siyudjiwulijiwu*	*ilu wapuiyuwu!*
I want to sleep,	I dream of you(e),	how disconsolate I am!

(a) Recorded as song VII D 38c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b)똘ulut was a man who specialized in composing songs that mocked women, hence the singer used his name in this derogatory manner in retaliation.
(c) The implication is that her lover had been fondling her face, and that she did not wish him to touch her body. The three parts of this song have no apparent relationship to one another.
(d) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions. The introduction of the obscene expression is unexplained.
(e) Referring to her lover.

[578]

$533
226

ANIMAL SONGS

Fishing Song(a)

This song is sung by boys as they cast for trout.

Wituiuyuiu ai	*wuiuwulwuiu*	*wuiuwulwuiu*
Come sliding, trout(b),	I want to triumph,	I want to triumph,

yau tilpuulituuu	*ilituiyuiu!*
over you biggest	trout.

Ilituiyuiu!	*ulituiyuiu!*
I fish for trout,	I fish for trout.

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226

Nuhlhlḵwaqotsmkx Swallow right down(*c*),	*oldisztcntcnki* to your very tail,	*oldisztcntcnki* to your very tail;

dmqstmwakalulan islaix
why you cannot even break one of our hairs(*d*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 9a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
(*b*) The vocative form is used.
(*c*) That is: Swallow the bait.
(*d*) A reference to the use of human hairs for fishlines. The lad is, of course, trying to "dare" the fish.

Fishing Song(a)

This is a song sung by lads as they splash in the water after minnows, trying to drive them ashore.

Waksdimān·u Who is your father?	*Waksdimān·u* Who is your father?

qualaiyulānk "Rotten stomach"(*b*)	*dimān·u* is your father;	*qualaiyulānk* "Rotten stomach"	*dimān·u* is your father.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 26b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) It is uncertain whether this refers to any particular kind of fish, or is merely a general term of opprobrium.

Song Sung to a Cormorant(a)

533*
825

When a cormorant is seen near a canoe, the paddlers often sing the following song. The bird, delighted, is said to come near and dance around the craft.

Qānāxomāks Dance,	*dallopān·idax* cormorant,	*qānāxomāks* dance,	*dalsitaowidax* cormorant(*b*).

Nustsaik
Take the breast(*c*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 34c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) This is the Bella Bella word for cormorant.
(*c*) The singer insisted on inserting this refrain after the song. It is really a lullaby and it is doubtful whether it normally accompanies the cormorant song.

[192]

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*539 a large cave in the vicinity where the hunters smoked the meat and boiled
[224] down the grease and marrow, but they had killed so many that it was January before their task was completed. Meanwhile the smell of flesh had attracted a number of martens which were caught in snares; in fact, they captured enough for two blanket-robes. When ready to leave for home, they prepared snow-shoes and on these safely negotiated the deep drifts and reached the village where all hope of their safety had long been abandoned. *Sānuxmāxots* arrived at dusk and heard his parents weeping and wailing; he asked who had died and found that they were mourning for him. His safe return turned their lamentations into rejoicings and a herald was sent out to call in the villagers to share the good news. When finally packed in, there was enough goat meat for an elaborate potlatch.[n]

[226] A year or two later, four men prepared to set out one afternoon to fish for trout. As they were leaving, *Sānuxmāxots*'s young son begged to be taken along and cried so piteously that they at last consented. So they wrapped him carefully in a goat-skin blanket, and placed him in the bottom of the canoe which they paddled about six miles upstream. They landed on the bank, cooked a meal, and dried black spruce branches over
[226] the fire to serve as torches to lure the fish within range of their spears. When night had fallen, they began to drift downstream, one man holding aloft a brand while the others speared. They had fair success, but nothing noteworthy occurred until, as they neared *Nuxalst*, they saw white on the water, and paddled slowly forward, thinking it must be a huge flock of swans. As they drew nearer they saw that it was snow; a huge slide had swept over the village and blocked the channel of the river. The water, no longer able to flow westward, was swirling back to the east, and the fishermen drifted with it until they found a place to camp for the night with their young companion.

As soon as it was light, they returned to the scene of the disaster and found a deep bed of snow over the site of the village. They landed to investigate, and called repeatedly, hoping that some at least had escaped. At last they heard an answer and began to dig, imagining that it must be *Sānuxmāxots* himself. After excavating a deep hole, they unburied the sole survivor, a slave who had escaped by covering with a copper the

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[n] It will be noticed that there are many points of similarity between this story
[538] and the one in vol. II, p. 512. It is possible that they are versions of the same account, but it seems more likely that they refer to different incidents of which the principal
[551] character of one has been forgotten. In such cases the Bella Coola, believing that individuals with the same name often have the same characteristics, frequently give to the hero of an earlier incident the name of a person who has figured in a similar one within recent years.

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to the aesthetic, their skill in dancing and dramatics is noteworthy: no one who has witnessed a native dance can fail to have been impressed by the performance of the participants and the stage-craft of the carpenters. The fact that no system of writing had ever been devised has prevented the establishment of a native literature, but the practice of passing down an extensive folklore by word of mouth shows their narrative powers as well as their faculty for remembering details. At present it is difficult to appreciate what must have been their energy in earlier times when they faced the struggle for existence, armed with stone tools. Abundant salmon gave them adequate food, but only when weirs had been built with great labour. Though game was plentiful, the hunter was equipped with nothing more formidable than a bow and arrow. The simplest task required patience and skill undreamed of by the average white man. If the reader will allow his imagination to carry him backwards two hundred years, he will realize that the mere provision of food and clothing necessitated constant effort and ceaseless exertion.

Hand in hand with many admirable characteristics, the Bella Coola display others which strike the white man as unprepossessing. A first impression is the untidiness of their houses. Exteriorly, they are often fairly neat, but confusion reigns within. Clothing, instead of being hung up, is left lying on the floor; bed-coverings are piled carelessly; dirty dishes cover the tables; dogs and children swarm over the floor; flies abound; all is dirty and slovenly. The house itself may be uncompleted; a window lacks glass and has been boarded up; the roof leaks, or the steps are falling down. Nor are the surroundings more attractive. There is one struggling flower-bed in the village, but elsewhere the houses are surrounded by wastes of mud where horses and cattle wander, dogs prowl, and children play. In the distance the mountain peaks rise in splendour, but near at hand all is squalid and unkempt.

They are only slightly more particular about their personal appearance. Dirt does not distress them. They wash occa-

APPENDIX A

MECHANICAL PROCESSES

NO attempt was made to study either the material culture of the Bella Coola, or their methods of manufacturing, but information on some points was obtained incidentally. All sociological and religious features connected therewith have already been described. 121

THE TAKING AND PREPARATION OF OLACHEN

227 The run of olachen, *spaty*, comes about the end of April, and as many as possible are caught. In preparation, nets, *ätv'x*, are brought out from the boxes where they have been stored during the winter, examined, and repaired. If necessary, new ones must be manufactured out of nettle-(*lxna*-) fibre laid away by the women for this purpose. By rolling the material on their legs, they produce a thin twine; five strands of this are then interwoven, making a finished cord capable of resisting great strain. The nets are constructed by the men. The type used at the present time, which is said not to differ from that formerly employed, consists of a purse-like sack, oval in cross-section, open at the wider end and tapering very gradually to the other, which is closed. The total length is about thirty feet, the diameter at the open end about eight feet, and at the closed end about three feet. A new net is dipped in a mixture of boiled hemlock-bark to darken it, and then boiled in a solution of willow-bark to prevent the knots from slipping. [226] [221] [283] [462] [286] [386]

The setting out of a net is not an easy task, so two or three men agree to work as partners. In the present degenerate days, property rights are not respected and each group selects a suitable spot. The best location is where the water is about three feet deep and runs rapidly, but without ripples, over a smooth piece of the bottom; such a place is called a *sklläq*. When the fish begin to run plentifully, the partners paddle out to set their net, taking with them four stakes, each about ten feet in length. The weight of a full net is tremendous, so the poles have to be driven down at least six feet, a difficult task on account of the stony bottom. Selecting the exact spot, one of four posts, *älkäjälos*, is set upright and held in position by being tied to a cross-piece, *nudjiqosta*, fastened to the canoe for the purpose. While his two partners hold the craft steady, the third man begins to pound down the stake; metal mauls are now commonly used, but in former times this work was always done with an unhafted stone maul, *lixwoma*. The fishermen relieve one another intermittently until the top of the pole has been driven down to within 226 [476] [423] [178] [412]

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226 about a foot of the surface. In the same slow manner a second stake is driven in, about ten feet from the first, and in such a position that the main force of the current would strike at right angles a line drawn between the two. Then two more stakes are placed in position, slightly below the first pair, and nearer together, as shown in the diagram (Figure 3). The posts are often driven before the main run of the fish, and the fixing of the net delayed until that time. It is fastened to the four stakes, with its open end, which faces upstream, forming a rough oval, ten feet wide, of which the lower side rests on the bottom and the upper is at the surface. The outer stakes hold the upper edge, the inner ones secure the lower brim. The olachen are slow-swimming fish which work their way upstream with the rising tide, and, when it turns, drift back into the net. Once within the opening, they lack strength to drive forward against current and tide, and are forced into the closed bottom, floating downstream, in thousands. At the peak of the season, a net is often extended to its full dimensions with a solid mass of fish, throwing a tremendous strain on supports and mesh-work alike. During the day, the mouth is closed with a cross-piece, *nastnastia*, to prevent floating objects from drifting within and damaging it, and opened during the night at whatever hour the tide turns.

FIG. 3. Diagram showing position of the stakes supporting an olachen net.

Early in the morning begins the landing of the fish. The partners paddle out to the bottom of their net and, with considerable exertion, lift it into the canoe. A cord is tied around the bellied mass, cutting off a section, and the end is opened so that the fish from it fall into the bottom of the craft. Another part is dealt with in the same manner, then a third, and so in succession until the gleaming olachen are piled so deeply that no more can be loaded with safety. Sometimes two or three loads, each of many thousands, are taken from a single net. The partners slowly pole to shore where, at the present time, their wives and children wait to unload the canoe. The fish are packed into baskets, carried on the back [482] with the aid of a tump-line, and taken to pits which have been prepared 226 ten to fifteen feet from the bank. These are three or four feet deep, lined 251 with planks, and with their bottoms covered with evergreen boughs. The olachen are emptied into these holes, which are covered with more planks when full. If more fish are landed than can be handled conveniently in this manner, they are laid on branches spread on the ground, and a low wall of planks built up around them. Although the main run lasts for only three or four days, the olachen are so numerous that each group of partners is able to fill several of these storage pits.

252 Though most of the catch is thus disposed of, there is always enough

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#192 [illegible], "Left Foot": *Stnix* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.

[illegible]: Kimsquit hunter living in the last century.

[825] [illegible]: Dentalium-shell.

[illegible], "Not Finished": Said concerning a *kusiut* who dies between initiation and his first complete dance.

[292] [881] [illegible]: Skull cap of grass and dentalium-shells worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.

[illegible]: Guest, especially from afar, to a *kusiut* dance.

[illegible]:
1—Supernatural herald.
2—Assemblage of the people for ceremonies of different kinds, especially shamans' dances and guessing competitions in connection with the Mystery dance.
3—Kimsquit term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance.

[illegible], "A Surpassing": Said of cases where a wife's relatives have given more presents to the husband's than they have received in return.

[576] [601] [illegible]: Place of concealment of a Mystery dancer's power.

[illegible]: Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for indirect address.

[415] [illegible]: Rightful location, especially the validated position of a chief in a house.

[illegible]: Dishes carved with ancestral crest.

[illegible]:
1—Mouse.
2—Daughter of the first settlers at *Sátlia*.

[825] [illegible]: Spring salmon.

[illegible]: Spring salmon house.

[illegible]: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.

[illegible]: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of the Bella Coola River.

[illegible]:
1—The allotment of work to *kukusiut* in the manufacture of masks and other requirements.
2—Hence, the time when such tasks are assigned, the second evening of a *kusiut* dance.

[illegible], "The Resident Maker": Name given to the daughter of the first settlers at *Snuisli*.

[575] [illegible] or [illegible]: That which serves as pattern, picture, or model for a *kusiut* ritual.

[illegible]: Second night of a potlatch.

[226] [illegible]: Artificial, pier-like structure built into a river for use in hand-net fishing.

[illegible], "Where People Go": A reflecting pool created by Raven at Kimsquit.

[illegible]: Cave near Dean Channel.

[illegible], "The Dancer Whose Only Noise-Making Instrument Is His Body": One of *Ttitcaplilán-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

[illegible]: Supernatural woman who guards repositories.

[illegible]:
1—"The Open-Mouthed" (in the sense of open to suck forth sickness): One of *Ttitcaplilán-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.

[756] [823] [illegible]: Swift running water.

[illegible]:
1—Ranks of ordinary inidviduals; this term is used to distinguish those who are being initiated into the *nasok* society.
2—Something supernatural seen when awake.

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Ănudakănuts: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
ănukăldimut, "This Is to Make Straight Your Road": Said when a call is returned, or food thrown upon a fire for the dead.
Ănukae-lst, "Place of Big Stones in the River": Village at Kwatna.
Ănukelulslaix: Woman immolated in a repository and hence become supernatural.
ănukilult'a: Rainbow-coloured nose-ring worn by Death.
Ănukiqaksaix: Supernatural name of Hawk. [825]
ănukitnk': Short cord by which the fungus is held during the *kănăn-i* dance.
Ănukkalnum: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ănukpănaix, "The One that Fills the Rivers": Supernatural name of hump-back salmon.
ănulkstl: Nose-ring. [301]
ănultnănk: Mourning song composed for a chief and, apparently, the singing of one. [533]
Ănulxwum: Place on the north-west side of Dean Channel, about nine miles from its head, where curative power is petrified. [778]
Ănumnitskmm: Supernatural beings who remind the supreme god of his *kusiut* duties.
Ănunilsktmm: Supernatural being who restores those killed by the receipt of too much power from *Ťlitcăplilăn-a.*
ănunuqwn: Meeting of chiefs, *archaic.*
ănuonai: Person who catches early olachen in a hand-net. [226]
ănupospum: Buoyant stones such as are found in a lake near the headwaters of the Bella Coola. [823]
Ănuputsdilk: Supernatural being who regulates the height of tides in rivers.
ănupatlwam: To await, especially a supernatural being.
Ănupămlaix: Son of the first settlers at *Sălia.*
Ănupălalix, "What Fills People": Name created by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time with reference to his stores of salmon.
ănupănusam: Silent waiting in darkness before a *kusiotem* dance.
Ănupănntnikmm: Supernatural being who gives inspiration.
Ănusaikaiutslaix: 1—Supernatural name of *sisiutl.*
2—Method of killing practised by *sisiutl.*
Ănusaiksaixsaix-als: Name of a Bella Coola shaman.
Ănu-shuxălnm: Name of a Kimsquit woman.
ănunka'alxăkmus: The rare prerogative of changing from *kusiut* to *susook* rites on alternate nights. [424]
Ănuskiekmm, "The Saviour": One of *Ťlitcăplilăn-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Ănuskumuthm: One of the first men to settle at *Tăl-io* in the beginning of time.
ănuskămnuy: Peculiar cry uttered by a *kusiut* scratcher.
Ănuspunm-aix: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Ănusy: Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.
ănuspaxutsaix, "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts: Identical with *sxlanuk,* q.v. [198]
Ănuxyelaix: One of the first women to settle at *Sliskiul* in the beginning of time.
Ănuxkămdimut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
ănutxa: 1—Excavated house furnished with stepped platforms for guests.
2—Village at Kwatna. [342]

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E

ełqsa or *ełqsał·i:* Medicine; generic term for all remedies of a magical or medicinal nature. [278]
e·m: Coitus, term in common usage.
emis: Nephew or niece. [601]

'

ełłmals: Ancestral name of a *Snuiłe·il* man.
'ełłaław·a: Daughter of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
ełłłałaikila: Moon, semi-anthropomorphized.

H

hai·shkila: 1—Bella Bella term, commonly used in Bella Coola, for *ssaak* official
2—*Kasiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
haidał: Type of sea-going canoe used by the Haida; the word may be a corruption from English.
Hai·h·kela: Man who descended to the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
Hau·o: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
haohao: Mythical, supernatural bird. [825]
Hamest: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwałt* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.
hali: Penis.
haiḥ: Call used by members of the *kasiut* society to strengthen their fellow-members.

I

ikw': Pounded cedar-bark, undyed. [824]
ilaix: Zigzag course up or down a mountain slope.
Ilaiyał: *Twałałił*'s dog.
Iłhmai·s: One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
ildustas dia sxim: Bandage of undyed cedar-bark placed around an infant's head to produce cranial deformation. [856]
ildutsam, Bandages: Term applied to presents distributed as validation for the bitings of a self-Cannibal. [431]
ilk: One of the *fritillariae*.
imałłundjutqułsan: Abbreviated rite of *Neakymm* dance.
imanta: Nest.
I'mastłak: *Ssaak* name of a Kimsquit man.
Imimałnaix, "The Moover": Male supernatural child who fastens *Neakymm*'s craft.
ipamap, "Hold Him Down": Cry used in Cannibal dances.
ipanełłai, "Accept": Said to spring salmon during the ritual connected with the first taking of these fish. [226]
ipłxastmam: Alleged singing of a *ssaak* initiate's song by the supernatural being, *Mitłakila*.
ipo'lo·smm: Reduction of the value of an investment-present by immediate return of part of it. [426]
i·płs: Moss. [824]
iraałnastamłdim: Polyandry.

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hulhtmut: Generic term for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future bride. [431]
Kululhtmidjut: Supernatural being whose stomach is cut in the land above. [584]
humai-t: Good-bye. [576]
Kumhumlhutas, "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being *Wiwuine.*
huxistem: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular *huxiut* dances.
huxie-tem: Said to be identical with *sisiutaltz,* the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor. [756]
huxiut: plural, hukuxiut; vocative, huxiaut; vocative plural, hukuxiaut:
1—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season. [575]
2—Member of the society.
3—"The Learned One": Designation occasionally applied to a supernatural being, especially a petrified one, or to a person having power to cure the sick. [756]
Kuziyut: Kimsquit female shaman living in the last century.
huzjun: Beloved one, especially a child; this is the vocative form of the word.
huzjiyum: Orphan.
Kuu'hile'yulus: Woman dwelling at Fort Rupert in the beginning of time.
Kuu-ula: Smith Inlet.
Kualuutl'ts: Supernatural name of Cormorant.
kuu-kuu-s: Merganser. [825]
Kualuumulut: Merganser canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Stuu.* [763]
kualuus: Unidentified bird of which the note is an omen of death.
Kualuis: Kuxiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Kualtlum: Kuxiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Kuale-tamut: Kuxiut name of a male Green Bay Cannibal.
kual-ie-l: Smooth greenstone, "jadeite," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. [823]
kuah: Evergreen bough. [824]
Kualatul: Famous Bella Coola warrior.
kuqmui: One of the sculpins.
Kuasta: Kuxiut name of a Kimsquit man.
Kuat-iual-a, "The Big One": Lustful male supernatural being.
Kualtuulus: Man who came to earth near *Stuu* in the beginning of time.
Kua-tuus: Kimsquit woman.
Kuilsis: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
Kuilsus: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Kuinas: Kitkatla chief living in the last century.
Kuiltalsis, "One Who Sits without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
Kuula: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nuxalk* chief; the word is a synonym for *Wiituus-elmula.*
Kulilas Nuxhtuqta: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
kulumhlhta-ain: Lullaby. [533]
kual-yale: Archaic expression used in a string figure.
kulla: 1—Pen or trap in the ocean for salmon. [226]
2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

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numas, nematin, numastas: Member of same sex and same ancestral family as speaker. [601]

Numatlum: Supernatural being who comes with *Nuskymm* to bring a call to the latter's protégé. [614]

Numelshmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

numit: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract. [826]
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.

numismuhtiz: Toilet-hole.

numlutsum: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony. [465]

numnlmmmas: Exchange marriage. [583]

numpalutmm: Passenger.

Nu-mtz: Place near *Nulkas.*

Nunsemlaix: *Kusiut* name created by *ʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ* at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

nunnasi di manas: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

nunnasi ti atanas: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

Nunsoo'as, "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Nunsumunk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunudjimm: Supernatural being who created repositories in the beginning of time.

Nunulunk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunulpsum: House occupied by the first settlers at *Nutsymult* in the beginning of time.

nunu-l'atimut: The use of potent medicines after seeing a giant toad.

nunulwoottum or *nunulwoottimut:* 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dyed cedar-bark to *Thlaxpilitw-a.* [782]
2—The making of offerings to ghosts by the casting of food on a fire. [775]

Nunumunk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nununiziklimut: Male supernatural being who travels with *Nuskymm,* takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.

Nunusiks: Mother Nature.

nunupp: Fisherman with inherited right to use of a salmon-weir or of a place for catching olachen. [424]

nunupemarmly, "A Calling Back", or "A Seizing": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural artisans having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [226] [761]

Nunujmals, "Where Water Entered": House of one of the first groups of settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Nunupulelets: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunupulelaiyu-a: Professional name of a female droner.

Nunupulstmm: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.

Nunuhmai: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunumunk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunuumulek: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Nunutlhantmm, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [825]

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ooktoolem: Goods obtained by a man's own exertions and forming the nucleus of his wealth for a potlatch. [556]
oomatuts, *plural*, *qlomatuts*: *Kusiut* patron.
O'mistl: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
O'mistlhs: One of the first women to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
O'mistlmas: Son of Raven in the beginning of time.
Omqomkikka: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Sisiaut* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Tsemsit* woman who died about 1915.
'Omilem: *ooteny* village.
Omqut: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola *hamatsa* dancer.
Onikut: 1—Ancestral name of a *Sisiaut* man.
2—Celebrated Kimsquit hunter.
'onikmut: Any non-sacred rite, especially an *o'alt* dance held subsequent to the *kusiut* season.
Onisualtsa: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit *hamatsa* dancer.
Onqmuk: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
onostlqumm: The taking of food to another tribe for ceremonious bestowal.
Onstiome: Supernatural being who sleeps perpetually, literally, "The Sleepy One."
Opmikmy: 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.
o'qoi: Skunk cabbage. [824]
Oqlelsts: Supernatural being, herald of *Alquatem*.
oqlo: The steeping of *nuset* novices in smoke, this being the final rite of initiation.
Oqlmai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxalst* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Sisiaut* in the beginning of time.
oqla: Temporary fish-dam of interlocked branches. [226]
Oqnaw-i: Small mountain on south side of the Bella Coola valley behind *Lomqo-ts*.
O-qui-: Place near *Stuie*.
'Oqmokkhmut: One of the first men to settle at *Kwiyai* in the beginning of time.
oqoskmut': The leading across of a bride to a groom during a wedding. [585]
ostlustem: Hereditary tendency.
ostlstin: One made sick by salmon, especially a woman who suffers from this cause through disregard of adolescence taboos. [827]
ostpas: Variety of dog salmon found at Bella Bella. [784]
o-smistlqumsis: Conferring of ancestral names at a potlatch. [825]
ostsemsmsis: The performance of a *kusiut* dance with supernatural dog salmon as patron.
Ostqlqmq, "Tragism Place": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
ostqlem: Distribution of strips of mountain goat skin at marriage. [585]
ostsmuks: "Where are you going!"
Ostsiklq', "Lake-Swallower": A mythical monster.
ostwalleis: First night of a potlatch.
ottit: Third eldest brother or sister. [601]
Ottuqs: Name of Mink as chief.
O-lhit di-Stalhmq: One of the names of the supreme god.
Ottem: Celebrated *Wanyal-a* warrior.

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sa·qwa·t: String figure.
Saskwanuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sdjidji'is:* Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sekakmân·a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sekilâxt:* Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
[822] *sekima siâlamkek:* River net for salmon.
Setsalânl: Echo.
Sexsexkâlaix: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Sexsexkwalxelaoslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Tlitcâplilân·a's* names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Siâlxelâx:* Ancestral name created on earth by a *Lomqo·ts* man.
[825] *Siaqam*, "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[805] *sidâxsu:* One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
Sidakaos di Ano°likwalsaix, "The Coming of *Ano°likwalsaix*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
siestla: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Si'islalitl*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Si'iswâi·itl, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *si'itlliukek:* Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of marriage is broached.
[431] *si'igikum*, "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Siumt*, "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Sisâml*, "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Sikâlamtak, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] *siki*, "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *ssaok* rites.
Sikiliktmm: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Sipulq*, "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikwalxwlekx: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikwldjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Siknm: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
[226] *Silias:* Celebrated composer.
siltmaq: Salmon-weir.
[827] *sinaxyme'ax: Ssaok* head-dress.
sininits: Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
[761] *si·nipodjoxstmax:* Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Simptcus: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[805] *Sinomwak*, "Time for the Use of Olachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[726] *Sinulkemitl*, "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinunukâlâlum: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

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Wat·a: *Xuxais* woman living in the beginning of time.
wals: Dog. [825]
wawuts: Dog, *archaic.*
wa·xsia: Cape of yellow cedar-bark. [291]
waxwaxtsia: Brother or sister of grandparent.
Wiakai: One of the first women to settle at *Swaloll* in the beginning of time. [601]
Wiaqaii: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Wikwan-skwala: Synonym for *Kwala*: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nuxalkt* chief.
Wikwanutl: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
wina, wocatior, winao: War-party.
Winās: Slave living at *Nuxalkt* several generations ago.
winās di qalx, "War-Party of the Ocean," or *winās di sa·ildja·ts,* "War-Party of the Tides": Supernatural being.
Winwina: Supernatural being who captured birds and fish for the benefit of mankind.
Winwinhmak: Supernatural being, perhaps identified with one of the warm winds.
winxta: Assistance rendered by the inhabitants of a town to a neighbouring settlement being attacked. [628]
Wipitpawakts: Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time. [726]
Winmkilak: *Smoaux*'s daughter-in-law in the beginning of time.
Wi'stlas: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Wilnlkt: *Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Wixat: Man who travelled to the Skeena River in the beginning of time.
Wixon: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
wi·a: *Kusiut* dance in which the nine supernatural siblings are summoned to earth.
Wily: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Wilx: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
wily: Cripple.

X

Xaiāqakutl: Ancestral name of a *Tāl·io* man.
Xaiqts: Stream entering the Bella Coola from the north near *Nuhwa.* [821]
Xai·utl: Continuous North Wind, anthropomorphized.
xak'loi·: Cry raised as each of the first spring salmon is brought ashore. [226]
Xālaiya: Step-daughter of Raven in the beginning of time.
xaqants: Great blue heron. [825]
Xāt: Designation of a tribe, probably a branch of the Carriers, dwelling far to the south-east of the Bella Coola.
xāxaf: Canada goose.
xal·a: Root of *qāymāts,* an unidentified plant.
Xelalus: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Xelwostaw·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xelimai: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
xem: The successive rising of the sun from day to day. This word, which is common in derivatives, appears usually to be pronounced *yem* after *i.* [821]
Xemena: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Swaloli* in the beginning of time.

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a friend. Raven determined to supply this want for the benefit of the Kimsquit people. Accordingly he used a natural stone depression near the village as his chamber-pot, and the liquid reflected faces clearly. Ever since, any liquid, even rain-water, placed in that depression acts as a reflector. The place is called *Anilxsaix*, "Where People Go," and it has been used as a mirror by the Kimsquit people and their guests for many generations. In this way, the renown of Raven spread to foreigners visiting Kimsquit. Another survival of this construction is the name *Nusqalît-a*, "Chamber-Pot," commonly applied as a nickname to the small daughters of Kimsquit chiefs. 773 778 823 [551]

One of Raven's inventions was the making of nettle-fibre olachen nets, an art which he taught spiders as well as men. In the beginning of time, Raven told two men to make a net according to a pattern which he showed them, and gave them some fibre. It was not sufficient, and when the workers asked for more, Raven told them to draw it from their own intestines. This they did, and ever since spiders have had the same ability. Another story describes how Raven saw an olachen net being made in one of the distant villages which he visited during his travels, learnt the details of its manufacture, and taught the Bella Coola on his return home. 773 [227] [825]

Many of Raven's exploits are well known, although not embodied in elaborate myths. For example, it is believed that in the beginning of time the ocean was to the east of Bella Coola and the land to the west. Drownings were frequent, so Raven altered the relative positions of land and sea. Most ocean dwellers followed the sea to its new home, but a number of mussels remained near their human friends. They are still to be found in the upper valley of Bella Coola River. These shell-fish, which are probably freshwater mussels, are said to be identical with those of the ocean, and are called by the same name. This is always mentioned as proof of the former presence of salt water in the upper Bella Coola valley. The occurrence of the shell-fish may be the origin of this theory. It might also be mentioned that the Bella Coola believe that a few years 773 823 [825]

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APPENDIX A

MECHANICAL PROCESSES

NO attempt was made to study either the material culture of the Bella Coola, or their methods of manufacturing, but information on some points was obtained incidentally. All sociological and religious features connected therewith have already been described. 121

THE TAKING AND PREPARATION OF OLACHEN

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The run of olachen, *xpaty*, comes about the end of April, and as many as possible are caught. In preparation, nets, *dův'x*", are brought out from the boxes where they have been stored during the winter, examined, and repaired. If necessary, new ones must be manufactured out of nettle (*lxwa*) fibre laid away by the women for this purpose. By rolling the material on their legs, they produce a thin twine; five strands of this are then interwoven, making a finished cord capable of resisting great strain. The nets are constructed by the men. The type used at the present time, which is said not to differ from that formerly employed, consists of a purse-like sack, oval in cross-section, open at the wider end and tapering very gradually to the other, which is closed. The total length is about thirty feet, the diameter at the open end about eight feet, and at the closed end about three feet. A new net is dipped in a mixture of boiled hemlock-bark to darken it, and then boiled in a solution of willow-bark to prevent the knots from slipping. 226 221 283 462 286 386

The setting out of a net is not an easy task, so two or three men agree to work as partners. In the present degenerate days, property rights are not respected and each group selects a suitable spot. The best location is where the water is about three feet deep and runs rapidly, but without ripples, over a smooth piece of the bottom; such a place is called a *xlitsy*. When the fish begin to run plentifully, the partners paddle out to set their net, taking with them four stakes, each about ten feet in length. The weight of a full net is tremendous, so the poles have to be driven down at least six feet, a difficult task on account of the stony bottom. Selecting the exact spot, one of four posts, *álkdjalos*, is set upright and held in position by being tied to a cross-piece, *nudjiqosta*, fastened to the canoe for the purpose. While his two partners hold the craft steady, the third man begins to pound down the stake; metal mauls are now commonly used, but in former times this work was always done with an unhafted stone maul, *lxwema*. The fishermen relieve one another intermittently until the top of the pole has been driven down to within 226 476 423 178 412

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Ashka: Village at Salmon House, on the upper Dean River.
ashma: Position between two fires.
ashut: 1—[illegible]d bed behind the fire used by a person seeking power, or by one who has been in contact with the supernatural.
2—Waterfall.[1] [823]
as-maisa: To teach.
as-maisasmit': Hereditary lore handed down secretly in a family. [424]
Asqemks: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
asqwma: *Sasek* song in slow time. [583]
asskin: 1—Box, *archaic*; hence, seat.
2—One of the nights of a potlatch, probably that on which a representation of the deceased appears.
asta: Rocky Mountain jay. [825]
astawmit: Carved house post.
Astaluxalt: Wife of *Smoky*; both were changed to stone in the beginning of time.
asuxtanut: That part of a house between fire and doorway.
Asuiwinaists: Expedition of the supernatural being *Wiwaina* against berries and fish.
At-gamam: *Smaaux's* fish-dam in the beginning of time; the name has since been used by his descendants.
atgmasata: Only sister in a family of several brothers. [601]
atq': Seals. [825]
atsmalum: Steeping in medicinal smoke as a curative measure.
atsqulp: Fir. [755]
Atlat-intit: Evil male supernatural being. [824]
a-ima: 1—Death, not anthropomorphised.
2—Dead. [825]
atmit': Kingfisher.
atsi: Fish-hook. [227]
Atskam, "They of the Huge Jaws": Supernatural beings resident in the land above.
atskma: *Kuxiut* spy.
atsqait: *plural, atsqaiut; neutre plural, atsqiaut:*
1—Person who has not given a potlatch, a commoner.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Aiikk: *atsmq* village.
Apa: *Smaa* man mentioned in an ancient story.
apa-hendjat, "He Urinates Over Himself." The implication is that this is an indication of misfortune, hence the word really means *omen*. It is the Kimsquit variant of *a-sendjat.* [787]
a-sendjat: Omen of death.
Apa-i, "Occupied Mound": 1—Village at Kwatna.
2—Artificial mound at *Tal-ia.*
3—Village on the Kimsquit River.
4—Island near Ocean Falls.
Apa-i nas Wamalnuks, "Place of Dogs": Locality near Ocean Falls where the dogs came to earth in the beginning of time.
apaxa-i: Varied thrush. [825]

[1] The latter is a favourite place for obtaining power, the probable reason for the identity of the two terms.

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[824] *ka'nik*: Tree, probably birch.
Kaiaxaiâ': One of the first men to settle at *Ewinai* in the beginning of time.
Kaitcha: One of the first men to settle at *Snaitli* in the beginning of time.
Kalkm: Bella Bella woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Kalad: Kimsquit man.
Kalpam: *Kasiat* name of a Bella Coola man.
[222] *kalpam*: The gathering of fern root for food.
[262] *Kalpomtkmm*: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Jinsa* in the beginning of time.
Ka'lin-a: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[585] *kalumkhlmmin*: Public orations, previous to marriage, of the bride's ancestral myths in order to cause children to be born.
[842] *kalpam*: Ritual on the day before a marriage, including the oration of myths by the bride's relatives, the choosing of assistants, and the singing of songs of all kinds.
Kamai-o: 1—Mysterious supernatural woman.
[576] 2—"Please," or "Thank You," a word implying benison.
*Kamalmy**: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nalimo* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxalxi* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of the first sky that fell in the beginning of time.
Kamalelkl: Lazy supernatural beings who accompanied *Nuxlpmm*.
Kamalpmm: Man mentioned in an origin myth of *Alqulaal*.
Kamimlulu: *Kasiat* name of a Kimsquit man.
*Kampimy**: House brought to earth by first settlers at *Nuxlxi* in the beginning of time.
[824] *kamil'*: Kelp.
[227] *kamulu*: Cod hook.
kamut: Termination.
[824] *kanaa-i*: 1—Shelf fungus.
2—*Kasiat* dance in which a shelf fungus is used.
Kanilku: One of the first women to settle at *Jinsa* in the beginning of time.
kan imut: Ceremonial crow.
Kanuin: Herald of a *Tal'is chief* in the beginning of time.
kanlas: Trap.
Kanuhlilum: 1—Daughter of the first settlers at *Sitlin* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of *Ojemai*, one of the first settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[264] *kanlitin*: Assemblage of the people for a meal of any kind.
Kanpuhlmm: One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
Kanwinajin-a: Supernatural berry-picker resident in the land of ghosts.
[825] *kapai*: 1—Hump-back salmon.
2—Convex transverse beam near front and rear of house.
3—Mountain on the Dean River.
Kapsin: *Sisaal* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kasina: Man mentioned in an ancient story of Raven.
[752] *kasiat*: The seeking for shaman's power by a lad.
[825] *kasmin*: Golden eagle.
[524] *katlan*: Top, toy.

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mimmiqulq: Leaf of *sâlalberry*.

mis-mqlqa: 1—Omen of misfortune, such as preceded the outbreak of smallpox, horses. [824]

2—Smallpox. [787]

mîlka: Type of sea-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.

mna, mentin, mnan: Child. [601]

Mnaîmîn: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.

mnî': Excreta.

mnmnî, mentin, mnmntnîn-i: Ancestral family, practically equivalent to *children* when used by an old person. [614]

mnîhîmnata: The commemoration of a chief's potlatches and other major ceremonies by means of plain posts erected near his grave. [211]

Mnîmîn-mm, Tide-Measurer: A supernatural being. [764]

Mîmîn: Man mentioned in a song.

Mnîmîkîn: Supernatural being who gives potency to *nuxnî* rites.

mnîmîm: Grandiloquent expression used by the *hamatsa* with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives. [776]

mnîhîmm: 1—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living. [775]

2—To visit, term used with reference to the coming of a masked representation of a dead person; the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.

mnî': Pounded, dyed cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.

mnîwnk: Head-ring of cedar-bark worn by *hamatsa* initiates in the upper Bella Coola valley.

mqnîn: Lice. [825]

mqnîn: Adolescent youth.

mnmnnî': Blue grouse.

mnmnnîhîhnnîn: Dentalium-shell ear-rings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion. [301]

mn: Hand net for catching eulachon. [227]

mnîymîhîmîn: Yellow cedar staves decorated with swan feathers such as is carried by a Mystery dancer.

mnîymm: Wrestling.

Mnîmm-n: Rivers Inlet man living in the last century.

N

Nnîn'nîmm: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.

Nî'mm: Bella Bella village; the Anglicized form is Nemo.

nîm: Grizzly bear. [825]

Nnnnîn: Name received from Grizzly Bear by a Kimsquit man in the beginning of time.

Nnnnî: *Kwîmî* name of a *Nuxalk* man.

Nnnnîmm: One of the first men to settle at *Bîmm* in the beginning of time.

Nnnîmîmî: One of the names of Mount *Nuxalk* as chief.

nîm-mnî: Non-ceremonial weeping, usually individual, and always with real feeling. [827]

Nnm: Indeterminate locality in the distant east. [152]

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[192] *nuhinuis:* Synonym for *gamo-is*, the large cone-shaped *nusuk* whistle.
[534] *Nulya-kut:* Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nulpa-kut: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nulpstsuaw-e, "Nearest River": River flowing from the north into the northern corner of the head of North Bentinck Arm. The Anglicized form is Nocletscumay.
[103]
[823] *nu'nqulsis:* Stone supernaturally born from another at sea level.
Numsin-a: *Lusamq* village.
Nundrak, "The Mother of Dogs": Name given to a Bella Bella woman in an ancient story.
Nupalk: Bella Coola valley.
[101] *Nupalkmq:* Inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley.
Nuqum: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuax* man.
Nuxum: Name of a female composer.
Nupakmalsais, "The Light Giver": One of the names of the supreme god.
nupsx: Light.
Nusim: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Nusimatlais: *Q'aqa* name of a Kimsquit man.
Nupmalmmaw-a, "Stick-Breaker": Name taken by daughter of the first settlers at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
[825] *nuxsárank:* Mountain goat with long hair on its chest.
nuxsimut, "The Silent Night": The hushed assemblage of *kukusiut* after departure of a Cannibal.
[227] *nuxtuxtin:* Cross-piece which holds open mouth of olachen net.
Nuxulat: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
[585] *nuxulatkum:* Public promise by the parents of bride and bridegroom on the wedding night that names will be provided for resultant children. This is
[425] combined with an oration of origin myths. The term is also used for a similar promise of rights to hunting grounds, although the granting of this is automatic.
[828] *Nuya:* Mountain near *Stuax*.
nuyálsikdmut: Person who wanders away from home in despondency.
Nuyal-alais: One of the first women to settle at *Tal-is* in the beginning of time.
Nu'yus-isim: Land of salmon.

O

o'alyum: Kimsquit term for *a'alk*, *archaic*.
'O-ß': Kwatna lad mentioned in an ancient story.
[824] *okal:* Grass with edible roots growing on tide-flats.
[262] *Olqumay:* Valley pre-empted by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Olqdimut: Herald who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
oly: 1—The *kusiut* prerogative of scratching.
2—Bad, *adjective*.
Olstw-i: *Kusiut* name of a *Sisal* man.
Olil'yaiya, "The Worthless One": Name assumed by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[825] *Olualdmut*, "The One that Changes Itself": Supernatural name of spring salmon.
[264] *'omstalil':* Assemblage of the people for food of any kind.

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sa qwa: String figure.
Saskwouts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sdzidzi'ts:* Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sekakmawa: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sekilast:* Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
sekima siskwtek: River net for salmon.
[822] *Setsalout:* Echo.
Sexnxhlaix: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Sexnxqualyslosslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Ttlexphlax-a*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Sislurlax:* Ancestral name created on earth by a *Lomqots* man.
Siqlam, "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[825] *sidzazu:* One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
[805] *Sidzkas di Anq'likwalsaix,* "The Coming of *Anq'likwalsaix*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
siwala: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Si'sialil,* "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Si'tswai-ul, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *si'illiukek:* Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of marriage is broached.
[431] *si'ipikm,* "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Skamt,* "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Skatml,* "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Sikskmuk, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] *siki,* "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *nsaak* rites.
Sikiliktmm: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Sipuly,* "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikwalxwlelax: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikwldjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Siknm: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
[226] *Silias:* Celebrated composer.
silmaq: Salmon-weir.
[827] *sinaxymu'ax: Sasaak* head-dress.
sininits: Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
[761] *si-nipodjaxtmax:* Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Simptcu: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[805] *Sinomwak,* "Time for the Use of Olachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[726] *Sinulkemitl,* "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinuwklalam: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

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[illegible]: Kwakiutl term for presents distributed as "Eagle down."
[illegible]: Scoop-net for catching salmon in rivers. [227]
[illegible]: Head-dress of eagles' tails worn by *kusiut* dancers.
[illegible]: Spring water. [292]
Xwaxila: Settlement in the Carrier country.
[illegible]: Cow parsnip. [824]
Xwalkun: Name obtained in the beginning of time from the Skeena people in whose language it is said to mean *whale*.
Xwixwitakmlaix: Shaman who obtained his power from Thunder.
Xwixwhila: Daughter of a Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Wrestling.
Xwulju-i, "The Crash": Name taken by one of the first settlers at *Nuhlax* in the beginning of time but long since changed to a *kusiut* designation.
[illegible]: 1—Hummingbird. [825]
2—One of the first men to settle at *Äłqälaxl* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Puppet-patron in the form of a hummingbird.
[illegible]: The concluding ritual of the *kusiut* season.
[illegible]: Gambling game played with crabapple sticks. [525]
Xwulxwis, "The One Whose Work Has Failed": Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
[illegible]: The desertion of her husband by a wife. [586]

Y

Yähuhs: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Ya-ä"axwaxwa: Kimsquit man mentioned in an allegedly historical account. [576]
yae: "Hello!" "Hail!" or "Greetings!"
ye-: Exclamation having the significance of, "May you have a safe passage," said when a corpse is drawn through the roof.
Yeäks: One of the first men to settle at *Nuliqwalt* in the beginning of time.
'Yeändji: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
yeaxwax: 1—Prerogative, tangible or intangible, which some *kukusiut* possess in addition to a dance.
2—Similar prerogative formerly displayed in *xsook* rites.
yex: 1—Call, that is, that which impels a *kusiut* to dance.
2—*Kusiut* whistle.
Ye'mäjalaus: Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
yexila: Term, implying both wealth and good fortune, applied to a man able to give a memorial potlatch soon after the death of a relative.
yeyä'nimut: Presents given by a prospective bridegroom to his future father-in-law. [431]
ye: Good, *adjective*. [584]
yeki: Mountain goat.
Yel-äxleix: Goose Island. [825]
yeleh: "All Right," cry used in a *kusiut* dance.
Yellal-a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Yelyelhuxleix: One of the first men to settle at *Äłqälaxl* in the beginning of time.
yelhuhmem: Bringing down of a call by means of the rite of *sawadjut*.
yellelaxl: Presents given by the bride's relatives to the groom's when they enter her house on the wedding day. [431] [585]

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554 it to the digestive tract. After a man has given four potlatches
* 556 he feels superior to those who have been unable to do likewise.
622 His name is "bright," "clean," "heavy," "firm," or "upright"
[578] in Bella Coola terms, and so, likewise, his seat. He feels independent and proud. Such a chief will fearlessly enter the back-room where ceremonial rites are taking place, even if not entitled to do so.

"He is so strong, he can go where he will," say the Bella Coola.

The advice of such a man is taken because of his ability and prestige, especially by the members of his own family. A few years ago, for example, when a certain Bella Coola died, his brother wished a *kusiut* name-prerogative of the deceased to pass to the dead man's daughter. The girl's mother's father, a *numitl* chief, objected, and his desires were followed, although the name in question was not connected in any way with his family. In small matters, too, people gladly carry out the
[592] wishes of a chief. Work around the house is done for him without thought of disobedience. An old man was asked whether, when he was young, chiefs gave many orders and acted as masters in their households.

"You bet," the old man answered emphatically with a dry chuckle.

• 231 It is difficult now to form an accurate estimate, from obser-
552 vation, of the influence of chiefs solely through virtue of the
622 goods they have expended. But the following is a concrete example. In November, 1923, the writer, while walking through the Bella Coola village, was bitten by a dog. He was told that the animal belonged to a certain old woman. When next he saw the owner he asked her whether she knew that her dog attacked passers-by.

"Yes," she answered, in a matter-of-fact tone, "He is a chief and can do what he likes."

Further questioning elicited the information that the old
[766] woman and her husband, the childless last survivors of an ancestral family, had transmitted some of their ancestral

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names to their dog, and had distributed presents to validate the bestowal. Consequently, the animal is a chief (see Plate 11)[1] and can do as he likes. When it dies it will be mourned as a chief. Moreover, a number of people have returned the presents which they received at the time the dog was made a chief, and this money is kept by the woman and her husband, to be used when they perform the rite of mourning for the dog at death. 231 552 622 766

When this is possible, in the present degenerate days, it is not difficult to understand how, formerly, a great chief felt himself above the restraints that hindered lesser men. The last great Bella Coola chief was *Potles*, who died between 1870 and 1880. His influence and power were so great that he was a virtual ruler, daring anything. If he requested a young man to take his food box home and the youth was slow to obey, *Potles* had no hesitation in killing him on the spot. Such great power, though unusual, is intelligible to the Bella Coola, since *Potles* gave far more potlatches than any of his contemporaries. Other chiefs have been known to attempt a similar arbitrary use of power, but have failed, since their prestige was not great enough to justify it. The fame of a mighty chief spreads up and down the coast, and protects him and the members of his family from being ambushed and slain in any sporadic foray. During an actual fight, however, a chief had to take his chances with the rest, but the comparative immunity was a great advantage. 556* 622 [156] [628] [726]

The Bella Coola recognize the fundamental differences between their own concepts about chieftainship and those of other coastal tribes with whom they come in contact. This point was mentioned in the course of conversation by several men. The most powerful chief known to them was *Tcubisa*, who, they say, was virtual monarch of the Kitkatla. None of his subjects could go hunting without his permission, and he had rights to a certain share of their booty. At any ceremony presents had first to be given to him, and if he were slighted in this respect, he would kill the offender. It is be- 171 556* 622 829

[1] [See cut. 116, P 186 (c) - ANALYST]

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PLATE 11

142
231
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622

Photograph by the author

A Bella Coola couple with their dogs; the one on the left is a chief.

[p 186 (c)]

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789 morning to whip his son. It is clear, however, that such was
856 regarded as proper by anyone practising this medicine, even though few did so regularly.

MEDICINES APPLIED TO YOUNG DOGS

789 *To Cause Ability in Hunting*

231 When a bear has been killed and the first incision made for skinning it, take a puppy, force its head inside the opening, and rub it to and fro. Throw the animal into the river and when it has swum ashore, repeat the rite. If this act is repeated four times, the dog will grow up to be a good hunter.

To Cause Ability in Hunting Beaver

Wrap the puppy in the freshly removed skin of a beaver and throw it into the river to the accompaniment of hand-clapping from as many as happen to be present. After submersion for a few moments, remove the bundle and throw it in again. Repeat this twice more. This makes the dog grow up unafraid of water and, accordingly, useful in hunting beaver.

To Cause Disregard of Musket Shots

Lay some black powder at the nose of a sleeping puppy and ignite it. The dog will grow up without fear of musket shots.

To Cause Keen Scent

Slit any kind of salmon so that the liver is exposed and hold the puppy with its nose immediately over this. Make an incision in the tip so that the blood flows freely on to the organ of the salmon. Hold the animal until flies have gathered from all directions to feast upon the fish and fresh blood.

The dog will grow up with the ability to locate game in any direction, just as flies gather wherever there is blood. He will also have their ability to travel without requiring a path. One
[424] old man stated that this medicine was the property of an ancestral family, and should be used when a puppy is one month old.

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To Cause Ability in Hunting Mountain Goats 789

Steep the freshly removed head of a fisher, wolf, or wolverine in smoke for four days. Break a hole in the top of the skull and hold the puppy's head over this; then slit its nose so that the blood drips down into the interior of the cranium. Release the dog, take the head to the mountains and bury it in the ground beneath a spot where mountain goats have been sleeping. Dig it up four days later and conceal it under a shelving rock where it is protected from the rain. 231

This medicine causes the dog to grow up with knowledge of the haunts of mountain goats as well as with the bravery of whichever animal was used. This means can be practised only by members of the ancestral families to which it belongs. [424]

To Cause Ability in Hunting Otters or Seals

Obtain the head of whichever is desired, and proceed as described for mountain goats. Instead of burying, place the skull under shelter near a creek much frequented by land otters, or near the ocean where seals are plentiful. It need not be taken up after four days.

To Cause General Ability

This medicine can be applied only by a successful hunter, who expects compensation for his assistance. It is employed when a puppy is about one month old.

Early in the morning the hunter seats himself on a box within the house of the dog's master, his legs stretched out before him. He seizes the puppy firmly and passes it, sunwise, around and under his legs four times, frequently spitting on its nose and kneading it with his hands to make that organ slender. This causes the animal to grow up with good tracking ability, while the passing makes it faithful to its master. Next the hunter seizes the dog by the hind legs and swings it four times, sunwise, over and through the smoke of the fire. This prevents it from being dizzy and afraid of precipitous mountains, but if it yelps as it travels through the air, it will be a poor dog. Finally, the hunter carries it to the river and throws

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789 it in. He seizes as it swims ashore and throws it back once more. This is repeated four times and causes the animal to
● 231 have no fear of water.

In former times great attention was paid to the training of young dogs.

MEDICINES PERTAINING TO LOVE, MARRIAGE, AND CHILDBIRTH

832 *To Cause Love*

This medicine is applied by women to men, and by men to women.

Obtain a hair of the person whose love is sought, place with it one of the wooer's, and tie the two in a strip of birch-bark together with a morsel of octopus skin. This causes intense desire between the two. This medicine is usually personally applied by amorous youths.

A similar usage is to wear the two hairs next the stomach, hidden by a belt. Men, especially, do this to cause love on the part of girls whom they admire. An old Bella Coola mentioned that he had once had occasion to investigate the box of a Kimsquit man within which he found the tip of a land otter's tail, split, and containing two small tufts of hair, one the owner's, the other, his wife's. This ensured lasting devotion between the two.

To Cause Love for Oneself

A few years ago a certain *Kälotl* of Kimsquit used the following medicine to attract two sisters:

He made two figures, one representing a male, and the other a female. To each he tied birch-bark, octopus-skin, a few of his own hairs, and some obtained from the girls. Each figure was provided with sexual organs, and he placed them in position for sexual intercourse. This caused the two girls to desire *Kälotl* so madly that they almost became demented in their infatuation. Their mother, *Kwa·tsua*, suspected that *Kälotl* had been using something of the kind and searched his

[The Breaker Dance]

*575 *796 above; of sitting in one of the back corners and receiving the first food at ritual meals; of paying those on whom they [424] exercise their prerogative, and of liability to frenzy on arrival [533] of strangers. This last prerogative, if it may be so termed, [264] lasts for the ceremonial season, and in the case of a novice, for the following summer as well. Moreover, Breakers do not destroy the goods of fellow-Breakers, Scratchers, or Cannibals.

*575 *796 424 539 In view of the similarity of this rite to those already described, no effort was made to collect full details. Different Breakers have minor variations in ritual, similar to those already illustrated. The following is an account of the manner in which the Breaker, *Sxek* of *Snuləli*, performed the rite a number of years ago. As on previous occasions, it will be convenient to use the present tense, and to refer to the dancer as X. *Sxek* gave the following account of the origin of his prerogative.

> Long, long ago, soon after the first people had come to this earth, a marriage was about to take place in the village of *Snulł-atl*. At that distant period the people were so powerful that they could themselves initiate *kusiut* dances, and the bridegroom determined to do so in honour of the event. He chose to imitate the actions of *Sänoltxmulełts Älquntäm*, one of *Älquntäm*'s sons, whom he remembered having seen throwing stones in his father's house before he, the bridegroom, was sent down to this world.[62] When goods were piled up ready for distribution as marriage presents, the man began to hurl stones around; one of them ricochetted from a box, struck his bride and killed her. This unforeseen accident solved the question of his name, as by universal consent it was decided that he should be called, *Sxek*, "He of the Faulty Aim."
>
> Since that time a law has been enforced that no Breaker may throw a rock except ceremonially during his dance, and the marshals punish one who disobeys this injunction. If a Breaker is in the forest with a number [231] of *kukusiut*, it does not matter if he fails to uphold this tradition; the essential is that the uninitiated do not see him cast a stone, even at a yelping dog, the usual reason for doing so in Bella Coola.

*575 *796 When X wishes to dance he must first obtain the consent of the marshals in the usual manner. He also arranges with *kukusiut* to have boxes and other wooden objects placed within

[776] [62] This being is also called *Nustxwamxwitam*, "The Cherished One."

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857 better than hunting birds and small animals with miniature bows and arrows, or snaring them in nooses of grass or string. Little girls make playhouses in which they cook wonderful meals of berries, with perhaps the addition of a wooden fish. On the whole, however, the children do not enter into play as boisterously as white boys and girls, nor do they seem to derive as much pleasure from it. In former times, when clothing was [152] scanty, small lads used to delight in picking nettles and beating [291] one another with the stinging branches; this must have caused considerable pain, but it was a point of honour not to cry out, and anyone, perhaps caught unaware, who showed discomfort, [526] was laughed at as a coward. Both boys and girls are fond of swinging, and even adult women sometimes find time to enjoy themselves by swaying to and fro at the end of a rope.

Young Bella Coola do not have as many toys as white children, and none of them is complex. Some girls have crude [575] wooden dolls, though elaborate figurines are reserved for use in *kusiut* dances. Perhaps the most cherished plaything is a [231] small puppy or, in recent years, a kitten, though the unfortunate animal is handled and mauled without consideration. A good carpenter may make for his son a wooden top or a bull-roarer, to the envy of his less fortunate friends. Both types of toys are said to be used in [575] *Nusmät-a* and at some *kusiut* dances the masked figures carry them to play with.

Fig. 2. "Toy spear."

526 There is one game, *sleli*, which the salmon are [825] said to delight to watch, and which is accordingly played by boys as soon as the first spring salmon have been disposed of with fitting rites. Each makes for himself, or is given by his father, a wooden spear with a projecting barb, fastened as shown in the accompanying sketch (see Fig. 2). A loop of branches is made and thrown into a pool of stagnant, or slow-moving water, on each side of which stands a rival group of competitors. At a signal, all throw their spears simultaneously, with the intention of passing them through the ring, so that the barb of each will

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to the aesthetic, their skill in dancing and dramatics is note- 105
worthy: no one who has witnessed a native dance can fail to [535]
have been impressed by the performance of the participants
and the stage-craft of the carpenters. The fact that no system [538]
of writing had ever been devised has prevented the establish- [212]
ment of a native literature, but the practice of passing down [153]
an extensive folklore by word of mouth shows their narrative
powers as well as their faculty for remembering details. At
present it is difficult to appreciate what must have been their
energy in earlier times when they faced the struggle for exist-
ence, armed with stone tools. Abundant salmon gave them [226]
adequate food, but only when weirs had been built with great
labour. Though game was plentiful, the hunter was equipped [224]
with nothing more formidable than a bow and arrow. The
simplest task required patience and skill undreamed of by the
average white man. If the reader will allow his imagination
to carry him backwards two hundred years, he will realize that
the mere provision of food and clothing necessitated constant
effort and ceaseless exertion.

Hand in hand with many admirable characteristics, the 356
Bella Coola display others which strike the white man as
unprepossessing. A first impression is the untidiness of their
houses. Exteriorly, they are often fairly neat, but confusion
reigns within. Clothing, instead of being hung up, is left lying
on the floor; bed-coverings are piled carelessly; dirty dishes
cover the tables; dogs and children swarm over the floor; flies
abound; all is dirty and slovenly. The house itself may be
uncompleted; a window lacks glass and has been boarded up;
the roof leaks, or the steps are falling down. Nor are the
surroundings more attractive. There is one struggling flower- [247]
bed in the village, but elsewhere the houses are surrounded by [351]
wastes of mud where horses and cattle wander, dogs prowl, and [231]
children play. In the distance the mountain peaks rise in
splendour, but near at hand all is squalid and unkempt.

They are only slightly more particular about their personal 515
appearance. Dirt does not distress them. They wash occa-

515 sionally, in a half-hearted manner, but it is not unusual for a man to allow the basin of water in which he makes his ablutions to remain standing for two or three weeks. Not many [177] years ago the Carriers taught their neighbours to make a kind [296] of soap from the ashes of burnt cottonwood sticks thrown into [388] water; with this clothes are washed irregularly and in most cases from sheer necessity only. In former times bathing was [783] a semi-sacred rite, but this fell into disuse with the passing of [177] the old religion, and the use of soap and water merely for the sake of cleanliness has not become a daily habit. The women [291] have more vanity; the younger girls especially like to have new clothes, though they wear them carelessly, heedless of fit. [796] An effort is often made to clean up for ceremonial dances, but it entails little more than the removal of the more obvious dirt and the putting on, over unchanged undergarments, of a sweater. Pride in personal appearance, love of tidiness, delight in a clean house, are all quite foreign to the Bella Coola.

356 Probably the reason for lack of comforts in the houses is simply that the people do not feel the need for them. They [264] consider it no hardship to sit on a rickety chair, scoop up food [231] from a common dish and, if they think of it, throw morsels down to the dog or the cat. The smell, the flies, the dirt, the [152] chaos do not concern them. Capable of undergoing privations, hardships, and even sufferings, they think neither of the com-
231 fort of themselves nor of others. Their domestic animals are often treated abominably, not through lack of affection or cruelty, but from callousness. More than once the writer has seen a favourite dog steal a piece of food from the table. Its master, after a furious blow or kick at it, would suddenly, as if by inspiration, throw a choice bit to the animal, saying:

"Why, he must have been hungry!"

Though the Bella Coola feel a kinship with animals unknown to the white man, it is not combined with any recognition of their feelings as living creatures. There are, of course, [577] many exceptions, but on the whole public opinion demands generosity and kindness only towards human members of the group. The moral code is not concerned with animals.

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133 tains. From each pocket between these mountains an ice-
cold affluent comes swirling down to the main river. The
137 predominant tree in the river valleys is the cedar[4] which in
many cases attains great girth and height. Cottonwoods
flourish in places, and everywhere there is an almost impene-
trable undergrowth of devil's club, berry bushes, and other
shrubbery of almost tropical density. On the lower slopes of
the mountains, moss-festooned pines and spruces are the most
common trees, gradually becoming smaller and fewer until the
133 barren peaks are reached. The mountains rise so precipitously
that their snowcaps and glaciers seem to overhang the valley,
a narrow ribbon of green winding far below. The range of
vision from the bank of the river is limited by the all-encircling
mountains. Here and there a distant vista opens up to expose
peak after peak, but on the whole there is a feeling of confine-
ment, in contrast with the open wastes of the upper country
where the Bella Coola rises. Mountains, forests, flowing water,
these are the three dominant impressions of the country (see
Plate 6).

136 The mammals of central British Columbia, although com-
paratively common, have never been of primary importance.
[291] The marten, the wolverine, the lynx, and bears, both black
and grizzly, were formerly hunted for their skins to serve as
[262] cloaks. Deer were killed whenever possible, but formed a
negligible item of diet. The beaver also was prized for its
[439] flesh. The skins of moose and caribou were traded from the
Carrier Indians, but neither of these animals was found in the
[286] Bella Coola area. The mammal of greatest economic impor-
tance was the mountain goat, the wool of which was woven into
[237] blankets. Smoked goat meat was formerly found in every
[251] house and was almost the only flesh available during the
winter. Small game was abundant, but seals were a luxury.
[262] Neither were birds of great importance to the Bella Coola.
[223] Members of the tribe resident near the sea-coast used to kill

[4]Appendix C contains a glossary of the scientific names of the flora and fauna mentioned in this monograph.

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quantities of ducks and geese, and the inhabitants of the inland villages sometimes made hunting expeditions to the nesting places of wild-fowl in the lakes of the interior uplands. Although numbers of birds were sometimes killed in this way, they were never a steady article of diet. The same is true of grouse. Always plentiful, these birds were commonly killed, but never in large numbers.

The basis of the food supply was fish. The river teemed with salmon, which enabled the country to support its relatively large population. Spring, sockeye, hump-back, dog, and cohoe salmon, all entered the river in thousands during the spring and summer, while the steel-head could be caught throughout the year. They were taken in weirs and their flesh smoked for winter use. Throughout the year, salmon was the principal article of diet. Second in importance was the olachen, a fish somewhat resembling a herring, which entered the river in great numbers during April or May. They were taken in purse-like nets,* allowed to rot for ten days or two weeks, and then boiled. The grease was skimmed off and kept indefinitely to be used as a relish for other foods. It was always a sign of poverty if a person were obliged to eat berries without olachen grease. Trout and bull-heads were found in the river, but were not sufficiently plentiful to be of importance.

Although no form of agriculture was practised, the Bella Coola used vegetable food to a considerable extent. Berries were abundant; some were eaten raw, but many more were pounded into a pulpy mass and dried in the sun. Cakes prepared in this way kept indefinitely and formed one of the regular winter foods. The bark of the hemlock and cottonwood was eaten, as well as the roots of many plants. In recent years many of these have not been used, so that an investigator is apt to overlook their great importance in early times. Although useless for food, the cedar was the corner-stone of Bella Coola material culture. From its trunk were split out, with wedges, the wide planks which formed

*See Appendix A for a description of olachen fishing.

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He is especially rich in caribou-skins, used for foot covering, and goat-skins, so treasured for their wool.[1] He and his wife have laid up abundant food, and, most important of all, his wife's family is wealthy. Rumours have spread that X will soon give a potlatch and perhaps one or more foreign chiefs has given him a large cone-shaped whistle, such as is used in *swaok* ritual (see Plate 12). These whistles, called *qomo·ts*, are often referred to as the "breath" or "voice" of a chief; they are also called *sloptsta*, the "heart" or "wind" of a chief; a third designation is *nulwinuts*. X carefully conceals a whistle in one of his boxes. Such a present expresses the kindly feeling existing between those akin to one another in that they have risen to a position of eminence above the common crowd. Its receipt spurs a man to greater efforts to amass the wealth necessary for giving a potlatch by keeping before his eyes the realization of what another has done. A rival chief never gives such a present. X returns each whistle secretly at the time of his potlatch.

Early in the autumn X decides that he has almost enough wealth. To complete the essential amount he will not hesitate to borrow from his friends. It is most unusual to be refused, for it is incumbent on X, unless he wishes to lose the esteem of the community, to repay his borrowings with heavy interest, and when X distributes his goods at his potlatch it will be announced how he has obtained them, and the lender is proclaimed as a person of sufficient wealth to be able to spare some of it. Goods so loaned are termed "belt goods," a reference to the manner in which a man fastens up his cape with a belt before setting to work. The assumption is that X will have to labour to repay his indebtedness. Failure to repay is a serious matter, and the lender would be justified in seizing a canoe or other valuable article as surety for his debt; in fact, feuds are commonly caused by unpaid debts. Men of business

[1] Formerly, when goat-skin blankets were highly valued, goats were never shot for fear of the blood staining the wool. Instead, they were cornered by dogs, and choked to death in nooses. For presentation, each skin was laid out on the floor and then cut into longitudinal strips, two, three, or four fingers wide.

Pre-
* 556 sently the guests assemble, those who are *usual* wearing on
[575] their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership
[237] in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled,
[292] the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners,
[554] slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair. It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by
[203] the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial gain.

264 A number of young lads, friends or relatives of X, distribute the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called
* 556 upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no
[883] standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests; otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in
[578] this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its reward.

583 Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a
* 556 fluent friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech,
[537] extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general
[425] outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may
[424] be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with
[532] the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name.

Poor people, white guests, or others from whom no return can 553
possibly be received, share equally in the distribution; the 556*
money goes to all to validate the transaction. On the other 575
hand, X expects that the presents, if any, made to a few individuals after the general distribution, will be returned with interest. In selecting the recipients of these he has been animated, first, by the necessity of repaying old debts, and secondly by his desire to make good investments in the shape of presents to those likely to show their chiefly nature by returning with heavy interest. No request is ever made for such repayment, but as the transaction has been publicly announced, a man fears to fail to repay, since that would lower his prestige. No one may refuse a present, no matter how embarrassing it may be. [558]

After the gifts have been distributed the songs of the initiates are practised. Members of the *nuuk* society join in with the singers; the other spectators listen attentively, full of interest, but take no part. X with his helpers then gives food to all, and they depart. [533]

Before the coming of the white man a potlatch was a rare 535
event, and *nuuk* members were initiated at local gatherings. 556*
The period of confinement was the same as that just described, 575
but instead of merely practising the songs during the interval, 177
the initiates appeared and danced to them. It will be convenient here to describe that ritual, emphasizing the fact that at a potlatch, when the initiates can be confirmed in the presence of foreign guests, this preliminary rite does not take place.

After the distribution of goods the singers beat out* the 292
tune of any one of the initiates, and all emerge in close suc- 595
cession from the back-room, each wearing a blanket, without 556*
distinctive design, a collar of dyed and pounded cedar-bark 575
decorated with pendant weasel skins, and the distinctive *nuuk* 237
head-dress (see Plate 15).[1] This consists of a circlet of grizzly bear claws, surmounted in front by a small forehead mask; from the inner side of the circlet there rise a number of sea-lion

*The present tense is used for uniformity.

[1] [See ill. 116, facing p 218 - ANALYST]

292 whiskers over which is scattered eagle down. From the back
535 of the head-dress hang weasel skins. In Bella Bella it is said to
be customary for a skin to be added on every occasion when a
* 556 *sisaek* is confined to the back-room. This may happen as many
575 as fifteen times to the child of wealthy parents, and a few Bella
Coola have adopted the practice of marking each with a skin.
[237] Usually, some six or nine are hung in two tiers, without con-
sideration of the number of times the wearer has been in seclu-
sion. The central figure of the forehead mask is a head with
[532] a hooked nose, the recurved hook being joined to the face
itself. This figure does not vary with the wearer's ancestral
myth, and no one knows what it represents. This design is
[177] said to have been introduced to Bella Coola from the north a
few generations ago; before that time the head-dress consisted
[237] of a circular band of dyed cedar-bark, decorated with the tail
[824] feathers of one of the large woodpeckers. The Bella Coola call
it simply, "forehead mask." Each initiate carries a hollow
[532] rattle, carved in the shape of a bird, which he holds in his right
[534] hand, belly uppermost. Long, long ago, when a dancer failed
to do so, the rattle became alive and the bird flew away; hence,
this rule has been obeyed ever since.

535 Each initiate takes up his station in some part of the house
behind the fire and dances to the beating of the sticks. The
* 556 left hand of each is clasped behind his back and in his right he
575 holds the rattle and keeps it in constant motion by shaking his
wrist. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a good dancer.
Keeping the body stiff and the legs close together, he rises with
slight jumps, barely altering his position on the floor. Some-
times he slowly turns around sunwise[11] in his series of jumps,
at other times he does not alter his position. The head is bent
from side to side and downwards at each jump, causing the
eagle down to fly in all directions. *Sisaek* assistants blow more
of the material on to the head-dress at intervals (see Plate 16).

[821] [11] The Bella Coola believe that the sun moves from east to south to west to
[796] north. Many ceremonial movements follow this direction, which will henceforth
be described as sunwise.

[See cat 116, facing p 219 - ANALYSIS]

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go to the homes of their friends in the village; it is a matter of convenience, not of ritual. 556* [574]

In the evening, there may be no rite of any kind, but X often invites everyone to his house for the performance of non-ceremonial dances. The singers strike up one of his *susook* or *a'alk* (I, p. 273) tunes and he dances to it. Then a tune belonging to one of his relatives is beaten out, and he too dances. After several have thus performed, a meal is served and all disperse. No supernatural beings are in attendance, hence there is no solemnity to the occasion; the evening's rites merely serve to show the guests the dances owned by their host and his family. 535 556*

As each party of guests arrives the same procedure is repeated. X provides food for those who have assembled from day to day, so he anxiously awaits the last-comers. When at last they come the guests from all other towns are in their allotted sections of X's house, and are free to make gibes at the tardiness of those latest in appearing. Occasionally, hard feelings are engendered in this way, although it is an established custom to mock at the last to arrive. They seat themselves and a small amount of food is given them. 556* 574 [628]

RITUAL CARRIED OUT BY THE GUESTS

Two youths, chosen by X for the purpose, sprinkle eagle down over the heads of all those present, as far as possible blowing it first over the chiefs. It serves as a token of good-will, and marks also the ceremonial nature of the occasion. Then a leading *susook*, perhaps a *siki*, stands up and says in effect: 556* [788] [237] [575]

"Thank you for coming. You are welcome. We thank you for coming to witness what X has done. He is delighted to have you here, because he has lost many of his relatives and wishes to perpetuate their memory. They would be grieved if he did not do so."

An elaborate meal is now served by a number of young men. [264]

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237
532
575

PLATE 15

Sisiook head-dress

[facing p 218]

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*556 flesh cut from the body is fastened to the point of the spear,
*773 making it so potent that when next the chief lunges at a salmon he transfixes it and brings it ashore. He warms the fish at a fire and then pounds it on a stone until it becomes a copper.

No Bella Coola has visited this distant river for many generations and the belief concerning the manufacture of *ʇaitaimx̣* appears to have been handed down from dim antiquity. Coppers of this kind are said to have been considered much more valuable than the usual *łälia*, but were always uncommon. In addition to their ordinary uses, they had a certain curative value. If the owner of one was ill, he used to clean it
[755] with a rough stone and water; then he would drink four cupfuls of the liquid which contained minute fragments of metal. In almost every case a speedy recovery followed. In all other respects *łälia* or *taitaimx̣* could be used indiscriminately.

Łälia are likewise said to have a supernatural origin. When found in the forest, they are due to the supernatural salmon-
[776] like being, *sisiutł*, having changed itself into one. None has been found in recent years because the *sisiutł* have moved away owing to their dislike of the smell of human footsteps and the taint of smoke.

These stories serve to emphasize the complete ignorance of
[325] the Bella Coola concerning the methods of manufacturing coppers. It is possible that long ago they were able to make their own by pounding the native metal, but if so it is surprising that some traditions to this effect were not preserved. On the other hand, there is little reason to doubt their use of
[177] coppers, obtained from the northern tribes, antedating the coming of the whites. All informants agreed on this point, and the frequent references to coppers in mythology likewise point to considerable age. In many of the ancestral myths there are accounts of the obtaining of coppers by some of the
[551] first people, and many ancestral names, both of men and women, are derived from them.

[237] The Bella Coola attribute the value of coppers to the fact

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of their occurrence in most ancestral myths.[4] There seems to be no mythological explanation for the casting of a copper into the fire after the passing of the representation of a deceased relative, but the desire of chiefs to use them at potlatches is the result of their use under similar circumstances by their ancestors. Some ancestral myths lack reference to coppers, but their use is common to all, whether or not embodied in such. It is said to be easier for a chief to acquire coppers if they had been used by his ancestors, but this is not essential. 556* 773 [769]

When arranging for the appearance of a dead relative, the donor of a potlatch is careful either to possess a copper, or to be able to borrow one at the right moment. As soon as the masked figure has disappeared, the donor stands up, breaks or bends his copper, and throws it into the fire "to make bone for the deceased." No matter how valuable a copper may have been, it is now worthless; its value has been expended on the purpose for which it has just been employed. It lies unheeded in the flames, a valueless article belonging to no one. 556* 769

At some convenient time, either hours or days later, any chief may remove the copper and give it to a poor man, only taking care to choose an individual who has not recently received one. It is said that the gift is "to patch his canoe." It is now the poor man's property, but it has no value, since no goods have been expended for it. The new owner straightens and repairs it, if necessary by riveting on the broken piece, thus making it ready for further use. The poor man may keep the copper for years, or it may be only a few weeks before some chief, preparing for a potlatch, offers, perhaps, $20, for it. In the old days, values were computed in slaves, canoes, salmon, and other commodities, but now in dollars. If two chiefs should happen to want it, the poor man may haggle about the price, though in such a case the two rivals would probably agree amicably rather than lower their dignity by seeming to be interested in a matter of money. It is to the advantage of a 556* [735] [325] 435 556* 437

[4]Abalone-shells and moosehides are treasured for the same reason; the former are mentioned in several origin myths, the latter in two at least. [237]

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*539 manner in which he had shielded them from the falling fish. *Sonxwaāks* alone kept his original name.

When returning they made presents of abalone-shell[42] to everyone they met, and reaching Kimsquit they made very valuable gifts to all the people. The four had been absent about six months, and as they approached their home the three elder brothers poked fun at *Älusqox*, saying:

"You will find that your wife has gone to another husband while ours will be waiting for us."

They found the reverse to be true. *Älusqox*'s wife alone had remained faithful to her absent husband; all the others had taken new consorts. The three fickle wives regretted what they had done as soon as they saw the wealth brought back by their former husbands but it was too late to change their course, so they were left lamenting. Many people were rather jealous of *Sonxwaāks*'s success, but he distributed valuable presents to all. Soon after this the three brothers married new wives, refusing to take back their former ones, much as the latter desired it.

Another informant stated that the first settler at this village was a single man, *Swaāks*, who brought a stone hammer as a present from *Älquntām*.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nutsqwalt*[43]

In the beginning of time *Älquntām* sent down to the Dean River four brothers, *ıyuyuyut*, *Yeälos*, *Spänbätlinaix*, *Twalosdimut*, and their sister *Sximāna*. They brought with them a herald, *Nusqwalaix*, who was a kingfisher, and two men, *Xomtsla* and *Qwlaiyu*, who had the prerogative of dancing at weddings. The five came as black bears, and for a long time retained that form. *Yeälos* carried with him from *Nusmāt-a* several moosehides, a stone axe, some dyed cedar-bark, sticks for making fire, and the prerogative of a *kusiut* dance. After tarrying a few days at their landing place, the party set out down the river, with *Nusqwalaix* flying in front as guide. He was a kingfisher at the time and used to make short flights with quivering wings, and then stop until his bear friends had caught up with him, exactly as those birds do at the present time when a canoe travels up a river. On reaching *Nutsqwalt*, "The Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon," about a mile and a quarter from the mouth of the river, on the south-east side, they camped for the night.

[237] [301] [435]

[42]This was formerly valued very highly, both for its use as beads and ornaments, and because it had to be imported from a great distance.

[43]Related by Jim Pollard.

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000 the perils of infancy. During this period, the mother observes
846 various magical taboos to ensure the welfare of her offspring,
237 and endeavours to strengthen herself by rubbing her own body with non-odoriferous oils obtained from dog-fish, geese, or fresh
853 olachen. Soft pounded salmon and water are added to an infant's diet as soon as possible, though nourishment from the breast frequently continues until a child is two, or even three
862 years of age. It is not uncommon to delay weaning until the mother is again pregnant, when the child is deterred by the application of soot to the breasts. Marital relations are recom-
846 menced as soon as the mother is strong enough; there is no specified period of abstinence, nor does it matter whether or not the woman is lactative.

845 Occasionally, an infant is born with teeth; such an one is thought to be the reincarnation of a dead ancestor, though no one knows which. A similar belief is held respecting a child with dimples in the lobes of its ears; these are regarded as remnants of the holes pierced for ear-rings. A child that cries in the womb is said to have great intellect.

847 In former times infanticide was practised for various reasons. If a woman died in giving birth, it was customary for her mother to kill the child unless one of her relatives was able to suckle the motherless infant who was then given to her. It was not unknown for the mother of a large family to ask the midwife to kill the child in order to avoid an addition to her responsibilities. An unmarried girl who became pregnant
[848] often went alone to the forest, delivered herself without assistance, and killed her infant. This was considered to be the kindest act, since an illegitimate child was said to be, "Like a Dog." In some cases the prospective mother requested a friend to cause abortion by kneading the stomach and uterus, a method said to be effective and seldom fatal. How to do
[195] so is common knowledge, but to practise it is considered disgraceful, and the term *ixwotl*, applied to such an one, is among
842 the most foul of Bella Coola opprobriums. It is believed that a woman who has had several children can in some way prevent

*575 not considered necessary. With few exceptions, hereafter to
796 be noted, *kusiut* masks are burnt at the conclusion of each
532 ceremony, a practice which probably originated in order to
[171] avoid the possibility of their being seen by the uninitiated. The Bella Coola state that this is one of the most striking differences between their rites and those of the Bella Bella.

*575 Next in importance to masks are whistles (see Plate 2).[1]
796 The large, cone-shaped form used in *sisaok* ceremonial is re-
534 placed in *kusiut* dances by a smaller type consisting of portions of wood glued together, which can be blown with ease from beneath a concealing blanket. Another type has bellows con-
[237] sisting of a mountain goat bladder, which is held beneath the arm-pit so that it can be worked invisibly. During the summer the whistles are kept by one individual, usually a
[422] marshal. Specific information concerning the ownership of these whistles could not be obtained; it appears that any *kusiut* can make one, or have one made for him by a skilled carpenter, and that their retention by one person during the
[426] summer is merely for convenience. They are freely lent to anyone for use in a ceremony.

*575 In some dances special objects are used in connection with
796 dramatic performances, such as bull-roarers, wooden repre-
532 sentations of animals, birds, or miniature human beings. One old man described a pipe formerly used at *Täl·io*, which had
[534] a carved bowl as large as a tea-cup with three radiating stems.
[824] It was carved from a knotty excrescence on a beech bole. Little could be learnt of its history, except that it was supposed to have been carved by a chief with the design of his patron and displayed through pride.

*575 The usual guests at a performance of the type just sum-
609 marized are the dancer's fellow-villagers and any strangers
796 who happen to be present in the town. Great as is the desire of the *kukusiut* to impress their uninitiated tribesmen, they
[648] are still more eager to impress strangers, hence the presence
[123] of Carriers adds piquancy to the rites. The writer believes that his presence and interest encouraged the Bella Coola to

[1] [see category 116, p 84(B) - ANALYST]

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 call is that something strange has happened to the "mortal." At intervals throughout the day he repeats this announcement, 203 and towards nightfall goes around calling:
796 *Skinap, skinap, kukusiaot,* "Cure, cure, ye members of the *kusiut* society, power has come to the son of the chief [or to the mortal]."

The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house, taking their places around the fire; the uninitiated crowd near the doorway. X is seated among his relatives and some of the senior members of the society behind the fire. A herald calls out:

"I want a *siki* to help X."

*575 In every village there are at least two *kukusiut* who have, embodied with their *kusiut* names, the professional prerogative 791 of acting as healer to every novice; it is believed that the 796 ancestor of each obtained a name and this right through a [424] revelation from some supernatural healer. Since that time the owner of the name has been able to insert some of his own ever- [773] present power into a neophyte to enable him to sustain the dangers of admission to the society. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated. The profession of *siki* can be trans- [425] mitted by willing like any other prerogative and it occasionally happens that the same individual is *siki* for both *kusiut* and *susook*. In answer to the herald's call, the two *siki* come forward and crouch behind the fire, one on either side of it. [302] Their faces are blackened with soot, and each wears a blanket, [292] decorated with dyed cedar-bark, thrown loosely over his [237] shoulders, leaving the chest and stomach bare except for an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Meanwhile beating sticks are distributed among most of the *kukusiut* who strike furiously on the floor with them, without any attempt to keep time; the sole object is to produce the greatest din possible.

One of the *siki* contorts himself in an amazing manner, presses his hands against his stomach as if to force something from it, and rolls from side to side on his haunches, until at length he produces, as if from his body, a rock crystal (see Plate 3).[1] He waves this to and fro in his hands, then goes

[1] [see category 116, p 84(C)- ANALYST]

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

X sometimes re-
ceives two prerogatives at his initiation, one from each parent, 575*
or from some other interested relative. In this case both are 796
expounded. The singers listen intently, knowing that they [425]
will later be called upon to compose songs on the theme, or [553]
themes. According to some informants they immediately sing [533]
one, as if they had just created it, though it was really prepared
in advance. The *kukusiut* listen until they have mastered it.

Helpers now distribute the food provided by X's father, 575*
or whoever is responsible for his initiation. At every *kusiut* 796
ceremonial the marshals are the first recipients, then the 556
singers, and finally the others without distinction. As the [264]
guests are eating, X's father gives presents to all, without
deference to rank. An announcer calls out:

"Here are [for example] ten bear-skins from X's mother. They are to obtain for him his cedar-bark bracelets."

These goods are then distributed. Similarly other gifts from various relatives are handed out for his anklets, his blanket, his collar, his head-dress, and all other parts of his clothing. As each item of his ceremonial costume is validated, [425]
X dons the prepared article. A novice's head-dress consists [292]
of a round roll of dyed cedar-bark, covering a grass frame; in [184]
Stuix and the other villages of the upper valley this is decorated with a tuft of swan's down. The *kukusiut* of these villages [237]
also wear a distinctive decoration consisting of a swan's skin
with the feathers attached. In recent years it has been customary to pile all the goods together and distribute them as *älq̄-ll*, which has the significance of "something that has vanished for the novice's dyed cedar-bark." Theoretically, the aim of the donor is to bestow his presents on all equally, but if he finds that he has some remaining, he gives these to the chiefs, or to the relatives of someone whom he expects will soon be a novice. None of the goods used in general distributions are returnable, but a chief who receives an extra gift at the end usually remembers from whom it was received and cancels his indebtedness at the earliest opportunity. There is no close connection between the disbursements and the worth of the

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[The Dance of Noakxnim]

if he so desires. The *kukusiut* listen to the song, and when it is resung they join in. They practise it repeatedly, until familiar with both words and tune. This part of the ceremony lasts for about two hours. 575* 796* [533]

The singers, and any others who are prepared to beat time, are always provided with long, flat, thin sounding-boards to increase the din of the pounding. When the marshals decide that the song is sufficiently familiar, they tell some of the *kukusiut* to carry these boards to the lowest house of the village. They do this, and also scatter clean sand on the floor, as is customary whenever a supernatural being is to enter. The uninitiated persons within the house watch with great interest. The singers enter and take their places behind the fire, then other *kukusiut* and finally X himself; his face is unblackened, but he wears his two eagle tails in his hair and a collar of dyed cedar-bark. On his head is a thin cylindrical circlet, about four inches high, of the same material, ornamented with swan's down by the inhabitants of the villages of the upper Bella Coola valley. The collar consists of a roll of grass, entirely covered with dyed cedar-bark from which pendant tassels of the same hang down over his chest; similar ones are worn by *sisaok* dancers, except that the tassels hang down their backs. Every *kusiut* dancer wears these two ornaments, and those who have the necessary prerogative adorn themselves with an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Blankets are always worn. *Kukusiut* women wear in addition woollen pubic garments. [292] [534] 575* 796* 292 [424] [237]

As the singers beat out X's tune, accompanied by the voices of themselves and other *kukusiut*, he dances. Since his style is typical of all *kukusiut* except Cannibals and a few others, it will be well to digress at this point in order to describe it. X raises his arms until their upper parts are approximately the height of his shoulders, and project outwards and slightly to the front; they are bent at the elbows with the forearms vertical, thus bringing the hands opposite the top of the head. Both wrists are shaken constantly, the muscles of the lower 575* 796* 535

shals tells a herald to call them in; they enter joyfully, though somewhat fearfully, and stand or crouch on either side of the doorway. In Kimsquit they gaze on the masks, wondering what they are. The singers strike up the first of X's songs and he dances, while singers and *kukusiut* men sing the words and the women drone. To the uninitiated it appears most impressive and desirable, while even the prosaic white man can hardly remain indifferent. At intervals a whistle, which the uninitiated believe to be the voice of the call, sounds eerily from beneath the armpit of a reliable *kusiut*. After a short interval, X's second song is sung, and so in succession the eight. Then the singers strike up any well-remembered tune, perhaps one used last year, and the owner dances. This is repeated for eight or ten songs. At later *qotlim*, every *kusiut* who has had a call during the season must dance; the ceremony tends, therefore, to become longer and longer as time goes on, although the singing of the songs of a previous year is omitted. When enough performers have danced, a shaman's song is often sung and the owner dances "to clear the house." At this point the uninitiated spectators are told to withdraw. Then a meal is served to the *sisaok* who, as members of a similar organization, are honoured guests and have been seated together in a corner, resplendent in their weasel-skin ornaments. After their departure, the *kukusiut* eat more leisurely, while one marshal after another advises them as to their conduct. Then presents of comparatively small value are distributed. The marshals would consider it unbecoming for X to provide over-lavishly. The first gifts are to the singers, the next to the makers of the masks. Though these presents are, in essence, pay, they are never thought of in that light; X is under obligations, X has cleared himself of those obligations, is the Bella Coola attitude. When all is over, X once more dances to one of his softly sung songs. Then one of the marshals calls out to open the door and the guests disperse, except the novices who sleep in X's house.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

the packers were to meet them. They were not due to arrive for several hours, so *Sänuxımäxots* cooked the goat and had a plentiful meal ready for his followers. They asked whether he had had any luck, and he answered casually that his son had killed one, but when they expressed regret at his lack of fortune, *Sänuxımäxots* pointed to the pile of dead goats, visible in the distance, and said: 539* 224

"See what my son killed."

Never before had there been such a slaughter of goats at one time, and it was obvious that no time could be lost if the meat was to be smoked before winter. Fortunately, there was a large cave in the vicinity where they established their headquarters. The packers were divided into two parties; some brought in the carcasses, while others kept a fire smouldering, tended the drying meat, and boiled out the grease. It was a slow process and there was a heavy snowfall before it was finished. The snow drifted into the narrow valley to such a depth that it was impossible to think of leaving. The beleaguered hunters were well provided with food; melted snow gave them water, and the cave was sufficient shelter, so their confinement was more irksome than dangerous. Nor did it prove profitless. The smell of food attracted two martens which were so unafraid that they were killed with sticks. All the hunters began to make traps which soon provided them with enough skins to make several of the much-prized blankets. 539* [251] [237]

So the winter dragged away. The wife of one of the packers had a reputation for faithlessness and her husband's companions used to tease him by saying that his wife would have remarried before he got home. This wore on his nerves until he determined to try to reach the village in spite of the snow. He constructed a pair of snow-shoes and set out, carrying with him enough marten-skins for four blankets, packed in a sack made from the stomach of one of the goats. The journey was less difficult than he had feared; he camped for one night, and reached his own village soon after dusk of the next day. Looking through the doorway, he saw his father throwing food into the fire and realized that someone must have died. He called out anxiously, but his parent, who had long since abandoned hope for his son's safety, could not believe that his voice was real, and was not convinced until he actually stood before him. The long-absent one asked for whom the food was being thrown on the fire, and his father replied: [481]

"For you. We thought you must be dead and have burnt almost all your personal possessions."

"That does not matter," replied the son. "We have plenty of meat, grease, and furs."

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*539 [237] As soon as the weather moderated, the rest of the party returned, each carrying enough marten skins for at least one blanket. Some had so many that three or four cloaks could be made, in addition to the large supplies of smoked goat meat and grease.

THE SUCCESS OF A LAZY HUNTER

*539 224 [177] [411] [439] In the early days, when the visit of a trading vessel to Bella Coola was a rare event, it is remembered that an *Ăsăn·ăn·i* chief bought a musket from the captain of the *Beaver*. He paid for it a pile of beaver-skins which, when stacked up, was equal in height to the length of the weapon. This was one of the first muskets owned by a Bella Coola and the chief took great care of it, never treating it roughly, and hanging it with ropes from the roof of his house whenever he was not actually using it. One day a certain *Snăkelt* asked the owner to lend him the musket to hunt goats. This was no slight request, and it was surprising, since *Snăkelt* was not a hunter, but merely packed in meat killed by others. At first the chief was unwilling to allow his prized weapon out of his sight, but at last consented when *Snăkelt* promised to give him half the goats that he might kill.

Snăkelt probably thought that even temporary possession of the mysterious musket would make it possible for him to kill goats, but when he had climbed up into the mountains, and stalked for hours, he had not succeeded even in approaching one. He knew that if he returned home, unsuccessful and without some plausible excuse, he would be laughed to scorn, so he determined to cover his failure. First he beat the musket on a boulder until it was bent and battered, then he took a sharp rock and pounded himself until he was covered with blood from head to foot, as if he had been caught in a land-slide. When near the village, he lay down on the ground and called faintly for help; at first the people could not locate the sound, but after a short search someone found the would-be hunter, apparently in the last stages of exhaustion. Help was called, and *Snăkelt* carried home, moaning feebly and saying that he would die. He could just whisper that he had been caught in a slide on the other side of the mountain, this explanation being necessary since no one had heard one in the near vicinity. As the apparent sufferer was lying in his house, one man noticed that the patient's wounds were from gashes, not from bruises, and loudly protested that *Snăkelt* must have mutilated himself to conceal his lack of success. Everyone came crowding around and agreed that this must be the case; *Snăkelt* finally admitted the deception and congratulated his discoverer on his powers of observation. After a few days, he was as well as ever, but the chief had lost his precious musket.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

Abies sp.

Northern Carrier: Bark boiled in water and the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

Gum used as an ointment on wounds, and especially on burns.

Sikani: Gum applied to wounds.

Gitksan: Juicy inner bark, scraped from the trunk of the tree, after removal of the outer bark, taken internally for constipation.

Gum from the bark blisters taken internally as a purgative and diuretic for "consumption," gonorrhoea, and many other serious ailments. Applied externally to cuts and sores, especially the sores of gonorrhoea.

The young cones, obtainable in August, sliced across, mashed, and used for the same purposes as the gum from the bark blisters.

See also fern, page 48.

Pseudotsuga taxifolia Britt., Douglas Fir

Bella Coola: Gum boiled and taken internally, while warm, as a diuretic for gonorrhoea.

Gum, spread on red cedar bark, applied to cuts. (One informant said that although gum of scrub pine (*see* page 49), hemlock (*see* page 51), and tideland spruce (*see* page 51) were good, Douglas fir gum made cuts worse.)

Gum mixed with dogfish (shark) oil or, if that were not available, eulachon oil, taken, two spoonfuls at a time, with warm water, as an emetic and purgative for colds, rheumatism, gonorrhoea, constipation, intestinal pains, and diarrhoea.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Tsuga heterophylla (Raf.) Sarg., Western Hemlock, and **Tsuga Mertensiana** Carr, Mountain Hemlock

Bella Coola: Leaves chewed and applied to burns.

See also scrub pine (page 49).

Gum warmed and applied to cuts. Not boiled for a diuretic for gonorrhoea.

Burning twigs applied to the skin for various internal ailments.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Picea sitchensis Carr., Tideland Spruce

Bella Coola: Tips of small, but not of large, spruces mixed with blue currant (*Ribes bracteosum* Dougl.), young juneberry (*Amelanchier florida* Lindl.), and crushed branches (leaves and stems) of garden snowberry (*Symphoricarpus racemosa* Michx.), boiled and taken internally for gonorrhoea.

Sap from the peeled trunk taken in doses of from half a cup to a cupful as a laxative from May to August.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

T
137
757
[828]
[756]

Smoke from the burning roots inhaled for bad dreams, influenza, and rheumatism (a remedy avoided by medicine men, lest it destroy their magical power). Roots themselves considered poisonous.

Leaves used to sit or lie on when taking a sweat bath for rheumatism; also spread over the afflicted parts.

Calla palustris L., WATER ARUM

Gitksan: Roots well boiled and the decoction taken internally for cleaning the eyes of the blind, for hemorrhage, for short breath, and influenza.

B
C
T
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757

LILIACEAE, LILY FAMILY

Clintonia uniflora Kunth., QUEENS CUP

Bella Coola: Boiled and used to wash the body. One leaf toasted and applied as a poultice to eyes or wounds.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Smilacina racemosa L., FALSE SOLOMON'S SEAL

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Roots boiled and decoction taken internally as a very strong medicine for rheumatism, sore back, and kidney trouble. A purgative. Bark and leaves useless. Roots mashed and bound on cuts.

T
[752]

Veratrum viride Ait., FALSE HELLEBORE

Bella Coola: Small bulbs or scrapings of large bulbs, boiled, and one cupful or less of the decoction, according to the strength of the patient, taken internally for chronic cough, gonorrhoea, constipation, pain in the stomach, and many illnesses. Two or three cupfuls acted as an emetic. Said to be poisonous if eaten raw.

B
C
137
757

Small pieces of the raw root swallowed with a little cold water as an emetic for pains in the stomach. More water taken if all the pieces not vomited. Overdose considered fatal.

See also scrub pine (page 48).

Southern Carrier: Entire roots dried in the sun, and powdered by rubbing on a stone. About a dessertspoonful of the powder taken in hot water as an emetic for sickness. Too strong a decoction considered fatal.[1]

SALICACEAE, WILLOW FAMILY

Salix lasiandra Benth., WILLOW

Bella Coola: Six sticks about a foot long charred, and pulverized on a stone. A teaspoonful of the powder taken in a cupful of cold water for diarrhoea. Said to effect a cure in two or three hours.

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C
T
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757

A piece of the inner bark folded once and the folded edge inserted into a knife cut; other edges then separated and flattened down, and the wound covered with eagle down. Thought to make the pus come out. Same process used to heal incisions in the abdomen made by those who tried to cure pain in the stomach.

B
[237]
B
[752]

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

B
[771]

[1] The late Dr. C. F. Newcombe informed the writer that this plant seems to be used by every tribe in whose territory it grows.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

They resolved to make an attempt to burn it and to break open the door. 648
On the following day they came up to the village, but the guard on the 726
towers used their guns to such good effect that the enemy had to retreat with severe losses. They made still another attempt, but with no better success. They had lost many men, while only two old men of the Talio'mH, Tumnk'akyas and A'lk·ins by name, and one woman had been hurt. The latter had been killed. When the Kwakiutl turned back a messenger was at once sent up to the lake to call the young men, who then went to Nuqa'lkH to ask for help. The Kwakiutl passed close to Nuak'slu'sta's father's canoe, but they were so terrified by the losses they had sustained that they passed by without so much as noticing it. Two of their number were so ashamed of their defeat that they would rather remain in the enemy's country than return with their friends, and they stayed ashore. Meanwhile the Talio'mH and the Bilqula were pursuing the fugitives. They had reached the outlet of Bentinck Arm without overtaking them. Then their chiefs resolved to return, as they believed that their enemies had a long start upon them. Later on they learnt that the Kwakiutl were at that moment only a few miles from them, about to continue their homeward journey, after having encamped at the outlet of the channel. Afterwards the Talio'mH found the two men who had remained ashore. They called them and promised to send them back to their friends, saying that the war had ended, and that they had no grudge against them. The men were, however, too much afraid, and finally starved to death.

Later on the Talio'mH and Bilqula organised an expedition against the Kwakiutl to take revenge for the unprovoked attack. A chief named Koani'la, whose father was a Talio'mH, while his mother was a Kwakiutl, was their leader. They intended to attack the Lō'kwiltok· and the Kwō'k·sōt'ēnoq. When they approached the village of the latter they sent a canoe ahead to search for the village, and to report the number of houses. For two days they were unable to find the village, which lies in a labyrinth of islands; but finally they found it, and saw that it consisted of sixteen houses. On the next morning they attacked it. The tribe was wholly taken by surprise and almost all of them were killed. Koani'la's mother lived at this place, and when she heard the Bilqula coming she asked at once for her son, and was taken care of by him. Only five men and four women escaped. The Bilqula allowed these to run away, as they had killed as many as they desired. Anuknl'teem, a chief of the Snaqtla'mh, was the only man of the Bilqula who was wounded. He died on the way home. They returned, but in the country of the Nā'koartok· they were overtaken by four Kwakiutl canoes which pursued them. The Bilqula were victorious, but Koani'la induced them to desist. During the fight two of the women, whom they had taken as slaves, and one boy jumped overboard, and were rescued by the Kwakiutl.

Medicine.

Boils are treated by cauterisation with dry bark or with gunpowder. 752
Sometimes a series of parallel cuts is made over swellings or boils. Fractured bones are set, and fastened between splints of cedar-bark.

Emetats of shark oil or clachen oil are given by means of a kelp tube, 757
with a mouthpiece made of the wing-bone of an eagle. Snake poison is [237]
collected and used as a poison. Women wear tight anklets to prevent 700

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

quantities of ducks and geese, and the inhabitants of the inland villages sometimes made hunting expeditions to the nesting places of wild-fowl in the lakes of the interior uplands. Although numbers of birds were sometimes killed in this way, they were never a steady article of diet. The same is true of grouse. Always plentiful, these birds were commonly killed, but never in large numbers.

The basis of the food supply was fish. The river teemed with salmon, which enabled the country to support its relatively large population. Spring, sockeye, hump-back, dog, and cohoe salmon, all entered the river in thousands during the spring and summer, while the steel-head could be caught throughout the year. They were taken in weirs and their flesh smoked for winter use. Throughout the year, salmon was the principal article of diet. Second in importance was the olachen, a fish somewhat resembling a herring, which entered the river in great numbers during April or May. They were taken in purse-like nets,* allowed to rot for ten days or two weeks, and then boiled. The grease was skimmed off and kept indefinitely to be used as a relish for other foods. It was always a sign of poverty if a person were obliged to eat berries without olachen grease. Trout and bull-heads were found in the river, but were not sufficiently plentiful to be of importance.

Although no form of agriculture was practised, the Bella Coola used vegetable food to a considerable extent. Berries were abundant; some were eaten raw, but many more were pounded into a pulpy mass and dried in the sun. Cakes prepared in this way kept indefinitely and formed one of the regular winter foods. The bark of the hemlock and cottonwood was eaten, as well as the roots of many plants. In recent years many of these have not been used, so that an investigator is apt to overlook their great importance in early times. Although useless for food, the cedar was the corner-stone of Bella Coola material culture. From its trunk were split out, with wedges, the wide planks which formed

*See Appendix A for a description of olachen fishing.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

entertained such kindly sentiments towards him that he would be glad to have his friend receive it.

In recent years the number of incombustible objects has increased enormously with the introduction of metal utensils, gramophones, and other things obtained from white traders. Although these are considered to be of use to the ghost, and must be carefully placed near the grave, they can be publicly exchanged for others by a relative. The sentiments expressed on such occasions are that the ghost, though aware of what is taking place, does not resent an open transfer; and that it is unnecessary to deposit the equivalent of what has been removed. There is undoubtedly a vague idea that the ghost uses, not the actual object, but its essence, which is received by the deposition. It must be emphasized that this feeling has not become crystallized to such a state that it is customary to replace goods laid on the grave with others. Such an exchange is a rare event and would cause animosity if carried out by anyone except a near relative.

Sometimes a dying person requests that a house be erected over his grave, a common plains tribe custom. This is built immediately after the funeral and articles that cannot be burnt are placed within it instead of being piled on the ground. The sorrowing relatives may choose to erect a picket fence around the spot, but no other mark for the grave is put up until a memorial potlatch several years after death. House or fence soon falls into decay and rarely an effort is made to repair either. Nor is the grave itself disturbed. Cow-parsnips, which are much used for food, grow frequently in cemeteries, but no one would gather the shoots that rise above a grave; they are food belonging to the dead person. The white man has taught the Bella Coola how to plant apple-trees and these are often set out in graveyards, though the fruit is allowed to fall to the ground for the benefit of those interred beneath. The Bella Bella are said formerly to have replaced at intervals the coffin containing a dead person, but this seems never to have been a Bella Coola practice. Indeed, a grave is never

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

to the aesthetic, their skill in dancing and dramatics is noteworthy: no one who has witnessed a native dance can fail to have been impressed by the performance of the participants and the stage-craft of the carpenters. The fact that no system of writing had ever been devised has prevented the establishment of a native literature, but the practice of passing down an extensive folklore by word of mouth shows their narrative powers as well as their faculty for remembering details. At present it is difficult to appreciate what must have been their energy in earlier times when they faced the struggle for existence, armed with stone tools. Abundant salmon gave them adequate food, but only when weirs had been built with great labour. Though game was plentiful, the hunter was equipped with nothing more formidable than a bow and arrow. The simplest task required patience and skill undreamed of by the average white man. If the reader will allow his imagination to carry him backwards two hundred years, he will realize that the mere provision of food and clothing necessitated constant effort and ceaseless exertion.

Hand in hand with many admirable characteristics, the Bella Coola display others which strike the white man as unprepossessing. A first impression is the untidiness of their houses. Exteriorly, they are often fairly neat, but confusion reigns within. Clothing, instead of being hung up, is left lying on the floor; bed-coverings are piled carelessly; dirty dishes cover the tables; dogs and children swarm over the floor; flies abound; all is dirty and slovenly. The house itself may be uncompleted; a window lacks glass and has been boarded up; the roof leaks, or the steps are falling down. Nor are the surroundings more attractive. There is one struggling flower-bed in the village, but elsewhere the houses are surrounded by wastes of mud where horses and cattle wander, dogs prowl, and children play. In the distance the mountain peaks rise in splendour, but near at hand all is squalid and unkempt.

They are only slightly more particular about their personal appearance. Dirt does not distress them. They wash occa-

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

but the Bella Coola do not consider this aspect and the children grow up in an atmosphere entirely lacking in restraint of speech. Some stories teach a moral lesson, but they are recounted merely for entertainment. At the present time, no one knows who invented the stories; they have been handed down from dim antiquity and alterations or embellishments are considered improper, while the composition of new tales appears to be unknown.

Another pastime is smoking. Among some Indian tribes the practice has a definite religious significance, but this appears to be lacking among the Bella Coola. Most of the men enjoy either a pipe or cigarettes, and some of the women also indulge, but few carry the habit to excess. All the older people affirmed that their ancestors had smoked for generations. Tobacco was not grown, but kinnikinick, *milix*ʷ', was used, and also a plant known as *lsaix*'. Another smoking mixture was bark of *lsxwatlp*, toasted before a fire until dried and brown, and then crumbled between the hands. These materials have given place entirely to imported tobacco, and the white man's pipe has replaced the native one. The latter consisted of a gooseberry cane from which the pith had been extracted; sometimes a small bowl of elderberry wood was added, but often the mixture to be smoked was simply placed within the end of the hollow stem.

Adults, especially the men, are addicted to gambling. They are fond of placing stakes on a race or other trial of strength, and enjoy all kinds of games of chance. Some of the younger men have mastered a few of the simpler games of cards on which they spend a certain amount of time and money. The favourite gambling game, however, is one found in all parts of the coast, which is played with a pack of fifty-four smoothed crabapple sticks. The rules are complicated and no effort was made to learn more than the general principles. The pieces are divided among the eight or ten contestants and concealed; then one player guesses in whose hand a certain marked stick is hidden. If he is successful, the others pay him a forfeit; if

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

133 tains. From each pocket between these mountains an ice-
cold affluent comes swirling down to the main river. The
137 predominant tree in the river valleys is the cedar[4] which in
many cases attains great girth and height. Cottonwoods
flourish in places, and everywhere there is an almost impene-
trable undergrowth of devil's club, berry bushes, and other
shrubbery of almost tropical density. On the lower slopes of
the mountains, moss-festooned pines and spruces are the most
common trees, gradually becoming smaller and fewer until the
133 barren peaks are reached. The mountains rise so precipitously
that their snowcaps and glaciers seem to overhang the valley,
a narrow ribbon of green winding far below. The range of
vision from the bank of the river is limited by the all-encircling
mountains. Here and there a distant vista opens up to expose
peak after peak, but on the whole there is a feeling of confine-
ment, in contrast with the open wastes of the upper country
where the Bella Coola rises. Mountains, forests, flowing water,
these are the three dominant impressions of the country (see
Plate 6).

136 The mammals of central British Columbia, although com-
paratively common, have never been of primary importance.
[291] The marten, the wolverine, the lynx, and bears, both black
and grizzly, were formerly hunted for their skins to serve as
[262] cloaks. Deer were killed whenever possible, but formed a
negligible item of diet. The beaver also was prized for its
[439] flesh. The skins of moose and caribou were traded from the
Carrier Indians, but neither of these animals was found in the
[286] Bella Coola area. The mammal of greatest economic impor-
[237] tance was the mountain goat, the wool of which was woven into
blankets. Smoked goat meat was formerly found in every
[251] house and was almost the only flesh available during the
[262] winter. Small game was abundant, but seals were a luxury.
Neither were birds of great importance to the Bella Coola.
[223] Members of the tribe resident near the sea-coast used to kill

[4]Appendix C contains a glossary of the scientific names of the flora and fauna mentioned in this monograph.

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was the principal article of diet. Second in importance
was the olachen, a fish somewhat resembling a herring, which
entered the river in great numbers during April or May. They [252]
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two weeks, and then boiled. The grease was skimmed off and [263]
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Coola used vegetable food to a considerable extent. Berries 262
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[6] See Appendix A for a description of olachen fishing.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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After bestowal of these presents, the *siki* of the penultimate group of guests shakes his rattle, and exactly the same procedure is carried out by members of his party. They, too, give presents to X and the other Bella Coola chiefs. The same rites are carried out by each party of guests in the reverse order of their arrival. It is frequently near dawn before the first-comers have completed their dances and distribution of gifts. X then gives another meal to all, with no restriction on the choice of food. This concludes the night's ceremony, and the guests depart, except those who are staying in X's house. 556 *

THE POTLATCH: FIRST DAY

Considering the lengthy ceremonials of the preceding evening, it is not surprising that on this day no one stirs early. The guests receive their breakfast in the houses where they are accommodated, and meanwhile a number of young men gather in X's house to assist in the preparation of food for the main meal of the day. During the previous night a large amount of smoked mountain goat has been put in water to soak. This is now placed in a number of food-boxes, ready for distribution, water is added and hot stones lifted in to bring it to a boil. When the water comes to the boil, mountain goat grease is added, and then bearberries; it is usually about two o'clock in the afternoon before the meal is ready. The guests are summoned and the food given them, the chiefs, as usual, receiving more than those of lower rank. After eating they disperse to await the evening rites. [251] [252] [554]

It was impossible to obtain an accurate account of the ritual carried out on the evening of this, the first day of the potlatch proper. The ceremonial was of less importance than those preceding and following, and it has long fallen into disuse. The guests take up their accustomed places, and the Bella Coola members of the *susaok* range themselves near them and behind the fire. The corners next the door are occupied by non-members of the society. The singers beat out two of [182] 556 * 575 [535]

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782
778
* 787
[251]

About half a mile from the glacier there is a large rock shelter where mountain goat hunters are wont to smoke their meat. They are always careful to take with them dyed and undyed cedar-bark and eagle down, knowing that they may encounter the supernatural. Sometimes they hear the voice of *uxxekam*, a deep, long drawn-out hum, *m*·····. If this sound is repeated four times it is a happy augury, but if heard only once it presages ill fortune. In either case some member of the party, one who is ceremonially clean and is brave, blackens his face, puts on a collar of dyed cedar-bark, covered with eagle down, steps outside, and says in effect:

"Hail! Petrified One. In the beginning you came down from *Ałquntäm*, from all that was wonderful and powerful. You have not changed, hence we mortals can still hear your voice. Please, may it be well with us. There is none other like you."

If the supplicant is ceremonially clean the mountain will answer *hi*·····, four times, and there will be heard what sounds like a great landslide. Then the petitioner takes some small portions of meat, some dyed and some undyed cedar-bark, and eagle down and throws them on the fire.

"Please accept, Oh *Kusiaot*" (Powerful One), he says.

Thus propitiated, *uxxekam* grants them success in hunting.

778 (13) *Spipixlnän·i*: On the south side of the Dean River about one mile from its mouth. Here, in the beginning of time, Raven cast his war-knife, *spla*, which was turned to stone and can still be seen. Its power has likewise become localized at this point.

(14) In the beginning of time Mount *Swakx*, near the Dean River, was a man who was turned to stone. Across the river is his wife, *Ałsłalnexkł*, whose ancestral name is *Kamiłkän*, likewise petrified.

[755]
[785]

In most of these places[1] a sick person can receive assistance, if he is willing to risk the consequent dangers. The first essential is that he be in a "clean" condition by the observance of

[1] [i.e. - certain spots where power is localized - see cat. 116, pp 594-600 for their location - ANALYST]

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*539 *756 *787 palm of one hand. The conspirators had been hoping for such an indication, since it gave the information to the brother who was peering through a crack. The younger sister persuaded the older one to hold up her palms to the fire to warm them, thus giving the brother an opportunity to shoot through a knot-hole in the wall of the house. His arrow transfixed his sister's hand and she fell, helpless, whereupon he entered and slew her.

The surviving brother and sister abandoned their home and travelled for a very long time without seeing anyone. Finally, they settled on a [186] mountain top and married. Since that time Carriers have married their sisters.[59]

THE MARRIAGE OF *Tlitcäplilän·a*'S DAUGHTER

Long ago, when the world was still sparsely populated, there were two poor orphans, a brother and sister, quite alone, without relatives. The boy, who was about eighteen years old, took great care of the girl. In summer, when the people scattered over the country in search of food, the two went together to catch and dry salmon for the winter. The brother [251] had great success. He caught many fish which he suspended on a frame to dry, in charge of his sister, while he went away for four or five days. On his return all the drying salmon had disappeared.

"That is unkind of my sister," he said to himself, "to have eaten all those fish so greedily."

He went to bed without saying anything, but next morning asked her:

"Is it you who have eaten all our food?"

The girl replied in a frightened whisper:

"Don't speak to me about it. I am terrified. A supernatural woman stole it. I think it was *Tlitcäplilän·a*. I heard something approaching and hid myself. A huge woman came to the drying rack, her snout-like mouth ranged among the fish and sucked them down like lightning, while her teeth rattled as if they were loose in her jaws. She went away as soon as she had finished our salmon."

Next morning the boy bade his sister hide, as he was going to attack the robber of his food. He prepared a bow with a strong arrow and took up his position in ambush overlooking the rack on which hung the salmon he had recently caught. Soon he heard a voice and presently *Tlitcäplilän·a* appeared, wearing a shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark in alternate bands, plentifully sprinkled with eagle down. Her teeth rattled loosely in their sockets. When near the rack, her mouth formed itself into a snout with which she began to suck in the salmon with a horrible

[59] This statement is undoubtedly a mere expression of Bella Coola contempt for their neighbours.

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* 539 * 756 * 787 Previous to her cure, *Ṭlitcäplilän·a* had promised that whoever made her well should marry one of her four beautiful daughters. She now bade them stand up and told the boy to choose whichever he liked. The four were identical in appearance, and the youth was in a quandary, but a young supernatural being standing near advised him to select the third in age, saying she was by far the most capable. All had wonderful powers but she excelled her sisters, since, if she closed her eyes and wished to be in a certain place, she straightway arrived there. So the lad led this girl out from among her sisters and in a flash all the supernatural ones vanished, except *Ṭlitcäplilän·a* and her four children. The mother said to her new son-in-law:

"I suppose you will spend the night with us but will want to go back to your own home tomorrow morning."

"Yes," answered the boy. "I am afraid to be too long absent on account of my sister down below."

"Don't worry on her account," said his mother-in-law. "If she should be dead I will restore her, or rather your wife, my daughter, will do so. She has the necessary power."

That night the young man spent in the home of *Ṭlitcäplilän·a*. Next morning he and his bride set out for the earth, travelling on the same easy, short route by which he had reached *Nusmät·a*. He thought he had been absent for one night only, but one night among supernatural ones being equivalent to a year among mortals, his sister had died of starvation. His wife rubbed her hands over the dead girl's face and she was at once restored to life, greatly to the delight of the bridegroom and all his human friends.

Ṭlitcäplilän·a's daughter had brought with her from *Nusmät·a* a dog which she instructed to watch her husband and report if he so much as flirted with any other girl. She warned him that if he did so, or if he ever ceased to pay the proper respect to herself, she would leave him and return to her home above. For three years the husband obeyed her instructions, but one night he met a pretty girl and was faithless to his wife. The ever-watchful dog reported this to his mistress, who went back above and never returned to her husband.

THE MARRIAGE OF *Ṭlitcäplilän·a's* DAUGHTER
(*Second Version*)

Long ago three brothers went off into the mountains to hunt goats. [251] They had tolerable success and hung up their quarry to dry, leaving *Saxinao*, the youngest brother, in charge. While the others were absent, *Ṭlitcäplilän·a* visited the camp and carried off the drying meat, the

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women listening from the village are able to tell how many have been caught from the number of times the cry *xak'loi* is raised. 226 796

Then the salmon are cut up (only shell knives may be used for the purpose) and cooked. Everything must be used, heads, bones, and entrails, the only refuse being the blood which is scraped from the leaves and carried into the woods. The leaves themselves, and the strings of dyed and undyed cedar-bark are thrown into the river in accordance with a desire expressed by *Noäkxnum* long ago. When everything is ready for a meal, the men take their places in two rows, facing each other across a coarse bark mat. Bark spoons have been provided, and when the heralds call for food, the fisherman brings the heads of the salmon and the guests make the motions of eating, though in reality these parts are dried and kept for winter. Boxes containing a liberal portion of the choice meat are next served and all eat freely. Each guest puts on one side what he has not consumed as if to carry it away, as is the custom at an ordinary feast, though his share is really left in the shelter until the following day. Finally, a third course is provided, the back of the fish cooked with the bone in position. Like the last, the guests eat as much as they desire and pack up the residue as if to take away. Then they leave the Spring Salmon House. [412] 226 796 574 [251]

All the fish are not cooked on the one occasion. The following day the fisherman again calls back the men of his village. The same type of meal is served, but this time the guests carry away what they do not eat for the benefit of their families. This portion may be eaten by the women without affronting the salmon. [562]

This rite has not been performed in full detail in Bella Coola for many years, and it was impossible to collect information on some points. It is uncertain, for example, whether this ceremony was carried out by every fisherman or whether there used to be certain individuals with the prerogative of dealing with the first catch. The latter appears to be the most logical 226 796 424

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226 manner, and was definitely stated to be the case by one well-
796 informed old man. It is clear, however, that every spring
salmon was landed with the cry of *xak'loi·*, taken to the Spring
[424] Salmon House, and cut up by the men until the time when
women were allowed near the river. Another old man stated
[574] that the feast took place at night and that only the heads and
[251] refuse of the first catch were eaten, the remainder being dried
for the winter. Women of child-bearing age were not allowed
[562] on the river bank, and were rigorously excluded from the
Spring Salmon House until the time when the sun's shadow
reached a diagonal scar on the slope of one of the mountains
on the north side of North Bentinck Arm. This occurs about
August. From that time onwards, there was no calling of
xak'loi·, and women, except those who were taboo, could cut
salmon freely on the bank. It was even stated that refuse of
salmon could be thrown into the river after that time. No one
knows the origin of this seasonal prohibition, or why it should
end when the sun reaches a certain point, but it was faithfully
observed in former times.

In Kimsquit similar rites were carried out, the chief variation being that the bodies of four swans were placed in the Spring Salmon House and the fish laid with these at intervals in the line. Moreover, the youth used to bite the back of each salmon as he presented it with the cedar-bark streamer. The same regulations with regard to drinking water, and crying after eating, were enforced for spring salmon as for olachen.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

372 The following miscellaneous beliefs and customs cannot be assigned to any special aspect of Bella Coola life:

If a spark from a fire jumps out and lights on a person's hand, it is said:

"The fire wants to give you [the person on whom the brand has fallen] food."

827 If a man sneezes repeatedly, it is said:

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the packers were to meet them. They were not due to arrive for several hours, so *Sänuxumäxots* cooked the goat and had a plentiful meal ready for his followers. They asked whether he had had any luck, and he answered casually that his son had killed one, but when they expressed regret at his lack of fortune, *Sänuxumäxots* pointed to the pile of dead goats, visible in the distance, and said: 539* 224

"See what my son killed."

Never before had there been such a slaughter of goats at one time, and it was obvious that no time could be lost if the meat was to be smoked before winter. Fortunately, there was a large cave in the vicinity where they established their headquarters. The packers were divided into two parties; some brought in the carcasses, while others kept a fire smouldering, tended the drying meat, and boiled out the grease. It was a slow process and there was a heavy snowfall before it was finished. The snow drifted into the narrow valley to such a depth that it was impossible to think of leaving. The beleaguered hunters were well provided with food; melted snow gave them water, and the cave was sufficient shelter, so their confinement was more irksome than dangerous. Nor did it prove profitless. The smell of food attracted two martens which were so unafraid that they were killed with sticks. All the hunters began to make traps which soon provided them with enough skins to make several of the much-prized blankets. 539* [251] [237]

So the winter dragged away. The wife of one of the packers had a reputation for faithlessness and her husband's companions used to tease him by saying that his wife would have remarried before he got home. This wore on his nerves until he determined to try to reach the village in spite of the snow. He constructed a pair of snow-shoes and set out, carrying with him enough marten-skins for four blankets, packed in a sack made from the stomach of one of the goats. The journey was less difficult than he had feared; he camped for one night, and reached his own village soon after dusk of the next day. Looking through the doorway, he saw his father throwing food into the fire and realized that someone must have died. He called out anxiously, but his parent, who had long since abandoned hope for his son's safety, could not believe that his voice was real, and was not convinced until he actually stood before him. The long-absent one asked for whom the food was being thrown on the fire, and his father replied: [481]

"For you. We thought you must be dead and have burnt almost all your personal possessions."

"That does not matter," replied the son. "We have plenty of meat, grease, and furs."

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226 about a foot of the surface. In the same slow manner a second stake is driven in, about ten feet from the first, and in such a position that the main force of the current would strike at right angles a line drawn between the two. Then two more stakes are placed in position, slightly below the first pair, and nearer together, as shown in the diagram (Figure 3). The posts are often driven before the main run of the fish, and the fixing of the net delayed until that time. It is fastened to the four stakes, with its open end, which faces upstream, forming a rough oval, ten feet wide, of which the lower side rests on the bottom and the upper is at the surface. The outer stakes hold the upper edge, the inner ones secure the lower brim. The olachen are slow-swimming fish which work their way upstream with the rising tide, and, when it turns, drift back into the net. Once within the opening, they lack strength to drive forward against current and tide, and are forced into the closed bottom, floating downstream, in thousands. At the peak of the season, a net is often extended to its full dimensions with a solid mass of fish, throwing a tremendous strain on supports and mesh-work alike. During the day, the mouth is closed with a cross-piece, *nuxtnutsta*, to prevent floating objects from drifting within and damaging it, and opened during the night at whatever hour the tide turns.

FIG. 3. Diagram showing position of the stakes supporting an olachen net.

Early in the morning begins the landing of the fish. The partners paddle out to the bottom of their net and, with considerable exertion, lift it into the canoe. A cord is tied around the bellied mass, cutting off a section, and the end is opened so that the fish from it fall into the bottom of the craft. Another part is dealt with in the same manner, then a third, and so in succession until the gleaming olachen are piled so deeply that no more can be loaded with safety. Sometimes two or three loads, each of many thousands, are taken from a single net. The partners slowly pole to shore where, at the present time, their wives and children wait to unload the canoe. The fish are packed into baskets, carried on the back [482] with the aid of a tump-line, and taken to pits which have been prepared ten to fifteen feet from the bank. These are three or four feet deep, lined 226 with planks, and with their bottoms covered with evergreen boughs. The 251 olachen are emptied into these holes, which are covered with more planks when full. If more fish are landed than can be handled conveniently in this manner, they are laid on branches spread on the ground, and a low wall of planks built up around them. Although the main run lasts for only three or four days, the olachen are so numerous that each group of partners is able to fill several of these storage pits.

252 Though most of the catch is thus disposed of, there is always enough

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for treatment in other ways. Some are fried immediately, but the Bella Coola think they lack flavour, although most white men regard them as delicious. Many hundreds are dried for winter use in one of the following methods: 252 251

(A) Cedar-sticks, each about three feet in length, are split from the solid stem and smoothed down to a diameter of about one-half inch. One of these is passed through the gills and mouth of one fish after another until the rod is filled with a row of olachen, their tails hanging downwards. Dozens of these sticks are suspended horizontally over the central fire in a house, or, in brilliant sunshine, hung in the open. When dried to a certain extent, they are stored in the upper parts of the houses where the process continues whenever a fire is lit. When so treated they keep almost indefinitely.

(B) Narrow strips, each four to five feet in length, of flexible cedar-bark, are prepared by the women. The fisherman takes the ends of two of these, ties one around a fish's head, and the other around its tail. Another olachen is tied parallel to the first, and then others, until the two cords are supporting thirty to forty fish, each separated by about one inch. The middle of the strings is laid across a horizontal bar above a fire or in the open, and the process of drying continues as in the last method. The fish not infrequently catch fire if a large blaze is built up in a house, so careful people remove their olachen before a feast or other celebration.

Though dried olachen provide a useful article for winter diet, the fish are chiefly valued for their grease, *sluk*[1], whch is used as a condiment with all kinds of berries. It is sometimes extracted from the fresh fish, but the Bella Coola consider this to be tasteless and prefer to wait until the olachen have remained in the pits for ten days to two weeks. Warm weather hastens the process, but in any case nothing is done until the disgusting smell has penetrated for miles, proving that putrefaction is well advanced. In former times, all boiling was done with hot stones, but at present boxes with iron bottoms are used as kettles. These are of various shapes and sizes, an average being, perhaps, four feet long, three feet wide, and eighteen inches deep. These are set on fireplaces which vary according to the ingenuity of the refiner. Some are excavated in the river bank, lined with stones set in clay, and fitted at the inner end with an old stovepipe to provide draught for the miniature furnace. The box-kettle is placed on the ground over the excavation and the cook pours in water. Then his wife, children, and friends bring the putrid fish, which they ladle in until only a few inches of water are visible. A slow fire is built beneath, and, as the mixture begins to boil, the cook stirs it with a five-foot stick having a slightly flattened blade. Presently the grease begins to rise to the surface whence it is skimmed off and placed in recep-

258 [262] [263] [252] [415] [354] [415]

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Saiuł: Thunder, anthropomorphized. 192*
Saiynas: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. [821]
salalsi: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property. [173]
sa·thalamm: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kusiut* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food. [431]
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal.
sa·tlpsta: Cannibalistic incubus. [25]
sa·tlpsmm: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day. [585]
sallskhdimut: Profession of *kusiut* executioner. [431]
salukwalas: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him. [463]
sami: Sockeye salmon. [825]
Sanaltpmuhlts Alquntam: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sanunumlsin: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land above.
Sanuthm or *Sanuthmdimut:* One of the names of Mount *Nuitalt* as chief.
Sannimanas, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Stuw* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sathx; *vocative*, *sathi*; *vocative plural*, *sathawa·ts:* Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
sa·tla: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Sattia: Village at point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Sattyenuts: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Sa·ima: Death, anthropomorphized. [761]
salolts: Whetstone, *archaic.* [412]
Sa·tsk': 1—Kimsquit River.
2—Village near the mouth of the river. [101]
Sa·tskamp: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley.
satskwal·a: Raft.
Sa·tlamman·i: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
sawa: Pillow. [513]
sawadjut, "Pillowness": *Kusiut* ceremonial at which no call is present.
sayi, *vocative*, *sayinas:* Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family. [601]
Sayinas: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story.
saxham: Bracken. [824]
saxwinas: Tide flats. [829]
sakdjulk: Heart.
Salualasam: That part of *Sanp*[w] which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Samhal: Village on Rivers Inlet.
Samsiutan·i: Part of a peculiar repository.
samsamlkdimut, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steelhead salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
sa'mista, "Resting Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this. [805]
sankwolam: Leader of musicians. [821]

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quantities of ducks and geese, and the inhabitants of the inland villages sometimes made hunting expeditions to the nesting places of wild-fowl in the lakes of the interior uplands. Although numbers of birds were sometimes killed in this way, they were never a steady article of diet. The same is true of grouse. Always plentiful, these birds were commonly killed, but never in large numbers.

The basis of the food supply was fish. The river teemed with salmon, which enabled the country to support its relatively large population. Spring, sockeye, hump-back, dog, and cohoe salmon, all entered the river in thousands during the spring and summer, while the steel-head could be caught throughout the year. They were taken in weirs and their flesh smoked for winter use. Throughout the year, salmon was the principal article of diet. Second in importance was the olachen, a fish somewhat resembling a herring, which entered the river in great numbers during April or May. They were taken in purse-like nets,[a] allowed to rot for ten days or two weeks, and then boiled. The grease was skimmed off and kept indefinitely to be used as a relish for other foods. It was always a sign of poverty if a person were obliged to eat berries without olachen grease. Trout and bull-heads were found in the river, but were not sufficiently plentiful to be of importance.

Although no form of agriculture was practised, the Bella Coola used vegetable food to a considerable extent. Berries were abundant; some were eaten raw, but many more were pounded into a pulpy mass and dried in the sun. Cakes prepared in this way kept indefinitely and formed one of the regular winter foods. The bark of the hemlock and cottonwood was eaten, as well as the roots of many plants. In recent years many of these have not been used, so that an investigator is apt to overlook their great importance in early times. Although useless for food, the cedar was the corner-stone of Bella Coola material culture. From its trunk were split out, with wedges, the wide planks which formed

[a] See Appendix A for a description of olachen fishing.

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171 lieved that all the Kitkatla chiefs were powerful, but *Tsihcie*
+ 556 was the greatest of all. It is said that one of his prerogatives
was to exercise *jus primae noctis* whenever a Kitkatla was
622 married. Without question, tales of this chief's prowess have
829 become exaggerated in transmission, none the less they show
that the Bella Coola realize the great importance of the
northern chiefs. Concerning their nearer neighbours, the
Bella Bella, the Bella Coola understand the way in which
the members of a family combine to help their chief in the
giving of presents. They say that the Bella Bella consider
the Bella Coola practice of each one endeavouring to make
himself a chief to be foolish in the extreme. Such is also said
to be the opinion among the Kwakiutl, who support their con-
tention that in Bella Coola all are chiefs, from the fact that
flooring exists under the seats of all, whereas in Fort Rupert,
their home, such occurs only beneath the seats of chiefs.

262 Corresponding to the extreme paucity of functions pos-
574 sessed by Bella Coola chiefs, their prerogatives are likewise
622 scanty. Indeed, they take their validated seats only during
certain rites of the secret society connected with chiefs, at pot-
latches, and at ceremonial meals. These last occur whenever
a deer or seal is killed; the latter is considered a great delicacy.[1]
[225] Anyone can kill a seal, but it would be unthinkable for a Bella
Coola to share its flesh with his immediate family only. The
● [252] animal is cleaned, the hole made by bullet or spear carefully
plugged, and the carcass boiled whole in a large box. Mean-
[203] while a herald (I, p. 244) summons the chiefs to the house where
the successful hunter lives. If the meal is to consist merely of
one small seal, only a few chiefs are invited, those of greatest
influence through their possession of "strong" seats. When
[562] several seals have been killed, the number invited is corres-
pondingly larger, but no woman may partake unless she ranks

[1] This is said to have been a personal prerogative, not shared by all chiefs, and requiring validation by valuable presents.

[178] [2] Only traces of the rite described in this paragraph occur at the present time. In fact, the reservation of seal meat for chiefs alone was discontinued towards the close of the last century.

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After bestowal of these presents, the *sisi* of the penultimate group of guests shakes his rattle, and exactly the same procedure is carried out by members of his party. They, too, give presents to X and the other Bella Coola chiefs. The same rites are carried out by each party of guests in the reverse order of their arrival. It is frequently near dawn before the first-comers have completed their dances and distribution of gifts. X then gives another meal to all, with no restriction on the choice of food. This concludes the night's ceremony, and the guests depart, except those who are staying in X's house. 556 *

THE FESTAIN: FIRST DAY

Considering the lengthy ceremonials of the preceding evening, it is not surprising that on this day no one stirs early. The guests receive their breakfast in the houses where they are accommodated, and meanwhile a number of young men gather in X's house to assist in the preparation of food for the main meal of the day. During the previous night a large amount of smoked mountain goat has been put in water to soak. This is now placed in a number of food-boxes, ready for distribution, water is added and hot stones lifted in to bring it to a boil. When the water comes to the boil, mountain goat grease is added, and then huckleberries; it is usually about two o'clock in the afternoon before the meal is ready. The guests are summoned and the food given them, the chiefs, as usual, receiving more than those of lower rank. After eating they disperse to await the evening rites. [251] [252] [254]

It was impossible to obtain an accurate account of the ritual carried out on the evening of this, the first day of the potlatch proper. The ceremonial was of less importance than those preceding and following, and it has long fallen into disuse. The guests take up their accustomed places, and the Bella Coola members of the *sumi* range themselves near them and behind the fire. The corners near the door are occupied by non-members of the society. The singers beat out two of [112] 556 * 576 [535]

b:McDowell E-5 (1922-1924)948
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grease have been placed in readiness. X selects as many youths as the number on whom he intends to confer the names which have already been announced and validated among the Bella Coola, but are now to be made known to the foreign guests. He seats the lads, who are to substitute for the initiates, on the various boxes. Everybody understands that these are merely representatives. X requests two chiefs to act as his announcers, choosing two with good voices and abundant self-confidence. To one of these X whispers the *xaxa* name of one of the initiates. 556* 575 553

"His name is now——" calls out the announcer, pointing to one of the substitutes, and the listeners readily recognize the initiate intended, from the use, in conjunction with his new designation, of his well-known ancestral name. The heralds repeat the new name with the usual badinage, so that it becomes well known to all present. In like manner the *xaxa* name given to each initiate is publicly announced. The substitutes receive no advantage from their part in the proceedings. [203]

Then the lamps are opened and red elderberries poured into the canoes in front of the guests. Stones are provided with which the visitors pound the fruit into pulp which they proceed to mix with their hands, as clachan grease and cranberries are added. Then X's helpers distribute spoons and the feast commences. All start to eat, but after an interval one of the leading Bella Coola chiefs strikes the side of his canoe with a spoon, as a signal that all must stop. X has several dishes in readiness. If he is wealthy some of these will be carved in the shape of beaver, eagle, or other form in which an ancestor appeared. These dishes are filled with the food which all have been eating and then placed before the principal chiefs, who thus have a second supply. At this point the singers begin to beat out an ancient song of the type known as *ne-ne*. Each of these has been handed down from the distant past, when some chief, ancestor of X, had it composed for himself as a potlatch. The theme is always about the form or fame of his 556* 554 [252] 415 539 539 556* [171]

[The Breaker Dance]

* 575 * 796 [424] *tsnix*. X is one of the few *ɬaɬaciat* having the prerogative of using supernatural singers. The evening's ceremony concludes in the usual fashion.

Until the departure of his call, X is liable to fits of frenzy so that on both *qulow* and *ndacam* he often visits every house and breaks utensils, though his guardians appear to be making every effort to restrain him. Breakers, irrespective of their [424] exact prerogative, are enabled to act in any unusual manner they desire, and strive to excel in peculiar behaviour. A favourite trick is to smear themselves with excrement, either real or imitation. It is difficult to over-estimate the enormous [554] prestige which such actions call forth in the eyes of the uninitiated, to whom it appears that the coming of a call entirely [787] alters the mentality of the recipient, a belief which the *ɬaɬaciat* [828] make every effort to maintain. Nothing further need be said of either *qulow* or the preliminaries of *ndacam*, both of which follow the usual pattern.

* 575 * 796 781 When the uninitiated are admitted to X's house on *ndacam* evening, they are filled with wonder at the sight of the masked singers, *of ɬawiłkwalalc Ałqunim*, and of the four supernatural Breakers who move wildly to and fro as the songs are sung, as if only the eagle down which the *ɬaɬaciat* blow upon them restrains them from destroying property. The fluent *Ant'ikwalaic* makes the most of her opportunity to describe the wonders which are before their eyes. Then the uninitiated are told that it will be safer for them to withdraw, and hurry out. Presently they are startled to hear the sound of people moving, and the four supernatural Breakers, followed by all the *ɬaɬaciat*, leave the house and proceed to the lowest one in the village. Around the fire go the masked four, picking up stones and hurling them at any destructible property. Most [252] houses contain a number of stones which have been used in [578] boiling liquids, so that there is no lack of missiles. *Ɬaɬaciat* [685] who are wise take care to hide or remove valuable property before this inroad begins, since the wearers of the masks take advantage of the opportunity to destroy the goods of those

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procession of supernatural beings according to X's choice. 575*
The proceedings terminate in the same way as those described 796*
in the Stomach-Cutting dance.

X must obey the customary restrictions on his movements for the rest of the ceremonial season, and also remain in partial concealment for the summer following. The fiction circulated is that he is still suffering from the after-effects of decapitation. He is legally entitled to perform any other *kwistem* rite during the following winter, but it is most unusual for a man to do so on successive seasons. [424]

The Drowning Dance

In a third *kwistem* dance the performer appears to drown. X carried out this ceremonial during the third winter after his decapitation, but as usual it will be convenient to describe the ritual in the present tense.

During the summer, as for the Beheading dance, he obtains permission from the marshals. With the latter present, he then arranges with the singers and the carpenters to compose songs of the usual *kwistem* type and to prepare a mask. Since X had preserved the mask used at the time of his decapitation, it was not necessary to have one made. The intending dancer borrows from a *kwistem* friend one of the large boxes used for boiling olachen and this is taken in secret to some lonely spot in the forest. The carpenters cut a hole in the bottom and smear the edges with grease and dirt to conceal the aperture; skin hinges are fastened to one side of the movable section so that it can be opened easily and quickly. They also make a wooden framework the size and shape of X's body, to which the portrait-mask is attached to give a realistic representation of the man himself. [415] [252]

Nothing more can be done until near the winter solstice when the carpenters cut a hole in the floor of X's house, immediately behind the fire, and fasten the section removed with skin hinges to make a trap-door. Then the carpenters, marshals, singers, and other influential *kwistem* meet some evening

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226 about a foot of the surface. In the same slow manner a second stake is driven in, about ten feet from the first, and in such a position that the main force of the current would strike at right angles a line drawn between the two. Then two more stakes are placed in position, slightly below the first pair, and nearer together, as shown in the diagram (Figure 3). The posts are often driven before the main run of the fish, and the fixing of the net delayed until that time. It is fastened to the four stakes, with its open end, which faces upstream, forming a rough oval, ten feet wide, of which the lower side rests on the bottom and the upper is at the surface. The outer stakes hold the upper edge, the inner ones secure the lower brim. The olachen are slow-swimming fish which work their way upstream with the rising tide, and, when it turns, drift back into the net. Once within the opening, they lack strength to drive forward against current and tide, and are forced into the closed bottom, floating downstream, in thousands. At the peak of the season, a net is often extended to its full dimensions with a solid mass of fish, throwing a tremendous strain on supports and mesh-work alike. During the day, the mouth is closed with a cross-piece, *nuxtnuitsta*, to prevent floating objects from drifting within and damaging it, and opened during the night at whatever hour the tide turns.

FIG. 3. Diagram showing position of the stakes supporting an olachen net.

Early in the morning begins the landing of the fish. The partners paddle out to the bottom of their net and, with considerable exertion, lift it into the canoe. A cord is tied around the bellied mass, cutting off a section, and the end is opened so that the fish from it fall into the bottom of the craft. Another part is dealt with in the same manner, then a third, and so in succession until the gleaming olachen are piled so deeply that no more can be loaded with safety. Sometimes two or three loads, each of many thousands, are taken from a single net. The partners slowly pole to shore where, at the present time, their wives and children wait to unload the canoe. The fish are packed into baskets, carried on the back [82] with the aid of a tump-line, and taken to pits which have been prepared 26 ten to fifteen feet from the bank. These are three or four feet deep, lined 51 with planks, and with their bottoms covered with evergreen boughs. The olachen are emptied into these holes, which are covered with more planks when full. If more fish are landed than can be handled conveniently in this manner, they are laid on branches spread on the ground, and a low wall of planks built up around them. Although the main run lasts for only three or four days, the olachen are so numerous that each group of partners is able to fill several of these storage pits.

52 Though most of the catch is thus disposed of, there is always enough

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for treatment in other ways. Some are fried immediately, but the Bella Coola think they lack flavour, although most white men regard them as delicious. Many hundreds are dried for winter use in one of the following methods: 252 251

(A) Cedar-sticks, each about three feet in length, are split from the solid stem and smoothed down to a diameter of about one-half inch. One of these is passed through the gills and mouth of one fish after another until the rod is filled with a row of olachen, their tails hanging downwards. Dozens of these sticks are suspended horizontally over the central fire in a house, or, in brilliant sunshine, hung in the open. When dried to a certain extent, they are stored in the upper parts of the houses where the process continues whenever a fire is lit. When so treated they keep almost indefinitely.

(B) Narrow strips, each four to five feet in length, of flexible cedar-bark, are prepared by the women. The fisherman takes the ends of two of these, ties one around a fish's head, and the other around its tail. Another olachen is tied parallel to the first, and then others, until the two cords are supporting thirty to forty fish, each separated by about one inch. The middle of the strings is laid across a horizontal bar above a fire or in the open, and the process of drying continues as in the last method. The fish not infrequently catch fire if a large blaze is built up in a house, so careful people remove their olachen before a feast or other celebration.

Though dried olachen provide a useful article for winter diet, the fish are chiefly valued for their grease, *sluk'*, whch is used as a condiment with all kinds of berries. It is sometimes extracted from the fresh fish, but the Bella Coola consider this to be tasteless and prefer to wait until the olachen have remained in the pits for ten days to two weeks. Warm weather hastens the process, but in any case nothing is done until the disgusting smell has penetrated for miles, proving that putrefaction is well advanced. In former times, all boiling was done with hot stones, but at present boxes with iron bottoms are used as kettles. These are of various shapes and sizes, an average being, perhaps, four feet long, three feet wide, and eighteen inches deep. These are set on fireplaces which vary according to the ingenuity of the refiner. Some are excavated in the river bank, lined with stones set in clay, and fitted at the inner end with an old stovepipe to provide draught for the miniature furnace. The box-kettle is placed on the ground over the excavation and the cook pours in water. Then his wife, children, and friends bring the putrid fish, which they ladle in until only a few inches of water are visible. A slow fire is built beneath, and, as the mixture begins to boil, the cook stirs it with a five-foot stick having a slightly flattened blade. Presently the grease begins to rise to the surface whence it is skimmed off and placed in recep-

258 [262] [263] [252] [415] [354] [415]

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Alalkmktmm: Supernatural being sent by *Smaien·a* to meet *Neakgnm.*

alalqo·xi, "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will certainly give a potlatch to start him on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremoniously at every feast. [556]

Ālhlxān·i: Abalone-shell covered stick used by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

Alhlxān·iatliax: One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.

aldinnki: Word of uncertain meaning often appended to *lnxtāmem* as complete term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance. [575]

aliknlxmm, "A Dragging Across" (as one does with a heavy log): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being repurchased. [425] [553]

aljkwis: Toasted food of any kind. [262]

Ālilixwuman: Ancestral name of a *Stalx* man.

alitiq': Perforated, *adjective.* [252]

alimusnām: Those who perform to assist marriage dancers.

Ālimalwalaix: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Al·imlsaix: One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.

alipāxlits, "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and hers prior to entering her house. [585] [431]

alipoalm: Gifts given in secret, soon after betrothal, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [584]

alipotlām: Marshal.

Ālipmān·i: Immoral supernatural woman; synonym for *Szimszimdi.*

Alixmotusaix: One of the men who came to earth at Mount *Tsnisi* in the beginning of time.

Āl·likul: Totem-pole erected by the first settlers at *Stalx* in the beginning of time.

alkkul: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]

alq: *Sisaek* song in fast time.

alt: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [533] [535]

Ālt'pmān·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Sātlia* in the beginning of time.

alumus: *Kusiut* dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

alunlis: Synonym for *lnxmdjat;* one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]

alutlis: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

alx: Come, *imperative singular.*

Ālxcse: 1—One of *Smaian's* sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at *Nawalst* in the beginning of time.

ālul·ilaix: Central seat behind the fire.

ālulijalx: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-nets. [412]

Ālklumlalxa: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola.

ālklulum: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun. [805]

Ālnx·lpaman, "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf. [825]

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hätsän: Tail. 192*
hätskitl: Ants.
hax: Black hawthorn. [825]
Kalän-i: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man. [824]
Kamilkän: Ancestral name of the wife of *Swaky* who was changed to stone in the beginning of time.
hanki: Region.
Kapsalopst: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
hasäly: 1—Marriage, properly arranged and legalized. [585]
2—The actual wedding day.
Kawulän-i: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit woman.[1]
kolai: Bark bucket for holding liquids. [415]
kolämkodjut: The seeking of assistance from a man who owns a curing repository.
kolämkusnäm: Investment-present, i.e., one for which a return is expected. [426]
kolusta: Back-room in which *nusak* initiates and others are concealed.
kolän: Woman during catamenia. [431]
koluta, "What Was Sent Down": Intangible possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time. [424]
komapsta: Wooden tongs such as are used for lifting hot stones. [412]
kolämkdjut ola kwanäyste: Kusiotem rite in which the performer appears to be drowned.
kul-aix or *kul-ätl,* "The Gainer": One who has been initiated as a member of the *kusiut* society but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through unauthorized knowledge or through successful participation in either a *kusiotem* or a Mystery dance. [575]
kulul, "Rendered Incapable of Returning": Said of an uninitiated person who is alleged to have stumbled on a repository.
Koldup: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
kustaa: The dormant waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one visitation, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability. [756]
kipa, vocative, kipaa: Grandmother. [601]
kika-tsam-an-i: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
Ki'laiakat: Name given to their canoe by the first settlers at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Kilalsamaus, "The Wise One": One of Raven's names as chief.
Kimilkän: One of the first women to settle at *Alpalat* in the beginning of time.
Kina'o: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
kimaw: 1—Crab. [825]
2—Enormous crab-like creature, alleged to be found far in the forest.
Kipaka: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts. [824]
kipi: Red elderberry.
kipla: Wooden tweezers used in the pounding of cedar-bark. [413]
kis: Unidentified plant. [252]
kisam: To toast dried salmon.
kislamatla: Supported, in the sense of held in place by physical assistance.
Kislgmatl: Locality on Dean Channel, west of *Sarwilk.*
Ki'ca: Place on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

[1]This name appears to be an entirely different word from *Kalän-i.*

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qmāthnelp: The dancing, by several of his associates, to "help" a *kuxlut* performer.
Qnumi: Undefined locality in the Bella Bella area.
Qo: Mountain above *Stuix.*
[777] *qokān-i:* Supernatural bird, bringer of good luck.
[825] *Qolkaiul:* Locality near the head of Dean Channel.
qolon: 1—Beaver.
2—*Nuxāxāmq* name of a Kimsquit man.
Qolesti: Man mentioned in a song.
Qolliaohmq: *Kuxlut* name of a *Stuix* man with prerogative of biting himself.
qolulik: The location in a house taken by a wife when ceremonially seated behind her husband.
Qolxwliutl: Influential *Nuxālit* chief who died about 1910.
Qomāmāwala: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* chief; the designation may be of Kwakiutl origin.
Qomxua: 1—One of the nine supernatural beings.
2—White person.
3—*Kuxlut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
qomxiqwul: Clean, dry skull.
qomqmai-i: Stump, in the language of Raven.
Qomqma: 1—Supernatural being, lord of the under-sea world.
2—Ancestral name of a *Qomqo-ti* man.
Qomo'sola: Man living in Bella Bella in early times.
Qomotia: Ancestral name of a *Tsimaif* woman.
[534] *qome-ti:* Large, cone-shaped whistle used in *xaxak* rites.
Qomqo-ti, "Salty!": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
qoqai: To drift over, of smoke.
Qoqmqmāw-a: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
[252] *qopsta:* Framework of split sticks for toasting salmon.
[534] *qopia:* Drum.
Qoqmai: One of the first men to settle at *Nuxālit* in the beginning of time.
Qoqqul: Bella Bella village.
qota: Kwakiutl term for "eagle down" presents.
qotlum: Third day of a *kuxlut* dance.
Qotlualis: Harbour on Labouchere Channel.
Qotlualis: Settlement in the Carrier country.
[581] *qoxlum,* "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud.
[825] *qoxlik:* Wolverine.
[527] *qoxlāsis dimmi,* "A Washing to Free from Taint": Term applied to a ceremony to clear the path of the children when a husband has married a slave wife or niece nurse.
Qwai: 1—One of the names of Raven as chief.
2—*Tlaiqolum* name of a Kimsquit man.
3—*Kuxalt* name of a Kimsquit man.
Qwāmaus: Supernatural woman from whom the Carpenters are said to have derived their skill in the beginning of time.
Qwaslas-i: 1—*Kuxlut* name of a *Tsimaif* man.
2—*Kuxlut* name of a Kimsquit man.
[825] *qwaus:* White swan.

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[765] *skwanat:* 1—Memorial potlatch.
2—Mourning song.
3—The wailing of mourners at a grave.

[763] *Skwanat-a-a*, "The Weeper": Female supernatural being whose appearance indicates the death of a chief.

skwanatnkusis: Processional *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to sing of *Snitmdu-a* during *kusiotem* dances.

skwatsta: Name.

Skwo-ts: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

[824] *Sla-kl:* Whitewater River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola.

slaos: Long grass suitable for pasturage.

[252] *slaqet'i:* Smoked spring salmon with the bone removed.

slaxit: Many, *adjective*.

[554] *slaxmidjut*, "The One with Many Descendants": Term used to describe an elderly man with many children and grandchildren.

Sla-: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[601] *sleli:* Game, resembling a tug-of-war, played with wooden loops and spears.

slemts, *vocative*, *slemtskais:* Grandchild; the vocative indicates endearment.

[578] *slewanis:* The deposition of eagle down on the heads of those quarrelling to pacify them.

sli-a: Gall bladder.

slqstm: 1—Breathing.
2—Sound of a *nsaak* whistle, referred to as the breathing of *Mulakila*.

slsk': Olachen grease.

Sluklwaily: 1—Ancient village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[778] 2—Place of petrified power at site of ancient village.
3—Semi-anthropomorphized being responsible for power in this locality.

Slilm: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of every river.

slkmsta: The voice.

[824] *slkwal:* Dried elderberries.

slukwala: 1—Shaman-like power, as brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Coola woman.

[821] *slulqam:* Eclipse.

slwanmlila': 1—One who keeps in touch with a concealed Cannibal.
[424] 2—One who has the inherited right to assist *kusiut* or *nsaak* dancers; this prerogative occurs in Kimsquit only.

Smaielila: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaielala: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaiu-a: 1—Synonym for *Slexlekwaily*, q.v.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

[424] *smalsaim:* A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first people in the beginning of time.

smlwalkwaily: Debris from cones eaten by squirrels.

Smnem, "The First": One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Smnmeli: Man mentioned in an origin myth of a southern locality.

snit-ung, *vocative*, *snit-ungs:* Friends.

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for treatment in other ways. Some are fried immediately, but the Bella Coola think they lack flavour, although most white men regard them as delicious. Many hundreds are dried for winter use in one of the following methods: 252 251

(A) Cedar-sticks, each about three feet in length, are split from the solid stem and smoothed down to a diameter of about one-half inch. One of these is passed through the gills and mouth of one fish after another until the rod is filled with a row of olachen, their tails hanging downwards. Dozens of these sticks are suspended horizontally over the central fire in a house, or, in brilliant sunshine, hung in the open. When dried to a certain extent, they are stored in the upper parts of the houses where the process continues whenever a fire is lit. When so treated they keep almost indefinitely.

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Though dried olachen provide a useful article for winter diet, the fish are chiefly valued for their grease, *sluk*[1], which is used as a condiment with all kinds of berries. It is sometimes extracted from the fresh fish, but the Bella Coola consider this to be tasteless and prefer to wait until the olachen have remained in the pits for ten days to two weeks. Warm weather hastens the process, but in any case nothing is done until the disgusting smell has penetrated for miles, proving that putrefaction is well advanced. In former times, all boiling was done with hot stones, but at present boxes with iron bottoms are used as kettles. These are of various shapes and sizes, an average being, perhaps, four feet long, three feet wide, and eighteen inches deep. These are set on fireplaces which vary according to the ingenuity of the refiner. Some are excavated in the river bank, lined with stones set in clay, and fitted at the inner end with an old stovepipe to provide draught for the miniature furnace. The box-kettle is placed on the ground over the excavation and the cook pours in water. Then his wife, children, and friends bring the putrid fish, which they ladle in until only a few inches of water are visible. A slow fire is built beneath, and, as the mixture begins to boil, the cook stirs it with a five-foot stick having a slightly flattened blade. Presently the grease begins to rise to the surface whence it is skimmed off and placed in recep-

258 [262] [263] [252] [415] [354] [415]

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258 tacles; metal coal-oil cans are found convenient for this purpose and have
[41.5] almost replaced watertight boxes. After repeated stirrings and skim-
mings, all that remains is a mass of putrid flesh, bearing no resemblance
[171] whatever to the fish from which it came. The Kitlobe are said to com-
press this into cakes for eating, but the Bella Coola throw it away. Some
[415] cooks bail out the dregs by hand, but many of the box-kettles have a
bung-hole at the bottom which, when opened, allows the semi-liquid
remains to flow out into a rough trough leading to the river. As soon as
one batch of olachen has thus been disposed of, another is boiled and
[439] refined in the same way. The grease keeps indefinitely and is a useful
[262] article of barter with the Carriers as well as a staple of Bella Coola diet.
Although the preparation removes much of its offensive odour, olachen
grease has an unpleasant taste to the white man.

258 During the boiling, all other activities are suspended and the people
476 spend practically all their time on the river bank. If the fish are allowed
to rot too long, much of the grease is lost, so men, women, and children
are pressed into service to make the most of the short period. The men
rise at dawn to start the fires on the bank, the women and children follow
with food, and for several days the whole village camps, as if on a picnic,
amid an indescribably foul smell that almost sickens anyone passing
within hundreds of yards. There are tasks for everyone; the fish must
be carried from the pits to the furnaces, wood must be brought, the fires
stoked, the kettles stirred, the grease carried away, the fireplaces repaired,
food cooked, and a hundred other chores. It is a scene of great activity,
carried on with good humour and merriment, for the Bella Coola realize
that they are storing up luxuries for the following winter. Even the dogs
seem to share the general excitement, and do not disdain to eat the dregs
from the kettles, which, when emptied into the river, attract numerous
trout and gulls, to the joy of small boys with hunting desires.

BELLA COOLA CANOES

501 Although travel and transport by water is still as vital to the Bella
[505] Coola as it was to their fathers, the motor-boat is fast replacing the canoe,
and the science of manufacturing their own craft is being lost. In former
times several types were constructed, but only one of these is still employed
—the spoon canoe, *sá ola*, used on rivers (see Plate 21). These vary
from twenty to thirty feet or more in length, and are about four feet wide;
they are without keels, and there is no difference between the bow and
stern. Although one man can handle such a craft in smooth water, at
502 least two are required for a journey of any length, and four is the usual
crew. The captain, who is either the best waterman or the one most
familiar with the route, stands in the stern, the second in command in

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782 next day the weather was fine. This particular method of
424 praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the begin-
821 ning of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family.
[785] With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of
[177] customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grand-father of the man from whom the information was obtained.

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782 It might be expected that a clear division should be made between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears [824] dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any [824] supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts [825] of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether [26] or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire tithits of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*W'ai, wai, wai,*" "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural [502] powers when in peril. Both at Kwatis and at Mesatche Nose, [139] [756]

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621 623 ters, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact [535] this ceremonial unity is its most important function.

[796] With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the 361 river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built [184] type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them [342] stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many [171] cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there [487] is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox [164] epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space. [433] Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

342 The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, [354] often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side-walls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the different families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The [572] number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an [622] important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and any- [261] one present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with [353] carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall. [535] A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important in dances.

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844 fessional midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
[846] the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[825] near the room for a year (according to Nuak'xla'xta, for ten days), else the salmon would take offence.

553 The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole
[852] tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive
[556] small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member of the Kû'siût, when it is given its Kû'siût name. This ceremony takes place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qê'mtsica name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[292] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
[821] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[265] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She
[261] must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee, 1889, p. 538).

584 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his
[431] friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has
[527] been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four
[302] women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They stay outside, and
585 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[431] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or thrice times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his Gîsax'ix secrets as soon as the pair have their first child.
[851] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

586 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

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133 tains. From each pocket between these mountains an ice-
137 cold affluent comes swirling down to the main river. The predominant tree in the river valleys is the cedar* which in many cases attains great girth and height. Cottonwoods flourish in places, and everywhere there is an almost impenetrable undergrowth of devil's club, berry bushes, and other shrubbery of almost tropical density. On the lower slopes of the mountains, moss-festooned pines and spruces are the most common trees, gradually becoming smaller and fewer until the
133 barren peaks are reached. The mountains rise so precipitously that their snowcaps and glaciers seem to overhang the valley, a narrow ribbon of green winding far below. The range of vision from the bank of the river is limited by the all-encircling mountains. Here and there a distant vista opens up to expose peak after peak, but on the whole there is a feeling of confinement, in contrast with the open wastes of the upper country where the Bella Coola rises. Mountains, forests, flowing water, these are the three dominant impressions of the country (see Plate 6).

136 The mammals of central British Columbia, although comparatively common, have never been of primary importance. [291] The marten, the wolverine, the lynx, and bears, both black and grizzly, were formerly hunted for their skins to serve as [262] cloaks. Deer were killed whenever possible, but formed a negligible item of diet. The beaver also was prized for its [439] flesh. The skins of moose and caribou were traded from the Carrier Indians, but neither of these animals was found in the [218] Bella Coola area. The mammal of greatest economic importance was the mountain goat, the wool of which was woven into [239] blankets. Smoked goat meat was formerly found in every [251] house and was almost the only flesh available during the winter. Small game was abundant, but seals were a luxury. [262] Neither were birds of great importance to the Bella Coola. [223] Members of the tribe resident near the sea-coast used to kill

*Appendix C contains a glossary of the scientific names of the flora and fauna mentioned in this monograph.

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quantities of ducks and geese, and the inhabitants of the inland villages sometimes made hunting expeditions to the nesting places of wild-fowl in the lakes of the interior uplands. Although numbers of birds were sometimes killed in this way, they were never a steady article of diet. The same is true of grouse. Always plentiful, these birds were commonly killed, but never in large numbers.

The basis of the food supply was fish. The river teemed with salmon, which enabled the country to support its relatively large population. Spring, sockeye, hump-back, dog, and cohoe salmon, all entered the river in thousands during the spring and summer, while the steel-head could be caught throughout the year. They were taken in weirs and their flesh smoked for winter use. Throughout the year, salmon was the principal article of diet. Second in importance was the olachen, a fish somewhat resembling a herring, which entered the river in great numbers during April or May. They were taken in purse-like nets,[6] allowed to rot for ten days or two weeks, and then boiled. The grease was skimmed off and kept indefinitely to be used as a relish for other foods. It was always a sign of poverty if a person were obliged to eat berries without olachen grease. Trout and bull-heads were found in the river, but were not sufficiently plentiful to be of importance.

Although no form of agriculture was practised, the Bella Coola used vegetable food to a considerable extent. Berries were abundant; some were eaten raw, but many more were pounded into a pulpy mass and dried in the sun. Cakes prepared in this way kept indefinitely and formed one of the regular winter foods. The bark of the hemlock and cottonwood was eaten, as well as the roots of many plants. In recent years many of these have not been used, so that an investigator is apt to overlook their great importance in early times. Although useless for food, the cedar was the corner-stone of Bella Coola material culture. From its trunk were split out, with wedges, the wide planks which formed

[6] See Appendix A for a description of olachen fishing.

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[775] to the land above whence, in course of time, it comes down to
[774] earth again to reanimate a new body." Consequently, the success of a hunter does not indicate his mastery over an
[785] animal so much as the latter's good-will in allowing itself to be slain by one who has pleased him by ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), or by one who has been endowed with skill by some other supernatural being. Men are accordingly careful to obey the wishes of their quarry. Long ago, a mountain goat told a shaman that he and his friends liked soot, so a hunter who has killed one always smears two bands of soot across its face from the right eye to the left side of the mouth. Another shaman was told by a bear never to use
[411] owl-feathered arrows since none of his fellows killed with such would return. Plumes of other birds have since been used, preferably those of mallard ducks. Sometimes the wishes of an animal require considerable ritual. For example, when a bear is killed, the carcass is stretched upon neatly arranged evergreen boughs and skinned. The hunter reverses the pelt so that the tail lies near the neck, with the whole hanging loosely over the body. He pats it four times, as if pressing the skin back into place, and says:

[789] "Please don't linger. Go home and return," or,

"Please come to me tomorrow. Tell your brothers, your sisters, your uncles, your aunts and your other relations to come to me."

Should this be omitted, the animal is likely to stand up, skinless, shake itself, causing the pelt to return to its place, and run away. Yearling mountain goats are especially prone to do this, as already mentioned. Even if an animal does not show its resentment by escaping in this way, it often refuses to return to earth unless the proper rites have been performed over its carcass.

[262] Bears have another aversion: they do not like to be eaten by men. So the hunter leaves the skinned body for wolves

[185] *There are doubters in Bella Coola as in every other community, and several of the older men express disbelief in the immortality of animals.

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and eagles when he invites to devour it. In so doing, he does not address them by their usual names, but calls Wolf, *Ilkwa-i-gamen*, "The Devourer of Meat Which He Does Not Kill," that is, "The Biting Scavenger"; and Eagle, *Acatlaiyaw-dawnm*, "The Constant Eater," that is, "The One Who Eats before He Is Hungry." Next morning the fish has been devoured and the hunter believes his guests have eaten it. Animals and birds, being supernatural, can hear the words of mortals and read their thoughts. The significance of these actions is that animals have the power to conceal themselves, so a hunter must gain their favour before he can hope to succeed. Belief in the efficacy of such customs as these is rapidly falling into decay and bear meat is now often eaten, but the skull is carefully placed in an evergreen tree near where the animal is slain, so that it may come back to life.

Fish, likewise, are immortal. In autumn the streams are choked with dead and dying salmon, but the Bella Coola know that they are not really dead, they have merely shed their worthless blankets in accordance with *Algantlin's* decrees. At that season of the year he causes the rivers to rise so that they will sweep away these useless and outworn cloaks.

Although the salmon, from the kindness of their hearts, allow human beings to feast on their blankets, yet they have certain likes and dislikes which are carefully observed. From the time the first spring salmon appear (I, pp. 770-780) until the rising of the July moon, women are not allowed to eat them or to go near the river. Men may eat the fish, but instead of throwing the bones to dogs, they carefully return them to the river saying:

"These come back tomorrow."

If this is inconvenient, bones can be thrown into the woods with impunity.

Salmon, like men and animals, live a human-like existence in their homes far beneath the surface of the ocean. They lack and desire earthly objects, especially pounded cedar-bark (see Appendix A) to use as sponges for their children, so the Bella Coola throw pieces of it and maple down on the water.

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the bail to follow him into water up to her waist. Then Raven suddenly grasped her under the arms, hauled her into his craft, and fled. The sockeye salmon were cried out to anger and kept into their canoes for permit, but one by one they sank. Women had done her work well. For a time the chase was close; in fact, the sockeye salmon nearly caught Tsikoll in North Bentinck Arm, but as danger threatened, Raven seized a pole and delivered several vigorous thrusts which sent the canoe beyond the reach of the already sinking pursuers. The pole made in the ocean by his thrusts are still visible near the site of the Bella Coola Canneries, as well as the pole which he threw ashore when he had finished with it; a bronze petrified and one will be seen immediately behind the manager's house. To the south of the Bella Coola River, Raven threw the chief's daughter into the water. The descendants are the sockeye salmon which visit that stream, and it is due to his failure to capture more than one, that so few sockeyes come to this river. [108]

Another version of this myth was collected from a Kitamaat man.

It describes how Raven went alone to Tsikoll in the land of the salmon, in the guise of an old man. He was continually received in the house of Steqes, chief of the salmon, who gave him a meal of dried fish. Raven carefully watched to ascertain what he had received from his wooden model, and when he found out that it was the bone at the back of the neck, he secreted one in the palate of his mouth. Presently one of the salmon women became ill, and Steqes said:

"Old man, you have hidden a bone."

The salmon searched Raven, but failed to find what he had hidden, and he was able to return to Kitamaat with it. He added this bone to one of his models, and it was at once able to swim strongly; in fact, it became a red salmon.

This fish was the ancestor of all coast-bound salmon, which are still called *Sawamhilhaat ai Kyam*, "The Salmon-like Fish of Raven." They are not considered as valuable for food as other salmon. [264]

Another exploit accredited to Raven in the beginning of time was the bringing of herring to Kitamaat.

Many of these fish then inhabited the ocean, and Raven determined to bring them to increase the food supplies of his people. A girl happened to catch a single herring for from shore and brought it to Raven, who secured Tsikoll with its scales. Then he set out for the land of the herring beyond the western ocean. On arriving, Raven went to the house [112]

of a woman, Ishdanis-a, who dwelt with her mother, a Gull. After a meal, Raven led us his bearers by calling her of the countless herring that lived at Kimsquit, and how happy he could make some of her relatives by taking them home with him. Ishdanis-a declined the story and sent one of her brothers to investigate Raven's canoe because, if the fish were plentiful as he knew, some of the snake would certainly be in his craft. The herring youth looked inside the canoe, and was deceived by Raven's subterfuge. On receiving a favourable report, Ishdanis-a willingly gave Raven a large box filled with herring. Elated at his victory, Raven set out for home and there he spat into the water as he neared the beach at Kimsquit. The Kimsquit people knew of Raven's search for herring, and did not at first believe him when he reported his success, but the fish bitterness so rapidly that his claim was vindicated.

The herring so obtained were the progenitors of all that now live in the waters adjacent to Kimsquit.

One of the foods regarded by the Bella Coola as a luxury is a foam-like whip prepared by beating up dried buffalo berries in water. Raven is given the credit for introducing this to Bella Coola.

Long, long ago, Shdzhnalk, a mountain in the Carrier country above Burnt Ridge, was a chief, possessing human characteristics. Buffalo berries flourished on his slopes, and he moved to keep them for food for his guests. On one occasion he invited all the animals and birds, including Raven, to a feast and dance. His house was the interior of the mountain, and when all had assembled he carefully closed every opening so that none of the berries could escape. Raven determined to obtain some of this food for the Bella Coola, and accordingly used his power to force one of the guests to go outside. As soon as a door was opened to let this out, Raven seized some of the whip and flew away, scattering drops of it to the flight. Berries grew wherever the drops fell, and since that time everybody has been able to make this luxury. Shdzhnalk was very angry, but could do nothing.

Though *Hqamtsin* created the world, he did not make it perfect nor apply it with many of the conveniences possessed by men of the present generation. Raven, endowed both with imagination and remarkable power, was always seeking ways of improving conditions. In the beginning of time there were no mirrors, and if a man wanted to paint his face, or decorate himself for a dance, he was forced to rely on the assistance of

lieved that all the Kitkatla chiefs were powerful, but Tsdzis was the greatest of all. It is said that one of his ancestors was to receive *five potlatch* souls whenever a Kitkatla was married. Without question, some of this chief's powers have become exaggerated in transmission, now the less they show that the Bella Coola realize the great importance of the northern chiefs. Concerning their nearer neighbours, the Bella Bella, the Bella Coola understand the way in which the members of a family combine to help their chief in the giving of presents. They say that the Bella Bella consider the Bella Coola practice of each one endeavouring to make himself a chief to be foolish in the extreme. Such is also said to be the opinion among the Kwakiutl, who support their conviction that in Bella Coola all are chiefs, from the fact that flowing crests under the seats of all, whereas in Fort Rupert, their home, such crests only beneath the seats of chiefs.

Corresponding to the extreme paucity of functions possessed by Bella Coola chiefs, their prerogatives are likewise scanty. Indeed, they take their exhibited seats only during certain dances of the secret society connected with chiefs, at potlatches, and at ceremonial meals. These last occur whenever a deer or seal is killed; the latter is considered a great delicacy.[1] Anyone can kill a seal, but it would be unthinkable for a Bella Coola to share its flesh with his immediate family only. The animal is cleaned, the hide made by boiler or spear carefully plugged, and the carcass boiled whole in a large box. Meanwhile a herald (*k.p. tsaq*) summons the chiefs to the house where the successful hunter lives. If the meal is to consist merely of one small seal, only a few chiefs are invited, those of greatest influence through their possession of "strong" souls. When several seals have been killed, the number invited is correspondingly larger, but no women may partake unless she ranks

[1] This is said to have been a personal prerogative, not shared by all chiefs, and requiring validation by valuable presents.

[2] Their crests of the type described in this paragraph were in the present case, in fact, the ownership of seal were the chiefs alone has disappeared towards the close of the last century.

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as a man by the duly validated ownership of a chief's name in his own right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat seal, unless he had been the slayer. If many seals are killed, chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs seat themselves according to their proper positions and are served with the blood-stained grease that floats to the top of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is cut into strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths, according to the number of guests. The cuts run down each flipper, so that each receives a narrow strip including one of the toes. The head is always given to the herald.[8]

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary meals even when no seal or deer has been killed. On these occasions, as at seal feasts, the guests are designated by their ancestral names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also accustomed to meet for the discussion of matters connected with the winter ceremonial; on such occasions their number may be augmented by men of influence in the secret society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the *hamatsa* society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a *nawalt* chief is outweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the sign of some individual must be accepted. The writer was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but

[8] Very effort was made to ensure the accuracy of this account, but errors must creep in on account of the length of time which has elapsed since the ceremony functioned not in full detail.
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ability are always seeking to lend goods to those who are planning potlatches or other rites, knowing that the investment is safe and lucrative. 556* [726]

X uses his own discretion as to how much wealth is necessary. He knows how much he owes for presents received on previous occasions, and would not dream of giving a potlatch until able to repay these. Failure to do so would hold him up to the derision of the whole countryside. But he acts upon his own judgment with regard to interest. If he continues to hoard goods until he is able to repay with great increase, he gains prestige from his generous returns, but meanwhile he does not enjoy the distinction which would have followed a smaller affair at an earlier period. Further, there is the uncertainty about how much his wife's family will contribute, though that can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy; in Bella Coola every transaction is made publicly, so each man knows the wealth of his neighbour. The favourite month for a potlatch is October, before the *kwiot* dances, when there is abundance of food. At this season there is plenty of salmon roe, berries, and crabapples, all of which might be ruined by frost. Occasionally, a potlatch takes place after the *kwiot* period, but in that case the only foods available are eulachon grease, smoked meat, smoked fish, dried hemlock-bark, and dried berries. If several men in one village decide to give potlatches in the same year there may be rivalry and dispute as to which shall be first. There is no satisfactory method of settling this point. [726] [796] [262] [578]

When all is ready X tells a herald (I, p. 844) to summon his fellow villagers to his house the following day for *eloemen*. It is customary for all to accept, but no social obligation is broken should a man or woman fail to do so. [203]

The next morning no one eats in his own house, knowing that free food will be distributed. While his expected guests are adorning themselves by washing and painting, X, aided by his family and others, prepares large quantities of food, borrows boxes, and makes other necessary arrangements. Pre- [302] [426]

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the potlatch is recognized to such an extent that an attack upon envoys is unthinkable, though one or two myths recount how this unwritten law was violated on rare occasions. A canoe meeting potlatch messengers veers over to the other side of the channel to give them the right of way.

On reaching the destination the canoe is brought to close to shore until the inhabitants of the village have gathered on the beach, which they swiftly do on the arrival of strangers. The messenger sounds his whistle, the significance of which is fully understood by members of the *nuxalk* society. Any chief who wishes to show his wealth and importance will invite them to his house. As they are landing, he sends a herald to summon a number of influential people of his village, who seat themselves in their rightful places. As the messengers enter they are given seats on the bench behind the fire, the spot usually reserved for chiefs. A number of lads are called in to toast smoked salmon, and when this has been done the fish are broken into shreds by young girls and served to the messengers on a mat, in lieu of a table-cloth. The envoys do not deliver their message as soon as they arrive. On the contrary, they spend the rest of the day aimlessly talking with their hosts, and sleep in the house where they have been received.

The following day likewise passes without ceremony, but towards nightfall the host summons all his fellow-villagers to his house. The singers take up their customary places and beat out a *hauiat* tune. Upon hearing his or her air, the owner of it starts to dance. Using their own discretion, the singers beat out the tunes of *hauiat* after *hauiat*, and each dances. In like fashion the singers beat out *nuxalk* songs, and the owner of each dances. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the dances are merely of a ceremonial, not a sacred, nature. When all have danced, each gives a present to the envoys. These gifts are not returnable. They are merely "eagle down," but it is necessary that something be given to validate the dances. The value is immaterial, so far as the purpose is concerned, though a chief who wishes to exhibit his chief-like

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The first course is dried coho salmon mixed with olachen grease. The fish is first placed in boxes, approximately one to every four persons, though a chief may be honoured by an individual box, and the grease poured over it. As always, any food not consumed is carried away. Failure to do so would be an insult to X. Then round wooden dishes are distributed into which are poured the berries of *Vibrnum pacifiorum*. The waiters pour olachen grease over these and the mixture is eaten with wooden spoons. These two foods are invariably the first meal of a potlatch.

If the *sisi* of the last guests to arrive has not returned the power given him by the Bella Coola expert, he now stands up and shakes his rattle as a signal that he desires to start his dance. The Bella Coola *sisi* also stands up, and the visiting *sisi* contorts himself and finally pretends to produce something from his stomach, which he throws across to his colleague. The latter feigns to catch it, cries *heip* loudly several times, and makes the motions of hurling what he has just received into the room at the back of the house where the initiates are concealed. Then he sits down. Meanwhile the last-to-arrive party of guests have started to beat out the tune of one of the *sisi*[1] songs of their own *sisi* who dances in time to it. Then another song is beaten out and another member of the party dances, and so on until all have danced who desire to do so. Each wears his own head-dress and each performs in the manner already described. After the dancing, the members of this party of guests give presents to X and other Bella Coola chiefs. There is no fixed ratio between the value of the gifts and the rank of the recipients, though chiefs receive more than lesser men, and X most of all. These presents are *qualqut*, which may be translated as "eagle down-ness," merely a mark of friendship and goodwill. They are not returnable. Goods so received are distributed by X with his other possessions at the potlatch, care being taken not to return them to the donors, which would be insulting.

[1] In the songs (E, p. 307) are monotonous and

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the front-door facing the river, but has to leave the house through the trap beneath the enclosure where she sleeps. The Bella Coola consider it unthinkable for a girl to disregard these prohibitions, but if this should happen, she would be chased home by her parents, by the Guardian of the River, or, in fact, by any elderly member of the community. The strongest reason for respecting these regulations is the belief that disobedience brings death; no one knows how it is inflicted, but a careless girl soon dies. During this period she cannot eat fresh salmon, though she is allowed them if they have been smoked for four or five days. Her scanty meals are brought to her in the enclosure where she is virtually a prisoner. It is true that she can leave it and wander in the woods, but her comrades avoid her as being in an unclean condition of which they are afraid, and she is barred from taking part in all activities by the river which constitute so large a part of the life of the Bella Coola. A girl cannot pick berries during this time, as no more would grow in the valley which she had thus defiled; she must not touch anyone, nor allow anyone to touch her; she must not pass in front of a man; she must go to bed before everyone else in the house, and be the last to arise. The danger of breaking some taboo is so great that it is safer for a girl to remain within her enclosure where her mother, and other old women, gather to tell her the many things which it is fitting for an adult woman to know. This seclusion is not pleasant, but it conventionally serves to emphasize the importance of married life to which it is a prelude. The writer remembers an occasion when a Bella Coola family was eating very fresh salmon while one of the daughters, who had recently reached adolescence, watched enviously. Her grandfather rose and gave the child an orange, remarking that in his youth little girls did not receive such dainties to sweetness their lot.

Adolescent girls wear certain distinctive articles of clothing and ornaments. The most noticeable is a skull-cap bound with grass; this is the only time in a woman's life that a hat is worn. She also wears ear-rings, each consisting of a ring

! Lie - one year after puberty - Analyst

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768

entertained such kind sentiments towards him that he would [178]
be glad to have his friend receive it. 768

In recent years the number of incombustible objects has 177
increased enormously with the introduction of metal utensils, 775
gramophones, and other things obtained from white traders. Although these are considered to be of use to the ghost, and must be carefully place near the grave, they can be publicly exchanged for others by a relative. The sentiments expressed on such occasions are that the ghost, though aware of what is taking place, does not resent an open transfer; and that it is unnecessary to deposit the equivalent of what has been removed. There is undubtedly a vague idea that the ghost uses, not the actual object, but its essence, which is received by the deposition. It must be emphasized that this feeling has not become crystallized to such a state that it is customary to replace goods laid on the grave with others. Such an exchange in a cast command would cause animosity if carried [578]
out by anyone except near relative.

Sometimes a dying person requests that a house be erected 764
over his grave, a common Bella Bella custom. This is built [763]
immediately after the funeral and articles that cannot be burnt [177]
are placed within it instead of being piled on the ground. The
surviving relatives may choose to erect a picket fence around
the spot, but no tombstone for the grave is put up until a
memorial potlatch several years after death. House or fence
soon falls into decay and rarely an effort is made to repair
either. Nor is the grave itself disturbed. Cow-parsnips, [262]
which are much used for food, grow frequently in cemeteries,
but no one would gather the shoots that rise above a grave;
they are food belonging to the dead person. The white man
has taught the Bella Cola how to plant apple-trees and these [245]
are often set out in graveyards, though the fruit is allowed to [177]
fall to the ground for the benefit of those interred beneath.
The Bella Bella are uniformerly to have replaced at intervals 765
the coffin containing a dead person, but this seems never to
have been a Bella Coola practice. Indeed, a grave is never

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death. 764 783

The above rite protects widower or widow, but does not alter the fact that for one year they are ceremonially "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the ocean. The one near Kimsquit is called *Iplew'ti*, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of which the bottoms are bent upwards; should this be omitted, when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will soon die. 765 [783] [825] [262] [484] [292] [761]

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should cut their hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; if this rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and [621] [302] [734] [587] [735]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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These become lilies (of the species known as *lilkûwalp* or *walilkwätsälätsälätsäl

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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of these demi-gods of antiquity are favourite themes for stories. The powers of the later shamans have been far less than those of their forefathers, and their exploits have been of a somewhat different character. Hence it is possible to divide the subject into three sections:

(1) Shamanism in the distant past.
(2) Modern shamanism.
(3) Shamans from the dead.

SHAMANISM IN THE DISTANT PAST

Information on this phase is contained in stories and a few anecdotes which describe the achievements of ancient demi-gods, endowed with miraculous powers of various kinds. The tales are similar in type to those dealing with the granting of supernatural aid to the unfortunate, so that it is in many cases difficult to differentiate them. As might be expected these narratives are not exact. Frequently the teller does not know from what being the ancient shaman received his power, nor can he explain the abilities described, which are different from, and superior to, those with which he is familiar. In fact it is customary to describe any mythical hero as a shaman.

Tales of this kind can be related by any one; they are not the personal property of a specific family. Many of them, that of *Wanuel'ix*, for example, are well known and are told and retold constantly.

In addition to information obtained from stories, a few isolated facts are remembered regarding ancient shamans. It is thought that various taboos connected with hunting were begun by them in the distant past. Such restrictions and injunctions were firmly believed in and strictly adhered to until [illegible] many of them are still observed. The usual method of hunting harlequin ducks is, or was until recently, from a canoe, with a angling set up in the bow to hide the hunter, crouched with bow and arrow in readiness; several shamans, however, were able to kill the birds by merely waving the butt-end of a paddle towards them. Such power

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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would be of enormous value, since the Bella Coola consider these ducks a great delicacy, and say that their flesh resembles that of seals. In fact, when an invitation to a seal feast is given the words used mean, "come to eat harlequin ducks."

No attempt was made to collect all the shaman stories current in Bella Coola, but the subject is amply illustrated by those gathered, of which the following is representative.

The Adventures of W'aumal-is

Long, long ago, there dwelt among the people who lived on the shore of Dean Channel and were partly Kimsquit, partly Bella Bella, a mighty shaman, *W'aumal-is*. He was a married man with a son just learning to walk, and an adopted one about twelve years old. One day *W'aumal-is* told the latter to fetch water, but the lad was lazy and made no motion to obey, so his foster father kicked him angrily. Whereat the boy cried out:

"What are you hurting me for? Why don't you kick your wife or your partner? They are always sleeping together when you are away."

W'aumal-is apparently paid no attention to this, merely saying:

"Stop crying. I am sorry I kicked you so hard. Run along and get the water."

W'aumal-is, who was a great hunter, began to get his canoe ready for a seal hunting trip, and told his adopted son to accompany him. The two set off within a few hours. *W'aumal-is* owned a stick of which one end possessed the power of causing death, and the other of restoring life; he had only to make the motions of throwing this stick at a living creature, death-dealing end foremost, and the one at which it was pointed fell dead. Many seals had been killed by this means when *W'aumal-is* asked the boy:

"What was it you said when I kicked you?"

By this time the lad had regained his temper and was sorry he had disclosed what he knew.

"I said nothing," he answered, "but gave a shout of pain."

"You lies," *W'aumal-is* calmly replied. "You said that my wife was sleeping with my partner."

The boy, realizing that all was known, answered resolutely:

"Yes, I did say that. I have often seen her doing so when you were absent."

It was late afternoon by this time and *W'aumal-is* at once headed back to the village, which they reached soon after dark. No one saw their approach, so *W'aumal-is* told the boy to stay with the canoe and the seals

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point black range, apparently killing it. Had rolled the carcass over to the back, preparatory to skinning it, when the second barrel accidentally exploded. The noise woke the "dead" bear, which grappled with the hunter and mauled him in spite of his cry:

"I never hurt you."

The man finally escaped and made his best of his way back to the village in a badly wounded condition, dripping blood. Some boys saw him and rushed home, telling of the news to-kich the chief was returning. Suddenly a supernatural being appeared claim, saying:

"I am *Hyaxmin*'s son whom you have twice slain while I was attending to my father's business. But he is been pleased at your gift of copper, so I will help you."

The supernatural stranger was none one than the cherished son of *Hyaxmin*, friendly-mobile *Hyaxmin*. It is he who had previously appeared, first as the strange creature, and the as a bear. He told the man to close his eyes, and, when he had danse, his wounds disappeared. Soon after the people, who had been summoned by the boys to help the hunter, met him returning and were amazed to find him uncovered.

THE MAN WHO WAS HELPED BY GRIZZLY BEAR

Once long ago, there was a poor man he had no friends. Nothing that he attempted prospered, until finally he was reduced to drinking the water in which dog salmon had been urped preparatory to boiling. One day when walking in the forest, he saw a man swimming in a lake. It was really Grizzly Bear which had urped off its skin on the back and had entered the water as a man to unbend amuse itself by throwing heavy stones back and forth.

"Please come to," said the swimmer to the poor man. "Take off your clothes and wash with me."

The man did so, and when he was in thinks the bear said to him:

"You have been doing wrong to drinks that foul dog salmon water. None of an supernatural man like you to do."

The bear massaged the stomach of thanes and pressed his fingers [illegible] four times, until the man was purged of all the salmon water. The bar strongly urged him never to drink any more of it, and since that time he has obeyed the injunction, realizing that the supernatural man is not like it. The poor man was then scrubbed with devil's club, brambles, spruce branches, and other thorny boughs which lacerated his flesh. But, the bear threw one of the heavy stones across the lake, and told the ma to use it back. He tried and failed. Again the supernatural one tabed him with the thorny

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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it is certain that ones of this type took place about 1870. No information could be obtained about other surgical practices. The Bella Coola are unacquainted with either trephining or cupping, and it is most unlikely that they performed more than cutting and the setting of broken limbs. Though incisions are primarily for boils and abscesses, one may be made in case of any obstinate pain, in the belief that some foreign matter has entered the body and must be extracted. 752 [759]

For Stomach-Ache (two means)

757

(1) Peel the outer surface of red elderberry roots and chew a section until all the juice has been squeezed forth and swallowed; then spit out the tasteless bark and take a second piece. This must be continued for some time. It is dangerous to allow the liquid to remain within the stomach, so warm water must be taken as an emetic.

(2) Take five roots of the plant *ma'xwal i*, each about one-tenth of an inch in diameter and one inch in length, grind them to powder and pour on water. Warm the mixture to body heat and drink in large quantities. This acts as an emetic and the patient feels hungry after vomiting. If cooked for a longer time, the roots provide a valuable food. [262]

This medicine is not sufficiently potent for serious attacks.

For Stomach-Ache, and also for Other Internal Pains (two means)

(1) Strip the bark from a *kel'xelp* (birch?) branch a few inches in diameter and about three feet in length, and boil for an hour in a small amount of water. Care must be taken not to boil the decoction too long or it will become poisonous. Drink about four cupfuls of the mixture. It causes the stomach to heave violently, followed by vomiting. Then drink warm water, which also acts as an emetic. Take a further potion of the medicine, then more water, and continue with alternate doses until the vomit is clear. This medicine is so powerful that a patient usually recovers by the following day.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe. 784

FOOD TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would derange the catamenia and cause profuse growth of hair. 562

Women of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do so would cause a difficult delivery. [841] [826]

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat toasted salmon until the sticks have been removed which hold it in front of the fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded. [844] [845]

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when nearing the hunting or fishing-ground. 224 [226] [264]

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola. [171]

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness. [825] [753]

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the men remove only an eye, place it in a notched stick and set this under an over- [752]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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since each fisherman provided one when his box was filled. 226

No one is allowed to drink water immediately after eating 796
the first olachen of the spring, since to do so would cause a 574
flood. It is considered most improper for a child to cry soon
after partaking of this food; if he does so, he is quieted by [365]
having nettles stuffed into his mouth. As already described,
if a person dies before the first fish have passed through his
bowels, a shaman must wipe his lips with cedar-bark.

After the first meal of olachen, stakes for the nets can be 226
driven, and the restrictions become less exacting. Women are
not allowed to assist in fishing, but the men devote their full [562]
time to the task, working with zest and energy.[1] An abundant
supply of olachen is a source of joy, and all listen eagerly for
the singing of the thrush, *cmcmcmcmh*, which signifies that the [325]
nets are full to bursting. Half jocularly, people invite the bird
to come and eat, but his melody is interpreted as:

"I shall eat when the river is full."

RITES CONNECTED WITH THE FIRST SPRING SALMON[2]

Salmon is the most important article of Bella Coola diet 226
and the rites which accompany the earliest taking of the fish 796
are relatively complicated. [262]

When the first spring salmon have been caught, they are
laid in the canoe with their heads all pointing eastward, up-
stream. The fisherman poles to shore, but instead of landing
his catch, he fastens the salmon to a stake driven at the edge
of the bank so that they remain in the water. A number of
posts are usually placed in readiness, each decorated with
alternate spirals of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned
with an eagle's tail. Each day one or two more fish may be
caught, but all are left in the water until the first have become
soft, thus giving sufficient time for the necessary preparations
on shore. It is the duty of every owner of a salmon-weir to
build near its end a so-called Spring Salmon House, a shed-like [343]

[1] For a description of olachen fishing, see Appendix A.
[2] Cf. Boas, p. 76.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 individual, other than an indefinite recollection of the amount
796 of goods used for his dyed cedar-bark. People always have
556 sufficient goods to validate *kusiut* prerogatives; in fact, if a proud person gives too lavishly to confirm the initiation of a relative, the marshals sometimes burn the goods, giving no explanation other than that the uninitiated must not be led to believe that a *kusiut* ceremony is an affair of wealth like a potlatch. Formerly, goods were given only at initiation ceremonies, but between 1880 and 1890 a chief gave presents, instead of food, at a dance. His example was followed, since none was willing to be outdone, although such gifts are still called "food." The name of the donor is always announced, whether he is the dancer himself or one of his relatives.

*575 X, though now a member of the *kusiut* society, is still a
784 novice and cannot give a dance[a] until the next ceremonial
[796] season, that is, until one year has elapsed. The marshals instruct him about his costume, and about the manner in which he must deport himself during this period, matters which depend to a considerable extent upon his prerogative. If he
[262] is a Cannibal, Scratch, or Breaker dancer he must not eat unsmoked salmon, nor must he enter a house in which either a potlatch or a memorial potlatch is taking place.[b] Failure to obey this injunction would warrant punishment from a foreign tribe. Unless his prerogative is to give one of these, or the
[302] Ghost dance, he must keep his face constantly blackened.
[292] Every novice must wear a collar of dyed cedar-bark. The marshals warn him to be circumspect in dealing with uninitiated persons; he can talk to them, but it is most improper for him to engage in any familiarity or frivolous play. Above
[524] all, he must neither gamble nor take part in non-athletic games.
[522]

[a] A Cannibal novice, however, begins to exercise his prerogative immediately, although he must also perform a sampling dance the following year.

[b] This prohibition was more broken at Rivers Inlet. A skilled leader was required to arrange the feast at a memorial potlatch and the only man fit for the purpose, a resident of Rivers Inlet, was a Cannibal novice. After much deliberation he was called upon, but great care was taken to hide his identity and it was years before the information became known.

[The Cannibal Dance]

787 * 575 * 796 [562] [262] away since no female can witness a Cannibal's first meal. Three *kukusiut* are dispatched to ask for food, as if they were begging on behalf of X. Olachen grease, dried salmon, dried meat, and other luxuries are always given to them, and the uninitiated women are excited at witnessing this collection of food. Sometimes a request is made during the day, and the messengers are entitled to call upon any individual by name to provide grease or some other delicacy.

[752] The actual feeding is done by a shaman who is also a *kusiut*. He first dips his hands in the grease, warms them at the fire and rubs them over X's face as the struggling Cannibal is held by six or eight *kukusiut*. Members of the society keep calling out *hoip* to soothe X, who is supposed to be like a wild animal, and to have lost all desire for ordinary food. Like a maniac he snaps at the shaman's fingers, while the *kukusiut* cry out and the uninitiated watch with fear and amazement. After rubbing the Cannibal's cheeks four times, the shaman shouts out that he is almost ready to eat. The heralds echo his words, and go through the village to inform all of what has taken place. The shaman now puts a few morsels of food in a spoon and tries to feed X, who struggles and tries to bite pieces out of the utensil itself. Undiscouraged, he puts small pieces of food actually into X's mouth, heedless of the snapping jaws, and at last persuades him to swallow a little.

"He has eaten," the shaman calls out joyfully, and the heralds repeat the good tidings.

An effort is next made to force him to drink, but X only bites the vessel, and the fingers of the shaman, and succeeds in drenching himself with the liquid. But at last he swallows a few mouthfuls.

"He has drunk," calls the shaman, and as before the heralds repeat his words.

The shaman now tells the uninitiated that X will be all right, but that it will be safer for them to depart, so they leave willingly. Heralds keep everyone in the village informed of the events.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of Winwine]

*575 *796 824 way as with the salmon, except that the jumping is omitted. The order of display is according to the time of ripening for each, but there is so much difference of opinion about this that no rigid order is maintained. The first shown is always the cow-parsnip, but after that there is no definite sequence. The following "berries" were shown at a dance not many years ago: cow-parsnip; *Ribes laxiflorum*; wild gooseberry; tall bilberry; thin-leaved bilberry; blueberry; black huckleberry; red elderberry; dwarf bilberry; *Ribes bracteosum*; salalberry; Canadian buffalo berry; wild red raspberry; blackberry, *Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.; salmon-berry; black hawthorn; flowering juneberry; bunchberry; wild rose; red bearberry.

The informant was not certain that the above was the exact order in which the berries were shown on the occasion described. It is probable that it is approximately correct, however, since he added that the wild strawberry had also been shown, but as he could not remember its correct place he had omitted it. Other old men stated that the following food plants had been used at other *Wiwuine* dances: *ôli*, one of the [262] [177] *Fritillaria*, species undetermined; perennial clover; black raspberry; crabapple; cranberry; fern root; bracken root. Foods introduced by the white man were shown at a recent dance, including: potato, carrot, turnip, and a miniature can of pre- [273] served peaches, such as are commonly used in the manufacture of native wine.

*575 *796 Sometimes no one is able to guess the object represented, and when all have grown discouraged the exhibitor puts his ear against X's mouth. The uninitiated assume, of course, that the dancer's supernatural power makes it easy for him to tell the answer and that he is transmitting the information to the bearer who promptly gives it. If an uninitiated person should guess the correct response rapidly, it is taken for granted that she has found favour with the supernatural beings. When the last berry has been thrown on the fire, a *twaiat* stands up and starts a song describing the Hermaphrodite and his actions in the land above. The singer provides his own time by beating

cause though an infant in arms, though uninitiated, can be brought to dances by its mother; distinctions between rich and poor, slave and freeman, become of slight importance; all that really matters is whether a person is or is not a factor. Membership in the society seems to the uninitiated the most desirable thing in life, although their lives are always so strong that they never cease to dread actual admission. The feeling of class consciousness which exists in a somewhat mild form at other seasons of the year, gives place to a powerful sentiment of superiority on the part of members of the society over those who are not so fortunate. Even the respect normally shown to chiefs is submerged since they, too, are subject to the rule of the marshals.

Apart entirely from this attitude of superiority and inferiority, is the bond of fellowship engendered among members of the society by the rites. Whatever happens, the uninitiated must be deceived. Moreover, the psychological effect of gathering nightly in a body for a specific purpose is tremendous. Night after night they eat together; night after night they listen to the words of the marshals, who impress on them the need for co-operation and secrecy, who hold before them the good example set by their fellows who have carried out rites successfully, who emphasize the fact that they are doing as their fathers did. The ceremonial impact is of greatest consequence at all these gatherings, but when the uninitiated have withdrawn the federal rules somewhat and enjoy themselves. The food itself is always of the best and some of the usual restrictions are removed. It is, for example, the only time that women are allowed to eat the flesh of seals. If this delicacy is provided the marshals enjoy the tidbits, but after Cannibals, novices, and others have received preferential treatment, the remainder is distributed to all and sundry.

It has been stated by some writers, especially those unfamiliar with the significance of native ceremonial life, that the dances of the central tribes are orgies of immorality. This point was investigated with care and it may be stated posi-

[illegible] THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

[illegible]

(1) [illegible]

(2) [illegible]

(3) [illegible]

(4) [illegible]

(5) [illegible]

(6) [illegible]

(7) [illegible]

(8) [illegible]

(9) [illegible]

(10) [illegible]

(11) [illegible]

[illegible] Songs

The words of so-do songs are believed to have been handed down, unaltered, for many generations. The words, too, are frequently ancient although the singers sometimes make slight changes so that they will be more suitable for the chief to whom honour they are being sung. Owing to the decline of ceremonials in which they were used, few so-do songs are now remembered.

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] THE BELLA COOLA [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

APPENDIX D

1927

[552]

[576]

[625]

[533]

[242]

[252]

[575]

[631]

[584]

[516]

[533]

[535]

[534]

[412]

[405]

[425]

[illegible]: Supernatural being sent by Jesus-a to meet Pinkeyna.

[illegible], "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whom father, a [illegible], will certainly give a potlatch to marriage on the path to social importance. Gift for him not yet done so. Such a lad is served commensurately at every [illegible].

[illegible]: Mistress-shell crested stick used by one of the four sections in the [illegible] of time.

[illegible]: One of the five women to work at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Word of concern meaning often appended to [illegible] to complete [illegible] for the four sight of a hunter down.

[illegible], "A Dragging Person" (as one dies with a heavy leg). The name [illegible] to the commission of a name from a wife to her husband either [illegible] Drage to him, when being superfluous.

[illegible]: Ceremonial tool of any kind.

[illegible]: Ancestral name of a Haas man.

[illegible], infinite.

[illegible]: Those who perform to assist marriage dances.

[illegible]: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: One of the four men to work at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible], "Weapons of War": The term applied to the property distributed by the [illegible] and his relatives to the bride and have prior to entering her house.

[illegible]: Gifts given to guests, some after betrothal, by the father of the groom [illegible] to the father of the Green bride.

[illegible]: Wrathful.

[illegible]: Ancestral supernatural woman, synonym for [illegible].

[illegible]: One of the men who came to work at [illegible] in the beginning [illegible] of time.

[illegible]: Totem pole erected by the five workers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Long position with hair close together such as is maintained for four days [illegible] widowed girl, and also by a widow or a widower.

[illegible]: Ceremonial song in her time.

[illegible]: Ad hearing of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet to [illegible] time with it.

[illegible]: Daughter of the five workers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Easter dancer whose dagger becomes apparent through an accident.

[illegible]: Ceremonies for guardian, side of the door of a potlatch, probably that his [illegible] the appearance of a marked representation of the dancer.

[illegible]: Right-time.

[illegible]: That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared to the middle of the night.

[illegible]: Ancestrale singular.

[illegible]: One of Omega's sons in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: One of the four women to work at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Control man behind the fire.

[illegible]: Dancer with hands for pounding stakes to fish nets.

[illegible]: Mountain on north side of the Inner Bella Coola.

[illegible]: One who measures the passage of time by watching the movements of [illegible].

[illegible], "The Revenge of Man Killed by Another": Term used by human [illegible].

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Ala: canoe village.
Alacqil, "Up of the Dalcap Point": Name given to a hill where are was lighted to inform.
[424] *alacmaxalis*: Refusal to lend to an associate a family prerogative such as the employment of marriage dances.
[374] *alaqalcmam*: Ritual served when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an announcement of his coming potlatch.
Alaxcyaqim: Name of a family chieftain.
Alex, "The Opening of the Sky":
1.—One of the first men to settle at *Kimsquit* in the beginning of time.
2.—One of the first men to settle at *Ocean* in the beginning of time.
3.—Name of a *Snake-Fish* chief.
Almalakla: Former name of a Bella Coola town.
Almamalkum: One of the first men to settle at *Ocean* in the beginning of time.
[375] *Alnimcmam*: Guest having the ability to enter the back-room and treat intimate concerns there. The function probably considers the employment of his skills.
Alqhaxa: Hidden, supernatural beings who remain supernatural Cannibals.
[399] *alqmaxa*: Personal hearing of strife.
Alsamcmam: Wife of Dandelion, the supernatural hunter.
Alsaxlikalm: Supernatural calendrical experts.
Alsaqhlikla: Outlawed of *Kalchlamlaxa*, he is known only to *Kimsquit*.
[373] *alsaxtamk*: Former house of mystery.
[374] *alsaxtamnalc*: Visit paid to a rich person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a neighboring community.
alsaxtamnalqqa: Call used by hostile tribes announcing to a neighboring community.
[423] *alsaxtamlis*: The "dragging forward" of a name, crest, or other intangible gift; requires from such an inalienable either an marriage or loan or a repurchasing of the gift.
[389] *alsaxtam*: To drag a heavy burden.
[424] *alsaxlis an*: Conferrer issued with shallow grease.
[321] *alsaxxa*: Visit to the equivalent for a foreign intimate.
Alsaxalkum, "Facing Both Ways": Second name after the crown relative.
Alsqaxcmlq, "The Extinction Time": Outlawed assemblage of the *Kalchlamlaxa* after departure of a Cannibal.
[377] *alsqalkim*: Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.
Alsqhlakla:
1.—Supernatural being who serves mortals.
2.—Name received by a shaman from this being.
alta: Fruit.
[425] *altamam*, "Fruit Supplier": The term applied to the giving of the use of land or marriage.
Altalkl, "Dandelion": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[156] *altqmx*: Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in chevron crests.
[382] *altqmxlk*: Crested, term applied to a girl secluded in adolescence.
[325] *Alqmxlaxa*: Supernatural name of shellfish, applied to those brought by the first people to the beginning of time.
Alqmxlikla, "A Giant Shellfish": Name given to an *Alqhlaxa* man in the beginning of time.

[illegible] THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] THE MULA CHAKRA [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

[illegible]

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APPENDIX D

[illegible]: Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his ceremonial or religious or other actions in preparation for a potlatch.
[illegible]: A dark-legged person who tries to cross a river, some of a string figure.
[illegible]: That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
[illegible]: 1.—Wing, a supernatural being.
2.—Wing, brought-in factor participation.
[illegible]: Presents given to the man who bids a bride to her husband during a wedding.
[illegible], "Dark-Cloud": A supernatural being.
[illegible]: Shadow.
[illegible]: Chamber, archer.
[illegible]: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law.
[illegible]: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other.
[illegible]: Mostly grass that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
[illegible]: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth.
[illegible]: 1.—Carbon hide.
2.—Thing made of carbon hide.
[illegible]: Dragon-moth collar-bark earring.
[illegible]: Carbon.
[illegible]: Love charm consisting of hair of the man desired mixed with other ingredients.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who causes nightmares.
[illegible] or [illegible]: Words, in contradistinction to supernatural songs.
[illegible]: Body.
[illegible]: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
[illegible]: Professional female berry-picker.
[illegible]: Mountain goat grease.
[illegible]: Cave.
[illegible], "When the Bear Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Son of the first settlers on Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Dungeness.
[illegible]: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
[illegible]: Bad luck gain.
[illegible]: Ringer's house.
[illegible]: Tree.
[illegible]: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones.
[illegible]: 1.—Mountain goat, decorated with crest, crested mountain goats.
2.—Plain goats crested mountain goats to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased.
[illegible]: 1.—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
2.—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Dried dog salmon cooked in water.
[illegible]: Shaded representation of a dead person in man form.
[illegible], "Someone Dropping Through the Roof": A supernatural being.
[illegible]: Black raspberry.
[illegible]: Clown.

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

R

of these data refer to insects, and may be of interest to entomologists, although my spelling of Indian words is very problematical, because some of the sounds I can neither hear nor make, and I am unable to record adequately many of those that I can hear. The data here given are preliminary to a complete working over of my notes, but are believed to be nearly complete.

Insects apparently were not so well observed by the Bellacoola as were useful mammals and plants, the stinger of the bumble bee, for instance, being supposed to be in its mouth. Few insects had names, that is, mainly those which were used or which troubled the Indians. Insects were not used for food, and honey was unknown until after the coming of the white man. The head of the gad-fly was used as a pattern in painting designs, the coat of the yellow jacket in sympathetic magic or witchcraft, and "fly spit" was said to be good for sores. They had a story about the bumble bee.

Among the Ulkatcho also observation of insects was weaker than that of mammals and plants, and they apparently had names for only a few insects, those which troubled them. Any lore also and its method of taking prey were known. Insects were of no use to the Ulkatcho whatever. No instance was observed of an Indian smoking himself with a burning fly held in his mouth. They employed smudges, fish oil, gum of the cottonwood, and blossoms of ceo parsnip with oil to protect themselves from mosquitoes, black flies and sand-flies, and smoke to protect foods from flies.

The fly lore, among the Ulkatcho, is called Ulcoolkatc. It is said to be numerous at Ulkatcho, but that it was useless and that there was no story about it. My informant voluntarily showed me the pits made by the larvae of this insect and, striking sticks for the purpose, demonstrated its well-known method of taking its prey.

The grasshopper (Dolichopoda), that makes a noise by rubbing its wings together when it flies, was called Tokoa, among the Ulkatcho.

"Fly spit," that is the material surrounding a nymph of a spittle insect, also known as a frog hopper (Cercopidae), is said

POLYPODIACEAE, FERN FAMILY

Polypodium vulgare L., Polypody, Fukuatsu Dense Type

Bulb Code: Deep-sensitive mixed with leaves of the red color (Page [illegible]) or with other mentioned roots which the [illegible] but together—bulbs and the more denotion value [illegible] for pains in the stomach, but not for vomiting or diarrhoea. Bulbs or seeds not a purgative.

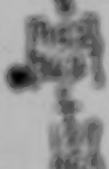
Roots showed for smallpox [illegible].

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Asplenium ruta-muraria Sage, Lucy Type

Bulb Code: Little roots chopped off, from [illegible] to [illegible] or [illegible] with roots or branches of the correct (Page [illegible] [illegible]), bulbs enough, but for a short time only, and the [illegible] used as a wash for sore eyes.

Southern Carrier: Not used.



Asplenium spleniomanes Sw., Bonnie Type

Bulb Code: Root taken not to [illegible] [illegible] from eating several kinds of shellfish in the early part of the month.

Fern, species unknown

Northern Carrier: Root bulbs and the denotion value [illegible] for [illegible].

Gilmore: The large, round, green [illegible], but not the [illegible] with leaf of [illegible] (Page [illegible]) and [illegible] with (Page [illegible] [illegible]), a little piece of which [illegible] (Page [illegible]) or [illegible] [illegible] (Page [illegible]), and [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] (Cynthia [illegible]), [illegible] a little piece applied to a [illegible] or [illegible], which is brought to a [illegible]. [illegible] for [illegible], and as a plaster on the [illegible] for hemorrhage of the lungs.

LYCOPODIACEAE, CLUB MOSS FAMILY

Lycopodium clavatum L., Crosses Club Moss

Southern Carrier: Inserted in the nose to cause bleeding and cure headache.

OPHIOGLOSSACEAE, FERN FAMILY

Botrychium lunaria Sw., Tom

Bulb Code: Branches with leaves [illegible], and the denotion value [illegible] for the lungs. Bulbs a purgative not as seeds.

[illegible] traditional authorities. The child is washed in warm water. For her from the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go [illegible] over the room for a year (according to Fredi Mirdita, for ten days), after [illegible] the whole month takes effect.

[illegible] The child is now given its first name. On this occasion the whole [illegible] father is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive [illegible] present presents. The child whose first name will be become a member [illegible] of the Kiraski, where it is given its Kiraski name. This ceremony takes [illegible] place after puberty has been reached. Above this period the young man [illegible] gives his first publicly and assumes his [illegible] name.

[illegible] When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves [illegible] as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed [illegible] to descend to the main part of the house and must eat alone by the fire of [illegible] the family. For ten days she must remain secluded in a sitting posi- [illegible] tion. She then during the daytime has to allowed a little fresh air [illegible] [illegible] at a very early hour in the morning. After this time she may [illegible] leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not [illegible] enter in the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat, [illegible] which protects her face against the eyes of the men. It is believed that [illegible] if the men should chance to see her face her eyes would suffer. She may [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

go with the mother and part with the father. The choice is left to the parents and children.

When a person has died, the corpse is washed, the lips painted red, the legs are folded up, and the cloth folded over the body. The accompaniment of the deceased to put into his mouth, his chair, pot, etc., the back pole covering the hearth and the front pole toward Tokwaed. The body is placed in a box and the latter is often fastened a few inches above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is kept uncovered. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The bodies of the deceased are buried. His coat hanged on a [illegible] scaffold, which also shows how many crimes (spears, head-dressing, and shoes he had given away in potlatches). The objects are placed or carved on the scaffolds. Formerly slaves were killed at the funeral of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also thinked by as many totem figures on the memorial scaffolds. After burial for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. However the crests of the deceased portrays of a wood a little foot is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the mourners, the lower crests, the house of the dead, is believed to be.

The hat of a mourner must be protected against the glint of the deceased. His mark, which is a dress-head, into the ground at each period of their halts. After four days from our departure to the water, Mourners must not early and go into the woods, where by stick four dress-bodies into the ground, in the corners of a square, which they choose themselves by tethering their bodies with cedar-bushes. They also cover a cradle, after surrounding this shape four and from and wrap through the cloth, following the course of the sun. We they do so four subsequent mornings, observing each time cover the Mourners and then two cloth. The fact that this time cut off a lock. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they will dream of the deceased. Women when mourning wrapped their bodies with cloth or shawl.

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow is especially strict. The first duty for the chief would that, and must not speak a word, also the head chief or husband would be a hand on a month of the affairs, who would then die. They must not go into water, and are forbidden to watch or see salmon for a whole year. In the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or chicken. Widow and widower chosen themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shoulders are considered sacredness, and must not fall on evil spirits.

Every time after the death of a wife or husband, given his mourning relatives further the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he singer a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents; his guests, it was explained to me that this would the mourning widow or was the most so giving away the house of the deceased.

Succession and Inheritance

The authority of the Kitsada Office greatly from the authorities of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to

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quantities of ducks and geese, and the inhabitants of the inland villages sometimes made hunting expeditions to the nesting places of wild-fowl in the lakes of the interior uplands. Although numbers of birds were sometimes killed in this way, they were never a steady article of diet. The same is true of grouse. Always plentiful, these birds were commonly killed, but never in large numbers.

The basis of the food supply was fish. The river teemed with salmon, which enabled the country to support its relatively large population. Spring, sockeye, hump-back, dog, and coho salmon, all entered the river in thousands during the spring and summer, while the steel-head could be caught throughout the year. They were taken in weirs and their flesh smoked for winter use. Throughout the year, salmon was the principal article of diet. Second in importance was the olachen, a fish somewhat resembling a herring, which entered the river in great numbers during April or May. They were taken in purse-like nets,* allowed to rot for ten days or two weeks, and then boiled. The grease was skimmed off and kept indefinitely to be used as a relish for other foods. It was always a sign of poverty if a person were obliged to eat herring without olachen grease. Trout and bull-heads were found in the river, but were not sufficiently plentiful to be of importance.

Although no form of agriculture was practised, the Bella Coola used vegetable food to a considerable extent. Berries were abundant; some were eaten raw, but many more were pounded into a pulpy mass and dried in the sun. Cakes prepared in this way kept indefinitely and formed one of the regular winter foods. The bark of the hemlock and cottonwood was eaten, as well as the roots of many plants. In recent years many of these have not been used, so that an investigator is apt to overlook their great importance in early times. Although useless for food, the cedar was the corner-stone of Bella Coola material culture. From its trunk were split out, with wedges, the wide planks which formed

* See Appendix A for a description of olachen fishing.

2:McDowell R-1 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellevale NEA

for consumers in other ways. Some are fried immediately, but the Bella Coola think they lack flavour, although most white men regard them as delicious. Many hundreds are dried for winter use in one of the following methods.

(1) Cedar-sticks, each about three feet in length, are split from the solid core and smoothed down to a diameter of about one-half inch. One of these is passed through the gills and mouth of one fish after another until the rod is filled with a row of eulachon, their tails hanging downwards. Dozens of these sticks are suspended horizontally over the central fire in a house, or, in brilliant sunshine, hung in the open. When dried to a certain extent, they are stored in the upper parts of the houses where the process continues whenever a fire is lit. When so stored they keep almost indefinitely.

(2) Narrow strips, each four to five feet in length, of flexible cedar-bark, are prepared by the women. The fisherman takes the ends of two of these, ties one around a fish's head, and the other around its tail. Another eulachon is tied parallel to the first, and then others, until the two cords are supporting thirty to forty fish, each separated by about one inch. The middle of the strings is laid across a horizontal bar above a fire or in the open, and the process of drying continues as in the last method. The fish are subsequently smoked if a large blaze is built up in a house, so careful people remove their eulachon before a feast or other celebration.

Though dried eulachon provide a useful article for winter diet, the fish are chiefly valued for their grease, *ulel*, which is used as a condiment with all kinds of berries. It is sometimes extracted from the fresh fish, but the Bella Coola consider this to be unclean and prefer to wait until the eulachon have remained in the pits for ten days to two weeks. Warm weather hastens the process, but in any case cooking is done until the disgusting smell has penetrated for miles, proving that putrefaction is well advanced. In former times, all boiling was done with hot stones, but at present boxes with iron bottoms are used as kettles. These are of various shapes and sizes, an average being, perhaps, four feet long, three feet wide, and eighteen inches deep. These are set on fireplaces which vary according to the ingenuity of the owner. Some are excavated in the river bank, lined with stones set in clay, and fitted at the inner end with an old sacrapipe to provide draught for the miniature furnace. The box-kettle is placed on the ground over the excavation and the cook pours in water. Then his wife, children, and friends bring the parcel fish, which they hold in until only a few inches of water are visible. A slow fire is built beneath, and, as the mixture begins to boil, the cook stirs it with a five-foot stick having a slightly flattened blade. Presently the grease begins to rise to the surface whence it is skimmed off and placed in recep-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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walk backwards, or on their heads. Mortals sometimes see ghosts, but the apparition seals their lips so that they cannot recount their experiences. Death invariably follows. Shamans and other mortals endowed with great powers have been able to penetrate to the realm below, and the knowledge of conditions there has been derived from their accounts. Food is scarce in that land and ghosts are often driven up to earth to search for it. Even a small morsel is enough to satisfy their hunger, so that mortals throw fragments on the fire for the benefit of their dead relatives. If a person drop a crumb it is because a ghost has hooked it away from his hand; no wise Bella Coola ever picks up such a morsel, knowing that to do so would offend the hungry spectre. Deceased beings are generally feared, although instances are known in which they have shown kindness, particularly to their relatives. Like so many supernatural beings, they figure most prominently as patrons of *kusiut* dancers (see vol. II, chap. 1). Further information concerning them is contained in the description of life after death.

Not even a complete list of beings would exhaust the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural, since any unexpected visitation is attributed by them to this source. For example, when Mackenzie appeared, the first white man with whom the Bella Coola had come in contact, they thought that he must be from another world. Some thought him a dead man returned to life, and others considered him a supernatural visitor from above who had fallen down to earth, as did their first ancestors. The latter view prevailed, and it was ultimately decided that he must be *Somcus*, a supernatural being resident aloft of whom little was known. This name was applied to him, and it has since been given to all white men.[18]

[18]Although it was in 1793 that Mackenzie passed down the Bella Coola valley, a number of stories of that event were still remembered in 1922. What most impressed the Bella Coola was his ability to make fire quickly. One man, now living, stated that he had heard from his mother that her father had spoken with him. Traditions of this type are valuable as reflecting the interests of a people, but their historical accuracy may well be doubted. One Kimsquit man, for example,

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Pre-
* 556 sently the guests assemble, those who are *nuxut* wearing on
[575] their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership
[237] in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled,
[292] the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners,
[554] slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair. It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by
[203] the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial gain.

● 264 A number of young lads, friends or relatives of X, distribute
* 556 the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no
[883] standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests;
[578] otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its
583 reward.

* 556 Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a
[537] fluent friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech, extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general
[425] outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may
[424] be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with
[532] the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name.

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go to the homes of their friends in the village; it is a matter of convenience, not of ritual. 556* [574]

In the evening, there may be no rite of any kind, but X often invites everyone to his house for the performance of non-ceremonial dances. The singers strike up one of his *nuxwt* or *o'alt* (I, p. 177) tunes and he dances to it. Then a tune belonging to one of his relatives is beaten out, and he too dances. After several have thus performed, a meal is served and all disperse. No supernatural beings are in attendance, hence there is no solemnity to the occasion; the evening's rites merely serve to show the guests the dances owned by their host and his family. 635 556*

As each party of guests arrives the same procedure is repeated. X provides food for those who have assembled from day to day, so he anxiously awaits the last-comers. When at last they come the guests from all other towns are in their allotted sections of X's house, and are free to make gibes at the tardiness of those latest in appearing. Occasionally, hard feelings are engendered in this way, although it is an established custom to mock at the last to arrive. They seat themselves and a small amount of food is given them. 556* 574 [628]

RITUAL CARRIED OUT BY THE GUESTS

Two youths, chosen by X for the purpose, sprinkle eagle down over the heads of all those present, as far as possible blowing it first over the chiefs. It serves as a token of good-will, and marks also the ceremonial nature of the occasion. Then a leading *nuxwt*, perhaps a *sibi*, stands up and says in effect: 556* [788] [237] [575]

"Thank you for coming. You are welcome. We thank you for coming to witness what X has done. He is delighted to have you here, because he has lost many of his relatives and wishes to perpetuate their memory. They would be grieved if he did not do so."

An elaborate meal is now served by a number of young men. [264]

¶ 552 The first *eulana* is dried coho salmon mixed with eulachon grease. The fish is first placed in boxes, approximately one to every four persons, though a chief may be honoured by an individual box, and the grease poured over it. As always, any food not consumed is carried away. Failure to do so would be an insult to X. Then round wooden dishes are distributed into which are poured the berries of *Vibernum pauciflorum*. The waiters pour eulachon grease over these and the mixture is eaten with wooden spoons. These two foods are invariably the first meal of a potlatch.

[24] [24a] [578]

¶ 553 If the *sibi* of the last guests to arrive has not renounced the power given him by the Bella Coola experts, he now stands up and shakes his rattle as a signal that he desires to start his dance. The Bella Coola *sibi* also stands up, and the visiting *sibi* contorts himself and finally pretends to produce something from his stomach, which he throws across to his colleague. The latter feigns to catch it, cries *hoip* loudly several times, and makes the motions of hurling what he has just received into the room at the back of the house where the initiates are concealed. Then he sits down. Meanwhile the last-to-arrive party of guests have started to beat out the tune of one of the *sisaul*[19] songs of their own *sibi* who dances in time to it. Then another song is beaten out and another member of the party dances, and so on until all have danced who desire to do so. Each wears his own head-dress and each performs in the manner already described. After the dancing, the members of this party of guests give presents to X and other Bella Coola chiefs. There is no fixed ratio between the value of the gifts and the rank of the recipients, though chiefs receive more than lesser men, and X most of all. These presents are *cpandjat*, which may be translated as "eagle down-ness," merely a mark of friendship and goodwill. They are not returnable. Goods so received are distributed by X with his other possessions at the potlatch, care being taken not to return them to the donors, which would be insulting.

553 575 595 556 [554] [578]

[19] As the songs (I, p. 317) are sometimes sung.

grease have been placed in readiness. X selects as many youths as the number on whom he intends to confer the names which have already been announced and exhibited among the Bella Coola, but are now to be made known to the foreign guests. He starts the lads, who are to substitute for the initiates, on the various boxes. Everybody understands that these are merely representatives. X engages two chiefs to act as his announcers, choosing two with good voices and abundant self-confidence. To one of these X whispers the sacred name of one of the initiates.

"His name is now——!" calls out the announcer, pointing to one of the substitutes, and the laymen readily recognize the initiate intended, from the use, in conjunction with his new designation, of his well-known secretal name. The heralds repeat the new name with the usual bellowings, so that it becomes well known to all present. In like manner the sacred name given to each initiate is publicly announced. The substitutes receive no advantage from their part in the proceedings.

Then the boxes are opened and red elderberries poured into the canoes in front of the guests. Stones are provided with which the visitors pound the fruit into pulp which they proceed to mix with their hands, so clarkia grease and crushed berries are added. Then X's helpers distribute spoons and the feast commences. All start to eat, but after an interval one of the leading Bella Coola chiefs strikes the side of his canoe with a spoon, as a signal that all must stop. X has several dishes in readiness. If he is wealthy some of these will be carved in the shape of beaver, eagle, or other form in which an ancestor appeared. These dishes are filled with the food which all have been eating and then placed before the principal chiefs, who thus have a second supply. At this point the singers begin to beat out an ancient song of the type known as *ocala*. Each of these has been handed down from the distant past, when some chief, ancestor of X, had it composed for himself at a potlatch. The theme is always about the form or fame of his

[556]* [575] [553] [205] [556]* [324] [252] [415] [539] [533] [556]* [171]

[illegible] a grave or tomb [illegible] dancing-room, rarely, when it is necessary to obtain a portion of a skeleton for magical purposes. In such a case, the coffin lid must be lifted up on the side away from the [illegible] so that he looks within over its upturned edge. A person failing to obey this injunction will soon die.

Burning or deposition near the grave is not mentioned in the actual crematory and artifacts of the deceased. There, too, must be laid dried salmon which a man has smoked for winter use, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person causes indescribable sickness. In recent years, the coffin, if a man died after oiling and sewing a fish, is allowed to open, and then not unfastened. So, too, the canoe in which a body has been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Coola are not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or that has been in contact with a corpse.

The rituals described above may be considered as religious in nature; almost equally important are the social requirements of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This indebtedness falls on the near relatives, though all members of the mourning family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite manner. If a canoe has been destroyed that did not belong to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents must be given to the pall-bearers, to the women who bore the flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way. Failure to do so brands the relatives as miners with little respect for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the outlook and minds of chiefs. Consequently, even poor people try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death

37 viewed by the presence of welcome guests. Mention is fre-
56 quently made of the journey taken by the dead man to the
69 scenes of his ancestral myths. In addition to being an orator,
the speaker must also be a *cumsit* chief, since it is felt that
none other can have the necessary assurance and poise to refer
to these most sacred and important subjects. During the
speech, assistants blow eagle down over the heads of all
present.

Food has been prepared in advance, and as soon as the
speaker has finished, the heralds call the guests to partake of
it. The first course is then distributed, smoked salmon mixed
with olachen grease. Speeches are sometimes delivered during
this part of the meal, as well as at the second course, cranberries
with more olachen grease. If the guests have arrived during
the afternoon, there is no delay between the feast and the ritual
that follows, but if they have come during the morning, there
is a gap until the evening. Visitors usually time their arrival
for the early part of the afternoon.

37 The next event is a speech from one of the foreign chiefs,
phrased in grandiloquent terms similar to those used by the
56 Bella Coola orator. He speaks of the manner in which the
69 supernatural Carpenters have hunted the deceased, but reminds
109 his hearers that this is because *Alpuntém* has decreed it, there-
33 fore all must be for the best. He refers to the dead man's crest,
and to the manner in which this guise will be available to him.
During the day, the singers have been careful to learn the tune
of a mourning song used by the ancestral family of each foreign
chief likely to speak. This they now beat out, often assisted
by some of the guests, and always accompanied by their sing-
ing. No one dances to accompany the song; it is merely a
tactful mark of sympathy, implying that the speaker himself
knows the grief occasioned by death, and, also, that he too is
sufficiently important to be able to use a mourning song. If,
as is usually the case, there is more than one influential chief
in the party, a second rises to speak, repeating in different
terms the sentiments expressed by his predecessor. Another

other Bella Coola, asking him to announce that he, Schooner, with Dan and George, was going to hold a memorial potlatch that evening to which all were invited. Robert is not a herald but undertook this duty owing to the absence of qualified heralds. Meanwhile the grave had been filled in and the people began to drift away as it rose to ground level. Their attitude throughout had resembled that of white people at a funeral, and the hilariousness that characterizes so many Bella Coola gatherings was entirely absent except among the playing children. By 4.30 P.M. all had left the scene.

In view of the large number of guests expected it had been decided to hold the memorial potlatch, not in one of the old-fashioned houses, but in the village hall, built according to the white man's style of architecture and illuminated with swinging gasoline lamps. This is a large, rectangular building, undivided by partitions, with a stage at one end and a door at the other. About 6.30 P.M. the singers, Nebuchadnezzar, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Alec Davis, Kimsquit Alec, and Robert Hood, gathered at the hall and seated themselves below the stage. Billy Pollard had prepared a mourning song during the day, Kimsquit Alec another, and it was decided to use two others that were well known to all. The singers sat and practised these four for some time, while at intervals various Bella Coola strolled in, listened for a few minutes, then walked out again. Anyone was allowed to do so, but few availed themselves of the opportunity. Meanwhile Captain Schooner had brought $10 worth of rice, raisins, and condensed milk which he placed beside a huge iron cauldron outside the front door. Jim To-Morrow, a Bella Coola of no great intelligence, volunteered to act as cook and soon had a fire blazing and the food boiling.

About 8.00 P.M. the people began to assemble, bringing their own plates and other utensils. After considerable delay and chatter, the guests took their places in the hall, seating themselves regardless of rank on benches ranged along the two side walls and massed at the rear. By mutual consent a portion of the single row of benches along the left wall was reserved

for the Carrion and other foulpoxes. The cook began to bake the raw corn bread provided by Captain Schooner; there were cakes by some of the younger men who poured helpings into the dishes of the guests. Spoons had been forgotten, and there was delay until there were provided by divers split from a block of wood for the purpose. Contrary to ancient usage, no courage was made to serve food to the guests in order of their rank. Men, women, and children were sitting everywhere, the infants kept moving around and crying continually throughout the performance, but no one seemed to be disturbed thereby.

When everyone had eaten, Nathaniel-Nelson, who had been sitting facing the other singers, knelt on the floor to attract attention and then rose to speak. He asked the help of all to make the ceremony a success, and then assuage the grief of the bereaved relatives.

Joe Williams and his daughter had taken their places on the right-hand side of the hall and had requested Willie Mack, a former speaker and influential chief, to assist them in announcing the financial transactions. They spread a blanket on the floor on which the bills were counted, and beside this Willie knelt. Joe gave him a sum of money, which was counted and re-counted; Willie then held it up in the vain hope that it could be seen by everyone in the hall. He announced the amount, also that it was to relway (the divorced) Mrs. George Nelson from her late husband, and that it would "make clean the place where she sat." A young man delivered the money to George who added it to the general stock for later distribution. Next a copper was produced, held up, and presented to him for the same purpose. Meanwhile Joe, assisted by his mother and other relatives, had been counting the money which they proposed to give to Captain Schooner in settlement of the previously contracted debt. One hundred and fifty dollars were produced and handed to Willie Mack, who held them up and announced that it was in return for the $100 given by Captain Schooner on a previous occasion to Joe Williams, his wife, his son, his daughter, his mother, and his stepfather. The bills

they after the funeral, the relatives of the dead person burn the [178]
remainder of his property, which passes through the earth to [268]
the ghost for whom it is intended. Clown-singers have taken
their places and begin to hum out music, and presently the
recently deceased appears, stepping backwards from the back-
room in time to the beating of sticks. He is at once surrounded
by his fellows, each anxious to learn the latest news of relatives
still alive. This dance is really to welcome the new arrival,
and takes place irrespective of his rank. After it has been
held, it is hopeless to attempt to rouse a dead person, although
that has been done several times during the four days imme-
diately succeeding death.

Only shamans are able to pass down into the land of the [156]
dead, though stories are told of inadvertent visits to it in
relatively recent times. Human beings are prevented from
visiting their dead relatives, but the latter, being supernatural,
can come to the earth at will. They are always dreaded, and
anyone who hears their whistling or their tongueless chatter
comes in his house, and hopes they will pass by. Shamans [156]
can understand their speech and to them the dead explain their
mission. If the relatives of a dead person have failed to burn [168]
all his personal possessions, he returns to earth to inform them,
through a shaman, of the omission. The house is searched for
anything left and it is burnt at once near the grave, though no
one knows how a ghost would punish failure to give him his
property. Thoughtful people, remembering the scarcity of [264]
food in the land below, frequently give presents to their dead
relatives by casting small morsels of food on the side of the [172]
central fire nearest the front door, beneath which is a passage
to the lower regions. The food becomes magnified as it falls
down this, so that even small fragments are sufficient to feed
many hungry ghosts. Since the introduction of metal stoves, [177]
it has become customary to throw food into a fire kindled for
the purpose in the cemetery; the most suitable time is at dusk,
although people are always afraid that spectres may be prowl-
ing around at that hour. If sufficient presents are not given [156]

to a ghost, he informs a shaman of the fact and the latter notifies the relatives of the deceased. If no shaman is consulted, the death does not bestow to help himself. Invisible, and armed with a barbed hook, he approaches a person who is resting and pulls away a crumb which falls to the earth. Should the man stoop to pick this up, the ghost, unfitted of his beard, leaves the offender with his hook, causing toothache or sometimes a sharp pain in the head or stomach. Other illnesses are caused by the ghosts living with invisible arrows those who have offended them. Consequently, no one picks up a crumb which has fallen, since it is impossible to know whether it has been an accident or a mimic. Another indication of a ghost's hunger is loss of a tooth. The loser should throw it as a fee with an invitation to the dead to accept his offering.

The barrier between ghosts and human beings is considered to be little more than a wall of smoke, just too dense for ordinary eyes to penetrate. In early times intercommunication between the divisions of the two worlds was so easy that a dying mother was once allowed to send her dead child on earth. Unfortunately, the woman's mother one day insisted on holding her grandchild, unaware that he was a ghost. Shocked at his appearance, the old woman dropped the child, much to the anger of the dead people.* Ever since that time it has been impossible for human beings to see and talk with their deceased kinsmen. Like so many Bella Coola stories, it is doubtful whether this one is regarded as more than an item of ancient history; it is considered to be a fact, but it is not one that enters into the daily thoughts of the people.

Ghosts frequently come to their old homes at night where dogs can see them. If one of these animals begins to bark and gazes fixedly at a spot where nothing is to be seen, it is because a wraith is standing there and the dog's owner hopes that it will remain invisible. It is true that some individuals have received shamanistic power from a ghost, but more often a visitation is disastrous and to be avoided. A dead person often

*This story is recorded in detail later (I, p. 177).

[illegible] (1912-1924)948
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them conclude it more likely that they will grant his requests. Therefore, a shaman is usually called upon to perform the following rites: 756* 782

(1) Washing the mouth of a person who has died without vomiting from his body the first salmon or eulachon of the season (I, p. [illegible]). [764]

(2) Making sacrifices for the complicated rites of the potlatch (I, p. [illegible]). [556]

(3) Purgation for mainspare before starting on a journey, by pulling eagle down into the air (I, p. 106). [484]

(4) Purgation for sick by means of placing food on the water and blowing eagle down into the air at Menatchie Nose and Kwaxsa (I, p. [illegible]).

In fact a supplication to any supernatural being can be made with greater prospect of success by a shaman than by any other person.

The Power of Shamans

As has been said, a shaman actually has power within himself, and this is so strong that it may be a source of danger to others. If a man should pass behind one so endowed when the latter is eating, his spirit would be drawn from his body into the shaman's mouth, which would close with a click, crushing the spirit and killing the man. This is quite involuntary on the part of the shaman. It happened more than once among the early inhabitants, and since that time people have been very careful not to pass behind an eating shaman; this taboo was still in force until about 1885. A shaman, too, is said to be able to recall a spirit which has left its body, and thus caused illness. It is believed by some that shamans can see the position of a person's tally post, and so judge the length of his life. These examples show the varying beliefs of different Bella Coola concerning the powers of shamans. 756* [761] [264] [178] [755]

But the force within the shaman is really more dangerous to its possessor than to others. As certain "unclean" objects are able to subdue supernatural beings, so do these same ob- 756* 783 841

called out to him, and then remembered no more. It was obvious that she had seen a ghost.

It is over diseases caused by ghosts that a shaman from the dead has power. If a person picks up and eats any morsels which he has dropped he will usually suffer, because, though he thinks the crumbs have fallen, they have really been pulled from his hands by a hungry ghost, who thus showed his desire for food. By picking up and eating the fragments, the man thwarts a dead person who retaliates by forcing some sickness into him. Ghosts may visit this land of the living and ask their relatives for food or clothing, but mortals, unable to hear the speech of the dead, are unaware of the requests of their deceased relatives, and so do not answer them. The irritated ghosts respond by causing sickness. In such cases a shaman from the dead is able to suck out the cause of the ill, and sometimes to display it as a bone, twig, or other small object and at the same time to tell the sufferer what it was that his relatives desired. Like ordinary shamans, a shaman from the dead uses his own discretion whether or not to employ the violent beating of sticks, and like his fellow-practitioner receives payment from those whom he has helped. There are no fixed charges, but a successful shaman is always wealthy.

The intimate contact of ghosts with shamans has already been mentioned in connection with the ability of the latter to learn from the ghost of a murdered person whom he believes to be his slayer.

There is one method of sacrificial curing practised by shamans from the dead alone. If the sickness refuses to yield to ordinary methods, the practitioner makes ten cedar-bark vessels, fills these with grease and places them near the fire, one between it and the door, one on the inner side, and four on either side of it, parallel to the side walls of the house. By each vessel are placed two small wooden figures, roughly carved to represent men, and decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark. After endeavouring to suck forth the disease, with or without the assistance of the frenzied beating of sticks, the

phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe. 784

FOOD TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would damage the ceremonia and cause profuse growth of hair. 262 562

Women of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do so would cause a difficult delivery. [841] [826]

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat roasted salmon until the sticks have been removed which hold it in front of the fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded. [844] [845]

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when nearing the hunting or fishing ground. 224 [226] [264]

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola. [171]

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness. [825] [753]

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the men remove only an eye, place it in a notched stick and set this under an over- [732]

[Secret Society Initiation]

X sometimes receives two generations at his initiation, one from each parent, or from some other immediate relative. In this case both are expounded. The singers listen intently, knowing that they will never be called upon to compose songs on the *tlama*, or *tlamun*. According to some informants they immediately sing one, as if they had just created it, though it was really prepared in advance. The *tsalaxiat* listen until they have mastered it.

Helpers now distribute the food provided by X's father, or whoever is responsible for his initiation. At every *tsalaxiat* ceremonial the marshals are the first recipients, then the singers, and finally the others without distinction. As the guests are eating, X's father gives presents to all, without deference to rank. An announcer calls out:

"There are [for example] ten bear-skins from X's mother. They are to obtain for him his cedar-bark bracelets."

These goods are then distributed. Similarly other gifts from various relatives are handed out for his anklets, his blanket, his collar, his head-dress, and all other parts of his clothing. As each item of his ceremonial costume is validated, X dons the prepared article. A novice's head-dress consists of a round roll of dyed cedar-bark, covering a grass frame; in *Ilaxo* and the other villages of the upper valley this is decorated with a tuft of swan's down. The *tsalaxiat* of these villages also wear a distinctive decoration consisting of a swan's skin with the feathers attached. In recent years it has been customary to pile all the goods together and distribute them as *ala'ti*, which has the significance of "something that has vanished for the novice's dyed cedar-bark." Theoretically, the aim of the donor is to bestow his presents on all equally, but if he finds that he has some remaining, he gives these to the chiefs, or to the relatives of someone whom he expects will soon be a novice. None of the goods used in general distributions are returnable, but a chief who receives an extra gift at the end usually remembers from whom it was received and cancels his indebtedness at the earliest opportunity. There is no close connection between the disbursements and the worth of the

[Racket Society Initiation]

predictions does last not for one year, but for four. X is not subject to any other restrictions. If he wishes to go hunting he can remove his cedar-bark collar and long is for convenience in the forest near his village, endeavoring it on his return. The *katsina* show considerable interest in their new member, not only by warning him what he must not do, but by teaching him how to dance and to growl or make other of the necessary, but unusual, noises. During the remainder of the ceremonial season X is required to attend every *katsina* dance, thereby learning much of the ceremonial, and during the following summer his relatives, especially if food is plentiful, frequently invite the *katsina* to their house. The singers hear out well-known tunes, or practise those which will be required for the following winter; if a song has been composed for X he dances in time to it, in the style proper to his prerogative. Formerly, when there were many novices, dances of this type took place frequently and were useful in giving constant practice to singers and neophytes alike. As no calls from supernatural patrons can come at this time of year, it follows that all such dances are of a non-sacred nature, although the uninitiated are excluded. During his period as a novitiate, X has one privilege; he can take food from anyone at any type of ceremony. It is remembered that one novice was even bold enough to take food which had been placed as an offering for the dead.

When the next *katsina* season opens, X attends every performance. This is probably the most thrilling and nerve-racking period in his life. He does not know exactly when he will be allowed to give his dance, since that is a matter of arrangement between his relatives and the marshals, but he knows that the time will soon be at hand. When the great day, or rather night, actually comes, X is usually in a state of abject terror. The rite itself does not differ from those about to be described except that the first song relates the manner in which X found the repository. But the mental attitude of X differs greatly from that of an old performer. One informant,

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[illegible] *Kusiut* dances for the rest of the ceremonial season. During this period he remains secluded within his house, and the uninitiated willingly avoid him, believing him to be mentally deranged. He attends every dance dance, where his lowest gestures helps to frighten the uninitiated. If strangers from Kitasoo or *Tsi'ie* visit Bella Coola, he at once becomes frenzied, rushes to the beach and scratches them, precisely as a Cannibal would do; in this case he must be purified in the same manner. A Scratcher always saves goods to recompense scratched foreigners. If it is the first time that X has danced, he must remain secluded for the following summer, and give his ceremony the next winter. During the warm months he remains within the back-room of his house, and though some of the uninitiated know of his presence, still believing him mad they do not intrude upon his privacy. The coming of foreigners during this period excites him to frenzy and he scratches them, irrespective of the time of year.

It might be mentioned that some Scratcher names are indicative of the dancer's function, and others, such as "The Cause of Fear," have reference to his prowess. [551]

THE BREAKER DANCE

When a Bella Coola speaks of the fear which *kusiut* dances cause the uninitiated, he almost invariably cites in order the Cannibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances. *Kulusiut* with these three prerogatives have no more privileges than other members of the society, nor are they considered superior in rank, but similarity in their functions leads to an almost automatic association. If questioned further, a Bella Coola will usually say that he regards the Cannibal dance to be first, with the Scratch and Breaker equal, but less important. Breakers share with Cannibals and Scratchers the prerogatives of not blackening their faces; of having as theme for their songs the land

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[The Breaker Dance]

* 575 * 796 above; of sitting in one of the back corners and receiving the first food at ritual meals; of paying those on whom they [424] coercise their prerogative, and of liability to frenzy on arrival [539] of strangers. This last prerogative, if it may be so termed, [264] lasts for the ceremonial season, and in the case of a novice, for the following summer as well. Moreover, Breakers do not destroy the goods of fellow-Breakers, Scratchers, or Cannibals.

* 575 * 796 424 539 In view of the similarity of this rite to those already described, no effort was made to collect full details. Different Breakers have minor variations in ritual, similar to those already illustrated. The following is an account of the manner in which the Breaker, *Syek* of *Snaitli*, performed the rite a number of years ago. As on previous occasions, it will be convenient to use the present tense, and to refer to the dancer as X. *Syek* gave the following account of the origin of his prerogative.

Long, long ago, soon after the first people had come to this earth, a marriage was about to take place in the village of *Snaitlat*. At that distant period the people were so powerful that they could themselves initiate *kusiut* dances, and the bridegroom determined to do so in honour of the event. He chose to imitate the actions of *Sanaitpumalsi Alqantam*, one of *Alqantam*'s sons, whom he remembered having seen throwing stones in his father's house before he, the bridegroom, was sent down to this world.[a] When goods were piled up ready for distribution as marriage presents, the man began to hurl stones around; one of them ricochetted from a box, struck his bride and killed her. This unforeseen accident solved the question of his name, as by universal consent it was decided that he should be called, *Syek*, "He of the Faulty Aim."

Since that time a law has been enforced that no Breaker may throw a rock except ceremonially during his dance, and the marshals punish one who disobeys this injunction. If a Breaker is in the forest with a number [231] of *kukusiut*, it does not matter if he fails to uphold this tradition; the essential is that the uninitiated do not see him cast a stone, even at a yelping dog, the usual reason for doing so in Bella Coola.

* 575 * 796 When X wishes to dance he must first obtain the consent of the marshals in the usual manner. He also arranges with *kukusiut* to have boxes and other wooden objects placed within

[776]

[a] This being is also called *Nuslowamuslam*, "The Cherished One."

cause though an infant in arms, though uninitiated, can be brought to dances by its mother; distinctions between rich and poor, slave and freeman, become of slight importance; all that really matters is whether a person is or is not a *dancer*. Membership in the society seems to the uninitiated the most desirable thing in life, although their fears are always so strong that they never cease to dread actual admission. The feeling of class consciousness which exists in a somewhat mild form at other seasons of the year, gives place to a powerful sentiment of superiority on the part of members of the society over those who are not so fortunate. Even the respect normally shown to chiefs is submerged since they, too, are subject to the rule of the marshals. 575* 796* 182 571 [781]

Apart entirely from this attitude of superiority and inferiority, is the bond of fellowship engendered among members of the society by the rites. Whatever happens, the uninitiated *must* be deceived. Moreover, the psychological effect of gathering nightly in a body for a specific purpose is tremendous. Night after night they eat together; night after night they listen to the words of the marshals, who impress on them the need for co-operation and secrecy, who hold before them the good example set by their fellows who have carried out rites successfully, who emphasize the fact that they are doing as their fathers did. The ceremonial import is of greatest consequence at all these gatherings, but when the uninitiated have withdrawn the *kukusiut* relax somewhat and enjoy themselves. The food itself is always of the best and some of the usual restrictions are removed. It is, for example, the only time that women are allowed to eat the flesh of seals. If this delicacy is provided the marshals enjoy the tidbits, but after Cannibals, novices, and others have received preferential treatment, the remainder is distributed to all and sundry. [262] [562] [264]

It has been stated by some writers, especially those unfamiliar with the significance of native ceremonial life, that the dances of the coastal tribes are orgies of immorality. This point was investigated with care and it may be stated posi- 575* 796* 577 273 834

515 sionally, in a half-hearted manner, but it is not unusual for a man to allow the basin of water in which he makes his ablutions to remain standing for two or three weeks. Not many [177] years ago the Carriers taught their neighbours to make a kind [296] of soap from the ashes of burnt cottonwood sticks thrown into [388] water; with this clothes are washed irregularly and in most cases from sheer necessity only. In former times bathing was [785] a semi-sacred rite, but this fell into disuse with the passing of [177] the old religion, and the use of soap and water merely for the sake of cleanliness has not become a daily habit. The women [291] have more vanity; the younger girls especially like to have new clothes, though they wear them carelessly, heedless of fit. [196] An effort is often made to clean up for ceremonial dances, but it entails little more than the removal of the more obvious dirt and the putting on, over unchanged undergarments, of a sweater. Pride in personal appearance, love of tidiness, delight in a clean house, are all quite foreign to the Bella Coola.

356 Probably the reason for lack of comforts in the houses is simply that the people do not feel the need for them. They [264] consider it no hardship to sit on a rickety chair, scoop up food [231] from a common dish and, if they think of it, throw morsels [152] down to the dog or the cat. The smell, the flies, the dirt, the chaos do not concern them. Capable of undergoing privations, hardships, and even sufferings, they think neither of the comfort of themselves nor of others. Their domestic animals are 231 often treated abominably, not through lack of affection or cruelty, but from callousness. More than once the writer has seen a favourite dog steal a piece of food from the table. Its master, after a furious blow or kick at it, would suddenly, as if by inspiration, throw a choice bit to the animal, saying:

"Why, he must have been hungry!"

Though the Bella Coola feel a kinship with animals unknown to the white man, it is not combined with any recognition of their feelings as living creatures. There are, of course, many exceptions, but on the whole public opinion demands [577] generosity and kindness only towards human members of the group. The moral code is not concerned with animals.

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#192
[824] *ist'nik*: Tree, probably birch.
Kaiaskal': One of the first men to settle at *Qwiqui* in the beginning of time.
Kaiskha: One of the first men to settle at *Ewaldi* in the beginning of time.
Kalhem: Bella Bella woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Kalal: Kimsquit man.
[222] *Kalqum*: *Kactat* name of a Bella Coola man.
[262] *kalqum*: The gathering of fern root for food.
Kalqumetum: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Sisa* in the beginning of time.
Ka'lus-a: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[585] *kalumkhlumta*: Public ceremony, previous to marriage, of the bride's ancestral myths in order to cause children to be born.
[842] *kalqum*: Ritual on the day before a marriage, including the cration of myths by the bride's relatives, the chanting of ancestors, and the singing of songs of all kinds.
[576] *Kamai-a*: 1—Mysterious supernatural woman.
2—"Please," or "Thank You," a word implying benison.
Kamalong[w]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nalimo* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuqkalz* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of the first sky that fell in the beginning of time.
Kamalzlil: Lazy supernatural beings who accompanied *Nankynum*.
Kamalymus: Man mentioned in an origin myth of *Alqatlad*.
Kamalzlalu: *Kactat* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kamalzung[w]: House brought to earth by first settlers at *Nuqkalz* in the beginning of time.
[824] *kamil'*: Kelp.
[227] *kamula*: Cod hook.
kamut: Termination.
[824] *kanaw-i*: 1—Shell fungus.
2—*Kactat* dance in which a shell fungus is used.
Kanilhu: One of the first women to settle at *Sisa* in the beginning of time.
kas-tmat: Ceremonial crest.
Kamsia: Herald of a *Tal-is* chief in the beginning of time.
kasbu: Trap.
Kasuhlilum: 1—Daughter of the first settlers at *Salia* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of *Qiqmat*, one of the first settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[264] *kauilku*: Assemblage of the people for a meal of any kind.
Kauqulkum: One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
Kawalhqlzu-a: Supernatural berry-picker resident in the land of ghosts.
[825] *kejai*: 1—Hump-back salmon.
2—Convex transverse beam near front and rear of house.
3—Mountain on the Dean River.
Kepsis: *Kactat* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kiatsu: Man mentioned in an ancient story of Raven.
[752] *kiatat*: The seeking for shaman's power by a lad.
[825] *kiawis*: Golden eagle.
kiehu: Top, toy.
[524]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

#192 *nalaimis*: Synonym for *gano'o*, the large cone-shaped sound whistle.
[534] *Nalaq-ait*: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nalaq-kai: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nalqaxbawa-a, "Heaven River": River flowing from the north into the northern corner of the head of North Bentinck Arm. The Anglicized form is Nalaxbawa-creek.
[103] *na'nqaleis*: Items supernaturally born from another at sea level.
[823] *Nemaiu-a*: Lemay village.
Nemiliah, "The Mother of Dogs": Name given to a Bella Bella woman in an ancient story.
Nezalk: Bella Coola valley.
[101] *Nezalkmq*: Inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley.
Nqaw: *Kwakiut* name of a *Sisaq* man.
Nsaxm: Name of a female conqueror.
Nqaxbwlaxs, "The Light Giver": One of the names of the supreme god.
nqaw: Light.
Nsaxin: *Kwakiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Nsaxmalkin: *E'qas* name of a Kimsquit man.
Nqaxmlaxwqa, "Stick-Breaker": Name taken by daughter of the first settlers at *Sisaq* in the beginning of time.
[825] *nsaxxaxal*: Mountain goat with long hair on its chest.
nsaxxiwat, "The Silent Night": The hushed assemblage of *kwakiut* after departure of a Cannibal.
[227] *nsaxxaxim*: Cross-piece which holds open mouth of shaken net.
Nsawala: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
[585] *nsawmalaxkum*: Public promise by the parents of bride and bridegroom on the wedding night that names will be provided for expected children. This is
[425] combined with an exchange of origin myths. The term is also used for a similar promise of rights to hunting grounds, although the greeting of this is *nsaxmaxin*.
[828] *Nsaw*: Mountain near *Sisaq*.
nsyakkikamut: Person who wanders away from home in dependency.
Nsyal-skin: One of the first women to settle at *Tal'a* in the beginning of time.
Nu'yaa-taiw: Land of salmon.

o

o'alqaw: Kimsquit term for a hill, orchard.
O'ai: Kwakiut lad mentioned in an ancient story.
[824] *ohal*: Grass with edible roots growing on tide-flats.
[262] *Olqimsqy*: Valley pre-emptied by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Olqimsum: Herald who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
olq: 1—The *kwakiut* perspective of something.
2—*Bad*, adjective.
Olqim-i: *Kwakiut* name of a *Sisaq* man.
Oilkqaiw, "The Worthless One": Name assumed by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[825] *Omakkamut*, "The One that Changes Itself": Supernatural name of spring salmon.
[264] *omalal*: Assemblage of the people for food of any kind.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Cannibal Dance]

The most feared of all Cannibals are those who have the 575*
unusual prerogative of eating corpses. At present (1922), 796*
there is only one man with this right, whereas at least seven
can bite the living. His prerogative was recently obtained [424]
from the people of Rivers' Inlet, although the ritualistic de- [177]
vouring of corpses was well known to the Bella Coola in former
days. All informants agreed, however, that the actual eating
of a body was practically unknown.[11] Even when one was
provided and the Cannibal dragged it from house to house,
accompanied by an escort of *kukusiut*, though he sank his
teeth into the flesh and pulled forth morsels of the carcass, he
invariably disposed of them as soon as he was out of sight of
the uninitiated, as in the case of the dog. Of course, blood
and small pieces of flesh must have been swallowed inadver-
tently, but the rite was always essentially ritualistic, not real.
More often, the "corpse" consisted of a wooden frame-work,
shaped like a human body, and covered with the scraped skins
of deer or dogs. The interior was filled with the flesh of an
animal, and the whole buried in the graveyard until the meat
had become foul. The uninitiated, from a distance, watched
the exhuming of this object and concluded that it really was
a long-buried body. Fear prevented them from making a
close inspection, so that the defects of the imitation were not
apparent. The frames were kept hidden from year to year; [688]
an inquisitive non-member who chanced to stumble upon one
would have to be initiated or die.

On account of the long time that has elapsed since a com-
plete corpse-eating Cannibal dance was carried out, it was
found impossible to obtain a detailed account of the ritual.
This deficiency is unimportant since all informants agreed that
it closely resembled other Cannibal dances.

Like other Cannibals, one who has the prerogative of eating [424]
dead human flesh can perform as often as he desires, subject [787]
only to the approval of the marshals, who have no hesitation

[11] Apart from this ceremonial eating, no trace of cannibalism was found among the Bella Coola. [266]

575 her the secrets of the Kû'siût. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kû'siût. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kû'siût.'

Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kû'siût. When a man has
575 seen Anâlikûtsai'n sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a
776 Kû'siût. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Kû'siût lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kû'siût are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband,
424 as is the case with the Sisan'kn dances (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
[424] by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Kû'siût is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kû'siût name, which
[551] he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kû'siût names,
[428] which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pô'pô until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Tl'akô'ôtl. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[554] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisan'kn, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kû'siût have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] xlaqô'tla (the Hâ'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ô'lxq (the Nô'tlmatl of the Kwakiutl), and the Dâ'tla (the Nô'ntaistatl of the Hâ'iltsuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Kû'siût novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

When the xlaqô'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
575 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun,
785 and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs hold
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[266] killed, in order to serve as food for the xlaqô'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the xlaqô'tla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NEA Bellacoola NEA

575 796 them. Let the chief give them red cedar-bark." The people take small pieces of blankets, and sew red cedar-bark on to them in designs corresponding to the paintings on the faces of these deities, and they give these to the deities in order to appease them. Then they throw grease into the fire. During all this time E'xem stands in the rear of the house; and when a painting has been finished, the man who offers it to the deity shouts, "Xemsemult'ts.la t'sis'tsa'!" ("This is Xemsemult'ts.la.") And E'xem sings, "Yayh'lamts'tk'a wa k'wsisnal'x.at, t'nix' tal'ya; ala'sa.'a'nsmaxsma nsak'sainsnal'x nsalkalsmsa'ya." As soon as he has finished his song, a loud noise is heard on the roof, as though a heavy stone were falling down. E'xem arises and performs a dance, while the noise of whistles is heard proceeding from him.

575 I am not familiar with the details of the ceremonial, and shall proceed to record the principal characteristics of the various societies. The Cannibal is initiated in the House of Myths by Ba'xaus.la. I recorded above (p. 34) how a young man was initiated by this spirit, and how he was returned to his friends. The return of the Cannibal is accompanied by ceremonies similar to those recorded in this tradition. It seems that the ceremonies of the [184] Cannibals of various families are much alike, each having a tradition of its own referring to the initiation. It is believed that all the Cannibals, during their initiation, go up to the sky. I was told that on this journey they have to take human flesh along for food. It is said that in former times the chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for Ba'xaus.la. The offer was accepted, and a payment made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the [266] Ba'xaus.la order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods.

The spirit appears to the novice while he is in the woods, and takes him up to the House of Myths, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside of the houses. He has lost all his hair except a little in the median line of the head. It is believed that it has been torn off by the strong wind blowing in the higher regions. Some Cannibals do not devour human flesh, but tear dogs to pieces or devour raw salmon. The 575 796 ceremonial consists in pacifying the Cannibal, and exorcising the spirit that possesses him. This is the object of the ka'xist ceremonial. After a Cannibal has returned, the people try to capture him. When he is first heard to approach, the speaker, whose face is painted black, and who wears a cedar-bark ring, and is covered with eagle-down, shouts, "Tsa'ma'n'an tak'axta'l.a. tast.'al'on'al. P'ala'xtsalsstsnal' tsa'ma'n'an tsaiswalt'l.a. t'as.'aiotst'al'!" ("Arise, it may be our Cannibal. Awake!") The Cannibal is accompanied by four assistants, who are called Alilpa, and who from time to time utter

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the kû'sint. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the kû'sint." 575 773 776 535

Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the kû'sint. When a man has seen Anaklkuie'ai'x· sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a kû'sint. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each kû'sint lasts three days. 575 776 535

The various dances performed by members of the kû'sint are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisan'k· dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the kû'sint is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kû'sint name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pû'pû until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of L'akû'ot. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the sisan'k·, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kû'sint have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the xlaxû'la (the hâ'mata'a of the Kwakiutl), the ô'lex (the nû'lmat. of the Kwakiutl), and the dâ'lia (the nû'ntsistalat. of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kû'sint novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation. 535 575 [426] [551] [428] [556] [171] [554]

When the xlaxû'la is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the xlaxû'la. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the xlaxû'la order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears 575 785 787 [266]

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575 to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one
[785] morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all
[787] his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze
blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone
[55] whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his
own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the
[774] body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try
[756] for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the xlaxō'ła dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large
[292] head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark.
[301] Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the S'a'ıpata (fig. 300), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that
[532] of BaxbakualanuXsi'wae of the Kwakiutl. Some xlaxō'ła do not
[171] bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The xlaxō'ła has to observe a number of regulations.
[266]
[525] For four years after his initiation he must not
[834] gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

Fig. 300.
MASK OF THE S'A'IPATA.
Bella Coola.
Cat. No. 18600, U. S. N. M.
Collected by F. Boas.

The ō'lex (the laugher) and the dā'tla (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The ō'lex "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The dā'tla carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The ō'lex and the dā'tla, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

575 If a person transgresses the laws of the kō'sint, for instance, when
638 the xlaxō'ła gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in
[292] council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing
575 to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the sub-
688 stitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted
754 to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing dis-
756 ease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around

1: McIlwraith, E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

THE WASH-BASIN

A third supernatural element which must be in good condition if a Bella Coola is to prosper in life, is a *nuskelusta*, wash-basin. In the land above, *Ālquntām* has a large one filled with water which, having been constructed by himself, is replete with power. When a child is born, a small part of this receptacle, with its contents, is reserved for him; the supernatural artisans choose the actual section, but it is *Ālquntām* who gives them the ability to do so. A fortunate man, whose ventures are successful and to whom goods are attracted, is said to have a good wash-basin; whereas the ill-luck of an unfortunate person is attributed, among other reasons, to the small size of his supernatural vessel. The Bella Coola have no clear ideas about the connection between an individual and his wash-basin. Some state that it remains in the land above; others believe that its intangible essence comes to a child at birth and grows up with him, always near his body, as if it were the offspring of the basin in the land above. As long as it remains in motion the owner continues in good health and prosperity, but if it becomes sluggish he falls ill. Long ago, shamans knew how to reanimate a wash-basin, but since the time of the first people, when supernatural ability was common, this has been a lost art. Senile decay is attributed to listlessness of this possession.

River water, being a creation of *Ālquntām*, is akin to the water in his basin above. Boys are always advised to bathe in the river at dawn; the act is termed *āskelusam*, a word connected with *nuskelusta*. A prayer is uttered while washing. The combination of verbal appeal and the application of water strengthens the petitioner's wash-basin and so increases his chances for prosperity. Until a few years ago, this practice was almost universal. Water is always considered a strange substance, obviously a supernatural creation, and believed to be the chief means of sustenance for a child after being weaned.[86]

[86] This may be a mere rationalization.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

726 hair with white eagle-down. Warriors when on a war party must not
[714] drink more than four mouthfuls of water, else they would be killed. A
watchman was appointed in each canoe, who sat in the bow. On landing
[271] near the village of their enemies they divided themselves into a number
of parties, one house of the village being assigned to each. Then, early
in the morning, when all were asleep, they rushed up to the village utter-
ing their war cry 'sus!' They took a stand at the fire which burns
in the centre of the house, and if any one of the enemies succeeded in
taking up his arms and came out of his bedroom they killed him. Then
727 they entered the bedrooms, killed the men, and took the women and children
along as slaves. The heads of the dead were cut off, the houses burnt,
and they returned home singing war-songs. The heads which they had
taken along were then scalped, and the scalps tied to each end of a pole.
When they approached their village one man stood up in the bow of each
canoe and swung the pole to which the scalps were attached, and they all
sang songs, in which their deeds were recounted. The scalps were
valued the higher the longer and fuller the hair. They were used in the
Sisan'ku.

648 The following tales of war expeditions offer some points of interest.
726 About thirty or forty years ago there was a famine at Bella Coola. The
people went overland to Knight Inlet, which belongs to the Tenaqtaq, a
[731] tribe of the Kwakiutl, to fish there. The Tenaqtaq made fun of them,
took from them the fish they caught, tore the blankets from the backs of
the women, and seduced many of them. Finally the Bilqula returned
home. There they held a council and resolved to make war upon the
Tenaqtaq. The Tinneh joined them in this expedition. They crossed the
mountains in four days. When they approached Knight Inlet they sent
two spies in advance, who were to count the number of houses in the
village of the Tenaqtaq. Early in the morning they attacked the houses,
and killed a great many men. The Tenaqtaq could not escape, as they
were hemmed in by the river. The Bilqula slew them with knives,
lances, and stone axes. They took away the clothes of the women,
leaving them naked, and subjected them to shameful insults in revenge
for the disgrace put upon their wives and daughters. Then they burnt
the village.

About thirty-five years ago the Talio'mu were attacked by the
Kwakiutl. Originally they intended to attack Nuqa'lku, but the raven,
according to the narrator, changed their mind, as he always protects the
village of Nuqa'lku. They came in many canoes, while most of the
Talio'mu were at the lake, which is situated above that town, fishing.
Four men were in charge of the village, and a number of old men and
women had also remained at home. The father of Nusk'zlu'sta, who told
me of these events, happened to be out picking berries, accompanied by
his wife. He saw the canoes passing by and kept himself hidden. The
[712] village of Talio was at that time surrounded by a strong stockade, which
consisted of a double row of palisades crowned with thorns. At each
corner there was a strong box fastened on the stockade like a tower.
Here watchmen were stationed, who were able to shoot at the enemy
while being themselves protected. At that time the Talio'mu had only
four guns. The Kwakiutl sent out two spies, who reported that the
village was well fortified. The Talio'mu had seen the canoes coming and
were on their guard. The Kwakiutl thought that they would not be
able to enter the village until after the stockade had been destroyed.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

UMBELLIFERAE, PARSLEY FAMILY

Osmorrhiza sp., Sweet Cicely

Bella Coola: Ten to fifteen little pieces of root, as large as the end joint of the thumb, ground by rubbing on a stone; two cupfuls placed in water warmed to blood heat, and two cupfuls of the decoction (according to the strength of the patient) taken internally as an emetic. Decoction acted (sometimes as a purgative instead of an emetic) within five or ten minutes, but lost its power if heated too much. Warm water taken afterwards until the patient vomited four or five times and the stomach was entirely cleaned. Used also for pneumonia.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Heracleum lanatum Michx., Cow Parsnip

Bella Coola: Roots crushed, baked (or boiled in a box with hot stones), and applied as a poultice for boils. If too hot a poultice injured the skin.

Raw, uncrushed root inserted in an opened boil and left from half a day to a day. Pus said to come away with the root.

See also white fir (page 50), balsam fir (page 50), black cottonwood (page 54), and false bugbane (page 57).

Southern Carrier: Blossoms steeped in eulachon or other oil and the mixture rubbed on the body to keep off flies and mosquitoes.

Northern Carrier: Roots applied to swellings and bruises.

Sikani: Roots mashed and applied to swellings of neuralgia or rheumatism.

Gitksan: Roots mashed and applied to boils, rheumatic and other swellings.

Angelica genuflexa Nutt.

Bella Coola: Roots boiled and decoction taken internally as a purgative. Not an emetic. Sometimes used raw, but never roasted.

Gitksan: Roots well boiled with twigs of squashberry (*Viburnum pauciflorum* Raf.) from which the bark had not been removed, and decoction taken internally for headache and weak eyes.

Ligusticum scothicum L., Lovage

Bella Coola: Leaves spread over a hot stone or stones and used as a medicinal bed for the sick.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Cicuta Douglasii (DC.) C. and R., Water Hemlock, Poison Parsnip

Bella Coola: Roots used as a purgative.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

ARALIACEAE, GINSENG FAMILY

Aralia nudicaulis L., Sarsaparilla

Bella Coola: Roots boiled in a box with hot stones, and decoction taken internally as often as desired for pain in the stomach, or merely as a beverage. Nowadays sweetened with a little sugar. Stem, or its bark, not used.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE9
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

Ledum groenlandicum Oeder, LABRADOR TEA
Bella Coola: Leaves boiled, and the decoction used as a simple beverage, or for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting. Neither an emetic nor a purgative.
Southern Carrier: Not used formerly, now as a beverage only.
Gitksan: Leaves boiled, and the decoction used as a diuretic, or merely as a beverage.

Gaultheria shallon Pursh, SALAL
Bella Coola: Leaves toasted, pulverized by rubbing, and applied to cuts.
Southern Carrier: Not used.

LABIATAE, MINT FAMILY

Prunella vulgaris L., HEAL-ALL
Bella Coola: Roots, leaves, and blossoms washed, boiled, and a cupful of the weak decoction taken internally for the heart. Not used for diarrhoea or vomiting.
Southern Carrier: Not used.
Gitksan: Not used.

Mentha canadensis L., MINT
Bella Coola: Entire plant boiled, and the decoction taken internally, as often as desired, for pain in the stomach. Not used for vomiting, constipation, or diarrhoea.
Southern Carrier: Entire plant boiled, and a cupful of the decoction taken internally for the stomach, colds, lung affections, and various ailments.
Gitksan: Not used.

SCROPHULARIACEAE, FIGWORT FAMILY

Castilleja miniata Dougl., PAINT-BRUSH
Bella Coola: Not used.
Southern Carrier: Not used.
Gitksan: Entire plant boiled, and the decoction taken internally for bleeding, stiff lungs, sore eyes, and lame back, possibly caused by kidney trouble. A purgative and diuretic.
Seeds boiled and the decoction taken internally for coughs.

CAPRIFOLIACEAE, HONEYSUCKLE FAMILY

Lonicera involucrata Banks., BLACK TWIN-BERRY
Bella Coola: Leaves chewed and cud applied for itch.
Leaves chewed and applied to boils, after they were cut open, to draw out the poison.
Leaves crushed and applied to burns and sores of gonorrhoea.
Bark toasted, pulverized, and applied to sores of gonorrhoea.
Bark boiled and decoction taken internally for cough.
Southern Carrier: Bark boiled for five hours, and the decoction used daily as an eye-wash. Roots, leaves, and berries not used.
Northern Carrier: See scrub pine (page 49).
Gitksan: Fresh juice of berries used in sore eyes. Inner bark (when berries not available) soaked in water, and the milky solution used in the eyes.

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556 performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical
[182] concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch, are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly
[577] displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a
576 major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do other-
574 wise would be considered rude. The person summoned must take at least a trifle to show that he is not churlish and too proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shares
[177] whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of the family should be the first to taste any wine[11] as proof that
[273] it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better
[342] than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse through the construction of individual family houses with doors
[414] and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suitable place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his
476 catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon,
[226] the first solicitor is given one, later comers, none at all. When a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to raise it and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a
[685] despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy;
[626] hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats
[224] or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

556 Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are
431 advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

[11]This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of home-brew.

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of Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, three of her crests of which the masks were available. They agreed that Timothy Snow[50] was the best carpenter available and that he should be commissioned to put them in shape and arrange their use. Reuben wanted to sing a *sisaok* mourning song, to which he had a prerogative derived from his Bella Bella mother, and it was also decided that the band[51] should play. Reuben informed his father that he would contribute $60 towards the expenditure.

Meanwhile Jessie had been washed by female friends, clad in her best clothing, and laid in her coffin. This was a rough box, contributed by the manager of the cannery and shaped like a white man's coffin. At intervals, women came near and wailed dolorously without heeding others similarly engaged. The news was carried to all the Bella Coola, those men who owned gasoline launches taking the word to the logging-camps without being requested to do so. A Carrier Indian who happened to be returning from the cannery spread the word through the village, where each woman who received the message hurried off to some friend, with whom she began to wail.

Early on the following morning, Captain Schooner returned home with his wife, Jessie's stepmother. He had been crying and was sad, but seemed willing to talk. He spoke of the proposed memorial potlatch, and expressed the sentiments recorded on vol. I, p. 473. He was grave and dignified, absolutely determined to perform what he considered to be the necessary ritual, oblivious of consequences, and heedless of what he held to be an unjust law. During that summer, Captain Schooner had been a rather heavy drinker, but on this occasion he abstained from wine, and said that he hoped no one would show disrespect to his daughter by appearing in a drunken condition either at the funeral or the subsequent rites. It is

[50] He was not closely related to the Schooners.

[51] Most of the younger Bella Coola were members of the band, performing white man's music on white man's instruments. Andy Schooner was bandmaster, but it is unlikely that this influenced the decision, since the performance of the band was customary at funerals when the writer was in Bella Coola.

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In his younger days X was somewhat wild, taking his full share in the frivolities of the village, and having a fondness for wine which he brewed himself. On one occasion he prepared a barrel of the mixture, half of which he promptly consumed with the aid of a few friends, then, semi-intoxicated, he fell asleep. He dreamt that there came to him what must have been a male being, although all that was visible was the lower half of his body, which was gleaming white. The apparition seized X by the nape of the neck, lifted him from the floor, and carried him across the house to the barrel of wine, revolving sunwise on himself the while. 159 787 [273]

"You made this fearful stuff," said his supernatural visitor. "It will make your life dirty, as dirty as this."

Still turning sunwise on himself, with these words he carried X to the doorstep and held him suspended, face downwards over it. Everyone who enters must tread there, so that it is recognized as being the dirtiest part of the house, and X had no doubt about the meaning of the apparition's remark. This experience was so vivid and impressive that X asserted he immediately became a Christian and abandoned his evil ways. At the present time he is one of the few Bella Coola not addicted to home-brew. [797] [273]

A few years later the same being came a second time. X had been ill for a number of months with a sickness caused, so he believed, by a sorcerer. His friends had carried him to bathe in the Hot Springs and the treatment helped his condition considerably, but a little later he suffered a relapse, and was so wretched that he told his mother he would die presently. The same night he was visited by his apparition, but this time he could see the whole body; it was a man with large, powerful frame and a face so white that he could not bear to look at it. The figure was clad in undyed cedar-bark, and X immediately realized that he would recover, though he knew he would not be granted the same power as if the clothing had been of dyed cedar-bark such as is worn by supernatural shamans. The dream-man told X that he had come to him because of the clean condition he had attained by washing in the Hot Springs, followed by continence, and warned him that he must continue this for a year from the time of his immersion or he would die, but that if he obeyed this injunction he would recover. His visitor, who was, of course, a supernatural being, took X under one arm and carried him far to the south, where he washed him in a hot spring at the base of a steep mountain. Then he vanished; X arose and prepared to make his way home, but, lo, he was there already. Rationalizing later, X concluded that his body must have remained in his house, and that it was either his spirit or his life that had been carried away. [755]

As X lay asleep the next night, the same being came to him and

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[The Dance of Winwina]

*575 way as with the salmon, except that the jumping is omitted.
*796 The order of display is according to the time of ripening for
824 each, but there is so much difference of opinion about this that no rigid order is maintained. The first shown is always the cow-parsnip, but after that there is no definite sequence. The following "berries" were shown at a dance not many years ago: cow-parsnip; *Ribes laxiflorum*; wild gooseberry; tall bilberry; thin-leaved bilberry; blueberry; black huckleberry; red elderberry; dwarf bilberry; *Ribes bracteosum*; salalberry; Canadian buffalo berry; wild red raspberry; blackberry, *Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.; salmon-berry; black hawthorn; flowering juneberry; bunchberry; wild rose; red bearberry.

The informant was not certain that the above was the exact order in which the berries were shown on the occasion described. It is probable that it is approximately correct, however, since he added that the wild strawberry had also been shown, but as he could not remember its correct place he had omitted it. Other old men stated that the following food
[262] plants had been used at other *Winwina* dances: *ilk*, one of the
[177] *Fritillaria*, species undetermined; perennial clover; black raspberry; crabapple; cranberry; fern root; bracken root. Foods introduced by the white man were shown at a recent dance, including: potato, carrot, turnip, and a miniature can of pre-
[273] served peaches, such as are commonly used in the manufacture of native wine.

*575 Sometimes no one is able to guess the object represented,
*796 and when all have grown discouraged the exhibitor puts his ear against X's mouth. The uninitiated assume, of course, that the dancer's supernatural power makes it easy for him to tell the answer and that he is transmitting the information to the bearer who promptly gives it. If an uninitiated person should guess the correct response rapidly, it is taken for granted that she has found favour with the supernatural beings. When the last berry has been thrown on the fire, a *kusiut* stands up and starts a song describing the Hermaphrodite and his actions in the land above. The singer provides his own time by beating

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cases though an infant in arms, though uninitiated, can be brought to dances by its mother; distinctions between rich and poor, slave and freeman, become of slight importance; all that really matters is whether a person is or is not a *kusiut*. Membership in the society seems to the uninitiated the most desirable thing in life, although their fears are always so strong that they never cease to dread actual admission. The feeling of class consciousness which exists in a somewhat mild form at other seasons of the year, gives place to a powerful sentiment of superiority on the part of members of the society over those who are not so fortunate. Even the respect normally shown to chiefs is submerged since they, too, are subject to the rule of the marshals.

Apart entirely from this attitude of superiority and inferiority, is the bond of fellowship engendered among members of the society by the rites. Whatever happens, the uninitiated *must* be deceived. Moreover, the psychological effect of gathering nightly in a body for a specific purpose is tremendous. Night after night they eat together; night after night they listen to the words of the marshals, who impress on them the need for co-operation and secrecy, who hold before them the good example set by their fellows who have carried out rites successfully, who emphasize the fact that they are doing as their fathers did. The ceremonial import is of greatest consequence at all these gatherings, but when the uninitiated have withdrawn the *kukusiut* relax somewhat and enjoy themselves. The food itself is always of the best and some of the usual restrictions are removed. It is, for example, the only time that women are allowed to eat the flesh of seals. If this delicacy is provided the marshals enjoy the tidbits, but after Cannibals, novices, and others have received preferential treatment, the remainder is distributed to all and sundry.

It has been stated by some writers, especially those unfamiliar with the significance of native ceremonial life, that the dances of the coastal tribes are orgies of immorality. This point was investigated with care and it may be stated posi-

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*575 tively that such is not the case among the Bella Coola. At
*796 the present time both drunkenness and vice are rampant, but
577 neither of these practices is apparent on the nights when dances
273 are taking place. The writer was present at many *kusiut*
[834] dances, in each case attended by practically every resident, and during them he saw only two drunken men. With regard to these, the sentiment of the influential members of the society was one of regret that the marshals could no longer exercise their prerogatives and punish the offenders. As several Bella Coola expressed it:

"Our dances are sacred and ceremonial, a drunken man spoils them."

As a rule they do not regard drunkenness as a serious vice, if a vice at all, hence this attitude was illuminating. It is more
*575 difficult to speak with certainty about morality; no breaches
*796 of it could have occurred at the ceremonies witnessed, nor was
577 there any evidence that the excitement led to any licentious
834 actions. On the whole, the dances are desirable since they provide a source of tremendous interest and importance. Vice flourishes with lassitude and boredom; anything that stimulates the people reduces it, and when the Bella Coola are engaged in ceremonial rites, the sentiment of the seniors of the community is strongly opposed to anything that interferes with the solemnity of the occasion.

There is no reason to suppose that these factors were not present in former times, more potent than now when belief in the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* has passed away. The whole question of sexual morality at *kusiut* dances was investigated with considerable care.

One point emphasized by all Bella Coola was that no *kusiut* was allowed to have relations with an uninitiated person, whether his wife or not, during the period that his face was blackened and he was wearing a ceremonial collar. The reason for this prohibition seems to have been one not of morality, but of the necessity for preserving the dignity and secrecy of
[688] the *kusiut* society. An offender was punished by being struck

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gwa'mālwawaqal	*aiyawaiyo ayawā*	533*
he circled and returned	*Sang*[w].	

[WOMAN'S CANOE]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(e) Recorded as song VII D 39a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(f) A sign of victory, eagerly watched for when a war-party is returning. [727]
(g) A reference to *Wīsai*, one of *Sīnaqal*'s first ancestors in the beginning of time. He made a journey to the Skeena, returning from there with canoe and paddles decorated with sun designs. The exploits of his descendant are compared with those of his pattern, that is, his first forbear. Such references to family history are sources of pride to the chief being honoured. [773]
(*d*) That is: From whom I am descended.

Fragment of a Xe'da Song(a) Used by Qayauditma of Kimsquit(b)

A *Kaiyawawāna*	*di ithaitmqdai*	*hailhaiwaxit*
Presently he will be ashamed	that chief	if I get

aiyadilālādai
my copper.

(a) Both tune and theme are said to be of Kwakiutl origin. [177]
(b) Recorded as song VII D 34b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

Fragment of a Xe'da Song Used by Sīnaqal of Kimsquit(a)

A Sawailhqwalwadai	*yaa (B) dāqwtaiyalhwadai*	*Ollāqwalwilwadai*
They are smiling,	greetings to the out-stretched glass!	They drink

awadi gawaxālā
the food of white men(?).

[WOMAN'S CANOE]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 41b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Literally: *Hello!*
(c) This song was used at a potlatch where the fare provided was whisky. The tune is said to be very ancient although new words were composed for the occasion. [556] [279]

A'alt Songs

A'alt songs somewhat resemble *tsaask* ones and, like them, are difficult to collect completely. Parts of many are remem- [575] [796]

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but the Bella Coola do not consider this aspect and the children grow up in an atmosphere entirely lacking in restraint of speech. Some stories teach a moral lesson, but they are recounted merely for entertainment. At the present time, no one knows who invented the stories; they have been handed down from dim antiquity and alterations or embellishments are considered improper, while the composition of new tales appears to be unknown. 538 [867] [178]

Another pastime is smoking. Among some Indian tribes the practice has a definite religious significance, but this appears to be lacking among the Bella Coola. Most of the men enjoy either a pipe or cigarettes, and some of the women also indulge, but few carry the habit to excess. All the older people affirmed that their ancestors had smoked for generations. Tobacco was not grown, but kinnikinick, *milix*ʷ, was used, and also a plant known as *lsaix*ʿ. Another smoking mixture was bark of *lsxwatdp*, toasted before a fire until dried and brown, and then crumbled between the hands. These materials have given place entirely to imported tobacco, and the white man's pipe has replaced the native one. The latter consisted of a gooseberry cane from which the pith had been extracted; sometimes a small bowl of elderberry wood was added, but often the mixture to be smoked was simply placed within the end of the hollow stem. 276 [517] [249] [824] [177]

Adults, especially the men, are addicted to gambling. They are fond of placing stakes on a race or other trial of strength, and enjoy all kinds of games of chance. Some of the younger men have mastered a few of the simpler games of cards on which they spend a certain amount of time and money. The favourite gambling game, however, is one found in all parts of the coast, which is played with a pack of fifty-four smoothed crabapple sticks. The rules are complicated and no effort was made to learn more than the general principles. The pieces are divided among the eight or ten contestants and concealed; then one player guesses in whose hand a certain marked stick is hidden. If he is successful, the others pay him a forfeit; if 525

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pose should remain continent for several nights to increase his generative powers. He then selects a time for beginning the rite and on the second and fourth nights from that date sleeps with his wife, holding intercourse repeatedly and vigorously until he is utterly exhausted. Before dawn on the third and fifth days he must wash in the river or in some quiet stream. Then follow four nights of restraint, a further intercourse, and washing before dawn. The period is next increased to eight nights, then twelve, and finally sixteen, each with a similar contact and bathing. The nights of abstinence are thus forty in all, a lucky number. An unmarried man can obtain power in the same manner with the assistance of a female friend; it is the act itself that is vital, not the union of husband and wife.

At the present time, only two Bella Coola are said to know this particular type of ceremonial chastity, which they conceal carefully, even refusing offers to buy their knowledge. It is potent at any time, but especially if the periods of continence have been so arranged that they terminate at one of the solstices. Then, indeed, can a hunter set off with every prospect of success, knowing that the human taint disliked by animals has been removed, and been replaced by a ceremonial cleanliness pleasing to them. If the time terminates at the winter solstice, the hunter should set out immediately; if it ends in June, he must remain away from women after his final intercourse. In September or October, when ready to leave for the hunt, he must sleep beside his wife for the last four nights; each night he must place his leg between hers, and each morning the two must wash together. The best fortune of all is obtained by a man who observes this forty-night period for four successive years.

Another, and more common, count[34] is to observe continence for four nights, followed by intercourse. Immediately afterwards, the man should eat as much devil's club[35] as pos-

[34]The record of nights is kept by notches cut in a stick or by knots on a cord.

[35]Or false hellebore. This latter plant is thought to be so poisonous that the eating of even a twig an inch in length is fatal; a very small amount, however, all that is ever taken, acts as a powerful emetic.

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224 785 sible, selecting small twigs from which the bark and spines have been rubbed off. This acts as an emetic, so that before washing in the morning he has vomited from his stomach all [824] polluting matter, especially any human hair which animals [278] consider particularly unclean. Before dawn he goes to the [783] river and remains beneath the surface as long as possible, irrespective of the coldness of the water. Then he returns slowly to his house. Four nights later the same acts are repeated. These eight nights of continence are followed by two further periods, each of four nights, making a total of sixteen. Thus fortified, a hunter anticipates great success.

785 A person practising ceremonial chastity is in a condition peculiarly susceptible to disaster, and must observe certain restrictions. If, for example, anyone sees him as he returns from washing in the morning, the power which he has been accumulating so laboriously is lost. Owing to this belief, it is customary for a man to wash long before dawn and to come creeping into his house through a hole in the floor. He must always be the last to retire at night, the first to rise in the morning; and he must say nothing about what he is doing. Intercourse is, of course, absolutely forbidden except on the proper nights, and at other times he must not even put his arm around his wife. Failure to obey these restrictions destroys any advantage from [837] ceremonial chastity, while actual disaster follows should a man's wife misconduct herself with anyone else when he is using her for this purpose. If she is unfaithful, her husband is certain to be slain by an animal when hunting, or to slip and be killed on a mountain trail. Animals know all that human beings do [825] or think, and they punish anyone who is unable to perform ceremonial chastity fittingly. Behind these restrictions there 831 is undoubtedly the sentiment that intercourse, held duly and 785 properly at the right time, is not a mere desire of the flesh, but a ceremonial act. Indeed, when the Bella Coola speak of it in [833] connection with ceremonial chastity, they do not use the [195] common term, *e·m*, which has a coarse implication, but *xoldjut* which has a polite and almost sacred implication.

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777 owing to the failure of hunters to observe ceremonial chastity.
* 787 When obtained, a *sisiutl* was cut into small pieces, one of which
[789] worn upon the person would make the flesh so hard that an arrow could not penetrate.

[776] Sometimes the *sisiutl* assumes the form of either a spring or a cohoe salmon. Not long ago a Bella Bella man, travelling in a canoe, ate one of these. Once devoured, it reformed itself, made its way out by consuming the man's lower jaw, then jumped overboard and was lost.

The mere appearance of a *sisiutl* does not necessarily bring misfortune to the beholder, even if he has not the necessary knowledge, or courage, to take advantage of it. The following is an instance.

On one occasion the father's father of a middle-aged Bella Coola was going upstream at the time the salmon were jumping, when, unknown to him, one leaped into the canoe behind him. His first knowledge of anything untoward came to him when the bow rose out of the water, and, looking around, he saw that this was caused by the weight of a grease-covered stone lying in the bottom of his canoe; the salmon had vanished. The man threw overboard his floor-board with the stone on it. When he told his friends afterwards of his experience, they informed him that he had missed an opportunity for obtaining supernatural good fortune, as the "salmon" must have been a *sisiutl*.

789 The *sisiutl* can also be used as a charm. If a man, while in
[776] a pure condition through the observance of ceremonial chastity, eats a small portion of the flesh, it renders him proof against bullet or arrow. An intelligent Bella Coola stated that his father's brother had done so on one occasion, with the result that a bullet, fired by his wife's mother's father, fell harmless at his feet after striking him.

● 278 Medicine can also be obtained indirectly from a *sisiutl*.
776 When one of these fish-like creatures swims through a pond,
824 wriggling as it goes, it frequently sheds some of its scales.

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These become lilies (of the species known as *lälkänelp* or *walilikwätsälätsäläts*, "The most potent of the pond") from the roots of which a tonic can be brewed. They can be collected by anyone, and the places where they grow are well known, but certain rules must be followed. Before reaching the pond the gatherer must find four spruce saplings, cut from each a bough projecting eastward, and lay these two by two, beside the water, with a space between. After plucking the lily roots he must place them on the ground between the spruce branches and tie the whole into a bundle with strips of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. He must be careful to wind these wrappings clockwise. On arriving at the house where the tonic is to be prepared, the bundle must be thrown in through the smoke-vent, never carried through the door. After these precautions the medicine can be prepared with safety. The roots are cut into thin slices and boiled for four days; a sick person then drinks several cupsful of the brew, which is particularly good for the blood. This remedy is especially effective if the patient is observing ceremonial chastity. The person administering the potion sees to it that the one being treated conforms to certain regulations for forty days. He must not eat fresh meat, fresh salmon, or any food prepared by a widow or a catamenial woman; he must not approach too closely a girl who is secluded following puberty, and he must observe absolute continence, not even sleeping with his wife. Death follows the breaking of any of these taboos.

Although supernatural good fortune is most frequently obtained from either a *mätsqus* or a *sisiutl*, it can be derived from other supernatural beings. In such cases the acquisition is seldom dangerous. The following tale describes the *qokän·i*.

Long before the coming of the white man, but very long after the first people came to this earth, a certain Kimsquit man, *Wikwanutl*, who was also called *O'miätl*, was snaring mountain goats on Mount *Tcopinätl* when he heard on the upper slopes a peculiar cry which he recognized, from descriptions given him by the old people, as the note of a *qokän·i*.

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*756 (3) Choosing a place where two small hemlocks are growing on each side of a small stream, the seeker after power
783 bends down the four saplings so that their branches reach the
*787 water, and with these scours his body, the spines frequently rasping his skin. When finished, he releases the saplings, which fly back to their original position.

(4) Another method is to devour four small sections, each
[278] rather larger than a match, of false hellebore root. These are drunk with cold water and cause vomiting. The use of this plant is not limited to dawn, nor is it necessary to repeat it every fourth day. Apparently, the usual prayer is not said with it.

[785] Any, or all, of these methods, especially if combined with the observance of ceremonial chastity, may purify the performer so that he will be able to see what is not vouchsafed to most persons. *Ťlitcäplilän·a*, or one of the other supernatural beings, may grant him a revelation with shaman's power. This does not always happen, as the above means of purification are not omnipotent, but in many myths where the hero obtained supernatural power it was due to his having tried one of the above, or a similar ritual.

*756 The most common method of becoming a shaman is
*787 through the appearance of *Ťlitcäplilän·a* when a person is ill.
[776] This woman, who always wears a blanket-like cape decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark, is able to travel anywhere at phenomenal speed. She, or some other supernatural being, may appear to a sick person irrespective of sex, whether or not ceremonial chastity has been observed. It seems as if she took pity on the sufferer and came to bring relief. The following are typical examples:

A woman had long been crippled with rheumatism. She was so helpless and weak that she spent most of her time curled in a heap on the floor, heedless of the ashes and dirt with which she was covered. Her friends barely attended to her wants.
[776] One day she heard a thump on the roof, though no one else could hear it, nor could they hear the whistle with which

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E

ełxsa or *ełxsal·i:* Medicine; generic term for all remedies of a magical or medicinal nature. [278]
e·m: Coitus, term in common usage.
emis: Nephew or niece. [601]

ełimals: Ancestral name of a *Snuile·tl* man.
'enilałän·a: Daughter of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
enilałaikila: Moon, semi-anthropomorphized.

H

hai·shakila: 1—Bella Bella term, commonly used in Bella Coola, for *ssaok* official
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
haidal: Type of sea-going canoe used by the Haida; the word may be a corruption from English.
Hai·le·kela: Man who descended to the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
Hän·o: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
haohao: Mythical, supernatural bird. [825]
Hamcu: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwlst* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Q̣wiyai* in the beginning of time.
hali: Penis.
haip: Call used by members of the *kusiut* society to strengthen their fellow-members.

I

ikw': Pounded cedar-bark, undyed. [824]
ilaix: Zigzag course up or down a mountain slope.
Ilaiẓal: Twalälit's dog.
Ilimai·s: One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
ildustas·da sxim: Bandage of undyed cedar-bark placed around an infant's head to produce cranial deformation. [856]
ildutsam, Bandages: Term applied to presents distributed as validation for the bitings of a self-Cannibal. [431]
ilk: One of the *fritillariae*.
imältsndjutqwlsan: Abbreviated rite of *Noäkymm* dance.
imänta: Nest.
I'mäsilak: Ssaok name of a Kimsquit man.
Imimätlnaix, "The Moorer": Male supernatural child who fastens *Noäkymm*'s craft.
ipänap, "Hold Him Down": Cry used in Cannibal dances.
ipaxollai, "Accept": Said to spring salmon during the ritual connected with the first taking of these fish. [226]
ipäxsutsmm: Alleged singing of a *ssaok* initiate's song by the supernatural being, *Mälakila*.
ipo'lo·smm: Reduction of the value of an investment-present by immediate return of part of it. [426]
i·pis: Moss. [824]
ismänusämkdim: Polyandry.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

B C T 137 757 **Symphoricarpus racemosa** Michx., GARDEN SNOWBERRY

B [164] *Bella Coola:* Branches, large and small, with the bark left on, boiled, and the decoction taken internally daily as the best cure for gonorrhoea. A diuretic. Roots, blossoms, and berries not used for medicine, unless, as one informant stated, the berries were used with the branches.

See also tideland spruce (page 51).

Southern Carrier: Juice of ripe berries used in sore eyes.

Gitksan: Not used.

B C T S 137 757 **Sambucus racemosa** L., RED-FRUITED ELDER

Bella Coola: Bark of the roots placed in water, a few hot stones added until water reached blood heat, and decoction used as a powerful emetic and purgative for pain in the stomach.

Bark of the roots peeled with the teeth, chewed, preferably with a little cool water, and juice swallowed as an emetic and purgative. Said to act within half an hour.

Southern Carrier: Roots boiled, and two cupfuls of the warm decoction taken internally twice a day as a purgative.

Northern Carrier: Roots brewed, the first water discarded and the second taken internally as a purgative.

Sikani: Bark boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

Gitksan: Bark of roots scraped off, water added to the bark, and the infusion taken internally as an emetic and purgative.

B C T 137 757 **Viburnum pauciflorum** Raf., SQUASHBERRY

Bella Coola: Bark chewed, and the juice swallowed for whooping cough and cold on the lungs.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Northern Carrier: Inside bark crushed, steeped in cold water until the water turned green, and one cupful of the infusion taken internally as a purgative and for dysentery.

Gitksan: Bark and twigs boiled, and one cupful of the decoction taken internally in the morning for coughs and "consumption". Said to be always taken in conjunction with devil's club (page 62). *See also Angelica genuflexa* Nutt., page 61.

VALERIANACEAE, VALERIAN FAMILY

B T 137 278 **Valeriana septentrionalis** Rydb., VALERIAN

T C [302] [237] *Bella Coola:* Not used.

Southern Carrier: Roots, mixed with grease, used for perfume.

Northern Carrier: Valerian? blossoms crushed, and the oil, often mixed with fat from a black bear hide, applied as a hair tonic. Believed to make the hair smooth and shiny, to help its growth, and to give it a fragrance.

Gitksan: Entire plant steeped in bear grease and the grease applied to hair and face as a perfume.

C [302] **Valeriana sitchensis** Bong., VALERIAN

Southern Carrier: Leaves mixed with grease used as a perfume for the hair.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*575 number of puppets is always made. Certain *kukusiut*, known
*796 as *änuyax*, have in connection with their dance prerogative, the
532 ability to summon and display supernatural objects in the
[424] form of small puppets. These are sometimes patrons, more often
[787] not, and include not only beings having human form, but snakes, hummingbirds, and other creatures. By calling his being, an *änuyax* receives strength which can be transmitted to someone else—so the uninitiated believe—by passing it into
[775] the recipient's body. Non-members are told that X suffers death from which he is resurrected by his own powers, rein-
[787] forced by those passed into him by other members of the society through the transference of their puppets. The most potent "patron-puppet" is the giant toad. It is difficult for a
[781] white man to understand how intelligent people, as are many of the uninitiated, can be deluded into believing that the somewhat rudely carved wooden figures which they see moving before them are supernatural beings. Emphasis must again be laid on the awe, mystery, and power of the ceremonies in the eyes of those who do not understand them, and the very great skill shown by the carpenters in making use of hidden strings, trap-doors, and other devices to increase the dramatic effect. Puppets are guarded very carefully by their owners and are usually hidden in some cleft of the mountains. A well-constructed one is used when necessary for many years.

* 575 Other preparations must be made for the stomach-cutting.
* 796 As in all other *kusiut* dances, deception is practised and X is not really disembowelled. Instead, a wooden, or copper, frame is made to shield his stomach; over this is arranged the skin of a deer or a dog, cut to cover him from chest to thighs, with even the navel imitated. This camouflage is held in place by his breech-cloth and by a strap passing around his chest. He wears a blanket which conceals most of the fastenings so that the artifice is not noticeable in the dim light of the house. The chief difficulty is to find a dog with skin the same colour as X's.
[281] Many animals are killed, and the fur removed by immersion in boiling water, but sometimes half the dogs of a village must

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

be slaughtered before one is found with skin to match.[47] The 575*
marshals carefully supervise all these arrangements, but of 796*
course on this night the work alone is allotted. The entrails of [281]
several dogs are kept and worn by X between his false stomach
and the wooden frame.

After the allotment of tasks in connection with the mech- 575*
anical work required, the marshals ask four women to come 796*
forward. Those selected are usually old people with good 533
voices who, from long experience at the dances, have mastered
the two[48] songs used at each *kusiotem* dance. The theme of
these never varies and is believed to have been handed down
from the distant past. No prerogative is attached; the mar-
shals and singers merely choose four women whom they think 2
will be good performers. The songs resemble those sung at
mourning ceremonies; in fact, they are used with that signi-
ficance when X has been "killed" by disembowelling. The
singers, the women chosen, the marshals, and any other *kuku-*
siut who feel competent to do so, discuss in an animated man-
ner the exact wording and tunes of the songs. Then the musi-
cians beat out the time and the women sing one after another,
while the audience drones. In view of the solemnity of the
occasion, it often happens that senior singers from adjacent
villages are invited to be present to render assistance. The
necessity for practising X's songs, apportioning the carpentry,
and rehearsing the mourning songs has taken up more time
than is usual on a *nusiutälsap* night, and it is late before all is
completed. Then, after the usual meal and admonishments,
the people disperse.

Early the following morning the carpenters and those to 575*
whom work has been allotted gather early in X's house. A 796*
band, about two feet long, composed of alternate strands of 211
dyed and undyed cedar-bark is prepared and placed on the

[47]Informants offered no explanation as to why this wholesale slaughter of dogs failed to arouse curiosity and suspicion in the uninitiated. [781]

[48]Or four; there was difference of opinion among Bella Coola informants on this point.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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* 575 *kukusiut* send back X's call in the usual manner. Then, two
* 796 by two, the masks are cast on to the fire and the ceremonial is over.

THE DANCE OF THE TALLY POSTS

[773] As previously described, a tally post is erected in the land
[777] above for every Bella Coola at birth. As long as this memorial
[753] is upright and firm, the individual to whom it refers enjoys health and prosperity, but if it becomes crooked he falls ill.
[424] The uninitiated believe that several *kukusiut* have the prerogative of climbing to the land above during the ceremonial season and straightening leaning tally posts. This is such a
[178] useful ability that it must have exercised great influence on the uninitiated in early days, but the rite has not been properly
[164] carried out since the smallpox epidemic in the last century. The following account was obtained from two old men
[115] who remembered the manner in which a certain *Onikotl* of *Tcmotl* performed a year or two before "The Great Sickness." Neither of the informants was a *kusiut* at the time, but they were able to supplement their recollections of the dance with what they afterwards learnt when initiated, so the following account is probably accurate in outline though deficient in detail. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X, and describe the ceremony in the present tense. It was also performed at Kimsquit many years ago.

The rite resembles *kusiotem* dances in many respects. X must obtain the consent of the marshals during the preceding summer, and their permission is refused unless the prospective dancer is a man of proved discretion. If they agree, X asks a
[283] number of *kukusiut* women to help him by making a very long and strong rope of nettle fibre. At intervals the work-women gather for the purpose in the back-room of X's house, taking
[688] care that no uninitiated see what they are doing. Every effort is made to ensure that there is no flaw in the rope as a break would be a serious matter, punishable by death.

Near the winter solstice the marshals choose a suitable time

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APPENDIX A

MECHANICAL PROCESSES

NO attempt was made to study either the material culture of the Bella Coola, or their methods of manufacturing, but information on some points was obtained incidentally. All sociological and religious features connected therewith have already been described. 121

THE TAKING AND PREPARATION OF OLACHEN

227

The run of olachen, *sputx*, comes about the end of April, and as many as possible are caught. In preparation, nets, *ähe'x*ᵘ, are brought out from the boxes where they have been stored during the winter, examined, and repaired. If necessary, new ones must be manufactured out of nettle-(*lxwa-*) fibre laid away by the women for this purpose. By rolling the material on their legs, they produce a thin twine; five strands of this are then interwoven, making a finished cord capable of resisting great strain. The nets are constructed by the men. The type used at the present time, which is said not to differ from that formerly employed, consists of a purse-like sack, oval in cross-section, open at the wider end and tapering very gradually to the other, which is closed. The total length is about thirty feet, the diameter at the open end about eight feet, and at the closed end about three feet. A new net is dipped in a mixture of boiled hemlock-bark to darken it, and then boiled in a solution of willow-bark to prevent the knots from slipping. 226 221 283 462 286 386

The setting out of a net is not an easy task, so two or three men agree to work as partners. In the present degenerate days, property rights are not respected and each group selects a suitable spot. The best location is where the water is about three feet deep and runs rapidly, but without ripples, over a smooth piece of the bottom; such a place is called a *sklläx*. When the fish begin to run plentifully, the partners paddle out to set their net, taking with them four stakes, each about ten feet in length. The weight of a full net is tremendous, so the poles have to be driven down at least six feet, a difficult task on account of the stony bottom. Selecting the exact spot, one of four posts, *älkdjälos*, is set upright and held in position by being tied to a cross-piece, *nudjiqosta*, fastened to the canoe for the purpose. While his two partners hold the craft steady, the third man begins to pound down the stake; metal mauls are now commonly used, but in former times this work was always done with an unhafted stone maul, *lxwema*. The fishermen relieve one another intermittently until the top of the pole has been driven down to within 226 476 423 178 412

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 182 *

shaqahlw': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
Sxa tsxem: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
sxaq': That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
Sxisxma: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being. [513]
2—Sleep, intangible *hasiat* prerogative.
sxisxnem: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [585]
Sxqumthastwi, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]
sx-pal: Shadow.
sxtqumas: Hammer, *archaic*. [412]
sxkas: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law. [601]
sxlamalqs: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other.
sxlhas: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
sxlq: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
sxlta: 1—Caribou hide. [825]
2—Thong made of caribou hide.
sxsem: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
sxtakt: Caribou.
sxtmi: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
Sxtmstla: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
sxtmsta or *sxtmstnalc*: Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
sxtmstaltkstn: Body.
sxtmstnalcstm: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Sxtmsxwnkstnlw-a: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Sxtmsxwnkstnam: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
sxka: Mountain goat grease. [824]
sxkalqa: Castor.
Sxkhal, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Sxkla: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time. [825]
sxmas: Octopus.
Sxnaklas: One of Raven's female Crow relatives. [386]
sxqmarma: Red rock paint.
sxta: Singer's baton.
sxulk: Text. [823]
sxlle-pass: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones.
stalc: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
Stalas: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story. [262]
stalcum: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
stamsalk: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
Sly', "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
sulwalt: Black raspberry. [824]
talstn: Ocean.

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to prepare three songs for X, choosing as themes the usual *kusiotem* facts, with any additional details from the performer's myth which he may give them. The marshals instruct the maker of the successful mask to put hair on it and to attach a neck. 575* 796* 532 [539]

Four days later the same group again meets in the forest and X tries on the mask. When in position it rests on top of his own head with a stick passing down behind his occiput to his waist, where it is fastened by a belt; the general effect is that he has a superimposed head. Minor adjustments are suggested and made and X takes the mask, while the unsuccessful attempts are burnt. The marshals solemnly warn the participants of the seriousness of the rite in which they are about to engage. X conceals the mask with great care in some cleft of the mountains.

At intervals the singers meet and listen to the tunes each has composed, until they decide on the three most suitable, which they practise. [533]

Nothing more takes place until after the winter solstice, when X and the marshals select the exact date for the rite. After a *qotlum*, the marshals, singers, carpenters, and other *kusiut* functionaries remain in the house to rehearse the coming ceremony. The head is placed in position, supported by a framework of reeds which can be separated by strong pressure. When X raises his blanket over his own head, the mask portrait alone is visible, and only the wearer's extra height might cause suspicion. Around his "neck," in reality the junction between X's own head and the false one, is tied a rope, so arranged that when pulled from each end, it slips, contracts on the reed framework, and ultimately tears through it to separate the head from the body.[11] Raw meat and blood have been placed inside the "neck" so that, when the mask is pulled off, it appears as if X's flesh were exposed and he falls to the

[11] An old man showed the writer the method of fastening, but I was unable to learn it. The rope, instead of being knotted, is wound within itself so that, when the framework is broken, it comes away untangled. [284]

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824 their houses. Dishes, benches, cooking-boxes, cradles, totem-
[322] poles, canoes, all were carved from this wood. The bark was
[285] woven into baskets, and when dyed formed the most common
[531] ceremonial decoration.

Even within the forty miles of the river valley formerly
132 occupied by the Bella Coola there are considerable variations in climate. At the mouth of the river the typical Pacific coast type is found, without great extremes of temperature and with much rain, especially in winter time. During winter, the moisture is precipitated as snow a few hundred feet above the valley, and the limit of the snow can be watched on the mountain slopes, rising or falling a few feet from day to day. Farther up the valley, the winters are colder and in many cases snow lies for weeks on the ground, and in the upper part of the Bella Coola area the winters are severe, although much more moderate than on the upper regions immediately to the east.

What has been the history of the inhabitants of this land?
173 They believe that long, long ago, *Alqantăm*, the supreme
[176] god, caused their first ancestors to be created in his house, *Nazmăt-a*, in the land above, and sent them down to populate the Bella Coola valley. These first people came in groups of two or three, brothers and sisters, or occasionally man and wife, each group descending, in many cases in animal form, to a certain mountain and then making their home at its foot. They brought with them animals and fish, tools and houses, also the knowledge of ceremonial dances. In fact, they differed from the Bella Coola of the recent past only in having greater supernatural power. These first people increased with extraordinary rapidity, until each group grew into a village, bound together by a knowledge of their first ancestor. In
173 course of time the occupants of certain villages combined, as
361 some increased more rapidly than others, but on the whole each settlement maintained its character of being the descendants of one group of the first settlers of this world.

This mythological belief is a fair picture of Bella Coola life
[175] as it was when the first white man visited the valley. Mac-

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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who has had a call during the season. Nothing further need be said concerning the ritual of *qoṭlm* which follows the pattern already described. 575* 796*

During the following day a screen of yellow cedar mats is raised in one of the corners behind the fire; it must be large enough to conceal those who are to wear the numerous masks and give them space to fit them on in comfort. The *kukusiut* begin to gather late in the afternoon and the usual long discussion takes place as the carpenters decide who shall wear which mask, while the marshals move to and fro. There is no stage-manager to settle disputes, but ultimately order evolves from chaos, and when dusk has fallen the heralds are dispatched to invite any *kukusiut* who have not appeared. When all is in readiness, a shout is raised for the eager uninitiated, who come crowding in to sit near the door. *Ano'likwelsaix* moves to and fro, in and out of the enclosure, talking all the time, and telling the uninitiated that presently they will see very powerful supernatural beings. The following account is of the masked figures used when *Qaxelān i* last performed the dance; it must again be emphasized that their actual choice depends on the wishes of the dancer and his family, and that the order in which they appear is immaterial. His performance was probably the typical *nakusam* of a Mystery dancer. [285] 575* 796* 532 776

The first to appear are *Swuslaxwai* and the three hiding-places of X's power. Since they are always uncommon, it follows that no fixed designs are possible, and the carpenters rely upon their own inventive abilities to paint and carve human-like beings. *Ano'likwelsaix* gives eloquent explanations as the three stalk around the fire and disappear from sight. It would have been equally proper if they had appeared singly.

Next comes *Sānellqmulels Alquntām*, wearing a small mask, barely covering his face; above it, in his hair, is dyed cedar-bark puffed out to resemble a wig. He carries a stick with a band of the same material around the middle, and a tuft at either end concealing a nail with sharp, projecting point. Around the fire he dances frantically, leaping into the

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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lwa, a tool consisting of a slightly bent stick with sharpened point, into the cut, and runs it upwards to make a vertical incision as high as she can reach. Going around to the other side of the tree, the woman makes another cutting of the same kind. Finally, she inserts her fingers at the bottom and pulls gently outwards, so that the bark is drawn off in a long streamer which tapers to a point at the top. The other half section of the tree is similarly stripped; this treatment frequently kills saplings which can then be used for fire-wood. Although small trees are preferred, a woman sometimes collects her bark from a large one by means of many vertical incisions. 314 [412]

The bark is taken home without further preparation. The woman carefully peels off and throws away the rough outer bark, leaving the smooth inner covering, *lwqal*, which alone is valuable. If the weather is fine, this is dried in the sun for two or three days; otherwise, it is placed over a fire within the house. When all moisture has been removed, it is rolled up and kept for future use. The bark can be used for making baskets with no further treatment except splitting into bands of the proper width. [285]

When pounded bark, such as is widely used for ceremonial purposes, is required, the woman prepares the necessary tools. Two small sticks, each about six inches in length and one-half inch in diameter, are used as tweezers, *kipla*, though the bark can, if necessary, be held in the hand. Two beating sticks are required, each about two feet in length, six inches wide, and half an inch thick; one edge of each is rounded off, though not sharpened to a cutting surface. When all is ready, the woman crouches on the floor, with the lower beater, *lqanq*, held stationary before her on a box or other raised rest, and lays an end of the bark over the rounded edge. Taking the other, the upper beater, *spikta*, in her right hand, she strikes downwards so that its edge slides down the side of the stationary stick, bruising the fragment of bark. With her left hand she pushes the piece slightly further over the edge, and again the upper beater falls. This is repeated time after time until the whole length is pulverized and softened. It is tiring work, but a woman accomplishes more in an hour than seems possible as her muscles become accustomed to the shearing motion. The bark becomes broken and frayed but its tensile strength is sufficient to prevent it from falling apart. Then the woman brushes it with shavings to remove loose fragments and the work is done. This type of pounded cedar-bark is called *ikw'*. 287

Ikw' is usually dyed red before being used for ceremonial purposes and is then termed *mak'*. In winter the dye is made from alder-bark with pieces of the wood attached, but in summer only scrapings from the inner bark are used. Water is placed in a vessel, urine added, pieces of alder 287 386 [824]

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287 thrown in, and hot stones lifted in to heat the mixture. Even at the present time dye is never made on a stove, as it is thought that the 386 gradual heating by means of stones is essential. As it becomes warm, the woman thoroughly stirs the ingredients with her hands, then, when it boils, some of the bark is lifted out and more added. This process is continued until the brew is deep red in colour. It is allowed to stand for a few minutes before the pounded cedar-bark is placed in it. The operator gently works it around until it is saturated, then lifts it out and hangs it up to dry. Several pieces of bark can be dyed in one solution, though it is necessary to add more alder-bark and more stones to maintain the proper strength and heat.

[285] Although red cedar-bark is the kind most commonly used, the Bella [177] Coola sometimes use the yellow cedar for mats and blankets, an art learnt from the Bella Bella.

THE MANUFACTURE OF PAINT

386 Paint, such as was used both for decorating the body and for por-[302] traying designs on wood, was obtained from a kind of rock found near the head of a creek entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Sunxl*. [532] Fragments of the red stone were broken off, thrown into a vessel con-[317] taining water, and brought to a boil by the insertion of hot stones. Under the action of heat the rock became soft so that the manufacturer was able to pulverize it and run off the semi-liquid mixture into a small box. He would then chew cedar-bark and salmon roe, and spit into the paint, thoroughly mixing his saliva with it. When dry, the mixture was ready for use, and could be kept indefinitely.

[532] Anyone could paint who had the artistic skill, and it was chiefly artists [177] who used to make this kind of paint. Since the introduction of the white man's brilliant colours, there has been no demand for the duller native shade, and the making of paint has been discontinued.

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sk̓xqalikw': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
Stcā·tsxom: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
ṣtcaq": That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
Stcitoma: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being. [513]
2—Sleep, intangible *kusiut* prerogative.
stciusnăm: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [585]
Ṣtcqwastlustkwi, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]
ste·ptl: Shadow.
stetqumas: Hammer, *archaic.* [412]
stekoo: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law.
shätmälxs: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other. [601]
stilwa: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
stiṗ: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
shikx: 1—Caribou hide.
2—Thong made of caribou hide. [825]
shxom: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
siläxkt: Caribou.
sihms: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
Sihmsila: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
sihmstä or *sihmstänälos:* Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
sihmstaliksta: Body.
sihmstänälosäm: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Stlxwaxwaknimän·a: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Stlxwaxwakanam: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
siska: Mountain goat grease. [824]
siskalaya: Castor.
Siskiut, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Slskla: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
sismäs: Octopus. [825]
Slsoakhlxs: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
sisqmasma: Red rock paint. [386]
sisla: Singer's baton.
ṣlsalk: Text.
slila·qaxs: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones. [823]
stuin: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
Stuix: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story. [262]
stutnm: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
stutuseiks: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
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sukwlil: Black raspberry. [824]
sulstu: Ocean.

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133 tains. From each pocket between these mountains an ice-
cold affluent comes swirling down to the main river. The
137 predominant tree in the river valleys is the cedar[4] which in
many cases attains great girth and height. Cottonwoods
flourish in places, and everywhere there is an almost impene-
trable undergrowth of devil's club, berry bushes, and other
shrubbery of almost tropical density. On the lower slopes of
the mountains, moss-festooned pines and spruces are the most
common trees, gradually becoming smaller and fewer until the
133 barren peaks are reached. The mountains rise so precipitously
that their snowcaps and glaciers seem to overhang the valley,
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Plate 6).

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paratively common, have never been of primary importance.
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[262] cloaks. Deer were killed whenever possible, but formed a
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[439] flesh. The skins of moose and caribou were traded from the
Carrier Indians, but neither of these animals was found in the
[286] Bella Coola area. The mammal of greatest economic impor-
[237] tance was the mountain goat, the wool of which was woven into
blankets. Smoked goat meat was formerly found in every
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2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

APPENDIX A

MECHANICAL PROCESSES

NO attempt was made to study either the material culture of the Bella Coola, or their methods of manufacturing, but information on some points was obtained incidentally. All sociological and religious features connected therewith have already been described. 121

THE TAKING AND PREPARATION OF OLACHEN

227

The run of olachen, *sputx*, comes about the end of April, and as many as possible are caught. In preparation, nets, *älte'x*ʷ, are brought out from the boxes where they have been stored during the winter, examined, and repaired. If necessary, new ones must be manufactured out of nettle-(*lsna-*) fibre laid away by the women for this purpose. By rolling the material on their legs, they produce a thin twine; five strands of this are then interwoven, making a finished cord capable of resisting great strain. The nets are constructed by the men. The type used at the present time, which is said not to differ from that formerly employed, consists of a purse-like sack, oval in cross-section, open at the wider end and tapering very gradually to the other, which is closed. The total length is about thirty feet, the diameter at the open end about eight feet, and at the closed end about three feet. A new net is dipped in a mixture of boiled hemlock-bark to darken it, and then boiled in a solution of willow-bark to prevent the knots from slipping. [226] [221] [283] [462] [286] [986]

The setting out of a net is not an easy task, so two or three men agree to work as partners. In the present degenerate days, property rights are not respected and each group selects a suitable spot. The best location is where the water is about three feet deep and runs rapidly, but without ripples, over a smooth piece of the bottom; such a place is called a *sklläx*. When the fish begin to run plentifully, the partners paddle out to set their net, taking with them four stakes, each about ten feet in length. The weight of a full net is tremendous, so the poles have to be driven down at least six feet, a difficult task on account of the stony bottom. Selecting the exact spot, one of four posts, *älkdjälos*, is set upright and held in position by being tied to a cross-piece, *nudjiqosta*, fastened to the canoe for the purpose. While his two partners hold the craft steady, the third man begins to pound down the stake; metal mauls are now commonly used, but in former times this work was always done with an unhafted stone maul, *lixwoma*. The fishermen relieve one another intermittently until the top of the pole has been driven down to within 226 [476] [423] [178] [412]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

luta, a tool consisting of a slightly bent stick with sharpened point, into the cut, and runs it upwards to make a vertical incision as high as she can reach. Going around to the other side of the tree, the woman makes another cutting of the same kind. Finally, she inserts her fingers at the bottom and pulls gently outwards, so that the bark is drawn off in a long streamer which tapers to a point at the top. The other half section of the tree is similarly stripped; this treatment frequently kills saplings which can then be used for fire-wood. Although small trees are preferred, a woman sometimes collects her bark from a large one by means of many vertical incisions. 314 [412]

The bark is taken home without further preparation. The woman carefully peels off and throws away the rough outer bark, leaving the smooth inner covering, *łuqai*, which alone is valuable. If the weather is fine, this is dried in the sun for two or three days; otherwise, it is placed over a fire within the house. When all moisture has been removed, it is rolled up and kept for future use. The bark can be used for making baskets with no further treatment except splitting into bands of the proper width. [285]

When pounded bark, such as is widely used for ceremonial purposes, is required, the woman prepares the necessary tools. Two small sticks, each about six inches in length and one-half inch in diameter, are used as tweezers, *kiṗla*, though the bark can, if necessary, be held in the hand. Two beating sticks are required, each about two feet in length, six inches wide, and half an inch thick; one edge of each is rounded off, though not sharpened to a cutting surface. When all is ready, the woman crouches on the floor, with the lower beater, *łqanḑ*, held stationary before her on a box or other raised rest, and lays an end of the bark over the rounded edge. Taking the other, the upper beater, *ṡpikta*, in her right hand, she strikes downwards so that its edge slides down the side of the stationary stick, bruising the fragment of bark. With her left hand she pushes the piece slightly further over the edge, and again the upper beater falls. This is repeated time after time until the whole length is pulverized and softened. It is tiring work, but a woman accomplishes more in an hour than seems possible as her muscles become accustomed to the shearing motion. The bark becomes broken and frayed but its tensile strength is sufficient to prevent it from falling apart. Then the woman brushes it with shavings to remove loose fragments and the work is done. This type of pounded cedar-bark is called *ikw'*. 287

Ikw' is usually dyed red before being used for ceremonial purposes and is then termed *mok'*. In winter the dye is made from alder-bark with pieces of the wood attached, but in summer only scrapings from the inner bark are used. Water is placed in a vessel, urine added, pieces of alder 287 386 [824]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

287 thrown in, and hot stones lifted in to heat the mixture. Even at the present time dye is never made on a stove, as it is thought that the 386 gradual heating by means of stones is essential. As it becomes warm, the woman thoroughly stirs the ingredients with her hands, then, when it boils, some of the bark is lifted out and more added. This process is continued until the brew is deep red in colour. It is allowed to stand for a few minutes before the pounded cedar-bark is placed in it. The operator gently works it around until it is saturated, then lifts it out and hangs it up to dry. Several pieces of bark can be dyed in one solution, though it is necessary to add more alder-bark and more stones to maintain the proper strength and heat.

[285 177] Although red cedar-bark is the kind most commonly used, the Bella Coola sometimes use the yellow cedar for mats and blankets, an art learnt from the Bella Bella.

THE MANUFACTURE OF PAINT

386 Paint, such as was used both for decorating the body and for por-[302 532 317] traying designs on wood, was obtained from a kind of rock found near the head of a creek entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Sunxl*. Fragments of the red stone were broken off, thrown into a vessel containing water, and brought to a boil by the insertion of hot stones. Under the action of heat the rock became soft so that the manufacturer was able to pulverize it and run off the semi-liquid mixture into a small box. He would then chew cedar-bark and salmon roe, and spit into the paint, thoroughly mixing his saliva with it. When dry, the mixture was ready for use, and could be kept indefinitely.

[532 177] Anyone could paint who had the artistic skill, and it was chiefly artists who used to make this kind of paint. Since the introduction of the white man's brilliant colours, there has been no demand for the duller native shade, and the making of paint has been discontinued.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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133 tains. From each pocket between these mountains an ice-
cold affluent comes swirling down to the main river. The
137 predominant tree in the river valleys is the cedar[4] which in
many cases attains great girth and height. Cottonwoods
flourish in places, and everywhere there is an almost impene-
trable undergrowth of devil's club, berry bushes, and other
shrubbery of almost tropical density. On the lower slopes of
the mountains, moss-festooned pines and spruces are the most
common trees, gradually becoming smaller and fewer until the
133 barren peaks are reached. The mountains rise so precipitously
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1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 2

115
142
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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Joshua Moody

[p 26 (B)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 3

115
142
302
291

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Captain Schooner

[y 26 (c)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 4

115
142
291
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Jim Pollard

[#26 (0)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

782 party. Canoes always start soon after dawn, and each mem-
224 ber of the expedition is careful to pray before leaving, and also
726 to avoid eating in case food should in any way interfere
[785] with the success of the venture. Before reaching their destin-
ation, a chief in each canoe draws from a pouch some eagle down brought for the purpose, holds it before his mouth, and blows a little towards each of the four cardinal points, at the same time asking *Minakais* to smile on the enterprise and grant a safe return. This does not guarantee success, but it is felt that any disaster which may occur would have been more serious if assistance had not been thus requested.

782 Although *Älquntäm*, under the name of *Minakais*, is the
776 one to whom prayers are most often addressed, petitions are sometimes made to other beings. In the beginning of time, when Raven had superabundant power, mortals frequently sought his assistance. At the present time, he is sometimes asked for aid, in the belief that he may still have some shreds of his former power, or be in a better position than men to intercede with *Minakais*. If ravens croak when it is raining,
782 people may ask them to request the supreme being to stop the
776 rain; in such cases, a petitioner is careful to address a raven
825 as *Nowakila*, his title as chief, rather than as *Qmax*. In cold
821 winter weather, a raven is sometimes caught alive, its head smeared with grease, and as it is released, the captor says:

"Please end the cold wind, *Nowakila*."

782 Prayers are also said half humorously, half seriously, on
many occasions. When, for example, clothing has become too
[291] ragged for further use, it is thrown on a fire with the remark:

"Please come to me again, new."

The thrower does not actually believe that in so doing he is asking help from his clothing, but it gives him a certain sense of satisfaction thus to have expressed his desires.

782 The prayers above described can be said by anyone, at any
424 time; they are means of propitiation known to the whole
821 community. In addition, information was obtained about two prayers, each of which is the jealously guarded prerogative

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 11

142
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Photograph by the author

A Bella Coola couple with their dogs; the one on the left is a chief.

[-p 186 (e)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

He is especially rich in caribou-skins, used for foot covering, and goat-skins, so treasured for their wool.[7] He and his wife have laid up abundant food, and, most important of all, his wife's family is wealthy. Rumours have spread that X will soon give a potlatch and perhaps one or more foreign chiefs has given him a large cone-shaped whistle, such as is used in *ɹsaok* ritual (see Plate 12). These whistles, called *qomo·ts*, are often referred to as the "breath" or "voice" of a chief; they are also called *sloptsta*, the "heart" or "wind" of a chief; a third designation is *nulwinuts*. X carefully conceals a whistle in one of his boxes. Such a present expresses the kindly feeling existing between those akin to one another in that they have risen to a position of eminence above the common crowd. Its receipt spurs a man to greater efforts to amass the wealth necessary for giving a potlatch by keeping before his eyes the realization of what another has done. A rival chief never gives such a present. X returns each whistle secretly at the time of his potlatch.

Early in the autumn X decides that he has almost enough wealth. To complete the essential amount he will not hesitate to borrow from his friends. It is most unusual to be refused, for it is incumbent on X, unless he wishes to lose the esteem of the community, to repay his borrowings with heavy interest, and when X distributes his goods at his potlatch it will be announced how he has obtained them, and the lender is proclaimed as a person of sufficient wealth to be able to spare some of it. Goods so loaned are termed "belt goods," a reference to the manner in which a man fastens up his cape with a belt before setting to work. The assumption is that X will have to labour to repay his indebtedness. Failure to repay is a serious matter, and the lender would be justified in seizing a canoe or other valuable article as surety for his debt; in fact, feuds are commonly caused by unpaid debts. Men of business

[7] Formerly, when goat-skin blankets were highly valued, goats were never shot for fear of the blood staining the wool. Instead, they were cornered by dogs, and choked to death in nooses. For presentation, each skin was laid out on the floor and then cut into longitudinal strips, two, three, or four fingers wide.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

857 better than hunting birds and small animals with miniature bows and arrows, or snaring them in nooses of grass or string. Little girls make playhouses in which they cook wonderful meals of berries, with perhaps the addition of a wooden fish. On the whole, however, the children do not enter into play as boisterously as white boys and girls, nor do they seem to derive as much pleasure from it. In former times, when clothing was [152] scanty, small lads used to delight in picking nettles and beating [291] one another with the stinging branches; this must have caused considerable pain, but it was a point of honour not to cry out, and anyone, perhaps caught unaware, who showed discomfort, [526] was laughed at as a coward. Both boys and girls are fond of swinging, and even adult women sometimes find time to enjoy themselves by swaying to and fro at the end of a rope.

Young Bella Coola do not have as many toys as white children, and none of them is complex. Some girls have crude [575] wooden dolls, though elaborate figurines are reserved for use [231] in *kusiut* dances. Perhaps the most cherished plaything is a small puppy or, in recent years, a kitten, though the unfortunate animal is handled and mauled without consideration. A good carpenter may make for his son a wooden top or a bull-roarer, to the envy of his less fortunate friends. Both types of toys are said to be used in [575] *Nusmăt-a* and at some *kusiut* dances the masked figures carry them to play with.

526 There is one game, *sleti*, which the salmon are [825] said to delight to watch, and which is accordingly played by boys as soon as the first spring salmon have been disposed of with fitting rites. Each makes for himself, or is given by his father, a wooden spear with a projecting barb, fastened as shown in the accompanying sketch (see Fig. 1). A loop of branches is made and thrown into a pool of stagnant, or slow-moving water, on each side of which stands a rival group of competitors. At a signal, all throw their spears simultaneously, with the intention of passing them through the ring, so that the barb of each will

Fig. 1. "Tey spear."

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

PLATE 13

142
291
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Photograph by the author

Mrs. Joshua Moody (left) and
Mrs. Willie Mack, two Bella
Coola women

[p 516 (A)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

PLATE 14

142
291
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Mrs. Jim Pollard, a Kitamaat woman

[p516 (8)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 15

142
291
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Mrs. Jim Pollard, profile

[p 516(c)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

142
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302
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PLATE 16

Photograph by the author

Reuben Schooner, a Bella Coola man, and his children

[p 516 (D)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 17

142
291
302
342

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Lame Charlie, a Bella Coola man

[p 516 (E)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 18

142
291
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Captain Myers, an aged Bella Coola man

[p 516 (F)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 19

142
291
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Skookum Mary, a Kimsquit woman

[p 516 (G)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 20

142
291
302

Photograph by the author

Alec Davis, a full-blooded
Bella Coola

[p 516 (H)]

515 sionally, in a half-hearted manner, but it is not unusual for a man to allow the basin of water in which he makes his ablutions to remain standing for two or three weeks. Not many [177] years ago the Carriers taught their neighbours to make a kind [296] of soap from the ashes of burnt cottonwood sticks thrown into [388] water; with this clothes are washed irregularly and in most cases from sheer necessity only. In former times bathing was [783] a semi-sacred rite, but this fell into disuse with the passing of [177] the old religion, and the use of soap and water merely for the sake of cleanliness has not become a daily habit. The women [291] have more vanity; the younger girls especially like to have new clothes, though they wear them carelessly, heedless of fit. [796] An effort is often made to clean up for ceremonial dances, but it entails little more than the removal of the more obvious dirt and the putting on, over unchanged undergarments, of a sweater. Pride in personal appearance, love of tidiness, delight in a clean house, are all quite foreign to the Bella Coola.

356 Probably the reason for lack of comforts in the houses is simply that the people do not feel the need for them. They [264] consider it no hardship to sit on a rickety chair, scoop up food [231] from a common dish and, if they think of it, throw morsels [152] down to the dog or the cat. The smell, the flies, the dirt, the chaos do not concern them. Capable of undergoing privations, hardships, and even sufferings, they think neither of the com-
231 fort of themselves nor of others. Their domestic animals are often treated abominably, not through lack of affection or cruelty, but from callousness. More than once the writer has seen a favourite dog steal a piece of food from the table. Its master, after a furious blow or kick at it, would suddenly, as if by inspiration, throw a choice bit to the animal, saying:

"Why, he must have been hungry!"

Though the Bella Coola feel a kinship with animals unknown to the white man, it is not combined with any recognition of their feelings as living creatures. There are, of course, [577] many exceptions, but on the whole public opinion demands generosity and kindness only towards human members of the group. The moral code is not concerned with animals.

Tlaxamgmitl: Name acquired in the beginning of time by a Rivers Inlet man from a sea-lion.
[825] *lleakudhtcl:* Sardine.
Tlikmaxotâkka, "The Walking One": Supernatural name of the water ouzel.
Ilikmuts: Song sung during Cannibal dance while the performers run from house to house.
[825] *tlima:* Mountain goat sinew.
Tlisla: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
2—Wife of Mount *Nusqalst,* when in human form at the beginning of time.
Tlitcaplilân·a: One of the nine supernatural siblings, a woman who brings aid to those in sickness and is thus the initiator of shamans.
[825] *ltixin:* Sea-lion.
Tlmstadimut, "Be Like a Person": Instruction given to a stick in the beginning of time. This designation has since been used as an ancestral name.
[821] *ltok':* 1—Moon.
2—The zenith.
[825] *ltokly:* Virulent skin disease.
ltopan·i: Cormorant.
Tloqo·tl, "Small Mound": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Tloqots, "Maligner" or "Defamer": A supernatural being.
ltpa: 1—Gaff.
2—To cut wood for masks.
ltpanap: "Cut!" Call used on second day of *kusiut* dances.
[823] *ltpapalam:* Small trickle that flows from rocks near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel. The term is probably applied to other similar rivulets.
[415] *ltulai·:* Water-tight basket.
[824] *lmiax:* Water-washed stump with scoured, radiating roots.
Tniqo: Region on the upper Kitlobe River.
[482] *lnixstl:* Tump-line.
tobs: Navel.
Tobntl: Raven's canoe in the beginning of time.
[825] *loqa:* Mink.
lomidjut, "He of the Big Family": Term used to describe a man with many descendants.
[583] *lop·a:* Synonym for *ldamamamm,* the repurchase of a wife from her husband. This term is perhaps used in Kimsquit alone.
[825] *lopiwac:* 1—Fawn.
2—*Nustrkâmg* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[821] *Tpiksta:* Star in the Great Bear.
lqanj: Lower of the two beaters used in the preparation of cedar-bark.
Tqwantlos, "Facing": Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, synonymous with *Tal·lo.*
[291] *lsaikstl:* Hat with flat top and broad brim.
lsaix: Stonecrop.
Tsaislitl: Kimsquit shaman mentioned in an ancient story.
Tsa·kmai: Bella Coola warrior living in the last century.
Tsalits: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
Tsâl: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Tsaskmem: Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.
lse·tl: Green barnacles on water-covered stones.
[825] *lsiks:* Large woodpecker, species unidentified.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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 192*

Wat·as: *Xuxais* woman living in the beginning of time.
wais: Dog. [825]
wawnic: Dog, *archaic.*
wa·xsia: Cape of yellow cedar-bark. [291]
waxwaxtsia: Brother or sister of grandparent.
Wiakai: One of the first women to settle at *Snuiłli* in the beginning of time. [601]
Wiaqaii: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
Wikwan·ekwla: Synonym for *Ḱwla*: Influential Ḱwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nusqalst* chief.
Wikwanutl: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
wina, vocative, winao: War-party.
Winās: Slave living at *Nusqalst* several generations ago.
winās di qala, "War-Party of the Ocean," or *winās di sā·ildjo·ts,* "War-Party of the Tides": Supernatural being.
Winwina: Supernatural being who captured birds and fish for the benefit of mankind.
Winwinumak: Supernatural being, perhaps identified with one of the warm winds.
winxta: Assistance rendered by the inhabitants of a town to a neighbouring settlement being attacked. [628]
Wipitpawakās: Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time. [726]
Wisamkilak: *Smaoan*'s daughter-in-law in the beginning of time.
Wi'tālao: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Wiłsdks: *Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Wixat: Man who travelled to the Skeena River in the beginning of time.
Wixon: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
wł·a: *Kusiut* dance in which the nine supernatural siblings are summoned to earth.
Włx: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Wlx: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
wlx: Cripple.

X

Xaiāqałtl: Ancestral name of a *Tāl·io* man.
Xaiqts: Stream entering the Bella Coola from the north near *Nuiłtux.* [821]
Xai·utl: Continuous North Wind, anthropomorphized.
xak'loi·: Cry raised as each of the first spring salmon is brought ashore. [226]
Xālaiya: Step-daughter of Raven in the beginning of time.
xaqānts: Great blue heron. [825]
Xat: Designation of a tribe, probably a branch of the Carriers, dwelling far to the south-east of the Bella Coola.
xaxaf': Canada goose.
xał·a: Root of *qāxmāts,* an unidentified plant.
Xekalus: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Xekwotsen·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xelitmai: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
xem: The successive rising of the sun from day to day. This word, which is common in derivatives, appears usually to be pronounced *xem* after *s.* [821]
Xemcua: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Snuiłli* in the beginning of time.

Pre-
* 556 sently the guests assemble, those who are *susaok* wearing on
[575] their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership
[237] in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled,
[292] the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners,
[554] slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair. It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by
[203] the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial gain.

264 A number of young lads, friends or relatives of X, distribute
* 556 the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no
[883] standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests; otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in
[578] this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its reward.

583 Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a
* 556 fluent friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech,
[537] extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general
[425] outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may
[424] be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with
[532] the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name.

Poor people, white guests, or others from whom no return can possibly be received, share equally in the distribution; the money goes to all to validate the transaction. On the other hand, X expects that the presents, if any, made to a few individuals after the general distribution, will be returned with interest. In selecting the recipients of these he has been animated, first, by the necessity of repaying old debts, and secondly by his desire to make good investments in the shape of presents to those likely to show their chiefly nature by returning with heavy interest. No request is ever made for such repayment, but as the transaction has been publicly announced, a man fears to fail to repay, since that would lower his prestige. No one may refuse a present, no matter how embarrassing it may be. 553 556* 575 [558]

After the gifts have been distributed the songs of the *initiates are practised. Members of the susaok society join in* with the singers; the other spectators listen attentively, full of interest, but take no part. X with his helpers then gives food to all, and they depart. [533]

Before the coming of the white man a potlatch was a rare event, and *susaok* members were initiated at local gatherings. The period of confinement was the same as that just described, but instead of merely practising the songs during the interval, the initiates appeared and danced to them. It will be convenient here to describe that ritual, emphasizing the fact that at a potlatch, when the initiates can be confirmed in the presence of foreign guests, this preliminary rite does not take place. 535 556* 575 177

After the distribution of goods the singers beat out[16] the tune of any one of the initiates, and all emerge in close succession from the back-room, each wearing a blanket, without distinctive design, a collar of dyed and pounded cedar-bark decorated with pendant weasel skins, and the distinctive *susaok* head-dress (see Plate 15).[1] This consists of a circlet of grizzly bear claws, surmounted in front by a small forehead mask; from the inner side of the circlet there rise a number of sea-lion 292 535 556* 575 237

[16] The present tense is used for uniformity.

[1] [see cat. 116, facing p 218 - ANALYST]

242 whiskers over which is scattered eagle down. From the back
535 of the head-dress hang weasel skins. In Bella Bella it is said to
be customary for a skin to be added on every occasion when a
* 556 *susaok* is confined to the back-room. This may happen as many
575 as fifteen times to the child of wealthy parents, and a few Bella
Coola have adopted the practice of marking each with a skin.
[237] Usually, some six or nine are hung in two tiers, without consideration of the number of times the wearer has been in seclusion. The central figure of the forehead mask is a head with
[532] a hooked nose, the recurved hook being joined to the face itself. This figure does not vary with the wearer's ancestral myth, and no one knows what it represents. This design is
[177] said to have been introduced to Bella Coola from the north a few generations ago; before that time the head-dress consisted
[237] *of a circular band of dyed cedar-bark, decorated with* the tail
[824] feathers of one of the large woodpeckers. The Bella Coola call it simply, "forehead mask." Each initiate carries a hollow
[532] rattle, carved in the shape of a bird, which he holds in his right
[534] hand, belly uppermost. Long, long ago, when a dancer failed to do so, the rattle became alive and the bird flew away; hence, this rule has been obeyed ever since.

535 Each initiate takes up his station in some part of the house
behind the fire and dances to the beating of the sticks. The
* 556 left hand of each is clasped behind his back and in his right he
575 holds the rattle and keeps it in constant motion by shaking his wrist. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a good dancer. Keeping the body stiff and the legs close together, he rises with slight jumps, barely altering his position on the floor. Sometimes he slowly turns around sunwise[17] in his series of jumps, at other times he does not alter his position. The head is bent from side to side and downwards at each jump, causing the eagle down to fly in all directions. *Susaok* assistants blow more of the material on to the head-dress at intervals (see Plate 16).[1]

[821] [17]The Bella Coola believe that the sun moves from east to south to west to
[796] north. Many ceremonial movements follow this direction, which will henceforth be described as sunwise.

[1] [See cat 116, facing p 219 - ANALYST]

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one after another of the concealed initiates, while the audience, consisting of *susaok* alone, join in the singing. As the sounds drift out to the guests, they too beat out some of their well-known *susaok* songs. 535 556* 575

At high tide, as the canoes draw near, carefully guided by poles and saddles, the *susaok* troop down to the beach to meet the guests, led by a *siki*, who alone wears an apron of puffin beaks and carries a rattle. The singers beat out one of his tunes and the *siki* dances on the beach, while the supernatural whistle which has been sounding from the back-room of X's house, is now heard at his side, blown by an assistant under cover of his blanket. After the *siki* has danced, the singers among the guests, and there are always enough of them to make possible the beating out of the better known tunes, sing one of their *siki*'s songs as he dances on the platform surmounting the canoes. [292] [533]

The Bella Coola *siki*, surrounded by a group of *susaok*, now begins to turn about in a frenzied manner, always sunwise, bending down, then straightening himself, twisting and writhing like a maniac. Finally, standing erect, he pretends to throw something to the foreign *siki*, and then falls to the ground. The recipient makes the motion of catching something heavy, and at the same time one of his accomplices in the canoe sounds another *susaok* whistle, deluding the uninitiated observers into the belief that some power has been transmitted, which is the source of the strange noise. The visiting *siki* revolves four times; twisting and bending, then straightens up and throws back his cloak, to expose a mask representing *Mulakila*. This has been concealed there all the time, but the uninitiated readily believe it to be the creature which has made the noise, or else that it is an object miraculously made by this being. The *siki* revolves four times more, with the mask in plain sight and the whistle constantly booming, while a fluent speaker "explains" the meaning of it all to the uninitiated who are watching with interest from the background.

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PLATE 16

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Eagle down being blown over a *sisaok* dancer

[facing P219]

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552 575 [184] [292] [535] between the two societies. Presently the elderly *a'alk* returns, clad in his ceremonial costume consisting of the head-gear, a blanket, and a narrow apron from which hang deer hooves, small pieces of copper, or other jingling articles. The singers strike up his song, and he dances near the fire in a manner depending upon which of the four dances he has the right to perform. Again the *siki* leaves the house; when he returns he announces that a *tutwinam* is coming with a song for the youth, naming the one who is to be made an *a'alk*. A moment passes, and in stalks a masked figure depicting the form taken by the first ancestor of the novice, or the being from which one of his later forefathers received an *a'alk* prerogative. Sometimes two of these beings appear. The apparition circles the fire, stops beside the singers, and chants a song to them in a low voice. Then it enters the back-room and is seen no more. Presently the singers strike up the song they have just heard. To those who are neither *a'alk* nor *sisaok* it seems that the song was brought by the supernatural visitor; in reality, it is the one previously composed by the singers and taught by them to the wearer of the mask to lend realism to the performance. The youth concealed within the back-room does not emerge on this occasion, the song is merely sung in practice. Sometimes the masked figure appears during the daytime and walks openly along the shore of the river like a foreign guest, as indeed it is said to be.

[184] [178] The coming of a *tutwinam* is one of the points of resemblance between *a'alk* and *sisaok* rites. The older people agree that this has long been a feature of the former society, adopted by the latter in recent years. The description given in this section appears to be of the original and proper use, although, as already noted, the *sisaok* have recently employed *tutwinam* for somewhat different purposes.

It is uncertain whether or not the *a'alk* novice remains secluded any longer within the back-room. In ancient times he probably did, but with the recent growth of the *sisaok*

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BB 539 BC A 539 BC BB [226] [825]

a person has been in contact with supernatural beings to enable him to enter.

Ailsamka told them everything, that her mother had failed to teach her how to cut up black cod, "so *Xemoqwa* sent blackfish to catch me so that I could be taught," she said. "You must be very careful to cut them up properly or trouble will come upon you."

The correct method, as taught by Raven, is to split the fish cleanly without severing the bones. *Sā-paxsk*'s daughter had erred ~~by~~ cutting the one which is equivalent in a fish to the human collar-bone. She told them of the fish that abounded in *Xemoqwa*'s house; of the red-fish, which disobeyed their mother by playing outside the house so that their stomachs were often forced out from their mouths[1] and they floated up to the surface; of *Xemoqwa* himself and his large hat; and of the other denizens of the underworld. The people listened attentively and ever after cut up black cod in the prescribed fashion, though if *Ailsamka* had not been carried off to *Xemoqwa*'s house Raven's teaching would undoubtedly have been forgotten.

After being after his daughter's safe return, *Sā-paxsk* gave a potlatch. He took for himself the name *Xemoqwa*, and at the same time reproduced in his own house as much as possible of what his daughter had described. Thus there were imitation fishes, especially the halibut, around the house, while the red-fish were shown as wooden models that could be drawn up to the roof by hidden strings representing the manner in which the fish float up to the surface of the ocean. *Xemoqwa*, himself, was shown wearing his large ball topped hat, of the type known as *Sīsoil*.[2]

While *Ailsamka* was under the water *Xemoqwa* had shown her *xwaak* whistles, and at this potlatch they were used while the girl was concealed within the back-room as a *xwaak* initiate.

BC [177] [556]

This was the[3] origin of the *xwaak* ceremonial, which spread in time from the *Wakas* people to the Bella Coola. The name *Xemoqwa* passed to one of *Sā-paxsk*'s descendants who, when he gave a potlatch, arranged

BC BB [424] [292] [532]

[1] The red-fish is an unidentified deep-sea fish which dies in shallow water through lack of pressure.

[2] This style was always worn by *Xemoqwa* and *Alqunstin* and, as many of the first people obtained their power from one or other of these beings, the prerogative of using such hats at potlatches is quite common. They are made of cedar roots, are waterproof, and are usually painted with one of the wearer's ancestral crests. When either *Xemoqwa* or *Alqunstin* is shown on a totem-pole he is displayed with one of these hats.

[3] It will be noted that the narrator tacitly assumes any origin recorded in his myth to be the sole, or authentic one.

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the front-door facing the river, but has to leave the house through the trap beneath the enclosure where she sleeps. The Bella Coola consider it unthinkable for a girl to disregard these prohibitions, but if this should happen, she would be chased home by her parents, by the Guardian of the River, or, in fact, by any elderly member of the community. The strongest reason for respecting these regulations is the belief that disobedience brings death; no one knows how it is inflicted, but a careless girl soon dies. During this period she cannot eat fresh salmon, though she is allowed them if they have been smoked for four or five days. Her scanty meals are brought to her in the enclosure where she is virtually a prisoner. It is true that she can leave it and wander in the woods, but her comrades avoid her as being in an unclean condition of which they are afraid, and she is barred from taking part in all activities by the river which constitute so large a part of the life of the Bella Coola. A girl cannot pick berries during this time, so no more would grow in the valley which she had thus defiled; she must not touch anyone, nor allow anyone to touch her; she must not pass in front of a man; she must go to bed before everyone else in the house, and be the last to arise. The danger of breaking some taboo is so great that it is safer for a girl to remain within her enclosure where her mother, and other old women, gather to tell her the many things which it is fitting for an adult woman to know. This seclusion is not pleasant, but it unquestionably serves to emphasize the importance of married life to which it is a prelude. The writer remembers an occasion when a Bella Coola family was eating tasty fresh salmon while one of the daughters, who had recently reached adolescence, watched enviously. Her grandfather rose and gave the child an orange, remarking that in his youth little girls did not receive such dainties to ameliorate their lot.

Adolescent girls wear certain distinctive articles of clothing and ornaments. The most noticeable is a skull-cap bound with grass; this is the only time in a woman's life that a hat is worn. She also wears ear-rings, each consisting of a neat

784 881 [761] [262] [783] [222] [513] [867] 881 [292] [301] [439]

1/4 [ie - one year after puberty - ANALYST]

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the same manner the fluent speaker outlines a myth belonging to the ancestral family of X's mother, again with emphasis on the dancers used by her ancestors. X, as a member of both ancestral families, can combine his rights from both sides, but it is customary for him to use no more than five or six performers. Should X have no claim to this privilege from either mother or father, an almost unthinkable situation, he is able to borrow the prerogative of using some from friends. The sentiment on which this oration of myths is based is the one so often mentioned; it marks the close relationship between the future children and their noble ancestors of old, a source of strength to the former. 537 585 [426]

X's father now names those whom he wishes to assist him on the following day. These are the dancers, who are chosen primarily for their skill in dancing, and secondarily in accordance with their rank. With them he selects a number of persons to stand near and help or "cherish" them as they perform. He also asks the services of some of the women who are professional droners; of the keeper of the marriage song of his ancestral family; and, finally, of a number of men to sit near the singers and assist them with suggestions. It would be most exceptional for anyone so called upon to decline the honour. It is near morning by this time and the guests depart. 585 [535] [614]

On the following morning, the actual wedding day, X's father calls to his house those selected the previous evening as dancers and their assistants. The former wear blankets decorated with small copper ornaments[1] and carry circular wooden rattles provided with handles. Their clothing and rattles may be their own, but if they do not possess suitable attire, it is incumbent on X's father to provide them. Skins are piled up within the house, and some of these are said to "make soft the [534]

[1]At the present time there is uncertainty as to the proper clothing of a marriage dancer. Several informants stated that it was a copper-decorated blanket, whereas others said that there was no special attire; one man claimed that an attempt was made to imitate the form and costume of X's first ancestor, and another that ceremonial costume was used. Probably there was no uniformity in custom. [292] [535] [184]

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NEB Bellecrofts NEB

tried to incorporate as many of these as possible, so that the rite soon became a chorus of obscenities. The songs were sung and resung until all present were familiar with them, then the donor of the rite distributed food and all departed.

The following afternoon everyone, including those uninitiated into either society, were invited to the donor's house. Probably the only absentees from the village were the deserting wife and her lover, while guests from neighbouring settlements were often in attendance. On this occasion, for the first time, the deserted husband used to take the leading part. When the singers struck up the tune of the first song, he used to appear, supported by four or five assistants. His face was blackened with soot, he wore a lynx-skin belt, and above his head was fashioned some insulting object, usually a representation of the female organs made of wood, cedar-bark and berries, as realistic as possible. As the singers sang, aided by those who had learnt the songs on the previous day, the husband danced, moving his body so that the ornament on top of his head was shaken suggestively. Meanwhile the spectators kept calling out filthy epithets of any kind on his ex-wife and her lover. Sometimes the dancer was able to insert some obscene remarks into the display. On one occasion, for example, he pulled some lynx fur from his belt and threw it in the face of a *Tlé-is* man who happened to be present, and who had once seduced a married woman and accordingly been the butt of a similar rite, with the remark:

"All *Tlé-is* women have hairy pudends like that."

The guests were invited to suggest foul nick-names for the man with whom the dancer's wife had eloped. One of these was adopted by general agreement of opinion, and the man was commonly called by it henceforth. Two names so created were:

Hadzu, "The One Whose Face is Wrinkled like a Woman's Organs," and,

Zwakwil, "The One Who Cohabited Publicly."

One very old man is still, 1923, commonly called by this last designation, much to his annoyance.

When the songs had been sung, each accompanied by the dancing of the deserted husband, the dancer of the ceremony distributed food and the guests departed. The only advantage to the giver of the rite was that it enabled him to show his wealth in an apparently disinterested fashion by gifts of food. Usually he was a friend of the aggrieved husband.

When a husband deserted his wife, the other women of the village used to perform an exactly similar ceremony. The same type of songs were composed, and during their singing the deserted wife used to dance, wearing above her head representations of a penis and testicles. By means of hidden strings she was able to cause the former to become erect.

On other occasions the ceremony was varied by an announcer asking the offended party about the appearance of the deserter. There followed a minute and highly coloured description about the unpleasantness of his genital organs, a description which was swiftly incorporated into the songs.

It can be taken as a matter of course that the above description is little more than an outline of the Bella Coola ceremony of shaming. In spite of its deficiencies, it is important, as evidence of the former sentiment with regard to divorce. Obscene though the ceremony must have been, both in acting and in the free use of personalities, it must have been a powerful deterrent to divorce.* Indeed it would be difficult to imagine a stronger one in a community where a man's position is judged by public opinion and where his greatest aversion is to public ridicule. It is unfortunate that we shall probably never know whether the rite was associated with chiefs or commoners.

COMMERCIAL MARRIAGE

Since marriage gains much of its importance from the considerable business transactions between the two families, with

* Similar rite was occasionally carried out for commercial motives.

1:McDowalth E-3 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death. 764 783

The above rite protects widower or widow, but does not alter the fact that for one year they are ceremonially "unclean," and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the coast. The one near Kimsquit is called *Xpiw'ii*, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of which the bottoms are bent upwards; should this be omitted, when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will soon die. 765 [783] [785] [262] [484] [292] [761]

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should cut their hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; if this rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and [620] [302] [834] [587] [735]

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Such an adoption occurs only when the deceased was the owner of a Bella Bella myth and the song in question had been used to mourn a real or fictitious relative. It is contrary to custom to use the tune or words of a song not composed for a member of the deceased's ancestral family. 556* 769 [533] [177]

The actual delivering of invitations by the envoys to the desired guests does not differ from the manner already described, except that they are asked "to come to visit the sick [donor]." The significance is, of course, that the mourner's condition is that of a patient. To indicate the reason of their visit, guests at a memorial potlatch always wear a little dyed cedar-bark around their heads. [203] [292] [294]

On arrival, the first party of foreign guests is conducted to the donor's house, where they make themselves comfortable in the section allotted to them by the heralds. An elderly Bella Coola chief who is a famous orator has been asked by the donor to speak, and he rises to do so as soon as his fellow-villagers have entered and taken their places. No set phrases are used, but the speaker usually begins by reminding all present of the way in which their ancestors were created in *Nuxwá·a*, and how all must return thither. It is an occasion on which eloquence is essential, and the speaker delights in using as many archaic words and rhetorical expressions as possible, with constant references to religious beliefs and ancient history as recorded in mythology. Then he speaks of the death which is the occasion of the ceremony. If the deceased were an old man, he is referred to by a special term not in common usage, *nuhá·ás*, which implies wisdom and respect as well as extreme age. The orator states that he has fallen, using the term *ḡayás*, normally applied to the thunderous crash of some mighty tree. He speaks of a young chief as *xwʼtlémkis*, short-lived, a person who has been hunted down by the supernatural Carpenters. He continues by sketching the works of the deceased, the number of potlatches he gave and the manner in which his name was known to many tribes. Finally he tells of the donor's grief, and of how this "sickness" has been alle- 537 556* 769 [195]

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"Please stop crying. We have made good your memory. You are a light to your brother. Go to *Smaoexek* where he stands among the abalone-shells far to the south.[28] Thence go overland to Rivers Inlet where a *skämtsk* will serve as canoe for you.[29] You will see the long house where your ancestor obtained shaman's power."[30]

Meanwhile Reuben Schooner had been out of sight behind the curtain of the stage. After a short interval, he emerged wearing a blue blanket decorated with mother-of-pearl buttons sewn on in raven design. He was followed by two other influential members of the *sisaok* society, Alexander Clallaman and Nebuchadnezzar, similarly attired. Reuben began to sing in a low, sad, penetrating voice of considerable musical power and, followed by the other two, walked slowly in a sunwise circle around the hall, all the time shaking his right hand, held projecting outwards at right angles from his elbow. The song was in Bella Bella, and even the singer did not fully understand the meaning, and few of the audience had any idea of its significance. When the three had almost completed the first circuit, someone brought Reuben a rattle, which he clutched in his right hand as he continued his way. The reason of the shaking at once became evident; he should have had a rattle throughout but few of these were left in Bella Coola at the time and it had not been possible to borrow one before beginning his song. Again the three slowly circled the hall, Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar calling out at intervals:

"Listen to the mourning song of the chief."

After the second circuit of the hall, Reuben paused near the singers and spoke to Alec Davis, a *sisaok siki*. The latter rose and stated how the prerogative of *siki*, including the right to sing, unaccompanied, a mourning song on occasions such as this had been transmitted both to Reuben and his brother Harry from *Ab-sti*, a Bella Bella chief to whom they were

[28] See incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[29] See incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[30] See incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.

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* 756 and heard her utter the name that was to be his, as a shaman,
* 787 *Nitsumdimut*. He began to shake his hands as if dancing, for he was too feeble to do more, and began to sing the song. His mother at once called in the singers who listened, learning it for future use. The man is firmly convinced that if his mother had not thus called in the singers so speedily he would, after four days, have received another vision, and with it real shamanistic power. As it is, he is a shaman, since he was cured when at the point of death by *Ṭhitcäplilän·a* and received a name and song from her, but he is unable himself to effect cures. As soon as the singers had departed, his mother at once began to make for him a collar formed of alternate bands of dyed, and
[292] undyed, cedar-bark. This is the distinctive decoration worn constantly by a shaman for a certain period after receiving his powers, and at all times when dancing. Within a few days all the inhabitants of the village were called in and the man's
[553] family distributed presents, thus validating his shamanistic
[554] name. Such presents are not returnable; "they have become nothing" for the designation. Thus accredited, a shaman is in a position to start curing, if his song has contained a reference to a basin, otherwise, as in the present case, he is merely a shaman in a social sense, not professionally. There is thought to be actually within the new shaman's body, some peculiar
[292] power which is too potent to allow him to mix with others. Accordingly he wears the distinctive collar, which serves as a
[84] warning to menstruating women and others who are unclean to remain at a distance, and he spends much of his time alone in the forest. This continues until the next *kusiut* dance season when the coming to him of a *yeux* (II, p. 6) frees him from restraint, since the one supernatural power drives out the other. If the shaman himself is unwilling to have a *yeux*, it is sufficient if one comes to a son, or other near relative.

A shaman who has been told by his supernatural visitor to use a basin instructs a carpenter to make one for him. The design depends either on the owner's wish, or on that of his benefactor if the latter has decreed specifically.

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* 756 to make known to all that there will be a dance on the following day, using the name of the shaman. After such announcement, it would be most unusual for anyone to think of leaving a village until after the performance.
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[203]

Towards dusk on the appointed day the people are summoned to the house of the shaman. Near the door are seated those who are not initiated *kukusiut*; in the inner part of the house are members of the society, with the singers in their accustomed places behind the fire. The shaman stands alone between the fire and the door and sings one of his songs, the time being marked by the words alone. Then he dances, his wrists shaking, his head rolling from side to side, and his feet marking time to the beating of sticks, as the singers accompany the singing of his song. If more than one song has been composed he dances to each, always accompanied by other shamans and by them alone. The shaman's costume consists of the usual blanket, and eagle down is scattered in his hair, with the additional and distinctive mark of intertwined dyed, and undyed, cedar-bark. After every song, the singers beat time very rapidly,[1] too rapidly for the dancer to keep pace with it, so he merely sways backwards and forwards shaking his hands violently. Then the shaman, assisted by a few friends whom he has chosen for the purpose, performs a conjuring feat to impress the uninitiated. The *kukusiut* realize that this may be merely a deception, but since real shamans perform something of the same nature, there is always the possibility that it may be genuine. The shaman may choose some feat which he has seen some old shaman perform, or he may use something which he has seen in a dream; or rely purely on his own inventive ability, aided, as he always is, by carpenters. The method of carrying out each trick is carefully guarded, with the result that it was impossible to obtain information about more than a few. After the conjuring act, the shaman gives food to all, followed by presents. If it is the first time that he has given

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[1] This fast beating of time is called *ala*; it occurs only in shaman and *naxnox* dances.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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such a ceremony, that is, if he is validating his name, the gifts must be valuable. On later occasions, irrespective of whether it is the same trick or another that is performed, the presents will be of small value. Goods so given are not returnable. After dancing, a shaman wears his collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark all summer, in fact until he rids himself of his supernatural endowment by the performance of a *kusiut* rite the following winter. 756* 556 [292]

Thus there is close inter-dependence of shaman and *kusiut* dances. On any later occasion, at a ceremony when songs of all types are being sung, if the singers beat out the tunes of those used at the ritual just described, the shaman dances to them. This is said to "cure" him, as if the power within him was a source of danger. [575] [533] [535]

The following are examples of the conjuring tricks performed, most of them done by the shaman *Ninitsamlaix*, a relative of an informant, who was able to learn the methods employed. 756* 789

On one occasion *Ninitsamlaix* prepared two boxes, apparently the ordinary wooden sort used for cooking; across each he arranged a diagonal cross-piece so that the receptacle contained two watertight compartments. Previous to the performance, *Ninitsamlaix* poured water, dyed red with the bark of the alder, into one section of one of the boxes, and put eagle down in one of the compartments of the other. When the time came to carry out the rite he asked an accomplice, another shaman, to bring some water and pour it into his box. This was done, the assistant taking care to put it into the empty half, not into that which contained the dyed water. *Ninitsamlaix* shook the box and poured out some of the liquid to prove that it really was water, and then drank. The spectators, unaware of the cross-piece, did not notice that he did so from the corner opposite to that from which he had poured the water. He had, of course, drunk the dyed fluid. *Ninitsamlaix* cried out that what he had swallowed was paining him, and proceeded to vomit the red water, much to the surprise of the

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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ceal their subterfuges, it sometimes happens that an uninitiated 575*
person sees or hears something which he should not know. The 688
simplest way to deal with this situation is to kill the observer. It is said that as late as 1900 a young man, impelled by curiosity, wandered up a valley into which he had been warned not to penetrate, and met a Cannibal whom he believed had vanished into the upper realms. Almost dumbfounded, he accepted the latter's invitation to sit down, and was slain by him. More often, and especially if the observer is the child of a *kusiut*, he is initiated into the ranks of the society. If this happens at any time of year except the actual cere- 575*
monial season, he cannot perform immediately, but he is taken to the secret meeting place of the village chiefs, and there the mysteries of the organization are explained to him. The uninitiated are told that the observer has had a shaman's experience. With the aid of the older *kukusiut* he then performs a dance and conjuring feat of the type already described (I, p. 564), and is secluded until the next autumn, meanwhile [292] ●
wearing the distinctive collar of a shaman. In the songs used [756]
on this occasion no mention is made of a wash-basin, so of course the lad only performs ceremonially. When winter comes he is formally initiated into the society.

It is somewhat difficult to understand and explain the 575*
sentiments which lead a young man to obey rigidly the dictates 781
of the senior *kukusiut* in deceiving his former friends. If 626
it becomes known that a youth has seen something which
should have been concealed, the senior *kukusiut* of his village [688]
meet in their ceremonial spot and decide that he must be put through the shaman's rite. Some relative of the youth is always ready to provide the necessary *kusiut* prerogative; otherwise he would have to be killed. Two or three members are then sent to catch the young man. On some pretext they lure him into the woods and then carry him away, struggling in fear, to the holy of holies, the place which he had been told to avoid since he would die if he penetrated to it. Here he finds all the seniors of his village, seated with grave expressions on

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 call is that something strange has happened to the "mortal." At intervals throughout the day he repeats this announcement, 203 and towards nightfall goes around calling:
796 *Skinap, skinap, kukusiast,* "Cure, cure, ye members of the *kusiut* society, power has come to the son of the chief [or to the mortal]."

The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house, taking their places around the fire; the uninitiated crowd near the doorway. X is seated among his relatives and some of the senior members of the society behind the fire. A herald calls out:

"I want a *siki* to help X."

*575 In every village there are at least two *kukusiut* who have, embodied with their *kusiut* name, the professional prerogative 791 of acting as healer to every novice; it is believed that the 796 ancestor of each obtained a name and this right through a [424] revelation from some supernatural healer. Since that time the owner of the name has been able to insert some of his own ever-[773] present power into a neophyte to enable him to sustain the dangers of admission to the society. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated. The profession of *siki* can be trans-[425] mitted by willing like any other prerogative and it occasionally happens that the same individual is *siki* for both *kusiut* and *nusak*. In answer to the herald's call, the two *siki* come forward and crouch behind the fire, one on either side of it. [302] Their faces are blackened with soot, and each wears a blanket, decorated with dyed cedar-bark, thrown loosely over his [292] shoulders, leaving the chest and stomach bare except for an [237] apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Meanwhile beating sticks are distributed among most of the *kukusiut* who strike furiously on the floor with them without any attempt to keep time; the sole object is to produce the greatest din possible.

One of the *siki* contorts himself in an amazing manner, presses his hands against his stomach as if to force something from it, and rolls from side to side on his haunches, until at length he produces, as if from his body, a rock crystal (see Plate 3). He waves this to and fro in his hands, then goes

[See category 116, p 86(c) - ANALYST]

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

X sometimes re-
ceives two prerogatives at his initiation, one from each parent, 575*
or from some other interested relative. In this case both are 796
expounded. The singers listen intently, knowing that they [425]
will later be called upon to compose songs on the theme, or [553]
themes. According to some informants they immediately sing [533]
one, as if they had just created it, though it was really prepared
in advance. The *kukusiut* listen until they have mastered it.

Helpers now distribute the food provided by X's father, 575*
or whoever is responsible for his initiation. At every *kusiut* 796
ceremonial the marshals are the first recipients, then the 556
singers, and finally the others without distinction. As the [264]
guests are eating, X's father gives presents to all, without
deference to rank. An announcer calls out:

"Here are [for example] ten bear-skins from X's mother. They are to obtain for him his cedar-bark bracelets."

These goods are then distributed. Similarly other gifts from various relatives are handed out for his anklets, his blanket, his collar, his head-dress, and all other parts of his clothing. As each item of his ceremonial costume is validated, [425]
X dons the prepared article. A novice's head-dress consists [292]
of a round roll of dyed cedar-bark, covering a grass frame; in [184]
Stuix and the other villages of the upper valley this is decor- [237]
ated with a tuft of swan's down. The *kukusiut* of these villages
also wear a distinctive decoration consisting of a swan's skin
with the feathers attached. In recent years it has been customary to pile all the goods together and distribute them as *ālq̄ᵊlł*, which has the significance of "something that has vanished for the novice's dyed cedar-bark." Theoretically, the aim of the donor is to bestow his presents on all equally, but if he finds that he has some remaining, he gives these to the chiefs, or to the relatives of someone whom he expects will soon be a novice. None of the goods used in general distributions are returnable, but a chief who receives an extra gift at the end usually remembers from whom it was received and cancels his indebtedness at the earliest opportunity. There is no close connection between the disbursements and the worth of the

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 individual, other than an indefinite recollection of the amount
796 of goods used for his dyed cedar-bark. People always have
556 sufficient goods to validate *kusiut* prerogatives; in fact, if a proud person gives too lavishly to confirm the initiation of a relative, the marshals sometimes burn the goods, giving no explanation other than that the uninitiated must not be led to believe that a *kusiut* ceremony is an affair of wealth like a potlatch. Formerly, goods were given only at initiation ceremonies, but between 1880 and 1890 a chief gave presents, instead of food, at a dance. His example was followed, since none was willing to be outdone, although such gifts are still called "food." The name of the donor is always announced, whether he is the dancer himself or one of his relatives.

*575 X, though now a member of the *kusiut* society, is still a
784 novice and cannot give a dance[11] until the next ceremonial
[796] season, that is, until one year has elapsed. The marshals instruct him about his costume, and about the manner in which he must deport himself during this period, matters which depend to a considerable extent upon his prerogative. If he
[262] is a Cannibal, Scratch, or Breaker dancer he must not eat unsmoked salmon, nor must he enter a house in which either a potlatch or a memorial potlatch is taking place.[12] Failure to obey this injunction would warrant punishment from a foreign
[302] tribe. Unless his prerogative is to give one of these, or the Ghost dance, he must keep his face constantly blackened.
[292] Every novice must wear a collar of dyed cedar-bark. The marshals warn him to be circumspect in dealing with uninitiated persons; he can talk to them, but it is most improper for him to engage in any familiarity or frivolous play. Above
[524] all, he must neither gamble nor take part in non-athletic games,
[525]

[11] A Cannibal novice, however, begins to exercise his prerogative immediately, although he must also perform a complete dance the following year.

[12] This prohibition was once broken at *Kemgas*. A skilled leader was required to arrange the taste at a memorial potlatch and the only man fit for the purpose, a resident of *Ikmal*, was a Cannibal novice. After much deliberation he was called upon, but great care was taken to hide his identity and it was years before the infraction became known.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 snatches from old songs. The Bella Bella are said to use the
*796 same compositions from year to year, and recently some of
[533] these, both tunes and foreign words, have been adopted by
[177] the Bella Coola. Long ago the marshals would have prohibited this custom even if the user had legitimately obtained the foreign prerogative by marriage.

As the time draws near for *Noäkxnim* to start his voyage,
[805] X anxiously consults any of the elder *kukusiut* who may be calendrical experts as to the exact date. The system of reckoning time is not sufficiently exact to avoid errors, but the day ultimately arrives on which, after much discussion, it is agreed that *Noäkxnim* is leaving. Word is passed around to the singers, who sleep that night in X's house, ready for their duties on the morrow.

Early in the morning X stands up, gazes fixedly towards the west, and calls out:

[987] "Once more I see what I saw last year," or some other more or less specific claim to a vision.

It is believed that *Noäkxnim* must round four points before
[773] reaching Bella Coola; in fact, his journey beneath the sea is similar to that of a canoe pushing up one of the long fiords.

Some of the marshals are always in readiness and one of
*[203] them tells a herald to go to every house, repeating what X has said. This serves both to impress the uninitiated, and to notify the *kukusiut* of what is about to take place. The mes-
*575 senger does so, and when all have gathered, the singers, seated
*796 behind the fire, begin to beat out one of the songs composed
533 during the summer months. The theme is of X's phenomenal eye-sight, due to his patron having sent to him the super-
[776] natural being, *Nuälomtnam*, at the moment of his departure. This being does not seem to possess corporeal form, but is rather a sight-producing medium. In the song he is often likened to a swift-flying bird; when the uninitiated hear of this they are suitably impressed with the remarkable ability of X at having such a creature sent to him. X, who has donned a
[292] head-dress consisting of the white tails of two eagles, dances

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

if he so desires. The *kukusiut* listen to the song, and when it is resung they join in. They practise it repeatedly, until familiar with both words and tune. This part of the ceremony lasts for about two hours. 575* 796* [533]

The singers, and any others who are prepared to beat time, are always provided with long, flat, thin sounding-boards to increase the din of the pounding. When the marshals decide that the song is sufficiently familiar, they tell some of the *kukusiut* to carry these boards to the lowest house of the village. They do this, and also scatter clean sand on the floor, as is customary whenever a supernatural being is to enter. The uninitiated persons within the house watch with great interest. The singers enter and take their places behind the fire, then other *kukusiut* and finally X himself; his face is unblackened, but he wears his two eagle tails in his hair and a collar of dyed cedar-bark. On his head is a thin cylindrical circlet, about four inches high, of the same material, ornamented with swan's down by the inhabitants of the villages of the upper Bella Coola valley. The collar consists of a roll of grass, entirely covered with dyed cedar-bark from which pendant tassels of the same hang down over his chest; similar ones are worn by *sisaok* dancers, except that the tassels hang down their backs. Every *kusiut* dancer wears these two ornaments, and those who have the necessary prerogative adorn themselves with an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Blankets are always worn. *Kukusiut* women wear in addition woollen pubic garments. [292] [534] 575* 796* 292 [424] [237]

As the singers beat out X's tune, accompanied by the voices of themselves and other *kukusiut*, he dances. Since his style is typical of all *kukusiut* except Cannibals and a few others, it will be well to digress at this point in order to describe it. X raises his arms until their upper parts are approximately the height of his shoulders, and project outwards and slightly to the front; they are bent at the elbows with the forearms vertical, thus bringing the hands opposite the top of the head. Both wrists are shaken constantly, the muscles of the lower 575* 796* 535

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 since a certain *kusiut* has the definite prerogative of throwing
*796 them on the fire. As each is tossed into the flames he calls out:
184 "Please return directly to the supernatural ones."

The only exception is for the mask of *Ana'likwolsix* for which his cry is:

"Please return directly to your repository."

*575 Before X can again take his normal place in the community
*796 it is necessary to remove from him the call, which is conceived
987 as being something physical that has entered his body. This is the belief taught to the uninitiated so emphatically that the *kukusiut* themselves appear to believe it; at any rate, whatever their inward thoughts, they act as if the call had substance. As soon as the masks have been burnt one of the *kukusiut* suggests that it is time to expel the call. All the *kukusiut* in the house crowd around X, as many as can reach his body pressing against his stomach with their hands, always in an upward direction. Higher and higher they go, from stomach to chest, from chest to neck, as if massaging some object. At list it is thought to have been expelled, and X brings his hands together, as if holding something with great care. Suddenly he throws them up in the air, opening them as he does so, and calling out:

Awakâlimut ola âmâxyxw, "Go back to your ancient home."

Those ritual words have been handed down from ancient times and are used by every *kusiut* to dismiss his call. Whither it is sent is problematical. Some say to X's repository, others to *Nuxqalxwaista*; the Bella Coola do not know. Often one of his songs has been sung on the sidewalk outside X's house; the call may be returned from there.

This rite ends the ceremony and the *kukusiut* dispene. It is obvious that every *nalaxam* must vary according to the patron of the dancer, but the above is typical of the ritual. A call can now come to any *kusiut*, and one often descends at this time, so that X's *nalaxam* is *kustômem* for another dancer.

*575 For the rest of the ceremonial season X has to observe
*796 certain rules. He must wear his collar of cedar-bark and
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*272

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attend every *kusiut* dance. Usually all *kukusiut* do so in any case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been blackened, it must be kept so during this period. At every *qotlim* he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an uninitiated person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes to another housemate. Failure to obey this injunction was formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules apply to every dancer.

Ālquntām enters *Nusqulxwaista* at the winter solstice, and at that time calls come to those *kukusiut* of whom he is patron. It is uncertain whether or not this entails the regular ceremony of four nights' duration. On the entry of the supreme being, *Noākxnim* seizes his paddle (or pole?), returns to *Smaien·a*, and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers compose a ninth song for him. The words describe how the departing *Noākxnim* empties a large number of olachen into the river.[19] X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after calls have come to other *kukusiut*.

It sometimes happens that no *kusiut* of whom *Noākxnim* is patron has enough food to give the lengthy dance just described, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper prerogative is asked by the marshals to see *Noākxnim* when at the mouth of the river; then, when he passes upstream four days later, a call can come to any *kusiut*. This abbreviated ceremony, termed *Imāltndjutqulsan*, is carried out in the manner described above, except that it is completed in four days with only two songs.

[19] *Nuākxnim* is accordingly often called *Nuālalnim*.

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[The Cannibal Dance]

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Towards dawn, a herald goes through the village crying loudly:

"Get up, you young men! Get up all ye people! Something strange has come upon the young man."

The uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house where he is acting as if demented, biting any of his associates except other Cannibals, Scratchers, Breakers, or those whose patrons are ghosts. Meanwhile those who are not members of the society cower in their own houses, and are told that if they dare to look out, X, scenting them, will bite them to death. At intervals during the morning, X goes around to the other houses, naked and savage, snapping at everyone he sees. The uninitiated hide in the bedrooms, but peek out occasionally and hear his growlings and the shrieks of mock terror with which his associates greet his bites and threats. The *kukusiut* tell non-members when it is safe for them to leave their hiding-places for necessary purposes, but at all other times they remain in concealment, listening with fear to the dangerous maniac.

About midday X returns to his house where a large number of *kukusiut* have assembled. The uninitiated certainly, and perhaps some of the *kukusiut* as well, believe that Cannibals are carried away to the land above where they are exposed to great dangers, and to prevent this an effort is always made to bind the dancer. The marshals and X's relatives have made the necessary preparations, consisting of the manufacture of a long rope, in addition to the usual dyed cedar-bark collar and a bear-skin. The *kukusiut* enter whole-heartedly into the dramatic spirit of the rite, and the robe is thrust over X in spite of his furious struggles. Then the collar is forced over his head, while the women drone and the whistles sound eerily, to the wonder of the uninitiated listening from adjacent houses. The thick, cable-like rope is doubled and a circle of *kukusiut* form around the seemingly demented dancer, each man holding a section. X rushes against one part of the circle after another, as if to force his way out; sometimes he bends down, and those

[172]

[292]

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796*
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PLATE 3

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Sisi producing a crystal from his stomach

[p. 84 (c)]

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575*
196*
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342
292●
787

PLATE 5

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Cannibal with incubus in form of a bear

[p. 84 (E)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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575*
796*
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292

PLATE 7

Photograph by the author

Blanket with wooden skulls
worn by a cannibal

[p. 164 (A)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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292

PLATE 9

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Thunder dancer. Notice the cedar-bark collar with pendant tassels and the framework of twigs decorated with eagle down.

[p. 164 (c)]

[The Dance of Winwina]

Another *tsaxiat* derived the prerogative of having *W'inwina* as patron from a myth previously cited (II, p. 45). After Raven had seen *Nuklaxum* and chronicled him for *Millemalkanis*, he flew down the food once more, observed *W'inwina*, and made him patron for *Omgamdzilda*.

The ritual of the dance of *W'inwina* does not vary, irrespective of its origin; accordingly one account will suffice and the performer can be referred to as X.

This dance occurs also at Kimsquit where the repository is actually in the house a few yards from shore.

W'inwina is supposed to return to Bella Coola when the January moon is full;* accordingly X consults the moonbath and makes his preparations slightly before that date. Four days before the full moon, the uninitiated are excluded from the house and a ritual enclosure is built between the fire and the back-room. This rite differs from most *tsaxiat* dances in that the call does not come at this time. Irrespective of whether or not the *tsaxiat* happen to be present on the evening of this day, X moves to the enclosure and sits there, looking eastward for the return of *W'inwina*. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. X wears a collar of dyed cedar-bark and a head-dress of eagle tail feathers, but his face is not blackened.

For three nights and three days X remains in the enclosure, gazing to the east, and meanwhile no uninitiated does even so pass outside of his house. As the fourth night is falling, messengers summon the *tsaxiat* who enter and sit in silence as if waiting for something; the heralds inform non-members that X's vigil will soon be over. After an interval they are likewise called in, and eagerly take their places near the door, where they receive a share of the food being served. Suddenly X jumps down from the enclosure and cries out loudly:

"The supernatural young man has left his child with strangers while he has been on a journey. Now he is returning,

*Owing to faulty astronomical observations the exact date is without bound.

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

During *pelin* and *nahcum* days the companions gather in X's house where they construct a long ladder. The uprights and rungs are of split cedar, and each of the lower is decorated with a ruff of dyed, and a ruff of undyed cedar-bark, two white eagle-tail feathers are fastened to the top. In the afternoon of *nahcum*, a *hacier* who is also a chief blackens his face, dons a collar of dyed cedar-bark and sallies forth to invite guests from the adjacent villages. About the same time the audience in X's house is pushed back and the ladder is erected, projecting a considerable distance above the roof. The uninitiated are in clearly and wonder what is now pressed. In the evening the *hahacier* assemble and the singers lead out X's two songs for the benefit of the guest visitors. Then the uninitiated are called in. They see the lower part of the ladder, and gaze with wonder on X who keeps walking backwards and forwards in his ceremonial costume, clad in a dance apron and a black blanket to which is tied one end of the long rope. Two *hahacier* assistants hold a section of it as if to anchor him. The dancer carries a wand which he keeps shaking violently. The two songs are sung and everything is now ready for the main performance. Still shaking his wand, X climbs the ladder and disappears from sight through the roof, dragging the rope after him. The sound of the wand grows gradually fainter and fainter, but the cable is steadily drawn up through the opening. It is at midnight that the uninitiated hardly require the explanation given by an elegant *hacier* that a strange power has come to X, enabling him to climb up a ladder which lengthens of its own accord until he will ultimately reach the land above. The owner explains how the dancer will be able to straighten the tally posts, and thus have it in his power to govern the life of an individual, though normally it is only the supernatural beings who can do so. In this connection he employs the term *mulkin*, a word seldom used which has the significance of "A Measuring of the Span of Life."

As at *hacinim* dances, spies guard the doorway and threaten death to the *hahacier* unless X return in safety. He

[The Ghost Dance]

gaiion. When the dance has ended, X gives presents, first to each spectator, and then to those who have assisted him, starting with the singers. This is the last event of the evening and the *kokwiri* disperse. 575* 796* [#31]

The factor of doing things in the reverse order appears not only in actions, but in the order of the ceremonies. Those just described, although at the beginning of the rite, resemble a *kokwiri* in many respects. Consequently, it is not surprising that the next night is *gaiion*. The singers are the first to assemble and they compose a second song for X, with the same theme but different words and tune to that already prepared. Meanwhile the *kokwiri* are gathering and when they have learnt the new song, the ministrant are summoned. No enclosure has been built, and X is much in evidence. His body has been painted green with a proportion of green cultivated leaves, he wears the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a kind of head-dress with a triangular projection over his forehead. The new songs are sung, and X dances vigorously to each in the manner just described. This is followed by the customary *gaiion* ritual, *kwiri* after *kwiri* dancing as the singers have sung his new songs. Finally a Camilal begins to growl forcibly in one of the new corners and the ministrant fan hurriedly. The *kokwiri* sit together, listening to the admonitions and remarks of the mandals, and then X dances once more. Among the peculiarities of the Ghost dance is the fact that the call may be received at this point, or X may again become mad, according to the wishes of the mandals. If they desire a further display of his insanity, he rushes out as soon as he has finished dancing and proceeds to the lowest house of the village. A number of *kokwiri* follow him and appear to be trying to prevent him from picking up handfuls of dirt from the floor and throwing them in all directions in an aimless manner. As a matter of fact his guardians take care that X hurls approximately the same amount in each house, as none of them is willing to have more damage done in his own house than in others. After a visit to each dwelling, the party returns to [5.33] [p.42] [p.42] 575* 796* 787

#182

Kwanusa, "Left Foot": Dzee squaloney named from part of a supernatural creature.

Kwanusa: Kwanusa house living in the last century.

[372.5] *Kwanusa*: Dzeedzee-shell.

Kwanusa, "Not Finished": Said concerning a hunter who has between initiation and his first complete dance.

[372.6] [371] *Kwanusa*: Shell cup of grass and dzeedzee-shells worn by adolescent girls during initiation.

Kwanusa: Grass, especially from play, to a hunter dance.

Kwanusa: 1.—Supernatural beings.
2.—Assemblage of the people for ceremonies of different kinds, especially shamans' dances and gambling competitions in connection with the Winter dance.
3.—Kwanusa were for the first night of a hunter dance.

Kwanusa, "A Screaming": Said of cups which a witch relative have given some property to the husband's dear that have received to return.

[372.7] [371] *Kwanusa*: Place of amusement of a Winter dance's guests.

Kwanusa: Old people, especially persons this is a polite term for indirect address.

Kwanusa: Eighth initiation, especially the ceremonial purchase of a chief to a female.

[375] *Kwanusa*: Dance carried with unusual cross.

Kwanusa: 1.—Moon.
2.—Daughter of the first ancestor on Galiu.

[372.8] *Kwanusa*: Spring salmon.

Kwanusa: Spring salmon house.

Kwanusa: Dedicatorial name of a hunter needed.

Kwanusa: Supernatural being resident on the mouth of the Bella Coola River.

Kwanusa: 1.—The ceremonial of moth to behavior to the manufacture of masks and other requirements.
2.—Moon, the time when such tasks are assigned, the second evening of a hunter dance.

Kwanusa-*Kwanusa*, "The Western Widow": Name given to the daughter of the top ancestor on Galiu.

[372.9] *Kwanusa*-*Kwanusa*: Thin which serves as pattern, pattern, or model for a hunter crest.

Kwanusa: Second night of a potlatch.

[372.91] *Kwanusa*: Anthem, gambling, the structure built into a cross for use in hunter dance.

Kwanusa, "Where People Go": A collecting pod owned by Nuxes or Kwanusa.

Kwanusa: Nuxes and Nuxe Channel.

Kwanusa, "The Dance When Very Poor Making Increases Is Its Body": One of Tlesquillen's songs and hence a designation given to shamans.

Kwanusa: Supernatural beings who guards handkerchiefs.

Kwanusa: 1.—"The Open Mouthed" (in the order of open or semi-closed pots, cups). One of Tlesquillen's songs and hence a designation given to shamans.
2.—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.

[1252] [372] *Kwanusa*: Bath running water.

Kwanusa: 1.—Name of ordinary individuals, this term is used to distinguish those who are being initiated into the secret society.
2.—Resembling supernatural man when awake.

[illegible]: Locality near *Snaw* where berries are plentiful.
[illegible]: Chief living at *Tal'a* in the beginning of time.

A

[illegible]: One of the *a'alt* dances.
[illegible]: I, first person singular.
[illegible]: Herring eggs when brought into house ready for preparation as food.[1]

B

[illegible]: Supernatural animal.
[illegible]: One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: To guess, as done by the uninitiated at a Mystery dance.
[illegible] or *[illegible]*: Kwakiutl supernatural being.
[illegible]: Lamprey.
[illegible]: *Kwatna* name of a *Salia* man.
[illegible]: Abalone shell.
[illegible]: Influential Kwatna woman who died about 1870.
[illegible]: Bell-capped hat worn by chiefs.
[illegible]: A Kimsquit company.
[illegible]: *Snaw* man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Supernatural, man-like creature.

D

[illegible] "*do ut amy*": The sky, regarded as the lower side of a land inhabited by supernatural beings.
[illegible]: 1—"The Comet," synonym for *Nusiyawn*.
2—The *hunter* prerogative of seeing *Nusiyawn*.
[illegible], "The Ever-Comer": Synonym for *Nusiyawn*.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who owns *Nusiyawn*.
[illegible]: Supernatural dog salmon resident in the land above.
[illegible]: Nisa's husband.
[illegible]: Aunt's husband.
[illegible]: One of the four men to settle at *Alqulaal* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Archaic term for *hunter* Breaker.[2]
[illegible]: Frayed cedar-wood, as used for tinder.
[illegible], plural, *[illegible]*: Box; term used in dance address for an adult.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible], "The Dawn Owner": Designation of the supernatural woman *Kwatna*.
[illegible]: Collective term applied to the Kwakiutl-speaking people of the mainland.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Chief of abalone-shell people on the lower Fraser in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at *Snaw* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at *Tal'a* in the beginning of time.

[1] This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.
[2] This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.

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nuxc: Kwakiutl term for pressure distributed on "Eagle down."
pots: Scoop-net for catching salmon in rivers.
pqqamhqin: Head-dress of eagles' tails worn by *hamatsa* dancers.
qmamil: Spring water.
Tsaqaiis: Settlement in the Carrier country.
xnu'll: Cow parsnip.
Xaxlem: Name obtained in the beginning of time from the Skeena people in whose language it is said to mean adzes.
Xaxwaxlaxbalis: Shaman who obtained his power from Thunder.
Xaxwaxtlis: Daughter of a Kitkata chief living in the beginning of time.
xwalwalis: Wrestling.
Xwalqa-i, "The Creek": Name taken by one of the first settlers at *Halkem* in the beginning of time but long since changed to a *hamatsa* designation.
xwaxwaqwa: 1—Shamaniqhird.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Hqaitsa* in the beginning of time. [825]
xwaxwamal-ais: Puppet-person in the form of a humaniqhird.
xwqlu-ais di ciut: The concluding ritual of the *hamatsa* season.
yaqaiis-i: Gambling game played with cottonwood sticks. [525]
Yqalaxtsis, "The One Whose Work Has Failed": Professional name of a *hamatsa* member.
yqlamtsis: The desertion of her husband by a wife. [576]

Y

Yalaxlis: Ancestral name of a *Gisaa* man.
Yalqalaxwaxwa: Example man mentioned in an allegedly historical account. [576]
yaw: "Halo!" "Hail!" or "Greetings!"
ya-i: Exclamation having the significance of, "May you have a safe passage," said when a corpse is drawn through the seat.
Yaxlis: One of the first men to settle at *Hanqamil* in the beginning of time.
Yaxsqis: Baby Bolo man mentioned in an ancient story.
yemmem: 1—Pyrogravire, tangible or intangible, which some *hahamatsi* possess in addition to a dance.
2—Similar pyrogravire formerly displayed in secret rites.
yaw: 1—Call, that is, that which impels a *hamatsa* to dance.
2—*Hamatsa* whistle.
Yi'wadalaxa: Man sent down west of Kwakiutl in the beginning of time.
yudis: Term, implying both wealth and good fortune, applied to a man able to give a memorial potlatch soon after the death of a relative.
yqwilamm: Pressure given by a prospective bridegroom on his future father-in-law. [431]
yu: Good, adjective. [584]
yuki: Mountain goat. [825]
Yi'wadalis: Green Island.
yukis: "All Right," cry used in a *hamatsa* dance.
Yalwa: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Yqalbalalis: One of the first men to settle at *Hqaitsa* in the beginning of time.
yulalaxwa: Bringing down of a call by means of the rite of *xwaqlu*.
yulalaxwa: Pressure given by the bride's relatives to the groom's when they come for boxes on the wedding day. [431] [585]

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576 773 776 796 tools of genuine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sea. Ever since that time the Dîlqala dance the Sisau'ka. Besides this it is stated that the Raven gave each gens its secrets.

FIG. 8.—Mask representing K'mak'mak'lîqa.

FIG. 9.—Mask representing K'ala'qoka.

532 575 776

619 532 722 Each gens has its peculiar earrings, which are used in the Sisau'ka only, and are otherwise kept a deep secret, i.e., they are the sacred property

FIG. 10.—Mask representing K'ala'kau.

FIG. 11.—Mask representing D'ômal'qalîlaka.

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[539] [285] dress of each gens. All gentes, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the same rattles, regardless of the carving they represent.

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out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he cannot catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the Gwgil'da dance clothed in a bear-skin and wearing a large handing, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red and white cedar-bark. Some Gwgil'da do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon, or four dogs to poison and devour them. Those who bite people will also eat corpses. The Gwgil'da has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

The G'ûq (= the laughter) and the Dû'ûs (= the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The G'ûq 'makes fun of everything' and mimicks people with his nails. The Dû'ûs carries stones and sticks, and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day he pays for it at night when he dances. The G'ûq and the Dû'ûs must stay for one month, after they have danced, in their houses.

If a person transgresses the laws of the K'ûwît, for instance when the Gwgil'da gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person destroys the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offence has been proved he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing, and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared, and the substitute is killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is entrusted to the shamans, who bewitch the condemned person by throwing disease into him, or by poisoning him in some other (unconventional?) way. The object thrown by the shamans is a shell, bone, or finger-nail, around the middle of which objects a brown hair is tied. If the object strikes the offender he will fall sick. Blood collects in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ceremonial) used in the K'ûwît are hung immediately at the close of each dancing season. Persons must wear a necklet of red cedar-bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others the thunder-bird and his servant Ts'ûqsi'nxwa, who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and a staff with red and blue spiral lines, appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Qô'ûxûnx and his brothers and his sister (see p. 418), Hamamatsû'ûq and his fellows, the raven and the Pamp'ûxûx, and many others.

Customs regarding Birth, Puberty, Marriage, and Death.

When the time of delivery approaches, the woman leaves the house and repairs to a small hut built for the purpose. She is assisted by per-

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994 hereditary midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
[94] the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[95] near the room for a year (according to Nuk'ulela, for ten days), else
the spirits would take offence.

95 The child is now given its first name. On this occasion the whole
[95] tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive
[96] small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member
of the Kwan, when it is given its Kwan name. This ceremony takes
place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man
gives his first potlatch and receives the Qi'ulelem name.

99 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves
as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed
to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of
the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting pos-
ture. She bathes during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and
drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this hour she may
[98] leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[99] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that
if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may
pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for
a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[96] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She
[96] must not chew gum or eat meat (see Fifth Report of Committee,
1885, p. 110).

104 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, accompanied by his
[103] friends, to the house of the girl's father and makes his intention. His
friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he
sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries
them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at
once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until
[107] he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has
been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding
the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast,
during which he states that he is to be married on the following day.
He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four
[108] women to assist him. On the following morning they assemble, and
accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing velently, and
105 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally
they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the
girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bride-
groom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[108] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn
gives her blankets and other articles of the best quality, and distributes
presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he
has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest.
A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man.
At the time of the marriage the bride's father may produce the groom to
give him his name (to marry) or more as the pair have their first child.
[111] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents
may choose.

116 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-
money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

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every morning when the sun rises. He takes on that he rises pop- 556
ely. The first six of these dolls are grouped in pairs, and are 773
believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, 776
and rainbow. In the hands these dolls make their appearance, and
are represented by masks. Xe'mstem and Xemsalk'ota wear the 532
design of the full moon, indicated on the nose of Xe'mstem by a 575
double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over 776
forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xemsalk'ota has a double curved
line in red and black, the red outside, which sweeps over forehead,
cheeks, and chin. Ahmalk'ila and Ahmalk'ila wear the design of
the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those
between the first and second masks. The SEQ'emq'emkt'lik'a and
Q'ela'ntem have designs representing stars, lik wearing the same
style of mask. The seventh is Qala'xova, who face represents the
blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next border, Kalt'las (who
wears no hair blankets but), wears the horn of the rainbow in
black and blue. The ninth, Ka'mas'k, wears on his head a mask repre-
senting a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last
of the series is a woman called a'mat qalt'ts (to be eater), the sister of
the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with
grease. She figures in several legends as among previous and par-
tened by the people whom she has visited.

The sisaxl', which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of 575
the clans, is premitted over by a being that lives the sun. A man who 773
had gone out hunting met the sisaxl' and was attracted by him to the 776
secrets of the house. When he returned, he said the people to clean 776
their houses and to show them with clean underfur he intended to
return. Then he danced the sisaxl' and told a people what he had
seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this
dance and to adorn themselves when dancing in carved headdresses
with tails of sea-lion skins, and to swing wood rattles. The man,
later on, returned to the sun. Ever since Bilcoola dance
the sisaxl'. Besides this, it is stated that heaven gave each clan its 614
secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings which are used in the 424
sisaxl' only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are 532
the sacred possessions of each clan. All chieftainsmen, however, wear the beau-
tiful carved headdresses and use the seven clans, regardless of the
carving they represent. Every time the said objects of a clan are
shown to the people a potlatch is given. Thereof objects, although 424
the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by 532
each individual—that is to say, every freeman has the right to 556
acquire a certain group of carvings and use, according to the clan 614
to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slave children, also illegiti-
mate children, can not become sisaxl'. Women can not take a
part carving, but some such could is to given him by his relatives—
fathers, mothers, or other brothers. Qualtla'ts, the Indian, to whom I

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575 to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one
[785] morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all
[787] his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone
[55] whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the
[774] body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try
[756] for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the xlaxo'ła dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large
[297] head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark.
[301] Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the Ts'ā'qoła (fig. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that
[532] of Bastokuxlanx Xa'wat of the Kwakiutl. Some xlaxo'ła do not
[171] bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who
[546] bite people will also devour corpses. The xlaxo'ła has to observe a number of regulations.
[525] For four years after his
[634] initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

Fig. 200.
[illegible]
[illegible]

The o'ła (the laughter) and the da'ła (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The o'ła "make fun of everything" and mock the people with his calls. The da'ła carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The o'ła and the da'ła, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

575 If a person transgresses the laws of the kwaxt, for instance, when
698 the xlaxo'ła gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person destroys the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in
[892] council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing
575 to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the sub-
681 stitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted
799 to the shamans, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing dis-
796 ease into him or by poisoning him in some other (unmentioned?) way. The object thrown by the shamans is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around

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¶ 539 *987 words he met twelve grizzly bears, at a time when he carried twelve arrows. The bears said to one another:

"Let us kill that puny man."

When they began to uproot trees to show their strength, *Kalkup* replied:

"All right! Do your worst. I will kill you all."

He shot his arrows, shattering the trees behind which the grizzly bears were standing, and after a tremendous fight succeeded in killing them all. He returned to his sister and told her that he had killed twelve grizzly bears, but had almost lost his own life in doing it. She was much alarmed, and, fearing for his safety, asked him to abandon such dangerous hunting.

A few days later when he shot at a squirrel in a tree he missed it, and his arrow lodged far above the ground. *Kalkup* climbed after it, and, as his eyes were always fixed on the arrow above him, he did not notice that the trunk was growing rapidly taller. Finally, the tree passed upward through a hole in the land above and *Kalkup* crawled to it, using his bow as a gangplank. He found himself in a flat, level, treeless country, containing game, at least as he judged from a well-defined runway which passed near the place where he stood. It was evening by this time, so *Kalkup* made a snare of his bow-string and set it in the path, hoping that the animal which had made it, whatever it might be, would be caught during the night. Then he lay down and slept.

Early the following morning he heard a low rumbling, and to his amazement he saw the sun heading straight for his snare. *Kalkup* then realized that the runway was its path. He expected that his bow-string would be broken by the impact, but to his surprise the snare held and the sun was fairly caught. Its chief emerged from within and looked around without noticing the frightened lad who lay perfectly still.

"Who did this?" he demanded angrily, but *Kalkup* did not answer.

Presently the mice which we placed in the land above came to him and asked:

"Did you do this? It is a terrible thing, a great miracle which you must rectify."

"How?" required *Kalkup*.

"Cover our bodies with paint* and we will gnaw through the string of your snare."

Kalkup smeared the mice with paint, but when they tried to gnaw through the cord they were driven back by the intense heat.

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*It was formerly customary for all Bella Coola to carry small pouches containing paint.

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boulder and round it lightly, even farther than Grizzly Bear himself had been able to do.

"Now," said Grizzly Bear, "go home. But don't display your powers immediately. If they start to handle you roughly as before, just pretend still to be weak, and watch who are your chief tormentors. Then, if they anger you too much, exert your strength."

When the youth returned to his village his companions, who knew of his search for supernatural aid, came running out.

"Here comes an ordeal," they said, "who went away to get power."

They were all eager to learn whether or not he had succeeded, but the lad did not gratify their curiosity. After a time they began their usual sport of wrestling, nor was it long before they had begun to throw their playmates to and fro, as they had often done. He allowed them to believe him a weakling until the whole crowd jumped on him, forcing him to the ground, and derriding him for his failure to obtain supernatural help. Then he exerted his strength. Catching one of his persecutors by the neck he squeezed him until his head was squeezed from his body; now he seized two, one in each hand, and crushed them together with such a shock that they were killed. Grizzly Bear had endowed him with the strength of a bear, which he used to slay all who had maltreated him. Once avenged, he assumed the form of a grizzly bear and ran away, never to return.

THE DOG'S WIFE[10]

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A chief and his wife had a daughter who, not having reached the age of puberty, always slept beside her father. One night she was awakened by hearing a man holding intercourse with her, but she could not tell who it was. The same thing happened repeatedly just before dawn, her seducer always fleeing so rapidly that she could not identify him. Greatly puzzled, she at last hit on a plan to find her lover. Like all women she carried a small bag containing the paint used to decorate herself; she took this to bed with her, unclosed, and determined to throw it at the person who was visiting her. Towards dawn she was seduced as usual, hurled her pouch in the darkness, and heard the thud as it struck someone. In the morning [illegible] there was a stain of paint over its face and there was considerable discussion as to how this could have happened. The girl was terrified, suspecting, as was the case, that the dog had heard her make some unkind remark about its face and had become her lover in revenge.

The girl soon felt that she was pregnant. The time of delivery arrived with unprecedented rapidity, and she gave birth to four puppies, three

10 Sale Sale story.

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place where he is not likely to be disturbed, and addresses the supreme god in a loud tone of voice, requesting his assistance. 782

Although prayers can be said at any time of the day, or at any season of the year, there are occasions when they are more potent than at other times. At dawn, for example, a wise young man is accustomed to go alone to the river to wash and pray. He enters the icy water, blows mucus over his hands, and rubs his body vigorously* either with a smooth pebble, or, if it can be obtained, with a stone taken from the stomach of a sea-lion.* As he scours himself, he asks *Menakaiz* to grant him long life, power, success, and strength. On coming from the water, he repeats his request, and then washes himself again. This process is repeated four times, making eight prayers in all. A young man who does this habitually, and in other ways placates the supreme deity, is likely to have success, and may even be given supernatural assistance by one of the many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. The underlying belief is that *Alpuxtēn* actually hears the words spoken and, pleased thereby, aids the petitioner either directly, or by strengthening the supernatural elements in his body. [783]

Menakaiz has power over both rain and dry weather, and is petitioned for whichever is desired. When the sun is obscured by rain clouds, the Bella Coola pray: [821]

"Please clean your face, *Menakaiz*," or,

"Please show us your face, we need you."

Before a man starts on a journey, either by canoe or on foot, he always asks help for his undertaking. [484]

"*Menakaiz*," he prays, "Be with me," or "Go before me," or, "Give me what I want."

Corresponding to the importance of the occasion, prayers are always made before the departure of a hunting or war [824] [825] [826] [827] [828] [829] [830] [831] [832] [833] [834]

*Ochre was formerly used for rubbing both the body and clothing. It was followed by the application of clean water, and undoubtedly had a religious significance; indeed, washing purely for cleanliness was not habitual until recently.

*The Bella Coola stone that scours are often found in the stomachs of sea-lions. One specimen, considered of great value, was seen; it was indistinguishable from a water-scoured river pebble.

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515 sionally, in a half-hearted manner, but it is not unusual for a man to allow the basin of water in which he makes his ablutions to remain standing for two or three weeks. Not many [177] years ago the Carriers taught their neighbours to make a kind [246] of soap from the ashes of burnt cottonwood sticks thrown into [388] water; with this clothes are washed irregularly and in most cases from sheer necessity only. In former times bathing was [189] a semi-sacred rite, but this fell into disuse with the passing of [177] the old religion, and the use of soap and water merely for the [291] sake of cleanliness has not become a daily habit. The women have more vanity; the younger girls especially like to have new clothes, though they wear them carelessly, heedless of fit. [196] An effort is often made to clean up for ceremonial dances, but it entails little more than the removal of the more obvious dirt and the putting on, over unchanged undergarments, of a sweater. Pride in personal appearance, love of tidiness, delight in a clean house, are all quite foreign to the Bella Coola.

356 Probably the reason for lack of comforts in the houses is simply that the people do not feel the need for them. They [264] consider it no hardship to sit on a rickety chair, scoop up food [231] from a common dish and, if they think of it, throw morsels [152] down to the dog or the cat. The smell, the flies, the dirt, the chaos do not concern them. Capable of undergoing privations, hardships, and even sufferings, they think neither of the com-
231 fort of themselves nor of others. Their domestic animals are often treated abominably, not through lack of affection or cruelty, but from callousness. More than once the writer has seen a favourite dog steal a piece of food from the table. Its master, after a furious blow or kick at it, would suddenly, as if by inspiration, throw a choice bit to the animal, saying:

"Why, he must have been hungry!"

Though the Bella Coola feel a kinship with animals unknown to the white man, it is not combined with any recognition of their feelings as living creatures. There are, of course, many exceptions, but on the whole public opinion demands [577] generosity and kindness only towards human members of the group. The moral code is not concerned with animals.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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manner in which he had shielded them from the falling fish. *Sawmakc* alone kept his original name.

When returning they made presents of abalone-shell* to everyone they met, and reaching *Kimsquit* they made very valuable gifts to all the people. The four had been absent about six months, and as they approached their home the three elder brothers poked fun at *Skaqoa*, saying:

"You will find that your wife has gone to another husband while ours will be waiting for us."

They found the reverse to be true. *Skaqoa's* wife alone had remained faithful to her absent husband; all the others had taken new consorts. The three fickle wives regretted what they had done as soon as they saw the wealth brought back by their former husbands but it was too late to change their course, so they were left lamenting. Many people were rather jealous of *Sawmakc's* success, but he distributed valuable presents to all. Soon after this the three brothers married new wives, refusing to take back their former ones, much as the latter desired it.

Another informant stated that the first settler at this village was a single man, *Swakc*, who brought a stone hammer as a present from *Skawtaw*.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Natqwadi**

In the beginning of time *Skawtaw* sent down to the Dean River four brothers, *Qwayayai*, *Yeiiks*, *Epenkkilkwais*, *Tsaskadimat*, and their sister *Sawmaa*. They brought with them a herald, *Nacqwalaia*, who was a kingfisher, and two men, *Xomcis* and *Sqaiaya*, who had the prerogative of dancing at weddings. The five came as black bears, and for a long time retained that form. *Yeiiks* carried with him from *Nacmir* a several moosehides, a stone axe, some dyed cedar-bark, sticks for making fire, and the prerogative of a funeral dance. After tarrying a few days at their landing place, the party set out down the river, with *Nacqwalaia* flying in front as guide. He was a kingfisher at the time and used to make short flights with quivering wings, and then stop until his bear friends had caught up with him, exactly as those birds do at the present time when a canoe travels up a river. On reaching *Natqwadi*, "The Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon," about a mile and a quarter from the mouth of the river, on the south-east side, they camped for the night.

[539
301
435]

*This was formerly valued very highly, both for its use as beads and ornaments, and because it had to be imported from a great distance.
*Related by Jim Pollard.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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the front-door facing the river, but has to leave the house 784
through the trap beneath the enclosure where she sleeps. The 881
Bella Coola consider it unthinkable for a girl to disregard these prohibitions, but if this should happen, she would be chased home by her parents, by the Guardian of the River, or, in fact, by any elderly member of the community. The strongest [761]
reason for respecting these regulations is the belief that disobedience brings death; no one knows how it is inflicted, but a careless girl soon dies. During this period, she cannot eat [262]
fresh salmon, though she is allowed them if they have been smoked for four or five days. Her scanty meals are brought to her in the enclosure where she is virtually a prisoner. It is true [783]
that she can leave it and wander in the woods, but her comrades avoid her as being in an unclean condition of which they are afraid, and she is barred from taking part in all activities by the river which constitute so large a part of the life of the Bella Coola. A girl cannot pick berries during this time, as no [222]
more would grow in the valley which she had thus defiled; she must not touch anyone, nor allow anyone to touch her; she must not pass in front of a man; she must go to bed before [513]
everyone else in the house, and be the last to arise. The danger of breaking some taboo is so great that it is safer for a girl to [867]
remain within her enclosure where her mother, and other old women, gather to tell her the many things which it is fitting for an adult woman to know. This seclusion is not pleasant, but it unquestionably serves to emphasize the importance of married life to which it is a prelude. The writer remembers an occasion when a Bella Coola family was eating tasty fresh salmon while one of the daughters, who had recently reached adolescence, watched enviously. Her grandfather rose and gave the child an orange, remarking that in his youth little girls did not receive such dainties to ameliorate their lot.

Adolescent girls wear certain distinctive articles of clothing 881
and ornaments. The most noticeable is a skull-cap bound [292]
with grass; this is the only time in a woman's life that a hat is [301]
worn. She also wears ear-rings, each consisting of a neat
1/4 [ie - one year after puberty - ANALYST] [439]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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851 bundle of four macaroni-shaped shells, probably *Dentalium*,
[301] which are said to have been imported from the north in early
[439] times. These marks serve to indicate the position of the girl,
who is both feared and respected, possessed of supernatural
[789] power, and yet baneful. Many Bella Coola stories describe
how adolescent girls have been able to vanquish supernatural
[538] beings; perhaps the most striking of these is the manner in
which they once saved mankind when the sun came too close to
the earth. At the end of a year, or eleven months according to one old woman, the seclusion is terminated, and the girl resumes her normal activities. The first time she goes to the river she must throw on the water four pieces of dyed, and four pieces of undyed cedar-bark. This is especially important if the salmon are running at the time, although no explanation of this ritual is given.

582 The resumption of her freedom indicates that a girl has
556 reached marriageable age. Chiefs sometimes confine their
daughters for even longer than a year, and usually delay their
882 marriages for several years to demonstrate their importance;
but this is not necessary, nor is it practised by other than
wealthy individuals. It is not uncommon for a girl to wed
before her year is out; in that case her restrictions automatically
[554] lapse. Chiefs never allow such a curtailment for their daugh-
ters; to do so would diminish the prestige of the latter, and
be detrimental to the status of their children when they marry
836 and have families. Illicit intercourse with a secluded adoles-
883 cent is considered not only illegal but disgusting as well. Be-
tween the period of confinement and marriage, intercourse is
[881] prohibited and guarded against by the parents of a girl, but
is not considered filthy and seems to have been fairly common
in former times with the daughters of poor people and slaves.
This sometimes took place before the first menstruation in
spite of the disapproval with which this was regarded.

826 Although the menstrual blood which appears at the first
841 discharge is considered more baneful than that emitted on later
789 occasions, it is always regarded as uncanny or unclean. It is

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Y's family decide when the period of engagement shall be terminated. Although it is considered undignified for X or his relatives to hurry them in this matter, there is always a certain amount of urging. Y's father has strong reasons for procrastination. A long engagement strengthens the status of the children whom his daughter may bear, and besides, he frequently receives presents from X's relatives. As Y's relatives will have to bear the heavier part of the expenses of the wedding, it may be necessary for them to delay it for years while saving the requisite goods. The ceremony may take place at any time of the year. Foreign guests are occasionally invited, but usually only the members of X's and Y's village are present. If the marriage should be with the child of a foreign chief his relatives and friends are present to take part. When Y's relatives decide that they are ready, they choose the actual day after consultation with X's family, though the assumption is that Y's father merely informs X's father of the date.

It is incumbent on X's family to proclaim the event on the day preceding the ceremony. In the late afternoon his father sends a herald through the village calling out:

"*Ewinay*, ye chiefs! *Ewinay*, ye wives of chiefs! *Ewinay*, ye commoners!"

The actual meaning of *ewinay* is unknown, though it is well understood to be an invitation to gather for the announcement of a wedding. In conjunction with the summons, X's ancestral name is used, although all in the village are probably well aware of what is about to take place. It is noteworthy that at a marriage the guests, as well as the participants, are called by the ancestral names, as opposed to the *kasior* names by which individuals who own such are generally known. Red colouring is much in evidence at weddings; heralds smear their faces with red paint and the guests similarly tint themselves. They wear collars, wristlets, and anklets of undyed cedar-bark, and cover themselves with eagle down.

[illegible] while the relatives are preparing the body for disposal. For a child, these services are performed by the parents; for a married man whose parents are dead, by his brothers and other kinfolk; for a married woman, by her husband or the members of her own family. If she has borne no children, it is customary for her relatives to carry out the funeral rites, especially if she has been many times relinquished from her husband. If such repayment has not been made, it is considered correct for a husband to bury his wife, although it is a point of honor for her relatives to reimburse him later for his expenditure. On the other hand, when children have been born and financial assistance mutually given and received several times, it is proper for the husband to perform the funeral rites, although he may receive assistance from his wife's kinsmen. There is no rigid ruling on the point, but hitherings seldom occur in connection with disposal of the dead. Members of the immediate family are ready to assist in every case, both on account of the disgrace that would follow a niggardly funeral, and also as a means of displaying their wealth.

The first essential is to wash the body, a rite performed by men for a man, by women for a woman. It is immaterial who does this though some of the relatives usually volunteer. Neither husband nor wife touches a dead consort, though it is said that long ago a man would hold intercourse with a deceased wife to indicate his excessive grief. The most influential member of the immediate family takes the lead in the various necessary acts, although there is always endless discussion and advice from members of the remoteness family and others interested. A tom-ring is placed in the anus of the corpse; if this is omitted, the body will not be able to dissolve into its elements but will range the earth as a walking phantom, causing injury to anyone who observes it. If the deceased has just eaten some of the first run of spring salmon or eulachon, a shaman washes out his mouth with a sponge of undyed cedar-bark which he throws into the river. The essence of the salmon is thus extracted from the body; if

come to dancing, unconsciously begins to convince himself that he is different from lower morals.

Before dancing is dared initiation into the *Darter* society, and then the ritual of various dances, it will be convenient to outline the type of ceremonial, although emphasizing the fact that each differs so much from every other that lengthy descriptions will be necessary later on. When a person has been initiated, either in the proper manner during the ceremonial season or as a "dancer" during the summer, he is known as a *lion*, a novice, until the *Darter* dances of the next winter. During this period he wears certain distinctive outer-dark ornaments and is expected to keep himself somewhat apart from the uninitiated. He is always required to give his ceremonial during the first dance season after initiation, by so doing he comes to be a novice. In later years a *Darter* can suit himself whether or not to perform. Having once done so, he is a fully qualified member of the society, not does he increase his rank in direct proportion to the number of his ceremonies. It is true that one who often dances learns himself praised by the moralists, and gains a certain amount of fame among his fellow *Darters*. But no matter how often he may perform, he cannot become a chief, with prestige spread far and wide among neighbouring villages, nor can he increase the fame of his ancestors by adding honors to his ancestral names. Thus the benefits are not sufficient to urge a man to concentrate on *Darter* ceremonials to preference to polarchism. The society is essentially one in which a relatively poor man can display his semi-religious prerogative equally with a chief. Usually, a man performs a complicated ritual, such as that of a Cannibal dance, done at four times during his lifetime, but exceptions occur in which an dramatic theme is preserved may be more often given.

A man who proposes to give a dance must always notify one of the moralists of his village, who summons his fellows, some of the senior members of the society, and chiefs who are plus *Darters* to discuss the invention. If it accords one of the

[illegible] dials with a hatchet to call them in, they seem joyfully, though somewhat fearfully, and stand on either side of the doorway. In [illegible] they gaze on the scene, wondering what they are. The singers strike up the first of Ts songs and he dances, while singers and dancers sing the words and the women dance. To the uninitiated it appears most impressive and desirable, while even the present white men are hardly remote indifferent. In intervals a whistle, which the uninitiated believe to be the voice of the owl, sounds softly from beneath the weight of a reliable dancer. When a dance ceased, T's second song is sung, and so in succession the night. Then the singers strike up very well-remembered tune, perhaps one used last year, and the owner dances. This is repeated for eight or ten songs. In later parlance, every dancer who has had a call during the season must dance, the ceremony tends, therefore, to become longer and longer as time goes on, although the singing of the songs of a previous year is omitted. When enough performers have danced, a dancer's song is often sung and the owner dances "to clear the house." At this point the uninitiated spectators are told to withdraw. Then a meal is served to the crowd who, as members of a similar organization, are honoured guests and have been seated together in a corner, conspicuous in their wonderful ceremonials. When their departure, the initiated are more leisurely, while are needed after another adviser them as to their conduct. Then presents of comparatively small value are distributed. The menfolk would consider it unbecoming for T to provide over-lavishly. The fine gifts are to the singers, the rest to the makers of the masks. Though these presents are, in essence, pay, they are never thought of in that light. T is under obligations, T has cleared himself of these obligations, to the Bella Coola outside. When all is over, T once more dances to one of his softly sung songs. Then one of the menfolk calls out to open the door and the guests dispersed, except the novices who sleep in T's house.

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Sankiness: Guardian spirit of a Kiowaph woman.
sankiness: "This is a thing brought Your Road": Said when a call is answered, or has been seen a lie for the dead.
Sankiyis: "Place of Big Arrow to the River": Village at Kaowa.
Sankiskiy: Woman identified to a separation and hence become supernatural spirit[1]. Function without seeing seen by Death.
Sapkiskiy: Supernatural sore of Death.
spakiyi: Place and by which the Keeper is held during the house dance.
Sankiskan: Man resistance to an ancient enemy.
Sankiyan: "On the Ass On the River": Supernatural name of hump-back giant.
sankiyi: Sun-ring.
sankiyi: Shooting ring conjured for a chief and, apparently, the singing of [301] [538]
Sankiyan: Place on the northwest side of Deer Channel, about nine miles from [178]
Sanqaiskiyi: Supernatural Dogs who conceal the supreme god of the Sacred Bible.
Sanskiskan: Supernatural Dog who rescues those killed by the receipt of an [illegible] from Sanqaiskiyi.
sanqan: Meaning of [illegible] [illegible].
sanqi: Person who excites [illegible] shelter to a hunt-out.
sanqiskiyi: Ancient [illegible] [illegible] to a lake near the headwaters of [illegible] Big Cedar. [226] [223]
Sanqiskiyi: Supernatural Dog who regulates the height of tides in [illegible].
sanskiskan: To [illegible], especially a supernatural being.
Sanskiyan: One of the five [illegible] on Gaida.
Sanskiyan, "Place Only Road": Name created by Gaoaan to the beginning of time with reference to the [illegible] of [illegible].
sanqiyanqi: Other [illegible] to [illegible] before a Sacrifice dance.
Sanskiqanskiyi: Supernatural Dog who gives inspiration.
Sanskiskanskiyi: 1. Supernatural name of [illegible].
2. Medical [illegible] prescribed for [illegible].
Sanskiskanqiskiyi: Place of a Bella Coola shaman.
Sin-Sanskiyan: Name of a Sanqaiskiyi woman.
sanqi-Sanskiyi: The [illegible] of changing from Sanskiyi to sanqi [illegible] on [illegible] [424]
Sanskiyan, "The Sanqan": Son of Sanqaiskiyi's [illegible] and hence a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].
Sanqanskiyi: One of the five [illegible] to settle on Gaida in the beginning of time.
sanskiyanqi: Spirits [illegible] by a Sanqan [illegible].
sanqanqiyi: Name [illegible] to Kiowaph [illegible].
Sanqi: Place on north side of Sanqi Sanskiyi Arm, about one-quarter mile from [illegible]
sanqiskiyi: "The Cut-Off": In the language of ghosts. Identified with [illegible] [illegible]. [198]
Sanskiyi: One of the five [illegible] to settle on Gaida in the beginning of time.
Sanskiskanqiyi: One of the [illegible] of Sanqi Sanskiyi Sanqi on Gaida.
sanqiyi: 1. Supernatural [illegible] Gaidaan with support platforms for guests.
2. Village in Kaowa. [342]

[102*]

[224]

[787]

[601]

[614]

[211]

[764]

[776]

[775]

[825]

[301]

[327]

[825]

[827]

[152]

[illegible]: Leaf of whitebark.

[illegible]: 1.—Class of medicines, such as prescribed the methods of medicine, herbs.

2.—Medicine.

[illegible]: Type of sun-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: Child.

[illegible]: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.

[illegible]: Tassels.

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: Deceased family practically equivalent to children when used by an old person.

[illegible]: The commemoration of a chief's ancestors and other major ceremonies by means of place posts erected near his grave.

[illegible], [illegible]: A supernatural being.

[illegible]: Was mentioned to a man.

[illegible]: Supernatural being who gives powers to small fish.

[illegible]: Constituent expression used by the Indians with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives.

[illegible]: 1.—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living.

2.—Its root, term used with reference to the meaning of a medical representation of a dead person, the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.

[illegible]: Provided, dried cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.

[illegible]: Weaving of cedar-bark mats by Indian women in the upper Bella Coola valley.

[illegible]: Lake.

[illegible]: Kitkatla creek.

[illegible]: Blue grouse.

[illegible]: Dancing-shaft ceremony worn by adolescent girls during initiation.

[illegible]: Hard sun for smoking shelters.

[illegible]: Yellow cedar worn decorated with crest feathers such as in carvings for a Wyanoke dance.

[illegible]: Wrestling.

[illegible]: Brown bear seen living in the last century.

G

[illegible]: One of the first men to guide an Haida town in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Bella Bella village, the highest town in Vancouver.

[illegible]: Grizzly bear.

[illegible]: Person received from Grizzly Bear for a Kitsumpt man in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Earlier name of a Tlingit man.

[illegible]: One of the first men to guide an Haida town in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: One of the names of Wasco Tlingit as child.

[illegible]: Non-existent weighing, usually individual, and always with real being.

[illegible]: Indeterminate healing in the dance mat.

[illegible] **ai'ala**: Whatever copper ornaments were by children girls during ordeals.
Ya'ao: Bella Bella man living in the beginning of time.
ameyk: To dance.
[illegible]: Those who dance at marriage.
[illegible]: Mallard duck.
[illegible]: Right of publicity on which court witness appear for a short time.
[illegible]: Bureau of Canadian Indian Affairs.
[illegible]: Thimble-like wooden disk.
[illegible]: Ceremonial seating of chiefs according to their ceremonial phrase in a house.
Pishagyim: Name acquired by a Bella Coola man from an Haisla in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Professional name of a Bella Coola [illegible].
[illegible]: Proper name of a Bella Coola foreman, the designation was derived from Bella Coola.
[illegible]: Ceremonial [illegible] chief.
[illegible]: Influential Bella Coola chief.
[illegible]: "The Resident": Government [illegible] living [illegible] under [illegible] who gives [illegible] information of [illegible] concerning them.
[illegible]: 1.—Fourth day of a [illegible], on the evening of which [illegible] figures appear.
2.—[illegible] [illegible] to [illegible].
[illegible]: Old woman resident in [illegible]'s house in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: "Little Dance": Form of [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible]: Gathering of the people for a [illegible] [illegible] after the [illegible].
[illegible]: 1.—"The Dance Near the Fire": One of Thunderbird's [illegible], and hence a designation given to [illegible].
2.—Proper name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: Proper name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: One who has [illegible] a [illegible] song.
[illegible]: The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in a [illegible] of the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] giving of [illegible] to the [illegible] relatives when they [illegible] [illegible] on the [illegible] day.
[illegible]: Daughter of the first people who come down to [illegible] [illegible] to the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Wooden [illegible] used in a game.
[illegible]: Place on [illegible] where [illegible] [illegible] from the [illegible], where [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] after the beginning of time.
[illegible]: [illegible].
[illegible]: Name of a [illegible] upon which [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible].
[illegible]: 1.—"The Runner": One of Thunderbird's [illegible] and hence a designation given to [illegible].
2.—One of the first men to settle in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: "Bought in [illegible]": Term applied to a copper bought back from a [illegible] and [illegible].
[illegible]: Shaman's name derived from Thunderbird.
[illegible]: "I have [illegible] you."

[illegible] §775

[illegible] §776

[illegible] §777

[illegible] §778

[illegible] §779

[illegible] §780

[illegible] §781

[illegible] §782

[illegible] §783

[illegible] §784

[illegible] §785

[illegible] §786

[illegible] §787

[illegible] §788

[illegible] §789

[illegible] §790

[illegible] §791

[illegible] §792

[illegible] §793

[illegible] §794

[illegible]

go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children.

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the hair pomaded and the corpse folded over the breast. The nearest relatives of the deceased in past time the wives, the child to put on the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the father is often laid on the bier. Sometimes of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned outwards. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The tombs of the deceased are level. The tomb is covered in a demented [illegible] which also shows how many [illegible] supply food, drinking, and there be had given some of [illegible]. These objects are painted or carved on the [illegible]. Frequently there are [illegible] of the dead. The number of these tombs may also indicate to an [illegible] figure in the [illegible]. When burial took place [illegible] of the deceased is known [illegible]. This is [illegible] frequently having a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down a place between the fire and the door, which the relatives to the [illegible] with the [illegible] of the dead is believed to be.

The fall of a meteor must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. He will otherwise visit a [illegible] and the ground of each [illegible] of their [illegible]. When two [illegible] are thrown into the [illegible] Whenever such the [illegible] and go into the woods where they [illegible] down [illegible] into the ground of the [illegible] of a [illegible] to which they [illegible] themselves by [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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to live and taken him up to the sky, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns and is immediately the heaven. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he is not catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fell from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the shaman's dance, clad in a bearskin and wearing a large head ring, heavy bracelets and skirts, all made of red cedar bark, transformed by spirit power, wearing a mask of the Wi'ngata (fig. 200), the spirit which initiated him. Its mask corresponds exactly to that of the [illegible] (fig. [illegible]).

Fig. 200.
[illegible]

Some Gitsi'n do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or bear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The Gitsi'n has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not [illegible]. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but has good to bring ordinary to one month. [illegible] he must not leave his house.

The [illegible] (the eagles) and the Ki'ts (the ravens) do not go into a woods to be initiated, but both dance their dances before their front doors. The [illegible] "everything" and sometimes people with his [illegible]. The Ki'ts carries stones and [illegible] goods and canoes. If he [illegible] an object during the day, he pays for it at night when it dances. The [illegible] and the Ki'ts, after they have danced, [illegible] their houses for one month.

If a person transgresses the law of the [illegible], for instance, when the shaman [illegible], or when a [illegible] a dance to which he has no right, the [illegible] a person other than the [illegible] or makes a mistake in handling his [illegible] death. The chief assembles the council and the shaman is called then the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and if all his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the city party is spared and the [illegible] is killed. The execution of the judgment is intrusted to the shaman, who furnishes the condemned person by throwing the [illegible] by pulling him [illegible] way. The object thrown by the shaman is shell, bone, or finger nail, around

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MARRIAGE RITES

T's family decide when the period of engagement shall be announced. Although it is considered undignified for X or his relatives to hurry them in this matter, there is always a certain amount of urging. T's father has strong reasons for procrastination. A long engagement strengthens the status of the children whom his daughter may bear, and besides, he frequently receives presents from X's relatives. As T's relatives will have to bear the heavier part of the expenses of the wedding, it may be necessary for them to delay it for years while saving the requisite goods. The ceremony may take place at any time of the year. Foreign guests are occasionally invited, but usually only the members of X's and T's villages are present. If the marriage should be with the child of a foreign chief his relatives and friends are present to take part. When T's relatives decide that they are ready, they choose the actual day after consultation with X's family, though the assumption is that T's father merely informs X's father of the date.

It is incumbent on X's family to proclaim the event on the day preceding the ceremony. In the late afternoon his father sends a herald through the village calling out:

"*Ipiwap*, ye chiefs! *Ipiwap*, ye wives of chiefs! *Ipiwap*, ye commoners!"

The actual meaning of *ipiwap* is unknown, though it is well understood to be an invitation to gather for the announcement of a wedding. In conjunction with the announcement, X's ancestral name is used, although all in the village are probably well aware of where it alone is to take place. It is noteworthy that at a marriage the guests, as well as the participants, are called by the ancestral names, as opposed to the *kwiw* names by which individuals who are such are generally known. But coloring is much in evidence at weddings; heralds arrive dressed in red paint and the guests similarly dye themselves. They wear collars, wristlets, and anklets of analyed cedar bark, and cover themselves with eagle down.

[illegible] to incorporate as many of them as possible, so that the rite soon became a chorus of discussion. The songs were sung and sung until all present were familiar with them, then the dance of the rite described food and all departed.

The following afternoon everyone, including those unincised into either society, was invited to the dancer's house. Probably the only absentees from the village were the dancing wife and her lover, while guests from neighbouring settlements were also in attendance. On this occasion, for the first time, the dancer's husband used to take the leading part. When the singers struck up the tune of the first song, he used to appear, supported by four or five assistants. His face was blackened with soot, he wore a lynx-skin belt, and above his head was fastened some insulting object, usually a representation of the female organs made of wood, cedar-bark and feathers, as realistic as possible. As the singers sang, aided by those who had learnt the songs on the previous day, the husband danced, moving his body so that the ornament on top of his head was shaken suggestively. Meanwhile the spectators kept calling out filthy epithets of any kind to his ex-wife and her lover. Sometimes the dancer was able to inspire some obscene remarks into the display. On one occasion, for example, he pulled some lynx fur from his belt and threw it in the face of a Tlé'ra man who happened to be present, and who had once seduced a married woman and accordingly bore the face of a similar rite, with the remark:

"All Tlé'ra women have hairy pubends like that."

The guests were invited to suggest foul sub-names for the man with whom the dancer's wife had eloped. One of them was adopted by general agreement of opinion, and the man was commonly called by it henceforth. Two names so created were:

Sialim, "The One Whose Face is Wrinkled like a Woman's Organs," and,

Tsaiiwik, "The One Who Cohabited Publicly."

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely spot in the house where the mourner resides. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rice in a strong or hollow vessel. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death. 764 783

The above rite presents evidence or widow, but does not allow the fact that for one year they are commonly "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the ancestors, for the same reason they cannot eat fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the ocean. The one near Kitsumgallum is called Sqlaw'k, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature copper, of which the bottoms are here upwards; should this be omitted when the offender converses, the new husband or wife will know the 785 [illegible] 785 [illegible] 785 [illegible] 292 761

In addition to these taboos, there are numerous laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should not their front doors, and the former should not show on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes. If the rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but awakes social and 621 [illegible] 621 [illegible] 621 [illegible] 587 [illegible] 587 [illegible] 587 [illegible] 786

Libr/Derrotts R-1 (1922-1924) 1948
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hunter and round it lightly, even further than Grizzly Bear himself had been able to do.

"Now," said Grizzly Bear, "go home. But don't display your powers immediately. If they seem to handle you roughly as before, just pretend still to be weak, and watch who are your chief tormentors. Then, if they anger you too much, exert your strength."

When the youth returned to his village his companions, who knew of his search for supernatural aid, came running out.

"Here comes *wa-ach-an*," they said, "who went away to get power."

They were all eager to know whether or not he had succeeded, but the lad did not gratify their curiosity. After a time they began their usual sport of wrestling, nor was it long before they had begun to throw their playmates to and fro, as they had often done. He allowed them to believe him a wrestling until the whole crowd jumped on him, forcing him to the ground, and derriding him for his failure to obtain supernatural help. Then he exerted his strength. Catching one of his persecutors by the neck he squeezed him until his head was separated from his body; seizing another, one in each hand, and crushed them together with such a shock that they were killed. Grizzly Bear had endowed him with the strength of a bear, which he used to slay all who had ridiculed him. Once avenged, he assumed the form of a grizzly bear and ran away, never to return.

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THE DOG'S WIFE[42]

A chief and his wife had a daughter who, not having reached the age of puberty, always slept beside her father. One night she was startled by finding a man holding intercourse with her, but she could not tell who it was. The same thing happened repeatedly just before dawn, her unknown always fleeing so rapidly that she could not identify him. Greatly puzzled, she at last hit on a plan to find her lover. Like all women she carried a small bag containing the paint used to decorate herself; she took this to bed with her, unclosed, and determined to throw it at the person who was visiting her. Towards dawn she was awakened as usual, hurled her pouch in the darkness, and heard the thud as it struck someone. In the morning everyone noticed that an ugly old dog living in the house had a smear of paint over its face and there was considerable discussion as to how this could have happened. The girl was terrified, suspecting, as was the case, that the dog had heard her make some unkind remark about its face and had become her lover in revenge.

The girl soon felt that she was pregnant. The time of delivery arrived with unprecedented rapidity, and she gave birth to four puppies, three

[42] Bella Bella story.

PLATE I

115
142
241
308

Photograph by H. J. Harris, National Museum of Canada

Indian Woody

[p 26 (B)]

1:McDowell: E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NES Bellacoola NES

PLATE 8

115
142
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Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Cognate Schooner

[g 26 (R)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

PLATE 4

115
142
241
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Jim Pollard

[p 46 (2)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

ability are always seeking to lend goods to those who are planning potlatches or other rites, knowing that the investment is safe and lucrative. 556* [426]

X uses his own discretion as to how much wealth is necessary. He knows how much he owes for presents received on previous occasions, and would not dream of giving a potlatch until able to repay these. Failure to do so would hold him up to the derision of the whole countryside. But he acts upon his own judgment with regard to interest. If he continues to hoard goods until he is able to repay with great increase, he gains prestige from his generous returns, but meanwhile he does not enjoy the distinction which would have followed a smaller affair at an earlier period. Further, there is the uncertainty about how much his wife's family will contribute, though that can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy; in Bella Coola every transaction is made publicly, so each man knows the wealth of his neighbour. The favourite month for a potlatch is October, before the *kusiut* dances, when there is abundance of food. At this season there is plenty of salmon roe, berries, and crabapples, all of which might be ruined by frost. Occasionally, a potlatch takes place after the *kusiut* period, but in that case the only foods available are olachen grease, smoked meat, smoked fish, dried hemlock-bark, and dried berries. If several men in one village decide to give potlatches in the same year there may be rivalry and dispute as to which shall be first. There is no satisfactory method of settling this point. [626] [796] [262] [578]

When all is ready X tells a herald (I, p. 244) to summon his fellow villagers to his house the following day for *xlāxtem*. It is customary for all to accept, but no social obligation is broken should a man or woman fail to do so. [203]

The next morning no one eats in his own house, knowing that free food will be distributed. While his expected guests are adorning themselves by washing and painting, X, aided by his family and others, prepares large quantities of food, borrows boxes, and makes other necessary arrangements. Pre- [302] [426]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

203 nature will try to bestow a valuable present. If a man is too
* 556 poor to give anything, he can avoid the obligation by not
[535] dancing when his tune is beaten out. The presents are piled
[537] together, and then the host, aided by several important chiefs, distributes them to the messengers, at the same time making laudatory speeches. The chief of the envoys receives more than the members of his crew.

Then the messenger-chief stands up and announces the names of those whom X has invited to his potlatch, using in each case the ancestral designation of the person summoned. Then the envoys, in a body, go to every house in the village. Probably all to be invited are present in the house of the chief, yet the messenger-chief must call out in the doorway of each house:

"Chief So-and-so, prepare your paddles and leave tomorrow."

Early next morning the messengers rouse those whom they have invited and, as a mark of respect, help them to carry their goods to the canoes. There is an attitude of shaming com-
[558] bined with that of deference, since those assisted will have been placed under obligations. They also take to their canoes their own recently acquired goods. Envoys and guests set out together in their respective craft, and only separate as they near Bella Coola.

ARRIVAL OF THE GUESTS

* 556 While the canoes containing the first party of guests remain
575 at anchor to wait for high tide, the envoys proceed at once to X's house, now completely redecorated if not entirely rebuilt. Here a huge fire is blazing, and members of the *nusk* society are passing in and out, making ready for the ceremony. Both
[302] men and women beautify themselves by painting their faces in any designs they fancy, and by combing their hair and placing eagle down upon it. The guests at anchor lay planks
[535] across their canoes so as to form a dancing platform. Then, as the tide rises, the singers in the house beat out the tune of

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

575 203 796 call is that something strange has happened to the "moral." At intervals throughout the day he repeats this announcement, and towards nightfall goes around calling:

Skinap, skinap, kukuciut, "Care, care, ye members of the *kuciut* society, power has come to the son of the chief (or to the moral)."

The *kukuciut* assemble in X's house, taking their places around the fire; the uninitiated crowd near the doorway. X is seated among his relatives and some of the senior members of the society behind the fire. A herald calls out:

"I want a *siki* to help X."

575 791 796 [424] [773] In every village there are at least two *kukuciut* who have, embodied with their *kuciut* names, the professional prerogative of acting as healer to every novice; it is believed that the ancestor of each obtained a name and this right through a revelation from some supernatural healer. Since that time the owner of the name has been able to insert some of his own ever-present power into a neophyte to enable him to sustain the dangers of admission to the society. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated. The profession of *siki* can be trans-[425] mitted by willing like any other prerogative and it occasionally happens that the same individual is *siki* for both *kuciut* and *nusuk*. In answer to the herald's call, the two *siki* come forward and crouch behind the fire, one on either side of it. [302] Their faces are blackened with soot, and each wears a blanket, [292] decorated with dyed cedar-bark, thrown loosely over his [237] shoulders, leaving the chest and stomach bare except for an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Meanwhile beating sticks are distributed among most of the *kukuciut* who strike furiously on the floor with them, without any attempt to keep time; the sole object is to produce the greatest din possible.

One of the *siki* contorts himself in an amazing manner, presses his hands against his stomach as if to force something from it, and rolls from side to side on his haunches, until at length he produces, as if from his body, a rock crystal (see Plate 3). He waves this to and fro in his hands, then goes

[see category 116, p.84(c)- ANALYST]

[Kwiot Society Initiation]

*575 individual, other than an indefinite recollection of the amount
796 of goods used for his dyed cedar-bark. People always have
556 sufficient goods to validate *kwiot* prerogatives; in fact, if a proud person gives too lavishly to confirm the initiation of a relative, the marshals sometimes burn the goods, giving no explanation other than that the uninitiated must not be led to believe that a *kwiot* ceremony is an affair of wealth like a potlatch. Formerly, goods were given only at initiation ceremonies, but between 1880 and 1890 a chief gave presents, instead of food, at a dance. His example was followed, once none was willing to be outdone, although such gifts are still called "food." The name of the donor is always announced, whether he is the dancer himself or one of his relatives.

*575 X, though now a member of the *kwiot* society, is still a
984 novice and cannot give a dance[2] until the next ceremonial
[796] season, that is, until one year has elapsed. The marshals instruct him about his costume, and about the manner in which he must deport himself during this period, matters which depend to a considerable extent upon his prerogative. If he
[265] is a Cannibal, Screech, or Breaker dancer he must not eat smoked salmon, nor must he enter a house in which either a potlatch or a memorial potlatch is taking place.[1] Failure to obey this injunction would warrant punishment from a foreign
[302] tribe. Unless his prerogative is to give one of these, or the
[292] Ghost dance, he must keep his face constantly blackened. Every novice must wear a collar of dyed cedar-bark. The marshals warn him to be circumspect in dealing with uninitiated persons; he can talk to them, but it is most improper
[524] for him to engage in any familiarity or frivolous play. Above
[525] all, he must neither gamble nor take part in non-athletic games,

[1] A Cannibal novice, however, begins to exercise his prerogative immediately, although he must also perform a complete dance the following year.

[2] This prohibition was once broken at *Qemqemi*. A skilled leader was required to arrange the taste at a memorial potlatch and the only man fit for the purpose, a resident of *Bond*, was a Cannibal novice. After much deliberation he was called upon, but great care was taken to hide his identity and it was years before the infraction became known.

by K is called. Having dined, the gamers depart while the craftsmen continue their labours. Towards dusk the house is cleared up, the chips thrown on the fire and everything made ready. On this night the uninitiated are invited, but there is a wide and important difference in ritual between Bella Coola and Kimsquit. In the former the masks are carefully concealed, whereas in Kimsquit one or two, or sometimes all, are suspended behind the fire by the carpenters. It is accordingly difficult for an observer to understand why this practice does not at once remove all secrecy from the rite. The explanation appears to lie in the fact that the uninitiated, ignorant of how they have been made, see in these strange objects evidence of the power of the *Sacrist*. In Kimsquit, moreover, members of the society emphasize the fact that the dancers are supernaturally endowed representations of what the beings above are doing and performing, and it is only at certain rites that they are actually supposed to be present. One old Bella Coola remembered having heard from his grandfather that long before his time the carpenters used to make the masks in their own houses where the uninitiated could see them; the dancer would come in, wave his arm over the craftsman's head and cry *hoip* if the workmanship was excellent. The man who described this expressed his own scepticism, and added that it would have destroyed the key-note of secrecy. A possible explanation of this important difference in ritual will be given at the end of this chapter; for the present it will be enough to point out that the masks are left suspended in Kimsquit, and concealed in Bella Coola.

Towards dusk the herald goes to every house to summon the *Sacrist*, who have adorned themselves for the ceremony by washing and painting, as the uninitiated have also done. The members assemble slowly, in fact an observer finds the interminable delays of every *Sacrist* dance most provoking. At last all have appeared and taken their places around the fire, while the uninitiated eagerly wait near the door for the invitation which they know will soon be given. One of the mar-

[The Dance of Nincenim]

* 575 * 746 184

since a certain factor has the definite prerogative of throwing them on the fire. As each is round into the flames he calls out:

"Please return directly to the supernatural room."

The only exception is for the mask of *Ana'kimskuate* for which he cry is:

"Please return directly to your repository."

* 575 * 746 187

Before X can again take his normal place in the community it is necessary to remove from him the call, which is conceived as being something physical that has entered his body. This is the belief taught to the uninitiated so emphatically that the *Indacint* themselves appear to believe it, at any rate, whenever their inward thoughts, they act as if the call had substance. As soon as the masks have been burnt one of the *Indacint* suggests that it is time to expel the call. All the *Indacint* in the house crowd around X, as many as can reach his body pressing against his stomach with their hands, always in an upward direction. Higher and higher they go, from stomach to chest, from chest to neck, as if massaging some object. At last it is thought to have been expelled, and X brings his hands together, as if holding something with great care. Suddenly he throws them up in the air, opening them as he does so, and calling out:

Ana'kilimat ala ilmimapen, "Go back to your ancient home."

These ritual words have been handed down from ancient times and are used by every *Indacint* to dismiss his call. Whither it is sent is problematical. Some say to X's repository, others to *Nacpalmcinte*; the Bella Coola do not know. Often one of his songs has been sung on the sidewalk outside X's house; the call may be returned from there.

This rite ends the ceremony and the *Indacint* disperse. It is obvious that every *nakcum* must vary according to the person of the dancer, but the above is typical of the ritual. A call can now come to any *Indacint*, and one often descends at this time, so that X's *nakcum* is *Indacint* for another dancer.

* 575 * 746 * 302 282

For the rest of the ceremonial season X has to observe certain rules. He must wear his collar of cedar-bark and

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Bella Bella/Heiltsuk 1924

around every Secret dance. Usually all *kukuxiut* do so in any case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been blackened, it must be kept so during this period. At every gathering he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an unattached person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes to another housemate. Failure to obey this injunction was formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules apply to every dance.

Mgwanim serves *Yaqalwaxiste* at the winter solstice, and on their nine calls come to those *kukuxiut* of whom he is patron. It is uncertain whether or not this entails the regular ceremony of four nights' duration. On the entry of the supreme being, *Nuáknum* arises his paddle (or pole?), returns to *Smaiso*, and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers compose a ninth song for him. The words describe how the departing *Nuáknum* empties a large number of eulachon into the river.* X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after calls have come to other *kukuxiut*.

It sometimes happens that no *kuxiut* of whom *Nuáknum* is patron has enough food to give the lengthy dance just described, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper prerogative is asked by the marshals to see *Nuáknum* when at the mouth of the river; then, when he passes upstream four days later, a call can come to any *kuxiut*. This abbreviated ceremony, termed *Smáhudjuqwisan*, is carried out in the manner described above, except that it is completed in four days with only two songs.

*Nuáknum is accordingly often called *Nuáknum*.

[The Dance of Wila]

"Path Clearers" are to it that no one passes between him and the fire. The uninitiated are not expelled from the house and their curiosity is aroused. Meanwhile the singers prepare songs for X, describing his supernatural persons, and some *tsakwiar* carpenters are instructed to make in secret ten small pieces of wood, about six feet in length and six inches wide, sometimes half-moon shaped. They cover these with dyed cedar-bark on which they paint the designs appropriate to each being.* On the morning of the fourth day,* X blackens his face with soot or charcoal, obtained by pouring water on a fire, and dons the usual *tsaxiar* costume. A herald then invites the *tsakwiar* to assemble in X's house. Promptly they proceed to the lowest house of the village, where the singers beat out the tunes of the "Path Clearers," remembered from a previous year. They dance, while X stands, shifting his feet and moving his apron as if he also wished to perform but was too weary to do so. This is repeated at every house of the village, except that in which the potlatch was held; most of the *tsakwiar* follow the procession, as do some of the uninitiated. Finally, with X last of all, they enter the potlatch house, where foreign guests and many uninitiated have assembled.

In Kimsquit the preliminary four days of watching are omitted, but from this point on, the rites of the two areas are practically identical.* As X enters, all the *tsakwiar* who have pounding sticks begin to beat on the floor and the women drone. Without delay, and without attention to the timeless thumping, X begins to dance, sunwise, around the fire, at intervals casting on it particles of eagle down which have the effect of making the supernatural ones above take their places. He calls out intermittently that he can see the beings above sitting down, and a herald repeats his remarks loudly. In Bella Coola the four "Path Clearers" walk close behind X.

*The distinctive designs are given by Boas, to whom the reader is referred.

*It is probable that X must first lie down when *Nuxtpam*'s dancer reports that the canoe is at the mouth of the river.

*It is uncertain whether the differences in ritual are typical of Bella Coola and Kimsquit, or merely represent variations in individual prerogatives.

*[375] *[176] hours. The night's ceremony concludes with a meal and the admonitions of the marshals.

No further description is needed of the rites taking place the next day, that of *nuxnuxlaqs*, when a second song is composed, again dealing with X's persons, and wood for masks is cut. The evening's ceremonial does not last so long as that of *hamatsa*.

[338] The next day, *qaiam*, the carpenters work on the masks, some of which must be finished by nightfall. Late in the evening both *kukusiut* and uninitiated prepare themselves [302] by painting and washing; at this time the young men provide [375] pots of warm water for their female friends. As already described, the *kukusiut* are the first to come, followed by the uninitiated when all is ready. In Kimsquit they use the masks [184] of at least some of X's supernatural persons suspended by cords of dyed cedar-bark from a sloping pole that crosses from the floor at the base of the back-room to the cross-beam behind the fire. It is said, although the informant could not guarantee the truth of the statement, that long ago masks had to be displayed at this dance, though it was optional at others. It is a serious and sacred time, one at which frivolity is quite out of place, and the marshals are in readiness to punish any [488] offender. One very old informant told of having seen a marshal strike down and kill a *kusiut* from another house for holding intercourse with a woman on this night. The heralds [209] stay near the door, repeating and enlarging on the remarks of [537] the marshals; the fluency of these functionaries always adds appreciably to the success of any Bella Coola rite. On this occasion X and the dancer of *Noŧŧqnum* must perform, followed by those who have danced in former years, according to the desire of the singers; later in the season, when many *kukusiut* have performed, the rite may continue almost till dawn, for all must dance. After the departure of the uninitiated the *kukusiut* eat leisurely, while a marshal addresses them, commenting on the ritual and, perhaps, asking a man

society have recovered from the shock of X's disappearance. Thereafter the *hamatsa* dances continue night after night, but the Cannibal remains hidden. Sometimes he is carried to a dance, concealed within a drum; more often he remains within the back room of his own house or hides in some lonely part of the mountains. Throughout this period he eats little or nothing, and formerly used to devour a bowl of roots that produced emaciation. The length of concealment depends entirely on X. If he desires to impress the uninitiated with the dangers which he has survived, he remains hidden for a long time; consequently, the period varies from a week to two months or even more. On every occasion that a marshal addresses the *hahamatsa* he warns them to watch for X's return, and garbled accounts of this reach the uninitiated.

When X's relatives and the marshals have decided that the Cannibal has been long enough absent, they make arrangements for him to reappear. The time selected is always the night of a *nakamu*, and after the departure of the uninitiated on the preceding evening the marshals discuss arrangements with the *hahamatsa* and also talk to various individuals. Several *hahamatsa* shave X's head, except a small patch above the forehead, to support the story which he will tell of the high winds prevailing in the land above, which blew the hair from his head.*

After the dismissal of the uninitiated on the following night of *nakamu*, the *hahamatsa* make their final arrangements. When they judge from the passage of the stars or the state of the tide that dawn is at hand, several members of the society climb to the roof of the previously selected house. First they sound a whistle, then thump on the roof with their feet, and call out:

Xwe, xwe, xwe: this is a cry used by Cannibals returned from above which is supposed to indicate a longing for meat.

The *hahamatsa* sleeping within, knowing that their house has been selected, are ready as soon as they are awakened. The

*One old man mentioned that in his youth this was done with a sharpened piece of iron; he was unable to state what was used in earlier times.

[The Scratch Dance]

They do not blacken their faces on receipt of a call as do most Dancers.

The dance of their songs is of the land above, instead of their powers.

On visiting a house where a potlatch or ceremony is taking place they sit with the Cannibals in one of the back corners; this group is given food before any of the other guests.

They do not exercise their prerogative on fellow Scratchers, Cannibals, or Breakers.

They are liable to heavy luck when the call is upon them and after its departure. In such cases they are lazy, apparently guarded and neglected by other Dancers, and rush into every house to frighten the uninitiated.

They must recompense those whom they have scratched.

They act as peace-makers among the Dancers, since the necessity of accompanying a Scratcher who proceeds to be danced overrules all petty causes of strife.

Though any definite concept of graded rank in the Dancer society is quite foreign to the Bella Coola, it is generally felt that Scratchers and Breakers are only slightly less important than Cannibals. The patron of every Scratcher is *Sna'ulnda Alpanaw*, one of the sons of *Alpanaw*; this supernatural being scratches the supernatural ones in the land above, and his father alone can restrain him. The prerogative is fairly common, and it is probable that in early days there was at least one Scratcher in every village.

The following account of the ritual was obtained from one of the Bella Coola marshals and describes the manner in which the dance should have been performed by the Scratcher, *Alachnaic*, his daughter's daughter's son, who had recently obtained the prerogative formerly possessed by his deceased mother's father. It will be convenient to refer to *Alachnaic* as X and use the present tense in recording the proper ritual, though it was largely omitted on the last occasion the dance was given.

X arranges a suitable day with the marshals for receiving

[i.e. - the Scratchers - ANALYST]

[illegible] 575* 796*

Like a Cannibal, X is liable to forays for the rest of the [834] ceremonial season. During this period he remains secluded within his house, and the uninitiated allingly avoid him, [828] believing him to be mentally deranged. He attends every *Sarsi* dance, where his brown medicine bags to frighten the uninitiated. If strangers from Kimsquit or *Tal'ia* visit Bella Coola, he at once becomes frenzied, rushes to the beach and scratches them, precisely as a Cannibal would do; in this case he must be pacified in the same manner. A Scratcher always gives goods to recompense scratched foreigners. If it is the first time that X has danced, he must remain secluded for the following summer, and give his ceremony the next winter. During the warm months he remains within the back-room of his house, and though some of the uninitiated know of his presence, still believing him mad they do not intrude upon his privacy. The coming of foreigners during this period excites him to frenzy and he scratches them, irrespective of the time of year.

It might be mentioned that some Scratcher names are indi- [551] cative of the dancer's function, and others, such as "The Cook of Fear," have reference to his prowess.

THE BREAKER DANCE

When a Bella Coola speaks of the four which *kusiut* dances 575* 796* from the uninitiated, he almost invariably cites in order the Cannibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances. *Kukusiut* with these 424 three prerogatives have no more privileges than other members [781] of the society, nor are they considered superior in rank, but [554] similarity in their functions leads to an almost automatic association. If questioned further, a Bella Coola will usually say that he regards the Cannibal dance to be first, with the Scratch and Breaker equal, but less important. Breakers share [302] with Cannibals and Scratchers the prerogatives of not black- [533] ening their faces; of having as theme for their songs the land [264]

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

By THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

975
976

Slowly and steadily the rope is lowered to the carpenters who coil it in a loop near the foot of the ladder. It seems an endless climb, so this part of the ceremony is expected to take quite as long as X's ascent, and must not be finished until just before dawn. At last the faint sound of the cattle is heard and presently the ladder itself begins to shake. Two or more senior members of the society climb up through the roof and return, amid the drowing of the *kukusiut* women, with the traveller. The uninitiated gaze at him with fear and awe:

"He is indeed wonderful," they say to one another.

[302]
[772]

X's face was painted black and white when he started his climb, but it is now clean and the uninitiated hardly need to be reminded by the *kaxiat* orator that the strong wind in *Sway* has blown all paint from his skin. He sits down beside an eloquent *kaxiat* to whom he talks at length and who excites the curiosity of the audience by telling them that they will soon hear all about it. When the tale is finished, the orator stands up and tells what the traveller has seen in the land above. He states that X found a certain number of tally posts leaning and straightened them, but he never mentions whose lives have thus been preserved. The uninitiated assume without question that X has just given the orator these details, though in point of fact he has done nothing of the kind, his apparent confidant having been chosen for his skill in inventing interesting items. As soon as the story is over, the uninitiated are told to leave. While the usual meal is being prepared the carpenters haul down the ladder and cast it into the fire without ceremony. The *kukusiut* listen to the usual admonitions of the marshals as they eat, and then disperse in the early dawn, wearied from the all-night session.

Most of the village sleeps through the day, but in the late afternoon the heralds summon the *kukusiut* to X's house. The dance of the Tally Posts resembles a *kusiatem* to the extent that four days of ceremonial follow the four days just described. The evening following X's ascent is *lsustämem*, the

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

they sit in silence, awaiting his arrival. Presently word is sent to him, for he is always hiding near, and he comes through the door and sits near the fire. But he does not resemble the man who left the village. His face and body have been painted green with crushed leaves, in imitation of the colour of the dead; in his hand he carries a bone, said to be part of the leg of a dead man, though in reality it is from a deer. After him the ghosts enter one by one. They are a number of *kakasiut* who have been painted black and green to give them an unearthly appearance; there is no fixed pattern, each following his own, or the carpenter's idea of the uncanny, though the body colour on which the other tints are smeared is usually white. Each dead man has a special name and each acts accordingly in an eccentric way. One enters walking backwards, another hops on one leg, and a third walks on his hands—because ghosts always act in the opposite manner to mortals. Each trills in a peculiar way and performs something like a dance, waving his arms to and fro, up and down, constantly pointing with one finger, before lying down close to the central fire. With them enters a woman with painted face, clad in a blanket and carrying a basket on her back; she is *Alpwakar*, who gathers berries in the land of the dead. She begins to go around picking up any small articles that she sees and depositing them in her basket, from which anyone picks them out at will and returns them to the places whence they had been taken. One of the first actors to appear carries a stick for time beating, and acts as leader of the ghost singers. Whenever a spark from the fire lights on one of the dead, causing the latter to jump, the leader pounds violently with his stick. When all are present, the leader beats time and they prepare to leave. Ghosts are feckless, however; consequently, instead of going straight to the door, some go in one direction, some in another, but all are at length shepherded outside. X and his visitors, with a large number of *kakasiut*, go to every house in the village repeating the same procedure, in silence, except for the trill of the dead men. The uninitiated do not

[The Ghost Dance]

gatlim. When the dance has ended, X gives presents, first to each spectator, and then to those who have assisted him, counting with the singers. This is the last event of the evening and the *tukwiat* disperse.

The factor of doing things in the reverse order appears not only in actions, but in the order of the ceremonies. Those just described, although at the beginning of the rite, resemble a sequence in many respects. Consequently, it is not surprising that the next night is *gatlim*. The singers are the first to assemble and they compose a second song for X, with the same chorus but different words and tune to that already proposed. Meanwhile the *tukwiat* are gathering and when they have learnt the new song, the uninitiated are summoned. No enclosure has been built, and X is much in evidence. His body has been painted green with a preparation of green rubbed in water, he wears the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a kind of head-dress with a triangular projection over his forehead. His two songs are sung, and X dances vigorously to each in the manner just described. This is followed by the customary *gatlim* ritual, *tuwiat* after *tuwiat* dancing as the singers beat out his two songs. Finally a Cannibal begins to growl fiercely in one of the rear corners and the uninitiated flee hurriedly. The *tukwiat* eat together, listening to the admonitions and remarks of the marshals, and then X dances once more. Among the peculiarities of the Ghost dance is the fact that the call may be returned at this point, or X may again become mad, according to the wishes of the marshals. If they desire a further display of his insanity, he rushes out as soon as he has finished dancing and proceeds to the lowest house of the village. A number of *tukwiat* follow him and appear to be trying to prevent him from picking up handfuls of dirt from the floor and throwing them in all directions in an aimless manner. As a matter of fact his guardians take care that X hurls approximately the same amount in each house, as none of them is willing to have more damage done in his own house than in others. After a visit to each dwelling, the party returns to

PLATE [illegible]

Photograph by the author

Mrs. Eudora Moody (left) and
Mrs. Willie Mack, two Bella
Coola women

1P2
B41
B42
B42
516

[p 516 (A)]

Z: McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

PLATE 14

142
291
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Mrs. Jim Pollard, a Kimsquit woman

[p 516 (B)]

2:36:Dewalt: E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

PLATE II

142
291
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Mrs. Jim Pollard, profile

[p 516(c)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

142
291
302
342

PLATE 16

Photograph by the author

Reuben Schooner, a Bella Coola man, and his children

[p 516 (D)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 17

142
291
302
342

Photograph by G. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Lame Charlie, a Bella Coola man

[p 516 (E)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 10

142
241
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Captain Myers, an aged Bella Coola man

[p 516 (F)]

Z:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

PLATE 19

142
291
302

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Skookum Mary, a Kitsequecla woman

[p 516 (G)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 30

142
291
302

Photograph by the author

Alec Davis, a full-blooded Bella Coola

[p 516 (H)]

2:McIlwraith,E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

As they grow older the plainness of feature is more pronounced, accompanied by increasing heaviness of body (see Plate 16). Many of the adults are corpulent and move with slow, awkward gait. As a rule the men have great strength and are capable of prolonged and arduous exertion, particularly in paddling; in fact, constant use of canoes may have developed this powerful, ungainly build. Few are good walkers or packers; such, if they are found, usually belong to the lighter interior type. Among the grown people the face, though unbeautiful, often has a kindly expression, even becoming attractive in laughter or when a friendly grin spreads from ear to ear. With advancing age the prominent nose seems to grow larger, frequently becoming almost aquiline (see Plate 17). Many of the older people assert that this was even more common in former times. In time the face becomes lined with wrinkles and the body appears to shrink (see Plate 18). The teeth are in many cases worn down to the gums; this seems to cause no discomfort, though an old person cannot utter the glottal stops and velar sounds with which the language abounds without emitting a fine spray of saliva. They are absolutely unable to pronounce several of the Bella Coola words, while the constant spitting is a disagreeable feature of their conversation, particularly to an investigator striving, often vainly, to record sounds accurately. The deep wrinkles of old women give them a benign "grandmotherly" expression, which makes them more attractive in extreme age than in youth (see Plate 19). Senile decay is so frequent that the return to infancy in mind as well as in physical powers is regarded as normal.

Among the coastal tribes hair on the face is not uncommon, but in this characteristic the Bella Coola are pre-eminent. Nearly all the men have sparse moustaches, at least; many have a heavy growth, and several are full-bearded. That this was due to white mixture was assumed at first, but no evidence could be found to support this view. There are a number of half-breeds in the community but they are no more hirsute than the full-blooded Indians. Razors are now univer-

142 sally used but the older people state that beards were by no
144 means rare in former times. Careful inquiries were made
[302] concerning the ancestry of a man, about seventy years of age in 1922, whose curly beard suggests that he must be a half-breed, as indeed he is assumed to be by the white settlers of the valley. His father was *Potlas*, the most influential chief of recent years, his mother was herself the daughter of an important chief. None of the older men had ever heard the slightest rumour of faithlessness on her part. There were white
[648] traders on the coast at the time of his birth, and intercourse with
[567] slave women and others of low family was not uncommon, but
[622] it would have been difficult for a chief's wife to misconduct herself, and still more difficult for her to conceal all knowledge of it in view of the open life which prevailed at that period. Moreover, it is said that *Potlas* himself had a similar beard, as did also the parents of several men who in 1922 were fifty or sixty years of age.

142 Although the possibility of white mixture cannot be over-
144 looked in the case of this one individual, one must not dis-
826 regard the opinion of the people themselves on hairiness in
[302] general. They are proud of it and regard beards and moustaches as marks of virility given to them by *Ālquntām*; baldness and lack of facial hair are considered a sign of weakness. They aver that their fathers and grandfathers were even more hirsute than they. Furthermore, they point out with pride
[186] that this is a difference between themselves and the tribes of the interior, who are, as they say in scorn, "hairless like Chinamen." Finally, it is noteworthy that the hair on the head of many Bella Coola is wavy, or even curly (see Plate 20), instead of straight as among the majority of Indian tribes.[2]

Character

181 It is an almost impossible task to describe briefly the characteristics of a people. Those of the Bella Coola have

[2] This characteristic has led the writer to wonder if it could possibly have been caused by Ainu mixture.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

287 thrown in, and hot stones lifted in to heat the mixture. Even at the
386 present time dye is never made on a stove, as it is thought that the gradual heating by means of stones is essential. As it becomes warm, the woman thoroughly stirs the ingredients with her hands, then, when it boils, some of the bark is lifted out and more added. This process is continued until the brew is deep red in colour. It is allowed to stand for a few minutes before the pounded cedar-bark is placed in it. The operator gently works it around until it is saturated, then lifts it out and hangs it up to dry. Several pieces of bark can be dyed in one solution, though it is necessary to add more alder-bark and more stones to maintain the proper strength and heat.

[285] Although red cedar-bark is the kind most commonly used, the Bella
[177] Coola sometimes use the yellow cedar for mats and blankets, an art learnt from the Bella Bella.

THE MANUFACTURE OF PAINT

386 Paint, such as was used both for decorating the body and for por-
[302] traying designs on wood, was obtained from a kind of rock found near
[532] the head of a creek entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Sunst.*
[317] Fragments of the red stone were broken off, thrown into a vessel containing water, and brought to a boil by the insertion of hot stones. Under the action of heat the rock became soft so that the manufacturer was able to pulverize it and run off the semi-liquid mixture into a small box. He would then chew cedar-bark and salmon roe, and spit into the paint, thoroughly mixing his saliva with it. When dry, the mixture was ready for use, and could be kept indefinitely.

[532] Anyone could paint who had the artistic skill, and it was chiefly artists
[177] who used to make this kind of paint. Since the introduction of the white man's brilliant colours, there has been no demand for the duller native shade, and the making of paint has been discontinued.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEó Bellacoola NEó

 192*

Ináhaxa: One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Ináxmi: Unidentified town on the outer coast mentioned in a *Sisaa* story of the beginning of time.

Ináhlémdimut: Name acquired by one of the first settlers at *Ínalidi* in the beginning of time.

Ináxmaxa: *Ínaxma*'s son in the beginning of time.

Ináxi: Small portable canoe.

Ináxum: Desertion of a spouse. [586]

Ináxumai: 1—"The Copper One."
2—"Snow," in the language of Deer.

Ináxumaiyaxa: Imitation potlatch carried out by *nuxatamp*.

Ináxus: Bella Bella Cannibal living in the beginning of time.

Ináxwnimut, "The Scatterer of Eagle Down": Name created by *Ínaxma* for his son in the beginning of time.

Ináxa: To lost.

Ináxlakáka: Bella Bella supernatural being who brings food.

Ináxnimut: Person of placid disposition.

Ináka: Bull-roarer.

Ináx: To excise rot; the word for potlatch, *ínx*, is supposedly derived from this. [556]

Ínx: Potlatch.

Ínxmait: The binding down of a Cannibal with rope.

Ínxulim: Unidentified autumn moon, probably the fourth after the summer solstice. [821]

Ínxulis di Nuxatamp, "The Potlatch of the *nuxatamp*": Second moon after winter solstice. [805]

Ínxmáxis, "First of All": One of the first men to settle at *Nuxáli* in the beginning of time.

Ínxlwnijat: Shaman's ritual error, such as the curing of one who is ceremonially unclean. [756]

Ínxwáxsta: Miniature totem-pole such as is used in mourning ceremony.

Ínxwkmm: Partnership of a poor man with a chief about to give a potlatch, so that the former may repay debts, for which his poverty required no compensation, and thus start himself on the path towards greatness. [556]

Ínxxaxinim: The turning over of a mountain.

Ín'yo: Professional name of a female berry-picker.

Ípmbáxta: Stick decorated with copper bangles used in mourning rites by one of the first settlers at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time. [765]

Íqa: The painting of the face as a sign of mourning. [302]

'Íxmdimut: Cannibal *Xaxiut* name used by the first settlers at *Ínalis* in the beginning of time.

Ísiqwam: *Kaxiut* name of a Bella Coola male Scratcher.

Ískisi: Aversion.

Íslwala: 1—*Kaxiut* name of a *Tsimisi* man.
2—Shamanistic power.

Íslhámut: Visitation from the life of a recently dead friend, notification of which is conveyed by a start or other feeling of discomfort. [775] [787]

Íslyaxa-i: *Kaxiut* name of a Kimsquit man. The first to use this designation was a relative of the earliest settlers in the beginning of time.

Íslwlmalamm, "The Giver of Shamanistic Power": One of the names of *Tlinqlitsawa*, and hence a designation given to shamans.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

#192

Nuwatsqymm: Woman endowed supernaturally by *Awa'kiwulaix* and serving as patron (?) to a *kusiut* dancer. [789]

nuwalitsi: Omen of death.

Nuwitsmkhum, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Thicaplilán-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nuwumlaix: 1—Man dwelling in *Kymayne*'s house.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.

nuwapin: The cry of *hi, hi*, uttered by Cannibals.

Nuwumsp: *Kusiut* name assumed by a *Sisaa* woman in the beginning of time.

nuwyawum: *Kusiut* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and *quiatem* is obscure. [424]

Nu'uwuthmaxis, "The Widower": One of Raven's names as chief.

nuqkuxlal-um: Synonym for *ptaxtum*: Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions. [535]

Nuqhuxlaxten, "Hoodlously Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

nuqw-uxte: The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot. [302]

nuqxlém-i: Medicine brewed in a skull.

Nuqtymsis, "Place of Much Rapids": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nuqwatsis: *Nuqwal* name of a Kimsquit man.

Nuqilaqulim-a: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

nuqwumsp-al ne xmp"ale: One year. [105]

nuqum: Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative. [828]

nuqxil, "Empty House": House in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place.

nuqxlat: The throwing of grease on a fire to heat, both literally and figuratively, a rival.

Nuqxly": 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse. [821]
2—Eclipse.

nuqxlitsu: Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe. [827]

nuqwaxis: Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *kusiutem* and other important *kusiut* rites.

nuq"xwxilim: Unexpected stroke of good fortune. [777]

Nuqwihmlaix: *Sisaa* name of a Kimsquit man.

Nuqwilim: Site of an ancient town on Schooner Pass. [772]

Nuqwlisi: The upper heaven.

nuqwu: Woman with thick pubic hair.

Nuqwulilqlém-i: A *Sisaa* repository.

Nuxlqwatmuxte, "Where *Alqwatew* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house. [824]

nuxtqwtw-uqi: Cottonwood buds.

Nuxtqwxi'ste, "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.

nuxlimp: Canoe-maker.

Nuxlum: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Nuxlalst*.

nuxlxlmp: Children's dance which serves as training for *kusiut* rites and to provide entertainment. [535] [869]

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14
Chilcotin NE8

Ca
I
S
137
757

Southern Carrier: New shoots boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach. Resembled the decoction made from the bark of the aspen (page 54), or from the new shoots and bark of the tideland spruce (page 51), but the last-mentioned considered most efficacious.

Northern Carrier: Needle tips mixed with large needle tips of the "British Columbia pine" (*Pinus* sp.?), the inside bark of the wild gooseberry (*Ribes* sp.?), bark of the red-osier dogwood (*Cornus stolonifera* Michx.), the inside pulp of raspberry canes (*Rubus* sp.), stems of the "bearberry" (?black twin-berry, *Lonicera involucrata* Banks?), and the inner bark of the wild rose (*Rosa* sp.), placed in a vessel holding four gallons of water, boiled down to a thick decoction, strained, and bottled. About two tablespoonfuls taken, at sunrise and sunset, for constitutional weakness or paralysis, or if the body were covered with sores.

Gum obtained by heating a green piece of pine (sp.?) painted on the eye to remove white scum and to cure snow-blindness.

T

Sikani: Pitch chewed and the saliva swallowed for a cough.

[912]
[262]

Gitksan: Inner bark (scraped from the trunk with a bone scraper after the outer bark had been removed) eaten both for food and as a blood purifier. Purged the body in from half an hour to an hour.

Shavings of the yellow resinous timber found after removal of the bark boiled, the decoction placed in oil, and taken internally as a purgative and diuretic for many serious ailments, including gonorrhoea. Said to produce beneficial results in "consumption."

T
[164]

Young needles plucked in June and eaten as a purgative and diuretic.

For use with a fern, *see* page 48.

B
Ca

Abies grandis Lindl., White Fir, Balsam Fir

137
757
[164]

Bella Coola: Bark of root or of stem boiled, and the decoction taken internally every day for tuberculosis and stomach trouble. Said to have cured many cases of tuberculosis.

Gum from bark blisters found on young trees warmed, mixed with mountain goat tallow, and taken internally for sore throat; also drawn on a hair across sore eyes.

Young, green leaves baked, mixed with fruit of skunk cabbage (*Lysichiton kamtschatcense* Schott.) gathered in October, or the buds gathered in April, split, dried on top of the house, roasted, mixed with a small quantity of slightly roasted roots of the cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.), one or two cupfuls of the gummy buds of the black cottonwood (*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.), and four or five cupfuls of fresh eulachon oil, allowed to stand one day, then boiled and kept in a box in a hair perfume. Kitimat Indians said to be more expert in its preparation.

B
[302]
[171]

Cn
[759]

Southern Carrier: Tree used for medicine, but details not obtained.
Chilcotin: Not used.

B
137
757

Ripe cones boiled, and the decoction taken internally for a pain. Neither an emetic nor a laxative. A bed consisting of a sack of ripe cones, placed on top of hot stones, used by rheumatics. Cones also burned to fumigate rheumatics.

A piece of the bark 5 feet long by 2 feet wide used as a mat in a hot bath for rheumatism. Many stones were heated, a little sand strewn over them, the bark spread above with the inside uppermost, and the patient, naked, lay on the bark, covering himself with one or more blankets. A similar bed, but with the bark covered with a few leaves of devil's club (*Fatsia horrida* Sm. B. and H.), used for chronic backache.

B
[752]

Gum applied to small cuts, broken skin, and suppurating sores.

Branches used to whip a burned arm or leg until the blood came.

Gum boiled and taken internally while hot as a diuretic for gonorrhoea.

See also scrub pine (page 49).

For use with fern. *See* page 48.

C
T
137
757

The buds or new shoots, with the gum sometimes found around the outside when they are about half an inch long, boiled in water, and the decoction taken internally for tuberculosis.

Southern Carrier: New shoots and bark of small branches boiled for about two hours, and the decoction taken internally, one or two cupfuls at a time, for pain in the stomach, but not for vomiting, diarrhoea, or constipation. Said to effect a cure in one day, and preferred to the decoction made of scrub pine (page 49) or aspen (page 54).

Gum from new shoots and small branches, scraped out with a little stick, placed in the eyes for snow-blindness.

S
[757]

Sikani: Inside bark scraped and chewed for a cough.

Needles chewed, and the saliva applied to external sores.

Gum, obtained by splitting the tops, applied with a stick to white spots on the eye.

The "flower" boiled and the decoction taken internally for pain in the chest.

T
[237]
[164]

Gitksan: Gum extracted from the wood by boiling in water, added to eulachon oil, salmon oil, bear grease, ground-hog fat, lard, etc., and taken internally before meals for consumption.

Twigs bearing both leaves and bark boiled with entire roots of soapolallie (*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.); one cupful of the strong decoction taken internally three times a day for rheumatism.

ARACEAE, ARUM FAMILY

B
T

Lysichiton kamtschatcense Schott., Skunk Cabbage, Yellow Arum

137
757

Bella Coola: Roots used with oil as a hair tonic.

Roots boiled, and the sweet decoction taken internally for stomach trouble.

B
[302]

See also white fir (page 50).

Gitksan: Root well mashed with water and applied externally for blood poison and boils. Said to bring boils to a head. For use with a fern (*see* page 48).

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

T
S
B
C

137
157
B
[158]

Salix Scouleriana Hook., WILLOW

Bella Coola: Folded inner bark used like that of *Salix lasiandra* Benth. for cuts; but charcoal from the stick not used for diarrhoea.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Salix sp., WILLOW

Sikani: Young willow chewed and the saliva applied to external sores.

White powdery tops chewed for a cough.

Populus tremuloides Michx., ASPEN, TREMBLING POPLAR

Bella Coola: A quantity of bark from the roots boiled, and the decoction taken internally from seven to ten times a day for gonorrhoea with hemorrhage from the urethra. A very bitter decoction, said to be a good remedy that stopped the hemorrhage.

Southern Carrier: Bark used instead of tideland spruce bark (page 51) to make a decoction for pain in the stomach. Considered inferior to the spruce bark.

Sikani: Bark pulverized by pounding, moistened with water, and applied as a paste to wounds.

Bark scraped, scrapings steeped in hot water, and the decoction taken internally for worms. Caused a stool immediately.

Gitksan: Bark of roots chewed or mashed and put on cuts.

Bark alone boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative. Not an emetic.

B
C
137
157
B
[302]

Populus trichocarpa T. and G., BLACK COTTONWOOD

Bella Coola: Leaves, ten to fifteen years old, from the lower layers lying rotting on the ground, boiled, and the decoction used as a bath, the patient sitting in it up to his neck for about two hours to cure pain in the body, not rheumatism. A hot stone added from time to time, and the bath repeated the next day.

The buds with their resin boiled and the decoction used as a hair wash. *See also* white fir (page 50).

Half a cupful of buds, picked some time between December and March, mixed with two roots of cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.), a half cupful of buds of mountain alder (*Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt.), and a little water, mashed, and applied warm, but uncooked, as a poultice for pains in the lungs or hips like rheumatism. Said to effect a cure in two days, but harmful if left on longer.

See also western dock (page 56).

Southern Carrier: Buds with their resin boiled for one or two hours, and the decoction taken internally for coughs and lung affections.

C
[302]
[825]

Resin from the buds applied to the face as a cosmetic, or, with the addition of oil, to repel mosquitoes, black flies, and gadflies.

Roots and bark not used; buds not boiled to make a hair wash.

C
[152]

Northern Carrier: Green roots chewed to a pulp and applied to wounds to stop bleeding.

T
[302]

Inside bark boiled and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

Gitksan: Gummy buds boiled and the resin mixed with bear grease for a hair perfume.

I
[157]

Roots, leaves, and seeds not used.

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844 fessional midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
[846] the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[825] near the room for a year (according to Nusk'slu'sta, for ten days), else the salmon would take offence.

553 The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole
[852] tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member
[556] of the Kû'siût, when it is given its Kû'siût name. This ceremony takes place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qû'mtsiua name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[292] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
[821] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[262] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She
[261] must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee, 1889, p. 838).

584 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his
[431] friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until
[527] he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four
[302] women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and
585 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[431] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his Siaa'kn secrets as soon as the pair have their first child.
[851] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

586 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are buried. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by as many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be.

764 [301] [323] [766] [567] [775]

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they cleave four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, cleaving new trees every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is buried. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones.

765 783 [795] 765 [302]

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or eulachon. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person.

[262] [828] [822]

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was 'the same as giving away the house of the deceased.'

765 556

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to

773 171

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424 nearest answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the
779 Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the
825 narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience, and added that though he was quite willing to accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not [582] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of exogamy.

211 Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet
424 they have some importance in the realm of social life. The
773 portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy
825 chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a [532] design is impressed with the glories of the family history of [556] the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delinea- [304] tion is a memento of family history. For that reason a man is often tattooed[11] with his crest, that derived from his father's first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow. After the death of a chief a memorial-post is erected near his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his
000 family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

[171] [184] [11]It is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal tribes but also the Carriers. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated themselves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with potlatches; in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the back-room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material; the second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath [386] the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were baked for a long time and then ground into a powder. This keeps indefinitely and can be made ready for use by mixing with water. As far as could be learnt, any skilled craftsman might perform the operation.

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Raven, blinded by his grief, did not believe him, and responded angrily: 539 776*

"No, youare not my son. Why do you lie to me? Get out of this house." 761

Disgusted at this reception, *O·mistlmai* obeyed. Juft as he was passing through the doorway, Raven noticed the tatoo marks on his legs, and realized that, in spite of the change in his appearance, the visitor was really his son. He called on him to return, but *O·mistlmai* paid no attention to his father's entreaties and sped far away. Raven's grief was beyond expression, but he could do nothing to repair the damage he had done. If it had not been for Raven's mistake, all mortals would return to life four days after death. [304]

The above myth is widely known among the Bella Coola, and is supposed to be historically accurate. At the same time, few people allow it to influence their thoughts with regard to death or its causes. It is a fact, but one that belongs to the realm of ancient history rather than to everyday experience. When a Bella Coola dies, his relatives, though they know that his death is due to the folly of Raven, tacitly overlook this, and do not feel bitterly towards Raven. Bella Coola beliefs and theology are not systematized, hence it is quite possible for a person to realize a certain fact, such as the cause of death, and yet disregard it entirely. Considering that absolute contradictions can be believed simultaneously, it is not difficult to picture the mental attitude of people who believe, and at the same time disregard their belief. 771 761 776*

One of Raven's spectacular, and at the same time, beneficial exploits was the bringing of sockeye salmon to the Bella Coola River.[17] 539 825

In the beginning of time, no sockeye salmon inhabited the rivers, and Raven determined to supply them. First he tried making wooden fish and throwing them into the water, but though he could animate them, they always died after jumping a few times. The reason for his failure, though he did not know it, was because he had omitted the small bone [774]

[17]This is an example of conflicting beliefs. In addition to assuming that salmon were sent down by *Alqantun* to furnish food for mankind, and that Raven supplied them in the beginning of time, the Bella Coola also believe that they are brought each year both by *Nuklqum* and *Wiwuine*. [771]

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533 In the beginning of time it used to sing.

789 "I shall use a spoon and eat when the Bella Coola River has burst its bounds on account of the teeming salmon in it."

825 The people used to laugh as it repeated this song year after year,

856 until the bird changed its note:

[539] "I shall use a spoon and eat when all is cold and clear. Then there will be Death instead of salmon in Bella Coola."

The next year the streams were so clear that no fish could be caught and the starving people asked the bird to return to its first song. When it did so, the water became murky so that it was possible to catch salmon once more.

The Bella Bella, not the Bella Coola, use the body of a blue jay to cause an infant to grow up with the ability to master difficult tunes in the same way that the bird has a variety of notes. The method of applying this medicine could not be learnt.

789 Most of the above medicines are well known and can be applied by any parent. If, however, a man has employed one

856 of them successfully on a number of occasions, he is often requested to use his ability for others. In such a case, the father of the benefited child is expected to reimburse his friend.

[184] The application or non-application of such medicines is purely the concern of the child's family; they can use as many as they like, or none at all, according to their discretion.

The following medicines are used during the first year of life:

● 304 *To Cause Beauty*

Bandages of the softest undyed cedar-bark are prepared for

789 infants of both sexes soon after birth. A woman who is a good

856 artist is requested to draw with charcoal two pictures on one

532 of the pieces of bark—of handsome men if the child is a boy, or of lovely women if a girl. An unmarked wrapping is fastened round the infant's head, then the painted one so arranged that one picture is over the forehead, the other over the occiput, and finally other plain bandages to cover the whole. These

[826] are left in place for about one year. They flatten the forehead

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and back of the head, preventing a bulging appearance which is considered ugly, while the paintings ensure beauty of countenance. Cranial deformation has no supernatural sanction, though it is believed to have been carried out for generations. 304 789 856 [532] [826]

To Cause Leanness

Place pieces of caribou skin on an infant's wrists and ankles and leave them in position for several months. He will grow up lean and wiry, like the animal. 789 856 [825]

To Cause Left-handedness

Shake the left hand of an infant while lying in the cradle and he will be left-handed throughout life. To do this is considered a malevolent action.

To Cause the Hair to Grow (two means)

(1) Rub the infant's scalp with the eye of a *Hakulk* (red cod?), freshly removed from the fish's head. [825]

(2) Boil stems of the swamp gooseberry in water and rub the mixture over the infant's scalp. [824]

Wise mothers always apply one or other of these remedies to their children.

To Cause Ability in Singing (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good singer to impart to him ability similar to his own. He takes his beating-stick, spits on it, and rubs it over the child's heart, saying: 533 789 856

"Please be a singer."

This is done only for male children. [532]

(2) Boil together herbs and a bear's bladder and smear the decoction on the infant's back. He must thenceforth wear around his neck for several months a small sack containing four blue grouse gall-bladders (possibly stones from the crop were meant). This gives the child the singing ability of the bird, but the significance of the bear bladder is unknown. [825]

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To Cause Ability in Understanding the Speech of Ravens 825

It is well known that when ravens croak, they are really 856
speaking, but their language is unintelligible except to one who 789
has learnt it by means of a medicine. One of these is the following:

Catch a raven alive and cut a small piece of flesh from its body, beneath the left wing, taking care not to kill the bird. Release it, after having fed the morsel to the child. An infant so treated will grow up able to learn from ravens of the approach of raiding parties, storms, visitors, and all other news which they constantly circulate in their loud calling. It is said that the last person so endowed was the father of a Kimsquit man about forty years of age in 1922. His ability lasted throughout childhood but he lost it through infraction of a taboo.

The following medicines are used between the ages of one and two: 304

To Cause Long Life 789

One year after birth, holes are pierced through the lobes of 856
the ears and the nasal septum. In the beginning of time, 886
Älquntäm told the forefathers of the Bella Coola that if this were not done, the boy or girl would die young.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

When the umbilical cord of a female infant falls, her father 846
places it within the knot-hole of a tree, where it is protected 856
from rain but where it rots and is forgotten. A boy's is pre- 789
served with care. The parents wrap it in soft goat's wool and [858]
place it in the box where the father keeps his most cherished possessions; this causes the child to be careful, and to grow up with a tendency to treasure his acquisitions rather than to dispose heedlessly of them. As the first anniversary of his [785]
son's birth approaches, his father begins to observe ceremonial chastity, endeavouring to estimate the time so that its culmin-

[The Dance of Nuakxnim]

any uninitiated from their path. The *kukusiut* also call *hoip* repeatedly, a further deterrent to the inquisitive. Alder and birch trees are selected and the hewers start to work. Whenever a tree falls, one of the party calls out:

Xuw...

This meaningless ejaculation, spoken as if by X, has the virtue of causing the tree to fall gently. The logs are cut into sections and as many provided as will be needed, since it is contrary to *kusiut* custom for more than one trip to be made for wood. Towards dusk the cutters return, each carrying a burden by means of a tump-line across the forehead. The wood is laid softly on the floor, for it would be a gross insult to throw it down roughly. Meanwhile heralds are summoning the *kukusiut* with a call of:

Nusiutálup kukusiaat.

X has long since consulted his relatives on the one hand and the marshals on the other, concerning the number of masks to be used, and the beings to be portrayed. A mask of *Awlikwolosis* is prepared for every *kusiut* dance, but with this exception there is no uniformity in the representations. A man always shows his patron, as well as any beings intimately connected with him. Thus X must have a mask of *Noákpnum*, many of his passengers, and the supernatural beings who meet him at the mouth of the river. A present must be given to the carver of every mask, hence their actual number depends upon the expenditure X and his relatives are willing to make.

At dusk the *kukusiut* are summoned by the heralds. X is with the marshals behind the fire and he heeds their advice as to the best carpenter for any special mask. When all have assembled X holds up one of the blocks of wood, calls on one of the *kukusiut* by name and says:

"For *Noákpnum*," or whatever may be the figure required.

As the carpenter comes forward to take the billet the heralds call out:

"Pay attention to him," and as the carpenter takes the wood, X calls out at the top of his voice, *xuw*...

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"I will give my necklace of dentalium to whoever will recover my foot." 534*

First Gull tried, but he could not stay under water long enough to find it; Loon, however, dived down and brought the foot back to *Qaiaxt*. She tied it to a stick which she carried over her shoulder, and paraded the village singing merrily:[19]

Xwalpinin	*wexaitwaxtsiyin*	*yuwakila*	*diniawaxiyin*
Has cut off my leg	now	*Nawakila*[20];	Yes, he did it.[21]

Ximilaqa	*dilalxpaxidi:*	*qaiaxlaxixi*
What is that	is carrying	*Qaiaxl*?[22]

Dipxtalaqa	*dixpilxa:*	*qaiaxlaxixi*
It is her leg that	is carrying	*Qaiaxl*.[23]

Axaxilqual	*axaxilqual*
She will gum it on;	she will gum it on.

Then she went into the forest at one end of the village and collected a large quantity of hemlock gum with which she fastened her foot in its proper place, reinforcing the junction with pliant sticks. Once more she paraded up and down the town, singing. This time her theme was:

"*Qaiaxl*'s foot is now gum."

For ten days she kept it embedded in the gum, and when she removed the covering, the foot had regrown to her leg.[24] Raven was amazed, but said nothing; in fact, the two avoided one another as much as possible. However, when Raven once more invited *Qaiaxl* to accompany him, this time berry-picking, she refused to go, saying that she was afraid.

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[19]This was recorded as song VII D 13b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The same method of recording has been used as for dance songs, although the vertical lines indicate only word clusters, not grouped forms to be called out by an announcer. [533]

[20]That is: *Nawakila* [Raven's name as chief] has just cut off my leg.

[21]This song is divided into four parts, although they are not so clearly separated as dance songs. [533]

[22]That is: What is *Qaiaxl* carrying? The man from whom the song was obtained used this form of the woman's name; the narrator of the story called her *Qaiaxl*.

[23]That is: *Qaiaxl* is carrying her leg.

[24]The Bella Coola, who still use hemlock gum to fasten splints and for swollen wounds, affirm that they learnt the practice from *Qaiaxl*. [314] [752]

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501 of the older people remember seeing in their youth another type, *lakan*, with a high raised prow; this may have been identical with the *mdka* which others describe as having an elevated bow and a low stern. An entirely different craft was the *tamkwl·i*, named from one of the geese, [525] probably the white-fronted goose. A strip of maple fastened along each side caught the water in moving, with a sound like that of the peculiar rustling flight of the bird. The bow was often carved in the form of a [532] bird's head and the stern in that of a tail to further the resemblance. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of these canoes, though some had heard of them from their grandparents. The large, open type of canoe made by the Haida was known to the Bella Coola, but not constructed by them. Sails were used on all ocean-going canoes; they were usually of matting, though skins sewn together were occasionally employed.

501 Canoes are occasionally lashed together. In several *kusiut* dances a 535 wide platform for dancing is required, and the need is met by lashing planks crosswise over two canoes, near the bow and stern, thus fastening them together. Planking is laid on the two supports and a platform so constructed. Careful inquiries showed that this fastening was merely a temporary arrangement; the booms were not bound in any particular manner, nor was there any fixed distance between the craft. Sometimes 501 the same expedient was used for transport when the load was too heavy [171] for two canoes separately, a device which is said to have been used more commonly by the tribes of the outer coast than the Bella Coola. Canoes lashed together are termed *ás·awanäx*.

Rafts, *satskwl·a*, consisting of rough logs fastened together with cross-pieces, were commonly used on the lakes of the interior, and occasionally for river work when canoes were unavailable and there was no time to make them. Another expedient in similar emergencies was to [177] make bark canoes, such as are still constructed by the Carriers. The Bella Coola regard the construction of these as definite copying, and do not profess to have as much skill as their teachers whose canoes, it is said, can be folded for portaging. There is a tradition that, many generations ago, a few clever Bella Coola knew how to make skin canoes.

THE PREPARATION OF CEDAR-BARK

314 Early spring is the time to *susukumls*, that is, to gather the inner bark of the cedar. Men occasionally assist in the task, though this is really [221] woman's work. The worker selects a small cedar, choosing one about six inches in diameter, with smooth trunk and relatively free from knots. [462] With a knife she makes a horizontal incision in the bark, two or three feet [412] from the ground, sometimes girdling the sapling. Then she inserts her

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luta, a tool consisting of a slightly bent stick with sharpened point, into the cut, and runs it upwards to make a vertical incision as high as she can reach. Going around to the other side of the tree, the woman makes another cutting of the same kind. Finally, she inserts her fingers at the bottom and pulls gently outwards, so that the bark is drawn off in a long streamer which tapers to a point at the top. The other half section of the tree is similarly stripped; this treatment frequently kills saplings which can then be used for fire-wood. Although small trees are preferred, a woman sometimes collects her bark from a large one by means of many vertical incisions. 314 [412]

The bark is taken home without further preparation. The woman carefully peels off and throws away the rough outer bark, leaving the smooth inner covering, *luqai*, which alone is valuable. If the weather is fine, this is dried in the sun for two or three days; otherwise, it is placed over a fire within the house. When all moisture has been removed, it is rolled up and kept for future use. The bark can be used for making baskets with no further treatment except splitting into bands of the proper width. [285]

When pounded bark, such as is widely used for ceremonial purposes, is required, the woman prepares the necessary tools. Two small sticks, each about six inches in length and one-half inch in diameter, are used as tweezers, *kipla*, though the bark can, if necessary, be held in the hand. Two beating sticks are required, each about two feet in length, six inches wide, and half an inch thick; one edge of each is rounded off, though not sharpened to a cutting surface. When all is ready, the woman crouches on the floor, with the lower beater, *lqanq*, held stationary before her on a box or other raised rest, and lays an end of the bark over the rounded edge. Taking the other, the upper beater, *spikta*, in her right hand, she strikes downwards so that its edge slides down the side of the stationary stick, bruising the fragment of bark. With her left hand she pushes the piece slightly further over the edge, and again the upper beater falls. This is repeated time after time until the whole length is pulverized and softened. It is tiring work, but a woman accomplishes more in an hour than seems possible as her muscles become accustomed to the shearing motion. The bark becomes broken and frayed but its tensile strength is sufficient to prevent it from falling apart. Then the woman brushes it with shavings to remove loose fragments and the work is done. This type of pounded cedar-bark is called *ikw'*. 287

Ikw' is usually dyed red before being used for ceremonial purposes and is then termed *mok'*. In winter the dye is made from alder-bark with pieces of the wood attached, but in summer only scrapings from the inner bark are used. Water is placed in a vessel, urine added, pieces of alder 287 386 [824]

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was probably deserted not many years ago. Probably a large town since it was a good fishing place. 361

(16) *Ṫsilkt*, "Bald Eagle": also on the north shore of the river, a little above the last-named. Probably washed away by a flood long ago, although traces of the salmon-weir were still visible recently. [226]

(17) *Nuqāxmāts*, "The Place of Much *qāxmāts*" (the fern *Asplenium cyclosorum*): on the north side of the river about one mile above the preceding. This large town is believed to have been deserted long ago, though, in apparent contradiction, traces of it are said to be still visible. [137]

*(18) *Snuləli*, "The Place of Dog Salmon": on the south bank, above the last-named, at a place where a small stream enters the Bella Coola River; this divided the town into two sections. It was long deserted and the river has carried away that part of the village below the creek. The name is derived from an enormous dog salmon which is believed to have been seen at long intervals in a waterfall near this spot, always with a water ouzel perched on its back. [825]

(19) *Oḑmikumx:* on the lower end of the island near Hagenburg post office, eleven miles from the ocean. Although long deserted, traces of this village can still be seen. The meaning of the name is unknown.

*(20) *Nukils*, "The Place of the Whirlpool": on the south side of the river, eleven and a quarter miles from the sea. It was a village of moderate size, recently abandoned. The first occupant was said to have been *Łkamkila*, which means, "The First of All." [173]

*(21) *Ásān·ān·i*, "The Concave Town," so called because it spread around the shore of a bay scooped out by the Bella Coola: south side, slightly above the influx of the *Nusālsum* River, thirteen and a quarter miles from the sea. It was deserted about 1880.

*(22) *Nusḑalst*, "The Place of *Sḑalstutl*": on the north side of the river, opposite the mountain of the same name. It also was deserted about 1880. *Sḑalstutl* is a kind of stone suit- [316]

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361 able for axes, which occurs in the valley of a small stream on
[316] the slope of the mountain.

*(23) *Nulteax*, "The Place Where There Are No Falls": an affluent from the north enters the main Bella Coola about thirty-one miles from the sea and the town was located on this creek about two hundred yards above its junction with the Bella Coola. The ruins of this moderately large town were still
[175] standing about 1870. Mackenzie reached the Bella Coola River at this place. At the time of his arrival the population was
[166] larger than usual, because the salmon-weir had withstood
[226] some heavy freshets which had destroyed several weirs on the Bella Coola, and driven the inhabitants of other villages to *Nulteax*.

[133] It is said that the affluent at *Nulteax*, the stream *Xaiqts*, is the only one in the whole Bella Coola valley that does not drop precipitously into a ravine leading to the main river. Its source is a spring at the end of a pocket-like valley, at the base of steep cliffs, but it does not fall down these. The town is named from this circumstance. The area around the spring is called *Nusnäxıŋxkt*, and it is said that some families living on the Skeena sing of it as the spot where their first ancestors came to earth, although their descendants do not know where it is located.

*(24) *Stuux:* on the point between the *La'xılx* (Atnarko) and *Sla·kl* (Whitewater) rivers which join to form the Bella Coola. This, the most populous of the upper river towns, was deserted not long ago. The meaning of the name is unknown.

(25) *Qwliutl*, "The Place of Herbage": on the north side of the Atnarko River, a few hundred yards above the forks. This small town was deserted many years ago. The name was
[137] given on account of the hill behind the village being covered with a rank growth of plants and small bushes, but no trees.

[133] (26) *Snuhla·tl*, "The Place of Falls," so called from the strong rapids of the Atnarko at this point: on the north side
[173] of the river about ten miles from the forks. This large town was long ago deserted when a large rock in the midst of the

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obtained two wives, the name of one being *Ťlisla*. He returned to Bella Coola with them. 778 530

Nänalskwitl knew that presently he was fated to become immobile, a seat of petrified power. Since he was able to select where this was to be, he chose the site of Mount *Nusqalst*, midway in the Bella Coola valley, as a convenient place to overlook the doings of men. Before he transformed himself into this mountain, he determined that he would have people visit him; accordingly he changed his axe, *Nuskmidjusta*, which he carried concealed beneath his blanket, into *sqalst*, a stone much used for axes and adzes. Until the introduction of white man's tools his wish was gratified; people came from far and near to obtain the necessary material. 823 103 [316]

The human origin of the mountain is still remembered, since it is often spoken of by its chiefly names, *Nänalskwitl* and *Ťlisla*, relics of its existence as a man. This story is regarded as an origin myth, and as such might have been included in vol. I, chap. VI.

This mountain is regarded with awe by the Bella Coola on account of its great height, but it seems to lack most of the characteristics ascribed to other places where power has been petrified.

(10) On one of the mountains above Cascade Inlet there used to be a stone eagle with outstretched wings which came to this earth with the first people, but was petrified one day when drying its wings after fishing. About 1860 part of its beak fell away. A change in the condition of any of these places had long been regarded as an omen of misfortune, so the epidemic of smallpox that soon after ravaged the coast was not unexpected. 778 [164] [787] *

(11) *Ällssmos*: An unidentified spot where a *snuiq* of the mountain was petrified. At this place there is a small pool which is the repository (II, p. 8) of a certain *kusiut* dancer.

(12) *uxwekam*, "The Walker," the name both of a supernatural being and the spot where it is localized. This is not far from the glacier that lies near the junction of the trails from *Snuhsli* and *Täl·io*; it is the largest one in the vicinity of Bella Coola and is said to move its position. The being is in some way connected with it, hence the name. [776]

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 192*

Sonx̣ʷmai: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuax* man.
Soptos: *Kusiut* name of a *Tsmoot* man.
sofoteäxwum: Scalp. [824]
soqwalätk': Gnarled projection of wood from a birch knot.
Spaixpaxynuman·a: Supernatural being who wakens his fellows in the morning.
Spänbätlinaix: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
späniesta: Temporary camping-place.
Spätcaldt, "The First Born": Name brought from Kitlobe to Kimsquit by a marriage in the beginning of time.
spälki: Star.
spekm, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud. [581]
spependouts: The forcing upwards of water at high tide, through openings in the rocks at sea-level. [823]
spikpikmm: Person who pounds cedar-bark.
spikta: Tools for pounding cedar-bark, specifically the upper beater.
Spipixinän·i: Region on the east side of Dean Channel, about one mile from its head, where supernatural power is localized. [778]
Spi'xnunsta: Island west of Namu.
spkx: 1—Pudenda.
2—Variety of *smnq* with female organs. [824]
spoxälicua: Unidentified berry. [821]
S'ps', Cold Wind: A supernatural being.
Spskunsta: Meeting place of chiefs on rock ledge behind *Qomqo·ts*; the term is probably applied to any meeting place of chiefs.
spla: War-knife used by Raven in the beginning of time.
sputq: Olachen. [825]
spux: Eagle down.
spuxdjut, "Eagle Down-ness": Rhetorical reference to a present for which no return is expected. [431]
spuxpux: Long, delicate feathers on an eagle's breast. [825]
Spuxpuxhailaix: *Kusiut* name of a woman sent down near *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
Spuxpuxqä'mpdimut: *Sisaok* name of *Xuxais* origin.
Spuxspuxta: *Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit woman.
sqäl·a: Unidentified berry. [824]
sqoolt: Alder wood, dead and dried. [825]
sqäpts: Spring salmon which have spawned.
sqali: Hunting ability. The term usually refers to the ability of the supernatural artisans to hunt, i.e., to kill, human beings.
sqalst or *sqalstut:* Stone, suitable for axes, found on Mount *Nusqalst.* The name of the mountain is said to be derived from this. [316] [103]
sqama: 1—Chest.
2—Smoke cure for diseases of the chest.
Sqaml: Land of Ashes. [584]
sqasusts: First proposal of marriage if made by relatives of the man.
sqals: River sand mixed with small pebbles. [823]
Sqatsdx: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola River.
sqaxm: Flood.

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287 thrown in, and hot stones lifted in to heat the mixture. Even at the
386 present time dye is never made on a stove, as it is thought that the gradual heating by means of stones is essential. As it becomes warm, the woman thoroughly stirs the ingredients with her hands, then, when it boils, some of the bark is lifted out and more added. This process is continued until the brew is deep red in colour. It is allowed to stand for a few minutes before the pounded cedar-bark is placed in it. The operator gently works it around until it is saturated, then lifts it out and hangs it up to dry. Several pieces of bark can be dyed in one solution, though it is necessary to add more alder-bark and more stones to maintain the proper strength and heat.

[285 Although red cedar-bark is the kind most commonly used, the Bella
177] Coola sometimes use the yellow cedar for mats and blankets, an art learnt from the Bella Bella.

THE MANUFACTURE OF PAINT

386 Paint, such as was used both for decorating the body and for por-
[302 traying designs on wood, was obtained from a kind of rock found near
532 the head of a creek entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Sunxl*.
317] Fragments of the red stone were broken off, thrown into a vessel containing water, and brought to a boil by the insertion of hot stones. Under the action of heat the rock became soft so that the manufacturer was able to pulverize it and run off the semi-liquid mixture into a small box. He would then chew cedar-bark and salmon roe, and spit into the paint, thoroughly mixing his saliva with it. When dry, the mixture was ready for use, and could be kept indefinitely.

[532 Anyone could paint who had the artistic skill, and it was chiefly artists
177] who used to make this kind of paint. Since the introduction of the white man's brilliant colours, there has been no demand for the duller native shade, and the making of paint has been discontinued.

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quantities of ducks and geese, and the inhabitants of the inland villages sometimes made hunting expeditions to the nesting places of wild-fowl in the lakes of the interior uplands. Although numbers of birds were sometimes killed in this way, they were never a steady article of diet. The same is true of grouse. Always plentiful, these birds were commonly killed, but never in large numbers.

The basis of the food supply was fish. The river teemed with salmon, which enabled the country to support its relatively large population. Spring, sockeye, hump-back, dog, and cohoe salmon, all entered the river in thousands during the spring and summer, while the steel-head could be caught throughout the year. They were taken in weirs and their flesh smoked for winter use. Throughout the year, salmon was the principal article of diet. Second in importance was the olachen, a fish somewhat resembling a herring, which entered the river in great numbers during April or May. They were taken in purse-like nets,[6] allowed to rot for ten days or two weeks, and then boiled. The grease was skimmed off and kept indefinitely to be used as a relish for other foods. It was always a sign of poverty if a person were obliged to eat berries without olachen grease. Trout and bull-heads were found in the river, but were not sufficiently plentiful to be of importance.

Although no form of agriculture was practised, the Bella Coola used vegetable food to a considerable extent. Berries were abundant; some were eaten raw, but many more were pounded into a pulpy mass and dried in the sun. Cakes prepared in this way kept indefinitely and formed one of the regular winter foods. The bark of the hemlock and cottonwood was eaten, as well as the roots of many plants. In recent years many of these have not been used, so that an investigator is apt to overlook their great importance in early times. Although useless for food, the cedar was the corner-stone of Bella Coola material culture. From its trunk were split out, with wedges, the wide planks which formed

[6] See Appendix A for a description of olachen fishing.

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824 their houses. Dishes, benches, cooking-boxes, cradles, totem-
[322] poles, canoes, all were carved from this wood. The bark was
285 woven into baskets, and when dyed formed the most common
[531] ceremonial decoration.

Even within the forty miles of the river valley formerly
132 occupied by the Bella Coola there are considerable variations in climate. At the mouth of the river the typical Pacific coast type is found, without great extremes of temperature and with much rain, especially in winter time. During winter, the moisture is precipitated as snow a few hundred feet above the valley, and the limit of the snow can be watched on the mountain slopes, rising or falling a few feet from day to day. Farther up the valley, the winters are colder and in many cases snow lies for weeks on the ground, and in the upper part of the Bella Coola area the winters are severe, although much more moderate than on the upper regions immediately to the east.

173 What has been the history of the inhabitants of this land?
[776] They believe that long, long ago, *Älquntäm*, the supreme god, caused their first ancestors to be created in his house, *Nusmät·a*, in the land above, and sent them down to populate the Bella Coola valley. These first people came in groups of two or three, brothers and sisters, or occasionally man and wife, each group descending, in many cases in animal form, to a certain mountain and then making their home at its foot. They brought with them animals and fish, tools and houses, also the knowledge of ceremonial dances. In fact, they differed from the Bella Coola of the recent past only in having greater supernatural power. These first people increased with extraordinary rapidity, until each group grew into a village, bound together by a knowledge of their first ancestor. In
173 course of time the occupants of certain villages combined, as
361 some increased more rapidly than others, but on the whole each settlement maintained its character of being the descendants of one group of the first settlers of this world.

[175] This mythological belief is a fair picture of Bella Coola life as it was when the first white man visited the valley. Mac-

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776

PLATE 10

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Mask of *Qomoqua* showing his huge hat. Notice the adze marks on the planks in the background.

[+ 186 (B)]

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"Someone is calling your name." 827
If a man stumbles without due cause, it is said: 481
"Someone has food ready for you."

When a man partly closes his hand, if a wrinkle-like fold 787
runs straight across the palm it indicates that he is a good 322
carpenter.

If a mouse nibbles even a single smoked salmon, the whole 825
boxful is thrown away immediately in case dung has been
dropped within. It is believed that inadvertent chewing of [826]
this is responsible for wearing down the teeth.

If a man throws a stone at a pregnant snake, the young ones
may rush forth and enter the thrower's stomach. They remain [761]
invisible, and no one knows how they enter, but death always
results. Snakes are regarded with scorn and aversion, and the [752]
only men who dare to handle them are shamans.

When a milk tooth is lost, anyone who happens to be pre- 856
sent should pick it up, pass it four times around the child's 827
head, sunwise, and throw it away. No explanation of this
custom is known.[19]

[19]This is not the only custom practised at the loss of a tooth, cf. vol. I, p. 500.

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115 Schooner lacked the mental acumen of Joshua and Jim, but
177 he revealed himself as a tribal patriarch, proud of his family's
[153] history and eager to assist his grandchildren and great-grandchildren, but feeling himself lost and helpless in the struggle before them. With sadness, but without bitterness, he used to speak of the approaching end of Bella Coola culture, and his words brought home the tragedy which the spread of civilization brings to so many, and the responsibility resting upon the white people as a whole.

153 Until an intelligence test is devised to correlate the mental
115 ability of the white man with that of the native, it is impossible to compare the two scientifically. None the less, the writer deliberately expresses the opinion that Joshua Moody and Jim Pollard are two of the most brilliant men he has met in any walk of life. They are undoubtedly the most able of the Bella Coola; others have only slightly less ability, while the mass of the population compares favourably with an
178 average white community. Their ability, however, is definitely conditioned by their conservatism. Absolute trust in the traditions of their ancestors has checked speculation, as the established explanation is never questioned; new inventions, unauthorized by custom, have been regarded as almost sacri-
[626] legious; the force of public opinion, while valuable as a deterrent to anti-social practices, has effectively restrained innovations. The Bella Coola are a good example of a community where development has been atrophied by extreme conservatism fostered by religious beliefs.

105 Taking into account the material obstacles, the achievements of these people have not been insignificant. In former
[322] times, provided only with tools of stone and untempered copper, they built graceful canoes, made watertight boxes, hewed planks from mighty cedars, and erected large houses which called for considerable engineering skill. Judged by
[532] white standards, their carving and painting lacked artistic deli-
[535] cacy, but it required no mean ability to portray crest designs to meet their own standards. Passing from the purely mechanical

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177 their earning ability and a man can satisfy his wants by working
182 for a few months each summer. The decline of ceremonials has left a blank in their lives, too easily filled, alas, with drinking, idleness, and vice. It is inevitable that the old rites and old ambitions should pass, but the prohibition of these before new ones had taken their place, has been disastrous. The Bella Coola have lost their pride, a calamity as fatal to a people as to an individual.

They have shown undoubted ability in developing such of their own talents as fit the needs and requirements of the white man. Expert carpenters for generations, they have readily [322] learnt the use of new tools and now build houses and boats of considerable constructional skill. They have proved them- [464] selves valuable employees of the canneries which rely to a large extent upon Indian labour. Under instruction from a [533] white teacher, a number of the younger men have formed a band which gives creditable performances with wind and percussion instruments. One can only deplore the fact that the skill of the Bella Coola in carving, painting, acting, singing, composing, and story-telling could not have been guided into channels where it would have developed and added lustre to the new world in which they find themselves.

The white man's civilization presses forward as an overwhelming flood, blotting out the cultures of lesser peoples in all parts of the world. This is inevitable, probably it is well that it should be so, but it offers little consolation to a tribe like the Bella Coola. Their life has been destroyed; and, wonderingly, half-proudly, half-plaintively, the survivors watch the downfall of all that their ancestors cherished. Too often the white man fails to understand this; too often he fails to realize that progress, as he sees it, is wiping out valuable elements of civilizations other than his own instead of seeking the good in them and preserving it for the benefit of himself and the native alike. The Bella Coola culture is dying, and with it will pass forever something created by a Canadian people, not great perhaps, but ineffably stamped with their personality.

556 to a complicated figure such as a whale, and in that case an
769 expert dancer among the guests is called upon to perform. It
[575] is announced that this is, "to make clean the road for the
[535] dead."

After each masked figure has disappeared, the sound of whistling from without grows gradually weaker, as the apparition returns whence it came. In solemn silence X takes a copper* which he has had in readiness, breaks it across his knee,* and throws it either into the fire or down on the ground in the track that the figure has taken. Then the announcer calls out loudly:

"It is for his crest.* It has 'made bone for the dead.'" Then he continues, speaking for X and using the first person:

"My heart is glad at seeing my father.* At death he returned back on the path of my family's ancestors and donned our ancient crest. He now lives in *Nuxwáit-a*, whence he came to visit us and whither he has now gone back."

[171] The significance of the throwing down of a copper is entirely unknown to the modern Bella Coola, although they still perform the ritual. In some vague way it is felt that "bone," which may imply *stability*, has been provided for the deceased. The act thus appears in the light of an offering to the dead, but this sentiment is not clearly appreciated by the participants in the rite; the present has been made *for*, rather than *to*, the one being mourned.

The copper, now valueless, is picked up by any chief and given to a poor man.

After a short interval a number of youths begin to distribute presents, provided by X, which have been placed in readi-
[562] ness. Gifts of equal value are given to all foreign male guests;
[431] while the women receive ones less valuable. These presents

[325] *One of the glamour of native copper, such as were formerly known not sold
[434] and used as tokens of value by the coast tribes of British Columbia. Their employment by the Bella Coola will be described later in greater detail (I, p. 218).

*The breaking is sometimes omitted.

*That is: "For the dead man, now in form of his crest."

*Or whatever relative the deceased may have been.

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of metal obtained from the white man, if not actually machine-made for trading purposes. They resemble the familiar shape found in all parts of the British Columbia coast and vary in length from about six inches to as much as three feet. There is considerable difference in thickness; some of the newer ones are thin plates, others are heavy and appear to be old. The early white traders realized the value placed by the Indians on their coppers and these were soon imitated and became important articles of barter. The Bella Coola state that many of the early Hudson's Bay Company's coppers were made of drawn wire, but this type seems to have passed out of existence, since all the specimens seen in Bella Coola consisted of flat metal plaques. 556* 177 439

The Bella Coola maintain that their ancestors have, ever since the beginning of time, used two kinds of coppers. One variety, known as *fália*, resembled the plaques produced by white men. This is the term in common usage for all kinds of coppers at the present time. The other variety, *taitaimy*, is said to have been thicker and heavier and was made by heating the metal in a fire, beating it into the required shape. Long, long ago, coppers of this kind were sometimes found in the forest by hunters who were thus rewarded for observance of ceremonial chastity, but most were obtained in trade from the northern tribes. One of these is said to be preserved at Kimsquit, but none is said to have been owned by a Bella Coola within the last few years. 556* [325] [439]

The Bella Coola believe that *taitaimy* can only be manufactured in one district, far to the north, at the mouth of an unknown river. There, it is said, the chiefs range themselves along the river bank, each armed with a spear, and each with a number of slaves behind him. When the tide is highest, salmon of some peculiar kind appear at the surface of the water. If one comes within reach of a spearman, he lunges at it, but invariably misses; then the chief drops his spear, seizes one of his slaves and kills him by cutting his throat. A small piece of 552* 773

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556 773 flesh cut from the body is fastened to the point of the spear, making it so potent that when next the chief lunges at a salmon he transfixes it and brings it ashore. He warms the fish at a fire and then pounds it on a stone until it becomes a copper.

No Bella Coola has visited this distant river for many generations and the belief concerning the manufacture of *taitaimy* appears to have been handed down from dim antiquity. Coppers of this kind are said to have been considered much more valuable than the usual *łália*, but were always uncommon. In addition to their ordinary uses, they had a certain curative value. If the owner of one was ill, he used to clean it [755] with a rough stone and water; then he would drink four cupfuls of the liquid which contained minute fragments of metal. In almost every case a speedy recovery followed. In all other respects *łália* or *taitaimy* could be used indiscriminately.

Łália are likewise said to have a supernatural origin. When found in the forest, they are due to the supernatural salmon-[996] like being, *nsiatl*, having changed itself into one. None has been found in recent years because the *nsiatl* have moved away owing to their dislike of the smell of human footsteps and the taint of smoke.

These stories serve to emphasize the complete ignorance of [325] the Bella Coola concerning the methods of manufacturing coppers. It is possible that long ago they were able to make their own by pounding the native metal, but if so it is surprising that some traditions to this effect were not preserved. On the other hand, there is little reason to doubt their use of [177] coppers, obtained from the northern tribes, antedating the coming of the whites. All informants agreed on this point, and the frequent references to coppers in mythology likewise point to considerable age. In many of the ancestral myths there are accounts of the obtaining of coppers by some of the [551] first people, and many ancestral names, both of men and women, are derived from them.

[237] The Bella Coola attribute the value of coppers to the fact

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of their occurrence in most ancestral myths.[4] There seems to be no mythological explanation for the casting of a copper into the fire after the passing of the representation of a deceased relative, but the desire of chiefs to use them at potlatches is the result of their use under similar circumstances by their ancestors. Some ancestral myths lack reference to coppers, but their use is common to all, whether or not embodied in such. It is said to be easier for a chief to acquire coppers if they had been used by his ancestors, but this is not essential. 556* 773 [769]

When arranging for the appearance of a dead relative, the donor of a potlatch is careful either to possess a copper, or to be able to borrow one at the right moment. As soon as the masked figure has disappeared, the donor stands up, breaks or bends his copper, and throws it into the fire "to make bone for the deceased." No matter how valuable a copper may have been, it is now worthless; its value has been expended on the purpose for which it has just been employed. It lies unheeded in the flames, a valueless article belonging to no one. 556* 769

At some convenient time, either hours or days later, any chief may remove the copper and give it to a poor man, only taking care to choose an individual who has not recently received one. It is said that the gift is "to patch his canoe." It is now the poor man's property, but it has no value, since no goods have been expended for it. The new owner straightens and repairs it, if necessary by riveting on the broken piece, thus making it ready for further use. The poor man may keep the copper for years, or it may be only a few weeks before some chief, preparing for a potlatch, offers, perhaps, $20, for it. In the old days, values were computed in slaves, canoes, salmon, and other commodities, but now in dollars. If two chiefs should happen to want it, the poor man may haggle about the price, though in such a case the two rivals would probably agree amicably rather than lower their dignity by seeming to be interested in a matter of money. It is to the advantage of a 556* [735] [325] 435 556* 437

[4]Abalone-shells and moosehides are treasured for the same reason; the former are mentioned in several origin myths, the latter in two at least. [237]

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of his village, hence they will not feel it incumbent upon them to intervene. But news travels, and in course of time the *sisaok* members of some other tribe will decide to send a raiding party against X's village. All informants agreed most emphatically that this custom prevailed among the coast people from the Tsimshian country to Alert Bay, but specific examples could not be obtained. The Bella Coola regard such a raid as the proper course to pursue, and belligerent tribes may have used an irregularity in the potlatch rites as an excuse for an assault. It is clear, however, that this custom never attained such prominence that it could be called a law. 556* 688 628

The following is an instance of the Bella Coola outlook on the question: 556* 688

The father of an informant had had such success in giving potlatches that his neighbours were jealous. On one occasion he prepared a representation of a whale, an elaborate wooden frame, fifteen feet long, operated by men concealed within and carrying passengers; this was a figure which entered into his ancestral myth. One of the carpenters who made it, bribed by a jealous rival of the donor of the potlatch, arranged that the lower jaw of the whale should fall to the floor during the proceedings. This revealed the mechanism of the structure. White influence on the coast prevented an incursion of foreign raiders, but according to this informant, the chiefs determined that his father should die, and they employed a sorcerer for this purpose. His father and eleven other relatives died soon afterwards. This man, the sole survivor, ascribes his escape to his adoption of Christianity. [578] [532] [578] [177] [754]

Another instance of the penalty which follows errors in potlatch ritual occurred a few years ago, when a number of young men used the cone-shaped whistles openly, as if they had been toys. The presence of the white man prevented any open steps towards punishment, but before long all the youths died. No one knows what caused their deaths, though probably they were due to an expert in black magic acting on the instructions of a senior *sisaok*. [534] [177] [754]

After the prayer, X and his family give more food to their guests, whose boxes containing what they are to carry away are increasing in number. By his lavishness, X increases his prestige in the eyes of his fellow-villagers. 556*

If he can afford to build a new house embodying the form [335]

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335 of one in his ancestral myth, he will do so; if not, it will suffice
* 556 to decorate the old house; but in either case the tasks connected with the construction must be allotted. X gives to one man the work of making new beams; to another, the two front upright posts; to a third, the two rear upright posts; to another, the planks along one side of the house; to a skilled carpenter, the totem-pole bearing whatever design X has decided upon; to a painter, one of the designs for the back wall of the house; to another painter, another design near it; to still another, part of the painting of the front of the house; to another, more of the same; and so on until he has allotted work for every part of the edifice. In some cases there are
342 peculiarities of house construction dependent upon their occur-
424 rence in the builder's ancestral myth, which are jealously
* 556 guarded prerogatives. One man, for instance, enjoys the right
[773] to build five peaks above the front of his house. These represent the five peaks of Mount *Nusqalst* where his first ancestor came to earth (see Plate 13). Another has a series of spool- or disk-like indentations in his upright posts (see Plate 14) to support the beams, a prerogative established by his ancestor *Qeil* in the beginning of time. Another chief's posts are carved to represent a mythical creature. Still another prerogative is that of building a sloping board, resembling a gang-plank, from the door of the house to the ground, with a representation of a mythological sea monster at the bottom. In that case the theme of the grandiloquent potlatch song is how chiefs are attracted to X's house, as canoes are irresistibly drawn to the sea monster.

Each of the above-mentioned prerogatives belongs to one family alone; whereas several have the right to build semi-subterranean houses. The artisans excavate a rectangular hole, about six feet deep, equal in size to the central part of the dwelling. A platform is then erected round the sides of this, about three feet from the bottom. The walls of the house itself are raised sufficiently far back from the central pit to allow an unencumbered passageway, off which the bedrooms

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are built. The central fire is laid in the bottom of the pit, a few feet above that is the platform where the guests are seated, and the ground-level is a few feet above that again. A few instances are remembered of houses having been built with two, and even three, of these tiers, or platforms. In those cases it appears certain that this type of construction was embodied in a myth derived from Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people, where, according to the Bella Coola, large houses, of five or six tiers, were not unknown. 342 424 556* [177]

X uses his own discretion in choosing his workmen,[1] avoiding only his own relatives and those of his wife. The question of pay is never broached, but it is understood that X will recompense those who have worked for him. The scale on which he does so will depend entirely on his generosity. This is one of the ways in which a chief helps the poor people of his village. More food is distributed to "sharpen the wedges." 335 556* 465

While a man is engaged on his allotted task any food or other articles which he or his family may obtain belongs to X. If a man who hews the planks takes his wife with him and she chances to pick berries while he is at work, these must be given to X who will distribute them with his other food at the potlatch, and it will be announced from whom he has received them. If a man's friends should help him to complete his task and then all go hunting, any skins acquired will belong to X; but when he repays his indebtedness he is expected to reward the worker, not only for his carpentry, but also for the berries or pelts. As X must give lavishly to prove his chief-like generosity, the collection of foods or skins by his workmen is profitable for them.

The guests have been passing in and out of X's house all day and towards dusk all again assemble within. Suddenly the door is burst open by a number of young men carrying a large log, like a battering-ram. The majority of the bearers are *sisaok*, though they may obtain assistance from those who are not members of the society. The people within the house spring up to eject the ram, and a sham battle ensues. Back- 556* [575]

1 [ie. to build a new house for a potlatch. -ANALYST]

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THE PROFESSION OF CARPENTER

As with singers, there are many carpenters who ply their trade without the advantage of an ancestral prerogative. They, also, may be expert and receive credit for their skill, but they can never achieve quite the distinction that comes to a man who has been made a carpenter by the distribution of presents. The latter may be so clumsy with tools that no one would ever trust him to make a canoe, or even a mask; but he is, socially, a carpenter, whereas a skilled artisan lacking a prerogative is admired for his ability but has no foundation of social esteem. In transmitting a professional carpenter's name, however, an effort is always made to give it to a youth with a bent in that direction.

The most esteemed carpenters are those who can make canoes, a trade which requires no special prerogative. In the beginning of time, *Yulätimut* was the canoe-maker *par excellence;* he assisted many of the first people, and no one can have a professional prerogative as carpenter unless this supernatural being appears in his ancestral myth. The Bella Coola ascribe the skill of the Bella Bella in carpentry to the fact that *Yulätimut* married a Bella Bella woman in the early period of the world and that many of that tribe are his descendants. In the old days, before the coming of the white men, carpenters were always respected as esteemed members of the community. Chiefs always cared for them, and they received abundant food at every ceremonial. None the less, they were not wealthy, and only in recent years, since the Bella Coola have realized the value put upon good craftsmanship by the white men, has it become customary to give valuable presents to carpenters. Ceremonially, they have considerable influence, since the carpenter who makes a mask usually decides who shall wear it and takes charge of the fitting and adjustment. He is also held responsible for any accident such as its falling when in use or for mechanical defects.

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174 reliable traditions of Carrier settlements there. The probable explanation is that the Bella Coola formerly extended over the area, either in actual fact or according to mythology, but were supplanted by the Carriers.

175 The Dean River is called *Nuhəl*, and the generic name for the people of the Dean valley is *Sutslimx*. About eighty years [101] ago a smallpox epidemic so reduced the villages on the Kims- [164] quit that the survivors abandoned them and moved to the [731] Dean. At that time a certain Kimsquit man is believed to have said: "We will take their places and kill even their dogs."

Since that time, the joint settlement has suffered one [164] epidemic after another, until a mere handful of the people [731] survive, and they are almost entirely descended from the Kimsquit River immigrants. Within the last few years, these have requested permission from the Bella Coola to abandon Kimsquit entirely and live among them. The two groups have [628] always been on the best of terms, but the Bella Coola have not forgotten the fate of the Dean River people and have been unwilling to admit the Kimsquit survivors.

Villages on the Kimsquit River, Sä·tsk'

361 *(44) *Sä·tsk':* this large and important town, at the mouth of the river, was deserted at the time of the smallpox epidemic.

*(45) *Nuxwlst:* this settlement can be grouped with the last-mentioned, although situated on the shore of Dean Channel, at the site of the present Manitou Cannery, six miles away. No meaning of the name is known.

Tribal Organization

619 The subject of this monograph is the people of the above forty-five villages. They will be referred to as a *tribe*, and as this term is customarily limited to a political unit, a brief justification for its use is necessary.

342 Each Bella Coola village consisted of a single row of houses, 361 built along the shore of a river or the ocean. The front doors

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opened out on to a wooden platform, which served as sidewalk and extended from one end of the settlement to the other. The outer side of this structure was always supported on piles; in fact, in many cases, the houses as well as the whole sidewalk were thus raised from the ground. This type of construction was necessitated by the sloping sites of the villages, but had the added advantage of being a protection against attack. The villages differed in size from insignificant settlements of three to four houses, to ones with twenty or thirty, each containing several families. The ease with which the red cedar could be split and worked into large planks made possible the construction of these large, rectangular houses which, with their horizontally laid walls and sloping roofs, presented a picture of stability and relative comfort superior to that of most Indian habitations. 342 361

Each village was practically an independent political unit. Neighbouring settlements had many common interests which threw them into contact with one another, but there was no organized cohesion between the towns of the Bella Coola valley, or between those of *Täl·io* and Kimsquit. There was still less to draw these three groups together. There was no supreme chief and no governmental meeting of the tribe as a whole. Not only were the three divisions not bound to support one another in war, they were often at loggerheads among themselves. Indeed, bloodshed between towns of the Bella Coola valley itself was not uncommon. Moreover, each group tended to merge with its neighbours. The *Täl·io* people frequently married with the Rivers Inlet and the Bella Bella; the Kimsquit with the *ʇstämx*[16] of Dean Channel and the Kitlobe of Gardner Canal; and the Bella Coola of the upper valley with the Carriers. 631 628 563 648

In spite of these inconsistencies, the application of the word *tribe* is justifiable for the following reasons: 619

A. Linguistic. All spoke the same language. There were dialectical differences among the people of Bella Coola, *Täl·io*, and Kimsquit, but each group could understand the [197]

[16] To avoid unnecessary symbols, capital ʇ has not been used.

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621 623 ters, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact [535] this ceremonial unity is its most important function.

[796] With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the 361 river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built [184] type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side 342 nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many [171] cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there [487] is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox [164] epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space. [433] Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

342 The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, [354] often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side-walls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the different families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The [592] number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an [622] important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and any- [261] one present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with [353] carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall. [535] A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important in dances.

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in dances. In front of most houses rises a short totem-pole,[9] either pierced for the doorway, or standing on the opposite side of the sidewalk. [211] [778]

The Family

It is probably no exaggeration to say that in every part of the world the most important social unit is the family. It certainly is among the Bella Coola, yet its lack of definite social obligations makes it difficult to define. Reduced to minimum size, the family consists of a man, his wife, or wives, and his children. Such a unit occupies one of the bedrooms of a large house, and it is to such a family that an infant automatically belongs at birth. Disregarding for the moment ceremonial obligations, which are shared by others, it is the father and mother who are responsible largely for the upbringing of the child. Such education as he receives comes from them, with the assistance of members of the ancestral family. This is chiefly imitative; a boy, as he increases in strength, follows his father on hunting expeditions or fishing. The mother teaches her daughters how to make baskets, and they follow her when she gathers berries, or when she cooks and performs household duties. The Bella Coola are fond of children, in many cases to the extent of over-indulging them, and they grow up amid the open life of the large houses, absorbing information of all kinds without being aware of so doing.

594 [851] 594 868 855 861

Only two kinds of functional training need be mentioned. A wise father carefully trains his sons to remember their debts (I, p. 369), and the method of teaching ancient myths has already been described; otherwise there is little direct instruction. On the other hand, parents devote great care to furnishing their children with every possible means of strengthening their supernatural elements on which success depends. These can

594 869

[9]Since the Bella Coola believe that totem-poles were used by their ancestors in early times, they are included in this description of a village, without reference to their development in post-European times. This account is compiled from descriptions given by elderly informants; it is inevitable, therefore, that changes due to European contact may be included. [177]

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PLATE 9

[P 186 (A)]

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

The site of Q̓omqo-ts, with the remains of the old village

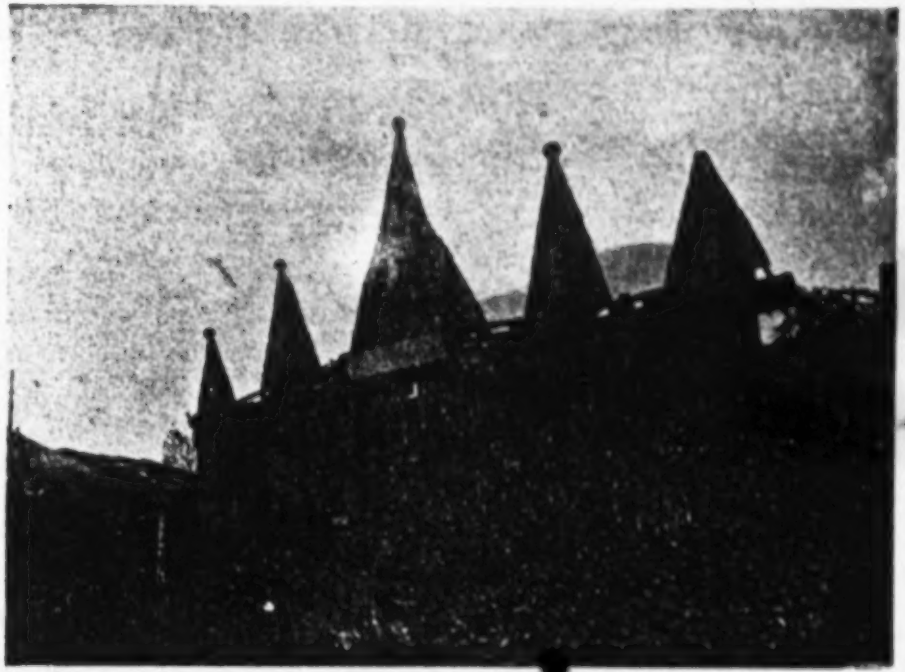

Photo by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Five-peaked house representing Mount *Nusdalst*

[4 186 (E)]

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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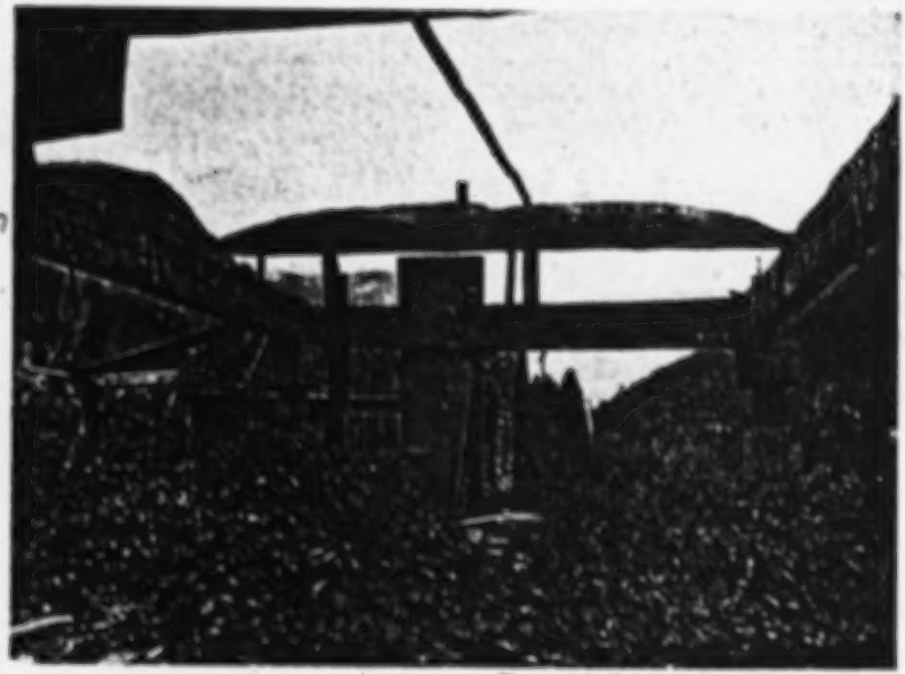
PLATE 14



Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Framework of an old house, displaying the owner's prerogative of spool-like indentations in the front posts

[f 186 (F)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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335 of one in his ancestral myth, he will do so; if not, it will suffice
* 556 to decorate the old house; but in either case the tasks connected with the construction must be allotted. X gives to one man the work of making new beams; to another, the two front upright posts; to a third, the two rear upright posts; to another, the planks along one side of the house; to a skilled carpenter, the totem-pole bearing whatever design X has decided upon; to a painter, one of the designs for the back wall of the house; to another painter, another design near it; to still another, part of the painting of the front of the house; to another, more of the same; and so on until he has allotted work for every part of the edifice. In some cases there are
342 peculiarities of house construction dependent upon their occur-
424 rence in the builder's ancestral myth, which are jealously
* 556 guarded prerogatives. One man, for instance, enjoys the right
[773] to build five peaks above the front of his house. These represent the five peaks of Mount *Nasqalst* where his first ancestor came to earth (see Plate 13). Another has a series of spool- or disk-like indentations in his upright posts (see Plate 14) to support the beams, a prerogative established by his ancestor *Qril* in the beginning of time. Another chief's posts are carved to represent a mythical creature. Still another prerogative is that of building a sloping board, resembling a gang-plank, from the door of the house to the ground, with a representation of a mythological sea monster at the bottom. In that case the theme of the grandiloquent potlatch song is how chiefs are attracted to X's house, as canoes are irresistibly drawn to the sea monster.

Each of the above-mentioned prerogatives belongs to one family alone; whereas several have the right to build semi-subterranean houses. The artisans excavate a rectangular hole, about six feet deep, equal in size to the central part of the dwelling. A platform is then erected round the sides of this, about three feet from the bottom. The walls of the house itself are raised sufficiently far back from the central pit to allow an unencumbered passageway, off which the bedrooms

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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are built. The central fire is laid in the bottom of the pit, a few feet above that is the platform where the guests are seated, and the ground-level is a few feet above that again. A few instances are remembered of houses having been built with two, and even three, of these tiers, or platforms. In those cases it appears certain that this type of construction was embodied in a myth derived from Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people, where, according to the Bella Coola, large houses, of five or six tiers, were not unknown. 342 424 556* [177]

X uses his own discretion in choosing his workmen, avoiding only his own relatives and those of his wife. The question of pay is never broached, but it is understood that X will recompense those who have worked for him. The scale on which he does so will depend entirely on his generosity. This is one of the ways in which a chief helps the poor people of his village. More food is distributed to "sharpen the workers." 335 556* 465

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The guests have been passing in and out of X's house all day and towards dusk all again assemble within. Suddenly the door is burst open by a number of young men carrying a large log, like a battering-ram. The majority of the beavers are naked, though they may obtain assistance from those who are not members of the society. The people within the house spring up to eject the ram, and a sham battle ensues. Back- 552* [575]

[i.e. to build a new house for a potlatch. —Analyst]

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PLATE 14

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Eagle dance being blown over a sacred dancer

[going P219]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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* 532 skill shown by those who assisted, as well as the generosity of
465 X, regulates the disbursements.

The following presents of money were given at a potlatch held about 1890, and were considered reasonable.

For painting two designs* on the front outside wall of the house	$ 40.00
For the erection of four upright posts, supporting the walls and roof of the house	30.00
For each longitudinal beam with painting	20.00
For each cross-beam, without painting	10.00
For the planking of the side walls*	100.00
For painting the rear wall of house, which is also the outside wall of the back-room*	40.00

[485] An average totem-pole would cost perhaps $150, but the prices varied greatly with size, complexity of design, and skill displayed.

426 The next distribution is of goods to repay debts which X
*556 has incurred at previous potlatches, that is, to return "investment presents" then received (I, p. 232). This is known as *lisdjat*, "repay," and the word is applied to all kinds of repayments, including revenge. One of a chief's difficulties is to remember his indebtedness. He may have been a guest at twenty potlatches, and at each has received presents varying in value, not only from different donors, but from other people
[867] associated with them. To keep these accurately in mind is hard but essential, and parents carefully train their children to do so.

As previously mentioned, the Bella Coola have no fixed scale of interest on debts. Careful inquiries made on that point disclosed the idea to be entirely foreign. The greater the interest, the greater does the donor show himself to be. If, for example, X received an investment present of one hundred blankets from a Bella Bella chief ten years previously,

[532] *When two are painted, that on the left of the central door on entering purveys X's father's crest, that on the right his mother's.
[342] *Four men would work together on this task.
*Two men would work together at this, the choice of designs corresponding to those of the outside front.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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556 performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical
[182] concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch,
are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of
the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly
[577] displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue
must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a
576 major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a
574 meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do otherwise would be considered rude. The person summoned must take at least a trifle to show that he is not churlish and too proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shares
[177] whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of
the family should be the first to taste any wine[16] *as proof that*
[273] it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better
[342] than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse
[414] through the construction of individual family houses with doors and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suit-
476 able place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his
[226] catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon, the first solicitor is given one, later comers, none at all. When a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to raise it and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a
[685] despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy;
[624] hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried
[224] to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

556 Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who
431 has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

[16] This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of home-brew.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 24

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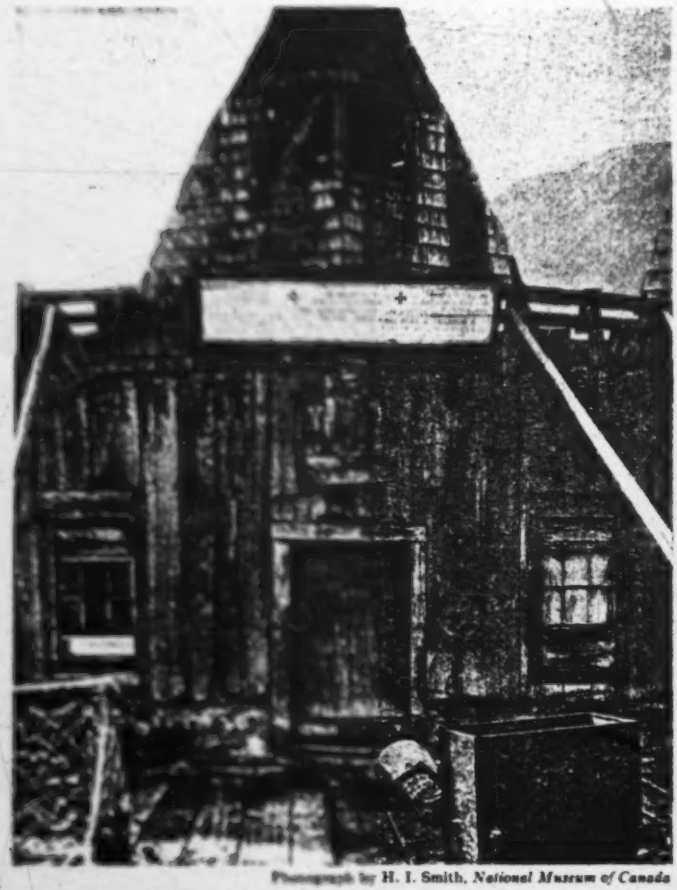

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Painted sign showing the wealth distributed at a potlatch. The animal figures above represent mountain goats.

[p 442 (H)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 3

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796*
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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Siki producing a crystal from his stomach

[p. 84 (c)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 5

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796*
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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Cannibal with incubus in form of a bear

[p. 84 (E)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 13

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Photograph by the author

Mrs. Joshua Moody (left) and Mrs. Willie Mack, two Bella Coola women

[p 516 (A)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 16

Photograph by the author

Reuben Schooner, a Bella Coola man, and his children

[p 516 (D)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 17

142
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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Lame Charlie, a Bella Coola man

[p 516 (E)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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177 fathers. Inherited beliefs are too deep-rooted to pass away
771 entirely within a few generations. Even those who claim to
have adopted the new faith remain convinced of the potency
[181] of magic, and of the existence of those supernatural creatures which do not actively conflict with the white man's creed. Such lack of consistency is a world-wide trait, particularly intelligible among the Bella Coola whose philosophy abounds in contradictions, dependent upon statements handed down in the origin myths of different families.

626 The Bella Coola are constrained not only by the omni-
presence of supernatural beings; they are constantly subjected
[181] to the influence of their fellows. They are far less individualistic than white people. A chief may boast that he can do as
[625] he pleases, that he can disregard the restrictions of lesser men; he often does so, but only because public opinion recognizes that he has reached a position of eminence by giving many potlatches. The duly validated warrior is brave because he
[703] feels that everyone is aware of his valour. The man who per-
forms some ceremony in accordance with an ancestral myth
[769] incorporates himself with his forbears, and is strengthened by the conviction that he has gained their support and approbation. In every phase of life, a person is profoundly affected
177 by the approval or disapproval of his neighbours. At present
626 the construction of small houses, each occupied by a single
●342 family, makes it possible for a man to hide himself, or to do work unknown to the rest of the community. This lessens the force of public opinion, although it is even now more potent than conscience in checking anti-social acts. Formerly, in communal houses, every action was fully known, making individual freedom of thought and act virtually impossible. A man
[602] is chiefly influenced by his relatives who take a great share in what the white man would consider purely family affairs. The effect of the group upon the individual must not be overlooked, nor can it be over-stressed in a study of these people.

177 The education and conversion of the younger men have
626 enormously lessened their reliance upon their fellows. In former
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561

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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192*

Anudkānuts: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
ānukāldimut, "This Is to Make Straight Your Road": Said when a call is returned, or food thrown upon a fire for the dead.
Ānukao·lst, "Place of Big Stones in the River": Village at Kwatna.
Ānukalulslaix: Woman immolated in a repository and hence become supernatural.
ayukihlk'ı: Rainbow-coloured nose-ring worn by Death.
Ānukiqaksaix: Supernatural name of Hawk. [825]
ayukitnk': Short cord by which the fungus is held during the *kānān·i* dance.
Ānukkālnam: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ānukpmaix, "The One that Fills the Rivers": Supernatural name of hump-back salmon.
anulkutl: Nose-ring. [301]
ānultnānk: Mourning song composed for a chief and, apparently, the singing of one. [533]
Ānulxwam: Place on the north-west side of Dean Channel, about nine miles from its head, where curative power is petrified. [778]
Anumntskmm: Supernatural beings who remind the supreme god of his *kusiut* duties.
Ānunitsktnm: Supernatural being who restores those killed by the receipt of too much power from *Ṫlitcāplilān·a.*
ānunuqwn: Meeting of chiefs, *archaic.*
annonai: Person who catches early olachen in a hand-net. [226]
anupospsam: Buoyant stones such as are found in a lake near the headwaters of the Bella Coola. [823]
Anuputsadilk: Supernatural being who regulates the height of tides in rivers.
anuqpatlnam: To await, especially a supernatural being.
Ānuqpmlaix: Son of the first settlers at *Sātlia.*
Ānuqpālaix, "What Fills People": Name created by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time with reference to his stores of salmon.
anuqunusam: Silent waiting in darkness before a *kusiotem* dance.
Ānuqwntnikmm: Supernatural being who gives inspiration.
Anusaikaiutslaix: 1—Supernatural name of *sisiutl.*
2—Method of killing practised by *sisiutl.*
Ānusaiksaixsaix·als: Name of a Bella Coola shaman.
Anu·shuxātlnm: Name of a Kimsquit woman.
anusks'alxākmus: The rare prerogative of changing from *kusiut* to *sisaok* rites on alternate nights. [424]
Ānuskiskmm, "The Saviour": One of *Ṫlitcāplilān·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Ānuskumethm: One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
ānuskāmnus: Peculiar cry uttered by a *kusiut* scratcher.
Ānuspunm·aix: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Ānusy: Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.
anuspaixotsaix, "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts: Identical with *sxlaxink*, q.v. [198]
Ānusyalaix: One of the first women to settle at *Slskistl* in the beginning of time.
Ānuteklāmdimut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
ānutsu: 1—Excavated house furnished with stepped platforms for guests.
2—Village at Kwatna. [342]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Nukapankam: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

Nukátco: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.

nuḳaxem: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a *kusiut* who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an uninitiated person.

nukolomskł': Grease extracted from sockeye salmon heads.

[825] *Nukiadji:* Ancestral name of a *Stuix* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.

[778] *nukila·xta:* 1—Spider.
2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where cures are effected; the power is derived from a spider petrified there.

Nukils, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nukokwixodjax, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[552] *Nuliḳumutl di mink'*, "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.

Nulalumtnam: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Noakymm*'s departure to warn *kukusiut* to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.

[356] 2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.

Nulalulaks, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[431] *nulexum:* Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.

Nulilıqolank, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.

Nulixwemankta: One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.

nulumkmankdās: Fastenings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.

Nulkitl: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.

nulkmākdas: Bonds used to fasten a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nulumkmankdās*.

[428] *nulmāxtmax:* Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.

nulolostnik·osta, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *ts.ēsek* head-dress.

nulł: Landslide, such as is caused by *Twalałit* or *ts.iutl*.

Nulqānlaix: Name given to their sister by the first settlers at *Nutsqualt* in the beginning of time.

nulqunta, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a poultice which is thrown away after serving its purpose.

nulqwtāns: House-posts nearest to front door.

nulunikta: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[426] *nulismāmmtnum*, "Belt Gooda": Goods borrowed during a potlatch by a donor who finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to fasten up his clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.

[556] *nulxodjim:* Cry uttered by a *ts.ēsek* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *ts.ēsek* novices.

[342] *nulxinqailaix:* The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *ts.ēsek* novice.

nulxwālkāls: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.

numālkāls: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.

Numām·u, "Place of Flies": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

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Taqwalaisla: Bella Bella chief mentioned in a semi-historical account.

[825] *Taxakl:* Northern tribe, possibly Haida.

łąli: Dog salmon.

Tsałłimx, "Whose Feet Are Shortened": Village on shore of North Bentinck Arm west and north of the Necleetsconnay River.

tąpnąin·i: Owl.

[601] *łsai:* 1—Daughter, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for girls unrelated to the speaker.
2—Feminine suffix.

Teakwaaks: 1—One of the names of Mount *Nusąlst* as chief.
2—Man who descended to Mount *Nusąlst* in the beginning of time.

Teakwak: Supernatural name of bald eagle.

teakwalotl: 1—Type of expansible house brought down from above by several of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
2—One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[825] *teakwliwa:* White slug with black and red face.

[824] *teałteałaksum:* Pleasure walk.

[411] *teałt":* Cedar-bark.

teá·n: Sealing spear.

[825] *łsan:* Snake.

Teaqołekx': Mountain near the Dean River.

Teaqos: One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean River in the beginning of time.

[824] *teałstaolp:* Red cedar tree.

Teawat: Locality on mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island, *probably* Knight Inlet.

teaxwanał·aia: Unidentified grape-like tuber.

Teaikwap: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[342] *teiba:* Underground house with entrance and flue combined.

Teika: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.

[825] *Teiknutl:* One of the first men to settle at *Alqałaxl* in the beginning of time.

teiman·i: Large clam-shell.

Teimlaix: Sisaok name of a *Sinxl* man.

Teimtliax: Lad mentioned in an ancient story.

teipix: Fisher.

[601] *Teitomiłlaix*, "The Sleep Giver": Name of a female shaman.

tei gnes di emts: Nephew's wife, term of indirect address.

tei gnes di sisi: Uncle's wife, term of indirect address.

Teixwotl: Man mentioned in an ancient story of the upper Bella Coola valley.

Teksa: Celebrated Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

Teal'laiyu, "He of the Penis": Nickname given to a lad mentioned in an ancient story.

temałk: Valley.

Temotl, "Where the River Covers the Stones": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Temqałk: Locality on Fitzhugh Sound.

[824] *Tenlisi:* Mountain in the Carrier country.

łnałkwałp: Unidentified hollow-stemmed plant.

Tenłkwałpa·ts, "Where There Is Much *łnałkwałp*": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

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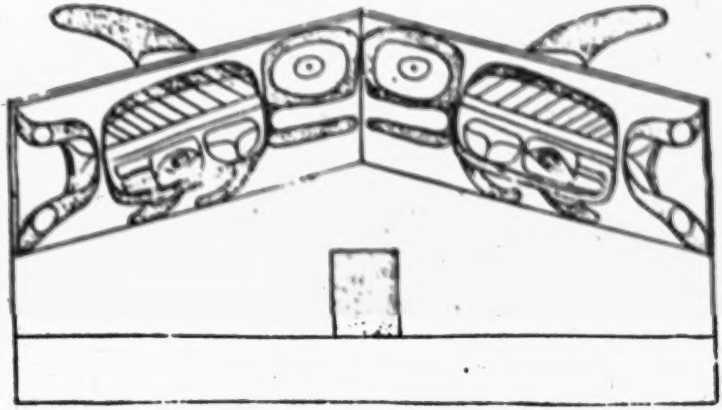
614 582 [551] The evidence which I can present regarding the laws of intermarriage is the following: I inquired of Nusk'zla'sta (=cold water in face), a member of the Ialo'stimôt gens, whether he might marry a Spatsâ'ilt woman; this suggestion he rejected with the greatest indignation.

FIG. 1.—House-front of the gens Tok-ôt'ia.

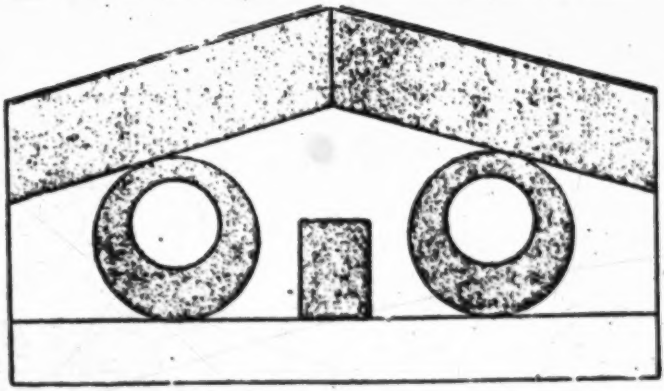
[342] [532]



Members of the first two gentes, he explained later on, are not allowed to intermarry, neither are members of the last two gentes, while the first and second may marry among the third and fourth. He accounted for

FIG. 2.—House-front of the gens Tl'ak-anmô'ot, representing the moon.

[342] [532]



this by stating that Ialo'stimôt's son married Spatsâ'ilt's daughter, and that consequently the two gentes were related to each other.

614 The gentes have crests similar to those of the neighbouring coast

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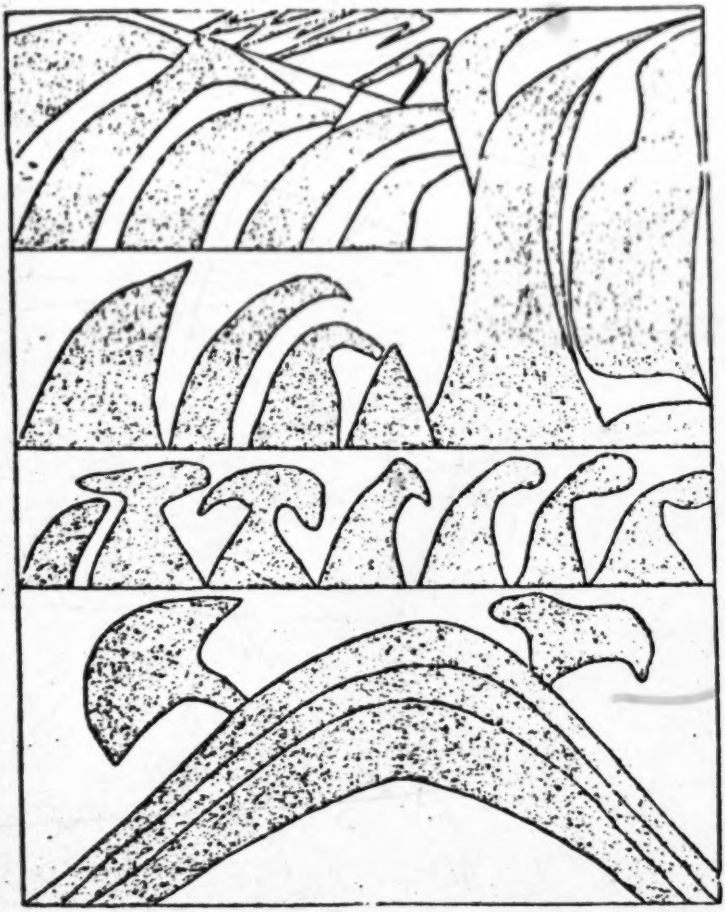
tribes. The crest is represented in paintings on the house-front and on dancing implements.

The gens Tōk·oā'is has a killer-whale (*Delphinus orca*) painted on the house-front (fig. 1). The tradition says that the ancestor of this gens

FIG. 3.—Crest of the gens Smō'kn, showing the mountain Sewā'kHH, with two clouds near its summit; above a mackerel sky.



one day, when hunting in the mountains, found a house on which a killer was painted. The chief who lived in the house invited him and presented him with his crest for himself and for his descendants. The crest consists of the killer-whale, eagle, swan, and heron.

The crests of all gentes were obtained in like manner.

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614 The gens Spatsā'tlt have breakers painted on the house-front, and use
532 in dances the mask of a large kind of whale (*k·'xuts*), of the crow, and of the black bear.

342 The gens Tumqoā'akyas use the mask of Ōnestaitō'ma (=the sleeper) and the eagle.

The gens Tl'ak·aumō'ot of the Nusk·'x'lstemh use the moon (fig. 2).

The gens Ialo'stimōt of the Tālio'mh use the raven, robin (*sist'a'qmd*), eagle, whale, the bird *t'ēutlala* (genus?), and *s'allsā'ets*, the flood-tide. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the *nusq·'mts* suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. 420).

The highest gens of Nūtl'x'l has the name Smō'xn (=the north wind). He has the mountain Suwā'khh surmounted by a mackerel sky, and with clouds on its sides, painted on his house-front (fig. 3). Another object
614 belonging to his crest represents waves.

The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the deci-
851 sion being left to the choice of the parents.

Secret Societies and the Potlatch.

171 The social organisation, festivals, and secret societies of the Bilqula
are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and
575 must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the Sisau'kh, and the Kū'siūt. The Sisau'kh corresponds to the Tlōela'qa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the Kū'siūt to the Ts'ētsā'ēk·a. The
556 Bilqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine
773 brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Qē'mtsioa, to whose care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful

776 Fig. 4.—Mask representing Qē'mtsioa.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Qēmqēmalā'otla.

[532
575]

house in the far east, and cries ō! ō! every morning when the sun rises. He has to take care that the sun rises properly. The first six of these deities

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NEA Bellacoola NEA

inhabited by Salish tribes refer to the early separation of the Bella Coola tribe from the related tribes of the Gulf of Georgia, and that in their traditions they have retained the memory of the emigration of part of the tribe from the southern territory. It seems also probable that the allusion to the origin of one family of the tribe on Skeena River refers to a mixture with the tribes inhabiting northern British Columbia. 174

The traditions of the tribes also describe the style of house used by the ancestors of certain village communities; and it is interesting to note that some of these houses correspond to the subterranean lodges that were in use among the Chilcotin, while others correspond to the tents that were in use among the Carriers. It is said that the ancestor of the Nuxa'lx used the subterranean lodge which is called to'pa (see p. 87), while the ancestor of the Nuxq'a'lat used the skin lodge which is called sk'ma (see p. 64). 171 174 177 342

Since the Bella Coola retain the fundamental traits of the social organization of their congeners in the south, and since their traditions bear evidence of an emigration from that region, and since, furthermore, the linguistic evidence proves that the Bella Coola and the Coast Salish at one time inhabited contiguous areas on the coast, we are justified in assuming that the general culture of the Bella Coola at the time of their emigration must have resembled that of the Coast Salish. The question then arises, How did the peculiar endogamic system and the remarkable mythology of the Bella Coola originate from the much simpler forms that we find among the Coast Salish? 174

One of the most remarkable features in the inner life of the tribes of the northern coast of British Columbia is the great importance of the clan legend, which is considered one of the most valuable properties of each clan or family. It is carefully guarded in the same way as material property, and an attempt on the part of a person not a member of the clan to tell the tradition as his own is considered one of the gravest offences against property rights. The possession of a clan tradition is felt by the Indian to be one of his most important prerogatives. When, therefore, the Bella Coola settled on Bella Coola River, and were thrown into contact with the northern Coast tribes, the lack of a well-developed clan tradition must have been felt as a serious drawback. The physical appearance of the Bella Coola proves that at one time they must have intermarried to a great extent with the Bella Bella. Through these marriages the peculiar customs of the Coast tribes were first introduced among them. This is shown by the fact that a great many of the mythological names can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin, of which stock the Bella Bella are a branch. Thus the name for their supreme deity, Smai'yakila, is a Kwakiutl word meaning "the one who must be worshipped." The name Ö'mq'omkilik·a is also of Kwakiutl origin, and may be translated as "the wealthiest one." The great frequency of 174 177 424 614 [144] 174 177 776

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This type of smoke-house, which can be used by anyone, is usually built in the forest. The Bella Coola have great confidence in the use of one as a means of curing all types of internal ailments, especially from the bad effects of water which is believed to have entered the blood. In former years many patients were blinded by the steam affecting their eyes, so that a recent improvement has been the construction of a door-like opening through which the head projects. Many stories are told of people being cured in this way after a white doctor had abandoned hope. 757

No Bella Coola had heard of a smoke-house large enough to contain more than a single individual, and a question whether they were ever used as meeting-places was regarded as highly humorous and absurd. [343]

For Ailments of the Heart

The patient must eat some of his own excrement mixed with certain herbs, of which it was impossible to learn the species. This remedy can be used only by the members of certain ancestral families. [424]

For the Blood

The following medicine is the property of certain families; consequently, anyone else who wishes to use it must obtain the services of an owner to apply it, and must recompense him for so doing. [424]

The man who is to apply the remedy locates a pond where water-lilies are growing and then searches for four spruce saplings growing in line, approximately east to west. He cuts four branches from the east side of each tree and lays these beside the pond with a small space between each bunch. Then he pulls up some lily roots, lays them in the three gaps between the boughs, and wraps the whole into a bundle with a cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark which he winds around, clock-wise. On returning home, the practitioner must not carry his burden through the door but

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since each fisherman provided one when his box was filled. 226

No one is allowed to drink water immediately after eating the first olachen of the spring, since to do so would cause a flood. It is considered most improper for a child to cry soon after partaking of this food; if he does so, he is quieted by having nettles stuffed into his mouth. As already described, if a person dies before the first fish have passed through his bowels, a shaman must wipe his lips with cedar-bark. 796 574 [865]

After the first meal of olachen, stakes for the nets can be driven, and the restrictions become less exacting. Women are not allowed to assist in fishing, but the men devote their full time to the task, working with zest and energy.[1] An abundant supply of olachen is a source of joy, and all listen eagerly for the singing of the thrush, *smamaxaxi*, which signifies that the nets are full to bursting. Half jocularly, people invite the bird to come and eat, but his melody is interpreted as: 226 [562] [825]

"I shall eat when the river is full."

RITES CONNECTED WITH THE FIRST SPRING SALMON[2]

Salmon is the most important article of Bella Coola diet and the rites which accompany the earliest taking of the fish are relatively complicated. 226 796 [262]

When the first spring salmon have been caught, they are laid in the canoe with their heads all pointing eastward, upstream. The fisherman poles to shore, but instead of landing his catch, he fastens the salmon to a stake driven at the edge of the bank so that they remain in the water. A number of posts are usually placed in readiness, each decorated with alternate spirals of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with an eagle's tail. Each day one or two more fish may be caught, but all are left in the water until the first have become soft, thus giving sufficient time for the necessary preparations on shore. It is the duty of every owner of a salmon-weir to build near its end a so-called Spring Salmon House, a shed-like [343]

[1] For a description of olachen fishing, see Appendix A.
[2] Cf. Boas, p. 78.

1:McGowatik E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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structure with a roof but without side walls. To this the successful fisherman brings long strings of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, eagle down, and spoons made of maple-bark; in this task he is assisted by his relatives as well as by anyone else willing to help.

When all has been prepared, the fisherman asks the men of the village to gather on the bank to assist him. No one is compelled to do so, but in actual fact everyone is glad to be present unless prevented by some valid reason. A friend takes a canoe pole and points at the head of the first salmon, while all call in unison, *xal'ki*, a word for which no meaning is known, and which is said to have been used unintelligibly for many generations. If he is standing on the south bank of the stream, the fisherman passes his left hand outside his right, seizes the fish behind the neck with the former, and by the tail with the latter; then he turns around sunwise, uncrossing his arms, so that his catch is still pointing upstream. If the village is on the north side of the river, the position of the hands is reversed. He carries the salmon to the Spring Salmon House and places it on a layer of fresh cottonwood and willow leaves spread over the ground. A young assistant, who is decorated with bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, lifts from his left arm one of a number of two-foot strips of the same material carried there and lays it over the salmon's head so that part of the string is within its mouth. As he does this he says:

Ijkwalkai, gwaxalilas,[1] "Accept, O Salmon."

Ijkwalkai is not the usual word for salmon, but signifies rather, "Food"; it is the designation used by supernatural beings for these fish and is hence applied by *xwaq* to their prey, human beings.

After this has been done, eagle down is blown over the fish. A second salmon is likewise taken from the river, with the same cry of *xal'ki*, laid with its head on its predecessor's tail, and the same rite carried out. This is repeated till all are arranged in line, with their heads pointing upstream. The

[1] The emotive form of the word.

764 159 [209] 764 4 554 older Bella Coola, asking him to announce that he, Schooner, with Dan and George, was going to hold a memorial potlatch that evening to which all were invited. Robert is not a herald but undertook this duty owing to the absence of qualified heralds. Meanwhile the grave had been filled in and the people began to drift away as it rose to ground level. Their attitude throughout had resembled that of white people at a funeral, and the hilariousness that characterizes so many Bella Coola gatherings was entirely absent except among the playing children. By 4.30 p.m. all had left the scene.

764 4 554 [344] [354] [355] In view of the large number of guests expected it had been decided to hold the memorial potlatch, not in one of the old-fashioned houses, but in the village hall, built according to the white man's style of architecture and illuminated with swinging gasoline lamps. This is a large, rectangular building, undivided by partitions, with a stage at one end and a door at the other. About 6.30 p.m. the singers, Nehuchadnezzar, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Alec Davis, Kimsquit Alec, and Robert Hood, gathered at the hall and seated themselves below the stage. Billy Pollard had prepared a mourning song during the day, Kimsquit Alec another, and it was decided to use two others that were well known to all. The singers sat and practised these four for some time, while at intervals various Bella Coola strolled in, listened for a few minutes, then walked out again. Anyone was allowed to do so, but few availed themselves of the opportunity. Meanwhile Captain Schooner had brought 264 $10 worth of rice, raisins, and condensed milk which he placed 764 beside a large iron cauldron outside the front door. Jim Tu- 4 554 Morrow, a Bella Coola of no great intelligence, volunteered to act as cook and soon had a fire blazing and the food boiling.

About 8.00 p.m. the people began to assemble, bringing their own plates and other utensils. After considerable delay and chatter, the guests took their places in the hall, seating themselves regardless of rank on benches ranged along the two side walls and ranged at the rear. By mutual consent a portion of the single row of benches along the left wall was reserved

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to the aesthetic, their skill in dancing and dramatics is note- 105
worthy: no one who has witnessed a native dance can fail to [535]
have been impressed by the performance of the participants
and the stage-craft of the carpenters. The fact that no system [538]
of writing had ever been devised has prevented the establish- [212]
ment of a native literature, but the practice of passing down [153]
an extensive folklore by word of mouth shows their narrative
powers as well as their faculty for remembering details. At
present it is difficult to appreciate what must have been their
energy in earlier times when they faced the struggle for exist-
ence, armed with stone tools. Abundant salmon gave them [226]
adequate food, but only when weirs had been built with great
labour. Though game was plentiful, the hunter was equipped [224]
with nothing more formidable than a bow and arrow. The
simplest task required patience and skill undreamed of by the
average white man. If the reader will allow his imagination
to carry him backwards two hundred years, he will realize that
the mere provision of food and clothing necessitated constant
effort and ceaseless exertion.

Hand in hand with many admirable characteristics, the 356
Bella Coola display others which strike the white man as
unprepossessing. A first impression is the untidiness of their
houses. Externally, they are often fairly neat, but confusion
reigns within. Clothing, instead of being hung up, is left lying
on the floor; bed-coverings are piled carelessly; dirty dishes
cover the tables; dogs and children swarm over the floor; flies
abound; all is dirty and slovenly. The house itself may be
uncompleted; a window lacks glass and has been boarded up;
the roof leaks, or the steps are falling down. Nor are the
surroundings more attractive. There is one struggling flower- [247]
bed in the village, but elsewhere the houses are surrounded by [351]
wastes of mud where horses and cattle wander, dogs prowl, and [231]
children play. In the distance the mountain peaks rise in
splendour, but near at hand all is squalid and unkempt.

They are only slightly more particular about their personal 515
appearance. Dirt does not distress them. They wash occa-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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554 chief had thus obtained a seat for his daughter, as well as ones
* 556 for his two sons. But usually a woman continues to use the
562 ancestral name given to her in infancy until she is able to
[553] assist her husband in a potlatch, when a name is validated for her (see I, p. 410). The ancestral names of the first women to occupy this earth are reserved for women and, like men's names, vary in prestige according to the prowess of their owners. Most names given to children, though embodied in
[551] origin myths, are applicable to either sex; and these are the common designations of women. Cases are known in which a woman has assumed an ancestral name if her brother has allowed it to fall into ill-repute through failure to give potlatches.

554 With such a fluid system, no fixed line can be drawn be-
* 556 tween chief and commoner. But after his fourth potlatch a
622 man's influence in the community has become so great that he will usually feel justified in having the carpenters make for
● [352] him a material seat. There is nothing to prevent a person having one made for him before he has given the requisite number of potlatches, but too rapid assumption may render him liable to the scorn of the community through his failure to show himself sufficiently "strong." The contempt shown
[626] to anyone attempting to usurp too lofty a place is a strong deterrent to a proud young man.

[532] On the material seat are carved the man's ancestral crests,
[352] in other words the forms in which his first ancestors came to earth, or some of the beings with whom they came in contact. To show these is a matter of pride, but unless the display is fittingly validated, the man's own dignity will be lowered, as well as that of his ancestors. Construction of a seat is particularly common when a man is establishing himself in the central position behind the fire, and claims this to be where his first ancestor sat. Others among the first people may have chosen seats in other parts of the house, and in these, likewise, a man who is taking his ancestral name may have a material seat constructed. Establishment in such a position increases a chief's feeling of mental superiority, as if strength-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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621 623 ters, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact [535] this ceremonial unity is its most important function.

[796] With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the 361 river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built [184] type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them [342] stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many [171] cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there [487] is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox [164] epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space. [493] Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

342 The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, [354] often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side-walls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the different families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The [572] number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an [622] important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and any-[261] one present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with [353] carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall. [535] A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important in dances.

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621 623 ters, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact [535] this ceremonial unity is its most important function.

[796] With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the 361 river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built [184] type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side [342] nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many [171] cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there [401] is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox [164] epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space. [433] Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

342 The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, [354] often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side-walls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the different families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The [592] number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an [622] important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and any-[261] one present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with [353] carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall. [535] A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important in dances.

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764 older Bella Coola, asking him to announce that he, Schooner,
159 with Dan and George, was going to hold a memorial potlatch
that evening to which all were invited. Robert is not a herald
[203] but undertook this duty owing to the absence of qualified
[769] heralds. Meanwhile the grave had been filled in and the
*[556] people began to drift away as it rose to ground level. Their
attitude throughout had resembled that of white people at a
funeral, and the hilariousness that characterizes so many
[852] Bella Coola gatherings was entirely absent except among the
playing children. By 4.30 P.M. all had left the scene.

769 In view of the large number of guests expected it had been
decided to hold the memorial potlatch, not in one of the old-
*556 fashioned houses, but in the village hall, built according to the
[344] white man's style of architecture and illuminated with swinging
[354] gasoline lamps. This is a large, rectangular building, undivided
by partitions, with a stage at one end and a door at the other.
[533] About 6.30 P.M. the singers, Nebuchadnezzar, Jim Pollard,
Billy Pollard, Alec Davis, Kimsquit Alec, and Robert Hood,
gathered at the hall and seated themselves below the stage.
Billy Pollard had prepared a mourning song during the day,
Kimsquit Alec another, and it was decided to use two others
that were well known to all. The singers sat and practised
these four for some time, while at intervals various Bella Coola
strolled in, listened for a few minutes, then walked out again.
Anyone was allowed to do so, but few availed themselves of
the opportunity. Meanwhile Captain Schooner had brought
264 $10 worth of rice, raisins, and condensed milk which he placed
769 beside a huge iron cauldron outside the front door. Jim To-
*556 Morrow, a Bella Coola of no great intelligence, volunteered to
act as cook and soon had a fire blazing and the food boiling.

About 8.00 P.M. the people began to assemble, bringing their own plates and other utensils. After considerable delay and chatter, the guests took their places in the hall, seating themselves regardless of rank on benches ranged along the two side walls and massed at the rear. By mutual consent a portion of the single row of benches along the left wall was reserved

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Furthermore, throughout the ceremonial season, the uninitiated have ocular demonstrations of the powers with which the *kukusiut* are associated. At frequent intervals they are invited to the house of the dancer where, with wonder, fear, and awe, they see strange creatures. Although they may recognize that some of these are only their fellow-tribesmen in strange form, they have no idea how such transformations are produced, and ascribe them to supernatural assistance. They accept the strange designs of the figures as proof that the *kukusiut* have been in contact with unfamiliar beings. It seems clear that the uninitiated do not realize that the representations are produced by means of masks, the work of human hands; instead, they believe that the figures displayed are really those of supernatural patrons who have come to earth to assist their protégés. It must be remembered that these dances take place within large houses, only partially illuminated by a flickering central fire, which facilitates deception and conjuring tricks, quite apart from the credulity of the observers. 575* 796 781 [354]

The uninitiated may sometimes suspect that the performers are not real supernatural beings, but there is no question of their firm conviction concerning the changes which come over the *kukusiut* at this time. One member of the society, for example, may begin to act in a peculiar manner and at once the uninitiated are ejected from the house. From without they listen with mixed fear and excitement to the strange noises which they do not know are made by whistles, and presently the *kusiut* rushes forth in a frenzied state, biting those he meets. The uninitiated know that he is a Cannibal, doing as his patron above is doing, and that a call from the latter has caused him to become mad. When the *kukusiut* have subdued him and taken him back to his house, the non-membersh ear more strange and inexplicable sounds, which appear to go upwards, and presently the news is circulated that the Cannibal has been carried away to the land above. He is seen no more for several weeks, and when next he appears he is thin, wan, and bald, because the high winds of the land above have blown 575* 781 787 796

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for treatment in other ways. Some are fried immediately, but the Bella Coola think they lack flavour, although most white men regard them as delicious. Many hundreds are dried for winter use in one of the following methods: 252 251

(A) Cedar-sticks, each about three feet in length, are split from the solid stem and smoothed down to a diameter of about one-half inch. One of these is passed through the gills and mouth of one fish after another until the rod is filled with a row of olachen, their tails hanging downwards. Dozens of these sticks are suspended horizontally over the central fire in a house, or, in brilliant sunshine, hung in the open. When dried to a certain extent, they are stored in the upper parts of the houses where the process continues whenever a fire is lit. When so treated they keep almost indefinitely.

(B) Narrow strips, each four to five feet in length, of flexible cedar-bark, are prepared by the women. The fisherman takes the ends of two of these, ties one around a fish's head, and the other around its tail. Another olachen is tied parallel to the first, and then others, until the two cords are supporting thirty to forty fish, each separated by about one inch. The middle of the strings is laid across a horizontal bar above a fire or in the open, and the process of drying continues as in the last method. The fish not infrequently catch fire if a large blaze is built up in a house, so careful people remove their olachen before a feast or other celebration.

Though dried olachen provide a useful article for winter diet, the fish are chiefly valued for their grease, *slail*', which is used as a condiment with all kinds of berries. It is sometimes extracted from the fresh fish, but the Bella Coola consider this to be tasteless and prefer to wait until the olachen have remained in the pits for ten days to two weeks. Warm weather hastens the process, but in any case nothing is done until the disgusting smell has penetrated for miles, proving that putrefaction is well advanced. In former times, all boiling was done with hot stones, but at present boxes with iron bottoms are used as kettles. These are of various shapes and sizes, an average being, perhaps, four feet long, three feet wide, and eighteen inches deep. These are set on fireplaces which vary according to the ingenuity of the refiner. Some are excavated in the river bank, lined with stones set in clay, and fitted at the inner end with an old stovepipe to provide draught for the miniature furnace. The box-kettle is placed on the ground over the excavation and the cook pours in water. Then his wife, children, and friends bring the putrid fish, which they ladle in until only a few inches of water are visible. A slow fire is built beneath, and, as the mixture begins to boil, the cook stirs it with a five-foot stick having a slightly flattened blade. Presently the grease begins to rise to the surface whence it is skimmed off and placed in recep-

258 [262] [263] [252] [415] [354] [415]

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to the aesthetic, their skill in dancing and dramatics is noteworthy: no one who has witnessed a native dance can fail to have been impressed by the performance of the participants and the stage-craft of the carpenters. The fact that no system of writing had ever been devised has prevented the establishment of a native literature, but the practice of passing down an extensive folklore by word of mouth shows their narrative powers as well as their faculty for remembering details. At present it is difficult to appreciate what must have been their energy in earlier times when they faced the struggle for existence, armed with stone tools. Abundant salmon gave them adequate food, but only when weirs had been built with great labour. Though game was plentiful, the hunter was equipped with nothing more formidable than a bow and arrow. The simplest task required patience and skill undreamed of by the average white man. If the reader will allow his imagination to carry him backwards two hundred years, he will realize that the mere provision of food and clothing necessitated constant effort and ceaseless exertion.

Hand in hand with many admirable characteristics, the Bella Coola display others which strike the white man as unprepossessing. A first impression is the untidiness of their houses. Exteriorly, they are often fairly neat, but confusion reigns within. Clothing, instead of being hung up, is left lying on the floor; bed-coverings are piled carelessly; dirty dishes cover the tables; dogs and children swarm over the floor; flies abound; all is dirty and slovenly. The house itself may be uncompleted; a window lacks glass and has been boarded up; the roof leaks, or the steps are falling down. Nor are the surroundings more attractive. There is one struggling flower-bed in the village, but elsewhere the houses are surrounded by wastes of mud where horses and cattle wander, dogs prowl, and children play. In the distance the mountain peaks rise in splendour, but near at hand all is squalid and unkempt.

They are only slightly more particular about their personal appearance. Dirt does not distress them. They wash occa-

515 sionally, in a half-hearted manner, but it is not unusual for a man to allow the basin of water in which he makes his ablutions to remain standing for two or three weeks. Not many [177] years ago the Carriers taught their neighbours to make a kind [296] of soap from the ashes of burnt cottonwood sticks thrown into [388] water; with this clothes are washed irregularly and in most cases from sheer necessity only. In former times bathing was [788] a semi-sacred rite, but this fell into disuse with the passing of [177] the old religion, and the use of soap and water merely for the sake of cleanliness has not become a daily habit. The women [291] have more vanity; the younger girls especially like to have new clothes, though they wear them carelessly, heedless of fit. [196] An effort is often made to clean up for ceremonial dances, but it entails little more than the removal of the more obvious dirt and the putting on, over unchanged undergarments, of a sweater. Pride in personal appearance, love of tidiness, delight in a clean house, are all quite foreign to the Bella Coola.

356 Probably the reason for lack of comforts in the houses is simply that the people do not feel the need for them. They [264] consider it no hardship to sit on a rickety chair, scoop up food [231] from a common dish and, if they think of it, throw morsels [152] down to the dog or the cat. The smell, the flies, the dirt, the chaos do not concern them. Capable of undergoing privations, hardships, and even sufferings, they think neither of the comfort of themselves nor of others. Their domestic animals are 231 often treated abominably, not through lack of affection or cruelty, but from callousness. More than once the writer has seen a favourite dog steal a piece of food from the table. Its master, after a furious blow or kick at it, would suddenly, as if by inspiration, throw a choice bit to the animal, saying:

"Why, he must have been hungry!"

Though the Bella Coola feel a kinship with animals unknown to the white man, it is not combined with any recognition of their feelings as living creatures. There are, of course, [577] many exceptions, but on the whole public opinion demands generosity and kindness only towards human members of the group. The moral code is not concerned with animals.

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Nuxejuxlam: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

Nuxstra: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.

nujaxm: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a *kuxiut* who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an uninitiated person.

nukalamskl': Grease extracted from sockeye salmon heads.

[825] *Nukiadji:* Ancestral name of a *Stuax* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.

[778] *nukila xta:* 1—Spider.
2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where cures are effected; the power is derived from a spider petrified there.

Nukii, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nukutwindjax, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[552] *Nukipumuil di mul',* "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.

Nulalumuum: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Nuskymm's* departure to warn *kukuxiut* to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.

[356] 2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.

Nulalulu, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[431] *nulyum:* Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.

Nulilqulunk, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.

Nulisymuukla: One of the first women to settle at *Tal'is* in the beginning of time.

nulmlmuukla: Fastenings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.

Nulbiil: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.

nulkmukla: Bonds used to fasten a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nulmlmuukla.*

[428] *nulmuymu:* Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.

nululumul-ata, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *nuxul* head-drum.

nulj: Landslide, such as is caused by *Tsuulaltx* or *xulmil.*

Nulqumlaix: Name given to their sister by the first settlers at *Nuiqwalt* in the beginning of time.

nulqusa, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a poultice which is thrown away after serving its purpose.

nulqustm: House-posts nearest to front door.

nulsuxlu: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[426] *nulumumum,* "Belt Goods": Goods borrowed during a potlatch by a donee who finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to fatten up his clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.

[556] *nulundjim:* Cry uttered by a *nuxul* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *nuxul* novices.

[342] *nululqulaix:* The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *nuxul* novice.

nulumilula: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.

numilula: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.

Numuwu, "Place of Fire": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

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824 their houses. Dishes, benches, cooking-boxes, cradles, totem-
[322] poles, canoes, all were carved from this wood. The bark was
285 woven into baskets, and when dyed formed the most common
[531] ceremonial decoration.

Even within the forty miles of the river valley formerly
132 occupied by the Bella Coola there are considerable variations in climate. At the mouth of the river the typical Pacific coast type is found, without great extremes of temperature and with much rain, especially in winter time. During winter, the moisture is precipitated as snow a few hundred feet above the valley, and the limit of the snow can be watched on the mountain slopes, rising or falling a few feet from day to day. Farther up the valley, the winters are colder and in many cases snow lies for weeks on the ground, and in the upper part of the Bella Coola area the winters are severe, although much more moderate than on the upper regions immediately to the east.

173 What has been the history of the inhabitants of this land?
[176] They believe that long, long ago, *Alqantăm*, the supreme god, caused their first ancestors to be created in his house, *Nasmăt-a*, in the land above, and sent them down to populate the Bella Coola valley. These first people came in groups of two or three, brothers and sisters, or occasionally man and wife, each group descending, in many cases in animal form, to a certain mountain and then making their home at its foot. They brought with them animals and fish, tools and houses, also the knowledge of ceremonial dances. In fact, they differed from the Bella Coola of the recent past only in having greater supernatural power. These first people increased with extraordinary rapidity, until each group grew into a village, bound together by a knowledge of their first ancestor. In
173 course of time the occupants of certain villages combined, as
● 361 some increased more rapidly than others, but on the whole each settlement maintained its character of being the descendants of one group of the first settlers of this world.

This mythological belief is a fair picture of Bella Coola life
[175] as it was when the first white man visited the valley. Mac-

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kenzie, making his memorable overland trip to the Pacific, records coming upon Indian villages at every few miles of his course. Boas describes the way in which the inhabitants of each of these claim to be descended from one group of ancestors.

Though it is impossible to estimate the former population of the Bella Coola valley with any degree of accuracy, it must have been in the thousands. In 1922 there were surviving rather more than three hundred individuals, who live in one village on an Indian reserve near the north bank of the Bella Coola River, about a quarter of a mile from the sea. In the last century the tribe was stricken with smallpox, and since then consumption, venereal disease, measles, and other diseases of the white man have taken their deadly toll. Changed conditions of life and decay of the rich ceremonial around which centred their interests in the old days are also contributory factors in their decline. Within the last few years, however, the population has begun to increase.

Bella Coola Villages

The following list of Bella Coola villages was obtained. In an effort to learn which had been deserted in recent years, the writer always asked whether or not a town was occupied at the time of Mackenzie's visit, an event of such great interest to the grandparents of the older people that the memory of it is still preserved. Villages said to have been occupied at that time are marked with an asterisk.

Three rivers empty into the head of South Bentinck Arm, which is about one mile in width (see Plate 7). The Bella Coola, flowing from the east, enters at the southern edge, and the *Nulqustkwan-e* winds in from the north to the opposite angle of the head of the fiord. This stream, "The Nearest River" of the Bella Coola, so-called because of its proximity to the sea, is shown on maps as the Neclectsoonnay. Between the mouths of these two is the *Pe-esb*, a small stream rising

133 on the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, east of the Nuletaconney. Before merging their waters with North Bentinck Arm the rivers flow more slowly and form up extensive tide-flats (see Plate 6). Several villages formerly clustered around their mouths.

● 96/ (c) *Ijmaus*: on the west bank of the Nuletaconney about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. Nothing is known of this long-abandoned village of which even the name is uncertain. The mountain that rises behind its site is called *Ijmaus*, and it is supposed that the village had the same designation. Some of the older people state that there was no town, only a temporary hunting station, at this spot.

(c) *Tsuklaay*, "Short Foot": on the very shore of North Bentinck Arm, west and north of the mouth of the Nuletaconney. The land terminates in a tolerably square end, running north and south, and this town was at the northern edge. It was built on piles and the inhabitants could step to the ground only at low tide. This is the explanation given of the peculiar name, a reference to the curtailed walking space. Long ago it was a large town, but was probably occupied only
[166] during the winter. In summer the people are believed to have moved to *Nawdaw-u*, "The Place of Fish," on the north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

[912] *(3) *Ilqelitel*, "The Fenced Town," so called because it was stockaded: near the south bank of the *Fy-ook*, about a quarter of a mile from the sea, near the site of the present mission church. It was inhabited until about 1891. According to one informant this village was founded by a certain *Tindowan*, a descendant of *Tsutsmain*, who decided to move close to the river.

(a) *Thqo-ol*, "Small Mound," so called from the knoll on which it was situated: above *Ilqelitel*, and about one-half mile to the north of the present Bella Coola River. Its site is crossed by the road connecting the Indian village of Bella Coola with the white settlement of the same name.

(y) *Bonaqua ooli*, "Lakeside": the mature continuation of the last mentioned.* The name is explained as follows:

One of the people who came to the north in the beginning of time, *Tsoohonde* by name, travelled to the Stone River, and there saw women wearing labrets. On his return to Bella Coola he settled at *Bonaqua ooli* and carved on his totem-pole* the figure of a woman with an abalone-shell labret as a memorial of his voyage. Visitors coming to his potlatches named the town from this figure.

This was one of the largest towns in the valley.

*(z) *Ainsh ts*, a small town to the north of the last, not far from the *Pa-nib*. It is assumed that it was founded by a *Snootsilum* of *Tsoohonde* named *Ainsh*. The consensus of opinion is that it has not been occupied for many years, but one informant recently dug up a clay pipe on the alleged site.

*(aa) *Sebich*, "When Blue Bears Divided": on the south shore of the Bella Coola River about a quarter of a mile from the sea. This village was founded by a certain *Sebi*.

*(bb) *Sunqa ts*, meaning doubtful, perhaps "Salty": this, the most populous village of the valley in the recent past, is still inhabited by one or two families. The inhabitants of other towns explain its large population by marriages with slaves. This is the upper, or eastern, continuation of the preceding, and the two in continuation formed a row of houses extending for three-quarters of a mile (see Plate x).

(cc) *Ooxalqoma*, "The Trading Place": on the north side of the Bella Coola, apparently about half a mile above *Ainsh ts*. This village was long ago deserted.

(dd) *Tsoohonmilqa ts*, "Where There Is Much Isolicoolq," a kind of hollow-stemmed plant: some distance from

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* Several towns, each consisting of a single row of houses, are regarded as forming one village. In such cases there is no visible boundary mark.

* The Bella Coola believe that their early totem-poles and totem-poles represented animals in detail (if at all), even though the work of Barbeau and others on the totem origin of totem-poles in the North-West Coast indicates that the Bella Coola examples are not historically accurate.

the north bank of the Bella Coola,* near the lower slope of the mountain, and about three miles from the sea. It is probable that there was a town on this spot very long ago, according to the statement of one old man, and the numerous repetitions (II, p.4) in the vicinity support this view.

*(xx) *Sawl*, "Sunset," or "Fallen Sun": on the south side of the Bella Coola opposite the preceding. It was discovered about 1907. This was a fairly large town, though never as big as *Sunqa-a*. The name is derived from Sun, *sawl*, and there are two explanations given for it. One informant states that the name came from the many revolutions of the Sun to the first people there; another that the first chief, said to have been named *Sallhma*, erected a large totem-pole, decorated with the figure of a sun. This time down, in consequence of which the people called that town *Sawl*, "Fallen Sun."

*(xxi) *Sqemult*: on the south side of the Bella Coola about three miles from the sea, and a short distance below the end of the present bridge. The meaning of the name is unknown.

*(xxii) *Tsemal*, "Where the River Is Sufficiently Deep to Cover the Stones, but Shallow Enough for Rapids": the upper continuation of the last-named. It was deserted during the smallpox epidemic. The name of the chief who came down at the beginning of time was given as *Tsemalkal*.

(xxi) *Sna'sqemulc*, "On the Point": on a curving promontory on the south bank of the river about four miles from the sea. It was long ago swept away when the river changed its course.

(xxi) *Pa'qemulc*, "The Place of Foul Water": on the north bank of the Bella Coola a little above the preceding, at a place where there were a number of stagnant pools between the river and the mountains. No one knows how long ago this town was abandoned, but as the names of people living there figure in stories which are said to be of no great antiquity, it

*The river frequently changes its course, so that village sites are at a considerable distance from it; many sites have been on its banks.

was probably deserted not many years ago. Probably a large town since is was a good fishing place.

(vii) *Tsalu*, "Bald Eagle": also on the north shore of the river, a little above the last-named. Probably washed away by a flood long ago, although traces of the salmon-weir were still visible recently.

(viii) *Naqlemulk*, "The Place of Much gilmulk" (the fern *Aspidium* (*polystichum*)): on the north side of the river about one mile above the preceding. This large town is believed to have been deserted long ago, though, in apparent contradiction, traces of it are said to be still visible.

"(ix) *Sualeh*, "The Place of Dog Salmon": on the south bank, above the last-named, at a place where a small stream enters the Bulkley Creek River; this divided the town into two sections. It was long deserted and the river has carried away that part of the village below the creek. The name is derived from an uncommon dog salmon which is believed to have been seen at long intervals in a waterfall near this spot, always with a water-ouzel perched on its back.

(x) *Gyeskum*: on the lower end of the island near Hagwilget post office, about miles from the ocean. Although long deserted, traces of this village can still be seen. The meaning of the name is unknown.

"(xi) *Stalek*, "The Place of the Whirlpool": on the south side of the river, about one a quarter miles from the sea. It was a village of moderate size, recently abandoned. The first occupant was said to have been *Ghumlelk*, which means, "The Place of Ali."

"(xii) *Kitselas*, "The Canoe Town," so called because it spread around the shore of a bay occupied not by the Bulkley Creek: south side, slightly above the inflow of the Skeena River, distant one a quarter miles from the sea. It was deserted about 1880.

"(xiii) *Tsaqalet*, "The Place of Spikenel": on the north side of the river, opposite the remnants of the same name. It also was deserted about 1880. *Spikenel* is a kind of snow-axle.

side for one, which occurs in the valley of a small stream on the slope of the mountain.

(15) *Nalkun*, "The Place Where There Are No Falls": an affluent from the north enters the main Bella Coola about thirty-one miles from the sea and the town was located on this creek about two hundred yards above its junction with the Bella Coola. The ruins of this moderately large town were still standing when Mackenzie reached the Bella Coola River on this place. At the time of his arrival the population was larger than usual, because the salmon-weir had withstood some heavy freshets which had destroyed several weirs on the Bella Coola, and given the inhabitants of other villages to Nalkun.

It is said that the affluent at *Nalkun*, the stream *Xeiqts*, is the only one in the whole Bella Coola valley that does not drop precipitously into a ravine leading to the main river. Its source is a spring on the end of a pocket-like valley, at the base of some cliffs, but it does not fall down these. The town is named from this circumstance. The area around the spring is called *Nicomaxqtq*, and it is said that some families living on the Skowen stop at it as the spot where their first ancestors came to earth, although their descendants do not know where it is located.

(16) *Sisaq*: on the point between the *Lo'ode* (Atnarko) and the *Ai* (Nascopmuc) rivers which join to form the Bella Coola. This, the most populous of the upper river towns, was deserted not long ago. The meaning of the name is unknown.

(17) *Sinkuk*, "The Place of Herbage": on the north side of the Atnarko River, a few hundred yards above the forks. This small town was deserted many years ago. The name was given on account of the hill behind the village being covered with a rank growth of plants and small bushes, but no trees.

(18) *Sinaik-ti*, "The Place of Falls," so called from the strong rapids of the Atnarko at this point: on the north side of the river about six miles from the forks. This large town was long ago deserted when a large rock in the midst of the

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stream, on which the salmon-weir rested, was carried away."* 361

The following village may be included with the above: [173]

(17) *Nuxsay:* on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, to the east of the creek that flows into it at Green Bay. This long-deserted village was built so close to the ocean that high tides reached almost to the houses. According to one informant, the name was derived from that of the first chief sent down from above to that spot; while another connected it, etymologically, with *Nuxe*, the name of the barren district some four and a half miles up the valley of the creek. In recent years this village site has been used only as a summer camp. [173]

The name given to the Bella Coola valley is *Nuxálk*; that given to the inhabitants of the valley, excluding those of village no. 17, is *Nuxálkmp*.** 101 103

Two points must be considered with regard to the above list of towns: In the first place, can it be regarded as an accurate list, or do the towns belong to the realm of mythology? In the second place, are the customs and beliefs of the inhabitants of the different towns sufficiently similar to be described without reference to local differences? 128 173 361

The first question is difficult to answer. The Bella Coola undoubtedly consider the existence of these towns to be an historical fact, but so do they regard the peopling of the earth by men created in the land above. Nevertheless, the above list appears to be substantially correct. The Bella Coola, although now collected into a single village, still remember their ancient homes. One man, for example, stated as a matter of course that he was a man of *Swáldi*. Further inquiry elicited the information that he had been born at *Sawd*, where his father had moved at the time of the smallpox epidemic. It later appeared that my informant's father was born at *Tsemsil*, had married there, and that it was his father who had moved [164] [166]

*This explanation may be only legendary.

**Boas, p. 40, states that *Nuxalk* is only applied to the lower villages of the valley. All the writer's information was contrary to this view. [114]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bella Coola NEA

128 from *Swadé*. My informant's grandchildren regard them-
173 selves as *Swadé* boys, and their names are embedded in myths
361 of that village, although their forbears have not lived there
166 for five generations. There is no reason to suppose this case exceptional. Other instances were obtained of movements of people from one village to another at earlier times, and there seems no cause to doubt the general accuracy of these. Names [554] embodied in the origin myths of different towns are used as prerogatives and have been potent factors in keeping their memory alive. Uncertainties and inaccuracies there must be in the foregoing list, but on the whole it appears to be fairly reliable, since few contradictions were received from different informants.

128 Accounts obtained of the same ceremonies from the descen-
184 dants of people of different villages were found in most cases to
[190] be identical. There were a few differences in custom between the people of *Ilsaa* and those of the other upper valley towns on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the lower valley on [101] the other. These will be mentioned when necessary, but on the whole the inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley can be considered as a tribal entity.

114 Boas (p. 48) gives a list of Bella Coola towns which agrees
361 fairly well with the above. Among his villages are included *Pe-ode* (no. 4), *Nalqaqdzaux-e* (no. 7), and *Nactlum* (no. 18).* All the older people agreed that these are the names of streams, though settlements located on them may have been known by the same designations. Names of the five villages recorded by Boas, nos. 6, 8, 9, 13, and 14, were not known by several old men questioned on the subject.

101 The villages of the Bella Coola valley did not form a political
614 unit; each was independent. A common language was spoken
[631] throughout and the inhabitants of the different towns recog-
[191] nized that their origin and customs were similar. This was also recognized to be the case with regard to the people living on South Bentinck Arm, and at the head of Dean Channel,

*Owing to such case the spelling of this ensemble.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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Indians from both of these areas were interviewed and it was found that, except for minor details in certain beliefs, their customs were identical with those of the Bella Coola proper. Accordingly, in this monograph, the term "Bella Coola" will be taken to include the inhabitants, not only of that valley, but of South Bentinck Arm and the head of Dean Channel. Those living on South Bentinck Arm will be referred to as *Talio* people, the Bella Coola term for them; those of Dean Channel as Kimsquit, the name by which they are generally known. It is an anglicized form of the word *Kemsquat*, meaning "Canyon," by which the Bella Bella designate the people of Dean River.

VILLAGES ON SOUTH BENTINCK ARM

(18) *Talio*: on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the point that marks its junction with North Bentinck Arm. Food was obtained from an ocean fish-trap.* Long deserted except as a summer camp.

(19) *Bentalis*, "Island": east side of South Bentinck Arm, slightly north of the island opposite the Hot Springs on the west side of the fiord. The town took its name from this island. In summer the numerous inhabitants lived immediately opposite it, at a place where they had an ocean salmon-trap; in winter they moved to a fortified spot at the base of a mountain slightly further to the north. This village was blotted out by a landslide one spring long ago, and the few survivors were unable to re-establish it.

(20) *Tsaulnem*: on the east side of the fiord about four miles above the last-named. A small town, whose inhabitants lived on the catch from their ocean fish-trap; it was recently deserted.

*Ocean fish-traps work as follows:—A pass is made for a series of stakes, into which the salmon move at high tide. It is then closed and, as the falling tide leaves the trap, the imprisoned fish can be scooped out by hand or in hand-nets.

*Mackenzie did not visit either South Bentinck Arm, or Kimsquit, but it will be convenient to continue the use of materials in such these towns which are used to have been inhabited at that time.

(31) *Kodis*, "Ocean Fish-Trap": on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the *Nuxl*" River. It is doubtful whether this was a town, or merely a camping place of the people of *Nuxl*" when using their salmon-trap.

"(32) *Nuxl*": on a raised mound at the south side of the mouth of the *Nuxl*" River, which enters the head of South Bentinck Arm from the east. The meaning is unknown. This was a populous town until the inhabitants were decimated by an epidemic of smallpox.

"(33) *Tilio*: on the west side of the mouth of the river of the same name which flows into South Bentinck Arm from the south. The location of this village was constantly changed, owing to destructive variations in the course of the river. It was formerly a large town, and has been deserted only since 1900. This village had another name, *Tpemulio*, "Tuning," so called because its houses faced those of the town of *Nuxl*".

"(34) *Ai-ai*", "At the Head": at the head of South Bentinck Arm there is a bay running south-west, into the upper end of which a small stream empties. The trail leading to the lake at the head of Bivens Inlet follows this valley. *Ai-ai*" was located on this creek, at some little distance from the ocean; the name was derived from the geographical location of the town. It has not long been deserted and must have been a populous place to judge from the numerous cemeteries (III, p. 6).

(35) *Kmqo*: on the east side of the mouth of a creek flowing into the bay at the head of South Bentinck Arm, from the south. This town was of moderate size. The meaning of the name is unknown. It is thought to be in the Bivens Inlet language.

VILLAGES AT KIMSQUIT

Two rivers, the Dean from the east, and the Kimsquit from the north, flow into the head of Dean Channel, and the villages of this area can be grouped according to the two rivers.

1:Mc:Dewatch E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NES Bellacoola NE6

Villages near the Dean River 361

"(48) *Awatlala*: the present site of the Kimsquit Indian village near the mouth of Dean River. The meaning of the name could not be learned.

"(49) *Nadel*, "Canyon": on the shore of Dean River at the bottom of the canyon. This large town was not recently deserted.

(50) *Ayat'a*, "Occupied Mound": on the south side of Dean River about one mile from the sea. This small town was deserted many years ago. The name is derived from the small mound on which it was built.

"(51) *Nacopmuk*, "Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": on south side of Dean River, about one and a quarter miles from the sea. A large town recently deserted.

"(52) *Nacqilpic*, "Place of Many Spring Salmon" on south bank about twenty-five miles from the sea. This spot was not settled when people first occupied this world, but *Alqan-*[173]
ciow (2, p. 330) took possession of it.

(53) *Synuck*: east side of river twenty-eight miles from the sea. There is doubt about this town. It is said to be been a colony of the Kimsquit River settlement, a statement difficult to understand.

(54) *Sinuk'ex*, "Where Canoes Are Left": on the north side of the river about thirty-five miles from the sea. Immediately opposite was *Sulkulin*, "Water Trail." These two are considered as forming one town, but were probably near more than camping grounds at the spot where the women [187]
[173]
[173]

"(55) *Kitlin*: at Salmon House on the upper Dean River.

The history of the villages on the upper Dean [illegible] founding 174
Mythological accounts of their founding were [illegible] and
some of the older people stated that they had been occupied
until recent years. On the other hand, there are [illegible] recently

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

174 reliable traditions of Carrier settlements there. The probable explanation is that the Bella Coola formerly extended over the area, either in actual fact or according to mythology, but were supplanted by the Carriers.

175 The Dean River is called *Nalsl*, and the generic name for the people of the Dean valley is *Satolmp*. About eighty years [101] ago a smallpox epidemic so reduced the villages on the Kimsquit that the survivors abandoned them and moved to the [164] Dean. At that time a certain Kimsquit man is believed to [731] have said: "We will take their places and kill even their dogs."

Since that time, the joint settlement has suffered one [164] epidemic after another, until a mere handful of the people [731] survive, and they are almost entirely descended from the Kimsquit River immigrants. Within the last few years, these have requested permission from the Bella Coola to abandon Kimsquit entirely and live among them. The two groups have [628] always been on the best of terms, but the Bella Coola have not forgotten the fate of the Dean River people and have been unwilling to admit the Kimsquit survivors.

Villages on the Kimsquit River, Ła ɬoł'

361 "(44) *Ła ɬoł'*: this large and important town, at the mouth of the river, was deserted at the time of the smallpox epidemic.

"(45) *Nawulc*: this settlement can be grouped with the last-mentioned, although situated on the shore of Dean Channel, at the site of the present Mazieux Cannery, six miles away. No meaning of the name is known.

Tribal Organization

0-1 The subject of this paragraph is the tribe of the about forty-five villages. They will be referred to as a *tribe*, and as this term is customarily limited to a political unit, a brief justification for its use is necessary.

342 Each Bella Coola village consisted of a single row of houses, 361 built along the shore of a river or the ocean. The front doors

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

opened out on to a wooden platform, which served as sidewalk and extended from one end of the settlement to the other. The outer side of this structure was always supported on piles; in fact, in many cases, the houses as well as the whole sidewalk were thus raised from the ground. This type of construction was necessitated by the sloping sites of the villages, but had the added advantage of being a protection against attack. The villages differed in size from insignificant settlements of three to four houses, to ones with twenty or thirty, each containing several families. The ease with which the red cedar could be split and worked into large planks made possible the construction of these large, rectangular houses which, with their horizontally laid walls and sloping roofs, presented a picture of stability and relative comfort superior to that of most Indian habitations.

Each village was practically an independent political unit. Neighbouring settlements had many common interests which threw them into contact with one another, but there was no organized cohesion between the towns of the Bella Coola valley, or between those of *Tâl'ts* and Kimsquit. There was still less to draw these three groups together. There was no supreme chief and no governmental meeting of the tribe as a whole. Not only were the three divisions not bound to support one another in war, they were often at loggerheads among themselves. Indeed, bloodshed between towns of the Bella Coola valley itself was not uncommon. Moreover, each group tended to merge with its neighbours. The *Tâl'ts* people frequently married with the Rivers Inlet and the Bella Bella; the Kimsquit with the *xûsq'ît* of Dean Channel and the Kitlope of Gardner Canal; and the Bella Coola of the upper valley with the Carriers.

In spite of these inconsistencies, the application of the word

A. Lowrerers. All spoke the same language. There were dialectical differences among the people of Bella Coola, *Tâl'ts*, and Kimsquit, but each group could understand the

*Pls avoid unnecessary symbols, capital ' has not been used.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NEs Bellacoola NEs
Bellabella NES

THE *ootshay*[1]

Before the smallpox epidemic, about 1862, there were towns on the fords and villages of Dean Channel between Kimsquit and Bella Bella. The inhabitants were called *ootshay* by the Bella Coola, and *oosity* by the Bella Bella. Their settlements were at Elcho Harbour, Green River, Cascade Inlet, and at several unidentified places. Their language is said to have differed slightly from that of the Bella Bella, but the people themselves married freely with both Kimsquit and Bella Bella, thus forming a connecting link between these tribes.

A list of *ootshay* towns was obtained from one old man, who claimed to be a descendant of the people. It was impossible to verify this information, and since he himself was not an ideal informant, the following can be regarded only as approximately correct.

(1) *Elko:* at Elcho Harbour.

(2) *Kilde:* on a ford one mile above the last-named.

(3) *Ellit* or *Tajow:* on a river three miles above the preceding.

(4) *Nemaid:* on a river two miles above the preceding.

(5) *Nequit:* on a ford three miles above the preceding.

(6) *Omlem:* on a ford three miles above the preceding.

(7) *Sarnult:* on a river two miles above the last-named and thirty miles below Kimsquit.

According to the old man from whom the above list was obtained, *Nemaid*, at Kimsquit, recorded earlier as village no. 45, was also populated by *ootshay* people. There was so much intermarriage between the two groups that it is now impossible to ascertain whether the inhabitants not only of *Nemaid*, but of *Sarnult* as well, were predominantly Kimsquit or *ootshay*.

The open plateau in which the Bella Coola River rises has always made travel possible for long distances, so that not only

1 ["Bellacoola" term for the people of mixed "Bellabella-Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of "Dean Channel" - See R. McIlwraith, op. cit., p.28 - Analyst]

Libbie Dowsett E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

have been many changes. Raven, the culture hero, taught the early settlers many useful arts, and they were themselves so powerful that they were able to create ceremonial and other prerogatives in a manner impossible to their descendants. Moreover, the people realize that they have been influenced by neighbouring tribes since that time, but in spite of these additions, they believe that their life is patterned on that of their earliest forbears.

As a group, the Bella Coola are philosophers. They demand a reason for everything, though once a reason has been given, and accepted, they think no more about the matter. The elaboration of Bella Coola mythology may be due in part to their desire to explain their social organization; but without question these myths, now accepted as facts, have had a great influence on the lives of the people. In fact the social structure of the tribe has tended to conform to the myths.

It is believed that each group of first people formed a village community, and pre-empted hunting-grounds in the vicinity. These usually consisted of small valleys opening from the main Bella Coola River, tracts which could thus be easily defined. Each group also took possession of a suitable part of the river for a salmon-weir, or, if located on the coast, a convenient place for an ocean fish-trap. In course of time the first people married, of necessity with members of other villages. According to mythology, and equally according to modern practice, the women usually moved to the villages of their husbands. When a child was born, it naturally grew up to share in the hunting-grounds of its father's village. Moreover, the father was able to bestow on his child various ceremonial devices, the concepts formulated on this earth. It is assumed that all the first people were mighty chiefs, able to initiate rites in a way that few modern men have been able to equal. But the mothers of these children, the first born on this earth, did not surrender the privileges of their own villages at marriage. Consequently, their children were of almost as much interest to the brethren

1:McDougall E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

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[177]
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tions on this subject always excited them, but every effort was made to verify the following statements.

As with names, the easiest way to understand the rights of the ancestral family in land is by first considering the mythological explanation, which mirrors conditions as they existed at the coming of white men. On reaching this earth the first people are believed to have prospected for suitable settlement sites, places where salmon and eulachon could be caught, and if possible, near side valleys where berries were abundant. There they released the animals and plants which they had brought with them, on which they thenceforth subsisted, in accordance with the supreme deity's instructions. The members of the group pre-empted these areas for themselves. Waste land, far from any village was, and still is, free to anyone. A few years after the first settlements had been made, according to the myths, the supreme god sent down to Kimsquit a certain *Ilgamim* who allotted and marked the territory which was the property of each community; at that time a village consisted merely of a group of the first settlers. No similar myth was recounted for either Bella Coola or *Tal'ts*, although their concepts with regard to land are identical with those of the Kimsquit. This really gave a sacred sanction to the possession of land, an importance matter to a people so religiously inclined as the Bella Coola.

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The system of land tenure follows the same somewhat obscure principles that govern the possession of names in an ancestral family. Hunting and collecting grounds appropriated by the first people, or by their immediate descendants, are the property of their offspring, the ancestral family. The Bella Coola term for such an area is *ut'lum*, also called, *ancestrale*, which means "Food Supply."

It will thus be seen that land does not belong to any single individual, but belongs to a group of persons, most of whom live in a single town. The relatives of a man who intends to give a potlatch usually give him, temporarily, exclusive rights to the hunting-ground. As with names, there

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1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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614 621 is a more obvious social grouping than the ancestral family, though it is of the latter that a man is most proud. The member of a small, unimportant village often describes himself as a native of a neighbouring, larger one when at a distance from his home, simply as a matter of convenience.

Even before the coming of the white man, village sites were abandoned and people took up their residence with friends or relatives elsewhere. In fact, mythology contains instances of [973] such migrations at the very beginning of time. In cases of this [361] kind, memory of the earlier home has been preserved for many generations, and may perhaps be the explanation of the many villages which are described as two, and which have two names. In the early days immigrants seem always to have been welcome; they added to the numerical strength of the village, and the original inhabitants enjoyed boasting to the newcomers of their descent from the first settlers. Since any group forced to abandon their own homes naturally moved to those of relatives, there is no difficulty in understanding the process by [582] which they continued to intermarry with their new neighbours. Thus two, or even more ancestral families, inhabiting one village tended to form a closely inter-related stock. In rare instances, two unrelated ancestral families may have become inhabitants of the same village, which would unquestionably lead to intermarriage.

In most cases the endogamic tendencies already described cause the village community to be largely members of one ancestral family. In addition there are always other occu- [563] pants; strangers who have fled from their homes and sought [567] refuge among the Bella Coola; the offspring of illicit intercourse [554] with slaves; guests; foreigners, especially Carriers temporarily resident in Bella Coola; and finally slaves, without status in the community. The real inhabitants, those whose power is firmly planted in the village, are the reputed descendants of the first group of settlers, and accordingly a relative coming to [553] dwell in a village usually endeavours to obtain a name from the origin myth of the ancestral family occupying it, and thus

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

621 623 ters, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact
[535] this ceremonial unity is its most important function.
[996] With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore,
each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the
361 river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built
[184] type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them
[342] stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side
[171] nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many
cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by
the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two
rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there
[487] is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge
of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox
[164] epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty,
others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of
the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space.
[433] Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages,
each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean
fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

342 The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire,
[354] often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor,
and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side-
walls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the dif-
ferent families, or for different members of one. In many cases
the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for
small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire
being used for heating and for more important meals. The
[572] number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an
[223] important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous
house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses
contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free
and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and any-
[261] one present when food is being distributed is given a share as
a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with
[353] carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall.
[535] A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important
in dances.

1:McDowell E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

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PLATE 9

Photograph by G. T. Emmons, Courtesy Museum of Natural History

The site of Gingolx, with the remains of the old village

[P 186 (A)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided
648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
[727] of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but
[628] were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the help of *Xemqo-ti*, the most exposed one, although there was no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of
[774] this town attributed their protection to *Alqantăm*, and used to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune
[361] owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola
[162] itself was comparatively free from molestation, Kimsquit and *Tal-io*, with smaller populations and less strategic positions, were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and entered by a water-gate with a drop-door.[3] This water-gate protected the
[648] residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one
[724] Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders, armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way
[642] and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong govern-
[623] ment was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being assailed, the members of the town would discuss retaliation,
[622] and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was de-
[701] cided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[3] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

105 of their omnipresence; the guiding force of public opinion is
182 seen as a check on individual licence, fostered or inculcated by
[626] the ties which hold together ancestral families and make it impossible for a man to lead an isolated life where others will not be affected by his actions. If the white man is willing to receive new ideas, he will learn much from the comments of the Bella Coola on his own customs. Many have been to
[556] Victoria or Vancouver, and they feel that the contrasts of wealth observable in such big cities are atrocious; they ask how this is compatible with Christianity. They feel that it is
[602] unnatural for a man not to receive support from his cousins of
[556] all degrees; that the hoarding of wealth for the mere gratification of personal desires is selfish; that the selling of land is extraordinary; and that failure to ascribe every incident to supernatural causes is sacrilegious. These differences of viewpoint on so many matters explain the first impression of strangeness. A careful investigator comes to realize that he is among a people who fundamentally differ but slightly from his compatriots, though outwardly they have little in common. With respect to love, ambition, parental affection, sense of honour, pride, intelligence, even humour and vanity, the Bella Coola are essentially similar to ourselves. Unfortunately, these characteristics are expressed in ways unintelligible and often repellant to the casual traveller. If he will only look beneath the surface, he will find a people who are neither saints nor sinners, but essentially human, with the faults and follies as well as the elements of strength and wisdom which comprise, as Kipling puts it, "Men in a world of men."

177 The coming of the white civilization has been cataclysmic
[161] to the Bella Coola. Within two generations they have been reduced to a mere handful; instead of living in scattered vil-
[361] lages, roaming the mountains for game and fishing at will, they now dwell in a single settlement and the taking of animals and fish is subject to law; the introduction of metal tools and mechanical appliances has revolutionized their mode of life; new foods, new clothing, new furniture has altered their living conditions; fermented drink has presented a factor unknown

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)892
NEA Bellacoola NEA

Status of the Cod of the Isle Courtney Bay

have detailed down to numbers, and a few only of their three populous villages are still inhabited, namely, Gatsq, at the head of Dean Inlet; Kuil'e'l, at the mouth of Salmon River; Nagu'lus (which embraces five villages), at the mouth of Bella Coola River; Sis'in, twenty-eight miles up Bella Coola River; and Ts'lin, at the head of South Bentinck Arm. The dialect of Kuil'e'l and Gatsq differs slightly from that of the other villages. The following is a list of their ancient villages, most of which are still inhabited at certain seasons, although not regularly:—

1. Gatsq.
2. Kuil'e'l. The tribe of this place is called Kuil-ent.
3. Nagu'lus, embracing the villages K'nalq'ino and Sulq'ul on the north side, Ts'ololo and Nalas'ulakent on the south side of the river.
4. Sungil.
5. Tsimo'ul.
6. Sus'i'ik.
7. Ni'k'nin.
8. Ast'ment.
9. Nak'a'nqumts.
10. Tsqumk'i'ut.
11. Ni'ok'ulut.
12. Kulsk'ig.
13. Sis'in, twenty-eight miles from the sea.
14. Sus'i'ulell. Nos. 4 to 14 are situated along Bella Coola River, and are given as they are met with in ascending the river.
15. Sis'uqil, at the confluence of Bella Coola and Dean (?) Rivers.
16. Ts'lin, at the head of South Bentinck Arm, embracing K'ne'ps, Ts'lin, Sis'ik', A'ntq.
17. K'ni'ins, at the bay of that name in the southern extremity of Bentinck Arm. On the north extremity of Bentinck Arm were the Kilsi'ul, but it is doubtful whether they belonged to the Hilqula or to the Sis'ilmek. The latter call the people of Dean Inlet Ki'ulsetq.

Each of these tribes is subdivided into gentes, which appear to be arranged in exogamic groups. I insert the names of the following gentes, which bear the names of their ancestors:—

Gentes of the Nagu'lus:

1. Tsk'ul'a (echoing down on his family).
2. Sunqnqu'lung; Qi'nsinn name: Sis'ukqi'lull (see p. 411)
3. Sisilqil'ag.
4. Ki'kiqi'ass.
5. Ts'ilas.

Gentes of the Kuil'e'l-ent:

1. T'lak'ment'ut.
2. K'inqsis'ut.
3. ?

Gentes of the Tsis'ut:

1. Isis'ainsit (wanking good fire); Qi'nsinn name: T'ii'ts-lulit (see note pertaining from rain).
2. Sunki'ik.
3. Tsunqi'ukyas.
4. Sa'ainit.

[illegible] NAME AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE BELLA COOLA COMMUNITIES

The Thunderbird and his companions appear in the Grizzly ceremonial. When they enter the house, a dancer appears who carries an instrument in the shape of a bird-rattle (Plate XI, Fig. 2), which is provided with holes on both sides, and has a bone back. This instrument is filled with pebbles and eagle-down, and is shaken by the dancer. The eagle-down is then made to fly about in the house, symbolizing the wealth and power of the Thunderbird.

(A)

In the preceding pages I have commented the principal features of Bella Coola mythology, which are characteristic of the traditions of the whole tribe. Besides these there are other groups of traditions which are very conflicting. One reason for the existence of numerous contradictory traditions must be looked for in the peculiar social organization of the Bella Coola. In former times, when the tribe was populous, the Bella Coola inhabited a great many villages. The inhabitants of each village are considered the descendants of a number of mythical ancestors who lived and died there by them. Each of these village communities has traditions of its own, which are its property, and which are not well known to the rest of the tribe. Many of these traditions refer to the origin of our world, and for this reason a number of the most important myths differ in various villages. Indications of such conflicting ideas may be found in the traditions recorded in the preceding pages. To make this subject clear, it is necessary to describe somewhat fully the traditions belonging to a number of village communities. Before recording these traditions I shall enumerate the villages of the tribe. The following list is the result of repeated inquiries. In it the names and location of the villages are given in consecutive order from the mouth of Bentinck Arm upward along Bella Coola River, and the names of the mythical ancestors of the village communities have been added where these have been ascertained.

Villages	Situations	Ancestors
1. [illegible]	At the bay of the same.	
2. [illegible]	At the entrance of Bella Bentinck Arm.	[illegible]
3. [illegible]	On Bella Bentinck Arm.	[illegible]
4. [illegible]	At the entrance of the valley opening on the north side of the upper end of Bella Coola River.	[illegible]
5. [illegible]	The present village on the north side of Bella Coola River, near its mouth.	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

BC 776 * 776 one at Bentinck Bay. He had reached the point where he needed help to turn the craft over, and one day, returning to his work, he heard the sound of many voices. He turned for a few minutes, and when he reached his canoe it had been turned over as he desired.

On that occasion the beings who assisted the canoe-maker appear to have had definite form, and certainly to have displayed physical strength, but this extreme anthropomorphizing is unusual with respect to the assistance given to carpenters. The construction of a canoe is so arduous and difficult work, the person who has made one is regarded by his fellows with respect mixed with awe, and it is tacitly assumed that he must have received more than human assistance. Considering the number of anthropomorphic beings known to the Bella Coola, it is not surprising that some individuals should assume that the successful carpenter must have had assistance from one of them, but to other Bella Coola the explanation would be in the invisible help vouchsafed to him by some kind of supernatural power.

[55]

* 776 BB Similar invisible power is believed to be written in a person's thoughts. If a man receives either good or evil from a comrade it is his duty and privilege to repay. He intends to do so, but only a good man can carry out the resolution. What a white man would attribute to forgetfulness, procrastination, or laziness, the Bella Coola say is caused by the intervention of *Tsnpamlhalaiten*, who steals away his thoughts. It is doubtful whether this being is considered to have any definite form; rather he is a barrier, normally situated within the doorway of every house. The ideas of a strong man are able to surmount the obstacle, but *Tsnpamlhalaiten* obstructs those of a wandering, and directs him to matters of no importance.

● 902 * 776 Another invisible supernatural being is that which devours firewood. The Bella Coola say that no matter how well a fire may be provided with fuel when a person sits down to a meal, it is certain to be either out, or nearly so, when he has finished eating. The natural explanation does not satisfy

the Bulla Coolu. No one knows the name of the fire devourer, and it may be that he lacks form. Though ignorant of the law of conservation of matter, the Bulla Coolu realizes that the wood must have gone somewhere, and postulates a land far across the western sea where lower wood lies in shadowy heaps, each billet retaining its original form though it lacks material substance. This region is peopled over by an evil being with a desire for human flesh (II, p. 460).

The above list by no means exhausts the anthropomorphic beings neither either in *Narnilo* or in this world. Those described are the most important, and suffice to make clear the religious attitude of the Bulla Coolu to beings of this type. Others appear in connection with *lesser* totems only, and a consideration of them can be deferred until vol. III, chap. 1, whereas some belong essentially to shamanism and allied subjects treated in vol. I, chap. vii.

[illegible]

The attitude of mingled hope and fear with which the Bulla Coolu regard their supernatural anthropomorphic beings is typical of their thoughts and actions concerning zoomorphic creatures as well. In the supernatural world the dividing line between human and animal beings is not clearly defined; totemic creatures have the mentality of superman, and can be appeased, brought, or cajoled precisely as are anthropomorphic beings. Like those of human form, supernatural animals can bestow good or evil on human beings with whom they come in contact. The division shown in this chapter must, therefore, be regarded as merely for convenience; it does not correspond to a distinction in the minds of the Bulla Coolu.

One of the most dreaded animals known to the Bulla Coolu is the *ninny*, a monster about the size of a large grizzly bear, with long, silky, beautiful hair, blue-gray in colour. It walks almost upright on short hind legs, so that its long fore-legs touch the ground as it travels; these are provided with sharp

[illegible] small particles of food on a fire, these become large when they reach the land below and nourish the ghosts. An individual making an offering of this kind says:

"*Snakkilhwat tachm,*" "This is to make straight your road, beloved one."

[illegible] The souls and desires of ghosts have been made known to mortals through visits paid by shamans to the land below, and by the coming of ghosts to this world. It is, therefore, evident that food placed on the ground does not reach the land below, but that morsels thrown on a fire rise through into the abode of ghosts. Offerings to the dead are not made with the hope of receiving favours from them, but rather to provide beloved relatives with necessary food and to prevent them from showing displeasure by causing stomach-aches and other ailments.

[illegible] Other customs, both of prayer and of sacrifice, will be recorded in connection with various myths. The salient fact is that the Bella Coola are able to gain, by such means, the favour of supernatural beings, a factor which plays an important part in their daily life. In addition, they have a large number of practices based on sympathetic magic. No absolutely rigid boundary line can be drawn between the latter and religious proper, but there is a fairly clear division between rites such as those just described, in which propitiation is the important element, and others in which the desired end follows the mere performance of a certain act. Customs of this last type will be reserved for later consideration (vol. 2, chap. vi).

THE ACQUISITION OF SUPERNATURAL POWERS

[illegible] In addition to prayer and sacrifice, the Bella Coola have yet another means of obtaining the goodwill of supernatural beings, and at the same time of strengthening their own supernatural attributes so that good fortune is likely to come. This is by the practice of certain ceremonial chastity, of which the basis is that a man must not hold intercourse except after certain periods of continence. To understand this, it is neces-

this practice had been handed down with the name from the beginning of time, another man stated that it was no longer practiced and could be used by anyone. The last time for hunting was at the equinoxes, and Wazenby always observed ceremonial chastity in such a way that it continued on that date. Before setting out, the hunter prepared a net of the shape shown in the accompanying sketch (Fig. 1). The net was stretched over a wooden framework, about six feet long and four feet wide, connected and by a long and heavy handle. The whole affair was called, "The Thing-like Thing." Choosing a still night, the hunter used to set out in his canoe paddled by a number of assistants. Wazenby would place himself in the bow with his net, and in the middle of the craft a small fire was kept burning with [illegible] pitch handle in so that it could be kindled into bright flame at a moment's notice. As the canoe was slowly paddled along the shore, the green were half asleep, half startled by the light. Unwilling to take to flight, they used to swim around at the edge of the illumination and so were guided into some narrow opening of the shore. Then Wazenby would down his net so that the end farthest from the handle first touched the water and as the latter came crashing down it imprisoned a number of birds. Others, bewildered by the light and the falling net, tried to fly outwards and were [illegible] down by the paddles. These were retrieved at once and the necks of those caught in the net were wrung as before. It is said that this method of hunting was almost always successful.

Fig. 1

Another Botlick hunting device which, however, was not ceremonial and may have been merely an individual method of gaining, not an inherited prerogative, was employed in [illegible] This last to use this method was the father's father of an elderly Bula Cuda. This man used to go out at night in a

manner, and was definitely stated to be the one by one will-
informed old man. It is clear, however, at every spring
salmon was landed with the cry of call-for, on to the Spring
Salmon House, and not up by the men on the time when
women were allowed near the river. Family old was stated
that the feast took place on night and that by the heads and
salmon of the first catch were eaten, the rest other being dried
for the winter. Women of child-bearing age were not allowed
on the river bank, and were apparently excluded from the
Spring Salmon House until the time when to sun's shadow
reached a diagonal row on the slope of one of the mountains
on the north side of North Bentinck Arm. This occurs about
August. From that time onwards, there no no calling of
call-for, and women, except those who were salmon, could not
salmon freely on the bank. It was even eat that salmon of
salmon could be thrown into the river after time. No one
knows the origin of this seasonal prohibition or why it should
and when the sun reaches a certain point, it was faithfully
observed in former times.

In Kwakiutl circles rites were carried on, the chief varia-
tion being that the bodies of four corpses are placed in the
Spring Salmon House and the fish kept away these at intervals
in the fire. Whenever the catch said to be the back of each
salmon to be preserved is with the value for stream. The
same regulations with regard to drinking water, and crying
after eating, were enforced for spring salmon to for elachen.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

The following miscellaneous beliefs and
taboos cannot be
assigned to any special aspect of Bella Coola life:

If a speck from a fire jumps out and lies on a person's
hand, it is said:

"The fire wants to give you (the person) where the brand
has fallen (hot)."

If a man sneezes repeatedly, it is said:

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

[illegible] adhesive: Gum; commercial.
Bella: Bella Coola component living in the last century.
[illegible]: Ceremonial song.
[illegible] Frazer: Name of the last settlers on Dean in the beginning of time.
[illegible] [illegible]: Bella.
[illegible] [illegible]: The swelling back of a name in the cavity of the original mouth through a future marriage, in the proposal to do my work for the relatives of the girl, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] THE [illegible] CODEX [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

2: McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[824] *nuxlip*: Cedar rope.
skut: Sing.
skutlaxlen: Try on a sing.
[578] *xpik*: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slow woman.
[821] *xpuqmu*: Heavy cloud.
xpuk: Muscle-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary food.
[412] *skum*: Wooden comb.
P'ax'i: Land of Salmon, alternative name for *Xpaxi*.
sla: Cannibal heroes.
[601] *sqalqmu*: Distant relative of female sex, often referred to by men.
sqalkuqmu: Long platter.
Sqaxadi: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sqaxu: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
sacqula: Food distributed for carrying away as sqaxu.
[815] *sqali*: Large, flat, soft basket of bread scraps of Tsilh.
[821] *sqaxuqmu*: Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
squlk: Maple.
[824] *skum*: Sudden exact that regals the sports.
sqaqaxil: Clever phrase of valor, covers and lack-covered on one side.
sqaxil: Love song or other non-ceremonial competition.
squalam: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium*.
[539] *sqaxlaxulam*: 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions to the faults of someone present.
2—Singers who use this type of competition.
[815] *sqaxal ayu*: Large, unidentified bird.
Sqaxlakuu: Ghost: A supernatural being.
[874] *Sqaxi*: Oyster name of a Bella Coola man.
[824] *sqaxi yu*: Lion.
sqaxik: Mountain goat mutton, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of preventing hunger.
[262] *Sqaxlaxam*, "The Increase of the Sun's Chest through the Addition of Five Skins": *Ax'ik* name obtained in the beginning of time.
sqalkuqmu, qalqmu, *sqaxlaxu qalqmu*, *sqaxlaxqu*.
1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle on *Xpalkul* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on *Xaxil* in the beginning of time.
4—Name created by *Qaxam* for a grandson.
5—Ancient name of a *Kimsquit* man.
[601] *sqau*: Mother, term commonly used by an adult for indirect address.
[815] *sqaulakuu*: Bat.
sqaulaxu: Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
[601] *sqaxuqmu*: Elderly female relatives of the same maternal family as the speaker.
[614] *skuk*: Whatever.
Sqaxu: Man mentioned in a story.
[412] *Sqal*: Mountain near *Tsilx*.
sqalam, "What is Hidden": The secret selection of the Mystery dance.
sqaxamu: Ankle bone for clock, now used only theoretically.
[824] *skuk*: Cranberry.

Schl Oswald E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

424 777 825 swerest answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience, and added that though he was quite willing to accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not [582] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of exogamy.

211 424 777 825 [532] [550] [304] Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet they have some importance in the realm of social life. The portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a design is impressed with the glories of the family history of the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delineation is a memento of family history. For that reason a man is often tattooed[1] with his crest, that derived from his father's first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow. After the death of a chief a memorial-post is erected near his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his 220 family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

[171] [184] [386]

[1] It is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal tribes but also the Carrier. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated themselves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with potlatches, in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the back room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material, the second and less common, by passing a string soaked with the substance beneath the skin. The dye was obtained from river mussels which were baked for a long time and then ground into a powder. This lasts indefinitely and can be made ready for use by mixing with water. As far as could be learned, any skilled craftsman might perform the operation.

2:McDuralth E-3 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

APPENDIX A

MECHANICAL PROCESSES

NO attempt was made to study either the material culture of the Bella Coola, or their methods of manufacturing, but information on some points was obtained incidentally. All sociological and religious features mentioned throughout have already been described. 121

THE TAKING AND PREPARATION OF OLACHEN

227

The run of olachen, spring, comes about the end of April, and as many as possible are caught. In preparation, nets, *ale'a'*, are brought out from the house where they have been stored during the winter, examined, and repaired. If necessary, new ones must be manufactured out of nettle (Urea.) fibre laid away by the women for this purpose. By rolling the material on their legs, they produce a thin twine; five strands of this are then interwoven, making a finished cord capable of resisting great strain. The nets are constructed by the men. The type used at the present time, which is said not to differ from that formerly employed, consists of a purse-like sack, oval in cross-section, open at the wider end and tapering very gradually to the other, which is closed. The total length is about thirty feet, the diameter at the open end about eight feet, and at the closed end about three feet. A new net is dipped in a mixture of boiled hemlock-bark to darken it, and then boiled in a solution of willow-bark to prevent the knots from slipping.

226 221 289 462 286 316

The setting out of a net is not an easy task, as two or three men agree to work as partners. In the present depressed days, property rights are not respected and each group selects a suitable spot. The best location is where the water is about three feet deep and runs rapidly, but without ripples, over a smooth piece of the bottom; such a place is called a *ckitsy*. When the fish begins to run plentifully, the partners paddle out to set their net, taking with them four stakes, each about ten feet in length. The weight of a full net is tremendous, as the poles have to be driven down at least six feet, a difficult task on account of the stony bottom. Selecting the exact spot, one of four posts, *ckiptsin*, is set upright and held in position by being tied to a cross-piece, *nadiqaow*, fastened to the canoe for the purpose. While his two partners hold the craft steady, the third man begins to pound down the stake; metal mauls are now commonly used, but in former times this work was always done with an unhafted stone maul, *lemama*. The fishermen relieve one another interminably until the top of the pole has been driven down to within

224 196 423 178

412

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

ḥata, a tool consisting of a slightly bent stick with sharpened point, into the cut, and runs it upwards to make a vertical incision as high as she can reach. Going around to the other side of the tree, the woman makes another cutting of the same kind. Finally, she inserts her fingers at the bottom and pulls gently outwards, so that the bark is drawn off in a long streamer which tapers to a point at the top. The other half section of the tree is similarly stripped; this treatment frequently kills saplings which can then be used for fire-wood. Although small trees are preferred, a woman sometimes collects her bark from a large one by means of many vertical incisions. 314 [412]

The bark is taken home without further preparation. The woman carefully peels off and throws away the rough outer bark, leaving the smooth inner covering, *ḥapal*, which alone is valuable. If the weather is fine, this is dried in the sun for two or three days; otherwise, it is placed over a fire within the house. When all moisture has been removed, it is rolled up and kept for future use. The bark can be used for making baskets with no further treatment except splitting into bands of the proper width. [285]

When pounded bark, such as is widely used for ceremonial purposes, is required, the woman prepares the necessary tools. Two small sticks, each about six inches in length and one-half inch in diameter, are used as tweezers, *ḥiṗła*, though the bark can, if necessary, be held in the hand. Two beating sticks are required, each about two feet in length, six inches wide, and half an inch thick; one edge of each is rounded off, though not sharpened to a cutting surface. When all is ready, the woman crouches on the floor, with the lower beater, *ḥpaq̓*, held stationary before her on a box or other raised rest, and lays an end of the bark over the rounded edge. Taking the other, the upper beater, *ẓpiłła*, in her right hand, she strokes downwards so that its edge slides down the side of the stationary stick, bruising the fragment of bark. With her left hand she pushes the piece slightly further over the edge, and again the upper beater falls. This is repeated time after time until the whole length is pulverized and softened. It is tiring work, but a woman accomplishes more in an hour than seems possible as her muscles become accustomed to the shearing motion. The bark becomes broken and frayed but its tensile strength is sufficient to prevent it from falling apart. Then the woman brushes it with shavings to remove loose fragments and the work is done. This type of pounded cedar-bark is called *ẓkw'*. 287

ẓkw' is usually dyed red before being used for ceremonial purposes and is then termed *mał'*. In winter the dye is made from alder-bark with pieces of the wood attached, but in summer only scrapings from the inner bark are used. Water is placed in a vessel, urine added, pieces of alder- 287 386 [824]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

287 thrown in, and hot stones lifted in to heat the mixture. Even at the
386 present time dye is never made on a stove, as it is thought that the gradual heating by means of stones is essential. As it becomes warm, the woman thoroughly stirs the ingredients with her hands, then, when it boils, some of the bark is lifted out and more added. This process is continued until the brew is deep red in colour. It is allowed to stand for a few minutes before the pounded cedar-bark is placed in it. The operator gently works it around until it is saturated, then lifts it out and hangs it up to dry. Several pieces of bark can be dyed in one solution, though it is necessary to add more alder-bark and more stones to maintain the proper strength and heat.

[285] Although red cedar-bark is the kind most commonly used, the Bella
[177] Coola sometimes use the yellow cedar for mats and blankets, an art learnt from the Bella Bella.

THE MANUFACTURE OF PAINT

386 Paint, such as was used both for decorating the body and for por-
[302] traying designs on wood, was obtained from a kind of rock found near
[532] the head of a creek entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Snaef*.
[317] Fragments of the red stone were broken off, thrown into a vessel containing water, and brought to a boil by the insertion of hot stones. Under the action of heat the rock became soft so that the manufacturer was able to pulverize it and run off the semi-liquid mixture into a small box. He would then chew cedar-bark and salmon roe, and spit into the paint, thoroughly mixing his saliva with it. When dry, the mixture was ready for use, and could be kept indefinitely.

[532] Anyone could paint who had the artistic skill, and it was chiefly artists
[177] who used to make this kind of paint. Since the introduction of the white man's brilliant colours, there has been no demand for the duller native shade, and the making of paint has been discontinued.

2:McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
NEA Bellacoola NEA

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[illegible]: Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
[illegible]: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
[illegible]: That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
[illegible]: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being. [518]
2—Sleep, intraglitic factor propagation.
[illegible]: Presents given to the man who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [585]
[illegible], "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]
[illegible]: Shadow.
[illegible]: Hammer, anchor. [412]
[illegible]: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law. [601]
[illegible]: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other.
[illegible]: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
[illegible]: That on which a chief sits, that is, his economical prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
[illegible]: 1—Caribou hide.
2—Thong made of caribou hide. [825]
[illegible]: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
[illegible]: Caribou. [832]
[illegible]: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [828]
[illegible]: Supernatural being who causes nightmares.
[illegible] or *[illegible]*: Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
[illegible]: Body.
[illegible]: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
[illegible]: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
[illegible]: Mountain goat green. [824]
[illegible]: Castor.
[illegible], "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Octopus. [825]
[illegible]: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
[illegible]: Red rock paint. [386]
[illegible]: Singer's baton.
[illegible]: Test.
[illegible]: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones. [823]
[illegible]: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
[illegible]: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley. [262]
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
[illegible]: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
[illegible], "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
[illegible]: Black raspberry. [824]
[illegible]: Ocean.

515 usually, in a half-hearted manner, but it is not unusual for a man to allow the basin of water in which he makes his ablutions on Monday morning for two or three weeks. Not many years ago the Carriers taught their neighbours to make a kind of soap from the ashes of burnt cottonwood sticks thrown into water; with this clothes are washed irregularly and in most cases from sheer necessity only. In former times bathing was a semi-sacred rite, but this fell into disuse with the passing of the old religion, and the use of soap and water merely for the sake of cleanliness has not become a daily habit. The women have more vanity; the younger girls especially like to have new clothes, though they wear them continually, heedless of tr. An effort is often made to clean up for ceremonial dances, but it usually lends more than the removal of the more obvious dirt and the putting on, over unchanged underganments, of a sweater. Pride in personal appearance, love of cleanness, delight in a clean house, are all quite foreign to the Bella Coola.

356 Probably the reason for lack of comforts in the houses is simply that the people do not feel the need for them. They consider it no hardship to sit on a rickety chair, scoop up food from a common dish and, if they think of it, throw morsels down to the dog or the cat. The smell, the flies, the dirt, the chaos do not concern them. Capable of undergoing privations, hardships, and even sufferings, they think neither of the comfort of themselves nor of others. Their domestic animals are often treated abominably, not through lack of affection or cruelty, but from callousness. More than once the writer has seen a favourite dog steal a piece of food from the table. Its master, after a furious blow or kick at it, would suddenly, as if by inspiration, throw a choice bit to the animal, saying:

"Why, he must have been hungry!"

Though the Bella Coola feel a kinship with animals unknown to the white man, it is not combined with any recognition of their feelings as living creatures. There are, of course, many exceptions, but on the whole public opinion demands generosity and kindness only towards human members of the group. The moral code is not concerned with animals.

The religious concepts of the Bella Coola are not limited to explanations of strange occurrences, nor to knowledge of a wide range of supernatural beings, anthropomorphic or zoomorphic. Many to whom they believe are invisible and intangible, though some do use powers. Almost every incident of life is considered to the help or hindrance of a supernatural agency. If a fisherman constructs a salmon-weir, with a considerable amount of work, the Bella Coola ascribe his success to the assistance of some supernatural being or supernatural power; such labour would never have sufficed. If a man has phenomenal success the hunting, it is because the supernatural has helped him in some way. It is not necessary that an anthropomorphic being should appear; they seldom do, but more likely that in some form or another supernatural aids have aided the occupation.

This attitude is clearly evident in Bella Coola beliefs concerning the construction of canoes. Many professions depend upon propagations without which a person cannot hope to succeed. This is not true of canoe-makers, although it is a great advantage to one of them if *Yalàtiwat*, the Master Carpenter, appeared to his ancestors in the beginning of time. Even without this in many cases a man can succeed in making a canoe if he is aided by a supernatural teacher, or Model Maker. No one knows much about this being, nor even whether there is more than one of them, but it is through his kindly intervention that a man is able to complete his complicated task. If carpenters who have left a half-finished canoe in the woods, hear adze beats, as they are returning to it, they remain a away from the spot, knowing that their work is being done wiith superhuman efficiency by a supernatural artisan. Under such circumstances even a military man can construct one of the large, ocean-going canoes. About 1880 an expert carpenter, named *Yalàtiw*, was making

[illegible] that his mother had told him Mackenzie came down the Dean River when his uncle was a young man. As if to confirm this statement he added the inconsequential detail that Mackenzie, in, in dire straits for food, killed and ate a dog, and that he was given a marmot-skin by blanket.

one at Bamfield Bay. He had reached the point where he needed help to turn the craft over, and one day, returning to his work, he heard the sound of many voices. He waited for a few minutes, and when he reached his canoe it had been turned over as he desired.

On that occasion the beings who assisted the canoe-maker appear to have had definite form, and certainly to have displayed physical strength, but this extreme anthropomorphizing is unusual with respect to the assistance given to carpenters. The construction of a canoe is an arduous and difficult work; the person who has made one is regarded by his fellows with respect mixed with envy, and it is tacitly assumed that he must have received more than human assistance. Considering the number of anthropomorphic beings known to the Bella Coola, it is not surprising that some individuals should assume that the successful carpenter must have had assistance from one of them, but to other Bella Coola the explanation would be in the intangible help vouchsafed to him by some kind of supernatural power.

Similar intangible power is believed to be evident in a person's thoughts. If a man receive either good or evil from a comrade it is his duty and privilege to repay. He intends to do so, but only a good man can carry out the resolution. What a white man would attribute to forgetfulness, procrastination, or lassitude, the Bella Coola say is caused by the intervention of *Swiyawlakaits*, who steals away his thoughts. It is doubtful whether this being is considered to have any definite form; rather he is a barrier, normally situated within the doorway of every house. The ideas of a strong man are able to surmount the obstacle, but *Swiyawlakaits* abstracts those of a weakling, and directs him to matters of no importance.

Another intangible supernatural being is that which devours firewood. The Bella Coola say that no matter how well a fire may be provided with fuel when a person sits down to a meal, it is certain to be either out, or nearly so, when he has finished eating. The natural explanation does not satisfy

the bow. The oars also face about at equal intervals forward, each ready to work on the opposite side from the man in front. Each is provided with a resting pole and also a paddle for use in open where the river is too deep for poling. The rivers of central British Columbia are shallow, fast swift, and their navigation requires considerable skill. Going upstream, the captain constantly seeks the smoothest water, where he knows the current will be least strong, and uses his pole to keep the craft headed in the right direction. Should it be caught in a violent eddy, he moves his full strength, and it is his voice that rallies the crew for a final exertion to drive the canoe through. Coming downstream is more dangerous though less exacting. The water is so cold and the current so swift that a capsizing usually causes the drowning of one or more of the occupants, and the captain must never miss. Spruce canoes are very stable, and cannot be upset by a fairly distribution of weight. This is essential in view of the rapids, but they are heavy and cumbersome, unsuited to carrying large loads.

When a carpenter wishes to make a canoe, he fells a cedar of suitable size and cuts off bark and branches to leave the natural form available. Slowly and laboriously he chips with his adze until he has followed out the mark to the proper shape, and at the same time has smoothed away the outer surface. Sometimes a small fire is built on the mark so that it will char the wood beneath and make it easier to remove, but the carpenter must be careful that the flames do not spread too far. Finally, as his work reaches completion, he becomes ever more painstaking than before. The sides and bottom are whittled to a thickness of no more than three inches, and at this stage a fairly awake may pierce the shell and ruin the toil of weeks. When completed, it is necessary to widen and harden the canoe. A fire is built beside it and stones thrown into the flames to heat; these lifted out and dropped into the water with which the craft has been partly filled. Steam rises, and the carpenter confirms it by covering the canoe with matting, at the same time endeavoring to pull and force the sides apart. Sometimes he can do so by mere muscular effort, more often it is necessary to lay crossbeams athwarts within and, by pounding them downwards, extend the sides. No great extension is possible, nor is it required, but the steaming process is considered to harden the wood as well as widen the canoe.

Until five or ten years ago, the Bella Coola made another type of canoe, *ajina*, for use on the ocean. A few examples of this style are still in existence (see Plate 22). Though approximately the same length as river canoes, they are proportionately much deeper and narrower, and an extension downwards near the stern serves in place of a keel. These craft are sufficiently sea-worthy to weather any ordinary storm. Several

[illegible] to the land above whence, in course of time, it comes down to earth again to continue a new body.* Consequently, the bones of a hunter does not indicate his memory over as minimal as much as the hunter's good will in allowing itself to be slain by one who has planned him by commercial chastity (I, p. [illegible]), or by one who has been endowed with skill by some other supernatural being. Men are accordingly careful to obey the wishes of their quarry. Long ago, a mountain goat told a shaman that he and his friends liked one, as a hunter who has killed one always smears two bands of ochre across its face from the right eye to the left side of the mouth. Another shaman was told by a bear never to use red-feathered arrows since none of his fellows killed with such would return. Plumes of other birds have since been used, preferably those of mallard ducks. Sometimes the wishes of an animal require considerable ritual. For example, when a bear is killed, the carcass is stretched upon newly arranged evergreen boughs and skinned. The hunter removes the pelt so that the tail lies near the neck, with the whole hanging loosely over the body. He pats it four times, as if pressing the skin back into place, and says:

"Please don't linger. Go home and return," or,

"Please come to me tomorrow. Tell your brothers, your sisters, your uncles, your aunts and your other relations to come to me."

Should this be omitted, the animal is likely to stand up, shiver, shake itself, causing the pelt to return to its place, and run away. Yearling mountain goats are especially prone to do this, as already mentioned. Even if an animal does not show its resentment by escaping in this way, it often refuses to return to earth unless the proper rites have been performed over its carcass.

Bears have another aversion: they do not like to be eaten by men. So the hunter leaves the skinned body for wolves

*There are doubters in Bella Coola as in every other community, and several of the older men express doubtful in the immortality of animals.

[illegible] difficult to estimate the former influence of such warriors. The belief of all in their ability must heighten their social prestige, although the requirements of physical qualifications in fighting must often have prevented them from functioning as military leaders. In other words, a man may be, socially, a warrior, even though he lacks ability as a fighting man.

[72] The functions of warriors are not limited to fighting with members of other tribes. Each has the power to kill and must exercise it when requested. If a mistake is made in a ceremonial dance dance, the offender must be killed, and one way in which this is accomplished is by the senior members of the society requesting a professional warrior to act as executioner. [73] [74] One of these men, who lived at *Ásán-án-i*, always used a stone club which had been handed down from generation to generation, becoming the property of each new incumbent of the name and prerogative. [75] In other cases, the killing is said to have been done with the aid of magic. The power of the *Ásán-án-i* warrior had been confirmed with so much goods that he was the most powerful professional killer known to the Bella Coola. He acted on instructions from the senior members of the dancing society or when called upon by anyone. If, for example, a man found that his wife had been faithless and wished to kill her lover, it was only necessary to tell the professional warrior, who was bound to act in accordance with his prerogative. [76] He received no pay, since he was merely exercising his right. [77] The relatives of the murdered person never took revenge on the slayer, realizing that he was powerless in the matter, though they frequently requested him to slay the person who had asked him to kill the first victim. He could never refuse to do so, even if the victim were his own brother, or if he knew that the person he was to kill was guiltless. The underlying principle was that this man's power had been increased to such a pitch by the distribution of presents [78] that if he failed to exercise it on demand, it would react upon himself and cause his own death. This *Ásán-án-i* warrior began in time to have an aversion for his vocation, since he

[584] [987] [556] [411]

sons, of whom the eldest was about sixteen, though old enough to appreciate the slights put upon their father, could do nothing to defend him.

On a winter day one of these lads felt impelled to follow a seal down the north side of the Bella Coola valley along the edge of salt water. The weather had been cold for some time, but on this day it was so warm that he lay down to doze on the warm rocks. Near his head was a small opening which connected with a long passage to the ocean, and through this he presently heard the heavy breathing of sleeping seals. His burning desires aroused, he went to the edge of the steep crag overlooking the sea and dived in. He bravely penetrated into a narrow passage which led him under the rocks, until with his last gasp he emerged into a cave where there were countless seals. Waiting only a moment, and without disturbing the animals, he dived back through the passage safely.

When he reached home the lad said nothing about what he had seen, but that evening he began to make a seal-spear of the usual type with a wooden handle and a bone point. He asked his father to help him with this carpentry task, and his mother to make a rope for the harpoon-head. Though surprised at their son's energy, the parents did as he requested, but the fellow-villagers mocked at his efforts, for the lad was no hunter.

Next morning he asked his father to accompany him, and the two set off in a canoe, carrying the spear which had been made the previous evening. Before starting, the lad requested one of his brothers to have a fire ready for cooking the spoil that night. Father and son paddled to the entrance of the subterranean passage, though the old man was, of course, ignorant of its existence. The son told him to wait, and dived overboard, armed only with a club, for the seal-spear had really been unnecessary. He penetrated through the passage and at once killed a seal pup, born that year, with which he returned to the canoe. The lad explained nothing to his father, so that it seemed to the latter as if his son had dived down into the depths and there slain a seal, after remaining below for an amazingly long time.

When the two returned to the village they were greeted with a shriek of laughter at the small size of their quarry. In derision, the villagers took the pup from them and threw it from hand to hand, as if it had been a ball.

[224] [225] [574] [556]

As already described, it is customary whenever a man kills a deer, a mountain goat, several seals, or any other large game, for him to invite his fellows to a feast. The number of guests depends on the size of the quarry, but in all cases the chiefs are the first to be invited and anyone who fails to do so is laughed at for his stinginess. On this occasion the seal-pup was obviously so small that any general invitation to partake of it was ludicrous. Nevertheless, the lad sent a herald to invite not only

morning of *Hesquiltlen*, and joined with a young girl engaged on the same task. When he returned home his wife had vanished. The jealousy was so great that she had gone back to the land of the supernatural.

THE DEATH OF *Nuxalkmalid*[*]

One May day, sometime about 1870, a certain *Nuxalkmalid* was hunting at *Sacmik*, below Kimsquit. He had climbed far up a mountain when he saw a black bear in an open space. Creeping within range, the man fired at the animal with his Hudson's Bay Company musket, and apparently struck it, for it rolled around wildly before slowly moving away. The hunter followed, hoping for a second shot. When the bear had almost reached the further end of a log which spanned a chasm it turned round, and *Nuxalkmalid* saw, to his great amazement, that its face was identical with his own. Forgetting to fire, the hunter stood, stricken motionless with wonder, his musket in his hand. His quarry moved slowly off, then paused to look back, and again *Nuxalkmalid* saw that its face was the image of his own. He dared not fire, nor did he dare follow the animal. One of his ancestors had received power from a bear, so he should not have been surprised at this vision, and, if he had been brave, he would have followed the animal to its home where he would have been made a chamen. In any appearance of the supernatural, whether or not the beholder take advantage of it, he should not mention what he has seen, and for one year should remain close to his house. *Nuxalkmalid* obeyed only the first of these requirements.

Next March *Nuxalkmalid*, with a companion whose name was *Ayimlaic*, set out for the same hunting-ground. As they neared their destination *Nuxalkmalid*, who was watching for game while his friend paddled, saw a goat far up the slope of a mountain. It had long fur hanging from its throat, such a goat as the people of old said had the power to kill men. He suggested that they land and hunt the animal the following day. The two camped on the very spot used by *Nuxalkmalid* the previous year, and that night he told his friend about his earlier experience, saying that he had just remembered it. *Ayimlaic*, foolishly, did not dissuade him from his hunting venture.

Next morning *Nuxalkmalid* set off with his dog and his stick, leaving *Ayimlaic* in camp. After some time the latter heard a shot, and idly wondered how his companion was faring. Towards dusk the dog returned alone, and *Ayimlaic* at once feared that his friend had met with misfor-

[*]Although this story does not describe the obtaining of supernatural power, nor the exploits of a person so endowed, it is inserted in this section to show a recent belief in the presence of the supernatural, from which ability might have been gained.

as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to serve under him, but he could not compel the services of anyone except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join the party. If some of their relations had been slain in the previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the retaliation, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could secure them. No case is known in which all the Bella Coola villages joined in a single expedition; there were often temporary alliances between neighbouring settlements, but complete lack of central organization. The course of events was similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been enslaved by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was to kill a slave belonging to the murderers, though sometimes he led a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a distance with much noise, boasting, and expletives, but few casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers succeeded in surprising a village at night. Hostilities are a thing of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed information respecting offensive weapons. Armour consisted of maple or birch slats reinforced with moosehide and worn around the body and chest; this rendered quick movement difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were introduced many years ago and armour consequently became useless. Large shields of moosehide were carried in all canoes,

*534 [23] [illegible] in the months mentioned, the men of the party returned, each bringing enough marrow skins for an hour-glass. Some had as many than three or four shells could be made, in addition to the large supplies of cooked goat meat and grass.

THE DUELLING OF A LAZY HUNTER

*534 [22] [177] [411] [434] In the early days, when the visit of a wading vessel to Bulla Coula was a rare event, it is remembered that an *Ambo* chief bought a musket from the captain of the *Beaver*. He paid for it a pile of beaver skins which, when stacked up, was equal in height to the length of the weapon. This was one of the first muskets owned by a Bulla Coula and the chief took great care of it, never venturing to roughly, and hanging it with ropes from the roof of his house whenever he was not actually using it. One day a certain *Inkkah* asked the owner to lend him the musket to hunt goats. This was an slight request, and it was surprising, since *Inkkah* was not a hunter, but mostly packed in meat killed by others. At first the chief was unwilling to allow his prized weapon out of his sight, but at last consented when *Inkkah* promised to give him half the goats that he might kill.

Inkkah probably thought that even temporary possession of the mysterious musket would make it possible for him to kill goats, but when he had climbed up into the mountains, and walked for hours, he had not succeeded even in approaching one. He knew that if he returned home, unsuccessful and without some plausible excuse, he would be laughed to scorn, so he determined to cover his failure. First he beat the musket on a boulder until it was bent and battered, then he took a sharp rock and pounded himself until he was covered with blood from head to foot, as if he had been caught in a land-slide. When near the village, he lay down on the ground and called faintly for help; at first the people could not hear the sound, but after a short search someone found the would-be hunter, apparently in the last stages of exhaustion. Help was called, and *Inkkah* carried home, moaning feebly and saying that he would die. He could just whisper that he had been caught in a slide on the other side of the mountain, this explanation being necessary since no one had heard one in the near vicinity. As the apparent sufferer was lying in his house, one man noticed that the patient's wounds were from gashes, not from bruises, and loudly proposed that *Inkkah* must have mutilated himself to conceal his lack of success. Everyone came crowding around and agreed that this must be the case; *Inkkah* finally admitted the deception and congratulated his discoverer on his powers of observation. After a few days, he was as well as ever, but the chief had lost his precious musket.

[182] *[illegible]*: Pyramids on hunting ground consisting two stones.
[illegible]: Kwagiutl Siberian.
[illegible]: Various bands.
[illegible]: Synonym for *Sowaxmidzilla*, one of the nine supernatural siblings.

P

[416] *[illegible]*: Small wooden disk.
[illegible]: Legitim messenger of the dead.
[illegible]: Place on mainland opposite south end of Pemberton Island.
[539] [43] *[illegible]*: Synonym for *mythmidzilla*. Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on the arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "food" received from them on many occasions.
[416] *[illegible]*: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: Bone needle.
[illegible]: Anything powerful and dreaded, the word is frequently applied, characteristically, to Cannibals.
[illegible]: Small grown ring-worth of the Bella Coola valley and one of the Nuxalk-[illegible], is from one the head of South Bentinck Arm between the Nuxalk-[illegible] and the Bella Coola.
[illegible]: Bella Coola man figuring in a story.
[illegible]: Hearing scales.
[illegible]: Dance-[illegible].
[825] *[illegible]*: One of the first men to settle on *[illegible]* to the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Mosquito.
[illegible]: Name assumed by *[illegible]* to the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Variety of [illegible].
[illegible]: Celebrated Bella Coola chief who died about 1880.
[illegible]: Mountain Man, the point between Labouchere Channel and North Bentinck Arm.
[824] *[illegible]*: False bulkhead.
[411] *[illegible]*: Bow, weapon.
[195] *[illegible]*, "Falls Heavily with a Crash," an when a dead tree chandon to earth. The term is used characteristically when referring to the death of an old and influential chief.
[372] *[illegible]*: Tree, probably birch, used for torches.
[illegible]: Meeting of chiefs.
[825] *[illegible]*: Halibut.
[illegible]: Crabapple.
[824] *[illegible]*: Bunchberry.

Q

[525] *Qa'ukla*: Rivers Inlet man, living in the last century.
qai: King crab in a gambling game.
qaiwaqwalid: Women's dancing cry uttered at the appearance of a masked dancer.
qai-ways: Uncommon term for the second day of a *[illegible]* dance, applied to the rites taking place during the day itself only.
Qaiye: Name conferred on the grandson of *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
Qal'ik: Man mentioned in a story.
Qalem: 1—One of the first women to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
2—Celebrated Bella Bella chief.

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Tagwaiaide: Bella Bella chief mentioned in a semi-historical account.

[825] *Tsaadi:* Northern tribe, possibly Haida.

Lyi: Dog salmon.

Tsalbang, "Where Feet Are Shortened": Village on shore of North Bentinck Arm east and north of the Nuskumamoosy River.

tapayaa: Owl.

[601] *kwi:* 1—Daughter, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for girls unrelated to the speaker.

2—Younger sister.

Tsalwaiko: 1—One of the names of Mount *Nuqhalt* as chief.

2—Man who descended to Mount *Nuqhalt* in the beginning of time.

Tsalwat: Supernatural name of bald eagle.

ashwalat: 1—Type of cooperative house brought down from above by several of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

2—One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[825] *nakalaiwa:* White dog with black and red face.

[824] *nakhalakum:* Pleasure walk.

nalt": Cedar-bark.

[411] *nawa:* Sealing spear.

[825] *kaw:* Snake.

Tsaqaldz': Mountain near the Dean River.

Tsaqa: One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean River in the beginning of time.

[824] *nasiwalp:* Red cedar tree.

Tsawat: Locality on mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island, probably Knight Inlet.

nasawaw ain: Unidentified grape-like tuber.

Tsaltsaqa: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[342] *tsiba:* Underground house with entrance and flue combined.

Tsika: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.

Tsikwat: One of the first men to settle at *Alqalkat* in the beginning of time.

[825] *tsimen i:* Large clam-shell.

Tsimlaia: *Sisaak* name of a *Sisaak* man.

Tsimtsim: Lad mentioned in an ancient story.

tsipsa: Fisher.

[601] *Tsitsumdzlaig,* "The Sleep Giver": Name of a female shaman.

tsi gwa: di ema: Nephew's wife, term of indirect address.

tsi gwa: di sisi: Uncle's wife, term of indirect address.

Tsiwaat: Man mentioned in an ancient story of the upper Bella Coola valley.

Tsiksa: Celebrated Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

Tsi'laiya, "He of the Penis": Nickname given to a lad mentioned in an ancient story.

tsmalt: Valley.

Tsmasl, "Where the River Covers the Stones": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Tsmqaia: Locality on Fitzhugh Sound.

[824] *Tsnisi:* Mountain in the Carrier country.

tsxlxwaalp: Unidentified hollow-stemmed plant.

Tsxlxwaalpa·ts, "Where There Is Much *tsxlxwaalp*": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

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Tsaiit: River on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
Tsapenaii: Mountain near Dean Channel.
Tsaqa-s: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
tsilaa: To marry.
tsilaxum: 1—Marriage in which the women's relatives make the first proposal, especially one forced owing to bereavement or other financial accompany in the man's family. [584]
2—Marriage without lengthy engagement.
tsisis: One having a voice like an eagle's.
tsqawiimum, "A Holding": The arrangement by which a man's wife's in-law gives him as "wife" an infant female relative in repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters. [583]
tsuxa: Clover. [824]
tsulala: Robin. [825]
tsuxuma: Game played with bows and arrows. [411]
tsuxumu: Arrow. [412]
tsyin: Adze.
tsyuxum: Stone maul without handle for driving fish net stakes. [825]
tu: Black bear.
tuiyakum: 1—One of the *a'ulk* dances. [586]
2—Ceremonial bold to shame a deserting husband or wife.
3—Name taken by an early *tuiyakum* dancer at Kitamaat. [825]
tukka: Snail.
Tlakamit: Bella Bella woman married by *Smaaa* of Kitamaat in the beginning of time.
Tlakaskin: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Kwiyai* in the beginning of time.
2—Name acquired by one of the first men to settle at *Stuaa* in the beginning of time.
3—Ancestral name of a Kitamaat man.
Tlakaskiyaa^{m}: Woman dwelling on the coast south of Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
tlakawa-i: Knife of mountain goat bone. [412]
tlakwak: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *xaiay* is problematical. [825]
Tlakatli: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tlakak'ak': 1—Supernatural woman known to the people of Smith Inlet.
2—One of the first women to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tlas'kwa: Servant to the supernatural being *Nuxkiapsh.*
Tlawaka'ki: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tlaqmai-ki: Supernatural woman resident in the land above. This word is said to be unrelated to *Tlaqma-ki,* although a common origin seems probable.
Tlaqma-ki: 1—Supernatural child resident in the land above.
2—Name acquired by a female child in the beginning of time. [824]
tlaqhi: Fir-bark.
tlaqqa: Correct term, in the language of Raven, for skull-cap worn by adolescent girls. See *alawaa.*
tla'swala: The pouring, by a shaman, of grease from ten vessels on the fire as a means of curing the sick.
Tlawos: One of the first women to settle in the Dean valley in the beginning of time.

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This brought forth another denial. Then, becoming still more angry, she used her supernatural power to chill the house. It became colder and colder until everything was coated with ice, while a whirlwind carried the brothers up into the four corners of the house. At this the shaman used his heat-giving bladder to drive away the cold and the four dropped to earth, none the worse for their experience. Then they told the truth to the angry mother. 539* 756* 787*

"Yes," said the shaman, "we did meet your son. But do not be alarmed. We did not hurt him, only buried him in the sand up to his neck, as a prank."

The four brothers went back and unearthed their victim, with whom they returned to his mother. *ushuman-i* forgot her anger in the joy of having her son restored and they all had a pleasant time together.

The brothers now continued their journey until they came to a house with a man sitting inside. They did not realize that they had been ascending and that this was *Ilpuxstw*'s abode. He invited them to enter and gave them his daughter as a joint wife. Soon the house began to grow unbearably hot. *Ilpuxstw* was conspiring to roast the mortals, and would have succeeded had not the shaman used the cold-producing bladder to lower the temperature. That night the four stayed with their father-in-law, sleeping in turn with their joint wife.

Ilpuxstw did not realize that his guests were too strong for him. In the morning he set them what he considered impossible tasks, such as hunting large numbers of goats on the mountains; thanks to the shaman's power, however, the four young men were able to accomplish them all. Their wife tried to injure her husbands by transforming herself into a ferocious bear, which attacked them, but before the arrows of the youngest brother, it fell dead. Again she changed herself into a goat and succeeded in butting the shaman over the edge of a precipice, but he merely assumed the form of eagle down and floated up again. They brought back to *Ilpuxstw*'s house a vast amount of goat flesh. The shaman announced that he was proof against all *Ilpuxstw*'s wiles, but the latter, not convinced, tried once more to roast the brothers by building a fire beneath the house; this time, as before, the heat was powerless against the cold-giving power of the bladder.

Next day *Ilpuxstw* asked the shaman, whom he rightly judged to be the cause of his failure to slay the four, to accompany him to cut firewood. The two went off in a canoe, while the three other brothers stayed in the house with their wife. *Ilpuxstw* guided the canoe to the very centre of the ocean, where he asked the shaman to drive in a post he had brought with him. He did this easily with a sledge hammer such as is used for [412]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*539 *756 *787 [412]

driving stakes for olachen-nets, but at almost the last stroke it slipped from his grasp to the bottom of the sea. Then *Ăyuxtĕw* burst out angrily:

"I have had that hammer for a very long time. It is a favourite of mine. I hate to lose it."

"I am very sorry, but it was an accident," replied his son-in-law.

"Can you not recover it?" asked *Ăyuxtĕw*.

"I will try," answered the young man.

Accordingly, he dived into the sea. *Ăyuxtĕw*, who had been hoping for this, caused a thick coating of ice to form over the whole surface of the ocean, and went home, thinking he had seen the last of the troublesome young man. Such was not the case, for the shaman merely changed himself into a salmon, picked up the hammer in his mouth and swam away, looking for a crack in the ice. Finding one at last he crawled up on top, where he became human again and returned to his father-in-law's house, very angry. *Ăyuxtĕw* was sitting warming himself before the fire, but when the shaman threw the hammer on the ground before him he disintegrated into dust, dead. Then the four brothers returned home, leaving their evil wife behind them.

THE FOUR BROTHERS
(*Second Version*)

Ka'laitsts, the youngest of four brothers, lived on the Kimsquit River. He was a very powerful man, able, through his supernatural talents, to change at will into any animal or bird. In his box he kept the necessary appurtenances for his transformations. One day, when travelling upstream with his three brothers, he saw an old man spearing salmon from a river canoe. This was really Great Blue Heron in human form, and he was using a wonderful glass-like thing in his eye with the aid of which he was able to follow without difficulty the course of a fish beneath the water. *Ka'laitsts* desired to gain possession of this potent eye, so turned back, and in the guise of a magnificent salmon, swam upstream close to Great Blue Heron. The latter thrust at him with his spear, but missed. *Ka'laitsts* turned and swam down near the further bank, then again went up near the canoe, this time allowing the fisherman to spear him. Great Blue Heron tried in vain to haul in his catch, but succeeded only in being drenched with water; at last *Ka'laitsts* cut the cord with his knife and swam upstream, where he re-assumed human form, still carrying the harpoon-head. Great Blue Heron went home weeping bitterly, and bade his wife and children do likewise, because his means of support had vanished.

An hour or so later the four brothers arrived at Great Blue Heron's house. Following the universal custom he offered them food, and, as

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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women listening from the village are able to tell how many have been caught from the number of times the cry *xak'lai* is raised. 226 796

Then the salmon are cut up (only shell knives may be used for the purpose) and cooked. Everything must be used, heads, bones, and entrails, the only refuse being the blood which is scraped from the leaves and carried into the woods. The leaves themselves, and the strings of dyed and undyed cedar-bark are thrown into the river in accordance with a desire expressed by *Nakkymm* long ago. When everything is ready for a meal, the men take their places in two rows, facing each other across a coarse bark mat. Bark spoons have been provided, and when the heralds call for food, the fisherman brings the heads of the salmon and the guests make the motions of eating, though in reality these parts are dried and kept for winter. Boxes containing a liberal portion of the choice meat are next served and all eat freely. Each guest puts on one side what he has not consumed as if to carry it away, as is the custom at an ordinary feast, though his share is really left in the shelter until the following day. Finally, a third course is provided, the back of the fish cooked with the bone in position. Like the last, the guests eat as much as they desire and pack up the residue as if to take away. Then they leave the Spring Salmon House. [412] 226 796 574 [251]

All the fish are not cooked on the one occasion. The following day the fisherman again calls back the men of his village. The same type of meal is served, but this time the guests carry away what they do not eat for the benefit of their families. This portion may be eaten by the women without affronting the salmon. [562]

This rite has not been performed in full detail in Bella Coola for many years, and it was impossible to collect information on some points. It is uncertain, for example, whether this ceremony was carried out by every fisherman or whether there used to be certain individuals with the prerogative of dealing with the first catch. The latter appears to be the most logical 226 796 424

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575 "I will get my puppet-patron."

796 A whistle sounds, the *kukusiut* women drone and the uninitiated see one of the puppet figurines move across the back of the house, though they do not see the concealed ropes by which this is managed. The figure disappears as if it had entered its owner who goes to X and makes the motion of passing something into him. The other *dwayer* do likewise. Sometimes the dramatic effect is increased by sending a *kusiut* to the roof to strike one of the boards as if the puppet had landed from above with a thump; or the owner may come in from the back-room, walking backwards and drawing his puppet after him by means of a string matching the floor in colour and fastened to his foot. Another device is to have the puppets suspended from the roof by means of similar cords, invisible in the darkness. The owner of one of these takes it in his arms and revolves sunwise on himself as he moves to X, and at the same time conceals the figurine beneath his blanket. The last puppet is always the giant toad, the most potent of all.

575 When X has thus been strengthened for the perils which he is to undergo, a number of the uninitiated are invited to come forward to see him. As they step forth, one of the senior *kukusiut* kneads with his fingers against the back of the neck of each to strengthen his spirit so that it will not be drawn from him with fatal results. The uninitiated come forward, see X, without realizing that they are really gazing on two individuals, and shudder at a knife which is lying near. This was always of copper or obsidian in the old days.

796

[412]

The actual cutter is one of the uninitiated, though efforts are made to have as operator a son or other near relative of a prominent *kusiut* so that he may easily be initiated into the society if anything should go amiss. One informant, who was called upon to act when about fifteen years of age, vividly recalled the experience in the following manner:

He was sitting with ten or twelve lads of his own age, each of whom was asked by a marshal:

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APPENDIX I

MECHANICAL PROCESSES

NO attempt was made to study either the material culture of the Bella Coola, or their methods of manufacturing, but information on some points was obtained incidentally. All sociological and religious features connected therewith have already been described. 121

THE TAKING AND PREPARATION OF OLACHEN

227

The run of olachen, *spuiq*, comes about the end of April, and as many as possible are caught. In preparation, nets, *ähe'x*", are brought out from the boxes where they have been stored during the winter, examined, and repaired. If necessary, new ones must be manufactured out of nettle-(*lowa.*) fibre laid away by the women for this purpose. By rolling the material on their legs, they produce a thin twine; five strands of this are then interwoven, making a finished cord capable of resisting great strain. The nets are constructed by the men. The type used at the present time, which is said not to differ from that formerly employed, consists of a purse-like sack, oval in cross-section, open at the wider end and tapering very gradually to the other, which is closed. The total length is about thirty feet, the diameter at the open end about eight feet, and at the closed end about three feet. A new net is dipped in a mixture of boiled hemlock-bark to darken it, and then boiled in a solution of willow-bark to prevent the knots from slipping. [226] [221] [283] [462] [286] [386]

The setting out of a net is not an easy task, so two or three men agree to work as partners. In the present degenerate days, property rights are not respected and each group selects a suitable spot. The best location is where the water is about three feet deep and runs rapidly, but without ripples, over a smooth piece of the bottom; such a place is called a *ckläq*. When the fish begin to run plentifully, the partners paddle out to set their net, taking with them four stakes, each about ten feet in length. The weight of a full net is tremendous, so the poles have to be driven down at least six feet, a difficult task on account of the stony bottom. Selecting the exact spot, one of four posts, *älkdjäles*, is set upright and held in position by being tied to a cross-piece, *nudjiqosta*, fastened to the canoe for the purpose. While his two partners hold the craft steady, the third must begin to pound down the stake; metal mauls are now commonly used, but in former times this work was always done with an unhafted stone maul, *kowuma*. The fishermen relieve one another intermittently until the top of the pole has been driven down to within 226 [476] [423] [178] [412]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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the bow. The crew take their places at equal intervals between, each 502
ready to work on the opposite side from the man in front. Each is provided with a ten-foot pole and also a paddle for use in spots where the river is too deep for poling. The rivers of central British Columbia are shallow, but swift, and their navigation requires considerable skill. Going upstream, the captain constantly seeks the smoothest water, where he knows the current will be least strong, and uses his pole to keep the craft headed in the right direction. Should it be caught in a violent eddy, he exerts his full strength, and it is his voice that rallies the crew for a final exertion to shove the canoe through. Coming downstream is more dangerous though less wearying. The water is so cold and the current so swift that a capsizing usually causes the drowning of one or more of the occupants, and the captain must never relax. Spoon canoes are very stable, and cannot be upset by a faulty distribution of weight. This is [501]
essential in view of the rapids, but they are heavy and cumbersome, unsuited to carrying large loads.

When a carpenter wishes to make a canoe, he fells a cedar of suitable 396
size and trims off bark and branches to leave the central stem available. Slowly and laboriously he chips with his adze until he has hollowed out [412]
the trunk to the proper shape, and at the same time has smoothed away the outer surface. Sometimes a small fire is built on the trunk so that it will char the wood beneath and make it easier to remove, but the carpenter must be careful that the flames do not spread too far. Finally, as his work reaches completion, he becomes even more painstaking than before. The sides and bottom are whittled to a thickness of no more than three inches, and at this stage a faulty stroke may pierce the shell and ruin the toil of weeks. When completed, it is necessary to widen and harden the canoe. A fire is built beside it and stones thrown into the flames to heat; then lifted out and dropped into the water with which the craft has been partly filled. Steam rises, and the carpenter confines it by covering the canoe with matting, at the same time endeavouring to pull and force the sides apart. Sometimes he can do so by mere muscular effort, more often it is necessary to lay transverse thwarts within and, by pounding them downwards, extend the sides. No great extension is possible, nor is it required, but the steaming process is considered to harden the wood as well as widen the canoe.

Until five or ten years ago, the Bella Coola made another type of 501
canoe, *dana*, for use on the ocean. A few examples of this style are still in existence (see Plate 22). Though approximately the same length as river canoes, they are proportionately much deeper and narrower, and an extension downwards near the stern serves in place of a keel. These craft are sufficiently sea-worthy to weather any ordinary storm. Several

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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501 of the older people remember seeing in their youth another type, *lakaw*, with a high raised prow; this may have been identical with the *mdka* which others describe as having an elevated bow and a low stern. An entirely different craft was the *tamkwl-i*, named from one of the geese, [825] probably the white-fronted goose. A strip of maple fastened along each side caught the water in moving, with a sound like that of the peculiar rustling flight of the bird. The bow was often carved in the form of a [532] bird's head and the stern in that of a tail to further the resemblance. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of these canoes, though some had heard of them from their grandparents. The large, open type of canoe made by the Haida was known to the Bella Coola, but not constructed by them. Sails were used on all ocean-going canoes; they were usually of matting, though skins sewn together were occasionally employed.

501 Canoes are occasionally lashed together. In several *kusiut* dances a wide platform for dancing is required, and the need is met by lashing 535 planks crosswise over two canoes, near the bow and stern, thus fastening them together. Planking is laid on the two supports and a platform so constructed. Careful inquiries showed that this fastening was merely a temporary arrangement; the booms were not bound in any particular manner, nor was there any fixed distance between the craft. Sometimes 501 the same expedient was used for transport when the load was too heavy [171] for two canoes separately, a device which is said to have been used more commonly by the tribes of the outer coast than the Bella Coola. Canoes lashed together are termed *ds-awandg*.

Rafts, *satskwl-a*, consisting of rough logs fastened together with cross-pieces, were commonly used on the lakes of the interior, and occasionally for river work when canoes were unavailable and there was no time to make them. Another expedient in similar emergencies was to [177] make bark canoes, such as are still constructed by the Carriers. The Bella Coola regard the construction of these as definite copying, and do not profess to have as much skill as their teachers whose canoes, it is said, can be folded for portaging. There is a tradition that, many generations ago, a few clever Bella Coola knew how to make skin canoes.

THE PREPARATION OF CEDAR-BARK

314 Early spring is the time to *sasakmls*, that is, to gather the inner bark of the cedar. Men occasionally assist in the task, though this is really [221] woman's work. The worker selects a small cedar, choosing one about [462] six inches in diameter, with smooth trunk and relatively free from knots. With a knife she makes a horizontal incision in the bark, two or three feet [412] from the ground, sometimes girdling the sapling. Then she inserts her

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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lata, a tool consisting of a slightly bent stick with sharpened point, into the cut, and runs it upwards to make a vertical incision as high as she can reach. Going around to the other side of the tree, the woman makes another cutting of the same kind. Finally, she inserts her fingers at the bottom and pulls gently outwards, so that the bark is drawn off in a long streamer which tapers to a point at the top. The other half section of the tree is similarly stripped; this treatment frequently kills saplings which can then be used for fire-wood. Although small trees are preferred, a woman sometimes collects her bark from a large one by means of many vertical incisions. 314 [412]

The bark is taken home without further preparation. The woman carefully peels off and throws away the rough outer bark, leaving the smooth inner covering, *lxqal*, which alone is valuable. If the weather is fine, this is dried in the sun for two or three days; otherwise, it is placed over a fire within the house. When all moisture has been removed, it is rolled up and kept for future use. The bark can be used for making baskets with no further treatment except splitting into bands of the proper width. [285]

When pounded bark, such as is widely used for ceremonial purposes, is required, the woman prepares the necessary tools. Two small sticks, each about six inches in length and one-half inch in diameter, are used as tweezers, *kipla*, though the bark can, if necessary, be held in the hand. Two beating sticks are required, each about two feet in length, six inches wide, and half an inch thick; one edge of each is rounded off, though not sharpened to a cutting surface. When all is ready, the woman crouches on the floor, with the lower beater, *lqaq*, held stationary before her on a box or other raised rest, and lays an end of the bark over the rounded edge. Taking the other, the upper beater, *spikta*, in her right hand, she strikes downwards so that its edge slides down the side of the stationary stick, bruising the fragment of bark. With her left hand she pushes the piece slightly further over the edge, and again the upper beater falls. This is repeated time after time until the whole length is pulverized and softened. It is tiring work, but a woman accomplishes more in an hour than seems possible as her muscles become accustomed to the shearing motion. The bark becomes broken and frayed but its tensile strength is sufficient to prevent it from falling apart. Then the woman brushes it with shavings to remove loose fragments and the work is done. This type of pounded cedar-bark is called *ikw'*. 287

Ikw' is usually dyed red before being used for ceremonial purposes and is then termed *mak'*. In winter the dye is made from alder-bark with pieces of the wood attached, but in summer only scrapings from the inner bark are used. Water is placed in a vessel, urine added, pieces of alder 287 386 [824]

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192*

Ałałkalmun: Supernatural being sent by *Smaiewa* to meet *Nałkpum.*

ałałpwał, "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will certainly give a potlatch to start him on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremoniously at every feast. [556]

Ałałstawi: Abalone-shell covered stick used by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

Ałałstay-ałłilus: One of the first women to settle at *Tałio* in the beginning of time.

ałłłanałł: Word of uncertain meaning often appended to *łnamtmem* as complete term for the first night of a *łnaiist* dance. [575]

ałłłnałmum, "A Dragging Across" (as one does with a heavy log): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being repurchased. [425] [553]

ałłwis: Toasted food of any kind. [262]

Ałłłsmmmux: Ancestral name of a *Stuax* man.

ałłłq': Perforated, *adjective.* [252]

ałłmuxmm: Those who perform to assist marriage dancers.

Ałłmałtwałsis: *Kwiist* name of a Bella Coola man.

Ał-łmłmis: One of the first men to settle at *Tałio* in the beginning of time. [585]

ałłpałis, "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and here prior to entering her house. [431]

ałłpałłm: Gifts given in secret, soon after betrothal, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [584]

ałłpałłm: Marshal.

Ałłpmtw-i: Immoral supernatural woman; synonym for *Łnimałłmał.*

Ałłmmałmis: One of the men who came to earth at Mount *Tsałał* in the beginning of time.

Ał-łłłłał: Totem-pole erected by the first settlers at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.

ałłłłał: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]

ałły: *Sacred* song in fast time. [533]

ał: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [535]

Ał'pmtw-a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Łałłe* in the beginning of time.

ałmłus: *Kwiist* dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

ałałła: Synonym for *łnamłjist;* one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]

ałałła: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

ała: Come, *imperative singular.*

Ałłmus: 1—One of *Smaiewa's* sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at *Nuwałł* in the beginning of time.

ałłał-łłaix: Central seat behind the fire.

ałłłłałłus: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-nets. [412]

Ałłłmałłłłu: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola.

ałłłłałłum: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun. [805]

Łłłu-łpmum, "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf. [825]

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hainw: Tail.
hankit: Ants.
hee: Black hawthorn.
Kaiw-i: *Kwiat* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kamilhen: Ancestral name of the wife of *Tsaly* who was changed to stone in the beginning of time.
hanli: Region.
Kapaskjat: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
hanaly: 1—Marriage, properly arranged and legalized.
2—The actual wedding day.
Kawaiw-i: *Kwiat* name of a Kimsquit woman.[1]
hilai: Bark bucket for holding liquids.
hilawhkajat: The seeking of assistance from a man who owns a curing repository.
hilawhkanam: Investment-present, i.e., one for which a return is expected.
hihate: Back-room in which *nasal* initiates and others are concealed.
hilim: Woman during ceremonia.
hilha, "What Was Sent Down": Intangible possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
himapsin: Wooden tongs such as are used for lifting hot stones.
hilamhkjat ale hwantpsin: *Kwiatam* rite in which the performer appears to be drowned.
hal-air or *hal-ait,* "The Gainer": One who has been initiated as a member of the *hwiat* society but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through unauthorized knowledge or through successful participation in either a *hwiatam* or a Mystery dance.
hilulu, "Rendered Incapable of Returning": Said of an uninitiated person who is alleged to have stumbled on a repository.
Kilaiap: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
hintsan: The dormant waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one visitation, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability.
hipa, nanaiw, hipaas: Grandmother.
hiks-tsam-an-i: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
Ki'inimi: Name given to their canoe by the first settlers at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Kilalamamu, "The Wise One": One of Raven's names as chief.
Kimilhen: One of the first women to settle at *Alpalai* in the beginning of time.
Kina'o: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
kinam: 1—Crab.
2—Enormous crab-like creature, alleged to be found far in the forest.
Kipalu: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts.
kipi: Red elderberry.
kipin: Wooden tweezers used in the pounding of cedar-bark.
kis: Unidentified plant.
kisam: To toast dried salmon.
kisamanik: Supported, in the sense of held in place by physical assistance.
Kisipanai: Locality on Dean Channel, west of *Farrell.*
Kit-an: Place on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

[1]This name appears to be an entirely different word from *Kaiw-i.*

192*
825
824
585
415
426
431
424
412
575
756
601
825
824
413
252

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stsulia: Promontory on hunting ground extending into ocean.
Ovkān·i: Kimsquit fisherman.
Owiki: Calvert Island.
Oxḑoxem: Synonym for *Xemxemālotla*, one of the nine supernatural siblings.

P

[415] *ḑai·s:* Small wooden dish.
Ḑalwātl: Legless messenger of the dead.
Pa·s: Place on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
[585] [431] *ḑāsutum:* Synonym for *nuḑāxsikel·um:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.
Pātcātcus: Ancestral name of a *Nusḑalst* man.
[412] *ḑāsalia:* Bone needle.
ḑāxotla: Anything powerful and dreaded; the word is frequently applied, rhetorically, to Cannibals.
Pe·slo: Small stream rising north of the Bella Coola valley and east of the Necleetsconnay; it flows into the head of South Bentinck Arm between the Necleetsconnay and the Bella Coola.
Piqotla: Bella Coola man figuring in a story.
pilstl: Herring scales.
punāxta: Dance-apron.
Punghi: One of the first men to settle at *Snuhli* in the beginning of time.
[825] *ḑum·:* Mosquito.
Ponpollotsdimut: Name assumed by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
po·qwais: Variety of *snmq.*
Potles: Celebrated Bella Coola chief who died about 1880.
Pe·isb: Mesatche Nose, the point between Labouchere Channel and North Bentinck Arm.
[824] *potsqi:* False hellebore.
[411] *poisun:* Bow, weapon.
ḑoyāy, "Fallen Heavily with a Crash," as when a dead tree thunders to earth: The term is used rhetorically when referring to the death of an old and influential chief.
[195] *ḑsaixl:* Tree, probably birch, used for torches.
[372] *ḑskun:* Meeting of chiefs.
[825] *ḑwi:* Halibut.
ḑx': Crabapple.
[824] *ḑxolt:* Bunchberry.

Q

[525] *Qa'ātlis:* Rivers Inlet man, living in the last century.
qai: King stick in a gambling game.
qainaxqualitl: Women's droning cry uttered at the appearance of a masked dancer.
qai·nugs: Uncommon term for the second day of a *kusiut* dance, applied to the rites taking place during the day itself only.
Qaiyu: Name conferred on the grandson of *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
Qak'lis: Man mentioned in a story.
Qakmo: 1—One of the first women to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
2—Celebrated Bella Bella chief.

APPENDIX D

qaxta, "Bed Covering": Term applied to the presents given as such to the party of a bridegroom when they enter the bride's house on a wedding day. [585]
q̓ámdjut, "A Shaking of the Fingers": Rhetorical allusion to presents regarded as "Dust." [431]
q̓ánliktnum: To revolve sunwise. [195]
Q̓ánq̓anliktnamlaix, "The One Who Revolves Sunwise to Give Strength": One of *Tlitcaplilaw-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Q̓ápkix: Place of petrified power near Kwatna. [778]
Qixwan: Village on the Skeena River.
q̓uiust: Supernatural creature resembling a diminutive human being. [825]
qukst: Salmon liver.
q̓uks: Co-wife in a polygynous household. [595]
qulnas, vocative, qulnais: Wife's brother, or sister's husband, man speaking.
qulnaix: Gathering of the supernatural beings for the performance of dances in the land above. [601]
qume: Unidentified salt water fish, said to be called "Lard-fish" by white men. [825]
Q̓unqunum ul di dá Sqem, "The Unlooser of Light": One of Raven's names as chief.
q̓upstánm: 1—The ability of a chief to sit down ceremonially in virtue of the goods distributed for his seat, the ground over which he walks, and other requirements.
2—The initial establishment of a youth as chief.
q̓uputsáhts: Stone axe.
q̓us: Period of engagement. [412] ●
Q̓ushila: Q̓uqo-ts man.
Q̓uai-lis: 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—*Kustut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Q̓uaistamlaix: Stuax man mentioned in an ancient story.
Q̓uaixstáw-i: Shaman's name of a *Stuax* woman.
Q̓uaixwas, "Begrimed": Name of a copper often cast into fire.
quaks: Unidentified (and probably mythical) type of lizard, allegedly about four feet long, found near Dean Channel. [825]
q̓uakm, vocative, q̓uakm; plural, alq̓uakm: Eldest brother or sister. [601]
Q̓ua'kms: Name, in the Bella Bella language, given to a wooden woman made by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
quakik: Gull. [825]
q̓ual'ma'kis, "Eldest": Term of respectful address to Porcupine as senior of all animals.
Q̓uakwalelim, "The Mover": Name given to their house by one of the first groups of settlers at *Tál-io* in the beginning of time.
Q̓uakna: Term from which the Anglicized "Kwatna" is derived: Generic name for the villages at Kwatna Harbour, Burke Channel. [103]*
Q̓uamaxa'kis: Chief living on the upper *Tsawat* in the beginning of time.
quanó-usta: Large box used for boiling olachen. [415]
Q̓uapa: Village south-west of the head of South Bentinck Arm.
Q̓uaqmai: Place on Schooner Pass.
Q̓uaqwatila: Sisaok name of a Bella Coola man.
q̓uatlnalum: Marks made to commemorate an event, such as carvings at chiefs' meeting-place, virtually a *memorial*. [211]
q̓uatlnanm: Figure representing crest.

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Saiutl: Thunder, anthropomorphized. 192*
Saiynäs: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. [821]
sätäisi: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property. [173]
sä·lhälnmm: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kusiut* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food. [431]
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal.
sä·ljsta: Cannibalistic incubus. [251]
sä·ljsnmm: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day. [585]
sällzhdimut: Profession of *kusiut* executioner. [431]
sälukwäläs: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him. [463]
sämł: Sockeye salmon. [825]
Sänäilpsmäläk Äläunsäm: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sänunuzmmläix: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land above.
Sänuthäm or *Sänuthämdimut:* One of the names of Mount *Nusłalst* as chief.
Sänuximäxäs, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sänx; *vocative, sätäi; vocative plural, sänxmä·ks:* Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
sä·tla: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Sätlia: Village at point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Sätlyänuts: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Sä·lma: Death, anthropomorphized. [761]
sälälts: Whetstone, *archaic.* [412]
Sä·tsk': 1—Kimsquit River.
2—Village near the mouth of the river. [101]
Sä·tshamp: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley.
sätzkwäl·a: Raft.
Sä·shamänäw·i: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
sama: Pillow. [573]
samadjat, "Pillowness": *Kusiut* ceremonial at which no call is present.
sapi, *vocative, sayinas:* Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family. [601]
Sayinas: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story. [824]
säskam: Bracken. [823]
säxwänas: Tide flats.
sähdjulk: Heart.
Sälwäläsam: That part of *Senq'* which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Sämhält: Village on Rivers Inlet.
Sämsläträ·i: Part of a peculiar repository.
sämsämhdimut, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steelhead salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
sä'mäyäs, "Resting Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this. [805]
sänkwäläsäm: Leader of musicians. [821]

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shalt': Devil's-club.
shalemandit: To lament ceremonially, the term used to describe the reason for a memorial potlatch. [824]
Shaml, "Ashes": Ancestral name created for a *Swalali* chief about 1910. [765]
shamtsk: Supernatural creature dwelling in water.
shay: Anus.
shanm: Splinters projecting upwards from the bole of a broken tree-trunk. [824]
Shamolymanwa: One of the first women to settle at *Swalali* in the beginning of time.
Shapa: Chief of the spring salmon.
shatsmam: Narrow strips of goat skin with wool attached, distributed at marriage. [585]
shelintz: Merganser. [825]
shelwadjat, "The Opening": Ceremony when the first public presents are given to the family of a future wife, following the announcement of betrothal. [584]
shi: To cure, especially with the aid of a frenzied beating of sticks. [431]
Shimatsit: *Stuax* man mentioned in an ancient story.
shimp, "Cure Ye!": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the upper Bella Coola valley.
shiwatz: Cloud.
shma: Thick hide, either of moose or caribou. [825]
shma: Semi-circular knife used by women for cutting salmon. [412]
shmaix, shmaal, or *shmdjat:* 1—Frenzied beating of sticks for curing purposes, especially when the patient is a member of a secret society. [755]
2—Final *kusiut* rite at end of the ceremonial season.
shmim: To cure by means of the frenzied pounding of sticks.
Shml, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log": *a'alt* name obtained in the beginning of time.
Shmnal: House used by a group of first settlers near *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Shmualaw-a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Nuxalst* in the beginning of time.
sha'tcalc: Fungus. [824]
shlemalasta: 1—Box made of strands of cedar-bark. [415]
2—Ancient name of *nsaak* head-dress.
shay: Ceremonial designs executed on the exterior front wall of a house.
shahl': Rose.
Shalikuaw-a: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. [825]
shal: Wasp.
Shalsemmasta: Rock on shore of North Bentinck Arm where war trophies were washed. [727]
Shymshal: Name of house brought down by first settlers at *Slokhal* in the beginning of time; the term was also applied by them to one of their female relatives.
shal, sematar, shasi: Parent-in-law or child-in-law. [601]
shlay: Suitable place in the river for setting olachen nets.
shlia: Game played with throwing stones.
shaslat: Synonym for *yaamax,* the tangible or intangible prerogative possessed by some *kukustat* in addition to a dance rite. [424]
shawalsia: River sculpin. [825]

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[824] *xpeddp:* Cedar roots.
xpist: Sling.
xpistpistem: To use a sling.
[578] *xpitl:* Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slave ancestry.
[821] *xpimmus:* Fleecy cloud.
xpinlu: Muzzle-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary food.
[412] *xpma:* Wooden comb.
S'qa't: Land of Ashes, alternative term for *Squmi.*
xpo: Umbilical hernia.
[601] *xpolymu:* Distant relative of female sex, when referred to by man.
xpolkindjat: Long phallus.
Squmil: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
xpoxo: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
xpoxoly: Food distributed for carrying away as *xpoxo.*
[415] *xpuli:* Large, flat, soft basket of broad strips of bark.
xpumuxy: Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
[431] *xpulp:* Maple.
[824] *xpum:* Sudden start that expels the spirit.
xpupsit: Outer plank of cedar, convex and bark-covered on one side.
xpusal: Love song or other non-ceremonial composition.
xpuskm: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium.*
[533] *xpuslwuskm:* 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions to the faults of someone present.
2—Singers who use this type of composition.
[825] *xpusl ann:* Large, unidentified bird.
[374] *Sqalahua:* Heat: A supernatural being.
Sqali: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.
[825] *xpu'un:* Loon.
xtal-ol: Mountain goat marrow, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of preventing hunger.
[262] *Stalqalwum,* "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks": *A'alt* name obtained in the beginning of time.
xtalhmy; plural, xtatlhmy; receiver plural, xtatlhmy:
1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqalxt* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Snaal* in the beginning of time.
4—Name created by *Smaaux* for a grandson.
5—*Sxaak* name of a Kimsquit man.
[601] *xtin:* Mother, term commonly used by an adult in indirect address.
[825] *xtindahlkm:* Bat.
xtindimut: Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
[601] *xtintumu:* Elderly female relatives of the same ancestral family as the speaker.
[614] *xtuk:* Whetstone.
Stuxis: Man mentioned in a story.
[412] *Stuy':* Mountain near *Tal'ia.*
xtuqum, "What Is Hidden": The correct solution of the Mystery dance.
xtumuxu: Archaic term for chiefs, now used only rhetorically.
[824] *xtuly:* Cranberry.

sk̓aqaliku': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
Skū·tsxom: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
ṣcuq": That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
Sciteoma: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being. [573]
2—Sleep, intangible *kusiut* prerogative.
sciusnam: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [585]
Ṣcqwastlustkwi, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]
sc·ptl: Shadow.
sctqwmas: Hammer, *archaic.* [412]
stekeo: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law.
shātmālṣ: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other. [601]
stilwa: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
stiṗ: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
shikx: 1—Caribou hide. [825]
2—Thong made of caribou hide.
shxom: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
shāxkt: Caribou.
shms: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
Shmsila: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
shmstā or *shmstānālos:* Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
shmstaliktsta: Body.
shmstānālosām: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Stxwaxwaknimān·a: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Stxwaxwakanam: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
sīska: Mountain goat grease. [824]
sīskālaya: Castor.
Sīskiul, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Slklo: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time. [825]
slmās: Octopus.
Slsoakhlx: One of Raven's female Crow relatives. [386]
slqwasma: Red rock paint.
sīsla: Singer's baton.
ṣlsulk: Text. [823]
sīlla·qaxs: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones.
stuin: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
Stuxs: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley. [262]
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
stutnm: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
stutsaiks: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
Sly', "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
sukwlit: Black raspberry. [824]
sulstu: Ocean.

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Tcold: River on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
Tcopinstl: Mountain near Dean Channel.
Tcwe·st: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
tslaos: To marry.
tslaosem: 1—Marriage in which the woman's relatives make the first proposal, especially one hurried owing to bereavement or other financial stringency in the man's family. [584]
2—Marriage without lengthy engagement.
titilit: One having a voice like an eagle's.
hqwaistmam, "A Holding": The arrangement by which a man's sons-in-law give him as "wife" an infant female relative in repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters. [583]
hxcus: Clover. [824]
hxlala: Robin. [825]
hxnnsna: Game played with bows and arrows. [411]
hxmmla: Arrow.
ngia: Adze. [412]
hxwoma: Stone maul without handle for driving fish-net stakes.
lis: Black bear. [825]
ilaiyakam: 1—One of the *a'alk* dances.
2—Ceremonial held to shame a deserting husband or wife. [586]
3—Name taken by an early *ilaiyakam* dancer at Kimsquit.
ilakan: Snail. [825]
Ilakwaitl: Bella Bella woman married by *Smaoan* of Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Ilakwakila: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.
2—Name acquired by one of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
3—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Ilakwakilayek[w]*:* Woman dwelling on the coast south of Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
ilakwan·i: Knife of mountain goat bone. [412]
ilakwik: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *xrix* is problematical. [825]
Ilaliatlis: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Ilaliaki'lak': 1—Supernatural woman known to the people of Smith Inlet.
2—One of the first women to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Ilao'kwoa: Servant to the supernatural being *Nuskiayek.*
Ilaowika'lis: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Ilaqmai·ks: Supernatural woman resident in the land above. This word is said to be unrelated to *Ilaqma·ks*, although a common origin seems probable.
Ilaqma·ks: 1—Supernatural child resident in the land above.
2—Name acquired by a female child in the beginning of time. [824]
ilaqist: Fir-bark.
Haqaqs: Correct term, in the language of Raven, for skull-cap worn by adolescent girls. See *ilqwam.*
Ila'swala: The pouring, by a shaman, of grease from ten vessels on the fire as a means of curing the sick.
Ilawos: One of the first women to settle in the Dean valley in the beginning of time.

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Xemlaix: One of the first men to settle at *Ẋemqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
Xemtmm: *Kusiut* name of a *Slskisl* man.
Xemxemālotla: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Xemxemlaix: *Sisook* name brought from above in the beginning of time.
Xemxemtmm: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuṡpālāsl* in the beginning of time.
[533] *xe·tla:* Boastful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.
Xedilkos: One of the first men to settle at *Qotlnalos* in the beginning of time.
Xelāsu: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman. The designation is of Bella Bella origin.
[825] *'gaga:* Marten.
[412] *xēls:* Stone axe.
xlānl: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
[203] *Ximpdimut:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximnmlaix: *A'alk* man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximnmoslaix: Celebrated female shaman.
[821] *gingānts-i, plural, gingānzeksi:* Little girl.
[517] *Xingines:* 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.
Xisais: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
Xisimān·a, "Right Foot": *Stuix* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
Xiṡis: Mountain in the Carrier country.
xnmānoāx: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
xlāxtmm: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
xlānl: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
[586] *Xlikwals:* Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
xlokn·imut: The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
[825] *Xmaxets:* Locality below *Nusṡalst.*
gmgmatsl: Minnows.
[601] *gnas:* Woman, or wife in indirect address (*ti gnaslaix:* My wife).
[614] *gnaātsta:* Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
[423] *gnaidām* or *nugnaidām:* The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.
Xnutli: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
xokit: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
Xolaxwosem: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[785] *xoldjut:* Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[831] *Xomtsla:* Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Xomxompa: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
Xongotem: Supernatural scoop-net fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
Xopatlis: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

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hatsin: Tail.
hatskit: Ants.
hin: Black hawthorn.
Kalaw-i: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kamilkin: Ancestral name of the wife of *Swaky* who was changed to stone in the beginning of time.
hanki: Region.
Kapatalqut: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
hanaly: 1—Marriage, properly arranged and legalized.
2—The actual wedding day.
Kaswiw-i: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.[1]
hdai: Bark bucket for holding liquids.
hdamkdjut: The seeking of assistance from a man who owns a curing repository.
hdamkanam: Investment-present, i.e., one for which a return is expected.
hdhata: Back-room in which *nasal* initiates and others are concealed.
hdin: Woman during catamenia.
hdulu, "What Was Sent Down": Intangible possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
hemqata: Wooden tongs such as are used for lifting hot stones.
hdamkdjut ala hwantqata: *Kusiutem* rite in which the performer appears to be drowned.
hal-aia or *hal-ial,* "The Gainer": One who has been initiated as a member of the *hasiut* society but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through unauthorized knowledge or through successful participation in either a *hasiutem* or a Mystery dance.
hahali, "Rendered Incapable of Returning": Said of an uninitiated person who is alleged to have stumbled on a repository.
Kaldaqa: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
hanawa: The dormant waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one visitation, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability.
hipa, *uwatia,* *hipaso:* Grandmother.
hiht-tsum-um-i: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
Ki'hahal: Name given to their canoe by the first settlers at *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
Kilalamaxu, "The Wise One": One of Raven's names as chief.
Kimilkin: One of the first women to settle at *Alqalaf* in the beginning of time.
Kina'o: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
kinaxu: 1—Crab.
2—Enormous crab-like creature, alleged to be found far in the forest.
Kipalu: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts.
kipi: Red elderberry.
kipla: Wooden tweezers used in the pounding of cedar-bark.
kis: Unidentified plant.
kisam: To toast dried salmon.
kislamuxla: Supported, in the sense of held in place by physical assistance.
Kislqaut: Locality on Dean Channel, west of *Sarwalk.*
Ki'ua: Place on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

[1] This name appears to be an entirely different word from *Kalaw-i.*

192*
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556 performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical
[182] concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch,
are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of
the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly
[577] displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue
must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a
576 major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a
meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do other-
574 wise would be considered rude. The person summoned must
take at least a trifle to show that he is not churlish and too
proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shares
[177] whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of
the family should be the first to taste any wine* as proof that
[273] it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better
[342] than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse
through the construction of individual family houses with doors
[414] and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suit-
476 able place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his
catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon,
[226] the first solicitor is given one, later comers, none at all. When
a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to raise it
and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may
remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a
[685] despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy;
[626] hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried
to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats
[224] or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a
feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

556 Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who
has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are
431 advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The
system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it
was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In
the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little
as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

*This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of home-brew.

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grease have been placed in readiness. X selects as many youths as the number on whom he intends to confer the names which have already been announced and validated among the Bella Coola, but are now to be made known to the foreign guests. He seats the lads, who are to substitute for the initiates, on the various boxes. Everybody understands that these are merely representatives. X requests two chiefs to act as his announcers, choosing two with good voices and abundant self-confidence. To one of these X whispers the *sisaok* name of one of the initiates. 556* 575 553

"His name is now——" calls out the announcer, pointing to one of the substitutes, and the listeners readily recognize the initiate intended, from the use, in conjunction with his new designation, of his well-known ancestral name. The heralds repeat the new name with the usual badinage, so that it becomes well known to all present. In like manner the *sisaok* name given to each initiate is publicly announced. The substitutes receive no advantage from their part in the proceedings. [203]

Then the boxes are opened and red elderberries poured into the canoes in front of the guests. Stones are provided with which the visitors pound the fruit into pulp which they proceed to mix with their hands, as olachen grease and cranberries are added. Then X's helpers distribute spoons and the feast commences. All start to eat, but after an interval one of the leading Bella Coola chiefs strikes the side of his canoe with a spoon, as a signal that all must stop. X has several dishes in readiness. If he is wealthy some of these will be carved in the shape of beaver, eagle, or other form in which an ancestor appeared. These dishes are filled with the food which all have been eating and then placed before the principal chiefs, who thus have a second supply. At this point the singers begin to beat out an ancient song of the type known as *xe-tla*. Each of these has been handed down from the distant past, when some chief, ancestor of X, had it composed for himself at a potlatch. The theme is always about the form or fame of his 556* 264 [252] [415] [532] 533 556* [171]

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act as guide against his masters. The man led in the party under cover of a fog which lifted at an inopportune moment, but the slave deceived the Fort Rupert Indians into believing that his comrades were not hostile. *Kāmālsonx*ʷ rewarded the guide with a marten-skin coat and one of marmot-skins. 539*

When he gave a potlatch, *Kāmālsonx*ʷ had the back wall of his house decorated with pictures of sun and moon, while he himself wore a grizzly bear-skin with its head above his own. As he danced, there rose through the floor a large box on which was painted a raven. *Kāmālsonx*ʷ went to the receptacle and took from it sufficient presents to supply the requirements of the visitors from one tribe, the Bella Bella, for example. Then the box would sink from sight, only to reappear with gifts for another group; this was repeated as many times as there were parties of guests from outside places. This was the method of procedure decreed by *Ālquntām*.

These first *Nusqalst* people made a number of special objects for their potlatches. As a representation of the five-peaked mountain beneath which they lived, they erected five peaks over the front of their house, a custom which has been carried out until the present day. Projecting from one of them was a figure of a mountain goat, since that animal was brought to earth to serve as food by their first ancestors. They also made a number of large stone spoons, which, after being used for many generations, were buried with a certain *Potlas* about 1875. These utensils were of a type used by *Nusqalst* before he became a mountain, and were later copied by the carpenter-masons. [424] [415]

*Kāmālsonx*ʷ was so powerful that he altered a *susook* rite of his potlatch into a *kusiut* dance, changed *Nusmāt-a* to a *kusiut* name, and decreed that the repository should be under the spot where his house stood. For this ceremonial he always used a whistle with the voice of a raven.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nusqalst*
(*Second version dealing with another settlement*)[18]

Nusqalst is a chief among mountains. Like a human leader, it has several names, *Teākwatkis*, *Sānutlkum*, and others; these names belong to several persons now living. Like a person, too, the mountain was sent down from above at the beginning of the world to *Teawat*, Bute Inlet, whence it moved to its present position midway up the Bella Coola valley, a location which it had heard was a pleasant one. [551]

[18] Related by Captain Schooner.

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supernatural being *Sä·lma* in the forest, and from him had obtained shaman's power. *Sä·lma* usually is malevolent, but even this was not the only occasion on which he showed kindness. The shaman alone could see this supernatural being seated, as is his wont, upon the coffin. He bade his friend enter the house and ask the people to make an aisle for him. This he did, explaining the reason. He added that though he had known the poor boy for years there were periods for which he could not account, and that his friend now claimed to have gained power to restore the dead. The people listened eagerly and made an aisle up which he walked to the box. He thrust his shaman's stick, decorated with dangling shells, through *Sä·lma*'s nose-ring, lifted him from the coffin, and carried him to the hole destined for its passage. As he threw out the supernatural being, groans were heard from the coffin. It was opened and the dead boy was found to be alive.

539*
756*
787*

Sä·lma himself had instructed the youth to remove him in this way at the time he had given him shaman's power. Even when he was carrying away the supernatural being, none of the other people in the house could see his burden.

After this auspicious proof of his power, the shaman was frequently called upon, until he became wealthy, and was able to reach a position of eminence equal to that of his father at the time of his murder by jealous rivals.

THE FOUR BROTHERS

Long ago, though long after the earth had first been peopled, four brothers, whose home was in the lower Bella Coola valley, went for an excursion upstream, planning to call on their friends in the various villages. After travelling a considerable distance they came to a solitary house, which they entered. Its occupant, an old woman, gave them food and help.

"There is great danger where you are going," she said, "but if you are brave you will come to no harm." Turning to the youngest brother she continued: "Take these two mountain goat bladders.[24] One will give you heat when you need it; the other cold. You are now a shaman."

The woman was a supernatural being.

Continuing their journey after leaving her house, the four presently saw Great Blue Heron, who, in the form of an old man, was spearing salmon. His face had the design of the rainbow, consisting of diagonal paintings from his right eye to his left jaw-bone. Great Blue Heron had the ability to assume this face at will.

The shaman now said to his brothers: "I will rob Great Blue Heron."

[24] These were commonly used as containers for liquids or grease.

[415]

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procession of supernatural beings according to X's choice. 575* The proceedings terminate in the same way as those described 796* in the Stomach-Cutting dance.

X must obey the customary restrictions on his movements for the rest of the ceremonial season, and also remain in partial concealment for the summer following. The fiction circulated is that he is still suffering from the after-effects of decapitation. He is legally entitled to perform any other *kusiotem* rite during the following winter, but it is most unusual for a man to do so [424] on successive seasons.

The Drowning Dance

In a third *kusiotem* dance the performer appears to drown. X carried out this ceremonial during the third winter after his decapitation, but as usual it will be convenient to describe the ritual in the present tense.

During the summer, as for the Beheading dance, he obtains permission from the marshals. With the latter present, he then arranges with the singers and the carpenters to compose songs of the usual *kusiotem* type and to prepare a mask. Since X had preserved the mask used at the time of his decapitation, it was not necessary to have one made. The intending dancer borrows from a *kusiut* friend one of the large boxes used for [415] boiling olachen and this is taken in secret to some lonely spot [252] in the forest. The carpenters cut a hole in the bottom and smear the edges with grease and dirt to conceal the aperture; skin hinges are fastened to one side of the movable section so that it can be opened easily and quickly. They also make a wooden framework the size and shape of X's body, to which the portrait-mask is attached to give a realistic representation of the man himself.

Nothing more can be done until near the winter solstice when the carpenters cut a hole in the floor of X's house, immediately behind the fire, and fasten the section removed with skin hinges to make a trap-door. Then the carpenters, marshals, singers, and other influential *kukusiut* meet some evening

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for treatment in other ways. Some are fried immediately, but the Bella Coola think they lack flavour, although most white men regard them as delicious. Many hundreds are dried for winter use in one of the following methods: 252 251

(A) Cedar-sticks, each about three feet in length, are split from the solid stem and smoothed down to a diameter of about one-half inch. One of these is passed through the gills and mouth of one fish after another until the rod is filled with a row of olachen, their tails hanging downwards. Dozens of these sticks are suspended horizontally over the central fire in a house, or, in brilliant sunshine, hung in the open. When dried to a certain extent, they are stored in the upper parts of the houses where the process continues whenever a fire is lit. When so treated they keep almost indefinitely.

(B) Narrow strips, each four to five feet in length, of flexible cedar-bark, are prepared by the women. The fisherman takes the ends of two of these, ties one around a fish's head, and the other around its tail. Another olachen is tied parallel to the first, and then others, until the two cords are supporting thirty to forty fish, each separated by about one inch. The middle of the strings is laid across a horizontal bar above a fire or in the open, and the process of drying continues as in the last method. The fish not infrequently catch fire if a large blaze is built up in a house, so careful people remove their olachen before a feast or other celebration.

Though dried olachen provide a useful article for winter diet, the fish are chiefly valued for their grease, *sluk'*, whch is used as a condiment with all kinds of berries. It is sometimes extracted from the fresh fish, but the Bella Coola consider this to be tasteless and prefer to wait until the olachen have remained in the pits for ten days to two weeks. Warm weather hastens the process, but in any case nothing is done until the disgusting smell has penetrated for miles, proving that putrefaction is well advanced. In former times, all boiling was done with hot stones, but at present boxes with iron bottoms are used as kettles. These are of various shapes and sizes, an average being, perhaps, four feet long, three feet wide, and eighteen inches deep. These are set on fireplaces which vary according to the ingenuity of the refiner. Some are excavated in the river bank, lined with stones set in clay, and fitted at the inner end with an old stovepipe to provide draught for the miniature furnace. The box-kettle is placed on the ground over the excavation and the cook pours in water. Then his wife, children, and friends bring the putrid fish, which they ladle in until only a few inches of water are visible. A slow fire is built beneath, and, as the mixture begins to boil, the cook stirs it with a five-foot stick having a slightly flattened blade. Presently the grease begins to rise to the surface whence it is skimmed off and placed in recep- 258 [262] [263] [252] [415] [354] [415]

258 tacles; metal coal-oil cans are found convenient for this purpose and have
[41.5] almost replaced watertight boxes. After repeated stirrings and skim-
mings, all that remains is a mass of putrid flesh, bearing no resemblance
whatever to the fish from which it came. The Kitlobe are said to com-
[171] press this into cakes for eating, but the Bella Coola throw it away. Some
cooks bail out the dregs by hand, but many of the box-kettles have a
[415] bung-hole at the bottom which, when opened, allows the semi-liquid
remains to flow out into a rough trough leading to the river. As soon as
one batch of olachen has thus been disposed of, another is boiled and
[439] refined in the same way. The grease keeps indefinitely and is a useful
article of barter with the Carriers as well as a staple of Bella Coola diet.
[262] Although the preparation removes much of its offensive odour, olachen
grease has an unpleasant taste to the white man.

258 During the boiling, all other activities are suspended and the people
476 spend practically all their time on the river bank. If the fish are allowed
to rot too long, much of the grease is lost, so men, women, and children
are pressed into service to make the most of the short period. The men
rise at dawn to start the fires on the bank, the women and children follow
with food, and for several days the whole village camps, as if on a picnic,
amid an indescribably foul smell that almost sickens anyone passing
within hundreds of yards. There are tasks for everyone; the fish must
be carried from the pits to the furnaces, wood must be brought, the fires
stoked, the kettles stirred, the grease carried away, the fireplaces repaired,
food cooked, and a hundred other chores. It is a scene of great activity,
carried on with good humour and merriment, for the Bella Coola realize
that they are storing up luxuries for the following winter. Even the dogs
seem to share the general excitement, and do not disdain to eat the dregs
from the kettles, which, when emptied into the river, attract numerous
trout and gulls, to the joy of small boys with hunting desires.

BELLA COOLA CANOES

501 Although travel and transport by water is still as vital to the Bella
[505] Coola as it was to their fathers, the motor-boat is fast replacing the canoe,
and the science of manufacturing their own craft is being lost. In former
times several types were constructed, but only one of these is still employed
—the spoon canoe, *sä·tla*, used on rivers (see Plate 21). These vary
from twenty to thirty feet or more in length, and are about four feet wide;
they are without keels, and there is no difference between the bow and
stern. Although one man can handle such a craft in smooth water, at
502 least two are required for a journey of any length, and four is the usual
crew. The captain, who is either the best waterman or the one most
familiar with the route, stands in the stern, the second in command in

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*192 *Ālximān·a*, "Left Foot": *Stux* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.

Ālximlaix: Kimsquit hunter living in the last century.

[825] *ālymutl:* Dentalium-shell.

ālywalc'ay, "Not Finished": Said concerning a *kusiut* who dies between initiation and his first complete dance.

[292] [881] *ālxwam:* Skull cap of grass and dentalium-shells worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.

ālxwola: Guest, especially from afar, to a *kusiut* dance.

Ālxwolāmm: 1—Supernatural herald.
2—Assemblage of the people for ceremonies of different kinds, especially shamans' dances and guessing competitions in connection with the Mystery dance.
3—Kimsquit term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance.

ālxwpaix, "A Surpassing": Said of cases where a wife's relatives have given more presents to the husband's than they have received in return.

[576] [601] *āmāt:* Place of concealment of a Mystery dancer's power.

ā'matālāykt: Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for indirect address.

āmātax: Rightful location, especially the validated position of a chief in a house.

[415] *āmātuti:* Dishes carved with ancestral crest.

āmkpīs: 1—Mouse.
2—Daughter of the first settlers at *Sātlia*.

[825] *āml:* Spring salmon.

āmlia: Spring salmon house.

Āmlāklis: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.

Āmtāklis: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of the Bella Coola River.

āmlāmkm: 1—The allotment of work to *kukusiut* in the manufacture of masks and other requirements.
2—Hence, the time when such tasks are assigned, the second evening of a *kusiut* dance.

Ānābsullānāmlaix, "The Resident Maker": Name given to the daughter of the first settlers at *Snuīsli*.

[575] *ānānusīx* or *siānusīx:* That which serves as pattern, picture, or model for a *kusiut* ritual.

ānātsqtutl: Second night of a potlatch.

[226] *ānāxwolatl:* Artificial, pier-like structure built into a river for use in hand-net fishing.

Ānilxsaix, "Where People Go": A reflecting pool created by Raven at Kimsquit.

Ānokokwāls: Cave near Dean Channel.

Ānolymdimut, "The Dancer Whose Only Noise-Making Instrument Is His Body": One of *Tlitcāplilān·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Āno'likwolsaix: Supernatural woman who guards repositories.

Ānotlākmots: 1—"The Open-Mouthed" (in the sense of open to suck forth sickness): One of *Tlitcāplilān·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.

[756] [823] *ānuxm:* Swift running water.

ānlkmstānām: 1—Ranks of ordinary inidviduals; this term is used to distinguish those who are being initiated into the *sisaok* society.
2—Something supernatural seen when awake.

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kaisàn: Tail. 192*
kaiskist: Ants. [825]
kax: Black hawthorn. [824]
Kalàn·i: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.
Kamilkàn: Ancestral name of the wife of *Swaky* who was changed to stone in the beginning of time.
kanki: Region.
Kapsàlopst: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
kasàly: 1—Marriage, properly arranged and legalized. [585]
2—The actual wedding day.
Kaxwlàn·i: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit woman.[1]
kolai: Bark bucket for holding liquids. [415]
kolàmkodjut: The seeking of assistance from a man who owns a curing repository.
kolàmkusnàm: Investment-present, i.e., one for which a return is expected. [426]
kolusta: Back-room in which *sisaok* initiates and others are concealed.
kolàn: Woman during catamenia. [431]
kolelu, "What Was Sent Down": Intangible possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time. [424]
komapsta: Wooden tongs such as are used for lifting hot stones. [412]
kolsàmkdjot ola kwanàxsta: Kusiotem rite in which the performer appears to be drowned.
kel·aix or *kel·àtl,* "The Gainer": One who has been initiated as a member of the *kusiut* society but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through unauthorized knowledge or through successful participation in either a *kusiotem* or a Mystery dance. [575]
kelulx, "Rendered Incapable of Returning": Said of an uninitiated person who is alleged to have stumbled on a repository.
Keldcap: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
kestcao: The dormant waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one visitation, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability. [756]
kiła, vocative, kiłaao: Grandmother. [601]
kikà·tstam·im·i: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
Ki'laielotl: Name given to their canoe by the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
Kilalxamxwx, "The Wise One": One of Raven's names as chief.
Kimilkàn: One of the first women to settle at *Alqàxl* in the beginning of time.
Kina'o·: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
kinaxw: 1—Crab. [825]
2—Enormous crab-like creature, alleged to be found far in the forest.
Kipdxs: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts. [824]
kipl: Red elderberry.
kipła: Wooden tweezers used in the pounding of cedar-bark. [413]
kis: Unidentified plant. [252]
kisàm: To toast dried salmon.
kisionmotla: Supported, in the sense of held in place by physical assistance.
Kisiqmatl: Locality on Dean Channel, west of *Suxwdk.*
Kit·co: Place on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

[1]This name appears to be an entirely different word from *Kalàn·i.*

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*192 *nä'plu:* Miniature copper ornament worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.
[301] *Nä·tci:* Bella Bella man living in the beginning of time.
näxam: To dance.
[825] *näxamda:* Those who dance at marriages.
näxnx: Mallard duck.
[824] *näxmusmm:* Night of potlatch on which *sisaok* initiates appear for a short dance
naxski: Berries of Canadian buffalo berry.
[415] *nabixakta:* Thimble-like wooden dish.
'namiänkaix: Ceremonial seating of chiefs according to their validated places in a house.
Namutsta: Name acquired by a Rivers Inlet man from sea-lions in the beginning of time.
Namuista: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
'Näx·wäm·a: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola Scratcher; the designation was derived from Rivers Inlet.
Ne·slo·s: Celebrated Kitkatla chief.
Ne·xwunkai: Influential Bella Coola chief.
*[776] *Nebsullähaix,* "The Resident": Supernatural being dwelling under rivers who punishes infractions of taboos concerning them.
[784] *nbusam:* 1—Fourth day of a *kusiut* dance, on the evening of which masked figures appear.
2—Something exposed to view.
Nqaqa: Old woman resident in Sea-lion's house in the beginning of time.
nexnk, "Little Dance": Term of grandiose humility.
nexnäxam: Gathering of the people for a non-sacred dance after the *kusiut* season.
Nexnäx·mälosaix: 1—"The Dancer Near the Fire": One of *Ťitcäplilän·a*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
2— *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Nexnxtiwalaix: Kusiut name of a *Nusqalst* man.
niamlumtäm: One who has preserved a marriage song.
niaxwälemsk: The intangible strengthening that comes to a bridegroom as a result of the oration of his ancestral myths and the giving of presents to the bride's relatives when they first come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] [431] *Niallellaix:* Daughter of the first people who came down to Mount *Tcunisi* in the beginning of time.
[524] *nielq'estl:* Wooden ring used in a game.
Nihtcks: Place on Dean Channel, about three miles from the head, where the deer formed a colony soon after the beginning of time.
[825] *nikqaya':* Otter.
Ninilänk: Name of a certain spot where mountain goats are wont to congregate for mating.
Ninitsamlaix: 1—"The Restorer": One of *Ťitcäplilän·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—One of the first men to settle in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[556] *nitsam,* "Brought to Life": Term applied to a copper brought back from a cemetery and renamed.
Nitsmdimut: Shaman's name derived from *Ťitcäplilän·a.*
nitstominu: "I have saved you."

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nusqa: The visit to every house in the village by a Mystery dancer on receipt of his call.
nusiuml, plural, nunusiuml: Singer.
nusikwkta: Quiver for carrying arrows. [415]
Nusimusta: Mountain near *Ásán·an·i.*
nusiutáls or *nusiutálsap:* Second day of a *kusiut* dance.
Nusixilaixaikm: Synonym for *Tutwai·es:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.
nuskásiutsta: Repository.
nuskóli: Any unusual occurrence, regarded as an omen of death. [763]
Nuskólámmsta, "Whence Things Came Down": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nusqlusta: Wash-basin, especially the supernatural one that remains in the land above.
Nuskiayek: 1—Supernatural being presiding over the Land of Ashes.
2—Locality on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, not far from the head.
Nuskumata: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tsnisi* in the beginning of time.
Nuskumidjusta: Axe carried in the beginning of time by the man who was later turned to stone as Mount *Nusqalst.*
Nuskumnátl: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tsnisi* in the beginning of time.
Nu·skohkmmy: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
nuskotla: Wasps' nest. [825]
Nuskwalnkánde: One of the first women to settle at *Snukli* in the beginning of time.
nuskwanátsta: House in which a memorial potlatch is being held.
Nus·lázum: Mountain on south side of lower Bella Coola.
Nuslexwgnuwulnm, "The Cherished One": Designation applied to one of the sons of *Alquntám.*
nushmsta: House in which a potlatch is taking place.
nushmy: One who has gone to give potlatches in a new sphere; this rhetorical expression is commonly used when referring to a dead chief. [195]
nuslhákta: Wash-basin used by a shaman when curing.
Nuslkalstámidjut, "He Whose Wash-Basin Is in His Own Body": One of *Tlitcaplilán·a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans. [756]
nuslhmosekta: Enclosure behind fire in which *kusiut* dancers are secluded.
nuslqwutsa: Cleansing rites in connection with death. [764]
Nuslukwalámy: Tlsiyákam name acquired by a Kimsquit man as a result of a supernatural experience.
Nusmákwai: 1—Eagle that perched on a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time.
2—Name, derived from that of the eagle, of one of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Nusmát·a: 1—"Place of Stories": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
Nusmát·alan·a, "Woman of *Nusmát·a*": Probably wife of *Alquntám.*
Nus·mátlaix: Mountain on north side of lower Bella Coola.
Nusmátlixwalx: Subterranean chamber in which rivers were confined in the beginning of time. [772]

APPENDIX D

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Nuxwin·ang, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.
nuxwinasta: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige. [578]
Nuxx: 1—Barren district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, *adjective*.
Nuxpalqiq: *Tal·io* bird hunter.
Nuxpenda: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tal·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqalaxl* in the beginning of time.
3—Ball of the universe which, when broken, released the sun. [772]
Nuxpentaian·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Alqalaxl* in the beginning of time.
Nuxxeq: 1—(Probably) "The Place of Barrenness": Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
nuxxi'ipsta: Repository, archaic term. [431]
nuxxwar·at·nutnam: The assumption of a name upon earth. [585]
nuxxwokmpalu, "Things to Sweep the Floor With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage.
nuxxwo·ipsta: Wooden dish used for washing an infant. [415]
nuxwultamtam: Abstinence from acts of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine. [785]
nulaikim: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient. [756]
Nulaodaxw': Name of a celebrated shaman.
Nulam: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
Nulal, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
nulexgnam: Alteration of a dance from *nsaok* to *kusint*. [825]
nulkalxita: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck. [586]
nulalalnamam, "A Drying-Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband. [431]
nulalalnam: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion.
Nullux, "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Nuthafal: Totem-pole of the first settlers at *Nusfalit* in the beginning of time. [845]
nuthanalt: Parents of twins. [825]
nutsaqmax: Wolf.
Nulsalmais: Mythical house in the sky.
Nulsaymalt: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nutsiahem: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Thitsplilan·a* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *nulaikim*. [756]
nulsingnam: A creation of new *kusiut* names, such as is necessitated by a disaster, or at the will of a mighty chief. [553]
nulsintalam: *Kusiutem* rite in which the performer pretends to swallow hot stones.
nulskawam: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to heralds by a person splashed in Otter dance. [431]
2—Presents given by guests at a potlatch to their host and his associates.
nulqaxa, "The Face Maker": Name given to a woman who paints upon the bandages used to produce cranial deformation in an infant. [856]
Nutsqmalt, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kimsquit village.
Nulsimia: *Kusiut* name of a *Tsimsal* man.

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atsulia: Promontory on hunting ground extending into ocean.
Oulxăn·i: Kimsquit fisherman.
Owiki: Calvert Island.
Oxḑoxem: Synonym for *Xemxemălotla*, one of the nine supernatural siblings.

P

● [415] *ḑai·s:* Small wooden dish.
Ḑăluăsl: Legless messenger of the dead.
Ḑa·s: Place on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
[585] [431] *ḑăsutsm:* Synonym for *nuḑăxsikel·um:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.
[412] *Ḑăcăcus:* Ancestral name of a *Nusḑalst* man.
ḑăsalia: Bone needle.
ḑăxotla: Anything powerful and dreaded; the word is frequently applied, rhetorically, to Cannibals.
Ḑe·sḑo: Small stream rising north of the Bella Coola valley and east of the Necleetsconnay; it flows into the head of South Bentinck Arm between the Necleetsconnay and the Bella Coola.
Ḑiqotla: Bella Coola man figuring in a story.
ḑlstl: Herring scales.
ḑnăxta: Dance-apron.
Ḑnqkla: One of the first men to settle at *Snuhli* in the beginning of time.
[825] *ḑkum·:* Mosquito.
Ḑonḑoilotsdimut: Name assumed by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
ḑo·qwais: Variety of *snmq.*
Ḑoḑes: Celebrated Bella Coola chief who died about 1880.
Ḑo·isḑ: Mesatche Nose, the point between Labouchere Channel and North Bentinck Arm.
[824] *ḑotsqi:* False hellebore.
[411] *ḑoistn:* Bow, weapon.
ḑoyăx, "Fallen Heavily with a Crash," as when a dead tree thunders to earth: The term is used rhetorically when referring to the death of an old and influential chief.
[195] *ḑsaixl:* Tree, probably birch, used for torches.
[372] *ḑskun:* Meeting of chiefs.
[825] *ḑwi:* Halibut.
[824] *ḑx':* Crabapple.
ḑxolt: Bunchberry.

Q

[525] *Qa'aklis:* Rivers Inlet man, living in the last century.
qai: King stick in a gambling game.
qainaxqualitl: Women's droning cry uttered at the appearance of a masked dancer.
qai·nuqs: Uncommon term for the second day of a *kusiut* dance, applied to the rites taking place during the day itself only.
Qaiyu: Name conferred on the grandson of *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
Qak'lis: Man mentioned in a story.
Qakmo: 1—One of the first women to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
2—Celebrated Bella Bella chief.

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APPENDIX D

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qaxta, "Bed Covering": Term applied to the presents given as such to the party of a bridegroom when they enter the bride's house on a wedding day. [585]

ḳ̓ämdjut, "A Shaking of the Fingers": Rhetorical allusion to presents regarded as "Dust." [431]

ḳ̓änliktmm: To revolve sunwise. [195]

Ḳ̓änḳ̓änliktmmlaix, "The One Who Revolves Sunwise to Give Strength": One of *Tlitcäplitän·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Ḳ̓ajäxs: Place of petrified power near Kwatna. [778]

Ḳ̓exman: Village on the Skeena River.

ḳ̓taisal: Supernatural creature resembling a diminutive human being. [825]

ḳ̓ubtl: Salmon liver.

ḳ̓uks: Co-wife in a polygynous household. [595]

ḳ̓ulus, vocative, ḳ̓uluais: Wife's brother, or sister's husband, man speaking.

ḳ̓ulxwaix: Gathering of the supernatural beings for the performance of dances in the land above. [601]

ḳ̓uma: Unidentified salt water fish, said to be called "Lard-fish" by white men. [825]

Ḳ̓unqwnum ul di dä Sxem, "The Unlooser of Light": One of Raven's names as chief.

ḳ̓upstänm: 1—The ability of a chief to sit down ceremonially in virtue of the goods distributed for his seat, the ground over which he walks, and other requirements.
2—The initial establishment of a youth as chief.

ḳ̓uputsälets: Stone axe. [412]

ḳ̓us: Period of engagement.

Ḳ̓uahila: Ḳ̓omqo·ts man.

Ḳ̓uai·lils: 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Ḳ̓uaiutsamlaix: Stuix man mentioned in an ancient story.

Ḳ̓uaixesän·i: Shaman's name of a *Stuix* woman.

Ḳ̓uaixwes, "Begrimed": Name of a copper often cast into fire.

ḳ̓ualäs: Unidentified (and probably mythical) type of lizard, allegedly about four feet long, found near Dean Channel. [825]

ḳ̓ualem, vocative, ḳ̓ualäm; plural, älḳ̓ualäm: Eldest brother or sister. [601]

Ḳ̓ua'lems: Name, in the Bella Bella language, given to a wooden woman made by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

ḳ̓ualilk: Gull. [825]

ḳ̓ual'ma'kus, "Eldest": Term of respectful address to Porcupine as senior of all animals.

Ḳ̓ualxwalelim, "The Mover": Name given to their house by one of the first groups of settlers at *Täl·is* in the beginning of time.

Ḳ̓ualna: Term from which the Anglicized "Kwatna" is derived: Generic name for the villages at Kwatna Harbour, Burke Channel. [103]*

Ḳ̓uamaxa'ks: Chief living on the upper *Tcamat* in the beginning of time.

ḳ̓uanä·usta: Large box used for boiling olachen. [415]●

Ḳ̓uapa: Village south-west of the head of South Bentinck Arm.

Ḳ̓uaqmai: Place on Schooner Pass.

Ḳ̓uaqnasila: Sisaok name of a Bella Coola man.

ḳ̓uathuhum: Marks made to commemorate an event, such as carvings at chiefs' meeting-place, virtually a *memorial*. [211]

ḳ̓uathusam: Figure representing crest.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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shalk': Devil's-club.
shalnamxdits: To lament ceremonially, the term used to describe the reason for a memorial potlatch. [824]
Shami, "Ashes": Ancestral name created for a *Snulsli* chief about 1910. [765]
shamtsk: Supernatural creature dwelling in water.
shay: Anus.
shanm: Splinters projecting upwards from the bole of a broken tree-trunk. [824]
Shamolsyman·a: One of the first women to settle at *Snulsli* in the beginning of time.
Shatpts: Chief of the spring salmon.
shatsamkm: Narrow strips of goat skin with wool attached, distributed at marriage. [585]
shelists: Merganser. [825]
shelwadjut, "The Opening": Ceremony when the first public presents are given to the family of a future wife, following the announcement of betrothal. [584]
shi: To cure, especially with the aid of a frenzied beating of sticks. [431]
Shimutcitl: Stuax man mentioned in an ancient story.
shinap, "Cure Ye!": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the upper Bella Coola valley.
shinwas: Cloud.
shma: Thick hide, either of moose or caribou. [825]
shma: Semi-circular knife used by women for cutting salmon. [412]
shmaix, shmanl, or *shmdjut:* 1—Frenzied beating of sticks for curing purposes, especially when the patient is a member of a secret society. [755]
2—Final *kusiut* rite at end of the ceremonial season.
shmim: To cure by means of the frenzied pounding of sticks.
Shml, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log": *a'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
Shmnanl: House used by a group of first settlers near *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Shmnulsn·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
shs'tcalx: Fungus. [824]
shsmaiaxts: 1—Box made of strands of cedar-bark. [415]
2—Ancient name of *ssaok* head-dress.
shy: Ceremonial designs executed on the exterior front wall of a house.
shshk': Rose.
Shslikwan·a: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man. [825]
shsol: Wasp.
Shslsnmnsts: Rock on shore of North Bentinck Arm where war trophies were washed. [727]
Shyalutl: Name of house brought down by first settlers at *Slskistl* in the beginning of time; the term was also applied by them to one of their female relatives.
sksi, sscatise, sksai: Parent-in-law or child-in-law. [601]
sklay: Suitable place in the river for setting olachen nets.
sklsa: Game played with throwing stones.
skusiut: Synonym for *yeaxmax*, the tangible or intangible prerogative possessed by some *kukusiut* in addition to a dance rite. [424]
skwa-akwa: River sculpin. [825]

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[824] *sqedilp:* Cedar roots.
sqetl: Sling.
[578] *sqetlqathm:* To use a sling.
sqili: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slave ancestry.
[821] *sqimawas:* Fleecy cloud.
sqiols: Muzzle-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary food.
[412] *sqima:* Wooden comb.
S'qas't: Land of Ashes, alternative term for *Sqaml.*
sqo: Umbilical hernia.
[601] *sqolxmes:* Distant relative of female sex, when referred to by man.
sqolkisdjot: Long phallus.
Sqomell: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sqosa: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
sqosalx: Food distributed for carrying away as *sqosa.*
[415] *sqols:* Large, flat, soft basket of broad strips of bark.
[431] *sqpmeax:* Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
squlp: Maple.
[824] *squm:* Sudden start that expels the spirit.
squpaitl: Outer plank of cedar, convex and bark-covered on one side.
sqwal: Love song or other non-ceremonial composition.
sqwalem: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium.*
[533] *sqwalxwalem:* 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions to the faults of someone present.
2—Singers who use this type of composition.
[825] *sqwal·ätn:* Large, unidentified bird.
[374] *Sqwläkua:* Heat: A supernatural being.
Sqwli: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
[825] *sqwo'sn:* Loon.
[262] *stai·tl:* Mountain goat marrow, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of preventing hunger.
Stalqalosam, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks": *A'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
stälhmg; plural, statälhmg; vocative plural, stätälhmg:
1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Äiqäläxl* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Sinxl* in the beginning of time.
4—Name created by *Smaoan* for a grandson.
5—*Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
[601] *stän:* Mother, term commonly used by an adult in indirect address.
[825] *ständabilam:* Bat.
ständimut: Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
[601] *stäntämamts:* Elderly female relatives of the same ancestral family as the speaker.
[614] *slaolt:* Whetstone.
Steots: Man mentioned in a story.
[412] *Step':* Mountain near *Tälio.*
stojam, "What Is Hidden": The correct solution of the Mystery dance.
stämmmts: Archaic term for chiefs, now used only rhetorically.
[824] *sluls:* Cranberry.

Sẹnẹmsdas: Supernatural children guarded by the hermaphrodite in the land above.
Sẹsut: Name taken by a *Stuax* man in the beginning of time.
sxtsugmult: Place in stream or river where a salmon has just jumped.
sxwanăt·a: Name created upon earth.
sxwapănitl: Deer.
sxwat: Water-tight receptacle made from the internal organs of a mountain goat.
Sxwohmẹnam, "What Sweeps Away the Food": First moon after the winter solstice.
sẹwomẹqs, "Tears": Preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch.
sxw'ĭlămkis, "Short-lived": Rhetorical term used with reference to the death of a young chief.
sẹyexwi: An adolescent girl, not yet subject to the full taboos of womanhood.

[825] [415] [805] [431] [195]

T

ĭăbălst: Cave.
lai: 1—Son, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for lads unrelated to the speaker.
2—Masculine suffix.
Ṭaiakwala: 1—One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuile·tl* in the beginning of time.
taiămtmak: Desertion of husband by his wife.
lain: Dorsal fin of a fish.
taitaimẹ: Heavy kind of copper.
taiumax: Tournament between rival villages.
Tăl·ia: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Generic name applied to all villages on South Bentinck Arm.
Tăliokăn·a: Nusqual name embodied in a *Snuĭsli* origin myth.
Tămtămsle·psta, "The Breather": One of *Ṭlitcăplilăn·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Tamukus: Stuax man mentioned in an ancient story.
tăpănamtmm: The issuing abroad of invitations to a memorial potlatch.
ĭăqax: Forest consisting of dense underbrush between big trees.
ĭăqul: Blood-stained cedar-bark pad.
tă·s: 1—Bird arrow.
2—Weapon, invisible to mortals, with which a wolf kills its prey.
Tăss; vocative, Tăsso: 1—Designation of supreme god used in prayer.
2—Father, term used by child.
ĭaltăulp: Water-lily.
Ta·qa·xl: Land inhabited by the Kwakiutl.
Tăxlexwam: Leading chief of *Ălqălăxl* and reputed founder of the village.
Ṭăqlexam: Bella Coola chief living in the last century.
ialan: Type of sea-going canoe with bow and stern identical.
tamkwl·i: 1—White-fronted goose.
2—Type of sea-going canoe named from the bird.
iamst: Husband (*di kwămstslai:* My husband).
iamxw': River.
Tamxwăsks: Chief who came to Cape Mudge in the beginning of time and later moved to Bella Coola.

[601]

[586] [825] [628] [101]

[824]

[601] [824]

[825] [601]

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Tlaxamymitl: Name acquired in the beginning of time by a Rivers Inlet man from a sea-lion.

[825] *tlrakndltrtl:* Sardine.

Tlikmaxotākka, "The Walking One": Supernatural name of the water ouzel.

Tlikmuts: Song sung during Cannibal dance while the performers run from house to house.

[825] *tlima:* Mountain goat sinew.

Tlisla: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
2—Wife of Mount *Nusḥalst,* when in human form at the beginning of time.

Tlitcaplilān·a: One of the nine supernatural siblings, a woman who brings aid to those in sickness and is thus the initiator of shamans.

[825] *tlixin:* Sea-lion.

Tlmstadimut, "Be Like a Person": Instruction given to a stick in the beginning of time. This designation has since been used as an ancestral name.

[821] *tlok':* 1—Moon.
2—The zenith.

[825] *tlokly:* Virulent skin disease.

tlopān·i: Cormorant.

Tloṣo·tl, "Small Mound": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Tloqots, "Maligner" or "Defamer": A supernatural being.

tlpa: 1—Gaff.
2—To cut wood for masks.

[823] *tlpanap:* "Cut!" Call used on second day of *kusiut* dances.

tlpapalam: Small trickle that flows from rocks near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel. The term is probably applied to other similar rivulets.

[415] *tlulai·:* Water-tight basket.

[824] *imiax:* Water-washed stump with scoured, radiating roots.

Tniqo: Region on the upper Kitlobe River.

[482] *inixotl:* Tump-line.

toba: Navel.

[825] *Tohnkl:* Raven's canoe in the beginning of time.

ioḥa: Mink.

lomidjut, "He of the Big Family": Term used to describe a man with many descendants.

[583] *lop·a:* Synonym for *ḷsāmāmmimm,* the repurchase of a wife from her husband. This term is perhaps used in Kimsquit alone.

[825] *lopiwac:* 1—Fawn.
2—*Nustrkāmg* name of a Kimsquit woman.

[821] *Tpiksia:* Star in the Great Bear.

iqanḥ: Lower of the two beaters used in the preparation of cedar-bark.

Tqwantlos, "Facing": Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, synonymous with *Tālio.*

[291] *lsaikotl:* Hat with flat top and broad brim.

lsaix: Stonecrop.

Tsaixlitl: Kimsquit shaman mentioned in an ancient story.

Tsā·kmai: Bella Coola warrior living in the last century.

Tsalits: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Tsāl: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Tsaoltmem: Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.

[825] *isvāl:* Green barnacles on water-covered stones.

lsiāx: Large woodpecker, species unidentified.

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Tsi-dis: Kitlobe River.
Tsihnakks: Eagle that perched on top of a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time. [825]
Isima: Animal's entrails.
Isi-i: Note of the *kwakwas*, foretelling death. [763]
Isitsowi: Cormorant, in Bella Bella language.
Inkkusnam: Goods taken to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him. [586]
Tsikwi: Restoration Bay.
Tsilit, bald eagle: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley. [431]
2—Bald eagle.
3—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time. [825]
Inx: Novice, either *kusiut* or shaman.
Inxstimem or *Inxstalsix:* First night of a *kusiut* dance.
tshankdimut: 1—Heavy coppers in *Xemoqua's* house.
2—Name obtained from these by a *Sattia* man in the beginning of time.
Iski-kdimut: Kusiutem rite in which the performer's head appears to be pulled off. [415]
Isla: Closely woven basket of spruce roots.
Islaqwsaix: Any act of an unclean nature which prevents a supernatural being from seeing the perpetrator. [784]
Isila: Presents distributed when a *nsask* initiate dances. They are provided by the donor "To Shield Our Eyes" from the *tutwinam* and serve to recompense the carpenters and others who have assisted in the rite. [431]
Isma: Belt. [465]
[illegible]ettle. [824]
Tsomlinks: Woman resident in the far north in the beginning of time.
Ispadjut: The giving of presents to the servants and associates of the donor of a potlatch in return for being served with food in a rude manner. [431]
Ispatl: Small woodpecker, species unidentified.
Ispatka: Winter wren. [824]
Isqualt: Spawning sockeye salmon. [825]
Isubilta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the genitalia. [424]
Isulhum: Prompter.
Tsumlinks: One of the first women to settle at *Snubli* in the beginning of time.
Tsuskilsk: One of the first men to settle at *Tsmosl* in the beginning of time. [824]
Isuwatalp: Unidentified tree of which the bark was smoked. [825]
tutulumq: To grasp firmly with both hands, *archaic.*
tutupin-i: Trout, *plural.*
tutus'ass'ahsulk: Ceremony resembling a potlatch given by a chief for the benefit of his fellow-villagers, especially during the year preceding his main rite.
tutsya, "What Is Good": Synonym for *Ishamamstum*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]
Tutsal-as: Synonym for *Nustelelsalhm:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.
tutwinam: 1—Masked figure, usually in crest form, which appears to *nsask* and *a'alk* initiates.
2—An appearance, that is, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.
Tualalit: Supernatural hunter of mountain goats.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

MYRICACAE

Myrica Gale L., SWEET GALE

Bella Coola: Branches, secured at any time of the year, pounded with their bark, boiled, and the decoction taken internally for gonorrhoea. A diuretic. The decoction, which was kept in a box made of red cedar wood with a little cover to keep out the dust, soured in two or three days and became useless.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

B C 137 757 B [415]

BETULACEAE, BIRCH FAMILY

Alnus sitchensis (Reg.) Sarg., GREEN ALDER

Bella Coola: Cones used as a remedy for some unspecified complaint.

Alnus tenuifolia Nutt., MOUNTAIN ALDER

Bella Coola: Cones used as a remedy for some unspecified complaint.

See also black cottonwood (page 54).

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Pistillate catkins crushed, and the mass eaten raw as a laxative.

Pistillate catkins and shavings eaten raw, or else boiled in water and the decoction taken internally three times a day, as a diuretic for gonorrhoea. Said to effect a cure in one week.[1]

B C T 137 757

Alnus rubra Bong., RED ALDER

Bella Coola: Bark boiled, and a cupful of the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

Southern Carrier: Sap applied to cuts. Not used for a medicinal decoction.

Northern Carrier: Inside bark ground, steeped in water, and injected with a syringe made from the crop of a bird, for biliousness.

Gitksan: Bark and roots boiled for about six hours and the decoction drunk in the morning for a cough.

Bark from the stem, but not from the roots, scraped, mixed with water, and the infusion taken internally, as an emetic and purgative, for headache and many other maladies.

C [752] C [825]

URTICACEAE, NETTLE FAMILY

Urtica Lyallii Wats., WESTERN NETTLE

Bella Coola: Used for a form of paralysis where the patient had been unable to walk for a long time. Limbs stung daily, causing sores and gradual revival of sensation. In one case said to have effected a cure in ten days.

See also western dock (page 56).

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Entire plant boiled, and the decoction taken internally for many illnesses, including hemorrhage and bladder troubles.

Stinging not used.

T [752]

[1] A Gitksan informant stated that the Tsimshian of the coast made a decoction of this tree which served as an emetic, purgative, and diuretic, and was used for poisoning enemies by mixing one cup-full.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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* 575 *796 realm above. The method of escape and the rites that occur during his absence do not differ from those previously described for other Cannibals, and the means taken to capture him on his return are likewise similar. But soon after dusk a rite occurs which has not been previously recorded. The [416] [824] *kukusiut* assemble on the sidewalk outside X's house, each carrying a torch made of resinous wood, liberally smeared with gum and rendered more inflammable with frayed cedar-bark. X himself, well guarded, is escorted to the middle of the group, while a herald calls out that he is going to make what he has consumed fly upward. In his arms he carries what appears to the uninitiated, watching from a distance, to be a dead dog; in reality, it is a dog skin, stuffed with eagle down. Four times he turns around, uttering his cry of *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, while his men call out *i* · · · · and the women drone. Then, in some way, the down-filled dog-skin is thrown upwards and disappears. One informant had seen this done in his youth, but was unaware of the method employed. The group then disperses and X is taken back to his own house.

About midnight a herald goes to every house, summoning the *kukusiut*, and especially the singers, to X's. They practise a new song for the Cannibal, and towards dawn it is sung as the "running song" previously described, accompanied by the weird *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*. At day-break, a *kusiut*, chosen for the purpose because he is a fleet runner, pounds at the door of every house, and calls out:

"Come to eat dried salmon," and dashes on to the next.

Thus invited, the *kukusiut* duly assemble in X's house for a meal.

For four days X remains concealed on his platform, except when, aroused to fury, he makes a tour of the village; and except when making his nightly circuit, during which the frightened uninitiated cover their heads with blankets, fearing that he will smell their breath and devour them. On the fourth day X is carried to the river and washed, in spite of his struggles. While this is taking place a number of *kukusiut* visit

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764
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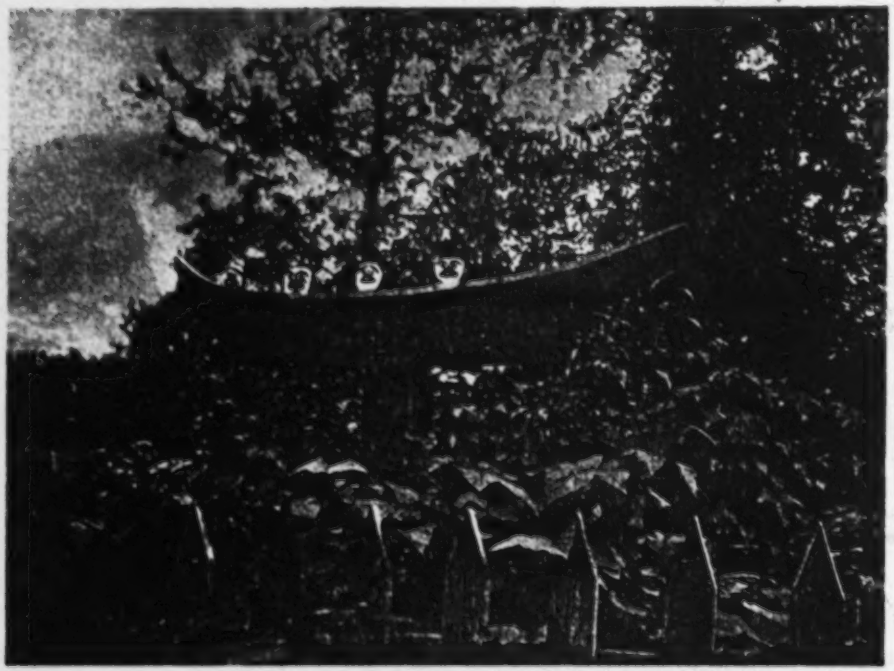
417

PLATE 23



Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Memorial post with model canoe and figures representing slaves

[p442(G)]

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[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

for the dance to start, and X suddenly cries out that he is feeling peculiar. The night selected is usually that of the *nebusam* of some other *kusiut*, and X is at once escorted to his own house from which the uninitiated are expelled. For that night and the two following he remains concealed within, leaving only when necessary and taking care that no uninitiated see him. During the afternoon following the third night of concealment, a large number of *kukusiut* gather in X's home and escort him to the lowest house of the village. He goes around the fire shaking a rattle violently and calling out: 575* 796*

"More! More! Please say exactly what you want and I will do it."

The uninitiated have been told that X has been unable to comprehend the impending call, hence they have no difficulty in realizing that this is a request to his supernatural patron to be more explicit.[80] This appeal is repeated in every house of the village in order from bottom to top. The rite is so important that X often summons *kukusiut* from neighbouring towns and, on the occasion described, the dancer proceeded to *Sınxł* with his escort and there entered every dwelling with the same request that he had made in his own village. [628]

In the evening X returns to his home where presently the *kukusiut* gather from the villages that he visited. The uninitiated from adjacent houses hear whistling so are not surprised when heralds enter to announce that a call has come to X. The ritual is of the regular *lsuxtämem* pattern and a song is composed and practised; the theme is of X's ability to visit the land above but the type is that of a shaman's song. The ritual concludes in the usual manner. [533]

The next day, *nusiutälsap*, the customary raised enclosure is erected and a number of *kukusiut* gather wood in the forest. In the evening the carpenters are requested to make a long ladder, the only paraphernalia required. The evening's ritual ends as usual. [417]

[80] The patron for this dance could not be learnt.

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

*575 *796 [417] During *qotlim* and *nebusam* days the carpenters gather in X's house where they construct a long ladder. The uprights and rungs are of split cedar, and each of the latter is decorated with a tuft of dyed, and a tuft of undyed cedar-bark; two white eagle-tail feathers are fastened to the top. In the afternoon of *nebusam*, a *kusiut* who is also a chief blackens his face, dons a collar of dyed cedar-bark and sallies forth to invite guests from the adjacent villages. About the same time the smoke-vent in X's house is pushed back and the ladder is erected, projecting a considerable distance above the roof. The uninitiated see it clearly and wonder what it may portend. In the evening the *kukusiut* assemble and the singers beat out X's two songs for the benefit of the guest visitors. Then the uninitiated are called in. They see the lower part of the ladder, and gaze with wonder on X who keeps walking backwards and [292] forwards in his raised enclosure, clad in a dance-apron and a black blanket to which is tied one end of the long rope. Two *kukusiut* assistants hold a section of it as if to anchor him. The dancer carries a rattle which he keeps shaking violently. His two songs are sung and everything is now ready for the main performance. Still shaking his rattle, X climbs the ladder and disappears from sight through the roof, dragging the rope after him. The sound of the rattle grows gradually fainter and fainter, but the cable is steadily drawn up through the opening. It is so realistic that the uninitiated hardly require the explanation given by an eloquent *kusiut* that a strange power has come to X, enabling him to climb up a ladder which lengthens of its own accord until he will ultimately reach the land above. The orator explains how the dancer will be able to straighten the tally posts, and thus have it in his power to govern the life of an individual, though normally it is only the supernatural beings who can do so. In this connection he employs the term [192] *mtlatsta*, a word seldom used which has the significance of "A Measuring of the Span of Life."

As at *kusiotem* dances, spies guard the doorway and threaten death to the *kukusiut* unless X return in safety. No

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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601 Coola social organization, and of the absence of standardized obligations based upon specific relationships.

Slaves

567 Since a slave was[12] without status in the Bella Coola com-
[554] munity, it is perhaps incorrect to include a description of slavery in a chapter on social organization; but as slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages, it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was
162 impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of their number in
567 Bella Coola; slavery has been so long abandoned that the present natives could only hazard vague guesses. Judging from conversational remarks by elderly men, it seems probable that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as thirty to forty per cent of the total population.

567 When a party raided a village most of the inhabitants were
727 slain, but some, especially children, young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. As far as could be learned, once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief
[422] or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

567 Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold.
437 The Bella Coola were usually so well provided with salmon that they were able to exchange these fish with the members
[622] of other tribes for slaves. Lack of strong chieftainship among
[726] the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of
[431] their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category belong those obtained as presents at potlatches. If, however,
[773] a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was

[648]

[12]One of the first effects of the white man's establishment in British Columbia was the freeing of all slaves. Consequently the past tense is used in this section.

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thus been slain about seventy years earlier. It appears that attempts were commonly made to kill chiefs by means of sympathetic magic, and it is quite possible that such attempts, becoming known, preyed upon the minds of the victims to such an extent that death resulted. 578 622 682 [754]

WEALTH

Since wealth is so important in chieftainship, it would be desirable at this point to consider the concepts of wealth. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a satisfactory treatment of this subject. The coming of the white man altered the economic aspects of Bella Coola life so radically, and at such an early period, that concrete examples of economic interdependence, so useful in a thorough study, could not be obtained in the field. It is possible that greater attention to this subject might have produced more satisfactory results, but I am doubtful of this. 114 177 556*

In the old days, "wealth" was of two categories: (*a*) Prerogatives, tangible or intangible, which could be shown, pictorially or dramatically, or could be expounded in words; and (*b*) Goods which could be distributed for validating such prerogatives. Individual possessions, unsuited for distribution, were hardly considered as wealth; a sewing-machine, a bottle of whiskey, a bed, or some other luxury might give satisfaction to the owner, but did not increase his importance in the eyes of his fellows. The value of objects was only for their use in ceremonial distribution; indeed, prior to such distribution, they were only of potential value. This attitude controlled Bella Coola economics in the early days of contact, and still influences their behaviour. A native store-keeper once ruefully commented on the fact that he would gain no advantage from the goods on his shelves, since he hoped merely to sell them, not to give them away. 556* [422] [177]

A man's relatives were expected to help him in the acquisition of goods, but the extent of their contributions was never 184 476 556*

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turns, clad in his ceremonial costume, including a long cape with pockets. With him come the four or five young men who have just finished dancing. The singers beat time furiously with their sticks, and the *siki* whirls round and round, working himself into a frenzy with twists and gyrations. Gradually, he approaches one of the initiates, and pretends to pluck something from his body. As he opens his hands the spectators see that there is something in them, what exactly, they cannot distinguish. Only those who are *susaok* understand that, whatever it is, it has been palmed from one of his cape pockets. He pretends to throw this object upwards, at the same time slipping it back into his cape. As the article is, theoretically, thrown aloft the sound of whistling is heard, which grows weaker and weaker till it finally ceases. Meanwhile the heralds discourse loudly with one another about how the "eagle" or whatever it is, has been extracted, and is now returning above. The same procedure is repeated for the other initiates. This concludes the night's ceremony. Food is distributed and the people disperse. 556* 575 789

The employment of a foreign *siki* to expel the power from the initiates is necessary since this particular prerogative is not native to Bella Coola. Formerly the expulsion was done in the back-room without any elaborate ceremony. This rite marks the admission of initiates into the *susaok* society although they cannot yet leave the back-room. It must be understood, however, that a youth may be initiated several times, on each occasion receiving new songs and perhaps a different mask. In this way his prestige as a *susaok* is increased, and the son of a powerful chief will often be initiated ten or more times. A mask so acquired is preserved in concealment as the personal property of the owner who may use it at potlatches on future occasions. It will be the guise in which a dead person returns to visit the living. After being used for this purpose, a mask may be burnt, or willed to a near relative of the deceased, who slightly alters the painting before using it himself. [424] [177] 556* 575 [422] [532] [428]

It is somewhat difficult to understand the attitude of those [781]

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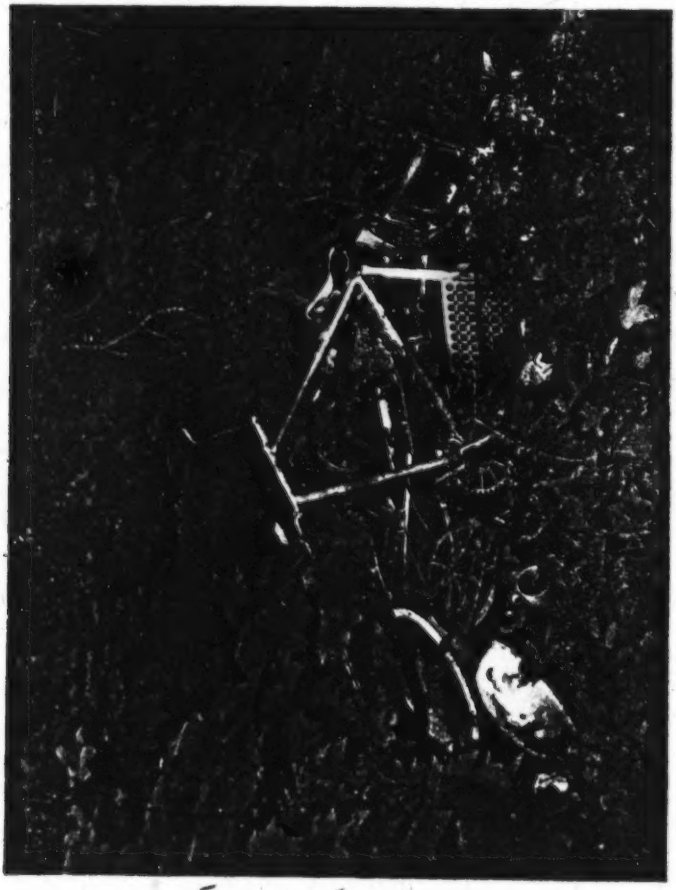

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Personal possessions laid on a grave

[p442(A)]

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*575 not considered necessary. With few exceptions, hereafter to
796 be noted, *kusiut* masks are burnt at the conclusion of each
532 ceremony, a practice which probably originated in order to
[171] avoid the possibility of their being seen by the uninitiated. The Bella Coola state that this is one of the most striking differences between their rites and those of the Bella Bella.

*575 Next in importance to masks are whistles (see Plate 2).[1]
796 The large, cone-shaped form used in *sisaok* ceremonial is re-
534 placed in *kusiut* dances by a smaller type consisting of portions of wood glued together, which can be blown with ease from
[237] beneath a concealing blanket. Another type has bellows consisting of a mountain goat bladder, which is held beneath the arm-pit so that it can be worked invisibly. During the summer the whistles are kept by one individual, usually a
[422] marshal. Specific information concerning the ownership of these whistles could not be obtained; it appears that any *kusiut* can make one, or have one made for him by a skilled carpenter, and that their retention by one person during the
[426] summer is merely for convenience. They are freely lent to anyone for use in a ceremony.

*575 In some dances special objects are used in connection with
796 dramatic performances, such as bull-roarers, wooden repre-
532 sentations of animals, birds, or miniature human beings. One old man described a pipe formerly used at *Täl·io*, which had
[534] a carved bowl as large as a tea-cup with three radiating stems.
[824] It was carved from a knotty excrescence on a beech bole. Little could be learnt of its history, except that it was supposed to have been carved by a chief with the design of his patron and displayed through pride.

*575 The usual guests at a performance of the type just sum-
609 marized are the dancer's fellow-villagers and any strangers
796 who happen to be present in the town. Great as is the desire of the *kukusiut* to impress their uninitiated tribesmen, they
[648] are still more eager to impress strangers, hence the presence
[123] of Carriers adds piquancy to the rites. The writer believes that his presence and interest encouraged the Bella Coola to

1 [see category 116, p84(B) - ANALYST]

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726 cold sticks to sleep. Meanwhile, their wives at home were
784 required to be very careful, since a woman's heedless playing
722 would cause injury to her husband, and faithlessness, his death. These restrictions were obligatory during the absence of the expedition.

726 As the party neared the enemy's country, they would conceal the craft under projecting trees by day and travel only at night. When within striking distance, a scouting canoe was sent forward to learn the hostile dispositions, the best means of approach, and so forth. This was usually done at dusk, and when the scouts had returned, the party would steal quietly through the forest and hide behind the unsuspecting village. At dawn the leader would give the signal, and the attackers would rush forward with a fierce shout, killing all the men and
[727] seizing women and children as slaves. When captives were taken by slave members of the expedition, they belonged to
[422] the latter's masters. The victors would cut off the heads of their victims, seize what loot they could, set fire to the village
[567] and rush home before support could arrive from neighbouring towns. At first, the slaughter was usually a somewhat unpleasant task, but as the warriors became inflamed with the heat of battle, they began to delight in killing, and even women and children frequently suffered.

727 The exulting victors sped homewards, rejoicing at their success but somewhat fearful that they might be cut off by overwhelming reinforcements. During the journey, each warrior who had taken a head removed the scalp by cutting the skin around the cranium close above the eyebrows and ears. These trophies were washed at the rock *Skolsexumnsta* on the fiord below Bella Coola. When within sight of home, the
[533] captain stood up in the canoe and sang again his *xe·tla* song, a symbol of victory as the bloody scalps were held aloft. Women and children would rush forth to greet the conquerors who landed amid scenes of wild enthusiasm and rejoicing.

[422] Prisoners of war became the property of those who had
[567] taken them, with the exception of those captured by slaves.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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If the war had not been of long duration in which extremely bitter feelings had been aroused, captives were often ransomed by their relatives, who came unmolested for the purpose when the heat of battle had subsided. Failing this, prisoners remained as slaves, the children especially growing up virtually as members of their owner's family as far as food and clothing were concerned, though never sharing in the prowess of his ancestral family. Torture or killing of prisoners seems to have been a rare practice. One extremely old Kimsquit woman related that in her childhood she had seen a captive stretched out on the hot rocks at the side of the ocean, fastened there, his testes crushed with stones, and allowed to die. No other similar traditions could be obtained and it seems probable that this must have been an unusual case. It is true that hostilities have long ceased, but the Bella Coola have clear recollections of other long-abandoned customs, and it is unlikely that torture was ever a common occurrence. It is, of course, one about which reticence is to be expected, but information would have been obtainable if the custom had been common or if it had been one which played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola.

Scalps were hung on a cord and dried like salmon, then suspended as valuable trophies in the taker's house. When setting out on a war expedition, he would often cover his head with one, holding it in position by weaving its hair into his own. At a man's death, they were either inherited by his heirs or, more often, burnt with his other possessions. It is said that the Fort Rupert people used to tie scalps in bundles to their masks. When the Bella Coola went to war to retaliate for a murder, instead of scalping a victim, they sometimes brought back his whole head and impaled it on a stake over the grave of the person avenged.

At this late period it is virtually impossible to form any opinion as to the amount of bloodshed in wars waged by the Bella Coola. Several of the older people spoke in gloating terms of the slaughter accomplished by their ancestors, but all

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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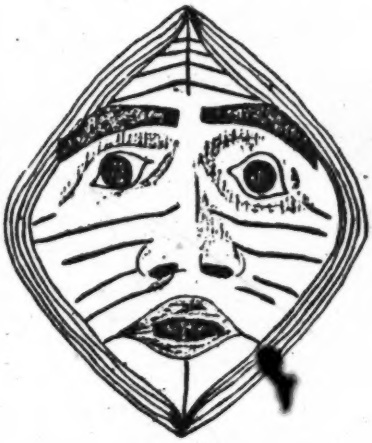
575 773 776 796 trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Sisau'kH. Besides this it is stated that the Raven gave each gens its secrets.

FIG. 8.—Mask representing K'ômk'ômkt'likya.

FIG. 9.—Mask representing K'ula'qawa.

532 575 776

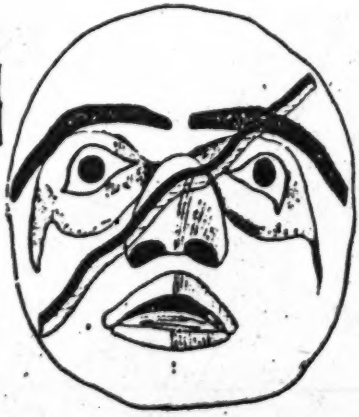


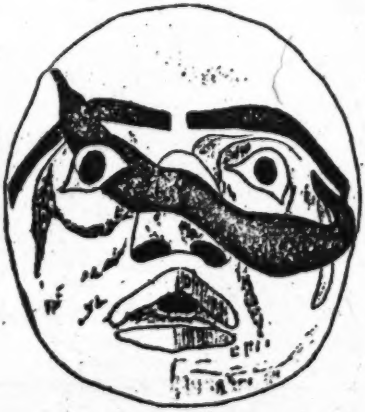
614 532 422 Each gens has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the Sisau'kH only, and are otherwise kept a deep secret, *i.e.*, they are the sacred posses-

FIG. 10.—Mask representing Kulê'lias.

FIG. 11.—Mask representing Tl'êtsâ'aplêtlans.

[575] [776]





[534] [292] sions of each gens. All gentes, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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represent. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become Sisau'kH. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'Elu'sta, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is a member of the gens Ialo'stimôt of the Talio'mH, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a Kû'siût name, which remains the same throughout life; and a Qē'mtsiōn name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'Elu'sta's (which is his Kû'siût name) present Qē'mtsiōn name is Atl'iNEmnE'lus'siH, but at his next potlatch he intends to take the name of Kaliā'kis. These names are also the property of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Kû'siût names of the ancestors. In two cases only the Qē'mtsiōn names have been ascertained (see p. 409). When a man possesses several Sisau'kH secrets he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their Sisau'kH secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisau'kH secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the Sisau'kH carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Kû'siût is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaûlikûtsai'H. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anaûlikûtsai'H invited her into her cave and taught

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614 extinct, are unusual; normally, the group is largely centred in
621. one village, but with members scattered in other localities. There is no central organization. It is generally recognized that such a unit belongs in the village where its first ancestors settled, and the leading chief of that village is, therefore, an important person in the family, though without status of [622] "head" of it. His advice may be appealed to in cases of dis-[553] putes concerning names, but he lacks judicial authority. Theoretically, the descendants of the elder of two first people are considered as "elder brothers and elder sisters" of those descended from a younger brother or sister; but this is nothing more than an accepted fact; it plays no part in the social life of the community.

552 In addition to human names, the origin myths include those
614 applied to dogs. The first ancestral group had dogs, and these animals had names, or were given them by their powerful
773 masters. Ever since that time their descendants can apply these designations to their own dogs. It is unnecessary to validate such names, but no two canines can be given the same one at the same time, according to the rule which governs the bestowal of human names. This matter was not investigated [539] in detail, and the only dog's name collected was one for which the origin myth is as follows:

> When *Tăl·ie* was first settled in the beginning of time, the houses were built in parallel rows, one above the other, up the side of a steep [514] knoll. At the very top was a toilet-house, built over such a steep incline that excrement rolled down the hillside. In consequence, one of the early chiefs living there gave to his dog the name, *Nuliqumuil di mink'*, "Rolling excrement," which has since been preserved in the ancestral family of his descendants.

LAND

124 Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining information
● 423 about land tenure. The Bella Coola resent keenly the way in which their land has been occupied by white settlers without,
177 according to their standpoint, proper compensation. Ques-

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tions on this subject always excited them, but every effort was made to verify the following statements.

As with names, the easiest way to understand the rights of the ancestral family in land is by first considering the mythological explanation, which mirrors conditions as they existed at the coming of white men. On reaching this earth the first people are believed to have prospected for suitable settlement sites, places where salmon and olachen could be caught, and if possible, near side valleys where berries were abundant. Here they released the animals and plants which they had brought with them, on which they thenceforth subsisted, in accordance with the supreme deity's instructions. The members of the group pre-empted these areas for themselves. Waste land, far from any village was, and still is, free to anyone. A few years after the first settlements had been made, according to the myths, the supreme god sent down to Kimsquit a certain *Alquntām* who allotted and marked the territory which was the property of each community; at that time a village consisted merely of a group of the first settlers. No similar myth was recounted for either Bella Coola or *Tāl-io*, although their concepts with regard to land are identical with those of the Kimsquit. This really gave a sacred sanction to the possession of land, an important matter to a people so religiously inclined as the Bella Coola.

The system of land tenure follows the same somewhat abstruse principles that govern the possession of names in an ancestral family. Hunting and collecting grounds appropriated by the first people, or by their immediate descendants, are the property of their offspring, the ancestral family. The Bella Coola term for such an area is *sel'loam*, also called, *nxnumsta*, which means "Food Supply."

It will thus be seen that a hunting-area is not the property of any single individual, but belongs to a group of persons, most of whom live in a single town. The relatives of a man who intends to give a potlatch usually give him, temporarily, exclusive rights to the hunting-ground. As with names, there

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●423 614 is no doubt that a man tends to lose those rights in property which are strictly his, if they are located at a distance. Thus several men claim that they are legally entitled to hunt at Kitlobe, but from mere difficulty of access neither they nor their fathers have exercised the right, and it would have been lost in the course of a few generations, even without the utter decay of custom which has followed the advent of the white man. Practically, a man hunts only in the grounds of those ancestral families in whose origin myths he has names, though, theoretically, he is entitled to hunt on any hunting-ground of any ancestral family of which he is a member whether or not he holds a duly validated name from its origin myth. It is not necessary to confirm the right to property as with a name, [illegible] right to that area of the ancestral family to which that designation belongs. Although the ownership of land in distant regions is of little practical importance, it is, none the less, a [554] matter of great pride to a man to feel that he has rights in many places. The efforts of an individual to make good those [721] claims has often led to bloodshed; in fact, one intelligent old man stated that property disputes were the principal cause for [554] war in British Columbia. A person who lacks hunting-grounds is little better than a slave, whereas one who has much land is important.

The Bella Coola regard land as almost inalienable. Though a man does not own the land of his wife's ancestral family, he can use it and his children have full rights to it. Conversely, a wife can gather berries on her husband's land, though it is not here. A guest at a village may be allowed to use the [574] territory of his hosts, but it does not become his. In the old 727 days wars between the coastal tribes were common, but though slaves were taken freely, land was never seized; such is un- 423 thinkable to a Bella Coola. In fact, several of the older people [567] inquired how it had been possible, in the first world war, for the allies, whose cause they believed to be righteous, to annex territory from Germany. If the victors had killed or enslaved

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the Germans it would have been moral and proper according to Bella Coola ethics, but to take land was unheard of. 423 [727]

Since land is only valued for hunting or collecting purposes, it is not divided into small areas. Any man can build his house at will near the village. It is said that at Kitlobe the crab-apple trees are the property of different ancestral families, themselves members of different tribes, but this is unknown in Bella Coola. It may be mentioned that the Bella Coola [829] somewhat naïvely assume that all other coastal tribes have ancestral families similar to their own, although they recognize that some of them also have a clan system which has no counterpart in their social organization. Since the concentration of the tribe on a small reserve and the beginning of [177] agriculture, a system of individual ownership of cultivated land has sprung up. It is realized that if a man clears and [428] cultivates a field, the produce is his own, and he can sell the land to whomsoever he pleases. Likewise a man who rings a tree to kill it for firewood is the sole owner. The Bella Coola regard uncultivated land in the reserve as being at the disposal of anyone, a concept which appears not to have been taught them by any white administrator. Its origin seems rather to lie in the old belief that any unpreëmpted land, far removed from a village, can be used by anyone. It is recognized that the reserve cannot be considered as a *sel'elam* belonging to any ancestral group, hence it is free to all. One corner of it, however, includes the lower part of a side-valley formerly used by the people of *Tsmatl*. An old man, whose ancestral family [614] lived in that village for generations, has set his bear-traps in this corner of the reserve for a number of years without interference from other hunters, who go far afield with their traps. Even within the limits of the reserve it is felt that this man has the prime right to that area for the use of himself and his family.

Theoretically an ancestral family may die out. Several accounts were received of old men who, believing themselves to be the sole survivors of their family, bequeathed their names 614 428 721

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Bella bella NE5

BC 614 428 721 and hunting-grounds to those who had helped them in their old age. But in every case the gift turned out to be of doubtful value, since young men grew up who claimed membership in the supposedly defunct ancestral family and combatted the right of those to whom it had been given. This always led to war.

BB BC The following is an instance of a feud which arose from the bestowal of a hunting-area.

423 648 It is said that about 1850 the people of *Tcawat* (probably Bute Inlet) captured a Bella Bella woman as a slave. She escaped and fled up the *Tcawat* River, hoping to come in contact with the Bella Coola, who often hunted in that area. The woman was found by the mother's father of an informant who carefully looked after her while he was hunting beaver and brought her back to Bella Coola, thence sending her to Bella Bella. In gratitude her father, a Bella Bella chief, gave her rescuer the hunting-area known as *Nulam*, near Kwatna Inlet, with the consent of the members of his ancestral family. BB [425] The land so alienated should have remained permanently in possession of the Bella Coola ancestral family, but was too far removed from Bella Coola to be used regularly by the new owners. After the death of the Bella Bella chief, a number of individuals who claimed membership in his ancestral family asserted their rights to it. Many years later, after white traders had made their appearance on the coast, a Bella Coola went to *Nulam* and killed a large number of beaver. As he was leaving with their pelts he was murdered by some Bella Bella, ostensibly as a trespasser. But for the restraining influence of the white man this incident would undoubtedly have led to war. The informant still feels that he is entitled to hunt at *Nulam*, and did so several times when he was a young man; but his sons have never exercised the right, and it has practically lapsed.

BB BC 423 622 It is unfortunate that the above incident is drawn from Bella Bella, where the power of chiefs is much greater than among the Bella Coola. Consequently it is impossible to say

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Bella bella NE5

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BC
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[622]

exactly what right the Bella Bella chief had to dispose of the land. The informant assumed that he must have been powerful enough to dictate to his followers, an unknown possibility in Bella Coola. However, the informant regards the case as typical of what would likely happen should a Bella Coola try to give away land. Out of generosity or gratitude old men have sometimes done so, but always they have forgotten someone, perhaps a mere infant, who on growing up lays claim to the *sol'olam*.

BC
423
614
[226]
[773]

Hunting-grounds are not the only valuable parts of the country. Even more important are stretches of river suitable for salmon-weirs. Of the same type are good places for olachen-nets, and rocks from which these fish can be caught with scoop-nets. Like hunting-grounds, these are said to have been pre-empted by the first people[1] and have passed into the ownership of the ancestral families descended from them. It is needless to repeat the gradual lapsing of rights to property of this kind in distant areas, since the principle is the same as that already described for land.

[773]
[226]

In one respect, salmon-weirs differ from hunting-areas, since the latter can be used by any number of individuals, whereas the number of salmon-traps possible at any one weir is limited. Again the mythological origin must be given to explain the customary usage. If, for example, a salmon-weir supposedly built by one of the first groups of people was fully manned in the third generation by ten individuals, it is as

[1]Several Bella Coola myths describe how the first-comers brought with them from above stone hammers for the construction of fish-dams, and how others were provided with miniature dams which grew larger when placed in position. Mr. H. I. Smith kindly gave the writer the following account, received from an elderly Bella Coola:

Long, long ago a certain *Tamakus* lived with his father, the Sun, who decided to send his child to earth. He came down to *Stuix*, carrying a stone beneath his arm-pit, and accompanied by a Wolf. *Tamakus* made the stone into a pile-driver with a face sculptured upon it, and with this tool drove piles to make a fish-weir. After a while a number of human beings came paddling up the Bella Coola River. In course of time the Wolf returned above, but *Tamakus* remained on earth catching salmon, and teaching the people the method which was in use until the last few years.

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423 614 [773] [226] sumed that ten is the largest number of traps possible at that weir. Those who have the right to that weir are the members of the ancestral family with the names of those first users. At this point the logic of the Bella Coola fails to uphold the mythological pattern. No salmon-weir has remained in existence since the beginning of time; when one broke, owners were sometimes infants, and those who repaired the break became regarded as the rightful possessors. The system of ownership prevailing at the time of abandoning the weirs, was that *individuals*, not groups, had rights to certain sections of the weir [428] which were willable like other personal property. In most [431] cases this right was transmitted with a name, marking the section of weir, which had to be duly validated by presents. [428] In other cases, the intangible ownership was willed without any mark whatever.[8] Unless bequeathed in this way, disputes were frequent. Rights of this kind were never sold although [427] an owner often leased his section for a night, or longer period, receiving goods in return, and not forfeiting his ownership [431] thereby. This was particularly common when the renter was planning to give a potlatch. No case was heard of in which the right to a certain section of salmon-weir was given to a non-member of the ancestral family. Theoretically, this was possible, but practically it would be so inconvenient that it is most unlikely ever to have occurred, since the Bella Coola is [671] never such a slave to legal privileges that he fails to be guided by common sense.

226 Although individual ownership is thus recognized with [423] regard to sections of salmon-weirs and suitable places for olachen-nets, the owner is bound to share his haul. When he [577] catches a large number of fish, anyone, whether related to him [626] or not, can demand some. He cannot refuse, since to do so would brand him as selfish. The effective check on this system

[128] [8]Great difficulty was experienced in learning about the distribution of rights to sections of salmon-weirs. The evidence is conflicting, and though every effort was made to verify and check the above, there may be further regulations which were not learnt.

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764 friends of the deceased, pick up the coffin and carry it through
[766] the hole. In former times it was frequently difficult to obtain
[784] pall-bearers for a slave or friendless person on account of the
[761] taboos to which a person performing this service was subject. If a dead person should be taken through a doorway, others using it would soon follow the corpse to the next world. For the same reason, a body must never be moved across the central line of a house; the passage is, therefore, made from the side where it happens to be lying. As soon as the corpse has been taken through, the removed planks are quickly replaced. Mourners and guests stream out through the doorway and follow the coffin, some of them carrying the bundles containing part of the goods of the deceased. Meanwhile the pall-bearers follow the woman with the torch to the cemetery, taking care to carry their burden so that it faces the direction
[761] in which they are going; if a dead person is allowed to look backwards, he will beckon some relative to accompany him and the one so summoned will soon die.

There is a cemetery near every village, usually fifty to a hundred yards behind the row of houses in a place from which the heavy timber has been cleared. On arrival, the pall-bearers set down their burden close to the spot where the guide has placed her flaming bark on the ground. The personal possessions of the deceased are likewise deposited near the fire, which is kept alight by female relatives throwing on it small quantities of the dead person's clothing and utensils. The near kinsmen of the deceased choose the exact site of the grave, which must never be dug before the bringing of the corpse.
[423] There is no ownership of plots within the cemetery, so that the hole can be made wherever desired. A favourite location is close to the grave of a mother, father, or other near relative, but this is optional; bones are sometimes uncovered when digging, and in that case earth is thrown in once more and a new site selected. There are no professional grave-diggers,
[767] nor are arrangements made in advance for men to perform this duty, but friends, especially strong young men, are willing to

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APPENDIX A

MECHANICAL PROCESSES

NO attempt was made to study either the material culture of the Bella Coola, or their methods of manufacturing, but information on some points was obtained incidentally. All sociological and religious features connected therewith have already been described. 121

THE TAKING AND PREPARATION OF OLACHEN

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The run of olachen, *sputx*, comes about the end of April, and as many as possible are caught. In preparation, nets, *älte'x*ᵘ, are brought out from the boxes where they have been stored during the winter, examined, and repaired. If necessary, new ones must be manufactured out of nettle-(*lsna-*) fibre laid away by the women for this purpose. By rolling the material on their legs, they produce a thin twine; five strands of this are then interwoven, making a finished cord capable of resisting great strain. The nets are constructed by the men. The type used at the present time, which is said not to differ from that formerly employed, consists of a purse-like sack, oval in cross-section, open at the wider end and tapering very gradually to the other, which is closed. The total length is about thirty feet, the diameter at the open end about eight feet, and at the closed end about three feet. A new net is dipped in a mixture of boiled hemlock-bark to darken it, and then boiled in a solution of willow-bark to prevent the knots from slipping. [226] [221] [283] [462] [286] [386]

The setting out of a net is not an easy task, so two or three men agree to work as partners. In the present degenerate days, property rights are not respected and each group selects a suitable spot. The best location is where the water is about three feet deep and runs rapidly, but without ripples, over a smooth piece of the bottom; such a place is called a *sklläx*. When the fish begin to run plentifully, the partners paddle out to set their net, taking with them four stakes, each about ten feet in length. The weight of a full net is tremendous, so the poles have to be driven down at least six feet, a difficult task on account of the stony bottom. Selecting the exact spot, one of four posts, *nudjäles*, is set upright and held in position by being tied to a cross-piece, *nudjiqosta*, fastened to the canoe for the purpose. While his two partners hold the craft steady, the third man begins to pound down the stake; metal mauls are now commonly used, but in former times this work was always done with an unhafted stone maul, *luxwoma*. The fishermen relieve one another intermittently until the top of the pole has been driven down to within 226 [476] [423] [178] [412]

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Xemlaix: One of the first men to settle at *Ḷomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
Xemtmm: *Kusiut* name of a *Sl̓iskistl* man.
Xemxemälotla: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Xemxemlaix: *Susook* name brought from above in the beginning of time.
Xemxemtmm: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqälaxl* in the beginning of time.
[533] *xe·tla:* Boastful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.
Xedilkos: One of the first men to settle at *Ḷotlnelos* in the beginning of time.
Xelässu: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman. The designation is of Bella Bella origin.
[825] *ṣuxe:* Marten.
[412] *ṣiis:* Stone axe.
xulxel: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
[203] *Ximpdimut:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximximlaix: *A'alk* man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximximoslaix: Celebrated female shaman.
[821] *ṣunṣunäs·i, plural, ṣunṣunäsoksi:* Little girl.
[517] *Xinṣnes:* 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.
Xixais: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
Xiximän·a, "Right Foot": *Stuix* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
Xuṣis: Mountain in the Carrier country.
xuxmänoäs: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
xläxtmm: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
xläni: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
Xlikwals: Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[586] *xlokun·imut:* The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
Xmaxots: Locality below *Nusḵalst.*
[825] *ṣmṣmatsl:* Minnows.
[601] *ṣmes:* Woman, or wife in indirect address (*kei ṣmeslaix:* My wife).
[614] *ṣmesäxta:* Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
[423] *ṣmesdäm* or *nuṣmesdäm:* The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.
Xnutli: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
xokli: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
Xoläxwosem: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[785] *xoldjut:* Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[831] *Xomtsla:* Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Xomxomqa: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
Xonṣotäm: Supernatural scoop-net fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
Xoqutlis: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

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772 *sonx*ʷ. If the Bella Coola were strictly logical, one should expect them to conceive the upper surface of *sonx*ʷ as being convex. Instead, it is considered a flat surface, very similar to the earth, and no explanation is given of what fills in the spaces between the dome, concave as viewed from this world, and the upper plane which could rest only on the peak of the [811] dome. But logical accuracy is not a Bella Coola characteristic. This flat land is called *dāsonx*ʷ*dä* or *wasonx*ʷ *wawitk-ltlqosil*. It is illumined by a second sun, shining on it as the sun does on the earth. Far in the east of this upper region are extensive tide-flats. This land above is the home of many supernatural beings, who will be described in due course. The [821] relative position of the sun to this upper world is ill-defined. According to some accounts, it travels by clearly marked trails on the surface, and a transparent dome is postulated to explain how its light reaches this earth. Others state that it moves like a bird or flying canoe through the space between the world [538] and the dome-sky above. On many of these points there is a striking difference of opinion, which the Bella Coola explain [424] by saying that their information is derived from ancient stories, which are personal possessions, and that no one knows the beliefs of his fellows. A co-ordinated theology, as Boas points out, has not evolved among the Bella Coola.

772 The sky, as it may be called if the reader will bear in mind 773 that it is the underside of a flat land, was not always in its present condition. The Bella Coola say that long ago the [776] supreme god instructed his Carpenters (I, p. 39) to make a sky. They started from the eastern extremity of the earth, but after a considerable part of the dome had been erected, it fell with a thunderous crash, because no supporting posts had been set up. The part that escaped this calamity is called *Salwalosam*. Undiscouraged, the Carpenters continued their work with the assistance of posts and so built the sky as it is seen today. Then the supports were taken away.

772 As already stated, a sun shines on the land above. As that 821 seen by mortals is attached to the land above, so is this upper

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sun attached to another land above the one of which our sky is the underside. Boas (p. 28) has described this upper land in some detail. A number of Bella Coola were questioned on this subject, but for some time no one could be found with knowledge of its existence. At length one of the older people remembered that a man who had died some thirty years ago had a personal story connected with it, and later a Kimsquit man was able to furnish definite information. He explained that in his family there was a myth dealing with this matter; others might have heard this myth, but since it was not their property, of course they would not be able to impart the facts contained in it, nor would they necessarily believe it. Consequently, an upper land, superimposed above that which is immediately over the earth, cannot be described as a Bella Coola belief; it is shared, so far as could be ascertained, by only two families.

The chief feature of this uppermost world is its distance and unapproachableness. To the supernatural beings living in the intermediate land it is a far-off place; in fact, their attitude towards it corresponds to that with which mortals regard the land above their own. The supernatural ones can, when they wish, visit this upper world, which is called *Nuqwliäls*. A sun shines there, but it is a different kind of sun from that known to mortals. On the whole it appears that this upper sky-land does not differ materially from either the earth or the land immediately above. No human being has ever reached this distant land, so what little is known about it was brought down in the beginning of time by the first people.

In addition to these two upper worlds, the Bella Coola know of one, or perhaps two, below. One of these is inhabited by ghosts.[1] It somewhat resembles the earth, but is unsubstantial and ethereal. It is considered to be immediately

[1]At the present time the Bella Coola are in a state of transition between the old beliefs and the new. This concept is held only by the older people, so it might be more accurate to describe it as one which they, the tribe as a whole, used to know. It has been thought advisable to use the present tense throughout in recording customs and beliefs which are now rapidly passing away.

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not systematized; if a man is asked about the powers or functions of a certain supernatural being, he will usually answer by recounting a story in which that being appears. What is known respecting many of the lesser supernatural beings depends upon information contained in stories, and as many of these are personal possessions, it follows that there is tremendous variation in individual knowledge. Psychologically, this is of little importance; there are enough supernatural beings for everyone to know some of them, and to expect to meet or hear them in the forests. To insert many of the stories contained in later chapters would break the sequence of description; all that is here attempted is to give a general summary, in a way foreign to Bella Coola thought.

Supernatural beings are by no means all-powerful. It is true that they have miraculous powers and can work weal or woe to human beings who chance to come in contact with them, but likewise they may sometimes be overwhelmed by mortals armed with objects steeped in human essence, such as a blanket which has been worn until it is impregnated not only with the smell, but the physical being of its owner. In particular, shamans or other mortals of great strength have been able to conquer the supernatural ones. Consequently, it may be said that although supernatural beings live on a plane different from that of mortals, they are not omnipotent. Long, long ago, man was able to come in contact with them more frequently, but that golden age when the semi-mythical ancestors of the Bella Coola were living has long since passed away, though it is only within the last few years that such beings, particularly supernatural animals, have become comparatively rare. The Bella Coola give three main reasons for this:

(1) Supernatural animals do not like the sound of muskets and have moved far away.

(2) With increasing dependence on the canning industry, fewer hunters penetrate into their haunts in the distant parts of the mountains.

(3) The younger Bella Coola no longer take pains to purify themselves as a means of placating supernatural beings.

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rate most of them, are carefully used in accordance with the functions of this supreme deity. As a Bella Coola has many names, corresponding to his membership in various societies, his professional prerogatives, his ancestral myths, and mere nicknames, so has *Ałquntäm*, who is a superman, many names, according to his special functions. It would be unthinkable for a Bella Coola to pray to *Ałquntäm*, yet it is common for him to pray to *Mınakais* or *Tätä*, other names for the same being. The multiplicity of functions and designations approaches the point of obscuring the unity of *Ałquntäm*, which in fact, some Bella Coola even deny. They state that *Sınxälotla*, *Mınakais*, *Smaialotla*, and *Nuxekmälsaix* are one, but that *Ałquntäm*, *Snusılkäls*, and *Nonodjonostem* are three distinct supernatural beings. This seeming confusion presents no difficulties to the Indian, since each family has its own myths in which such facts are recorded. He believes these, without questioning those of his neighbour, and it is even possible for an individual to believe two contradictory statements, if he happens to become the owner of two contradictory myths. Evidence collected in the field does not make clear whether the beliefs of the Bella Coola illustrate an incomplete transformation of a single deity into a number of minor ones, or whether they represent the almost complete fusion of a number of beings into one. Following the practice of the great majority of the Bella Coola, the supreme deity will be referred to as *Ałquntäm*.

776* [551] [782] [424] [184] [771]

The most obvious attribute of *Ałquntäm* is connected with the sun. He can enter it and use it as if it were his canoe. In form he resembles a man, and when he takes charge of the sun it appears as if the latter were a large, self-propelling, radiant boat with windows through which he looks forth. It is said that long ago he allowed mink to take charge of the sun, but the malicious animal ran it so close to earth that the intense heat killed almost all living creatures. When *Ałquntäm* enters the sun he wears a cloak, on the lining of which are salmon; reversing this causes the rivers on earth to teem with salmon.

776* 821 [825]

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773 hanging a number of bird and animal cloaks, representing ravens, eagles, whales, grizzly bears, black bears, and a few others. *Ālquntäm* asked each individual which of these cloaks he preferred to wear. One selected a raven, another an eagle, and so on. Each donned his choice from the wall and immediately became the bird or animal chosen. *Ālquntäm* gave each man or woman one or more names, and some food in compressed form; then sent him down in avian or mammal form. Even the animals could travel through the air like birds, and each landed on the peak of a mountain in the Bella Coola country, took off his cloak, and reassumed human form. The discarded coverings floated back up to *Nusmät·a*. A few individuals, instead of coming to earth in animal form, swarmed down posts which stretched between the worlds.

177 This myth is fervently believed by the Bella Coola. Even
773 Christian Indians, though they readily admit the biblical creation as applied to the white race, remain convinced of the manner in which their own ancestors came into being. At the present time, though most ancient beliefs are rapidly passing away, few, if any, Bella Coola doubt this account of the creation of their forefathers. Their conviction rests not only on the religious aspect of their life, but on the sociological. A man's
[551] most treasured possessions are the name brought down from
[424] above by his ancestor in the beginning of time, the knowledge of the form taken by that ancestor, and information about the place where he landed. A collection of myths of this kind is given in vol. I, chap. VI. Lacking knowledge of his first an-
[622] cestor's form, a Bella Coola has slight chance of becoming a
[554] chief; such lore is the birthright of every descendant of one of
[561] these first people, and those without it are almost certain to be the offspring of slaves. The social aspects of creation myths will be described later; at this point a broad outline must suffice. *Nusmät·a*, "The House of Myths," is the place in which these myths were made, and are now stored, two reasons for its importance in the eyes of the Bella Coola.

[775] *Nusmät·a* is not only connected with the history of an indi-

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the rescue of *Łxwumxwumlaix* they saw him being carried downstream to a salmon-weir about three hundred yards below. The trap was raised at once, but it was too late; the rash fisherman was dead. No one could give a name to the supernatural being who had caused his death; it was merely one of those dwelling under the river. 776* [539] [761]

Whales, too, are sometimes observed in the rivers, but though they appear to resemble those of the ocean they are really their supernatural prototypes. [825]

These human-like dwellers beneath the water can, as in this case, cause death, but they are usually regarded as uncanny rather than dangerous. [761] But there is one undersea being whom the Bella Coola regard with unmixed awe; he is *Ṣomoqwa* (see Plate 10), lord of the supernatural ones beneath the ocean, as *Ätquntäm* is lord of those dwelling above. He lives in an enormous house under the sea wherein the fish, the sea-mammals, and the sea-plants have their home. The Bella Coola believe that these beings can take human form at will,[14] and assume that their behaviour in *Ṣomoqwa*'s dwelling corresponds to that of human beings in the house of an earthly chief. In the beginning of time, when men were more powerful than in recent years, this house sometimes rose to the surface of the water and adventurous Bella Coola entered it on various occasions, leaving to their descendants tales of the wonders it contained. 773 776* These accounts have become family myths and are described with others of similar type in Chap. VI, vol. I. [424] [184] Records of this kind vary greatly in detail; in fact, few agree more than in broad outline. Sometimes it is stated that denizens of the sea appear in *Ṣomoqwa*'s house in the flesh; other myths describe paintings of sea creatures around the walls and the manner in which these are brought to life by *Ṣomoqwa*. Irrespective of the exact details, it is clear that he is chief of the undersea beings who serve him and hunt for him, the blackfish being especially proficient in this respect. *Ṣomoqwa* resents any slight to his protégés and punishes any mortal who is unkind to them.

[14] Bella Coola concepts concerning the transformability of men and animals will be described in the next section of this chapter.

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000 Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

424 773 825 Before leaving the subject of supernatural animals, a word must be said concerning the attitude of the Bella Coola to those in whose forms their first ancestors came to earth. If, for example, a man's first ancestor descended as a raven, this knowledge is a valuable possession of himself and his family. [556] Indeed, the most treasured possessions of a Bella Coola are not the material objects collected by him through life, but the intangible rights wrapped up in his ancestral history. These are referred to under four names:

(1) *Smaiusta*, "Preserved Story"; the myth describing the coming to earth of a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(2) *Kəlelta*, "What Was Sent Down"; the names and other possessions given by *Ałquntām* to a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(3) *Tχämätł*, "Whence We Came"; the place to which a man's first ancestors came in the beginning of time, and the one from which they have since spread.

(4) *Q̓watłunta*.

Various *smaiusta* are recorded in vol. I, chap. VI, and the second and third terms are really part of the first, although to the Bella Coola they are psychologically distinct. *Q̓watłunta* is the word used for both the birds or animals chosen as cloaks by the first settlers, and also for creatures with which the early people came in contact. The nearest interpretation appears to be, "Crest." When a Bella Coola whose first ancestor came to earth as a raven portrays that bird, it serves as a visible mark of his intangible possession. In former days, if a man carved on stone so that his work and his name would never be forgotten, it was a *q̓watłnekam*, a constant reminder of his greatness to generations then unborn. A *q̓watłunta*, therefore, combines the concept of *memorial* with that of *crest*, so that Bella Coola speak of the white man's memorials as *q̓watłunta*. In brief, a man regards the form assumed by his ancestor when coming to this earth as an emblem of the

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ancient history and fame of his family. It is a matter connected with the past, a matter of the mind, a source of pride to him to have such a possession, but a matter that does not affect his daily life. 211 424 773

So far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola crests consist of the following birds and animals: raven, bald eagle, grizzly bear, black bear, wolf, whale, blackfish, merganser, loon, *skämtsk*, possibly deer, and the mythical double-headed snake, *susiutl*. To these must be added the sun, because some of the original people came to earth in human form by sliding down his eye-lashes, the sun-beams; and *nultnikta*, the posts which stretched from earth to the land above, down which a number of the first ancestors of mankind swarmed in human form. The Bella Coola believe that these posts are particularly common memorials among the tribes of the outer coast. According to some accounts it was these posts which supported the first sky until it fell. 825 [776] * [772] [829] [772]

A crest is connected almost exclusively with the distant past. A Bella Coola whose ancestor came to earth as a raven pays no attention to the ravens of the present time. The matter was approached from every possible angle and not the slightest sign of respect toward living specimens of a man's crest could be noticed. A query as to whether or not a man refrained from eating his crest was regarded as highly humorous. Nor is there any trace of fellowship between unrelated families even if they happen to have the same crest. The subject was broached repeatedly, until at last one informant smiled broadly and said: 424 779 825

"I know now what you want to find out, I can tell you all about it."

He recounted how the Kitkatla are, in his opinion, stupid enough to regard as brothers all those who have the same animal story even if they are members of different tribes. He said that when he was a young man at Victoria, where Indians from all parts of the coast used to meet, a Kitkatla had once asked him what was his animal. He was puzzled, but as the [648]

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424 nearest answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the
779 Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the
825 narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience, and added that though he was quite willing to accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not
[582] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of exogamy.

211 Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet
424 they have some importance in the realm of social life. The
773 portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy
825 chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a
[532] design is impressed with the glories of the family history of
[556] the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of
[304] the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delineation is a memento of family history. For that reason a man is often tattooed[a] with his crest, that derived from his father's first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow. After the death of a chief a memorial-post is erected near his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his
000 family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

[a] It is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal
[171] tribes but also the Carriers. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated them-
[184] selves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with potlatches; in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the back-room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material; the second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath
[386] the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were baked for a long time and then ground into a powder. This keeps indefinitely and can be made ready for use by mixing with water. As far as could be learnt, any skilled craftsman might perform the operation.

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It is said, half
jocularly, that a man grows to resemble his ancestral cloak; 424
if, for example, one man's is the eagle, his hair turns white 773
early, whereas that of another with raven crest long preserves
its blackness. More definite, is the use as a signal for attack, of 825
a whistle imitating the cry of the leader's bird or animal. [726]
Finally, when a man whose crest is the raven hears one of these
birds calling, he cries out:

"Hello, *ḳwatlintao* [the vocative form], it is as you say."

This custom is probably due to a belief in the ability of ravens to bear news.

On the whole the attitude of the Bella Coola towards living examples of their crests does not differ from that of mingled respect and superiority with which they regard other birds and animals.

THE RAVEN

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning Raven differ so 773
fundamentally from those respecting other birds and animals, 776*
that the subject must be treated separately. In the beginning 825
of time, when *Ałquntām* sent down the ancestors of the Bella Coola to this earth, he despatched Raven to be their guide and teacher. For this purpose Raven was given greater power than that granted to any other animal. He came to earth in avian form, then changed to a man, but his cloak did not float back to the land above as did those of the other first-comers. Instead, it remained in the world below where he could resume it at will. *Ałquntām* had instructed him to travel to all parts of the world, meaning the coast of British Columbia, in order to study the arts and crafts of the inhabitants and bring back to Bella Coola those which seemed desirable. On these explorations he used to assume raven form and set off in his canoe, *Tohuki*, which travelled without visible motive power at phenomenal speed. Owing to the power that *Ałquntām* had given him, he could talk to the trees and the mountains, the birds, the animals, and the insects, as well as to the human beings he encountered on the coast.

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782 party. Canoes always start soon after dawn, and each mem-
224 ber of the expedition is careful to pray before leaving, and also
726 to avoid eating in case food should in any way interfere
[785] with the success of the venture. Before reaching their destin-
ation, a chief in each canoe draws from a pouch some eagle down brought for the purpose, holds it before his mouth, and blows a little towards each of the four cardinal points, at the same time asking *Minakais* to smile on the enterprise and grant a safe return. This does not guarantee success, but it is felt that any disaster which may occur would have been more serious if assistance had not been thus requested.

782 Although *Alquntăm*, under the name of *Minakais*, is the
776 one to whom prayers are most often addressed, petitions are sometimes made to other beings. In the beginning of time, when Raven had superabundant power, mortals frequently sought his assistance. At the present time, he is sometimes asked for aid, in the belief that he may still have some shreds of his former power, or be in a better position than men to intercede with *Minakais*. If ravens croak when it is raining,
782 people may ask them to request the supreme being to stop the
776 rain; in such cases, a petitioner is careful to address a raven
825 as *Nowakila*, his title as chief, rather than as *Qwax*. In cold
821 winter weather, a raven is sometimes caught alive, its head smeared with grease, and as it is released, the captor says:

"Please end the cold wind, *Nowakila*."

782 Prayers are also said half humorously, half seriously, on
[291] many occasions. When, for example, clothing has become too ragged for further use, it is thrown on a fire with the remark:

"Please come to me again, new."

The thrower does not actually believe that in so doing he is asking help from his clothing, but it gives him a certain sense of satisfaction thus to have expressed his desires.

782 The prayers above described can be said by anyone, at any
●424 time; they are means of propitiation known to the whole community. In addition, information was obtained about
821 two prayers, each of which is the jealously guarded prerogative

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of a single family. Either is considered an almost certain means of stopping rain, but no one, even though aware of the method, can practise it with success unless he is a member of the family to which the method belongs. 782 424 821

One of these prayers, the property of a Kimsquit family, is addressed to *Xemxemälotla*. If the petitioner wishes to stop heavy rain, he goes to a quiet place in the woods and calls in a loud voice:

Aiya Xemxemälotlaä,[m]	*nuqwikdit*	*llok*	*di tong"nuda*
Hail, *Xemxemälotla,*	open	the loftiest	of your heaven
shäxyusamdu	*dji sliexwniqua*		*tsim nanadja.*
so that may look down	the cherished one		your child.

That is, "Expose the upper heaven so that your cherished child may look down."

It will be remembered that *Xemxemälotla* is the being who takes care of *Ttäqmä·ks* in the upper skyland. It is said that [776] this prayer was learnt by the ancestors of an informant in the beginning of time and that a repetition of the exact words is enough to drive away the rain clouds between earth and the upper heaven. For many generations care was taken to teach some intelligent member of the family the correct formula, and the person so entrusted was expected to use his knowledge for the benefit of any of his relatives desiring fine weather.

Another prayer prerogative of similar type was recorded from an old man who related what he had seen his grandfather do many years before. The two were once hunting when heavy rain threatened their success and drove them to the shelter of a projecting ledge. The grandfather, not having any cedar-bark with him, cut and dried some evergreen boughs which he [824] gave to his grandson, telling him to light them and wave them over his, the grandfather's, head. When this had been done, the old man rushed out into the rain and in a loud voice asked some supernatural being, whose name was forgotten, to throw his eyes upon the rain clouds in order to dispel them. That night the petitioner neither drank water nor urinated, and the [715]

[m]The vocative form.

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782 next day the weather was fine. This particular method of
424 praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the begin-
821 ning of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family.
[785] With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of
[177] customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grand-father of the man from whom the information was obtained.

SACRIFICE

782 It might be expected that a clear division should be made between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears
[824] dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any
[824] supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts
[825] of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether
[26] or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a few tithes of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*Wai, wai, wai,*" "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural
[502] powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Masmichs Nose,
[138]
[756]

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614 553 178 773 The converse of this process of loss is the assimilation to an origin myth of names originally brought into the ancestral family by a woman from abroad. Unless intercourse and friendly relations were maintained by "return marriages," in a few generations no tradition would be remembered to account for the name, and this, if used at all, would be interwoven into the well-known ancestral myth. Hence a myth is not static with regard to the names embedded in it. These change from generation to generation; it is probable that elements of the story itself suffer like additions and alterations, even though the people do not consider this to be the case.

611 614 The Bella Coola regard the ancestral family as a social unit, not only in terms of the present, but as stretching back to the first settlement of the earth. Viewed from this angle, it is in fact, though not admitted to be so by the Bella Coola, a unilateral grouping with patrilineal descent, which may, in both the most recent and most ancient generations, be marked by matrilineal descent instead. A man frequently uses prerogatives obtained through his mother, her mother, or even her mother's mother, but it is tacitly assumed that for many previous generations such rights passed in the patrilineal line. Sometimes this succession extended back to the beginning of time; in other cases, prerogatives were transmitted matrilineally for a considerable period after the settlement of the earth, before gradually becoming patrilineal.

614 429 551 It has been thus far assumed that the only prerogative wrapped up in an ancestral name is a knowledge of the myth in which it is embedded. But there are others. For example, several of the first inhabitants of the world are said to have owned totem-poles, each of which was displayed by its owner at the gathering when he took for himself a name. Thereafter, the only person entitled to use that particular totem-pole design was the person with the legal right to the name in question. The same principle governs all dance names; each entitles its owner to perform a certain ceremonial. Thus it is possible to enlarge the previous definition by saying that:

[532] [536]

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The ancestral family consists of those whose ancestral names, embodying definite prerogatives, are embodied in a single origin myth. 614 424 551

A stranger finds it easier to understand why names are so carefully maintained within the ancestral family by thinking of them as symbols of prerogatives, but it must be emphasized that the Bella Coola preserve with equal jealousy those designations of which the only prerogative is the marking of this actual membership. [554]

If, then, the ancestral family be regarded as a group possessing a large number of name-prerogatives, it may well be asked how these are distributed among the members. The first point to be emphasized is that the ancestral family is a unit held together without definite social mechanism. There is no accepted "head" of the family, nor are there any clearly formulated laws governing the transmission of the name-prerogatives. Before death a man usually calls together his relatives and bequeaths,[4] according to his desire, his personal property in slaves and canoes, and his intangible property in names. Such a designation does not become the property of the new owner unless he is able to validate his ownership by a distribution of presents; meanwhile the name is "dead." If, during this period, some other member of the ancestral family should desire it for a child, or for himself, he can take possession of it by the customary distribution of presents. In doing so he would anger the legatee, but the latter cannot himself use the appellation since it is already in use. Even at the present time there are bitter quarrels over the assumption of names, and such have certainly occurred for many generations. If a man can validate fairly promptly a name willed to him, it is most unusual for anyone else to try to forestall him. 614 553 428 553 481 [578]

If a man dies intestate, his sons consider themselves his normal heirs, and the most respected of them validates for himself as many names as he desires or is able to assume. Disputes are not as common as might be expected since the 428 553 [578]

[4] In cases of sudden death or failure to make a will confusion sometimes occurs.

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[567] friends, a further cause for their preferential treatment. A
[727] Bella Coola who had been enslaved and ransomed had to
[783] undergo a cleansing ceremony to remove the taint of slavery before he could take part in the ceremonies of the community. It was impossible to learn the details of this rite.

[624] A master had complete power over a slave, unaffected by the force of public opinion, since the affairs of a slave, being without relatives, were of no consequence to anyone. Accordingly, the lot of a slave depended on the character of his master, and on his own ability and industry. An industrious slave was valued; such an one would not be traded or sold except through dire necessity, and in course of years he became, as far as actual treatment was concerned, one of the
[424] family. Many masters gave their slaves *kwiat*[14] dance pre-
[491] rogatives, expending large sums for the purpose. In such a case the slave might become an influential member of the community, though the fact that he was not free was never forgotten. On the other hand, a master had not the slightest compunction about beating a lazy slave, and could kill him if he so desired. None of the present Bella Coola has heard of such a case; it was considered more sensible to sell or give away an unsatisfactory slave. It was accepted as a matter of course that a master should provide his slaves with food and clothing, since anything produced or obtained by one belonged to him. A slave-owner had full rights to his female slaves,
[837] and unquestionably exercised them. The only restraints were the jealousy of his own wife, or wives, and the feeling that it was undignified for a free man to demean himself. It was impossible to learn with even approximate accuracy to what extent intercourse took place between masters and slaves. Probably not a great deal, though there was considerable freedom of relations between slave women and the young men of the community, unrestrained by the pride of chieftainship. When a slave had been faithful for a number of years and had
[582] become almost a member of the family, his master would try

[14] [illegible] privileges (I, p. 180) were more rarely given.

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CHAPTER IV

RANK

Chieftainship—Sisaok Society—The Potlatch

Chieftainship

IN the previous chapter have been described the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the origin of names, and the attitude of pride with which they regard those embodied in ancestral myths, which carry with them prized prerogatives. But the unsystematic method by which ancestral names are inherited is sufficient to show that their possession, though valued for sentimental reasons, is not enough to make the owner a chief. On what, then, is Bella Coola chieftainship based? Expressed briefly, it depends on the number and value of presents distributed at any kind of ceremonial. To the Bella Coola, every rite, whether it be a marriage, the bestowal of a name, a dance, a type of funeral, or admission into a secret society, is a prerogative intimately associated with the myth by which the performance is authorized. Accordingly, the host is really displaying the glories of his ancestors before the eyes of guests present at the ceremony. To the Bella Coola it is unthinkable for such to be performed without the giving of presents to all; failure to do so would destroy the value of the prerogative. The potlatch is the ceremonial at which the most lavish generosity is displayed, but the principle of the acquisition of prestige by the giving of presents is the same for all other rites; the only difference is that at a potlatch a man is able to display his generosity to a larger number of recipients. In consequence, the aim of every ambitious man is to hold potlatches, since his status in the community virtually rests on his ability in this respect. The ritual of a potlatch will be given in detail in the latter part of this chapter, but its complications will be intelligible only after a description of the

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*556 broader principles of chieftainship. The first essential is to
431 consider the principles of present-giving.

PRESENTS

*556 Consider, for example, a man who wishes to take for him-
431 self one of his ancestral names, and at the same time to display
certain features of his ancestral myth—a particular type of
●424 house, totem-pole, or dance used by one of his forefathers.
He invites guests to his house, displays the feature of his myth,
and must give a present to each to show the value of his pre-
rogative and to demonstrate that he has not merely casually
usurped the function in question. In giving a present of, for
instance, $20, it is as if he said to the recipient:

"See! These are the glories of my ancestors of whom *I* am the descendant. *I* have a part in their fame. To make this valid I give you from my wealth a mere trifle, a matter of no consequence to me, who am so firmly established in the path of my ancestors."

*556 The guest receives the money with mixed feelings. On the
one hand he has received $20 as a "present." But if he wishes
431 to elevate his own position and his own prestige, together with
that of his ancestors, it is incumbent on him to repay this sum
with interest. Contrary to the practice among some other
[171] coastal tribes, there is no fixed rate of interest among the Bella
Coola. An ambitious man who seeks to become a chief will
strive to the utmost to pay back with heavy interest when he
himself gives a ceremony so that his fame will be carried far
[558] and near. If he should repay only the principal, he would be
regarded as having done all that was obligatory, but should he
fail to do even so much, he would soon sink to a position of
little consequence, no matter how lofty and distinguished his
ancestral name might be.

171 In this respect there is a parallel between the Bella
*556 Coola and ourselves. A man invited to a dinner party is not
558 compelled to return the compliment, but if, in the course of

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*556 Island chief was felt by the Bella Coola to be quite natural;
578 one of their own chiefs might have resented the insult in the same manner. This account may have no historical basis, but it is a clear example of Bella Coola sentiment.

*556 Further examples may help to clarify this point. A few
648 years ago a number of Kwakiutl Indians visited Bella Coola
558 to perform a mourning ceremony in honour of a deceased Bella
[765] Coola who had a Kwakiutl name from his grandfather, a member of that tribe. All the natives were invited to a large house, where the visitors gave a dance according to their own ancestral myths; the songs which were used recounted the history of the Kwakiutl name of the dead man. After thus displaying their prerogatives, they felt themselves obliged, and proud, as hosts, to give presents as validation. The sum of $546 was distributed among the guests. Realizing that it would be impossible to return such a sum by holding ceremonials in Fort Rupert, the home of the Kwakiutl, the leading Bella Coola decided to return the compliment immediately. The amount to be given was discussed at great length. Appreciating the courtesy of the foreigners in thus coming to pay honour to the deceased, it was not wished to insult them by giving a larger present, which would have had the effect of intimating that the recipients considered the $546 a trifling amount. Accordingly it was finally agreed to give the visitors about $300, which was done as validation of a Bella Coola ceremony at which the strangers were present. Thus the hosts allowed themselves to be shamed as a mark of courtesy. Not to be outdone in politeness, the Kwakiutl chief made a speech, expressing his willingness to allow the Bella Coola to drive him (this occurred in the days of horses and carts) to the wharf to take the steamer. In other words, he allowed the Bella Coola to put him in their debt, as they had allowed him and his party to do with respect to the distribution of money. The visit terminated with friendly relations maintained on both sides.

123 The need of validating every ceremonial act by presents
533 can be further illustrated by the following instance. When
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the writer was in Bella Coola, a non-ceremonial entertainment was given one evening at which several men sang and performed. The writer was asked to sing a Bella Coola song, which he did in the belief that it was not one that was incorporated in the ancestral myth of anyone. Unfortunately, his teacher had erred, and as soon as the song was completed an old woman arose and stated that it belonged to her ancestral family. She avoided the difficulty of its singing by immediately announcing that the singer was her "son." Thus the writer was adopted into a Bella Coola family, a circumstance which aided him considerably in collecting information. This did not alter the fact that a ceremonial song had been sung. Accordingly, the woman gave presents to the guests, thereby legalizing the adoption, and saving herself from the disgrace of having one of her songs used as if it were a matter of no consequence, free to anyone. 123 533 556* 424 [597]

SEATING

Presents are also a means of obtaining seats. Every Bella Coola has at least one name embodied in an ancient myth. A man who wishes to become a chief can do so only by giving lavish presents to make his designation "strong," "firm," or "bright," to use Bella Coola expressions. Such gifts increase the importance of the owner's name, and they obtain for him the right to a seat, more or less definitely located, in the house. Since all Bella Coola habitations are built on similar lines, a man can occupy his wonted position when summoned to a ceremony in any house. The validating of ancestral names and the acquisition of seats are among the important features which occur at potlatches. 554 556* [622] [424] [553]

In the beginning of time, when the first people were sent down to populate the earth, it is assumed that each who established a village, consisting of a single house, seated himself in the best spot within the dwelling, namely the central position behind the fire; his younger relatives ranged either beside him [773]

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554 or sat in two rows, facing one another, on opposite sides of the
* 556 central fire, parallel to the side walls of the house. When these
[773] first ancestors died, the name of each was passed on to some
[551] descendant. The Bella Coola feel that he who bears the name
[171] of the first settler in a village should have his ancestor's seat. Comparison with the practices of other coastal tribes suggests that formerly the Bella Coola must have had a definite series of seats in their houses, either according to the rank of the occupant, or according to the rank of the ancestor whose name he bore. The most careful investigation, however, failed to show such a system of ranked seating. The only indications that such may once have been customary, are found in the feeling today that the bearer of the first chief's name ought to occupy the central seat behind the fire, and in the expression, "He seats himself where his ancestor sat," when a youth is given his place in the house.

[551] A seat can be claimed and an ancestral name assumed at any age. Goods must be given away which are said to be "covering" for the young man, to have "flowed away," or to have "become nothing" for the name. These validate the official assumption of the designation. With it is given a place in the house. A seat is chosen at the side of the fire, and the goods mark that spot as his in conjunction with the name.
● [424] The seat itself is not material, though the general location on which a person shall sit is indicated. His "seat" is the goods that have been expended. Several men may have positions at practically the same spot, but when all are seated they merely move slightly so that all have room. There is no thought of one person infringing on the location of another. A parent who gives ample wealth at successive potlatches may seek for his son a seat behind the fire. Such is entirely his own affair and if sufficient goods are distributed the son may seat himself in that place, but if the gifts are of little value the occupant is secretly held in derision, as having a seat that is unsound, or unfirm. In later years the man may expend large sums in strengthening his seat; by so doing he wins recognition from

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all that he sits in an enviable spot, irrespective of its location in the house. 554 556*

In precisely the same manner a man may take for himself a seat in the central part of the row behind the fire, but he is laughed at for endeavouring to assume a dignity, unworthily, unless he can validate his position by lavish presents. The Bella Coola are always ready to make fun of a person who fails to maintain his seat. On the death of the occupant of the central position it is taken for granted that whoever inherits his name will assume that location and give the essential presents, but it is not incumbent upon him to do so. He may choose to establish his new name at his old station, beside, instead of behind, the fire. Thus it has come to pass that the seat of the most important chief of a village is often at the side of the house. When all are seated the chiefs may be widey separated, and a parent may have obtained for his son a seat in a better part of the house than his own. But as a rule the chiefs sit in a row at the back of the fire, the most influential one in the middle. There must have been feuds when two men desired to seat themselves in the central position at the same time, but disputes about this were uncommon, because a man's seat was, and still is, primarily regarded as the intangible goods wherewith he is clothed, rather than his right to sit at any particular spot. It is these non-material coverings that enable a man to be bold and assertive in argument or suggestion, in fact to be a chief. A young man may have had conferred on him one of the noblest names, but his infuence depends on the value of the goods expended on his behalf, subject of course to the universal characteristic that a man of forceful character may have more influence than his actual position warrants. [424] [428] [622] [424]

Jealous feuds are common when the man who owns the name of the first chief, first ancestor of a village, has duly validated it, but is being eclipsed in the giving of potlatches by a man whose name is of less intrinsic importance. Such a complication recently arose at Kimsquit, and the Bella Coola [578] [682]

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present, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried farther afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in attendance. Every individual duly secluded and given a *sisaok* name feels himself ceremonially allied to others who have had a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be termed the *sisaok* secret society. 553 556* 575

The close connection between this society and chiefs is obvious from the presence of names of each type in the same ancestral myths. None the less, every chief, that is a person with duly validated ancestral name and seat, is not a *sisaok*, unless he has validated a *sisaok* name for himself and undergone the period of seclusion. Conversely, a man may be a duly authorized member of the *sisaok* although lacking a seat and the other marks of chieftainship. The relationship is, however, so close that the Bella Coola think of the *sisaok* society as a society of chiefs. *Sisaok* dances take place at potlatches and funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance. Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use some of his goods for the acquisition of a *sisaok* name. Such a case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in the summer of 1923. Theoretically, he was ignorant of *sisaok* rites, but after much discussion these were used on account of his importance as a *numitl* chief, an instance of the manner in which a man's personal importance over-rules ceremonial dictates. 575 622 [553] [535] [766] [183]

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *sisaok* name-prerogatives came to this earth at the beginning of time with their first ancestors, and that many more have been acquired later by supernatural experiences. These were especially common among their forbears as they ranged over this earth seeking places to settle in the beginning of time. No *sisaok* name can be assumed casually; each must have had a specific origin. There are few *sisaok* origin myths, though theoretically there should be one to account for every name. The explanation appears to lie in the undoubted fact that many *sisaok* prerogatives have been acquired comparatively recently 424 551 575 773 [177]

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177 from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not diffi-
424 cult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking,
551 even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella
575 Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella
[773] prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time of the coming of the white man. There has since been general decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situation is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the investigator.

428 *Susaok* names are willed and inherited in the manner already
551 described for other prerogatives. The type of dance, and the
575 time of use, will be described in the following section of this chapter.

The Potlatch

* 556 It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank
128 among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a number of features which, logically, should have been postponed until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has been made to lessen references to non-ritualistic features by the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chieftainship and the *susaok* society. Other ideas will require rather lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems preferable to the use of many foot-notes, its only alternative.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

104 In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "pot-
* 556 latch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents,
[431] and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella Coola, such distribution of gifts is necessary at every ceremonial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most important of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach, the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

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556 *
monograph the term "potlatch" will be limited to this, the *łum*. [104]

Every Bella Coola is, or should be, able to recount how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god, *Älquntäm*, caused his 556 * ancestors to be created in his house in the land above, whence 773 they were sent down to populate the earth. A creation legend of this type is a man's most treasured possession.[4] Most myths [424] describe the adventures of these first people, how they prospered in the Bella Coola country until they were able to invite to their homes guests from far and near, to whom they showed what they had achieved, through the assistance of *Älquntäm*, or of some other supernatural being. In so doing they were carrying out *Älquntäm*'s wishes. He told some of these first people that if they accumulated much wealth, in those days chiefly food, there was danger that the provisions first stored would rot, hence they should cut away the bottom of the pile and present it to other men and women. The Bella Coola term [192] for "to cut out that which is rotten" is *łult*, hence the origin, according to their belief, of the word *łum*, which thus has the significance of "a giving away of long accumulated goods which otherwise might rot."

By the splendour of his gifts each of the first people able to give a potlatch (*łum*), spread the knowledge of his name and fame to the towns whence his guests had assembled. Further, those who had received dances from *Älquntäm* were able to demonstrate them. In course of time those who had first given potlatches died, but on taking their fathers' names, the sons, or other descendants, endeavoured to uphold the parental [574] tradition by inviting guests from afar and giving them valuable presents. At such a ceremony the family history, or family myth, was recounted, so that the donor of a potlatch not only increased his own prestige, he incorporated therewith the traditions of his parent. This is the essence of the potlatch as carried out today.[5]

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[4]Examples of these are given in vol. I, chap. VI.

[5]It has been found convenient to use the present tense throughout, although the potlatch is not now carried out in its entirety. [104]

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* 556 622 the time the earth was settled, ought to be chief of that village. If he has been able to give the necessary potlatches to weight his possession of that name, the fact that he is the legal descendant of the first chief will add a certain amount to his prestige, but unless he has been able to do this his influence will be slight.

* 556 622 766 [775] Thirdly, potlatches smooth the way for the giver after death. Before the corpse of a chief is removed from the house where he has died, a speaker always announces the number of potlatches he has given and the total value of goods distributed at them. These gifts in a vague way are felt to make easy the deceased's path in the next world as they have done in the present. The feature of the potlatch, though firmly believed by some of the older people, plays a less important part in the life of the Bella Coola than might be expected.

* 556 What are the requisites for giving a potlatch?

[424] (1) Possession of an ancient myth, containing a name or names. Probably every Bella Coola has this requirement. A man's family may not be the proud owners of one of the ancestral myths dealing with the first settlement of this earth, but they will at least own some ancient myth which they can elevate by giving a potlatch. As has been said, the owner of one of the most ancient names in many cases chooses to elevate one of lesser antiquity, a course which must, perforce, be done by one who lacks an origin myth. The slight feeling of deference with which those are regarded who hold the names of the first inhabitants of the earth, the mighty chiefs of old, is subordinate to the very real feeling of respect in which is held the successful giver of potlatches. The descendant of one of the first people has the potential right to chieftainship, but unless he can give potlatches he will fail to gain that eminence.

[554]

* 556 769 (2) An occasion for giving a potlatch is never lacking. It consists of a number of closely associated rites, any one of which will serve as a reason for the ceremony. The most important feature, the return of a dead ancestor or ancestors to visit the living, is available to anyone at any time. The Bella

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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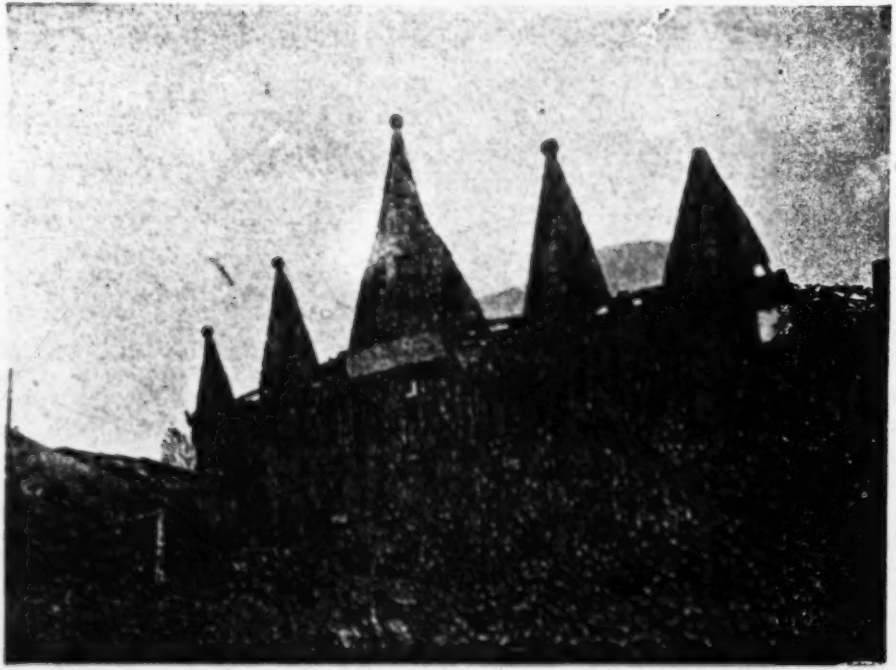
PLATE 13



Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Five-peaked house representing Mount *Nusdalt*

342
424

[7 186 (E)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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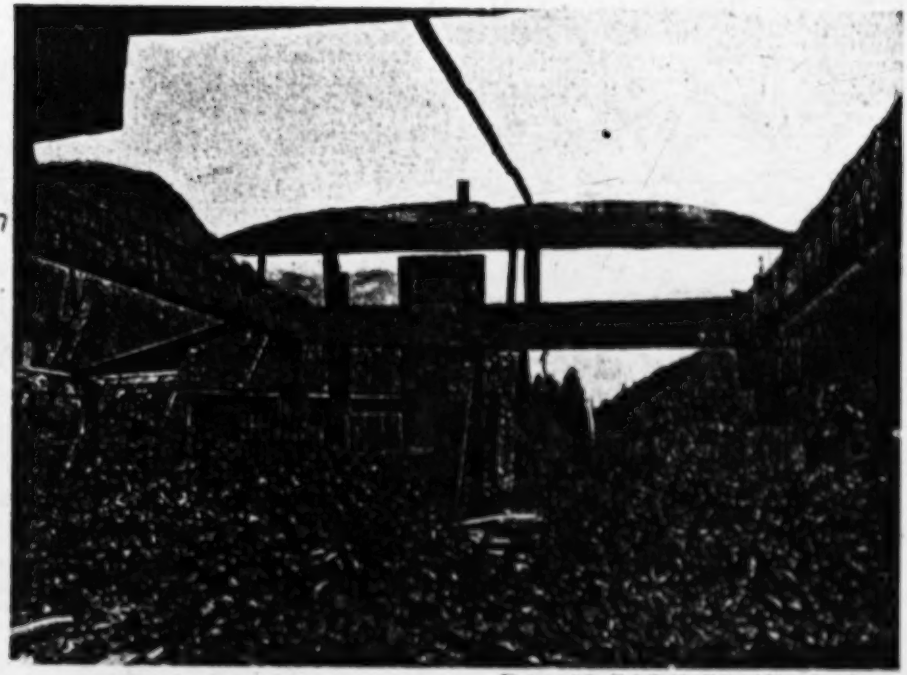
PLATE 14



Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Framework of an old house, displaying the owner's prerogative of spool-like indentations in the front posts

[f 186 (F)]

Pre-
* 556 sently the guests assemble, those who are *nuask* wearing on
[575] their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership
237 in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled,
292 the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners,
[554] slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair. It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by
[203] the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial gain.

264 A number of young lads, friends or relatives of X, distribute
* 556 the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no
[883] standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests; otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in
[578] this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its reward.

583
* 556 Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a
[537] fluent friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech, extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general
425 outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may
● [424] be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with
[532] the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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335 of one in his ancestral myth, he will do so; if not, it will suffice
* 556 to decorate the old house; but in either case the tasks connected with the construction must be allotted. X gives to one man the work of making new beams; to another, the two front upright posts; to a third, the two rear upright posts; to another, the planks along one side of the house; to a skilled carpenter, the totem-pole bearing whatever design X has decided upon; to a painter, one of the designs for the back wall of the house; to another painter, another design near it; to still another, part of the painting of the front of the house; to another, more of the same; and so on until he has allotted work for every part of the edifice. In some cases there are
342 peculiarities of house construction dependent upon their occur-
● 424 rence in the builder's ancestral myth, which are jealously
* 556 guarded prerogatives. One man, for instance, enjoys the right
[773] to build five peaks above the front of his house. These represent the five peaks of Mount *Nusqalst* where his first ancestor came to earth (see Plate 13). Another has a series of spool- or disk-like indentations in his upright posts (see Plate 14) to support the beams, a prerogative established by his ancestor *Qeil* in the beginning of time. Another chief's posts are carved to represent a mythical creature. Still another prerogative is that of building a sloping board, resembling a gang-plank, from the door of the house to the ground, with a representation of a mythological sea monster at the bottom. In that case the theme of the grandiloquent potlatch song is how chiefs are attracted to X's house, as canoes are irresistibly drawn to the sea monster.

Each of the above-mentioned prerogatives belongs to one family alone; whereas several have the right to build semi-subterranean houses. The artisans excavate a rectangular hole, about six feet deep, equal in size to the central part of the dwelling. A platform is then erected round the sides of this, about three feet from the bottom. The walls of the house itself are raised sufficiently far back from the central pit to allow an unencumbered passageway, off which the bedrooms

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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are built. The central fire is laid in the bottom of the pit, a few feet above that is the platform where the guests are seated, and the ground-level is a few feet above that again. A few instances are remembered of houses having been built with two, and even three, of these tiers, or platforms. In those cases it appears certain that this type of construction was embodied in a myth derived from Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people, where, according to the Bella Coola, large houses, of five or six tiers, were not unknown. 342 424 556* [177]

X uses his own discretion in choosing his workmen,[1] avoiding only his own relatives and those of his wife. The question of pay is never broached, but it is understood that X will recompense those who have worked for him. The scale on which he does so will depend entirely on his generosity. This is one of the ways in which a chief helps the poor people of his village. More food is distributed to "sharpen the wedges." 335 556* 465

While a man is engaged on his allotted task any food or other articles which he or his family may obtain belongs to X. If a man who hews the planks takes his wife with him and she chances to pick berries while he is at work, these must be given to X who will distribute them with his other food at the potlatch, and it will be announced from whom he has received them. If a man's friends should help him to complete his task and then all go hunting, any skins acquired will belong to X; but when he repays his indebtedness he is expected to reward the worker, not only for his carpentry, but also for the berries or pelts. As X must give lavishly to prove his chief-like generosity, the collection of foods or skins by his workmen is profitable for them.

The guests have been passing in and out of X's house all day and towards dusk all again assemble within. Suddenly the door is burst open by a number of young men carrying a large log, like a battering-ram. The majority of the bearers are *sisook*, though they may obtain assistance from those who are not members of the society. The people within the house spring up to eject the ram, and a sham battle ensues. Back- 552* [575]

1 [ie. to build a new house for a potlatch. -ANALYST]

Title: Unwoith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *nuxalk* ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from these, and sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy being had landed there. At once there is great excitement within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove them to be at hand. No-one is allowed to leave except a *nuxalk sisi*[9] who is skilled in dealing with *Malakila*,[10] also called *Siexiepuxum*, the supernatural being closely connected with the *nuxalk* ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *sisi* raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance.

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

[9] The accounts of all informants agree that much of the *nuxalk* ritual was newly imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements, *Pudes*, a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella wife, also one from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with them so dower certain *nuxalk* prerogatives. It is said that previous to that time the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the youths secluded in the back-room, nor to dispel the beings at the conclusion of the rites. On the other hand, some Bella Coola claim that their few ancestors brought the whistles with them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural beings is a recent addition to the potlatch, which accounts for the contradictory accounts, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It appears certain that the prerogatives of *sisi* has recently been obtained from the Bella Bella. *Sisi* means "the man who cures," and the name is given to the man whose prerogative it is to tend the *Sacrier* initiates in whom supernatural powers are located. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for *nuxalk* matters, known as a *kai sisilala*. Through intermarriage several Bella Coola have recently obtained this prerogative; in each case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to them, as formerly, the term *sisi*, as they do for the *Sacrier* "cures," though the Bella Bella term, *kai sisilala*, is used with equal frequency. The present *sisi* have endeavoured to claim for themselves certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by any *nuxalk*. In this manner of a potlatch it is assumed that a *sisi* is functioning on all occasions, but in many cases any member *nuxalk* is considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *nuxalk* was regarded as capable of doing so.

[10] Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a certain *Sacrier* of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time.

1:96:Dorsett E-1 (522-524)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

As the dances proceed, those women who have the prerogative for doing so, utter a peculiar drawing cry. After dancing, the initiates return to the back-room, where they doff their masks. The ceremony concludes with the distribution of food. 595 596 575 [424]

The initiates are now free to leave their place of concealment, as each has become a legal member of the secret society. Some young men, sons of influential chiefs, are included a number of times, others but once. The oftener a youth is included, the greater is his prestige, because goods must be distributed on each occasion to validate his name. At the present time, there is considerable uncertainty about the exact details of the ceremony, for it has been so easy of late years to give potlatches that the simpler rite has fallen into disuse; some informants state that each initiate should emerge alone and dance by himself. This concludes the shorter ceremony, but with a potlatch the dancing is reserved until the coming of the foreign guests. [354]

DELIVERING OF INVITATIONS

Returning now to preparations for the true potlatch, it does not matter whether the ceremonies already described are carried out before or after the departure of messengers to invite guests from abroad. Although X usually consults his relatives and friends as to whom he shall invite, this is entirely optional. In giving his invitations X is actuated, first, by a desire to entertain those from whom he has previously received hospitality; having accepted presents from them he must discharge the obligations or sink in social estimation. Considerations of friendship also enter into his selection, and he will likewise invite anyone whom he wishes to put to shame by a lavish display of wealth. It is taken as a matter of course that each guest will be accompanied by a number of followers, members of his family, slaves, or adherents. 556* [388] [351]

Acting on X's instructions, a herald invites the people of his village to X's house. X stands up and announces to them [288] [464]

want to give valuable presents, but he need not give any. It is a deep disgrace to any man to be unable to return these presents. Nothing is said, nor does the donor take active steps to receive his returns, but the influence of the recipient perceptibly wanes. It is expected that a heavier rate of interest will be paid on presents received many years before repayment, but again this is a matter of individual volition. The debts of a man who dies while owing for goods received at potlatches are scrupulously discharged by his family. If they fail to do so, their own influence is lessened. 426 556* 558

One method of reducing the value of an investment present can be used by a man who finds unable to repay a large gift. The uncle of an elderly Bella Coola was once guest at a Kimsquit potlatch, where he received, as an investment present, a few large canoe and two hundred blankets. Not wishing to incur so large a liability he at once returned fifty of the blankets to his host for distribution among the guests. Consequently, he was expected to make return for only one hundred and fifty blankets, with whatever interest he desired. This action tended to lower his prestige, since it acknowledged his inability or unwillingness to repay his presents. The chief in question, being firmly established in his chiefly status, did not fear to do this, though one of lesser rank would have hesitated to confess his inferiority.

It is on the value of the goods distributed in these three types of transaction; namely, recompense for work done, repayment of debts, and investment presents, that the importance of the potlatch, and consequently of X himself, is usually judged. These distributions of presents are for the potlatch as a whole, including the return of the dead and the intangible prestige of X; the donations which follow are to validate specific transactions which can be omitted. In one or two families the whole course of the potlatch is changed since the members have the prerogative of distributing their presents outside the house. In such a case the giving is done during the day instead of at night. Details of this ritual, 426 556* [164] [124]

556 [420] [184] [424]

which is said to have come as a prerogative obtained through marriage with a Kwakiutl woman, were not obtained.

After the distribution of investment presents comes the strengthening of X's seat.

His wife, aided by members of her family, has placed the necessary goods in readiness, though it is pretended they merely happen to be on hand. A herald takes his place near the door, and another behind the fire. Beside the latter stands a chief, attired in a noted head-dress, who represents X. One of the heralds calls on this substitute to come forward, as if he were just entering the house, and chants:

[208]

"There is no place for him to sit!"

Then he turns to X's wife, saying:

"See if you have not a few trifles in your room to strengthen him."

[192]

The word for "strengthen" is *ululutem*, or *ululitem*, which means, "showing up," as if X were wobbling on his chief-like base. The words have the other significance of "clothing." They represent the ceremonial dignity wherewith a chief is garbed.

X's wife goes to her room, or to the place in the house where the goods are stored, and brings forth a large assortment of valuables, which are piled in a convenient spot. The substitute who is representing X then places himself in the latter's seat, which is to be made more solid by these goods. X's wife may tell the herald that they have still more goods for him, and in that case he calls out:

"His seat is too hard. Have you no soft cloths for it?"

The wife brings forward more goods to make her husband's seat more comfortable. The herald, who has been chosen for his fluency, uses his originality in what he calls for from the wife; soft cloths for the seat is merely an example. In some cases, many presents are given; at other times, if the wife and her family be poor, these are few and of little worth. It is not essential that foreign guests witness this establishment or strengthening of a seat, though their presence means that X's

[209]

1:M:Dewalth E.S (1922-1924)1948
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[556* 575 789]

turns, clad in his ceremonial costume, including a long cape with pockets. With him come the four or five young men who have just finished dancing. The singers beat time furiously with their sticks, and the *ski whin* round and round, working himself into a frenzy with twists and gyrations. Gradually, he approaches one of the initiates, and pretends to pluck something from his body. As he opens his hands the spectators see that there is something in them what exactly, they cannot distinguish. Only those who are *ska* understand that, whatever it is, it has been pulled from one of his cape pockets. He pretends to throw this object upwards, at the same time slipping it back into his cape. As the article is, theoretically, thrown aloft the sound of whistling is heard, which grows weaker and weaker till it finally ceases. Meanwhile the heralds discourse loudly with one another about how the "eagle" or whatever it is, has been extracted and is now returning above. The same procedure is repeated for the other initiates. This concludes the night's ceremony. Food is distributed and the people disperse.

[424 177]

The employment of a foreign *shi* to expel the power from the initiates is necessary since this particular prerogative is not native to Bella Coola. Formerly the expulsion was done in the back-room without any elaborate ceremony. This rite marks the admission of initiates into the *ska* society although they cannot yet leave the back-room. It must be understood, however, that a youth may be initiated several times, on each occasion receiving new songs and perhaps a different mask. In this way his prestige as a *ska* is increased, and the son of a powerful chief will often be initiated ten or more times. A mask so acquired is preserved in concealment as the personal property of the owner who may use it at potlatches on future occasions. It will be the guise in which a dead person returns to visit the living. After being used for this purpose, a mask may be burnt, or willed to a near relative of the deceased, who slightly alters the painting before using it himself.

[556* 575]

[422 532 428]

It is somewhat difficult to understand the attitude of those

[781]

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556 with the objects back on the fire. In some cases four sets of cloths are used. This rite, which is regarded as very impor-
575 tant, frees the lads from the supernatural powers with which
789 they have been endowed, and permits them finally to leave
789 the back-room and return to normal life, just as their earlier cleansing freed them from the *tutwinam*. During their period of seclusion no initiate can perform a *kusiut* ceremony of any kind. The supernatural beings of the two societies, though closely akin, are yet independent, and it would be unthinkable for a man to enter into contact with the two at the same time, unless he should be the owner of a rare prerogative enabling
[424 him to do so. Only a few men have the right, which un-
177] doubtedly was derived either from the Bella Bella or the people of Rivers Inlet.

556 X pays the functioning *sîki* with new clothing. This com-
575 pletes the whole ceremony. The guests either return home or adjourn to some other house where a potlatch is taking place,
[465] but no rites mark their departure.

556 Such, then, are the principal features of the Bella Coola
171 potlatch. Without making a careful comparison of its features with those of neighbouring tribes, the following points stand out with great clearness:

(1) The basic concepts of the potlatch in Bella Coola are the same as those of the rite practised elsewhere on the coast.

(2) A potlatch has not the same importance at Bella Coola as it has on other parts of the coast, especially among the Kwakiutl. All informants stated repeatedly that they did not
[186] carry their potlatches to the same lengths as did the "foolish" Kwakiutl, nor were they as keen financiers. A Bella Coola would never entirely impoverish himself by lavish giving.

(3) The potlatch, though fundamentally the same as it is elsewhere on the coast, has certain rites characteristic of the locality. The central Bella Coola feature, the return of a dead ancestor, is not equally important elsewhere. It would be interesting to be able to trace the history of this. The most

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first established on his seat, he must reward the heralds lavishly for their remarks. 203 556 *

As with so many elements of culture, the Bella Coola ascribe the origin of heralds to the wish of *Alqantäm* as expressed to the first people in the beginning of time. Some groups of these early settlers brought with them heralds whose games had been created by the supreme deity himself in his house in the land above. Such a one was *Qäqä'li* who was a member of *Xemcua*'s (I, p. 326) party at Kimsquit, another was *Olqdimut* who came with *uyuyuyut* (I, p. 329). These heralds functioned in the manner of their descendants of today; others of the first chiefs appointed certain of their relatives to perform this service, and by means of the power with which they were endowed, created names with respect to their functions. Besides his ordinary name every herald must have an ancestral appellation of some kind, as well as the probability of possessing *kuxiut* ones in addition to those of a professional nature. Either by bringing with them from above, or by creation on this earth, each group of first settlers became provided with a herald, whose name is embodied in the ancestral myth describing their experiences. As each of the first heralds died, his name was passed to a successor, and this practice has been carried out from generation to generation until the present. The Bella Coola state that no new names for heralds have been created since the time of the first people, and it is certain that none has been made for many years. Consequently, the number of heralds is strictly limited in accordance with mythological beliefs, and every man who owns one of the ancient designations embodied in an origin myth knows the name of the herald associated with his first namesake. 203 773 551 [428]

At the death of a herald his name becomes dormant. Since heralds function at all ceremonies, whether or not the donor belongs to the same ancestral family as themselves, the members of the group sustaining the loss are not deprived of their 203 553 556 * 614 424 ●

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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203 services. None the less, one of their prized prerogatives, the
553 visible embodiment of an element in their ancestral myth, is
*556 no longer present. In such circumstances, no member of an
614 ancestral family would give a potlatch unless able to revive at
[424] it the dormant name in a new herald. The intending donor
usually consults with the senior members of the ancestral family
as to a suitable incumbent, or especially if he is an influential
chief, he may simply use his own discretion. In either case,
some relatively young member of the ancestral family is offered
the post. If he accepts, the matter is settled; if not, another
is invited in his stead. The new herald cannot function until
his name and appointment have been validated by the distri-
bution of presents at the potlatch. Such gifts are not return-
able, since they are held to "have become nothing" for the
name. Relatively lavish expenditure for this purpose is one
of the many ways in which a chief is able to show his prowess
and generosity. Thus established, a herald can carry out his
duties thenceforth. He functions at every ceremonial, but
especially at potlatches given by members of his own ancestral
family, in whose origin myth his own name is embedded. From
[627] constant participation in all kinds of ceremonials, a herald
[796] becomes conversant with every type, and is appealed to as
arbiter in difficult points of ritual, thus adding to his repu-
tation.

203 Although acceptance of the post of herald somewhat cur-
*556 tails a man's activities in other respects, instances are known
of energetic ones using the gifts received to establish them-
selves as chiefs, passing on their herald names at the same time
to other incumbents. More often, a herald uses his wealth for
the benefit of a son or other relative, being satisfied with his
own status in the community. He takes a prominent part in
every ceremony and is a person of some standing, yet is spared
the responsibility of actually giving rise himself, a position
which offers many attractions to a man lacking great ambition
and initiative.

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pended, so that it serves as a visible and tangible memorandum of the chief-like generosity of its owner. By means of these media, debts are passed from one individual to another without actual liquidation in goods; in fact, it is unlikely that the Bella Coola possess sufficient money to meet the sums represented by their coppers. 556* [435] [426]

Professional Prerogatives

The importance of prerogatives in the lives of the Bella Coola has already been noted in many connections. A man's name is his only because his ancestral family has the prerogative of using that designation; a *Dsaiat* dance can be performed only by an individual with the necessary prerogative; specific totem-pole designs, the portrayal of bird or animal on spoons, seats, house-posts, and other objects is a right dependent upon an ancestral prerogative; as is also the area on which a man can hunt or fish. The concept colours all Bella Coola life. Not only is a man's ceremonial life based on this principle, but on it depend his actions as chief, and the economic sources of his food-supply. No prerogative, even though it be the property of a man, is effective until validated by the distribution of presents. Much of a man's energy throughout life is expended on the validation and display of his prerogatives; most Bella Coola feuds are caused by the infringement of one individual on another's rights. 424 ● 556* [532] [796] [431] [627] [578]

In addition to the various types already mentioned, there are a number of professional prerogatives on which depend a man's vocation. That of herald approximates this class, although the Bella Coola consider it rather as a right operative only during ceremonials. Professional prerogatives rest on the belief that a man's ability as a hunter, wood-worker, and so forth does not rest in his innate skill, but upon an inherited right which must be confirmed and validated by the distribution of presents. These can be given at any convenient time when the people have been called together, but, as it is to the man's advantage to have his right made known as widely 424 463 556*

424 as possible, a potlatch is the most suitable occasion. Goods
463 distributed for this purpose are not returnable; they have
556 "become nothing" in the acquisition. The value of presents so
bestowed differs enormously; a man who is proud of his pre-
rogative validates it lavishly until he is strong in his vocation,
whereas another establishes himself on a lesser scale. The origin
[773] of professional rights, like so many of other kinds, is lost in
antiquity and ascribed to the wishes of *Hqumtsin* as expressed
to the first people. Some of the early settlers came to earth
[551] with definite duties and vocations, each indicated by a special
name; others, lacking these, created them through their own
enormous power. At the death of one of these incumbents,
424 his name passed to one of his relatives who acted in the same
463 manner as his predecessor after duly validating the name in
653 question. Ever since that time, the owner of a confirmed pro-
556 fessional name has been able to perform the functions of the
prerogative. This is never a man's sole designation but merely
[551] an addition to those of ancestral, *Ancient*, *nuxalk* and other
types. Like them, professional names are usually willed by
their owners, though if this is neglected, one can be revived by
any member of the deceased's ancestral family. In such a case,
the older people usually decide on a suitable incumbent and
suggest the matter to him; if he does not accept, the oppor-
tunity is given to another. If a member of the group is eager
to validate the name, it is unlikely that anyone would try to
[769] forestall him. Ability in certain respects can also be obtained
by magical means (I, p. 701), and a member of the ancestral
family so endowed is the natural choice for the prerogative in
question.

Prerogatives of this kind can be grouped according to the
types of vocation included.

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773

THE PROFESSION OF RIVER GUARDIAN

In the beginning of time, *Hqumtsin* is said to have sent
down with *Kyil*, who landed on the mountain behind *Lymqo-ti*,

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a man, *ux·wnaisa*, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience 424
to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it 463
has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this function. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the validation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary 551 693
ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but [773]
non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name *ux·wnaisa* has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been en- 784
forced concerning the river: No refuse may be thrown in, 825
otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the 226
same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe
lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them [515]
from seeing the route. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes 841
is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the [562]
fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed [502]
must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose [765]
husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are considered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the 688
salmon and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the 693
offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringements, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river. The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

688 his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the
693 upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse
[177] into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without hesitation.

THE PROFESSION OF UTTERING A DRONING CRY

424 At the appearance of masked figures representing super-
551 natural beings, whether in *nsask* or *kusiut* dances, many of the
[575] women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry
[463] which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness
[431] of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents.
[773] Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women were given by *Alqantám*, or acquired in other ways, the right to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously described, many of the first women possessed this privilege, which is accordingly common at the present time. A name
[553] of this type is usually confirmed in girlhood, sometimes even in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One of these names is *Nunuqwelelsleipw-a*, which has reference to
[773] the blue-green sheen of some abalone-shell brought from the east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many
[178] years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

424 There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incum-
767 bent to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of
463 time, *Smaxa* of Kimsquit married *Tlátwaitl*, the daughter of
773 a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kimsquit.

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quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type.

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly validated before she can function. One of these is *Stlxwaxwâ-nimân·a*, another is *ła'ya*. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditized. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to ripen the berries.

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"Get ready to pick red elderberries [or whatever species is ripe] tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. As far as could be learnt, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker; obedience seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared.

[688]
[183]

THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring validation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors confirmed as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal on them of professional names. At the present time, it is

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701 156 than that of anyone else. The Bella Coola do not rationalize in a scientific manner; if a man holds a belief firmly, he acts on it without questioning its logic. Moreover, if a professional warrior functions a number of times, this in itself is enough to strengthen his conviction that he must act henceforth in the same way. It can be said with confidence that the owner of [463] a professional prerogative has considerable belief in his own powers, that this acts on himself to render him proficient, and that the majority of the community have respect for his capabilities.

555 424 533 [463]

THE PROFESSION OF SINGER

Singing is one of the professions open to a Bella Coola either through natural ability or an ancestral prerogative. There is a constant need for men able to sing and compose songs for every kind of ceremonial, so a young man of talent has little difficulty in gaining admittance to the choir. He may even win great distinction and become recognized as the leading authority on musical matters. None the less, his success is considered to be accidental and unauthentical, lacking the foundation that comes from the possession of a duly validated professional prerogative. A person made a singer by the latter means may be entirely unable to compose; in this case he is not a member of the choir, although he enjoys the social distinction which he has won by distributing goods to confirm his professional name. The singer most respected is he who combines with natural ability a confirmed prerogative to give substance and power to his position and compositions. At the death of such an one, an effort is always made by the members of his ancestral family to transmit the name to a youth who has shown musical promise. Arguments and differences of opinion are common among the members of the choir and in such cases the self-assurance and influence of a man whose position has been made strong by the distribution of presents often outweighs that of one who can rely only on his actual ability.

[55] [424] [578]

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THE PROFESSION OF CARPENTER

As with singers, there are many carpenters who ply their trade without the advantage of an ancestral prerogative. They, also, may be expert and receive credit for their skill, but they can never achieve quite the distinction that comes to a man who has been made a carpenter by the distribution of presents. The latter may be so clumsy with tools that no one would ever trust him to make a canoe, or even a mask; but he is, socially, a carpenter, whereas a skilled artisan lacking a prerogative is admired for his ability but has no foundation of social esteem. In transmitting a professional carpenter's name, however, an effort is always made to give it to a youth with a bent in that direction.

The most esteemed carpenters are those who can make canoes, a trade which requires no special prerogative. In the beginning of time, Yaletmwat was the canoe-maker par excellence; he assisted many of the first people, and no one can have a professional prerogative as carpenter unless this supernatural being appears in his ancestral myth. The Bella Coola ascribe the skill of the Bella Bella in carpentry to the fact that Yaletmwat married a Bella Bella woman in the early period of the world and that many of that tribe are his descendants. In the old days, before the coming of the white men, carpenters were always respected as esteemed members of the community. Chiefs always cared for them, and they received abundant food at every ceremonial. None the less, they were not wealthy, and only in recent years, since the Bella Coola have realized the value put upon good craftsmanship by the white men, has it become customary to give valuable presents to carpenters. Ceremonially, they have considerable influence, since the carpenter who makes a mask usually decides who shall wear it and takes charge of the fitting and adjustment. He is also held responsible for any accident such as its falling when in use or for mechanical defects.

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THE PROFESSION OF HUNTER

424 Another profession which is entered by means of an ancestral prerogative is that of hunting. Many Bella Coola have [463] validated their right to this vocation, some by confirming names created by their early ancestors, others by legalizing those brought down from above in the beginning of time. [551] One of the latter is *Lelaimkila*, "The Brusher Off," so-called because the owner is such a successful hunter that he can sweep mountain goats from the mountains as easily as an ordinary person can brush insects from a wall. Unlike the professions of carpenter and singer, it is believed that legalization of a hunter's name always brings success to the holder; perhaps because everyone is more or less successful, it follows [555] that whatever good fortune is achieved by a professional hunter [556] can be attributed to the validation of his prerogative. Others, lacking this assistance, may be proficient, but their success never carries with it the social prestige gained by a man who has distributed goods to substantiate the prerogative.

224 There is a difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as 424 to whether or not certain hunting methods are inheritable pre- 184 rogatives. With the introduction of rifles, these have long [177] been discontinued, and no definite information was obtained regarding the social position of their users. Several of the older men believed that the contrivances depended upon ancestral prerogatives, whereas others stated that they were merely individual discoveries which could have been, and in many cases were, imitated by anyone. It seems probable that most of the following practices are prerogatives, although it may be that they are no more than special hunting devices suitable only in certain areas and, therefore, limited to the members of the ancestral family owning that particular locality.

223 The method about which the most definite information was 424 obtained, was one formerly employed by a certain *Nuxalqiq* to catch geese at *Tāl-ia*. According to one elderly Bella Coola,

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this practice had been handed down with the name from the beginning of time; another man stated that it was no prerogative and could be used by anyone. The best time for hunting was at the equinoxes, and *Nuxpalxiq* always observed ceremonial chastity in such a way that it terminated at that date. Before setting out, the hunter prepared a net of the shape shown in the accompanying sketch (Fig. 1). The net was stretched over a wooden framework, about ten feet long and four feet wide; counterbalanced by a long and heavy handle. The whole affair was called, "The House-like Thing." Choosing a still night, the hunter used to set out in his canoe paddled by a number of assistants. *Nuxpalxiq* would place himself in the bow with his net, and in the middle of the craft a small fire was kept burning with resinous sticks piled beside it so that it could be kindled into bright flames at a moment's notice. As the canoe was slowly paddled along the shore, the geese were half attracted, half repelled by the light. Unwilling to take to flight, they used to swim around at the edge of the illumination and so were guided into some narrow opening of the shore. Then *Nuxpalxiq* would throw his net so that the end farthest from the handle first touched the water and as the latter came crashing down it imprisoned a number of birds. Others, bewildered by the light and the falling net, tried to fly outwards and were knocked down by the paddlers. These were retrieved at once and the necks of those caught in the net were wrung at leisure. It is said that this method of hunting was almost always successful.

FIG. 1
Goose Net

Another *Tāl'ia* hunting device which, however, was not transmitted and may have been merely an individual stroke of genius, not an inherited prerogative, was employed to kill seals. The last to use this method was the father's father of an elderly Bella Coola. This man used to go out at night in a

225 small ocean-going canoe, with an assistant who passed his paddle through the water in such a way that a slight phosphorescent streak resulted. This resembled the course of a salmon. In a short time a seal would rise in pursuit of the "fish," and the watchful hunter would harpoon it. The seal would rush off with the head of the weapon, which was attached by a long line to the shaft remaining in the hunter's hand He would play it like a huge fish, until the exhausted animal was drawn to the side of the canoe and clubbed. Several seals were often obtained by this means in the course of a single night.

224 The two usual methods of killing mountain goats are by
424 cornering them with dogs and then choking them to death, or by shooting with rifle or bow. There was formerly a special method of snaring which had been handed down as a prerogative from the time of the first people. The hunter used to set his snares on a precipitous path commonly used by goats and had remarkable success. Others might know how to make snares and where the hunter set them, but no one would ever attempt this method of hunting without the proper prerogative. Another right, enjoyed by another hunter, was the catching of bears in a similar way in nooses.

424 Little need be said in conclusion about these particular
556 privileges, except to emphasize that they are merely an aspect
182 of the principle of validated prerogatives which permeates every phase of Bella Coola life. It is as natural for a man to be made a singer or a hunter by the distribution of presents as it is for him to acquire a dance by the same means. Each is contained in an ancestral myth, and the validation of the prerogative enables the incumbent either to function actively, or as heir to enjoy the social prestige accorded to the craftsman who has been duly confirmed in his vocation. The necessity of bestowing gifts to validate a prerogative introduces an economic element to the concept, but this is lessened by the fact that a poor man can acquire a name by a relatively small

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expenditure though he must forgo the prestige enjoyed by a man who has been able to elevate his professional names in a lavish manner. Selection is a constant factor in the social life of a Bella Coola; the man who uses all his wealth to acquire a firm seat cannot be "strong" in *nusnt* matters; the man who desires to specialize in *kusiut* affairs cannot afford to display an elaborate totem-pole. Amid these conflicting desires, it often happens that a man somewhat neglects his professional prerogatives, especially those of which the dignity has been slightly lessened through superior skill shown by individuals endowed with no more than native ability. Upstarts of this kind have always infringed upon professional dignity, and the coming of the white man has added a new factor which has almost destroyed vocational prerogatives.

424 556 182 [555] [197]

A'alt Dances

The most important, as well as the most spectacular, dances that occur at potlatches are those given by members of the *nusnt* society. In addition to these, a feature of many potlatches is the performance of *a'alt* dances.[1] As already mentioned, from 1870 onwards there have been many changes in *nusnt* ritual; new elements have been acquired by the marriages of Bella Coola to members of the coastal tribes, with the result that details of procedure vary at every ceremony according to the prerogatives of the donor. Since 1910, the influence of white civilization has increased to such an extent that *nusnt* ceremonials have virtually been abandoned. This took place at a time when the ritual was in transition, a state of affairs which rendered difficult the collection of coherent information. *A'alt* dances are associated with *nusnt*, but the addition of new features to the latter was accompanied by a decay of the former. Both societies have now almost ceased to exist, but whereas the *nusnt* organization was abandoned during a period of change and accretion, that

197 535 575 [184] [796] [128]

[1] Called *c'alpsu* in Kitamaat.

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177 of the *a'alk* came to an end when it was already waning in
535 importance. It was impossible to obtain as much detailed
575 information about the latter as was desired, and it is even
128 possible that some of the facts recorded in connection with *nuaak* ceremonial really belong to *a'alk* rites.

The right to perform an *a'alk* dance depends upon a duly
424 validated ancestral prerogative of which the obvious mark is
535 an *a'alk* name. Some of the first people brought down such
575 designations and dances with them from above in the beginning of time, a few were acquired on this earth as gifts from super-
[773] natural beings. Those who have rights of this kind form a loose organization which may be termed the *a'alk* society. This is closely associated both with the *nuaak* society and with chiefs, owing to the occurrence of these three types of names in the same ancestral myths. One member of an ancestral
[556] family may use his goods to validate his ancestral name, another to make himself a *nuaak*, a third to become an *a'alk*, and an important chief, endowed with ability and wealth, may be able to do all three.

A'alk dances are less spectacular than those of either the *nuaak* or *kusiut* societies, nor are rattles or whistles used. The prerogatives of a member are limited to his name, the right to perform a certain dance, and the use of a song which commonly describes some feature of his ancestral myth. Four types of dances are considered to be *a'alk*; the methods of acquiring and using any one of these are similar, so it is unnecessary to describe the differences before the actual account of the performance of each.

556 If there is a dormant *a'alk* prerogative in the ancestral
575 family of the donor of a potlatch, he usually chooses to validate this as one of the features of his ceremony. He first consults his wife and other relatives to ensure that sufficient goods will be forthcoming, and if this matter can be arranged satisfactorily, he chooses some young relative as the recipient of the dormant right. It would be most unusual for the youth selected to decline the honour. Or some man, other than the

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Long ago, there lived in Kimsquit a young chief who was a great hunter. On one occasion, he was camping in a cave, *Anakwilit*, on the mountains when not only its roof, but the dome of the sky as well, opened so that he was able to gaze into the upper regions of space. From this manifestation of the supernatural, he took for himself the name *Ätkwi*, "The Opening of the Upper Regions," and validated it by giving valuable presents. This name has been transmitted from generation to generation and was recently brought to the present owner by his wife. With it is the prerogative of distributing potlatch gifts outside the house since the first *Ätkwi* claimed that the sky itself was his only ceiling. 539 575 [551] [424]

A few years after *Ätkwi* had had this experience, he and his three brothers left Kimsquit by canoe to hunt mountain goats at *Sarwilk*. To their surprise, a gull perched on the bow of their canoe; they did not scare it away, thinking it indicated a manifestation of the supernatural. At intervals it left its perch and circled around the canoe, but soon returned. As they neared the landing-place, the gull flew ashore and changed into a yearling mountain goat. *Ätkwi* told his brothers, of whom the second was named *Äthexa* and the third *O'mätäl*, that he believed this to be a further visitation of the supernatural to himself and that he would investigate it, and later meet them at *Anakwilit*.

Ätkwi leapt ashore and followed the yearling goat. Wherever the road was rough, his strange guide travelled slowly so that his human companion could follow him. At length they came to a deep chasm with sheer walls about six feet apart, and a ledge running along one side. *Ätkwi* followed the goat along this, until the animal leapt across the gorge, struck the face of the precipitous rock, and vanished. It was clear that he had passed into the interior of the mountain and the chief could hear the distant sound of a drum.

"I can die but once," he said to himself.

Then the brave hunter leapt across the chasm, struck the rock, and passed through it as if it had been tissue paper, to find himself in a vast cavern amid a large number of people. These were really animals who had gathered to await the coming of his guide, the yearling-goat. The latter told him not to be afraid, that henceforth he would be under the protection of all animals and would not come to harm, no matter how often he hunted. With breathless interest, *Ätkwi* watched the performance of a *nuqwal* dance, for every yearling goat is a supernatural dancer of this type. The ceremony lasted throughout the night, and next morning he set out for *Anakwilit*, not realizing that it was really a year since he had left his brothers. [825]

Meanwhile, though the three brothers had almost despaired of their elder's safe return, they patiently remained at their post, and after a year were overjoyed to see smoke rising from *Anakwilit*. They hurried

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CHAPTER VI

ORIGIN MYTHS

Introductory—Bella Coola Origin Myths—Origin Myths of Other Tribes—Early Traditions Having the Ceremonial Significance of Origin Myths—Sacred Origin Myths

Introductory

973 128 EXAMPLES will be given here of the origin myths, which are believed to authorize so much of the ritual already described, and to which repeated reference has been made. [114] In 1898 Professor Boas published such an admirable collection of traditions of this type (pp. 50 ff.) that the present writer paid little attention to the subject. The Bella Coola, however, are so intensely proud of the deeds of their first forefathers [124] that several insisted on recounting them before they were willing to do other work; in consequence, a fair number of myths was collected through necessity. Since tales of this type were recounted almost entirely at potlatches, their significance has declined since the prohibition of this rite. Consequently, many legends are only remembered in part; the abbreviated and often pointless series of anecdotes here recorded can be no more than a small part of the rich field which must once have existed among the Bella Coola.[1]

● 424 773 As Professor Boas has clearly shown, origin myths relate how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god sent down to earth the first ancestors of the Bella Coola people, each usually

[1] In writing up this field material, it was my original intention to place all legends together in a separate section, or appendix, following a common anthropological practice. This, however, would have been contrary to Bella Coola thought since origin myths, for example, are regarded as entirely different from other myth stories, or from incidents connected with shamans,—to name two other groups of what are usually described as "legends." I recognize that the insertion of this chapter of origin myths interrupts the sequence of presenting Bella Coola culture, but I believe that it is the way which the Bella Coola themselves would regard as logical, and that it brings out the essential interrelations of this type of myth upon their whole life.

provided with means of sustenance, a house, and certain supernatural powers. The right to the names of these people, as well as to the type of ceremonial objects used by them, has been the privilege of their descendants. But these early Bella Coola, like their modern descendants, had several designations, each carrying with it a definite prerogative. In a single myth there may be embodied a dance or more names and incidents which are quoted at the present day to authorize such diverse phases of culture as dances, rights to hunting-grounds, protections, names of dogs, or *kwaxa* prerogatives.* Any myth which gives the initial use of a name, a dance, or any other prerogative, is termed a *snaxnaxa*. Each of these is, or was in the old days, remembered with great care and never recounted in full detail except to the members of the ancestral family whose names are embodied in it. Even at potlatches the full details of the myth are not laid bare. Indeed, if a young man is of a flighty, garrulous disposition, unlikely to preserve the dignity of his ancestral lore, the details are concealed from him. Even at the present time there is much resentment at any unauthorized use of a *snaxnaxa*, and in the old days this would inevitably have led to bloodshed.

Boas (p. 116) states that the terms *snaxnaxa* and *sneowa* are synonymous. The writer feels certain that this is an error. It was discussed repeatedly with various Bella Coola, all of whom agreed that a *sneowa* is a mere story which can be told by anyone, whereas a *snaxnaxa* is a myth possessed by the individual, or individuals, whose prerogatives are derived from it. To the Bella Coola the two are vastly different.

None the less, there is no doubt that records of the past change from one category to the other. A wealthy chief, eager to give a potlatch, but lacking the mythical authorization, most frequently have used a *sneowa*, claiming the have as a *snaxnaxa*. There would be veiled amusement at him for doing so, but the prestige of one who can give potlatches is so great that in time his claim would probably be accepted. The two

*The details of these will be described later.

versions of the myth given (vol. I, pp. 313-19) is a case in point. The first was told as a *sneuxem* by a woman who claimed to be a descendant of the people figuring in it; the second, as a story, *sneuxem*, by a man. In view of the reliability of both informants, it seems highly probable that this is a story, partly converted to a myth. In other examples there are incidents resembling the supernatural tales given in vol. I, chap. vi, and here too it appears probable that *sneuxem* have been assimilated into *snuxem*. It is complimentary to the truthfulness of the Bella Coola, and to the respect they show for intangible property, that none of the myths recorded were *sneuxem* owned by others. Repeatedly an informant would say that he knew one, but would not tell it since it belonged to some other family.

After collecting a few myths, in each of which it was stated that the first settlers at village X were A, B, and C, with their sisters, P and Q, it seemed as if it would have been possible, before the culture of the Bella Coola had fallen into its present decay, to make a census of those whom they believe to have been first settlers of the earth, and that such a list would have had few contradictions. This was soon found to be false. Two myths may give different people as the first occupants of a certain village, nor does such contradiction trouble the Bella Coola. Each man, convinced of the authenticity of his own family account, is quite willing to believe that the one belonging to someone else is equally correct. This characteristic lack of logical consistency has already been mentioned in other connections. Boas (p. 61) likewise gives an instance of uncertainty as to the first occupants of a village, though, on the whole, he found Bella Coola mythology to be more unified than the present writer has done. In view of their lack of systematization in other matters, it would have been surprising if they had evolved a census of their first ancestors, accepted by all as authentic.

Another matter to be considered at this point is the similarity of detail in many myths. In part this can be explained

[illegible] to guide against his enemies. The man fell to the earth under cover of a fog which lifted at an inopportune moment, but the chief deceived the Five Rogues Indians into believing that his comrades were not beside. *Kimshiang*[1] consoled the guide with a mirror-like coat and one of [illegible].

When it came a potlatch, *Kimshiang*[1] had the back wall of his house decorated with pictures of sun and moon, while he himself wore a greyish bear-skin with its head above his own. As he danced, there was through the floor a large box on which was painted [illegible]. *Kimshiang*[1] went to the mountain and took from it sufficient powers to supply the requirements of the visitors from one tribe, the Bella Bella, for example. Then the box would sink from sight, only to reappear with gifts for another group; this was repeated as many times as there were parties of guests from outside places. This was the method of procedure thereof by *Kimshiang*.

Then five *Nuxalk* people made a number of special objects for their potlatches. In a representation of the five-peaked mountain beneath which they lived, they erected five poles over the front of their house, a custom which has been carried out until the present day. Projecting from one of them was a figure of a mountain goat, since that animal was brought to earth to serve as food by their five ancestors. They also made a number of large cross spears, which, after being used for many generations, were buried with a certain *Nuxalk* chief in 1878. These consisted one of a cope used by *Nuxalk* before he became a mountain, and were later copied by the carpenter-masons.

Kimshiang[1] was so powerful that he placed a small rim of his pot, which was a feather-brush, changed *Nuxalk* into a feather-rope, and declared that the supporters should be under the spot where he lived. So this commencial he always used a whistle with the voice of a raven.

[illegible] *Nuxalk*

(Second version dealing with another settlement)[2]

Nuxalk is a chief among mountains. Like a human leader, it has several names, *Tsilmaulkc*, *Gmaplkm*, and others; these names belong to several persons now living. Like a person, too, the mountain was [illegible] down from above at the beginning of the world to *Tsimsm*, Bore Lake, whence it moved to its present position midway up the Bella Coola valley, a location which is but based was a pleasant one.

[1] Related by Eugene Schooner.

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over a series of parallel ridges, from the top of one of which he saw below him a number of men, who going upstream. Around their heads they wore light-coloured bands. They disappeared over the next ridge and when *Winpuit* reached the summit of this he saw in the hollow below, him, not a number of men, but a pack of wolves, preceding him on the trail. The wolves passed over the next ridge out of sight, but when *Winpuit* gained the crest he saw in front of him, not wolves, but the men again with bands around their heads. This continued for some time, *Winpuit* seeing men below him from one ridge and wolves from the next; he was slowly gaining on them, and finally saw the animals assume human form, take off their coats, and wrap them around their heads. He caught up with the wolf-men and told them the reason for his travels, that he sought a wife. They agreed to help him and all travelled together to the home of *Hemmemanis*, who had landed with his wife from above on Mount Tweedsmuir in the Carrier country. They had brought from above a heavy ax head, and some moose skins. *Hemmemanis* had a daughter, *Nadalhaiz*, whom other women were *Nadamalin* and *Nadamanil*. *Winpuit* asked *Hemmemanis* for the girl and the latter agreed. So the two were married and the wolf-men sang a song which has since been handed down as a congaeria to the family of their descendants.

After the marriage the four returned towards *Sisaz*, *Nadalhaiz* going ahead to break a trail through the forest. From this she took the name *Nuyamkamatin*, "Trail-Breaker"; and she not cleared this path there would have been no communication today between the Carrier and the Bella Coola. In the house which *Winpuit* built for his bride, everything was decorated with a raven; the door was the beak of the raven, the totem pole was a raven, and a raven was carved on the end of every house. *Hemmemanis* constructed a house a little above *Sisaz*; it was this the present Bella Coola were last made entirely of skins. He called it *Ulkumasi*.

The two families remained in this vicinity for some time when *Winpuit* decided to travel around the world. He set off and, for it the east, crossed the upper waters of the Bella Coola River, which he decided to open as a route to the sea. He had brought with him some abalone shells, which he used to decorate a knife, then gave it the name *Alakaia i*. It floated downstream to *Nuxalk*, where the river plunged beneath a huge rock, but *Alakaia i* made clear its course by shattering the barrier. Meanwhile, a numerous member of the Sun people, who had come to earth on a mountain behind *Tsimsh*, had made ready his canoe for a journey upstream. Someone was very proud, and considered himself the oldest of all mankind under the assumption that he was the first to reach this earth. Accordingly his grief was great when he saw *Alakaia i* floating

*534 before he came to this world. It was a large pole and stood across the
534 sidewalk from the house, not being pierced by the doorway. At the base was a grizzly bear, with paws wrapped around it as if desirous of climbing after the food which could be seen higher up. Immediately above the bear was an eagle's nest with four fledglings crowding amid their broken eggshells and crowing their necks eagerly upwards to greet the mother eagle flying back with a salmon. At the top of the pole was a bell, *Nanamala*, representing the successor to which the sun was enclosed; it was this that Raven broke to release light to mortals. The name of the pole was *Ki-ikiul*.*

[531] The names mentioned in this myth are still in use. *Xiwilkw* was the salmon of it; her sound song deals with *Swaiwa-a* and, since the salmon enter Bella Coola River in hopes of reaching this place, salmon are used in the decorations of her house. The name *Tsalkamy** varies; it becomes *Mkamy** when applied to a youth, and *Mkamy** as a for a girl.

FOURTH ORIGIN MYTH OF *Xiwa**

*534 Long, long ago there was in a mysterious place far to the east and far above this world, a very large house, *Nalaldmaix*, in which dwelt together all people, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, Carrier, and the rest. In it there lived too, all kinds of birds, including the thrush who taught such to sing.
[529] The chief of the house, *Sikaum* by name, lived there too and gave to each tribe its special language. One day he decided to visit the earth, and dived from his house downwards, becoming the sun. In this guise he came to earth on Mount *Nayu*, near *Xiwa*, where he became a man and built for himself a house which was a copy of *Nalaldmaix*, and to which he gave the same name. *Sikaum* became prosperous and gave many potlatches.

FRAGMENT OF A *Swalk'ai* ORIGIN MYTH*

In the beginning of time, *Sqamtin*, in guise of the sun, were down to earth a number of brothers with their one sister. Their names have been forgotten except that of the oldest one, *Tsiatlamla*, who had brought with him a beaver as provender. He released the animal, which multi-

*534
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*As is commonly the case, there is no connection between this origin pole and the adventures of *Ki-ikiul*. The person using this name has the right to use these designs as a part of his myth, exactly as the right to recount the adventures of his ancestor belongs to him.

*Approximate meaning, salmon ceremonial.

*Related by Jackson Sharp.

1:McDowell E-5 (1922-1924)948
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plied to provide abundant food for all, it became the ancestor of all the beavers of the upper valley. Owing to their position higher up the Bella Coola, *Tsiatsmis* and his brothers considered that they were nearer to the sun than any of the people dwelling below, a fact of which they were exceedingly proud. Moreover, having been sent down by him, the sun was their sun.

There were two large boulders in the river near the settlement, which *Aqumtin* had shown *Tsiatsmis* how to use as supports for a salmon-weir. With the help of his brothers, a hole was drilled in one of the rocks; then they felled a large tree upstream and allowed it to drift down until the butt lodged in the perforated boulder and the head swung across against the other. With this as base, other trunks were sunk in upright so that the river was almost spanned and a fine dam constructed. In this they caught so many salmon that *Tsiatsmis* and his brothers were able to call people from far and near to potlatches and feast them liberally on the fish. In course of time their sister was married to a chief from another town. Henceforth, whenever one of her brothers gave a potlatch, he was able to relieve his sister on a lavish scale with the running salmon. The sun had taught the women a song for such occasions, which has since been used as a prerogative by her descendants when relieving them selves from their husbands.

Tsiatsmis made a long voyage of exploration during which he reached the Skeena River. He made friends with the inhabitants of the town, *Kyemsm*, who gave him the name, *Tsiatsm*,* meaning what in their language. Continuing his journey, he ultimately visited the earth before returning home. He obtained several other designations, including *Hlamda* from the Kwakiutl people.**

Even after the settlement of *Snaik-ti*, the drilled stone supporting the salmon-weir broke and the ruins were swept away downstream. The people cut their hair and blackened their faces in mourning, then moved to Snaw where a number of their daughters had married chiefs.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *NAUSIT****

It is common to add details from a story to a family myth in order to increase its length and importance. Almost con-

*It appears that *Tsiatsm* is an attempt to pronounce the English, which does, as interesting example of the way in which modern words have been incorporated into ancient myths and been clothed with the glamour of antiquity.

**Both are still used by members of the ancestral family descended from *Tsiatsmis*.

***Related by Mrs. Walkem, who had learnt it from her late father, *Tsemlahi*, a chief of Dean, whose hatsar name was *Sualtsay*.

their craft and set out on foot along the overland path to the head of South Bentinck Arm. 534*

Midway along this trail the travellers saw a house, called *Tsitsaalat* because it could lengthen itself at will. From this supernatural right each of the five became a dancer. This house was a replica of the one above in which mankind was made and, like it, contained many rooms, in each of which lived an individual speaking a different language. *Hi'mitsats* failed to understand them and in his annoyance scattered the speakers, who fled to different parts of the coast where each invented and perpetuated his own language. This is why the various coastal tribes have their own tongues; if *Hi'mitsats* had been able to understand them in *Tsitsaalat* there would be no diversity of speech now. [524]

Various dances were taking place in the rooms within the house. There was a constant din from the large whistles used in social ceremonial which sounded of their own accord and were continually answered by Echo. Only at this place and at *Nuuyaitl* did Echo appear to the four people; hence only the descendants of *Hi'mitsats* and of the *Nuuyaitl* people have the right to portray him in their dances. *Ana'Mmatsats* (II, p. 6) stood near the door, where as he did the called out, the sound whistles became silent as if in fear. [524] [525]

Continuing their journey the travellers reached *Tsi'ts*, at the head of South Bentinck Arm, where a solitary man, *Nuyumis*, was living. At this place *Tsitsaalitsyakim* gave birth to Raven, who was born in a box with the legs of a crane. *Hi'mitsats* named his *ciqiatsamqaqilmas*. After a short sojourn at *Tsi'ts* they ascended the river, and presently *Hi'mitsats* saw a female grizzly bear, whom he also invited to join the party on his canoe. The bear accepted and he endeavoured to change the creature to a woman. He had his canoe with the paws and feet, that is why these parts of a bear are similar to those of men at the present day, but the bear's hairy hide defied his efforts and in disgust he told it to run away. Before banishing it, he bade the animal always show a friendly disposition to human beings, whereas grizzly bears at *Tsi'ts* have never been known to attack a person. The party proceeded up the river to *Mount Sagi*, where *Hi'mitsats* found a repository (II, p. 6) through the discovery of which he became a Cannibal with the name *Sawalilas* and an eagle as totem. From this point they returned to *Tsi'ts*, where they settled permanently. [525]

Many of the names which occur in this myth are still in use. Mrs. Sebenzer's designation as chief is *Tsitsaalitsyakim*, a name that can be used by either men or women; in the former case the suffix *yakim* is 531

Grouse. *Kaul'kiki'yahen* is held by a Dog Salmon chief. Several factor names, with dances, were obtained from *Tsilhaitsi'* where the swallows now there being performed, among them were *Ánuhkhimsk* and *Tsalaqsen*, which are now used by our Bella Coola women. *Alnamlin* is now a Cannibal (II, p. 70) name. *Ts'ilu'n Ai'mulaxis* gave a factor dance, and with his own power made there a repository as if he had brought it with him from *Tsilhaitsi'*. This was only possible because of his supernatural power as one of the first people, strengthened by his becoming a dancer through seeing *Tsilhaitsi'*.

SECOND ORDER MYTH OF *Ts'ilu'n*[1]

* 384 In the beginning, there came down to the Dean River,[2] *Tsaqqa*, *Nuxwmalu*, *Wiqaqi*, and their younger sister *Nalomamalim*, they brought from *Ilgamim* some of the large cone-shaped whistles used for world ceremonials.[3] The three revolved all over the coast seeking a place to which to settle, and always the whistles kept calling out of their own accord, giving advice. Finally they decided to locate at *Ts'ilu'n*, the head of South Bentinck Arm.

When they had lived there for some time, the neighbours objected to the use of the whistles, which drove many shellfish and herring, so *Nuxwmalu* built a high, narrow mound of refuse, on the top of which he constructed his house. The building was peculiar, its four upright posts, usually used to close with a mat when anyone entered. On either side of the hill there lived a *sisiqa*, whose hoot one could hear the calling of an infant at any distance. In those ancient days, these beasts were like dogs and did not enter houses, they were servants to *Tsaqqa*. One day he learnt that a visiting-party was approaching, but instead of being afraid he instructed the *sisiqa* to use their power when it drew near. When the hostile canoe came in sight the two creatures covered their eyeballs, causing a blinding fog which covered the occupants of the canoe. After a little they recovered consciousness and again came on, but again the *sisiqa* covered their eyeballs with a fine mist. When this had happened several times the visitors withdrew discouraged.

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[1] Related by Mrs. Willie Hack.

[2] It is not necessary for the Dean to figure in the plot, which some of the first people came to settle, but the descendant names in Bella Coola then that river.

[3] This paragraphs is too common among the Bella Coola from the Bella Bella.

[illegible]
[illegible]

[534]

presents were distributed to validate the name, *Tlaxpitlum*, which *Uwagal* had chosen for himself.

Uwagal married a Bella Bella woman who brought with her the prerogative of a dance with respect to the dead-fish. In Bella Bella this rite was connected both with the burial and the wake, but in Kwakiutl it was performed only at a burial dance. It was first given the by *Galgwa-i*, a relative of *Uwagal*, and has since been performed like dances in Kwakiutl. Their daughter received the Bella Bella name, *Tsilem*, which has since remained in Kwakiutl.

[424] [575] [585] [551]

ORIGIN MYTHS OF *Ayat-i*[1]

In the beginning of time there came to *Ayat-i*, on the sea side of the Dean River, about one mile from the sea, *Sonsamilla* and his three younger brothers. They brought a cross-bowman to their place from *Hagwilem*. After they had lived some time on the earth, *Sonsamilla* asked *Tsilkiwun* to have a cross ready for him on the morrow. By the sun-day *Tsilkiwun* had completed a fine cross. *Sonsamilla* was lighted and spent four days fasting. In one, then set out with his three younger brothers for a trip to the far north, where he heard by report that whale-skulls were to be found.[2] The four did not know the route, it was necessarily penetrating into lands from which there was no exit, however, they persevered and were helped by all whom they encountered. *Sonsamilla*'s cross being well known. After a month's voyage, they sighted their goal. They found themselves before a lofty precipice falls above and the cross with a canoe visible in it on very low side. To they boldly entered. In fact they were delayed with falling cow-dung; fact, that canoe would have been sunk by the weight of these. The eldest brother had set-forth up his cross-back chief, to meet them all. Little further on they found countless skulls-skulls, with which incredibly filled the canoe, having for the side should not sufficiently to contain them canoe. If they stayed to investigate further. Once safely inside they camped, and the elder brother took the opportunity conferred on the younger brothers for things they had seen in from the sea. He called his second brother *Tsamsamsa*, "The Worm" as if he had fought against the shadows, the third *Ma-ma*, "Fully Bear-Fish," and the youngest *Hagen*, "The Bear-Shadow," in reference the

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[1] Phonetic by Dr. Boas. Boas in 1895 has recorded a similar tale from Bella Coola with different characters.

[2] The Bella Coola are explicit in saying that whales-skull compose the cache in the sea, possibly this was to explained by an indirect route.

1:McIlwraith E-9 (1922-1924)2948
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Next morning they found a house in readiness for them, a short distance from the beach; its name was *Nuwalqinem*, and it had been created for them by *Ałqantlen* who had selected this spot for their residence. It resembled other houses except that the door was in a back corner instead of in the middle of the front because bears must not approach the river, and the fire still had seven characteristics. The salmon would have been frightened if they had lived too near. The paintings on the back walls were of Kingfisher.

Chips from their firewood floated downstream to the point where *Swanee* (I, p. 332) lived. Judging that someone was encamped there him, he set out to investigate. He met *Tsilla* and entered into conversation with him, finally asking if he, *Swanee*, might marry *Tsilla*'s sister, *Sulmelem*, "The Light-Bearer." *Tsilla* agreed, and the two were married in due course. At this ceremony a marriage song given by *Ałqantlen* was first used.[*]

Qayayar and his brothers made a special kind of fish-trap, in which they caught large quantities of trout and steelhead salmon, and below them *Swanee* and his family were also catching large quantities of salmon. The two settlements combined to give a potlatch. The brothers built an extension to the house to accommodate their guests, and when all were seated a representation of a black bear emerged from the room at the back of the house, imitating the appearance and actions of its ancestor when first they arrived on this earth. The artifacts brought by *Qayayar* and his brothers from above were displayed to the guests, as has since been done on similar occasions by their descendants. At this potlatch the name *Hałqelsiła* was given to *Sulmelem*, having reference to the coloured house with the rear doorway.

Tsilla once sent his kingfisher-herald up the river to discover whether or not there were people there, for at that time it was unknown country. He reported that there were, so *Tsilla* built a canoe, in the manner taught by *Raven*, and set off, en route to visit the upstream settlers, who had likewise learnt the art of making canoes and were travelling downstream on an annual circuit to his town.

The brothers used some of their wealth on one occasion to give a feast dance, at which they validated for *Hałqemilaxa* the Dancer (II, p. 122) name, *Hamatsemłaxa*. This refers to the way in which he had flown with quivering wings when a kingfisher, and so he danced he dark his hands in imitation of this. This name had been given him by *Ałqantlen*, he had also his third, *Gigelmem*, referring to his status as herald.

Swanee and *Sulmelem* had many children who formed a local lineage

[*] He has since been remembered as a newcomer by the descendants of this couple.

1:McDowell E-5 (1922-1924)[948]
NEB Bellacoola NEB

make a salmon-man. In accordance with *Ḵpamin's* instruction, *Sasamat* planned to make a circuit of the world making a suitable place to settle. He started northward, in eagle form, scattering eagle down, wherefore this material has ever since been highly regarded and is used as a symbol of peace. Owing, moreover, to the eagle down scattered on the mountains, there has always been much snow in that region.*

Sometimes so he travelled he encountered the form of the sun, for he was so powerful that nothing was impossible to him. For in the north *Sasamat* obtained an enormous copper, which he carried back to *Kimsquit* without completing his original plan of circling the earth. He perched on a tree near his brother's almost completed salmon-man.

"Why don't you change yourself to a human being?" *Ongwedzida* inquired.

"I am waiting until our food is more plentiful," *Sasamat* replied. "Besides I have been to the far north where I obtained an enormous copper."

When the war was completed and *Ongwedzida* was catching many salmon, his brother at last decided to become a man. But instead of sending his cloak back above to animated it, he an eagle. *Sasamat* now became an orphan fatherless and was much annoyed by the chirps made by the bird, though he himself was responsible for it not having returned as *Ḵwanita*. After about a year he suggested to *Ongwedzida* that they should kill it, but the latter demurred, since it was the gulls which *Ḵpamin* had given *Sasamat*. The latter said nothing, but the next time he saw the eagle circling his fish he killed the bird, without consulting his brother. He cannot had he done this than he felt sorry, but it was too late; he could not restore the eagle to life.

Owing to the salmon given them by *Ḵpamin* the two brothers now were very prosperous, and *Sasamat* began to think of marriage. One day he noticed some chips floating down the Dean River, so he judged that people must be living on that stream. He set out to investigate, met *Tsiaxa*, and married his sister *Sawamina*, as has been described in a Dean River myth. To celebrate this event the two brothers proposed to invite people from far and near. First they lengthened their house to accommodate a large number; it was of the type known as *ninwalal*, though it could not expand without human agency. Then they painted their spears with designs of the *ninkapu*, since they had brought this crest with them from above. Now everything was ready and they commenced their guests. When all had assembled, *Sasamat* gave a *ḵwalkwa* dance

*The cloud which has over *Kimsquit* before a war-cry on all called "*Sasamat's* cloud," in memory of his journey. The myth fails to explain how *Sasamat* was responsible for this phenomena.

[536] [424] [536]

commemorate the killing of the eagle. The war of his song described how he had come to this earth and how he had slain the bird which had been his own cloak. This dance was fully validated by presents of salmon, and has since been carried out by the descendants of Sisaxum. It is assumed that the concept of such a dance was given to him by *Hagwilnex* before he left *Tsyemsa*, but he used his own discretion on this earth as to the actual season for it.

At this gathering of people, virtually a potlatch, Sisaxum took for himself the name *Snaqhilaten*, "What Pile People." He chose this name with reference to the countless salmon caught in his weir.

Sisaxum now revealed to Bella Bella making a wife. His fame and wealth were so well known that he was able to wed *Tsitsaxit*, the daughter of a powerful chief. She had the valued prerogative of wailing, a right which had been fully validated by presents. Her father told her that when she was going with Sisaxum to Kimsquit she would pass *Tsyeximgi*, a man who had been turned to stone on the skyline above the western side of Dean Channel, about five miles from its head, and that unless she waited to the present him her children would be unable to enjoy this prerogative. The reason for this injunction is not now understood; it is merely recognized that as *Tsyeximgi* became petrified now Sisaxum's home he became, in some manner, a stone. As the canoe leaving *Tsitsaxit* passed *Tsyeximgi* she began to wail and weep, but could her husband soothe her. He, for his part, told the herald, *Nuxlitsq*, who had come with him from above, to call out as follows:

"Halo! Chief, our chief has married a Bella Bella woman; no one can be cross, as you see here."

[484] [76]

When *Nuxlitsq* had called this a second time the stone man answered. Ever since, passers-by have addressed *Tsyeximgi*, and a failure on his part to reply is considered an omen of death.

Tsitsaxit brought her husband several valuable prerogatives, a small dance with the large cone-shaped whistle, several *Sisiutl* dance rights, as well as some *Sisiutl* color-bath. According to one of Sisaxum's descendants, this is how the small *Sisiutl* reached Kimsquit. Among the Bella Bella, whistles can only be seen by chiefs, and Sisaxum received the right from his father-in-law. The latter also gave his son-in-law a *Sisiutl* whistle, which was carried behind the canoe towards Kimsquit. Sisaxum knew that his people would object to it being brought into the river, since there was a free belief that a whistle would drive away the salmon. Accordingly, he hoisted the canoe in the bend and there dried the men to smoke.

Sisaxum now determined to give an elaborate potlatch at which he planned to perfect his prerogative with regard to the whistle. He decided to build his new house of the most substantial type, where it was finished

[illegible] E-5 [illegible]
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In this instance someone saw a party of strangers, and wondered who they might be as they entered the town. There was great rejoicing when the two brothers told their purpose who they were, for they had been so transformed that they were unrecognizable. As he has had still, Eulamain's three beautiful wives came rushing up, eager to have him take them back, but he paid no attention to them. He welcomed only the ugly one, who had mourned for him, and managed her until she became the most lovely of all.

Omaum, delighted at the safe return of his son, and proud of Eulamain's beautiful children, now invitations for and sent to a great potlatch. At the ceremony he validated, with many presents, a seat in the house to Eulamain a. The name Nas confirmed was Spiteldi, "The Fine Boy," a name given to Eulamain a by Kopatsiyu. Omaum also took the opportunity to confer names on his numerous grandchildren. After adjourning for some time to Kimsquit, the Kitlala people returned home, richly laden with gifts.

In the course of time Wiyumbiyat bore her husband two more children. Omaum continued to prosper and to give potlatches, at one of which he gave one of his grandchildren the name Sidlung, "Chief." This designation at once became honorable on account of the gifts expended. Eulamain a did not wish to forget his Kitlala friends, so in time he sent one of his children to live there. One of them was Sidlung, a name that has ever since remained there. Thus friendly relations between Kimsquit and Kitlala, first opened by Eulamain a, have been maintained. There have been many marriages between people of these two areas, each known of Eulamain a, and it was only about one hundred and fifty years ago that a Kimsquit woman, Ahghel'ts, was married to a Kitlala man to repay the original marriage of Wiyumbiyat.

When Omaum became old he gave yet another potlatch at which he took for himself the name Eulamainem, "The Sunrise." He created this from his own fertile imagination, with reference to the way in which he entered night down when that travelling to the north to night from. It has since been used by his descendants when old.

The descendants of Omaum enjoy not only the prerogative of using this myth and the names included in it, but other privileges connected with it. If one of them gives a potlatch he carves the form of a mirror, as the spoons to be used in it, and paints the wall of his house with a similar design. Omaumbiyat's descendants are more likely than others to receive supernatural good fortune from a mirror. The descendants of both

* 534 brothers have the right, moreover, to have and collect food in the places used by these five ancestors. The areas so authorized are:

Nuxalk-qimuc, the mountain where they first came to earth.

Ulqinuxw, a valley leading into the main valley of the Kimsquit River where Tsqumkilda was accustomed to hunt.

Nulal-kit, a valley where Tsmaxu's wives used to pick berries.

Tsmaxlt, a level area of country on the bank of the Kimsquit River twenty-eight miles from its mouth. The people landed here and Tsmaxu pre-empted it as a hunting-ground.

Nulqa-kalt, another valley where Tsmaxu's wives used to pick berries.

The place in the Kimsquit River where their salmon-weir was erected, and the spot where they caught chicks.

534 The length and width of land authorized in this myth since the question of whether it is one of the usual type, or represents a combination of several stories strung together and joined by a new saga to justify the existence of the new ancestors. It was received from Jim Pelkey, a Kimsquit Indian, descended from Tsmaxu, and himself the son of this name, a valuable and reliable informant. Jim is a man of great ability, who has given more protection than any other Indian of either Bella Coola or Kimsquit, and who, accordingly, has been able to validate very fully his ancestral myths and the names embodied therein. Owing to the death of his relatives, Jim has been able to use designations and portions of the legend which otherwise would certainly have belonged to other people. In this regard it therefore represents an amalgamation, but one of a legitimate nature. Theoretically every myth would be complete if it were not for the parts possessed by others, and the use of every one Bella Coola is to seek the return of those parts by judicious marriage. Jim has been able to achieve this by the death of his relatives and the existence of his wife, herself a descendant of Tsmaxu. Before the coming of the white man and the consequent decimating of population, it is probable that any one person would have the duly validated right to call a myth of this length, but theoretically it was possible, and might have been done by anyone as superior to the fellows as this one is to the present inhabitants of Kimsquit.

TSMAXU WITH AT TSMAXLT*

* 534 Among the five people dispatched to this earth were four brothers, Tsmaxu, Tsmaxlt, Ellaxu and Ellaxlt, who came to earth and settled in Tsmaxlt, the site of the present Nuxalkmc Canyon, Kimsquit. Before

*Related by Jim Pelkey.

1:McDowalth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

539 sided by older sticks which bent time of their own accord. From this night *Ewatwalie* became a shaman and used what he had seen when he was giving a dance of his own. His brother *Wakko* went downstream until he came to a large house at *Kitlatla*[*] outside of which stood a huge bull-head. No one was in this house and *Wakko* took possession of it.

A FRAGMENTARY OKANAGAN MYTH[**]

Long ago at the time the world was first populated there were no rivers apparent, for such were confined underground in a cavern-like prison called *Nawaklilowaix*, the approach to which was barred by a huge boulder. Not only were the rivers shut up, but with them were their occupants, including the salmon. First Eagle tried to break this barrier, but without avail; then Raven succeeded. Since then the Bella Coola River has flowed in its present course. But the *Tsawat* River was still in bondage, to the disgust of the chiefs who wished to travel up it to the home of the chief, *Kwanaw'la*. The Carpenter, *Atlakiik*, took pity on them and by breaking the barrier permitted them to reach their destination.

Origin Myths of Other Tribes

177 538 424 As has been repeatedly stated, the Bella Coola have obtained many prerogatives by marriages with the members of neighbouring tribes. Among these are, according to their belief, myths dealing with the peopling of distant localities. Ceremonially and sociologically, such traditions have the same importance as myths that describe Bella Coola as the final place of settlement of the first inhabitants. Accordingly, they can be given at this point.

177 538 174 114 In the previous section the original landing-places of some of the individuals described is said to have been outside the Bella Coola valley. Boas, discussing this fact (p. 111), suggests that such myths may reflect the movements of the ancestors of the Bella Coola from the parent Salish stock. Though this is a plausible hypothesis, it is also possible that

[*] This place could not be identified.
[**] Related by Louis Charlie.

McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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* 539

air. As they did so the feathers began to move, gradually rising in the air until some passed through the roof. It was as if a minimum whirlwind of gentle power were spiraling them. As the three continued to use the sticks, the corpse itself began to move, finally disintegrating into the down and passing through the roof. As it did so the three said:

"Go back whence we came. Ty.....,"

Since that time the people of Owikl have disposed of their dead in this manner.

The first *Hkaiaiic* brought with him from above not only the right to a scaled dance, but also a Cannibal *Sacrier* dance (II, p. 71) with the Bella Bella name *Lelmas*. He had, moreover, the rare privilege of performing *Sacrier* and scaled rites on alternate nights.

BC
[766]
[177]

This myth is important since it embodies an account of the disappearance of a corpse through a roof, a method of removal of the dead now practised by the Bella Coola in the case of children. This means is recognized by the Bella Coola to have been a recent introduction from either Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet to *Tal'ts*, and thence to Bella Coola.

[424]

Judging from this account, it would appear that such a method of removal of a corpse must be considered as originally a prerogative embodied in a myth, although it has ceased to be regarded as such in Bella Coola. The man from whom this tradition was obtained said it was only one of the type current in Bella Coola, though such are common in Bella Bella. It was obtained by the marriage of one of his ancestors to a woman of Owikl, and was used as theme for a mourning-ceremony on the death of his sister.

BB
539
BC
* 539
[177]
[583]

AN EARLY BELLA BELLA MYTH TRANSMITTED BY MARRIAGE TO BELLA COOLA*

In the beginning of time, when the population of the earth consisted only of the few people who had come down from above, Tsaiximaw was in the Bella Bella town, *Qqayai*, where, as was common at that period, people had no houses but were sheltered under huge trees which *Ilgwaiiw* had placed there for that purpose. Tsaiximaw was in the form of a man at the time and fell in love with a girl of the village. Her father, *Nkwi*, agreed to the match and the two were married. The husband never slept with his wife; when he wished children, he willed that they

*Related by Joshua Moody.

McIlwraith E-1 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES
Bellabella NES

Be
* 534
BB
[534]

FRAGMENT OF A KWATNA ORIGIN MYTH*

In the beginning *Ayaxnim* sent down to *Qwaxalk*, a point west of Kwatna, two men with their respective wives. The men's names were *Ti'mqulaxa* and *Lagwanmis*, and those of the women, *Sasa** and *Ilimai*.

ORIGIN MYTH OF SCHOONER PASS*

In the beginning there came down to *Qwaymai*, on Schooner Pass, a woman whose name was *Sisa*. On the shore of a lake near there she became a shaman, through a vision of which the details are lost. To obtain the continued goodwill of the power residing in the lake *Sisa* was wont to throw upon the water eagle down and dried cedar-bark, and cast this water when crossing patterns. One day when she was singing, she was overheard by *Tsiatsaula*, *Kaulum*, *Wiuus*, *Qwaiamis*, *Sasai*, and *Wala*, who had come to earth at the Nass River, *Kaulaai*, and were travelling by canoe, looking for a suitable place to settle. The four first named were brothers, the remaining two their sisters. Attracted by the song the six landed and ultimately chose *Qwaymai* as their abode, where they lived amicably with the powerful *Sisa*. In this they were fortunate, for she was so magically endowed that she had success in whatever she undertook.

Tsiatsaula and his brothers built a huge house of the kelp which grew abundantly in the vicinity. In course of time they were able to call people from far and near for a potlatch, at which a whale vomited grease down through the smoke vent on to the central fire causing it to blaze brightly, much to the amusement of the guests.

Be
[424]
[554]

Since that time, whenever the owner of the name *Tsiatsaula* has given a potlatch, carpenters have prepared for him a wooden whale which vomits grease on to the fire, a jealously preserved prerogative.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Qulaula*:*

In the beginning, *Ayaxnim* sent down *Tsilikar* with a herald to *Qulaula*, near a lake in the country now occupied by the Carrier Indians. *Tsilikar* brought with him a sack containing the model of a house which, when he set it on the ground, expanded without visible cause into a fine, large dwelling. In front of it there was a towering totem-pole surmounted by an owl.

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*Related by Snaachnut Annie.
*Related by Snaachnut Annie.
*Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

1:36:Howeith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA
Bella Bella NES

Be 534*

to death. *Gyamkhlamat* was the most prosperous of the brothers; so much had his wealth increased that he was able to call the people from all parts of the coast to a potlatch.

BB 534

Alpentlas had given *Tlakmakila* the honorable prerogative or duty of singing the mourning song whenever anyone died. When it was time for her to function she painted her face with a design representing a rough sea, and beat time on the floor with a stick, *Ipemkalate*, on which were jingling copper bangles. The theme was how Raven had brought her help on all occasions.

Be

The right to sing this song has since been preserved as a prerogative in the ancestral family descended from these four brothers. No name accompanies it, but the right must be validated by the giving of presents. [424] [535]

Early Traditions Having the Ceremonial Significance of Origin Myths

Be 534*

The following are examples of myths which are used as authorization for potlatches even though they do not deal with the actual peopling of this earth. It will be noted that they describe the adventures of early settlers, and only with non-Bella Coola. All are claimed to have been obtained by intermarriage with the descendants of individuals mentioned in them.

Be [177]

An Early Lizdmy Myth[20]

BB 539

Not long after the first people had come to this earth, Raven taught an *Lizdmy* chief, *Ep pamak* by name, how to catch black cod with hook and line. It was summer at the time, and *Ep pamak* began to make preparations for fishing early the following year. He instructed his wife to take three female assistants with her to the woods to collect a large quantity of cedar-bark for making the line, which had to be at least three hundred yards in length, owing to the depth at which black cod are found in Labouchere Channel. The four women returned four days later with a large amount of the material, on which they worked all summer and the following winter. Meanwhile *Ep pamak*, with three other men to help him, was busy manufacturing hooks of the usual British Columbia type. They were made from the knots of dead and fallen hemlocks; the interior was first cut out, bent into the desired shape, smoothed with mountain

Be 539*

[20] Related by Jim Pelkmit.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bellabella NE5

BB 539 BC 539 BC BB [226] [825]

a person has been in contact with supernatural beings to enable him to enter.

Ailsamka told them everything, that her mother had failed to teach her how to cut up black cod, "so *Xmoqwa* sent blackfish to catch me so that I could be taught," she said. "You must be very careful to cut them up properly or trouble will come upon you."

The correct method, as taught by Raven, is to split the fish cleanly without severing the bones. *Xi-paak*'s daughter had erred by cutting the one which is equivalent in a fish to the human collar-bone. She told them of the fish that abounded in *Xmoqwa*'s house; of the red-fish, which disobeyed their mother by playing outside the house so that their stomachs were often forced out from their mouths[78] and they floated up to the surface; of *Xmoqwa* himself and his large hat; and of the other denizens of the underworld. The people listened attentively and ever after cut up black cod in the prescribed fashion, though if *Ailsamka* had not been carried off to *Xmoqwa*'s house Raven's teaching would undoubtedly have been forgotten.

Not long after his daughter's safe return *Xi-paak* gave a potlatch. He took for himself the name *Xmoqwa*, and at the same time reproduced in his own house as much as possible of what his daughter had described. Thus there were imitation fishes, especially the halibut, around the house, while the red-fish were shown as wooden models that could be drawn up to the roof by hidden strings representing the manner in which the fish float up to the surface of the ocean. *Xmoqwa*, himself, was shown wearing his large ball topped hat, of the type known as *hipol*.[79]

While *Ailsamka* was under the water *Xmoqwa* had shown her *xuaak* whistles, and at this potlatch they were used while the girl was concealed within the back-room as a *xuaak* initiate.

BC [177] [556]

This was the[80] origin of the *xuaak* ceremonial, which spread in time from the *xuaq* people to the Bella Coola. The name *Xmoqwa* passed to one of *Xi-paak*'s descendants who, when he gave a potlatch, arranged

BC BB [424] [292] [532]

[78] The red-fish is an unidentified deep-sea fish which dies in shallow water through lack of pressure.

[79] This style was always worn by *Xmoqwa* and *Alquatin* and, as many of the first people obtained their power from one or other of these beings, the prerogative of using such hats at potlatches is quite common. They are made of cedar roots, are waterproof, and are usually painted with one of the wearer's ancestral crests. When either *Xmoqwa* or *Alquatin* is shown on a totem-pole he is displayed with one of these hats.

[80] It will be noted that the narrator tacitly assumes any origin recorded in his myth to be the sole, or authentic one.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bella bella NE5

BC
* 539

he travelled the whole distance on a single billow, so asked to be sent on a four-billow wave. His canoe was a sea-lion's stomach, into which he climbed through the mouth and which he made watertight by tying up the entrance with the animal's entrails. Whether or not the creature was alive is not clear, but at any rate the man set off in the strange craft. He felt as if he were on the back of an animal which made long, easy, slow bounds; it was the slow surging of a gigantic Pacific comber. After four bounds he untied the neck and found himself at home.

BC
[552]
[55]

Certain names have been preserved from this myth. The name *Nqeqe* is now used by a dog, as the owner is the last of her family. Another name is *Tharamqwitl*, "The Crash," derived from the metallic sound of the closing door of the sea-lion house. The name *Nametsta* was also obtained inside the house, but the details of its significance are lost.

BB
539
BC
* 539
[178]
[424]

AN EARLY MYTH OF *Kelde-t*[19]

As has been said, ambitious individuals, especially if they lack origin myths of the customary kind, sometimes claim ordinary stories as such. The following is almost certainly a case in point. It was obtained from an unreliable informant, who claimed it as a family myth, and said he had used it at a potlatch. He asserted that it was a Bella Bella story, transmitted through the marriage of one of his ancestors with a Bella Bella woman. Another informant, well versed in Bella Bella folk-lore, recounted another version of the same myth as a mere tale. There seems little doubt that the first narrator had merely laid claim to a common story to supply the deficiency of a true myth.

In the beginning, there came down to earth at the head of Gas Bay, *Kelde-t*, a solitary man whose name was *Kásdn-a*. He was so lonely that he made for himself from soft punky wood a woman, dressed her in blankets and clothing, and gave her the name, *Qua'lems*, which is in the Bella Bella language. *Kásdn-a* was a great hunter; every day he went out to seek mountain goats, which provided him with great quantities of grease, as well as yarn that he wove into blankets. Before leaving the house he always placed *Qua'lems* in front of a loom, put food beside her and told her to eat as much as she liked and to work diligently.

[19]Related by Kimsquit Alec.

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NES Bellacoola NES
Bellabella NES

Other people had come down to earth at the same time as *Kásto·a*, and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of Gee Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, so entered, and laughed heartily to find her made of rotten wood. They kicked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they seated themselves in her place, worked diligently at the blanket and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and hid themselves.

Soon *Kásto·a* entered. He embraced the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that she had burnt her head, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. At this the two girls who were hiding burst out laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to *Kásto·a* that he choose one of them for his wife; he agreed, selected the elder and married her. He built a house on a hilltop where they lived and to which he called people from far and near when he gave a potlatch.

Sisaá Origin Myths

As already stated, many *sisaá* names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the *sisaá* origin myth is the same as the ancestral myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or takes it from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were obtained which deal solely with the acquisition of a *sisaá* prerogative. No doubt this is chiefly to be explained by the fact that most *sisaá* rites have been derived from the Bella Bella.

THE ORIGIN OF THE *Sisaá* NAME, *Spuxpuxá-mpdimai*[40]

About 1840, a party of *Xusais* Indians[41] spent the winter in Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg so

[40] Related by Joshua Moody.

[41] It was impossible to identify this tribe. According to the Bella Coola they are akin to the Carriers, but have adopted the use of totem-poles, *hactat* dances

*539 that he was unable to return home. A young Bella Coola
609 woman charitably took the injured man into her house, but
though she tended him with care, the injury did not heal
●424 properly, and he was crippled for life. He used to work around
the house at light chores, but was unable to perform any hard
work, and was virtually adopted into the family, though, lack-
ing land in Bella Coola, he could never acquire any real status
there. After remaining for more than five years the cripple
became ill, and realized that he was about to die. In gratitude
to the woman who had sheltered him, he asked her to use his
xuxuk name, *Spaxpaxuq-mpdimat*, for one of her children, if
she ever had any. Soon afterwards, the stranger died. The
woman's family paid for his burial, and it was recognized that
the name, with myth attached, belonged to them. In later
years it was duly validated with presents at a potlatch, for the
benefit of her son from whom this account was obtained.

The myth is as follows:

*539 Long, long ago, a number of the sons of chiefs were playing on the
shore of Ootsa Lake, not far from a village. One of them, happening to
look upwards, was surprised to see drifting down from a great height a
spaxpax, one of the long feathers which grow on the upper leg of an eagle.
They idly wondered who would get it, and pressed close together, ready
to struggle, boy-like, for the prize, but it eluded their outstretched hands,
and lit on the head of one of the boys. Then, to the amazement of all, he
was lifted from the ground, as if the feather had been a magnet drawing
him aloft. One of his friends seized his ankles and tried to pull him down,
but in vain; moreover, he found that he could not release his grasp. A
third lad grasped the feet of the would-be rescuer, but he, too, was lifted
from the ground. One after another tried to pull down his friends, but
none could do so, until finally all the lads were drawn aloft by the feather,
each holding the legs of the one above him. Nothing was ever heard of
their fate.

A few years later the father of the boy on whom the feather had fallen
gave a potlatch, at which he used this event as a *xuxuk* theme for one of
his surviving children. A mask representing the sun was used in the
belief that this supernatural being alone could have caused such an event.

[829] and the *xuxuk* ceremonial through intermarriage with the coastal people of the
Skeena River. Their home is said to be far to the north of Ootsa Lake, but, as
no Bella Coola has visited them, little reliability can be placed on this statement.

[843] be avoided. If she walks on a beaver dam, or dips her head
[825] into a pool made by this animal, the birth of her infant will be blocked in the same way that the dam restrains a stream. This difficulty can be obviated, however, by dipping up the water with her hands instead of bending her head to the surface to drink. As far as possible, she must avoid being startled by
[774] small animals or reptiles; even if the excitement so caused is too slight to expel her own spirit, it may be sufficient to damage that of the foetus. Such dangers can be counteracted by means of magical rites (I, p. 700). Her husband is also subject to certain injunctions and prohibitions. If he sets beaver snares his wife's delivery will be difficult. He must preserve a small piece of the skin or an eye of every animal that he kills; a few
[846] days after birth the child is stamped in the smoke of a fire on which these articles have been thrown. This prevents injury from the father's quarry.[1]

A pregnant woman continues to reside in her own house, where her condition is a source of interest to her friends and relatives. There are no midwives with inheritable professional
844 prerogatives, but as the time for delivery draws near, arrange-
[424] ments are made for the mother or some other experienced female relative to be in attendance. It is quite proper for the husband to attend to this point, though it is customary for elderly female relatives to do so, sometimes those of the wife, sometimes those of her husband. A woman who, having herself borne children, has assisted at many births with success, is often requested to be present, and it is taken as a matter of course that she will be rewarded for her services.

When the pains of labour begin, the patient leaves the house with her assistant or assistants. In summer the party goes to some lonely spot in the woods where a rude wind-break may have been erected; in winter, to a sheltered spot beneath a
[171] house. No man can be present, a point in which the Bella Coola state that their culture differs from that of the Kwakiutl. The midwife manipulates the infant so that the birth is made

[1] This rite is described in detail later (I, p. 720).

[533] handles of the *metates*[1]; symbolizing that they are pals to protect the bride, though the dancers derive no benefit from the pals, which are stacked with others for later distribution to Y's family. A large amount of provisions has been prepared and placed in boxes, one for each member of Y's family. In many cases it is difficult to estimate how much food will be required, and if there is a surplus, it is eaten by the performers and other assistants.

When all are ready they rush forth, dancers, dancers' assistants, and young relatives of X, followed more sedately by his father. The rest of the villagers watch with interest, but do not take part in the ceremony. Choosing a position outside Y's house, the singers hear the tune of the marriage song used by X's ancestors; if the words are known they sing them. Like the propagation of marriage dances, there may not be a marriage song embodied in every origin myth, but if X lacks such he is usually able to borrow one.[2] The keeper of the song is stationed near the singers, ready to help them with the words or the tune, if necessary. Meanwhile the dancers are performing on the sidewalk outside Y's house. Each uses whatever type of dance he chooses, twist, scud, s'alt, or even chance's, but all dance simultaneously, though without paying greater attention to each other than is necessary to avoid collisions. The professional dancers accompany the singing with their high-pitched quaver.

[533] [534] [535] [536] [537]

Meanwhile Y's father, surrounded by his relatives and friends, waits in readiness within their house. Y herself is

[1] The original origin of marriage songs has been described in vol. I, chap. vi. They are less strongly preserved as perquisites than some elements of origin myths, in fact some keepers of the songs are willing to perform or say nothing, although this may be a modern development. The keeper, either man or woman, is chosen by the senior members of the ceremonial family, after discussion with the singers. It is his duty to remember text and tune, and the only pecuniary advantage is from the presents made by those to whom he teaches it. Some songs have words, others only a tune. The text of a song brought down by *Mapatsim* to *Tsadik d'ic*:

"Hulo, *Sunshine!* We do as we have done before. Please make good the path for those who are about to marry."

Mapatsim obtained this song from his heavenly ancestor and used it at his own marriage, as his male descendants have since done.

[534]

In one case where an orphan woman, without relatives, repurchased herself by her own arduous labours, the announcement was made:

"Y's half-bee came to ransom her."

The reference was to the manner in which she had heaped up her clothing with a half-adze working. If Y's father should die after amassing goods to repurchase her, they are used for the purpose intended and the announcement is:

"Y's father's sons-bee came to ransom her."

The uncontrol family descended from the first settlers at *Sealth-ó* have the prerogative of singing a special song as they ransom one of their daughters. This was used by their first ancestors on a like occasion. The theme is:

"I, I, I am the highest of you all. No one of you is capable of doing what I can accomplish. You all live on what I void."

The significance of this last sentence is that the village of *Sealth-ó* is furthest up the Salmon Creek River. Its inhabitants used to claim that the people of the other villages lived on the refuse which they threw into the river, a source of pride to them.

After announcing the various relatives who have ransomed Y, the presents are counted and carried into X's house. The statement concerning their number, who has given them, and for what purpose, is repeated to the foreign guests there assembled, and they are then piled indiscriminately in a large heap for future distribution. At this juncture X calls out:

"Come in, come in," as though he were welcoming arrivals from a distance.

Y's relatives arrive, and the ritual of the potlatch continues in the manner already described. The origin myth in which Y's new name is embodied is related in considerable detail, especially its recent history, that is, by whom it was last used and any pertinent items connected with its transmission. If she has received several names from different myths, each is similarly expounded.

As has been said, many women's names have been created

0:96:Slowalk E-1 (922-924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

ciety. These are given several times, serving to recall the 533
ceremonies in which the chief took part during his life. At 575
intervals, the new song is repeated and *nuxalk* members of the 766
audience join in as they become familiar with the words. Fre-
quently one or more relatives of the deceased dance in his [535]
stead during the singing. The details of this rite, especially
of the songs used in it, differ considerably according to the
actions of the person during life; if a mighty chief, the donor
of many potlatches, this fact is described in the song, whereas
only an incident from the ancestral myth can be used for a
young *nuxalk*. If some of his female relatives are professional [767]
wailers, they function during the ceremony. In all circum-
stances, the rite aims to comfort the grieving kinsmen, an end
which it usually achieves.

As already described, *nuxalk* ceremonial was in a state of 575
transition at the time of the coming of the white man. Pre- 766
vious to that date, a spectacular funeral prerogative had been 177
adopted from Rivers Inlet,[1] which has since been claimed by a 424
number of *nuxalk*. All the Bella Coola know of this ceremony, [178]
and most of them desire to perform it at the death of a dearly
loved relative; at the present time this is possible owing to the
slight regard paid to prerogatives, but it is certain that a few
years ago it would have been forbidden to most people, and
that it was never a universal Bella Coola rite.

When this rite is performed, the corpse is allowed to remain 575
in its coffin for at least one night after the day on which 766
Mutakila came and the *nuxalk* songs were sung. Meanwhile 532
the carpenters have prepared an imitation body, usually of
rags on a light framework, and a wooden representation of the
deceased's crest. Since this figure is to come through the roof
and carry aloft the corpse, stout hooks are attached to its feet.
In theory, the bird or animal disguise used by the first ancestor

[1] One old Bella Coola stated that this prerogative was obtained during his own life-time from a Rivers Inlet chief who moved to *Tal'ia*. It is impossible to state accurately when this ritual was adopted by the Bella Coola, though it is unquestionably of recent origin.

575 766 981 with to emphasize the importance of this society, some that the deception was always apparent, and that even the hooks and ropes by which the figure was manipulated could be seen. Still others regard the ceremony as a symbolic means of portraying the manner in which a man's crest comes to carry away his spirit and life. It seems clear that different interpretations must always have been accepted by different members of the community. A young and ingenuous initiate, steeped in the atmosphere of the supernatural, may well have believed that he was gazing upon an actual supernatural being, as the senior *xaxai* desired him to do; others must have recognized that a deception of some kind was being practised, but dramatization is such an important factor in Bella Coola life that individuals often disregard the difference between semblance and reality, and it is contrary to custom for a person to cast aspersions upon the prerogative of another. It is easy for such an one to accept the drama as a symbol or representation of the manner in which the crest carries off the intangible elements of the dead. This is certainly the attitude of the Bella Coola at the present time. Everyone realizes that the crest is of human manufacture and that the corpse itself is not carried away, but the rite is still performed and gratifies the survivors by giving them an opportunity to display their prerogative and the cloak of the deceased's ancestor.

[184]

575 766 Perhaps because of its relatively recent introduction, details of the performance of this rite are not fully standardized. In some cases, the crest is made to appear at the same time as *Matakila*, instead of at a subsequent ceremony. It is assumed that the origin of the rite is in some ancient myth in which the body was actually taken above by the crest, an act copied, with the aid of carpenters, by the descendants of the person to whom this occurred. There are no myths of this nature current in Bella Coola, although it is thought that such must have been common among the peoples of the outer coast to explain the prevalence of the practice in that area. One old man mentioned that an *Owikt* myth in which a

[424] [773] [424]

body became angle down and was walled upwards in psychologically of the type which might serve as basis for a rite of this kind. If the descendants of the person to whom this had happened had determined the incident as subsequent death, a custom analogous to the one here described would have arisen.

BURIAL OF THE DEAD

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When possible, it takes place on the day following death, but as many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the performance of the rite just described. Another reason for postponement is the absence of near relatives; if they can be summoned within four or five days, the funeral may be delayed until their arrival. There is always endless discussion concerning the exact details; all relatives and members of the ancestral family take part, though the wishes of a son, brother, or other near kinsman are usually followed. In this, as in so many points of Bella Coola ritual, an influential chief often overrules the desires even of those who are more closely related to the deceased.

Heralds announce the hour chosen,* usually about noon, and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even strangers being welcome. Women wail dolorously, and another indication of the occasion is the bundles containing clothing, cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once, with a stone; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed and a hole made in one of the front corners of the house, through which the man throws out the stone. The women redouble their lamentations as an old woman, previously asked to do so, lights a bundle of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and climbs through the opening carrying this. No request has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong man, especially

*This is done at present, even after the carrying away of the "body." In former times it was omitted when the corpse was secretly buried by the canoe.

* 556 mourners may be marked with the same ritual as at a potlatch, but there is always curtailment of round features if rites 764 of that nature are to be omitted.

Meanwhile other preparations have not been neglected. Among the prerogatives embodied in many origin myths, is that of the presence of professional mourners at memorial * 556 potlatches. If mention of these is made in the ancient traditions of the donor's ancestral family, it is a matter of pride for him to do as was done by his ancestors in the distant past. [767] For example, it may be recorded that at the memorial potlatch of some ancient chief, a number of his younger relatives appeared with red paint smeared upon their faces, with finely chopped cedar-bark in the hair, or with bands of the same material across their heads. [768] Myth-time had decreed that they should thus exhibit their grief, and the descendants of the chief have since had the privilege of doing likewise. Such signs of mourning may not, however, be worn without proper validation. It is only the members of the ancestral family who are entitled to don these marks, and among them, only those whose right has been confirmed by the distribution of presents. This is a masculine professional prerogative, known [562] by the same name as the feminine one of uttering a drawing cry to which it is closely akin. The right is verified at memorial potlatches, and the donor of one is glad to do so as a means of displaying his own wealth as well as of making plain the glory of his ancestors to whom the one being commemorated has returned. There is no mention of professional mourners in [967] the myths of many families, nor are they ever as important in [17] Bella Coola as among the Bella Bella and other tribes of the outer coast. If such belong to the family of the donor, he notifies the incumbents and asks them to be ready, although, eager to act, they seldom wait for such an invitation.

533 The most difficult task is the preparation of mourning songs * 556 at which the singers toil for several weeks. The donor first 764 invites them to his house and recounts the myths from which they must be composed. These may include several traditions

only for a child, can be employed for a dead child. In this case, the theme describes the efforts of the persons concerpoeate the deceased to the traditions of their ancestors, and the number of times he had been ceremonially marrie. The text of one used a few years ago is:

"We said, Hail! Xwalaxla [the child's name in the Sun] when she was born. What more could we have one? Why did she leave us?"

The text may refer to the prerogative of singing mourn-ers, as in the following:

"Come ye professional mourners, help me to *pe* voice to my lamentations."

The tunes of mourning songs are usually remembered from year to year, and the singers may merely alter wds to make an old song applicable. In some cases, such compositions are changed so slightly that they become virtually possessions of an ancestral family, and may then be preserved fogenerations until even the history of the tunes embodied i forgotten. Occasionally, ancient relationship between two uch groups can be deduced from the occurrence of the same tunes in their mourning songs, although all traditions of intermarriage have been forgotten. There is considerable difference etween the tunes of *deceased* and *deceasedd*; in fact, this dinction may be more important thus the themes, since the litter do not invariably conform to the types just described. A few items of ancestral history may be incorporated into a ong dealing primarily with the actions of the deceased and *vice versa*. Sometimes four of one type are used, sometimes two of ach. Much thought is devoted to the compositions, the singrs meeting every day to try over and improve one another's eforts. The texts, long and complicated, require much practic, since any error would be an admission of gross inefficiency. These daily rehearsals take place in the donor's house and he is required to provide food for the singers. It is not uncommon to use a song of Bella Bella origin, since the Bella Coolaadmit that members of that tribe excel in compositions o this type.

556 will now be the *forms* of the one who has recently died. As
769 soon as all have taken their places, an eloquent chief whose
[537] aid has been requested for the purpose stands up and recounts
the donor's ancestral myth in some detail, mentioning the
source and meaning of the mourners' masks and the designs
of the totem-poles. Then he continues to the effect that the
chief will "cry" by relating the history of his ancestors, which
is also the history of the journey taken by his kinsmen, and that
[195] this recital will shove him up. The word used for this, *sneat-*
dzakw, is the one commonly employed for raising a heavy
burden with the aid of a lever. Then the singers begin to beat
[533] out the first of the mourning songs, accompanying it with their
voices and assisted by as many of the audience as are familiar
with words and tune. Every effort is made to make the singing
as impressive as possible to add dignity to the recital of the
journey taken by the person who is being commemorated.
The guests listen attentively and are suitably impressed by
the ancestral history of the donor and his family. All the songs
that have been prepared are sung in succession in the same
manner. The lack of dancing distinguishes this type of cere-
[535] mony from all others and adds somewhat to its impressiveness.

After the last song is the proper time for validating young
[424] relatives of the donor as mourners. One of the miniature
[425] totem-poles, which are light enough to be carried in the hands,
is brought from the back-room and given to the boy on whom
this prerogative is being conferred. An eloquent speaker
explains the meanings of the designs so displayed and enough
of the family's ancestral history to make clear whence, and
how, they were obtained. The singers begin to beat time
slowly, and the youth endeavours to keep time with his feet,
while he continues to hold the pole.

Meanwhile the donor and his immediate relatives have been
arranging the piles of presents with the inevitable counting and
[537] re-counting. As at a potlatch, a fluent speaker is commissioned
to hold up the objects, state whence they have been obtained,
1 [i.e. - the memorial potlatch - ANALYST]

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"Please stop crying. We have made good your memory. You are a light to your brother. Go to *Smamuit* where he stands among the abalone-shells far to the south.[a] Thence go overland to Rivers Inlet where a *sisnuit* will serve as canoe for you.[b] You will see the long house where your ancestor obtained shaman's power."[c]

Meanwhile Reuben Schooner had been out of sight behind the curtain of the stage. After a short interval, he emerged
[292]
wearing a blue blanket decorated with mother-of-pearl buttons sewn on in raven design. He was followed by two other influential members of the *nuxuit* society, Alexander Challaman and Nebuchadnezzar, similarly attired. Reuben began to sing in a low, sad, penetrating voice of considerable musical power and, followed by the other two, walked slowly in a sunwise circle around the hall, all the time shaking his right hand, held projecting outwards at right angles from his elbow. The song was in Bella Bella, and even the singer did not fully understand the meaning, and few of the audience had any idea of its significance. When the three had almost completed the first circuit, someone brought Reuben a rattle, which he clutched in his right hand as he continued his way. The reason of the shaking at once became evident; he should have had a rattle through-
[178]
out but few of these were left in Bella Coola at the time and it had not been possible to borrow one before beginning his song. Again the three slowly circled the hall, Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar calling out at intervals:

"Listen to the mourning song of the chief."

After the second circuit of the hall, Reuben paused near the singers and spoke to Alec Davis, a *xauxk siki*. The latter
[424]
rose and stated how the prerogative of *siki*, including the right to sing, unaccompanied, a mourning song on occasions such as this had been transmitted both to Reuben and his brother Harry from *Ae-sti*, a Bella Bella chief to whom they were

[a] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[b] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[c] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.

[illegible] through their mother. After a little further discussion, Harry took the cords from his brother and began to sing as he walked around the hall, followed by Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar. Harry was less familiar than his brother with the proper words, but supplied this deficiency by humming. He was also less at ease, and he lacked the musical ability which had made his brother's singing so impressive. After a single circuit, he returned the cords to Reuben, who continued to go around the hall as he sang. This time he paused at intervals, and kept glancing towards the door, his whole attitude betraying that something was interfering with the previously arranged plans. The purpose of the singing was to summon the dead woman in the form of her crest, but she did not appear. In early times those who were not moved were told that the words and music penetrated to the upper regions, reminding the deceased of the grief of his relatives and persuading him to return. This belief had passed away at the time of the ceremony here described, but the fiction was continued, and it had been planned that the representation of the deceased should enter when the song was finished. It later transpired that the delay was due to a number of white people who, having gathered at the doorway, made the performer unwilling to put on his masks and disguise. Reuben continued to sing half-heartedly, and finally cried out:

"Perhaps I have lost my power, it does not come."

Alec Davis, who had previously left the hall, came rushing in and called out in a loud voice:

"*Gwanis* [Jenie's ancestral name and the one in connection with which she had been made a chief] is coming. She has been to the scenes of her ancestral myths. Her crests have taken her. She comes as Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, bearing her grandchild."[11]

The speaker is a morose, rather surly individual, usually undignified and often drunk, but on this occasion his manner had changed in a remarkable degree. His eyes were bright, his

[11]Although not yet dead, all hope had been abandoned for the child's recovery.

towed the actor, blowing eagle down over him separately. After one circuit of the hall, the performer passed out through the front door, from the vicinity of which was heard once more the large whistles and the screaming of the eagle, both growing less distinct as if the bird were flying away.

The wearer of the mask displayed considerable dramatic talent and succeeded in giving a realistic display in spite of the glaring lights which exposed his bare feet and betrayed the human handiwork of the mask in a manner impossible in the native type of house with a single, central fire as the sole illumination. The Carriers had wrought the performance with interest, probably singed with contempt, but to the Bella Coola it was no mere spectacle, it was a religious rite of the highest importance. All the spectators realized that the figure was human, but this seemed inconsequential as they gazed upon the representation of the dead woman in the form of her crest, to which they believed she had been transformed by death. Even the children were silent, and the only sound during the passage was the wailing of a sleepy infant. The eagle crest belonged to Jessie by virtue of membership in the ancestral family descended from her father's first ancestor, traced patrilineally, who had come to earth at *Tsimsit* in the form of this bird. The blackfish was a crest acquired through her mother; the raven represented a copper raven belonging to an ancestral myth of the dying grandchild. In former times, carpenters would have worked for weeks preparing an elaborate composite figure, but Captain Schooner wished no delay in the ceremony for fear of police interference, so that it was necessary to use what masks happened to be in existence and to place them in conjunction by means of the crude white sheet. Jessie had not been initiated into the *nusuk* society, but no opposition was raised to the use of *nusuk* whistles both on account of her status as chief, and owing to the influence of her father who, a *nemsit* chief, feared no restrictions and heeded no conventions. Besides, both her brothers were influ-

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social scandal. In former times it is certain that objections would have been raised to this breach of ceremonial privilege.

There was a pause for several minutes after the withdrawal of the figure. Then Reuben threw a copper on the floor in the track taken by the actor "to make home for the dead woman." A number of chiefs were forward to join the singers and discuss whether or not the copper should be redeemed. No one wished to do so, so Captain Schooner said he would have it fastened to a post over Jessie's grave, a proposition to which all agreed.

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After interminable discussion in which Captain Schooner, Nebuchadnezzar, Reuben Schooner, Jim Pollard, and Alec Davis took the principal parts, it was decided to sing the fourth mourning song at this point. There was no reason why this should not have been done at the customary time, after the other show, but wide latitude in detail was allowed in this ceremony; in fact, exact ritual never flourished in Bella Coola and has become increasingly rare in recent years. This song had been composed a number of years previously when Captain Schooner had called in the Bella Bella to a memorial potlatch, and great care had been expended on its composition owing to the skill of the guests in songs of this type. The words, altered to fit the circumstances, were phrased as if George and Dan were lamenting the loss of their mother and other relatives.

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"I, we," they ran, "are thinking of our mother, our brothers, our sisters, our mother's brothers, our mother's sisters, our father's brothers, our father's sisters, of all our dead relatives. Please, ye chiefs from abroad, turn your heads, listen to our wail. You revered great ones, let us all cry together. It is we who have called you hither; look upon us."

This song was sung in the manner already described, except that more of the Bella Coola were familiar with the words and tune and could accordingly join in.

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Meanwhile Captain Schooner, with his sons Reuben and Harry and his grandsons George Nelson and Andy Schooner, had been crouching in a corner of the hall, poring over the money which was to be distributed to validate the ceremony,

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777 A visitation is not regarded as an inheritable right, but as a
* 787 tendency; for generations no member of a family may see one
of these beasts, but the tradition is preserved, and when one
[424] is seen it is recalled that such have been observed by ancestors
of the fortunate one. Instances have occurred in which a
person has obtained good luck without the tradition of this
being in his family, but they are rare. On the other hand, a
man may lose the advantage of his possession, even if he own
[785] a portion of a *mätsqus* or a *nsiatl*, through failure to observe
ceremonial chastity.

776 Some of the Bella Coola believe that the *mätsqus* and the
nsiatl are the same animal, which can assume these two forms;
others that the two are distinct supernatural creatures. In any
case the powers and characteristics ascribed to them are the
same. Most families have a tradition regarding the appear-
[173] ance of the one or the other to their ancestors, and the infor-
[184] mation to be derived from them is always about that particular
creature. Hence the details here described are probably not
all known to any one individual.

* 789 The different types of appearances, and the different types
811 of taboos called forth, should be noted. These are due to
182 failure on the part of the Bella Coola to rationalize the sum
total of their concepts. Each man recounts what he believes
to have happened to one of his ancestors or friends, irrespec-
tive of whether or not the methods used may be in direct
contradiction to those employed by someone else on another
occasion. A man who has heard of the *mätsqus*, for example,
from his father and mother, may describe contradictory means
of dealing with the creature, and in each case may affirm that
disaster would have followed if the method described had not
been carried out. Such lack of co-ordination is typical of the
Bella Coola.

777 According to an elderly Kimsquit man, the *mätsqus* was
brought down in the beginning of time by one of his own
* 787 ancestors, *Omqomkilka*. It is to this fact that he attributes
[773] his own near approach to one on two occasions. As it is fre-

777 224 elapsed, he fetched his musket from its hiding-place and again began to use it. Thenceforth he never missed his aim; every shot brought down an animal.

Before the days of muskets good fortune could likewise be obtained by the discoverer of the nest of a *mätsqwi*. Each contains small particles of the skin of all animals, including human beings, plucked from them in their sleep by humming birds and toads. The finder must touch the nest with his stick, such as is always carried by hunters, then break it and throw it away, saying as he does so:

"May I see you at . . . tomorrow." This means next year. He names his favourite hunting-ground. The finder must not say anything to anyone about his discovery, and for one [785] year he must observe continence. If he then goes to the locality mentioned, he will there find his stick, the one which he broke when he touched the nest, though it will be invisible to anyone else. Adhering to its end will be four hairs of the *mätsqwi*. These he must hide for a year, wrapped in some of his own clothing, taking care that it is an article which he has long [785] worn and which is accordingly saturated with his essence. During this period, too, he must observe continence. Two years after finding the nest, he will be able to hunt with phenomenal success. [424] The knowledge of this proper procedure has been handed down in an ancestral family for many generations.

On the occasion when the two men had seen the nest they 777 continued their journey, each chiding the other for his failure * 787 to take advantage of the opportunity put in his path. Before [776] long they saw a footprint where no man had been and knew that it must be that of *Twalältit*, the supernatural hunter of mountain goats. In spite of remonstrances, the comrade scraped up a little dirt from the track into his handkerchief. In this he did wrong, especially as he had failed to take advantage of the opportunity presented to him by the nest of the monster toad. That night as the two were encamped a slide came thundering down beside them, and they barely escaped [761] with their lives. Not long afterwards the erring man died,

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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* 756 of these demi-gods of antiquity are favourite themes for stories.
538 The powers of the later shamans have been far less than those
of their forefathers, and their exploits have been of a somewhat
[173] different character. Hence it is possible to divide the subject
into three sections:

(1) Shamanism in the distant past.
(2) Modern shamanism.
(3) Shamans from the dead.

SHAMANISM IN THE DISTANT PAST

Information on this phase is contained in stories and a few anecdotes which describe the achievements of ancient demi-gods, endowed with miraculous powers of various kinds. The tales are similar in type to those dealing with the granting of supernatural aid to the unfortunate, so that it is in many cases difficult to differentiate them. As might be expected these narratives are not exact. Frequently the teller does not know from what being the ancient shaman received his power, nor can he explain the abilities described, which are different from, and superior to, those with which he is familiar. In fact it is customary to describe any mythical hero as a shaman.

[424] Tales of this kind can be related by any one; they are not the personal property of a specific family. Many of them, that of *W'aumal-is*, for example, are well known and are told and retold constantly.

In addition to information obtained from stories, a few isolated facts are remembered regarding ancient shamans. It
* 756 is thought that various taboos connected with hunting were
228 learnt by them in the distant past. Such restrictions and in-
[224] junctions were firmly believed in and strictly adhered to until
a few years ago, and many of them are still observed. The usual method of hunting harlequin ducks is, or was until recently, from a canoe, with a sapling set up in the bow to hide the hunter, crouched with bow and arrow in readiness; several shamans, however, were able to kill the birds by merely
[262] waving the butt-end of a paddle towards them. Such power

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CHAPTER X

STORIES ILLUSTRATING THE SUPERNATURAL

Stories Illustrating Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate —Stories Illustrating Supernatural Good Luck—Stories Illustrating Shamanism

KNOWLEDGE of the contact between supernatural and human beings is based largely upon tales describing such incidents; in fact, generalizations like those made in the last chapter are, as has been already stated, contrary to Bella Coola practice. Such tales are, however, so numerous and so long that their inclusion in the sections describing the kind of experience they illustrate would have made the last chapter unduly cumbersome and confusing. Stories recounting three types of contact with the supernatural are brought together here, not as items of folk-lore, but as basic material to supplement the relevant sections of the last chapter. These legends are not family property, but are considered to be historical incidents which can be related by anyone. 538 787* [424]

Stories Illustrating Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate

THE GAMBLER'S SUCCESS

Four brothers, of whom the youngest was named *Djaodjo·ca*, were very fond of gambling with crabapple sticks. They played on all occasions, but with such lack of success that they lost first their goods, then their houses, their mother, their children, their wives, and finally themselves. The three older men went hunting every day, but *Djaodjo·ca* remained in the house as if he had no heart to do more than lie down and die. Perhaps he had an inspiration; at any rate he was deceiving his brothers, because as soon as they had gone out he used to get up and collect clams which were plentiful below the floor of the house. These were his sole sustenance, but he also chewed the fin of an old salmon, which served to exercise his jaws. Before his brothers' return *Djaodjo·ca* always lay down in his corner, covered with an old dirty blanket, as if he 525 539* 787*

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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The woman's husband was not dismayed at her death, knowing she deserved it on account of having spoken harshly to her son-in-law. This was the only occasion on which *Tsaiskit* killed anyone. After the funeral he said to his father-in-law:

"I am sorry for what has happened. If I had intended to slay your wife I should have done so by means of my supernatural power, whereas her death was caused accidentally by the too-great force latent in my own body."

"Do not let this event trouble you," the other man replied. "We all realize that my wife was in the wrong and thus caused her own death. I will take a new wife from among your relatives, and there the matter will drop."

A year later the marriage took place and the death of *Tsaiskit*'s mother-in-law was thus amicably settled.[1]

THE GOOD FORTUNE OF *Yalhal'a*

Yalhal'a was very poor. He hunted diligently but was never successful, and the people of the village used to laugh at him. When feasts were given, *Yalhal'a* received a share, but he was never able to reciprocate, and this preyed on his mind. One day he set out at dawn for the mountains with his stick and his dog, but though he hunted industriously he returned at night with nothing better than herbs to cook for his supper. Undaunted, he set off again the following day, but had no better success, and again brought back only vegetables for his evening meal. He placed these on a stick before the fire to dry, and lay down, weary and depressed. Presently he saw a man enter the house and stand on the other side of the fire; around his head he wore a snake, which stamped him as a shaman. It was *Tsaiskit*, but *Yalhal'a* did not know this.

"*Yalhal'a*, what are you cooking?" asked the visitor.

"Mountain goat liver," he lied in answer.

Tsaiskit next inquired, "Is your dog a good mountain goat dog?"

"Yes," replied *Yalhal'a*, unruffled. "Every day he goes hunting he kills twenty mountain goats."

"Is your stick a good one?" inquired *Tsaiskit*.

"Yes," answered *Yalhal'a*, "I always kill a great many mountain goats with it."

Tsaiskit then suggested that they exchange dogs and sticks. *Yalhal'a*, though at first unwilling, at length consented, and his visitor went away, leaving his own staff and dog behind.

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[1] The above is regarded as an historical account, and the descendants of those who figure in the story consider that they have prior rights to relate it. But as it has no ceremonial significance, this claim is not pressed.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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hand, as if it had been a blow from a feather, and wrenched it from his opponent. Another of the brothers likewise struck at him with a pole, but again Qwiwas seized it from his grasp. Then he stretched out one hand, caught the holder of the stick by the neck, and squeezed until the man's head parted from his body. In the same manner Qwiwas killed two more of the brothers, allowing only one of them to escape. His bear friends had been in the vicinity, but help from them was not required.

Qwiwas finished the construction of his eulachon-weirs and then went back to his aunt's house. The brother who had escaped had already brought tidings of what had occurred, and the old woman, fearful of the consequences, angrily asked Qwiwas why he had done such a thing. He quickly quieted her by reminding her that it was she who had led him to think of revenge by telling him of the reason of his father's murder.

Qwiwas remained quietly at home for the rest of that summer and the ensuing winter, but early in the spring he began to build an enormous salmon-weir. The fame of his strength had spread far and near among the coastal people so that many of them came to assist him. The weir was rapidly finished and was a great success. With the wealth of salmon obtained, Qwiwas was able to give numerous potlatches and took for himself the name *Łáłáłdja*. In course of time he married the daughter of *xpayayat*.

Qwiwas was a great inventor. The next winter he made a net for eulachon, which he used with great success in the spring. It was the first time that this had ever been done and the pattern he used has since been copied by the Kitamaat people. The following winter his aunt, acting on his instructions, made the first small salmon-net. Not only are the inventions of these two useful articles ascribed to Qwiwas, but also the first use of the bow and arrow, as well as other valuable appliances. After a long life he died, but he is still remembered for his achievements.*

A NEGLECTED OPPORTUNITY

[228] A few Bella Coola believe that supernatural experiences of the foregoing type tend to occur in certain families, although not with sufficient frequency to be called an inheritable characteristic. A middle-aged man who held this belief gave the following account of a personal encounter.

His father had obtained power from a black bear, and once when hunting he himself saw a track of which those footprints were those of a

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*The above differs from the usual tales of this category in that the participants are well known. In consequence their descendants take a family pride in it and tend to add it to the accepted myth of the first *Qwiwas*, perhaps improperly. Probably it is a tale that members of a certain family have sought to ascribe to their own ancestors.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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has gone contrary to something about which there has been universal agreement for generations. 771 754

To understand Bella Coola medicines it is, therefore, necessary to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practise them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to those effecting death, but is equally true with regard to all medicines, whether curative or causative. 628 [784] [755]

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of medicines. Knowledge of most remedies has been handed down for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type can be practised by any member of the group to which it belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment, but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction that only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship of some medicines, but these are indicated whenever possible. 424 755 757 [614] [465] [614] [425]

846 ating point shall be one year after the birth. Early on the
856 morning of this day, he takes the umbilical cord and goes far
789 into the mountains until he finds a place where the grass is
[785] matted and the earth packed, showing that a mountain goat has slept there. He digs a hole, inserts the cord in it, and covers it with stones, praying as he does so:

"Please, father! May my son be skilful, may he be successful in hunting mountain goats."

This has the effect of showing the child where these animals are to be found. The father then returns home.

Four days later he goes back to the same spot, digs up the umbilical cord, brings it home and hangs it in the doorway of the house. Should this be omitted, the child would have an intense longing to hunt in the mountains and would leave home at the first opportunity, but would be unable to return. The cord is left suspended for four days, then taken to the forest and deposited under an overhanging rock where no water can penetrate. It dries in course of time but no further attention is paid to it.

[868] A child so treated begins to hunt birds and squirrels when he is eight or ten years of age, and later follows mountain goats with obsidian-pointed arrows. This medicine has been handed [424] down in certain families for generations. If a parent, not possessing the prerogative, wishes to have it applied to his child, he requests one who is entitled to use it to perform with his son's umbilical cord in the manner just described. He is later paid for his assistance.

A similar, though simpler medicine is for the father to take the fallen umbilical cord to the mountains immediately and bury it beneath stones where a mountain goat has been lying. Four days later he returns to the spot, digs up the cord, and brings it home, thus ensuring that the child will have no fear of the mountains and will be a successful hunter of mountain goats. In such cases it is customary for the mother to preserve her son's cord during his childhood so that he will not become careless.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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789 ceremonial dances without making mistakes. The Bella Bella
856 paint a representation of a wolf's bladder for the same purpose.
[532] The basis of this medicine is the belief that it is the gall-
[826] bladder which causes wildness and intelligent fear, and hence that anyone so treated will be careful not to make mistakes.
[825] A bird with a large bladder is thought to be difficult to approach, whereas a deer, which has a small one, or none at all, is often stupidly brave. This medicine is known only to the mem-
[424] bers of certain families and is used for the children of chiefs
[622] alone, since errors on the part of others is a matter of little importance.

MEDICINES OF CHILDHOOD

789 Some of the instruction given to boys and girls, and the
856 acts which they are enjoined to perform, are virtually religious, and have accordingly been described in earlier chapters. For
771 example, when a lad washes in the river before daybreak, scours himself with a smooth stone and prays to *Alquntäm*, he is carrying out what might with justice be called a religious act. If, however, he believes that mere washing is enough to compel some desire or end, it is magical. Different Bella Coola have different sentiments concerning the exact means by which this method causes the desired effect. To some it is unquestionably a true prayer, but in other families it is customary for a father to take his son, when he has reached about eight years of age, and wash him four times, to the accompaniment of the usual prayer. It is believed that this causes the lad to grow up powerful and active, constantly striving for success. This type of washing may be called magical.

789 In the following there is no element of uncertainty; they
856 belong unquestionably to the category described in the preceding section.

To Cause Agility

The following medicine is frequently employed by fathers when their sons are first able to walk:

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789 morning to whip his son. It is clear, however, that such was
856 regarded as proper by anyone practising this medicine, even though few did so regularly.

MEDICINES APPLIED TO YOUNG DOGS

789 *To Cause Ability in Hunting*

231 When a bear has been killed and the first incision made for skinning it, take a puppy, force its head inside the opening, and rub it to and fro. Throw the animal into the river and when it has swum ashore, repeat the rite. If this act is repeated four times, the dog will grow up to be a good hunter.

To Cause Ability in Hunting Beaver

Wrap the puppy in the freshly removed skin of a beaver and throw it into the river to the accompaniment of hand-clapping from as many as happen to be present. After submersion for a few moments, remove the bundle and throw it in again. Repeat this twice more. This makes the dog grow up unafraid of water and, accordingly, useful in hunting beaver.

To Cause Disregard of Musket Shots

Lay some black powder at the nose of a sleeping puppy and ignite it. The dog will grow up without fear of musket shots.

To Cause Keen Scent

Slit any kind of salmon so that the liver is exposed and hold the puppy with its nose immediately over this. Make an incision in the tip so that the blood flows freely on to the organ of the salmon. Hold the animal until flies have gathered from all directions to feast upon the fish and fresh blood.

The dog will grow up with the ability to locate game in any direction, just as flies gather wherever there is blood. He will also have their ability to travel without requiring a path. One
[424] old man stated that this medicine was the property of an ancestral family, and should be used when a puppy is one month old.

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To Cause Ability in Hunting Mountain Goats

789
281

Steep the freshly removed head of a fisher, wolf, or wolverine in smoke for four days. Break a hole in the top of the skull and hold the puppy's head over this; then slit its nose so that the blood drips down into the interior of the cranium. Release the dog, take the head to the mountains and bury it in the ground beneath a spot where mountain goats have been sleeping. Dig it up four days later and conceal it under a shelving rock where it is protected from the rain.

This medicine causes the dog to grow up with knowledge of the haunts of mountain goats as well as with the bravery of whichever animal was used. This means can be practised only by members of the ancestral families to which it belongs. [424]

To Cause Ability in Hunting Otters or Seals

Obtain the head of whichever is desired, and proceed as described for mountain goats. Instead of burying, place the skull under shelter near a creek much frequented by land otters, or near the ocean where seals are plentiful. It need not be taken up after four days.

To Cause General Ability

This medicine can be applied only by a successful hunter, who expects compensation for his assistance. It is employed when a puppy is about one month old.

Early in the morning the hunter seats himself on a box within the house of the dog's master, his legs stretched out before him. He seizes the puppy firmly and passes it, sunwise, around and under his legs four times, frequently spitting on its nose and kneading it with his hands to make that organ slender. This causes the animal to grow up with good tracking ability, while the passing makes it faithful to its master. Next the hunter seizes the dog by the hind legs and swings it four times, sunwise, over and through the smoke of the fire. This prevents it from being dizzy and afraid of precipitous mountains, but if it yelps as it travels through the air, it will be a poor dog. Finally, the hunter carries it to the river and throws

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757 (2) Place on the surface of the skin nearest the pain hemlock gum and a human bone taken from that part of the skeleton adjacent to the seat of the discomfort.

[424] This medicine is the property of several ancestral families and can be used only by members of them.

For Stomach Trouble and Rheumatism

Scrape in the earth a hole about six inches deep and six feet in length. In the bottom deposit a large number of hot stones and cover them with a thin layer of river sand mixed with fine gravel. On these place as many herbal medicines as possible; such as nettles, devil's club bark, western dock, cottonwood leaves, green moss-like growths from water-covered stones, bark from spruce saplings, and the debris from cones eaten by squirrels. The actual ingredients vary according to season; in winter, for example, only one or two may be available. Mats are thrown over the plants for the patient to lie upon, covered by additional ones. A helper is always present to sprinkle him with water when the heat becomes too great and to rub away the sweat which pours off with a sponge of undyed cedar-bark. Instances are remembered of patients going to sleep in this type of sweat-house and being severely burnt.

For a person who is very ill, the hole is dug within the house, near the central fire, otherwise it is located at any convenient spot in the woods. This remedy is known to, and can be used by, everyone.

For Stomach Trouble and Water in the Blood

Dig a hole about three feet deep and with the same diameter. Throw hot stones in the bottom and place a rack of crossed and tied sticks across the excavation below the level of the ground. On this place medicinal herbs as described in the last remedy. The patient squats over the hole, enclosed in a tent-like shelter of mats or cedar-bark. Water is thrown on the stones and the enclosure prevents the resultant steam from escaping.

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This type of smoke-house, which can be used by anyone, is usually built in the forest. The Bella Coola have great confidence in the use of one as a means of curing all types of internal ailments, especially from the bad effects of water which is believed to have entered the blood. In former years many patients were blinded by the steam affecting their eyes, so that a recent improvement has been the construction of a door-like opening through which the head projects. Many stories are told of people being cured in this way after a white doctor had abandoned hope. 757

No Bella Coola had heard of a smoke-house large enough to contain more than a single individual, and a question whether they were ever used as meeting-places was regarded as highly humorous and absurd. [343]

For Ailments of the Heart

The patient must eat some of his own excrement mixed with certain herbs, of which it was impossible to learn the species. This remedy can be used only by the members of certain ancestral families. [424]

For the Blood

The following medicine is the property of certain families; consequently, anyone else who wishes to use it must obtain the services of an owner to apply it, and must recompense him for so doing. [424]

The man who is to apply the remedy locates a pond where water-lilies are growing and then searches for four spruce saplings growing in line, approximately east to west. He cuts four branches from the east side of each tree and lays these beside the pond with a small space between each bunch. Then he pulls up some lily roots, lays them in the three gaps between the boughs, and wraps the whole into a bundle with a cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark which he winds around, clock-wise. On returning home, the practitioner must not carry his burden through the door but

757 throw it in through the smoke-vent. He cuts the roots into thin slices which are boiled in water for four days. The patient drinks several cupfuls of the decoction which never fail to benefit him.

[776] The basis of this medicine is the belief, already described, that when a *sisiutl* swims through a pond it frequently sheds [773] some of its scales which become water-lilies. They are, therefore, potent in themselves and are of greatest benefit to one who has practised ceremonial chastity. The patient must observe several taboos for forty days after treatment: He must hold no sexual intercourse; must eat neither salmon nor meat that has not been smoked; must eat nothing cooked either by a menstruating woman or by one who has lost her husband within a year; and must not approach a girl during the year following puberty. The breaking of one of these taboos causes [761] his death, and the man who has administered the medicine watches the conduct of his patient with great care.

755 *For Debility* (two means)

(1) Drink strong, stale urine, mixed with red rock-paint ground fine.

Knowledge of this medicine has been handed down for [424] generations in certain familes. It is said to be most unpleasant to take.

(2) The following medicine, said to be the most potent known to the Bella Coola, is used for a person who has long been feeble, especially if he has been spitting blood. It is the [424] property of several ancestral families, and must be administered by an elderly male member of one of them.

The owner of the remedy obtains a dry, clean skull, places within it a little water which he brings to a boil with hot pebbles and adds a small quantity of mountain goat marrow. The patient is given a dry stick, about three feet in length, from which the pith has been extracted to make a tube. With this he sucks four times, swallowing a little of the decoction, while the practitioner says to the skull:

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grave. When, presently, he feels sick and believes that the ghost has caused the malady, he throws the object he has obtained on a fire and allows the smoke to drift over his body. It is not known how this destroys the power of the dead victim. 755 775

At present (1922), in case of unexpected death in which murder is suspected, the relatives keep the body under lock and key and watch carefully to see whether anyone tries to gain access to it. To endeavour to do so would be considered proof of guilt. For the same reason, they may place boards over the grave and watch it for several weeks. As already described, a middle-aged woman died unexpectedly in 1922. Her father, believing that she had been murdered, expressed the opinion that a certain man was the criminal and that he would die within a year. He outlived this period by three weeks and it was generally agreed that the power of thought had been sufficient to cause the death. Apparently, the father shared this view and expected the ghost of the alleged murderer to be hostile, for he made two efforts to enter the shed where the body was lying, but the relatives of the deceased foiled him by locking all doors and windows. When he himself died a few weeks later, it was taken for granted that the ghost had exacted vengeance. [695]

To Cure a Malady Caused by a Sorcerer

The most complicated medicine about which information was obtained was one employed by an elderly Bella Coola who had incurred the enmity of a sorcerer. The latter had succeeded in breaking a triangular bone in the man's chest which would have caused his death if his mother had not consulted an old woman who knew the proper remedy for such an ailment. This knowledge had been handed down in her family for generations and she was rewarded lavishly for her services. It will be convenient to refer to the patient as X and the old woman who treated him as Y. 755 [424]

X's mother requested the services of Y who agreed to assist and called upon her husband to help her. They scoured the

755 of water in which had been boiled eight splinters from a coffin. She would have obtained two from each side, and two from each end, in each case inserting the point of a crooked knife to pry loose a fragment of the wood, and then pulling it off in the same direction as the sun travels. It would have been immaterial from which aspect the first had been taken, but Y would have been careful to move around the coffin from east to south to west to north, corresponding to the course of the sun.

It is believed that no one has now the ability to use this cure.

Sorcerers

754 Among the causative medicines of which knowledge has been handed down in various families for generations are secret [424] means of killing. Every sorcerer must have such a possession, but he is not so branded unless he begins to exercise his powers for anti-social purposes. For example, if it be known that a [575] certain individual is able to cause death, the members of the *kusiut* society are eager to admit him to their group, so that his ability will be at their disposal to punish anyone who breaks their regulations. Likewise, if a chief decides that a certain [622] man should die, the power of his thoughts may suffice to cause the death, but the desired end will be effected more certainly by requesting aid from the owner of a means of killing. Such [956] an individual is frequently a shaman who is only too glad of an opportunity to exhibit his powers. The following methods of execution are said to have been employed socially, that is, with the connivance or at the request of chiefs or the members of the *kusiut* society:

(1) The executioner scratches for four successive nights on the door of the victim's house. If the latter suspects what is to take place, he may endeavour to escape by remaining awake which renders the scratching powerless. It is said that no one has been able to remain sleepless for more than three nights which gives the killer his opportunity.

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by their owners for safety. Judas, an old Bella Coola believed to be a sorcerer, has been seen to scrape up the moist earth where a man has urinated; in former times anyone doing such a suspicious act would have been killed. The article obtained is hidden and kept for future use, and if the practitioner wishes to inflict pain or death, he places it in contact with some potent medicine. Human bones are frequently employed for this purpose, although the most powerful is said to be grease obtained by boiling flesh cut from the inner side of the thigh of a recently buried corpse. To obtain either of these, graves must be robbed, another reason for hating sorcerers. 754 [685]

Secrecy is essential, so a sorcerer is usually assisted by his children, and in this way he has a better chance of obtaining articles belonging to different people without arousing suspicion. The necessary knowledge can accordingly be transmitted from generation to generation, sometimes without the slightest inkling of it becoming known. Even if a man is found out, he may be able to bribe his discoverer to silence. [424]

Sometimes two from different tribes work in partnership to lessen the danger of practising their rites near the village of a victim. For example, a Bella Coola sorcerer may send an article to an accomplice in Bella Bella for placing in contact with strong medicine; this causes the victim to languish and die while the person responsible continues his usual routine of life around the village, suspected by no one. The commencement of such a partnership is a matter of great difficulty, since anyone who admits his crimes places himself in the power of his confidant. Sometimes, however, rumours that a certain individual is practising malevolent magic reach a foreign sorcerer who needs an accomplice. If he considers that the information is authentic, he may admit his own prowess and suggest that they work together. Such an arrangement is profitable to both parties, and a partnership so formed may continue for generations. 648 754

Sorcerers display considerable ingenuity in arranging that their skill shall bring them pecuniary benefits as well as the 754 756

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women listening from the village are able to tell how many have been caught from the number of times the cry *xak'loi* is raised. 226 796

Then the salmon are cut up (only shell knives may be used for the purpose) and cooked. Everything must be used, heads, bones, and entrails, the only refuse being the blood which is scraped from the leaves and carried into the woods. The leaves themselves, and the strings of dyed and undyed cedar-bark are thrown into the river in accordance with a desire expressed by *Noäkxnm* long ago. When everything is ready for a meal, the men take their places in two rows, facing each other across a coarse bark mat. Bark spoons have been provided, and when the heralds call for food, the fisherman brings the heads of the salmon and the guests make the motions of eating, though in reality these parts are dried and kept for winter. Boxes containing a liberal portion of the choice meat are next served and all eat freely. Each guest puts on one side what he has not consumed as if to carry it away, as is the custom at an ordinary feast, though his share is really left in the shelter until the following day. Finally, a third course is provided, the back of the fish cooked with the bone in position. Like the last, the guests eat as much as they desire and pack up the residue as if to take away. Then they leave the Spring Salmon House. [412] 226 796 574 [251]

All the fish are not cooked on the one occasion. The following day the fisherman again calls back the men of his village. The same type of meal is served, but this time the guests carry away what they do not eat for the benefit of their families. This portion may be eaten by the women without affronting the salmon. [562]

This rite has not been performed in full detail in Bella Coola for many years, and it was impossible to collect information on some points. It is uncertain, for example, whether this ceremony was carried out by every fisherman or whether there used to be certain individuals with the prerogative of dealing with the first catch. The latter appears to be the most logical 226 796 424

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226 manner, and was definitely stated to be the case by one well-
796 informed old man. It is clear, however, that every spring
salmon was landed with the cry of *xak'loi·*, taken to the Spring
[424] Salmon House, and cut up by the men until the time when
women were allowed near the river. Another old man stated
[574] that the feast took place at night and that only the heads and
[251] refuse of the first catch were eaten, the remainder being dried
for the winter. Women of child-bearing age were not allowed
[562] on the river bank, and were rigorously excluded from the
Spring Salmon House until the time when the sun's shadow
reached a diagonal scar on the slope of one of the mountains
on the north side of North Bentinck Arm. This occurs about
August. From that time onwards, there was no calling of
xak'loi·, and women, except those who were taboo, could cut
salmon freely on the bank. It was even stated that refuse of
salmon could be thrown into the river after that time. No one
knows the origin of this seasonal prohibition, or why it should
end when the sun reaches a certain point, but it was faithfully
observed in former times.

In Kimsquit similar rites were carried out, the chief variation being that the bodies of four swans were placed in the Spring Salmon House and the fish laid with these at intervals in the line. Moreover, the youth used to bite the back of each salmon as he presented it with the cedar-bark streamer. The same regulations with regard to drinking water, and crying after eating, were enforced for spring salmon as for olachen.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

372 The following miscellaneous beliefs and customs cannot be assigned to any special aspect of Bella Coola life:

If a spark from a fire jumps out and lights on a person's hand, it is said:

"The fire wants to give you [the person on whom the brand has fallen] food."

827 If a man sneezes repeatedly, it is said:

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535 contact with supernatural beings, so that it is a time for grave
*575 thoughts and decorous behaviour. Even by day the members
796 pass from house to house with dignified mien, not loitering
[787] around the sidewalks nor indulging in frivolity. Every effort is made to prevent quarrels between members who are expected to show by their appearance and actions the gravity of the rites in which they are engaged. Night after night they assemble at the house wherein the dance is taking place; those who have performed, and are therefore most closely in touch with the supernatural, even sleep there, not returning to their own houses until March. A dance usually lasts four nights, and during that time the performer's house, in which it takes place, is termed a *nuqpik*, "An Empty House." The significance of this designation is unknown.

178 Membership in the society depends on a duly validated
*575 ancestral prerogative to perform one of the many *kusiut* dances.
[424] At the present time every Bella Coola is a *kusiut*, even babes in arms being initiated, but formerly no one was admitted until he or she had reached an age of discretion. Some informants went so far as to say that the hair of an initiate must have begun to turn grey, and all agreed that no one was ever admitted until at least twenty, or more often, twenty-five years of age. Initiates were frequently still older; one woman, for example, stated that her mother was past the age of child-bearing before admission. Since only a member of the society
[551] could be called by a *kusiut* name, the uninitiated continued to be known by the ancestral names conferred on them at infancy until they received *kusiut* designations. The importance of the
178 society depends on the belief of the uninitiated in the super-
*575 natural powers of its members, and as there are now none to
796 impress, the rites carried out today are little more than pic-
128 tures of what took place years ago. It is the aim of the Bella Coola to carry out the dances as if uninitiated persons were in attendance, and since most of the following information was obtained from men who well remembered their sensations when not members of the society, it is justifiable to use the present

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*575 the hair from his head. After various rites which prove that
796 the Cannibal actually possesses peculiar power, he is calmed
and songs are sung describing what he saw aloft, and the
781 dangers from which he escaped. The uninitiated shiver sym-
[787] pathetically, marvel at his valour, and anticipate with mixed
feelings the time when they too may be privileged to have
similar experiences. Or they may witness the killing of one of
their fellow-villagers by disembowelling, and his restoration to
life. They know the victim; under ordinary circumstances he
could not endure death, hence the claim that his strength is
due to the call given him by his patron is accepted as an obvious
fact. The uninitiated never suspect that they are victims of
an elaborate deception. At all times the *kukusiut* are eager to
[766] make known their own perils, and if it happens that a member
[761] of the society dies while in concealment, his corpse is buried
secretly. The explanation given is that he has succumbed to
some of the dangers to which *kukusiut* are exposed, a fiction
readily believed in view of the absence of the usual funeral
rites.

*575 Though it is common knowledge that the ability of a *kusiut*
to perform any extraordinary feat has its source in the per-
778 formance of the same feat by his supernatural patron, yet it is
787 equally well known that his specific power has been brought
to this earth and is located in one particular spot. An ancestor
•424 must in some way have come in contact with the patron, and
at that time his *kusiut* name, carrying with it the prerogatives
of supernatural patronage and of dancing on this earth, was
deposited for safe-keeping in a repository, *nuxkāsiutsis* (also
called *nuxsi'ipsts*), by the supernatural woman *Ana'kāwulsaix*.
Each repository is thought of as a cave, or hollow, beneath a
large tree, a rock, or other distinctive natural object; to obtain
his power a *kusiut* initiate must go there, actual contact with
his patron being unnecessary. Every *kusiut* prerogative has its
[776] repository and in each of these is *Ana'kāwulsaix*; she is one,
yet capable of being simultaneously in many hundred spots,
corresponding to the many hundred *kusiut* prerogatives. Her

functions are to guard the names, and to keep in touch with the patrons. Every uninitiated person believes that if he could only have the good fortune to find a repository, he would obtain the *kusiut* prerogative there localized. *Ana'likwolsaix* travels only during the ceremonial season when she is present at every *kusiut* dance in the form of a woman with a long, thin face and pointed chin (see Plate 13),[4] who "explains" the significance of the figures to the uninitiated in a peculiar high-pitched voice. She is well able to do so since as guardian of repositories she knows the prerogative of each member of the society. Frequently she shocks the uninitiated: 575* 787 424 [778] [776]

"Ha! Ha! Ha!" she jeers. "You [naming some ambitious youth], you who think yourself so smart, you nearly fell over me that time you walked up in the woods behind the village looking for grouse. If I had been a bear I could have felled you with a blow of my paw. How can you ever hope to become a *kusiut* like your father and grandfather if you are so blind."

His fellows are inclined to join in the laughter at the one singled out for *Ana'likwolsaix*'s scorn, but she flays them all in turn. "She" is, of course, a *kusiut* chosen for fluency and ability to make biting remarks. Parents tell their children that in the autumn, pleased at the sight of falling leaves, *Ana'likwolsaix* bares the roof of her house and sits shaking her fingers like a dancer. [776]

"Go to the woods and look for her," they say. "If she sees you she will say '*tru*' and beckon to you. Then you will become a *kusiut*."

To further this deception, *kukusiut* are accustomed to disguise themselves as *Ana'likwolsaix* and move around in the autumn forest, taking care that no uninitiated comes too near for safety. An individual may have several *kusiut* prerogatives, and if he wishes to transfer one of these to an associate, the report is circulated that the recipient has stumbled upon the repository of the donor. The latter then acts as if he were crazy, and the uninitiated are told that he is a *nuhaxem*, an 575* 778 425

[4] [See category 116, p. 84(A) - ANALYST]
(Apparently Plate 1 is meant)

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*575 untranslatable word with the significance of "One who has
778 suffered loss through faulty concealment [of his repository]."
Some of these vaults[1] are said to be dangerous to the unin-
425 itiated who avoid them and in this way the sanctity of some
[784] chiefs' meeting-places is guarded.

According to Kimsquit belief, *Ano°likwelsaix* has a hus-
*575 band, *Ałmoqłaikila*, who dwells with her in every repository.
778 If an uninitiated person should chance to find a vault, he falls
776 dead before the power emanating from *Ano°likwelsaix*. Her husband then restores the dead by blowing violently on the back of the victim's neck, accompanying this with cries of *hoip*. When a person is initiated into the *kusiut* society, the uninitiated hear the songs used, in many of which are references to the experiences of the novice with this supernatural pair.

*575 Turning now to the manner in which the *kukusiut* regard their own society, it is evident that the most important duty of each member is to aid in impressing and deceiving the uninitiated. The prestige of the organization depends upon the ability of its members to inspire awe, hence any weakness in fulfilling this obligation is an anti-social act. For this purpose the society acts as a whole. Many *kukusiut* have, for example,
[424] Cannibal prerogatives, and on occasion the Cannibals, having the same functions, work together, but they do not form a separate organization of their own.[1] Many of the means employed to deceive and impress the uninitiated have already been described. Mythology records, and it appears to be a
[773] fact, that long ago the ascendancy of the *kukusiut* was often
[178] challenged by the *a'alk* and other uninitiated, but when the white man came the society had reached a position of such eminence that the powers of its members were unquestioned. Moreover, the combined strength of virtually all the seniors of the tribe was so great that an uninitiated person could not assert himself even if he was suspicious.

[688] Although members of the society exert every effort to con-

[1] The Bella Coola state that such sub-societies are found among the Kwakiutl.

[1] [i.e. - a repository of supernatural power - ANALYST]

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*575 781 626 their faces. In spite of what he may have seen, the lad cannot rid himself of the supernatural fears with which he has been inculcated from childhood, and the experience is terrifying to a degree. It may be that he has seen some of the whistles, and thereby learnt that the strange sounds are made by men, not by supernatural beings. In this case he is shown their mechanism in detail, and warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells others of his knowledge. Fear impels him to silence, and at the same time he realizes that what he has discovered has placed him in a superior position to that of his former associates. He feels, too, that he has been admitted into the ranks of the society in which his father, grandfather, and ancestors have distinguished themselves, and that it would be desecration to make light of what they have held sacred. Finally, an initiate does not at first grasp the fact that all the rites are deceptions, and by the time that this is apparent to him he has become so thoroughly a part of the organization that he has no thought of betraying his associates, upsetting a vital part in the complicated fabric of Bella Coola life, and exposing himself to ruin and death. A logical white man might think these considerations insufficient, but the existence of the society proves that the varied motives operate so strongly that a young man does keep silence. Some informants state that hypnotism was formerly used to ensure obedience. [828]

*575 176 781 424 The *kukusiut* are always ready to deal with an emergency such as sometimes occurs in spite of every precaution. It is remembered that about one hundred and fifty years ago during a dance at the village of *Nuqâxmâtz*, a figure, representing one of the supernatural beings, had the misfortune to drop his mask, the strings by which it was tied having worn through. The house was crowded with uninitiated to whom the deception at once became apparent. For a moment there was wild confusion, but the senior *kukusiut* rose to the occasion and closed the door, allowing no uniniciatnd person to leave. Then a *kusiut* was sent out with a whistle which he sounded as if the supernatural being of which it was the voice was growing

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nearer and nearer, till finally a thump was heard on the roof. 575*

O....., cried out the *kukuxiut*, "it is my patron." 176

The uninitiated were told that in consequence of the disaster, the supernatural beings had sent calls to this earth for all within the house. Even small children were admitted on this occasion. Those *kukuxiut* in whose families were dormant prerogatives at once explained to their relatives that the call was from the patron of one of these, and that henceforth the person addressed was a protégé of that being. But even with the assistance of all the *kukuxiut*, there were not sufficient privileges for all who had seen the accident. The explanation hastily agreed upon for those who could not otherwise be provided with prerogatives, was that a supernatural being mentioned in the myth from which the uninitiated had derived his ancestral name had come as patron. Repositories were stated to exist in various places near the village for the designations thus created, and order had been restored before morning. This event was described by so many informants that its historical accuracy can hardly be challenged. Those so initiated were said to have become "*kukuxiut* under easy circumstances"; as prerogatives they had merely the right of singing about their respective patrons, not of performing any particular dramatic dance, but they were, none the less, fully qualified members of the society. The prestige and influence of this organization can be estimated by the fact that it was thus able to carry through a wholesale initiation without its secrets becoming known in adjacent villages. Those admitted, though realizing that deception was being practised, were so overawed by the other members of the society that they accepted what was told them without question, entirely failing to use their common sense. Thus, this incident, which had at first threatened disaster, ultimately reacted to the advantage of the *kukuxiut*. It is true that their prestige was somewhat diminished by the admission of young people, but in compensation they claimed many new patrons, including several regarded with veneration owing to their occurrence in ancestral myths. Since the latter 575*
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2:Mc:Ilwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
NEK Ballarenia NEK

Not knowing where to go nor what to do, he hid himself on a small island within sight of the village whence he could see and hear the people seeking him. At times some of his *kukusiut* friends came close, calling his name; but not till he was driven to do so by hunger did he reveal his hiding-place. Then he answered the shouts of two men who at first pretended they were merely seeking him because of the worry his prolonged disappearance was causing his parents. Once the lad was within their grasp they carried him swiftly to the house of one of the chiefs, where he found himself seated among the most influential men of his village with the door barred behind him. The fear which any youth would feel in like circumstances was increased greatly by the awe with which he, as an uninitiated person, regarded the *kukusiut*, especially on this occasion when he knew that he had roused their anger. 575* [781]

"What did you hear?" asked one of the marshals. The lad was too terrified to lie, so he blurted out all the gossip he had overheard, including the news of the death of the Rivers Inlet Cannibal.

"You have heard too much, you must join us," continued his questioner.

The same man then asked one of his relatives whether he would "buy" the lad from them, that is, whether they would provide the necessary goods to have him initiated. It was understood that through his improper knowledge he had come under the jurisdiction of the *kukusiut* and that, unless made one of them, they would kill him. The lad was the protégé of his uncle who at the time was initiating him into the *susek* ceremonial, and who accordingly was most unwilling to have his nephew made a *kusiut*. [688]

"Let him be a spy," said the uncle.

After much discussion this proposition was agreed to; the decision was facilitated by the fact that one of the lad's ancestors had been a spy. All night he was kept sitting in the centre of a group of elders who revealed to him the mysteries of the organization and showed him the whistles and other regalia. For twenty years this man remained a spy, dutifully informing upon any over-inquisitive, uninitiated person.

The informant was more than sixty years of age when he related this incident, but the passage of time had not caused him to forget the utter terror and feeling of inferiority experienced when he was taken into the presence of the senior *kukusiut*. [781]

Although every *kusiut* assists in preserving the dignity and awe of the society, this duty is especially the function of those members who are regarded as the earthly representatives of 575* 424 776

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*575 *Ano°likwolsaix*. They may be termed marshals of the society. [424] Each must have an ancestral prerogative for this, duly validated by presents to the *kukusiut*, in addition to a *kusiut* prerogative of some kind. [776] In each village there are four or five of these men. Whenever food is being served at a *kusiut* dance, the marshals receive theirs first and then one or other of them addresses the audience in slow and impressive style, beating on the floor with a stick to add emphasis to his words. He admonishes his fellows to safeguard the ancient rites of the society, to be bold, to be secretive, and he pays honour to the member who has given the dance. It is they who take the leading part if a youth is dragged away to the meeting-place for initiation, and it is they who arrange matters when a spy reports that a non-member is over-inquisitive. *575 688 If any member of the society should break one of its laws at a time when no uninitiated are present, the marshal is expected to seize a burning stick from the fire and strike the offender with it. If death should result, revenge is unthinkable, since the criminal had broken the law. The same fate is unhesitatingly meted out to any *kusiut* who should dare to betray any of the mysteries to the uninitiated. Moreover, it is the marshals who decide whether any improper act lowers the dignity of a dance, and punish accordingly. Not many years ago a *kusiut* woman gave birth to a child while a dance was taking place and the infant was slain by one of the marshals. [761] The usual explanation made to the uninitiated for a death within the dance-house is that a supernatural being caused the roof to fall and kill the victim.

*575 Each marshal has, in connection with his prerogative of this vocation, a professional name, used only within the house 551 where a *kusiut* dance is taking place and carefully concealed [424] from the uninitiated. Some designations were obtained from *Ano°likwolsaix* by an ancestor of the possessor, others were created on this earth with reference to some specific event, and [553] duly made valid by presents to the *kukusiut* alone. Some of these names are:

Xwolsukmis, "The Destroyer," so given on account of an

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*575 only by members of the same tribe. The Bella Coola firmly
648 believe that if, for example, there is a serious disaster at
688 Qomqo·ts, that village will be raided by the people of Bella
721 Bella, Fort Rupert, Kitkatla, or by tribes even farther away.
[628] News of the accident reaches *Täl·io* or Kimsquit and the inhabitants, themselves related by blood to the offenders and therefore unwilling to punish them, call upon the members of a foreign tribe to do so. On different occasions this statement, in practically identical terms, was made by six independent informants, so there appears to be not the slightest doubt as to the belief of the people in this law. But when specific cases were asked for, they could not be obtained. It therefore appears clear that the Bella Coola, probably owing to long teaching on the part of the *kukusiut*, consider that an error in ritual is sufficient to bring punishment from an alien tribe. There must be some basis of truth in this conviction, and it is highly probable that the *kukusiut* must have taken advantage of raids to explain to the uninitiated that these were caused by disasters in ritual. One informant was of the opinion that, following the collapse of a house at Kimsquit during a Cannibal dance, a Bella Coola chief called upon *Tcabsa*, chief of the Kitkatla, who raided Kimsquit in punishment. Quite apart from the belief inculcated in the uninitiated, it is obvious that tribes eager for war sometimes used an accident as pretext. The Bella Coola know of no case in which they raided a foreign tribe for this reason, although they state that if they had been called upon to act as punisher, they could not have refused.

*575 Leaving now the functions of the society as a whole, the
● 424 rights of an individual member can next be described. Each
425 *kusiut* has:
553

(1) *A Kusiut Name.* Like every other prerogative, a name of this type can be acquired from father, uncle, grandfather, or other relative, or even by a son from his mother. As a rule a *kusiut* wills his designation or designations, for a man may
[556] have several, before death and his wishes are observed. Al-

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though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kusiut* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kusiut* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor.

575* 424 425 553 [556] [578] [426]

(2) *A Patron*, *omätuts*. Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

575* 424 776 [533] [535] [578]

(3) *A Repository*. In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Änoºlikwolsaix*. An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each.

575* 424 778

Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

[773] [781]

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this undoubtedly leads them to believe in the powers which they claim. Each *kusiut* prerogative has had one of three origins:

(a) It was brought down by the first people. Before coming to this earth each of them saw in the land above his patron, who instructed him in a type of dance, and told him where his repository on this world would be. It is assumed that the earliest men were in contact with all the supernatural beings before coming to this earth, but it is believed that each was "blind" to the patrons of his fellows, and thus had only one.

(b) It was derived from an experience with one of the supernatural beings of this world. In this case the repository was either at a spot indicated by the apparition, or at the actual scene of the vision.

(c) A powerful chief sometimes altered an ancestral to a *kusiut* name. It is believed that this occurred comparatively frequently in ancient times when chiefs had semi-supernatural power. In such cases each followed his own inclination in the choice of a patron,[4] and usually made his own repository within his house, giving strength to it by killing and burying a slave there. Although several Bella Coola informants described this, Kimsquit Indians denied that it could ever have taken place. They say that all repositories were long ago dug by *Nunudjixnim*, a male supernatural being sent down by *Alquntäm* at the beginning of time to prepare the habitations of *Änoºlikwolsaix* and her husband. After doing this, he returned to the land above where he has since resided.

It will thus be seen that the prerogative of a *kusiut* is always derived from some experience of an ancestor. In carrying out the rite, the dancer feels that he is continuing the works of his forbears, a factor which increases his desire that neither error nor carelessness on his part shall dim the prestige of the society before the uninitiated. And, further, a man who has spent

[4]The Bella Coola cite such actions as proof of the amazing abilities of their ancestors.

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years in deceiving, undoubtedly begins to convince himself that he is different from lesser mortals. 575* 778

Before describing in detail initiation into the *kusiut* society, and then the ritual of various dances, it will be convenient to outline the type of ceremonial, although emphasizing the fact that each differs so much from every other that lengthy descriptions will be necessary later on. When a person has been initiated, either in the proper manner during the ceremonial season or as a "shaman" during the summer, he is known as a *lsix*, a novice, until the *kusiut* dances of the next winter. During this period he wears certain distinctive cedar-bark ornaments and is expected to keep himself somewhat apart from the uninitiated. He is always required to give his ceremonial during the first dance season after initiation; by so doing he ceases to be a novice. In later years a *kusiut* can suit himself whether or not to perform. Having once done so, he is a fully qualified member of the society, nor does he increase his rank in direct proportion to the number of his ceremonies. It is true that one who often dances hears himself praised by the marshals, and gains a certain amount of fame among his fellow *kukusiut*. But no matter how often he may perform, he cannot become a chief, with prestige spread far and wide among neighbouring tribes, nor can he increase the fame of his ancestors by adding lustre to his ancestral names. Thus the benefits are not sufficient to urge a man to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials in preference to potlatches. The society is essentially one in which a relatively poor man can display his semi-religious prerogative equally with a chief. Usually, a man performs a complicated ritual, such as that of a Cannibal dance, three or four times during his lifetime; less onerous ones in which no dramatic theme is presented may be more often given.

575* 796 [301] 575* 796 556 575* 796 424

A man who proposes to give a dance must always notify one of the marshals of his village, who summons his fellows, some of the senior members of the society, and chiefs who are also *kukusiut* to discuss the intention. If it entails one of the

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*575 more difficult dramatic rites in which failure would lead to the
796 uninitiated learning the mysteries of the society, the matter is
debated at length. The writer was present at one meeting held
424 for this purpose, with regard to a performance which had not
been carried out for over thirty years. An air of solemnity
was evident throughout, as if each present realized the gravity
of the topic. The prospective dancer explained what he wished
to do, then anyone was at liberty to comment, and most of
those present took advantage of it, the marshals speaking last
of all. The influence of each speaker depended in part on the
[554] type of *kusiut* dance which he himself had given, and in part
on his general status in the community as chief or otherwise,
an intangible position dependent on public estimation rather
than upon functional rights. In this case, after considerable
discussion, it was decided that the dancer could proceed with
his arrangements. But if there should be any doubt as to the
would-be performer's ability, the marshals have no hesitation
in prohibiting his intended rite, and they often do so later if
rehearsals show that it is unlikely to be successful.

Refusal of permission to perform occurs only in case of the more difficult dances, which include the Cannibal, Scratch, Breaker, Fungus and *Kusiotem*. Members of the society whose prerogatives are for one of these types are considered as having greater importance than those who can merely sing of some minor deity-patron; yet all are equally members of the *kusiut* society, which is not graded according to the performances of its members.

*575 Many of the more difficult dances require weeks of pre-
796 paration, when it is sometimes said that the dancer has dis-
appeared to the land above. When he returns they usually
conclude in four nights, the time taken by those of a simpler
type. Each of these nights[1] is known by an untranslatable
[104] term, and, as it will be necessary to use these throughout, it
may assist the reader to summarize the ritual which takes
place on each. It can be assumed that it is a simple dance,
that is, one without elaborate preliminaries.

1 [i.e. of a Kusiut dance - ANALYST]

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

The following morning the *kukusiut* alone are invited to X's house. The marshals meanwhile superintend the laying and lashing of planks across two river dug-outs to form a dancing platform. On this the singers take their places, in addition to as many *kukusiut* as can scramble aboard. The craft is slowly poled either up- or downstream, according to the direction of X's repository, and more *kukusiut* accompany it along the bank; the uninitiated watch with keen interest from the background. X and his companions proceed towards the river and on meeting the lashed-together canoes are taken aboard. The singers strike up any well known *kusiut* tune, and in time to it as many *kukusiut* as possible dance on the platform surmounting the craft. Each uses his own style of dancing according to his prerogative, so that the scene is strikingly varied and animated. X himself cowers in the centre, practically concealed from the uninitiated by the dancers. On reaching the village the whole party hurriedly runs to X's house, from which the uninitiated are rigorously barred for the rest of the day. Those *kukusiut* who accompanied the party along the bank of the river have preceded them and, as X enters, the droning cry is raised which always heralds the appearance of one who has been in close contact with supernatural beings.

575* 796 [535] [535] [424] [201]

If X is considered trustworthy, he may be allowed to go alone to his repository, although this is only customary when he takes a second or third prerogative. If this procedure has been followed, X tells those present what he has seen; otherwise his companions do so. The uninitiated listen eagerly from the adjacent houses, wondering anxiously what is taking place. Several *kukusiut* blow, or use bellow-whistles to increase the awe of the hearers. Presently a herald is sent out. He goes first to the lowest house[10] of the village, then in succession to those above, announcing in each that:

575* 203 796

"Something strange has happened to the son of the chief."

X's name is not mentioned; if his father is not a chief the

[10]That is, to the one farthest downstream. By always going to each house in order from bottom to top of the village the herald avoids any danger of omissions.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 call is that something strange has happened to the "mortal." At intervals throughout the day he repeats this announcement, 203 and towards nightfall goes around calling:

796 *Skinap, skinap, kukusiaot,* "Cure, cure, ye members of the *kusiut* society, power has come to the son of the chief [or to the mortal]."

The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house, taking their places around the fire; the uninitiated crowd near the doorway. X is seated among his relatives and some of the senior members of the society behind the fire. A herald calls out:

"I want a *siki* to help X."

*575 In every village there are at least two *kukusiut* who have, 791 embodied with their *kusiut* names, the professional prerogative 796 of acting as healer to every novice; it is believed that the ancestor of each obtained a name and this right through a [424] revelation from some supernatural healer. Since that time the owner of the name has been able to insert some of his own ever- [773] present power into a neophyte to enable him to sustain the dangers of admission to the society. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated. The profession of *siki* can be trans- [425] mitted by willing like any other prerogative and it occasionally happens that the same individual is *siki* for both *kusiut* and *susaok*. In answer to the herald's call, the two *siki* come forward and crouch behind the fire, one on either side of it. [302] Their faces are blackened with soot, and each wears a blanket, [292] decorated with dyed cedar-bark, thrown loosely over his [237] shoulders, leaving the chest and stomach bare except for an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Meanwhile beating sticks are distributed among most of the *kukusiut* who strike furiously on the floor with them, without any attempt to keep time; the sole object is to produce the greatest din possible.

One of the *siki* contorts himself in an amazing manner, presses his hands against his stomach as if to force something from it, and rolls from side to side on his haunches, until at length he produces, as if from his body, a rock crystal (see Plate 3).[1] He waves this to and fro in his hands, then goes

[1] [see category 116, p 84(C)- ANALYST]

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and the patron shifts his protection to the substitute. Non-members are told that the death was due to one of the many dangers connected with the society. 575* 766

It is said that, in former times, the *kukusiut* sometimes held a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discontinued. In 1922, however, memorial songs were sung for dead *kukusiut*, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to prohibition of the potlatch. 575* 769 533 177

The Ritual of Specific Dances

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE DANCES

A detailed description of various *kusiut* dances can now be given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference between them that each will require a separate account, although considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning in connection with the first dance those features common to all. The initial performer is always he who has the prerogative of seeing the supernatural canoe which comes from the Land of the Salmon to visit *Nusqulxwaista*. Several *kukusiut* have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so. Thenceforth there is no order for different dances; the marshals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does so without conflicting with another. The first dance described is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *kusiut* season. 575* 796* [424] [776]

THE DANCE OF *Noäkxnum*[14]

The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the September moon is full there starts from the Land of the Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *Noäkxnum*, commanded by a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly 773 824 825

[14]Cf. Boas, p. 40.

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[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

773 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 *Smaien·a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nusqulxwaista* to await the coming of *Ätquntäm*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nebusam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noäkxnim* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[785] times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
[831] eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[787] that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that
[626] this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[776] patron was *Noäkxnim*, but that the marshals requested him not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noäkxnim* is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the unini-
575 tiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
796 the *kusiut* dances begin.
184

It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village,
424 as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
551 slight variations, if any. In *Tcimotl* the *kusiut* who has the prerogative of seeing *Noäkxnim* is a certain *Qoxolän·i*,[15] in Kimsquit, *Äluskinwasam*,[16] and in *Slskiutl*, *Xemtnim*. Although,

[115] [15]Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qoxolän·i*, who intimated
[426] that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman
[578] referred to the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

[16]Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significances of this type.

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[The Dance of Noakxnim]

Although 575* 424 773

theoretically, every *kusiut* should know the origin myth of his prerogative, these are rarely remembered, a state of affairs differing entirely from that with respect to ancestral origin myths. An ancestor of *Ałuskinwasam* is supposed to have seen *Noäkxnim*, decorated with the tails of two eagles stuck in his hair. The following myth was obtained of the origin of [539] *Xemtnim*'s prerogative:

In the beginning there came down to Mount *Nus·läxim*, a small mountain on the south side of the Bella Coola River about three-quarters of a mile from the sea, *Ällilimnälosaix*, his younger brother *Omqomkilika*, and their sister. *Älquntäm* had given them a model house, so small that it was portable, but which could enlarge to any size at their wish. It was called *Skqwälutl*, a name they bestowed also on their sister. They brought the *sisaok* designation, *Xemxemlaix*, with the right to perform a dance. The party, including Raven, who was like a son to *Ällilimnälosaix*, came down from their mountain top looking for a place to settle. As people were already living at *Qomqo·ts* and *Älqäläxl*, they chose *Slskiutl* as their home.

From this place the three could hear the beating of drums, as the people of the adjacent villages performed their *kusiut* dances and Raven determined that his companions should not lack the privileges which others enjoyed. Accordingly he flew down the fiord where he saw *Noäkxnim*, whom he obtained as patron for *Ällilimnälosaix*. This prerogative was embodied in the name *Xemtnim*, which is still in use.[17]

The prerogative of seeing *Noäkxnim* is known as *dakdak-* 575* *älaix*, "The Comer," or "The Ever-Comer." It will be con- 796* venient to refer to the person who has this power as X. As [424] already described, if he had been initiated during the preceding ceremonial season, he is now obliged to dance. In later years, if he wishes to do so, he first consults the marshals, and if they consent he begins his preparations during the summer. Among [533] other matters, X informs the singers of his intentions and they begin to compose songs. Occasionally they re-use one from a previous year, but to do this is to admit lack of creative ability. The usual practice is to compose new tunes and to adapt to them words bearing on the proper theme, sometimes including

[17]It will be noted that this myth is of the typical origin type, and furnishes an instance of the manner in which *kusiut* prerogatives occur in such. [539]

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

if he so desires. The *kukusiut* listen to the song, and when it is resung they join in. They practise it repeatedly, until familiar with both words and tune. This part of the ceremony lasts for about two hours. 575* 796* [533]

The singers, and any others who are prepared to beat time, are always provided with long, flat, thin sounding-boards to increase the din of the pounding. When the marshals decide that the song is sufficiently familiar, they tell some of the *kukusiut* to carry these boards to the lowest house of the village. They do this, and also scatter clean sand on the floor, as is customary whenever a supernatural being is to enter. The uninitiated persons within the house watch with great interest. The singers enter and take their places behind the fire, then other *kukusiut* and finally X himself; his face is unblackened, but he wears his two eagle tails in his hair and a collar of dyed cedar-bark. On his head is a thin cylindrical circlet, about four inches high, of the same material, ornamented with swan's down by the inhabitants of the villages of the upper Bella Coola valley. The collar consists of a roll of grass, entirely covered with dyed cedar-bark from which pendant tassels of the same hang down over his chest; similar ones are worn by *susaok* dancers, except that the tassels hang down their backs. Every *kusiut* dancer wears these two ornaments, and those who have the necessary prerogative adorn themselves with an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Blankets are always worn. *Kukusiut* women wear in addition woollen pubic garments. [292] [534] 575* 796* 292 [424] [237]

As the singers beat out X's tune, accompanied by the voices of themselves and other *kukusiut*, he dances. Since his style is typical of all *kukusiut* except Cannibals and a few others, it will be well to digress at this point in order to describe it. X raises his arms until their upper parts are approximately the height of his shoulders, and project outwards and slightly to the front; they are bent at the elbows with the forearms vertical, thus bringing the hands opposite the top of the head. Both wrists are shaken constantly, the muscles of the lower 575* 796* 535

[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

*575 arms being brought into play, so that the whole hands are con-
*796 stantly quivering without spasmodic movements. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a skilful performer, and the inces-
535 sant shaking is continued without stop throughout the dance.
[533] Most *kusiut* songs are in five parts, which may be described as three verses, separated by two choruses. Near the beginning of the first verse X stands up, raises his arms, shakes his fingers, then slightly bends his legs and begins to step in time to the beating of the sticks. Some dancers remain almost stationary, marking time, to use the military term, others advance in steps of an inch or so, at intervals slowly revolving sunwise.[18] Sometimes X introduces a variation by bending from side to side, in which case one hand rises above the other. If the time of the song is very slow, he sinks, bending his knees to a great extent, and advances in more lengthy strides, never ceasing to shake his hands. At each chorus the time becomes so rapid that it is impossible to move the feet in accordance with it, and then X crouches, his shaking hands the only movement. If it
● [424] is a woman who is dancing—like most *kusiut* prerogatives, this
[562] one is not limited to men—the style of dancing is quite different. Keeping the upper part of each arm close to her body, the dancer extends her fore-arms, outwards, parallel to the ground, with the palms upwards. Like a man, she shakes her wrists, but few female dancers move from the spot on which they start, except perhaps to turn around, sunwise. Heralds always keep up a running fire of comments, especially when a woman is dancing, urging her not to be bashful, but to allow her breasts to shake. Some dancers have merged into one
[424] prerogative rights acquired from different coastal tribes. In such cases they perform in two or more styles, each part according to one prerogative.

Kukusiut are always ready to assist one of their fellows, so that three or four friends are always willing to accompany the dancer. They stand close behind him, at frequent intervals blowing over his head the eagle down which either X, or some

[171] [18]The Bella Coola state that the Bella Bella revolve counter-sunwise.

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THE DANCE OF *Wl·a*

*575 *796 556 Although potlatches and *kusiut* dances cannot take place simultaneously in the same house, and although the former are supposedly completed before the beginning of the ceremonial season, they often overlap the lengthy preliminaries of the *Noākxnum* dance. In such cases, when visiting the houses of the village, the *kukusiut* are careful to pass by the one in which the potlatch is going on. It often happens that foreign guests are still present when *Noākxnum* ascends the river and their host wishes to provide entertainment for them in the shape of a spectacular *kusiut* display. This is possible if a *kusiut* with a *wl·a* prerogative is willing to have a call come to him. It [424] is probable that in every village there is at least one *kusiut* with this prerogative; in *Tcimotl* the owner is a certain *Łukwala*,[20] in Kimsquit a woman named *Nunuxemlaix*. An ancestor of the former received his designation at the direct wish of *Ālquntām* as leader of the supernatural *kukusiut*. It is unnecessary to describe the ritual in detail in both places, although certain differences must be mentioned. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X. He has ten patrons, the nine brothers [776] *Xemxemālotla*, *Xemcua*, *Omqomkilka*, *Āimālotla*, *Āiamkilka*, *Qomcua*, *Qwlaxwoa*, *Kwlilias Nuskāmpta*, *Ālmāk*", and their sister *Łłitcāplilān·a*.[21] These supernatural beings remain in *Nusmāt·a* except when summoned below by X, or when *Łłitcāplilān·a* appears for her own purposes as already described.

If X accedes to the request of the donor of the potlatch and is willing to summon his patrons from above, one or other of them interviews the marshals, and if these acquiesce, the rite can proceed. In Bella Coola X asks the help of four *kukusiut* *575 who are termed his "Path Clearers"; no special prerogative is *796 required to perform this service. For four days X lies on the floor of his house, near the door to the back-room, while his

[20] The rite has not been carried out in Bella Coola since the death of the former owner about 1912; the name has passed to his brother's son's son.

[21] Boas (p. 33) gives the same list of beings although in slightly different order.

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[The Dance of Wila]

"Path Clearers" see to it that no one passes between him and the fire. The uninitiated are not expelled from the house and their curiosity is aroused. Meanwhile the singers prepare songs for X, describing his supernatural patrons; and some *kukusiut* carpenters are instructed to make in secret ten small pieces of wood, about one foot in length and six inches wide, sometimes half-moon shaped. They cover these with dyed cedar-bark on which they paint the designs appropriate to each being.[33] On the morning of the fourth day,[34] X blackens his face with soot or charcoal, obtained by pouring water on a fire, and dons the usual *kusiut* costume. A herald then invites the *kukusiut* to assemble in X's house. Presently they proceed to the lowest house of the village, where the singers beat out the tunes of the "Path Clearers," remembered from a previous year. They dance, while X stands, shifting his feet and moving his apron as if he also wished to perform but was too weary to do so. This is repeated at every house of the village, except that in which the potlatch was held; most of the *kukusiut* follow the procession, as do some of the uninitiated. Finally, with X last of all, they enter the potlatch house, where foreign guests and many uninitiated have assembled.

In Kimsquit the preliminary four days of watching are omitted, but from this point on, the rites of the two areas are practically identical.[35] As X enters, all the *kukusiut* who have pounding sticks begin to beat on the floor and the women drone. Without delay, and without attention to the timeless thumping, X begins to dance, sunwise, around the fire, at intervals casting on it particles of eagle down which have the effect of making the supernatural ones above take their places. He calls out intermittently that he can see the beings above sitting down, and a herald repeats his remarks loudly. In Bella Coola the four "Path Clearers" walk close behind X.

[33]The distinctive designs are given by Boas, to whom the reader is referred.

[34]It is probable that X must first lie down when *Nestkmm*'s dancer reports that the canoe is at the mouth of the river.

[35]It is uncertain whether the differences in ritual are typical of Bella Coola and Kimsquit, or merely represent variations in individual prerogatives.

[The Dance of Wi·a]

About dusk on the following day X, who is in his own house, suddenly stands up and cries out: 575* 796*

"Yes. It has come. I am afraid. Yes! I will do as you bid me." 787

The *kukusiut* women begin to drone and the uninitiated are expelled. Heralds announce that a *kusiut* has been pressed to earth, and presently they go to every house inviting the *kukusiut* to gather in X's. From this point on, the rite of *lsxtämem* continues in the manner already described.

The ability of X to summon these nine brothers from above is a special prerogative; other *kukusiut* have one or other of them as patron, but lack the power to call the whole number to earth. One *kusiut* has exclusive knowledge of the mat which is spread for *Omqomkilka* when the other supernatural beings summon him to a ceremony; another of the place where the brethren obtain their eagle down. Detailed information was not obtained about these ceremonies. [424]

THE CANNIBAL DANCE

Of all *kusiut* dances, the one of which the uninitiated are most afraid, and which is, therefore, the strongest, is the Cannibal dance. It is believed that the performer is exposed to greater dangers than in any other rite, and observers have the most spectacular ocular demonstrations of his powers. The patrons of most Cannibals are *Alqumtäm*, *Sexsexkälaig*, or *Kämai·ts*, who implant in their protégés a wolf, bear, or eagle, causing them to devour strange foods. The Bella Coola consider that a man is equally a Cannibal whether he has the prerogative of eating corpses, biting the living, eating dogs or raw salmon, or biting himself. The most common of these is the right to bite the living, and few of the older people are not scarred thereby. Fear of Cannibals is one of the strongest causes for the respect with which the uninitiated regard the *kusiut* society, but though the holders of prerogatives of this type are regarded with awe on account of their powers, they are not considered as chiefs, as the Bella Coola say is the case

575* 796* 424 [981] [776] [787] [781] [171] [622]

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[The Cannibal Dance]

among the Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and Rivers Inlet people. Indeed, in Bella Coola a poor man may be the most dreaded Cannibal of all, if he has been able duly to validate and perform his right in this respect. Nor is the dance carried out with the same rigour in Bella Coola as among the tribes of the outer coast.

The ritual of different prerogatives varies to such an extent that several accounts must be given, in spite of the repetitions that this form of presentation entails. On account of the length of time necessary, a Cannibal dance usually begins early in the season. The following describes the manner in which *Kämätslaks* of Kimsquit, who can bite the living, carried out his rite; it was obtained from his brother, who is thoroughly conversant with the details. It will be convenient to refer to *Kämätslaks* as X, and to use the present tense throughout.

A meeting is held at which the marshals and others choose, in agreement with X and his relatives, a day suitable for him to commence his performance. Under normal circumstances it is on some *qoilum* that a marshal announces that he can hear X's call, and on the following evening, when the ritual has been completed, the uninitiated are startled to hear continuous whistling from the slopes of the mountains near the village. The instruments used are of the usual bladder type, but the long-drawn-out sound, termed *Aiislāxa*, is said to be the voice of the kindly supernatural woman, *Snitsmän·a*.[11]

[11] The sole function of this being seems to be the restoring to life of those who appear to have been killed in the performance of *kusiut* rites. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether or not she is identical with *Thiexplitx·a*. The noise which heralds her coming is produced by the whistles of four *kukusiut* who throughout the night range the forests and mountains within ear-shot of the village. By bending their heads up and down, they are able to increase the weirdness and apparent elusiveness of the sound. The four travel in single file; the leader blows, and when his breath is nearly exhausted he presses the hand of the second man, who starts whistling forthwith, while the original leader drops to the rear. As the second becomes weary, he signals in the same way to the third, and so on; in this way the whistling is continuous, and the uninitiated are convinced that it cannot be caused by mortals, even if such an idea should occur to them. If a non-member should meet the four, they would at once kill him or make him a prisoner, keeping him out of sight until he could be initiated into the society.

[The Cannibal Dance]

X, now almost sane, rushes around the house, shouting *xwa·, xwa·, xwa·*, while his call sounds loudly, as the whistle is pressed firmly beneath his armpit or against his stomach, tied under a belt. Often the *kukusiut* slip a rope over his shoulders to prevent him escaping again. Finally, he rushes from the house and all the *kukusiut* crowd close about him on the sidewalk without. As many as possible press upwards against his body with their hands, while they shout, *ye* ··, trying to expel the call upwards. On the fourth repetition it is supposed to have been driven forth, and in answer to the tumultuous shout of the *kukusiut*, there is heard the sound of a whistle from above. The uninitiated do not know that a *kusiut* has been dispatched with one to a mountain peak for this purpose. 575* 796* 787

The *kukusiut* now return to X's house for a meal. The first dish of food is placed before X himself, while one of the marshals addresses him and the audience in the following strain: 575* 796* [539]

Yāxmaodjinoot, sātixwa·ks! Ālaits di pāxotla!
Greetings, comrades! Hail to the dreaded one [the Cannibal][a]

Wai, pāxotlas[a] *Nuxim. Nuqplaniats*[b]*duduqa.*
More, dreaded one, *Nuxim.*[c] Eat to repletion.

There is no ritual significance attached to any particular words; marshals use their own discretion as to what they say, but the above may be considered a fair example of the kind of remarks addressed to a Cannibal at his first meal. After X has started eating, the other *kukusiut* commence and the marshals deliver their usual admonitions, praising X for what he has done and urging others to emulate his example. Then presents are distributed to those who have been bitten. It is considered that a Cannibal compliments a man by taking a piece of his flesh, and that he is under obligations to the one bitten for the latter having allowed him to exercise his preroga- 575* 796* 431 424

[a] *Pāxotla* means "The Dreaded One" or "The Fearless One." X is so called on account of the uncanny cannibalistic incubus that has taken possession of him. [787]

[b] This is the vocative form of the word.

[c] *Nuxim* was the name of the performing Cannibal on the occasion that this speech was recorded. [195]

*575 *796 431 *424 [773]

tive. Hence compensation must be given. Payment for wounds inflicted is really parallel to payments to witnesses of any other prerogative; without their assistance X would not have been able to display his right. Long ago Cannibals are said to have had teeth of such sharpness that they were able to take pieces from the bodies of their victims with ease and quickness. In more recent years, it has been customary for a person about to be bitten to cut himself with a knife so that, when the Cannibal seizes him, a simple sucking at the chosen part will bring forth blood. In view of the honour attached to being bitten, no person to whom such a proposal is made would think of refusing. As previously mentioned, Cannibals do not bite other Cannibals, Scratchers, Breakers, or those whose patrons are ghosts, otherwise their victims may comprise any *ẖaẖuziut*.* Presents received by those bitten are called "Bandages." At the time of such payment gifts are usually given to all *ẖaẖuziut*, with additional compensation for the sufferers.

*575 *796

Now that X has eaten ordinary food it is supposed that he is again normal, although special precautions must be taken for the rest of the winter since he is subject to returning fits of frenzy. Consequently, he is never allowed to be alone, but is always followed by a number of *ẖaẖuziut* whose function appears to the uninitiated to be to guard them from the Cannibal. The sight of strangers suffices to rouse him, so that when a canoe from *Tāl ia* or Kimsquit approaches, a herald bids the uninitiated conceal themselves. On their arrival X rushes to the beach, apparently in spite of his guardians' restraint, and honours several of the strangers by biting them, as he did before he was able to eat ordinary food. On such occasions he then visits every house, attended by his escort, before returning to his own. Inside each dwelling he growls, cries out *xwe-*, *xwe-*, *xwe-*, and sometimes shakes or tears off the

[752]

*Every effort is made to convince the uninitiated of the severity of the wounds inflicted. For example, if a *ẖaẖuziut* woman is suffering from some malady of the breast which requires an operation, a Cannibal bites her there and non-members are told that the incision, made about the same time, was caused by his teeth.

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[The Cannibal Dance]

through the village announcing what has taken place. Meanwhile X, maddened by the taste of blood, dashes from the house, closely guarded by a number of *kukusiut*. Growling, he enters the lowest house of the village and, to the uninitiated there, it appears as if the restraint of his guardians is all that prevents the biting demon from breaking loose among them. This is repeated at every house in the village, and then X returns to that in which *potlatch* is taking place, where he is guided to his usual corner and a *kusiut* throws cold water over him. Any senior *kusiut*, often one who is also a shaman, calls on those present to beat time, and the frenzied orchestra of sticks sounds forth. X remains quiet and more water is thrown over him. This pounding of sticks is four times repeated, and after each more water is thrown over the Cannibal, until at last his temporary fit of frenzy is stilled. Then the *kukusiut* eat in comfort and leave. It must be remembered that the uninitiated hear the beating of sticks from adjacent houses, and their awe is perhaps increased by the fact that they cannot actually see what is taking place. 575* 796* [781]

This liability to madness lasts throughout the ceremonial season, effectively suppressing any venturesome uninitiated, and at the same time serving as a bond of union among the *kukusiut* themselves, who must sink individual differences of opinion in face of the absolute necessity of upholding X's prestige. A Cannibal novice can likewise become frenzied at any time during the summer following his initiation. [626]

The Cannibal dance entails a considerable amount of physical and mental effort, while if X bites many individuals, as he likes to do as a means of demonstrating his prerogative, he is forced to expend a considerable amount of goods as "Bandages." These two factors often deter a man from performing this dance. A Cannibal who has just been initiated as a *kusiut* at once begins to bite, and is carried away to the upper regions. He is required, moreover, to give his ceremony the following winter, like any other novice. During the summer he generally remains hidden within his house, and when he goes 575* 796* 556 [731] [424]

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songs are sung, all that are needed when a Cannibal does not go to the land above. 575* 796* 787

On the following day, *qotlm*, the masks are manufactured and the ritual proceeds in the normal manner. In the evening the uninitiated are invited to watch the dances, at which X is the first to perform, lengthening his face and protruding his lips to their greatest extent in order to frighten his beholders.

The ritual of the next evening, *nakusam*, corresponds to the usual pattern. Before the entry of the uninitiated, X has concealed himself so that nothing can detract from their awe at sight of the masked figures. *Alqantām* stands in state behind the fire, sometimes announcing his own name, while *Ano'lik-wulsaix* moves to and fro, adding to the solemnity of the occasion with her explanations, echoed by the heralds. *Alqotlees*, represented with blood-stained lips, moves around the fire, restrained by the three Holders, and the audience is told that this is how they act in the land above. When the guests have gazed sufficiently on these marvels they are sent away, and the masks are burnt in the usual manner, accompanied by the gentle singing of one of X's songs. Late at night a number of *kukusiut* go with X to the sidewalk outside his house, where they expel his call by pressing upwards with their hands against his stomach and calling *hoip*.

For the rest of the winter X conducts himself in the manner of any *kusiut* who has danced. 575* 796*

Although similar in outlines, the prerogatives enjoyed by Cannibals differ so considerably that no clear picture of the rites can be obtained without detailed descriptions of several. The following is an account of a dance carried out by *Łulilmut*, a biting Cannibal of *Nusqalst*. It was obtained from one of the marshals who, of course, understood the details of every performance. The origin of the name is unknown, although the informant believed that it had been created in this world by the chiefs in consequence of the manner in which a shaman ancestor of the dancer had been in the habit of biting people [424] [115]

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[The Cannibal Dance]

his song, which they now proceed to sing as though they had obtained it from X in his ravings; they have, of course, composed it themselves in advance. The words describe the experiences of X in the regions aloft. When the song has been practised, food, and later presents as "bandages" for the wounds, are distributed. Other gifts are often given to everyone, irrespective of whether or not the recipient has been bitten. A marshal functions as usual; then the people disperse.

Presently as night falls and the people are preparing for sleep, X goes outside with a number of *kukusiut* followers. On the sidewalk the singers, a number of *kukusiut* women, and men with drums have assembled. X begins his high pitched call of *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, as if longing for meat; the whistle sounds at intervals and the singers begin their song with the women joining in. When the melody has ended, the party moves to a position outside another house where the same ceremony is repeated. X suddenly becomes frenzied, rushes madly from place to place, his *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·* resounds, and he dashes into a dwelling, growling ferociously. The musicians pay no attention to his actions, but complete their singing of the same song outside every house. When this has been finished, the *kukusiut* gather in X's home to make him sufficiently heavy so that he can lie down. This is done by calling upon these individuals who have the prerogative of using the crystals at initiation. They come forward and, with wild gyrations, extract them from their stomachs and insert them into X's body through his ears, thus partially deafening him so that he can relax. The people disperse when this has been accomplished. As usual, the heralds have informed those living in the other houses of what has been taking place.

The next morning the *kukusiut* construct a strong platform behind the fire on which X is supposed to rest for the next four days. In practice he can do almost anything he likes, provided that he is not seen by the uninitiated. The crystals pressed into his ears deafen him to small noises, but if he hears people talking loudly together, he at once becomes excited and rushes

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* 575 placing their hands against his mouth and neck and pressing
* 796 downwards to the chest as if forcing some object from his
787 throat, constantly uttering the cry of *hoip*. When the obstacle has been driven down, X is offered his first food, choice morsels of dried salmon. He eats some of this but bites a small piece from the spoon, and does the same with the dish in which water is held to his lips. The assistance of a shaman is often required to feed the Cannibal.

The powers of, and restrictions upon, X for the remainder of the ceremonial season are identical with those already described. At the end of the period, however, the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to rid him of his *sqiols* which, it will be remembered, had been forced from his mouth down into his chest. By means of a violent repetition of *hoip* and pressing with the hands, this is extracted and cast into another *kusiut*. As soon as the latter has received it, he acts as if he had become a Cannibal. Dashing out, he enters each house in turn, growling and calling out *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, and at intervals ripping up the planking from the floor or pulling off boards from the wall. Then the substitute re-enters X's house, where the power is returned to X himself, who, this done, rushes to every dwelling and repeats the growling and destruction. Though the uninitiated realize that two different indi-
[781] viduals have appeared as Cannibals, they are too awe-stricken to feel anything but wonder. When he gets back to his own house, X is surrounded by the *kukusiut* who call out *hoip*, in unison four times, while as many of them as can find places press upwards with their hands against his neck and throat to expel the *sqiols*. This succeeds in sending back X's power to the mysterious regions above whence it came. While most of the *kukusiut* beat time vigorously, a number of them pull down the platform and cast it into the fire. They then have a meal, while a marshal gives weighty advice about the care that must be exercised during the coming year in guarding their sacred secrets from the uninitiated; whereupon they all disperse.

[184 The chief contrasts between this rite and the one previously
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described for Kimsquit are the lack of the cannibalistic incubus and the presence of the *sqiols*. It must be emphasized that these are differences of individual prerogative alone; many Kimsquit Cannibals perform with *sqiols*, many Bella Coola with incubus. 575* 796* 787 184 424

Although every effort was used to obtain not only the general principles of the rite, but also confirmation of details, it must be remembered that many of these were omitted at the performances observed, so that reliance had to be placed upon the accounts of participants. It is probable that errors of omission have been committed in consequence; these may account for some of the discrepancies, but the most potent factors are undoubtedly lack of uniformity in individual prerogatives, and failure to enforce absolute rigidity in ritual. The two accounts just given by no means illustrate all the variations possible in this dance; others will become evident in descriptions of the rites of Cannibals other than those who can bite the living.

The following is an account of the ritual of a Dog-eating Cannibal, *Olxän·i*, of *Sınxl*. Long, long ago one of the ancestors of this man saw a pack of wolves devouring some dogs. In some mysterious way, which even the Bella Coola do not profess to be able to understand, the power of a wolf entered the beholder so that he was impelled to eat dogs. He was then carried away to the mysterious land above where he saw and was assisted by several supernatural beings. The first *Olxän·i* was able to transmit to one of his relatives his ability to eat dogs, and the prerogative has since been carried out by his descendants. Should the holder of the name fail to tell his destined heir the details of the experiences which are to be embodied in his songs, his successor can obtain these from the singers who, of course, are familiar with the themes used on previous occasions. The repository of the name, *Olxän·i*, is beneath a huge boulder not far from some carved rocks behind the village of *Sınxl* (see Plate 6).[1] It is said that many years ago some reckless uninitiated placed poles as levers beneath

575* 796* 787 773 [424] 575* 796* [778]

[1] [see category 116; p. 84 (F) – ANALYST]

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*575 over him,[11] followed by the usual immersion in the river. X
*796 goes to every house, then returns to his own where another
song, describing his experiences aloft, is rehearsed. In the
787 evening the *kukusiut* assemble once more and tie on X a long, tail-like appendage of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. Then a shaman gives him food, and at once he runs to the lowest house in the village. He enters the doorway and calls out:

"I can smell."

This announcement is repeated in every house, signifying that the Cannibal can again appreciate ordinary food.

X spends four more days on his platform, leaving it only when infuriated by the snarling of dogs. On the fourth evening the *kukusiut* assemble once more to learn a song of the usual Cannibal type, and to listen to admonitions from the marshals.

For four days longer X is secluded on his platform. In the evening the *kukusiut* gather to practise another song, but this time X dances, while the uninitiated watch with fear and wonder from the doorway. After their departure, X's *sqiols* is
● [424] extracted. In this particular dance, its removal is the prerogative of a certain *kusiut* who presses his hands along the Cannibal's collar-bone, forcing the malignant muzzle-like power upward and outward. Sometimes his first meal is delayed until this has been done.

*575 This concludes X's dance, though he must obey the same
*796 restrictions as other Cannibals for the rest of the ceremonial season and, if he is a novice, for the following summer as well.

[424] Other Cannibals have the prerogative of eating raw salmon. Since these are unobtainable during the winter, carpenters construct imitations consisting of skins of trout stretched over wooden frames filled with the flesh of deer, dogs, or trout. The resemblance is increased by a mechanical device which wiggles the tail. The Cannibal rips these apart with his teeth so that the uninitiated see the meat inside, and readily assume that they are real salmon, while their wonder is increased in view of the difficulty, or impossibility, of obtaining fresh fish in mid-winter.

[11] This expels his call.

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[The Cannibal Dance]

The most feared of all Cannibals are those who have the unusual prerogative of eating corpses. At present (1922), there is only one man with this right, whereas at least seven can bite the living. His prerogative was recently obtained from the people of Rivers' Inlet, although the ritualistic devouring of corpses was well known to the Bella Coola in former days. All informants agreed, however, that the actual eating of a body was practically unknown.[10] Even when one was provided and the Cannibal dragged it from house to house, accompanied by an escort of *kukusiut*, though he sank his teeth into the flesh and pulled forth morsels of the carcass, he invariably disposed of them as soon as he was out of sight of the uninitiated, as in the case of the dog. Of course, blood and small pieces of flesh must have been swallowed inadvertently, but the rite was always essentially ritualistic, not real. More often, the "corpse" consisted of a wooden frame-work, shaped like a human body, and covered with the scraped skins of deer or dogs. The interior was filled with the flesh of an animal, and the whole buried in the graveyard until the meat had become foul. The uninitiated, from a distance, watched the exhuming of this object and concluded that it really was a long-buried body. Fear prevented them from making a close inspection, so that the defects of the imitation were not apparent. The frames were kept hidden from year to year; an inquisitive non-member who chanced to stumble upon one would have to be initiated or die.

575* 796* [424] [177] [688]

On account of the long time that has elapsed since a complete corpse-eating Cannibal dance was carried out, it was found impossible to obtain a detailed account of the ritual. This deficiency is unimportant since all informants agreed that it closely resembled other Cannibal dances.

Like other Cannibals, one who has the prerogative of eating dead human flesh can perform as often as he desires, subject only to the approval of the marshals, who have no hesitation

[424] [787]

[10] Apart from this ceremonial eating, no trace of cannibalism was found among the Bella Coola.

[266]

[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 in banning the rite if they do not think the dancer will be able
*796 to carry it out properly. When the call comes, the uninitiated
are at once expelled from the Cannibal's house; later he rushes
[424] to the graveyard and exhumes one of the meat-filled frames
previously buried. Non-members watch with horror as he
sinks his teeth in the "flesh." Closely guarded, he is then
taken to every house where, if they are bold, the uninitiated
peer forth from their bedrooms and watch his performance.
He carries part of the corpse in his arms and periodically sinks
his teeth in the repulsive mass. As usual, apparent attempts
are made to tie him to this earth, but in spite of them he escapes
to the upper regions where he remains for an unusually long
[824] period. Great efforts are made to reduce him to a state of
emaciation, for which purpose he drinks large amounts of
water in which cedar-wood has been boiled. When the Can-
nibal ultimately returns to earth, the cannibalistic incubus is
expelled and he at length becomes normal. When dancing, a
[535] corpse-eater constantly bends both hands towards the floor in
front of him and upwards, as though raising some heavy
object towards his face. Then his head sinks towards this,
only to be thrown quickly upwards and to one side, with a wild
expression in his eyes. The uninitiated are told that this re-
presents the manner in which he lifts a corpse towards his
mouth and bites, only to be revolted by its putrescence. He
has, they hear, no actual liking for human flesh, but his in-
cubus fills him with an irresistible craving for it. Frequently
[532] he wears on his blanket wooden representations of skulls (see
Plate 7)[1] symbolic of the corpses devoured.

*575 Rarely, a corpse-eating Cannibal kills a slave and pretends
*796 to devour his body as a means of impressing the uninitiated,[60]
but usually this is done only under the driving force of revenge
567 or jealousy. If a man hears that a near relative, slave of a
648 foreign tribe, has been killed, he often determines to wipe out
blood with blood. He consults a corpse-eating Cannibal, and

[60] Eating of corpses has long ceased among the Bella Coola; the present tense is used merely for consistency.

[1] [see category 116, p 164(A)- ANALYST]

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* 575 * 796 type of rivalry can be carried out only during the ceremonial season.

[567] [578] After killing and eating a human being, a Cannibal must conceal himself for a considerable period, sometimes as long as four years. The uninitiated are told that the great power within him has taken him so far into the upper regions that one or more years must elapse before his return. During this time he can be seen only by *kukusiut*. The writer was told of one unfortunate corpse-eating Cannibal, *Xekalus*, who was virtually secluded for eight years, since a stone was cast at his feet every time he reappeared, thus forcing him to kill and eat. [123] This name had been dormant for a number of years until conferred on the writer, who failed to uphold the prerogative.

* 575 * 796 One other type of Cannibal prerogative remains to be described, namely, that of biting oneself. This is even less common than that of corpse-eating, being enjoyed only by two ● 424 individuals, *Qolliaolimx* of *Stuix* and *Snmiq* of the Kimsquit 773 River. The following account of the origin of the latter's pre- 539 rogative was obtained:

> Many years ago, soon after the first people came to this world, the ritual of the *kusiut* dances was much more exacting than it is at present. At that time the inhabitants of the earth were still endowed with such semi-supernatural powers that they were able to perform rites that people of the present day can represent only with the aid of carpenters' devices. There was then living in one of the villages on the Kimsquit River a certain *Snmiq* who had the prerogative of biting himself. He once went hunting on one of the mountains, and when he failed to return the people were convinced that he had eaten so heartily of his own flesh that he had died. Although search was made for his body, it was not until the following year that a professional hunter found the skeleton. From the position of the bones it was judged that their conclusion was correct: he had killed himself by eating too much of his own flesh. The chiefs and other influential *kukusiut* held a meeting at which it was decided that henceforth *kusiut* dances would only be acted, not carried out in reality. The following winter the name and prerogative were transmitted to the son of the dead man, who bit himself, but not sufficiently deeply to cause serious injury.

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In the course of generations, *Snuuq* has combined with his self-anthropophagic prerogative that of eating dogs. As already mentioned, such a merging of rights, obtained from different ancestors, is by no means uncommon. The following account of the manner in which he carries out (or carried out, for the dance has not been performed for a number of years) his rite was obtained from one of the Kimsquit marshals. Many details are omitted which have been fully described in former Cannibal dances. It will be convenient to refer to *Snuuq* as X. 575* 796* [424] [115]

As with other Cannibals, when the call comes to X he begins to cry out and the uninitiated are expelled from his house, but not before they have seen him sink his teeth into his own arm, and apparently inflict a serious wound. In reality the Cannibal usually cuts himself in anticipation, so that the application of his teeth merely serves to reopen the incision and cause the blood to flow freely. Dogs are given to X, as to other dog-eating Cannibals, and he is escorted to every house, so that the uninitiated may stare with awe upon his blood-stained body and dripping jaws. Later, when he and the *kukusiut* have returned to the Cannibal's home, a herald goes to every house, announcing that his fellows are going to fasten X. The rope used in this particular rite is long and thin, with a small loop in the centre for his neck. It is forced upon X with the usual struggling, and again the herald makes his round, announcing: [787]

"We are measuring his arms for cords of dyed and undyed cedar-bark."

These too are placed upon him, and the *kukusiut* march X, pinioned, to every house, while he growls and gives every indication of being half mad with anger at his bonds. He is taken back to his own house and at intervals throughout the day a herald informs all in the village of the number of dogs he has eaten, and of the number of wounds he has inflicted upon himself.

That night X eludes his captors and is carried away to the

[The Cannibal Dance]

each house in succession, borrowing filled chamber vessels. 575* Five or six men are waiting for X with these, and as he enters 796* his house, they pour urine over him. Thus restored to partial sanity, he cries out in a different tone of voice, and at once visits every house. The *kukusiut* are still with him, but need not guard him as closely since he is now less liable to frenzy. The uninitiated are greatly relieved at this removal of peril from among them. Later in the day *kukusiut* go to the different houses, asking for choice salmon-grease with which the Cannibal will later be fed. The giving of the first food to X, the later sending aloft of his call, and the restrictions which he observes for the rest of the winter do not differ from those described for other Cannibals.

Snuuq's patron is a *snuuq* of the Mountain which became [776] petrified in the beginning of time. At his repository there is a [778] spring beneath a large boulder. Uninitiated persons passing the spot are often terrified by hearing the growling of a Cannibal from beneath the stone. It is in this place that persons [757] suffering from virulent skin disease are washed by X, as described in a previous chapter.

Few particulars could be learnt of the rite as carried out by *Qoliaolmx*, though it is said to resemble the one just described [424] in every respect. The prerogative was obtained in a vision of [787] one of the Cannibal's early ancestors, who located the reposi- [778] tory of the name beneath a large, flat stone, directly in the old trail up the valley. When anyone treads on it, reverberation is heard. The writer was a spectator when the present 575* *Qoliaolmx* gave his dance in January, 1924, but the rite was 796* performed in such a perfunctory manner that little could be 178 learnt from it. The Cannibal wore two bands of dyed cedar-bark on his left forearm, under one of which was a container of red paint. Uttering his cry of *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, and looking around with a wild air, he frequently buried his face in his arm, between the bands. The red paint made a realistic representation of blood, especially as it dropped with red smudges on the floor. On this occasion, the dancer appeared

*575 in a flesh-coloured bathing-suit, imitating the nakedness of
*796 earlier years. The writer was talking to one of the marshals,
178 a very old man, and remarked how different the present rites must appear to him.

"Yes," replied the old man. "But after all, the change is not so great. In former years we imitated what the supernatural beings did, now we imitate what our fathers did."

Many ethnologists, acquainted with the elaborate rituals carried out on the coast early in this century, have expressed surprise at the rapidity with which these have dwindled to mere shadows. The writer believes that one factor for the Bella Coola decline in ritual, is the realization that the rites are imitative, and that accordingly their significance need not be lost when further imitation is added.

*575 Further research would undoubtedly have added particu-
*796 lars of the manner in which other Cannibals carried out their rites, but to obtain the full details of all would have been detrimental to other types of investigation; it is believed that the above descriptions are typical. Before passing to other dances, a few general remarks on the Cannibal ritual may prove useful.

*575 In view of the arduous character of the dance, and the
*796 necessity for impressing the uninitiated with the great power
●424 of the Cannibals, the marshals usually prohibit a man from
[562] acting unless he is physically strong. Rarely, however, a woman is allowed to be a Cannibal if she has the necessary prerogative, but usually only if she is the last survivor of her family. In such cases the shorter rite is the more common.

[538] As before stated, *kusiut* origin myths are supposed to be
[173] remembered, but in practice few *kukusiut* know the history of their prerogatives. The process of forgetting has undoubtedly increased in the last few years, but the writer feels confident that they were never maintained with the same care as origin myths connected with the first people.

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[The Cannibal Dance]

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575 *
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424 ●
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myths connected with the first people. The following tale explains the reputed genesis of the biting prerogative embodied in the name *Nunuqwalaiuts*.

Many years ago, a number of lads were playing near the village of *Snulle·tl* when they were alarmed by the howling of a wolf and ran back to their homes. Next day the sound was repeated, and again they discontinued their play in fear. The third day the same thing happened, while on the fourth the boys not only heard the howling, but saw an enormous white wolf on the mountain above them. Fascinated, they forgot to flee, even when the animal drew near with phenomenal rapidity. It rushed up to a lad named *Nunuqwalaiuts*, and vanished. At once he became mad and ran to and fro, biting people; the beast had entered into him, and he had become a Cannibal.

His frightened comrades attempted to restrain and confine the lad, but they could not prevent him from escaping at times and biting people. That night he vanished from their sight, though they knew he had gone aloft because they heard his growling as he ascended. For two months he was absent, then suddenly reappeared among them, even wilder and hungrier than before, while his whole appearance had altered owing to the loss of his hair and emaciation. Again the people endeavoured to restrain him, but *Nunuqwalaiuts* had demoniac strength and could not be tied down. That evening a shaman was called upon, and he used the frenzied beating of sticks in hopes of curing the lunatic, for such he appeared to be. To the amazement of all, in this way he succeeded in expelling the head of a wolf, the cause of *Nunuqwalaiuts*'s anthropophagous tendencies. Thus restored to sanity, he told of what he had seen in the land above, whither he had been carried.[61] Some time after the return of *Nunuqwalaiuts* it was discovered that the repository of his name was behind a waterfall near *Snulle·tl*.

Another myth explains the origin of the dog-eating prerogative embodied in the name *Hai·alakila*. Long, long ago, soon after the first people had reached this earth, a chief of that name lived in Bella Coola. One day his slave, *Qälsmus*, set out to hunt ducks which were resting on a small pond near the base of the mountains on the south shore of the Bella Coola River, not far from its mouth. Before reaching his destination he heard many people beating time with sticks and, judging that the noise could not have been caused by mortals, returned to tell his master. *Hai·alakila* at once set off for the spot, taking his slave with

[61]Since that time the *kukusint* have imitated this rite with the assistance of skilled carpenters, and have been able to deceive the uninitiated.

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*575 him as guide. Both heard the beating, and soon saw a pack of super-
*796 natural wolves eating dog-flesh. The men were able to steal away with-
out being observed and *Hai·alakila* told *Qälsmus* to say nothing about
●424 what they had seen. A little later he gave a dance in which he wore a
wolf's mask and pretended to eat dog-flesh. His neighbours, ignorant of
539 the vision by which this dance had been inspired, were tremendously impressed.

Another exploit of *Hai·alakila* and *Qälsmus* may here be recorded, although it is unconnected with the Cannibal dance.

One night when they were spearing fish, a forest suddenly arose before them. *Qälsmus*, startled and terrified, began to cry, but *Hai·alakila* quieted him.

"I am master here," he said. "We are in this adventure together and your task is to keep quiet."

Then a house appeared before them from the depths of the ocean. It was really a *skämtsk*, with its ferocious mouth as doorway, and though *Hai·alakila* naturally feared to enter, he climbed to the roof, so that he could gaze within through what corresponded to a smoke-vent. The house was filled with valuables of all kinds, guarded only by gulls. *Hai·alakila* reached inside with his pole, hooked forth one object after another and swung each across to his slave on the mainland to hide in a tree. Unfortunately, a canoe happened to draw near, whereupon the house slowly sank back into the depths.

*575 Mention might here be made of a *Stuux* repository, said to
778 be unique in Bella Coola, that contains five Cannibal names.
551 It is in the form of a human being with a tail, kneeling and bent forward so that hands and head touch the ground. A repository is at each point of contact. The names are:

Qitlia, the head of the creature; *Änuximän·a*, the left hand; *Sinuximätl*, the right hand; *Älximän·a*, the left foot; *Xuximän·a*, the right foot; *Älquntäm*, the tail.

In this repository there lives a *mätsqus* with a copper lining to its mouth.

*575 It will be seen that these myths help but little to explain
*796 the *kusiut* society, or even the origin of the Cannibal dances;
they appear to be only rationalizations attempting to account
424 for established customs. For this reason they have been in-
539 serted after a description of the Cannibal dance.

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Several Bella Coola were questioned concerning the Cannibal spirit which Boas has described for the Kwakiutl. Some had never heard of such a creature, others had vague knowledge concerning it, and two men were able to give it a name. The one called it *Bäxbäxqwanälociwa*, the other *Bäxbäxqwaiwa*. All informants agreed that this creature was not a part of the Cannibal rites of Bella Coola and one man suggested that the cannibalistic incubus rendered it unnecessary. The Bella Coola believe that this Cannibal spirit is used in Bella Bella. During 1923 there came to Bella Coola an old Kimsquit Indian who had left his home many years ago and had since been living at Smith Inlet(?). With him came his son, a grown man, who had inherited from his mother a Kwakiutl Cannibal prerogative which he displayed in the winter of 1923-4. After the dancer had, theoretically, returned from the regions above, a large masked figure representing *Bäxbäxqwaiwa* entered through the front-door. As the singers beat time, it hopped to and fro, up and down, with snapping beak. The Bella Coola were intensely interested, and one had only to listen to their remarks when wondering what it might be, to be convinced that the Cannibal spirit is a strange concept to them. The most frequent hypothesis was that it was a *haohao*, since the masked figure did resemble this supernatural bird. The Bella Coola greatly admired the dance, and were by no means ashamed to confess their inferiority as dancers to the Kwakiutl. After the disappearance of the masked figure, the singers sang the Cannibal's song and he danced in normal fashion, which was commented upon as another difference in custom.

575* 796* 776 [171] [171] [428] [424] [186] [171]

THE SCRATCH DANCE

Only less awe-inspiring than the Cannibal dance is the Scratch dance. Those *kukusiut* who have this prerogative are able to scratch the bodies of their fellows, so that long, bloody weals result. The privileges and restrictions of Scratchers are closely akin to those of Cannibals, as the following points show:

575* 424 [796]*

[The Scratch Dance]

*575 They[1] do not blacken their faces on receipt of a call as do
●424 most *kukusiut*.

[302] The theme of their songs is of the land above, instead solely
[787] of their patrons.

[533] On visiting a house where a *qotlim* or *nebusam* is taking place they sit with the Cannibals in one of the back corners; this group is given food before any of the other guests.

They do not exercise their prerogative on fellow-Scratchers, Cannibals, or Breakers.

[787] They are liable to frenzy both when the call is upon them and after its departure. In such cases they run forth, apparently guarded and restrained by other *kukusiut*, and rush into every house to frighten the uninitiated.

They must recompense those whom they have scratched.

[578] They act as peace-makers among the *kukusiut*, since the necessity of accompanying a Scratcher who pretends to be frenzied overrules all petty causes of strife.

[554] Though any definite concept of graded rank in the *kusiut* society is quite foreign to the Bella Coola, it is generally felt that Scratchers and Breakers are only slightly less important than Cannibals. The patron of every Scratcher is *Sno'olxdts*
[776] *Älquntäm*, one of the sons of *Älquntäm*; this supernatural being scratches the supernatural ones in the land above, and his father alone can restrain him. The prerogative is fairly common, and it is probable that in early days there was at least one Scratcher in every village.

*575 The following account of the ritual was obtained from one
*796 of the Bella Coola marshals and describes the manner in which the dance should have been performed by the Scratcher,
[424] *Äluslenaix*, his daughter's daughter's son, who had recently obtained the prerogative formerly possessed by his deceased mother's father. It will be convenient to refer to *Äluslenaix* as X and use the present tense in recording the proper ritual, though it was largely omitted on the last occasion the dance was given.

X arranges a suitable day with the marshals for receiving

1 [i.e. - the Scratchers - ANALYST]

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[The Scratch Dance]

his call, and when this has been settled, he informs those *kukusiut* whom he plans to honour by scratching. Since each will have to be recompensed for allowing X to display his prerogative, their number depends on X's wealth. Early in the morning of the day chosen, which is always immediately after the *nebusam* of some other *kusiut*, the call comes, and X gives a low hoot. At once he starts wildly rushing around and scratching, so that the uninitiated are only too willing to flee from his terrifying presence. Throughout the day X is escorted by a number of *kukusiut* to every house, where he rages around the fire, throwing his arms to and fro in an infuriated manner, sometimes scratching one of his fellows, but more often merely acting as if he desired to do so. The uninitiated hide within the bedrooms, greatly impressed by what they see if they dare to look forth. 575* 796* [424]

Towards evening the *kukusiut* are summoned to X's house, where a dramatic representation, into which the members fully enter, is made of binding him as if he were a wild animal or a lunatic. A rope is stretched around the fire, held by the *kukusiut*, with X inside. He pretends to be trying to escape, while the rope-holders bend down and move around to hold him within their bonds. Meanwhile a shaman, or some senior *kusiut*, leads a frenzied beating of sticks which is four times repeated, to cure the madness. A *kusiut* then grasps the Scratcher's face and moves his mouth four times, to make sure that his jaws can move properly; the meaning of this is unknown. X now takes one of the beating-sticks and sits down among the singers as if about to teach them both tune and words of a song describing his knowledge of the land above, derived from his call. For a few moments he beats sanely, and appears to speak in a rational manner, but soon he goes off in a wild frenzy of senseless pounding. *Hoip, hoip*, cry the *kukusiut* to soothe him. After this has been several times repeated, the singers announce that they have learnt X's song, though of course, they have composed one themselves in readiness for the occasion. They now sing it; the audience listens, [757] [533]

[The Scratch Dance]

obey one prohibition; he must not sleep with his wife for four days. 575* 796*

Like a Cannibal, X is liable to frenzy for the rest of the ceremonial season. During this period he remains secluded within his house, and the uninitiated willingly avoid him believing him to be mentally deranged. He attends every *kusiut* dance, where his latent madness helps to frighten the uninitiated. If strangers from Kimsquit or *Tăl·io* visit Bella Coola, he at once becomes frenzied, rushes to the beach and scratches them, precisely as a Cannibal would do; in this case he must be pacified in the same manner. A Scratcher always saves goods to recompense scratched foreigners. If it is the first time that X has danced, he must remain secluded for the following summer, and give his ceremony the next winter. During the warm months he remains within the back-room of his house, and though some of the uninitiated know of his presence, still believing him mad they do not intrude upon his privacy. The coming of foreigners during this period excites him to frenzy and he scratches them, irrespective of the time of year. [834] [828]

It might be mentioned that some Scratcher names are indicative of the dancer's function, and others, such as "The Cause of Fear," have reference to his prowess. [551]

THE BREAKER DANCE

When a Bella Coola speaks of the fear which *kusiut* dances cause the uninitiated, he almost invariably cites in order the Cannibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances. *Kukusiut* with these three prerogatives have no more privileges than other members of the society, nor are they considered superior in rank, but similarity in their functions leads to an almost automatic association. If questioned further, a Bella Coola will usually say that he regards the Cannibal dance to be first, with the Scratch and Breaker equal, but less important. Breakers share with Cannibals and Scratchers the prerogatives of not blackening their faces; of having as theme for their songs the land 575* 796* 424 [781] [554] [302] [533] [264]

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[The Breaker Dance]

*575 above; of sitting in one of the back corners and receiving the
*796 first food at ritual meals; of paying those on whom they
[424] exercise their prerogative, and of liability to frenzy on arrival
[533] of strangers. This last prerogative, if it may be so termed,
[264] lasts for the ceremonial season, and in the case of a novice, for the following summer as well. Moreover, Breakers do not destroy the goods of fellow-Breakers, Scratchers, or Cannibals.

*575 In view of the similarity of this rite to those already de-
*796 scribed, no effort was made to collect full details. Different
424 Breakers have minor variations in ritual, similar to those al-
539 ready illustrated. The following is an account of the manner in which the Breaker, *Syek* of *Snuloli*, performed the rite a number of years ago. As on previous occasions, it will be convenient to use the present tense, and to refer to the dancer as X. *Syek* gave the following account of the origin of his prerogative.

Long, long ago, soon after the first people had come to this earth, a marriage was about to take place in the village of *Snull-ul*. At that distant period the people were so powerful that they could themselves initiate *kusiut* dances, and the bridegroom determined to do so in honour of the event. He chose to imitate the actions of *Sänollymulelts Älqunätm*, one of *Älqunätm*'s sons, whom he remembered having seen throwing stones in his father's house before he, the bridegroom, was sent down to this world.[a] When goods were piled up ready for distribution as marriage presents, the man began to hurl stones around; one of them ricochetted from a box, struck his bride and killed her. This unforeseen accident solved the question of his name, as by universal consent it was decided that he should be called, *Syek*, "He of the Faulty Aim."

Since that time a law has been enforced that no Breaker may throw a rock except ceremonially during his dance, and the marshals punish one who disobeys this injunction. If a Breaker is in the forest with a number
[231] of *kukusiut*, it does not matter if he fails to uphold this tradition; the essential is that the uninitiated do not see him cast a stone, even at a yelping dog, the usual reason for doing so in Bella Coola.

*575 When X wishes to dance he must first obtain the consent of
*796 the marshals in the usual manner. He also arranges with *kukusiut* to have boxes and other wooden objects placed within

[776] [a] This being is also called *Nuhowemowhum*, "The Cherished One."

[The Breaker Dance]

the house to serve as targets, and stones as ammunition. As soon as the call comes, X cries out, begins to throw stones at these objects, and the uninitiated are at once expelled. X is usually led, closely guarded, to every house where he casts more rocks, and may break a number of utensils. Since it is well known that, under normal circumstances, he must never throw a stone, the uninitiated are convinced that he must indeed be animated by a strange power. This being *Isustämem*, the *kukusiut* gather in X's house during the evening to learn and practise one, or sometimes two, songs for him. If X is a novice, the theme is of his ancestor and the accident which originated the dance; on later occasions it is of his patron and the land above. All Breakers do not have *Sänoltsumulelts Älquntäm* as patron; some have *Snukilmälts*, a supernatural being who causes wealth to curl up and come to him. The chorus is the same as for Scratchers, the meaningless words, *'aii, 'aii*. It is said that this same refrain is used by the Breakers of all coastal tribes, so that their songs can be distinguished from those of Scratchers only by the words. With the food, presents are given to recompense those on whom X has displayed his prerogative, that is, those whose utensils have been broken. Sometimes canoes and other valuable objects are destroyed by Breakers, depending entirely on their desire to exhibit their right.

575* 796* [787] 575* 796* 533 575* 796* [431] [424]

Next morning, *nusiutälsap*, X again becomes frenzied and rushes from house to house, destroying property. Of course this is later paid for, but the uninitiated have no idea that arrangements had been made for the boxes and other objects to be placed in suitable spots. During the day a number of *kukusiut* are sent to collect wood for nine masks. When members of the society gather in the evening the songs are practised, and the making of the masks allotted. One of these is of *Sänoltsumulelts Älquntäm*, four are of Breakers in the land above,[a] four of supernatural beings who sing there for the supernatural Breakers, and one of the inevitable *Ans'likus-*

575* 796* 532 424 796 [illegible]

[a] The relation of these Breakers to the patron is not clear.

[The Breaker Dance]

* 575 *loaic*. X is one of the few *kukuciut* having the prerogative of
* 796 using supernatural singers. The evening's ceremony concludes
[424] in the usual fashion.

Until the departure of his call, X is liable to fits of frenzy so that on both *qutlem* and *nakacum* he often visits every house and breaks utensils, though his guardians appear to be making every effort to restrain him. Breakers, irrespective of their
[424] exact prerogative, are enabled to act in any unusual manner they desire, and strive to excel in peculiar behaviour. A favourite trick is to smear themselves with excrement, either real or imitation. It is difficult to over-estimate the enormous
[554] prestige which such actions call forth in the eyes of the unini-
[787] tiated, to whom it appears that the coming of a call entirely
[828] alters the mentality of the recipient, a belief which the *kukuciut* make every effort to maintain. Nothing further need be said of either *qutlem* or the preliminaries of *nakacum*, both of which follow the usual pattern.

* 575 When the uninitiated are admitted to X's house on *nakacum*
* 796 evening, they are filled with wonder at the sight of the masked singers, of *Sàwàlyumàlàt Ilqumàm*, and of the four super-
781 natural Breakers who move wildly to and fro as the songs are sung, as if only the eagle down which the *kukuciut* blow upon them restrains them from destroying property. The fleet *Ànà'kàwàlàsàs* makes the most of her opportunity to describe the wonders which are before their eyes. Then the uninitiated are told that it will be safer for them to withdraw, and hurry out. Presently they are startled to hear the sound of people moving, and the four supernatural Breakers, followed by all the *kukuciut*, leave the house and proceed to the lowest one in the village. Around the fire go the masked four, picking up stones and hurling them at any destructible property. Most
[252] houses contain a number of stones which have been used in
[578] boiling liquids, so that there is no lack of missiles. *Kukuciut*
[635] who are wise take care to hide or remove valuable property before this inroad begins, since the wearers of the masks take advantage of the opportunity to destroy the goods of those

[The Breaker Dance]

575 strate their own superiority; they had paid those who had wit-
796 nessed their prerogative, whereas the Bella Bella Breaker had
648 merely cast a stone without solemnity. Speeches were made,
688 and it was decided that henceforth instead of waging true war
[921] in case of an error in ritual, it would be sufficient if the Breakers exacted punishment by destroying property. That is the explanation offered by this man as to why foreign war-parties have not more frequently upheld the law by raiding. As before stated, the writer is uncertain whether such beliefs are generally held by the Bella Coola and of course the historical accuracy of the information is still more doubtful.

THE *Kwistow* DANCES

575 More awe-inspiring, though less terrifying, than the Can-
796 nibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances, are the *kwistow* dances.
424 In these the dancer undergoes mutilation and death, but his
[975] supernatural power enables him to return to life—at least so it appears to the credulous non-members. The five dances known as *kwistow* are:

The Stomach-Cutting Dance;
The Beheading Dance;
The Drowning Dance;
The Burning Dance; and
The Swallowing of Hot Stones Dance.

Each of these comprises a distinct ceremonial of great complexity, but only one prerogative is required. That is, a man who has the *kwistow* right may allow his stomach to be cut one year, and when he next performs will choose to display his ability to swallow hot stones. In this respect, it differs from all other *kwistow* ceremonies. Although a *kwistow* dancer is entitled to exercise his privilege as often as he wishes, provided his marshals consent, the rite is so difficult that it is rarely carried out.

[975] As far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola of today have no

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elaborate myths dealing with the origin of the *kusiotem* dances. They believe that they are performed by the supernatural beings in the land above, and that long, long ago *Alquntám* and his associates held a meeting at which it was decided to send them down to mortals. They chose as recipient a certain *Oniswalrus* of Kimsquit, and the prerogative of giving *kusiotem* dances has since been possessed by the owner of that name.* The following accounts are of the dances performed by a certain *Oniswalrus* whom it will be convenient to call X. He has six repositories, one for each section of his dance.

As with all other *kusiut* prerogatives, the impetus to dance can come only on receipt of a call from a supernatural patron, the being *Kulsłkáémidjut* in the case of all *kusiotem* dancers. The uninitiated are told that a call "falls" on the recipient, and moreover that for *kusiotem* dances it can take place only when the supernatural beings are rushing out of the house above on the entry of the sun at the winter solstice. Thus *kusiotem* dances should take place after the winter solstice, although this requirement has not been enforced in recent years.

The Stomach-Cutting Dance

In the early summer X decides to exercise his prerogative the following winter. He informs one of the marshals of his wish, and the latter summons his associates to the secret meeting-place where the matter is debated at length. Danger of exposure of details to the uninitiated is so great that the marshals refuse permission for the performance unless the would-be dancer is a man of proved reliability. Once this consent has been obtained, X quietly proceeds with his preparations, laying in supplies of food and asking his *kusiut* friends for their assistance. When the dances begin, X attends as do all other *kukusiut*, though his secret mental excitement increases as the time draws near for him to perform. The exact time of starting is discussed with the marshals, and a prelimi-

*There are other *kusiotem* dancers in Bella Coola.

*575 number of puppets is always made. Certain *kukusiut*, known
*796 as *awayas*, have in connection with their dance prerogative, the
532 ability to summon and display supernatural objects in the
[424] form of small puppets. These are sometimes patrons, more often
[787] not, and include not only beings having human form, but snakes, hummingbirds, and other creatures. By calling his being, an *awayas* receives strength which can be transmitted to someone else—so the uninitiated believe—by passing it into the recipient's body. Non-members are told that X suffers
[775] death from which he is resurrected by his own powers, rein-
[787] forced by those passed into him by other members of the society through the transference of their puppets. The most potent "patron-puppet" is the giant toad. It is difficult for a
[781] white man to understand how intelligent people, as are many of the uninitiated, can be deluded into believing that the somewhat rudely carved wooden figures which they see moving before them are supernatural beings. Emphasis must again be laid on the awe, mystery, and power of the ceremonies in the eyes of those who do not understand them, and the very great skill shown by the carpenters in making use of hidden strings, trap-doors, and other devices to increase the dramatic effect. Puppets are guarded very carefully by their owners and are usually hidden in some cleft of the mountains. A well-constructed one is used when necessary for many years.

*575 Other preparations must be made for the stomach-cutting.
*796 As in all other *kusiut* dances, deception is practised and X is not really disembowelled. Instead, a wooden, or copper, frame is made to shield his stomach; over this is arranged the skin of a deer or a dog, cut to cover him from chest to thighs, with even the navel imitated. This camouflage is held in place by his breech-cloth and by a strap passing around his chest. He wears a blanket which conceals most of the fastenings so that the artifice is not noticeable in the dim light of the house. The chief difficulty is to find a dog with skin the same colour as X's.
[281] Many animals are killed, and the fur removed by immersion in boiling water, but sometimes half the dogs of a village must

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to discuss the event and lay plans for the future, but as it is now daylight they too soon retire to sleep. 575* 796*

The *kusiotem* ceremony resembles a double *kusiut* rite since it comprises two sets of four days and nights. The one on which X's stomach was cut is considered to be *lsuxtämem*. Accordingly, the heralds call the *kukusiut* to X's house early on the afternoon following and the regular ritual of *nusiutälsap* takes place. Some of the younger men are at once sent to the forest for wood to be made into more masks but, with the love of drama typical of the *kukusiut*, it is assumed that X himself is too feeble to accompany them. Accordingly his power is transferred to a substitute by means of the frenzied beating of sticks and repeated cries of *koip*. On the return of the wood collectors, who carry their burdens as usual on tump-lines and set them down carefully, this power is restored to X in the same manner. The work of making the masks is now allotted. For *kusiotem*, and several other *kusiut* rites hereafter to be described, the dancer is entitled to show as many of the beings in the Bella Coola pantheon as he desires. Consequently if X is wealthy and wishes to have a spectacular *nebusam*, he orders many masks. Then the *kukusiut* practise a number of songs composed by the singers. One, or sometimes two, prepared for X is couched as if he himself were telling what he had seen in the upper regions. They describe *Ałquntäm*, his messenger *Oqolikts Ałquntäm*, and, especially *Kutslkäkmidjut*, the supernatural being whose stomach is periodically cut in the land above. It is he who has entered X and impelled him to suffer the same mutilation from the effects of which *Snitsmän·a* has restored him. X himself usually remains concealed behind the matting in the rear part of the house, but sometimes, if he wishes to practise what he will perform the next night, he comes forward for a rehearsal. He still pretends to be very ill, and instead of dancing in the usual violent manner, totters around the fire, supported by several assistants, while he feebly shakes his hands. The vomen drone, and the uninitiated in the other houses realize that more exciting events are impending.

[482] [424] [556] [776] [787]

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

and must never gossip or mingle casually with the outsiders. 575* In addition to a band of dyed cedar-bark on his head he wears 796* one around his stomach.

A number of years ago, when the influence of the white man 575* had become strong enough to undermine the old ritual, a Bella 796* Coola *kusiotem* dancer, instead of remaining in seclusion after 688 the dance, ran away to Kimsquit where lived a young woman 177 with whom he was in love. In the old days this would have led to punishment by a third tribe. When the offender wished to return to Bella Coola he was afraid of the wrath of the marshals, but plucked up courage to come back after several months. The marshals seized him and scratched his stomach with a metal nail so that the uninitiated, seeing the wound, might be led to believe that the man had been severely cut. Periodically the scabs were pulled off to re-enflame the injury and make it appear that a deep gash was slowly healing. The offender, of course, could not protest, since he was a *kusiut* who had broken the law and was fortunate in escaping so lightly.

The Beheading Dance

Another of the dramatic dances which can be performed by 575* a *kusiotem* is that of having his head pulled off. Like the 796* Stomach-Cutting dance, it is the prerogative of a Kimsquit man named *Onixwaltcua*. He carried out the rite a few years [424] after he had performed the one just described. The main points of ritual being identical for all *kusiotem* dances, minor points already recorded can be omitted. As before, it will be convenient to term *Onixwaltcua* X, and to describe the dance in the present tense.

Early in the summer X informs one of the marshals of his desire to have his head pulled off the following winter. The one consulted discusses the matter with his fellows; in this case no objections were raised as *Onixwaltcua* had already performed a *kusiotem* dance and it was felt that he was reliable. As soon as permission is granted, the would-be dancer asks the [532] best carpenters to meet him in a lonely place in the forest and

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procession of supernatural beings according to X's choice. 575* The proceedings terminate in the same way as those described 796* in the Stomach-Cutting dance.

X must obey the customary restrictions on his movements for the rest of the ceremonial season, and also remain in partial concealment for the summer following. The fiction circulated is that he is still suffering from the after-effects of decapitation. He is legally entitled to perform any other *kusiotem* rite during the following winter, but it is most unusual for a man to do so [424] on successive seasons.

The Drowning Dance

In a third *kusiotem* dance the performer appears to drown. X carried out this ceremonial during the third winter after his decapitation, but as usual it will be convenient to describe the ritual in the present tense.

During the summer, as for the Beheading dance, he obtains permission from the marshals. With the latter present, he then arranges with the singers and the carpenters to compose songs of the usual *kusiotem* type and to prepare a mask. Since X had preserved the mask used at the time of his decapitation, it was not necessary to have one made. The intending dancer borrows from a *kusiut* friend one of the large boxes used for [415] boiling olachen and this is taken in secret to some lonely spot [252] in the forest. The carpenters cut a hole in the bottom and smear the edges with grease and dirt to conceal the aperture; skin hinges are fastened to one side of the movable section so that it can be opened easily and quietly. They also make a wooden framework the size and shape of X's body, to which the portrait-mask is attached to give a realistic representation of the man himself.

Nothing more can be done until near the winter solstice when the carpenters cut a hole in the floor of X's house, immediately behind the fire, and fasten the section removed with skin hinges to make a trap-door. Then the carpenters, marshals, singers, and other influential *kukusiut* meet some evening

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beating of sticks. The plating over his stomach is not apparent in the dim light, especially as much of it is hidden by his collar of dyed cedar-bark and a broad dance-apron. Sometimes the disguise is improved by fastening the skin of a dog, mountain goat, or deer, over the outer surface. X takes up his position, standing, behind the fire. One of the heralds inserts tongs into the flames and draws forth a stone, taking care that the uninitiated can see that it is red hot. X pretends to swallow this, though actually it drops inside his collar to the receptacle between the plates of copper. The clashing can often be heard as it strikes against the metal, and smoke pours forth from the "navel." X groans and jabbers, *i*·····, while he shakes his fingers violently. After about five minutes the stone is seen to fall to the floor. Sometimes a number of pebbles are used, though one is often considered sufficient. When the last has fallen, non-members are expelled and the *kukusiut* eat and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. 575* 796*

As with other *kusiotem* rites, the ritual of this dance is continued for four more days. Masks are prepared and on the fourth evening the uninitiated are summoned. A masked figure, wearing a copper stomach, appears and swallows a stone which later falls out through the navel. This is done four times, while *Ano'likwolsaix* explains that the guest from above is repeating his actions at home. Following this performance, a procession of supernatural beings appears, in the manner already described.

Although X is not killed by this dance, as are other *kusiotem* dancers, he is required to undergo the same restrictions.

THE FUNGUS DANCE

Another of the more important *kusiut* ceremonials is the Fungus dance, now the prerogative of a woman, *Snunkka'ks*. The name was formerly held by her brother, who had inherited it from his mother's brother. The first *Snunkka'ks* came to earth in the beginning of time at *Stuux* and made his repository [424] [778]

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who comes nearest to drawing forth the fungus and the spectators comment: 575* 796*

"She must be a good girl for the supernatural beings to show their approval."

At intervals X lifts up the fungus, and his strength is shown especially when the cord has been pulled so far down that he can grip only the very end with one finger. The four *kukusiut* hidden below sometimes become weary of their work and tie a billet crosswise to the rope so that no one can lift it, but of course this must be removed when X demonstrates his prowess again. Towards dawn the concealed helpers cut the rope and X lifts the fungus, holding it in front of his body while the *kukusiut* women drone. With four assistants pressing closely around him, X turns and makes the motion of throwing the fungus up into the air with a cry of *hoip*. It vanishes, and the uninitiated do not realize that it has been palmed to one of the accomplices for concealment beneath his blanket. Then one of the marshals explains to non-members that in the land above the supernatural beings once endeavoured to lift up a fungus, but that X alone, referring to that part of him which visits the dances in the land above, could do so. Accordingly it was sent down for mortals to try, and now that they too have failed it has been sent back. He enlarges on the fact that X, through lying quiet for four days communing with the supernatural beings, has really become one, as is indeed the case with all *kukusiut* who ascend to the land above or experience other peculiar incidents in the course of their performances. This concludes the ceremony; the uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* soon follow. [787]

Instead of a *nebusam* of the type just described, X has the prerogative of performing in an entirely different manner of which only the outlines could be obtained. The fungus is tied to a long rope and thrown into the rapids. One end of the cord is held by a *kusiut* on the bank with the result that the fungus whirls to and fro erratically. The *kukusiut* assemble on the bank and hurl harpoons at it while non-members watch 575* 796* 424

[The Fungus Dance]

*575 *796 from a distance. When one of the participants has speared the object, it is drawn to shore and carried into the house. [424] The uninitiated are then called in and enter, often covering their heads with blankets to prevent their spirits being drawn from them. None of the Bella Coola appears to know what governed, in the old days, the choice between these two performances.

*575 *796 178 The Fungus dance differs considerably from typical *kusiut* rituals already described. In part this is certainly due to decay of custom. When the writer witnessed the dance in the winter of 1923-4 it was carried out very crudely by *Snnukka'ks*, who, unwilling to admit this, was secretive about the proper ritual. Consequently, the performance of the dance was more of a hindrance than a help to the investigator. But even when full weight is given to this circumstance, it is clear that the Fungus dance is peculiar, particularly in the omission of masked figures on *nebusam*.

*575 *796 821 The ritual on that occasion was further complicated by the fact that *Snnukka'ks* has also the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of either the sun or the moon, and insisted on this fact being brought out in connection with her songs. Four of [424] these were composed instead of the usual two, and the supernatural beings described in them were:

[533] *Älquntäm:* under the name of *Snxälotla*.

[776] The Moon.

Smaien·a: This was introduced on account of being the [532] place from which the Salmon-Bringer leaps to the sun. A mask representing this place of petrified power is always painted with salmon designs and the blanket of the wearer is decorated in the same way.

The *Snnq* mouths that act as posts at the ends of the sun's course.

Stlfim: A supernatural being dwelling under the river who is able to use a fungus in a dance held there. Detailed information about this creature could not be obtained.

[533] At any eclipse, no matter what the season of the year or

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time of day, X must sing. The heralds call everyone to his house where the singers at once compose a new song, describing sun or moon as the case may be. They then sing it while X dances. Other *kukusiut* have the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of the sun, and still others at an eclipse of the moon, but X claims to be the only one entitled to dance at both. 575* 796* 821 [533] [424]

THE MYSTERY DANCE

Mystery is the key-note of all *kusiut* dances, but in the one termed *Ałmutsämk* that element is brought home so forcibly to the uninitiated that it may aptly be called the Dance of Mystery. The Bella Coola explain that the word *Ałmutsämk* means *staḑam*, "What Is Hidden." The essence of the rite, as explained to non-members, is that the supernatural power which has come to the dancer is embodied in three supernatural beings or in manifestations of them. Unless someone guesses its locations, the performer will die. The Mystery dance is one of the most lengthy Bella Coola rituals and necessitates such a lavish expenditure of food that only a rich man can undertake it. 575* 796* [556]

Accounts were obtained of the ritual as carried out by *Qoxołän·i* of *Tcɯotł* and *Saiχnäs* of Kimsquit, both of whom have the necessary prerogative. The details differ so slightly in the two localities that only one description need be given, and the dancer can be spoken of as X. The patron of most Mystery dancers is *Sänołłχɯułełts Ałquntäm*, but that of *Saiχnäs* is *Kokosłxɯm*, a supernatural being remarkable for his wild and erratic behaviour. [424] [776]

When X has stored up as much food as he thinks necessary, he calls the marshals together to tell them of his desire to dance. In case of consent, they admonish him not to hurry matters but to perform the rite slowly and properly. Preliminary arrangements include the choosing of four *kukusiut* gifted with good memories to store up in their minds the guesses made by the uninitiated. If many *kukusiut* are anxious to dance, X usually asks permission on the night of a

[The Mystery Dance]

*575 *qotlum*, and it is agreed that the call shall come to him on the
*796 following evening.

X's first task is to prepare, or to have made for him, a stick which he will use throughout the ceremony. It is of yellow [184] cedar, about five feet in length; in Kimsquit it is decorated with four bands of swan feathers, in Bella Coola with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark.

[787] The following evening the call comes to X. He utters a low whistle, resembling a hoot, goes towards the fire and slowly revolves on himself. The *kukusiut* women present begin to drone and the uninitiated are expelled. Constantly turning on himself, X slowly moves sunwise around the flames, repeating his hoot three times, once at each side of the fire. He stands behind it and calls out loudly:

"Please say exactly what you want; whatever it is, I will do it."

After the customary frenzied beating, he withdraws to the back-room. Heralds go to all the houses, reporting what has taken place and summoning the *kukusiut*. When all have gathered, X appears and asks for the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a dance-apron. These are provided, put on him and his face is blackened. Under the guidance of a marshal or singer, the *kukusiut* men beat furiously on the floor, without time or rhythm, until the leader motions them to conclude with four thunderous beats. In the stillness that follows X begins to chatter loudly, without using exact words, and everyone realizes that this is an invitation to guess who are the three supernatural beings in whom his power is localized. Some- [424] times the meaning is made still more evident by his carrying the stick previously mentioned, which is the prerogative of Mystery dancers alone. The guests enter into the spirit of the dance and call out their guesses, naming little known supernatural beings, parts of beings, or manifestations of the supernatural; sometimes three or four answer at the same time. The four remembrancers have placed themselves near X and it is their duty to recollect the replies. When *kukusiut* alone

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[The Mystery Dance]

that the whistle of *Snitsmän·a* is heard. The uninitiated, hearing the sound from the other houses, realize that the kindly being is approaching and are not surprised when a herald presently comes around to announce that X has recovered. In Kimsquit, X's frenzy slowly leaves him, and from this point onwards there are no differences in ritual between the two localities. The singers beat out a new song, prepared in readiness, of which the theme is *Snitsmän·a*, "The Restorer." X dances to it, and afterwards to any four of the numerous songs previously composed for him. Then he sits down, the first time he has done so, in public at any rate, since the beginning of the rite. Food is next distributed, the marshals make their usual remarks and the *kukusiut* finally go to bed. From this point on, the ceremony follows the regular *kusiut* pattern; this occasion, when the riddles are solved, corresponds to *lsuxtämem*. The successful guesser is dealt with as an initiate in the manner already described. Some of the uninitiated sitting near the youth often realize that he has been prompted by his father, but they regard this as a mere sign of solicitude, assuming that the parent's supernatural power enabled him to solve the problem. It seems clear to them that he could not have known the answer for any length of time because, like others, he had many times guessed and failed.

575* 796* [184] [533]

The next day is *nusiutälsap*. In the morning all the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to learn another new song; this corresponds to the second of a dance which lacks the long preliminaries of this one. A number of *kukusiut* accompany X to the forest to get the necessary wood for the masks. Mystery dancers have the right to exhibit any, and as many, supernatural beings as they please, hence a large amount of wood must be brought back. In the evening comes the allotment of work. X may do it himself, but usually he asks his father, or some other elderly relative to act on his behalf. Since all his relatives contribute, the actual distribution of labour is not a task in which X alone is concerned. *Ano°liktwolsaix* must be portrayed, and the three best carpenters are entrusted with

575* 796* 532 [424]

[The Dance of Winwina]

foes. Each of the crew captured a different kind of salmon which, in the myth, are referred to by their supernatural names. 773

The Bald Eagle captured the spring salmon, *Oltoldimut*, "The One that Changes Itself," a reference to the two forms in which this fish appears before and after spawning. 824 825

The Hawk captured the sockeye salmon, *Nunutäkentinim*, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers." 539

The Raven captured the hump-back salmon, *Änukpimaix*, "The One that Fills the Rivers."

The Water Ouzel captured the dog salmon, *Sqaieliwa*, "The Maker of Good Weather," a reference to the calm weather in August when this fish spawns.

The Great Blue Heron captured the cohoe salmon, *Kpapstustusailaix*, "The One that Makes Us Fat."

The Cormorant captured a variety of dog salmon, *Osipax*, for the Bella Bella.

The Hermaphrodite was also successful and filled the enormous basket which he had brought for the purpose with a large number of berry captives.

As soon as the raiders had achieved their purpose they returned to Bella Coola and released their booty; since that time there has been an abundance of salmon in the river and of berries on the hills. The Cormorant left the canoe at Bella Bella and released the dog salmon there; that is why this variety of fish has since been plentiful at Bella Bella.

Several Bella Coola *kukusiut* have a dance prerogative of which the above is origin myth. The details vary slightly, and some informants stated frankly that they had forgotten the names of the bird crew. The reasons given for the use of *Winwina* as patron likewise vary. According to one account, in the beginning of time *Älquntäm* placed the name *Nunuskimai* in a repository near the summit of the lofty Mount *Qo*, near *Stuix*. He had two reasons for so doing: he did not wish it to be defiled by passersby brushing dust into it with their feet, and he wished the owner of the name to be the first to see the return of *Winwina*. The repository is a small pond, which can move from place to place, but, being itself supernatural, is visible only to those who have purified themselves. Since that time whoever has had the name *Nunuskimai* has had the *kusiut* prerogative of seeing *Winwina*. 424 773 778 [776]

[The Dance of Winwina]

424 Another *kusiut* derived the prerogative of having *Winwina*
773 as patron from a myth previously cited (II, p. 43). After
776 Raven had seen *Noäkxnum* and obtained him for *Ällilumnälosaix*, he flew down the fiord once more, observed *Winwina*, and made him patron for *Omqomkilka*.

*575 The ritual of the dance of *Winwina* does not vary, irre-
*796 spective of its origin; accordingly one account will suffice and the performer can be referred to as X.

[778] This dance occurs also at Kimsquit where the repository
[424] is actually in the ocean a few yards from shore.

Winwina is supposed to return to Bella Coola when the
[184] January moon is full;[87] accordingly X consults the marshals and makes his preparations slightly before that date. Four days before the full moon, the uninitiated are excluded from the house and a raised enclosure is built between the fire and the back-room. This rite differs from most *kusiut* dances in that the call does not come at this time. Irrespective of whether or not the *kukusiut* happen to be present on the evening of this day, X mounts to the enclosure and sits there, looking westward for the return of *Winwina*. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. X
[292] wears a collar of dyed cedar-bark and a head-dress of eagle tail feathers, but his face is not blackened.

For three nights and three days X remains in the enclosure, gazing to the west, and meanwhile no uninitiated dare even to pass outside of his house. As the fourth night is falling, messengers summon the *kukusiut* who enter and sit in silence as if waiting for something; the heralds inform non-members that X's vigil will soon be over. After an interval they are likewise called in, and eagerly take their places near the door, where they receive a share of the food being served. Suddenly X jumps down from the enclosure and cries out loudly:

"The supernatural young man has left his child with strangers while he has been on a journey. Now he is returning,

[805] [87]Owing to faulty calendrical observations the exact date is seldom found.

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[The Dance of Winwina]

on the floor with a stick and the women sing with him. Food is then given to all and the people disperse. 575* 796*

It will be noted how greatly this dance differs from the usual *kusiut* pattern, especially in the omission of a *nebusam* when masks are used. Instead of the ritual just described, X has the option of using another, similar to the customary *kusiut* type. The following ritual has not been carried out for many years so it is probable that many details have been overlooked. No information was obtainable about the motives governing X's choice of dance. [424]

As in all *kusiut* dances, the first essential is to select a suitable time, a matter of arrangement with the marshals. The night chosen for the coming of the call is often the *nebusam* of some other *kusiut*, and the uninitiated are at once expelled. The *kukusiut* gather in X's house, where the singers beat out the song composed for the occasion, describing *Winwina* and his crew, especially the four *Kämälälkl* who were not only too lazy to capture any booty, but wanted to sleep all the time and could be roused only by being drenched with cold water. The audience listens attentively and then practises the song; X often dances but it is not important since no uninitiated are present. There are no unusual features in the ritual of this night of *lsuxtämem*.

The next day is *nusiutälsap* when the wood is brought in for masks, the making of which is allotted in the evening. Five only are required; one of *Änoºlikwolsaix* and four of *Kämälälkl*. The ritual is of the ordinary type both on this night and on *qotlm*. [532]

When the uninitiated are called in on the evening of *nebusam* they see X standing behind the fire, as if to guard the two masked figures standing on either side of him. Fluent speakers are selected to wear these masks of *Kämälälkl* and they enliven the proceedings by their arguments.

"I captured the sockeye salmon," says one.

"You liar!" replies another. "You were asleep. It was I who seized the sockeye salmon."

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* 575 *kukusiut* send back X's call in the usual manner. Then, two
* 796 by two, the masks are cast on to the fire and the ceremonial is over.

THE DANCE OF THE TALLY POSTS

[773] As previously described, a tally post is erected in the land
[777] above for every Bella Coola at birth. As long as this memorial
[753] is upright and firm, the individual to whom it refers enjoys health and prosperity, but if it becomes crooked he falls ill.
[424] The uninitiated believe that several *kukusiut* have the prerogative of climbing to the land above during the ceremonial season and straightening leaning tally posts. This is such a
[178] useful ability that it must have exercised great influence on the uninitiated in early days, but the rite has not been properly
[164] carried out since the smallpox epidemic in the last century. The following account was obtained from two old men
[115] who remembered the manner in which a certain *Onikotl* of *Tcmotl* performed a year or two before "The Great Sickness." Neither of the informants was a *kusiut* at the time, but they were able to supplement their recollections of the dance with what they afterwards learnt when initiated, so the following account is probably accurate in outline though deficient in detail. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X, and describe the ceremony in the present tense. It was also performed at Kimsquit many years ago.

The rite resembles *kusiotem* dances in many respects. X must obtain the consent of the marshals during the preceding summer, and their permission is refused unless the prospective dancer is a man of proved discretion. If they agree, X asks a
[283] number of *kukusiut* women to help him by making a very long and strong rope of nettle fibre. At intervals the work-women gather for the purpose in the back-room of X's house, taking
[688] care that no uninitiated see what they are doing. Every effort is made to ensure that there is no flaw in the rope as a break would be a serious matter, punishable by death.

Near the winter solstice the marshals choose a suitable time

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

second of the whole performance. The ritual is of the regular type with the composition and practising of a song. 575* 796*

During the evening of the next day, *nusiutälsap*, the usual carpentry tasks are allotted. Only three masks are required, one of *Ano°likwolsaix* and two of supernatural beings termed *Mtletsta*, as if they had the power to lengthen or curtail the lives of human beings. The ritual on *qothm* warrants no special description. Late in the afternoon of *nähusam* the *kukusiut* assemble in X's home and the uninitiated are presently startled to see them all rush forth with three masked figures in their midst. Assuming, of course, that these are supernatural visitors, the frightened non-members retreat to their houses where they peer forth at the figures as they parade up and down the shore beside the river. They can easily recognize *Ano°likwolsaix*, but not her two companions whose faces are painted black and white, and who have projecting, snout-like mouths. After this promenade and a certain amount of dancing, the party retires to X's house whither the uninitiated are presently summoned. The two *Mtletsta* dance around the fire while *Ano°likwolsaix* explains their power over the lives of mortals. The *kukusiut* soon ask the uninitiated to withdraw and the ceremony ends in the customary manner. [532] [532]

X must perform this full ritual at least once after obtaining his *kusiut* name with respect to it, but on later occasions he can, if he so desires, limit himself to the second part of the ceremony with the appearance on earth of the *Mtletsta*. [424]

THE DANCE OF THUNDER

According to Bella Coola belief, the supernatural ones in the upper land resemble human beings in performing *kusiut* dances. Like mortals, some of those above are more powerful and more feared than others, but the senior *kusiut* among them is Thunder. Corresponding to the prowess of his patron, the dance of his human protégé is one of the most important *kusiut* rituals. The essential feature of it is that Thunder calls all supernatural beings to witness his dance, and in consequence 575* 796* 424 776

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his follower on earth can do the same. The ritual of *nebusam* of a Thunder dancer is accordingly identical with that of a Mystery dancer. In the field an effort was made to obtain accounts of what had actually occurred at dances rather than of what should have happened; at the dance of Mystery, previously described, several of the usual features were omitted, and these were accordingly left out of the account. They will now be mentioned in connection with the dance of Thunder, but the fact must be emphasized that they belong equally to all *kusiut* rites in which the dancer has the prerogative of showing all supernatural beings, including Thunder.

In Kimsquit the name of the *kusiut* having the prerogative of singing of Thunder signifies, "The Roarer," with reference to his patron. The native term could not be learnt. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X.

The Thunder dance is of the normal *kusiut* type in every respect, so no account need be given of the ceremonial of the first three days. Many masks are ordered on the night of *nusiutälsap* and these are ready early on *nebusam*. During that day the expectant uninitiated are excited to see the masked figure of *Ano°likwolsaix* emerge from X's house, accompanied by a throng of *kukusiut* who chase all but members of the society back to their homes. Following them comes Thunder's herald, *Älxwolätnim*, calling on all to prepare to come to the dance of Thunder, the leading *kusiut* of the supernatural beings. This messenger circles *Songʷ* to summon the supernatural ones to Thunder's dance, the reason that all can be shown at X's ceremonial. Immediately behind *Älxwolätnim* comes *Ťloqots*, the Defamer, protesting that Thunder's dance is not worth attending since he, and he alone, is the senior *kusiut* of the supernatural ones. *Ano°likwolsaix* adds her usual comments to the remarks of the two masked figures. This series of invitations and counter-invitations is repeated four times during the day, to the wonder of the uninitiated who peer out through chinks in the houses and around corners of the buildings. Sometimes *Älxwolätnim* and *Ťloqots* pass from

[The Dance of Thunder]

575 796 776 [123] [981] with short, mincing steps. At intervals he pulls forth his stinger and rushes at one of the spectators, poking the weapon at him and humming fiercely. The writer took the part of a supernatural mosquito at one of the dances held in the winter of 1923-3 and remembers the expression of fear on the face of a younger member of the audience when about to be "stung." The victim was certainly afraid on that occasion, and if that feeling could survive the break-down of belief, it is not to be wondered at that fear was universal in the days when the *kukusiut* were thought to be possessors of supernatural powers.

[illegible] Rainwater-Dripping-from-the-Roof. The masked figure walks slowly around the fire and *Ano°likwolsaix* explains that this is the water which drops from a hole in the planking. The Clowns [522] are never omitted, and always cause amusement amid the gravity of the rite. One after another, the supernatural beings appear from the enclosure, circle the fire, and withdraw, accompanied by the sage remarks of *Ano°likwolsaix*. Finally there is a long pause, broken when a masked figure slowly toddles forth. It is Snail, who started at the same time as the other supernatural beings but arrived too late to be present at the dance of Thunder. Snail circles the fire and disappears. At this point the uninitiated are expelled and the rite concludes as usual.

575 796 [424] [821] Dancers whose patrons are Thunder, Earthquake, Sun, or Moon do not confine their dances to the ceremonial season, but perform whenever a manifestation of their patron occurs. If Thunder is heard, no matter what the time of day or season of year, X stands up and cries out:

"It [he does not refer to Thunder by name] is dancing too lustily up aloft. *Xwo* · · · ."

[789] The call of *xwo* · · · is thought to have a quieting effect on Thunder. Any *kukusiut* women present at once drone, then, accompanied by a number of his associates, X proceeds to the lowest house of the village where the same ritual is repeated. This is done in every dwelling, after which X returns home and

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the goats were plentiful, fat, and unsuspicious, so that before nightfall they had killed four. Well satisfied, they lay down in a cave to sleep for the night. At that time no one knew what supernatural being caused thunder; the earliest inhabitants of the world had possessed that knowledge but it had been forgotten in the intervening generations. Towards midnight the hunters were awakened by a loud boom and wondered what could have caused it. Presently they saw approaching a figure resembling a man, with a weird non-human face, who carried in each hand a huge rock crystal.* He raised and lowered his arms as if pounding; at each movement the crystals struck each other, producing the booming sound and also emitting a flash of light. The eldest brother, *Saiks*, told the others to cover their faces with their blankets and to keep their eyes closed, because some evil and powerful creature was drawing near. But the second brother, who had caught a glimpse of the two crystals and greatly desired them, watched cautiously, hoping for an opportunity to steal them. Thunder, for it was none other, ranged around; at intervals he passed across to the other side of the intervening valley on a sidewalk which grew before his feet to form a bridge for him, and on it, too, he was able to retrace his steps. Several times Thunder crossed and recrossed, accompanied by reverberating peals. He came near the four brothers and danced; then lay down while fire emerged from his nostrils. The second brother began to feel scorched, gradually the heat increased, but he was powerless to move; before dawn, when Thunder vanished, he had been roasted to death.

The three survivors buried the dead man in a hastily made grave in the floor of the cave and went home, abandoning the mountain goats which they had killed. *Saiks*, though grieved at the loss of his brother, felt that the latter's death was his own fault for peeking when he had been warned not to do so. Not long afterwards the two younger brothers died. Then the sole survivor told a carpenter to make him a mask secretly, according to a design which he would describe. In this way the face of Thunder was portrayed in wood. When the mask was ready, *Saiks* wore it and gave an imitation of the actions of his patron; no one had ever seen anything like it and the people were amazed.

* 575 *796 539 424 777

No great antiquity is ascribed to this myth and it gives no explanation of questions which at once arise in the investigator's mind. The type is fairly common in Bella Coola; in fact, the only unusual part of it is that the visionary received a *kusiut* prerogative rather than one of the forms of gold for-

*This is said to have been equivalent to the fire-castle of a Thunder dancer.

were previously described. To the Bella Coola philosopher, apparently no explanation is needed of the manner in which *Sasky* was allowed to use his experience as the basis of a *hamat* dance. The assumption is that he was a *hamat* at the time of his experience, although this is not clearly stated. The last to use the name died about 1900, each *Sasky* having had the prerogative of giving the Thunder dance.

575* 796* 534 424 [777] [551]

THE GHOST DANCE*

Among the numerous patrons of *hamat* dancers are Ghosts. The term, *kikankun*, applied to a shaman whose power is derived from a ghost, is also applied to *hamat* with one as patron, but the two functionaries must not be confused. It is a fairly common prerogative and there are Ghost dancers in every village, their right depending in every case on some experience of an encounter with a ghost. The following is an account of the manner in which *Sapsa of Tsimsil* performed his ritual; it may be regarded as typical of all, and the dancer can be referred to as X.

575* 796* [775] [756] [424]

At any time during the ceremonial season X consults with the marshals to decide upon a suitable time for his performance. On the evening preceding, normally the *potlatch* of some other *hamat*, the marshals state that his call is imminent; X makes his final arrangements and asks the assistance of a number of his fellows.

When the *sahsaw* runs of the following evening have been completed and the uninitiated have returned to their own houses, they are startled to hear whistling from the forest near at hand. It is not the instrumentally produced sound that accompanies the coming of a call, but soulless whistling with the mouth; everyone knows that this is the language of ghosts. A visitation from them is by no means unknown, and always dreaded, so at once there is excitement and everyone covers in the bedrooms. Presently heralds go through the village

575* 796* 787 [795]

*This relationship is implied with the dance of the same name among Indians of other culture areas.

[791]

[The Ghost Dance]

leave their bedrooms, but pass curiously and fearfully around the edge of the boards. Finally the party returns to X's house, whence the uninitiated hear the sound of sticks being beaten in a frenzied manner, but without the usual rhythmic cadence. Each *tsaxiu* beats as he likes, because it is an affair of the dead with whom all things are queer and unnatural.

The ghosts wash and take their places in X's house where the singers are working on a new song. The words, as if spoken by the dancer, describe the land of the dead; how everything is green there; how the river flows from west to east so that the sun travels upstream; how the shades wished to make him a chief, and deceived him by not giving proper presents; how he visited the various towns scattered along the river, finding the bone in one of the houses; and finally how the dead told him of any mistakes in ritual that had been committed in the Bella Coola villages, in Kimsquit, or in Tsi'ts. This last is, of course, common knowledge, but the Ghost dance is the only *tsaxiu* ceremonial in which such information is used in the text of a song. Details are given, but the wording is so ambiguous that when the uninitiated hear the song they do not comprehend its meaning. Since the *tsaxiu* have concealed the error referred to, the necessity for veiled allusions is apparent. Everything connected with the Ghost dance is carried out in the reverse order; thus, the reference of X to presents which he did not receive is merely an intimation that he will presently bestow gifts on the singers and the other *tsaxiu* who have assisted him. The wordless chorus of the song consists of 'aya'ownsis, a phrase said to be the same for Ghost dances among all the coastal tribes. The singers practise this song while the audience leaves unanimously; then it is sung vigorously by all, while X dances. His style differs from that of all other *tsaxiu*; first one arm and then the other is kept extended, downwards, at an angle in front of the body with the forefinger pointing to the ground. This method of dancing is the prerogative of all Ghost dances and provides a variation to the somewhat monotonous performances on different *gulcas*.

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[The Ghost Dance]

*575 *796 [797] X's, where he is soothed by the four times repeated frenzied beating of sticks and his call returned whence it came.

During the rest of the ceremonial season X becomes mad at intervals and displays his insanity by rushing to every house and throwing dirt and sand. His *kakaiat* escort is always with him, and the procedure is identical with that already recorded. X makes no recompense for the damage inflicted, so it is probable that his fellows do not regard his dance as an unmitigated pleasure, but nothing can be done to deter him from exercising his prerogative. [424]

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CHARMER

*575 *796 796 [522] [831] Although the Bella Coola are probably as moral as members of any other tribe, they enjoy humour of an obscene nature, and a dance which never fails to provide amusement is that of the Supernatural Charmer. The person of this is *Sainsainuik*, a beautiful, unmarried, feminine being who is also named *Mlqmin* and *Nuxkwalaxis*. She is thought to disregard the efforts of her supernatural relatives to restrain her, and comes to this earth where she bestows her favours not only on human beings, but on animals. Her prototype at Kimsquit is a young man, *Kalaiaks*, at Bella Coola, a young woman, *Kualakmo*; like all other *kaxiat* names these can be used either by men or women. It is said that *Kalaiaks*'s prerogative is derived from the experience of an ancestor in past ages, whereas that of *Kualakmo* was initiated three generations ago by a very powerful chief. The ritual in each case is identical, so the dancer can be referred to as X. Each has the prerogative of singing not only of *Sainsainuik*, but also of the being known as *Wiwaxtamuk*. Many masks are required at the rehearsals of either of these beings, so it is customary for X to perform with respect to *Sainsainuik* one year, and to *Wiwaxtamuk* at the next or a subsequent ceremonial season, though the actual songs always refer to both persons. [551] [562] [424] [538] [539]

*796 *575 When X wishes to dance he consults the mandals, obtains their consent, and then makes final arrangements on, normally,

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*575 *796 the burning of the masks, the dancing of X, and the return of his call.

During a later season when a call comes to X, the ritual deals with *Wiwaxinmal*, but only the outline of the ceremony could be learnt. The theme of the two songs composed for the occasion is of *Wiwaxinmal* and how he fights with his enemies, the cold winds. His only weapons are fierce roaring and a belligerent expression, but these suffice to keep his adversaries at a distance, especially his principal foeman, the evil wind, *Nuxalápu*.

[533]

There is no deviation from the usual type of *kwáxat* ceremonial until the day of *sukaum* when a fight takes place at the river's edge where all, including the uninitiated, can see it. The *kwáxat* of the village are divided into two parties, of which one comes from upstream, the other from below, meeting in front of X's house. The leaderless combatants shove each other two and fro, without actually coming to blows. *Wiwaxinmal* remains behind one party, encouraging his warriors by his roars, while *Nuxalápu* spurs on his supporters by valiant gestures, without daring to come too near the combat. *Wiwaxinmal*'s followers finally win the day and drive back the other party. *Ínu'kwalaxa* is much in evidence, explaining to the uninitiated, who cower in the shelter of the houses, that this is the way in which the winds fight in the land above. That evening non-members are called to X's house where they witness a combat of the same type. The ceremonial concludes in the usual manner.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL LOVER

*534 Another *kwáxat* ceremonial which closely resembles that just described is the prerogative of a young Bella Coola woman named *Qwa'nuk* who inherited it from her mother's mother's sister's son. It will be convenient to refer to her as X.

When X wishes to dance, she first obtains the consent of the mandals in the normal manner and chooses a convenient day for the coming of her call. Then the *kwáxat* gather in

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[The Dance of the Supernatural Lover]

her house while the singers ompose a new song. The theme 575 *
is of her patron, the young male being, *Kwat·iwal·a*, "The Big 796 *
One." It describes how he ame from above and went far and [533]
near over the earth in lustul pursuit of women, how each [776]
victim fell in love with her seducer so that she followed him in
all his wanderings, how Loon befriended him, and how he
exchanged his blanket for a covering of abalone-shells.

On [illegible] when the *ukusiut* as usual go to the forest, [532]
they bring back not only wood for masks but also the trunk of
a large cedar tree, at which the carpenters work during the two
succeeding days. On [illegible] a parade occurs of the super-
natural beings similar to that in the dance of the Supernatural
Charmer, but the masked figures represent women, not men,
of the different coastal tribes. *Kwat·iwal·a* leads the procession
and pays no more attention to his mistresses than did *Sximsx-*
iwal to her would-be lovers. There is the same licence for lewd [831]
remarks, of which *Kwat·iwal·a* takes full advantage when he [522]
calls the attention of the young men to his following, and asks
them how many mistresses each has had.

In the evening the uninitiated are called to X's house where
the first object they see is the tree-trunk, converted by the [532]
carpenters into an enormous bird. Wooden wings and a loon's
head have been provided and the whole is painted in imitation
of a loon's plumage. *Kwatiwal·a* is in evidence, wearing a
bird disguise. Presently a matting enclosure in one of the rear
corners of the house is thrown open, and the uninitiated see
the throng of his mistresses who rush forth, almost coming to
blows in their eagerness to each their seducer. *Ano'lkwaisair*
stands on one side and explains the significance. After the
mock combat has lasted for few minutes, a Cannibal begins to
growl and the uninitiated carry out. The ceremonial then
concludes in the usual manner.

This dance differs from all other *kusiut* rites in one respect, [424] ●
since the call can come to X several times during a single cere-
monial season. Of course there is no compulsion; she uses
her own discretion as to wether she dance more than once,

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but a proud and energetic dancer sometimes repeats a ceremony three or four times.

THE SUN DANCE[21]

One of the forms in which *Alquntäm* appears is that of the Sun, and in that case he is referred to as *Sinxälotla*. Considering the importance of this deity, it is rather surprising that the *kusiut* dance of which he is patron is not more impressive. Efforts were made to obtain full details of the ceremonial from several informants, but only a number of incidents and a bare outline could be obtained. In part this was due to the fact that none of the informants[22] were themselves protégés of *Alquntäm*, but this is not in itself sufficient to explain the comparative unimportance of the dance, since full accounts were obtained of other rituals from those who did not own them.

Nothing was learnt of the origin of any of the Sun dance prerogatives, except that ancestors of the owners obtained them from *Alquntäm*. It is a common right, and *kukusiut* having *Alquntäm* as patron are found in every village, among them being *Qaxolän-i* of *Tsmotl*, and *Nexnexliwalaix* of *Nusqalst*. As far as could be ascertained, the ritual of various Sun dance performances is identical, so one account will suffice and the dancer can be termed X.

Like other *kusiut* dancers, X can perform at any time during the ceremonial season, subject to the approval of the marshals. The call comes to him in the normal manner, the uninitiated are expelled, and the *kukusiut* gather in his house to practise the songs which the singers have just composed. The theme is of *Alquntäm*, describing his manifold functions, and particularly that of guiding the Sun. The following day a second song with similar theme is composed, and in the evening the tasks are allotted for the manufacture of masks. Four are required; a large one representing *Alquntäm* himself, one of

[21] Needless to say, no connection or similarity is implied with the dance of the same name in other areas.

[22] Except one man who had forgotten all details since his conversion to Christianity many years before.

[The Sun Dance]

Ano°likwolsaix, and two of the supernatural Clowns. In addition a white disk, about four feet in diameter, is ordered with a human face in the centre; this represents the Sun with *Alquntäm*. No detailed description is required until the night of *nebusam*. 575* 796* [532]

The *kukusiut* gather in the dusk and summon the uninitiated as soon as all is in readiness. On entering, they see the huge and imposing figure of *Alquntäm* standing in the centre of the space behind the fire, flanked by a number of the most important *kukusiut* as if to pay respect to him. X stands immediately behind, repeatedly throwing one arm over *Alquntäm*'s head and crying *hoip* to soothe the visitor. The two Clowns move to and fro, all over the house, making what remarks they like as if they were spoilt children. *Ano°likwolsaix* stands on one side, explaining the meaning of it all, and giving the names of the supernatural beings represented. Suddenly the white disk appears against the back wall near the roof, slowly passes sunwise across the house, and disappears. The uninitiated recognize that it is not the Sun, but to them it seems miraculous that this body can move as it does, and they easily accept *Ano°likwolsaix*'s explanation that this is the way *Alquntäm* crosses the heavens. They do not know that for the last two days the carpenters have been exercising their ingenuity in arranging cords so that the object can be drawn across smoothly and steadily. Again the sun "rises," and crosses the back wall, only to disappear from sight. This is repeated twice more, making four times in all. It is said that sometimes the Sun is made to spin just before it "sets," but the method could not be learnt. At this juncture the uninitiated are sent home and the proceedings conclude as usual. [522] [821]

In addition to performing in the customary manner, X is required to dance on other definite occasions, without the coming of a call. According to some informants, X must sing of his patron at the beginning of the ceremonial season, coincidently with the protégé of *Noäkymm*. This is probably correct but details were unobtainable. In any case, when the [424]

[The Sun Dance]

*575 dance of *Noākxnum* is omitted owing to the large expenditure
*796 required, X must sing, without a call, in conjunction with the *Wi·a* dancer. In this case also the details are lacking.

[424] Likewise at the winter solstice, when the tarrying *Alquntäm*
[821] at last enters *Nusqulxwaista* to greet the waiting supernatural *kukusiut*, it is incumbent on his protégé to perform in his honour below. The singers are always ready with a new song for the occasion, and in the evening his fellows assemble in his house to learn it. X wears the usual ceremonial collar, but he lacks the awe-inspiring qualities of a *kusiut* who has had a call. When the song has been sufficiently practised, the uninitiated are brought in to listen to it and to watch the dancing of X. At the conclusion of the performance they are given a little food, provided by X, which they carry away while the *kukusiut* remain to eat at their ease and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. It is probable that the ritual carried out at the beginning of the ceremonial season is identical with the above.
[821] One old man stated that long ago it was customary to dance in the same manner at the summer solstice; this might be expected, but confirmation was unobtainable.

*575 Like the protégé of Thunder, X is sometimes called upon
*796 to perform during the non-ceremonial season. But whereas a
821 Thunder dancer acts when his patron is apparent by peals of sound, X must do so when his patron is invisible through an eclipse.[*] The ritual is almost identical with that already described for a Thunder dancer so nothing but additional details need be inserted. X visits every house shaking a rattle, which is not the case with Thunder dancers. After his circuit of the village, the *kukusiut* gather in his house where the singers are
[533] composing a new song describing the phenomenon. The words explain that Eclipse, the supernatural being *Nuqsulx*', has blocked or destroyed the path of the Sun, and add how disastrous it would be if the Sun could not recover its way. Later on, the uninitiated are called in to watch X's dance which, like

[*] The Bella Coola term both for "eclipse" and the being responsible is *Nuqsulx*' which also means "A Fire That Has Died Out."

[796]
[192]

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the one that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make good the path" of the patron. It would formerly have been a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with death by the marshals. One informant vividly recalled his fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his conversion to Christianity, and reiterated that he had been in deadly peril from the marshals in spite of the white man's law. 575* 796* 821 [688] [177]

THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron to *kusiut* dancers, the Moon also has many human protégés. Among them is *Nulwimăx*, "The Moon When It Is Unobscured,"[9] of *Tsmetl*, from whom the following account of the Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as X. [776] [551] [424]

The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to X's wishes and the consent of the marshals. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *kukusiut* presently assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

Asiutănem:[10] A woman who lives in the moon and who can be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of water. 575* 796*

The two *Aiqwaiust:* These two beings are able periodically to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse. 821 776

The two *Sutsmăw·a:*[10] These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who come to earth to assist stricken *kukusiut*.

The song also describes how no supernatural being dares to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition similar to that obeyed by uninitiated with regard to passing outside a house where a *kusiut* ceremony is taking place. [784]

[9] *Aiuiănem* is the usual term for ghost; no reason was given for the application of the same designation to the woman living in the moon. [775]

[10] There is difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not there is more than one of these beings. [192]

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[The Moon Dance]

*575 No detailed description is needed for the ceremonial on
*796 either *nusiutälsap* or *qothm*. On the evening of the former day
821 the masks are ordered; one for *Asiutänem*, who appears to be
[532] confused with the Moon itself, one for each *Aiqwaiust*, one for each *Snitsmän·a*, and one for *Änoºlikwolsaix*.

Late in the afternoon the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to see that everything is in good shape. A large mat has been
[532] spread across the back wall of the house and on it a disk representing the Moon, with a human face in the middle. After the usual discussion the uninitiated are called in. Each *Snitsmän·a* remains standing alone in the two back corners of the house, while the two *Aiqwaiust* are in the central space behind the fire, constantly waving their arms to and fro. Suddenly the Moon itself appears against the matting. A carpenter, concealed behind the screen, directs its course so that it moves in a short arc across the background and disappears; *Änoºlikwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is the track of the new Moon, low down on the horizon. A second time it "rises," and moves across in a longer and higher curve, which *Änoºlikwolsaix* says is the longer orbit of the waxing Moon. On its third course it is still higher, and on its fourth appearance it moves across the full width of the house near the roof, which *Änoºlikwolsaix* describes as the course of the full Moon, far above the mountains. She also explains that we are indebted to *Snitsmän·a* for cleaning the Moon's face after the *Aiqwaiust* have blackened it, as otherwise no light would be visible. This ends the spectacle; the uninitiated are sent away, and the ceremonial concludes in the manner already described.

This constitutes the Moon dance as practised during the ceremonial season, but in addition X is required to dance whenever his patron is hidden by an eclipse. On such occasions the ritual is identical with that described for an eclipse of the Sun.

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THE DANCE OF THE MURDERED SLAVE

One of the chieftains who came to earth in the beginning of time was *Ätlumatsaix*, whose wealth was so great that he was able to invite his associates from far and near to potlatches, and thus acquire many *sisaok*

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names for his only son. Becoming surfeited with this form of greatness, he decided to initiate a *kusiut* ceremonial for his child. At that time chiefs were so powerful that they could create their own repositories, and *Ālixmotusaix* resolved to make his son's in his own house. To give strength to it, he dug a hole and buried alive in it a female slave with her small infant. The unfortunate woman was a member of the tribe known to the Bella Coola as *Ťaxakł*, probably a branch of the Haida; like all other northern tribeswomen she wore in her lower lip a plug of abalone-shell. *Ālixmotusaix* also buried in the hole a large number of the wasps which abounded in his house. The uninitiated were told that the woman had chanced to stumble upon a repository and had become *kelulś*, "rendered incapable of returning"; from this circumstance she was henceforth known as *Ānukelulslaix*. The *kukusiut* also informed non-members that the woman had been made immortal, and was forever to remain as a slave in the repository. *Ālixmotusaix* chose the name *Ḷapātus*, "Sharp-Nosed," for his son, a reference to the sharp beaks of the numerous ravens shown on every object in his house. This designation has since been transmitted in the usual manner; every owner has had the right to perform a dance with the buried woman as patron.

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In describing the ritual it will be convenient to refer to *Ḷapātus* as X.

When X wishes to dance he obtains permission from the marshals and makes his preliminary plans in the customary way. A suitable date for the coming of the call is chosen, and, on the night preceding, the weeping of *Ānukelulslaix* is heard in the forest behind the village. The weeper is one of X's associates, but no uninitiated would be reckless enough to venture near. She moves down the valley, as if coming from the repository near the village of *Stuux*. The next evening X receives his call and the uninitiated are expelled from his house. The dancer blackens his face, puts on a ceremonial collar, and goes out alone to find the slave woman; presently he returns, leading *Ānukelulslaix* by the hand. She is disguised as an old, old woman, clad in rags and carrying on her back a bundle made to represent a small infant; over her face is a mask with a plug of abalone-shell in the lower lip (see Plate 12).[1] She slowly circles the fire, weeping bitterly, while the *kukusiut*

[532]

[1] [See category 116, p 164 (F)- ANALYST]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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This ceremony is an example of the great diversity in *kusiut* dances. Instead of the usual patron in the land above, the slave woman is considered to be definitely located on this earth, at a spot near *Stuux*. Moreover, the call comes through her actual appearance. The writer would have liked to learn further details of the dance, but they were unobtainable. 575* 796*

THE DANCE OF THE OTTER

Since every Bella Coola has, at the present time, some sort of *kusiut* dance, it would have been possible to collect the details of a large number. Only the main outlines of the dances which follow were obtained, but it is hoped that the complexity of those already described will suffice to explain the scope of the *kusiut* society. In some cases the details were omitted to save time, in other cases the informant was ignorant of them. The latter reason is responsible for the sketchiness of the Otter dance. [424]

This ritual is the prerogative of a *Snulǝli kusiut*, *Xwodjen·i*, "The Crash," a name which refers to the din when the first *Sonx*" collapsed in the beginning of time. Presumably one of *Xwodjen·i*'s ancestors was present at the fall and chose the name in consequence. The dancer's patron is the land otter, but the connection between this animal and the name has been forgotten, as the father of the performer frankly admitted. He suggested that probably one of his ancestors remembered having seen an otter before coming to this world, and chose it as patron for a dance which he instituted with respect to the name *Xwodjen·i*. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X. 575* 796* 424 551

X can perform at any convenient period during the ceremonial season. When the call comes, the ritual of the first three days follows normally, except that the songs used are supposed to have been unaltered. Before *nǝbusam* the carpenters prepare a dummy otter, using a skin stretched over a wooden framework. A long rope is fastened to this and the figure thrown into the water so that it sways to and fro 575* 796* [593]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of the Otter]

*575 below a rapids. Care is taken that the uninitiated do not ob-
*796 serve these arrangements. About noon on *nebusam* the heralds go to every house with a cry:

"Come to watch the *kusiut* catch the supernatural one in the river."

The uninitiated are wise enough to remain within their houses as the *kukusiut* troop down to the bank of the river. Presently X appears, clad in the usual ceremonial costume. In he dives, as if in pursuit of the dark shape which can be seen swirling to and fro in the water. Non-members, watching from the background, are amazed to see what appears to be a struggle, followed by the emergence of X clutching an otter in his arms. They are too far away to perceive that it is merely a dummy, nor do they know that a *kusiut* has assisted the performer by cutting the rope at the proper time. As X reaches shore with his burden the *kukusiut* women drone. Forcing his way through the throng of his associates, the performer goes to his house where the uninitiated presently hear the frenzied beating of sticks repeated four times. The dummy is carefully concealed in the back-room so that it can be used if necessary on a later occasion.

As X comes ashore, water is splashed in all directions from
[556] the dummy and often dampens several of the *kukusiut*. Anyone to whom this happens is expected to give his clothes to a herald, and a man of chief-like disposition never hesitates to do so; in fact, he welcomes this opportunity of displaying his generous nature.

It is probable that a number of masked figures appear on the evening of *nebusam*, but detailed information is lacking. It might be added that a question as to whether the catching of this otter had any influence on the ability of X as an otter hunter was regarded by the informant as highly humorous.

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THE OCTOPUS DANCE

In the beginning of time *Sinuxeti* of Kimsquit married a
●424 Bella Bella woman who brought as part of her dowry a *kusiut*
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2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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dance with Octopus as patron. This was first used by *Łulqwan·i*, a relative of *Sinuxetl*, and has since been the prerogative of the owner of the name, whom it will be convenient to term X. Being of foreign origin, there is no repository at Kimsquit; in fact, there is none even in Bella Bella itself where the *kusiut* society is believed to lack both localized power and ancestral authority.[11] The Octopus dance is thus the only one without a repository; as far as could be learnt it is not performed in Bella Coola. In Bella Bella the original rite was connected both with the *sisaok* and *kusiut* organizations, but in Kimsquit with the latter alone.

When X wishes to dance, which may be at any time during the ceremonial season, he consults the marshals and picks a suitable date. As this draws near, the carpenters are requested to make an octopus, sometimes using a real skin as basis. On the day that the call comes, the dummy is placed in the water of the fiord, close to shore. Suddenly the heralds raise the cry that a supernatural being is coming to X; the startled uninitiated flee from his house and the *kukusiut* assemble. Presently the dancer rushes forth, followed by a band of his fellows, and plunges into the water. Fom a distance non-members can see arms and legs flying to and fro, blood flows as the *kukusiut* struggling in the shallows strike each other's noses, and they have no hesitation in believing the heralds who report that a fight is taking place with a writhing octopus. X at last bears his booty ashore, amid the droning of the women.

That night the uninitiated are called to X's house where the dummy octopus, guarded by the dancer and several other *kukusiut*, is placed behind the fire. Hidden strings have been fastened to its arms so that it moves and seems to be alive. One of the singers takes a baton and beats time, stops, and all the *kukusiut* call out *i*···. This is repeated four times, accompanied, on the last repetition, by the return of the octopus whence it came. This is done by palming the body from sight, but of course the uninitiated do not know this. A

[11] This is, of course, a Bella Coola version.

[The Octopus Dance]

*575 Cannibal begins to growl and soon the *kukusiut* are left alone
*796 in the house. The singers beat out a new song for X and the ritual continues like that of any other *lsxtämem*. No description is needed for the ceremonial that occurs on *nusiutälsap* and *qotlm*.

On the evening of *nsusam* the uninitiated are summoned in due course. The exact number of masked figures shown could not be learnt, but among them is always an octopus. [532] The rite concludes in the usual manner.

The presents given in connection with the Octopus dance [431] are more valuable than those bestowed at most *kusiut* rituals, accordingly none but wealthy people are able to carry it out. [556] The heralds especially are always beneficiaries.

THE DANCE OF THE DARK-SHADE

*575 One of the most peculiar and irregular of *kusiut* dances is
*796 that performed by a certain *Kälqam*, whom it will be conven-
●424 ient to call X. His patron is the supernatural woman *Stqwast-*
[770] *lustkwi*, Dark-Shade, whose home is beneath the thick ever-greens of the river valleys, thus explaining the darkness and shadows found in such places. X's repository is beneath some [778] large cedars near the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, a few hundred yards above the end of the fiord; it is probable that other dancers with the same patron have repositories in other dark and gloomy spots.

When X wishes to dance he must as usual obtain consent from the marshals who insist that he delay his performance until after the solstice at earliest. The reason is because his [776] patron, Dark-Shade, alone of all supernatural beings, has the power to open every repository; X brings her to the village and [787] in consequence calls come to many *kukusiut*,[*] which would be undesirable during the first few weeks of the season. On
*575 the evening of the day selected for the beginning of the dance,
*796 X steals away from the village with three or four *kukusiut*,

[*] The implication in this case is that calls come from repositories, not from the land above, the customary source.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of the Dark-Shade]

preferably skilled carpenters. Heralds visit every house in the village informing all that X has gone to meet, or to wait for, Dark-Shade. 575* 796*

Meanwhile X and his companions are utilizing the last hours of daylight in collecting a large quantity of gum. They build a fire, and by its flickering light the dancer is coated with gum so carefully that even his teeth and nails are invisible; in this disguise he represents Dark-Shade. Early the following morning the singers and those *kukusiut* who have already danced during the current season set off on lashed canoes to meet X and his party whom they take on board. Waiting till the tide is favourable, the canoes are slowly poled up the river. As they come in sight of the village, the singers strike up some well-known tune, and in time to it everyone on the platform between the canoes begins to dance, each using the style proper to his prerogative. It is an animated scene. The uninitiated watch the approach, and gaze with wonder upon the strange dark figure; it is all so uncanny that they need little urging from the *kukusiut* to withdraw to their houses, where they peer curiously through chinks in the walls. Members of the society line the river bank and, as Dark-Shade draws near, one after another cries out that a call has come to him. The marshals have previously decided who shall dance at this time and informed those selected; sometimes it is a *kusiut* who has already performed once during the season, or it may be a person who has not performed for many years. [535] [424] 575* 796* 787

All the *kukusiut* accompany Dark-Shade and her escort to X's house from which all uninitiated have long been expelled. The singers compose a new song of which the words are arranged as if Dark-Shade, not X, were speaking. The theme of one, used a number of years ago, is: 575* 796* [533]

"Let X fetch me to visit mortals."

Unfortunately, the details of X's dance were unavailable. Dark-Shade herself remains for four days hidden within X's house, though he attends the ceremonies of other *kukusiut* and his presence there on the nights of *qothm* and *nebusam* is a

*575 *796 source of awe to the uninitiated, who marvel that a man can still appear like an ordinary mortal when he has just brought a supernatural visitor home. According to one informant who, however, is not well posted on *kusiut* matters, there is neither *qotlm* nor *nəbusam*, and Dark-Shade is merely sent away after four days. This may be the case, but the dance has not been carried out for many years, and the man frankly admitted that he did not know the details. It seems more likely that there [533] is some kind of ceremony, since a song would not be composed unless for a definite purpose.

*575 *796 787 424 The coming of Dark-Shade complicates the *kusiut* ceremonial since a number of dancers receive their calls simultaneously. In this case the ritual is carried out in unison which requires, for example, the composition of one song for each performer on *lsxtämem*. Calls never come in this way to dancers with important or complicated prerogatives, but it is a useful means of dealing with those whose right is merely to sing of their patrons. On *nəbusam* the patrons of all are displayed, a method which has the advantage of producing a dramatic effect which would be lacking if only one were in evidence. The coming of a call by means of Dark-Shade is called *twihmdimut*, "Emerging from Below to Plain Sight." Another time when several calls may come simultaneously to different *kukusiut* is at the winter solstice when, on the entry of *Alquntäm*, the supernatural beings rush forth and some of them fall, causing calls to come to their human protégés.

THE DANCE OF THE STONE MAN

*575 *796 *Yaxuhmxl*, the man who was petrified with his Ootsa Lake wife and four children at the beginning of time, is patron for a [776] Kimsquit *kusiut* man named *Kwasta*. His repository is just [424] above high-water mark on the east side of Dean Channel, about [551] five miles from its head, and about one hundred and fifty feet [778] north of the legal fishing boundary. This is almost immediately opposite *Yaxuhmxl*'s station. The repository is beneath the ground, and its doorway is a beaver which became

[The Dance of the Stone Man]

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petrified and which can still be seen, with its head facing the water. [778]

The preliminaries of *Kwasta*'s dance do not differ from those already described, although it is uncertain whence comes the actual call. A large number of masks are constructed, as well as a huge wooden figure of the Stone Man himself, and [532] smaller ones of his wife and four children. When the uninitiated are called in on the night of *nəbusam* they see the Stone Man and his family standing behind the fire, while the body of the house is filled with a number of masked figures. The latter keep shouting to the Stone Man and he answers them, as he does mortals who pass his station on Dean Channel. The marshals always arrange that he does not reply to one of the masked figures, whereupon the others gibe at this unfortunate and tell him that he will die within a year. It is common [763] knowledge that if the Stone Man does not answer the hail of a passer-by, the latter will soon die. The uninitiated are impressed to find that supernatural beings share this belief.

THE FIRE DANCE

This dance is the prerogative of a *kusiut* named *W'ai·ɪ*, [424] "Cohoe Salmon." Its origin is attributed to the experience of [551] an ancestor of the dancer who was helped by, and received his name from, one of these fish. Only a fragment of the ritual could be learnt, enough to show that it has many points of resemblance with *kusiotem* rites. When *W'ai·ɪ* performs, the central fire is raked apart and he appears to lie down on the ashes between the two flaming sections; evergreen boughs and sand are thrown over him, and the fire drawn together over his body. After an hour or more, when the uninitiated imagine he must be baked, his singing is heard, and *W'ai·ɪ* walks in through the front door. Deception is practised probably by means of a dummy fastened with deer tendons which contract with the heat so that it seems as if the body itself were writhing. It is said that the first *W'ai·ɪ* was actually able to perform this feat by means of the power given him by the salmon,

*575 but the *kukusiut* all understand that later performances by
*796 those with the same name are only possible with the assistance of carpenters. This dance has not been carried out for so many years that the details have been forgotten.

THE DANCE OF THE BIRDS

*575 The Bella Coola notice that in autumn many of the birds
*796 disappear, to be seen no more until spring. Ignorant of a warmer climate to the south and of the causes of migration,
825 they explain the phenomenon by saying that *Alquntäm* collects
[776] the birds in some mysterious place for the winter and releases them in the spring. It is believed that he does the same with supernatural birds in the land above. The setting free of the
[424] birds, which is in effect a scattering, is known as *nuqwekstl*
[551] and is personified; he is the patron of a *kusiut* named *Queta*. For the *nuluam* of this man's dance a huge circular cage con-
[532] taining wooden birds is constructed. By means of a regular maze of hidden strings they are made to "fly," to the extreme amazement of the uninitiated. This is one of the most complicated *kusiut* rites. Contrary to the usual practice, no eagle down is used for fear that it might settle on the strings and betray their existence to the spectators.

THE DANCE OF DARKNESS AND SLEEP

*575 The patron of this dance is a being who has the power of
*796 bringing nightfall, and later, sleep. In accordance with his
776 double function, a dual personality is attributed to him. In
821 fact, he is almost two beings; as *Sneqlominiz*, "Darkness," he
[513] causes night to come once every twenty-four hours, whereupon
[532] as *Siritema*, he brings sleep. His *kusiut* protégé displays on
[424] *nuluam* figures with black painted masks, representing both phases of his patron.

THE DANCE OF THE WHIRLWIND

Whirlwinds, though of rare occurrence in British Columbia, are known to the Bella Coola who believe that they are caused by the being *Swaliarwanem*. Like all supernatural creatures,

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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assemble to witness the dance of *Alqantăm*. This is his function in the land above, so it is natural for him to do the same in this world.

THE DANCE OF *Alqantăm*'S FISHERMAN

Alqantăm in the land above has a servant who uses a hand-net, *xota*, in fishing for his master. He is accordingly known as *Alqantăm*'s *Xonsotăm*, "Fisherman," and is patron for a *kusiut*.

THE DANCE OF THE TOP

The playful *Sănollymulelt Alqantăm* has a favourite toy consisting of a stick which can be made to spin between the hands. This top, if it may so be termed, is patron for some *kusiut*. The writer was unable to learn how it is displayed on *nulusam*.

THE DANCE OF THE PETRIFIED HAMMER

The patron of one *kusiut* is a hammer which in some way was changed to stone in the beginning of time when the Beila Coola River first flowed to the sea.

THE DANCE OF THE GRIZZLY BEAR

A *kusiut* named *Bulkuut* has, as patron, a grizzly bear resident in *Qmoqwa*'s house.

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VARIOUS ORIGIN MYTHS

In most cases *kusiut* dances have been preserved until the present day, although the myths on which they depend have long since been forgotten, but the reverse is sometimes the case. The following myths, were recorded with few, or no details of the associated dances. In several cases, one of the same type has already been recorded, so that the significance will be apparent.

[178]

A COMPOSITE ORIGIN MYTH[58]

Long ago there lived in *Stuse* a man and his wife who were powerful, prosperous, and able to give their children many good names. This

[58] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

[115]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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success aroused the jealousy of several of the chiefs who caused the death of the couple by means of sorcery. Six children, five boys and one girl, the last the youngest of the family, were thus left orphans. No one helped them and they suffered greatly from lack of proper food and clothing, besides being forced to bear unreasonable responsibilities and trials. One spring the six went to the forest to gather hemlock-bark for food. The eldest boy climbed a tree and threw down pieces of bark which the little girl helped to pick up; at least her brothers all told her how much she was helping, a kindly fiction because she was really too young to be of assistance. One piece of bark blew some little distance away; she ran to get it, but in a moment came hurrying back in fear, saying that she had seen a strange man clad in a bear-skin blanket, with dyed cedar-bark and eagle down in his hair. At first the five brothers did not believe her, but at length they went to investigate and found the man, as she had described. He was lying on the ground but sat up when they approached.

"I have seen your poverty," he said, "and how you have been afflicted through no fault of your own, but solely owing to the jealousy of the evil *Stuix* chiefs. It was they who killed your parents, but now I give you such power that you will be able to retaliate."

"Your name shall be *Nuxim*," he continued as he turned to the eldest brother. "You shall be a Cannibal. When you dance energetically, instruct someone to cut your stomach vertically and your vitals will fall out, trembling. They will return to you at dawn and you will then fully recover, having frightened the uninitiated."

"Your name shall be *Sxy'mai*," he told the second boy. "You, likewise, will be able to have your stomach cut, but you will not be a Cannibal."

"Your name shall be *Nuyem*," he said to the third brother. "You will have the ability to go to the land above to inspect tally posts. You will be able to foretell the length of a man's life from the condition of his post, and to cure the sick by straightening those that are leaning."

Turning to the fourth brother he continued:

"Your name shall be *xyem*. You are to be a *wi-a* dancer, with power to give food and grease to *Omponhikka* and his brothers in the regions above. On such occasions you will wear a head-dress of branches covered with eagle down."

Then he addressed the fifth and youngest lad, saying:

"Your name shall be *xwai-a*. You will have a *kaxlar* dance in respect to that designation, but without special ability."

Finally the stranger turned to the little girl and said:

"Your name shall be *Qwainxstu-i*. When you dance you will be able to use any one of ten songs and have as patron any supernatural being

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you chose. You will be more powerful than any of your brothers and it will be you who will avenge on the murderers of your parents, because you will be a shaman."

The man, a supernatural being, of course, told the six that their repository would be the blue goat on the shaman of which they had met him; it was oval in shape, about twenty-five feet long and twenty wide. He added that its name was *Nagamadaglaxa i*. Having given his instructions, the strange vision vanished.

The six orphans returned to a somewhat bewildered condition to find. They went into the house where they were staying and *amal a*, who was about eight years old, disturbed a very old woman with his harmless play. In unmannerly anger she spanked him severely, and his older brothers told their sister to try her newly acquired power. She passed behind the old woman, by so doing she invoked to herself the latter's spirit without making even the motion of taking anything, and without the victim being aware of her loss. *Qamaxum i* took the supernatural element on a stick, as one spits a potato, and drove it on the long of movements piled up behind the house. Presently, when the woman wished to use the convenience, she took a stick with the intention of breaking it for sentimental use. She went to the platform for the purpose but it broke beneath her and she fell; the stick she was carrying pierced her heart and she died. The accident was, of course, due to the loss of her spirit. The five brothers were delighted with the realization that their sister was really as powerful as the supernatural one had said she would be.

The boys went right there alone to slay the principal chief, who had murdered a woman to kill their parents. *Qamaxum i* went behind him and invoked his spirit to himself; she broke it between her hands and presently the owner fell dead. Though secretly delighted, the brothers thought it wise to appear grieved, and accordingly went *amal a* to weep. As he was doing so, a kindly old woman patted him on the head, saying:

"Don't distress yourself, little boy. It is the man who killed your parents who is now himself dead."

But she had no idea that it was one of the orphans who had caused his death. Within a few days *Qamaxum i* captured and destroyed the spirits of two other chiefs who had had a part in the slaying of her parents; in each case the man died within a few hours of his loss. These four deaths so worried the people of *Xisa* that all the chiefs determined to leave, since the calamity, whatever it was, seemed to kill only those of importance. They took down the cedar boards forming the walls of the houses, piled them on canoes and made ready for departure, taking no heed for the poor people, including the six orphans, who were left destitute.

Qaumaxa-i moved to and fro among the chiefs as they were bringing themselves to preparations for leaving, and then to herald the spirit of every one of the party. As they pulled off from the shore, she put them on a board which she set down behind them. It capsized in the free rapids, immersing the various spirits, and presently the canoes were upset and their occupants all drowned. The six orphans continued to live on Bear where they intermarried with the poor people and in time the village increased in population and fully regained its old importance.

This myth has many points of resemblance with those described in vol. I, chap. vi. Each of the six orphans, and especially Qaumaxa-i, received the boon of supernatural good fortune, but the powers given to the five took the form of a hereditary prerogative. The names as received are either in use at the present time or have but recently become dormant. *Nuxta* was used by the father's brother of the woman who colored the story; long "was" belongs to her son, a boy about eight years old; *Nuxum* is the property of another youth, related to the family; *xuxu* has been lent to a friend, subject to recall at any time, and *Qaumaxa-i* is used by a girl relative about twenty years of age. Each of these has the prerogative of carrying out the dance given to their ancestor on Bear, long ago.

[illegible] OF THE DANCE AS THE [illegible] CONTINUED[*]

In the beginning *Hipaxlas* are lost in a point on the upper reaches of the Clearwater [illegible] brothers, *Tlatlanxlas*, *Wuxuxum*, *Hipaxlas*, and *Xuxu* dale with several sisters whose names have been forgotten. They thought they were the first to reach this earth but presently, as their canoe, saw *Tlatlanxlas*, a man who had preceded them, and the women cried lately to their mortification. *Hipaxlas* had given *Tlatlanxlas* characteristic powers which he now used to be rubbed his hands over his sisters' faces to carry away their tears.

"Become fog," he said, as he held the palms of his two outlined hands towards the face of the Tlo-an-ai people.

[821] Then is why there are thick fogs in the country of Bear Bay to the present day.

Tlatlanxlas and his relatives moved a short distance down the valley

[115] [illegible] by Swanton Boas.

when they arrived. *Ajamma* had given him the ability to kill monsters and tests by merely pointing his power at them, and in this way he [illegible] had for the whole party. He could also revive his victims with the aid of a peculiar stick bearing [illegible], consisting of seven cones. These he arranged around a fan balanced on [illegible] which he could move with his feet; as he pressed, the cones became animated and [illegible] formidably. It was *Ajamma* who had given him these two human attributes. *Pinocchio* tried to turn moments into [illegible], but succeeded only with the eyes of the wolf; whenever these organs appear human even today.

Ajamma gave *Pinocchio* the prerogative of carrying on a [illegible] dress, which has been performed in the same manner ever since by the [illegible] of that name. His persons, for he has four, are the aforementioned Carpenters. *Pinocchio* has the further prerogative of moving, when dancing, a wooden head given over his forehead representing (in the poll) [illegible] of the blackbirds. On the right of *Ajamma*, when the [illegible] are called in, marked figures of the four Carpenters appear, each carrying a conventional specimen of his work. Now to end, *Pinocchio* has [illegible] proper to these beings. *Ajamma* is so much in [illegible] and explains the significance of the apparitions.

[illegible] GIVE IN THE [illegible] OF *Pinocchio*[illegible]

There was once a middle-aged woman who had no [illegible] into the ranks of the [illegible]. She decided that she could [illegible] by moving *Ajamma* herself, so with this aim in view she got [illegible] to search for the aforementioned [illegible]. First she proceeded to the [illegible] of every work concerning [illegible] Nero, then proceeded up the [illegible] River to no [illegible], again visiting the head [illegible] of every officer, and finally went up the Hole Cloth River, as before, exploring each [illegible]. For a while [illegible] without making anything [illegible].

In the [illegible] of the [illegible] she came to a lake on the other side of which she could see a single column of smoke. It seemed [illegible], still as monument, and it was [illegible] that it must have a supernatural origin. Scarcely she [illegible] the shore, till she saw that the smoke was rising from a large mass of overgrown [illegible]. Stooping [illegible], she found *Ajamma* herself within, working with a wooden [illegible]. *Ajamma* was using [illegible] to strike the [illegible], and then [illegible] her, but all the time was resting [illegible] to [illegible] the ground. [illegible] with [illegible] the

[illegible] by [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] with the unfortunate Punch-gamut had [illegible] [illegible] from sight. Then a sound betrayed her to *Bellbindiana*.

"If you are a mortal," she said, "come in."

The woman did so, and *Bellbindiana* continued:

"I am *Bellbindiana*. You have found me, hence I give you a twelve-hour prerogative. You will have Punch-gamut as patron."

The woman returned to her home, where she performed a twelve-day [illegible] in which she perfected the [illegible] of Punch-gamut into the world.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

In the beginning of time there came down to Pimento, a point a little [illegible] below Mount Vaughn, a woman whose name was Gwendolyn Gaddes. *Hymnion* had given her a twelve prerogative with a peculiar repetition in her party, as I [illegible] now to other hand. Their names were Gwendolyn, Gwendolyn, Gwen, and Gwendolyn. When she danced she wore a wooden hoop-dress representing Woodpecker, and the words said (her patron?) were the one when is to rot, and an ugly. This dance has ever been carried on from generation to generation to the owners of the name Gwendolyn.

Social Prerogatives Given Your Dancer

The most valuable possession of a dancer is the dance which he has the right to perform, but each member of the society has, in addition, a somewhat peculiar object, sometimes material and sometimes intangible, known as a *dancer's prerogative*. The meaning of these two terms will become evident in the description of their use, inasmuch they can be termed "prerogatives." With every call, the possession of the dancer's name automatically to him, though it can also be presented to him by other means and without a call. There is no connection between the patron and the prerogative; for example, one dancer who has one of the sons of *Hymnion* as the former has, as the latter, the Hummingbird. Another may have Frog, Clam, a Snake, or one of many other objects, animate or inanimate. The "patron-puppets" described in Sections [illegible] belong to this class.

In almost every case the origin is lost in antiquity, and the owner knows only that it belongs with his dance.

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Few prerogatives are used when the uninitiated are present; they are essentially secretbut provide considerable amusement and are a welcome intrude in the serious rites. When the prerogative is made visible, carpenters must be employed to make it, and be paid for their work; hence this part of the ceremonial is often omitted. When no handicraft is required, it is more frequently called into play, but even in such cases its employment is not universal. Not being an essential part of the Dance rites, the use omission of a prerogative is a matter which concerns the dancealone, and he acts strictly in accordance with his own wishes whether or not he desires the ceremony to be accompanied every possible show. It is impossible to estimate with exactness the relative frequency of employment, but it is probable that prerogatives of the type under consideration are used in about one-third of the dance ceremonials.

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If a dancer decides to display a material prerogative, he consults with a carpenterafore the coming of his call and asks him to make, for example, a wooden Hummingbird. On the night of Initiation, whenall the *Initiates* are present, the bird is seen to move across in back wall of the house, pulled by concealed strings. The dancer rushes to it and appears to catch it, to entire hidings beneath his clothing. The women dance and the lavish amount to the uninitiated in the neighboring houses when breakes place. Carefully holding his hands cupped, as if clutching something of great value, the dancer moves to the rear of the house and returns the bird to the land above by raising his hands upwards while the *Initiates* call out *hoy*. This is the usual procedure when the prerogative is a bird, a small mammal, or a reptile. The same ceremonial is often repeated on the night of *reinitiation*, particularly if the ritual part to the occasion does not suffice to occupy the requisite six. If the prerogative is immaterial, the ritual differs. For example, when it is Fog, the dancer stretches his hands upwards, as if receiving something from above, and then makesthe motion of throwing this "some-

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424 thing" into one of his companions. The recipient acts as if
575 blinded, staggering around the house and colliding with articles
796 of furniture or his fellows. One after another receives the
787 same present, until perhaps half the company are acting as if moving in a dense mist. Sometimes they reel from the house, falling into bushes and walking into the walls of other houses, as if deprived not only of sight but also of all sense of direction. The prerogative of Fog was given to *Nwistwendeis* (II, p. 144), but many other *kukwisat* enjoy the same right from other sources. After a short interval, the dancer goes to the vision and makes the motion of drawing something from him, thus restoring his sight and sanity. Fog is then returned aloft in the manner described for a Hummingbird.

When first told of this custom, difficulty was experienced in visualizing the attitude of the *kukwisat* to what they realize is a mere dramatization, lacking the presence of the uninitiated to give it zest and purpose. When several performances of this type had been witnessed, the difficulty vanished. The *kukwisat* enter whole-heartedly into the spirit of the affair, regarding it as a game, and yet as a game in which they must acquit themselves creditably. Each recipient endeavours to
[522] excel his fellows in the realism of his performance, and his blind staggers never fail to cause merriment. The Bella Coola delight in acting, and this is an occasion on which they can indulge their tastes to the utmost, without fear of disaster if an error should occur, such as hampers them in the presence of the uninitiated. Moreover, each strives to assist the performer, and these two reasons combine to make the whole a success.

Although these prerogatives are often used on the nights of *kwalkwem* and *nwistwilag*, the time most suitable for their appearance is during the ritual of *xwaqlat*, which may be translated as, "The Rattle Ceremony." The Bella Coola say that the word is derived from *xwa*, a pillow, and that the meaning of *xwaqlat* is a ceremony of "Pillowness," that is, resting, combined with pleasure relaxation. In spite of the number

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of prerogatives, it sometimes happens that a week or more elapses without a *hamatsa* wishing to perform. In such a case the marshals instruct the heralds to summon the *hamatsa* for the Rattle Ceremony to a house from which the uninitiated have been expelled. When all have assembled, the singers beat out the song of any *hamatsa* and the audience joins in, although the owner does not dance. Song after song is repeated, the singers choosing particularly those which they fear may be forgotten. The uninitiated, who hear the singing from the adjacent houses, wonder what it may signify. The marshals arrange with a *hamatsa* willing to receive his prerogative, and soon after midnight this person puts on a ceremonial collar, even though no call has come to him, and is ready to play his part. Sticks are distributed and one of the singers leads the audience in frenzied beating. This suffices to bring the intangible prerogative to the willing *hamatsa*, who makes the motions of catching something in his upstretched hands while the women drum. Amid the continued pounding of sticks, the dancer circles the house and presently throws what he has received to one of his fellows. The actions of the recipients of Fog have already been described, but there are intangible prerogatives of other kinds. One of these is Rabbit, the owner hops in imitation of the animal to any *hamatsa*, presses his cupped hands against the other's chest, and the latter likewise begins to hop. He in turn passes it to a third, he to a fourth, until finally the owner withdraws his prerogative and returns to above. The *hamatsa* become so immersed that they often forget to continue the beating of sticks, a matter of no importance since no uninitiated are present. No one offered the prerogative from the owner ever declines; to do so would expose him to ridicule and a refusal is unthinkable according to an elderly Bella Coola. Another prerogative of the same type is an Adze, in which case the possessor pretends to be using that tool. When finally withdrawn by the rightful owner, he often makes the motion of throwing it on a rather instead of sending it back above; in this case it can be used

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again later in the season without being brought from above. A Bat prerogative impels the owner, and likewise the temporary possessor, to move lightly to and fro like a bat; it can be thrown from one side of the house to the other, and is "caught" with arms stretched far above the head. Sleep, like Fog, can be projected into a number of individuals simultaneously, and causes all to slumber; while Anger causes everyone to fight with his neighbour. Still another prerogative of the same class is Ants. Some dances have Bull-owners, as is also true for some social dances. Details of their use were unobtainable.

Although these prerogatives always amuse and please the *bekwiat*, they also have two serious aspects. The insertion of one strengthens a *bekwiat*, and in the case of a Cannibal, Sorcerer, or Breaker causes him to become frenzied. Whenever this happens he rushes forth to all the houses, frightening the uninitiated, always attended by a band of *bekwiat*. Moreover, the injection of a prerogative so stimulates a *bekwiat* that he is more liable to receive a call. *As many as fifty bekwiat* may have prerogatives of this type thrust into them during a single "Rattle Ceremony." Of course not all of them receive calls, but one or more of them is likely to do so. The writer endeavoured to investigate the attitude of the Bella Coola on this point. Only *bekwiat* are concerned, since they alone can have this power inserted into them. They realize the dangerous practised by the society, and no individual interviewed claimed to have been so strengthened that he received a call, yet all stated that this had been the case with others. There is no doubt that the projection of a prerogative directs the recipient's attention to *bekwiat* matters, and may often lead him to the point of giving his dance. In any event, the "Rattle Ceremony" gives the novitiate an opportunity to stimulate the interest of the members of the society, and to impress on them the desirability of dancing. The uses of "person-poppers" have already been described.

In addition to these prerogatives, which normally remain

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in the land above and come to their owners only on special occasions, there are four of similar type considered to remain constantly within the possessor's body from the time of his admission, with respect to the name with which the right is associated. One of these, the use of crystals for initiation purposes, has already been described. The others are *wind-dance*, *kakilla*, and *ne'wem*, all uncontrollable vows.

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One use to which the first of these prerogatives is put is to encourage the *kokoxtcx* to hasten to the house in which a ceremony is taking place. Delay is part and parcel of all dances, but particularly on *kamamen* and *nuxmalinx* the *kokoxtcx* are often very slow in arriving. In such a case the dancer himself, one of his friends, or a marshal, may ask the owner of a *wind-dance* prerogative to perform. It will be convenient to refer to this factor, who may be man or woman, as X.

The uninitiated have been told that X carries in his right hand a rock crystal which he can throw into anyone through the arm. The *kokoxtcx* do not share the belief, but they have acted for so long as if they did, that it is probable that they almost place credence in it themselves. When X performs, he leaves the dancer's home and goes in a crouching attitude, yelling furiously, to the lowest house of the village. As he enters, the uninitiated flee to the bed-room, but peer curiously and fearfully through the cracks. X rushes to and fro, still crouching, while the *kokoxtcx* appear to be trying to avoid him, but at last he seizes either a man or a woman. In spite of his victim's well-simulated struggles, X makes the motion of thrusting something into him, whereupon the person cries out as if in pain and proceeds to be unmanned. *Away* rushes X, enters the next dwelling, and does the same. This is repeated in every house in the village. As they go to the house in which the ceremony is taking place, the victims pretend to be suffering from a stomach ache, caused by the foreign substance within them, and this pretence is maintained after their arrival. After some delay, X takes a stick and beats furiously four or five times with it, while the singers accompany

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him with sticks and drums. Following another pause, he does this once more, causing the return to him of the crystals. The heralds visit the different houses to report what has taken place and the regular ritual of the evening continues in due course.

Occasionally the nuxalkmo ritual is elaborated to impress the uninitiated. Within this century a woman received a crystal in this manner and, as nonmembers were told, it became stuck so that the owner could not recall it. In this case two *kukwiat* were in grief, the woman who had lost her crystal, and the one who had it within her body. The former went from house to house for several days, weeping and asking that the *kukwiat* insert their prerogatives into the possessor's body to drive out the crystal, while the sufferer maintained a crouched attitude as if in intense agony. Her home was in *Qwaqa'a*, but she went even to *Sutcito* to see whether the *kukwiat* there could not help her. Meanwhile the uninitiated were both amused and impressed. After several days the marshals of the two villages decided to try a union to force out the crystal. It was day-time, and they gathered around the stricken woman in an open space between the two villages, while the uninitiated passed with music from the background. One *kwiat* after another called his tangible prerogative to himself and passed it into the sufferer and after each insertion the owner of the crystal tried to withdraw it, but without avail. After each failure, the one who had used his possession recalled it to himself by pressing with cupped hands and calls of *hoij*, then gave it back *ahma*. Throughout the ceremony, a man with a loud voice kept informing non-members which prerogative was being tried. At the insertion of *Anta*, and again of *Sagan*, the sufferer rallied, but the owner of the crystal could not bring it forth. It had been decided that a Bird-*Sisma* was to be the successful prerogative, and when this was inserted by its owner, the woman staggered, fell, and rolled wildly on the ground, her arms and legs flying apart in all

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directions. Then the joyful owner was able to draw back her crystal and the sick woman at once recovered. 424 575 796

Another prerogative of the same nature is *Izuhilta*. As the *Iukusiut* are gathering and before the main ceremonial of the evening, the man or woman with this prerogative can display it if he so desires. He stands up, stamps, then bends down and begins to beat with a stick on the floor; the singers, who know what is to take place, quickly join in. This serves to concentrate the performer's power, consisting of the ability to scratch the external genital organs. The sticks continue to sound as the performer moves about the house, acting in accordance with his right, and at the same time rolling his eyes and licking his lips. Choosing either man or woman as he desires, he calls out his name, and the person addressed must come forward to take his hands. The power is thus transmitted and the one so chosen begins to scratch, with the same accompaniment of rolling eyes and licking lips. 787

"It is sweet," he cries.

The power is then returned to the owner, who later passes it to another victim, until the marshals decide it is time to proceed to the main rites of the evening. The use of this prerogative is a source of never-ending amusement to the *Iukusiut*. The only explanation given of this somewhat peculiar ability is that it is practised by the supernatural beings in the land above. Like every other *Iucsiut* rite, it can be performed only by a person who owns a name in which it is embodied. [522] [776]

Iis'mata, the third of these prerogatives, is to imitate the action of holding sexual intercourse. Like the last, its use is limited to the house in which a dance is taking place, and can be carried out only while the audience is waiting for the main ceremony. The performer, man or woman, stands up with a rope pressed close across his stomach, held with hands clenched at the hips. It is said that in this position nothing can pass behind him. The singers and other *Iukusiut* begin to beat time to concentrate the actor's power as he stamps around in a crouching posture, crying *Iuiy* and shaking his hips. Pre- 424 575 796 787 831 522

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424 sently he begins to grunt, and calls the name of either a man
575 or a woman. The person so designated must take the per-
796 former's hands, thus assimilating his power, and in his turn
787 begins to shake and grunt, amid the laughter of all. Presently
831 the "gift" is returned, and later passed to another recipient.
522 Sometimes a modest woman shakes her head instead of her
[776] hips, to the intense amusement of the audience. After some time the owner draws his power to himself and the main ceremony of the evening proceeds. It is said that the supernatural beings above perform *sit'mata*.

The Death of a *Kwiat*

575 A detailed description of *kwiat* dances and ritual has now
766 been given, but certain special features still remain. One of
796 these is the method of disposal of the body of a dead member
989 of the society. In dances which are completed in four days, there is little likelihood of the performer's death, but this is by no means uncommon during the long seclusion of a Cannibal for example. In this case there is no wailing, and the death is concealed from the uninitiated, sometimes even a wife being kept in ignorance of her husband's decease. A mask representing the person of the dead man is hung in the house behind the fire as a constant reminder of what must be done. From the ceremonial point of view, the serious aspect lies in the fact that a call has come which has not been sent back, and which cannot be sent back by the receiver. The marshals discuss the matter and agree that it must pass to some *kwiat*, a near relative of the deceased, who is informed of the decision and does not dare refuse, even if he should wish to do so. After a delay of two or three days, the body is taken secretly to the grave and buried, while the *kwiat* sing the dead person's song. This causes the call to shift to the chosen relative who completes the ceremony in due course. In the case of a Cannibal, for example, a considerable amount of time is allowed to elapse, and meanwhile the uninitiated are told that the *kwiat* are still waiting and watching for his return.

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sticks, while everyone calls out, *hoip*. This is repeated four times. The sticks continue to sound irregularly as the younger men pull the enclosure to pieces and throw it on the central fire. By these means the *kukwiat* have been freed from their contact with the supernatural and, perhaps even more important, the repositories have been "tied up," to use the native term, for another year. Those members of the society whose dances have taken place in the house now wash the black from their faces and all share a light meal. The marshals take this last opportunity of addressing their fellows, impressing on them the necessity of maintaining the secrecy of the rites during the summer season. Above all, they warn them to hide the whistles and other paraphernalia most carefully. This concludes the season's ceremony in the house in question; some of the *kukwiat* withdraw, others remain, and the uninitiated are free to enter and take up the old threads of family life, as it was before the coming of the first call.

If it is not too late at night the party may move to a second house and remove the taboo from it in the same way. More often this is done on the following night, when a second body of *kukwiat* are allowed to wash. Another house is visited on the next evening, and so on in succession till all the enclosures are burnt and the only visible mark of what has happened is the collar of dyed cedar-bark worn by each novice.

[824] There may be certain prerogatives connected with this finale which could not be known owing to its discontinuance for many years. In fact, one old woman claimed to have a definite right to sing at the destruction of the enclosures, but it was unfortunately impossible to investigate the matter.

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Concluding Observations and Summary

It is virtually impossible to overestimate the importance of the sociological aspects of the society. During the communal season the whole fabric of social life is altered; families are divided, parents and children being separated in many

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with such powers that they killed one another in their performances. Consequently, they decided to dance only in the winter months, and merely to imitate the actions which had been previously carried out. 575* 796* 173

There are other traditions, probably with an historical basis, describing conflicts with the *a'alt*. The Bella Coola say that long, long ago there were not enough *Tsaiat* names for more than the old people to be admitted to the society, and that though members were regarded as having supernatural powers, yet the *a'alt*, confident in their numbers and strength, used frequently to assail the supremacy of the *Tsaiat*. On one occasion, when the latter had prepared an elaborate feast of smoked goat flesh for themselves, the *a'alt* collected their weapons and demanded a share of the feast. The *Tsaiat*, furiously angry, felt compelled to yield, though later they took revenge through the destruction wrought by many Cannibals and Scratchers when frenzied. It is said that even recently if the *Tsaiat* did not invite the *a'alt* to one of their dances, they were always careful to placate them by sending half of the food as a present. 575* 578 173 [224] [551] [431]

Sometimes the *a'alt*, collectively, were bold enough to kill a *Tsaiat*, particularly if something had gone amiss in a dance house. Or other motives might be strong enough to outweigh respect for a member of the society. On one occasion a chief, who was not a member of the society, was told that his wife, who was, had been in the habit of prowling off at night with a Cannibal. The jealous husband prepared his bow-spear and slew the Cannibal when next he entered his house during a frenzied rampage of the village. *Tsaiat*, both from that village and others in the vicinity, continued to cause the murderer's death with the aid of a member of the society who was a professional killer. 575* 578 [432]

Tsaiat did not always come to the *Tsaiat* in quarrels between members of the two societies. Long ago, the *a'alt* were invited to a *potlatch* in a village in the upper Bella Coola valley. One of their own dances was taking place, but they 575* 578 796*

126 text, although they are obvious on the phonograph record.
185 In singing, moreover, sounds, especially vowel sounds, are
*533 altered to fit the tune, a factor which accounts for further
discrepancies between record and text. A frequent device is
redupication, a word or group of words is repeated in singing
when not called for in the spoken version. Finally one sound
occurs in singing which is practically unknown in speaking,
voiced s (recorded as ʃ) which gives a whistling effect. Many
choruses and some whole songs consist of meaningless sound
in such cases the tune alone is important and no attempt was
made to record the syllables.

It was quite as difficult to obtain interpretations as to
record texts. Songs which have been handed down for generations
abound in archaic expressions which are meaningless
even to the older men; some recently composed are full of
metaphorical devices to conceal their real significance from the
uninitiated. The result is consequently a series of words which
taken one at a time, convey no meaning. In many cases it was
impossible to obtain literal translations, even with the willing
assistance of younger men familiar with English. Every effort
was made to get the general meaning, and it is felt that this
object was adequately achieved, though the transcriptions do
not be sufficiently accurate for grammatical analysis.

*533 Singers function at every ceremony; in fact, its success
*776 depends so largely upon their efforts that they are also
*575 important members of the community. Some singers are
[illegible] created by the initiation of an ancestral prerogative; others
[illegible] by having composed a suitable tune. The young man who has
[illegible] by having composed a suitable tune. The young man who, [illegible]
554 does so, calls one of the established musicians aside and hums
*424 it to him; if the hearer is favourably impressed, he may hum
[illegible] and repeat it to his fellows, and if it wins their approval, the
[illegible] composer may be asked to join their ranks for the occasion
which it is to be used. Thus encouraged, the young man
likely to try again, or he may be invited to assist at an
ceremony for which a large number of singers is required.
proficiency, he is certain to win recognition in course of time

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until it is accepted by all that he is one of the men who should be called upon to take part in all rites. If possible, he endeavours to legalize his position by a distribution of presents. Men are always eager to become singers, both for fame and for emoluments.

New songs are required every year for *nuxuk* and *kwiuc* dances, necessitating an almost limitless number of compositions. Singers frequently make use of fragments of old tunes, or snatches from half-forgotten songs, but they are ridiculed as inefficient if the plagiarism be too obvious. Tunes are always prepared in advance; in fact, proficient composers spend much of their time at all seasons of the year in humming over to themselves possible combinations. When word is passed around that a song is required, they meet in some lonely spot and each who has one in readiness hums it, tapping a gentle accompaniment. After considerable discussion, one is selected as being the most suitable and the singers make themselves familiar with it. Words are then put to it, consisting of fragments from the ancestral myth of the person for whom it has been prepared, or from some other theme appropriate to the occasion. Sometimes this is done by the composer of the tune; sometimes by another singer more familiar with the subject. The provision of words is considered less difficult and less important than the composition of a tune; no one knows the source of inspiration for the latter, but the former is said to come from either the heart or the head. All ceremonial songs are divided into three sections; *kululu* : or first part, *ic iko ll* or second part, and *ilco* or third part, separated from one another by the *sisnalic*, wordless chorus. The three parts correspond, approximately, to verses and each contains four, rarely six, subdivisions. In mourning songs there are sometimes as many as six or eight *ilco*, and the whole is correspondingly lengthened.

On the night of a ceremony, the singers always take their places beforehand for a final rehearsal. Each brings his own beating-stick, a stout baton about two feet long to pound on the floor in time with his singing. The only other musical

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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
eagle down on his head(f)	ye children	of chiefs.

[illegible]
[accompanying concluding horn.]

(a) For some unexplained reason this song has been used without change for three generations. It was composed for a certain *Sinkaup*, willed by him to *Wiuslis*, who transmitted it to the present user. [424] [428]

(b) Recorded as song VII D 11, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(c) *Ali wilkum of dai* should probably be *dain*, but in singing the final *a* sound is usually indistinguishable and has accordingly been omitted throughout. The *d* sound is often sung as *d* but the one spelling has been used consistently. [145]

(d) The wordless chorus of this song consists of a series of grunts which are said to be the voice of a horse, the crest of *Wiuslis*.

(e) The meaning of this is: What my grandfather brought down.

(f) The grandfather of *Wiuslis* had willed to him the right to use this crest. [424]

(g) The man from whom this song was obtained did not know what was the crest of *Wiuslis*. He judged from the text that it must have been the horse, although this is not one of the generally recognized birds. [428]

(h) Meaning: The horse which has failed to jeh its prey. When this song was sung, a masked figure of a horse appeared and unfolded several of the spectators, who were here reinforced for having permitted a pretenaitive to be displayed. [431] [424]

(i) An ambiguous expression for pretenaitive.

Song of Apalsis of Kimsquit when initiated into the Sunsh Society(a)

A Tsyuilkwaimaiyawa	a'wawkwaqwa	Tsa ahwiskaqilaxwa
Be of good courage	ye of the potlatch(b).	Use up and down(c)
[illegible]	Tsawaxwaiwalkwa	ahwaqwaiwalai
your head.	They have met with an accident(d),	the house being flooded (e).

([illegible] [illegible])

B [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Wiuslis their farm [or crest]	whose will become [illegible]	who rise to Sunsh
[illegible]	Kawilkwai'ahwa	[illegible]
the Kimsquit River(f).	They who can dishes (g)	will prepare their biggest room.

([illegible] [illegible])

C The third part has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 12a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) The wording shows that the song was to be used at a potlatch.

(c) Meaning: Make use of it all directions.

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(c) As incident in the dancer's ancestral myth, one of his forefathers ascended to dancing a cool chief. 533*

(d) Many origin myths dancing known, provided by *Aperow* for the four sections, which expended of their own accord to accommodate guests or patronize. The reference is to one of them, although it was impossible to record the myth itself. [795]

Song Used for Event of Kwaquitla

A *Pâmyulâm* Know yourselves for us,	*ut'ilkuak* yo wonderer!	*Ilâkyulâyulâm* See which is my supernatural being(d).	*wyulâyyulâ*

[WORDS OMITTED]

B *Nulâmulâmulâm* As the bottom(e)	*ulâlâyyulâm* the four corner(f)	*âlâmamâyâ* sented himself	*mu nulâmulâ* of our provided food(g).

[WORDS OMITTED]

C The third part, if it was existed, has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded on song VII D 6b, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pollard. Ever was his mother's brother.
(b) The dancer's ancestors are invited to gather to witness his performance.
(c) Thus is: The mouth.
(d) Referring to one of the dancer's earliest ancestors.
(e) The reference is to the Kwaquit River which moves with salmon, the dancer describes the fish as the fare provided for his ancestral family by *Aperow*.

Song Used for Event of Kwaquit (a)

A *ne Ilâ* *Lâmamulâm* Go out and see,	*yo ut'ilkuak* yo wonderer!	*Yulâmulâmulâ* It is apparent(a)	
âyulâkuat what travels everywhere(b),	*âlamulâlâm* what brings our food(c)	*âmulâyamulâmulâ* from its home(d).	

[WORDS OMITTED]

C *Ilâmamulâm* There is	*âmulâmulâm* the chief	*Kulululâlâ(g)* *Kulululâlâm,*	*âlâmamulâmu* he carries a heavy burden(h)	[796 424]
mamulâlâ in his name	*âmulâyamulâmulâ* from his land.			

(a) Recorded on song VII D 6a, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Only one of the three parts are remembered.
(c) The actual meaning of *kulululâ* is: What is Apparent. So use in this case is, therefore, an extraordinary pun.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

#583 (d) A somewhat beautiful reference to the power of the dancer's totemism.
(e) Another arrogant reference to the totemism.
[776] (f) In Bella Bella.
[424] (g) This is a Bella Bella being of whom little is known by the Bella Coola. The right to use him as totemism came from a remote ancestor.
(h) Presumably, the dancer's right to perform.

Fragment of a Song Used for Kapsis, a Kimsquit Steer(a)

A Hiyumsmsis	*mudzwimsmsg*	*Sdzwimsmdzis*
Protect your farm,	you quiet people!	Is always shooting arrows

Sudzwimsmdzis
my count(b).

[WORDS NOT CONTD]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

[WORDS NOT CONTD]

Kymsiss	*Ksyilimsmsmdzisiff*
Don't do that,	they will cover us with valuables(c).

(a) Recorded on song VII D 29b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to be an extremely ancient one, used by some of the earliest settlers; the tune is said to be entirely different from any recent social compositions.

[424] (b) The dancer's crest was the wasp, an insect which is believed to sting by the discharge of invisible, minute arrows. This admonition to the guests to hide their faces was, of course, a boasting reference to the goods which would be distributed at the approaching potlatch. Some of the first settlers were seen down to earth as a wasp, but several, including *Stalkie*, were guided and assisted by these insects to such an extent that they have been regarded as crests.
[825] [775]

[558] (c) It is customary, when quoting this song, to add this final remark. It is related that, many years ago, a Kimsquit man used his wasp prerogative, but was shamed at the potlatch by being transferred with goods from a steer. Since that time, none
[424] of his descendants has dared to use the right and the admonition against doing so has become almost proverbial.

Fragment of a Song Used for Nagwilmsis of Kimsquit(a)

A Kwsmdzilkwsm	*Ahdzhdzwhdzi*	*Dzhgwhdzwhdzi*	*wsmsgwhdzi*
We all go	to see(b).	He(c) informs us	of what he carries.

B and *C* The name of this song is remembered, though it was used at a potlatch about 1900.

(a) Recorded on song VII D 29b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louis Hall.
(b) Meaning: To gaze upon something supernatural.
(c) An unnamed supernatural being.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

533*

Fragment of a Song Used for Sxwahlis, a Man of Salmon House(a)

Wlidlpmlklaix Whence come those(b)	*nanamy* who were too late?

No more of this song is remembered.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 9c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Refers to guests at the potlatch.

Fragment of a Song Used for Sahamsta of Kimsquit(a)

Xatiqmsiye I am happy at seeing you(b),	*natiqmsiye* I am happy at seeing you,	*hauhai* good-bye(c).

No more of this song is remembered.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 31h, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Presumably refers to the dancer's totemism, Beaver, obtained from his mother's mother, a Kitlobe woman. [424]
(c) This word is said to be in the Haida language.

Song(s) Used for Lasqyaa-k'ii(b) of Kimsquit(a)

A Kmxwlhaxwmdimsqimalaax I make two of myself(c).	*Ep'ensi(d)* Raven(f).	
ckhlnqlakaiyalinqin I make a huge whale of myself,	*Ep'ensi* Raven,	
ahtc-ulpimaxhs at the place of lucky finds (g).	*Kmxwiklitimalaa* People will remember me,	*ckhlnqlakaiyalinqin* I make a huge whale of myself(h).

[WOODLESS CANOE]

B Kmxwlmlqsiiwt' I stand upon	*ahtc-ulmlaix* my point(i);	*ckapang' ctalakai* I cry out loudly(j)	
dimlkmqalai with respect to my position as chief.			

[WOODLESS CANOE]

C Kmxwmlhqsl' Go yourselves!	*Ahlaiyanlinkp* Pick out what you want!	*Olqayimxmimals* My house	*mculakaals* is open(k).

(a) It is doubtful whether or not this song should be included in this section. It was used by a professional warrior at a potlatch but, like all others with his [701] [575] [424]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

*533 prerogative, he was debarred from seclusion in the back-room and consequent
[701] initiation as a *sisook*. The exact relationship between warriors and members of
[575] the *sisook* society is obscure.

(*b*) *Laxsiyaa-k'* is a Kitkatla name from the north. The first owner moved to
[424] Kitlobe where he married, and the designation was transmitted to his descendants.
[177] One of the latter migrated to Kimsquit, where the name has since been handed down from generation to generation though its original source has not been forgotten.

(*c*) Recorded as song VII D 36, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been used about 1870.

(*d*) Vocative form.

(*e*) That is: I double my importance. This kind of expression is popular among chiefs.

[424] (*f*) *Qoui* is one of the ancestral names of Raven, the dancer's crest. In thus
[262] addressing the bird, he called attention to his ancestral history.

(*g*) The home of the first *Laxsiyaa-k'* was near a point where dead whales often drifted ashore. The dancer likens himself to a whale on which people will dine.

(*h*) Such repetition is not uncommon. The dancer implies that his wealth will be divided in a manner similar to the cutting up of a whale's carcass.

(*i*) A promontory owned by the first *Laxsiyaa-k'*.

(*j*) That is: I summon people [to a feast.]

(*k*) An invitation not to be taken too literally.

Xe-tla Songs

The tunes of *xe-tla* songs are believed to have been handed down, unaltered, for many generations. The words, too, are frequently ancient although the singers sometimes make slight changes so that they will be more suitable for the chief in whose honour they are being sung. Owing to the decline of cere-
[796] monials in which they were used, few *xe-tla* songs are now remembered.

Xe-tla Song Used by Sinapul of Kimsquit(a)

[727] *A* *Alinaynaa* | *Ahlrnal'alhdai* | *Di ntheitmydai* | *dinulkmit*
Come! | See! | The chief | a man stands in the bow(b)

di yalentsal'aikdai
of those who travelled everywhere.

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

B *Aleiqualnaynaaeit* | *di'entsaa'alhdai* | *eiyattiyamathdai*
He did so, | my pattern(c), | whence I come(d);

*[illegible] 533 [illegible] 579 [illegible] 794 herd, but the rites in which they were used have been practically discontinued for several years so that unabridged versions are almost impossible to obtain. *All* themes vary according to the ceremonies in which they are used. For potlatches, they consist of incidents from ancestral myths; whereas for non-ceremonial occasions following the *Bacini* season, they deal with current events. The following examples are divided into these two classes.

THEMES DRAWN FROM ANCESTRAL MYTHS

[illegible] Away Used for Purposes, a Sign of Kinship(a)

A [illegible]
They give valuable [illegible], | [illegible] my goods(b), | [illegible] they [illegible] their own opinion

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] to whom of these [illegible] to my house I shall give [illegible](c).

[illegible]

B [illegible]
I speak lightly | [illegible] of everything(d). | [illegible]
Through them(e)

[illegible]
I become elevated, | [illegible] my power to give potlatches (to) | [illegible] my male relatives(f).

[illegible]

C [illegible]
Presently I shall stand | [illegible] within the box | [illegible] as the [illegible] design,

[illegible]
where found to sit(g) | [illegible] the [illegible] skins(h) | [illegible] of Pachelbel(i).

(a) Recorded on song VII D 24a, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pelkey.

(b) That is: The goods which I am about to distribute advise me. This statement is not to be taken literally.

(c) It was impossible to obtain a translation of each subdivision.

(d) Refers to the dancer's many perspectives.

(e) Refers to his male relatives.

(f) The dancer had obtained several perspectives from ancestors, treated practically.

(g) A reference to the dancer's origin myth (I, p. 320). The house of his [illegible] ancestor, had its door in a back corner instead of the usual front.

(h) That is: Whales were distributed as potlatches.

[illegible] 424 [illegible] 773

[illegible]

[illegible]

(1) [illegible] from [illegible] as a gift from [illegible].
(2) One of the donor's [illegible] ancestors.
(3) Conclude [illegible] such as this, referring both to the approaching [illegible] and the donor's origin [illegible], are common in potlatches and [illegible].

[illegible] Song Cycle for [illegible] of Kwagiutl

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Formerly the people who held [illegible] will [illegible] when I [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible]

B [illegible]
In the beginning there were three | [illegible] | [illegible]

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]

[illegible]

C The last part has been forgotten(g).

(a) Recorded as song 102 D 3b, National Museum of Canada, stages, [illegible] [illegible].
(b) The word [illegible], which is translated as [illegible], is used only for the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] which are [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] by those who are [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] family concerned.
(c) It was impossible to obtain [illegible] translations of the [illegible].
(d) It [illegible] which [illegible] (i.e. [illegible]) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. It is claimed that the composers of this song [illegible] to [illegible] this designation.
(e) [illegible] were [illegible] in the Kwagiutl River, but the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] that [illegible] and [illegible] were [illegible].
(f) The Kwagiutl River is sometimes [illegible] [illegible], or [illegible] [illegible]. This designation was [illegible] by [illegible] from [illegible], with the message to [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible], and [illegible] by him on the river.
(g) This song was sung during the winter of [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. It is claimed that the right to the song [illegible] was lost to a Kwagiutl [illegible] who failed to return it. The [illegible] has been [illegible] [illegible], but when he was [illegible] to [illegible], one of the singers who was [illegible] to the original [illegible] refused to take part in the singing.

[illegible] Song Cycle of a Kwagiutl Chief

I am [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
I have [illegible] | the [illegible] right | which [illegible] | my [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(1) Sung on song 9(1) D 5b, National Museum of Canada, stages, [illegible]
(2) Typically a reference to Nuxlayank, the dancer's farter guiner(?).
(3) The meaning of this word is not known, it is considered to be quite distinct from the other term in Chinook jargon for "dance."
(4) The meaning of the whole song is extremely obscure.

Marriage Songs

As marriage songs, two distinct classes may be considered:

1. Those used at weddings;
2. Shaming songs used in connection with divorce cases.

Divorces are said to have been handed down from the [illegible] and consist of a few almost meaningless words. The lyrics are composed whenever required, and consist of foul allusions the person being ridiculed.

Wedding Songs

Gass Marriage Song(1)

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	

(1) Sung on song 9(1) D 5b, National Museum of Canada, stages, [illegible]

(2) [illegible] with reference to the beginning of time, and brought [illegible] to Alqunta, the originator of dancing at weddings. He landed at [illegible] an explanation is given by the Bella Coola for the use of this song [illegible] of dance.

(3) [illegible] to a marriage among the five people as with. One of [illegible] a woman whose relatives had brought light with them from [illegible].

[illegible] Marriage Song(1)

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		

(1) Sung on song 9(1) D 5b, National Museum of Canada, stages, [illegible]

(2) [illegible] 533*
(3) [illegible] 585
(4) The use of this song has been forgotten. [773] [424]

Fragmentary and short as are these songs, they are more elaborate than many used at weddings. These frequently contain no words, merely an ancient tune accompanied by humming and meaningless vocal interjections.[illegible]

[illegible]

Songs of this type are sung by the singers while the principal performer dances; in this respect, they resemble social compositions and differ entirely from the elaborately and individualistic wedding songs. Though used primarily to dance a runaway husband or wife, one is sometimes employed on other occasions. 533* 586 571 [345]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] [103]

[illegible]

2 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

3 The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(4) This most recent "The one (feminine) with the very hairy pudenda." The critics in question had two views from her husband and the children was one; [illegible] [351] [353]

[illegible]

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]

[illegible]

(a) [illegible]

(b) [illegible]

(c) [illegible]

(d) [illegible]

(e) [illegible]

(f) [illegible]

(g) [illegible]

(h) [illegible]

(i) [illegible]

(j) [illegible]

(k) [illegible]

(l) [illegible]

(m) [illegible]

(n) [illegible]

(o) [illegible]

(p) [illegible]

(q) [illegible]

(r) [illegible]

(s) [illegible]

(t) [illegible]

(u) [illegible]

(v) [illegible]

(w) [illegible]

(x) [illegible]

(y) [illegible]

(z) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(a) [illegible]

(b) [illegible]

(c) [illegible]

(d) [illegible]

(e) [illegible]

(f) [illegible]

(g) [illegible]

(h) [illegible]

(i) [illegible]

(j) [illegible]

(k) [illegible]

(l) [illegible]

(m) [illegible]

(n) [illegible]

(o) [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]

(a) [illegible]

(b) [illegible]

[illegible] GIRLS ORDERS

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(a) "The Gambler." This is one of the appellations of the infant's parent, the [illegible]
[illegible]
(b) Recorded as song VII (f) 1a, National Museum of Canada, stage, Jim Pickard. This song was composed for, and used during the forty-seven of 1924 in the initiation of Lithuanians, a bands called [illegible] to Kamaniauka. [776]
(c) A reference to Dieu, the neophyte's parent. The significance is that death [illegible]
[illegible] [556]
(d) The elaborate ritual of an Dieu dance depth grief. It was impossible to [illegible]
(e) Referring to one of the dead man's ancestors. The dance changes, and is [illegible]
(f) Referring to the dead Kamaniauka.
(g) "The Letter." This is one of the many designations for Pachpin, one of the dead man's [illegible]
(h) A reference to the supposing [illegible] described in the dead man's origin myth. [775]
(i) One of Kamaniauka's [illegible]
(j) This is another name for Pachpin. The meaning of the whole part is Kamaniauka are [illegible] within the supposing [illegible] on Mount Pachpin. There is the added implication that he [illegible] as does the supernatural [illegible] in the [illegible] dance.

Non-Ceremonial Songs

The Bella Coola are not an inordinately musical people. Sing- [776]
ing is unique in an essential feature of every ceremonial cir-
cle, when alone, an individual seldom burns into melody from
dans joie de vivre. They have, however, a certain number of
non-ceremonial songs, diverse and more diverse in theme than
any of those previously recorded. The people themselves do
not arrange to classify them, though they can conveniently
be grouped in accordance with their themes. Some deal with [525]
love, others are sung invariably at sight of certain birds or
mammals, while a third class can only be described as miscel-
laneous. Still others accompany stories and games; these
are included in vol. III, chap. V, and appendix B.[1]

LOVE SONGS

Men sometimes compose songs which they sing, unaccom- [555]
panied, to their lady loves. Occasionally, too, the mother of a [192]
popular son will teach it to his friends who will serenade the [434]

[1 [See vol. III, pp. 545 to 567 - Anthony]]

[illegible] women, for taking the leading part. Such songs are our private property. Women, likewise, compose songs about men, though these are usually of a mocking nature and are sung only by a group of girls when on a picnic or fern-gathering expedition.

(Man's Love Song)(a)

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
If you marry(b)	to Sang[illegible],	I would become a pine,	I would capture pine
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
If you marry	to the moon,	I would become a full-moon(b)	I would capture moon

(a) Recorded as song [illegible] D. Ch., National Museum of Canada, singer, [illegible] Dalhousie. This is said to be an ancient Haida Gwaii love song.

(b) The marriage here indicates merely the end of a work group, not a final rite. Marriage as a sacramental union in which the services of an officiant are required.

(Man's Love Song)(a)

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
If you should go	to the land	of the full-moon,
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
I would change myself to a kingfisher,	[illegible]	I would not you.

(a) Recorded as song [illegible] D. Ch., National Museum of Canada, singer, [illegible] Dalhousie. The singer composed this song about 1900.

(Man's Love Song)(a)

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
I	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
I	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]
I	[illegible]

P

CHAPTER 4

STORIES

Giant Stories — Natural Stories — Funny Stories — Supernatural Stories — Cosmogonic Stories — Historical Stories

In addition to myths which have definite sociological importance, such as those which explain the procedure of dances and other rituals, there are many legends which can best be described as *stories*.[1] These do not belong either to individuals or to families, consequently they are more widely known than allegedly historical accounts which are the personal property of social groups. In the long winter evenings it is common to see an old man or woman surrounded by young boys and girls listening attentively to some tale. An outburst of laughter always accompanies a humorous incident, no matter how many times it may have been heard. The narration is a mere pastime, an amusement which seems never to palL either on narrator or listener. Occasionally, a person of philosophical disposition will claim that a moral is taught by every story, and it is true that many of them point out some well-known experience of life, such as "The Bear Bit"; the most unconsciously strike the listener, but any intentional didacticism is quite foreign to Bella Coola thought.

As will be seen, these stories contain a large number of fantastic episodes. The Bella Coola recognize this to be the case without doubting their truth. They describe events which took place long, long ago, when men and supernatural beings were in closer contact than at present, when men was able to understand the speech and actions of the birds, the mammals, and the fish. The people of today do not expect to have such experiences now but, according to their point of view, there is no reason why the incidents of the stories could not have happened in the distant past. Frequently, different versions of the same legend are told by different men, such as

[1] Stories, a story or, more accurately, a piece of ancient lore.

APPENDIX [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

APPENDIX D

192*

A'ylim: Village on Salmon House, on the upper Dean River.
ainim: Position between two lines.
a-lat: 1—Raised hail behind the fire used by a person seeking power, or by one who has been in contact with the supernatural.
2—Powerful.
[223]
a-mitsa: To reach.
a-mitsamitl: Hereditary fore handed down secretly to a family.
[224]
Ayimsis: One of Kwoiz's Cove sisters.
ayiqmas: Sound sung in slow time.
[323]
ayilim: 1—Rim, project, bump, seat.
2—One of the sights of a potlatch, probably that on which a representative of the deceased appears.
ayu: Rocky Mountain jay.
[225]
ayumatl: Carved horse gear.
Ababaxsit: Wife of Gaalq; both were changed to stone in the beginning of time.
ababxsit: That part of a house between fire and doorway.
Ababxsitsis: Expedition of the supernatural being P'ensiw against herons and fish.
A-gunam: Gaanxt's fish-dam in the beginning of time; the stones has since been used by his descendants.
agwanim: Only sister to a family of several brothers.
[401]
ag?: Tools.
[125]
ainmilim: Swaying to medicinal smoke as a curative measure.
[326]
ainqmis: Dry.
[326]
Ait-sawit: Evil male supernatural being.
[324]
a-lag: 1—Death, not anthropomorphized.
2—Dead.
[325]
alawi?: Kingfisher.
[327]
ala: Fish-hook.
Alkem, "Place of the Dogs Jaws": Supernatural beings resident in the land otters.
amimsu: Eaten up.
amiqwat: *plural, amiqwatl, neutro plural, amiqwatat*.
1—Person who has not given a potlatch, a commoner.
2—Ancestral name of a Kitsegukla woman.
Ahlat: Lesser village.
Ayi: Deer was mentioned in an ancient story.
ayu hoolim, "He Unwrote Over Himself." The implication is that this is an indecent of witchcraft, hence the word really means snow. It is the Kitsegukla version of a conjur.
[187]
a-yunlim: Cause of death.
Ayu'i, "Occupied Mound": 1—Village at Kuxina.
2—Artificial mound at Pitts.
3—Village on the Kitsegukla River.
4—Island near Green Falls.
Ayu'i nas Wunalaxis, "Place of Dogs": Locality near Green Falls where the dogs come to work in the beginning of time.
ayunu'i: Partial decade.
[225]

*The house is a favorite place for obtaining power, the probable reason for the identity of the two terms.

Gaiwan. Tail.
Gaokiak. Sun.
Gar. Black beetles.
Gaiwo. Outer name of a Kitsugas man.
Gamilan. Personal name of the wife of Dadly who was changed to stone in the beginning of time.
Gaol. Rapids.
Gapaskiak. Kitkata chief living in the beginning of time.
Gaskly. 1—Marriage, properly arranged and legitimate.
2—The actual wedding day.
Gamilan. Outer name of a Kitsugas woman.*
Gar. Black beetles for boiling liquids.
Gdemdayar. The melting of manitous from a manitou stone a curing repository.
Gdemdayaw. Investment property, i.e., one for which a return is expected.
Gdaem. Bathroom in which sweat initiates and others are cleansed.
Gdim. Women during ceremonies.
Gdim, "What Was Sent Down". Intangible possession, such as a myth or a gen, negative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
Gempiyo. Wooden tongs such as are used for lifting hot stones.
Gdemdayar ala Gamiyaw. Economic rite in which the performer appears to be drowned.
Gdaw ni Gdoll, "The Guest". One who has been initiated as a member of the Sacred society but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through understudied knowledge or through successful participation in either a Sacrum or a Mystery dance.
Gdoll, "Rendered Incapable of Reasoning". Said of an unintoxicated person who is alleged to have exercised as a repository.
Gdoiaga. Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Gdoiaw. The dancers waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one visitation, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability.
Gdu, mentor, Gdaw. Grandmother.
Gdu-ram-ra. Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
Gdaudal. Name given to their canoe by the first settlers at Gaw in the beginning of time.
Gdaumaiaw, "The Wise One". One of Barney's women as chief.
Gdaudlan. One of the first women to settle at *Ksyklad* in the beginning of time.
Gdaia. Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Gdaum. 1—Cloth.
2—Ceremonial cloth-like creation, alleged to be found far in the forest.
Gdaulay. Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts.
Gdi. Red elderberry.
Gdim. Wooden remedy used in the grounding of cedar bark.
Gdi. Unidentified plant.
Gdem. To wear dried salmon.
Gdemdayar. Suggestion, in the sense of held in place by physical resistance.
Gdaqmak. Locality on Pine Channel, west of Gurnah.
Gdaw. Place on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

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*This name appears to be an entirely different word from Gaiwo.

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NEA Bellacoola NEA

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[824]

[825]

[622]

[553]
[796]

[688]
[424]

[821]
[769]
[823]

[535]

Kwakiutlans: Totemistic Kwakiutl geographical subdivision of the Kwakiutl, the Kwakiutl proper.
Kwakiutlans: Kwakiutl proper.
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[601]
[614]
[826]
[465]
[588]
[601]
[712]
[775]
[424]
[221]
[761]
[825]

[illegible]: Number of times one and some unusual family or speaker.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who comes with [illegible] to bring a call to the latter's prestige.
[illegible]: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
[illegible]: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract.
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.
[illegible]: Tahn-hah.
[illegible]: Ravenscow, virtually pro, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a dancing ceremony.
[illegible]: Exchange marriage.
[illegible]: Passages.
[illegible]: Place near [illegible].
[illegible]: Racial name owned by [illegible] at Kitsapit in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker.
[illegible]: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.
[illegible]: "The Inhospitable One". Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[illegible]: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who created [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.
[illegible]: Name occupied by the four authors at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: The use of potent medicines after seeing a giant toad.
[illegible]: 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dried cedar-bark to [illegible].
2—The cooking of offerings to ghosts by the casting of food on a fire.
[illegible]: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.
[illegible]: Male supernatural being who travels with [illegible], takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.
[illegible]: Mother Nature.
[illegible]: Fishermen with inherited right to use of a salmon weir or of a place for catching sturgeon.
[illegible]: "A Calling Back", or "A Seizing". Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural artisans having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation.
[illegible], "Where Water Extend". Name of one of the four groups of authors at Kitsapit in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Racial name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: Professional name of a female dancer.
[illegible]: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.
[illegible]: Racial name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.
[illegible]: Kitsapit house mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible], "The One that Protrudes in the Head of the River". Supernatural name of sockeye salmon.

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Nuxutsqmum: Woman endowed supernaturally by *Awi'lkwulcais* and serving as patron (?) to a *hamat* dancer.

[919] *nuxulilaic*: Omen of death.

Nuxutsumhmum, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Tlistqhlitw-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nuxwumhlaic: 1—Man dwelling in *Xwaqwa*'s house.
2—*Kwiat* name of a Kimsquit woman.

nuxqqim: The cry of *hi, hi*, uttered by Cannibals.

Nuxwumqq: *Kwiat* name assumed by a *Dzaz* woman in the beginning of time.

[424] *nuxqqwum*: *Kwiat* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and *qaiaum* is obscure.

Nu'xwumhmaic, "The Widower": One of Raven's names as chief.

[575] *nuqtsoxlal-um*: Synonym for *ksuxum*: Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

Nuqtsuhlitsa, "Hoodlumly Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[302] *nuqw-ustc*: The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.

nuqtsiw-i: Medicine brewed in a skull.

Nuqtymin, "Place of Much *Ksymin*": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nuqqutsic: *Nuqwal* name of a Kimsquit man.

Nuqlisqutlw-a: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[105] *nuqwumw-i ne xuq'"ain*: One year.

[528] *nuqum*: Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.

nuqwil, "Empty House": House in which a *hamat* dance is taking place.

nuqulqut: The throwing of grease on a fire to heat, both literally and figuratively, a rival.

[521] *Nuqwly"*: 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.

[527] *nuqulitsin*: Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

nuqhsum: Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *hamatsa* and other important *hamat* rites.

[777] *nuq"xuxulitsin*: Unexpected stroke of good fortune.

Nuqwitlmlaic: *Kwiat* name of a Kimsquit man.

[772] *Nuqwilim*: Site of an ancient town on Schooner Pass.

Nuqwilaic: The upper heaven.

nuqwna: Woman with thick pubic hair.

Nuqwulinqlaw-i: A *Dzaz* cemetery.

Nuxlqwumuin, "Where *Nqwumw* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[524] *nuxtqwu-uqy*: Cottonwood bude.

Nuxtqwul'un, "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Smaoas* in the beginning of time.

nuxlkwqy: Canoe-maker.

Nuxlum: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Nuqlalt*.

[535] *nuxlstqwy*: Children's dance which serves as training for *hamat* rites and to provide entertainment.

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Sinuqutl: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Sinuximatl: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Sinux* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sio°mstu: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative of imitating coitus. [424]

siplplâlosuts: Song sung by a *kusiutem* dancer on recovery from apparent death. [861]

siphim: Regular beatings given to a male child.

Siqâlyam, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

Siqulusnâm: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Siqulxmaix di Sisi, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

siqualdjut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]

siqusek: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage.

sisusts: Departure to a new locality. [425]

sisi, vocative, sisai: Father's brother or mother's brother. [601]

sisut: Paddle.

sisutsta: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

Sitkmsta: One of the names of the supreme god.

Sitliuq': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [778]

siut, vocative, sioat: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being, "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qomo·ts,* the large *sisaok* whistle.
4—Killer whale. [825]
5—Song.
6—*Kusiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Siutsn·i: Part of a peculiar repository.

Siutumkila: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

siutnâlos: Wordless chorus. [533]

Siwal·os, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Siwid: Celebrated *Djoldâsnix* chief living in the last century.

siwlikum: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a despondent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]

Siyman·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

siuzâu·imustsa: Place where healing power is petrified.

Siuzinfutnam: Synonym for *Mislakila,* the supernatural being connected with *sisaok* rites.

siuwismag: Kusiut dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, *anânusikx,* for the user's protégé on earth.

siuwofâskmak: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage. [584]

siuwutl: Unmarried mother. [848]

siyustla: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *siustla* may be connected with this.

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shell: Devil's club.
shémmalis: To lament ceremonially, the term used to describe the reason for a memorial potlatch. [824] [965]
Shenl, "Ashes": Ancestral name created for a *Snaiah* chief about 1910.
shewich: Supernatural creature dwelling in water.
shiy: Anus.
shoon: Splinters projecting upwards from the hole of a broken tree-trunk. [824]
Shumalpuwa: One of the first women to settle at *Snaiah* in the beginning of time.
Shuyn: Chief of the spring salmon.
sisiutaka: Narrow strips of goat skin with wool attached, distributed at marriage. [585]
sk'ism: Mosquito. [825]
skémmalpat, "The Opening": Ceremony when the first public presents are given to the family of a future wife, following the commencement of betrothal. [584]
sky: To cure, especially with the aid of a frenzied beating of sticks. [481]
Skwamish: *Snaw* man mentioned in an ancient story.
skimp, "Cure Tel": Call of invitation to a *Kwiat* dance in the upper Bella Coola valley.
skiwm: Cloud.
skma: Thick hide, either of moose or caribou. [825]
skma: Semi-circular knife used by women for cutting salmon. [412]
skmain, skmand, or *skmalpat*: 1—Frenzied beating of sticks for curing purposes, especially when the patient is a member of a secret society. [755]
2—Final *Kwiat* rite at end of the ceremonial season.
skmim: To cure by means of the frenzied pounding of sticks.
Skmi, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log": *s'alt* name obtained in the beginning of time.
Skmnial: House used by a group of first settlers near *Snaw* in the beginning of time.
Skmnalin-a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Nuqhalt* in the beginning of time.
sko'nals: Fungus. [824]
skómmiants: 1—Box made of strands of cedar-bark. [415]
2—Ancient name of mixed head-dress.
sky: Ceremonial designs executed on the exterior front wall of a house.
skuhl': Rum.
Skulmaw-a: *Kwiat* name of a Kimsquit man. [825]
skul: Wasp. [727]
Skulmmalin: Rock on shore of North Bentinck Arm where war trophies were washed.
Slqmshal: Name of house brought down by first settlers at *Slóhid* in the beginning of time; the term was also applied by them to one of their female relatives. [601]
slsi, sneatin, shsei: Parent-in-law or child-in-law.
slitty: Suitable place in the river for setting sockeye nets.
slíla: Game played with throwing stones.
sluck-it: Synonym for *yaxmas*, the tangible or intangible prerogative possessed by some *kukwiat* in addition to a dance rite. [424] ●
sluwalsin: River sculpin. [825]

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NES Bella Coola NES

shamán: 1—Shamanic gathering.
2—Shaming song.
3—The wailing of mourners at a grave.

[763] *Shamán-na-k*, "The Weaver": Female supernatural being whose appearance indicates the death of a chief.

shamánhlaxúm: Professional factor prerogative consisting of the right to sing of *Sisíutla* during factorum dances.

shamán: Dance.

Shamá: Earlier name of a Bella Coola woman.

Sla-lá: Whitewater River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola.

[824] *shas*: Long grass suitable for pasturage.

[252] *shaló*: Smoked spring salmon with the bone removed.

shaló: Shore, adverse.

[554] *shamnéjlat*, "The One with Many Descendants": Term used to describe an elderly man with many children and grandchildren.

Sla: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[601] *slal*: Game, resembling a tug-of-war, played with wooden hoops and spears.

[978] *shamán*, *sacatín*, *shamánjin*: Grandchild, the reactive indicates endearment.

shamanin: The deposition of eagle down on the heads of those quarrelling to pacify them.

sl-a: Gull blubber.

shpiém: 1—Breathing.
2—Sound of a sound whistle, referred to as the breathing of *Sisíutla*.

shal: Chicken grouse.

Shalchmaly: 1—Ancient village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[778] 2—Place of petrified power or site of ancient village.
3—Semi-anthropomorphical being responsible for power in this locality.

Sílim: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of every river.

shamán: The voice.

[824] *shaná*: Dried elderberries.

shámala: 1—Shaman-like power, as brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
[821] 2—Bella Coola woman.

sialpm: Eclipse.

shamanlúa: 1—One who keeps in touch with a concealed Cannibal.
[424] 2—One who has the inherited right to assist factor or sound dances; this prerogative occurs in Kimsquit only.

Smaielíla: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaielúla: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaiewa: 1—Synonym for *Shalchmaly*, q.v.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

[424] *smplaxúm*: A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first people in the beginning of time.

smalchmaly: Debris from cones eaten by squirrels.

Smanu, "The First": One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Smanuel: Man mentioned in an origin myth of a southern locality.

snáwmp, *sacatín*, *snáwmp*: Friends.

Ecabe: Eshabe River.

Eshabe: Eagle that perched on top of a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time. [825]

Ewer: Animal's entrails.

Ewo: Wife of the brother, foretelling death. [763]

Ewoso: Ceremony, in Bella Bella language.

Gaikhemo: Gentle return to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him. [836]

Gaiter: Ramsonites flea.

Gada, bald eagle: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley. [831]

2—Bald eagle.

3—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time. [825]

Gas: Storm, either facial or shamans.

Gaskiawa or *Gaskiaiu*: First night of a dance dance.

Gaskiskiawa: 1—Dance supposed to Kamquem's house.

2—Name obtained from them by a Gatha man in the beginning of time.

Gaskiskiawa: Extreme rite in which the performer's head appears to be pulled off. [415]

Gila: Closely woven basket of spruce roots.

Gilapanuxu: Any act of an unclean nature which prevents a supernatural being from using the supernatural. [384]

Gila: Powers distributed when a sand initiate dances. They are provided by the dance "To Shield Our Eyes" from the mountain and serve to recompense the supernatural and others who have assisted in the rite. [431]

Gnaw: Bell. [465]

Gnu: Shrub.

Gumkiskiu: Women resident in the far north in the beginning of time. [824]

Gunaqlar: The giving of presents to the servants and ministers of the dance of a patlatch in return for being served with food to a male woman. [431]

Gyaud: Small woodpecker, species undetermined. [824]

Gyaskie: Winter wren. [825]

Gyaudi: Spawning sockeye salmon. [826]

Gyiddin: Intangible facial prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the genitalia. [824]

Gwikhen: Pronoun.

Gwunkhdu: One of the first women to settle at *Gwakil* in the beginning of time.

Gwunkhdi: One of the first men to settle at *Tsawat* in the beginning of time. [824]

Gwunsdu: Unidentified tree of which the bark was smoked. [825]

Gwuskwuy: To group freely with both hands, sockeye.

Gwuyim-i: Trees, plural.

Gwu'ni'ukuh: Ceremony resembling a potlatch given by a chief for the benefit of his fellow-villagers, especially during the year preceding his main rite.

Gwuyu, "What Is Good": Synonym for abstinence, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]

Tatsul-ai: Synonym for *Nuxtsilsinuxhow*: Supernatural being who shamelessly begged food from his fellows.

Gwuiuma: 1—Masked figure, usually in crest form, which appears to sand and ritual initiates.

2—An appearance, that is, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.

Tsuhiin: Supernatural hunter of mountain goats.

[illegible]

[illegible]: One of the five men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: "A Coming up from Below into Plain Sight". Term used with reference to the descending of a raft through the mouths of Dean Sound.

[illegible]: "Whence We Come". A procession, such as a moth or a pterygotus, selected from the totem pole, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Old village near the head of Dean Channel, on the site of the present cannery on the opposite side of the foot from Shearlen Cannery.

[illegible]: Tree, inhabited by owls, behind the supreme god's house.

[illegible]: Space in a house between central the and side of which stand tables.

G

[illegible]: "What is Proved is Lacking". Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Algaiskai* in the beginning of time.

W

[illegible]: 1.—One of the five men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
2.—One of the five men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
3.—One of the five men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
4.—One of the five men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
5.—Name of the Kimsquit River on chief.
6.—Usual name of a Kimsquit man.

[illegible]: 1.—Cohoe salmon.
2.—Name acquired by a man from cohoe salmon.

[illegible]: Man who descended to the Clearwater River in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: 1.—One of the five men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
2.—Fraser River.

[illegible]: Village at Rivers Inlet. This word is in the Bella Bella language.

[illegible]: One of the five men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Lynx.

[illegible]: Woman who has inherited her husband.

[illegible]: To express a desire concerning the disposal of one's goods after death.

[illegible]: "I go."

[illegible]: "The Man Person of the Pond". Water-lily.

[illegible]: Name of *[illegible]*'s grandchild in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: 1.—Rivers Inlet.
2.—Collective term for the villages as in *[illegible]*.

[illegible]: Nickname name of a Kimsquit man.

[illegible]: Celebrated shaman, central figure in an ancient tale.

[illegible]: Tribal name of one of the Bella Bella-speaking groups.

[illegible]: Mountain near *[illegible]*.

[illegible]: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: Death in the house where a feast dance is taking place.

[illegible]: Mourning songs reported as expressions of real, not conventional, grief.

[illegible]: Synonym for *[illegible]*. The sky.

[illegible]

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NOTES ON THE BELLA COOLA AND NEIGHBOURING TRIBES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

By Charles T. Smith

INTRODUCTION

The most detailed dynamistic studies of four tribes of British Columbia, the Bella Coola or Bella Coola valley, the Gitksan or Skeena river, the Carrier who live in or territory behind both of these tribes, and the Sikani of the headwaters of Peace river. Among the Bella Coola the medicines are largely family possessions known to a few individuals only, so that one function may use different remedies for the same specific complaint, but this is not dissimilar among the other tribes. Everywhere magical practices were used in the treatment of disease, but no new material was added in this regard. It was impossible for the Indians to diagnose many of their maladies, so the the identifications given here are in many cases problematical.

Most of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1920-22, by Indian Jimmy, apparently a full-blood Bella Coola Indian, born about 1848, who did not speak English he gave the data in Chinook jargon, which he been interpreted and arranged in logical order. Jimmy is an Indian dentist with great knowledge of the local plants and animals. He remembers when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in Bella Coola valley, and when the inhabitants saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently he can recall the old Bella Coola customs others before it was much affected by European ideas.

Some of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1920-22 by the late Captain Schooner, also, apparently, a full-blood, very about 1848, who used the Chinook jargon. Also Hanna, Alexander Clahoose, Louis Hill, and other Bella Coola Indians likewise gave information and corroboration.

Most of the information relating to the Southern Carrier Indians of Tl'ezaldai was secured during 1920-1922 from Charlie West, also Indian Charlie or Handsome Charlie, a native of that place, born about 1871. Charlie used the peculiar form of broken or pidgeon English commonly employed for communication between the whites and the Carrier and Chilcotin Indians of this region.

The information about the Sikani and the Northern Carriers of Bagwotsa is from stray field notes kindly supplied by Mr. D. Jenness.

The information relating to the Gitksan was secured in 1925-26 from the late John Fowler and Abraham Fowler of Kitwanga, Luke Fowler and Dick Robinson of Hazelton, with additions and corroboration from a few others, all old Gitksan Indians, apparently full-blood. The information was secured mainly in English, although Abraham Fowler used also the Chinook jargon.

The method the writer employed was to submit specimens of the plants to his informants and question them concerning all their uses. Of the information thus obtained only the medicinal portion has been presented here. The plants were later identified by Mr. M. O. Malte, of the National Museum, Ottawa.

B
S
121
557
101
317
B
124
B
S
191
C
115
C
198
S
127
T
5
T
191
B
T
S
129
126

ceremonial. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and masks, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become Sisan'ka. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or other brother. Sisan'ka'ala, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is a member of the gens Ts'ak'ietsenot of the Tsak'ono, stated that he had received the mask when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the staff. He hopes that his mother will give him the whistle at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get some others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new mask, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a Ki'ainu name, which remains the same throughout life; and a Qi'ntsin name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Sisak'ala'ala (which is his Ki'ainu name) present Qi'ntsin name is Ki'ituwa'ha'ala, but at his next potlatch he intends to take the name of Kalu'ka. These names are also the property of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Ki'ainu names of the exogamous. In two cases only the Qi'ntsin names have been mentioned (see p. 620). When a man possesses several Sisan'ka masks he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their Sisan'ka masks to her husband, as his children make him a member of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisan'ka masks. After any mask has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the Sisan'ka carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Ki'ainu is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaûlikûtsai'n. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anaûlikûtsai'n invited her into her cave and taught

for the people of the K'ū'ish. The men commonly of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her arms with eagle-down. She commanded the women to dance in the same way as she was for dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and after she had finished, they should dance with combs. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me, you people shall dance the K'ū'ish. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the K'ū'ish.'

[illegible] Now since that time the Hāyū'k dance the K'ū'ish. When a man has some distinctive sitting letter he can be will invite the people to a K'ū'ish. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look in, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each K'ū'ish lasts three days.

[illegible] The various dances performed by members of the K'ū'ish are also the property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the Sisū'ts dances (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be bought and borrowed by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a song or dance is obtained from the owner by payment. The owner may exclude the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the K'ū'ish is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his K'ū'ish name, which he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar K'ū'ish names, which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pū'pi until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Tī'kū'ūl. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisū'ts, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must 'dance' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the K'ū'ish have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the shap'ūn (the Hī'mats'ī of the Kwakiutl), the O'ūq (the Ki'ūmsil of the Kwakiutl), and the Dū'ūn (the Ki'ūtsālsil of the Hī'ūsak). These grades are also hereditary. A K'ū'ish novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

When the shap'ūn is initiated he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed, in order to serve as food for the shap'ūn. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the shap'ūn order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] the tradition is considered much more sacred, the property of the person who has it in charge; this is a strong [illegible] tradition. A description of the sacred ceremonial has been given by Jackson in the paper above referred to.[1]

A clan legend which is treated in the sacred ceremonial is called in the Bella Coola "[illegible]" or "[illegible]". These traditions are the exclusive property of each clan. The laws according to which this descent from generation to generation takes place are the laws prevailing among the other Coast tribes. The traditions of each Bella Coola village are not exclusive [illegible] clan, genera, or septs, but each village community forms a solid unit possesses its own tradition. In order to keep the tradition in the tribe, the law requires that no person shall marry outside of his own village community. Thus the clan tradition is kept the exclusive property of the village community to means of endogamy. I have made two careful inquiries in regard to this point, and all the old men have unanimously the same statement. Even marriages among non-relatives are prevented; and although marriages of people who are distantly related to one another do not prevent, it even happens that cousins marry, so that an early marriage has arisen, in order to keep the clan tradition from being acquired by another village community. It seems, however, that owing to the influence of the Coast tribes, the endogamic system has begun to give way to an exogamic system. Formerly and wealthy chiefs marry outside of their own village community, in order to secure an additional clan legend through marriage. This new system agrees with the one prevalent among the Kwakiutl tribes.

The Kwakiutl, as stated before, is a religious ceremony to which all the dignitaries of heaven are permitted. The members of various clans are initiated according to their clan traditions; but the same societies and the same dances appear in the traditions of all the various clans. From what little I have been able to learn, it seems that there is an elaborate opening of the whole ceremonial, corresponding to the opening of the ceremonial among the Kwakiutl.[2] I received the following description of the opening ceremony:—

The person who invites to the Kwakiutl, that is to say, the man whose son is to be initiated into one of the secret societies according to the tradition of his clan, requests a person who is called K'wan to invite the nine brothers and their sister, who reside in the House of Myths, and in whose charge the Kwakiutl is placed. The names of the brothers are Kwaxwalelala, Kwaxwa, Qaq'ameklilla, Q'ûwaxwa, Ainmklila, Ai'mklilla, K'ûûlaa, Q'ûwaxwa, Ai'mklil, and that of their sister, [illegible] (see p. 33). In the rear of the house an elevated room is prepared for K'wan, in which he lies down. He is covered with wings made of red cedar-bark. For four days he stays

[1] Op. cit., pp. 1-10.

[2] I have described this fully in the Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. [illegible].

[illegible] 174

[illegible] 171 174 177 342

[illegible] 174

[illegible] 174 177 [illegible] 614

[illegible] [144]

[illegible] 174 177 [illegible]

[illegible] words of Kwakiutl derivation still lacking, also by a glance at the following list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin:—

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

With these names and customs the clan tradition must have found their way to the Bella Coola, but their social organization differed fundamentally from that of the Bella Bella branch of the Kwakiutl. While the latter, owing to intimate contact with the northern tribes, had adopted the Haida system with prevalent maternal descent, the Bella Coola were still distinctly divided into village communities that were not exogamic. It seems very likely that the jealousy with which the ownership of a clan tradition was guarded by the Coast tribes was very early introduced among the Bella Coola. Two means were available for preventing outsiders from acquiring the tradition. Among the Coast tribes with prevailing maternal institutions, among whom a limited number of clans existed, the ordinary law of inheritance was sufficient to retain the tradition inside of the clan. Not so among the Bella Coola. If their organization at an early time was similar to that of the Coast Salish, it is likely that the child was counted as well a member of the father's as of the mother's family, although the young woman generally moved to the village occupied by her husband. If the child belonged to the families of both parents, it had the right to use the tradition of either family; and consequently in the course of a few generations, the traditions acquired by each family would have spread practically over the whole tribe. There were only two methods possible to avoid this result. The one was to prevent marriages outside the village community; and this method would seem to have been most natural for a tribe organized in village communities, members of which were allowed to intermarry. The other method would have been to regulate the laws of inheritance in such a way that the child had to

[illegible] other tribes or another, but that it had not the right to use the property of both groups. It seems to my mind that the former method was more likely to develop under the existing social conditions, and that to this reason we must ascribe the development of an endogamic system among the Bella Coola. The occurrence of endogamic marriage among the tribe is quite isolated on the Pacific coast. All the other tribes have exogamic institutions, and by this means preserve their property rights. It is interesting to note that the northern Kwakiutl, who originally seem to have been organized in village communities, have adopted exogamic institutions; but there is a notable difference in the organization of the village community, between the Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl. Among the Bella Coola we generally find five women to each village community, three men and one woman. It is true that there are generally called brothers and sisters but they were counted independently by birth, and are therefore not necessarily considered as blood relatives. Among the Kwakiutl the village community we considered the descendants of one ancestor; consequently, among the latter tribe they are all relatives, while are forbidden to intermarry; while among the Bella Coola they are not relatives, and may intermarry.

My intention is, therefore, that the various social system of the Bella Coola developed through the influence of the customs of the Coast tribes upon the home social unit of the Salish village community. The possession of clan traditions was felt to a great advantage, and consequently the desire developed to possess clan traditions. These were acquired partly by intermarriage with the Coast tribes, as is shown by the fact that many of these traditions are borrowed from these tribes, partly by independent invention. The desire to guard the traditions which were once acquired led to the development of endogamic institutions, in order to prevent the spread of the traditions over the whole tribe.

The jealousy with which the traditions are guarded has had the effect of making each family try to prevent other families from knowing its own clan traditions. For this reason the clan traditions of the whole tribe are remarkably inconsistent. We find, for instance, that the earthquake raven legend of the northern Coast tribes has been utilized by many families as a family tradition. But while one family uses one part of the tradition, other families use other parts of the same tradition. Thus it happens that among the Bella Coola we find the most contradictory myths in regard to important events in the world's history. Some families maintain that the Raven liberated the sun, while, according to another one, the Mink was essential in bringing about the present state of affairs. Still others say that Tsimo'ns, during his travels, caused the sun to appear. The discrepancies in the traditions referring to the visit of the Mink and Wasp to their father, the Sun, are also very remarkable. Although a considerable amount of

combination is known to all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast; they neither exist nor exist to degree so among the Bella Coola; and I promise the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts for this curious condition.

The powers of the Bella Coola directed to form or fixing but a remarkable resemblance to the powers of the Tsimshian addressed to Lagha, the sky. So both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face it will be clear weather and men will be happy; consequently the prayer to the Bella "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from the Coast tribes is the Kwakiutl ceremonial, with which are connected the various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism. The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the Kwakiutl are practically identical. I will show (a) (a) the legend explaining the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another tradition is told to explain the origin of the custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called Bakbakalanuxsuwe, who lives in the forest, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret society was introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by these distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious inconsistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the word and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not coordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. [illegible]

every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he does prop- 556
erly. The first six of these totems are grouped in pairs, and are
believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, 773
and rainbow. In the second three totems make their appearance, and 776
are represented by masks. Gyanitsa and Gyanamlilla wear the 533
design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Gyanitsa by a 545
double carved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over 776
forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Gyanamlilla has a double carved
line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead,
cheeks, and chin. Gimlilla and Gimlilla wear the design of
the crescent, drawn in red and black, with difference similar to those
between the first and second masks. The two Gyanamlilla and
Gyanitsa have designs representing stars, both wearing the same
style of mask. The seventh is Gulu'nsa, whose face represents the
blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The eight is Gulu'lus (who
wants to have blankets too), whose the design of the rainbow in
black and blue. The ninth, Ki'nsa'k, wears on the head a mask repre-
senting a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The face
of the saint is a woman called Ki'nsa'k'nsa (the sister), the sister of
the others. The face is painted with the design of a blanket filled with
grease. The figures is covered bagnets on standing provisions and pur-
chased by the people whom she has robbed.

The sisan'k, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of 595
the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who 773
had gone out hunting met the sisan'k and was instructed by him in the 776
secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean 776
their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he commenced to
enter. Then he danced the sisan'k and told the people what he had
seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this
dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses
with tails of sea-lion skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man,
later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Ki'tsela dance
the sisan'k. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its 614
secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the 424 ●
sisan'k only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are 532
the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beau-
tiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the [542] [534]
carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are
shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although 424
the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by 532
each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to 556
acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan 614
to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegiti-
mate children, can not become sisan'k. A person can not take a [567] [848]
new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—
father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'nlu'sta, the Indian, to whom I [115]

[illegible] [illegible] my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the gens Ka'ninamk of the Tsimshian, stated that he had received a crest when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He heard that his mother would give him the otter at his seventh potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get crests elsewhere from his brothers; but if the latter's children should prove too very good, and develop very rapidly, his brothers would probably give his secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, ski'nist name, which remains through life, and a ki'nistan name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Tsimlo'ymk (which is ksk'nist name) ki'nistan name was Ki'nanamk'ksiaks, but at his last potlatch he intended to take the name of Kaiki'ks. These crests are the property of the various clans, each clan having its crest. When a man possesses several ski'n secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their ski'n secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his ski'n secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the ski'n carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the carve rattles, which are of the property of any particular clan.

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The ka'nist is presided over by a female spirit, called Anatlikuts'al'x. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anatlikuts'al'x invited her into her cave and taught her the secrets of the ka'nist. She wore ornaments of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

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Pre-
* 556 sently the guests assemble, those who are *ancsi* wearing on
[575] their heads one or more wood skins as a mark of membership
[287] in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled,
[293] the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners,
[554] slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair. It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by
[203] the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial gain.

264 A number of young lads, friends or relatives of X, distribute
* 556 the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no
[883] standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests;
[578] otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its
583 reward.

* 556 Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a
[537] fluent friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech, extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general
[425] outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may
[424] be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with
[532] the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name. The speaker always recounts the whole myth before announcing which portion of it is transmitted to X as a prerogative. It is understood that this transference will be duly validated by presents to X when he gives his potlatch. Such are termed *dzämänumtnum* and signify the repurchase of a wife from her husband. Though this is known to be a fiction it has extreme social importance. Unless *dzämänumtnum* is paid there is an ineradicable blot upon the children; in fact, it is one of the essentials of a legal marriage. All prerogatives thus transferred on *xlästnum* become the property of X and will in time pass to his children, unless recalled to the wife's family by further repurchase (*dzämänumtnum*) money or goods. In this fashion elements of family myths become scattered, and one of the considerations in choosing a wife is to select a woman able to bring back some missing part of the husband's myth.

The usual present is an ancestral name, which X henceforth uses as potlatches as his most distinguished title, though the myth in which it is incorporated does not belong to him. As long as the name remains in X's family those who originally owned it are unable to make use of it. Such a name is said to be "dragged across" by the wife to her husband, the immense weight or importance of the designation being compared with the dragging of a heavy log. Occasionally, the father of a married woman, animated by the kindliest feelings towards his son-in-law, may give him outright a myth with all the names embodied therein. This can happen only where there are no other survivors of the family. In such a case when the myth is recounted it must always be mentioned how it has been obtained. The number and type of the prerogatives transferred depend upon the sentiments with which his wife's family regard X. If, in addition to being a worthy man, he is member of their ancestral family, or of one with which his wife's has frequently intermarried, so that in course of generations prerogatives have intermingled, there is less objection to giving him such rights than if he were an unrelated individual.

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556 A man may receive so many prerogatives with regard to house
425 painting that he has to continue the designs on the sides of his
[606] dwelling, or he may receive so many figures for a totem-pole
[592] that he can erect one of composite pattern. X may acquire prerogatives not only from his father-in-law, but from his mother-in-law, and if he is the husband of several wives, the family of each may contribute something. If, for some inexplicable reason, X is not given any prerogative from the family of his wife, he uses one of his own ancestral myths with the names belonging thereto. A man who gives many potlatches can choose to validate numerous family names for himself, or to concentrate on one alone, elevating it to a position of great importance. But any names he validates must belong to his
[615] family; it is contrary to custom for a Bella Coola to steal a name to which he has no right.

556 At this, or some other suitable time, X prays for assistance
782 in the complicated rites that are to follow. Taking four pieces of pounded and dyed cedar-bark, and four pieces of undyed bark, he places on each a small quantity of food and throws the eight into the fire. Likewise he may throw in four small pieces of any kind of goods. As he does so he appeals to the supreme god:

"Please strengthen my spirit for the many duties which are before me."

Instead of praying himself, X may ask a shaman to do so
[756] for him, in the belief that the latter's supplication will be more efficacious.

556 The necessity for supernatural assistance lies in the fact
638 that any serious error or disaster in the performance of potlatch
628 rites calls for summary punishment, since X has allowed ceremonial secret knowledge to reach the uninitiated. In such a case the duty of meting out a penalty falls upon the members of a foreign tribe. Nothing is said at the time, but the departing guests take away with them information of what has happened. Great latitude is allowed as to who shall be the chastisers. The guests may be related to X and the members

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *nusuk* ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from these, and sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy being had landed there. At once there is great excitement within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove them to be at hand. No one is allowed to leave except a *nusuk siki*[9] who is skilled in dealing with *Mulakila*,[10] also called *Sisiutewaw*, the supernatural being closely connected with the *nusuk* ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *siki* raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance.

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

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[9] The accounts of all informants agree that much of the *nusuk* ritual was newly imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements, *Pakhe*, a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella wife, also one from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with them so diverse certain *nusuk* prerogatives. It is said that previous to that time the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the youths secluded in the back-room, nor to dispel the beings at the conclusion of the rites. On the other hand, some Bella Coola claim that their first ancestors brought the whistles with them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural beings is a recent addition to the pattern, which accounts for the contradictory accounts, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It appears certain that the prerogative of *siki* has recently been obtained from the Bella Bella. *Siki* means "the one who cures," and the name is given to the man whose prerogative it is to tend the *hamat* initiates in whom supernatural powers are located. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for *nusuk* matters, known as a *hai-ahkila*. Through intermarriage several Bella Coola have recently obtained this prerogative; in each case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to them, as forward, the term *siki*, as they do for the *hamat* "cures," though the Bella Bella name, *hai-ahkila*, is used with equal frequency. The present *siki* have endeavoured to claim for themselves certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by any *nusuk*. In this account of a potlatch it is assumed that a *siki* is functioning on all occasions, but in many cases any senior *nusuk* is considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *nusuk* was regarded as capable of doing so.

[10] Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a certain *Sisiutewaw* of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time.

584 preliminary agreement may have been made while they were only seven or eight years old, though marriage seldom occurs before the age of seventeen or eighteen. More often the agreement is made when X and Y have passed the age of puberty, and they wait for about two years before marrying.

583 Throughout this period, X's relatives are expected to give at least one feast at which Y's relatives are the guests of honour, 425 and always receive presents. At one of these rites X's father, 553 with the concurrence of his relatives, may mark his approval [584] of the coming event by bestowing on Y's father, or one of her other relations, an ancestral name from his family myth. This does not become the absolute property of Y's family, since the myth in which it is embedded does not belong to them, unless, of course, they are members of the same ancestral family. It is fitting that a name of this kind be bestowed by the recipient on one of Y's children, or returned to X's family a few generations later by a return marriage. If this is not done, in course of time the designation is apt to be regarded by Y's family as their own. If there are no children, Y's relatives should give back the name to X's [627] family, but there are many instances of feuds caused by failure to do so. According to mythology, prerogatives may some- [773] times be given outright, without thought of their use by the resultant children, or of their being restored by return marriages. It is claimed that the people of the Kimsquit River [648] have, through such a present, the inalienable title to use a certain spot in the Kitlope River for their olachen nets, and likewise the Kitlope people have an irrevocable right to the Kimsquit name *Jiáhway*. These two prerogatives were transferred at the beginning of time. At present, anyone bestowing outright his family prerogatives would be considered weak- [378] minded and the other members of the ancestral family would strenuously object. Considerations of this sort make it desirable to seek a wife within the ranks of the ancestral family.

During the period of engagement, Y's family may present a name, or names, to X's father, with the same conditions as those just described.

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ancestry. He may wish to give X one of his ancestral names on this occasion, and if so, an eloquent speaker outlines the myth in which it is embodied, and announces that henceforth it belongs to X. He is called by it for the rest of the ceremony. Occasionally, X will receive several names, perhaps from different myths belonging to the different ancestral families of which Y is a member; or her father may grant X the especial use of some hunting-ground, although with the marriage he naturally has the right to use all belonging to his bride's ancestral family. *Sunat* rarely, and *kusiut* prerogatives more commonly, may likewise be transmitted at this time, though they are never expounded, since some who are not members of these two societies may be present. X's father may likewise use his *ts'ela* song and follow it by giving an ancient name to Y; if so, the procedure is the same as that just described.

Names transferred by marriage may be given when the engagement is announced, at the actual wedding or, as will be explained later, when the wife is rebought from her husband. A transference from the family of X to the family of Y is made only as a mark of respect and friendly feelings, but a transference in the opposite direction is necessary to establish the children on a firm footing. Accordingly, it is often delayed until after their birth, at a time when Y rebuys herself from her husband. A name bestowed at the wedding itself becomes the legal property of the recipient, but not of his ancestral family, since it cannot be passed on except to a child of X and Y. If there are no children, it is felt that the name has become practically dormant and it can be revived by a member of the donor's ancestral family. Thus it is virtually held in readiness for X's and Y's children, though literally this is not the case, since it belongs, meanwhile, to some individual. A sentiment that enters into a transaction of this kind is that, by the presentation of a name to some member of the family of the other partner, a kindly disposition is shown and confidence that it will be duly honoured by bestowal on the children of the couple. Indeed, some parents do no more than promise that

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585 553 425 if a grandchild be born they will give him a certain name if a boy, and another if a girl, so that henceforth no one can take that title for himself, even though it is not in use. As already mentioned, even when a name has duly passed to one of the children, it can be recalled in future generations by a return marriage. The transmission of names, or the promising of them for children yet unborn, is perhaps the most binding feature of the whole marriage rite. Mythology contains instances in which names, and other prerogatives, have been given away outright. Cases are cited by the Bella Coola where a father has given hunting-grounds as "food" for the use of the relatives of his son- or daughter-in-law, but it is usual merely to promise the use of them to the grandchildren.

581 553 578 425 Since the transference of names, or other prerogatives, is the foundation stone of Bella Coola marriages, it is necessary to digress still further in an attempt to analyse the concepts at the base of the transaction. If the contracting parties are members of different ancestral families, or even of different branches of the same family, there is a feeling of strain and unpleasantness at the intimate relations into which they are brought. There is a conflict of desires. On one hand is the wish to keep the family prerogatives from going afield; on the other, a wish that they should go afield to show the respect felt for the bride or bridegroom. If children result, the matter is simple, since they are equally members of the ancestral families of mother and father and form a bond which draws the two social units into the closest community of interest. Return marriages will then be sought by successive generations, until the prerogatives of the two families become so closely interwoven that a child will, indeed, be born into the ranks of related ancestors from both parents. But when there are no children the matter is complicated, since the recipients of names not uncommonly try to keep them unjustly. They may do so with the best intentions, feeling that it would be a slight to the donors to give them back. Bella Coola etiquette is not sufficiently exact to stipulate what should be done. If the

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name is not returned, the donors may be offended at its being kept; if it is returned, they may be offended that it has not been kept. 581 553 578 425

The following examples will help to explain this rather complex point.

About 1900 the sister of a man who was middle-aged in 1922 was married to a Bella Coola to whom she was not related. At the wedding, her father being dead, her brother expounded one of the family's origin myths, and she took her husband a name from it. It was said to have been "hauled across," the word used being the same as that signifying the dragging of a heavy timber, suggesting, of course, the importance and dignity of the designation in question. On two later occasions the woman's family gave valuable presents to the man's, thus doing their part to cement the *ḡulan*, the strength which comes to both families by an interchange of presents marking the dignity of marriage, in fact, its basic principle. Unfortunately, there were no children. If the husband had wished to retain these names for his family, he should have arranged a further marriage between one of his own relatives and one of his wife's, to return the value of gifts he had received. He did not do so, and thus lost all legal claim to the designations in question. None the less, he was indignant when his wife's brother duly validated one of these names for himself at a potlatch, as if it had been dormant.

The accompanying diagram-pedigree shows another instance of the same kind. *Smaoan*'s daughter, *Swalkūndi*, was married to *Ninitsamlaix*, and at the wedding her father promised his name for any offspring. No children were born, but *Ninitsamlaix* illegally used the designation, *Smaoan*, for King George, his son by another wife. This naturally incensed the relatives of the first *Smaoan*, especially as the debt could not be adjusted by the marriage of one of *Ninitsamlaix*'s daughters to one of their family, since there were no daughters. To make matters worse, King George passed the name to his son, Jack King George, and again there were no daughters to readjust the debt. Finally, Jack King George married *Ḡwakul*, a relative of the first *Smaoan*, without the usual lengthy period of engagement, and while she was still concealed for the year that follows puberty. No children resulted, by which part of the debt could have been repaid. Thus, not only did Jack King George violate the customary ideas of decency, but in the course of three generations two women were obtained from the *Smaoan* family without any recompense. Bitter feelings arose, and a few years ago one of the descendants of the first *Smaoan* took the name for himself at a potlatch as if it had been dormant, thus arousing the ire of Jack King George. In 1915 [682]

581 two of his female relatives were murdered at Kimsquit. The slayer was
553 never detected, but most of the Bella Coola believe that it was done by
578 one of *Smaxax*'s relatives, and that the dispute about names was quite
425 sufficient to furnish an excuse for the deed.

It is hoped that these two instances will serve to emphasize why the
[682] Bella Coola prefer marriages within the ranks of the ancestral family. When this takes place, names are usually given outright, and not merely promised for the use of the future children.

Smaxax = ♀
|
Nintramlaix = *Swalkgnalt* = another woman
|
King George = ♀
|
Jack King George = *Swakal*

585 After this digression, to return to the marriage of X and Y: The ceremony is taking place in the house of Y's father, and the parents of each participant have expounded parts of their origin myths, and promised names for the resultant children.

Then Y's relatives give numerous presents to X's family, in each case including those who are associating themselves with the contract. Canoes, slaves, blankets, and other articles of great worth are given; they are said to be "bed covering" for Y. The greater their value, the greater her prestige. Her
[537] father asks a fluent chief to address the assemblage, speaking as though he were Y. He says in effect:

"My father, my mother, my brothers, my uncles, and their associates have given me my bed covering."

These presents are the binding feature of the wedding. They are said to lock the girl in her husband's house, and
[587] accordingly are sometimes called, "rope fastenings." This is only done when a woman is married for the first time.

[537] Another orator now holds forth on behalf of Y's father:

"What we do today is no small matter. We have done today what was done in former times, and what shall be done in the future."

old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language. 602 476

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *hamat*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *nuxnuk* names can never be transferred in this manner. 606 491 425 [785] [575] [553] [575]

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a 593 [602] [627] [567] 432 [48]

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ments given by X's relatives up to the time of the wedding have exceeded in value those which they have received. Later, whenever, and as often as X gives a potlatch, Y's relatives are expected to rebuy her from her husband. Although this is the expression used by the Bella Coola, it has only a ceremonial significance, since Y remains X's wife.

Whenever X intimates that he is going to give a potlatch, Y and her relatives begin to hoard goods irrespective of whether or not children have been born. Their value is unregulated by custom, although the individuals concerned always try to give as much as they can; usually X does not know exactly how much will be provided until their actual delivery. Moreover, this is the occasion most preferred by the relatives of a wife to present to her husband ancestral names or other prerogatives embodied in origin myths. The exact rights of X with respect to such gifts have already been defined so need not be repeated here. Even if Y has taken an ancient name to her husband when she was married, she may bring him another when repurchased. This is an event of even greater importance to a woman than marriage, so no effort is spared to add to the dignity of the occasion.

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On the second night of a potlatch Y's father announces what prerogatives he proposes to grant to X. These may include the right to a certain totem-pole design, the carving of a spoon, a painting for the wall of the house, or any other element embodied in the origin myth. These privileges are displayed by X at the coming potlatch. If, as is usual, Y's father wishes to give his son-in-law an ancestral name, it is announced on this occasion, and is the designation by which X is known during the ceremony. It is always said that such a name is so "heavy," in the sense of "so important" that it must be "dragged across" to her husband by Y. *Kwiat* names are commonly transferred as presents, but without any public bestowal, and one or two instances are known of the similar acquisition of *sisaok* prerogatives and whistles; it was in this way that *Potles* was able to import *sisaok* ritual from Bella Bella. After announcing the

[553]

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556 prerogatives he is transmitting, Y's father usually takes the
583 opportunity of stating that he wishes to hunt on X's hunting-
[425] grounds, or fish in his fishing-grounds. Permission is never refused, though it is only for the period of the potlatch. Since Y's father is to assist X, it is considered fitting to grant him facilities for obtaining pelts and food.

It is on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch that the goods are delivered. They serve six purposes, which can be described separately, although the Bella Coola usually think of them as being too closely associated for division.

(1) They increase the dignity, influence, and prestige of the donors. This theme needs no further elaboration. When X later gives these presents to his foreign guests, he announces the person from whom he has received them and in this way knowledge of the manner in which Y's relatives have upheld the dignity of the marriage is spread far and wide, to their intense gratification.

(2) They help X to rise to a position of influence in the community by the credit which comes to him from their later distribution. Though a man may acquire goods in various ways, the Bella Coola affirm that without contributions from his wife's relatives no man can become a chief.

(3) They validate the transmission of names, or other prerogatives, taken by Y to her husband. Even presents given
[606] directly from father-in-law to son-in-law are always said to have been taken by the daughter to her husband.

(4) Indirectly, they increase the prestige of the children,
[554] either born at that time or who may appear later. None of the goods used for repurchasing their mother can actually be used for their benefit, but the whole rite gives them strength to succeed in life. A child whose mother has not been repurchased is said to be unable to walk, as if his legs were powerless; he lacks intelligence, and the ability to prosper. From the
[578] petty quarrels of childhood until old age, a person is proud to recall the number of times his mother was rebought, and to thrust this statement in the teeth of those less fortunate.

556 769 will now be the forms of the one who has recently died. As soon as all have taken their places, an eloquent chief whose aid has been requested for the purpose stands up and recounts [537] the donor's ancestral myth in some detail, mentioning the source and meaning of the mourners' marks and the designs of the totem-poles. Then he continues to the effect that the chief will "cry" by relating the history of his ancestors, which is also the history of the journey taken by his kinsman, and that this recital will shore him up. The word used for this, *snuh-lánkin*, [195] is the one commonly employed for raising a heavy burden with the aid of a lever. Then the singers begin to beat out the first of the mourning songs, accompanying it with their [533] voices and assisted by as many of the audience as are familiar with words and tune. Every effort is made to make the singing as impressive as possible to add dignity to the recital of the journey taken by the person who is being commemorated. The guests listen attentively and are suitably impressed by the ancestral history of the donor and his family. All the songs that have been prepared are sung in succession in the same manner. The lack of dancing distinguishes this type of cere- [535] mony from all others and adds somewhat to its impressiveness.

After the last song is the proper time for validating young [424] relatives of the donor as mourners. One of the miniature [425] totem-poles, which are light enough to be carried in the hands, is brought from the back-room and given to the boy on whom this prerogative is being conferred. An eloquent speaker explains the meanings of the designs so displayed and enough of the family's ancestral history to make clear whence, and how, they were obtained. The singers begin to beat time slowly, and the youth endeavours to keep time with his feet, while he continues to hold the pole.

Meanwhile the donor and his immediate relatives have been arranging the piles of presents with the inevitable counting and re-counting. As at a potlatch, a fluent speaker is commissioned [537] to hold up the objects, state whence they have been obtained,

1 [i.e. - the memorial potlatch - ANALYST]

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to whom they are going, and for what purpose. He says, for example: 556 v 769

"Fifty skins become nothing on the path of *Kāliākus*."

Everyone knows that this means the expenditure of that amount for the singing of a mourning song in connection with [533] the myth in which *Kāliākus* appears. Gifts must be given for each song, and it is the desire of the donor that they be of fitting value. So, too, is the validation of professional mourners con- [425] firmed. The goods having thus been displayed, a first distribution, called "Tears" with reference to the donor's grief, is made, each guest receiving a gift of the same worth. It is not returnable, being the legalization of the ceremony he has just witnessed. This is followed by donations to the carpenters, the singers, the professional mourners, and all others who have [465] rendered assistance; in essence, these are pay, though they are always referred to as free-will gifts made in gratitude for services rendered. Like the last, they are not returnable. Finally, any goods remaining from the store that has been brought out are given to chiefs and other influential members of the audience. Though not clearly stated, the recipients know that these are really investment-presents; when they reciprocate, [426] they mention that they are repaying a gift made at a memorial potlatch. A plentiful meal is now served, during which several chiefs make complimentary speeches, and the gathering breaks up.

In former times, when features of the ordinary potlatch were banned from a memorial potlatch, the ceremony just described was the central point of the proceedings. It was this public song-recital of the journey taken by his deceased relative which alleviated the donor's sorrow and filled him with pride. A few days after, in the late afternoon, the heralds called back the guests and the songs were sung and re-sung. Miniature [535] totem-poles were not used, nor were professional mourners in evidence; the sole function of the gathering was to provide opportunity for learning the songs. They were repeated until far into the night, when a large meal was served and the guests

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556 departed. A few days later the same ritual was carried out
764 again, with a similar lavish distribution of food. This was often done at intervals of two or three days for several weeks, depending on how much food the donor was prepared to use. The amount required was so great that the rite was considered, in some ways, more difficult than a potlatch.

[178] As already mentioned, however, it became customary in the last century to incorporate features of the ordinary potlatch into one of a memorial nature. In such cases the first [533] singing of the mourning songs with display of marks by the professional mourners is as just recorded, but there is no recalling of the guests merely to listen once more to the songs. Instead, the ritual differs but slightly from that of an ordinary potlatch as already described (I, p. 182). An occasion is found to conduct the guests to the memorial-posts erected, and to in- [178] form them of the significance of the designs depicted. This same practice has been continued since the introduction of tombstones, and the meaning of the writing upon them is interpreted. The entry of the deceased in the form of his crest, and the subsequent use of a copper, is the same as already recorded. This is frequently followed by the singing of a *nasaé* mourning [533] song if one of the near relatives owns this prerogative of foreign origin. If so, he walks slowly around the fire in a wide circle, shaking his rattle, and singing, unaccompanied. Most, if not all [177] of these songs, are in the Bella Bella language and the right to [425] use one has in every case been obtained through intermarriage with a member of that tribe. At intervals, heralds call out:

"Listen to the chief's lament."[97]

When presents are distributed to validate the whole ceremony, mention is always made of the different features for which they are given. As at a potlatch, the most important is the return of the dead, but at a memorial potlatch another [211] essential is the display of the memorial-posts. These have been [764] carved, painted, and set up, but are worthless unless validated

[97] There is no reason why this should not take place at a potlatch, but no instance of its performance was noted.

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composed the tunes used; to the carpenter who had prepared and used the masked figure; to the members of the band, including a payment for their services whenever Dan Nelson's child should die; to a carpenter to erect a fence around the grave; to another to cut the representation of an eagle on a stone to be erected over the grave; to the speakers at the funeral; to the speakers at the rite then taking place; to those who delivered the money; to the youth who, with pencil and paper, assisted in keeping accounts; to the cook, and to all others who had assisted in any manner. In every case the amount was announced, the bill held up, the name of the recipient stated, the reason for his reward, and the money was then taken to him by a messenger. Captain Schooner really decided how much each should receive, he being in the best position to judge what was suitable, and there being no fixed scale of charges to help him. Work paid for in advance, such as the erection of the fence, was carefully carried out.

A little money had been kept to validate the assumption of ancestral names by several children of the Schooner family. Everyone received a small amount, a child sometimes as trifling a sum as 25 cents. Captain Schooner had virtually chosen who was to receive which designation, although he received advice from all his relatives. Harry Schooner's infant was given the name, *Pâtcâtwa*, a reference to the manner in which the first beams of the morning sun strike the lofty summit of Mount *Nuxpalst*. Reuben's son was called *alwaik*, a *Swalk'ot* designation connected with the crash when the first *Sang'ut* fell. The myths in which these names were embodied were not expounded; in fact, they had been almost forgotten, even by Captain Schooner. *Tâl'ic* Jenny wished to transmit one of her names to Andy Schooner's infant; this was announced in the same way as the others and validated with them by the gifts to all. Jenny had not contributed to the common stock, but some of it was used with the understanding that she would later repay. Nebuchadnezzar announced the

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769 sum being used for each name, and the bills were displayed
*556 before messengers carried them to the recipients.

Finally, Jim Pollard took the opportunity to bestow on
553 Captain Schooner the name, *Snusilkäls*. This designation
●425 was the property of the donor's ancestral family and should
[614] not have been transmitted without the consent of all its mem-
[622] bers. Jim had probably informed several of them of his intention, but no objections would have been raised if he had overlooked this courtesy, since he is the only *numitl* chief among them, and the only one with determination and prestige. It was not an outright gift, since it was announced that it must be returned to the donor's family on Captain Schooner's death. Jim Pollard acted as his own announcer for this transaction, explaining that he gave the name in gratitude for the help which Captain Schooner had rendered at the death of his, Jim's, father about twenty years before. He promised that at the earliest opportunity he would give presents to validate the transmission.

769 During the lengthy distribution of money, the audience had
*556 shown unmistakable signs of weariness. It was now between 2.00 and 3.00 A.M., and as soon as Jim had finished speaking the guests dispersed quietly, though many of them gathered in groups in one another's houses to discuss what had taken place.

Captain Schooner slept late after the lengthy ceremony, but was proud and contented when interviewed about noon. He felt that what was fitting for his daughter had been performed, and was willing to take the consequences of having broken the law.

768 Little else of note occurred in connection with Jessie's funeral. Samuel King deposited near her grave a sewing-machine which his wife had used for only a short time and Captain Schooner decided to replace this with an older one belonging to his wife. He made this exchange on the afternoon of June 30, when Samuel, in company with a number of women, was burning the rest of Jessie's clothing and possessions. Captain Schooner explained his act by saying:

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has gone contrary to something about which there has been universal agreement for generations.

To understand Bella Coola medicines it is, therefore, necessary to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practise them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to those effecting death, but is equally true with regard to all medicines, whether curative or causative.

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of medicines. Knowledge of most remedies has been handed down for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type can be practised by any member of the group to which it belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment, but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction that only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship of some medicines, but these are indicated whenever possible.

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functions are to guard the names, and to keep in touch with the patrons. Every uninitiated person believes that if he could only have the good fortune to find a repository, he would obtain the *kusiut* prerogative there localized. *Ana'likwolsaix* travels only during the ceremonial season when she is present at every *kusiut* dance in the form of a woman with a long, thin face and pointed chin (see Plate 13),[4] who "explains" the significance of the figures to the uninitiated in a peculiar high-pitched voice. She is well able to do so since as guardian of repositories she knows the prerogative of each member of the society. Frequently she mocks the uninitiated: 575* 787 424 [778] [776]

"Ha! Ha! Ha!" she jeers. "You [naming some ambitious youth], you who think yourself so smart, you nearly fell over me that time you walked up in the woods behind the village looking for grouse. If I had been a bear I could have felled you with a blow of my paw. How can you ever hope to become a *kusiut* like your father and grandfather if you are so blind."

His fellows are inclined to join in the laughter at the one singled out for *Ana'likwolsaix*'s scorn, but she flays them all in turn. "She" is, of course, a *kusiut* chosen for fluency and ability to make biting remarks. Parents tell their children that in the autumn, pleased at the sight of falling leaves, *Ana'likwolsaix* bares the roof of her house and sits shaking her fingers like a dancer. [776]

"Go to the woods and look for her," they say. "If she sees you she will say '*tra*' and beckon to you. Then you will become a *kusiut*."

To further this deception, *kukusiut* are accustomed to disguise themselves as *Ana'likwolsaix* and move around in the autumn forest, taking care that no uninitiated comes too near for safety. An individual may have several *kusiut* prerogatives, and if he wishes to transfer one of these to an associate, the report is circulated that the recipient has stumbled upon the repository of the donor. The latter then acts as if he were crazy, and the uninitiated are told that he is a *nuhasem*, an 575* 778 425

4 [See category 116, p. 84(A) - ANALYST]
* (Apparently Plate 1 is meant)

*575 untranslatable word with the significance of "One who has
778 suffered loss through faulty concealment [of his repository]."
425 Some of these vaults are said to be dangerous to the uninitiated who avoid them and in this way the sanctity of some
[784] chiefs' meeting-places is guarded.

*575 According to Kimsquit belief, *Awi'likwulsaix* has a hus-
778 band, *Almaqhaikila*, who dwells with her in every repository.
776 If an uninitiated person should chance to find a vault, he falls dead before the power emanating from *Awi'likwulsaix*. Her husband then restores the dead by blowing violently on the back of the victim's neck, accompanying this with cries of *hoip*. When a person is initiated into the *hamatsa* society, the uninitiated hear the songs used, in many of which are references to the experiences of the novice with this supernatural pair.

*575 Turning now to the manner in which the *hamatsa* regard their own society, it is evident that the most important duty of each member is to aid in impressing and deceiving the uninitiated. The prestige of the organization depends upon the ability of its members to inspire awe, hence any weakness in fulfilling this obligation is an anti-social act. For this purpose the society acts as a whole. Many *hamatsa* have, for example,
[424] Cannibal prerogatives, and on occasion the Cannibals, having the same functions, work together, but they do not form a separate organization of their own.[1] Many of the means employed to deceive and impress the uninitiated have already been described. Mythology records, and it appears to be a
[773] fact, that long ago the ascendancy of the *hamatsa* was often
[178] challenged by the *a'alk* and other uninitiated, but when the white man came the society had reached a position of such eminence that the powers of its members were unquestioned. Moreover, the combined strength of virtually all the seniors of the tribe was so great that an uninitiated person could not assert himself even if he was suspicious.

[688] Although members of the society exert every effort to con-

[1] The Bella Coola state that such sub-societies are found among the Kwakiutl.

[i.e. - a repository of supernatural power - ANALYST]

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*575 only by members of the same tribe. The Bella Coola firmly
648 believe that if, for example, there is a serious disaster at
688 *Kimsquit*, that village will be raided by the people of Bella
721 Bella, Fort Rupert, Kitkatla, or by tribes even farther away.
[628] News of the accident reaches *Tal-ie* or Kimsquit and the inhabitants, themselves related by blood to the offenders and therefore unwilling to punish them, call upon the members of a foreign tribe to do so. On different occasions this statement, in practically identical terms, was made by six independent informants, so there appears to be not the slightest doubt as to the belief of the people in this law. But when specific cases were asked for, they could not be obtained. It therefore appears clear that the Bella Coola, probably owing to long teaching on the part of the *kukusiut*, consider that an error in ritual is sufficient to bring punishment from an alien tribe. There must be some basis of truth in this conviction, and it is highly probable that the *kukusiut* must have taken advantage of raids to explain to the uninitiated that these were caused by disasters in ritual. One informant was of the opinion that, following the collapse of a house at Kimsquit during a Cannibal dance, a Bella Coola chief called upon *Tsuxa*, chief of the Kitkatla, who raided Kimsquit in punishment. Quite apart from the belief inculcated in the uninitiated, it is obvious that tribes eager for war sometimes used an accident as pretext. The Bella Coola know of no case in which they raided a foreign tribe for this reason, although they state that if they had been called upon to act as punisher, they could not have refused.

*575 Leaving now the functions of the society as a whole, the
424 rights of an individual member can next be described. Each
425 *kusiut* has:
553

(1) *A Kusiut Name.* Like every other prerogative, a name of this type can be acquired from father, uncle, grandfather, or other relative, or even by a son from his mother. As a rule a *kusiut* wills his designation or designations, for a man may
[556] have several, before death and his wishes are observed. Al-

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kusiut* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kusiut* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor. 575* 424 425 553 [556] [578] [426]

(2) *A Patron, omätuts.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform. 575* 424 776 [533] [535] [578]

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Änoºlikwolsaix.* An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each. 575* 424 778

Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time [773] [781]

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It is hoped that this somewhat lengthy description will assist the reader in following the complicated details of the actual rites. 575*

Initiation

Although *kuxiut* ceremonials take place only during the winter, preliminary arrangements are discussed and carried out throughout the year. One of the subjects over which the old men and the marshals debate at length is the admission of new members. Sometimes the relatives of a young man or woman wish to have him, or her, initiated and propose to use a *kuxiut* prerogative dormant in their family. More often an elderly person is willing to transfer one of his prerogatives to a younger relative; comparatively few are unused owing to the small sums needed to validate them. In either case, one of the marshals is consulted. He passes word to his fellows, and to a number of the elderly *kukuxiut*, who meet in the council-place of the village. The prospective novice's relatives are there and express the belief that he is sufficiently mature in mind to be a credit to the society. If some of those present demur, the matter is discussed at length until all agree, or until it appears that there is strong objection on account of the youth or inconsistency in character of the proposed novice. In this case his relatives can only hope that their proposal will be more favourably received the following year. Sometimes the young man or woman is informed that his relatives have exerted their influence with *Ana'lèwulaxix* to make him a *kuxiut*, more often he remains in ignorance until the ceremonial season. [425]

The initiation of one admitted under these normal circumstances is the same as for one made a "shaman" on account of too great knowledge. Sometimes the marshals themselves take the first steps. If few *kukuxiut* wish to give ceremonials so that there are gaps in the nightly performances, the marshals select a suitable slave and ask his owner to give him some *kuxiut* prerogative of little value. If the latter agrees, a pretext is found to lure the victim to the woods whence he is carried, 575* 567 [425]

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

575 call is that something strange has happened to the "mortal." At intervals throughout the day he repeats this announcement, 203 and towards nightfall goes around calling: 796

Skinap, skinap, kukuxiust, "Cure, cure, ye members of the *kuxiut* society, power has come to the son of the chief [or to the mortal]."

The *kukuxiut* assemble in X's house, taking their places around the fire; the uninitiated crowd near the doorway. X is seated among his relatives and some of the senior members of the society behind the fire. A herald calls out:

"I want a *siki* to help X."

575 In every village there are at least two *kukuxiut* who have, 791 embodied with their *kuxiut* names, the professional prerogative 796 of acting as healer to every novice; it is believed that the ancestor of each obtained a name and this right through a [424] revelation from some supernatural healer. Since that time the owner of the name has been able to insert some of his own ever- [773] present power into a neophyte to enable him to sustain the dangers of admission to the society. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated. The profession of *siki* can be trans- [425] mitted by willing like any other prerogative and it occasionally happens that the same individual is *siki* for both *kuxiut* and *nusq*. In answer to the herald's call, the two *siki* come forward and crouch behind the fire, one on either side of it. [302] Their faces are blackened with soot, and each wears a blanket, [292] decorated with dyed cedar-bark, thrown loosely over his [297] shoulders, leaving the chest and stomach bare except for an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Meanwhile beating sticks are distributed among most of the *kukuxiut* who strike furiously on the floor with them, without any attempt to keep time; the sole object is to produce the greatest din possible.

One of the *siki* contorts himself in an amazing manner, presses his hands against his stomach as if to force something from it, and rolls from side to side on his haunches, until at length he produces, as if from his body, a rock crystal (see Plate 3). He waves this to and fro in his hands, then goes

[see category 116, p 84(e) - ANALYST]

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 some ashes which he puts into his mouth and chews. Of course
791 he masticates only the ashes but X, unaware of this, is con-
796 cerned for the fate of his spirit. At last it is restored to him
and he is told that the *siki* has altered it from that of an
[774] uninitiated person to that of a *kusiut*.* The psychological
[781] effect of this act on the mind of a young man who has not had
time to adjust himself to his new knowledge and who is firmly
convinced of the powers of the *siki* is tremendous.

The first *siki* now instructs two *kukusiut* sitting on either side of X to lie down to serve as a seat for him. They do so, irrespective of who they may be. If the novice is still ignorant of the full mysteries of the society, the *siki* announces that he is going to get a call for X. He walks around the house, peering here and there as if seeking something, and then pounces as if he had caught an object between his hands. A whistle
[534] is heard, such as the novice knows accompanies the coming of every call; but he does not know that the noise is made by compressing a goat or bear bladder-whistle between two sticks held beneath the armpit. This is the "mystery" of the strange noises.

*575 "Do you know what makes that noise?" ask the two *kukusiut* on whom X is sitting.
796

If X denies all knowledge, the mystery is explained to him,
[688] and he is warned that he will be killed if he communicates the information to uninitiated persons. If he answers that he knows the cause, he is asked who has told him. Perhaps some lad has been peeking and has told X of what he has seen; in that case the over-inquisitive youth is at once initiated to prevent further leakage of information. As soon as X has learnt the great secret he moves to one side and the singers take their positions behind the fire. His father, or whoever it
[425] may be from whom he is to obtain his name, then stands up
[553] and unfolds its origin, telling which supernatural being is his patron, and the locality of his repository. X sometimes re-

[178] *This part of the rite has been omitted for so many years that many of the middle-aged *kukusiut* have forgotten it.

4:Hellwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1949
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

X sometimes receives two prerogatives at his initiation, one from each parent, or from some other interested relative. In this case both are expounded. The singers listen intently, knowing that they will later be called upon to compose songs on the theme, or themes. According to some informants they immediately sing one, as if they had just created it, though it was really prepared in advance. The *kukusiut* listen until they have mastered it.

575* 796 [425] [553] [533]

Helpers now distribute the food provided by X's father, or whoever is responsible for his initiation. At every *kusiut* ceremonial the marshals are the first recipients, then the singers, and finally the others without distinction. As the guests are eating, X's father gives presents to all, without deference to rank. An announcer calls out:

575* 796 556 [264]

"Here are [for example] ten bear-skins from X's mother. They are to obtain for him his cedar-bark bracelets."

These goods are then distributed. Similarly other gifts from various relatives are handed out for his anklets, his blanket, his collar, his head-dress, and all other parts of his clothing. As each item of his ceremonial costume is validated, X dons the prepared article. A novice's head-dress consists of a round roll of dyed cedar-bark, covering a grass frame; in *Stuar* and the other villages of the upper valley this is decorated with a tuft of swan's down. The *kukusiut* of these villages also wear a distinctive decoration consisting of a swan's skin with the feathers attached. In recent years it has been customary to pile all the goods together and distribute them as *dily'll*, which has the significance of "something that has vanished for the novice's dyed cedar-bark." Theoretically, the aim of the donor is to bestow his presents on all equally, but if he finds that he has some remaining, he gives these to the chiefs, or to the relatives of someone whom he expects will soon be a novice. None of the goods used in general distributions are returnable, but a chief who receives an extra gift at the end usually remembers from whom it was received and cancels his indebtedness at the earliest opportunity. There is no close connection between the disbursements and the worth of the

[425] [292] [184] [237]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

'539 portion of the grease until it was exhausted; then she ate the container, and when it was finished she was entirely without food. She was very weak, but not unconscious, and the careful husbanding of her provisions had kept her alive into February. It so happened that four Kimsquit men, brothers, were trapping beaver in this particular hunting ground. Followed by his four dogs, one of the brothers went to inspect a shack, which they had previously built at some distance from the place where they were encamped. One of the dogs began to dig in the snow, and soon the other three joined in. The hunter thought it strange that they did not bark as usual when digging for game, and asked the dogs what they were after. To his amazement a voice spoke from below, using the Bella Coola language:

"You will be rewarded if you save me. I am the daughter of *Taxlcrwam*," it said.

All Kimsquit knew of her fate, so the hunter quickly grasped what had happened. He burrowed a passage down through the snow to the woman, who told him of her effort to return home by the overland route to Kimsquit. The rescuer cut her some firewood and admonished her to be brave, while he dashed off for help. He hurried back to his brothers, told them the news, and then rushed back with a little food, telling them to follow his tracks to where the woman lay and bring with them stone dishes for cooking. By the time the three brothers arrived, the forerunner had replenished the fire, and the woman was sitting up. One of the three was a shaman; he felt her heart and said that she would recover. For one day they camped with the woman, feeding her first with warmed grease of goat and olachen, then with a little food. This revived her sufficiently so that the brothers could carry her on a litter to their camp. For twenty days she was so very weak that one of them had constantly to remain in camp to feed her with bear soup and other nourishing foods, but she gradually regained her strength.

On her account the brothers decided to return home in April, instead of waiting until June as usual. They planned their arrival at Kimsquit to take place at night, and hid the woman in their house, telling only the members of their own family about her. It was June before she had fully recovered from her painful experience. Then she left the home of her rescuers, clad in new clothes which they had given her, and the account of her adventures was made public. A canoe was sent to Bella Coola informing her father of his daughter's safety, and inviting him to fetch her. This he refused to do, but said if her rescuer brought her home he might marry her with his full approval. This was agreeable to her saviour, and a large party of his Kimsquit friends accompanied him to Bella Coola where presents were exchanged and the couple married. As an

[425]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Bella bella NE5

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especial mark of gratitude, the father gave a piece of Bella Coola land to the Kimsquit man. This is one of the few instances known of outright bestowal of land at marriage.

THE ADVENTURES OF A BELLA BELLA CREW

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539*

One April, a few years after the establishment of white settlements on the coast, a party of Bella Bella set out in a single canoe to hunt sea-otters. Planning to be absent for several months, they carried with them considerable supplies of food and water, while their mat sail lessened the work of the paddlers. They reached their first destination, Goose Island, without difficulty, and then continued in a north-westerly direction towards a barren islet of hard sand where sea-otters were usually to be found. All went well until they were in sight of this, when they encountered *Xai·utl*, the steady north wind, against which they could make no headway. In spite of the efforts of the paddlers, the canoe was driven southward and westward, out of sight of land. Steady winds prevailed for months, preventing the crew from heading their craft east towards the shore; fortunately, they had ample supplies, though these finally began to run low. Rain kept them supplied with fresh water, and they were able to eke out their food with fish, which had to be eaten raw. It was the end of September before they saw land, a small, isolated island with moderately high hills and, more important, running water. They beached the canoe and tried to leap ashore, but long sitting in narrow quarters had so cramped them that they could only crawl. After they had rested and regained the use of their legs, the captain climbed to the top of a hill from which he could see the other side of the island where smoke was rising. The mariners paddled around, and found themselves near a settlement of people whose language was unknown to them. They resembled Indians, though their mouths were exceedingly small, and the wanderers could see that they were eating raw worms picked out from rotten salmon. The Bella Bella feared to land among these strangers, but some of the latter swam out and passed their hands in wonder along the sides of the foreign canoe. Their own craft were smaller and narrower than any used on the coast, and all were tied together in pairs to prevent tipping.

As the party was leaving the island, a strong west wind sprang up before which they made such headway that three days later they reached the mainland. None of the crew knew where they were, but they realized that their home must be far to the north, so they cautiously proceeded in that direction. The wind changed to the south, again assisting them, and they sailed on for four or five days until they were suddenly pursued by hostile canoes as they neared the point of what seemed to be a large

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[426] *ákwekum:* Excess of amount returned over that previously received as an investment present.
Áiamkikka: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Áinlàxa: 1—Supernatural beings who drone as the sun moves.
2—Voice of the supernatural woman, *Snitsmán·a*; the term is occasionally applied to the being herself. The sound is produced by *kusiut* whistles.
Áimálotla: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Áimaltua: "The Coming of Foul Weather," in the language of supernatural beings: The phenomenon is semi-anthropomorphized.
Áimá·ts: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Ancient chief from whom the village is supposedly named.
Áiqwaiosamlaix: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
[821] *Áiqweiust:* Supernatural beings who blacken the face of the moon at eclipses.
Áitsamka: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Tál·ia* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of an *ustámq* chief mentioned in an ancient story.
Áiutla: 1—One of the designations of *Kámai·ts*, the mysterious supernatural woman.
2—Ferocious, awe-inspiring, *adjective*.
[526] *akátxyu:* Swing consisting of two long ropes with cross-seat.
[824] *akpádultnlp:* Spruce leaves.
Ákamtci: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
álipotnam: Lehal.
Álkálàlis: 1—One of the first men to settle at Calvert Island in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwulst* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Áimá·ts* in the beginning of time.
álkdjàlos: Stake supporting olachen net.
[796] *álkxpianum:* Ritual repeated at intervals between the allotment of tasks for a potlatch, and the coming of a supernatural being to the first *stsask* initiate.
alk, plural, wealk"ats:* Herald.
Álokánam: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[533] *álox:* Third part of song.
'álox: Pleasure expedition of boys and girls to the forest.
[517] *Álox:* Name of an isolated star.
[821] *Álqotlcos:* Supernatural man-eater, patron of Cannibals.
Álqtcálos: Stick decorated with abalone-shell used by one of the settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
Álfwulus: Supernatural female berry-picker resident in the land of the dead.
áltsia: Announcer.
Áltukwlaksa·s: Bay of the Thousand Islands near Namu.
Álusknaix: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
álxetla: Cannibal.
[587] *álxwalàm:* Marriage with sister of a deceased wife; the word is undoubtedly connected with the verb, *to bequeath*.
Álakwis: Supernatural creature similar to a human being.
Áfala: Supernatural woman, wife of Cold Wind and mother of Ice.
Álalala: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
[425] [553] [584] *álal-ipem:* The transference of a name, during the period of engagement, from the father of the future bridegroom to the father of the future bride.

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Ālālkmkmm: Supernatural being sent by *Smaiu·a* to meet *Noskymm.*

ālālqe·xi, "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will certainly give a potlatch to start him on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremoniously at every feast. [556]

Ālhlxāu·i: Abalone-shell covered stick used by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

Alhlxāu·iatlhax: One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.

āldinnki: Word of uncertain meaning often appended to *Inxāmem* as complete term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance. [575]

āliknlxmm, "A Dragging Across" (as one does with a heavy log): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being repurchased. [425] [553]

ālikwis: Toasted food of any kind. [262]

Ālilixwumax: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.

ālilig': Perforated, *adjective.* [252]

ālimusnām: Those who perform to assist marriage dancers.

Ālimalwalaix: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Āl·imlsaix: One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time. [585]

ālipāxlits, "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and hers prior to entering her house. [431]

ālipoalm: Gifts given in secret, soon after betrothal, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [584]

ālipotlām: Marshal.

Ālipmān·i: Immoral supernatural woman; synonym for *Sximsximult.*

Ālinmotusaix: One of the men who came to earth at Mount *Tsnisi* in the beginning of time.

Āl·likotl: Totem-pole erected by the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.

ālklotl: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]

ālly: Sisaok song in fast time. [533]

āld: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [535]

Ālt'gmān·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Sātlia* in the beginning of time.

ālmpus: Kusiut dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

ālnkla: Synonym for *knumdjut;* one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]

ālnlla: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

ālx: Come, *imperative singular.*

Ālkexa: 1—One of *Smaoan's* sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at *Nuxulst* in the beginning of time.

ālul·ilaix: Central seat behind the fire.

ālkidjelos: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-nets. [412]

Ālkilmlāhu: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola.

ālkilothum: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun. [805]

Ālhn·ipamm, "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf. [825]

Ăłko: *ustemq* village.

Ălko·sp̓, "He of the Tied-up Penis": Name given to a lad whose sex was disguised in infancy.

[426] *ălkstmaxdut:* Refusal to lend to an outsider a family prerogative such as the employment of marriage dancers.

[574] *ălkwqulsnam:* Meal served when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an announcement of his coming potlatch.

Ăłkusiyustem: Name of a female shaman.

Ălkwi, "The Opening of the Sky":
1—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of a *Snuhe·tl* chief.

Ăłlibałxlsix: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Ăłlihmnălosaix: One of the first men to settle at *Sĭskistl* in the beginning of time.

[575] *ălimusnam:* *Sisook* having the ability to enter the back-room and treat initiates concealed there. The function probably antedates the employment of *kai·shakila.*

Ăłlipaios: Holders, supernatural beings who restrain supernatural Cannibals.

[583] *ălfixăsm:* Frenzied beating of sticks.

Ălmnmnăm: Wife of *Twalaitit,* the supernatural hunter.

Ălmnskitlnm: Supernatural calendrical experts.

Ălmoqłaikila: Husband of *Ans'liktwelsaix;* he is known only in Kimsquit.

[575] *ălmutsămk:* *Kusiut* dance of mystery.

[574] *ălnaixwotsmm:* Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning ceremony.

ălnaixwotsmmap: Call used by heralds when summoning to a mourning ceremony.

[425] [583] *ălnăxmlaix:* The "Dragging Across" of a name, crest, or other intangible prerogative from wife to husband either at marriage or later at a repurchasing of the wife.

[262] *ălnăxm:* To drag a heavy burden.

ălnexlaw·ax: Cranberries mixed with olachen grease.

ălnusxim: Visit to his repository by a *kusiut* initiate.

[821] *Ăłoagsdimut,* "Facing Both Ways": Second moon after the winter solstice.

ăłoliqosmmy, "The Actionless Time": Hushed assemblage of the *hukusiut* after departure of a Cannibal.

[597] *ăłpnkiokem:* Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.

Ăłpăłyulsłaix: 1—Supernatural being who revives mortals.
2—Name received by a shaman from this being.

ăłps: Food.

[425] *ăłpstmm,* "Food Supplies": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage.

Ăłqăłăxl, "Stockaded": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

[756] *ăłqănăs:* Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in alternate strands.

[882] *ăłqosik:* Guarded, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.

[825] *Ăłqsnaiyun·a:* Supernatural name of olachen, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.

Ăłqsqi'djut, "A Glance Downwards": Name given to an *Ăłqăłăxl* man in the beginning of time.

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*192 *nuhuinutz:* Synonym for *qomo·tz*, the large cone-shaped *sisaok* whistle.
[534] *Nulya·ltl:* Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nulya·lual: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nulpytsiwan·e, "Nearest River": River flowing from the north into the northern corner of the head of North Bentinck Arm. The Anglicized form is Necleetsconnay.
[103] *nu'uxulaix:* Stone supernaturally born from another at sea level.
[823] *Nuwaiso·x:* *sisemy* village.
Nuwaiuk, "The Mother of Dogs": Name given to a Bella Bella woman in an ancient story.
Nuyalk: Bella Coola valley.
[101] *Nuyalkmy:* Inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley.
Nuyem: *Kusiut* name of a *Sisaa* man.
Nuzem: Name of a female composer.
Nuyekmtlaix, "The Light Giver": One of the names of the supreme god.
nuyex: Light.
Nuxim: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Nuximtlaix: *Q'aqu* name of a Kimsquit man.
Nugmulmmán·a, "Stick-Breaker": Name taken by daughter of the first settlers at *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
[825] *nuxúrunk:* Mountain goat with long hair on its chest.
nuxtimut, "The Silent Night": The hushed assemblage of *kukusiut* after departure of a Cannibal.
[227] *nuxtuutsta:* Cross-piece which holds open mouth of olachen net.
Nuxulat: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
[585] *nuxwolutnkmm:* Public promise by the parents of bride and bridegroom on the wedding night that names will be provided for resultant children. This is
[425] combined with an oration of origin myths. The term is also used for a similar promise of rights to hunting grounds, although the granting of this is automatic.
[828] *Nuya:* Mountain near *Sisaa*.
nuyálxikámut: Person who wanders away from home in despondency.
Nuyel·alaix: One of the first women to settle at *Tal·io* in the beginning of time.
Nu'yen·ixim: Land of salmon.

O

o'alyem: Kimsquit term for *a'alk*, *archaic*.
'O·ß': Kwatna lad mentioned in an ancient story.
[824] *okal:* Grass with edible roots growing on tide-flats.
[262] *Okßemáy:* Valley pre-empted by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Olßimut: Herald who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
oly: 1—The *kusiut* prerogative of scratching.
2—Bad, *adjective*.
Olstu·i: *Kusiut* name of a *Sisaa* man.
Olliyaiya, "The Worthless One": Name assumed by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[825] *Olsalámut*, "The One that Changes Itself": Supernatural name of spring salmon.
[264] *'omátulik'*: Assemblage of the people for food of any kind.

Sinuxutl: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Sinuximätl: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Stuix* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sio'msta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative of imitating coitus. [424]

sipälqälostuts: Song sung by a *kusiotem* dancer on recovery from apparent death. [861]

sipkim: Regular beatings given to a male child.

Siqälxam, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

Siqalusnäm: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Siqulxwaix di Siut, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

siqwaldjut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]

siqwsek: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage.

sisasts: Departure to a new locality. [425]

sisi, vocative, sisai: Father's brother or mother's brother.

sisut: Paddle. [601]

sisutsta: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

Sitlamsta: One of the names of the supreme god.

Sitlliuq': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [778]

siut, vocative, siaot: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being, "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qomo·ts*, the large *sisaok* whistle.
4—Killer whale. [825]
5—Song.
6—*Kusiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Siutan·i: Part of a peculiar repository.

Siutamkila: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

siutnälos: Wordless chorus. [533]

Siwal·as, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Siwid: Celebrated *Djoldämx* chief living in the last century.

sixliktam: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a despondent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]

Sixman·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sixsän·imutsta: Place where healing power is petrified.

Sixsixqutnam: Synonym for *Mälakila*, the supernatural being connected with *sisaok* rites.

sixwismaq: *Kusiut* dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, *änänuskx*, for the user's protégé on earth.

sixwoqäxkmak: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage. [584]

sixwotl: Unmarried mother. [848]

siyeutla: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *sieatla* may be connected with this.

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[728] *yuhmax:* Peace ceremony.
Yelehn: Bella Coola carpenter living in the last century.
yen·imut: Ceremonial error.
[534] *Yentsänl:* House of the first settlers at *Sätlia* in the beginning of time.
yet·en: Rattle.
[425] *yet·umm:* The sending back of a name to the family of its original owners through a return marriage, or the proposal to do so, made by the relatives of the wife.
[589] *yetsalt; plural, yeetsalt; vocative plural, yeetsalt:* A woman who has attained an
[554] honourable position through being many times repurchased from her husband; virtually, a female chief.
Yelsqwikaiya: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
Yexasila: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
yexdimut: Fire-holder carried by Thunder.
[825] *yexo'maitl:* Old, female sea-lion.
Yexthn: Ancestral name of a *Sinxl* man.
Yexwomaitl: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Y'ulätimut: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[372] *yuhmta:* Sticks for making fire.
yuhäly: Promontory.
yu'pätl: The actual appearance of a performer at an *a'alk* dance during a potlatch.
Yuhwet: *ustamy* village.
Yuyuhmpl: Stone on the shore of Dean Channel believed to have been a man a long time ago.
Yuyulk"mai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Älqälxl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snulsli* in the beginning of time.

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names are also willed, but since their value depends on the goods expended to validate them, there is seldom bitterness about their allotment. Indeed, a chief who is the legal owner of a designation which came from above in the beginning of time, will in many cases choose to elevate his position with respect to a title of comparatively recent date. But if any person who is not a member of the ancestral family should dare to use an ancestral name, all the members rise to avenge the theft, for such they feel it to be. In recent years, however, this practice has become comparatively common. In such cases a man, eager to share in the glories of a myth and able to give a potlatch, has validated an ancestral name to which he has no right. The presence of the white man alone restrains the injured ancestral family. Names are sometimes lent or hired to those who are not members of the group for definite sums; the recipient recompenses the individual. If such names are not returned for several generations quarrels are apt to arise since the recipient claims to be the real owner and not the temporary possessor. During his tenancy of the name he is entitled to any prerogative attached to it, but he is not considered a *bona fide* member of the ancestral family.

578 614 553 [428] [685] [178] [426] [427]

Instances have occurred in which an old man or woman, believing himself to be the last survivor of an ancestral family, has donated his names and myth to those who have befriended him, or these have been taken by those who buried him. Some individuals are constantly watching to conduct the funerals of friendless old people in the hope of so obtaining names. But in almost every case this leads to friction, since it is virtually impossible for an ancestral family to die out. Perhaps in the next generation, perhaps in the following one, some youth will claim descent from the first ancestors of the supposedly defunct family, and claim the myth and names embodied therein. This leads to a feud with the person, or his descendants, who has received the names through aid given to the "last" of the family.

[428] [557] [628]

Such instances of an ancestral family becoming practically

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given as a slave to a Bella Coola, he was treated as a guest.[a] Slaves were bartered between Bella Coola individuals as a matter of course. Their value depended on sex, ability, and industriousness, as well as on supply and demand. When there was an over-supply, the value of a slave fell to twenty or thirty salmon, but whenever an owner found that someone wished to purchase a particular slave he endeavoured to raise the price. If a foreigner borrowed goods in Bella Coola he usually had to leave a relative as pledge. Thus, not many years ago, a *Xaxais* Indian, from near Ootsa Lake, borrowed goods from a Kimsquit man and left his son as pledge. The goods were not returned, so the son was sold as a slave to the people of Kitimat.

It was not uncommon for a Bella Coola to lose his freedom by gambling. At *lehel* especially, a player who had exhausted his goods not infrequently wagered his children, or in extreme cases, himself. If he lost, his children, or himself, became the property of the winner. Unless speedily repurchased by some relative, such slaves were usually sold or given away at the first opportunity to a member of a foreign tribe, since it was considered improper for a man to hold a member of his own tribe in servitude. The same course of action was taken on those rare occasions when one Bella Coola village fought against its neighbour and prisoners were taken.

To the Bella Coola, who still consider a man's "power" in the land as dependent to a considerable extent on his ancestral myth, a slave's greatest misfortune lay in the fact that he had no ancestral home, and hence no rights.

"No slaves came to earth with the first people," they say.

A slave was a stranger in a strange land, unsupported by a chain of ancestors reaching back to the beginning of time. On the whole, captives taken in war were better treated than other slaves since it was felt that such a misfortune might occur to anyone at any time. They were frequently ransomed by their

[a]This is said to be an ancient practice, due to the fact that several of the forefathers of the Bella Coola came to earth in that region and were on *friendly* terms with the inhabitants. It is conceivable that this tradition may have reference to the breaking away of the Bella Coola from the main Salish stock.

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He is especially rich in caribou-skins, used for foot covering, and goat-skins, so treasured for their wool.[1] He and his wife have laid up abundant food, and, most important of all, his wife's family is wealthy. Rumours have spread that X will soon give a potlatch and perhaps one or more foreign chiefs has given him a large cone-shaped whistle, such as is used in *swaok* ritual (see Plate 12). These whistles, called *qomo·ts*, are often referred to as the "breath" or "voice" of a chief; they are also called *sloptsta*, the "heart" or "wind" of a chief; a third designation is *nuhwinuts*. X carefully conceals a whistle in one of his boxes. Such a present expresses the kindly feeling existing between those akin to one another in that they have risen to a position of eminence above the common crowd. Its receipt spurs a man to greater efforts to amass the wealth necessary for giving a potlatch by keeping before his eyes the realization of what another has done. A rival chief never gives such a present. X returns each whistle secretly at the time of his potlatch.

Early in the autumn X decides that he has almost enough wealth. To complete the essential amount he will not hesitate to borrow from his friends. It is most unusual to be refused, for it is incumbent on X, unless he wishes to lose the esteem of the community, to repay his borrowings with heavy interest, and when X distributes his goods at his potlatch it will be announced how he has obtained them, and the lender is proclaimed as a person of sufficient wealth to be able to spare some of it. Goods so loaned are termed "belt goods," a reference to the manner in which a man fastens up his cape with a belt before setting to work. The assumption is that X will have to labour to repay his indebtedness. Failure to repay is a serious matter, and the lender would be justified in seizing a canoe or other valuable article as surety for his debt; in fact, feuds are commonly caused by unpaid debts. Men of business

[1] Formerly, when goat-skin blankets were highly valued, goats were never shot for fear of the blood staining the wool. Instead, they were cornered by dogs, and choked to death in nooses. For presentation, each skin was laid out on the floor and then cut into longitudinal strips, two, three, or four fingers wide.

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ability are always seeking to lend goods to those who are planning potlatches or other rites, knowing that the investment is safe and lucrative.

X uses his own discretion as to how much wealth is necessary. He knows how much he owes for presents received on previous occasions, and would not dream of giving a potlatch until able to repay these. Failure to do so would hold him up to the derision of the whole countryside. But he acts upon his own judgment with regard to interest. If he continues to hoard goods until he is able to repay with great increase, he gains prestige from his generous returns, but meanwhile he does not enjoy the distinction which would have followed a smaller affair at an earlier period. Further, there is the uncertainty about how much his wife's family will contribute, though that can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy; in Bella Coola every transaction is made publicly, so each man knows the wealth of his neighbour. The favourite month for a potlatch is October, before the *kusiat* dances, when there is abundance of food. At this season there is plenty of salmon roe, berries, and crabapples, all of which might be ruined by frost. Occasionally, a potlatch takes place after the *kusiat* period, but in that case the only foods available are olachen grease, smoked meat, smoked fish, dried hemlock-bark, and dried berries. If several men in one village decide to give potlatches in the same year there may be rivalry and dispute as to which shall be first. There is no satisfactory method of settling this point.

When all is ready X tells a herald (I, p. 244) to summon his fellow villagers to his house the following day for *sldetsaw*. It is customary for all to accept, but no social obligation is broken should a man or woman fail to do so.

The next morning no one eats in his own house, knowing that free food will be distributed. While his expected guests are adorning themselves by washing and painting, X, aided by his family and others, prepares large quantities of food, borrows boxes, and makes other necessary arrangements. Pre-

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* 552 The *siki* returns to the house and tells the guests that *Malakila* has indeed been near and has promised to return [575] later on. Those who are not *nuxsé*, being steeped in the belief [781] concerning the omnipresence of supernatural beings and ignorant of the carefully coagulated whistles, readily credit the tale that they have heard the voice of a denizen of the land above, whose language is intelligible to the *siki*. Thus is the supernatural element of the potlatch first called forth.

After a final distribution of food, the guests return to their homes.

THE INITIATION OF *Nuxsé* NEOPHYTES

* 556 At a potlatch valuable presents are given to the foreign 575 guests, but it is unthinkable for the donor to give to his fellow- [609] villagers. Accordingly, if X desires to display his generosity towards them, he does so at a preliminary ceremony, when he begins the initiation, or re-initiation, into the *nuxsé* society of any number of young people. After elaborate counting and re-counting of his goods, both those actually stored in his house and those promised,[11] X decides that he has sufficient to initiate, for example, seven neophytes. His first choice will be his own children, failing those, the sons and daughters of a brother or sister, or of his wife's relatives, or, if none of these are available, those of a friend. X does not gain any pecuniary advantage from such a transaction, in fact he loses, but the prestige attached outweighs this consideration.

"Is it not the privilege of a chief to be generous?" say the Bella Coola.

He approaches the parents of those whom he has selected, always members of old-established families. As it is to the [553] social advantage of a young person to be a *nuxsé*, a father usually tells X a *nuxsé* name, dormant in his family, which he wishes to have conferred on his son, and how much he is willing to contribute for the purpose. In many cases, a man will

[11] In spite of the care exercised, mistakes are frequent, giving rise to hurried borrowings from friends to make up the necessary amount.

[426]

553 without special places, X calls upon some eloquent friend to
556 direct the distribution of the money. This speaker orates how
575 X is carrying out the rites incumbent on his noble and exalted
[537] station, how all honour him for so doing, and how all should strive to follow his example. He then says that to give strength to the name *Qnaqnacila*, for example, X will give away, say $100. He further announces who have contributed this amount: perhaps $50 from X, and the other half from various relatives of Y. If the sum in question be large it is always mentioned from whom, and how the donor has obtained the money. Thus every financial transaction becomes publicly known, and the more prominently a man figures, the greater is his prestige. Next, the amount to be used for the second initiate's name is announced, with the same details, and in like fashion the sums decided upon for each successive initiate.

Then the total amount is distributed among the guests by the heralds, under X's supervision. He usually gives everyone the same amount; men sometimes receive more than
[562] women, but in every case members of the same sex receive an equal sum. The Bella Coola are not expert mathematicians,
[303] so that faulty division is the rule. If X, for example, decides to give $1.50 to each person present, it is a time of considerable anxiety while the stack of bills is being reduced, to watch whether or not there will be the exact amount. If X finds out
[426] he is short he will hastily borrow some money, as it would be
[578] an insult to omit anyone. If the amount be too great, he will use the surplus in making presents to the more influential guests.

With the exception of this possible surplus, the money distributed is regarded as an outright present; "it has flowed away to make good the boys' names" is the Bella Coola expression. A chief will remember how much he has received, and if he wishes to uphold or to increase his own dignity, he will make a point of returning at least an equivalent to X on some future occasion. But though in effect he may make return, such is never said to be the case. "The money has flowed away."

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not returnable by X to his wife's family. A question on this point was regarded as highly amusing. If used for investment-gifts, the presents received in return are given to X, not to his wife's relations. 552* 583

A speaker, acting on instructions from the brother or other member of X's wife's family, also announces what names, portions of myth-prerogatives, or other privileges she is bestowing on her husband. After that the people disperse, although they are free to re-enter the house, where, during the afternoon, arrangements are being made for the elaborate ceremonial which takes place that night. 556*

Towards dusk the guests reassemble and take their places as before. Part of the goods which X proposes to give away has been brought in, and, aided by members of his family, he busies himself recounting and making final plans for its distribution. As the Bella Coola have no system of writing, accurate division of goods at a potlatch causes considerable difficulty and worry to the donor. A slighted guest will feel aggrieved, and the sacred nature of the rite will have been subjected to insult if arrangements are not satisfactory. The first business is the settlement of debts by X to the members of his own village. He may perhaps have borrowed fifty blankets ten years previously from a certain individual whom he now intends to repay, with foreign guests as witnesses to the transaction. X always endeavours to reimburse with as large a premium as possible, because by so doing he displays his nobility of mind to the assemblage; but if he can restore only the amount borrowed, or the same with a small increase, there will be no trouble such as might occur should he fail to return at least the principal. When the debt has been settled with interest the matter is at an end, for there is no compulsion upon the man who receives the additional sum to repay this with interest in his turn. The amount previously lent, and the occasion, are always publicly announced, so that all are made aware of his generosity with regard to interest. [212] [578] 426 556*

In Kimsquit it was customary at this stage of the proceed- 556* 184

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* 556 465 skill shown by those who assisted, as well as the generosity of X, regulates the disbursements.

The following presents of money were given at a potlatch held about 1890, and were considered reasonable.

For painting two designs[a] on the front outside wall of the house	$ 40.00
For the erection of four upright posts, supporting the walls and roof of the house	20.00
For each longitudinal beam with painting	20.00
For each cross-beam, without painting	10.00
For the planking of the side walls[b]	100.00
For painting the rear wall of house, which is also the outside wall of the back-room[c]	40.00

[435] An average totem-pole would cost perhaps $150, but the prices varied greatly with size, complexity of design, and skill displayed.

●426 *556 The next distribution is of goods to repay debts which X has incurred at previous potlatches, that is, to return "investment presents" then received (I, p. 232). This is known as *lisdjut*, "repay," and the word is applied to all kinds of repayments, including revenge. One of a chief's difficulties is to remember his indebtedness. He may have been a guest at twenty potlatches, and at each has received presents varying in value, not only from different donors, but from other people associated with them. To keep these accurately in mind is [867] hard but essential, and parents carefully train their children to do so.

As previously mentioned, the Bella Coola have no fixed scale of interest on debts. Careful inquiries made on that point disclosed the idea to be entirely foreign. The greater the interest, the greater does the donor show himself to be. If, for example, X received an investment present of one hundred blankets from a Bella Bella chief ten years previously,

[532] [342] [a]When two are painted, that on the left of the central door on entering passways X's father's crest, that on the right his mother's.

[b]Four men would work together on this task.

[c]Two men would work together at this, the choice of designs corresponding to those of the outside front.

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he may now repay with one hundred and fifty blankets. The amount of the original present will be announced, so that it is made known that he is repaying with 50 per cent interest. This completes the transaction. The man who receives the additional fifty blankets is not required to repay these, though he may endeavour to do so, should he wish to add to his own fame. It is sufficient if X pays back the principal only, though in that case he does not increase his prestige. No claim is ever made for the repayment of an investment present; repayment is so obviously to the advantage of the debtor that there is no necessity for dunning. A man who did so would expose himself to the ridicule of the community; it would demonstrate that he thought in terms of goods, whereas a chief is expected to give presents as if they were a mere nothing.

On rare occasions a chief has been unable to repay his investment presents. In the autumn of 1921, a Bella Bella chief, aided by his son, prepared to give a potlatch, and the news spread far and wide. But during the summer the young man accidentally shot himself while deer-hunting. The father realized that, bereft of his son's assistance, he would be unable to repay even the principal of his indebtedness. He wept with grief. A disgrace of this kind affects the man and all who are in any way related to him, so he called upon his relatives, and they gave him sufficient money to save the situation. In such a case, nobody is compelled to contribute aid, but a feeling of companion is at work, as well as a vague sense of family pride. One Bella Coola gave this chief $10, although all that was remembered about his relationship to the Bella Bella man was that one of his ancestors had married a woman from the village of the Bella Bella chief. Particular inquiries were made to ascertain whether or not the disgrace of failure to repay would fall on the ancestral family and whether they were legally bound to contribute. Such is decidedly not the Bella Coola concept; only feelings of pride and affection govern the contributions. Assistance of that kind is given without witnesses,

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hence repayment or non-repayment does not affect the standing of the debtor in the community. The giver expects no return, but should he come to financial straits he would have no hesitation in asking aid from the Bella Bella chief. He expects, moreover, that the latter will contribute to the expenses of his funeral. This would be optional, as repayment of a non-ceremonial present concerns the donor and recipient alone, without effect on the status of either in the community. In this instance, if the old man had died soon after his son, his debts would not have been paid, since there were surviving no immediate relatives. Sons or other near kinsmen always settle the debts of dead parents out of family pride, but it is considered most improper for the creditors to think about repayment. By giving they have shown their power, the question of return is the concern of the family of the deceased recipient.

Very rarely does the donor of a potlatch fail to return his investment presents except through oversight. In spite of every precaution, errors occur, and these are said to be caused either by a supernatural being, itself invisible, rising between the donor and his guest, hiding the latter, or by *Sinxmulaxaiste* stealing away his thoughts. Unless the donor wishes to insult a guest, he will give him presents later on, and that ends the matter. But if he does not do so, the slighted man may return the insult, and thus feuds are often generated that may lead to war between tribes. About 1860 it is said that a conflict between the people of Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet was caused in that way. In the autumn of 1911, a Bella Coola chief insisted on dancing at a Bella Bella potlatch, although it was commonly known he did not have the necessary goods for distribution to validate his dance. The hosts waxed sarcastic, taunts were answered by taunts, and only the presence of some white men prevented bloodshed. Relations between the two tribes are still strained as a result of this incident. The Bella Coola chief was subject to spells of insanity, and danced during one of them. According to the

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Bella Coola, the Bella Bella should have taken this into account, along with the man's generosity on previous occasions, and overlooked his remissness.

Cases have been known of a "stupid" man endeavouring to increase his prestige by giving many potlatches when unable to pay his debts. Such a one is laughed at for his stinginess, which is not the attribute of a chief, and is given only small presents. [558]

It must be clearly understood that debts publicly incurred, in other words investment presents received at any ceremony, must be publicly returned, if the debtor is to gain the public esteem granted to one who pays back with interest. But everyone cannot give a potlatch; hence any young man desirous of returning his obligations, and of rising in public favour, can do so at a potlatch given by somebody else. Guests are present from abroad, so his discharge of indebtedness is made known farther afield than if he had done so at a local gathering, and the donor has the additional satisfaction of being able to give to these strangers. Sometimes as many as ten young men will ask X for permission to pay their debts at his potlatch. Such is never refused, because it means more ceremonial, and greater interest, which indirectly increase X's prestige. A young man who has been taken to a foreign potlatch as an adherent of a guest always receives presents, and if he repays these with interest his name begins to become known, especially as his return payments are unexpected. It is thus that a man whose chiefly name (or names) has been dormant for generations, can begin to restore it. Thanks to presents he gives at X's potlatch, he will in return receive large gifts, until finally he is able to give a potlatch himself. After X has paid his own indebtedness the debts of others are settled. In each case the speaker announces the amount received on such and such an occasion and the amount returned. Thus all present are able to estimate the generosity of the payer, a chiefly attribute. When a young man plans to give his first potlatch it is customary for the older chiefs of his village to advise whether he has

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sufficient goods, though every man is understood to be master of his own affairs.

After paying his debts X still has many heavy expenses in connection with the *nuxat* initiates, and the young people for whom he is obtaining seats. Goods for these purposes have been put on one side. The remainder he now proceeds to give away as investment presents. His exhibition of ancestral prerogatives, and the guise in which his ancestors are now living, as eagle, raven, whale, or such like, have been duly validated by the presents given on the preceding evening, and his social status has been cared for by the payments to his craftsmen and other creditors. Thus investment presents are not essential, though a man always endeavours to give them, both for economic and social reasons. There are no definite laws regarding their distribution. X is guided in his choice of recipients[*] by the following considerations:

(1) If a certain chief is likely to give a potlatch soon he knows that a present given him will be returned with interest.

(2) He desires to give something to a chief from whom he has often received favours.

(3) He wishes to ingratiate himself with a powerful chief by presents.

(4) He wishes to give presents to a chief with whom he is not on friendly terms. Unless the latter reciprocates, it will be considered that X has shown his superiority.

(5) Usually an important chief will receive more valuable presents than one of lesser rank. This custom is not governed by any fixed scale, and an important chief may be deliberately slighted, if X thinks that he has not shown him, X, sufficient respect.

It is considered the height of folly to give presents without due regard to their return.

The amount of gifts depends entirely on the wealth and desires of X. If he wishes to increase his fame, he will endea-

[*] Only one present is given to each man, irrespective of the number of names he may have. The Kwakiutl are said to give a gift for each designation.

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vour to give valuable presents, but he need not give any. It is a deep disgrace to any man to be unable to return these presents. Nothing is said, nor does the donor take active steps to receive his returns, but the influence of the recipient perceptibly wanes. It is expected that a heavier rate of interest will be paid on presents received many years before repayment, but again this is a matter of individual volition. The debts of a man who dies while owing for goods received at potlatches are scrupulously discharged by his family. If they fail to do so, their own influence is lessened. 426 556* 558

One method of reducing the value of an investment present can be used by a man who feels unable to repay a large gift. The uncle of an elderly Bella Coola was once guest at a Kimsquit potlatch, where he received, as an investment present, a fine large canoe and two hundred blankets. Not wishing to incur so large a liability he at once returned fifty of the blankets to his host for distribution among the guests. Consequently, he was expected to make return for only one hundred and fifty blankets, with whatever interest he desired. This action tended to lower his prestige, since it acknowledged his inability or unwillingness to repay his present. The chief in question, being firmly established in his chiefly status, did not fear to do this, though one of lesser rank would have hesitated to confess his inferiority.

It is on the value of the goods distributed in these three types of presentation; namely, recompense for work done, repayment of debts, and investment presents, that the importance of the potlatch, and consequently of X himself, is virtually judged. These distributions of presents are for the potlatch as a whole, including the return of the dead and the intangible prestige of X; the donations which follow are to validate specific transactions which can be omitted. In one or two families the whole course of the potlatch is changed, since the members have the prerogative of distributing their presents outside the house. In such a case the giving is done during the day instead of at night. Details of this ritual, 426 556* [184 424]

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556 which is said to have come as a prerogative obtained through
[426] marriage with a Kwakiutl woman, were not obtained.
[184] After the distribution of investment presents comes the
[424] strengthening of X's seat.

His wife, aided by members of her family, has placed the necessary goods in readiness, though it is pretended they merely happen to be on hand. A herald takes his place near
[203] the door, and another behind the fire. Beside the latter stands a chief, attired in a *sisaok* head-dress, who represents X. One of the heralds calls on this substitute to come forward, as if he were just entering the house, and shouts:

"There is no place for him to sit!"

Then he turns to X's wife, saying:

"See if you have not a few trifles in your room to strengthen him."

[196] The word for "strengthen" is *ixkekuta*, or *qkəlulitsta*, which means, "shoring up," as if X were wobbling on his chief-like base. The words have the other significance of "clothing." They represent the ethereal dignity wherewith a chief is garbed.

X's wife goes to her room, or to the place in the house where the goods are stored, and brings forth a large assortment of valuables, which are piled in a convenient spot. The substitute who is representing X then places himself in the latter's seat, which is to be made more solid by these goods. X's wife may tell the herald that they have still more goods for him, and in that case he calls out:

"His seat is too hard. Have you no soft cloths for it?"

The wife brings forward more goods to make her husband's seat more comfortable. The herald, who has been chosen for
[203] his fluency, uses his originality in what he calls for from the wife; soft cloths for the seat is merely an example. In some cases, many presents are given; at other times, if the wife and her family be poor, these are few and of little worth. It is not essential that foreign guests witness this establishment or strengthening of a seat, though their presence means that X's

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village at some ceremony, exactly as a child's name is conferred. Designations are chosen with respect to the appearance of the copper, or some incident connected with its history. Such a designation is *Qwaixwos*, "Begrimed," applied to a copper thrown many times into the fire. If, for instance, $50 be expended for a name, the value of a $30 copper is henceforth $80. 435 552 556*

(3) *By Making Gifts.* The owner of a copper can increase its value by calling together the other chiefs of his village, and sometimes of adjacent ones as well. After the customary meal, the owner expounds the history of his possession, giving details of its value. Then he passes it to one of his guests, who, unless he wishes to insult his host, must hold it upright, that is, with the broad end uppermost. The owner gives it in turn to each of his guests. To validate the display, the owner must bestow gifts on all present, and the total value of these is added to the value of the copper. Such gifts are not strictly returnable, although it is customary for chiefs to show their generosity and prowess to their fellows by a later repayment with interest. 435 556* [578] [426]

By these means the original purchaser of a worthless copper can increase its value to such a point that it can be used at a potlatch. There is no established custom about this. Coppers are not as valuable in Bella Coola as, for instance, at Fort Rupert, and it is unlikely that any are ever worth more than $300, and the average value is probably between $150 and $200. Considerable time is required to raise the value of a copper to this sum and the owner in many cases finds that he has all the other requirements before his copper is ready for use. In that case, he tries to buy another which has been raised to sufficient worth by its owner. Everyone knows the values of the different coppers in the community, and the intending purchaser calls his fellow-chiefs to his house and offers to buy one valued, for example, at $150. If the owner consents to sell, he usually endeavours to get as much as possible, perhaps $175. The sum is publicly paid and is henceforth the value of the copper, which is transmitted to the new [171] 435 437 556*

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435 owner with a statement of its history and the amount expended
437 on it. The purchase of a copper is, therefore, a good business
*556 transaction, and it might be assumed that a chief with keen commercial instinct would endeavour to acquire as many as
[171] possible. This is said to be the case in Fort Rupert, but in
[183] Bella Coola public opinion is averse to the obtaining of coppers unless for use at potlatches. As every ambitious chief hopes to give potlatches, he can always claim that the acquisition of a copper is for this end, and that the sale of it is from a kindly desire to assist a fellow-chief who is nearer the desired goal than he himself. Consequently, the sale of coppers is tolerably common, and a chief is not considered to be mercenary unless he sells too frequently.

•426 The intending donor of a potlatch can now proceed to the ceremony, secure in the possession of a copper worthy to be
*556 thrown on the fire after the passage of his deceased relative. In addition, he may own another copper of too small value for this purpose. As described in the last chapter, he repeatedly calls together the inhabitants of his own village to rites which he validates by the distribution of presents, and at which he also gives away investment presents. He may decide to use his second copper for this purpose. All investment presents,
[558] which are given only to men of standing in the community, must be repaid with interest unless the recipient is willing to decline in popular estimation; but when a gift of this kind consists of a copper, a return of 100 per cent is expected on the transaction. Bestowal of a copper in such circumstances is not spoken of as an investment present, *kəlämkusnäm*, but as *änuxop'*, which has the definite significance of something that must be returned with 100 per cent interest. If the value of the copper were $25 before this bestowal, it is now $50, since the new owner must repay this amount to the chief planning to give the potlatch. The new owner can use the copper in any way he desires; if he repays a previous indebtedness, he cancels $50 by giving it; whereas if he bestows it as *änuxop'*, announcement is made that its value is $50, and he expects to

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receive $100 in return. The last sum is now the value of the copper. This second bestowal may take place before the owner has paid the $50 that he owes to the original possessor. There is no time limit to Bella Coola debts since it adds to the debtor's prestige to pay off his indebtedness, publicly of course, when his creditor is giving a ceremony of any kind. At every change in ownership announcement is made of the history of the copper and of its value at every stage of its existence. In this way the worth of a copper increases until it is fit to be thrown into the fire after the passing of a dead kinsman. When one that has been used as *ānuxop'* is at last cast into the flames, and later rescued from them, it is customary for the new owner to use it once more as *ānuxop'*. On the other hand, a copper that has been raised to value by the gift of a name, painting, and so forth, is normally again revalued in the same way when rescued from oblivion. There is no definite rule about this; it is only a tendency.

426 556* 435 556*

The value of a copper acquired from either a white man or a member of a foreign tribe is equivalent to its purchase price, and can be raised in any one of the ways employed for one that has been thrown into a fire.

In many cases the donor of a potlatch prefers not to be the actual possessor of a copper at the time of the entry of his deceased relative, though he always arranges to obtain one. When the masked figure has disappeared, the donor stands up and says:

426 556*

"I have nothing to make bone for my ancestor. Chief So-and-so, please give me your copper."

The chief so called upon transmits the copper with a statement of its value and the recipient throws it into the fire. Nothing is said about repayment, but the transaction has been public and everyone realizes that the chief must repay with 100 per cent interest when the seller gives his next ceremony. In this way the donor is able to use a copper without having had to pay for it at an inconvenient time when he needs all his wealth to give to his foreign guests. A chief often sells a copper

[432] [435]

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435 immediately before, or during the early stages of a potlatch, in order to receive goods immediately, but with the proviso that *556 it shall be returned to him for throwing into the fire. This [432] method has the advantage of providing the chief with goods [426] when required, and doubles the worth of the copper.

Coppers are not always rescued from the ashes and given to poor men. If one is still lying in the fire after several days, [764] the donor of the potlatch removes it and fastens it to the memorial-post over the grave of his deceased relative. It may be left there, or another chief wanting a copper may buy it from the donor and increase its value in the usual manner. Only a small price is paid in such circumstances, since the copper, having served its purpose, is practically valueless.

177 The Bella Coola state that in ancient times coppers were worth less than at present, and that the change in sentiment 435 regarding them is due to Kwakiutl influence. All agree that *556 the value placed upon them at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay is greater than elsewhere on the coast. The Bella Coola believe that the Kwakiutl distribute presents in respect to their coppers and that their values mount to enormous sums when the gifts are returned. It is clear that the importance of coppers, like the potlatch and other elements of culture, has increased in recent years through the influence of the coastal tribes.

*556 It is almost impossible to define coppers in the nomenclature of economic theory. They are not mere articles of barter, since they have no practical use outside the ceremonies of chiefs. Nor are they standardized units of trade or cur- [436] rency, since each differs not only from all other coppers, but also at different periods. In a sense they serve as tokens of [211] what has been expended; representations of them may be carved and painted on totem-poles where they serve as marks [532] of the goods which the chief has given away, but this is only a minor consideration. A copper can perhaps best be described [426] as an investment which can be applied only to one purpose, [435] "the making of bone for a deceased" person. It grows more valuable at every transmission in accordance with the goods ex-

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pended, so that it serves as a visible and tangible memorandum of the chief-like generosity of its owner. By means of these media, debts are passed from one individual to another without actual liquidation in goods; in fact, it is unlikely that the Bella Coola possess sufficient money to meet the sums represented by their coppers. 556* [435] [426]

Professional Prerogatives

The importance of prerogatives in the lives of the Bella Coola has already been noted in many connections. A man's name is his only because his ancestral family has the prerogative of using that designation; a *kusiut* dance can be performed only by an individual with the necessary prerogative; specific totem-pole designs, the portrayal of bird or animal on spoons, seats, house-posts, and other objects is a right dependent upon an ancestral prerogative; as is also the area on which a man can hunt or fish. The concept colours all Bella Coola life. Not only is a man's ceremonial life based on this principle, but on it depend his actions as chief, and the economic sources of his food-supply. No prerogative, even though it be the property of a man, is effective until validated by the distribution of presents. Much of a man's energy throughout life is expended on the validation and display of his prerogatives; most Bella Coola feuds are caused by the infringement of one individual on another's rights. 424 556* [532] [796] [431] [627] [578]

In addition to the various types already mentioned, there are a number of professional prerogatives on which depend a man's vocation. That of herald approximates this class, although the Bella Coola consider it rather as a right operative only during ceremonials. Professional prerogatives rest on the belief that a man's ability as a hunter, wood-worker, and so forth does not rest in his innate skill, but upon an inherited right which must be confirmed and validated by the distribution of presents. These can be given at any convenient time when the people have been called together, but, as it is to the man's advantage to have his right made known as widely 424 463 556*

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533 of each song dances to it. Anyone who has enough food to
535 provide a meal for all is glad to invite his neighbours to such
574 an affair, but the singers and heralds can force a stingy man to act as host. Everyone knows his neighbour's resources and the singers have no hesitation in going to the house of a man with an ample supply of food and beginning to beat out songs
[203] there. The heralds are quick to see what is happening and
[626] call the people, with the result that the involuntary host is compelled to provide a meal in order not to be thought mean and churlish. Without waiting for the singers to take the
[203] initiative, heralds likewise often invite people to the house of a man whom they know to be well provided with food.

During the summer, the necessity of laying in supplies of
[221] salmon makes it impossible to hold many dances, although one
[796] of the non-sacred type just described takes place whenever there is a lull in the fishing. In the early autumn, when ber-
556 ries, fish, and game are abundant, the thoughts of chiefs turn
796 to potlatches and the lengthy preliminaries are begun. At this season, too, a chief who lacks sufficient wealth to invite foreign
[221] guests, calls in his neighbours for a *susaok* dance and initiates
[575] some of his young relatives into that society. The ritual,
[535] described in the last chapter, resembles that of a potlatch except that no new house is constructed, there is no return of a dead relative, and the ceremonial connected with the coming of foreigners is necessarily omitted. In some cases a chief performs this type of rite a year before he proposes to hold a potlatch, and explains that he is doing so because he will be unable to give presents to the inhabitants of his own village
[426] at the later affair. Gifts so distributed are returnable with interest, though it is not obligatory for recipients to do this in time for the donor to make use of their repayment at his potlatch.

Ceremonials of this nature occupy the Bella Coola during
[575] the early autumn, while in winter *kusiut* dances take place
[535] almost nightly. When they are over, it is time for the non-sacred variety of *a'alk* performances, and for another type of
rrte, nusäxkämx.

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the same manner the fluent speaker outlines a myth belonging to the ancestral family of X's mother, again with emphasis on the dancers used by her ancestors. X, as a member of both ancestral families, can combine his rights from both sides, but it is customary for him to use no more than five or six performers. Should X have no claim to this privilege from either mother or father, an almost unthinkable situation, he is able to borrow the prerogative of using some from friends. The sentiment on which this oration of myths is based is the one so often mentioned; it marks the close relationship between the future children and their noble ancestors of old, a source of strength to the former. 537 585 [426]

X's father now names those whom he wishes to assist him on the following day. These are the dancers, who are chosen primarily for their skill in dancing, and secondarily in accordance with their rank. With them he selects a number of persons to stand near and help or "cherish" them as they perform. He also asks the services of some of the women who are professional droners; of the keeper of the marriage song of his ancestral family; and, finally, of a number of men to sit near the singers and assist them with suggestions. It would be most exceptional for anyone so called upon to decline the honour. It is near morning by this time and the guests depart. 585 [535] [614]

On the following morning, the actual wedding day, X's father calls to his house those selected the previous evening as dancers and their assistants. The former wear blankets decorated with small copper ornaments[1] and carry circular wooden rattles provided with handles. Their clothing and rattles may be their own, but if they do not possess suitable attire, it is incumbent on X's father to provide them. Skins are piled up within the house, and some of these are said to "make soft the [534]

[1]At the present time there is uncertainty as to the proper clothing of a marriage dancer. Several informants stated that it was a copper-decorated blanket, whereas others said that there was no special attire; one man claimed that an attempt was made to imitate the form and costume of X's first ancestor, and another that *ziaool* costume was used. Probably there was no uniformity in custom. [292] [535] [184]

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585 handles of the rattles"; symbolizing that they are pads to protect the hands, though the dancers derive no benefit from the pelts, which are stacked with others for later distribution to Y's family. A large amount of provisions has been prepared and placed in boxes, one for each member of Y's family. In many cases it is difficult to estimate how much food will be required, and if there is a surplus, it is eaten by the performers and other assistants.

When all are ready they rush forth; dancers, dancers' assistants, and young relatives of X, followed more sedately by his father. The rest of the villagers watch with interest, but do not take part in the ceremony. Choosing a position outside Y's house, the singers beat the time of the marriage [533] song used by X's ancestors; if the words are known they sing them. Like the prerogative of marriage dancers, there may [424] not be a marriage song embodied in every origin myth, but if [426] X lacks such he is usually able to borrow one.[4] The keeper of the song is stationed near the singers, ready to help them with the words or the tune, if necessary. Meanwhile the [535] dancers are performing on the sidewalk outside Y's house. Each uses whatever type of dance he chooses, *kusiut*, *susook*, *a'alk*, or even shaman's, but all dance simultaneously, though without paying greater attention to each other than is [533] necessary to avoid collisions. The professional droners accompany the singing with their high-pitched quaver.

Meanwhile Y's father, surrounded by his relatives and friends, waits in readiness within their house. Y herself is

[4]The reputed origin of marriage songs has been described in vol. I, chap. vi. They are less strongly preserved as prerogatives than most elements of origin myths; in fact some keepers of the songs are willing to perform at any wedding, although this [614] may be a modern development. The keeper, either man or woman, is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family, after discussion with the singers. It is his duty to remember text and tune, and the only pecuniary advantage is from the presents made by those to whom he teaches it. Some songs have words, others only a tune. The text of a song brought down by *Alpuntim* to *Snaile-ol* is:

"Hello, *Snaile-ol*! We do as we have done before. Please make good the path for those who are about to marry."

Alpuntim obtained this song from his heavenly namesake and used it at his own marriage, as his male descendants have since done.

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to whom they are going, and for what purpose. He says, for example: 556 * 769

"Fifty skins become nothing on the path of *Kálákɛ*."

Everyone knows that this means the expenditure of that amount for the singing of a mourning song in connection with [533] the myth in which *Kálákɛ* appears. Gifts must be given for each song, and it is the desire of the donor that they be of fitting value. So, too, is the validation of professional mourners confirmed. [425] The goods having thus been displayed, a first distribution, called "Tears" with reference to the donor's grief, is made, each guest receiving a gift of the same worth. It is not returnable, being the legalization of the ceremony he has just witnessed. This is followed by donations to the carpenters, the singers, the professional mourners, and all others who have [465] rendered assistance; in essence, these are pay, though they are always referred to as free-will gifts made in gratitude for services rendered. Like the last, they are not returnable. Finally, any goods remaining from the store that has been brought out are given to chiefs and other influential members of the audience. Though not clearly stated, the recipients know that these are really investment-presents; when they reciprocate, [426] they mention that they are repaying a gift made at a memorial potlatch. A plentiful meal is now served, during which several chiefs make complimentary speeches, and the gathering breaks up.

In former times, when features of the ordinary potlatch were banned from a memorial potlatch, the ceremony just described was the central point of the proceedings. It was this public song-recital of the journey taken by his deceased relative which alleviated the donor's sorrow and filled him with pride. A few days after, in the late afternoon, the heralds called back the guests and the songs were sung and re-sung. [533] Miniature totem-poles were not used, nor were professional mourners in evidence; the sole function of the gathering was to provide opportunity for learning the songs. They were repeated until far into the night, when a large meal was served and the guests

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though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kusiut* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kusiut* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor.

575* 424 425 553 556 578 426

(2) *A Patron, omätuts.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

575* 424 776 533 535 578

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Änø'likwolsaix.* An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each.

575* 424 778

Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

773 781

*575 not considered necessary. With few exceptions, hereafter to
796 be noted, *kwaiat* masks are burnt at the conclusion of each
532 ceremony, a practice which probably originated in order to
avoid the possibility of their being seen by the uninitiated.
[171] The Bella Coola state that this is one of the most striking
differences between their rites and those of the Bella Bella.

*575 Next in importance to masks are whistles (see Plate 2).[1]
796 The large, cone-shaped form used in *nuaá* ceremonial is re-
534 placed in *kwaiat* dances by a smaller type consisting of portions
of wood glued together, which can be blown with ease from
[237] beneath a concealing blanket. Another type has bellows con-
sisting of a mountain goat bladder, which is held beneath
the arm-pit so that it can be worked invisibly. During the
summer the whistles are kept by one individual, usually a
[422] marshal. Specific information concerning the ownership of
these whistles could not be obtained; it appears that any
kwaiat can make one, or have one made for him by a skilled
carpenter, and that their retention by one person during the
summer is merely for convenience. They are freely lent to
[420] anyone for use in a ceremony.

*575 In some dances special objects are used in connection with
796 dramatic performances, such as bull-roarers, wooden repre-
532 sentations of animals, birds, or miniature human beings. One
old man described a pipe formerly used at *Tálio*, which had
[534] a carved bowl as large as a tea-cup with three radiating stems.
[124] It was carved from a knotty excrescence on a beech bole.
Little could be learnt of its history, except that it was sup-
posed to have been carved by a chief with the design of his
patron and displayed through pride.

*575 The usual guests at a performance of the type just sum-
609 marized are the dancer's fellow-villagers and any strangers
796 who happen to be present in the town. Great as is the desire
of the *kwaiat* to impress their uninitiated relatives, they
[648] are still more eager to impress strangers, hence the presence
of Carriers adds piquancy to the rites. The writer believes
[123] that his presence and interest encouraged the Bella Coola to

[1] [See category N6, p 84(B) - ANALYST]

[The Dance of NoaKanim]

773 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
124 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
125 *Smaiac-a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nuxpiwaiste* to await the coming of *Alpaxiów*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nakaum*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Nuákynum* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[715 times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
[151 eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[787 that it is almost six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[620 patron was *Nuákynum*, but that the marshals requested him
[776 not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Nuákynum* is patron for several *ítakaiat*, who are believed by the uninitiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
4 575 the *ítaciat* dances begin.
790
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It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village, as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
[424 slight variations, if any. In *Tsowatl* the *ítaciat* who has the
[441 prerogative of seeing *Nuákynum* is a certain *Sposlim-i*,* in
[551 *Kimsquit*, *Alaxiwmaxum*,* and in *Skówl*, *Xowtum*. Although,

[115 *Details of this dance were learned from the father of *Sposlim-i*, who intimated
[424 that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman
[578 referred to the loosing of this designation by her father and said that the property
was had failed to secure it. Minor findings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

*Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his person, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *ítaciat* women have significations of this type.

This ejaculation is supposed to make the work of manufacture less difficult. The same procedure is repeated with every mask ordered, except that if the being to be represented is a woman, X's ejaculation is *i* ·····. Any *kaciat* can make a mask, but the preference is always given to a man who has shown ability in previous tasks. The carpenters endeavour to follow well-recognized designs for many representations, but a great deal of latitude is allowed, and a workman receives greater praise and fame for turning out a fine and distinctive piece of new design, than for rigid adherence to a former type. This, combined with the burning of masks and consequent loss of permanent patterns, is responsible for the variability in Bella Coola forms, and the difficulty which they themselves experience in recognizing portrayed beings.

As soon as all the carpentry has been allotted, the singers strike up one of X's eight songs. Whether or not he dances to them is a matter about which there is a difference of opinion among informants. In any case the re-singing on *nacistilap* is purely for rehearsal, made necessary by the large number of songs. Later on in the *kaciat* season, the songs of other dancers may be practised on this night, and if the owners wish to practice their steps, it is quite proper for them to do so. Finally, a meal is distributed, while the marshals discourse in the usual way. Feasts are features of all *kaciat* dances, and the food distributed is regarded as a free-will gift, without thought of repayment. After eating, the *kakaciat* disperse; X must sleep within his own house, but no longer remains within his platform-enclosure.

The next day, the twenty-sixth of the ceremony, is *qaiim*. Early in the morning a herald summons to X's house, where the blocks have been left, all those to whom work has been assigned. All morning they carve diligently. The speed with which masks are completed is surprising, although this has undoubtedly increased since the introduction of metal tools. In the middle of the day a few *kakaciat* men, no women, are invited to share "the carpenters' meal," as the food provided

(c) Brought from above as a present from *Ḳpaxstem*.
(d) One of the dancer's first ancestors.
(e) Combined themes such as this, referring both to the approaching potlatch and the dancer's origin myth, are common at potlatches and *hahamat*.

599*

ax̌'hi'a Song Used for Ḳmaxpaxstmem of Kimsquit(a)

A *Ḳaiyc-tsqelem* | *chimsqemsqilidax* | *ḳimsis-tsudax* | *ax-tsem-ḳilaxiv*
Presently the people who lack prerogatives will cry(*b*) what I possess. Because

dimsemsqelar | *dem'ki'a-sudai*
it increases usually, it is ax̌'hi'a(*c*).

[wawaxan caused]

B *Ḳemil-tsmax-ndendax*
In the beginning there came down

| *Pempilxdimat*
| *Pempilxdimat(d)*

| *'ax'ax'ximmy'ᵐmix*
| with his crest(*e*).

Ḳemsemsqiv
He seen himself

| *ispmsqawimdimix*
| on the mouth

| *mmdax-mix*
| of the "Heavy One"(*f*).

[wawaxan caused]

C The last part has been forgotten(*g*).

(a) Recorded on song VII D 30a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pakard.
(b) The word *mqam*, which is translated as cry, is used only for the dance of ancestral prerogatives which can never be attained except by those who are members of the ancestral family concerned. [424] [614]
(c) It was impossible to obtain literal translations of the subdivisions.
(d) A name which *Jimmas* (I, p. 332) took for himself on earth. It is claimed that the composers of this song erred in using this designation.
(e) *Jimmas* came down to the Kimsquit River, but the grandiloquent phrasing expresses the sentiment that men and stream came together.
(f) The Kimsquit River is sometimes named *Ḳ'mlax* on its name as chief. This designation was obtained by *Jimmas* from Bella Bella, with his marriage to a woman of that tribe, and borrowed by him on the river. [103] [424]
(g) This song was used during the winter of 1923-4 and nearly led to friction. It is claimed that the right to the name *Ḳmaxpaxstmem* was lost to a Kimsquit man who failed to return it. The borrower has been dead many years, but when his son proceeded to dance, one of the singers who was related to the original leader refused to take part in the singing. [578] [426] [424]

Pasiyahem Song Used for a Kimsquit Man(a)

A *ax-ilsqelin*
I have obtained

| *sipsdimmdzipsu*
| the ancestral right

| *dimimsdidade*
| which displayed

| *sipsmmmdzadzab*
| my headdress(*b*).

[wawaxan caused]

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577 edly until complete confidence was established, simplifying
[124] work in the field to an enormous extent. Equal trust could be placed on these men in other respects; articles of value were repeatedly left in their houses with the absolute certainty that they would be guarded with care. Some few individuals there were, however, who were neither honest nor trustworthy.
[771] Bella Coola religion is not concerned with ethics, but public
626 opinion demands honour in dealing with relatives or friends.
577 In former times, for example, debts incurred by an individual were considered a liability by his relations. If a man died after
[426] buying goods on credit for a potlatch, his family were disgraced
[602] if they failed to pay his bills; now, unfortunately, nothing con-
[177] strains the younger people, many of whom try to avoid settling even their own debts, much less those of dead relatives. Individual conscience has not replaced the tribal and, more specifically, family influence. Dishonesty in small matters is not
[648] uncommon, particularly in dealing with white people who,
[177] according to the Bella Coola, were the first to transgress. The older people bitterly lament the lack of morality of the younger and state, probably with entire justification, that they would have been prevented by the open life which prevailed when several families shared a single house. On the whole, however, the average Bella Coola is probably no less honest than the average white man.

153 Individuals vary enormously in mental ability. In making
124 this investigation, it was necessary to interview all the older people of the tribe. Disregarding those unwilling to provide information, it was found that some absolutely lacked the ability to explain matters with which they were familiar; some did not have sufficient patience to be good teachers; some were so forgetful that they would omit necessary points in a story or account; some were downright stupid, whereas others displayed mental ability of no mean order. In reading ethnological literature, one is apt to think of the troubles experienced by the author, and to overlook the fact that natives have as

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[424] *Alnachum*: Excess of amount returned over that previously received as an investment present.
Anaklidzis: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Anahum: 1—Supernatural beings who drove on the sun moons.
2—Name of the supernatural women, *Intsimo-a*, the term is sometimally applied to the being herself. The sound is produced by tactar whistles.
Anaklidzis: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Anachum: "The Coming of Foul Weather," in the language of supernatural beings. The phenomenon is semi-anthropomorphized.
Ainsi-o: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Affluent chief from whom the village is supposedly named.
Aqumtsumkiim: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
[821] *Aqumtsut*: Supernatural beings who blacken the face of the moon or eclipses.
Alnamdzi: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Tal-o* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of an *atsimq* chief mentioned in an ancient story.
Anaki: 1—One of the designations of *Kimsi-o*, the mysterious supernatural women.
2—Envious, ever-inquiring, *ulkstim*.
[526] *alnamqu*: Swing consisting of two long cedar with cross-seats.
[824] *alnakdzi-o*: Spruce bower.
Ahamu: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.
alqumum: Label.
Ahaldzi: 1—One of the first men to settle on Calvert Island in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Pacmdzi* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Ainsi-o* in the beginning of time.
ahdzisim: Stake supporting clothes rack.
[796] *ahnachum*: Ritual repeated at intervals between the allotment of tasks for a potlatch, and the coming of a supernatural being to the first sunrise initiate.
ap, plural, *aaalt'ax*: Shield.
Ahkimum: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.
[588] *ahm*: Third part of song.
ahm: Pleasure expedition of boys and girls to the forest.
[517] *Ahm*: Name of an initiated man.
[821] *Aqumtsut*: Supernatural man-eater, partner of Cannibals.
Aqumtsut: Stick decorated with abalone shell used by one of the settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
Aqumtsut: Supernatural female berry-picker resident in the land of the dead.
ahum: Summons.
Ahatsdzi-o: Boy of the Thousand Islands near Pierce.
Ahakimum: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.
alnakdz: Cannibal.
[379] *alnamdzi*: Marriage with sister of a deceased wife, the word is undoubtedly associated with the verb, *a-lqumtsh*.
Ainsi-o: Supernatural creature similar to a human being.
Alnik: Supernatural woman, wife of Cold Wind and mother of Ice.
Anaki: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
[425] *ainl-tum*: The mouthwater of a man, during the period of engagement, from the father of the future bridegroom to the father of the future bride.
[539]
[574]

#142

Ala: some village.
Alacoli, "Ala of the Tied-up Feet": Name given to a lad whose are was disjointed in infancy.
alacumcular: Refusal to lend to an outsider a lovely perspective such as the employment of marriage dancers. [426] [374]
alaqulcumu: Shed erected when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an announcement of his coming potlatch.
Alaxcumu: Name of a lowly shaman.
Alex, "The Opening of the Sky":
1.—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
2.—One of the first men to settle at Dean in the beginning of time.
3.—Name of a *Snake-it-chief*.
Alexkulaka: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.
Alexmuxkuam: One of the first men to settle at *Nuxalk* in the beginning of time.
alexmumu: Amulet having the ability to enter the back-room and read intimate concealed there. The function probably constitutes the employment of lai-shield. [375]
Alqlaxu: Hidden, supernatural beings who remove supernatural Cannibals.
alsumu: Ceremonial hoeing of sticks. [399]
Amamuxtu: Wife of *Tsaxlaiu*, the supernatural hunter.
Amaqulaka: Husband of *Ala*'*Uhualaiu*, he is known only to Kimsquit.
amaxlaxuk: Earlier name of mystery. [375]
amaxumuxu: Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning ceremony. [374]
amaxumuxumu: Call used by heralds when announcing to a mourning ceremony.
amaxumlaiu: The "Dragging Across" of a name, crest, or other intangible property from wife to husband either on marriage or later or a repurchasing of the wife. [425] [374]
amaxum: To drag a heavy burden.
amaxlaxu: Conference mixed with shaken grease. [442]
amayxu: Visit to his squaiteny by a lavish initiate. [421]
Amaxlhum, "Doing Both Work": Second moon after the winter solstice.
amlqumuxu, "The Attention Time": Stalled assemblage of the *Sulaxlai* after departure of a Cannibal.
amulaiu: Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter. [377]
Amulaiu: 1.—Supernatural being who revives mortals.
2.—Name received by a shaman from this being.

alp: Food.
alpaxum, "Food Supplier": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage. [425]
Ayalkul, "Sheltered": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
alqmu: Shaman's robe of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in chevron crests. [152]
alqumk: Guardian, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence. [382]
Alqumlaxu: Supernatural name of shaman, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time. [425]
Alqumlaxu, "A Chosen Descendant": Name given to an *Ayalkul* man in the beginning of time.

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Anahlik: Village near mouth of the Dean River.
Analaiow: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Anatawa yet, "Laborers": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Anawindzin: Name obtained by an *Ayahlini* man in the beginning of time.
Angalkmen, "Quivering To and Fro": One of *Dzagalim*'s canoes and hence a designation given to shamans.
Anawindzin: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.
Anawinsa: 1—Earlier name of a Bella Coola woman.
2—"Left Hand": Area repository carved from part of a supernatural creature.
[331] [424] *anaxaq*: Term applied to the giving of a copper, indicating that 100 per cent interest is expected in return.
Anaxlamalmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
[463] *anaxmalaka-ats*: Earlier pronunciation, at Kimsquit only, of throwing wands on the fire.
Anawalalaqoli, "The Moving House": One of the names of the supreme god's pavilion.
anqas: 1—Owner of a puppet person.
2—Synonym for *Anawalalaqoli*, q.v.
Anqulthalaic: Supernatural being who rules behavior of their daughts on the Mountain Goats.
as-ala: 1—Name obtained by women by one of the four members of *Ayahlini* in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Bella chief.
ala: Eagles.
Ayala, "The Petty One": Name taken by a chief for himself in spite of the remarks made about his height.
Ayalaic: Second name of a Kimsquit man.
[225] [324] [425] *ayaw*: Moving upon.
ayawaqla: Concerned.
ayaw: Type of sea-going canoe.
ayaw: Harlequin duck.
Ayatayatmamen, "The Concave Eyes": Term used by hunters to Eagle.
Ayatawa, "Concave Town": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
ay-ayamay: Canoes lashed together.
Ayaw: Locality on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head, including the area beneath the surface of the water.
[601] [777] *ay-ala-ik*: 1—Second stolen sibling.
2—Second part of song.
ayatamen: 1—"They Who Have Become Supernatural": Title performed by ghosts.
2—Women living in the moon.
Ayatamay: Inhabitants of the village of *Ayaw*.
[424] *ayatamatsis*: Person with good memory entertained to remember family genealogies.
Ayaw, "In the Head": Village southwest of the head of South Bentinck Arm.
ayaxalk: Totem-pole, literally, "Outside Post."
ayaxalaqa: Shaman with power derived from ghosts.
ayakawa: Ceremonial backing up down.
[156] [318] *Ayakamalaic*: Earlier name of a Bella Coola woman.
Ayakalik: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.

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S

sqwa'ni sqwal'a: Medicine; generic term for all remedies of a magical or medicinal nature. [278]
s'ac: Cotton, term in common usage.
smo: Hopkins or moss. [601]

T

t'ancla: Ancestral name of a *Gwalis'ai* man.
'ustlalica: Daughter of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
ustlatelcla: Moon, semi-anthropomorphized.

U

ut'ckiila: 1—Bella Bella term, commonly used in Bella Coola, the exact official
2—Kwiat name of a Bella Coola man.
ustiti: Type of sea-going canoe used by the Haida; the word may be a corruption from English.
Ut'a-kula: Man who descended to the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
ut'ac-a: One of the first women to settle at Sclemon Pass in the beginning of time.
ituskas: Mythical, supernatural bird. [825]
Ituscu: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxalk* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Qaiyai* in the beginning of time.
ulc: Pipe.
ulcip: Call used by members of the *Ituscu* society to strengthen their fellow members.

Y

ya': Powdered cedar-bark, undyed. [824]
ya'a: Zigzag course up or down a mountain slope.
Yaiyai: Twaldin's dog.
Ya'kwa-c: One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
Ya'kwa-c-da cola: Bandage of undyed cedar-bark placed around an infant's head to produce cranial deformation. [856]
ya'acum, Bandages: Term applied to grasses distributed as validation for the bringing of a sell Cannibal. [431]
yk: One of the *Ya'ykwa*.
yaakwa'ayaakwa: Abbreviated rite of *Nuxlayam* dance.
yacum: Nun.
Ya'ccilch: Search name of a Kwaguit man.
Ya'ccilchum, "The Mouse": Male supernatural child who famous *Nuxlayam's* uncle.
yamag, "Child Who Dance": Cry used in Cannibal dance.
yamilci, "Scoop": Solid to spring salmon during the ritual connected with the first taking of these fish. [226]
yakwa'ccum: Alleged singing of a sound imitator's song by the supernatural being, *Mamalilla*.
ya'k'a-yum: Reduction of the value of an investment-property by immediate return of part of it. [426]
yakc: Man. [824]
yaakwa'aaakkilas: Polyandry.

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[illegible]: Tail.
[illegible]: Arm.
[illegible]: Black hawthorn. [825]
[illegible]: Kwakiutl name of a Kimsquit man. [824]
[illegible]: Ancestral name of the wife of *Swaky* who was changed to stone in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Region.
[illegible]: Kitlala chief living in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: 1—Marriage, properly arranged and legalized. [585]
2—The actual wedding day.
[illegible]: Kwakiutl name of a Kimsquit woman.[1] [415]
[illegible]: Bark basket for holding liquids.
[illegible]: The seeking of assistance from a man who owns a curing repository.
[illegible]: Investment present, i.e., one for which a return is expected. [426]
[illegible]: Back room in which most initiates and others are concealed.
[illegible]: Woman during ceremonial. [431]
[illegible], "What Was Sent Down": Intangible possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time. [424]
[illegible]: Wooden tongs such as are used for lifting hot stones. [412]
[illegible]: *Kusiutem* rite in which the performer appears to be drowned.
[illegible], "The Gainer": One who has been initiated as a member of the *kusiutem* society but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through unauthorized knowledge or through successful participation in either a *kusiutem* or a Mystery dance. [575]
[illegible], "Hundred Incapable of Returning": Said of an uninitiated person who is alleged to have stumbled on a repository.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: The dancers waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one visitation, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability. [756]
[illegible], **[illegible]**: Grandmother. [601]
[illegible]: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
[illegible]: Name given to their canoe by the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
[illegible], "The Wise One": One of Raven's names as chief.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at *Alpalxel* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: 1—Cock.
2—Enormous crab-like creature, alleged to be found far in the forest. [825]
[illegible]: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts. [824]
[illegible]: Red elderberry.
[illegible]: Wooden implement used in the pounding of cedar-bark. [413]
[illegible]: Unidentified place. [252]
[illegible]: To meet dried salmon.
[illegible]: Supported, in the sense of held in place by physical assistance.
[illegible]: Located on Dean Channel, west of *Sacaulk*.
[illegible]: Place on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

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[1] This name appears to be an entirely different word from *Kalsa-i*.

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Kitlmnstämem: The chasm that keeps a foolish man from success as a chief; the concept is semi-anthropomorphized.

kitsän: First catamenial discharge.

Kuldr-t: *ustämy* village.

kłxta: Supernatural creature dwelling in the ocean.

[756] *Kłyekłmat:* Shaman who received power from ghosts.

Kumłkwalxststa: Bella Coola hunter.

[103] *Kimykmt,* "Canyon": Bella Bella designation for the Dean River, whence the anglicized *Kimsquit* has been derived.

Kindust: Nass River.

Kinłkmł: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

[825] *łmts:* 1—Whale.
2—Ancestral name of a *Tal'ie* woman; this is said to be an exclusively feminine designation.

Kłst"amat: 1—Name acquired by a Bella Bella man in the beginning of time.
2—Influential *Łempo-ts* chief, who died about 1910.

[825] *V'lax"':* Muskrat.

[824] *łłp:* White fir (?).

łmtw-i: Herring.

łmndjut: Prerogative of biting oneself.

łnum: Dried salmon.

łnumdjut: Synonym for *ähnkla:* one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of masked representations of the deceased. The word is derived from *łnum.*

[825] *łokolikm:* Porpoise.

[845] *Koksłnm:* Supernatural being who behaves in an erratic manner.

ko'la: Twin whose birth is attributed to salmon.

[824] *Ko'laistsi:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.

kolulaxo: Unidentified berry (strawberry?).

Kolxsta: Supernatural female shaman who guided *Winwina.*

Kol-iaiyuhmy: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.

kolku"ähmy, "Earthy Ones": Ghosts.

[533] *kolukmy:* Land, region, earth.

kolulo-s: First part of song.

Kotuk': Treeless mountain about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.

[825] *Kpupstustusailaix,* "The One Who Makes Us Fat": Supernatural name of coho salmon.

[765] *łpustnm:* Goods distributed to validate songs used at a mourning ceremony when no representation of the deceased has been employed.

[578] *łpusnäm:* Insult offered to foreigners at potlatches concerning their manners or food.

[609] *krämkusaix* or *krämkusnäm:* Synonym for *kstämkusnäm,* investment-present.[1]

[42] *Ksnusmmdmat:* Woman mentioned in an ancient story.

kukpi, sucatin, kukpai: Grandfather.

[601] *kukustunk: Kusiut* ceremonial at which foreigners are present.

łukx: The construction of salmon-weirs.

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[1]This was the pronunciation of the word by the individual with an idiosyncratic *r* sound.

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L

[825] *Lakloklis:* Kimsquit man mentioned in ancient story.
la·kis: Squirrel.
Lagwumais: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Qamqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
2—Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
[463] *Lamiyas·k':* Name of a professional warrior; the word is said to have originated in Kitkatla but has remained for many generations in Kimsquit.
La'qila: Atnarko River, northern fork of the Bella Coola.
Lalamsk: Susook name of a Kimsquit man.
Lalaimkila, "The Brusher Off [of Goats]": Professional name of one of the first settlers at *Snuiali* in the beginning of time. This may be the same word as *Lalemkila.*
Lalemkila: Another name for *Twalalit,* the supernatural hunter. This may be the same word as *Lalaimkila.*
[825] *Lilirwumlais:* 1—"The Beautifier": Supernatural name of Otter.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[886] *lipljudils:* Return in old age to the thoughts and actions of infancy, senile decay.
[426] *lisdjut:* To repay indebtedness of any kind, especially presents received at potlatches.
[583] *lisliwadjut,* "A Paying": An arrangement by which a man's sons-in-law give him as "wife" an infant female relative by way of repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters.
listmax: Wrestling or shoving.
lilstom: Abbreviated Cannibal rite.
La·qwa·t: 1—Famous Bella Bella chief.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
lulusta: Mask.
luts: Tool for making vertical incisions in the bark of cedar trees.

Ł

Łakwakila: Tsawat man living in the beginning of time.
Łalaiuks: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.
[823] *łalia:* 1—Copper.
2—Unidentified town on the outer coast, mentioned in a story of the beginning of time.
3—Chief of this town.
łaliasiuts: Daughter of chief of the town of Copper.
łaliselotl: Copper cane acquired by the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
łaliskis: Man's name, created by the first settlers at *Sałlia,* in the beginning of time.
łaliskdja: Name taken for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
łaliaks: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
łaliamy: Susook name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Alpałał* in the beginning of time.
łaliaus, "The Copper One": One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

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nixokasta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract. [424]

Nixḷs: Expert supernatural dancer; to his associates he is a yearling mountain goat.

nmly or nmlpkmut: First complete dance given by a *kusiut* initiate.

nmmmk: Mammal, any kind. [825]

Nniwonuix: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

Noakila: 1—One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuisli* in the beginning of time.

Noakynm: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Noomtaxaik: Name given to his grandson by one of the first settlers at *Siskiut* in the beginning of time.

nokista: *Kusiut* prerogative as a Breaker; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.

nolyakta: Sloping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kimsquit, *kusiut* masks are hung.

nomuuk: The making and use of hand nets for olachen.

Nomdjumstem: 1—"The Adviser": One of the names of the supreme god. [622]
2—Chiefs of a village, collectively; virtually, "The Sages."

no'ematlm: 1—Ceremony at which *nsook* names are validated in the eyes of the fellow-villagers. [553]
2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed. [796]

no'endjut: Assemblage of the *kukusiut* to practise difficult rites.

No-ḳum, "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": *Tlaiyakam* name given to a deserting wife.

Nowakila: One of the names of Raven as chief.

nowlxibltum: Sentence of death passed by the *kukusiut* on one of their fellows as punishment for an error. [688]

nuaiyao: A loan, especially of an ancestral right. [426]

Nuhulnum: Synonym for *Noakynm,* the supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Nu'aos, "Inhospitable": Name taken by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

nuḳsuta: Toilet-hole.

nuasta: Birth.

Nuskaqos: Anthropomorphized evil cold wind. [821]

nuhk-an: Rhetorical term of respect for aged dead. [769]

nuhk-an du ikmsta: 1—High tide.
2—Long life. [823]

nudjiqasta: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold olachen-net post steady while being driven.

Nu'qmaḳ, "Place of Foul Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Nuk": 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.
2—River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.

Nuakmalsaix: Synonym for *Sximsimuk,* an immoral supernatural woman.

nukal: The achievement of success against supernatural odds; the term is used with reference to the solutions of the riddles of the Mystery dance.

nukamlmdamam: Any non-sacred dance held at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season. [535]

Nukw-se: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Nuxnhnam: An influential Kwakiutl chief.
Nuxoro: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.
nuxsem: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a *ɬaxiut* who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an uninitiated person.
nuxlomsil': Grease extracted from sockeye salmon heads.
[825] *Nuxiadji:* Ancestral name of a *Stax* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
[778] *nuxlo sta:* 1—Spider.
2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where cures are effected; the power is derived from a spider petrified there.
Nuxil, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
Nuxkwisadjax, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[552] *Nuxlqumatl di mnk',* "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.
Nuxlomnam: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Nuxlqmm*'s departure to warn *ɬuɬaxiut* to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.
[356] 2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.
Nuxlulukt, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[431] *nuxsem:* Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.
Nuxlisqalank, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.
Nuxsumankta: One of the first women to settle at *Tal-is* in the beginning of time.
nuxmkmankdas: Fastenings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.
Nuxkitl: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.
nuxmakdas: Bonds used to fasten a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nuxmkmankdas.*
[428] *nuxmastmax:* Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.
nuxlostnik-sta, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *nsask* head-dress.
nuxl: Landslide, such as is caused by *Tsuxlitit* or *xsiutl.*
Nuxqunlaix: Name given to their sister by the first settlers at *Nuxqualt* in the beginning of time.
nuxqunta, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a poultice which is thrown away after serving its purpose.
nuxqstas: House-posts nearest to front door.
nuxnikta: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
[426] *nuxmamamum,* "Belt Goods": Goods borrowed during a potlatch by a donor who finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to fasten up his
[556] clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.
nuxsadjim: Cry uttered by a *nsask* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *nsask* novices.
[342] *nuxsqailaix:* The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *nsask* novice.
nuxwalkal: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.
nuxalkal: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.
Nuxsw-ut, "Place of Fins": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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represent. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become Sisau'kH. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'E-la'sta, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is a member of the gens Ialo'stimôt of the Talio'mH, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother wil give him the whale at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would proably give his secrets to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a Kû'siût name, which remains the same throughout life; and a Qê'mtsion name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'slu'sta's (which is his Kû'siût name) present Qê'mtsion name is Atl'itlemas'has'ain, but athis next potlatch he intends to take the name of Kalia'kia. These names are also the property of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Kû'siût names of the ancestors. In two cases only the Qê'mtsion names have been ascertained (see p. 409). When a man possesses several Sisau'kH secrets he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their Sisau'kH secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisau'kH secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the Sisau'kH carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Kû'siût is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaûlikûtsai'H. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anaûlikûtsai'H invited her into her cave and taught

575 her the secrets of the Kû'siût. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kû'siût. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kû'siût.'

575 Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kû'siût. When a man has
776 seen Auaûlikûtsai'ʜ sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a Kû'siût. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Kû'siût lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kû'siût are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband,
424 as is the case with the Sisau'kʜ dances (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
[426] by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Kû'siût is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kû'siût name, which
[551] he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kû'siût names,
[428] which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Tl'akō'otl. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[556] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisau'kʜ, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kû'siût have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] ʟlaqō'tla (the Hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ō'lʟq (the Nū'tlmatl of the Kwakiutl), and the Dā'tia (the Nō'ntaistatl of the Hē'iltsuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Kû'siût novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the ʟlaqō'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
785 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun,
787 and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[266] killed, in order to serve as food for the ʟlaqō'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the ʟlaqō'tla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
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424 owe my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the
532 gens Ialô'stimôt of the Taliô'mx·, stated that he had received the raven
614 when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received
[115] the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his
[556] next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new
424 secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a kû'sint
551 name, which remains through life, and a Xê'mtsioa name, which is
556 changed at these festivals. Thus, Nsak'Elu'sta's (which is his kû'sint
575 name) Xê'mtsioa name was AL'ILEMNE'lus'aix·, but at his next pot-
614 latch he intended to take the name of Kaliâ'kis. These names are also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names. When a man possesses several sisan'k· secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisan'k· *secrets to her husband*, as his children make him a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisan'k· secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more.
● [426] The crest and the sisan'k· carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular clan.

426 The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl.
556 The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going to pay the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

575 The kû'sint is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaâlikuta'-
773 ai'x·. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from
776 February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to
535 have been the first to find her. Anaâlikuta'ai'x· invited her into her cave and taught her the secrets of the kû'sint. She wore ornaments of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
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woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with maaka. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the kū'siut. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the kū'siut." 575 773 776 535

Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the kū'siut. When a man has seen Anaūlikuta'al'x· sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a kū'siut. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each kū'siut lasts three days. 575 776 535

The various dances performed by members of the kū'siut are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisau'k· dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the kū'siut is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kū'siut name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of L'akō'oL. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the sisau'k·, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kū'siut have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the ELaxō'LA (the hā'mata'a of the Kwakiutl), the ō'lEX (the nū'LmaL of the Kwakiutl), and the dā'tia (the nō'ntaistalal of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kū'siut novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation. 535 575 614 575 [426] [551] [428] [556] [171] [554]

When the ELaxō'LA is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the ELaxō'LA. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the ELaxō'LA order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears 575 785 787 [266]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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names are also willed, but since their value depends on the goods expended to validate them, there is seldom bitterness about their allotment. Indeed, a chief who is the legal owner of a designation which came from above in the beginning of time, will in many cases choose to elevate his position with respect to a title of comparatively recent date. But if any person who is not a member of the ancestral family should dare to use an ancestral name, all the members rise to avenge the theft, for such they feel it to be. In recent years, however, this practice has become comparatively common. In such cases a man, eager to share in the glories of a myth and able to give a potlatch, has validated an ancestral name to which he has no right. The presence of the white man alone restrains the injured ancestral family. Names are sometimes lent or hired to those who are not members of the group for definite sums; the recipient recompenses the individual. If such names are not returned for several generations quarrels are apt to arise since the recipient claims to be the real owner and not the temporary possessor. During his tenancy of the name he is entitled to any prerogative attached to it, but he is not considered a *bona fide* member of the ancestral family.

578 614 553 [428] [685] [178] [426] [427]

Instances have occurred in which an old man or woman, believing himself to be the last survivor of an ancestral family, has donated his names and myth to those who have befriended him, or these have been taken by those who buried him. Some individuals are constantly watching to conduct the funerals of friendless old people in the hope of so obtaining names. But in almost every case this leads to friction, since it is virtually impossible for an ancestral family to die out. Perhaps in the next generation, perhaps in the following one, some youth will claim descent from the first ancestors of the supposedly defunct family, and claim the myth and names embodied therein. This leads to a feud with the person, or his descendants, who has received the names through aid given to the "last" of the family.

[428] [557] [628]

Such instances of an ancestral family becoming practically

614 621

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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423 614 [773] [226] sumed that ten is the largest number of traps possible at that weir. Those who have the right to that weir are the members of the ancestral family with the names of those first users. At this point the logic of the Bella Coola fails to uphold the mythological pattern. No salmon-weir has remained in existence since the beginning of time; when one broke, owners were sometimes infants, and those who repaired the break became regarded as the rightful possessors. The system of ownership prevailing at the time of abandoning the weirs, was that *individuals*, not groups, had rights to certain sections of the weir [428] which were willable like other personal property. In most [431] cases this right was transmitted with a name, marking the section of weir, which had to be duly validated by presents. [428] In other cases, the intangible ownership was willed without any mark whatever.[6] Unless bequeathed in this way, disputes were frequent. Rights of this kind were never sold although [427] an owner often leased his section for a night, or longer period, receiving goods in return, and not forfeiting his ownership [431] thereby. This was particularly common when the renter was planning to give a potlatch. No case was heard of in which the right to a certain section of salmon-weir was given to a non-member of the ancestral family. Theoretically, this was possible, but practically it would be so inconvenient that it is most unlikely ever to have occurred, since the Bella Coola is [671] never such a slave to legal privileges that he fails to be guided by common sense.

226 Although individual ownership is thus recognized with [423] regard to sections of salmon-weirs and suitable places for olachen-nets, the owner is bound to share his haul. When he [577] catches a large number of fish, anyone, whether related to him [626] or not, can demand some. He cannot refuse, since to do so would brand him as selfish. The effective check on this system

[128] [6]Great difficulty was experienced in learning about the distribution of rights to sections of salmon-weirs. The evidence is conflicting, and though every effort was made to verify and check the above, there may be further regulations which were not learnt.

This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail 582
in vol. I, chap. viii, but mention of it here has been necessary [614]
to explain the composition of the ancestral family.

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to marry foreign women in order that they, or their children, might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a trend towards exogamy has arisen from the same reason which is supposed to [554]
have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said that this practice was initiated by a certain *Pathe*, father of a man about sixty years old in 1923. White influence probably [777]
had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its [illegible] of peaceful conditions on the coast.

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestry, it is unlikely 614
that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of 554
the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These are of two kinds: names and land.

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bella Coola nomen- 551
clature is that each name must have originated in connection with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable to apply a casual designation to a child. At a person's death [768]
his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it [553]
is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by [773]
whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were all given designations by *Alquntam*; these have been carefully handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying [838]

with it some definite prerogative of a dance or other function, but all are transmissible, and at the owner's death these may fall to different relatives. A name may pass from man to woman, or vice versa, in some cases with a minor alteration. The only non-inheritable appellations are those obtained by shamans as a result of their supernatural experiences.

Not only did each group of first ancestors bring with them a number of designations from above, but they also created a number on this earth and bestowed them on their children, and on the children of their sisters or brothers, in whom they felt an almost personal interest. To mark the dignity of the names, all present at the ceremony of bestowal received gifts from the creator of the name, the person who called them together for the rite. The importance of the individual depended largely upon the value of the regalia distributed with respect to his name, a concept which will be elaborated in the following chapter. The descendants of these first people likewise created new designations and established their dignity by distributing presents, a practice which still continues. It follows that any complete origin myth should include a large number of names, those brought down from the land above[1] and also those created by the powerful first people on this earth itself.[2] Both types of cognomen will be referred to henceforth as "ancestral names," no distinction being made between those actually brought from above and those made on earth. This is in accordance with Bella Coola usage.

Soon after the birth of a child his father, uncle, or other near relative,[3] either on the paternal or maternal side, calls the members of the village together to bestow a name on the infant. The one selected must be embodied in the origin myth of one or other of the parents, and must be one not then in use by any other member of the ancestral family. A relative may give the

[1] Such a name is a mythic character, or "Supernatural Name."
[2] Such a name is a created character, or "Earth-Made Name."
[3] The most careful investigation failed to show that it was hereditary on any particular relative.

b:McDowell E-5 (1922-1924)948
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The ancestral family consists of those whose ancestral names, embodying definite prerogatives, are embodied in a single origin myth. 614 424 551

A stranger finds it easier to understand why names are so carefully maintained within the ancestral family by thinking of them as symbols of prerogatives, but it must be emphasized that the Bella Coola preserve with equal jealousy those designations of which the only prerogative is the marking of this actual membership. [554]

If, then, the ancestral family be regarded as a group possessing a large number of name-prerogatives, it may well be asked how these are distributed among the members. The first point to be emphasized is that the ancestral family is a unit held together without definite social mechanism. There is no accepted "head" of the family, nor are there any clearly formulated laws governing the transmission of the name-prerogatives. 614 553 When wealth a man usually calls together his relatives and bequeaths,[9] according to his desire, his personal property in slaves and canoes, and his intangible property in names. Such a designation does not become the property of the new owner unless he is able to validate his ownership by a distribution of presents; meanwhile the name is "dead." If, during this period, some other member of the ancestral family should desire it for a child, or for himself, he can take possession of it by the customary distribution of presents. In doing so he would anger the legatee, but the latter cannot himself use the appellation since it is already in use. Even at the present time there are bitter quarrels over the assumption of names, and such have certainly occurred for many generations. If a man can validate fairly promptly a name willed to him, it is most unusual for anyone else to try to forestall him. 428 553 431 [578]

If a man dies intestate, his sons consider themselves his normal heirs, and the most respected of them validates for himself as many names as he desires or is able to assume. Disputes are not as common as might be expected since the 428 553 [578]

[9] In case of sudden death or failure to make a will confusion sometimes occurs.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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428 influence of a chief is usually sufficient to settle claims as to
553 which of his brothers shall receive which name. Even if none
[578] of them is a chief, some one of them is certain to have greater influence than the others. If a dead man has no sons, his daughters can assume his names, which they may transmit to their children. Failing both sons and daughters, a man's brothers and sisters are his heirs, as usual, the one of influence being the one who really arranges matters.[6] None the less, it
[614] must be emphasized that if the members of the immediate family are slow to validate a dead man's names, they may be taken by any member of the ancestral family.

463 In former days it was customary to create a "remem-
869 brancer" to preserve the ancestral myth. The older and more influential members of the ancestral family would choose an
[614] intelligent young relative to whom to relate the myth in great detail. One informant described how her mother, the last official "remembrancer," had been instructed by her grandfather. The old man had been accustomed to take his granddaughter, a girl about twelve years of age, to bed with him, and whisper to her the myth, with his hand pressed over her nose to prevent escape of his words. At the conclusion of the recitation
[789] he always spat in her ears to make the words stick. The members of the ancestral family, recognizing that the "remembrancer" was the person best acquainted with the myth, were wont to consult him or her about it, and, of course, about the
[553] names embodied in it. A "remembrancer" had no authority to decree who should receive names, but appeals were often made to him, and a tactful individual was frequently able to settle disputes.

578 Considering the extreme fluidity of the whole system it is
428 surprising that quarrels are not more common. These are limited by the system of wills, through which a man bequeaths
614 his most valuable personal property, especially his intangible
553 property in *kuxiut* name-prerogatives (II, p. x). Ancestral

[6] At the present time the same principle governs the disposal of houses and gardens on the reserve.

names are also willed, but since their value depends on the goods expended to validate them, there is seldom bitterness about their allotment. Indeed, a chief who is the legal owner of a designation which came from above in the beginning of time, will in many cases choose to elevate his position with respect to a title of comparatively recent date. But if any person who is not a member of the ancestral family should dare to use an ancestral name, all the members rise to avenge the theft, for such they feel it to be. In recent years, however, this practice has become comparatively common. In such cases a man, eager to share in the glories of a myth and able to give a potlatch, has validated an ancestral name to which he has no right. The presence of the white man alone restrains the injured ancestral family. Names are sometimes lent or hired to those who are not members of the group for definite sums; the recipient accompanies the individual. If such names are not returned for several generations quarrels are apt to arise since the recipient claims to be the real owner and not the temporary possessor. During his tenancy of the name he is entitled to any prerogative attached to it, but he is not considered a *bona fide* member of the ancestral family.

Instances have occurred in which an old man or woman believing himself to be the last survivor of an ancestral family has donated his names and myth to those who have befriended him, or these have been taken by those who buried him. Some individuals are constantly searching to conduct the funerals of friendless old people in the hope of so obtaining names. But in almost every case this leads to friction, since it is virtually impossible for an ancestral family to die out. Perhaps in the next generation, perhaps in the following one, some youth will claim descent from the last ancestors of the supposedly defunct family, and claim the myth and names embodied therein. This leads to a feud with the person, or his descendants, who has received the names through aid given to the "last" of the family.

Such instances of an ancestral family becoming practically

the Germans it would have been moral and proper according to Bella Coola ethics, but to take land was unheard of.

Since land is only valued for hunting or collecting purposes, it is not divided into small areas. Any man can build his house as will near the village. It is said that at Kitlaba the crab-apple trees are the property of different unrelated families, themselves members of different tribes, but this is unknown in Bella Coola. It may be mentioned that the Bella Coola somewhat naively assume that all other coastal tribes have unrelated families similar to their own, although they recognize that some of them also have a clan system which has no counterpart in their social organization. Since the construction of the tribe on a small reserve and the beginning of agriculture, a system of individual ownership of cultivated land has sprung up. It is realized that if a man clears and cultivates a field, the produce is his own, and he can will this land to whomsoever he pleases. Likewise a man who traps a bear to kill it for firewood is the sole owner. The Bella Coola regard uncultivated land in the reserve as being at the disposal of anyone, a concept which appears not to have been taught them by any white administrator. Its origin suggestion is in the old belief that any unappropriated land, far removed from a village, can be used by anyone. It is recognized that the reserve cannot be considered as a *ut* when belonging to any unrelated group, hence it is free to all. One corner of it, however, includes the lower part of a side-valley formerly used by the people of Tsomail. An old man, whose unrelated family lived in that village for generations, has set his bear-traps in this corner of the reserve for a number of years without interference from other hunters, who go far afield with their traps. Even within the limits of the reserve it is felt that this man has the prime right to that area for the use of himself and his family.

Theoretically an unrelated family may die out. Several instances were received of old men who, believing themselves to be the sole survivors of their family, bequeathed their custom

and hunting-grounds to those who had helped them in their old age. But in every case the gift turned out to be of doubtful value, since young men grew up who claimed membership in the supposedly defunct ancestral family and contested the right of those to whom it had been given. This always led to war.

The following is an instance of a feud which arose from the bestowal of a hunting-area.

It is said that about 1850 the people of Tsawat (probably Bute Inlet) captured a Bella Bella woman as a slave. She escaped and fled up the Tsawat River, hoping to come in contact with the Bella Coola, who often hunted in that area. The woman was found by the mother's father of an informant who carefully looked after her while he was hunting beaver and brought her back to Bella Coola, thence sending her to Bella Bella. In gratitude for father, a Bella Bella chief, gave her captor the hunting-area known as Nalum, near Kwatna Inlet, with the consent of the members of his ancestral family. The land so alienated should have remained permanently in possession of the Bella Coola ancestral family, but was too far removed from Bella Coola to be used regularly by the new owners. After the death of the Bella Bella chief, a number of individuals who claimed membership in his ancestral family asserted their rights to it. Many years later, after white traders had made their appearance on the coast, a Bella Coola went to Nalum and killed a large number of beaver. As he was leaving with their pelts he was murdered by some Bella Bella, ostensibly as a trespasser. But for the restraining influence of the white man this incident would undoubtedly have led to war. The informant still feels that he is entitled to hunt at Nalum, and did so several times when he was a young man; but his sons have never exercised the right, and it has practically lapsed.

It is unfortunate that the above incident is drawn from Bella Bella, where the power of chiefs is much greater than among the Bella Coola. Consequently it is impossible to say

owned that one is the largest number of traps possible at that weir. Those who have the right to that weir are the members of the ancestral family with the name of those first seen. At this point the logic of the Bella Coola fails to uphold the mythological picture. No salmon-weir has remained in existence since the beginning of time; when one broke, owners were sometimes inferior, and those who repaired the break became regarded as the rightful possessors. The system of ownership prevailing at the time of abandoning the weirs, was that individuals, not groups, had rights to certain sections of the weir which were willable like other personal property. In most cases this right was commitred with a cuse, marking the section of weir, which had to be duly validated by presents. In other cases, the intangible ownership was willed without any mark whatever.* Unless bequeathed in this way, disputes were frequent. Rights of this kind were never sold although an owner often loaned his section for a night, or longer period, receiving goods in return, and not forfeiting his ownership thereby. This was particularly common when the owner was planning to give a potlatch. No case was heard of in which the right to a certain section of salmon-weir was given to a non-member of the ancestral family. Theoretically, this was possible, but practically it would be so inconvenient that it is most unlikely ever to have occurred, since the Bella Coola is never such a slave to legal privileges that he fails to be guided by common sense.

Although individual ownership is thus recognized with regard to sections of salmon-weirs and suitable places for eulachon-nets, the owner is bound to share his haul. When he catches a large number of fish, anyone, whether related to him or not, can demand some. He cannot refuse, since to do so would brand him as selfish. The effective check on this system

* Great difficulty was experienced in learning about the distribution of rights to sections of salmon-weirs. The evidence is conflicting, and though every effort was made to verify and check the above, there may be further explanations which were not learnt.

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as far [illegible] rules are concerned. In this particular instance the woman did not show any interest in her new relatives, failed to visit them, or to take part in their ceremonies, so that the adoption, though still legal, has practically lapsed. When this man dies his children will not consider the claims of their father's "sister" to inherit any of his possessions, as they would have done if she had showed herself appreciative of her adoption. 597 [428]

It will thus be seen that the size and composition of the family vary according to the wealth and influence of the father. The duties of the members are difficult to define since they concern almost entirely the routine of life. The father, head of the family, directs the gathering of firewood, repair of the house, obtaining of food supplies, and other matters of the same sort. If he gives a potlatch his children must help him, which they do willingly since they gain from the ceremony. If a father is too autocratic, his older, especially his married children, simply move away. Nor is his power over his younger children unbounded, since their mother's relatives take great interest in their welfare and would resent any ill-treatment. 592 [431] [602]

If a person is killed or wounded, revenge is the affair of his family. Just how many individuals are involved depends on the composition of the family. In the case of the killing of a child, living with his parents alone, none but the father would feel it incumbent to retaliate. If an adult person is murdered, his or her brothers feel and avenge the insult. But should an important member of the community be slain, an old man surrounded by a numerous family, it is the affair of all. Every effort is made to slay the murderer, but if he should escape from the country, the injured group is satisfied by killing one of his family. Thus again the same inexact composition is found. A man's son, brother, or father are the only persons actually liable, and even here the common sense of the Bella Coola outweighs their theoretical laws. A murderer's brother, living in another village, would not be held liable; but more distant relations living with the offender and considered as his 593 627 682 [678]

family are liable

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of the father or the mother. In June, 1922, a Bella Coola girl had reached the age of about six months without having received a name. There was much adverse criticism about the parsimony of her father's father and her mother's father, who were held equally to blame, but who had really been deterred by fear of the law prohibiting the potlatch. 612 614 553

As a child grows older he is helped in the performance of ceremonial rites by his parents and by their brothers and sisters. In this, too, it is considered a mark of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his ancestral family, he has no hesitation in favouring the children of either a brother or sister, since, like his own, they are all members of the same ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit* it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children; not that there is any lack of knowledge of the real father, but rather as a mark of respect and family feeling displayed by a man to his sister. Moreover, in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is most improper for a name which a man has raised to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much goods to be passed to his own son; it should go to a distant relative. When a father validates a name for his child it should be one long dormant. 593 604 852 [558] [614] [553]

One aspect of the manner in which the family merges imperceptibly into the ancestral family can be seen in the inheritance of names. When a man calls his relatives together to make his will he is guided in the choice of recipients by the characteristics of his children. An able son receives much from his father, but lazy children are slighted without hesitation. This is particularly true of names with which are bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whereas, as previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the importance depends 593 614 428 553

*According to an intelligent Bella Coola informant, a Bella Bella pays greater attention to the children of his brothers and sisters than to his own offspring, and the same man expressed the opinion that the Kimsquit practice was due to Bella Bella influence. Kimsquit informants denied this, though emphasizing the important part taken by an uncle in obtaining prerogatives for his sisters' children, in some cases to the detriment of his own, which is rare in Bella Coola. [184] [177]

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593 on the value of the goods distributed in connection with them,
614 usually revert to the ancestral family and can be revived by
553 any member of it. It seems needless to publish lengthy pedi-
428 grees, illustrating the transmission of ancestral names; it will suffice to say that such sometimes pass from father to son, from a man to his brother's son, his sister's son, his sister, his daughter, or to other relatives belonging to the immediate family. On the other hand, with equal frequency, names pass from a man to distant relatives of the same ancestral family.

59 Thus the Bella Coola family, important though it is in the life of the individual, cannot be defined with exactitude either as regards composition or functions; it varies according to the importance of its head, and tends to merge in the ancestral families of the parents.

Kinship Terms

601 In Bella Coola, as in so many parts of the world, kinship terms mirror the social life of the community. The Bella Coola system of nomenclature is not as clear-cut in its application as in other regions, and requires considerable explanation concerning the uses of many of the terms. It will be seen that the system, although fundamentally founded on the family, presents many classificatory features. Whether or not these are to be ascribed to an ancient clan system is most doubtful; a short discussion of that point will be found at the end of this section.

The terms are arranged in the following order: first, an individual's relatives of the preceding generation, then those of the next preceding, with their parents, then those of the present generation, followed by terms for kin of the generations following. Finally come relations by marriage.

Term	Speaker address	Speaker address
	Male	Female
Father	This term is properly used only by a small child, though often mentioned by an adult as a term of endearment.	Term used only by a small child.

[195]

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to arrange his marriage with some female slave; once this had taken place, the actual treatment meted out to him differed only slightly from that shown to a member of the family. In former times it would probably have been difficult for a stranger to tell married slaves from the members of the Bella Coola community until he had been long enough in the country to understand more than appeared on the surface. 527 582

Marriages between Bella Coola men and slave women were not infrequent, while like partnerships between slave men and even the daughters of chiefs were not unknown. In such cases the status of the children depended on the performance of ceremonies to wash from them the stain of their slave blood. While the mother was still pregnant her husband would call guests, not only from his own village, but from foreign tribes as well. Presents were given, according to the wealth of the donor, often aided by his immediate family, to "wash the child." Such ceremonies would be repeated several times before birth, and again at that time. Bella Coola sentiment was that such presents gagged the recipients; they knew of the dishonourable ancestry of the child, but the receipt of gifts on his account had wiped away the disgrace. Such a child was able to inherit prerogatives from his mother's old home, duly validated in Bella Coola by valuables, and by his own lavish presents he could silence those who remembered the blot on his ancestry. Similar procedure was carried out if a free woman married a slave. Unless her husband were already owned by one of her family, the woman's father or brother would arrange to purchase him. Then, aided by him, they would give the same type of presents to clear the children from the taint of slavery. If this were not done, the children had only the status of slaves, though, born and brought up in Bella Coola and associating from infancy with their master's children, they were virtually considered members of the family. 431 567 [428]

"Washing the child," during pregnancy and at birth, sufficed to cover the taint on its history, but in later years if such a person failed to continue to give ceremonies, people would again talk of his short-comings. So, too, for the child or grand- [554] [578]

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all that he sits in an enviable spot, irrespective of its location in the house. 554 556*

In precisely the same manner a man may take for himself a seat in the central part of the row behind the fire, but he is laughed at for endeavouring to assume a dignity, unworthily, unless he can validate his position by lavish presents. The Bella Coola are always ready to make fun of a person who fails to maintain his seat. On the death of the occupant of the central position it is taken for granted that whoever inherits his name will assume that location and give the essential presents, but it is not incumbent upon him to do so. He may choose to establish his new name at his old station, beside, instead of behind, the fire. Thus it has come to pass that the seat of the most important chief of a village is often at the side of the house. When all are seated the chiefs may be widely separated, and a parent may have obtained for his son a seat in a better part of the house than his own. But as a rule the chiefs sit in a row at the back of the fire, the most influential one in the middle. There must have been feuds when two men desired to seat themselves in the central position at the same time, but disputes about this were uncommon, because a man's seat was, and still is, primarily regarded as the intangible goods wherewith he is clothed, rather than his right to sit at any particular spot. It is these non-material coverings that enable a man to be bold and assertive in argument or suggestion, in fact to be a chief. A young man may have had conferred on him one of the noblest names, but his influence depends on the value of the goods expended on his behalf, subject of course to the universal characteristic that a man of forceful character may have more influence than his actual position warrants. [424] [428] [622] [424]

Jealous feuds are common when the man who owns the name of the first chief, first ancestor of a village, has duly validated it, but is being eclipsed in the giving of potlatches by a man whose name is of less intrinsic importance. Such a complication recently arose at Kimsquit, and the Bella Coola [578] [612]

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177 from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not diffi-
424 cult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking,
551 even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella
575 Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella
[773] prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time of the coming of the white man. There has since been general decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situation is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the investigator.

428 Sisaxt names are willed and inherited in the manner already
551 described for other prerogatives. The type of dance, and the
595 time of use, will be described in the following section of this chapter.

The Potlatch

556 It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank
128 among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a number of features which, logically, should have been postponed until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has been made to lessen references to non-ritualistic features by the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chieftainship and the sisaxt society. Other ideas will require rather lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems preferable to the use of many footnotes, its only alternative.

General Observations

104 In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "pot-
556 latch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents,
[431] and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella Coola, such distribution of gifts is necessary at every ceremonial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most important of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach, the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

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* 556 adopted, probably as a prerogative obtained through mar-
575 riage, from the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people. The diver-
177 sity in ritual supports this view. There was not sufficient
[776] time for the procedure to become stabilized between the introduction of the concept and the dislocation of Bella Coola social life through the influence of the white man. It is also possible that the *tutwinam* was added to *susask* rites from the older *a'alk* society (I, p. 273).

532 Whatever may have been the history of the *tutwinam*, it
* 556 provides Y with a mask, or with two, if two figures have ap-
575 peared. He guards them jealously, though secretly, throughout his life and uses them only on rare ceremonial occasions.
[769] It is one of these masks which will be brought out if one of his family gives a dramatic representation of his return after death.
● [428] A mask of this type is sometimes willed, but the legatee alters the design before using it.

* 556 A short pause follows the singing of the second, or third,
575 song, during which some chief or chiefs may make a laudatory speech concerning Y's family history. Then the singers again
[537] sing the first song, and *susask* members of the audience join in.
[533] Similarly, the second song is practised. These two are sung, time after time, until the *susask* have thoroughly mastered them. When the singers consider that this has been accomplished, they tell X, who communicates with the *susask* man outside who has the whistle, and again its eerie notes are heard.
[781] Some of the uninitiated, believing that the supernatural being who gives potency to the ritual is at hand, hurriedly leave in fear. At the same time some of the *susask* conduct to the back-room the second initiate whose songs are to be sung that night. The procedure in his case is identical with that described for Y. Usually it is considered sufficient to seclude two on one night, though three may be attempted. When the songs of the last have been sung, food is distributed and the people disperse.

A few nights later the same ritual is repeated for two more initiates, who join their predecessors in the back-room. Here they spend their time in idleness, the only essential being the

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turns, clad in his ceremonial costume, including a long cape with pockets. With him come the four or five young men who have just finished dancing. The singers beat time furiously with their sticks, and the *siki* whirls round and round, working himself into a frenzy with twists and gyrations. Gradually, he approaches one of the initiates, and pretends to pluck something from his body. As he opens his hands the spectators see that there is something in them, what exactly, they cannot distinguish. Only those who are *ɬsaek* understand that, whatever it is, it has been palmed from one of his cape pockets. He pretends to throw this object upwards, at the same time slipping it back into his cape. As the article is, theoretically, thrown aloft the sound of whistling is heard, which grows weaker and weaker till it finally ceases. Meanwhile the heralds discourse loudly with one another about how the "eagle" or whatever it is, has been extracted, and is now returning above. The same procedure is repeated for the other initiates. This concludes the night's ceremony. Food is distributed and the people disperse. 556* 575 789

The employment of a foreign *siki* to expel the power from the initiates is necessary since this particular prerogative is not native to Bella Coola. Formerly the expulsion was done in the back-room without any elaborate ceremony. This rite marks the admission of initiates into the *ɬsaek* society although they cannot yet leave the back-room. It must be understood, however, that a youth may be initiated several times, on each occasion receiving new songs and perhaps a different mask. In this way his prestige as a *ɬsaek* is increased, and the son of a powerful chief will often be initiated ten or more times. A mask so acquired is preserved in concealment as the personal property of the owner who may use it at potlatches on future occasions. It will be the guise in which a dead person returns to visit the living. After being used for this purpose, a mask may be burnt, or willed to a near relative of the deceased, who slightly alters the painting before using it himself. [424] [177] 556* 575 [422] [532] [428]

It is somewhat difficult to understand the attitude of those [781]

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first established on his seat, he must reward the heralds lavishly for their remarks. 203 556

As with so many elements of culture, the Bella Coola ascribe the origin of heralds to the wish of *Alqantám* as expressed to the first people in the beginning of time. Some groups of these early settlers brought with them heralds whose games had been created by the supreme deity himself in his house in the land above. Such a one was *Qāqā'lī* who was a member of *Xemcua*'s (I, p. 326) party at Kimsquit, another was *Olḑimut* who came with *uyuyuyut* (I, p. 329). These heralds functioned in the manner of their descendants of today; others of the first chiefs appointed certain of their relatives to perform this service, and by means of the power with which they were endowed, created names with respect to their functions. Besides his ordinary name every herald must have an ancestral appellation of some kind, as well as the probability of possessing *kuxiut* ones in addition to those of a professional nature. Either by bringing with them from above, or by creation on this earth, each group of first settlers became provided with a herald, whose name is embodied in the ancestral myth describing their experiences. As each of the first heralds died, his name was passed to a successor, and this practice has been carried out from generation to generation until the present. The Bella Coola state that no new names for heralds have been created since the time of the first people, and it is certain that none has been made for many years. Consequently, the number of heralds is strictly limited in accordance with mythological beliefs, and every man who owns one of the ancient designations embodied in an origin myth knows the name of the herald associated with his first namesake. 203 773 551 [428]

At the death of a herald his name becomes dormant. Since heralds function at all ceremonies, whether or not the donor belongs to the same ancestral family as themselves, the members of the group sustaining the loss are not deprived of their 203 553 556 614 424

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701 difficult to estimate the former influence of such warriors. The belief of all in their ability must have given them some prestige, although the requirements of practical qualifications in fighting must often have prevented them from functioning as military leaders. In other words, a man may be, socially, a warrior, even though he lacks ability as a fighting man.

701 The functions of warriors are not limited to fighting with
699 enemies of other tribes. Each has the power to kill and must
[688] exercise it when requested. If a mistake is made in a cere-
[575] monial *kusiut* dance, the offender must be killed, and one way
[428] in which this is accomplished is by the senior members of the
[411] society requesting a professional warrior to act as executioner.
[754] One of these men, who lived at *Aóin-ów-i*, always used a stone club which had been handed down from generation to generation, becoming the property of each new incumbent of the name and prerogative. In other cases, the killing is said to have been done with the aid of magic. The power of the *Aóin-ów-i* warrior had been confirmed with so much goods that he was the most powerful professional killer known to the Bella Coola. He acted on instructions from the senior members of the *kusiut* society or when called upon by anyone. If,
[684] for example, a man found that his wife had been faithless and wished to kill her lover, it was only necessary to tell the professional warrior, who was bound to act in accordance with his prerogative. He received no pay, since he was merely
[682] exercising his right. The relatives of the murdered person never took revenge on the slayer, realizing that he was powerless in the matter, though they frequently requested him to slay the person who had asked him to kill the first victim. He could never refuse to do so, even if the victim were his own brother, or if he knew that the person he was to kill was guiltless. The underlying principle was that this man's power had
[761] been increased to such a pitch by the distribution of presents that if he failed to exercise it on demand, it would react upon himself and cause his own death. This *Aóin-ów-i* warrior began in time to have an aversion for his vocation, since he

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901 than that of anyone else. The Bella Coola do not rationalize
156 in a scientific manner; if a man holds a belief firmly, he acts on it without questioning its logic. Moreover, if a professional warrior functions a number of times, this in itself is enough to strengthen his conviction that he must act henceforth in the same way. It can be said with confidence that the owner of
[463] a professional prerogative has considerable belief in his own powers, that this acts on himself to render him proficient, and that the majority of the community have respect for his capabilities.

555 THE PROFESSION OF SINGER

424 Singing is one of the professions open to a Bella Coola
598 either through natural ability or an ancestral prerogative. There is a constant need for men able to sing and compose
[464] songs for every kind of ceremonial, so a young man of talent has little difficulty in gaining admittance to the choir. He may even win great distinction and become recognized as the leading authority on musical matters. None the less, his success is considered to be accidental and unauthoritative, lacking the foundation that comes from the possession of a duly validated professional prerogative. A person made a singer by the latter means may be entirely unable to compose; in this case he is not a member of the choir, although he enjoys the social distinction which he has won by distributing goods to confirm his professional status. The singer most respected is he who combines with natural ability a confirmed prerogative to give substance and power to his position and composi-
[555] tions. At the death of such an one, an effort is always made
[424] by the members of his ancestral family to transmit the name
[598] to a youth who has shown musical promise. Arguments and differences of opinion are common among the members of the choir and in such cases the self-assurance and influence of a man whose position has been made strong by the distribution of presents often outweighs that of one who can rely only on his actual ability.

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MODERN SHAMANISM

Although the powers ascribed to modern shamans are less than those attributed to their fellows of old, yet a shaman is a person endowed with mysterious ability and wonderful knowledge, due to personal contact with supernatural beings. Hence, he is regarded as somewhat uncanny and, though respected, is likewise feared. The power is not inheritable. There is a tendency for the descendants of a shaman to have like favours granted to them, but this is nothing more than a tendency on the part of the supernatural beings to confer their boons in this manner; it is not a right. Thus anyone, man or woman, rich or poor, young or old, slave or member of an ancient family, may become a shaman.

The Obtaining of Shamanistic Power

A shaman obtains his power from a supernatural visitant, usually the mythical woman *Tlitsqilila-a* (also called *Ladak-waletsum*) bringing him a name, four songs, and sometimes the ability to cure a specific disease. No methods are sure to attract her, but by means of magical rites a man may so purify himself that she will be likely to visit him. A second, and the most usual manner of becoming a shaman, is to receive a visit from *Tlitsqilila-a* when grievously ill. In either case a shaman is often termed a *kaciut*, "A Learned One."

In the first case, the wooing of shamanistic powers by magical means, it is often a matter of years before a man becomes a shaman. Sometimes the parents of a mere boy will notice that he is fond of lying around the house with a far-away look in his eyes, and appears unwilling to take part in the games of the other lads. Especially if the father is a shaman, or if one of his ancestors has had the ability, the parents watch carefully to see whether or not this is merely a passing mood. If it continues, they realize that their son may become a shaman. Although there are dangers attached to the profession, they will usually assist their child in every possible way. They may know how one of their ancestors obtained

1:Mc:Dwatth E-1 (1922-1924)948
NES Decimals NES

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shaman pours the grease on the central fire, and throws on it also the figures and some dried salmon. Thus propitiated, it is believed that the dead will be more likely to allow the soul-souls to be sucked forth.

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[576]

Shamans from the dead perform conjuring feats and dramatic performances of the same type as ordinary shamans. Until he gives his first dance a newly created shaman is known as a *hoax*, the same word that is used for a *hoxiut* initiate, and during this period he wears the shaman's collar of interwoven dyed and undyed cedar-bark. If he is wealthy and influential, a shaman will repeat his dance every fourth year. Such a performance can be held at any season, although the usual time is after the *hoxiut* ceremonies. The dramatic representations are of scenes witnessed in the land below, though sometimes they are done in a reverse manner, following the practice of the dead in doing things oppositely. Thus one shaman reported that the ghosts were very long blankets, but when he danced he wore one that came only to his hips. The method of singing is the same as that employed by ordinary shamans, but one whose power is derived from the dead dances with head bent downwards, his free hand pointing to the ground with four fingers extended. Also his cry of "*ewai, ewai, ewai,*" uttered in intervals with a deep cadence, differs from that used by ordinary shamans. A dance always terminates with the distribution of food to validate the ceremony.

[746]

[536]

Like ordinary shamans, those from the dead cannot transmit their power. At death their songs too are lost, unless they choose to give them to a friend who is also a shaman from the dead. This is obviously contrary to the theoretical belief that all songs have been obtained during revelations, but is not at all contrary to the Bella Coola practice of having the singers assist the visionaries in "remembering" their visions.

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The following tale, although drawn from the distant past, is a typical illustration of one of the many ways in which shamanistic power is received from the dead.[9]

[9] Six stories of similar type have been included in vol. 1, chap. xxx to explain the life of the dead, and others are grouped together in the next chapter.

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Several Bella Coola were questioned concerning the Cannibal spirit which Boas has described for the Kwakiutl. Some had never heard of such a creature, others had vague knowledge concerning it, and two men were able to give it a name. The one called it *Sâxâlqamaxâlîxtim*, the other *Sâxâlqamaxim*. All informants agreed that this creature was not a part of the Cannibal cult of Bella Coola and one man suggested that the cannibalistic incubus method is unnecessary. The Bella Coola believe that the Cannibal spirit is used in Bella Bella. During 1913 there came to Bella Coola an old Kitsaqut Indian who had left his home many years ago and had since been living at Smith Inlet(?). With him came his son, a grown man, who had inherited from his mother a Kwakiutl Cannibal prerogative which he displayed in the winter of 1913-4. After the dances had, theoretically, returned from the regions above, a large masked figure representing *Sâxâlqamaxim* entered through the front door. As the singers beat time, it hopped to and fro, up and down, with snapping beak. The Bella Coola were mentally measured, and one had only to listen to their remarks when wondering what it might be, to be convinced that the Cannibal spirit is a strange concept to them. The most frequent hypothesis was that it was a hawk, since the masked figure did resemble this supernatural bird. The Bella Coola greatly admired the dance, and were by no means ashamed to confess their inferiority as dancers to the Kwakiutl. After the disappearance of the masked figure, the singers sang the Cannibal's song and he danced in normal fashion, which was commented upon as another difference in custom.

THE SCRATCH DANCE

Only less awe-inspiring than the Cannibal dance is the Scratch dance. Those *Sâxâlîx* who have this prerogative are able to scratch the bodies of their fellows, as their long, bloody wails vanish. The privileges and restrictions of Sâxâlîxes are closely akin to those of Cannibals, as the following points show:

533*

[illegible] Sagh dawn on his head(1)	[illegible] on children	[illegible] of chiefs.

[illegible]
(musicians concluding here.)

(a) Sun songs complained means this song has been sung without change for three generations. It was composed for a certain Gaidowa, called by him to [illegible], who connected it to the present day. [224] [225]

(b) Recorded as song VII D 10, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Dakota.

(c) All [illegible] of the should probably be dots, but in singing the final a sound is usually indistinguishable and has accordingly been omitted throughout. The d sound in other song on d but the one spelling has been used consistently. [145]

(d) The medium theme of this song consists of a series of grunts which are said to be the voice of a horse, the crest of [illegible].

(e) The meaning of this is: When my grandfather brought down.

(f) The grandfather of [illegible] had called to him the right to use this crest. [224] [225]

(g) The man from whom this song was obtained did not know which was the crest of [illegible]. He judged from the fact that it must have been the horse, although this is not one of the generally recognized birds.

(h) Meaning: The horse which has failed to jab its prey. When this song was sung, a medical figure of a horse appeared and enabled several of the spectators, who were later rewarded for having permitted a passageto be displayed. [231] [226]

(i) No analogous expression for comparison.

Song of Jigskin of Eagwept when initiated into the Guest Society(a)

1. [illegible] Be of good courage	[illegible] ye of the gaiwah(b).	[illegible] Use up evil dreams(c)
[illegible] your head.	[illegible] They have met with an accident(d).	[illegible] the house being flooded (e).

(musicians continue)

2. [illegible] Would their lives be not	[illegible] children's people whom will become entered	[illegible] whom rises to food
[illegible] the Eagwept Street(f).	[illegible] They who are fishes (g)	[illegible] will prepare their biggest [illegible]

(musicians continue)

3. The third part has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 10a, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Dakota.

(b) The wording shows that the song was to be used at a potlatch.

(c) Meaning: Make use of in all directions.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Nalqkaiaw: An influential Kwakiutl chief.
Nakaiai: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.
nalpaum: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a lender who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an unauthorized person.
nalskwalil: Grease extracted from sockeye salmon heads.
Nalwadi: Ancestral name of a *Tsaxo* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
nalkla ene: 1—Spider.
2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where caves are of-
[825] [778] fected; the powers is derived from a spider petrified there.
Nalsis, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
Nalskwaqalya, "The One Whose Feet is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[559] *Nalqawaud di mud*, "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.
Nalskwaqaw: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Naskyaw*'s departure to warn debauchees to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.
[352] 2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.
Nalskiskis, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[431] *nalsum*: Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.
Nalliqalsiel, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.
Nalsnamaskis: One of the first women to settle at *Tal'ai* in the beginning of time.
nalsnakwalskis: Footwraps, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.
Nalsiai: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.
nalsnaskis: Beads used to lasso a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nalsnakwalskis*.
[428] *nalsnqaiaw*: Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.
nalsnaxwalaxa, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *naxal* head-drum.
nalq: Landslide, such as is caused by *Tsaskilis* or *naxal*.
Nalqaskis: Name given to their water by the first settlers at *Naiqwaik* in the beginning of time.
nalqwa, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a poultice which is thrown away after serving its purpose.
nalqwaiaw: House-posts sunrise to front door.
nalsaskis: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
nalsnaxwalaxa, "Belt Goods": Goods borrowed during a potlatch by a donee who finds himself debtorn. The implication is that he will have to fatten up his
[426] [352] clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.
nalsnqiaw: Cry uttered by a *naxal* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *naxal* novices.
[342] *nalsnqaskis*: The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *naxal* novice.
nalsnskis: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.
nalsnkis: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.
Nalsnaw, "Place of Flies": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NEá Bellacoola NEá

575 her the secrets of the Ka'aitt. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the women to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees our people shall dance the Ka'aitt. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Ka'aitt.'

575 Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Ka'aitt. When a man has
776 seen Amklikstsai'n sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a Ka'aitt. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look in, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Ka'aitt lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Ka'aitt are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband,
424 as is the case with the Sisaa'ka dances (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be lented and borrowed
[424] by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may exhibit the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Ka'aitt is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Ka'aitt name, which
[551] he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Ka'aitt names, which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other
● [428] relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pa'pi until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Ta'ka'ail. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[552] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisaa'ka, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Ka'aitt have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] tlaqó'tla (the Ha'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the O'lag (the Ha'mamai of the Kwakiutl), and the Da'tin (the Ha'ametsai of the Ha'mats). These grades are also hereditary. A Ka'aitt novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the tlaqó'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
785 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[266] killed, in order to serve as food for the tlaqó'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the tlaqó'tla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice in the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside
575 the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been taken

Scans E-5 (555-co, 555/557)
NEA Reliance NEA

[575] [576] [577] [578]

wanted to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with women. She said, "Whoever a person sees me, your people shall dance the kwain. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the kwain."

[575] [576] [578]

Ever since that time the Ki'tsile dance the kwain. When a man has seen Asatilkatsi'a sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a kwain. A ring made of red and white color beads is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each kwain lasts three days.

[579] [580]

The various dances performed by members of the kwain are also property of the clan, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the steel's dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may rehire the dance to the borrower, may return it at any time. Membership of the kwain is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kwain name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pigin until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of Ukwa'a. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the steel's, the initiation being connected with a potlatch. Not still it seems possible that to most "dances" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kwain have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degree are the Sisu'a (the ut'mata of the Kwakiutl), the o'ala (the ut'ksam of the Kwakiutl), and the ki'ta (the ut'mentalis of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kwain novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

[581] [582]

When the Sisu'a is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take bones back along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the Sisu'a. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the Sisu'a order devoured one half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears

[583] [584] [585] [586]

[575] [576] [577] [578]

[579] [580]

[581] [582]

[583] [584] [585] [586]

● 631, 796

/For information on the potlatch as a means of gaining prestige and a description of the ceremonies, see category 336./

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NEA Bellacoola NEA

that tally pots have mortality, and suggested that it might be those which attend the gathering of the supernatural beings at the winter solstice instead of an element from the human body itself.

One elderly Bella Coola, of philosophical temperament, described *pentlacate* in terms far removed from the accounts of tally pots. According to him, every individual receives this supernatural possession at birth, and it remains with him, in close association with his body, throughout life. It stays in front of its face, invisible, yet having substance, and constantly dodging from side to side. If a man fails to receive a pentlacate or a potlatch, it is because his *pentlacate* has ceased to move. When stationary it is not transparent, and not only tends to cower from the donor's sight, but acts as a barrier to his thoughts. The same man stated that this element can leave the body, can be seen by shamans, and that it is the one which accords at the winter solstice to *Nacmidi-a*. At death it is believed to accompany the spirit and the life to the land above.

There seems no reason to doubt that the concept of tally pots is aboriginal belief. Nor does the application of the term *pentlacate* to another immaterial possession of quite another type destroy this probability. It must be remembered that within the last eighty years the Bella Coola have suffered not only from the tremendous upheaval caused by the coming of the white man, but have been reduced to a mere fraction of their former numerical strength by various epidemics. These factors have led to the partial forgetting of ancient rituals, with consequent confusion. It is probable that the use of the same term for the tally pot, intimately concerned with an individual's life although situated in the land above, and for an invisible and intangible possession which grows front of him, is due to this recent decay of ancient revelations. If this be true, it merely means that in former time the Bella Coola had yet another supernatural element to prove and influence their lives.

Lib:Dewalt E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *tsaxiat* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this vice is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his ugly post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Hamatsa* is uncertain. After the cessation of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy absti-

child one of his own names, in which case the donor surrenders all claim to it. This designation is the obvious mark of the position of the child in the ancestral family. Without such a formal conferring of an ancestral name an infant would be without status in the community, but, as children are always welcome, some relative is invariably ready to confirm the borrowal by the necessary distribution of goods, a feature that is present in every Bella Coola ceremonial. On such occasions the guests are called by their ancestral names. An effort was made to learn what would happen if the number of children born into an ancestral family exceeded the number of ancestral names embodied in its origin myth, but no answer was forthcoming. Established custom demands that a name be provided for every child, and one is always provided. Without question designations must be invented, usually from some event in the origin myth, but it is always claimed that such were used by a long-deceased ancestor. In fact, the social custom agrees with the requirements of the mythological concept. Since borrowal of names is a matter of pride, it follows that a child often receives several from the ancestral families of which he is a member; the possession of these is a source of gratification to the owner.

An ancestral name given to a child is spoken of as an *dogbud* name, and the recipient as an *dogbud*, which may be translated, "commoner." He may be given several names from one origin myth, or some from diverse origin myths if his parents are members of different ancestral families. These designations may either be those brought down from above by the first people, those made on this earth by them, or those made at some important event by later persons. Irrespective of what combination of these possibilities a child may have, he is still a commoner, and his ability to rise to the position of *chief* depends on his own, or his parents', ability to give potlatches, as will be described in the next chapter. In such a case his *dogbud* name is said to have been elevated to that of a *nilkamp* (chief's) name.

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b:Mc:Dewalt E-5 (1922-1924)948
MEA Bellacoola MEA

The ancestral family consists of those whose ancestral names, embodying definite prerogatives, are embodied in a single origin myth.

A stranger finds it easier to understand why names are so carefully memorized within the ancestral family by thinking of them as symbols of prerogatives, but it must be emphasized that the Bella Coola preserve with equal jealousy those designations of which the only prerogative is the marking of the actual membership.

If, then, the ancestral family be regarded as a group possessing a large number of name-prerogatives, it may well be asked how these are distributed among the members. The first point to be emphasized is that the ancestral family is a unit held together without definite social mechanism. There is no accepted "head" of the family, nor are there any clearly formulated laws governing the transmission of the name-prerogatives. Before death a man usually calls together his relatives and bequeaths,[7] according to his desire, his personal property in slaves and canoes, and his intangible property in names. Such a designation does not become the property of the new owner unless he is able to validate his ownership by a distribution of presents, meanwhile the name is "dead." If, during this period, some other member of the ancestral family should desire it for a child, or for himself, he can take possession of it by the customary distribution of presents. By doing so he would anger the legatee, but the latter cannot himself use the appellation since it is already in use. Even at the present time there are bitter quarrels over the assumption of names, and such have certainly occurred for many generations. If a man can validate fairly promptly a name willed to him, it is most unusual for anyone else to try to forestall him.

If a man dies intestate, his sons consider themselves his normal heirs, and the most respected of them validates for himself as many names as he desires or is able to assume. Disputes are not as common as might be expected since the

[7] In case of sudden death or failure to make a will confusion sometimes results.

tions on this subject always excited them, but every effort was made to verify the following statements.

As with names, the easiest way to understand the rights of the ancestral family in land is by first considering the mythological explanation, which accounts conditions as they existed at the coming of white men. On reaching this earth the first people are believed to have prospected for suitable settlement sites, places where salmon and eulachon could be caught, and if possible, near side valleys where berries were abundant. There they released the animals and plants which they had brought with them, on which they thenceforth subsisted, in accordance with the supreme deity's instructions. The members of the group pre-empted these areas for themselves. Waste land, far from any village was, and still is, free to anyone. A few years after the first settlements had been made, according to the myths, the supreme god sent down to Kimsquit a certain *Ripamim* who allotted and marked the territory which was the property of each community; so that since a village consisted merely of a group of the first settlers. No similar myth was recounted for either Bella Coola or Tal'ts, although their concepts with regard to land are identical with those of the Kimsquit. This really gave a sacred sanction to the possession of land, an important matter to a people so religiously inclined as the Bella Coola.

The system of land tenure follows the same somewhat obscure principles that govern the possession of names in an ancestral family. Hunting and collecting grounds appropriated by the first people, or by their immediate descendants, are the property of their offspring, the ancestral family. The Bella Coola term for such an area is *ut'lum*, also called, *ximmeta*, which means "Food Supply."

It will thus be seen that a hunting area is not the property of any single individual, but belongs to a group of persons, most of whom live in a single town. The relatives of a man who intends to give a potlatch usually give him, temporarily, exclusive rights in the hunting-ground. As with names, there

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NES Bellacoola NES

[423] [424] [425] [426] [427] [428] [429] [430] [431] [432] [433] [434] [435] [436] [437] [438] [439] [440] [441] [442] [443] [444] [445] [446]

owned that one is the largest number of traps possible at that weir. Those who have the rights to that weir are the members of the ancestral family with the names of those first users. At this point the logic of the Bella Coola fails to uphold the mythological persons. No salmon-weir has remained in existence since the beginning of time; then one broke, owners were sometimes infirm, and those who repaired the break became regarded as the rightful possessors. The system of ownership prevailing at the time of abandoning the weirs, was that *individuals*, not groups, had rights to certain sections of the weir which were salvable like other personal property. In most cases this right was connected with a name, marking the section of weir, which had to be duly validated by presents. In other cases, the intangible ownership was willed without any mark whatsoever.* Unless bequeathed in this way, disputes were frequent. Rights of this kind were never sold although an owner often loaned his sector for a night, or longer period, receiving goods in return, without forfeiting his ownership thereby. This was particularly common when the owner was planning to give a potlatch. No case was heard of in which the right to a certain section of salmon-weir was given to a non-member of the ancestral family. Theoretically, this was possible, but practically it would be so inconvenient that it is most unlikely ever to have occurred, since the Bella Coola is never such a slave to legal privileges that he fails to be guided by common sense.

Although individual ownership is thus recognized with regard to sections of salmon-weirs and suitable places for chicken-nets, the owner is loath to share his haul. When he catches a large number of fish, anyone, whether related to him or not, can demand some. He cannot refuse, since to do so would brand him as selfish. Ineffective check on this system

* Great difficulty was experienced in being about the distribution of rights to sections of salmon-weirs. The subject is confusing, and though every effort was made to verify and check the data, there may be further explanations which were not known.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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lies in public opinion which expresses contempt for a lazy man 626
who is constantly begging.

To anyone familiar with the definite social groupings of a 614
tribe divided into class or land-owning families, the ancestral family of the Bella Coola must appear as a vague and unreal unit, only distinguished by its intangibility. So it was found when investigating in the field. When information began to accumulate, it seemed as if there must be some definite obligations incumbent upon all members of the ancestral family, but none could be found. Without asking a direct question, the point was raised whether, if a man were killed, the members [629]
of his ancestral family would unite to avenge him. Conversely, were they liable for the deeds of any member? In each case the reply was in the negative; these matters concern only the immediate family. In regulating marriage the ancestral family [582]
is important, since it is wise for a man or woman to seek his mate within the members of that group, though it is not compulsory. Theoretically, the terms of kinship applied to mem- [601]
bers of the immediate family may be extended to members of [178]
the ancestral family, but in practice this is rarely the case, and, if so, is functionless. It might be argued that this somewhat wide application of kinship terms, verging on the classificatory usage, is a relic of an earlier, and now broken-down, clan system. It is impossible to prove or to deny such a connection. When trying to discover whether the members 614
of an ancestral family ever contributed to a potlatch whereby 622
one of their fellows established himself as a chief, the following 431
interesting comment was received. The previous winter the 171
informant had been in Bella Bella, and there the point was raised by a Bella Bella chief whom he quoted as follows:

"We laugh at you Bella Coola because each of you is always trying to be chief. Our system is much better; we all help our chiefs."

The man agreed with the Bella Bella man that there was an important difference between the practices of the two tribes.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bella coola NEA

507 796 Ignorant of his ancestral names, and lacking the means to validate them even if someone should tell them to him, owning no hunting grounds, the unfortunate infant is little better than a slave. This is almost unthinkable except in the extremely rare contingency of a child being left without relatives.

Although public opinion does not impel kindly treatment to orphans left without kindred, yet many Bella Coola have charitable dispositions and it is not unknown for a family to adopt and tend an infant without reason or hope of reward. One old man mentioned how his mother and a Chilkotin child had been born on the same day when a party of the latter had been encamped near *Nacipalit*. A few days later they left for the interior, abandoning the infant. The grandfather of the old man chanced to pass their camp while the ashes of their fire were still warm and found the baby, whom he brought back, to be a brother to his own daughter. His wife suckled the two, giving each a breast, and treating the foundling as her own. When the boy grew into manhood, he went back to his own people, but never forgot his adopted parents. Forty years later he visited Bella Coola, bringing with him his own wife and family. The old man who related this incident recalled the manner in which the Chilkotin had instructed his children to regard him as their brother.

507 [76] Children are not the only persons to be adopted. On the death of an adult his relatives may "adopt to replace" someone who has a striking facial resemblance to the deceased. Thus, some time after the death of his sister, a certain man was in Bella Bella and saw a Bella Bella woman who closely resembled her. He desired to adopt her, and since he was a man of importance, his wish was granted. To legalize the transaction he distributed valuable presents among the Bella Bella. A person so adopted does not usually change his abode, nor does he lose membership in his own family; instead, he becomes a member of two, with full rights to names and prerogatives in both, is addressed with the same kinship terms as if related by blood, and is likewise considered a member of the family as far as inherit rights are concerned

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NEA Bellacoola NEA

as far as incest rules are concerned. In this particular instance the woman did not show any interest in her new relatives, failed to visit them, or to take part in their ceremonies, so that the adoption, though still legal, has practically lapsed. When this man dies his children will not consider the claims of their father's "sister" to inherit any of his possessions, as they would have done if she had showed herself appreciative of her adoption.

It will thus be seen that the size and composition of the family vary according to the wealth and influence of the father. The duties of the members are difficult to define since they centers almost entirely the routine of life. The father, head of the family, directs the gathering of firewood, repair of the house, obtaining of food supplies, and other matters of the same sort. If he gives a potlatch his children must help him, which they do willingly since they gain from the ceremony. If a father is too autocratic, his elder, especially his married children, simply move away. Nor is his power over his younger children unbounded, since their mother's relatives take great interest in their welfare and would resent any ill-treatment.

If a person is killed or wounded, revenge is the affair of his family. Just how many individuals are involved depends on the composition of the family. In the case of the killing of a child, living with his parents alone, none but the father would feel it incumbent to retaliate. If an adult person is murdered, his or her brothers feel and avenge the insult. But should an important member of the community be slain, an old man surrounded by a numerous family, it is the affair of all. Every effort is made to slay the murderer, but if he should escape from the country, the injured group is satisfied by killing one of his family. Here again the same incest composition is found. A man's son, brother, or father are the only persons strictly liable, and even here the common sense of the Bella Coola outweighs their theoretical laws. A murderer's brother, living in another village, would not be held liable, but more distant relatives living with the offender and considered as his

family are liable

Coola social organization, and of the absence of standardized obligations based upon specific relationships.

Slaves

Since a slave was* without status in the Bella Coola community, it is perhaps incorrect to include a description of slavery in a chapter on social organization; but as slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages, it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of their number in Bella Coola; slavery has been so long abandoned that the present natives could only hazard vague guesses. Judging from conversational remarks by elderly men, it seems probable that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as thirty to forty per cent of the total population.

When a party raided a village most of the inhabitants were slain, but some, especially children, young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. As far as could be learned, once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold. The Bella Coola were usually so well provided with salmon that they were able to exchange dried fish with the members of other tribes for slaves. Lack of strong clubfoodship among the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so their most of their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category belong those obtained as prisoners or pallachies. If, however, a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was

* One of the few slaves of the white man's civilization in British Columbia was the finding of all slaves. Consequently the past tense is used in this section.

friends, a further cause for their preferential treatment. A Bulla Cuela who had been ordered and removed had to undergo a cleansing ceremony to remove the taint of slavery before he could take part in the ceremonies of the community. It was impossible to learn the details of this rite.

A master had complete power over a slave, unaffected by the force of public opinion, since the effects of a slave, being without relatives, were of no consequence to anyone. Accordingly, the lot of a slave depended on the character of his master, and on his own ability and industry. An industrious slave was valued, such as one would not be traded or sold except through dire necessity, and in course of years he became, so far as actual treatment was concerned, one of the family. Many masters gave their slaves Bulla[illegible] dance perquisites, expending large sums for the purpose. In such a case the slave might become an influential member of the community, though the fact that he was not free was never forgotten. On the other hand, a master had not the slightest compunction about beating a lazy slave, and could kill him if he so desired. None of the present Bulla Cuela has heard of such a case. It was considered more sensible to sell or give away an unsatisfactory slave. It was accepted as a matter of course that a master should provide his slaves with food and clothing, since everything produced or obtained by one belonged to him. A slave-owner had full rights to his female slaves, and unquestionably exercised them. The only restrictions were the jealousy of his own wife, or wives, and the feeling that it was undignified for a free man to demean himself. It was impossible to learn with even approximate accuracy to what extent intercourse took place between masters and slaves. Probably not a great deal, though there was considerable freedom of relations between slave women and the young men of the community, unrestrained by the pride of chieftainship. When a slave had been faithful for a number of years of had become almost a member of the family, his master would try

[illegible] privileges [illegible] were not [illegible] given.

1:McDowell E-1 0922-0924/968
JEA Bellacoola MSS

to arrange his marriage with some female slave; once this had taken place, the actual treatment meted out to him differed only slightly from that shown to a member of the family. In former times it would probably have been difficult for a stranger to tell married slaves from the members of the Bella Coola community until he had been long enough in the country to understand more than appeared on the surface. 567 562

Marriages between Bella Coola men and slave women were not infrequent, while like partnerships between slave men and even the daughters of chiefs were not unknown. In such cases the status of the children depended on the performance of ceremonies to wash from them the stain of their slave blood. While the mother was still pregnant her husband would call guests, not only from his own village, but from foreign villages as well. Presents were given, according to the wealth of the donor, often aided by his immediate family, to "wash the child." Such ceremonies would be repeated several times before birth, and again at that time. Bella Coola sentiment was that such presents gagged the neighbors; they knew of the dishonourable ancestry of the child, but the receipt of gifts on his account had wiped away the disgrace. Such a child was able to inherit prerogatives from his mother's old home, duly validated in Bella Coola by valuables, and by his own lavish presents he could silence those who remembered the blot on his ancestry. Similar procedure was carried out if a free woman married a slave. Unless her husband were already owned by one of her family, the woman's father or brother would arrange to purchase him. Then, aided by him, they would give the same type of presents to clear the children from the taint of slavery. If this were not done, the children had only the status of slaves, though, born and brought up in Bella Coola and associating from infancy with their master's children, they were virtually considered members of the group. 431 567 [428]

"Washing the child," during pregnancy and at birth, sufficed to cover the taint on its history, but in later years if such a person failed to continue to give ceremonies, people would again talk of his slave ancestry. So, too, for the child or grand- [554] [571]

[431] child of a mixed Bella Coola and slave marriage. As long as such as one maintained a position of importance in the community by the distribution of presents, nothing was said, but [527] if he should fail to do so, he could be, and frequently was, [578] insulted by having references made to his ancestry. In case [554] of dispute or rivalry it was always a temptation to refer to such a blot, but if he had stood for it with presents, references were considered improper. Unquestionably, memory of slave ancestry was forgotten in course of time if the line was influ- [539] ential, although recollections of the origins were always cur- [567] rent for at least two or three generations. At the present time the most influential woman in Bella Coola, the one who has given most presents, is the granddaughter of a Smith Inlet slave. This man had lived in Bella Coola for many years and had married another slave, by whom he had a son. This latter became the husband of an influential *Stuo* woman. When she became pregnant, her family secured the disposition of her husband, and gave many presents to "wash the child." One daughter was born to this couple, the woman just mentioned. Her mother's relatives were influential, and her father was [555] such an expert canoe-maker that he was able to win at honorable position for his daughter by presents of his handiwork. The woman, possessed of considerable ability herself, has been able to give many ceremonies and so reach a position of eminence. No one dares insult her by mentioning her ancestry, but everyone knows about it and if her children should fail to hold their position, they would be open to insult on this score. The woman has exhibited masks and myths derived both from her mother and father, without explaining how the Smith Inlet traditions came to Bella Coola.

The slave caste, as among the many other class gradations of which we [illegible] in Bella Coola was not particularly onerous, though it depended entirely on the will of their masters. Without status in the community, a slave could have been abused by a cruel owner, [169] though the public life of the village, where all lived and ate together, tended to break down the supposedly enforced differences of rank.

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CHAPTER IV

RANK

Chieftainship—Secret Society—The Potlatch

Chieftainship

IN the previous chapter have been described the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the origin of names, and the attitude of pride with which they regard those embodied in ancestral myths, which carry with them primal prerogatives. But the unsystematic method by which ancestral names are inherited is sufficient to show that their possession, though valued for sentimental reasons, is not enough to make the owner a chief. On what, then, is Bella Coola chieftainship based? Expressed briefly, it depends on the number and value of presents distributed at any kind of ceremonial. To the Bella Coola, every rite, whether it be a marriage, the honoured of a name, a dance, a sign of funeral, or admission into a secret society, is a prerogative intimately associated with the myth by which the performance is authorized. Accordingly, the host is really displaying the glories of his ancestors before the eyes of guests present at the ceremony. To the Bella Coola it is unthinkable for such to be performed without the giving of presents to all; failure to do so would destroy the value of the prerogative. The potlatch is the ceremonial at which the most lavish generosity is displayed, but the principle of the acquisition of prestige by the giving of presents is the same for all other rites; the only difference is that at a potlatch a man is able to display his generosity to a larger number of recipients. In consequence, the aim of every ambitious man is to hold potlatches, since his status in the community circulates more on his ability in this respect. The ritual of a potlatch will be given in detail in the latter part of this chapter, but its complications will be intelligible only after a description of the

broader principles of chieftainship. The first essential is to consider the principles of present-giving.

PRESENTS

Consider, for example, a man who wishes to take for himself one of his ancestral names, and at the same time to display certain features of his ancestral myth—a particular type of house, totem-pole, or dance used by one of his forefathers. He invites guests to his house, displays the feature of his myth, and must give a present to each to show the value of his prerogative and to demonstrate that he has not merely casually usurped the function in question. In giving a present of, for instance, $10, it is as if he said to the recipient:

"See! These are the glories of my ancestors of whom I am the descendant. I have a part in their fame. To make this valid I give you from my wealth a mere trifle, a matter of no consequence to me, who am so firmly established in the path of my ancestors."

The guest receives the money with mixed feelings. On the one hand he has received $10 as a "present." But if he wishes to observe his own position and his own prestige, together with that of his ancestors, it is incumbent on him to repay this sum with interest. Contrary to the practice among some other coastal tribes, there is no fixed rate of interest among the Bella Coola. An ambitious man who seeks to become a chief will strive to the utmost to pay back with heavy interest when he himself gives a ceremony so that his fame will be carried far and near. If he should repay only the principal, he would be regarded as having done all that was obligatory, but should he fail to do even so much, he would soon sink to a position of little consequence, no matter how lofty and distinguished his ancestral name might be.

In this respect there is a parallel between the Bella Coola and ourselves. A man invited to a dinner party is not compelled to return the compliment, but if, in the course of

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[183]

ened by the age-long power of his ancestor. Finally, in old age a powerful chief is careless where he seats himself; his fame is so great that he can afford to disregard all conventions.

POWER OF CHIEFS

It will be seen from the foregoing that chieftainship among the Bella Coola does not depend on hereditary rank, still less on an elective principle, but on the individual's prestige as displayed, especially in his ability to acquire for himself a firm seat by the giving of presents. As he continues to do so his influence becomes ever greater. Consequently, it is impossible to state clearly what are the powers of a chief; such depend upon his prestige and influence. For a Bella Coola chief has no executive or judicial authority; what deference is shown to him depends on his success as a man, a factor which is constantly rising or falling.

The coming of the white man has enabled the Bella Coola to earn comparatively large sums of money by trapping and fishing. This in turn has enabled nearly everyone to give at least one potlatch, a very different state of affairs from that which prevailed in the last century when it required years of toil for a man to amass the necessary food and skins. Consequently, in many towns there were no men who had given potlatches, so that a man's prestige was estimated by the presents he had given at smaller ceremonies. Sometimes, moreover, a man preferred to increase his fame by giving rites of a different nature, such as *kwiat* dances, and the presents then distributed might elevate him in the eyes of the community, to a position above that of a man who had given a potlatch. This, however, was unusual.

[434]
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After a fourth potlatch a man is accorded a position of eminence, and is termed a *nemit* chief. *Nemit* is an untranslatable word, with the significance of "passage," an allusion to the amount of goods which have passed through his hands. Jealous and vulgar-minded persons pun on the word, applying

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177 from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not diff-
424 cult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking,
even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella
551 Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella
575 prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time
[773] of the coming of the white man. There has since been general
decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situa-
tion is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the
investigator.

428 *Susook* names are willed and inherited in the manner already
described for other prerogatives. The type of dance, and the
551 time of use, will be described in the following section of this
575 chapter.

The Potlatch

*556 It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank
128 among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch
since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a
number of features which, logically, should have been post-
poned until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has
been made to lessen references to non-ritualistic features by
the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chief-
tainship and the *susook* society. Other ideas will require rather
lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems
preferable to the use of many foot-notes, its only alternative.

General Observations

104 In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "pot-
*556 latch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents,
[431] and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella
Coola, such distribution of gifts is necessary at every cere-
monial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is
one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most impor-
tant of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach,
the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

He is especially rich in caribou-skins, used for foot covering, and goat-skins, so treasured for their wool.* He and his wife have laid up abundant food, and, most important of all, his wife's family is wealthy. Rumours have spread that X will soon give a potlatch and perhaps one or more foreign chiefs has given him a large cone-shaped whistle, such as is used in sacred ritual (see Plate vi). These whistles, called *gano'o*, are often referred to as the "breath" or "voice" of a chief; they are also called *skqoxa*, the "heart" or "wind" of a chief; a third designation is *nuhwinuk*. X carefully conceals a whistle in one of his boxes. Such a present expresses the kindly feeling existing between those akin to one another in that they have risen to a position of eminence above the common crowd. Its receipt spurs a man to greater efforts to amass the wealth necessary for giving a potlatch by keeping before his eyes the realization of what another has done. A rival chief never gives such a present. X returns each whistle secretly at the time of his potlatch.

Early in the autumn X decides that he has almost enough wealth. To complete the essential amount he will not hesitate to borrow from his friends. It is most unusual to be refused, for it is incumbent on X, unless he wishes to lose the esteem of the community, to repay his borrowings with heavy interest, and when X distributes his goods at his potlatch it will be announced how he has obtained them, and the lender is proclaimed as a person of sufficient wealth to be able to spare some of it. Goods so loaned are termed "belt goods," a reference to the manner in which a man fastens up his cape with a belt before setting to work. The assumption is that X will have to labour to repay his indebtedness. Failure to repay is a serious matter, and the lender would be justified in seizing a canoe or other valuable article as surety for his debt; in fact, feuds are commonly caused by unpaid debts. Men of business

* Formerly, when goat-skin blankets were highly valued, goats were never shot for fear of the blood staining the wool. Instead, they were captured by dogs, and clubbed to death by women. For preservation, each skin was laid out on the floor and then cut into longitudinal strips, two, three, or four fingers wide.

to a complicated figure such as a whale, and in this case an copper dancer among the guests is called upon to perform. It is announced that this is, "to make clear the road for the dead."

After such masked figure has disappeared, the sound of whistling from without grows gradually weaker, as the supernatural returns whence it came. In solemn silence X takes a copper* which he has had in readiness, breaks it across his knee,* and throws it either into the fire or down on the ground in the exact that the figure has taken. Then the announcer calls out loudly:

"It is for his cross.*. It has 'made bare for the dead.'* Then he continues, speaking for X and using the first person:

"My heart is glad at seeing my father.* He death he returned back on the path of my family's ancestors and destroyed our ancient cross. He now lives in *Waiwaik*, whence he came to visit us and whither he has now gone back."

The significance of the throwing down of a copper is anciently unknown to the modern Bella Coola, although they still perform the ritual. In some vague way it is felt that "bare," which may imply nudity, has been provided for the deceased. The act thus appears in the light of an offering to the dead, but this sentiment is not clearly appreciated by the participants in the rite; the present has been made for, rather than to, the one being mourned.

The copper, now valueless, is picked up by any chief and given to a poor man.

After a short interval a number of youths begin to distribute presents provided by X, which have been placed in readiness. Gifts of equal value are given to all foreign male guests, while the women receive cow hair valuelle. These presents

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*One of the plaques of native copper, such as were formerly known and sold and used as tokens of value by the coast tribes of British Columbia. This emblem, by the Bella Coola, will be described later in greater detail (i, p. 55).

*The breaking is sometimes omitted.

*Phrase in "For the dead man, now is bare of his cross."

*In whatever relative the deceased may have been.

are usually non-consumable, being regarded as "magic doors,"* and having, therefore, a ceremonial significance. They validate and mark the importance of the representation just displayed. They are spoken of as having been shaken off by the dancers as he departed to return to his home above.

If there are many *cumil* initiates concealed within the back-room, some of them may now be called upon to dance, but usually this is reserved for the following night. Unless some of those excluded are going to dance, food is distributed and all dispersed.

THE SECOND NIGHT

This is the day when presents are given and, with the previous, is the most important of the whole ceremonial. The following are its features.

Dawn to Day

(i) Distribution of much food, and sometimes of maize to the guests by successive presents, or by the destruction of valuables.

Dawn to Evening and Night

(ii) Dramatic representation of some object connected with Ñ's ancestral myth.

(iii) Distribution of presents by Ñ to recompense the craftsmen who have assisted in the potlatch.

(iv) Repayments by Ñ of gifts received at previous potlatches.

(v) Giving of presents by Ñ to some of his guests.

(vi) Distribution of presents to strengthen Ñ's men.

(vii) Distribution of presents to strengthen, or establish, ones for a number of young men.

(viii) Dancing of the *cumil* initiates.

(ix) Distribution of presents to recompense those who have assisted the *cumil* dances.

(x) Distribution of presents to validate the *cumil* dances and the names thereby acquired by the initiates.

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*The Sale Code [illegible] that the Kwakiutl use to the [illegible] [illegible]

example, there is a description of the totem-pole with a bull on the top, and beneath it an eagle's nest containing two fledgling nestmate which a grizzly bear is endeavoring to climb. This is the only known instance of a pole on which the different figures need to indicate relationship to one another. No explanation is offered beyond the statement that this was the form used by Ahbet in the beginning of time. Another totem-pole, used by one of the ancestral families of Kyah, consists of a simple shaft surmounted by a sphere. This represents a mountain which arose into that ancestral myth as supporting the sky.

As with all features embodied in ancestral myths, a chief can use his own discretion in cases where he has a choice of designs. A totem-pole with specific figures is a common gift from a chief to his son-in-law, and it is a mark of respect for the latter to use and validate this at the first opportunity, in preference to one belonging to his own ancestral family. Hence the pole erected on a potlatch may have no association with the ancestral name and myth of the donee. The underlying principle in all cases is that the value of the pole depends upon the quantity of gifts distributed in validation to erection. One case mentioned as instance in which he had become confused with regard to the proper design for the totem-pole connected with the ancestral myth, and had used one belonging to a second myth in association with a name from the first. Both were his property, the connection was duly validated, and the matter passed off without question. It is possible that the theory of totems which has followed the coming of the white men may have been partly responsible for this error, which was regarded as a convention simply, though not improper notwithstanding. It is clear that even when designs are remembered as portions of ancestral myths, they can be eliminated from them and validated as isolated objects in the same manner as totems and all other features of ancestral myths.

There often, the exact details of a pole are not included in the ancestral myth and a chief wishing to have one erected can

possible, so that it serve as a visible and tangible memorandum of the deed the primary of its owner. By means of these marks, titles are passed from one individual to another without formal legislation to make, in fact, it is unlikely that the Bella Coola possess sufficient money to meet the sums represented by their coppers. 556* [456] [424]

Personal Prerogatives

The importance of prerogatives in the lives of the Bella Coola has already been noted in many connections. A man's status in his own tribe, his ancestral family has the prerogative of using that designation; a factor dance can be performed only by an individual with the necessary prerogative; specific crests with designs, in possession of land or animal or spouse, many house posts, or other objects is a right dependent upon an ancestral prerogative; so is also the area on which a man can hunt or fish. In concept colours all Bella Coola life. Not only is a man's commercial life based on this principle, but so is dispute his status as chief, and the economic success of his food supply. Prerogatives, even though it be the prerogative of a man, is always until validated by the distribution of presents. Much of a man's energy throughout life is expended on the exhibition and display of his prerogatives; most Bella Coola feuds originated by the infringement of one individual on another's rights. 424 556* [335] [776] [431] [427] [578]

In addition to the various types already mentioned, there are a number of professional prerogatives on which depend a man's livelihood. The *ol hemlil* approximates this class, although the Bella Coola consider it rather as a right operative only during ceremonials. Professional prerogatives rest on the belief that a man's ability as a hunter, wood-worker, and so forth does not owing his innate skill, but upon an inherited right which must be confirmed and validated by the distribution of presents. These can be given at any convenient time when the people have been called together, but, as it is to the man's advantage to have his right made known as widely 424 463 556*

[illegible] his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without hesitation.

THE PREROGATIVE OF WEARING A BRONZE DISC

[illegible] To the appearance of masked figures representing supernatural beings, whether in small or *Dance* dances, many of the women apparently attach a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents. Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women were given by *Hamatsa*, or acquired in other ways, the right to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously described, many of the first women possessed this privilege, which is accordingly common at the present time. A name of this type is usually conferred in girlhood, sometimes even in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One of these names is *Nanaqamtlidzaqa*, which has reference to the blue-green shaft of some shellfish-shell brought from the sea by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to increase the number of the uninitiated.

[illegible] There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incumbent to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of time, Raven of Kimsquit married *Tlitsamilt*, the daughter of a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kimsquit.

[illegible] ASSOCIATED WITH THE PUBLICUS [illegible]

gain. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type.

THE PREROGATIVE OF PICK-BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly recited before she can function. One of these is Dirwanwah, another is Ka'ye. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditical. He can could then go pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to cause the berries.

"Get ready to pick red strawberries for whatever species is ripe tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. So far as could be learn, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker, although seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared.

THE PREROGATIVE OF WOMEN

The profession of matrix is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring recitation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of matrices confirmed as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal as there of professional names. At the present time, it is

performance of rites of this kind. Our sociological and ethical concepts, shorn of their highest development in the schools, are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly displayed by chosen alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a major sin. Persons who happen to pass a house in which a meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do otherwise would be considered rude. The person concerned must take at least a sip to show that he is not churlish and too proud to eat with his kind, while if he is hungry, he shows otherwise is being served as a matter of course. The head of the family should be the first to taste any food[1] as proof that it is not poisoned, but otherwise he farts little, if any, better than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse through the construction of individual family houses with doors and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suitable place for setting shelves or nets must give some of his catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon, the first solution is given one, two corners, none at all. When a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to take it and take some of the contents. If there are ten fish, he may remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy; hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift secures as much as

[1] This is a taboo practice, dating from the introduction of foreign food.

be rare. Several of the older people mentioned that early white traders would have received more for their goods by giving them away than by selling.

Even at the present time the Bulu Cards sometimes carry out a practice which was more common. Particularly in the early autumn or in spring, a chief who has large supplies of food may decide to show his wealth or the wealth of a neighboring tribe such as the Bulu Bulu. Then, or with a few friends, he goes to a foreign village where he is sure to find accommodation in the home of some friend, relative, or important chief. In the evening he invites the inhabitants of his host's village to the house in which he is staying, and now the food he has brought with him is provided them with an elaborate meal. His guests are full to overflow so then to repay his generosity, and one of them who the singers in honor of one of his songs, the Bulu Bulu equivalent to credit, craft, or even flatter. The other dances in it and then gives presents to the singers to validate the performance to his just estimate. This is repeated by everyone to whom he has given food, and although each present may be small, that said is greater than the original outlay. Sometimes a poor man, feeling himself too insignificant to give a ceremony of this kind, sells a supply of food to a foreign tribe to sell. If the host wish to show their generous dispositions they proceed him to give it away in the fashion just described, which always brings in more than he could obtain by sale. It is even customary for the hosts to feed such a stranger enough food for public distribution if the case such is too small.

Although the most important Bulu Cards dances are performed in preparation or during the harvest season, they are not confined to these periods. Professional singers do nothing else and, except during the use of salmon when everyone is busy fishing, is there never every few nights. Experienced beings are not called down, consequently there is little adversity and everyone has a good time. On these occasions, twelve songs are first heard, followed by credit and craft, and the remain

[illegible] children. They grow up in a open environment of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ing them by social interaction. Their care devolves chiefly [illegible] on the mother, although it is unusual the father will be [illegible] seen serving with the baby in a sling, while his wife heals another child. Nurses are unknown and the parents take their children with them on excursions. If it is necessary for a mother to be absent on her arduous toil, her child will be entrusted to a grandfather or other elderly relative. There are no evidences known the young people and their parents to lack [illegible]

[illegible] The obligation of gift-giving does not stop with the [illegible] marriage ceremony. Whenever, given a farmer dance or other [illegible] ceremony, Ti's relatives are expected to contribute. It is felt that the weight of the presentations made during the period of engagement and at the nuptial has become too heavy, and they down this all by lavish gifts. No count is kept of the value of gifts bestowed or received, though it is known that the family of the women fare frugally in the end. The father of many daughters is regarded as unfortunate individual, who is always poor and overtaxed through the necessity of providing for them. By so doing, however, he increases his own prestige, and the Bella Coo have the happy sentiment that such a man manages to a along some way; perhaps necessity comes his assistance. Assume Ti's relatives contribute to any ritual carried out Ti's father. If, for example, one of his wife's relatives dies, and his friends may wish to contribute towards the funeralpenses. In fact, any ceremonial serves as an excuse for larges by marriage to donate goods and thus demonstrate jointly their influence, importance, and generosity.

[illegible] The concept of mutual bit between families who have intermarried is one that lasts a generations. In 1900 there was in Bella Coola an old Tsimpsian man who had left home some forty years earlier and of whom lived in South Islet where he married and had a boy. On the death of his wife, this

old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language.

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of rights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a favorite, his father-in-law often asks his father's permission to make his a member of their society. The women's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections, so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In consistency with the rules already explained, if Y should die children the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that could names can never be transferred in this manner.

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If Y leaves or otherwise abuses her, they reproach, and if her cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If Y should murder Y, she would be avenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a

ceremony, they can part at discretion without anyone being affected.

When a wife runs away and seeks refuge with another man, her husband sometimes tries to kill his rival, but frequently both families endeavour to heal the breach amicably. Some of her relatives, particularly those who played an influential part in the marriage, first ask the husband whether or not he is willing to take her back. If the answer is in the affirmative, they next try to persuade her to return. Every argument is used, in many cases combined with threats against her relatives, and the intermediaries often succeed. But she must never go back without presents, "to do with her the same that has covered the marriage." The husband invites all his fellow-villagers to his house to a ceremony which is said "to uncover the house [of conflict]." The singers are in attendance and sing in succession many *Dorlit* songs, followed by *wadi* songs, and to each the owner of the song dances, but since the supernatural beings are not present, the effect is of a non-sacred nature. The goods received from the family of the erring wife are distributed and the matter is at an end. Those who persuaded the wife to return are especially remarked.

If the faithless wife should refuse to return, or if she should bear a child to her lover, reconciliation is not possible. There is a tendency on the woman's relatives to return to the husband as much goods as he has expended, with additions if they wish to uphold their own reputation. If the husband is cheaply to blame, or if he is the deserting person, his wife's family are not required to return the gifts they have received. There is no judicial tribunal of any kind, the force of public opinion alone imposes restitution if the offender wishes to maintain his reputation in the community. Acting on this principle, the relatives of a deserted wife sometimes return to her husband's family the presents they have received, thereby demonstrating their solidity and at the same time shaming the offender.

Formerly there was an elaborate ceremony to dissolve the

Marital and cases of rape were either unknown or very rare. The daughters of chiefs, too, were guarded with great care and any effort to seduce one of them would be punished by her father. The parents of a girl used to watch her carefully, and the opportunity for immorality was not given to the days when everyone seem to feel an uniform except on the occasion of a ceremonial dance. As one informant described it:

"The daughters of chiefs used to be looked after as if they were in house, clothed and guarded by their parents and relatives. No one would dream of molesting them. And a chief's daughter used to be proud and look after herself. Nowadays girls don't care, and everything has become degraded."[1]

If the daughter of a chief did dishonor herself, the parents had income to her, as one who was spoilt. It was always assumed that a girl of such was a virgin at marriage, and if it was discovered that she had been living an immoral life, her husband in many cases returned her to disgrace to her parents who, equally shamed, were expected to send back to him the goods he had expended for their daughter. Cases of crime were judged only from indirect information. If the daughter of a chief was found pregnant before marriage, she was almost ostracized by her family. No ceremonial marriage could be arranged for her, and the child could not be cleansed from the stigma of illegitimacy.

On the other hand, it appears certain that there was a good deal of intercourse in the old days between chiefs and slave women, as even between slaves and the daughters of chiefs. In the latter case the woman was often sent back by her father, even though they sometimes yielded to the inevitable and tried to hush away the disgrace with gifts. In the same time, public opinion was unfavorable to a man who connected with many women, as to a woman who showed herself to be at the disposal of many men. Any regular union of women with their slave women for the deliberate purpose of having children was unknown. A girl's consent was always necessary, given either personally or through an intermediary. Even a chief hesitated

sing of time. The following speech was made by an elderly Bella Coola chief at the funeral of his great-granddaughter in June, 1900:

"Granddaughter![1] Go with your grandmother[2] to the mountain above Tsimsil where my first (patrilineal) ancestor came to earth. Go to the mountain across the river where Qa'l[3] descended; go to the earth where your ancestor found a copper house with a raven inside; go to the Dawn where another of your early ancestors found a whale; go to all the places where your forefathers experienced the incidents recorded in our myths; go and be happy.[4] If do not mourn these ever-recurring deaths in my family, for I am helpless. I hope that Christmas will come hunting us."[5]

Turning to the Chinese Indians who were present, the old man continued: "Thank you for coming here within two days to share our grief."

Turning back towards the grave, he went on:

"I have made ready the road for you.[6] Your grandfather[7] and I are grieved, our families become extinct when your parents married, and the land was removed by your birth. Now it is lost. When you were born, I rejoiced, now I am sorry. You are all right; you cannot fall because you are supported[8] by the names and fame of your father and mother, your grandfather and grandmother, your uncles and aunts, and your other ancestors who have passed away here to Qmoqs'a. You are with them in your own village where is located your power from the experiences of your forefathers,

[1] The term, literally, was used, although the child was only a great-granddaughter.

[2] The grandmother had been buried two days previously.

[3] One of the five sounds in myth-land's world.

[4] This phrase was possibly considered from the standpoint of the myths of the dead which relatives tell.

[5] The reference is equally significant to the speaker's own expectation (with a few days previously, when he had actually lost his child) and to the death of the child.

[6] The speaker's spirit's journey.

[7] Supposedly, a male being the head of physical ancestry. The relationship of the two grandfathers [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

and recompense to funeral mourners is usually delayed until that time. Such was often was even in former years, although poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the express purpose of publicly rewarding those who had helped to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any convenient ceremony, such as a non-sacred round dance. As repeatedly mentioned, when the people have been called together for a ceremony, advantage is often taken of the gathering to settle debts or to perform rites of an entirely different nature. It is probable that the summoning of guests solely to witness the payment of helpers was always unusual; at present it never occurs. On those occasions when a body was buried in secret after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the crowd, the goods of the deceased were deposited as usual in the cemetery. Those who carried them were the men who had performed the secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the gifts as reward for the hidden rite without exposing the subterfuge.

Another type of ceremonial taking place after a funeral is the cleansing from the contamination of death of near relatives of the deceased, and of those who have handled the corpse. If spring salmon or sturgeon are running, pall-bearers must not go near the river for ten days, or twenty according to some informants, after taking a body to the grave. They have become tainted with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the river bank, would poison the salmon. Unwillingness to become affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly, friendless dame being carried out to the cemetery by some old women who covered him with boards. The rule on grave-diggers cannot be removed, but automatically lapses after ten days.

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife whose consort has passed away. It is believed that [illegible]

The making of the masks is allowed to different *kakaxtas*, usually in accordance with the dancer's wishes, although a mandel normally gives out the actual masks. The dancer, or one of his relatives, bestows presents on each person to whom work is allotted. The evening of *nuxnalkiya* is called *mulimulum*.

The third day is *gulum*. Those to whom work nothing has been entrusted assemble early in the dancer's house to start their work. About noon they are provided with a meal, to which other *kakaxtas* may be invited. By late afternoon, when most of the work has been accomplished, the ships are carefully swept up and burnt, and the house tidied, ready for the uninvited who will be invited during the evening. On either this day or the one preceding, a platform, with raised sides, is built behind the fire on which the dancer can conceal himself and where he is supposed to remain during the remainder of the four days. About dusk the *kakaxtas* are called in; the singers take their places behind the fire, Cannibals, Swallows, and Scratchers are in one of the back corners, where a matting enclosure may have been constructed for them, and the ordinary group themselves without distinction around the walls. In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, one or more of the masks may be displayed, suspended from a dipping pole behind the fire. If the singers think it necessary, they may practise the dancer's two songs once more. Then the uninvited are called in, taking their places near the doorway. The singers beat out one of the dancer's songs and he dances to time to it, and the same is repeated for his second song. After some delay, which appears to be one of the requisites of every *kaxtas* performance, the singers strike up the songs of either a novice or a *kaxtas*, especially one who has already had a call during the ceremonial season, and the one thus summoned dances to his two songs. Late in the season, when many *kakaxtas* have performed, only one song may be used, to prevent the ceremony dragging out to an interminable length, and songs of previous years are omitted. In any case, the ritual lasts for most of the night. When all have danced, the

perform several ancient rites through a desire to "show off" before someone who was ignorant. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate on *hactai* ceremonials, and to judge a man's worth by his invitations to them, but this is only a modern development due to the prohibition of the potlatch. Nevertheless, even in former times some individuals preferred to invite foreign guests to *hactai* dances and to give them valuable gifts rather than to save them for potlatches; such a ceremony is called a *tahactaiak*. Whenever strangers are present at a *hactai* dance they receive small pieces of dried cedar-bark as proof of the friendly intentions of the host. The general consensus of Bella Coola opinion is that it is foolish for a man to concentrate on *hactai* performances, particularly if he impoverish himself to the detriment of potlatches.

Although foreign guests are seldom invited to *hactai* rites, a dancer frequently calls in his fellows from adjacent villages. But as the ceremonial season is simultaneous in the different settlements, with almost nightly performances, it is often impossible to avoid conflict in dates. Which invitation shall have preference is decided in the following manner:

During the days of *gulus* and *tahactai* the dancer sends a herald of powerful physique to invite guests from as many villages as he wishes. Simultaneously, a messenger may be approaching from the opposite direction with a similar invitation. Each envoy watches carefully around each bend in the path for his rival, and whichever can first call out his message is entitled to continue to give his invitation in the village of the surviving herald. It is considered exceedingly bad form to decline a summons, so the ceremony to which the defeated herald was bearing an invitation must be postponed. Sometimes the two messengers sight one another simultaneously, and the relative priority of their messages is then decided by a contest of strength. The rivals stand in the path, shoulder to shoulder, arms close to their sides, and shove with all their strength, the winner being the one who can force his opponent to move his feet. This last means of deciding is used exclu-

[The Dance of Nuxalkmim]

any omitted from their path. The *kukwiut* also call *hoip* 575*
repeatedly, a further deterrent to the inquisitive. Alder and 746*
birch trees are selected and the beavers start to work. When 532
ever a tree falls, one of the party calls out: [784]

Ewe [313]

This meaningless ejaculation, spoken as if by X, has the [719]
virtue of causing the tree to fall gently. The logs are cut into
sections and as many provided as will be needed, since it is
contrary to *kwiut* custom for more than one trip to be made
for wood. Towards dusk the curtain rises, each carrying a [882]
burden by means of a tumpline across the forehead. The
wood is laid softly on the floor, for it would be a great insult
to throw it down roughly. Meanwhile heralds are summoning [203]*
the *kukwiut* with a call of:

Nuxwalkmim kukwiut.

X has long since consulted his relatives on the one hand
and the marshals on the other, concerning the number of masks
to be used, and the beings to be portrayed. A mask of
Kwiklamkum is prepared for every *kwiut* dance, but with this
exception there is no uniformity in the representations. A
man always shows his person, as well as any beings intimately
connected with him. Thus X must have a mask of *Nuikymm*,
many of his passengers, and the supernatural beings who meet
him at the mouth of the river. A present must be given to [431]*
the carver of every mask, hence their actual number depends [465]
upon the expenditure X and his relatives are willing to make.

At dusk the *kukwiut* are summoned by the heralds. X is [203]*
with the marshals behind the fire and he heeds their advice as
to the best carpenter for any special mask. When all have
assembled X holds up one of the blocks of wood, calls on one
of the *kukwiut* by name and says:

"For *Nuikymm*," or whatever may be the figure required.

As the carpenter comes forward to take the billet the [203]*
heralds call out: [719]

"Pay attention to him," and as the carpenter takes the
wood, X calls out at the top of his voice, *ewe*.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

This ejaculation is supposed to make the work of manufacture less difficult. The same procedure is repeated with every mask ordered, except that if the being to be represented is a woman, X's ejaculation is *i* ·····. Any *kusiut* can make a mask, but the preference is always given to a man who has shown ability in previous tasks. The carpenters endeavour to follow well-recognized designs for many representations, but a great deal of latitude is allowed, and a workman receives greater praise and fame for turning out a fine and distinctive piece of new design, than for rigid adherence to a former type. This, combined with the burning of masks and consequent loss of permanent patterns, is responsible for the variability in Bella Coola forms, and the difficulty which they themselves experience in recognizing portrayed beings.

As soon as all the carpentry has been allotted, the singers strike up one of X's eight songs. Whether or not he dances to them is a matter about which there is a difference of opinion among informants. In any case the re-singing on *nuxiutâlsap* is purely for rehearsal, made necessary by the large number of songs. Later on in the *kusiut* season, the songs of other dancers may be practised on this night, and if the owners wish to practice their steps, it is quite proper for them to do so. Finally, a meal is distributed, while the marshals discourse in the usual way. Feasts are features of all *kusiut* dances, and the food distributed is regarded as a free-will gift, without thought of repayment. After eating, the *kukusiut* disperse; X must sleep within his own house, but no longer remains within his platform-enclosure.

The next day, the twenty-sixth of the ceremony, is *qoltm*. Early in the morning a herald summons to X's house, where the blocks have been left, all those to whom work has been assigned. All morning they carve diligently. The speed with which masks are completed is surprising, although this has undoubtedly increased since the introduction of metal tools. In the middle of the day a few *kukusiut* men, no women, are invited to share "the carpenters' meal," as the food provided

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*575 shals tells a herald to call them in; they enter joyfully, though
*796 somewhat fearfully, and stand or crouch on either side of the doorway. In Kimsquit they gaze on the masks, wondering
*[203] what they are. The singers strike up the first of X's songs and he dances, while singers and *kukusiut* men sing the words and
*575 the women drone. To the uninitiated it appears most impres-
*796 sive and desirable, while even the prosaic white man can hardly remain indifferent. At intervals a whistle, which the
533 uninitiated believe to be the voice of the call, sounds eerily from beneath the armpit of a reliable *kusiut*. After a short interval, X's second song is sung, and so in succession the eight. Then the singers strike up any well-remembered tune, perhaps one used last year, and the owner dances. This is repeated for eight or ten songs. At later *qotlim*, every *kusiut* who has had a call during the season must dance; the ceremony tends, therefore, to become longer and longer as time goes on, although the singing of the songs of a previous year is omitted. When enough performers have danced, a shaman's song is often sung and the owner dances "to clear the house." At this point the
*575 uninitiated spectators are told to withdraw. Then a meal is
*796 served to the *sisaok* who, as members of a similar organization,
[301] are honoured guests and have been seated together in a corner,
[237] resplendent in their weasel-skin ornaments. After their departure, the *kukusiut* eat more leisurely, while one marshal
[431] after another advises them as to their conduct. Then presents of comparatively small value are distributed. The marshals would consider it unbecoming for X to provide over-laviahly.
[465] The first gifts are to the singers, the next to the makers of the masks. Though these presents are, in essence, pay, they are never thought of in that light; X is under obligations, X has cleared himself of those obligations, is the Bella Coola attitude. When all is over, X once more dances to one of his softly sung songs. Then one of the marshals calls out to open the door and the guests disperse, except the novices who sleep in X's house.

[The Cannibal Dance]

X, now almost sane, rushes around the house, shouting *cuse*, *cuse*, *cuse*, while his call sounds loudly, as the whistle is pressed firmly beneath his armpit or against his stomach, tied under a belt. Often the *kukuxiut* slip a rope over his shoulders to prevent him escaping again. Finally, he rushes from the house and all the *kukuxiut* crowd close about him on the sidewalk without. As many as possible press upwards against his body with their hands, while they shout, *ye* —, trying to expel the call upwards. On the fourth repetition it is supposed to have been driven forth, and in answer to the tumultuous shout of the *kukuxiut*, there is heard the sound of a whistle from above. The uninitiated do not know that a *kuxiut* has been dispatched with one to a mountain peak for this purpose.

The *kukuxiut* now return to X's house for a meal. The first dish of food is placed before X himself, while one of the marshals addresses him and the audience in the following strain:

Yikmandjinamc, ckiowa ki! Ilaxis di pacatlat
Greetings, comrades! Hail to the dreaded one [the Cannibal]!*
*Wai, pacatlat** *Nuxim. Nuqkimicik**dudaqa.*
More, dreaded one, *Nuxim*.* Eat to repletion.

There is no ritual significance attached to any particular words; marshals use their own discretion as to what they say, but the above may be considered a fair example of the kind of remarks addressed to a Cannibal at his first meal. After X has started eating, the other *kukuxiut* commence and the marshals deliver their usual admonitions, praising X for what he has done and urging others to emulate his example. Then presents are distributed to those who have been bitten. It is considered that a Cannibal compliments a man by taking a piece of his flesh, and that he is under obligations to the one bitten for the latter having allowed him to exercise his preroga-

*Pacatlat means "The Dreaded One" or "The Fearless One." X is so called on account of the uncanny cannibalistic incubus that has taken possession of him.
*This is the vocative form of the word.
*Nuxim was the name of the performing Cannibal on the occasion that this speech was recorded.

tion. Hence compensation must be given. Payment for wounds inflicted is really parallel to payments to witnesses of any other ceremonies; without their assistance X would not have been able to display his right. Long ago Cannibals are said to have had teeth of such sharpness that they were able to take pieces from the bodies of their victims with ease and quickness. In more recent years, it has been customary for a person about to be bitten to cut himself with a knife so that, when the Cannibal seizes him, a simple nicking at the chosen part will bring forth blood. In view of the honour attached to being bitten, no person to whom such a proposal is made would think of refusing. As previously mentioned, Cannibals do not bite other Cannibals, Scratchers, Breakers, or those whose patrons are ghosts, otherwise their victims may comprise any *Indecint*.* Presents received by those bitten are called "Bandages." At the time of such payment gifts are usually given to all *Indecint*, with additional compensation for the sufferers.

Now that X has eaten ordinary food it is supposed that he is again normal, although special precautions must be taken for the rest of the winter since he is subject to recurring fits of frenzy. Consequently, he is never allowed to be alone, but is always followed by a number of *Indecint* whose function appears to the uninitiated to be to guard them from the Cannibal. The sight of strangers suffices to rouse him, so that when a canoe from *Tâl-is* or Kimsquit approaches, a herald bids the uninitiated conceal themselves. On their arrival X rushes to the beach, apparently in spite of his guardians' restraint, and honours several of the strangers by biting them, as he did before he was able to eat ordinary food. On such occasions he then visits every house, attended by his escort, before returning to his own. Inside each dwelling he growls, cries out *xwa*, *xwa*, *xwa*, and sometimes shakes or tears off the

*Every effort is made to convince the uninitiated of the accuracy of the wounds inflicted. For example, if a *Indecint* woman is suffering from some malady of the breast which requires an operation, a Cannibal bites her there and non-members are told that the incision, made about the same time, was caused by his teeth.

plashing around the walls, much to the terror of the uninitiated who cower in their blankets, afraid to peer out lest they be bitten. If X should step upon a loose board on any of these rounds of the village, either before or after the expulsion of his cannibalistic brothers, he is partially deprived of the power of movement. He can only stand up and down, marking time on the swaying plank, until repeated cries of *hoip* have finally startled him so that he can proceed. Sometimes the stomach of a seal must be shown him before he can leave the spot. Although no one knows why this should so affect Cannibals, an sight of it he rushes forth immediately.

That evening the herald summons the *kakwitsa* and the strangers to X's house. His songs are sung, whereupon X becomes excited and must be cured by the beating of sticks and the four times repeated *hoip* before he can be induced to sit down. Food is then distributed, while a ceremonial speech, and presents are given to the house strangers, provided by X or one of his relatives. Such gifts are often of trifling value but the recipients must never show that they think so.

For the remainder of the ceremonial season X goes to all dances under the guardianship of a number of *kakwitsa*. His apparent wildness and ferocity overawes the uninitiated and helps to convince them of the force of the rites. Sometimes in sheer bravado and with an overweening desire to terrorize, X's guardians will cry out that he has become excited; the uninitiated hastily hide and the Cannibal rushes from house to house, ripping off boards and acting as if demented. If friction should arise at some ceremony when only members are present, X often plays a prominent part. For example, in one dance the *kakwitsa* rush around the fire, guided by a rope; sometimes a mischievous man will double it so that the participants are thrown violently against each other. Everyone is excited by the noise of the beating sticks, and the growling of the Cannibals, so that loss of temper is not uncommon. But if X rushes out of the door, the necessity of maintaining his prestige with the uninitiated overrules every other considera-

[The Cannibal Dance]

through the village commencing often has taken place. Meanwhile X, maddened by the taste of blood, dashes from the house, closely guarded by a number of Initiates. Growling, he enters the lowest house of the village and, to the uninitiated there, it appears as if the memory of his questions is all that prevents the biting demon from breaking loose among them. This is repeated at every house in the village, and then X comes to that in which galas is taking place, where he is guided to his usual corner and a bowl of water thrown cold water over him. Any more bowls, often one after a dancer, calls to these powers to leave him, and the frenzied orchestra of sticks sounds forth. X remains quiet and more water is thrown over him. This pounding of sticks is four times repeated, and after each more water is thrown over the Cannibal, until at last his temporary fit of frenzy is stilled. Then the Initiates are to comfort and leave. It must be remembered that the uninitiated hear the beating of sticks from adjacent houses, and their awe is perhaps increased by the fact that they cannot actually see what is taking place.

This inability to endure here throughout the ceremonial season, effectively suppressing any nonsense uninitiated, and at the same time serving as a bond of union among the Initiate themselves, who must sink individual differences of opinion in face of the absolute necessity of upholding X's prestige. A Cannibal novice can likewise become frenzied at any time during the summer following his initiation.

The Cannibal dance entails a considerable amount of physical and mental effort, while if X bites many individuals, as he likes to do as a means of demonstrating his prerogative, he is forced to expend a considerable amount of goods as "Bordages." These two factors often deter a man from performing this dance. A Cannibal who has just been initiated as a dancer at once begins to bite, and is carried away to the upper regions. He is required, moreover, to give his ceremony the following winter, like any other novice. During the summer he generally remains hidden within his house, and when he goes

[The Cannibal Dance]

his song, which they now proceed to sing as though they had obtained it from X in his vestige; they have, of course, composed it themselves in advance. The words describe the appearance of X in the regions aloft. When the song has been practised, food, and later presents as "bandages" for the wounds, are distributed. Other gifts are often given to everyone, irrespective of whether or not the recipient has been bitten. A meal functions as usual; then the people disperse.

Presently as night falls and the people are preparing for sleep X goes outside with a number of *kukusiut* followers. On the sidewalk the singers, a number of *kukusiut* women, and men with drums have assembled. X begins his high pitched call of *ewe*, *ewe*, *ewe*, as if longing for meat; the whistle sounds at intervals and the singers begin their song with the women joining in. When the melody has ended, the party move to a position outside another house where the same ceremony is repeated. X suddenly becomes frenzied, rushes madly from place to place, his *ewe*, *ewe*, *ewe* resounds, and he dashes into a dwelling, growling ferociously. The musicians pay no attention to his actions, but complete their singing of the same song outside every house. When this has been finished, the *kukusiut* gather in X's home to make him sufficiently heavy so that he can lie down. This is done by calling upon those individuals who have the prerogative of using the crystals at initiation. They come forward and, with wild gyrations, extract them from their stomachs and insert them into X's body through his ears, thus partially deafening him so that he can relax. The people disperse when this has been accomplished. As usual, the heralds have informed those living in the other houses of what has been taking place.

The next morning the *kukusiut* construct a strong platform behind the fire on which X is supposed to rest for the next four days. In practice he can do almost anything he likes, provided that he is not seen by the uninitiated. The crystals pressed into his ears deafen him to small noises, but if he hears people talking loudly together, he at once becomes excited and rushes

[The Cannibal Dance]

forth, followed by a number of *kakaciai* who remain constantly in attendance on him. 575* 796*

X enters the lowest house and sits down near the door, on leaves, with the weight of the crystals, to proceed further. He growls persistently, while the *kakaciai* women present dance monotonously, and those who have accompanied him utter their cry of *hoip*. These measures at last provoke the Cannibal to move, but only to the next house, where the same procedure is repeated, and so for each in the village. The uninitiated peer curiously and fearfully from their bedrooms, but would never dream of joining in the cry of *hoip*. If X should be asleep or otherwise engaged when the voices are heard, some of his assistants awaken him and send him forth. The arrival of strangers also excites X. One of his followers tells him of their coming and when a canoe reaches the river, he runs down into the water and bites as many of the newcomers as he desires. The herald, watching the approach of the strangers and knowing what will happen, cries out to the uninitiated to conceal themselves prior to X's appearance. The guests proceed to the dwelling of their host, but that evening the Cannibal's father, or whoever acts for him, calls them to his house where he gives them presents to validate the biting. If foreigners have been expected, gifts are always saved for them from the previous distribution. The value of the present depends in part on the rank of the recipient, but more upon the feeling of like or dislike with which X's father regards him. A chief naturally receives more than a person of lower rank, although these donations are not returned. 575* 796* 431 [609] [554]

On the morning of the fifth day of X's retirement, some of the *kakaciai* collect chamber-pots and towards noon he is immersed in the river in the manner previously described. Then he goes through the village four times, on each round visiting every house. The uninitiated are told that the washing has caused his call to depart, and the whistle is heard no more.* 575* 796*

Towards dusk all the *kakaciai* assemble in X's house. He

*The dummed of the call at this time may not be the correct procedure.

[The Scratch Dance]

[illegible] THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

and the lunatic long rolling all to be attractive. The chorus for every Scratch's song consists of the supposedly meaning-less words, 'wi, wi', as if a child were crying. It would then the same refrain is used for Scratch dances by every second villa-After this practice the singers chant forth X's song more loudly, the audience joins in, and he dances. The Scratch dance differs from all other *Sacrat* ones in that there are no fixed movements, with the exception of keeping time to the beating of sticks with the feet. The dancer sometimes bends down and forward, with arms closely pressed between his legs, or he bends back with arms thrown upwards; to and fro and back and forth he goes with high steps or short mincing steps, with leaps or jumps, his arms waving like the arms of a windmill. The best Scratch dancer is the one who can put most action and originality into his movements. The weird effect is increased by moving the facial muscles to cause strange grimaces. Four *Sakaciat*, two before and two behind, accompany X. At intervals he becomes excited and seizes his own hair as if in internal agony, whereupon his guardians press the back of his neck and call *hoij* to soothe him. His dance completed, he sits down, and no other performers follow him. The presents provided by X and his relatives are then distributed, those scratched and the song makers being the chief recipients, although everyone receives something. Then there is the usual meal, accompanied by admonitions from the marshals, followed by X dancing once more to his song.

Unlike most *Sacrat* ceremonials, this does not complete the night's rites. Accompanied by a number of *Sakaciat*, X visits every house in the village, and dances around the fire with wildly waving arms while the whistle sounds easily. Since the musicians do not beat time, his dance is without rhythmic qualities, otherwise it follows the lack of pattern just described. When he is brought back to his own house, the frenzied beating of sticks is twice repeated to soothe him, and water is thrown over him. Thus pacified, X goes to sleep and the *Sakaciat* quietly disperse.

the house to serve as targets, and stones as ammunition. As soon as the call comes, X (who can begin to throw stones at these objects, and the uninitiated are at once repelled). X is usually led, closely guarded, to every house where he can [illegible] more cubits, and may break a number of utensils. Since it is well known that, under normal circumstances, he may never throw a stone, the uninitiated are convinced that he must indeed be possessed by a strange power. This being [illegible], the *Bakwiri* gather in X's house during the evening to learn and practice one, or sometimes two, songs for him. If X is a [illegible], the dance is of his invention and the accident which originated the dance; on here occasions it is of his person and the land above. All Breakers do not have *Sindikwedi Ilyamba* as patron; some have *Ondikindi*, a supernatural being who causes wealth to rise up and come to him. The chorus is the same as for Screechers, the meaningless words, 'eri, 'eri. It is said that this same refrain is used by the Breakers of all coastal tribes, so that their songs can be distinguished from those of Screechers only by the words. With the food, presents are given to recompense those on whom X has displayed his prerogative, that is, those whose utensils have been broken. Sometimes canoes and other valuable objects are destroyed by Breakers, depending entirely on their desire to exhibit their rights.

Next morning, *naturalmente*, X again becomes frenzied and rushes from house to house, destroying property. Of course this is later paid for, but the uninitiated have no idea that arrangements had been made for the boxes and other objects to be placed in suitable spots. During the day a number of *Bakwiri* are sent to collect wood for nine masks. When members of the society gather in the evening the songs are practised, and the making of the masks allowed. One of these is of *Sindikwedi Ilyamba*, four are of Breakers in the land above,* four of supernatural beings who sing there for the supernatural Breakers, and one of the inevitable *Ekiri*.

*The relations of these Breakers to the patron is not clear.

[illegible]

[illegible] with them that he wants a mask made to represent his own face. The purpose for which it is to destined is not mentioned, although there is no reason why the workmen, all of them believers, should not know, as they actually do. X teaches his face a wife, making it easier to depict, and he does so model for the carpenters, who at once start detailing masks. Each works independently, and usually finishes one, or even two or three, in a day. Five or six carpenters are labouring simultaneously, and when the first group of masks has been finished, the mandarin, and perhaps one or more influential chiefs as well, come to inspect the handiwork. The masks are laid out in a glade of the forest and the mandarin make their criticisms.

"No. The nose is too long," they say of one mask, or,

"The cheeks are too full," with regard to another.

It is seldom that one of the first group of completed masks meets with their approval, but the next morning the carpenters try once more, with X again lying down as model. In the evening the mandarin again examine the masks. Hundreds (probably an exaggeration) are often made before one is found which satisfies every requirement, and if the carpenters fail to produce a realistic portrait, the ceremonies be carried out. The unsuccessful attempts are carefully hidden in the forest but they should be seen by an unmarried person. When Dr[illegible] was performed the rite, it was near the end of September before one of the carpenters succeeded in making a satisfactory model.

When the wooden representation has been completed, there is no further doubt about holding the ceremony, and one of the mandarin, acting for X, summons the singers and other influential Indians to the secret meeting place for a discussion of preliminaries.* At this conference X tells the carpenters what he proposes to give them as payment for the work they have done for him; the concept of "pay" is entirely lacking although it is an essential part of the transaction. The singers are told

*Several details that apply to all factions are left included which were inadvertently omitted by informants in describing the Smooth Cutting dance.

575*
796*
[831]

gation. When the dance has ended, X gives presents, first to each spectator, and then to those who are assisted him, starting with the singers. This is the last case of the evening and the Initiates disperse.

The dance of doing things in the seven order appears not only in sections, but in the order of the ceremonies. Those just described, although at the beginning of an era, resemble a culmination in many respects. Consequently it is not surprising that the seven nights to follow. The singers are the first to assemble and they compose a second song to X, with the same theme but different words and tune to the already prepared. Meanwhile the Initiates are gathering and when they have learnt the new song, the uninitiated are summoned. No enclosure has been built, and X is much in evidence. His body has been painted green with a preparation of green rubbed on [302] [292]
[533]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible

[The Octopus Dance]

[illegible] THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

*575 Consulted begins to growl and soon the *kukwiat* are left alone
*796 in the house. The singers begin not a new song for X and the usual continues like that of any other *kwakiutl*. No description is needed for the ceremonial that occurs on *everything* and *gallon*.

On the evening of *rubrum* the uninitiated are summoned in due course. The exact number of masked figures shown could not be known, but among them is always an octopus.
[532] The rite concludes in the usual manner.

The presents given in connection with the Octopus dance are more valuable than those bestowed at most *kwakiutl* crests, [431] accordingly none but wealthy people are able to carry it out. [534] The heralds especially are always beneficiaries.

THE DANCE OF THE DARK-SHADE

*575 One of the most peculiar and irregular of *kwakiutl* dances is
*796 that performed by a certain *Kilpem*, whom it will be convenient to call X. His patron is the supernatural woman *Sagwaxlaxtwi*, Dark-Shade, whose home is beneath the thick evergreens of the river valleys, thus explaining the darkness and shadows found in such places. X's repository is beneath some large cedars near the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, a few hundred yards above the end of the fiord; it is probable that other dancers with the same patron have repositories in other dark and gloomy spots.

When X wishes to dance he must as usual obtain consent from the marshals who insist that he delay his performance until after the solstice at earliest. The reason is because his patron, Dark-Shade, alone of all supernatural beings, has the power to open every repository; X brings her to the village and in consequence calls come to many *kukwiat*,[illegible] which would be undesirable during the first few weeks of the season. On the evening of the day selected for the beginning of the dance, X steals away from the village with three or four *kukwiat*,

[illegible]The implication in this case is that calls come from repositories, not from the land above, the customary source.

[The Dance of Dance]

[575] [776] [777] [533] what they do. With them comes the being *Ontlatamen*, "The Sleeper," wearing a mask to represent a drowsy man who constantly covers and rubs his eyes. It is explained that this being delights in sleep and does not care if the sun never rises.

THE DANCE OF THE GREEDY ONE

Nuxnilkinatem, also called *Tatsuoi*, is a greedy person who spends his time going from one supernatural being to another in the land above, always begging for food. He is patron for several *kukuxiut* and on the *nuhuam* of one of his protégés a masked figure representing the Greedy One visits every house in the village asking for food. The ministered women to the hall-room, but the *kukuxiut* comply with his request. In consequence the dancer's house is filled with food which is given away to the *kukuxiut* guests.

[532] [481]

THE DANCE OF THE REPOSITORY MAKER

[778] Some repositories were constructed in the beginning of time by the supernatural being, *Nuxnadjinum*, who is patron for several *kukuxiut*. On the *nuhuam* of one of his protégés a figure, masked to represent a male being, appears and *Ano'kitsulaie* explains that this is the maker of repositories. It is uncertain whether this being is found in Bella Coola or only in Kimsquit.

[535] [184]

THE DANCE OF *Alquntám*'S SLAVE

In the land above there lives a slave of *Alquntám* who spends his time providing fuel for the fires in *Nuxpalewaite*. He is patron for a Bella Coola *kuxiut*, though the details of his dance were not obtained.

THE DANCE OF *Alquntám*'S HERALD

Ojelikt Alquntám is patron for several *kukuxiut*. During the *nuhuam* of one of his protégés a masked figure representing him visits every house in the village, bidding the *kukuxiut*

with such power that they killed one another in their performances. Consequently, they decided to dance only in the winter months, and merely to imitate the actions which had been previously carried out.

There are other traditions, probably with an historical basis, describing conflicts with the *o'ult*. The Bella Coola say that long, long ago there were not enough *Kwakiutl* names to go over that the old people to be admitted to the society, and that though members were regarded as having supernatural powers, yet the *o'ult*, confident in their numbers and strength, used frequently to assail the supremacy of the *Kukwakiutl*. On one occasion, when the latter had prepared an elaborate feast of smoked goat flesh for themselves, the *o'ult* collected their weapons and demanded a share of the feast. The *Kukwakiutl*, furiously angry, felt compelled to yield, though later they took revenge through the destruction wrought by many Cannibals and Sorcerers when dressed. It is said that even recently if the *Kukwakiutl* did not invite the *o'ult* to one of their dances, they were always careful to placate them by sending half of the food as a present.

Sometimes the *o'ult*, collectively, were bold enough to kill a *Kwakiutl*, particularly if something had gone amiss in a dance house. Or other motives might be strong enough to outweigh respect for a member of the society. On one occasion a chief, who was not a member of the society, was told that his wife, who was, had been in the habit of prowling off at night with a Cannibal. The jealous husband prepared his best spear and slew the Cannibal when next he entered his house during a frenzied rampage of the village. *Kukwakiutl*, both from that village and others in the vicinity, combined to cause the murderer's death with the aid of a member of the society who was a professional killer.

Success did not always come to the *Kukwakiutl* in quarrels between members of the two societies. Long ago, the *o'ult* were invited to a *potlatch* in a village in the upper Bella Coola valley. One of their own dances was taking place, but they

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(a) [illegible] [illegible]

(b) [illegible] [illegible]

(c) [illegible] [illegible]

(d) [illegible] [illegible]

(e) [illegible] [illegible]

(f) [illegible] [illegible]

(g) [illegible] [illegible]

(h) [illegible] [illegible]

(i) [illegible] [illegible]

(j) [illegible] [illegible]

(k) [illegible] [illegible]

(l) [illegible] [illegible]

(m) [illegible] [illegible]

(n) [illegible] [illegible]

(o) [illegible] [illegible]

(p) [illegible] [illegible]

(q) [illegible] [illegible]

(r) [illegible] [illegible]

(s) [illegible] [illegible]

(t) [illegible] [illegible]

(u) [illegible] [illegible]

(v) [illegible] [illegible]

(w) [illegible] [illegible]

(x) [illegible] [illegible]

(y) [illegible] [illegible]

(z) [illegible] [illegible]

(a) [illegible] [illegible]

(b) [illegible] [illegible]

(c) [illegible] [illegible]

(d) [illegible] [illegible]

(e) [illegible] [illegible]

(f) [illegible] [illegible]

(g) [illegible] [illegible]

(h) [illegible] [illegible]

(i) [illegible] [illegible]

(j) [illegible] [illegible]

(k) [illegible] [illegible]

(l) [illegible] [illegible]

(m) [illegible] [illegible]

(n) [illegible] [illegible]

(o) [illegible] [illegible]

(p) [illegible] [illegible]

(q) [illegible] [illegible]

(r) [illegible] [illegible]

(s) [illegible] [illegible]

(t) [illegible] [illegible]

(u) [illegible] [illegible]

(v) [illegible] [illegible]

(w) [illegible] [illegible]

(x) [illegible] [illegible]

(y) [illegible] [illegible]

(z) [illegible] [illegible]

Song of Akpalin of Kinnapit when [illegible] into the Kanak Rapids

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(illegible)

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(illegible)

C The third part has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 12a, National Museum of Canada, stages, Jim Pelland.

(b) The wording shows that the song was to be used at a potlatch.

(c) Meaning: Make use of in all directions.

[illegible] the reputation would not be increased by the manner of his death. He thought he would find out the [illegible], and until a decree of safe down was taken both the parties within that he another had been killed with nothing were doubly. They reached the settlement of friendly relations.

The Kitkatla had brought their own singers, who now began to have [illegible] Tsibasa to perform a ceremony. He was followed by several other chiefs, and then the strangers gave presents to influential Bella Coola on the most lavish scale. Paitsi likewise performed a ceremony, and bestowed gifts on the guests in return in, such were, of course, not reciprocable. A meal was then served, and after that Tsibasa made a speech of which the gist was that the Bella Coola had previously known the achievements of a warrior, they now learn his activities and bravery in risking his life, and that the name Tsibasa could never be forgotten, irrespective of his own [illegible].

Tsibasa left soon afterwards. It was somewhat difficult fully to comprehend his motive in thus risking his life. Undoubtedly his main object was to display his valour and disregard of danger. Moreover, it gave him an opportunity to impress these qualities upon the Bella Coola, and thus to exhibit his prowess actually within the enemy's camp, which must have been a source of tremendous gratification to him. The alleged motive, vague as telling a chief, may have been a contributory factor.

Although this visit was an invitation from Tsibasa that the Bella Coola could have no further fear of him, the suspicions of yesterday not be immediately allayed. In fact, an occasional skirmish will take place although Tsibasa himself refrained from fighting. A few years after his visit to Bella Coola, *Paitsi* prepared to give a potlatch to which he determined to invite the northern chief. Many of the Bella Coola doubted whether the Kitkatla warriors would respect the safe-conduct usually afforded to envoys, and no one was anxious to bear the invitation. At length six chiefs volunteered for the task and set out, though with many misgivings. They stopped en route at Bella Bella where a chief of that tribe, *Omps*, joined the party; he thought that he would have influence with the Kitkatla and might add prominence to the Bella Coola. Fearing to be seen by any small Kitkatla bands, the delegation travelled only by night until they could actually reach Tsibasa's village. As they paddled up, they indicated their mission by singing one of *Paitsi's* *nuxk* songs. On hearing this, Tsibasa asked one of his Bella Coola slaves whose song it might be, and when he answered that it was one of *Paitsi's*, *Tsibasa* despatched a chief, *Kwinan*, to invite the guests to his house. *Omps* was thankful when he saw this man approaching, since he felt that it heralded a friendly welcome. The party was conducted to *Tsibasa's*

[i.e. to the peace negotiations – ANALYST]

to their forefathers. Profound as these material changes have been, those of a psychological nature have been even more important. New worlds have been thrown open to them, stimulating ideas have been brought to their attention, and they have realized for the first time that the world is infinitely larger than they had imagined. Hand in hand with this extension of knowledge has gone disbelief in their own ancient lore. The white man, whose superiority and mechanical skill they admit, positively denies the actuality of their mythology, and laughs at the dramatic performances which were wont to fill the winter with engrossing interest. Such rites can flourish only in an attitude of profound belief; this has been so shaken that the dances continue listlessly, a mere shadow of a once living art. The young people were the first to embrace a scepticism that has rapidly grown into disbelief of the faith of their ancestors, and a half-concealed scorn for their elders, the upholders of the old customs. Worst of all, prohibition of the potlatch has made it impossible for a man to reach a position of social eminence. Moreover, since the holding of any type of ceremonial requires a distribution of gifts, formal gatherings of all kinds have become virtually impossible; even marriages have no longer the social support that formerly made them so lasting.

These cumulative blows would be enough to shake any civilization, and that of the Bella Coola has been entirely unable to adjust itself to the new conditions. The young people, having lost respect for their elders, are deprived of the advice and support essential to the continuity of culture. They ape the white man's dress; they want his mechanical devices, but have failed to assimilate them. For example, a gramophone in a Bella Coola house is an anachronism, while several similar articles spoil the old picture but do not provide a new one. Seeking to copy the new ways thrown open to them, they have achieved the outward show but not the substance, and in so doing have destroyed their own culture. In the old days they were ambitious to hold potlatches and willing to work steadily towards that goal; now, new desires have not kept pace with

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[illegible]: Supernatural being sent by *Imsem-a* to meet *Nulqiyum*.
[illegible], "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will certainly give a potlatch to enrollim on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremoniously on empty boxes. [556]
[illegible]: Shaking-shell covered with sand by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at *Tal'a* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Word of uncertain meaning often appended to *kumkum* to complete term for the four night of a *Bella Bella* dance. [576]
[illegible], "A Dragging Arrow" (as one does with a heavy leg): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being superfeinned. [425] [553]
[illegible]: Toasted food of any kind. [262]
[illegible]: Ancestral name of a *Bella Coola* man. [252]
[illegible]: Performed, adjective.
[illegible]: Those who perform to assist marriage dances.
[illegible]: *Kwakiutl* name of a *Bella Coola* man.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at *Tal'a* in the beginning of time. [585]
[illegible], "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and her peers in assuming her house. [431]
[illegible]: Gifts given in return, more often beneficial, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [584]
[illegible]: Marshal.
[illegible]: Immoral supernatural woman; synonym for *Sainsainuk*.
[illegible]: One of the men who came to earth at Mount *Tsoxis* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Totem-pole erected by the first settlers at *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]
[illegible]: Sacred song in fast time.
[illegible]: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [533] [535]
[illegible]: Daughter of the first settlers at *Sisiha* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: *Kwakiutl* dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.
[illegible]: Synonym for *[illegible]*; one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]
[illegible]: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.
[illegible]: Come, *imperative singular*.
[illegible]: 1—One of *Imsem-a*'s sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at *Nuwulir* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Central seat behind the fire.
[illegible]: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-nets. [412]
[illegible]: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola. [805]
[illegible]: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun.
[illegible], "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf. [825]

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ālpim: Something long sought-for on account of its especial desirability, such as well-grained wood.

ālpim ues mnas: Child whose parents were long engaged and who is accordingly regarded as being well prepared for. [554]

ālpkst: *Sisiok* initiate concealed within the back-room.

Ālpnālā: One of the first men to settle in Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

ālpe: Guests at a potlatch.

Ālpnnkam, "The Shelterer": Name assumed by *Smaua* in the beginning of time.

ālpmāmāmis, "What Has Been Shaken Off": Term applied to presents distributed when a corpse has been carried through the roof. The implication is that they are dust shaken from the fingers of the deceased. [431] [764]

Ālpuntām: 1—The supreme god.
2—One of the first men to settle on the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
4—Tail of a *Sisiut* repository.

Ālpuntāmāsh: 1—Mountain on the north side of the lower Bella Coola.
2—Name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Swalāli* in the beginning of time.

ālpnālāipīyīy: Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for direct address. [601]

Ālpnānānāt: Supernatural artisans who made mankind in the beginning of time. [576]

ālp"ā: Presents given to validate the initiation of a *Sisiut.*

Ālpnātimat: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [331]

ālpnnnāskwnnāmmy: Professional mourner. [463]

ālpnnnāyāiyāt: Professional droner at marriages.

ālpnnyāma: Professional hunter.

ālpnnyālā: Professional warrior.

Ālnkāu-i: Kimsquit fisherman living in the last century.

ālp'ōu: Olachen net.

Ālnlāy: Celebrated hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

ālkāt ōt ōi ānāhm: Second oldest sibling. [601]

Ālnmos: Repository of a Kimsquit Cannibal where cures are effected.

ālnnnmālā: Professional warrior. [463]

ālnnnnāānm: Professional river guard.

Ālnnlāpnnu: Mountain near mouth of the Kimsquit River.

ālnlnnāla: Shaman.

ālnlnnnnnm: 1—Meeting of those who have given potlatches. [753]
2—Unidentified disease said to attack only chiefs.

ālnlnnnt: Marriage associates, i.e. those who, not being relatives, wish to associate themselves with the bride's family in the financial transactions of a marriage.

Ālnnlānnnm: Name applied to the supernatural artisans with reference to their construction of everything used by mankind.

Ālnlānnnm, "Cloud-Covered": Name applied to the supernatural being *Nānlānnm* with reference to his frequent invisibility.

Ālnlnnnt-ais, "The Highest of All Chiefs' Sons:" Name of *Smaua's* son in the beginning of time.

Ālnr-ānnn, "Falling Star-Fish": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

Ālnnpn, "The Rent-Maker": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

ālnālāt: One who has received a commission for carpentry work in preparation for a potlatch. [465]

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Anuhlo: Village near mouth of the Dean River.
Anululem: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Anutsyne-ust, "Labretted": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Anuxmlaix: Name obtained by an *Alyalaxt* man in the beginning of time.
Anxpalmmut, "Quivering To and Fro": One of *Tlitxpilôw-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Anxsimôlo: *Kuxlat* name of a Bella Coola man.
Anxsimôw-a: 1—*Kuxlat* name of a Bella Coola woman.
2—"Left Hand": *Sisaa* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
[431] [426] *anxyep':* Term applied to the giving of a copper, indicating that 100 per cent interest is expected in return.
Anxsimmdmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
[463] *anxwnixhw-aix:* *Kuxlat* profession, at Kimsquit only, of throwing masks on the fire.
Anxwnintmlt, "The Moving House": One of the names of the supreme god's dwelling.
anxyas: 1—Owner of a puppet-person.
2—Synonym for *xlômômmum,* q.v.
Anxyulhalaix: Supernatural being who robs *tsâxalat* of their thoughts at the Mystery dance.
Ar-ôi: 1—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Alyalaxt* in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Bella chief.
aks: Excrete.
Ahmô-a, "The Privy One": Name taken by a chief for himself in virtue of the remarks made about his habits.
Aqulaix: *Sisaa* name of a Kimsquit man.
[825] *aqam:* Herring eggs.
[824] *aqmoulp:* Cottonwood.
aqna: Type of sea-going canoe.
[825] *aqwa:* Harlequin duck.
Aqulaiyutmamm, "The Constant Eater": Term used by hunters to Eagle.
Aqw-aw-i, "Concave Town": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
aqwoanp: Canoes lashed together.
Ar-ôs: Locality on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head, including the area beneath the surface of the water.
[601] *ar-ôw-ôi:* 1—Second oldest sibling.
2—Second part of song.
[775] *aristmum:* 1—"They Who Have Become Supernatural": Title preferred by ghosts.
2—Woman living in the moon.
Ar-iromnp: Inhabitants of the village of *Ârsa°.*
[424] *arsumnalus:* Person with good memory commissioned to remember family prerogatives.
Ârsa°, "At the Head": Village southwest of the head of South Bentinck Arm.
ashaiat: Totem-pole, *literally,* "Outside Post."
[756] *ashalat:* Shaman with power derived from ghosts.
ashalum: Ceremonial bathing at dawn.
[515] *Ashlaxilaix:* *Kuxlat* name of a Bella Coola woman.
Ashmôk: *Kuxlat* name of a Bella Coola man.

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mayo or mayoi'a: Medicine; generic term for all remedies of a magical or medicinal nature. [278]
e-m: Coitus, term in common usage.
emis: Nephew or niece. [601]

A

ahnuk: Ancestral name of a *Snaitl'a* man.
'anlaiza-a: Daughter of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
anlaitlaitla: Moon, semi-anthropomorphized.

H

hai-ahkila: 1—Bella Bella term; commonly used in Bella Coola, for *nuxut* official
2—*Kaziut* name of a Bella Coola man.
haidzi: Type of sea-going canoe used by the Haida; the word may be a corruption from English.
Hai-h-hala: Man who descended to the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
Hau-a: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
hauhau: Mythical, supernatural bird. [825]
Hamut: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxulz* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Ziwiyai* in the beginning of time.
hali: Penis.
heik: Call used by members of the *hamat'sa* society to strengthen their fellow-members.

I

iba': Pounded cedar-bark, undyed. [824]
ilaia: Zigzag course up or down a mountain slope.
Iniyai: Twalitl's dog.
Ishmai-i: One of the first women west down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
ishuma: iba ceim: Bandage of undyed cedar-bark placed around an infant's head to produce cranial deformation. [856]
ishuma, Bandage: Term applied to presents distributed as validation for the bitings of a self-Cannibal. [431]
iti: One of the *frizilaria.*
itsalwalqualaa: Abbreviated rite of *Nootqma* dance.
Iwatsin: Nest.
I'wanlah: *Kaiuk* name of a Kitwanga man.
Iwinqalaain, "The Mouse": Male supernatural child who famous *Nootqma's* craft.
iyaaqa, "Hold Him Down": Cry used in Cannibal dances.
iyaaqlal, "Accept": Said to spring salmon during the ritual connected with the first taking of these fish. [226]
iyahwatsaa: Alleged singing of a *naxat* initiate's song by the supernatural being, *Mislakila.*
iya'la-ceim: Reduction of the value of an investment-present by immediate return of part of it. [426]
i-yiki: Moon. [824]
iyoshwatsalkilla: Polyandry.

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#192 *tsutcmap*, "Come and eat": Invitation to the *kukwist* to assemble in a performer's house.

tsuhs: House beams.

tsut-ste: Messenger bearing invitation to a potlatch.

[952] *tsuhtsu*: Message.

[585] *tshshtmsh*: 1—Presents, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter visit his house on the wedding day.

[431] 2—Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's kinsmen prior to her repurchase.

[583] *tswaqlut*, "The Throwing Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders": Said of the repayment by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's kinsmen.

tswuhsts: 1—Battering-ram.

2—The destruction of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.

Tsilqutsen: One of the names of the supreme god.

[201] *tsuhsmstum*: Notification, by pressure on the foot, to a chief to go to the meeting-place.

[533] *tsuhsum*: The employment of frenzied stick-beating.

Tsqu-mum: Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.

tsutstqumum, "The Hearing": Synonym for *ulumum*, q.v.; this is a Kimsquit term only.

t-qtimut: *Kwistum* rite in which the performer appears to be burnt to death.

t-qumum: The casting of *kwistut* masks on the fire.

Tqumt, "Far from the River": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

[847] *tswut*: Abortion.

t-swutla, "Disappointed": said of the supernatural beings called by a *ulu'a* dancer who arrive too late for the potlatch.

ulus: Slave from the lower Fraser owned in Kimsquit during the last century.

[101] *ulmulumq*: Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.

[601] *ulmulshshumu*: Half-brother or half-sister.

umlt: 1—Man.

2—Son; term used by old person in direct address to adult.

3—Husband.

[614] *umltsta*: Male relative of same ancestral family.

umltlus: Woman who performs man's work.

[601] *umltqsta*: Single brother in a family with several sisters.

umumlti, *plural*, *umumltsti*: Small boy, especially son; term used in indirect address.

[431] *uplsts*", "Working Clothes": Presents given by the relatives of the future bride to the kinsmen of the future bridegroom at the first announcement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.

[821] *ulmlmul*: Cold wind of the mornings, semi-anthropomorphised.

umuq: Bella Bella term for the *umuq*.

[563] *umuq*: Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

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[805]

[583]

[431]

[827]

[825]

[583]

[787]

[556]

[821]

[824]

[825]

[illegible], "The Time for *Kuxiut* Rites": Fifth moon after the summer solstice.
[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ala[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle on the lower Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—Stand name of a Kimsquit man.
[illegible]: One of the supernatural carpenters.
[illegible]: The repurchase of a wife from her husband.
[illegible]: Synonym for *qwaqlut*, a present for which a return is not expected.
[illegible]: Hereditary tendency.
[illegible]: *Kuxiut* name of a *Sisaa* man.
[illegible]: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *Ala[illegible]* is problematical.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at *Kempo-is* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: The entrusting of a woman to a husband's care. This phrase is used by a wife's relatives when about to rebuy her as expressing their somewhat boastful sentiments concerning the relations entered into at marriage.
[illegible]: Sterile supernatural visitation.
[illegible]: 1—To strengthen, or to shore up.
2—Goods provided by a wife to strengthen her husband's position.
[illegible], "Different from All Others": Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Wife of North Wind, a supernatural being resident in a side valley of the upper Bella Coola.
[illegible]: Supernatural aid granted to the unfortunate.
[illegible]: Son of Raven and one of the first settlers at *Tal-io* in the beginning of time.
[illegible], "The Track of the Sun": *A'alt* name obtained in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Supernatural name of *[illegible]*.
[illegible], "Commander": 1—Said to be the word from which *Alqualam* is derived.
2—One of the names of the supreme god.
[illegible], "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
[illegible]: *Kuxiut* name of a *Sisaa* man.
[illegible]: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Kempo-is* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
[illegible], "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
[illegible], "The Walker": Supernatural being resident in a glacier near the overland trail between *Swalal* and *Tal-io*.

K

Ani: 1—Snow.
2—Unidentified berry.
Kalaalitz: Name obtained from a supernatural being by a Bella Bella man.
Kalamit: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
Kalas: Crow.
Kalaslu: Locality in the Bella Coola valley mentioned in an ancient story.

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kätsän: Tail. 192*
katskitl: Ants.
kax: Black hawthorn. [825]
Kalan·i: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. [824]
Kamilkän: Ancestral name of the wife of *Swaky* who was changed to stone in the beginning of time.
kanki: Region.
Kapsalopst: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
kasäly: 1—Marriage, properly arranged and legalized.
2—The actual wedding day. [585]
Kawälän·i: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.[1]
kelai: Bark bucket for holding liquids. [415]
kelamkädjut: The seeking of assistance from a man who owns a curing repository.
kelamkusnäm: Investment-present, i.e., one for which a return is expected. [426]
kelusta: Back-room in which *nsaok* initiates and others are concealed.
kelän: Woman during catamenia. [431]
keleta, "What Was Sent Down": Intangible possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time. [424]
komapsta: Wooden tongs such as are used for lifting hot stones. [412]
kelsämkdjot ela kwanäxsta: *Kusiotem* rite in which the performer appears to be drowned.
kel·aix or *kel·äil*, "The Gainer": One who has been initiated as a member of the *kusiut* society but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through unauthorized knowledge or through successful participation in either a *kusiotem* or a Mystery dance. [575]
kelulx, "Rendered Incapable of Returning": Said of an uninitiated person who is alleged to have stumbled on a repository.
Keldcup: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
kestcao: The dormant waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one visitation, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability. [756]
kiła, *vocative*, *kiłaas:* Grandmother. [601]
kikä·tstam·um·i: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
Ki'laiolotl: Name given to their canoe by the first settlers at *Stnux* in the beginning of time.
Kilakamxwu, "The Wise One": One of Raven's names as chief.
Kimilkän: One of the first women to settle at *Alqälxl* in the beginning of time.
Kina'o·: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
kinaxw: 1—Crab. [825]
2—Enormous crab-like creature, alleged to be found far in the forest. [824]
Kipulxs: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts.
kipl: Red elderberry. [413]
kipla: Wooden tweezers used in the pounding of cedar-bark. [252]
kis: Unidentified plant.
kisäm: To toast dried salmon.
kisianmotla: Supported, in the sense of held in place by physical assistance.
Kisiqwatl: Locality on Dean Channel, west of *Suxwäk*.
Kit·co: Place on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

[1]This name appears to be an entirely different word from *Kalän·i*.

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kulkāmut: Generic term for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future bride. [431]
Kulilkākmidjut: Supernatural being whose stomach is cut in the land above. [584]
kumai·t: Good-bye. [576]
Kunkunālpstus, "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being *Winwina*.
kusiotem: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular *kusiut* dances.
kusio·tem: Said to be identical with *sāfukwalas*, the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor. [756]
kusiut: plural, kukusiut; vocative, kusioot; vocative plural, kukusioot:
1—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season. [575]
2—Member of the society.
3—"The Learned One": Designation occasionally applied to a supernatural being, especially a petrified one, or to a person having power to cure the sick. [756]
Kusiyot: Kimsquit female shaman living in the last century.
kuskao: Beloved one, especially a child; this is the vocative form of the word.
kusqiyum: Orphan.
Kwai'kila'yekwa: Woman dwelling at Fort Rupert in the beginning of time.
Kwa·sila: Smith Inlet.
Ḱwakwāk'la: Supernatural name of Cormorant.
kwa·kwao·s: Merganser. [825]
Kwakwaosiloil: Merganser canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Stuax*. [763]
kwakwas: Unidentified bird of which the note is an omen of death.
Kwalais: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Kwalākmas: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Kwala·tsimut: Kusiut name of a male Green Bay Cannibal.
kwal·io·l: Smooth greenstone, "jadeite," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. [823]
kwals: Evergreen bough. [824]
Kwalsānl: Famous Bella Coola warrior.
kwaqwai: One of the sculpins.
Kwasta: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.
Kwat·iwalu, "The Big One": Lustful male supernatural being.
Kwatlnuslsa: Man who came to earth near *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Kwa·tsua: Kimsquit woman.
Ḱwilais: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
Kwilnao: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Kwinao: Kitkatla chief living in the last century.
Kwilāxlaix, "One Who Sits without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
Kwla: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nusqalst* chief; the word is a synonym for *Wikwan·kwla*.
Kwlilias Nuskāmpsa: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
kwlwālsikān·aix: Lullaby. [533]
kwoi·yaix: Archaic expression used in a string figure.
kwlis: 1—Pen or trap in the ocean for salmon. [226]
2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

*192 *nā'plu:* Miniature copper ornament worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.
[301] *Nē·tci:* Bella Bella man living in the beginning of time.
nāxam: To dance.
[825] *nāxamda:* Those who dance at marriages.
nāxnax: Mallard duck.
[824] *nāxmusmm:* Night of potlatch on which *xsask* initiates appear for a short dance.
naxiki: Berries of Canadian buffalo berry.
[415] *nāhixnkts:* Thimble-like wooden dish.
'namlānkaix: Ceremonial seating of chiefs according to their validated places in a house.
Namutsts: Name acquired by a Rivers Inlet man from sea-lions in the beginning of time.
Namulsts: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
'Nāx·utān·a: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Scratcher; the designation was derived from Rivers Inlet.
Ne·sle·s: Celebrated Kitkatla chief.
Ne·xwunkai: Influential Bella Coola chief.
*[776] *Nēksullāhaix,* "The Resident": Supernatural being dwelling under rivers who punishes infractions of taboos concerning them.
[784] *nēhusam:* 1—Fourth day of a *kusiut* dance, on the evening of which masked figures appear.
2—Something exposed to view.
Nepepa: Old woman resident in Sea-lion's house in the beginning of time.
nnnk, "Little Dance": Term of grandiose humility.
nexnāxam: Gathering of the people for a non-sacred dance after the *kusiut* season.
Nexnāx·mālsaix: 1—"The Dancer Near the Fire": One of *Tlitcāplilan·a*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
2— *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Nexnexlwalaix: *Kusiut* name of a *Nusālst* man.
niamlmtam: One who has preserved a marriage song.
niaxwālrmsk: The intangible strengthening that comes to a bridegroom as a result of the oration of his ancestral myths and the giving of presents to the bride's relatives when they first come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] [431] *Niullāix:* Daughter of the first people who came down to Mount *Tsnisi* in the beginning of time.
[524] *niskq'ctl:* Wooden ring used in a game.
Niktcks: Place on Dean Channel, about three miles from the head, where the deer formed a colony soon after the beginning of time.
[825] *nikpapa':* Otter.
Ninilānk: Name of a certain spot where mountain goats are wont to congregate for mating.
Ninitsamlaix: 1—"The Restorer": One of *Tlitcāplilan·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—One of the first men to settle in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[556] *nitsam,* "Brought to Life": Term applied to a copper brought back from a cemetery and renamed.
Nitsmdimut: Shaman's name derived from *Tlitcāplilan·a.*
nitstominu: "I have saved you."

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Nukajuxtum: An influential Kwakiutl chief.
Nukstco: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.
nuḱaxm: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a *kusiut* who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an uninitiated person.
nukslemsk̓i': Grease extracted from sockeye salmon heads.
[825] *Nukiadji:* Ancestral name of a *Stax* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
[778] *nukila·xta:* 1—Spider.
2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where cures are effected; the power is derived from a spider petrified there.
Nukil, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
Nukokwixodjax, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[552] *Nuliqumutl di mak',* "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.
Nulalumtnam: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Nuskymm*'s departure to warn *kukusiut* to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.
[356] 2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.
Nulalulaks, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[431] *nulexm:* Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.
Nulilqolank, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.
Nulixumanksta: One of the first women to settle at *Tal·io* in the beginning of time.
nulmkmankdas: Fastenings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.
Nulkitl: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.
nulkmakdas: Bonds used to fasten a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nulmkmankdas.*
[428] *nulmastmax:* Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.
nulostnik·osta, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *nsask* head-dress.
nulq: Landslide, such as is caused by *Tualalit* or *nsiutl.*
Nulqanlaix: Name given to their sister by the first settlers at *Nutsymali* in the beginning of time.
nulqunta, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a poultice which is thrown away after serving its purpose.
nulqustas: House-posts nearest to front door.
nulnikta: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
[426] *nulsmamatnam,* "Belt Goods": Goods borrowed during a potlatch by a donor who finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to fasten up his
[556] clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.
nulsodjim: Cry uttered by a *nsask* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *nsask* novices.
[342] *nulxinqailain:* The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *nsask* novice.
nulxwalkals: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.
numalkals: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.
Numam·u, "Place of Flies": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

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[198] *Nuxnánnqkt:* Area around a spring near *Nuliax.*
nuxmítta: Chamber-vessel in the language of supernatural beings.
Nuxwíita: *Kuxist* name of a Bella Coola man.
Nuxkhunuta, "Place of Meeting": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nuxpuxte Smoiaikila, "The Peace-Giving *Smoiaikila*": Designation of the supreme god with reference to the function of peace.
Nuxqápa: Skeena River.
Nuxqápa, "Place of Many Spring Salmon": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
,nuxqáit-a: 1—Chamber-vessel.
2—Nickname of a Kimsquit child.
Nuxqáit, "Place of *Sqáit*": 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Mountain, the loftiest in the Bella Coola valley, near the village.
Nuxqat: *uxámy* village.
nuxqéjat: *Kuxistem* rite in which the performer pretends to have his stomach cut.
[826] *nuxqilhutxa:* Person fastened to the ground with roots.
nuxqo: Person suffering from umbilical hernia.
nuxʼqodjunmuta: Appurtenances for washing given by the donor of a potlatch to his guests.
[431] *Nuxqulxwaita:* House of the supreme god during the winter dances of the supernatural beings.
nuxqual: 1—One of the *a'alt* dances.
[825] 2—Yearling mountain goat.
3—Man dwelling in *Xmoqwa's* house.
nuxqualxi: The alleged attraction of the spirit of an uninitiated person to a performer in the house where a *kuxist* dance is taking place.
Nuxqualxwaita: Variant of *Nuxqulxwaita.*
Nuxqualxwalmilt Nuákymu: Supernatural dancer who comes in *Nuákymu's* canoe.
[198] *Nuxqualxix,* "Kingfisher," in the language of supernatural beings: Ancestral name of a herald who came down to the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Nuxqualhaita, "The Making Place" (with reference to *qualhaita*): One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nuxqualtu-i: 1—Man mentioned in an ancient story of Green Bay.
2—Man mentioned in an ancient story of *Stuxa.*
Nuxqʼʼlos: Supernatural merry-maker or clown.
[825] *nuxqwkoil:* The annual scattering of birds by the supreme god in the land above.
Nuxqul: Locality near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.
[583] *nuxqwtxumuta,* "Washing Appurtenances": Term applied to presents given to a husband by his wife's relatives when rebuying her.
Nuxhlita: Locality near *Stuxa.*
[431] *nuxhxumáita,* "Ground Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate *nuxok* initiates with regard to the ground over which they will dance, or
[556] chiefs to the ground over which they will tread.
[431] *nuxhxumáxta,* "Seat Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate the seat of a chief or of a *nuxok* dancer.
Nuxhiuq: Herald of *Smaxa* in the beginning of time.
Nuxhmnámmuta, "Place Where People Were Made": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nuxhmqs: Carpenter.
nuxlqwamáa: Smear of red paint.

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Nuswin·amx, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago. [578]
nuswinästa: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige.
Nusx: 1—Barren district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, *adjective*.
Nusxalxiq: *Tāl·io* bird hunter.
Nusxemda: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Ālqālaxl* in the beginning of time. [772]
3—Ball of the universe which, when broken, released the sun.
Nusxemtaian·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Ālqālaxl* in the beginning of time.
Nusxeq: 1—(Probably) "The Place of Barrenness": Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
nusxi'ipsta: Repository, archaic term.
nusxwan·ai·nutsnam: The assumption of a name upon earth. [431]
nusxwohmqsta, "Things to Sweep the Floor With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage. [585]
nusxwo·ksta: Wooden dish used for washing an infant.
nusxwiläntom: Abstinence from acts of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine. [415]
nulaikim: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient. [785] [756]
Nulaodaxw': Name of a celebrated shaman.
Nulam: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
Nulal, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
nulaxgnam: Alteration of a dance from *sisaok* to *kusiut*. [825]
nulkalxita: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck.
nulläläumtmm, "A Drying-Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband. [586]
nulläläumam: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion. [431]
Nulleux, "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Nuthodol: Totem-pole of the first settlers at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
nuthunult: Parents of twins. [845]
nutsaqmax: Wolf. [825]
Nulsätlmais: Mythical house in the sky.
Nulsaqmäls: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nutsiakem: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Tlitcäplilan·a* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *nulaikim*. [756]
nulsiagnam: A creation of new *kusiut* names, such as is necessitated by a disaster, or at the will of a mighty chief. [553]
nulsixäxlm: *Kusiutem* rite in which the performer pretends to swallow hot stones.
nulsiexam: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to heralds by a person splashed in Otter dance. [431]
2—Presents given by guests at a potlatch to their host and his associates.
nulqasa, "The Face Maker": Name given to a woman who paints upon the bandages used to produce cranial deformation in an infant. [856]
Nutsqualt, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kimsquit village.
Nulwimäx: *Kusiut* name of a *Tcumoil* man.

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ōtsulta: Promontory on hunting ground extending into ocean.
Ovlxān·i: Kimsquit fisherman.
Owiki: Calvert Island.
Oxḑoxem: Synonym for *Xemxemālotla*, one of the nine supernatural siblings.

P

[415] *ṗai·s:* Small wooden dish.
Pāluātl: Legless messenger of the dead.
Pa·s: Place on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
[585] *pāsutnm:* Synonym for *nuṗāxsikel·um:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to
[431] those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.
Pāscāicus: Ancestral name of a *Nusḑalst* man.
[412] *ṗātsalta:* Bone needle.
pāxotla: Anything powerful and dreaded; the word is frequently applied, rhetorically, to Cannibals.
Pe·ātlo: Small stream rising north of the Bella Coola valley and east of the Necleetsconnay; it flows into the head of South Bentinck Arm between the Necleetsconnay and the Bella Coola.
Piqotla: Bella Coola man figuring in a story.
pātitl: Herring scales.
pināxta: Dance-apron.
Pinqkla: One of the first men to settle at *Snuhli* in the beginning of time.
[825] *ṗkm·:* Mosquito.
Ponpoilotsdimut: Name assumed by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
po·qwais: Variety of *smnq*.
Potlas: Celebrated Bella Coola chief who died about 1880.
Po·istlo: Mesatche Nose, the point between Labouchere Channel and North Bentinck Arm.
[824] *potsqi:* False hellebore.
[411] *poistin:* Bow, weapon.
poyāx, "Fallen Heavily with a Crash," as when a dead tree thunders to earth: The
[195] term is used rhetorically when referring to the death of an old and influential chief.
[372] *ṗsaixl:* Tree, probably birch, used for torches.
ṗskun: Meeting of chiefs.
[825] *ṗwi:* Halibut.
ṗx': Crabapple.
[824] *ṗxolt:* Bunchberry.

Q

[525] *Qa'aklis:* Rivers Inlet man, living in the last century.
qai: King stick in a gambling game.
qainaxqwalitl: Women's droning cry uttered at the appearance of a masked dancer.
qai·nuqs: Uncommon term for the second day of a *kusiut* dance, applied to the rites taking place during the day itself only.
Qaiyu: Name conferred on the grandson of *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
Qak'lis: Man mentioned in a story.
Qakmo: 1—One of the first women to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
2—Celebrated Bella Bella chief.

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qalibu: Omen of death, generic term.
qalka: One of the berries, probably raspberry. [787]
qamá, vocativ, qámao: Mother, term used by child.
Qamálxem: Celebrated Carrier chief. [824]
Qamux: 1—Village on west bank of the Necleetseonnay, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. [601]
2—Mountain behind the village.
*Qámspextámem: am'lal*a name of a Kimsquit man.
qámxámila, vocativ, qámxámilao: 1—Term used for spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish. [825]
2—Term used by *smmq* to human beings, who are like salmon to them.
3—Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings. [198]
qanxta, "Rope Fastenings," i.e., something binding: The function of the "Bed Covering" and other presents given with a wife which bind her to her husband. [585]
qoo-luks: Unidentified species of duck. [431]
Qoominoaka: Kwakiutl term for "The Weeper," a female supernatural being.
Qopátus: Kusiut name of a *Stuix* man. [825]
Qá·pxook: ustámq chief living soon after the beginning of time.
Qaqa^{n}li: Herald who came with the first settlers to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Qáqos: Carrier pronunciation of *Tcaqas,* one of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
qálaxm: Kusiut with ability to produce a puppet-patron, cf. *nunuyaxum.*
qatitsta: Sweat-bath. [515]
Qálsmus: Slave mentioned in an ancient story.
qatsq': Star-fish. [825]
qax: Rabbit.
qá·q: Salmon-berry. [824]
Qaxlewals: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
qáxmats: Unidentified plant.
qahm: Black cod. [825]
qam, "A Wiping of the Feet upon the Ground of Chiefs": Term applied to a deadly insult offered to persons of importance. [578]
qamta: Wooden armour.
Qankhlst: 1—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm. [714]
2—Island off Rivers Inlet.
3—Island.
Qay·axwsila: One of the names of Raven as chief.
Qril: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Siskiul* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
qe·ko: Unidentified migratory bird, black in colour. [825]
Qéldjut: Scratch River, near Bella Bella.
qi'aqa: One of the *a'alk* dances.
Qiqia, "Head": *Stuix* repository named from part of a supernatural creature. [578]
qsikyálpáwslaixnam: A verbal exposure of what should have remained concealed, such as comments upon the slave ancestry of a person whose blot in this respect has been covered over by lavish giving. [431]
qsluliista: Presents distributed by a wife to strengthen her husband's seat, and thus prevent him from "wobbling." [556]

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qaxta, "Bed Covering": Term applied to the presents given as such to the party of a bridegroom when they enter the bride's house on a wedding day. [585]

ḳpämdjut, "A Shaking of the Fingers": Rhetorical allusion to presents regarded as "Dust." [431]

ḳpänliktmm: To revolve sunwise. [195]

Ḳpänpänliktmmlaix, "The One Who Revolves Sunwise to Give Strength": One of *Tlitcaplän-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Ḳpajulxs: Place of petrified power near Kwatna. [778]

Ḳsxwan: Village on the Skeena River.

ḳtaiutl: Supernatural creature resembling a diminutive human being. [825]

ḳubetl: Salmon liver.

ḳuks: Co-wife in a polygynous household. [595]

ḳulwas, vocative, ḳulusis: Wife's brother, or sister's husband, man speaking.

ḳulxwaix: Gathering of the supernatural beings for the performance of dances in the land above. [601]

ḳuma: Unidentified salt water fish, said to be called "Lard-fish" by white men. [825]

Ḳunqumm ul di dä Sqem, "The Unlooser of Light": One of Raven's names as chief.

ḳupstäxm: 1—The ability of a chief to sit down ceremonially in virtue of the goods distributed for his seat, the ground over which he walks, and other requirements.
2—The initial establishment of a youth as chief.

ḳuputsälets: Stone axe.

ḳus: Period of engagement. [412]

Ḳwahila: Ḳmqo·ts man.

Ḳwai·lils: 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Ḳwaiutsamlaix: Stuix man mentioned in an ancient story.

Ḳwaixostn·i: Shaman's name of a *Stuix* woman.

Ḳwaixwos, "Begrimed": Name of a copper often cast into fire.

ḳwalts: Unidentified (and probably mythical) type of lizard, allegedly about four feet long, found near Dean Channel. [825]

ḳwalem, vocative, ḳwalämi; plural, älḳwalämi: Eldest brother or sister. [601]

Ḳwa'lems: Name, in the Bella Bella language, given to a wooden woman made by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

ḳwalik: Gull. [825]

ḳwal'ma"ks, "Eldest": Term of respectful address to Porcupine as senior of all animals.

Ḳwalwalelim, "The Mover": Name given to their house by one of the first groups of settlers at *Täl·io* in the beginning of time.

Ḳwalna: Term from which the Anglicized "Kwatna" is derived: Generic name for the villages at Kwatna Harbour, Burke Channel. [103]

Ḳwamaxa'ks: Chief living on the upper *Tsawat* in the beginning of time.

ḳwanä·xsta: Large box used for boiling olachen. [415]

Ḳwapa: Village south-west of the head of South Bentinck Arm.

Ḳwaqmai: Place on Schooner Pass.

Ḳwaqwasila: Sisaok name of a Bella Coola man.

ḳwatlnakam: Marks made to commemorate an event, such as carvings at chiefs' meeting-place, virtually a *memorial*. [211]

ḳwatlnuxum: Figure representing crest.

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*[773]
[777]
[825]
[601]
[825]
[431]
[825]
[583]
[854]
[581]
[195]

ɣwalnnsta: 1—Tally post, one of the supernatural elements possessed by all human beings.
2—Invisible supernatural element which constantly moves before the face.

ɣwalhnia; vocative, ɣwalhnsso, (rarely, *ɣwalhnta*): Crest.

ɣwax: Raven.

ɣwax: Big old male mountain goat.

Ɣwaxila: Ɣmqo·ts man living in the last century.

Ɣwaylielis: Celebrated Kwakiutl chief.

Ɣwaxɣwax·wamm: Name of a shaman who received his power from Raven.

Ɣwaxwats: One of the first men to settle at *Stanx* in the beginning of time.

ɣwaxwam: Fourth oldest, or youngest, brother or sister.

ɣwa'yuhks: Steller's jay.

Ɣwakst: Kimsquit woman.

ɣwana: Woman's pubic hair.

ɣwata: Sea-lion cub.

ɣwem: Those who are present and receive gifts when an announcement of a marriage is first made.

Ɣwets: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

ɣwia·x'sem: A revelation, such as the sight of a supernatural being or object usually concealed.

ɣwilais: Yearling seal.

ɣwimap: Word used in inviting to a marriage announcement.

Ɣwinao: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Ɣwiɣwexaowa: Kwakiutl supernatural being, said to be identical with *Ālɣunsam.*

Ɣwixlskilak": *Nusqual* name of a Kimsquit man.

Ɣwiyai: Bella Bella village west of Namu.

Ɣwul: Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.

Ɣwlaiyu: Professional female marriage droner who came down to Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Ɣwlaxwoa: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

Ɣwliutl, "Place of Herbage": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.

ɣwnta: Inspiration, in the sense of the source of a *kusiut* dancer's power of thought.

Ɣwoalk: Village west of Kwatna, settled in the beginning of time.

ɣwoshandjut: Actual goods used for the repurchase of a wife.

Ɣwoyusditsas: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit chief.

ɣwtutl: Cradle.

Ɣwu'nsk': Kusiut name of a Bella Coola woman.

Ɣwu·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

ɣ"xlhn: The noble and rightful sentiments engendered in both families by an elaborate marriage, either real or fictitious. The word embodies the concepts of financial interdependence and of consequent mutual strength.

ɣwakim: The transference of activities to a new sphere; the term is used, rhetorically, when referring to the death of a skilled craftsman.

S

saiks: 1—Skeleton.
2—Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Saikwaio·sem: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

sai·mis ɬɬalas: The constant blinking of the eyes.

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Sa·iut: Thunder, anthropomorphized. 192*
Sa·iyuts: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. [821]
sa·ltsi: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property. [173]
sa·lkstmm: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kusiut* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food. [431]
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal.
sa·lpsit: Cannibalistic incubus. [257]
sa·lpstnm: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day. [585]
sa·lskbidimut: Profession of *kusiut* executioner. [431]
sa·lskwalas: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him. [463]
sa·mi: Sockeye salmon. [825]
Sanalamulelts Alquntam: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sanawisnumlaix: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land above.
Sanutlam or *Sanutlkmdimut:* One of the names of Mount *Nusqalst* as chief.
Sanuxmaxots, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Stuax* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sata·x; *vocative*, *sata·i*; *vocative plural*, *sata·xwa·ks:* Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
sa·tla: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Satla: Village at point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Sat'yuts: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Sa·tma: Death, anthropomorphized. [761]
salalx: Whetstone, *archaic*.
Sa·tsi': 1—Kimsquit River. [412]
2—Village near the mouth of the river.
Sa·tskumg: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley. [101]
satskwal·a: Raft.
Sa·tsmnan·i: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
sawa: Pillow. [573]
sawadjst, "Pillowness": *Kusiut* ceremonial at which no call is present.
sapi, *vocative*, *sapinao:* Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family. [601]
Sapinao: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story.
sasbam: Bracken. [824]
sasnanos: Tide flats. [823]
sabdjalt: Heart.
Sabualsam: That part of *Song*"' which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Samhad: Village on Rivers Inlet.
Samsiulan·i: Part of a peculiar repository.
sammalkdimut, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steelhead salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
sa'mtsu, "Resting Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this. [805]
sanlwalam: Leader of musicians. [821]

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sa·qwa·t: String figure.
Saskwanuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sdjidji'is:* Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sekakmōn·a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sekilāxt:* Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
[822] *sekima siālamkek:* River net for salmon.
Setsalānt: Echo.
Sexsexqālaix: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Sexsexqwalxelaoslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Ťlitcāplilān·a*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Siālxelāx:* Ancestral name created on earth by a *Łomqo·ts* man.
[825] *Siałam*, "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[805] *sidāgsu:* One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
Sidakaos di Ano°likwolsaix, "The Coming of *Ano°likwolsaix*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
sinatla: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Si'ishlitl*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Si'iswai·stl, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *si'illiukek:* Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of marriage is broached.
[431] *si'iyikim*, "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Sismt*, "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Sisāml*, "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Sikālamak, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] *siki*, "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *sisaok* rites.
Sikiliktmm: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Siłulx*, "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikwalxwlelx: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikwldjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Sikxm: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
Silias: Celebrated composer.
[226] *siltmaq:* Salmon-weir.
sinaxgme'ax: *Sisaok* head-dress.
[827] *sininits:* Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
[761] *si·nipodjoxstmax:* Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Simptcus: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[805] *Sinomwak*, "Time for the Use of Olachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[726] *Sinulkemitl*, "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinunukalilum: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

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*192 *sisa:* Supernatural good luck.
[821] *sikuoas:* Fog.
[825] *sika':* Pack-rat.
sik: Mind or mentality.
[828] *siłłan:* Place of lucky finds, such as a point where whales drift ashore.
sixotleältwa: Cannibal recently returned from the land above.
Sdilälan·i: One of the first women to settle at *Sałia* in the beginning of time.
sumd: Mountain.
[825] *sumłk* or *sumłkts:* Salmon, generic form.
sumłumnikdas: (Probably) viscera of an animal, *archaic.*
Sumsiutaäks: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[173] *sumsma:* Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be related by anyone.
Sumtus: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[822] *Sunk'lusam:* Bella Coola chief.
Sunłominit: Darkness, anthropomorphized.
[828] *sunłus:* Anger.
sunx: Sun.
Sunxäkila: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at *Alqälxl* in the beginning of time.
Sunxälotla: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—*A'alk* name of a Kimsquit man.
4—*Sussok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Sunxan·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.
[827] *sunxki:* Mucus.
Sunxl, "Sunny": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
suqwlsiak: Game played with miniature spears.
[575] *susook:* 1—Society intimately connected with chiefs.
2—Member of the society.
susutl: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a double-headed salmon.
Susuxakila: Shaman's name of a *Sunxl* woman.
sukiak': Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Ťlitcałilän·a* to the one favoured.
[601] *sukum:* Father's sister or mother's sister (in either direct or indirect address).
[583] *sumuuka:* The ceremonial strength acquired by a child through the repurchase of its mother.
[431] *suqo·si:* Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] *suqunk':* Western dock (plant).
[824] *sisuwatualp:* Snowberry.
suxuałaimu: Distribution of carpentry tasks prior to a potlatch.
[825] *suxmmsta,* "Food Supply": Synonym for *sel'alum,* ancestral hunting-ground.
skalk': Porcupine.
[824] *skal·uts:* Black huckleberry.
[821] *skälutslain:* Eye-lashes of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

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shalk': Devil's-club.
shälnämudits: To lament ceremonially, the term used to describe the reason for a memorial potlatch. [824]
Shämł, "Ashes": Ancestral name created for a *Snuhsli* chief about 1910. [765]
shämtsk: Supernatural creature dwelling in water.
shay: Anus.
shänm: Splinters projecting upwards from the bole of a broken tree-trunk. [824]
Shamolsymän-a: One of the first women to settle at *Snuhsli* in the beginning of time.
Shatpts: Chief of the spring salmon.
shatsämhm: Narrow strips of goat skin with wool attached, distributed at marriage. [585]
shelists: Merganser. [825]
shelwadjut, "The Opening": Ceremony when the first public presents are given to the family of a future wife, following the announcement of betrothal. [584]
shi: To cure, especially with the aid of a frenzied beating of sticks. [431]
Shimutcitl: Snux man mentioned in an ancient story.
shimp, "Cure Yel": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the upper Bella Coola valley.
shinwds: Cloud. [825]
shma: Thick hide, either of moose or caribou. [412]
shma: Semi-circular knife used by women for cutting salmon.
shmaix, shmanl, or *shmdjut:* 1—Frenzied beating of sticks for curing purposes, especially when the patient is a member of a secret society. [755]
2—Final *kusiut* rite at end of the ceremonial season.
shimim: To cure by means of the frenzied pounding of sticks.
Shml, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log": *a'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
Shmuänl: House used by a group of first settlers near *Snux* in the beginning of time.
Shmuältn-a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Nuqalst* in the beginning of time.
sha'tcalx: Fungus. [824]
shlsmaixta: 1—Box made of strands of cedar-bark. [415]
2—Ancient name of *nsook* head-dress.
shy: Ceremonial designs executed on the exterior front wall of a house.
shshk': Rose.
Shslikwan-a: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man. [825]
shsil: Wasp.
Shslsemmänta: Rock on shore of North Bentinck Arm where war trophies were washed. [727]
Shyushsl: Name of house brought down by first settlers at *Slskisl* in the beginning of time; the term was also applied by them to one of their female relatives.
shsi, socatlu, shsai: Parent-in-law or child-in-law. [601]
shtay: Suitable place in the river for setting olachen nets.
shta: Game played with throwing stones.
shustut: Synonym for *yearman*, the tangible or intangible prerogative possessed by some *kukusiut* in addition to a dance rite. [424]
shwa-akwa: River sculpin. [825]

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Sxaē·y': Affluent of the middle Bella Coola.
Sxaqwala: Kimsquit woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Sxaqwmnāl: 1—Copper Raven that perched on house of first settlers at *Alqālxal* in the beginning of time.
2—Name given to the Raven design used by the first settlers at *Stax* in the beginning of time.
sxasaik: Skeleton. The word is obviously a derivative of *saik.*
Sxaxlkāl: 1—"The Wise One": One of the more important supernatural beings.
2—Ancestral name of a *Tsimsal* man.
Sxaxmkāl: Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Alqālxal,* probably a supernatural designation.
Sxaxmlkānt': Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Alqālxal,* probably a supernatural designation.
[374] *Sxaxlkāt,* Cold: A supernatural being.
Sxaxlaxwal, "The Mystery of *Alqantām*": The place where the supreme god puts what he wishes to conceal, such as the correct solution of the Mystery dance. The concept is semi-anthropomorphized.
sxaxp: Generic name for several supernatural animals.
sxaxpadjāx·a: Right front corner of a house on entering.
Sxaxri: Pronunciation of *Sxalsli* by a man with idiosyncratic *r* usage.
Sxaloli, "Place of Dog Salmon": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
[965] *sxaloloxlm,* "A Shoring Up": Term used to describe the functions of mourning songs.
Sxalkānāl, "Box": 1—One of the first women to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—Box in *Sxmayaw's* house.
3—Name of a *Tāl·io* man derived from the last.
Sxalc·ōl, "Place of No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Sxalhmy: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Sxalqomikāsta: Point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
[821] *sxatrālāxt:* Race of dwarfs, presumably mythical.
[778] *Sxalxlarnanem:* Whirlwind, anthropomorphized.
Sxalxlāxāl: Generic term for four supernatural, eagle-like creatures.
Sxamāl: Place on South Bentinck Arm where curative power is localized.
sxapaxlāmat, "Bring Light": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sxapa·ālk: One who seeks embers.
Sxaxmalāmāx·a: One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
Sxaxwaxlāl: Name of first settlers at *Alqālxal* in the beginning of time.
Sxayalālxax·a: Rivers Inlet name used by a Bella Coola *kusiut* woman.
[484] *selāx:* Food carried for consumption on a journey; the term is also applied to the provender brought from above by the first people in the beginning of time.
sel'ālam: Hunting-ground owned by an ancestral family.
Sem: Woman mentioned in a song.
sem'': see dā sem'' dā.
Semwaāk: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nalāax* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Semwax·a: One of the first women to settle at *Nalāax* in the beginning of time.
[431] *semwadjat:* Synonym for *sywonadj,* the preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch.

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Sonq'mai: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuax* man.
Sopos: *Kusiut* name of a *Tsmoil* man.
sopoleaxmm: Scalp.
sopualáh': Gnarled projection of wood from a birch knot. [824]
Spaixpaxpumán-a: Supernatural being who wakens his fellows in the morning.
Spanhálinaix: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
spánie.ts: Temporary camping-place.
Spatcahlt, "The First Born": Name brought from Kitlobe to Kimsquit by a marriage in the beginning of time.
spálki: Star.
spekm, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud. [581]
spepandots: The forcing upwards of water at high tide, through openings in the rocks at sea-level. [823]
spikpikmm: Person who pounds cedar-bark.
spikts: Tools for pounding cedar-bark, specifically the upper beater.
Spipixinán-i: Region on the east side of Dean Channel, about one mile from its head, where supernatural power is localized. [778]
Spi'xnunsta: Island west of Namu.
spkx: 1—Pudenda.
2—Variety of *smmq* with female organs. [824]
spoxáltcua: Unidentified berry. [821]
S'ps', Cold Wind: A supernatural being.
Spskwasta: Meeting place of chiefs on rock ledge behind *Spmqo-ts;* the term is probably applied to any meeting place of chiefs.
spla: War-knife used by Raven in the beginning of time.
sputy: Olachen. [825]
spux: Eagle down.
spundjut, "Eagle Down-nest": Rhetorical reference to a present for which no return is expected. [431]
spuxpux: Long, delicate feathers on an eagle's breast. [825]
Spuxpuxhallaix: *Kusiut* name of a woman sent down near *Nusfalst* in the beginning of time.
Spuxpuxpá'mpdimut: *Sisook* name of *Xusais* origin.
Spuxspuxta: *Sisook* name of a Kimsquit woman.
sqál-a: Unidentified berry. [824]
sqaolt: Alder wood, dead and dried. [825]
sqáfts: Spring salmon which have spawned.
sqadi: Hunting ability. The term usually refers to the ability of the supernatural artisans to hunt, i.e., to kill, human beings.
sfalst or *sfalstuat:* Stone, suitable for axes, found on Mount *Nusfalst.* The name of the mountain is said to be derived from this. [316]
sqama: 1—Chest. [103]*
2—Smoke cure for diseases of the chest.
Sqamí: Land of Ashes.
sfaxusts: First proposal of marriage if made by relatives of the man. [584]
sfals: River sand mixed with small pebbles.
Sqatcle: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola River. [823]
sfaxm: Flood.

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[824] *squilp:* Cedar roots.
squt: Sling.
[578] *squtqtkm:* To use a sling.
squli: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slave ancestry.
[821] *squmma:* Fleecy cloud.
squlz: Muzzle-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary
[412] food.
sqma: Wooden comb.
S'qa's'i: Land of Ashes, alternative term for *Squmi.*
sqo: Umbilical hernia.
[601] *sqodymu:* Distant relative of female sex, when referred to by man.
squhtindjut: Long phallus.
Squmi: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sqoos: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
sqoosly: Food distributed for carrying away as *sqoos.*
[415] *squlz:* Large, flat, soft basket of broad strips of bark.
sqmoos: Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
[431] *squlp:* Magic.
squm: Sudden start that expels the spirit.
[824] *squpaint:* Outer plank of cedar, convex and bark-covered on one side.
squsal: Love song or other non-ceremonial composition.
squskm: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium.*
[533] *squslwskm:* 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions
to the faults of someone present.
2—Singers who use this type of composition.
[825] *squsl-ann:* Large, unidentified bird.
[374] *Squtkhm:* Heat: A supernatural being.
Sqwli: *Kwakiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[825] *sqw'an:* Loon.
sqwi-ol: Mountain goat marrow, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of
[262] preventing hunger.
Stalqalmm, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Five Sticks": *Nuxalk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
stalhmq; plural, stastlhmq; vocative plural, stastlhmq:
1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Ilqalmt* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Sunut* in the beginning of time.
4—Name created by *Smaoan* for a grandson.
5—*Sunut* name of a Kimsquit man.
[601] *sun:* Mother, term commonly used by an adult in indirect address.
[825] *standhkim:* Bat.
standimut: Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation
[601] older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
stantsunu: Elderly female relatives of the same ancestral family as the speaker.
[614] *slank:* Whetstone.
Stanu: Man mentioned in a story.
[412] *Stap':* Mountain near *Tal-in.*
stapam, "What Is Hidden": The correct solution of the Mystery dance.
stimum: Archaic term for chiefs, now used only rhetorically.
[824] *sluir:* Cranberry.

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sk̓ʷqhkw': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
Sxɛ'tsxem: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
sxeq': That part of a house on either side of the central fire. [513]
Sxiteme: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being.
2—Sleep, intangible *hazlat* prerogative. [585]
sxiuxnem: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [431]
Sxqwenhsxkwi, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [412]
sx-pil: Shadow. [601]
sxtqumas: Hammer, *archaic*.
sxukes: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law.
sk̓ɛmalis: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other.
stiben: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
stik: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
shlts: 1—Caribou hide.
2—Thong made of caribou hide. [825]
shsem: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
sitsɛlt: Caribou.
shmi: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
Shmsile: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
shmsɛ or *shmsɛnkh*: Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
shmstaliktsis: Body.
shmstɛnkhsem: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Sthmawukinmɛ-a: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Sthmawukanem: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
shka: Mountain goat grease.
shkaltqa: Castor. [824]
Shqhal, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Shshk: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time. [825]
shmɛs: Octopus.
Shsakhlu: One of Raven's female Crow relatives. [386]
shqmarma: Red rock paint.
shka: Singer's baton.
shsalt: Text. [823]
shte-qaas: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones.
stake: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
Stuxa: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley. [262]
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
stuxem: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
shmsnik: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
Sly', "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
sulmlt: Black raspberry. [824]
sulster: Ocean.

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Syngmastas: Supernatural children guarded by the hermaphrodite in the land above.
Syuil: Name taken by a *Stuax* man in the beginning of time.
sxtogmuil: Place in stream or river where a salmon has just jumped.
sxmoit-a: Name created upon earth.
sxmapaxit: Deer.
sxmut: Water-tight receptacle made from the internal organs of a mountain goat.
Sxnakmgmtm, "What Sweeps Away the Food": First moon after the winter solstice.
sxwomqs, "Tears": Preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch.
sxw'ilamkis, "Short-lived": Rhetorical term used with reference to the death of a young chief.
sxyaxwi: An adolescent girl, not yet subject to the full taboos of womanhood.

[825] [415] [805] [431] [195]

T

lakalst: Cave.
lal: 1—Son, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for lads unrelated to the speaker.
2—Masculine suffix.
Talalwala: 1—One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Swalv-tl* in the beginning of time.
talamtmak: Desertion of husband by his wife.
lain: Dorsal fin of a fish.
talasing: Heavy kind of copper.
talumax: Tournament between rival villages.
Tal-la: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Generic name applied to all villages on South Bentinck Arm.
Tilakta-a: Nuagual name embodied in a *Swalali* origin myth.
Tamtmale-pata, "The Breather": One of *Thitaplita-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Tamalua: Stuax man mentioned in an ancient story.
tapamamum: The issuing abroad of invitations to a memorial potlatch.
lapta: Forest consisting of dense underbrush between big trees.
lapul: Blood-stained cedar-bark pad.
ta-s: 1—Bird arrow.
2—Weapon, invisible to mortals, with which a wolf kills its prey.
Tas; tacatas, Tatas: 1—Designation of supreme god used in prayer.
2—Father, term used by child.
lalkamlp: Water-lily.
Ta-pa-al: Land inhabited by the Kwakiutl.
Tatkawam: Leading chief of *Alpalial* and reputed founder of the village.
Tappkwam: Bella Coola chief living in the last century.
tahas: Type of sea-going canoe with bow and stern identical.
tamlaal-ki: 1—White-fronted goose.
2—Type of sea-going canoe named from the bird.
lamat: Husband (*di tahamatalai:* My husband).
tamaw': River.
Tamwatha: Chief who came to Cape Mudge in the beginning of time and later moved to Bella Coola.

[601]

[586] [825] [628] [101]

[824]

[601] [824]

[825] [601]

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Tsi·dis: Kitlobe River.
Tsilwakts: Eagle that perched on top of a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time. [825]
tsima: Animal's entrails.
tsi·t: Note of the *kwakwas*, foretelling death. [763]
tsitsowi: Cormorant, in Bella Bella language.
tsklusmam: Goods taken to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him. [586]
Tskwi: Restoration Bay.
Tsilt, bald eagle: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley. [431]
2—Bald eagle. [825]
3—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
tsu: Novice, either *kusiut* or shaman.
tsuttmem or *tsuttlsix:* First night of a *kusiut* dance.
tskankdmut: 1—Heavy coppers in *Lemoqua*'s house.
2—Name obtained from these by a *Sattia* man in the beginning of time.
tski·kdimat: Kusiutem rite in which the performer's head appears to be pulled off. [415]
tsla: Closely woven basket of spruce roots.
tslaqusix: Any act of an unclean nature which prevents a supernatural being from seeing the perpetrator. [784]
tslla: Presents distributed when a *nusek* initiate dances. They are provided by the donor "To Shield Our Eyes" from the *tutuinam* and serve to recompense the carpenters and others who have assisted in the rite. [431]
tsma: Belt. [465]
tsna: Nettle. [824]
Tsomlkts: Woman resident in the far north in the beginning of time.
tspadjut: The giving of presents to the servants and associates of the donor of a potlatch in return for being served with food in a rude manner. [431]
tspeit: Small woodpecker, species unidentified. [824]
tspotka: Winter wren.
tsqual: Spawning sockeye salmon. [825]
tsubilla: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the genitalia. [424]
tsulkm: Prompter.
Tsumlkts: One of the first women to settle at *Snuboll* in the beginning of time.
Tsuskilak: One of the first men to settle at *Tsumoi* in the beginning of time. [824]
tsumtulp: Unidentified tree of which the bark was smoked. [825]
tsuskumg: To grasp firmly with both hands, *archaic*.
tutupin·i: Trout, *plural*.
tutu'ses'alsuk: Ceremony resembling a potlatch given by a chief for the benefit of his fellow-villagers, especially during the year preceding his main rite.
tutuyt, "What Is Good": Synonym for *tsimamimum*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]
Tutmi·as: Synonym for *Nustilalsalkm:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.
tutuinam: 1—Masked figure, usually in crest form, which appears to *nusek* and *a'alk* initiates.
2—An appearance, that is, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.
Tsulklit: Supernatural hunter of mountain goats.

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xosa: Kwakiutl term for presents distributed as "Eagle down."
ɣota: Scoop-net for catching salmon in rivers. [227]
ɣɣpanhqta: Head-dress of eagles' tails worn by *kusiut* dancers. [292]
xwanul: Spring water.
Xwastlo: Settlement in the Carrier country. [824]
xwe·k': Cow parsnip.
Xwelbon: Name obtained in the beginning of time from the Skeena people in whose language it is said to mean *whale*.
Xwinxwitsahmlaix: Shaman who obtained his power from Thunder.
Xwisamkila: Daughter of a Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
xwlxwila: Wrestling.
Xwodjw·i, "The Crash": Name taken by one of the first settlers at *Nuiteux* in the beginning of time but long since changed to a *kusiut* designation.
xwoxwoqum: 1—Hummingbird.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Ālqālxul* in the beginning of time. [825]
xwoxwontsl·aix: Puppet-patron in the form of a hummingbird.
xwoqa·xts di siut: The concluding ritual of the *kusiut* season.
ɣwosäw·i: Gambling game played with crabapple sticks. [525]
Xwolxlmis, "The One Whose Work Has Failed": Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
xwhatmak: The desertion of her husband by a wife. [586]

Y

Yakothes: Ancestral name of a *Stalx* man.
Ya·k"axwaxwa: Kimsquit man mentioned in an allegedly historical account. [576]
yao: "Hello!" "Hail!" or "Greetings!"
ye·: Exclamation having the significance of, "May you have a safe passage," said when a corpse is drawn through the roof.
Yeälos: One of the first men to settle at *Nuisqualt* in the beginning of time.
'Yeäxdji: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
yearmax: 1—Prerogative, tangible or intangible, which some *kukusiut* possess in addition to a dance.
2—Similar prerogative formerly displayed in *sisook* rites.
yeix: 1—Call, that is, that which impels a *kusiut* to dance.
2—*Kusiut* whistle.
Ye'mdjälaos: Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
yetla: Term, implying both wealth and good fortune, applied to a man able to give a memorial potlatch soon after the death of a relative.
yeyä'timut: Presents given by a prospective bridegroom to his future father-in-law. [431]
ye: Good, *adjective*. [584]
yeki: Mountain goat. [825]
Yel-xäiaix: Goose Island.
yehle: "All Right," cry used in a *kusiut* dance.
Yelhal·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Yelyelhuslaix: One of the first men to settle at *Ālqālxul* in the beginning of time.
yelhelmem: Bringing down of a call by means of the rite of *sawadjut*.
yellelaiul: Presents given by the bride's relatives to the groom's when they enter her house on the wedding day. [431] [585]

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844 fessional midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
[846] the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[825] near the room for a year (according to Nusk'ɛlu'sta, for ten days), else the salmon would take offence.

553 The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole
[852] tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member
[556] of the Kū'siūt, when it is given its Kū'siūt name. This ceremony takes place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qē'mtaioa name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[292] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
[821] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for
[262] a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[261] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee, 1889, p. 838).

584 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His
[431] friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has
[527] been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four
[302] women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and
585 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[431] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his Sisau'kH secrets as soon as the pair have their first child.
[851] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

586 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

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tradition of the Awi'k'enôx as an explanation of the ceremonial. The only modification which I note in this tradition is that the Cannibal's wife is described as sucking out through their ears the brains of children,—an incident which I heard related of the mother of ALk'unta'm.[1] He calls him "Beck-Beck-Kvalanit, and in the Bella Coola dialect, Pâh-Pâh Kûalanusiya." This word is decidedly of Kwakiutl origin, meaning "the one who eats human flesh at the mouth of the river (or at the north end of the world)." Neither have I been able to find any mask representing this being among the Bella Coola tribe. The masks which they use in connection with the Cannibal ceremony are of quite a different character (Plate XII, Figs. 1-8). I am the more inclined to think that Mr. Jacobsen did not clearly distinguish between the customs and traditions of various tribes, since he introduces "Ganikilla Ko" (Qa'nig'ilak[a]) in the traditions of the Bella Coola, while it is distinctively a legend of the Kwakiutl tribes of the extreme northwest of Vancouver Island. Jacobsen does not distinguish clearly between the sisau'k' and the kō'siut, stating that the kō'siut dances are performed during the sisau'k' in the same way as, among the Kwakiutl, a LaÔ'laxa may be celebrated during the ts'e'ts'aēqa. This may be, but theoretically the two ceremonials must be considered entirely distinct. According to the information which I received, sisau'k' dances may be held in summer, in which case the kō'siut could not possibly form part of the sisau'k' ceremonial. When, on the other hand, the sisau'k' takes place during the kō'siut period, it would naturally be accompanied by kō'siut dances.

As stated before, the sisau'k' is a ceremonial in which the legend of the clan is illustrated by means of dramatic performances. At the same time valuable presents are distributed among the guests who are invited to witness the ceremonial. The value of the gifts amounts often to several thousand dollars. At this time the family legend is told in general outlines, but the details of the legend are kept a secret, and are transmitted only to those who are initiated in the sisau'k' of the clan. It seems that we must consider the transmission of the sisau'k' legend in the following manner: At any given time it is the property of the chief of the family, who, at the time of the celebration, transfers his rights to his successor, generally to his son. The full tradition is kept secret by the owner. It seems that there is a close analogy between the conditions prevailing in the northwest and those found among the southwestern Indians, among whom certain priests are guardians of traditions. Among the tribes of the northwest coast the chief of a family is the guardian and owner of the family tradition, while among the southwestern tribes the priest is the guardian of the tradition belonging to a clan or to a fraternity. My impression is, however, that among the northwestern

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 394.
[2] Ibid., 1894, p. 292.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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receive $100 in return. The last sum is now the value of the copper. This second bestowal may take place before the owner has paid the $50 that he owes to the original possessor. There is no time limit to Bella Coola debts since it adds to the debtor's prestige to pay off his indebtedness, publicly of course, when his creditor is giving a ceremony of any kind. At every change in ownership announcement is made of the history of the copper and of its value at every stage of its existence. In this way the worth of a copper increases until it is fit to be thrown into the fire after the passing of a dead kinsman. When one that has been used as *änuxop'* is at last cast into the flames, and later rescued from them, it is customary for the new owner to use it once more as *änuxop'*. On the other hand, a copper that has been raised to value by the gift of a name, painting, and so forth, is normally again revalued in the same way when rescued from oblivion. There is no definite rule about this; it is only a tendency.

426 556* 435 556*

The value of a copper acquired from either a white man or a member of a foreign tribe is equivalent to its purchase price, and can be raised in any one of the ways employed for one that has been thrown into a fire.

In many cases the donor of a potlatch prefers not to be the actual possessor of a copper at the time of the entry of his deceased relative, though he always arranges to obtain one. When the masked figure has disappeared, the donor stands up and says:

426 556*

"I have nothing to make bone for my ancestor. Chief So-and-so, please give me your copper."

The chief so called upon transmits the copper with a statement of its value and the recipient throws it into the fire. Nothing is said about repayment, but the transaction has been public and everyone realizes that the chief must repay with 100 per cent interest when the seller gives his next ceremony. In this way the donor is able to use a copper without having had to pay for it at an inconvenient time when he needs all his wealth to give to his foreign guests. A chief often sells a copper

[432] [435]

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435 immediately before, or during the early stages of a potlatch, in order to receive goods immediately, but with the proviso that *556 it shall be returned to him for throwing into the fire. This [432] method has the advantage of providing the chief with goods [426] when required, and doubles the worth of the copper.

Coppers are not always rescued from the ashes and given to poor men. If one is still lying in the fire after several days, [764] the donor of the potlatch removes it and fastens it to the memorial-post over the grave of his deceased relative. It may be left there, or another chief wanting a copper may buy it from the donor and increase its value in the usual manner. Only a small price is paid in such circumstances, since the copper, having served its purpose, is practically valueless.

177 The Bella Coola state that in ancient times coppers were worth less than at present, and that the change in sentiment 435 regarding them is due to Kwakiutl influence. All agree that *556 the value placed upon them at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay is greater than elsewhere on the coast. The Bella Coola believe that the Kwakiutl distribute presents in respect to their coppers and that their values mount to enormous sums when the gifts are returned. It is clear that the importance of coppers, like the potlatch and other elements of culture, has increased in recent years through the influence of the coastal tribes.

*556 It is almost impossible to define coppers in the nomenclature of economic theory. They are not mere articles of barter, since they have no practical use outside the ceremonies of chiefs. Nor are they standardized units of trade or cur- [436] rency, since each differs not only from all other coppers, but also at different periods. In a sense they serve as tokens of [211] what has been expended; representations of them may be carved and painted on totem-poles where they serve as marks [532] of the goods which the chief has given away, but this is only a minor consideration. A copper can perhaps best be described [426] as an investment which can be applied only to one purpose, [435] "the making of bone for a deceased" person. It grows more valuable at every transmission in accordance with the goods ex-

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old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language. 602 476

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *kusiut*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *susaok* names can never be transferred in this manner. 606 431 425 [785] [575] [553] [575]

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a 593 [602] [627] [567] [432] [648]

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593 slave, and this is believed to have occurred on one occasion
567 to the daughter of a chief.

432 Once, many hundred years ago, the daughter of a Bella Coola chief
148 was married to the son of *Ťaxlexwam*, a Bella Bella chief, living at *Qoqayel*. At the marriage, in Bella Coola, valuable presents were given by both families, and the girl went to live in Bella Bella with her husband. Some ten years later, *Ťaxlexwam* gave a large potlatch to which he had invited guests from all parts of the coast. As in duty bound, his daughter-in-law's relatives gave a certain amount of goods to rebuy her. They were not wealthy, so that the contribution was of small value. *Ťaxlexwam* had expected a larger present, and now found himself unable even to repay his debts to those who had assembled. He did not immediately show his resentment, but soon afterwards sold his daughter-in-law as slave to a Kitkatla chief. The Bella Coola were justly indignant, but could not make up their minds what to do in such an unprecedented case. The girl ultimately escaped and made her way home after lengthy wanderings (II, p. 505).

837 A husband demands faithfulness on the part of his wife, though he himself is often rather lax. Illicit intercourse is regarded, not as a deadly sin, but as an infringement of the husband's prerogatives. But if a woman should bear a child at a time when it was impossible for the husband to have been the father, due to absence, he would probably accept it as his
[586] own and do no more than administer a beating, though some jealous men would divorce a wife for this. Bella Coola sentiment on such matters varies with the individual; it is universally considered to be a matter that concerns the husband
[184] alone and he can do as he thinks fit. The daughters of chiefs are usually faithful to their husbands, whereas those of poorer persons, unrestrained by the valuables expended at their mar-
[682] riages, are more lax. If the husband should catch an adulterer, he can, if bold, slay him on the spot and the exaction of blood revenge would be uncalled for. Usually a fight ends the matter, though the offender's family may give presents to the aggrieved husband, and his wife's relatives may also make donations to atone for their daughter's failings. A husband does not share his wife with anyone, and a question as to the lending of a wife

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539 She assumed it to be a forest fire, but, when she idly went near to investigate, her amazement was past all bounds at seeing a fine house filled
* 787 with valuables. Nor was her surprise lessened when she discovered that *'Yeāxdji* was lord of it all. He welcomed her gladly, gave her a hearty meal, and sent back with her some seal meat for her child, only adding that it was to be eaten secretly as he did not wish his father to know of his good fortune.

"But," he added, "I don't mind if you send me any of the people except my father, especially any who were good to me long ago."

The slave woman thankfully carried the meat home to her child. But he, long deprived of proper food, ate so ravenously that night that a lump stuck in his throat and his coughing awoke *Ḷomo'sala*. The chief pounded the youngster's back until he vomited what was obviously a piece of seal. The slave woman, remembering *'Yeāxdji*'s order, tried to evade her master's questions as to where her son had obtained it, but at last she blurted out the truth, how the abandoned youth had become prosperous.

The slave woman and her friends moved to *Ḷwiyai*, where *'Yeāxdji* used his power of thought to obtain for them houses filled with everything they could desire. But *Ḷomo'sala* and those left with him were starving, so that they too were driven to seek his aid, gladly marrying their daughters to him in return for his protection. He rapidly rose to a position of importance, being the husband of both real and fictitious wives, and was even able to provide his elder brothers with mates. Some of the women married to him became almost his slaves, as their families were unable to rebuy them.

Supernatural Good Luck

777 A third manner in which the Bella Coola can come into
* 787 contact with powers of another plane is through supernatural good luck. This consists in obtaining something from a super-
[224] natural being, usually a portion of its slain body, which acts
[226] as a bait to fish, mammals, and even to such inanimate articles as blankets or skins. Even a tiny morsel placed on a weir will attract numerous salmon, or if set on a trap will prove an infallible lure to animals. When put in the owner's box, valuables will be attracted to it as steel to a magnet. Thus the fortunate possessor will be able to give many potlatches and to reach a
[432] high position in the community. Since this good fortune is

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wrapped up in a specific object it follows that the luck is transmissible; in fact, one of the chief advantages to the man who owns some valuable object is the wealth which he derives from selling a small portion of it. 777 787 * [432]

The Bella Coola term for supernatural good luck is *siye*, meaning, "What is Good." This can come from any being though it is most frequently obtained either from a *mätsqus* or a *susiutl*. The former resembles a toad of enormous size, with a blazing fire-like glow in its throat; the latter is a double-headed salmon or snake that can travel on land. The person who succeeds in killing one of these creatures can use the carcass as a lure to wealth, if he knows the proper means. The portion must be wrapped in an article that has been in close contact with the slayer, such as a piece of his soiled clothing. This must be kept carefully hidden for one year in a cranny to which no rain can penetrate, and after that it can be used as bait. There is equal potency in a stick or other object which has come in contact with the beast. Great danger is attached to the sight of a *mätsqus* or a *susiutl*, since death usually follows any incorrect attempt to gain wealth from either. The person who sees one of these creatures feels no ill effects until he draws near a fire, when his stomach bursts. All the Bella Coola agree that if a man has been close to one he can be saved by the use of certain medicines, but the following stories show that there is no clear-cut opinion as to which are the best. In fact, most families have knowledge of a specific cure which they regard as the most efficacious. [776] [776] [761] [757]

The opportunity to obtain supernatural good luck does not come solely to unfortunate individuals; indeed the Bella Coola state that it is fortuitous. It appears, however, that usually the person who is thus favoured is one who has practised ceremonial chastity, or is, through some other means, in a state of cleanliness pleasing to the supernatural. At any rate the danger of seeing such creatures is less to a man who is in a pure condition than to any other. Further, in most cases they are apt to appear to a person whose ancestors have seen one. [785]

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621 623 ters, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact [535] this ceremonial unity is its most important function.

[796] With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the 361 river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built [184] type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side [342] nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many [171] cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there [481] is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox [164] epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space. [433] Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

342 The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, [354] often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side-walls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the different families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The [592] number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an [622] important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and any- [261] one present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with [353] carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall. [535] A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important in dances.

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ened by the age-long power of his ancestor. Finally, in old age a powerful chief is careless where he seats himself; his fame is so great that he can afford to disregard all conventions. 554 556* 622 [183]

POWER OF CHIEFS

It will be seen from the foregoing that chieftainship among the Bella Coola does not depend on hereditary rank, still less on an elective principle, but on the individual's prestige as displayed, especially in his ability to acquire for himself a firm seat by the giving of presents. As he continues to do so his influence becomes ever greater. Consequently, it is impossible to state clearly what are the powers of a chief; such depend upon his prestige and influence. For a Bella Coola chief has no executive or judicial authority; what deference is shown to him depends on his success as a man, a factor which is constantly rising or falling.

The coming of the white man has enabled the Bella Coola [177] to earn comparatively large sums of money by trapping and fishing. This in turn has enabled nearly everyone to give at [434] least one potlatch, a very different state of affairs from that which prevailed in the last century when it required years of toil for a man to amass the necessary food and skins. Consequently, in many towns there were no men who had given potlatches, so that a man's prestige was estimated by the [431] presents he had given at smaller ceremonies. Sometimes, moreover, a man preferred to increase his fame by giving rites [535] of a different nature, such as *kusiut* dances, and the presents then distributed might elevate him in the eyes of the community, to a position above that of a man who had given a potlatch. This, however, was unusual.

After a fourth potlatch a man is accorded a position of eminence, and is termed a *numitl* chief. *Numitl* is an untranslatable word, with the significance of "passage," an allusion to the amount of goods which have passed through his hands. Jealous and vulgar-minded persons pun on the word, applying [578]

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given as a slave to a Bella Coola, he was treated as a guest.[11] 567
Slaves were bartered between Bella Coola individuals as a [431]
matter of course. Their value depended on sex, ability, and [435]
industriousness, as well as on supply and demand. When there
was an over-supply, the value of a slave fell to twenty or thirty [437]
salmon, but whenever an owner found that someone wished
to purchase a particular slave he endeavoured to raise the price.
If a foreigner borrowed goods in Bella Coola he usually had to [426]
leave a relative as pledge. Thus, not many years ago, a *Xuxais*
Indian, from near Ootsa Lake, borrowed goods from a Kimsquit man and left his son as pledge. The goods were not returned, so the son was sold as a slave to the people of Kitimat.

It was not uncommon for a Bella Coola to lose his freedom 525
by gambling. At *lehal* especially, a player who had exhausted 567
his goods not infrequently wagered his children, or in extreme cases, himself. If he lost, his children, or himself, became the property of the winner. Unless speedily repurchased by some relative, such slaves were usually sold or given away at the first opportunity to a member of a foreign tribe, since it was considered improper for a man to hold a member of his own 567
tribe in servitude. The same course of action was taken on [628]
those rare occasions when one Bella Coola village fought [727]
against its neighbour and prisoners were taken.

To the Bella Coola, who still consider a man's "power" in [554]
the land as dependent to a considerable extent on his ancestral
myth, a slave's greatest misfortune lay in the fact that he had [773]
no ancestral home, and hence no rights.

"No slaves came to earth with the first people," they say.

A slave was a stranger in a strange land, unsupported by a chain of ancestors reaching back to the beginning of time. On the whole, captives taken in war were better treated than other [727]
slaves since it was felt that such a misfortune might occur to anyone at any time. They were frequently ransomed by their

[11]This is said to be an ancient practice, due to the fact that several of the [773]
forefathers of the Bella Coola came to earth in that region and were on friendly terms with the inhabitants. It is conceivable that this tradition may have reference to the breaking away of the Bella Coola from the main Salish stock.

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* 556 465 skill shown by those who assisted, as well as the generosity of X, regulates the disbursements.

The following presents of money were given at a potlatch held about 1890, and were considered reasonable.

For painting two designs[26] on the front outside wall of the house	$ 40.00
For the erection of four upright posts, supporting the walls and roof of the house	30.00
For each longitudinal beam with painting	20.00
For each cross-beam, without painting	10.00
For the planking of the side walls[27]	100.00
For painting the rear wall of house, which is also the outside wall of the back-room[28]	40.00

• [435] An average totem-pole would cost perhaps $150, but the prices varied greatly with size, complexity of design, and skill displayed.

426 The next distribution is of goods to repay debts which X has incurred at previous potlatches, that is, to return "investment presents" then received (I, p. 232). This is known as *lisdjut*, "repay," and the word is applied to all kinds of repayments, including revenge. One of a chief's difficulties is to remember his indebtedness. He may have been a guest at twenty potlatches, and at each has received presents varying in value, not only from different donors, but from other people associated with them. To keep these accurately in mind is hard but essential, and parents carefully train their children to do so.

*556 [867]

As previously mentioned, the Bella Coola have no fixed scale of interest on debts. Careful inquiries made on that point disclosed the idea to be entirely foreign. The greater the interest, the greater does the donor show himself to be. If, for example, X received an investment present of one hundred blankets from a Bella Bella chief ten years previously,

[532] [342]

[26] When two are painted, that on the left of the central door on entering portrays X's father's crest, that on the right his mother's.

[27] Four men would work together on this task.

[28] Two men would work together at this, the choice of designs corresponding to those of the outside front.

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of their occurrence in most ancestral myths.[8] There seems to be no mythological explanation for the casting of a copper into the fire after the passing of the representation of a deceased relative, but the desire of chiefs to use them at potlatches is the result of their use under similar circumstances by their ancestors. Some ancestral myths lack reference to coppers, but their use is common to all, whether or not embodied in such. It is said to be easier for a chief to acquire coppers if they had been used by his ancestors, but this is not essential. 556* 773 [769]

When arranging for the appearance of a dead relative, the donor of a potlatch is careful either to possess a copper, or to be able to borrow one at the right moment. As soon as the masked figure has disappeared, the donor stands up, breaks or bends his copper, and throws it into the fire "to make bone for the deceased." No matter how valuable a copper may have been, it is now worthless; its value has been expended on the purpose for which it has just been employed. It lies unheeded in the flames, a valueless article belonging to no one. 556* 769

At some convenient time, either hours or days later, any chief may remove the copper and give it to a poor man, only taking care to choose an individual who has not recently received one. It is said that the gift is "to patch his canoe." It is now the poor man's property, but it has no value, since no goods have been expended for it. The new owner straightens and repairs it, if necessary by riveting on the broken piece, thus making it ready for further use. The poor man may keep the copper for years, or it may be only a few weeks before some chief, preparing for a potlatch, offers, perhaps, $20, for it. In the old days, values were computed in slaves, canoes, salmon, and other commodities, but now in dollars. If two chiefs should happen to want it, the poor man may haggle about the price, though in such a case the two rivals would probably agree amicably rather than lower their dignity by seeming to be interested in a matter of money. It is to the advantage of a 556* [735] [325] 435● 556* 437

[8] Abalone-shells and mesoplidon are treasured for the same reason; the former are mentioned in several origin myths, the latter in two at least. [237]

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*556 chief to pay somewhat lavishly, since the value of the copper
[435] depends on the amount expended on it.

[497] The $20 received by the poor man must not be casually spent. He is expected to invite the whole village to his house,
*556 otherwise he would never again be given a copper. The heralds call everyone to the house, the singers as usual being the first
735 to arrive. They beat out the *kusiut* song of anyone, to which
[533] the owner dances; the songs are used one after another, until
[575] almost every member of the society has danced. *Susook* songs may then be used in the same way. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the rite has no religious significance; it is merely a social affair. At the close of the dancing, the poor man distributes food to all, equivalent in value to the money received. It is probable that poor men sometimes give away slightly less than they have received, although any noticeable laxity in this would be punished by the receipt of no further coppers. The recipient of a copper from a fire derives no direct gain from it, though it is to his indirect advantage, since a person who has given away food is likely to receive larger presents on future occasions than one who has not.

Meanwhile the chief owning the copper is unable to use it
435 at his potlatch since the value, dependent on the goods ex-
*556 pended for it, is only $20, a sum so small that to use it would be insulting to his dead ancestor. There are several ways of increasing its value:

(1) *By Painting*. Taking advantage of some ceremony
[532] when a number of people are present, the owner gives a carpenter $10, for example, with a request that he paint on his copper a representation of the crest used by his, the owner's, first ancestor, when coming to this earth. Henceforth the value of the copper is $30.

435 (2) *By Naming*. The Bella Coola say that among the
552 Kwakiutl names are given to almost all coppers; in Bella
*556 Coola it is a rare practice. Occasionally, a chief creates a name for his copper and validates this by presents to all the

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village at some ceremony, exactly as a child's name is conferred. Designations are chosen with respect to the appearance of the copper, or some incident connected with its history. Such a designation is *Quaixwos*, "Begrimed," applied to a copper thrown many times into the fire. If, for instance, $50 be expended for a name, the value of a $30 copper is henceforth $80. 435 552 556*

(3) *By Making Gifts.* The owner of a copper can increase its value by calling together the other chiefs of his village, and sometimes of adjacent ones as well. After the customary meal, the owner expounds the history of his possession, giving details of its value. Then he passes it to one of his guests, who, unless he wishes to insult his host, must hold it upright, that is, with the broad end uppermost. The owner gives it in turn to each of his guests. To validate the display, the owner must bestow gifts on all present, and the total value of these is added to the value of the copper. Such gifts are not strictly returnable, although it is customary for chiefs to show their generosity and prowess to their fellows by a later repayment with interest. 435 556* [578] [426]

By these means the original purchaser of a worthless copper can increase its value to such a point that it can be used at a potlatch. There is no established custom about this. Coppers are not as valuable in Bella Coola as, for instance, at Fort Rupert, and it is unlikely that any are ever worth more than $300, and the average value is probably between $150 and $200. Considerable time is required to raise the value of a copper to this sum and the owner in many cases finds that he has all the other requirements before his copper is ready for use. In that case, he tries to buy another which has been raised to sufficient worth by its owner. Everyone knows the values of the different coppers in the community, and the intending purchaser calls his fellow-chiefs to his house and offers to buy one valued, for example, at $150. If the owner consents to sell, he usually endeavours to get as much as possible, perhaps $175. The sum is publicly paid and is henceforth the value of the copper, which is transmitted to the new [171] 435 437 556*

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435 owner with a statement of its history and the amount expended
437 on it. The purchase of a copper is, therefore, a good business
*556 transaction, and it might be assumed that a chief with keen commercial instinct would endeavour to acquire as many as
[171] possible. This is said to be the case in Fort Rupert, but in
[183] Bella Coola public opinion is averse to the obtaining of coppers unless for use at potlatches. As every ambitious chief hopes to give potlatches, he can always claim that the acquisition of a copper is for this end, and that the sale of it is from a kindly desire to assist a fellow-chief who is nearer the desired goal than he himself. Consequently, the sale of coppers is tolerably common, and a chief is not considered to be mercenary unless he sells too frequently.

426 The intending donor of a potlatch can now proceed to the ceremony, secure in the possession of a copper worthy to be
*556 thrown on the fire after the passage of his deceased relative. In addition, he may own another copper of too small value for this purpose. As described in the last chapter, he repeatedly calls together the inhabitants of his own village to rites which he validates by the distribution of presents, and at which he also gives away investment presents. He may decide to use his second copper for this purpose. All investment presents,
[558] which are given only to men of standing in the community, must be repaid with interest unless the recipient is willing to decline in popular estimation; but when a gift of this kind consists of a copper, a return of 100 per cent is expected on the transaction. Bestowal of a copper in such circumstances is not spoken of as an investment present, *kəlämkusnäm*, but as *änuxop'*, which has the definite significance of something that must be returned with 100 per cent interest. If the value of the copper were $25 before this bestowal, it is now $50, since the new owner must repay this amount to the chief planning to give the potlatch. The new owner can use the copper in any way he desires; if he repays a previous indebtedness, he cancels $50 by giving it; whereas if he bestows it as *änuxop'*, announcement is made that its value is $50, and he expects to

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receive $100 in return. The last sum is now the value of the copper. This second bestowal may take place before the owner has paid the $50 that he owes to the original possessor. There is no time limit to Bella Coola debts since it adds to the debtor's prestige to pay off his indebtedness, publicly of course, when his creditor is giving a ceremony of any kind. At every change in ownership announcement is made of the history of the copper and of its value at every stage of its existence. In this way the worth of a copper increases until it is fit to be thrown into the fire after the passing of a dead kinsman. When one that has been used as *ānuxop'* is at last cast into the flames, and later rescued from them, it is customary for the new owner to use it once more as *ānuxop'*. On the other hand, a copper that has been raised to value by the gift of a name, painting, and so forth, is normally again revalued in the same way when rescued from oblivion. There is no definite rule about this; it is only a tendency.

426 556* 435 556*

The value of a copper acquired from either a white man or a member of a foreign tribe is equivalent to its purchase price, and can be raised in any one of the ways employed for one that has been thrown into a fire.

In many cases the donor of a potlatch prefers not to be the actual possessor of a copper at the time of the entry of his deceased relative, though he always arranges to obtain one. When the masked figure has disappeared, the donor stands up and says:

426 556*

"I have nothing to make bone for my ancestor. Chief So-and-so, please give me your copper."

The chief so called upon transmits the copper with a statement of its value and the recipient throws it into the fire. Nothing is said about repayment, but the transaction has been public and everyone realizes that the chief must repay with 100 per cent interest when the seller gives his next ceremony. In this way the donor is able to use a copper without having had to pay for it at an inconvenient time when he needs all his wealth to give to his foreign guests. A chief often sells a copper

[432] [435]

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435 immediately before, or during the early stages of a potlatch, in order to receive goods immediately, but with the proviso that *556 it shall be returned to him for throwing into the fire. This [432] method has the advantage of providing the chief with goods [426] when required, and doubles the worth of the copper.

Coppers are not always rescued from the ashes and given to poor men. If one is still lying in the fire after several days, [764] the donor of the potlatch removes it and fastens it to the memorial-post over the grave of his deceased relative. It may be left there, or another chief wanting a copper may buy it from the donor and increase its value in the usual manner. Only a small price is paid in such circumstances, since the copper, having served its purpose, is practically valueless.

177 The Bella Coola state that in ancient times coppers were worth less than at present, and that the change in sentiment 435 regarding them is due to Kwakiutl influence. All agree that *556 the value placed upon them at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay is greater than elsewhere on the coast. The Bella Coola believe that the Kwakiutl distribute presents in respect to their coppers and that their values mount to enormous sums when the gifts are returned. It is clear that the importance of coppers, like the potlatch and other elements of culture, has increased in recent years through the influence of the coastal tribes.

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pended, so that it serves as a visible and tangible memorandum of the chief-like generosity of its owner. By means of these media, debts are passed from one individual to another without actual liquidation in goods; in fact, it is unlikely that the Bella Coola possess sufficient money to meet the sums represented by their coppers. 556* [435] [426]

Professional Prerogatives

The importance of prerogatives in the lives of the Bella Coola has already been noted in many connections. A man's name is his only because his ancestral family has the prerogative of using that designation; a *kusiut* dance can be performed only by an individual with the necessary prerogative; specific totem-pole designs, the portrayal of bird or animal on spoons, seats, house-posts, and other objects is a right dependent upon an ancestral prerogative; as is also the area on which a man can hunt or fish. The concept colours all Bella Coola life. Not only is a man's ceremonial life based on this principle, but on it depend his actions as chief, and the economic sources of his food-supply. No prerogative, even though it be the property of a man, is effective until validated by the distribution of presents. Much of a man's energy throughout life is expended on the validation and display of his prerogatives; most Bella Coola feuds are caused by the infringement of one individual on another's rights. 424 556* [532] [796] [431] [627] [578]

In addition to the various types already mentioned, there are a number of professional prerogatives on which depend a man's vocation. That of herald approximates this class, although the Bella Coola consider it rather as a right operative only during ceremonials. Professional prerogatives rest on the belief that a man's ability as a hunter, wood-worker, and so forth does not rest in his innate skill, but upon an inherited right which must be confirmed and validated by the distribution of presents. These can be given at any convenient time when the people have been called together, but, as it is to the man's advantage to have his right made known as widely 424 463 556*

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*539 manner in which he had shielded them from the falling fish. *Sonxwaăkıs* alone kept his original name.

When returning they made presents of abalone-shell[42] to everyone they met, and reaching Kimsquit they made very valuable gifts to all the people. The four had been absent about six months, and as they approached their home the three elder brothers poked fun at *Ăluqox*, saying:

"You will find that your wife has gone to another husband while ours will be waiting for us."

They found the reverse to be true. *Ăluqox*'s wife alone had remained faithful to her absent husband; all the others had taken new consorts. The three fickle wives regretted what they had done as soon as they saw the wealth brought back by their former husbands but it was too late to change their course, so they were left lamenting. Many people were rather jealous of *Sonxwaăkıs*'s success, but he distributed valuable presents to all. Soon after this the three brothers married new wives, refusing to take back their former ones, much as the latter desired it.

Another informant stated that the first settler at this village was a single man, *Swaăkıs*, who brought a stone hammer as a present from *Ălquntăm*.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nutsqwalt*[43]

In the beginning of time *Ălquntăm* sent down to the Dean River four brothers, *ıyuyuyut*, *Yeălos*, *Spănbăllnaix*, *Twalosdimut*, and their sister *Sximăna*. They brought with them a herald, *Nusqwalaix*, who was a kingfisher, and two men, *Xomtsla* and *Qwlaiyu*, who had the prerogative of dancing at weddings. The five came as black bears, and for a long time retained that form. *Yeălos* carried with him from *Nusmăı·a* several moosehides, a stone axe, some dyed cedar-bark, sticks for making fire, and the prerogative of a *kusiut* dance. After tarrying a few days at their landing place, the party set out down the river, with *Nusqwalaix* flying in front as guide. He was a kingfisher at the time and used to make short flights with quivering wings, and then stop until his bear friends had caught up with him, exactly as those birds do at the present time when a canoe travels up a river. On reaching *Nutsqwalt*, "The Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon," about a mile and a quarter from the mouth of the river, on the south-east side, they camped for the night.

[237 301 435]

[42]This was formerly valued very highly, both for its use as beads and ornaments, and because it had to be imported from a great distance.

[43]Related by Jim Pollard.

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*556 769 [575] [535] to a complicated figure such as a whale, and in that case an expert dancer among the guests is called upon to perform. It is announced that this is, "to make clean the road for the dead."

After each masked figure has disappeared, the sound of whistling from without grows gradually weaker, as the apparition returns whence it came. In solemn silence X takes a copper[21] which he has had in readiness, breaks it across his knee,[22] and throws it either into the fire or down on the ground in the track that the figure has taken. Then the announcer calls out loudly:

"It is for his crest.[23] It has 'made bone for the dead.'" Then he continues, speaking for X and using the first person:

"My heart is glad at seeing my father.[24] At death he returned back on the path of my family's ancestors and donned our ancient crest. He now lives in *Nusmät·a*, whence he came to visit us and whither he has now gone back."

[178] The significance of the throwing down of a copper is entirely unknown to the modern Bella Coola, although they still perform the ritual. In some vague way it is felt that "bone," which may imply *stability*, has been provided for the deceased. The act thus appears in the light of an offering to the dead, but this sentiment is not clearly appreciated by the participants in the rite; the present has been made *for*, rather than *to*, the one being mourned.

The copper, now valueless, is picked up by any chief and given to a poor man.

After a short interval a number of youths begin to distribute presents, provided by X, which have been placed in readiness. [562] [431] Gifts of equal value are given to all foreign male guests; while the women receive ones less valuable. These presents

[325] [436]

[21] One of the plaques of native copper, such as were formerly beaten out cold and used as tokens of value by the coast tribes of British Columbia. Their employment by the Bella Coola will be described later in greater detail (I, p. 252).

[22] The breaking is sometimes omitted.

[23] That is: "For the dead man, now in form of his crest."

[24] Or whatever relative the deceased may have been.

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601 Coola social organization, and of the absence of standardized obligations based upon specific relationships.

Slaves

567 Since a slave was[11] without status in the Bella Coola community, it is perhaps incorrect to include a description of [554] slavery in a chapter on social organization; but as slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages, it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was 162 impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of their number in 567 Bella Coola; slavery has been so long abandoned that the present natives could only hazard vague guesses. Judging from conversational remarks by elderly men, it seems probable that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as thirty to forty per cent of the total population.

567 When a party raided a village most of the inhabitants were 727 slain, but some, especially children, young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. As far as could be learned, once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief [422] or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

567 Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold. 437 The Bella Coola were usually so well provided with salmon that they were able to exchange these fish with the members [622] of other tribes for slaves. Lack of strong chieftainship among [726] the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of [431] their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category belong those obtained as presents at potlatches. If, however, [773] a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was

[648]

[11] One of the first effects of the white man's establishment in British Columbia was the freeing of all slaves. Consequently the past tense is used in this section.

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given as a slave to a Bella Coola, he was treated as a guest.[18] 567
Slaves were bartered between Bella Coola individuals as a [437]
matter of course. Their value depended on sex, ability, and [435]
industriousness, as well as on supply and demand. When there
was an over-supply, the value of a slave fell to twenty or thirty [437]
salmon, but whenever an owner found that someone wished
to purchase a particular slave he endeavoured to raise the price.
If a foreigner borrowed goods in Bella Coola he usually had to [426]
leave a relative as pledge. Thus, not many years ago, a *Xuxais*
Indian, from near Ootsa Lake, borrowed goods from a Kimsquit man and left his son as pledge. The goods were not returned, so the son was sold as a slave to the people of Kitimat.

It was not uncommon for a Bella Coola to lose his freedom 525
by gambling. At *lehql* especially, a player who had exhausted 567
his goods not infrequently wagered his children, or in extreme
cases, himself. If he lost, his children, or himself, became the property of the winner. Unless speedily repurchased by some relative, such slaves were usually sold or given away at the first opportunity to a member of a foreign tribe, since it was
considered improper for a man to hold a member of his own 567
tribe in servitude. The same course of action was taken on [628]
those rare occasions when one Bella Coola village fought [727]
against its neighbour and prisoners were taken.

To the Bella Coola, who still consider a man's "power" in [554]
the land as dependent to a considerable extent on his ancestral
myth, a slave's greatest misfortune lay in the fact that he had [773]
no ancestral home, and hence no rights.

"No slaves came to earth with the first people," they say.

A slave was a stranger in a strange land, unsupported by a
chain of ancestors reaching back to the beginning of time. On [727]
the whole, captives taken in war were better treated than other
slaves since it was felt that such a misfortune might occur to
anyone at any time. They were frequently ransomed by their

[18]This is said to be an ancient practice, due to the fact that several of the [773]
forefathers of the Bella Coola came to earth in that region and were on friendly terms with the inhabitants. It is conceivable that this tradition may have reference to the breaking away of the Bella Coola from the main Salish stock.

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of their occurrence in most ancestral myths.[8] There seems to be no mythological explanation for the casting of a copper into the fire after the passing of the representation of a deceased relative, but the desire of chiefs to use them at potlatches is the result of their use under similar circumstances by their ancestors. Some ancestral myths lack reference to coppers, but their use is common to all, whether or not embodied in such. It is said to be easier for a chief to acquire coppers if they had been used by his ancestors, but this is not essential. 556* 773 [769]

When arranging for the appearance of a dead relative, the donor of a potlatch is careful either to possess a copper, or to be able to borrow one at the right moment. As soon as the masked figure has disappeared, the donor stands up, breaks or bends his copper, and throws it into the fire "to make bone for the deceased." No matter how valuable a copper may have been, it is now worthless; its value has been expended on the purpose for which it has just been employed. It lies unheeded in the flames, a valueless article belonging to no one. 556* 769

At some convenient time, either hours or days later, any chief may remove the copper and give it to a poor man, only taking care to choose an individual who has not recently received one. It is said that the gift is "to patch his canoe." It is now the poor man's property, but it has no value, since no goods have been expended for it. The new owner straightens and repairs it, if necessary by riveting on the broken piece, thus making it ready for further use. The poor man may keep the copper for years, or it may be only a few weeks before some chief, preparing for a potlatch, offers, perhaps, $20, for it. In the old days, values were computed in slaves, canoes, salmon, and other commodities, but now in dollars. If two chiefs should happen to want it, the poor man may haggle about the price, though in such a case the two rivals would probably agree amicably rather than lower their dignity by seeming to be interested in a matter of money. It is to the advantage of a 556* [735] [325] 435 556* 437

[8] Abalone-shells and moosehides are treasured for the same reason; the former are mentioned in several origin myths, the latter in two at least. [237]

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*556 chief to pay somewhat lavishly, since the value of the copper
[435] depends on the amount expended on it.

[437] The $20 received by the poor man must not be casually spent. He is expected to invite the whole village to his house,
*556 otherwise he would never again be given a copper. The heralds call everyone to the house, the singers as usual being the first
735 to arrive. They beat out the *kusiut* song of anyone, to which
[533] the owner dances; the songs are used one after another, until
[575] almost every member of the society has danced. *Sisaok* songs may then be used in the same way. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the rite has no religious significance; it is merely a social affair. At the close of the dancing, the poor man distributes food to all, equivalent in value to the money received. It is probable that poor men sometimes give away slightly less than they have received, although any noticeable laxity in this would be punished by the receipt of no further coppers. The recipient of a copper from a fire derives no direct gain from it, though it is to his indirect advantage, since a person who has given away food is likely to receive larger presents on future occasions than one who has not.

435 Meanwhile the chief owning the copper is unable to use it at his potlatch since the value, dependent on the goods ex-
*556 pended for it, is only $20, a sum so small that to use it would be insulting to his dead ancestor. There are several ways of increasing its value:

(1) *By Painting.* Taking advantage of some ceremony
[532] when a number of people are present, the owner gives a carpenter $10, for example, with a request that he paint on his copper a representation of the crest used by his, the owner's, first ancestor, when coming to this earth. Henceforth the value of the copper is $30.

435 (2) *By Naming.* The Bella Coola say that among the
552 Kwakiutl names are given to almost all coppers; in Bella Coola it is a rare practice. Occasionally, a chief creates a
*556 name for his copper and validates this by presents to all the

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village at some ceremony, exactly as a child's name is conferred. Designations are chosen with respect to the appearance of the copper, or some incident connected with its history. Such a designation is *Qwaixwos*, "Begrimed," applied to a copper thrown many times into the fire. If, for instance, $50 be expended for a name, the value of a $30 copper is henceforth $80. 435 552 556*

(3) *By Making Gifts.* The owner of a copper can increase its value by calling together the other chiefs of his village, and sometimes of adjacent ones as well. After the customary meal, the owner expounds the history of his possession, giving details of its value. Then he passes it to one of his guests, who, unless he wishes to insult his host, must hold it upright, that is, with the broad end uppermost. The owner gives it in turn to each of his guests. To validate the display, the owner must bestow gifts on all present, and the total value of these is added to the value of the copper. Such gifts are not strictly returnable, although it is customary for chiefs to show their generosity and prowess to their fellows by a later repayment with interest. 435 556* [578] [426]

By these means the original purchaser of a worthless copper can increase its value to such a point that it can be used at a potlatch. There is no established custom about this. Coppers are not as valuable in Bella Coola as, for instance, at Fort Rupert, and it is unlikely that any are ever worth more than $300, and the average value is probably between $150 and $200. Considerable time is required to raise the value of a copper to this sum and the owner in many cases finds that he has all the other requirements before his copper is ready for use. In that case, he tries to buy another which has been raised to sufficient worth by its owner. Everyone knows the values of the different coppers in the community, and the intending purchaser calls his fellow-chiefs to his house and offers to buy one valued, for example, at $150. If the owner consents to sell, he usually endeavours to get as much as possible, perhaps $175. The sum is publicly paid and is henceforth the value of the copper, which is transmitted to the new [171] 435 437 556*

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435 owner with a statement of its history and the amount expended
● 437 on it. The purchase of a copper is, therefore, a good business
* 556 transaction, and it might be assumed that a chief with keen commercial instinct would endeavour to acquire as many as
[171] possible. This is said to be the case in Fort Rupert, but in
[183] Bella Coola public opinion is averse to the obtaining of coppers unless for use at potlatches. As every ambitious chief hopes to give potlatches, he can always claim that the acquisition of a copper is for this end, and that the sale of it is from a kindly desire to assist a fellow-chief who is nearer the desired goal than he himself. Consequently, the sale of coppers is tolerably common, and a chief is not considered to be mercenary unless he sells too frequently.

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[558] which are given only to men of standing in the community, must be repaid with interest unless the recipient is willing to decline in popular estimation; but when a gift of this kind consists of a copper, a return of 100 per cent is expected on the transaction. Bestowal of a copper in such circumstances is not spoken of as an investment present, *kəlämkusnäm*, but as *änuxop'*, which has the definite significance of something that must be returned with 100 per cent interest. If the value of the copper were $25 before this bestowal, it is now $50, since the new owner must repay this amount to the chief planning to give the potlatch. The new owner can use the copper in any way he desires; if he repays a previous indebtedness, he cancels $50 by giving it; whereas if he bestows it as *änuxop'*, announcement is made that its value is $50, and he expects to

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133 tains. From each pocket between these mountains an ice-
cold affluent comes swirling down to the main river. The
137 predominant tree in the river valleys is the cedar[4] which in
many cases attains great girth and height. Cottonwoods
flourish in places, and everywhere there is an almost impene-
trable undergrowth of devil's club, berry bushes, and other
shrubbery of almost tropical density. On the lower slopes of
the mountains, moss-festooned pines and spruces are the most
common trees, gradually becoming smaller and fewer until the
133 barren peaks are reached. The mountains rise so precipitously
that their snowcaps and glaciers seem to overhang the valley,
a narrow ribbon of green winding far below. The range of
vision from the bank of the river is limited by the all-encircling
mountains. Here and there a distant vista opens up to expose
peak after peak, but on the whole there is a feeling of confine-
ment, in contrast with the open wastes of the upper country
where the Bella Coola rises. Mountains, forests, flowing water,
these are the three dominant impressions of the country (see
Plate 6).

136 The mammals of central British Columbia, although com-
paratively common, have never been of primary importance.
[291] The marten, the wolverine, the lynx, and bears, both black
and grizzly, were formerly hunted for their skins to serve as
[262] cloaks. Deer were killed whenever possible, but formed a
negligible item of diet. The beaver also was prized for its
[439] flesh. The skins of moose and caribou were traded from the
Carrier Indians, but neither of these animals was found in the
[286] Bella Coola area. The mammal of greatest economic impor-
[237] tance was the mountain goat, the wool of which was woven into
blankets. Smoked goat meat was formerly found in every
[251] house and was almost the only flesh available during the
[262] winter. Small game was abundant, but seals were a luxury.
Neither were birds of great importance to the Bella Coola.
[223] Members of the tribe resident near the sea-coast used to kill

[4]Appendix C contains a glossary of the scientific names of the flora and fauna mentioned in this monograph.

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211 in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at
*556 the front door of the house with an opening at its base through
778 which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be solid
532 and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice in
[184] either case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ancestral cloaks by means of paintings on the front wall of his house, or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, if such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief entitled to display a totem-pole may choose to use only paintings. If he validates these by presents, they give him the same dignity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cannot validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola poles are only about fifteen to twenty feet in height, and though
[171] it is possible that a few families had prerogatives entitling them to construct lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is unlikely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand before the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even none at
[764] all. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 461). Otherwise it remains standing until some other occupant of the house wishes to erect another in its place, when the first is pulled down and neglected.

Coppers

*556 The Bella Coola use coppers for only two purposes: casting
[769] on the ground upon which the representation of a deceased relative had trodden, or throwing into the fire when the figure has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make bone for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when a copper is employed is so important that to obtain one and increase its value is a vital consideration for every chief.

[177] Most of the coppers now used by the Bella Coola are made
[439]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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of metal obtained from the white man, if not actually machine-made for trading purposes. They resemble the familiar shape found in all parts of the British Columbia coast and vary in length from about six inches to as much as three feet. There is considerable difference in thickness; some of the newer ones are thin plates, others are heavy and appear to be old. The early white traders realized the value placed by the Indians on their coppers and these were soon imitated and became important articles of barter. The Bella Coola state that many of the early Hudson's Bay Company's coppers were made of drawn wire, but this type seems to have passed out of existence, since all the specimens seen in Bella Coola consisted of flat metal plaques. 556* 177 439

The Bella Coola maintain that their ancestors have, ever since the beginning of time, used two kinds of coppers. One variety, known as *lália*, resembled the plaques produced by white men. This is the term in common usage for all kinds of coppers at the present time. The other variety, *taitaimy*, is said to have been thicker and heavier and was made by heating the metal in a fire, beating it into the required shape. Long, long ago, coppers of this kind were sometimes found in the forest by hunters who were thus rewarded for observance of ceremonial chastity, but most were obtained in trade from the northern tribes. One of these is said to be preserved at Kimsquit, but none is said to have been owned by a Bella Coola within the last few years. 556* [325] [439]

The Bella Coola believe that *taitaimy* can only be manufactured in one district, far to the north, at the mouth of an unknown river. There, it is said, the chiefs range themselves along the river bank, each armed with a spear, and each with a number of slaves behind him. When the tide is highest, salmon of some peculiar kind appear at the surface of the water. If one comes within reach of a spearman, he lunges at it, but invariably misses; then the chief drops his spear, seizes one of his slaves and kills him by cutting his throat. A small piece of 552* 973

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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the front-door facing the river, but has to leave the house 784
through the trap beneath the enclosure where she sleeps. The 881
Bella Coola consider it unthinkable for a girl to disregard these prohibitions, but if this should happen, she would be chased home by her parents, by the Guardian of the River, or, in fact, by any elderly member of the community. The strongest [761]
reason for respecting these regulations is the belief that disobedience brings death; no one knows how it is inflicted, but a careless girl soon dies. During this period, she cannot eat [262]
fresh salmon, though she is allowed them if they have been smoked for four or five days. Her scanty meals are brought to her in the enclosure where she is virtually a prisoner. It is true that she can leave it and wander in the woods, but her com- [783]
rades avoid her as being in an unclean condition of which they are afraid, and she is barred from taking part in all activities by the river which constitute so large a part of the life of the Bella Coola. A girl cannot pick berries during this time, as no [222]
more would grow in the valley which she had thus defiled; she must not touch anyone, nor allow anyone to touch her; she must not pass in front of a man; she must go to bed before [513]
everyone else in the house, and be the last to arise. The danger of breaking some taboo is so great that it is safer for a girl to [867]
remain within her enclosure where her mother, and other old women, gather to tell her the many things which it is fitting for an adult woman to know. This seclusion is not pleasant, but it unquestionably serves to emphasize the importance of married life to which it is a prelude. The writer remembers an occasion when a Bella Coola family was eating tasty fresh salmon while one of the daughters, who had recently reached adolescence, watched enviously. Her grandfather rose and gave the child an orange, remarking that in his youth little girls did not receive such dainties to ameliorate their lot.

Adolescent girls wear certain distinctive articles of clothing 881
and ornaments. The most noticeable is a skull-cap bound [292]
with grass; this is the only time in a woman's life that a hat is [301]
worn. She also wears ear-rings, each consisting of a neat [439]
1 [i.e. - one year after puberty - ANALYST]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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881 bundle of four macaroni-shaped shells, probably *Dentalium*,
[301] which are said to have been imported from the north in early
[439] times. These marks serve to indicate the position of the girl,
who is both feared and respected, possessed of supernatural
[789] power, and yet baneful. Many Bella Coola stories describe
how adolescent girls have been able to vanquish supernatural
[538] beings; perhaps the most striking of these is the manner in
which they once saved mankind when the sun came too close to
the earth. At the end of a year, or eleven months according to one old woman, the seclusion is terminated, and the girl resumes her normal activities. The first time she goes to the river she must throw on the water four pieces of dyed, and four *pieces of undyed cedar-bark*. This is especially important if the salmon are running at the time, although no explanation of this ritual is given.

582 The resumption of her freedom indicates that a girl has
556 reached marriageable age. Chiefs sometimes confine their
daughters for even longer than a year, and usually delay their
882 marriages for several years to demonstrate their importance;
but this is not necessary, nor is it practised by other than wealthy individuals. It is not uncommon for a girl to wed before her year is out; in that case her restrictions automatically
[554] lapse. Chiefs never allow such a curtailment for their daughters; to do so would diminish the prestige of the latter, and be detrimental to the status of their children when they marry
836 and have families. Illicit intercourse with a secluded adoles-
883 cent is considered not only illegal but disgusting as well. Be-
tween the period of confinement and marriage, intercourse is
[881] prohibited and guarded against by the parents of a girl, but is not considered filthy and seems to have been fairly common in former times with the daughters of poor people and slaves. This sometimes took place before the first menstruation in spite of the disapproval with which this was regarded.

826 Although the menstrual blood which appears at the first
discharge is considered more baneful than that emitted on later
841 occasions, it is always regarded as uncanny or unclean. It is
789

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Tsimshian NE15

B 721 these accounts seemed to be exaggerations, and the casualties were probably few. The Bella Coola did not have the same [554] admiration for the successful warrior as for the man who gave many potlatches, while everything indicates that their raids B [703] were on a small scale, rendered singularly ineffective by lack of discipline.

Specific Accounts

B 72 Active warfare has been so long discontinued on the coast that none of the living Bella Coola can describe conditions as 128 they existed during hostilities. It was possible to collect the 539 following accounts of raids and adventures which, though individually of small value, illustrate tactics and strategy, and recount incidents which throw light on the frame of mind of the participants.

Kitkatla War

B T 648 For many years there was animosity between the Bella 721 Coola and the Kitkatla who, with the advantage of strong government, used to sweep down from the north for salmon and slaves. Bella Coola itself was comparatively immune from attack, but the Kimsquit people suffered severely. The attackers were not always successful; one old man related how, when his mother's mother was an infant, they were driven off with the loss of four canoes and many men. The fact that this B incident had been remembered for so many years indicates that T it was unusual.

567 Slaves captured in this way were traded from tribe to tribe 439 and rarely escaped. When an elderly Bella Coola was a lad, [727] there was considerable excitement in the community owing to the return of *Slukwala*, a woman who had been carried off when a girl. She had been traded to a northern tribe among whom, she said, it was customary to crush captives beneath totem-poles and house-posts. Her diligence saved her from this fate, and she was passed on until she reached the far north, on the

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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shore of a river where "the white men got money stone." Then *Slukwala* began to go south, and was finally sold to an important chief living north of Port Simpson. He used to beat her; in fact, she carried the scars with her to her grave. *Slukwala*'s master had another slave, a male Bella Bella, with whom the woman was on friendly terms since she was related by blood to a Bella Bella family and could speak that language. Angered by her harsh treatment, *Slukwala* suggested to her companion in misfortune that they kill their master and escape. The man was at first unwilling, but she assured him that she knew the route southward. The conspirators awaited their opportunity which came when their master went halibut fishing, accompanied only by his two slaves. One evening *Slukwala* cooked a large meal for him which made him drowsy as he sat by the fire; then she stole behind him, picked up an axe, and killed him by hitting him over the head. The two murderers carefully scraped up all the blood, tied stones to the corpse, and sank it in deep water so that their master's friends would believe that he had been drowned with his slaves. Then the two, having stolen a canoe, paddled off, hiding by day, and subsisting on what shell-fish they could gather. After many perils they reached Bella Bella, whence *Slukwala* returned home.

She had been carried off as a mere girl, but was past the age of child-bearing when she returned and had almost forgotten her native language. The Bella Coola were keenly interested in the tale of her adventures, and especially in the way that slaves were buried in Alaska. It was assumed that some of their own captives must have been killed in that way, so a slave from the far north was crushed in revenge. It is said that this custom was common among the northern tribes from whom the Bella Coola adopted several practices, although this particular one was carried out but once.

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[648]
[177]

The most famous Kitkatla chief, and the one most dreaded by the Bella Coola, was *Tokua*, who is said to have had almost despotic powers over his northern warriors. The name itself was transmitted from one holder to another, but the most

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2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*539 [237] As soon as the weather moderated, the rest of the party returned, each carrying enough marten skins for at least one blanket. Some had so many that three or four cloaks could be made, in addition to the large supplies of smoked goat meat and grease.

THE SUCCESS OF A LAZY HUNTER

*539 224 [177] [411] [439] In the early days, when the visit of a trading vessel to Bella Coola was a rare event, it is remembered that an *Äsän·än·i* chief bought a musket from the captain of the *Beaver*. He paid for it a pile of beaver-skins which, when stacked up, was equal in height to the length of the weapon. This was one of the first muskets owned by a Bella Coola and the chief took great care of it, never treating it roughly, and hanging it with ropes from the roof of his house whenever he was not actually using it. One day a certain *Snäkelt* asked the owner to lend him the musket to hunt goats. This was no slight request, and it was surprising, since *Snäkelt* was not a hunter, but merely packed in meat killed by others. At first the chief was unwilling to allow his prized weapon out of his sight, but at last consented when *Snäkelt* promised to give him half the goats that he might kill.

Snäkelt probably thought that even temporary possession of the mysterious musket would make it possible for him to kill goats, but when he had climbed up into the mountains, and stalked for hours, he had not succeeded even in approaching one. He knew that if he returned home, unsuccessful and without some plausible excuse, he would be laughed to scorn, so he determined to cover his failure. First he beat the musket on a boulder until it was bent and battered, then he took a sharp rock and pounded himself until he was covered with blood from head to foot, as if he had been caught in a land-slide. When near the village, he lay down on the ground and called faintly for help; at first the people could not locate the sound, but after a short search someone found the would-be hunter, apparently in the last stages of exhaustion. Help was called, and *Snäkelt* carried home, moaning feebly and saying that he would die. He could just whisper that he had been caught in a slide on the other side of the mountain, this explanation being necessary since no one had heard one in the near vicinity. As the apparent sufferer was lying in his house, one man noticed that the patient's wounds were from gashes, not from bruises, and loudly protested that *Snäkelt* must have mutilated himself to conceal his lack of success. Everyone came crowding around and agreed that this must be the case; *Snäkelt* finally admitted the deception and congratulated his discoverer on his powers of observation. After a few days, he was as well as ever, but the chief had lost his precious musket.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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258 tacles; metal coal-oil cans are found convenient for this purpose and have
[41·5] almost replaced watertight boxes. After repeated stirrings and skimmings, all that remains is a mass of putrid flesh, bearing no resemblance whatever to the fish from which it came. The Kitlobe are said to com-
[171] press this into cakes for eating, but the Bella Coola throw it away. Some cooks bail out the dregs by hand, but many of the box-kettles have a
[415] bung-hole at the bottom which, when opened, allows the semi-liquid remains to flow out into a rough trough leading to the river. As soon as one batch of olachen has thus been disposed of, another is boiled and
[439] refined in the same way. The grease keeps indefinitely and is a useful article of barter with the Carriers as well as a staple of Bella Coola diet.
[262] Although the preparation removes much of its offensive odour, olachen grease has an unpleasant taste to the white man.

During the boiling, all other activities are suspended and the people
258 spend practically all their time on the river bank. If the fish are allowed
476 to rot too long, much of the grease is lost, so men, women, and children are pressed into service to make the most of the short period. The men rise at dawn to start the fires on the bank, the women and children follow with food, and for several days the whole village camps, as if on a picnic, amid an indescribably foul smell that almost sickens anyone passing within hundreds of yards. There are tasks for everyone; the fish must be carried from the pits to the furnaces, wood must be brought, the fires stoked, the kettles stirred, the grease carried away, the fireplaces repaired, food cooked, and a hundred other chores. It is a scene of great activity, carried on with good humour and merriment, for the Bella Coola realize that they are storing up luxuries for the following winter. Even the dogs seem to share the general excitement, and do not disdain to eat the dregs from the kettles, which, when emptied into the river, attract numerous trout and gulls, to the joy of small boys with hunting desires.

BELLA COOLA CANOES

501 Although travel and transport by water is still as vital to the Bella
[505] Coola as it was to their fathers, the motor-boat is fast replacing the canoe, and the science of manufacturing their own craft is being lost. In former times several types were constructed, but only one of these is still employed —the spoon canoe, *sä·tla*, used on rivers (see Plate 21). These vary from twenty to thirty feet or more in length, and are about four feet wide; they are without keels, and there is no difference between the bow and stern. Although one man can handle such a craft in smooth water, at
502 least two are required for a journey of any length, and four is the usual crew. The captain, who is either the best waterman or the one most familiar with the route, stands in the stern, the second in command in

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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842 *To Cause Birth of a Child of the Desired Sex*

789 If a boy is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her a miniature bow and arrows on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

If a girl is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her miniature tools used for beating cedar-bark on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

843 *To Cause Easy Delivery* (two means)

789 (1) The pregnant woman must boil stalks of stonecrop in water and drink freely of the decoction.

(2) A variant of the medicine already described can be applied during pregnancy. Strike the back of the woman with one or more porcupine embryos. The thrower must remain in concealment and the woman to be benefited must be unaware of what is about to be done.

853 *To Cause Increased Flow of Milk*

757 Heat pods of *Sedum Spathulifolium* (Hook) and apply them as a poultice to the breasts of the nursing mother.

MISCELLANEOUS MEDICINES USED BY ADULTS

461 *To Cause Energy*

789 Take the paw of a freshly killed beaver in one hand and pat it with the other, saying:

825 "Please, may I be like you."

This ensures that the man or woman will always work hard, like a beaver.

789 *To Cause Long Life*

Pick up a toad, spit on it four times, saying:

825 "May I be strong like you," and put it down carefully.

886 The basis of this medicine is the belief that toads are capable of resisting greater pressure than other animals. For example, if one is caught in an olachen net, it survives the crushing weight of fish and water and is alive when the net is emptied, though all other living animals so ensnared are killed.

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gles, bites him between the eyes or at the back of the neck so that a little blood flows. 865 861

"If you don't keep quiet," he says to the screaming child, "I shall bite you all over your head."

This medicine acts in two ways: (1) The offender is so frightened that he is likely to reform; (2) Contact with a man of good disposition imparts the same to him. A tuft of mountain goat wool is inserted into the wound to make it heal properly.

To Cure Disobedience and Laziness 461

Parents whose child exhibits these bad qualities also ask help of a man of good character. If he accepts the task, he provides himself with a bone needle and waits until he hears the child refuse to perform some simple task. Then, with a rush, he throws the offender on his stomach and supposits the needle until the blood flows freely. He then releases the frightened child who usually slinks away to bed for the rest of the day. When the bleeding has ceased, the quiet person cuts chips from the canoe of an energetic man and rubs them on the wound, saying: 865 861

"Please, may you be like the canoe, always active and doing whatever is expected of you."

An old Kimsquit man recalled vividly the application of this medicine to him when he refused to fetch water for his mother. He was about eleven years of age at the time and asserted that it had greatly improved his behaviour.

MEDICINES FOR ORDINARY DISEASES

For Sprains and Bruises 752

Pound stalks of false hellebore, mix with hemlock gum, and bind on the injured spot as a poultice.

For Swollen Neck

Cut off small pieces of a thoroughly smoked bear's heart, pound in water, and drink the mixture. 757

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the most *human* of all substances, and, therefore, a potent 826
protection against supernatural beings. It is valuable as a 841
defence against evil monsters, but it is equally deadly to 789
shamans and other human beings with supernatural powers.
In the distant past, Raven taught mankind that to sleep with a 834
menstruating woman would so blind a man that he would be 841
unsuccessful in hunting. The belief is that animals, knowing [773]
everything that takes place, avoid one who is so unclean. One [825]
old man mentioned that he had failed to obey this injunction
and considered his loss of virility as a punishment, overlooking
the fact that he was over seventy years of age.

The coming of adolescence in a boy is recognized by change 881
in voice and the other usual indications. He is neither taboo
nor unclean, and consequently does not have to undergo any
restrictions on his actions. There is no ceremony to mark the
entry of a youth into adult membership of the tribe; instead,
this comes gradually and puberty is no more than an indi-
cation of increasing age and strength.

Marriage

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola 581
regard the married state as the normal condition of man. 589
Anyone unwilling to wed is considered unnatural. Since the
number of the sexes is approximately equal, the only persons
forced to live alone are elderly widows and widowers, and those [732]
crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are
looked upon as unfortunate; in fact, they have failed in one
of the most fundamental of life's struggles. Man provides fish 581
and game, builds houses and canoes, while woman collects
berries, makes baskets, cooks, and performs the multitudinous [462]
small household tasks.

"Is it not to the benefit of each to marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is not a mere economic arrangement, nor is its
sole function to regulate relations between the sexes. Its most [858]
important feature is that it governs the status of the child.

APPENDIX A

MECHANICAL PROCESSES

NO attempt was made to study either the material culture of the Bella Coola, or their methods of manufacturing, but information on some points was obtained incidentally. All sociological and religious features connected therewith have already been described. 121

THE TAKING AND PREPARATION OF OLACHEN

227

The run of olachen, *sputx*, comes about the end of April, and as many as possible are caught. In preparation, nets, *älte'x*ᵘ, are brought out from the boxes where they have been stored during the winter, examined, and repaired. If necessary, new ones must be manufactured out of nettle-(*lsna-*) fibre laid away by the women for this purpose. By rolling the material on their legs, they produce a thin twine; five strands of this are then interwoven, making a finished cord capable of resisting great strain. The nets are constructed by the men. The type used at the present time, which is said not to differ from that formerly employed, consists of a purse-like sack, oval in cross-section, open at the wider end and tapering very gradually to the other, which is closed. The total length is about thirty feet, the diameter at the open end about eight feet, and at the closed end about three feet. A new net is dipped in a mixture of boiled hemlock-bark to darken it, and then boiled in a solution of willow-bark to prevent the knots from slipping. [226] [221] [283] [462] [286] [386]

The setting out of a net is not an easy task, so two or three men agree to work as partners. In the present degenerate days, property rights are not respected and each group selects a suitable spot. The best location is where the water is about three feet deep and runs rapidly, but without ripples, over a smooth piece of the bottom; such a place is called a *skllax*. When the fish begin to run plentifully, the partners paddle out to set their net, taking with them four stakes, each about ten feet in length. The weight of a full net is tremendous, so the poles have to be driven down at least six feet, a difficult task on account of the stony bottom. Selecting the exact spot, one of four posts, *älkdjälos*, is set upright and held in position by being tied to a cross-piece, *nudjiqosta*, fastened to the canoe for the purpose. While his two partners hold the craft steady, the third man begins to pound down the stake; metal mauls are now commonly used, but in former times this work was always done with an unhafted stone maul, *lixwoma*. The fishermen relieve one another intermittently until the top of the pole has been driven down to within 226 [476] [423] [178] [412]

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501 of the older people remember seeing in their youth another type, *lakan*, with a high raised prow; this may have been identical with the *mdka* which others describe as having an elevated bow and a low stern. An entirely different craft was the *tamkwl·i*, named from one of the geese, [825] probably the white-fronted goose. A strip of maple fastened along each side caught the water in moving, with a sound like that of the peculiar rustling flight of the bird. The bow was often carved in the form of a [532] bird's head and the stern in that of a tail to further the resemblance. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of these canoes, though some had heard of them from their grandparents. The large, open type of canoe made by the Haida was known to the Bella Coola, but not constructed by them. Sails were used on all ocean-going canoes; they were usually of matting, though skins sewn together were occasionally employed.

501 Canoes are occasionally lashed together. In several *kusiut* dances a wide platform for dancing is required, and the need is met by lashing 535 planks crosswise over two canoes, near the bow and stern, thus fastening them together. Planking is laid on the two supports and a platform so constructed. Careful inquiries showed that this fastening was merely a temporary arrangement; the booms were not bound in any particular manner, nor was there any fixed distance between the craft. Sometimes 501 the same expedient was used for transport when the load was too heavy [171] for two canoes separately, a device which is said to have been used more commonly by the tribes of the outer coast than the Bella Coola. Canoes lashed together are termed *ás·awanāx*.

Rafts, *satskwal·a*, consisting of rough logs fastened together with cross-pieces, were commonly used on the lakes of the interior, and occasionally for river work when canoes were unavailable and there was no time to make them. Another expedient in similar emergencies was to [177] make bark canoes, such as are still constructed by the Carriers. The Bella Coola regard the construction of these as definite copying, and do not profess to have as much skill as their teachers whose canoes, it is said, can be folded for portaging. There is a tradition that, many generations ago, a few clever Bella Coola knew how to make skin canoes.

THE PREPARATION OF CEDAR-BARK

314 Early spring is the time to *susukumls*, that is, to gather the inner bark of the cedar. Men occasionally assist in the task, though this is really [221] woman's work. The worker selects a small cedar, choosing one about six inches in diameter, with smooth trunk and relatively free from knots. [462] With a knife she makes a horizontal incision in the bark, two or three feet [412] from the ground, sometimes girdling the sapling. Then she inserts her

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from the moon and stated that there were mountains and snow on it. It is commonly stated that the marks on the moon represent a man carrying a bucket. 821 [756]

The stars figure but slightly either in Bella Coola mythology or thought; it is not even known who made them. Two in the Great Bear constellation are called respectively *Tpiksta* and *X̱inx̱ines*, "Little Girls." A lone star in the same part of the sky, named *A'lox*, is said to be following the girls to the forest for illicit intercourse. [773]

Moon, stars, and above all the sun, were, and still are to a certain extent, used by the Bella Coola in computing the passage of time. There are no individuals with the definite prerogative of keeping count of time, but formerly wise old men used to do so.[4] Differences of opinion were the rule rather than the exception, a condition which often led to bitter disputes concerning the proper date for starting the winter ceremonials. Boas (p. 41) has recorded the Bella Coola calendar in greater detail than the present writer has been able to do. The making of calendrical observations is a lost art, and the following list of the months was all that could be learnt. It will be noted that these agree with Boas in regard to the months in the early part of the year, but not in those between the summer and winter solstices; no explanation is offered for this disparity. 805 821 [554] [578] [796] [114] [178] [114]

First moon after the summer solstice: *Sikālamtak*, which has the significance, "The Time for Sockeye Salmon to Ascend the River."

Second moon after the summer solstice: *Si'islalitl*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon."

Third moon after the summer solstice: *Si'iswai·stl*, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon."

Fourth moon after the summer solstice: *Siqālx̱am*, "The Time for Gathering Fern Root," or *Sidakaos di Ano'likwolsaix*,

[4] A Kimsquit informant stated that there were professional calendrical experts in his home when he was a young lad although members of the *kulus* society (II, chap. 1) sometimes attended to this matter. [575] [463]

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The religious concepts of the Bella Coola are not limited to explanations of strange apparitions, nor to knowledge of a wide range of supernatural beings, anthropomorphic or zoomorphic. Many in whom they believe are invisible and intangible, though none the less potent. Almost every incident of life is attributed to the help or hindrance of a supernatural agency. If a fisherman constructs a salmon-weir, with a considerable amount of work, the Bella Coola ascribe his success to the assistance of some supernatural being or supernormal power; mere labour would never have sufficed. If a man has phenomenal success in hunting, it is because the supernatural has helped him in some way. It is not necessary that an anthropomorphic being should appear; they seldom do, but none deny that in some form or another supernatural ones have aided the enterprise. 771 776* [226] [224]

This attitude is clearly evident in Bella Coola beliefs concerning the construction of canoes. Many professions depend upon prerogatives without which a person cannot hope to succeed. This is not true of canoe-makers, although it is a great advantage to one of them if *Yulätimut*, the Master Carpenter, appeared to his ancestors in the beginning of time. Even without this in many cases a man can succeed in making a canoe if he is aided by a supernatural teacher, or Model Maker. No one knows much about this being, nor even whether there is more than one of them, but it is through his kindly intervention that a man is able to complete his complicated task. If carpenters who have left a half-finished canoe in the woods, hear adze beats, as they are returning to it, they remain away from the spot, knowing that their work is being done with superhuman efficiency by a supernatural artisan. Under such circumstances even a solitary man can construct one of the large, ocean-going canoes. About 1880 an expert carpenter, named *Yelxlin*, was making 396 776* [463]

stated definitely that his mother had told him Mackenzie came down the Dean River when her uncle was a young man. As if to confirm this statement he added the inconsequential detail that Mackenzie, in dire straits for food, killed and ate a dog, and that he was given a marmot-skin blanket. 776* 177

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428 influence of a chief is usually sufficient to settle claims as to
553 which of his brothers shall receive which name. Even if none
[578] of them is a chief, some one of them is certain to have greater influence than the others. If a dead man has no sons, his daughters can assume his names, which they may transmit to their children. Failing both sons and daughters, a man's brothers and sisters are his heirs, as usual, the one of influence being the one who really arranges matters.[6] None the less, it
[614] must be emphasized that if the members of the immediate family are slow to validate a dead man's names, they may be taken by any member of the ancestral family.

463 In former days it was customary to create a "remem-
869 brancer" to preserve the ancestral myth. The older and more influential members of the ancestral family would choose an
[614] intelligent young relative to whom to relate the myth in great detail. One informant described how her mother, the last official "remembrancer," had been instructed by her grandfather. The old man had been accustomed to take his granddaughter, a girl about twelve years of age, to bed with him, and whisper to her the myth, with his hand pressed over her anus to prevent escape of his words. At the conclusion of the recitation
[789] he always spat in her ears to make the words stick. The members of the ancestral family, recognizing that the "remembrancer" was the person best acquainted with the myth, were wont to consult him or her about it, and, of course, about the
[553] names embodied in it. A "remembrancer" had no authority to decree who should receive names, but appeals were often made to him, and a tactful individual was frequently able to settle disputes.

578 Considering the extreme fluidity of the whole system it is
428 surprising that quarrels are not more common. These are limited by the system of wills, through which a man bequeaths
614 his most valuable personal property, especially his intangible
553 property in *kusiut* name-prerogatives (II, p. 2). Ancestral

[6]At the present time the same principle governs the disposal of houses and gardens on the reserve.

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*556 More goods are brought forth. In like fashion all kinds of things are bestowed: a copper, "to support Y's back"; a moose-skin, "to shield him from the fire"; two slaves, "to make him strong and heavy as he moves about the earth"; a pile of blankets, "to provide a cape to keep him warm"; more goods, "to give him shoes"; some cloth, "to wipe his mouth after eating"; and other things to provide him with hat, leggings, and so on. The family of Y keep telling the heralds that they have more goods, so that he knows how long to continue his complaint about Y's needs.

As soon as all the available goods have been piled up, they are given to the guests, who are witnesses of the validation of the name and seat in the house. Theoretically, the value of the present received by each is not affected by the rank of the recipient. X decides whether or not each guest shall receive a present of like value, or whether men shall receive more than women. Owing to the difficulty of accurate estimation of the amount required, there is often a residue, which is given away to the more important chiefs. These goods are strictly not returnable. They are spoken of as having "become nothing," with reference to the name and seat in question.

Exactly the same procedure is carried out for every young person whom X wishes to start or to validate in his seat. Parents take advantage of a potlatch to "strengthen" their children in this way, and X never refuses a request for participation. It is always announced whence have come the goods for distribution, so that X receives no direct increase of fame, if they have been provided solely by the relatives of the youth, but, indirectly, his prestige is increased through the transaction having taken place at his potlatch.

It is at this time too that other names are validated. There will be usually a number of infants whose parents wish them to receive their first child names, such as are incorporated in the family myths. Likewise, men may be confirmed in their
*556 occupations, as warriors, singers, or other professions in which
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success, according to the Bella Coola, depends upon the goods expended in their establishment (I, p. 261).

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Throughout all this ceremonial the initiates have been carefully concealed in the back-room. They are now eagerly, though with trepidation, awaiting their time to dance. The order of appearance is a matter of no importance. It is arranged by the singers, who send word to one of the initiates and then begin to beat out one of his songs. He emerges, clad in a ceremonial blanket, wearing a *susaok* head-dress, and holding a rattle in his hand. Taking up his station behind the fire he dances in time to the beating of sticks. As he does so, the speaker calls upon X's wife to bring forward goods as "cedar-bark mats for him to stand upon," or "cedar-bark mats to make soft his seat." These are piled at some convenient spot. After dancing, the initiate retires to the back-room, accompanied by one of the older members of the *susaok* society, perhaps a *siki*. This man presently emerges, saying:

"It is most peculiar. An eagle is there now."[30]

At the same time a whistle sounds from the back-room, in imitation of the scream of an eagle.

There ensues a constant interplay of remarks between the heralds and those regulating the ceremony. One of the former may call out:

"Let us see it."

The elder returns to the back-room, saying, "I will bring it out."

There now emerges a figure masked to represent an eagle, or whatever bird or animal it may be, with a long blanket covering all but the feet. Any clever dancer is employed to wear this disguise, seldom the initiate himself. The "eagle" bends down beside the singers as if whispering a song to them, though in reality they have themselves composed it. They sing this as the masked figure moves around the fire, imitating the gait of an eagle with considerable dramatic skill, while an

[30] Or whatever may have been the guise in which the *tsiwinam* came to him, in itself dependent on his ancestral myth.

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pended, so that it serves as a visible and tangible memorandum of the chief-like generosity of its owner. By means of these media, debts are passed from one individual to another without actual liquidation in goods; in fact, it is unlikely that the Bella Coola possess sufficient money to meet the sums represented by their coppers. 556* [435] [426]

Professional Prerogatives

The importance of prerogatives in the lives of the Bella Coola has already been noted in many connections. A man's name is his only because his ancestral family has the prerogative of using that designation; a *kusiut* dance can be performed only by an individual with the necessary prerogative; specific totem-pole designs, the portrayal of bird or animal on spoons, seats, house-posts, and other objects is a right dependent upon an ancestral prerogative; as is also the area on which a man can hunt or fish. The concept colours all Bella Coola life. Not only is a man's ceremonial life based on this principle, but on it depend his actions as chief, and the economic sources of his food-supply. No prerogative, even though it be the property of a man, is effective until validated by the distribution of presents. Much of a man's energy throughout life is expended on the validation and display of his prerogatives; most Bella Coola feuds are caused by the infringement of one individual on another's rights. 424 556* [532] [796] [431] [627] [578]

In addition to the various types already mentioned, there are a number of professional prerogatives on which depend a man's vocation. That of herald approximates this class, although the Bella Coola consider it rather as a right operative only during ceremonials. Professional prerogatives rest on the belief that a man's ability as a hunter, wood-worker, and so forth does not rest in his innate skill, but upon an inherited right which must be confirmed and validated by the distribution of presents. These can be given at any convenient time when the people have been called together, but, as it is to the man's advantage to have his right made known as widely 424 463 556*

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424 as possible, a potlatch is the most suitable occasion. Goods
463 distributed for this purpose are not returnable; they have
556 "become nothing" in the acquisition. The value of presents so
bestowed differs enormously; a man who is proud of his prerogative validates it lavishly until he is strong in his vocation, whereas another establishes himself on a lesser scale. The origin
[773] of professional rights, like so many of other kinds, is lost in antiquity and ascribed to the wishes of *Alquntin* as expressed to the first people. Some of the early settlers came to earth
[551] with definite duties and vocations, each indicated by a special name; others, lacking these, created them through their own enormous power. At the death of one of these incumbents,
424 his name passed to one of his relatives who acted in the same
463 manner as his predecessor after duly validating the name in
553 question. Ever since that time, the owner of a confirmed pro-
556 fessional name has been able to perform the functions of the prerogative. This is never a man's sole designation, but merely
[551] an addition to those of ancestral, *kwiat*, *nawk*, and other types. Like them, professional names are usually willed by their owners, though if this is neglected, one can be revived by any member of the deceased's ancestral family. In such a case, the older people usually decide on a suitable incumbent and suggest the matter to him; if he does not accept, the opportunity is given to another. If a member of the group is eager to validate the name, it is unlikely that anyone would try to
[789] forestall him. Ability in certain respects can also be obtained by magical means (I, p. 701), and a member of the ancestral family so endowed is the natural choice for the prerogative in question.

Prerogatives of this kind can be grouped according to the types of vocation included.

THE PROFESSIONS OF RIVER GUARDIAN

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463 In the beginning of time, *Alquntin* is said to have sent
551 down with *Qoil*, who landed on the mountain behind *Qwaqa'a*,
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a man, or *nuaiza*, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience 424
to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it 463
has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this func- 551
tion. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the valid- 693
ation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary
ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but [793]
non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required
by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name *or nuaiza*
has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been en- 784
forced concerning the river: No refuse may be thrown in, 825
otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the 226
same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe
lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them [515]
from seeing the route. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes 841
is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the [562]
fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the
bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to
drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical
period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can
be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed [502]
must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose
husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at [765]
the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of
the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be
deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would
smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the
upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are con-
sidered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the 688
salmon kind it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the 693
offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringe-
ments, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river.
The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be
swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

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his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without hesitation.

THE PROFESSION OF UTTERING A DRONING CRY

At the appearance of masked figures representing supernatural beings, whether in *xaxaxt* or *kwiwi* dances, many of the women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents. Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women were given by *Alqantém*, or acquired in other ways, the right to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously described, many of the first women possessed this privilege, which is accordingly common at the present time. A name of this type is usually conferred in girlhood, sometimes even in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One of these names is *Nuxuqmulelaipsa*, which has reference to the blue-green sheen of some abalone-shell brought from the east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incumbent to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of time, *Smaaw* of Kimsquit married *Tlátmaitl*, the daughter of a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kimsquit.

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quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type. 424 767 463

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly validated before she can function. One of these is *Stkwastwâ-nimdn-a*, another is *ła'ye*. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditized. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to ripen the berries. 222 424 [463] [551] [562] [532] [789]

"Get ready to pick red elderberries [or whatever species is ripe] tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. As far as could be learnt, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker; obedience seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared. [688] [183]

THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring validation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors confirmed as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal on them of professional names. At the present time, it is 701 [424] [463] [431] [551]

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701 than that of anyone else. The Bella Coola do not rationalize
156 in a scientific manner; if a man holds a belief firmly, he acts on it without questioning its logic. Moreover, if a professional warrior functions a number of times, this in itself is enough to strengthen his conviction that he must act henceforth in the same way. It can be said with confidence that the owner of
[463] a professional prerogative has considerable belief in his own powers, that this acts on himself to render him proficient, and that the majority of the community have respect for his capabilities.

555 THE PROFESSION OF SINGER

424 Singing is one of the professions open to a Bella Coola
533 either through natural ability or an ancestral prerogative. There is a constant need for men able to sing and compose
[463] songs for every kind of ceremonial, so a young man of talent has little difficulty in gaining admittance to the choir. He may even win great distinction and become recognized as the leading authority on musical matters. None the less, his success is considered to be accidental and unsubstantial, lacking the foundation that comes from the possession of a duly validated professional prerogative. A person made a singer by the latter means may be entirely unable to compose; in this case he is not a member of the choir, although he enjoys the social distinction which he has won by distributing goods to confirm his professional name. The singer most respected is he who combines with natural ability a confirmed prerogative to give substance and power to his position and composi-
[553] tions. At the death of such an one, an effort is always made
[428] by the members of his ancestral family to transmit the name to a youth who has shown musical promise. Arguments and
[578] differences of opinion are common among the members of the choir and in such cases the self-assurance and influence of a man whose position has been made strong by the distribution of presents often outweighs that of one who can rely only on his actual ability.

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THE PROFESSION OF CARPENTER

335 As with singers, there are many carpenters who ply their 424 trade without the advantage of an ancestral prerogative. They, also, may be expert and receive credit for their skill, but they 463 can never achieve quite the distinction that comes to a man 555 who has been made a carpenter by the distribution of presents. The latter may be so clumsy with tools that no one would ever trust him to make a canoe, or even a mask; but he is, socially, a carpenter, whereas a skilled artisan lacking a prerogative is admired for his ability but has no foundation of social esteem. In transmitting a professional carpenter's name, however, an [553] effort is always made to give it to a youth with a bent in that direction.

The most esteemed carpenters are those who can make 335 canoes, a trade which requires no special prerogative. In the 773 beginning of time, *Yulätimut* was the canoe-maker *par excellence;* he assisted many of the first people, and no one can have a professional prerogative as carpenter unless this supernatural being appears in his ancestral myth. The Bella Coola ascribe [829] the skill of the Bella Bella in carpentry to the fact that *Yulätimut* married a Bella Bella woman in the early period of the world and that many of that tribe are his descendants. In the 335 old days, before the coming of the white men, carpenters were always respected as esteemed members of the community. [554] Chiefs always cared for them, and they received abundant food at every ceremonial. None the less, they were not wealthy, [177] and only in recent years, since the Bella Coola have realized the value put upon good craftsmanship by the white men, has it become customary to give valuable presents to carpenters. Ceremonially, they have considerable influence, since the car- [532] penter who makes a mask usually decides who shall wear it and takes charge of the fitting and adjustment. He is also held responsible for any accident such as its falling when in use or for mechanical defects.

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THE PROFESSION OF HUNTER

224 424 Another profession which is entered by means of an ancestral prerogative is that of hunting. Many Bella Coola have [463] validated their right to this vocation, some by confirming names created by their early ancestors, others by legalizing those brought down from above in the beginning of time. [551] One of the latter is *Lalaimkila*, "The Brusher Off," so-called because the owner is such a successful hunter that he can sweep mountain goats from the mountains as easily as an ordinary person can brush insects from a wall. Unlike the professions of carpenter and singer, it is believed that legalization of a hunter's name always brings success to the holder; perhaps because everyone is more or less successful, it follows [555] that whatever good fortune is achieved by a professional hunter can be attributed to the validation of his prerogative. Others, [556] lacking this assistance, may be proficient, but their success never carries with it the social prestige gained by a man who has distributed goods to substantiate the prerogative.

224 424 184 There is a difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not certain hunting methods are inheritable prerogatives. With the introduction of rifles, these have long [177] been discontinued, and no definite information was obtained regarding the social position of their users. Several of the older men believed that the contrivances depended upon ancestral prerogatives, whereas others stated that they were merely individual discoveries which could have been, and in many cases were, imitated by anyone. It seems probable that most of the following practices are prerogatives, although it may be that they are no more than special hunting devices suitable only in certain areas and, therefore, limited to the members of the ancestral family owning that particular locality.

223 424 The method about which the most definite information was obtained, was one formerly employed by a certain *Nuxalxiq* to catch geese at *Tāl·io*. According to one elderly Bella Coola,

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ālqim: Something long sought-for on account of its especial desirability, such as well-grained wood.

ālqim was mnas: Child whose parents were long engaged and who is accordingly regarded as being well prepared for. [554]

ālqlus: Sisook initiate concealed within the back-room.

Ālqnalili: One of the first men to settle in Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

ālqo: Guests at a potlatch.

Alqoxnkam, "The Shelterer": Name assumed by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.

ālqpmāsimis, "What Has Been Shaken Off": Term applied to presents distributed when a corpse has been carried through the roof. The implication is that they are dust shaken from the fingers of the deceased. [431] [764]

Ālquntām: 1—The supreme god.
2—One of the first men to settle on the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
4—Tail of a *Stuix* repository.

Alquntamaāks: 1—Mountain on the north side of the lower Bella Coola.
2—Name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Snuhli* in the beginning of time.

ālqwallaiyly: Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for direct address. [601]

Alqwahntutl: Supernatural artisans who made mankind in the beginning of time. [576]

alq"il: Presents given to validate the initiation of a *kusiut.* [431]

Alqwutimut: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

ālsmnuskwanahmy: Professional mourner. [463]

ālsmnuyaiyetl: Professional droner at marriages.

ālsmyamux: Professional hunter.

ālsmyalit: Professional warrior.

Alsnkāu-i: Kimsquit fisherman living in the last century.

ālq'xu: Olachen net.

Alsiāy: Celebrated hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

alsks ol di qualam: Second oldest sibling. [601]

Ālsimos: Repository of a Kimsquit Cannibal where cures are effected.

ālstaemlt: Professional warrior. [463]

ālstuxwaiāum: Professional river guard.

Alswalqāmus: Mountain near mouth of the Kimsquit River.

ālstwala: Shaman.

ālsliwosthma: 1—Meeting of those who have given potlatches. [753]
2—Unidentified disease said to attack only chiefs.

ālshimut: Marriage associates, i.e. those who, not being relatives, wish to associate themselves with the bride's family in the financial transactions of a marriage.

Ālsnphāmum: Name applied to the supernatural artisans with reference to their construction of everything used by mankind.

Ālsskiwaāum, "Cloud-Covered": Name applied to the supernatural being *Nastqmm* with reference to his frequent invisibility.

Ālsskmāx-aix, "The Highest of All Chiefs' Sons:" Name of *Smaoan's* son in the beginning of time.

Ālsr-āmāx, "Falling Star-Fish": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

Ālsqpx, "The Roof-Maker": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

ālsslāk: One who has received a commission for carpentry work in preparation for a potlatch. [465]

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Anutlix: Village near mouth of the Dean River.
Anulsilam: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ănutsqwa·xtl, "Labretted": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Anuxemlaix: Name obtained by an *Ăłqăłxl* man in the beginning of time.
Anuqulmmut, "Quivering To and Fro": One of *Thitcaplilan·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Ănuximăłos: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Anuximăn·a: 1—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
2—"Left Hand": *Stnux* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
[431] [426] *ănuqop':* Term applied to the giving of a copper, indicating that 100 per cent interest is expected in return.
Ănuximmămut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
[463] *anuxwitchm·aix: Kusiut* profession, at Kimsquit only, of throwing masks on the fire.
Ănuxwoisikmals, "The Moving House": One of the names of the supreme god's dwelling.
ănuyax: 1—Owner of a puppet-patron.
2—Synonym for *usămămmtnm,* q.v.
Ănuyulikailaix: Supernatural being who robs *kukusiut* of their thoughts at the Mystery dance.
Ao·sti: 1—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Ăłqăłxl* in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Bella chief.
ăpi: Excreta.
Ăpstl·a, "The Privy One": Name taken by a chief for himself in virtue of the remarks made about his habits.
[825] *Aqalais: Sisook* name of a Kimsquit man.
[824] *ăqam:* Herring eggs.
ăqmxulp: Cottonwood.
ăqna: Type of sea-going canoe.
[825] *ăqna:* Harlequin duck.
Ăsaikaiyutmaxmm, "The Constant Eater": Term used by hunters to Eagle.
Ăsăn·ăn·i, "Concave Town": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
ăs·wanăg: Canoes lashed together.
As·ăx: Locality on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head, including the area beneath the surface of the water.
[601] *as·iks·tl:* 1—Second oldest sibling.
2—Second part of song.
[775] *asiutănum:* 1—"They Who Have Become Supernatural": Title preferred by ghosts.
2—Woman living in the moon.
As·ixumy: Inhabitants of the village of *As·ăx*ʷ.
[424] *as·umsmaius:* Person with good memory commissioned to remember family prerogatives.
*Ăs·ăx*ʷ, "At the Head": Village southwest of the head of South Bentinck Arm.
ăskaiăł: Totem-pole, *literally,* "Outside Post."
[756] *ăsnăłots:* Shaman with power derived from ghosts.
ăspăhăm: Ceremonial bathing at dawn.
[515] *Ăsskusailaix: Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
Ăsumkh: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

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[825] *Lakläklis:* Kimsquit man mentioned in ancient story.
lá·kts: Squirrel.
Laqwomais: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Łomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
2—Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
[463] *Laxaiyao·k':* Name of a professional warrior; the word is said to have originateed in Kitkatla but has remained for many generations in Kimsquit.
La'xlx: Atnarko River, northern fork of the Bella Coola.
Lalämsk: Sisaok name of a Kimsquit man.
Lalaimkila, "The Brusher Off [of Goats]": Professional name of one of the first settlers at *Snuiłli* in the beginning of time. This may be the same word as *Lalemkila.*
Lalemkila: Another name for *Twalaitit,* the supernatural hunter. This may be the same word as *Lalaimkila.*
[825] *Lilitwumlaix:* 1—"The Beautifier": Supernatural name of Otter.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[886] *lisdjuditls:* Return in old age to the thoughts and actions of infancy, senile decay.
[426] *lisdjut:* To repay indebtedness of any kind, especially presents received at potlatches.
[583] *lisliwadjut,* "A Paying": An arrangement by which a man's sons-in-law give hiim as "wife" an infant female relative by way of repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters.
listomax: Wrestling or shoving.
lilstom: Abbreviated Cannibal rite.
Łe·qwa·t: 1—Famous Bella Bella chief.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
lulusta: Mask.
lula: Tool for making vertical incisions in the bark of cedar trees.

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Łakwakila: Tsawat man living in the beginning of time.
Łalaiuks: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.
[823] *łalia:* 1—Copper.
2—Unidentified town on the outer coast, mentioned in a story of the beginning of time.
3—Chief of this town.
łaliasiuti: Daughter of chief of the town of Copper.
łalioolul: Copper canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
łaliaks: Man's name, created by the first settlers at *Sałlia,* in the beginning of time.
łaliakdja: Name taken for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
łaliaks: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
łaliamq: Sisaok name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Alpałtal* in the beginning of time.
łaliaxs, "The Copper One": One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Saiutl: Thunder, anthropomorphized. 192*
Saixnäs: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. [821]
salälsi: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property. [173]
sä·lkälstumm: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kusiut* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food. [431]
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal. [257]
sä·lpsta: Cannibalistic incubus.
sä·lpstumm: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day. [585]
sälisskdimut: Profession of *kusiut* executioner. [431]
sälukwalas: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him. [463]
säml: Sockeye salmon. [825]
Sänoilgumulelts Alquntäm: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sanunusmmlaix: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land above.
Sänutlkm or *Sänutlkmdimut:* One of the names of Mount *Nusqalst* as chief.
Sänuximäxots, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Stuax* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sätx; *vocative*, *sätäi*; *vocative plural*, *sätxwa·ks:* Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
sä·tla: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Sätlia: Village at point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Sätlyenuts: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Sä·ima: Death, anthropomorphized. [761]
salolts: Whetstone, *archaic*. [412]
Sä·tsk': 1—Kimsquit River.
2—Village near the mouth of the river. [101]
Sä·tskamg: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley.
satskwal·a: Raft.
Sä·tlamnän·i: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
sewa: Pillow. [573]
sewadjut, "Pillowness": *Kusiut* ceremonial at which no call is present.
saxi, *vocative*, *saxinao:* Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family. [601]
Saxinao: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story. [824]
säxkam: Bracken.
säxwänos: Tide flats. [823]
sakdjulk: Heart.
Satwalosam: That part of *Sonq*" which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Samhetl: Village on Rivers Inlet.
Samsiutän·i: Part of a peculiar repository.
samsamlkdimut, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steelhead salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
su'mista, "Resting Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this. [805]
sankwolsäm: Leader of musicians. [821]

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121 128 If I were to investigate and report on the Bella Coola at the present time, I would undoubtedly be influenced by many years of contact with American anthropologists and their work. I would assume a greater knowledge of North-West coast institutions, less interest in the details of ceremonial rites, and it would be impossible not to avoid comparisons with, and observations upon, the theoretical implications of many of the facts recorded. But though every field investigator is strictly objective as to the facts he collects, yet his interests, and his method of presenting them, are coloured by his background; in my case, by the older school of English anthropology. On the whole, I think this is fortunate. It means that the Bella Coola are portrayed as I saw them when I came fresh to a new field, practically uninfluenced by problems of North-West coast culture, and fully prepared to throw myself into their life. They were "my people," not a group in which I was interested because they had, or had not, certain culture traits with which I was concerned. In the course of my teaching experience, furthermore, I have wished repeatedly to give serious students detailed field monographs in which are recorded the interwoven social, religious, and folk-lore concepts of a people, the sum-total of their mental life, collected by one man at one time. This I have tried to do for the Bella Coola.

123 Following the English tradition, I wish to record how this material was collected. Before leaving for British Columbia, [115] I was advised by the late H. I. Smith, who had worked in the area, to talk to Joshua Moody (see Plate 2), an elderly Bella Coola Indian with whom Smith had worked. On explaining to Joshua that I had come to record in permanent form the traditions and lore of *his* people, Joshua grinned broadly and promised his help. Unfortunately, he spoke only a few words of English. I tried interpreter after interpreter, Indian and white, with only fair success, and my difficulties increased with the [464] opening of the canning season and the consequent employment of the younger men and women. I was urged to learn the [122] Chinook jargon, which serves widely as a *lingua franca* on the [198]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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coast, and began the study with much misgiving. The results were surprisingly satisfactory.

After a few weeks I found that I had sufficient knowledge of Chinook to dispense with interpreters and deal directly with the older people, a tremendous advantage. Pride of ancestry is one of the strongest characteristics of the Bella Coola, and once convinced of my sincere interest in and respect for their history, they were willing to talk. They resent the condescension with which most white men regard them, so that contact with one who was friendly and sympathetic came as a pleasant surprise. There were, of course, difficulties. The canning season had begun and every able-bodied man was working away from the village. The conviction of each person that he was the best source of information, and that conferences with another were useless or unreliable, caused distrust. The desire of each informant to discuss only what interested him; the complexity of Bella Coola life itself; the necessity of checking every statement, and the extreme difficulty of doing so on account of discrepancies in the myths of different families; the fear, almost groundless, of each individual that someone else had infringed on his rights by recounting some legend; and, not least, the need for tact, patience, and a sense of humour under all conditions, were some of the obstacles to be surmounted. Nor was Chinook entirely satisfactory. It has enough words for matters pertaining to fishing, hunting, and trading, but for the realms of sociology or theology it is inadequate. This difficulty could not have been overcome without the patient help of my informants. Animated by the desire to help, they used every expedient in the way of parallel and synonym to explain obscure terms. Sometimes a younger man was called in for some abstruse meaning; more often it gradually became clear from different applications. Once the significance of a word was definitely understood, I made a note of it and used it henceforth. A useful vocabulary was thus built up, and conversations were carried on in mixed Bella Coola and Chinook, eked out by whatever English words were known by the person with

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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177 their earning ability and a man can satisfy his wants by working
182 for a few months each summer. The decline of ceremonials has left a blank in their lives, too easily filled, alas, with drinking, idleness, and vice. It is inevitable that the old rites and old ambitions should pass, but the prohibition of these before new ones had taken their place, has been disastrous. The Bella Coola have lost their pride, a calamity as fatal to a people as to an individual.

They have shown undoubted ability in developing such of their own talents as fit the needs and requirements of the white man. Expert carpenters for generations, they have readily [322] learnt the use of new tools and now build houses and boats of considerable constructional skill. They have proved them- [464] selves valuable employees of the canneries which rely to a large extent upon Indian labour. Under instruction from a [533] white teacher, a number of the younger men have formed a band which gives creditable performances with wind and percussion instruments. One can only deplore the fact that the skill of the Bella Coola in carving, painting, acting, singing, composing, and story-telling could not have been guided into channels where it would have developed and added lustre to the new world in which they find themselves.

The white man's civilization presses forward as an overwhelming flood, blotting out the cultures of lesser peoples in all parts of the world. This is inevitable, probably it is well that it should be so, but it offers little consolation to a tribe like the Bella Coola. Their life has been destroyed; and, wonderingly, half-proudly, half-plaintively, the survivors watch the downfall of all that their ancestors cherished. Too often the white man fails to understand this; too often he fails to realize that progress, as he sees it, is wiping out valuable elements of civilizations other than his own instead of seeking the good in them and preserving it for the benefit of himself and the native alike. The Bella Coola culture is dying, and with it will pass forever something created by a Canadian people, not great perhaps, but ineffably stamped with their personality.

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
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SYMPATHETIC MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE BELLACOOLA

By HARLAN I. SMITH

177 754 789 [797] 658 464 MANY OF the Bellacoola Indians today believe in sympathetic magic and witchcraft, after over a hundred years of contact with white men. Most of them live within hearing of the bells of the mission church, and the government school. Not a few of the men take logging contracts; some of them build and operate motor boats; many of them join the fishing fleets of the salmon canneries; most of the women work in the canneries; and all deal at the white men's stores.

101 131 [161] The Bellacoola lived at the heads of the long inlets half way up the Pacific Coast of Canada and in the tributary Bella Coola valley. Now, numbering perhaps two hundred and fifty, they, with the exception of a few families, are concentrated on one reservation at the mouth of the Bella Coola river. The Bella Coola valley has been called the Norway of Canada. This was where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada overland, reached the sea.

105 Aboriginally, the Bellacoola were of the North Pacific Coast culture of America, which is characterized by the extensive use of red cedar and sea products, particularly salmon, the making of graceful, sea-going canoes, each hewn from a single cedar, the erection of large rectangular houses made of cedar planks, with carved house posts and totem poles, lack of pottery, and expertness in carpenter work, carving, and painting. This culture belongs to the barefoot area, but the Bellacoolas wore moccasins to a certain extent. The art of the area was that best known from the paintings and carvings of the totem poles, largely of conventionalized animal forms. The life centred around a very highly developed social organization, an extensive and powerful financial system, and property rights to names, rituals and honors. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. They

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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are built. The central fire is laid in the bottom of the pit, a few feet above that is the platform where the guests are seated, and the ground-level is a few feet above that again. A few instances are remembered of houses having been built with two, and even three, of these tiers, or platforms. In those cases it appears certain that this type of construction was embodied in a myth derived from Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people, where, according to the Bella Coola, large houses, of five or six tiers, were not unknown. 342 424 556* [177]

X uses his own discretion in choosing his workmen,[1] avoiding only his own relatives and those of his wife. The question of pay is never broached, but it is understood that X will recompense those who have worked for him. The scale on which he does so will depend entirely on his generosity. This is one of the ways in which a chief helps the poor people of his village. More food is distributed to "sharpen the wedges." 335 556* 465

While a man is engaged on his allotted task any food or other articles which he or his family may obtain belongs to X. If a man who hews the planks takes his wife with him and she chances to pick berries while he is at work, these must be given to X who will distribute them with his other food at the potlatch, and it will be announced from whom he has received them. If a man's friends should help him to complete his task and then all go hunting, any skins acquired will belong to X; but when he repays his indebtedness he is expected to reward the worker, not only for his carpentry, but also for the berries or pelts. As X must give lavishly to prove his chief-like generosity, the collection of foods or skins by his workmen is profitable for them.

The guests have been passing in and out of X's house all day and towards dusk all again assemble within. Suddenly the door is burst open by a number of young men carrying a large log, like a battering-ram. The majority of the bearers are *nsek*, though they may obtain assistance from those who are not members of the society. The people within the house spring up to eject the ram, and a sham battle ensues. Back- 556* [575]

1 [ie. to build a new house for a potlatch. -ANALYST]

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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which X has amassed. These have been collected in boxes near the fire where he, aided by members of his family, is constantly poring over the question of their proper distribution. One or two fluent chiefs have been chosen by X to act as speakers, and, as he tells them which gift is to be given to which man, the speaker holds up the article in question and announces the name of the recipient. It is also proclaimed from whom, and for what reason X has received each assortment of goods, thereby making known the names of those who have contributed. In this way a man is glorified who has repaid with large interest a debt owing to X. In the case of skins or rolls of cloth, the goods about to be given out are held outspread by several people at their full length, prior to being torn into strips. Each beneficiary accepts what is coming to him from the hands of the young men who act as deliverers without displaying either gratitude or disgust, whether or not the present comes up to his expectations. The point of view is that the matter concerns X alone; on his generosity depends his status in the community. 556*

The first gifts distributed are actually payments, though never referred to as such. The Bella Coola consider that X is under obligations to those who have helped him prepare for the potlatch and that he is discharging these obligations by presents. The carpenters who have made the new house, the totem-pole, and other objects used in the rites, must be rewarded, likewise the singers who have composed the songs, the messengers, the women wailers, the masked dancers, the announcers who even now are distributing the goods, the boys helping with the cooking, the guests who make speeches—one and all have to be compensated. It is an anxious time for X, as he must not overlook any of these functionaries. Paper and pencil are now used to assist the memory, but long ago the only aids were bundles of sticks. No system of symbolism was evolved, each man merely chose a stick and designated it in his mind as a reminder to pay such or such an individual. The 556* 465 [211]

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* 552 skill shown by those who assisted, as well as the generosity of
● 465 X, regulates the disbursements.

The following presents of money were given at a potlatch held about 1890, and were considered reasonable.

For painting two designs[32] on the front outside wall of the house	$ 40.00
For the erection of four upright posts, supporting the walls and roof of the house	30.00
For each longitudinal beam with painting	20.00
For each cross-beam, without painting	10.00
For the planking of the side walls[33]	100.00
For painting the rear wall of house, which is also the outside wall of the back-room[34]	40.00

[435] An average totem-pole would cost perhaps $150, but the prices varied greatly with size, complexity of design, and skill displayed.

426 The next distribution is of goods to repay debts which X
*556 has incurred at previous potlatches, that is, to return "investment presents" then received (I, p. 232). This is known as *lisdjut*, "repay," and the word is applied to all kinds of repayments, including revenge. One of a chief's difficulties is to remember his indebtedness. He may have been a guest at twenty potlatches, and at each has received presents varying in value, not only from different donors, but from other people
[867] associated with them. To keep these accurately in mind is hard but essential, and parents carefully train their children to do so.

As previously mentioned, the Bella Coola have no fixed scale of interest on debts. Careful inquiries made on that point disclosed the idea to be entirely foreign. The greater the interest, the greater does the donor show himself to be. If, for example, X received an investment present of one hundred blankets from a Bella Bella chief ten years previously,

[532] [342] [32]When two are painted, that on the left of the central door on entering portrays X's father's crest, that on the right his mother's.

[33]Four men would work together on this task.

[34]Two men would work together at this, the choice of designs corresponding to those of the outside front.

* 556 assistant blows a whistle, sounding like an eagle. When the
575 figure has disappeared into the back-room, the heralds discuss
with one another in a loud tone of voice how that was the form
[535] in which the initiate's ancestor appeared long ago. At the
present time there is uncertainty concerning the proper ritual
connected with the appearance of the *tutuinam* at this juncture.

A senior *sisaok* then calls on X to bring forward goods, "to shield our eyes from the supernatural being." These articles, part of which may have been provided by relatives of the initiate, are piled beside those brought forward by X's wife, which may also have come from the same source.

[535] The singers strike up the second song of the initiate; again he appears and dances to it, then vanishes into the rear room.

The two assortments of goods are now distributed. First, those provided by X are presented to the singers who composed
[465] the songs for the initiates, to the carpenters who made the masks, the heralds, and announcers, and any others who have assisted; if any remain they are presented to the stranger-guests. Then the goods which are "mats for the dancer's feet" are distributed, entirely to the guests, and are said to have "become nothing" or to have "flowed away" in the transaction. Neither set of goods is returnable. These presents validate in the eyes of the guests, the right of the initiate to membership in the *sisaok* society.

Then a second, third, or fourth neophyte is called out, one at a time, and the same procedure is repeated.[41] In distributing the goods, efforts are made to remember those guests who received nothing at the first distribution.

Toward dawn, one of the important chiefs, it is immaterial which one, calls out:

"I want a *siki*."

[789] It is understood that for this part of the ceremony a foreign expert is required, and one such comes forward according to previous arrangement. He retires to the back-room and re-

[41] Though desirable, it is seldom possible for all the initiates to dance on the same night.

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There now remains only the necessity of removing from the house itself the supernatural power with which it is firmly believed to have been impregnated throughout the many weeks of the ceremony. Should this not be done, it would be so strong that only *nuxuk* could thenceforth live in it, and no *hamat* rite could be performed therein. One of the senior chiefs, acting on X's behalf, requests as many *siki* as are present to go to the back-room. At the same time a drum is beaten slowly. The *siki* call out loudly, in unison, *hoip* four times. The whistles sound from the back-room with ever-increasing intensity, as if the supernatural being, whose voice they are, were going away. It is said that this practice has been comparatively recently adopted from Rivers Inlet: there used to be nothing of the kind. The *siki* re-emerge, and one of them stands behind the fire with his stick which he beats on the floor and calls on the audience to shout with him, "*hi* . . ." This is done four times. It serves to purify the house from the supernatural power with which it has been saturated. The people then disperse, without food.

Goods from the general store are reserved to pay these men for their services, and also for cleansing the initiates from the powers with which they have been imbued, a rite that takes place the following morning in the presence of several *siki* alone. The initiates are brought from the back-room and seated in a close circle between the door and the fire.* A foreign *siki* is chosen by X to perform the actual cleansing rite. He has been asked beforehand and has come provided with a long pole and some soiled clothing. It is immaterial whose this is, provided that it has been in contact with a human body; the most potent articles are commonly cedar-bark pads.

The *siki* covers the young man with a large cedar-bark mat. Then he fastens the clothing or pads to his pole and holds the end in the fire until they are smouldering. Then he swings it four times over the heads of the initiates and throws the stick

*Behind the fire according to some informants.

with the objects back on the fire. In some cases four sets of cloths are used. This rite, which is regarded as very important, frees the lads from the supernatural powers with which they have been endowed, and permits them finally to leave the back-room and return to normal life, just as their earlier cleansing freed them from the *tsetsiwas*. During their period of seclusion no initiate can perform a *kaxiw* ceremony of any kind. The supernatural beings of the two seasons, though closely akin, are yet independent, and it would be unthinkable for a man to come into contact with the two at the same time, unless he should be the owner of a rare prerogative enabling him to do so. Only a few men have the right, which undoubtedly was derived either from the Bella Bella or the people of Rivers Inlet.

X pays the functioning *ulki* with new clothing. This completes the whole ceremony. The guests either return home or adjourn to some other house where a potlatch is taking place, but no rites mark their departure.

Such, then, are the principal features of the Bella Coola potlatch. Without making a careful comparison of its features with those of neighbouring tribes, the following points stand out with great clearness:

(1) The basic concepts of the potlatch in Bella Coola are the same as those of the rite practised elsewhere on the coast.

(2) A potlatch has not the same importance at Bella Coola as it has on other parts of the coast, especially among the Kwakiutl. All informants stated emphatically that they did not carry their potlatches to the same lengths as did the "foolish" Kwakiutl, nor were they as keen financiers. A Bella Coola would never entirely impoverish himself by lavish giving.

(3) The potlatch, though fundamentally the same as it is elsewhere on the coast, has certain rites characteristic of the locality. The central Bella Coola feature, the return of a dead ancestor, is not equally important elsewhere. It would be interesting to be able to trace the history of this. The most

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as easy as possible. Women seldom experience difficulty and suffer, on the whole, less than do white mothers. It is believed that *Sisiutewas*, though invisible, is present on every occasion; the rendering of assistance at childbirth is his one kindly act.

The umbilical cord was formerly cut with a mussel shell, but for many years the use of a metal knife has been customary. The after-birth usually comes away easily, but if there is delay hot ashes are placed around the feet and at the back of the woman to accelerate its expulsion. It is immediately buried or placed beneath a large tree in the forest; if burnt, the infant will always be weakly. While one of the assistants disposes of it, another washes the new-born child. The cloths and dishes used for this purpose are burnt; failure to do so is believed to cause the child to become blind through a white film forming over the eyeballs. Then the mother and midwives return to the house with the infant, who is a source of tremendous interest to the community. It is proper for the fathers to compensate the attendants at once, in accordance with their skill and his generosity. A woman who has had several children often assists the daughter of a friend, then, as she gains more experience, her reputation grows and her help is more commonly sought. At the time of this study, 1922, the sum of $5.50 was considered suitable recompense for a fairly proficient midwife.

A new-born child takes the breast readily and a mother would be considered harsh indeed if she failed to suckle her infant whenever it cried, since scientific hours for feeding are not known. A child is wrapped in a shawl or a blanket and carried by the mother wherever she goes; when in the house [illegible] When the umbilical cord falls, it is preserved by the mother. Soon after birth, the parents make provision for their child's welfare by magical means (I, p. 700). The heavy infantile death-rate of the Bella Coola cannot be attributed to lack of love or care on the part of parents, but the attention lavished is commonly not of the kind that assists a weakly child to survive the perils of infancy.

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to whom they are going, and for what purpose. He says, for example:

"Fifty skins become nothing on the path of *Kalikas*."

Everyone knows that this means the expenditure of that amount for the singing of a mourning song in connection with the myth in which *Kalikas* appears. Gifts must be given for each song, and it is the desire of the donor that they be of fitting value. So, too, in the validation of professional mourners conferred. The goods having thus been displayed, a first distribution, called "Tears" with reference to the donor's grief, is made, each guest receiving a gift of the same worth. It is not returnable, being the implication of the ceremony he has just witnessed. This is followed by donations to the carpenters, the singers, the professional mourners, and all others who have rendered assistance; in essence, these are pay, though they are always referred to as free-will gifts made in gratitude for services rendered. Like the last, they are not returnable. Finally, any goods remaining from the store that has been brought out are given to chiefs and other influential members of the audience. Though not closely owned, the recipients know that these are really investment-gifts; when they reciprocate, they mention that they are repaying a gift made at a memorial potlatch. A plentiful meal is now served, during which several chiefs make complimentary speeches, and the gathering breaks up.

In former times, when features of the ordinary potlatch were borrowed from a memorial potlatch, the ceremony just described was the central point of the proceedings. It was this public song-recital of the journey taken by his deceased relative which mourners sat about a narrow one-thing fire with pride. A few days after, in the late afternoon, the heralds called back the guests and the songs were sung and re-sung. Miniature totem-poles were not used, nor were professional mourners in evidence; the sole function of the gathering was to provide opportunity for learning the songs. They were repeated until far into the night, when a large meal was served and the guests

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these various amounts making $884, when added to the previous $410.*

It was first decided to give a present to everyone as "Eagle Down Shaken Off by the Dead Woman." Captain Schooner and his assistants thought first of the bottom house in the village, remembered who lived in it, then, after a little more discussion, agreed upon the amount each should receive. This was whispered to Nebuchadnezzar, who held up a bill and called out, for example:

"$10 for so-and-so."

A number of young men had volunteered as messengers and one of them took the money to the designated recipient. After giving to all in the bottom house, they passed to the next house, and so in succession for the whole village. Absentees were remembered and their presents received by friends or relatives. Easier names were used because Nebuchadnezzar was unfamiliar with the little-used aboriginal designations. Contrary to ancient usage, the amounts varied; some chiefs received as much as $10, a child, $1, or 50 cents. Each recipient accepted his gift without showing whether it was more or less than he had expected. There was not sufficient change, so that five persons were often named together and a $5 bill given to the first mentioned for sharing with the other four, a transaction always carried out honestly. Many of the Carriers were strangers, so they could not be rewarded in accordance with their rank, but $50 was given to one of their chiefs to share as he thought fit.

Not all the money was distributed in this way. Payments had to be made to those who had assisted at the funeral. Gifts were bestowed upon the women who had washed and dressed the corpse; to the men who had helped to make the coffin; to the canoe-men who had brought the body to Bella Coola; to the pall-bearers; to the grave-diggers; to the woman who had carried the fire; to the singers, especially to those who had

*The exact sums contributed by Samuel King and George Nelson could not be learned.

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composed the tunes used; to the carpenter who had prepared and used the masked figure; to the members of the band, including a payment for their services whenever Dan Nelson's child should die; to a carpenter to erect a fence around the grave; to another to cut the representation of an eagle on a stone to be erected over the grave; to the speakers at the funeral; to the speakers at the rite then taking place; to those who delivered the money; to the youth who, with pencil and paper, assisted in keeping accounts; to the cook, and to all others who had assisted in any manner. In every case the amount was announced, the bill held up, the name of the recipient stated, the reason for his reward, and the money was then taken to him by a messenger. Captain Schooner really decided how much each should receive, he being in the best position to judge what was suitable, and there being no fixed scale of charges to help him. Work paid for in advance, such as the erection of the fence, was carefully carried out. 465 769 556* [764]

A little money had been kept to validate the assumption of ancestral names by several children of the Schooner family. Everyone received a small amount, a child sometimes as trifling a sum as 25 cents. Captain Schooner had virtually chosen who was to receive which designation, although he received advice from all his relatives. Harry Schooner's infant was given the name, *Pätätäwa*, a reference to the manner in which the first beams of the morning sun strike the lofty summit of Mount *Nuxpalst*. Reuben's son was called *ällnäls*, a *Swalk'el* designation connected with the crash when the first *Sonq'* fell. The myths in which these names were embodied were not expounded; in fact, they had been almost forgotten, even by Captain Schooner. *Tälös* Jenny wished to transmit one of her names to Andy Schooner's infant; this was announced in the same way as the others and validated with them by the gifts to all. Jenny had not contributed to the common stock, but some of it was used with the understanding that she would later repay. Nebuchadnezzar announced the 769 556* 553 425

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called out to him, and then remembered no more. It was obvious that she had seen a ghost.

It is over diseases caused by ghosts that a shaman from the dead has power. If a person picks up and eats any morsels which he has dropped he will usually suffer, because, though he thinks the crumbs have fallen, they have really been pulled from his hands by a hungry ghost, who thus showed his desire for food. By picking up and eating the fragments, the man thwarts a dead person who retaliates by forcing some sickness into him. Ghosts may visit this land of the living and ask their relatives for food or clothing, but mortals, unable to hear the speech of the dead, are unaware of the requests of their deceased relatives, and so do not answer them. The irritated ghosts respond by causing sickness. In such cases a shaman from the dead is able to suck out the cause of the ill, and sometimes to display it as a bone, twig, or other small object and at the same time to tell the sufferer what it was that his relatives desired. Like ordinary shamans, a shaman from the dead uses his own discretion whether or not to employ the violent beating of sticks, and like his fellow-practitioner receives payment from those whom he has helped. There are no fixed charges, but a successful shaman is always wealthy.

The intimate contact of ghosts with shamans has already been mentioned in connection with the ability of the latter to learn from the ghost of a murdered person whom he believes to be his slayer.

There is one method of sacrificial curing practised by shamans from the dead alone. If the sickness refuses to yield to ordinary methods, the practitioner makes ten cedar-bark vessels, fills these with grease and places them near the fire, one between it and the door, one on the inner side, and four on either side of it, parallel to the side walls of the house. By each vessel are placed two small wooden figures, roughly carved to represent men, and decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark. After endeavouring to suck forth the disease, with or without the assistance of the frenzied beating of sticks, the

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has gone contrary to something about which there has been universal agreement for generations. 771 754

To understand Bella Coola medicines it is, therefore, necessary to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practise them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to those effecting death, but is equally true with regard to all medicines, whether curative or causative. 828 [184] [755]

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of medicines. Knowledge of most remedies has been handed down for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type can be practised by any member of the group to which it belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment, but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction that only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship of some medicines, but these are indicated whenever possible. 424 755 757 [614] [465] [614] [426]

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The making of the masks

*575 796 532 [431] is allotted to different *ɬaɬaxiat*, usually in accordance with the dancer's wishes, although a marshal normally gives out the actual tasks. The dancer, or one of his relatives, bestows presents on each person to whom work is allotted. The evening of *nuxiaɬlap* is called *ɬmiliɬmkum*.

*465 [104] The third day is *qutlum*. Those to whom mask making has been entrusted assemble early in the dancer's house to start their work. About noon they are provided with a meal, to which other *ɬaɬaxiat* may be invited. By late afternoon, when most of the work has been accomplished, the chips are carefully swept up and burnt, and the house tidied, ready for the uninitiated who will be invited during the evening. On either this *575 796 day or the one preceding, a platform, with raised sides, is built behind the fire on which the dancer can conceal himself and where he is supposed to remain during the remainder of the four days. About dusk the *ɬaɬaxiat* are called in; the singers take their places behind the fire, Cannibals, Breakers, and Scratchers are in one of the back corners, where a matting enclosure may have been constructed for them, and the remainder group themselves without distinction around the walls. In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, one or more [184] of the masks may be displayed, suspended from a sloping pole behind the fire. If the singers think it necessary, they may [539] practise the dancer's two songs once more. Then the uninitiated are called in, taking their places near the doorway. The singers beat out one of the dancer's songs and he dances in time to it, and the same is repeated for his second song. After some delay, which appears to be one of the requisites of every *ɬaxiat* performance, the singers strike up the songs of either a novice or a *ɬaxiat*, especially one who has already had a call during the ceremonial season, and the one thus summoned dances to his two songs. Late in the season, when many *ɬaɬaxiat* have performed, only one song may be used, to prevent the ceremony dragging out to an interminable length, and songs of previous years are omitted. In any case, the ritual lasts for most of the night. When all have danced, the

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

any uninitiated from their path. The *ẖuẖuciut* also call *heip* repeatedly, a further deterrent to the inquisitive. Alder and birch trees are selected and the hewers start to work. Whenever a tree falls, one of the party calls out: 575* 796* 532

Xuu—.

This meaningless ejaculation, spoken as if by X, has the virtue of causing the tree to fall gently. The logs are cut into sections and as many provided as will be needed, since it is contrary to *ẖuciut* custom for more than one trip to be made for wood. Towards dusk the cutters return, each carrying a burden by means of a tump-line across the forehead. The wood is laid softly on the floor, for it would be a gross insult to throw it down roughly. Meanwhile heralds are summoning the *ẖuẖuciut* with a call of: [784] [313] [789] [482] [203]*

Nuciutilrap ẖuẖuciut.

X has long since consulted his relatives on the one hand and the marshals on the other, concerning the number of masks to be used, and the beings to be portrayed. A mask of *Awtlkwulnuic* is prepared for every *ẖuciut* dance, but with this exception there is no uniformity in the representations. A man always shows his patron, as well as any beings intimately connected with him. Thus X must have a mask of *Nuẖkynum*, many of his passengers, and the supernatural beings who meet him at the mouth of the river. A present must be given to the carver of every mask, hence their actual number depends upon the expenditure X and his relatives are willing to make. [431] [465]

At dusk the *ẖuẖuciut* are summoned by the heralds. X is with the marshals behind the fire and he heeds their advice as to the best carpenter for any special mask. When all have assembled X holds up one of the blocks of wood, calls on one of the *ẖuẖuciut* by name and says: [203]*

"For *Nuẖkynum*," or whatever may be the figure required.

As the carpenter comes forward to take the billet the heralds call out: [203]*

"Pay attention to him," and as the carpenter takes the wood, X calls out at the top of his voice, *xuu*—. [789]

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shals tells a herald to call them in; they enter joyfully, though somewhat fearfully, and stand or crouch on either side of the doorway. In Kimsquit they gaze on the masks, wondering what they are. The singers strike up the first of X's songs and he dances, while singers and *kukusiut* men sing the words and the women drone. To the uninitiated it appears most impressive and desirable, while even the prosaic white man can hardly remain indifferent. At intervals a whistle, which the uninitiated believe to be the voice of the call, sounds eerily from beneath the armpit of a reliable *kusiut*. After a short interval, X's second song is sung, and so in succession the eight. Then the singers strike up any well-remembered tune, perhaps one used last year, and the owner dances. This is repeated for eight or ten songs. At later *qothm*, every *kusiut* who has had a call during the season must dance; the ceremony tends, therefore, to become longer and longer as time goes on, although the singing of the songs of a previous year is omitted. When enough performers have danced, a shaman's song is often sung and the owner dances "to clear the house." At this point the uninitiated spectators are told to withdraw. Then a meal is served to the *tisaak* who, as members of a similar organization, are honoured guests and have been seated together in a corner, resplendent in their weasel-skin ornaments. After their departure, the *kukusiut* eat more leisurely, while one marshal after another advises them as to their conduct. Then presents of comparatively small value are distributed. The marshals would consider it unbecoming for X to provide over-lavishly. The first gifts are to the singers, the next to the makers of the masks. Though these presents are, in essence, pay, they are never thought of in that light; X is under obligations, X has cleared himself of those obligations, is the Bella Coola attitude. When all is over, X once more dances to one of his softly sung songs. Then one of the marshals calls out to open the door and the guests disperse, except the novices who sleep in X's house.

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[The Beheading Dance]

*575 *796 532 tells them that he wants a mask made to represent his own face. The purpose for which it is destined is not mentioned, although there is no reason why the workmen, all of them *kukusiut*, should not know, as they actually do. X blackens his face a trifle, making it easier to depict, and lies down as model for the carpenters, who at once start chiselling masks. Each works independently, and usually finishes one, or even two or three, in a day. Five or six carpenters are labouring simultaneously, and when the first group of masks has been finished the marshals, and perhaps one or more influential chiefs as well, come to inspect the handicraft. The masks are laid out in a glade of the forest and the marshals make their criticisms.

"No. The nose is too long," they say of one mask, or,

"The cheeks are too full," with regard to another.

It is seldom that one of the first group of completed masks meets with their approval, but the next morning the carpenters try once more, with X again lying down as model. In the evening the marshals again examine the results. Hundreds (probably an exaggeration) are often made before one is found which satisfies every requirement, and if the carpenters fail to produce a realistic portrait, the rite cannot be carried out. The unsuccessful attempts are carefully hidden in the forest lest they should be seen by an uninitiated person. When *Owiewalcus* performed the rite, it was near the end of September before one of the carpenters succeeded in making a satisfactory model.

When the wooden representation has been completed, there is no further doubt about holding the ceremony, and one of the marshals, acting for X, summons the singers and other influential *kukusiut* to the secret meeting place for a discussion of preliminaries.* At this conference X tells the carpenters what he proposes to give them as presents for the work they have done for him; the concept of "pay" is entirely lacking although it is an essential part of the transaction. The singers are told

[465 431 538]

*Several details that apply to all factions are here included which were inadvertently omitted by informants in describing the Tsonoqa-Cutting dance.

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alpin: Something long sought for on account of its especial desirability, such as well-grained wood.

alpin nuc mamx: Child whose parents were long engaged and who is accordingly regarded as being well prepared for. [554]

alpkas: Secret initiate concealed within the back-room.

Alpsalik: One of the first men to settle in Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

alqa: Guests at a potlatch.

Alqumkam, "The Shelterer": Name assumed by *Swanas* in the beginning of time.

alqhmatmis, "What Has Been Shaken Off": Term applied to presents distributed when a corpse has been carried through the roof. The implication is that they are dust shaken from the fingers of the deceased. [431] [764]

Alqumtsa: 1—The supreme god.
2—One of the first men to settle on the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
4—Tail of a *Sisaa* repository.

Alqumtsmatlu: 1—Mountain on the north side of the lower Bella Coola.
2—Name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Zealaik* in the beginning of time.

alqwalqwalq: Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for direct address. [601]

Alqwatlwatl: Supernatural artisans who made mankind in the beginning of time. [376]

alq'ii: Presents given to validate the initiation of a *kaslat*.

Alqwatlmat: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [331]

alsmwachwantmy: Professional mourner.

alsmwayalyat: Professional dancer at marriages. [468]

alsmyamu: Professional hunter.

alsnqalk: Professional warrior.

Alsnlem: Kimsquit Salmonson living in the last century.

alp'ses: Obsolete sun.

Alstay: Celebrated hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

alsts'ai di ganskas: Second oldest sibling. [601]

Altamus: Repository of a Kimsquit Cumshal where masks are affected.

altawalk: Professional warrior.

altawatamu: Professional river guard. [468]

Alwalqamu: Mountain near mouth of the Kimsquit River.

alxkaik: Shaman.

alxlamamma: 1—Meeting of those who have given potlatches.
2—Undecorated dances used to attach only chiefs. [753]

alxlamu: Marriage associates, i.e. those who, not being relatives, wish to associate themselves with the bride's family in the financial transactions of a marriage.

Amalamamu: Name applied to the supernatural artisans with reference to their construction of everything used by mankind.

Amlamamu, "Chief-Creator": Name applied to the supernatural being Nuskymu with reference to his frequent invisibility.

Amlamamatin, "The Highest of All Chiefs' Sons": Name of *Swanas*'s son in the beginning of time.

Ana-dmiss, "Falling Star-Fish": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

Anamu, "The Rain-Maker": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

anaskik: One who has received a consideration for carpentry work in preparation for a potlatch. [465]

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nemas, nematic, nemastas: Member of same sex and same ancestral family as speaker. [601]

Nemkilem: Supernatural being who comes with *Nankynem* to bring a call to the latter's protégé. [614]

Nemulakmut: One of the canoes of Great Blue Heron as chief.

nemil: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract. [826]
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.

nemomaskin: Toilet-hole.

nemlutmen: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony. [465]

nemnilumtmen: Exchange marriage. [588]

nempalstmen: Passenger.

Ne'mit: Place near *Nulmu.*

Nemtemlaks: *Kwiat* name created by *xyuyayut* at Kitsaqut in the beginning of time.

nemmi di mimen: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

nemmi ni mimen: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

Nemnu'ks, "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Nemokmauk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nemul'ipmen: Supernatural being who created repentance in the beginning of time.

Nemlaauk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nemlakmen: House occupied by the first settlers at *Natqmult* in the beginning of time.

nemn l'atmut: The use of potent medicines after seeing a ghost road.

nemnkmetmen or *nemkmetmut:* 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dyed cedar-bark to *Pinnqulitn-a.* [912]
2—The cooking of offerings to ghosts by the roasting of food on a fire. [775]

Nemnu-uk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nemnulkilmut: Male supernatural being who travels with *Nankynem,* takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.

Nemocha: Mother Nature.

nemqy: Fishermen with inherited right to use of a salmon weir or of a place for catching eulachon. [424]

nemqumemula, "A Calling Back", or "A Seizing": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural artistic having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [221] [761]

Nemqlmuk, "Where Water Entered": House of one of the first groups of settlers at Kitsaqut in the beginning of time.

Nemqmlakim: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nemqmlakimpa-a: Professional name of a female dancer.

Nemqmlamen: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.

Nemulkmut: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nemumauk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nemumauk: Kitsaqut human mentioned in an ancient story.

Nemukkmen, "The One that Powerses on the Head of the River": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [825]

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Tatelu: Kitlope River.
Tsilwaukla: Eagle that perched on top of a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time. [125]
Lime: Animal's entrails.
Lo'o: Note of the loadmen, foretelling death. [163]
Ismawi: Ceremony, in Bella Bella language.
Ashkwaum: Goods taken to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him. [516]
Tahai: Rennerstein Bay.
Tsilti, bald eagle: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley. [431]
2—Bald eagle.
3—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time. [125]
Ian: Novice, either hector or shaman.
Ausimum or *Ausimlaw*: First night of a hector dance.
Ashashkdmat: 1—Heavy supports in Kamsquit's house.
2—Name obtained from them by a *Tsilta* man in the beginning of time.
Ishi-hdmat: Excision rite in which the performer's head appears to be pulled off. [415]
Ishi: Closely woven basket of spruce roots.
Ishipamin: Any act of an unclean nature which prevents a supernatural being from seeing the perpetrator. [184]
Ishi: Presents distributed when a sand initiate dances. They are provided by the dancer "To Shield Our Eyes" from the newcomers and serve to recompense the carpenters and others who have assisted in the rite. [431]
Ismi: Bib. [145]
Ism: Mouth.
Tsemlaku: Woman resident in the far north in the beginning of time. [124]
Ispaqlam: The giving of presents to the servants and associates of the dancer of a potlatch in return for being served with food in a rude manner. [431]
Ispaqli: Small woodpecker, species unidentified.
Ispaqlu: Water wren. [124]
Ispaqli: Spawning sockeye salmon. [125]
Ishkiley: Intangible hector prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the genitalia. [124]
Ishkim: Pneumonia.
Tsemlaku: One of the first women to settle at *Tsaiskl* in the beginning of time.
Tsaiskl: One of the first men to settle at *Tsaiskl* in the beginning of time. [124]
Ismaqlu: Unidentified tree of which the bark was smoked. [125]
Ishkiway: To group freely with both hands, embrace.
Ismqiwa: Dance, plural.
Ismi'ini'ishmik: Ceremony resembling a potlatch given by a chief for the benefit of the elders—villagers, especially during the year preceding the death of the chief.
Ismqa, "What Is Good": Synonym for abstinence, the repudiation of a wife from her husband. [283]
Tsimal'ua: Synonym for *Tsaiskl*-*Ishkim*: Supernatural being who domestically bags food from his fellows.
Ismimaqa: 1—Shadowy figure, usually in crude form, which appears to sound and of full substance.
2—the appearance, that is, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.
Tsaiskl: Supernatural hunter of mountain goats.

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thus been slain about seventy years earlier. It appears that attempts were commonly made to kill chiefs by means of sympathetic magic, and it is quite possible that such attempts, becoming known, preyed upon the minds of the victims to such an extent that death resulted. 578 622 682 [754]

WEALTH

Since wealth is so important in chieftainship, it would be desirable at this point to consider the concepts of wealth. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a satisfactory treatment of this subject. The coming of the white man altered the economic aspects of Bella Coola life so radically, and at such an early period, that concrete examples of economic interdependence, so useful in a thorough study, could not be obtained in the field. It is possible that greater attention to this subject might have produced more satisfactory results, but I am doubtful of this. 114 177 556*

In the old days, "wealth" was of two categories: (*a*) Prerogatives, tangible or intangible, which could be shown, pictorially or dramatically, or could be expounded in words; and (*b*) Goods which could be distributed for validating such prerogatives. Individual possessions, unsuited for distribution, were hardly considered as wealth; a sewing-machine, a bottle of whiskey, a bed, or some other luxury might give satisfaction to the owner, but did not increase his importance in the eyes of his fellows. The value of objects was only for their use in ceremonial distribution; indeed, prior to such distribution, they were only of potential value. This attitude controlled Bella Coola economics in the early days of contact, and still influences their behaviour. A native store-keeper once ruefully commented on the fact that he would gain no advantage from the goods on his shelves, since he hoped merely to sell them, not to give them away. 556* [722] [177]

A man's relatives were expected to help him in the acquisition of goods, but the extent of their contributions was never 184 476 556*

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184 standardized. Boys and girls helped their parents, and there
476 was no definite age at which they ceased to do so. The fluidity
556 of the Bella Coola system was contrary to any standardization. The more important a chief became, the more did he receive from dependent relatives, but the more did they expect in the way of "return presents." It was advantageous to be generous, within the family circle as well as without, since life was so public that every transaction even of a "private" nature, was well known. Unquestionably, a greedy and strong-minded individual must frequently have taken advantage of help from his housemates, but there was no strict code of ethics in regard to this. In brief, it may be said that the acquisition of wealth was an unstandardized, individual, matter; its distribution was likewise according to individual volition, although within a rigidly defined tribal pattern.

Nuaxt Society

551 The ancestral names that chiefs desire to raise to a position
556 of eminence are usually embodied in myths dealing with the first settlement of this earth, names which belong, as has been
575 stated, to the ancestral family. Many of these traditions
614 record other designations as well, each of which carries with it
[595] the prerogative of performing a type of dance known as *nuaxt*. These will be spoken of, henceforth, as *nuaxt* names. The Bella Coola do not know the meaning of this term. These
[553] names, like ancestral ones, are the potential property of members of the ancestral family, but can only be assumed when duly validated by presents. Such an assumption follows a
553 period of seclusion in the back-room of the house. Both men
556 and women are eligible. A person may be secluded in this way
575 a number of times, acquiring a new *nuaxt* name on each occa-
[562] sion, but as presents must be distributed every time, it follows that only the children or relatives of wealthy chiefs can be so favoured. It is desirable to have the bestowal of a *nuaxt* name occur at a potlatch, since guests from foreign tribes are then

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Coola say that the return of the dead "washes away grief," 556* 769
and unquestionably it has a comforting effect on the mind of the donor of the potlatch.

(3) Wealth. Unless a man has the necessary goods with 476●
which to make presents he cannot invite guests, no matter how 556*
important may be his ancestral myths and names. Some of 602
this wealth he may be able to amass by his own labours, but unless he is assisted by his wife's family it is virtually impossible for him to succeed. The Bella Coola believe that a man [583]
cannot become a chief except through large payments made [622]
by a woman's family when they "rebuy" her from her husband. In other words, no man can succeed without the support of his wife. In choosing a mate a man is guided almost entirely by [581]
the ability of her family to give him financial support. In some cases an elderly couple assist a married son to give a potlatch; this custom, though considered quite proper, is not common.

(4) Supernatural assistance. To the Bella Coola this is 556*
quite as important as the preceding. One man may work very 787
hard but his efforts are never crowned with success, whereas another man will prosper in every venture. This is due to the supernatural attributes given by the supreme god to the latter. By prayer, ceremonial chastity, and other means, a man may increase the powers granted to him, but if these are entirely lacking, he can never hope to rise to the position of chief.

PRELIMINARIES

In describing the potlatch, it will be convenient to refer to 556*
the donor as X, and assume him to be a middle-aged member of the *nuxalk* society, whose seat and name, though duly ratified, lack importance through his previous failure to give large presents.

For a number of years X has prospered. He has amassed quantities of skins, blankets, tools, copper ornaments, clothing, canoes, baskets, dentalium shell, slaves, and other valuables.

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556 performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical
[182] concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch, are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly
[577] displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a
576 major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do other-
574 wise would be considered rude. The person summoned must take at least a trifle to show that he is not churlish and too proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shares whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of
[177] the family should be the first to taste any wine" as proof that
[273] it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better
[342] than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse
[414] through the construction of individual family houses with doors and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suit-
476 able place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon,
[226] the first solicitor is given one, later comers, none at all. When a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to raise it and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a
[685] despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy;
[626] hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried
[224] to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

556 Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who
431 has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

*This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of home-brew.

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855 rebuked. They grow up in the open environment of the
[861] houses, absorbing more of their lore by watching and imitat-
ing than by actual instruction. Their care devolves chiefly
[854] on the mother, although at any ceremony the father will be
seen arriving with the baby in his arms, while his wife leads
another child. Nurses are unknown and the parents take
their children with them on all occasions; if it is necessary
for a mother to be absent on some arduous toil, her child will
be entrusted to a grandmother or other elderly relative.
606 There are no avoidances between the young people and their
parents-in-law.

602 The obligation of present-giving does not stop with the
431 marriage ceremony. Whenever X gives a *kusiut* dance or other
ceremony, Y's relatives are expected to contribute. It is felt
that the weight of the presents given them during the period
of engagement and at the wedding has become too heavy, and
they throw this off by lavish giving. No count is kept of the
value of gifts bestowed or received, though it is known that
the family of the woman loses financially in the end. The father
of many daughters is regarded as an unfortunate individual,
who is always poor and overworked through the necessity of
[554] providing for them. By so doing, however, he increases his
own prestige, and the Bella Coola have the happy sentiment
that such a man manages to get along some way; perhaps
necessity rouses his ambition. Likewise X's relatives contri-
bute to any ritual carried out by Y's father. If, for example,
one of his wife's relatives dies, X and his friends may wish to
contribute towards the funeral expenses. In fact, any cere-
monial serves as an excuse for relatives by marriage to donate
[556] goods and thus demonstrate publicly their influence, impor-
tance, and generosity.

602 The concept of mutual help between families who have
intermarried is one that lasts for generations. In 1922 there
476 was in Bella Coola an old Kimsquit man who had left home
some forty years earlier and had since lived in Smith Inlet
where he married and had a boy. On the death of his wife, this

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language. 602 476

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *hamat*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *nawit* names can never be transferred in this manner. 606 491 425 [715] [575] [553] [575]

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a 593 [602] [627] [567] 432 [48]

APPENDIX 2

MECHANICAL PROCESSES

No attempt was made to study either the material culture of the Bella Coola, or their methods of manufacturing, but information on some points was obtained incidentally. All sociological and religious features connected therewith have already been described.

THE TAKING AND PREPARATION OF OLACHEN

The run of eulachon, smelt, comes about the end of April, and as many as possible are caught. In preparation, nets, *ale'a'*, are brought out from the house where they have been stored during the winter, examined and repaired. If necessary, new ones must be manufactured out of nettle (*lowa*) fibre laid away by the women for this purpose. By rolling the material on their legs, they produce a fine twine; two strands of this are then interwoven, making a finished cord capable of resisting great strain. The nets are constructed by the men. The type used at the present time, which is said not to differ from that formerly employed, consists of a purse-like sack, oval in cross-section, open at the wider end and tapering very gradually to the other, which is closed. The usual length is about thirty feet, the diameter at the open end about eight feet, and at the closed end about three feet. A new net is dipped in a mixture of boiled hemlock-bark to darken it, and then boiled in a solution of willow-bark to prevent the knots from slipping.

The setting out of a net is not an easy task, as two or three men agree to work as partners. In the present depletion days, property rights are not respected and each group selects a suitable spot. The best location is where the water is about three feet deep and runs rapidly, but without ripples, over a smooth piece of the bottom; such a place is called a *ckiya*. When the fish begin to run plentifully, the partners paddle out to set their net, taking with them four stakes, each about ten feet in length. The weight of a full net is tremendous, as the poles have to be driven down at least six feet, a difficult task on account of the stony bottom. Selecting the exact spot, one of four posts, *ellqiyiks*, is set upright and held in position by being tied to a cross-piece, *ma'qiyen*, fastened to the canoe for the purpose. While his two partners hold the stake steadily, the third man begins to pound down the stake; metal mauls are now commonly used, but in former times this work was always done with an unhewed stone maul, *lemenis*. The fisherman relays one another conveniently until the top of the pole has been driven down to within

[illegible] knives, metal and oil cans are found convenient for this purpose and have almost replaced wooden boxes. After repeated storings and discharings, all that remains is a mass of putrid fish, bearing no resemblance whatever to the fish from which it came. The Kitlahs are said to compress this into cakes for eating, but the Bella Coola throw it away. Some cooks bail out the drage by hand, but many of the boxes have a bung-hole at the bottom which, when opened, allows the semi-liquid remains to flow out into a rough trough leading to the river. As soon as one batch of chicken has thus been disposed of, another is boiled and refined in the same way. The grease keeps indefinitely and is a useful article of barter with the Carrier as well as a staple of Bella Coola diet. Although the preparation removes much of its offensive odour, chicken grease has an unpleasant taste to the white man.

During the boiling, all other activities are suspended and the people spend practically all their time on the river bank. If the fish are allowed to rot too long, much of the grease is lost, so men, women, and children are pressed into service to make the most of the short period. The men rise at dawn to scan the fires on the bank, the women and children follow with food, and for several days the whole village camps, as if on a picnic, until an indescribably foul smell that almost echoes anyone passing within hundreds of yards. There are tasks for everyone; the fish must be carried from the pits to the furnaces, wood must be brought, the fires cooked, the bottles stirred, the grease carried away, the fireplaces repaired, food cooked, and a hundred other chores. It is a scene of great activity, carried on with good humour and merriment, for the Bella Coola realize that they are storing up benefits for the following winter. Even the drage seem to share the general excitement, and do not disdain to use the drage from the bottles, which, when emptied into the river, attract numerous crows and gulls, to the joy of small boys with hunting dreams.

BELLA COOLA CANOES

Although wood and transport by water is still as vital to the Bella Coola as it was in their fathers, the motor boat is fast replacing the canoe, and the science of manufacturing their own craft is being lost. In former times several types were constructed, but only one of them is still employed—the spoon canoe, *ch-ha*, used on rivers (see Plate 21). These vary from twenty to thirty feet in more in length, and are about four feet wide; they are without keels, and there is no difference between the bow and stern. Although one man can handle such a craft in smooth water, at least two are required for a journey of any length, and four in the usual case. The captain, who is either the best woodsman or the one most familiar with the route, stands in the stern, the second is stationed in

[illegible] [illegible]
NEA Bellaire-nelle NEA

"Someone is calling your name." 827

If a man stumbles without due cause, it is said: 481●

"Someone has food ready for you."

When a man partly closes his hand, if a wrinkle-like fold 787
runs straight across the palm it indicates that he is a good 322
carpenter.

If a mouse nibbles even a single smoked salmon, the whole 825
bundle is thrown away immediately in case dung has been
dropped within. It is believed that unfortunate chewing of [826]
this is responsible for wearing down the teeth.

If a man throws a stone at a pregnant snake, the young ones [761]
may rush forth and scare the thrower's stomach. They remain
invisible, and no one knows how they enter, but death always
results. Snakes are regarded with scorn and aversion, and the [752]
only men who dare to handle them are shamans.

When a milk tooth is lost, anyone who happens to be pre- 852
sent should pick it up, pass it four times around the child's 827
head, sacrifice, and throw it away. The explanation of this
custom is known.*

*This is not the only custom practised at the loss of a tooth, cf. vol. i, p. 306.

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"I suppose you have been misbehaving with the lad," he continued. "That is the meaning of your anger."

"Yes," replied his wife. "What are you going to do about it?"

Tsaklilt said no more, nor did he show any resentment; instead he hospitably prepared a comfortable bed for the youth.

"Don't go to sleep," *Elsemanim* whispered to him. "If he gets a chance, Tsaklilt always kills my lovers, and unless you keep awake he will murder you. When he yawns, you do the same."

As darkness settled down Tsaklilt yawned noisily, saying:

"When I have been out on the mountains all day it makes me yawn, but I cannot go to sleep."

"It affects me the same way," answered the young man, as he too yawned noisily.

This continued for hours, whenever Tsaklilt yawned the youth imitated him, and neither went to sleep.

It was dawn before Tsaklilt fell asleep and began to snore. *Elsemanim* had warned the lad what to do if this happened, so he rose silently, took Tsaklilt's stick,* which was placed upright beside the sleeper, and pointed it at him. Tsaklilt died instantly, as this was the weapon with which he was wont to kill mountain goats by merely pointing.

Up to this time Tsaklilt had always slain his wife's lovers by causing the planks beneath the bed to turn over so that the occupant was precipitated down a chasm, at the bottom of which there was a pile of bones of those he had murdered in this way. It was because *Elsemanim* loved the lad that she not only saved him but showed him how to kill her husband.

The young man did not return to his home, but continued to live with *Elsemanim*, who made him immortal. He assumed the name and occupation of Tsaklilt and it is he who has been seen by fortunate hunters even within recent years. If the evil old Tsaklilt had not been destroyed there would still be many mountains, but his successor, himself now a hunter, is of a kindly disposition and often gives aid to mortals in their pursuit of game. The old people used to say that unless Tsaklilt helped a hunter he would be unable to kill mountain goats at all.

THE WIVES OF TSAKLILT
(Second Version)

Long ago hunters wandering into the mountains in pursuit of game

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* An straight stick about seven feet long such as is carried by all hunters when they go into the mountains to assist them in climbing. Tsaklilt always carries one.

2:Sh:Dowsith K-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEh Dallacosta NEh

the packers were so near them. They were too due to arrive for several hours, so Simmondsen cooked the goat and had a plentiful meal ready for his followers. They asked whether he had had any luck, and he answered casually that his son had killed one, but when they expressed regret at his lack of fortune, Simmondsen pointed to the pile of dead goats, visible in the distance, and said: 534* 224

"Not when my son killed."

Never before had there been such a slaughter of goats at one time, and it was obvious that no time could be lost if the meat was to be smoked before winter. Fortunately, there was a large cave in the vicinity where they established their headquarters. The packers were divided into two parties; some brought in the carcasses, while others began a few smoke-drying, tended the drying meat, and boiled out the grease. It was a slow process and there was a heavy snowfall before it was finished. The snow drifted into the narrow valley to such a depth that it was impossible to think of leaving. The beleaguered hunters were well provided with food, melted snow gave them water, and the cave was sufficient shelter, so their confinement was more irksome than dangerous. Nor did it prove profitless. The smell of food attracted two marauding which were so confused that they were killed with sticks. All the hunters began to make coats which were provided them with enough skins to make several of the much-prized blankets. 534* [261] [237]

So the winter dragged away. The wife of one of the packers had a reputation for faithlessness and her husband's companions used to tease him by saying that his wife would have remarried before he got home. This made so his mates until he determined to try to reach the village in spite of the snow. He constructed a pair of snow-shoes and set out, carrying with him enough marten-skins for four blankets, packed in a sack made from the stomach of one of the goats. The journey was less difficult than he had feared, he camped for one night, and reached his own village soon after dusk of the next day. Looking through the doorway, he saw his father throwing food into the fire and realized that someone must have died. He called out cheerfully, but his parents, who had long since abandoned hope for his son's safety, could not believe that his voice was real, and was not convinced until he actually stood before him. The long-absent one asked for whom the food was being thrown on the fire, and his father replied: [481]

"For you. We thought you must be dead and have burnt almost all your personal possessions."

"That does not matter," replied the son. "We have plenty of meat, grease, and furs."

Jesup Twelfth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

As they grow older the plainness of features is more pronounced, accompanied by increasing heaviness of body (see Plate vi). Many of the adults are corpulent and move with slow, awkward gait. As a rule the men have great strength and are capable of prolonged and arduous exertion, particularly in paddling; in fact, constant use of canoes may have developed this powerful, ungainly build. Few are good walkers or parkers; such, if they are found, usually belong to the lighter interior type. Among the grown people the face, though unbeautiful, often has a kindly expression, even becoming attractive in laughter or when a friendly grin spreads from ear to ear. With advancing age the prominent nose seems to grow larger, frequently becoming almost aquiline (see Plate vi). Many of the older people assert that this was even more common in former times. In time the face becomes lined with wrinkles and the body appears to shrink (see Plate vi). The teeth are in many cases worn down to the gums; this seems to cause no discomfort, though an old person cannot utter the glottal stops and other sounds with which the language abounds without entering a fine spray of saliva. They are absolutely unable to pronounce several of the Bella Coola words, while the constant spitting is a disagreeable feature of their conversation, particularly as an investigator entering, often vainly, to record sounds accurately. The deep wrinkles of old women give them a benign "grandmotherly" expression, which makes them more attractive in extreme age than in youth (see Plate vi). Senile decay is so frequent that the return to infancy is mind as well as in physical powers is regarded as normal.

Among the coastal tribes hair on the face is not uncommon, but in this characteristic the Bella Coola are pre-eminent. Nearly all the men have sparse moustaches, at least; many have a heavy growth, and several are full-bearded. That this was due to white mixture was assumed at first, but no evidence could be found to support this view. There are a number of half-breeds in the community but they are no more hirsute than the full-blooded Indians. Razors are now almost univer-

[The Dance of Nuxalkmim]

any unwitnessed from their path. The *hahaiai* also call *hoip* separately, a further deterrent to the inquisitive. Alder and birch trees are selected and the heroes start to work. When one a tree falls, one of the party calls out:

Ewe . . .

This meaningless ejaculation, spoken as if by X, has the virtue of causing the tree to fall gently. The logs are cut into sections and as many provided as will be needed, since it is contrary to *hahaiai* custom for more than one trip to be made for wood. Towards dusk the curtain rises, each carrying a burden by means of a tump-line across the forehead. The wood is laid softly on the floor, for it would be a great insult to throw it down roughly. Meanwhile heralds are summoning the *hahaiai* with a call of:

Nuxalkmim hahaiai.

X has long since consulted his relatives on the one hand and the *nuxalkmim* on the other, concerning the number of masks to be used, and the beings to be portrayed. A mask of *Ewilhaukum* is prepared for every *hahaiai* dance, but with this exception there is no uniformity in the representations. A mask always shows his person, as well as any beings intimately connected with him. Thus X must have a mask of Nuhlymm, many of his passengers, and the supernatural being who met him at the mouth of the river. A pennon must be given to the carver of every mask, hence their actual number depends upon the expenditure X and his relatives are willing to make.

At dusk the *hahaiai* are summoned by the heralds. X is with the *nuxalkmim* behind the fire and he hands their advice as to the best carpenter for any special mask. When all have assembled X holds up one of the blocks of wood, calls on one of the *hahaiai* by name and says:

"For Nuhlymm," or whatever may be the figure required.

As the carpenter comes forward to take the billet the heralds call out:

"Pay attention to him," and as the carpenter takes the wood, X calls out at the top of his voice, *ewe* . . .

Ø:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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to discuss the event and lay plans for the future, but as it is now daylight they too soon retire to sleep. 575* 796*

The *kwistum* ceremony resembles a double *kwiat* rite since it comprises two sets of four days and nights. The one on which X's stomach was cut is considered to be *kwistumem*. Accordingly, the heralds call the *kwiatat* to X's house early on the afternoon following and the regular ritual of *nacistalap* takes place. Some of the younger men are at once sent to the forest for wood to be made into more masks but, with the love of drama typical of the *kwiatat*, it is assumed that X himself is too feeble to accompany them. Accordingly his power is transferred to a substitute by means of the frenzied beating of sticks and repeated cries of *hoip*. On the return of the wood collectors, who carry their burdens as usual on tump-lines and set them down carefully, this power is restored to X in the same manner. The work of making the masks is now allotted. For *kwistum*, and several other *kwiat* rites hereafter to be described, the dancer is entitled to show as many of the beings in the Bella Coola pantheon as he desires. Consequently if X is wealthy and wishes to have a spectacular *sukwum*, he orders many masks. Then the *kwiatat* practise a number of songs composed by the singers. One, or sometimes two, prepared for X is couched as if he himself were telling what he had seen in the upper regions. They describe *Alpaxtaw*, his messenger *Opaldzi Alpaxtaw*, and, especially *Kulakkwaqlat*, the supernatural being whose stomach is periodically cut in the land above. It is he who has entered X and impelled him to suffer the same mutilation from the effects of which *Sulimala* has restored him. X himself usually remains concealed behind the matting in the rear part of the house, but sometimes, if he wishes to practise what he will perform the next night, he comes forward for a rehearsal. He still pretends to be very ill, and instead of dancing in the usual violent manner, moves around the fire, supported by several assistants, while he feebly shakes his hands. The women drum, and the uninitiated in the other houses realize that more exciting events are impending. [482] [424] [552] [796] [797]

2: McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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about a foot of the surface. In the same slow manner a second stake is driven in, about ten feet from the first, and in such a position that the main force of the current would strike at right angles a line drawn between the two. Then two more stakes are placed in position, slightly below the first pair, and tamped together, as shown in the diagram (Figure 2). The posts are often driven before the main run of the fish, and the fixing of the net delayed until that time. It is fastened to the four stakes, with its open end, which faces upstream, forming a rough oval, ten feet wide, of which the lower side runs on the bottom and the upper is at the surface. The outer stakes hold the upper edge, the inner ones secure the lower hem. The slackers are slow swimming fish which work their way upstream with the rising tide, and, when it turns, drift back into the net. Once within the opening, they lack strength to drive forward against current and tide, and are forced into the closed bottom, floating downstream, in thousands, to the peak of the season, a net is often extended to its full dimensions with a solid mass of fish, throwing a tremendous strain on supports and much work ahead. During the day, the mouth is closed with a cross piece, sometimes, to prevent floating objects from drifting within and damaging it, and opened during the night or whenever bear the tide turns.

FIG. 2. Diagram showing position of the stakes supporting an eulachon net.

Early in the morning begins the landing of the fish. The partners paddle out to the bottom of their net and, with considerable exertion, lift it into the canoe. A cord is tied around the ballast mass, cutting off a section, and the end is opened so that the fish from it fall into the bottom of the craft. Another part is dealt with in the same manner, then a third, and so in succession until the gleaming slackers are piled so deeply that no more can be landed with safety. Sometimes two or three loads, each of many thousands, are taken from a single net. The partners slowly pole to shore where, at the present time, their wives and children wait to unload the canoe. The fish are packed into baskets, carried on the back with the aid of a tump-line, and taken to pits which have been prepared not to 50 feet from the beach. These are three or four feet deep, lined with planks, and with their bottoms covered with evergreen boughs. The slackers are emptied into these holes, which are covered with more planks when full. If more fish are landed than can be handled conveniently in this manner, they are laid on benches spread on the ground, and a low wall of planks built up around them. Although the main run lasts for only three or four days, the slackers are so numerous that each group of partners is able to fill several of these storage pits.

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Though most of the catch is thus disposed of, there is always enough

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#192 [illegible] THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

[illegible] Pamanyalil: Water acquired in the beginning of time by a Rivers Inlet man from a sea-lion.
Sankaikhail: Sanikiluk.
Tikimamtikin, "The Walking Owl": Supernatural name of the water spirit.
Ilkimam: Song sung during Cannibal dance while the performers run from house to house.
[illegible] Mamatin: great dance.
Nuka: 1.—One of the four men to settle on Dean in the beginning of time.
2.—Wife of Mamat Pamlakin, when in human form at the beginning of time.
Pamalakin: One of the nine supernatural siblings, a woman who brings old to them to sickness and is then the initiator of shamans.
[illegible] Nuxlem: Sea-lion.
Pamanalimen, "Be Like a Power": Instruction given to a child in the beginning of time. This designation has since been used as an economical name.
[illegible] Ind: 1.—Moon.
2.—The month.
[illegible] Sakaki: Crooked skin dances.
Sqaxa-i: Cormorant.
Tqaxil, "Small Mound": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Tsqaxa, "Malgum" or "Dalcomb": A supernatural being.
Ulu: 1.—Gull.
2.—To use wood for smoke.
[illegible] Ulumap: "Gull" Gull used as second day of hunter dances.
Ulumalkum: Small crevice that flows from rocks near the Hot Springs on Lekumkulum Channel. The term is probably applied to other similar crevices.
[illegible] Nulu: Water-right basket.
Nuxlem: Water-ouzel stamp with armored, embedding crests.
[illegible] Tsqa: Region on the upper Kitlaha River.
Ninsil: Tsimpshian.
[illegible] Nuxi: Shovel.
Pakaxit: Raven's canoe in the beginning of time.
[illegible] Nuxi: Whale.
Nuxalkin, "Oh of the Big Family": Term used to describe a man with many dependents.
[illegible] Sqa-a: Symbolic for disappearance, the separation of a wife from her husband. This term is perhaps used in Kwakiutl chant.
[illegible] Sqaxa: 1.—Dance.
2.—Pendulum name of a Kwakiutl woman.
[illegible] Tqaxa: Sea in the Great Bear.
Sqaxil: Leaves of the yew bushes used in the preparation of cedar-bark.
Sqaxalem, "Swamp": Village on head of South Bentinck Arm, synonymous with Tqaxa.
[illegible] Lukaxil: Man with flat top and broad face.
Lqaxa: Sasquatch.
Tsqaxilal: Kwakiutl phrases mentioned in an ancient story.
Tqaxlamut: Bella Coola warrior living in the last century.
Tsqaxa: Kwakiutl hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
Tqaxi: Crested name of a Bella Coola man.
Tqaxlaqum: Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.
[illegible] Sa-ik: Green hemlocks on water-covered stumps.
Sakin: Large woodpecker, species undetermined.

THE *cuitsuy*.

Before the smallpox epidemic, about 1862, there were towns on the fords and villages of Dean Channel between Kimsquit and Bella Bella. The inhabitants were called *cuitsuy* by the Bella Coola, and *cuaty* by the Bella Bella. Their settlements were at Elcho Harbour, Green River, Cascade Inlet, and at several uninhabited places. Their language is said to have differed slightly from that of the Bella Bella, but the people themselves mingled freely with both Kimsquit and Bella Bella, thus forming a connecting link between these tribes.

A list of *cuitsuy* towns was obtained from one old man, who claimed to be a descendant of the people. It was impossible to verify this information, and since he himself was not an ideal informant, the following can be regarded only as approximately correct.

(1) *Elhc*: at Elcho Harbour.

(2) *Ulcle*: on a ford one mile above the last-named.

(3) *Ilhit* or *Tuptsu*: on a river three miles above the preceding.

(4) *Tsemsid*: on a river two miles above the preceding.

(5) *Tsequil*: on a ford three miles above the preceding.

(6) *Uselhm*: on a ford three miles above the preceding.

(7) *Dawnik*: on a river two miles above the last-named and thirty miles below Kimsquit.

According to the old man from whom the above list was obtained, *Dawnik*, at Kimsquit, recorded earlier as village no. 41, was also populated by *cuitsuy* people. There was so much intermarriage between the two groups that it is now impossible to ascertain whether the inhabitants not only of *Dawnik*, but of *Tsemsid* as well, were predominantly Kimsquit or *cuitsuy*.

The open plateau in which the Bella Coola River rises has always made travel possible for long distances, so that not only

[*Bella Coola, term for the people of Nuxalk - Kimsquit tribe, who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel" - See B. McFarlane, Ms. 14, p.28 - Analyst]

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the neighbouring Carriers, but Chilkotin as well sometimes descended to the valley. On the coast, though the dense underbrush prevented travel along the shore, the long fiords, sheltered from the open Pacific, were ideal for the use of canoes.* Comparatively lengthy journeys were neither difficult nor uncommon. The *Tsi'is* people were usually on amicable terms with the inhabitants of Rivers Inlet, and the Kimsquit with the Kitlope. The Bella Coola were accustomed to attend potlatches at Alert Bay and Fort Rupert,* Knight's Inlet, and Bute Inlet, receiving their hosts, in turn, at Bella Coola. On the other hand, there was little friendly intercourse with the northern tribes, of which the Kitkatla especially were dreaded by the residents of the central coast. Until recent years the Bella Coola had no direct knowledge of other Salish-speaking peoples, although some of the Chilkotin told them of a tribe living far to the south, in the interior, whom they encountered in some of their wanderings and used to term *Nuxálkuy*, recognizing the similarity between their language and that of the Bella Coola. A few years ago several Bella Coola attended a boarding-school and were amazed to find that many of their words were understood by fellow-students from Chilliwack.

To sum up: The Bella Coola were in close contact with the neighbouring coastal tribes, with the members of which they felt themselves to have cultural affinities. They recognize that they have received many ceremonial rites from their neighbours, and must have adopted other elements of culture which they now consider indigenous. It is probable that certain Bella Coola customs must likewise have been transmitted to other tribes, but such lie without the scope of this monograph. The outlying villages were in close contact with foreign neighbours, and tended to assimilate elements of their culture, but, on the whole, the Bella Coola present a tribal unity with distinctive local customs, falling within the general pattern of coastal culture.

*For types of canoes, see Appendix A.
*The principal Kwakiutl village.

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easy for *Tsaiawaw* to gain control over them, and the sleeper wakes to find that he has been bleeding profusely and death is inevitable. This occurred to a man whose experiences are described in vol. I, chap. IX.

Although *Tsaiawaw* is usually a curse to mortals, he can also do good. Occasionally he makes a man a shaman, and in many cases he helps a woman in childbirth. Such beneficent acts are not sufficient to counterbalance his evil deeds, and he remains one of the most dreaded of Bella Coola supernatural beings, a monster whose machinations make camping in a strange place a dangerous undertaking, and who is as likely to strike down rich or poor, young or old.

Less feared than *Tsaiawaw*, because he appears less frequently, is *Alilt-tsiall*. The Bella Coola speak of this being with trepidation, but little definite information could be obtained concerning him. He has human form and sometimes comes at dusk to cause death by carrying away a man's spirit.* The home of this creature appears to be beneath the earth rather than in *Nuxwáit-a*.

A third dreaded being who, like the two preceding, usually lives on this earth and only visits in *Nuxwáit-a*, is *Sá-ówa*, "The Death Dealer." He, too, appears in human form and can be distinguished by the nose-ring which he always wears. Sudden death in the forest is always attributed to "The Death Dealer." If a man is engulfed by a slide, or killed by a falling tree, it is because this malevolent being has entered the slide or tree. Some Bella Coola say that he is responsible for animals who kill hunters. He rarely carries out his designs with the aid of sickness, nor is death by drowning often attributed to him, but for all other fatal disasters he must take the blame. While a corpse is resting in a coffin awaiting burial, *Sá-ówa* invariably sits on the cover, though none can see him. Instances are known in which even this monster has acted in a kindly manner.

The supernatural beings thus far described are usually

*See vol. I, pp. 94-5.

b:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NES Bellacoola NES

place where he is not likely to be disturbed, and addresses the supreme god in a loud tone of voice, requesting his assistance. 782

Although prayers can be said at any time of the day, or at any season of the year, there are occasions when they are more potent than at other times. At dawn, for example, a wise young man is accustomed to go alone to the river to wash and pray. He enters the icy water, blows mucus over his hands, and rubs his body vigorously* either with a smooth pebble, or, if it can be obtained, with a stone taken from the stomach of a sea-lion.** As he scours himself, he asks *Mesakeiz* to grant him long life, power, success, and strength. On coming from the water, he repeats his request, and then washes himself again. This process is repeated four times, making eight prayers in all. A young man who does this habitually, and in other ways placates the supreme deity, is likely to have success, and may even be given supernatural assistance by one of the many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. The underlying belief is that *Alquntim* actually hears the words spoken and, pleased thereby, aids the petitioner either directly, or by strengthening the supernatural elements in his body. [783]

Mesakeiz has power over both rain and dry weather, and is petitioned for whichever is desired. When the sun is obscured by rain clouds, the Bella Coola pray: [821]

"Please clean your face, *Mesakeiz*," or,

"Please show us your face, we need you."

Before a man starts on a journey, either by canoe or on foot, he always asks help for his undertaking. [484]

"*Mesakeiz*," he prays, "Be with me," or "Go before me," or, "Give me what I want."

Corresponding to the importance of the occasion, prayers are always made before the departure of a hunting or war [824] [825] [585]

*Urine was formerly used for washing both the body and clothing. It was followed by the application of clean water, and undoubtedly had a religious significance; indeed, washing purely for cleanliness was not habitual until recently. [515]

**The Bella Coola state that stones are often found in the stomachs of sea-lions. One specimen, considered of great value, was seen; it was indistinguishable from a water-smoothed river pebble. [296] [823] [825]

1:McDwraith E-3 (1922-1924)1948
NES Bellacoola NES

the point between Labouchere Channel and Bentinck Arm, there is danger from treacherous currents, so, when a shaman passes either of these places, he lays some food on the water and puffs eagle down into the air as he asks for help. If no shaman is in the canoe, this is done by the captain. 782 [193] [502] [756]

The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is *Tlitsèpilète-a*, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and gives power to shamans. Whenever a hunter kills an edible animal in the forest, he cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws them into his fire to gain her goodwill. Long, long ago, *Tlitsèpilète-a* appeared to a hunter, seized some of his quarry, and told him of her wishes with regard to presents; these have since been obeyed by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of a man absent in the mountains or at sea throw scraps of food on the fire and ask the protection of *Tlitsèpilète-a* for the one in danger. In this case, it is clear that objects thrown into flames are received and appreciated by *Tlitsèpilète-a*. [776] [224] [779]

Mesakais, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accompanies his words by blowing up into the air small particles of eagle down. Prayers in connection with the departure of war or hunting expeditions have already been mentioned, but before starting on any journey by canoe, the captain is careful to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and four of yellow cedar-bark. The blowing upwards of eagle down is a common accompaniment to all kinds of prayers, but, if none is available, cedar-bark can be used equally satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water, otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and considered valuable by *Mesakais*, but they emphasize and accompany the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's sincerity. [776] [484] [824] [825]

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on presents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw 775 782

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

As the dances proceed, those women who have the prerogative for doing so, utter a peculiar droning cry. After dancing, the initiates return to the back-room, where they doff their attire. The ceremony concludes with the distribution of food. 535 556* 575 [424]

The initiates are now free to leave their place of concealment, as each has become a legal member of the *sisaok* society. Some young men, sons of influential chiefs, are secluded a number of times, others but once. The oftener a youth is secluded, the greater is his prestige, because goods must be distributed on each occasion to validate his name. At the present time, there is considerable uncertainty about the exact details of the ceremony, for it has been so easy of late years to give potlatches that the simpler rite has fallen into disuse; some informants state that each initiate should emerge alone and dance by himself. This concludes the shorter ceremony, but with a potlatch the dancing is reserved until the coming of the foreign guests. [554]

DELIVERING OF INVITATIONS

Returning now to preparations for the true potlatch; it does not matter whether the ceremonies already described are carried out before or after the departure of messengers to invite guests from abroad. Although X usually consults his relatives and friends as to whom he shall invite, this is entirely optional. In giving his invitations X is actuated, first, by a desire to summon those from whom he has previously received hospitality; having accepted presents from them he must discharge the obligations or sink in social estimation. Considerations of friendship also enter into his selection, and he will likewise invite anyone whom he wishes to put to shame by a lavish display of wealth. It is taken as a matter of course that each guest will be accompanied by a number of followers, members of his family, slaves, or adherents. 556* [203] [558]

Acting on X's instructions, a herald invites the people of his village to X's house. X stands up and announces to them [203] [424]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

203 that he wants so-and-so, giving the name of a chief, to go, for
* 556 instance, to Bella Bella, to invite a certain person, whose name
484 he gives, to the potlatch. X likewise names those whom he
[575] wishes to form the escort. As a *sisook* whistle is used, it is essential either that the chief himself be a senior *sisook*, or that a *siki* go with him. It is immaterial whether or not all of the crew are members of the society. Nobody is compelled to go, but as all know it will be a matter of pride to X to recompense them, none declines except for some strong reason. X names those whom he wishes to proceed to other tribes, sending one canoe to each group of towns. He arranges their departure according to the distance each must travel, the aim being to have all the guests arrive at Bella Coola at the same time. X is expected to provide food for his guests as soon as they arrive, and as the potlatch cannot start until all have assembled, X tries to ensure simultaneous arrival, no easy matter
[648] since the area from which guests are invited extends from the Nass River to Alert Bay.

The mysterious and sacred nature of the potlatch is impressed on the minds of the uninitiated at the time of departure. When the chief who is to bear the invitation, and the members of the crew are ready in the canoe at the beach, there is heard from X's house the sound of a whistle. The uninitiated, unaware of the method by which the noise is produced, consider it to be the voice of some supernatural being connected with the potlatch. Either the messenger himself, or some assistant with him, blows a whistle. This can be done without exposing the method by putting the whistle to the lips under cover of a large blanket. When this has sounded the canoe is free to proceed.

The messenger-chief carries with him his *sisook* mask, which he dons if he sees another canoe approaching, while
[532] eagle down is scattered over the heads of the paddlers. These two signs intimate that the occupants of the craft are on ceremonial business, therefore must not be molested. For a con-
[726] siderable distance up and down the coast the sacred nature of

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

the potlatch is recognised to such an extent that an attack upon envoys is unthinkable, though one or two myths recount how this unwritten law was violated on rare occasions. A canoe meeting potlatch messengers veers over to the other side of the channel to give them the right of way.

On reaching the destination the canoe is brought to close to shore until the inhabitants of the village have gathered on the beach, which they swiftly do on the arrival of strangers. The messenger sounds his whistle, the significance of which is fully understood by members of the *nusak* society. Any chief who wishes to show his wealth and importance will invite them to his house. As they are landing, he sends a herald to summon a number of influential people of his village, who seat themselves in their rightful places. As the messengers enter they are given seats on the bench behind the fire, the spot usually reserved for chiefs. A number of lads are called in to toast smoked salmon, and when this has been done the fish are broken into shreds by young girls and served to the messengers on a mat, in lieu of a table-cloth. The envoys do not deliver their message as soon as they arrive. On the contrary, they spend the rest of the day aimlessly talking with their hosts, and sleep in the house where they have been received.

The following day likewise passes without ceremony, but towards nightfall the host summons all his fellow-villagers to his house. The singers take up their customary places and beat out a *kusiut* tune. Upon hearing his or her air, the owner of it starts to dance. Using their own discretion, the singers beat out the tunes of *kusiut* after *kusiut*, and each dances. In like fashion the singers beat out *nusak* songs, and the owner of each dances. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the dances are merely of a ceremonial, not a sacred, nature. When all have danced, each gives a present to the envoys. These gifts are not returnable. They are merely "eagle down," but it is necessary that something be given to validate the dances. The value is immaterial, so far as the purpose is concerned, though a chief who wishes to exhibit his chief-like

1:46:Dewolfe E-5 (1912-1914)948
- NEX Bellacoola NEX

he can. Several of the older people mentioned that early white traders would have received more for their goods by giving them away than by selling. 556 431

Even at the present time the Bella Coola sometimes carry out a practice which was once common. Particularly in the early autumn or in spring, a chief who has large supplies of food may decide to show his wealth to the members of a neighbouring tribe such as the Bella Bella. Alone, or with a few friends, he goes to a foreign village where he is sure to find accommodation in the home of some friend, relative, or important chief. In the evening he invites the inhabitants of his host's village to the house in which he is staying, and uses the food he has brought with him to provide them with an elaborate meal. His guests now feel it incumbent on them to repay this generosity, and one of them asks the singers to beat out one of his songs, the Bella Bella equivalent to *sisaok*, *a'alk*, or even *kusiut*. The owner dances to it and then gives presents to the stranger to validate the performance he has just witnessed. This is repeated by everyone to whom he has given food, and although each present may be small, their total is greater than the original outlay. Sometimes a poor man, feeling himself too insignificant to give a ceremony of this kind, takes a supply of food to a foreign tribe to sell. If the hosts wish to show their generous dispositions they persuade him to give it away in the fashion just described, which always brings in more than he could obtain by sale. It is even customary for the hosts to lend such a stranger enough food for public distribution if his own stock is too small. 556 431 [414]

Although the most important Bella Coola dances are performed at potlatches or during the *kusiut* season, they are not confined to these periods. Professional singers do nothing else and, except during the run of salmon when everyone is busy fishing, a dance occurs every few nights. Supernatural beings are not called down; consequently there is little solemnity and everyone has a good time. On these occasions, *kusiut* songs are first beaten out, followed by *sisaok* and *a'alk*, and the owner 533 535 574

Lehtiswalk E-1 (1922-1924) 1968
MRS Deliswalk MRS

[334] [424] [536] to commemorate the killing of the eagle. The rest of his song described how he had come to this earth and how he had shot the bird which had been his own chief. This dance was duly validated by presents of salmon, and has since been carried out by the descendants of *Imanse*. It is assumed that the concept of such a dance was given to him by *Sqaxoxtin* before he left *Nuxalk-a*, but he said his own discoveries on this earth as to the actual cause for it.

At this gathering of people, virtually a potlatch, *Imanse* took for himself the name *Sxuqilaiaxs*, "What Fills People." He chose this name with reference to the countless salmon caught in his weir.

Imanse next travelled to Bella Bella seeking a wife. His fame and wealth were so well known that he was able to wed *Tlitsamit*, the daughter of a powerful chief. She had the valued prerogative of wailing, a right which had been duly validated by presents. Her father told her that when she was going with *Imanse* to Kimsquit she would pass *Tsyaolengi*, a man who had been turned to stone on the skyline above the western side of Dean Channel, about five miles from its head, and that unless she wailed as she passed him her children would be unable to enjoy this prerogative. The reason for this injunction is not now understood; it is merely recognized that as *Tsyaolengi* became petrified near *Imanse*'s home he became, in some manner, a crest. As the canoe bearing *Tlitsamit* passed *Tsyaolengi* she began to wail and weep, nor could her husband soothe her. He, for his part, told the herald, *Nuxiliag*, who had come with him from above, to call out as follows:

"Hello! Crest, our chief has married a Bella Bella woman; so you are his crest, so are you here."

[484] [765] When *Nuxiliag* had called this a second time the stone man answered. Ever since, passers-by have addressed *Tsyaolengi*, and a failure on his part to reply is considered an omen of death.

Tlitsamit brought her husband several valuable prerogatives, a crest dance with the large cone-shaped whistles, several *hamat* dance rights, as well as some dyed cedar-bark. According to one of *Imanse*'s descendants, this is how the *xaxat* ritual reached Kimsquit. Among the Bella Bella, whales can only be eaten by chiefs, and *Imanse* received this right from his father-in-law. The latter also gave his son-in-law a dead whale, which was towed behind the canoe towards Kimsquit. *Imanse* knew that his people would object to it being brought into the river, since there was a firm belief that a whale would drive away the salmon. Accordingly, he beached the carcass in the fiord and there dried the meat in smoke.

Imanse now determined to give an elaborate potlatch at which he planned to portray his prerogative with regard to the whale. He decided to build his new house of the semi-subterranean type; when it was finished

place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death.

The above rite presents widower or widow, but does not alter the fact that for one year they are ceremonially "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the beach of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the ocean. The one near Kincaple is called *Sphen'k*, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of which the bottoms are bent upwards; should this be omitted, when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will soon die.

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should cut their hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; if this rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and

them receive it more likely that they will grant his requests. Therefore, a shaman is usually called upon to perform the following rites: 756* 782

(1) Washing the mouth of a person who has died without uniting from his body the first salmon or eulachon of the season (I, p. 456). [764]

(2) Asking assistance for the complicated rites of the potlatch (I, p. 191). [556]

(3) Request for assistance before starting on a journey, by pulling eagle down into the air (I, p. 108). [984]

(4) Request for aid by means of placing food on the water and blowing eagle down into the air to Thunderbird Nose and Kwanna (I, p. 104).

In fact a supplication to any supernatural being can be made with greater prospect of success by a shaman than by any other person.

The Power of Shamans

As has been said, a shaman actually has power within himself, and this is so strong that it may be a source of danger to others. If a man should pass behind one so endowed when the latter is eating, his spirit would be drawn from his body into the shaman's mouth, which would close with a click, crushing the spirit and killing the man. This is quite involuntary on the part of the shaman. It happened more than once among the early inhabitants, and since that time people have been very careful not to pass behind an eating shaman; this taboo was still in force until about 1885. A shaman, too, is said to be able to recall a spirit which has left its body, and thus caused illness. It is believed by some that shamans can see the position of a person's tally post, and so judge the length of his life. These examples show the varying beliefs of different Bella Coola concerning the powers of shamans. 756* [761] [264] [178] [755]

But the force within the shaman is really more dangerous to its possessor than to others. As certain "unclean" objects are able to subdue supernatural beings, so do these same ob- 756* 783 841

2: McIlwraith E-3 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB
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WAR WITH THE CARRIERS

B C 648 721 The only other people with whom the Bella Coola came into frequent conflict were the Carriers. Some of the latter used to spend the winter among the coastal tribes, and had even intermarried with them to a considerable extent, but their mode of life was so different that they were always viewed as foreign in thought and outlook. The Bella Coola despised them for B [184] their dirtiness, their fondness for unsavoury food, and, above all, for their ignorance of *dsaiat* and *nuxoi* matters. This distrust was mutual and not infrequently led to bloodshed. Owing to the location of the Carriers, they could not be reached by B [484] canoes, and the Bella Coola had no liking for long overland journeys. The mobility and relative lack of permanent villages made it difficult to bring the Carriers to bay, so that warfare between them and the Bella Coola usually took the form of a killing followed by a raid for revenge; continued hostility was virtually unknown. The people of the lower villages were scarcely affected, but in former times there seems to have been a considerable amount of intermittent fighting between the inhabitants of the upper valley and the Carriers living east of them.

B C 648 726 The following account, claimed to be historical, describes what was said to be a typical raid, followed by a counter-attack.

On one occasion all the young people of *Sisaal*, *Nuxalk*, *Axda da-i*, and *Swaisli* went on a picnic to a large, clear tract of ground up the valley, where they spent their time, playing and singing. Towards nightfall two young men, who had not come with the others, drew near cautiously until they could call a girl who was a friend of one of the two. She slipped off quietly from her companions and passed the night with her lover and his comrade in the woods. Towards dawn a party of marauding Carrier Indians swooped down on the sleeping picnickers who, unarmed and unprepared, could make no resistance. With the exception of two pretty girls carried off as slaves, all were slain. The three who had been in the woods hurried back to the villages with the news.

The men of the four towns prepared for action. They went to the picnic ground and brought back the corpses for burial, thus learning for

APPENDIX D

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Kinnapit: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.
Kwaxsistalla: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Dzaxe* repository derived from a supernatural ancestor.
2—*Kwakiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
ulkanu: Incomplete *kwakiut* perception of initiating nature.
ulkulakanu: Song sung by a *kwakiutl* dancer on recovery from apparent death.
ulnkin: Regular beatings given to a male child.
Ulnkinum, "Time for Gathering Pure Bone": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
Upalanum: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. The personality refuses to rain that comes after violent thunder.
Upalanuk ti Ilat, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice.
upanikiyat: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances.
upanuk: Outright honoured of a prerogative or marriage.
utanu: Departure to a new locality.
uti, uncutin, utati: Father's brother or mother's brother.
utsat: Pedalia.
utsutsu: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places.
Utlkanu: One of the names of the supreme god.
Utlling: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.
utsi, uncutin, utsat: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being "Lowered."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for power, the large sound whistle.
4—Killer whale.
5—Song.
6—*Kwakiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kinnapit in the beginning of time.
Utsuna-i: Part of a peculiar repository.
Utsuwaklin: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.
utsutsu: Wordless chorus.
Uwal'ac, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
Uwali: Celebrated *Dzaxkwa* chief living in the last century.
vaulkanu: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a desponded person.
2—Individual making such a journey.
Vynuwa: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kwakiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
waxte-tsuxtin: Place where healing power is petrified.
Waxlaplanum: Synonym for *Mulkulin*, the supernatural being connected with sound rites.
wawinamp: *Kwakiut* dance or object used in the land show which serves as pattern or model, *ustuxulu*, for the user's prestige on earth.
wawlpalatanuk: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage.
wawuni: Unmarried mother.
wyanlin: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *ziaxin* may be connected with this.

[424]
[861]
[805]
[821]
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[848]

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Sangai'q: Alliance of the middle Bella Coola.
Sanghaiu: Kitamaat woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Sangwanaiu: 1—Copper Raven that perched on house of first settlers at *Hagaiba'i* in the beginning of time.
2—Name given to the Raven design used by the first settlers at *Snass* in the beginning of time.
saniaiq: Sockeye. The word is obviously a derivative of *salu*.
Sanskilaiu: 1—"The Wise One": One of the more important supernatural beings.
2—Ancestral name of a *Tsimsil* man.
Sanusalaiu: Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Hagaiba'i*, probably a supernatural designation.
Sanusalaiu'i: Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Hagaiba'i*, probably a supernatural designation.
[374] *Sauchaiu*, Cold: A supernatural being.
Saukaiu, "The Mystery of *Hagaiba'i*": The place where the supreme god puts what he wishes to conceal, such as the correct selection of the Mystery dance. The concept is anti-anthropomorphized.
saxay: Generic name for several supernatural animals.
saxgaxdiu-a: Right front corner of a house on entering.
Saxkaiu: Pronunciation of *Sauchaiu* by a man with phonemic *s* usage.
Saxlal, "Place of Dog Salmon": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
[765] *saxlalaiu*, "A Shoring Up": Term used to describe the functions of ceremonial usage.
Saxlaiu, "Bar": 1—One of the first women to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—Bar in *Kimsquit*'s house.
3—Name of a *Tsi'a* man derived from the bar.
Saxlu-ti, "Place of Six Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Saxlaiuq: Ancient name of a Bella Coola man.
Saxquatlaiu: Point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
saxsaiaiu: Rear of dwelling, ceremonially sanctified.
[821] *Saxkiaxaxaxu*: Whirlwind, anthropomorphized.
[778] *Saxkilaiu*: Generic term for four supernatural, eagle-like creatures.
Saxnaiu: Place on South Bentinck Arm where sunrise power is localized.
saxpaxkiaxal, "Being Light": Call of invitation to a *Sacred* dance in the lower Bella Coola valley.
saxpa'xiti: One who seeks seclusion.
Saxsaxdiaxa-a: One of the first women to settle at *Tsi'a* in the beginning of time.
Saxsaxsalaiu: Name of first settlers at *Hagaiba'i* in the beginning of time.
Saxyaxkiaxa-a: Rivers Inlet name used by a Bella Coola *Sacred* woman.
● [484] *sala*: Food carried for consumption on a journey; the term is also applied to the provender brought from above by the first people in the beginning of time.
sal'aiaiu: Hunting-ground owned by an enlarged family.
Sam: Woman mentioned in a song.
sang[xx]: see *da sang*[xx] *da*.
Sanwatlu: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuhlaw* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Kimsquit* in the beginning of time.
Sanwaw-a: One of the first women to settle at *Nuhlaw* in the beginning of time.
[431] *sanwaqlai*: Synonym for *xpaxnaqi*, the preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch.

WARFARE*

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

721 698 PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was considerable warfare among the coastal tribes of British Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermination of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were common raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks. These were never as continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless, [794] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were [354] even received as guests at some dances. At potlatches they might be subjected to insult, later to be avenged in the same manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and 726 friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who 825 bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests them- 778 selves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever 484 another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter [578] to veer over to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was [627] considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads. 721 In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was [575] at all common. Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were [622] not entirely forgotten; no *hatsat* novice went to war and

*Warfare having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

861 (31) *Kadis*, "Ocean Fish-Trap": on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the *Nuxk'* River. [224] It is doubtful whether this was a town, or merely a camping place of the people of *Nuxk'* when using their salmon-trap.

*(32) *Nuxk'*: on a raised mound at the south side of the mouth of the *Nuxk'* River, which enters the head of South [731] Bentinck Arm from the east. The meaning is unknown. This [164] was a populous town until the inhabitants were decimated by an epidemic of smallpox.

*(33) *Tilsis*: on the west side of the mouth of the river of the same name which flows into South Bentinck Arm from the south. The location of this village was constantly changed, [133] owing to destructive variations in the course of the river. It was formerly a large town, and has been deserted only since 1900. This village had another name, *Tywaxlis*, "Facing," so called because its houses faced those of the town of *Nuxk'*.

*(34) *Ai'us'*, "At the Head": at the head of South Bentinck Arm there is a bay running south-west, into the upper end of which a small stream empties. The trail leading to the [487] lake at the head of Rivers Inlet follows this valley. *Ai'us'* was located on this creek, at some little distance from the ocean; the name was derived from the geographical location of the town. It has not long been deserted and must have been a populous place to judge from the numerous repositories (II, p. 8).

(35) *Xwepa*: on the east side of the mouth of a creek flowing into the bay at the head of South Bentinck Arm, from the south. This town was of moderate size. The meaning of the name is unknown. It is thought to be in the Rivers Inlet language.

VILLAGES AT KIMSQUIT

[133] Two rivers, the Dean from the east, and the Kimsquit from the north, flow into the head of Dean Channel, and the villages of this area can be grouped according to the two rivers.

Villages near the Dean River 361

*(36) *Awaldo:* the present site of the Kimsquit Indian village near the mouth of Dean River. The meaning of the name could not be learnt.

*(37) *Nadel*, "Canyon": on the shore of Dean River at the bottom of the canyon. This large town was only recently deserted.

(38) *Ayai*, "Occupied Mound": on the south side of Dean River about one mile from the sea. This small town was deserted many years ago. The name is derived from the small mound on which it was built.

*(39) *Natqmak*, "Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": on south side of Dean River, about one and a quarter miles from the sea. A large town recently deserted.

*(40) *Nazqlqo*, "Place of Many Spring Salmon": on south bank about twenty-five miles from the sea. This spot was not settled when people first occupied this world, but later *Alqwa-sim* (I, p. 330) took possession of it. [173]

(41) *Iyumk:* east side of river twenty-eight miles from the sea. There is doubt about this town. It is said to have been a colony of the Kimsquit River settlement, a statement difficult to understand.

(42) *Siwal-ai*, "Where Canoes Are Left": on the north side of the river about thirty-five miles from the sea. Immediately opposite was *Saltalta*, "Winter Trail." These two are considered as forming one town, but were probably never more than camping grounds at the spot where the winter trail to the interior left the river. It is possible, however, that they formed a town, since the names of the alleged first settlers in the beginning of time are preserved. [187] [173]

*(43) *Asklta:* at Salmon House on the upper Dean River.

The history of the villages on the upper Dean is puzzling. Mythological accounts of their founding were obtained, and some of the older people stated that they had been occupied until recent years. On the other hand, there are apparently 174

621 623 [535] [194] 361 [184] [342] [171] [487] [164] [453]

men, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact this ceremonial unity is its most important function.

With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very ledge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space. Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

342 [354] The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side-walls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the different families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The [572] [622] number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and any-[261] one present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with [353] carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall. [535] A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important in dances.

presents were distributed to validate the cause, Dzigalum, which *Gmagal* had taken for himself.

Gmagal married a Bella Bella woman who brought with her the prerogative of a dance with respect to the dog-fish. In Bella Bella the rite was connected both with the feasts and the cannibal, but in Kitamaat it was performed only as a feast dance. It was first given there by *Laigaam-i*, a relative of *Gmagal*, and has since been performed in the Indian in Kitamaat. Their daughter received the Bella Bella name, *Yalem*, which has since remained in Kitamaat.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Ăpai-i*[*]

In the beginning of time there came to *Ăpai-i*, on the east side of the Dean River, about one mile from the sea, *Sawamilks* and his three younger brothers. They brought a cause hammer as their present from *Ăpaaskim*. After they had lived some time on this earth, *Sawamilks* asked Yaltimat to have a canoe ready for him on the morrow. By the next day Yaltimat had completed a fine craft. *Sawamilks* was delighted and spent four days fitting it out; then set out with his three younger brothers for a trip to the far north, where he knew by report that abalone-shells were to be found.[*] The four did not know the route and were consistently persevering into fords from which there was no exit; however, they persevered and were helped by all whom they encountered, *Sawamilks*'s name being well known. After a month's voyage, they reached their goal. They found themselves before a lofty precipice falling sheer into the ocean with a cavern visible in it at very low tide. This they boldly entered. At first they were deluged with falling star-fish; in fact, their canoe would have been sunk by the weight of these if the youngest brother had not held up his cedar-bark cloak to ward them off. A little farther on they found countless abalone-shells, with which they swiftly filled the canoe, fearing lest the tide should rise sufficiently to prevent their return if they stayed to investigate further. Once safely outside they camped, and the eldest brother took the opportunity to bestow names on the younger brothers for things they had seen or done on the way. He called his second brother *Nawaiw-dzag*, "The Warrior," as if he had fought against the abalone; the third *Ăla-ilmin*, "Falling Star-Fish," and the youngest *Ăkaqen*, "The Roof-Maker," a reference to the

[*]Related by Jim Pollard. Boas (p. 66), has recorded a similar myth from Bella Coola with different characters.

[*]The Bella Coola are emphatic in stating that abalone-shell comes from the north or the east; possibly this may be explained by an indirect trade route.

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CHAPTER I

LOCATION AND ENVIRONMENT

Location—Bella Coola Villages—Tribal Organization—Neighbouring Tribes

Location

"BELLA COOLA" is the common designation of those Indians who, until a few years ago, inhabited the valley of the Bella Coola River in central British Columbia. Boas has recorded[1] that the name is a mis-pronunciation of *Bilwula*,[2] a Kwakiutl word of doubtful origin which white pioneers assumed to be the appellation of the people in question. There is no term in their own language to include the groups treated in this monograph. Linguistically, the Bella Coola form an isolated island of Salish-speaking people, separated from others of the same stock by tribes of Athapascan and Kwakiutl lineage.[3] Culturally, they belong to the central section of the North Pacific coast area.[4]

The Bella Coola River rises among the mountainous uplands of central British Columbia. Its two main branches fall rapidly, about forty-five miles from the sea, into two deep gorges which unite, some five miles farther on, to form the valley of the Bella Coola. Down this the river rushes in serpentine curves (see Plate 5). Too shallow and too rapid for the use of large boats, even if such had been known to the Bella Coola, it serves to bear their dug-out canoes, each hewn from some mighty cedar. The valley is never wider than two or three miles and is hemmed in by lofty snow-capped moun-

[1] *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians* (Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, 1898), vol. II, part 2, p. 25. Repeated reference will be made to this work, and when Boas is quoted without further description, the reference will be to this memoir.

[2] Pronounced *Bilwula* by a Kimsquit man endeavouring to quote a Kwakiutl.

[3] Boas, p. 26.

[4] Clark Wissler, *The American Indian* (2nd ed., New York, 1922), p. 227.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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the neighbouring Carriers, but Chilkotin as well sometimes descended to the valley. On the coast, though the dense underbrush prevented travel along the shore, the long fiords, sheltered from the open Pacific, were ideal for the use of canoes.[10] Comparatively lengthy journeys were neither difficult nor uncommon. The *Tal'ío* people were usually on amicable terms with the inhabitants of Rivers Inlet, and the Kimsquit with the Kitlobe. The Bella Coola were accustomed to attend potlatches at Alert Bay and Fort Rupert,[11] Knight's Inlet, and Bute Inlet, receiving their hosts, in turn, at Bella Coola. On the other hand, there was little friendly intercourse with the northern tribes, of which the Kitkatla especially were dreaded by the residents of the central coast. Until recent years the Bella Coola had no direct knowledge of other Salish-speaking peoples, although some of the Chilkotin told them of a tribe living far to the south, in the interior, whom they encountered in some of their wanderings and used to term *Nuxálkmq*, recognizing the similarity between their language and that of the Bella Coola. A few years ago several Bella Coola attended a boarding-school and were amazed to find that many of their words were understood by fellow-students from Chilliwack.

To sum up: The Bella Coola were in close contact with the neighbouring coastal tribes, with the members of which they felt themselves to have cultural affinities. They recognize that they have received many ceremonial rites from their neighbours, and must have adopted other elements of culture which they now consider indigenous. It is probable that certain Bella Coola customs must likewise have been transmitted to other tribes, but such lie without the scope of this monograph. The outlying villages were in close contact with foreign neighbours, and tended to assimilate elements of their culture, but upon the whole, the Bella Coola present a tribal unity with distinctive local customs, falling within the general pattern of coastal culture.

[10] For types of canoes, see Appendix A.
[11] The principal Kwakiutl villages.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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The following is an account of a feud which took place about 1870: 556* 558 628

The people of *Sneel* had gone to a potlatch at *Tăl-ła* with a plentiful supply of goods, expecting to be insulted in revenge for a slight cast upon their host when visiting *Sneel*. They were allotted places close to the fire, upon which the donor cast a large quantity of olachen grease until the intense heat almost roasted his guests. Not one of them moved; to have done so would have meant an admission that they were being made uncomfortable by their host's demonstration of wealth by this waste of valuable food. Presently, *Sneałłała*, the leading chief of the visitors, stood up and called for "water" to douse the flames, meaning goods of equal or greater value, to indicate that he was as wealthy as his host and as little afraid of destroying valuables. His companions threw on the fire boxes filled with skins, but *Sneałłała* desired still further to demonstrate his prowess. Hastily, he asked some of the other Bella Coola present to lend him a sea canoe (of the large type called *Haidał*), promising to repay with two of the same kind. The Bella Coola agreed and the craft was carried in, the beavers showing their disregard for the host by breaking his door as they did so. The canoe was thrown on the fire and the flames smothered. *Sneałłała* called upon his *Tăl-ła* rival to douse that fire. The latter was afraid to do so, being aware that he had barely enough goods to pay his debts at the coming distribution. Accordingly, he tacitly acknowledged the superiority of *Sneałłała*, who thus rose in public esteem. [501]

It is very difficult to discover just how often such destruction of goods took place. The Bella Coola realize that the prevalence of this practice among the Kwakiutl led to the potlatch being forbidden by law, and are reticent on the subject. Reliable informants agree that it was a fairly common custom in the early days, although it never went to the extremes prevailing at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay, where, too, was common the breaking of coppers in anger, an act unknown in Bella Coola. In other respects, also, the potlatch among the Bella Coola appears to be less important and less complicated in ritual than among the Kwakiutl, so it is highly probable that the above statement is correct. 556* 558 171

Another method of shaming a guest is to serve him, or any member of his party, so clumsily or gracelessly with food that it is spattered over him. In some cases this happens acci- 558 556*

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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intense pain caused him to shriek in agony. Judging by the sound that the guards had been overcome and were being killed, the raiders were thrown into confusion. With one accord they abandoned the attack and fled to their canoes; those who first reached them pushed off at once, abandoning their less fortunate comrades to their fate.

One of *Tsihoa*'s wives was a Bella Bella who feared that a dearly loved relative, a certain *Nacmdi·a*, might be among the assailants. In the confusion that followed the rout she called out in her native speech:

"*Nacmdi·a*, are you there?"

The Bella Coola had actually been reinforced by a number of Bella Bella volunteers including *Nacmdi·a*, but he had made good his escape. Another Bella Bella, less fortunate, realized that this was a chance for help and called back, imitating the voice of the man addressed. The woman was deceived and told him to drag one of the Kitkatla canoes into the water and that she would bring paddles as soon as she could do so unobserved. About forty of the attackers took possession of a large canoe, but their courage failed as they waited for the woman with paddles and they shoved off, propelling the craft with their hands. Aided by an off-shore wind, they were able to steal away from the scene and had almost reached a tiny inlet when they met another canoe coming to *Tsihoa*'s assistance. A fight ensued, the refugees were driven ashore to the island and their canoe carried off. Even in their perilous position the party continued to wrangle. Some scoured the woods for yellow cedar from the bark of which the Carriers used to make canoes, an art well known, although not generally practised by the coastal tribes. Fire had swept over the island so that only two trees were found; the discoverers hastily peeled bark from these, fashioned it into rude canoes, and pushed off with their friends, leaving seven men marooned. The two craft ultimately reached Bella Coola after various adventures.

B/T [171] [50]

Among the seven abandoned were two uncles of the father of the man from whom this account was obtained, as well as the grandfather of a middle-aged Kimsquit man with whom the tale was also discussed. The two brothers were warriors, men whose bravery had been validated. One said to the other:

"You are always boasting of your valour, now is your opportunity to display it. Swim across and steal a canoe from the village we attacked."

Thus urged, the man agreed to make the attempt, first requesting the others not to kill his brother, the originator of the scheme, in case of his non-return, though this was the usual penalty for proposing a plan which led to the death of another. But the Bella Bella who had imitated *Nacmdi·a*'s voice insisted on risking his life. He stripped, tied a knife to his hand, took a board for support, and essayed the theft. He had no

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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PLATE 21

Photograph by the author

River canoe

[p 532 (A)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

137
501

PLATE 22

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Ocean canoe

[(8) 2154]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

258 tacles; metal coal-oil cans are found convenient for this purpose and have
[415] almost replaced watertight boxes. After repeated stirrings and skim-
mings, all that remains is a mass of putrid flesh, bearing no resemblance
[171] whatever to the fish from which it came. The Kitlobe are said to com-
press this into cakes for eating, but the Bella Coola throw it away. Some
[415] cooks bail out the dregs by hand, but many of the box-kettles have a
bung-hole at the bottom which, when opened, allows the semi-liquid
remains to flow out into a rough trough leading to the river. As soon as
one batch of olachen has thus been disposed of, another is boiled and
[439] refined in the same way. The grease keeps indefinitely and is a useful
[262] article of barter with the Carriers as well as a staple of Bella Coola diet.
Although the preparation removes much of its offensive odour, olachen
grease has an unpleasant taste to the white man.

258 During the boiling, all other activities are suspended and the people
476 spend practically all their time on the river bank. If the fish are allowed
to rot too long, much of the grease is lost, so men, women, and children
are pressed into service to make the most of the short period. The men
rise at dawn to start the fires on the bank, the women and children follow
with food, and for several days the whole village camps, as if on a picnic,
amid an indescribably foul smell that almost sickens anyone passing
within hundreds of yards. There are tasks for everyone; the fish must
be carried from the pits to the furnaces, wood must be brought, the fires
stoked, the kettles stirred, the grease carried away, the fireplaces repaired,
food cooked, and a hundred other chores. It is a scene of great activity,
carried on with good humour and merriment, for the Bella Coola realize
that they are storing up luxuries for the following winter. Even the dogs
seem to share the general excitement, and do not disdain to eat the dregs
from the kettles, which, when emptied into the river, attract numerous
trout and gulls, to the joy of small boys with hunting desires.

BELLA COOLA CANOES

● 501 Although travel and transport by water is still as vital to the Bella
[505] Coola as it was to their fathers, the motor-boat is fast replacing the canoe,
and the science of manufacturing their own craft is being lost. In former
times several types were constructed, but only one of these is still employed
—the spoon canoe, *sá-tla*, used on rivers (see Plate 21). These vary
from twenty to thirty feet or more in length, and are about four feet wide;
they are without keels, and there is no difference between the bow and
stern. Although one man can handle such a craft in smooth water, at
502 least two are required for a journey of any length, and four is the usual
crew. The captain, who is either the best waterman or the one most
familiar with the route, stands in the stern, the second in command in

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

the bow. The crew take their places at equal intervals between, each ready to work on the opposite side from the man in front. Each is provided with a ten-foot pole and also a paddle for use in spots where the river is too deep for poling. The rivers of central British Columbia are shallow, but swift, and their navigation requires considerable skill. Going upstream, the captain constantly seeks the smoothest water, where he knows the current will be least strong, and uses his pole to keep the craft headed in the right direction. Should it be caught in a violent eddy, he exerts his full strength, and it is his voice that rallies the crew for a final exertion to shove the canoe through. Coming downstream is more dangerous though less wearying. The water is so cold and the current so swift that a capsizing usually causes the drowning of one or more of the occupants, and the captain must never relax. Spoon canoes are very stable, and cannot be upset by a faulty distribution of weight. This is essential in view of the rapids, but they are heavy and cumbersome, unsuited to carrying large loads. 502 [501]

When a carpenter wishes to make a canoe, he fells a cedar of suitable size and trims off bark and branches to leave the central stem available. Slowly and laboriously he chips with his adze until he has hollowed out the trunk to the proper shape, and at the same time has smoothed away the outer surface. Sometimes a small fire is built on the trunk so that it will char the wood beneath and make it easier to remove, but the carpenter must be careful that the flames do not spread too far. Finally, as his work reaches completion, he becomes even more painstaking than before. The sides and bottom are whittled to a thickness of no more than three inches, and at this stage a faulty stroke may pierce the shell and ruin the toil of weeks. When completed, it is necessary to widen and harden the canoe. A fire is built beside it and stones thrown into the flames to heat; then lifted out and dropped into the water with which the craft has been partly filled. Steam rises, and the carpenter confines it by covering the canoe with matting, at the same time endeavouring to pull and force the sides apart. Sometimes he can do so by mere muscular effort, more often it is necessary to lay transverse thwarts within and, by pounding them downwards, extend the sides. No great extension is possible, nor is it required, but the steaming process is considered to harden the wood as well as widen the canoe. 396 [412]

Until five or ten years ago, the Bella Coola made another type of canoe, *dpna*, for use on the ocean. A few examples of this style are still in existence (see Plate 22). Though approximately the same length as river canoes, they are proportionately much deeper and narrower, and an extension downwards near the stern serves in place of a keel. These craft are sufficiently sea-worthy to weather any ordinary storm. Several 501

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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501 of the older people remember seeing in their youth another type, *ikkan*, with a high raised prow; this may have been identical with the *mdka* which others describe as having an elevated bow and a low stern. An entirely different craft was the *tsmkwl-i*, named from one of the geese, [825] probably the white-fronted goose. A strip of maple fastened along each side caught the water in moving, with a sound like that of the peculiar rustling flight of the bird. The bow was often carved in the form of a [532] bird's head and the stern in that of a tail to further the resemblance. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of these canoes, though some had heard of them from their grandparents. The large, open type of canoe made by the Haida was known to the Bella Coola, but not constructed by them. Sails were used on all ocean-going canoes; they were usually of matting, though skins sewn together were occasionally employed.

501 Canoes are occasionally lashed together. In several *kusiut* dances a 535 wide platform for dancing is required, and the need is met by lashing planks crosswise over two canoes, near the bow and stern, thus fastening them together. Planking is laid on the two supports and a platform so constructed. Careful inquiries showed that this fastening was merely a temporary arrangement; the bottoms were not bound in any particular manner, nor was there any fixed distance between the craft. Sometimes 501 the same expedient was used for transport when the load was too heavy for two canoes separately, a device which is said to have been used more [171] commonly by the tribes of the outer coast than the Bella Coola. Canoes lashed together are termed *ts-awundy*.

Rafts, *sstskwal-a*, consisting of rough logs fastened together with cross-pieces, were commonly used on the lakes of the interior, and occasionally for river work when canoes were unavailable and there was no time to make them. Another expedient in similar emergencies was to [177] make bark canoes, such as are still constructed by the Carriers. The Bella Coola regard the construction of these as definite copying, and do not profess to have as much skill as their teachers whose canoes, it is said, can be folded for portaging. There is a tradition that, many generations ago, a few clever Bella Coola knew how to make skin canoes.

THE PREPARATION OF CEDAR-BARK

314 Early spring is the time to *sstadumls*, that is, to gather the inner bark [221] of the cedar. Men occasionally assist in the task, though this is really [462] woman's work. The worker selects a small cedar, choosing one about [412] six inches in diameter, with smooth trunk and relatively free from knots. With a knife she makes a horizontal incision in the bark, two or three feet from the ground, sometimes girdling the sapling. Then she inserts her

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Sinapal: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Sinaimalt: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Stuie* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sin'mata: Intangible *kwiat* prerogative of imitating cuttin. [424]

sinhalpinuts: Song sung by a *kwiatem* dancer on recovery from apparent death. [861]

sinhim: Regular bestings given to a male child.

Sinhlyam, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

Sinhlumtu: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Sinhlumis di Jint, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

sinmaldjut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]

sinmek: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage. [425]

sinnats: Departure to a new locality.

sini, sunatin, sinat: Father's brother or mother's brother. [601]

sinat: Puddle.

sinatin: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

Sinhamis: One of the names of the supreme god.

Sinlimq: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [778]

sint, sunatin, sinat: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being, "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qumsta*, the large *sisiutl* whistle. [825]
4—Killer whale.
5—Song.
6—*Kwiat* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Sinaw-i: Part of a peculiar repository.

Sinamhlis: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

sinmhlis: Wordless chorus. [533]

Sinsl-ac, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Sinid: Celebrated *Dzoldzoma* chief living in the last century.

sinlhtum: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a despondent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]

Sipnaw-a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sinsin-imatin: Place where healing power is petrified.

Sinsinpaman: Synonym for *Mulhhila*, the supernatural being connected with *sisiutl* rites.

sinsimmap: *Kwiat* dance or object used in the land shows which serves as pattern or model, *sinsaula*, for the user's prestige on earth.

sinsqhtutmh: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage. [584]

sinsul: Unmarried mother. [848]

sinsula: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *sinsula* may be connected with this.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*776 Although *Ḷomoqwa* has often been seen by mortals, no one has ever been able to describe his countenance. He always wears a huge hat, beneath which his blackened face, covered with eagle down, is barely visible, since he constantly keeps turning it away from the observer. Occasionally he comes to the surface and has been known even to walk on it. Like other supernatural beings, he is able to ascend to *Nusmät·a*, though it is not his home. The dread with which the Bella Coola regard *Ḷomoqwa* is due to his ability to suck canoes down to his home at the bottom of the ocean as if in a whirlpool. He is usually hungry, and nothing pleases him more than human flesh. None the less, he does not destroy life without cause. It angers him to hear his name spoken, so no Bella Coola utters [502] it when on the ocean, for fear that he may be engulfed. When- [761] ever a person is drowned at sea it is believed that the cannibalistic *Ḷomoqwa* has drawn him down for a meal.

539 To insert the many stories describing *Ḷomoqwa* at this point *776 would unduly break the continuity of this account, so the following simple example must suffice.

Not many years ago four Bella Bella fishermen were trying to anchor near China Hat. Owing to the action of the supernatural beings dwelling below, the bottom of the ocean rose and lowered abruptly so that their anchor would not hold as the rope was in many cases too short. They were much annoyed by this and, as they strove to fasten their craft, they were exasperated at a lard-fish which kept swimming closely around the canoe. At last one of the fishermen reached out, seized it with his hands, and tore it to pieces, throwing these back on the water. Presently their anchor held and the four went to sleep. But *Ḷomoqwa* had seen the insult shown to the lard-fish and, as they slept, he sucked down their canoe until, on awakening, they found themselves in the huge house of the lord of the undersea world. There was no water in it, but they recognized where they must be from the fact that the walls were decorated with paintings of marine beings and with ancient tools from canoes lost at sea. An old woman who lives in *Ḷomoqwa*'s house called the four to her fire in the corner and asked them whether they had any false hellebore with them. If they had, they would escape, but otherwise nothing could save them from *Ḷomoqwa*, who at that very moment was calling his friends for a feast of human flesh. Presently *Ḷomoqwa* entered, followed in succession by a number of undersea chiefs,

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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782 next day the weather was fine. This particular method of
424 praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the begin-
821 ning of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family.
[785] With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of
[177] customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grand-father of the man from whom the information was obtained.

SACRIFICE

782 It might be expected that a clear division should be made between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears
[824] dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any
[824] supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts
[825] of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether
[261] or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire titbits of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*W'ai, wai, wai,*" "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural
[502] powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Mesatche Nose,
[133]
[756]

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the point between Labouchere Channel and Bentinck Arm, there is danger from treacherous currents, so, when a shaman passes either of these places, he lays some food on the water and puffs eagle down into the air as he asks for help. If no shaman is in the canoe, this is done by the captain. 782 [133] [502] [756]

The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is *Ṫhitcäplilän-a*, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and gives power to shamans. Whenever a hunter kills an edible animal in the forest, he cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws them into his fire to gain her goodwill. Long, long ago, *Ṫhitcäplilän-a* appeared to a hunter, seized some of his quarry, and told him of her wishes with regard to presents; these have since been obeyed by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of a man absent in the mountains or at sea throw scraps of food on the fire and ask the protection of *Ṫhitcäplilän-a* for the one in danger. In this case, it is clear that objects thrown into flames are received and appreciated by *Ṫhitcäplilän-a*. [776] [224] [773]

Mnakais, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accompanies his words by blowing up into the air small particles of eagle down. Prayers in connection with the departure of war or hunting expeditions have already been mentioned, but before starting on any journey by canoe, the captain is careful to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and four of yellow cedar-bark. The blowing upwards of eagle down is a common accompaniment to all kinds of prayers, but, if none is available, cedar-bark can be used equally satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water, otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and considered valuable by *Ähqumäm*, but they emphasize and accompany the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's sincerity. [776] [484] [824] [825]

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on presents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw 775 782

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a man, *ur-unaiza*, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience 424
to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it 463
has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this func- 551
tion. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the valid- 693
ation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary
ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but [793]
non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required
by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name *ur-unaiza*
has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been en- 784
forced concerning the river: No refuse may be thrown in, 825
otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the 226
same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe
lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them [515]
from seeing the route. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes
is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the 841
fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the [562]
bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to
drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical
period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can
be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed [502]
must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose
husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at [765]
the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of
the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be
deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would
smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the
upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are con-
sidered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the 688
salmon and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the 693
offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringe-
ments, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river.
The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be
swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

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258 tacles; metal coal-oil cans are found convenient for this purpose and have
[41·5] almost replaced watertight boxes. After repeated stirrings and skim-
mings, all that remains is a mass of putrid flesh, bearing no resemblance
whatever to the fish from which it came. The Kitlobe are said to com-
[171] press this into cakes for eating, but the Bella Coola throw it away. Some
cooks bail out the dregs by hand, but many of the box-kettles have a
[415] bung-hole at the bottom which, when opened, allows the semi-liquid
remains to flow out into a rough trough leading to the river. As soon as
one batch of olachen has thus been disposed of, another is boiled and
[439] refined in the same way. The grease keeps indefinitely and is a useful
[262] article of barter with the Carriers as well as a staple of Bella Coola diet.
Although the preparation removes much of its offensive odour, olachen
grease has an unpleasant taste to the white man.

258 During the boiling, all other activities are suspended and the people
spend practically all their time on the river bank. If the fish are allowed
476 to rot too long, much of the grease is lost, so men, women, and children
are pressed into service to make the most of the short period. The men
rise at dawn to start the fires on the bank, the women and children follow
with food, and for several days the whole village camps, as if on a picnic,
amid an indescribably foul smell that almost sickens anyone passing
within hundreds of yards. There are tasks for everyone; the fish must
be carried from the pits to the furnaces, wood must be brought, the fires
stoked, the kettles stirred, the grease carried away, the fireplaces repaired,
food cooked, and a hundred other chores. It is a scene of great activity,
carried on with good humour and merriment, for the Bella Coola realize
that they are storing up luxuries for the following winter. Even the dogs
seem to share the general excitement, and do not disdain to eat the dregs
from the kettles, which, when emptied into the river, attract numerous
trout and gulls, to the joy of small boys with hunting desires.

BELLA COOLA CANOES

501 Although travel and transport by water is still as vital to the Bella
[505] Coola as it was to their fathers, the motor-boat is fast replacing the canoe,
and the science of manufacturing their own craft is being lost. In former
times several types were constructed, but only one of these is still employed
—the spoon canoe, *sa·tla*, used on rivers (see Plate 21). These vary
from twenty to thirty feet or more in length, and are about four feet wide;
they are without keels, and there is no difference between the bow and
stern. Although one man can handle such a craft in smooth water, at
● 502 least two are required for a journey of any length, and four is the usual
crew. The captain, who is either the best waterman or the one most
familiar with the route, stands in the stern, the second in command in

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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the bow. The crew take their places at equal intervals between, each 502
ready to work on the opposite side from the man in front. Each is provided with a ten-foot pole and also a paddle for use in spots where the river is too deep for poling. The rivers of central British Columbia are shallow, but swift, and their navigation requires considerable skill. Going upstream, the captain constantly seeks the smoothest water, where he knows the current will be least strong, and uses his pole to keep the craft headed in the right direction. Should it be caught in a violent eddy, he exerts his full strength, and it is his voice that rallies the crew for a final exertion to shove the canoe through. Coming downstream is more dangerous though less wearying. The water is so cold and the current so swift that a capsizing usually causes the drowning of one or more of the occupants, and the captain must never relax. Spoon canoes are very [501]
stable, and cannot be upset by a faulty distribution of weight. This is essential in view of the rapids, but they are heavy and cumbersome, unsuited to carrying large loads.

When a carpenter wishes to make a canoe, he fells a cedar of suitable 396
size and trims off bark and branches to leave the central stem available. Slowly and laboriously he chips with his adze until he has hollowed out [412]
the trunk to the proper shape, and at the same time has smoothed away the outer surface. Sometimes a small fire is built on the trunk so that it will char the wood beneath and make it easier to remove, but the carpenter must be careful that the flames do not spread too far. Finally, as his work reaches completion, he becomes even more painstaking than before. The sides and bottom are whittled to a thickness of no more than three inches, and at this stage a faulty stroke may pierce the shell and ruin the toil of weeks. When completed, it is necessary to widen and harden the canoe. A fire is built beside it and stones thrown into the flames to heat; then lifted out and dropped into the water with which the craft has been partly filled. Steam rises, and the carpenter confines it by covering the canoe with matting, at the same time endeavouring to pull and force the sides apart. Sometimes he can do so by mere muscular effort, more often it is necessary to lay transverse thwarts within and, by pounding them downwards, extend the sides. No great extension is possible, nor is it required, but the steaming process is considered to harden the wood as well as widen the canoe.

Until five or ten years ago, the Bella Coola made another type of 501
canoe, *dina*, for use on the ocean. A few examples of this style are still in existence (see Plate 22). Though approximately the same length as river canoes, they are proportionately much deeper and narrower, and an extension downwards near the stern serves in place of a keel. These craft are sufficiently sea-worthy to weather any ordinary storm. Several

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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familiar with the route, stands in the stern, the second in command in

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the front-door facing the river, but has to leave the house 784
through the trap beneath the enclosure where she sleeps. The 881
Bella Coola consider it unthinkable for a girl to disregard these prohibitions, but if this should happen, she would be chased home by her parents, by the Guardian of the River, or, in fact, by any elderly member of the community. The strongest [761]
reason for respecting these regulations is the belief that disobedience brings death; no one knows how it is inflicted, but a careless girl soon dies. During this period, she cannot eat [262]
fresh salmon, though she is allowed them if they have been smoked for four or five days. Her scanty meals are brought to her in the enclosure where she is virtually a prisoner. It is true that she can leave it and wander in the woods, but her com- [783]
rades avoid her as being in an unclean condition of which they are afraid, and she is barred from taking part in all activities by the river which constitute so large a part of the life of the Bella Coola. A girl cannot pick berries during this time, as no [222]
more would grow in the valley which she had thus defiled; she must not touch anyone, nor allow anyone to touch her; she must not pass in front of a man; she must go to bed before [513]
everyone else in the house, and be the last to arise. The danger of breaking some taboo is so great that it is safer for a girl to [867]
remain within her enclosure where her mother, and other old women, gather to tell her the many things which it is fitting for an adult woman to know. This seclusion is not pleasant, but it unquestionably serves to emphasize the importance of married life to which it is a prelude. The writer remembers an occasion when a Bella Coola family was eating tasty fresh salmon while one of the daughters, who had recently reached adolescence, watched enviously. Her grandfather rose and gave the child an orange, remarking that in his youth little girls did not receive such dainties to ameliorate their lot.

Adolescent girls wear certain distinctive articles of clothing 881
and ornaments. The most noticeable is a skull-cap bound [292]
with grass; this is the only time in a woman's life that a hat is [301]
worn. She also wears ear-rings, each consisting of a neat [439]

1/4 [ie - one year after puberty - ANALYST]

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tiful, of which they planned to collect a supply. In the course of their journey *Dudzzeng*ʷ saw a man who, when he drew near, turned into a piece of hanging moss. A little later he again saw a figure, but on approaching it became a tree. *Dudzzeng*ʷ and his wife walked on and presently the former once more beheld a man; this time the apparition changed to a fir tree. It was evident to *Dudzzeng*ʷ that a supernatural being had manifested itself to him, and he told his wife that they must return. On reaching home he related his experience and gave a shaman's dance. 539 756* 787

From this experience he had received the power of curing. He could see disease when it was invisible to all others, and could summon it to himself, where it was harmless, thus restoring the patient to health. He made for himself a rattle, shaped like a bird; this had the ability of dancing of its own accord, and would catch people's hair in its opening and closing beak. The sick were brought to *Dudzzeng*ʷ from all over the valley. One day he travelled by canoe down to *Sneef* where he found many of the villagers seriously ill. His arrival was quite fortuitous, for he was unaware of the epidemic that was raging. The inhabitants sought his help, so he landed and cured them. He entered the house of a woman who claimed to be ill, and took the sickness upon himself, but no sooner had he left than he fell down stricken. He demanded to be taken home in his canoe, but he only lived two days after his return. The woman had been in pain from her menses; it was this that he had taken upon himself and caused his death. 539 756* [761] [785] [841]

In consequence of the danger attached to the vocation, many people try to avoid becoming shamans, though if *Thiteplilin-a* should appear to a man when ill, he cannot escape the power. The usual method of prevention is for a man to hold intercourse with his wife from below, so that her flesh, impure through its liability to menses, can form a barrier to the coming of supernatural power. One who wishes to escape always sleeps on the left of his wife, whereas if he is seeking shaman's power he sleeps on the right. Another method of avoidance is to use the hole in the floor which serves as exit and entrance to the house of a girl secluded following adolescence. 756* [787] [833] [513]

Since the power of a shaman is obtained by a personal experience, and lacks both form and substance, it cannot be transmitted and disappears at the owner's death. As has been

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*575 but the *kukusiut* all understand that later performances by
*796 those with the same name are only possible with the assistance of carpenters. This dance has not been carried out for so many years that the details have been forgotten.

THE DANCE OF THE BIRDS

*575 The Bella Coola notice that in autumn many of the birds
*796 disappear, to be seen no more until spring. Ignorant of a warmer climate to the south and of the causes of migration,
825 they explain the phenomenon by saying that *Alquntäm* collects
[776] the birds in some mysterious place for the winter and releases them in the spring. It is believed that he does the same with supernatural birds in the land above. The setting free of the
[424] birds, which is in effect a scattering, is known as *nusqwekstl*
[551] and is personified; he is the patron of a *kusiut* named *Qaeta*. For the *nekusam* of this man's dance a huge circular cage con-
[532] taining wooden birds is constructed. By means of a regular maze of hidden strings they are made to "fly," to the extreme amazement of the uninitiated. This is one of the most complicated *kusiut* rites. Contrary to the usual practice, no eagle down is used for fear that it might settle on the strings and betray their existence to the spectators.

THE DANCE OF DARKNESS AND SLEEP

*575
*796 The patron of this dance is a being who has the power of bringing nightfall, and later, sleep. In accordance with his
776 double function, a dual personality is attributed to him. In
821 fact, he is almost two beings; as *Sunqlominit*, "Darkness," he
[513] causes night to come once every twenty-four hours, whereupon
[532] as *Sicitoma*, he brings sleep. His *kusiut* protégé displays on *nekusam* figures with black painted masks, representing both
[424] phases of his patron.

THE DANCE OF THE WHIRLWIND

Whirlwinds, though of rare occurrence in British Columbia, are known to the Bella Coola who believe that they are caused by the being *Swalsiarmanem*. Like all supernatural creatures,

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Saiutl: Thunder, anthropomorphized. 192*
Saiyuks: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. 821
salalsi: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property. 173
sa-lkalamm: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kusiut* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food. 431
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal. 251
sa-lpsta: Cannibalistic incubus.
sa-lpstamm: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day. 585
salskhdimut: Profession of *kusiut* executioner. 431
salskwalts: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him. 463
samd: Sockeye salmon. 825
Sanalpmakhs Alquantam: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sanumumalsis: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land above.
Sanuklam or *Sanuklamdimut:* One of the names of Mount *Nusalst* as chief.
Sanusimanus, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Snux* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sasa; vocative, sassi; vocative plural, sasanu-ks: Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
sa-sla: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Satlia: Village at point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Satlyanuts: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Sa-lma: Death, anthropomorphized. 761
saluts: Whetstone, *archaic.*
Sa-tsl': 1—Kimsquit River. 412
2—Village near the mouth of the river.
Sa-tslamp: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley. 101
satskwal-a: Raft.
Sa-tlamaxa-i: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
sawa: Pillow. 573
sawaljut, "Pillowness": *Kusiut* ceremonial at which no call is present.
sayi, vocative, sayinas: Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family. 601
Sayinas: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story.
sauksm: Bracken. 824
sawanas: Tide flats. 823
sahdjulk: Heart.
Sahaukam: That part of *Sanyu* which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Sambalt: Village on Rivers Inlet.
Samciatta-i: Part of a peculiar repository.
samamkhdimut, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steelhead salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
sa'mtsa, "Resting Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this. 805
sankwalam: Leader of musicians. 821

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sk̓ʷqalikw': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
Ska-tsxem: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
skaq": That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
Skitema: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being. [513]
2—Sleep, intangible *kusiut* prerogative.
skiusnăm: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [585]
Ṣkqwasthustkwi, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]
sk-pil: Shadow. [412]
skelqumas: Hammer, *archaic.* [601]
'skhas: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law.
skiamalks: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other.
skilwa: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
skip: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
skilx: 1—Caribou hide. [825]
2—Thong made of caribou hide.
sk.xem: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
skăxkt: Caribou. [832]
skhm: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [828]
Skhmsila: Supernatural being who causes nightmares.
skhmsta or *skhmstănăla:* Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
skhmstaliktsta: Body.
skhmstănăhsăm: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Skhmsuwăkimăn-a: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Skhmsuwhanam: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
skha: Mountain goat grease. [824]
skhălaya: Castor.
Skhkil, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Skhlo: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time. [825]
skmăs: Octopus.
Skoakăles: One of Raven's female Crow relatives. [386]
skqusma: Red rock paint.
skla: Singer's baton.
sklult: Text. [823]
sklo-pass: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones.
skwin: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
Skwa: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley. [262]
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
skwem: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
skwsaik: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
Sky', "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
sklwalt: Black raspberry. [824]
sklow: Ocean.

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614 extinct, are unusual; normally, the group is largely centred in one village, but with members scattered in other localities.
621. There is no central organization. It is generally recognized that such a unit belongs in the village where its first ancestors settled, and the leading chief of that village is, therefore, an important person in the family, though without status of [622] "head" of it. His advice may be appealed to in cases of dis-[553] putes concerning names, but he lacks judicial authority. Theoretically, the descendants of the elder of two first people are considered as "elder brothers and elder sisters" of those descended from a younger brother or sister; but this is nothing more than an accepted fact; it plays no part in the social life of the community.

552 In addition to human names, the origin myths include those applied to dogs. The first ancestral group had dogs, and these
614 animals had names, or were given them by their powerful
773 masters. Ever since that time their descendants can apply these designations to their own dogs. It is unnecessary to validate such names, but no two canines can be given the same one at the same time, according to the rule which governs the bestowal of human names. This matter was not investigated [539] in detail, and the only dog's name collected was one for which the origin myth is as follows:

> When *Tāl·io* was first settled in the beginning of time, the houses were built in parallel rows, one above the other, up the side of a steep [514] knoll. At the very top was a toi'et-house, built over such a steep incline that excrement rolled down the hillside. In consequence, one of the early chiefs living there gave to his dog the name, *Nuliqwmutl di mink'*, "Rolling excrement," which has since been preserved in the ancestral family of his descendants.

LAND

124 Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining information about land tenure. The Bella Coola resent keenly the way in
423 which their land has been occupied by white settlers without,
177 according to their standpoint, proper compensation. Ques-

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This shows the toilet[14] of Raven, long, long ago.
Sing:

Numunmunktits	*Qwax*	*ältu smu·ntwa·als*
The toilet of	Raven,	long, long ago.

Release middle, ring, and little fingers.
With little fingers hook down radial thumb strings.
Release thumbs.
Pass left middle finger through left index finger loop from proximal side.
Place right index finger tip to tip with left middle finger and transfer right index finger loop to left middle finger.

FIG. 28. "Raven's Heron."

Place right index finger tip to tip with left index finger and transfer left index finger loop to right index finger.
Pass left index finger into left middle finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop.
This shows the heron of Raven, long, long ago (Figure 28).
Sing:

Xeqents	*Qwax*	*ältu smu·ntwa·als.*
The heron of	Raven,	long, long ago.

Release right index finger.
This shows the dog of Raven, long, long ago.
Sing:

Wownte	*Qwax*	*ältu smu·ntwa·als.*
The dog [an archaic word] of	Raven	long, long ago.

STRING TRICKS

1. A CUTTING

Place string over left little finger as a simple loop, holding it with right hand at a distance of about six inches from left hand; this distance should be maintained throughout the movements by allowing more string to pass through right hand.
Pass left ring finger distal to radial little finger string and take up ulnar little finger string from proximal side.

[14] The aperture in the horizontal staging in front of the houses which serves as toilet.

[514]

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THE WASH-BASIN

A third supernatural element which must be in good condition if a Bella Coola is to prosper in life, is a *nuskelusta*, wash-basin. In the land above, *Ałquntäm* has a large one filled with water which, having been constructed by himself, is replete with power. When a child is born, a small part of this receptacle, with its contents, is reserved for him; the supernatural artisans choose the actual section, but it is *Ałquntäm* who gives them the ability to do so. A fortunate man, whose ventures are successful and to whom goods are attracted, is said to have a good wash-basin; whereas the ill-luck of an unfortunate person is attributed, among other reasons, to the small size of his supernatural vessel. The Bella Coola have no clear ideas about the connection between an individual and his wash-basin. Some state that it remains in the land above; others believe that its intangible essence comes to a child at birth and grows up with him, always near his body, as if it were the offspring of the basin in the land above. As long as it remains in motion the owner continues in good health and prosperity, but if it becomes sluggish he falls ill. Long ago, shamans knew how to reanimate a wash-basin, but since the time of the first people, when supernatural ability was common, this has been a lost art. Senile decay is attributed to listlessness of this possession.

River water, being a creation of *Ałquntäm*, is akin to the water in his basin above. Boys are always advised to bathe in the river at dawn; the act is termed *äskelusam*, a word connected with *nuskelusta*. A prayer is uttered while washing. The combination of verbal appeal and the application of water strengthens the petitioner's wash-basin and so increases his chances for prosperity. Until a few years ago, this practice was almost universal. Water is always considered a strange substance, obviously a supernatural creation, and believed to be the chief means of sustenance for a child after being weaned.[50]

[50] This may be a mere rationalization.

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place where he is not likely to be disturbed, and addresses the supreme god in a loud tone of voice, requesting his assistance. 782

Although prayers can be said at any time of the day, or at any season of the year, there are occasions when they are more potent than at other times. At dawn, for example, a wise young man is accustomed to go alone to the river to wash and pray. He enters the icy water, blows mucus over his hands, and rubs his body vigorously[21] either with a smooth pebble, or, if it can be obtained, with a stone taken from the stomach of a sea-lion.[22] As he scours himself, he asks *Munakais* to grant him long life, power, success, and strength. On coming from the water, he repeats his request, and then washes himself again. This process is repeated four times, making eight prayers in all. A young man who does this habitually, and in other ways placates the supreme deity, is likely to have success, and may even be given supernatural assistance by one of the many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. The underlying belief is that *Ālquntäm* actually hears the words spoken and, pleased thereby, aids the petitioner either directly, or by strengthening the supernatural elements in his body. [783]

Munakais has power over both rain and dry weather, and is petitioned for whichever is desired. When the sun is obscured by rain clouds, the Bella Coola pray: [821]

"Please clean your face, *Munakais*," or,

"Please show us your face, we need you."

Before a man starts on a journey, either by canoe or on foot, he always asks help for his undertaking. [484]

"*Munakais*," he prays, "Be with me," or "Go before me," or, "Give me what I want."

Corresponding to the importance of the occasion, prayers are always made before the departure of a hunting or war [224] [726] [785]

[21]Urine was formerly used for washing both the body and clothing. It was followed by the application of clean water, and undoubtedly had a religious significance; indeed, washing purely for cleanliness was not habitual until recently. [515]

[22]The Bella Coola state that stones are often found in the stomachs of sea-lions. One specimen, considered of great value, was seen; it was indistinguishable from a water-smoothed river pebble. [296] [823] [825]

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* 556 the best songs they have made for the initiates, and any of the *susaok* members of the audience desiring to "help" the initiates
575 dance to them, even X himself on occasion. By "help" no
[535] material aid is indicated; such dancing merely displays a friendly and sympathetic interest. The initiates, resplendent in *susaok* head-dresses, appear at the door of the back-room, and sometimes dance a few steps. Occasionally, at the conclusion of his song, a lad's parents, or other relatives, bring forward the goods which will be later distributed by X to the guests. On other occasions, this is reserved for the following day. Food is distributed and all disperse.

THE POTLATCH: SECOND DAY

On this, one of the two most important days of the whole ceremony, the following rites take place.

During the Day

(1) Communication to the foreign guests of the new *susaok*
[553] names of the initiates concealed within the back-room; these names are the ones that have been made known to the Bella Coola before the potlatch proper.

(2) Payment to X by the members of his wife's family of the goods necessary to rebuy her from her husband.

During the Evening

(3) Repayment by X of debts owed to members of his own village.

(4) Return of a dead relative of X to visit the living.

(5) Distribution of presents to validate this appearance.

(6) In some cases, dancing by some of the *susaok* initiates.

[575] Early in the morning X gives each of his guests a wash-
[574] basin with the other necessary appurtenances for cleaning up, and towards noon all of those invited reassemble in his house. Three river canoes have been brought in and are ranged, two parallel to the side walls, and one parallel to the back wall, all far enough out to permit people to sit behind them. Boxes containing large quantities of red elderberries and olachen

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a man, *ux·winaisa*, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience 424
to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it 463
has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this func- 551
tion. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the valid- 693
ation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary [773]
ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but
non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required
by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name *ux·winaisa*
has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been en- 784
forced concerning the river: No refuse may be thrown in, 825
otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the 226
same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe [515]
lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them [841]
from seeing the route. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes [562]
is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the
fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the
bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to
drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical
period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can [502]
be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed [765]
must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose
husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at
the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of
the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be
deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would
smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the
upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are con-
sidered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the 688
salmon and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the 693
offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringe-
ments, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river.
The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be
swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

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ever object was desired, and then set in a window of his house so that the sun could fall on one uncovered end. The owner firmly believes that this stone has brought him money on various occasions, and will do so again, though whether he expects the coins to be found inside of the wrapping, or merely to come to him in the course of trade is questionable. According to Bella Coola belief, they ought to appear beside the stone, but as this man attributes any good fortune to it, he never has any difficulty in proving its powers. 777 823

This stone is also used as a means of increasing the efficacy of prayer. When its owner washes ceremonially in the river before eating in the morning, he rubs it over his body as if it were soap and requests it to make him strong, make him well, grant him his desires, and so forth. [515] [789]

Shamanism

More important to the Bella Coola than any other manifestation of the supernatural is that power which makes an individual either an *ätukwala* or an *äskankots*. The former is a person who, owing to ability granted him by a supernatural being, is able to perform miraculous feats, especially in curing the sick; the latter is one with similar powers obtained from a ghost.[2] It is impossible to translate either of these terms accurately; the designation "shaman" is accordingly used in this monograph to describe both types of supernaturally endowed individuals. The most common and most important method of obtaining such power is from a living supernatural being; a person receiving the boon in this manner will be termed "shaman," and one empowered by a ghost will be known as "shaman from the dead." 104 756* [787]* [788]

The Bella Coola believe that long ago men were so much more powerful than at present, and so close to the supernatural, that all were virtually shamans. The prowess and adventures 756* 773 538

[2]Ghosts are, of course, supernatural, but as the Bella Coola distinguish between shamans whose powers are derived from these two sources, it is accurate to follow their example.

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is spoken of in the Chinook jargon as a *mesatche box*, that is, a "dirty," "unclean," or "repulsive" box, and this term is one which is mentioned whenever an unexpected death takes place, or whenever a coastal Indian is accused of loitering around a deserted camp or of stealing into another's house. The belief is not limited to the Bella Coola, but has formed the basis for criminal cases all over the coast of British Columbia. It is difficult to find words sufficiently strong to express the disgust, loathing, and fear with which the Bella Coola regard a person suspected of sorcery. 754 171 [554]

Ability in this respect carries with it certain prohibitions. A sorcerer would lose his power if he should wash or blow his nose except when about to commit murder. The one old Bella Coola now thought to be a sorcerer never washes; he knows that if he did so, he would be immediately accused of plotting someone's death. This man is greatly feared, as he is said to have a collection of spittle from every member of the tribe; efforts have been made to break into his house and steal this, but it has never been found. He takes credit for the death of at least one white man in the valley. A peculiar impediment suffered by all sorcerers is a prohibition against turning around, although no one knows why doing so should deprive them of their strength. The explanation may be that their power would recoil upon themselves, a concept well illustrated by the following incident: 754 [515] [827]

When the first Christian Bella Coola left the old village to settle near the mission station, they were regarded with dislike and suspicion by their fellow-tribesmen. One day, one of them happened to follow a path through the woods which led her to a rude shelter in which was a bundle. Hastily summoning her fellows, they opened it and found an article of clothing belonging to each Christian. The man who told this incident described his fear at finding a dirty shirt of his own among the others. They felt that the garments had been collected by a young man who claimed to be a shaman, but whom they suspected to be merely the accomplice of a sorcerer, and this was soon proved to be the case. He was insufficiently trained; instead of touching the patient's body with his stick, he used to suck wherever the pain was located and then

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of Wil·a]

*575 houses. The night's ceremony concludes with a meal and the
*796 admonitions of the marshals.

No further description is needed of the rites taking place the next day, that of *nusiutälsap*, when a second song is composed, again dealing with X's patrons, and wood for masks is cut. The evening's ceremonial does not last as long as that of *lsuxtämem*.

[532] The next day, *gotlm*, the carpenters work at the masks, some of which must be finished by nightfall. Late in the
[302] evening both *kukusiut* and uninitiated prepare themselves
[515] by painting and washing; at this time the young men provide pans of warm water for their female friends. As already described, the *kukusiut* are the first to enter, followed by the uninitiated when all is ready. In Kimsquit they see the masks
[184] of at least some of X's supernatural patrons suspended by cords of dyed cedar-bark from a sloping pole that stretches from the floor at the base of the back-room to the cross-beam behind the fire. It is said, although the informant could not guarantee the truth of the statement, that long ago masks had to be displayed at this dance, though it was optional at others. It is a serious and sacred time, one at which frivolity is quite
[688] out of place, and the marshals are in readiness to punish any offender. One very old informant told of having seen a marshal strike down and kill a *kusiut* from another house for holding intercourse with a woman on this night. The heralds
*[203] stay near the door, repeating and enlarging on the remarks of
[537] the marshals; the fluency of these functionaries always adds appreciably to the success of any Bella Coola rite. On this occasion X and the dancer of *Noäkynm* must perform, followed by those who have danced in former years, according to the desire of the singers; later in the season, when many *kukusiut* have performed, the rite may continue almost till dawn, for all must dance. After the departure of the uninitiated the *kukusiut* eat leisurely, while a marshal addresses them, commenting on the ritual and, perhaps, asking a man

[The Stomach-cutting Dance]

* 575 * 796 533 The singers have also composed a song for each of the *änuyex* and these too must be practised, while the men dance or remain still as they think fit. Since no uninitiated are present the affair is purely a rehearsal. The words of each of these songs is of the manner in which the patron helped X to survive his ordeal. By this time it is late and the *kukusiut* disperse after the usual meal and admonitions of the marshals.

* 575 * 796 532 The next day, *qothm*, the carpenters assemble early in the morning to start work. Since X is entitled to portray any of the supernatural beings who are companions of his patron in the land above, it follows that there is wide variation in his choice of masks to be manufactured. The principal supernatural beings are always shown, and any animals, since all are supernatural, can likewise be displayed. As usual, a few *kukusiut* are invited at midday to share the meal provided for the carpenters. The number of masks to be provided is often so great that two days or more are necessary for their completion, in which case no ceremony takes place on the night which would normally be *qothm*; the *kukusiut* merely gather [533] and again practise their songs.

* 575 * 796 But the day after is *qothm*. At dusk the *kukusiut* are called in for a final rehearsal of the songs, and then a summons is sent to the uninitiated, who have been washing and beautifying ● [515] themselves in eager anticipation. In Kimsquit it is customary [532] to hang some of the masks on a sloping pole behind the fire and [184] the sight of these amazes the non-members. First the singers beat out the song of one of the women mourners and she dances [781] in time to it, while the heralds near the door keep up a steady [535] stream of remarks, encouraging the woman to perform yet [834] more strenuously and to have no modesty about shaking her breasts. Then another of the women dances, followed in succession by the third and fourth if that is the number who sang the mourning songs. Next the *änuyex* perform, each in succession accompanying the song composed for him. Now comes the central feature of the evening, the performance of X himself. As the singers strike up the shaman's song which he is

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to the aesthetic, their skill in dancing and dramatics is note- 105
worthy: no one who has witnessed a native dance can fail to [535]
have been impressed by the performance of the participants
and the stage-craft of the carpenters. The fact that no system [538]
of writing had ever been devised has prevented the establish- [212]
ment of a native literature, but the practice of passing down [153]
an extensive folklore by word of mouth shows their narrative
powers as well as their faculty for remembering details. At
present it is difficult to appreciate what must have been their
energy in earlier times when they faced the struggle for exist-
ence, armed with stone tools. Abundant salmon gave them [226]
adequate food, but only when weirs had been built with great
labour. Though game was plentiful, the hunter was equipped [224]
with nothing more formidable than a bow and arrow. The
simplest task required patience and skill undreamed of by the
average white man. If the reader will allow his imagination
to carry him backwards two hundred years, he will realize that
the mere provision of food and clothing necessitated constant
effort and ceaseless exertion.

Hand in hand with many admirable characteristics, the 356
Bella Coola display others which strike the white man as
unprepossessing. A first impression is the untidiness of their
houses. Exteriorly, they are often fairly neat, but confusion
reigns within. Clothing, instead of being hung up, is left lying
on the floor; bed-coverings are piled carelessly; dirty dishes
cover the tables; dogs and children swarm over the floor; flies
abound; all is dirty and slovenly. The house itself may be
uncompleted; a window lacks glass and has been boarded up;
the roof leaks, or the steps are falling down. Nor are the
surroundings more attractive. There is one struggling flower- [247]
bed in the village, but elsewhere the houses are surrounded by [351]
wastes of mud where horses and cattle wander, dogs prowl, and [231]
children play. In the distance the mountain peaks rise in
splendour, but near at hand all is squalid and unkempt.

They are only slightly more particular about their personal 515
appearance. Dirt does not distress them. They wash occa-

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515 sionally, in a half-hearted manner, but it is not unusual for a man to allow the basin of water in which he makes his ablutions to remain standing for two or three weeks. Not many [177] years ago the Carriers taught their neighbours to make a kind [296] of soap from the ashes of burnt cottonwood sticks thrown into [388] water; with this clothes are washed irregularly and in most cases from sheer necessity only. In former times bathing was [789] a semi-sacred rite, but this fell into disuse with the passing of [177] the old religion, and the use of soap and water merely for the sake of cleanliness has not become a daily habit. The women [291] have more vanity; the younger girls especially like to have new clothes, though they wear them carelessly, heedless of fit. [796] An effort is often made to clean up for ceremonial dances, but it entails little more than the removal of the more obvious dirt and the putting on, over unchanged undergarments, of a sweater. Pride in personal appearance, love of tidiness, delight in a clean house, are all quite foreign to the Bella Coola.

356 Probably the reason for lack of comforts in the houses is simply that the people do not feel the need for them. They [264] consider it no hardship to sit on a rickety chair, scoop up food [231] from a common dish and, if they think of it, throw morsels [152] down to the dog or the cat. The smell, the flies, the dirt, the chaos do not concern them. Capable of undergoing privations, hardships, and even sufferings, they think neither of the comfort of themselves nor of others. Their domestic animals are 231 often treated abominably, not through lack of affection or cruelty, but from callousness. More than once the writer has seen a favourite dog steal a piece of food from the table. Its master, after a furious blow or kick at it, would suddenly, as if by inspiration, throw a choice bit to the animal, saying:

"Why, he must have been hungry!"

Though the Bella Coola feel a kinship with animals unknown to the white man, it is not combined with any recognition of their feelings as living creatures. There are, of course, many exceptions, but on the whole public opinion demands [577] generosity and kindness only towards human members of the group. The moral code is not concerned with animals.

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Anuhlu: Village near mouth of the Dean River.
Anulaitem: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Anutqaw-yut, "Lobrected": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Anuwmlaix: Name obtained by an *Ilpalikul* man in the beginning of time.
Anuqulmut, "Quivering To and Fro": One of *Tlincqilize-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Anustmlaix: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.
Anustmlaix-a: 1—*Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola woman.
2—"Left Hand": *Snuc* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
[431]
[426] *anuqqy*: Term applied to the giving of a copper, indicating that 100 per cent interest is expected in return.
Awalmmkmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
[463] *awawinhow-ala*: *Kwiat* profession, at Kimsquit only, of throwing masks on the fire.
Awawinhwah, "The Moving House": One of the names of the supreme god's dwelling.
awqus: 1—Owner of a puppet-person.
2—Synonym for *alemmmmum*, q.v.
Awqulkhilaix: Supernatural being who rulp *kukwiat* of their thoughts at the Mystery dance.
Ax-ai: 1—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Ilpalikul* in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Bella chief.
aje: Excreta.
Ajmi-a, "The Privy One": Name taken by a chief for himself in virtue of the remarks made about his habits.
Ajmlaix: *Snuc* name of a Kimsquit man.
[525] *ajum*: Herring eggs.
[524] *ajumuqy*: Cormorant.
ajuu: Type of sea-going canoe.
[525] *ajuu*: Harlequin duck.
Ajuikstyumumum, "The Greatest Eater": Term used by hunters to Eagle.
Ajuu-ta-i, "Concave Town": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
Ajumuqy: Canoes lashed together.
Ax-ax: Locality on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head, including the area beneath the surface of the water.
[601] *ax-ita-ti*: 1—Second oldest sibling.
2—Second part of song.
[775] *axlatmum*: 1—"They Who Have Become Supernatural": Title preferred by ghosts.
2—Woman living in the moon.
Axlumuqy: Inhabitants of the village of *Axu*".
[424] *axumuxlax*: Person with good memory commissioned to remember family prerogatives.
Axu", "At the Head": Village southwest of the head of South Bentinck Arm.
axuxtal: Totem-pole, literally, "Outside Post."
[752] *ayhaulum*: Shaman with power derived from ghosts.
ayhlumm: Ceremonial bathing at dawn.
[515] *Ayhlumilaix*: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola woman.
Ayhmlik: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.

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[192*]

[illegible]: Omen of death, generic term.
[illegible]: One of the berries, probably raspberry. [787]
[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: Mother, term used by child.
[illegible]: Celebrated Carrier chief. [824]
[illegible]: 1—Village on west bank of the Nechestucmnay, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. [601]
2—Mountain behind the village.
[illegible]: [illegible]'s name of a Kimsquit man.
[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: 1—Term used for spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish. [825]
2—Term used by *xmmy* to human beings, who are like salmon to them.
3—Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings. [198]
[illegible], "Rope Fastenings," *i.e.*, something binding: The function of the "Bed Covering" and other presents given with a wife which bind her to her husband. [585]
[illegible]: Unidentified species of duck.
[illegible]: Kwakiutl term for "The Weeper," a female supernatural being. [431]
[illegible]: *Kaxiut* name of a *Stuie* man.
[illegible]: *xmmy* chief living soon after the beginning of time. [825]
[illegible]: Herald who came with the first settlers to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Carrier pronunciation of *Tsqlqc*, one of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: *Kaxiut* with ability to produce a puppet-patron, cf. [illegible].
[illegible]: Sweet-berb. [515]
[illegible]: Slave mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Star-fish. [825]
[illegible]: Rabbit.
[illegible]: Salmon-berry. [824]
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Unidentified plant.
[illegible]: Black cod. [825]
[illegible], "A Wiping of the Feet upon the Ground of Chiefs": Term applied to a deadly insult offered to persons of importance. [578]
[illegible]: Wooden armour.
[illegible]: 1—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm. [714]
2—Island off Rivers Inlet.
3—Island.
[illegible]: One of the names of Raven as chief.
[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Sickisit* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Unidentified migratory bird, black in colour. [825]
[illegible]: Scotch River, near Bella Bella.
[illegible]: One of the *a'nlk* dances.
[illegible], "Head": *Stuie* repository named from part of a supernatural creature. [578]
[illegible]: A verbal exposure of what should have remained concealed, such as comments upon the slave ancestry of a person whose blot in this respect has been covered over by lavish giving. [431]
[illegible]: Presents distributed by a wife to strengthen her husband's seat, and thus prevent him from "wobbling." [552]

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754
756 magic probably originated from observing the many very erratic
825 and apparently purposeless movements of the red squirrel.

When one wished to cause the child of one's enemy to grow
754 up to be a quarrelsome person, a yellow jacket's nest was burned
825 and the ashes were rubbed on the face, hands, and arms of the
856 child. When the child grew up, it was believed, he or she would fight with everyone. The yellow jacket's natural defense of it's nest is interpreted as quarrelsome, even by white people.

754 The toad was a powerful medicine for the bad box used in
825 witchcraft.

To make a man or woman die of craziness, one of the hairs of the person's head was put in the body cavity of a disemboweled toad.

[515] To make a person's face swell and superate until death came,
[825] the little pieces of softened red cedar bark used to clean the person's face were put in the body cavity of a disemboweled toad. The idea underlying this was probably the reproduction of the warts of the toad on the face of the person.

[824] To make a person die, a piece of the young shoot of a thimble berry, lost by that person while eating, was put in the mouth of a toad. Death was supposed to take place in half an hour.

754 One very old man, Judas by name, boasts of having killed seven people by means of his bad box used in witchcraft, especially of having caused the death of Mr. John Clayton, who was the first white man to remain long in this area, having kept the Hudson's Bay store at Bella Coola, and later a store of his own, but who died far away from Bella Coola in 1909.

Mrs. Samuel King who died in 1922 was said to have been poisoned by Willie Mack. Her father, Captain Schooner, was said to have stated that Willie would die in July on the anniversary of her death. Willie Mack died in the summer of 1923. Captain Schooner died a few days later. He was said to understand malevolent witchcraft thoroughly. It was said that people often cut off the collars of Willie Mack's shirts. Willie Mack's father was too great a chief to that people were ashamed, and consequently killed Willie by means of witchcraft with something in a bad box.

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PLATE II

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Photograph by the author

A Bella Coola couple with their dogs; the one on the left is a chief.

[p 186 (c)]

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PLATE 13

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Photograph by the author

Mrs. Joshua Moody (left) and Mrs. Willie Mack, two Bella Coola women

[p 516 (A)]

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Ałałkmłmn: Supernatural being sent by *Smaien-a* to meet *Nełkymm.*

ałałqe-wi, "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will certainly give a potlatch to start him on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremoniously at every feast. [556]

Ałłkłxw-i: Abalone-shell covered stick used by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

Ałłkłxw-łałłiux: One of the first women to settle at *Tał-io* in the beginning of time.

ałłinnłł: Word of uncertain meaning often appended to *łnxłmem* as complete term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance. [575]

ałłiknłxmm, "A Dragging Across" (as one does with a heavy log): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being repurchased. [425] [553]

ałłkwis: Toasted food of any kind. [262]

Ałłłixwumax: Ancestral name of a *Stax* man.

ałłiq': Perforated, *adjective.* [252]

ałłmuxwm: Those who perform to assist marriage dancers.

Ałłmałłpałsix: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Ał-imłłsix: One of the first men to settle at *Tał-io* in the beginning of time.

ałłpłnłłts, "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and hers prior to entering her house. [585] [431]

ałłpoałm: Gifts given in secret, soon after betrothal, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [584]

ałłpołłm: Marshal.

Ałłqmłw-i: Immoral supernatural woman; synonym for *Sximsximłł.*

Ałłnmotusix: One of the men who came to earth at Mount *Tunisi* in the beginning of time.

Ał-łłkłł: Totem-pole erected by the first settlers at *Stax* in the beginning of time.

ałłkłł: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widower or a widower. [516]

ałłq: Sxoak song in fast time. [533]

ałł: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [535]

ĀłŁgmłw-a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Sałłia* in the beginning of time.

ałmpus: Kusiut dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

ałmła: Synonym for *łnumłjut;* one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]

ałmła: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

ałx: Come, *imperative singular.*

Ałłcux: 1—One of *Smaian's* sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at *Nawułt* in the beginning of time.

ałłał-łłaix: Central seat behind the fire.

ałłłłułx: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-nets. [412]

Ałłłmułłłx: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola.

ałłłułłum: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun. [805]

Łłłw-łqumm, "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf. [825]

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CHAPTER IV

GAMES

517 121 [177] THE subject of games, lying on the border-line of social customs, was one which was not fully investigated. The Bella Coola, like all other peoples, have a number of sports and pastimes and although the old diversions are being forgotten by the younger people, many of the old men and women are familiar with those played in their youth. As isolated customs these may be of small value, but games of all kinds often preserve ancient practices and, as providing useful clues to the spread of peoples or of culture, are worthy of investigation. Unfortunately, lack of time made it impossible to give the subject the attention it deserved, and the few games here described must not be considered an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

526 [171] [628] Though less fond of competitive sports than the Indians of the Plains, the Bella Coola enjoy canoe-racing and wrestling. The former appears to have been an ancient diversion; picked crews from different villages competed amid the encouraging shouts of their fellows, and even now the younger men are anxious to display their skill in this respect. Wrestling, which [177] used to be common during all non-sacred gatherings, has almost entirely disappeared since the prohibition of the potlatch.

538 [517] The favourite sedentary pastime, enjoyed equally by young and old, is the telling of stories. Those of a sacred nature, especially ancestral myths, are reserved of course for ceremonial occasions, but the older men and women remember [825] many tales describing the exploits of birds and animals which are recounted again and again to the enjoyment of the listeners, although they may have heard the same recital fifty times. Children enjoy the companionship of some old story-teller and it is a common sight to see an old man or woman, surrounded by an eager group, explaining once more how Raven outwitted his rivals or was himself led into difficulties. Many of these [867] stories are somewhat indecent; others appear brutally frank,

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but the Bella Coola do not consider this aspect and the children 538
grow up in an atmosphere entirely lacking in restraint of [867]
speech. Some stories teach a moral lesson, but they are recounted merely for entertainment. At the present time, no [178]
one knows who invented the stories; they have been handed down from dim antiquity and alterations or embellishments are considered improper, while the composition of new tales appears to be unknown.

Another pastime is smoking. Among some Indian tribes 276
the practice has a definite religious significance, but this appears to be lacking among the Bella Coola. Most of the men [517]
enjoy either a pipe or cigarettes, and some of the women also indulge, but few carry the habit to excess. All the older people affirmed that their ancestors had smoked for generations. Tobacco was not grown, but kinnikinick, *milix*ʷ', was used, [249]
and also a plant known as *lsaix*'. Another smoking mixture [824]
was bark of *lsxwatelp*, toasted before a fire until dried and brown, and then crumbled between the hands. These materials [177]
have given place entirely to imported tobacco, and the white man's pipe has replaced the native one. The latter consisted of a gooseberry cane from which the pith had been extracted; sometimes a small bowl of elderberry wood was added, but often the mixture to be smoked was simply placed within the end of the hollow stem.

Adults, especially the men, are addicted to gambling. They 525
are fond of placing stakes on a race or other trial of strength, and enjoy all kinds of games of chance. Some of the younger men have mastered a few of the simpler games of cards on which they spend a certain amount of time and money. The favourite gambling game, however, is one found in all parts of the coast, which is played with a pack of fifty-four smoothed crabapple sticks. The rules are complicated and no effort was made to learn more than the general principles. The pieces are divided among the eight or ten contestants and concealed; then one player guesses in whose hand a certain marked stick is hidden. If he is successful, the others pay him a forfeit; if

*192
[426] *alxwekam:* Excess of amount returned over that previously received as an investment present.
Aiamkihka: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Aiilaxa: 1—Supernatural beings who drone as the sun moves.
2—Voice of the supernatural woman, *Snitsmänˑa*; the term is occasionally applied to the being herself. The sound is produced by *kusiut* whistles.
Aimälotla: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Aimaliua: "The Coming of Foul Weather," in the language of supernatural beings: The phenomenon is semi-anthropomorphized.
Aimäˑts: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Ancient chief from whom the village is supposedly named.
Aiqwaiosamlaix: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
[821] *Aiqwaiust:* Supernatural beings who blacken the face of the moon at eclipses.
Ailsamka: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Talˑio* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of an *ustämx* chief mentioned in an ancient story.
Aiutla: 1—One of the designations of *Kämaiˑts*, the mysterious supernatural woman.
2—Ferocious, awe-inspiring, *adjective*.
[526] *akätxyu:* Swing consisting of two long ropes with cross-seat.
[824] *akpädultsp:* Spruce leaves.
Äkamici: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
alipotnam: Lehal.
Älkälälis: 1—One of the first men to settle at Calvert Island in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwlst* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Aimäˑts* in the beginning of time.
alkdjälos: Stake supporting olachen net.
[796] *älkexpiämm:* Ritual repeated at intervals between the allotment of tasks for a potlatch, and the coming of a supernatural being to the first *nuaak* initiate.
älkᵛ, plural, wealkᵛats: Herald.
Älokänam: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
[533] *alox:* Third part of song.
'alox: Pleasure expedition of boys and girls to the forest.
[517] *Ä'lox:* Name of an isolated star.
[821] *Älqotlos:* Supernatural man-eater, patron of Cannibals.
Älqtcälos: Stick decorated with abalone-shell used by one of the settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
Äläwulus: Supernatural female berry-picker resident in the land of the dead.
älsaia: Announcer.
Äluukwlaksˑs: Bay of the Thousand Islands near Namu.
Älusknaix: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
alxotla: Cannibal.
[587] *alxwalam:* Marriage with sister of a deceased wife; the word is undoubtedly connected with the verb, *to bequeath*.
Äläkwis: Supernatural creature similar to a human being.
Äjala: Supernatural woman, wife of Cold Wind and mother of Ice.
Älälals: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
[425] *alal-tjem:* The transference of a name, during the period of engagement, from the father of the future bridegroom to the father of the future bride.
[553]
[584]

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Xemlaix: One of the first men to settle at *Q̓omqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
Xemtmm: *Kusiut* name of a *Sîsk̓iutl* man.
Xemxemälotla: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Xemxemlaix: *Sisaok* name brought from above in the beginning of time.
Xemxemtmm: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqälaxl* in the beginning of time.
[533] *xe·tla:* Boastful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.
Xedilkos: One of the first men to settle at *Qotlnelos* in the beginning of time.
Xelāsu: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman. The designation is of Bella Bella origin.
[825] *ǵexs:* Marten.
[412] *ǵils:* Stone axe.
xlxil: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
[203] *Ximpdimut:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximximlaix: *A'alk* man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximximoslaix: Celebrated female shaman.
[821] *ǵinǵinäs·i, plural, ǵinǵinäsoksi:* Little girl.
[517] *Xinǵines:* 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.
Xixais: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
Xximän·a, "Right Foot": *Stuix* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
Xǵis: Mountain in the Carrier country.
xxmänoäs: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
xläxtmm: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
xläni: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
[586] *Xlikwals:* Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
xlokin·imut: The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
[825] *Xmexots:* Locality below *Nusqalst.*
ǵmǵmatsl: Minnows.
[601] *ǵmes:* Woman, or wife in indirect address (*Iei ǵmesisaix:* My wife).
[614] *ǵmesäxta:* Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
[423] *ǵmesdäm* or *nuǵmesdäm:* The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.
Xnutli: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
xokult: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
Xolärwosem: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[785] *xoldjut:* Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[831] *Xomtsla:* Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Xomxomqa: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
Xonqotäm: Supernatural scoop-net fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
Xoqotlis: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

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533 earliest ancestors, and the text is commonly grandiloquently
*556 phrased.[19] Frequently the singers alter the words slightly to
suit the occasion, and sometimes compose entirely new words
[171] for an old tune. As they sing, they are aided by some of X's
friends who rise and stand between the fire and the front door.
[532] They occasionally wear forehead masks carved with his crest
to add dignity to the rite.

203 After the song the chiefs continue their meal, and there is
much practical joking with the heralds.

● 522 "Don't you want some food?" X calls to one of them.

*556 Without waiting for an answer he throws a box containing the liquid pulp, inclined at such an angle that the mess is spattered over the recipient. Occasionally, a herald will succeed in catching a box without spilling the contents, but usually he is smeared from head to foot, while the spectators shriek with laughter. It is one of the functions of a herald to be a laughing stock for the visitors.

*556 During the afternoon X's wife and the members of her
583 family deliver to him the goods which they have amassed to "re-buy" her from her husband. These are called "washing material," as if they supplied X with wash-basin and toilet necessities. The speaker orates how the wife has lived up to her obligation in making this presentation, and how it will clear the path for her children. These goods will later on be distributed by X. They can be used for:

(1) Repayment of potlatch debts, or

(2) Making potlatch investments, or

(3) Validating names, either *susaok* or ancestral, for the children of his relatives.

It would be most disgraceful should any of the goods be applied to validating *susaok* names for any of X's own children, because they have come from his wife's people and react to the advantage of her children in any case. These goods are

[19] Though not to the same extent as among the Kwakiutl where the words may describe how the sky is supported on a chief's shoulders, or how he has pushed his head into the land above.

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sion by repeating loudly a few words, or even phrases, from the speeches being delivered, or calling on the audience to notice what has just been said and to listen attentively. A white man would be annoyed at such interruptions, but the Bella Coola consider them evidences of attentiveness. 203 556*

The making of comments is a duty performed at every type of ceremony, but it is indispensable at potlatches; since a chief depends on the heralds to emphasize and explain the points of his family history which are being displayed. One intelligent man likened their functions to a compass, constantly guiding the course of ceremonial life. Without a herald a chief would be as useless as a ship tossed on the ocean with no hand to steer. Although the principal duty of heralds is to extol the actions of a chief, they can, and are expected to, deride one who fails to carry out the customary requirements. Cases have occurred in which influential men have so far forgotten their function of generosity as to fail to invite their fellows after killing a deer or other large animal; or women have declined to share their abundant berries. Nothing is said at the time, but when next the people have come together for some ceremony, a herald refers to the omission under so slim a disguise that everyone is aware of his meaning. This public ridicule lowers the prestige of a chief to such an extent that he is careful not to offend again. Not many years ago, a certain Kimsquit chief failed to ask others to share some mountain goats which he had killed; at the first opportunity a herald referred to himself as *Yeki*, Mountain Goat, and all present realized that he was really alluding to the one who had been remiss. 203 556* 558 626 [224] [222]

Heralds must exercise care in their witticisms at the expense of chiefs because, unless public opinion is with them, the point of the remark is lost, and they expose themselves to the wrath of the person offended. Nevertheless, heralds always strive to cause merriment, and often take risks with this aim in view. They try to make humorous remarks, and also to cause amusement by their antics. As already described, the donor of a potlatch may throw to one of them a dish containing liquid food 203 522● 556*

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203 in such a way that the contents dribble over the recipient;
● 522 sometimes, though able to catch the dish, a herald may
*556 deliberately allow the sticky pulp to cover him. The humour of this is increased by the fact that guests at potlatches always receive their food in a ceremonious manner.

203 Though one of a herald's duties is to act as buffoon, his position is only very slightly derogatory. In the beginning of
*556 time, Raven himself did not hesitate to act in this capacity on
[773] many occasions. Ever since, the post has usually been occupied by relatives of chiefs, especially by those who are unable to give potlatches. In some cases the position is sought by ambitious young men, willing to endure the slight loss of dignity for the emoluments. Since the basic principle of every Bella Coola ceremony is that the donor must recompense those who have assisted him, heralds are always lavishly rewarded. At potlatches especially, chiefs remember their dependence upon the heralds, and shower presents upon them. One who has allowed himself to be spattered with liquid food to amuse the guests, is suitably compensated, but in any case he receives presents for summoning and seating the guests and for interrupting the speeches. The same principle holds good in all other ceremonies. An elderly informant related that once in his younger days he had been dancing a *susaok* dance, when two heralds remarked that the ground on which he was dancing was dirty, meaning, that it had not been made clean by the distribution of sufficient presents to justify his dance. His mother at once gave the heralds two muskets, valuable articles in those days, to clear her son's path. These belonged to the informant, who knew nothing about the transaction until it had been completed, but he accepted as a matter of course the necessity of giving presents to heralds. If the seat on which a chief is sitting should break, presents must be given to heralds, and if a *kusiut* should fall when a herald is watching, the latter
[622] receives gifts. At the marriage of a chief's son, a herald can
[585] claim and remove any of the clothing of the bridegroom or his associates. Above all other occasions, when a young chief is

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to force his attentions on a slave woman if she objected, 836
although her refusal would be most unusual on account of his [567]
prestige. There were no professional prostitutes; a man [548]
usually gave a small present to a girl from whom he had received favours, and she was expected to give him a little, dainty basket filled with undyed cedar-bark to use as a sponge. Such relations appear always to have been of common occurrence. Today, as formerly, a man's morality is considered to 836
be his own affair; laxity may lower his prestige, but no law is 522
broken, and his neighbours laugh and chaff him about it. In fact, sexual matters are discussed with the greatest freedom, and a person who has been caught is mocked mercilessly. When visiting a foreign tribe, a man sometimes lives with a [648]
woman and, on parting, composes and sings a song describing her charms. One man did this after living with a Kitlobe woman, and on his return to Bella Coola found that some of his fellows had learnt it in some unexplained manner; they used to sing it to him, much to their amusement, in part to his own, and somewhat to the annoyance of his wife. This perhaps illustrates rather clearly the attitude of the Bella Coola to an infraction of morality—where no marriage rite has been broken; it is amusing rather than disgusting. There 836
are no times when the moral code ceases to function. At pot-
latches, and also at *kusiut* dances, there appears always to [834]
have been a certain amount of laxity, although this was strictly prohibited within the house where the ceremony was taking place. Such behaviour is due to the excitement and stimulus of a large gathering, not to anything connected with the rites themselves.

Perverted sexual desires, like other matters connected with 839
the relations of the sexes, are regarded as concerning the individual alone. Sodomy appears to be unknown. Intercourse 836
by pre-adolescents is held to be disgusting, but carries with it
no social ostracism. Incestuous union, however, is mildly anti- 835
social; it exposes the offender to secret contempt, but does not
interfere with his attainment of whatever position his wealth 556

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* 575 air, throwing his arms around as if demented, and at times
* 796 hurling his rod to the floor where the nail prevents it from
falling, much to the amazement of the uninitiated. He stoops
532 to pick it up, reverses it, again throws it to the ground, and
776 again lifts it up, all the time gyrating on himself. Finally, with a rush and a leap, he disappears behind the screen whence he came. One of the senior *kukusiut*, selected for the purpose on account of his knowledge and intelligence, is stationed near the enclosure, and as soon as the supernatural being disappears he explains to non-members who was the visitor. The ever-talkative *Ano'likwolsaix* confirms and supplements his remarks.

The next to appear is a *mätsqus*, a wooden figure about two and a half feet in length with proportions equal to those of a toad. It emerges from the matting at one side of the house, and by means of concealed ropes is made to hop across the floor and return. Behind it there appears a masked male figure carrying a huge wooden hammer; the *kukusiut* shriek, "Kill! Kill!" and the man strikes at the toad-like creature. It has been made in two sections which can be pulled apart by a skilful manipulation of the ropes; this is done as the hammer descends so that it strikes a bladder filled with red dye in the interior. The colouring spatters in all directions like blood, but after a short interval the animal is pulled together and hops off to the enclosure. The *kusiut* announcer tells the uninitiated:

"That is a toad from the land above, a *mätsqus*, which came to visit X. It will soon return to its own home."

After a short pause to let the effect of the last apparition sink in upon non-members, the *kukusiut* raise the cry:

"Look up there."

A porcupine emerges from a small hole in the matting and crawls down a plank, then turns and goes back, pulled by ropes invisible in the semi-gloom. The figure consists of a real skin carefully stripped off and stretched over a wooden framework. The announcer declares:

"It is a porcupine from above, come to visit X."

• [522] Two clowns now appear together. Each wears a mask,

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representing a man whose mouth is open and whose face is wrinkled in a grin spreading from ear to ear. They go around the fire laughing and playing, rolling on the floor and indulging in all kinds of antics, with constant fits of laughter, so deep that it seems to come from their stomachs. Only one or two men in the community can make the hoarse sound required, and they are always asked to appear as comedians. They are entitled to make witticisms, often of an obscene nature, at the expense of any of the spectators, and the *kukusiut* always join in laughter at the victim. Sometimes the singers beat out a short tune and the performers dance clumsily, to the amusement of all. When they have withdrawn, the announcer explains that these two spend their time in the land above playing and jesting. If the preliminaries are long delayed, the clowns may be sent out to keep the audience amused while waiting for the more important beings.

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The Hermaphrodite next emerges. As previously described, he dances around the fire, singing in a peculiar nasal twang, intermediate between the voice of a man and a woman. Few men can do this satisfactorily. When the Hermaphrodite has disappeared, the announcer explains that he always remains outside the house in the land above where he plays with a number of women who stay there, and over whom he is lord. His face is that of a woman, his voice that of a woman, but he has masculine characteristics as well.

Then comes *Sxaiaxwax*, clad in a blanket of evergreen boughs and wearing as ugly a mask as the maker can devise. The pattern varies according to the skill and originality of the carpenter; a common design is that of a snout-like mouth, somewhat resembling a pig with eyes askew. *Sxaiaxwax* cannot speak, but he dances around the fire spitting, blowing, and making inarticulate sounds in his throat. When he has gone, the announcer explains that *Sxaiaxwax* is a very evil being who spends all his time trying to seduce girls, especially those who play with the Hermaphrodite outside *Nusqulxwaista*. With them he never succeeds, but sometimes he comes to this earth

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[The Dance of Thunder]

verbal to physical arguments, and one occasion is remembered when the latter was shoved from a canoe into the river. 575* 796* 776

In the evening the *kukusiut* are first called in, to be followed by the uninitiated in due course. Thunder dances in the manner already described, though, if possible, with even more vigour and abandon than when he was only one of the performers in the Mystery dance. As recorded in that dance, he performs twice, on the second occasion carrying a rattle containing burning shreds of cedar-bark. After each circuit of the central fire, Rainwater appears and drenches the audience, as rain accompanies a thunder-storm. The dramatic skill displayed is always impressive, and a touch of comic [522] realism is added by the reiterated remarks of *Tłoqots* who does his utmost to belittle Thunder.

The time-beater for the expert dancer, *Nixps*, appears after Rainwater. When the ceremonial is carried out with care, he [532] wears a skull mask to show that he is a ghost who has come from the land below in answer to the call of *Alxwolätinim*. As [533] he beats time he sings a wordless song of the dead. The skill of *Nixps* as a dancer is due to the fact that he is a yearling mountain goat among supernatural beings. The uninitiated look forward with eagerness to witnessing a remarkable dance, but after a few violent contortions the performer withdraws, followed by the musician.

It would be needless repetition to enumerate all the supernatural beings who follow, so mention will be made only of those who are considered especially appropriate to the Thunder dance and who are accordingly shown on almost all occasions. Winter Wren is a masked figure which hops about in an agile [532] manner similar to that of the bird on this earth, and Rabbit likewise imitates the movements of an earthly rabbit. *Ano'likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that Thunder would like to [825] taste the flesh of mortals but that he is too big and too hot to approach them, so sends Mosquito as his messenger. The masked figure representing that insect carries a stick about one foot in length beneath his blanket, and runs around the house

[The Dance of Thunder]

575 796 776 [123] [781] with short, mincing steps. At intervals he pulls forth his stinger and rushes at one of the spectators, poking the weapon at him and humming fiercely. The writer took the part of a supernatural mosquito at one of the dances held in the winter of 1922-3 and remembers the expression of fear on the face of a younger member of the audience when about to be "stung." The victim was certainly afraid on that occasion, and if that feeling could survive the break-down of belief, it is not to be wondered at that fear was universal in the days when the *kukusiut* were thought to be possessors of supernatural powers. Another being who often appears at a dance of Thunder is Rainwater-Dripping-from-the-Roof. The masked figure walks slowly around the fire and *Ane'likwelsaix* explains that this is the water which drops from a hole in the planking. The Clowns [522] are never omitted, and always cause amusement amid the gravity of the rite. One after another, the supernatural beings appear from the enclosure, circle the fire, and withdraw, accompanied by the sage remarks of *Ane'likwelsaix*. Finally there is a long pause, broken when a masked figure slowly toddles forth. It is Snail, who started at the same time as the other supernatural beings but arrived too late to be present at the dance of Thunder. Snail circles the fire and disappears. At this point the uninitiated are expelled and the rite concludes as usual.

575 796 Dancers whose patrons are Thunder, Earthquake, Sun, or Moon do not confine their dances to the ceremonial season, but perform whenever a manifestation of their patron occurs. If [424] [821] Thunder is heard, no matter what the time of day or season of year, X stands up and cries out:

"It [he does not refer to Thunder by name] is dancing too lustily up aloft. *Xwe* ···,"

[789] The call of *xwe* ··· is thought to have a quieting effect on Thunder. Any *kukusiut* women present at once drone, then, accompanied by a number of his associates, X proceeds to the lowest house of the village where the same ritual is repeated. This is done in every dwelling, after which X returns home and

[The Ghost Dance]

*575 *796 [787] X's, where he is soothed by the four times repeated frenzied beating of sticks and his call returned whence it came.

During the rest of the ceremonial season X becomes mad at intervals and displays his insanity by rushing to every house and throwing dirt and sand. His *ẽałuziat* escort is always with him, and the procedure is identical with that already [424] recorded. X makes no recompense for the damage inflicted, so it is probable that his fellows do not regard his dance as an unmitigated pleasure, but nothing can be done to deter him from exercising his prerogative.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CHARMER

*575 *796 776 Although the Bella Coola are probably as moral as members of any other tribe, they enjoy humour of an obscene nature, and a dance which never fails to provide amusement is that of the Supernatural Charmer. The patron of this is *Sximsximult*, [522] [881] a beautiful, unmarried, feminine being who is also termed *Ałiqmẽ-i* and *Nusẽmẽłxaix*. She is thought to disregard the efforts of her supernatural relatives to restrain her, and comes to this earth where she bestows her favours not only on human beings, but on animals. Her protégé at Kimsquit is a young [557] man, *Łẽłaiuks*, at Bella Coola, a young woman, *Kwałẽmus*; [562] like all other *ẽuziat* names these can be used either by men or [424] women. It is said that *Łẽłaiuks*'s prerogative is derived from the experience of an ancestor in past ages, whereas that of *Kwałẽmus* was initiated three generations ago by a very powerful chief. The ritual in each case is identical, so the dancer [533] can be referred to as X. Each has the prerogative of singing [532] not only of *Sximsximult*, but also of the being known as *W'iwsintmał*. Many masks are required at the *nałuzam* of either of these beings, so it is customary for X to perform with respect to *Sximsximult* one year, and to *W'iwsintmał* at the next or a subsequent ceremonial season, though the actual songs always refer to both patrons.

*796 *575 When X wishes to dance he consults the marshals, obtains their consent, and then makes final arrangements on, normally,

[The Dance of the Supernatural Charmer]

575 each wearing the mask of a man and each with the clothing
796 and distinctive marks of a particular tribe: Tsimshian, Haida,
Bella Bella, Rivers Inlet, China Hat, Kitimat, Fort Rupert,
[532] Smith Inlet, Cowichan, and as many more as X has wished, not forgetting Bella Coola itself. On at least one occasion representations of a white man and of a Chinese were used. Sometimes instead of one, there are two of each tribe. Each figure pretends to be pursuing *Sximsximdt* and keeps up a running fire of complaints:

"She left me for a worthless man; oh! how unhappy I am," says one, and another adds:

"Alas, I enjoyed her only once."

Each uses his own imagination in making comments, frequently drawing on personal experiences with faithless women. *Ano'lkwolsaix* explains everything, and the heralds echo the remarks. *Sximsximdt* looks around for a handsome young *kusiut* woman and says to her:

"How many men have known you?"

The heralds repeat the question and tell the woman not to be bashful, but to speak the truth. It is considered excessively
[522] funny for her to answer a number in the hundreds, even more
[881] than the tale of *Sximsximdt*'s lovers. This is a time when obscene remarks are allowed and, indeed, expected. A short distance behind the hurrying procession of those who have loved *Sximsximdt* and are still allured by her, comes a super-
[532] natural being disguised under the mask of an old man. He is her father, who keeps giving her good advice and begging her to forsake her evil ways, but she pays no attention to him. Finally, just as she is about to leave, there enters an old, old
575 man with white hair and a wrinkled face; he totters in leaning
796 heavily upon a stick and calling to the woman to wait for him.
522 She heeds him not, but goes out of the house while he staggers feebly around the fire, voicing his complaints and his appeals. *Ano'lkwolsaix* explains that he is *Simpiau*, who fell under the spell of *Sximsximdt* long ago in his youth, and for whom her beauty had such a fatal attraction that he has followed her

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[The Dance of the Supernatural Charmer]

ever since. Pity for strangers is not a strong Bella Coola sentiment and the audience laughs heartily at the spectacle of the doddering old man in vain pursuit of a heartless woman who is forever young. A considerable number of *kukusiut* always accompany the procession, pushing their way out with *Ano'likwolsaix* and *Simptcus*. Several of them carry whistles concealed beneath their arm-pits and the noise of these serves to maintain the dignity of the occasion. 575* 796* [522] 609 [152]

So many masked figures are used that all cannot accompany *Sximsximult* into each house. Those unable to do so remain on the sidewalk outside, holding one of her lovers, a live male mountain goat. At the next house another group of the charmer's victims enters and the ceremonial just described is repeated. The same is carried out at every dwelling in the village. *Sximsximus* and her followers stop a few minutes at X's house before starting out on a second round, in which the same ritual is carried out. This is done twice more, so that each house is visited four times.

By this time dusk has fallen and all the *kukusiut* except those acting as escort to X have gathered in his house. Presently the uninitiated are called in. *Sximsximult* is standing on a low box behind the fire, encouraging her masked lovers to come to her, and bestowing her affections indiscriminately in a heartless manner. The rivals shove each other to and fro realistically and though blows are not actually exchanged, great care must be taken to prevent masks from falling in the mock encounter. The efforts of the unfortunate *Simptcus* to reach his desire are always a source of merriment. *Ano'likwolsaix* as usual explains the significance of it all. Sometimes a cradle is brought in, over which *Sximsximult* croons while a song is sung, describing her as the mother of many creatures of whom the fathers are animals. It is uncertain whether this part of the ceremony takes place before or after the sham fight or, indeed, whether it is not another type of *nuluxam* which X can use at will. The ritual concludes in the normal way with the expulsion of the uninitiated, the dancing of *Ano'likwolsaix*, [522] [533]

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[The Dance of the Supernatural Lover]

her house while the singers compose a new song. The theme is of her patron, the young male being, *Kwat iwal-a*, "The Big One." It describes how he came from above and went far and near over the earth in lustful pursuit of women, how each victim fell in love with her seducer so that she followed him in all his wanderings, how Loon befriended him, and how he exchanged his blanket for a covering of abalone-shells. 575 796 533 796

On *nacintálsap* when the *kukuxiat* as usual go to the forest, they bring back not only wood for masks but also the trunk of a large cedar tree, at which the carpenters work during the two succeeding days. On *nakacaw* a parade occurs of the supernatural beings similar to that in the dance of the Supernatural Charmer, but the masked figures represent women, not men, [illegible] and pays no more attention to his mistresses than did *Scimscimult* to her would-be lovers. There is the same licence for lewd remarks, of which *Kwat iwal-a* takes full advantage when he calls the attention of the young men to his following, and asks them how many mistresses each has had. 532 981 322

In the evening the uninitiated are called to X's house where the first object they see is the tree-trunk, converted by the carpenters into an enormous bird. Wooden wings and a loon's head have been provided and the whole is painted in imitation of a loon's plumage. *Kwat iwal-a* is in evidence, wearing a bird disguise. Presently a matting enclosure in one of the rear corners of the house is thrown open, and the uninitiated see the throng of his mistresses who rush forth, almost coming to blows in their eagerness to reach their seducer. *Awitkwalaxis* stands on one side and explains the significance. After the mock combat has lasted for a few minutes, a Cannibal begins to growl and the uninitiated hurry out. The ceremonial then concludes in the usual manner. 532

This dance differs from all other *kwiat* rites in one respect, since the call can come to X several times during a single ceremonial season. Of course there is no compulsion; she uses her own discretion as to whether she dance more than once, 424

[The Sun Dance]

Ana'lîkwulaix, and two of the supernatural Clowns. In addition a white disk, about four feet in diameter, is ordered with a human face in the centre; this represents the Sun with *Alqwstûm*. No detailed description is required until the night of *nakwam*. 575* 796* [532]

The *kukuxiut* gather in the dusk and summon the uninitiated as soon as all is in readiness. On entering, they see the huge and imposing figure of *Alqwstûm* standing in the centre of the space behind the fire, flanked by a number of the most important *kukuxiut* as if to pay respect to him. X stands immediately behind, repeatedly throwing one arm over *Alqwstûm*'s head and crying *hoip* to soothe the visitor. The two Clowns move to and fro, all over the house, making what remarks they like as if they were spoilt children. *Ana'lîkwulaix* stands on one side, explaining the meaning of it all, and giving the names of the supernatural beings represented. Suddenly the white disk appears against the back wall near the roof, slowly passes sunwise across the house, and disappears. The uninitiated recognize that it is not the Sun, but to them it seems miraculous that this body can move as it does, and they easily accept *Ana'lîkwulaix*'s explanation that this is the way *Alqwstûm* crosses the heavens. They do not know that for the last two days the carpenters have been exercising their ingenuity in arranging cords so that the object can be drawn across smoothly and steadily. Again the sun "rises," and crosses the back wall, only to disappear from sight. This is repeated twice more, making four times in all. It is said that sometimes the Sun is made to spin just before it "sets," but the method could not be learnt. At this juncture the uninitiated are sent home and the proceedings conclude as usual. [522] [821]

In addition to performing in the customary manner, X is required to dance on other definite occasions, without the coming of a call. According to some informants, X must sing of his patron at the beginning of the ceremonial season, coincidently with the prestigé of *Nakwam*. This is probably correct but details were unobtainable. In any case, when the [424]

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424 thing" into one of his companions. The recipient acts as if
575 blinded, staggering around the house and colliding with articles
796 of furniture or his fellows. One after another receives the
787 same present, until perhaps half the company are acting as if moving in a dense mist. Sometimes they reel from the house, falling into bushes and walking into the walls of other houses, as if deprived not only of sight but also of all sense of direction. The prerogative of Fog was given to *Ninitsamlaix* (II, p. 244), but many other *kukusiut* enjoy the same right from other sources. After a short interval, the dancer goes to the victim and makes the motion of drawing something from him, thus *recovering his sight and sanity*. Fog is then returned aloft in the manner described for a Hummingbird.

When first told of this custom, difficulty was experienced in visualizing the attitude of the *kukusiut* to what they realize is a mere dramatization, lacking the presence of the uninitiated to give it zest and purpose. When several performances of this type had been witnessed, the difficulty vanished. The *kukusiut* enter whole-heartedly into the spirit of the affair, regarding it as a game, and yet as a game in which they must acquit themselves creditably. Each recipient endeavours to
[522] excel his fellows in the realism of his performance, and his blind staggers never fail to cause merriment. The Bella Coola delight in acting, and this is an occasion on which they can indulge their tastes to the utmost, without fear of disaster if an error should occur, such as hampers them in the presence of the uninitiated. Moreover, each strives to assist the performer, and these two reasons combine to make the whole a success.

Although these prerogatives are often used on the nights of *kustämem* and *nusiustälsap*, the time most suitable for their appearance is during the ritual of *sewadjut*, which may be translated as, "The Restful Ceremony." The Bella Coola say that the word is derived from *sewa*, a pillow, and that the meaning of *sewadjut* is a ceremony of "Pillowness," that is, resting, combined with pleasant relaxation. In spite of the number

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directions. Then the joyful owner was able to draw back her crystal and the sick woman at once recovered. 424 575 *

Another prerogative of the same nature is *lsubilia*. As the *kukusiut* are gathering and before the main ceremonial of the evening, the man or woman with this prerogative can display it if he so desires. He stands up, stamps, then bends down and begins to beat with a stick on the floor; the singers, who know what is to take place, quickly join in. This serves to concentrate the performer's power, consisting of the ability to scratch the external genital organs. The sticks continue to sound as the performer moves about the house, acting in accordance with his right, and at the same time rolling his eyes and licking his lips. Choosing either man or woman as he desires, he calls out his name, and the person addressed must come forward to take his hands. The power is thus transmitted and the one so chosen begins to scratch, with the same accompaniment of rolling eyes and licking lips. 796 * 787

"It is sweet," he cries.

The power is then returned to the owner, who later passes it to another victim, until the marshals decide it is time to proceed to the main rites of the evening. The use of this prerogative is a source of never-ending amusement to the *kukusiut*. The only explanation given of this somewhat peculiar ability is that it is practised by the supernatural beings in the land above. Like every other *kusiut* rite, it can be performed only by a person who owns a name in which it is embodied. [522] [776]

Sio'msta, the third of these prerogatives, is to imitate the action of holding sexual intercourse. Like the last, its use is limited to the house in which a dance is taking place, and can be carried out only while the audience is waiting for the main ceremony. The performer, man or woman, stands up with a rope pressed close across his stomach, held with hands clenched at the hips. It is said that in this position nothing can pass behind him. The singers and other *kukusiut* begin to beat time to concentrate the actor's power as he stamps around in a crouching posture, crying *hoip* and shaking his hips. Pre- 424 575 * 796 * 787 831 522

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424 sently he begins to grunt, and calls the name of either a man
*575 or a woman. The person so designated must take the per-
former's hands, thus assimilating his power, and in his turn
*796 begins to shake and grunt, amid the laughter of all. Presently
787 the "gift" is returned, and later passed to another recipient.
Sometimes a modest woman shakes her head instead of her
831 hips, to the intense amusement of the audience. After some
522 time the owner draws his power to himself and the main cere-
[776] mony of the evening proceeds. It is said that the supernatural beings above perform *sio°msta*.

The Death of a *Kusiut*

*575 A detailed description of *kusiut* dances and ritual has now
766 been given, but certain special features still remain. One of
*796 these is the method of disposal of the body of a dead member
787 of the society. In dances which are completed in four days, there is little likelihood of the performer's death, but this is by no means uncommon during the long seclusion of a Cannibal for example. In this case there is no wailing, and the death is concealed from the uninitiated, sometimes even a wife being kept in ignorance of her husband's decease. A mask representing the patron of the dead man is hung in the house behind the fire as a constant reminder of what must be done. From the ceremonial point of view, the serious aspect lies in the fact that a call has come which has not been sent back, and which cannot be sent back by the receiver. The marshals discuss the matter and agree that it must pass to some *kusiut*, a near relative of the deceased, who is informed of the decision and does not dare refuse, even if he should wish to do so. After a delay of two or three days, the body is taken secretly to the grave and buried, while the *kukusiut* sing the dead person's song. This causes the call to shift to the chosen relative who completes the ceremony in due course. In the case of a Cannibal, for example, a considerable amount of time is allowed to elapse, and meanwhile the uninitiated are told that the *kukusiut* are still waiting and watching for his return.

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the *lsulkum*, *prompter*, is equally important, though less obvious. As many as one hundred songs may be in constant use in the course of a single *kusiut* season, and it is impossible for any one individual to remember them sufficiently well never to become confused when calling them out. Consequently, one or more prompters sit beside the announcer, ready to whisper to him the words of the next subdivision. Prompters are expected to be thoroughly familiar with the myths of all performers and, since they neither announce nor sing, they are able to concentrate their whole attention on remembering the words which have been considered suitable. 533* 796* 575*

This somewhat complicated mechanism ensures a minimum of error in all important rites. Mistakes do creep in, however, and it is related with glee how on one occasion the singers completely forgot a text and substituted a description of a mask used at the rite in question. Moreover, even the solemnity of a *kusiut* dance cannot entirely check the love of the Bella Coola for practical joking. A blind singer once laid down his stick for a moment, whereupon one of his companions kicked it away. It appears to be virtually impossible for a man to sing unless he can accompany himself by tapping, and the frantic efforts of the sightless one to recover his baton almost betrayed his companions into obvious mirth. Occasionally, too, a prompter neglects his task[2] and the announcer is forced to improvise, while the leader endeavours to conceal the error by lengthening the pause between subdivisions. 533* 796* 575* 522

Marriage songs, shaman songs, non-ceremonial songs, and a few others of special type are sung by an individual, unaccompanied. The technique is, therefore, quite different from that just described. Dance songs of all kinds should, if complete, have the three parts; these are indicated as *A*, *B*, and *C* 533*

[2]During the winter of 1923-4 there was only one man in Bella Coola with sufficient skill and poise to act as announcer and prompter. He found it impossible to perform both duties and requested the aid of the writer as prompter. The texts were written down, and it was the writer's duty to sit beside the announcer, waiting for a nudge signifying that he had forgotten the next subdivision. From personal experience the writer can state that the task of prompter is wearying in the extreme. [123]

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group. The moral code is not concerned with animals. The 000
life of the Bella Coola would be unbearable to most white 522
people, yet they find it far from unpleasant. They sigh at present conditions, but there is much to amuse them notwithstanding. If several people are talking together, one is sure to hear bursts of laughter every few minutes. It takes little to interest them; a story they have heard a hundred times, the troubles of a neighbour with his wife, the eccentricity of a white man, the stupidity of the investigator, any of these is enough to cause a hearty laugh. When collecting information, [124]
it was constantly necessary to joke with them; the most feeble witticism was enough, but they lost interest in the work unless kept smiling. Their sense of humour is not refined; jests [831]
about sexual matters are common and are enjoyed alike by men, women, and children. It is not that their tastes are perverted, but rather that they have no reticence in discussing this topic, so they find it easy to see the ludicrous aspects of a subject which is ever near the surface in their minds. They have no hesitation in poking fun at their friends; a successful practical joke, such as hiding the writer's tobacco, is enough to fill them with amusement. If the victim shows temporary resentment, the glee of his friends is complete, and shrieks of laughter usually terminate the trick.

Unless the white man who comes to live among the Bella 105
Coola is unusually broad-minded, he is at first repelled by the 182
dirt and untidiness prevailing everywhere; even the people themselves seem unnatural. He finds it difficult to realize the sincerity of their religious beliefs, and the manner in which these influence their daily lives is hard to grasp. The potlatch system appears so grotesque that it seems to reflect a psychology diametrically opposed to his own. The force of public [626]
opinion on personal conduct is almost incomprehensible. Gradually, however, he begins to understand the reasons underlying Bella Coola life. The potlatch becomes intelligible when regarded as a means of achieving fame; constant attention to supernatural beings is natural considering the firm conviction

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*539 *787 small hole in his skin blanket and once more lay down as if to sleep, but fixed his eye to the opening. Soon there drew near a beautiful woman with long hair.

"Don't vanish," *Keldcap* said to her. "I see you."

The woman, not at all perturbed at being seen, merely answered: "Come to my house."

Keldcap followed his visitor, a mouse in human form, down under the earth to her home, a cave on the very edge of the precipice. One side of the house opened out into the canyon without a wall of any kind. Here the mouse-woman's three beautiful sisters were waiting.

"Let us play," said the mice. "Won't you swing us?"

[524] From the roof was suspended a swing consisting of two long ropes with a small cross-seat at the bottom, and a long rope by which it could be hauled back and forth, exactly like the swings formerly used by Bella Coola boys. One of the sisters took her place on the seat and *Keldcap* pulled her back and forth so that she swung far out into the canyon. Then another took her place, followed by the third and the fourth, until he had swung them all. Next they suggested that he take his turn. A second rope was attached to the seat, *Keldcap* took his place, and the four women, two on each side, pulled so strongly that he, in turn, swung far out into the canyon. Then the treacherous mice jerked the ropes violently, throwing him from the seat down into the depths.

Even as he was falling *Keldcap* retained sufficient presence of mind to thrust out his bow, in which his supernatural power was localized, and to which he had clung. It lodged in a cranny of the canyon wall, arresting his fall, and he, being small and light, succeeded in gaining a foothold on a rough path. He crawled up it to the surface of the ground at some little distance from the place where he had camped, but on the same side of the gorge. Full of anger, he made his way back to the house of the mice.

"Let's play some more," he said to them.

But the mice, amazed at seeing him alive, were afraid to trust themselves to his swinging, even though he promised that they should later have an opportunity of doing the same to him.

"No," they said. "Sometime we will allow you to return and play with us, and you can sleep with us if you like. You had better go home now."

Keldcap returned to his camp. When, the next day, he told his sister of his adventure she was terrified, and once more besought him to avoid all dangers.[12]

[538] [12]Though in this case the hero outwitted scheming women, it is said that in many ancient stories the reverse was true.

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 individual, other than an indefinite recollection of the amount
796 of goods used for his dyed cedar-bark. People always have
556 sufficient goods to validate *kusiut* prerogatives; in fact, if a proud person gives too lavishly to confirm the initiation of a relative, the marshals sometimes burn the goods, giving no explanation other than that the uninitiated must not be led to believe that a *kusiut* ceremony is an affair of wealth like a potlatch. Formerly, goods were given only at initiation ceremonies, but between 1880 and 1890 a chief gave presents, instead of food, at a dance. His example was followed, since none was willing to be outdone, although such gifts are still called "food." The name of the donor is always announced, whether he is the dancer himself or one of his relatives.

*575 X, though now a member of the *kusiut* society, is still a
784 novice and cannot give a dance[11] until the next ceremonial
[796] season, that is, until one year has elapsed. The marshals instruct him about his costume, and about the manner in which he must deport himself during this period, matters which depend to a considerable extent upon his prerogative. If he
[262] is a Cannibal, Scratch, or Breaker dancer he must not eat unsmoked salmon, nor must he enter a house in which either a potlatch or a memorial potlatch is taking place.[12] Failure to obey this injunction would warrant punishment from a foreign
[302] tribe. Unless his prerogative is to give one of these, or the Ghost dance, he must keep his face constantly blackened.
[292] Every novice must wear a collar of dyed cedar-bark. The marshals warn him to be circumspect in dealing with uninitiated persons; he can talk to them, but it is most improper
[524] for him to engage in any familiarity or frivolous play. Above
[525] all, he must neither gamble nor take part in non-athletic games,

[11] A Cannibal novice, however, begins to exercise his prerogative immediately, although he must also perform a complete dance the following year.

[12] This prohibition was once broken at *Lomqo·ts*. A skilled leader was required to arrange the texts at a memorial potlatch and the only man fit for the purpose, a resident of *Sunul*, was a Cannibal novice. After much deliberation he was called upon, but great care was taken to hide his identity and it was years before the infraction became known.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

prohibitions that last not for one year, but for four. X is not subject to any other restraints. If he wishes to go hunting he can remove his cedar-bark collar and hang it for convenience in the forest near his village, redonning it on his return. The *kukusiut* show considerable interest in their new member, not only by warning him what he must not do, but by teaching him how to dance and to growl or make other of the necessary, but unusual, noises. During the remainder of the ceremonial season X is required to attend every *kusiut* dance, thereby learning much of the ceremonial, and during the following summer his relatives, especially if food is plentiful, frequently invite the *kukusiut* to their house. The singers beat out well-known tunes, or practise those which will be required for the following winter; if a song has been composed for X he dances in time to it, in the style proper to his prerogative. Formerly, when there were many novices, dances of this type took place frequently and were useful in giving constant practice to singers and neophytes alike. As no calls from supernatural patrons can come at this time of year, it follows that all such dances are of a non-sacred nature, although the uninitiated are excluded. During his period as a novitiate, X has one privilege; he can take food from anyone at any type of ceremony. It is remembered that one novice was even bold enough to take food which had been placed as an offering for the dead.

575* 784 [524] [525] 575* 533 535 575* 264

When the next *kusiut* season opens, X attends every performance. This is probably the most thrilling and nerve-racking period in his life. He does not know exactly when he will be allowed to give his dance, since that is a matter of arrangement between his relatives and the marshals, but he knows that the time will soon be at hand. When the great day, or rather night, actually comes, X is usually in a state of abject terror. The rite itself does not differ from those about to be described except that the first song relates the manner in which X found the repository. But the mental attitude of X differs greatly from that of an old performer. One informant,

575* 781 796

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APPENDIX B

STRING FIGURES

THE only form of pastime which it was practical to investigate in any detail was the construction of string figures. These seem to have no ceremonial or religious significance; they are made for recreation only, and it was found easy to learn a number while paving the way for other kinds of research. In fact, interest in them was one of the ways in which the writer became friends with a number of Bella Coola. As is to be expected, some individuals are more proficient in constructing complicated string figures than others, the old women being particularly adept. During the long delays which occur in all the dances it is a common sight to see an old crone teaching a group of young girls the figures which she herself learnt when young. Some men remember a number from childhood, but the making of designs with string is regarded as more fitting for girls and women. Songs accompany many of the figures, and the singing of these is considered an essential part of the construction. It was stated that many more figures were known long ago; in fact, several of those here recorded were only obtained after repeated efforts on the part of an old woman to reconstruct those which she had been shown when a child. No attempt was made to learn all the Bella Coola figures; a larger number could doubtless have been collected, but those here described are the ones most commonly made.

The nomenclature used is that described by Miss Haddon,[1] in itself following the method used by Rivers and Haddon. It will be assumed that the reader is familiar with this, including the meaning of the terms, "Opening A," "Position 1," and "Navaho." A string about four feet long will be found most convenient for making the Bella Coola figures.

1. A SALMON-TRAP

Double the loop; two strands now take the place of the usual one, but these will be referred to as a single string or loop. The figure can be made equally well with a string one-half the usual length.

Place string as a simple loop over left thumb and index finger and the right hand.

With right index finger hook down the string passing dorsally across left thumb and index finger and draw out to right, allowing right hand loop to slip over this hooked-down string.

[1] K. Haddon, *Cat's Cradles from Many Lands* (London, 1912).

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[String figures]

524 Insert right hand from distal side into the loop hooked down by right index finger, releasing this finger in the process.

With tips of right thumb and index finger grasp left radial index finger string and left ulnar thumb string, taking care that the grasping fingers pass to the distal side of the (straight) left ulnar index finger-radial thumb string.

FIG. 4. "A Salmon-Trap."

Draw these two strings out to the right, allowing the original right hand loop to slip over them.

This completed figure represents a salmon-trap,[7] the opening pointing towards the left (Figure 4).

II. A WATER OUZEL

Opening A with middle fingers.

Bring middle fingers together, tip to tip; transfer right middle finger loop to left middle finger, and left middle finger loop to right middle finger, passing it over the loop just transferred.

Extend.

Insert left thumb into left middle finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop to the thumb, keeping it distal to the loop already held.

Insert left thumb into left little finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop to the thumb, keeping it distal to the two loops already held.

Insert left little finger into left thumb loops from proximal side, passing to radial side of the two proximal ulnar thumb strings, and to ulnar side of distal ulnar thumb string; hook this string down with little finger through thumb loops.

Insert left index finger into left thumb loops from distal side, passing to ulnar side of the two distal radial thumb strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb strings; turn index finger up away from manipulator, taking up this string on the dorsal aspect of the tip of the index finger.

Release left thumb.

Release right thumb and little finger.

Extend.

[825] This completed figure (Figure 5) shows the bird ready to dive in search

[831]

[7]Some informants state that this figure represents the female genital organs.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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FIG. 5. "A Water Ouzel."

of the small fish, or salmon roe, on which it feeds. Wriggle the hands and the bird shakes, as it does when about to dive. The manipulator sings: [825]

Molam	*yästä*	*maxwatshka*	*olä*	*mälsinndji*
Dive	down,	Water Ouzel,	to	your salmon roe.

Release left little finger.

The bird dives; the remaining knot represents the radiating ripple that marks the spot where it vanished.

III. A CORPSE

Place string over left thumb and index finger, and right thumb.

With left middle, ring, and little fingers hook down left radial thumb string and left ulnar index finger string.

With right middle, ring, and little fingers hook down right radial and ulnar thumb strings.

Bring right hand to radial side of left hand, to its dorsal aspect.

With right index finger take up from proximal side string which passes across dorsal aspect of left thumb and index finger.

Extend, taking care not to lift string from left thumb or index finger.

Release middle, ring, and little fingers of both hands.

There is now a straight string passing between the radial sides of the two thumbs, and another straight string between the radial sides of the two index fingers, while the string passing from ulnar side of left thumb to ulnar side of right index finger crosses to the radial side of the string passing from ulnar side of right thumb to ulnar side of left index finger (Figure 6).

This common opening will be referred to henceforth as BELLA COOLA OPENING.

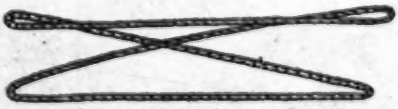

FIG. 6. "Bella Coola Opening."

Insert middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger string.

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524 Bring index fingers together, tip to tip, and transfer right index finger loop to left index finger, and left index finger loop to right index finger over loop just transferred.

Release middle fingers.

Insert middle fingers into index finger loops from proximal side.

Bend middle and index fingers towards the manipulator, passing index fingers to distal side of radial thumb string, and middle fingers to proximal side of radial thumb string, grasping this string between tips of these fingers.

Return through index finger loop, allowing this loop to slip off. The string formerly held between tips of fingers is now wrapped around tips of index fingers.

Release thumbs.

This represents the corpse resting on a framework (Figure 7).

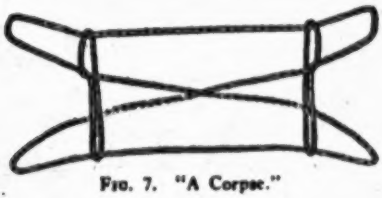

FIG. 7. "A Corpse."

Pass thumbs away from manipulator into the lower section of the central rectangle.

Release ring and little fingers.

Gently extend, and the figure becomes two stars.

IV. TWO BOYS

Place loop over thumbs, which should be about four inches apart, with straight string between their radial sides, and the long pendant strings hanging down from ulnar sides of thumbs on palmar aspects of hands.

With index fingers take up radial thumb strings from proximal side.

With left thumb take up right radial thumb string from proximal side.

Release right thumb.

Pass right thumb into left thumb loops from proximal side and take up both loops.

Extend figure.

Pass thumbs proximally to ulnar side of index finger loops, and take up ulnar index finger string on their backs.

Release index fingers.

There are now three loops on the thumbs which should be kept in their original order.

Pass index fingers through the three thumb loops from proximal side, and bend them down and away from manipulator to ulnar side of distal

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and middle ulnar thumb strings, and to the proximal side of the proximal ulnar thumb string; by twisting the index fingers hook this string down, with the index fingers, through thumb loops. 524

With little fingers hook down the strings hooked down by index fingers.

Release index fingers.

Release the two straight radial thumb strings.

Extend figure.

This completed figure shows two boys, the loops passing from radial thumb string to ulnar little finger string, playing a game which resembles hide-and-seek (Figure 8).

The left hand boy hides: hook down the boy with left index finger.

FIG. 8. "Two Boys."

The right hand boy runs to try to find him: insert left thumb into right thumb loop from proximal side, release right thumb, and extend. This shows the right hand boy near the left hand, but he cannot see the left hand boy, who is concealed.

Sing: "*hai' lə.* Where is he?"

The right hand boy returns to his station:

Insert right thumb into left distal thumb loop from proximal side and lift off this loop.

Extend.

The left hand boy emerges from his hiding place:

Release left index finger.

Sing: "*tutwinmi qo'lai.* Here he is."

The process of hiding and running to find can be repeated indefinitely, and with either boy.

V. A RABBIT

Bella Coola opening.

Insert middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side, and hook down radial index finger strings.

Bend index and middle fingers towards manipulator, to distal side of ulnar thumb string, passing index fingers to distal side of radial thumb string, and middle fingers to proximal side of radial thumb string, holding this string between tips of fingers.

Bend index and middle fingers up and away from manipulator, thus

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524 wrapping radial thumb string around tips of index fingers, and allowing original index finger loops to slip off.

Release thumbs.

There is now a St. Andrew's Cross in the centre of the figure. With each thumb take up the upper arm of the cross nearest to it from the proximal side.

Release index fingers.

Transfer loop hooked down by ring and little fingers of each hand to little fingers of each hand, without altering direction of loop.

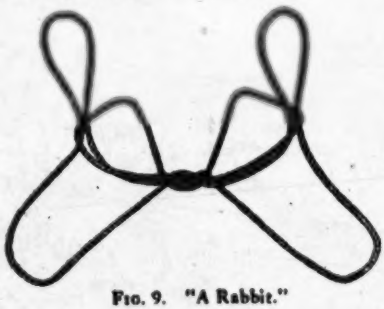

FIG. 9. "A Rabbit."

Insert index fingers into little finger loops from distal side, bend them towards manipulator to proximal side of radial little finger strings, ulnar thumb strings, and radial thumb strings; then bend them up and away from manipulator to distal side of radial thumb string, and to proximal side of the straight string which crosses the figure forming a loop between ulnar thumb string and radial little finger string of each hand. Hook this string on index fingers and return, taking it up on the dorsal aspect of index fingers.

Release thumbs.

[825] The loops just released represent the ears of the rabbit. With thumbs press the ears through little finger loops and elevate with middle fingers, thereby making the figure appear more life-like (Figure 9).

VI. THE LONG PENIS OF RAVEN

524 Bella Coola opening.

831 Insert middle, ring and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

With thumbs take up radial index finger strings from proximal side and return through thumb loops, allowing original thumb loops to slip off.

Insert middle fingers into thumb loops from proximal side and take up on the backs of middle fingers the strings passing across the palmar aspect of thumbs, returning thence to normal position.

With hook of left middle finger grip right middle finger loop and release right middle finger.

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With hook of right middle finger grip left middle finger loop and lift this loop from left middle finger. 524 831

Release thumbs and extend.

Pass thumbs to proximal side of index finger loops into hooked down middle finger loops from distal side and pick up radial middle finger strings.

Release index fingers but do not extend.

The long pendant loops represent the penis. Lift the figure and bend the head so that both loops can be taken into the mouth, where they can be moistened so that they will hang close together.

Gently separate the middle fingers which are hooking down loops; this causes the penis to become erect (Figure 10). It is difficult to prevent the loops from falling apart, as they always do unless well moistened.

FIG. 10. "The Long Penis of Raven."

The two lozenges which appear in the central base of the figure represent Raven's testicles.

This figure is also called, more simply, the penis.

VII. A BUTTERFLY

Position 1.

With thumbs take up ulnar little finger strings from distal side. 524

With middle fingers take up palmar strings as in Opening A.

Pass thumbs to proximal side of index finger loops and take up radial little finger string from proximal side.

With little fingers hook down ulnar middle finger strings, allowing original little finger string to slip off.

Pass hooks of ring fingers into loops hooked down by little fingers from proximal side.

With ring fingers hook down proximal ulnar thumb strings, returning through loops hooked down by little fingers.

Release little fingers.

With little fingers hook down the loop hooked down by the ring fingers.

Release ring fingers.

Release middle fingers.

Pass index fingers into thumb loops from distal side, then bend upwards towards manipulator to radial side of proximal radial thumb string and to ulnar side of distal radial thumb string, then bend down and upwards away from manipulator, and keeping to distal side of both ulnar

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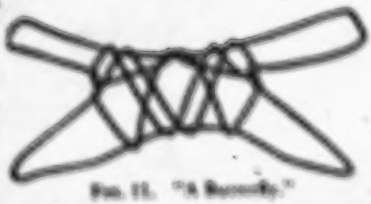

FIG. 11. "A Butterfly."

thumb strings, thus taking up distal radial thumb string on the backs of index fingers.

Release thumbs.

This shows the butterfly with wings extended, the head being the complicated network of strings in the upper centre of the figure (Figure 11).

To untangle the string—to make the butterfly vanish—with thumbs hook down palmar string and release index and little fingers.

VIII. THE FIRE-SEEKER

Bella Coola opening.

Insert middle, ring, and little fingers of each hand into index finger loops and hook down radial index finger string.

Pass index fingers to distal side of radial thumb string, and middle fingers to proximal side of radial thumb string, clutching this string between tips of these fingers.

Return through index finger loops, allowing these loops to slip off.

Release thumbs.

With thumbs take up ulnar index finger string from proximal side.

Release index fingers.

Bring thumbs together, tip to tip, and transfer right thumb loop to left thumb.

Bring ring and little fingers of each hand together, tip to tip, to radial side of left thumb loops, and transfer loop hooked down by left ring and little fingers to hook of right ring and little fingers.

With left index, middle, ring, and little fingers hook down left ulnar thumb strings.

Release left thumb.

Insert right index and middle fingers from proximal side into loops hooked down on right ring and little fingers, thus widening this loop.

Turn palms of hands towards manipulator, with hands pointing upwards, that is, so that the fingers would point upwards if they were not bent over to hook down strings.

*Rotate right hand counter-clockwise, and left hand clockwise, through ninety degrees, causing a triangle to appear in the centre of the figure (Figure 12).

This triangle represents the person to whom *Snapu-ldl*, "The Fire-Seeker," applies for glowing embers. Another person should take the part of *Snapu-ldl* by inserting a finger through the central triangle. The following dialogue takes place:

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Fire Owner. "What do you want?"

Swapu-iäk. "I want some embers, please; my fire has gone out."

F.O. "All right. Go and bring whatever you usually use for carrying coals."

Swapu-iäk is absent for a long time and returns with her fingers and mouth smeared with grease. The assistant should lick her finger to lend realism to the figure.

FIG. 12. "The Fire-Seeker."

Fire Owner. "Why have you been so long?"

Swapu-iäk. "I was given some food by the people in that house over there."

F.O. "What did you eat?"

S. "I ate human grease."

F.O. "What did you eat it with?"

S. "A sop of dried salmon."

F.O. "What kind of dish was it served in?"

S. "A skull."

F.O. "What did you use as a table-cloth?"

S. "A cape taken from a corpse in a coffin."

F.O. "What did you use as a serviette?"

S. "A tuft of hair pulled from a corpse."

F.O. "Ugh! You foul woman."

Reverse the movement marked * and the triangle contracts in the centre of the figure, catching *Swapu-iäk*'s finger.

She cries out in pain, "*ăn-ăn-alsunai*," the Bella Coola equivalent for "Oh dear!" "Ouch!" "It's too bad!" or any other weak ejaculation, and runs off without getting the desired embers.

This string figure illustrates an incident that took place long ago.

IX. A TUG-OF-WAR WITH A STICK

Place string over index, middle, and ring fingers.

With little fingers take up radial index finger string and ulnar ring finger string from proximal side.

With right middle finger take up left palmar string from proximal side, and with left middle finger take up right palmar string, as in Opening A.

Pass thumbs to distal side of radial index finger string, and to proximal side of all other strings, taking up proximal ulnar little finger string, which passes around the dorsal aspect of the hand, from proximal side.

Lift each dorsal string on to the palmar aspect of the hand.

Gently extend, without pulling tight.

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524 Two loops now pass around ulnar little finger string, radial little finger string, and ulnar middle finger string of each hand, with the "apex" of each loop at the angle formed by the crossing of radial middle finger string and ulnar thumb string. In each case the open aspect of the loop is parallel to the palmar aspect of the hand. With the mouth, or the help of an assistant, insert a thin stick, about six inches in length, between the right middle and ring fingers from the dorsal aspect of the hand, through the loop nearest the right hand, then through the other loop, and out between the middle and ring fingers of the left hand. The stick should project an equal distance behind the dorsal aspect of each hand.

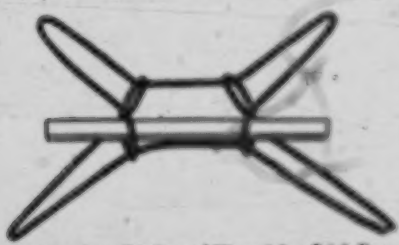

FIG. 13. "A Tug-of-War with a Stick."

Release middle fingers.

Gently extend.

The two loops tighten on the stick (Figure 13), and as the hands are separated the two "boys," that is, the loops extending from the radial thumb string to ulnar little finger string, are seen tugging at the stick. Continue separating the hands, and the winner draws the stick from his opponent's grasp and carries it away either to the right or to the left.

X. A MAN AND A WOMAN

524 891 Form the string into a double loop, so that each string or loop normally single is now double; such a string or loop will be described as single throughout. The figure can be done equally well with a string of half the ordinary length.

Bella Coola opening.

Insert middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

Pass left index finger to ulnar side of right ulnar index finger string and hook down right ulnar index finger string.

Release right index finger, but do not draw tight.

Pass right index finger to ulnar side of left ulnar index finger strings and hook down the two left ulnar index finger strings, but do not draw tight.

Each index finger is now hooking down two strings.

Pass index fingers to palmar side of ulnar thumb string, and by bending index fingers outwards, take up this string on the dorsal aspect of each, allowing the two strings hooked down by index fingers to slip off.

2:36:Dewalt: E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Extend.

Insert middle fingers into index finger loops from proximal side. 524

Pass middle fingers to proximal side of radial thumb strings, and index fingers to distal side of radial thumb strings, holding this string between the tips of these fingers; bend index and middle fingers up and away from manipulator, taking up radial thumb strings on dorsal aspect of the tips of index fingers, and allowing the original loops to slip off. 531

Release middle fingers.

Release thumbs.

This shows a man and a woman coupling up, facing one another (Figure 14). By pressing radial ring finger strings, with thumbs, away from manipulator, the figures can be made to come together in an embrace.

FIG. 14. "A Man and a Woman."

11. *Kawi-pain*[6] 524

Bella Coola opening.

*Pass thumbs proximal to index finger loops and take up silver index finger string on their backs.

Release index fingers.

Hook down distal silver thumb strings with middle, ring, and little fingers.

Pass index fingers into thumb loops from distal side, to radial side of distal silver thumb string, and to the silver side of proximal silver thumb string, thence to distal side of proximal radial thumb string; bend index fingers down and up, away from manipulator, taking up this string on their dorsal aspects.

Release thumbs.

Pass thumbs into the loop hooked down by middle, ring, and little fingers of each hand from the distal side, and transfer this loop to the thumbs.*

Extend with backs of hands towards manipulator.

FIG. 15. "Kawi-pain."

*This is authentic Bella Coola, the meaning of which has been forgotten.

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524 This shows one stage of *Kwai pais* (Figure 12).

???Pass thumbs proximal to index finger loops and take up silver index finger strings on their backs.

Release index fingers.

With middle, ring, and little fingers hook down distal silver thumb strings.

Insert index fingers into thumb loops from distal side and take up proximal silver thumb string from distal side.

Release thumbs.

Pass thumbs into loops hooked down by middle, ring, and little fingers from the distal side, and transfer this loop to the thumbs???

This shows the figure in the same form as previously obtained. The movements from ??? to ??? can be repeated indefinitely, and should be done a number of times while the manipulator says, "*Kwai pais, Kwai-pais.*" With a little practice the movements from ??? to ??? can be made almost as fast as the word can be said.

Another form of *Kwai pais* is usually made from this point by repeating from * to *.

This figure, the second form of *Kwai pais*, cannot be repeated.

XII. *Mistwala*, or old woman

Bella Coola opening.

Pass the middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from the proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

Bend index and middle fingers towards manipulator, passing index fingers to distal side of radial thumb string, and middle fingers to proximal side of radial thumb string, holding this string between tips of fingers.

Bend index and middle fingers up away from manipulator, taking up radial thumb string on dorsal aspect of the tips of index fingers, and allowing the original loop to slip off index fingers.

Release thumbs.

Take up with teeth the straight radial index finger string in the centre of the figure.

Release ring and little fingers.

Draw apart the hands, causing the network of strings in the centre of the figure to work up to the mouth.

Grip this series of transversal strings with the lips.

Bring right index finger, tip to tip, with left little finger, and complete index finger loop to little finger.

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Pass right middle finger close to the mouth between left index finger loop and left little finger loop. 524

Release lips, the right middle finger preventing the series of strings just released from running towards the left hand.

FIG. 16. "Akhtsuis, or Old Woman."

Grip each string with tips of right thumb and index finger, and release teeth.

Return to normal position.

Gently release right middle finger, at the same time extending the loop held between tips of right thumb and index finger, by inserting in this loop all the fingers of the right hand. By gently parting the hands, the figure in the middle, which represents the old woman, can be made to travel towards the left hand. The movement is sometimes improved by extending the left index finger loop by inserting in it the left thumb, and separating these two digits (Figure 16). As the figure is moving, the manipulator sings:[1]

O-ximsin-tsuts	yuthuit-ximsin-i
Where are you going	old woman?

The "old woman" replies:

xuhuqsiqsa-ili	ahshshhuiqsam-xiha
I am going to seek food	at the bottom house.[2]

The interrogator continues:

Ah-xiha	tsuwhhwhim	ahsamsqsha
So needful	but you fall down [as you go]	towards Rivers Inlet.[3]

Release left little finger and the "old woman" falls.

XIII. A TOAD

Bella Coola opening.

Pass middle, ring, and little fingers of each hand into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down the radial index finger string.

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[1] Recorded on song VII D 136, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pakeel. [126]
[2] The house further downstream.
[3] This seems to be the usual version of the song, although when it was recorded on the phonograph the singer insisted on giving a more elaborate third part concerning all:

Ahshsamsqsha	ahsuit-ximsqsiq	tsuwhhwhim	ahsamsqsamsin
	old woman		

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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524 With middle fingers take up ulnar thumb string from proximal side and return through index finger loops.

Insert ring fingers into middle finger loops from proximal side.

Bend middle and ring fingers towards manipulator, to distal side of index finger loops, passing middle fingers to distal side of radial thumb string, and ring fingers to proximal side of radial thumb string. Grasp radial thumb string between tips of these fingers and return through middle finger loops, thus wrapping the string so grasped around the tips of middle fingers.

Release index fingers.

Release little fingers.

Bring thumbs together, tip to tip, and transfer right thumb loop to left thumb.

Insert right index finger into right middle finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop, releasing middle finger.

Rotate right hand clockwise through 180 degrees, so that the loop formerly held on index finger is now held on hook of same finger, but has not been twisted.

With right middle finger hook down, midway, the string which passes from ulnar side of right index finger to radial side of left middle finger.

With right ring finger hook down left radial middle finger string.

Release left middle finger.

Pass left index, ring, and middle fingers into left thumb loops from proximal side and hook down these loops.

Release left thumb.

This shows the "Toad" sitting crouched, head facing to left, ready to [125] jump (Figure 17).

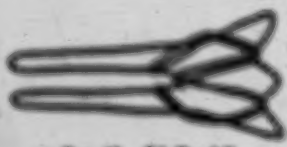

Fig. (1). "A Toad."

Pass left thumb into loops hooked down by left index, ring, and middle fingers from distal side.

The left thumb represents a stick.

The manipulator then carries on the following dialogue with the toad:

"Gamamsk? Where are you going?" (addressed to the toad).

"E-chaddik, I am going to get some hemlockberries".

"Kaddikai ewahsalk skikiar? But how will you be able to reach up to them?"

"Ahachiamiw, I can jump."

"Wai Skiiam, Go ahead, little fellow."

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As the manipulator says "Go ahead!" release right index and ring fingers and with a swinging motion the "toad" can be made to jump towards the left, over the left thumb. 524 [825]

A TOAD

(*Second method of construction*)

Bella Coola opening.

Insert middle, ring, and little fingers of each hand into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

With middle fingers take up ulnar thumb strings from proximal side.

With middle fingers hook down ulnar index finger strings, allowing loops just taken up to slip off. The strings formerly hooked down by middle, ring, and little fingers are now held down by ring and little fingers.

Release index fingers.

Each ulnar thumb string is held down by a loop. With index fingers take up ulnar thumb strings from proximal side between loop and centre of figure.

With index fingers take up radial thumb strings from distal side and return, allowing original index finger loops to slip off.

Release middle, ring, and little fingers.

Take up with mouth the straight radial index finger string in centre of figure.

Bring thumbs together, tip to tip, and transfer right thumb loop to left thumb, releasing right thumb.

Transfer right index finger loop to hook of right index by twisting finger without removing string, which throws original radial string on to ulnar side.

With right middle finger hook down string passing from mouth to left index finger between the mouth and the point where other strings cross.

Release mouth.

With right ring finger hook down left radial index finger string which runs straight across to right hand.

Release left index finger.

Insert left index, middle, and ring fingers into hooked down loop of left thumb.

Release left thumb.

Gently extend the figure by spreading the loop held on hooks of left fingers, at the same time manipulating it so that the loops held by right index, middle, and ring fingers are of approximately the same length. It is sometimes difficult to get a satisfactory figure.

The completed figure (Figure 17) represents a toad squatting pre- [825]

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524 [825] paratory to jumping. Release right index and ring fingers, and by means of a swinging movement with both hands the toad can be made to jump to the left, over the left thumb, which should be inserted into hooked down loops of left index, middle, and ring fingers from distal side.

XIV. CROSSING A RIVER

Place string as a simple loop over thumbs and index fingers.

With middle, ring, and little fingers hook down radial thumb string and ulnar index finger string.

With right index finger take up string passing dorsally across left thumb and index finger from proximal side.

With left index finger take up string passing dorsally across right thumb and index finger from distal side.

Extend, at the same time releasing middle, ring, and little fingers.

Pass left middle, ring, and little fingers proximal to left proximal index finger loop, and hook down left distal radial index finger string.

Pass right middle, ring, and little fingers proximal to both right index finger loops and hook down right ulnar thumb string—which is the same string as just hooked down by left middle, ring, and little fingers.

Pass left middle finger into left index finger loops from proximal side and hook down proximal radial index finger string.

Pass right middle finger into right index finger loops from proximal side and hook down both radial index finger strings.

Bend towards manipulator middle and index fingers of each hand, passing middle fingers to proximal side of the straight radial thumb string, and index fingers to distal side of same string. Grip this straight string between tips of middle and index fingers.

Turn middle and index fingers down and up away from manipulator, taking up radial thumb string on dorsal aspect of index fingers, and allowing original strings to slip off.

Release thumbs.

Extend gently.

**** A loop now crosses the centre of the figure from the angle formed by the junction of left ulnar index finger string with left radial little finger string, to the right palmar string. With right thumb take up the radial string of this loop from distal side.

Insert left thumb into right thumb loop from proximal side and extend this loop on both thumbs.

With thumbs take up radial index finger strings from proximal side.

Navaho thumbs.

Release index fingers. ****

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Insert index fingers into thumb loops from proximal side and transfer these loops to index fingers.

Repeat from **** to **** with the double loop which now crosses the figure in the same position as the single loop previously described.

This completed figure (Figure 18) shows a woman, the closely pressed strings running horizontally in the centre of the figure, who wishes to cross a river.

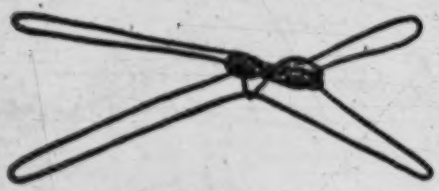

FIG. 18. "Crossing a River."

The manipulator sings, as if the woman were speaking.

Qwatsarwoo	*tsárwamxw'*
Come to fetch me	across the river.

One of those who hear her from the village on the opposite shore answers:

Tsawalalal	*als*	*sillayas*
Go higher up	to	[a place where there are] projecting stones that make a causeway.

The woman does so. Release right index finger and she raises her clothing above her knees. By separating hands she can be made to move to the left across the river.

Another explanation of this figure is that it represents a man with a short leg who wishes to cross a river. As he hesitates, fearing lest he be swept away, his associates make fun of his deformity; he lengthens his leg, presumably by magical means, and confounds them by crossing with ease.

XV. A PORCUPINE

Opening A with middle fingers.

Bring middle fingers together, tip to tip, and transfer right middle finger loop to left middle finger, and left middle finger loop to right middle finger, over the loop just transferred.

Insert left thumb into left middle finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop to thumb, keeping it distal to loop already held, and releasing left middle finger.

Insert left thumb into left little finger loop from proximal side, and transfer this loop to thumb, keeping it distal to the two loops already held, and releasing left little finger.

Insert left little finger into left thumb loops from proximal side, passing to radial side of the two proximal ulnar thumb strings, and to

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524 ulnar side of distal ulnar thumb string; hook down this string through thumb loops.

Insert left index finger into left thumb loops from distal side, passing to ulnar side of the two distal radial index finger strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb string; bend index finger upwards and away from manipulator, taking up this proximal radial thumb string on dorsal aspect of index finger.

Release left thumb and extend.

There is now a diamond-shaped figure of two strands near the left hand; pass left thumb into this diamond away from manipulator and take up on its back the two strings forming the right lower side of the diamond.

Insert left index finger, with its loop, into left thumb loops from proximal side.

FIG. 19. "A Porcupine."

With tips of right thumb and index finger lift loop from left index finger, drawing this loop through left thumb loops.

Release left thumb and index finger.

Replace loop held between tips of right thumb and index finger on left thumb, without twisting.

Release right thumb and little finger.

Extend right middle finger loop by passing into it, from proximal side, all the digits of the right hand.

[825] Extend and the porcupine appears (Figure 19). Its head is bent downwards near the left hand, and its tail is the loop around the right radial thumb string.

The manipulator sings:[1]

Ayuwikiza-ina	*nayatsskaid*	*ushiatsuw-ina*	*elzulty-ina*
Don't hurry away,	go easily,[2]	when you go	to your house,

skalkulskas
O porcupine!

XVI. AN EAGLE'S NEST

Opening A with middle fingers.

Insert thumbs into middle finger loops from proximal side and transfer these loops to thumbs, keeping them distal, and at the same time releasing middle fingers.

[126] [193]

[1] Recorded as song VII D 18b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
[2] A form indicating address to a feminine creature.

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Insert thumbs into little finger loops from proximal side and transfer these loops to thumbs, keeping the three loops in their proper order, and at the same time releasing little fingers.

Insert little fingers into thumb loops from proximal side, passing to radial side of proximal and middle ulnar thumb strings, and to ulnar side of distal ulnar thumb string, and hook down this string through thumb loops.

Insert index fingers into thumb loops from the distal side, passing to ulnar side of distal and middle proximal thumb strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb string; turn fingers up away from manipulator, taking up this string on tips of index fingers.

Release thumbs.

Each index finger loop is now crossed by two strings; one of these passes as a simple loop around the ulnar index finger string, whereas the other is wrapped around the same string; with the backs of thumbs take up the former string from the proximal side.

With right thumb take up left radial thumb string from proximal side.

Release left thumb.

With left thumb take up both right radial thumb strings from proximal side.

Pass thumbs into index finger loops from proximal side.

Navaho both thumb strings.

Release index fingers.

Insert index fingers into thumb loops from proximal side, taking up these loops.

Release thumbs.

The figure now consists of two straight lines with two triangles between them, the base of each triangle (consisting of two strings) being vertical and parallel to the other; pass thumbs into their respective triangles, away from manipulator, and take up the bases on the backs of thumbs.

Bring thumbs together, tip to tip, and transfer right thumb loop to left thumb, and left thumb loop to right thumb, over the loop just transferred.

FIG. 36. "An Eagle's Nest."

[825]

With the tips of right thumb and middle finger grasp the left double thumb loop, remove from left thumb, rotate through 180 degrees anti-clockwise, and replace on left thumb.

Repeat for right double thumb loop.

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524 Pass thumbs into index finger loops from proximal side.
Navaho both proximal thumb string.
Release index fingers.
[825] Extend, and the Eagle's Nest appears (Figure 20).

XVII. THE CRIPPLE

Opening A with middle fingers.

Pass thumbs proximal to middle finger loops and take up radial little finger strings from proximal side.

With little fingers hook down ulnar middle finger strings, allowing original little finger loops to slip off.

Release middle fingers.

Extend loop hooked down on little fingers by passing into each the hooks of the ring and middle fingers.

With middle fingers hook down proximal ulnar thumb string, allowing the loop hooked down on middle, ring, and little fingers to slip off.

Transfer loop hooked down by middle fingers to hooks of little fingers, without twisting.

Insert index and middle fingers into both thumb loops from the distal side and grasp the proximal radial thumb string between the tips of these fingers; bend upwards and away from manipulator taking up this string on tips of index fingers.

Release middle fingers.

Release thumbs.

A straight string now passes on the ulnar side of the central figure from one palmar string to the other; with thumbs take up this string from proximal side near each palmar string.

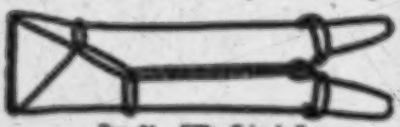

FIG. 21. "The Cripple."

With middle fingers hook down index finger loops, without releasing index fingers.

Place thumbs, tip to tip, with index fingers, and transfer each thumb loop to its respective index finger, passing over the loop originally on the index fingers, that is, so that each original thumb loop is now a proximal index finger loop.

With thumbs take up distal radial index finger string from proximal side.

Release middle fingers.

Release index fingers.

Extend hooked down loop of left little finger by passing into it the hooks of left index, middle, and ring fingers.

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With left index, middle, ring, and little fingers hook down from proximal side the right ulnar little finger string. 524

Release right little finger.

With right little finger hook down right ulnar thumb string.

Release right thumb.

With right index finger hook down left radial thumb string.

Release left thumb.

By extending gently the figure appears. The crooked figure near the left hand represents the cripple, the upright figure near the right hand with projecting centre represents a man with umbilical hernia (Figure 21).

The following dialogue in song accompanies this figure:[9]

The man with hernia sings:

Xai, xai, xai,	*alkeltumx*	*diwlẓlatai*
Hi! Hi! Hi!	Hurry up,	you cripple.[10]

The cripple answers:

Stuaiaiyustnu	*dinuẓẓotai*	*xai, xai, xai*
Don't say that	you man with umbilical hernia.	Hi! Hi! Hi!

XVIII. THE *Snunq*

Bella Coola opening.

Pass middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side, and hook down radial index finger string.

With thumbs take up radial index finger string from proximal side, keeping this string distal.

Bring hands together; insert left thumb into right distal thumb and index finger loop from proximal side; lift this loop from thumb, but not from the index finger, without extending.

Insert right thumb into left middle thumb and index finger loop from proximal side and lift this loop from left thumb, but not from index finger.

Extend.

There are now two loops on each thumb and one on each index finger.

Pass middle fingers into loops hooked down by ring and little fingers from proximal side.

Each loop hooked down by the middle, ring, and little fingers is crossed by the proximal ulnar thumb string; with backs of middle fingers take up this string where it crosses the hooked down loop.

Pass middle fingers, still carrying on their backs the string just picked up, through index finger loops from proximal side, and into both thumb loops from distal side.

[9]Recorded as song VII D 6e, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. [126]
[10]The form indicates that a masculine cripple is indicated. [193]

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Release index fingers; the index finger loop is now held on the hooks of the middle fingers.

Lift distal thumb loop from thumbs; this loop is now held on hooks of middle fingers.

Pass index fingers into the three loops hooked down on middle fingers from proximal side.

Pass index fingers distal to radial thumb string, and middle fingers proximal to radial thumb string, clutching this string between tips of fingers; bend fingers upwards and away from manipulator, taking up this string on tips of index fingers.

FIG. 22. "The *snuuq*."

Release middle fingers.

Release thumbs.

Gently extend.

This shows the *snuuq*; with thumbs gently depress the two pendant loops in the centre and the eyes become evident (Figure 22).

The manipulator sings:[11]

Nutpqals-kuuq	*xûtskaitl*	*nupaxstla yalsqinu.*
Reverse your eyeballs,[12]	it is too dangerous,	O, dreaded and powerful one!

Pass thumbs from distal side into the loops hooked down on ring and little fingers.

Bend index fingers downwards and away from manipulator, and upwards towards manipulator through the loop hooked down on ring and little fingers, and tip to tip with thumbs, releasing thumbs when complete.

FIG. 23. "Raven's Hammer."

Pass thumbs into distal index finger loops from proximal side and transfer each loop to its respective thumb.

Release index fingers.

This shows the *snuuq* with eyeballs reversed, appearing as a hammer (Figure 23).[13]

As the figure appears the manipulator sings:

Sutqumas	*Qnax*	*ala sm-ama-als.*
The hammer of	Raven	long, long ago.

[126] [776]

[11] The song accompanying the whole figure was recorded as song VII D 25b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[12] This refers to the belief that the *snuuq* projects death-dealing rays from its eyes.

[13] No explanation is offered for the association between a *snuuq* and Raven's hammer.

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There is now a diamond in the centre of the figure, divided into two triangles by a double horizontal string.

Pass index fingers towards manipulator through the upper diamond and hook down the double string that crosses the thumb loop, keeping these two strings to ulnar side of thumb loop.

Pass index fingers to distal side of thumb loops: bend down, then upwards and away from manipulator, taking up the radial thumb string on the tips of the index fingers, and allowing the two strings previously held to slip off.

FIG. 24. "Raven's Viscera!"

Release thumbs.

This shows (Figure 24) the *sumḥmnikdas* of Raven, long, long ago. The song which accompanies this figure is in archaic Bella Coola and the meaning of the word *sumḥmnikdas* is not now known. One informant hazarded the opinion that it might be connected with a similar word meaning viscera.

Sing:

Nsumḥmnikdas	*Qnax*	*alta sm-stus-als.*
The ? of	Raven	long, long ago.

The string passing from the ulnar side of the index fingers to the radial side of the little fingers is crossed by two strings, each of which forms a knot around it; with thumbs hook down this string between the two knots.

Release index fingers.

Transfer loops from hooks of thumbs to backs of thumbs by rotating.

This shows the whetstone of Raven, long, long ago (Figure 25).

Sing:

Salsls	*Qnax*	*alta sm-stus-als.*
The whetstone of	Raven	long, long ago.

Place index and middle fingers tip to tip with thumbs, and transfer thumb loops to index and middle fingers.

Place right index and middle fingers tip to tip with left index and middle fingers and transfer loop from the former to the latter.

Place little fingers together tip to tip and transfer right little finger loop to left little finger.

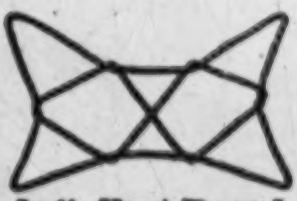

FIG. 25. "Raven's Whetstone."

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524 With right index, middle, ring, and little fingers hook down both left ulnar index finger strings.

Release left index and middle fingers.

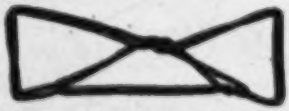

Fig. 26. "Raven's Fire-Bringer."

Widen left little finger hooked down loop by passing into it from proximal side left index, middle, and ring fingers.

This shows the Fire-Bringer (one who brings embers to light a fire) of Raven, long, long ago (Figure 26).

Sing:

Snayuxiak;	*Qnax*	*ahu xnu-xnu-ak.*
The fire-bringer of	Raven	long, long ago.

Release index fingers.

Pass thumbs and index fingers from below between the two radial middle finger strings, taking up one string on the backs of the thumbs and one on the backs of the index fingers, thus widening the preceding figure.

This shows the box of Raven, long, long ago.

Sing:

Ta-kuu	*Qnax*	*ahu xnu-xnu-ak.*
The box [an archaic word of]	Raven	long, long ago.

Release thumbs, allowing the loop just dropped to be caught on hooks of index fingers; the figure has now returned to the Fire-Bringer of Raven.

There is now a two-stringed triangle in the centre of the figure; pass left middle finger through this triangle towards manipulator and hook down the double strings forming the base of the triangle.

Release left index, ring, and little fingers.

Pass hooks of left index, ring, and little fingers into loop hooked down on left middle finger, thus widening this loop.

This shows the upright house post of Raven, long, long ago (Figure 27).

Sing:

Nakpuxtu;	*Qnax*	*ahu xnu-xnu-ak*
The house post of	Raven,	long, long ago.

Release index fingers.

Pass thumbs and index fingers from below between the two radial middle finger strings, and take up one string on the backs of the thumbs and one on the backs of the index fingers, thus widening the preceding figure.

Fig. 27. "Raven's House Post."

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This shows the toilet[14] of Raven, long, long ago.
Sing:

Nemamalstz	*Ḳnax*	*alta ẋm-ẋtmo-alt*
The toilet of	Raven,	long, long ago.

Release middle, ring, and little fingers.
With little fingers hook down radial thumb strings.
Release thumbs.
Pass left middle finger through left index finger loop from proximal side.

Place right index finger tip to tip with left middle finger and transfer right index finger loop to left middle finger.

FIG. 28. "Raven's Heron."

Place right index finger tip to tip with left index finger and transfer left index finger loop to right index finger.

Pass left index finger into left middle finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop.

This shows the heron of Raven, long, long ago (Figure 28).
Sing:

Ẋaqamtz	*Ḳnax*	*alta ẋm-ẋtmo-alt.*
The heron of	Raven,	long, long ago.

Release right index finger.
This shows the dog of Raven, long, long ago.
Sing:

Wamatz	*Ḳnax*	*alta ẋm-ẋtmo-alt.*
The dog [an archaic word] of	Raven	long, long ago.

STRING TRICKS

1. A CUTTING

Place string over left little finger as a simple loop, holding it with right hand at a distance of about six inches from left hand; this distance should be maintained throughout the movements by allowing more string to pass through right hand.

Pass left ring finger distal to radial little finger string and takeup ulnar little finger string from proximal side.

[14] The aperture in the horizontal staging in front of the houses which serves as toilet.

[514]

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524 Pass left middle finger distal to radial ring finger string and take up radial little finger string from proximal side.

Pass left index finger distal to radial middle finger string and take up radial ring finger string from proximal side.

With left thumb take up radial index finger string and radial middle finger string from proximal side, keeping the former distal.

With left index finger take up distal radial thumb string from proximal side.

Pass left middle finger distal to distal ulnar index finger string and take up proximal radial thumb string from proximal side.

Pass left ring finger distal to distal ulnar middle finger string and take up distal ulnar index finger string from proximal side.

Pass left little finger distal to distal ulnar ring finger string and take up distal ulnar middle finger string from proximal side.

Release thumb, at the same time pulling with the right hand and the figure disappears. There appears to be no story attached to this figure.

II. THE FASTENINGS OF RAVEN'S PLUMAGE[11]

Place string as a simple loop over left thumb with long, pendant loops hanging down on palmar aspect of left hand.

Pass right thumb and index finger from distal side into left thumb loop, at the same time hooking down the two pendant strings with right middle, ring, and little fingers.

Separate right thumb and index finger; turn right hand upwards, and clockwise, without releasing strings hooked down by right fingers. The left radial thumb string should now run straight across to ulnar side of right thumb, and thence across its dorsal aspect to radial side of thumb, from where it is hooked down by the three fingers of the right hand. The left ulnar thumb string should run straight across to ulnar side of right index finger, from where it is hooked down by the three fingers of the right hand. The distance between the hands should be about three inches; this must be maintained throughout the figure by allowing more string to pass through the hooked-down fingers of the right hand, as required.

[773 825] [11]As already described, in the beginning of time many of the first-comers to earth floated down from above as ravens. It is assumed that the plumage of these birds must have been attached to the wearers in some way, the "fastenings" illustrated in this figure. On reaching earth, these coverings were taken off without difficulty, an action represented in this design by the facile loosening of the complicated meshwork of strings. This figure was collected from a man whose first ancestor came to earth as a raven; his descendant consequently stated that the pattern represented the specific fastenings of his own forefather's plumage.

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With left little finger take up right ulnar thumb string from distal side. 524

Rotate right hand anti-clockwise through 180 degrees; with left index finger take up right radial index finger string from distal side.

Rotate right hand clockwise through 180 degrees; with left ring finger take up right ulnar thumb string from distal side.

Rotate right hand anti-clockwise through 180 degrees; with left middle finger take up right radial index finger string from distal side.

Rotate right hand clockwise through 180 degrees; with left ring finger take up right ulnar thumb string from proximal side.

FIG. 29. "The Fastenings of Raven's Plumage."

Rotate right hand anti-clockwise through 180 degrees; with left index finger take up right radial index finger string from proximal side.

Rotate right hand clockwise through 180 degrees; with left little finger take up right ulnar thumb string from proximal side.

Rotate right hand anti-clockwise through 180 degrees; with left thumb take up right radial index finger string from proximal side.

Release right hand.

This shows the fastenings of Raven's plumage (Figure 29).

Lift loop from left middle finger, pull the pendant strings and the figure disappears.

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*192
[824] *ksl'nlk*: Tree, probably birch.
Kskstsk': One of the first men to settle at *Sunjust* in the beginning of time.
Kslóhs: One of the first men to settle at *Swaldi* in the beginning of time.
Kslhm: Bella Bella woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Kslnl: Kitamaat man.
[222] *Kslqm*: *Kaxlat* name of a Bella Coola man.
[262] *kslqum*: The gathering of fern root for food.
Kslymstlum: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Ziuce* in the beginning of time.
Ks'lsx-a: Kitamaat man mentioned in an ancient story.
[585] *kslumhlkumts*: Public ceremony, previous to marriage, of the bride's ancestral myths in order to cause children to be born.
[842] *kslqum*: Ritual on the day before a marriage, including the creation of myths by the bride's relatives, the choosing of ancestors, and the singing of songs of all kinds.
[576] *Ksmal-ts*: 1—Mysterious supernatural woman.
2—"Please," or "Thank You," a word implying lenience.
*Ksmlomy**'*: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuliuse* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuqlalt* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of the first sky that fell in the beginning of time.
Ksmalslit: Lazy supernatural bridge who accompanied *Nuklqum*.
Ksmslqum: Man mentioned in an origin myth of *Alqalind*.
Ksmstlsks: *Kaxlat* name of a Kitamaat man.
*Ksmstuwy**'*: Heron brought to earth by first settlers at *Nuqlalt* in the beginning of time.
[824] *ksnal'*: Kelp.
[227] *ksnuls*: Cod hook.
ksnuz: Termination.
[824] *ksnx-i*: 1—Shelf fungus.
2—*Kaxlat* dance in which a shelf fungus is used.
Ksnlihs: One of the first women to settle at *Ziuce* in the beginning of time.
ksx-lmat: Ceremonial crow.
Ksnsin: Herald of a *Tal-is* chief in the beginning of time.
ksnhs: Trap.
Ksnqlhlum: 1—Daughter of the first settlers at *Salia* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of *Ojimal*, one of the first settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[264] *ksnlihs*: Assemblage of the people for a meal of any kind.
Ksnqslslum: One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
Ksnslhqlsx-a: Supernatural berry-picker resident in the land of ghosts.
[825] *ksjnt*: 1—Hump-back salmon.
2—Crown transverse beam near front and rear of house.
3—Mountain on the Dean River.
Ksqsin: *Kaxlat* name of a Kitamaat man.
Kstlsx: Man mentioned in an ancient story of Raven.
[752] *kstnt*: The making for shaman's power by a lad.
[825] *kstwin*: Golden eagle.
kstlsx: Top, top.
[524]

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*192 *ni'ala*: Miniature copper ornament worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.
[301] *Nu-ci*: Bella Bella man living in the beginning of time.
nuum: To dance.
[325] *nuumala*: Those who dance at marriages.
nuuse: Mallard duck.
[324] *nuuwaxum*: Night of potlatch on which *xaaxi* initiates appear for a short dance.
nuxchi: Berries of Canadian buffalo berry.
[415] *nuhiqulu*: Thimble-like wooden dish.
'nuulaxtalu: Ceremonial seating of chiefs according to their validated places in a house.
Nuuqaiu: Name acquired by a Rivers Inlet man from sea-lions in the beginning of time.
Nuuqulu: Professional name of a *kwiat* marshal.
'Nuu-uuw-a: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola Scratcher; the designation was derived from Rivers Inlet.
Nu-uk-a: Celebrated Kitkatla chief.
Nu-uuxlai: Influential Bella Coola chief.
*176 *Nuhuddaiu*, "The Resident": Supernatural being dwelling under rivers who punishes infractions of taboos concerning them.
[784] *nukuum*: 1—Fourth day of a *kwiat* dance, on the evening of which masked figures appear.
2—Something exposed to view.
Nuqua: Old woman resident in Sea-lion's house in the beginning of time.
nuuxl, "Little Dance": Term of grandiose humility.
nuuxum: Gathering of the people for a non-sacred dance after the *kwiat* season.
Nuxsu-uulaxsu: 1—"The Dancer Near the Fire": One of *Tlesquitlim-a*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
2— *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.
Nuxwulinuulu: *Kwiat* name of a *Nuqlulu* man.
nuxulaxsim: One who has preserved a marriage song.
nuxwulinuk: The intangible strengthening that comes to a bridegroom as a result
[575] of the creation of his ancestral myths and the giving of presents to the bride's
[431] relatives when they first come to his house on the wedding day.
Nuxhdulu: Daughter of the first people who came down to Mount Fraxiul in the
[524] beginning of time.
nuq'ual: Wooden ring used in a game.
Nikuulu: Place on Dean Channel, about three miles from the head, where the deer
[125] formed a colony soon after the beginning of time.
nukaqu: Grass.
Nuulkuk: Name of a certain spot where mountain goats are wont to congregate
for mating.
Nuuluuxulu: 1—"The Runner": One of *Tlesquitlim-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—One of the first men to settle in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[552] *nuum*, "Brought to Life": Term applied to a copper brought back from a cemetery and renamed.
Nuuxulinuu: Shaman's name derived from *Tlesquitlim-a*.
nuuxuuiu: "I have saved you."

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his left cheek until the blood flows, takes also a mouthful of his own urine, and spits out the mixture.

The following instance of this belief was recorded.

A Bella Coola chief and a number of followers were once at Kwatna where they had been gambling for stakes of mountain goat grease. Two of the men had lost their supply, so they went into the mountains between Kwatna and Restoration Bay to replenish it. They saw two goats, killed them, and at once two more appeared in the same place; these they also slew. When a fifth and sixth goat appeared and were likewise dispatched, one of the hunters tried to restrain his comrade, saying that such phenomenal success must be due to supernatural power which they should not abuse. They stopped firing, cut the grease from their quarry, and started on the return journey. Presently the mountain began to tilt upwards before their feet. They had no ropes, and almost in despair concealed themselves in a small rock shelter. Their dogs too felt the movement and barked in terror. Fortunately, the mountain did not rise more than a few feet and soon subsided, so that the men escaped.

The attitude of the Bella Coola to supernatural powers of all kinds may be termed a doctrine of Opportunism. Supernatural beings abound and constantly play a part in the affairs of mortals. An alert and bold man can take advantage of these opportunities and obtain assistance, but he who hesitates is indeed lost. Certain types of assistance are most commonly granted to orphans and other unfortunates; accounts of these belong to the realm of mythology and will be described in a later chapter. On the whole the supernatural ones do not show discrimination in conferring boons, and the man who is quick to take advantage of them is the one to whom success comes.

Supernatural Elements in Human Beings

The Bella Coola believe that in the human body itself there are certain supernatural elements. Neither sticks nor stones can move, because they lack these attributes possessed by men and animals. Considering the firm belief of the Bella Coola in the omnipresence of the supernatural, it is not surprising that they should ascribe the phenomena of health and sickness,

Libbie Dorsett R-5 (1922-1924)948
NRS Bellacoola NRS

Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *hamatsa* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Alqunsin* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the more force expenditure in a man's body by lengthy abstin-

given as a slave to a Bella Coola, he was treated as a guest. Slaves were bartered between Bella Coola individuals as a matter of course. Their value depended on sex, ability, and industriousness, as well as on supply and demand. When there was an over-supply, the value of a slave fell to twenty or thirty salmon, but whenever an owner found that someone wished to purchase a particular slave he endeavoured to raise the price. If a foreigner borrowed goods in Bella Coola he usually had with him a relative as pledge. Thus, not many years ago, a *Kwakiutl* Indian, from near Owen Lake, borrowed goods from a Kitamaat man and left his son as pledge. The goods were not returned, so the son was sold as a slave to the people of Kitimat.

It was not uncommon for a Bella Coola to lose his freedom by gambling. *At Ishq!* especially, a player who had exhausted his goods not infrequently wagered his children, or in extreme cases, himself. If he lost, his children, or himself, became the property of the winner. Unless speedily repurchased by some relatives, such slaves were usually sold or given away at the first opportunity to a member of a foreign tribe, since it was considered improper for a man to hold a member of his own tribe in servitude. The same course of action was taken on those rare occasions when one Bella Coola village fought against its neighbour and prisoners were taken.

To the Bella Coola, who still consider a man's "power" in the land as dependent to a considerable extent on his ancestral myth, a slave's greatest misfortune lay in the fact that he had no ancestral home, and hence no rights.

"No slaves came to earth with the first people," they say.

A slave was a stranger in a strange land, unsupported by a chain of ancestors reaching back to the beginning of time. On the whole, captives taken in war were better treated than other slaves since it was felt that such a misfortune might occur to anyone at any time. They were frequently ransomed by their

*This is said to be an ancient practice, due to the fact that several of the forefathers of the Bella Coola came to earth in their canoe and were on friendly terms with the inhabitants. It is conceivable that this tradition may have relevance to the breaking away of the Bella Coola from the main Salish stock.

575 574 535 [535] [525] [524] [178]

guests to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no admonitory crowbird to the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds. These conclude the chief features of the s'alt dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the crowd, they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

S'alt crest names

551 575 703

Theoretically, every Bella Coola s'alt should be able to record the myth in which his name is embedded, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both ancestral and s'alt names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an s'alt appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the s'alt can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kwaquitl *nuqmal* for his name *Sa-calada* which came to earth with *Snauna* (I, p. 552) in the beginning of time. Another Kwaquitl s'alt, *Thelpalkum*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sinaqal* (I, p. 500), who assumed the designation of *Thelpalkum* after its performance. This early author had the additional name of *K'ulaim*.

539

The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once,* long, long ago, *Sqamaim* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *Sumaqa*, and a mortal, so he

[116] [177]

* Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the ancient conditions the whole tale is to be noticed.

[illegible] II-3 ([illegible])
[illegible] Bulletin [illegible]

CHAPTER 5

STORIES ILLUSTRATING THE SUPERNATURAL

Stories Illustrating Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate —Stories Illustrating Supernatural Good Luck—Stories Illustrating Damnation

KNOWLEDGE of the contact between supernatural and human beings is based largely upon tales describing such incidents; in fact, generalizations like those made in the last chapter are, as has been already stated, contrary to Bulu Creole practice. Such tales are, however, so numerous and so long that their inclusion in the sections describing the kind of experiences they illustrate would have made the last chapter unduly cumbersome and confusing. Stories concerning these types of contact with the supernatural are brought together here, not as items of folk-lore, but as basic material to supplement the relevant sections of the last chapter. These legends are not family property, but are considered to be historical incidents which can be related by anyone.

STORIES ILLUSTRATING SUPERNATURAL AID GRANTED TO THE UNFORTUNATE

THE MAGICIAN'S CHOICE

Four brothers, of whom the youngest was named *Ebendje-ne*, were very fond of gambling with coconuts-shells. They played in all seasons, but with such luck of success that they lost their goats, their houses, their mothers, their children, their wives, and finally themselves. The three older men went hunting every day, but *Ebendje-ne* [illegible] for with whom he or he also lost his children [illegible] die. Perhaps he had an inspiration; at any rate he was deserting his brothers, because as soon as they had gone out he went to get up and collect shoes which were plentiful before the door of the house. These were his sole possessions, but he also showed the lie of an old mahogany, which served to exercise his jaws. Before his brothers' return *Ebendje-ne* always lay down in his corner, covered with an old dirty blanket, as if he

E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[illegible] *Djendje-ce*. During the day he spent much of his time aimlessly making [illegible] wooden darts and circles of pliant wood, such as are used in a game, and idly tossing these around. One day when he was so engaged he [illegible] someone come to the door, and looking up he saw a stranger [illegible]

"[illegible] coming to *Djendje-ce*," said the stranger.

"Come in," replied *Djendje-ce*.

The stranger was a supernatural being, though whether *Djendje-ce* was [illegible] aware of this is doubtful.

"What do you bet?" asked the strangeer, assuming that they would play with the darts and hoops which *Djendje-ce* held in his hands.

"Alas, I have nothing," said the miserable man, though all his gambling [illegible] were around. "All I own in the world is a dried salmon for which I am [illegible] chew on; I can barely keep alive with that and chewing."

"Come on," said the supernatural stranger; "I will wager this pair of [illegible] against your salmon fin."

They gambled and *Djendje-ce* won.

The [illegible] ended over the mountains, saying, "Go down to the beach and put [illegible] one of these shoes into the ocean."

Then he disappeared.

Djendje-ce placed the tree in the water, and instantly the sea was filled with small [illegible]-like fish called *[illegible]*. *Djendje-ce* caught and devoured as many of these as he wanted, but he did not chew himself, nor did he tell his brothers of his good fortune on their return.

Then the supernatural stranger again appeared, offering to wager another pair of shoes against one of the hoops which *Djendje-ce* had made. Once more *Djendje-ce* had was victorious, receiving a pair of mocassins which, when dipped in the sea, brought countless spring salmon. The following day he wore a pair which attracted the sockeye salmon, and on successive days he wore [illegible] other species of salmon, until he was able to attract every kind. Finally, during his brothers' absence one day, *Djendje-ce*, throwing off his disguise of lethargy, filled the house with all kinds of salmon. Great was the surprise of the hunters on their return; they asked him if he had become endowed with supernatural power, and he replied that he had. In exchange for being taught to gamble with crab-apple sticks, the supernatural one had so charmed *Djendje-ce*'s eyes that he could see where the king-stick[2] was concealed; hence he would be able to win on all occasions.

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[1] When the term used for a ceremonial party, is also applied to a contest in any game of skill, especially one in which teams or individuals from different villages take part.

[2] This is a marked stick and the player guess in whose hand it is concealed.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 individual, other than an indefinite recollection of the amount
796 of goods used for his dyed cedar-bark. People always have
556 sufficient goods to validate *kusiut* prerogatives; in fact, if a proud person gives too lavishly to confirm the initiation of a relative, the marshals sometimes burn the goods, giving no explanation other than that the uninitiated must not be led to believe that a *kusiut* ceremony is an affair of wealth like a potlatch. Formerly, goods were given only at initiation ceremonies, but between 1880 and 1890 a chief gave presents, instead of food, at a dance. His example was followed, since none was willing to be outdone, although such gifts are still called "food." The name of the donor is always announced, whether he is the dancer himself or one of his relatives.

*575 X, though now a member of the *kusiut* society, is still a
984 novice and cannot give a dance[a] until the next ceremonial
[796] season, that is, until one year has elapsed. The marshals instruct him about his costume, and about the manner in which he must deport himself during this period, matters which depend to a considerable extent upon his prerogative. If he
[262] is a Cannibal, Scratch, or Breaker dancer he must not eat unsmoked salmon, nor must he enter a house in which either a potlatch or a memorial potlatch is taking place.[b] Failure to obey this injunction would warrant punishment from a foreign tribe. Unless his prerogative is to give one of these, or the
[302] Ghost dance, he must keep his face constantly blackened.
[292] Every novice must wear a collar of dyed cedar-bark. The marshals warn him to be circumspect in dealing with uninitiated persons; he can talk to them, but it is most improper for him to engage in any familiarity or frivolous play. Above
[524] all, he must neither gamble nor take part in non-athletic games,
[525]

[a] Cannibal novices, however, begins to exercise his prerogative immediately, although he must also purchase a complete dance the following year.

[b] This prohibition was more broken at Kimsquit. A skilled healer was required to arrange the house as a memorial potlatch and the only man fit for the purpose, a resident of Anahulmo, was a Cannibal novice. After much deliberation he was called upon, but great care was taken to hide his identity and it was years before the information became known.

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

prohibitions that last not for one year, but for four. X is not subject to any other restraints. If he wishes to go hunting he can remove his cedar-bark collar and hang it for convenience in the forest near his village, redonning it on his return. The *kukuriat* show considerable interest in their new member, not only by warning him what he must not do, but by teaching him how to dance and to growl or make other of the necessary, but unusual, noises. During the remainder of the ceremonial season X is required to attend every *kuciut* dance, thereby learning much of the ceremonial, and during the following summer his relatives, especially if food is plentiful, frequently invite the *kukuriat* to their house. The singers beat out well-known tunes, or practise those which will be required for the following winter; if a song has been composed for X he dances in time to it, in the style proper to his prerogative. Formerly, when there were many novices, dances of this type took place frequently and were useful in giving constant practice to singers and neophytes alike. As no calls from supernatural patrons can come at this time of year, it follows that all such dances are of a non-sacred nature, although the uninitiated are excluded. During his period as a novitiate, X has one privilege; he can take food from anyone at any type of ceremony. It is remembered that one novice was even bold enough to take food which had been placed as an offering for the dead.

575* 784 524 525 575* 533 535 575* 264

When the next *kuciut* season opens, X attends every performance. This is probably the most thrilling and nerve-racking period in his life. He does not know exactly when he will be allowed to give his dance, since that is a matter of arrangement between his relatives and the marshals, but he knows that the time will soon be at hand. When the great day, or rather night, actually comes, X is usually in a state of abject terror. The rite itself does not differ from those about to be described except that the first song relates the manner in which X found the repository. But the mental attitude of X differs greatly from that of an old performer. One informant,

575* 781 796

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Song Sung to a Bat(a)

*533 825 When a bat is seen flitting around in the dusk, lads often greet it as follows:

Amahkhlhem	*nahih*
Bat,	*nahih.*

These two words are repeated an indefinite number of times.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 16b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

MISCELLANEOUS SONGS

*533 325 177 Gambling games have always been popular among the Bella Coola, especially the one known as *lehal* which may be of European origin. Contestants sing as they play, but the songs, lacking words, consist merely of a series of meaningless ejaculations. The tunes, however, are remembered, and certain ones are considered to be the proper accompaniment to certain games. When a number of men are singing in unison, they follow the directions of a leader, but at other times the "words" vary according to individual taste. The tunes alone are important, and it is often remembered from what area they first came.[1]

*533 177 A few songs have been adopted from the Carriers and are sung from sheer delight in the rhythm, since the words are unintelligible. The most popular is the following:

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[1] A number of such tunes were obtained:

A Kitamaat *lehal* song, recorded as song VII D 30c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A gambling song said to have come from the West Coast of Vancouver Island, recorded as song VII D 19b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded as song VII D 34b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded as song VII D 20b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded as song VII D 12b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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but the Bella Coola do not consider this aspect and the children grow up in an atmosphere entirely lacking in restraint of speech. Some stories teach a moral lesson, but they are recounted merely for entertainment. At the present time, no one knows who invented the stories; they have been handed down from dim antiquity and alterations or embellishments are considered improper, while the composition of new tales appears to be unknown.

Another pastime is smoking. Among some Indian tribes the practice has a definite religious significance, but this appears to be lacking among the Bella Coola. Most of the men enjoy either a pipe or cigarettes, and some of the women also indulge, but few carry the habit to excess. All the older people affirmed that their ancestors had smoked for generations. Tobacco was not grown, but kinnikinick, *mile*[c], was used, and also a plant known as *ioaie*[c]. Another smoking mixture was bark of *ioweaiely*, toasted before a fire until dried and brown, and then crumbled between the hands. These materials have given place entirely to imported tobacco, and the white man's pipe has replaced the native one. The latter consisted of a gooseberry cane from which the pith had been extracted; sometimes a small bowl of elderberry wood was added, but often the mixture to be smoked was simply placed within the end of the hollow cane.

Adults, especially the men, are addicted to gambling. They are fond of placing stakes on a race or other trial of strength, and enjoy all kinds of games of chance. Some of the younger men have mastered a few of the simpler games of cards on which they spend a certain amount of time and money. The *favourite gambling game, however, is one found in all parts* of the coast, which is played with a pack of *fifty-four* uncarved crabapple sticks. The rules are complicated and no effort was made to learn *more* than the general principles. The pieces are divided among the eight or ten concurrence and concealed; then one player guesses in whose hand a certain marked stick is hidden. If he is successful, the others pay him a forfeit; if

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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525 he is wrong, he pays them. It is said that in former times each stick used to be painted with a special device, and that each had its own name; even now they are beautifully made and highly polished by much passing from hand to hand. The Carriers [171] play the same game but use beaver teeth instead of sticks. Formerly it was not uncommon for a man to bet his goods, his wives and children, and even himself at this game. If he lost, [527] the persons so wagered became slaves of the victor unless [575] redeemed by their friends. Women, too, gambled freely; in fact, neophytes recently admitted into the *kusiut* society were the only ones to whom this pastime was forbidden.

526 Of actual games, the one most commonly played is *iklia*. As many as eight or ten contestants can take part, each providing himself with one, two, or three stones,[1] pecked down to the proper shape. Each is about six inches in length, three inches wide, flat on one side, and oval on the other, well rounded at either end. Before the coming of the white man, when the Bella Coola habitually used stone, it is said that one of these could be made in a few minutes. A mark is set up, and the first player throws his stone in the air, endeavouring to make it come to rest as close as possible to the target. The game is usually played on an open space near the village, but even on comparatively smooth ground there is great chance of bouncing and the thrower must gauge this possibility as well as have correct direction and distance. The second player likewise throws his stone, trying to lad it nearer the target, or to knock away his rival's. In so doing, the latter, lying on the ground or rather broken, which puts its owner out of the game for the time being. When all have thrown, the one who has come nearest the mark is the winner. Sometimes each contestant throws two or more stones, and sometimes sides are chosen. Large numbers of broken gaming stones can be found [175] near every old village site, confirming the statements of the older men and women concerning the universality of the sport

[1] Whether called *iklia*, a name said either to be derived from that of a fungus, or that the latter is derived from it.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

526 in former times. *Skiia* might almost be called the Bella Coola [172] national game, although it is now (1923) seldom played.

A game with somewhat similar rules is *nqulaiāk*, played 526 with small wooden spears tipped with bone. When a number 525 of men or boys decide to play, they choose two captains who in turn select their teams; any number can take part, provided that the sides are equal, but five each is usual. There is a special name for each player according to his position, and he bets against the corresponding member of the other team. A mark is set up, and one of the captains throws his spear, so that it will stick upright in the ground as near the target as possible. The rival leader endeavours to beat this, and if he fails, his second man throws, and each in succession until one comes closer to the goal than the rival captain. Then the latter's number two tries to beat the last thrower, followed by those on his own side until one succeeds or till all have thrown. The game thus ends when all of one side have thrown unsuccessfully. The winning side is, of course, the one to which belongs the player whose throw is nearest the target. Each member of the losing team pays his wager to his adversary and a second round is begun.

The sport is now rarely indulged in, but in former times games used to continue all day, and valuables were lost in the gambling which was considered to be a necessary part of it. [785] Men used to observe ceremonial chastity to increase their [554] chances of success and the expert was regarded with admiration by younger lads. The crack team of a village often used to [628] visit other towns to compete against their representatives, and the games were contested amid frenzied excitement on the part of the supporters. This occasionally led to serious fighting. [578]

Another sport of a similar type is archery; a mark is set 526 up and each competitor tries to lodge his arrow as close to it as possible. This game has now entirely lost favour, the young men preferring a type of football played without strict attention to rules, but with great energy.

Bella Coola children, too, have their games and recreations, 857 many of them of an imitative nature. Little boys enjoy nothing

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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become entangled in the loop when drawn back by the cord 526
attached to the butt. A tug-of-war now takes place, those of each party who have caught the ring endeavouring to pull it to their side of the water. At last one or other is successful, and brings ashore the prize, with the dangling spears of their adversaries. Sometimes a lad with a fine weapon determines to retain possession of it at all costs and is dragged through the pool to the amusement of all.

TOURNAMENTS

It is doubtful whether the subject of tournaments should 526
be considered as belonging to mythology, warfare, or games, 628
since it has aspects pertaining to each. Several of the older 926
men affirmed that prior to the introduction of muskets, it was not uncommon for rival villages to stage fights according to definite rules, after full intimation of the attack had been given. This usually followed a period when angry comments had been made, but when the provocation was not sufficient for war. In such a case, the challenging town would notify its rival that on such a date an expedition consisting of, for example, twenty canoes would attack them with stones. Such an announcement could not be disregarded; the inhabitants of the two settlements prepared for action and wagered the [525] large number of valuables essential to all such competitions.

Many years ago, the Kitsaquit people challenged the *atáwq* to a tournament of this kind. It was first necessary to choose the contestants. Twenty of the strongest men were selected, each to stand in the bow of a canoe and hold a moose-skin to shield the paddlers behind. To test their endurance, each took his place and the canoes were paddled towards the shore while all the other inhabitants, lined up on the beach, showered stones on them. On this first test, six of the twenty fell beneath the avalanche of projectiles and were astoundingly considered too feeble. Their places were taken by six others who were tested the same way the following day, and the same procedure was repeated until the twenty strongest men in all Kitsaquit had been found. A certain *Sisaqaif* was chosen as

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atsuhs: Promontory on hunting ground extending into ocean.
Ouhsa-i: Kimsquit fisherman.
Owih: Calvert Island.
Ooḡnow: Synonym for *Xwaxwaiahs*, one of the nine supernatural siblings.

P

[415] *pai-i*: Small wooden dish.
Pakeat: Lagloon newspaper of the dead.
Pa-i: Place on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
[518] [431] [412] *pamaxow*: Synonym for *nuḡaxtal-ow*: Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.
Paiowaw: Ancestral name of a *Nuqlak* man.
pamahs: Bone needle.
pamahs: Anything powerful and dreaded; the word is frequently applied, characteristically, to Cannibals.
Pa-ash: Small stream rising north of the Bella Coola valley and east of the Nuskumwaxway; it flows into the head of South Bentinck Arm between the Nuskumwaxway and the Bella Coola.
Pigaxlo: Bella Coola man figuring in a story.
palah: Hunting snake.
panaxto: Dance apron.
Panghlo: One of the first men to settle on *Snaiah* in the beginning of time.
[525] *pikaw*: Mosquito.
Panpalaxlaiaw: Name assumed by *Tsonoa* in the beginning of time.
pa-pamo: Variety of swamp.
Paskc: Celebrated Bella Coola chief who died about 1880.
Pa-lalo: Mountain Man, the point between Labouchere Channel and North Bentinck Arm.
[524] *papal*: False bulkhead.
[411] *palaw*: Bow, weapon.
payaa, "Fallen Heavily with a Crash," an when a dead tree thunders to earth. The term is used characteristically when referring to the death of an old and influential chief.
[195] *Paatal*: Tree, probably birch, used for torches.
[372] *pahaw*: Shooting of chiefs.
[525] *pai*: Stalkers.
[524] *pa-i*: Cockscomb.
[524] *pash*: Bewildering.

Q

[528] *Ka'atlla*: Rivers Inlet man, living in the last century.
qai: King stick in a gambling game.
qaiaxwaqalal: Women's dancing cry uttered at the appearance of a masked dancer.
qal-ungu: Unusuaxwa term for the second day of a *Sacial* dance, applied to the dance taking place during the day half only.
Kalaw: Name conferred on the grandson of *Tsonoa* in the beginning of time.
Kal-lo: Man mentioned in a story.
Qalaw: 1—One of the first women to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
2—Celebrated Bella Bella chief.

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[227]
[242]
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[525]

[576]

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[825]

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nuw: Kwakiutl term for pennons distributed as "Eagle down."
pun: Scoop-net for catching salmon in rivers.
papyuskapu: Head-dress of eagles' tails worn by *hamat* dancers.
sumuit: Spring water.
Tsaqalu: Settlement in the Cariboo country.
sun P: Cow parsnip.
Tsudim: Name obtained in the beginning of time from the Heaven people in whose language it is said to mean whale.
Tsawatinkalaxala: Shaman who obtained his power from Thunder.
Tsawatsile: Daughter of a Kitlala chief living in the beginning of time.
tsulanda: Wounding.
Tsuqiu-i, "The Crab": Name taken by one of the first settlers at *Nulimo* in the beginning of time but long since changed to a *hamat* designation.
tsuxwaqwaw: 1—Hummingbird.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Ilgalim* in the beginning of time.
tsuxwaxwal-ala: Puppet-person in the form of a hummingbird.
tsuqla-ala at sisa: The concluding ritual of the *hamat* season.
tsuqiu-i: Gambling game played with cottonwood sticks.
Tsudalem, "The One Whose Work Has Failed": Professional name of a *hamat* member.
tuqlawuk: The desertion of her husband by a wife.

T

Tidalin: Ancestral name of a *Sisaa* man.
Ti-i'namamu: Kwanmis man mentioned in an allegedly historical account.
tum: "Hello!" "Hail!" or "Greetings!"
tu-i: Endemonium having the significance of, "Why you have a sick passage," with which a corpse is drawn through the roof.
Tudim: One of the first men to settle at *Nulgamal* in the beginning of time.
Tuwalp: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
tuxwaw: 1—Propagative, tangible or intangible, which some *hahamat* possess in addition to a dance.
2—Another propagative formerly displayed in sacred cities.
tuxu: 1—Call, chant or, chant which impels a *hamat* to dance.
2—*Hamat* whistle.
Ti'wulidim: Man sent down west of Kwanas in the beginning of time.
tsuda: Term, implying both wealth and good fortune, applied to a man able to give a successful potlatch soon after the death of his relative.
tsuq'ulaqu: Pennons given by a prospective bridegroom to the house father-in-law.
tu: Good, adjective.
tulu: Mountain goat.
Tu'nalaim: Green Island.
tulala: "All Right," cry used in a *hamat* dance.
Tulal'a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Tulwilaxlala: One of the first men to settle at *Ilgalim* in the beginning of time.
tulalaxwa: Bringing down of a soul by means of the rite of conception.
tulalaxal: Pennons given by the bride's relatives to the groom's when they come for house on the wedding day.

S:Box E-5 (1886--ca. 1890)1897
NE6 Bellecoola ?E6

to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which flutters from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the sisaul'a dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large hand ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark. Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the Hamatsa (p. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that of Dzelekwtlanx'kwat of the Kwakiutl. Some sisaul'a do not bite people, but merely devour one canoe or four dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people (1) also devour canoes. The sisaul'a has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he may not gamble. He must stay away from his father one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

Fig. 200.
Mask of Hamatsa of Kwakiutl.
Cat. No. 19000, U. S. N. M., collected by G. M. Dawson.

The o'lisa (the laughter) and the ts'ila (the crower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, it both must fast three days before their first dance. The o'lisa "makes fun of everything" and mocks people with his voice. The ts'ila carries straw and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The o'lisa and ts'ila, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

If a person transgresses the laws of the tribal, for instance, when the sisaul'a gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person destroys the canoe or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the substitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted to the shamans, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shamans is a shell, bone, or finger nail, covered

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

575 574 535 [538] [525] 526 [178]

presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds. These conclude the chief features of the *a'alt* dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *nuxuk*, they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

A'alt origin myths

551 575 773

Theoretically, every Bella Coola *a'alt* should be able to record the myth in which his name is embodied, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both ancestral and *a'alt* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *a'alt* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *a'alt* can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kimsquit *nuxwal* for his name *Sxwaiaitis* which came to earth with *Smanux* (I, p. 331) in the beginning of time. Another Kimsquit *a'alt*, *Thelyakum*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sisnaxil* (I, p. 328), who assumed the designation of *Thelyakum* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *Wi'nisa*.

559

The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once,[1] long, long ago, *Sqamtin* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *Sxwaxwa*, and a mortal; so he

[115] [177]

[1] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

2:36:Howaith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

perform several ancient rites through a desire to "show off" before someone who was ignorant. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate on *kwiat* ceremonials, and to judge a man's worth by his lavishness in them, but this is only a modern development due to the prohibition of the potlatch. Nevertheless, even in former times some individuals preferred to invite foreign guests to *kwiat* dances and to give them valuable gifts rather than to save these for potlatches; such a ceremony is called a *kukwiatat*. Whenever strangers are present at a *kwiat* dance they receive small pieces of dyed cedar-bark as proof of the friendly intentions of the host. The general consensus of Bella Coola opinion is that it is foolish for a man to concentrate on *kwiat* performances, particularly if he impoverish himself to the detriment of potlatches.

Although foreign guests are seldom invited to *kwiat* rites, a dancer frequently calls in his fellows from adjacent villages. But as the ceremonial season is simultaneous in the different settlements, with almost nightly performances, it is often impossible to avoid conflict in dates. Which invitation shall have preference is decided in the following manner:

During the days of *qulim* and *nakwaw* the dancer sends a herald of powerful physique to invite guests from as many villages as he wishes. Simultaneously, a messenger may be approaching from the opposite direction with a similar invitation. Each owner watches carefully around each bend in the path for his rival, and whichever can first call out his message is entitled to continue to give his invitation in the village of the outwitted herald. It is considered exceedingly bad taste to decline a summons, as the ceremony to which the defeated herald was bearing an invitation must be postponed. Sometimes the two messengers sight one another simultaneously, and the relative priority of their messages is then decided by a contest of strength. The rivals stand in the path, shoulder to shoulder, arms close to their sides, and shove with all their strength, the winner being the one who can force his opponent to move his feet. This last means of deciding is used exclu-

CHAPTER IV

GAMES

517 19.1 [177] THE subject of games, lying on the border-line of social customs, was one which was not fully investigated. The Bella Coola, like all other peoples, have a number of sports and pastimes and although the old diversions are being forgotten by the younger people, many of the old men and women are familiar with those played in their youth. As isolated customs these may be of small value, but games of all kinds often preserve ancient practices and, as providing useful clues to the spread of peoples or of culture, are worthy of investigation. Unfortunately, lack of time made it impossible to give the subject the attention it deserved, and the few games here described must not be considered an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

526 [191] [628] Though less fond of competitive sports than the Indians of the Plains, the Bella Coola enjoy canoe-racing and wrestling. The former appears to have been an ancient diversion; picked crews from different villages competed amid the encouraging shouts of their fellows, and even now the younger men are anxious to display their skill in this respect. Wrestling, which [177] used to be common during all non-sacred gatherings, has almost entirely disappeared since the prohibition of the potlatch.

528 [517] The favourite sedentary pastime, enjoyed equally by young and old, is the telling of stories. Those of a sacred nature, especially ancestral myths, are reserved of course for ceremonial occasions, but the older men and women remember [125] many tales describing the exploits of birds and animals which are recounted again and again to the enjoyment of the listeners, although they may have heard the same recital fifty times. Children enjoy the companionship of some old story-teller and it is a common sight to see an old man or woman, surrounded by an eager group, explaining once more how Raven outwitted his rivals or was himself led into difficulties. Many of these [167] stories are somewhat indecent; others appear brutally frank,

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

525 he is wrong, he pays them. It is said that in former times each stick used to be painted with a special device, and that each had its own name; even now they are beautifully made and highly polished by much passing from hand to hand. The Carriers [171] play the same game but use beaver teeth instead of sticks. Formerly it was not uncommon for a man to bet his goods, his wives and children, and even himself at this game. If he lost, [567] the persons so wagered became slaves of the victor unless [575] redeemed by their friends. Women, too, gambled freely; in fact, neophytes recently admitted into the *kusiut* society were the only ones to whom this pastime was forbidden.

526 Of actual games, the one most commonly played is *skisa*. As many as eight or ten contestants can take part, each providing himself with one, two, or three stones,[1] pecked down to the proper shape. Each is about six inches in length, three inches wide, flat on one side, and oval on the other, well rounded at either end. Before the coming of the white man, when the Bella Coola habitually used stone, it is said that one of these could be made in a few minutes. A mark is set up, and the first player throws his missile in the air, endeavouring to make it come to rest as close as possible to the target. The game is usually played on an open space near the village, but even on comparatively smooth ground there is great chance of bouncing and the thrower must gauge this possibility as well as have correct direction and distance. The second player likewise throws his stone, trying to land it nearer the target, or to knock away his rival's. In so doing, the latter, lying on the ground, is often broken, which puts its owner out of the game for the time being. When all have thrown, the one who has come nearest the mark is the winner. Sometimes each contestant throws two or more stones, and sometimes sides are chosen. Large numbers of broken gaming stones can be found [172] near every old village site, confirming the statements of the older men and women concerning the universality of the sport

[1] Likewise called *skisa*, a name said either to be derived from that of a fungus, or that the latter is derived from it.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

in former times. *Sklsa* might almost be called the Bella Coola national game, although it is now (1923) seldom played. 526 [172]

A game with somewhat similar rules is *xqulaiāk*, played with small wooden spears tipped with bone. When a number of men or boys decide to play, they choose two captains who in turn select their teams; any number can take part, provided that the sides are equal, but five each is usual. There is a special name for each player according to his position, and he bets against the corresponding member of the other team. A mark is set up, and one of the captains throws his spear, so that it will stick upright in the ground as near the target as possible. The rival leader endeavours to beat this, and if he fails, his second man throws, and each in succession until one comes closer to the goal than the rival captain. Then the latter's number two tries to beat the last thrower, followed by those on his own side until one succeeds or till all have thrown. The game thus ends when all of one side have thrown unsuccessfully. The winning side is, of course, the one to which belongs the player whose throw is nearest the target. Each member of the losing team pays his wager to his adversary and a second round is begun. 526 525

The sport is now rarely indulged in, but in former times games used to continue all day, and valuables were lost in the gambling which was considered to be a necessary part of it. Men used to observe ceremonial chastity to increase their chances of success and the expert was regarded with admiration by younger lads. The crack team of a village often used to visit other towns to compete against their representatives, and the games were contested amid frenzied excitement on the part of the supporters. This occasionally led to serious fighting. [785] [554] [628] [578]

Another sport of a similar type is archery; a mark is set up and each competitor tries to lodge his arrow as close to it as possible. This game has now entirely lost favour, the young men preferring a type of football played without strict attention to rules, but with great energy. 526

Bella Coola children, too, have their games and recreations, many of them of an imitative nature. Little boys enjoy nothing 857

Z: McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1949
NEA McDowell NES

[557] better than hunting birds and small animals with miniature bows and arrows, or snaring them in nooses of grass or string. Little girls make playhouses in which they cook wonderful meals of berries, with perhaps the addition of a wooden fish. On the whole, however, the children do not enter into play so boisterously as white boys and girls, nor do they seem to derive so much pleasure from it. In former times, when clothing was scanty, small lads used to delight in picking nettles and beating one another with the stinging branches; this must have caused considerable pain, but it was a point of honour not to cry out, and anyone, perhaps caught unaware, who showed discomfort, was laughed at as a coward. Both boys and girls are fond of swinging, and even adult women sometimes find time to enjoy themselves by swaying to and fro at the end of a rope.

[152] [241] [572]

Young Bella Coola do not have as many toys as white children, and none of them is complex. Some girls have crude wooden dolls, though elaborate figurines are reserved for use in *Tsaiat* dances. Perhaps the most cherished plaything is a small puppy or, in recent years, a kitten, though the unfortunate animal is handled and mauled without consideration. A good carpenter may make for his son a wooden top or a bull-roarer, to the envy of his less fortunate friends. Both types of toys are said to be used in *Nuxmalt-a* and at some *Tsaiat* dances the masked figures carry them to play with.

[575] [231] [575]

There is one game, *chli*, which the salmon are said to delight to watch, and which is accordingly played by boys as soon as the first spring salmon have been dropped off with fencing cries. Each makes for himself, or is given by his father, a wooden spear with a projecting barb, fastened as shown in the accompanying sketch (see Fig. 1). A loop of branches is made and thrown into a pool of stagnant, or slow-moving water, on each side of which stands a rival group of competitors. At a signal, all throw their spears simultaneously, with the intention of passing them through the ring, so that the barb of each will

[521] [325]

Fig. 1
"Fish spear."

become entangled in the loop when drawn back by the cord attached to the hunt. A tug-of-war now takes place, those of each party who have caught the ring endeavouring to pull it to their side of the water. At last one or other is successful, and brings ashore the prize, with the dangling spoils of their adventure. Sometimes a lad with a fine weapon determines to retain possession of it at all costs and is dragged through the pool to the amusement of all.

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[illegible]

It is doubtful whether the subject of tournaments should be considered as belonging to mythology, warfare, or games, since it has aspects pertaining to each. Several of the elders now affirmed that prior to the introduction of muskets, it was not uncommon for rival villages to stage fights according to definite rules, after full intimation of the attack had been given. This usually followed a period when angry comments had been made, but when the provocation was not sufficient for war. In such a case, the challenging town would notify its rival that on such a date an expedition consisting of, for example, twenty canoes would attack them with arrows. Such an announcement could not be disregarded; the inhabitants of the two settlements prepared for action and wagered the large number of valuables essential to all such competitions.

526 628 726

[525]

Many years ago, the Kimapiri people challenged the *ariwa* to a tournament of this kind. It was first necessary to choose the contestants. Twenty of the strongest men were selected, each to stand in the bow of a canoe and hold a mere-shield to shield the paddlers behind. To test their endurance, each took his place and the canoes were paddled towards the shore while all the other inhabitants, lined up on the beach, showered arrows on them. On this first test, six of the twenty fell beneath the avalanche of projectiles and were accordingly considered unfaithfully. Their places were taken by six others who were tested the same way the following day, and the same procedure was repeated until the twenty strongest men in all Kimapiri had been found. A certain *Simapai* was chosen as

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[illegible] capsule. Meanwhile the other people had been carrying out similar tests, so that the picked men of both settlements were ready on the appointed day.

A canoe was sent forward to give final notice of the approaching battle so that the twenty canoes from each settlement came together, fully manned and armed. Five canoes on each side came to Mewa, the captain of each craft singling out a bamboo and dealing with it alone. The crews then swam over and around their own bamboo, trying to beat down the mosquito-like bold of the other craft, or sometimes endeavouring to throw missiles high up into the air so as to the heads of their foes. Whenever a bamboo was knocked down, its crew was defeated and subject to serious injury if they continued the fight. If however, they abandoned the conflict, the winners made no effort to punish them further, nor did they join in as much as any other canoe; that each craft had one adversary only was the rule in all tournaments. In this instance, the Kimugui people were victorious, as has been eighteen of their canoes defeating the craft opposed to them. Kimugui returned home in triumph, singing his war-song, and was received with as much enthusiasm as if he had led a successful raid. Behind the conflicts, consisting chiefly of broken heads, were sometimes almost as serious as a fray, but no revenge was ever claimed in case of death or wound. Instead of throwing stones by hand, it was sometimes agreed that they were to be cast by slings which made the tournament more dangerous. The warriors wore all their canoes, so that hand-to-hand fighting was impossible.

It is probable that tournaments of this nature took place many years ago, although none of the men now living had ever participated in one, and many had never heard of the type of competition. Until relatively recent years, however, hoopy canoe-skins were held up as protections to the faces of canoes, and men were selected for the task of being paired with canoes in the manner just described.

One other type of game, using figures, was studied rather extensively. These are described in Appendix B.

THE NGOLA CONLA DIRAMU

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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NEA Bellacoola NEA

§94 [94] [95] [96] [97] [98] [99] [100] [101] [102] [103] [104] [105] [106] [107] [108] [109] [110] [111] [112] [113] [114] [115] [116] [117] [118] [119] [120] [121] [122] [123] [124] [125] [126] [127] [128] [129] [130] [131] [132] [133]

their houses. Dishes, benches, cooking boxes, cradles, coffins, canoes, all were carved from the wood. The bark was woven into baskets, and when dyed formed the most common commercial decoration.

Even within the forty miles of the river valley formerly occupied by the Bella Coola there are considerable variations in climate. At the mouth of the river the typical Pacific coast type is found, without great extremes of temperature and with much rain, especially in winter time. During winter, the moisture is precipitated as snow a few hundred feet above the valley, and the limit of the snow can be marked on the mountain slopes, rising or falling a few feet from day to day. Farther up the valley, the winters are colder and in many cases snow lies for weeks on the ground, and in the upper part of the Bella Coola area the winters are severe, although much more moderate than on the upper regions immediately to the east.

When has been the history of the inhabitants of this land? They believe that long, long ago, *Ayamtlin*, the supreme god, caused their first ancestors to be created in his house, *Nuxalk-a*, in the land above, and sent them down to populate the Bella Coola valley. These first people came in groups of two or three, brothers and sisters, or occasionally men and wife, each group descending, in many cases in animal form, to a certain mountain and then making their home at its foot. They brought with them animals and fish, tools and houses, also the knowledge of ceremonial dances. In fact, they differed from the Bella Coola of the present past only in having greater supernatural power. These first people increased with extraordinary rapidity, until each group grew into a village, bound together by a knowledge of their first ancestors. In course of time the occupants of certain villages continued, or some increased more rapidly than others, but on the whole each settlement maintained its character of being the descendants of one group of the first settlers of this world.

This mythological belief is a fair picture of Bella Coola life as it was when the first white man visited the valley. Ther-

[The Dance of Mediation]

of his relatives, has given them for this purpose. When he [575]* [illegible]
[illegible] during the chorus they crowd close around, almost [illegible]
[illegible] him. Particularly in those dances fraught with [illegible]
danger to the performer, it is customary for any number of his [535]
friends, either men or women, to dance to "help" him. Anyone wishing to do so merely stands up and begins, in time to the music, irrespective of what part of the house he may be in. It is considered contrary to good manners for a father or [573]
help his son, or a brother a brother, but a dancer is planned to have aid from anyone else. It is said that in Bahi Bahi [571]
certain dancing have definite perspectives of helping in this way, but this is not the case in Bahi Coola. Throughout [535]
every dance the dancing women were their dancing on.

This, then, is the type of dance which the uninitiated in the Lemon house saw. They hear the song, see, and gaze with [575]*
eyes on X, imbued as he is with the supernatural power of sight. [576]*
Then the sounding boards are picked up and taken to the next house, where the whole ceremonial is repeated. This is done at each house of the village.* All the dancing now moves to X's house, where he once more dances to his song. A hot [536]
drum is always used to help the singers in keeping time, and when the song has been finished two men continue to rape to beat it all day. X always arranges to have a relative or friend supervised the distribution of food, which follows his food [574]
dancing. As the dancing are eating, the sounding delivers their usual admonishments, a rule that accompanies every meal. Then they call on the people to erect a raised platform between the fire and the back wall of the house. Whereas here have been planned to conclusion so that it is no easy matter to build a framework a few feet to height, of which the fire top is screened by a sparring wall about three feet high. This is often decorated [531]
with designs of dried cedar bark, without visual significance so far as the Bahi Coola of today are aware. X climbs to this platform, the dancing disperses, and only the incessant pounding of the drum proves that some unusual event is taking place.

* The Bahi Coola, but perhaps not in Tsimpsian.

[64]

1:McDowell R-3 (1922-1924) 1948
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424 999 825 [562] 211 424 993 825 [532] [552] [304] 324 [171] [184] [380]

nearest answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience, and added that though he was quite willing to accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of exogamy.

Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet they have some importance in the realm of social life. The portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an accepted myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or on a painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone using such a design is impressed with the glories of the family history of the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delineation is a memento of family history. For that reason a man is often tattooed* with his crest, that derived from his father's first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow. After the death of a chief a memorial post is erected over his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

* It is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal tribes but also the Carrier. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated themselves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and it still seems to have been exceptional. It is believed that Bella Coola tattooed themselves in connection with puberties, as Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the bath-room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material; the second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were baked for a long time and then ground into a powder. This bought indelibility and was by much easier for one by mixing with water. As far as could be learned, any skilled craftsman might perform the operation.

614 The outcome of this process of loss is the assimilation to
553 an origin myth of names originally brought into the ancestral
178 family by a woman from abroad. Unless intercourse and
973 friendly relations were maintained by "return marriages," in
a few generations no tradition would be remembered to account
for the name, and this, if used at all, would be interwoven into
the well-known ancestral myth. Hence a myth is not static
with regard to the names embodied in it. These change from
generation to generation; it is probable that elements of the
story itself suffer like additions and alterations, even though
the people do not consider this to be the case.

611 The Bella Coola regard the ancestral family as a social unit,
614 not only in terms of the present, but as stretching back to the
long settlement of the earth. Viewed from this angle, it is in
fact, though not admitted to be so by the Bella Coola, a sociol
grouping with patrilineal descent, which may, in both
the most recent and most ancient generations, be marked by
matrilineal descent instead. A man frequently uses prerogatives
obtained through his mother, her mother, or even her
mother's mother, but it is tacitly assumed that for many
previous generations such rights passed in the patrilineal line.
Sometimes this succession extended back to the beginning of
time; in other cases, prerogatives were transmitted matrilineally
for a considerable period after the settlement of the earth,
before gradually becoming patrilineal.

614 It has been thus far assumed that the only prerogative
424 wrapped up in an ancestral name is a knowledge of the myth
551 in which it is embodied. But there are others. For example,
several of the first inhabitants of the world are said to have
carried totem-poles, each of which was displayed by its owner
at the gathering where he took for himself a name. Thereafter, the only person entitled to use that particular totem-
[552] pole design was the person with the legal right to the name in
[553] question. The same principle governs all dance names; each
entitles its owner to perform a certain ceremonial. Thus it is
possible to enlarge the previous definition by saying that:

chief had thus obtained a seat for his daughter, as well as one for his two sons. But usually a woman continues to use the ancestral name given to her in infancy until she is able to assist her husband in a potlatch, when a name is validated for her (see I, p. 400). The ancestral names of the first women to occupy this earth are reserved for women still, like men's names, vary in prestige according to the prowess of their owners. Most names given to children, though embedded in origin myths, are applicable to either sex; and these are the common designations of women. Cases are known in which a woman has assumed an ancestral name if her brother has allowed it to fall into disuse through failure to give potlatches.

With such a fluid system, no fixed line can be drawn between chief and commoner. But after his fourth potlatch a man's influence in the community has become so great that he will usually feel justified in having the carpenters make for him a material seat. There is nothing to prevent a person having one made for him before he has given the requisite number of potlatches, but too rapid assumption may render him liable to the scorn of the community through his failure to show himself sufficiently "strong." The contempt shown to anyone attempting to usurp too lofty a place is a strong deterrent to a proud young man.

On the material seat are carved the man's ancestral crests, in other words the forms in which his first ancestors came to earth, or some of the beings with whom they came in contact. To show these is a matter of pride, but unless the display is fittingly validated, the man's own dignity will be lowered, as well as that of his ancestors. Construction of a seat is particularly common when a man is establishing himself in the central position behind the fire, and claims this to be where his first ancestor sat. Others among the first people may have chosen seats in other parts of the house, and to these, therefore, a man who is taking his ancestral name may have a material seat constructed. Establishment in such a position increases a chief's feeling of moral superiority, as if strength

there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by members of the Secret society that none would dare go there. If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formerly have been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-place of the Dzonqo-o chiefs is on a ledge of rock jutting out over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village. The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side, screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a cauldron, so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can come. The ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of other villages lack such natural settings, though all are at the bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some of them are decorated with rude carvings, pecked into the stone. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago, by chiefs when they were composing songs; they picked out the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure, perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with the rite, to recall the occasion. No carvings have been made within the life-time of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that they had further significance, now unknown.

When a chief wishes to summon his fellows for a meeting he visits each and notifies him by a simple pressure of the foot, in many cases unobserved even by those sitting near. The person so called slips away, unnoticeably, to the meeting-place.

The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows became an object of envy. Their mythology contains many examples of the murder of some powerful chief by rivals of his own village, and informants of today state that these records are true. One intelligent man asserted that his father had

[illegible]

PLATE [illegible]

[illegible]

View of [illegible] showing the large [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in the foreground.

[illegible]

Presently the guests assemble, those who are *nuxul* wearing on their heads one or more wooden skins as a mark of membership in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled, the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners, slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair. It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial gain.

A number of young ladies, friends or relatives of X, distribute the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests; otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its reward.

Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech, extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name.

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A man may receive as many prerogatives with regard to house painting that he has to continue the designs on the sides of his dwelling, or he may receive as many figures for a totem-pole that he can erect one of composite pattern. X may acquire prerogatives not only from his father-in-law, but from his mother-in-law, and if he is the husband of several wives, the family of each may contribute something. If, for some inexplicable reason, X is not given any prerogative from the family of his wife, he uses one of his own ancestral myths with the names belonging thereto. A man who gives many potlatches can choose to validate numerous family names for himself, or to concentrate on one alone, elevating it to a position of great importance. But any names he validates must belong to his [685] family; it is contrary to custom for a Bella Coola to steal a name to which he has no right.

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At this, or some other suitable time, X prays for assistance in the complicated rites that are to follow. Taking four pieces of pounded and dyed cedar-bark, and four pieces of undyed bark, he places on each a small quantity of food and throws the eight into the fire. Likewise he may throw in four small pieces of any kind of goods. As he does so he appeals to the supreme god:

"Please strengthen my spirit for the many duties which are before me."

Instead of praying himself, X may ask a shaman to do so for him, in the belief that the latter's supplication will be more efficacious. [754]

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The necessity for supernatural assistance lies in the fact that any serious error or disaster in the performance of potlatch rites calls for necessary punishment, since X has allowed sacrilegious sacred knowledge to reach the uninitiated. In such a case the duty of meting out a penalty falls upon the members of a foreign tribe. Nothing is said at the time, but the departing guests take away with them information of what has happened. Great latitude is allowed as to who shall be the chastisers. The guests may be related to X and the members

of his village, hence they will not feel it incumbent upon them to intervene. But news travels, and in course of time the armed members of some other tribe will decide to send a raiding party against X's village. All informants agreed most emphatically that this custom prevailed among the coast people from the Tsimshian country to Alert Bay, but specific examples could not be obtained. The Bella Coola regard such a raid as the proper course to pursue, and belligerent tribes may have used an irregularity in the potlatch rites as an excuse for an assault. It is clear, however, that this custom never attained such prominence that it could be called a law.

556* 418 628

The following is an instance of the Bella Coola outlook on the question:

556* 418

The father of an informant had had such success in giving potlatches that his neighbours were jealous. On one occasion he prepared a representation of a whale, an elaborate wooden frame, fifteen feet long, operated by men concealed within and carrying paddles; this was a figure which entered into his ancestral myth. One of the carpenters who made it, bribed by a jealous rival of the donor of the potlatch, arranged that the lower jaw of the whale should fall to the floor during the proceedings. This revealed the mechanism of the structure. White influence on the coast prevented an invasion of foreign raiders, but according to this informant, the chiefs determined that his father should die, and they employed a sorcerer for this purpose. His father and eleven other relatives died soon afterwards. This man, the sole survivor, ascribes his escape to his adoption of Christianity.

[378] [542] [578] [177] [754]

Another instance of the penalty which follows errors in potlatch ritual occurred a few years ago, when a number of young men used the ceremonial whistles openly, as if they had been toys. The presence of the white man prevented any open steps towards punishment, but before long all the youths died. No one knows what caused their deaths, though probably they were due to an expert in black magic acting on the instructions of a senior chief.

[594] [177] [754]

After the prayer, X and his family give more food to their guests, whose boxes containing what they are to carry away are increasing in number. By his lavishness, X increases his prestige in the eyes of his fellow-villagers.

556*

If he can afford to build a new house embodying the form

[135]

533 This is presently heard. Y may be in his own house, but at
556 once any number of *xaaxi* rush in and conduct him, concealed
575 in their midst, to the back-room of X's dwelling. All the *xaaxi*
of the village begin to gather there; those who are not mem-
bers of the society are also free to enter the main part of the
house, though they cannot take any part in the proceedings.
[781] They lurk near the door, watching with interest mixed with
fear, and ready to flee if the danger from supernatural beings
seems too acute.

After some delay, a whistle is heard at intervals, gradually becoming louder as if the supernatural being, of which it is the voice, were coming nearer. Presently it sounds immediately outside the door, and a *xiki* rushes forth. He returns in a moment, followed, amid the breathless excitement of the uninitiated, by a figure masked as a bird or animal. The design [572] represents Y's crest, or some creature with which one of his ancestors came in contact, and which is therefore regarded as having the same sociological importance. A member of the society has carved the mask, another wears it, but this the uninitiated do not know.

[776] "It is a *xaxiwam*,"* they gasp.

The figure crosses the house and bends down beside the singers to whom it appears to be whispering. Presently they begin, softly, to tap out a song in rapid time as if the supernatural visitor had just taught it to them. It is divided into two or three parts and the theme is taken from Y's ancestral myth.** After two or three rehearsals, the singers beat out the time more loudly and accompany it with their voices, while [535] the masked figure dances. A number of older *xaaxi* accompany the performer as he whirls around the house; it is pretended that this is necessary to shield the spectators, though the real function is to guide the dancer whose sight is handi-

*Meaning, "What is displayed," or, "A manifestation."

**If the neophyte is a son or other near relative of the chief who is giving the potlatch, the dance may consist of bestowing references to the goods about to be distributed. This is necessary for X himself if he performs as a *xaaxi* at the actual ceremony.

McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

556 adopted, probably as a prerogative obtained through mar-
575 riage, from the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people. The diver-
177 sity in ritual supports this view. There was not sufficient
[796] time for the procedure to become stabilized between the intro-
duction of the concept and the dislocation of Bella Coola social life through the influence of the white man. It is also possible that the *tatwinam* was added to *sisaek* rites from the older *a'alt* society (I, p. 273).

532 Whatever may have been the history of the *tatwinam*, it
536 provides Y with a mask, or with two, if two figures have ap-
575 peared. He guards them jealously, though secretly, through-
out his life and uses them only on rare ceremonial occasions.
[969] It is one of these masks which will be brought out if one of his
family gives a dramatic representation of his return after death.
[428] A mask of this type is sometimes willed, but the legatee alters the design before using it.

556 A short pause follows the singing of the second, or third,
575 song, during which some chief or chiefs may make a laudatory
speech concerning Y's family history. Then the singers again
[537] sing the first song, and *sisaek* members of the audience join in.
[533] Similarly, the second song is practised. These two are sung, time after time, until the *sisaek* have thoroughly mastered them. When the singers consider that this has been accomplished, they tell X, who communicates with the *sisaek* man outside who has the whistle, and again its eerie notes are heard.
[981] Some of the uninitiated, believing that the supernatural being who gives potency to the ritual is at hand, hurriedly leave in fear. At the same time some of the *sisaek* conduct to the back-room the second initiate whose songs are to be sung that night. The procedure in his case is identical with that described for Y. Usually it is considered sufficient to seclude two on one night, though three may be attempted. When the songs of the last have been sung, food is distributed and the people disperse.

A few nights later the same ritual is repeated for two more initiates, who join their predecessors in the back-room. Here they spend their time in idleness, the only essential being the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

292 whiskers over which is scattered eagle down. From the back
535 of the head-dress hang weasel skins. In Bella Bella it is said to
be customary for a skin to be added on every occasion when a
* 556 *susask* is confined to the back-room. This may happen as many
575 as fifteen times to the child of wealthy parents, and a few Bella
Coola have adopted the practice of marking each with a skin.
[237] Usually, some six or nine are hung in two tiers, without consideration of the number of times the wearer has been in seclusion. The central figure of the forehead mask is a head with
• [532] a hooked nose, the recurved hook being joined to the face itself. This figure does not vary with the wearer's ancestral myth, and no one knows what it represents. This design is
[177] said to have been introduced to Bella Coola from the north a few generations ago; before that time the head-dress consisted
[237] of a circular band of dyed cedar-bark, decorated with the tail
[824] feathers of one of the large woodpeckers. The Bella Coola call it simply, "forehead mask." Each initiate carries a hollow
[532] rattle, carved in the shape of a bird, which he holds in his right
[534] hand, belly uppermost. Long, long ago, when a dancer failed to do so, the rattle became alive and the bird flew away; hence, this rule has been obeyed ever since.

535 Each initiate takes up his station in some part of the house
behind the fire and dances to the beating of the sticks. The
* 556 left hand of each is clasped behind his back and in his right he
575 holds the rattle and keeps it in constant motion by shaking his wrist. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a good dancer. Keeping the body stiff and the legs close together, he rises with slight jumps, barely altering his position on the floor. Sometimes he slowly turns around sunwise[11] in his series of jumps, at other times he does not alter his position. The head is bent from side to side and downwards at each jump, causing the eagle down to fly in all directions. *Susask* assistants blow more of the material on to the head-dress at intervals (see Plate 16).[1]

[821] [11] The Bella Coola believe that the sun moves from east to south to west to
[796] north. Many ceremonial movements follow this direction, which will henceforth be described as sunwise.

[1] [See cat 116, facing p 219 - ANALYST]

McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

203 that he wants so-and-so, giving the name of a chief, to go, for
556 instance, to Bella Bella, to invite a certain person, whose name
484 he gives, to the potlatch. X likewise names those whom he
[575] wishes to form the escort. As a *nusak* whistle is used, it is
essential either that the chief himself be a senior *nusak*, or that
a *sikt* go with him. It is immaterial whether or not all of the
crew are members of the society. Nobody is compelled to go,
but as all know it will be a matter of pride to X to recompense
them, none declines except for some strong reason. X names
those whom he wishes to proceed to other tribes, sending one
canoe to each group of towns. He arranges their departure
according to the distance each must travel, the aim being to
have all the guests arrive at Bella Coola at the same time.
X is expected to provide food for his guests as soon as they
arrive, and as the potlatch cannot start until all have assem-
[648] bled, X tries to ensure simultaneous arrival, no easy matter
since the area from which guests are invited extends from the
Nass River to Alert Bay.

The mysterious and sacred nature of the potlatch is impressed on the minds of the uninitiated at the time of departure. When the chief who is to bear the invitation, and the members of the crew are ready in the canoe at the beach, there is heard from X's house the sound of a whistle. The uninitiated, unaware of the method by which the noise is produced, consider it to be the voice of some supernatural being connected with the potlatch. Either the messenger himself, or some assistant with him, blows a whistle. This can be done without exposing the method by putting the whistle to the lips under cover of a large blanket. When this has sounded the canoe is free to proceed.

The messenger-chief carries with him his *nusak* mask, which he dons if he sees another canoe approaching, while
[532] eagle down is scattered over the heads of the paddlers. These two signs intimate that the occupants of the craft are on ceremonial business, therefore must not be molested. For a con-
[726] siderable distance up and down the coast the sacred nature of

U.S. Geological Survey (1911-1924)1968
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grease have been placed in readiness. X selects as many 556*
youths as the number on whom he intends to confer the names 575
which have already been announced and validated among the 553
Bella Coola, but are now to be made known to the foreign
guests. He seats the lads, who are to substitute for the initiates, on the various boxes. Everybody understands that these are merely representatives. X requests two chiefs to act as his announcers, choosing two with good voices and abundant self-confidence. To one of these X whispers the *usual* name of one of the initiates.

"His name is now——" calls out the announcer, pointing to one of the substitutes, and the listeners readily recognize the initiate intended, from the use, in conjunction with his new designation, of his well-known ancestral name. The heralds repeat the new name with the usual badinage, so that it becomes well known to all present. In like manner the *usual* name given to each initiate is publicly announced. The substitutes receive no advantage from their part in the proceedings. [203]

Then the boxes are opened and red elderberries poured into 556*
the canoes in front of the guests. Stones are provided with 264
which the visitors pound the fruit into pulp which they proceed to mix with their hands, as eulachon grease and cranberries [252]
are added. Then X's helpers distribute spoons and the feast commences. All start to eat, but after an interval one of the leading Bella Coola chiefs strikes the side of his canoe with a spoon, as a signal that all must stop. X has several dishes in [415]
readiness. If he is wealthy some of these will be carved in the [532]
shape of beaver, eagle, or other form in which an ancestor appeared. These dishes are filled with the food which all have been eating and then placed before the principal chiefs, who thus have a second supply. At this point the singers begin to 533
beat out an ancient song of the type known as *ne-ula*. Each 556*
of these has been handed down from the distant past, when some chief, ancestor of X, had it composed for himself at a potlatch. The theme is always about the form or fame of his [171]

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PLATE III

Scout head-dress

[facing p 218]

[illegible] ceremonial occasions, and the text is commonly grandiloquently phrased.* Frequently the singers alter the words slightly to suit the occasion, and sometimes compose entirely new words for an old tune. As they sing, they are aided by some of X's friends who rise and stand between the fire and the front door. They occasionally wear forehead masks carved with his crest to add dignity to the rite.

After the song the chiefs continue their meal, and there is much practical joking with the heralds.

"Don't you want some food?" X calls to one of them.

Without waiting for an answer he throws a box containing the liquid pulp, inclined at such an angle that the mass is spread over the recipient. Occasionally, a herald will succeed in catching a box without spilling the contents, but usually he is smeared from head to foot, while the spectators shriek with laughter. It is one of the functions of a herald to be a laughing stock for the visitors.

During the afternoon X's wife and the members of her family deliver to him the goods which they have amassed to "re-buy" her from her husband. These are called "washing material," as if they supplied X with wash-basin and toilet accessories. The speaker states how the wife has lived up to her obligation in making this presentation, and how it will clear the path for her children. These goods will later on be distributed by X. They can be used for:

(1) Repayment of potlatch debts, or

(2) Making potlatch investments, or

(3) Validating names, either *usual* or *ancestral*, for the children of his relatives.

It would be most disgraceful should any of the goods be applied to validating *usual* names for any of X's own children, because they have come from his wife's people and react to the advantage of her children in any case. These goods are

*Though not to the same extent as among the Kwakiutl where the words may describe how the sky is supported on a chief's shoulders, or how he has pushed his head into the land above.

PLATE 16

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Eagle's down being blown over a *ussek* dancer

[facing P219]

556 184 ings to reward carpenters and others who had helped X prepare for his potlatch, but in Bella Coola this was usually done the following night.

556 769 595 575 [598] How comes what the Bella Coola regard as the most important feature of the potlatch.* The singers strike up one of the songs of a senior *nuxalk*, perhaps a *ulki* chosen for his skill in acting. As he dances, clad in his ceremonial costume and head-dress, whistling is heard without the house. A number of *nuxalk* are making the noise and they modulate it so that it appears to draw nearer and nearer. This is effected either with whistles of different sizes or by blowing harder. The dancer rushes out of the house. The whistling continues in a series of short bursts, as if a conversation were being carried on in that language. The *nuxalk* or *ulki* returns, and the audience, astonished by the mystery of the affair, listens to his explanation:

"It is so-and-so," he announces, using the ancestral name of one of X's deceased relatives. "The crest has come to pay his son [or whatever relation X may be to him] a visit. I will bring him in."

While he speaks, continuous whistling is heard from without, but when he leaves the house it once more takes on the form of a dialogue. Presently he returns, followed by a masked figure in the centre of a group of members of the *nuxalk* society. If the deceased's first ancestor had been an eagle, in that guise [532] the figure will appear—an eagle mask on his head, and his whole body, except perhaps the feet, covered by a large blanket thickly covered with eagle down and furnished with painted wooden wings. The dancer is usually entirely blinded by this costume, but he is guided by a number of the *nuxalk* whose presence is attributed to the necessity for guarding and paying honour to the supernatural visitor. Among those who accompany him there is always a man with a whistle, the note of [533] which simulates the cry of an eagle, and this is sounded at intervals. The actor bends in imitation of a bird and shakes [532] himself, lifting his head and opening the movable beak by

*Though potlatches can be held without this feature.

[illegible] of a killer whale, while the whistle sounds. Then he stoops down and hops a few steps eagle fashion. Slowly, with pauses and turnings around, the figure circles the fire and retires through the front door, always accompanied by a number of *sonnet*. The actor displays considerable dramatic ability, and the performance is striking effective in the large, plank-built house, illuminated only by a smoky central fire which casts flickering shadows over the intently watching audience. The dogs, alone unimpressed by the solemnity of the occasion, skulk to and fro.

If a whale is represented, a large wooden frame-work is carried by several men who walk inside of it. Ravens, bear, or other animals may also be used, according to the ancestral myth of the deceased. Some of the first people came to this earth as men, but there have always been a sufficient number of intermarriages to permit everyone to portray some bird or beast, obtained from the family into which an ancestor married. A supernatural object claimed to have been seen by a forefather can also be used on these occasions. In some cases a composite figure is used. Such may have the head of an eagle, a killer whale projecting from the back, and a raven on its chest. In such a case these three creatures have been connected with the ancestry of the deceased, and his spirit is believed to have assumed these forms. Great individual choice is allowed in such matters.

If several of X's deceased relatives are being commemorated, the sound of whistling is again heard from without, a short time after the departure of the first masked figure. A senior *naxnit* goes out, and the same ritual is repeated. This time the masked actor represents some other bird or animal. Three, or in some cases four, dead people are thus shown, though one is more customary. The actual management of the figures is left to the direction of the carpenters who have made them. Often a foreign workman is employed, as a mark of respect for his skill. In spite of all precautions there are often delays about the final preparations, especially with regard

* 532 465 skill shown by those who assisted, as well as the generosity of X, equalizes the disbursements.

The following presents of money were given at a potlatch held about 1890, and were considered considerable.

For painting two designs[a] on the front outside wall of the house	$ 40.00
For the erection of four upright posts, supporting the walls and roof of the house	50.00
For each longitudinal beam with painting	50.00
For each cross-beam, without painting	25.00
For the plastering of the side walls[b]	100.00
For painting the rear wall of house, which is also the outside wall of the back room[c]	40.00

[885] An average totem-pole would cost perhaps $150, but the prices varied greatly with size, complexity of design, and skill displayed.

426 *556 The next distribution is of goods to repay debts which X has incurred at previous potlatches, that is, to return "investment presents" then received (I, p. 235). This is known as *kudjat*, "repay," and the word is applied to all kinds of repayments, including revenge. One of a chief's difficulties is to remember his indebtedness. He may have been a guest at twenty potlatches, and at each has received presents varying in value, not only from different donors, but from other people associated with them. To keep these accurately in mind is hard but essential, and parents carefully train their children to do so.

[867] As previously mentioned, the Bella Coola have no fixed scale of interest on debts. Careful inquiries made on that point disclosed the idea to be entirely foreign. The greater the interest, the greater does the donor show himself to be. If, for example, X received an investment present of one hundred blankets from a Bella Bella chief ten years previously,

[532] [342] [a]When two are painted, that on the left of the central door on entering passways X's father's crest, that on the right his mother's.

[b]Four men would work together on this task.

[c]Two men would work together at this, the choice of designs corresponding to those of the outside front.

[illegible], clad in his ceremonial costume, including a long cape with pockets. With him come the four or five young men who have just finished dancing. The singers have since furiously with their sticks, and the *ulu* which round and round, working himself into a frenzy with verve and gyrations. Gradually, he approaches one of the initiates, and proceeds to pluck something from his body. As he opens his hands the spectators see that there is something in them, what exactly, they cannot distinguish. Only those who are *nanal* understand that, whatever it is, it has been pulled from one of his cape pockets. He proceeds to throw this object upwards, as the same time slipping it back into his cape. As the article is, theoretically, thrown aloft the sound of whistling is heard, which grows weaker and weaker till it finally ceases. Meanwhile the hamlets discourse loudly with one another about how the "eagle" or whatever it is, has been extracted, and is now returning above. The same procedure is repeated for the other initiates. This concludes the night's ceremony. Food is distributed and the people disperse.

The employment of a foreign *ulu* to expel the power from the initiates is necessary since this particular prerogative is not native to Bulla Coola. Formerly the expulsion was done in the back-room without any elaborate ceremony. This rite marks the admission of initiates into the *nanal* society although they cannot yet leave the back-room. It must be understood, however, that a youth may be initiated several times, on each occasion receiving new songs and perhaps a different mask. In this way his prestige as a *nanal* is increased, and the son of a powerful chief will often be initiated ten or more times. A mask so acquired is preserved in concealment as the personal property of the owner who may use it at pleasure on future occasions. It will be the guise in which a dead person returns to visit the living. After being used for this purpose, a mask may be burnt, or willed to a near relative of the deceased, who slightly alters the painting before using it himself.

It is somewhat difficult to understand the attitude of those

Totem-Poles

A feature embodied in many ancestral myths is a description of the totem-pole erected by a group of the first people, either according to a design given them by *Mountain*, or in consequence of their experiences on this earth. It is the privilege of a chief descended from that group to erect such a pole, under the same restrictions as apply to the portrayal and use of other features belonging, not to him individually, but to the ancestral family as a whole. Totem-poles are also frequently erected to depict incidents connected with the ancestors of a chief, even if there is no mention of one in his ancestral myth. In either case, the setting-up is a source of pride to the chief, especially as it emphasizes the importance of his ancestors, and its dignity must be duly validated. Theoretically, this may be done at a gathering of less importance than a potlatch, but in practice it occurs at no other ceremony, since a chief wealthy enough to erect a pole naturally desires it to be seen by as many persons as possible.

Poverty limits the number of totem-poles, but is not sufficient to account for their relative rarity. It is a matter of pride for a chief in whose ancestral myth there is mention of a pole to erect one, but all myths do not include totem-poles. Consequently the absence of one before the door of the chief's house is not proof of the owner's poverty or lack of importance. This matter was investigated with great care, and all the older people reiterated that the number and size of their poles were never as great as among the northern tribes.

When a chief is preparing for a potlatch, he allots, among other carpentry tasks, the construction of a totem-pole, if he is sufficiently wealthy to reward the artisan and to validate the erection in the customary manner. If a special design is embodied in the ancestral myth containing the name which he is about to assume, or to make among, he indicates that design to the carpenter. In the story of *Aitwi* (I, p. 312), for

[Adzaxid, "Outside Poet."]

211 example, there is a description of his totem-pole with a bell
556 at the top, and beneath it an eagle's nest containing two fledg-
778 lings towards which a grizzly bear is endeavouring to climb.
532 This is the only known instance of a pole on which the different figures stand in definite relationship to one another. No explanation is offered beyond the statement that this was the form used by *Alkwi* in the beginning of time. Another ancient pole, used by one of the ancestral families of *Sawd*, consists of
[778] a simple shaft surmounted by a sphere; this represents a mountain which enters into their ancestral myth as supporting the sky.

As with all features embodied in ancestral myths, a chief can use his own discretion in cases where he has a choice of design. A totem-pole with specific figures is a common pre-
[431] sent from a chief to his son-in-law, and it is a mark of respect
[622] for the latter to use and validate this at the first opportunity,
[604] in preference to one belonging to his own ancestral family. Since the pole erected at a potlatch may have no association with the ancestral name and myth of the donor, the underlying principle in all cases is that the value of the pole depends upon the quantity of gifts distributed to validate its erection. One man mentioned an instance in which he had become confused with regard to the proper design for the totem-pole connected with his ancestral myth, and had used one belonging to a second myth in association with a name from the first. Both were his property, the transaction was duly validated, and the matter passed off without question. It is possible that the
[183] decay of custom which has followed the coming of the white man may have been partly responsible for this error, which was regarded as a somewhat stupid, though not improper mistake; yet it is clear that even when designs are remembered as portions of ancestral myths, they can be alienated from them and validated as isolated objects in the same manner as names and all other features of ancestral myths.

More often, the exact details of a pole are not included in the ancestral myth and a chief wishing to have one erected can

[illegible]

one his own discretion as to the design. At the top he always places the bird or animal cloak in which his first ancestor, treated parallelously, came to this earth. Beneath this is the cloak of his mother's first ancestor if it differs from his father's. There are no fixed rules for other representations. Sometimes a man wishes to display the cloaks of the first ancestors of his wife, or wives; more often, the designs are of creatures with which his own ancestors came in contact after reaching this earth.[1] One of the first settlers, *Swanson* (I, p. 330), married a Haida Haida woman from whom he obtained a ceremony concerned with a whale, an animal which has often been used on the totem-poles of his descendants. The lower figures on totem-poles often represent creatures from which a recent ancestor of the chief obtained supernatural assistance. Consequently, the number of designs which may be used is legion, and the order of portrayal is immaterial. Moreover, Haida Coola art is not sufficiently realistic for designs to be easily recognized, nor is there standard conventionalization of little used animals; so it follows that the designs on totem-poles are often unidentifiable.[2] This is of little consequence, since their value rests neither upon the artistic skill exhibited, nor even upon their significance in connection with the owner's ancestral myth, but upon the goods expended to validate the display.

All Haida Coola totem-poles are carved from the trunks of huge cedars, with the wood cut away so that the designs stand out in high relief. The carvers are allowed great latitude both in choice of form and colouring, hence there is wide variation

[1] Amaamalis is the term applied to animals with which ancestors came in contact, other than their cloaks.

[2] This statement represents the layman's point of view, that is, of the Haida Coola who was not himself a carpenter-sculptor. It is probable that an expert would have greater facility in recognizing the conventionalized forms used by his ancestors, although the whole pattern of Haida Coola culture was opposed to extreme standardization. Unfortunately, wood-carving, in fact art work of every kind, had degenerated to such an extent that only one man with any recognized skill in that respect was still living when this study was made. He was both unreliable and uncooperative, so that it was impossible even to collect examples of his work, still less to record his interpretations of the designs of masks or other objects carved by his predecessors.

211 in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at
556 the front door of the house with an opening at its base through
998 which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be added
532 and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice in
[184] either case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ancestral crests by means of paintings on the front wall of his house, or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, if such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief entitled to display a totem-pole may choose to use only paintings. If he validates these by presents, they give him the same dignity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cannot validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola poles are only about fifteen to twenty feet in height, and though
[171] it is possible that a few families had prerogatives entitling them to construct lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is unlikely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand before the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even none at
[164] all. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 461). Otherwise it remains standing until some other occupant of the house wishes to erect another in its place, when the first is pulled down and neglected.

Coppers

556 The Bella Coola use coppers for only two purposes: casting
[169] on the ground upon which the representation of a deceased relative had trodden, or throwing into the fire when the figure has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make bone for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when a copper is employed is so important that to obtain one and increase its value is a vital consideration for every chief.

[177] Most of the coppers now used by the Bella Coola are made
[439]

chief to pay somewhat heavily, since the value of the copper depends on the amount expended on it.

The $20 received by the poor man must not be casually spent. He is expected to invite the whole village to his house, otherwise he would never again be given a copper. The heralds call everyone to the house, the singers as usual being the first to arrive. They beat out the *hactsa* song of anyone, to which the owner dances; the songs are used one after another, until almost every member of the society has danced. *Sound* songs may then be used in the same way. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the rite has no religious significance; it is merely a social affair. At the close of the dancing, the poor man distributes food to all, equivalent in value to the money received. It is probable that poor men sometimes give away slightly less than they have received, although any noticeable laxity in this would be punished by the receipt of no further coppers. The recipient of a copper from a fire derives no direct gain from it, though it is to his indirect advantage, since a person who has given away food is likely to receive larger presents on future occasions than one who has not.

Meanwhile the chief owning the copper is unable to use it at his potlatch since the value, dependent on the goods expended for it, is only $10, a sum so small that to use it would be insulting to his dead ancestor. There are several ways of increasing its value:

(1) *By Painting.* Taking advantage of some ceremony when a number of people are present, the owner gives a carpenter $10, for example, with a request that he paint on his copper a representation of the crest used by his, the owner's, first ancestor, when coming to this earth. Henceforth the value of the copper is $30.

(2) *By Naming.* The Bella Coola say that among the Kwakiutl names are given to almost all coppers; in Bella Coola it is a rare practice. Occasionally, a chief creates a name for his copper and validates this by presents to all the

435 immediately before, or during the early stages of a potlatch, in
#556 order to receive goods immediately, but with the proviso that it shall be returned to him for throwing into the fire. This
[422] method has the advantage of providing the chief with goods
[416] when required, and doubles the worth of the copper.

Coppers are not always removed from the ashes and given to poor men. If one is still lying in the fire after several days, the donor of the potlatch removes it and forms it to the
[764] memorial post over the grave of his deceased relative. It may be left there, or another chief wanting a copper may buy it from the donor and increase its value in the usual manner. Only a small price is paid in such circumstances, since the copper, having served its purpose, is practically valueless.

177 The Bella Coola state that in ancient times coppers were
435 worth less than at present, and that the change in sentiment
#556 regarding them is due to Kwakiutl influence. All agree that the value placed upon them at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay is greater than elsewhere on the coast. The Bella Coola believe that the Kwakiutl distribute presents in respect to their coppers and that their values mount to enormous sums when the gifts are returned. It is clear that the importance of coppers, like the potlatch and other elements of culture, has increased in recent years through the influence of the coastal tribes.

#556 It is almost impossible to define coppers in the nomenclature of economic theory. They are not mere articles of barter, since they have no practical use outside the ceremonies of chiefs. Nor are they standardized units of trade or cur-
[436] rency, since each differs not only from all other coppers, but
211 also at different periods. In a sense they serve as tokens of
#532 what has been expended; representations of them may be carved and painted on totem-poles where they serve as marks of the goods which the chief has given away, but this is only
[426] a minor consideration. A copper can perhaps best be described
[435] as an investment which can be applied only to one purpose, "the making of bone for a deceased" person. It grows more valuable at every transmission in accordance with the goods ex-

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[426]

ponded, so that it serves as a visible and tangible memorandum of the chief-like generosity of its owner. By means of these media, debts are passed from one individual to another without actual liquidation in goods; in fact, it is unlikely that the Bella Coola possess sufficient money to meet the sums represented by their coppers.

Professional Prerogatives

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[627]
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The importance of prerogatives in the lives of the Bella Coola has already been noted in many connections. A man's name is his only because his ancestral family has the prerogative of using that designation; a *hamat* dance can be performed only by an individual with the necessary prerogative; specific totem-pole designs, the portrayal of bird or animal on spoons, seats, house-posts, and other objects is a right dependent upon an ancestral prerogative; as is also the area on which a man can hunt or fish. The concept colours all Bella Coola life. Not only is a man's ceremonial life based on this principle, but on it depend his actions as chief, and the economic sources of his food-supply. No prerogative, even though it be the property of a man, is effective until validated by the distribution of presents. Much of a man's energy throughout life is expended on the validation and display of his prerogatives; most Bella Coola feuds are caused by the infringement of one individual on another's rights.

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In addition to the various types already mentioned, there are a number of professional prerogatives on which depend a man's vocation. That of herald approximates this class, although the Bella Coola consider it rather as a right operative only during ceremonials. Professional prerogatives rest on the belief that a man's ability as a hunter, wood-worker, and so forth does not rest in his innate skill, but upon an inherited right which must be confirmed and validated by the distribution of presents. These can be given at any convenient time when the people have been called together, but, as it is to the man's advantage to have his right made known as widely

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quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type. 424 769 463

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly validated before she can function. One of these is *Sîtowayuk-nimûn-a*, another is *ła'yo*. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditized. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to ripen the berries. 222 424 [463] [551] [562] [532] [789]

"Get ready to pick red elderberries [or whatever species is ripe] tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. As far as could be learnt, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker; obedience seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared. [688] [183]

THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring validation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors confirmed as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal on them of professional names. At the present time, it is 701 [424] [463] [431] [551]

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THE PROFESSION OF CARPENTER

As with singers, there are many carpenters who ply their trade without the advantage of an ancestral prerogative. They, also, may be expert and receive credit for their skill, but they can never achieve quite the distinction that comes to a man who has been made a carpenter by the distribution of presents. The latter may be so clumsy with tools that no one would ever trust him to make a canoe, or even a mask; but he is, socially, a carpenter, whereas a skilled artisan lacking a prerogative is admired for his ability but has no foundation of social esteem. In transmitting a professional carpenter's name, however, an effort is always made to give it to a youth with a bent in that direction.

The most esteemed carpenters are those who can make canoes, a trade which requires no special prerogative. In the beginning of time, *Yalātimut* was the canoe-maker *par excellence;* he assisted many of the first people, and no one can have a professional prerogative as carpenter unless this supernatural being appears in his ancestral myth. The Bella Coola ascribe the skill of the Bella Bella in carpentry to the fact that *Yalātimut* married a Bella Bella woman in the early period of the world and that many of that tribe are his descendants. In the old days, before the coming of the white men, carpenters were always respected as esteemed members of the community. Chiefs always cared for them, and they received abundant food at every ceremonial. None the less, they were not wealthy, and only in recent years, since the Bella Coola have realized the value put upon good craftsmanship by the white men, has it become customary to give valuable presents to carpenters. Ceremonially, they have considerable influence, since the carpenter who makes a mask usually decides who shall wear it and takes charge of the fitting and adjustment. He is also held responsible for any accident such as its falling when in use or for mechanical defects.

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holder of the potlatch, may wish to confirm a prerogative and requests the donor to allow this to take place at his ceremony. Permission is never refused, since the more incidental rites, the greater is the prestige of the whole. The young man on whom the name is to be confirmed is always told what is planned for him, and his relatives instruct him what to do. 551 575

As the time for the potlatch draws near, the donor requests the singers to prepare an *a'alk* song for the youth. The theme always deals with some incident of his ancestral story with which the singers are already familiar. If a number of youths are to be made *a'alk*, a song must be composed for each. The carpenters are also requested to make for the initiate one, or sometimes two, masks representing a supernatural being, either human or animal, connected with the myth in which occurs the *a'alk* name about to be conferred. The design is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family concerned; it is usually, though not necessarily, the same as that employed by the last incumbent of the name. If the designation about to be confirmed is one which came down from above in the beginning of time, the mask usually represents the guise adopted by the first user of the name; if the prerogative were obtained on earth, it portrays the being from whom the right was received. These arrangements are made in secret, and are known only to the craftsmen, the donor of the potlatch, and his family. [533] 532 556 575

On the night of *xlâstnum*, when the work for the potlatch is allotted, the youth who is to be made an *a'alk* is confined within the back-room of the house, presumably in company with the *nuuk* initiates, though there is ambiguity on this point. After the general arrangements have been made, an elderly *a'alk* whose aid has been requested, suddenly rushes from the house as if he had heard some noise. One of the *siki*, or an influential chief, makes some allegedly witty remark as to why he has gone out, and then follows, taking with him the dance head-dress belonging to the *a'alk*. This is identical with the type worn by *nuuk*, one of the many points of resemblance 556 575 [184] [535]

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539 to the cave and greeted their long-lost brother affectionately. Though
575 he, too, was delighted at the reunion, he said but little, and for two days told them nothing of his experiences. They remained in camp and on the third night *Ałkwi* told his brothers that he had obtained supernatural hunting powers. The following morning the four went out and killed so many mountain goats that the cave was filled with their carcasses. Their good fortune was amazing. *Ałkwi* sent one of his brothers to invite to the cave not only the people of Kimsquit but of the whole countryside as well. While he was absent on this errand, the remaining three prepared and smoked the meat, taking care to preserve the leg bones.

Within two weeks the guests began to assemble. *Anskdwałły* was a good place for a ceremony because *Ałkwi* had decorated it with paintings after its roof had opened to show him the upper regions of space.[31] When all the people had arrived, the host gave a mountain goat leg-bone to each, asking every recipient to beat time with it. Then *Ałkwi* danced
[535] a *nuxwal* dance, imitating the one he had seen done by the goat. After performing, he unfolded the story of his adventures and finished by giving away valuable presents of smoked meat and goat grease. Thus was initiated this particular *nuxwal* dance.

In later years, *Ałkwi* had such phenomenal success in hunting that by distributing the spoil he was able to create and confirm for his youngest
[551] brother the name, *Nuskdwałtwał*, "The One Who is Always Successful." This has since been transmitted from one generation to another. *Ałkwi*,
[103] too, is responsible for the name of Mount *Tcqinałł*, "Leg-Bones." On one occasion he killed a large number of mountain goats on the mountain and left their leg-bones, *tcqinałł*, piled together near the spot. He instructed everyone to refer to the mountain by that name, which has since been done.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY

575 A few words should be said about the reputed early history
578 of the *a'alk* society. Its members seem always to have been on the best of terms with the *nusk*, and there is no mention of feuds between these two organizations. On the other hand, there is said to have been constant friction with members of the *hamat* society.[32] The latter comprises a large number of individuals bound together by the possession of supernatural

[532] [31] These paintings are said to be still in existence, and the owner of one informant claimed to have seen them.

[32] This point is elaborated in vol. II, chap. 5.

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*539 Many people landed on this mountain from on high, among others the chief *Nacmit-a* or *Ẽqimai*. He had brought with him from above a house, called *Kimdzoxq** which, when set up on this earth, grew so large that all the owner's family and descendants could live within. Outside the door, *Nacmit-a* had caused the erection of a totem-pole, *Nutlolqd*. Within dwelt Echo, an incessant talker, who was very clever at learning languages; his rolling voice reverberated through the house and the whole countryside. This being acted as herald and summoned people to a [592] dance by using the word *Nacnaqlika*; whenever a descendant of *Nacmit-a* gives a potlatch he makes a mask with an ever-changing mouth to represent Echo.

Not long after the completion of the house and totem-pole *Nacmit-a* set out one evening to fish for salmon with the aid of torches, taking with him his infant son and several followers. During their absence a snow-slide wiped out the town, killing all the inhabitants except one slave who concealed himself within the hollow totem-pole. The slide was due to the mountain being angry at the totem-pole, carved to represent him as he was before he changed to mountain form. When the survivors returned to their buried village they at once set about rebuilding it. In time, as the people increased in numbers, it again became prosperous. They built a fish-weir to supply their wants, using tools of stone obtained from Mount *Nuqalit*. *Ãlmi*, the son of a *Stuxo* chief, married *Nacmit-a*'s daughter, *Skamalite-a*, and *Nacmit-a* moved to *Qmqo-ts*.

Other narrators provided a little further information about *Nuqalit*. While still in human form, he wore a flat-topped hat with broad brim around which ran two snakes. After he had been changed to stone as a mountain, several individuals looked down on him from above and chose his shoes as a landing-place, thus making him their crest. The first to do so is said to have been a man named *Qlmai*.

FRAGMENT OF AN ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nulkax**

In the very beginning of time, before the sky was made, *Ãqamtu* sent down to *Nulkax* three brothers and their two sisters. The names by which the men have been remembered are *Ãltzoxq**, *Kimdzoxq**, *Sawamtlu*, and the women, *Sawaw-a* and *ushawa-i*. They came to earth as golden eagles, bearing the beaver as food. The youngest sister refused to change her form, and wandered around in a semi-human condition, becoming frenzied at the slightest excuse. At length her die- [103]

*Submitted by Joshua Moody.

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cedars that flourish on that part of the coast. Thanks to their supernatural power they were able to carry these easily. 539*

Returned to *Smaiw-a* they built a dug-out canoe of birch(?), the outside of which, and also the paddles, they decorated with abalone-shells. The effect was very beautiful, and they named the canoe, *Ki'laislotl*. In this craft the six set out down the Bella Coola River. When still above *Smaiw* they stopped to investigate a beating sound and found that it came from the house of *Oḷsmai*. The latter invited them to come in, using *Dudzong*'s name, which he knew in some mysterious manner. When they entered they found that the beating sound was caused by their host's daughter, *Kwaxlikim*, who was sitting in the back-room, thumping a copper which she was holding as if it had been an infant. *Oḷsmai* was much impressed with his guests' canoe, and they with his. A trade was mutually agreeable, as a result of which the travellers obtained a copper canoe named *Ełliaslotl*, fitted with copper paddles. *Dudzong*' married *Kwaxlikim*, who embarked with him and his brothers and sisters. They had not gone far when they were hailed by the chief of a village, who also knew *Dudzong*'s name.

"*Dudzong*'," he called out, "your canoe is not much good; it has to be paddled or poled. Let us trade. You take my canoe, *Kwakwaosdal*,* it travels with its own power."

Dudzong' was unwilling to part with *Ełliaslotl*, but at last agreed. The seven now travelled rapidly in their merganser canoe to the coast, not stopping at the villages which they saw on the way. At the mouth of the Bella Coola River, *Dudzong*' cast into the water one of the fish which *Ałquntim* had given him; it became the progenitor of all the Bella Coola olachen. The travellers went thence to the head of South Bentinck Arm where *Dudzong*' threw out another olachen, the forefather of all that now frequent this place. He repeated this at Rivers Inlet, at Smith Inlet, and at every land on the coast, wherefore olachen are plentiful in British Columbia at the present day. At *Ełliaml*, a town of which the location is uncertain, *Dudzong*' was received as a benefactor and given the name *Pitwuhila*. After visiting all the rivers on the coast *Ałkwi* and his party returned to Bella Coola, where they finally settled at *Stuix*. [825]

Throughout their travels they had carried the cedar trees with them, and they now planted them at *Stuix*. That is why fine cedars have flourished there since that date. The four brothers built a comfortable house and also constructed a salmon-weir in the river, which made them so prosperous that people came from far and near to pledge their daughters to the fishermen. They were able to give numerous potlatches and so display a totem-pole, the design of which *Ałquntim* had shown to *Ałkwi* [824] [532]

*Kwa-kwa-o-s is a merganser.

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*539 before he came to this world. It was a large pole and stood across the sidewalk from the house, not being pierced by the doorway. At the base
● 532 was a grizzly bear, with paws wrapped around it as if desirous of climbing after the food which could be seen higher up. Immediately above the bear was an eagle's nest with four fledglings standing amid their broken eggshells and craning their necks eagerly upwards to greet the mother eagle flying back with a salmon. At the top of the pole was a ball, *Nusyemda*, representing the container in which the sun was enclosed; it was this that Raven broke to release light to mortals. The name of the pole was *Ăl·likotl*.[16]

[551] The names contained in this myth are still in use. *Kănilkes* was the relator of it; her *ssaok* song deals with *Smaisy·a* and, since the salmon enter Bella Coola River in hopes of reaching this place, salmon are used in the decorations of her house. The name *Dudusong*^{w} varies; it becomes *Măsong*^{w} when applied to a youth, and *Măsong*^{w}*an·a* for a girl.

FOURTH ORIGIN MYTH OF *Stuix*[18]

*539 Long, long ago there was in a mysterious place far to the east and far above this world, a very large house, *Nulsăthmais*, in which dwelt together all people, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, Carriers, and the rest. In it there lived too, all kinds of birds, including the thrush who taught each its song.
[829] The chief of the house, *Sikum* by name, lived there too and gave to each tribe its special language. One day he decided to visit the earth, and dived from his house downwards, becoming the sun. In this guise he came to earth on Mount *Nuya*, near *Stuix*, where he became a man and built for himself a house which was a copy of *Nulsăthmais*, and to which he gave the same name. *Sikum* became prosperous and gave many potlatches.

FRAGMENT OF A *Snulle·tl* ORIGIN MYTH[17]

In the beginning of time, *Ălqunstm*, in guise of the sun, sent down to earth a number of brothers with their one sister. Their names have been forgotten except that of the oldest man, *Taiakwala*, who had brought with him a beaver as provender. He released the animal, which multi-

[424] [551] [16]As is commonly the case, there is no connection between this totem-pole and the adventures of *Ălkwi*. The person using this name has the right to use these designs as a part of his myth, exactly as the right to recount the adventures of his namesake belongs to him.

[17]Fragmentary version, relator unrecorded.

[18]Related by Joshua Moody.

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At this juncture someone saw a party of strangers, and wondered who they might be as they entered the town. There was great rejoicing when the two brothers told their parents who they were, for they had been so transformed that they were unrecognizable. As *Sā·lma* had said, *Łāloxmān·a*'s three beautiful wives came rushing up, eager to have him take them back, but he paid no attention to them. He welcomed only the ugly one, who had mourned for him, and massaged her until she became the most lovely of all. 539*

Smaoan, delighted at the safe return of his sons, and proud of *Łāloxmān·a*'s beautiful children, sent invitations far and near to a great potlatch. At this ceremony he validated, with many presents, a seat in the house for *Łāloxmān·a*. The name thus confirmed was *Spātcaldt*, "The First Born," a name given to *Łāloxmān·a* by *Kapsālopst*. *Smaoan* also took this opportunity to confer names on his numerous grandchildren. After sojourning for some time in Kimsquit, the Kitlobe people returned home, richly laden with gifts.

In the course of time *Wīsamkilak* bore her husband two more children. *Smaoan* continued to prosper and to give potlatches, at one of which he gave one of his grandchildren the name *Stālhmg*, "Chief." This designation at once became honourable on account of the goods expended. *Łāloxmān·a* did not wish to forget his Kitlobe friends, so in time he sent two of his children to live there. One of them was *Stālhmg*, a name that has ever since remained there. Thus friendly relations between Kimsquit and Kitlobe, first opened by *Łāloxmān·a*, have been maintained. There have been many marriages between people of these two areas, each knows of *Łāloxmān·a*, and it was only about one hundred and fifty years ago that a Kimsquit woman, *Ātsqutl* by name, was married to a Kitlobe man to repay the original marriage of *Wīsamkilak*. [648] [582]

When *Smaoan* became old he gave yet another potlatch at which he took for himself the name *Lilixwnimut*, "The Scatterer." He created this from his own fertile imagination, with reference to the way in which he scattered eagle down when first travelling to the north in eagle form. It has since been used by his descendants when old. [551]

The descendants of *Smaoan* enjoy not only the prerogative of using this myth and the names included in it, but other privileges connected with it. If one of them gives a potlatch he carves the form of a *mātsqui* on the spoons to be used at it, and paints the wall of his house with a whale design. *Omqemkilka*'s descendants are more likely than others to receive supernatural good fortune from a *mātsqui*. The descendants of both 539* 424 [532]

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leaving *Nuxmāt-a*, *Hamcɛt* had asked *Ālqunūm* what they should do for a place to live and the deity had promised to provide them with one. The first night the brothers slept in the open, but the next morning they found a house completed for them on the shore of the fiord; it was of the semi-subterranean type with a central pit for the fire, surrounded by stagings. *Ālqunūm* had made it peculiar in several respects. When the tide rose, water was forced up through passages in the rock so that it burst within the dwelling in miniature waterspouts. The upright posts were carved in representations of Thunder, and the paintings on the back-wall were of *Sminq*. Echo was there, invisible as usual, but repeating everyone's speech, while around the floor ran countless mice. The name of the house was *Nunuqsmāli*, "Where Water Enters." 539* [776]

After a time, when the people had increased on the earth, *Hamcɛt* invited the chiefs, there were none other then, for a potlatch. The guests saw the wonders of the house and marvelled.

Three times *Hamcɛt* did this, but when he, or a descendant, attempted to do so for the fourth time, the supernatural power which had been present at the first potlatch had vanished; so carpenters were called upon to reproduce the original features. The painting of *Sminq* and the carving of Thunder presented no difficulties, though the latter was transferred from the house to the totem-pole without. Masks were made to represent the spouting water and manufactured mice ran on the floor by means of hidden strings. Whenever one of *Hamcɛt*'s descendants gives a potlatch the carpenters are called upon to make realistic replicas, a form of dramatization responsible for features of potlatches not only among the Bella Coola but also, it is said, of the Bella Bella, Kitlobe, and the Tsimshian peoples. [532] [171]

ORIGIN MYTH OF AN UNIDENTIFIED TOWN[17]

In the beginning of time the supreme god sent down two brothers, *Wātkɛ* and *Kwatlnxlis*, to Mount *Wa-pat*, some thirty miles up the Bella Coola River not far from *Stuix*. They looked around, not knowing which way to go or what to do. Glancing down they saw smoke arising; it was from *Ālkwi*'s fire, but this they did not know, because there were few people in the land, and no one knew anything about his neighbours. *Kwatlnxlis* travelled a short distance upstream until he heard the sound of beating, which puzzled him, so he advanced slowly until he saw a house, to the roof of which he cautiously climbed and looked down inside. Many people had assembled there; they were land-otters giving a dance,

[17] Related by Judas, an old man suffering from senile decay. It is unquestionably a fragment of a longer myth.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bellabella NE5

BB 539 BC 539 BC BB [226] [825]

a person has been in contact with supernatural beings to enable him to enter.

Ailsamka told them everything, that her mother had failed to teach her how to cut up black cod, "so *Łemoqwa* sent blackfish to catch me so that I could be taught," she said. "You must be very careful to cut them up properly or trouble will come upon you."

The correct method, as taught by Raven, is to split the fish cleanly without severing the bones. *Łł-paack*'s daughter had erred by cutting the one which is equivalent in a fish to the human collar-bone. She told them of the fish that abounded in *Łemoqwa*'s house; of the red-fish, which disobeyed their mother by playing outside the house so that their stomachs were often forced out from their mouths[10] and they floated up to the surface; of *Łemoqwa* himself and his large hat; and of the other denizens of the underworld. The people listened attentively and ever after cut up black cod in the prescribed fashion, though if *Ailsamka* had not been carried off to *Łemoqwa*'s house Raven's teaching would undoubtedly have been forgotten.

Not long after his daughter's safe return *Łł-paack* gave a potlatch. He took for himself the name *Łemoqwa*, and at the same time reproduced in his own house as much as possible of what his daughter had described. Thus there were imitation fishes, especially the halibut, around the house, while the red-fish were shown as wooden models that could be drawn up to the roof by hidden strings representing the manner in which the fish float up to the surface of the ocean. *Łemoqwa*, himself, was shown wearing his large ball topped hat, of the type known as *bipul*.[11]

While *Ailsamka* was under the water *Łemoqwa* had shown her *nasak* whistles, and at this potlatch they were used while the girl was concealed within the back-room as a *nasak* initiate.

BC [177] [556]

This was the[12] origin of the *nasak* ceremonial, which spread in time from the *sitting* people to the Bella Coola. The name *Łemoqwa* passed to one of *Łł-paack*'s descendants who, when he gave a potlatch, arranged

BC BB [424] [292] [532]

[10] The red-fish is an unidentified deep-sea fish which dies in shallow water through lack of pressure.

[11] This style was always worn by *Łemoqwa* and *Alquastm* and, as many of the first people obtained their power from one or other of these beings, the prerogative of using such hats at potlatches is quite common. They are made of cedar roots, are waterproof, and are usually painted with one of the wearer's ancestral crests. When either *Łemoqwa* or *Alquastm* is shown on a totem-pole he is displayed with one of these hats.

[12] It will be noted that the narrator tacitly assumes any origin recorded in his myth to be the sole, or authentic one.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

looked upon with contempt by her family, was yet determined that nothing she had done should ruin her children's chances in life. Accordingly she donated $300 to her ex-husband to rebuy herself. Marriage is accepted as a matter of course, but to be many times repurchased is the goal of every ambitious woman. In *Tăl-is* the custom prevails of depicting on the rocks the number of coppers paid for repurchasing a wife. Thus her fame is displayed to all. 556 583 [184] [532]

It is somewhat difficult for a white man to realize what a privilege the family of a wife considers it to repurchase her from her husband. If the latter is unwilling to give a potlatch, his relatives-in-law may urge him to do so, and if he still declines to exert himself they take the drastic step of inviting their fellow-villagers to assemble in his house where, with these guests as witnesses, the wife's relatives give presents to her husband and his relations. They may make this presentation at any gathering where they are assured of a large audience. In so doing the donors have demonstrated their proper sentiments, in spite of the inertness of the husband.

The assistance which the relatives of a wife have given her husband is a matter about which they can boast for the rest of their lives, a fact impressed upon the writer by listening to a quarrel between two Bella Coola men. One of them owned a horse and waggon which the other had hired to move some goods. The latter became very angry, claiming that the former had overcharged him and must be poor and greedy to be so eager to acquire money. The teamster, thus deeply insulted, silenced the other man by reminding him that the only reason he was wealthy was by means of the goods used to repurchase his, the teamster's, sister from her husband, brother of the man with whom he was disputing. To the observer the dispute was made more interesting by the fact that both the husband and wife had been dead for at least fifteen years, but their families had not ceased to remember the financial obligations connected with the marriage. 556 583 578

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

ciety. These are given several times, serving to recall the 533
ceremonies in which the chief took part during his life. At 575
intervals, the new song is repeated and *sisaok* members of the 766
audience join in as they become familiar with the words. Fre-
quently one or more relatives of the deceased dance in his [535]
stead during the singing. The details of this rite, especially
of the songs used at it, differ considerably according to the
actions of the person during life; if a mighty chief, the donor
of many potlatches, this fact is described in the song, whereas
only an incident from the ancestral myth can be used for a
young *sisaok*. If some of his female relatives are professional [767]
wailers, they function during the ceremony. In all circum-
stances, the rite aims to comfort the grieving kinsmen, an end
which it usually achieves.

As already described, *sisaok* ceremonial was in a state of 575
transition at the time of the coming of the white man. Pre- 766
vious to that date, a spectacular funeral prerogative had been 177
adopted from Rivers Inlet,[4] which has since been claimed by a 424
number of *sisaok*. All the Bella Coola know of this ceremony, [178]
and most of them desire to perform it at the death of a dearly
loved relative; at the present time this is possible owing to the
slight regard paid to prerogatives, but it is certain that a few
years ago it would have been forbidden to most people, and
that it was never a universal Bella Coola rite.

When this rite is performed, the corpse is allowed to remain 575
in its coffin for at least one night after the day on which 766
Mulakila came and the *sisaok* songs were sung. Meanwhile 532
the carpenters have prepared an imitation body, usually of
rags on a light framework, and a wooden representation of the
deceased's crest. Since this figure is to come through the roof
and carry aloft the corpse, stout hooks are attached to its feet.
In theory, the bird or animal disguise used by the first ancestor

[4] One old Bella Coola stated that this prerogative was obtained during his own life-time from a Rivers Inlet chief who moved to *Tal-is*. It is impossible to state accurately when this ritual was adopted by the Bella Coola, though it is unquestionably of recent origin.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575 766 [532] of the deceased, traced patrilineally, should come for the body, but this is difficult to arrange in case of whale, bear, and other marine or land mammals. Consequently, it has been customary to use only raven or eagle for this purpose, and it is assumed that at least one of these birds is present in the ancestral history of every individual as a result of the marriage of some of his forbears with a woman possessing one of these crests.[1] It is a common practice for an influential *sisaok* to prepare a figure of this kind during his life-time and tell a son or other trusted relative where it has been hidden; if this has been done, it obviates the necessity of carpenters manufacturing one at short notice.

Several days are often required to complete these arrangements, but on the first evening possible, which may be two or three days after the death, the people are summoned to the dead man's house. The singers take their usual positions behind the fire and beat out the song used at the mourning ceremony already described; then, as on that occasion, they follow it with a number of the deceased's *sisaok* songs. Once more they strike up the one newly composed and, as it is proceeding, whistling is heard, accompanied by the screaming of an eagle or the croaking of a raven. Those who are not members of the *sisaok* society do not understand that these sounds are produced by hidden members blowing whistles on the roof. There is a crash on the planking and, through a space opened by the removal of several boards, the face of the bird crest can be seen peering in. It is a dramatic spectacle and the audience gasps appreciatively, especially those who see in it a manifestation of the supernatural, testifying to the importance of the deceased. If the stage management has been accurate, the figure appears at the termination of the song, but if it has arrived during the actual singing, the singers beat time slowly and cease to use their voices. The eagle, or raven, keeps squealing repeatedly and gradually comes through

[178] [1]The use of only raven or eagle is probably a degeneration due to recent decay of custom.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 18

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764
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Memorial figure and personal possessions on a grave

[p 442 (B)]

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 19

211
764
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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Memorial posts showing crests of the deceased

[p442 (c)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

211
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PLATE 20

Photograph by H. I. Smith *National Museum of Canada*

Memorial figures of whale and loon

[p 142 (b)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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PLATE 21

211
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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Totem-pole serving as a memorial post

[p 142 (E)]

211
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532

PLATE 22

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Memorial post with wooden representations of coppers given away by the deceased

[p 442(F)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

211
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PLATE 33

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Memorial post with model canoe and figures representing slaves

[p 442 (G.)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

PLATE 24

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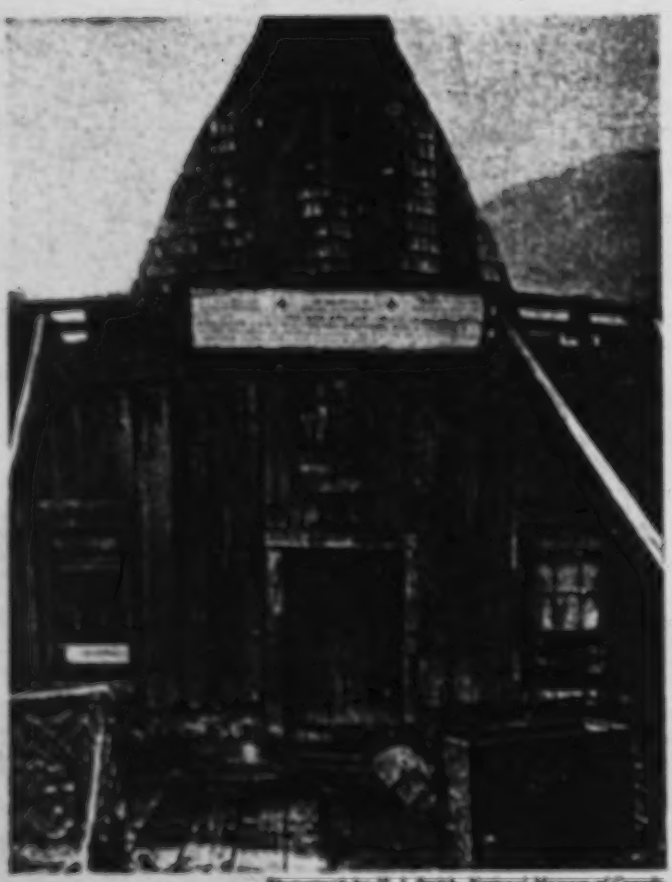

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Painted sign showing the wealth distributed at a potlatch. The animal figures above represent mountain goats.

[442 (H)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NKA Bellacoola NKA

prerogatives connected with the ceremony. The actual re- 556*
counting of the myths may be done by a fluent speaker on 769
behalf of the bereaved man, and when he has finished speaking, [533]
it is proper for several of his peers to make complimentary
speeches, lauding the future donor for his intentions. Food is [537]
then served and the gathering breaks up.

The preliminaries of a memorial potlatch do not differ from those of an ordinary one. There is the same counting and recounting of goods, the same giving and receiving of presents, the same lending and borrowing. When at last the donor is ready, the heralds call his fellow-villagers to his house for announcement of the arrangements and allotment of the work. As at a potlatch, food is provided on a lavish scale, and there is the same sham-fight with a battering-ram ending in the destruction of part of the house. Then the carpenters receive their instructions; some to make different sections of the new structure, some to paint ancestral designs on the front and back walls, and some to make the various objects required.

The first difference between a memorial and an ordinary 211
potlatch is apparent at this allotment of work. Instead of a 556*
totem-pole to record the glories of the donor's ancestry,[11] car- 764
penters are requested to make memorial-posts for the dead 769
relative who is being commemorated. These are erected in
the cemetery near the grave and are of three kinds, although
it is unusual for all three to be set up for a single chief.

The first consists of a wooden post carved with the design of one or more of the deceased's crests (see Plates 19 and 20). [532]
These figures are usually representations of the bird or animal cloaks used by his first ancestors; it is customary to portray the one traced through the father on the right, that traced through the mother on the left. Instead of a cloak, the figure may portray the post down which swarmed his first ancestor in the beginning of time, or Mount *Nusdalst* in human form, wearing a broad-rimmed hat as he did before he turned to

[11] Even the construction of a new house and the painting of new designs is often omitted.

Illsworth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

211 stone and served as landing-place for some of the first settlers.
*556 In fact, any of the dead person's crests may be used according
764 to the wishes of the chief giving the memorial potlatch. A
769 figure displayed in this way cannot be used as the guise in which the dead relative returns, but as every individual has several crests, inability to use one does not make it difficult to carry out the rite. According to one well-informed old man, when a design has once been used in a cemetery it cannot again be shown by members of the ancestral family, having itself become "dead." Other informants flatly contradicted this statement, and it seems clear that the above is true only with regard to the use of the figure in connection with the return of the deceased. The erection of the figure serves to remind all beholders, especially foreign guests summoned to the memorial potlatch, of the ancestral myth of the deceased. It is, there-
[778] fore, equivalent to a totem-pole erected during a man's lifetime, in fact, one of these is sometimes moved to the cemetery to serve as a memorial-post (see Plate 21). Instead of placing a representation of the crest in the cemetery, one is sometimes painted on broad boards and placed on some conspicuous promontory where all who pass by will see it and think of the person commemorated.

The second type of memorial consists of plain poles set upright in the cemetery, one for each major ceremony given by the deceased. Potlatches, memorial potlatches, and *kukusiutak*
[609] (II, p. 29) are alone indicated in this way, these being the only ones to which foreign guests are invited. These poles suggest, in a general way, the greatness of the deceased.

The third type of memorial-post comprises representations of the goods given away by the deceased. These are usually
[532] painted on boards attached to a post set up near the grave. On this are pictures of canoes, coppers, slaves, and other valuables distributed at potlatches or memorial potlatches (see Plate 22). Alternatively, there may be a series of small poles, each surmounted by a model canoe manned by miniature human figures, symbolic of a canoe and slaves given away

McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(see Plate 23). So, too, wooden representations of coppers are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are commemorated in this way, a father often places over his daughter's grave pictures of the goods used to rebuy her from her husband; wooden plaques representing coppers are commonly used for this purpose.[24] Such symbols are usually cut down after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for them to remain standing too long. The function of this type of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person as judged by the riches given away by him, or on his behalf, during his life-time. With the introduction of writing, the Bella Coola have been quick to recognize it as an easy means for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In consequence, signs are often painted and erected, giving in figures a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent introduction has been the tombstone. One of these is often set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate his memory, and a representation of his crest to record his ancestral history. Such a memorial combines the functions of the first and third types.

211 556* 764 769 [532] [177] [212] [532]

As the carpenters labour at the memorials, other arrangements for the ceremony proceed apace. As at a potlatch, the fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited repeatedly to his house for the performance of *susaok* dances, but this feature is often omitted, especially if there are no neophytes to be initiated. The mask to be worn by the deceased relative must be prepared in secret; or if several are to be commemorated at the single ceremony, one must be made ready for each. As the time draws near, envoys are dispatched to invite foreign guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This has been customary for many years, but during the period when no features of the potlatch were allowed at a memorial potlatch, the latter was sometimes carried out in the presence of the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the

556* 769 [575] [203] [609]

[24] The National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, has specimens of these wooden coppers.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

769 expression animated, and, except for his dirty European cloth-
ing, he looked and acted like a religious dignitary taking part
*556 in an important ceremony, as was indeed the case. While he
was speaking there came from without eerie notes of the large,
cone-shaped whistles, combined with the yelping scream of an
eagle. The effect, even on an audience which knew that these
sounds were of human origin, was tremendous. Men and
women stiffened in their seats and craned their necks to see
what was taking place near the door. A number of the younger
769 men had slipped away during Reuben's singing to help the
*556 masked dancer with his disguise. As some of these assistants
535 continued to blow their whistles, others held up blankets to
conceal the necessarily clumsy entrance of the performer
through the narrow doorway.

These were dropped after a moment, and out into the centre
of the open hall bounded a figure covered with a large white
sheet so that only his bare feet were visible. On his head was
[532] an eagle mask, from the upper part of his back projected a
blackfish, while the head of a raven peered forth from his chest.
The dancer, Timothy Snow, who had been chosen for his skill
in such matters, leapt forward in a crouching attitude and took
a few short, mincing steps as if he were a gigantic eagle hopping
on the ground. At once the older Bella Coola women began
to drone out, "*i* . . . . ," and continued as long as the performer
remained in the hall. He bent down and turned slowly, sun-
wise, with arms pressed close to his body and neck contracted,
then straightened, and took a few more mincing steps, followed
by another turn. In this way he moved in a wide, sunwise
circle around the hall, avoiding the middle where there would
have been a fire in one of the old-fashioned houses. At intervals
he raised himself on his toes and slightly spread his arms beneath
the sheet, at the same time looking up so that it appeared as if
the eagle were rising to gaze at an object in the distance as a
sitting bird does so frequently. This brought the raven mask
into plain sight. After a survey of this kind, he bent down and
ran a few yards more. Alec Davis and two other *sisaok* fol-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

men had vanished. It is possible that in this particular case there was a belief that *Ałquntăm* granted the wish when convinced that all had the same desire, but this element is often entirely lacking.

Belief in the power of thought is a concept which the investigator constantly meets in Bella Coola at the present day. For example, in 1921 a government official working in the valley, purchased a representation of a merganser which had been used in a ceremonial.[1] Although this should have been destroyed after use, no difficulty would have been raised if the transaction had remained a secret. Unfortunately, the buyer allowed the object to be seen by several Bella Coola and by some Carriers. This caused indignation throughout the community and news of it reached the Bella Bella, who concluded that the vendor would suffer disaster for allowing a secret object to be seen by the despised Indians of the interior. Within a year, his wife died. The Bella Bella believed that his sin had brought its own punishment, but the Bella Coola, who knew the details of the sale and did not consider the exposure of the article to have been the fault of the seller, attributed it to the power of the thoughts of the Bella Bella. They all expected that he would be punished; therefore he was punished; the expectation was sufficient to effect its own fulfilment. This incident was too fresh in the minds of several men to allow them to sell ceremonial objects to the writer.

The most common form taken by this conviction is with regard to death; if it is believed that a man will die, he is almost certain to do so. In June, 1922, a woman died in Bella Coola and her father claimed that she had been murdered by a certain man either with material poison or by magical means. He took no direct steps in revenge but stated emphatically that the man whom he suspected would die within a year. The threatened man knew of this, and more than once said that he

[1] The article, now in the National Museum of Canada, consists of a cloth and wood representation of a merganser canoe such as was used by *Nestila* in the beginning of time.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

533 In the beginning of time it used to sing.

789 "I shall use a spoon and eat when the Bella Coola River has burst its bounds on account of the teeming salmon in it."

825 The people used to laugh as it repeated this song year after year,

856 until the bird changed its note:

[539] "I shall use a spoon and eat when all is cold and clear. Then there will be Death instead of salmon in Bella Coola."

The next year the streams were so clear that no fish could be caught and the starving people asked the bird to return to its first song. When it did so, the water became murky so that it was possible to catch salmon once more.

The Bella Bella, not the Bella Coola, use the body of a blue jay to cause an infant to grow up with the ability to master difficult tunes in the same way that the bird has a variety of notes. The method of applying this medicine could not be learnt.

789 Most of the above medicines are well known and can be applied by any parent. If, however, a man has employed one

856 of them successfully on a number of occasions, he is often requested to use his ability for others. In such a case, the father of the benefited child is expected to reimburse his friend.

[184] The application or non-application of such medicines is purely the concern of the child's family; they can use as many as they like, or none at all, according to their discretion.

The following medicines are used during the first year of life:

To Cause Beauty

304 Bandages of the softest undyed cedar-bark are prepared for

789 infants of both sexes soon after birth. A woman who is a good

856 artist is requested to draw with charcoal two pictures on one

●532 of the pieces of bark—of handsome men if the child is a boy, or of lovely women if a girl. An unmarked wrapping is fastened round the infant's head, then the painted one so arranged that one picture is over the forehead, the other over the occiput, and finally other plain bandages to cover the whole. These

[826] are left in place for about one year. They flatten the forehead

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

and back of the head, preventing a bulging appearance which is considered ugly, while the paintings ensure beauty of countenance. Cranial deformation has no supernatural sanction, though it is believed to have been carried out for generations. 304 789 856 [532] [826]

To Cause Leanness

Place pieces of caribou skin on an infant's wrists and ankles and leave them in position for several months. He will grow up lean and wiry, like the animal. 789 856 [825]

To Cause Left-handedness

Shake the left hand of an infant while lying in the cradle and he will be left-handed throughout life. To do this is considered a malevolent action.

To Cause the Hair to Grow (two means)

(1) Rub the infant's scalp with the eye of a *Hakwik* (red cod?), freshly removed from the fish's head. [825]

(2) Boil stems of the swamp gooseberry in water and rub the mixture over the infant's scalp. [824]

Wise mothers always apply one or other of these remedies to their children.

To Cause Ability in Singing (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good singer to impart to him ability similar to his own. He takes his beating-stick, spits on it, and rubs it over the child's heart, saying: 533 789 856

"Please be a singer."

This is done only for male children. [858]

(2) Boil together herbs and a bear's bladder and smear the decoction on the infant's back. He must thenceforth wear around his neck for several months a small sack containing four blue grouse gall-bladders (possibly stones from the crop were meant). This gives the child the singing ability of the bird, but the significance of the bear bladder is unknown. [825]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

To Cause Strength

Place pieces of octopus flesh in the infant's bowl and wash him with these. This causes him to grow up with the strength of the animal. 825 856 789

To Cause Understanding of the Speech of Ravens

When a child is able to toddle, but has not learnt to talk, shut him in a box and turn this upside down. Leave him alone for four days and four nights, passing in what food is necessary during darkness.

Knowledge of this medicine was learnt from *ilkas*, a female slave born near New Westminster who was owned by the maternal grandfather of the wife of the elderly Kimsquit man from whom this information was obtained. The slave's father had treated her in this way when an infant; while so confined she had not only learnt the language of ravens, but Cowichan, her own speech, as well. *ilkas* used to tell the Kimsquit people of her ability, but few believed her, though she asserted that this was a well-known Cowichan method, and her captors had their own means of imparting the same ability to their children, as well as an ancient tradition of the practice she described. One day she informed her master that the ravens had told her of the near approach of a raiding-party. He summoned the chiefs, but they laughed at the warning and disregarded it. *ilkas* received the same intimation for four days, and on the fourth the raiders appeared and she was vindicated.

The inversion of the box is due to the belief that ravens, when bringing news, turn over upon themselves like tumbler pigeons. The Bella Coola do not know whether the box must be so tight as to hold the child upside down.

To Cause Ceremonial Intelligence 856

When a child is one or two years of age, paint on its back the picture of a black bear's gall-bladder. Leave this in position for four days, then wash it off secretly in a mountain stream. A child so treated will grow up with ability to perform 789 532

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

789 ceremonial dances without making mistakes. The Bella Bella
856 paint a representation of a wolf's bladder for the same purpose.
[532] The basis of this medicine is the belief that it is the gall-
[826] bladder which causes wildness and intelligent fear, and hence
that anyone so treated will be careful not to make mistakes.
[825] A bird with a large bladder is thought to be difficult to approach, whereas a deer, which has a small one, or none at all, is often stupidly brave. This medicine is known only to the mem-
[424] bers of certain families and is used for the children of chiefs
[622] alone, since errors on the part of others is a matter of little importance.

MEDICINES OF CHILDHOOD

789 Some of the instruction given to boys and girls, and the
856 acts which they are enjoined to perform, are virtually religious,
and have accordingly been described in earlier chapters. For
771 example, when a lad washes in the river before daybreak, scours himself with a smooth stone and prays to *Alquntām*, he is carrying out what might with justice be called a religious act. If, however, he believes that mere washing is enough to compel some desire or end, it is magical. Different Bella Coola have different sentiments concerning the exact means by which this method causes the desired effect. To some it is unquestionably a true prayer, but in other families it is customary for a father to take his son, when he has reached about eight years of age, and wash him four times, to the accompaniment of the usual prayer. It is believed that this causes the lad to grow up powerful and active, constantly striving for success. This type of washing may be called magical.

789 In the following there is no element of uncertainty; they
856 belong unquestionably to the category described in the preceding section.

To Cause Agility

The following medicine is frequently employed by fathers when their sons are first able to walk:

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The first night is *lsuxtälaix* or *lsuxtämem*.[5] This is when the call comes to a prospective dancer. This may be heralded by whistling from above, made by a *kusiut* sent with a whistle to a neighbouring mountain for the purpose, by a thud on the roof, likewise produced by an accomplice, or by no intimation whatever. The dancer utters a low call, sometimes begins to walk in circles with bent head, or to act in some other peculiar manner, while a whistle sounds repeatedly. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house and a herald informs the village that something strange has come upon the dancer. The *kukusiut* gather in his house, and four times help him by the frenzied, but regular, beating of sticks. Then the singers sing a song previously prepared, the words describing either his patron or the land above. After listening closely, the *kukusiut* join in and rehearse it until it is familiar. The dancer may or may not perform; if he is inadept in the steps, he does so for practice. If the hour is not too late, the singers may choose, purely for practice, to beat out a number of the songs of those *kukusiut* who have already performed during the ceremonial season. A meal, provided by the dancer and his family, is then served. The singers next beat out the dancer's song once more and he dances, concluding the evening's performance. Novices and those who have already performed during the season take up their abode in the dancer's house, where they remain for the ensuing four days and nights.

The second day is *nusiutälsap*.[6] Quite early in the morning a herald calls the *kukusiut* to the dancer's house, an invitation accepted by as many as wish to do so. A second song is usually composed and practised in the same manner as on the previous evening. Several *kukusiut* are sent to the forest to cut wood for masks, the number of sections required depending upon the number to be used. In the evening all members of the society assemble to practise the songs.[7] The making of the masks

[5] In Kimsquit called *Älxwoltämm*.

[6] The term *qai·nugs* is occasionally used for the rites occurring on the day itself.

[7] The rehearsal of the second is sometimes postponed until this time.

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The making of the masks

*575 796 ●532 [431] 465 [104] is allotted to different *kukusiut*, usually in accordance with the dancer's wishes, although a marshal normally gives out the actual tasks. The dancer, or one of his relatives, bestows presents on each person to whom work is allotted. The evening of *nusiutälsap* is called *ämllämkum*.

The third day is *qothm*. Those to whom mask making has been entrusted assemble early in the dancer's house to start their work. About noon they are provided with a meal, to which other *kukusiut* may be invited. By late afternoon, when most of the work has been accomplished, the chips are carefully swept up and burnt, and the house tidied, ready for the uninitiated who will be invited during the evening. On either this *575 796 day or the one preceding, a platform, with raised sides, is built behind the fire on which the dancer can conceal himself and where he is supposed to remain during the remainder of the four days. About dusk the *kukusiut* are called in; the singers take their places behind the fire, Cannibals, Breakers, and Scratchers are in one of the back corners, where a matting enclosure may have been constructed for them, and the remainder group themselves without distinction around the walls. In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, one or more [184] of the masks may be displayed, suspended from a sloping pole behind the fire. If the singers think it necessary, they may [533] practise the dancer's two songs once more. Then the uninitiated are called in, taking their places near the doorway. The singers beat out one of the dancer's songs and he dances in time to it, and the same is repeated for his second song. After some delay, which appears to be one of the requisites of every *kusiut* performance, the singers strike up the songs of either a novice or a *kusiut*, especially one who has already had a call during the ceremonial season, and the one thus summoned dances to his two songs. Late in the season, when many *kukusiut* have performed, only one song may be used, to prevent the ceremony dragging out to an interminable length, and songs of previous years are omitted. In any case, the ritual lasts for most of the night. When all have danced, the

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uninitiated are expelled, with the exception of the *sisaok* to whom, as guests, a meal is served. Then they too leave and the *kukusiut* eat together. Finally, the singers strike up one of the dancer's songs, and he dances to it to end the evening's rites. 575* 796

The fourth day is *nebusam*, "That Which Is Opened." During the day the carpenters work to complete the masks, and towards dusk the house is again put in order. The *kukusiut* are summoned again to practise the songs, if necessary, and always to arrange who shall wear the masks, a matter left to the marshals and the carpenters. Then the uninitiated are called in to see the masked figures and watch any dramatic representation. After their exclusion, the masks are burnt. Then the *kukusiut* gather outside the dancer's house where his song is sung once more to send his call back above. Frequently another *kusiut* now receives a call, so that the *nebusam* of one dancer is likewise the *lsixtämem* for another. The *kukusiut* assemble in the latter's house, but the uninitiated are not allowed to return to that from which they have been ejected until the platform-enclosure has been destroyed at the end of the season. [104] [532] [533] [532]

A word might be said about *kusiut* paraphernalia, although much of this will have to be described in detail for special dances. Boas gives illustrations of a large number of *kusiut* masks and gives such an admirable description of them that little need be added. They are carved from the solid wood, the larger of beech, the smaller of alder, and each carpenter endeavours to make a striking effigy of the being portrayed. *Ano°likwolsaix* is present at every dance and has become so well standardized that she can always be recognized. This is true, also, for Thunder, Echo, the *haohao*, the Laugher, the Hermaphrodite, and a few other supernatural beings, but so much variation occurs in others that even a *kusiut* of much experience cannot always tell what being is represented. The masks are painted, and sometimes the designs indicate the being, even though the carving fails to do so; verisimilitude is 575* 796 532 [114] [824] [776]

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*575 not considered necessary. With few exceptions, hereafter to
796 be noted, *kusiut* masks are burnt at the conclusion of each
ceremony, a practice which probably originated in order to
●532 avoid the possibility of their being seen by the uninitiated.
[171] The Bella Coola state that this is one of the most striking
differences between their rites and those of the Bella Bella.

*575 Next in importance to masks are whistles (see Plate 2).[1]
796 The large, cone-shaped form used in *sisaok* ceremonial is re-
534 placed in *kusiut* dances by a smaller type consisting of portions
of wood glued together, which can be blown with ease from
beneath a concealing blanket. Another type has bellows con-
[237] sisting of a mountain goat bladder, which is held beneath
the arm-pit so that it can be worked invisibly. During the
summer the whistles are kept by one individual, usually a
[422] marshal. Specific information concerning the ownership of
these whistles could not be obtained; it appears that any
kusiut can make one, or have one made for him by a skilled
carpenter, and that their retention by one person during the
[426] summer is merely for convenience. They are freely lent to
anyone for use in a ceremony.

*575 In some dances special objects are used in connection with
796 dramatic performances, such as bull-roarers, wooden repre-
532 sentations of animals, birds, or miniature human beings. One
old man described a pipe formerly used at *Tāl·io*, which had
[534] a carved bowl as large as a tea-cup with three radiating stems.
[824] It was carved from a knotty excrescence on a beech bole.
Little could be learnt of its history, except that it was sup-
posed to have been carved by a chief with the design of his
patron and displayed through pride.

*575 The usual guests at a performance of the type just sum-
609 marized are the dancer's fellow-villagers and any strangers
796 who happen to be present in the town. Great as is the desire
of the *kukusiut* to impress their uninitiated tribesmen, they
[648] are still more eager to impress strangers, hence the presence
[123] of Carriers adds piquancy to the rites. The writer believes
that his presence and interest encouraged the Bella Coola to

[1] [see category 116, p84(B)- ANALYST]

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 while X dances to and fro behind the fire. In succession the
*796 six songs previously composed are resung and X dances to
533 each. The singers would be disgraced should they forget either a tune or a text, so they take advantage of *lsuxtämem* to practise them all. Later in the season, when numerous *kukusiut* have received calls, the singers beat out the time and words for each and the owner dances. The general effect is remarkably impressive in the dim light of one of the large wooden houses, nor is the music displeasing to the ear. After the singing of X's seventh song, there is a pause while food is distributed amid the admonitions of the marshals. Once more the singers take up their sticks and beat out the song most recently composed for X; the audience joins in softly and he dances. The *kukusiut* now disperse with the exception of the novices who sleep in X's house. He himself does not withdraw to his platform. The ritual of X's *lsuxtämem* differs from that of most *kukusiut* since his comrades have already learnt six songs for him. On most occasions they hear and practise one only, to which he dances in the manner described.

*575 The next day is *nusiutälsap*. About eleven o'clock in the
*796 morning the heralds go to every house calling out:

● 532 *Tłpänap, łłpänap, kukusiaot*, "Cut, cut, ye *kukusiut*."

*[203] The uninitiated do not realize that this is an invitation to gather to cut wood for masks. X, or his relatives, always provides a meal which is eaten before the main work is attended to. Then the singers group themselves and compose still

[533] another song[11] for X, with the same theme, but different words, as the one composed the previous evening. When ready, they chant it loudly so that all can hear and learn, and then sing it with the audience joining in, while X dances. After a short pause, X asks as many of his comrades as he desires to go with

[784] him to the forest to cut wood. Some member of the party carries a whistle which he sounds at intervals, thus warning

[176] [11]This would normally be a dancer's second song, the large number practised for X before the coming of his call being unusual. Not many years ago a powerful chief created the innovation of having one song only instead of two. Some *kukusiut* follow his example whereas others still use two.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

any uninitiated from their path. The *kukusiut* also call *hoip* repeatedly, a further deterrent to the inquisitive. Alder and birch trees are selected and the hewers start to work. Whenever a tree falls, one of the party calls out: 575* 796 532

Xwu....

This meaningless ejaculation, spoken as if by X, has the virtue of causing the tree to fall gently. The logs are cut into sections and as many provided as will be needed, since it is contrary to *kusiut* custom for more than one trip to be made for wood. Towards dusk the cutters return, each carrying a burden by means of a tump-line across the forehead. The wood is laid softly on the floor, for it would be a gross insult to throw it down roughly. Meanwhile heralds are summoning the *kukusiut* with a call of: [784] [313] [789] [482] [203]*

Nusiutälsap kukusiaot.

X has long since consulted his relatives on the one hand and the marshals on the other, concerning the number of masks to be used, and the beings to be portrayed. A mask of *Ăno'likwolsaix* is prepared for every *kusiut* dance, but with this exception there is no uniformity in the representations. A man always shows his patron, as well as any beings intimately connected with him. Thus X must have a mask of *Noăkxnum*, many of his passengers, and the supernatural beings who meet him at the mouth of the river. A present must be given to the carver of every mask, hence their actual number depends upon the expenditure X and his relatives are willing to make. [431] [465]

At dusk the *kukusiut* are summoned by the heralds. X is with the marshals behind the fire and he heeds their advice as to the best carpenter for any special mask. When all have assembled X holds up one of the blocks of wood, calls on one of the *kukusiut* by name and says: [203]*

"For *Noăkxnum*," or whatever may be the figure required.

As the carpenter comes forward to take the billet the heralds call out: [203]*

"Pay attention to him," and as the carpenter takes the wood, X calls out at the top of his voice, *xwu*.... [789]

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*575 This ejaculation is supposed to make the work of manu-
*796 facture less difficult. The same procedure is repeated with
532 every mask ordered, except that if the being to be represented
[789] is a woman, X's ejaculation is *i* ····. Any *kusiut* can make a mask, but the preference is always given to a man who has shown ability in previous tasks. The carpenters endeavour to follow well-recognized designs for many representations, but a great deal of latitude is allowed, and a workman receives greater praise and fame for turning out a fine and distinctive piece of new design, than for rigid adherence to a former type. This, combined with the burning of masks and consequent loss of permanent patterns, is responsible for the variability in Bella Coola forms, and the difficulty which they themselves experience in recognizing portrayed beings.

*575 As soon as all the carpentry has been allotted, the singers
*796 strike up one of X's eight songs. Whether or not he dances
[593] to them is a matter about which there is a difference of opinion among informants. In any case the re-singing on *nusiutâlsap* is purely for rehearsal, made necessary by the large number of songs. Later on in the *kusiut* season, the songs of other dancers may be practised on this night, and if the owners wish to practice their steps, it is quite proper for them to do so.
[574] Finally, a meal is distributed, while the marshals discourse in
[431] the usual way. Feasts are features of all *kusiut* dances, and the
[424] food distributed is regarded as a free-will gift, without thought of repayment. After eating, the *kukusiut* disperse; X must sleep within his own house, but no longer remains within his platform-enclosure.

*575 The next day, the twenty-sixth of the ceremony, is *qatkm*.
*796 Early in the morning a herald summons to X's house, where
532 the blocks have been left, all those to whom work has been
*[203] assigned. All morning they carve diligently. The speed with which masks are completed is surprising, although this has
[177] undoubtedly increased since the introduction of metal tools.
[562] In the middle of the day a few *kukusiut* men, no women, are invited to share "the carpenters' meal," as the food provided

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by X is called. Having dined, the guests depart while the craftsmen continue their labours. Towards dusk the house is cleared up, the chips thrown on the fire and everything made ready. On this night the uninitiated are invited, but there is a wide and important difference in ritual between Bella Coola and Kimsquit. In the former the masks are carefully concealed, whereas in Kimsquit one or two, or sometimes all, are suspended behind the fire by the carpenters. It is exceedingly difficult for an observer to understand why this practice does not at once remove all secrecy from the rite. The explanation appears to lie in the fact that the uninitiated, ignorant of how they have been made, see in these strange objects evidence of the power of the *kukusiut*. In Kimsquit, moreover, members of the society emphasize the fact that the dances are supernaturally endowed representations of what the beings above are doing and performing, and it is only at certain rites that they are actually supposed to be present. One old Bella Coola remembered having heard from his grandfather that long before his time the carpenters used to make the masks in their own houses where the uninitiated could see them; the dancer would come in, wave his arm over the craftsman's head and cry *hoip* if the workmanship was excellent. The man who described this expressed his own scepticism, and added that it would have destroyed the key-note of secrecy. A possible explanation of this important difference in ritual will be given at the end of this chapter; for the present it will be enough to point out that the masks are left suspended in Kimsquit, and concealed in Bella Coola.

Towards dusk the herald goes to every house to summon the *kukusiut*, who have adorned themselves for the ceremony by washing and painting, as the uninitiated have also done. The members assemble slowly, in fact an observer finds the interminable delays of every *kusiut* dance most provoking. At last all have appeared and taken their places around the fire, while the uninitiated eagerly wait near the door for the invitation which they know will soon be given. One of the mar-

The next day is *nakusam*,[22] the twenty-seventh and final day of the rite, and the most spectacular in every ceremonial. Early in the morning a herald summons the wood-workers to X's house to complete the masks. At intervals throughout the day *kakusiut* come to discuss with X, the marshals, the singers, and the carpenters the details of the evening ceremonial. In fact, X has less to do with the arrangements than any of those mentioned, unless he happens to be a *kusiut* of long standing. The marshals usually decide who shall wear the masks, although the maker of each is always consulted; X himself never wears one at his own ceremony. The *kusiut* who is to represent *Ano'likwolsaix* must have the ability to speak fluently and in a high-pitched voice supposedly like that of a woman. Strong men are required for some of the heavy masks such as Thunder, but most may be used by anyone. A person asked to wear one seldom refuses, although he is liable to punishment in case of dropping it or any other accident. No one marshal can dictate who shall wear a particular mask, all these matters are arranged with endless discussion during the day; stage management is not a highly developed Bella Coola profession. The masks are completed by the afternoon at latest, painted, and concealed behind a matting enclosure, one of which is built in each rear corner of the house. Sometimes the back-room itself is used to hide the sacred objects and only one shelter is constructed. The makers of the masks remain there with them, to assist in tying them over the heads of the wearers. Meanwhile all chips are swept up and burnt and the house made tidy for the evening. 575* 796* 532 ● [203] *

As twilight falls a herald goes to every house inviting the *kakusiut* to assemble in X's. The uninitiated gather outside the door, waiting eagerly for the summons to enter and see the wonders; their curiosity, and fear, piqued by the sound of a whistle from within. But there are still delays; many of the *kakusiut* wish to express themselves concerning the conduct of 575* 796* [203] *

[22] If the masks and other paraphernalia are not ready, several days may elapse before *nakusam*. Every evening the *kakusiut* gather to practise the songs. [533]

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has been in contact. Their attitude of uncertainty as to whether they are gazing upon real supernatural beings or on representations of them has already been described, but the uninitiated do not theorize on the point—they are seeing strange sights about which X and the *kukusiut* know, that is enough for them. 575* 796*

Behind the fire they see a canoe-shaped erection, a model of *Noākynum*'s craft, with six or eight masked heads, his passengers, appearing over the sides. Near this are four more disguised figures, three standing and one sitting. *Ano'likwolsaix* ranges in the vicinity, while X himself stands behind, at intervals sweeping one arm over the heads of the strange beings and uttering a droning cry. *Ano'likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that the figures have come from afar, that they are powerful, but not to be afraid, since X's drone gives protection to them from the supernatural ones. She points to one of the figures whose mask is painted with the design of a salmon.[14] 575* 796* 532 776

"See!" she says, "There is *Noākynum*; unless he brings the salmon they cannot come to our river."

Another of the standing figures is described as *Dakdakānmem*, and the other as *Ālālhmktnum*. In each case she states briefly the functions of the being. The seated figure, who wears a large hat and rests on a mat, is the Resident. Great is the mystification of the uninitiated at seeing these supernatural beings[15] normally visible only to X. How they envy him! Another frequent display is of a group of masked figures playing *sleli* (II, p. 382). If this has been done, *Ano'likwolsaix* explains that this game is of interest to the salmon and that it is therefore played in *Noākynum*'s canoe. [781]

[14]There is no doubt that in former times the Bella Coola attached greater importance to the designs painted on masks than they do at present. Except for a few vague notes it was impossible to obtain information on this subject; in fact, in 1922 there was only one Bella Coola alive who understood the symbols used. This man was drunk so often that he proved an impossible informant. It is fortunate that Professor Boas recorded a considerable number of designs (*op. cit.*), to which the reader is referred. [177]

[15]As already described, the uninitiated undoubtedly believe that they are actually gazing upon supernatural beings.

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*575 *796 ● 532 533 Among the passengers in *Noökynum*'s canoe are a number of singers, who replace the usual ones on this *nałuxam*. Each wears the same type of mask, painted with red diagonals, and with white feathers[66] projecting from the top.[67] After the uninitiated have gazed for some time upon the wonders, their leader, *Snałxwnimałik*, takes his place and his followers begin to beat out an ancient song, believed to be sung in *Noökynum*'s craft as it nears Bella Coola. The theme is:

"See me, mortals, I am *Nuwunałxikdimut Noökynum*, the dancer of *Noökynum*."

As the music starts, a figure rises from among the singers, wearing a mask with heavy eye-brows[68] and carrying a light staff about six feet in length, wound spirally with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with a tassel of dyed bark. Holding this in his hand he begins to *575 *796 dance lightly, running back and forth a few steps at a time in time to the beating of sticks, lifting his feet freely from the ground, and bending back and forth in airy grace, all the while [535] waving his wand to and fro. There are no fixed steps, the only essential is that he convey the impression of being light of foot and a good dancer; accordingly, the person selected for this purpose is one with these qualifications. As he moves, *Ano'likwałxais* explains to the uninitiated that this is *Nuwunałxikdimut*, a dancer of great repute who accompanies *Noökynum* and guards his singers. At this point *Ano'likwałxais*'s own song may or [533] may not be sung. It never varies, and is believed to have been handed down from dim antiquity. X himself must be the singer, accordingly it can be sung only when the dancer has a good voice. If this is the case, the marshals request him to perform, and, if necessary, teach him the exact words. X, standing behind the fire, sings alone and unaccompanied, then the singers repeat the song in unison with the beating of their [535] sticks, and *Ano'likwałxais* herself dances, using, of course, the feminine style. At this juncture the uninitiated must be ex-

[66] Chicken feathers are now used.

[126] [67] One of these masks was purchased for the National Museum of Canada.

[68] One of these masks was obtained for the National Museum of Canada.

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-pelled; a Cannibal (II, p. 71) begins to growl and those who are not members of the society leave hastily. 575* 796*

The next event is the burning of the masks. The wearers remove them and lay them on the floor in front of the back-room at the point marked O in the accompanying sketch. Then X asks a friend to help him. The person chosen picks up any two of the masks and carries them around the fire, sunwise, through B, where X is standing, to the point marked A (see Fig. 1). The helper throws one mask on the fire, and as he does so X lifts his arms, as if throwing up some heavy weight, at the same time uttering *Aeip*, which has a beneficial effect in returning the mask whence it came.

FIG. 1.
Diagram showing positions of participants during mask-burning.

[789]

As one informant put it: "May you have a safe journey."

The assistant throws the second mask on the fire, and again X throws up his arms and cries *Aeip*. He crosses to A where he twice repeats the same cry, then returns to B. The assistant picks up two more masks and throws them on the fire at the same place and in the same manner as the two preceding, X also doing as he did before. The masks are taken two at a time until all have been burnt. The explanation given is to avoid the danger of the uninitiated seeing them, but whether or not this is a mere rationalization is doubtful. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella do not burn their masks. Next the singers strike up the first of X's songs and he dances, while musicians and audience join in; this is repeated for each of his songs. If it is desired to hasten the ritual, the lengthy singing and dancing is replaced by X giving only a short dance, unaccompanied by music. The Bella Coola do not appear to understand why they dance at this time, although it is said that it makes easy the departure of the masks. [532] [171]

In Kimsquit the ritual of mask-burning is slightly different, [184]

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[The Dance of Wila]

"Path Clearers" see to it that no one passes between him and the fire. The uninitiated are not expelled from the house and their curiosity is aroused. Meanwhile the singers prepare songs for X, describing his supernatural patrons, and some *kukusiut* carpenters are instructed to make in secret ten small pieces of wood, about one foot in length and six inches wide, sometimes half-moon shaped. They cover these with dyed cedar-bark on which they paint the designs appropriate to each being.[11] On the morning of the fourth day,[12] X blackens his face with soot or charcoal, obtained by pouring water on a fire, and dons the usual *kusiut* costume. A herald then invites the *kukusiut* to assemble in X's house. Presently they proceed to the lowest house of the village, where the singers beat out the tunes of the "Path Clearers," remembered from a previous year. They dance, while X stands, shifting his feet and moving his apron as if he also wished to perform but was too weary to do so. This is repeated at every house of the village, except that in which the potlatch was held; most of the *kukusiut* follow the procession, as do some of the uninitiated. Finally, with X last of all, they enter the potlatch house, where foreign guests and many uninitiated have assembled.

575* 796* [532] [302]

In Kimsquit the preliminary four days of watching are omitted, but from this point on, the rites of the two areas are practically identical.[13] As X enters, all the *kukusiut* who have pounding sticks begin to beat on the floor and the women drone. Without delay, and without attention to the timeless thumping, X begins to dance, sunwise, around the fire, at intervals casting on it particles of eagle down which have the effect of making the supernatural ones above take their places. He calls out intermittently that he can see the beings above sitting down, and a herald repeats his remarks loudly. In Bella Coola the four "Path Clearers" walk close behind X.

[535] [789] [787]

[11] The distinctive designs are given by Boas, to whom the reader is referred.

[12] It is probable that X must first lie down when *Nułtymn*'s dancer reports that the canoe is at the mouth of the river.

[13] It is uncertain whether the differences in ritual are typical of Bella Coola and Kimsquit, or merely represent variations in individual prerogatives.

[184] [424]

[The Dance of Wil·a]

*575 *796 houses. The night's ceremony concludes with a meal and the admonitions of the marshals.

No further description is needed of the rites taking place the next day, that of *nusiutālsap*, when a second song is composed, again dealing with X's patrons, and wood for masks is cut. The evening's ceremonial does not last as long as that of *lsxtāmem*.

[532] The next day, *qotlm*, the carpenters work at the masks, some of which must be finished by nightfall. Late in the *[302] evening both *kukusiut* and uninitiated prepare themselves [515] by painting and washing; at this time the young men provide pans of warm water for their female friends. As already described, the *kukusiut* are the first to enter, followed by the uninitiated when all is ready. In Kimsquit they see the masks [184] of at least some of X's supernatural patrons suspended by cords of dyed cedar-bark from a sloping pole that stretches from the floor at the base of the back-room to the cross-beam behind the fire. It is said, although the informant could not guarantee the truth of the statement, that long ago masks had to be displayed at this dance, though it was optional at others. It is a serious and sacred time, one at which frivolity is quite [688] out of place, and the marshals are in readiness to punish any offender. One very old informant told of having seen a marshal strike down and kill a *kusiut* from another house for holding intercourse with a woman on this night. The heralds *[203] stay near the door, repeating and enlarging on the remarks of [537] the marshals; the fluency of these functionaries always adds appreciably to the success of any Bella Coola rite. On this occasion X and the dancer of *Noākqnum* must perform, followed by those who have danced in former years, according to the desire of the singers; later in the season, when many *kukusiut* have performed, the rite may continue almost till dawn, for all must dance. After the departure of the uninitiated the *kukusiut* eat leisurely, while a marshal addresses them, commenting on the ritual and, perhaps, asking a man

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*575
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PLATE 1

Photograph by H. I. Smith,
National Museum of Canada

Mask representing *Ăno°likwoi̯ṣaix*

[p. 84 (A)]

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[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 to the woods he is always accompanied by a number of *kukusiut*
*796 to drive the uninitiated from his path. If it were necessary
to perform the full rite just described, it would, in effect, limit
556 this dance to wealthy individuals. One reason why it is
possible for a poor Bella Coola to become a Cannibal is that
on his second, or subsequent, ceremonial, he can give an
abbreviated rite, known as *lilstom*. The essence of this is
*575 that a kindly supernatural being has visited X on earth, saving
*796 him from the perils of going aloft. In this case the ritual
787 closely follows that of a normal *kusiut* dance and is concluded
in four days.

After the *nebusam* rites of some other *kusiut* have been concluded, the call comes to X, who responds by growling and biting a few people. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house. Thanks to the friendly intervention of the supernatural being, usually *Ałquntäm*, X's mental powers are unimpaired so that he does not become infuriated and bites only a few individuals. As with ordinary *kusiut* rites, the singers
[533] beat out a song composed for the occasion, describing the beneficent being who came down to X, and the *kukusiut* practise and learn it. No other songs are rehearsed on this night, owing to the extreme solemnity of the occasion; it is a Cannibal rite and nothing can take place at the same time.

The next day is *nusiutälsap*; a second song is composed and a number of the *kukusiut* are sent to collect wood for
[532] masks. Six of these must be constructed representing the fol-
[776] lowing supernatural beings:

Ałquntäm, who has benignly interfered to save X from risking the dangers of a trip aloft.

Ałqotleos, a supernatural man-eater from whom the call has come impelling X to eat flesh.

Three *Ałłipaios*, "Holders," who restrain *Ałqotleos*. In the land above their function corresponds to that of the *kukusiut* who guard a Cannibal.

Ano°likwolsaix.

In the evening, after the work has been allotted, X's two

[The Cannibal Dance]

787 * 575 * 796 [424] in banning the rite if they do not think the dancer will be able to carry it out properly. When the call comes, the uninitiated are at once expelled from the Cannibal's house; later he rushes to the graveyard and exhumes one of the meat-filled frames previously buried. Non-members watch with horror as he sinks his teeth in the "flesh." Closely guarded, he is then taken to every house where, if they are bold, the uninitiated peer forth from their bedrooms and watch his performance. He carries part of the corpse in his arms and periodically sinks his teeth in the repulsive mass. As usual, apparent attempts are made to tie him to this earth, but in spite of them he escapes to the upper regions where he remains for an unusually long period. Great efforts are made to reduce him to a state of [824] emaciation, for which purpose he drinks large amounts of water in which cedar-wood has been boiled. When the Cannibal ultimately returns to earth, the cannibalistic incubus is expelled and he at length becomes normal. When dancing, a [535] corpse-eater constantly bends both hands towards the floor in front of him and upwards, as though raising some heavy object towards his face. Then his head sinks towards this, only to be thrown quickly upwards and to one side, with a wild expression in his eyes. The uninitiated are told that this represents the manner in which he lifts a corpse towards his mouth and bites, only to be revolted by its putrescence. He has, they hear, no actual liking for human flesh, but his incubus fills him with an irresistible craving for it. Frequently [532] he wears on his blanket wooden representations of skulls (see Plate 7),[1] symbolic of the corpses devoured.

* 575 * 796 Rarely, a corpse-eating Cannibal kills a slave and pretends to devour his body as a means of impressing the uninitiated,[60] but usually this is done only under the driving force of revenge 567 or jealousy. If a man hears that a near relative, slave of a 648 foreign tribe, has been killed, he often determines to wipe out blood with blood. He consults a corpse-eating Cannibal, and

[60] Eating of corpses has long ceased among the Bella Coola; the present tense is used merely for consistency.

[1] [see category 116, p 164(A)- ANALYST]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[the Scratch Dance]

The ritual of the following day, *nusiutälsap*, is of the regular *kusiut* type, so requires only a brief description. A second song is composed, wood for seven masks collected, and the platform is built. As soon as X has returned with the wood-gatherers, he again visits every house, frightening the uninitiated by his wild appearance as he circles the fire, but without scratching anyone. In the evening the *kukusiut* meet in his house to share in the allotment of work for the mask-making and to practise the songs. The following masks are made:

575*
796*
[532]

Älquntäm;
Sno'olxults Älquntäm, displayed as an ugly-mouthed monster;
Four Holders, similar to those who restrain a Cannibal;
Ano'likwolsaix.

After the usual meal the gathering breaks up.

On the next day, *qothm*, X is still so frenzied that at intervals he visits the various houses with his escort and frightens the uninitiated. After some time these visits cease, though the uninitiated do not know that X has been pacified by seeing the completed mask of *Sno'olxults Älquntäm*. The *kusiut* to whom the manufacture of this has been entrusted hurries his work in order that X may be quieted as soon as possible. In the evening the usual *qothm* rites take place, the *kukusiut* being often invited before the uninitiated to practise the many songs composed for different dancers; this is done especially near the conclusion of the dances. When the regular ceremonial commences, X is the first to dance, restrained by two couples of *kukusiut*, as if to prevent him from running amuck among the uninitiated. Afterwards the singers strike up the songs of the *kukusiut* who have already performed, and each dances. Sometimes, if the rite becomes too protracted, only one song for each is used. Then the uninitiated are sent away and the *kukusiut* eat together, followed by X dancing to one of his songs. Occasionally, two or three *kukusiut* are also called upon as part of the ceremony.

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[The Scratch Dance]

*575 *796 On the following evening, *nebusam*, when the uninitiated have been called in, they see *Ält̄quntäm* standing in the centre of the space behind the fire, wearing a large mask and a blanket decorated with tufts of dyed cedar-bark. *Änoºlikwolsaix* moves to and fro as she gives her customary explanations, which are echoed by the heralds. The masked representation of *Sno'olxults Ält̄quntäm* rushes back and forth behind the fire, waving his arms to and fro as if he had an uncontrollable impulse to scratch someone. The four masked Holders move with him, as if to restrain him from dashing among the uninitiated.

"See!" says *Änoºlikwolsaix*. "That is what they do in the land above."

After gazing upon these wonders for some time, the uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* perform a dramatic act. As many as possible crowd around *Sno'olxults Ält̄quntäm*, pressing with their hands against the back of his neck, the seat of [826] the spirit, calling *hoip*, in an effort to soothe him. This is done four times, without avail; he remains as wild as ever. Then one of the marshals removes the mask, and the same methods are used to try to soothe the wearer. But still they are of no avail. The mask is replaced, and *Sno'olxults Ält̄quntäm* rushes forth, with the four Holders in close attendance, and followed by a large number of *kukusiut*. Starting at the lowest house, he enters each in turn, dashing around the fire and startling the uninitiated in the same manner that X had done, but not actually scratching anyone. Non-members cower in terror at this invasion of their houses by a supernatural being. On the return to X's home, *Sno'olxults Ält̄quntäm* is pacified by the frenzied beating of sticks. The masks [532] are burnt in due course, after which the *kukusiut* assemble on the sidewalk outside X's house to sing one of his songs and thus further the return of his call to the land above. Sometimes X himself wears the mask of *Sno'olxults Ält̄quntäm*, more [834] often it is entrusted to another *kusiut*, but the wearer must

[The Breaker Dance]

the house to serve as targets, and stones as ammunition. As soon as the call comes, X cries out, begins to throw stones at these objects, and the uninitiated are at once expelled. X is usually led, closely guarded, to every house where he casts more rocks, and may break a number of utensils. Since it is well known that, under normal circumstances, he must never throw a stone, the uninitiated are convinced that he must indeed be animated by a strange power. This being *lsuxtämem*, the *kukusiut* gather in X's house during the evening to learn and practise one, or sometimes two, songs for him. If X is a novice, the theme is of his ancestor and the accident which originated the dance; on later occasions it is of his patron and the land above. All Breakers do not have *Sänollxumulelts Ałquntäm* as patron; some have *Snukilmäls*, a supernatural being who causes wealth to curl up and come to him. The chorus is the same as for Scratchers, the meaningless words, *'aii, 'aii*. It is said that this same refrain is used by the Breakers of all coastal tribes, so that their songs can be distinguished from those of Scratchers only by the words. With the food, presents are given to recompense those on whom X has displayed his prerogative, that is, those whose utensils have been broken. Sometimes canoes and other valuable objects are destroyed by Breakers, depending entirely on their desire to exhibit their right.

575* 796* [787] 575* 796* 533 575* 796* [431] [424]

Next morning, *nusiutälsap*, X again becomes frenzied and rushes from house to house, destroying property. Of course this is later paid for, but the uninitiated have no idea that arrangements had been made for the boxes and other objects to be placed in suitable spots. During the day a number of *kukusiut* are sent to collect wood for nine masks. When members of the society gather in the evening the songs are practised, and the making of the masks allotted. One of these is of *Sänollxumulelts Ałquntäm*, four are of Breakers in the land above,[a] four of supernatural beings who sing there for the supernatural Breakers, and one of the inevitable *Ano'likwo-*

575* 796* 532● 424 776 tsaix.

[a] The relation of these Breakers to the patron is not clear.

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[The Stomach- Cutting DAnce]

in the village announcing that a call has come to X. Meanwhile forty or fifty *kukusiut* have surrounded X and accompany him as he leaves his home and proceeds to the end of the village furthest downstream. He enters the lowest house, followed by his escort, and stops before the central fire to call out: 575* 796* 787

"Please say what you want; I will do it."

He circles the fire, sunwise, repeats his call a second time and leaves. The same procedure is repeated in every house in the village, in order from bottom to top, before he returns to his own home. The uninitiated are told that some power has come upon him, but that it is so strange that even he cannot comprehend it. After a short pause, X again sallies forth, accompanied as before, and calls twice in every house of the village. The same ritual is repeated a third time, but on the fourth round, which soon follows, he carries a knife in his hand. Thus it becomes plain to all that X has received power enabling him to have his stomach cut, and the *kukusiut* show signs of grief at the danger to which their fellow is about to be exposed. Needless to say, the delay in interpreting the call adds to the mystification of the uninitiated, and their wonder at X's power. The heralds do their part by repeating his words with their own comments. [781]

When X finally returns to his own house the heralds summon all the *kukusiut* to it and the customary ritual of *łsuxtämem* takes place. The singers beat out and practise a song composed by one of their members for X, the audience listens attentively and then practises it until all are proficient. The theme of every *kusiotem* song is of the land above and the supernatural beings resident there. The wordless chorus consists of *wai'aiye'iu*, which the Bella Coola state is the refrain of all *kusiotem* dances up and down the coast. 575* 796* 533

The second day, *nusiutälsap*, a second song is composed and a party sent to the forest to bring in wood suitable for masks. In the evening part of the work is allotted[66] and the songs practised. For *kusiotem* dances, in addition to masks, a 575* 796* 532 [533]

[66]Some is kept for a later distribution.

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*575 number of puppets is always made. Certain *kukusiut*, known
*796 as *änuyex*, have in connection with their dance prerogative, the
●532 ability to summon and display supernatural objects in the
[424] form of small puppets. These are sometimes patrons, more often
[787] not, and include not only beings having human form, but snakes, hummingbirds, and other creatures. By calling his being, an *änuyex* receives strength which can be transmitted to someone else—so the uninitiated believe—by passing it into
[775] the recipient's body. Non-members are told that X suffers
[787] death from which he is resurrected by his own powers, reinforced by those passed into him by other members of the society through the transference of their puppets. The most potent "patron-puppet" is the giant toad. It is difficult for a
[781] white man to understand how intelligent people, as are many of the uninitiated, can be deluded into believing that the somewhat rudely carved wooden figures which they see moving before them are supernatural beings. Emphasis must again be laid on the awe, mystery, and power of the ceremonies in the eyes of those who do not understand them, and the very great skill shown by the carpenters in making use of hidden strings, trap-doors, and other devices to increase the dramatic effect. Puppets are guarded very carefully by their owners and are usually hidden in some cleft of the mountains. A well-constructed one is used when necessary for many years.

*575 Other preparations must be made for the stomach-cutting.
*796 As in all other *kusiut* dances, deception is practised and X is not really disembowelled. Instead, a wooden, or copper, frame is made to shield his stomach; over this is arranged the skin of a deer or a dog, cut to cover him from chest to thighs, with even the navel imitated. This camouflage is held in place by his breech-cloth and by a strap passing around his chest. He wears a blanket which conceals most of the fastenings so that the artifice is not noticeable in the dim light of the house. The chief difficulty is to find a dog with skin the same colour as X's.
[281] Many animals are killed, and the fur removed by immersion in boiling water, but sometimes half the dogs of a village must

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 *796 [217] outside of the house above the central doorway. The middle of the strip is pressed together so that it forms a projecting point, some four inches in length. This sign is a warning to the uninitiated that the *kukusiut* are working within, and none but a member of the society must enter or even pass on the sidewalk outside the door.[69] The central fire is moved forward to leave a larger space than usual between it and the back-room, and two mattings are raised to form two enclosures, one in each of the rear corners.

All day the carpenters work feverishly, and in the evening the *kukusiut* are once again summoned. When last performed, the rite on *qothm* was curtailed, and informants could give only an outline of the proper procedure. It appears that X's two [533] songs are practised, as well as the two mourning songs sung by the chosen women. Then all sit silent as if in grief, while the women occasionally utter mournful ejaculations, dreading the danger to which X will be exposed. At this juncture the uninitiated are summoned; they are impressed by the gravity and obvious fears shown even by the members of the powerful *kusiut* society. In the tense silence, one of the *änuyex* suddenly bursts forth:

"I will get my puppet-patron and bring him near so that he will be available tomorrow."

He reaches up his arms and makes the motions of drawing something towards him from above, while the *kukusiut* women drone and the singers and others provided with sticks keep up a clamorous beating on the floor. Presently another *änuyex* does likewise, and so on until as many as wish to do so have drawn down their puppet-patrons. The heralds maintain a running fire of comments to aid in impressing non-members. The customary lengthy dancing of *qothm* is omitted, and the uninitiated are expelled at once. The *kukusiut* have the usual

[532] [69] If it is necessary to make numerous puppets this band may be placed in position the previous evening and the carpenters start work a day earlier on the more important tasks.

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After a short interval, she is answered by the singer in the lower, western, rear corner of the house as follows: 575* 796*

Saqankotsänitwawit	*itlasnitsman·aaidja*	*skäpälpälxälosdus*
Let there come to earth	the voice of *Snitsmän·a*	to revive

533 539

diyäläkaiqum·ilsutdai
the one who has so injured himself.

The general meaning of this song is obvious, although there are several obscure expressions which serve to increase the wonder and fear of the uninitiated. Silence follows the singing, then whistling is heard and a herald announces that one of the puppet-patrons inserted into X has left him and gone to the region above. Similar whistling announces the departure of others at intervals. When several have done so, it is time for the first to return. A thud, made by a hidden accomplice, is heard on the roof and whistling breaks out afresh. Sometimes the puppet-patron returns to X, but more often to its invoker, and the transference previously enacted is repeated over the body of the dancer who continues to lie as if lifeless. Now and then the uninitiated are invited forward to look at him and they notice that the gaping wound is slowly closing, an easy matter to arrange in the dim light of the house. At intervals the puppet-patrons go and return from the land above, and the proceedings are sometimes enlivened by the owners telling a herald, who in turn informs the audience, what the puppet-patron saw on its journey aloft. Usually each goes and returns four times in the course of the night. Each of the women selected to sing the mourning songs performs once, standing in a corner of the house and waving a wand wound with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. So the long night passes. Towards dawn continuous whistling is heard. This is made by several men with a whistle apiece; each begins to blow as soon as the breath of his partner is nearly exhausted. It is known to be the voice of *Snitsmän·a*. In Kimsquit, but not in Bella Coola, this is the signal for the entry of the giant toad. Carpenters have made a wooden figure of the amphibian and by means of concealed strings it is

575* 796* 787 [533] 575* 796* [776] [184] [532]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 *796 [532] made to hop towards X and bend four times over him. The wound gradually comes together, and the excitement grows ever greater. Those near X cry out that his little toes are moving, as indeed they are, then in succession his fourth, middle, first, and big toes begin to twitch convulsively. It is often difficult to find an assistant capable of moving his toes in the proper order.

"He is alive again," call the heralds, and some of the uninitiated come forward to watch the marvel of the dead man's toes moving.

*575 *796 533 X grows gradually stronger and begins to shake his hands as if he were trying to dance. Then, in a feeble voice, he begins to sing, though the only word which comes clearly is *Snitsmän·a*, the name of the supernatural woman through whose kindly mediation he has been restored to life. This song has actually been composed by the singers and taught by them to X preparatory to the rite. It resembles a shaman's, since it is assumed that X has practically been made a shaman by the intervention of *Snitsmän·a*. The singers pretend to be listening intently, and then chant it over, as if they had just learnt it, while X shakes his hands as if dancing. The wailing and weeping of the *kukusiut* women has given place to joy, and those who had been singing mourning songs dance in time to the music. One after the other the *ānuyax* who had cast their patrons into X now go to him to recall them. Each bends over him and pretends to extract something by pressure with cupped hands, at the same time crying out *hoip, hoip*.

*575 *796 787

Each *ānuyax* then goes through the motions of casting something up into the air with cries of the same nature; this serves to return his patron to the mysterious region whence it had come. The uninitiated are now expelled and the *kukusiut* soon follow, without receiving a meal.[11] Those who have taken a leading part in the ceremony usually linger with the marshals

*575 *796

[11]According to one informant, the youth who cut X's stomach was formerly detained and initiated into the ranks of the *kukusiut*.

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[The Stomach-cutting Dance]

* 575 * 796 533 The singers have also composed a song for each of the *änuyax* and these too must be practised, while the men dance or remain still as they think fit. Since no uninitiated are present the affair is purely a rehearsal. The words of each of these songs is of the manner in which the patron helped X to survive his ordeal. By this time it is late and the *kukusiut* disperse after the usual meal and admonitions of the marshals.

* 575 * 796 532 The next day, *qothm*, the carpenters assemble early in the morning to start work. Since X is entitled to portray any of the supernatural beings who are companions of his patron in the land above, it follows that there is wide variation in his choice of masks to be manufactured. The principal supernatural beings are always shown, and any animals, since all are supernatural, can likewise be displayed. As usual, a few *kukusiut* are invited at midday to share the meal provided for the carpenters. The number of masks to be provided is often so great that two days or more are necessary for their completion, in which case no ceremony takes place on the night which would normally be *qothm*; the *kukusiut* merely gather [533] and again practise their songs.

* 575 * 796 But the day after is *qothm*. At dusk the *kukusiut* are called in for a final rehearsal of the songs, and then a summons is sent to the uninitiated, who have been washing and beautifying [515] themselves in eager anticipation. In Kimsquit it is customary [532] to hang some of the masks on a sloping pole behind the fire and [184] the sight of these amazes the non-members. First the singers [781] beat out the song of one of the women mourners and she dances in time to it, while the heralds near the door keep up a steady [535] stream of remarks, encouraging the woman to perform yet [834] more strenuously and to have no modesty about shaking her breasts. Then another of the women dances, followed in succession by the third and fourth if that is the number who sang the mourning songs. Next the *änuyax* perform, each in succession accompanying the song composed for him. Now comes the central feature of the evening, the performance of X himself. As the singers strike up the shaman's song which he is

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

supposed to have taught them, he appears, supported by two *kukusiut*, and attempts to dance, but is too feeble to do more than be assisted around the fire, feebly shaking his hands. He retires, but comes forth once more as the singers beat out the song of regular *kusiut* type composed for him and which his fellows have practised. If two have been composed, he appears a third time. After X has finally withdrawn, the ritual proceeds in the usual manner, by the dancing of every *kusiut* who has had a call in time to his two songs. It is late before all have danced; then the uninitiated are given a little food and sent away. The *kukusiut* eat more leisurely, and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. On account of the solemnity of the occasion, their words of wisdom are even more grandiloquent than usual. The following may be regarded as a typical address:

575* 796* [574] 575* 796* 537

"You have done well, ye *kukusiut*, in thus carrying out the ceremony so admirably. I thank you. You have done well X, you have done as our fathers did. None of you must ever forget the precepts and example of our fathers who have handed down this rite from dim antiquity. Perhaps when we marshals are dead some of you will become careless and want to alter the ceremonial. Do not dream of anything so foolish. The proper method is that which you have just seen. Try no other."

When the marshals have finished, X dances once again, and the weary *kukusiut* at length disperse.

The next day, or rather later in the same day, for it is long after midnight before the ceremony is completed, is *nekusam*. Many of the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house about four o'clock in the afternoon to try on the masks and attend to the innumerable details. A representation of *Ano'lîkwolsaix* is always prepared, as well as those of *Alqantâm*, *Sxsexkâlaix*, and *Swuslkâls*. The last-named is the "Wise One," "He of Whom Questions are Asked," the supernatural being who decides points of ritual in the dances in the land above. No paint is used on his mask, but a coloured effect is obtained by means

575* 796* 532 [776]

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*575 of the darker hue of the inner part of the wood. His nose and
*796 forehead are wrinkled as if in deep thought. Masks of many
other supernatural beings and animals have been made, in-
532 cluding two which are reserved for *kusiotem* dances alone. The
first of these is X's patron, *Kulsłkāmidjut*, who is capable of
having his stomach cut. A face mask is made for him of the
usual human type, and in addition a wooden stomach with a
slit which can be moved by strings to display entrails painted
[796] on a frame beneath. The second distinctive mask is that of
Oṣolikts Alqunsām, the herald of *Alqunsām*. Above his mask
is fastened a bird, made of wood, the wings of which can be
made to flap by pulling on a cord which runs down under the
wearer's blanket. He carries a staff, decorated with alternate
spiral bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with
another wooden bird likewise provided with flapping wings.
By the time the masks have been adjusted it is quite dark.

*575 The uninitiated, listening from their houses, hear first the
*796 frantic, but measured, beating of sticks that always accom-
[755] panies a curing ceremony. Then *Oṣolikts* leaves X's house,
followed by all the *kukusiut* who have danced the same year
and accordingly wear dyed cedar-bark collars, and many others
as well. The party goes to the bottom house of the village
where *Oṣolikts* pounds on the floor with his staff and cries out:

Xwe . . . .

The *kusiut* chosen to wear this mask is one who has powerful lungs. The heralds, always in attendance, echo his words and explain to the wondering uninitiated who their supernatural visitor is, and that this is the way he summons the supernatural beings to the dances in the land above. *Oṣolikts* causes the wings of his birds to flap, the party moves to the next house, and thence in succession to every one in the village before returning to X's. After a short delay the uninitiated hear another crash of the frenzied beating of sticks, and again *Oṣolikts* parades to every house in the village. On this, his second round, his announcement is:

"I act as herald; prepare to come."

* 575 the enclosure in the opposite corner to that from which they had
+ 746 emerged.
776

Anamuntsinum. Three or four masked figures appear together to portray these beings. Their function is to remind *Alqantám* of those whom he should invite to his ceremonials above.

Snunq. As this dreaded monster appears, the uninitiated cower convulsively and the *kukusiut* women drone. Several [789] masked figures accompany the *Snunq* around the fire, blowing eagle down over the creature, and *Ana'likwelsaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is to protect them from the monster. The heralds as usual echo her remarks. After one circuit of the fire, the *Snunq* disappears into one of the enclosures behind the fire.

Haokas. This supernatural, mythological denizen of the mountains, is in the form of an enormous bird with long beak and bony wings. The mask worn with the disguise is usually [592] about three feet in length, in the shape of a bird's head with long beak. A stick passes from its butt down the wearer's back and is held in place by his belt, thus balancing the heavy, projecting bill (see Plate 8).[1] It is hinged so that the performer can make the mandibles snap together by pulling a cord concealed under his blanket. A good actor, and such is [535] always chosen to represent this creature, bends forward and downwards so that the snapping beak almost brushes the floor; then he rises and pauses like a bird when listening and half startled. Next he runs a few steps, in a mincing manner, thus slowly circling the fire, and ultimately passes from sight into the enclosure other than that from which he has emerged. Several *kukusiut* accompany the actor, blowing eagle down over him, the women drone and *Ana'likwelsaix* keeps up a string of comments. After a short pause a second *haokas* appears and circles the fire with its attendant *kukusiut*. The same procedure is repeated for a third and fourth.

Alrwolkinum. This is the supernatural herald for Thun- [532] der, the leading *kusiut* among supernatural beings. He wears

[1] [see category 116, p 164 (B) - ANALYST]

[The Stomach - Cutting Dance]

a mask representing a man and carries a stick with which he beats on the floor as he cries out: 575* 796*

"Come, ye supernatural ones. The most famous *kusiut* of all [Thunder] is about to dance." 776

Thunder. The mask representing this creature is large and of fearsome appearance with hooked beak and overhanging forehead; it is always carried by a man of powerful physique (see Plate 9).[1] A box has been placed beside the enclosure so that, when Thunder first appears, standing upon it, his apparent size is increased. He bends to and fro, and up and down, in an amazing fashion, blowing through his clenched teeth, while *Ano'likwelsaix* informs the uninitiated who he is, and expatiates on his powers. After twisting and turning for several minutes, Thunder leaps to the floor of the house, and as he does so there sounds a peal of thunder. The uninitiated do not know that this is caused by a number of *kukusiut* rolling stones to and fro in large wooden boxes within the enclosures at the back. Then he starts to dance sunwise around the fire, bending down and up, shaking himself and stamping violently, his amazing gyrations being constantly accompanied by the reverberation of rolling stones. Escorted by several *kukusiut* he circles the fire, and after a final stamping and twisting, disappears into the enclosure. In a few minutes he appears again, and repeats his dance. Since no one man is strong enough to carry out this athletic performance twice in succession, the mask has been transferred to another *kusiut* within the enclosure, but of course the uninitiated are unaware of this. Thunder always comes out four times in all, on each occasion dancing once around the fire. Sometimes four different men perform; sometimes the one who danced first has recovered sufficiently to be able to repeat on the fourth round. The usual explanations by *Ano'likwelsaix* add zest to the rite. On this occasion the customary dance of Thunder with a fire rattle was omitted. 532● 575* 796* 776 535

Sunwuskas. Twelve of these beings appear together, disguised behind masks representing young girls. They are the 575* 796* 776

[1] [see category 116, p 164 (c) - ANALYST] [532]

*575 *796 776 pre-adolescent children of various supernatural beings in the land above who play together outside *Nasmät-a* and refuse to allow any man to approach them. As they circle the fire they sing a song of which the theme is their refusal to have anything to do with a man.

[532] *The Hermaphrodite.* This being wears a mask representing a cast of countenance midway between a "man and a woman," and speaks in a nasal tone difficult to describe. He circles the fire immediately behind the twelve *Sqnqnesäxs.*

As the young girls are about to disappear into their enclosure, the figure of *Sxaiarwax* bursts forth from the other and at once the *sqnqnesäxs* hurry from sight, shepherded by the Hermaphrodite. [532] *Sxaiarwax* wears a mask representing an ugly and licentious man and carries beneath his bear-skin robe a partly concealed stick. He rushes around the fire as if in pursuit of his quarry, then likewise disappears.

*575 *796 As before stated, the number of supernatural beings shown depends on the wishes of X. On the occasion now being described, the informants agreed that more had been used, but which they were had been forgotten. Sometimes the number is so great that all cannot appear on one night, so the uninitiated are expelled when the marshals think fit and the rite continued on the following evening, making two *nalaxam.* In either case, after the withdrawal of non-members, the *kukusiut* burn the masks in the manner already described.

For the rest of the ceremonial season X behaves as if he were recovering from a severe illness. He attends the *qatlaw* of every *kusiut* but, like Cannibals, Scratchers, and Breakers, does not blacken his face, sits with them in the rear corners where they are served with food before the other dancers. X is called upon to perform rather late on *qatlaw* nights and does so in a feeble manner. Towards the end of the ceremonial season, however, he has regained sufficient strength to move around freely, though he still maintains the mien of one who has suffered a terrifying experience. During the following summer he must likewise remain in comparative concealment,

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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

and must never gossip or mingle casually with the outsiders. 575* In addition to a band of dyed cedar-bark on his head he wears 796* one around his stomach.

A number of years ago, when the influence of the white man 575* had become strong enough to undermine the old ritual, a Bella 796* Coola *ducinow* dancer, instead of remaining in seclusion after 688 the dance, ran away to Kimsquit where lived a young woman 177 with whom he was in love. In the old days this would have led to punishment by a third tribe. When the offender wished to return to Bella Coola he was afraid of the wrath of the marshals, but plucked up courage to come back after several months. The marshals nailed him and scratched his stomach with a metal nail so that the uninitiated, seeing the wound, might be led to believe that the man had been severely cut. Periodically the scabs were pulled off to re-enflame the injury and make it appear that a deep gash was slowly healing. The offender, of course, could not protest, since he was a *ducinow* who had broken the law and was fortunate in escaping so lightly.

The Beheading Dance

Another of the dramatic dances which can be performed by 575* a *ducinow* is that of having his head pulled off. Like the 796* Stomach-Cutting dance, it is the prerogative of a Kimsquit [924] man named Owiwalrue. He carried out the rite a few years after he had performed the one just described. The main points of ritual being identical for all *ducinow* dances, minor points already recorded can be omitted. As before, it will be convenient to term Owiwalrue X, and to describe the dance in the present tense.

Early in the summer X informs one of the marshals of his desire to have his head pulled off the following winter. The one consulted discusses the matter with his fellows; in this case no objections were raised as Owiwalrue had already performed a *ducinow* dance and it was felt that he was reliable. As soon as permission is granted, the would-be dancer asks the best carpenters to meet him in a lonely place in the forest and [532]

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[The Beheading Dance]

575 tells them that he wants a mask made to represent his own
796 face. The purpose for which it is destined is not mentioned,
532 although there is no reason why the workmen, all of them *dukaxiut*, should not know, as they actually do. X blackens his face a trifle, making it easier to depict, and lies down as model for the carpenters, who at once start chiselling masks. Each works independently, and usually finishes one, or even two or three, in a day. Five or six carpenters are labouring simultaneously, and when the first group of masks has been finished the marshals, and perhaps one or more influential chiefs as well, come to inspect the handicraft. The masks are laid out in a glade of the forest and the marshals make their criticisms.

"No. The nose is too long," they say of one mask, or,

"The cheeks are too full," with regard to another.

It is seldom that one of the first group of completed masks meets with their approval, but the next morning the carpenters try once more, with X again lying down as model. In the evening the marshals again examine the results. Hundreds (probably an exaggeration) are often made before one is found which satisfies every requirement, and if the carpenters fail to produce a realistic portrait, the rite cannot be carried out. The unsuccessful attempts are carefully hidden in the forest lest they should be seen by an uninitiated person. When *Onawalcus* performed the rite, it was near the end of September before one of the carpenters succeeded in making a satisfactory model.

When the wooden representation has been completed, there is no further doubt about holding the ceremony, and one of the marshals, acting for X, summons the singers and other influential *dukaxiut* to the secret meeting place for a discussion of preliminaries.[*] At this conference X tells the carpenters what he proposes to give them as presents for the work they have done for him; the concept of "pay" is entirely lacking although it is an essential part of the transaction. The singers are told

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[*] Several details that apply to all Dukaxiuts are here included which were inadvertently omitted by informants in describing the Neesnuck-Cutting dance.

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to prepare three songs for X, choosing as themes the usual *kaxiatum* facts, with any additional details from the performer's myth which he may give them. The marshals instruct the maker of the successful mask to put hair on it and to attach a neck. 575* 796* 532 [533]

Four days later the same group again meets in the forest and X tries on the mask. When in position it rests on top of his own head with a stick passing down behind his occiput to his waist, where it is fastened by a belt; the general effect is that he has a superimposed head. Minor adjustments are suggested and made and X takes the mask, while the unsuccessful attempts are burnt. The marshals solemnly warn the participants of the seriousness of the rite in which they are about to engage. X conceals the mask with great care in some cleft of the mountains.

At intervals the singers meet and listen to the tunes each has composed, until they decide on the three most suitable, which they practise. [533]

Nothing more takes place until after the winter solstice, when X and the marshals select the exact date for the rite. After a *qatlam*, the marshals, singers, carpenters, and other *kaxiat* functionaries remain in the house to rehearse the coming ceremony. The head is placed in position, supported by a framework of reeds which can be separated by strong pressure. When X raises his blanket over his own head, the mask portrait alone is visible, and only the wearer's extra height might cause suspicion. Around his "neck," in reality the junction between X's own head and the false one, is tied a rope, so arranged that when pulled from each end, it slips, contracts on the reed framework, and ultimately tears through it to separate the head from the body.[11] Raw meat and blood have been placed inside the "neck" so that, when the mask is pulled off, it appears as if X's flesh were exposed and he falls to the

[11] An old man showed the writer the method of fastening, but I was unable to learn it. The rope, instead of being knotted, is wound within itself so that, when the framework is broken, it comes every untangled. [284]

[The Beheading Dance]

*575 *796 [582] floor. The rope draws through itself, becomes untangled, and the blood stains previously placed on it become apparent. The *kukusiut* rehearse the decapitation a number of times until every detail is perfect. Shielded by the gloom of the house, one of the carpenters fastens a thin cord to the portrait-mask and practises drawing it gradually towards X, who finally rises as if restored to life by the return of his head. The mask is actually concealed and X stands up at his natural height. Since this is the feat which will be done in the presence of the uninitiated, it must be worked out with precision. When the marshals are satisfied that everything is in good shape they permit the *kukusiut* to disperse. A similar practice is carried out for the Stomach-Cutting dance if the marshals consider it necessary. The night after the rehearsal the call comes to X, who parades to every house in the village. On his fourth circuit he carries a rope in his hand instead of a knife; the *kukusiut* weep as they did on the previous occasion, and any uninitiated who have seen or heard of the rite realize the fate in store for X. The next day, *nusiutälsap*, a number of *kukusiut* are dispatched for wood, and in the evening some of the work is allotted and arrangements made for singing the mourning songs and for the use of puppet-patrons by the *dnayax*. The marshals take advantage of the opportunity to harangue their hearers.

"Take heed what you do," they say. "*Älqunäm* and the other supernatural ones have sent down a powerful call to us. Unless we make strong our spirits we will be unable to bear up under the weight of it."

Qoälm passes without variation from the type already described, and on the following night the *kukusiut* assemble early for *tsäuxam*. When they have taken their places, the fire is extinguished; then the uninitiated are called in and guided to their places near the door.[74] After an hour's delay, punctuated by the whistles, the fire is built up and X goes around it four times, while the *kukusiut* beat furiously with sticks. X calls

[184] [74] In Kimsquit only.

[The Fungus Dance]

*575 at *O·ḳwi·*, near that village, where it has remained ever since.
*796 It will be convenient to term *Snnikka·ḳis* X.

If X wishes to perform, he informs the marshals of his desire and a suitable time is arranged. On the night of *nebusam* for some other *kusiut*, the call comes to X who indicates that it has taken possession of him by uttering a low vocal whistle and peering around as if dazed. *Kukusiut* accomplices sound whistles from without the house, the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the women drone monotonously. After a few minutes, X walks to the side of the fire nearest the door and
[987] again gives his low whistle, still looking around in a puzzled manner. This is repeated a third time at the side of the fire, and a fourth, behind it. Thus the call comes upon him. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. The *kukusiut* begin to assemble in X's house, and assist him by the four times repeated frenzied beating of sticks. Next the singers beat out the words of a song already composed for the occasion; the theme for all songs used by Fungus dancers is the land above. The ritual on this night of *hsxtāmem* is identical with that already described in the earlier *kusiut* dances.

*575 On the day following, *nusiutälsap*, there is not the cus-
*796 tomary collecting of wood from the forest. X merely remains
•532 quietly within the back-room, visited only by senior *kusiut* officials and a skilful carpenter. The latter brings a fungus which he has found in the woods; it must be a good specimen of the common semi-circular shelf variety with a clear white surface unspoiled by decay. On this he paints a face, showing eye-brows, eyes, nose, and mouth, and fastens beneath a miniature body made of dyed cedar-bark with grotesque waving legs, terminating in eagle claws (see Plate 10).[1] The total length of the figure is about nine inches. The fungus, with pendant attachment, is fastened near the end of a stout rope of plaited cedar-bark about eight feet in length, so that when this end of the rope is held uppermost, the head of the fungus hangs in a normal upright position. The carpenter starts his work on

[1] [see category 116, p. 164 (D)- ANALYST]

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nusiutälsap and has part of that day as well as all of *qotlim* and *nebusam* to complete his task. On the evening of *nusiutälsap*, the *kukusiut* are summoned as usual to practise X's two songs. The ritual on this night as well as on the following, *qotlim*, appears to be of the usual *kusiut* type although one informant stated that complete silence reigns in order to spread the fiction among the uninitiated in the neighbouring houses that X is waiting quietly to commune with the supernatural beings, and that consequently the customary dancing is omitted. This is probably a modern deviation from the traditional usage.

575* 796* [532] [178]

On the night of *nebusam* a herald summons the *kukusiut* to X's house with the cry:

Tcäläts denai nexinkomi dekusiutai
Come to the little *kusiut* dance.

[539]

This is merely a rhetorical remark since the dance is really one of major import. They enter, and are at once given a small meal.[21] Then the cry is raised for the uninitiated. When they are seated, X appears from the back-room, carrying before him the fungus, held by the shorter end of rope projecting above, while the longer is coiled up behind it out of sight. The *kukusiut* begin to beat time furiously as X slowly circles the fire. Then, solemnly and carefully, he sets the fungus on the floor where, to the wonder of the uninitiated, it disappears from sight as though it had sunk into the planks. This is, in fact, the case, since the carpenters have prepared a small hole in the floor through which it disappears, leaving only the cord lying on the surface. Any four *kukusiut* men are called forward to support X and stand, two on either side of him. The dancer bends down, picks up the string easily with one hand and draws up the fungus into sight, taking care not to raise it high enough to expose the longer end of the rope passing through the hole. He lowers his burden and the fungus disappears from sight. X whispers to one of his four assistants and the latter calls out, as if just prompted:

[21] This may be also a modern innovation.

[178]

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PLATE 7

Photograph by the author

Blanket with wooden skulls
worn by a cannibal

[p. 164 (A)]

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PLATE 8

Photograph by the author

Masked figure representing a *haohao*

[p. 164 (B)]

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PLATE 9

575*
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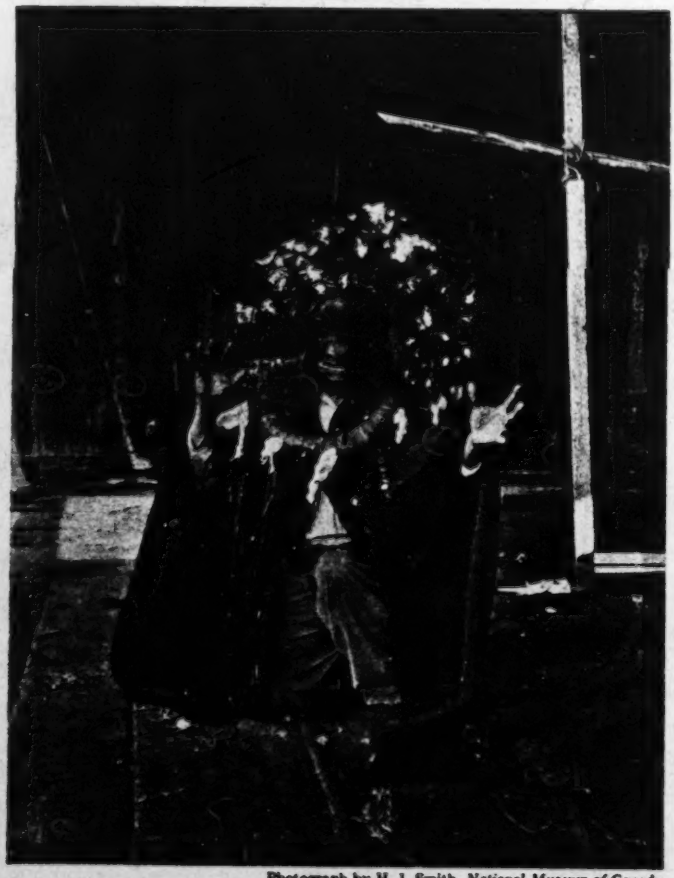

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Thunder dancer. Notice the cedar-bark collar with pendant tassels and the framework of twigs decorated with eagle down.

[p. 164 (c)]

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* 796
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PLATE 10

Photograph by the author

Dancer carrying the fungus

[p. 164 (D)]

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PLATE 11

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Photograph by the author

Thunder carrying the fire-rattle

[p. 164 (E)]

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*796
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PLATE 12

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

The slave woman with the child on her back

[p. 164(F)]

[The Fungus Dance]

*575 from a distance. When one of the participants has speared
*796 the object, it is drawn to shore and carried into the house.
[424] The uninitiated are then called in and enter, often covering their heads with blankets to prevent their spirits being drawn from them. None of the Bella Coola appears to know what governed, in the old days, the choice between these two performances.

*575 The Fungus dance differs considerably from typical *kusiut*
*796 rituals already described. In part this is certainly due to
178 decay of custom. When the writer witnessed the dance in the winter of 1923-4 it was carried out very crudely by *Snunkka'ks*, who, unwilling to admit this, was secretive about the proper ritual. Consequently, the performance of the dance was more of a hindrance than a help to the investigator. But even when full weight is given to this circumstance, it is clear that the Fungus dance is peculiar, particularly in the omission of masked figures on *nebusam*.

*575 The ritual on that occasion was further complicated by the
*796 fact that *Snunkka'ks* has also the prerogative of dancing at
821 an eclipse of either the sun or the moon, and insisted on this fact being brought out in connection with her songs. Four of
[424] these were composed instead of the usual two, and the super-
[533] natural beings described in them were:

Ałquntäm: under the name of *Sunxälotła.*

[776] The Moon.

Smaien·a: This was introduced on account of being the
[532] place from which the Salmon-Bringer leaps to the sun. A mask representing this place of petrified power is always painted with salmon designs and the blanket of the wearer is decorated in the same way.

The *Snunq* mouths that act as posts at the ends of the sun's course.

Shlim: A supernatural being dwelling under the river who is able to use a fungus in a dance held there. Detailed information about this creature could not be obtained.

[533] At any eclipse, no matter what the season of the year or

[The Mystery Dance]

that the whistle of *Snitsmän·a* is heard. The uninitiated, hearing the sound from the other houses, realize that the kindly being is approaching and are not surprised when a herald presently comes around to announce that X has recovered. In Kimsquit, X's frenzy slowly leaves him, and from this point onwards there are no differences in ritual between the two localities. The singers beat out a new song, prepared in readiness, of which the theme is *Snitsmän·a*, "The Restorer." X dances to it, and afterwards to any four of the numerous songs previously composed for him. Then he sits down, the first time he has done so, in public at any rate, since the beginning of the rite. Food is next distributed, the marshals make their usual remarks and the *kukusiut* finally go to bed. From this point on, the ceremony follows the regular *kusiut* pattern; this occasion, when the riddles are solved, corresponds to *Isuxtämem*. The successful guesser is dealt with as an initiate in the manner already described. Some of the uninitiated sitting near the youth often realize that he has been prompted by his father, but they regard this as a mere sign of solicitude, assuming that the parent's supernatural power enabled him to solve the problem. It seems clear to them that he could not have known the answer for any length of time because, like others, he had many times guessed and failed. 575* 796* [184] [533]

The next day is *nusiutälsap*. In the morning all the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to learn another new song; this corresponds to the second of a dance which lacks the long preliminaries of this one. A number of *kukusiut* accompany X to the forest to get the necessary wood for the masks. Mystery dancers have the right to exhibit any, and as many, supernatural beings as they please, hence a large amount of wood must be brought back. In the evening comes the allotment of work. X may do it himself, but usually he asks his father, or some other elderly relative to act on his behalf. Since all his relatives contribute, the actual distribution of labour is not a task in which X alone is concerned. *Ano°likwolsaix* must be portrayed, and the three best carpenters are entrusted with 575* 796* 532● [424]

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[The Mystery Dance]

*575 masks representing the three successful answers. Little atten-
*796 tion is paid to actual design, and the workmen use their ini-
532 tiative to a considerable extent.[a] One mask always made is that of *Snuslaxwai*, a being who appears to act as concealer for *Ālquntām*. As far as could be learnt, if *Ālquntām* wishes to conceal anything from a human being, such as the hiding-places in a Mystery dance, *Snuslaxwai* is entrusted with the task. In addition to the usual well-known supernatural beings, X often orders representations of mammals, birds, or fish; he may even ask a man to make a mask without stipulations and then the finished product is as much a surprise to him as to anyone else. There is no relationship between the masks made
[556] and the guesses registered. If X is wealthy, the number to be constructed may run to fifty or more. *Nusiutälsap* concludes in the usual way as soon as all the work has been allotted.

Two days is not long enough for the completion of such a large number of masks, so *nebusam* must be postponed, and *qotlum* is correspondingly delayed for four days. In the evening the heralds invite first the *kukusiut* and then the eager, though
[184] fearful uninitiated. They take their places and in Kimsquit, not in Bella Coola, marvel at some of the masks hanging behind the fire, though no explanation is vouchsafed them until the following evening. Presently the singers begin to beat out one of
*575 X's songs and he starts dancing violently, only to stop long
*796 before it is ended. The musicians quickly change to another; he performs briefly, then ceases; this is repeated for a third tune, and similarly for a fourth, a fifth, and so on. If the preliminaries have been long drawn out, X may have as many as twenty songs and he dances to a fragment of each. After he has performed, the singers strike up the tune of any *kusiut*

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[178] [a] Possibly this disregard for exact portrayal of supernatural beings is a modern degeneration. The Bella Coola of today say quite frankly that they have forgotten many beings used by their ancestors, so have no hesitation in inventing new designs and naming them even for natural phenomena which they consider must be caused by supernatural agency. On the other hand, the burning of masks, which seems to be an old practice, would tend to lessen conventionalization in all but the best-known figures.

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who has had a call during the season. Nothing further need be said concerning the ritual of *qoθim* which follows the pattern already described. 575 * 796 *

During the following day a screen of yellow cedar mats is raised in one of the corners behind the fire; it must be large enough to conceal those who are to wear the numerous masks and give them space to fit them on in comfort. The *kukusiut* begin to gather late in the afternoon and the usual long discussion takes place as the carpenters decide who shall wear which mask, while the marshals move to and fro. There is no stage-manager to settle disputes, but ultimately order evolves from chaos, and when dusk has fallen the heralds are dispatched to invite any *kukusiut* who have not appeared. When all is in readiness, a shout is raised for the eager uninitiated, who come crowding in to sit near the door. *Ano°likwolsaix* moves to and fro, in and out of the enclosure, talking all the time, and telling the uninitiated that presently they will see very powerful supernatural beings. The following account is of the masked figures used when *Qoxołän·i* last performed the dance; it must again be emphasized that their actual choice depends on the wishes of the dancer and his family, and that the order in which they appear is immaterial. His performance was probably the typical *nebusam* of a Mystery dancer. [285] 575 * 796 * 532 ● 776

The first to appear are *Snuslaxwai* and the three hiding-places of X's power. Since they are always uncommon, it follows that no fixed designs are possible, and the carpenters rely upon their own inventive abilities to paint and carve human-like beings. *Ano°likwolsaix* gives eloquent explanations as the three stalk around the fire and disappear from sight. It would have been equally proper if they had appeared singly.

Next comes *Sänolłxmulełts Ałquntäm*, wearing a small mask, barely covering his face; above it, in his hair, is dyed cedar-bark puffed out to resemble a wig. He carries a stick with a band of the same material around the middle, and a tuft at either end concealing a nail with sharp, projecting point. Around the fire he dances frantically, leaping into the

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575 air, throwing his arms around as if demented, and at times
796 hurling his rod to the floor where the nail prevents it from
532 falling, much to the amazement of the uninitiated. He stoops
776 to pick it up, reverses it, again throws it to the ground, and again lifts it up, all the time gyrating on himself. Finally, with a rush and a leap, he disappears behind the screen whence he came. One of the senior *kukusiut*, selected for the purpose on account of his knowledge and intelligence, is stationed near the enclosure, and as soon as the supernatural being disappears he explains to non-members who was the visitor. The ever-talkative *Ano'iskwoisaix* confirms and supplements his remarks.

The next to appear is a *mätsqus*, a wooden figure about two and a half feet in length with proportions equal to those of a toad. It emerges from the matting at one side of the house, and by means of concealed ropes is made to hop across the floor and return. Behind it there appears a masked male figure carrying a huge wooden hammer; the *kukusiut* shriek, "Kill! Kill!" and the man strikes at the toad-like creature. It has been made in two sections which can be pulled apart by a skilful manipulation of the ropes; this is done as the hammer descends so that it strikes a bladder filled with red dye in the interior. The colouring spatters in all directions like blood, but after a short interval the animal is pulled together and hops off to the enclosure. The *kusiut* announcer tells the uninitiated:

"That is a toad from the land above, a *mätsqus*, which came to visit X. It will soon return to its own home."

After a short pause to let the effect of the last apparition sink in upon non-members, the *kukusiut* raise the cry:

"Look up there."

A porcupine emerges from a small hole in the matting and crawls down a plank, then turns and goes back, pulled by ropes invisible in the semi-gloom. The figure consists of a real skin carefully stripped off and stretched over a wooden framework. The announcer declares:

"It is a porcupine from above, come to visit X."

[522] Two clowns now appear together. Each wears a mask,

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representing a man whose mouth is open and whose face is wrinkled in a grin spreading from ear to ear. They go around the fire laughing and playing, rolling on the floor and indulging in all kinds of antics, with constant fits of laughter, so deep that it seems to come from their stomachs. Only one or two men in the community can make the hoarse sound required, and they are always asked to appear as comedians. They are entitled to make witticisms, often of an obscene nature, at the expense of any of the spectators, and the *tsalaxist* always join in laughter at the victim. Sometimes the singers beat out a short tune and the performers dance clumsily, to the amusement of all. When they have withdrawn, the announcer explains that these two spend their time in the land above playing and jesting. If the preliminaries are long delayed, the clowns may be sent out to keep the audience amused while waiting for the more important beings.

The Hermaphrodite next emerges. As previously described, he dances around the fire, singing in a peculiar nasal twang, intermediate between the voice of a man and a woman. Few men can do this satisfactorily. When the Hermaphrodite has disappeared, the announcer explains that he always remains outside the house in the land above where he plays with a number of women who stay there, and over whom he is lord. His face is that of a woman, his voice that of a woman, but he has masculine characteristics as well.

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Then comes *Sxaiaxwax*, clad in a blanket of evergreen boughs and wearing as ugly a mask as the maker can devise. The pattern varies according to the skill and originality of the carpenter; a common design is that of a snout-like mouth, somewhat resembling a pig with eyes askew. *Sxaiaxwax* cannot speak, but he dances around the fire spitting, blowing, and making inarticulate sounds in his throat. When he has gone, the announcer explains that *Sxaiaxwax* is a very evil being who spends all his time trying to seduce girls, especially those who play with the Hermaphrodite outside *Nusqulxwaista*. With them he never succeeds, but sometimes he comes to this earth

[The Mystery Dance]

575 with fatal results to his victims. The uninitiated listen and
796 are impressed as *Ano'likwolsaix* confirms and supplements
what has just been told them.

582 After a short pause, the announcer cries, O……,
796 which serves as an invitation and precedes the appearance of every supernatural being. *Snung* emerges, a man clad in a bear-skin blanket covered with evergreen tufts, and wearing a mask of which the eyes can be made to swing open or shut by the pulling of concealed cords. The monster does not speak; merely circles the fire, terrifying the beholders by his ferocious expression. When the figure has withdrawn, the announcer explains the significance.

The next to appear is a Deer, *Sno'olxults Ałquntäm*, "The Foolish Son of *Ałquntäm*." The skin and antlers of a real deer are worn by two men with sticks thrust down the legs to make the representation appear life-like. Two more performers with human masks follow, trying to catch the creature which frisks around the fire and avoids them by escaping back into the enclosure. The announcer informs the audience that this is no ordinary animal, it is a deer from the land above, the son of *Ałquntäm*. This mischievous creature is said frequently to
[578] destroy the back-room in his father's house, hence it is a mild term of reproach to call a person *Sno'olxults Ałquntäm*.

After the usual delay comes the Varied Thrush, an actor
[825] with mask representing a bird. This is considered to be the finest bird songster; the Bella Coola say that all animals, including even mountain goats and halibut, gather to listen to its melody. The performer sings, then withdraws, and the announcer and *Ano'likwolsaix* explain who has just disappeared.

Next is Wolf, a man wearing a tail and the stuffed head of one of these animals. He circles the fire, howling like a wolf, the performer having been chosen for his ability to imitate that sound. The announcer tells the uninitiated that they have just seen a wolf from *Nusqulxwaista*, and have listened to it howling for *Ałquntäm*; as usual, *Ano'likwolsaix* confirms his

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statements. Non-members recognize that Deer, Varied Thrush, and Wolf are really persons, but they have no idea who or what they are, while their whole training, combined with the atmosphere with which the whole ceremony is surrounded, makes it easy for them to believe that they are seeing supernaturally endowed animals. If an uninitiated person should voice his doubts, he would be reported at once to the marshals by a spy and forthwith made a *kusiut*. 575* 796* 532 776 [781]

The next to come forth is a figure wearing a mask representing a man, and carrying a long stick to the end of which is tied a bundle of burning rags. The actor must be able to run swiftly, and, as he dashes at full speed around the fire, the strips of cloth are drawn out into a flaming stream behind him, producing a spectacular effect in the semi-gloom. *Ano'likwolsaix* explains that this is Shooting Star, a supernatural being who behaves peculiarly and who has, therefore, passed rapidly and without the droning invitation that accompanies the passage of the other visitors. When *Qpxolān·i* gave this dance, the rags were dipped in coal-oil to make them burn brightly, and one informant thought that this particular supernatural one was, perhaps, not shown in the old days. It must be remembered that details of the ceremony are constantly changing according to the skill and inventive ability of the carpenters. [178]

To the accompaniment of *O*····· from the announcer and the droning of the women, there next emerge four masked figures representing the four Carpenters. In whatever ceremonial they appear, their masks are the same because they, as master-artisans, are supposed to have fashioned them for themselves. They dance around the fire without singing and disappear behind the enclosure. *Ano'likwolsaix* explains that these are *Mesmesālānx*, the Carpenters of *Nusqulxwaista*.

Now *Oqolikts Ālquntām* comes forth. He is the herald of *Ālquntām* who summons the supernatural ones to *Nusqulxwaista* for the winter ceremonial. He wears a man's mask, surmounted by a wooden bird which can be made to flap its wings by means of a hidden cord, and he carries a staff on top

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 *796 ●532 776 of which is a similar bird that disappears within the rod by the pulling of a cord. This being is patron of other *kukuziut*, but this does not debar X from displaying him at his ceremonial. *Oqolikts Alquntäm* goes around the fire, moving his head in a jerky fashion over his shoulder as if motioning towards something, and *Ano'likwulsais* explains that he was issuing an invitation on behalf of *Alquntäm*.

Then the matting is drawn aside to expose the figures of *Xemxemälotla*, *Xemcua*, *Omqomkikka*, *Aimälotla*, *Aiamkikka*, *Qomcua*, *Qulaxwoa*, *Kulilias*, *Almäk**, and *Tlitäpilän-a*, each wearing a mask with his distinctive painting on it. *Xemxemälotla* stands in the centre as chief of the party; he calls out impressively, but without using words, then, as he changes his tone, all the figures turn around sunwise, shouting as they do so. After this has been repeated four times, the matting is restored to place. During this, *Kulilias* and *Almäk** do not remain stationary like the others. The former, wearing good blankets and a mask painted with red to give the appearance of an angry man, moves constantly to and fro among the other beings as if trying to obtain presents from them, while *Almäk**, the Kingfisher, hops around in imitation of the jerky motions of that bird, continually poking his head forward and pulling it back. When they have vanished, *Ano'likwulsais* tells the uninitiated who were the figures they have just seen, and how fortunate they are to be visited by such powerful beings.

After the usual pause, there appears Thunder's herald, *Alxwoläxnum*, wearing a mask in human form and carrying a staff in his hand. He beats violently on the floor with his rod and cries out:

"Come all ye supernatural ones to the dance of Thunder."

At once *Tlopots* either rushes forth or sticks his head over the matting and bellows forth:

"No! No! Don't come."

After *Alxwoläxnum* has circled the fire and retired to the enclosure he can still be heard violently pounding on the floor and inviting the people to Thunder's dance.

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Tlapaz follows, wearing a huge mask, and goes around the fire, incessantly saying to all: 575* 946*

"No. No. Don't come."

When he has withdrawn from sight he continues to contradict the herald's invitation. *Ae'ltlanhaie* explains that *Mowalitsaw* is herald to the mighty Thunder, while *Tlapaz* is a jealous-minded individual who does his best to ruin all ceremonials. She adds that he will not succeed on this occasion, and that Thunder will presently appear. 532 776

As evidence of Thunder's near approach there next emerges Rainwater, a masked figure who dances silently around the fire, raising and lowering his outstretched arms. *Ae'ltlanhaie* hurriedly gives the name of the visitor, then the announcer cries out as loudly as possible: "Thunder the mighty, the leading *hacica* of all the supernatural ones is coming; he will condescend to speak to the uninitiated."

The women drone and the *hakacica* beat violently with sticks on the floor, then the meeting is drawn back to disclose Thunder himself, standing on a raised box. He wears a huge mask, with hooked nose and bulbous forehead, which is so heavy that the wearer must have pads of soft cloth to ease the weight against his skin. The upper part of his body is entirely covered with dyed and undyed cedar-bark, his wrists and ankles are similarly adorned, around his stomach is a dance-apron, and in either hand he carries a stick embellished with more bark. Sometimes for a considerable period he does not move from his stand, but remains silent, throwing his arms back and forth towards the corners of the house where a number of men are rattling heavy stones in boxes to imitate the reverberations of thunder; this extension of the arms serves to concentrate in himself his power which is manifest in the sound. When he has sufficiently impressed the audience, he turns around and leaps down; the drums beat, the sticks rattle, the men working the boxes with stones shake them violently, and Thunder shrieks out, all of which, added to the crash with which he has landed upon the floor, makes a colossal din. He dances around the 575* 946* 776

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fire, while the women drone out an accompaniment. The mask has only one opening for eyes and nose, blinding the performer, so that he has to be guided by X, and two other *kulaciat*, though the necessity for their services is not apparent to the uninitiated. The faces of these conductors are blackened and they wear collars of dyed cedar-bark, but no masks; one of them carries some eagle down which he keeps blowing over Thunder's head. To the ignorant spectators it appears as if these guides were really deferential attendants.[*] When the mighty supernatural one has almost completed a circuit of the fire he stops, holds out his shaking arms over it and absorbs power from the smoke; then ressumeds the box behind the screen from which he first jumped. One of the *kulaciat* thrusts into his hand a perforated rattle containing smouldering cedar-bark. Carrying this (see Plate 11),[§] Thunder again leaps down and dances around the fire, guarded as before by X and two assistants, but this time shaking out burning sparks from the rattle. Now, instead of the droning of the women alone, there is a prodigious racket as he goes around; the drums are beaten, the sticks are rattled, a man concealed on the roof stamps and clatters on the boards, another pounds on loose planking with a heavy stone, while Thunder himself keeps calling out in a booming voice. Again he pauses to absorb power from the fire before retiring behind the screen, which is then drawn. The announcer cries out:

"The fire *kusiut* of the supernatural man has been with us; his fire is too wonderful for us."

[532] He drawn and there appears a masked figure of *Sipalumlin*. This being dances around the fire, without speaking, but at intervals drenching the audience with water from a dish which he carries. When he has completed his circuit and withdrawn, *Ax'ilkwalmin* discourses upon Thunder, informing the uninitiated that his fire-rattle is the bird of the lightning, a mysterious creature about which little is known. He adds that

[*] Similar guide-attendants often accompany other supernatural beings.

§ [See category 116, p 164(E) "Analysis"]

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Sipalexnów is the rain that accompanies a thunder-storm, hence the water with which the audience was soaked. 575*

There next comes forth an actor wearing a man's mask and carrying in his hands a sounding-board and beating-sticks, as if he were a singer, ready to perform at a ceremony. He arranges these in place, constantly glancing back over his shoulder towards the enclosure, then calls, and out jumps *Nieqs*, wearing a mask which makes his face appear long and very narrow. He shuffles his feet, moves his head from side to side, sways his body to and fro as if he were starting a spectacular dance, finally gyrates wildly for a very short period, without accompaniment from the man who preceded him, and then goes back to the enclosure instead of circling the fire. The apparent singer picks up his equipment and follows his principal out of sight. *Ăwĕ'lĕwulnaic* explains that *Nieqs* is a most spectacular supernatural dancer, who was unwilling to give an exhibition of his full skill on this occasion. 796* 776 [532]

Meanwhile preparations have been made for the second appearance of Thunder. The large mask is so heavy and constricts the breath to such an extent that very few men are strong enough to bear it for more than two dances around the fire. The first wearer has now transferred his disguise to a second man of about the same build, and when the matting is again drawn aside, it is to disclose Thunder standing on his raised box as before. Often a few variations are introduced; instead of extending his arms to attract his power, he may simply revolve with waving arms and turning head. When ready, he signals to those with drums and beating-sticks, then jumps down with a crash which is echoed by all the noise-making contrivances in the house. Thunder dances around the fire much as upon his first appearance, and inhales strength from the smoke of the central fire before returning to the raised box. He receives the rattle containing smouldering bark, and once more circles the house; after that he withdraws and the matting is pulled into place. *Sipalexnów* comes forth and drenches the audience with water, but *Ăwĕ'lĕwulnaic* does not [532]

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speak on this occasion as the explanation has already been given.

After a short pause the announcer calls impressively: "Take care! The *kaukas* are coming."

From within the enclosure there is heard the clacking of beaks, and presently a *kaukas* backs out. The mask, about three feet in length, is that of a long-beaked bird, of which the lower mandible can be made to strike against the upper to cause the snapping noise. The wearer has little clothing but much dyed cedar-bark which conceals the stick that runs from the mask down his back to counterbalance the weight of the projecting beak. Another *kaukas* likewise comes out backwards, then a third and a fourth. The four dance around the fire, snapping their beaks and uttering their cry, *Hau, kau, kau*, in unison to the stamp of their feet on the floor. X, with three assistants, accompanies them, apparently out of respect to the supernatural visitors and to guard the uninitiated from them in case they should become ferocious, but in reality to direct the steps of the actors whose cumbersome masks prevent them from seeing where they are going. A touch from one of the guides, or even the sound of his voice, is enough to tell the gyrating performer in which direction to move. When the *kaukas* have disappeared, *Ăw'ĭkwulnaix* explains who the visitors were.

Next appears a Snail. The mask used is human in form, and the painting may or may not indicate the being represented. The wearer proceeds very slowly around the fire, turning neither to right nor to left, and withdraws. *Ăw'ĭkwulnaix* explains that this is a Snail from *Nacpulwaxix* which has come to visit X.

Another man-like figure now comes forth, his mask painted to represent a fish. Like the Snail he circles the fire without any special type of dance and withdraws. This is the Red Rock Cod, a fact which *Ăw'ĭkwulnaix* makes clear to the uninitiated.

Finally, the time comes when the last supernatural visitor

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has retired from sight. *Ano'likwolsaix* gives her customary dance, her head bent as if she constantly wished to rest it on someone's shoulder, and her opposite arm waving violently. After one circuit of the fire she withdraws from sight behind the matting. Then the marshals tell the uninitiated to withdraw, and the growling Cannibals hurry them forth. The evening's ceremonials conclude in the usual way, except that the masks are not burnt. 575* 796* [776] [532]

The length of time required for the figures to appear and perform is so great that *nebusam* can seldom be completed on a single night. When the marshals decide that it is too late for further drams, they can call a postponement at any time; the uninitiated are told to withdraw and the *kukusiut* disperse shortly afterwards. The following evening they are recalled and the ritual is carried on from the point where the break was made. In this account it has been assumed that it is possible to complete the display without postponement.

Four nights later everyone is called back once again. The *kukusiut* first take their places, and then the uninitiated are summoned. The ritual on this occasion is identical with that just described for *nebusam* with the same promenade of supernatural beings and the same explanations by *Ano'likwolsaix*. After the uninitiated depart the masks are burnt, two at a time, in the manner previously described, this being the last event in the Mystery Dance. [532]

THE DANCE OF *Winwina*

Nuskyum is not, according to Bella Coola mythology, the only bringer of salmon to the river, nor is he the only one whose action has been dramatized as a *kusiut* dance. A similar purveyor of fish is *Winwina** who comes every year to Bella Coola. Boas (p.38) has recorded the origin myth connected with the rite, and states that the movements of this being influence the duration of the *kusiut* season; this observation was not confirmed. *Winwina* is supposed to return from the 575* 796* 776 825 184 824

*Also called *Kwakstjutus*, "What Brings Our Food."

[the Dance of Winwina]

though perhaps you cannot hear him because *Winwina* is making so much noise." 575* 796*

The meaning of this statement is difficult even to surmise and the Bella Coola themselves appear to be ignorant of it. It is said that the words are archaic. The *kukusiut* women at once begin to drone and the uninitiated flee, sometimes falling over one another in their eagerness to escape from the house, for the whistles are sounding and X has had his call. An eloquent *kusiut* stands beside him, apparently listening to him, and at intervals whets the curiosity of the audience by saying:

"I will tell you all about it in a minute."

The person who appears to be listening is one who knows the story of *Winwina* and as soon as X has stopped, he proceeds to relate it to the audience,[11] as if he had just learnt it from the dancer. It is possible that even some of the *kukusiut* are deceived, but in any case they are so accustomed to acting that they practise it even when no uninitiated are present. The singers are especially attentive and presently begin to strike out a new song composed for the occasion. The theme is of *Winwina* himself and his bird crew, and of the lazy *Kāmālālkł*; the audience listens eagerly and practises the composition. Afterwards food is distributed amid admonitions of the marshals as is customary on the night of *Isxtāmem*. [533]

Next morning a second song is practised for X, and then a number of *kukusiut* go with him to the forest to bring in the wood required for the ceremonial. In the evening members of the society assemble in X's house for the allotment of carpentry tasks. The most important requirement is a canoe, shaped like a bird, and with bird figures as members of the crew. Considerable ingenuity is displayed in the manufacture of this; it is large enough to fill most of the rear part of the house, and, being bottomless, can be made to move by men concealed within. Several carpenters usually work together at this task. X also orders wooden replicas of the different 575* 796* 532

[11] Perhaps this is the reason that the origin myth of this dance is better remembered than most.

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[The Dance of Winwina]

*575 *796 532 kinds of salmon captured by *Winwina*. In their efforts to make realistic representations, the artisans often use the skins of steel-head salmon, the only variety obtainable in winter, stretched over wooden frames, and painted. Various women are asked to make imitations of berries captured by the Hermaphrodite. In each case X requests one woman to make a certain berry, root, or bark used for food, and so many are needed that he often becomes weary from constantly calling out his requirements. As on other *nusiutälsap*, the songs are practised, food is served, and the usual ceremonies occur.

The next morning, that of *qotlim*, the carpenters, both men and women, start early at their work. The method of making the salmon has already been described, but a word should be said about the berries. They are made of dyed cedar-bark, undyed cedar-bark, and snow-berries, the only material available in winter. The workmanship varies enormously; some realistic articles are turned out, others are exceedingly crude. In the evening booth *kukusiut* and uninitiated are summoned to X's house for the usual protracted ceremony of *qotlim* night.

*575 *796 825 *Nabusam* follows the next day. The wooden salmon and berries are placed in a convenient spot behind the fire, and in the evening X asks some one of the senior *kukusiut* to assist him in their display. Sometimes one of the marshals undertakes this duty, and at any rate they have to express their approval of the dancer's choice. The *kukusiut* are the first to assemble, and when the last details have been arranged the uninitiated are called in and marvel at the canoe behind the fire. The *kusiut* chosen to assist X stands beside it, holding the wooden spring salmon in his arms, its head upstream.

"What is it?" he asks the uninitiated. "If you recognize which salmon it is you will be successful in catching that kind next summer."

The uninitiated are thus urged to guess, but fear of the *kukusiut* acts as a deterrent, and it is often some little time before a plucky youth calls out which salmon he thinks it to

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[The Dance of Winwina]

on the floor with a stick and the women sing with him. Food is then given to all and the people disperse. 575* 796*

It will be noted how greatly this dance differs from the usual *kusiut* pattern, especially in the omission of a *nebusam* when masks are used. Instead of the ritual just described, X has the option of using another, similar to the customary *kusiut* type. The following ritual has not been carried out for many years so it is probable that many details have been overlooked. No information was obtainable about the motives governing X's choice of dance. [424]

As in all *kusiut* dances, the first essential is to select a suitable time, a matter of arrangement with the marshals. The night chosen for the coming of the call is often the *nebusam* of some other *kusiut*, and the uninitiated are at once expelled. The *kukusiut* gather in X's house, where the singers beat out the song composed for the occasion, describing *Winwina* and his crew, especially the four *Kāmālālkl* who were not only too lazy to capture any booty, but wanted to sleep all the time and could be roused only by being drenched with cold water. The audience listens attentively and then practises the song; X often dances but it is not important since no uninitiated are present. There are no unusual features in the ritual of this night of *łuxtāmem*.

The next day is *nusiutālsap* when the wood is brought in for masks, the making of which is allotted in the evening. Five only are required; one of *Āno°likwolsaix* and four of *Kāmālālkl*. The ritual is of the ordinary type both on this night and on *qothm*. [532]

When the uninitiated are called in on the evening of *nebusam* they see X standing behind the fire, as if to guard the two masked figures standing on either side of him. Fluent speakers are selected to wear these masks of *Kāmālālkl* and they enliven the proceedings by their arguments.

"I captured the sockeye salmon," says one.

"You liar!" replies another. "You were asleep. It was I who seized the sockeye salmon."

[the Dance of Mother-Nature]

season, subject to the usual consent of the marshals. No description need be given of the coming of the call and of the ritual of *lsuxtämem*. A large amount of wood is required, and on the night of *nusiutälsap* the many carpentry tasks are allotted. A large masked wooden figure is made to represent Mother-Nature herself, two more of the elderly women who attend her, and one of the inevitable *Ano°likwolsaix*. Besides, masks must be made of almost all the flowers and the trees, their number only limited by X's willingness to reward the carpenters. It is said that formerly as many as three hundred masks were sometimes ordered. 575* 796* 824 [532]

No detailed description is required for *qotlm*, but the ritual on *nebusam* differs from that of all other dances. Early in the morning a number of *kukusuit* gather in X's house where the carpenters decide on two old women to wear masks representing hags of great age and ugliness. A number of *kukusiut* accompany them to the bottom house of the village where they call out: [532]

"We are in great trouble. Our daughter's child is long overdue. If you know of any good medicines, will you not give them to us for her?"

The *kukusiut* drone when they see and hear these supernatural visitors, and many of them give medicines to the old women to increase the realistic effect. This is repeated in every house of the village.

That night when all is ready, the uninitiated are called in and take their places in the two corners near the door. They see in the central position behind the fire a large wooden figure wearing the mask of a woman in the pangs of labour with enormously distended stomach. She is *Nunuoska*, Mother-Nature, though the uninitiated do not know this as yet. She lies on some raised planking; slightly below her are two old women carrying sponges of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, as if they were midwives prepared to wash a new-born infant. Two matting enclosures have been constructed, one in each of the rear corners of the house, large enough to hide the per- [532] [844]

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*575 *796 824 [532] [844]

formers who are chosen for their small stature. *Ano°likwolsaix* stands up ready to explain as usual. One of the actors now comes forth from beneath Mother-Nature's stomach, as if born of her, wearing a mask surmounted by a carved stick representing the leaves of the willow. The nurses handle the performer, as if washing a new-born child, and announce:

"It is a boy, Willow Leaves," just as a midwife might state the sex of an infant.

Willow Leaves dances around the fire, at intervals saying, "I am Willow Leaves."

Ano°likwolsaix adds her comments: "Yes. There is Willow Leaves, see him."

The masked figure goes into the matting enclosure out of sight. The next plant to be born is Gooseberry, for whom the same procedure is carried out, before he, too, disappears. In succession, a few minutes apart, come Nettle, all kinds of Grass, and Western Skunk Cabbage. Each is washed and the sex announced; then the figure dances and *Ano°likwolsaix* comments as before. A good dancer is always chosen for the next figure, Black Cottonwood, who is "born" in the same way, but instead of vanishing into the enclosure remains dancing to and fro on the upper, upstream, side of the house. After him comes "The Dancing Tree," the American Aspen. An agile man is likewise chosen for this part and he remains dancing back and forth on the lower, downstream, side. *Ano°likwolsaix* announces, amid breathless interest: "The South Wind is coming."

*575 *796 824 532

This figure enters the house by the front door, wearing the mask of a handsome young man. He goes to *Nunuoska* like a doctor called in to assist, and when he stands up, her face appears like that of a happy woman who has just given birth. The uninitiated do not realize that a new mask has been put on Mother-Nature while her face was hidden from their sight. The South Wind then retires to the lowerside of the house, where he dances to and fro near Aspen, at intervals going up to his patient. In rushes the North Wind, but he is too late to accom-

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plish his design of destroying Mother-Nature in the act of delivery, and he remains dancing to and fro on the upper side of the house, not far from Black Cottonwood. The advent of the South Wind has helped Mother-Nature, so in close succession there follow masked figures, representing the plants, trees, and shrubs known to the Bella Coola. Those first to appear, prior to the coming of the South Wind, have been early ones in the order of their showing signs of green; afterwards there is no fixed sequence, except to follow as closely as possible that of their appearance in the spring. When Black Hawthorn is being born there is great difficulty; he kicks, squirms, and cries, requiring the assistance of both attendants and the South Wind. As soon as his name is announced the meaning of the trouble becomes plain; it is because the fruit is bitter and causes griping in the stomach. The performance is a lengthy one; the same masks appear repeatedly, but the painted stick representing the flower or leaves is changed. Through the long period of their birth, the Willow, Aspen, North and South Winds continue their dancing, the North Wind trying at intervals to reach Mother-Nature, but always repulsed by the watchful South Wind. To the uninitiated it appears wonderful, perhaps miraculous, that so many beings can be hidden in so small an enclosure; in reality, no more than fifteen actors are used, they simply change their masks and reappear. The last masked figure represents After-birth, a moss which does not appear until late in the season after all the other plants have come to life. Instead of going around the fire, this figure hides quickly by lying down out of sight. 575* 796* 824 532

The uninitiated are sometimes sent away at this point, at other times they are allowed to wait to hear the meaning of the whole ceremonial. X asks an able *kusiut* to act as orator. This man explains that we would have no food if the South Wind had not been able to drive away the North Wind before he hurt Mother-Nature as she gave birth to the plants, which form so important a part of the food supply. If not already expelled, the uninitiated are sent out at this point and the 575* 796* [824]

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

second of the whole performance. The ritual is of the regular type with the composition and practising of a song. 575* 796*

During the evening of the next day, *nusiutälsap*, the usual carpentry tasks are allotted. Only three masks are required, one of *Ano°likwolsaix* and two of supernatural beings termed *Mulelsta*, as if they had the power to lengthen or curtail the lives of human beings. The ritual on *qotlim* warrants no special description. Late in the afternoon of *nebusam* the *kukusiut* assemble in X's home and the uninitiated are presently startled to see them all rush forth with three masked figures in their midst. Assuming, of course, that these are supernatural visitors, the frightened non-members retreat to their houses where they peer forth at the figures as they parade up and down the shore beside the river. They can easily recognize *Ano°likwolsaix*, but not her two companions whose faces are painted black and white, and who have projecting, snout-like mouths. After this promenade and a certain amount of dancing, the party retires to X's house whither the uninitiated are presently summoned. The two *Mulelsta* dance around the fire while *Ano°likwolsaix* explains their power over the lives of mortals. The *kukusiut* soon ask the uninitiated to withdraw and the ceremony ends in the customary manner. [532] [532]

X must perform this full ritual at least once after obtaining his *kusiut* name with respect to it, but on later occasions he can, if he so desires, limit himself to the second part of the ceremony with the appearance on earth of the *Mulelsta*. [424]

THE DANCE OF THUNDER

According to Bella Coola belief, the supernatural ones in the upper land resemble human beings in performing *kusiut* dances. Like mortals, some of those above are more powerful and more feared than others, but the senior *kusiut* among them is Thunder. Corresponding to the prowess of his patron, the dance of his human protégé is one of the most important *kusiut* rituals. The essential feature of it is that Thunder calls all supernatural beings to witness his dance, and in consequence 575* 796* 424 776

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[The Dance of Thunder]

verbal to physical arguments, and one occasion is remembered when the latter was shoved from a canoe into the river. 575* 796*

In the evening the *kukusiut* are first called in, to be followed by the uninitiated in due course. Thunder dances in the manner already described, though, if possible, with even more vigour and abandon than when he was only one of the performers in the Mystery dance. As recorded in that dance, he performs twice, on the second occasion carrying a rattle containing burning shreds of cedar-bark. After each circuit of the central fire, Rainwater appears and drenches the audience, as rain accompanies a thunder-storm. The dramatic skill displayed is always impressive, and a touch of comic realism is added by the reiterated remarks of *Ṫloqots* who does his utmost to belittle Thunder. 776 [522]

The time-beater for the expert dancer, *Nixṗs*, appears after Rainwater. When the ceremonial is carried out with care, he wears a skull mask to show that he is a ghost who has come from the land below in answer to the call of *Ałxwolätnım*. As he beats time he sings a wordless song of the dead. The skill of *Nixṗs* as a dancer is due to the fact that he is a yearling mountain goat among supernatural beings. The uninitiated look forward with eagerness to witnessing a remarkable dance, but after a few violent contortions the performer withdraws, followed by the musician. [532] [533]

It would be needless repetition to enumerate all the supernatural beings who follow, so mention will be made only of those who are considered especially appropriate to the Thunder dance and who are accordingly shown on almost all occasions. Winter Wren is a masked figure which hops about in an agile manner similar to that of the bird on this earth, and Rabbit likewise imitates the movements of an earthly rabbit. *Ano°lik-wolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that Thunder would like to taste the flesh of mortals but that he is too big and too hot to approach them, so sends Mosquito as his messenger. The masked figure representing that insect carries a stick about one foot in length beneath his blanket, and runs around the house [532] [825]

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[The Ghost Dance]

*575 *796 X's, where he is soothed by the four times repeated frenzied beating of sticks and his call returned whence it came.

[787] During the rest of the ceremonial season X becomes mad at intervals and displays his insanity by rushing to every house and throwing dirt and sand. His *kukusiut* escort is always with him, and the procedure is identical with that already [424] recorded. X makes no recompense for the damage inflicted, so it is probable that his fellows do not regard his dance as an unmitigated pleasure, but nothing can be done to deter him from exercising his prerogative.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CHARMER

*575 *796 776 Although the Bella Coola are probably as moral as members of any other tribe, they enjoy humour of an obscene nature, and a dance which never fails to provide amusement is that of the Supernatural Charmer. The patron of this is *Sximsximdt*, [522] a beautiful, unmarried, feminine being who is also termed [831] *Aliqmän·i* and *Nuuxkmälsaix*. She is thought to disregard the efforts of her supernatural relatives to restrain her, and comes to this earth where she bestows her favours not only on human beings, but on animals. Her protégé at Kimsquit is a young [557] man, *Łälaiuks*, at Bella Coola, a young woman, *Kwalākmus*; [562] like all other *kusiut* names these can be used either by men or women. It is said that *Łälaiuks*'s prerogative is derived from [424] the experience of an ancestor in past ages, whereas that of *Kwalākmus* was initiated three generations ago by a very powerful chief. The ritual in each case is identical, so the dancer [533] can be referred to as X. Each has the prerogative of singing not only of *Sximsximdt*, but also of the being known as *Winwinhmak*. [532] Many masks are required at the *nekusam* of either of these beings, so it is customary for X to perform with respect to *Sximsximdt* one year, and to *Winwinhmak* at the next or a subsequent ceremonial season, though the actual songs always refer to both patrons.

*796 *575 When X wishes to dance he consults the marshals, obtains their consent, and then makes final arrangements on, normally,

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the *qoθlm* of another dancer. Next night the call comes to him in the ordinary manner, and the heralds go through the village announcing what has taken place. The uninitiated are expelled at once from X's house and the *kukusiut* presently assemble to listen to the song being composed by the singers. The theme is of *Sximsximdt*; how she came down from above and travelled all over the world shamelessly luring men and animals; how various supernatural beings tried to restrain her without success; how she went to the house of *Qeil* and was trying to seduce several young men living there when *Winwintmak* appeared and endeavoured to make her behave herself, but without avail. The song then describes *Winwintmak* who seems to be a warm wind, engaged in a never-ending duel with the cold winds.[21] No detailed description is required for the ritual of *nusiutälsap*, when a second song with the same theme is composed, or of *qoθlm*, since these follow the typical *kusiut* pattern.

575* 796* [533] [776]

During the afternoon of *nebusam*, the *kukusiut* gather in X's house to try on the completed masks and make the final arrangements. Whistles sound so continuously that the uninitiated remain either within their own homes or near them, ready to hide in the bedrooms if necessary. Within X's house the carpenters are supervising the choice of masks; a fluent man able to speak like a woman is, as usual, chosen to represent *Ano°likwolsaix*; another with similar qualifications is selected for *Sximsximdt*, while the other masks can be worn by almost anyone. Presently a strange procession leaves X's home and enters the lowest house of the village where the uninitiated hasten into the inner rooms, but watch proceedings through cracks between the boards. First comes X himself, his face blackened and wearing the usual collar. He remains standing near the door and watches as *Sximsximdt* enters and slowly proceeds around the central fire; she wears a mask representing a young and beautiful woman. Behind her come her lovers,

[532]

[21] Definite information concerning the identification of *Winwintmak* could not be obtained.

[The Dance of the Supernatural Charmer]

*575 each wearing the mask of a man and each with the clothing
*796 and distinctive marks of a particular tribe: Tsimshian, Haida,
[532] Bella Bella, Rivers Inlet, China Hat, Kitimat, Fort Rupert, Smith Inlet, Cowichan, and as many more as X has wished, not forgetting Bella Coola itself. On at least one occasion representations of a white man and of a Chinese were used. Sometimes instead of one, there are two of each tribe. Each figure pretends to be pursuing *Sximsximdt* and keeps up a running fire of complaints:

"She left me for a worthless man; oh! how unhappy I am," says one, and another adds:

"Alas, I enjoyed her only once."

Each uses his own imagination in making comments, frequently drawing on personal experiences with faithless women. *Ano°likwoisaix* explains everything, and the heralds echo the remarks. *Sximsximdt* looks around for a handsome young *kusiut* woman and says to her:

"How many men have known you?"

The heralds repeat the question and tell the woman not to be bashful, but to speak the truth. It is considered excessively
[522] funny for her to answer a number in the hundreds, even more
[831] than the tale of *Sximsximdt*'s lovers. This is a time when obscene remarks are allowed and, indeed, expected. A short distance behind the hurrying procession of those who have
[532] loved *Sximsximdt* and are still allured by her, comes a supernatural being disguised under the mask of an old man. He is her father, who keeps giving her good advice and begging her to forsake her evil ways, but she pays no attention to him.
*575 Finally, just as she is about to leave, there enters an old, old
*796 man with white hair and a wrinkled face; he totters in leaning heavily upon a stick and calling to the woman to wait for him.
522 She heeds him not, but goes out of the house while he staggers feebly around the fire, voicing his complaints and his appeals. *Ano°likwoisaix* explains that he is *Simptcus*, who fell under the spell of *Sximsximdt* long ago in his youth, and for whom her beauty had such a fatal attraction that he has followed her

[The Dance of the Supernatural Lover]

her house while the singers compose a new song. The theme is of her patron, the young male being, *Kwat·iwal·a*, "The Big One." It describes how he came from above and went far and near over the earth in lustful pursuit of women, how each victim fell in love with her seducer so that she followed him in all his wanderings, how Loon befriended him, and how he exchanged his blanket for a covering of abalone-shells. 575* 796* [533] [776]

On *nusiutälsap* when the *kukusiut* as usual go to the forest, they bring back not only wood for masks but also the trunk of a large cedar tree, at which the carpenters work during the two succeeding days. On *nebusam* a parade occurs of the supernatural beings similar to that in the dance of the Supernatural Charmer, but the masked figures represent women, not men, of the different coastal tribes. *Kwat·iwal·a* leads the procession and pays no more attention to his mistresses than did *Sximsx-imdt* to her would-be lovers. There is the same licence for lewd remarks, of which *Kwat·iwal·a* takes full advantage when he calls the attention of the young men to his following, and asks them how many mistresses each has had. [532] [831] [522]

In the evening the uninitiated are called to X's house where the first object they see is the tree-trunk, converted by the carpenters into an enormous bird. Wooden wings and a loon's head have been provided and the whole is painted in imitation of a loon's plumage. *Kwat·iwal·a* is in evidence, wearing a bird disguise. Presently a matting enclosure in one of the rear corners of the house is thrown open, and the uninitiated see the throng of his mistresses who rush forth, almost coming to blows in their eagerness to reach their seducer. *Ano'likwoisaix* stands on one side and explains the significance. After the mock combat has lasted for a few minutes, a Cannibal begins to growl and the uninitiated hurry out. The ceremonial then concludes in the usual manner. [532]

This dance differs from all other *kusiut* rites in one respect, since the call can come to X several times during a single ceremonial season. Of course there is no compulsion; she uses her own discretion as to whether she dance more than once, [424]

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*575 *796 [424] but a proud and energetic dancer sometimes repeats a ceremony three or four times.

THE SUN DANCE[24]

[776] [821] One of the forms in which *Ālquntām* appears is that of the Sun, and in that case he is referred to as *Sinxālotla*. Considering the importance of this deity, it is rather surprising that the *kusiut* dance of which he is patron is not more impressive. Efforts were made to obtain full details of the ceremonial from several informants, but only a number of incidents and a bare [124] outline could be obtained. In part this was due to the fact that none of the informants[25] were themselves protégés of *Ālquntām*, but this is not in itself sufficient to explain the comparative unimportance of the dance, since full accounts were obtained of other rituals from those who did not own them.

Nothing was learnt of the origin of any of the Sun dance [424] prerogatives, except that ancestors of the owners obtained them [551] from *Ālquntām*. It is a common right, and *kukusiut* having *Ālquntām* as patron are found in every village, among them being *Qoxolān·i* of *Tcimotl*, and *Nexnexliwalaix* of *Nusqalst*. As far as could be ascertained, the ritual of various Sun dance performances is identical, so one account will suffice and the dancer can be termed X.

Like other *kusiut* dancers, X can perform at any time during the ceremonial season, subject to the approval of the marshals. The call comes to him in the normal manner, the uninitiated are expelled, and the *kukusiut* gather in his house to practise the songs which the singers have just composed. The theme [533] is of *Ālquntām*, describing his manifold functions, and particu- [776] larly that of guiding the Sun. The following day a second song with similar theme is composed, and in the evening the tasks are allotted for the manufacture of masks. Four are required; a large one representing *Ālquntām* himself, one of [532] [171]

[24] Needless to say, no connection or similarity is implied with the dance of the same name in other areas.

[25] Except one man who had forgotten all details since his conversion to Christianity many years before.

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[The Sun Dance]

Ano°likwolsaix, and two of the supernatural Clowns. In addition a white disk, about four feet in diameter, is ordered with a human face in the centre; this represents the Sun with *Alqun-tām*. No detailed description is required until the night of *nekusam*. 575* 796* [532]

The *kukusiut* gather in the dusk and summon the uninitiated as soon as all is in readiness. On entering, they see the huge and imposing figure of *Alquntām* standing in the centre of the space behind the fire, flanked by a number of the most important *kukusiut* as if to pay respect to him. X stands immediately behind, repeatedly throwing one arm over *Alquntām*'s head and crying *hoip* to soothe the visitor. The two Clowns move to and fro, all over the house, making what remarks they like as if they were spoilt children. *Ano°likwolsaix* stands on one side, explaining the meaning of it all, and giving the names of the supernatural beings represented. Suddenly the white disk appears against the back wall near the roof, slowly passes sunwise across the house, and disappears. The uninitiated recognize that it is not the Sun, but to them it seems miraculous that this body can move as it does, and they easily accept *Ano°likwolsaix*'s explanation that this is the way *Alquntām* crosses the heavens. They do not know that for the last two days the carpenters have been exercising their ingenuity in arranging cords so that the object can be drawn across smoothly and steadily. Again the sun "rises," and crosses the back wall, only to disappear from sight. This is repeated twice more, making four times in all. It is said that sometimes the Sun is made to spin just before it "sets," but the method could not be learnt. At this juncture the uninitiated are sent home and the proceedings conclude as usual. [522] [821]

In addition to performing in the customary manner, X is required to dance on other definite occasions, without the coming of a call. According to some informants, X must sing of his patron at the beginning of the ceremonial season, coincidently with the protégé of *Nełkynum*. This is probably correct but details were unobtainable. In any case, when the [424]

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[The Moon Dance]

*575 No detailed description is needed for the ceremonial on
*796 either *nusiutālsap* or *qothm*. On the evening of the former day
821 the masks are ordered; one for *Asiutānem*, who appears to be
confused with the Moon itself, one for each *Aiqwaiust*, one for
[532] each *Snitsmān-a*, and one for *Ano'likwolsaix*.

Late in the afternoon the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to see that everything is in good shape. A large mat has been
[532] spread across the back wall of the house and on it a disk representing the Moon, with a human face in the middle. After the usual discussion the uninitiated are called in. Each *Snitsmān-a* remains standing alone in the two back corners of the house, while the two *Aiqwaiust* are in the central space behind the fire, constantly waving their arms to and fro. Suddenly the Moon itself appears against the matting. A carpenter, concealed behind the screen, directs its course so that it moves in a short arc across the background and disappears; *Ano'likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is the track of the new Moon, low down on the horizon. A second time it "rises," and moves across in a longer and higher curve, which *Ano'likwolsaix* says is the longer orbit of the waxing Moon. On its third course it is still higher, and on its fourth appearance it moves across the full width of the house near the roof, which *Ano'likwolsaix* describes as the course of the full Moon, far above the mountains. She also explains that we are indebted to *Snitsmān-a* for cleaning the Moon's face after the *Aiqwaiust* have blackened it, as otherwise no light would be visible. This ends the spectacle; the uninitiated are sent away, and the ceremonial concludes in the manner already described.

This constitutes the Moon dance as practised during the ceremonial season, but in addition X is required to dance whenever his patron is hidden by an eclipse. On such occasions the ritual is identical with that described for an eclipse of the Sun.

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THE DANCE OF THE MURDERED SLAVE

One of the chieftains who came to earth in the beginning of time was *Alkumotusaix*, whose wealth was so great that he was able to invite his associates from far and near to potlatches, and thus acquire many *xuseek*

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575* 796* 589 424 778 551

names for his only son. Becoming surfeited with this form of greatness, he decided to initiate a *kusiut* ceremonial for his child. At that time chiefs were so powerful that they could create their own repositories, and *Ālimmotusaix* resolved to make his son's in his own house. To give strength to it, he dug a hole and buried alive in it a female slave with her small infant. The unfortunate woman was a member of the tribe known to the Bella Coola as *Ťaxsk!*, probably a branch of the Haida; like all other northern tribeswomen she wore in her lower lip a plug of abalone-shell. *Ālimmotusaix* also buried in the hole a large number of the wasps which abounded in his house. The uninitiated were told that the woman had chanced to stumble upon a repository and had become *kalals*, "rendered incapable of returning"; from this circumstance she was henceforth known as *Ānukulslaix*. The *kukusiut* also informed non-members that the woman had been made immortal, and was forever to remain as a slave in the repository. *Ālimmotusaix* chose the name *Qapātus*, "Sharp-Nosed," for his son, a reference to the sharp beaks of the numerous ravens shown on every object in his house. This designation has since been transmitted in the usual manner; every owner has had the right to perform a dance with the buried woman as patron.

575* 796*

In describing the ritual it will be convenient to refer to *Qapātus* as X.

When X wishes to dance he obtains permission from the marshals and makes his preliminary plans in the customary way. A suitable date for the coming of the call is chosen, and, on the night preceding, the weeping of *Ānukulslaix* is heard in the forest behind the village. The weeper is one of X's associates, but no uninitiated would be reckless enough to venture near. She moves down the valley, as if coming from the repository near the village of *Stuix*. The next evening X receives his call and the uninitiated are expelled from his house. The dancer blackens his face, puts on a ceremonial collar, and goes out alone to find the slave woman; presently he returns, leading *Ānukulslaix* by the hand. She is disguised as an old, old woman, clad in rags and carrying on her back a bundle made to represent a small infant; over her face is a mask with a plug of abalone-shell in the lower lip (see Plate 12).‡ She slowly circles the fire, weeping bitterly, while the *kukusiut*

[532]

‡ [See category 116, p 164 (F)- ANALYST]

[The Dance of the Murdered Slave]

* 576 * 796 woman dress, then she leaves the house, ostensibly to return to her repository up the valley.

The singers at once begin to compose a new song, describing X's visitor and something of her history. The ritual that follows is that of the ordinary *kwakiutlmow* and requires no special description. On the night of *nuxwitilaqa* a large number of masks are ordered, including one series representing wasps, another of young lads, and still another of the latter with swollen faces. The only other part of the dance with a distinctive ritual is that of *nuhawa*.

[532] In the early evening the *kukwiat* assemble in X's house to inspect the enormous wasps' nest which the carpenters have erected behind the fire. In recent years this has been made of canvas, taking the place of matting. Within are several stages, on which the defenders stand, each a *kwiat* wearing a wasp's mask and carrying a miniature bow and arrow. The attackers are other members of the society chosen for their small stature and armed with clubs and branches; each wears a boy's mask and each carries a second, representing the same individual with badly swollen face. Considerable time is required to perfect the arrangements and select the performers, but at last all is in readiness and the uninitiated are called in.

[532] [178]

They marvel at the enormous wasps' nest and presently witness an assault on it. The attackers, protected by armour, valiantly beat on the structure with clubs as they swing their branches as if brushing away the angry insects; this is the way that boys normally attack a wasps' nest. The defenders discharge their arrows and at intervals one of the attackers calls out in pain and falls down, presently rising with badly swollen face. The uninitiated do not realize that he has slipped the second mask from beneath his blanket to his face. X stands at one side, throwing his arm with a sweeping motion in the direction of the combat, while *Ax̌'itwalmis* gives her customary explanations. At last the nest is beaten down whereupon one of the Cannibals begins to growl and the uninitiated rush away. The ritual concludes in the usual way.

[714]

[325]

dance with Ocoqua as patron. This was first used by *Lalpanu-i*, a relative of *Sinaqali*, and has since been the prerogative of the owner of the name, which it will be convenient to term X. Being of foreign origin, there is no repository at Kinaqui; in fact, there is none even in Bulle Bulle itself, where the *hactai* society is believed to lack both healing power and ceremonial authority.* The Ocoqua dance is thus the only one without a repository, so far as could be learned it is not performed in Bulle Coola. In Bulle Bulle the original rite was connected both with the *sonai* and *hactai* repositories, but in Kinaqui with the latter alone.

When X wishes to dance, which may be at any time during the ceremonial season, he consults the medicine and picks a suitable date. In this dance men, the carpenters are requested to make an ocoqua, sometimes using a red skin as basis. On the day that the call comes, the dummy is placed in the water of the ford, close to shore. Suddenly the herald cries the cry that a supernatural being is coming to X; the assembled uninitiated flee from his house and the *hactai* assemble. Presently the dancer rushes forth, followed by a band of his fellows, and plunges into the water. From a distance non-members can see arms and legs flying to and fro, blood flows as the *hactai* struggling in the shallows strike each other's arms, and they have no hesitation in believing the herald who reports that a fight is taking place with a warlike ocoqua. X at last leaves his heavy adium, amid the dousing of the women.

That night the uninitiated are called to X's house where the dummy ocoqua, guarded by the dancer and several other *hactai*, is placed behind the fire. Hidden strings have been fastened to its arms so that it moves and seems to be alive. One of the singers takes a horse and beats time, singer, and all the *hactai* call out *i*—. This is repeated four times, accompanied, on the last repetition, by the return of the ocoqua whence it came. This is done by gathering the body from sight, but of course the uninitiated do not know this. A

*This is, of course, a Bulle Coola version.

[The Octopus Dance]

* 575 Cannibal begins to growl and soon the *kokoxtsi* are left alone
* 796 in the house. The singers beat out a new song for X and the usual continues like that of any other *kwakiutl*. No description is needed for the ceremonial that occurs on *nastalkup* and *galem*.

On the evening of *nalacum* the uninitiated are summoned in due course. The exact number of masked figures shown would not be known, but among them is always an octopus. [534] The rite concludes in the usual manner.

The presents given in connection with the Octopus dance are more valuable than those bestowed at most *hamatsa* rituals, [533] accordingly none but wealthy people are able to carry it out. [532] The benefits especially are always beneficiaries.

THE DANCE OF THE DARK-HOUSE

* 575 One of the most peculiar and irregular of *hamatsa* dances is
* 796 that performed by a certain *K'ulpem*, whom it will be convenient to call X. His patron is the supernatural woman *Sisqumtsi*, [534] Dark-Shade, whose home is beneath the thick overgrowth of the river valleys, thus explaining the darkness and shadows found in such places. X's repository is beneath some [770] large cedars near the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, [771] a few hundred yards above the end of the road, it is probable that other dancers with the same patron have repositories in other dark and gloomy spots.

When X wishes to dance he must as usual obtain consent from the marshals who insist that he delay his performance until after the solstice or *nalacum*. The reason is because his patron, Dark-Shade, alone of all supernatural beings, has the [771] power to open every repository, X brings her to the village and [770] in consequence cells come to many *kokoxtsi*,[illegible] which would be undesirable during the first few weeks of the season. On
* 575 the evening of the day selected for the beginning of the dance,
* 796 X steals away from the village with three or four *kokoxtsi*,

[illegible] The implication is that such cells come from repositories, and from the land above, the repository stands.

[The Dance of the Stone Man]

[375]* [376]* [378]

purified and which can still be seen, with its head facing the west.

The preliminaries of *Kwaxa's* dance do not differ from those already described, although it is uncertain whence comes the actual call. A large number of masks are constructed, as well as a huge wooden figure of the Stone Man himself, and smaller ones of his wife and four children. When the uninitiated are called in on the night of rehearsal they see the Stone Man and his family standing behind the fire, while the body of the house is filled with a number of masked figures. The latter keep shouting to the Stone Man and he answers them, as he does mortals who pass his station on Dean Channel. The mortals always arrange that he does not reply to one of the masked figures, whereupon the others gibe at this unfortunate and call him that he will die within a year. It is common knowledge that if the Stone Man does not answer the hail of a passer-by, the latter will soon die. The uninitiated are impressed to find that supernatural beings share this belief.

[382] [383]

[763]

WA-WA-MOOK

This dance is the prerogative of a *Gaxsa* named *Wa'a*, "Cotton Salmon." Its origin is attributed to the experience of an ancestor of the dancer who was helped by, and received his name from, one of these fish. Only a fragment of the ritual could be learned, enough to show that it has many points of resemblance with *Gaxsa* rites. When *Wa'a* performs, the central fire is raked apart and he appears to lie down on the ashes between the two flanking sections, evergreen boughs and sand are thrown over him, and the fire drawn together over his body. After an hour or more, when the uninitiated imagine he must be baked, his singing is heard, and *Wa'a* walks in through the front door. Deception is practised probably by means of a doorway fastened with dark curtains which contrast with the face so that it seems as if the body itself were writhing. It is said that the first *Wa'a* was actually able to perform this feat by means of the power given him by the salmon,

[424] [55]

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but the *kwaxiut* all understand that later performances by those with the same name are only possible with the assistance of carpenters. This dance has not been carried out for so many years that the details have been forgotten.

THE DANCE OF THE BIRDS

The Bella Coola notice that in autumn many of the birds disappear, to be seen no more until spring. Ignorant of a warmer climate to the south and of the causes of migration, they explain the phenomenon by saying that *Alquntam* collects the birds in some mysterious place for the winter and releases them in the spring. It is believed that he does the same with supernatural birds in the land above. The setting free of the birds, which is in effect a scattering, is known as *nuxqwakut* and is personified; he is the patron of a *kwaxiut* named *Qoma*. For the subject of this man's dance a huge circular cage containing wooden birds is constructed. By means of a regular mass of token strings they are made to "fly," to the extreme amusement of the uninitiated. This is one of the most complicated *kwaxiut* rites. Contrary to the usual practice, no eagle down is used for fear that it might settle on the strings and betray the existence to the spectators.

THE DANCE OF DARKNESS AND SLEEP

The patron of this dance is a being who has the power of bringing nightfall, and later, sleep. In accordance with his double function, a dual personality is attributed to him. In fact, he is almost two beings; as *Sxqlomiait*, "Darkness," he causes night to come once every twenty-four hours, whereupon as *Sisiutam* he brings sleep. His *kwaxiut* protégé displays on subsequent days with black painted masks, representing both phases of his patron.

THE DANCE OF THE WHIRLWIND

Whirlwinds, though of rare occurrence in British Columbia, are known to the Bella Coola who believe that they are caused by the being *Swdziarmanem*. Like all supernatural creatures,

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Whirlwind usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits this earth. He is patron for a *kuxiut* who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary. 575 * 796 * 776 [821] [592]

THE DANCE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the grasp of *Snienia*. This being is patron for certain *kukuxiut* and whenever a tremor occurs, his protégés call their associates and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is identical with that described for dancers whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The theme of the song is of the manner in which *Snienia* performs his function of holding the world. A call from *Snienia* may also come in the normal manner to one of his protégés during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, *Snienia* is patron to a *kuxiut* named *Ałłhałłełnia*. [829] [588] [551]

THE DANCE OF TIDE-MEASURER

The height to which the tides shall rise is decided by a male supernatural being, *Mentlate cum*, "Tide-Measurer." He is patron of a *kuxiut* named *Tołł*, whose repository is near *Łułła*. One of *Tołł*'s ancestors brought the rite with him from above in the beginning of time. The songs used at the dance describe how Tide-Measurer uses a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of *nakacum* the uninitiated are told to go to their houses but, by peering round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the ocean, and thrust down to the bottom a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day. [829] [551] [776] [588]

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BULL-HEAD

Since any supernatural being can act as patron to *kuxiut* dancers, and since all mammals and birds are, in a sense, super- [825]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 *796 776 825 [193] natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is usually added that the animal in question is the one resident in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. As far as could be learnt, this dance has no special features.

[821] [224]

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who is patron for a certain *kuciut* is the head of a female herring. Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to doubt. For the *nuhaum* of her protégé, a number of masks representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are prepared. When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised figures calls to his fellows to bring their oots and capture the fish.

[532]

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dukdukinuc*, the supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *kuciut* but the ritual of the dance, known as *sindemanais*, was not obtained. The similarity between *Dukdukinuc* and *Dukdukinmen*, those who await *Nedkynm*, appears merely to be an accidental resemblance in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning "to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

[192]

THE DANCE OF *Almaphaikila*

*575 *796 776 184 [755] In Kimsquit it is believed that *Ant'lituulcais* has a husband, *Almaphaikila*, who is patron for several *kuciut* dances. His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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stumble upon a repository and are stricken down by his wife. Like a shaman, he does this by blowing violently upon the back of the victim's neck and calling out, *hsip*. From constant repetition his mouth has become large and round. When displayed on *nuhuum*, the mask representing *Atmophitèle* is painted black and has bulging, blown-out cheeks, and a round protruding mouth as if in the act of blowing. Neither the dance nor belief in this figure appear to occur in Bella Coola itself.

575* 796* 776 184 [755] [532]

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BARK-BEATER

In the land above there lives a supernatural woman who spends all her time in pounding cedar-bark such as is used, either dyed or undyed, for ceremonial objects of different kinds. Her name is *Sjèèjèèum di Sneèèlele* and she is patron for various *hahaiat*. On the *nuhuum* of her Kimoquit prodigie she appears as a masked figure engaged in her usual occupation and makes a circuit of the house while a salmon is displayed. The relationship between this being and the salmon is problematical, and it is uncertain whether or not the same rite is practised in Bella Coola.

[532]

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL AWAKENER

Every morning in *Nanqulemoite* the woman *Spaiqhaymumle-a* goes around waking up the supernatural beings. She is patron for several *hamat* dances. On the *nuhuum* of her prodigi, a masked figure representing the Awakener goes to every house in the village and pounds on the doors, but does not enter, to the relief of the uninitiated who have sought refuge within the bed-rooms.

575* 796* 776 [532]

THE DANCE OF DAWN

Not only must the supernatural beings be around in the morning, but every day the Sun himself must be requested to appear; this is done by the beings known as *Xemsemtum*, who are patrons for several *hahaiat*. On *nuhuum* they appear and *Ana'Ekwulnaie* explains to the uninitiated who they are and

[821]

[The Dance of Dawn]

what they do. With them comes the being Oninitoma, "The Sleeper," wearing a mask to represent a drowsy man who constantly yawns and rubs his eyes. It is explained that this being delights in sleep and does not care if the sun never rises.

575 776 776 [532]

THE DANCE OF THE GREEDY ONE

Nuxnikinoikum, also called *Turnai-ec*, is a greedy creature who spends his time going from one supernatural being to another in the land above, always begging for food. He is patron for several *tukuciut* and on the *nuhuum* of one of his prestigis a masked figure representing the Greedy One visits every house in the village asking for food. The uninitiated retreat to the bed-rooms, but the *tukuciut* comply with his request. In consequence the dancer's house is filled with food which is given away to the *tukuciut* guests.

[532] [531]

THE DANCE OF THE REPOSITORY MAKER

Some repositories were constructed in the beginning of time by the supernatural being, *Nuxadjinum*, who is patron for several *tukuciut*. On the *nuhuum* of one of his prestigis a figure, masked to represent a male being, appears and *Ax'Ulwulwic* explains that this is the maker of repositories. It is uncertain whether this being is found in Bella Coola or only in Kitamaat.

[778] [533] [184]

THE DANCE OF *Alpanim*'S SLAVE

In the land above there lives a slave of *Alpanim* who spends his time providing fuel for the fires in *Nuxpalwuxix*. He is patron for a Bella Coola *tuciut*, though the details of his dance were not obtained.

THE DANCE OF *Alpanim*'S HERALD

Opaliki *Alpanim* is patron for several *tukuciut*. During the *nuhuum* of one of his prestigis a masked figure representing him visits every house in the village, bidding the *tukuciut*

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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where they settled. *Ḵ'ispaxtaw* had given him the ability to kill mammals and birds by merely projecting his power at them and in this way he obtained food for the whole party. He could also drive his victims with the aid of a peculiar stick beating orchestra, consisting of spruce cones. These he arranged around a fire balanced on levers which he could move with his feet; as he pressed, the cones became agitated and beat time lovingly. It was *Ḵ'ispaxtaw* who had given him the non-human stick-beaters. *Nuxlaxmālnis* tried to turn mammals into men, but succeeded only with the eyes of the wolf, wherefore those ugans appear human even today.

Ḵ'ispaxtaw gave *Nuxlaxmālnis* the prerogative of carrying out a *kwiwi* dance, which has been performed in the same manner ever since by the owners of that name. His patrons, for he has inherited the supernatural Carpenters. *Nuxlaxmālnis* has the further prerogative of wearing, when dancing, a wooden head-piece over his forehead representing *Qe ko*, probably one of the blackbirds. On the night of *sahaw*, when the uninitiated are called in, masked figures of the four Carpenters appear, each carrying a conventional specimen of his work. Bob (at end) illustrates the masks proper to these beings. *Ḵ'ulāmalaxis*, as usual, in attendance and explains the significance of the apparition.

DANCE WITH OF THE DANCE OF *Nuxtuxpnam*[16]

There was once a middle-aged woman who had not been initiated into the ranks of the *kukwaxtas*. She decided that she could gain this distinction only by seeing *Ḵ'ulāmalaxis* herself, so with this aim in view she set out to search for the supernatural one. First she penetrated to the source of every creek entering South Bentinck Arm; then proceeded up the Nuskumcummy River to its very head, again visiting the head-waters of every affluent, and finally went up the Bella Coola River, as before, exploring each side stream. For a whole year she travelled without seeing anything supernatural.

At the source of the Clearwater she came to a lake called Nuxcalcalcoulis, of which she could see a single column of smoke. It ascended without twist, coil, or movement, as if it were solid, so she knew that it must have a supernatural origin. Heavily she skirted the shore, till she saw that the smoke was rising from a house made of evergreen boughs. Stealing nearer, she beheld *Ḵ'ulāmalaxis* herself within, working with a woman *Pamlaxpnam*. *Ḵ'ulāmalaxis* was using rock crystals to strike the woman senseless, and then reviving her; but all the time was causing *Pamlaxpnam* to sink into the ground. Trembling with excitement the

[16] Related by Bennabeer Pamla.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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424 mortal watched until the unfortunate *Nuuxtcqyuam* had almost vanished
* 575 from sight. Then a sound betrayed her to *Ăuʼlikwelsaix*.
* 796 "If you are a mortal," she said, "come in."
539 The woman did so, and *Ăuʼlikwelsaix* continued:

"I am *Ăuʼlikwelsaix*. You have found me, hence I give you a *kusiut* dance prerogative. You will have *Nuuxtcqyuam* as patron."

The woman returned to her home, where she performed a *kusiut* rite in which she portrayed the sinking of *Nuuxtcqyuam* into the earth.

ORIGIN MYTH OF A PECULIAR REPOSITORY

In the beginning of time there came down to *Xwaxets*, a point a little distance below Mount *Nuxpalst*, a woman whose name was *Spuxpuxhailsix*. *Ălqantăm* had given her a *kusiut* prerogative with a peculiar
[778] repository in four parts, as if two were in either hand. Their names were *Spalpăjuttăw-a*, *Sas-kutumăw-a*, *Sisiaw-i*, and *Samxiattăw-i*. When she
● [532] danced she wore a wooden head-dress representing Woodpecker, and the masks used (her patrons?) were the sun when it is red, and an eagle. This dance has since been carried out from generation to generation by the owners of the name *Spuxpuxhailsix*.

Kusiut Prerogatives Other Than Dances

424 The most valuable possession of a *kusiut* is the dance which
* 575 he has the right to perform, but each member of the society has,
* 796 in addition, a somewhat peculiar object, sometimes material and sometimes intangible, known as a *ikusiut* or *yeaxwax*. The meaning of these two terms will become evident in the description of their uses, meanwhile they can be termed "prerogatives." When every claim to possession of the dance comes
[787] automatically to him, though it can also be attracted to him by other means and without a call. There is no connection between the patron and the prerogative; for example, one *kusiut* who has one of the sons of *Ălqantăm* as the former has, as the latter, the Hummingbird. Another may have Fog, Sleep, a Snake, or one of many other objects, animate or inanimate. The "patron-puppets" described in *kusiutum* rites belong to this class.

In almost every case the origin is lost in antiquity, and the owner knows only that it belongs with his dance.

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Few prerogatives are used when the uninitiated are present; they are essentially secret, but provide considerable amusement and are a welcome interlude in the serious rites. When the prerogative is made visible, carpenters must be employed to make it, and be paid for their work; hence this part of the ceremonial is often omitted. When no handicraft is required, it is more frequently called into play, but even in such cases its employment is not universal. Not being an essential part of the *kwaiat* rites, the use or omission of a prerogative is a matter which concerns the dancer alone, and he acts strictly in accordance with his own wishes, whether or not he desires the ceremony to be accompanied by every possible show. It is impossible to estimate with accuracy the relative frequency of employment, but it is probable that prerogatives of the type under consideration are used in about one-third of the *kwaiat* ceremonials.

424 575* 796* 183 [582]

If a dancer decides to display a material prerogative, he consults with a carpenter before the coming of his call and asks him to make, for example, a wooden Hummingbird. On the night of *lnetámem*, when all the *kwaiat* are present, the bird is seen to move across the back-wall of the house, pulled by concealed strings. The dancer rushes to it and appears to catch it, in reality hiding it beneath his clothing. The women drum and the heralds announce to the uninitiated in the neighbouring houses what has taken place. Carefully holding his hands cupped, as if clutching something of great value, the dancer moves to the centre of the house and returns the bird to the land above by throwing his hands upwards while the *kwaiat* call out *hoip*. This is the usual procedure when the prerogative is a bird, a small mammal, or a reptile. The same ceremonial is often repeated on the night of *nuxiatáiap*, particularly if the ritual proper to the occasion does not suffice to occupy the requisite time. If the prerogative is immaterial, the ritual differs. For example, when it is Fog, the dancer stretches his hands upwards, as if receiving something from above, and then makes the motion of throwing this "some-

424 575* 796* 787 [582]

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they refer. Even when full allowance is made for this, the fact still remains that the *kukusiut* were able to carry out dances in which they deceived the uninitiated. Above all, it is clear that those who were not members of the society had the greatest respect for the powers of those who were, and although doubt may have existed concerning the identity of the supernatural visitors, there was not the slightest concerning the ability of the *kukusiut* to have, for example, their stomachs ripped open. The writer discussed this point with too many old men and women to have the slightest uncertainty on this point, and he feels confident that anyone who could have listened to the account of a reliable old man concerning his fears when he had "killed" a *kusiut* in this manner, would have shared his conviction. 575* 796* 781 114

It would be fascinating to discuss at some length the probable history of the *kusiut* society, but this would entail a comparison with the rites of other coastal tribes and belongs to the realm of comparative ethnology. This monograph deals only with Bella Coola practices as the writer saw them or heard them described, so that the history of the society can only be treated from this angle. It appears certain that the rites have increased in secrecy. One old marshal with whom the matter was discussed remembered having heard that long ago masks were constructed in the presence of the uninitiated. Considered as an isolated statement this would have little value, but in conjunction with information derived from Kimsquit it becomes of importance. It is true that in Kimsquit the masks are made in secret, but they are shown to the uninitiated as masks, and the writer was told of one instance in which *Tlaqoa*, during his round of the village, fell into the water and remained there all day, to the amusement of non-members who recognized that he was merely a disguised human being. It is even said that long ago the manufacture of masks was entrusted to influential uninitiated. It is clear that there has been a tremendous increase in secrecy even at Kimsquit, and a great deal more at Bella Coola. The writer believes that 595* 796* 178 184 592

*575 long ago the *kwaxit* society was composed of individuals re-
*796 garded as having supernatural endowments, and who perhaps
178 believed this themselves. In course of time their influence
184 increased to such an extent that they were able to convince
[532] non-members of the supernatural origin of objects used in their ceremonial.

[115] Unfortunately, information from Kimsquit was obtained almost exclusively from one old man, who, though a marshal well informed in *kwaxit* matters and in many ways an almost ideal informant, had long since realized that the dances could be nothing more than representations, and it is possible that his remarks were coloured by this knowledge. Though he tended to minimize the attitude of belief with which the un-
[981] initiated regarded masked figures, yet he fully agreed with every statement made by the Bella Coola themselves with regard to the firm belief of non-members concerning the supernatural powers of the dancers. He also confirmed statements
[688] respecting punishment if an error should occur, and mentioned the shooting of a Bella Bella dancer who had allowed his mask to fall during a *nanak* dance. As far as actual ritual is concerned, the differences in procedure between Bella Coola and Kimsquit are unimportant, and differences in belief are less than they appear at first sight. The Bella Coola *kwaxit*
[981] seem to have perfected their organization and to have been able to impress the uninitiated to a greater extent than their Kimsquit fellows, but the fundamentals of the society are identical.

*575 Traditions concerning the early history of the society are
*796 probably of little value historically, but they are important as
193 indicating the mental attitude of the Bella Coola. Considering the importance of the society there are relatively few accounts of what took place long ago; the Bella Coola know that it exists, believe that the rites are identical with those carried out by their ancestors for generations, and theorize no further. It was only in the beginning of time that things were radically different; it is believed that then all the people were endowed

(c) Refers to a supernatural being.
(d) It was impossible to obtain individual translations of these four subdivisions. The meaning of the whole part is obscure.
(e) Refers to the supernatural beings.
(f) The translation is accurate for the part as a whole, though the interpretations of the first and third subdivisions may possibly have been transposed. The significance of the words in relation to the dance is obscure.
(g) That is: Keeps count of how much he has done.
(h) That is: The person counts his work.
(i) The supernatural Back-Bearer was the dancer's patron.

Song Used for Awaitsma, a Female Bella Coola Carpenter's (a) Dance (b)

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
When I was bold and head-strong(c), I nearly killed myself, I went to the place where(d)
[illegible]
detached power.

[illegible]

B [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible](e) placed angle down upon my head, for that reason the ravens(f)
[illegible]
made light(g) for me(h).

[illegible]

C [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Long ago(i) | Fishtrap | made this rite sensible,
[illegible]
the child(j).

(a) The persons were the four supernatural carpenters.
(b) Recorded on song VII D 20a, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the Sacred season of 1923-4.
(c) This song was sung at the dancer's initiation, the rite described has expired. [illegible] the length of which [illegible] a [illegible] was [illegible] for the benefit of the uninitiated.
(d) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.
(e) A supernatural being about whom nothing could be learned.
(f) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.
(g) In the sense of: Provided Sustenance.
(h) That is: The carpenters showed me the way to power.
(i) In the beginning of time.
(j) A reference to the figure of a child which is made to walk on a pegged or thin dance. No further information could be obtained.

[776]

[776]

[534]

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Tsuhse remained encamped for several days, during which time he sent word to the Bella Coola that he regretted the death of *Xelewelist* and had come to make peace. He added that his followers had tried to dissuade him, saying that he would be killed, but he had answered that he was too great a man to allow fear to influence his actions. B T 648 728

Having waited for several days, the party came up the Bella Coola River, their canoe loaded with presents and eagle down, while *Tsuhse*'s brother, *Nesiles*, wore the mask of his *tsewinam* as further proof of friendly intentions. It was unusual to display one except in a *tsewak* ceremonial, but this was an unprecedented event; he knew that he might soon be killed and he preferred to die while bearing the obvious mark of incorporation with some incident of an ancestral myth. The canoe was beached opposite the house of *Pielas* where the crew blew eagle down into the air to mark their peaceful mission. Men had gathered from all parts of the Bella Coola valley and several hot-heads wished to disregard the safe-conducts and slay their enemies, a course which they had recommended for several days and had tried to precipitate by overt acts against the Kitkatla. *Pielas* himself had not spoken, but he now appeared and advised the people not to harm *Tsuhse*, since everlasting hostility would result. Though his wishes did not entirely quiet the angry ones, they virtually assured the Kitkatla of a welcome. *Pielas* brought forward a mouse-skin, and told some of his people to hold it spread so that, when *Tsuhse* leapt from his canoe, he would land upon it, and could be carried to the house without putting foot to the ground. *Tsuhse* answered proudly that there was nothing on earth strong enough to support him, since his many potlatches had made him incomparably heavy. None the less, he accepted the honour, an assistance to landing shown only to mighty chiefs, and was carried into the house where he was seated in the far right-hand corner, an honourable location. *Pielas* invited all the people in the vicinity, slaves as well as Bella Coola, and the inner partitions of the house had to be removed to provide space for the throng. B T 726 B T 726 B T 622 554

Though *Pielas* had decided against the immediate killing of the [illegible] and decided against the immediate killing of the Kitkatla, he had concocted a scheme to test their bravery and the sincerity of their desire for peace. No one knew of this except his nephew, *Nemankai*, who was to carry it out. When all were seated, the latter appeared, his face smeared with ochre, and his hair tied up in a top-knot with weasel skins as is customary during war. *Nemankai* moved sunwise around the house, brandishing a musket and repeatedly pointing it at *Tsuhse* in a threatening manner. If the Kitkatla had shown nervousness, particularly if one of them had fired his own musket, a massacre would have resulted. But they remained unmoved, confident in the prestige of their leader, while he knew that though his body might be B 714

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115 Schooner lacked the mental acumen of Joshua and Jim, but
177 he revealed himself as a tribal patriarch, proud of his family's
[153] history and eager to assist his grandchildren and great-grand-
children, but feeling himself lost and helpless in the struggle before them. With sadness, but without bitterness, he used to speak of the approaching end of Bella Coola culture, and his words brought home the tragedy which the spread of civilization brings to so many, and the responsibility resting upon the white people as a whole.

153 Until an intelligence test is devised to correlate the mental
115 ability of the white man with that of the native, it is impossible to compare the two scientifically. None the less, the writer deliberately expresses the opinion that Joshua Moody and Jim Pollard are two of the most brilliant men he has met in any walk of life. They are undoubtedly the most able of the Bella Coola; others have only slightly less ability, while the mass of the population compares favourably with an
178 average white community. Their ability, however, is definitely conditioned by their conservatism. Absolute trust in the traditions of their ancestors has checked speculation, as the established explanation is never questioned; new inventions, unauthorized by custom, have been regarded as almost sacri-
[620] legious; the force of public opinion, while valuable as a deterrent to anti-social practices, has effectively restrained innovations. The Bella Coola are a good example of a community where development has been atrophied by extreme conservatism fostered by religious beliefs.

105 Taking into account the material obstacles, the achievements of these people have not been insignificant. In former
[322] times, provided only with tools of stone and untempered copper, they built graceful canoes, made watertight boxes, hewed planks from mighty cedars, and erected large houses which called for considerable engineering skill. Judged by
[532] white standards, their carving and painting lacked artistic deli-
[535] cacy, but it required no mean ability to portray crest designs to meet their own standards. Passing from the purely mechanical

501 of the older people remember seeing in their youth another type, *ikkan*, with a high raised prow; this may have been identical with the *nulka* which others describe as having an elevated bow and a low stern. An entirely different craft was the *tsuskwi'i*, named from one of the geese, [525] probably the white-fronted goose. A strip of maple fastened along each side caught the water in moving, with a sound like that of the peculiar rustling flight of the bird. The bow was often carved in the form of a [532] bird's head and the stern in that of a tail to further the resemblance. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of these canoes, though some had heard of them from their grandparents. The large, open type of canoe made by the Haida was known to the Bella Coola, but not constructed by them. Sails were used on all ocean-going canoes; they were usually of matting, though skins sewn together were occasionally employed.

501 Canoes are occasionally lashed together. In several *kwiste* dances a 535 wide platform for dancing is required, and the need is met by lashing planks crosswise over two canoes, near the bow and stern, thus fastening them together. Planking is laid on the two supports and a platform so constructed. Careful inquiries showed that this fastening was merely a temporary arrangement; the beams were not bound in any particular manner, nor was there any fixed distance between the craft. Sometimes 501 the same expedient was used for transport when the load was too heavy [171] for two canoes separately, a device which is said to have been used more commonly by the tribes of the outer coast than the Bella Coola. Canoes lashed together are termed *de-awaxip*.

Rafts, *sutdwa'a*, consisting of rough logs fastened together with cross-pieces, were commonly used on the lakes of the interior, and occasionally for river work when canoes were unavailable and there was no time to make them. Another expedient in similar emergencies was to [177] make bark canoes, such as are still constructed by the Carriers. The Bella Coola regard the construction of these as definite copying, and do not profess to have as much skill as their teachers whose canoes, it is said, can be folded for portaging. There is a tradition that, many generations ago, a few clever Bella Coola knew how to make skin canoes.

THE PREPARATION OF CEDAR-BARK

314 Early spring is the time to *cuxdamk*, that is, to gather the inner bark [221] of the cedar. Men occasionally assist in the task, though this is really [462] woman's work. The worker selects a small cedar, choosing one about [412] six inches in diameter, with smooth trunk and relatively free from knots. With a knife she makes a horizontal incision in the bark, two or three feet from the ground, sometimes girdling the sapling. Then she inserts her

287 thrown in, and hot stones lifted in to heat the mixture. Even at the
386 present time dye is never made on a stove, as it is thought that the gradual heating by means of stones is essential. As it becomes warm, the woman thoroughly stirs the ingredients with her hands, then, when it boils, some of the bark is lifted out and more added. This process is continued until the brew is deep red in colour. It is allowed to stand for a few minutes before the pounded cedar-bark is placed in it. The operator gently works it around until it is saturated, then lifts it out and hangs it up to dry. Several pieces of bark can be dyed in one solution, though it is necessary to add more alder-bark and more stones to maintain the proper strength and heat.

[285 Although red cedar-bark is the kind most commonly used, the Bella
177] Coola sometimes use the yellow cedar for mats and blankets, an art learnt from the Bella Bella.

THE MANUFACTURE OF PAINT

386 Paint, such as was used both for decorating the body and for pro-
[309 viding designs on wood, was obtained from a kind of rock found near
532 the head of a creek entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Ewed*.
317] Fragments of the red stone were broken off, thrown into a vessel containing water, and brought to a boil by the insertion of hot stones. Under the action of heat the rock became soft so that the manufacturer was able to pulverize it and run off the semi-liquid mixture into a small box. He would then chew cedar-bark and salmon roe, and spit into the paint, thoroughly mixing his saliva with it. When dry, the mixture was ready for use, and could be kept indefinitely.

[532 Anyone could paint who had the artistic skill, and it was chiefly artists
177] who used to make this kind of paint. Since the introduction of the white man's brilliant colours, there has been no demand for the duller native shade, and the making of paint has been discontinued.

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[825] *Sakskat*: Mountain on west side of the Kimsquit River.
saskt-a'xtsa-ten: One of the river sculpins.
sazahoula: To gather cedar-bark.
Sainatsa: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning
Satal: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Sallalta, "Winter Trail": Locality, perhaps village, on the upper Kimsquit River.
[101] *Satskmp*: Generic name of the inhabitants of the Dean valley.
Sawalk: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
Sasatka: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Sasalp: Mountain at Kimsquit which was in human form in the beginning of time.
saslamodimat: Meeting of the senior supernatural beings to discuss ceremonial matters at the winter solstice.
saslata: Provender provided by the supreme god for the first settlers in the beginning of time.
saa'xaa: Mud.
saatsa: Person or object which is taboo.
Saatsamen: Evil supernatural being.
Sgaaldzen, "Maker of Good Weather": Supernatural name of dog salmon.
saskmow pil mina: Term of opprobrium applied to a child whose father drove away his mother.
sqalam: Sorcerer's box.
Sas-tsatsata-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
sqala: Female lover, especially a paramour.
sqalam: Male lover.
Sqaqa-at: One of the first women to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
sqam: The bursting forth of light.
[785] *sastala*: Ceremonial chastity.
[831] *sastalajat*: The state of practising ceremonial chastity.
sastamat: Power engendered by ceremonial chastity.
sqala: 1—Sorcerer.
2—Racial name of a Bella Coola man.
Sqalqalqatta-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
saim: Cedar-bark cord.
Saimatsa: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Saimatsmah: Immoral supernatural woman.
gelal': Afterbirth.
Sqiyaata-a: Chief of the dogs in the beginning of time.
[838] *Sqaata*: 1—Hermaphrodite, a supernatural being.
[761] 2—Man who performs woman's work.
saamamata hlil': Life, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
[821] *Sal'lipal*, South Wind: A supernatural being.
[805] *Sakhil*, "Angry Moon": First moon after the winter solstice.
saka-al': Poisonous supernatural creature that travels with the War-Party of the Tsimsh.
salamah: "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts. The word has two meanings:
● [532] 1—Carved human figure set up by a shaman near the vessel of grease which is thrown on a fire.
2—Nickname bestowed on a man.

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

of these data refer to insects, and may be of interest to entomologists, although my spelling of Indian words is very problematical, because some of the sounds I can neither hear nor make, and I am unable to record adequately many of those that I can hear. The data here given are preliminary to a complete working over of my notes, but are believed to be nearly complete. B C 114 [104]

Insects apparently were not so well observed by the Bellacoola as were useful mammals and plants, the stinger of the bumble-bee, for instance, being supposed to be in its mouth. Few insects had names, that is, mainly those which were used or which troubled the Indians. Insects were not used for food, and honey was unknown until after the coming of the white man. The head of the gad-fly was used as a pattern in painting designs, the nest of the yellow-jacket in sympathetic magic or witchcraft, and "fly spit" was said to be good for sores. They had a story about the bumble-bee. B 825 B [262] [532] [757] [789]

Among the Ulkatcho also observation of insects was weaker than that of mammals and plants, and they apparently had names for only a few insects, those which troubled them. Ant lyon pits and its method of taking prey were known. Insects were of no use to the Ulkatcho whatever. An instance was observed of an Indian amusing himself with a buzzing fly held in his mouth. They employed smudges, fish oil, gum of the cottonwood, and blossoms of cow parsnip with oil to protect themselves from mosquitoes, black flies and no-see-ums, and smoke to protect foods from flies. C 825 C [751]

The Ant lyon, among the Ulkatcho, is called Kinnelkats. It is said to be numerous at Ulkatcho, but that it was useless and that there was no story about it. My informant voluntarily showed me the pits made by the larvae of this insect and, catching ants for the purpose, demonstrated its well-known method of taking its prey.

The grasshopper (*Orthoptera*), that makes a noise by rubbing its wings together when it flies, was called Telcus, among the Ulkatcho.

"Fly spit," that is the material surrounding a nymph of a spittle insect, also known as a frog hopper (*Cercopidae*), is said B 825 757

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NEA Bellacoola NEA
Carrier NE7

A fly which does not bite, perhaps the house fly among the Bellacoola, was called Mamamik, and was said to lay its eggs on fish and fish eggs. The place called Nemamamik was so named because the people thought they saw flies and they said mamamik, but when the supposed flies fell they were seen to be toads.

Among the Ulkatcho, this fly was called Anthen, and was said to lay its eggs on salmon. To keep off flies of all kinds and mosquitoes the blossoms of the cow parsnip, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx, called Gooms in Ulkatcho, were put in oil of the eulachon fish or any kind of oil and the mixture was put on the body. Every food that was smoked was smoked so that flies would keep away from it. Flies were not used as fish bait.

The Gad-fly, *Tabanus* sp.? probably *amoenum* O. S. of the family *Tabanidae*, which is commonly called horsefly, is numerous when the horses come down to Bella Coola from the interior. Among the Bellacoola it is called Sith lay ooll. It is said to lay its eggs in the backs of the caribou in July, and these hatch into "worms." The face and eyes, being pretty, were used long ago as a pattern for a picture which was painted on bone beads. There was no story of this fly.

Among the Ulkatcho, this gad-fly is called Cho co, and a smaller one is called Cho cho yas, yas signifying small. Once I was told that no medicine was used to keep off the gad-fly, but on another occasion that cottonwood gum with oil was used. Apparently for his own amusement, my Ulkatcho Indian informant held one of these flies by the abdomen inside his mouth and made it buzz.

Two kinds of little black biting fly, house fly (*Dysphoromyia* sp.?) apparently considered as one, are called Ukkyin ooll in Bellacoola. They are called Cho cho yas in Ulkatcho yas signifying small.

The Black fly, *Simulidae*, among the Bellacoola is called Tlous cous and Alk co ok hoil.

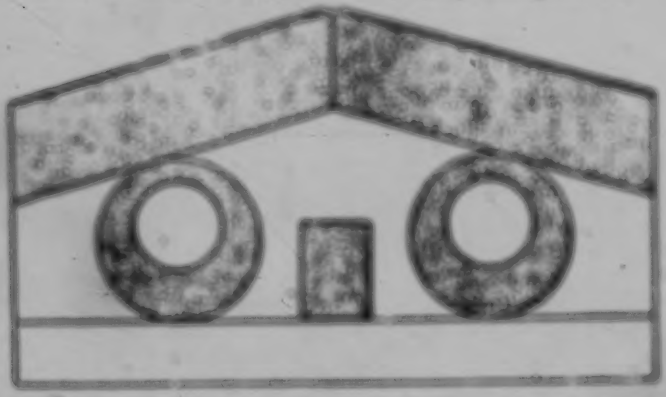
Among the Ulkatcho it is called Wheeko, while Tulk is the name of black flies, mosquitoes, and no-see-ums. All these were kept off with a smoke smudge made with a fire of any kind of wood on which were put such things as grass, wet, or rotten wood,

The evidence which I was present regarding the form of intermarriage is the following: I inquired of Wuk'ulinas (would relate to him) a member of the Sakiakwi gens, whether he might marry a Qawa'ilk woman; this suggestion he rejected with the greatest indignation.

Fig. 1.—House front of the gens Sakiakwi.

Members of the first two gentes, he explained later on, are not allowed to intermarry, neither are members of the last two gentes, while the first and second may marry among the third and fourth. He accounted for

Fig. 2.—House front of the gens Wuk'ulinas, representing the sun.



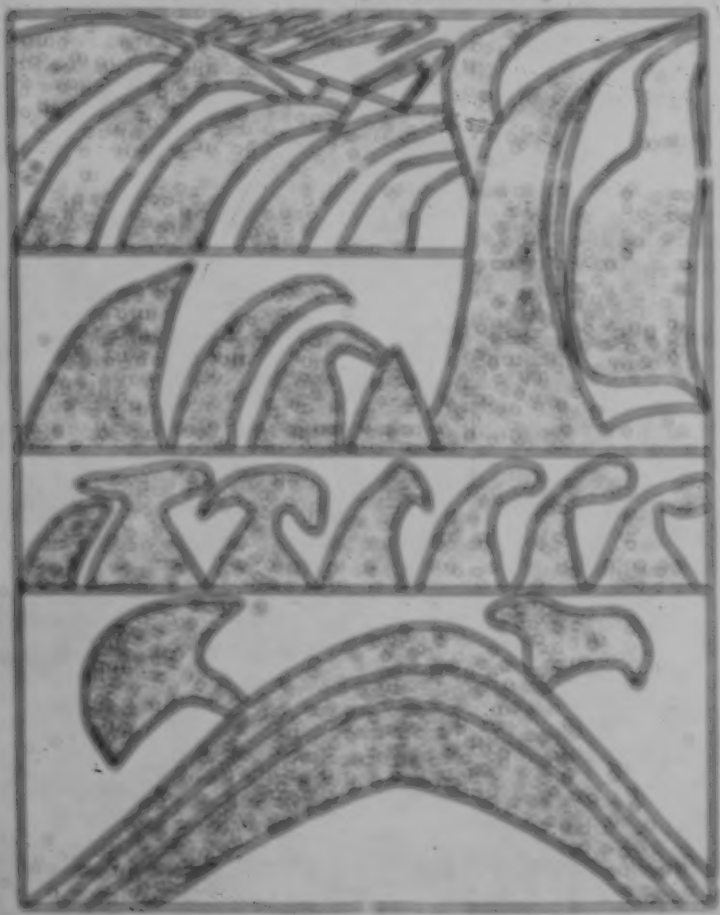
this by stating that Sakiakwi's ancestor married Qawa'ilk's daughter, and that consequently the two gentes were related to each other.

The gentes have much similar to those of the neighboring coast

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

The gens [illegible] have [illegible] painted on the house-front, and use to denote the mask of a large kind of whale ([illegible]), of the moon, and of the black bear.

The gens [illegible] use the mask of [illegible] (white eagle) and the eagle.

The gens [illegible] of the [illegible] use the moon (fig. [illegible]).

The gens [illegible] of the [illegible] use the moon, white (not [illegible]) eagle, whale, the [illegible] (grizzly), and [illegible], the [illegible]. They have one, moon, and [illegible] painted on the house-front, and the [illegible] suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. [illegible]).

The [illegible] gens of [illegible] has the moon [illegible] (white-[illegible]-[illegible]). He has the [illegible] [illegible] for a [illegible] day, and [illegible] on his poles, painted on his house-front (fig. [illegible]). [illegible] belonging to this [illegible] represents money.

The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the [illegible] being left to the choice of the parents.

Social Structure and the Potlatch

The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Haida are still more closely interwoven than they are among the [illegible], and seem to constitute a convenient. We have to describe here the potlatch, the [illegible], and the [illegible]. The [illegible] corresponds to the [illegible] of the northern [illegible] where the [illegible] is the [illegible]. The Haida believe that the potlatch has been instituted by two [illegible], one brother and one sister, the [illegible] among whom is [illegible], to whom were the [illegible] [illegible]. He resides with his [illegible] in a [illegible]

Fig. [illegible]. — Mask representing [illegible]. Fig. [illegible]. — Mask representing [illegible].

[illegible] to the [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

are grouped in pairs, and are allowed to paint their faces with designs 556
representing crows, ducks, or ravens. In the K'ci'wit these distinc- 773
tions have disappeared, and are represented by masks which I have copied. 776
Qi'ncinx and Qincqinxlā'ci wear the design of the full moon, indi- 776
cated in the mask (Qincinxlā, 6) by a double curved line in red and
black, the black colour, curved over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. 532
Qincinxlā'ela has a double curved line in red and black, the red col- 575
our being spread over forehead, cheeks, and chin (Fig. 5). Ainmā'lāqya 776
(Fig. 6) and Ainmālā'ela (Fig.) wear the design of the crescent, drawn

Fig. 6.—Mask representing Ainmālāqya.

Fig. 7.—Mask representing Ainmālā'ela.

in red and black, with difference similar to those between the full and crescent. The girls, K'mā'lāl'lāqya, and K'ā'ciniqa have designs representing stars (Fig. 8), both using the same style of mask. The crescent and K'ā'ciniqa, whose face represents the blossom of a mountain-lily bulb (Fig. 9). The men in with K'mā'lāl (who wants to have blackbeans) wear the design of a rainbow in black and blue (Fig. 10). The chief, Ainmā'l, wears an animal, a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a broken blanket. The last of the series is a woman called K'mā'qāqāla (who sets the sister of all the others. She face is painted with a double rainbow green (Fig. 11). She figures in several dances as dancing partner and pursued by the people whom she has offended.

The Shaman, which is used at potlatches and other festivals of 575
grades, is supposed over to bring their lives to the sun. A man who had 773
dies are dancing into the land, and was instructed by him in the 776
secrets of the future. When he returned he asked the people to show 776
their houses and to dance one with them said, before he commenced to
relate. Then he danced myself'ā'ca, and told the people what he had
seen. He said that his brother commanded them to perform this dance
and to allow themselves are dancing with carved headdresses with

Box R-5 (1886-ca. 1890)892
NEB Dellacosia NEB

[illegible] made of cotton skins, and to swing curved cutlas. The man, later on, returned to the sea. Ever since that time the Dilgyis dance the Sisaw'ka. Besides this it is stated that the Sisaw gave each gens its secrets.

Fig. 8.—Mask representing [illegible]

Fig. 9.—Mask representing [illegible]

Each gens has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the Sisaw'ka only, and are otherwise kept a deep secret, i.e., they are the sacred gensic

Fig. 10.—Mask representing [illegible]

Fig. 11.—Mask representing [illegible]

[illegible] of each gens. All gensic honors, now the beautiful curved [illegible] and are the silver cutlas, regardless of the carving they [illegible].

6:Boas E-5 (BBC-CA, 19903852
HEA Deliverable HEA

[illegible] 614
[illegible] 532
[illegible] 533
[illegible] 556
[illegible] [367]
[illegible] [368]
[illegible] [115]

[illegible] 614
[illegible] 532
[illegible] 551
[illegible] 556
[illegible] 575
[illegible] 408
[illegible] 575
[illegible] 614
[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] 556
[illegible] 426

[illegible] 575
[illegible] 573
[illegible] 576

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1899)292
NEA Bellacoola NEA

and by the strong house blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and blows everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he cannot reach anyone he will take his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fell from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the dancers must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the dancer dressed to a bear-skin and wearing a large headring, hearty breakfast and supper, all made of red and white cedar-bark. Bears dance the do not bite people, but merely throw red cedar, or bear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also eat corpses. The dancer has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to six months. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

The O'ing (= the laughter) and the Ot'ala (= the thunder) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The O'ing "makes fun of everything" and amuses people with his antics. The Ot'ala carries stones and sticks, and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day he goes for 3 or eight days in the forests. The O'ing and the Ot'ala must stay for one month, when they have danced, to their homes.

If a person transgresses the laws of the Kwakiutl, for instance when the dancer has gambled, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person forbids the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble to consult and the offender is called before the court. After his offence has been proved he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing, and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared, and the relatives is killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is entrusted to the dancers, who terrorize the condemned person by throwing dances into him, or by pulverizing him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the dancers is a shell knife, or finger-nail, around the middle of which objects a brass hair is tied. If this object pierces the offender he will fall sick. Shell collects in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this shell, and with it the dancer-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The leader (see the circular and other ceremonies) used to the Kwakiutl are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Dancers wear a necklace of red cedar-bark, even their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others the dancers dance and his servant Ishgaik'anem, who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and a staff with red and blue spiral lines, appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Qa'ksala and the Grizzlies and the sisters (see p. 618), Shamanaik'aq and his fellows, the crows and the Frog's-eye, and many others.

Customs concerning Birth, Puberty, Marriage, and Death.

When the time of delivery approaches the woman leaves the house and repairs to a small hut built for the purpose. She is assisted by gra-

[illegible]

[illegible] the House of Shiba has who has given up his place to lover of Tsuru and Kyō-nosuke. These two might be called the nature of materials. In most traditions they are described as being in dreamy state, notwithstanding the fact that they are considered the creators of mankind. This peculiar characteristic of these deities is clearly brought out in the traditions recorded on pp. [illegible]. In one legend which I collected in Ōgiri, Kyō-nosuke's mother, Yuzumichi-no-ōgami-no, is described as a Goddess, who wants her long mate in the sea of rain, and rocks and the hills. Eventually she was overtowed into the mountain. I did not find her mentioned as one of the deities residing in the House of Shiba. According to the same tradition, the silkworm were obtained by a man who gambled with Kyō-nosuke, the silkworm being the stakes. Kyō-nosuke lost and the man took the silkworm down from heaven. Another legend of the origin of the silkworm is recorded on p. [illegible]. Silkworm is said here the Gods obtained the silkworm. According to still another tradition (p. [illegible]), the Gods obtained the silkworm by marrying a silkworm girl. In the tradition quoted above, Kyō-nosuke also gives to man the power to cure disease by means of the water of life, which the disease spirit[illegible] on the sick person.

A number of minor deities live in the House of Shiba. They might be called the servants of the principal deities. In order to understand their functions, it is necessary to note that the deities residing in the House of Shiba have particular charge of the religious ritual connected of the daily [illegible] which is called Ishiba and which corresponds to the religious of the Hondō. I have described the ceremonies and its importance in the social life of the Hondō in another paper. The Ishiba is of equal importance in our understanding of the social life and mythology of the Daily [illegible]. It is unknown to me, in this place, that the ceremonies performed during the Ishiba are mostly dramatic representations of myths relating to the various deities particularly to those of the House of Shiba. Therefore many representing these deities are used in the ceremonies. (Plate [illegible]) or [illegible] (Plate [illegible]) a series of these masks. Figs. [illegible] and [illegible] (Plate [illegible]) are masks, Kyō-nosuke, and Daikokuten. The wearing of masks of the deities makes them come to life which is the Ishiba. These deities and their functions are as follows:—Shōgatsu-Ishiba (Plate [illegible], Fig. [illegible]) relates the birth of man and animals. According to the tradition, this [illegible] man and the deities of the same in the House of Shiba. It is the particular duty to tell these deities (images), the face of the Ishiba. This duty is most sacred by Ishiba, who will not [illegible] Kyō-nosuke. Hanatsugi (Plate [illegible], Fig. [illegible]) is the dancing of the House of Shiba, and by means of an

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 776

[illegible] [576]

[illegible] [578]

[illegible]

[illegible] 776
[illegible] 713

[illegible] 776

[illegible] 776
[illegible] 522

776 ships of the silver-furry blossom; A'Ma'ki' has the shape of a kingfisher;
and a'Ma'ki'ma is painted with the design of a water-lily filled
with green. The seven rings of red and white cedarbark. The carving
representing the kingfisher has the wings attached to the sides of the head,
while the tail rises over the forehead. K'omoxsiT'a is said to carry a small
totem in his arms. His name is Naqu'ata. When the brothers and their
sister decided to do harm to men, the crowds fled to Ikeia. In some
traditions these deities are described as the children of Ba'ami'n.'

776 In one tradition a'Ma'ki'ma is described as visiting houses and
773 making provisions. She is then pursued by the person whom she has
wronged, and returns to the House of Myths. The deities are unable to
save her; but the person who wounded her is called in, and withdraws his
arrow, whereupon she recovers.' Formerly I had the impression that these
[114] two deities were particularly concerned with the sick'a'ma'ma'; but this
[776] impression has not been substantiated by the information I received during
the past year. The two deities appear much rather as deities of the bi'ami.

775 In the case of the House of Myths there is a name named ciliam, to
773 which the use of the deities from. He came to Bi'ami'n or Sagamanu'k.
776 When Sisa and Ba'ami'n decide to destroy their victims, they send them
[773] past the door of Bi'ami'n's room. The latter then rushes out of his room
and devours the victims. He also intimes the Cannibal. According to
the tradition of the tribe Bi'ami'n, they acquired membership in the
Cannibal Society in the following manner: Bi'ami'n came down to the
mountain lake, where he met with the son of Sanaki'ula, the first of
the tribe. He conducted him up to the House of Myths. He took him into
his room, and gave him the name Qwaka'ustam. He put a snake into his
body, which enabled him to pass through the water. When the youth
applied his mouth to the body of a person, the snake was pieces of flesh
from the body, and devoured it. Then Bi'ami'n took the youth to the
upper heaven, past the sun in the sky, and to the house of the supreme
deity, Qamu'ta. The two approached the house, being blown towards it by
the strong gale prevailing in the open country of the upper heaven. There
found Qamu'ta sitting in front of his house; and she said to Bi'ami'n,
"Why don't you come in? You wish that your friend should obtain great
supernatural power. Bring him to my house, and I will give him what you
desire. Stay for a short while where you are, and I will show you what I
am doing." Much slowly when the door of my house closes he opens."
After a little while the door closed to view. It gave back at once, and
the two children friend, but were they recovered. When the door opened to
view again, it gave light. The children remained sitting on the ground, and

[115] [illegible]

They had lit a fire, and their guns were broken. He said there were [illegible] 539
time, and when it was nearly dark he returned home. Before he reached 776
his house, he cut his own belly and took out some of the fat from his
intestines. He cut it in five pieces, and replaced his intestines. He put the
fat into his quiver. When he reached his house, he hung the quiver up
outside, and entered. He imitated everything the Eyes had done. When
it grew dark, he told his wife to fetch his quiver. She brought it, and he
told her to open it and to feed his children. She took the fat out, placed
it on a stick, and put it near the fire; and as soon as it grew warm, the
Raven cried, "Pia! Don't put it so near the fire. I feel sick when you
do so." He jumped up took hold of the fat, and put it back in his belly.
The Eyes said, "Formerly I fed your children, but you were the first not
to treat me properly. You did not give any food to my children." Then
the Eyes took some fat, and flung one piece to each of the Raven's chil-
dren. He cut some more and gave it to them also. Then the Raven said,
"I will give you one of my children, that it may grow up to company
with yours."

It is said that the Orange spirit Tu'ku'ti was killed at one time by an 777
Indian who took his place. This tale is recorded in Chap. IX. It belongs to 776
the cycle of the village Tsawalk. A similar tradition is told of Xaxe,
to which name the Carrier call the Raven, their principal culture hero. 778
Many traditions referring to Xaxe are common to the Carrier, the Bella
Coola, and the Kwakiutl of Rivers Inlet.

The Bella Coola believe that a being called Q'ness is the father of all 776
conceptions. When a hunter starts from his house to kill a bear, 776
he should close his eyes and open them again. If the animal is Q'ness, it
will appear to be red shape or a bank of cumulus cloud. The hunter 805
should then accost the apparition. If he should descend, he would kill
and die.

The thunderstorm is produced by the Thunderbird, who lives on the 776
mountains, in the company of a number of spirits, who are considered his
particular friends. The Thunderbird himself is represented by a black 778
mask with red mouth. The nose is straight carved, the forehead bulging
forward, and the chin protrudes almost as far forward as the nose (Plate XII, 5
Fig. 1). His headdress is called Kwakiutlsamm (Plate XII, Fig. 2). He dies
is painted with orange and blue stripes, and he carries a speaker's staff
which is painted with spots of the same colors. He watches the door of
the Thunderbird's house. In the house live the Gulbin (Plate XII, Fig. 3);
the Owl, who is considered the chief of the Thunderbird (Plate XII, Fig. 4);
the Hummingbird, Q'ngin (Plate XII, Fig. 5); the Gulubup (Plate XII, Fig. 6) 778

[illegible]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VII.

(1) [illegible] colours [illegible] colour [illegible] etc. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

532.
776

Fig. 1 = Shell representing [illegible] (front and profile). General colour, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 2 = Shell representing [illegible] (front and profile). General colour, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 3 = Shell representing the Dragon of the Stream of Mylitta. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 4 = Shell representing [illegible] (front and profile). General colour, [illegible] [illegible]. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 5 = Shell representing [illegible] (front and profile). General colour, [illegible] [illegible]. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 6 = Shell representing [illegible] (front and profile). General colour, [illegible] [illegible]. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 7 = Double shell, representing [illegible] (opened, closed, and profile of lower shell). Lower face, red, blue, and black; [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 8 = Shell representing [illegible] (the [illegible]). [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 9 = Shell representing [illegible]. General colour, black, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 10 = Shell representing [illegible] (front and profile). [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 11 = Shell representing [illegible] (front and profile). [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 12 = Shell representing [illegible]. General colour, black, orange. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 13 = Shell representing [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

[Facing End Plate III]

[End Plates I–VI not preserved]

[illegible]

[End Plate XIX]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Totems of the Haida Indians, Queen Charlotte Islands

[End Plate VIII]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE IX.

(A. [illegible] Nat., [illegible], etc., [illegible] of wood.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Design: full moon. Natural colors, black, red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 2.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Design: full moon. Natural colors, black, red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 3.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Design: half-moon. Natural colors, black, red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 4.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Design: half-moon. Natural colors, black, red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 5.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Design: [illegible]. Natural colors, black, red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 6.—Mask representing [illegible], wearing a ring of red cedar-bark (front and profile). Design: [illegible]. Natural colors, black, red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 7.—Mask representing [illegible] (front and profile). Design: [illegible]. Natural colors, black, red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 8.—Mask representing [illegible] (the kingfisher). Wings or [illegible] of bark, tail over the forehead. Natural colors, black. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

Fig. 9.—Mask representing [illegible], wearing a ring of red and white cedar-bark (front and profile). Design: [illegible]. Natural colors, black, red. Height, [illegible] inches. Cat. No. [illegible].

[Facing End Plate IX]

[illegible] of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate IX]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE X.

(1) Cross-section indicates black; vertical hatches, red; diagonal, green; white, natural color of wood, except in case where the whole mask is black.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Nagamiyu'emsis. Black, red; ornamented with red cedar-bark. Height, 18 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 2.—Mask representing the Bear of Heaven. Green, black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 3.—Mask representing Ack'e'l'ameu (front and profile). Natural color, red, black, green. Height, 8 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Aiq'ne'yamem (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Aiq'ne'yamem (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 6.—Mask representing Aiq'ne'yamem (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 7.—Mask representing Nuxal'waqs, before the birth of the flowers (front and profile). Greenish with faint reddish spots, black. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 8.—Mask representing the shamans of Nuxal'waqs (front and profile). Black, white arcades under eyes. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 9.—Mask representing Nuxal'waqs, after the birth of the flowers (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 10.—Mask representing A'ts'ts'q'ia (the moon). Natural color, black. Height, 18 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 11.—Mask representing attendant of Nuxal'waqs (front and profile). Natural color, red, black. Height, 11½ inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 12.—Mask representing the Black Bear. Natural color, green, red, black. Length, 15 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

[Facing End Plate X]

Volume II-1 (1890-ca. 1894)[illegible] NES Bulletin NES

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Masks of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate X]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NES Bellacoola NES

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XI.

∴ Cross-hatchers indicate black; vertical hatchers, red; horizontal, blue; dots, orange; white, natural color of wood, except in cases where the whole mask is black.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing the thunder-bird (front and profile). Black, red. Height, 21½ inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 2.—Mask representing ALXALÁ'TSAUM (front and profile). Ornamented with red cedar-bark. Orange, blue. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 3.—Mask representing the rabbit. Set with mountain-goat skin. Natural color, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 4.—Mask representing the owl. Black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing LO'QOLI (the mountain). Natural color, black. Height, 19½ inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 6.—Mask representing the raindrop. On top of the mask is a long switch set with feathers, only the lower part of which is shown. Natural color, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

[796] Fig. 7.—Bird-shaped implement worn by a companion of the thunder-bird. It is filled with eagle-down. During the dance it is shaken, and the down flies out of the holes in the lower part of the implement and from the back. Length, 18 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 8.—Mask representing the sea-monster K'Ela'la. Red, blue, black. Height, 19 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 9.—Mask representing the spirit LALALÁ'IL. Black, orange, set with bear-skin. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 10.—Mask representing the hermaphrodite (front and profile). Natural color, red, black. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

[facing End Plate XI]

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[796]

Masks and Carving of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate XI]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XII.

△ Constitution indicates black; vertical hatching, red; horizontal, blue; white, natural color of wood.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Ketlikwa'a'a (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 2.—Mask representing Ketlikwa'a'a (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 3.—Mask worn by the Cannibal dancer (front and profile). Natural color, black, red. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 4.—Mask worn by the assistant of the Cannibal dancer. Blue, red, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 5.—Mask worn by the assistant of the Cannibal dancer (front and profile). Blue, red, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 6.—Carving representing the Tl'ksem in the shape of an eagle. Red. Length, 11 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 7.—Carving representing the Tl'ksem in the shape of a wolf. Red, black. Length, 12 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 8.—Mask worn by the assistant of the Tl'ksem (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 8 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 9.—Mask worn by the Ōts (front and profile). Red, blue, black. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

Fig. 10.—Club carried by the Ōts. Red, blue, black. Length of head, 7 inches. Cat. No. 1[illegible].

[facing End Plate XII]

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Masks and Carvings of the Bella Coola Indians

[End Plate XII]

[End Plates XIII - XXVI not processed]

every morning when the sun rises. Its labor ceases that he rises prop- 556
erly. The first six of these fellows are grouped in pairs, and are 557
believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, 558
and rainbow. In the lowest three fellows make their appearance, and
are represented by snakes. Kwakiutl and Kwagwilhla wear the 559
design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Kwakiutl by a 560
double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over 561
forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Kwagwilhla has a double curved
line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead,
cheeks, and chin. Alaxalilla and Alaxalilla wear the design of
the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those
between the first and second masks. The fifth Qlaqlaxalilla and
Qlaxalilla have designs representing stars, both wearing the same
style of mask. The seventh is Qalaxwa, whose face represents the
blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The eighth is Galilla (who
wants to have bluebirds feet), whose the design of the rainbow is
black and blue. The ninth, Alaxa'k, wears on the head a mask repre-
senting a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last
of the series is a woman called Alaxalilla (the sister), the sister of
the others. Her face is painted with the design of a blubber filled with
grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pur-
chased by the people whom she has robbed.

The sisa'k, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of 575
the clans, is permitted even by a being that lives in the sea. A man who 577
had gone out hunting met the sisa'k and was instructed by him in the 576
secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean 578
their houses and to show them with clean wood before he commenced to
paint. Then he danced the sisa'k and told the people what he had
seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this
dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses
with tails of sea-lion skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man,
later on, returned to the sea. Ever since that time the Ba'kwis dance
the sisa'k. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its 614
crests. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the 624
sisa'k only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are 532
the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beau-
tiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the
carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are
shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although 624
the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by 532
each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to 536
acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan 614
to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegiti-
mate children, can not become sisa'k. A person can not take a
new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—
father, mother, or elder brother. Nuk'ala'ata, the Indian, to whom I

one my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the gens Intelmott of the Tsilt'ne', stated that he had received the raven when known his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whole at his second potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, as develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a ko'sint name, which remains through life, and a Ku'stenox name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Tsoi'ste'sta's (which is his ko'sint name) Ku'stenox name was Al'ilxmax'ba'alx, but at his next potlatch he intended to take the name of Kalit'kin. These names are also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names. When a man possesses several sisan'k' secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisan'k' secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisan'k' secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The coat and the sisan'k' carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular clan.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going to pay the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The ko'sint is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaflikuta'al'x. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anaflikuta'al'x invited her into her cave and taught her the secrets of the ko'sint. She wore ornaments of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

575 to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one
[782] morning he recovers, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all
787 his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong winds
blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone
[165] whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his
own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the
[774] body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try
[790] for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have succeeded it the Sisaoʼla dances, clothed in a breechcloth and wearing a large
[347] hand ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark.
[301] Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the Gwʼnpela (fig. 280), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that of DzelkwalanaxʼLaʼwat of the Kwakiutl.

[532] [171]

[342]

Fig. 281.
MASK OF THE GʼNPELA.
Bellacoola.
Cat. No. 19001, U. S. N. M.
Collected by F. Boas.

[528] [834]

Those Sisaoʼla do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The Sisaoʼla has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

The oʼlex (the laughter) and the daʼtla (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The oʼlex "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The daʼtla carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The oʼlex and the daʼtla, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

575 If a person transgresses the laws of the koʼsint, for instance, when
638 the xlaxoʼla gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in
[792] council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty
575 of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing
688 to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the substitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted
754 to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing dis-
756 ease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around

the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the attacker, he will fall sick. Blood is believed to collect in his stomach, and if it happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the ceremonial are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Natives must wear a necklace of red cedar bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others, the thunder bird and his servant, Ts'ooskwa'ntsoos (who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and carries a staff with red and blue spiral lines), appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Ts'ooskwa and his brothers and his sisters; Hamamts'a'ts and his fellows, the raven and the sea-eagle, and many others.[1]

Fig. 96.
[illegible]
Haida.
[illegible]

THE TSIMSHIAN, NISQA', HAIDA, AND TLINGIT.

The tribes of this group learned the ceremonial severally from the Hi'Ltsuq. Although I have not witnessed any part of their ceremonials, the descriptions which I received bring out with sufficient clearness its similarities to the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl. The ceremonials seem to be almost identical among all these tribes. It is most complete among the southwestern Tsimshian tribes, particularly the G'itsa'la, but has been adopted by all the tribes of the coast. It is said that it reached the Haida not more than a hundred years ago.

I will tell here what I learned from the Nisqa'. They have six societies, which rank in the following order: The sxmhalei't, mi'la', ts'ilx'm, dlaix', nanstd'i't, hanana'i, the last being the highest. The sxmhalei't is really not confined to the winter ceremonial, but is obtained when a person acquires the first guardian spirit of his clan and performs the ceremony belonging to this event. The tradition of the origin of these ceremonies localizes the events at Bellabella, and it

[1] See "Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas," page 311, by F. Boas.

One of *Hamatsa*'s principal functions is that of acting as leader of the *Tsetsaut* dances of the supernatural beings. As already described, these take place in *Waumis*, the name of which is changed to *Nuqualmaxa* for the occasion, while the supernatural cases are awaiting *Hamatsa*'s entry at the winter solstice. As soon as he comes, his curtains have caused most of his guests to rush forth. Among those remaining is *Sisauldaka*, the Lawyer, his chief adviser in *Tsetsaut* matters. This being is somewhat individually regarded as a supernatural grizzly bear. He is subordinate to *Hamatsa*, and cannot himself initiate proposals, but he can interrupt the speeches of his superior if he feels bold. Human singers are under his special guidance. He is so powerful that if he raises his head in anger at any marvel, the latter falls dead. As far as could be learned, *Sisauldaka* is concerned only with *Tsetsaut* matters and never visits this earth.

One of the most intangible of the Bella Coola supernatural beings is a woman, *Kimsaqa*, *Mistle*, "The Snow-Maker" or *Tsi Sisauldi*, "The Slave-Owner." Boas (p. 68) recorded fairly definite information about her, but the writer could gather only inconsequential fragments. Mortals are as slaves to her, but she takes little interest either in their welfare or actions. In the beginning of time, *Hamatsa* sent her down to earth to watch the behaviour of mortals and report to him. She needed a central location for this purpose and accordingly chose Restoration Bay, where she could watch the canoes as they passed up and down the coast. At first the inhabitants of the earth showed her great respect, but gradually she was ignored and canoes passed her home without stopping. Moreover, she began to fear that she might be injured by the proximity of mankind, and especially that human footsteps might contaminate and mar her supernatural frame. So she fled far to the south, whither no one knows. In fact, no one is even absolutely certain that she went to the south. According to a well-known Bella Coola tradition, a man once tried to climb Mount *Nuqalz* and found a pleasant grassy place near

*556 Island chief was felt by the Bella Coola to be quite natural; 548 one of their own chiefs might have resented the insult in the same manner. This account may have no historical basis, but it is a clear example of Bella Coola sentiment.

*556 Further examples may help to clarify this point. A few 648 years ago a number of Kwakiutl Indians visited Bella Coola 558 to perform a mourning ceremony in honour of a deceased Bella 76 Coola who had a Kwakiutl name from his grandfather, a member of that tribe. All the natives was invited to a large house, where the visitors gave a dance according to their own ancestral myths; the songs which were used recounted the history of the Kwakiutl name of the dead man. After thus displaying their prerogatives, they felt themselves obliged, and proud, as hosts, to give presents as validation. The sum of $546 was distributed among the guests. Realizing that it would be impossible to return such a sum by holding ceremonials in Fort Rupert, the home of the Kwakiutl, the leading Bella Coola decided to return the compliment immediately. The amount to be given was discussed at great length. Appreciating the courtesy of the foreigners in thus coming to pay honour to the deceased, it was not wished to insult them by giving a larger present, which would have had the effect of intimating that the recipients considered the $546 a trifling amount. Accordingly it was finally agreed to give the visitors about $300, which was done as validation of a Bella Coola ceremony at which the strangers were present. Thus the hosts allowed themselves to be shamed as a mark of courtesy. Not to be outdone in politeness, the Kwakiutl chief made a speech, expressing his willingness to allow the Bella Coola to drive him (this occurred in the days of horses and carts) to the wharf to take the steamer. In other words, he allowed the Bella Coola to put him in their debt, as they had allowed him and his party to do with respect to the distribution of money. The visit terminated with friendly relations maintained on both sides.

129 The need of validating every ceremonial act by presents
*523 can be further illustrated by the following instance. When
*556
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the writer was in Bella Coola, a non-ceremonial entertainment was given one evening at which several men sang and performed. The writer was asked to sing a Bella Coola song, which he did in the belief that it was not one that was incorporated in the ancestral myth of anyone. Unfortunately, his teacher had erred, and as soon as the song was completed an old woman arose and stated that it belonged to her ancestral family. She avoided the difficulty of its singing by immediately announcing that the singer was her "son." Thus the writer was adopted into a Bella Coola family, a circumstance which aided him considerably in collecting information. This did not alter the fact that a ceremonial song had been sung. Accordingly, the woman gave presents to the guests, thereby legalizing the adoption, and saving herself from the disgrace of having one of her songs used as if it were a matter of no consequence, free to anyone. 128 538 556* 424 [597]

SEATING

Presents are also a means of obtaining seats. Every Bella Coola has at least one name embodied in an ancient myth. A man who wishes to become a chief can do so only by giving lavish presents to make his designation "strong," "firm," or "bright," to use Bella Coola expressions. Such gifts increase the importance of the owner's name, and they obtain for him the right to a seat, more or less definitely located, in the house. Since all Bella Coola habitations are built on similar lines, a man can occupy his wonted position when summoned to a ceremony in any house. The validating of ancestral names and the acquisition of seats are among the important features which occur at potlatches. 554 556* [622] [424] [553]

In the beginning of time, when the first people were sent down to populate the earth, it is assumed that each who established a village, consisting of a single house, seated himself in the best spot within the dwelling, namely the central position behind the fire; his younger relatives ranged either beside him [773]

556 words and forwards away the contraries with shouting and movement, and those who have failed to carry away their bones of food hasten to remove them out of the danger zone. It is a time of licence, and even one of the most influential chiefs may be struck by the rum or his food scattered without consideration. The rum is driven back, but those who bear it steer the log so that instead of passing out through the door it strikes the front wall, shattering some of the boards with their old paintings. With a shout they drive forwards again until part of the wall at the back of the house is likewise destroyed. Then those within the house gain the mastery and the log is carried outside, dragging its struggling bearers with it. They drop the log and return inside as if nothing untoward had occurred. This destruction of the house walls is a necessary preparation for their replacement with new paintings on new boards. When quiet has been restored a herald stands up.

"Listen!" he cries. "Ye chiefs, ye wives of chiefs, and ye commoners, soon we shall hear the supernatural beings."

533 535 575 556 Then the singers beat out the tune of any *kwaiat*. He whose song it is begins to dance, using the type of which he has the prerogative, but as the supernatural being with whom he has a ceremonial affinity is not present, the dance is not considered sacred. As soon as one *kwaiat* has finished, the tune of another is beaten, and he too dances. The singers change from *kwaiat* to *kwaiat*, and please themselves about the order in which they shall dance, also about how many shall perform. This continues until late in the night. Then they beat out a *nuaak* tune and the member of that society to whom it belongs performs his dance, a non-sacred affair, like those of the *kwaiat*. One after another dances as his or her tune is beaten out, until dawn approaches. Meanwhile several *nuaak* have been sent outside

[104] Henceforth in this monograph the term "singer" will be used as a translation of the Bella Coola word, *nuaiaat*. The singers sit together behind the fire. It is their duty to remember the tune and text of every song; to beat out the tune for every dancer and to accompany him by singing the words of his song.

with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *nawak* ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from them, and sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy being had landed there. At once there is great excitement within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove there to be at hand. No one is allowed to leave except a *nawak sibi*[1] who is skilled in dealing with *Mulabela*,[2] also called *Sisiutpawan*, the supernatural being closely connected with the *nawak* ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *sibi* raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance.

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

[1] The accounts of all informants agree that much of the *nawak* ritual was newly imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements, *Pahlas*, a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella wife, also spoke from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with them an elaborate certain *nawak* propagation. It is said that previous to that time the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the youths secluded in the back-room, nor to dispel the beings at the conclusion of the rites. On the other hand, some Bella Coola claim that their first ancestors brought the whistles with them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural beings is a recent addition to the pattern, which accounts for the contradictory accounts, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It appears certain that the propagation of *sibi* has recently been obtained from the Bella Bella. *Sibi* means "the man who cures," and the name is given to the man whose propagation it is to send the *hamat* initiates in whom supernatural powers are located. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for *nawak* matters, known as a *hai-ahbida*. Through intermarriage several Bella Coola have recently obtained this propagation; in each case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to them, as favoured, the term *sibi*, as they do for the *hamat* "cures," though the Bella Bella name, *hai-ahbida*, is used with equal frequency. The present *sibi* have endeavoured to claim for themselves certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by any *nawak*. In this account of a potlatch it is assumed that a *sibi* is functioning on all occasions, but in many cases any senior *nawak* is considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *nawak* was regarded as capable of doing so.

[2] Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a certain *Sasanax* of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time.

request X to have his son initiated, promising him financial assistance.

These preliminaries have probably been commenced before sunrise; at any rate they are completed as soon as possible, so that a few nights later X is able to instruct a herald to invite the *zuzek* to his house. The singers are in attendance. The father, or other relative, of one of those about to be received into the ranks of the *zuzek*, expounds in general terms the ancestral myth containing the name to be conferred, or will ask a fluent speaker to depute for him. Another follows, until myths have been recited for all. The singers listen attentively, knowing that without further instruction they are expected to compose two songs for each person, embodying a few salient points in the myth, without exposing the details. In point of fact, the singers have probably heard the myth on previous occasions. After a distribution of food, provided by X, the people disperse.

For several days the singers work at the songs. The principles governing their composition are identical for all types. At night, as he walks in the forest, or at any other time, a singer constantly tries to compose a tune. Others do the same, and at intervals they meet, either in some lonely spot or in the back-room of a house. Each singer who has composed a tune beats out its time, humming as he does so; then another gives his tune, and perhaps a third. After much discussion, which in some cases becomes acrimonious, it is decided what two tunes are the best for so-and-so. Words are then supplied, a matter of less difficulty, all the singers assisting. In this way the fourteen songs required are provided. When ready, one of the singers informs X of the fact.

X decides that on a certain night two of the initiates shall begin a period of confinement in the back-room of his house. This information is passed round in secret by the *zuzek*, and the initiate, whom it will be convenient to refer to as Y, is duly warned. At dusk a reliable *zuzek* is sent out to the woods behind the village with one of the large cone-shaped whistles.

533 This is promptly heard. Y may be in his own house, but
556 once any number of *nusal* rush in and conduct him, unassisted
575 in their midst, to the back-room of X's dwelling. All the *nusal*
of the village begin to gather there; those who are not mem-
bers of the society are also free to enter the main part of the
house, though they cannot take any part in the proceeding.
[781] They lurk near the door, watching with intense mixed wit
fear, and ready to flee if the danger from supernatural beings
seems too acute.

After some delay, a whistle is heard at intervals, gradually
becoming louder as if the supernatural being, of which it is the
voice, were coming nearer. Presently it sounds immediately
outside the door, and a *sisi* rushes forth. He returns in a
moment, followed, amid the breathless excitement of the uni-
[592] tiated, by a figure masked as a bird or animal. The design
represents Y's crest, or some creature with which one of his
ancestors came in contact, and which is therefore regarded as
having the same sociological importance. A member of the
society has carved the mask, another wears it, but this the
uninitiated do not know.

[776] "It is a *tsiwinam*,"[10] they gasp.

The figure crouches thoughtfully and bends down beside the
singers to whom it appears to be whispering. Presently they
begin, softly, to tap out a song in rapid time as if the super-
natural visitor had just taught it to them. It is divided into
two or three parts and the theme is taken from Y's ancestral
myth.[11] After two or three rehearsals, the singers beat out the
time more loudly and accompany it with their voices, while
[535] the masked figure dances. A number of older *nusal* accom-
pany the performer as he whirls around the house; it is pre-
tended that this is necessary to shield the spectators, though
the real function is to guide the dancer whose sight is handi-

[10] Meaning, "What is displayed," or, "A materialization."

[11] If the *nuqkyu* is a son or other near relative of the chief who is giving the potlatch, the theme may consist of boasting references to the goods about to be distributed. This is customary for X himself if he performs as a *nusal* at the actual ceremony.

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capped by the mask. If the *tutwinam* represents Wasp[10] or Grizzly Bear, he does not make a circuit and a fluent *susak* explains that to do so would be unsafe owing to the ferocity of these animals. When the song is ended, the figure passes into the back-room. After a short interval it reappears, recrosses the house, and leaves by the front door, to the accompaniment of increased whistling.

A few myths embody two *tutwinam*. In this case, a second figure presently enters and the same ritual is repeated for a second song. This usually differs, musically, from the first, being in three parts and with even more rapid time. More often, the second song is merely beaten out by the singers without the appearance of a *tutwinam* to supply an obvious source.

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This is the normal, but not the only practice with regard to a *tutwinam*. In some cases the figure does not appear until after the singing of the first song, and the uninitiated are told that it has been attracted by the music. In this case it passes into the back-room, later to reappear and leave by the front door. An announcement is made that it has brought a strange power, that Y has become peculiar, and that his name is now, for example, *Quaquasila*. A herald bears this news through the village. A second song is then sung in due course.

[776]

The *tutwinam* is difficult to classify among Bella Coola supernatural beings. It appears in the form of an ancestral crest, but the *susak* do not seem to have taught the uninitiated to regard it as Y's actual forefather. It remains as a supernatural embodiment of his crest, a materialization of an element of family history, and a motive for the use by Y of a mask representing the apparition. The uninitiated do not seek further; they have seen a wonderful sight and are content.

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Several of the older *susak* stated that the *tutwinam* concept was not indigenous to Bella Coola; it had been recently

[10]None of the first people came to earth as Wasps, but several received so much help from these insects that they are regarded as crests by the descendants of those whom they assisted.

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556 adopted, probably as a prerogative obtained through mar-
575 riage, from the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people. The diver-
177 sity in ritual supports this view. There was not sufficient
[796] time for the procedure to become stabilized between the intro-
duction of the concept and the dislocation of Bella Coola social
life through the influence of the white man. It is also possible
that the *tutuiwam* was added to *susak* rites from the older
a'alt society (I, p. 273).

532 Whatever may have been the history of the *tutuiwam*, it
556 provides Y with a mask, or with two, if two figures have ap-
575 peared. He guards them jealously, though secretly, through-
out his life and uses them only on rare ceremonial occasions.
[969] It is one of these masks which will be brought out if one of his
family gives a dramatic representation of his return after death.
[428] A mask of this type is sometimes willed, but the legatee alters
the design before using it.

556 A short pause follows the singing of the second, or third,
575 song, during which some chief or chiefs may make a laudatory
speech concerning Y's family history. Then the singers again
[537] sing the first song, and *susak* members of the audience join in.
[533] Similarly, the second song is practised. These two are sung,
time after time, until the *susak* have thoroughly mastered
them. When the singers consider that this has been accom-
plished, they tell X, who communicates with the *susak* man
outside who has the whistle, and again its eerie notes are heard.
[781] Some of the uninitiated, believing that the supernatural being
who gives potency to the ritual is at hand, hurriedly leave in
fear. At the same time some of the *susak* conduct to the back-
room the second initiate whose songs are to be sung that night.
The procedure in his case is identical with that described for Y.
Usually it is considered sufficient to seclude two on one night,
though three may be attempted. When the songs of the last
have been sung, food is distributed and the people disperse.

A few nights later the same ritual is repeated for two more
initiates, who join their predecessors in the back-room. Here
they spend their time in idleness, the only essential being the

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preservation of an air of mystery by keeping out of sight of 556*
those who are not *nusuk*. Food is brought to them, and mem- 575
bers of the society are free to enter the room at any time. Some of the older ones enlighten Y and his fellows with regard to the secret rites, and especially to the human origin of the whistle. Proud of his new status, an initiate never dreams of transmitting this information to those who are not members of the society. As a privilege, the neophytes are sometimes allowed to go out at night, care being taken that no uninitiated person shall see them. The length of the period of confinement varies according to the number of young people to be admitted, and on the actual time of the potlatch; the minimum duration is about two weeks, the maximum, four months. Sometimes the tediousness is lightened by the arrival of carpenters who have chosen this secret place to work at the *nusuk* masks. After all the initiates have been confined to the back-room, X [533]
continues to invite people to his house at frequent intervals to practise their songs. On each occasion food is distributed, so that the meetings are expensive to the host, but no donor grumbles about it, as thereby he establishes his prestige as a chief.

THE VALIDATION OF *NUSUK* NAMES

The next event is the validation of the initiates' *nusuk* 553
names,[18] a ceremony termed *so'ooitlem*. X, with the assis- 556*
tance of his family, piles on the floor of his house the goods 575
which he intends to use for this purpose. In the old days these consisted of skins, blankets, food, baskets, boxes, slaves (symbolized by stones), canoes (symbolized by sticks), and so on. Nowadays, money is used. Towards dusk a herald summons [208]
the people to X's house. For many years it has been customary to invite everyone, but it is said that long ago only
the *nusuk* would have been present. When all are seated, [537]

[18] Validation of the neophytes' names is essential at the potlatch itself, but chiefs endeavour to display their wealth and generosity to their fellow-villagers as well. Consequently, though donors are eager to perform this rite, it can be omitted entirely without affecting the potlatch.

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Poor people, white guests, or others from whom no return can possibly be received, share equally in the distribution; the money goes to all to validate the transaction. On the other hand, X expects that the presents, if any, made to a few individuals after the general distribution, will be returned with interest. In selecting the recipients of these he has been animated, first, by the necessity of repaying old debts, and secondly by his desire to make good investments in the shape of presents to those likely to show their chiefly nature by returning with heavy interest. No request is ever made for such repayment, but as the transaction has been publicly announced, a man fears to fail to repay, since that would lower his prestige. No one may refuse a present, no matter how embarrassing it may be.

After the gifts have been distributed the songs of the initiates are practised. Members of the *nuxalk* society join in with the singers; the other spectators listen attentively, full of interest, but take no part. X with his helpers then gives food to all, and they depart.

Before the coming of the white man a potlatch was a rare event, and *nuxalk* members were initiated at local gatherings. The period of confinement was the same as that just described, but instead of merely practising the songs during the interval, the initiates appeared and danced to them. It will be convenient here to describe that ritual, emphasizing the fact that at a potlatch, when the initiates can be confirmed in the presence of foreign guests, this preliminary rite does not take place.

After the distribution of goods the singers beat out* the tune of any one of the initiates, and all emerge in close succession from the back-room, each wearing a blanket, without distinctive design, a collar of dyed and pounded cedar-bark decorated with pendant weasel skins, and the distinctive *nuxalk* head-dress (see Plate 15). This consists of a circlet of grizzly bear claws, surmounted in front by a small forehead mask; from the inner side of the circlet there rise a number of sea-lion

*The present tense is used for uniformity.

[Doc. ref. 116, facing p 218 - ANALYST]

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one after another of the concealed initiates, while the audience, consisting of *nuxuk* alone, join in the singing. As the sounds drift out to the guests, they too beat out some of their well-known *nuxuk* songs. 535 556 575

At high tide, as the canoes draw near, carefully guided by poles and saddles, the *nuxuk* troop down to the beach to meet the guests, led by a *sibi*, who alone wears an apron of puffin beaks and carries a rattle. The singers beat out one of his tunes and the *sibi* dances on the beach, while the supernatural whistle which has been sounding from the back room of X's house, is now heard at his side, blown by an assistant under cover of his blanket. After the *sibi* has danced, the singers among the guests, and there are always enough of them to make possible the beating out of the better known tunes, sing one of their *sibi*'s songs as he dances on the platform surmounting the canoes. [292] [533]

The Bella Coola *sibi*, surrounded by a group of *nuxuk*, now begins to turn about in a frenzied manner, always sunwise, bending down, then straightening himself, twisting and writhing like a maniac. Finally, standing erect, he pretends to throw something to the foreign *sibi*, and then falls to the ground. The recipient makes the motion of catching something heavy, and at the same time one of his accomplices in the canoe sounds another *nuxuk* whistle, deluding the uninitiated observers into the belief that some power has been transmitted, which is the source of the strange noise. The visiting *sibi* revolves four times, twisting and bending, then straightens up and throws back his cloak, to expose a mask representing *Mulakula*. This has been concealed there all the time, but the uninitiated readily believe it to be the creature which has made the noise, or else that it is an object miraculously made by this being. The *sibi* revolves four times more, with the mask in plain sight and the whistle constantly booming, while a fluent speaker "explains" the meaning of it all to the uninitiated who are watching with interest from the background.

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grease have been placed in readiness. X selects as many 556*
youths as the number on whom he intends to confer the names 575
which have already been announced and validated among the 553
Bella Coola, but are now to be made known to the foreign
guests. He seats the lads, who are to substitute for the initiates, on the various boxes. Everybody understands that these are merely representatives. X requests two chiefs to act as his announcers, choosing two with good voices and abundant self-confidence. To one of these X whispers the *nuxut* name of one of the initiates.

"His name is now——" calls out the announcer, pointing to one of the substitutes, and the listeners readily recognize the initiate intended, from the use, in conjunction with his new designation, of his well-known ancestral name. The heralds repeat the new name with the usual badinage, so that it becomes well known to all present. In like manner the *nuxut* name given to each initiate is publicly announced. The substitutes receive no advantage from their part in the proceedings. [203]

Then the boxes are opened and red elderberries poured into 556*
the canoes in front of the guests. Stones are provided with 224
which the visitors pound the fruit into pulp which they proceed to mix with their hands, as olachen grease and cranberries [252]
are added. Then X's helpers distribute spoons and the feast commences. All start to eat, but after an interval one of the leading Bella Coola chiefs strikes the side of his canoe with a spoon, as a signal that all must stop. X has several dishes in [415]
readiness. If he is wealthy some of these will be carved in the [538]
shape of beaver, eagle, or other form in which an ancestor appeared. These dishes are filled with the food which all have been eating and then placed before the principal chiefs, who thus have a second supply. At this point the singers begin to 533
beat out an ancient song of the type known as *ne-tin*. Each 556*
of these has been handed down from the distant past, when some chief, ancestor of X, had it composed for himself at a potlatch. The theme is always about the form or fame of his [171]

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533 earliest ancestors, and the text is commonly grandiloquently
556 phrased.[19] Frequently the singers alter the words slightly to
suit the occasion, and sometimes compose entirely new words
[71] for an old tune. As they sing, they are aided by some of X's
friends who rise and stand between the fire and the front door.
[532] They occasionally wear forehead masks carved with his crest
to add dignity to the rite.

203 After the song the chiefs continue their meal, and there is
much practical joking with the heralds.

522 "Don't you want some food?" X calls to one of them.

556 Without waiting for an answer he throws a box containing the liquid pulp, inclined at such an angle that the mess is spattered over the recipient. Occasionally, a herald will succeed in catching a box without spilling the contents, but usually he is smeared from head to foot, while the spectators shriek with laughter. It is one of the functions of a herald to be a laughing stock for the visitors.

556 During the afternoon X's wife and the members of her
583 family deliver to him the goods which they have amassed to "re-buy" her from her husband. These are called "washing material," as if they supplied X with wash-basin and toilet necessities. The speaker orates how the wife has lived up to her obligation in making this presentation, and how it will clear the path for her children. These goods will later on be distributed by X. They can be used for:

(1) Repayment of potlatch debts, or

(2) Making potlatch investments, or

(3) Validating names, either *susook* or ancestral, for the children of his relatives.

It would be most disgraceful should any of the goods be applied to validating *susook* names for any of X's own children, because they have come from his wife's people and react to the advantage of her children in any case. These goods are

[19] Though not to the same extent as among the Kwakiutl where the words may describe how the sky is supported on a chief's shoulders, or how he has pushed his head into the land above.

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*556 184 ings to reward carpenters and others who had helped X prepare for his potlatch, but in Bella Coola this was usually done the following night.

*556 769 535 575 [533] Now comes what the Bella Coola regard as the most important feature of the potlatch.[11] The singers strike up one of the songs of a senior *sisaok*, perhaps a *siki* chosen for his skill in acting. As he dances, clad in his ceremonial costume and head-dress, whistling is heard without the house. A number of *sisaok* are making the noise and they modulate it so that it appears to draw nearer and nearer. This is effected either with whistles of different sizes or by blowing harder. The dancer rushes out of the house. The whistling continues in a series of short bursts, as if a conversation were being carried on in that language. The *sisaok* or *siki* returns, and the audience, silenced by the mystery of the affair, listens to his explanation:

"It is so-and-so," he announces, using the ancestral name of one of X's deceased relatives. "The crest has come to pay his son [or whatever relation X may be to him] a visit. I will bring him in."

While he speaks, continuous whistling is heard from without, but when he leaves the house it once more takes on the form of a dialogue. Presently he returns, followed by a masked figure in the centre of a group of members of the *sisaok* society. If the deceased's first ancestor had been an eagle, in that guise [532] the figure will appear—an eagle mask on his head, and his whole body, except perhaps the feet, covered by a large blanket thickly covered with eagle down and furnished with painted wooden wings. The dancer is usually entirely blinded by this costume, but he is guided by a number of the *sisaok* whose presence is attributed to the necessity for guarding and paying honour to the supernatural visitor. Among those who accompany him there is always a man with a whistle, the note of [533] which simulates the cry of an eagle, and this is sounded at intervals. The actor bends in imitation of a bird and shakes [532] himself, lifting his head and opening the movable beak by

[11] Though potlatches can be held without this feature.

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*556 chief to pay somewhat lavishly, since the value of the copper
[435] depends on the amount expended on it.
[437] The $20 received by the poor man must not be casually
spent. He is expected to invite the whole village to his house,
*556 otherwise he would never again be given a copper. The heralds
735 call everyone to the house, the singers as usual being the first
to arrive. They beat out the *kusiut* song of anyone, to which
[533] the owner dances; the songs are used one after another, until
[575] almost every member of the society has danced. *Susack* songs
may then be used in the same way. Since the supernatural
beings are not present, the rite has no religious significance;
it is merely a social affair. At the close of the dancing, the
poor man distributes food to all, equivalent in value to the
money received. It is probable that poor men sometimes
give away slightly less than they have received, although
any noticeable laxity in this would be punished by the receipt
of no further coppers. The recipient of a copper from a fire
derives no direct gain from it, though it is to his indirect
advantage, since a person who has given away food is likely
to receive larger presents on future occasions than one who
has not.

435 Meanwhile the chief owning the copper is unable to use it
at his potlatch since the value, dependent on the goods ex-
*556 pended for it, is only $20, a sum so small that to use it would
be insulting to his dead ancestor. There are several ways of
increasing its value:

(1) *By Painting*. Taking advantage of some ceremony
[532] when a number of people are present, the owner gives a car-
penter $10, for example, with a request that he paint on his
copper a representation of the crest used by his, the owner's,
first ancestor, when coming to this earth. Henceforth the
value of the copper is $30.

435 (2) *By Naming*. The Bella Coola say that among the
552 Kwakiutl names are given to almost all coppers; in Bella
*556 Coola it is a rare practice. Occasionally, a chief creates a
name for his copper and validates this by presents to all the

701 than that of anyone else. The Bella Coola do not rationalize
156 in a scientific manner; if a man holds a belief firmly, he acts on it without questioning its logic. Moreover, if a professional warrior functions a number of times, this in itself is enough to strengthen his conviction that he must act henceforth in the same way. It can be said with confidence that the owner of
[463] a professional prerogative has considerable belief in his own powers, that this acts on himself to render him proficient, and that the majority of the community have respect for his capabilities.

555 THE PROFESSION OF SINGER

424 Singing is one of the professions open to a Bella Coola
533 either through natural ability or an ancestral prerogative. There is a constant need for men able to sing and compose
[463] songs for every kind of ceremonial, so a young man of talent has little difficulty in gaining admittance to the choir. He may even win great distinction and become recognized as the leading authority on musical matters. None the less, his success is considered to be accidental and unsubstantial, lacking the foundation that comes from the possession of a duly validated professional prerogative. A person made a singer by the latter means may be entirely unable to compose; in this case he is not a member of the choir, although he enjoys the social distinction which he has won by distributing goods to confirm his professional name. The singer most respected is he who combines with natural ability a confirmed prerogative to give substance and power to his position and composi-
[553] tions. At the death of such an one, an effort is always made
[428] by the members of his ancestral family to transmit the name to a youth who has shown musical promise. Arguments and
[578] differences of opinion are common among the members of the choir and in such cases the self-assurance and influence of a man whose position has been made strong by the distribution of presents often outweighs that of one who can rely only on his actual ability.

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holder of the potlatch, may wish to confirm a prerogative and requests the donor to allow this to take place at his ceremony. Permission is never refused, since the more incidental rites, the greater is the prestige of the whole. The young man on whom the name is to be confirmed is always told what is planned for him, and his relatives instruct him what to do. 556 575

As the time for the potlatch draws near, the donor requests the singers to prepare an *a'alk* song for the youth. The theme always deals with some incident of his ancestral story with which the singers are already familiar. If a number of youths are to be made *a'alk*, a song must be composed for each. The carpenters are also requested to make for the initiate one, or sometimes two, masks representing a supernatural being, either human or animal, connected with the myth in which occurs the *a'alk* name about to be conferred. The design is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family concerned; it is usually, though not necessarily, the same as that employed by the last incumbent of the name. If the designation about to be confirmed is one which came down from above in the beginning of time, the mask usually represents the guise adopted by the first user of the name; if the prerogative were obtained on earth, it portrays the being from whom the right was received. These arrangements are made in secret, and are known only to the craftsmen, the donor of the potlatch, and his family. [533] 532 556 575

On the night of *xlāxtnum*, when the work for the potlatch is allotted, the youth who is to be made an *a'alk* is confined within the back-room of the house, presumably in company with the *ɬɩsaek* initiates, though there is ambiguity on this point. After the general arrangements have been made, an elderly *a'alk* whose aid has been requested, suddenly rushes from the house as if he had heard some noise. One of the *sikī*, or an influential chief, makes some allegedly witty remark as to why he has gone out, and then follows, taking with him the dance head-dress belonging to the *a'alk*. This is identical with the type worn by *ɬɩsaek*, one of the many points of resemblance 556 575 [184] [535]

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society and decline of the *a'alk*, concealment has become limited to initiates of the former organization. 556 575

No more *a'alk* dances take place during the potlatch preliminaries, but with the coming of the first group of foreign guests, the host displays as many types of dance as he is entitled to, including *a'alk* if he has the necessary prerogative. On this occasion other *a'alk*, especially relatives of the donor, give their dances, the only time that such are used at potlatches except by novices receiving names. This is repeated on the arrival of every party of guests. [178] 556 575 535

Meanwhile the novice, or novices, has been practising the proper steps for his appearance, which always occurs immediately before the entry of the masked figure representing the donor's dead relative. As already mentioned, there are four kinds of *a'alk* dances, known as *nuqwal*,[8] *łłaiyākam*, *qi'aqa*, and *am'ła'a*. A similar song is used for a dancer of any one of these four; the text describes some small incident of the ancestral myth in which the name occurs, such as the bringing down of the prerogative by the first incumbent in the beginning of time. At the proper moment, the singers beat this out and the audience joins them in singing it. Then the singers begin to strike rapidly on the floor with double beats, assisted by the guests who clap their hands in rapid couplets. Out comes the dancer, resplendent in his head-dress decorated with weasel skins, and women with the required prerogative begin to drone. If his prerogative is as a *łłaiyākam* or *qi'aqa*, he proceeds to a place beside the fire and begins to run around it, sunwise, in short mincing steps, revolving at the same time on himself. He clasps his hands behind his back and bends down, then stands upright with palms extended upwards, never ceasing to move his feet in rapid steps. This type of dance is far more violent than a *nuqwal* one, and the amount of energy expended by a dancer in his rapid circuits of the fire is tremendous. Never, even for a moment, are his feet quiet, while his body twists and bends in an amazing fashion. After two [533] [533]

[8]Among the supernatural beings, the *nuqwal* is a yearling mountain goat. [776]

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556 or three rounds he retires utterly exhausted. The time beaten
575 out for a *nusqwal* or *am'lel·a* dancer is the same. He too comes
535 near the fire and at first dances in the same manner until the
[533] singers in unison bellow out, *Wai··*, "More." With a run that ends in a crashing leap that seems to shake the floor, the performer takes his position between the fire and one of the side walls and begins to revolve furiously upon himself. His body is bent forward until it seems as if all that prevents him from falling to the floor is his hands clutched together as far as possible behind his back; while his feet move so rapidly that the short mincing steps run into each other. Gradually the beating becomes less violent, only to be followed by another cry of *Wai··*, and another rush and jump that lands the dancer behind the fire. Here he revolves once more in the same furious fashion; the same is repeated on the side of the fire opposite to the place where he first performed, and finally between the fire and the door. *Nusqwal* and *am'lel·a* are the most strenuous of all Bella Coola dances and the performer is glad to retire. He afterwards joins the audience. This dance entails no taboo or restrictions on the dancer.

This terminates the performance of this type of dance at a potlatch, but among the goods distributed are some to validate the name acquired by the dancer, and others to legalize his actual display.

574 The occasion on which importance and solemnity are
575 attached to *a'alk* dances is during potlatches, but they are
535 also given at other times. Most Bella Coola performances are so steeped in the presence of the supernatural that the element of enjoyment is secondary, but in the spring, after the
[796] end of the *kusiut* season and before the salmon come to the rivers, dances for pleasure are of common occurrence. A *sisaok* can call his fellows to his house and the singers beat out *sisaok* songs to which the owners dance, but the most common hosts are *a'alk*. Of course an individual may be a member of both societies, but the heralds invite the guests in his *a'alk* name. Those summoned include both members of the society

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and those who are not. Any *a'alk*, provided that he has enough food for a meal, can call in his neighbours, but the one who usually does so is a man who has received his name a year or two before the occasion. 574 575 535

A few days before the time selected, the host asks the singers to compose a new song for him. For a *nusqwal* dancer particularly, and in some cases for any one of the other three divisions of the society, the text does not deal with incidents connected with the host's ancestral story, but with humorous or disgraceful incidents of the present time. If a man has caught ten salmon and kept them all for himself, his miserliness is commented upon in the song; if a wife has deserted her husband for another man, the actions of the two are mercilessly ridiculed; if a chief has failed to display generosity it is likewise recorded, and reference is made to errors in dance ritual. To do this is one of the functions of a *nusqwal*, and the singers are always ready to assist him. At the same time they often add a new incident to the tune belonging to some other *a'alk* dancer so that he too will be able to perform. In this way the airs are remembered from year to year, which is different from the customary Bella Coola usage. 575 574 535 533 [626]

On the morning of the day chosen, the host asks one of the singers to beat a drum repeatedly but slowly, as a signal that a non-ceremonial dance is about to take place. About noon, heralds go from house to house announcing who is to give the dance. In the late afternoon the people gather in the donor's house where men, women, and children seat themselves without distinction of rank, the only reserved place being that for the singers behind the fire. They beat out the host's tune and he dances to it, while the singers themselves sing the words to the amusement of the audience. Using their own discretion, they then beat out the tune of another *a'alk* and he also dances, followed in succession by a third, a fourth, and as many as the singers think fit. Sometimes the songs of *susook* are used in a similar manner. When many have danced, the host distributes food to all his guests, not forgetting to give the largest [202] [203]

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575 574 535 [533] [525] [526] [178] presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds. These conclude the chief features of the *a'alk* dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *ssaok*, they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

A'alk ORIGIN MYTHS

551 575 773 Theoretically, every Bella Coola *a'alk* should be able to record the myth in which his name is embodied, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both ancestral and *a'alk* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *a'alk* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *a'alk* can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kimsquit *nusqual* for his name *Sinxälotla* which came to earth with *Smaoan* (I, p. 332) in the beginning of time. Another Kimsquit *a'alk*, *Tlaiyäkam*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sinuxtl* (I, p. 326), who assumed the designation of *Tlaiyäkam* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *Wi'tälao*.

539 The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once,[8] long, long ago, *Äłqanäm* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *Sanaw-a*, and a mortal; so he

[115] [177] [8]Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

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he can. Several of the older people mentioned that early white traders would have received more for their goods by giving them away than by selling. 556 431

Even at the present time the Bella Coola sometimes carry out a practice which was once common. Particularly in the early autumn or in spring, a chief who has large supplies of food may decide to show his wealth to the members of a neighbouring tribe such as the Bella Bella. Alone, or with a few friends, he goes to a foreign village where he is sure to find accommodation in the home of some friend, relative, or important chief. In the evening he invites the inhabitants of his host's village to the house in which he is staying, and uses the food he has brought with him to provide them with an elaborate meal. His guests now feel it incumbent on them to repay this generosity, and one of them asks the singers to beat out one of his songs, the Bella Bella equivalent to *susask*, *a'alk*, or even *kusiut*. The owner dances to it and then gives presents to the stranger to validate the performance he has just witnessed. This is repeated by everyone to whom he has given food, and although each present may be small, their total is greater than the original outlay. Sometimes a poor man, feeling himself too insignificant to give a ceremony of this kind, takes a supply of food to a foreign tribe to sell. If the hosts wish to show their generous dispositions they persuade him to give it away in the fashion just described, which always brings in more than he could obtain by sale. It is even customary for the hosts to lend such a stranger enough food for public distribution if his own stock is too small. 556 649 [484]

Although the most important Bella Coola dances are performed at potlatches or during the *kusiut* season, they are not confined to these periods. Professional singers do nothing else and, except during the run of salmon when everyone is busy fishing, a dance occurs every few nights. Supernatural beings are not called down; consequently there is little solemnity and everyone has a good time. On these occasions, *kusiut* songs are first beaten out, followed by *susask* and *a'alk*, and the owner 533 535 574

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533 of each song dances to it. Anyone who has enough food to
535 provide a meal for all is glad to invite his neighbours to such
574 an affair, but the singers and heralds can force a stingy man to act as host. Everyone knows his neighbour's resources and the singers have no hesitation in going to the house of a man with an ample supply of food and beginning to beat out songs
[203] there. The heralds are quick to see what is happening and
[622] call the people, with the result that the involuntary host is compelled to provide a meal in order not to be thought mean and churlish. Without waiting for the singers to take the
[203] initiative, heralds likewise often invite people to the house of a man whom they know to be well provided with food.

During the summer, the necessity of laying in supplies of
[221] salmon makes it impossible to hold many dances, although one
[796] of the non-sacred type just described takes place whenever there is a lull in the fishing. In the early autumn, when ber-
556 ries, fish, and game are abundant, the thoughts of chiefs turn
796 to potlatches and the lengthy preliminaries are begun. At this season, too, a chief who lacks sufficient wealth to invite foreign
[221] guests, calls in his neighbours for a *nusak* dance and initiates
[575] some of his young relatives into that society. The ritual, described in the last chapter, resembles that of a potlatch
[535] except that no new house is constructed, there is no return of a dead relative, and the ceremonial connected with the coming of foreigners is necessarily omitted. In some cases a chief performs this type of rite a year before he proposes to hold a potlatch, and explains that he is doing so because he will be unable to give presents to the inhabitants of his own village
[426] at the later affair. Gifts so distributed are returnable with interest, though it is not obligatory for recipients to do this in time for the donor to make use of their repayment at his potlatch.

Ceremonials of this nature occupy the Bella Coola during
[575] the early autumn, while in winter *kwaiat* dances take place
[535] almost nightly. When they are over, it is time for the non-sacred variety of *a'alk* performances, and for another type of rite, nusāxKlmx.

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rite, *nusäxkämx*. This can be described here, since, although not closely associated with the potlatch, it serves to teach children the principles of present-giving and indebtedness. February is the proper month for *nusäxkämx*, although preliminary arrangements are made early in the winter. A chief who has a son or daughter about ten or twelve years of age may decide to use some of his food, and a small part of his wealth, for the benefit of the child. With the assistance of his relatives, the father begins making large numbers of toy canoes, miniature bows and arrows, small baskets, and models of all other types of articles commonly given away at potlatches. The manufacture of these requires several months, but towards the end of January they are nearly ready.

A name must then be chosen for the child. Since a *nusäxkämx* dance is a humorous, non-sacred affair, a *nusäxkämx* name is not embodied in a myth, but is drawn from some story. Occasionally, parents decide on a new one, but more often the designation selected is one used for the same purpose by a grandparent of the child. There is no rivalry with regard to names of this type, and one of them can be re-used without asking consent of the last incumbent, although permission would never be refused. There must be a song with each name and the grandparents and other elderly relatives teach this to a number of boys who are to act as singers. The words may have been remembered from a previous occasion; if not, a simple theme is composed by one of the old people having some reference to the name about to be conferred. For example, one appellation of this type is *Ťopiwac*, Fawn, and the accompanying words are:

"We hear that Deer has borne a child."

Another name is *Qplon*, Beaver, and the song: "Be of good cheer, the Beaver is coming."

A third song is, "Go outside under the house like a dog."

Occasionally a small incident in an ancestral myth is used. The teaching of the song to the juvenile singers is a source of constant merriment; the parents and grandparents are the

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852 principal instructors, aided by the professional musicians.
867 Boys are always willing to act as singers for the practice they
[533] receive, and the gifts they will acquire. Other lads are chosen to act as heralds, an effort being made in each case to pick those likely to pursue these professions.

[1196] The day finally selected for the ceremony is in February, on a date when nothing of importance is taking place. The juvenile heralds summon the child guests, who have been invited in accordance with the rules governing a potlatch, especial care being taken to omit none to whom the child donor is indebted. His father carefully instructs him in this matter, thus impressing on his son's mind one of the fundamental points of Bella Coola life. In the late afternoon, when all have
[535] assembled, the boy singers beat out the donor's song and he dances to it. It may be in the nature of a *sisaok*, *a'alk*, or *kusiut* dance, according to the wishes of his parents. In many cases, one of the grandparents or some other old relative likewise dances to the song, using whatever style he chooses. There is no ceremonial significance to the ceremony and all enjoy themselves immensely, especially the adult guests. After
[553] the dancing, the new name is announced and presents are given to the guests. The father of the young donor carefully instructs him as to the scale of his gifts, emphasizing the necessity of rewarding the singers and heralds, and of repaying with interest those children from whom he has received favours. In this way, the ceremony serves as a practical example of how to conduct a potlatch. The parents of the donor always provide some tasty food for the occasion, and this is distributed after
[556] the gifts have been handed round. The necessity for food and presents makes it impossible for any but the children of chiefs to enjoy this training.

After the ceremony, the children parade up and down the sidewalk in front of the houses, singing boisterously. The performance has been for their benefit and they wish to "show off." One night completes the affair, but the following afternoon another child may summon his comrades to a similar

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ceremony. The child singers first beat out the song of the present donor, then that of his predecessor, to which the latter dances once again. If food is plentiful, *nusāxkāmɣ* ceremonies may be carried out every day for several weeks, or a year or two may elapse without one. A child's song is remembered from year to year and he dances whenever it is beaten out. The name acquired in this way is used semi-jocularly by a lad's comrades. After marriage, it is considered unfitting for a youth to be concerned with *nusāxkāmɣ* and he normally becomes an *a'alk*.

Ceremonies of this kind have been discontinued for many years and it was impossible to obtain detailed accounts. The main features are clear: they served to instruct children in the methods of present-giving. According to one informant, there were two types of *nusāxkāmɣ* ceremonial; one of the humorous pattern above described in which, however, food alone was given away, and another in which miniature presents were distributed. This man believed that the latter was only possible for the children of wealthy chiefs, and that on such occasions the themes consisted of small incidents in the family myth. In either case, the importance of ceremonial can be judged from the manner in which it was impressed upon mere children.

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Next morning they found a house in readiness for them, a short distance from the bank; its name was *Nuwalqtnem*, and it had been created for them by *Alqunstm* who had selected this spot for their residence. It resembled other houses except that the door was in a back corner instead of in the middle of the front because bears must not approach the river, and the five still had ursine characteristics. The salmon would have been frightened if they had lived too near. The paintings on the back walls were of Kingfisher. 539*

Chips from their firewood floated downstream to the point where *Smaoaw* (I, p. 332) lived. Judging that someone was encamped above him, he set out to investigate. He met *Yoáks* and entered into conversation with him, finally asking if he, *Smaoaw*, might marry *Yoáks*'s sister, *Sxlmdna*, "The Light-Bearer." *Yoáks* agreed, and the two were married in due course. At this ceremony a marriage song given by *Alqunstm* was first used.[*]

ʟyayyar and his brothers made a special kind of fish-trap, in which they caught large quantities of trout and steel-head salmon, and below them *Smaoaw* and his family were also catching large quantities of salmon. The two settlements combined to give a potlatch. The brothers built an extension to the house to accommodate their guests, and when all were seated a representation of a black bear emerged from the room at the back of the house, imitating the appearance and actions of its inmates when first they arrived on this earth. The artifacts brought by *ʟyayyar* and his brothers from above were displayed to the guests, as has since been done on similar occasions by their descendants. At this potlatch the name *Nulqtnlain* was given to *Sxlmdna*, having reference to the tabooed house with the rear doorway.

Yoáks once sent his kingfisher-herald up the river to discover whether or not there were people there, for at that time it was unknown country. He reported that there were, so *Yoáks* built a canoe, in the manner taught by Raven, and set off; *en route* he met the upstream settlers, who had likewise learnt the art of making canoes and were travelling downstream on an errand similar to his own.

The brothers used some of their wealth on one occasion to give a *hamat* dance, at which they validated for *Nazqmlain* the Breaker (II, p. 123) name, *Nuwamdlain*. This refers to the way in which he had flown with quivering wings when a kingfisher, and as he danced he shook his hands in imitation of this. This name had been given him by *Alqunstm*, as had also his third, *Olqlimat*, referring to his status as herald.

Smaoaw and *Sxlmdna* had many children who formed a bond between [582] [424] [533]

[*] It has since been transmitted as a prerogative by the descendants of this couple.

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Bc 539*

to death. 'Qwaalikdmat was the most prosperous of the brothers; so much had his wealth increased that he was able to call the people from all parts of the coast to a potlatch.

BB 539

Ḷqwaaṭlm had given T̈lẗkwakila the honourable prerogative or duty of singing the mourning song whenever anyone died. When it was time for her to function she painted her face with a design representing a rough sea, and beat time on the floor with a stick, ḷqomkstas, on which were jingling copper bangles. The theme was how Raven had brought her help on all occasions.

Bc [424] [533]

The right to sing this song has since been preserved as a prerogative in the ancestral family descended from these four brothers. No name accompanies it, but the right must be validated by the giving of presents.

Early Traditions Having the Ceremonial Significance of Origin Myths

Bc 539*

The following are examples of myths which are used as authorization for potlatches even though they do not deal with the actual peopling of this earth. It will be noted that they describe the adventures of early settlers, and only with non-Bella Coola. All are claimed to have been obtained by intermarriage with the descendants of individuals mentioned in them.

Bc [179]

AN EARLY ʟ̓ʟ̓ʟ̓ʟ̓ MYTH[21]

BB 539

Not long after the first people had come to this earth, Raven taught an ʟ̓ʟ̓ʟ̓ʟ̓ chief, T̈ẗ-paaṭ by name, how to catch black cod with hook and line. It was summer at the time, and T̈ẗ-paaṭ began to make preparations for fishing early the following year. He instructed his wife to take three female assistants with her to the woods to collect a large quantity of cedar-bark for making the line, which had to be at least three hundred yards in length, owing to the depth at which black cod are found in Labouchere Channel. The four women returned four days later with a large amount of the material, on which they worked all summer and the following winter. Meanwhile T̈ẗ-paaṭ, with three other men to help him, was busy manufacturing hooks of the usual British Columbia type. They were made from the knots of dead and fallen hemlocks; the interior was first cut out, bent into the desired shape, smeared with mountain

Bc 539*

[21]Related by Jim Pollard.

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585 handles of the rattles"; symbolizing that they are pads to protect the hands, though the dancers derive no benefit from the pelts, which are stacked with others for later distribution to Y's family. A large amount of provisions has been prepared and placed in boxes, one for each member of Y's family. In many cases it is difficult to estimate how much food will be required, and if there is a surplus, it is eaten by the performers and other assistants.

When all are ready they rush forth; dancers, dancers' assistants, and young relatives of X, followed more sedately by his father. The rest of the villagers watch with interest, but do not take part in the ceremony. Choosing a position outside Y's house, the singers beat the time of the marriage [533] song used by X's ancestors; if the words are known they sing [424] them. Like the prerogative of marriage dancers, there may [426] not be a marriage song embodied in every origin myth, but if X lacks such he is usually able to borrow one.[1] The keeper of the song is stationed near the singers, ready to help them with the words or the tune, if necessary. Meanwhile the [535] dancers are performing on the sidewalk outside Y's house. Each uses whatever type of dance he chooses, *kusiut*, *nsaok*, *a'alk*, or even shaman's, but all dance simultaneously, though without paying greater attention to each other than is [533] necessary to avoid collisions. The professional droners accompany the singing with their high-pitched quaver.

Meanwhile Y's father, surrounded by his relatives and friends, waits in readiness within their house. Y herself is

[1] The reputed origin of marriage songs has been described in vol. I, chap. vi. They are less strongly preserved as prerogatives than most elements of origin myths; in fact some keepers of the songs are willing to perform at any wedding, although this may be a modern development. The keeper, either man or woman, is chosen by [614] the senior members of the ancestral family, after discussion with the singers. It is his duty to remember text and tune, and the only pecuniary advantage is from the presents made by those to whom he teaches it. Some songs have words, others only a tune. The text of a song brought down by *Alpuntsin* to *Snaslaiti* is:

"Hello, *Snaslaiti*! We do as we have done before. Please make good the path for those who are about to marry."

Alpuntsin obtained this song from his heavenly namesake and used it at his own marriage, as his male descendants have since done.

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585 to the others in succession. If Y's father is not wealthy, he may dispense with presents to the dancers, who before long cease of their own accord. When the song is finished, more strips of goat-skin are thrown in the manner already described. Then the song is sung for the third time, accompanied by the dancers who have not been "stopped" by the receipt of gifts. Again Y's father's friend brings out presents, to "stop" more of the dancers. After another disposal of goat-skin, and a fourth singing, all have been "stopped." Care is taken that at least one dancer is left to accompany the fourth singing of the song.

X's relatives now send in valuable presents to Y, her father, mother, and other relatives, and also to those who wish to associate themselves with Y's father in the marriage transaction, prompted by kindly feelings towards him, or, it may be, through a desire to display publicly their wealth and importance. The number of these individuals has been communicated secretly to X's kinsmen, who are thus able to send a present to each, such as a canoe, a slave, a marten, lynx, or goat-skin blanket, or some equally treasured object. These gifts are called "weapons of war," since the assumption is that X is acting like a warrior in taking something of value from Y's family. At the same time the goods that Y's father has given to stop the dancers are returned to him unostentatiously.

Y's father now invites X's party into his house by calling out:

"*Omap winas, omap ททททมy*," "Enter you war-party, enter ye chiefs."

They go into the house and sit in a group in the place of honour behind the fire. Some of the other villagers may crowd in to watch, remaining near the front door, but having no part in the proceedings. Y's father superintends a distribution of food to his guests, sometimes a lavish feast, at other times a small meal, depending on the food supply and time of year.

[533] In many cases, though not always, Y's father sings a *xe-tla* song at this juncture, emphasising the importance of his ancestry.

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In one case where an orphan woman, without relatives, repurchased herself by her own arduous labours, the announcement was made: 553 556 583

"Y's belt has come to rebuy her."

The reference was to the manner in which she had looped up her clothing with a belt when working. If Y's father should die after amassing goods to repurchase her, they are used for the purpose intended and the announcement is:

"Y's father's anus has come to rebuy her."

The ancestral family descended from the first settlers at *Snuklt-tl* have the prerogative of singing a special song as they rebuy one of their daughters. This was used by their first ancestors on a like occasion. The theme is: [424] [533]

"I, I, I am the highest of you all. No one of you is capable of doing what I can accomplish. You all live on what I void."

The significance of this last sentence is that the village of *Snuklt-tl* is farthest up the Bella Coola River. Its inhabitants used to claim that the people of the other villages lived on the refuse which they threw into the river, a source of pride to them. [186]

After announcing the various relatives who have rebought Y, the presents are counted and carried into X's house. The statement concerning their number, who has given them, and for what purpose, is repeated to the foreign guests there assembled, and they are then piled indiscriminately in a large heap for future distribution. At this juncture X calls out:

"Come in, come in," as though he were welcoming arrivals from a distance.

Y's relatives enter, and the ritual of the potlatch continues in the manner already described. The origin myth in which Y's new name is embodied is related in considerable detail, especially its recent history, that is, by whom it was last used and any pertinent items connected with its transmission. If she has received several names from different myths, each is similarly expounded.

As has been said, many women's names have been created 551 553

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to kill an enemy, but his success is accredited to his supernatural possessions which have given him skill as a warrior rather than to his own ability. 761 726

It is felt that no ordinary explanation is sufficient to account for the death of a great chief. No matter what may have been the actual cause, it is always said that the supernatural Carpenters, who in the beginning of time created mankind, came down and "seized" or "called back" the deceased, thinking him too good for this world. It is believed that these beings are keen hunters, and that *Alquntăm* allows them to pursue influential people. This sentiment is always expressed in mourning songs for a dead chief, but although accepted as a matter of fact, it is little more than a formalized belief which serves to comfort the mourners. The infraction of a taboo is another reason frequently given for a chief's death. It is said that there was a loud crash and the earth shook before the death of *Potlus*; he became ill immediately, and his stomach began to swell. The stricken chief said that *Song*" itself had fallen upon him, but the common belief was that he had erred in some ritual act. At any rate, he died within a few hours. 761 622 [773] [533]

RITES FOLLOWING DEATH

News of a critical illness spreads rapidly through the village and the house in which the sufferer is lying becomes a rendezvous for friends asking about his condition. Failure to do so would be considered ungracious, with the result that there is such a constant coming and going that rest is denied the sick person. Shamans are called upon to practise their powers in a noisy manner, and female relatives weep and wail. The din is indescribable. 763 [756]

When the patient shows no further indication of life, the shamans cease, but the women redouble their cries. Relatives, friends, and sympathizers all crowd into the house and begin to weep, often adding verbal lamentations. The progress of the news from house to house can be traced by the wailings. Mean- 764

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766 575 but even if unaware of the fact, they realize that some super-
[776] natural, invisible visitor has arrived.

Heralds go from house to house, and sometimes to adjacent
[203] villages as well,[1] inviting the people to pay a farewell visit to
[628] the dead man who will soon leave them; in this invitation the *sisaok* name of the deceased is used. The guests assemble at once, irrespective of their rank or membership in the *sisaok* society. To mark their grief, female relatives pull out tufts of their hair, and both men and women of the immediate family
[302] cut their hair short. The body, either in its coffin or covered with blankets, is placed between the central fire and the back-room, immediately behind the place where the singers take their stations. When all are present, a son or other near rela-
[537] tive who is also a fluent speaker, stands up and expounds how the Chief, meaning *Mulakila*, has come to visit the dead man,
533 and how all should try to understand the song he has brought.[2]
575 A hidden *sisaok* has been blowing a whistle intermittently, and
766 the singers pretend to be able to understand words of a song in its notes. In reality they have prepared in advance the new one which they now beat out, accompanied by their voices. The theme either describes the coming of the supernatural visitor, or recounts the number of potlatches given by the deceased, and the manner in which these will make smooth the path whither he is going in the same way that distributed goods validate a chief's seat in this world. This song is practised and improved upon amid the booming of the whistle as if the singers were constantly gaining new ideas and embellishments from the words of the supernatural visitor. Sometimes a few incidents are added from the *sisaok* myth. After several repetitions, a relative of the dead man asks the singers to beat out the latter's *sisaok* songs, as many of them as are remembered from the time he was first initiated into the so-

[1]The Bella Bella are said to invite foreign guests to this ceremony.

[2]Sometimes the people are present when the coming of *Mulakila*, heralded by
[184] whistling and a thump on the roof, takes place. There are variations in this, as in all other *sisaok* rites.

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ciety. These are given several times, serving to recall the 533
ceremonies in which the chief took part during his life. At 575
intervals, the new song is repeated and *sisaok* members of the 766
audience join in as they become familiar with the words. Fre-
quently one or more relatives of the deceased dance in his [535]
stead during the singing. The details of this rite, especially
of the songs used at it, differ considerably according to the
actions of the person during life; if a mighty chief, the donor
of many potlatches, this fact is described in the song, whereas
only an incident from the ancestral myth can be used for a
young *sisaok*. If some of his female relatives are professional [767]
wailers, they function during the ceremony. In all circum-
stances, the rite aims to comfort the grieving kinsmen, an end
which it usually achieves.

As already described, *sisaok* ceremonial was in a state of 575
transition at the time of the coming of the white man. Pre- 766
vious to that date, a spectacular funeral prerogative had been 177
adopted from Rivers Inlet,[4] which has since been claimed by a 424
number of *sisaok*. All the Bella Coola know of this ceremony, [178]
and most of them desire to perform it at the death of a dearly
loved relative; at the present time this is possible owing to the
slight regard paid to prerogatives, but it is certain that a few
years ago it would have been forbidden to most people, and
that it was never a universal Bella Coola rite.

When this rite is performed, the corpse is allowed to remain 575
in its coffin for at least one night after the day on which 766
Mutlakila came and the *sisaok* songs were sung. Meanwhile 532
the carpenters have prepared an imitation body, usually of
rags on a light framework, and a wooden representation of the
deceased's crest. Since this figure is to come through the roof
and carry aloft the corpse, stout hooks are attached to its feet.
In theory, the bird or animal disguise used by the first ancestor

[4] One old Bella Coola stated that this prerogative was obtained during his own life-time from a Rivers Inlet chief who moved to *Tăl·is*. It is impossible to state accurately when this ritual was adopted by the Bella Coola, though it is unquestionably of recent origin.

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764 grave carrying a spruce bough in his hand. He touches with it the edge where he is standing, then, in sunwise order, the east, south, and west margins. This circuit is repeated four times and the branch tossed away to westward. This essential [774] ceremony is based on a belief that the lives, or perhaps the spirits, of the grave-diggers have been drawn from them into the grave and are in danger of being pressed down by the coffin. Should this occur, they would have short lives. The spruce branch enables the supernatural elements to leave the cavity and return to their owners who suffer no ill effects. Anyone, other than a grave-digger, can perform this rite.

The coffin is now lifted into the grave, care being taken that the corpse faces east. As already described, it is in a squatting position with haunches almost on the ground. Boards have been prepared in advance, and with these the grave-diggers make a roof-like covering, placing at each corner [775] a stone weighing from ten to fifteen pounds, to prevent the ghost from returning to trouble the survivors. Earth is thrown in on top of the boards, and as it falls the wailing breaks out dolorously in a final crescendo of mourning. [766] If a chief has been buried, his fellows sometimes sing a *xe·tla* [533] song. At this time it is proper for one or more chiefs to rise and speak. No one is required to do so, nor is there any rule 537 as to the order in which they make their remarks. The first 764 speaker is usually a prominent man related to the survivors, though seldom a son, brother, or other near relative of the deceased. A speech is generally addressed in part to the spirit of the dead person, telling it where to go; in part, to the mourners. For a dead child, emphasis is laid on the fact that although he did not live long enough to be incorporated into his ancestral myths on earth, this will be done for him in his future home. In conclusion, an appeal is often made to [775] *Alquntäm*, under the name of *Smaialotla*, to take pains that [773] the spirit of the dead is given its rightful place in *Nusmät·a*, in the section where its first forbears were created, and whither the spirits of its dead ancestors have returned since the beginning of time.

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*556 769 diate family. Confusion is probable only when a chief is bereaved after he has stored up goods and made preliminary preparations for a potlatch; he may then carry out the rites intended, but designate the ceremony a memorial potlatch. [575] More often, however, the affair is limited to rites associated with the deceased. Consequently, there is omission of the initiation of neophytes into the *ɹsaok* and *a'alk* societies,[22] there is no establishment of new seats for young relatives of the donor, and no strengthening of his own. It must be emphasized once more that there is no unalterable sequence of prescribed rituals at either potlatch or memorial potlatch; the omissions just mentioned are customary, not universal, and when present the ritual of the two ceremonies is identical. Except on those rare occasions when omitted at a potlatch, the return of a dead relative is the central feature of both.

[184]

[178] In recent years, the great increase in wealth has made it possible for a chief to perform a memorial potlatch soon after the death of an esteemed relative. This was rarely the case in former times, but as there was no other reason for which valuables were so ardently desired, every expedient was used to obtain the necessary goods. Occasionally, a chief happened to have the needful goods stored up so that he could give a memorial potlatch almost immediately. To such a fortunate individual the term, *yeotla*, was applied, a word difficult to translate but combining the significances of *rich*, *ready*, *fortunate*, and *revered*.

[796] Memorial potlatches, like those of the ordinary kind, are usually held in the early autumn, though occasionally one may be postponed until after the *kusiut* season. When an intending donor has decided that he owns sufficient goods, he first calls in his fellow-chiefs and makes known his intentions, at the same time expounding in considerable detail the myths which [533] he proposes to use as themes for mourning songs, and for other

[22] Performance of such rites at a memorial potlatch would be considered sinful by the Bella Bella and were always omitted during the period when their influence was important.

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prerogatives connected with the ceremony. The actual re- 556*
counting of the myths may be done by a fluent speaker on 769
behalf of the bereaved man, and when he has finished speaking, [533]
it is proper for several of his peers to make complimentary
speeches, lauding the future donor for his intentions. Food is [537]
then served and the gathering breaks up.

The preliminaries of a memorial potlatch do not differ from those of an ordinary one. There is the same counting and recounting of goods, the same giving and receiving of presents, the same lending and borrowing. When at last the donor is ready, the heralds call his fellow-villagers to his house for announcement of the arrangements and allotment of the work. As at a potlatch, food is provided on a lavish scale, and there is the same sham-fight with a battering-ram ending in the destruction of part of the house. Then the carpenters receive their instructions; some to make different sections of the new structure, some to paint ancestral designs on the front and back walls, and some to make the various objects required.

The first difference between a memorial and an ordinary 211
potlatch is apparent at this allotment of work. Instead of a 556*
totem-pole to record the glories of the donor's ancestry,[22] car- 764
penters are requested to make memorial-posts for the dead 769
relative who is being commemorated. These are erected in
the cemetery near the grave and are of three kinds, although it is unusual for all three to be set up for a single chief.

The first consists of a wooden post carved with the design of one or more of the deceased's crests (see Plates 19 and 20). [532]
These figures are usually representations of the bird or animal cloaks used by his first ancestors; it is customary to portray the one traced through the father on the right, that traced through the mother on the left. Instead of a cloak, the figure may portray the post down which swarmed his first ancestor in the beginning of time, or Mount *Nusdalst* in human form, wearing a broad-rimmed hat as he did before he turned to

[22]Even the construction of a new house and the painting of new designs is often omitted.

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*556 769 messengers may be marked with the same ritual as at a potlatch, but there is always curtailment of *susaok* features if rites of that nature are to be omitted.

Meanwhile other preparations have not been neglected. 424 Among the prerogatives embodied in many origin myths, is that of the presence of professional mourners at memorial *556 769 potlatches. If mention of these is made in the ancient tradition of the donor's ancestral family, it is a matter of pride for [767] him to do as was done by his ancestors in the distant past. For example, it may be recorded that at the memorial potlatch of some ancient chief, a number of his younger relatives appeared with red paint smeared upon their faces, with finely chopped undyed cedar-bark in the hair, or with bands of the [765] same material across their heads. *Ālquntäm* had decreed that they should thus exhibit their grief, and the descendants of the chief have since had the privilege of doing likewise. Such signs of mourning may not, however, be worn without proper validation. It is only the members of the ancestral family who are entitled to don these marks, and among them, only those whose right has been confirmed by the distribution of presents. This is a masculine professional prerogative, known [562] by the same name as the feminine one of uttering a droning cry to which it is closely akin. The right is ratified at memorial potlatches, and the donor of one is glad to do so as a means of displaying his own wealth as well as of making plain the glory of his ancestors to whom the one being commemorated has [767] returned. There is no mention of professional mourners in the myths of many families, nor are they ever as important in [171] Bella Coola as among the Bella Bella and other tribes of the outer coast. If such belong to the family of the donor, he notifies the incumbents and asks them to be ready, although, eager to act, they seldom wait for such an invitation.

533 The most difficult task is the preparation of mourning songs *556 769 at which the singers toil for several weeks. The donor first invites them to his house and recounts the myths from which they must be composed. These may include several traditions

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of different ancestral families to which the deceased belonged, 533
irrespective of whether or not he had used a name from one. 556
Being a member of the group, its songs can legally be used in 769
his honour. Elements from different myths are often combined into one composition, corresponding to the different localities and characters which the dead person has visited in travelling back the path of his multiple ancestors to the beginning of time. If one person only is being commemorated, four [801]
songs are prepared; if several, two are used for each. Three for any individual is unlucky. Two types, *skwanät* and *änultınänk*, are in common usage, and the singers, after conversation with the donor of the ceremony, decide which shall be employed. The former describes in some detail features from one or more of the deceased's ancestral myths, mentions the journey which he has taken to visit the individuals and scenes referred to, and calls on him to assume the form of his first forefather. A common theme is to state the origin of his name, and how he loved it so greatly that he left the earth to follow it back through time and space. The following is an abbreviated version of such a song, based on the origin myth of *Käliäkıs*:

"We have been unable to satisfy you here. Go whither *Käliäkıs* came, and become a raven. Go to the east and get abalone-shell; go to the west and get copper. They will satisfy you."

Another *skwanät* of the same type is:

"Your first ancestor circled the world with the aid of an abalone-shell paddle. Do you likewise. That will gratify you as nothing on earth could do."

On the other hand, an *änultınänk* seldom refers to the ancestral history of the deceased, but to his actions during life. It records the number of slaves, canoes, and other valuables given away at potlatches,[35] and alludes to other praiseworthy actions. This type of mourning song, though usually used [622]

[35]An analogous method of making known a man's distribution of wealth is by a written sign over his door (see Plate 24).

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533 only for a chief, can be employed for a dead child. In this case,
*556 the theme describes the efforts of the parents to incorporate
769 the deceased in the traditions of their ancestors, and the
[622] number of times he had been ceremonially married. The text of one used a few years ago is:

"We said, Hail! *Sınxälotła* [the child's crest was the Sun] when she was born. What more could we have done? Why did she leave us?"

The text may refer to the prerogative of employing mourners, as in the following:

"Come ye professional mourners, help me to give voice to my lamentations."

The tunes of mourning songs are usually remembered from year to year, and the singers may merely alter words to make an old song applicable. In some cases, such compositions are
[424] changed so slightly that they become virtually possessions of an ancestral family, and may then be preserved for generations until even the history of the names embodied is forgotten.
[174] Occasionally, ancient relationship between two such groups can be deduced from the occurrence of the same names in their mourning songs, although all traditions of intermarriage have been forgotten. There is considerable difference between the tunes of *skwanät* and *änultunänk*; in fact, this distinction may be more important than the themes, since the latter do not invariably conform to the types just described. A few items of ancestral history may be incorporated into a song dealing primarily with the actions of the deceased and *vice versa*. Sometimes four of one type are used, sometimes two of each. Much thought is devoted to the compositions, the singers meeting every day to try over and improve one another's efforts. The texts, long and complicated, require much practice, since any error would be an admission of gross inefficiency. These daily rehearsals take place in the donor's house and he is required to provide food for the singers. It is not uncommon to use a
[177] song of Bella Bella origin, since the Bella Coola admit that members of that tribe excel in compositions of this type.

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Such an adoption occurs only when the deceased was the owner of a Bella Bella myth and the song in question had been used to mourn a real or fictitious relative. It is contrary to custom to use the tune or words of a song not composed for a member of the deceased's ancestral family. 556* 769 [533]

The actual delivering of invitations by the envoys to the desired guests does not differ from the manner already described, except that they are asked "to come to visit the sick [donor]." The significance is, of course, that the mourner's condition is that of a patient. To indicate the reason of their visit, guests at a memorial potlatch always wear a little dyed cedar-bark around their heads. [177] [203] [292]

On arrival, the first party of foreign guests is conducted to the donor's house, where they make themselves comfortable in the section allotted to them by the heralds. An elderly Bella Coola chief who is a famous orator has been asked by the donor to speak, and he rises to do so as soon as his fellow-villagers have entered and taken their places. No set phrases are used, but the speaker usually begins by reminding all present of the way in which their ancestors were created in *Nusmät·a*, and how all must return thither. It is an occasion on which eloquence is essential, and the speaker delights in using as many archaic words and rhetorical expressions as possible, with constant references to religious beliefs and ancient history as recorded in mythology. Then he speaks of the death which is the occasion of the ceremony. If the deceased were an old man, he is referred to by a special term not in common usage, *nudak·än*, which implies wisdom and respect as well as extreme age. The orator states that he has fallen, using the term *poyäx*, normally applied to the thunderous crash of some mighty tree. He speaks of a young chief as *sxwᵘllämkis*, short-lived, a person who has been hunted down by the supernatural Carpenters. He continues by sketching the works of the deceased, the number of potlatches he gave and the manner in which his name was known to many tribes. Finally he tells of the donor's grief, and of how this "sickness" has been alle- 537 556* 769 [195]

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537 viated by the presence of welcome guests. Mention is fre-
* 556 quently made of the journey taken by the dead man to the
769 scenes of his ancestral myths. In addition to being an orator,
the speaker must also be a *numitl* chief, since it is felt that
[622] none other can have the necessary assurance and poise to refer
to these most sacred and important subjects. During the
speech, assistants blow eagle down over the heads of all
present.

Food has been prepared in advance, and as soon as the
speaker has finished, the heralds call the guests to partake of
it. The first course is then distributed, smoked salmon mixed
[264] with olachen grease. Speeches are sometimes delivered during
this part of the meal, as well as at the second course, cranberries
with more olachen grease. If the guests have arrived during
the afternoon, there is no delay between the feast and the ritual
that follows, but if they have come during the morning, there
is a gap until the evening. Visitors usually time their arrival
for the early part of the afternoon.

537 The next event is a speech from one of the foreign chiefs,
phrased in grandiloquent terms similar to those used by the
* 556 Bella Coola orator. He speaks of the manner in which the
769 supernatural Carpenters have hunted the deceased, but reminds
609 his hearers that this is because *Ałquntām* has decreed it, there-
fore all must be for the best. He refers to the dead man's crest,
533 and to the manner in which this guise will be available to him.
During the day, the singers have been careful to learn the tune
of a mourning song used by the ancestral family of each foreign
chief likely to speak. This they now beat out, often assisted
by some of the guests, and always accompanied by their sing-
ing. No one dances to accompany the song; it is merely a
tactful mark of sympathy, implying that the speaker himself
knows the grief occasioned by death, and, also, that he too is
sufficiently important to be able to use a mourning song. If,
as is usually the case, there is more than one influential chief
in the party, a second rises to speak, repeating in different
terms the sentiments expressed by his predecessor. Another

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mourning song is sung for him in the same way. Sometimes as many as five or six speeches are made, each followed by a song of the same type. In such circumstances it is impossible for the Bella Coola musicians to learn all the tunes, but if five or six chiefs are present, it implies the presence of a large delegation among whom are always a number of singers. It is they who really beat out the tunes, assisted by their Bella Coola *confrères*. When the last song has been sung, the guests present their hosts with gifts brought for the purpose. The donor himself receives the most valuable, but all the Bella Coola are remembered, chiefs to a greater extent than commoners. Such gifts are not to be returned; in fact, to do so specifically, especially soon after the receipt, would be insulting. After the distribution the evening concludes with the usual meal. 537 556* 769 609 533

This ritual is repeated at the arrival of every group of guests. It is uncertain whether or not all the mourning songs are again beaten out after the song of the final speaker of the last group. This seems to have been done occasionally, and the distribution of presents by the guests likewise postponed. Just before the gathering breaks up, the heralds call out: "*Alnaixwotsnumap.*"

This serves as intimation that the Bella Coola rites will take place the following morning, and the guests prepare accordingly. Occasionally, when a man is poor, a memorial potlatch is held without the presence of foreign guests.[16] In such cases the preliminaries just described are, of course, omitted and the above call marks the commencement of the ceremony. 556* 769 [609]

The next day the guests gather in the donor's house, clad in their best. The mourners are in attendance, each conspicuous with the proper mark. In many cases several of them carry miniature totem-poles, carved to represent bird or animal cloaks assumed by the donor's ancestors, and which

[16]This was probably quite common during the period when all potlatch features were omitted.

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*556 769 will now be the forms of the one who has recently died. As soon as all have taken their places, an eloquent chief whose aid has been requested for the purpose stands up and recounts [537] the donor's ancestral myth in some detail, mentioning the source and meaning of the mourners' marks and the designs of the totem-poles. Then he continues to the effect that the chief will "cry" by relating the history of his ancestors, which is also the history of the journey taken by his kinsman, and that this recital will shore him up. The word used for this, *snutu-* [195] *länkin*, is the one commonly employed for raising a heavy burden with the aid of a lever. Then the singers begin to beat [533] out the first of the mourning songs, accompanying it with their voices and assisted by as many of the audience as are familiar with words and tune. Every effort is made to make the singing as impressive as possible to add dignity to the recital of the journey taken by the person who is being commemorated. The guests listen attentively and are suitably impressed by the ancestral history of the donor and his family. All the songs that have been prepared are sung in succession in the same manner. The lack of dancing distinguishes this type of cere- [535] mony[1] from all others and adds somewhat to its impressiveness.

After the last song is the proper time for validating young [424] relatives of the donor as mourners. One of the miniature [425] totem-poles, which are light enough to be carried in the hands, is brought from the back-room and given to the boy on whom this prerogative is being conferred. An eloquent speaker explains the meanings of the designs so displayed and enough of the family's ancestral history to make clear whence, and how, they were obtained. The singers begin to beat time slowly, and the youth endeavours to keep time with his feet, while he continues to hold the pole.

Meanwhile the donor and his immediate relatives have been arranging the piles of presents with the inevitable counting and re-counting. As at a potlatch, a fluent speaker is commissioned [537] to hold up the objects, state whence they have been obtained,

1 [i.e. - the memorial potlatch - ANALYST]

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to whom they are going, and for what purpose. He says, for example: 556 * 769

"Fifty skins become nothing on the path of *Käliäkıs*."

Everyone knows that this means the expenditure of that amount for the singing of a mourning song in connection with the myth in which *Käliäkıs* appears. Gifts must be given for each song, and it is the desire of the donor that they be of fitting value. So, too, is the validation of professional mourners confirmed. The goods having thus been displayed, a first distribution, called "Tears" with reference to the donor's grief, is made, each guest receiving a gift of the same worth. It is not returnable, being the legalization of the ceremony he has just witnessed. This is followed by donations to the carpenters, the singers, the professional mourners, and all others who have rendered assistance; in essence, these are pay, though they are always referred to as free-will gifts made in gratitude for services rendered. Like the last, they are not returnable. Finally, any goods remaining from the store that has been brought out are given to chiefs and other influential members of the audience. Though not clearly stated, the recipients know that these are really investment-presents; when they reciprocate, they mention that they are repaying a gift made at a memorial potlatch. A plentiful meal is now served, during which several chiefs make complimentary speeches, and the gathering breaks up. [533] [425] [465] [426]

In former times, when features of the ordinary potlatch were banned from a memorial potlatch, the ceremony just described was the central point of the proceedings. It was this public song-recital of the journey taken by his deceased relative which alleviated the donor's sorrow and filled him with pride. A few days after, in the late afternoon, the heralds called back the guests and the songs were sung and re-sung. Miniature totem-poles were not used, nor were professional mourners in evidence; the sole function of the gathering was to provide opportunity for learning the songs. They were repeated until far into the night, when a large meal was served and the guests [533]

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* 556 departed. A few days later the same ritual was carried out
769 again, with a similar lavish distribution of food. This was often done at intervals of two or three days for several weeks, depending on how much food the donor was prepared to use. The amount required was so great that the rite was considered, in some ways, more difficult than a potlatch.

[178] As already mentioned, however, it became customary in the last century to incorporate features of the ordinary potlatch into one of a memorial nature. In such cases the first [533] singing of the mourning songs with display of marks by the professional mourners is as just recorded, but there is no recalling of the guests merely to listen once more to the songs. Instead, the ritual differs but slightly from that of an ordinary potlatch as already described (I, p. 182). An occasion is found to conduct the guests to the memorial-posts erected, and to in- [178] form them of the significance of the designs depicted. This same practice has been continued since the introduction of tombstones, and the meaning of the writing upon them is interpreted. The entry of the deceased in the form of his crest, and the subsequent use of a copper, is the same as already recorded. This is frequently followed by the singing of a *susaok* mourning [533] song if one of the near relatives owns this prerogative of foreign origin. If so, he walks slowly around the fire in a wide circle, shaking his rattle, and singing, unaccompanied. Most, if not all [177] of these songs, are in the Bella Bella language and the right to [425] use one has in every case been obtained through intermarriage with a member of that tribe. At intervals, heralds call out:

"Listen to the chief's lament."[27]

When presents are distributed to validate the whole ceremony, mention is always made of the different features for which they are given. As at a potlatch, the most important is the return of the dead, but at a memorial potlatch another [211] essential is the display of the memorial-posts. These have been [764] carved, painted, and set up, but are worthless unless validated

[27]There is no reason why this should not take place at a potlatch, but no instance of its performance was noted.

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of Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, three of her crests of which the masks were available. They agreed that Timothy Snow[20] was the best carpenter available and that he should be commissioned to put them in shape and arrange their use. Reuben wanted to sing a *susaok* mourning song, to which he had a prerogative derived from his Bella Bella mother, and it was also decided that the band[21] should play. Reuben informed his father that he would contribute $60 towards the expenditure.

764 769 556* 159 [533]

Meanwhile Jessie had been washed by female friends, clad in her best clothing, and laid in her coffin. This was a rough box, contributed by the manager of the cannery and shaped like a white man's coffin. At intervals, women came near and wailed dolorously without heeding others similarly engaged. The news was carried to all the Bella Coola, those men who owned gasoline launches taking the word to the logging-camps without being requested to do so. A Carrier Indian who happened to be returning from the cannery spread the word through the village, where each woman who received the message hurried off to some friend, with whom she began to wail.

764 159 [203]

Early on the following morning, Captain Schooner returned home with his wife, Jessie's stepmother. He had been crying and was sad, but seemed willing to talk. He spoke of the proposed memorial potlatch, and expressed the sentiments recorded on vol. I, p. 473. He was grave and dignified, absolutely determined to perform what he considered to be the necessary ritual, oblivious of consequences, and heedless of what he held to be an unjust law. During that summer, Captain Schooner had been a rather heavy drinker, but on this occasion he abstained from wine, and said that he hoped no one would show disrespect to his daughter by appearing in a drunken condition either at the funeral or the subsequent rites. It is

[769] [273]

[20] He was not closely related to the Schooners.

[21] Most of the younger Bella Coola were members of the band, performing white man's music on white man's instruments. Andy Schooner was bandmaster, but it is unlikely that this influenced the decision, since the performance of the band was customary at funerals when the writer was in Bella Coola.

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764 159 Meanwhile the rest of the population was sitting near the coffin. They wore no special dress or other mark of grief. Samuel King and some of his relatives had brought bundles containing Jessie's clothing, pots, pans, and other personal possessions, which they set down near the coffin. About two [533] o'clock the band gathered and began to play, the favourite [177] selection being "Annie Laurie." This went on for some time after the return of the chiefs from Captain Schooner's house. They had decided that *Tāl·io* Jenny, one of Captain Schooner's distant relatives, should carry the fire in front of the body. When all was ready she lit a bundle of rags, placed it in a pot, and set off for the cemetery, followed by all in a straggling and orderless procession. Some strong young men bore the coffin, for Jessie must have weighed over two hundred pounds; some brought tools for digging the grave; others took the bundles of clothing. There was no fixed allotment of tasks; a man or woman carried anything or nothing according to his or her wish.

The cemetery is situated about fifty yards behind the old village of *Ḷomqo·ts*. The heavy timber has all been cut away and second growth has sprung up everywhere except around the newer graves. Captain Schooner had decided that his daughter should be buried near several of her relatives, and it was to this spot that Jenny led the procession. She set the pot down near the site of the grave, and the coffin likewise was placed on the ground nearby. Captain Schooner, Jim Pollard, and a few of the other old men chose the exact situation and a number of the young men began to dig. Jenny, and other women, added pieces of Jessie's clothing to the fire so that a constant small blaze was kept up. As the grave was being dug [533] the band performed at intervals, while the women sat wailing near the fire. Other men and women were seated on the ground or walking around idly near the grave, talking but seldom laughing, while the Carriers were a little farther away. [852] Children were playing around. The grave was dug about five feet deep, in shape corresponding to the coffin, but orientation

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was not carefully observed. Those wishing to dig took turns with the tools; there was no supervision, and no orders given. When the grave was ready, Jim Pollard asked Judas to perform the rite with the spruce bough, which he did with a branch brought by one of the youths. The young men lowered the coffin into the grave while the band continued to play. The missionary then read the Christian burial service, after which he withdrew. Some of the young men brought planks from old houses near-by, sawed them to the size of the grave and laid them over the coffin as a cover. At this juncture Judas, one of the oldest and most conservative of the Bella Coola, rose to speak. First he offered consolation to the mourning relatives by pointing out that all must travel the same road. Then he spoke to Jessie, telling her not to linger, but to travel back the path of her ancestors from generation to generation until she reached the place where they first came down from above, and thence to ascend to *Nusmät·a*. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of the speech, which was punctuated by calls of "*Ye*··" from the male Bella Coola. The next speaker was Jim Pollard, the most influential Kimsquit and a personal friend, though not a relative, of Captain Schooner's.

764 159 [533] [797] 764 159 537

"Go," he said to the dead woman, "Go to the localities from which came your first forefathers in the beginning of time. There you will find your most valuable ancestral possessions. Go at once, do not linger and lose yourself on the road from generation to generation."

Turning to George Nelson, he went on, "Do not be downhearted, all of us must travel the same road. It was made by no man, it is the work of *Ätquntäm*."

Looking back once more to the grave, he said, "In *Qomqo·ts* are buried many illustrious relatives of yours. You will be among friends, whereas we are left to lament your departure."

It was impossible to write down the words at the time and the above record is not literally correct, although it expresses the gist of the speech. [126]

Captain Schooner whispered to Robert Hood, another of the

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764 older Bella Coola, asking him to announce that he, Schooner,
159 with Dan and George, was going to hold a memorial potlatch
that evening to which all were invited. Robert is not a herald
[203] but undertook this duty owing to the absence of qualified
769 heralds. Meanwhile the grave had been filled in and the
*[556] people began to drift away as it rose to ground level. Their
attitude throughout had resembled that of white people at a
funeral, and the hilariousness that characterizes so many
[852] Bella Coola gatherings was entirely absent except among the
playing children. By 4.30 P.M. all had left the scene.

769 In view of the large number of guests expected it had been
decided to hold the memorial potlatch, not in one of the old-
*556 fashioned houses, but in the village hall, built according to the
[344] white man's style of architecture and illuminated with swinging
[354] gasoline lamps. This is a large, rectangular building, undivided
by partitions, with a stage at one end and a door at the other.
[533] About 6.30 P.M. the singers, Nebuchadnezzar, Jim Pollard,
Billy Pollard, Alec Davis, Kimsquit Alec, and Robert Hood,
gathered at the hall and seated themselves below the stage.
Billy Pollard had prepared a mourning song during the day,
Kimsquit Alec another, and it was decided to use two others
that were well known to all. The singers sat and practised
these four for some time, while at intervals various Bella Coola
strolled in, listened for a few minutes, then walked out again.
Anyone was allowed to do so, but few availed themselves of
the opportunity. Meanwhile Captain Schooner had brought
264 $10 worth of rice, raisins, and condensed milk which he placed
769 beside a huge iron cauldron outside the front door. Jim To-
*556 Morrow, a Bella Coola of no great intelligence, volunteered to
act as cook and soon had a fire blazing and the food boiling.

About 8.00 P.M. the people began to assemble, bringing their own plates and other utensils. After considerable delay and chatter, the guests took their places in the hall, seating themselves regardless of rank on benches ranged along the two side walls and massed at the rear. By mutual consent a portion of the single row of benches along the left wall was reserved

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769 were taken by one of the younger men to Captain Schooner,
4 556 who accepted them without showing either gratitude or the reverse; this return was a matter that concerned the Williams family, not the Schooners. After a short delay, Billy Pollard moved over to the group and spoke to Joe and Willie Mack,
[588] to whom he gave $10. The latter stated that this sum, which he held up, and a horse, which was not produced, were being given to George Nelson to rebuy his (divorced) wife. Billy is not related to the woman, but had long been friendly and wished to share in making good the path for her children. This matter had not been previously broached. The choice of
[537] Willie Mack as announcer was made merely because he was a fluent speaker and, as a chief, had the necessary self-confidence to act fittingly.

769 After these preliminaries, the main rite was begun. Jim
4 556 Pollard, an eloquent chief unrelated to any of the principals,
537 spoke at some length describing the journey taken by Jessie to visit the scenes of her ancestral myths. He was followed by a Bella Bella chief who happened to be in Bella Coola at the time. In the Chinook jargon he first expressed his sympathy and respect for Captain Schooner because he was carrying out the fitting rites, then asked leave to speak in Bella Bella because he found it difficult to express himself in Chinook. He described the journey which the deceased had taken owing to her membership in the ancestral family of her mother, a Bella Bella woman. No one paid much attention to the speeches; in fact, it was impossible at the back of the hall to hear what was said owing to the chattering and crying of children.

769 After considerable delay, the singers decided it was time to
4 556 sing the first mourning song. It had never before been used,
533 although the composer, Billy Pollard, had prepared it several years earlier and had merely altered the words during the morning after consulting Captain Schooner about his ancestral myths. The singers had learnt text and tune during the rehearsal a few hours before. It was impossible to record it in detail; in outline, it consisted of the words:

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"Child, you are an eagle now. You are like *Xemcua*.[11] He will provide an eagle cloak for you." 769

The theme was continued throughout as if Captain Schooner were speaking and lamenting his daughter. At intervals the phrase was repeated, "My child has fled home." The leader of the singers, Jim Pollard in this case, kept calling out to the audience to cry and sing, and as many of them joined in as had come in earlier to listen to the words. The whole effect was strikingly dignified and impressive. 356* 533

Captain Schooner joined the singers for the second mourning song, since he alone was familiar with the details of the ancestral myth which formed the theme. In former times a bereaved parent would never have been obliged to assist in this way. Kimsquit Alec had composed the tune during the day and Billy Pollard called out the words, line by line, inviting the guests to join in. The theme consisted of instructions to Jessie: [178]

"Go," it ran, "To the mountain whither *Qoil*[12] came. Thence travel to the Skeena where you will assume the form of a whale and be able to spout like one.[13] Go then to the far north where you will enter the copper house within which dwells a copper raven and where the salmon are *taitaimg*."[14]

This song was sung in the manner already described.

The third mourning song was one composed for a *Tāl-io* chief, *Smaoxsrak*, who had lost his daughter during the smallpox epidemic. Its use was justifiable, as *Smaoxsrak* was Jessie's mother's mother's mother's brother. It had a double significance since the dead woman's mother had allowed it to be used when lamenting the death of a brother of Samuel King, a member of the same ancestral family. Captain Schooner had altered the words to make them applicable to the present situation. The theme was:

[11] One of the first settlers of the earth, an ancestor of Jessie.
[12] Another of her first ancestors.
[13] One of Jessie's first ancestors had landed on the Skeena and there assumed the form and characteristics of a whale.
[14] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.

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769 "Please stop crying. We have made good your memory.
+556 You are a light to your brother. Go to *Smaouxek* where he
533 stands among the abalone-shells far to the south.[55] Thence go overland to Rivers Inlet where a *skāmtsk* will serve as canoe for you.[56] You will see the long house where your ancestor obtained shaman's power."[57]

Meanwhile Reuben Schooner had been out of sight behind the curtain of the stage. After a short interval, he emerged
[292] wearing a blue blanket decorated with mother-of-pearl buttons sewn on in raven design. He was followed by two other influential members of the *susaok* society, Alexander Clallaman and Nebuchadnezzar, similarly attired. Reuben began to sing in a low, sad, penetrating voice of considerable musical power and, followed by the other two, walked slowly in a sunwise circle around the hall, all the time shaking his right hand, held projecting outwards at right angles from his elbow. The song was in Bella Bella, and even the singer did not fully understand the meaning, and few of the audience had any idea of its significance. When the three had almost completed the first circuit, someone brought Reuben a rattle, which he clutched in his right hand as he continued his way. The reason of the shaking at once became evident; he should have had a rattle through-
[178] out but few of these were left in Bella Coola at the time and it had not been possible to borrow one before beginning his song. Again the three slowly circled the hall, Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar calling out at intervals:

"Listen to the mourning song of the chief."

After the second circuit of the hall, Reuben paused near the singers and spoke to Alec Davis, a *susaok siki*. The latter
[424] rose and stated how the prerogative of *siki*, including the right to sing, unaccompanied, a mourning song on occasions such as this had been transmitted both to Reuben and his brother Harry from *Ao-sti*, a Bella Bella chief to whom they were

[55] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[56] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[57] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.

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related through their mother. After a little further discussion, Harry took the rattle from his brother and began to sing as he walked around the hall, followed by Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar. Harry was less familiar than his brother with the proper words, but supplied this deficiency by humming. He was also less at ease, and he lacked the musical ability which had made his brother's singing so impressive. After a single circuit, he restored the rattle to Reuben, who continued to go around the hall as he sang. This time he paused at intervals, and kept glancing towards the door, his whole attitude betraying that something was interfering with the previously arranged plans. The purpose of the singing was to summon the dead woman in the form of her crest, but she did not appear. In early times those who were not *susaok* were told that the words and music penetrated to the upper regions, reminding the deceased of the grief of his relatives and persuading him to return. This belief had passed away at the time of the ceremony here described, but the fiction was continued, and it had been planned that the representation of the deceased should enter when the song was finished. It later transpired that the delay was due to a number of white people who, having gathered at the doorway, made the performer unwilling to put on his masks and disguise. Reuben continued to sing half-heartedly, and finally cried out:

"Perhaps I have lost my power, it does not come."

Alec Davis, who had previously left the hall, came rushing in and called out in a loud voice:

"*Qomotla* [Jessie's ancestral name and the one in connection with which she had been made a chief] is coming. She has been to the scenes of her ancestral myths. Her crests have taken her. She comes as Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, bearing her grandchild."[39]

The speaker is a morose, rather surly individual, usually undignified and often drunk, but on this occasion his manner had changed in a remarkable degree. His eyes were bright, his

[39]Although not yet dead, all hope had been abandoned for the child's recovery.

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769 *556 ential *susaok*. In former times it is certain that objections would have been raised to this breach of ceremonial privilege.

[424] [178] [575] [622] There was a pause for several minutes after the withdrawal of the figure. Then Reuben threw a copper on the floor in the track taken by the actor "to make bone for the dead woman." A number of chiefs went forward to join the singers and discuss whether or not the copper should be redeemed. No one wished to do so, so Captain Schooner said he would have it fastened to a post over Jessie's grave, a proposition to which all agreed.

769 *556 533 After interminable discussion in which Captain Schooner, Nebuchadnezzar, Reuben Schooner, Jim Pollard, and Alec Davis took the principal parts, it was decided to sing the fourth mourning song at this point. There was no reason why this should not have been done at the customary time, after the other three, but wide latitude in detail was allowed in this [178] ceremony; in fact, exact ritual never flourished in Bella Coola and has become increasingly rare in recent years. This song had been composed a number of years previously when Captain Schooner had called in the Bella Bella to a memorial potlatch, and great care had been expended on its composition owing to the skill of the guests in songs of this type. The words, altered to fit the circumstances, were phrased as if George and Dan were lamenting the loss of their mother and other relatives.

"I, we," they ran, "are thinking of our mother, our brothers, our sisters, our mother's brothers, our mother's sisters, our father's brothers, our father's sisters, of all our dead relatives. Please, ye chiefs from abroad, turn your heads, listen to our wail. You revered great ones, let us all cry together. It is we who have called you hither; look upon us."

This song was sung in the manner already described, except that more of the Bella Coola were familiar with the words and tune and could accordingly join in.

769 *556 Meanwhile Captain Schooner, with his sons Reuben and Harry and his grandsons George Nelson and Andy Schooner, had been crouching in a corner of the hall, poring over the money which was to be distributed to validate the ceremony,

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775 one of the several crests which it is believed he has become. The point does not appear important to the Bella Coola, corresponding to their indefinite ideas concerning whether the spirit and the life have become a single being, or several.

Knowledge of the life led in *Nusmät·a* by the deceased, now in the form of his crest,[42] is most indefinite. In a general way it is felt that the actions of this being are similar to those carried on during life, but in a more advanced degree. A skilled carpenter is a better carpenter in the land above, a chief who has given many potlatches below can give more in *Nusmät·a*. This [533] belief finds expression in mourning songs which frequently state how *Älquntäm* has called a good carpenter to work above, or how a chief has gone to exhibit his generosity in a new sphere. It is doubtful whether this sentiment plays any real part in Bella Coola thought. The spirit and the life of a dead person have gone too far away to affect the living; what little is known of their actions has been handed down from the distant past and is merely a matter of history. The only time that these 775 two merged elements come to this world is at a memorial pot-769 latch, and formerly the uninitiated undoubtedly believed that 556 they were witnessing such a visit. Though the spectators were shown as a matter of course that the spirit and the life had become bird or animal, emphasis was laid on the fact that they had become the *particular* bird or animal crest of the donor's ancestral family. The effect of the memorial potlatch in former times, as at present, was, therefore, social rather than reli-775 gious. Besides, the two parts portrayed have never been known to affect a human being; they expect no offerings, grant no assistance, cause no injury, and are accordingly neglected.

In comparison with the above vague beliefs, Bella Coola information concerning ghosts is clear and exact. As already

[773] [42] It is accepted that men were created as human beings, and only assumed bird or animal shapes in order to reach the earth, but there is no corresponding belief that the spirit and the life change back from crest to human form on arrival above. Of course the performance of human activities by zoomorphic creatures presents no difficulties to Bella Coola thought.

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* 756 they hear? In this case, for example, a reliable woman asserted
* 787 that she had heard two, though she had since forgotten them as they had no social significance. Bella Coola shaman songs
[533] are of a simple type, with few words,[4] and with tunes of no great difficulty, all closely akin to one pattern. Hence they could easily be invented by anyone. A person who recovers from a severe illness is expected, both by others and by himself, to have had such an experience, consequently it is easy for him to interpret the confused thoughts of a sickness as a visitation from a supernatural being. Thus it seems probable that a shaman deludes himself as well as others with regard to the songs.

* 787 A certain man had a similar experience, when he too heard *Ṫlitcäplilän·a* without actually seeing her. He was in a canoe at the time, near the point between North Bentinck Arm and Labouchere Channel, and distinctly heard her whistle, accompanied by four beats on a drum. This may have been an omen,
[763] as his sister died soon afterwards. Occasionally, *Ṫlitcäplilän·a* appears in dreams and gives information, as she did to this man's mother, instructing her to brush her body with spruce boughs to avoid smallpox. She followed this advice and both she and her husband escaped unscathed from the epidemic.

* 756 A shaman who died about 1902 received his power in the following manner.
* 787 He had been spearing cohoe salmon in the Bella Coola River one autumn when one of the fish crumbled to skin in his hands as he removed it from the water. From this event some mysterious malady entered his body; no one could cure him, and by December he had wasted away to a walking skeleton. Then, one morning, he heard whistling which he was sure must be the voice of *Ṫlitcäplilän·a*. He wisely said nothing about this, nor was it heard by anyone else. The same sound was repeated on the next two mornings, and on the fourth she appeared.

[4] Sometimes with none at all, merely a confused humming which is regarded as a tune. Examples of these songs are given later (II, p. 299).

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"I am *Ànolxʉmdimut*," she said. "Everyone calls on me to visit the sick, and henceforth they will likewise seek you and your basin." 756* 787*

Something entered his stomach, causing it to heave violently, and he felt that the sickness had left him. He sent for the singers and repeated to them the words that *Ṫlitcäplilän·a* had chanted; these formed the text of the shaman's song which he used on future occasions. While giving them to the singers, he endeavoured to dance, but was too feeble to do more than weakly shake his hands. From that time on, *Ànolxʉmdimut* was able to cure the sick.

This last account is typical. *Ṫlitcäplilän·a* appears, inserts something into the body of the patient to cure him, sings one or more songs, gives the sufferer a name, and then vanishes. [553] The curing power thus bestowed remains within the person benefited; it is this that enables him to heal others if *Ṫlitcäplilän·a* has so decided. In such cases, there is mention of a "basin" in the song, and the one who has just recovered will be able to treat others, especially those suffering from the same [755] malady as himself. The reference to a basin is because such utensils are used during treatments. To the Bella Coola a shaman is one who has had such an experience and has publicly claimed it, whether or not he can cure the sick.

Ṫlitcäplilän·a is known by many names, in accordance with [776] her ability to treat many diseases, and the designation she bestows depends upon the malady cured. The following are [553] some of the names received from her by shamans.

Sexsexqwalxelaoslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breath." [551] This name was given to a person who was cured when he found breathing very difficult. The text of his song was:

"*Ṫlitcäplilän·a* gave me (the name) *Sexsexqwalxelaoslaix* with a small object to aid the breathing of the very sick." [533]

Tämtämslo·psta. This has the same significance as the last.

Nexnäx·mälosaix, "The Dancer Near the Fire." [551]

Ànolxʉmdimut, "The Dancer Who Makes Noise Only with

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Ninitsamlaix, "The Restorer." He is able to cure the sick even when at the point of death. 756*

Ânuskieknm, "The Saviour." He can rescue persons who have been injured by other supernatural beings. 776 787*

Nunutsnmkmem, "The One Who is Thought Of." Having powerful curing abilities, people think of him when ill.

Ânotäbäkmots, "The Open-Mouthed One." His mouth is always open to suck forth sickness.

Nuslkäkstämidjut, "He Whose Basin Is in His Own Body." A person who receives the ability to cure from this being does not use the customary basin.

Ssiutl. It is said that many Rivers Inlet shamans have received their powers from this creature, which is accordingly well known to the Bella Coola in this connection, although few of their own people are said to have been benefited by it. 756* 787*

Since all animals are supernatural, it follows that any of them can cure the sick. Instances are remembered of this, in which the patient received a name differing slightly from that of his animal benefactor. Salmon, especially cohoes and early spring salmon, are extremely potent curers and many sick people have received aid from them. It is recognized that the former are uncanny since they have the ability to hide themselves in insignificant streams. One man was cured by a tree which gave him a yodel-like shaman's song, imitating the creaking and waving of its branches. More often, however, a supernatural animal merely speaks to a man without making him a shaman. [825] [533]

Two courses are open to the patient who has been cured by such a visitation. He may at once proclaim his powers, or he may say nothing about them in the hope of obtaining further revelations and further names. From a single experience he has received a certain amount of power, but the more he has, the greater this will be. If he decides not to wait, he at once calls the singers and repeats to them the words and tunes of the songs he has received. When later on he gives presents to validate his shamanistic name, it becomes publicly recognized [553] [556]

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755 not do so, he would cease to be a shaman, and the ability would
*756 pass to the cured person.

(3) In more difficult cases the shaman uses his basin and seeks assistance from others by a frenzied beating of sticks. He sends some young man out to fill the receptacle at the river, sets it near the patient, and throws water over him as he kneads
•533 in the manner already described. While this is going on, and it is often a lengthy performance, another shaman, or someone
535 accustomed to lead the singers, ranges the bystanders into two
755 rows, facing each other between the door and the central fire. Each is provided with a beating stick such as the singers use, and a sounding-board is placed before each row. The clever dancer who has been commissioned to lead the orchestra of stick-beaters stands near the door and the musicians take their time from his movements. First he slowly raises both arms and all beat time softly, then, as he lifts his arms higher, the noise increases, and he sways from side to side as if carried away by the music; as he does so the men towards whom he leans intensify their beating, while those on the other side decrease. Back and forth he sways followed by the beating; nearing the climax he treads mincingly, whereat the noise rises to thunder-pitch, then jumps twice, and as he strikes the ground the drums beat and all the sticks come down with a final ear-splitting crash. Throughout the whole the women drone *i*..... This elaborate beating of time is repeated four times, on each occasion concluding with the double jump which calls forth the double thunder of drums and sticks.

755 Meanwhile the functioning shaman is gurgling and chat-
*756 tering through half-closed lips, and at intervals the leader, or any stick-beater, shouts *hoip*, a call which is supposed to soothe the supernatural beings. The din is tremendous. No explanation could be found of the meaning of this noise.

"It has always been done," say the Bella Coola, and they theorize no further.

At last the shaman rises from the sick person, holding his hands carefully cupped together as if he held something within

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type of dance differs from all other Bella Coola ones, since no inherited prerogative is required. Years ago such exhibitions were common, although curing shamans were rare. 756* 556

The usual time for a shaman's performance is at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season, though one is sometimes held prior to that period if the would-be performer fears that the food which he has stored up for the event is likely to be frozen. [796]

When he decides to give a dance, the shaman first summons the singers to his house and teaches them a song of his own composition. Theoretically both text and tune should have been received from his supernatural benefactor, but many performers undoubtedly employ songs used by shaman ancestors which they have chanced to remember. Another device is to describe a supernatural being seen in a dream. In some cases there is deliberate deception, but in most the performer persuades himself that he has received supernatural authorization. The texts are full of obscure allusions, a river, for example, is spoken of as swift running water. Often a man will treasure a song for years, before collecting the wealth necessary to use it publicly, with the social prestige attached. A shaman always obtains a name from his supernatural benefactor, but if a man merely uses a feat observed in a dream, this is impossible, so he adopts the designation of some deceased shaman, soon convincing himself that it was uttered by the apparition. Others will probably remember this name, hence suspicions may easily be aroused concerning the authenticity of the performance, but it is not customary to voice these. The singers repeat the song which they have just heard, and continue doing so until they have mastered it. Sometimes they compose further songs themselves for the performer. During the practising, those who are not *kukusiut* are expelled from the house. A shaman is a person who has come in contact with the supernatural; hence he is akin to the members of the society who, therefore, support him during his rite.[8] A herald is sent out

533 ● 756* 556 [195] [553] [183] 756* 556 [575] [203]

[8]Theoretically, a shaman need not be a *kusiut*, but visitations usually come only to those of religious and imaginative temperaments, who are in the majority of cases already members of the society.

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* 756 to make known to all that there will be a dance on the follow-
556 ing day, using the name of the shaman. After such announce-
ment, it would be most unusual for anyone to think of leaving
[203] a village until after the performance.

Towards dusk on the appointed day the people are summoned to the house of the shaman. Near the door are seated those who are not initiated *kukusiut*; in the inner part of the house are members of the society, with the singers in their
533 accustomed places behind the fire. The shaman stands alone
535 between the fire and the door and sings one of his songs, the
time being marked by the words alone. Then he dances, his
* 756 wrists shaking, his head rolling from side to side, and his feet
556 marking time to the beating of sticks, as the singers accompany the singing of his song. If more than one song has been composed he dances to each, always accompanied by other shamans and by them alone. The shaman's costume consists of
[292] the usual blanket, and eagle down is scattered in his hair, with the additional and distinctive mark of intertwined dyed, and undyed, cedar-bark. After every song, the singers beat time very rapidly,[7] too rapidly for the dancer to keep pace with it, so he merely sways backwards and forwards shaking his hands
* 756 violently. Then the shaman, assisted by a few friends whom
556 he has chosen for the purpose, performs a conjuring feat to impress the uninitiated. The *kukusiut* realize that this may be merely a deception, but since real shamans perform something of the same nature, there is always the possibility that it may be genuine. The shaman may choose some feat which he has seen some old shaman perform, or he may use something which he has seen in a dream; or rely purely on his own inventive ability, aided, as he always is, by carpenters. The method of carrying out each trick is carefully guarded, with the result that it was impossible to obtain information about more than a few. After the conjuring act, the shaman gives food to all, followed by presents. If it is the first time that he has given

[7] This fast beating of time is called *ałd*; it occurs only in shaman and *sisook* dances.

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such a ceremony, that is, if he is validating his name, the gifts must be valuable. On later occasions, irrespective of whether it is the same trick or another that is performed, the presents will be of small value. Goods so given are not returnable. After dancing, a shaman wears his collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark all summer, in fact until he rids himself of his supernatural endowment by the performance of a *kusiut* rite the following winter. 756 * 556 [292]

Thus there is close inter-dependence of shaman and *kusiut* dances. On any later occasion, at a ceremony when songs of all types are being sung, if the singers beat out the tunes of those used at the ritual just described, the shaman dances to them. This is said to "cure" him, as if the power within him was a source of danger. [575] [533] [535]

The following are examples of the conjuring tricks performed, most of them done by the shaman *Ninitsamlaix*, a relative of an informant, who was able to learn the methods employed. 756 * 789

On one occasion *Ninitsamlaix* prepared two boxes, apparently the ordinary wooden sort used for cooking; across each he arranged a diagonal cross-piece so that the receptacle contained two watertight compartments. Previous to the performance, *Ninitsamlaix* poured water, dyed red with the bark of the alder, into one section of one of the boxes, and put eagle down in one of the compartments of the other. When the time came to carry out the rite he asked an accomplice, another shaman, to bring some water and pour it into his box. This was done, the assistant taking care to put it into the empty half, not into that which contained the dyed water. *Ninitsamlaix* shook the box and poured out some of the liquid to prove that it really was water, and then drank. The spectators, unaware of the cross-piece, did not notice that he did so from the corner opposite to that from which he had poured the water. He had, of course, drunk the dyed fluid. *Ninitsamlaix* cried out that what he had swallowed was paining him, and proceeded to vomit the red water, much to the surprise of the

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 756 *

shaman pours the grease on the central fire, and throws on it 755
also the figures and some dried salmon. Thus propitiated, it 782
is believed that the dead will be more likely to allow the sickness to be sucked forth.

Shamans from the dead perform conjuring feats and 756 *
dramatic performances of the same type as ordinary shamans. 556
Until he gives his first dance a newly created shaman is known [575]
as a *lsux*, the same word that is used for a *kusiut* initiate, and
during this period he wears the shaman's collar of intertwined dyed and undyed cedar-bark. If he is wealthy and influential, a shaman will repeat his dance every fourth year. Such a per- [796]
formance can be held at any season, although the usual time is after the *kusiut* ceremonies. The dramatic representations are of scenes witnessed in the land below, though sometimes they are done in a reverse manner, following the practice of the dead in doing things strangely. Thus one shaman reported that the ghosts wore very long blankets, but when he danced he wore one that came only to his hips. The method of singing is the same as that employed by ordinary shamans, but one whose [535]
power is derived from the dead dances with head bent downwards, his free hand pointing to the ground with first finger extended. Also his cry of "*xwai, xwai, xwai,*" uttered at intervals with a deep cadence, differs from that used by ordinary shamans. A dance always terminates with the distribution of food to validate the ceremony.

Like ordinary shamans, those from the dead cannot trans- 756 *
mit their power. At death their songs too are lost, unless they 533
choose to give them to a friend who is also a shaman from the [428]
dead. This is obviously contrary to the theoretical belief that all songs have been obtained during revelations, but is not at all contrary to the Bella Coola practice of having the singers assist the visionaries in "remembering" their visions.

The following tale, although drawn from the distant past, 539
is a typical illustration of one of the many ways in which 756 *
shamanistic power is received from the dead.[8] 775

[8] A few stories of similar type have been included in vol. I, chap. VIII to explain the life of the dead, and others are grouped together in the next chapter.

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177 The details of this incident are sufficiently circumstantial
* 756 to presuppose a distorted historical event. Moreover, many
* 787 of the old people had heard of the incident, another indication of the accuracy of the tradition. As far as could be judged,
[539] news of the vision must have reached Bella Coola about the year 1800.[11] It is said that the *snäxom* sang the following song
[533] in a language unknown to any of his hearers: *Aqwimıcu aqwimıcu sisils axwamıc qwisiya*.[12] None of the older men appear to have any idea of the meaning of these words, or even of the language to which they belong.

No event has had such profound effect on the lives of the Indians of British Columbia as the coming of the white man. It would be surprising if, looking backwards, they did not feel that it had been foretold by prophets. The preceding story is the only Bella Coola example of such a belief, although tales of a similar kind are found widely throughout the province. In addition, there are a few traditions of prophecies fulfilled by the white man. One of these is that long, long ago, a shaman stated that in the future the dead would return with the ability to make fire by rubbing the end of a small twig along a rough surface, and that, soon after, all the Indians would die. The Bella Coola consider that matches are referred to in the first part of the statement, and read their own doom

[174] [11]The approximate date was determined in the following manner: The most complete account of the event was obtained from a man fifty-six years old in 1924 who had heard the details from his mother. He was the youngest of a large family, so it is probable that his mother was about forty-five years of age when he was born. When a child of about ten, she had been told of the vision by a woman just passed the age of child-bearing, who had recently reached adolescence when news of the event reached Bella Coola. The figures can be arranged in tabular form.

Duration of the informant's life	56 years.
Interval between his birth and the time his mother heard the news	35 years.
Interval between transmission of the news to the informant's mother and its receipt in Bella Coola	35 years.
Total	126 years.

Allowing for exaggerations, this would make the correct date about 1800.

[126] [12]A phonograph record was made of this song for the National Museum of Canada. Recorded as song VII D 21b; singer, Jim Pollard.

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itself to be by withstanding the crushing weight of stone and earth. An old Kimsquit man expressed the firm conviction that his great age was the result of this treatment soon after birth. 789 856 886 [824]

To Cause Imperviousness to Cold

Kill a water ouzel, warm it at a fire, then press it against every part of the infant's body. This makes him as heedless of cold water as the bird. A merganser may be used in the same way, or the foot of one be placed in the child's hand and patted as his fingers clutch it. 789 825 856

To Cause a Quarrelsome Disposition

Burn the nest of wasps and rub the ashes on the infant's face. He will become as bellicose and quick to resent injury as the insects. One old man who habitually beats his wife explains that this is involuntary, since he was treated in this way when a child. Fighting is no longer allowed, so the only person on whom he can exercise his martial ardour is his wife. The woman regards this treatment as a matter of course and the reason is accepted as valid by her associates. [155]

To Cause Success in Thieving

Kill a pack-rat, warm it at a fire, and rub the carcass lightly over the infant's body. This will make him as successful a thief as the animal. Other methods are to cut off a foot and pat this as the infant clutches it in his fingers, or to rub its hands with the ashes of a burnt rat.

To Cause Success in Singing

Catch a live robin or *smuxmuxaxls* (probably one of the thrushes), warm it at a fire, and rub it lightly against the infant's throat, saying: 533 789 825

"May he be a singer like you."

Then release the bird, and the child will grow up a songster. The following story is told of the power of the *smuxmuxaxls*'s song: 856 [539]

533 In the beginning of time it used to sing.

789 "I shall use a spoon and eat when the Bella Coola River has burst its bounds on account of the teeming salmon in it."

825 The people used to laugh as it repeated this song year after year,

856 until the bird changed its note:

[539] "I shall use a spoon and eat when all is cold and clear. Then there will be Death instead of salmon in Bella Coola."

The next year the streams were so clear that no fish could be caught and the starving people asked the bird to return to its first song. When it did so, the water became murky so that it was possible to catch salmon once more.

The Bella Bella, not the Bella Coola, use the body of a blue jay to cause an infant to grow up with the ability to master difficult tunes in the same way that the bird has a variety of notes. The method of applying this medicine could not be learnt.

789 Most of the above medicines are well known and can be applied by any parent. If, however, a man has employed one

856 of them successfully on a number of occasions, he is often requested to use his ability for others. In such a case, the father of the benefited child is expected to reimburse his friend.

[184] The application or non-application of such medicines is purely the concern of the child's family; they can use as many as they like, or none at all, according to their discretion.

The following medicines are used during the first year of life:

304 *To Cause Beauty*

789 Bandages of the softest undyed cedar-bark are prepared for infants of both sexes soon after birth. A woman who is a good

856 artist is requested to draw with charcoal two pictures on one

532 of the pieces of bark—of handsome men if the child is a boy, or of lovely women if a girl. An unmarked wrapping is fastened round the infant's head, then the painted one so arranged that one picture is over the forehead, the other over the occiput, and finally other plain bandages to cover the whole. These

[826] are left in place for about one year. They flatten the forehead

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and back of the head, preventing a bulging appearance which is considered ugly, while the paintings ensure beauty of countenance. Cranial deformation has no supernatural sanction, though it is believed to have been carried out for generations. 304 789 856 [532] [826]

To Cause Leanness

Place pieces of caribou skin on an infant's wrists and ankles and leave them in position for several months. He will grow up lean and wiry, like the animal. 789 856

To Cause Left-handedness [825]

Shake the left hand of an infant while lying in the cradle and he will be left-handed throughout life. To do this is considered a malevolent action.

To Cause the Hair to Grow (two means)

(1) Rub the infant's scalp with the eye of a *Hakwik* (red cod?), freshly removed from the fish's head. [825]

(2) Boil stems of the swamp gooseberry in water and rub the mixture over the infant's scalp. [824]

Wise mothers always apply one or other of these remedies to their children.

To Cause Ability in Singing (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good singer to impart to him ability similar to his own. He takes his beating-stick, spits on it, and rubs it over the child's heart, saying: 533 789 856

"Please be a singer."

This is done only for male children. [858]

(2) Boil together herbs and a bear's bladder and smear the decoction on the infant's back. He must thenceforth wear around his neck for several months a small sack containing four blue grouse gall-bladders (possibly stones from the crop were meant). This gives the child the singing ability of the bird, but the significance of the bear bladder is unknown. [825]

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It is said that one man accidentally sucked when spitting on a toad, and swallowed the creature. It lived within his stomach for fifty years, causing no discomfort though its master could feel it moving, and its singing could be heard at intervals. This brought him no supernatural power, although he was enabled by it to live to a great age. When at last he died, the toad came hopping out of his throat and was carried respectfully to the river by his friends who covered the creature with eagle down and dyed and undyed cedar-bark. 789 825 886

Some of the rites already described with regard to animals and fish are similar in nature to this medicine.

To Cause Obesity 789

A medicine was formerly used by chiefs to make them fat and important-looking, but details of it have been forgotten. 826 622

To Cause Ability in Singing

Catch an *axxon·i* (varied thrush?) alive and pat it four times against the throat of the woman to whom it is desired to impart the art, saying: 533 789

"May she be a singer like you." 825

Release the bird and the woman will become a good singer.

This bird is considered by the Bella Coola to be the finest songster among British Columbia birds, and they say that many animals and fish, including even the halibut, gather to hear its singing.

To Cause Ability in Hunting 224

There is a poisonous plant which, when eaten, almost kills the eater. If he recovers, he is henceforth endowed with great ability as a hunter. The species could not be ascertained. 789 824

To Cause Change in Weather

If a cold wind is desired: Heat the penis of a mountain goat or beaver at a fire. 789 821

If rain is desired: Wash the penis of a large buck and throw it into the ocean or a river, saying: 825

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/For a discussion of Bella Coola songs and the text of songs see category 116, pp. 267-337./

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though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kwaiat* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kwaiat* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor.

575* 424 425 553 [556] [578] [426]

(2) *A Patron, emitats.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kwaiat* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

575* 424 776 [533] [535] [578]

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Ana'kwaulaais*. An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each.

575* 424 778

Although the *kwaiat* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

[778] [781]

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The first night is *lnxtālaix* or *lnxtāmem*.[4] This is when the call comes to a prospective dancer. This may be heralded by whistling from above, made by a *kusiut* sent with a whistle to a neighbouring mountain for the purpose, by a thud on the roof, likewise produced by an accomplice, or by no intimation whatever. The dancer utters a low call, sometimes begins to walk in circles with bent head, or to act in some other peculiar manner, while a whistle sounds repeatedly. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house and a herald informs the village that something strange has come upon the dancer. The *kukusiut* gather in his house, and four times help him by the frenzied, but regular, beating of sticks. Then the singers sing a song previously prepared, the words describing either his patron or the land above. After listening closely, the *kukusiut* join in and rehearse it until it is familiar. The dancer may or may not perform; if he is inadept in the steps, he does so for practice. If the hour is not too late, the singers may choose, purely for practice, to beat out a number of the songs of those *kukusiut* who have already performed during the ceremonial season. A meal, provided by the dancer and his family, is then served. The singers next beat out the dancer's song once more and he dances, concluding the evening's performance. Novices and those who have already performed during the season take up their abode in the dancer's house, where they remain for the ensuing four days and nights.

The second day is *nusiustālsap*.[5] Quite early in the morning a herald calls the *kukusiut* to the dancer's house, an invitation accepted by as many as wish to do so. A second song is usually composed and practised in the same manner as on the previous evening. Several *kukusiut* are sent to the forest to cut wood for masks, the number of sections required depending upon the number to be used. In the evening all members of the society assemble to practise the songs.[7] The making of the masks

[4] In Kitamaat called *Ālxwāktsem*.

[5] The term *gai-nap* is occasionally used for the rites occurring on the day itself.

[7] The rehearsal of the second is sometimes postponed until this time.

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The making of the masks

*575 796 532 [431] 465 [104] is allotted to different *kukusiut*, usually in accordance with the dancer's wishes, although a marshal normally gives out the actual tasks. The dancer, or one of his relatives, bestows presents on each person to whom work is allotted. The evening of *nusiutälsap* is called *ämläm̓kum*.

The third day is *qothm*. Those to whom mask making has been entrusted assemble early in the dancer's house to start their work. About noon they are provided with a meal, to which other *kukusiut* may be invited. By late afternoon, when most of the work has been accomplished, the chips are carefully swept up and burnt, and the house tidied, ready for the uninitiated who will be invited during the evening. On either this *575 796 day or the one preceding, a platform, with raised sides, is built behind the fire on which the dancer can conceal himself and where he is supposed to remain during the remainder of the four days. About dusk the *kukusiut* are called in; the singers take their places behind the fire, Cannibals, Breakers, and Scratchers are in one of the back corners, where a matting enclosure may have been constructed for them, and the remainder group themselves without distinction around the walls. In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, one or more [184] of the masks may be displayed, suspended from a sloping pole behind the fire. If the singers think it necessary, they may •[533] practise the dancer's two songs once more. Then the uninitiated are called in, taking their places near the doorway. The singers beat out one of the dancer's songs and he dances in time to it, and the same is repeated for his second song. After some delay, which appears to be one of the requisites of every *kusiut* performance, the singers strike up the songs of either a novice or a *kusiut*, especially one who has already had a call during the ceremonial season, and the one thus summoned dances to his two songs. Late in the season, when many *kukusiut* have performed, only one song may be used, to prevent the ceremony dragging out to an interminable length, and songs of previous years are omitted. In any case, the ritual lasts for most of the night. When all have danced, the

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uninitiated are expelled, with the exception of the *sisaok* to whom, as guests, a meal is served. Then they too leave and the *kukusiut* eat together. Finally, the singers strike up one of the dancer's songs, and he dances to it to end the evening's rites. 575* 796

The fourth day is *nebusam*, "That Which Is Opened." During the day the carpenters work to complete the masks, and towards dusk the house is again put in order. The *kukusiut* are summoned again to practise the songs, if necessary, and always to arrange who shall wear the masks, a matter left to the marshals and the carpenters. Then the uninitiated are called in to see the masked figures and watch any dramatic representation. After their exclusion, the masks are burnt. Then the *kukusiut* gather outside the dancer's house where his song is sung once more to send his call back above. Frequently another *kusiut* now receives a call, so that the *nebusam* of one dancer is likewise the *lsixtämem* for another. The *kukusiut* assemble in the latter's house, but the uninitiated are not allowed to return to that from which they have been ejected until the platform-enclosure has been destroyed at the end of the season. [104] [532] [533] [532]

A word might be said about *kusiut* paraphernalia, although much of this will have to be described in detail for special dances. Boas gives illustrations of a large number of *kusiut* masks and gives such an admirable description of them that little need be added. They are carved from the solid wood, the larger of beech, the smaller of alder, and each carpenter endeavours to make a striking effigy of the being portrayed. *Ano'likwolsaix* is present at every dance and has become so well standardized that she can always be recognized. This is true, also, for Thunder, Echo, the *haohao*, the Laugher, the Hermaphrodite, and a few other supernatural beings, but so much variation occurs in others that even a *kusiut* of much experience cannot always tell what being is represented. The masks are painted, and sometimes the designs indicate the being, even though the carving fails to do so; verisimilitude is 575* 796 532 [114] [824] [776]

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

X sometimes re-
ceives two prerogatives at his initiation, one from each parent, 575*
or from some other interested relative. In this case both are 796
expounded. The singers listen intently, knowing that they
will later be called upon to compose songs on the theme, or [425]
themes. According to some informants they immediately sing [553]
one, as if they had just created it, though it was really prepared [533]
in advance. The *kukusiut* listen until they have mastered it.

Helpers now distribute the food provided by X's father, 575*
or whoever is responsible for his initiation. At every *kusiut* 796
ceremonial the marshals are the first recipients, then the 556
singers, and finally the others without distinction. As the [264]
guests are eating, X's father gives presents to all, without
deference to rank. An announcer calls out:

"Here are [for example] ten bear-skins from X's mother. They are to obtain for him his cedar-bark bracelets."

These goods are then distributed. Similarly other gifts from various relatives are handed out for his anklets, his blanket, his collar, his head-dress, and all other parts of his clothing. As each item of his ceremonial costume is validated, [425]
X dons the prepared article. A novice's head-dress consists
of a round roll of dyed cedar-bark, covering a grass frame; in 292
Stuix and the other villages of the upper valley this is decor- 184
ated with a tuft of swan's down. The *kukusiut* of these villages
also wear a distinctive decoration consisting of a swan's skin [237]
with the feathers attached. In recent years it has been customary to pile all the goods together and distribute them as *ăłq̓-łł*, which has the significance of "something that has vanished for the novice's dyed cedar-bark." Theoretically, the aim of the donor is to bestow his presents on all equally, but if he finds that he has some remaining, he gives these to the chiefs, or to the relatives of someone whom he expects will soon be a novice. None of the goods used in general distributions are returnable, but a chief who receives an extra gift at the end usually remembers from whom it was received and cancels his indebtedness at the earliest opportunity. There is no close connection between the disbursements and the worth of the

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

prohibitions that last not for one year, but for four. X is not subject to any other restraints. If he wishes to go hunting he can remove his cedar-bark collar and hang it for convenience in the forest near his village, redonning it on his return. The *kukusiut* show considerable interest in their new member, not only by warning him what he must not do, but by teaching him how to dance and to growl or make other of the necessary, but unusual, noises. During the remainder of the ceremonial season X is required to attend every *kusiut* dance, thereby learning much of the ceremonial, and during the following summer his relatives, especially if food is plentiful, frequently invite the *kukusiut* to their house. The singers beat out well-known tunes, or practise those which will be required for the following winter; if a song has been composed for X he dances in time to it, in the style proper to his prerogative. Formerly, when there were many novices, dances of this type took place frequently and were useful in giving constant practice to singers and neophytes alike. As no calls from supernatural patrons can come at this time of year, it follows that all such dances are of a non-sacred nature, although the uninitiated are excluded. During his period as a novitiate, X has one privilege; he can take food from anyone at any type of ceremony. It is remembered that one novice was even bold enough to take food which had been placed as an offering for the dead.

575* 784 [524] [525] 575* 533 535 575* 264

When the next *kusiut* season opens, X attends every performance. This is probably the most thrilling and nerve-racking period in his life. He does not know exactly when he will be allowed to give his dance, since that is a matter of arrangement between his relatives and the marshals, but he knows that the time will soon be at hand. When the great day, or rather night, actually comes, X is usually in a state of abject terror. The rite itself does not differ from those about to be described except that the first song relates the manner in which X found the repository. But the mental attitude of X differs greatly from that of an old performer. One informant,

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 781 796 a woman about sixty years of age, vividly recalled her fears when she, a young woman, gave her first performance. It was the Dance of *Winwina* (II, p. 187), in which she had to call out loudly when a large number of uninitiated persons, including Carrier Indians, were present. One of the marshals was her great-uncle and he had carefully taught her what she was to say. A few minutes before the time for her announcement he came to where she lay hidden in an enclosure behind the fire:

"Do you see your relatives here?" he said. "Look at your father, your mother, and your uncles. If you fail to say what you are expected to say, they will all die in a few weeks, and so will you. Be bold!"

The woman asserted that it was the most terrifying experience in her whole life because, though she knew there was [688] deception in the rites, she also knew the power of the society and that the threat of death in case of error was no idle one. She was so frightened that she forgot the carefully learnt words and it required the prompting of the hidden marshal to get her through the ordeal.

But once the first rite has been successfully negotiated, it is a proud day for the novice. He feels himself a real *kusiut* and glories in his superiority over his former associates. For the rest of the season he, like everyone else who has performed a dance, must attend every rite. Energetic novices sometimes give their dances on two, or even three, successive years, though usually a man allows five or six to elapse between displays.

*575 766 If X should die during the year's interval between his initiation and his first dance, he is secretly buried by his fellow *kukusiut* without the customary mourning rites, and with no [533] uninitiated persons present at the grave. His song, if one has been composed for him, is sung softly, and he is interred adorned with his collar of dyed cedar-bark. During the next ceremonial season, that at which he should have danced, it is necessary for a brother, or other near relative, to receive a call since it is felt that a dance once begun must be completed,

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and the patron shifts his protection to the substitute. Non-members are told that the death was due to one of the many dangers connected with the society. 575* 766

It is said that, in former times, the *kukusiut* sometimes held a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discontinued. In 1922, however, memorial songs were sung for dead *kukusiut*, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to prohibition of the potlatch. 575* 769 533 177

The Ritual of Specific Dances

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE DANCES

A detailed description of various *kusiut* dances can now be given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference between them that each will require a separate account, although considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning in connection with the first dance those features common to all. The initial performer is always he who has the prerogative of seeing the supernatural canoe which comes from the Land of the Salmon to visit *Nusqulxwaista*. Several *kukusiut* have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so. Thenceforth there is no order for different dances; the marshals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does so without conflicting with another. The first dance described is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *kusiut* season. 575* 796* [424] [776]

THE DANCE OF *Noäkxnum*[14]

The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the September moon is full there starts from the Land of the Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *Noäkxnum*, commanded by a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly 773 824 825

[14]Cf. Boas, p. 40.

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[The Dance of Noakxnim]

Although 575* 424 773

theoretically, every *kusiut* should know the origin myth of his prerogative, these are rarely remembered, a state of affairs differing entirely from that with respect to ancestral origin myths. An ancestor of *Ältuskinwasam* is supposed to have seen *Noäkxnim*, decorated with the tails of two eagles stuck in his hair. The following myth was obtained of the origin of [539] *Xemtnim*'s prerogative:

In the beginning there came down to Mount *Nus·läxim*, a small mountain on the south side of the Bella Coola River about three-quarters of a mile from the sea, *Älliliimnälosaix*, his younger brother *Omqomkilika*, and their sister. *Älquntäm* had given them a model house, so small that it was portable, but which could enlarge to any size at their wish. It was called *Skqwälutl*, a name they bestowed also on their sister. They brought the *sisaok* designation, *Xemxemlaix*, with the right to perform a dance. The party, including Raven, who was like a son to *Älliliimnälosaix*, came down from their mountain top looking for a place to settle. As people were already living at *Qomqo·ts* and *Älqäläxl*, they chose *Slskistl* as their home.

From this place the three could hear the beating of drums, as the people of the adjacent villages performed their *kusiut* dances and Raven determined that his companions should not lack the privileges which others enjoyed. Accordingly he flew down the fiord where he saw *Noäkxnim*, whom he obtained as patron for *Älliliimnälosaix*. This prerogative was embodied in the name *Xemtnim*, which is still in use.[17]

The prerogative of seeing *Noäkxnim* is known as *dakdak-* 575* *älaix*, "The Comer," or "The Ever-Comer." It will be con- 796* venient to refer to the person who has this power as X. As [424] already described, if he had been initiated during the preceding ceremonial season, he is now obliged to dance. In later years, if he wishes to do so, he first consults the marshals, and if they consent he begins his preparations during the summer. Among other matters, X informs the singers of his intentions and they [533] begin to compose songs. Occasionally they re-use one from a previous year, but to do this is to admit lack of creative ability. The usual practice is to compose new tunes and to adapt to them words bearing on the proper theme, sometimes including

[17] It will be noted that this myth is of the typical origin type, and furnishes an instance of the manner in which *kusiut* prerogatives occur in such. [539]

[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

*575 snatches from old songs. The Bella Bella are said to use the
*796 same compositions from year to year, and recently some of
[533] these, both tunes and foreign words, have been adopted by
[177] the Bella Coola. Long ago the marshals would have prohibited this custom even if the user had legitimately obtained the foreign prerogative by marriage.

As the time draws near for *Noäkgnum* to start his voyage,
[805] X anxiously consults any of the elder *kukusiut* who may be calendrical experts as to the exact date. The system of reckoning time is not sufficiently exact to avoid errors, but the day ultimately arrives on which, after much discussion, it is agreed that *Noäkgnum* is leaving. Word is passed around to the singers, who sleep that night in X's house, ready for their duties on the morrow.

Early in the morning X stands up, gazes fixedly towards the west, and calls out:

[787] "Once more I see what I saw last year," or some other more or less specific claim to a vision.

It is believed that *Noäkgnum* must round four points before
[773] reaching Bella Coola; in fact, his journey beneath the sea is similar to that of a canoe pushing up one of the long fiords.

Some of the marshals are always in readiness and one of
*[203] them tells a herald to go to every house, repeating what X has said. This serves both to impress the uninitiated, and to notify the *kukusiut* of what is about to take place. The mes-
*575 senger does so, and when all have gathered, the singers, seated
*796 behind the fire, begin to beat out one of the songs composed
533 during the summer months. The theme is of X's phenomenal eye-sight, due to his patron having sent to him the super-
[776] natural being, *Nulälsumtnam*, at the moment of his departure. This being does not seem to possess corporeal form, but is rather a sight-producing medium. In the song he is often likened to a swift-flying bird; when the uninitiated hear of this they are suitably impressed with the remarkable ability of X at having such a creature sent to him. X, who has donned a
[292] head-dress consisting of the white tails of two eagles, dances

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

if he so desires. The *kukusiut* listen to the song, and when it is resung they join in. They practise it repeatedly, until familiar with both words and tune. This part of the ceremony lasts for about two hours. 575* 796* [533]

The singers, and any others who are prepared to beat time, are always provided with long, flat, thin sounding-boards to increase the din of the pounding. When the marshals decide that the song is sufficiently familiar, they tell some of the *kukusiut* to carry these boards to the lowest house of the village. They do this, and also scatter clean sand on the floor, as is customary whenever a supernatural being is to enter. The uninitiated persons within the house watch with great interest. The singers enter and take their places behind the fire, then other *kukusiut* and finally X himself; his face is unblackened, but he wears his two eagle tails in his hair and a collar of dyed cedar-bark. On his head is a thin cylindrical circlet, about four inches high, of the same material, ornamented with swan's down by the inhabitants of the villages of the upper Bella Coola valley. The collar consists of a roll of grass, entirely covered with dyed cedar-bark from which pendant tassels of the same hang down over his chest; similar ones are worn by *sisaok* dancers, except that the tassels hang down their backs. Every *kusiut* dancer wears these two ornaments, and those who have the necessary prerogative adorn themselves with an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Blankets are always worn. *Kukusiut* women wear in addition woollen pubic garments. [292] 534 575* 796* 292 [424] [237]

As the singers beat out X's tune, accompanied by the voices of themselves and other *kukusiut*, he dances. Since his style is typical of all *kukusiut* except Cannibals and a few others, it will be well to digress at this point in order to describe it. X raises his arms until their upper parts are approximately the height of his shoulders, and project outwards and slightly to the front; they are bent at the elbows with the forearms vertical, thus bringing the hands opposite the top of the head. Both wrists are shaken constantly, the muscles of the lower 575* 796* 535

[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

*575 arms being brought into play, so that the whole hands are con-
*796 stantly quivering without spasmodic movements. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a skilful performer, and the inces-
535 sant shaking is continued without stop throughout the dance.
[533] Most *kusiut* songs are in five parts, which may be described as three verses, separated by two choruses. Near the beginning of the first verse X stands up, raises his arms, shakes his fingers, then slightly bends his legs and begins to step in time to the beating of the sticks. Some dancers remain almost stationary, marking time, to use the military term, others advance in steps of an inch or so, at intervals slowly revolving sunwise.[18] Sometimes X introduces a variation by bending from side to side, in which case one hand rises above the other. If the time of the song is very slow, he sinks, bending his knees to a great extent, and advances in more lengthy strides, never ceasing to shake his hands. At each chorus the time becomes so rapid that it is impossible to move the feet in accordance with it, and then X crouches, his shaking hands the only movement. If it
[424] is a woman who is dancing—like most *kusiut* prerogatives, this
[562] one is not limited to men—the style of dancing is quite different. Keeping the upper part of each arm close to her body, the dancer extends her fore-arms, outwards, parallel to the ground, with the palms upwards. Like a man, she shakes her wrists, but few female dancers move from the spot on which they start, except perhaps to turn around, sunwise. Heralds always keep up a running fire of comments, especially when a woman is dancing, urging her not to be bashful, but to allow her breasts to shake. Some dancers have merged into one
[424] prerogative rights acquired from different coastal tribes. In such cases they perform in two or more styles, each part according to one prerogative.

Kukusiut are always ready to assist one of their fellows, so that three or four friends are always willing to accompany the dancer. They stand close behind him, at frequent intervals blowing over his head the eagle down which either X, or some

[171] [18]The Bella Coola state that the Bella Bella revolve counter-sunwise.

[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

of his relatives, has given them for this purpose. When he 575*
crouches during the chorus they crowd close around, almost 796*
concealing him. Particularly in those dances fraught with
danger to the performer, it is customary for any number of his 535
friends, either men or women, to dance to "help" him. Anyone wishing to do so merely stands up and begins, in time to the music, irrespective of what part of the house he may be in. [593]
It is considered contrary to good manners for a father so to help his son, or a brother a brother, but a dancer is pleased to have aid from anyone else. It is said that in Bella Bella [171]
certain *kukusiut* have definite prerogatives of helping in this way, but this is not the case in Bella Coola. Throughout every dance the *kukusiut* women utter their droning cry. [533]

This, then, is the type of dance which the uninitiated in 575*
the lowest house see. They hear the song, too, and gaze with 796*
awe at X, imbued as he is with the supernatural power of sight. Then the sounding-boards are picked up and taken to the next house, where the whole ceremonial is repeated. This is done at each house of the village.[19] All the *kukusiut* now return to X's house, where he once more dances to his song. A box-drum is always used to help the singers in keeping time, and [534]
when the song has been finished two men continue in turn to beat it all day. X always arranges to have a relative or friend superintend the distribution of food, which follows his final [574]
dancing. As the *kukusiut* are eating, the marshals deliver their usual admonishments, a task that accompanies every meal. Then they call on the people to erect a raised platform between the fire and the back-wall of the house. Materials have been placed in readiness so that it is an easy matter to build a framework a few feet in height, of which the flat top is screened by a matting wall about three feet high. This is often decorated [531]
with designs of dyed cedar-bark without ritual significance as far as the Bella Coola of today are aware. X climbs to this platform, the *kukusiut* disperse, and only the incessant pounding of the drum proves that some unusual event is taking place.

[19] In Bella Coola, but perhaps not in Kimsquit. [184]

[The Dance of NoAKxnim]

*575 *796 X is supposed to be gazing constantly to the west, watching for another sight of *Noäkxnim*. With the aid of a friend, X arranges his eagle tail head-dress on a box so that it projects above the wall of the platform as if he were sitting within. The uninitiated understand that X is watching, and the motionless feathers confirm their belief. Meanwhile X remains hidden in the back-room, never leaving the house except when necessary, and then only under cover of night.

*575 *796 On the fourth day after his first vision, X stands up and cries out:

Yupälx, "The Point."

787 ●533 *[203] The significance is that X sees *Noäkxnim* as he appears around the first point. A herald is at once sent out. First he repeats loudly the exact words used, then departs to call the *kukusiut* to X's house. When they have taken their places the singers beat out a new song previously composed, the second for X. The theme describes how *Noäkxnim* is rounding the first promontory, in his craft which is often likened to a cloud or a flock of birds. This they practise, before carrying sounding-boards and drums to the lowest house in the village, where the singers and a number of *kukusiut* take up their stations. When all is ready X enters, the women utter their droning cry, and, to the accompaniment of the beating of time and the singing of his new song, he dances around the fire. This same procedure is carried out in every house of the village, working from the bottom upwards. Finally all return to X's house where they receive food and the usual admonitions from a marshal. Then they disperse. This is about 11 A.M.

X again climbs to the platform where his head-dress is arranged as if he were sitting constantly gazing towards the approaching *Noäkxnim*. For four days he remains hidden, and on the morning of the fifth he again cries out:

Yupälx.

This time it signifies that the supernatural one has rounded a second promontory. The same ritual is repeated, the calling [203] by the herald, the meeting in X's house, and the procession to

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

every abode. The song on this occasion, the third for X, describes what *Noäkxnum* is doing on his journey, as if X were relating what he saw. The *kukusiut* return to X's house for another meal and the admonishments of a marshal. 575* 796* 787 533

For four days more X retires from sight. On the morning of the fifth day he once more calls:

Yupälx.

Exactly the same procedure is carried out, the theme of this fourth song being of how *Noäkxnum* can be seen rounding a third promontory.

X remains in concealment for four days more, then cries out again. This time the song describes how *Noäkxnum* has rounded the fourth and last promontory and how the supernatural beings above have sighted him. This is the fifth song used for X. As on the previous occasions, he conceals himself on the platform after making a tour of the village.

On the morning of the fifth day later, X cries out that *Noäkxnum* is at the mouth of the river where he has tied his craft to the stakes of a salmon-trap. The belief of the Bella Coola is that he approaches up an underwater fiord, into which flows an underwater river provided with a salmon-trap; X alone can see these phenomena. The herald goes from house to house repeating the announcement. The *kukusiut*, too, visit each, singing the song while X dances. He and the singers always decide beforehand on his actual statement, so that the words of the song will be in agreement, as if the singers had composed it on the spot. Once again X retires from sight. [203]*

Five days later he arouses the household with his loud shouting:

"*Noäkxnum* is in the river itself. He has reached the home of the Resident; *Imimätlnaix* is mooring his craft. *Dakdakänmem* and *Ätällimktnum* are greeting him." [776]

The herald repeats this news throughout the village. The uninitiated know in general terms who these supernatural beings are. The Resident lives under the water at the mouth of the river; his function is to see that the stream and the 575* 796* 776 [203]*

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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* 575 salmon are properly looked after, in fact, he is practically the
* 796 supernatural archetype of the River Guardian. *Imimätlnaix*,
"The Moorer," is a supernatural child who stays with the
776 Resident, and whose sole function appears to be the mooring of *Noäkgnum*'s craft. *Dakdakänmem* is sent by *Smaien·a*, who in this connection appears to have human intelligence, to greet *Noäkgnum*, and with him come *Smaien·a*'s son, *Älällumktnum*,[10] to assist *Noäkgnum* in poling his craft up the river. All these beings are patrons for different *kukusiut*. The Resident is also known as *Ämtäklis*.

* 575 The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house as on the previous
* 796 occasions; according to some informants two songs are used
787 on this day, others say only one. The people proceed in the usual manner to the lowest house, and make their way up-
[533] stream. When about half through the village, however, X shrieks out that *Numätlam* has brought a call to him. The woman and the heralds cry out loudly, X hastily returns to his own house, from which the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the *kusiut* whistles sound from within. *Numätlam* is one of the supernatural beings who has travelled with *Noäkgnum* for the sole purpose of bringing a call to X. If the calendrical
[805] experts have been successful in their reckonings, the November
[821] moon will first be visible on the night of this day. Several of the older men admitted that errors were common, and that sometimes four days more had to elapse, in which it was said that *Noäkgnum* was poling up the river. As he passes, his dancers in the different villages receive their calls on successive nights. It is assumed that he can go by several adjacent
[184] settlements on the same night, but the *kusiut* season is two or three days shorter in *Stuix* and the upper villages than in *Qomqo·ts*. Exact information on this point was unavailable.
* 575 As already described, *Noäkgnum* travels to *Smaien·a*, whence
* 796 he leaps to *Nusqulxwaista* and places his pole within the house.
All the supernatural beings crowd in after him to wait for
773 *Älquntäm*, but as soon as the latter enters, *Noäkgnum* seizes his

[10]Some informants state that there are four of these beings.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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pole and starts his journey downstream. 575*

Now that X has received his call, the ceremonial continues for four days more, in a manner typical of *kusiut* dances. Only variations from the pattern about to be described will be given in later dance rituals. 796* [773]

X spends the rest of this day on which the call has come to him, the twenty-fourth of the whole rite, within his house. In the evening a herald summons the *kukusiut*, this being the night of *lsuxtämem*. In *Stuax* the call used is: 575* 796* 184

Skinap Stuxao, "Cure, ye *Stuax* people," because it is believed that a call almost kills a *Stuax* person. This is probably true for the people of the other villages of the upper valley, but elsewhere this cry is used only when a novice receives his first call. In the lower valley and at Kimsquit the cry is: 203 *

Snuxexeldimut kukusiaot, "Bring light, ye *kukusiut*."

Care is always taken to use the right expression with reference to the locality of the dancer's repository, irrespective of where he may happen to be living. 575* 796*

All the *kukusiut* are expected to attend, in fact, they are glad to do so, but attendance is compulsory for novices only. When all have assembled, one of the leading singers takes command. The coming of his call is supposed to have made X light-headed, and he must be cured by a frenzied beating of sticks four times repeated. During this X himself remains quiescent. The singers now group themselves into a close circle to compose a song describing the supernatural beings seen by X during the day. As a rule, each man has one or more tunes in his mind which he hums to his associates as he softly beats time. Then another does the same, and this is repeated until unanimity of opinion is reached concerning the most suitable. The leader of the choir fits the proper words to this, assisted by his comrades and perhaps by X himself, or someone well acquainted with his prerogative.[21] As soon as the singers have finished their work they widen their circle and sing the song loudly so that it can be heard and learnt by all, 533 [787]

[21]This song, like the ones used earlier, is sometimes prepared in advance.

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*575 while X dances to and fro behind the fire. In succession the
*796 six songs previously composed are resung and X dances to
533 each. The singers would be disgraced should they forget either a tune or a text, so they take advantage of *lsuxtämem* to practise them all. Later in the season, when numerous *kukusiut* have received calls, the singers beat out the time and words for each and the owner dances. The general effect is remarkably impressive in the dim light of one of the large wooden houses, nor is the music displeasing to the ear. After the singing of X's seventh song, there is a pause while food is distributed amid the admonitions of the marshals. Once more the singers take up their sticks and beat out the song most recently composed for X; the audience joins in softly and he dances. The *kukusiut* now disperse with the exception of the novices who sleep in X's house. He himself does not withdraw to his platform. The ritual of X's *lsuxtämem* differs from that of most *kukusiut* since his comrades have already learnt six songs for him. On most occasions they hear and practise one only, to which he dances in the manner described.

*575 The next day is *nusiutälsap*. About eleven o'clock in the
*796 morning the heralds go to every house calling out:
532 *Tłpänap, łłpänap, kukusiaot*, "Cut, cut, ye *kukusiut*."
*[203] The uninitiated do not realize that this is an invitation to gather to cut wood for masks. X, or his relatives, always provides a meal which is eaten before the main work is attended to. Then the singers group themselves and compose still
[533] another song[11] for X, with the same theme, but different words, as the one composed the previous evening. When ready, they chant it loudly so that all can hear and learn, and then sing it with the audience joining in, while X dances. After a short pause, X asks as many of his comrades as he desires to go with
[784] him to the forest to cut wood. Some member of the party carries a whistle which he sounds at intervals, thus warning

[176] [11]This would normally be a dancer's second song, the large number practised for X before the coming of his call being unusual. Not many years ago a powerful chief created the innovation of having one song only instead of two. Some *kukusiut* follow his example whereas others still use two.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 This ejaculation is supposed to make the work of manu-
*796 facture less difficult. The same procedure is repeated with
532 every mask ordered, except that if the being to be represented
[789] is a woman, X's ejaculation is *i* ····. Any *kusiut* can make a mask, but the preference is always given to a man who has shown ability in previous tasks. The carpenters endeavour to follow well-recognized designs for many representations, but a great deal of latitude is allowed, and a workman receives greater praise and fame for turning out a fine and distinctive piece of new design, than for rigid adherence to a former type. This, combined with the burning of masks and consequent loss of permanent patterns, is responsible for the variability in Bella Coola forms, and the difficulty which they themselves experience in recognizing portrayed beings.

*575 As soon as all the carpentry has been allotted, the singers
*796 strike up one of X's eight songs. Whether or not he dances
[533] to them is a matter about which there is a difference of opinion among informants. In any case the re-singing on *nusiutālsap* is purely for rehearsal, made necessary by the large number of songs. Later on in the *kusiut* season, the songs of other dancers may be practised on this night, and if the owners wish to practice their steps, it is quite proper for them to do so.
[574] Finally, a meal is distributed, while the marshals discourse in
[431] the usual way. Feasts are features of all *kusiut* dances, and the
[42] food distributed is regarded as a free-will gift, without thought of repayment. After eating, the *kukusiut* disperse; X must sleep within his own house, but no longer remains within his platform-enclosure.

*575 The next day, the twenty-sixth of the ceremony, is *qotlum*.
*796 Early in the morning a herald summons to X's house, where
532 the blocks have been left, all those to whom work has been
*[203] assigned. All morning they carve diligently. The speed with which masks are completed is surprising, although this has
[177] undoubtedly increased since the introduction of metal tools.
[562] In the middle of the day a few *kukusiut* men, no women, are invited to share "the carpenters' meal," as the food provided

*575 shals tells a herald to call them in; they enter joyfully, though
*796 somewhat fearfully, and stand or crouch on either side of the
doorway. In Kimsquit they gaze on the masks, wondering
*[203] what they are. The singers strike up the first of X's songs and
he dances, while singers and *kukuxiut* men sing the words and
*575 the women drone. To the uninitiated it appears most impres-
*796 sive and desirable, while even the prosaic white man can
hardly remain indifferent. At intervals a whistle, which the
533 uninitiated believe to be the voice of the call, sounds eerily
from beneath the armpit of a reliable *kuxiut*. After a short
interval, X's second song is sung, and so in succession the eight.
Then the singers strike up any well-remembered tune, perhaps
one used last year, and the owner dances. This is repeated
for eight or ten songs. At later *qulaw*, every *kuxiut* who has
had a call during the season must dance; the ceremony tends,
therefore, to become longer and longer as time goes on, although
the singing of the songs of a previous year is omitted. When
enough performers have danced, a shaman's song is often sung
and the owner dances "to clear the house." At this point the
*575 uninitiated spectators are told to withdraw. Then a meal is
*796 served to the *risaak* who, as members of a similar organization,
[301] are honoured guests and have been seated together in a corner,
[237] resplendent in their weasel-skin ornaments. After their
departure, the *kukuxiut* eat more leisurely, while one marshal
[431] after another advises them as to their conduct. Then presents
of comparatively small value are distributed. The marshals
would consider it unbecoming for X to provide over-lavishly.
The first gifts are to the singers, the next to the makers of the
[465] masks. Though these presents are, in essence, pay, they are
never thought of in that light; X is under obligations, X has
cleared himself of those obligations, is the Bella Coola attitude.
When all is over, X once more dances to one of his *wully* sung
songs. Then one of the marshals calls out to open the door
and the guests disperse, except the novices who sleep in X's
house.

J. McDermott E-9 (1922-1924) 1968
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The *ooot day* is *nakwam*,* the twenty-seventh and final day of the rite, and the most spectacular in every ceremonial. Early in the morning a herald summons the wood-workers to X's house to complete the masks. At intervals throughout the day *kakwiri* come to discuss with X, the marshals, the singers, and the carpenters the details of the evening ceremonial. In fact, X has less to do with the arrangements than any of those mentioned, unless he happens to be a *kwiri* of long standing. The marshals usually decide who shall wear the masks, although the maker of each is always consulted; X himself never wears one at his own ceremony. The *kwiri* who is to represent *Ko'Ktsulsuis* must have the ability to speak fluently and in a high-pitched voice supposedly like that of a woman. Strong men are required for some of the heavy masks such as Thunder, but most may be used by anyone. A person asked to wear one seldom refuses, although he is liable to punishment in case of dropping it or any other accident. No one marshal can dictate who shall wear a particular mask, all these matters are arranged with endless discussion during the day; stage management is not a highly developed Bella Coola profession. The masks are completed by the afternoon at latest, painted, and concealed behind a *nootsing* enclosure, one of which is built in each rear corner of the house. Sometimes the back-room itself is used to hide the sacred objects and only one shelter is constructed. The makers of the masks remain there with them, to assist in tying them over the heads of the wearers. Meanwhile all chips are swept up and burnt and the house made tidy for the evening.

As twilight falls a herald goes to every house inviting the *kakwiri* to assemble in X's. The uninitiated gather outside the door, waiting eagerly for the summons to enter and see the wonders; their curiosity, and fear, piqued by the sound of a whistle from within. But there are still delays; many of the *kakwiri* wish to express themselves concerning the conduct of

*If the masks and other paraphernalia are not ready, several days may elapse before *nakwam*. Every evening the *kakwiri* gather to practice the songs.

575* 946* 592 [209]* 575* 946* [209]* [539]

Among the passengers in *Nuḱymm*'s canoe are a number of singers, who replace the usual ones on this occasion. Each wears the same type of mask, painted with red diagonals, and with white feathers* projecting from the top.** After the uninitiated have gazed for some time upon the wonders, their leader, *Swaḱwenimatik*, takes his place and his followers begin to beat out an ancient song, believed to be sung in *Nuḱymm*'s craft as it nears Bella Coola. The theme is:

"See me, mortals, I am *Nawanaiokdimat Nuḱymm*, the dancer of *Nuḱymm*."

As the music starts, a figure rises from among the singers, wearing a mask with heavy eye-brows** and carrying a light staff about six feet in length, wound spirally with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with a tassel of dyed bark. Holding this in his hand he begins to dance lightly, running back and forth a few steps at a time in time to the beating of sticks, lifting his feet freely from the ground, and bending back and forth in airy grace, all the while waving his wand to and fro. There are no fixed steps, the only essential is that he convey the impression of being light of foot and a good dancer; accordingly, the person selected for this purpose is one with these qualifications. As he moves, *Ana'kimdaiate* explains to the uninitiated that this is *Nawanaiokdimat*, a dancer of great repute who accompanies *Nuḱymm* and guards his singers. At this point *Ana'kimdaiate*'s own song may or may not be sung. It never varies, and is believed to have been handed down from dim antiquity. X himself must be the singer, accordingly it can be sung only when the dancer has a good voice. If this is the case, the marshals request him to perform, and, if necessary, teach him the exact words. X, standing behind the fire, sings alone and unaccompanied, then the singers repeat the song in unison with the beating of their sticks, and *Ana'kimdaiate* herself dances, using, of course, the feminine style. At this juncture the uninitiated must be so-

*Native feathers are now used.

**One of these masks was purchased for the National Museum of Canada.

**One of these masks was obtained for the National Museum of Canada.

2:McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[The Dance of Wil-a]

leave the *thud* on the *roof*, which is made by an accomplice, is the call itself, or a being bringing it to X, is problematical. All non-members are expelled immediately, including guests other than Kimsquit or *Tâl-is Ankaciut*. One is tempted to conjecture whether or not the donor of the potlatch does not use this rite as a means of getting rid of his guests if they show a disposition to linger too long. 575* 796* [787] [556]

The call having come to X, this is the day of *Ituntowm*. In the early evening a herald goes up and down the platform outside the houses, calling out in effect:

"He has been pressed to earth beneath the weight."

No mention is made of who "he" may be, although the uninitiated are well aware. The herald then enters each house in order, starting at the bottom, to invite the *Ankaciut* to assemble in X's. After he has been aided by the beating of sticks, four times repeated, the singers seat themselves behind the fire, where X joins them. The fiction is always carried out that the call has brought him a song, which he pretends to sing or recite to the singers who appear to be listening intently. Usually he says nothing, or talks about something else, though sometimes the deception is furthered by X first learning the words from the musicians and repeating them as if teaching. 575* 796* 556* [787]

The theme is always of the supernatural persons and how the offering converts them. Since only *Ankaciut* are present and since they all understand the methods, this part of the ceremony may be slighted.* The singers beat out and sing the song a number of times, softly, as if practicing, then more loudly for the benefit of the audience, and finally at full strength while X dances. Later in the season when many *Ankaciut* have performed, and there is danger of the songs being forgotten, it is customary to sing them over on the night of *Ituntowm* while the owner of each song dances. Throughout, the whistle sounds, to the awe of the uninitiated in the other 575* 796*

*Even when no uninitiated are present, the *Ankaciut* always surround their ceremonials with an air of mystery which obviously affects themselves.

[The Cannibal Dance]

575 is writhing so violently that it appears as if it would be only a
796 few moments before he breaks loose and runs amuck. Closely
787 guarded by a band of *ḱukuciut*, the second Cannibal is now taken to every house of the village. He seems to be striving to enter, and to be restrained by the *ḱukuciut*. All the time he growls and calls out:

I —— .

The call of *ewe* can be used only by a Cannibal who has returned from the realms above. X meanwhile remains in his own house, to which the substitute is finally brought and the cannibalistic incubus returned by the call of *ye* — four times repeated.

It was impossible to learn the details of a rite that occurs during the afternoon of this day. The singers have composed
[533] two songs for X, one describing his adventures in the land aloft, and the other the return of the incubus which made him a flesh-eating brute. It appears probable that during the afternoon the *ḱukuciut* assemble in X's house to learn these songs. It might be added that the ritual of a Cannibal dance differs widely from that of most *ḱuciut* ceremonies, since there is no *qulaw* and no *nakwaw*; the uninitiated believe that the whole affair is so serious that they are not surprised at ritualistic eccentricities.

In the evening the *ḱukuciut* are first summoned to X's house, and later the uninitiated. X is sitting close to the singers, with a number of *ḱukuciut* grouped around him in case he should become frenzied. The singers first sing over the
[533] song describing the return of the Cannibal power, with the *ḱukuciut* joining in softly. The chorus of every Cannibal song consists of the words:

Hémdmai, hémdmai, kém', kém'.

[711] It is said that this same refrain is used in all Cannibal songs by the Bella Bella and Fort Rupert people; the Bella Coola, ignorant of the meaning of the words, affirm that they have none.

[533] X now talks in a low tone of voice to the singers, as if

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telling them of his adventures, and presently they begin to sing the song, as if they had just learnt the theme from X. Frequently the deception is increased by X first learning the song and repeating it to the singers in a voice sufficiently loud for the uninitiated to hear. The theme of this, and every other song used for Cannibals, is of the land above and the dangers which X has survived. The singers add new facts and information to vary the monotony, but the subjects usually described are:

The flat land above with its many trails and the river that flows through it

The gale constantly raging there which has blown the hair from X's head and the dirt from his body.

The trail across a yawning chasm over which his supernatural strength enabled him to leap. If a Cannibal dies when in concealment the *kukusiut* bury the corpse secretly and tell the uninitiated that his power failed him on the other side of the abyss so that he was unable to return. [766] [761]

Alpaxsim under his various names.

How his patron helped him to escape the *Alskam*, "They of the Huge Jaws," evil beings who tried to kill X by sucking him into their gaping mouths. [776]

The tide-flats which are found at the edge of the flat land above.

The kindly being *Sinunukālāhm*, who gave him the necessary power to cross the chasm. The uninitiated believe that unless a Cannibal meets this being he will be unable to return. [776] [761]

No one song for any Cannibal contains references to all these beings and events, but it is on these that the singers draw for their themes, always altering and adding to produce a fine effect.

On this occasion X does not dance,[*] and the uninitiated are soon expelled. As the *kukusiut* are eating, one marshal after another praises X for what he has done, and gives the most solemn warnings to all as to the necessity of completing 575* 796* 787

[*] There is diversity of opinion on this point.

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*575 the rites satisfactorily. Towards midnight the gathering
*796 breaks up.

Many of the younger and more athletic *kukusiut* sleep in
787 X's house, ready to assist him in the "Running Song." About an hour and a half before dawn the uninitiated are awakened by confused shouting and growling from X's house; above the din rises X's ghastly, *xwa·, xwa·, xwa·*.

The shouting and noise lead to a spot at the rear of the village, whither X has gone with the musicians and about twenty *kukusiut*. Presently the singers begin to chant forth
[533] a new song, X's third, of which the theme is again the Cannibal's adventures in the land above; the uninitiated readily believe that he has taught the singers these words, though they had been unable to hear them from within the houses. There is more shouting as X runs to a second place behind the village, where the same song is used once more. When this has been repeated four times, X is led back to his house.

For four days the uninitiated remain in a constant state of terror. Although the expulsion of the cannibalistic incubus has tended to restore X's sanity, he is still wild, unable either to eat or sleep. Twice every night the madness conquers him, and he dashes from his house, barely restrained by his faithful *kukusiut* attendants. Eager for the flesh of human beings, he rushes at the doors, knocks them down if they should be closed, growling furiously, but his guardians always succeed in dragging him out before he does any real damage. This is repeated at every house of the village. Since the uninitiated are too frightened to look out, it often happens that a substitute takes the place of X on these semi-nightly excursions. During the day he remains within his own house, concealed, on a platform built for him between the fire and the back-room.

On the fourth evening, the fifth after his return from above, the *kukusiut* are summoned to his house to soothe him so that he will lie down on this platform and rest. The uninitiated, listening eagerly but fearfully, hear once more the sound of the frenzied stick-beating. The heralds inform them that X

[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 to the woods he is always accompanied by a number of *kukusiut*
*796 to drive the uninitiated from his path. If it were necessary
to perform the full rite just described, it would, in effect, limit
556 this dance to wealthy individuals. One reason why it is
possible for a poor Bella Coola to become a Cannibal is that
on his second, or subsequent, ceremonial, he can give an
abbreviated rite, known as *lilstom*. The essence of this is
*575 that a kindly supernatural being has visited X on earth, saving
*796 him from the perils of going aloft. In this case the ritual
787 closely follows that of a normal *kusiut* dance and is concluded
in four days.

After the *nebusam* rites of some other *kusiut* have been concluded, the call comes to X, who responds by growling and biting a few people. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house. Thanks to the friendly intervention of the supernatural being, usually *Alquntäm*, X's mental powers are unimpaired so that he does not become infuriated and bites only a few individuals. As with ordinary *kusiut* rites, the singers
[533] beat out a song composed for the occasion, describing the beneficent being who came down to X, and the *kukusiut* practise and learn it. No other songs are rehearsed on this night, owing to the extreme solemnity of the occasion; it is a Cannibal rite and nothing can take place at the same time.

The next day is *nusiutälsap*; a second song is composed
[532] and a number of the *kukusiut* are sent to collect wood for
[776] masks. Six of these must be constructed representing the following supernatural beings:

Alquntäm, who has benignly interfered to save X from risking the dangers of a trip aloft.

Alqoteos, a supernatural man-eater from whom the call has come impelling X to eat flesh.

Three *Ällipaist*, "Holders," who restrain *Alqoteos*. In the land above their function corresponds to that of the *kukusiut* who guard a Cannibal.

Ano'likwulsaix.

In the evening, after the work has been allotted, X's two

[The Scratch Dance]

*575 They do not blacken their faces on receipt of a call as do
424 most *kukusiut*.

[302] The theme of their songs is of the land above, instead solely
[787] of their patrons.

[533] On visiting a house where a *qotlum* or *nebusam* is taking place they sit with the Cannibals in one of the back corners; this group is given food before any of the other guests.

They do not exercise their prerogative on fellow-Scratchers, Cannibals, or Breakers.

[787] They are liable to frenzy both when the call is upon them and after its departure. In such cases they run forth, apparently guarded and restrained by other *kukusiut*, and rush into every house to frighten the uninitiated.

They must recompense those whom they have scratched.

[578] They act as peace-makers among the *kukusiut*, since the necessity of accompanying a Scratcher who pretends to be frenzied overrules all petty causes of strife.

[554] Though any definite concept of graded rank in the *kusiut* society is quite foreign to the Bella Coola, it is generally felt that Scratchers and Breakers are only slightly less important than Cannibals. The patron of every Scratcher is *Sno'olxdis*
[776] *Alqantām*, one of the sons of *Alqantām*; this supernatural being scratches the supernatural ones in the land above, and his father alone can restrain him. The prerogative is fairly common, and it is probable that in early days there was at least one Scratcher in every village.

*575 The following account of the ritual was obtained from one
+796 of the Bella Coola marshals and describes the manner in which the dance should have been performed by the Scratcher,
[424] *Alushnaix*, his daughter's daughter's son, who had recently obtained the prerogative formerly possessed by his deceased mother's father. It will be convenient to refer to *Alushnaix* as X and use the present tense in recording the proper ritual, though it was largely omitted on the last occasion the dance was given.

X arranges a suitable day with the marshals for receiving

½ [i.e. - the Scratchers - ANALYST]

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[The Scratch Dance]

his call, and when this has been settled, he informs those *kukusiut* whom he plans to honour by scratching. Since each will have to be recompensed for allowing X to display his prerogative, their number depends on X's wealth. Early in the morning of the day chosen, which is always immediately after the *nebusam* of some other *kusiut*, the call comes, and X gives a low hoot. At once he starts wildly rushing around and scratching, so that the uninitiated are only too willing to flee from his terrifying presence. Throughout the day X is escorted by a number of *kukusiut* to every house, where he rages around the fire, throwing his arms to and fro in an infuriated manner, sometimes scratching one of his fellows, but more often merely acting as if he desired to do so. The uninitiated hide within the bedrooms, greatly impressed by what they see if they dare to look forth. 575* 796* [424]

Towards evening the *kukusiut* are summoned to X's house, where a dramatic representation, into which the members fully enter, is made of binding him as if he were a wild animal or a lunatic. A rope is stretched around the fire, held by the *kukusiut*, with X inside. He pretends to be trying to escape, while the rope-holders bend down and move around to hold him within their bonds. Meanwhile a shaman, or some senior *kusiut*, leads a frenzied beating of sticks which is four times repeated, to cure the madness. A *kusiut* then grasps the Scratcher's face and moves his mouth four times, to make sure that his jaws can move properly; the meaning of this is unknown. X now takes one of the beating-sticks and sits down among the singers as if about to teach them both tune and words of a song describing his knowledge of the land above, derived from his call. For a few moments he beats sanely, and appears to speak in a rational manner, but soon he goes off in a wild frenzy of senseless pounding. *Heip, heip*, cry the *kukusiut* to soothe him. After this has been several times repeated, the singers announce that they have learnt X's song, though of course, they have composed one themselves in readiness for the occasion. They now sing it; the audience listens, [757] [533]

[The Scratch Dance]

*575 and the heralds keep telling all to be attentive. The chorus
*796 for every Scratcher's song consists of the supposedly meaning-
[533] less words, *'aii*, *'aii*, as if a child were crying. It is said that the
● same refrain is used for Scratch dances by every coastal tribe.
[171] After this practice the singers chant forth X's song more
loudly, the audience joins in, and he dances. The Scratch
*575 dance differs from all other *kusiut* ones in that there are no
*796 fixed movements, with the exception of keeping time to the
535 beating of sticks with the feet. The dancer sometimes bends
down and forward, with arms closely pressed between his legs,
or he bends back with arms thrown upwards; to and fro and
back and forth he goes with high steps or short mincing ones,
with hops or jumps, his arms waving like the arms of a wind-
mill. The best Scratch dancer is the one who can put most
action and originality into his movements. The weird effect is
increased by moving the facial muscles to cause strange grim-
aces. Four *kukusiut*, two before and two behind, accompany
*575 X. At intervals he becomes excited and seizes his own hair
*796 as if in internal agony, whereupon his guardians press the back
of his neck and call *hop* to soothe him. His dance com-
pleted, he sits down, and no other performers follow him. The
[431] presents provided by X and his relatives are then distributed,
those scratched and the song makers being the chief recipients,
although everyone receives something. Then there is the
usual meal, accompanied by admonitions from the marshals,
followed by X dancing once more to his song.

Unlike most *kusiut* ceremonials, this does not complete the night's rites. Accompanied by a number of *kukusiut*, X visits every house in the village, and dances around the fire with wildly waving arms while the whistle sounds eerily. Since the
[535] musicians do not beat time, his dance is without rhythmic qualities, otherwise it follows the lack of pattern just described. When he is brought back to his own house, the frenzied beating of sticks is twice repeated to soothe him, and water is thrown over him. Thus pacified, X goes to sleep and the *kukusiut* quietly disperse.

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[The Scratch Dance]

obey one prohibition; he must not sleep with his wife for four days. 575* 796*

Like a Cannibal, X is liable to frenzy for the rest of the ceremonial season. During this period he remains secluded within his house, and the uninitiated willingly avoid him, believing him to be mentally deranged. He attends every *kusiut* dance, where his latent madness helps to frighten the uninitiated. If strangers from Kimsquit or *Täl·io* visit Bella Coola, he at once becomes frenzied, rushes to the beach and scratches them, precisely as a Cannibal would do; in this case he must be pacified in the same manner. A Scratcher always saves goods to recompense scratched foreigners. If it is the first time that X has danced, he must remain secluded for the following summer, and give his ceremony the next winter. During the warm months he remains within the back-room of his house, and though some of the uninitiated know of his presence, still believing him mad they do not intrude upon his privacy. The coming of foreigners during this period excites him to frenzy and he scratches them, irrespective of the time of year. [834] [828]

It might be mentioned that some Scratcher names are indicative of the dancer's function, and others, such as "The Cause of Fear," have reference to his prowess. [551]

THE BREAKER DANCE

When a Bella Coola speaks of the fear which *kusiut* dances cause the uninitiated, he almost invariably cites in order the Cannibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances. *Kukusiut* with these three prerogatives have no more privileges than other members of the society, nor are they considered superior in rank, but similarity in their functions leads to an almost automatic association. If questioned further, a Bella Coola will usually say that he regards the Cannibal dance to be first, with the Scratch and Breaker equal, but less important. Breakers share with Cannibals and Scratchers the prerogatives of not blackening their faces; of having as theme for their songs the land 575* 796* 424 [781] [554] [302] [533] [264]

[The Breaker Dance]

*575 *796 above; of sitting in one of the back corners and receiving the first food at ritual meals; of paying those on whom they [424] exercise their prerogative, and of liability to frenzy on arrival [533] of strangers. This last prerogative, if it may be so termed, [264] lasts for the ceremonial season, and in the case of a novice, for the following summer as well. Moreover, Breakers do not destroy the goods of fellow-Breakers, Scratchers, or Cannibals.

*575 *796 424 539 In view of the similarity of this rite to those already described, no effort was made to collect full details. Different Breakers have minor variations in ritual, similar to those already illustrated. The following is an account of the manner in which the Breaker, *Sxek* of *Snuləli*, performed the rite a number of years ago. As on previous occasions, it will be convenient to use the present tense, and to refer to the dancer as X. *Sxek* gave the following account of the origin of his prerogative.

Long, long ago, soon after the first people had come to this earth, a marriage was about to take place in the village of *Snulł-ał*. At that distant period the people were so powerful that they could themselves initiate *kusiut* dances, and the bridegroom determined to do so in honour of the event. He chose to imitate the actions of *Sänolłxmulełis Älqunäm*, one of *Älqunäm*'s sons, whom he remembered having seen throwing stones in his father's house before he, the bridegroom, was sent down to this world.[42] When goods were piled up ready for distribution as marriage presents, the man began to hurl stones around; one of them ricochetted from a box, struck his bride and killed her. This unforeseen accident solved the question of his name, as by universal consent it was decided that he should be called, *Sxek*, "He of the Faulty Aim."

Since that time a law has been enforced that no Breaker may throw a rock except ceremonially during his dance, and the marshals punish one who disobeys this injunction. If a Breaker is in the forest with a number [231] of *kukusiut*, it does not matter if he fails to uphold this tradition; the essential is that the uninitiated do not see him cast a stone, even at a yelping dog, the usual reason for doing so in Bella Coola.

*575 *796 When X wishes to dance he must first obtain the consent of the marshals in the usual manner. He also arranges with *kukusiut* to have boxes and other wooden objects placed within

[776] [42] This being is also called *Nuskwamxwäum*, "The Cherished One."

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[The Breaker Dance]

the house to serve as targets, and stones as ammunition. As soon as the call comes, X cries out, begins to throw stones at these objects, and the uninitiated are at once expelled. X is usually led, closely guarded, to every house where he casts more rocks, and may break a number of utensils. Since it is well known that, under normal circumstances, he must never throw a stone, the uninitiated are convinced that he must indeed be animated by a strange power. This being *lsuxtämem*, the *kukusiut* gather in X's house during the evening to learn and practise one, or sometimes two, songs for him. If X is a novice, the theme is of his ancestor and the accident which originated the dance; on later occasions it is of his patron and the land above. All Breakers do not have *Sänoltsumulelts Älquntäm* as patron; some have *Snukilmäls*, a supernatural being who causes wealth to curl up and come to him. The chorus is the same as for Scratchers, the meaningless words, *'aii, 'aii*. It is said that this same refrain is used by the Breakers of all coastal tribes, so that their songs can be distinguished from those of Scratchers only by the words. With the food, presents are given to recompense those on whom X has displayed his prerogative, that is, those whose utensils have been broken. Sometimes canoes and other valuable objects are destroyed by Breakers, depending entirely on their desire to exhibit their right.

575* 796* [787] 575* 796* 533 575* 796* [431] [424]

Next morning, *nusiutälsap*, X again becomes frenzied and rushes from house to house, destroying property. Of course this is later paid for, but the uninitiated have no idea that arrangements had been made for the boxes and other objects to be placed in suitable spots. During the day a number of *kukusiut* are sent to collect wood for nine masks. When members of the society gather in the evening the songs are practised, and the making of the masks allotted. One of these is of *Sänoltsumulelts Älquntäm*, four are of Breakers in the land above,[a] four of supernatural beings who sing there for the supernatural Breakers, and one of the inevitable *Ano'likuo-*

575* 796* 532 424 796 tsaix.

[a] The relation of these Breakers to the patron is not clear.

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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

in the village announcing that a call has come to X. Meanwhile forty or fifty *kukusiut* have surrounded X and accompany him as he leaves his home and proceeds to the end of the village furthest downstream. He enters the lowest house, followed by his escort, and stops before the central fire to call out: 575* 796* 787

"Please say what you want; I will do it."

He circles the fire, sunwise, repeats his call a second time and leaves. The same procedure is repeated in every house in the village, in order from bottom to top, before he returns to his own home. The uninitiated are told that some power has come upon him, but that it is so strange that even he cannot comprehend it. After a short pause, X again sallies forth, accompanied as before, and calls twice in every house of the village. The same ritual is repeated a third time, but on the fourth round, which soon follows, he carries a knife in his hand. Thus it becomes plain to all that X has received power enabling him to have his stomach cut, and the *kukusiut* show signs of grief at the danger to which their fellow is about to be exposed. Needless to say, the delay in interpreting the call adds to the mystification of the uninitiated, and their wonder at X's power. The heralds do their part by repeating his words with their own comments. [781]

When X finally returns to his own house the heralds summon all the *kukusiut* to it and the customary ritual of *lsxtämem* takes place. The singers beat out and practise a song composed by one of their members for X, the audience listens attentively and then practises it until all are proficient. The theme of every *kusiotem* song is of the land above and the supernatural beings resident there. The wordless chorus consists of *wai'aiye'iu*, which the Bella Coola state is the refrain of all *kusiotem* dances up and down the coast. 575* 796* 533

The second day, *nusiutälsap*, a second song is composed and a party sent to the forest to bring in wood suitable for masks. In the evening part of the work is allotted[10] and the songs practised. For *kusiotem* dances, in addition to masks, a 575* 796* 532 [533]

[10]Some is kept for a later distribution.

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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

be slaughtered before one is found with skin to match.[47] The marshals carefully supervise all these arrangements, but of course on this night the work alone is allotted. The entrails of several dogs are kept and worn by X between his false stomach and the wooden frame. 575* 796* [281]

After the allotment of tasks in connection with the mechanical work required, the marshals ask four women to come forward. Those selected are usually old people with good voices who, from long experience at the dances, have mastered the two[48] songs used at each *kusiotem* dance. The theme of these never varies and is believed to have been handed down from the distant past. No prerogative is attached; the marshals and singers merely choose four women whom they think will be good performers. The songs resemble those sung at mourning ceremonies; in fact, they are used with that significance when X has been "killed" by disembowelling. The singers, the women chosen, the marshals, and any other *kakusiut* who feel competent to do so, discuss in an animated manner the exact wording and tunes of the songs. Then the musicians beat out the time and the women sing one after another, while the audience drones. In view of the solemnity of the occasion, it often happens that senior singers from adjacent villages are invited to be present to render assistance. The necessity for practising X's songs, apportioning the carpentry, and rehearsing the mourning songs has taken up more time than is usual on a *nusiustälrap* night, and it is late before all is completed. Then, after the usual meal and admonishments, the people disperse. 575* 796* 533

Early the following morning the carpenters and those to whom work has been allotted gather early in X's house. A band, about two feet long, composed of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark is prepared and placed on the 575* 796* 211

[47] Informants offered no explanation as to why this wholesale slaughter of dogs failed to arouse curiosity and suspicion in the uninitiated. [781]

[48] Or four; there was difference of opinion among Bella Coola informants on this point.

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*575 *796 [211] outside of the house above the central doorway. The middle of the strip is pressed together so that it forms a projecting point, some four inches in length. This sign is a warning to the uninitiated that the *kukusiut* are working within, and none but a member of the society must enter or even pass on the sidewalk outside the door.[69] The central fire is moved forward to leave a larger space than usual between it and the back-room, and two mattings are raised to form two enclosures, one in each of the rear corners.

All day the carpenters work feverishly, and in the evening the *kukusiut* are once again summoned. When last performed, the rite on *qothm* was curtailed, and informants could give only an outline of the proper procedure. It appears that X's two [533] songs are practised, as well as the two mourning songs sung by the chosen women. Then all sit silent as if in grief, while the women occasionally utter mournful ejaculations, dreading the danger to which X will be exposed. At this juncture the uninitiated are summoned; they are impressed by the gravity and obvious fears shown even by the members of the powerful *kusiut* society. In the tense silence, one of the *ānuyex* suddenly bursts forth:

"I will get my puppet-patron and bring him near so that he will be available tomorrow."

He reaches up his arms and makes the motions of drawing something towards him from above, while the *kukusiut* women drone and the singers and others provided with sticks keep up a clamorous beating on the floor. Presently another *ānuyex* does likewise, and so on until as many as wish to do so have drawn down their puppet-patrons. The heralds maintain a running fire of comments to aid in impressing non-members. The customary lengthy dancing of *qothm* is omitted, and the uninitiated are expelled at once. The *kukusiut* have the usual

[532] [69] If it is necessary to make numerous puppets this band may be placed in position the previous evening and the carpenters start work a day earlier on the more important tasks.

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

*575 dangerous. Unless he is restored to life before dawn we will
*796 slay you."

The other uninitiated marvel that any of their number should be bold enough to taunt the *kukusiut*, ignorant of the fact that those who do so are really spies whose part in the performance has long since been arranged by the marshals. Instances are remembered when the wooden or copper frame [688] was defective and the performer was killed; in such a case the spies actually slew one or more *kukusiut* to preserve the prestige of the society. Exact details were unobtainable, but it seems clear that the victims were selected with the aid of the marshals during the night; they were, of course, men of little importance in the community.

The spies prevent anyone from leaving the house and gradually the din subsides, except for the constant wailing of the women, particularly X's relatives. The *kukusiut*, granted a respite until dawn, allow some of the uninitiated to come forward and pass sunwise around the fire to see the corpse of X with the bloody entrails exposed. At this juncture, the old *575 women selected for the purpose sing the mourning song, of
*796 which the words and tune never vary; they are believed to
●533 have been handed down from time immemorial. The theme
539 is of *Snitsmän a*, a kindly supernatural woman[74] who restores to life *kukusiut* killed in the performance of their rites. The singer in the upper, eastern, rear corner of the house sings the following words:

Nuxsmdzam ixwakstk'	*yas disisiyäkmidjatsu*	*siyulaqailaxsli*
Perhaps you[75] saw correctly[76]	hence you did so;[77]	it is too much
xwanstciyakstsi		
that has been given to you.[78]		

[74] Some informants state that there are several of these beings.
[75] Referring to X.
[76] Each vertical line marks the limit of a word or word-cluster, emphasized in singing, and the translation of it.
[77] That is: "You performed your dance in accordance with what you saw."
[78] That is: "You have received power that is too great and too dangerous." The specific reference is to the knife.

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After a short interval, she is answered by the singer in the lower, western, rear corner of the house as follows: 575* 796* 533 539

Sapankotsānitwawit	*itlasnitsman·aatdja*	*skāpālpālyālosdas*
Let there come to earth	the voice of *Snitsmāu·a*	to revive

diyālāhaipm·ilsutdai
the one who has so injured himself.

The general meaning of this song is obvious, although there are several obscure expressions which serve to increase the wonder and fear of the uninitiated. Silence follows the singing, then whistling is heard and a herald announces that one of the puppet-patrons inserted into X has left him and gone to the region above. Similar whistling announces the departure of others at intervals. When several have done so, it is time for the first to return. A thud, made by a hidden accomplice, is heard on the roof and whistling breaks out afresh. Sometimes the puppet-patron returns to X, but more often to its invoker, and the transference previously enacted is repeated over the body of the dancer who continues to lie as if lifeless. Now and then the uninitiated are invited forward to look at him and they notice that the gaping wound is slowly closing, an easy matter to arrange in the dim light of the house. At intervals the puppet-patrons go and return from the land above, and the proceedings are sometimes enlivened by the owners telling a herald, who in turn informs the audience, what the puppet-patron saw on its journey aloft. Usually each goes and returns four times in the course of the night. Each of the women selected to sing the mourning songs performs once, standing in a corner of the house and waving a wand wound with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. So the long night passes. Towards dawn continuous whistling is heard. This is made by several men with a whistle apiece; each begins to blow as soon as the breath of his partner is nearly exhausted. It is known to be the voice of *Snitsmāu·a*. In Kimsquit, but not in Bella Coola, this is the signal for the entry of the giant toad. Carpenters have made a wooden figure of the amphibian and by means of concealed strings it is

575* 796* 787 [533] 575* 796* [776] [184] [532]

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*575 *796 [533] made to hop towards X and bend four times over him. The wound gradually comes together, and the excitement grows ever greater. Those near X cry out that his little toes are moving, as indeed they are, then in succession his fourth, middle, first, and big toes begin to twitch convulsively. It is often difficult to find an assistant capable of moving his toes in the proper order.

"He is alive again," call the heralds, and some of the uninitiated come forward to watch the marvel of the dead man's toes moving.

*575 *796 533 X grows gradually stronger and begins to shake his hands as if he were trying to dance. Then, in a feeble voice, he begins to sing, though the only word which comes clearly is *Switsmdw-a*, the name of the supernatural woman through whose kindly mediation he has been restored to life. This song has actually been composed by the singers and taught by them to X preparatory to the rite. It resembles a shaman's, since it is assumed that X has practically been made a shaman by the intervention of *Switsmdw-a*. The singers pretend to be listening intently, and then chant it over, as if they had just learnt it, while X shakes his hands as if dancing. The wailing and weeping of the *kukuxiut* women has given place to joy, and those who had been singing mourning songs dance in time to the music. One after the other the *dwayur* who had cast their patrons into X now go to him to recall them. Each bends over him and pretends to extract something by pressure with cupped hands, at the same time crying out *koip, koip*.

*575 *796 987

Each *dwayur* then goes through the motions of casting something up into the air with cries of the same nature; this serves to return his patron to the mysterious region whence it had come. The uninitiated are now expelled and the *kukuxiut* soon follow, without receiving a meal.[14] Those who have taken a leading part in the ceremony usually linger with the marshals

*575 *796

[14] According to one informant, the youth who cut X's stomach was formally dismissed and initiated into the ranks of the *kukuxiut*.

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[The Stomach-cutting Dance]

* 575 The singers have also composed a song for each of the *ānuyax*
* 796 and these too must be practised, while the men dance or remain
533 still as they think fit. Since no uninitiated are present the affair is purely a rehearsal. The words of each of these songs is of the manner in which the patron helped X to survive his ordeal. By this time it is late and the *kukusiut* disperse after the usual meal and admonitions of the marshals.

* 575 The next day, *qothm*, the carpenters assemble early in the
* 796 morning to start work. Since X is entitled to portray any of
532 the supernatural beings who are companions of his patron in the land above, it follows that there is wide variation in his choice of masks to be manufactured. The principal supernatural beings are always shown, and any animals, since all are supernatural, can likewise be displayed. As usual, a few *kukusiut* are invited at midday to share the meal provided for the carpenters. The number of masks to be provided is often so great that two days or more are necessary for their completion, in which case no ceremony takes place on the night which would normally be *qothm*; the *kukusiut* merely gather
[533] and again practise their songs.

* 575 But the day after is *qothm*. At dusk the *kukusiut* are called
* 796 in for a final rehearsal of the songs, and then a summons is sent
[515] to the uninitiated, who have been washing and beautifying themselves in eager anticipation. In Kimsquit it is customary
[532] to hang some of the masks on a sloping pole behind the fire and
[184] the sight of these amazes the non-members. First the singers
[981] beat out the song of one of the women mourners and she dances in time to it, while the heralds near the door keep up a steady
[535] stream of remarks, encouraging the woman to perform yet
[834] more strenuously and to have no modesty about shaking her breasts. Then another of the women dances, followed in succession by the third and fourth if that is the number who sang the mourning songs. Next the *ānuyax* perform, each in succession accompanying the song composed for him. Now comes the central feature of the evening, the performance of X himself. As the singers strike up the shaman's song which he is

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[The Beheading Dance]

*575 *796 532 tells them that he wants a mask made to represent his own face. The purpose for which it is destined is not mentioned, although there is no reason why the workmen, all of them *kukusiut*, should not know, as they actually do. X blackens his face a trifle, making it easier to depict, and lies down as model for the carpenters, who at once start chiselling masks. Each works independently, and usually finishes one, or even two or three, in a day. Five or six carpenters are labouring simultaneously, and when the first group of masks has been finished the marshals, and perhaps one or more influential chiefs as well, come to inspect the handicraft. The masks are laid out in a glade of the forest and the marshals make their criticisms.

"No. The nose is too long," they say of one mask, or,

"The cheeks are too full," with regard to another.

It is seldom that one of the first group of completed masks meets with their approval, but the next morning the carpenters try once more, with X again lying down as model. In the evening the marshals again examine the results. Hundreds (probably an exaggeration) are often made before one is found which satisfies every requirement, and if the carpenters fail to produce a realistic portrait, the rite cannot be carried out. The unsuccessful attempts are carefully hidden in the forest lest they should be seen by an uninitiated person. When *Owiewalcas* performed the rite, it was near the end of September before one of the carpenters succeeded in making a satisfactory model.

When the wooden representation has been completed, there is no further doubt about holding the ceremony, and one of the marshals, acting for X, summons the singers and other influential *kukusiut* to the secret meeting place for a discussion of preliminaries.[16] At this conference X tells the carpenters what he proposes to give them as presents for the work they have done for him; the concept of "pay" is entirely lacking although it is an essential part of the transaction. The singers are told [465] [431] [533]

[16] Several details that apply to all Bacchus are here included which were inadvertently omitted by informants in describing the Bacchus-Carving dance.

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to prepare three songs for X, choosing as themes the usual *Sacrum* form, with any additional details from the performer's myth which he may give them. The marshals instruct the maker of the successful mask to put hair on it and to attach a neck.

Four days later the same group again meets in the house and X tries on the mask. When in position it rests on top of his own head with a stick passing down behind his neckpiece to his waist, where it is fastened by a belt; the general effect is that he has a superimposed head. Minor adjustments are suggested and made and X takes the mask, while the unsuccessful attempts are burned. The marshals solemnly warn the participants of the seriousness of the rite in which they are about to engage. X conceals the mask with great care in some cleft of the mountains.

At intervals the singers meet and listen to the songs each has composed, until they decide on the three most suitable, which they practise.

Nothing more takes place until after the winter solstice, when X and the marshals select the exact date for the rite. After a *pahos*, the marshals, singers, carpenters, and other *Sacrum* functionaries remain in the house to rehearse the coming ceremony. The head is placed in position, supported by a framework of reeds which can be separated by strong pressure. When X raises his blanket over his own head, the mask portrait alone is visible, and only the wearer's extra height might cause suspicion. Around his "neck," in reality the junction between X's own head and the false one, is tied a rope, so arranged that when pulled from each end, it slips, contracts on the reed framework, and ultimately runs through it to separate the head from the body.* Raw meat and blood have been placed inside the "neck" so that, when the mask is pulled off, it appears as if X's flesh were exposed and he falls to the

*The old man showed the writer the method of fastening, but I was unable to learn it. The rope, instead of being knotted, is wound within itself so that, when the framework is broken, it comes easily enunglad.

[The Bleeding Dance]

(28) THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

X begins to move his fingers in a feeble way and to sing a shaman's song of which *Intermediate a* is the only intelligible word. Of course the singers have previously taught him as much as is necessary of this type of composition, but the assumption is that he has just learnt it from *Intermediate a* who has restored him to life. At this juncture two shamans often approach X and appear to project some power into him whereby he is able to rise and slowly circle the fire, supported by them. He shakes his hands and sings in a weak voice, then sounds behind the fire, still supported by the two shamans. This concludes the night's ceremony and the novitiate tell the uninitiated to leave. The *Intermediate* now follow, except carpenters, singers, and any other influential members of the society who desire to wait to discuss the performance.

As in the Tsimsian Cutting dance, four days more of ceremonial follow the severing of X's head, with ritual corresponding to that of an ordinary *Initial* performance. Furthermore circus on the night after the decapitation. The *Intermediate* gather in good time to hear a song, the theme of which is X's person, the supernatural being *Intermediate Shamanism*, who has his head pulled off during dances in the last circus. Mention is always made of *Intermediate a* as well. No further description is required of the ceremonial on the nights of *controlling* and *pulling*.

On *unknown* the first spectacle is a representation of what takes place in the last circus. A mask has been prepared similar to the one worn by X, so that it can be pulled entirely from his body. This decapitation is performed by masked figures while the heralds and novitiate explain that this is what is done shall. The upper mask is hidden and the performer, who wears one identical with that which has been pulled from him, stands up to show the uninitiated that his head has been restored to him. Since the performers are supposed to be supernatural beings, it is possible for the beheaded one to be restored more rapidly than was possible when X, a mortal, suffered the same fate. After this decapitation there follows a

[The Fungus Dance]

from a distance. When one of the participants has spotted the object, it is drawn to shore and carried into the house. The committee are then called in and seven, often covering their heads with blankets to prevent their spirits being drawn from them. None of the Bella Coola appears to know what generally, in the old days, the choice between these two performances.

The Fungus dance differs considerably from typical dance circuits already described. In part this is certainly due to decay of custom. When the writer witnessed the dance in the winter of 1913-14 it was carried out very crudely by Dundelbe, who, unwilling to admit this, was secretive about the proper ritual. Consequently, the performance of the dance was more of a hindrance than a help to the investigator. But even when full weight is given to this circumstance, it is clear that the Fungus dance is peculiar, particularly in the omission of conical figures as referents.

The ritual on this occasion was further complicated by the fact that Dundelbe has also the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of either the sun or the moon, and instead on this fact being brought out in connection with his songs. Some of these were composed instead of the usual two, and the supernatural beings described in them were:

Ngamdim: under the waves of Dundelbe.

The Moon.

Sasim-a: This was introduced on account of being the place from which the salmon-bringer hops to the sun. A mask representing this place of purified power is always painted with salmon designs and the blanket of the wearer is decorated in the same way.

The *Sasim* months that act as posts at the ends of the sun's course.

Ulilim: A supernatural being dwelling under the river who is able to use a fungus in a dance held there. Detailed information about this creature could not be obtained.

At any eclipse, no matter when the season of the year or

time of day, X must sing. The heralds call everyone to his house where the singers at once composes a new song, describing sun or moon as the case may be. They then sing it while X dances. Other *kalaciw* have the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of the sun, and still others at an eclipse of the moon, but X claims to be the only one entitled to dance at both.

THE WINTERY DANCE

Wintery is the key-note of all *kachin* dances, but in the one named *Hwaiwind* that element is brought home so forcibly to the uninitiated that it may aptly be called the Dance of Wintery. The Bella Coola explain that the word *Hwaiwind* means *engine*, "Where Is Hidden." The essence of the rite, as explained to non-members, is that the supernatural power which has come to the dancer is unloosed in three supernatural beings or in manifestations of them. Unless someone genuine is hesitant, the performer will die. The Wintery dance is one of the most lengthy Bella Coola rituals and necessitates such a lavish expenditure of food that only a rich man can undertake it.

Accounts were obtained of the ritual as carried out by *Qwaiilas* of *Tsawat* and *Sayaxis* of *Kimsquit*, both of whom have the necessary prerogative. The details differ so slightly in the two localities that only one description need be given, and the dancer can be spoken of as X. The person of most Wintery dances is *Sinaiilqwaiilis*, *Hyamsim*, but that of *Sainaiis* is *Kitkatla*, a supernatural being remarkable for his wild and erratic behaviour.

When X has stored up so much food as he thinks necessary, he calls the marshals together to tell them of his desire to dance. In case of concern, they admonish him not to hurry matters but to perform the rite slowly and properly. Preliminary arrangements include the choosing of four *kalaciw* gifted with good memories to store up in their minds the poems made by the uninitiated. If many *kalaciw* are anxious to dance, X usually asks permission on the night of a

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as present, to forget an answer is not a serious matter, but 575*
for on the uninitiated are similarly invited to guess and then 796*
correct remembering is essential. After this has gone on for
some time, the singers strike up the tune of a song which they [533]
have already composed for X.* The theme is always of the [171]
god above and the wordless chorus, which is said to be the
same for Mystery dancers all over the coast, is 'o'yaiwale.
The audience listen attentively so that they will be able to
join in. When this has been sufficiently practised, a meal is
served, amid the admonitions of the marshals. After a second
practice of X's song, all is ready for a circuit of the village, the
fact that it is about two or three o'clock in the morning being
of no consequence.

X leads the party, followed by a considerable number of
dancers, among whom must always be his four remembrancers.
They go to the lowest house of the village, which X
enters, carrying his stick horizontally above his head, and
proceeds with mincing steps to the central position behind the
fire. He turns on himself and thrusts his staff to the floor
where, to the surprise of the uninitiated, it remains upright.
They do not know that the end is pointed with bone and that
X has taken care to drive it down into a crack. The singers
start out X's song, in which all the *kakaxiut* join, but he does
not dance. One of the singers next calls upon the people to
beat time furiously with sticks brought for the purpose, and X
becomes excited, shrieking out:

"Blow! Blow!"

It is supposed that this clamour soothes his mental anguish.
Herald calls on members of the household to register their
dreams, uninitiated as well as *kakaxiut* being encouraged to do
so. The remembrancers use their best efforts to bear in mind
the answers which are pouring in. One of the marshals ex-

*The actual tune and some of the words may have been chosen by the singers
during the day, or several of them have composed tunes and now hope that one
of them would all have agreed on the best composition. Meanwhile the guests
dance particularly, for time is of no moment to *kakaxiut* dances.

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[The Mystery Dance]

that the whistle of *Sxitsmâ-a* is heard. The uninitiated, hearing the sound from the other houses, realize that the kindly being is approaching and are not surprised when a herald presently comes around to announce that X has recovered. In Kimsquit, X's frenzy slowly leaves him, and from this point onwards there are no differences in ritual between the two localities. The singers beat out a new song, prepared in readiness, of which the theme is *Sxitsmâ-a*, "The Restorer." X dances to it, and afterwards to any four of the numerous songs previously composed for him. Then he sits down, the first time he has done so, in public at any rate, since the beginning of the rite. Food is next distributed, the marshals make their usual remarks and the *ksâxiat* finally go to bed. From this point on, the ceremony follows the regular *ksâxiat* pattern; this occasion, when the riddles are solved, corresponds to *kuxâmem*. The successful guesser is dealt with as an initiate in the manner already described. Some of the uninitiated sitting near the youth often realize that he has been prompted by his father, but they regard this as a mere sign of solicitude, assuming that the parent's supernatural power enabled him to solve the problem. It seems clear to them that he could not have known the answer for any length of time because, like others, he had many times guessed and failed.

575* 796* [184] [533]

The next day is *xwiatâlap*. In the morning all the *ksâxiat* assemble in X's house to learn another new song; this corresponds to the second of a dance which lacks the long preliminaries of this one. A number of *ksâxiat* accompany X to the forest to get the necessary wood for the masks. Mystery dancers have the right to exhibit any, and as many, supernatural beings as they please, hence a large amount of wood must be brought back. In the evening comes the allotment of work. X may do it himself, but usually he asks his father, or some other elderly relative to act on his behalf. Since all his relatives contribute, the actual distribution of labour is not a task in which X alone is concerned. *Sxa'kiwulnaix* must be portrayed, and the three best carpenters are entrusted with

575* 796* 582 [924]

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[The Dance of Winwina]

though perhaps you cannot hear him because *Wiwaina* is making so much noise." 575* 996*

The meaning of this statement is difficult even to surmise and the Bella Coola themselves appear to be ignorant of it. It is said that the words are archaic. The *ḱukuiat* women at once begin to drone and the uninitiated flee, sometimes falling over one another in their eagerness to escape from the house, for the whistles are sounding and X has had his call. An eloquent *ḱuciat* stands beside him, apparently listening to him, and at intervals whets the curiosity of the audience by saying:

"I will tell you all about it in a minute."

The person who appears to be listening is one who knows the story of *Wiwaina* and as soon as X has stopped, he proceeds to relate it to the audience,[30] as if he had just learnt it from the dancer. It is possible that even some of the *ḱukuiat* are deceived, but in any case they are so accustomed to acting that they practise it even when no uninitiated are present. The singers are especially attentive and presently begin to strike [548] out a new song composed for the occasion. The theme is of *Wiwaina* himself and his bird crew, and of the lazy *Kimiliki*; the audience listens eagerly and practises the composition. Afterwards food is distributed and admonitions of the marshals as is customary on the night of *ḱuciaum*.

Next morning a second song is practised for X, and then 575* a number of *ḱukuiat* go with him to the forest to bring in the 996* wood required for the ceremonial. In the evening members of 532 the society assemble in X's house for the allotment of carpentry tasks. The most important requirement is a canoe, shaped like a bird, and with bird figures as members of the crew. Considerable ingenuity is displayed in the manufacture of this; it is large enough to fill most of the rear part of the house, and, being bottomless, can be made to move by men concealed within. Several carpenters usually work together at this task. X also orders wooden replicas of the different

[30] Perhaps this is the reason that the origin myth of this dance is better remembered than most.

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[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

for the dance to start, and X suddenly cries out that he is feeling peculiar. The night selected is usually that of the *sakwam* of some other *dancer*, and X is at once escorted to his own house from which the uninitiated are expelled. For that night and the two following he remains concealed within, leaving only when necessary and taking care that no uninitiated see him. During the afternoon following the third night of concealment, a large number of *dancers* gather in X's home and escort him to the lowest house of the village. He goes around the fire shaking a rattle violently and calling out:

"More! More! Please say exactly what you want and I will do it."

The uninitiated have been told that X has been unable to comprehend the impending call, hence they have no difficulty in realizing that this is a request to his supernatural patron to be more explicit.* This appeal is repeated in every house of the village in order from bottom to top. The rite is so important that X often summons *dancers* from neighbouring towns and, on the occasion described, the dancer proceeded to *Sawd* with his escort and there entered every dwelling with the same request that he had made in his own village.

In the evening X returns to his home where presently the *dancers* gather from the villages that he visited. The uninitiated from adjacent houses hear whistling as are not surprised when heralds enter to announce that a call has come to X. The ritual is of the regular *Sanimow* pattern and a song is composed and practised; the theme is of X's ability to visit the land above but the type is that of a shaman's song. The ritual concludes in the usual manner.

The next day, ceremonially, the customary ceremonial enclosure is erected and a number of *dancers* gather wood in the forest. In the evening the carpenters are requested to make a long ladder, the only paraphernalia required. The evening's ritual ends as usual.

*The person for this dance could not be known.

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[The Dance of Thunder]

verbal to physical arguments, and one occasion is remembered when the latter was shoved from a canoe into the river.

In the evening the *kukwisi* are first called in, to be followed by the uninitiated in due course. Thunder dances in the manner already described, though, if possible, with even more vigour and abandon than when he was only one of the performers in the Mystery dance. As recorded in that dance, he performs twice, on the second occasion carrying a rattle containing burning shreds of cedar-bark. After each circuit of the central fire, Rainwater appears and drenches the audience, as rain accompanies a thunder-storm. The dramatic skill displayed is always impressive, and a touch of comic realism is added by the mirthful remarks of *Tlogoit* who does his utmost to belittle Thunder.

The time-beater for the expert dancers, *Nisqlo*, appears after Rainwater. When the ceremonial is carried out with care, he wears a skull mask to show that he is a ghost who has come from the land below in answer to the call of *Mountainous*. As he beats time he sings a wordless song of the dead. The skill of *Nisqlo* as a dancer is due to the fact that he is a yearling mountain goat among supernatural beings. The uninitiated look forward with eagerness to witnessing a remarkable dance, but after a few violent convulsions the performer withdrews, followed by the musician.

It would be needless repetition to enumerate all the supernatural beings who follow, so mention will be made only of those who are considered especially appropriate to the Thunder dance and who are accordingly shown on almost all occasions. *Winter Wren* is a masked figure which hops about in an agile manner similar to that of the bird on this earth, and Rabbit likewise imitates the movements of an earthly rabbit. *Bad Medicine* explains to the uninitiated that Thunder would like to eat the flesh of mortals but that he is too big and too hot to approach them, so sends Mosquito as his messenger. The masked figure representing that insect carries a stick about one foot in length beneath his blanket, and runs around the house

[The Dance of Thunder]

the uninitiated are expelled. If several *kukusiut* in the same village are prodigals of Thunder, each makes a circuit independently, but they agree to meet afterwards in the house of one of their number. Here all members of the society assemble for a meal provided hurriedly by X, or to a number of meals if several have Thunder as patron in this case there is no pooling of food. The marshals take the opportunity of giving their customary admonitions, as if it were midwinter. Next the singers combine their ideas and beat out a new song of which the theme is Thunder who now rests; it is worded as if X were speaking and describing what his patron is doing. This song is sung and resung until at present have learnt both tune and words. If there are several *kukusiut* with Thunder as patron, a song is made for each and practised in the same manner. 575* 796* [533] [533]

When all is ready, one of the heralds calls in the uninitiated. Each song is sung to the accompaniment of beating sticks while a dancer performs. Instead of X, this is an old man or woman who has not had a vision for many years. Often the dancer selected is so old that her she can dance only with the support of a stick; no reason could be learnt for this surprising deviation from the usual procedure. If several songs have been composed, a new dancer performs to each. After the last dance the uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* soon follow. Since no call has come, it follows that it is of a ceremonial, though not of a sacred nature, and do not take the regular course of winter dances. It is said to "make good the path of Thunder," the term employed being identical with that used for the dance on subsequent after the burning of the masks. [787]

Nothing more need be published about the Thunder dance, except to give the following origin myth: 575* 796*

Long ago, long before the white man came to this land, but still longer after the first settlement, four brothers left Kimsquit to hunt mountain goats on Mount Pragoldin, near the Kimsquit River.* It was September, 539 821

*This mountain is the known as Long-back Salmon Mountain; its shape resembles the fish in question and it is said that long ago, in the very beginning of time, a salmon became petrified there. [109]

[The Ghost Dance]

*575 leave their bedrooms, but peer curiously and fearfully around
*796 the edge of the boards. Finally the party returns to X's house, whence the uninitiated hear the sound of sticks being beaten in a frenzied manner, but without the usual rhythmic conclusion. Each *ḵuxiut* beats as he likes, because it is an affair
[775] of the dead with whom all things are queer and unnatural.

*575 The ghosts wash and take their places in X's house where
*796 the singers are working on a new song. The words, as if spoken
775 by the dancer, describe the land of the dead; how everything
533 is green there; how the river flows from west to east so that the sun travels upstream; how the shades wished to make him a chief, and deceived him by not giving proper presents; how he visited the various towns scattered along the river, finding the bone in one of the houses; and finally how the dead told him of any mistakes in ritual that had been committed in the Bella Coola villages, in Kimsquit, or in *Tāl·ēs*. This last is, of course, common knowledge, but the Ghost dance is the only *ḵuxiut* ceremonial in which such information is used in the text of a song. Details are given, but the wording is so ambiguous that when the uninitiated later hear the song they do not comprehend its meaning. Since the *ḵuxiut* have concealed the error referred to, the necessity for veiled allusions is apparent. Everything connected with the Ghost dance is carried out in the reverse order; thus, the reference of X to presents which he did not receive is merely an intimation that he will presently bestow gifts on the singers and the other *ḵuxiut* who have assisted him. The wordless chorus of the tune consists of
[171] 'aiye'aiyeaia, a phrase said to be the same for Ghost dances among all the coastal tribes. The singers practise this song while the audience listens attentively; then it is sung vigorously by all, while X dances. His style differs from that of all
*575 other *ḵuxiut*; first one arm and then the other is kept ex-
*796 tended, downwards, at an angle in front of the body with the
535 forefinger pointing to the ground. This method of dancing is
424 the prerogative of all Ghost dancers and provides a variation to the somewhat monotonous performances on different gallery.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Ghost Dance]

qutlem. When the dance has ended, X gives presents; first to each spectator, and then to those who have assisted him, starting with the singers. This is the last event of the evening and the *kukuxiut* disperse. 575* 796* [431]

The factor of doing things in the reverse order appears not only in actions, but in the order of the ceremonies. Those just described, although at the beginning of the rite, resemble a *nulaxaw* in many respects. Consequently, it is not surprising that the next night is *qutlem*. The singers are the first to assemble and they compose a second song for X, with the same theme but different words and tune to that already prepared. Meanwhile the *kukuxiut* are gathering and when they have learnt the new song, the uninitiated are summoned. No enclosure has been built, and X is much in evidence. His body has been painted green with a preparation of grass rubbed in water, he wears the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a kind of head-dress with a triangular projection over his forehead. His two songs are sung, and X dances vigorously to each in the manner just described. This is followed by the customary *qutlem* ritual, *kuxiut* after *kuxiut* dancing as the singers beat out his two songs. Finally a Cannibal begins to growl fiercely in one of the rear corners and the uninitiated flee horrindly. The *kukuxiut* cut together, listening to the admonitions and remarks of the marshals, and then X dances once more. Among the peculiarities of the Ghost dance is the fact that the call may be returned at this point, or X may again become mad, according to the wishes of the marshals. If they desire a further display of his insanity, he rushes out as soon as he has finished dancing and proceeds to the lowest house of the village. A number of *kukuxiut* follow him and appear to be trying to prevent him from picking up handfuls of dirt from the floor and throwing them in all directions in an aimless manner. As a matter of fact his guardians take care that X heals approximately the same amount in each house, as none of them is willing to have more damage done in his own house than in others. After a visit to each dwelling, the party returns to

[533] [302] [292] 575* 796* 787

[The Ghost Dance]

*575 *796 [787] X's, where he is soothed by the four times repeated frenzied beating of sticks and his call returned whence it came.

During the rest of the ceremonial season X becomes mad at intervals and displays his insanity by rushing to every house and throwing dirt and sand. His *kukuiat* escort is always with him, and the procedure is identical with that already [424] recorded. X makes no recompense for the damage inflicted, so it is probable that his fellows do not regard his dance as an unmitigated pleasure, but nothing can be done to deter him from exercising his prerogative.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CHARMER

*575 *796 796 [522] [881] Although the Bella Coola are probably as moral as members of any other tribe, they enjoy humour of an obscene nature, and a dance which never fails to provide amusement is that of the Supernatural Charmer. The person of this is *Sainsainmuk*, a beautiful, unmarried, feminine being who is also termed *Alipuin i* and *Nuuhmilaic*. She is thought to disregard the efforts of her supernatural relatives to restrain her, and comes to this earth where she bestows her favours not only on human beings, but on animals. Her prototype at Kimsquit is a young [551] man, *Kilaiuk*, at Bella Coola, a young woman, *Kualitmo*; [562] like all other *kwiat* names these can be used either by men or [424] women. It is said that *Kilaiuk*'s prerogative is derived from the experience of an ancestor in past ages, whereas that of *Kualitmo* was initiated three generations ago by a very powerful chief. The ritual in each case is identical, so the dancer [538] can be referred to as X. Each has the prerogative of singing [532] not only of *Sainsainmuk*, but also of the being known as *Wiuuinmuk*. Many masks are required at the rehearsal of either of these beings, as it is customary for X to perform with respect to *Sainsainmuk* one year, and to *Wiuuinmuk* at the next or a subsequent ceremonial season, though the actual songs always refer to both persons.

*796 *575 When X wishes to dance he consults the *nuuhulu*, obtains their consent, and then makes final arrangements on, normally,

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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the *gulow* of another dancer. Next night the call comes to him in the ordinary manner, and the heralds go through the village announcing what has taken place. The uninitiated are expelled at once from X's house and the *tsalaxiat* presently assemble to listen to the song being composed by the singers. The theme is of *Tsimsimdi*; how she came down from above and travelled all over the world shamelessly luring men and animals; how various supernatural beings tried to restrain her without success; how she went to the house of *Spil* and was trying to seduce several young men living there when *Wiwaiwaxwat* appeared and endeavoured to make her behave herself, but without avail. The song then describes *Wiwaiwaxwat* who seems to be a warm wind, engaged in a never-ending duel with the cold winds.* No detailed description is required for the ritual of *xaxaxalaqa*, when a second song with the same theme is composed, or of *gulow*, since these follow the typical *tsalaxiat* pattern.

During the afternoon of *xaxaxum*, the *tsalaxiat* gather in X's house to try on the completed masks and make the final arrangements. Whistles sound so continuously that the uninitiated remain either within their own homes or near them, ready to hide in the bedrooms if necessary. Within X's house the carpenters are supervising the choice of masks; a dance man who is to speak like a woman is, as usual, chosen to represent *Ana'lilwalaxa*; another with similar qualifications is selected for *Tsimsimdi*, while the other masks can be worn by almost anyone. Presently a strange procession leaves X's house and enters the lowest house of the village where the uninitiated leaves into the inner rooms, but watch proceedings through cracks between the boards. First comes X himself, his face blackened and wearing the usual collar. He remains standing near the door and watches as *Tsimsimdi* enters and slowly proceeds around the central fire; she wears a mask representing a young and beautiful woman. Behind her come her lovers,

*Definite information concerning the identification of *Wiwaiwaxwat* could not be obtained.

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[The Power of the Supernatural Charmer]

ever since. Pity for strangers is not a strong Bella Coola 575*
sentiment and the audience laughs heartily at the spectacle 796*
of the doddering old man in vain pursuit of a heartless woman
who is forever young. A considerable number of *Sekwat* [522]
always accompany the procession, pushing their way out with [609]
Ax'ilkwalaxic and *Sisqiutl*. Several of these carry whistles [152]
concealed beneath their arm-pits and the noise of these serves
to maintain the dignity of the occasion.

So many masked figures are used that all cannot accompany *Sisnaxwmal* into each house. Those unable to do so remain on the sidewalk outside, holding one of her lovers, a live mole mountain goat. At the next house another group of the charmer's victims enters and the ceremonial just described is repeated. The same is carried out at every dwelling in the village. *Sisnaxwmal* and her followers stop a few minutes in X's house before starting out on a second round, in which the same ritual is carried out. This is done twice more, so that each house is visited four times.

By this time dusk has fallen and all the *Sekwat* except those acting as escort to X have gathered in his house. Presently the uninitiated are called in. *Sisnaxwmal* is standing on a low box behind the fire, encouraging her masked lovers to come to her, and bestowing her affections indiscriminately in a heartless manner. The crush shows each other to endure realistically and though blows are not actually exchanged, great care must be taken to prevent masks from falling in the [522]
crush occasioned. The efforts of the unfortunate *Sisqiutl* to reach his desire are always a source of merriment. *Ax'ilkwalaxic* as usual explains the significance of it all. Sometimes a cradle is brought in, over which *Sisnaxwmal* croons while a [533] ●
song is sung, describing her as the mother of many creatures of whom the fathers are animals. It is uncertain whether this part of the ceremony takes place before or after the show fight or, indeed, whether it is not another type of subscene which X can use as well. The ritual concludes in the normal way with the expulsion of the uninitiated, the dancing of *Ax'ilkwalaxic*,

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*5715 *796 the burning of the masks, the dancing of X, and the return of his call.

During a later season when a call comes to X, the ritual deals with *Wiwintmak*, but only the outline of the ceremony could be learnt. The theme of the two songs composed for the [533] occasion is of *Wiwintmak* and how he fights with his enemies, the cold winds. His only weapons are fierce roaring and a belligerent expression, but these suffice to keep his adversaries at a distance, especially his principal foeman, the evil wind, *Nacskápes*.

There is no deviation from the usual type of *kuciut* ceremonial until the day of *nakazaw* when a fight takes place at the river's edge where all, including the uninitiated, can see it. The *kukuciut* of the village are divided into two parties, of which one comes from upstream, the other from below, meeting in front of X's house. The leaderless combatants shove each other two and fro, without actually coming to blows. *Wiwintmak* remains behind one party, encouraging his warriors by his roars, while *Nacskápes* spurs on his supporters by valiant gestures, without daring to come too near the combat. *Wiwintmak*'s followers finally win the day and drive back the other party. *Ano'kitmolnaie* is much in evidence, explaining to the uninitiated, who cower in the shelter of the houses, that this is the way in which the winds fight in the land above. That evening non-members are called to X's house where they witness a combat of the same type. The ceremonial concludes in the usual manner.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL LOVER

[524] Another *kuciut* ceremonial which closely resembles that just described is the prerogative of a young Bella Coola woman named Qwa'nak' who inherited it from her mother's mother's sister's son. It will be convenient to refer to her as X.

When X wishes to dance, she first obtains the consent of the marshals in the normal manner and chooses a convenient [533] day for the coming of her call. Then the *kukuciut* gather in

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of the Supernatural Lover]

her house while the singers compose a new song. The theme is of her patron, the young male being, *Kwat ĉwal a*, "The Big One." It describes how he came from above and went far and near over the earth in lustful pursuit of women, how each victim fell in love with her seducer so that she followed him in all his wanderings, how Loon befriended him, and how he exchanged his blanket for a covering of abalone-shells. 575* 796* 538 776

On *wacnatâlap* when the *kukwiat* as usual go to the forest, they bring back not only wood for masks but also the trunk of a large cedar tree, at which the carpenters work during the two succeeding days. On *nakwam* a parade occurs of the supernatural beings similar to that in the dance of the Supernatural Charmer, but the masked figures represent women, not men, of the different coastal tribes. *Kwat ĉwal a* leads the procession and pays no more attention to his mistresses than did *Xwmoĉmult* to her would-be lovers. There is the same lurking for lewd remarks, of which *Kwat ĉwal a* takes full advantage when he calls the attention of the young men to his following, and asks them how many mistresses each has had. 592 931 322

In the evening the uninitiated are called to X's house where the first object they see is the tree-trunk, converted by the carpenters into an enormous bird. Wooden wings and a loon's head have been provided and the whole is painted in imitation of a loon's plumage. *Kwat ĉwal a* is in evidence, wearing a bird disguise. Presently a matting enclosure in one of the rear corners of the house is thrown open, and the uninitiated see the throng of the mistresses who rush forth, almost coming to blows in their eagerness to reach their seducer. *Awithkwalaxis* stands on one side and explains the significance. After the mock combat has lasted for a few minutes, a Cannibal begins to growl and the uninitiated hurry out. The ceremonial then concludes in the usual manner. 532

This dance differs from all other *kwiat* rites in one respect, since the call can come to X several times during a single ceremonial season. Of course there is no compulsion; she uses her own discretion as to whether she dances more than once, 424

[575] but a proud and energetic dancer sometimes repeats a cere-
[796] mony three or four times.
[424]

THE SUN DANCE[*]

[776] One of the forms in which *Alquaxiów* appears is that of the
[191] Sun, and in that case he is referred to as *Sawáiletlo*. Consider-
ing the importance of this deity, it is rather surprising that the
kwáiat dance of which he is patron is not more impressive.
Efforts were made to obtain full details of the ceremonial from
several informants, but only a number of incidents and a bare
[124] outline could be obtained. In part this was due to the fact
that none of the informants[*] were themselves protégés of
Alquaxiów, but this is not in itself sufficient to explain the com-
parative unimportance of the dance, since full accounts were
obtained of other rituals from those who did not own them.

Nothing was learnt of the origin of any of the Sun dance
[424] prerogatives, except that ancestors of the owners obtained them
[551] from *Alquaxiów*. It is a common right, and *kakaciat* having
Alquaxiów as patron are found in every village, among them
being *Qwaláx-i* of *Tiemsit*, and *Nuxmatiwalais* of *Nuxqalit*. As
far as could be ascertained, the ritual of various Sun dance
performances is identical, so one account will suffice and the
dancer can be termed X.

Like other *kwáiat* dancers, X can perform at any time during
the ceremonial season, subject to the approval of the marshals.
The call comes to him in the normal manner, the uninitiated
are expelled, and the *kakaciat* gather in his house to practise
the songs which the singers have just composed. The theme
[533] is of *Alquaxiów*, describing his manifold functions, and partic-
[776] larly that of guiding the Sun. The following day a second
song with similar theme is composed, and in the evening the
masks are allotted for the manufacture of masks. Four are re-
[532] quired; a large one representing *Alquaxiów* himself, one of
[191]

[*] Needless to say, no connection or similarity is implied with the dance of the same name in other areas.

[*] Except one man who had forgotten all details since his conversion to Christianity many years before.

[Ka Sun Dance]

dance of *Nuákmum* is omitted owing to the large expenditure required, X must sing, without a call, in conjunction with the *Wú·a* dancer. In this case also the details are lacking.

Likewise at the winter solstice, when the carrying *Ilqawiów* at last enters *Nuxpelcumíte* to greet the waiting supernatural *ówáciat*, it is incumbent on his protégé to perform in his honour below. The singers are always ready with a new song for the occasion, and in the evening his fellows assemble in his house to learn it. X wears the usual ceremonial collar, but he lacks the awe-inspiring qualities of a *ówáciat* who has had a call. When the song has been sufficiently practised, the uninitiated are brought in to listen to it and to watch the dancing of X. At the conclusion of the performance they are given a little food, provided by X, which they carry away while the *ówáciat* remain to eat at their ease and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. It is probable that the ritual carried out at the beginning of the ceremonial season is identical with the above. One old man stated that long ago it was customary to dance in the same manner at the summer solstice; this might be expected, but confirmation was unobtainable.

Like the protégé of Thunder, X is sometimes called upon to perform during the non-ceremonial season. But whereas a Thunder dancer acts when his patron is apparent by peals of sound, X must do so when his patron is invisible through an eclipse.* The ritual is almost identical with that already described for a Thunder dancer so nothing but additional details need be inserted. X visits every house shaking a rattle, which is not the case with Thunder dancers. After his circuit of the village, the *ówáciat* gather in his house where the singers are composing a new song describing the phenomenon. The words explain that Eclipse, the supernatural being *Nujely*', has blocked or destroyed the path of the Sun, and add how disastrous it would be if the Sun could not recover its way. Later on, the uninitiated are called in to watch X's dance which, like

*The Bella Coola term both for "eclipse" and the being responsible is *Nujely*' which also means "A Fire That Has Died Out."

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This ceremony is an example of the great diversity in *kusiut* dances. Instead of the usual patron in the land above, the slave woman is considered to be definitely located on this earth, at a spot near *Stax*. Moreover, the call comes through her actual appearance. The writer would have liked to learn further details of the dance, but they were unobtainable. 575* 796*

THE DANCE OF THE OTTER

Since every Bella Coola has, at the present time, some sort of *kusiut* dance, it would have been possible to collect the details of a large number. Only the main outlines of the dances which follow were obtained, but it is hoped that the complexity of those already described will suffice to explain the scope of the *kusiut* society. In some cases the details were omitted to save time, in other cases the informant was ignorant of them. The latter reason is responsible for the sketchiness of the Otter dance. [424]

This ritual is the prerogative of a *Snulili kusiut*, *Xwodjw·i*, "The Crash," a name which refers to the din when the first *Sasq'* collapsed in the beginning of time. Presumably one of *Xwodjw·i*'s ancestors was present at the fall and chose the name in consequence. The dancer's patron is the land otter, but the connection between this animal and the name has been forgotten, as the father of the performer frankly admitted. He suggested that probably one of his ancestors remembered having seen an otter before coming to this world, and chose it as patron for a dance which he instituted with respect to the name *Xwodjw·i*. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X. 575* 796* 424 551

X can perform at any convenient period during the ceremonial season. When the call comes, the ritual of the first three days follows normally, except that the songs used are supposed to have been unaltered. Before *nakusam* the carpenters prepare a dummy otter, using a skin stretched over a wooden framework. A long rope is fastened to this and the figure thrown into the water so that it sways to and fro 575* 796* [593]

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[The Dance of the Dark-Shade]

preferably skilled carpenters. Heralds visit every house in the village informing all that X has gone to meet, or to wait for, Dark-Shade. 575* 796*

Meanwhile X and his companions are utilizing the last hours of daylight in collecting a large quantity of gum. They build a fire, and by its flickering light the dancer is coated with gum so carefully that even his teeth and nails are invisible; in this disguise he represents Dark-Shade. Early the following morning the singers and those *kukusiut* who have already danced during the current season set off on lashed canoes to meet X and his party whom they take on board. Waiting till the tide is favourable, the canoes are slowly poled up the river. As they come in sight of the village, the singers strike up some well-known tune, and in time to it everyone on the platform between the canoes begins to dance, each using the style proper to his prerogative. It is an animated scene. The uninitiated watch the approach, and gaze with wonder upon the strange dark figure; it is all so uncanny that they need little urging from the *kukusiut* to withdraw to their houses, where they peer curiously through chinks in the walls. Members of the society line the river bank and, as Dark-Shade draws near, one after another cries out that a call has come to him. The marshals have previously decided who shall dance at this time and informed those selected; sometimes it is a *kusiut* who has already performed once during the season, or it may be a person who has not performed for many years. [535] [424] 575* 796* 787

All the *kukusiut* accompany Dark-Shade and her escort to X's house from which all uninitiated have long been expelled. The singers compose a new song of which the words are arranged as if Dark-Shade, not X, were speaking. The theme of one, used a number of years ago, is: 575* 796* [533]

"Let X fetch me to visit mortals."

Unfortunately, the details of X's dance were unavailable. Dark-Shade herself remains for four days hidden within X's house, though he attends the ceremonies of other *kukusiut* and his presence there on the nights of *qatlaw* and *nakazaw* is a

source of awe to the uninitiated, who marvel that a man can still appear like an ordinary mortal when he has just brought a supernatural visitor home. According to one informant who, however, is not well versed on *Sacrier* matters, there is neither guilds nor subcrests, and Dark-Shade is merely seen every other four days. This may be the case, but the dance has not been carried out for many years, and the man frankly admitted that he did not know the details. It seems more likely that there is some kind of ceremony, since a song would not be composed unless for a definite purpose.

The coming of Dark-Shade complicates the *Sacrier* ceremonial since a number of dancers receive their calls simultaneously. In this case the ritual is carried out in unison which requires, for example, the composition of one song for each performer on *Sacrierm*. Calls never come in this way to dancers with important or complicated prerogatives, but it is a useful means of dealing with those whose right is merely to sing of their patrons. On subcrests the patrons of all are displayed, a method which has the advantage of producing a dramatic effect which would be lacking if only one were in evidence. The coming of a call by means of Dark-Shade is called *tsilendinat*, "Emerging from Below to Plain Sight." Another time when several calls may come simultaneously to different *Sacrier* is at the winter solstice when, on the story of *Alpamim*, the supernatural beings rush forth and some of them fall, causing calls to come to their human prodigals.

THE DANCE OF THE YOUNG MAN

Y'yulmqf, the man who was petrified with his Owen Lake wife and four children at the beginning of time, is patron for a Kimsquit *Sacrier* man named *Kmcin*. His repository is just above high-water mark on the east side of Dean Channel, about five miles from its head, and about one hundred and fifty feet north of the legal fishing boundary. This is almost immediately opposite Y'yulmqf's station. The repository is beneath the ground, and its doorway is a beaver which became

Whitefeind usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits the earth. He is person for a *factor* who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary. [775] [776] [776] [621] [532]

THE DOKEBO OF THE EARTHQUAKE

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the grasp of *Sisiutl*. This being is person for certain *factors* and whenever a tremor occurs, his prestigic call their ancestors and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is identical with that described for dances whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The theme of the song is of the manner in which *Sisiutl* performs his function of holding the world. A call from *Sisiutl* may also come in the normal manner to one of his prestigic during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, *Sisiutl* is person to a *factor* named *Hilhulaulem*. [228] [339] [331]

THE DOKEBO OF THE SEASONS

The height to which the tides shall rise is decided by a male supernatural being, *Mentlen-mem*, "Tide-Measurer." He is person of a *factor* named *Tsil*, whose repository is near *Bella Coola*. One of *Tsil*'s ancestors brought the rice with him from above to the beginning of time. The songs used at the dances describing how Tide-Measurer uses a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of rahrawa the ancestral souls are said to go to their houses but, by peering round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the room, and throw down on the hearth a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day. [225] [551] [776] [533]

THE DOKEBO OF THE UNDERWORLD, HELL-FIRE

Since any supernatural being can act as person to *factor* dances, and since all mammals and birds are, in a sense, super- [225]

and one was held up by the low parapet so the craft neared the shore to protect him and those behind from arrows and stones cast by slings. When not in use, double eyes laid away in boxes with some white substance resembling flour.[1] On the shore of the fort below Bella Coola, opposite Winter Bay, there are some boulders of the same white tuff, even now there are often spoken of as "The Middle of the Bella Coola." It is said that hostile visitors, seeing them, used to remark that they had reached the purpose of Bella Coola.

The same lack of leadership shown during preparations for a war was evident during hostilities. The so-called leader had little authority over his men, who could desert and return home at any time. Lack of martial ability among their own chiefs sometimes led the Bella Coola to place themselves under the authority of a Bella Bella in a way which would be impossible for a war-like people. Frequently such divided leadership led to disaster, and is the surest proof that the Bella Coola were not as aggressive or bellicose as other coastal tribes.

Except when attacking the Cactzas, all visiting parties embarked to canoes and followed a definite order of procedure handed down from the past. In the stern of each craft sat the captain, a chief, who, as the craft was leaving, began to sing his so-do song, keeping time to it with the beats of his paddle, the measuring of the glottal of their ancestors was supposed to encourage the warriors. Instead of having simultaneously, a rendezvous was often chosen down the fiord, and the expedition finally moved off from there when all the canoes had arrived. While still in friendly territory, a hostile procedure equally. A small amount of dried salmon and water was carried by a war party and morsels of the former were eaten at intervals. The low-class rank as much food and drink as he thought could be consumed at one sitting, put a fragment of dried salmon in his mouth, chewed it four times on the same side of his mouth as he was paddling, and swallowed it. This

[1] These substituted salmon and it has had genuine or imaginative qualities.

[illegible] while in sleep. Meanwhile, their wives at home were required to be very careful, since a woman's heedless playing would cause injury to her husband, and furthermore, his death. These restrictions were obligatory during the absence of the expedition.

[illegible] As the party neared the enemy's country, they would conceal the craft under projecting rocks by day and travel only at night. When within striking distance, a scouting canoe was sent forward to learn the hostile dispositions, the best means of approach, and so forth. This was usually done at dusk, and when the scouts had returned, the party would land quietly through the forest and hide behind the unsuspecting village. At dawn the leader would give the signal, and the attackers would rush forward with a fierce shout, killing all the men and [illegible] taking women and children as slaves. When captives were taken by slave members of the expedition, they belonged to the leader's masters. The victors would cut off the heads of their victims, and when last they could, set fire to the village and rush home before support could arrive from neighboring towns. At first, the daughter was usually a somewhat unpleasant task, but as the warriors became inflamed with the lust of battle, they began to delight in killing, and even women and children frequently suffered.

[illegible] The returning victors spent honeymoons, rejoicing at their success but somewhat fearful that they might be cut off by overwhelming reinforcements. During the journey, each warrior who had taken a head removed the scalp by cutting the skin around the wrinkle that shows the collarbone and neck. These trophies were washed in the rock Chakwenamin on the head below Bella Coola. When within sight of home, the captain stood up in the canoe and sang again his war song, a symbol of victory as the bloody scalps were held aloft. Women and children would rush forth to greet the conquerors who headed said scene of wild enthusiasm and rejoicing.

[illegible] Prisoners of war became the property of those who had taken them, with the exception of those captured by slaves.

"I'll give my necklace of dentalium to whoever will recover my [illegible]."

The Gull wind, but he could not stay under water long enough to [illegible]. However, dived down and brought the feet back to [illegible]. He tied it to a stick which she carried over her shoulder, and paraded the village singing merrily:[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

[illegible]

Also some time, his [illegible] plucked up courage to return and see how [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Parallel to	[illegible]	the blood	[illegible]

A free translation of this is: "Have courage to the blood with which [illegible] [illegible]?"

Bowen raised himself slightly, as if to grant pain, and answered.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
You are evidently stupid!	You are evidently stupid!	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]
the blood,	[illegible]

"Then he grumbled" [illegible] and became silent.

At first his [illegible] did not believe his possessions and expressed their doubting [illegible], but he assured them that he was speaking the truth so they were finally convinced. Bowen instructed them to carry him home very carefully. On reaching the hamlet, all their fellow-villagers came crowding around, and when they learnt of their chief's injury, they loudly expressed their sympathy. Bowen continued his groanings, and when he had been taken to his home, one of the neighbours began to sponge away the blood. Much to his surprise, he could find no wound; then, looking more carefully, he recognized that the "blood" was only berry-juice. He proclaimed his discovery in a loud voice, and everyone laughed at Bowen, who sought deserving his misery.

[illegible]

(Second Version)

Once upon a time, Bowen set out with his five sisters to gather berries. They travelled to his old moving [illegible], [illegible], which were brought them to a place where [illegible] very plentiful. Bowen, greedy as usual, wanted to see to more the berries which his sisters brought to the [illegible], whereas they wished to keep them for every one. When they [illegible], Bowen determined to secrete them by his sisters to [illegible]. When over the [illegible] [illegible] of night, Bowen [illegible] and arranged for a [illegible] to [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[1] "Your son was eaten, bits by bits, by the Wolves, the people whom you scorned."

Dzoo turned on the roof of the Wolves, shamefully weeping and crying.

[2] "When the sun was half way down the mountain and there was no wind, so that you saw my son was alive."

Presently he reached the Wolf village, where a dance and feast were in progress in the chief's house. Dzoo was invited inside, and the chief asked him if he could dance.

"Yes," said Dzoo. "I will show you my celebrated dance, but I must have sound shells tied to my legs."

When this was done, Dzoo began to dance, violently, and, as he went on, his dance left others, one by one, until only an old woman remained awake. Dzoo danced immediately in front of her until she too slumbered. Then he took off the sound shells and began to cut the throats of the Wolves with them. When about half-finished the old woman showed signs of waking so Dzoo hastily disembowelled his daughter in dance before her, and again she slept. All except a few had been killed when the old woman woke up and saw what was happening. She roused the others with a cry:

"Wake up! Wake up! Our vision is murdering us."

Dzoo had cut the wounds with Wolves in pieces. They pressed him so closely that he slashed a rope, a line which Dzoo could go to Dzoo dove, but Wolves could not. The pursuers returned to their house and asked the old woman what they ought to do. She told them they must have a song, which, when sung in the face of the rope to which Dzoo had taken refuge, would cause him to fall down. So they sat down and she taught them the following words:[3]

Yaaskamlaxa	yaaskamqaqa	skaklkyakaq	skaklaxa-yaqka
Dzoo-ya-ah	yaaxa-ah	yaaq-yah	yaaxa-ah
Kyaxaqa?	yaaxaqa	yaaqkaq	yaaxaqa

[1] Observe a song. [2] [illegible] by National Museum of Canada staff, Ottawa. [3] This song is said to have been handed down for many years. The words are practically untranslatable and the Bella Coola do not profess to understand them. They assume that the subject was made for a supernatural being and that the last measure for the peculiar tune.

Or, it may that the singers were not in sufficient the tune for some.

[4] This month is supposed to represent a bear cross. The singer gaps 5 not 6 or the point of falling into a heavy sleep.

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

THE MAIN STORY

[illegible]

Perhaps a hundred years after the first people came down to earth, there remained in Thunder a woman, called [illegible]. She was old, so old that she did not let her face hang in great folds, which her forears and body consisted of a mass of bodies like wrinkles of extreme ugliness. She was so old that she appeared hardly human, more like a shell than a woman. Apparently, by her supernatural power, had kept her alive long after her normal span of life had been completed. One day she said to him:

"I want to go down to earth to pay a visit to my friends there."

Apparently agreed, and caused so many trail to appear which led her to the bank of the Dean River, opposite a village. She called out and two brothers who heard her brought her across to their canoe to the middle, where they entertained her in their house. Then they sent word to all their friends to come and see the strange human hag which they had found, this being the first time that the people had ever seen anybody of the kind.

Presently the two brothers were off to have necessary guests, leaving an home their sister, an adolescent girl, to entertain. Some visitors of these people were living in the house in the corners in the old days and [illegible] was given a place near the door. This evening a baby girl cried incessantly, the mother could not quiet her.

"Please give her to me," said [illegible], "I will put her to sleep."

The old woman took the crying child to her arms and crooned into her ear:

"[illegible]"
"[illegible]"

[illegible]

This is the kind of lullaby which mothers sing to their children as an [illegible] in anything when the hag fell asleep in the mother's lap. When no one was looking, she turned her mouth into an [illegible] and then killed the little one. Then she gave it back to its mother.

"Here is its body," she said. "The baby is asleep."

The mother obeyed, not knowing what the [illegible] old hag had done.

When night came all in the house went to sleep, except the young girl who lay awake, but silent in her corner. Presently she saw the little [illegible] and lips of the old woman [illegible] into a hag, [illegible] with

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[illegible] Museum of Canada, [illegible]

their earning ability and a man can satisfy his wants by working for a few months each summer. The decline of commercial fish left a blank in their lives, one easily filled, also, with drinking, idleness, and vice. It is inevitable that the old ways and old authorities should pass, but the prohibition of these tribes now over had upon their place, has been disastrous. The Bella Coola have lost their pride, a calamity as fatal to a people as to an individual.

They have shown undoubted ability in developing each of their own tribes as to the needs and requirements of the white men. Expert carpenters for generations, they have readily learnt the use of new tools and now build houses and boats of considerable commercial skill. They have proved themselves valuable employees of the canneries which rely to a large extent upon Indian labour. Under instruction from a white teacher, a number of the younger men have formed a band which gives creditable performances with wind and percussion instruments. One can only deplore the fact that the skill of the Bella Coola in carving, painting, acting, singing, composing, and story-telling could not have been guided into channels where it would have developed and added honor to the new world in which they find themselves.

The white man's civilization passes forward in an ever-widening flood, blotting out the cultures of lower peoples in all parts of the world. This is inevitable, probably it is well that it should be so, but it offers little consolation to a tribe like the Bella Coola. Their life has been destroyed, and, unknowingly, half-proudly, half-pitiously, the survivors watch the downfall of all that their ancestors cherished. The white man fails to understand this, nor often he fails to realize that progress, as he sees it, is ripping out valuable elements of civilization other than his own instead of adding the good to them and preserving it for the benefit of himself and the native alike. The Bella Coola tribes is dying, and with it will pass forever something owned by a Canadian people, not great perhaps, but medially occupied with their possessor.

APPENDIX 9

STRING FIGURES

THE only form of pastime that is was practical to investigate in any detail was the construction of string figures. These seem to have no commercial or religious significance; they are made for recreation only, and it was found easy to learn number while passing the way for other kinds of research. In fact, some to them was one of the ways in which the series became known with number of Bella Coola. As is to be expected, some individuals showed proficiency in constructing complicated string figures from others, the old women being particularly adept. Among the long stories which one to all the dances is a common right to see an old woman teaching a group of young girls the figures which she herself learnt when young. She must remember a number from childhood, for the making of designs with string is regarded as more fitting for girls and women. Songs accompany many of the figures, and the singing of them is considered an accompaniment of the construction. It was found that many more figures were from long ago; in fact, several of these have recently been only obtained by repeated efforts on the part of an old woman to remember those she had been shown when a child. No attempt has made to learn all a Bella Coola figures; a larger number could doubtless have been collected, but those here described are the most commonly made.

The nomenclature used is as described by Miss Haddon,[1] in each following the method used by Jones and Haddon. It will be assumed that the reader is familiar with the meaning of the terms, "Opening 1," "Position 1," and "Transfer." A string always has two long and its thumb main connections making the Bella Coola figures.

1. [illegible]

Double the loop, the crossbrace take the place of the usual one, but these will be referred to as a new string or loop. The figure can be made equally well with a string twice the usual length.

Place string on a single forearm left thumb and index finger and the right hand.

With right index finger hooked the string passing dorsally across left thumb and index finger, as down one to right, allowing right hand loop to slip over the hooked index.

[1] Haddon, Int. Cradle Journey Lond. (London, 1910).

[492]

Alnaxbiliu: Name of women returned over that previously received as an honorary present.

Anaxbiliu: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

Anaxbiu: 1—Supernatural beings who dress as the sun moves.
2—Name of the supernatural woman, *Sulamin*, to the sun is occasionally applied in the long-hereafter. The word is pronounced by hunter whistles.

Anaxbiuli: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

Anaxdlen: "The Coming of Cold Weather," in the language of supernatural beings. The phenomenon is semi-anthropomorphized.

Anawa: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Season when fish when the village is supposedly owned.

Aqamaxnaxbiu: Hunter name of a Bella Coola dance, the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.

[501]

Aqamaxsi: Supernatural beings who blacken the face of the moon or eclipses.

Aqamaxtin: 1—One of the five moons to settle on Tsi'a is in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of an enemy chief mentioned in an ancient story.

Arada: 1—One of the designations of *Kimsiu*, the supernatural supernatural woman.
2—Harmless, non-inspiring whistle.

[504]
[504]

Aqamax: Being consisting of two long logs with crossbeam.

Aqamaxbiliu: Spirits herons.

Aqamaxi: Hunter name of a Bella Coola dance.

Aqamaxnaxi: Lobal.

Aqamaxtin: 1—One of the five moon to settle on Calvert Island in the beginning of time.
2—One of the five moon to settle on *Tsumsiu* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the five moon to settle on *Ataxsu* in the beginning of time.

Aqlaxlaxi: Dolls supporting shelter (sic).

[506]

Aqlaxlaxiu: Ritual repeated on towards between the placement of nulla for a potlatch, and the raising of a supernatural being in the first event initiate.

Aqlaxqawalli: Hawk.

Aqlaxqawalliu: Hunter name of a Bella Coola dance.

[509]

Aqu: Third part of song.

Aqu: Phonetic equivalent of boys and girls in the forest.

[511]

Aqu: Name of an initiated dance.

[512]

Aqualtan: Supernatural man-eater, spirits of Cascadilla.

Aqualtin: Sick movement with children shall send by one of the sachem to the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.

Aqualtu: Supernatural female fierce-pelter resident in the land of the dead.

Aqualtu: Spectator.

Aqualtulaxu: One of the Thousand Islands near Tsimsi.

Aqualtuxu: Hunter name of a Bella Coola dance.

Aqualtu: Cascadilla.

[517]

Aqualtuxu: Marriage with sister of a deceased wife, the need is undoubtedly concurrent with the nulla, is impossible.

Aqulaxu: Supernatural monster similar to a human being.

Aqulu: Supernatural woman, wife of Cold Wind and mother of Ice.

Aqulu: Nulla Nulla was mentioned in an ancient story.

[521]
[522]
[523]

Aqulu: The weakness of a name, during the period of mourning, from the Eagle of the Raven totemgroup to the Eagle of the Grizzly Bear.

APPENDIX D

1492

Fishbellow: Superstitious being sent for Jessica's to meet Fishjaws.

Fishjaws, "One Who Is a Goat": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will certainly give a goldcoin to anyone who the path to social importance through he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served commensurately in every way. [3 3 6]

Fishnet: Fishbow shall covered cloth used by one of the four sentinels in the beginning of time.

Fishtail-bellow: One of the five women to settle on Tyl's in the beginning of time.

Fishwife: Word of concern meaning often appointed to footbalm an naughtiness were for the two night of a Sailor dance. [3 7 8]

Fishjaws, "A Dragging Horse" (so say does with a heavy leg). The name applied to the commissions of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being appointment. [3 3 5]

Gilbert: Trusted lord of any kind. [3 4 8]

Fishmonger: Personal name of a Dwer man.

Gay: Performed, adjusts. [3 5 5]

Gilbertin: Those who perform in some marriage dances.

Grandfather: Partial name of a Bulb Cloth man.

Grandma: One of the five men to settle on Tyl's in the beginning of time. [3 3 5]

Gilgalin, "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and her gifts to amazing her home. [# 5]

Gigantic: Gifts given to groom, man also demanded by the father of the bride, groom to the father of the Green Bulb. [5 3 4]

Gigantic: Wanted.

Gilbert: Second improvement, remove, remove for Grandmaid.

Grandmaid: One of the men who came to settle on Mount Fraser in the beginning of time.

Grandma: Green gift covered by the Gold sentinel on Dwer in the beginning of time.

Gilbert: Long ceiling with tap when together and is a commission for two days by an adolescent girl and she by a widow or a widower. [3 3 6]

Gigi: Sweet song to her time. [3 3 5]

Gil: Sweet hearing of time being which a dance time and try to move the feet the rhythm with it. [3 3 5]

Gilgalin: Daughter of the five settlers on Gaila in the beginning of time.

Gradar: Partial dance when dagger between opposite through an accident.

Grade: Measure for grandfather side of the date of a gentleman, probably that the getting the appearance of a comfort representation of the diamond. [3 3 6]

Grade: 1. Higher time.
2. The part of a Crowfield dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

Gy: Cross, impossible singular.

Gilbert: 1. One of Gwendy's sons in the beginning of time.
2. One of the five women to settle on Fermain in the beginning of time.

Gilbertin: Carried man behind the fan.

Gilgalin: Dancers with hands for pounding clothes for Gil-ceb. [# 1 2]

Gilgamesh: Weapons on each side of the Green Bulb Cloth. [3 0 5]

Gilgalin: One who enhances the passage of time by doubling the movements of the sun. [3 0 5]

Gilgamesh, "The Revenge of Man Killed by Another": Term used by dancers in Wall. [3 0 5]

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

APPENDIX D

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[illegible]: Village in [illegible], on the upper [illegible] River.
[illegible]: [illegible]
[illegible]: 1. [illegible] 2. [illegible]

[823]

[illegible]: [illegible]

[824]

[illegible]: [illegible]

[825]

[illegible]: [illegible]

[illegible]: [illegible]

[illegible]: [illegible]

[illegible]: [illegible]

[401]

[illegible]: [illegible]

[825]

[illegible]: [illegible]

[illegible]: [illegible]

[illegible]: [illegible]

[illegible]: [illegible

#192 [illegible], "Come and eat". Invitation to the kalloxtu to assemble in a gentleman's house.

[illegible]: Thank Young.

[illegible]: Messenger bearing invitation to a potlatch.

[950] [illegible]: Messenger.

[585] [illegible]: 1 — Property, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter visit his house on the wedding day.

[931] 2 — Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's kinsmen prior to her repudiation.

[585] [illegible], "The Throwing Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders". Said of the repayment by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's kinsmen.

[illegible]: 1 — Betrothed man.

2 — The destination of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.

[illegible]: One of the names of the supreme god.

[illegible]: Distribution, by pressure on the feet, to a chief or go to the assembly place.

[301] [illegible]: The employment of bowdoir with feasting.

[575] [illegible]: Blue Springs on South Bentinck Arm.

[illegible], "The Hearing". Synonym for [illegible], q.v.; this is a Kwakiutl term only.

[illegible]: Kwakiutl site to which the gentlemen appears to be burnt to death.

[illegible]: The meeting of twice-made on the fire.

[illegible], "Far from the River": Village on the upper Kwaquoit River.

[947] [illegible]: Abortion.

[illegible], "Disappointed": said of the supernatural beings called by a wife's dancer who never has her for the potlatch.

[illegible]: Slave from the lower Fraser owned in Kwaquoit during the last century.

[illegible]: Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.

[illegible]: Half-brother or half-sister.

[101] [illegible]: 1 — Wife.

[401] 2 — Boy, term used by old person to divorce children to which.

3 — Husband.

[614] [illegible]: Male relative of some unnamed family.

[illegible]: Women who performs man's work.

[illegible]: Single brother to a family with several sisters.

[601] [illegible], plural, [illegible]: Small boy, especially one, term used to [illegible] children.

[493] [illegible], "Working Clothes": Presents given for the relatives of the future bride to the kinsmen of the future bridegroom at the first commencement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.

[584] [illegible]: Gift used of the marriage, semi-anthropomorphized.

[921] [illegible]: Bella Bella term for the sibling.

[illegible]: Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kwaquoit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

[563]

#192

[illegible]: The chant that keeps a foolish man from scorns as a chief, the concept is anti-anthropomorphical.
[illegible]: Free ceremonial discharge.
[illegible]: among village.
[illegible]: Supernatural creature dwelling in the woods.
[illegible]: Shamans who received power from ghosts.
[illegible]: Bella Coola house.
[illegible] [illegible]: Bella Bella designation for the Dean River, whence the ancestral [illegible] has been derived.
[illegible]: Dean River.
[illegible]: [illegible] mere mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: 1—Whale.
2—Ancestral name of a Tsi'ik'ennemy; this is said to be an exclusively [illegible] designation.
[illegible]: 1—Power acquired by a Bella Bella man in the beginning of time.
2—Influential [illegible] chief, who died about 1900.
[illegible]: Shadow.
[illegible]: When is (?).
[illegible]: Dancing.
[illegible]: Propagation of being overall.
[illegible]: Dried salmon.
[illegible]: Ceremony for shaman: one of the dues of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of modest representations of the deceased. The word is derived from [illegible].
[illegible]: Dogmin.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who behaves in an erratic manner.
[illegible]: Twin whose birth is attributed to salmon.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Unidentified fairy (crowfairy?).
[illegible]: Supernatural female shaman who guided [illegible].
[illegible]: Earlier name of a Bella Coola Canadian.
[illegible]: "Earthy Dust": Ghosts.
[illegible]: Land, region, earth.
[illegible]: Free part of soup.
[illegible]: Traction mountain above fairy [illegible] up the Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: "The One Who Makes Us Fat": Supernatural name of salmon salmon.
[illegible]: Goods distributed to relatives soon said at a mourning ceremony when no representation of the deceased has been employed.
[illegible]: Goods offered to foreigners on pretention concerning their ancestors or land.
[illegible] or [illegible]: Synonym for [illegible], [illegible] present?
[illegible]: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Grandfather.
[illegible]: Earlier ceremonial at which foreigners are present.
[illegible]: The construction of salmon-weir.

*This was the pronunciation of the word by the individual with an idiosyncratic r sound.

APPENDIX D

[192]*

Bellamer: Generic term for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the fallen bride. [43] [514]

Kakhlaiskaiyar: Supernatural being whose stomach is cut in the land above. [576]

Kamaxi: Qualifier.

Kamkamkiaxa, "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being Wisaxiaxa.

Kaxlaxa: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular factor dances.

Kwakwa: Said to be identical with cakahaula, the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor. [752]

Kwakiutl: plural, kwakiutlaxa; singular, kwakiutl; singular plural, kwakiutlaxa.

1.—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season. [375]

2.—Member of the society.

3.—"The Lowest One": Designation commonly applied to a supernatural being, especially a petrified one, or to a person having power to cure the sick. [752]

Kwiyam: Kwanpsis female shaman living in the last century.

Lalim: Natural son, especially a child, this is the negative form of the word.

Lalqiyam: Orphan.

Lawi'ida'yakas: Women dwelling on Fort Rupert in the beginning of time.

Lawyala: Smith Inlet.

Lawkwalt la: Supernatural name of Cormorant.

Lax-lasa-x: Wingman. [826]

Lawkwaxalid: Wingman name acquired by the few actions or dress. [763]

Laxlaxa: Unidentified land of which the sun is an omen of death.

Lawkiu: Factor name of a Bella Coola man.

Lawkiuxa: Factor name of a Bella Coola man.

Lawk-yamas: Factor name of a male Green Bay Cannibal.

Lawl'a-l: Smooth pavements, "pebbles," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. [823]

Lawk: Evergreen bough. [824]

Lawkwal: Common Bella Coola warrior.

Lawqam: One of the sculpins.

Lawxa: Factor name of a Kwanpsis man.

Lawx-ma'a, "The Big One": Lawkiu male supernatural being.

Lawkwalim: Man who came to earth near Dzaxa in the beginning of time.

Lax-xam: Kwanpsis woman.

Lawkiu: Kwanpsis man mentioned in an ancient story.

Lawkwa: One of the few men to settle on Sebessan Pass in the beginning of time.

Lawqam: Kitkata chief living in the last century.

Lawkwalala, "One Who Has without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of rights received from her husband's relatives.

Lawla: Influential Kwakiutl woman respected in the beginning of time by a Pachelat chief, the word is a synonym for Wilmax chiefs.

Lawkiu Dzalanqam: One of the nine supernatural siblings. [533]*

Lakwalaklaa-ala: Lakalai.

Lawl-yala: Kwakiu expression used in a string figure.

Lawla: 1.—Pass or soap in the cross for salmon.

2.—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head. [226]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1912-1924) 1948
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Frenzyd: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Frenzywalk: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a Dean repository derived from a supernatural creature.

2—*Earlier* name of a Bella Coola woman.

ga'ments: Intangible *Sacred* prerogative of initiating rituals. [424]

gakdakwam: Song sung by a *Sacred* dancer on recovery from apparent death.

gakim: Regular bearings given to a male child. [861]

Gakkum, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

Gakkwam: Rain after storm, unaccompanied. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Gakkwam ai Ait, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

ciyaxilla'ut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial duties. [626]

ciyaxsh: Outright borrowed of a prerogative or marriage. [425]

ciwatc: Departure to a new locality.

ciwi, wacatim, ciwat: Father's brother or mother's brother. [601]

ciwat: Paddle.

ciwatim: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

Ciwkwam: One of the names of the supreme god. [778]

Ciwkwg': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

ciwi, wacatim, ciwat: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being "Learned."

2—Supernatural power of any kind.

3—Synonym for power-n, the large sound whistle.

4—Elder whistle. [825]

5—Song.

6—*Earlier* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Ciwnu-n: Part of a peculiar repository.

Ciwnwaitlin: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior. [533]

ciwnitlin: Wrestling chorus.

Ciwsi'ay, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Ciwsi: Celebrated Dzelkanax chief living in the last century.

cuxlimax: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a desperadoes person. [828]

2—Individual making such a journey. [484]

Dgwaw-n: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.

2—*Earlier* name of a Bella Coola woman.

dzaxa-lanaxw: Place where healing power is petrified.

Dzelqlanaxw: Synonym for *Mahlalila*, the supernatural being connected with sound rites.

dzelcimay: *Earlier* dance or object used in the land chorus which serves as pattern or model, *dzelcim*, for the soul's passage on earth.

dzelqlakwak: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public ceremony of a forthcoming marriage. [534]

dzemil: Unnatural mother. [848]

dzemlin: To perform the services of a herald to a woman, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *dzemlin* may be connected with this.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[824] *xpaklp*: Cedar roots.
xpal: Sling.
xpalqalcin: To use a sling.
[578] *xpil*: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slave ancestry.
[821] *xpinqamu*: Fleecy cloud.
[412] *xpisk*: Muzzle-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary food.
xpusu: Wooden comb.
Xpu'i: Land of Ashes, alternative term for *Squmi*.
xqa: Umbilical hernia.
[601] *xqalqum*: Distant relative of female sex, when referred to by man.
xqalsalqin: Long phallus.
Xqumi: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
xqusu: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
xqusulp: Food distributed for carrying away as *xqusu*.
[415] *xqulc*: Large, flat, soft basket of broad strips of bark.
[431] *xqumqay*: Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
[824] *xqulp*: Maple.
xqum: Sudden snort that expels the spirit.
xqupaxit: Outer plank of cedar, convex and bark-covered on one side.
xqusal: Love song or other non-ceremonial composition.
xqusalum: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium*.
[533] *xqusalwaskum*: 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions to the faults of someone present.
2—Singers who use this type of composition.
[825] *xqusal'ana*: Large, unidentified bird.
[374] *Xqusilkun*: Heat: A supernatural being.
[825] *Xqusli*: Recent name of a Bella Coola man.
[262] *xqus'ana*: Loon.
xusal'ai: Mountain goat marrow, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of preventing hunger.
Sadqalcum, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Five Sticks": *Ala* name obtained in the beginning of time.
sankway; *plural*, *sankway*; *vocative plural*, *sankway*:
1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Xqulsal* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Sasal* in the beginning of time.
4—Name created by *Swamas* for a grandson.
5—Sacred name of a Kimsquit man.
[601] *sasa*: Mother, term commonly used by an adult in indirect address.
[825] *sasadalkilum*: Bat.
sasalkum: Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
sasamamu: Elderly female relatives of the same senatorial family as the speaker.
[614] *skalc*: Whatever.
Skasu: Man mentioned in a story.
[412] *Sqa'i*: Mountain near *Talio*.
sqalum, "What Is Hidden": The correct solution of the Mystery dance.
sqamamu: Archaic term for chiefs, now used only rhetorically.
[824] *skalc*: Cranberry.

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Tsulaulimut: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

tsilimulimut, "A Coming up from Below into Plain Sight": Term used with reference to the obtaining of a call through the medium of Dark-Shade.

[424] *tsimut*, "Whence We Came": A panegyric, such as a myth or a genealogy, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[103] *Tsuktsik*: Old village near the head of Dean Channel, at the site of the present cannery on the opposite side of the fiord from Masinnu Cannery.

Tsunqu-iaqim: Tree, inhabited by owls, behind the supreme god's house.

Tsunulkwalut: Space in a house between central fire and row of chiefs seated behind it.

U

U-ʔkaus, "What Is Wanted Is Lacking": Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Alqaklut* in the beginning of time.

W

Wathu: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Kwiyai* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuiali* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Nuawalt* in the beginning of time.
4—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
5—Name of the Kimsquit River so chief.
6—*Sisaak* name of a Kimsquit man.

[825] *wai-s*: 1—Cohoe salmon.
2—Name acquired by a man from cohoe salmon.

Waiuxum: Man who descended to the Clearwater River in the beginning of time.

Wakimai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stuaz* in the beginning of time.
2—Fraser River.

Wakuus: Village at Kwatna Inlet. This word is in the Bella Bella language.

Walqkimai: One of the first men to settle at *Stuaz* in the beginning of time.

[825] *wal-ʔaqis*: Lynx.

[586] *walikw'*: Woman who has deserted her husband.

wakmpsum: To express a desire concerning the disposal of one's goods after death.

wakrius: "I go."

[824] *wallikwatsalatsalas*, "The Most Potent of the Pond": Water-lily.

Wangh: Name of *Smaxsa*'s grandchild in the beginning of time.

Wanuq: 1—Rivers Inlet.
2—Collective term for the villages on its shores.

Waumqalais: *Nustakmq* name of a Kimsquit man.

Waumal-is: Celebrated shaman, central figure in an ancient tale.

Waxyal-a: Tribal name of one of the Bella Bella-speaking groups.

Wa-gai: Mountain near *Stuaz*.

Wasila: *Kustut* name of a Bella Coola man.

wastaxistais: Death in the house where a *kustut* dance is taking place.

[593] [765] *wax-nin-imutsts*: Mourning songs regarded as expressions of real, not ceremonial, grief.

waxaq' *nemulkqasth*: Synonym for *xaq'*: The sky.

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Xmdzis: One of the first men to settle at *Xmqu* in the beginning of time.
Xmemm: *Kactar* name of a *Sklidal* man.
Xmemmkiala: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Xmemmlaic: *Sumd* name brought from above in the beginning of time.
Xmemmman: 1—Supernatural beings who respond the sun to appear.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Xlqaldal* in the beginning of time.
[593] *xo'ds:* Beautiful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.
Xnilthac: One of the first men to settle at *Kalmalc* in the beginning of time.
Xnimc: *Kactar* name of a *Kemquit* woman. The designation is of Bella Bella origin.
[825] *xqm:* Marten.
[412] *xsk:* Stone axe.
xsled: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
[203] *Xsqalmat:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xsmmlaic: *A'ulk* man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xsmmmlaic: Celebrated female shaman.
[821] *xsqqmtc i, plural, xsqqmtcmkc:* Little girl.
[517] *Xsqqmc:* 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
2—Picnic, especially one on which berry roots is gathered.
Xsrcic: Bella Coola name for the Carrier living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
Xstmac a, "Right Foot": *Sisaa* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
Xqcic: Mountain in the Carrier country.
xsmmmc: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
xlistmm: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
xlisl: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
Xlldmsk: Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[586] *xlskm imat:* The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
Xmcscc: Locality below *Nuqalt.*
[825] *xmymmcl:* Minnows.
[601] *yma:* Woman, or wife in indirect address (*ist yumlaic:* My wife).
ymmlaic: Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
[614] *ymmlem* or *mqymmlem:* The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.
[423] *Xmmlt:* Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
xmlsk: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
Xnlsmscem: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[785] *xnlljat:* Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[891] *Xnmlsk:* Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Xnmmmqa: Ancestral name of a *Sisaa* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
Xnqmlem: Supernatural scmqmat fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
Xqqmlc: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

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[p. 186(b)]

It is especially rich in caribou-skins, used for foot covering, and goat-skins, so treasured for their wool.[1] He and his wife have laid up abundant food, and, most important of all, his wife's family is wealthy. Rumours have spread that X will soon give a potlatch and perhaps one or more foreign chiefs has given him a large cone-shaped whistle, such as is used in cannibal ritual (see Plate 11). These whistles, called *gmo-o*, are often referred to as the "breath" or "voice" of a chief; they are also called *skpxoa*, the "heart" or "wind" of a chief; a third designation is *nalaiwat*. X carefully conceals a whistle in one of his boxes. Such a present expresses the kindly feeling existing between those akin to one another in that they have risen to a position of eminence above the common crowd. Its receipt spurs a man to greater efforts to amass the wealth necessary for giving a potlatch by keeping before his eyes the realization of what another has done. A rival chief never gives such a present. X returns each whistle secretly at the time of his potlatch.

Early in the autumn X decides that he has almost enough wealth. To complete the essential amount he will not hesitate to borrow from his friends. It is most unusual to be refused, for it is incumbent on X, unless he wishes to lose the esteem of the community, to repay his borrowings with heavy interest, and when X distributes his goods at his potlatch it will be announced how he has obtained them, and the lender is proclaimed as a person of sufficient wealth to be able to spare some of it. Goods so loaned are termed "belt goods," a reference to the manner in which a man fastens up his cape with a belt before setting to work. The assumption is that X will have to labour to repay his indebtedness. Failure to repay is a serious matter, and the lender would be justified in seizing a canoe or other valuable article as surety for his debt; in fact, feuds are commonly caused by unpaid debts. Men of business

[1] Formerly, when goat-skin blankets were highly valued, goats were never shot for fear of the blood staining the wool. Instead, they were cornered by dogs, and choked to death in nooses. For presentation, each skin was laid out on the floor and then cut into longitudinal strips, two, three, or four fingers wide.

of his village, hence they will not feel it incumbent upon them to intervene. But news travels, and in course of time the armed members of some other tribe will decide to send a raiding party against X's village. All informants agreed most emphatically that this custom prevailed among the coast people from the Tsimshian country to Alert Bay, but specific examples could not be obtained. The Bella Coola regard such a raid as the proper course to pursue, and belligerent tribes may have used an irregularity in the potlatch rites as an excuse for an assault. It is clear, however, that this custom never attained such prominence that it could be called a law.

The following is an instance of the Bella Coola outlook on the question:

The father of an informant had had such success in giving potlatches that his neighbours were jealous. On one occasion he prepared a representation of a whale, an elaborate wooden frame, fifteen feet long, operated by men concealed within and carrying paddles; this was a figure which entered into his ancestral myth. One of the carpenters who made it, bribed by a jealous rival of the donor of the potlatch, arranged that the lower jaw of the whale should fall to the floor during the proceedings. This revealed the mechanism of the structure. White influence on the coast prevented an incursion of foreign raiders, but according to this informant, the chiefs determined that his father should die, and they employed a sorcerer for this purpose. His father and eleven other relatives died soon afterwards. This man, the sole survivor, ascribes his escape to his adoption of Christianity.

Another instance of the penalty which follows errors in potlatch ritual occurred a few years ago, when a number of young men used the cone-shaped whistles openly, as if they had been toys. The presence of the white man prevented any open steps towards punishment, but before long all the youths died. No one knows what caused their deaths, though probably they were due to an expert in black magic acting on the instructions of a senior *ninak*.

After the prayer, X and his family give more food to their guests, whose boxes containing what they are to carry away are increasing in number. By his lavishness, X increases his prestige in the eyes of his fellow-villagers.

If he can afford to build a new house embodying the form

242 whiskers over which is scattered eagle down. From the back
535 of the head-dress hang wound skins. In Bella Bella it is said to
be customary for a skin to be added on every occasion when a
* 556 guest is confined to the back-room. This may happen as many
575 as fifteen times to the child of wealthy parents, and a few Bella
Coola have adopted the practice of marking each with a skin.
[237] Usually, some six or nine are hung in two rows, without con-
sideration of the number of times the wearer has been in seclu-
sion. The central figure of the forehead mask is a head with
[532] a hooked nose, the crescent hook being joined to the face
itself. This figure does not vary with the wearer's ancestral
myth, and no one knows what it represents. This design is
[177] said to have been introduced to Bella Coola from the north a
few generations ago; before that time the head-dress consisted
[237] of a circular band of dyed cedar-bark, decorated with the tail
[824] feathers of one of the large woodpeckers. The Bella Coola call
it simply, "forehead mask." Each initiate carries a hollow
[532] rattle, carved in the shape of a bird, which he holds in his right
• [534] hand, belly uppermost. Long, long ago, when a dancer failed
to do so, the rattle became alive and the bird flew away; hence,
this rule has been obeyed ever since.

535 Each initiate takes up his station in some part of the house
* 556 behind the fire and dances to the beating of the sticks. The
575 left hand of each is clasped behind his back and in his right he
holds the rattle and keeps it in constant motion by shaking his
wrist. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a good dancer.
Keeping the body stiff and the legs close together, he rises with
slight jumps, barely altering his position on the floor. Some-
times he slowly turns around sunwise[1] in his series of jumps,
at other times he does not alter his position. The head is bent
from side to side and downwards at each jump, causing the
eagle down to fly in all directions. *Sixsed* assistants blow more
of the material on to the head-dress at intervals (see Plate 16).[1/4]

[821] [1]The Bella Coola believe that the sun moves from east to south to west to
[796] north. Many ceremonial movements follow this direction, which will henceforth
be described as sunwise.

[1/4] [See cat 116, facing p 219 - ANALYST]

the same manner the Raven speaker outlines a myth belonging to the ancestral family of X's mother, again with emphasis on the dances used by her ancestors. X, as a member of both ancestral families, can combine his rights from both sides, but it is customary for him to use no more than five or six performances. Should X have no claim to this privilege from either mother or father, an almost unthinkable situation, he is able to borrow the prerogative of using some from friends. The ancestors on which this section of myths is based is the one so often mentioned; it marks the close relationship between the future children and their noble ancestors of old, a source of strength to the former.

X's father now names those whom he wishes to assist him on the following day. These are the dancers, who are chosen primarily for their skill in dancing, and secondarily in accordance with their rank. With them he selects a number of persons to stand near and help or "cherish" them as they perform. He also asks the services of some of the women who are professional dancers; of the keeper of the marriage song of his ancestral family; and, finally, of a number of men to sit near the singers and assist them with suggestions. It would be most exceptional for anyone so called upon to decline the honour. It is near morning by this time and the guests depart.

On the following morning, the actual wedding day, X's father calls to his house those selected the previous evening as dancers and their assistants. The former wear blankets decorated with small copper ornaments* and carry circular wooden rattles provided with handles. Their clothing and rattles may be their own, but if they do not possess suitable attire, it is incumbent on X's father to provide them. Skins are piled up within the house, and some of these are said to "make soft the

*At the present time there is uncertainty as to the proper clothing of a marriage dancer. Several informants stated that it was a copper-decorated blanket, whereas others said that there was no special attire; one man claimed that an attempt was made to imitate the form and costume of X's first ancestor, and another that round costume was used. Probably there was no uniformity in custom.

*575 796 534 [77] are considered necessary. With few exceptions, hereafter to be noted, *Sacred* masks are burnt at the conclusion of each ceremony, a practice which probably originated in order to avoid the possibility of their being seen by the uninitiated. The Bella Coola state that this is one of the most striking differences between their rites and those of the Bella Bella.

*575 796 534 [237] Next in importance to masks are whistles (see Plate 1). The large, cone-shaped form used in sacred ceremonial is replaced in *Sacred* dances by a smaller type consisting of portions of wood glued together, which can be blown with ease from beneath a concealing blanket. Another type has bellows consisting of a mountain goat bladder, which is held beneath the armpit so that it can be worked invisibly. During the summer the whistles are kept by one individual, usually a *Sacred*. Specific information concerning the ownership of these whistles could not be obtained; it appears that any *Sacred* can make one, or have one made for him by a skilled craftsman, and that their retention by one person during the summer is merely for convenience. They are freely lent to anyone for use in a ceremony. [425] [426]

*575 796 534 [334] [124] In some dances special objects are used in connection with dramatic performances, such as bull-roarers, wooden representations of animals, birds, or miniature human beings. One old man described a pipe formerly used at *Tal'ts*, which had a carved bowl as large as a tea-cup with three radiating stems. It was carved from a knotty excrescence on a beech bole. Little could be learnt of its history, except that it was supposed to have been carved by a chief with the design of his patron and displayed through pride.

*575 609 796 [248] [123] The usual guests at a performance of the type just summarized are the dancer's fellow-villagers and any strangers who happen to be present in the town. Great as is the desire of the *Sacred* to impress their uninitiated tribesmen, they are still more eager to impress strangers, hence the presence of Carriers adds piquancy to the rites. The writer believes that his presence and interest encouraged the Bella Coola to

1 [see category 116, p 84(B) - ANALYST]

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[Kwakiutl Society Initiation]

some saliva which he puts into his mouth and chews. Of course he mentions only the saliva but X, unaware of this, is concerned for the loss of his spirit. At last it is restored to him and he is told that he *sisi* has altered it from that of an unnoticed person to that of a *kwakiut*.* The psychological effect of this act on the mind of a young man who has not had time to adjust himself to his new knowledge and who is firmly convinced of the power of the *sisi* is tremendous.

The four *sisi* reconstruct two *kwakiut* sitting on either side of X to lie down to serve as a seat for him. They do so, unaware of who they may be. If the novice is still ignorant of the full mysteries of the society, the *sisi* announces that he is going to get a call for X. He walks around the house, peering here and there as if seeking something, and then pounces as if he had caught an object between his hands. A whistle is heard, such as the novice knows accompanies the coming of every call; but he does not know that the noise is made by compressing a goat or bear bladder-whistle between two sticks held beneath the armpit. This is the "mystery" of the strange noises.

"Do you know what makes that noise?" ask the two *kwakiut* on whom X is sitting.

If X denies all knowledge, the mystery is explained to him, and he is warned that he will be killed if he communicates the information to uninitiated persons. If he answers that he knows the cause, he is asked who has told him. Perhaps some lad has been peeking and has told X of what he has seen; in that case the over-inquisitive youth is at once initiated to prevent further leakage of information. As soon as X has learnt the great secret he moves to one side and the singers take their positions behind the fire. His father, or whoever it may be from whom he is to obtain his name, then stands up and unfolds its origin, telling which supernatural being is his patron, and the locality of his repository. X sometimes re-

*This part of the rite has been omitted for so many years that many of the middle-aged *kwakiut* have forgotten it.

[The Dance of Nuakxiwa]

of he so desires. The *kukuxiut* listen to the song, and when it is 575*
to among they join in. They practise it repeatedly, until 796*
familiar with both words and tune. This part of the ceremony [333]
lasts for about two hours. [292]

The singers, and any others who are prepared to beat time, [334]
are always provided with long, flat, thin sounding-boards to increase the din of the pounding. When the swaitsis decide that the song is sufficiently familiar, they call some of the *kukuxiut* to carry these boards to the lowest house of the village. They do this, and also scatter clean sand on the floor, as is customary whenever a supernatural being is to enter. The uninitiated persons within the house watch with great interest. The singers enter and take their places behind the 575*
fire, then other *kukuxiut* and finally X himself; his face is 796*
unblackened, but he wears his two eagle tails in his hair and 292
a collar of dyed cedar-bark. On his head is a thin cylindrical circlet, about four inches high, of the same material, ornamented with swan's down by the inhabitants of the villages of the upper Bella Coola valley. The collar consists of a roll of grass, entirely covered with dyed cedar-bark from which pendant tassels of the same hang down over his chest; similar ones are worn by *nusk* dancers, except that the tassels hang down their backs. Every *kuxiut* dancer wears these two ornaments, and those who have the necessary prerogative adorn [424]
themselves with an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. [237]
Blankets are always worn. *Kukuxiut* women wear in addition woollen pubic garments.

As the singers beat out X's tune, accompanied by the 575*
voices of themselves and other *kukuxiut*, he dances. Since his 796*
style is typical of all *kukuxiut* except Cannibals and a few 535
others, it will be well to digress at this point in order to describe it. X raises his arms until their upper parts are approximately the height of his shoulders, and project outwards and slightly to the front; they are bent at the elbows with the forearms vertical, thus bringing the hands opposite the top of the head. Both wrists are shaken constantly, the muscles of the lower

[The Dance of Healing]

of his relatives, has given them for this purpose. When he 575*
crouches during the chorus they crowd close around, almost 796*
concealing him. Particularly in those dances fraught with
danger to the performer, it is customary for any number of his 535
friends, either men or women, to dance to "help" him. Anyone wishing to do so merely crouds up and begins, in time to the music, irrespective of what part of the house he may be in. [543]
It is considered contrary to good manners for a father or a help his son, or a brother a brother, but a dancer is pleased to have aid from anyone else. It is said that in Bella Bella [171]
certain *kukasiut* have definite prerogatives of helping in this way, but this is not the case in Bella Coola. Throughout every dance the *kukasiut* women utter their drooing cry. [539]

This, then, is the type of dance which the uninitiated in 575*
the lowest house see. They hear the song, too, and gaze with 796*
awe at X, imbued as he is with the supernatural power of sight.
Then the sounding-boards are picked up and taken to the next house, where the whole ceremonial is repeated. This is done at each house of the village.* All the *kukasiut* now return to X's house, where he once more dances to his song. A hoop-drum is always used to help the singers in keeping time, and [534]
when the song has been finished two men continue in turn to beat it all day. X always arranges to have a relative or friend superintend the distribution of food, which follows his final [574]
dancing. As the *kukasiut* are eating, the marshals deliver their usual admonishments, a task that accompanies every meal. Then they call on the people to erect a raised platform between the fire and the back-wall of the house. Materials have been placed in readiness so that it is an easy matter to build a framework a few feet in height, of which the flat top is screened by a matting wall about three feet high. This is often decorated [531]
with designs of dyed cedar-bark without ritual significance as far as the Bella Coola of today are aware. X climbs to this platform, the *kukasiut* disperse, and only the incessant pounding of the drum proves that some unusual event is taking place.

*In Bella Coola, but perhaps not in Kimsquit.

[184]

[The Cannibal Dance]

(2) THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

among the Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and Rivers Inlet people. Indeed, in Bella Coola a poor man may be the most devoted Cannibal of all, if he has been able duly to celebrate and perform his right in this respect. Nor is the dance carried out with the same vigour in Bella Coola as among the tribes of the outer coast.

The ritual of different prerogatives varies to such an extent that several accounts must be given, in spite of the repetition that this form of presentation entails. On account of the length of time necessary, a Cannibal dance usually begins early in the season. The following describes the manner in which *Kiwaitlala* of Kimsquit, who can bite the living, carried out his rite; it was obtained from his brother, who is thoroughly conversant with the details. It will be convenient to refer to *Kiwaitlala* as X, and to use the present tense throughout.

A meeting is held at which the marshals and others choose, in agreement with X and his relatives, a day suitable for him to commence his performance. Under normal circumstances it is on some pretext that a marshal announces that he can hear X's call, and on the following evening, when the ritual has been completed, the uninitiated are startled to hear continuous whistling from the slopes of the mountains near the village. The instruments used are of the usual bladder type, but the long-drawn-out sound, termed *Atilkva*, is said to be the voice of the kindly supernatural woman, *Snitsmin a.*[*]

[*] The sole function of this being seems to be the restoring to life of those who appear to have been killed in the performance of *Sacrier* rites. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether or not she is identical with *Tlatqulitsa a.* The noise which heralds her coming is produced by the whistles of four *Sacrier* who throughout the night range the forests and mountains within ear-shot of the village. By bending their heads up and down, they are able to increase the weirdness and apparent distressness of the sound. The four travel in single file; the leader blows, and when his breath is nearly exhausted he presses the hand of the second man, who starts whistling forthwith, while the original leader drops to the rear. As the second becomes weary, he signals in the same way to the third, and so on; in this way the whistling is continuous, and the uninitiated are convinced that it cannot be caused by mortals, even if such an idea should occur to them. If a non-member should meet the four, they would at once kill him or make him a prisoner, keeping him out of sight until he could be initiated into the society.

quarry into a converging "v" of houses, or someone may lie down on hair to attract the Cannibal so that the other lurking persons can secure him. No effort is spared to make the contest realistic. Then they carry the captive, struggling and biting, to the canoes and set out for the village. The preliminaries are lengthened or curtailed until the tide is favourable for the navigation of the creek, about two hours in the usual case assumed. When in mid-stream, the cry, *ye . . .*, is again raised; the supposed Cannibal has once more escaped! All this time X himself has been hiding in or near the village, and he now appears. Instantly the *hokaxiat* left in the neighbourhood set off in pursuit, those returning on the canoes hurry their passage and join the chase. After a struggle they succeed in capturing X and bringing him to the village.

The Cannibal acts like a demoniac animal, struggling, kicking, and biting as if his adventures had entirely deranged his reason. He drags his captors, a number of strong *hokaxiat*, to the various houses, and they are barely able to restrain him within the doorways and to force him out, biting and raving at them. A skilful actor is able to impress the uninitiated to a considerable extent, and of course he is supported by his associates. When every house has been visited, X is carried back to his own and a herald summons all the *hokaxiat* to cure him. The uninitiated are allowed to crowd near the door to watch.

The assumption is that X has had the nature and instincts of an animal enter into him; if this cannibalistic incubus* can be driven out by beating time, he will be restored to sanity. Two long, thin sounding-boards have been prepared previously, as well as a number of birch sticks with which the *hokaxiat* beat time. One man stands up to lead the drummers, and the sticks rise and fall in unison with his movements, in the manner previously described. At first X prowls around the house,

*This expression will be used henceforth as an interpretation of *ai-ikim*, the power in form of an animal which, having entered a man, compels him to eat strange foods.

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Crooked chisel

[p. 84(B)]

until it is accepted by all that he is one of the men who should be called upon to take part in all rites. If possible, he endeavors to legalize his position by a distribution of presents. Men are always eager to become singers, both for fame and for emoluments. 533* 796* 575* [555] [424]

New songs are required every year for *nawat* and *kwiniu* dances, necessitating an almost limitless number of compositions. Singers frequently make use of fragments of old tunes, or snatches from half-forgotten songs, but they are ridiculed as inefficient if the plagiarism be too obvious. Tunes are always prepared in advance; in fact, proficient composers spend much of their time at all seasons of the year in humming over to themselves possible combinations. When word is passed around that a song is required, they meet in some lonely spot and each who has one in readiness hums it, tapping a gentle accompaniment. After considerable discussion, one is selected as being the most suitable and the singers make themselves familiar with it. Words are then put to it, consisting of fragments from the ancestral myth of the person for whom it has been prepared, or from some other theme appropriate to the occasion. Sometimes this is done by the composer of the tune; sometimes by another singer more familiar with the subject. The provision of words is considered less difficult and less important than the composition of a tune; no one knows the source of inspiration for the latter, but the former is said to come from either the heart or the head. All ceremonial songs are divided into three sections; *kolulo·s* or first part, *ás·iko·tl* or second part, and *ālox* or third part, separated from one another by the *siwnālos*, wordless chorus. The three parts correspond, approximately, to verses and each contains four, rarely six, subdivisions. In mourning songs there are sometimes as many as six or eight *ālox*, and the whole is correspondingly lengthened.

On the night of a ceremony, the singers always take their places beforehand for a final rehearsal. Each brings his own beating-stick, a stout baton about two feet long to pound on the floor in time with his singing. The only other musical [534]

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* 533 instrument is the drum.[1] In former times the drum consisted
* 796 solely of a box, though recently skin drums have been adopted
* 575 from the Carriers. There is usually one singer especially pro-
[534] ficient in using this, though sometimes another takes his place;
[177] all such arrangements are completed during the final rehearsal. A final decision is also reached as to who shall fill the three principal parts, *sanḱwelsám*, *ālsaia*, and *lsulkum*. It is the duty of the *sanḱwelsám* or *leader*, to regulate the time; he squats facing the others, who are grouped in a close semicircle, and indicates the rhythm by pounding with his stick on the floor. When a song is to start, he first taps rapidly, then modifies and regulates it throughout. The leader should be the best musician among the singers, and the same individual usually functions on all occasions although a rearrangement is sometimes necessary. In the centre of the singers sits the *ālsaia*, *announcer*, who must possess a powerful voice. As already mentioned, every song consists of three parts, each with several subdivisions. When the leader has beaten time rapidly to indicate that the singers are ready, the announcer bellows out the words of the first subdivision so that all the audience can hear them. Crash! goes the leader's stick and his voice gives the key for singing the words just called out, in which the audience is expected to join. As they are finishing, the announcer roars the next subdivision, and the same procedure is repeated. Instead of proceeding to the third, the announcer often next returns to the first, following it by the second. The subdivisions of a single part are never sung through in order once only, there are always repetitions and ramifications according to the discretion of the announcer. At the end of the first part, the leader again beats time rapidly in which his fellow-singers join.
[535] If a dancer is performing, he crouches down without making any effort to keep time with the rapid tapping, and the singing ceases. After a short pause, the second part is sung in the same manner, followed likewise by the third. The function of

[1] Rattles, made of dried maple, are used by some sunset dancers, but they can hardly be termed musical instruments.

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*192 *nuhsiuts*: Synonym for *gomo-ts*, the large cone-shaped *nuxad* whistle.
[534] *Nulya-ist*: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nulya-lust: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nulqutchmu-c, "Nearest River": River flowing from the north into the northern corner of the head of North Bentinck Arm. The Anglicized form is Nuhuntcomoy.
nu'xqulcic: Stone supernaturally born from another at sea level.
[103] [823] *Nuwuist-c*: enemy village.
Nuwulnuk, "The Mother of Dogs": Name given to a Bella Bella woman in an ancient story.
Nuyalk: Bella Coola valley.
[101] *Nuyalkmy*: Inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley.
Nuyem: *Kwiut* name of a *Sisa* man.
Nuzem: Name of a female composer.
Nuyulmuhais, "The Light Giver": One of the names of the supreme god.
nuyu: Light.
Nuzim: *Kwiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Nuzimulkic: *E'xqu* name of a Kimsquit man.
Nuyulumuz-a, "Sick-Breaker": Name taken by daughter of the first settlers at *Sisa* in the beginning of time.
[825] *nuxuxtuk*: Mountain goat with long hair on its chest.
nuxutmut, "The Silent Night": The hushed assemblage of *kulaciut* after departure of a Cannibal.
[227] *nuxtuxtu*: Cross-piece which holds open mouth of *sluchen* net.
Nuzuulc: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
[585] [425] *nuzwulutsum*: Public promise by the parents of bride and bridegroom on the wedding night that names will be provided for resultant children. This is combined with an oration of origin myths. The term is also used for a similar promise of rights to hunting grounds, although the granting of this is extemporaneous.
[828] *Nuyu*: Mountain near *Sisa*.
nuyulchikamut: Person who wanders away from home in despondency.
Nuyul-ulsis: One of the first women to settle at *Tal'is* in the beginning of time.
Nu'yuz-tsim: Land of salmon.

O

o'ulqum: Kimsquit term for *o'ulk*, orchis.
O'ut: Kwakiutl mentioned in an ancient story.
[824] [262] *ulul*: Grass with edible roots growing on tide-flats.
Olqumtip: Valley pre-emptied by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Ogulmut: Herald who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
oly: 1—The *kulciut* prerogative of scrambling.
2—Red, adjective.
Olulu-i: *Kwiut* name of a *Sisa* man.
Oltiyatsa, "The Worthless One": Name assumed by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[825] [264] *Olulkimut*, "The One that Changes Itself": Supernatural name of spring salmon.
'ownuk'ut: Assemblage of the people for food of any kind.

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[192]

qwatkwaly: The dancing, by several of his associates, to "help" a *hactat* performer.
Qwaxal: Undeluded locality in the Bella Bella area.
Qo: Mountain above *Sisaa*.
[777] qoloo-i: Supernatural bird, bringer of good luck.
[825] Qoltsiut: Locality near the head of Dean Channel.
qolus: 1—Beaver.
2—Nootekway name of a *Kimsquit* man.
Qolusi: Man mentioned in a song.
Qollaskway: *Kactat* name of a *Sisaa* man with prerogative of biting himself.
qolulik: The location in a house taken by a wife when ceremonially secluded behind her husband.
Qolumilisi: Influential *Nuqalai* chief who died about 1910.
Qomtsutsuls: Ancestral name of a *Sisaa* chief; the designation may be of Kwakiutl origin.
Qomxoa: 1—One of the nine supernatural beings.
2—White person.
3—*Kactat* name of a *Kimsquit* woman.
qomxiqwal: Clean, dry skull.
qomqomal-i: Stumpy, in the language of Raven.
Qomqoms: 1—Supernatural being, lord of the under-sea world.
2—Ancestral name of a *Qomqo-i* man.
Qoms'nala: Man living in Bella Bella in early times.
Qomsnis: Ancestral name of a *Tsimsil* woman.
[534] qomo-i: Large, cone-shaped whistle used in round dries.
Qomqo-i, "Injury?": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
qolsi: To drift over, of smoke.
Qolsqlaate-i: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
[252] qopsis: Framework of split sticks for roasting salmon.
[534] qqlsi: Drum.
Qqlsmai: One of the first men to settle at *Nuqalai* in the beginning of time.
Qqoyal: Bella Bella village.
qoo: Kwakiutl term for "eagle down" presents.
qoolem: Third day of a *hactat* dance.
Qoolaskin: Harbour on Labouchere Channel.
Qoolaskin: Settlement in the Carrier country.
qoolchun, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged
[581] by the offending party to settle a feud.
[825] qoolik: Wolverine.
qoolikin-ainum, "A Washing to Free from Taint": Term applied to a ceremony
[527] to clear the path of the children when a husband has married a slave wife or wife-
sister.
Qoot: 1—One of the names of Raven as child.
2—*Tlaqoitsum* name of a *Kimsquit* man.
3—*Kamid* name of a *Kimsquit* man.
Qoolsnas: Supernatural woman from whom the Carpenters are said to have derived their skill in the beginning of time.
Qoosiu-i: 1—*Kactat* name of a *Tsimsil* man.
2—*Kactat* name of a *Kimsquit* man.
[825] qoosu: White swan.

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[928] *sulemax*: Peace ceremony.
Tidaka: Bella Coola carpenter living in the last century.
sun-lmat: Ceremonial cover.
Tentetel: House of the first settlers at *Ititla* in the beginning of time.
[534] *yu'ow*: Kettle.
[425] *yu'owm*: The sending back of a name to the family of its original owners through a return marriage, or the proposal to do so, made by the relatives of the wife.
[579] *yutsuk*; *plural*, *yutsuki*; *masculine plural*, *yutsuki*: A woman who has attained an
[554] honourable position through being many times repurchased from her husband; virtually, a female chief.
Yilqwekstim: Kitlobo chief living in the beginning of time.
Yusuzila: *Racial* name of a Kimsquit man.
yuzalmat: Fire-holder carried by Thunder.
[825] *zuu'mmit*: Old, female sea-lion.
Yipkla: Ancestral name of a *Sisal* man.
Yuwumaldi: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Yulsimur: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[872] *yulmu*: Sticks for making fire.
yuplip: Promontory.
yu'pitl: The actual appearance of a performer at an o'ult dance during a potlatch.
Yuqwa-t: ceiling village.
Yuyukmpl: Stone on the shore of Dean Channel believed to have been a man a long time ago.
Yuyulk'mmi: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ilqulsta* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Sualeil* in the beginning of time.

61 Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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575 773 776 776 skulls of canine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Sisan'ku. Besides this it is stated that the Raven gave each gens its secrets.

Fig. 8.—Mask representing K'ômk'ômkt'likya.

Fig. 9.—Mask representing K'ula'qawa.

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614 532 422 Each gens has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the Sisan'ku only, and are otherwise kept a deep secret, *i.e.*, they are the sacred posses-

Fig. 10.—Mask representing Kulé'lias.

Fig. 11.—Mask representing Ti'êtsk'aplêtlana.

[575] [776]

[534] [292] sions of each gens. All gentes, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

776 The Thunder-bird and his companions appear in the kō'sint ceremonial.
575 When they enter the house, a dancer appears who carries an instrument in
[534] the shape of a bird-rattle (Plate XI, Fig. 7), which is provided with holes in its lower side, and has a loose back. This implement is filled with cedar-bark and eagle-down, and is shaken by the dancer. The eagle-down is thus made to fly about in the house, symbolizing the wealth and power of the Thunder-bird.

IV.

184 In the preceding pages I have summarized the principal features of
773 Bella Coola mythology, which are characteristic of the traditions of the whole tribe. Besides these, there are other groups of traditions which are very conflicting. One reason for the existence of numerous contradictory traditions must be looked for in the peculiar social organization of the Bella Coola. In former times, when the tribe was populous, the Bella Coola inhabited a great many villages. The inhabitants of each village are considered the descendants of a number of mythical ancestors who were sent down by Sgnx. Each of these village communities has traditions of its own, which are its property, and which are not well known to the rest of the tribe. Many of these traditions refer to the origin of our world, and for this reason a number of the most important myths differ in various villages. Indications of such conflicting ideas may be found in the traditions recorded in the preceding pages. To make this subject clear, it is necessary to describe somewhat fully the traditions belonging to a number of village communities. Before recording these traditions I shall enumerate the villages of the tribe.
103 The following list is the result of repeated inquiries. In it the names and
361 locations of the villages are given in consecutive order from the mouth of
773 Bentinck Arm upward along Bella Coola River, and the names of the mythical ancestors of the village communities have been added where these have been ascertained.

Village.	Location.	Ancestors.
1. Q'ut'ina	At the bay of this name.	
2. Sr'ia	At the entrance of South Bentinck Arm.	Tōuna'ua.
3. Nuxat'q!	On North Bentinck Arm.	Sranistā'ua, Nuxqo'xlaa, Sx'ista, and their sister E'ai.'xlana.
4. Pe'ixla	At the entrance of the valley opening on the north side of the mouth of Bella Coola River.	Sxā'hanx, Yuyā'lk', Mantsi'i, Sisā'i.
5. Atqia'xi	The present division at the north side of Bella Coola River, near its mouth.	Iuyā'yōx, Xōnxā'nuxnam, Snuxnala'la, and their sister Lequi'xia.

7:Boas E-5 (1886,-ca. 1898)1900 NEA Bellacoola NEA

575 allowed to re-enter the houses; but before doing so for the first time, he
796 must stop at the door and shout, "Wa, wa, wa!" Then he jumps over the threshold. Accompanied by many men, he is led, after four days more, to the river for final purification. He is pushed into the water, but struggles to free himself. He tries to duck his companions, and utters his cries. Finally he is led back. Then he weeps, because the spirit has left him entirely. The people beat time while he is going back to the house. Then he is offered a piece of salmon, which is placed on his throat, while the people shout, "Hoip, hoip!" The salmon is taken away again, and after some time he is allowed to take one bite. Then he must lie down. After the dancing season is ended, he is again allowed to eat in the same way as other people do. The piece of salmon that was placed on his throat is eaten by children as a protection against sickness. Finally a ceremony is performed which is called "taking the lip of the S'a'ɬpata out of the Cannibal's body." While this is being done, the people cry, "Hoip!" Then they throw the lip upon another Cannibal, who at once falls into an ecstasy. Then the shaman takes it back and throws it up towards the sky, where it disappears. The dish and the spoon that the Cannibal used during his ecstasy are destroyed. For four years he must wear a small ring of red cedar-bark, in summer as well as in winter.

The Ôlx is also initiated in heaven by the being described before (p. 35). There are different traditions regarding his initiation among different clans. Some Ôlx, during their performances, walk ropes which are stretched
[534] through the house. When he returns from his initiation, small whistles, called cat'laxa, which imitate the voices of eagles, are heard outside of the houses. Then the Ôlx enters in a state of ecstasy, scratching the people who assemble to hold him, and tearing their blankets. Finally the people succeed in placing a blanket over his head, and he begins to come to his senses. When he enters the house, the people beat time, then he teaches the chorus-leader a song. The mask worn by the Ôlx is quite large, and characterized by a large nose (Plate XII, Fig. 9). He carries a dancing-club (Plate XII, Fig. 10), and rings made of red cedar-bark. He is accompanied by two assistants, who also wear masks.

VII.

121 We will now discuss the probable origin of the mythology described in the preceding pages. In order to do so, it is necessary to make a brief statement in regard to the social organization of the neighboring tribes. In
114 another paper[1] I have fully discussed the considerable amount of borrowing
177 that has taken place among the Coast tribes, and the relation of their

[1] Indianische Sagen von der nord-pacifischen Küste Amerikas, Berlin, 1895, pp. vi + 383.

[113]

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
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every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the kō'sint these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks. Xō'mtsioa and Xēmxēmalā'otɩa wear the design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xō'mtsioa by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xēmxēmalā'otɩa has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin. Aiamkī'lik·a and Aiamalā'otɩa wear the design of the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second masks. The fifth Q'ōmq'ōmkī'lik·a and Q'ō'mtsioa have designs representing stars, both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is Qula'xawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kalō'lias (who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue. The ninth, Ac'amā'k, wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called L'ōtsā'aplēLāua (the eater), the sister of the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

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The sisau'k·, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had gone out hunting met the sisau'k· and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to enter. Then he danced the sisau'k· and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bī'lxula dance the sisau'k·. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the sisau'k· only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, can not become sisau'k·. A person can not take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'ēlu'sta, the Indian, to whom I

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tribe are superior to themselves in carpentry, and ascribe their skill to the fact that many of them are descendants of *Yulätimat*. Some of the coastal tribes are said to believe that *Älquntäm* erred in the manufacture of many of the sea mammals, giving them, for example, human heads on fish bodies; he later rectified this by sending his Carpenters to adjust their form. This is not a Bella Coola belief. One elderly man stated that the skill of the Carpenters in painting and modelling was derived from a little girl named *Qoxltanao*; no confirmation could be obtained for this statement and the information was vague and unreliable.

Since their creation of the sky and many features of this world, as well as birds and animals, the Carpenters have entered but little into the lives of the Bella Coola. Like other supernatural beings, they are capable of going anywhere, but for many generations they have not been seen on this earth. Their most important function, perhaps, is to act as patrons for various *kusiut* dancers. This subject will be described in detail in vol. II, chap. 1; for the moment it is enough to say that many supernatural beings regard members of this semi-sacred society as their protégés, and grant them power to perform dances. On these occasions masked figures are used to represent the patrons, thus enlightening uninitiated persons as to the appearance and attributes of various supernatural beings.

Among the many residents of *Nusmät·a* are two sons of *Älquntäm*, *Sänoälqumults Älquntäm* and *Sno'olxults Älquntäm*. The former in particular is dearly loved by his father and is often spoken of as *Nuälexwanuwultam*, "The Cherished One." These two beings take no part in the affairs of mortals except as patrons of *kusiut* dancers. Like all supernatural beings they are considered to be immortal. Since *Älquntäm* has two sons it is to be assumed that he has, or had, a wife. Her name is not generally known, although she is sometimes spoken of as *Nusmät·aiew·a*, "The Woman of *Nusmät·a*." There are also many stories describing his amours with human women resulting in semi-supernatural offspring.

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* 776 and gaping holes in the earth. In such regions no fire can be
[778] lit. The last known area of this kind is up the river behind Green Bay, about four miles from the sea. So far as could be learnt, *bābunk'* have never assisted Bella Coola in any way nor played any part in the social life of the community. They are feared on account of their supernatural power, but appear so seldom that they are practically disregarded.

More common than the last, and accordingly more important, is the *haohao*. It is an enormous bird with bony wings and long, flexible beak. As it flies, the wings rattle violently, and its note, an oft repeated "*Hao, hao, hao,*" can be heard for miles. These birds are said to have been numerous in former
● [535] years, and are well known to all Bella Coola. Masked figures
[575] representing them are often used at *kusiut* dances. The *haohao* is feared for its practice of inserting its long beak into the
761 rectum of anyone sleeping carelessly in the forest and drawing
* 776 forth his entrails. This can be prevented by standing upright
[789] a staff, such as all hunters carry, before going to sleep.
[539]

A popular story states that once, not many years ago, a number of men camped at the edge of a canyon near their home, without taking this precaution. One of them was awakened by a slight movement of one of his companions and, looking up, he saw the long neck and beak of a *haohao* projecting over the rim of the canyon and sucking his partner's entrails. The convulsive shiver of the stricken man had awakened him. With his bow he shot an arrow into the bird's neck, causing it to disappear over the brink. Presently the long beak reappeared and he discharged another arrow with the same result. Again and again this happened until the attack ceased at dawn. The hunter assumed that a single bird had been repeatedly attacking, but when he looked over the edge of the cliff, he saw below a number of carcasses, each with an arrow in its throat. The canyon must have been a roosting place for the birds. His companions seemed still asleep, but when he investigated he found that all were dead; only the slightly enlarged orifice showed how they had been killed.

* 776 No *haohao* has been seen within recent years, but one infor-
789 mant and her husband heard them on the south side of the Bella Coola River about two miles from the sea. They would have

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instructed people about the significance of death omens; it was Raven who showed them the use of slings; and it was Raven who constructed secluded caves and ledges to serve as meeting-places for chiefs. 773 [622] [823]

In brief, the Bella Coola regard Raven as an explorer, teacher, and inventor, whose power, obtained from *Ālquntām*, enabled him to construct and outwit his maker, but not to create. Much of his work was for the good of mankind, but much was evil and malicious, an aspect which belongs to mythology. Essentially human, Raven could have been included among anthropomorphic, as well as among zoomorphic beings. He differs from most of the supernatural ones in belonging entirely to the past, as his descendants have none of the first Raven's power. It is doubtful whether he still exists, but in any case he has long since ceased to take any interest in the affairs of the Bella Coola, who consider him only as a figure of mythology and ancient history. 773 776 [825]

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS OF THE VEGETABLE AND MINERAL KINGDOMS

Bella Coola beliefs concerning anthropomorphic and zoomorphic beings are relatively clear and exact; their appearance is known, their powers and functions recognized. The supernatural attributes of trees and plants are less definite. *Ālquntām* created the former in the beginning of time, and they were consequently able to talk and act like human beings at that distant period. Owing to the degeneration of man, mortals are no longer able to converse with trees, although the latter can still understand our remarks. In a vague way, the Bella Coola continue to think of trees as having human personalities, but so little is known of their powers, and they enter so seldom into contact or conflict with mortals, that they are practically ignored. 776 824

In an equally vague manner, Nature is regarded as a Mother, giving birth to the trees and plants. One of the *kusiut* dances portrays this birth of the flowers every spring (II, p. 196). [535] [575]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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774 becomes critical. Only a shaman (I, p. 539) can return one, and
755 if he fails death always results. In some cases a spirit leaves
[753] its owner without apparent reason; he becomes insane, tries
to eat dirt, and his relatives realize at once what is the matter.
[756] They summon a shaman who takes off his cape, hangs it like a pouch on his stick, and points it in all directions as he sings his shaman's song. Finally he locates what is missing, and traps it in his cloak, which he places around the sick man. This restores the element and the sufferer recovers immediately. Another method is for the shaman to press the back of the patient's neck, and by blowing and spitting cause the wandering spirit to return. Either cure must be performed by a shaman because of the supernatural power required.

774 Spirits can be extracted in various ways. Shamans can draw one forth by sucking at the back of the neck between their cupped hands; in former times, some were so powerful that they could extract them by their mere presence. During
774 *kusiut* dances (II, chap. 1), the uninitiated are told that if they
575 enter the house where a ceremony is taking place, or even pass
[535] on the sidewalk outside the door, their spirits will be drawn from them by the power within and attracted to the dancer or to the sacred platform on which he is concealed. Many
[178] stories are told of this, which were firmly believed by the uninitiated until the last few years. Members of the society claim that their great power acts as a magnet to the spirits of all but their associates, except children in arms; the latter can be taken by their mothers into the house, because their supernatural elements have not developed sufficient strength to
774 leave their bodies. A person may also lose his spirit through a sudden shock. If two people meet unexpectedly in the forest and one of them shouts loudly at the other, even if only in fun, the spasmodic contraction of the muscles is enough to expel it.
[761] The person to whom this happens falls down as if dead, and
[756] though he soon recovers, his spirit has left him, and if it is not brought back by a shaman he dies a lingering death.

775 At death, the spirit permanently leaves the body. In some

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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *kusiut* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Ālquntärv* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy abstin-

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614 The converse of this process of loss is the assimilation to
553 an origin myth of names originally brought into the ancestral
178 family by a woman from abroad. Unless intercourse and
773 friendly relations were maintained by "return marriages," in a few generations no tradition would be remembered to account for the name, and this, if used at all, would be interwoven into the well-known ancestral myth. Hence a myth is not static with regard to the names embodied in it. These change from generation to generation; it is probable that elements of the story itself suffer like additions and alterations, even though the people do not consider this to be the case.

611 The Bella Coola regard the ancestral family as a social unit,
614 not only in terms of the present, but as stretching back to the first settlement of the earth. Viewed from this angle, it is in fact, though not admitted to be so by the Bella Coola, a unilateral grouping with patrilineal descent, which may, in both the most recent and most ancient generations, be marked by matrilineal descent instead. A man frequently uses prerogatives obtained through his mother, her mother, or even her mother's mother, but it is tacitly assumed that for many previous generations such rights passed in the patrilineal line. Sometimes this succession extended back to the beginning of time; in other cases, prerogatives were transmitted matrilineally for a considerable period after the settlement of the earth, before gradually becoming patrilineal.

614 It has been thus far assumed that the only prerogative
424 wrapped up in an ancestral name is a knowledge of the myth
551 in which it is embodied. But there are others. For example, several of the first inhabitants of the world are said to have erected totem-poles, each of which was displayed by its owner at the gathering when he took for himself a name. Thenceforth, the only person entitled to use that particular totem-
[532] pole design was the person with the legal right to the name in
[535] question. The same principle governs all dance names; each entitles its owner to perform a certain ceremonial. Thus it is possible to enlarge the previous definition by saying that:

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establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole organization. 621 [614] [553]

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the outer coast, about to attack *Sinxł*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Q̓omqo·ts* without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours. [628] [682] [578] [627] [628]

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. IV), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat- 622 554 [556] 621 623 535 796

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621 623 ters, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact [535] this ceremonial unity is its most important function.

[796] With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the 361 river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built [184] type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them [342] stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many [171] cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there [487] is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox [164] epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space. [433] Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

342 The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, [354] often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side-walls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the different families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The [592] number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an [622] important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and any-[261] one present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with [353] carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall. [535] A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important in dances.

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ened by the age-long power of his ancestor. Finally, in old age a powerful chief is careless where he seats himself; his fame is so great that he can afford to disregard all conventions. 554 556* 622 [183]

POWER OF CHIEFS

It will be seen from the foregoing that chieftainship among the Bella Coola does not depend on hereditary rank, still less on an elective principle, but on the individual's prestige as displayed, especially in his ability to acquire for himself a firm seat by the giving of presents. As he continues to do so his influence becomes ever greater. Consequently, it is impossible to state clearly what are the powers of a chief; such depend upon his prestige and influence. For a Bella Coola chief has no executive or judicial authority; what deference is shown to him depends on his success as a man, a factor which is constantly rising or falling.

The coming of the white man has enabled the Bella Coola to earn comparatively large sums of money by trapping and fishing. This in turn has enabled nearly everyone to give at least one potlatch, a very different state of affairs from that which prevailed in the last century when it required years of toil for a man to amass the necessary food and skins. Consequently, in many towns there were no men who had given potlatches, so that a man's prestige was estimated by the presents he had given at smaller ceremonies. Sometimes, moreover, a man preferred to increase his fame by giving rites of a different nature, such as *kusiut* dances, and the presents then distributed might elevate him in the eyes of the community, to a position above that of a man who had given a potlatch. This, however, was unusual. [179] [434] [431] [535]

After a fourth potlatch a man is accorded a position of eminence, and is termed a *numitl* chief. *Numitl* is an untranslatable word, with the significance of "passage," an allusion to the amount of goods which have passed through his hands. Jealous and vulgar-minded persons pun on the word, applying [578]

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184 standardized. Boys and girls helped their parents, and there
476 was no definite age at which they ceased to do so. The fluidity
* 556 of the Bella Coola system was contrary to any standardization. The more important a chief became, the more did he receive from dependent relatives, but the more did they expect in the way of "return presents." It was advantageous to be generous, within the family circle as well as without, since life was so public that every transaction even of a "private" nature, was well known. Unquestionably, a greedy and strong-minded individual must frequently have taken advantage of help from his housemates, but there was no strict code of ethics in regard to this. In brief, it may be said that the acquisition of wealth was an unstandardized, individual, matter; its distribution was likewise according to individual volition, although within a rigidly defined tribal pattern.

Susask Society

551 The ancestral names that chiefs desire to raise to a position
* 556 of eminence are usually embodied in myths dealing with the
575 first settlement of this earth, names which belong, as has been
614 stated, to the ancestral family. Many of these traditions record other designations as well, each of which carries with it
[595] the prerogative of performing a type of dance known as *susask*. These will be spoken of, henceforth, as *susask* names. The Bella Coola do not know the meaning of this term. These
[553] names, like ancestral ones, are the potential property of members of the ancestral family, but can only be assumed when duly validated by presents. Such an assumption follows a
553 period of seclusion in the back-room of the house. Both men
* 556 and women are eligible. A person may be secluded in this way
575 a number of times, acquiring a new *susask* name on each occa-
[562] sion, but as presents must be distributed every time, it follows that only the children or relatives of wealthy chiefs can be so favoured. It is desirable to have the bestowal of a *susask* name occur at a potlatch, since guests from foreign tribes are then

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present, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried farther afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in attendance.* Every individual duly secluded and given a *susask* name feels himself ceremonially allied to others who have had a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be termed the *susask* secret society. 553 556* 575

The close connection between this society and chiefs is obvious from the presence of names of each type in the same ancestral myths. None the less, every chief, that is a person with duly validated ancestral name and seat, is not a *susask*, unless he has validated a *susask* name for himself and undergone the period of seclusion. Conversely, a man may be a duly authorized member of the *susask* although lacking a seat and the other marks of chieftainship. The relationship is, however, so close that the Bella Coola think of the *susask* society as a society of chiefs. *Susask* dances take place at potlatches and funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance. Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use some of his goods for the acquisition of a *susask* name. Such a case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in the summer of 1923. Theoretically, he was ignorant of *susask* rites, but after much discussion these were used on account of his importance as a *numitl* chief, an instance of the manner in which a man's personal importance over-rules ceremonial dictates. 575 622 [553] [535] [766] [183]

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *susask* name-prerogatives came to this earth at the beginning of time with their first ancestors, and that many more have been acquired later by supernatural experiences. These were especially common among their forbears as they ranged over this earth seeking places to settle in the beginning of time. No *susask* name can be assumed casually; each must have had a specific origin. There are few *susask* origin myths, though theoretically there should be one to account for every name. The explanation appears to lie in the undoubted fact that many *susask* prerogatives have been acquired comparatively recently 424 551 575 773 [177]

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*556 wards and forwards sway the contestants with shouting and merriment, and those who have failed to carry away their boxes of food hasten to remove them out of the danger zone. It is a time of licence, and even one of the most influential chiefs may be struck by the ram or his food scattered without consideration. The ram is driven back, but those who bear it steer the log so that instead of passing out through the door it strikes the front wall, shattering some of the boards with their old paintings. With a shout they drive forwards again until part of the wall at the back of the house is likewise destroyed. Then those within the house gain the mastery and the log is carried outside, dragging its struggling bearers with it. They drop the log and return inside as if nothing untoward had occurred. This destruction of the house walls is a necessary preparation for their replacement with new paintings on new boards. When quiet has been restored a herald stands up.

"Listen!" he cries. "Ye chiefs, ye wives of chiefs, and ye commoners, soon we shall hear the supernatural beings."

533 Then the singers[9] beat out the tune of any *kusiut*. He whose
535 song it is begins to dance, using the type of which he has the
575 prerogative, but as the supernatural being with whom he has a ceremonial affinity is not present, the dance is not considered
*556 sacred. As soon as one *kusiut* has finished, the tune of another is beaten, and he too dances. The singers change from *kusiut* to *kusiut*, and please themselves about the order in which they shall dance, also about how many shall perform. This continues until late in the night. Then they beat out a *nuask* tune and the member of that society to whom it belongs performs his dance, a non-sacred affair, like those of the *kusiut*. One after another dances as his or her tune is beaten out, until dawn approaches. Meanwhile several *nuask* have been sent outside

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[9] Henceforth in this monograph the term "singer" will be used as a translation of the Bella Coola word, *nuxiuul*. The singers sit together behind the fire. It is their duty to remember the tune and text of every song; to beat out this tune for every dancer and to accompany him by singing the words of his song.

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533 This is presently heard. Y may be in his own house, but at
* 556 once any number of *nusak* rush in and conduct him, concealed
575 in their midst, to the back-room of X's dwelling. All the *nusak* of the village begin to gather there; those who are not members of the society are also free to enter the main part of the house, though they cannot take any part in the proceedings. They lurk near the door, watching with interest mixed with
[781] fear, and ready to flee if the danger from supernatural beings seems too acute.

After some delay, a whistle is heard at intervals, gradually becoming louder as if the supernatural being, of which it is the voice, were coming nearer. Presently it sounds immediately outside the door, and a *siki* rushes forth. He returns in a moment, followed, amid the breathless excitement of the uninitiated, by a figure masked as a bird or animal. The design
[532] represents Y's crest, or some creature with which one of his ancestors came in contact, and which is therefore regarded as having the same sociological importance. A member of the society has carved the mask, another wears it, but this the uninitiated do not know.

[776] "It is a *tawinam*,"[18] they gasp.

The figure crosses the house and bends down beside the singers to whom it appears to be whispering. Presently they begin, softly, to tap out a song in rapid time as if the supernatural visitor had just taught it to them. It is divided into two or three parts and the theme is taken from Y's ancestral myth.[19] After two or three rehearsals, the singers beat out the time more loudly and accompany it with their voices, while
[535] the masked figure dances. A number of older *nusak* accompany the performer as he whirls around the house; it is pretended that this is necessary to shield the spectators, though the real function is to guide the dancer whose sight is handi-

[18] Meaning, "What is displayed," or, "A materialization."

[19] If the *nuqkyta* is a son or other near relative of the chief who is giving the potlatch, the theme may consist of honoring references to the goods about to be distributed. This is customary for X himself if he performs on a *nusak* at the actual ceremony.

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capped by the mask. If the *tatwinam* represents Wasp[14] or Grizzly Bear, he does not make a circuit and a fluent *nsask* explains that to do so would be unsafe owing to the ferocity of these animals. When the song is ended, the figure passes into the back-room. After a short interval it reappears, recrosses the house, and leaves by the front door, to the accompaniment of increased whistling.

A few myths embody two *tatwinam*. In this case, a second figure presently enters and the same ritual is repeated for a second song. This usually differs, musically, from the first, being in three parts and with even more rapid time. More often, the second song is merely beaten out by the singers without the appearance of a *tatwinam* to supply an obvious source.

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This is the normal, but not the only practice with regard to a *tatwinam*. In some cases the figure does not appear until after the singing of the first song, and the uninitiated are told that it has been attracted by the music. In this case it passes into the back-room, later to reappear and leave by the front door. An announcement is made that it has brought a strange power, that Y has become peculiar, and that his name is now, for example, *Qnaqwasila*. A herald bears this news through the village. A second song is then sung in due course.

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The *tatwinam* is difficult to classify among Bella Coola supernatural beings. It appears in the form of an ancestral crest, but the *nsask* do not seem to have taught the uninitiated to regard it as Y's actual forefather. It remains as a supernatural embodiment of his crest, a materialization of an element of family history, and a motive for the use by Y of a mask representing the apparition. The uninitiated do not seek further; they have seen a wonderful sight and are content.

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Several of the older *nsask* stated that the *tatwinam* concept was not indigenous to Bella Coola; it had been recently

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[14]Some of the first people came to earth as Wasps, but several received so much help from these insects that they are regarded as crests by the descendants of those whom they assisted.

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Poor people, white guests, or others from whom no return can possibly be received, share equally in the distribution; the money goes to all to validate the transaction. On the other hand, X expects that the presents, if any, made to a few individuals after the general distribution, will be returned with interest. In selecting the recipients of these he has been animated, first, by the necessity of repaying old debts, and secondly by his desire to make good investments in the shape of presents to those likely to show their chiefly nature by returning with heavy interest. No request is ever made for such repayment, but as the transaction has been publicly announced, a man fears to fail to repay, since that would lower his prestige. No one may refuse a present, no matter how embarrassing it may be. 553 556* 575 [558]

After the gifts have been distributed the songs of the initiates are practised. Members of the *susook* society join in with the singers; the other spectators listen attentively, full of interest, but take no part. X with his helpers then gives food to all, and they depart. [533]

Before the coming of the white man a potlatch was a rare event, and *susook* members were initiated at local gatherings. The period of confinement was the same as that just described, but instead of merely practising the songs during the interval, the initiates appeared and danced to them. It will be convenient here to describe that ritual, emphasizing the fact that at a potlatch, when the initiates can be confirmed in the presence of foreign guests, this preliminary rite does not take place. 535 556* 575 177

After the distribution of goods the singers beat out[16] the tune of any one of the initiates, and all emerge in close succession from the back-room, each wearing a blanket, without distinctive design, a collar of dyed and pounded cedar-bark decorated with pendant weasel skins, and the distinctive *susook* head-dress (see Plate 15).[1] This consists of a circlet of grizzly bear claws, surmounted in front by a small forehead mask; from the inner side of the circlet there rise a number of sea-lion 292 535 556* 575 237

[16] The present tense is used for uniformity.

[1] [See cat. 116, facing p 218 - ANALYST]

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292 whiskers over which is scattered eagle down. From the back
535 of the head-dress hang weasel skins. In Bella Bella it is said to
556 be customary for a skin to be added on every occasion when a
suaok is confined to the back-room. This may happen as many
575 as fifteen times to the child of wealthy parents, and a few Bella
Coola have adopted the practice of marking each with a skin.
[237] Usually, some six or nine are hung in two tiers, without consideration of the number of times the wearer has been in seclusion. The central figure of the forehead mask is a head with
[532] a hooked nose, the recurved hook being joined to the face itself. This figure does not vary with the wearer's ancestral myth, and no one knows what it represents. This design is
[177] said to have been introduced to Bella Coola from the north a few generations ago; before that time the head-dress consisted
[237] of a circular band of dyed cedar-bark, decorated with the tail
[824] feathers of one of the large woodpeckers. The Bella Coola call it simply, "forehead mask." Each initiate carries a hollow
[532] rattle, carved in the shape of a bird, which he holds in his right
[534] hand, belly uppermost. Long, long ago, when a dancer failed to do so, the rattle became alive and the bird flew away; hence, this rule has been obeyed ever since.

535 Each initiate takes up his station in some part of the house
556 behind the fire and dances to the beating of the sticks. The
575 left hand of each is clasped behind his back and in his right he holds the rattle and keeps it in constant motion by shaking his wrist. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a good dancer. Keeping the body stiff and the legs close together, he rises with slight jumps, barely altering his position on the floor. Sometimes he slowly turns around sunwise[11] in his series of jumps, at other times he does not alter his position. The head is bent from side to side and downwards at each jump, causing the eagle down to fly in all directions. *Suaok* assistants blow more of the material on to the head-dress at intervals (see Plate 16).[1]

[821] [11]The Bella Coola believe that the sun moves from east to south to west to
[796] north. Many ceremonial movements follow this direction, which will henceforth be described as sunwise.

[1] [See cat 116, facing p 219 - ANALYST]

As the dances proceed, those women who have the prerogative for doing so, utter a peculiar droning cry. After dancing, the initiates return to the back-room, where they doff their attire. The ceremony concludes with the distribution of food. 535 556* 575 [424]

The initiates are now free to leave their place of concealment, as each has become a legal member of the *susaok* society. Some young men, sons of influential chiefs, are secluded a number of times, others but once. The oftener a youth is secluded, the greater is his prestige, because goods must be distributed on each occasion to validate his name. At the present time, there is considerable uncertainty about the exact details of the ceremony, for it has been so easy of late years to give potlatches that the simpler rite has fallen into disuse; some informants state that each initiate should emerge alone and dance by himself. This concludes the shorter ceremony, but with a potlatch the dancing is reserved until the coming of the foreign guests. [554]

DELIVERING OF INVITATIONS

Returning now to preparations for the true potlatch; it does not matter whether the ceremonies already described are carried out before or after the departure of messengers to invite guests from abroad. Although X usually consults his relatives and friends as to whom he shall invite, this is entirely optional. In giving his invitations X is actuated, first, by a desire to summon those from whom he has previously received hospitality; having accepted presents from them he must discharge the obligations or sink in social estimation. Considerations of friendship also enter into his selection, and he will likewise invite anyone whom he wishes to put to shame by a lavish display of wealth. It is taken as a matter of course that each guest will be accompanied by a number of followers, members of his family, slaves, or adherents. 556* [203] [558]

Acting on X's instructions, a herald invites the people of his village to X's house. X stands up and announces to them [203] [484]

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the potlatch is recognized to such an extent that an attack upon envoys is unthinkable, though one or two myths recount how this unwritten law was violated on rare occasions. A canoe meeting potlatch messengers veers over to the other side of the channel to give them the right of way. 203 556* [484] [726]

On reaching the destination the canoe is brought to close to shore until the inhabitants of the village have gathered on the beach, which they swiftly do on the arrival of strangers. The messenger sounds his whistle, the significance of which is fully understood by members of the *susaok* society. Any chief who wishes to show his wealth and importance will invite them to his house. As they are landing, he sends a herald to summon a number of influential people of his village, who seat themselves in their rightful places. As the messengers enter they are given seats on the bench behind the fire, the spot usually reserved for chiefs. A number of lads are called in to toast smoked salmon, and when this has been done the fish are broken into shreds by young girls and served to the messengers on a mat, in lieu of a table-cloth. The envoys do not deliver their message as soon as they arrive. On the contrary, they spend the rest of the day aimlessly talking with their hosts, and sleep in the house where they have been received. [575] [262]

The following day likewise passes without ceremony, but towards nightfall the host summons all his fellow-villagers to his house. The singers take up their customary places and beat out a *kusiut* tune. Upon hearing his or her air, the owner of it starts to dance. Using their own discretion, the singers beat out the tunes of *kusiut* after *kusiut*, and each dances. In like fashion the singers beat out *susaok* songs, and the owner of each dances. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the dances are merely of a ceremonial, not a sacred, nature. When all have danced, each gives a present to the envoys. These gifts are not returnable. They are merely "eagle down," but it is necessary that something be given to validate the dances. The value is immaterial, so far as the purpose is concerned, though a chief who wishes to exhibit his chief-like 203 535 556*

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203 nature will try to bestow a valuable present. If a man is too
* 556 poor to give anything, he can avoid the obligation by not
dancing when his tune is beaten out. The presents are piled
[535] together, and then the host, aided by several important chiefs,
[537] distributes them to the messengers, at the same time making laudatory speeches. The chief of the envoys receives more than the members of his crew.

Then the messenger-chief stands up and announces the names of those whom X has invited to his potlatch, using in each case the ancestral designation of the person summoned. Then the envoys, in a body, go to every house in the village. Probably all to be invited are present in the house of the chief, yet the messenger-chief must call out in the doorway of each house:

"Chief So-and-so, prepare your paddles and leave tomorrow."

Early next morning the messengers rouse those whom they have invited and, as a mark of respect, help them to carry their goods to the canoes. There is an attitude of shaming com-
[558] bined with that of deference, since those assisted will have been placed under obligations. They also take to their canoes their own recently acquired goods. Envoys and guests set out together in their respective craft, and only separate as they near Bella Coola.

ARRIVAL OF THE GUESTS

* 556 While the canoes containing the first party of guests remain
575 at anchor to wait for high tide, the envoys proceed at once to X's house, now completely redecorated if not entirely rebuilt. Here a huge fire is blazing, and members of the *susook* society are passing in and out, making ready for the ceremony. Both
[302] men and women beautify themselves by painting their faces in any designs they fancy, and by combing their hair and placing eagle down upon it. The guests at anchor lay planks
[535] across their canoes so as to form a dancing platform. Then, as the tide rises, the singers in the house beat out the tune of

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one after another of the concealed initiates, while the audience, consisting of *susaok* alone, join in the singing. As the sounds drift out to the guests, they too beat out some of their well-known *susaok* songs. 535 556 * 575

At high tide, as the canoes draw near, carefully guided by poles and saddles, the *susaok* troop down to the beach to meet the guests, led by a *siki*, who alone wears an apron of puffin beaks and carries a rattle. The singers beat out one of his tunes and the *siki* dances on the beach, while the supernatural whistle which has been sounding from the back-room of X's house, is now heard at his side, blown by an assistant under cover of his blanket. After the *siki* has danced, the singers among the guests, and there are always enough of them to make possible the beating out of the better known tunes, sing one of their *siki*'s songs as he dances on the platform surmounting the canoes. [292] [533]

The Bella Coola *siki*, surrounded by a group of *susaok*, now begins to turn about in a frenzied manner, always sunwise, bending down, then straightening himself, twisting and writhing like a maniac. Finally, standing erect, he pretends to throw something to the foreign *siki*, and then falls to the ground. The recipient makes the motion of catching something heavy, and at the same time one of his accomplices in the canoe sounds another *susaok* whistle, deluding the uninitiated observers into the belief that some power has been transmitted, which is the source of the strange noise. The visiting *siki* revolves four times; twisting and bending, then straightens up and throws back his cloak, to expose a mask representing *Mulakila*. This has been concealed there all the time, but the uninitiated readily believe it to be the creature which has made the noise, or else that it is an object miraculously made by this being. The *siki* revolves four times more, with the mask in plain sight and the whistle constantly booming, while a fluent speaker "explains" the meaning of it all to the uninitiated who are watching with interest from the background.

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535 The reception of this power from his Bella Coola confrère
* 556 enables the guest *siki* to dance at X's potlatch, if he so desires.
575 In that case the guests are guided to X's house without further delay. If, however, he does not wish to dance, he goes through the motions of throwing something back to the Bella Coola *siki*, who pretends to catch it. He bends down, twists himself about, then throws back his cape—to display there the representation of *Mulakila*. At the time of throwing, the visiting *siki* had slipped his mask out of sight, so that those witnessing the transaction, ignorant of the fact that the recipient has had an identical mask hidden beneath his cape throughout, are suitably impressed. He now revolves four times, while an assistant, sheltered under a large cloak, sounds the whistle constantly. Then the *siki* makes the motion of throwing something to X's house, and after that the whistle sounds from within, while the man who had been blowing one beside the *siki* ceases. Thus the uninitiated are led to believe that the voice can proceed only from the place where the power over which the *siki* has control is situated.

* 556 The guests are conducted to X's house, to which a number
574 of young men carry their goods. A meal of toasted salmon, provided by X, is served to them by a number of youths, all of whom are eager to undertake this task throughout the ceremony. A section of the house is allotted to each party of guests, and within that space they arrange themselves according to convenience. Some informants state that the first group to arrive is seated nearest the fire. The whole of those invited are not placed according to rank. The amount of space allotted to each party of guests depends upon their number, and there is no particular choice made of a section in the house. X, or more often some one who speaks for him, welcomes the guests, and a spokesman from among them makes a suitable reply, usually with the assistance of an interpreter. After the meal, the guests can remain where they are or go out. As many as wish to do so stay in X's house, but many prefer to

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go to the homes of their friends in the village; it is a matter of convenience, not of ritual. 556* [574]

In the evening, there may be no rite of any kind, but X often invites everyone to his house for the performance of non-ceremonial dances. The singers strike up one of his *sisaok* or *a'alk* (I, p. 273) tunes and he dances to it. Then a tune belonging to one of his relatives is beaten out, and he too dances. After several have thus performed, a meal is served and all disperse. No supernatural beings are in attendance, hence there is no solemnity to the occasion; the evening's rites merely serve to show the guests the dances owned by their host and his family. 535● 556*

As each party of guests arrives the same procedure is repeated. X provides food for those who have assembled from day to day, so he anxiously awaits the last-comers. When at last they come the guests from all other towns are in their allotted sections of X's house, and are free to make gibes at the tardiness of those latest in appearing. Occasionally, hard feelings are engendered in this way, although it is an established custom to mock at the last to arrive. They seat themselves and a small amount of food is given them. 556* 574 [628]

RITUAL CARRIED OUT BY THE GUESTS

Two youths, chosen by X for the purpose, sprinkle eagle down over the heads of all those present, as far as possible blowing it first over the chiefs. It serves as a token of good-will, and marks also the ceremonial nature of the occasion. Then a leading *sisaok*, perhaps a *siki*, stands up and says in effect: 556* [788] [237] [575]

"Thank you for coming. You are welcome. We thank you for coming to witness what X has done. He is delighted to have you here, because he has lost many of his relatives and wishes to perpetuate their memory. They would be grieved if he did not do so."

An elaborate meal is now served by a number of young men. [264]

* 556 The first course is dried cohoe salmon mixed with olachen
264 grease. The fish is first placed in boxes, approximately one
to every four persons, though a chief may be honoured by an
[262] individual box, and the grease poured over it. As always, any
food not consumed is carried away. Failure to do so would
[578] be an insult to X. Then round wooden dishes are distributed
into which are poured the berries of *Viburnum pauciflorum*.
[262] The waiters pour olachen grease over these and the mixture is
eaten with wooden spoons. These two foods are invariably
the first meal of a potlatch.

* 556 If the *siki* of the last guests to arrive has not returned the
power given him by the Bella Coola expert, he now stands up
575 and shakes his rattle as a signal that he desires to start his
● 535 dance. The Bella Coola *siki* also stands up, and the visiting
siki contorts himself and finally pretends to produce something
from his stomach, which he throws across to his colleague.
The latter feigns to catch it, cries *hoip* loudly several times,
and makes the motions of hurling what he has just received
into the room at the back of the house where the initiates are
concealed. Then he sits down. Meanwhile the last-to-arrive
party of guests have started to beat out the tune of one of the
susaok[18] songs of their own *siki* who dances in time to it. Then
another song is beaten out and another member of the party
dances, and so on until all have danced who desire to do so.
Each wears his own head-dress and each performs in the
manner already described. After the dancing, the members
of this party of guests give presents to X and other Bella Coola
chiefs. There is no fixed ratio between the value of the gifts
* 556 and the rank of the recipients, though chiefs receive more than
[554] lesser men, and X most of all. These presents are *spuxdjut*,
which may be translated as "eagle down-ness," merely a mark
of friendship and goodwill. They are not returnable. Goods
so received are distributed by X with his other possessions at
[578] the potlatch, care being taken not to return them to the donors,
which would be insulting.

[18] *Xe-tle* songs (I, p. 217) are sometimes used.

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After bestowal of these presents, the *siki* of the penultimate group of guests shakes his rattle, and exactly the same procedure is carried out by members of his party. They, too, give presents to X and the other Bella Coola chiefs. The same rites are carried out by each party of guests in the reverse order of their arrival. It is frequently near dawn before the first-comers have completed their dances and distribution of gifts. X then gives another meal to all, with no restriction on the choice of food. This concludes the night's ceremony, and the guests depart, except those who are staying in X's house. 556 *

THE POTLATCH: FIRST DAY

Considering the lengthy ceremonials of the preceding evening, it is not surprising that on this day no one stirs early. The guests receive their breakfast in the houses where they are accommodated, and meanwhile a number of young men gather in X's house to assist in the preparation of food for the main meal of the day. During the previous night a large amount of smoked mountain goat has been put in water to soak. This is now placed in a number of food-boxes, ready for distribution, water is added and hot stones lifted in to bring it to a boil. When the water comes to the boil, mountain goat grease is added, and then bearberries; it is usually about two o'clock in the afternoon before the meal is ready. The guests are summoned and the food given them, the chiefs, as usual, receiving more than those of lower rank. After eating they disperse to await the evening rites. [251] [252] [554]

It was impossible to obtain an accurate account of the ritual carried out on the evening of this, the first day of the potlatch proper. The ceremonial was of less importance than those preceding and following, and it has long fallen into disuse. The guests take up their accustomed places, and the Bella Coola members of the *sisook* range themselves near them and behind the fire. The corners next the door are occupied by non-members of the society. The singers beat out two of [182] 556* 575 [535]

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* 556 the best songs they have made for the initiates, and any of the *sisaok* members of the audience desiring to "help" the initiates
575 dance to them, even X himself on occasion. By "help" no
[535] material aid is indicated; such dancing merely displays a friendly and sympathetic interest. The initiates, resplendent in *sisaok* head-dresses, appear at the door of the back-room, and sometimes dance a few steps. Occasionally, at the conclusion of his song, a lad's parents, or other relatives, bring forward the goods which will be later distributed by X to the guests. On other occasions, this is reserved for the following day. Food is distributed and all disperse.

THE POTLATCH: SECOND DAY

On this, one of the two most important days of the whole ceremony, the following rites take place.

During the Day

(1) Communication to the foreign guests of the new *sisaok*
[553] names of the initiates concealed within the back-room; these names are the ones that have been made known to the Bella Coola before the potlatch proper.

(2) Payment to X by the members of his wife's family of the goods necessary to rebuy her from her husband.

During the Evening

(3) Repayment by X of debts owed to members of his own village.

(4) Return of a dead relative of X to visit the living.

(5) Distribution of presents to validate this appearance.

(6) In some cases, dancing by some of the *sisaok* initiates.

Early in the morning X gives each of his guests a wash-
[575] basin with the other necessary appurtenances for cleaning up,
[574] and towards noon all of those invited reassemble in his house. Three river canoes have been brought in and are ranged, two parallel to the side walls, and one parallel to the back wall, all far enough out to permit people to sit behind them. Boxes containing large quantities of red elderberries and olachen

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PLATE 16

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Eagle down being blown over a *sisaok* dancer

[facing P219]

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* 556 184 ings to reward carpenters and others who had helped X prepare for his potlatch, but in Bella Coola this was usually done the following night.

* 556 769 Now comes what the Bella Coola regard as the most important feature of the potlatch.[20] The singers strike up one of the songs of a senior *sisaok*, perhaps a *siki* chosen for his skill in acting. As he dances, clad in his ceremonial costume and head-dress, whistling is heard without the house. A number of *sisaok* are making the noise and they modulate it so that it appears to draw nearer and nearer. This is effected either with whistles of different sizes or by blowing harder. The dancer rushes out of the house. The whistling continues in a series of short bursts, as if a conversation were being carried on in that language. The *sisaok* or *siki* returns, and the audience, silenced by the mystery of the affair, listens to his explanation:

535 575 [533]

"It is so-and-so," he announces, using the ancestral name of one of X's deceased relatives. "The crest has come to pay his son [or whatever relation X may be to him] a visit. I will bring him in."

While he speaks, continuous whistling is heard from without, but when he leaves the house it once more takes on the form of a dialogue. Presently he returns, followed by a masked figure in the centre of a group of members of the *sisaok* society. If the deceased's first ancestor had been an eagle, in that guise the figure will appear—an eagle mask on his head, and his whole body, except perhaps the feet, covered by a large blanket thickly covered with eagle down and furnished with painted wooden wings. The dancer is usually entirely blinded by this costume, but he is guided by a number of the *sisaok* whose presence is attributed to the necessity for guarding and paying honour to the supernatural visitor. Among those who accompany him there is always a man with a whistle, the note of which simulates the cry of an eagle, and this is sounded at intervals. The actor bends in imitation of a bird and shakes himself, lifting his head and opening the movable beak by

[532] [533] [532]

[20] Though potlatches can be held without this feature.

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means of a hidden string, while the whistle sounds. Then he stoops down and hops a few steps eagle fashion. Slowly, with pauses and turnings around, the figure circles the fire and retires through the front door, always attended by a number of *sisaok*. The actor displays considerable dramatic ability, and the performance is strikingly effective in the large, plank-built house, illumined only by a smoky central fire which casts flickering shadows over the intently watching audience. The dogs, alone unimpressed by the solemnity of the occasion, skulk to and fro. 556* 769 535 575 [532]

If a whale is represented, a large wooden frame-work is carried by several men who walk inside of it. Raven, bear, or other animals may also be used, according to the ancestral myth of the deceased. Some of the first people came to this earth as men, but there have always been a sufficient number of intermarriages to permit everyone to portray some bird or beast, obtained from the family into which an ancestor married. A supernatural object claimed to have been seen by a forefather can also be used on these occasions. In some cases a composite figure is used. Such may have the head of an eagle, a killer whale projecting from the back, and a raven on its chest. In such a case those three creatures have been connected with the ancestry of the deceased, and his spirit is believed to have assumed those forms. Great individual choice is allowed in such matters. [532] [532] [532] [184]

If several of X's deceased relatives are being commemorated, the sound of whistling is again heard from without, a short time after the departure of the first masked figure. A senior *sisaok* goes out, and the same ritual is repeated. This time the masked actor represents some other bird or animal. Three, or in some cases four, dead people are thus shown, though one is more customary. The actual management of the figures is left to the direction of the carpenters who have made them. Often a foreign workman is employed, as a mark of respect for his skill. In spite of all precautions there are often delays about the final preparations, especially with regard

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*556 769 [575] [535] to a complicated figure such as a whale, and in that case an expert dancer among the guests is called upon to perform. It is announced that this is, "to make clean the road for the dead."

After each masked figure has disappeared, the sound of whistling from without grows gradually weaker, as the apparition returns whence it came. In solemn silence X takes a copper[21] which he has had in readiness, breaks it across his knee,[22] and throws it either into the fire or down on the ground in the track that the figure has taken. Then the announcer calls out loudly:

"It is for his crest.[23] It has 'made bone for the dead.'" Then he continues, speaking for X and using the first person:

"My heart is glad at seeing my father.[24] At death he returned back on the path of my family's ancestors and donned our ancient crest. He now lives in *Nusmät·a*, whence he came to visit us and whither he has now gone back."

[178] The significance of the throwing down of a copper is entirely unknown to the modern Bella Coola, although they still perform the ritual. In some vague way it is felt that "bone," which may imply *stability*, has been provided for the deceased. The act thus appears in the light of an offering to the dead, but this sentiment is not clearly appreciated by the participants in the rite; the present has been made *for*, rather than *to*, the one being mourned.

The copper, now valueless, is picked up by any chief and given to a poor man.

After a short interval a number of youths begin to distribute presents, provided by X, which have been placed in readiness. Gifts of equal value are given to all foreign male guests; while the women receive ones less valuable. These presents

[562] [431]

[325] [436]

[21] One of the plaques of native copper, such as were formerly beaten out cold and used as tokens of value by the coast tribes of British Columbia. Their employment by the Bella Coola will be described later in greater detail (I, p. 252).

[22] The breaking is sometimes omitted.

[23] That is: "For the dead man, now in form of his crest."

[24] Or whatever relative the deceased may have been.

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556*

are strictly non-returnable, being regarded as "eagle down,"[a] and having, therefore, a ceremonial significance. They validate and mark the importance of the representation just displayed. They are spoken of as having been shaken off by the deceased as he departed to return to his home above. [769] [431]

If there are many *sisaok* initiates concealed within the back-room, some of them may now be called upon to dance, but usually this is reserved for the following night. Unless some of those secluded are going to dance, food is distributed and all disperse. [575] [535]

THE POTLATCH: THIRD DAY

This is the day when presents are given and, with the previous, is the most important of the whole ceremonial. The following are its features.

During the Day

(1) Distribution of much food, and sometimes of insults to the guests by excessive presents, or by the destruction of valuables. [578]

During the Evening and Night

(2) Dramatic representation of some object connected with X's ancestral myth.

(3) Distribution of presents by X to recompense the craftsmen who have assisted in the potlatch.

(4) Repayments by X of gifts received at previous potlatches.

(5) Giving of presents by X to some of his guests.

(6) Distribution of presents to strengthen X's seat.

(7) Distribution of presents to strengthen, or establish, seats for a number of young men.

(8) Dancing of the *sisaok* initiates. 556*

(9) Distribution of presents to recompense those who have assisted the *sisaok* dancers. 575

(10) Distribution of presents to validate the *sisaok* dances and the names thereby acquired by the initiates.

[a] The Bella Coola state that the Kwakiutl term for this is *xoss* or *qoss*.

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556* [463]

success, according to the Bella Coola, depends upon the goods expended in their establishment (I, p. 261).

556* 575 535

Throughout all this ceremonial the initiates have been carefully concealed in the back-room. They are now eagerly, though with trepidation, awaiting their time to dance. The order of appearance is a matter of no importance. It is arranged by the singers, who send word to one of the initiates and then begin to beat out one of his songs. He emerges, clad in a ceremonial blanket, wearing a *sisaok* head-dress, and holding a rattle in his hand. Taking up his station behind the fire he dances in time to the beating of sticks. As he does so, the speaker calls upon X's wife to bring forward goods as "cedar-bark mats for him to stand upon," or "cedar-bark mats to make soft his seat." These are piled at some convenient spot. After dancing, the initiate retires to the back-room, accompanied by one of the older members of the *sisaok* society, perhaps a *siki*. This man presently emerges, saying:

"It is most peculiar. An eagle is there now."[38]

At the same time a whistle sounds from the back-room, in imitation of the scream of an eagle.

There ensues a constant interplay of remarks between the heralds and those regulating the ceremony. One of the former may call out:

"Let us see it."

The elder returns to the back-room, saying, "I will bring it out."

There now emerges a figure masked to represent an eagle, or whatever bird or animal it may be, with a long blanket covering all but the feet. Any clever dancer is employed to wear this disguise, seldom the initiate himself. The "eagle" bends down beside the singers as if whispering a song to them, though in reality they have themselves composed it. They sing this as the masked figure moves around the fire, imitating the gait of an eagle with considerable dramatic skill, while an

[38] Or whatever may have been the guise in which the *sisinam* came to him, in itself dependent on his ancestral myth.

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556 assistant blows a whistle, sounding like an eagle. When the
575 figure has disappeared into the back-room, the heralds discuss
with one another in a loud tone of voice how that was the form
[535] in which the initiate's ancestor appeared long ago. At the
present time there is uncertainty concerning the proper ritual
connected with the appearance of the *tutwinam* at this juncture.

A senior *sisaok* then calls on X to bring forward goods, "to shield our eyes from the supernatural being." These articles, part of which may have been provided by relatives of the initiate, are piled beside those brought forward by X's wife, which may also have come from the same source.

[535] The singers strike up the second song of the initiate; again he appears and dances to it, then vanishes into the rear room.

The two assortments of goods are now distributed. First, those provided by X are presented to the singers who composed
[465] the songs for the initiates, to the carpenters who made the masks, the heralds, and announcers, and any others who have assisted; if any remain they are presented to the stranger-guests. Then the goods which are "mats for the dancer's feet" are distributed, entirely to the guests, and are said to have "become nothing" or to have "flowed away" in the transaction. Neither set of goods is returnable. These presents validate in the eyes of the guests, the right of the initiate to membership in the *sisaok* society.

Then a second, third, or fourth neophyte is called out, one at a time, and the same procedure is repeated.[11] In distributing the goods, efforts are made to remember those guests who received nothing at the first distribution.

Toward dawn, one of the important chiefs, it is immaterial which one, calls out:

"I want a *siki*."

[789] It is understood that for this part of the ceremony a foreign expert is required, and one such comes forward according to previous arrangement. He retires to the back-room and re-

[11] Though desirable, it is seldom possible for all the initiates to dance on the same night.

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expenditure though he must forgo the prestige enjoyed by a man who has been able to elevate his professional names in a lavish manner. Selection is a constant factor in the social life of a Bella Coola; the man who uses all his wealth to acquire a firm seat cannot be "strong" in *sisaok* matters; the man who desires to specialize in *kusiut* affairs cannot afford to display an elaborate totem-pole. Amid these conflicting desires, it often happens that a man somewhat neglects his professional prerogatives, especially those of which the dignity has been slightly lessened through superior skill shown by individuals endowed with no more than native ability. Upstarts of this kind have always infringed upon professional dignity, and the coming of the white man has added a new factor which has almost destroyed vocational prerogatives.

424 556 182 [555] [177]

A'alk Dances

The most important, as well as the most spectacular, dances that occur at potlatches are those given by members of the *sisaok* society. In addition to these, a feature of many potlatches is the performance of *a'alk* dances.[1] As already mentioned, from 1870 onwards there have been many changes in *sisaok* ritual; new elements have been acquired by the marriages of Bella Coola to members of the coastal tribes, with the result that details of procedure vary at every ceremony according to the prerogatives of the donor. Since 1910, the influence of white civilization has increased to such an extent that *sisaok* ceremonials have virtually been abandoned. This took place at a time when the ritual was in transition, a state of affairs which rendered difficult the collection of coherent information. *A'alk* dances are associated with *sisaok*, but the addition of new features to the latter was accompanied by a decay of the former. Both societies have now almost ceased to exist, but whereas the *sisaok* organization was abandoned during a period of change and accretion, that

177 535 575 [184] [796] [128]

[1] Called *o'ulpaw* in Kitamaat.

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177 of the *a'alk* came to an end when it was already waning in
535 importance. It was impossible to obtain as much detailed
575 information about the latter as was desired, and it is even
128 possible that some of the facts recorded in connection with *nuaak* ceremonial really belong to *a'alk* rites.

The right to perform an *a'alk* dance depends upon a duly
424 validated ancestral prerogative of which the obvious mark is
535 an *a'alk* name. Some of the first people brought down such
575 designations and dances with them from above in the beginning of time, a few were acquired on this earth as gifts from super-
[773] natural beings. Those who have rights of this kind form a loose organization which may be termed the *a'alk* society. This is closely associated both with the *nuaak* society and with chiefs, owing to the occurrence of these three types of names in the same ancestral myths. One member of an ancestral
[556] family may use his goods to validate his ancestral name, another to make himself a *nuaak*, a third to become an *a'alk*, and an important chief, endowed with ability and wealth, may be able to do all three.

A'alk dances are less spectacular than those of either the *nuaak* or *kuxiut* societies, nor are rattles or whistles used. The prerogatives of a member are limited to his name, the right to perform a certain dance, and the use of a song which commonly describes some feature of his ancestral myth. Four types of dances are considered to be *a'alk*; the methods of acquiring and using any one of these are similar, so it is unnecessary to describe the differences before the actual account of the performance of each.

556 If there is a dormant *a'alk* prerogative in the ancestral
575 family of the donor of a potlatch, he usually chooses to validate this as one of the features of his ceremony. He first consults his wife and other relatives to ensure that sufficient goods will be forthcoming, and if this matter can be arranged satisfactorily, he chooses some young relative as the recipient of the dormant right. It would be most unusual for the youth selected to decline the honour. Or some man, other than the

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holder of the potlatch, may wish to confirm a prerogative and 556
requests the donor to allow this to take place at his ceremony. 575
Permission is never refused, since the more incidental rites, the greater is the prestige of the whole. The young man on whom the name is to be confirmed is always told what is planned for him, and his relatives instruct him what to do.

As the time for the potlatch draws near, the donor requests the singers to prepare an *a'alk* song for the youth. The theme [533]
always deals with some incident of his ancestral story with which the singers are already familiar. If a number of youths are to be made *a'alk*, a song must be composed for each. The 532
carpenters are also requested to make for the initiate one, or 556
sometimes two, masks representing a supernatural being, either 575
human or animal, connected with the myth in which occurs the *a'alk* name about to be conferred. The design is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family concerned; it is usually, though not necessarily, the same as that employed by the last incumbent of the name. If the designation about to be confirmed is one which came down from above in the beginning of time, the mask usually represents the guise adopted by the first user of the name; if the prerogative were obtained on earth, it portrays the being from whom the right was received. These arrangements are made in secret, and are known only to the craftsmen, the donor of the potlatch, and his family.

On the night of *sldstnum*, when the work for the potlatch is 556
allotted, the youth who is to be made an *a'alk* is confined 575
within the back-room of the house, presumably in company with the *nuuk* initiates, though there is ambiguity on this point. After the general arrangements have been made, an elderly *a'alk* whose aid has been requested, suddenly rushes from the house as if he had heard some noise. One of the *sisi*, or an influential chief, makes some allegedly witty remark as to why he has gone out, and then follows, taking with him the dance head-dress belonging to the *a'alk*. This is identical with [184]
the type worn by *nuuk*, one of the many points of resemblance [535]

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552 575 [184] [292] [535] between the two societies. Presently the elderly *a'alk* returns, clad in his ceremonial costume consisting of the head-gear, a blanket, and a narrow apron from which hang deer hooves, small pieces of copper, or other jingling articles. The singers strike up his song, and he dances near the fire in a manner depending upon which of the four dances he has the right to perform. Again the *siki* leaves the house; when he returns he announces that a *tutwinam* is coming with a song for the youth, naming the one who is to be made an *a'alk*. A moment passes, and in stalks a masked figure depicting the form taken by the first ancestor of the novice, or the being from which one of his later forefathers received an *a'alk* prerogative. Sometimes two of these beings appear. The apparition circles the fire, stops beside the singers, and chants a song to them in a low voice. Then it enters the back-room and is seen no more. Presently the singers strike up the song they have just heard. To those who are neither *a'alk* nor *sisook* it seems that the song was brought by the supernatural visitor; in reality, it is the one previously composed by the singers and taught by them to the wearer of the mask to lend realism to the performance. The youth concealed within the back-room does not emerge on this occasion, the song is merely sung in practice. Sometimes the masked figure appears during the daytime and walks openly along the shore of the river like a foreign guest, as indeed it is said to be.

[184] [178] The coming of a *tutwinam* is one of the points of resemblance between *a'alk* and *sisook* rites. The older people agree that this has long been a feature of the former society, adopted by the latter in recent years. The description given in this section appears to be of the original and proper use, although, as already noted, the *sisook* have recently employed *tutwinam* for somewhat different purposes.

It is uncertain whether or not the *a'alk* novice remains secluded any longer within the back-room. In ancient times he probably did, but with the recent growth of the *sisook*

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society and decline of the *a'alk*, concealment has become limited to initiates of the former organization.

No more *a'alk* dances take place during the potlatch preliminaries, but with the coming of the first group of foreign guests, the host displays as many types of dance as he is entitled to, including *a'alk* if he has the necessary prerogative. On this occasion other *a'alk*, especially relatives of the donor, give their dances, the only time that such are used at potlatches except by novices receiving names. This is repeated on the arrival of every party of guests.

Meanwhile the novice, or novices, has been practising the proper steps for his appearance, which always occurs immediately before the entry of the masked figure representing the donor's dead relative. As already mentioned, there are four kinds of *a'alk* dances, known as *nusqwal*,[1] *llaiyākam*, *qi'aqa*, and *am'lel-a*. A similar song is used for a dancer of any one of these four; the text describes some small incident of the ancestral myth in which the name occurs, such as the bringing down of the prerogative by the first incumbent in the beginning of time. At the proper moment, the singers beat this out and the audience joins them in singing it. Then the singers begin to strike rapidly on the floor with double beats, assisted by the guests who clap their hands in rapid couplets. Out comes the dancer, resplendent in his head-dress decorated with weasel skins, and women with the required prerogative begin to drone. If his prerogative is as a *llaiyākam* or *qi'aqa*, he proceeds to a place beside the fire and begins to run around it, sunwise, in short mincing steps, revolving at the same time on himself. He clasps his hands behind his back and bends down, then stands upright with palms extended upwards, never ceasing to move his feet in rapid steps. This type of dance is far more violent than a *susask* one, and the amount of energy expended by a dancer in his rapid circuits of the fire is tremendous. Never, even for a moment, are his feet quiet, while his body twists and bends in an amazing fashion. After two

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[1]Among the supernatural beings, the *nusqwal* is a yearling mountain goat. [776]

556 or three rounds he retires utterly exhausted. The time beaten
575 out for a *nusqwal* or *am'lel·a* dancer is the same. He too comes
535 near the fire and at first dances in the same manner until the
[533] singers in unison bellow out, *Wai··*, "More." With a run that ends in a crashing leap that seems to shake the floor, the performer takes his position between the fire and one of the side walls and begins to revolve furiously upon himself. His body is bent forward until it seems as if all that prevents him from falling to the floor is his hands clutched together as far as possible behind his back; while his feet move so rapidly that the short mincing steps run into each other. Gradually the beating becomes less violent, only to be followed by another cry of *Wai··*, and another rush and jump that lands the dancer behind the fire. Here he revolves once more in the same furious fashion; the same is repeated on the side of the fire opposite to the place where he first performed, and finally between the fire and the door. *Nusqwal* and *am'lel·a* are the most strenuous of all Bella Coola dances and the performer is glad to retire. He afterwards joins the audience. This dance entails no taboo or restrictions on the dancer.

This terminates the performance of this type of dance at a potlatch, but among the goods distributed are some to validate the name acquired by the dancer, and others to legalize his actual display.

574 The occasion on which importance and solemnity are
575 attached to *a'alk* dances is during potlatches, but they are
535 also given at other times. Most Bella Coola performances are so steeped in the presence of the supernatural that the element of enjoyment is secondary, but in the spring, after the
[796] end of the *kusiut* season and before the salmon come to the rivers, dances for pleasure are of common occurrence. A *susaok* can call his fellows to his house and the singers beat out *susaok* songs to which the owners dance, but the most common hosts are *a'alk*. Of course an individual may be a member of both societies, but the heralds invite the guests in his *a'alk* name. Those summoned include both members of the society

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and those who are not. Any *a'alk*, provided that he has enough food for a meal, can call in his neighbours, but the one who usually does so is a man who has received his name a year or two before the occasion. 574 575 535

A few days before the time selected, the host asks the singers to compose a new song for him. For a *nusqwal* dancer particularly, and in some cases for any one of the other three divisions of the society, the text does not deal with incidents connected with the host's ancestral story, but with humorous or disgraceful incidents of the present time. If a man has caught ten salmon and kept them all for himself, his miserliness is commented upon in the song; if a wife has deserted her husband for another man, the actions of the two are mercilessly ridiculed; if a chief has failed to display generosity it is likewise recorded, and reference is made to errors in dance ritual. To do this is one of the functions of a *nusqwal*, and the singers are always ready to assist him. At the same time they often add a new incident to the tune belonging to some other *a'alk* dancer so that he too will be able to perform. In this way the airs are remembered from year to year, which is different from the customary Bella Coola usage. 575 574 535 533 [626]

On the morning of the day chosen, the host asks one of the singers to beat a drum repeatedly but slowly, as a signal that a non-ceremonial dance is about to take place. About noon, heralds go from house to house announcing who is to give the dance. In the late afternoon the people gather in the donor's house where men, women, and children seat themselves without distinction of rank, the only reserved place being that for the singers behind the fire. They beat out the host's tune and he dances to it, while the singers themselves sing the words to the amusement of the audience. Using their own discretion, they then beat out the tune of another *a'alk* and he also dances, followed in succession by a third, a fourth, and as many as the singers think fit. Sometimes the songs of *sisaok* are used in a similar manner. When many have danced, the host distributes food to all his guests, not forgetting to give the largest [202] [203]

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575 574 535 [533] [525] [526] [178]

presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds. These conclude the chief features of the *a'alk* dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *sisaok*, they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

A'alk ORIGIN MYTHS

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Theoretically, every Bella Coola *a'alk* should be able to record the myth in which his name is embodied, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both ancestral and *a'alk* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *a'alk* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *a'alk* can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kimsquit *nusqwal* for his name *Sinxälotla* which came to earth with *Smaoan* (I, p. 332) in the beginning of time. Another Kimsquit *a'alk*, *Tłaiyäkam*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sinuxetł* (I, p. 326), who assumed the designation of *Tłaiyäkam* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *Wi'tälao*.

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The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once,[1] long, long ago, *Älquntäm* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *Sinxan·a*, and a mortal; so he

[115] [177]

[1]Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

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539 to the cave and greeted their long-lost brother affectionately. Though
575 he, too, was delighted at the reunion, he said but little, and for two days told them nothing of his experiences. They remained in camp and on the third night *Älkwi* told his brothers that he had obtained supernatural hunting powers. The following morning the four went out and killed so many mountain goats that the cave was filled with their carcasses. Their good fortune was amazing. *Älkwi* sent one of his brothers to invite to the cave not only the people of Kimsquit but of the whole countryside as well. While he was absent on this errand, the remaining three prepared and smoked the meat, taking care to preserve the leg bones.

Within two weeks the guests began to assemble. *Anokokwäls* was a good place for a ceremony because *Älkwi* had decorated it with paintings after its roof had opened to show him the upper regions of space.[11] When all the people had arrived, the host gave a mountain goat leg-bone to each, asking every recipient to beat time with it. Then *Älkwi* danced
[535] a *nusqwal* dance, imitating the one he had seen done by the goat. After performing, he unfolded the story of his adventures and finished by giving away valuable presents of smoked meat and goat grease. Thus was initiated this particular *nusqwal* dance.

In later years, *Älkwi* had such phenomenal success in hunting that
[551] by distributing the spoil he was able to create and confirm for his youngest brother the name, *Nustakwalämi*, "The One Who is Always Successful." This has since been transmitted from one generation to another. *Älkwi*,
[103] too, is responsible for the name of Mount *Tcopinätl*, "Leg-Bones." On one occasion he killed a large number of mountain goats on the mountain and left their leg-bones, *tcopinätl*, piled together near the spot. He instructed everyone to refer to the mountain by that name, which has since been done.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY

575 A few words should be said about the reputed early history
578 of the *a'alk* society. Its members seem always to have been on the best of terms with the *sisaok*, and there is no mention of feuds between these two organizations. On the other hand, there is said to have been constant friction with members of the *kusiut* society.[12] The latter comprises a large number of individuals bound together by the possession of supernatural

[532] [11] These paintings are said to be still in existence, and the sister of one informant claimed to have seen them.

[12] This point is elaborated in vol. II, chap. 1.

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he can. Several of the older people mentioned that early white traders would have received more for their goods by giving them away than by selling. 556 431

Even at the present time the Bella Coola sometimes carry out a practice which was once common. Particularly in the early autumn or in spring, a chief who has large supplies of food may decide to show his wealth to the members of a neighbouring tribe such as the Bella Bella. Alone, or with a few friends, he goes to a foreign village where he is sure to find accommodation in the home of some friend, relative, or important chief. In the evening he invites the inhabitants of his host's village to the house in which he is staying, and uses the food he has brought with him to provide them with an elaborate meal. His guests now feel it incumbent on them to repay this generosity, and one of them asks the singers to beat out one of his songs, the Bella Bella equivalent to *sisaok*, *a'alk*, or even *kusiut*. The owner dances to it and then gives presents to the stranger to validate the performance he has just witnessed. This is repeated by everyone to whom he has given food, and although each present may be small, their total is greater than the original outlay. Sometimes a poor man, feeling himself too insignificant to give a ceremony of this kind, takes a supply of food to a foreign tribe to sell. If the hosts wish to show their generous dispositions they persuade him to give it away in the fashion just described, which always brings in more than he could obtain by sale. It is even customary for the hosts to lend such a stranger enough food for public distribution if his own stock is too small. 556 648 [484]

Although the most important Bella Coola dances are performed at potlatches or during the *kusiut* season, they are not confined to these periods. Professional singers do nothing else and, except during the run of salmon when everyone is busy fishing, a dance occurs every few nights. Supernatural beings are not called down; consequently there is little solemnity and everyone has a good time. On these occasions, *kusiut* songs are first beaten out, followed by *sisaok* and *a'alk*, and the owner 533 535 574

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533. of each song dances to it. Anyone who has enough food to
535 provide a meal for all is glad to invite his neighbours to such
574 an affair, but the singers and heralds can force a stingy man to act as host. Everyone knows his neighbour's resources and the singers have no hesitation in going to the house of a man with an ample supply of food and beginning to beat out songs
[203] there. The heralds are quick to see what is happening and
[626] call the people, with the result that the involuntary host is compelled to provide a meal in order not to be thought mean and churlish. Without waiting for the singers to take the
[203] initiative, heralds likewise often invite people to the house of a man whom they know to be well provided with food.

During the summer, the necessity of laying in supplies of
[221] salmon makes it impossible to hold many dances, although one
796 of the non-sacred type just described takes place whenever there is a lull in the fishing. In the early autumn, when ber-
556 ries, fish, and game are abundant, the thoughts of chiefs turn
796 to potlatches and the lengthy preliminaries are begun. At this season, too, a chief who lacks sufficient wealth to invite foreign
[221] guests, calls in his neighbours for a *susaok* dance and initiates
575 some of his young relatives into that society. The ritual,
535 described in the last chapter, resembles that of a potlatch except that no new house is constructed, there is no return of a dead relative, and the ceremonial connected with the coming of foreigners is necessarily omitted. In some cases a chief performs this type of rite a year before he proposes to hold a potlatch, and explains that he is doing so because he will be unable to give presents to the inhabitants of his own village
[426] at the later affair. Gifts so distributed are returnable with interest, though it is not obligatory for recipients to do this in time for the donor to make use of their repayment at his potlatch.

Ceremonials of this nature occupy the Bella Coola during
[575] the early autumn, while in winter *kusiut* dances take place
[535] almost nightly. When they are over, it is time for the non-sacred variety of *a'alk* performances, and for another type of
rite, nusäxkämx.

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rite, *nusäxkämx*. This can be described here, since, although not closely associated with the potlatch, it serves to teach children the principles of present-giving and indebtedness. February is the proper month for *nusäxkämx*, although preliminary arrangements are made early in the winter. A chief who has a son or daughter about ten or twelve years of age may decide to use some of his food, and a small part of his wealth, for the benefit of the child. With the assistance of his relatives, the father begins making large numbers of toy canoes, miniature bows and arrows, small baskets, and models of all other types of articles commonly given away at potlatches. The manufacture of these requires several months, but towards the end of January they are nearly ready.

A name must then be chosen for the child. Since a *nusäxkämx* dance is a humorous, non-sacred affair, a *nusäxkämx* name is not embodied in a myth, but is drawn from some story. Occasionally, parents decide on a new one, but more often the designation selected is one used for the same purpose by a grandparent of the child. There is no rivalry with regard to names of this type, and one of them can be re-used without asking consent of the last incumbent, although permission would never be refused. There must be a song with each name and the grandparents and other elderly relatives teach this to a number of boys who are to act as singers. The words may have been remembered from a previous occasion; if not, a simple theme is composed by one of the old people having some reference to the name about to be conferred. For example, one appellation of this type is *Ṭopiwac*, Fawn, and the accompanying words are:

"We hear that Deer has borne a child."

Another name is *Qolon*, Beaver, and the song: "Be of good cheer, the Beaver is coming."

A third song is, "Go outside under the house like a dog."

Occasionally a small incident in an ancestral myth is used. The teaching of the song to the juvenile singers is a source of constant merriment; the parents and grandparents are the

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852 principal instructors, aided by the professional musicians.
867 Boys are always willing to act as singers for the practice they
[533] receive, and the gifts they will acquire. Other lads are chosen to act as heralds, an effort being made in each case to pick those likely to pursue these professions.

[796] The day finally selected for the ceremony is in February, on a date when nothing of importance is taking place. The juvenile heralds summon the child guests, who have been invited in accordance with the rules governing a potlatch, especial care being taken to omit none to whom the child donor is indebted. His father carefully instructs him in this matter, thus impressing on his son's mind one of the fundamental points of Bella Coola life. In the late afternoon, when all have
[535] assembled, the boy singers beat out the donor's song and he dances to it. It may be in the nature of a *sisaok*, *a'alk*, or *kusiut* dance, according to the wishes of his parents. In many cases, one of the grandparents or some other old relative likewise dances to the song, using whatever style he chooses. There is no ceremonial significance to the ceremony and all enjoy themselves immensely, especially the adult guests. After
[553] the dancing, the new name is announced and presents are given to the guests. The father of the young donor carefully instructs him as to the scale of his gifts, emphasizing the necessity of rewarding the singers and heralds, and of repaying with interest those children from whom he has received favours. In this way, the ceremony serves as a practical example of how to conduct a potlatch. The parents of the donor always provide some tasty food for the occasion, and this is distributed after
[556] the gifts have been handed round. The necessity for food and presents makes it impossible for any but the children of chiefs to enjoy this training.

After the ceremony, the children parade up and down the sidewalk in front of the houses, singing boisterously. The performance has been for their benefit and they wish to "show off." One night completes the affair, but the following afternoon another child may summon his comrades to a similar

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ceremony. The child singers first beat out the song of the present donor, then that of his predecessor, to which the latter dances once again. If food is plentiful, *nusäxkämx̣* ceremonies may be carried out every day for several weeks, or a year or two may elapse without one. A child's song is remembered from year to year and he dances whenever it is beaten out. The name acquired in this way is used semi-jocularly by a lad's comrades. After marriage, it is considered unfitting for a youth to be concerned with *nusäxkämx̣* and he normally becomes an *a'alk*.

852 867 [796] [533] [535] [551] [885]

Ceremonies of this kind have been discontinued for many years and it was impossible to obtain detailed accounts. The main features are clear: they served to instruct children in the methods of present-giving. According to one informant, there were two types of *nusäxkämx̣* ceremonial; one of the humorous pattern above described in which, however, food alone was given away, and another in which miniature presents were distributed. This man believed that the latter was only possible for the children of wealthy chiefs, and that on such occasions the themes consisted of small incidents in the family myth. In either case, the importance of ceremonial can be judged from the manner in which it was impressed upon mere children.

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their craft and set out on foot along the overland path to the head of South Bentinck Arm. 539*

Midway along this trail the travellers saw a house, called *Tcäkwalotl* because it could lengthen itself at will. From this supernatural sight each of the five became a shaman. This house was a replica of the one above in which mankind was made and, like it, contained many rooms, in each of which lived an individual speaking a different language. *Äl·imulsaix* failed to understand them and in his annoyance scattered the speakers, who fled to different parts of the coast where each increased and perpetuated his own language. This is why the various coastal tribes have their own tongues; if *Äl·imulsaix* had been able to understand them in *Tcäkwalotl* there would be no diversity of speech now. [829]

Various dances were taking place in the rooms within the house. There was a constant din from the large whistles used in *sisaok* ceremonial which sounded of their own accord and were continually answered by Echo. Only at this place and at *Nusqalst* did Echo appear to the first people; hence only the descendants of *Äl·imulsaix* and of the *Nusqalst* people have the right to portray him in their dances. *Äno°likwolsaix* (II, p. 8) stood near the door; when at last she called out, the *sisaok* whistles became silent as if in fear. [424] [535]

Continuing their journey the travellers reached *Täl·io*, at the head of South Bentinck Arm, where a solitary man, *Nusxemda*, was living. At this place *Ťlakwakilayekwa* gave birth to Raven, who was born as a boy with the legs of a raven. *Äl·imulsaix* named him *ixlqotlamsqwaxdjinas*. After a short sojourn at *Täl·io* they ascended the river, and presently *Äl·imulsaix* saw a female grizzly bear, whom he also invited to join the party as his sister. The bear accepted and he endeavoured to change the creature to a woman. He had fair success with the paws and face; that is why these parts of a bear are similar to those of men at the present day, but the beast's hairy hide defied his efforts and in disgust he told it to run away. Before banishing it, he bade the animal always show a friendly disposition to human beings, wherefore grizzly bears at *Täl·io* have never been known to attack a person. The party proceeded up the river to Mount *Stap'*, where *Äl·imulsaix* found a repository (II, p. 8) through the discovery of which he became a Cannibal with the name *Snunikka°kis* and an eagle as incubus. From this point they returned to *Täl·io*, where they settled permanently. [825]

Many of the names which occur in this myth are still in use. Mrs. Schooner's designation as chief is *Ťlakwakilayekwa*, a name that can be used by either man or woman; in the former case the suffix *yekwa* is 551

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presents were distributed to validate the name, *Ťlaiyākam*, which *Sinuxetl* had chosen for himself. 539*

Sinuxetl married a Bella Bella woman who brought with her the prerogative of a dance with respect to the devil-fish. In Bella Bella this rite was connected both with the *kusiut* and the *sisaok*, but in Kimsquit it was performed only as a *kusiut* dance. It was first given there by *Łulqwan·i*, a relative of *Sinuxetl*, and has since been performed in like fashion in Kimsquit. Their daughter received the Bella Bella name, *Xelāsu*, which has since remained in Kimsquit. [424] [575] [535] [551]

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Āxet·i*[40]

In the beginning of time there came to *Āxet·i*, on the east side of the Dean River, about one mile from the sea, *Sonxwāāks* and his three younger brothers. They brought a stone hammer as their present from *Ālquntām*. After they had lived some time on this earth, *Sonxwāāks* asked *Yulātimut* to have a canoe ready for him on the morrow. By the next day *Yulātimut* had completed a fine craft. *Sonxwāāks* was delighted and spent four days fitting it out; then set out with his three younger brothers for a trip to the far north, where he knew by report that abalone-shells were to be found.[41] The four did not know the route and were constantly penetrating into fiords from which there was no exit; however, they persevered and were helped by all whom they encountered, *Sonxwāāks*'s name being well known. After a month's voyage, they reached their goal. They found themselves before a lofty precipice falling sheer into the ocean with a cavern visible in it at very low tide. This they boldly entered. At first they were deluged with falling star-fish; in fact, their canoe would have been sunk by the weight of these if the youngest brother had not held up his cedar-bark cloak to ward them off. A little farther on they found countless abalone-shells, with which they swiftly filled the canoe, fearing lest the tide should rise sufficiently to prevent their return if they stayed to investigate further. Once safely outside they camped, and the eldest brother took the opportunity to bestow names on the younger brothers for things they had seen or done on the way. He called his second brother *Nuswin·āmx*, "The Warrior," as if he had fought against the abalone; the third *Ālus·limān*, "Falling Star-Fish," and the youngest *Ālusqox*, "The Roof-Maker," a reference to the

[40]Related by Jim Pollard. Boas (p. 60), has recorded a similar myth from Bella Coola with different characters.

[41]The Bella Coola are emphatic in stating that abalone-shell comes from the north or the east; possibly this may be explained by an indirect trade route. [487]

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make a salmon-weir. In accordance with *Ālquntām*'s instruction, *Smaoan* planned to make a circuit of the world seeking a suitable place to settle. He started northward, in eagle form, scattering eagle down, wherefore this material has ever since been highly regarded and is used as a symbol of peace. Owing, moreover, to the eagle down scattered on the mountains, there has always been much snow in that region.[12] 539* [778] [821]

Sometimes as he travelled he assumed the form of the sun, for he was so powerful that nothing was impossible to him. Far in the north *Smaoan* obtained an enormous copper, which he carried back to Kimsquit without completing his original plan of circling the earth. He perched on a tree near his brother's almost completed salmon-weir.

"Why don't you change yourself to a human being?" *Omqomkilıka* inquired.

"I am waiting until our food is more plentiful," *Smaoan* replied. "Besides I have been to the far north where I obtained an enormous copper."

When the weir was completed and *Omqomkilıka* was catching many salmon, his brother at last decided to become a man. But instead of sending his cloak back above he animated it, as an eagle. *Smaoan* now became an ardent fisherman and was much annoyed by the thefts made by the bird, though he himself was responsible for it not having returned to *Nusmät·a*. After about a year he suggested to *Omqomkilıka* that they should kill it, but the latter demurred, since it was the guise which *Ālquntām* had given *Smaoan*. The latter said nothing, but the next time he saw the eagle stealing his fish he killed the bird, without consulting his brother. No sooner had he done this than he felt sorry, but it was too late; he could not restore the eagle to life.

Owing to the salmon given them by *Ālquntām* the two brothers were now very prosperous, and *Smaoan* began to think of marriage. One day he noticed some chips floating down the Dean River, so he judged that people must be living on that stream. He set out to investigate, met *Yeālos*, and married his sister *Sximāna*, as has been described in a Dean River myth. To celebrate this event the two brothers prepared to invite people from far and near. First they lengthened their house to accommodate a large number; it was of the type known as *tcäkwalotl*, though it could not expand without human agency. Then they painted their spoons with designs of the *mätsqus*, since they had brought that creature with them from above. Now everything was ready and they summoned their guests. When all had assembled, *Smaoan* gave a *Hlaiyäkam* dance [424] [535]

[12] The clouds which float over Kimsquit before a west wind are still called "*Smaoan's clouds*," in memory of his journey. The myth fails to explain how *Smaoan* was responsible for these phenomena.

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* 539 to commemorate the killing of the eagle. The text of his song described how he had come to this earth and how he had slain the bird which had [424] been his own cloak. This dance was duly validated by presents of [535] salmon, and has since been carried out by the descendants of *Smaoan*. It is assumed that the concept of such a dance was given to him by *Ālquntām* before he left *Nusmāt·a*, but he used his own discretion on this earth as to the actual reason for it.

At this gathering of people, virtually a potlatch, *Smaoan* took for himself the name *Ānuqplālaix*, "What Fills People." He chose this name with reference to the countless salmon caught in his weir.

Smaoan next travelled to Bella Bella seeking a wife. His fame and wealth were so well known that he was able to wed *Ťlākwaitl*, the daughter of a powerful chief. She had the valued prerogative of wailing, a right which had been duly validated by presents. Her father told her that when she was going with *Smaoan* to Kimsquit she would pass *Yuyulmxl*, a man who had been turned to stone on the skyline above the western side of Dean Channel, about five miles from its head, and that unless she wailed as she passed him her children would be unable to enjoy this prerogative. The reason for this injunction is not now understood; it is merely recognized that as *Yuyulmxl* became petrified near *Smaoan*'s home he became, in some manner, a crest. As the canoe bearing *Ťlākwaitl* passed *Yuyulmxl* she began to wail and weep, nor could her husband soothe her. He, for his part, told the herald, *Nuslliuq*, who had come with him from above, to call out as follows:

"Hello! Crest, our chief has married a Bella Bella woman; as you are his crest, so are you hers."

[484] When *Nuslliuq* had called this a second time the stone man answered. [763] Ever since, passers-by have addressed *Yuyulmxl*, and a failure on his part to reply is considered an omen of death.

Ťlākwaitl brought her husband several valuable prerogatives, a *sisaok* dance with the large cone-shaped whistles, several *kusiut* dance rights, as well as some dyed cedar-bark. According to one of *Smaoan*'s descendants, this is how the *sisaok* ritual reached Kimsquit. Among the Bella Bella, whales can only be eaten by chiefs, and *Smaoan* received this right from his father-in-law. The latter also gave his son-in-law a dead whale, which was towed behind the canoe towards Kimsquit. *Smaoan* knew that his people would object to it being brought into the river, since there was a firm belief that a whale would drive away the salmon. Accordingly, he beached the carcass in the fiord and there dried the meat in smoke.

Smaoan now determined to give an elaborate potlatch at which he planned to portray his prerogative with regard to the whale. He decided to build his new house of the semi-subterranean type; when it was finished

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584 ceived information of the proposed marriage, but they always plead ignorance, and deliberate for several days. Y's parents and other relatives take part in the discussion, and Y herself may likewise be taken into confidence. Although a daughter has, theoretically, little choice, in practice she exercises a great deal of influence. Her mother and father weigh the suitor's [581] eligibility not only with regard to wealth and ancestral possessions, but consider his character. An immoral young man is not desirable, though neither is one who is impotent.

If Y's relatives agree to the proposal, some one of them informs the intermediary, or X's father, and the young people are considered to be engaged. The fact is supposed to be kept secret for several days, although the news usually becomes known sooner. X's relatives as soon as possible take a number 583 of presents to Y's family. These are given in private, and are 584 termed "secret gifts"; they are said to give strength to the future children. Since no witnesses are present it follows that no social prestige accrues from the transaction. The relatives included in the "family" of either X or Y are not always the same; uncles, aunts, grandparents, may or may not take part in the giving and receiving of presents, the parents alone always do so. Sometimes distant relatives take a leading part in the arrangements, either in hope of receiving valuable gifts, or of obtaining social influence by lavish giving. If X's relatives have reason to believe that Y's family will accept their proposal, several of them may go in company and actually carry the "secret gifts" to Y's house at the time of making the first proposal. Should this be rejected, they merely carry away their goods, and as the affair has been private, no one's vanity is hurt.

The acceptance of "secret gifts" binds the engagement of X and Y, but a few days elapse before this is made public. If 556 X's family is wealthy, his father, or other near relative, pre- 584 sently invites all the inhabitants of the village to his house. ●535 The singers, in their usual stations behind the fire, strike up 575 the tune of some *kusiut* and the owner of the song, thus warned,

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dances in time to it. Using their own discretion, the musicians proceed to beat out the time for *kusiut* after *kusiut*, and each performs. In like fashion they then beat out the tune of one *susaok* after another, and each member of that society gives his dance. Since none of the supernatural beings is present, the affair is non-sacred. The singers consult with the host as to the number of songs to be used. When they stop at last, X's father, aided by his younger relatives, gives valuable presents [583] of food. No mention of the coming marriage is made, but the rite gives the donor an opportunity of displaying his generosity as a chief and indirectly increases the importance of the wedding because the value of the food will later be remembered in connection with it.

If X's father is very wealthy, he may recall the people for several nights, always providing the same type of entertainment, and always giving food. He uses his own judgment as to the number of such entertainments, but at that which he decides shall be the last, he announces:

"Tomorrow we shall go to Y's father's house."

If X's father does not wish to give away such large quantities of food he may omit the dancing in his own house and make this announcement at a potlatch, a *kusiut* dance,[3] or any other public gathering. But the more elaborate the ceremonial, the greater is the importance of the marriage in the eyes of the Bella Coola, which in turn increases the strength of the children [858] who may result from it.

583 584

On the morning after this declaration, X's father calls to his house those whom he wishes to be witnesses of the alliance that has been planned. These include as many of his relatives and those of his wife as he desires, and often intimate friends. These individuals comprise the group interested, on behalf of X, in the marriage; they provide the goods which are given for him, and receive the presents from the corresponding group of Y's relatives. Anyone having the necessary financial ability

[3]This is probably a recent innovation.

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585 In the gathering dusk all assemble in X's house; Y's relatives attend or not as they wish. X's father would feel insulted if anyone else should stay away without a valid excuse, but in point of fact everyone is eager for an evening's entertainment. The singers take their accustomed places behind the fire and the guests arrange themselves in the house without reference to rank. The musicians strike up the *kusiut* song of anyone present, and the person so indicated dances. The first tune used is frequently that of X's father, and then that of his mother, but there is no fixed rule about this. The singers [535] choose and beat out tune after tune, and guest after guest dances, but, since none of the supernatural beings is present, the affair is of a non-sacred nature. After exhausting the most popular *kusiut* songs, the musicians beat out the *susaok* songs of many of the guests who, in succession, dance to them; the songs of shamans are used in like fashion. Sometimes the singers continue until everyone present has danced, at other times they curtail the ceremony, as they think fit. When they decide to stop, they intimate this to X's father, who superintends the distribution to the guests of whatever kind of food has been provided.

During the meal, a fluent speaker stands up and expounds 537 on behalf of X's father the ancestral myth in which his son's 585 ancestral name is embodied. Sometimes X's father acts as his own orator, but usually a herald is called upon. Only sufficient [203] details are given to show the importance of X. The myth may either be one of the most ancient type dealing with the first settlement of this earth, or one of later date describing the exploits of X's famous ancestors; but in either case, as shown by the examples given in the last chapter, each contains an account of a marriage. It is always known, although not generally described, that at each of these several dancers performed, their number varying between two and eighteen. The orator, when outlining the myth, stresses this part of it, and always announces how many danced at that time; with the statement that there will be a like number on the morrow. In

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the same manner the fluent speaker outlines a myth belonging to the ancestral family of X's mother, again with emphasis on the dancers used by her ancestors. X, as a member of both ancestral families, can combine his rights from both sides, but it is customary for him to use no more than five or six performers. Should X have no claim to this privilege from either mother or father, an almost unthinkable situation, he is able to borrow the prerogative of using some from friends. The sentiment on which this oration of myths is based is the one so often mentioned; it marks the close relationship between the future children and their noble ancestors of old, a source of strength to the former. 537 585 [426]

X's father now names those whom he wishes to assist him on the following day. These are the dancers, who are chosen primarily for their skill in dancing, and secondarily in accordance with their rank. With them he selects a number of persons to stand near and help or "cherish" them as they perform. He also asks the services of some of the women who are professional droners; of the keeper of the marriage song of his ancestral family; and, finally, of a number of men to sit near the singers and assist them with suggestions. It would be most exceptional for anyone so called upon to decline the honour. It is near morning by this time and the guests depart. 585 [595] [614]

On the following morning, the actual wedding day, X's father calls to his house those selected the previous evening as dancers and their assistants. The former wear blankets decorated with small copper ornaments[6] and carry circular wooden rattles provided with handles. Their clothing and rattles may be their own, but if they do not possess suitable attire, it is incumbent on X's father to provide them. Skins are piled up within the house, and some of these are said to "make soft the [534]

[6]At the present time there is uncertainty as to the proper clothing of a marriage dancer. Several informants stated that it was a copper-decorated blanket, whereas others said that there was no special attire; one man claimed that an attempt was made to imitate the form and costume of X's first ancestor, and another that camel costume was used. Probably there was no uniformity in custom. [292] [535] [184]

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585 handles of the rattles"; symbolizing that they are pads to protect the hands, though the dancers derive no benefit from the pelts, which are stacked with others for later distribution to Y's family. A large amount of provisions has been prepared and placed in boxes, one for each member of Y's family. In many cases it is difficult to estimate how much food will be required, and if there is a surplus, it is eaten by the performers and other assistants.

When all are ready they rush forth; dancers, dancers' assistants, and young relatives of X; children more prominently by his father. The rest of the villagers watch with interest, but do not take part in the ceremony. Choosing a position outside Y's house, the singers beat the time of the marriage [533] song used by X's ancestors; if the words are known they sing [424] them. Like the prerogative of marriage dancers, there may [424] not be a marriage song embodied in every origin myth, but if X lacks such he is usually able to borrow one.* The keeper of the song is stationed near the singers, ready to help them with the words or the tune, if necessary. Meanwhile the [535] dancers are performing on the sidewalk outside Y's house. Each uses whatever type of dance he chooses, *hamat*, *nawl*, *a'alt*, or even shaman's, but all dance simultaneously, though without paying greater attention to each other than is necessary to avoid collisions. The professional drummers ac- [533] company the singing with their high-pitched quaver.

Meanwhile Y's father, surrounded by his relatives and friends, waits in readiness within their house. Y herself is

*The reputed origin of marriage songs has been described in vol. I, chap. vi. They are less strongly preserved as prerogatives than some elements of origin myths; in fact some keepers of the songs are willing to perform at any wedding, although this may be a modern development. The keeper, either man or woman, is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family, after discussion with the singers. It is his duty to remember text and tune, and the only pecuniary advantage is from the presents made by those to whom he teaches it. Some songs have words, others only a tune. The text of a song brought down by *Alquantun* to *Snaik'a'ia*:

"Hello, *Snaik'a'ia*! We do as we have done before. Please make good the path for those who are about to marry."

Alquantun obtained this song from his heavenly ancestor and used it at his own marriage, as his male descendants have since done.

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ciety. These are given several times, serving to recall the 533
ceremonies in which the chief took part during his life. At 575
intervals, the new song is repeated and *nuxsk* members of the 766
audience join in as they become familiar with the words. Frequently one or more relatives of the deceased dance in his [535]
stead during the singing. The details of this rite, especially of the songs used at it, differ considerably according to the actions of the person during life; if a mighty chief, the donor of many potlatches, this fact is described in the song, whereas only an incident from the ancestral myth can be used for a young *nuxsk*. *Many of his female relatives are professional* [767]
wailers, they function during the ceremony. In all circumstances, the rite aims to comfort the grieving kinsmen, an end which it usually achieves.

As already described, *nuxsk* ceremonial was in a state of 575
transition at the time of the coming of the white man. Pre- 766
vious to that date, a spectacular funeral prerogative had been 177
adopted from Rivers Inlet,[1] which has since been claimed by a 424
number of *nuxsk*. All the Bella Coola know of this ceremony, [178]
and most of them desire to perform it at the death of a dearly loved relative; at the present time this is possible owing to the slight regard paid to prerogatives, but it is certain that a few years ago it would have been forbidden to most people, and that it was never a universal Bella Coola rite.

When this rite is performed, the corpse is allowed to remain 575
in its coffin for at least one night after the day on which 766
Mulukila came and the *nuxsk* songs were sung. Meanwhile 532
the carpenters have prepared an imitation body, usually of rags on a light framework, and a wooden representation of the deceased's crest. Since this figure is to come through the roof and carry aloft the corpse, stout hooks are attached to its feet. In theory, the bird or animal disguise used by the first ancestor

[1] One old Bella Coola stated that this prerogative was obtained during his own lifetime from a Rivers Inlet chief who moved to Tal'ds. It is impossible to state accurately when this chief was adopted by the Bella Coola, though it is unquestionably of recent origin.

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556 will now be the forms of the one who has recently died. As
769 soon as all have taken their places, an eloquent chief whose
[537] aid has been requested for the purpose stands up and recounts the donor's ancestral myth in some detail, mentioning the source and meaning of the mourners' marks and the designs of the totem-poles. Then he continues to the effect that the chief will "cry" by relating the history of his ancestors, which is also the history of the journey taken by his kinsman, and that
[195] *this recital will above him up. The word used for this, snuts-*
ténkw, is the one commonly employed for raising a heavy burden with the aid of a lever. Then the singers begin to beat
[533] out the first of the mourning songs, accompanying it with their voices and assisted by as many of the audience as are familiar with words and tune. Every effort is made to make the singing as impressive as possible to add dignity to the recital of the journey taken by the person who is being commemorated. The guests listen attentively and are suitably impressed by the ancestral history of the donor and his family. All the songs that have been prepared are sung in succession in the same manner. The lack of dancing distinguishes this type of cere-
[535] mony from all others and adds somewhat to its impressiveness.

After the last song is the proper time for validating young
[424] relatives of the donor as mourners. One of the miniature
[425] totem-poles, which are light enough to be carried in the hands, is brought from the back-room and given to the boy on whom this prerogative is being conferred. An eloquent speaker explains the meanings of the designs so displayed and enough of the family's ancestral history to make clear whence, and how, they were obtained. The singers begin to beat time slowly, and the youth endeavours to keep time with his feet, while he continues to hold the pole.

Meanwhile the donor and his immediate relatives have been arranging the piles of presents with the inevitable counting and
[537] re-counting. As at a potlatch, a fluent speaker is commissioned to hold up the objects, state whence they have been obtained,
[i.e. - the memorial potlatch - ANALYST]

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expression animated, and, except for his dirty European clothing, he looked and acted like a religious dignitary taking part in an important ceremony, as was indeed the case. While he was speaking there came from without eerie notes of the large, cone-shaped whistles, combined with the yelping scream of an eagle. The effect, even on an audience which knew that these sounds were of human origin, was tremendous. Men and women stiffened in their seats and craned their necks to see what was taking place near the door. A number of the younger men had slipped away during Reuben's singing to help the masked dancer with his disguise. As some of these assistants continued to blow their whistles, others held up blankets to conceal the necessarily clumsy entrance of the performer through the narrow doorway.

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These were dropped after a moment, and out into the centre of the open hall bounded a figure covered with a large white sheet so that only his bare feet were visible. On his head was an eagle mask, from the upper part of his back projected a blackfish, while the head of a raven peered forth from his chest. The dancer, Timothy Snow, who had been chosen for his skill in such matters, leapt forward in a crouching attitude and took a few short, mincing steps as if he were a gigantic eagle hopping on the ground. At once the older Bella Coola women began to drone out, "*i* . . . . ," and continued as long as the performer remained in the hall. He bent down and turned slowly, sunwise, with arms pressed close to his body and neck contracted, then straightened, and took a few more mincing steps, followed by another turn. In this way he moved in a wide, sunwise circle around the hall, avoiding the middle where there would have been a fire in one of the old-fashioned houses. At intervals he raised himself on his toes and slightly spread his arms beneath the sheet, at the same time looking up so that it appeared as if the eagle were rising to gaze at an object in the distance as a sitting bird does so frequently. This brought the raven mask into plain sight. After a survey of this kind, he bent down and ran a few yards more. Alec Davis and two other *nuxalk* fol-

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lowed the actor, blowing eagle down over him repeatedly. After one circuit of the hall, the performer passed out through the front door, from the vicinity of which was heard once more the large whistles and the screaming of the eagle, both growing less distinct as if the bird were flying away. 769 556* 535●

The wearer of the mask displayed considerable dramatic talent and succeeded in giving a realistic display in spite of the glaring lights which exposed his bare feet and betrayed the human handicraft of the mask in a manner impossible in the native type of house with a single, central fire as the sole illumination. The Carriers had watched the performance with interest, probably tinged with contempt, but to the Bella Coola it was no mere spectacle, it was a religious rite of the highest importance. All the spectators realized that the figure was human, but this seemed inconsequential as they gazed upon the representation of the dead woman in the form of her crests, to which they believed she had been transformed by death. Even the children were silent, and the only sound during the passage was the wailing of a sleepy infant. The eagle crest belonged to Jessie by virtue of membership in the ancestral family descended from her father's first ancestor, traced patrilineally, who had come to earth at *Tcimott* in the form of this bird. The blackfish was a crest acquired through her mother; the raven represented a copper raven belonging to an ancestral myth of the dying grandchild. In former times, carpenters would have worked for weeks preparing an elaborate composite figure, but Captain Schooner wished no delay in the ceremony for fear of police interference, so that it was necessary to use what masks happened to be in existence and to place them in conjunction by means of the crude white sheet. Jessie had not been initiated into the *sisaok* society, but no opposition was raised to the use of *sisaok* whistles both on account of her status as chief, and owing to the influence of her father who, a *numitl* chief, feared no restrictions and heeded no conventions. Besides, both her brothers were influ- 769 556* 769 556* 424 178 [575] [622]

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* 787 Dances portraying supernatural beings, carried out with [535] full vigour until a few years ago, further fostered belief in [781] them among participants and uninitiated alike. Consequently, many of the young and middle-aged men claim to have seen visions similar to those of their elders. The incident already described (I, p. 30) of the stump which was thought to be a grizzly bear is a case in point. On another occasion a young man mentioned casually that a few evenings before he had seen a headless man walking along the road and that, wishing to view the monstrosity more clearly, he had tried unsuccessfully to strike a match. The reason was obvious to him; the power of the supernatural visitor prevented the match from lighting. The man, who was undoubtedly convinced of the apparition, may have seen something, perhaps a whorl of fog, somewhat resembling a headless body. A white man would have con- [154] sidered such a sight impossible and absurd, whereas the Bella Coola felt little surprise at the appearance of such a creature and promptly accepted it for what it seemed to be.

[828] Mental activities as well as optical illusions are likewise ascribed to supernatural agency. These include profound agitations of the mind, and even what a white man would consider a passing thought. For instance, one morning when about to start work, a certain man stated that he would have good fortune during the day, that a dream had foretold it. At the time he was moving to a new house and needed help to shift a heavy stove. During the course of the day a number of white men happened to pass by and stopped to speak to him; the stove was mentioned, they offered to move it for him, and did so easily and quickly.

"There you are," said the man, "I told you I was going to have good fortune today."

On another occasion the same man claimed to have felt that misfortune had happened to him and soon learnt that one of his sons had been arrested on a charge of drunkenness and disorderly conduct. The man affirmed that he had this premonition before being aware of its cause.

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occupants of the canoe, heard a roaring noise and saw a fish-weir, similar to those used by the Bella Coola, stretching across Burke Channel, which is about a mile and a half wide at this point. They went close to the beach and a brave man cut a passage through the obstacle. A similar trap was once seen stretching across South Bentinck Arm. 787 * 539

An unusual apparition may be regarded as an omen of death. For example, not many years ago a young half-breed saw a motor-boat moored to the bank of North Bentinck Arm with an eagle seated in the stern. He ran his own motor-boat towards it, but as he approached the eagle became a man. Then as he drew still nearer, never taking his eyes off the other boat, it, with its occupant, sank beneath the water, without leaving so much as a ripple. On relating the incident to his father, the latter recognized it as an omen of death. Six months later the half-breed's sister died, thus confirming her father's prognostication. 787 * 763 [811]

Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate

Experiences such as have been cited in the last section are regarded as of possible, and not infrequent occurrence at the present time. On the other hand, supernatural aid granted to those in misfortune, though it is the theme of many stories, is not considered as likely to happen now. The Bella Coola believe the narratives to be chronicles of actual events, and base their conceptions of many supernatural beings on their characteristics as therein described. There is no ceremonial significance attached to any of these stories; they may be, and are told by anyone, frequently for entertainment. Unquestionably, there is a feeling that the moral brought out in such tales is of value in educating the young people, though this point is never emphasized. 787 * 538 [869]

Supernatural aid granted to an unfortunate person is termed *wlokwaladjut*. Power so obtained cannot be transmitted by the recipient, although memory of the experience is 787 * [575] [535]

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occasionally preserved as the theme of a *sisaok* dance. The term is also somewhat loosely applied to any instance of supernatural help. The reason for the receipt of power is often attributed to the strong supernatural elements of the favoured one, or to his having made himself agreeable to supernatural beings by the observance of ceremonial chastity or other propitiatory means. A few individuals assert that there is a tendency for supernatural aid to follow certain ancestral families, but such a belief is not general.

The following story is typical of the kind of assistance granted although no clear picture can be presented except through the native medium—a number of different tales, such as are given in the following chapter.

THE GOOD FORTUNE OF *'Yeäxdji*

Not long after the earth was first populated there were living at *Ḳwiyai*, near Namu, two Bella Bella men, *Ḳomo'sala* and *Ḳälkum*, with their wives, relatives, and slaves. *Ḳomo'sala*'s son, *'Yeäxdji*, fell a victim to the virulent disease, *llokulx*, which causes the face of the sufferer to swell and his flesh to rot. When the case appeared hopeless, his father called his herald to tell the people to abandon *Ḳwiyai*, and to leave the dying youth alone. Accordingly they removed the planks from the houses, packed them on canoes with all the food and clothing from the village and went away, leaving the unfortunate *'Yeäxdji* alone in his misery. Only an old slave woman took pity on him; before she left she hid some glowing embers with frayed cedar-bark in a large clam-shell and told him where to find them.

'Yeäxdji wept bitterly when his relatives departed, but presently he dried his tears and set about making the best of his position. He unearthed the clam-shell and blew the embers into a fire. Next he made a hammer with which he built a rude shelter. A diet of clams at first satisfied him, but before long he made a hook in hopes of catching some trout. He went up the river to a suitable spot, dropped in his baited hook and almost immediately felt a bite. He hauled up his line eagerly, but it was only a worthless bull-head. Angrily he pulled out the hook and threw the fish back into the water. Almost immediately there was a bite, again he drew up his line only to find as before that it was a bull-head, which he hurled back into the river. This happened twice more, until, discouraged at landing only four useless fish, he wrapped his head

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755 not do so, he would cease to be a shaman, and the ability would
*756 pass to the cured person.

(3) In more difficult cases the shaman uses his basin and seeks assistance from others by a frenzied beating of sticks. He sends some young man out to fill the receptacle at the river, sets it near the patient, and throws water over him as he kneads in the manner already described. While this is going on, and 533 it is often a lengthy performance, another shaman, or someone 535 accustomed to lead the singers, ranges the bystanders into two 755 rows, facing each other between the door and the central fire. Each is provided with a beating stick such as the singers use, and a sounding-board is placed before each row. The clever dancer who has been commissioned to lead the orchestra of stick-beaters stands near the door and the musicians take their time from his movements. First he slowly raises both arms and all beat time softly, then, as he lifts his arms higher, the noise increases, and he sways from side to side as if carried away by the music; as he does so the men towards whom he leans intensify their beating, while those on the other side decrease. Back and forth he sways followed by the beating; nearing the climax he treads mincingly, whereat the noise rises to thunder-pitch, then jumps twice, and as he strikes the ground the drums beat and all the sticks come down with a final ear-splitting crash. Throughout the whole the women drone *i*.....This elaborate beating of time is repeated four times, on each occasion concluding with the double jump which calls forth the double thunder of drums and sticks.

755 Meanwhile the functioning shaman is gurgling and chat-
*756 tering through half-closed lips, and at intervals the leader, or any stick-beater, shouts *hoip*, a call which is supposed to soothe the supernatural beings. The din is tremendous. No explanation could be found of the meaning of this noise.

"It has always been done," say the Bella Coola, and they theorize no further.

At last the shaman rises from the sick person, holding his hands carefully cupped together as if he held something within

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them that might escape. It is the sickness! The din increases; the leader works himself into a frenzy with his rapid gyrations, then he stills the noise as the shaman goes to the door. In dead silence, the more striking in contrast to the previous tumult, he partly opens his hands and puffs against them, as if blowing something out of the door, at the same time calling out, *hoip*. Again the beating of sticks breaks out, again it is stilled, and again the shaman blows forth the sickness. This is done four times. The shaman uses his own discretion whether to send the sickness through the door or the smoke-vent. 755 756 * [535]

A variant of this method is for the functioning shaman to dance during the beating of sticks, before throwing himself on the patient. With chattering teeth and shaking rattle, he revolves sunwise, his free arm bent at the elbow so that his wrist, which he shakes freely, is close to his chin; at intervals he calls out, *snuaixwa*. It is a serious and important proceeding to the Bella Coola, and the effects are considered nullified if a dog barks during the stick-beating. [535]

(4) Some powerful shamans cure by the use of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. A roll made of these two substances is placed among glowing embers until it is itself afire, when the shaman puts it in his mouth. After dancing for some time to the accompaniment of frenzied stick-beating, he hauls forth the bark, still burning, and again puts it in the fire. This is done four times. Then he thrusts the burning bark into the patient's mouth, and leaves it there for some time before pulling it forth. This, too, is repeated four times. When finally drawn forth, it has attracted the sickness, which can then be thrown away by the throwing away of the bark. It seems clear that this must be done by conjuring, but the writer was unable to learn the method employed, and was repeatedly assured that no subterfuge was used. [824] [535]

(5) One illness is caused by a person carelessly stepping on a dead salmon, such as dot the banks of the rivers in the autumn. The fish, indignant, injects a sickness into the offender. [753] [825]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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to make known to all that there will be a dance on the following day, using the name of the shaman. After such announcement, it would be most unusual for anyone to think of leaving a village until after the performance.

Towards dusk on the appointed day the people are summoned to the house of the shaman. Near the door are seated those who are not initiated *kukusiut*; in the inner part of the house are members of the society, with the singers in their accustomed places behind the fire. The shaman stands alone between the fire and the door and sings one of his songs, the time being marked by the words alone. Then he dances, his wrists shaking, his head rolling from side to side, and his feet marking time to the beating of sticks, as the singers accompany the singing of his song. If more than one song has been composed he dances to each, always accompanied by other shamans and by them alone. The shaman's costume consists of the usual blanket, and eagle down is scattered in his hair, with the additional and distinctive mark of intertwined dyed, and undyed, cedar-bark. After every song, the singers beat time very rapidly,[7] too rapidly for the dancer to keep pace with it, so he merely sways backwards and forwards shaking his hands violently. Then the shaman, assisted by a few friends whom he has chosen for the purpose, performs a conjuring feat to impress the uninitiated. The *kukusiut* realize that this may be merely a deception, but since real shamans perform something of the same nature, there is always the possibility that it may be genuine. The shaman may choose some feat which he has seen some old shaman perform, or he may use something which he has seen in a dream; or rely purely on his own inventive ability, aided, as he always is, by carpenters. The method of carrying out each trick is carefully guarded, with the result that it was impossible to obtain information about more than a few. After the conjuring act, the shaman gives food to all, followed by presents. If it is the first time that he has given

[7]This fast beating of time is called *ähl*; it occurs only in shaman and *tsesk* dances.

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such a ceremony, that is, if he is validating his name, the gifts must be valuable. On later occasions, irrespective of whether it is the same trick or another that is performed, the presents will be of small value. Goods so given are not returnable. After dancing, a shaman wears his collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark all summer, in fact until he rids himself of his supernatural endowment by the performance of a *kusiut* rite the following winter. 756* 556 [292]

Thus there is close inter-dependence of shaman and *kusiut* dances. On any later occasion, at a ceremony when songs of all types are being sung, if the singers beat out the tunes of those used at the ritual just described, the shaman dances to them. This is said to "cure" him, as if the power within him was a source of danger. [575] [533] [535]

The following are examples of the conjuring tricks performed, most of them done by the shaman *Ninitsamlaix*, a relative of an informant, who was able to learn the methods employed. 756* 789

On one occasion *Ninitsamlaix* prepared two boxes, apparently the ordinary wooden sort used for cooking; across each he arranged a diagonal cross-piece so that the receptacle contained two watertight compartments. Previous to the performance, *Ninitsamlaix* poured water, dyed red with the bark of the alder, into one section of one of the boxes, and put eagle down in one of the compartments of the other. When the time came to carry out the rite he asked an accomplice, another shaman, to bring some water and pour it into his box. This was done, the assistant taking care to put it into the empty half, not into that which contained the dyed water. *Ninitsamlaix* shook the box and poured out some of the liquid to prove that it really was water, and then drank. The spectators, unaware of the cross-piece, did not notice that he did so from the corner opposite to that from which he had poured the water. He had, of course, drunk the dyed fluid. *Ninitsamlaix* cried out that what he had swallowed was paining him, and proceeded to vomit the red water, much to the surprise of the

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 756 *

shaman pours the grease on the central fire, and throws on it 755
also the figures and some dried salmon. Thus propitiated, it 782
is believed that the dead will be more likely to allow the sickness to be sucked forth.

Shamans from the dead perform conjuring feats and 756 *
dramatic performances of the same type as ordinary shamans. 556
Until he gives his first dance a newly created shaman is known
as a *lsux*, the same word that is used for a *kusiut* initiate, and [575]
during this period he wears the shaman's collar of intertwined dyed and undyed cedar-bark. If he is wealthy and influential, a shaman will repeat his dance every fourth year. Such a per- [796]
formance can be held at any season, although the usual time is after the *kusiut* ceremonies. The dramatic representations are of scenes witnessed in the land below, though sometimes they are done in a reverse manner, following the practice of the dead in doing things strangely. Thus one shaman reported that the ghosts wore very long blankets, but when he danced he wore one that came only to his hips. The method of singing is the
same as that employed by ordinary shamans, but one whose [535]
power is derived from the dead dances with head bent downwards, his free hand pointing to the ground with first finger extended. Also his cry of "*xwai, xwai, xwai*," uttered at intervals with a deep cadence, differs from that used by ordinary shamans. A dance always terminates with the distribution of food to validate the ceremony.

Like ordinary shamans, those from the dead cannot trans- 756 *
mit their power. At death their songs too are lost, unless they 533
choose to give them to a friend who is also a shaman from the
dead. This is obviously contrary to the theoretical belief that [428]
all songs have been obtained during revelations, but is not at all contrary to the Bella Coola practice of having the singers assist the visionaries in "remembering" their visions.

The following tale, although drawn from the distant past, 539
is a typical illustration of one of the many ways in which 756 *
shamanistic power is received from the dead.[8] 775

[8] A few stories of similar type have been included in vol. I, chap. VIII to explain the life of the dead, and others are grouped together in the next chapter.

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/For a discussion and description of the winter ceremonial dances see category 796./

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CHAPTER I

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

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General Observations on the Kusiut Society — Powers and Functions of the Society — Initiation — The Ritual of Specific Dances — Various Origin Myths — Kusiut Prerogatives Other than Dances — The Death of a Kusiut — The Final Rite — Concluding Observations and History.

General Observations on the *Kusiut* Society

IN view of the importance of the *kusiut* society in the lives of the Bella Coola, it would seem logical to have described it in an earlier part of this monograph. Though an integral part of the complicated structure of social organization, it is a secret, semi-religious grouping which can best be treated separately. The word *kusiut* is connected etymologically, according to native belief, with *siut*, the term for a supernatural being. Thus the meaning of the society's designation is "The Supernatural," or "The Learned," for *siut* has both these significations. A member of the society is likewise called a *kusiut*, plural, *kukusiut*.

575* 575* 192 [776]

The investigator soon learns of the existence of the society. If he asks a man his name, and then inquires further what type of designation it is, the answer is always that it is his *kusiut* name, that is, the one by which he is known as a member of the society. Ancestral names are used only at potlatches or other ceremonial occasions, whereas an individual's *kusiut* appellation is the one which he uses commonly. Moreover, for about three months of every year the Bella Coola live in an atmosphere of *kusiut* dances with a performance, or its preliminaries, taking place almost every night. Preparations for this ceremonial season, for so it may be termed, begin four days after the September moon is full, while the actual dances commence early in November and are continued until March. During this period the *kukusiut* are believed to be in intimate

551 575* [124] 535 575* 796 [787]

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535 contact with supernatural beings, so that it is a time for grave
*575 thoughts and decorous behaviour. Even by day the members
796 pass from house to house with dignified mien, not loitering
[787] around the sidewalks nor indulging in frivolity. Every effort is made to prevent quarrels between members who are expected to show by their appearance and actions the gravity of the rites in which they are engaged. Night after night they assemble at the house wherein the dance is taking place; those who have performed, and are therefore most closely in touch with the supernatural, even sleep there, not returning to their own houses until March. A dance usually lasts four nights, and during that time the performer's house, in which it takes place, is termed a *nuqpik*, "An Empty House." The significance of this designation is unknown.

178 Membership in the society depends on a duly validated
*575 ancestral prerogative to perform one of the many *kusiut* dances.
[424] At the present time every Bella Coola is a *kusiut*, even babes in arms being initiated, but formerly no one was admitted until he or she had reached an age of discretion. Some informants went so far as to say that the hair of an initiate must have begun to turn grey, and all agreed that no one was ever admitted until at least twenty, or more often, twenty-five years of age. Initiates were frequently still older; one woman, for example, stated that her mother was past the age of child-bearing before admission. Since only a member of the society
[551] could be called by a *kusiut* name, the uninitiated continued to be known by the ancestral names conferred on them at infancy until they received *kusiut* designations. The importance of the
178 society depends on the belief of the uninitiated in the super-
*575 natural powers of its members, and as there are now none to
796 impress, the rites carried out today are little more than pic-
128 tures of what took place years ago. It is the aim of the Bella Coola to carry out the dances as if uninitiated persons were in attendance, and since most of the following information was obtained from men who well remembered their sensations when not members of the society, it is justifiable to use the present

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*575 787 776 796 *Ālquntäm* enters and confers on *kusiut* matters with *Sexsexkālaix*, his assistant in affairs connected with his functions as leader of the supernatural *kukusiut*.[1] This being acts as announcer and intermediary with *Ālquntäm*, but himself lacks the power of initiating matters. The two discuss whether or not it is advisable to allow mortal *kukusiut* to perform certain dances of the type known as *kusiotem* (II, p.128), and if so, they transmit the necessary power to the earthly dancer who has the proper prerogative, thus enabling him to give a graphic representation of what is done in the upper land.

*575 796 787 776 535 This is the essence of the *kusiut* dances. Each portrays a performance given by one of the supernatural beings in the house above, or some other aspect of his activities. Each earthly dancer has as patron a supernatural being, usually the one who carries out the dance of which his own is a model, and between patron and protégé there exists a relationship by means of which the latter receives the power necessary to perform. To do so, the uninitiated believe that he must receive a *yeux*, which can be translated as "call," from his associate above. Moreover, not only is each patron a supernatural being, but each is guided by *Ālquntäm* in the performance of the *kusiut* rites in the land above, which indirectly increases the prestige of the protégé.

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*575 787 776 796 184 [1]The differences of belief of individual Bella Coola, dependent upon family traditions, is nowhere shown with greater clearness than in this meeting of the leaders of the supernatural dancers. It is clear that the Bella Coola have no uniformity of belief, even in what might be regarded as fundamental concepts. One informant, well versed in *kusiut* matters, asserted that there are five supernatural leaders, *Ālquntäm* and his assistants, *Smaiaikila*, *Sexsexkālaix*, *Snunlkāls*, and *Sunxālotla*. Others were equally emphatic that *Ālquntäm* is the *kusiut* name of the supreme deity, and that *Sunxālotla*, *Smaiaikila*, and *Snunlkāls*, are merely other designations for the same deity with regard to different functions. This belief has been followed during the monograph, by designating the supreme deity as *Ālquntäm*, the name by which he is termed with respect to his *kusiut* powers. These two opinions are not as basically different as appears at first sight. A man [828] is considered as having two, or more, personalities with respect to different rites at which he is called by different names. Since the supreme deity is regarded as a superman, who functions in diverse manners, it is not difficult to understand how these are sometimes ascribed to different individuals, and sometimes to the one under different names.

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though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kusiut* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kusiut* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor.

575* 424 425 553 [556] [578] [426]

(2) *A Patron, omätuts.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

575* 424 776 [533] [535] [578]

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Änoºlikwolsaix.* An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each.

575* 424 778

Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

[773] [781]

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

The following morning the *kukusiut* alone are invited to X's house. The marshals meanwhile superintend the laying and lashing of planks across two river dug-outs to form a dancing platform. On this the singers take their places, in addition to as many *kukusiut* as can scramble aboard. The craft is slowly poled either up- or downstream, according to the direction of X's repository, and more *kukusiut* accompany it along the bank; the uninitiated watch with keen interest from the background. X and his companions proceed towards the river and on meeting the lashed-together canoes are taken aboard. The singers strike up any well known *kusiut* tune, and in time to it as many *kukusiut* as possible dance on the platform surmounting the craft. Each uses his own style of dancing according to his prerogative, so that the scene is strikingly varied and animated. X himself cowers in the centre, practically concealed from the uninitiated by the dancers. On reaching the village the whole party hurriedly runs to X's house, from which the uninitiated are rigorously barred for the rest of the day. Those *kukusiut* who accompanied the party along the bank of the river have preceded them and, as X enters, the droning cry is raised which always heralds the appearance of one who has been in close contact with supernatural beings. 575* 796 [535] [535] [424] [201]

If X is considered trustworthy, he may be allowed to go alone to his repository, although this is only customary when he takes a second or third prerogative. If this procedure has been followed, X tells those present what he has seen; otherwise his companions do so. The uninitiated listen eagerly from the adjacent houses, wondering anxiously what is taking place. Several *kukusiut* blow, or use bellow-whistles to increase the awe of the hearers. Presently a herald is sent out. He goes first to the lowest house[10] of the village, then in succession to those above, announcing in each that: 575* 203

"Something strange has happened to the son of the chief." 796

X's name is not mentioned; if his father is not a chief the

[10] That is, to the one farthest downstream. By always going to each house in order from bottom to top of the village the herald avoids any danger of omissions.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

prohibitions that last not for one year, but for four. X is not subject to any other restraints. If he wishes to go hunting he can remove his cedar-bark collar and hang it for convenience in the forest near his village, redonning it on his return. The *kukusiut* show considerable interest in their new member not only by warning him what he must not do, but by teaching him how to dance and to growl or make other of the necessary, but unusual, noises. During the remainder of the ceremonial season X is required to attend every *kusiut* dance, thereby learning much of the ceremonial, and during the following summer his relatives, especially if food is plentiful, frequently invite the *kukusiut* to their house. The singers beat out well-known tunes, or practise those which will be required for the following winter; if a song has been composed for X he dances in time to it, in the style proper to his prerogative. Formerly, when there were many novices, dances of this type took place frequently and were useful in giving constant practice to singers and neophytes alike. As no calls from supernatural patrons can come at this time of year, it follows that all such dances are of a non-sacred nature, although the uninitiated are excluded. During his period as a novitiate, X has one privilege; he can take food from anyone at any type of ceremony. It is remembered that one novice was even bold enough to take food which had been placed as an offering for the dead.

When the next *kusiut* season opens, X attends every performance. This is probably the most thrilling and nerve-racking period in his life. He does not know exactly when he will be allowed to give his dance, since that is a matter of arrangement between his relatives and the marshals, but he knows that the time will soon be at hand. When the great day, or rather night, actually comes, X is usually in a state of abject terror. The rite itself does not differ from those about to be described except that the first song relates the manner in which X found the repository. But the mental attitude of X differs greatly from that of an old performer. One informant,

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[The Dance of Nonkosim]

if he so desires. The *kukuisi* listen to the song, and when it is running they join in. They practise it repeatedly, until familiar with both words and tune. This part of the ceremony lasts for about two hours.

The singers, and any others who are prepared to beat time, are always provided with long, flat, thin sounding-boards to increase the din of the pounding. When the moderators decide that the song is sufficiently familiar, they call some of the *kukuisi* to carry these boards to the lowest house of the village. They do this, and also scatter clean sand on the floor, as is customary whenever a supernatural being is to come. The uninitiated persons within the house watch with great interest. The singers enter and take their places behind the fire, then other *kukuisi* and finally X himself; his face is unblackened, but he wears his two eagle tails in his hair and a collar of dyed cedar-bark. On his head is a thin cylindrical circlet, about four inches high, of the same material, ornamented with swan's down by the inhabitants of the villages of the upper Bella Coola valley. The collar consists of a roll of grass, entirely covered with dyed cedar-bark from which pendant tassels of the same hang down over his chest; similar ones are worn by *nanai* dancers, except that the tassels hang down their backs. Every *kukuisi* dancer wears these two ornaments, and those who have the necessary prerogative adorn themselves with an apron of deer hoofs or puffin beaks. Blankets are always worn. *Kukuisi* women wear in addition woollen pubic garments.

As the singers beat out X's tune, accompanied by the voices of themselves and other *kukuisi*, he dances. Since his style is typical of all *kukuisi* except Cannibals and a few others, it will be well to digress at this point in order to describe it. X raises his arms until their upper parts are approximately the height of his shoulders, and project outwards and slightly to the front; they are bent at the elbows with the forearms vertical, thus bringing the hands opposite the top of the head. Both wrists are shaken vigorously, the muscles of the lower

[The Dance of Nuxalxnim]

575 arms being brought into play, so that the whole hands are con-
946 stantly quivering without spasmodic movements. Ability to
do this is one of the marks of a skillful performer, and the incon-
535 stant shaking is continued without stop throughout the dance.
[539] Most *Sacrier* songs are in five parts, which may be described as
three verses, separated by two choruses. Near the beginning
of the first verse X stands up, raises his arms, shakes his fingers,
then slightly bends his legs and begins to step in time to the
beating of the sticks. Some dancers remain almost stationary,
marking time, to use the military term, others advance in
steps of an inch or so, at intervals slowly revolving sunwise.[*]
Sometimes X introduces a variation by bending from side to
side, in which case one hand rises above the other. If the time
of the song is very slow, he sinks, bending his knees to a great
extent, and advances in more lengthy strides, never ceasing to
shake his hands. At each chorus the time becomes so rapid
that it is impossible to move the feet in accordance with it, and
then X crouches, his shaking hands the only movement. If it
[#24] is a woman who is dancing—like most *Sacrier* prerogatives, this
[#24] one is not limited to men—the style of dancing is quite dif-
ferent. Keeping the upper part of each arm close to her body,
the dancer extends her fore-arms, outwards, parallel to the
ground, with the palms upwards. Like a man, she shakes her
wrists, but few female dancers move from the spot on which
they start, except perhaps to turn around, sunwise. Females
always keep up a running fire of comments, especially when a
woman is dancing, urging her not to be bashful, but to allow
her hands to shake. Some dancers have merged into one
[#24] prerogative rights acquired from different control tribes. In
such cases they perform in two or more styles, each part
according to one prerogative.

Sacrier are always ready to assist one of their fellows, so
that three or four friends are always willing to accompany the
dancer. They stand close behind him, at frequent intervals
blowing over his head the eagle down which either X, or some

[#11] [*] The Bella Coola state that the Bella Bella [illegible]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of Nuakxnim]

of his relatives, has given them for this purpose. When he 575*
crouches during the chorus they crowd close around, almost 796*
concealing him. Particularly in those dances fraught with 535
danger to the performer, it is customary for any number of his
friends, either men or women, to dance to "help" him. Anyone wishing to do so merely stands up and begins, in time to the music, irrespective of what part of the house he may be in. [543]
It is considered contrary to good manners for a father to help his son, or a brother a brother, but a dancer is pleased to [171]
have aid from anyone else. It is said that in Bella Bella certain *kukwiat* have definite prerogatives of helping in this way, but this is not the case in Bella Coola. Throughout [533]
every dance the *kukwiat* women utter their drooing cry.

This, then, is the type of dance which the uninitiated in 575*
the lowest house see. They hear the song, too, and gaze with 796*
awe at X, imbued as he is with the supernatural power of sight.
Then the mounting-boards are picked up and taken to the next house, where the whole ceremonial is repeated. This is done at each house of the village.[10] All the *kukwiat* now return to X's house, where he once more dances to his song. A bow- [534]
drum is always used to help the singers in keeping time, and when the song has been finished two men continue in turn to beat it all day. X always arranges to have a relative or friend
experienced the distribution of food, which follows his final [574]
dancing. As the *kukwiat* are eating, the marshals deliver their usual admonishments, a task that accompanies every meal. Then they call on the people to erect a raised platform between the fire and the back-wall of the house. Materials have been placed in readiness so that it is an easy matter to build a framework a few feet in height, of which the flat top is screened by a matting wall about three feet high. This is often decorated
with designs of dyed cedar-bark without ritual significance so [531]
far as the Bella Coola of today are aware. X climbs to this platform, the *kukwiat* disperse, and only the incessant pounding of the drum proves that some unusual event is taking place.

[10] Not Bella Coola, but perhaps not to Kimsquit.

[164]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Among the passengers in *Noółqnem*'s canoe are a number of singers, who replace the usual ones on this *nałaxam*. Each wears the same type of mask, painted with red diagonals, and with white feathers* projecting from the top.* After the uninitiated have gazed for some time upon the wonders, their leader, *Swałowwimatił*, takes his place and his followers begin to beat out an ancient song, believed to be sung in *Noółqnem*'s craft as it nears Bella Coola. The theme is:

"See me, mortals, I am *Nawawaistkdimat Noółqnem*, the dancer of *Noółqnem*."

As the music starts, a figure rises from among the singers, wearing a mask with heavy eye-brows* and carrying a light staff about six feet in length, wound spirally with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with a tassel of dyed bark. Holding this in his hand he begins to dance lightly, running back and forth a few steps at a time in time to the beating of sticks, lifting his feet freely from the ground, and bending back and forth in airy grace, all the while waving his wand to and fro. There are no fixed steps, the only essential is that he convey the impression of being light of foot and a good dancer; accordingly, the person selected for this purpose is one with these qualifications. As he moves, *Awałkwałaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is *Nawawaistkdimat*, a dancer of great repute who accompanies *Noółqnem* and guards his singers. At this point *Awałkwałaix*'s own song may or may not be sung. It never varies, and is believed to have been handed down from dim antiquity. X himself must be the singer, accordingly it can be sung only when the dancer has a good voice. If this is the case, the marshals request him to perform, and, if necessary, teach him the exact words. X, standing behind the fire, sings alone and unaccompanied, then the singers repeat the song in unison with the beating of their sticks, and *Awałkwałaix* herself dances, using, of course, the feminine style. At this juncture the uninitiated must be ex-

*Chicken feathers are now used.

*One of these masks was purchased for the National Museum of Canada.

*One of these masks was obtained for the National Museum of Canada.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Dance of Wila]

"Path Clearers" see to it that no one passes between him and the fire. The uninitiated are not expelled from the house and their curiosity is aroused. Meanwhile the singers prepare songs for X, describing his supernatural patrons, and some *kukusiut* carpenters are instructed to make in secret ten small pieces of wood, about one foot in length and six inches wide, sometimes half-moon shaped. They cover these with dyed cedar-bark on which they paint the designs appropriate to each being.[33] On the morning of the fourth day,[34] X blackens his face with soot or charcoal, obtained by pouring water on a fire, and dons the usual *kusiut* costume. A herald then invites the *kukusiut* to assemble in X's house. Presently they proceed to the lowest house of the village, where the singers beat out the tunes of the "Path Clearers," remembered from a previous year. They dance, while X stands, shifting his feet and moving his apron as if he also wished to perform but was too weary to do so. This is repeated at every house of the village, except that in which the potlatch was held; most of the *kukusiut* follow the procession, as do some of the uninitiated. Finally, with X last of all, they enter the potlatch house, where foreign guests and many uninitiated have assembled.

In Kimsquit the preliminary four days of watching are omitted, but from this point on, the rites of the two areas are practically identical.[35] As X enters, all the *kukusiut* who have pounding sticks begin to beat on the floor and the women drone. Without delay, and without attention to the timeless thumping, X begins to dance, sunwise, around the fire, at intervals casting on it particles of eagle down which have the effect of making the supernatural ones above take their places. He calls out intermittently that he can see the beings above sitting down, and a herald repeats his remarks loudly. In Bella Coola the four "Path Clearers" walk close behind X.

[33] The distinctive designs are given by Boas, to whom the reader is referred.

[34] It is possible that X must first lie down when *Nestpam*'s dancer reports that the moon is at the mouth of the river.

[35] It is uncertain whether the differences in ritual are typical of Bella Coola and Kimsquit, or merely represent variations in individual prerogatives.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Dance of Wil·a]

to allow his son to be initiated on the next day. Then X dances once more and the *kukusiut* disperse. 575* 796*

There is no need to repeat an account of the preliminaries of *nabusam*, including the construction of the two shelters in the back corners of the house and the summoning first of the *kukusiut* and then of the uninitiated. When all is ready, a masked figure representing *Xemxemälotla* appears from one of the shelters, and dances around the fire, sunwise, revolving sunwise at the same time, while the *kukusiut* men pound violently, the *kukusiut* women drone, and the uninitiated stare with open mouths. As he dances he sings: [535]

"I am *Xemxemälotla*. The supernatural beings call continually on me as they give me presents. See me."

Then he stands in the centre of the space behind the fire, holding in his hand a stick that has just been given to him and which is decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark and a tuft of swan down at the top and middle. The beating of sticks died down while *Xemxemälotla* was making his announcement, but it now breaks out afresh as *Xemcua* appears. He too dances around the fire, announces his name and stands on *Xemxemälotla*'s right. There is more pounding, and out comes *Ano'likwolsaix*, who circles the fire and stands on *Xemxemälotla*'s left. But instead of remaining motionless she constantly moves about the house, now here, now there, talking to the uninitiated and assuring them that it is *Xemxemälotla* whom they see. She takes care not to come into close contact with the uninitiated as her identity might be detected. One after the other the other patrons emerge, dance around the fire, and take their stations alternately to right and left of *Xemxemälotla*. *Kulilias Nuskämpta* keeps leaving his place as if to seek things from different parts of the house, while *Älmäk'*, who is a kingfisher, moves to and fro in quick, hopping steps, imitating the actions of that bird. A few minutes after *Thiscäplilän·a* has joined the others, *Xemxemälotla* begins to hum loudly: [535]

[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 in banning the rite if they do not think the dancer will be able
*796 to carry it out properly. When the call comes, the uninitiated
[424] are at once expelled from the Cannibal's house; later he rushes to the graveyard and exhumes one of the meat-filled frames previously buried. Non-members watch with horror as he sinks his teeth in the "flesh." Closely guarded, he is then taken to every house where, if they are bold, the uninitiated peer forth from their bedrooms and watch his performance. He carries part of the corpse in his arms and periodically sinks his teeth in the repulsive mass. As usual, apparent attempts are made to tie him to this earth, but in spite of them he escapes to the upper regions where he remains for an unusually long
[824] period. Great efforts are made to reduce him to a state of emaciation, for which purpose he drinks large amounts of water in which cedar-wood has been boiled. When the Cannibal ultimately returns to earth, the cannibalistic incubus is expelled and he at length becomes normal. When dancing, a
[535] corpse-eater constantly bends both hands towards the floor in front of him and upwards, as though raising some heavy object towards his face. Then his head sinks towards this, only to be thrown quickly upwards and to one side, with a wild expression in his eyes. The uninitiated are told that this represents the manner in which he lifts a corpse towards his mouth and bites, only to be revolted by its putrescence. He has, they hear, no actual liking for human flesh, but his incubus fills him with an irresistible craving for it. Frequently
[532] he wears on his blanket wooden representations of skulls (see Plate 7), symbolic of the corpses devoured.

*575 Rarely, a corpse-eating Cannibal kills a slave and pretends
*796 to devour his body as a means of impressing the uninitiated,[*] but usually this is done only under the driving force of revenge
567 or jealousy. If a man hears that a near relative, slave of a
648 foreign tribe, has been killed, he often determines to wipe out blood with blood. He consults a corpse-eating Cannibal, and

[*]Eating of corpses has long ceased among the Bella Coola; the present tense is used merely for consistency.

[See category 116, p 164(A) - ANALYST]

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Scratch Dance]

*575 and the heralds keep telling all to be attentive. The chorus
*796 for every Scratcher's song consists of the supposedly meaning-
[533] less words, *'aii*, *'aii*, as if a child were crying. It is said that the
[171] same refrain is used for Scratch dances by every coastal tribe. After this practice the singers chant forth X's song more loudly, the audience joins in, and he dances. The Scratch
*575 dance differs from all other *kusiut* ones in that there are no
*796 fixed movements, with the exception of keeping time to the
535 beating of sticks with the feet. The dancer sometimes bends down and forward, with arms closely pressed between his legs, or he bends back with arms thrown upwards; to and fro and back and forth he goes with high steps or short mincing ones, with hops or jumps, his arms waving like the arms of a windmill. The best Scratch dancer is the one who can put most action and originality into his movements. The weird effect is increased by moving the facial muscles to cause strange grimaces. Four *kukusiut*, two before and two behind, accompany
*575 X. At intervals he becomes excited and seizes his own hair
*796 as if in internal agony, whereupon his guardians press the back of his neck and call *hoip* to soothe him. His dance completed, he sits down, and no other performers follow him. The
[431] presents provided by X and his relatives are then distributed, those scratched and the song makers being the chief recipients, although everyone receives something. Then there is the usual meal, accompanied by admonitions from the marshals, followed by X dancing once more to his song.

Unlike most *kusiut* ceremonials, this does not complete the night's rites. Accompanied by a number of *kukusiut*, X visits every house in the village, and dances around the fire with wildly waving arms while the whistle sounds eerily. Since the
[535] musicians do not beat time, his dance is without rhythmic qualities, otherwise it follows the lack of pattern just described. When he is brought back to his own house, the frenzied beating of sticks is twice repeated to soothe him, and water is thrown over him. Thus pacified, X goes to sleep and the *kukusiut* quietly disperse.

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Stomach-cutting Dance]

* 575 The singers have also composed a song for each of the *ănuyux*
* 796 and these too must be practised, while the men dance or remain
533 still as they think fit. Since no uninitiated are present the affair is purely a rehearsal. The words of each of these songs is of the manner in which the patron helped X to survive his ordeal. By this time it is late and the *kukusiut* disperse after the usual meal and admonitions of the marshals.

* 575 The next day, *qothm*, the carpenters assemble early in the
* 796 morning to start work. Since X is entitled to portray any of
532 the supernatural beings who are companions of his patron in the land above, it follows that there is wide variation in his choice of masks to be manufactured. The principal supernatural beings are always shown, and any animals, since all are supernatural, can likewise be displayed. As usual, a few *kukusiut* are invited at midday to share the meal provided for the carpenters. The number of masks to be provided is often so great that two days or more are necessary for their completion, in which case no ceremony takes place on the night
[533] which would normally be *qothm*; the *kukusiut* merely gather and again practise their songs.

* 575 But the day after is *qothm*. At dusk the *kukusiut* are called
* 796 in for a final rehearsal of the songs, and then a summons is sent
[515] to the uninitiated, who have been washing and beautifying
[532] themselves in eager anticipation. In Kimsquit it is customary
[184] to hang some of the masks on a sloping pole behind the fire and the sight of these amazes the non-members. First the singers
[781] beat out the song of one of the women mourners and she dances in time to it, while the heralds near the door keep up a steady
[535] stream of remarks, encouraging the woman to perform yet
[834] more strenuously and to have no modesty about shaking her breasts. Then another of the women dances, followed in succession by the third and fourth if that is the number who sang the mourning songs. Next the *ănuyux* perform, each in succession accompanying the song composed for him. Now comes the central feature of the evening, the performance of X himself. As the singers strike up the shaman's song which he is

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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* 575 the enclosure in the opposite corner to that from which they had
* 796 emerged.

776 *Anumintsknum.* Three or four masked figures appear together to portray these beings. Their function is to remind *Alquntäm* of those whom he should invite to his ceremonials above.

Snuuq. As this dreaded monster appears, the uninitiated cower convulsively and the *kukusiut* women drone. Several [789] masked figures accompany the *Snuuq* around the fire, blowing eagle down over the creature, and *Ano°likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is to protect them from the monster. The heralds as usual echo her remarks. After one circuit of the fire, the *Snuuq* disappears into one of the enclosures behind the fire.

Haohao. This supernatural, mythological denizen of the mountains, is in the form of an enormous bird with long beak and bony wings. The mask worn with the disguise is usually [592] about three feet in length, in the shape of a bird's head with long beak. A stick passes from its butt down the wearer's back and is held in place by his belt, thus balancing the heavy, projecting bill (see Plate 8).[1] It is hinged so that the performer can make the mandibles snap together by pulling a cord concealed under his blanket. A good actor, and such is [535] always chosen to represent his creature, bends forward and downwards so that the snapping beak almost brushes the floor; then he rises and pauses like a bird when listening and half startled. Next he runs a few steps, in a mincing manner, thus slowly circling the fire, and ultimately passes from sight into the enclosure other than that from which he has emerged. Several *kukusiut* accompany the actor, blowing eagle down over him, the women drone and *Ano°likwolsaix* keeps up a string of comments. After a short pause a second *haohao* appears and circles the fire with its attendant *kukusiut*. The same procedure is repeated for a third and fourth.

Alxwolätnum. This is the supernatural herald for Thun- [532] der, the leading *kusiut* among supernatural beings. He wears

[1] [see category 16, p 164 (B) - ANALYST]

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

a mask representing a man and carries a stick with which he beats on the floor as he cries out: 575* 796*

"Come, ye supernatural ones. The most famous *kusiut* of all [Thunder] is about to dance." 776

Thunder. The mask representing this creature is large and of fearsome appearance with hooked beak and overhanging forehead; it is always carried by a man of powerful physique (see Plate 9).[1] A box has been placed beside the enclosure so that, when Thunder first appears, standing upon it, his apparent size is increased. He bends to and fro, and up and down, in an amazing fashion, blowing through his clenched teeth, while *Ăno°likwolsaix* informs the uninitiated who he is, and expatiates on his powers. After twisting and turning for several minutes, Thunder leaps to the floor of the house, and as he does so there sounds a peal of thunder. The uninitiated do not know that this is caused by a number of *kukusiut* rolling stones to and fro in large wooden boxes within the enclosures at the back. Then he starts to dance sunwise around the fire, bending down and up, shaking himself and stamping violently, his amazing gyrations being constantly accompanied by the reverberation of rolling stones. Escorted by several *kukusiut* he circles the fire, and after a final stamping and twisting, disappears into the enclosure. In a few minutes he appears again, and repeats his dance. Since no one man is strong enough to carry out this athletic performance twice in succession, the mask has been transferred to another *kusiut* within the enclosure, but of course the uninitiated are unaware of this. Thunder always comes out four times in all, on each occasion dancing once around the fire. Sometimes four different men perform; sometimes the one who danced first has recovered sufficiently to be able to repeat on the fourth round. The usual explanations by *Ăno°likwolsaix* add zest to the rite. On this occasion the customary dance of Thunder with a fire rattle was omitted.

532 575* 796* 776 535

Syngnesăxs. Twelve of these beings appear together, disguised behind masks representing young girls. They are the 575* 796* 776

[1] [see category 116, p 164 (c)- ANALYST] [532]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Ghost Dance]

*575 leave their bedrooms, but peer curiously and fearfully around
*796 the edge of the boards. Finally the party returns to X's house, whence the uninitiated hear the sound of sticks being beaten in a frenzied manner, but without the usual rhythmic conclusion. Each *kusiut* beats as he likes, because it is an affair
[775] of the dead with whom all things are queer and unnatural.

*575 The ghosts wash and take their places in X's house where
*796 the singers are working on a new song. The words, as if spoken
775 by the dancer, describe the land of the dead; how everything
533 is green there; how the river flows from west to east so that the sun travels upstream; how the shades wished to make him a chief, and deceived him by not giving proper presents; how he visited the various towns scattered along the river, finding the bone in one of the houses; and finally how the dead told him of any mistakes in ritual that had been committed in the Bella Coola villages, in Kimsquit, or in *Tāl·io*. This last is, of course, common knowledge, but the Ghost dance is the only *kusiut* ceremonial in which such information is used in the text of a song. Details are given, but the wording is so ambiguous that when the uninitiated later hear the song they do not comprehend its meaning. Since the *kukusiut* have concealed the error referred to, the necessity for veiled allusions is apparent. Everything connected with the Ghost dance is carried out in the reverse order; thus, the reference of X to presents which he did not receive is merely an intimation that he will presently bestow gifts on the singers and the other *kukusiut* who have assisted him. The wordless chorus of the tune consists of
[171] *'aiya'axwaia*, a phrase said to be the same for Ghost dances among all the coastal tribes. The singers practise this song while the audience listens attentively; then it is sung vigour-
*575 ously by all, while X dances. His style differs from that of all
*796 other *kukusiut*; first one arm and then the other is kept ex-
●535 tended, downwards, at an angle in front of the body with the
424 forefinger pointing to the ground. This method of dancing is the prerogative of all Ghost dancers and provides a variation to the somewhat monotonous performances on different

gotlem.

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[The Dance of the Dark-Shade]

preferably skilled carpenters. Heralds visit every house in the village informing all that X has gone to meet, or to wait for, Dark-Shade. 575* 796*

Meanwhile X and his companions are utilizing the last hours of daylight in collecting a large quantity of gum. They build a fire, and by its flickering light the dancer is coated with gum so carefully that even his teeth and nails are invisible; in this disguise he represents Dark-Shade. Early the following morning the singers and those *kukusiut* who have already danced during the current season set off on lashed canoes to meet X and his party whom they take on board. Waiting till the tide is favourable, the canoes are slowly poled up the river. As they come in sight of the village, the singers strike up some well-known tune, and in time to it everyone on the platform between the canoes begins to dance, each using the style proper to his prerogative. It is an animated scene. The uninitiated watch the approach, and gaze with wonder upon the strange dark figure; it is all so uncanny that they need little urging from the *kukusiut* to withdraw to their houses, where they peer curiously through chinks in the walls. Members of the society line the river bank and, as Dark-Shade draws near, one after another cries out that a call has come to him. The marshals have previously decided who shall dance at this time and informed those selected; sometimes it is a *kusiut* who has already performed once during the season, or it may be a person who has not performed for many years. [535] [424] 575* 796* 787

All the *kukusiut* accompany Dark-Shade and her escort to X's house from which all uninitiated have long been expelled. The singers compose a new song of which the words are arranged as if Dark-Shade, not X, were speaking. The theme of one, used a number of years ago, is: 575* 796* [533]

"Let X fetch me to visit mortals."

Unfortunately, the details of X's dance were unavailable. Dark-Shade herself remains for four days hidden within X's house, though he attends the ceremonies of other *kukusiut* and his presence there on the nights of *qotlim* and *nebusam* is a

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

* 533 instrument is the drum.[1] In former times the drum consisted
* 796 solely of a box, though recently skin drums have been adopted
* 575 from the Carriers. There is usually one singer especially pro-
[534] ficient in using this, though sometimes another takes his place;
[177] all such arrangements are completed during the final rehearsal. A final decision is also reached as to who shall fill the three principal parts, *sankwolsäm*, *ältaia*, and *lsulkim*. It is the duty of the *sankwolsäm* or *leader*, to regulate the time; he squats facing the others, who are grouped in a close semicircle, and indicates the rhythm by pounding with his stick on the floor. When a song is to start, he first taps rapidly, then modifies and regulates it throughout. The leader should be the best musician among the singers, and the same individual usually functions on all occasions although a rearrangement is sometimes necessary. In the centre of the singers sits the *ältaia*, *announcer*, who must possess a powerful voice. As already mentioned, every song consists of three parts, each with several subdivisions. When the leader has beaten time rapidly to indicate that the singers are ready, the announcer bellows out the words of the first subdivision so that all the audience can hear them. Crash! goes the leader's stick and his voice gives the key for singing the words just called out, in which the audience is expected to join. As they are finishing, the announcer roars the next subdivision, and the same procedure is repeated. Instead of proceeding to the third, the announcer often next returns to the first, following it by the second. The subdivisions of a single part are never sung through in order once only, there are always repetitions and ramifications according to the discretion of the announcer. At the end of the first part, the leader again beats time rapidly in which his fellow-singers join.
[535] If a dancer is performing, he crouches down without making any effort to keep time with the rapid tapping, and the singing ceases. After a short pause, the second part is sung in the same manner, followed likewise by the third. The function of

[1] Rattles, made of dried maple, are used by some social dancers, but they can hardly be termed musical instruments.

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Nusāxkāmx Songs

The texts of *nusāxkāmx* songs are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. The rites in which they were used have long been discontinued and, since they were never ceremonially important, there was nothing to impress either tunes or words on the minds of the singers. In addition, it is probable that the songs were always less carefully constructed than those of other types. 533* [796]

Song Used for Qalen(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

Qīnnaewistsīya	*sīlmsīnnālcīnsīya*	*sīwīnmlandai*
Be happy,	ye people,	it is about to come,

dīqīnlīyumdai	*dīqalnlanīsīya*
that hidden one(c),	Beaver.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

Qalenī'i	*Qalenī'i*	*wa·xai·yai*
Beaver(d)!	Beaver!	*wa·xai·yai*(e).

(a) This word means "Beaver." It is most unlikely that it was the dancer's own designation, more probably a nickname used in connection with the *nusāxkāmx* rite. [551]

(b) Recorded as song VII D 9b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.

(c) This signifies a person who is hidden ceremonially, such as a *hamat* dancer who has gone to the land above. The dancer expected to be a Cannibal and the rite in which this song was used served as a kind of rehearsal. [796] [575]

(d) This refrain replaces a second and third part of the song itself.

(e) A meaningless series of choral ejaculations.

Song Used for a Kimsquit Woman(a)

Ānnapīlmqudaks	*ānpīnnaudas*	*nqwīnmaxkīdas*	*ālnwīnkīdas*
They heard	of Fawn(b),	when they were playing	long ago(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 9d, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) The theme being of a fawn, the dancer wore a deer-skin. [535]

(c) As in many *nusāxkāmx* songs, the words refer to an ancient story, probably one describing the adventures of deer and wolves; see vol. II, p. 438.

Song Used for Wannipkein, a Kimsquit Man(a)

Lālīwmnīnīmx	*wannnqwīw·ai*	*wnīqīnki*	*qnīlmqīs*
Run in all directions,	ye dogs,	for the first time	it is there

nwnqnīlwm	*ānnīkīyīwm*	*mnnīs*	*mnnīs*
he brings much food(b),	go below the house	?(c)	?(d).

[776] [192]

B *Aiakāsiṣtsmālolsundja* I was not good enough(*d*)	*ālidāk·ānutldai* when came to me	*dikilomomāstutsldai* my patron;	533*

umḟmstqwosamallnndai
I told him so.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Wasqotlnuilots·ltiamālnkt* No one passed outside his house(*e*)	*āmāsdṣ·amālimdai* within sight	*diqotlqotlimḟodai* when blackened his face

enlutlaikilasudai
Moon(*f*).

(*a*) This song, composed by Reuben Schooner, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

(*c*) The reference is to the call. The meaning of this whole first part is highly problematical; the references are intentionally obscure to impress the uninitiated.

(*d*) That is: I did not have sufficient goods to distribute for a ceremony.

(*e*) The theme here changes from a description of the dancer's experience to an account of his patron's actions in the land above.

(*f*) That is: When Moon, the dancer's patron, blackened his face, no one passed even within sight of his house. As uninitiated are forbidden to pass in front of a dwelling in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place, so supernatural beings avoid the vicinity of Moon's house when he is performing. The blackening of the face refers to an eclipse, but has an added significance since it is an intimation of a dance. [776] [784] [821]

As already described (II, p. 229), the Otter dance differs from most *kusiut* rites and the songs are likewise peculiar. They do not vary from year to year and the following example, used during the season of 1923-4, contains many points of an unusual nature, not even understood by the participants themselves. It has only two parts, each with a different tune, and the performer carried out her rite by dancing in two distinct ways. In the first part, she raised and lowered her fore-arms as is customary, but followed this with a smoothing motion, as if she were levelling upturned earth. The significance of this seems to have been forgotten entirely. 533* [575]* [796]* [535]

Song Used for Kuxulān·i, a Female Kimsquit Otter Dancer(a)

A *Alalaxlsqodux* It has always been so,	*yao daḟiyumyumdux* it(*b*) has no shame(*c*);	*sewstkpālstmamidux* all see it

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killed, his reputation would only be increased by the manner of his death. At length *Ne-xwnkai* fired into the air; not until a shower of eagle down was blown forth did anyone realize that his musket had been loaded with nothing more deadly. This marked the establishment of friendly relations.

B T [595] [431]

The Kitkatla had brought their own singers, who now began to beat out time for *Tcuhua* to perform a *xwaak* dance. He was followed by several other chiefs, and then the strangers gave presents to influential Bella Coola on the most lavish scale. *Putlas* likewise performed a *xwaak* dance, and bestowed gifts on the guests to validate it; such were, of course, not returnable. A meal was then served, and after that *Tcuhua* made a speech of which the gist was that the Bella Coola had previously known his achievements as a warrior, they now knew his nobility and bravery in risking his life, and that the name *Tcuhua* could never be forgotten, irrespective of his own fate.

Tcuhua left soon afterwards. It was somewhat difficult fully to comprehend his motive in thus risking his life. Undoubtedly his main object was to display his valour and disregard of danger. Moreover, it gave him an opportunity to impress these qualities upon the Bella Coola, and thus to exhibit his prowess actually within the enemy's camp, which must have been a source of tremendous gratification to him. The alleged motive, regret at killing a chief, may have been a contributory factor.

B T 648 556 574 [721]

Although this visit was an intimation from *Tcuhua* that the Bella Coola need have no further fear of him, the suspicions of years could not be immediately allayed; in fact, an occasional skirmish still took place although *Tcuhua* himself refrained from fighting. A few years after his visit to Bella Coola, *Putlas* prepared to give a potlatch to which he determined to invite the northern chief. Many of the Bella Coola doubted whether the Kitkatla warriors would respect the safe-conduct usually afforded to envoys, and no one was anxious to bear the invitation. At length six chiefs volunteered for the task and set out, though with many misgivings. They stopped *en route* at Bella Bella where a chief of that tribe, *Omgu*, joined the party; he thought that he would have influence with the Kitkatla and might add protection to the Bella Coola. Fearing to be seen by any small Kitkatla bands, the delegation travelled only by night until they could actually reach *Tcuhua*'s village. As they paddled up, they indicated their mission by singing one of *Putlas*'s *xwaak* songs. On hearing this, *Tcuhua* asked one of his Bella Coola slaves whose song it might be, and when he answered that it was one of *Putlas*'s, *Tcuhua* despatched a chief, *Kwinas*, to invite the guests to his house. *Omgu* was thankful when he saw this man approaching, since he felt that it heralded a friendly welcome. The party was conducted to *Tcuhua*'s

[i.e. to the peace negotiations - ANALYST]

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

115 Schooner lacked the mental acumen of Joshua and Jim, but
177 he revealed himself as a tribal patriarch, proud of his family's
[153] history and eager to assist his grandchildren and great-grand-children, but feeling himself lost and helpless in the struggle before them. With sadness, but without bitterness, he used to speak of the approaching end of Bella Coola culture, and his words brought home the tragedy which the spread of civilization brings to so many, and the responsibility resting upon the white people as a whole.

153 Until an intelligence test is devised to correlate the mental
115 ability of the white man with that of the native, it is impossible to compare the two scientifically. None the less, the writer deliberately expresses the opinion that Joshua Moody and Jim Pollard are two of the most brilliant men he has met in any walk of life. They are undoubtedly the most able of the Bella Coola; others have only slightly less ability, while the mass of the population compares favourably with an average white community. Their ability, however, is defi-
178 nitely conditioned by their conservatism. Absolute trust in the traditions of their ancestors has checked speculation, as the established explanation is never questioned; new inventions, unauthorized by custom, have been regarded as almost sacri-
[626] legious; the force of public opinion, while valuable as a deterrent to anti-social practices, has effectively restrained innovations. The Bella Coola are a good example of a community where development has been atrophied by extreme conservatism fostered by religious beliefs.

105 Taking into account the material obstacles, the achiev-
[322] ements of these people have not been insignificant. In former times, provided only with tools of stone and untempered copper, they built graceful canoes, made watertight boxes, hewed planks from mighty cedars, and erected large houses which called for considerable engineering skill. Judged by
[532] white standards, their carving and painting lacked artistic deli-
[535] cacy, but it required no mean ability to portray crest designs to meet their own standards. Passing from the purely mechanical

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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to the aesthetic, their skill in dancing and dramatics is noteworthy: no one who has witnessed a native dance can fail to have been impressed by the performance of the participants and the stage-craft of the carpenters. The fact that no system of writing had ever been devised has prevented the establishment of a native literature, but the practice of passing down an extensive folklore by word of mouth shows their narrative powers as well as their faculty for remembering details. At present it is difficult to appreciate what must have been their energy in earlier times when they faced the struggle for existence, armed with stone tools. Abundant salmon gave them adequate food, but only when weirs had been built with great labour. Though game was plentiful, the hunter was equipped with nothing more formidable than a bow and arrow. The simplest task required patience and skill undreamed of by the average white man. If the reader will allow his imagination to carry him backwards two hundred years, he will realize that the mere provision of food and clothing necessitated constant effort and ceaseless exertion.

Hand in hand with many admirable characteristics, the Bella Coola display others which strike the white man as unprepossessing. A first impression is the untidiness of their houses. Exteriorly, they are often fairly neat, but confusion reigns within. Clothing, instead of being hung up, is left lying on the floor; bed-coverings are piled carelessly; dirty dishes cover the tables; dogs and children swarm over the floor; flies abound; all is dirty and slovenly. The house itself may be uncompleted; a window lacks glass and has been boarded up; the roof leaks, or the steps are falling down. Nor are the surroundings more attractive. There is one struggling flower-bed in the village, but elsewhere the houses are surrounded by wastes of mud where horses and cattle wander, dogs prowl, and children play. In the distance the mountain peaks rise in splendour, but near at hand all is squalid and unkempt.

They are only slightly more particular about their personal appearance. Dirt does not distress them. They wash occa-

501 of the older people remember seeing in their youth another type, *lakan*, with a high raised prow; this may have been identical with the *mdka* which others describe as having an elevated bow and a low stern. An entirely different craft was the *tamkwl-i*, named from one of the geese, [525] probably the white-fronted goose. A strip of maple fastened along each side caught the water in moving, with a sound like that of the peculiar rustling flight of the bird. The bow was often carved in the form of a [532] bird's head and the stern in that of a tail to further the resemblance. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of these canoes, though some had heard of them from their grandparents. The large, open type of canoe made by the Haida was known to the Bella Coola, but not constructed by them. Sails were used on all ocean-going canoes; they were usually of matting, though skins sewn together were occasionally employed.

501 Canoes are occasionally lashed together. In several *kusint* dances a wide platform for dancing is required, and the need is met by lashing 535 planks crosswise over two canoes, near the bow and stern, thus fastening them together. Planking is laid on the two supports and a platform so constructed. Careful inquiries showed that this fastening was merely a temporary arrangement; the booms were not bound in any particular manner, nor was there any fixed distance between the craft. Sometimes 501 the same expedient was used for transport when the load was too heavy [171] for two canoes separately, a device which is said to have been used more commonly by the tribes of the outer coast than the Bella Coola. Canoes lashed together are termed *ts-awandz*.

Rafts, *satskwl-a*, consisting of rough logs fastened together with cross-pieces, were commonly used on the lakes of the interior, and occasionally for river work when canoes were unavailable and there was no time to make them. Another expedient in similar emergencies was to [177] make bark canoes, such as are still constructed by the Carriers. The Bella Coola regard the construction of these as definite copying, and do not profess to have as much skill as their teachers whose canoes, it is said, can be folded for portaging. There is a tradition that, many generations ago, a few clever Bella Coola knew how to make skin canoes.

THE PREPARATION OF CEDAR-BARK

314 Early spring is the time to *sutskumls*, that is, to gather the inner bark [221] of the cedar. Men occasionally assist in the task, though this is really [462] woman's work. The worker selects a small cedar, choosing one about [412] six inches in diameter, with smooth trunk and relatively free from knots. With a knife she makes a horizontal incision in the bark, two or three feet from the ground, sometimes girdling the sapling. Then she inserts her

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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APPENDIX B

STRING FIGURES

THE only form of pastime which it was practical to investigate in any detail was the construction of string figures. These seem to have no ceremonial or religious significance; they are made for recreation only, and it was found easy to learn a number while paving the way for other kinds of research. In fact, interest in them was one of the ways in which the writer became friends with a number of Bella Coola. As is to be expected, some individuals are more proficient in constructing complicated string figures than others, the old women being particularly adept. During the long delays which occur in all the dances it is a common sight to see an old crone teaching a group of young girls the figures which she herself learnt when young. Some men remember a number from childhood, but the making of designs with string is regarded as more fitting for girls and women. Songs accompany many of the figures, and the singing of these is considered an essential part of the construction. It was stated that many more figures were known long ago; in fact, several of those here recorded were only obtained after repeated efforts on the part of an old woman to reconstruct those which she had been shown when a child. No attempt was made to learn all the Bella Coola figures; a larger number could doubtless have been collected, but those here described are the ones most commonly made.

The nomenclature used is that described by Miss Haddon,[1] in itself following the method used by Rivers and Haddon. It will be assumed that the reader is familiar with this, including the meaning of the terms, "Opening A," "Position 1," and "Navaho." A string about four feet long will be found most convenient for making the Bella Coola figures.

1. A SALMON-TRAP

Double the loop; two strands now take the place of the usual one, but these will be referred to as a single string or loop. The figure can be made equally well with a string one-half the usual length.

Place string as a simple loop over left thumb and index finger and the right hand.

With right index finger hook down the string passing dorsally across left thumb and index finger and draw out to right, allowing right hand loop to slip over this hooked-down string.

[1] K. Haddon, *Cat's Cradles from Many Lands* (London, 1911).

192*

Ashkelchinee: Supernatural being sent by *Sanáa* to meet *Nadyenee*.

atiqa-ni, "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will normally give a potlatch to assist him on the path to social importance, though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremonially as every guest. [356]

Ashiwi: *Ashiwi-shell* covered stick used by one of the four archers in the beginning of time.

Ahkeiya-ladder: One of the four women to settle at *Tól'a* in the beginning of time.

ahkwali: Word of concrete meaning often superadded to furniture as complete term for the four sides of a dance dance. [378]

ahkwiwoni, "A Dragging Arrow" (to use dress with a heavy bag). The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being superimposed. [232] [333]

ahkwi: Tanned hide of any kind. [242]

Ahkwimoyee: Secondary name of a Pass man. [252]

ahkq: Performed, adjective.

ahkwaiyee: Those who perform to name marriage dances.

Ahnahkwaiyee: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.

Ai-mahsee: One of the four men to settle at *Tól'a* in the beginning of time.

aiqaiyee, "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and her price to assuring her home. [375] [431]

aiqaiyee: Gifts given to assist, even after bereavement, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [514]

aiqaiyee: Wanted.

Aiqaiyee: Secondary supernatural woman; synonym for *Sisiwanah*.

Ahsaimaiyee: One of the men who came to earth at *Mount Tsaiti* in the beginning of time.

Ashkwali: Totem pole erected by the four archers at *Ówa* in the beginning of time.

ashkwi: Lying position with the thighs together such as is maintained for from days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [376]

ahla: Sound sung in fast time. [333]

ahl: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [333]

Ah'yaiyee: Daughter of the four archers at *Sahla* in the beginning of time.

ahsaiyee: Earlier dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

ahsaiyee: Synonym for *ganaiyee*; one of the days of a potlatch, probably then the leaving the appearance of a masked representative of the deceased. [356]

ahsaiyee: 1—Night time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

aha: Cross, separate singular.

Ahsaiyee: 1—One of *Sisiwanah's* sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the four women to settle at *Nanaiyee* in the beginning of time.

ahsi-hoiyee: Control men behind the fire.

ahkahiyee: Dancer with handle for pounding stalks for fish-nets. [412]

Ahkwaiyee: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola. [305]

ahkwaiyee: One who calculates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun. [325]

Aha-yaiyee, "The Devourer of Most Killed by Another": Term used by lacrosse players. [325]

APPENDIX II

[illegible]: Intoxicating liquor prerogative consisting of the injection of some objects into the digestive tract.
[illegible]: Dance supernatural dancer, in his exercises he is a yearling [illegible] gear.
[illegible] or [illegible]: Free complete dance given by a doctor initiate.
[illegible]: Wounded, any kind.
[illegible]: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle on the upper Skeena in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle on [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.
[illegible]: Name given to the grandson by one of the first settlers on [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Doctor prerogative as a [illegible], this is said to be a Bella Bella term.
[illegible]: Shaping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, as [illegible], doctor masks are hung.
[illegible]: The making and use of local wars for slaves.
[illegible]: 1—"The Raven": One of the names of the supreme god.
2—Chief of a village, collectively, usually, "The Eagle".
[illegible]: 1—Ceremony at which sacred names are validated to the eyes of the fellow villagers.
2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed.
[illegible]: Assemblage of the initiates to practice difficult rites.
[illegible], "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": Pseudonym name given to a dancing girl.
[illegible]: One of the names of Raven as chief.
[illegible]: Sentence of death passed by the initiates on one of their fellows as punishment for an error.
[illegible]: A term especially of an ancestral right.
[illegible]: Synonym for [illegible], the supernatural being who brings the salmon.
[illegible], "[illegible]": Name taken by a woman in consequence of rights to [illegible] from her husband's relatives.
[illegible]: Public talk.
[illegible]: Work.
[illegible]: Indecorous [illegible] with [illegible].
[illegible]: Excessive [illegible] of respect for aged [illegible].
[illegible] or [illegible]: 1—Right side.
2—Lying [illegible].
[illegible]: Cross-piece used by [illegible] to hold [illegible] while being driven.
[illegible], "Place of Fast Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: 1—Village on head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.
2—River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.
[illegible]: Synonym for [illegible], an honored supernatural woman, [illegible]. The [illegible] of [illegible] supernatural [illegible] the [illegible] is said with reference to the selection of the [illegible] of the Mystery dance.
[illegible]: Any [illegible] dance held at the conclusion of the [illegible] season.
[illegible] or the [illegible] [illegible].

* 1872

Pomoyayanu. Women endowed supernaturally by Ghol'Ghoolum and serving as spirits (?) in a burial dance.

[1873] [1874] [1875] [1876] [1877] [1878] [1879] [1880] [1881] [1882] [1883] [1884] [1885] [1886] [1887] [1888] [1889] [1890] [1891] [1892] [1893] [1894] [1895] [1896] [1897] [1898] [1899] [1900] [1901] [1902] [1903] [1904] [1905] [1906] [1907] [1908] [1909] [1910] [1911] [1912] [1913] [1914] [1915] [1916] [1917] [1918] [1919] [1920] [1921] [1922] [1923] [1924] [1925] [1926] [1927] [1928] [1929] [1930] [1931] [1932] [1933] [1934] [1935] [1936] [1937] [1938] [1939] [1940] [1941] [1942] [1943] [1944] [1945] [1946] [1947] [1948] [1949]

In Smith B-5 (1920-1923) 1923
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The beneficial purposes include: making a child grow up to be a good dancer, industrious, a swift berry picker, or a strong man; curing lung trouble; making the river snake where wanted; and two ways of stopping rain. The injurious purposes include: two ways of making a person grow up to be a thief, the causing of coldness and quarrelsomeness and the three ways of causing death.

The materials used actions used include: saliva of aspen leaves, a dead toad, sand with hair, with a red collar back face wipers, and with hair pieces of thimble berry shoots which were accidentally dropped while being eaten, saliva of a yellow jacket's nest, a living snake with pillages, beaver paws, in two instances, a skin bracelet from a beaver's foreleg, a dead wood-rat, a dead mouse, a grizzly bear's skin, a living owl squirrel with a bit of aspen twigs, setting fire to a wood-rat's house, and poking an owl bill.

To make a person a good dancer the saliva of the hind leaves of the aspen or trembling poplar were said to be useful, but Jackson said this may have been a joke. The Bellacoola Indians say the beaver dance. They never say that they trembles. When a baby was born, if the parents talked about it and the father desired that the baby grow up to be a good dancer, the mother or father got the beaver, burned them and put the saliva on the baby's hands, knees and elbows. When talking of this Jackson held his hands with the finger tips up and moved them as the Bellacoola do in dancing. Both rich and poor were dancers.

A baby girl would grow up to be industrious, it was believed, if the warm blood of a recently dead beaver were applied to her. The Bellacoola apparently observed the great industry of the beaver.

To make a baby girl grow up to be a fast berry-picking woman, the dog of skin from between two ears around a beaver's foreleg was put on her wrist and was left on until it wore off.

To make a boy grow up to be a strong man, a skin of the grizzly bear, was thrown over him, generally by his father.

For pillages on the lungs, more permanent than a simple cold, the patient experimented in something and some one merely mixed the fresh pillages with salmon eggs and put the mixture

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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by the secrets of the Ki'uitl. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark round her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair grown with eagle-down. She commanded the women to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance as Ki'uitl. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Ki'uitl.'

Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Ki'uitl. When a man has got Amalikstamal's sitting before her eyes he will invite the people to a Ki'uitl. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the dancing house. Each Ki'uitl lasts three days.

The various dances performed by members of the Ki'uitl are also the property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the Sisaw'ka dances (see above), but belong to the gentes of the gens alone. They may, however, be lent and borrowed by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may outlaw the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the Ki'uitl is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Ki'uitl name, which he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Ki'uitl names, which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pi'pi until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Tlaki'ell. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice to the music of the Sisaw'ka, this initiation being concluded with a potlatch. But it is seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Ki'uitl have to pass through a rigorous ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the Ulaqi'la (the Ki'uitl's of the Kwakiutl), the O'lag (the Ki'uitlall of the Kwakiutl), and the Di'ala (the Ki'uitlall of the Ki'itach). These grades are also hereditary. A Ki'uitl novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

When the ulaqi'la is initiated he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed, in order to serve as food for the ulaqi'la. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The slave was killed, and the members of the ulaqi'la cedar decorated one half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There he latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
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424 owe my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the
532 gens Ialit'stinit of the Talit'ne', stated that he had received the raven
614 when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received
[115] the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whole at his
[556] next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets con-
nected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others
from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very
good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his
424 secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new
551 secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a kū'nat
556 name, which remains through life, and a Xū'mānna name, which is
595 changed at these festivals. Thus, Nesk'ula'sta's (which is his kū'nat
614 name) Xū'mānna name was Ai'ūkamax'lus'ala', but at his next pot-
latch he intended to take the name of Kalit'kla. These names are
also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names.
When a man possesses several sisnā'k' secrets, he will distribute them
among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may,
after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisnā'k'
secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan.
When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisnā'k' secrets. After
any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more.
[426] The coat and the sisnā'k' carvings must not be loaned to others,
but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are
the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the
property of any particular clan.

426 The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl.
586 The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave
the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his
heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the
debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned,
and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who
performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by
a person to a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part
of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told,
for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a
potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going
to pay the owner in the stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs
are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

595 The kū'nat is presided over by a female spirit, called Asatlkatal-
773 ū'ts. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from
776 February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she
535 opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to
have been the first to find her. Asatlkatal'ū invited her into her
cave and taught her the secrets of the kū'nat. She wore ornaments
of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was
blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

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women to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the kō'wist. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the kō'wist." 575 773 776 535

Ever since that time the Bī'tsela dance the kō'wist. When a man has seen Ā'mālkōtē'ni's sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a kō'wist. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each kō'wist lasts three days. 575 776 535

The various dances performed by members of the kō'wist are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisa'k-dances, but belong to the relatives of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may exclude the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the kō'wist is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kō'wist name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pū'pō until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of Ō'kōtōn. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the sisa'k, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kō'wist have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the sīsō'ma (the kō'wists of the Kwakiutl), the ō'ōc (the ō'ōcists of the Kwakiutl), and the ōō'ma (the ō'ōcists of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kō'wist novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation. 575 [551] [424] [551] [191] [534]

When the sīsō'ma is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the sīsō'ma. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the sīsō'ma order devoured one half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears 575 785 787 [344]

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Presently the guests assemble, those who are *usual* wearing on their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled, the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners, slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair. It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial gain.

A number of young lads, friends or relatives of X, distribute the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests; otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its reward.

Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a *hamat* friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech, extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name.

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request X to have his son initiated, promising him financial assistance. 556* 575

These preliminaries have probably been commenced before *nilaitsum*; at any rate they are completed as soon as possible, so that a few nights later X is able to instruct a herald to invite the *nusuk* to his house. The singers are in attendance. The father, or other relative, of one of those about to be received into the ranks of the *nusuk*, expands in general terms the ancestral myth containing the song to be conferred, or will ask a fluent speaker to do this for him. Another follows, until myths have been recited for all. The singers listen attentively, knowing that without further instruction they are expected to compose two songs for each person, embodying a few salient points in the myth, without exposing the details. In point of fact, the singers have probably heard the myth on previous occasions. After a distribution of food, provided by X, the people disperse. [537] 533 556* 575

For several days the singers work at the songs. The principles governing their composition are identical for all types. At night, as he walks in the first, or at any other time, a singer constantly tries to compose tune. Others do the same, and at intervals they meet, within some lonely spot or in the back-room of a house. Each singer who has composed a tune hums out its tune, humming as he does so; then another gives his tune, and perhaps a third. After much discussion, which in some cases becomes acrimonious, it is decided what two tunes are the best for *nusuk*-*nu*. Words are then supplied, a matter of less difficulty, all the singers assisting. In this way the distinctive songs required are provided. When ready, the singers inform X of the fact.

X decides that on a certain night two of the initiates shall begin a period of confinement in the back-room of his house. This information is passed round in secret by the *nusuk*, and the initiate, whom it will be convenient to refer to as Y, is duly warned. At dusk a reliable *nusuk* is sent out to the woods behind the village with one of the large cone-shaped whistles.

556 adopted, probably as a prerogative obtained through mar-
575 riage, from the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people. The diver-
177 sity in ritual supports this view. There was not sufficient
[776] time for the procedure to become stabilized between the intro-
duction of the concept and the dislocation of Bella Coola social
life through the influence of the white man. It is also possible
that the *sutsinam* was added to *nusuk* rites from the older
a'alt society (I, p. 273).

532 Whatever may have been the history of the *sutsinam*, it
556 provides Y with a mask, or with two, if two figures have ap-
575 peared. He guards them jealously, though secretly, through-
out his life and uses them only on rare ceremonial occasions.
[969] It is one of these masks which will be brought out if one of his
family gives a dramatic representation of his return after death.
[428] A mask of this type is sometimes willed, but the legatee alters
the design before using it.

556 A short pause follows the singing of the second, or third,
575 song, during which some chief or chiefs may make a laudatory
speech concerning Y's family history. Then the singers again
[537] sing the first song, and *nusuk* members of the audience join in.
[533] Similarly, the second song is practised. These two are sung,
time after time, until the *nusuk* have thoroughly mastered
them. When the singers consider that this has been accom-
plished, they tell X, who communicates with the *nusuk* man
outside who has the whistle, and again its eerie notes are heard.
[781] Some of the uninitiated, believing that the supernatural being
[161] who gives potency to the ritual is at hand, hurriedly leave in
fear. At the same time some of the *nusuk* conduct to the back-
room the second initiate whose songs are to be sung that night.
The procedure in his case is identical with that described for Y.
Usually it is considered sufficient to exclude two on one night,
though three may be attempted. When the songs of the last
have been sung, food is distributed and the people disperse.

A few nights later the same ritual is repeated for two more
initiates, who join their predecessors in the back-room. Here
they spend their time in idleness, the only essential being the

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preservation of an air of mystery by keeping out of sight of those who are not *nusk*. Food is brought to them, and members of the society are free to enter the room at any time. Some of the older ones enlighten Y and his fellows with regard to the secret rites, and especially to the human origin of the whistle. Proud of his new status, an initiate never dreams of transmitting this information to those who are not members of the society. As a privilege, the neophytes are sometimes allowed to go out at night, care being taken that no uninitiated person shall see them. The length of the period of confinement varies according to the number of young people to be admitted, and on the actual time of the potlatch; the minimum duration is about two weeks, the maximum, four months. Sometimes the tediousness is lightened by the arrival of carpenters who have chosen this secret place to work at the *nusk* masks. After all the initiates have been confined to the back-room, X continues to invite people to his house at frequent intervals to practise their songs. On each occasion food is distributed, so that the meetings are expensive to the host, but no donor grumbles about it, as thereby he establishes his prestige as a chief.

556* 575 [533]

THE VALIDATION OF *NUSK* NAMES

The next event in the validation of the initiates' *nusk* names,* a ceremony termed *ne'ondim*. X, with the assistance of his family, piles on the floor of his house the goods which he intends to use for this purpose. In the old days these consisted of skins, blankets, food, baskets, boxes, slaves (symbolized by stones), canoes (symbolized by sticks), and so on. Nowadays, money is used. Towards dusk a herald summons the people to X's house. For many years it has been customary to invite everyone, but it is said that long ago only the *nusk* would have been present. When all are seated,

553 556* 575 [208] [537]

* Validation of the neophytes' names is essential at the potlatch itself, but chiefs endeavour to display their wealth and generosity to their fellow-villagers as well. Consequently, though donors are eager to perform this rite, it can be continued entirely without affecting the potlatch.

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553 without special places, X calls upon some eloquent friend to
556 direct the distribution of the money. This speaker states how
575 X is carrying out the rites incumbent on his noble and exalted
[537] station, how all honour him for so doing, and how all should strive to follow his example. He then says that to give strength to the name Snayuscila, for example, X will give away, say $100. He further announces who have contributed this amount: perhaps $50 from X, and the other half from various relatives of Y. If the sum in question be large it is always mentioned from whom, and how the donor has obtained the money. Thus every financial transaction becomes publicly known, and the more prominently a man figures, the greater is his prestige. Next, the amount to be used for the second initiate's name is announced, with the same details, and in like fashion the sums decided upon for each successive initiate.

Then the total amount is distributed among the guests by the heralds, under X's supervision. He usually gives everyone the same amount; men sometimes receive more than women, but in every case members of the same sex receive an equal sum. The Bella Coola are not expert mathematicians, so that faulty division is the rule. If X, for example, decides to give $1.50 to each person present, it is a time of considerable anxiety while the stack of bills is being reduced, to watch whether or not there will be the exact amount. If X finds out he is short he will hastily borrow some money, as it would be an insult to omit anyone. If the amount be too great, he will use the surplus in making presents to the more influential guests.

[562]
[503]
[496]
[578]

With the exception of this possible surplus, the money distributed is regarded as an outright present; "it has flowed away to make good the boys' names" is the Bella Coola expression. A chief will remember how much he has received, and if he wishes to uphold or to increase his own dignity, he will make a point of returning at least an equivalent to X on some future occasion. But though in effect he may make return, such is never said to be the case. "The money has flowed away."

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nature will try to bestow a valuable present. If a man is too poor to give anything, he can avoid the obligation by not dancing when his tune is beaten out. The presents are piled together, and then the host, aided by several important chiefs, distributes them to the messengers, at the same time making laudatory speeches. The chief of the envoys receives more than the members of his crew.

Then the messenger-chief stands up and announces the names of those whom X has invited to his potlatch, using in each case the ancestral designation of the person summoned. Then the envoys, in a body, go to every house in the village. Probably all to be invited are present in the house of the chief, yet the messenger-chief must call out in the doorway of each house:

"Chief So-and-so, prepare your paddles and leave to-morrow."

Early next morning the messengers rouse those whom they have invited and, as a mark of respect, help them to carry their goods to the canoes. There is an attitude of shaming combined with that of deference, since those summoned will have been placed under obligations. They also take to their canoes their own recently acquired goods. Envoys and guests set out together in their respective craft, and only separate as they near Bella Coola.

ARRIVAL OF THE GUESTS

While the canoes containing the first party of guests remain at anchor to wait for high tide, the envoys proceed at once to X's house, now completely redecorated if not entirely rebuilt. There a huge fire is blazing, and members of the *xaxai* society are passing in and out, making ready for the ceremony. Both men and women beautify themselves by painting their faces in any designs they fancy, and by combing their hair and placing eagle down upon it. The guests at anchor lay planks across their canoes so as to form a dancing platform. Then, as the tide rises, the singers in the house beat out the tune of

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585 In the gathering dusk all assemble in X's house; Y's relatives attend or not as they wish. X's father would feel insulted if anyone else should stay away without a valid excuse, but in point of fact everyone is eager for an evening's entertainment. The singers take their accustomed places behind the fire and the guests arrange themselves in the house without reference to rank. The musicians strike up the *hsiat* song of anyone present, and the person so indicated dances. The first tune used is frequently that of X's father, and the that of his mother, but there is no fixed rule about this. The singers [535] choose and beat out tune after tune, and guest after guest dances, but, since none of the supernatural being is present, the affair is of a non-sacred nature. After exhausting the most popular *hsiat* songs, the musicians beat out the *tsesk* songs of many of the guests who, in succession, dance to them; the songs of shamans are used in like fashion. Sometimes the singers continue until everyone present has danced, at other times they curtail the ceremony, as they think fit. When they decide to stop, they intimate this to X's father, who superintends the distribution to the guests of whatever kind of food has been provided.

537 585 [539] During the meal, a fluent speaker stands up and expounds on behalf of X's father the ancestral myth in which his son's ancestral name is embedded. Sometimes X's father acts as his own orator, but usually a herald is called upon. Only sufficient details are given to show the importance of X. The myth may either be one of the most ancient type dealing with the first settlement of this earth, or one of later date describing the exploits of X's famous ancestors; but in either case, as shown by the examples given in the last chapter, embodies an account of a marriage. It is always known, although not generally described, that at each of these several assets performed, their number varying between two and thirteen. The orator, when outlining the myth, assumes this fact of it, and always announces how many danced at that site, with the statement that there will be a like number on the morrow. In

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the same manner the fluent speaker outlines a myth belonging 537
to the ancestral family of X's mother, again with emphasis on 585
the dancers used by her ancestors. X, as a member of both ancestral families, can combine his rights from both sides, but it is customary for him to use no more than five or six performers. Should X have no claim to this privilege from either mother or father, an almost unthinkable situation, he is able [426]
to borrow the prerogative of using some from friends. The sentiment on which this oration of myths is based is the one so often mentioned; it marks the close relationship between the future children and their noble ancestors of old, a source of strength to the former.

X's father now names those whom he wishes to assist him 585
on the following day. These are the dancers, who are chosen [595]
primarily for their skill in dancing, and secondarily in accordance with their rank. With them he selects a number of persons to stand near and help or "cherish" them as they perform. He also asks the services of some of the women who are professional drumers; of the keeper of the marriage song of his [614]
ancestral family; and, finally, of a number of men to sit near the singers and assist them with suggestions. It would be most exceptional for anyone so called upon to decline the honour. It is near morning by this time and the guests depart.

On the following morning, the actual wedding day, X's father calls to his house those selected the previous evening as dancers and their assistants. The former wear blankets decorated with small copper ornaments[1] and carry circular wooden [534]
rattles provided with handles. Their clothing and rattles may be their own, but if they do not possess suitable attire, it is incumbent on X's father to provide them. Skins are piled up within the house, and some of these are said to "make soft the

[1] On the present time there is uncertainty as to the proper clothing of a marriage dancer. Several informants stated that it was a copper-decorated blanket, whereas others said that there was no special attire; one man claimed that an attempt was made to imitate the form and costume of X's first ancestor, and another that a [292] [535] [184]
costume was used. Probably there was no uniformity in custom.

581 two of his female relatives were murdered at Kimsquit. The slayer was
553 never detected, but most of the Bella Coola believe that it was done by
578 one of *Smanus*'s relatives, and that the dispute about names was quite
425 sufficient to furnish an excuse for the deed.

It is hoped that these two instances will serve to emphasize why the
[682] Bella Coola prefer marriages within the ranks of the ancestral family. When this takes place, names are usually given outright, and not merely promised for the use of the future children.

Smanus = ?
|
Nistamaisis = *Swalkaulis* = another woman
|
King George = ?
|
Jack King George = *Sneka'ef*

585 After this digression, to return to the marriage of X and Y: The ceremony is taking place in the house of Y's father, and the parents of each participant have expounded parts of their origin myths, and promised names for the resultant children.

Then Y's relatives give numerous presents to X's family, in each case including those who are associating themselves with the contract. Canoes, slaves, blankets, and other articles of great worth are given; they are said to be "bed covering" for Y. The greater their value, the greater her prestige. Her
[597] father asks a fluent chief to address the assemblage, speaking as though he were Y. He says in effect:

"My father, my mother, my brothers, my uncles, and their associates have given me my bed covering."

These presents are the binding feature of the wedding. They are said to lock the girl in her husband's house, and accordingly are sometimes called, "rope fastenings." This is
[577] only done when a woman is married for the first time.
[597] Another orator now holds forth on behalf of Y's father:

"What we do today is no small matter. We have done today what was done in former times, and what shall be done in the future."

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One of Y's relatives now whispers to X's father that it is time to lead away the bride. One of X's party, either man or woman, comes forward, takes Y by the hand and guides her to a place among X's people, close to X himself. Y's father gives the conductor presents, which are not returnable. Without further ceremony, X's party returns to his house, taking the bride with them. She and X usually sit close together for the rest of the rite, but their actions are really of slight importance. 575

An hour or so after the return from Y's home, a messenger is sent to invite her father and other relatives to X's house. The guests seat themselves behind the fire, and a number of others crowd in to watch and listen. X and Y are both present, but do not take any leading part in the ceremony. A large amount of food is given to the guests, provided, of course, by X's father, and, as they are eating, a few gifts, termed "food," may be given. Then an eloquent chief expounds in lofty style the manner in which X's ancestors were married in the days of antiquity. As soon as his speech is ended, X's father distributes to Y's relatives presents, which are spoken of as "clothing." Theoretically, the presents "become nothing" for this purpose, but in reality they are returned later on as a means of increasing the prestige of each recipient. In consequence, care is taken to ensure that industrious individuals receive more than others. These presents are often of considerable value, since they not only mark the noble sentiments of X's family with regard to him, but they are also a sound financial investment on behalf of X, whose wife will help him at future potlatches. Goods received as "food" at the meal are restored in the same fashion as the "clothing." This completes the marriage ceremony. Y's relatives often stay for some time longer in X's house, but gradually go home as they think fit. [537]

That night X and Y sleep together.

It is contrary to custom for X's relatives to hoard the goods which they have received from Y's relatives as "food

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553 present is made. The recipient may either be X himself or
556 one of his relatives who has conferred a gift on one of Y's
583 family. The goods are taken inside, counted, displayed, and the same announcement made. These presents are given away by X the same evening, so that the only practical advantage that he receives is that the ultimate recipients make their returns, if any, to him. He makes no recompense to Y's relatives for these.

[537] A fluent orator next speaks on behalf of Y's father to the following effect:

"Please, ye people, listen to my words. This is an important occasion, hearken to what I have to say. Long ago our first ancestors were married, as X and Y have been, and it is fitting that we should make the name ..... live again in Y. Three years [or as long as the name has been dormant] it has been dead, as if living with the ghosts beneath the earth. Now it shall stand up again in Y; henceforth we use it for her. Come forth ..... [using Y's new name], your father relays you from X for fifty blankets [for example]."

Y may be anywhere; the statement "come forth" is merely symbolical. The fifty blankets are piled outside the house and the spectators, of whom many have gathered to witness the transaction, know that that number of blankets has been given with reference to that name. In some cases the wife is rebought three, four, or even more times for one name, either repeatedly by her father, or successively by her father and other relatives, or several names may be acquired by the different repurchasings. For instance, at one potlatch not many years ago a woman obtained the names *Lálikt*, *Xwalen*, *Smaiu-a*, and *Ailumka*. As with men, some women prefer to have one very strong name, rather than diffuse their importance over a number. In this particular case the four designations were received from different relatives. At each repurchase the call is raised:

"Come forth ..... your brother [uncle, or whatever relative it may be] relays you from X for ....."

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but even if unaware of the fact, they realize that some supernatural, invisible visitor has arrived.

Heralds go from house to house, and sometimes to adjacent villages as well,[8] inviting the people to pay a farewell visit to the dead man who will soon leave them; in this invitation the *ɬɬaok* name of the deceased is used. The guests assemble at once, irrespective of their rank or membership in the *ɬɬaok* society. To mark their grief, female relatives pull out tufts of their hair, and both men and women of the immediate family cut their hair short. The body, either in its coffin or covered with blankets, is placed between the central fire and the back-room, immediately behind the place where the singers take their stations. When all are present, a son or other near relative who is also a fluent speaker, stands up and expounds how the Chief, meaning *Mulakila*, has come to visit the dead man, and how all should try to understand the song he has brought.[9] A hidden *ɬɬaok* has been blowing a whistle intermittently, and the singers pretend to be able to understand words of a song in its notes. In reality they have prepared in advance the new one which they now beat out, accompanied by their voices. The theme either describes the coming of the supernatural visitor, or recounts the number of potlatches given by the deceased, and the manner in which these will make smooth the path whither he is going in the same way that distributed goods validate a chief's seat in this world. This song is practised and improved upon amid the booming of the whistle as if the singers were constantly gaining new ideas and embellishments from the words of the supernatural visitor. Sometimes a few incidents are added from the *ɬɬaok* myth. After several repetitions, a relative of the dead man asks the singers to beat out the latter's *ɬɬaok* songs, as many of them as are remembered from the time he was first initiated into the so-

[8] The Bella Bella are said to invite foreign guests to this ceremony.

[9] Sometimes the people are present when the coming of *Mulakila*, heralded by whistling and a thump on the roof, takes place. There are variations in this, as in all other *ɬɬaok* rites.

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the hole in the roof, ponderously and slowly, until its talons grip the "body." In the same gradual fashion it carries this upwards until, just before the burden disappears through the roof, one of the principal singers leads his fellows and the audience in calling out: 575 766

"*Ye*··," which has the significance of, "May you have a safe passage whence you came and whither you are going."

As soon as the bird has disappeared, its notes are heard from above, growing gradually fainter as the actors blow their whistles less violently. An eloquent *nuuk* stands up and expounds how the deceased's crest has come down from above to carry away his body, and often mentions incidents in the ancestral myth to explain why this bird had appeared. A young man is sent up to replace the roof boards and the hidden accomplices rejoin the audience unostentatiously. The corpse itself remains hidden in some back corner of the house where it was concealed at the time the dummy was seized, so that nothing indicates what has taken place.

The relatives must give presents to all who have witnessed this ceremonial prerogative. These are now distributed without regard to the rank of the recipient; such gifts are not returnable and are said to be, "What Has Been Shaken Off," like dust from the departing body. A meal, likewise provided by the kinsmen of the deceased, is next served, and as the people are eating, it is customary for senior *nuuk* to make laudatory speeches, extolling the dead chief and comforting the survivors by reminding them of the way in which he will be looked after in virtue of his ancestral traditions. This procedure may continue for several hours, and it is only when no one else wishes to speak that the people disperse. [552] [537]

It is not easy to comprehend the attitude of the Bella Coola to this rite. Some influential *nuuk* state emphatically that in former days it was possible to carry it out so realistically that the uninitiated were deceived, and never suspected that the actual corpse was later on buried in secret by the singers, carpenters, and *nuuk*. On the other hand, those who do not 575 766 781

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grave carrying a spruce bough in his hand. He touches with it the edge where he is standing, then, in survey order, the east, south, and west margins. This circuit is repeated four times and the branch tossed away to westward. This essential ceremony is based on a belief that the lives, or perhaps the spirits, of the grave-diggers have been drawn from them into the grave and are in danger of being pressed down by the coffin. Should this occur, they would have short lives. The spruce branch enables the supernatural elements to leave the cavity and return to their owners who suffer no ill effects. Anyone, other than a grave-digger, can perform this rite.

The coffin is now lifted into the grave, care being taken that the corpse faces east. As already described, it is in a squatting position with knees almost on the ground. Boards have been prepared in advance, and with these the grave-diggers make a roof-like covering, placing at each corner a stone weighing from ten to fifteen pounds, to prevent the ghost from returning to trouble the survivors. Earth is thrown in on top of the boards, and as it falls the wailing breaks out dolorously in a final crescendo of mourning. If a chief has been buried, his fellows sometimes sing a *so-ko* song. At this time it is proper for one or more chiefs to rise and speak. No one is required to do so, nor is there any rule as to the order in which they make their remarks. The first speaker is usually a prominent man related to the survivors, though seldom a son, brother, or other near relative of the deceased. A speech is generally addressed in part to the spirit of the dead person, telling it where to go; in part, to the mourners. For a dead child, emphasis is laid on the fact that although he did not live long enough to be incorporated into his ancestral myths on earth, this will be done for him in his future home. In conclusion, an appeal is often made to *Nqumkin*, under the name of *Tsaxalala*, to take pains that the spirit of the dead is given its rightful place in *Nuxalk-a*, in the section where its first forbears were created, and whether the spirits of its dead ancestors have returned since the beginning of time.

sing of time. The following speech was made by an elderly Bella Coola chief at the funeral of his great-granddaughter in June, 1910:

"Granddaughter!* Go with your grandmother* to the mountain above *Tsimsil* where my first [ancestral] ancestor came to earth. Go to the mountain across the river where *Kalt*[illegible] descended; go to the north where your ancestor found a copper house with a raven inside; go to the Skeena where another of your early ancestors found a whale; go to all the places where your forefathers experienced the incidents recorded in our myths; go and be happy.* I do not wave these ever-recurring deaths in my family, but I am helpless. I hope that *Sisinguiaum* will cease hunting us."

Turning to the Carrier Indians who were present, the old man continued: "Thank you for coming twice within two days to share our grief."

Turning back towards the grave, he went on:

"I have made ready the road for you.* Your grandfather* and I are grieved; our families became united when your parents married, and the bond was renewed by your birth. Now it is lost. When you were born, I rejoiced; now I am sorry. You are all right; you cannot fall because you are supported* by the names and fame of your father and mother, your grandfather and grandmother, your uncles and aunts, and your other ancestors who have passed away here to Sunset. You met with them in your own village where is located your power from the experiences of your forefathers.

*The term, always very used, although the child was really a great-granddaughter.

*The grandmother had been buried two days previously.

*One of the few people to reach this rank.

*The places and people questioned were all described in the myths of the dead child's ancestral family.

*A reference to goods distributed by the speaker at a memorial held a few days previously when it was certain that the child would soon die.

*The child's mother's father.

*Apparently, therefore, a vault having the sense of physical support. The implication is that the deceased relatives are willing to pull a dead child into the presence of their father is enough to persuade any one of them, including the dead child, from falling.

They will look after you and, being dead, they will be able to do so properly. You will be strong indeed. I am heavy with grief. My grandchildren show more to mother me to [illegible], otherwise I would go to [illegible]! Now that you have gone,[2] may become light-headed and depart. No, I have other grandchildren and great-grandchildren. I will bear up and be a man, and show myself the chief that I am by right.[3]

During this speech the mourners remained seated on the ground, many of the women wailing at intervals and the men listening with more or less attention except those who were filing in the grave. Once or twice the speaker hesitated for a suitable word and suggestions were called out to him.

As the old man finished speaking and sat down, another chief arose.[4]

"Children," he said, addressing the parents of the dead child, "You have indeed suffered misfortune. A few days ago, your mother[5] died; today, your daughter. Perhaps it is all for the best. Remember how many ancestors who have gone before will be waiting to receive the child, she will be well cared for. Death comes to one, chief or commoner, but do not despair even at this double misfortune. Your mother[6] never did an evil action to anyone, never said a harsh word to anyone, try to imitate her. But I have neither father nor mother. They are both dead; we all go the same way.[7]

In conclusion he urged the step-father of the grieving father, husband of the woman who had died a few days previously, to bear up.

As the second speaker finished, a third arose and spoke briefly.

"I am sorry," he said, "for [illegible][8] in his grief today. We have

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[1] The name of the speaker's ancestral family.

[2] The arrangement had been made in advance concerning who should speak at the wake to which each should address the mourners.

[3] The mother of the child's father had died a few days previously.

[4] Relating to the mother of the child's father.

[5] The child child's mother's father, he was addressed by his ancestral name on the occasion.

pay his grandfather into the ground beside her grandmother
for it may all be for the best."[1]

There is no doubt that conditions of this nature make the mourning relatives to bear up under their grief. This fact was emphasized by several Bulu Chiefs, and in addition the writer was able to observe it on several occasions. They readily responed to suggestions of any kind and unhesitatingly derive comfort from the bereavers comments of influential chiefs.

Speeches of this general nature are always delivered as the grave is being filled in. Sometimes this work is finished before all who wish to do so have expressed themselves, sometimes the mourners are so short that they are ended before all the earth has been thrown back. When the hole has been filled to ground level, it is stamped down and the surplus earth scattered out of sight among the bushes, no mound being thrown up.

Great care is always taken to prevent the return of the ghost. In addition to the weighting with stones already described, other methods are used before the funeral party leaves the cemetery. Heavy boards are usually laid flat over the grave and rocks piled on them lest the way up from below. A further precaution to the setting upright of four stakes, one at each corner of the hole, and fastening ropes of cotton bark between them along the east and west sides of the grave. The significance of this is not fully understood, except that the ghost cannot pass the cords. Four spears sayings are cut and placed either between the grave and the village, or one on each side of the hole, their sharp points form an effective barrier.

While these precautions are being taken, any clothing and utensils brought to the grave and not already consumed are thrown on the fire and allowed to blaze brightly. The ashes

[1] [illegible]

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prerogatives connected with the ceremony. The actual recounting of the myths may be done by a fluent speaker on behalf of the bereaved man, and when he has finished speaking, it is proper for several of his peers to make complimentary speeches, leading the future donor for his interviews. Food is then served and the gathering breaks up.

The preliminaries of a memorial potlatch do not differ from those of a ordinary one. There is the same counting and recounting of goods, the same giving and receiving of presents, the outstanding and borrowing. When at last the donor is ready, he herald call his fellow-villagers to his house for commencement of the arrangements and allotment of the work. As at a potlatch, food is provided on a lavish scale, and there is the usual sham-fight with a borrowing-man ending in the destruction of part of the house. Then the carpenters receive their instructions; some to make different sections of the new longhouse, some to paint ancestral designs on the front and back wall, and some to make the various objects required.

The last difference between a memorial and an ordinary potlatch is apparent at this allotment of work. Instead of a totem-pole to record the glories of the donor's ancestry,* carpenters are requested to make memorial-posts for the dead relative for is being commemorated. These are erected in the cemetery near the grave and are of three kinds, although it is usual for all three to be set up for a single chief.

The last consists of a wooden post carved with the design of one crest of the deceased's totem (see Plates 19 and 20). These figures are usually representations of the bird or animal chosen and by his first ancestors; it is customary to portray the one world through the father on the right, that world through to mother on the left. Instead of a cloak, the figure may portray the post down which ancestral his first ancestor to the beginning of time, or Mount *Nuxalk* in human form, wearing a broad-rimmed hat as he did before he turned to

* When a construction of a new house and the painting of new designs is also undertaken

Such an adoption occurs only when the deceased was the owner of a Bella Bella myth and the song in question had been used to renew a real or fictitious relative. It is contrary to custom to use the tune or words of a song not composed for a member of the deceased's ancestral family.

The actual delivering of invitations by the envoys to the desired guests does not differ from the manner already described, except that they are asked "to come to visit the sick [donor]." The significance is, of course, that the mourner's condition is that of a patient. To indicate the reason of their visit, guests at a memorial potlatch always wear a little dyed cedar-bark around their heads.

On arrival, the first party of foreign guests is conducted to the donor's house, where they make themselves comfortable in the section allotted to them by the heralds. An elderly Bella Coola chief who is a famous orator has been asked by the donor to speak, and he rises to do so as soon as his fellow-villagers have entered and taken their places. No set phrases are used, but the speaker usually begins by reminding all present of the way in which their ancestors were created in Heaven, and how all must return thither. It is an occasion on which eloquence is essential, and the speaker delights in using as many archaic words and rhetorical expressions as possible, with constant reference to religious beliefs and ancient history as recorded in mythology. Then he speaks of the death which is the occasion of the ceremony. If the deceased were an old man, he is referred to by a special term not in common usage, *nuhl-ds*, which implies wisdom and respect as well as extreme age. The orator states that he has fallen, using the term *ḡayda*, normally applied to the thunderous crash of some mighty tree. He speaks of a young chief as *ooʼlitsdis*, dwarf-fir, a person who has been burned down by the supernatural Carpenters. He continues by describing the works of the deceased, the number of potlatches he gave and the manner in which his name was known to many tribes. Finally he tells of the donor's grief, and of how this "sickness" has been alle-

537 viewed by the presence of welcome guests. Mention is frequently made of the journey taken by the dead man to the [illegible] of his ancestral myths. In addition to being an orator, the speaker must also be a *nuxalt* chief, since it is felt that [illegible] can have the necessary assurance and poise to refer to these most sacred and important subjects. During the speech, [illegible] blow eagle down over the heads of all present.

Food has been prepared in advance, and as soon as the speaker has finished, the hereditary call the guests to partake of it. The first course is then distributed, [illegible] with [illegible] guests. Speeches are sometimes delivered during this part of the meal, as well as at the second course, [illegible] with more [illegible] guests. If the guests have arrived during the afternoon, there is no delay between the feast and the ritual that follows, but if they have come during the morning, there is a gap until the evening. Visitors usually time their arrival for the early part of the afternoon.

537 The next event is a speech from one of the foreign chiefs, phrased in [illegible] terms similar to those used by the Bella Coola orator. He speaks of the manner in which the supernatural Carpenters have buried the deceased, but reminds his hearers that this is because *Hpamlim* has decreed it, therefore all must be for the best. He refers to the dead man's [illegible], and to the manner in which this guise will be available to him. During the day, the singers have been careful to learn the tune of a mourning song used by the ancestral family of each foreign chief likely to speak. This they now hear sung, often assisted by some of the guests, and always accompanied by their singing. We are [illegible] to accompany the song; it is merely a verbal mark of sympathy, implying that the speaker himself knows the grief occasioned by death, and, also, that he is sufficiently important to be able to use a mourning song. If, as is usually the case, there is more than one influential chief in the party, a second rises to speak, expressing no difference from the sentiments expressed by his predecessor. Another

mourning song is sung for him in the same way. Sometimes as many as five or six speeches are made, each followed by a song of the same type. In such circumstances it is impossible for the Bella Coola musicians to learn all the tunes, but if five or six chiefs are present, it implies the presence of a large delegation among whom are always a number of singers. It is they who really bear out the tunes, assisted by their Bella Coola confreres. When the last song has been sung, the guests present their boxes with gifts brought for the purpose. The donor himself receives the most valuable, but all the Bella Coola are remembered, chiefly to a greater extent than commoners. Such gifts are not to be returned; in fact, to do so specifically, especially soon after the receipt, would be insulting. After the distribution the evening concludes with the usual meal.

This ritual is repeated on the arrival of every group of guests. It is uncertain whether or not all the mourning songs are again heard on what the song of the final speaker of the last group. This seems to have been done occasionally, and the distribution of presents by the guests likewise postponed. Just before the gathering breaks up, the hostess call out: "*Ainainamamaqa.*"

This serves as intimation that the Bella Coola rites will take place the following morning, and the guests prepare accordingly. Occasionally, when a man is poor, a memorial potlatch is held without the presence of foreign guests.* In such cases the proclamation just described are, of course, omitted and the above call marks the commencement of the ceremony.

The rites day the guests gather in the donor's house, clad in their best. The musicians are in attendance, each complete with the proper mask. In many cases several of these very miniature totem-poles, carved to represent bird or animal chiefs assumed by the donor's ancestors, and which

*This may probably quite common during the period when all potlatch houses were [illegible]

will now be the turn of the one who has recently died. As soon as all have taken their places, an eloquent chief whom all has been requested for the purpose stands up and recounts the dead's ancestral myth in some detail, mentioning the source and meaning of the ancestors' mythe and the designs of the totem poles. Then he continues to the effect that the chief will "cry" by relating the history of his ancestors, which is also the history of the journey taken by his kinsman, and that this recital will shove him up. The word used for this, *mutlaqa*, is the one commonly employed for raising a heavy burden with the aid of a lever. Then the singers begin to hum over the first of the mourning songs, accompanying it with their voices and assisted by as many of the audience as are familiar with words and tune. Every effort is made to make the singing as impressive as possible to add dignity to the recital of the journey taken by the person who is being commemorated. The guests listen attentively and are partially impressed by the ancestral history of the dead and his family. All the songs that have been prepared are sung in succession in the same manner. The lack of dancing distinguishes this type of ceremony from all others and adds somewhat to its impressiveness.

When the last song is the proper time for validating young relatives of the dead as successors. One of the miniature totem poles, which are light enough to be carried in the hands, is brought from the back room and given to the boy on whom the prerogative is being conferred. An eloquent speaker explains the meanings of the designs as displayed and enough of the family's ancestral history to make clear whence, and how, they were obtained. The singers begin to hum close closely, and the youth endeavours to keep time with his feet, while he continues to hold the pole.

Meanwhile the dead and his immediate relatives have been arranging the plan of procedure with the inevitable counting and re-counting. In a potlatch, a Bone speaker is commissioned to hold up the objects, once whence they have been obtained,

[illegible]

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He did not also the necessity obeying her "to make good the pelt" of her children. For this purpose they decided to give a copper and a sum of money; it was impossible to learn the exact amount. Joe told Captain Schooner of their intention.

Hence soon the body was brought in a canoe from the cemetery to its closed coffin and fixed ashore at a convenient spot near the cemetery. Those running the canoe were young men who happened to be at the cemetery, irrespective of whether or not they were related to Jessie. The coffin was laid on a grassy place and Captain Schooner seated himself beside it. People were passing and repassing, some sat down for a time, then moved off to dinner. Occasionally, a woman would sit and wail, the most constant being Reuben's married daughter; Captain Schooner moved around talking to his friends amidst the mute wailing. About 1.30 p.m. everyone in the village had assembled, including a number of Carrier Indians, anxious to see the sight. Captain Schooner withdrew to his house after asking Bobby Bobby to summon the chiefs to meet him there. The messenger, who then stood as herald, went around the gathering whispering to each. In addition to those notified at the cemetery the preceding evening he called all the older and more influential Bella Coola, Albert King, Samuel King, Joe Williams, Judson Woody, Alec Lewis, Lame Charlie, Judas, and Nibachalcoomer. Captain Schooner requested the last named, as important chief, to take charge of the ceremony. To this time Samuel King told Nibachalcoomer, who informed the others, what had been arranged for his daughter and they agreed that it was good. It was widely assumed that George Nelson would be delighted, possibly he had been on friendly terms with the girl for some time. Joe Williams also told Nibachalcoomer the two business propositions that he intended to carry out, the return of the money to Captain Schooner, and the whipping of his daughter. Nibachalcoomer informed the people concerned. At this meeting it was decided that various chiefs should speak after the Christian service at the grave.

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was not carefully observed. Those wishing to dig took turns with the tools; there was no supervision, and no orders given. When the grave was ready, Jim Pollard asked Judas to perform the rite with the spruce bough, which he did with a branch brought by one of the youths. The young men lowered the coffin into the grave while the band continued to play. The missionary then read the Christian burial service, after which he withdrew. Some of the young men brought planks from old houses near-by, sawed them to the size of the grave and laid them over the coffin as a cover. At this juncture Judas, one of the oldest and most conservative of the Bella Coola, rose to speak. First he offered consolation to the mourning relatives by pointing out that all must travel the same road. Then he spoke to Jessie, calling her not to linger, but to travel back the path of her ancestors from generation to generation until she reached the place where they first came down from above, and dance to ascend to *Nuxwatsa*. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of the speech, which was punctuated by calls of "Yo." from the male Bella Coola. The next speaker was Jim Pollard, the most influential Kwakiutl and a personal friend, though not a relative, of Captain Schooner's.

"Go," he said to the dead woman, "Go to the localities from which came your first forefathers in the beginning of time. There you will find your most valuable ancestral possessions. Go at once, do not linger and lose yourself on the road from generation to generation."

Turning to George Nelson, he went on, "Do not be downhearted, all of us must travel the same road. It was made by no man, it is the work of *Hamatsa*."

Looking back once more to the grave, he said, "In *Kwaqa* we bury many illustrious relatives of yours. You will be among friends, whereas we are left to lament your departure."

It was impossible to write down the words at the time and the above record is not literally correct, although it expresses the gist of the speech.

Captain Schooner whispered to Robert Hood, another of the

for the Carrion and other foreigners. The cook began to ladle the rice into basins provided by Captain Schooner; these were taken by some of the younger men who poured helpings into the dishes of the guests. Spoons had been forgotten, and there was delay until these were provided by slivers split from a block of wood for the purpose. Contrary to ancient usage, no attempt was made to serve food to the guests in order of their rank. Men, women, and children were sitting everywhere, the infants kept moving around and crying continually throughout the performance, but no one seemed to be disturbed thereby.

When everyone had eaten, Nidoo-Indiwoman, who had been sitting facing the other singers, bent on the floor to commence proceedings and then rose to speak. He asked the help of all to make the ceremony a success, and then message the grief of the bereaved relatives.

Joe Williams and his daughter had taken their places on the right-hand side of the hall and had requested Willie Black, a fluent speaker and influential chief, to assist them in arranging the financial transactions. They spread a blanket on the floor on which the bills were counted, and beside this Willie knelt. Joe gave him a sum of money, which was counted and re-counted; Willie then held it up to the rain hope that it could be seen by everyone in the hall. He announced the amount, also that it was to relieve (the divorced) Mrs. George Nelson from her late husband, and that it would "make clean the place where she sat." A young man delivered the money to George who added it to the general stock for later distribution. Then a copper was produced, held up, and presented to him for the same purpose. Meanwhile Joe, assisted by his mother and other relatives, had been counting the money which they proposed to give to Captain Schooner in settlement of the previously contracted debt. One hundred and fifty dollars were produced and handed to Willie Black, who held them up and announced that it was in return for the Kow given by Captain Schooner on a previous occasion to Joe Williams, his wife, his son, his daughter, his mother, and his stepfather. The bills

were taken by one of the younger men to Captain Schooner, who accepted them without showing either gratitude or the reverse; this errand was a matter that concerned the Williams family, not the Schooners. After a short delay, Billy Pollard moved over to the group and spoke to Joe and Willie Wacik, to whom he gave $10. The latter stated that this sum, which he held up, and a horse, which was not produced, were being given to George Nelson to relay his (divorced) wife. Billy is not related to the women, but had long been friendly and wished to show in making good the path for his children. This matter had not been previously broached. The choice of Willie Wacik as announcer was made merely because he was a fluent speaker and, as a chief, had the necessary self-confidence to act fittingly.

After these preliminaries, the main rite was begun. Joe Pollard, an eloquent chief unrelated to any of the principals, spoke at some length describing the journey taken by Jessie to visit the spirits of her ancestral myths. He was followed by a Bella Bella chief who happened to be in Bella Coola at the time. In the Chinook jargon he first expressed his sympathy and support for Captain Schooner because he was carrying out the living rites, then asked leave to speak in Bella Bella because he found it difficult to express himself in Chinook. He described the journey which the deceased had taken owing to her membership in the ancestral family of her mother, a Bella Bella woman. We can paid much attention to the speeches; in fact, it was impossible at the back of the hall to hear what was said owing to the chattering and crying of children.

After considerable delay, the singers decided it was time to sing the first mourning song. It had never before been used, although the composer, Billy Pollard, had prepared it several years earlier and had mostly sketched the words during the morning after consulting Captain Schooner about his ancestral myths. The singers had learnt text and tune during the rehearsal a few hours before. It was impossible to record it in detail; in outline, it consisted of the words:

and dividing here as divide it. Harry Schooner is neither dominant nor capable, and finally acted only as clerk, as the actual division rested with Captain Schooner, Boulton, and George. David Nelson would normally have played a prominent part, but he was absent owing to the illness of his infant daughter. Samuel King joined the group, bringing with him two coppers, two rifles, and a sum of money, and whispered the purpose of the consultation.

After the usual pause, George Nelson and Captain Schooner, the latter substituting for the absent Dan Nelson, stood up and walked around the hall carrying those coppers and two rifles. Then they returned to their places.

Nelsonhalloonner had been asked by Captain Schooner to act as arrangeur on account of his good voice and self-confidence. He joined the group in the corner to call out whatever they whispered to him. Then he stated that one of the coppers just displayed had been given to George Nelson to relay from him his wife, Jim Williams' daughter. He explained that the other two, as well as the rifles, were presents from Samuel King, endorsed by his brother, Albert, and his sister, Mrs. Alexander Chalmers, to George Nelson in consequence of the latter's marriage to Samuel King's daughter. The arrangement having been initiated by the relatives of the girl, it was fitting that they should give the first presents.

Captain Schooner had then placed to expend Dyes to relative the return of his dead daughter. He will gave him Dyes for the purpose, and when Jim Williams returned Dyes, he decided to use only Dyes of the savings, making Dyes in all. To this Boulton added Dyes, Harry Sun, and Dan Nelson Sun, increasing the total to Dyes. George considered what he had received from Jim Williams for the repurchase of the latter's daughter, as well as what Samuel King had just given him. Samuel added to the pile some money belonging to Jessie.*

* The writer could not learn why the money had not been expended and no other presumption. The reason was felt that the Sun Yuh, were due, though a portion was Black, the grade of a Sun means such to Blackhouse and to Sing Sin or a company that Sunh Sin or Sunhouse from Sin Sun.

[The Dance of life]

[176] [177] tomes. The night's ceremony concludes with a meal and the admonitions of the mandals.

No further description is needed of things taking place the next day, that of marriages, when a ceremonial song is composed, again dealing with Q's powers, endowed for masks to use. The evening's ceremonial does not in so long as that of dances.

[178] [179] [180] The next day, gallus, the supporters sit at the masks, some of which must be finished by nightfall. Late in the evening both initiates and uninitiated spare themselves by painting and washing, as this time the song men provide pieces of music music for their female friend. As already described, the initiates are the first to move followed by the uninitiated when all is ready. In Q's mythology are the masks [181] of an inner circle of Q's supernatural pieces suspended by cords of dried cedar-bark from a shaping jie that stretches from the floor on the base of the back-rooms the cross-beam behind the fire. It is said, although the informant could not guarantee the truth of the statement, that ing ago masks had to be displayed on this dance, though it unusual at others. It is a serious and sacred time, one at which frivolity is quite out of place, and the mandals are in readiness to punish any offenders. One very old informant told of being seen a marshal strike down and kill a doctor from another house for [182] [183] [184] holding intercourse with a woman on this ejie. The heralds may enter the dance, supporting and encouraging the remarks of the mandals, the frenzy of these functionaries always adds responsibility to the success of any Bella Cola rite. On this occasion Q and the dancer of Nuhlyum met partners, followed by those who have danced in form years, according to the desire of the singers; least in the case, when many initiates have performed, the rite may continue almost till dawn, for all must dance. After the departure of the uninitiated the initiates are blessed, while a cerebal admonition [185] [186] [187] [188] [189] [190] [191] [192] [193] [194] [195] [196] [197] [198] [199] [200] [201] [202] [203] [204] [205] [206] [207] [208] [209] [210] [211] [212] [213] [214] [215] [216] [217] [218] [219] [220] [221] [222] [223] [224]

[The Women's Curing Dance]

supposed to have taught them, he appears, supported by two *kokwitai*, and attempts to dance, but is too feeble to do more 575* than be assisted around the fire, feebly shaking his hands. He retires, but comes forth once more as the singers beat out the song of regular *kwiai* type composed for him and which his fellows have practised. If two have been composed, he appears a third time. After X has finally withdrawn, the usual procedure in the usual manner, by the dancing of every *kwiai* who has had a call in time to his two songs. It is late before all have danced; then the uninitiated are given a little food and sent [574] away. The *kokwitai* sit more leisurely, and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. On account of the solemnity of the 575* occasion, their words of wisdom are even more grandiloquent than usual. The following may be regarded as a typical address: 532

"You have done well, ye *kokwitai*, in thus carrying out the ceremony so admirably. I thank you. You have done well X, you have done as our fathers did. None of you must ever forget the precepts and example of our fathers who have handed down this rite from dim antiquity. Perhaps when we marshals are dead some of you will become careless and want to alter the ceremonial. Do not dream of anything so foolish. The proper method is that which you have just seen. Try to other."

When the marshals have finished, X dances once again, and the weary *kokwitai* at length disperse.

The next day, or rather later in the same day, for it is long 575* after midnight before the ceremony is completed, is rehearsed. 796* Many of the *kokwitai* assemble in X's house about four o'clock 532 in the afternoon to try on the masks and attend to the innumerable details. A representation of *Ana'ilitsadzaie* is always prepared, as well as those of *Ayaoxim*, *Sacoxdzaie*, and *Sacadzaie*. The last-named is the "Wise One," "He of Whom Questions are Asked," the supernatural being who decides [776] points of ritual in the dances in the land above. No paint is used on his mask, but a coloured effect is obtained by means

cosq'. If the Bella Coola were strictly logical, one should expect them to conceive the upper surface of *cosq'* as being convex. Instead, it is considered a flat surface, very similar to the earth, and no explanation is given of what fills in the spaces between the dome, concave as viewed from this world, and the upper plane which could rest only on the peak of the dome. But logical accuracy is not a Bella Coola characteristic. This flat land is called *dlowa'dl* or *cosq'* *nemalhqaiil*. It is illuminated by a second sun, shining on it as the sun does on the earth. Far in the east of this upper region are extensive tide-flats. This land above is the home of many supernatural beings, who will be described in due course. The relative position of the sun to this upper world is ill-defined. According to some accounts, it travels by clearly marked trails on the surface, and a transparent dome is postulated to explain how its light reaches this earth. Others state that it moves like a bird or flying canoe through the space between the world and the dome-sky above. On many of these points there is a striking difference of opinion, which the Bella Coola explain by saying that their information is derived from ancient stories, which are personal possessions, and that no one knows the beliefs of his fellows. A co-ordinated theology, as Boas points out, has not evolved among the Bella Coola.

The sky, as it may be called if the reader will bear in mind that it is the underside of a flat land, was not always in its present condition. The Bella Coola say that long ago the supreme god instructed his Carpenters (I, p. 31) to make a sky. They started from the eastern extremity of the earth, but after a considerable part of the dome had been erected, it fell with a thunderous crash, because no supporting posts had been set up. The part that escaped this calamity is called *Sabaldzam*. Undiscouraged, the Carpenters continued their work with the assistance of posts and so built the sky as it is seen today. Then the supports were taken away.

As already stated, a sun shines on the land above. As that sun by contrast is attached to the land above, so is this upper

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* 996 According to the general Bella Coola belief the supernatural ones may be classified as anthropomorphic beings, zoomorphic beings, and supernatural members of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC BEINGS

The Bella Coola agree that the most important of their supernatural beings is *Alpuntiów*, the supreme deity, maker of men and animals. He is most commonly known by this name but he has other appellations with reference to his various functions. The word *Alpuntiów* is said to be derived from *sapuntiów*, "foreman," or "chief." He is chief of the supernatural beings. Other names by which he is known are as follows:

Sawáiktle, a word derived from *saw*, the Sun. This term is used almost as commonly as *Alpuntiów*.

* 996 ● 534 *Smaiaiktile*, "The Story Man," because *Alpuntiów* created the ancestral myths at the same time that he created mankind. The supreme deity is called *Smaiaiktile* with reference to his membership in the *hamat* society of the supernatural beings.

Smaiaiatle, "From Whom Come, and To Whom Belong, All Myths." As creator of the highly valued myths, the supreme deity is owner of them.

* 996 *Smaoiktlih*, "The Wise One," "The Thoughtful," or "The Owl with Great Mental Ability."

[601] *Mawhaic*, a word supposedly derived from *mahe*, "Father," with the suffix *kaic* as a term of endearment. This is used in praying to *Alpuntiów*.

[601] [102] *Tátá*, "Father," the term for father used by a child; this, like the last, is used in prayer.

Sculpuntiów.

Nawaqlamatum, "The Adviser."

Sílkamin.

Nagalmaiaic, "The Light Giver."

Ó-ítsk di Sitkhung, "The Moon Chief."

These names are not meaningless synonyms; all, or at any

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what is probably a moosehide, with salmon painted on it, symbolic of his guardianship of fish for the benefit of mankind. In other respects *Nuxmāt-a* has no peculiarities. Behind the house is an enormous tree, *Tsunsu-iaqim*, in the branches of which live innumerable owls.

After this description of *Nuxmāt-a*, it is logical to return to its master, *Alqantām*. Guiding the sun is his most spectacular occupation, but he also governs the movements of moon and tides. Powerful though he is, he continues to take an interest in the doings of mankind whom he created. Prayers are commonly addressed to him, and a certain type of shaman is believed to receive power direct from him. Other supernatural beings may work weal or woe to a Bella Coola, but he feels it is done with the sanction of *Alqantām*. At every winter solstice he enters *Nuxmāt-a*, where supernatural beings from all parts of the universe have gathered to greet him. This assembly is called *qulxwaix*, and *Nuxmāt-a* is termed *Nuxqulxwaixa*[1] for its duration. While waiting, the guests perform *kuxiut* dances, similar to those carried out by members of the *kuxiut* society on earth (see vol. II, chap. 1). At *Alqantām*'s entry the heat becomes so intense that the occupants rush forth precipitately, some falling and being trampled upon in the crush. Only three[2] advisers, including *Saxsxālaix* (I, p. 41), remain to confer with him. They arrange the fate of human beings during the coming year; who shall be made a *kuxiut*, who shall be born, who shall die. In each case the decision rests with *Alqantām*, though he is influenced by his counsellors. Human beings can often learn in dreams what is being decided for them.

Alqantām, in spite of his strength, shares the limitations of any other chief, and is not invariably successful. The Bella Coola delight in telling stories of how supernatural beings, especially the Raven, outwitted and defeated him. Even

[1] Often pronounced *Nuxqulxwaixa*.
[2] The exact number is uncertain.

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human beings, in the beginning of time when they were semi-supernatural, sometimes prevailed against him. One story actually records his murder. From the point of view of morality, an angle from which the Bella Coola themselves do not regard him, *Alquntăm* is neither moral nor immoral; he has the virtues and vices of a man. That, in fact, is a fair summing up of *Alquntăm*; he is a superman, creator of life, supreme god in the sense that he is chief of the supernatural beings, but not an all-powerful deity. 776 [538]

Compared with *Alquntăm*, other supernatural beings are insignificant. The Bella Coola do not regard them as a hierarchy with definitely graded rank and power; accordingly, the order in which they are described is immaterial. Reference has already been made to the supernatural Carpenters.[9] There are four of them, created by *Alquntăm* in the beginning of time; it was they who constructed the mountains and rivers of this land, the animals and birds populating them, and supervised the making of mankind. They are considered to be four brothers, collectively known as *Masmasălănx*.

The eldest and most powerful is *Yulătimut*, "He Who Completes Any Task with a Single Smoothing Motion."

The second brother is *Mătlăhălitcak*, "He Who Completes Any Task with a Single Stroke of an Adze."

The third brother is *Măliăpexwak*, "He Who Completes Any Task with Two Strokes of His Adze."

The fourth and youngest brother is *shthulăk*, "He Who Completes Any Task in a Single Day."

In Kimsquit, *Mătlăhălitcak* is often called *Masmasălănx* and the collective term is not used. These names explain the beliefs of the Bella Coola with regard to the powers of the Carpenters. After their work in the beginning of time, the three younger brothers returned to *Nusmăt·a*, where they have since resided, but *Yulătimut* came to earth and married a Bella Bella woman. The Bella Coola admit that members of this [186] [648]

[9]Cf. Boas, p. 32.

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[776] tribe are superior to themselves in carpentry, and ascribe their
[116] skill to the fact that many of them are descendants of *Yaiâ-*
[648] *ûmat*. Some of the coastal tribes are said to believe that *Alquntûm* erred in the manufacture of many of the sea mammals, giving them, for example, human heads on fish bodies; he later rectified this by sending his Carpenters to adjust their form. This is not a Bella Coola belief. One elderly man stated that the skill of the Carpenters in painting and modelling was derived from a little girl named *Spothemer*; no confirmation could be obtained for this statement and the information was vague and unreliable.

Since their creation of the sky and many features of this world, as well as birds and animals, the Carpenters have entered but little into the lives of the Bella Coola. Like other supernatural beings, they are capable of going anywhere, but for many generations they have not been seen on this earth.
[575] Their most important function, perhaps, is to act as patrons for various *hamat* dancers. This subject will be described in detail in vol. II, chap. 1; for the moment it is enough to say that many supernatural beings regard members of this semi-sacred society as their protégés, and grant them power to per-
[535] form dances. On these occasions masked figures are used to represent the patrons, thus enlightening uninitiated persons as to the appearance and attributes of various supernatural beings.

Among the many residents of *Nusmât-a* are two sons of *Alquntûm*, *Sûnoliqumûlâ Alquntûm* and *Sno'elnâ Alquntûm*. The former in particular is dearly loved by his father and is often spoken of as *Nusiswanurûtum*, "The Cherished One."
[575] These two beings take no part in the affairs of mortals except as patrons of *hamat* dancers. Like all supernatural beings they are considered to be immortal. Since *Alquntûm* has two sons it is to be assumed that he has, or had, a wife. Her name is not generally known, although she is sometimes spoken of as
[538] *Nusmât-aim-a*, "The Woman of *Nusmât-a*." There are also many stories describing his amours with human women resulting in semi-supernatural offspring.

[illegible] 776 *
825

[illegible] 756
[illegible] 773

[illegible] [823]

[illegible] [756]

[illegible] [224]

[illegible] [184]

[illegible] 224

[illegible] 773
[illegible] 538

[illegible]

Raven, perhaps made conceited by this power, did not always use it for good purposes. He knew many new inventions which he taught to the Bella Coola, but sometimes he indulged in adventures of an obscene nature. In fact, he was often too "smart." The Bella Coola relate many tales concerning his exploits. These are all more stories, such as can be told by anyone, and they fall into two classes. One comprises humorous anecdotes, describing how Raven tried to show off, to outwit other birds and animals, and his consequent discomfiture. These belong to the realm of mythology and are recorded in vol. II, chap. v. In addition, there are stories describing the inventions and boons obtained by Raven; these are given in detail here as the only satisfactory means of illustrating the attitude of the Bella Coola towards Raven.

The first Raven, to whom *Alquntám* granted such power, is not regarded as a bird, but essentially as a superman, with the kindly characteristics of a human being, and the weakness of a conceited individual who is always trying to display his prowess. The ordinary word used for a raven is *qnem*, but this first Raven is properly referred to by his titles as chief, *Nemskilc*; *Sémenimkuts*, "The Light-Bringer"; *Kilakumsnus*, "The Wise One"; *Ne'ermaitkemsis*, "The Widower";* *Kemqumsnu ulkilit qnem*, "The Unknower of Light";* *Kse ómsnile*, *Kseni-lit*, and *Ksení*. The Bella Coola do not explain what happened to this first *Nemskilc*; he appears to have dropped out of existence, and his power has not been transmitted to his descendants, the ravens of today. They are regarded as birds, with but the slightest trace of their ancestor's greatness. The Bella Coola know of the beliefs of the Kitkatla concerning Raven, and say that in the north he is esteemed only a little less than the supreme deity himself. But in Bella Coola the exploits of Raven are always considered to be due to the power given him by *Alquntám*, whose assistant he was, although he delighted to show his own prowess by outwitting his maker.

*Because he is supposed to have widowed sisters for several of the first settlers.
*Owing to the manner in which Raven is supposed to have unveiled the sun.

provided with means of sustenance, a house, and certain supernatural powers. The right to the names of these people, as well as to the type of ceremonial objects used by them, has been the privilege of their descendants. But these early Bella Coola, like their modern descendants, had several designations, each carrying with it a definite prerogative. In a single myth there may be embodied a dance or more names and incidents which are quoted at the present day to authorize such different phases of culture as dances, rights to hunting-grounds, professions, names of dogs, or *totem* prerogatives.* Any myth which gives the initial use of a name, a dance, or any other prerogative, is termed a *snaxnim*. Each of these is, or was in the old days, remembered with great care and never recounted in full detail except to the members of the ancestral family whose names are embodied in it. Even at potlatches the full details of the myth are not told here. Indeed, if a young man is of a flighty, garrulous disposition, unlikely to preserve the dignity of his ancestral fame, the details are concealed from him. Even at the present time there is much resentment at any unauthorized use of a *snaxnim*, and in the old days this would inevitably have led to bloodshed.

Boas (p. 116) states that the terms *snaxnim* and *sacoma* are synonymous. The writer feels certain that this is an error. It was discussed repeatedly with various Bella Coola, all of whom agreed that a *sacoma* is a mere story which can be told by anyone, whereas a *snaxnim* is a myth possessed by the individual, or individuals, whose prerogatives are derived from it. To the Bella Coola the two are utterly different.

None the less, there is no doubt that records of the past change from one category to the other. A wealthy chief, eager to give a potlatch, but lacking the mythical authorization, must frequently have used a *sacoma*, claiming the hero as an ancestor. There would be veiled amusement at him for doing so, but the prestige of one who can give potlatches is so great that in time his claim would probably be accepted. The two

*The details of these will be described later.

539 brothers have the right, moreover, to hunt and collect food in the places used by these first ancestors. The areas so authorized are:

Hemulqimuc: the mountain where they first came to earth.

Ckgomip: a valley leading into the main valley of the Kimsquit River where *Ckgomkilida* was accustomed to hunt.

Nakpi kit: a valley where *Smanu*'s wives used to pick berries.

Ipmuck: a level tract of country on the bank of the Kimsquit River twenty-eight miles from its mouth. Its people landed here and *Smanu* pre-emptied it as a hunting ground.

Nalpu kut: another valley where *Smanu*'s wives used to pick berries.

The place in the Kimsquit River where their salmon-weir was erected, and the spot where they caught eulachon.

The length and wealth of detail embodied in this myth raises the question of whether it is one of the usual type, or represents a combination of several stories strung together and related by a man eager to glorify the traditions of his own ancestors. It was received from Jim Pollard, a Kimsquit Indian, descended from *Smanu*, and himself the user of this name, a valuable and reliable informant. Jim is a man of great ability, who has given more potlatches than any other Indian of either Bella Coola or Kimsquit, and who, accordingly, has been able to validate very fully his ancestral myths and the names embodied therein. Owing to the deaths of his relatives, Jim has been able to use designations and portions of this legend which otherwise would certainly have belonged to other people. In this respect it, therefore, represents an amalgamation, but one of a legitimate nature. Theoretically, every myth would be complete if it were not for the parts possessed by others, and the aim of every wise Bella Coola is to seek the return of these pieces by judicious marriage. Jim has been able to achieve this by the death of his relatives and the assistance of his wife, herself a descendant of *Smanu*. Before the coming of the white man and the consequent dwindling of population, it is unlikely that any one person would have the duly validated right to tell a myth of this length, but theoretically it was possible, and might have been done by anyone as superior to his fellows as this man is to the present inhabitants of Kimsquit.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nawulst*[20]

539 Among the first people dispatched to this earth were four brothers, *Hamet*, *Wakis*, *Alkwa*, and *Alkaitlis*, who came as eagles and settled in *Nawulst*, the site of the present Manicou Cannery, Kimsquit. Before

[20]Related by Jim Pollard.

[illegible] aided by other sticks which beat time of their own accord. From this night [illegible] became a shaman and used what he had seen when he was giving a dance of his own. His brother [illegible] were downstream until he came to a large house at [illegible] outside of which stood a huge bull-head. No one was in this house and [illegible] took possession of it.

A TRANSCENDENT CROSS MYTH[illegible]

Long ago at the time the world was first populated there were no rivers anywhere, for such were confined underground in a cavern-like prison called [illegible], the approach to which was barred by a huge boulder. Not only were the rivers shut up, but with them were their occupants, including the salmon. First Eagle tried to break this barrier, but without avail; then Raven succeeded. Since then the Bella Coola River has flowed in its present course. But the Turner River was still in bondage, to the disgust of the chiefs who wished to travel up it to the home of the chief, [illegible]. The Carpenter, [illegible], took pity on them and by breaking the barrier permitted them to reach their destination.

Origin Myths of Other Tribes

177 As has been repeatedly stated, the Bella Coola have ob-
538 tained many prerogatives by marriages with the members of
[424] neighbouring tribes. Among these are, according to their belief, myths dealing with the peopling of distant localities. Ceremonially and sociologically, such traditions have the same importance as myths that describe Bella Coola as the final place of settlement of the first inhabitants. Accordingly, they can be given at this point.

177 In the previous section the original landing-places of some
538 of the individuals described is said to have been outside the
174 Bella Coola valley. Boas, discussing this fact (p. 122), sug-
114 gests that such myths may reflect the movements of the ancestors of the Bella Coola from the parent Salish stock. Though this is a plausible hypothesis, it is also possible that

[illegible]This place could not be identified.
[illegible]Related by Lame Charlie.

a foreign myth, obtained by marriage, might have been altered in the course of generations to the Bella Coola pattern, preserving as the only foreign element that of settlement at a distance at the beginning of time.

OREGON NOTES OF *Owikh*[illegible]

In the beginning of time *Ayaxnim* decreed that four brothers should be sent down to this earth. The eldest, whose name was *Hhaitlis*, came down from a hole in *Nuxmit'a* and told his younger brothers to wait while he went ahead to reconnoiter. He took the form of a wolf and, as soon as he had reached the earth, went far to the east, where he obtained some abalone shells. Then he returned to *Ayaxnim*'s house, left his spoil with his brothers, and again went off alone to the west. This time he brought back some copper. After this he was ready to settle, so the four assumed the form of eulens and went down to Calvert Island, *Owikh*, as the Bella Bella call it. There they assumed human form and their wolf shells floated back aloft.

Ayaxnim did not give them food to carry with them, but he told them they would find sea-lions waiting to be killed on Sea-lion Island. Accordingly they hunted on that island, as their descendants, the people of Owikh, have done to this day.

Ayaxnim had given *Hhaitlis* a box containing some of the cone-shaped whistles used in *xaxak* dances. The three older brothers decided that they alone should perform the *xaxak* ceremonial and that, accordingly, the youngest should be kept in ignorance of the contents of the box, as uninitiated people are at the present time. He was a mere boy and his older brothers used to leave him at home when they went hunting, but they had given him the most explicit instructions not to open the carefully sealed box, containing their treasures.

All went well for some time, but finally the boy yielded to temptation and opened the box. His brothers returned unexpectedly, and found him examining the whistles, with his head almost out of sight within. They decided to kill him at once. They crawled up, closed the cover on his head, and sat on the box until life was extinct. Then they laid the body on the ground before them as they sat behind the fire, and sent one of their number out to gather three small pinnat sticks. When this was done they covered the corpse with angle down and sat on the ground around it, raising and lowering the sticks as if they were throwing objects into the

[illegible]Related by Joshua Hendy.

[illegible] well, and these are soon learnt by the child who is fortunate
[illegible] enough to have many kinsmen. Primarily, responsibility rests with the parents for the care and support of their offspring, but they have the advice, assistance, and material aid of their relatives. Nor are these limited to the near kindred of either father or mother; all members of the ancestral family take their part. Housemates, also, even if unrelated, take an interest in any child who shows their habitation, irrespective of his rank.

Much of the care bestowed on children is of a magical nature and must be reserved until a later chapter. Little boys
[illegible] follow their fathers on hunting expeditions and so acquire knowledge by practical experience, as do girls from their mothers with regard to household tasks and feminine occupations.
[illegible] Even small children are quick to notice the attention paid to the orders of chiefs, and carry out their commands without demur. A disobedient child is beaten or thrown into cold
[illegible] water; the parents usually act in such cases, though a near relative does not hesitate to do so, especially if he is a chief.
[illegible] Like all other children, Bella Coola boys and girls are fond of stories and listen eagerly to the tales told in the long evenings
[illegible] by some old man or woman. Many of these are somewhat
[illegible] obscene, but they serve to teach much ancient lore, and at the same time to emphasize many taboos and restrictions which are thus assimilated without definite schooling. They illustrate the laws of morality, as does the public disapproval shown
[illegible] to anyone who infringes some point of etiquette or behaviour.
[illegible] If a child makes fun of a cat-fish or a bull-head, he is not told to stop doing so; instead, one of his elders tells him how, in the distant past, there was a famine, and advises him not to scoff at the fish which alone saved his ancestors from starvation at that time. If a rude little boy laughs at a maimed or deformed
[illegible] man, he is told of *Hiáiáli*, a Bella Bella urchin who repeatedly mocked a one-eyed man and presently, himself, lost the sight of an eye.

"Don't laugh at cripples, blind people, or those who are

[illegible] bundle of four mussel-shaped shells, probably *Donax*, which are said to have been imported from the north in early times. These marks serve to indicate the position of the girl, who is both feared and respected, possessed of supernatural power, and yet beneficial. Many Bella Coola stories describe how adolescent girls have been able to vanquish supernatural beings; perhaps the most striking of these is the manner in which they were saved [illegible] when the sun came too close to the earth. At the end of a year, or eleven months according to one old woman, the seclusion is terminated, and the girl resumes her normal activities. The first time she goes to the river she must throw on the water four pieces of dried, and four pieces of undyed cedar-bark. This is especially important if the salmon are running at the time, although no explanation of this ritual is given.

The resumption of her freedom indicates that a girl has reached marriageable age. Chiefs sometimes confine their daughters for even longer than a year, and usually delay their marriages for several years to demonstrate their importance; but this is not necessary, nor is it practised by other than wealthy individuals. It is not uncommon for a girl to wed before her year is out; in that case her restrictions automatically lapse. Chiefs never allow such a curtailment for their daughters; to do so would diminish the prestige of the latter, and be detrimental to the status of their children when they marry and have families. Illicit intercourse with a secluded adolescent is considered not only illegal but disgusting as well. Between the period of confinement and marriage, intercourse is prohibited and guarded against by the parents of a girl, but is not considered filthy and seems to have been fairly common in former times with the daughters of poor people and slaves. This sometimes took place before the first menstruation in spite of the disapproval with which this was regarded.

Although the menstrual blood which appears at the first discharge is considered more baneful than that emitted on later occasions, it is always regarded as uncanny or unclean. It is

to a ghost, he informs a dancer of the fact and the latter notifies the relatives of the deceased. If no shaman is convenient, the sheds does endeavors to help himself. Invisible, and armed with a barbed hook, he approaches a person who is eating and pulls away a crumb which falls to the earth. Should the eater stoop to pick things, the ghost, rubbed of his heavy, hurts the offender with his hook, causing toothache or sometimes a sharp pain in the head or stomach. Other ailments are caused by the ghosts hitting with invisible stones those who have offended them. Consequently, no one picks up a crumb which has fallen, since it is impossible to know whether it has been an accident or a mirror. Another indication of a ghost's hunger is loss of a tooth. The loser should throw it on a fire with an invitation to the dead to accept his offering.

The barrier between ghosts and human beings is considered to be little more than a wall of smoke, just too dense for ordinary eyes to penetrate. In early times intercommunication between the denizens of the two worlds was so easy that a dancing mother was once allowed to tend her dead child on earth. Unfortunately, the woman's mother one day insisted on holding her grandchild, unaware that he was a ghost. Shocked at his appearance, the old woman dropped the child, much to the anger of the dead people.* Ever since that time it has been impossible for human beings to see and talk with their deceased kinsmen. Like so many Bella Coola stories, it is doubtful whether this one is regarded as more than an item of ancient history; it is considered to be a fact, but it is not one that enters into the daily thoughts of the people.

Ghosts frequently come to their old homes at night where dogs can see them. If one of these animals begins to bark and gazes fixedly at a spot where nothing is to be seen, it is because a wraith is standing there and the dog's owner hopes that it will remain invisible. It is true that some individuals have received shamanistic power from a ghost, but more often a visitation is disastrous and to be avoided. A dead person often

*This story is recorded in detail later (I, p. 577).

CHAPTER IX

RELATIONS WITH THE SUPERNATURAL

Introductory—Devils Apparitions—Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate—Supernatural Good Luck—Shamanism—Direct Revelations from the Supreme God—Power Localized in Certain Spots—Dreams

Introductory

THE aspects of Bella Coola life thus far described have been principally of a nature which might be experienced by any member of the community. On the other hand, contact with supernatural beings is a privilege granted to individuals without respect to rank; even arduous appeal cannot assure it. The few to whom signal favours are granted acquire a position of importance totally different from that of chiefs. The Bella Coola are firmly convinced that supernatural beings abound in the mountains and forests of British Columbia, and that every activity of human life is governed by them. Not only do these creatures include monsters of the imagination, but birds, animals, and fish; even the activities of the human mind are considered to be beyond the scope of normal life. Ancient stories describing the actions of strange creatures and conversations between man and animals are accepted as truthful accounts, so that it seems obvious to the Bella Coola that his ancestors were more powerful than he is today. Never considering the possibility of errors in his stories, he accepts the alternative hypothesis that mankind has sadly degenerated from the golden age. Nevertheless, he assumes that the beings have not altered, and consequently hopes to encounter them on every occasion. Moreover, this firm background of belief makes it easy for him to recognize supernatural influence in events which a white man would consider to be natural. It is impossible to over-emphasize this concept.

787 * [554] 787 * 796 [828] [538] 781

occupants of the canoe, heard a roaring noise and saw a fish-weir, similar to those used by the Bella Coola, stretching across Burke Channel, which is about a mile and a half wide at this point. They went close to the beach and a brave man cut a passage through the obstacle. A similar trap was once seen stretching across South Bentinck Arm. 787 * 538

An unusual apparition may be regarded as an omen of death. For example, not many years ago a young half-breed saw a motor-boat moored to the bank of North Bentinck Arm with an eagle seated in the stern. He ran his own motor-boat towards it, but as he approached the eagle became a man. Then as he drew still nearer, never taking his eyes off the other boat, it, with its occupant, sank beneath the water, without leaving so much as a ripple. On relating the incident to his father, the latter recognized it as an omen of death. Six months later the half-breed's sister died, thus confirming her father's prognostication. 787 * 768 [811]

Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate

Experiences such as have been cited in the last section are regarded as of possible, and not infrequent occurrence at the present time. On the other hand, supernatural aid granted to those in misfortune, though it is the theme of many stories, is not considered as likely to happen now. The Bella Coola believe the narratives to be chronicles of actual events, and base their conceptions of many supernatural beings on their characteristics as therein described. There is no ceremonial significance attached to any of these stories; they may be, and are told by anyone, frequently for entertainment. Unquestionably, there is a feeling that the moral brought out in such tales is of value in educating the young people, though this point is never emphasized. 787 * 538 [869]

Supernatural aid granted to an unfortunate person is termed *utsk'waladjut*. Power so obtained cannot be transmitted by the recipient, although memory of the experience is 787 * [575] [535]

your object was desired, and then set in a window of his house so that the sun could fall on one uncovered end. The owner firmly believes that this stone has brought him money on various occasions, and will do so again, though whether he expects the coins to be found inside of the wrapping, or merely to come to him in the course of trade is questionable. According to Bella Coola belief, they ought to appear beside the stone, but as this man attributes any good fortune to it, he never has any difficulty in proving its powers.

This stone is also used as a means of increasing the efficacy of prayer. When its owner washes ceremonially in the river before eating in the morning, he rubs it over his body as if it were soap and requests it to make him strong, make him well, grant him his desires, and so forth.

Shamanism

More important to the Bella Coola than any other manifestation of the supernatural is that power which makes an individual either an *ilakmala* or an *ilakmalots*. The former is a person who, owing to ability granted him by a supernatural being, is able to perform miraculous feats, especially in curing the sick; the latter is one with similar powers obtained from a ghost.[4] It is impossible to translate either of these terms accurately; the designation "shaman" is accordingly used in this monograph to describe both types of supernaturally endowed individuals. The most common and most important method of obtaining such power is from a living supernatural being; a person receiving the boon in this manner will be termed "shaman," and one empowered by a ghost will be known as "shaman from the dead."

The Bella Coola believe that long ago men were so much more powerful than at present, and so close to the supernatural, that all were virtually shamans. The prowess and adventures

[4] Ghosts are, of course, supernatural, but as the Bella Coola distinguish between shamans whose powers are derived from these two sources, it is accurate to follow their example.

of these demi-gods of antiquity are favourite themes for stories. The powers of the later shamans have been far less than those of their forebears, and their exploits have been of a somewhat different character. Hence it is possible to divide the subject into three sections:

(a) Shamanism in the distant past.
(b) Modern shamanism.
(c) Shamans from the dead.

SHAMANISM IN THE DISTANT PAST

Information on this phase is contained in stories and a few anecdotes which describe the achievements of ancient demi-gods, endowed with miraculous powers of various kinds. The tales are similar in type to those dealing with the granting of supernatural aid to the unfortunate, so that it is in many cases difficult to differentiate them. As might be expected these narratives are not exact. Frequently the teller does not know from what being the ancient shaman received his power, nor can he explain the abilities described, which are different from, and superior to, those with which he is familiar. In fact it is customary to describe any mythical hero as a shaman.

Tales of this kind can be related by any one; they are not the personal property of a specific family. Many of them, that of *W'awal ci*, for example, are well known and are told and retold constantly.

In addition to information obtained from stories, a few isolated facts are remembered regarding ancient shamans. It is thought that various taboos connected with hunting were learnt by them in the distant past. Such restrictions and injunctions were firmly believed in and strictly adhered to until a few years ago, and many of them are still observed. The usual method of hunting harlequin ducks is, or was until recently, from a canoe, with a sapling set up in the bow to hide the hunter, crouched with bow and arrow in readiness; several shamans, however, were able to kill the birds by merely waving the butt-end of a paddle towards them. Such power

CHAPTER 6

STORIES ILLUSTRATING THE SUPERNATURAL

Stories Illustrating Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate —Stories Illustrating Supernatural Good Luck—Stories Illustrating Shamanism

KNOWLEDGE of the contact between supernatural and human beings is based largely upon tales describing such incidents; in fact, generalizations like those made in the last chapter are, as has been already stated, contrary to Haida Creole practice. Such tales are, however, so numerous and so long that their inclusion in the sections describing the kind of experiences they illustrate would have made the last chapter unduly cumbersome and confusing. Stories recounting these types of contact with the supernatural are brought together here, not as items of folk-lore, but as basic material to supplement the relevant sections of the last chapter. These legends are not family property, but are considered to be historical incidents which can be related by anyone.

STORIES ILLUSTRATING SUPERNATURAL AID GRANTED TO THE UNFORTUNATE

THE GAMBLER'S SUCCESS

Four brothers, of whom the youngest was named *Djuadju-ts*, were very fond of gambling with crabapple sticks. They played on all occasions, but with such luck of success that they lost first their goods, then their houses, their mother, their children, their wives, and finally themselves. The three older men went hunting every day, but *Djuadju-ts* remained in the house as if he had no heart to do more than lie down and die. Perhaps he had an inspiration; at any rate he was deceiving his brothers, because as soon as they had gone out he used to get up and collect clams which were plentiful below the floor of the house. These were his sole sustenance, but he also chewed the fin of an old salmon, which served to exercise his jaws. Before his brothers' return *Djuadju-ts* always lay down in his corner, covered with an old dirty blanket, as if he

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small hole in his skin blanket and once more lay down as if to sleep, but fixed his eye on the opening. Soon there drew near a beautiful woman with long hair.

"Don't vanish," *Kaldcap* said to her. "I see you."

The woman, not at all perturbed at being seen, merely answered:

"Come to my house."

Kaldcap followed his visitor, a mouse in human form, down under the earth to her home, a cave on the very edge of the precipice. One side of the house opened out into the canyon without a wall of any kind. Here the mouse-woman's three beautiful sisters were waiting.

"Let us play," said the mice. "Won't you swing us?"

[524] From the roof was suspended a swing consisting of two long ropes with a small cross-seat at the bottom, and a long rope by which it could be hauled back and forth, exactly like the swings formerly used by Bella Coola boys. One of the sisters took her place on the seat and *Kaldcap* pulled her back and forth so that she swung far out into the canyon. Then another took her place, followed by the third and the fourth, until he had swung them all. Next they suggested that he take his turn. A second rope was attached to the seat, *Kaldcap* took his place, and the four women, two on each side, pulled so strongly that he, in turn, swung far out into the canyon. Then the treacherous mice jerked the ropes violently, throwing him from the seat down into the depths.

Even as he was falling *Kaldcap* retained sufficient presence of mind to thrust out his bow, in which his supernatural power was localized, and to which he had clung. It lodged in a cranny of the canyon wall, arresting his fall, and he, being small and light, succeeded in gaining a foothold on a rough path. He crawled up it to the surface of the gorge at some little distance from the place where he had camped, but on the same side of the gorge. Full of anger, he made his way back to the house of the mice.

"Let's play some more," he said to them.

But the mice, amazed at seeing him alive, were afraid to trust themselves to his swinging, even though he promised that they should later have an opportunity of doing the same to him.

"No," they said. "Sometime we will allow you to return and play with us, and you can sleep with us if you like. You had better go home now."

Kaldcap returned to his camp. When, the next day, he told his sister of his adventure she was terrified, and once more besought him to avoid all dangers.[11]

[538] [11]Though in this case the hero outwitted scheming women, it is said that in many ancient stories the reverse was true.

754 would probably fall a victim. He became ill in May, 1923,
761 and, though treated by a white doctor, grew steadily worse
789 until he died in the latter part of June, three weeks after the
828 year had elapsed. All the Bella Coola firmly believe that this
[622] was due to the power of thought. The father of the woman was a powerful chief whose thoughts were accordingly potent, and some consider that his concentrated desires and expectations were enough to kill the accused, while others believe that his expressed statements convinced others of the result, and that it was their combined thought that caused the death. It usually requires the thoughts of more than one individual to lead to this effect. The doctor who attended this man stated that his patient had shown symptoms of melancholy and resignation during his last sickness; it seems clear that the expectation of death must have lessened his chance of recovery.

771 A prominent theme in Bella Coola folk-lore is the belief
954 that a person cannot long survive who has made himself un-
828 popular. It is sometimes stated that a magical means was
[538] employed to remove him, and this was no doubt often the case; a person who learns that a "medicine" had been employed to kill him is in no fit mental condition to counteract the power of suggestion, particularly if he knows that others are aware of what has been done. His death is regarded as proof of the efficacy of the means employed and the belief of others grows stronger. As already stated, this conviction still survives. When this ethnological investigation was being conducted, a
[648] point under discussion was whether or not the Kimsquit people should be allowed to live in Bella Coola. One chief took the lead in objecting and everyone expected that, having thus roused the ire of would-be immigrants, he would die. He did so soon afterwards, and it is universally believed that it was caused by the concentration of the hostile thoughts of the Kimsquit. Similarly, the potency of taboos is increased by the fact that since
[784] time immemorial the thoughts of everyone have been opposed to any infraction. Consequently, an offender is liable to punishment both for breaking an injunction and because he

*575 in a flesh-coloured bathing-suit, imitating the nakedness of
*796 earlier years. The writer was talking to one of the marshals,
178 a very old man, and remarked how different the present rites must appear to him.

"Yes," replied the old man. "But after all, the change is not so great. In former years we imitated what the supernatural beings did, now we imitate what our fathers did."

Many ethnologists, acquainted with the elaborate rituals carried out on the coast early in this century, have expressed surprise at the rapidity with which these have dwindled to mere shadows. The writer believes that one factor for the Bella Coola decline in ritual, is the realization that the rites are imitative, and that accordingly their significance need not be lost when further imitation is added.

*575 Further research would undoubtedly have added particu-
*796 lars of the manner in which other Cannibals carried out their rites, but to obtain the full details of all would have been detrimental to other types of investigation; it is believed that the above descriptions are typical. Before passing to other dances, a few general remarks on the Cannibal ritual may prove useful.

*575 In view of the arduous character of the dance, and the
*796 necessity for impressing the uninitiated with the great power
424 of the Cannibals, the marshals usually prohibit a man from
[562] acting unless he is physically strong. Rarely, however, a woman is allowed to be a Cannibal if she has the necessary prerogative, but usually only if she is the last survivor of her family. In such cases the shorter rite is the more common.

[538] As before stated, *kusiut* origin myths are supposed to be
[173] remembered, but in practice few *kukusiut* know the history of their prerogatives. The process of forgetting has undoubtedly increased in the last few years, but the writer feels confident that they were never maintained with the same care as origin myths connected with the first people.

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CHAPTER IV

GAMES

517 THE subject of games, lying on the border-line of social
121 customs, was one which was not fully investigated. The
[177] Bella Coola, like all other peoples, have a number of sports and pastimes and although the old diversions are being forgotten by the younger people, many of the old men and women are familiar with those played in their youth. As isolated customs these may be of small value, but games of all kinds often preserve ancient practices and, as providing useful clues to the spread of peoples or of culture, are worthy of investigation. Unfortunately, lack of time made it impossible to give the subject the attention it deserved, and the few games here described must not be considered an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

526 Though less fond of competitive sports than the Indians
[171] of the Plains, the Bella Coola enjoy canoe-racing and wrestling.
[628] The former appears to have been an ancient diversion; picked crews from different villages competed amid the encouraging shouts of their fellows, and even now the younger men are anxious to display their skill in this respect. Wrestling, which
[177] used to be common during all non-sacred gatherings, has almost entirely disappeared since the prohibition of the potlatch.

● 538 The favourite sedentary pastime, enjoyed equally by young
[517] and old, is the telling of stories. Those of a sacred nature, especially ancestral myths, are reserved of course for ceremonial occasions, but the older men and women remember
[125] many tales describing the exploits of birds and animals which are retounted again and again to the enjoyment of the listeners, although they may have heard the same recital fifty times. Children enjoy the companionship of some old story-teller and it is a common sight to see an old man or woman, surrounded by an eager group, explaining once more how Raven outwitted his rivals or was himself led into difficulties. Many of these
[167] stories are somewhat indecent; others appear brutally frank,

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but the Bella Coola do not consider this aspect and the children grow up in an atmosphere entirely lacking in restraint of speech. Some stories teach a moral lesson, but they are recounted merely for entertainment. At the present time, no one knows who invented the stories; they have been handed down from dim antiquity and alterations or embellishments are considered improper, while the composition of new tales appears to be unknown.

Another pastime is smoking. Among some Indian tribes the practice has a definite religious significance, but this appears to be lacking among the Bella Coola. Most of the men enjoy either a pipe or cigarettes, and some of the women also indulge, but few carry the habit to excess. All the older people affirmed that their ancestors had smoked for generations. Tobacco was not grown, but kinnikinick, *mlie'*, was used, and also a plant known as *lsaie'*. Another smoking mixture was bark of *lsowaidp*, toasted before a fire until dried and brown, and then crumbled between the hands. These materials have given place entirely to imported tobacco, and the white man's pipe has replaced the native one. The latter consisted of a gooseberry cane from which the pith had been extracted; sometimes a small bowl of elderberry wood was added, but often the mixture to be smoked was simply placed within the end of the hollow stem.

Adults, especially the men, are addicted to gambling. They are fond of placing stakes on a race or other trial of strength, and enjoy all kinds of games of chance. Some of the younger men have mastered a few of the simpler games of cards on which they spend a certain amount of time and money. The favourite gambling game, however, is one found in all parts of the coast, which is played with a pack of fifty-four smoothed crabapple sticks. The rules are complicated and no effort was made to learn more than the general principles. The pieces are divided among the eight or ten contestants and concealed; then one player guesses in whose hand a certain marked stick is hidden. If he is successful, the others pay him a forfeit; if

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CHAPTER V

STORIES

Raven Stories—Animal Stories—Young Stories—Supernatural Stories—Catastrophic Stories — Historical Stories

IN addition to myths which have definite sociological importance, such as those which explain the procedure of dances and other rituals, there are many legends which can best be described as *stories*.[1] These do not belong either to individuals or to families, consequently they are more widely known than allegedly historical accounts which are the personal property of social groups. In the long winter evenings it is common to see an old man or woman surrounded by young boys and girls listening attentively to some tale. An outburst of laughter always accompanies a humorous incident, no matter how many times it may have been heard. The narration is a mere pastime, an amusement which seems never to pall either on recounter or listener. Occasionally, a person of philosophical disposition will claim that a moral is taught by every story, and it is true that many of them point out some well-known experience of life, such as "The Biter Bit"; this must unconsciously strike the hearers, but any intentional didacticism is quite foreign to Bella Coola thought.

As will be seen, these stories contain a large number of fantastic episodes. The Bella Coola recognize this to be the case without doubting their truth. They describe events which took place long, long ago, when man and supernatural beings were in closer contact than at present; when man was able to understand the speech and actions of the birds, the mammals, and the fish. The people of today do not expect to have similar experiences now but, according to their point of view, there is no reason why the incidents of the stories could not have happened in the distant past. Frequently, different versions of the same legend are told by different men; each is

[1] *Sisnaxa*, a story or, more accurately, a piece of ancient lore.

538 certain that his account is the only accurate one, and ridicules his rival, but as no social importance is attached to the tales, an error in narration is a matter of small moment. Probably there have been instances in which an individual possessing [558] much wealth has transformed a story into a family myth, but it was impossible to obtain a concrete illustration of this; it is thought that this may have been done in former years, though of course such would be absolutely contrary to custom.

Stories can be conveniently divided into two types:

[825] I. Those in which the principal character is a mammal or bird endowed with human intelligence.

II. Those in which the principal character is a human being.

[825] Many of the first type describe the adventures and mis-
[776] adventures of Raven. It must be remembered that the Bella Coola regard these stories as accurate statements of fact, and base their characterizations of many supernatural beings on their actions as recorded therein.

Raven Stories

HOW RAVEN BECAME BLACK

*539

When Raven was fully prepared for his descent to earth, *Ăpănăw* told *Mănăkăilănăl* to make him the prettiest of all the birds. When finished, he was adorned with many colours and was very handsome. But the vain Raven looked at himself and was not satisfied. First he asked that one atom might be changed, and when this was done as he desired, he asked for an alteration in one of his legs; and so on with nearly every part of his body. Finally, *Ăpănăw* became angry, and told some of his assistants to throw ashes all over him. This made Raven a uniform black, in which guise he was sent down to earth.

RAVEN AND WATER OUZEL[7]

As he was able to assume any form, Raven, once upon a time, took that of a herald and went to the home of Water Ouzel, who, having spread a fine cedar-mat for his guest, proceeded to prepare a meal. He brought

[7] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 83.

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him, which, with her supernatural power, she was able to do. She reluctantly granted his request, and Raven became very proud of his splendid locks. 539*

Next year, when Raven caught sockeye salmon he obeyed his wife's instructions by carefully hanging the fish up to dry without removing the heads. One day, however, his long hair became entangled with the teeth of a drying salmon, and in a fit of anger he wrenched off its head, throwing it outside the door. His wife was so vexed and grieved that she cried and cried until her face was swollen and Raven became frightened at her continued lamentation. After he had left the house, Sockeye Salmon told her sisters-in-law to make a fire and put on it all her personal possessions. She said that she intended to leave that night, and that the smoke would animate her husband's salmon, but not those caught by his sisters. When it was dark she carried out her threat. She whistled, and Raven's fish came to life; then she ran to the river, raised the edge of the water as if it had been a blanket and plunged beneath, followed by them. Raven tried in vain to pursue, but lost both his wife and his salmon.

Animal Stories

Raven is more frequently endowed with human characteristics to serve as the central figure in stories than any other bird or mammal, but the following are examples of similar tales centring around other figures. 538 825

MINK AND CAT-FISH[22]

539*

Once upon a time, long, long ago, before men and animals had grown so unlike one another, Mink went to the home of a Cat-Fish woman, who politely invited him to stay for a meal. When he had finished eating he said to his hostess:

"Are you afraid of anything?"

"No," she replied.

"Are you not afraid of Grizzly Bear?"

"No," answered the woman again.

Mink repeated his question with regard to Wolf, Black Bear, Wolverine, Cougar, and all the other fierce animals, but Cat-Fish assured him that she feared none of them. At length he asked:

"Are you afraid of Owl?"[23]

[22]There are no true cat-fish in Bella Coola; the species so designated is probably one of the sculpins. [136]

[23]No mean the western horned owl.

[See pp. 419-433. — ANALYST]

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and cold to destroy the reckless creatures who had dared to oppose him. While he was climbing down, the attackers called out, attracting his attention, so that Halibut was able to wriggle, unobserved, to a place at the bottom of the ladder. As Cold Wind trod upon him, Halibut moved, and his antagonist fell to the ground. He was seized by his enemies before he could rise to release more cold. 539* 821

"What have you against me?" he asked them. "I visit you only twelve months in the year."

"That is too often," his captors replied, as they stretched him out on the ground to kill him.

"If you spare me I will visit you for nine months only," Cold Wind made offer.

Again he was told that was too much, and he must be killed. Cold Wind, terrified, proposed coming for shorter and shorter periods, six months, four months, two months, and finally for a single month, but each offer was refused, and followed by threats of instant death. At length the captors accepted his agreement to come only in the early morning.

That is why, to this day, the cold wind comes only in the early morning.

Sminq Stories

538 776

Of the supernatural animals which the Bella Coola believe inhabit the wild glens and mountains of British Columbia, that which figures most prominently in their mythology is the *sminq*. There are four slightly different varieties of this monster. The most common is regarded as being about the size of a large grizzly bear, but with long front legs and short hind ones, on which it can run in upright position when it so desires. Its legs terminate in large talons resembling those of an eagle, with the thumb set opposite to the fingers; its pelt, long and fleecy, is of a grayish-blue colour. The monster is able to roll its eye-balls completely over, and, when the reverse side is exposed, there shoot forth dazzling beams of light which strike senseless anyone on whom they fall. It uses its eyes for hunting. The most peculiar feature of the *sminq*, however, is that it carries on its back a basket provided with spikes inclined inwards and downwards at such an angle that any living creature thrust within is unable to escape. The basket

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538 776 can be removed at will, and the Bella Coola relate how, long ago, the inhabitants of a village captured one of these. Cruelly, they placed it at the top of a lofty tree, then carefully smoothed off the bark to make climbing virtually impossible. The unfortunate *smmq* tried repeatedly to scale the tree, amid the mockings of its human tormentors; at last it succeeded in doing so, whereupon it dashed off, happily, with its basket.

Less dangerous than the *smmq* is the creature known as *po qwais*, differing only from the true *smmq* in having a band of white through its eyes. A third variety, *smmqos wa sumdäs*, the mountain *smmq*, remains perpetually above the line of vegetation. Little is known of it.

The most dangerous is a true *smmq* with the genital organs of a woman on its forehead. This creature is able to reverse the course of streams, to cause light snow to fall, and even to raise up mountains when pursued. A hunter meeting one of these monsters is in deadly danger unless he calls it by its name, *splix*, female genitalia. So doing will cause the animal to lose its power and grovel and writhe impotently on the ground.

Like all other supernatural animals, the *smmq* is believed to have only recently quitted the vicinity of Bella Coola, on account, so it is said, of the noise made by the rifles of the white man. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of the animals, though several state that they have heard them not many years ago. It is assumed that the *smmq* has migrated to some less populated area, probably to the region north of Dean Channel and east of Frederick Island.

The following stories, which are among the most popular in Bella Coola, illustrate the characteristics of the *smmq*.

#539

THE GRAVE ROBBER[41]

Long, long ago, there was a large Bella Coola town[42] on the White-

[41]For another version of this story see Boas, p. 86.
[42]Other informants stated that the village was *Stmx*.

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It was a long journey home, perhaps twelve miles, but the little girl carefully carried one end of the rope, nor did she forget to tie it to a tree before she entered the house. When she had told of her amazing adventures, great was the delight of her parents at her escape from such a perilous predicament. She told of the old woman rooted to the ground, and gave her name, well-known as that of a woman who had mysteriously disappeared one night many years previously, whose fate had never been discovered. The girl told also of the wealth on the walls of the *swaq*'s house, valuables robbed from the coffins of the dead, and how the old woman had bade her bring her friends to carry away the loot.

Next morning the entire population of the village set out on the quest, led by the little girl, who carefully watched the rope to guide her back to her destination. After travelling about twelve miles they came to the canyon.

"We are almost there," she said. "I can see the opening into the cave."

No one else could distinguish it so the villagers went closer, but still it remained invisible to all except the girl herself. She rubbed her hands over the eyes of about a dozen men and at once they were able to see the mouth of the cave. With these men she entered and found nothing altered since the preceding day. The place was packed to the roof with all sorts of treasure, including a countless number of mountain goat skins, highly prized for their wool. The men took down the valuables and divided them equally among all who had taken part in the expedition. A more difficult task was to free the old woman. First they tried to pull her up, but the roots were as firm as if a part of the mountain itself. At her request, given the day before to the little girl, they had brought an axe and when all else failed they cut her roots. When the last was severed, however, her life went too for it extended down into them. So the party went home without her.

Two other versions of this story were collected; they resemble the accounts here given so closely that publication seems unnecessary.

*538

Supernatural Stories

In this section are grouped a number of miscellaneous accounts, describing the adventures of supernaturally endowed individuals, and of those who came in contact with supernatural beings but received no special boon. These are of

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many kinds, some of which verge on the tales of shamans already given. Like all others in this chapter, the following stories have no social significance and can be related by anyone. 538

THE WRONGED WOMAN

539*

Long, long ago, the sister of *Kina'o* married a foreign chief with whom she went home to live. Her husband used to beat her and treat her so abominably that she kept asking him to allow her to return; finally he consented, and she set off gladly with him in his canoe. About half-way to the destination, the husband landed and asked his wife to climb with him to the top of a very tall tree. This she did, nor did she become suspicious when he sharpened the extreme tip of the trunk. Suddenly, he seized her, and thrust her down on to the point which pierced into the lower part of her body, pinning her to the tree-top. The evil husband then returned home.

The captive did not die immediately. From the tree-top she could see canoes passing, and kept calling out for help, but no one heard her. At last her brother *Kina'o* went by, *en route* to his sister's home with a present of food. Not knowing who he was, she cried out as she had done before; he recognized her voice, landed, but at first could not see her, and was filled with amazement to discover her pinned up the tree. Up he climbed to lift her off, but as he did so, she died.

Kina'o determined to have his revenge. He clothed himself in his sister's cape, hat, and blanket, in order to resemble her; this was an easy matter as the two looked alike. Thus attired, he continued his way to his brother-in-law's village, which he entered, leaning heavily on a stick as if he had received an injury to the lower part of his body. He said nothing, but *Sumus*, his sister's husband's mother, saw him and mistook him for her daughter-in-law.

"You have been beating your wife again," she said to her son. "Look how she is limping."

He did not answer, being amazed to see her alive.

Kina'o lay down as if sick while *Sumus* prepared for her a dish of putrid salmon roe and bracken roots. When this was ready, the old woman sent one of her daughters to summon the supposed daughter-in-law who sat down near the fire and ate with bent head. The daughter noticed the great size of the eater's arms and legs and commented upon this to her mother.

"Hush!" answered the latter. "Don't be rude."

When *Kina'o* had finished eating he went back to bed and then the

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*539 him how unhappy he was, because people on earth called him a bastard.
821 "Never mind, my son," said *Ilqunŭm*. "Presently, I will let you do my work and then you will be more powerful than anyone on earth."

Next morning the father sent the lad off to act as sun, giving him the usual supply of heat. But the boy was so angry with the people on earth that he increased this supply, hoping to burn up the whole of them. Seeing some children at play, he swooped down to slay them; it became so hot that water boiled in the lakes and rivers and the whole race of mankind was roasted to death. Most of the animals escaped by hiding in bur-
[825] rows, but not the black bear, who at that time had a white coat. It was burnt black and has remained that colour ever since, while the grizzly was scorched to his present rustness. The deer and the weasel failed to hide their tails, both of which were burnt; that is why each has a black tip to this day.

Ilqunŭm, angry at his son for killing everybody, restored all to life,
[825] and broke the malicious child into countless pieces which he threw down to earth in the form of mosquitoes.

Catastrophic Stories

*538 Disasters which occurred in the distant past provide themes for stories of a non-ceremonial nature.

THE FAMINE

*539 *Ka'lăn-a* was a Kimsquit man who made a practice of watching the sun; from its movements he was able to foretell the solstices and other coming events. One winter, long ago, the sun, instead of stopping at its usual place, continued far beyond its proper course. *Ka'lăn-a* was much worried and prophesied strange changes, with famine; he called on the young men to weep, but instead they merely laughed at him. Next summer, when there was plenty of fish, berries, and other foods, the people jeered at the prophet. For four years there was the same plentiful hunting and collecting, but in the fifth came a great change. It failed to become warm in April; the berries flowered, but the constant cold wind prevented their fruit from ripening. Few fish entered the river, and even they could not be caught because the water remained so clear. The same conditions prevailed for four years until the people were starving; their only food was porcupine and mountain goat, with a few trout caught on hook and line. About this time a Kimsquit man, *Tsaixlil*, went goat-hunting behind his village, and one night after setting his snares, lay down in a cave. He could not sleep, and presently heard the

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*539

Another account of the flood states that while many persons fled to Mount *Nusqalst*, others took refuge on the summit of the mountain opposite to it, on the north side of the Bella Coola River. The waters continued to rise until this latter peak was on the point of being submerged, when it requested *Nusqalst* to give it some of itself. *Nusqalst* complied, and gave to the other the small knob that projects from its summit. This was not inundated.

Kimsquit too was flooded at the same time. The Kimsquit River rose until the people were driven to the slopes of the mountain now known as *Sulukst*, to the west of the river. Here they were forced to camp for several months, and it is from this event that the river received its name, which means "Many Houses." The Dean River people were driven to Mount *Swaky*, where, in later years, indications of their sojourn were to be found, such as mooring loops for canoes, hooks for lifting fish-traps, and various utensils. One man tried to remove some of these relics, but they crumbled in his hands as if they had been burnt paper.

According to Bella Coola belief, the flood was not limited to any one locality. As evidence of its occurrence in Fort Rupert the following myth was related by a man who had heard it from his father's father, a Fort Rupert Indian.

One of the latter's ancestors, having dreamt that a flood would cover the earth, prepared a great quantity of gum with which he pitched his house both inside and out. Presently it began to rain, and the deluge continued until the whole land was covered, but this man dwelt secure in his rain-proof house. When at last he heard the sound of drops on the roof, he knew that the flood must have diminished so he dared open his door. When he and his family went outside they found on the shore two *susiutl*, the supernatural double-headed salmon that cause land-slides. From this event the man took the designation, *Nukao·sa*. When the present owner of the name performs his ceremonial, the beating-boards are in the shape of a *susiutl*, and there appears a masked figure of a man who always shields his face with his arm. This appears to be an allusion to the man protecting himself from the waters.[70]

It is said that the time of the great heat[71] occurred soon after the flood.

Historical Stories

●538
173

Although the Bella Coola regard all the stories included in this chapter as chronicles of events, yet they realize that all the preceding possess elements of the supernatural which are

[70] It was impossible to learn the type of ceremonial of which this story serves as origin myth; it has accordingly been included in this miscellaneous section.

[71] Various accounts of this have already been given; see vol. II, p. 424 and p. 500.

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not likely to occur at the present time; in fact, they belong to the golden age of the distant past. In addition, a few tales are popularly told, not for their wealth of interesting detail, but as historical incidents. Some of these contain exaggerations that verge on mythology, whereas others, especially those dealing with certain individuals not long deceased, have clearly a foundation of truth. The themes include tales of travel, hunting exploits, the experiences of criminals, and varied subjects.

THE WIFE WHO WAS SOLD AS A SLAVE

539*

This story describes the adventures of a Bella Coola woman, daughter of a chief named *Tsakxwaim*, who was married to a Bella Bella chief. The latter's father sold her as a slave to *Tcikisa*, a Kitkatla chief and ancestor of the chief with the same name who was so feared by the Bella Coola. This was, of course, contrary to all established custom. *Tcikisa* carried the woman away to Kitkatla, whence there seemed little hope for her return.

Tcikisa owned a number of crabapple trees at Kitlobe which he visited every autumn to collect and preserve the fruit. The woman had been with him for some time when he went as usual for the ripe apples. Members of different tribes can be distinguished by their different physique [144] and a Kitlobe, recognizing that the woman was a Bella Coola, asked her how she came to be with *Tcikisa*. She told him how she had been sold, disgracefully, and he promised to help her return home. Telling her to conceal her plans, he bade her to be ready to flee early the following morning. At the appointed time he appeared, bringing dried olachen, grease, moccasins, and other equipment, wrapped in a seal's stomach. He sketched on the ground the overland route to Kimsquit, telling her how many affluents of the Kitlobe River she must pass before following one to the south, thence across the divide, and down the Kimsquit River.

The woman started out, but after several days of travel realized that she had passed the place where she should turn south, and was lost. In point of fact, she was at this time near Ootsa Lake. She headed back in the hope of recovering her trail, but snow fell and she could go no farther; to make matters worse she had consumed all her olachen, and most of the grease. The unfortunate woman sought shelter under a big tree, where in time she was completely covered with snow. Every day she ate a small

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*539 a large cave in the vicinity where the hunters smoked the meat and boiled
[224] down the grease and marrow, but they had killed so many that it was January before their task was completed. Meanwhile the smell of flesh had attracted a number of martens which were caught in snares; in fact, they captured enough for two blanket-robes. When ready to leave for home, they prepared snow-shoes and on these safely negotiated the deep drifts and reached the village where all hope of their safety had long been abandoned. *Sānuxmāxots* arrived at dusk and heard his parents weeping and wailing; he asked who had died and found that they were mourning for him. His safe return turned their lamentations into rejoicings and a herald was sent out to call in the villagers to share the good news. When finally packed in, there was enough goat meat for an elaborate potlatch.[11]

[226] A year or two later, four men prepared to set out one afternoon to fish for trout. As they were leaving, *Sānuxmāxots*'s young son begged to be taken along and cried so piteously that they at last consented. So they wrapped him carefully in a goat-skin blanket, and placed him in the bottom of the canoe which they paddled about six miles upstream. They landed on the bank, cooked a meal, and dried black spruce branches over
[226] the fire to serve as torches to lure the fish within range of their spears. When night had fallen, they began to drift downstream, one man holding aloft a brand while the others speared. They had fair success, but nothing noteworthy occurred until, as they neared *Nusdalst*, they saw white on the water, and paddled slowly forward, thinking it must be a huge flock of swans. As they drew nearer they saw that it was snow; a huge slide had swept over the village and blocked the channel of the river. The water, no longer able to flow westward, was swirling back to the east, and the fishermen drifted with it until they found a place to camp for the night with their young companion.

As soon as it was light, they returned to the scene of the disaster and found a deep bed of snow over the site of the village. They landed to investigate, and called repeatedly, hoping that some at least had escaped. At last they heard an answer and began to dig, imagining that it must be *Sānuxmāxots* himself. After excavating a deep hole, they unburied the sole survivor, a slave who had escaped by covering with a copper the

[11] It will be noticed that there are many points of similarity between this story
[538] and the one in vol. II, p. 512. It is possible that they are versions of the same account,
[551] but it seems more likely that they refer to different incidents of which the principal character of one has been forgotten. In such cases the Bella Coola, believing that individuals with the same name often have the same characteristics, frequently give to the hero of an earlier incident the name of a person who has figured in a similar one within recent years.

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to the aesthetic, their skill in dancing and dramatics is noteworthy: no one who has witnessed a native dance can fail to have been impressed by the performance of the participants and the stage-craft of the carpenters. The fact that no system of writing had ever been devised has prevented the establishment of a native literature, but the practice of passing down an extensive folklore by word of mouth shows their narrative powers as well as their faculty for remembering details. At present it is difficult to appreciate what must have been their energy in earlier times when they faced the struggle for existence, armed with stone tools. Abundant salmon gave them adequate food, but only when weirs had been built with great labour. Though game was plentiful, the hunter was equipped with nothing more formidable than a bow and arrow. The simplest task required patience and skill undreamed of by the average white man. If the reader will allow his imagination to carry him backwards two hundred years, he will realize that the mere provision of food and clothing necessitated constant effort and ceaseless exertion.

Hand in hand with many admirable characteristics, the Bella Coola display others which strike the white man as unprepossessing. A first impression is the untidiness of their houses. Exteriorly, they are often fairly neat, but confusion reigns within. Clothing, instead of being hung up, is left lying on the floor; bed-coverings are piled carelessly; dirty dishes cover the tables; dogs and children swarm over the floor; flies abound; all is dirty and slovenly. The house itself may be uncompleted; a window lacks glass and has been boarded up; the roof leaks, or the steps are falling down. Nor are the surroundings more attractive. There is one struggling flower-bed in the village, but elsewhere the houses are surrounded by wastes of mud where horses and cattle wander, dogs prowl, and children play. In the distance the mountain peaks rise in splendour, but near at hand all is squalid and unkempt.

They are only slightly more particular about their personal appearance. Dirt does not distress them. They wash occa-

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/For the text of origin myths and stories illustrating the supernatural, see category 116, pp. 295-360 and pp. 619-692./

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dancers. *Sninia* differs from most supernatural beings in having his residence in this world instead of in the land above. 776*

Among the beings dwelling in the upper region are a number of *Xemxemtnum*, whose function it is to ask the sun to appear every day. It travels without their assistance, but if they neglected to arouse it, darkness would prevail all day. The only knowledge of these beings is derived from information given by the first people; they have not been seen by mortals since early days and do not act as patrons for *kusiut* dancers. [821]

Heat and Cold are regarded by the Bella Coola as anthropomorphic beings, but their beliefs concerning them have not become crystallized, perhaps because of their non-appearance as patrons of *kusiut* dancers. The following story is told of the annual meeting of Heat and Cold. 776* 821 539

Every spring Cold, *Snuikulus*, meets Heat, *Sqwālīlus*, in some undefined locality and says:

"You will not be welcome in the place to which you are going [the earth]. I have just come from there. People like to get up on cool mornings to start work, they won't pay any attention to you."

But *Sqwālīlus* replies: "No. They will welcome me. Everyone prefers to spend a few extra minutes in bed in the mornings. It is pleasant to do so when it is warm, hence I shall be welcome in spite of the eagerness of mankind for work."

In spite of its apparent definiteness, this account is regarded merely as a story, and it is doubtful if any historical accuracy is attached to it. The Bella Coola laugh when it is told, and the irony of the conversation is not lost on them.

S'ps', the Cold Wind, is another anthropomorphized being belonging to the realm of stories rather than to that of everyday life and profound belief. His wife is *Alāla*, and their child is Ice. On a cold morning, if a Bella Coola finds ice on liquid left in a bucket or other container, he warms it at a fire until he can lift off the sheet, and throws it out of the door, saying as he does so: "*Alālao··*,[10] your child has become cold." 776* 821

Both the North Wind and his wife, *ulurnan·i*, whose home [773]

[10]The vocative form of this word.

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* 776 encountered on land, but the sea likewise is the home of anthropomorphic creatures. Far beneath the surface is a land much [772] like the earth, inhabited by people resembling humans who sometimes assist a drowning person. The mysteries of this undersea world are known to the Bella Coola chiefly through accounts handed down from generation to generation, though its inhabitants have often appeared at the surface. Their hair is long and somewhat reddish, their bodies are hairless, and their faces are in many cases stained with black. One man stated that about three years before a Japanese, fishing near Namu, had caught in his net one of these people, a girl about two years old. He drew her into his boat, where she squatted on the bottom, docile and submissive. After a time the fisherman became frightened and threw his captive overboard. The [648] Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella, greater seafarers than [186] themselves, have more extensive knowledge of these undersea dwellers.

● 539 Similar, if not identical, beings live beneath rivers and lakes; they have often been seen on the surface, and occa- * 776 sionally, long, long ago, certain fortunate individuals saw their houses. Accounts of such are embodied in Bella Coola mythology and will be described later. The following can be considered an example of a simple type:

About three hundred years ago, *Lewumrewumlaix*, a Kimsquit fisherman, built a pier-like framework, projecting into the Dean River, on which to stand while fishing for salmon with a long-handled[11] scoop-net. One August day he was using his net when, after a number of successful sweeps, it became very heavy. As the net came to the surface he found, to his amazement, that a small boy was hanging on the rim. A number of people who had been watching from the shore, called to him to throw away his net with its uncanny haul. Heedless of this advice, *Lewumrewumlaix* tried to lift his net and, on finding it too heavy, began to draw it through the water so as to drag it out on the shore. All went well for the first few yards, till suddenly the boy shoved against the net, pushing the fisherman into the water on the other side of the pier. Immediately the supernatural one vanished from sight. As the bystanders rushed to

[11]The handles of nets of this type are said to have been about thirty feet in length.

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the rescue of *Lwumxwumlais* they saw him being carried downstream to a salmon-weir about three hundred yards below. The trap was raised at once, but it was too late; the rash fisherman was dead. No one could give a name to the supernatural being who had caused his death; it was merely one of those dwelling under the river. [539] [761]

Whales, too, are sometimes observed in the rivers, but though they appear to resemble those of the ocean they are really their supernatural prototypes. [825]

These human-like dwellers beneath the water can, as in this case, cause death, but they are usually regarded as uncanny rather than dangerous. But there is one undersea being whom the Bella Coola regard with unmixed awe; he is *Ẓemoqwa* (see Plate 10), lord of the supernatural ones beneath the ocean, as *Alqantlem* is lord of those dwelling above. He lives in an enormous house under the sea wherein the fish, the sea-mammals, and the sea-plants have their home. The Bella Coola believe that these beings can take human form at will,* and assume that their behaviour in *Ẓemoqwa*'s dwelling corresponds to that of human beings in the house of an earthly chief. In the beginning of time, when men were more powerful than in recent years, this house sometimes rose to the surface of the water and adventurous Bella Coola entered it on various occasions, leaving to their descendants tales of the wonders it contained. These accounts have become family myths and are described with others of similar type in Chap. vi, vol. I. Records of this kind vary greatly in detail; in fact, few agree more than in broad outline. Sometimes it is stated that denizens of the sea appear in *Ẓemoqwa*'s house in the flesh; other myths describe paintings of sea creatures around the walls and the manner in which these are brought to life by *Ẓemoqwa*. Irrespective of the exact details, it is clear that he is chief of the undersea beings who serve him and hunt for him, the blackfish being especially proficient in this respect. *Ẓemoqwa* resents any slight to his protégés and punishes any mortal who is unkind to them. [761] 773 776* [424] [184]

*Bella Coola concepts concerning the transformability of man and animals will be described in the next section of this chapter.

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*776 Although Ḷomoqwa has often been seen by mortals, no one has ever been able to describe his countenance. He always wears a huge hat, beneath which his blackened face, covered with eagle down, is barely visible, since he constantly keeps turning it away from the observer. Occasionally he comes to the surface and has been known even to walk on it. Like other supernatural beings, he is able to ascend to *Nasmāt-a*, though it is not his home. The dread with which the Bella Coola regard Ḷomoqwa is due to his ability to suck canoes down to his home at the bottom of the ocean as if in a whirlpool. He is usually hungry, and nothing pleases him more than human flesh. None the less, he does not destroy life without cause. It angers him to hear his name spoken, so no Bella Coola utters [502] it when on the ocean, for fear that he may be engulfed. Whenever a person is drowned at sea it is believed that the cannibal- [761] istic Ḷomoqwa has drawn him down for a meal.

●539 To insert the many stories describing Ḷomoqwa at this point *776 would unduly break the continuity of this account, so the following simple example must suffice.

Not many years ago four Bella Bella fishermen were trying to anchor near China Hat. Owing to the action of the supernatural beings dwelling below, the bottom of the ocean rose and lowered abruptly so that their anchor would not hold as the rope was in many cases too short. They were much annoyed by this and, as they strove to fasten their craft, they were exasperated at a lard-fish which kept swimming closely around the canoe. At last one of the fishermen reached out, seized it with his hands, and tore it to pieces, throwing these back on the water. Presently their anchor held and the four went to sleep. But Ḷomoqwa had seen the insult shown to the lard-fish and, as they slept, he sucked down their canoe until, on awakening, they found themselves in the huge house of the lord of the underseas world. There was no water in it, but they recognized where they must be from the fact that the walls were decorated with paintings of marine beings and with ancient tools from canoes lost at sea. An old woman who lives in Ḷomoqwa's house called the four to her fire in the corner and asked them whether they had any false hellebore with them. If they had, they would escape, but otherwise nothing could save them from Ḷomoqwa, who at that very moment was calling his friends for a feast of human flesh. Presently Ḷomoqwa entered, followed in succession by a number of underseas chiefs,

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including the dreaded point, Mesatche Nose, in human form. As each came in, water swirled in and the canoe was tossed as if in a whirlpool; if it had capsized the occupants would have been devoured, but on each occasion one of the hunters threw a morsel of false hellebore on the surface, which stilled the waves. At last *Ẉmoqwa* and his friends admitted defeat, granted the four fishermen the powers of shamans, and gave them certain prerogatives. 539 776

Though *Ẉmoqwa* is usually unkind to mortals, and is correspondingly feared, instances are known in which he has bestowed shamanistic powers for no apparent reason. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella know more about *Ẉmoqwa* than they do, since he is essentially an ocean being and the Bella Bella are ocean people. It is possible that the Bella Coola concepts of this supernatural personage are entirely of Bella Bella origin. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that *Ẉmoqwa* seldom appears in connection with the *kusiut* society, but frequently with the *nusak* society, many of the rites of which came from Bella Bella. [756] 177 776* [575]

Since human beings can travel on the sea only by means of canoes, it is not surprising that the Bella Coola think of supernatural beings as doing likewise. Their beliefs include at least three huge canoes, manned by supernatural beings. The most important is that of *Nuákynum*,[18] the name of its captain, whose crew consists of a number of supernatural birds and the hermaphrodite. Every year they come from the lands of the salmon and the berries, in the far west beyond the sea, and bear these to the coast of British Columbia. This belief, which runs counter to the conviction that *Alqantlm* caused the animals and plants to grow, is merely one of the many inconsistencies of Bella Coola theology. *Nuákynum* comes every autumn on his way to attend the gathering of the supernatural beings in the land above, and his arrival in the Bella Coola River marks the commencement of the *kusiut* dances. He is one of the most important of *kusiut* patrons and his powers and functions are described in the chapter devoted to that 773 776* [575]

[18] Cf. Boas, p. 68.

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of the ocean, one of the members is awakened by the rhythmical beat of the paddles of the War-Party of the Tide. If he is wise he at once calls out, "*Hi* . . . ." This serves to keep the War-Party at a distance, and to waken the rest of the party who hastily throw on the fire objects which have been in contact with the human body. 776* 789

Many stories are told by the Bella Coola of the appearance of the War-Party of the Tide. The following can be regarded as typical. 539● 776*

A few years ago, a hunter named *Ooikstl*, and his wife, *Anaqwiáli*, were encamped on Labouchere Channel at the point known as *Nazqul*, near the Hot Springs. They were discussing a private matter when, to the amazement of both, their dog, who was with them, joined in the conversation. This unnatural behaviour should have warned them of approaching danger and they ought to have killed the animal, as indeed the woman desired to do. But *Ooikstl* foolishly refused and presently they lay down to sleep. In some mysterious manner the dog was able to summon the War-Party of the Tide, which carried the two away. When they awoke they were in the dread canoe, and the poison from *Sals-al'* was spreading over them. They were powerless and could only lie still as the canoe travelled up South Bentinck Arm, circled the island near *Tális* at its head, and three other islands on the return journey. The two were put ashore at their camp, apparently unharmed, but they knew the danger to which they had been exposed and fled next day to Kimsquit. The woman told a shaman what had happened and accepted his somewhat drastic treatments. Consequently, though she showed signs of insanity, she was cured. The headstrong *Ooikstl*, on the other hand, refused to pay attention to the danger; within a few weeks he became crazy, and then died.

Quite another category of Bella Coola supernatural beings consists of ghosts. These beings, once human, have passed by death into the ranks of the supernatural. Their home is the land below the earth, where they live like mortals except that everything is strange and ethereal. In form they resemble human beings, but their faces are green and weird. They can visit the land of the living at will, and make their presence known by whistling, which is their language. Their actions are the reverse of those of humans; for example, they often 775

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talons resembling, but larger than, those of an eagle. It has no tail. The great strength of these animals rests in the fact that their eyes revolve in their sockets, so that, when reversed, piercing beams shoot forth which strike senseless anyone on whom they fall. Having thus stunned its victim, the *sminiq* picks him up and stuffs him into a broad-mouthed basket, carried on the back. It is provided with spikes inclined inwards and downwards so that a person thrust within cannot climb out. Human beings are carried in this way to the beast's lair, a cave in the mountains, where they are devoured at leisure. Wolves always accompany *sminiq*; in fact, they may almost be termed attendants upon them (see vol. II, chap. v). Like other supernatural creatures, *sminiq* are impervious to most mortal weapons, but there is one method of overcoming them. If a hunter cut himself on the under side of his right leg so that the blood flows freely, and smears a bullet with this, it can kill a *sminiq*. Similar success is gained by biting the tongue and coating the bullet with blood so obtained.

Another animal which is rendered powerless by the same charm is the *boqs*. This beast somewhat resembles a man, its hands especially, and the region around the eyes being distinctly human. It walks on its hind legs, in a stooping posture, its long arms swinging below the knees; in height it is rather less than the average man. The entire body, except the face, is covered with long hair, the growth being most profuse on the chest which is large, corresponding to the great strength of the animal. The most peculiar feature of the animal is its penis, which is so long that it must be rolled up and carried in the arms when the creature is walking; it terrifies its enemies by striking tree-trunks and breaking branches with its uncoiled organ. It is said that a woman was once drawing water at the edge of a stream when a *boqs*, concealed on the other shore, extended its penis under the water to the further bank and held intercourse with her. The contact rendered her powerless, as if turned to stone; she could neither flee nor remove the organ. Her companions tried unsuccessfully to

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cut the organ until one of them brought a salalberry leaf, whereupon the monster, dreading its razor-like edge, withdrew. 539 776 *

The following stories illustrate, better than any description, the attitude of the Bella Coola towards these animals.

Not many years ago a certain *Qak'lis* was encamped with his wife and child in the Bay of the Thousand Islands, *Altukwlāksos*, about two miles above Namu, one of the haunts of *boqs*. He heard a number of the creatures in the forest behind him and seized his gun, at the same time calling out to them to go away. Instead, the breaking of branches and beating upon tree-trunks came nearer. Becoming alarmed, he called out once more: "Go away, or you shall feel my power." They still approached and *Qak'lis* fired in the direction of the sounds. There followed a wild commotion in the forest, roars, grunts, pounding, and the breaking of branches. The hunter, now thoroughly alarmed, told his wife and child to embark in the canoe while he covered their retreat with his gun. He followed them without molestation, and anchored his craft not far from shore. The *boqs* could be heard plainly as they rushed to and fro on the beach, but only the vague outlines of their forms were visible in the darkness. Presently, though there was no wind, the canoe began to roll as if in a heavy sea. *Qak'lis* decided to flee to Restoration Bay, but before he had gone far his paddle struck the bottom, although he was in mid-channel. Looking up, he saw that the mountains were higher than usual; the *boqs* had, by their supernatural power, raised the whole area so that the water had been almost entirely drained away. They are the only supernatural beings with this power. *Qak'lis* jumped overboard into water which reached only to his knees, and towed his canoe to Restoration Bay, the *boqs* following him along the shore.[10] [823]

This is not the only occasion on which *boqs* have appeared near Restoration Bay. Within the life-time of the father of an informant, a chief set out with some friends from Kwatna, bound for Namu. They travelled overland to Restoration Bay, thence by canoe, making the journey without incident. When returning, they decided to gather clams on the rocky point of the bay. As the craft shot around the tip of the promontory, they saw a *boqs* gathering shell-fish. The paddlers backed their canoe behind some rocks whence they could

[10]One of the features which the Bella Coola consider most surprising about this incident is that he did not tread upon the fish which must have been driven into the shallows. [825]

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539, 776 watch without being seen. The creature acted as if frightened; it kept looking backwards, then hurriedly scraped up some clams with its forepaws, dashed off with these into the forest, and came back for more. The chief decided to attack the animal. A frontal approach was impossible owing to lack of cover, so he landed and crept stealthily through the forest, armed with his Hudson's Bay Company's musket. Presently he stumbled upon a heap of clams which the animal had collected. He waited until it returned with another load, then raised his musket and fired. Instead of killing the *boqs*, its supernatural power was so great that the hunter's musket burst in his hands, though he himself was not injured. The *boqs* shrieked and whistled as if in anger, and at once hordes of its mates came dashing out through the forest. The frightened chief rushed out on the beach and called to his comrades to save him. They brought the canoe close to the shore so that he could clamber aboard, and then paddled away unharmed.

177 776 539 The Bella Coola believe that *boqs*, unlike most supernatural animals, have not abandoned the country since the coming of the white man. One man was most insistent that they still lived on King Island, and promised to point one out if a visit were made to that spot. This man refuses to camp at the place where, he affirmed, *boqs* are common. Another informant stated that though he had never seen one of the monsters, a horde of them surrounded his camp near Canoe Crossing for a week. Every night he heard them roaring and beating on trees and branches. A curious blending of old and new beliefs was recorded in connection with this statement. This man remarked that he was once gathering firewood when he heard the creatures closing in upon him. His head swam with terror, until he remembered that he was a Christian; he called on Jesus to help him, grasped his axe, and dashed towards the place from which the loudest sounds were coming. He heard the animals moving off all round him, but failed to see any of them.

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Boḑs have been heard as recently as 1924 according to popular belief. In January of that year a number of young Bella Coola were returning home in a motor-boat from Ocean Falls. They camped for the night on Burke Channel, and were alarmed to hear a crashing of bushes and a beating on tree-trunks. Thoroughly frightened, they directed the beams of several electric torches in the direction of the sounds without avail and at last started the engine of their motor-boat, the noise of which frightened the *boḑs* away. 539 776*

An animal somewhat similar to the *boḑs* is the *ālākwis*. The Bella Coola state that long, long ago, these lived as human beings near Port John on Evans Arm, King Island. They were a strange people, with peculiar rites including the worship of fire. Their neighbours, the Bella Bella, from whom they differed entirely, determined to destroy the *ālākwis*. A massacre took place, and only a few survivors escaped to an island in one of the lakes in the interior of King Island. Here, in course of generations, they grew hairy and lost their human characteristics; it is said that a few paintings made by them are still visible there. Not many years ago some Bella Coola saw what may have been the last surviving *ālākwis*. Two hairy creatures were observed fishing from a skin boat on Burke Channel. As soon as they realized that they were observed they dashed ashore, broke up the framework of their canoe, and plunged into the forest carrying its skin covering. Nothing more seems to be known concerning them, nor do they appear ever to have granted supernatural assistance to anyone. 776* 829

Another supernatural creature is the *bābınk'*. It somewhat resembles a cow, although its legs are shorter and its body, which is white and hairless, is heavier. In spite of its awkward build, this animal can move so rapidly as to catch birds and animals with its tongue, which can be shot forth to a tremendous length. Various incidents are related concerning *bābınk'*. One of its characteristics is that it causes gales. The country where one lives is invariably denuded of underbrush and even pebbles; everything movable is blown away, leaving only trees 776* [821] [778]

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* 776 and gaping holes in the earth. In such regions no fire can be
[778] lit. The last known area of this kind is up the river behind Green Bay, about four miles from the sea. So far as could be learnt, *bäbunk'* have never assisted Bella Coola in any way nor played any part in the social life of the community. They are feared on account of their supernatural power, but appear so seldom that they are practically disregarded.

More common than the last, and accordingly more important, is the *haohao*. It is an enormous bird with bony wings and long, flexible beak. As it flies, the wings rattle violently, and its note, an oft repeated "*Hao, hao, hao,*" can be heard for miles. These birds are said to have been numerous in former
[535] years, and are well known to all Bella Coola. Masked figures
[575] representing them are often used at *kusiut* dances. The *haohao* is feared for its practice of inserting its long beak into the
761 rectum of anyone sleeping carelessly in the forest and drawing
* 776 forth his entrails. This can be prevented by standing upright
[789] a staff, such as all hunters carry, before going to sleep.

● [539] A popular story states that once, not many years ago, a number of men camped at the edge of a canyon near their home, without taking this precaution. One of them was awakened by a slight movement of one of his companions and, looking up, he saw the long neck and beak of a *haohao* projecting over the rim of the canyon and sucking his partner's entrails. The convulsive shiver of the stricken man had awakened him. With his bow he shot an arrow into the bird's neck, causing it to disappear over the brink. Presently the long beak reappeared and he discharged another arrow with the same result. Again and again this happened until the attack ceased at dawn. The hunter assumed that a single bird had been repeatedly attacking, but when he looked over the edge of the cliff, he saw below a number of carcasses, each with an arrow in its throat. The canyon must have been a roosting place for the birds. His companions seemed still asleep, but when he investigated he found that all were dead; only the slightly enlarged orifice showed how they had been killed.

* 776 No *haohao* has been seen within recent years, but one infor-
789 mant and her husband heard them on the south side of the Bella Coola River about two miles from the sea. They would have

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761 a woman now in middle age is said to have guided a white man
* 776 to the spot. Through a telescope he saw an enormous animal, and passed the instrument to a Kimsquit Indian in the party. He, too, saw it, but the effect was so powerful that he soon died. Theoretically, a man may receive supernatural aid from one of these monsters, but practically they are regarded as entirely evil and to be avoided.

●539 The creature to which the term *snusx* is most often applied
* 776 is one that lives in lakes; it has a huge mouth and can suck with incredible force. More specifically, this animal is termed
[778] a *skämtsk*. One is said to have lived not long ago at Winter Bay, about six miles from Bella Coola, and a small one is said to be living even now in Ootsa Lake. The Bella Coola tell a number of stories concerning the *skämtsk*; the following is a typical account, and others will be given with folk-tales in a later chapter.

Within the life-time of an informant, two youths, a chief's son and a poor man's son, went to swim in one of the small lakes near Ootsa Lake. The chief's son who was ready first, swam out, wearing a fancy belt, leaving his companion on the shore. When the latter was on the point of diving in he heard a dreadful sucking noise, combined with an ominous crackling. He called to the swimmer asking him if he, too, heard it.

"Yes," came the answer, "But it is nothing," and the youth continued his swim.

As the noise grew louder the boy on the bank cried out: "Come back, come back, there is something bad there that we do not understand."

His friend in the water again answered: "Oh! There is nothing wrong."

The noise increased; sticks and stones were sucked from the bank and flew out towards the centre of the lake. The suction eventually grew so great that the youth on land was forced to clutch a tree-trunk with his arms, while his legs fluttered out towards the lake like pennants in a strong wind. The strain on his arms was so terrific that he was almost forced to relinquish his grip before the suction subsided. When he looked at the lake the swimmer had vanished.

The survivor returned to the village and reported what had happened. No one believed his story; instead, he was made a prisoner, accused of having killed the chief's son. For a week the people questioned him daily without being able to shake his story; then they resolved to

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kill him. The youth, learning of this decision, concluded that he might as well face the unknown peril of the lake as the certain death to be meted out by his fellows, so he asked them to allow him to go swimming in the lake to prove that something dangerous was there. They granted that request, as well as a further one, that he be sewn up in a tight-fitting suit of caribou-skin, and armed with a knife. 539 ● 776*

"Now come with me," he said to his fellow-villagers when he was ready.

They waited on the shore while he swam out into the lake singing. Presently the crackling and sucking sound was heard, and soon the spectators were forced to clutch tree-trunks to keep themselves from being drawn into the lake, while their legs were blown out horizontally as the youth's had been on the previous occasion. When the wind subsided the swimmer had vanished.

He had been sucked into the stomach of a *sk̓ämtsk* without being killed. Groping around, he found the corpse of the chief's son from which he cut the belt and put it on himself. Then he made his way to the neck of the monster, cut a hole through it, and dived out. The surface was so far up that he was at his last gasp when his head rose above it. He swam ashore and the evidence of the belt confirmed his story. The carcass of the *sk̓ämtsk* floated to the surface not long afterwards.

In addition to the anthropomorphic beings already described as resident beneath the surface of the ocean, supernatural animal monsters also dwell there. One of the most dreaded is the *kuxta*, which suck wooden objects down to the bottom of the sea. It resembles pitch, and when once it comes in contact with a canoe, it cannot be removed. The Bella Coola attribute supernatural power to the octopus also, thus increasing the dread with which the animal would be regarded in any case. They believe that it is fond of gum and frequently comes to land to obtain it. It is said that the gum is never voided, but remains in a suck within the creature's stomach. One informant stated that within his mother's lifetime, a man walking near *Tāl·io* heard a smacking sound, like someone chewing noisily. He knew what must be the cause, but idly decided to investigate. It was an octopus. The beast was clambering down from the tree, using two of its arms to help it. Not realizing his danger, the man allowed himself to be 776* [825] 539 776*

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539 seized and carried to the shore. He had thought that it would
* 776 be easy to free himself, but he found it impossible and was carried under the sea. He bit frantically at the enfolding arms, until he succeeded in freeing his own, with which he pushed up the beak of the octopus, thus killing it. He rose to the surface and returned home none the worse.

[825] The Bella Coola do not profess to know all the animals of the world; and if they see a strange one, they assume it to be one known to their ancestors though unfamiliar to them.
539 Since any unknown animal is considered to have supernatural
761 power, due care must be exercised when one is seen. The fol-
* 776 lowing incident illustrates this point.

825 The mother's brother of an informant worked for some thirty years for a white man in Victoria. His employer once sent him to see a turtle which was confined in a pool in a basement preparatory to being killed for a banquet. As soon as he saw it, he said:

"My parents in Bella Coola told me of such a creature."

A few days before Christmas the turtle was cut up and displayed on four platters in the window of the store; the Bella Coola saw it, and thus learned that it had been killed. The same night a sore appeared on his wrist, and by the next day it was large and running. He said to his employer:

"In a few days I will be dead. Do not grieve for me. The sight of such supernatural creatures is too powerful for Indians; I survived one experience, but twice has been too much for me and I will die."

His employer wisely sent him to a white doctor who cured him, although the scar remained. Years later the man returned to Bella Coola where he displayed the mark as proof of his story. A few weeks later he died, and the Bella Coola are firmly convinced that his death was due to his having seen the turtle many years before.

* 776 Although the forests of British Columbia abound with
789 supernatural animals of enormous power, the attitude of the
[781] Bella Coola hunter who penetrates into lonely places is not one of constant fear. It is true that he may meet danger at any turn, but danger is part and parcel of human life, and he is by no means defenceless. He dreads the powers possessed by creatures of another plane, but they for their part dread certain human objects. Clothing which has been worn for so long that it has become steeped with the emanations of its

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* 776 825 [774] and leapt away apparently uninjured. The Bella Coola say that yearling goats have very strong spirits (I, p. 94) which make possible such actions.

Though generally callous with regard to the sufferings of animals, the Bella Coola are usually careful not to kill more than they need; and knowledge of the supernatural power [224] [226] possessed by animals sometimes leads men to treat them with great consideration. For example, if a bull-head is caught in an olachen net in the river, the fisherman throws it back into the water, saying:

"I have saved you; please do the same for me."

The following incident, believed without question by the Bella Coola, shows the manner in which bull-heads help those who have often befriended them. About 1880 a Kimsquit fisherman, *Ältakän·i*, fell into a rapids where he was in great danger of drowning. A bull-head, seeing his plight and mindful of former help, increased his size and shoved *Ältakän·i* ashore with its nose.

"I have saved you, mortal," said the bull-head, as he did so.

The ability to increase in size is not restricted to fish, but is shared by small mammals and reptiles. Lizards, for instance, four feet in length, are said to live permanently in a pond about seven miles below Kimsquit; they are termed *qwalās*.

Toads, too, can aid mortals. If a man see a snake devouring one of them he will, if he is wise, kill the snake and say to the toad:

"Please help me when I am in difficulties."

A toad never forgets its obligations and if that man should fall into a river when the toad is near, the latter will grow large enough to drag him forth.

● 539 * 776 825 755 [753] Snakes are regarded with aversion and disgust. This may be in part due to the belief that they cook for *Ältät·iaiutl* (I, p. 49), but more because these reptiles enter the stomachs of human beings. The Bella Coola believe that snakes are the offspring of a supernatural Mother of Snakes, a mythical being of dread powers. The following story illustrates their beliefs

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concerning the danger of near approach to this creature: 539 ● 776 *

Ḱwilais was a man of mixed lineage, Kimsquit and *Ṗa·s*, near Newitte. With several companions he was gathering berries when he stepped into a hole and felt numerous tiny creatures crawling over his legs. Looking down, he saw that they were small snakes, that had just been hatched from a Mother of Snakes. He fled, terrified, pursued by the reptiles, which he managed to keep off to some extent by brushing behind him a branch of spiny swamp gooseberry, a known deterrent. When he had out-distanced the snakes he called his companions, told them of his adventure, and returned home. There he repeated the tale. Though *Ḱwilais* did not know it, many of the snakes had succeeded in entering his stomach. Presently he began to swell; his body became larger and larger until he was in danger of bursting. The reptiles within were breeding rapidly. Luckily, one of his fellow villagers knew the proper remedy. A raised bed was made for the sufferer about five feet from the ground where *Ḱwilais* stretched himself on a number of thorny branches, while his friends built a fire of devil's club and swamp gooseberry twigs so that he was fumigated in the smoke. Then, to give greater potency, they cast on the flames soiled clothing and pounded cedar-bark pads stained with menstrual blood; even this was of no avail, so finally a woman squeezed out into a vessel some of her menstrual blood which *Ḱwilais* drank. This killed the snakes. The patient began to vomit, emitting a mass of wriggling serpents, and at once began to grow thinner, soon regaining his normal condition. Had he not been able to eject the reptiles, he would have died. 825 755 [789] [753] [841]

Ḱwilais was not the only one to have this unpleasant experience. Many others have suffered in the same way, but in no case has anyone been able to feel the snakes at the actual place or time of entry.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the power possessed by animals are clearly shown by their attitude with regard to killing them. Man is immortal, so are animals. *Alquntäm* decreed that beasts and birds should serve as food for mankind, but it is only their clothing, their worthless "blanket of flesh," as the Bella Coola express it, which they give to hunters. In the autumn leaves appear to die, but every spring they are reborn. Similarly, when an animal is slain, it merely discards its visible self while its spirit[n] ascends 825 775 224 [774]

[n] *Xwmēnots*, see vol. I, p. 94.

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The most spectacular of Raven's exploits was the theft of the sun in order to provide light for the world (I, p. 298). In this case, a valuable object was acquired for mankind, but often Raven interfered with the kindly aims of *Älquntäm*, a point illustrated in the following account of the origin of death:[36]

539 776* 761 [821]

In the beginning of time, before people had really become human, Raven made a boy from his own body, gave him life, and called him *O·mietlmai*. His creation was Raven's chief joy. The youth was beautiful; his feet and hands were especially small and light-coloured, and Raven gloried in what he had been able to do without the assistance of his friend *Yulätimut*, the Carpenter. All went well until *O·mietlmai* was about fifteen years of age when *Älquntäm* wanted to find out about this being which Raven had created. Accordingly, he sent to earth one of his *Snulsälktäls* to carry off *O·mietlmai*. At that time there were four *Snulsälktäls* in *Nusmät·a*, huge, eagle-like, supernatural birds under the especial care of *Älquntäm* himself. Down swooped one of these creatures and carried the youth aloft to *Nusmät·a*, where he was treated as a guest by *Älquntäm*.

Raven, ignorant of the reason for his loss, was heart-broken. He pulled out his hair and for four days sat and pondered. Then he decided to wage war on the *Snulsälktäls*, not knowing that the latter had been acting by command of *Älquntäm*. Raven went to *Yulätimut* and asked him to make a huge whale. The carpenter was surprised and enquired about the purpose, whereupon Raven told him of the loss of *O·mietlmai*, and how he hoped that the *Snulsälktäls* would be lured into swooping down to fight the dummy and would be vanquished. *Yulätimut* agreed to help him and worked for four days on a gigantic cedar, chiselling it out like a canoe, but in the shape of an enormous whale. Then for four days he gathered gum and covered the wooden monster with a layer about an inch thick; finally he painted the outer surface to resemble a whale. It was a very fine piece of work. That night Raven asked *Yulätimut* to launch it. The stomach had been weighted so that it could either sink or float and there was room for a man inside to steer it. The whale acted according to specification, diving and rising easily, moving to right or left according to the wishes of the helmsman. Raven was delighted.

Early next morning *Yulätimut* again launched the craft at Raven's request, and it wallowed around near the shore like a real whale. *Älquntäm*

[36]Related by Jim Pollard.

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saw it, and despatched one of his *Snulsilkiäls* to fetch it. He chose *Nunusmaoak*, "He Who Carries One," the *Snulsilkiäls* able to lift one of anything. Down swooped *Nunusmaoak*, and seized the dummy in his talons, but, as he flapped his wings in an effort to rise, they became stuck in the gum so that he could neither lift his quarry nor escape. When the whale dived he was drowned. Many people on the shore watched the struggle. Then *Ālquntām* despatched another *Snulsilkiäls*, *Nunulnusek*, "He Who Carries Two," who is able to carry two of anything. *Nunulnusek* likewise gripped the whale with his claws and succeeded in raising it slightly before his wings stuck in the gum and he, too, fell back and was drowned. Then *Ālquntām* sent down *Nunuāsmusek*, "He Who Carries Three," the *Snulsilkiäls* able to lift three of anything. *Nunuāsmusek* gripped the whale as his predecessors had done, and lifted it about ten feet in the air before his wings became stuck like those of the others, and he, too, fell back and was drowned. *Ālquntām*, much worried, called to him *Nunumu·sek*, "He Who Carries Four," the *Snulsilkiäls* able to carry four of anything, and despatched him after telling him how his three brothers had been overcome in their efforts to carry the monster away. *Nunumu·sek* swooped down with a powerful rush, gripped the whale firmly at the back of its neck, and carried it far aloft into the sky. Gradually the gum interfered with his wing-beats; they became more rapid and strained, until slowly he began to fall, still struggling. All the while his wings were being more and more hampered, till finally he, too, was powerless, and with a resounding splash fell with the whale into the water where he, likewise, was drowned. When no more *Snulsilkiäls* appeared, the helmsman inside guided his strange craft back to the beach, where he exhibited his prey to the spectators. The story does not record how he was able to disengage them from the gum and take them into his whale. All the people were amazed at the dead *Snulsilkiäls*, for their huge bony wings resembled nothing ever seen before.

Raven was not satisfied with his success, because, though he had slain the *Snulsilkiäls*, he had not recovered *O·mistimai*. He went to his house still weeping at the loss of his child. *Ālquntām* and *O·mistimai* had seen Raven's sorrow, and the former sent the boy back. When *O·mistimai* entered the house he said to Raven:

"Don't cry. Here I am. I saw your grief and have returned."

Raven looked at the speaker and replied: "No. You are not my son. He had beautiful flowing locks."

O·mistimai had indeed appeared without any hair on his head, but he explained his loss by saying:

"Truly I am your son, *O·mistimai*. I have been up in *Nusmāt·a* where there was such a gale that my hair was blown away."

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Raven, blinded by his grief, did not believe him, and responded angrily:

"No, youare not my son. Why do you lie to me? Get out of this house."

Disgusted at this reception, *O·mietlmai* obeyed. Just as he was passing through the doorway, Raven noticed the tattoo marks on his legs, and realized that, in spite of the change in his appearance, the visitor was really his son. He called on him to return, but *O·mietlmai* paid no attention to his father's entreaties and sped far away. Raven's grief was beyond expression, but he could do nothing to repair the damage he had done. If it had not been for Raven's mistake, all mortals would return to life four days after death. [304]

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The above myth is widely known among the Bella Coola, and is supposed to be historically accurate. At the same time, few people allow it to influence their thoughts with regard to death or its causes. It is a fact, but one that belongs to the realm of ancient history rather than to everyday experience. When a Bella Coola dies, his relatives, though they know that his death is due to the folly of Raven, tacitly overlook this, and do not feel bitterly towards Raven. Bella Coola beliefs and theology are not systematized, hence it is quite possible for a person to realize a certain fact, such as the cause of death, and yet disregard it entirely. Considering that absolute contradictions can be believed simultaneously, it is not difficult to picture the mental attitude of people who believe, and at the same time disregard their belief.

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One of Raven's spectacular, and at the same time, beneficial exploits was the bringing of sockeye salmon to the Bella Coola River.[17]

In the beginning of time, no sockeye salmon inhabited the rivers, and Raven determined to supply them. First he tried making wooden fish and throwing them into the water, but though he could animate them, they always died after jumping a few times. The reason for his failure, though he did not know it, was because he had omitted the small bone [774]

[17]This is an example of conflicting beliefs. In addition to assuming that salmon were sent down by *Alquntam* to furnish food for mankind, and that Raven supplied them in the beginning of time, the Bella Coola also believe that they are brought each year both by *Nostkynum* and *Winwina*. [771]

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at the back of the neck; this is called *nulkālxita* by the Bella Coola and it is thought to be especially important since the spirit (I, p. 94) is located there. Somewhat discouraged by his lack of success, Raven sat holding his head in his hands, pondering. Finally, he decided that he would have to visit *Miāltawa*, the land of the salmon far beyond the western ocean.

His self-propelling canoe, *Tobnkl*, was soon made ready and Raven invited Mouse, a young woman, to accompany him. The two travelled without incident till they came to the flat land where the salmon had their homes. On the beach were myriads of canoes, each in reality the skin of a sockeye salmon. Raven had instructed Mouse to remain in his canoe, so when the sockeye salmon chief invited the two to his house only Raven accepted, though Mouse was urged most courteously to accompany him. Raven was conducted to the house, where his host threw his own daughter into the river. She changed into a sockeye salmon and swam to the beach; some of her father's servants cut her up and brought her to the house where she was cooked. The meal was set before the guest whom the chief instructed not to eat any of the bones. As he ate, Raven examined the salmon very carefully to see what had been lacking in his model, and soon discovered it to be the thin bone, shaped like a maple leaf, at the back of the neck. Seizing an opportunity when no one was looking, Raven secreted this bone against the palate of his mouth. When the meal was over and the guest had tied what was left of the food into a mat, someone collected all the bones and threw them into the river. Forthwith they became a sockeye salmon, which swam towards the shore. But after an instant, the fish began to behave peculiarly, swimming around madly in circles, and jumping in an aimless manner. Everyone agreed that a bone must have been lost, and they searched the house for it without success. They also examined Raven. Finally, one man thought of investigating the guest's mouth where they found the missing bone.

"Oh," said Raven, lying: "I did not know it was there."

As soon as the bone was thrown into the river the sockeye salmon became normal and swam quietly to the beach where it changed into the chief's daughter once more.

When the time came to leave, Raven asked the chief to tell his daughter to take his bundle of food to his canoe for him. Meanwhile Mouse had carried out Raven's instructions, which were to gnaw a hole in each of the sockeye salmon canoes. Raven entered *Tobnkl* before taking the parcel from the girl, and as he stepped in, the canoe was forced a little distance from the land so that she waded into the water to hand it to him. As she did so, he backed his canoe further out until

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she had to follow him into water up to her waist. Then Raven suddenly grasped her under the arms, hauled her into his craft, and fled. The sockeye salmon men cried out in anger and leapt into their canoes for pursuit, but one by one they sank; Mouse had done her work well. For a time the chase was close; in fact, the sockeye salmon nearly caught *Tobunkl* in North Bentinck Arm, but as danger threatened, Raven seized a pole and delivered several vigorous thrusts which sent the canoe beyond the reach of the already sinking pursuers. The gashes made in the rocks by his shoves are still visible near the site of the Bella Coola Cannery, as well as the pole which he threw ashore when he had finished with it; it became petrified and can still be seen immediately behind the manager's house. At the south of the Bella Coola River, Raven threw the chief's daughter into the water. Her descendants are the sockeye salmon which visit that stream; and it is due to his failure to capture more than one, that so few sockeyes come to this river. 539 825 [778]

Another version of this myth was collected from a Kimsquit man.

It describes how Raven went alone in *Tobunkl* to the land of the salmon, in the guise of an old man. He was courteously received at the home of *Skatpts*, chief of the salmon, who gave him a meal of that fish. Raven carefully watched to ascertain what he had omitted from his wooden model, and when he found out that it was the bone at the back of the neck, he secreted one in the palate of his mouth. Presently one of the salmon women became ill, and *Skatpts* said:

"Old man, you have hidden a bone."

The salmon searched Raven, but failed to find what he had hidden, and he was able to return to Kimsquit with it. He added this bone to one of his models, and it was at once able to swim strongly; in fact, it became a real salmon.

This fish was the ancestor of all steel-head salmon, which are still called *Samsamikdimut di Qwax*, "The Salmon-like Fish of Raven." They are not considered as valuable for food as other salmon. [262]

Another exploit accredited to Raven in the beginning of time was the bringing of herring to Kimsquit.

None of these fish then inhabited the rivers, and Raven determined to bring them to increase the food supplies of his people. A gull happened to catch a single herring far from shore and brought it to Raven, who smeared *Tobunkl* with its scales. Then he set out for the land of the herring beyond the western ocean. On arriving, Raven went to the home [772]

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539 of a woman, *Sekakmän·a*, who dwelt with her mother, a Gull. After a
825 meal, Raven lied to his hostess by telling her of the countless herring that lived at Kimsquit, and how happy he could make some of her relatives by taking them home with him. *Sekakmän·a* doubted the story and told one of her brothers to investigate Raven's canoe because, if the fish were plentiful at his home, some of the scales would certainly be in his craft. The herring youth looked inside the canoe, and was deceived by Raven's subterfuge. On receiving a favourable report, *Sekakmän·a* willingly gave Raven a large box filled with herring. Elated at his victory, Raven set out for home and threw his spoil into the water as he neared the beach at Kimsquit. The Kimsquit people knew of Raven's search for herring, and did not at first believe him when he reported his success, but the fish increased so rapidly that his claim was vindicated.

The herring so obtained were the progenitors of all that now live in the waters adjacent to Kimsquit.

262 One of the foods regarded by the Bella Coola as a luxury
824 is a foam-like whip prepared by beating up dried buffalo berries in water. Raven is given the credit for introducing this to
539 Bella Coola.

Long, long ago, *Sluxlekwailx*, a mountain in the Carrier country above Burnt Ridge, was a chief, possessing human characteristics. Buffalo berries flourished on his slopes, and he wanted to keep these for food for his guests. On one occasion he invited all the animals and birds, including Raven, to a feast and dance. His house was the interior of the mountain, and when all had assembled he carefully closed every opening so that none of the berries could escape. Raven determined to obtain some of this food for the Bella Coola, and accordingly used his power to force one of the guests to go outside. As soon as a door was opened to let him out, Raven seized some of the whip and flew away, scattering drops of it in his flight. Berries grew wherever the drops fell, and since that time everybody has been able to make this luxury. *Sluxlekwailx* was very angry, but could do nothing.

773 Though *Älquntäm* created the world, he did not make it perfect nor equip it with many of the conveniences possessed by men of the present generation. Raven, endowed both with imagination and tremendous power, was always seeking ways of improving conditions. In the beginning of time there were no mirrors, and if a man wanted to paint his face, or decorate
[778] [823] himself for a dance, he was forced to rely on the assistance of

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776 824 (II, p. 196). In this way the belief is kept before the eyes of the Bella Coola, but it is not a matter of prime importance in their lives. Rather contradictory is the concept that though each plant lack individual life, there is a supernatural mother of each species, corresponding in general terms to the Mother of Snakes described in the last section. As one informant expressed it:

"If there is no mother, how can a plant grow?"

These mothers are assumed to live beneath the ground. Occasionally, one of them has been discovered. Not many years ago, a number of women were collecting bracken roots when one which had been gathered began to turn into a snake. The women were alarmed and puzzled at this strange phenomenon. As they stood watching, the ground in front of them fell away as if there had been an earthquake, and they realized that the snake-root had been the mother of the plant. Without further fear they cooked and ate it.

776 823 Stones, too, and mountains were made by *Ałquntām*; consequently they have supernatural abilities and can understand the words and actions of mortals. When a wise man passes close beneath a precipitous mountain he always says to it:

"Please make yourself firm."

Most mountains, when requested politely, refrain from sliding and killing those passing beneath.

539 776 823 In former days mountains in many cases rose to meet hunters, and sometimes turned completely over. The Bella Coola are not sure whether this was caused by the mountain itself, or by a *snuuq* within. Wise hunters carry ropes with them when they penetrate into deep valleys, and when they feel the first tipping of a mountain they leap for a convenient tree, grasp it with their legs, heads downwards, and tie themselves in that position. Slowly the mountain rises and turns over, but, if the ropes do not break, the hunters suffer no ill effects. After a varying interval the mountain returns to its [789] normal position. This reversal can be hastened if a man bites

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his left cheek until the blood flows, takes also a mouthful of his own urine, and spits out the mixture.

The following instance of this belief was recorded. [789]

A Bella Coola chief and a number of followers were once at Kwatna where they had been gambling for stakes of mountain goat grease. Two of the men had lost their supply, so they went into the mountains between Kwatna and Restoration Bay to replenish it. They saw two goats, killed them, and at once two more appeared in the same place; these they also slew. When a fifth and sixth goat appeared and were likewise dispatched, one of the hunters tried to restrain his comrade, saying that such phenomenal success must be due to supernatural power which they should not abuse. They stopped firing, cut the grease from their quarry, and started on the return journey. Presently the mountain began to tilt upwards before their feet. They had no ropes, and almost in despair concealed themselves in a small rock shelter. Their dogs too felt the movement and barked in terror. Fortunately, the mountain did not rise more than a few feet and soon subsided, so that the men escaped. [525]

The attitude of the Bella Coola to supernatural powers of all kinds may be termed a doctrine of Opportunism. Supernatural beings abound and constantly play a part in the affairs of mortals. An alert and bold man can take advantage of these opportunities and obtain assistance, but he who hesitates is indeed lost. Certain types of assistance are most commonly granted to orphans and other unfortunates; accounts of these belong to the realm of mythology and will be described in a later chapter. On the whole the supernatural ones do not show discrimination in conferring boons, and the man who is quick to take advantage of them is the one to whom success comes. 776 [736]

Supernatural Elements in Human Beings

The Bella Coola believe that in the human body itself there are certain supernatural elements. Neither sticks nor stones can move, because they lack these attributes possessed by men and animals. Considering the firm belief of the Bella Coola in the omnipresence of the supernatural, it is not surprising that they should ascribe the phenomena of health and sickness, 774

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nection of these with one another and with the spirit, the mental director of the life, is a matter of advanced Bella Coola theology on which opinions differ. Only men of philosophical temperament even hazard an opinion on such matters, which are beyond the realm of daily routine. 761

When a man dies, his life leaves his body and the useless flesh begins to decay. At the same time the life is freed to travel as an intangible wraith, having the form and appearance of its dead owner. It visits all the places where he had been in the habit of going during life, irrespective of their distance from the scene of death. Sometimes it journeys to the locality where, in a dream, the mother of the deceased received her first intimation of pregnancy (I, p. 615). It wants to see former friends and sometimes makes its presence known to them by whistling. A person who hears this sound is saddened by the realization that one of his associates has passed away in some distant place. At other times, a man merely senses its presence and feels frightened without hearing or seeing anything to account for it. Very rarely, a dead person's life speaks to a dearly loved friend to inform him of his loss. During the existence of the body, spirit and life are closely associated, and the former sometimes accompanies the latter on its round of farewell visits before ascending to *Nasmît-a*. 761 775 [774]

After four days the life descends to the land below where it lives forever as a ghost. Some believe that it is the shadow which assumes this form, but the seeming contradiction is relatively unimportant since the life is essentially shadow-like. Ghosts have already been described in connection with supernatural bodies, and further information will be found in vol. I, chap. VIII.

At death, when the life as a whole becomes a ghost, its constituent parts likewise undergo transformation. The one situated in the feet remains with the corpse and disintegrates; that located in the legs enters a wolf and nothing more is known of its fate; no one knows what happens to the one situated in the body. The part in the throat, including the voice, enters [827] [825] [534]

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961 an owl, possibly one of those which normally roost on the tree
775 behind *Nuxmit-a*. This element of a dead person occasionally
825 communicates with a living relative, as evidenced by the fol-
[539] lowing story.
[827]

A number of years ago a party of men and women camped for the night beside one of the rivers flowing into South Bentinck Arm. After supper, as they were resting by their fire, an owl kept hooting from a neighbouring tree. One of the men turned to a friend who had been making obscene remarks and, half in jest, warned him to be careful in case one of his relatives was listening. The foolish fellow looked at the owl and asked:

"Are you a relative of mine?"

There was no answer, but when he had repeated the question four times, the owl spoke:

"I am so-and-so," he said, naming the deceased grandfather of his questioner.

Consequent upon the belief that the voice of a dead person enters an owl, the bird is treated with considerable respect. It is improper to make fun of one, or to ask who it was when alive. Should a person do so, the owl answers with the interrogator's own name and he soon dies.

961 On the whole, the life does not affect the daily existence of the Bella Coola as profoundly as does the spirit. When they stop to ponder on the reason for some event, they readily admit the importance of the life with its constituent elements, but they are not always considering its activities and seeking to strengthen it. It is essentially a religious attribute, of greater moment to a man of imaginative and suggestible temperament than to one who carries on the daily routine without asking why and wherefore.

THE TALLY POST

773 In the beginning of time, when *Alqantēn* sent the first
777 people down to earth, he erected in *Nuxmit-a* posts emblazoned with the bird or animal crest taken by each to serve as a memorial, or reminder, to him of the number of individuals existing

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sary to understand the attitude of the Bella Coola to the sexual act itself. Although it is a normal part of life (for no one would voluntarily abstain from all contact) yet the union of man and woman does not lack import, since its very humanness distinguishes those who practise it in the eyes of supernatural beings, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic. Those who indulge excessively become so over-charged with this characteristic that their undertakings are certain to fail, whereas those who remain continent for a considerable period are so freed from the contagion of mankind that they become almost supernatural themselves and always succeed in their ventures. If, after a period of restraint, a man holds intercourse, this essentially human act adds typical human strength to that accumulated by chastity. Chastity alone gives power; but chastity consummated by intercourse at the proper period increases that power enormously. This somewhat complicated [184] belief is accepted without question by every Bella Coola, playing an important part in their lives, even in their present degraded condition. The following story illustrates the point rather clearly:

A party of Kingcome Inlet people had been present at a ceremonial at Smith Inlet. While returning home, one canoe, containing a chief, his wife, and eighteen or twenty commoners, was caught by an unexpected south wind and driven on the rocky islet, *Ewa-ahdzy*, where the lighthouse now stands. The occupants managed to reach shore and to save their canoe. The islet was barren, but they made a rude shelter of boughs in which they lived while the storm continued. Every day the chief sent out the young men to hunt seals, and every day they returned empty-handed. The little food they had with them on landing was now exhausted and they were starving. One night, when they were almost famished, the chief said to his wife:

"The youths have done their best. Now that death is before us I want to create a kindly feeling. I am going out, probably to die during the night, and I want you to allow each young man to sleep with you. [187] It is a strange request but our condition is unusual, and the story of your shame will never be known, because we shall soon all be dead."

The wife acquiesced. The chief then told one of the young commoners to lie with her, and afterwards to tell a comrade to do likewise,

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539 who, in turn, would pass on the request so that it might reach each
831 member of the party. Not only is it contrary to custom for a commoner
785 to hold intercourse with a chief's wife, but it is unknown for a man to
ask another to sleep with his wife, so the youth was surprised and rather
[837] frightened. However, he acceded to the request, passed on the instruc-
tions, and washed. As he was bathing, a seal appeared in the surf beside
[622] him, and he was able to kill it easily. Each in turn behaved in the same
manner, washed, and then killed a seal. Next morning, when the chief
returned he was delighted that all had turned out in accordance with his
hopes. At the same time the wind dropped so that the party was able
to return home.

831 The power which had brought the seals within reach of the
785 men had been engendered in their own bodies by these ritual
acts after a rather lengthy period of continence. The Bella
Coola believe that such a procedure always increases their
strength and ability, therefore giving them a better chance to
gain favour from supernatural beings, and to take advantage
of opportunities offered. Hunters in particular are careful with
[224] regard to their marital life since animals know their acts and
[825] thoughts, and hide from one who has not made himself "clean"
[785] by continence, its termination, and bathing. *Sxetsta* consists
of these three elements, but since continence is the most pro-
minent feature, the term may be translated as "ceremonial
chastity."

In its simplest form this comprises merely the three ele-
ments already mentioned. The longer the continence, the
greater the power engendered by its termination. A man who
has practised abstinence for a year has such strength within
himself that almost any good fortune may occur, and cases
are known in which it has been carried out for even longer
periods. More often, an individual practises ceremonial chas-
[184] tity in accordance with a family tradition. One old man gave
the following recipe and was most emphatic that it always
224 brought success in hunting and fishing; he added that on the
785 two occasions he had tried it, he had brought back a pheno-
menal number of skins.

A person planning to set out on an expedition for any pur-

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614 extinct, are unusual; normally, the group is largely centred in
one village, but with members scattered in other localities.
621. There is no central organization. It is generally recognized
that such a unit belongs in the village where its first ancestors
settled, and the leading chief of that village is, therefore, an
important person in the family, though without status of
[622] "head" of it. His advice may be appealed to in cases of dis-
[553] putes concerning names, but he lacks judicial authority. Theo-
retically, the descendants of the elder of two first people are
considered as "elder brothers and elder sisters" of those des-
cended from a younger brother or sister; but this is nothing
more than an accepted fact; it plays no part in the social life
of the community.

552 In addition to human names, the origin myths include those
614 applied to dogs. The first ancestral group had dogs, and these
773 animals had names, or were given them by their powerful
masters. Ever since that time their descendants can apply
these designations to their own dogs. It is unnecessary to
validate such names, but no two canines can be given the same
one at the same time, according to the rule which governs the
bestowal of human names. This matter was not investigated
in detail, and the only dog's name collected was one for which
[539] the origin myth is as follows:

When *Tăl-ie* was first settled in the beginning of time, the houses were built in parallel rows, one above the other, up the side of a steep knoll. At the very top was a toilet-house, built over such a steep incline
[514] that excrement rolled down the hillside. In consequence, one of the early chiefs living there gave to his dog the name, *Nulipemutl di mnk'*, "Rolling excrement," which has since been preserved in the ancestral family of his descendants.

LAND

124 Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining information
423 about land tenure. The Bella Coola resent keenly the way in
which their land has been occupied by white settlers without,
177 according to their standpoint, proper compensation. Ques-

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575 574 535 [533] [525] [526] [178]

presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds. These conclude the chief features of the *a'alk* dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *sisaok*, they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

A'alk ORIGIN MYTHS

551 575 773

Theoretically, every Bella Coola *a'alk* should be able to record the myth in which his name is embodied, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both ancestral and *a'alk* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *a'alk* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *a'alk* can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kimsquit *nusqwal* for his name *Sinxälotla* which came to earth with *Smaoan* (I, p. 332) in the beginning of time. Another Kimsquit *a'alk*, *Tlaiyäkam*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sinuxetl* (I, p. 326), who assumed the designation of *Tlaiyäkam* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *Wi'tälao*.

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The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

> Once,[9] long, long ago, *Älquntäm* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *Sinxan·a*, and a mortal; so he

[115] [177]

[9]Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

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sent the young woman down to *Stuix*. She brought with her a small ring and told the people that her father had commanded her to marry the first mortal who succeeded in casting a stone through it. *Sinxan·a* was so lovely that all the young chiefs hastened to try their skill, but not one of them could succeed. At that time there was living at *Stuix* a poor orphan *Bo'ostom*, who had been brought up by his grandmother. Like all other young men, he admired the beautiful maiden and determined to try his skill. *Bo'ostom* asked his grandmother to wash and paint him preparatory to entering the contest. She was most unwilling, thinking that where chiefs had failed, there would be no hope for her grandson, but at length a friend persuaded her to give the lad a chance, and she painted his face as he had requested.

Bo'ostom took two pebbles of suitable size from the river and smeared them with colour. He told the first stone to go through the air and graze the ring, and the second to pass through it. The haughty young chiefs who had failed were amused at the idea of *Bo'ostom* even entering the competition, and asked him how such a lowly individual as he could aspire to the beautiful *Sinxan·a*. Paying no heed to his mockers, *Bo'ostom* again whispered his instructions to the first stone and threw it. Obedient to his instructions, the pebble grazed the ring, and once more the chorus of jeers burst out:

"Ha! Ha! What else did you expect, *Bo'ostom*?"

Nothing daunted, *Bo'ostom* told the second stone to pass through the ring. It did so, to the amazement and chagrin of the young chiefs.

Bo'ostom and *Sinxan·a* were married in due course. With his wife's help, the poor orphan became prosperous and built a fine house for himself. After a few months his wife became pregnant, and with phenomenal rapidity gave birth to a male child. The infant grew faster than a mortal, and in a few months had become a sturdy little boy. One day he asked his father to make him a bow and arrows, which *Bo'ostom* did. He gave his son a large number of arrows, but the latter said that he would want many more. As his father watched, the boy shot one arrow after another into the air, but not one fell back to earth The lad asked for more arrows, which *Bo'ostom* gave him after some hesitation, and these too disappeared into the sky. At length the father saw above him what appeared to be a thin rod stretching down from above; it came lower and lower until he could see that it was formed by the arrows, each one lodging in the butt of its predecessor. In response to his son's requests, *Bo'ostom* made more and more arrows until the rod reached the earth.

The boy told his father that the topmost arrow was embedded in the floor of *Sang*" and that he proposed to use the chain of shafts as a ladder

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539 to climb up to visit his grandfather. *Bo'ostom* did not discourage him, so his son began the ascent and soon disappeared from sight. In course of time he reached the land above and made his way to his grandfather, *Älquntäm*, who was delighted to see him. He told his visitor that he was weary of constantly carrying the sun's light, and asked him to relieve [821] him of the duty for a time. He mentioned that on previous occasions when his wife had acted as his substitute, she, being a woman, had been shy and had hidden herself behind clouds. The boy was willing to undertake the task and listened to his grandfather's instructions; in the morning he was to use only one fire stick, a little later, two, then three, and, finally, four at midday. In the afternoon he was to decrease the number in a manner corresponding to the morning's increase.[10]

Next day *Älquntäm* went away for a holiday after entrusting his grandson with the precious fire sticks. As soon as he was alone, the malicious youth began to pile one after another on the fire, until people in the world far below were wakened at dawn by the suffocating warmth. *Bo'ostom*'s son threw on log after log, each increasing the heat below. The earth began to sizzle, and finally burst into flames, and the water boiled in the rivers and ocean. *Sunxan·a* had realized what must be the matter as soon as she felt the great heat, so she went outside and rubbed her hand over the planks on her house. Thus protected, those within survived, although all other human beings perished. Most of the animals [825] escaped by hiding, though the weasel failed to conceal the tip of its tail which was burnt black, a characteristic inherited by all weasels ever since. *Älquntäm* felt the heat and hurried home.

"You have done great harm to mortals," he burst out angrily. "Hence- [825] forth you shall live on earth as a mink."

Älquntäm seized his grandson and cast him to earth in this guise.

539 The survivors of the catastrophe multiplied until the whole world was repopulated from the single household. Each of them took an *a'alk* 551 name from the burning, and these have been transmitted from one to 575 another of the descendants of each until this day. One of these, a *nusqwal* name, is *Stalqalosam*, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks"; another, a *llaiyäkam*, *uxnukwnalsaix*, "The Track of the Sun"; a third, *Skuul*, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log."

539 The following Kimsquit story[11] describes the obtaining of 575 an *a'alk* prerogative in the distant past.

[10]For another version of this tale, see Boas, p. 95.
[11]Related by Jim Pollard.

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Long ago, there lived in Kimsquit a young chief who was a great hunter. On one occasion, he was camping in a cave, *Anokokwläls*, on the mountains when not only its roof, but the dome of the sky as well, opened so that he was able to gaze into the upper regions of space. From this manifestation of the supernatural, he took for himself the name *Älkwi*, "The Opening of the Upper Regions," and validated it by giving valuable presents. This name has been transmitted from generation to generation and was recently brought to the present owner by his wife. With it is the prerogative of distributing potlatch gifts outside the house since the first *Älkwi* claimed that the sky itself was his only ceiling.

A few years after *Älkwi* had had this experience, he and his three brothers left Kimsquit by canoe to hunt mountain goats at *Suxwälk*. To their surprise, a gull perched on the bow of their canoe; they did not scare it away, thinking it indicated a manifestation of the supernatural. At intervals it left its perch and circled around the canoe, but soon returned. As they neared the landing-place, the gull flew ashore and changed into a yearling mountain goat. *Älkwi* told his brothers, of whom the second was named *Älkexa* and the third *O'miätl*, that he believed this to be a further visitation of the supernatural to himself and that he would investigate it, and later meet them at *Anokokwläls*.

Älkwi leapt ashore and followed the yearling goat. Wherever the road was rough, his strange guide travelled slowly so that his human companion could follow him. At length they came to a deep chasm with sheer walls about six feet apart, and a ledge running along one side. *Älkwi* followed the goat along this, until the animal leapt across the gorge, struck the face of the precipitous rock, and vanished. It was clear that he had passed into the interior of the mountain and the chief could hear the distant sound of a drum.

"I can die but once," he said to himself.

Then the brave hunter leapt across the chasm, struck the rock, and passed through it as if it had been tissue paper, to find himself in a vast cavern amid a large number of people. These were really animals who had gathered to await the coming of his guide, the yearling goat. The latter told him not to be afraid, that henceforth he would be under the protection of all animals and would not come to harm, no matter how often he hunted. With breathless interest, *Älkwi* watched the performance of a *nusqwal* dance, for every yearling goat is a supernatural dancer of this type. The ceremony lasted throughout the night, and next morning he set out for *Anokokwläls*, not realizing that it was really a year since he had left his brothers.

Meanwhile, though the three brothers had almost despaired of their elder's safe return, they patiently remained at their post, and after a year were overjoyed to see smoke rising from *Anokokwläls*. They hurried

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539 to the cave and greeted their long-lost brother affectionately. Though
575 he, too, was delighted at the reunion, he said but little, and for two days told them nothing of his experiences. They remained in camp and on the third night *Älkwi* told his brothers that he had obtained supernatural hunting powers. The following morning the four went out and killed so many mountain goats that the cave was filled with their carcasses. Their good fortune was amazing. *Älkwi* sent one of his brothers to invite to the cave not only the people of Kimsquit but of the whole countryside as well. While he was absent on this errand, the remaining three prepared and smoked the meat, taking care to preserve the leg bones.

Within two weeks the guests began to assemble. *Anokokwläls* was a good place for a ceremony because *Älkwi* had decorated it with paintings after its roof had opened to show him the upper regions of space.[11] When all the people had arrived, the host gave a mountain goat leg-bone to each, asking every recipient to beat time with it. Then *Älkwi* danced
[535] a *nusqwal* dance, imitating the one he had seen done by the goat. After performing, he unfolded the story of his adventures and finished by giving away valuable presents of smoked meat and goat grease. Thus was initiated this particular *nusqwal* dance.

In later years, *Älkwi* had such phenomenal success in hunting that
[551] by distributing the spoil he was able to create and confirm for his youngest brother the name, *Nustakwalämi*, "The One Who is Always Successful." This has since been transmitted from one generation to another. *Älkwi*,
[103] too, is responsible for the name of Mount *Tcopinätl*, "Leg-Bones." On one occasion he killed a large number of mountain goats on the mountain and left their leg-bones, *tcopinätl*, piled together near the spot. He instructed everyone to refer to the mountain by that name, which has since been done.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY

575 A few words should be said about the reputed early history
578 of the *a'alk* society. Its members seem always to have been on the best of terms with the *sisaok*, and there is no mention of feuds between these two organizations. On the other hand, there is said to have been constant friction with members of the *kusiut* society.[12] The latter comprises a large number of individuals bound together by the possession of supernatural

[532] [11]These paintings are said to be still in existence, and the sister of one informant claimed to have seen them.

[12]This point is elaborated in vol. II, chap. I.

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from ghosts, and for four days feeds them lavishly. On the fifth morning they proceed to the grave, accompanied by kinsmen of the deceased, and pound on the ground with sticks, asking the dead person whether or not he had been murdered, and if so, the name of the murderer. It is said that in former times the voice of the deceased could always be plainly heard giving the desired information. This ceremony has not been carried out for many years, and exact details are not known by any of the living Bella Coola. It seems clear that ventriloquism must have been employed, requiring active deception on the part of the shamans. 756 775 787 [198]

It was difficult to ascertain to what extent shamans believed in their own powers to understand the speech of ghosts. There is no doubt that the Bella Coola are easily influenced by suggestion, and if an individual is told that he has received help from a ghost, it is not difficult for him to believe that such has been the case. Further, his fellows are convinced of his powers, a circumstance which does not fail to affect him. It may be stated definitely that in many cases shamans have some confidence in their own powers, although they do not hesitate to use deception to increase their prestige. This point will be considered in greater detail in the following chapter.

ACCOUNTS OF EXPERIENCES WITH GHOSTS

Much of the information concerning ghosts is contained in stories which have been handed down for generations and which are regarded as historical records. Some of these must be deferred to the chapters on folk-lore and shamanism, but the following are sufficient to explain the source of many Bella Coola beliefs on this subject.[48] 539 775

A Rescue from Ghosts

Long, long ago, there lived a little girl who used to cry incessantly. One evening when she was disturbing the whole household by weeping, her father said angrily to her:

[48]These stories have been included at this point as specific illustrations of the type of legend upon which generalized beliefs depend.

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"Keep quiet or the ghosts will come and carry you off."

Even this threat did not silence her; later on, all her companions went to bed, leaving her alone, crying, in the central part of the house. After a time her father noticed the child's sobs had grown fainter, though she seemed to be weeping in the same manner as before. He went out to investigate, found her place vacant, and, listening intently, realized that the sound came from below; the ghosts had come for her. He roused the household and called in all the men of the village to dig for the girl with sharpened spruce branches. Her crying was still audible and the diggers were directed by it; sometimes they seemed to be on the point of overtaking her, but always her ghost-captor eluded his pursuers by moving sideways through the ground instead of continuing his direct descent. At length the men gave up their task in despair, leaving the mourning father and mother to lament the former's rash remark which had brought the ghosts.

The parents of the girl consulted all the village shamans, one of whom formulated a scheme to rescue the victim. He told her relatives to remove alternate boards from the roof of the house, and to place on each remaining one a vessel filled with urine. He stationed a helper beside each vessel, ready to upset it when he gave the signal, and requested everyone else to leave the house. When these arrangements had been carried out, the shaman went alone to the cemetery, passed through the earth to the land of ghosts, and invited the wraiths to assemble in the house for a feast. They gladly accepted, and the hidden assistants watched them enter, one or two at a time, as if they had been human beings bidden to a ceremony. At last all had arrived except the principal chief, who was to sit in the central seat behind the fire. The feast could not proceed without him, so the ghosts sent a special messenger down below to summon him. It was this chief who had stolen the child, and the excitement of the watchers became intense as he entered, carrying concealed beneath his cloak the girl whose cries betrayed her presence to the hidden relatives. When all had taken their places, the shaman gave the previously arranged signal and his accomplices tipped the urine over the beings below. Wild confusion followed. The ghosts dashed to and fro, showing their anger and resentment by furious whistling and incoherent gurgling. At last they rushed from the house, abandoning the child. They could still be heard in the vicinity of the village, so the shaman directed the people to scatter urine all around the houses, which drove away the unwelcome visitors. The use of this deterrent was first learnt on this occasion.

The parents of the stolen child were overjoyed at her rescue, but it was soon apparent that their daughter had changed. She would not eat;

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in fact, she acted as if she could not see food placed before her. The next morning she rose early and was seen to eat the ashes of fish that had been burnt as torches; this proved conclusively that she was really dead. Thenceforth, instead of being given food in the usual way, her meals were thrown into the fire, from the ashes of which she received her nourishment. Ever since that time, the Bella Coola have recognized that food for the dead must be thrown on a fire.

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An Attempt to Rescue a Dead Wife

Two or three hundred years after the first settlement of the earth, a brave Kimsquit man, *Nu·skobluxmx*, set out with his three sons to hunt seals. His wife was in an advanced state of pregnancy at the time, but her delivery was not expected for several weeks and her husband had no hesitation in leaving her. The hunters were absent for three full days and nights, and returned home soon after dusk on the fourth day, having had great success. When they landed at the beach they were surprised to see no lights in any of the houses except their own. Leaving two of his sons in the canoe, *Nu·skobluxmx* and the other lad cautiously approached the dwelling. As they drew near, they realized that the light which shone forth was green and unearthly, and that the smoke, too, was greenish instead of white. Looking through the door, *Nu·skobluxmx* saw his wife standing with bowed head dangling an infant in a cradle suspended from a cord. This is a common method of soothing a child, but *Nu·skobluxmx* was horrified to see that the cradle had been fastened to the cord upside down so that the infant was hanging head downwards, with no visible fastening to prevent it from falling to the floor.

"Look out! The child will fall and be killed," *Nu·skobluxmx* called to his wife, but she did not seem to hear him.

The husband entered the house and touched her, but she crumbled to bones as he did so. The watching son cried out in fear and horror. *Nu·skobluxmx* hastily left the house and the two returned to the canoe, after ascertaining that no living people were in the village.

The four hunters slept that night in their canoe, and next morning *Nu·skobluxmx* prowled around until he found the villagers hiding in the forest not far away. They explained that, two days after his departure, his wife had given birth to a child, but the after-birth had not come away and she had died. It was the first time that this had ever happened and the people had fled from the village in fear.

Nu·skobluxmx knew that the ghosts would dance to welcome his wife on the fourth day after her death, and he determined to attempt to rescue her at that time. On the evening of the second day, the fourth after her death, he and his three sons lurked in the vicinity of their house. Pre-

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sently they heard the sound of drums, which they knew must herald the approach of ghosts, so they hid themselves on the roof of their own house in such positions that they could peer down within. In some unknown way the four had been granted the power to see ghosts, for they observed the entry of what looked like ordinary human beings, though in reality they were wraiths. These took their places like spectators at a ceremony, while several with beating sticks seated themselves behind the fire as singers. As they struck their batons on the floor, one of the ghosts began to dance in time to the music, and *Nu·skobluxmx*'s wife came to life and watched. Two ghosts who were directing the ceremony called out, "*i* · · · · *a* · · · · *i* · · · · *a* · · ·," which are words in the language of the dead and serve to invite some supernatural being from above to one of their ceremonies. In answer to the call, there came a thump on the roof, marking the descent of the visitor. This gave the dead woman power to move and she began to dance around the fire. She had completed one circuit and was on her second when one of the ghosts called out:

"Take care! I feel as if living people were watching us."

Some of the ghosts at once left the house and searched the bushes near it.

"No," they said on their return, "No one is near."

Nu·skobluxmx's wife continued her dance, and as she was circling the fire for the third time, her husband whispered to his sons:

"As she goes round the fourth time we must jump down, catch her, and fly to our canoe."

When the woman was midway in her fourth circuit, the four leapt into the house and *Nu·skobluxmx* clutched his wife in his arms, but she crumbled to bones at his touch and the ghosts rushed away, whistling angrily, leaving the four alone, *Nu·skobluxmx* holding the skeleton of his wife. Then they went and joined the other inhabitants of the village in their hiding-place. Everyone was anxious to hear the outcome of the attempt, though some did not believe the story. *Nu·skobluxmx* made no further effort to rescue his wife, knowing that it would be hopeless after the fourth day when the ghosts had welcomed her as one of themselves.

An Inadvertent Visit to the Land of Ghosts

A few years after the first settlement of the earth, four Kimsquit men went into the mountains to hunt goats. The first night of their absence, before they had killed any game, they lay down to sleep in a cave. Nothing disturbed their rest, but when they awoke in the morning they were amazed to find themselves in a strange country. They were near a wooded valley through which flowed a river resembling the Dean, but instead of

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the sun, there was shining in the sky a sphere that gave forth a green, sickly light. Unknown to them, the cave in which they had been sleeping had turned over on itself and projected them into the land of ghosts. The four brothers descended into the valley and walked up the bank of the river until they saw a large village on the other bank. It seemed to contain countless inhabitants who were amusing themselves by rolling to and fro with their feet a large, round object like a football. This led the four travellers to think they must be in the land of ghosts, though they were puzzled to know how they had reached it. They called across to the players, but though the river was narrow and though they shouted loudly and repeatedly, they received no answer. The reason for this, as they later discovered, was that the language of ghosts differs from that of human beings, and neither can hear the speech of the other. After a considerable interval, the third brother, who was sleepy, happened to yawn noisily; all the ghosts heard this sound and stopped their play to see whence it had come. They saw the four at once and called to them that they would send a canoe to bring them across the river. Two of the ghosts manned a large, skin canoe and poled it across, but as the bow touched the bank where they were standing, the oldest brother pointed out to his fellows that it was transparent. They all looked down into it and could see sticks and stones on the bottom of the river through the floor of the craft. They were somewhat nervous about trusting themselves in such a canoe, but the oldest shut his eyes and jumped aboard without mishap, followed by the other three. They soon landed on the beach in front of the village, but before any one of the four could set foot on the ground the ghosts who had come crowding around picked them up in their arms. Each was tossed by his holder to another further inland, and in this way they were gently thrown from hand to hand until deposited within the house of the chief, without using their feet and without a single ghost having had to move from the spot where he had been standing.

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The four human beings found themselves in a large house crowded with what seemed to be people, but what they knew must be ghosts. At that distant period, men were wiser than they are today, and the brothers realized that the chief must be *Ałłăi-iaiał* himself. Ghost-heralds brought food to the four strangers, but they concealed it beneath their capes instead of eating it, remembering what they had heard at Kimsquit that a person who eats the food of the dead can never leave their home. The chief was kind to them and somewhat facetiously told them that they would come to harm if they stayed in a country where the people played as much as they did in his. He added that they could return to earth by the same route by which they had come, and advised them to

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539 775 hurry back. After as short a visit as they thought polite, they asked to be ferried back across the river and retraced their steps to the cave where they had slept the previous night. It was dusk by this time and they lay down to sleep. During the night the cave rotated on itself once more, and in the morning they were delighted to find themselves in the mountains above the Dean River.

This was the first time that anyone had penetrated to the land of ghosts, and the friends of the four brothers were intensely interested in the account of their experiences. It was October at the time, but they explained that it was late winter in the land below. No one knows why or how the four brothers had received the power to pass into the land of ghosts, although it is assumed that *Ăłquntłm* must have granted them the boon.

A Kitlobe Story of a Descent to the Land of Ghosts

177 539 775 The following story was related by an elderly man who had heard it about ten years previously from three Christian Kitlobe who had been his fellow-passengers on a steamship between Vancouver and Bella Coola. It is not a Bella Coola story, although it has been circulated among members of the tribe as an interesting tale. The facts recorded in it do not agree entirely with their beliefs, but that is a matter of no [829] consequence to the Bella Coola who, having their own knowledge, consider it quite natural that the other tribes should have other concepts.

539 775 About one year before the story was told, a Kitlobe woman had died, leaving her husband and one grown-up daughter to mourn her. The husband refused to be comforted, and used to fall into a paroxysm of weeping whenever he saw any of his wife's clothing or goods. About a week after her funeral he took her clothing to the cemetery intending to burn it, but instead sat down on the ground to weep. Presently he noticed a passage beside him, down which he crawled until he came to a flat, rich land more prosperous than this world, where he wandered along aimlessly till he heard the sound of singing and hid himself behind a clump of bushes. There seemed to be five or six groups of people in different sections of the country, and the song was taken up in succession by each group. When he had remained in his hiding-place for some time, two people in new, white clothes passed so close to him that he could hear the rustling of their garments. He recognized one of the

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passers-by as his wife, and the other as a fellow-villager who had died some time previously. Somewhat perturbed at finding his wife apparently on friendly terms with a male ghost, the husband decided to return home and ponder before taking any rash steps.

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He crawled back along the passage to the cemetery and at once burnt his wife's clothing. When he reached home his daughter, who had been worried at his long absence, saw that her father had been weeping and tried to console him. He told her rather brusquely not to interrupt; and, while eating, recounted what he had seen that day, stating his determination to return in the morning and bring back his dead wife. His daughter begged him not to do so, reminding him that her mother had died of her own volition and that it would be dangerous to bring her back to earth; but the grieving father paid no attention to her appeal.

Next morning the man went again to the cemetery, where he found the passage still open. He went down, hid in the same thicket, and heard the same singing taken up by group after group. As on the previous day, after a considerable period of waiting, his wife passed by in company with the same male ghost. The husband rushed forth, seized her and shoved away her companion, who ran off discomfited. The woman offered no resistance, and her husband told her that he was going to take her back home again. The two returned to the passage, the man guided his dead wife through it to the cemetery, and thence they set out for their house.

Meanwhile the daughter, dreading what might transpire, had remained within. As her father opened the door, she cowered at the side of the house and saw that his hand was held out as if he were leading someone, though only one figure was visible to her. Her fear increased when she heard lighter footsteps accompanying his, and the rustling of clothing. She heard her father tell his wife, whom he addressed by name, that he would leave her in the main part of the house for a moment while he arranged the bedroom; he set about this, but though the daughter eagerly looked for her mother, she was invisible. When the father returned, he led his wife to the bedroom, but to the daughter it seemed as if he had put out his arm to guide nothing more tangible than air. The frightened girl could hear her father asking questions and giving answers as if in conversation, but her mother's voice was inaudible. The daughter heard her father ask his wife how she liked the land below and, judging from his later comments, concluded that she had said it was preferable to the land of the living except for the scarcity of food. The mother must have added that for this reason ghosts visit the houses of

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539 775 human beings, knock crumbs to the ground with minute hooks, and punish by beating with the same barbs anyone who offends them by picking up such morsels. The girl heard her father say that in future he would be more careful to throw fragments of food on the fire, since he now knew that these were not only desired by the dead, but were necessary to them. Her mother must have asked whether they had eaten all the dried salmon, for her father answered:

"No. We have been so grief-stricken at your death that we have eaten hardly anything."

After a pause the girl heard her father say "All right," and judged that her mother had said she would go to get some. In a moment the door opened, though no one appeared, and the thoroughly awed girl heard the sound of light footsteps. She saw the ropes with which the box was bound unloosened without visible agent, and the salmon piled in a neat heap on the floor, then the bundle seemed to rise of its own accord and pass out through the front-door without human aid. After an interval the father appeared and asked his daughter where her mother had gone. The frightened girl told what she had seen, and both were amazed and puzzled. At last it dawned on the grieving husband that his wife must have stolen the food for the benefit of her friends below and had returned to her new home.

The husband, now twice bereaved, was filled with woe at this second loss, which was unexpected as his wife had said nothing of her intention of leaving. After deliberating for several days, he descended again to the land of ghosts, heedless of his daughter's appeals. He concealed himself in the same spot as before, and soon heard singing; but this time the words and tune were different and he listened intently. To his horror, the theme was of the ingenuity of a dead woman who had revisited her home, deceived her husband, and brought away a supply of dried salmon for the use of the ghosts. He recognized that the song must refer to his own wife and, grieved and humiliated, he returned home forthwith. He warned his daughter to say nothing of what had occurred and she obeyed his instructions, not wishing their shame to become known. A few days later, however, a number of friends gathered to console the husband; he became intoxicated, told the guests his adventures, and taught them the songs used by the dead.

A Carrier Story of an Ascent to the Land of the Dead

177 539 The following, like the last, is not a Bella Coola story. It is one known to a number of Kimsquit and deserves inclusion

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among Bella Coola tales if only for the reason that stories of foreign origin, when told sufficiently often, tend to be considered indigenous and the facts recorded in them accepted and incorporated into Bella Coola belief. This factor is undoubtedly responsible for many conflicting elements in their theology. The following story has every indication of Christian influence but is not less interesting on that account, as illustrating the process of assimilating new ideas into mythology.

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About 1870, *Māmaiyu*,[a] a *Xuxais* Indian from Ootsa Lake, and his brother were trapping beaver in one of the lakes of the interior. They were both good hunters and every morning killed at least one of the animals. *Māmaiyu* was a strong, apparently healthy man, but one morning he fell dead. His grief-stricken brother was puzzled to know what to do with the body. It was winter, and the heavy snow and frozen earth made interment impossible, while lack of fire-wood made cremation out of the question, so he merely tied up the corpse to await better weather. Meanwhile *Māmaiyu* had gone aloft, where he saw a huge house containing many rooms. He went to the first of these, where a man was sitting with a huge book before him.

"What do you want?" asked the man.

Māmaiyu did not answer and his questioner continued:

"Your name is not here. Why did you come?"

This happened in one room after another, for *Māmaiyu* tried them all. Finally, at the end of the house, he came to the seat of the chief, who said to him:

"You have made a mistake. The time for you has not yet come. If you want to stay, you can do so by drinking this."

He showed *Māmaiyu* a glass containing a green liquid.

"If not," continued the chief, "you must drink this," and he showed him another glass filled with a white liquid.

Throughout this speech *Māmaiyu* had heard a strange rumbling and wondered what could be its cause. Happening to glance out through a window at the rear of the house, he saw a huge, metal ball, constantly revolving and giving forth the rumbling sound as it did so. From within

[a] This story was related by Jim Pollard, an elderly Kimsquit, who stated that as a young man he had known *Māmaiyu*, who was about fifty years older than he. This tale is interesting as showing the manner in which a miraculous account can become accepted as fact within a short space of time. *Māmaiyu* must have been a man of imaginative temperament who was convinced that he had experienced incidents told to him by some white man.

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came wailing voices and at intervals an agonized face appeared at one of the many small openings in the surface of the sphere. The supreme being, for the chief was none other, told him that those within the ball were evil persons, those who had committed theft or murder during life. *Mâmaiyu*, though innocent of these crimes, decided that he would be safer on earth and asked for the glass with the white liquid, which he hastily drained. The supreme deity inquired what present he would like as token of the visit, and he requested a beaver-axe, that is, one with a crooked handle such as beaver use.[a]

At the moment when *Mâmaiyu* drank the white liquid, his brother saw his body move very slightly. He hastily warmed some mountain goat grease and with this rubbed his face and mouth. At first he was unable to speak, owing to his muscles having become rigid from the cold, but they loosened gradually so that he was able to recount his experiences. *Mâmaiyu*'s axe, being of supernatural origin, was invisible to all human beings, but this did not affect its potency, and from that time onwards the owner could catch beaver as easily as other men could catch salmon.

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The information contained in this story does not correspond at all with Bella Coola beliefs concerning the fate of the dead. They tell it, and assume that such experiences are normal for dead *Xuxais*, though unknown to their own people.

[825]

[a]The Bella Coola know that beaver must have axes of this kind to accomplish their work, although white people, deceived by the invisibility of these, believe the animals use their teeth. *Mâmaiyu* received an axe of this type.

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* 787 sick, and gives the person securing it ability to treat the same disease in others.
[756] (7) Dreams, especially those in which supernatural apparitions visit the sleeper.

Sterile Apparitions [1]

•539 The most common sterile apparitions are those of a stone
* 787 giving birth to a smaller stone, a tree falling almost to earth, then righting itself, or the sight of some enormous monster. Such an experience may come to anyone, and no one can tell what it may portend. The following examples will illustrate this kind of phenomenon. In accordance with Bella Coola usage, these are recorded as if actual facts.

Between 1890 and 1900 a number of men were paddling home to Bella Coola one fine October day when, as they were passing beneath some precipitous rocks to the west of Kwatna Inlet, they saw a giant, as big as a medium-sized tree, come leaping down into the sea. They could not see his face, which was turned in the opposite direction, but as he sprang they noticed that his hands were shaking like a dancer's. He struck the water with a tremendous splash, hurling the spray a distance of a hundred yards, and nearly swamping the canoe.
[776] They realized that the being must be a *snusx*, since it is well known that these creatures migrate to the mountain lakes for the summer and return to the ocean in the autumn.

Since there is a tendency for supernatural apparitions to appear in close succession, the paddlers were little surprised next day, as they passed near some flat rocks where seals were wont to sun themselves, to see a number of these animals come hurtling down from among the trees on the slope of a near-by mountain. The last to appear was as big as a grizzly bear. Undoubtedly the creatures were supernatural beasts that had assumed the form of seals. It had been a fine, clear day, but as soon as they had taken to the water such a severe storm arose that the canoe was almost engulfed.

[1] [i.e. - appearances of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. - See cat. 116, p 517 - ANALYST]

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On the following day another adventure befell the same party when they were almost home. Passing the site of the present cannery, on the south side of North Bentinck Arm, about half a mile from its head, they went among some old stumps which at high tide resembled basking seals. When in the midst of these, they all seemed to come to life, crashing into the water in all directions, raising billows which drenched the paddlers with foam and nearly wrecked the canoe. The travellers considered themselves fortunate in reaching Bella Coola alive.

Apparitions have appeared several times near Mesatche Nose, the point between South Bentinck Arm and Labouchere Channel, a place noted for storms. On one occasion the father of a Bella Coola, in 1922, sixty years of age, was near there when he suddenly saw lights on two mountains diagonally opposite each other on either side of the fiord, at a distance of about six miles. The lights grew bigger and bigger, approached each other and receded, until finally they merged; it became bright as day, although it was midnight at the time, and there was only a new moon. The lights separated after a little, until each gradually withdrew to its mountain and disappeared.

Near the same spot some travellers once saw an enormous mountain goat walking on the surface of the water. Almost immediately a storm arose which swamped the canoe, and drowned all but one of its occupants. As soon as the craft was submerged, the gale subsided, as is always the case after people have been drowned.

During 1924, while a young Bella Coola was proceeding down South Bentinck Arm in his motor-boat, a storm arose and the waves poured into his boat until it almost foundered. In the midst of the gale he saw two pillars of water shoot up from the surface of the fiord to a great height, then gradually fade away as if they had been smoke. The storm ultimately subsided. No one could tell which supernatural being had

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787 thus manifested itself. A white man's explanation would be that the "apparition" consisted of two water-spouts.

● 539 On another occasion several Bella Coola were encamped on the shore of one of the bays of King Island opening from Labouchere Channel. As they lay dozing by the fire they became aware that a woman dressed in black was sitting near them, but closer to the flames than a mortal could have set. She explained that she had been gathering mussels and was warming herself; then, rising, she walked into the sea and disappeared. She was one of the ocean dwellers of whom little is now known though formerly they were more often visible. Another time one of the same folk was plainly seen sitting on a rock, but as her observers blinked their eyes she vanished.

[792] Dwellers in the underwater world are to be found beneath the lakes of the interior as well as under the ocean. Not many years ago, when some men were carrying goat meat down from their hunting ground, they stopped beside the small lake which lies at the head of the creek *Swapé·s'*, which enters the Bella Coola River about eight miles from the sea.

"I wonder what lives in that lake," one man said idly to a companion.

"Nothing," the other replied, but the first responded:

"You are wrong. Something evil lives there."

He had barely finished speaking when there rose from the lake a man with long hair, who stood, swaying back and forth, with the water around his thighs.

"There you are," said the first speaker to his doubting comrade, "I knew something lived yonder."

After a few minutes the man sank back under the water. Forthwith a strong wind began to blow, and snow not only fell from the heavens but rose from the lake. The hunters, who were not clothed for wintry weather, had great difficulty in getting back to the valley.

Occasionally the works of underwater people have been seen. The father of a man here about 1880 was paddling to Kwatna Inlet one night when he, as well as the other

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occupants of the canoe, heard a roaring noise and saw a fish-weir, similar to those used by the Bella Coola, stretching across Burke Channel, which is about a mile and a half wide at this point. They went close to the beach and a brave man cut a passage through the obstacle. A similar trap was once seen stretching across South Bentinck Arm. 787 * 539 ●

An unusual apparition may be regarded as an omen of death. For example, not many years ago a young half-breed saw a motor-boat moored to the bank of North Bentinck Arm with an eagle seated in the stern. He ran his own motor-boat towards it, but as he approached the eagle became a man. Thus as he drew still nearer, never taking his eyes off the other boat, it, with its occupant, sank beneath the water, without leaving as much as a ripple. On relating the incident to his father, the latter recognized it as an omen of death. Six months later the half-breed's sister died, thus confirming her father's prognostication. 787 * 768 [811]

Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate

Experiences such as have been cited in the last section are regarded as of possible, and not infrequent occurrence at the present time. On the other hand, supernatural aid granted to those in misfortune, though it is the theme of many stories, is not considered as likely to happen now. The Bella Coola believe the narratives to be chronicles of actual events, and base their conceptions of many supernatural beings on their characteristics as therein described. There is no ceremonial significance attached to any of these stories; they may be, and are told by anyone, frequently for entertainment. Unquestionably, there is a feeling that the moral brought out in each tale is of value in educating the young people, though this point is never emphasized. 787 * 538 [869]

Supernatural aid granted to an unfortunate person is normal unknowledge. Power so obtained cannot be transmitted by the recipient, although memory of the experience is 787 * [675] [535]

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787 occasionally preserved as the theme of a *nusesé* dance. The term is also somewhat loosely applied to any instance of supernatural help. The reason for the receipt of power is often attributed to the strong supernatural elements of the favoured one, or to his having made himself agreeable to supernatural beings by the observance of ceremonial chastity or other propitiatory means. A few individuals assert that there is a tendency for supernatural aid to follow certain ancestral families, but such a belief is not general.

The following story is typical of the kind of assistance granted although no clear picture can be presented except through the native medium—a number of different tales, such as are given in the following chapter.

THE GOOD FORTUNE OF *'Yoûndji*

Not long after the earth was first populated there were living at *Ẉeiyai*, near Nanca, two Bella Bella men, *Ẉmo'sala* and *Ẉâlum*, with their wives, relatives, and slaves. *Ẉmo'sala's* son, *'Yoûndji*, fell a victim to the virulent disease, *Ẉâsly*, which causes the face of the sufferer to swell and his flesh to rot. When the case appeared hopeless, his father called his herald to tell the people to abandon *Ẉeiyai*, and to leave the dying youth alone. Accordingly they removed the planks from the houses, packed them on canoes with all the food and clothing from the village and went away, leaving the unfortunate *'Yoûndji* alone in his misery. Only an old slave woman took pity on him; before she left she hid some glowing embers with frayed cedar-bark in a large clam-shell and told him where to find them.

'Yoûndji wept bitterly when his relatives departed, but presently he dried his tears and set about making the best of his position. He unearthed the clam-shell and blew the embers into a fire. Next he made a hammer with which he built a rude shelter. A diet of clams at first satisfied him, but before long he made a hook in hopes of catching some trout. He went up the river to a suitable spot, dropped in his baited hook and almost immediately felt a bite. He hauled up his line eagerly, but it was only a worthless bull-head. Angrily he pulled out the hook and threw the fish back into the water. Almost immediately there was a bite, again he drew up his line only to find as before that it was a bull-head, which he hurled back into the river. This happened twice more, until, discouraged at landing only four useless fish, he wrapped his head

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in his cape and cried himself to sleep. The next day *'Yetxdji* once more tried his luck fishing, but again only landed four bull-heads, and again cried himself to sleep. It was the same on the third day and the fourth, and in the evening the hungry and disconsolate youth wept for a long time, his head wrapped in his cape. 539 787

Presently he felt someone kick his foot and heard a voice saying, "Stop crying! Get up!"

When the startled *'Yetxdji* opened his eyes there was no one in sight. Concluding that he must have been mistaken, he again covered his eyes and went to sleep. But he was aroused in the same way, once more without being able to see his visitor. This time before he lay down he made a tiny slit in his cape so that while he pretended to be asleep he was really watching through the eye-hole. Soon he saw approaching a beautiful woman whose hair was worn in long braids as was the fashion of Fort Rupert women. Eagerly *'Yetxdji* threw back his cape, but at his first movement she vanished. There was nothing to do but hope that she would return, so he again lay down with the opening opposite his eye. Once more the woman drew near, but this time the youth did not move, even when she kicked him and repeated her command not to cry.

"I see you," he answered, "don't run away."

The strange woman sat down without demur.

"Why did you throw away my children?" she asked. "They showed kindly feeling towards you in allowing themselves to be caught, and yet you rejected them angrily. None the less I have seen your misery and have come to help you. First I shall cure you."

When she had done this the woman continued, "I am going to give you supernatural power; when you want anything, just think of me and it will appear. I give you the chief's name, *Kaiaxdidz*; when you give a potlatch you must carve me on the posts of your house. My name is Beaver."

Then the woman vanished. She was a beaver in human form, which all animals are able to assume at will, though few mortals have the ability to see them except as animals. [825]

'Yetxdji decided to test his newly received power by wishing for a house. He thought of Beaver, and forthwith there stood a fine house before him. By merely thinking of his benefactress he was soon able to fill it with goods, blankets, mats, boxes, benches, cooking utensils, and food of all kinds, and on the beach he soon had a flotilla of canoes. The size of the establishment proved the prosperity of its owner.

Meanwhile *Xwa'xale* and those with him were in dire straits for food. One day the old slave woman who had befriended *'Yetxdji* happened to be foraging not far from *Xwiyai* when she saw smoke rising from the place,

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539 * 787 She assumed it to be a forest fire, but, when she idly went near to investigate, her amazement was past all bounds at seeing a fine house filled with valuables. Nor was her surprise lessened when she discovered that *'Yeäxdji* was lord of it all. He welcomed her gladly, gave her a hearty meal, and sent back with her some seal meat for her child, only adding that it was to be eaten secretly as he did not wish his father to know of his good fortune.

"But," he added, "I don't mind if you send me any of the people except my father, especially any who were good to me long ago."

The slave woman thankfully carried the meat home to her child. But he, long deprived of proper food, ate so ravenously that night that a lump stuck in his throat and his coughing awoke *Qomo'sala*. The chief pounded the youngster's back until he vomited what was obviously a piece of seal. The slave woman, remembering *'Yeäxdji*'s order, tried to evade her master's questions as to where her son had obtained it, but at last she blurted out the truth, how the abandoned youth had become prosperous.

The slave woman and her friends moved to *Qwiyai*, where *'Yeäxdji* used his power of thought to obtain for them houses filled with everything they could desire. But *Qomo'sala* and those left with him were starving, so that they too were driven to seek his aid, gladly marrying their daughters to him in return for his protection. He rapidly rose to a position of importance, being the husband of both real and fictitious wives, and was even able to provide his elder brothers with mates. Some of the women married to him became almost his slaves, as their families were unable to rebuy them.

Supernatural Good Luck

777 * 787 A third manner in which the Bella Coola can come into contact with powers of another plane is through supernatural good luck. This consists in obtaining something from a supernatural being, usually a portion of its slain body, which acts [224] as a bait to fish, mammals, and even to such inanimate articles [226] as blankets or skins. Even a tiny morsel placed on a weir will attract numerous salmon, or if set on a trap will prove an infallible lure to animals. When put in the owner's box, valuables will be attracted to it as steel to a magnet. Thus the fortunate possessor will be able to give many potlatches and to reach a [492] high position in the community. Since this good fortune is

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insane, a calamity unquestionably due to his recklessness in handling the earth where a supernatural one had trod. 777 787*

This point illustrates the danger of near approach to a *mätsqus*, a theme well exemplified in the stories in the next chapter. Such perils must be counteracted in diverse ways according to the traditions of different ancestral families. One common method is to seek a lonely spot in the woods and there hollow out a shelter beneath an overhanging rock or fallen tree-trunk where the person who has been exposed to danger must remain for four days, eating nothing and at intervals scrubbing his body with branches of devil's club, spruce, and other rough plants. These protect him from the evil effects of the monster. [761] 783 [824]

Similar in function to the *mätsqus*, and equally dangerous to the unwary, is the *sisiutl*. The latter is supposed to have been created on this earth, at Bella Bella, in the beginning of time by *Yulätimut*. It was at first the canoe made by this carpenter, and then turned loose by him to range the mountains and fiords, as it has ever since, equally at home on land and in water, and in various forms. The following is a typical description of the manner in which a *sisiutl* appeared in the past. 777 787* [773] [776] 539 777 787*

Long ago a man was hunting in the mountains when he saw a salmon, which changed in an instant to a fish-like monstrosity with two heads but no tail. He lunged at it with his stick, and in so doing started a slide which carried the salmon down the mountain. As this was taking place, the hunter said:

"Go down the mountain, salmon; I will get you at the bottom."

When he reached the foot of the new slide he saw the fish lying clear on the stones. He cut it up and slung it on a cedar-bark rope. Now this salmon was a *sisiutl*, the first that had ever been seen, and the hunter obtained supernatural good luck from his experience. He also took the name of *Sisiutl*, a designation which has been handed down until recently.

After this adventure many people hunted for the *sisiutl*, and with fair success in early days, but now it cannot be found, 777 787*

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These become lilies (of the species known as *lälkänelp* or *walilikwätsälätsälätsäl

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539 This is a supernatural bird about the size of a crow, with a broad hooked beak and blue-black iridescent plumage. Its note resembles that of a swan. The peculiarity of the bird is that its flesh and bones are of mountain goat grease; even its droppings are of this valuable substance, and it is these which are specially prized. Long ago *ǫokǎn·i* were comparatively common, but all have now fled beyond the range of the white man's rifle.

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Wikwanutl knew what to do, so he crept stealthily up the mountain armed only with his hunting stick. Presently he saw a *ǫokǎn·i* feeding on a mountain goat which had been caught in one of his snares. It answered to the descriptions ***Wikwanutl*** had heard, and he could see that its droppings were like solidified mountain goat grease. The hunter crawled near, and took advantage of the instant when the bird was within the goat's stomach to leap forward and club it as it looked up. ***Wikwanutl*** twisted the neck until the head separated from the body and flung the former behind him, to the right, without noting where it went. This enables the bird to return since, like all other living creatures, when it seems to die it does no more than shed its cloak of flesh. Then the hunter cut the body into halves, threw the right portion in the same direction as the head, and carefully tied the left half in his cape of cedar-bark. Next he collected the droppings and wrapped them in evergreen boughs. Carefully carrying his treasures, he went down the mountain, and hid them in a niche cut in the trunk of a cedar tree, before he went home.

Next day, ***Wikwanutl*** did not hunt but returned to the place, drew out the piece of the bird's body, and dried it over a fire, as if he were toasting salmon for winter use. At night he went home, still refraining from telling anyone what he had done. For four days he cured the meat, then carefully closed the niche and went away.

For one year ***Wikwanutl*** did not hunt. Then he reopened the recess and saw that the meat was fresh and juicy, as if newly prepared. He left it in place, but drew forth the droppings and carried them off in a small bag. Fortune followed him. By using a small piece of the solidified grease on his traps he had wonderful success. At length ***Wikwanutl*** told his fellow-villagers what he had obtained and they were envious of his good luck. He continued to prosper, and at last sold the droppings for a large amount of goods, though he carefully preserved the section of the body itself. When an old man, he showed his son where it was concealed and the latter likewise prospered throughout his life, owing to this possession. When he became old, he in turn told his son about it, so that the young man had the same good fortune as his father and grand-

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father. But the great-grandson was too lazy to take the trouble of going with his father to the place where the section of the bird was hidden, so the treasure was lost. 777 787 *

A fourth giver of supernatural good fortune is one of the mythical creatures termed *snusx̣*. This variety lives in the ocean, or rarely in rivers, and can occasionally be seen resting on the surface with its long, golden tresses floating on the water. The hair appears always to be flecked with eagle down, but in reality it is a mass of barnacles, the equivalent of this substance to this under-sea dweller. If the observer is brave, he will paddle cautiously near until he can twist a lock of the hair around his paddle and break it off. He must not touch it with his hands, but must dangle it outside the canoe, still wrapped about his paddle, until he reaches the shore, when he must conceal it in some lonely place for one year. After that period he can use a single hair, or piece of one, as bait; it will be enough to attract animals to his traps or salmon to his weir, exactly as with the mountain goat grease excrement of a *qokän·i* or a stick that has come in contact with a giant toad. If the person who has jerked off the hair with his paddle should be foolish or ignorant enough to bring his spoil into his canoe, he, and all with him, are rendered incapable of movement and the craft with its occupants sinks beneath the sea. [539] [224] [776] [224] [226]

The father's cousin of an informant once saw one of these animals when paddling in company with several companions to Kimsquit. The sea was smooth as glass when their attention was attracted by a number of small ripples, spreading in a half-moon shape from what they realized was the head of a *snusx̣*. The hair crossed the ripples, but did not rise or fall with them. The back of the animal's head was nearest the canoe so the opportunity seemed favourable for obtaining some of its hair. Cautiously the men paddled nearer, but at the last moment the steersman feared to drive the canoe in among the golden tresses, so veered off and the craft passed along one side of the mass of hair. The animal had shown no sign of being aware of their presence, but it now began to turn away,

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777 so that its floating locks remained between them and its head.
* 787 As it turned, the hair moved with it, so that, although the impression remained of a floating mat, there must have been some motive power to cause it to remain streaming out straight behind. Each strand moved through the ripples without being affected. Though the paddlers strained to the utmost to see the animal's face it thwarted their efforts by this continuous slow turning, until at last they went on their way, disappointed.

● 539 Yet another creature from which supernatural good fortune
777 has been obtained is the Mother of Snakes, a creature described in the following story.

* 787 A family living at *Nulkax* was reduced to the point of starvation
226 through the failure of their salmon-weir. It seemed as if the fish avoided it. One day a son of one of the owners, who had been in trouble with a
[776] woman in the lower valley, went off into the woods not far from his village, where he saw what he thought was a black bear. When it came nearer he realized that its chest was tipped with silver and that its tongue kept shooting far beyond its jaws; hence that it must be the Mother of Snakes. This creature combines the qualities of bear and snake; it is about the size of the former, and it appears to have a serpent wrapped around its chest. It always pursues mortals and slays them, unless they
[784] know the proper means of escape. Luckily, the youth's father had long ago warned him what to do if chased by one, so he at once dashed off. First he ran downhill, but the animal gained on him; then he ran uphill, but still the monster drew nearer. The only way the fugitive could increase his lead was by ascending or descending in zigzags, since the brute's heavy legs then kept slipping. All day the pursuit continued, until towards dusk, when the youth was almost exhausted, he saw at last what he was looking for, a stump with splinters, projecting upwards. Pushing these apart with his hands, he leapt through the opening thus made, then circled the tree once sunwise, and pulled away one of the jagged spikes. Now the Mother of Snakes must always follow directly in the tracks of its quarry, and as it jumped through the passage the youth struck it across the back with the splinter which he had pulled out. Down fell the monster dead.

With his knife the lad cut off some of the animal's meat which he carried home, saying nothing to his father. Early the next morning the old man went to look at his salmon-weir, but as usual it was empty. As soon, however, as his son drew near, the river became packed with salmon, all heading towards the trap which was soon filled.

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"It seems as if you attracted the salmon like a magnet," said the father to his son. 777

The latter did not answer immediately, but later he said: 787 *

"You were right," and he told him what had happened. [539]

"You have obtained supernatural good luck," the old man replied simply. [226]

Following his son's instructions the father prepared canoes and boxes to bring back the flesh of the Mother of Snakes. They collected every scrap of it, which they preserved very carefully, and used small portions as bait to attract salmon to their weir with such success that they became wealthy.

Another supernatural being from whom supernatural good fortune may be obtained is *Skwanät·än·a*, "The Female Mourner." When a chief dies she comes to wail, wandering through the woods near the village, where sometimes she can be seen in the form of a weeping woman. As she cries, she ejects mucus from her nose, which solidifies into a glass-like substance about a foot in length. Anyone who sees her should take the transformed mucus, and wrap it in some article of his own clothing; it will bring him good fortune. About midnight of June 21, 1922, the infant daughter of a Bella Coola died, and about seven o'clock on the following morning the wailing was heard[1] in the woods behind the missionary's house. The brother of the dead child's father rushed off to try to find the weeping one. Luckily he did not succeed, because he did not know about collecting the mucus, and trouble would have come to him had he seen the supernatural being without knowing how to deal with it; in fact, even to hear *Skwanät·än·a* is considered an omen of death. [776] [776] [763]

It will be seen from the foregoing specific instances that supernatural good luck is usually obtained by the slaying of some powerful creature. But, since every living creature is endowed with superhuman power, it follows that any object obtained from a bird or an animal that has acted in a peculiar way may be the cause of supernatural good fortune if it be kept for one year in the manner previously described. Some- [825] [224]

[1]Since the Bella Coola believe that it was heard, the incident is recorded as a fact.

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would be of enormous value, since the Bella Coola consider these ducks a great delicacy, and say that their flesh resembles that of seals. In fact, when an invitation to a seal feast is given the words used mean, "come to eat harlequin ducks." 756* [262] [223]

No attempt was made to collect all the shaman stories current in Bella Coola, but the subject is amply illustrated by those gathered, of which the following is representative. 756* 539

The Adventures of Waowal·is

Long, long ago, there dwelt among the people who lived on the shore of Dean Channel and were partly Kimsquit, partly Bella Bella, a mighty shaman, *Waowal·is*. He was a married man with a son just learning to walk, and an adopted one about twelve years old . One day *Waowal·is* told the latter to fetch water, but the lad was lazy and made no motion to obey, so his foster father kicked him angrily. Whereat the boy cried out:

"What are you hurting me for? Why don't you kick your wife or your partner? They are always sleeping together when you are away."

Waowal·is apparently paid no attention to this, merely saying:

"Stop crying. I am sorry I kicked you so hard. Run along and get the water."

Waowal·is, who was a great hunter, began to get his canoe ready for a seal hunting trip, and told his adopted son to accompany him. The two set off within a few hours. *Waowal·is* owned a stick of which one end contained the power of causing death, and the other of restoring life; he had only to make the motions of throwing this stick at a living creature, death-dealing end foremost, and the one at which it was pointed fell dead. Many seals had been killed by this means when *Waowal·is* asked the boy:

"What was it you said when I kicked you?"

By this time the lad had regained his temper and was sorry he had disclosed what he knew.

"I said nothing," he answered, "but gave a shout of pain."

"You liar," *Waowal·is* calmly replied. "You said that my wife was sleeping with my partner."

The boy, realizing that all was known, answered truthfully:

"Yes, I did say that. I have often seen her doing so when you were absent."

It was late afternoon by this time and *Waowal·is* at once headed back to the village, which they reached soon after dark. No one saw their approach, so *Waowal·is* told the boy to stay with the canoe and the seals

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on the beach while he went to the town to investigate. He crawled cautiously to the outside of the house at the point where he knew his wife would be sleeping; there he scratched on the wall with his finger nail, making a noise like a mouse. He heard his wife say:

"I wish that mouse would eat *Waowal·is*'s entrails."

This so angered him that he smote with the death-dealing end of his stick, killing everybody within. Then he went around to the front-door, entered, cut off the head of the false partner, and carried it away. Once outside the house, he made the motion of spearing with the life-giving end of his rod, thereby reviving all but the man he had beheaded. Then he went back to his canoe and returned to the sealing ground with his adopted son.

After a time the infant, asleep next its mother, was awakened by blood pouring over him, and cried so lustily that he woke his mother and grandmother. To the former's horror, she found her lover dead and beheaded. The grandmother asked what ailed the child and the mother replied that it had voided blood. She arose, washed the infant, and dragged out the headless corpse to another part of the house where her lover's parents lived; then went back to her own place and slept. Next morning, when the parents of the slain man had cooked breakfast, they sent a young son to waken his brother, but the boy returned saying that the latter was dead and headless. When this was confirmed, the whole household was plunged into grief and consternation, combined with fear and wonder as to who could have done the deed, because no one knew of *Waowal·is*'s return. They buried the dead man the same day.

In the afternoon *Waowal·is* returned, waving his paddle above his head, apparently in the best of spirits. The people called out to him from the shore:

"We have bad news that will spoil your happiness, your partner has been murdered."

Waowal·is paid no attention, but continued to wave his paddle. He told his adopted son to stay in the canoe on the beach, and went by himself up to his house carrying a sack filled with seals, beneath which he had placed his partner's head. He told his wife that at the bottom there was a choice tid-bit from the stomach and she removed seal after seal searching for it, until she came to her lover's head with staring eyes and open mouth. When she screamed, *Waowal·is* took the head and banged it down on her naked body.

"You always wanted him," he said. "Here he is. Don't be afraid."

Then he fled to his canoe and sped away with his adopted son. A number of the people set off in pursuit, but whenever one of their canoes drew too near, *Waowal·is* loosened cloud-like smoke which concealed him.

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At length the pursuers abandoned their efforts and *Waowal·is* went on, never to return.

Waowal·is and his son travelled far away, always seeking a place to settle, until one day they saw a large town on the beach, with smoke coming from only one of the houses. The two landed, and *Waowal·is* left the lad in the canoe on the beach while he went on to investigate. He could find no one in any of the houses, until at last he came to the one from which smoke emerged, in which he saw an old blind man cooking food and his beautiful daughter making cedar-bark mats. He entered quietly and sat beside the man without speaking. As the latter lifted some food from the pot and poured it on a dish, *Waowal·is* took it and hid it under his cloak. The old man felt for his food, then said to his daughter:

"I have lost the food that I have been cooking. Some one must have stolen it."

She did not look up as she laughed back:

"Nonsense! As you know, there is no one in the whole country but we two."

Again the old man poured out some of the food and again *Waowal·is* hid it, so once more he complained to his daughter. This time she looked up and saw the stranger.

"You are right," she said to her father. "A man is sitting beside you."

"What do you want?" she asked *Waowal·is*. "Whence have you come? Why have you stolen my father's food?"

He answered her last query.

"I was only playing, here it is," and took it from under his cape.

He had fallen in love with the girl and said to her father:

"Please let me marry your daughter."

"If you restore my sight you can have her," the father replied.

"I am a powerful man," *Waowal·is* laughed.

With that he took the old man's head between his hands and spat in his eyes, as he rubbed them with his hands; at once the sight was restored. The father kept his bargain and agreed to his daughter's marriage.

They asked *Waowal·is* if he were alone, and when he answered that his adopted son was in a canoe on the beach, they called the boy in and the four sat down to a meal. There was no water in the house and *Waowal·is* told the lad to fetch some, but at once the old man and his daughter stopped him.

"No, no," they said. "You can't get any here, there is an evil mon-

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ster, a *snusx*, living in the water that sucks down whoever ventures near. It has killed all the other people of the village."

"I am stronger than any *snusx*," *Waowal·is* answered, and told the boy to take a bucket.

The lad set off with *Waowal·is* following. The latter took the precaution of tying a rope around the boy's waist, and holding one end. As he knelt down at the water's edge the *snusx* appeared; it seemed as if the water parted, to disclose its ugly mouth, and the youth was sucked in. *Waowal·is* made the motion of throwing his stick, death-end foremost. There was a tremendous commotion beneath the surface, and presently the dead monster floated up. The shaman drew his knife, slit the creature's throat, and drew out his son, still alive. By this time the old man and his daughter had come to the spot, thankful to witness the death of the dreaded foe. Within its stomach they found the remains of human victims, some corpses almost entire, others mutilated by the loss of an arm or a leg, and others nothing but bones. The two recognized many of them, and these *Waowal·is* restored with the life-giving end of his stick, eventually reviving all the people of the village. As was to be expected, they almost overwhelmed him with their gratitude. He married the girl he had chosen and in due time became a chief. Food was scanty, so *Waowal·is* frequently went hunting, returning with abundance of game, the skins of which his wife made into clothing.

For a year *Waowal·is* lived in the village without any event worth recording taking place, his only disappointment being that his wife had borne him no child. One day when his wife was washing clothes at the edge of the ocean a blackfish saw and desired her. He had the power of raising the water when he wished, so this he did, and engulfed the woman. A number of people saw the catastrophe and cried out to *Waowal·is* what had happened. Calling his son, he leapt into his canoe and set off in pursuit. For some distance he was able to follow the route taken by the blackfish, until the latter dived and did not reappear; *Waowal·is* decided to follow. He tied one end of a long rope to the canoe and proceeded to lower himself into the depths, telling his son to remain in the craft ready to hoist him up again on receipt of a signal.

Waowal·is went down through the water until he found himself in a land where everything was much the same as on this earth. A sun was shining there and he landed in a wooded valley through which flowed a river. He walked upstream a short distance, laboriously finding his way through fallen logs that lay everywhere, until presently he saw an old man in a canoe on the river; the man was slave to the chief who had carried off *Waowal·is*'s wife, but, of course, the shaman did not know that. He wanted to talk to an inhabitant of the undersea land, and seeing that

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the man in the canoe was gathering firewood, he projected his willpower at him to cause him to land and begin work at a hollow tree wherein *Waowal·is* had concealed himself. The slave was using a stone wedge, and when this penetrated into the centre of the tree, *Waowal·is* broke its cutting edge, thereby terrifying the workman, who feared what his master might say at the ruin of a valuable tool. The slave drove in another, and again the shaman broke that, increasing the forebodings of the slave. Then *Waowal·is* appeared from within the hollow tree and offered to repair the broken wedges in return for assistance. The slave, only too glad to do anything that would save him from the wrath of his master, willingly answered when *Waowal·is* asked him whether he had seen any stranger in the land.

"Yes, my master returned yesterday with a very beautiful woman."

"That was my wife. Will you help me to recover her?" asked *Waowal·is*.

"Yes," the slave said.

Then *Waowal·is* instantly repaired the broken wedges. The slave suggested a possible plan for rescuing the woman.

"Every evening, just before nightfall," he said, "I carry firewood into the house, and then they send me out again for water. If you hide close to the door, you will be able to see where your wife is sitting when it is opened for me to bring in the fuel. When I return with the water I will pour it on the fire to extinguish it, and you may be able to rush in and seize your wife in the darkness and confusion."

This plan was adopted. *Waowal·is* helped the slave fill the canoe with firewood, and towards dusk they returned to the blackfish's house. *Waowal·is* hid himself within a hollow log which the slave set upright outside the house in such a position that he was able to see in through the front door. The slave carried in the rest of the firewood and the watching shaman saw his wife sitting near the fire. When sent out for water, the slave chose the largest bucket in the house and returned with it brimming full, then, as he passed the fire, he stumbled so that the liquid was thrown on the flames, extinguishing them. In dashed *Waowal·is* and seized his wife with a whispered:

"I am *Waowal·is*."

They fled out of the door, to the place where he had landed from the world above, and where the rope was still hanging down. He made the agreed signal for hoisting, but there came no answer from the lad who had been left in the canoe. Nothing dismayed, *Waowal·is* and his wife climbed up the rope to the canoe, where they found a skeleton, all that was left of his adopted son. To *Waowal·is* and his wife it seemed as if they had only been absent a little time; but they had been in the land of the

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* 756 supernatural, so that nearly a year had elapsed on this earth, and during that time the faithful lad had perished of starvation at his post.
● 539 He had rotted to the bones, but *Waowal·is* used the life-giving end of his stick to revive him, and the three returned happily to the village.

In an almost identical second version of this story, collected from another informant, the community to which *Waowal·is* belongs is not mentioned and the boy is not an adopted son but a young slave. The adventures are the same even in details, except that before *Waowal·is* presents his wife with her lover's head he instructs the slave to remove the plugs from the beached canoes of his fellow-villagers. This does not seem to have deterred the latter, for *Waowal·is* was followed as in the foregoing tale and, as there, released his cloud mist in order to escape his pursuers.

Bc
* 756 It is not claimed that any recently deceased shamans had power equal to that of *Waowal·is*, although remarkable ability has been attributed to several living in the last century. The mother of one Bella Coola woman is believed to have been able to see the details of the sun and moon. She stated that on the latter were mountains and snow.

BB
756 Even more striking is the following account of a Bella
787 Bella shaman, who had visitations from supernatural beings during the last century. On one occasion, when performing a dance on the beach, he walked into a small hill; the spec-
Bc tators could hear his song continuing, and soon he emerged on
* 756 the other side, having passed through the obstacle. Later on, the same man was convicted of murder by a white judge and sentenced to death. His fellow tribesmen asked why he did not save himself and he replied that he would do so in his own time. The judge pardoned him and set him free, which was regarded as confirmation of his claim. His first vision had come to him when in the cemetery at Kwatna, but his most spectacular experience was when a slide descended and immersed him as he was paddling in his canoe on the ocean. For one day he remained under the slide, as well as under the water, then he reappeared and paddled on his way.

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*756 783 841 jects have power over shamans. A shaman must never sleep beside his wife during her menses, must never eat food prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has recently washed a new-born infant, by a girl during the period of seclusion following puberty, or by a widow or widower during the year that follows the death of his partner. If a shaman's nose bleeds when he is dancing it is because a menstruating woman is present in the house; he at once asks the offender to withdraw, after which the bleeding stops. Moreover, he must [755] never cure a woman during her periods. A wise shaman prac- [785] tises ceremonial chastity frequently. In view of the lack of cleanliness ascribed to menstrual blood, it is perhaps surprising that a woman can become a shaman while still of child-bearing age. This is rare, and only occurs when a woman is the last survivor of a family. The Bella Coola themselves consider it to be peculiar, only explicable on the ground that anything is possible to the supernatural beings, even the disregarding of feminine "uncleanness." Usually, female shamans are past the age of child-bearing; if not, they observe absolute chastity.

*756 761 Even inadvertent breaking of one of these rules causes death. This is not regarded as a punishment inflicted by *Ṭhitcāplilān·a*; it is merely the inevitable consequence of the supernatural power within the shaman having come in contact with what is not clean. As a shaman is considered to be immune against all ordinary ailments, his death is always attributed to the breaking of a taboo. Frequently the death of a shaman is accompanied by some convulsion of nature. One female shaman, for example, told the people of her village to keep their children within doors, since a supernatural being was coming for her. Soon it became dark; there were four loud claps of thunder, at the fourth of which she fell dead.

●539 *756 The following was related as an instance of the danger to a shaman of coming in contact with an unclean woman.

[783] [841] [787] The son of the first man to come to earth at *Nulkax* was, like his father, named *Dudusoxʷ*. One April he and his wife went upstream to *Xwunlo*, a place in the country of the Carriers where milk-weed is plen-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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tiful, of which they planned to collect a supply. In the course of their journey *Dudusong*ʷ saw a man who, when he drew near, turned into a piece of hanging moss. A little later he again saw a figure, but on approaching it became a tree. *Dudusong*ʷ and his wife walked on and presently the former once more beheld a man; this time the apparition changed to a fir tree. It was evident to *Dudusong*ʷ that a supernatural being had manifested itself to him, and he told his wife that they must return. On reaching home he related his experience and gave a shaman's dance. 539 756* 787

From this experience he had received the power of curing. He could see disease when it was invisible to all others, and could summon it to himself, where it was harmless, thus restoring the patient to health. He made for himself a rattle, shaped like a bird; this had the ability of dancing of its own accord, and would catch people's hair in its opening and closing beak. The sick were brought to *Dudusong*ʷ from all over the valley. One day he travelled by canoe down to *Sisaf* where he found many of the villagers seriously ill. His arrival was quite fortuitous, for he was unaware of the epidemic that was raging. The inhabitants sought his help, so he landed and cured them. He entered the house of a woman who claimed to be ill, and took the sickness upon himself, but no sooner had he left than he fell down stricken. He demanded to be taken home in his canoe, but he only lived two days after his return. The woman had been in pain from her menses; it was this that he had taken upon himself and caused his death. 539 756* [761] [783] [841]

In consequence of the danger attached to the vocation, many people try to avoid becoming shamans, though if *Ťlitcāplilān-a* should appear to a man when ill, he cannot escape the power. The usual method of prevention is for a man to hold intercourse with his wife from below, so that her flesh, impure through its liability to menses, can form a barrier to the coming of supernatural power. One who wishes to escape always sleeps on the left of his wife, whereas if he is seeking shaman's power he sleeps on the right. Another method of avoidance is to use the hole in the floor which serves as exit and entrance to the house of a girl secluded following adolescence. 756* [787] [833] [513]

Since the power of a shaman is obtained by a personal experience, and lacks both form and substance, it cannot be transmitted and disappears at the owner's death. As has been

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bitterly regretted his own cowardice, for the wonderful cures stopped, whereas, had he accepted the supernatural guest, he would have been able to perform them. 756* 787

SHAMANS FROM THE DEAD

There remain to be described shamans from the dead, whose abilities and prerogatives are almost identical with those already described. They obtain their power either from the visitation of a ghost in this world, or by a journey to the land of shades below. The following incident explains why shamans alone can hold converse with ghosts. 756* 775 787

Once, long ago, the lover of a young girl died. She was so heart-broken that in her agony, four days after his burial, she lay down on his grave to weep. The dead man was able to visit her and in due time she gave birth to a child, who, like its father, was a ghost, with drawn face and glaring eyes. The perturbed woman tended it in the forest, her love overcoming a feeling of repulsion, and when she returned to her home she endeavoured to prevent her own mother handling the infant, knowing that she would be horrified. The grandmother insisted, but as soon as she saw the ghastly appearance of the child she dropped it in horror, and the infant vanished. [539]

Since then there has been a barrier, resembling a wall of smoke, between mortals and the dead. If the old woman had not dropped her grandchild, the living would still be able to converse with their deceased friends and relatives.

Nowadays, shamans alone are able to lift the barrier and discourse with the ghosts of those who have departed. These are quite common visitors to the land of the living, but only a shaman can understand their languages, of which one is a series of whistles, and the other resembles the attempts at speech made by a tongueless individual. Shamans can learn what the dead require and so transmit the knowledge to the relatives of the deceased. As, long ago, shamans whose powers were derived from animals were able to teach mortals the proper methods of hunting, and the taboos enjoined, so a [198]

1:McIlwraith K-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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* 756 775 787 shaman from the dead once visited the land of ghosts and learnt their needs. They informed him that food and clothing thrown on the ground did not reach them, and that in order to do so it must be cast on the fire. Instead of journeying to the land of the dead some shamans receive their powers from ghosts who ascend to this earth, as the following account describes.

● 539 * 756 775 787 [828] [155] Within the lifetime of an elderly Bella Coola informant, a certain woman, *Sîkwalwaldg* by name, left her house one evening for a few minutes. When she came back she was crazy. Her face was green, her mouth and face distorted and twisted, she could only whistle when she tried to talk, and kept endeavouring to walk on her hands. Taking her blankets, she went through the motions of washing them, but instead of using water, she dragged them to and fro through the ashes of the central fire, until, utterly exhausted, she lay down. By these symptoms it was recognized that a ghost had stricken her with madness, and several shamans of the dead were called upon for help. For a long time their efforts were fruitless. Then one of them obtained some stained menstrual pads. While another conducted the frenzic beating of sticks, the leading practitioner waved one of the pads through the smoke of the central fire and laid it, with hemlock bark and dyed cedar-bark, on the patient's face. After leaving it there a few moments, he took it off and, while the beating of sticks was stilled, threw it out the door. When this had been done four times the woman was restored to sanity. Later on she said she had seen the ghost of a certain *Tsiwaut*, a man recently deceased. Emerging from her trance she found herself in her house surrounded by numerous people and the shaman working over her. If he had not been able to cure her, she would have died; in fact, it was impossible to discover whether the Bella Coola regarded this woman as having been cured of an illness, or as having been restored from the dead.

Sîkwalwaldg called for the singers to whom she sang four songs, relating what she had seen. They described how she stood by a fire in the land below, where the sun travelled from west to east, and where everything differed from this earth, though reminiscent of it. The singers learnt the songs, and it was to their music that the women danced on later occasions. She was able ever afterwards not only to cure maladies caused by ghosts but to talk with them. For this purpose she was in the habit of lying down at night in the graveyard, looking down into the land of the dead which was open to her, and conversing with the inhabitants in a strange whistling language which the living could hear, but could not

1:Mc Dermith E-5 [1922-1924]1945
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underground. She was also able to pass downwards on the edge of the central fire towards the door.

Sunkilkmen, an old shaman from the dead who died not long ago, obtained his power by choosing to visit their land. The themes of his songs were of the land of the dead where, he said, there were many people; where those who had been rich on earth were rich, but where those who had been poor were still poor; where those who had been blind could see, and those who had been maimed were whole. He told of *Pilaalit*, a legless creature who lives in the land below, but can travel with amazing speed. In fact this shaman stated that it was he who was sent when the ghosts wished to communicate with the living, a statement contradicted by others. He told further of *Kaumkadjiles*, a supernatural woman resident there, who is able to pick berries with phenomenal rapidity. But this talent avails her little, since her basket is full of the teeth of dead men who devour the fruit as fast as she picks them. It was *Sunkilkmen* who described how in the land below there were only two enormous trees of the kind known to the Bella Coola as *kiji*, under the shade of which the ghosts played a game resembling football with huge, light balls.

A dead person usually chooses one of his own relatives as the proper person on whom to bestow the power of a shaman, but their actions in this respect are neither to control nor exploit. Ceremonial chastity is of assistance, and power can usually be obtained by anyone who lies four days and four nights, face downwards, on a new grave. Nor does every sight of a deceased person bring with it this faculty; in fact, ghosts are greatly dreaded since they usually cause harm to the beholder. On one occasion the mother of an elderly Bella Coola woman left the house one evening, to return shortly with her face screwed up into a ghastly smile, green in colour, and with saliva dribbling from her mouth. She was quite mad. A shaman from the dead succeeded in curing her, or it may have been in restoring her to life, and she was able to tell how she had seen what she took to be a man with face averted. She

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shaman pours the grease on the central fire, and throws on it also the figures and some dried salmon. Thus propitiated, it is believed that the dead will be more likely to allow the sick-soul to be sucked forth.

Shamans from the dead perform conjuring feats and dramatic performances of the same type as ordinary shamans. Until he gives his first dance a newly crowned shaman is known as a *lux*, the same word that is used for a *dacier* initiate, and during this period he wears the shaman's collar of interwoven dyed and undyed cedar-bark. If he is wealthy and influential, a shaman will repeat his dance every fourth year. Such a performance can be held at any season, although the usual time is after the *dacier* ceremonies. The dramatic representations are of scenes witnessed in the land below, though sometimes they are done in a reverse manner, following the practice of the dead in doing things oppositely. Thus one shaman reported that the ghosts wore very long blankets, but when he danced he wore one that came only to his hips. The method of singing is the same as that employed by ordinary shamans, but one whose power is derived from the dead dances with head bent downwards, his free hand pointing to the ground with four fingers extended. Also his cry of "*ewai, ewai, ewai,*" crowed to increase with a deep cadence, differs from that used by ordinary shamans. A dance always terminates with the distribution of food to validate the ceremony.

Like ordinary shamans, those from the dead cannot transmit their power. At death their songs too are lost, unless they choose to give them to a friend who is also a shaman from the dead. This is obviously contrary to the theoretical belief that all songs have been obtained during revelations, but is not at all contrary to the Bella Coola practice of having the singers assist the visionaries in "remembering" their visions.

The following tale, although drawn from the distant past, is a typical illustration of one of the many ways in which dramatic power is received from the dead.*

* For stories of similar type have been included in vol. I, [illegible] not to explain the life of the dead, and others are grouped together in the next chapter.

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The Lads Who Visited the Home of the Dead

Long ago there was a Bella Coola man who had two sons. His wife died, and presently he remarried, becoming in time the father of an infant daughter. The second wife abused her step-sons, their father neglected them, and the two were poor and miserable, their best friend a faithful dog. When the people were invited to a feast, the lads were frequently overlooked as being of no importance, and their step-mother used to upbraid them for lacking the spirit to course this insult. They could not answer, but merely hided their time. The two used to sleep on a raised platform behind the fire in hope of receiving supernatural assistance, and always left the house by a hole in the floor rather than through the door, thus observing one of the essentials for those who wish to obtain aid.

One day the two set out on an expedition into the mountains, carrying skin with which to make moccasins. As they were sitting at this work, the dog, which had followed in seeming as usual, ended off barking furiously. The brothers hurriedly finished the shoes and followed the animal in time to see it disappear into an opening after a porcupine. The elder looking, the two entered the cave which grew wider, on and on they went until finally they could see light in the distance. Guided by the barking of the dog ahead of them, they finally emerged into daylight, to find themselves in a new world, a land in which there was a large river and a sky resembling that above the earth, but different. The dog was waiting for them and had stopped barking.

The brothers set off up the river bank and presently saw on the other side a large town in which many people were moving about. The younger brother could see it plainly, but to the elder it was vague and indistinct. They called out to the people:

"Hi! Please send a canoe for us."

Though they called repeatedly, no one paid the slightest attention; the people seemed to be deaf, unaware of their presence. The two brothers remained all day opposite the village, calling out in vain without result, and all the time becoming more hungry and disgusted. Towards dusk one of them yawned widely. To their surprise there was a commotion in the town; the yawn had been heard although their cries had not. They could hear the people on the other side of the river discussing the noise.

"Let us send a canoe to fetch whoever may be over there" was the gist of their remarks.

Presently a canoe was pulled out from the farther shore, and held in position by the ferryman beneath the bank on which the brothers stood, necessitating a jump of two or three feet to reach it. As the elder prepared to leap into it, he glanced down and saw that the canoe on the

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river floor were visible through the canoe as if it had no bottom at all. He drew back in fear. Though he knew it not, they had come to the land of the dead, where horrendous crones and other phenomena were to be expected. The younger brother, to whom the village had been plainly visible, had no fear, but leapt down heavily, and was pulled across to the farther shore, where he soon disappeared from his brother's sight among the throng of villagers.

The elder youth, left alone with the dog, sat down and wept, thinking that he had indeed lost his brother. After a time he continued his journey up the river-bank where presently he saw a bridge. He eagerly went over, intending to turn back towards the village where his brother had gone, but so soon as he had crossed he lost all thought of his original purpose and continued his journey upstream instead. Presently he heard the sound of adze strokes, and drew near, cautiously, until he could see the man who was using the tool.

"Why have you come here?" the woodcutter asked.

"Oh, for no special reason," the boy replied. "I should like to see your chief."

The woodcutter guided him to the house and when near called out, "The stranger wants to see our chief."

People came rushing out of the houses and the lad realized that he had come to the land of the wolves. His guide directed him to the chief's house which he entered through a doorway cut in a totem-pole. Within, the chief greeted him in a kindly fashion, saying:

"Please sit down for a little while until I can bring some friends to play with you."

He went outside, but presently returned and led him through the door to some mouse-skins which he had spread on the ground under the totem-pole. Then he called the friends, who were four wolves. They came leaping out of the house and devoured the young man; but though his body was in four pieces inside the stomachs of the four animals, he was still conscious. After eating him, the lowers devoured the dog. Presently the wolves vomited into a dish, whereupon the chief re-formed what had been wolfish into a human being, and the lad was as before he had been eaten. Then the canoe was drawn to his dog.

The chief now beat once upon a drum as a signal for the people to adorn themselves for a dance; again he beat, and they assembled. Apparently all was ready, but the boy realized that the leader of the wolves was absent. Again and again the chief beat on the drum, until at last the missing man drew near. He carried singing:

"A lad went out with his younger brother and his dog. A porcupine caused the mountains to open for him."

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As he sang, smoke could be seen rising from behind the house; the youth could see that it came from Porcupine's fire, but the song explained that it was eagle down for their mortal guest. The singer repeated his song; more smoke ascended from another place, which the lad saw was Mountain Goat's fire. The song was sung again and again, and at each repetition new smoke could be seen, from the fires of Deer, Black Bear, Whistler, Marten, Beaver, Wolverine, in fact from all animals except Grizzly Bear. The chief explained to his guest that whenever he wanted meat he could go hunting and would be able to see the smoke rising from the fires of various animals.[9]

"Tomorrow you will return home," he continued. "Your brothers (meaning the four wolves that had eaten him) will go with you to carry some presents."

Next morning [it was really a year later] the wolves tied up gifts of smoked meat in blankets woven of goat wool and sewn blankets of whistler, black bear, and marten. The meat, though a large quantity, was reduced to so small a compass that the four animals carried it without difficulty. The five travelled back to the spot where the two brothers had sat down to make their moccasins, and at that point the wolves returned to their home.

Now for the first time the lad remembered his brother, and began to weep bitterly, thinking that he must be dead. But presently he heard the sound of footsteps inside the cave through which the porcupine had guided him; they grew nearer, until the younger boy emerged. The elder was overjoyed, but his delight was turned to dismay when he saw that his brother's face was green and haggard, with a strange expression; that he had lost all the flesh from his body, and that his clothes, the same that he had worn when they parted company, were torn to tatters. His brother's appearance affected him so much that he fell down dead. The younger lad, however, had been made a shaman by the dead, so he quickly restored his brother. They exchanged experiences; the younger saying that the dead had given him the name *Kipdes*. His appearance was vastly improved when he clad himself in a black bear blanket and two whistler cloaks brought by the other from the village of the wolves. The two returned home, entering the house secretly and lying down at once

[9] To understand this the reader must remember the firm Bella Coola belief that dead animals can assume different forms. To the ordinary person they appear as men, but in reality they lead lives resembling those of humans, having houses, fires, blankets, and other comforts. An individual who is able to see the smoke of their fires will have no difficulty in finding the homes of the animals and hence will have great success in hunting. The only one this lad was to avoid was Grizzly Bear, who was so fierce that pursuing him would be dangerous.

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on their old bed on the raised platform behind the fire. No one knew of their arrival.

Although neither the father nor the step-mother of the lads had shown them any affection when they were at home, as soon as they were lost both had been overwhelmed with grief. They lost all energy and, sunk in misery and self-recrimination, would sometimes lie for days on opposite sides of the house, not even keeping a fire alight. The other inhabitants of the village considered them beneath contempt, and often at night they would relieve themselves in the house of the sorrowing couple. The only person with any energy in the household was their daughter, now a child about five years old. On the day of her half-brothers' return she happened to throw some rubbish on the fire and, as it flared up, she saw long hair hanging down from the raised bed. She called out to her mother:

"Perhaps my brothers have come home. I see the hair hanging down."

But the mother answered: "Be quiet. Your brothers have been away for a year, we do not even know how they died."

The little girl was not satisfied. She threw more rubbish on the fire and again she saw the long pendant hair. When she told her mother the woman cried out angrily:

"Be quiet, you little liar!"

The two brothers had been listening to this dialogue, and the elder now took a mountain goat bladder filled with grease which he lowered so that it swung to and fro beneath the platform. When the little girl again threw rubbish on the fire her eye was attracted by the swinging object which she took and carried to her mother with the remark:

"My brothers must certainly have come home, see what they have brought."

Now the woman believed, and carried the bladder to her husband on the other side of the house, telling him the glad news. Together they went to the raised platform where the elder brother greeted them, but lied, saying:

"I am alone, I do not know what has happened to my younger brother."

In his delight at the return of one of his sons the father became sufficiently energetic to cut some firewood, such an unusual undertaking that some of his neighbours came to ascertain the meaning of it. He told them the news, which was passed around until the whole village knew, and all assembled in the house except those who, having polluted it, were now frightened to appear. The two brothers did not come down, and only the elder spoke to those gathered below. One malicious person tried

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to injure him by throwing on to the roof not far from his head a pad stained with menstrual blood, but *Ḱipdxs*, by means of his magical power, knew that it was there, and whispered to his brother, who passed the information to his father, so that the old man was able to remove the pad before either of his sons was injured. The elder brother told the people where he had left large supplies of meat. This they brought in with great rejoicing the next day.

Although the two brothers remained constantly concealed, rumours began to circulate that the elder was not alone. After a time it became generally known that the supposition was correct, and that the younger brother had received a shaman's power from the dead. A malicious chief made the statement that he did not believe this and cast insinuations as to why a shaman should conceal himself. *Ḱipdxs* used his power to inject sickness into the man and after a few days he died, though no one knew the cause.

Then the elder lad said, "My younger brother has told me that you should not bury the dead man too quickly. Let him try to restore him."

Some of the deceased's relatives were willing, others were not, but at last they agreed to give *Ḱipdxs* an opportunity to show his skill, and he revived the dead man without any difficulty. In his gratitude the chief gave the restorer his daughter as a wife. Not long after, another chief expressed his disbelief and again the shaman caused him to become sick. This time the people at once appealed to *Ḱipdxs* for help; this was refused, but when the man died he restored him, as he had done on the previous occasion. As before, he received a wife as a mark of gratitude. The reputation of *Ḱipdxs* was now established; many dead persons were brought to him to be restored and through the presents given to him he was able to give potlatches. Nor did he forget his elder brother, but obtained wives for him too. Meanwhile the latter was having great success in hunting and brought in so much meat that he was able to give a potlatch at which his younger brother danced and was given a name.

One evening,* not long after this time, a little girl about six years old kept crying and crying; nothing would pacify her. The parents tried to soothe her but at last the mother said:

"Let's go away and leave her, the dead will take her."

So all in the household withdrew to the bedrooms, leaving the girl weeping beside the central fire. Presently her cries grew fainter, and the mother rushed out, but her daughter had vanished. The echo were coming from beneath the ground, and they realized that it was indeed the dead who had taken the mother at her word and had seized the child. It sounded as if the girl were just beneath the surface of the ground, so the

*Cf. a similar story (I, p. 503).

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people threw resinous sticks on the fire and followed to the graveyard, where the cries led them. They took sticks and dug furiously, but could not catch up to her, for the sobs grew fainter and fainter as the child was carried below.

In their despair the parents called *Ḱipdes*.

"All right," he replied, "I will try to bring her back. Please leave me alone in my house and I will invite the dead to a feast."

He collected all the vessels with urine in them from the village and gave one to each of a number of assistants whom he stationed around the walls of his house hidden beneath the roof. Then he invited the dead, who assembled with the exception of the woman who was taking care of the little girl. After repeated invitations she too came, and took her place on the chief's seat behind the fire, with the weeping child in her arms. *Ḱipdes* gave the signal and his assistants emptied the vessels. At once the dead people became impotent and sank as heaps of bones to the floor, leaving the little girl apparently unharmed. The parents picked her up eagerly and the bones were swept out to the graveyard.

The child kept crying out for salmon-berries, which were unprocurable, as it was winter. So the parents appealed again to *Ḱipdes*, who understood that what she wanted were snowberries, which are as salmon-berries to the dead, in whose land she must have eaten them. She would eat nothing else and, as they are not nutritious, she soon died, nor could she again be restored to life.

* A similar version omits any mention of a step-mother as the reason for the boys leaving home, and simply begins with their following the dog into a cleft of the mountains. The dead, after receiving the younger boy as in the preceding tale, try to make him eat "cranberries," which are in reality the eyes of corpses. Meanwhile, the elder youth encounters the wolves, but in this case is given instructions about entering their house, whereby he escapes being eaten and is greeted cordially and granted a boon before leaving. This is the ability to gain a desire by merely wishing for it. It is by exercising this power that he meets his long-lost brother. In this account the younger boy's name received from the dead is *Ḱdyskimut*, and Death, *Sa-lma*, gives him a stick with which to lift him from his position on the lid of a coffin. In the end *Sa-lma*, his patron, recalls the young shaman to himself. This version, which is the more abbreviated of the two, makes no allusion to the attempted rescue of a child from the land of ghosts.

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Direct Revelations from the Supreme God

As has been noted, a shaman receives his power from one or other supernatural being, not from the supreme god, *Ālquntām*, himself. Yet instances are known to the Bella Coola of such benefactions, and to a visionary so endowed the term *snāyom* is applied. In every case a revelation of this type is considered to have taken place comparatively recently. In view of the manner in which biblical tales, introduced by Europeans, have spread from tribe to tribe in distorted form, it is not improbable that all such examples of the direct appearance of the supreme being can be traced to this source. Having heard from the white man of cases where the deity has appeared to men, the Indians would be only too ready and willing to accept and transmit such a tale, since it belongs to their general culture pattern. In the example here given, the instructions about dissemination of the knowledge imparted in the vision, as well as the claimed foreknowledge of European houses, strongly suggests a post-white man origin. Further, once the concept of the possible appearance of the supreme god is accepted—and no Bella Coola would question the accuracy of accounts heard from others—it would be a simple matter to attribute the powers of very strong shamans to this source. Accordingly, several typical shaman stories have been included in this section because it is claimed that the principal characters in each was a *snāyom*; it is highly probable, however, that if such a tale could have been collected when the whites first reached British Columbia, he would have appeared as nothing more than a shaman.

A *Snāyom*

A man whose home was on the lower Fraser was once cooking fish with hot stones in a box. To do this properly he needed four sets of heaters; when the food was nearly ready and he was dropping one of the fourth collection of stones into the box, the tongs, weakened by much hard usage, broke. The stone fell into the boiling water with a splash, severely burning the man, who, as it was salmon time, wore no clothing.

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Even in his pain he thought of the way in which human beings are less protected than beasts and this idea troubled him so much that he fainted. *Alqantem* saw that the man was distressed and while he was still unconscious appeared to him, saying:

"I see you are worried about your lack of clothing. I have a message for you. Strange people, somewhat resembling yourselves, are approaching from the far east. They will help you out of your plight. You will find them cooking without the cumbersome boiling box; their houses will be warm and they will even have smooth coverings to their floors; there will be special places for sleeping and wonderful cooking-pots. Though all be warm in these houses, yet the fire will be invisible."

As a result of this vision the man became a *snāxom*. In the autumn he moved toward the coast and built for himself a house of special type with a raised sleeping platform in it, reached by a ladder.

Alqantem had told him to transmit his message to other tribes, and for this purpose he travelled to the sites of Seattle, Comox, and Nanaimo, telling what he had heard in his trance. He further said that the newcomers would wear clothing, leaving only hands, feet, and faces exposed. This, too, he had learnt from the vision, also that the strangers would arrive during the generation of his hearers.

His fellow tribesmen used to eat large quantities of clams, which could be gathered only at the time of full-moon or new-moon, when the far-receding tide exposed a great expanse of clam-bed. The people decided to test his power by asking him if he could not gather the shell-fish at a time when the tide was medium and the beds covered. The visionary was on his platform in the upper part of his house, but without raising his head, he said:

"You, get ready; I will join you immediately."

He descended, passed through the doubting crowd which made way for him, and went to the ocean, with eyes tightly closed. Arrived at the water, he lowered his hand to feel it, then carefully put his foot under the surface, as if it were a mat. He advanced with short steps, going through the motions of one who rolls something back with his feet, and as he did so the water piled up as if it had been a mat, exposing the clam-bed. When he felt sands under his feet he knew that the outer edge of the bed was reached and accordingly stopped, turned his back to the sea, which was now high as a wall, and held it back, without becoming wet. He called to his tribesmen who came and gathered the clams, though some looked doubtfully at the wall of water behind them. When all who wished had done so, he ordered them to leave and returned towards the shore himself; the water following him, became normal and recovered its former area.

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177 The details of this incident are sufficiently circumstantial
* 756 to presuppose a distorted historical event. Moreover, many
* 787 of the old people had heard of the incident, another indication
of the accuracy of the tradition. As far as could be judged,
[539] news of the vision must have reached Bella Coola about the
year 1800.[11] It is said that the *snāxom* sang the following song
[533] in a language unknown to any of his hearers: *Aqwimıcu aqwimıcu sisils axwamıc qwisiya*.[12] None of the older men appear to have any idea of the meaning of these words, or even of the language to which they belong.

No event has had such profound effect on the lives of the Indians of British Columbia as the coming of the white man. It would be surprising if, looking backwards, they did not feel that it had been foretold by prophets. The preceding story is the only Bella Coola example of such a belief, although tales of a similar kind are found widely throughout the province. In addition, there are a few traditions of prophecies fulfilled by the white man. One of these is that long, long ago, a shaman stated that in the future the dead would return with the ability to make fire by rubbing the end of a small twig along a rough surface, and that, soon after, all the Indians would die. The Bella Coola consider that matches are referred to in the first part of the statement, and read their own doom

[174] [11]The approximate date was determined in the following manner: The most complete account of the event was obtained from a man fifty-six years old in 1924 who had heard the details from his mother. He was the youngest of a large family, so it is probable that his mother was about forty-five years of age when he was born. When a child of about ten, she had been told of the vision by a woman just passed the age of child-bearing, who had recently reached adolescence when news of the event reached Bella Coola. The figures can be arranged in tabular form.

Duration of the informant's life	56 years.
Interval between his birth and the time his mother heard the news	35 years.
Interval between transmission of the news to the informant's mother and its receipt in Bella Coola	35 years.
Total	126 years.

Allowing for exaggerations, this would make the correct date about 1800.

[12] [126] A phonograph record was made of this song for the National Museum of Canada. Recorded as song VII D 21b; singer, Jim Pollard.

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in the second, as indicated by their diminished population. It is also said that about 1850, when a party of Bella Coola had camped for the night near Ocean Falls, one of the sleepers wakened his comrades by calling on them to look at the brilliant lights. No one then understood what he meant, but the meaning has become clear since the installation of electric lights in the town. 177 756* 787*

In addition to the preceding, a number of stories of the regular shaman type were collected, in which, however, the principal figure is said to have been a *snäxom*. They are included in this section for the reasons already mentioned. 539 ● 756* 787*

A POTENTIAL *Snaxom*

The mother of an elderly Bella Coola used to receive direct communications from *Ālquntäm* which gave her the necessary qualifications for a *snäxom*, though she did not wish to exercise her power. She was able to see over the whole earth, and to talk to sun, moon, and stars in a language which the other Bella Coola did not understand. She built a small house for herself in the woods where she usually slept alone; sometimes her husband joined her, but he was always afraid of the gigantic toads and other monsters that were her companions.

THE WOMAN WHO COULD CALL THUNDER

About one hundred years ago there was living in a village at the mouth of the Dean River, a man, *urwinxdla*, and his wife, *Snuqwaix*. He was a famous hunter who frequently observed ceremonial chastity and his wife claimed to be a shaman, but the inhabitants of the villages on both the Dean and Kimsquit rivers doubted this, as did also those living in the lower Bella Coola valley. *Snuqwaix* was so boastful and disagreeable that at last the chiefs held a meeting and went one day to her house, where they told her that if she failed to give a satisfactory demonstration of her powers she would be killed.[11] Some were ashamed to doubt her word, but the concensus of opinion was that she should prove her claims, so they all sat down in her house and waited. She looked around and selected one man, *Kuskual*, without apparent reason, and told him that he was to

[11] Such power on the part of chiefs is most unusual and, though it was related without comment by the narrator, should not be regarded as historically correct. [622]

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summon Thunder for her. The spectators began to beat time while she danced sunwise. After some time she told *Kuɪlkuɪl* to call Thunder, telling him what to say, and to address this supernatural being by his shaman's name, *Xwinxwitsakumlaix*, instead of the usual *Saiutl*. *Kuɪlkuɪl* did as she bade him. Then the spectators again beat time, and again she danced, and for the second time her helper called to *Xwinxwitsakumlaix*. A third time the performance was repeated and after *Kuɪlkuɪl* had called she said to him:

"You have reached him, he is looking back towards us."

Some of the spectators began to be frightened. After the fourth time of dancing and calling, a violent peal of thunder was heard, and all believed her. Then she stood up and stated that she had learnt a song from *Ālqunūm*, who had given her power in a dream. She taught the singers the following words:

"Our father is *Ālqunūm* who is going to look after us."

After this she told the people to go to the river, throw water over their heads, and pray to *Ālqunūm* to help them.

Next day she announced that she was going to a village on the Dean River to give a demonstration of her powers to convince the sceptics, and that she would like a number of the Kimsquit River people to accompany her. Some were unwilling, because they thought that if she were unsuccessful they would be held up to scorn, but *Snufnaix* assured them that if she failed she would commit suicide, so they consented to go with her. Arrived at the Dean River village, all the inhabitants gathered to meet her in the house of one of the principal chiefs. She danced as she had done in her own house, four times, and after each dance *Kuɪlkuɪl* summoned *Xwinxwitsakumlaix* on her behalf. After the fourth calling there was a violent peal of thunder, which convinced all of her power. She likewise taught them the tune that she had learnt in her dream from *Ālqunūm*.

After this second demonstration *Snufnaix* asked some of her fellow villagers to accompany her to Bella Coola. Again they were afraid, especially as it was November when thunder is most unusual in British Columbia, but she quieted their fears and they set out with her. On reaching *Kumqo·ts* she went to the house of a chief, where the inhabitants both of that village and neighbouring ones soon gathered to greet her in such numbers that many had to remain outside. The shamaness danced as she had done on the previous occasions, and as before *Kuɪlkuɪl* called to *Xwinxwitsakumlaix*:

"Your comrade wants you."

Immediately after the fourth summons there was a violent peal of thunder, and those Bella Coola who had been uncertain of her power were

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convinced. She taught them the tune that she had obtained in her dream and for eight days remained in the vicinity, carrying out the instructions of *Ālqunūm* by healing the sick. She was able to cure a patient by merely looking at him, and pressing the place where the pain was situated. It was universally agreed that she had justified her claims to shamanism; the coming of Thunder three times could be no accident. *Ālqunūm* had given her the power and designated Thunder as the particular supernatural being to bring it to her. From him she received the name, *Xwinxwitsakmlaix*.

When *Snuqwaix* returned home to Kimsquit, she told her husband that he must never again hold intercourse with her or she would die. This is in accordance with an old tradition; at her suggestion they continued to live together, and he strictly obeyed her command for one year. Then he disobeyed it and she died immediately.

A KIMSQUIT *Snāyom*

A Kimsquit woman, *Kusiyat*, claimed to be a *snāyom*, but the Bella Coola were unconvinced. On one occasion she, and a large number of Kimsquit people, came to Bella Coola where they were entertained in the house of *Pstlas*; guests from the whole valley came there to see her and a doubter asked her to show her power. *Kusiyat* complied with the request.

"I want a man with a strong wash-basin," she said.

When she had chosen her assistant she said to him:

"You shall be my medium. The people have asked for an exhibition of my skill, and I want you to repeat to the powers above what I tell you."

She said something to him, which he repeated. *Kusiyat* laughed.

"That is good. They are moving," she remarked, "speak to them again."

He repeated her words a second, third, and fourth time at her bidding. Then she said to the spectators:

"Hide all the small children under the blankets."

Some were impressed and did as she had ordered, but others were sceptical and refrained. There came a crash and a blinding light, whereupon those who had neglected to cover their children hastily did so. A second, third, and fourth peal of thunder succeeded the first until the house boards rattled. Then she said to the doubter:

"What manifestation would you like, the powers are ready!"

"That is enough," he answered tersely, whereat everyone laughed.

Kusiyat dismissed her mouthpiece and the meeting broke up. Next winter the smallpox reached Kimsquit, claiming among its other victims

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* 756 a boy who was dearly loved by his father. The latter, thinking that
* 787 *Kasiyat* was responsible for his son's death, killed her and was slain in
● 539 revenge. Because of the doubts thrown by the Bella Coola on *Kasiyat*'s power and revelation her fame did not spread widely.

Power Localized in Certain Spots

778 To the Bella Coola every supernatural being is, or should
[776] be, able to move, in fact many of them can travel with phe-
[773] nomenal rapidity. But, in the beginning of time, when *Ałquntēm* was populating the earth, he sent down certain creatures which were later turned to stone, thereby localizing their power. The term for a place where this happened is *smā·tl*, which can be translated with accuracy as, "A Locality Where Power has Become Petrified." It follows that anyone desirous of coming in contact with supernatural power of this type can do so by visiting the spot where it is situated. There
[773] are not many of these places, nor do they figure prominently in Bella Coola mythology, and, as usual, there are many contradictions in the accounts. Apparently there is a tendency to ascribe the occurrence of peculiar experiences to localities where power is petrified. The following are the more important spots of this type, with a short account of the specific attributes of each.

773 (1) *Smaiew·a*, also called *Skałkwaily*: At the head of the
778 Clearwater, one of the sources of the Bella Coola River, and
539 the place from which comes the warm east wind.

Concerning the origin of the power in this spot the following tale, which is regarded as very ancient, was obtained.

Long, long ago, the ocean spread far to the east, covering the whole Bella Coola valley.[14] The shoreline of the ocean was at the village *Skałkwaily*, so called from a chief of that name living there. Mount *Xłłwał*, which is now several miles inland, was then a point around which surged dangerous

[14] It is mentioned that the world was unpopulated at that time, though mention is made of people who were living there. This does not strike the Bella Coola as a contradiction; the accuracy of an ancient story is never questioned, hence it is taken for granted that "people" in the modern sense, were not then in existence.

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currents, and where there was always much wind, making it feared by mariners in those distant days. Tradition does not state what being drove back the ocean to its present position; it may have been Raven who made the Bella Coola valley habitable. 773 778 539

Once a war party from the north swooped down to attack *Sluxlekwailx*'s town. Although the chief's herald, who was stationed a mile below the settlement, called out a warning, the raiders were successful and carried off a number of slaves. *Sluxlekwailx* could not bear to think of his people as captives and accordingly exerted his miraculous power to turn the whole place to stone. Houses, raiders, captives, canoes with their carvings, and paddles can still be seen there, all petrified. They have become *smä·tl*.

According to another account, *Sluxlekwailx* exerted his powers to petrify the canoes and the bodies of his enemies before they reached his village. He asked the paddlers whither they were bound, and when they told him he, or the mountain which he later became, for there is a confusion between the two, invited them to land. On so doing they were changed to stone, and in this form can still be seen, complete even to the paddles, a proof that the ocean once extended far to the east of its present limit. Many Bella Coola have heard of these canoes, and they are said to have been seen recently.

Since that time the power animating the place has frequently become visible in the form of an enormous snake. There, too, are to be found countless smaller ones, a constant menace to the unwary. The following incidents describe the adventures of people passing near this spot: 778 539 [787]

The trail to the interior makes a detour to avoid *Sluxlekwailx*, but sometimes one of the reptiles, many of which are enormous, will be found lying across the track. If the traveller is bold and jumps over it, no harm will come to him, but if he should try to avoid it by going around, the single snake will increase to a multitude. Not only material objects, but the

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intelligence of *Sluxlekwailx* has become petrified there and resents any slights.

Four men were once passing the spot on their way to the interior when one of them, in bravado, pushed with his stick against the stones which once had been the houses of the village, saying as he did so:

"*Sluxlekwailx*, petrify us if you can, we are not afraid of you."

When he drew up his stick it was covered with small snakes; more appeared from everywhere and swarmed over the four like ants. They started to run, but three of them were crushed beneath the swarming creatures and nothing was ever seen of them. The fourth man drew his knife and with it slit his clothing, thus dislodging most of the snakes, and, naked, he was able to run away. He succeeded in reaching some people to whom he told the fate of his companions, but soon his stomach began to swell and he died. Snakes had entered his body and his case had been hopeless from the start.

On another occasion four girls had just climbed a steep and difficult trail behind the *smā·tl* to avoid passing through the place itself. On reaching the level land above, one of them called out:

"*Sluxlekwailx*, I am glad to be safely past you."

But the jealous *Sluxlekwailx* heard her. He sent a gale, the ground rocked, trees were torn and broken, and three of the girls were swept away to their death. One only escaped by wrapping herself around the bole of a tree.

Another time four Carriers on their way to the coast passed a boulder on the shore of a pool which is at *Sluxlekwailx*. Although aware of the power petrified there, they derided it by thrusting poles below the rock and asking it why it did not show its strength by taking revenge for the insults they offered it. When they pulled out the sticks they were covered with snakes, and more appeared from the trees and roots in the vicinity. The Carriers fled, pursued by them, and after running all day, managed to make their escape at dusk.

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The place is still allegedly characterized by these reptiles; a recent visitor found the branches of the trees like snakes, and the very roots were in the form of them. The rocks in the vicinity are full of grooves like those made by snakes crawling through soft clay, and the whole neighbourhood reeks with their odour. 778 539

(2) *Pe-lsb*, Mesatche Nose: The point between North Bentinck Arm and Labouchere Channel. 778

Here is found a *snaxy*, one of the most powerful localized beings, a creature comprising only a head and an arm with a mouth in the palm. The head can be seen in rock on the point not far above the waterline, but the giant arm rests far beneath the surface. At times the *snaxy* bends its elbow so that the fist can support the head, as if the creature were pondering. On such occasions the upper part of the arm remains concealed below the water, while there is a gap about twenty-five yards in width between the upraised lower part and the rocky shore beneath the animal's head. A canoe can pass in safety through this, narrow though the channel is; but if it should take a course on the outer side of the arm the latter will crash down on the helpless craft, crushing it to splinters and driving these far beneath the surface. There has never been a survivor from such a catastrophe. The last time the arm was raised was about seventy years ago when a war party was returning to the north after raiding *Tāl ie*. They knew the necessity of taking the inner channel, so escaped unharmed, though they actually handled the mighty upraised limb. The Bella Coola firmly believe that the *snaxy* will some day lift its arm again, and will crush the steamer that carries mail and passengers up the coast. 796

It was only a few hundred years ago that a certain Bella Bella learnt of the respect with which the other supernatural beings regard the *snaxy* of Mesatche Nose. The canoe in which this man was travelling was sucked down beneath the ocean, but *Qomayne* admitted him as a guest to his house. The chief had invited all the underwater supernatural beings to a pot- 778 539

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778 latch, and the only vacant spot was the central seat behind the fire. Retainer after retainer was sent after someone, until
● 539 finally the wondering human heard a steady thump, thump, approaching. It was the Mesatche Nose *swaxy*, travelling on his single arm, like a looper caterpillar, his head balanced precariously on top while the thump came every time that he brought his fist to the floor. On his entry, the paintings of fish and marine animals, with which the walls and boxes were covered, came to life and cavorted around as if mad, but when the chief took his seat behind the fire they returned to their pictorial form. From this experience the Bella Bella man obtained a *nsaak* name and myth.

778 (3) The Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel where the mysterious power is that of a snake.

(4) A ledge of rock projecting over the water at a point on the west side of Dean Channel about nine miles below Kimsquit.

(5) *Ełsqulex*: On the south side of Burke Channel, a few miles above Kwatna Inlet.

(6) *Swawali*: On South Bentinck Arm, at a spot where the water penetrates far under a ledge of rock.

(7) *Nakilł-ata*: On the east side of South Bentinck Arm, where an enormous spider has been changed to stone. The many colours of its body can be plainly seen amid the numerous holes in the vicinity.

(8) The Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.

778 (9) Mount *Nusqalst*, the highest mountain in the Bella
539 Coola valley, belongs to the same category, since in the
823 beginning of time it was a man.
109 He, *Nusalxwtił*, (which means "Too Heavy" in the sense of "so important") came to earth from above at Cape Mudge and decided to visit Bella Coola. He stalked through the land to the site of the present Mount *Nusqalst*, wearing a high hat around which crowded two snakes whose heads often crossed. From where he stood, he saw the lofty mountain *Łqaic* in the Carrier country, and resolved to visit it. At that distant period this peak was a human being and from him *Nusalxwtił*

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obtained two wives, the name of one being *Ṫlsla*. He returned to Bella Coola with them. 778

Nänalskwitl knew that presently he was fated to become immobile, a seat of petrified power. Since he was able to select where this was to be, he chose the site of Mount *Nazqalst*, midway in the Bella Coola valley, as a convenient place to overlook the doings of men. Before he transformed himself into this mountain, he determined that he would have people visit him; accordingly he changed his axe, *Nazhmidjusta*, which he carried concealed beneath his blanket, into *sqalst*, a stone much used for axes and adzes. Until the introduction of white man's tools his wish was gratified; people came from far and near to obtain the necessary material. 530 823 103 [316]

The human origin of the mountain is still remembered, since it is often spoken of by its chiefly names, *Nänalskwitl* and *Ṫlsla*, relics of its existence as a man. This story is regarded as an origin myth, and as such might have been included in vol. I, chap. vi.

This mountain is regarded with awe by the Bella Coola on account of its great height, but it seems to lack most of the characteristics ascribed to other places where power has been petrified.

(10) On one of the mountains above Cascade Inlet there used to be a stone eagle with outstretched wings which came to this earth with the first people, but was petrified one day when drying its wings after fishing. About 1860 part of its beak fell away. A change in the condition of any of these places had long been regarded as an omen of misfortune, so the epidemic of smallpox that soon after ravaged the coast was not unexpected. 778 [164] [787] *

(11) *Ätsmoo*: An unidentified spot where a *snuuq* of the mountain was petrified. At this place there is a small pool which is the repository (II, p. 8) of a certain *kasiut* dancer.

(12) *uxpalam*, "The Walker," the name both of a supernatural being and the spot where it is localized. This is not far from the glacier that lies near the junction of the trails from *Swaloli* and *Tälio*; it is the largest one in the vicinity of Bella Coola and is said to move its position. The being is in some way connected with it, hence the name. [776]

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ceremonial chastity. This state is pleasing to supernatural beings, who otherwise are likely to punish one trespassing on their haunts. The Bella Coola have not clearly formulated their beliefs with regard to these places, consequently the experiences of one individual are usually quite different from those of another, a circumstance regarded as quite natural on the assumption that the supernatural beings are able to manifest themselves in many ways.

Sterkwaily and the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel are the places that figure most commonly in mythology. At the former is *Sterkwaily*'s chamber-vessel, a pool always full of clear water though not fed by any spring. If a person suffering from the virulent skin disease known as *tlokoly* swims in it, drinks some of the water, and then vomits, he will recover.

Not only the pond itself, but the whole neighbourhood, is the seat of mysterious power, as the following tale describes.

Near the western end of the pool there is a rock from which long ago three men dived and failed to return. A sick man decided to do the same and leapt in, feet first, wearing around his chest some dyed cedar-bark. He plunged through the water and found that he was standing on the roof of a house; he walked around it, then returned to the surface, and back to his starting point. He dived three times more, and when he emerged for the fourth time his sickness had left him. He returned to Bella Coola and told of his experience. Since that time sick people have been carried to the pool, and have dived in from the same rock, always feet first, and always wearing dyed cedar-bark. All are able to feel the roof of the house, and are cured by the immersion.

The trail used by the Carrier Indians when raiding the coastal tribes passed by this lake, and on one occasion the Bella Coola, bent on retaliation, used the same path and paused to rest on the shore. They all bathed in the pool and asked help from the power there localized, then as they lay on the grass drying their long hair in the sunshine, a house emerged. Slowly it floated upwards, filling the whole area formerly occu-

[778] pied by the water, and came to rest when it had risen to the
* [787] usual height of a house. As each of the spectators gazed upon
* 539 it he saw within that on which his own mind was centered. As
it were in perspective he visualized his whole life, both past
and future. One man saw the slaying of an enemy, another
a potlatch with himself in the role of donor, another his chil-
dren, and a unusual individual saw a man and woman in the
usual act. To each it appeared that the house contained only
one image. Then slowly the house sank into the depths. The
party went on and had great success, killing their enemies, who
were powerless before them, without the loss of a single Bella
Coola. It was this house which the sick people felt with their
[759] feet; the sight of it had given the warriors phenomenal ability.

[778] Another seat of power is near the western end of the lake
* [787] where the trail passes between two piles of dark red rocks that
rise to a height of three or four feet. Each is roughly squared
like a brick with dimensions of approximately 8 by 6 by 6
inches. The lumps are not regular, and yet form a distinct
cairn. If a person by wishes to ascertain the length of his life,
he takes a stick and shows out one of the stones, which falls
far down the hillside; if he can do so without disturbing the
rest, he will have long life, but should fate decree for him a
short one, the whole pile falls in disorder. Another sign of long
life is when the stone sways back and forth, emitting a squeak-
ing sound like the leather in a new shoe, so he endeavours to
poke out one of the rocks of which it is composed. On the
traveller's return from the interior the lump has always re-
turned to original shape, though no one has ever seen one of
the stones being picked up by human agency.

[778] Sick people also derive benefit from immersion in the Hot
[765] Springs on Labouchere Channel. The following account was
obtained from a man who himself underwent treatment there.

539 When a young man he had been initiated into the Raven
[778] society as a Breaker (II, p. 123) and as such wore a bear-skin
cloak. His relatives were wealthy and advised him to keep
his role, saying that they would make it possible for him to

dance again in eight years. Four years later, one of his fellow-villagers offered him five skins for the one which he had used, and, when this was declined, the number was raised to ten, then to fifteen, and finally to twenty-one bear-skins. As there was no particular value in the mantle itself, the owner became suspicious and asked advice from his mother who admonished him not to sell, in view of the time when he would want it. Accordingly, he did not accept the offer, but when it was increased to twenty-five skins he did so. He did not know that the purchaser's desire for it was to enable him to injure the seller by magic through the acquisition of his personal possession.

The sale took place in April, and the following December the former owner became crippled with a disease which so weakened his back that he could hardly raise himself from the ground. When the sickness had lasted for one year, his friends carried him away to the Hot Springs on Lakeselchem Channel.

It was known that if a person were left night and day in the spring, unclothed himself with hemlock boughs, to whom was given such power by a supernatural being that, like a demon of old, he could kill at sight by means of a stick. Many of this man's relatives had been killed by such sticks of their access in giving protection, so it was feared that he might wish to continue if he gained such power. To prevent this, he was removed from the spring at night. On the first day as he lay on a mat in the warm water, there appeared on a far ocean a diminutive man, about two feet tall, resembling a Bella Coola savage for a short tail. It was probably a dogfish, such as his first ancestor had obtained (I, p. 600). The little creature ran around the ocean, when it returned to the starting point it stopped and was joined by a second one of the same kind. The two circled the ocean three times, at each occasion stopping at the starting point; they then vanished. The next day while the patient lay in the ocean he heard from within the mountain four beats of a drum and a sound as if a large number of people were talking and calling together, though he

could not distinguish any actual words. This sound, to be followed by the hissing sound of escaping steam, the water became so unbearably hot that, crippled though he was, he managed to crawl out. His courage soon revived, so, wrapping his head in his blanket, he returned to the spring. The water was still unpleasantly hot on his body and legs, but the covering protected his head. The same phenomenon occurred on the two following days. Four days later he was well enough to walk and was brought home. During his sojourn he saw supernatural beings, and is still hoping for a further revelation that will make him a shaman. He believes that this would have been granted to him if his friends had allowed him to remain in the spring overnight.

During the four days of his immersion he ate nothing, and his only nourishment was a little mountain goat grease which he did not swallow but kept in the right side of his mouth. After each bath he scrubbed himself with hemlock boughs. In all such cases, he was kept by observed continence and refrained from eating unwholesome salmon. Failure to observe these rules would have caused his death.*

According to another account the creature that visits a patient lying in the Hot Springs is a *tekkel*. As already described, it is a hairless animal, about as large as a small mouse, with legs so short that its belly almost scrapes the ground, no tail, and a large head with glassy-like eyes. The whole appearance suggests an enormous walking snake. This animal approaches the sick person, so he has as a fire escape* in the spring and takes a bite from wherever the sick man is situated. No wound can afterwards be seen, but the sickness is carried away with the bitten. If the patient should lack courage and endeavour to escape he would soon die.

Cases of these attacks of the same or similar nature have been observed about forty miles up the Bula Coda valley.

* See vol. 1, p. 400 for further cases of this treatment.
* There are two of them, one used by men and the by women.

[illegible] 776
[illegible] 787
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itself up to be by withstanding the crushing weight of stone and earth. An old Kimsquit man expressed the firm conviction that his great age was the result of this treatment soon after birth. 789 156 816 [824]

To Counteract Impervious ness to Cold

Kill a water ouzel, warm it at a fire, then press it against every part of the infant's body. This makes him as heedless of cold water as the bird. A merganser may be used in the same way, or the foot of one be placed in the child's hand and pressed while fingers clutch it. 789 825 156

To Cause Quarrelsome Disposition

Burn the nest of wasps and rub the ashes on the infant's face. He will become as bellicose and quick to resent injury as the insects. One old man who habitually beats his wife explains that this is involuntary, since he was treated in this way when a child. Fighting is no longer allowed, so the only person on whom he can exercise his martial ardour is his wife. The woman regards the treatment as a matter of course and the reason is accepted as valid by her associates. [155]

To Counteract in Thieving

Kill a jack-rat, warm it at a fire, and rub the carcass lightly over the infant's body. This will make him as successful a thief as the animal. Other methods are to cut off a foot and put this in the infant clutches it in his fingers, or to rub its hands with the ashes of a burnt rat.

To Counteract in Singing

Catch a live robin or *cmamamanh* (probably one of the thrushes) warm it at a fire, and rub it lightly against the infant's throat, saying: 533 789 825 156

"Maybe he a singer like you."

Then release the bird, and the child will grow up a songster. The following story is told of the power of the *cmamamanh*'s song: [539]

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538 In the beginning of time is used to sing.

789 "I shall use a spoon and eat when the Bella Coola River has burst its bounds on account of the incoming salmon in it."

825 The people used to laugh as it repeated this song year after year, until the bird changed its note:

856 "I shall use a spoon and eat when all is cold and clear. Then there will be Death instead of salmon in Bella Coola."

[534] The next year the streams were so clear that no fish could be caught and the starving people asked the bird to return to its first song. When it did so, the water became murky so that it was possible to catch salmon once more.

The Bella Bella, not the Bella Coola, use the body of a blue jay to cause an infant to grow up with the ability to master difficult tunes in the same way that the bird has a variety of notes. The method of applying this medicine could not be learnt.

789 Most of the above medicines are well known and can be applied by any parent. If, however, a man has employed one 856 of them successfully on a number of occasions, he is often requested to use his ability for others. In such a case, the father of the benefited child is expected to reimburse his friend. [784] The application or non-application of such medicines is purely the concern of the child's family; they can use as many as they like, or none at all, according to their discretion.

The following medicines are used during the first year of life:

304 *To Cause Beauty*

789 Bandages of the softest undyed cedar-bark are prepared for 856 infants of both sexes soon after birth. A woman who is a good 532 artist is requested to draw with charcoal two pictures on one of the pieces of bark—of handsome men if the child is a boy, or of lovely women if a girl. An unmarked wrapping is fastened round the infant's head, then the painted one so arranged that one picture is over the forehead, the other over the occiput, and finally other plain bandages to cover the whole. These are left in place for about one year. They flatten the forehead

[826]

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754 drink water. This washed the sickness down into his own stomach, which rotted away so that he died. Recovery of their chicken saved the Christians from injury on this occasion.

Although the Bella Coola suspect that several of their tribesmen are sorcerers, their work is so carefully concealed that it is naturally difficult to obtain evidence against them. A few years ago, however, the two daughters of a *Tlö'ix* man were searching for a calf lost by their father when they found a coal-oil can half hidden in a bush near the pasture fence. They poured into it, and were shocked to find a decayed human leg. They hurried home to their father, who investigated and found that it was the portion from knee to ankle, and that it was partly covered by a sock made for himself by his wife. This so terrified him that he took the find to the Indian Agent, who is believed still to have it. The finder was convinced that the deaths of several of his children must have been caused by earlier activities of the same, or another sorcerer. He suspected another *Tlö'ix* man who had cleared a small farm in the vicinity, and who asked the two girls whether they had found a jam-tin near the place where the leg had been discovered.

The Bella Coola agree that sorcerers were more powerful in early times than at present, and recount a number of stories describing their activities. The following examples require no further explanation and clearly illustrate their beliefs.

A BELLA BELLA SORCERER

539 754 Not many years ago, in a Bella Bella bad boy dancing, he saw a man approaching him with a stick to one end of which was fastened a tuft of cedar-bark. He quickly realized that it must be a sorcerer who had come to collect some of his exhaled breath as a personal possession, as he pretended to be asleep. The villain came nearer, held the sponge-like bark before the sleeper's face for a moment, and then stole away. He did not know that his intended victim was following him. The sorcerer entered his house, cautiously drew out a human leg bone and tied the tuft of bark to it; then, satisfied by the strain, he went to sleep. This was the victim's opportunity. He crept into the house, took another piece of bark, held it before the sleeper's face, removed the one stained

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with his own breath, and replaced it with that containing the sorcerer's.

Before dawn the next morning, the sorcerer, ignorant of the substitution, took the bone and left the house. The youth had been watching and followed him to the edge of the sea, where he laid his bundle in a hole in the rocks through which the rising tide was sending up a miniature water-spout. The sorcerer went away at once, giving the lad an opportunity to remove the bone and secrete it in another cavity. He knew that the wicked man would soon become ill and would suspect that someone had tampered with the bone. So it proved. As the water whirled the bark containing his exhaled breath, the sorcerer began to feel light-headed and rushed off to the hole in the rocks. Meanwhile the invented victim had summoned his neighbours to watch what might transpire. The men searched frantically, but of course could not find the bone, so, as the water rose and covered the bark, he was impelled to plunge repeatedly beneath the surge, until he was drowned.

THE OUTWITTING OF A SORCERER

Over one hundred years ago there was living in *Qwaqa* is a powerful chief who owned a salmon-weir. Though an expert fisherman himself, he relied to a great extent on the assistance of a commoner who was still more efficient. One summer this man died suddenly. Immediately after the funeral, the chief cancelled his trap, removed the fish, and returned home, physically weary from his labour and more than ever regretting the loss of his assistant. For some season he could win sleep, so, after waiting for an hour or more, he decided to gather firewood. There was a low-rising full moon, so he had no difficulty in seeing his road as he climbed the small mountain behind the village, carrying only an axe with him. He had cut a bundle and was ready to return when he heard a groaning sound as though someone with a heavy burden were climbing the slope. Peering down his hill, he hid himself in such a position that clear moonlight shone upon the path. After waiting a few minutes, he saw a figure approaching; it was *Dwqanah*, a local shaman, carrying a coffin upon his back. Now thoroughly suspicious, the chief decided to follow, crouching to his axe for protection.

Dwqanah passed over the crest, descended the other side, and then ascended the slope of the mountain on the sea, in long sequence to hide his course. The chief had no difficulty in following him unobserved, and finally watched his conspiring guide put down the coffin and clear away the brush-wood. He seemed to be lifting something, which was followed by a groaning sound as if a large stone was being dragged across another; then he disappeared from sight and the chief realized that *Dwqanah* had

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NES DeDecorie NES

descended into an underground house of which the combination door and smoke-vent had been covered with moss and small sticks.

The chief crawled to the entrance and looked within. Round the walls were ranged the corpses of all those who had died recently in the village, and Dogmed was removing the body of the expert fakeman from its coffin. He put it in line with the others and put on a dance-apron decorated with human finger and toe nails. Then he began to dance, at the same time pressing the lever of a mechanical contrivance which caused the corpses to bow time with sticks and moss to hop into the air as mercurially as do living singers. It was most weird and uncanny, but after watching for a few minutes, the chief was bored to laugh. Although this was the first intimation to Dogmed that he was being observed, he betrayed no surprise and invited the laughter to come down the ladder into his house. The chief did so, and he was received in a courteous and hospitable manner by his host who frankly admitted that he was a sorcerer, and added that his corpses were just dancing to welcome the new arrival. He showed his guest everything of interest in the dwelling, including a box containing potent medicine in which was had the skin of a man's left hand. He explained that he frequently took this to the village and, if he desired to kill anyone, would place within the palm a roll of cedar-bark on which his victim had breathed, then close the fingers upon it. This caused death almost instantly. The chief, though hourly increased, never relaxed his vigilance for a moment, knowing that the sorcerer would not have been so communicative unless he had full confidence of his ability to kill his house. Towards morning, Dogmed suggested that they return home, picked up the skinned hand, and was the first to climb the ladder, intending to stun the chief when his head appeared over the surface. His partner followed close on his heels and finally, as the top of the ladder, turned the sorcerer with his hand so that he sprawled on the ground and the chief was able to emerge with safety. Unprovoked by this few fellow, Dogmed covered the sorcerer to his house so carefully that a man might have passed over it without suspecting its presence. The sorcerer warned the chief to precede him homewards, for the latter was no coward for any such subterfuge and insisted upon following close on the heels of the malefactor. They did not separate until they reached the village, where each proceeded to his own house.

Although this account is supposed to be a literal record of a comparatively recent incident, some of a supernatural type have obviously been added. The man who told the story did not seem to realize the difficulty of a mechanical contrivance to make corpses bow time, nor did it strike him that the sheet of unknown music have been adapted from the similar ceremony performed by ghosts. The whole story was related as an actual one but one of a supernatural nature.

b McDowell E-5 (922-294)1948
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The chief knew that his life was serious danger although he had 539
was the first round. Consequently instead of lying down to sleep, he 754
seated himself with his arms stretched out before him on a box and his head supported on them so that he could watch through his fingers. As he expected, Onqusuk soon came creeping in, holding a tuft of undyed cedar-bark. He made no movement, even when the sorcerer held this before his face and stole away with it when it had been breathed upon. The brave man knew that his life would be in constant danger unless he could catch his enemy and that it was his opportunity. He waited for about one hour, then quietly stored Onqusuk's house where the sorcerer was sleeping peacefully, thinking that all danger was over, and the bear-skin was lying in place upon a box. The chief stealthily took a tuft of cedar-bark, held it before a sleeper's nose till it was impregnated with his breath, and then placed it within the skin from which he withdrew the piece already there. Having accomplished his purpose, he returned home without disturbing a sleeper.

The chief knew that Onqusuk would wash the following morning if he intended to kill, so he remained awake and was watching the sorcerer's house before daybreak. As he expected, the malefactor presently appeared, carrying his chamber-vessel and went to the river. First he cleansed himself with urine and waded in up to his knees, remained for a few minutes, and came ashore again. The second time, he waded in until the water was up to his thighs; the third time, he went on till it was shoulder-deep. Sorcerers always act in this way in order that the four parts of the body shall be covered ceremonially, although no one knows why this should be done by them one. The hidden chief knew that Onqusuk would meet disaster when he bathed for the fourth time since the skin, carried beneath his arm, would then be beneath the surface for a few moments. So it happened. He dipped his head, but instead of being able to raise it, his face remained below the surface, and he remained in that position, slowly drowning. This was the fate which he had destined for the chief whom he had placed within his skinned bear, but he was unaware of the activation which, of course, re-acted upon himself.

The watcher hastily roused his neighbours who came running to the beach half-clad and rubbing their eyes. They brought ashore the corpse of the drowned man while the chief recounted all that he had seen and done during the night. As it was so was sufficiently light a number of men accompanied him to the underground house in the mountains from which the bodies were brought for and adorned by their relatives. Previous to this time, no one had reported Onqusuk of sorcery, but as soon as the discovery was made, hungry people slew all his relatives

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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except an infant daughter. She grew up, married, and was the mother of the old Bella Coola, about seventy years of age in 1923, who is so feared as a sorcerer. It is he who has the collection of spittle, and it is believed that, like his grandfather, he is the owner of a skinned and stuffed left hand with which he can kill a man as surely as with a rifle.

THE DISCOVERY OF TWO SORCERERS

Many years ago there lived at *Ilmo* two young men who were constant companions; they always hunted and travelled together, and were determined to share each other's fortune, no matter what it might be. One day they agreed to go up the valley to visit some friends, but decided to postpone their departure until dusk. One of the two went out for a short walk and failed to return by the time appointed; his comrade sought him everywhere and finally hurried off up the trail, thinking that his friend must have started before him. He soon heard sounds of laboured breathing as if people were carrying a heavy burden, and could just distinguish two men carrying a coffin on poles between them. He realized that they must be sorcerers and that their inability to turn around would give him an advantage. Stealing up behind them, he pushed the rear man, not only causing him to stumble, but the one in front as well, since their burden was resting between them. Neither could turn around to see who had discovered them, and they became more and more terrified as the brave youth first pushed, and then pulled the one in the rear. Suddenly he called out, **ow**, so loudly in their ears that the sudden start expelled their spirits and they fell to earth as if dead. The lad watched their gradual recovery, feeling confident that his partner must be within ear-shot and would come hurrying back to his assistance if necessary. As soon as the sorcerers had revived, one of them said angrily to the boy:

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"You will die presently."

"No," he answered. "It is you who are in grave peril."

At this point he called loudly for his companion who was so far ahead that he could barely hear the other's voice; he answered the shout and began to run back. The sorcerers, trying to make the best of a bad situation, mocked him by advising him to call again and to bring more helpers if he wanted to escape death. When his friend had come so close that he could see what was taking place, the youth called out to him:

"Partner! They say that I am in danger."

"No," the other answered. "It is they who will die."

When he joined the group the four began to discuss what was to be done. The sorcerers begged their discoverers not to expose their sin-

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dainga, and offered to make them members of the *hamat* society in return for their silence. Though uninitiated persons, even this tempting bribe was refused by the two youths. Next, each of the malefactors offered a daughter as wife to each of the partners, and they accepted this bargain. For their part, the sorcerers were glad to escape at any cost, since they had been caught red-handed; they knew that henceforth they would have to assist their captors, but this was preferable to exposure.

The two groups parted company; the boys continued their journey to the upper village and the sorcerers went on their way to some cave in the mountains. Within a few weeks, each youth married the daughter of one of the malefactors, with whose assistance they were able to give potlatches and become influential personages.

A FAMILY OF KWATNA SORCERERS

Near the village of Kwatna there used to be two cemeteries. One was on a small point of ground at the mouth of the river which becomes an island at high tide; here were interred the bodies of chiefs alone, a custom said to be without parallel on the coast. It is not known why there should have been this special burial-ground, but the place was always spoken of as "The Chiefs' Island." Instead of being buried, coffins containing commoners were laid on ledges of rock at the base of a cliff behind the village; this custom, though unusual, is known elsewhere on the coast, at Kitamaat and Port Simpson, for example.

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Many generations ago, there was a time when the corpses of commoners frequently disappeared from the ledges on which they had been placed, and although it was believed that a sorcerer was responsible, no one knew whom to blame. One old woman had lost nearly all her numerous relatives when she realized that, though there had been many deaths in the village and some families had been almost wiped out, no members of one group had been taken. This caused her suspicions; she now noticed that whenever anyone was sick, four brothers of the family in question always made some plausible excuse to leave the village and proceed up the other arm of the inlet. She concluded that this could be no mere coincidence, the four must be sorcerers. Within a short while, another of her relatives fell ill and died in spite of all that could be done; this reduced her family to herself and her infant. On the day after the funeral, the four brothers said that they wanted to gather hemlock boughs and set off in a canoe up the other arm of the inlet for the purpose. They did not come back at night and the villagers assumed that they had been delayed and had camped. The bereaved woman, however, who had hidden herself below the village, saw the brothers paddle back around the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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●534 754 point and covered their canoe beneath a leafy tree instead of landing at the village. More suspicious than ever, she followed the four and was able to keep in touch with them in spite of the necessity of carrying her baby. They went to the cemetery, placed the coffin on poles, and two of them carried it away with the others in close attendance.

The mother, still clutching her child, followed the brothers up the side of a steep mountain behind Kwatna. They avoided all trails and travelled in zigzags until they reached the base of a precipice where a tall tree was growing. The mother, who was not far behind, could see that its upper branches grew across to touch the cliff at a point where the mouth of a cave was visible. The coffin was placed on the ground, three of the brothers climbed the tree, and passed from it into the opening in the rock. From this they shoved out a plank to form a narrow bridge to the upper trunk, and dropped a long rope which the one below fastened around the coffin; then it was hauled up, the fourth brother climbed the tree and all disappeared from sight. The woman continued to remain in hiding, but before long her curiosity was piqued by seeing smoke drift out from the opening. She decided that she must see what was taking place, so she moved her infant to keep it quiet, and then began the ascent. Without difficulty she reached a point from which she could peer within, and saw the four melting down the grease from the dismembered body of her kinsman. They were sorcerers without doubt, and she noted that they were preserving with care all the fat that resulted from the inside of the display. Each was wearing a mask, but she was able to recognize them by their figures.

When the primitive decoction had been prepared, the sorcerers left caleep, still wearing their masks. Made bold by her longing for revenge, the woman crept across the plank without disturbing the dampers. Cautiously she picked up the spoon which they had used for stirring the mixture, lifted a few drops to it and held it to the mouth of the one whom she recognized as the oldest brother. He did not stir. With a quick, firm pressure she cramped upon his stomach, causing him to wake and swallow with a gasp; the poison was so potent that he died without making a sound. She took another spoonful of the brew and gave it to the second sorcerer in the same way and with the same result, and in this way killed all four. Stopping only to fill a receptacle with the brew, the woman climbed down the tree and hurried back to Kwatna.

Instead of describing what she had seen and done, the woman determined to wipe out the relatives of the sorcerers. So she invited the whole village to a feast, allotting the proper place to each family. This whole procedure was unusual because she had killed no large game, but there is always a good deal of latitude allowed in such matters, particularly as

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everyone sympathized with the hostess on account of her many bereavements. Her only assistant was a woman who, like herself, had lost all her kinsmen. The food provided was hemlock-bark dipped in fish-oil, but the hostess contrived that every relative of the sorcerer should receive a portion dipped in poison instead. They all started to eat at the same time, and all fell dead simultaneously without a word.

Instantly wild confusion broke out and the guests exclaimed that they were being served poison. Unperturbed, the woman explained everything; how she had first become suspicious, how she had followed the four brothers, and all that had resulted. A party set out at once under her guidance and found that everything she had said was true. In this way perished all the relatives of the sorcerer except one man who happened to be absent at the time. One of his descendants is now living in Bella Coola and is regarded with a certain amount of suspicion, although there is no evidence that he or any of his relatives have practised sorcery for generations.

A BELLA COOLA SORCERER

Since the introduction of modern, there death in the lower Bella Coola valley a shaman, *Ancaithatcum-ah* by name, he was a regular practitioner, able both to heal the sick or to cause death. When using his power beneficially, he drank a cattle containing a rock-crystal, but when he was requested to kill, he used one that appeared to be identical but contained human teeth and nail frogs. In some unknown manner these were lost, which prevented him from slaying a man as requested by the chiefs of his village. One April day he mentioned his difficulty casually to a certain Tyhlo who surprised him by replying:

"I can supply you with teeth and you will have greater power than ever."

The two were alone at the time and Tyhlo, having admitted that he was a sorcerer, suggested that they form a partnership. He must have felt confident that *Ancaithatcum-ah* would agree, as indeed he did gladly. Tyhlo explained that the necessary knowledge had been handed down to his family for generations, but that he had only recently begun to use it to avenge a slight or a feast of ashes.

Next morning Tyhlo guided *Ancaithatcum-ah* up the mountain on the north side of the extreme head of North Bentinck Arm, just west of the Nuskumcumany River. Shamans frequently ranged over this area, but no one had ever seen a sorcerer's lair there. Tyhlo led the way to a small rock shelter beneath which was concealed a chest about eight feet long. He kicked it four times with his left foot, and called out four times:

"Wake up!"

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Tylle then raised the cover, and his companion saw that it contained a number of separate compartments, formed by varied strips criss-crossing within, and that the whole bottom was covered with a thick, black, oily liquid. On top of the cube-like divisions lay a badly decomposed corpse which Smashkalamain-ski recognized as that of a youth who had disappeared from the village the previous July and who was thought to have been drowned. Tylle explained the mechanism of the box: Each section was for a different disease, stomach trouble in one, heart failure in another, consumption in a third, sudden death in a fourth, and so on. Whenever he wanted to cause a specific disease, he would dip a personal possession of the victim's in the oil at the bottom of the proper compartment and leave it there. All that was then necessary to improve the patient's condition was to raise the article slightly in the liquid, whereas to lower it increased the force of the malady, and to leave it covered entirely caused death. It was generally known that such methods were used by sorcerers, but this was the first box that Smashkalamain-ski had ever seen and he was heavily interested. He inquired as to purpose of the boy's body, and Tylle replied that he had killed him with the intention of taking his skin to use against the lad's relatives, but had been forced to carry away the whole body owing to the difficulty of removing the skin alone. Whenever he wanted to kill a person quietly and rapidly, it was only necessary to lay an article which had belonged to the victim on the back of the neck of the corpse. Death resulted immediately, since this was the spot where the spirit had resided during life. After answering his friend's questions, Tylle handled several to the horror of the boy and then took a number of well made which he gave to the-wicked Smashkalamain-ski. Then the two went home to their respective villages, after promising each other mutual support and secrecy.

Although the two medicine-men took every precaution not to be seen together too often, rumours began to circulate that they were partners, and that Tylle was a sorcerer. Others were not aware of this, but the suspected were become so unpopular that he was virtually expelled from his village. More angry than perturbed at this, he moved down with up the valley to the town in which Smashkalamain-ski was living. After waiting for a few weeks to allay suspicion, Tylle determined to murder the chief who had been the prime mover in his expulsion, and sent his son to steal the victim's chamber-pot. His wife discovered the theft the same night and promptly raised the whole village, realizing the danger to her husband if it should fall into the hands of a sorcerer. Diligent search was made, but of course the article could not be found, since the chief had taken it away to his own house. Tylle placed the vessel

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in a compartment of his box containing a bear's bladder tied into sections; this caused his enemy to suffer stricture and soon to die in agony. 539 754

Following the usual custom, the relatives of the dead man smeared their faces with ashes which they left in position for a year. The widow, who had loved her husband very dearly, allowed this indication of mourning to remain even longer than the customary period. On several occasions Tsilke made somewhat slighting remarks about her excessive grief, and when one of his sons also commented upon it, she became suspicious and told her relatives. One of them was a chief of the village where Tsilke was then living and where he was already regarded with distrust. This man visited the home of his bereaved kinswoman and called the chiefs of her village together to discuss the matter, and to inform them of the suspicions which his conduct had aroused in his new home. Three days later, Tsilke happened to come to the village and was at once summoned to the house where the chiefs had assembled to interrogate him. Tsilke sat on a box in the centre of the group and denied, slowly and positively, that he had any knowledge of sorcery, adding that his poverty confirmed his statement. At this moment Awaxilkaiwaxis-ala came rushing into the house, furiously brandishing a rifle, and exclaiming that it was scandalous the way in which unjust accusations were being levelled at Tsilke. One of the chiefs quietly slipped behind the shaman, knocked his five-arm upwards so that it exploded harmlessly in the air, and threw him to the ground where he threatened him with a large knife.

"I will not brook any interference from you in this matter," he said.

This so frightened Awaxilkaiwaxis-ala that he blurted out that he knew Tsilke was a sorcerer and that he had seen his box containing a decayed human body. Tsilke was less excited than anyone else, and slipped out of the house in the confusion, merely pausing to ask:

"What are you going to do about it?"

He returned to his new village where, of course, the news soon followed of what had been discovered. The chiefs decided that he must be killed, and that the most convenient occasion would be at a feast of souls which was to take place in the near future. Tsilke accepted an invitation to this and was alone while he was busy handling his spoon. One of his sons was killed with him, another who escaped through a hole in the floor was slaughtered near the village. His two brothers were absent on a hunting expedition, but a party tracked them and slew them in their camp before they knew that their evil deeds had been found out. Tsilke's two daughters were allowed to live, but were given to a famous warrior who kept them practically as prisoners. Awaxilkaiwaxis-ala, who seems to have escaped all punishment for his share in the affair, guided a party to the sorcerer's box. It was found to be old and worm-covered, obviously 539 754

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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539 154 one used by some of Tolke's ancestors. It was brought to the house and thrown in.

Taboos

914 The Bella Coola regard as taboos those injunctions that are observed in the belief that their neglect would cause automatic punishment. The mechanism of enforcement is frequently not understood; it is enough to know that an unpleasant result would follow disobedience. Some taboos are in force at all times, others only during certain seasons of the year, and still others at critical periods of life. Since the psychology of such [789] beliefs is essentially magical rather than religious, they could justifiably be grouped at this point. Unfortunately, to do so would destroy the continuity of accounts of birth, adolescence, death, ceremonial chastity, and many other aspects of Bella Coola life subject to taboo. The injunctions enforced by the River Guardian, the restrictions observed by a girl after puberty, the continence required after different medicines, all are taboos, disregard of which brings certain punishment. These and many others have already been described in connection with the activities to which they pertain. It is doubtful whether the Bella Coola have a single word to describe taboos [785] in general, though they are all regarded as *cuaide*, that is, as something which is ceremonially unclean.

Scarcely to be distinguished from taboos are ceremonial errors, *yee-imat* or *kite-imat*. Failure to give presents to hereditis when a seat breaks beneath a chief or a dancer stumbles, or ceremonial activity during the year's waiting for the fruition of supernatural good fortune are ritual mistakes of this type. Neglect of such regulations brings punishment, though of a lesser kind than the breaking of taboos. If the [288] [208] error has been in connection with a ceremony, the offence can be wiped out by presents to hereditis, and the terms *yee-imat* and *kite-imat* are likewise applied to some of their prerogatives such as the ability to claim clothing during the marriage of a chief's child.

Most taboos and errors can best be described with other

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/For songs and dialogue which accompany the making of string figures see category 116, pp. 543-567./

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/The text of Bella Coola stories relating mythological and historical events will be found in category 116, pp. 386-517./

//Native accounts of warfare between the Bella Coola and neighboring tribes will be found in category 116, pp. 365-377.//

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//For a discussion of Stella Coeli songs and the text of songs see category 116, pp. 267-337.//

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[The Dance of Nightwing]

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

Although 575*
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theoretically, every Navajo should know the origin myth of his prerogative, these are rarely remembered, a state of affairs differing entirely from that with respect to ancestral origin myths. An ancestor of *Hashkinaxwu* is supposed to have seen *Nightwind*, decorated with the tails of two eagles stuck in his hair. The following myth was obtained of the origin of *Kaxwinai's* prerogative. [334]

In the beginning there came down to Mount Pin-dzon, a small mountain on the south side of the Bidis Ceda River about three-quarters of a mile from the spa, *Hitsinaxwinai*, his younger brother *Naqaxhiskin*, and their sister. *Hgoxdzo* had given them a medal horse, or medal that is was possible, but which could change to any one at their wish. It was called *Hgoxdzo*, a name they borrowed also on their sister. They brought the medal designation, *Kaxwinai*, with the right to perform a dance. The party, including Raven, who was like a son to *Hitsinaxwinai*, came down from their mountain say looking for a place to settle. As people were already living at *Spaqo* and *Hgoxdzo*, they chose *Ditsil* as their home.

From this place the three could hear the beating of drums, as the people of the adjacent villages performed their twice-dance and Raven determined that his companions should not lack the privilege which others enjoyed. Accordingly he flew down the hill where he saw *Nightwind*, where he obtained as power for *Hitsinaxwinai*. This prerogative was embodied in the name *Kaxwinai*, which is still in use.[1]

The prerogative of seeing *Nightwind* is known as *Ashdlah-dzin*, "The Comet," or "The Eye-Comet." It will be convenient to refer to the person who has this power as X. As already described, if he had been initiated during the preceding ceremonial season, he is now obliged to dance. In later years, if he wishes to do so, he first consults the medicinals, and if they consent he begins his preparations during the summer. Among other matters, X informs the singers of his intentions and they begin to compose songs. Occasionally they re-use one from a previous year, but to do this is to admit lack of creative ability. The usual practice is to compose new songs and to allege to them words bearing on the proper theme, sometimes including

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[1] It will be noted that this myth is of the typical origin type, and furnishes an instance of the manner in which their prerogatives come to men.

[334]

[The Dance of Wild]

The last to see himself is *Ewilim Tachinyan*, an obstreperous individual, who always wants more presents than anyone else. When X announces that the beings above have taken their places, a sequence brings forward the object covered with cedar-bark and painted with a design of *Kwocumdidzis*.* Bella is above X's head, and then given it to a herald who runs it into the fire. At the same time X dances on the floors some dried cedar-bark, some undried cedar-bark, a little eagle down, and some chicken grouse, saying:

"Those *Kwocumdidzis*,* accept this offering and be pacified," and throws his hands up in the air as if casting some object upwards.

Still dancing, X calls out *hoi!* several times.

The painted representation and the cedar-bark are objects which *Kwocumdidzis* likes to receive; the chicken grouse supplies the feces on which they ascend to him. The same procedure is repeated for the eight other brothers, with slight variations in the words addressed to each. To *Gaxpemidzilas*, for example, X says:

[134] *Gaxpemidzilas*
Wunkpachas-ulkwaxa?*
Gaxpemidzilas
Gaxpemidzilas.* | *Kwocumdidzis*,
to the place where he sits, | *wulgwaxa-ulal*,
the sculpture?*

When the time comes to invite the hungry *Dzu-qualiis* to an offering of food instead of bark to cast upon the flames, X continues to dance after the food gift, and presently a dead is heard on the roof while some burial, chosen beforehand for the purpose, compresses a hidden blackfish-effigy which the spectators know to be the voice of the soul. Whether they be

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[186] [194] [194] The Transport the offerings are made by a dancer who has this prerogative in connection with the same challenge is

[194] Also other name is Kwakiutl, "The Receiver of Many Gifts."

[194] Regarded the terms of the legal transformation, the spirits which are to identified

[194] Other designations, properly applied only to *Kwocumdidzis*, is also used for the brothers of X.

[194] *These words are already sung, with musical line, marking the end of each subdivision. A musical transcription of the words for the Federal Museum of Canada, records 1-3 & 4a, origin, the Nelson.

[194]

[The Cannibal Dance]

X, now almost nude, rushes around the house, shouting *ooo*, *ooo*, *ooo*, while his call sounds loudly, as the whistle is pressed firmly towards his mouth or against his cheek, and under a lash. Often the Initiator slip a rope over his shoulders to prevent him escaping again. Finally, he rushes from the house and all the Initiator crowd close about him on the sidewalk without. As many as possible press upwards against his body with their heads, while they shout, yet trying to equal the call upwards. On the fourth repetition X is supposed to have been driven forth, and in answer to the tumultuous shout of the Initiator, there is heard the sound of a whistle from above. The uninitiated do not know that a Initiator has been dispatched with one to a mountain peak for this purpose.

The Initiator now return to X's house for a meal. The first dish of food is placed before X himself, while one of the non-dish attendants him and the audience in the following events:

Nanaqilanu, *[illegible]*
Gwalaga, *[illegible]* (the Cannibal)[illegible]
Wa, *[illegible]* Pawa. *[illegible]*
Wara, *[illegible]* Pawa.* *[illegible]*

There is no ritual significance attached to any particular words, inasmuch as does even disposition as to what they are, but the above may be considered a fair example of the kind of remarks addressed to a Cannibal at his first meal. After X has started eating, the other Initiator commence and the non-dish deliver their usual admonitions, praising X for what he has done and urging others to emulate his example. Then presents are distributed to those who have been blind.

It is considered that a Cannibal complimentes a man by taking a piece of his flesh, and that he is under obligations to the man thus for the latter having allowed him to exercise his prerogative.

Literally means "The Greater Dog" or "The Further Dog." X is a small [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of this.

This is the [illegible] of the [illegible].

Literally [illegible] of the following Cannibal [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] type of [illegible] can be carried out only during the ceremonial season.

After killing and eating a human being, a Cannibal must conceal himself for a considerable period, sometimes as long as four years. The uninitiated are told that the great power within him has taken him so far into the upper regions that one or more years must elapse before his return. During this time he can be seen only by Initiates. The writer was told of one unfortunate corpse-eating Cannibal, Kibaiko, who was virtually secluded for eight years, since a crime was seen on his last every time he reappeared, thus forcing him to kill and eat. This name had been dormant for a number of years until conferred on the writer, who failed to uphold the prerogative.

One other type of Cannibal prerogative remains to be described, namely, that of killing oneself. This is even less common than that of corpse-eating, being enjoyed only by two individuals, Kalimabuay of Dasi and Dwing of the Kimagan River. The following account of the origin of the latter's prerogative was obtained.

[illegible]

[illegible] 397
375 *
196 *
424
334

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

* 575 * 776 424 551 him as guide. Both heard the hooting, and soon saw a pack of supernatural wolves eating dog-flesh. The men were able to steal away without being observed and *Tsa'ukhila* told *Qilemas* to say nothing about what they had seen. A little later he gave a dance in which he wore a wolf's mask and pretended to eat dog-flesh. His neighbours, ignorant of the reason for which this dance had been required, were considerably impressed.

Another exploit of *Tsa'ukhila* and *Qilemas* may here be recorded, although it is unconnected with the Cannibal dance.

One night when they were spearing fish, a house suddenly arose before them. *Qilemas*, startled and terrified, began to cry, but *Tsa'ukhila* quieted him.

"I am master here," he said. "We are in this adventure together and your task is to keep quiet."

Then a house appeared before them from the depths of the ocean. It was really a *qimmirt*, with no function much as doorway, and though *Tsa'ukhila* naturally knew it was, he climbed to the roof, so that he could pass within through what corresponded to a smoke-vent. The house was filled with valuables of all kinds, guarded only by gulls. *Tsa'ukhila* coaxed inside with his gulls, hurled forth one object after another and strung each across to be thrown on the mainland to hide in a cave. Unfortunately, a cave happened to draw near, whereupon the house slowly sank back into the depths.

* 575 776 551 Function might have be made of a *Sisaok* repository, said to be unique in Bella Coola, that contains five Cannibal masks. It is in the form of a human being with a tail, bending and bent forward so that hands and head touch the ground. A repository is at each point of contact. The masks are:

Qilla, the head of the creature; *Ancimalc a*, the left hand; *Ancimalk*, the right hand; *Ainmalc a*, the left foot; *Ainmalc a*, the right foot; *Alqumlim*, the tail.

In this repository there lives a mikqan with a copper lining to its mouth.

* 575 * 776 424 551 It will be seen that these myths help but little to explain the Bartal society, or even the origin of the Cannibal dances; they appear to be only rationalizations attempting to account for established customs. For this reason they have been interred after a description of the Cannibal dance.

[The Breaker Dance]

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

shows; of sitting in one of the back corners and receiving the best food as usual meals; of paying those on whom they exercise their prerogative, and of liability to forfeit an equal of strangers. This last prerogative, if it may be so termed, lasts for the ceremonial season, and in the case of a novice, for the following summer as well. Moreover, Breakers do not destroy the goods of fellow-Breakers, Sometlem, or Cannibals.

In view of the similarity of this rite to those already described, no effort was made to collect full details. Different Breakers have minor variations in ritual, similar to those already illustrated. The following is an account of the manner in which the Breaker, *Spit of Death*, performed the rite a number of years ago. As on previous occasions, it will be convenient to use the possessive case, and to refer to the dancer as X. *Spit* gave the following account of the origin of his prerogative.

Long, long ago, soon after the first people had come to this earth, a marriage was about to take place in the village of *Snaiqut*. At that distant period the people were so powerful that they could themselves return their dead, and the bridegroom determined to be a witness of the event. He chose to witness the return of *Snaiqumalth*, *Hyamtsa*, one of *Hyamtsa*'s guns, whom he remembered having seen throwing stones in his father's house before he, the bridegroom, was born in this world.* When goods were piled up ready for distribution as marriage presents, the men began to hold some wrestling, one of them dislocated from a log, overall his bride and killed her. This unfortunate accident solved the question of his name, as he universal consent it was decided that he should be called, *Spit*, 'He of the Dislocated Hip.'

Since that time a lot has been achieved that an Breaker may dance a call-songs successfully during his dance, and the novitiate would not also disclose his injunction. The Breaker sits the dance with a number of Bellacoolas, a dance not matter (the fall is explicit the tradition, the man, and is that the novitiate do not see him use a stone, even as a religious dog, the usual reason for doing so in Bella Coola.

When X wishes to dance he must first obtain the consent of the novitiate in the usual manner. He also arranges with Bellacoolas to have bones and other wooden objects placed within

* This song is also called Sednamaqualem, 'The Dislocated Hip.'

[The "Dancers" Cutting Dance]

dangerous. Unless he is removed to his hollow down we will die you."

The other uninitiated marvel that any of their number should be held enough to move the ballacim, ignorant of the fact that those who do so are really spirits whose part in the performance has long since been arranged by the mandals. Instances are remembered when the member or copper frame was dislocated and the performer was killed; in such a case the spirit actually slew one or more ballacim to preserve the prestige of the society. Exact details were unobtainable, but it seems clear that the victims were selected with the aid of the mandals during the night; they were, of course, men of little importance in the community.

The spirit prevent anyone from leaving the house and greatly the die selection, except for the common wailing of the women, particularly X's relatives. The ballacim, granted a respite until dawn, allow some of the uninitiated to come forward and pass curtain around the fire to see the corpse of X with the bloody crescent exposed. At this juncture, the old women selected for the purpose sing the mourning song, of which the words and tune never vary; they are believed to have been handed down from time immemorial. The dance is of Intermediate a, a kindly supernatural woman[1] who returns to life ballacim killed in the performance of their rites. The singer in the upper, eastern, rear corner of the house sings the following words:

Pierceyou[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Perhaps you[2] are correctly[3]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]		

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

[4] [illegible]

[5] [illegible]

After a short interval, she is announced by the singer in the [illegible] western, rear corner of the house as follows:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		
[illegible]		

The general meaning of this song is obvious, although there are several obscure expressions which serve to increase the wonder and fear of the uninitiated. Silence follows the singing, then whistling is heard and a herald announces that one of the puppet-persons named Ano Ñ has left him and gone to the region above. Similar whistling announces the departure of others at intervals. When several have gone up, it is time for the first to return. A drum, made by a hidden accomplice, is heard on the roof and whistling heralds our arrival. Sometimes the puppet-person returns to Ñ, but more often it is invisible, and the mantlemen previously secured is removed from the back of the dancer who continues to be an Ñ'Ghiba. Now and then the uninitiated are invited forward to look at him and they notice that the gaping mouth is slowly closing, as may occur in a savage in the dim light of the house. In intervals the puppet-persons go and return from the land above, and the proceedings are sometimes enlivened by the comic selling a bundle, who in turn informs the audience, after the puppet-persons are on to journey shift. Usually each goes and returns four times in the course of the night. Each of the women selected to sing the mourning songs performs once, standing in a corner of the house and moving a wand around with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cotton-cloth. In the long night process. Towards dawn continuous whistling is heard. This is made by several men with a whistle apiece, and begins to blow as soon as the breath of his partner is nearly exhausted. It is known as the voice of Ostromdo or Ñ'Ghiba, but not to Bahe Cinda, this is the signal for the entry of the giant toad. Carpenters have made a wooden figure of the amphibian and by means of concealed strings it is

[illegible]

[illegible] and two part of that day as well as all of yahu and [575*]
[illegible] to complete his task. On the evening of [illegible] [946*]
the Initiates are summoned as usual to practice ☿'s new songs. [illegible]
The ritual on this night as well as on the following, yahu, [illegible]
appears to be of the usual Easter type although one informant [illegible]
[illegible] that complete silence reigns in order to spread the [illegible]
[illegible] among the uninitiated in the neighbouring houses that [illegible]
☿ is waiting quietly to commune with the supernatural beings, [illegible]
and that consequently the customary dancing is omitted. [illegible]
This is probably a modern deviation from the traditional [illegible]
[illegible]

On the night of [illegible] a herald summons the Initiates to ☿'s house with the cry:

[illegible]
[illegible] [994]

This is merely a rhetorical remark since the dance is really one of major importance. They dance, and are at once given a small meal.* Then the cry is raised for the uninitiated. When they are assured, ☿ appears from the back room, carrying before him the fungus, held by the shorter end of rope projecting above, while the longer is coiled up behind a row of eights. The Initiates begin to bear down furiously as ☿ slowly circles the fire. Then, solemnly and carefully, he sets the fungus on the floor where, to the wonder of the uninitiated, it disappears from sight as though it had sunk into the plinths. This is, in fact, the case, since the carpenters have prepared a small hole in the floor through which it disappears, leaving only the cord hung on the surface. Four four Initiated men are called forward to support ☿ and assist, two on either side of him. The dancer bends down, picks up the string easily with one hand and draws up the fungus into sight, taking care not to raise it high enough to expose the longer end of the rope passing through the hole. He lowers his burden and the fungus disappears from sight. ☿ whispers to one of his four assistants and the latter calls out, as if just prompted:

*This may be also a sacred banquet.

land of the salmon early in January, and it is owing to his successful visit that there is a plentiful supply of fish the following year. The fact that the Bella Coola attribute the same function to *Nankipaum* provides no difficulties to native philosophers.

"Different individuals have different stories," they say, and the fact that the two are contradictory is a matter of no consequence.

The incidents described in the following myth are always spoken of as having taken place long ago, and yet the coming of *S'ioaiow* is an annual event, a confusion disconcerting to the investigator though not to the Bella Coola themselves.

S'ioaiow[*] once led a raiding party against the salmon, whose home is far to the west, and against the herrin who live in a far and warm country beyond even the land of salmon. His crew consisted of birds who are spoken of in the myth by unusual designations, and to be either their supernatural or their tribal names. One informant spoke of these beings as individuals, and only added that they were birds as we understand, while another emphasized their avian rather than their human characteristics. This is not surprising, considering that the story belongs to the distant past when birds and human beings were not as clearly differentiated as they now are. *S'ioaiow*'s crew consisted of:

The Bald Eagle, *Tsilmaxi*;
The Hawk (?) species, *Sunkaxiwaix*;
The Raven, *Tsemaqaiaix*, "He Who Talks to Dawn and Welcome Everyone";
The Water Ouzel, *Tilmaxwilidin*, "The Walking Owl";
The Great Blue Heron, *Skaxnilim*, "Long Shank";
The Hummingbird, *Ahl'yaix*;
The Cormorant, *Kaulaxilla*, who joined the expedition as Bella Bella as a passenger;
Four lazy supernatural beings, *Tsaxnilxi*.

The expedition was under the special protection of *Kalaxa*, a female supernatural shaman, who guided the canoe in which the raiders travelled by the force of her incantations as if it had been a compass. After a lengthy journey, the party reached the land of the salmon where the chiefs astrologer drifted low in the heavens so that the fish could see their

[*] A word etymologically connected with *sisiu*, the Bella Coola name for seal.

[The Dance of Winning]

fish. Each of the crew captured a different kind of salmon which, in the myth, we referred to by their supernatural names. 773

The Bald Eagle captured the spring salmon, *Ohuldana*, "The One that Changes Itself," a reference to the two forms in which this fish appears before and after spawning. 824 825 539

The Hawk captured the sockeye salmon, *Hanuldanna*, "The One that Preserves in the Head of the River."

The Raven captured the hump-back salmon, *Ankipanin*, "The One that Fills the River."

The Water Owl captured the dog salmon, *Spatsina*, "The Maker of Good Weather," a reference to the calm weather in August when this fish spawns.

The Great Blue Heron captured the silver salmon, *Kyapatsanulin*, "The One that Makes Us Fat."

The Cormorant captured a variety of dog salmon, *Ocipan*, for the Bolla Bolla.

The Hermaphrodite was also successful and filled the enormous basket which he had brought for the purpose with a large number of heavy captives.

As soon as the raiders had achieved their purpose they returned to Bolla Coolu and released their booty; since that time there has been an abundance of salmon in the river and of herons on the hills. The Cormorant left the canoe at Bolla Bolla and released the dog salmon there; that is why this variety of fish has since been plentiful at Bolla Bolla.

Several Bolla Coolu *kokwisi* have a dance prerogative of which the above is origin myth. The details vary slightly, and some informants stated frankly that they had forgotten the names of the bird crew. The reasons given for the use of *Wiwanise* as patron likewise vary. According to one account, in the beginning of time *Mapoonin* placed the name *Nanachomai* in a repository near the summit of the lofty Mount *Ba*, near *Itsan*. He had two reasons for so doing: he did not wish it to be defiled by passersby breaking dust into it with their feet, and he wished the owner of the name to be the first to see the return of *Wiwanise*. The repository is a small pond, which can move from place to place, but, being itself supernatural, is visible only to those who have purified themselves. Since that time whoever has had the name *Nanachomai* has had the *kwisi* prerogative of using *Wiwanise*. 424 773 778 [776]

[The Dance of Thunder]

the uninitiated are expelled. If several *kokaciw* in the same village are prestigis of Thunder, each makes a circuit independently, but they agree to meet afterwards in the house of one of their number. There all members of the society assemble for a meal provided hurriedly by X, or to a number of meals if several have Thunder as patron; in this case there is no pooling of food. The marshals take the opportunity of giving their customary admonitions, as if it were midwinter. Next the singers combine their ideas and beat out a new song of which the theme is Thunder who never rests, it is worded as if X were speaking and describing what his patron is doing. This song is sung and sinung until all present have learnt both tune and words. If there are several *kokaciw* with Thunder as patron, a song is made for each and practised in the same manner.

When all is ready, one of the heralds calls in the uninitiated. Each song is sung to the accompaniment of beating sticks while a dancer performs. Instead of X, this is an old man or woman who has not had a call for many years. Often the *kocia* selected is so old that he or she can dance only with the support of a stick; no reason could be learnt for this surprising deviation from the usual practice. If several songs have been composed, a new dancer performs to each. After the last dance the uninitiated are expelled and the *kokaciw* soon follow. Since no call has come, it follows that it is of a ceremonial, though not of a sacred nature, and does not take the regular course of winter dances. It is said to "make good the path of Thunder," the term employed being identical with that used for the dance on unknown after the burning of the masks.

Nothing more need be said about the Thunder dance, except to give the following origin myth:

Long ago, long before the white man came to this land, but still longer after the first settlement, four brothers left Kimapsin to hunt mountain goats on Mount Pragaldin, near the Kimapsin River.* It was September,

*This mountain is also known as Sharp-back Salmon Mountain, but shape suggests that hill in question and it is said that long ago, in the very beginning of time, a salmon became petrified there.

J: McGrath E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

the goats were plentiful, fat, and unsuspicious, so that before nightfall they had killed four. Well satisfied, they lay down in a cave to sleep for the night. At that time no one knew what supernatural being caused thunder; the earliest inhabitants of the world had possessed that knowledge but it had been forgotten in the intervening generations. Towards midnight the hunters were awakened by a loud boom and wondered what could have caused it. Presently they saw approaching a figure resembling a man, with a weird nonhuman face, who carried in each hand a huge rock crystal.* He raised and lowered his arms as if pounding; at each movement the crystals struck each other, producing the booming sound and also emitting a flash of light. The eldest brother, *Sadu*, told the others to cover their faces with their blankets and to keep their eyes closed, because some evil and powerful creature was drawing near. But the second brother, who had caught a glimpse of the two crystals and greatly desired them, watched cautiously, hoping for an opportunity to steal them. Thunder, for it was none other, ranged around; at intervals he passed across to the other side of the intervening valley on a sidewalk which grew before his feet to form a bridge for him, and on it, too, he was able to retrace his steps. Several times Thunder crossed and recrossed, accompanied by reverberating peals. He came near the four brothers and danced; then lay down while fire emerged from his mouth. The second brother began to feel scorched, gradually the heat increased, but he was powerless to move; before dawn, when Thunder vanished, he had been roasted to death.

The three survivors buried the dead man in a hastily made grave in the floor of the cave and went home, abandoning the mountain goats which they had killed. *Sadu*, though grieved at the loss of his brother, felt that the latter's death was his own fault for peeking when he had been warned not to do so. Not long afterwards the two younger brothers died. Then the sole survivor told a carpenter to make him a mask secretly, according to a design which he would describe. In this way the face of Thunder was portrayed in wood. When the mask was ready, *Sadu* wore it and gave an imitation of the actions of his patron; no one had ever seen anything like it and the people were amazed.

No great antiquity is ascribed to this myth and it gives no explanation of questions which at once arise in the investigator's mind. The type is fairly common in Bella Coola; in fact, the only unusual part of it is that the visionary received a *dadat* prerogative rather than one of the forms of good for-

*This is said to have been equivalent to the fire-rattle of a Thunder dancer.

Z:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

tune previously described. To the Bella Coola philosopher, apparently no explanation is needed of the manner in which *Saiks* was allowed to use his experience as the basis of a *kusiut* dance. The assumption is that he was a *kusiut* at the time of his experience, although this is not clearly stated. The last to use the name died about 1910, each *Saiks* having had the prerogative of giving the Thunder dance.

575* 796* 539● 424 [777] [551]

THE GHOST DANCE[m]

Among the numerous patrons of *kusiut* dancers are Ghosts. The term, *ăskanĕots*, applied to a shaman whose power is derived from a ghost, is also applied to *kusiut* with one as patron, but the two functionaries must not be confused. It is a fairly common prerogative and there are Ghost dancers in every village, their right depending in every case on some experience of an ancestor with a ghost. The following is an account of the manner in which *Septes of Tcowatl* performed his ritual; it may be regarded as typical of all, and the dancer can be referred to as X.

575* 796* [775] [756] [424]

At any time during the ceremonial season X consults with the marshals to decide upon a suitable time for his performance. On the evening preceding, normally the *qatlum* of some other *kusiut*, the marshals state that his call is imminent; X makes his final arrangements and asks the assistance of a number of his fellows.

When the *nulusam* rites of the following evening have been completed and the uninitiated have returned to their own houses, they are startled to hear whistling from the forest near at hand. It is not the instrumentally produced sound that accompanies the coming of a call, but tuneless whistling with the mouth; everyone knows that this is the language of ghosts. A visitation from them is by no means unknown, and always dreaded, so at once there is excitement and everyone cowers in the bedrooms. Presently heralds go through the village

575* 796* 787 [775]

[m]This relationship is implied with the dance of the same name among Indians of other culture areas. [171]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[The Moon Dance]

*575 No detailed description is needed for the ceremonial on
*796 either *nusiutâlsap* or *qatlum*. On the evening of the former day
821 the masks are ordered; one for *Asiutânem*, who appears to be
[532] confused with the Moon itself, one for each *Aiqwaiust*, one for each *Snitsmân·a*, and one for *Ano'likwolsaix*.

Late in the afternoon the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to see that everything is in good shape. A large mat has been
[532] spread across the back wall of the house and on it a disk representing the Moon, with a human face in the middle. After the usual discussion the uninitiated are called in. Each *Snitsmân·a* remains standing alone in the two back corners of the house, while the two *Aiqwaiust* are in the central space behind the fire, constantly waving their arms to and fro. Suddenly the Moon itself appears against the matting. A carpenter, concealed behind the screen, directs its course so that it moves in a short arc across the background and disappears; *Ano'likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is the track of the new Moon, low down on the horizon. A second time it "rises," and moves across in a longer and higher curve, which *Ano'likwolsaix* says is the longer orbit of the waxing Moon. On its third course it is still higher, and on its fourth appearance it moves across the full width of the house near the roof, which *Ano'likwolsaix* describes as the course of the full Moon, far above the mountains. She also explains that we are indebted to *Snitsmân·a* for cleaning the Moon's face after the *Aiqwaiust* have blackened it, as otherwise no light would be visible. This ends the spectacle; the uninitiated are sent away, and the ceremonial concludes in the manner already described.

This constitutes the Moon dance as practised during the ceremonial season, but in addition X is required to dance whenever his patron is hidden by an eclipse. On such occasions the ritual is identical with that described for an eclipse of the Sun.

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*796
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THE DANCE OF THE MURDERED SLAVE

One of the chieftains who came to earth in the beginning of time was *Ăliximotussaix*, whose wealth was so great that he was able to invite his associates from far and near to potlatches, and thus acquire many *sisook*

J. McDowell: E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
NEA Bellacoola NEA

575* 796* 534 424 778 551

names for his only son. Becoming confused with this form of generosity, he decided to institute a faster ceremonial for his child. At that time chiefs were so powerful that they could create their own repositories, and *Hiamatsaiais* resolved to make his son's in his own house. To give strength to it, he dug a hole and buried alive in it a female slave with her small infant. The unfortunate woman was a member of the tribe known to the Bella Coola as *Tsawát*, probably a branch of the Haida; like all other northern tribeswomen she wore in her lower lip a plug of abalone-shell. *Hiamatsaiais* also buried in the hole a large number of the wraps which abounded in his house. The uninitiated were told that the women had chanced to stumble upon a repository and had become *Ináxis*, "rendered incapable of returning"; from this circumstance she was henceforth known as *Anakululeis*. The *Ináxis* also informed nonmembers that the woman had been made immortal, and was forever to remain as a slave in the repository. *Hiamatsaiais* chose the name *Xqáiwa*, "Sharp-Sound," for his son, a reference to the sharp hooks of the numerous crests shown on every object in his house. This designation has since been transmitted in the usual manner; every owner has had the right to perform a dance with the buried woman as person.

In describing the ritual it will be convenient to refer to *Xqáiwa* as X. 575* 796*

When X wishes to dance he obtains permission from the marshals and makes his preliminary plans in the customary way. A suitable date for the coming of the call is chosen, and, on the night preceding, the weeping of *Anakululeis* is heard in the forest behind the village. The weeper is one of X's associates, but no uninitiated would be reckless enough to venture near. She moves down the valley, as if coming from the repository near the village of *Stax*. The next evening X receives his call and the uninitiated are expelled from his house. The dancer blackens his face, puts on a ceremonial collar, and goes out alone to find the slave woman; presently he returns, leading *Anakululeis* by the hand. She is disguised as an old, old woman, clad in rags and carrying on her back a bundle made to represent a small infant; over her face is a mask with a plug of abalone-shell in the lower lip (see Plate 12). She slowly circles the fire, weeping bitterly, while the *kukusiut* [532]

[See category 116, p 164 (F)- ANALYST]

assemble to witness the dance of *Hipunim*. This is his function in the land above, as it is natural for him to do the same in this world.

THE DANCE OF *HIPUNIM'S* FOREMAN

Hipunim in the land above has a servant who uses a hand-net, rain, in fishing for his master. He is accordingly known as *Hipunim's Foreman*, "Fisherman," and is patron for a *Iniciat*.

THE DANCE OF THE TOP

The playful *Ismilkamukh Hipunim* has a favourite toy consisting of a stick which can be made to spin between the hands. This top, if it may so be named, is patron for some *Iniciat*. The writer was unable to learn how it is displayed on ceremony.

THE DANCE OF THE POTSHOTED HAMMER

The patron of one *Iniciat* is a hammer which in some way was changed to stone in the beginning of time when the Bella Coola River first flowed to the sea.

THE DANCE OF THE GRIZZLY BEAR

A *Iniciat* named *Bilkmi* has, as patron, a grizzly bear resident in *Symayuw's* house.

VARIOUS ORIGIN MYTHS

In most cases *Iniciat* dances have been preserved until the present day, although the myths on which they depend have long since been forgotten, but the reverse is sometimes the case. The following myths, were recorded with few, or no details of the associated dances. In several cases, one of the same type has already been recorded, so that the significance will be apparent.

A COMPOSITE ORIGIN MYTH[100]

Long ago there lived in *Ilnuc* a man and his wife who were powerful, prosperous, and able to give their children many good names. This

[100] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

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[illegible] around the jealousy of several of the chiefs who caused the death of the couple by means of sorcery. Six children, five boys and one girl, the last the youngest of the family, were then left orphans. No one helped them and they suffered greatly from lack of proper food and clothing, besides being forced to bear unbearable responsibilities and evils. One spring the six went to the forest to gather hemlock bark for food. The oldest boy climbed a tree and threw down pieces of bark which the little girl helped to pick up, as have her brothers all told her how much she was helping, a kindly favor because she was really too young to be of assistance. One piece of bark blew some little distance away; she ran to get it, but in a moment came hurrying back to him, saying that she had seen a strange man clad in a bear-skin blanket, with dried cedar-bark and eagle down in his hair. At first the five brothers did not believe her, but at length they went to investigate and found the man, as she had described. He was lying on the ground but sat up when they approached.

"I have seen your parents," he said, "and how you have been ill-treated through no fault of your own, but solely owing to the jealousy of the evil-doer chiefs. It was they who killed your parents, but now I give you such power that you will be able to vanquish."

"Your name shall be *Nanas*," he continued as he turned to the oldest brother. "You shall be a Cannibal. When you dance energetically, instruct someone to cut your stomach vertically and your souls will fall out, trembling. They will return to you as dawn and you will then fully recover, having frightened the uninitiated."

"Your name shall be *Sang'mat*," he told the second boy. "You, likewise, will be able to have your stomach cut, but you will not be a Cannibal."

"Your name shall be *Nagwa*," he said to the third brother. "You will have the ability to go to the land above to inspect tally poles. You will be able to forecast the length of a man's life from the condition of his pole, and to cure the sick by straightening those that are leaning."

Turning to the fourth brother he continued:

"Your name shall be *qaw*. You are to be a *ma'a* dancer, with power to give food and grease to Owpaxbidze and his brothers in the regions above. On such occasions you will wear a head-dress of branches covered with eagle down."

Then he addressed the fifth and youngest lad, saying:

"Your name shall be *uma'a*. You will have a *Sasiai* dance in respect to that designation, but without special ability."

Finally the stranger turned to the little girl and said:

"Your name shall be *Qaxlaxda'i*. When you dance you will be able to use any one of ten songs and have as patron any supernatural being

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Qoaiosáo-i moved to and fro among the chiefs as they were busying themselves in preparations for leaving, and drew to herself the spirit of every one of the party. As they pushed off from the shore, she put three [illegible] heard which she set about behind them. It vanished in the five [illegible], increasing the various spirits, and presently the canoes were [illegible] and their occupants all drowned. The six orphans continued to live at *Sisaa* where they intermarried with the poor people and in time the village increased in population and fully regained its old importance.

This myth has many points of resemblance with those described in vol. I, chap. 10. Each of the six orphans, and especially *Qoaiosáo-i*, received the boon of supernatural good fortune, but the present given to the five took the form of a *hereditary* prerogative. The names so received are either in use at the present time or have but recently become dormant. *Nacáw* was used by the father's brother of the woman who related the story; *Sowʷ-mai* belongs to her son, a boy about eight years old; *Nusem* is the property of another youth, related to the family; *sáew* has been lent to a friend, subject to recall at any time, and *Qoaiosáo-i* is used by a girl relative about twenty years of age. Each of these has the prerogative of carrying out the dance given to their ancestor at *Sisaa*, long ago.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CARPENTERS[100]

In the beginning *Alqaníim* went down to a point on the upper reaches of the Clearwater four brothers, *Nináwamlaix*, *Waiaxum*, *Alqaníim*, and *Sisi-le-kaix* with several sisters whose names have been forgotten. They thought they were the first to reach this earth but presently, to their sorrow, saw *Tíkwaklis*, a man who had preceded them, and the women cried bitterly in their mortification. *Alqaníim* had given *Nináwamlaix* shamanistic power which he now used as he rubbed his hands over his sisters' faces to carry away their tears.

"Become fog," he said, as he held the palms of his tear-stained hands towards the land of the *Ta-qo-ai* people.

[121] That is why there are thick fogs in the vicinity of Alert Bay to the present day.

Nináwamlaix and his relatives moved a short distance down the valley

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[100] Related by Steamboat Annie.

where they settled. *Ajaxmine* had given him the ability to kill mammals and birds by merely pointing his power at them, and in this way he obtained food for the whole party. He could also cover his victims with the skin of a peculiar stick bearing enchanters, consisting of green moss. These he arranged around a fire balanced on forces which he could move with his feet, so he ground, the moss became animated and lost its femininity. It was *Ajaxmine* who had given him these non-human stick-bearers. *Kinkonchoix* tried to turn mammals into men, but succeeded only with the eyes of the well, whereby these reports appear human even today.

Ajaxmine gave *Kinkonchoix* the prerogative of carrying out a burial dance, which has been performed in the same manner ever since by the owners of that name. His patrons, for he has four, are the supernatural Carpenters. *Kinkonchoix* has the further prerogative of wearing, when dancing, a wooden head piece over his forehead representing *Qo'ko*, perhaps one of the blackbirds. On the night of ceremony, when the musicians are called in, masked figures of the four Carpenters appear, each carrying a conventional specimen of his work. Bows (or end) Hunsrow the masks proper to these beings. *Ax'Tikanhoix* is, as usual, to wonder and explains the significance of the apparitions.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE DANCE OF *Nanaiqqpam*[illegible]

There was once a middle-aged woman who had not been initiated into the ranks of the *Ankwiat*. She decided that she could gain this distinction only by seeing *Ax'Tikanhoix* herself, so with this aim in view she set out to search for the supernatural one. First she penetrated to the source of every creek entering South Bentinck Arm; then proceeded up the Nuckatsumay River to its very head, again visiting the head-waters of every affluent, and finally went up the Bella Coola River, as before, exploring each side stream. For a whole year she travelled without seeing anything supernatural.

At the source of the Clearwater she came to a lake on the other side of which she could see a single column of smoke. It ascended without twist, coil, or movement, as if it were solid, so she knew that it must have a supernatural origin. Bravely she skirted the shore, till she saw that the smoke was rising from a house made of evergreen boughs. Stealing nearer, she beheld *Ax'Tikanhoix* herself within, working with a woman *Nanaiqqpam*. *Ax'Tikanhoix* was using rock crystals to strike the woman senseless, and then reviving her; but all the time was causing *Nanaiqqpam* to sink into the ground. Breathless with excitement the

[illegible]Edited by Innuhout Annie.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

what were his strongest to him. Mythology and origins are so closely connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Bilqula is Sun, the sun-god (compare very early). The eyes of the sun are his symbols. Which proved to be a valid fashion. In praying the Bilqula look heavenward. I observed the following formulas: 'Above, old-Sun, look on us when we are praying, Sun!' and 'Sun-by, commandment-by, Sun-man-of-us, Sun!' Sun is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and does not interfere with the actions and thoughts of men. Thus we given by Mamamalq'aq according to the tradition of the Bilqula before the liberation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is nowadays, two deities lived on the earth: Mamamalq'aq, Tsis'tsaqa, Sk'ulqa'qamk, and Ts'ilts'ilk. The sun wished to obtain the sun, but he was unable to liberate it. Then he went to these deities and asked their help. They assented to the sky, and tore the cedars, which up to that time had been expanded between heaven and earth, hiding the heavenly orbs. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The sun assented to heaven through the old cedar to Mamamalq'aq and found there a beautiful green country in which all the birds lived. Mamamalq'aq and his brethren painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his wife. The sun was not content with the sun, and wanted to try and find a better one. He flew to the house of a great chief, who kept the sun (no-daughter of, sp-weather-day is dawning). The sun was a small round receptacle closed all around like an egg. The chief guarded it jealously, and kept it concealed from one of the sisters of his house. The sun knew that he could not obtain it by sheer force, and resolved to a ruse. He assumed the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and let himself drop into the pool from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pool, swallowed the leaf, and thus became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the sun himself. The old chief loved the boy dearly, and allowed him to play with the sun (sun). This was what he desired. He ran out of the house, broke it, and flew away to the shape of a raven.

After the sun had thus been obtained Mamamalq'aq said: 'Let us make man.' He made the image of a man out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Mamamalq'aq and Ts'ilts'ilk tried likewise to carve human figures and to give them life, but they failed. Finally, Tsis'tsaqa carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in each country, and they became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Mamamalq'aq gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to catch salmon, to build houses. He made rivers everywhere, that man should have water to drink, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by man.

The Bilqula believe that Mamamalq'aq and his brethren still continue to give new ideas to man. They say that any new design of painting or carving, or any other new invention made by a member of their tribe, has been given to him by Mamamalq'aq.

The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been referred to above.

The soul is believed to dwell in the eye. It is similar in shape to a bird inclosed in an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies away its owner must die. Shamans are able to see and to recover souls.

[illegible] (?). [illegible] is sitting on top of the pole. The owners of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

swing always at his side of all animal beings. While she is making the [illegible], she sings,—

[illegible]

[illegible] swing in the House of Myths is the mother of flowers, called [illegible] (Plate X, Figs. 1 and 2), the daughter of [illegible]. It seems that this bird usually moves "going to the right." This evidently refers to the fact that the bird is believed to move on his path towards the west, his forehead, and consequently during the spring months towards the sky moving towards the right; so that [illegible], moving to the right, moves in the same time the springtime, when the sun is moving up the sky. This is the time when flowers begin to sprout. Every spring [illegible] gives birth to all the plants, in the order in which they begin to appear. It shines to called to fire and by men of women who assist her (Plate X, Figs. 3 and 4).

Every year, at the time of the winter solstice, the deities determine who shall die during the ensuing year. Two beings called [illegible], the [illegible] are placed on the ends of a long plank, which is supported at its centre, and swings like a seesaw. Then all the men and all the animals are called to stand near the ends of the plank. When one of the swinging beings falls down from the plank, the person standing near it will die sooner than the one standing at the opposite end. The deities have a messenger called [illegible] (that means "long ear"), who carries all the news from our earth up to the House of Myths. [illegible] has two children,—the elder, who is called [illegible], that is, "the foolish son of [illegible]" (Plate VII, Fig. 6), and [illegible]. I have not been able to learn any thing in regard to the functions of these two beings.

While [illegible] and [illegible] are principally concerned with the fates of mankind, they do not personally interfere with the doings of men. Their thoughts are carried out by four brothers, who are called collectively [illegible] or [illegible] (Plate VIII, Figs. 1–4). These brothers are [illegible] ("the one who finishes his work by chopping once"), [illegible] ("the one who finishes his work by rubbing once"), [illegible] ("the one who finishes his work by cutting once"), and [illegible]. They have a sister called [illegible]. These four brothers live in an elevated room in the rear of the House of Myths. They are engaged in carving and painting. It is said that they gave man his arts. They taught him to build canoes, to make bows, to build houses, and to carve in wood and to

gave. They taught him the methods of hunting, and, according to some, they made the fish. The Bella Coola say, when carving a design, that Mosmosmit'sis gives them the idea which they are working out.

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Sisa has a daughter named Sp'ts'ik-ne'is, who invented the art of working cedar-bark. She figures in the ceremonial, in which the invention of the preparation of cedar-bark is represented. The duty has an assistant called Gmaxw'k, who supports the stick over the edge of which she is breaking the bark. When she is breaking bark, she chants, "Kwata ninq'kwas ti Gmaxw'k-ma" ("Bring to me Gmaxw'k"). After he has been given to her, she chants, "Kwata ninq'kwas ta tqmk'ua" ("Bring me the board on which to break the bark"). After receiving this, she demands the cedar-bark brushes, saying, "Kwata mukqmsa'ts a q'a'k-ma." Finally she asks for cedar-bark, saying, "Kwata k'ulk-tkwas-kata a q'a'k-mana." Then she begins to work, singing,—

"[illegible]
[illegible]"

("Behold me, [illegible]
I am the Cedar-bark Breaker at [illegible]")

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It seems that most of the Bella Coola maintain that the Raven also lives in the House of Myths, but this point of their mythology is somewhat obscure and contradictory. According to the tradition of a number of families, the Raven was one of the beings sent down by Sisa to our world to become the ancestor of men, but at the same time it is told that he invented certain arts. It is stated that he made the first sdmsmsmp (m.th'a'l), which is used in connection with the sdmsm-ceremonial.

It is also said that Mosmosmit'sis attempted to make the whistles for the winter ceremonial, that he was unsuccessful, and that the Raven succeeded in making them; also that the Raven came down to give the world its present shape. He instituted the festivals of the Bella Coola, and then returned to the House of Myths.

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Besides all these deities, there are nine brothers and their sister particularly concerned with the observances of the ka'sist ceremonial (Plate IX, Figs. 1-9). The names of the brothers are, Xemsmsmit'sis, Xi'mnsiwa, Omq'omki'lk'a, Q'o'mnsiwa, Aimsli'ts.sis, Ai'omki'lk'a, K'ic'lus, Q'alasi'wa, A'i'mnk'; and of their sister, L'tsmi'qsis.ana. These deities are painted with certain designs. Xemsmsmit'sis and Xi'mnsiwa are painted with the designs of the full moon (the former carries a staff wound with red and white cedar-bark); Omq'omki'lk'a and Q'o'mnsiwa, with the design of the half-moon; Aimsli'ts.sis and Ai'omki'lk'a, with the design representing the stars; K'ic'lus, with the design of the rainbow; Q'alasi'wa, with the de-

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[illegible]

[illegible] and sometimes in the [illegible]. The following song belongs to [illegible] and dance :—

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] a [illegible] which is called [illegible] [illegible]. It supports the sky, and prevents the Sun from falling down into the lower world. The trail of the Sun is described as a bridge which was built by Mannamkit'sis. The bridge is to be found on the distance between the winter solstice and the summer solstice. The Sun walks its face turned towards the west. In summer he walks on the right-hand side of the bridge, in winter on the left-hand side of the bridge, which explains the varying heights of the sun in the course of the year. The extreme right and extreme left of the bridge are called Ki'ptsai ("the place where he sits down," that is, the solstices). At each of these points a being is placed who is called Ahkwi'tsaai (Plate X, Fig. 3). It is their duty to see that the Sun does not stay too long at the solstice. If in summer or winter he should be inclined to stay too long or to return too soon, they regulate his course. When the Sun carries too long at the winter solstice, the people say, "Ta-ists pa'sis" ("cold will be dead last this year"). If he leaves it without carrying, they say, "Ak'i'e ists pa'sis" ("soon we shall die cold"). Three guardians named Nagunsp'ensis (Plate X, Fig. 1) accompany the Sun on his course, dancing around him all the time. The hole is called Iwa'ensis ki Mam, t'sis ("the eye of our father"). A [illegible] that appears westward from the Sun is called Aiapsi ki Mam, t'sis ("the painted face of our father"). The Bella Coola believe that when it drops down to our earth, it causes epidemics. During an eclipse the Sun is believed to lose his torch. The eye of the Sun are his cyclashes.

There are twenty-four guardians appointed to take care of the sky. They are called Nesalak'a'a. According to tradition, the sky must be continually fed with firewood. Once upon a time they put too much firewood into the sky and made it burst. All the pieces except one, called S'ax-wait'sam, fell down to our earth. The fragments hit the faces of the twenty-four guardians, and disfigured them. They tried to mend the sky, but did not know how to do it. They went down the river, and came to Mannamkit'sis, whose assistance they asked. Mannamkit'sis gathered up the broken pieces, and glued them together. Up to that time the Sun had said in the east, but now he began to go on his daily course. At that time Mannamkit'sis built the bridge over which the Sun travels every day. He placed a wedge in the opening of the sky, into which the Nesalak'a'a

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] of them he gives to the shamans. . . . . A third spirit is the Bear (Dzaúrsenu), which is believed to live in caves and to have the shape of a [illegible]. When a shaman who is inspired by this spirit enters an incantation in a house, singing and dancing, as all the shamans do, whoever approaches the house and hears the song turns back. They believe that whoever passes the house during the incantation will be punished with death by the spirit Bear.[illegible]

I believe this spirit is identical with [illegible], who as noted before, has the second name Dzaúrsenu. According to Jochelson, some shamans are [illegible] by the ghosts. He says that the ghosts are believed to have [illegible] hands and feet like men. I am under the impression, however, that the people [illegible] by them are not shamans, but [illegible] shamans (see Chap. VII).

Another being who [illegible] shamans is described in the following [illegible]:—

Once upon a time there was a man and a woman who had two sons. The three elder sons died. Then the father and mother and the youngest brother were very unhappy, and the old people cried for grief until they died. The young man was now left all alone. He left his village, intending to go away and never to return. He pulled his blanket over his head and walked on. Sometimes he would stop to pray. He lived on the meat of mountain-goats which he shot. He built a small but high up on the mountains, and dried the meat. He was crying and praying all the time. He prayed to the Sun to give him a gift which would remove his happiness. One day early in the morning he recorded the movements. He addressed the rising Sun, saying, "Look at me, how unhappy I am." After he had gone a short distance he came to a swamp. The bed of the swamp was filled with pretty pebbles. There he met a beautiful man, who was no other than the Sun, who had descended from the sky. He had caused the water of the creek that runs through the swamp to disappear. When the young man saw the stranger from a distance, he thought, "He seems to be looking for me." He went nearer; and when they met, the Sun said, "I am the one to whom you are praying all the time, and I come to help you. Now be happy. When you open your mouth and speak to me, I know your thoughts at once. I help those who address themselves to me. Take this." With these words he handed the young man a switch carved in the shape of a man. The Sun was carrying it under his arm, the point of the switch directed downward. "Fold your arms and hold the switch in your chest, and then return to the village. When you approach any one, hide the switch under your arm. You will find a person who wears a mountain-ornament of beautiful green color. Then you must try to hit the ornament with this switch, and throw it to your right side."

[illegible] He collected six, and after a while he collected a new village of a thousand. There he hid the corpse under his arm. When he came back, he saw that the sun was a large green something. He hid it (?) in the corpse, and there it is to the right-hand side. Then the man said, "You have obtained for us your supernatural helper. You cause death by Poison (Dzo 'ulum, 'dead'). Many people have seen you, but nobody has done what you did. If you had not obtained my supernatural, you would have died on seeing me. You shall have the power to heal the sick by the touch of your hands. Whenever a person dies and is put into a box, after the box has been placed in the burial-ground, go there. You will find me sitting on the coffin. If then you touch the something from out of my arm, I shall leave, and the dead will revive. He will drink the box, and will arise."

Then the young man felt very glad. He returned to the village, and by following the instructions of the spirit he resuscitated the dead. He was given many blankets, and the man whom he had resuscitated gave him their daughters in marriage.

[755] [776] Other shamans are initiated by a bird-spirit-man. The same man who gave me the record of his supposed visit to the country of the ghosts (see p. 46) told me that on another time he saw a bird-spirit-man flying in the air outside of his house. He wore a ring of red cedar-bark around his neck. He was turning round all the time. Songs were coming from all parts of his body. Although she did not open her mouth, it sounded as though a great many people were singing. She gave him a song, or, in the narrator's supposed tongue, "she threw a song into his body." At that time he was sick, suffering from a wound in his leg inflicted by an axe. He said four days after receiving the spirit he was able to walk, and since that time she has assisted him in curing diseases.

The s'ôten is another helper of the shaman, and the means of curing disease (see p. 48). It appears that it obtains its supernatural power from the fact that it lives in the water in which the supreme deity washes her face. When a person sees a s'ôten, he should throw sand on it, by which means he will be able to catch it. The skin is so hard that it cannot be pierced with a spear or knife. The person who catches it should not try to cut it with his knife, but should scratch his hand backward, and thus he will find the leaf of a holly, which is the only thing that can cut the skin. He should not touch the s'ôten with his hands, but hold it with hemlock twigs. He should wrap it in white cedar-bark and tie it up in his blanket. If it is not thus tied up, it will disappear. It must not be taken into the house, but should be placed in a small box and hidden under stones, or buried in a hole under the root of a tree. It is a most potent means of curing disease. Sick people will buy small pieces of the s'ôten, for which

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they pay high prices. The place to throw into water, in which it is kept for four days. Then the water is used for washing the body. If a healthy person uses this water, he will live to an old age. Sick persons chew the white cedar-bark to which it is wrapped up, in order to regain health. They must not swallow the cedar-bark, but only the saliva that gathers in their mouths. A person who has chewed the cedar-bark becomes invulnerable. The eye of the sl'ätsa, is described as about a foot in diameter, and as transparent as rock crystal.

Tsa'lax.'it is the spirit who protects the mountain-goat hunter. He himself is invisible; but great hunters sometimes see his hat, his mountain, or his mountain staff moving about. The following tradition describes some of his characteristics:—

The Raven and the Lynx lived in one house, each occupying one side. Early in the morning the Raven went out to catch salmon with the harpoon. He was very successful, and carried the fish home. Tsa'lax.'it watched the Raven, who, when he arrived at the house, roasted his salmon. The children of the Lynx were sitting near by, and looking at the Raven while he was roasting the fish. They wished to participate in the meal, but he did not give them anything. Then the children were very sad. Now the Lynx made up his mind to make arrows and to go hunting mountain-goat. He went out and cut some wood for his arrows; then he told his wife to make a quiver, which he called Ts'e'lapala. She did so, and wove a quiver of cedar-bark. The Lynx was quite impatient for the sun to rise, so eager was he to start hunting. Early in the morning he arose and ascended the mountain. When he reached the limit of the trees, he sat down on a flat rock and looked for goats. Then he saw the staff of a man who was coming down the mountain. He did not see the person himself. He thought, "Who is that? Who may be hunting here?" The stick approached him; and when it came near, he saw Tsa'lax.'it, who wore a large hat. His hat was named Q'ap'at. (that means a "barren mountain-top"). Tsa'lax.'it reached the Lynx, and sat down opposite him. Neither spoke a word. After a while Tsa'lax.'it arose, took the arrows of the Lynx, and said, "How beautiful these arrows are!" He took up one after another until he had looked at all the four arrows of the Lynx. Then he asked, "Who made these arrows?" The Lynx did not reply. Tsa'lax.'it asked again, "Who made these arrows?" Then Lynx replied, "Tsa'lax.'it made my arrows." Then Tsa'lax.'it was very much pleased, and said, "Is he the one who made your arrows?"—"Certainly," replied Lynx. Then Tsa'lax.'it took his arrows and threw one after another down the mountain, and said to the Lynx, "Now go down the mountain and look at your arrows. If you spoke the truth, every

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one of them will have killed a large mountain-goat." The Lynx descended the mountain, and saw that every one of his arrows had killed a goat. Then he was glad, because now he had food for his children. He jumped and danced for joy. And Tsa'lax.'a said, "I am Tsa'lax.'a. I am so called because I am the mountain-goat hunter. Now return to your village. From now on, I am your supernatural protector. The next time you go hunting, and you do not find any mountain-goats, sit down and throw your arrows down the mountain. Every one will kill a goat. But do not lose those arrows. If you should lose them, you would never kill another mountain-goat." The mountain-goats were so large, that Lynx took only their fat, which he put into his quiver and climbed down the mountain. He arrived at his house in the afternoon. He left his quiver outside, and the Raven saw him coming in. The Lynx sat down by the side of his wife. He did not say a word. His wife and his children also received him in silence. In the evening, when it was dark, he said to his wife, "Go and fetch my quiver. It is hanging outside on a stick." She went there and tried to lift it, but it was too heavy. She returned to her husband and told him that she was not strong enough to lift it, and asked him to fetch it himself. He said, "It is not heavy." He went out himself and brought it in. He opened it and took out the fat; and he gave some of it to his children, but he did not give any to the Raven's children. Then the Raven was very sad. After a little while, the Raven's children began to cry, because they wanted some of the fat.

Early the next morning the Lynx went to fetch the meat of the mountain-goat. The Raven watched him, and saw where he went. When he saw that the Lynx had killed mountain-goats, he made up his mind to go hunting too. He told his wife to make him a quiver while he went out to cut wood for his arrows. In the evening the quiver and the arrows were done. In the afternoon the Lynx came home, bringing the meat of the mountain-goats. Early the next morning the Raven started, following the tracks of the Lynx. He reached the place where the Lynx had sat down. He sat there, and placed his arrows by his side. He looked around for mountain-goats. After some time he saw a staff moving along in the distance. It approached, and soon he saw a man coming down the mountain. It was Tsa'lax.'a. He reached him, and sat down opposite the Raven. They did not speak a word. After a while Tsa'lax.'a arose, took up the arrows, and said, "Man, your arrows are beautiful. Who made them?" The Raven did not reply. Then Tsa'lax.'a said again, "Tell me who made your arrows." Then the Raven answered, "The name of the man who makes my arrows is Raven." Then Tsa'lax.'a took the arrows, threw them down the mountain, and said to the Raven, "You are bad!" And he turned back, and ascended the mountain. The Raven went down the mountain, trying to find his arrows.

They had let a stone, and their points were broken. He cried there some 537
time, and when it was nearly dark he returned home. Before he reached 776
his house, he cut his own belly and took out some of the fat from his intestines. He cut it in five pieces, and replaced his intestines. He put the fat into his quiver. When he reached his house, he hung the quiver up outside, and entered. He lamented everything the Lynx had done. When it grew dark, he told his wife to fetch his quiver. She brought it, and he told her to open it and to feed his children. She took the fat out, placed it on a stick, and put it near the fire; and as soon as it grew warm, the Raven cried, "This! Don't put it so near the fire. I feel sick when you do so." He jumped up took hold of the fat, and put it back to his belly. The Lynx said, "Formerly I fed your children, but you were the first one to treat me properly. You did not give any food to my children." Then the Lynx took some fat, and flung one piece to each of the Raven's children. He cut some more and gave it to them also. Then the Raven said, "I will give you one of my children, that it may grow up to company with yours."

It is said that the former spirit Tsi'lac'k was killed at one time by an 713
Indian who took his place. This tale is recorded in Chap. IV. It belongs to 776
the tribe of the village Nuxo'q'l. A similar tradition is told of Aiaiu,[1] [570]
by which name the Carriers call the Raven, their principal culture hero. Many traditions referring to Aiaiu are common to the Carriers, the Bella Coola, and the Awik'nuxs of Rivers Inlet.

The Bella Coola believe that a being called K'ioxu is the father of all mountaingoats. When a hunter meets him, he thinks he sees a kid. Then 776
he should close his eyes and open them again. If the animal is K'ioxu, it 525
will appear in its real shape as a buck of enormous size. The hunter should then ascend the mountain. If he should descend, he would fall and die.

The thunder-storm is produced by the Thunder-bird, who lives on the 776
mountains, in the company of a number of spirits, who are considered his [521]
particular friends. The Thunder-bird himself is represented by a black mask with red nostrils. The nose is strongly curved, the forehead bulges [532]
forward, and the chin protrudes almost as far forward as the nose (Plate XI, Fig. 1). His herald is called A'xaxla'xnoom (Plate XI, Fig. 2). His face is painted with orange and blue stripes, and he carries a speaker's staff, which is painted with spirals of the same color. He watches the door of the Thunder-bird's house. In his house live the Rabbit (Plate XI, Fig. 3); the Owl, who is considered the rival of the Thunder-bird (Plate XI, Fig. 4); [575]
the Mountain, Lo'qas (Plate XI, Fig. 5); the Raindrop (Plate XI, Fig. 6).

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 30.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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to a guest was regarded as amusing. In recent years, however, 837
some husbands have made a practice of renting their wives to [48]
white men. This is not considered creditable, but the Bella [548]
Coola do not strongly condemn breaches of the moral code, [183]
which are regarded as the affair of the husband alone. There is said to be a Bella Bella custom by which a wife takes as recognized paramour one of the friends of her husband who is thought not only to know of this but to receive the presents which the lover gives his wife. The two continue to be friends and often hunt together; in fact, their mutual interest in the woman is a bond between them. No trace of this practice [171]
could be found in Bella Coola.

POLYGAMY

It has thus far been assumed that the Bella Coola are 595
monogamous, an assumption correct only since the period of 556
white dominance. Previous to that time it was quite common [177]
for wealthy men to have three, four, or more wives. *Pathu*, the important chief so often mentioned, had nine, ten, or eleven, the exact number is not known. A man wishing to take a second wife could do so in the manner already described, although the period of engagement was usually much shorter, and working for his parents-in-law was not expected. The reason for this was obvious to the Bella Coola. None but a chief of importance could afford more than a single wife, and such an one could not be expected to demean himself by working for anyone else. Besides, parents were glad to have their daughters married to a great chief, so willingly omitted the customary period of servitude. Few attained the distinction of having several wives. As far as could be learnt, [162]
the number of the sexes seems always to have been about equal, in itself a check to polygyny in a community where practically every adult had a wife. A number of males were always slain in war, and it is to be assumed that polygyny was made possible only through the surplus of women thus caused. The great majority of men had a single wife, some chiefs had

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to force his attentions on a slave woman if she objected, 836
although her refusal would be most unusual on account of his [567]
prestige. There were no professional prostitutes; a man [548]
usually gave a small present to a girl from whom he had received favours, and she was expected to give him a little, dainty basket filled with undyed cedar-bark to use as a sponge. Such relations appear always to have been of common occurrence. Today, as formerly, a man's morality is considered to 836
be his own affair; laxity may lower his prestige, but no law is 522
broken, and his neighbours laugh and chaff him about it. In fact, sexual matters are discussed with the greatest freedom, and a person who has been caught is mocked mercilessly. When visiting a foreign tribe, a man sometimes lives with a [648]
woman and, on parting, composes and sings a song describing her charms. One man did this after living with a Kitlope woman, and on his return to Bella Coola found that some of his fellows had learnt it in some unexplained manner; they used to sing it to him, much to their amusement, in part to his own, and somewhat to the annoyance of his wife. This perhaps illustrates rather clearly the attitude of the Bella Coola to an infraction of morality—where no marriage rite has been broken; it is amusing rather than disgusting. There 836
are no times when the moral code ceases to function. At pot-
latches, and also at *kusiut* dances, there appears always to [834]
have been a certain amount of laxity, although this was strictly prohibited within the house where the ceremony was taking place. Such behaviour is due to the excitement and stimulus of a large gathering, not to anything connected with the rites themselves.

Perverted sexual desires, like other matters connected with 834
the relations of the sexes, are regarded as concerning the individual alone. Sodomy appears to be unknown. Intercourse 836
by pre-adolescents is held to be disgusting, but carries with it
no social ostracism. Incestuous union, however, is mildly anti- 835
social; it exposes the offender to secret contempt, but does not
interfere with his attainment of whatever position his wealth 556

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/For names appearing in myths see category 116, pp. 295-360 and pp. 619-692./

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rate most of them, are carefully used in accordance with the 776*
functions of this supreme deity. As a Bella Coola has many [551]
names, corresponding to his membership in various societies, his professional prerogatives, his ancestral myths, and mere nicknames, so has *Ālquntām*, who is a superman, many names, according to his special functions. It would be unthinkable [782]
for a Bella Coola to pray to *Ālquntām*, yet it is common for him to pray to *Mīnakais* or *Tātā*, other names for the same being. The multiplicity of functions and designations approaches the point of obscuring the unity of *Ālquntām*, which in fact, some Bella Coola even deny. They state that *Sinxālotla*, *Mīnakais*, *Smaialotla*, and *Nuxekmālsaix* are one, but that *Ālquntām*, *Snuxlkāls*, and *Nonodjonostem* are three distinct supernatural beings. This seeming confusion presents [424]
no difficulties to the Indian, since each family has its own [184]
myths in which such facts are recorded. He believes these, [771]
without questioning those of his neighbour, and it is even possible for an individual to believe two contradictory statements, if he happens to become the owner of two contradictory myths. Evidence collected in the field does not make clear whether the beliefs of the Bella Coola illustrate an incomplete transformation of a single deity into a number of minor ones, or whether they represent the almost complete fusion of a number of beings into one. Following the practice of the great majority of the Bella Coola, the supreme deity will be referred to as *Ālquntām*.

The most obvious attribute of *Ālquntām* is connected with 776*
the sun. He can enter it and use it as if it were his canoe. In 821
form he resembles a man, and when he takes charge of the sun it appears as if the latter were a large, self-propelling, radiant boat with windows through which he looks forth. It is said that long ago he allowed mink to take charge of the sun, but the malicious animal ran it so close to earth that the intense heat killed almost all living creatures. When *Ālquntām* enters [825]
the sun he wears a cloak, on the lining of which are salmon; reversing this causes the rivers on earth to teem with salmon.

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773 hanging a number of bird and animal cloaks, representing ravens, eagles, whales, grizzly bears, black bears, and a few others. *Alqwntām* asked each individual which of these cloaks he preferred to wear. One selected a raven, another an eagle, and so on. Each donned his choice from the wall and immediately became the bird or animal chosen. *Alqwntām* gave each man or woman one or more names, and some food in compressed form; then sent him down in avian or mammal form. Even the animals could travel through the air like birds, and each landed on the peak of a mountain in the Bella Coola country, took off his cloak, and reassumed human form. The discarded coverings floated back up to *Nuxmāt·a*. A few individuals, instead of coming to earth in animal form, swarmed down posts which stretched between the worlds.

177 773 This myth is fervently believed by the Bella Coola. Even Christian Indians, though they readily admit the biblical creation as applied to the white race, remain convinced of the manner in which their own ancestors came into being. At the present time, though most ancient beliefs are rapidly passing away, few, if any, Bella Coola doubt this account of the creation of their forefathers. Their conviction rests not only on the religious aspect of their life, but on the sociological. A man's [551] [424] most treasured possessions are the name brought down from above by his ancestor in the beginning of time, the knowledge of the form taken by that ancestor, and information about the place where he landed. A collection of myths of this kind is given in vol. I, chap. VI. Lacking knowledge of his first ancestor's form, a Bella Coola has slight chance of becoming a [622] [554] [567] chief; such lore is the birthright of every descendant of one of these first people, and those without it are almost certain to be the offspring of slaves. The social aspects of creation myths will be described later; at this point a broad outline must suffice. *Nuxmāt·a*, "The House of Myths," is the place in which these myths were made, and are now stored, two reasons for its importance in the eyes of the Bella Coola.

[775] *Nuxmāt·a* is not only connected with the history of an indi-

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a friend. Raven determined to supply this want for the benefit of the Kimsquit people. Accordingly he used a natural stone depression near the village as his chamber-pot, and the liquid reflected faces clearly. Ever since, any liquid, even rain-water, placed in that depression acts as a reflector. The place is called *Ăwilxsaix*, "Where People Go," and it has been used as a mirror by the Kimsquit people and their guests for many generations. In this way, the renown of Raven spread to foreigners visiting Kimsquit. Another survival of this construction is the name *Nuxqălăt-a*, "Chamber-Pot," commonly applied as a nickname to the small daughters of Kimsquit chiefs. 773 778 823 [551]

One of Raven's inventions was the making of nettle-fibre olachen nets, an art which he taught spiders as well as men. In the beginning of time, Raven told two men to make a net according to a pattern which he showed them, and gave them some fibre. It was not sufficient, and when the workers asked for more, Raven told them to draw it from their own intestines. This they did, and ever since spiders have had the same ability. Another story describes how Raven saw an olachen net being made in one of the distant villages which he visited during his travels, learnt the details of its manufacture, and taught the Bella Coola on his return home. 773 [227] [825]

Many of Raven's exploits are well known, although not embodied in elaborate myths. For example, it is believed that in the beginning of time the ocean was to the east of Bella Coola and the land to the west. Drownings were frequent, so Raven altered the relative positions of land and sea. Most ocean dwellers followed the sea to its new home, but a number of mussels remained near their human friends. They are still to be found in the upper valley of Bella Coola River. These shell-fish, which are probably freshwater mussels, are said to be identical with those of the ocean, and are called by the same name. This is always mentioned as proof of the former presence of salt water in the upper Bella Coola valley. The occurrence of the shell-fish may be the origin of this theory. It might also be mentioned that the Bella Coola believe that a few years 773 823 [825]

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778 Shamans achieve much of their success through their ability
777 to put their wash-basins, both tangible (I, p. 560) and imma-
823 terial, in tune with *Ałquntăm*'s in the land above. One method
756 of treating a patient is by washing, with the idea that the water
[755] and vessel used have potency through association with those in the upper world. It is believed that in the distant past, shamans were even able to carry their patients to the land above and wash them in *Ałquntăm*'s own basin. Such feats
[551] are perpetuated in certain shamans' names, such as *Ałpälxe-lselsix*.

778 It may be said in conclusion that although the Bella Coola
777 have indefinite ideas concerning the exact form and functions of this last element, there is a firm belief that an individual's fortune in life depends upon the activity of spirit, tally post, and wash-basin. With regard to supernatural elements as a whole, it is clear that in spite of somewhat conflicting beliefs concerning the precise functions of each, they play an important part in the life of every Bella Coola.

Means of Propitiation

782 Some of the methods employed by the Bella Coola to gain the favour of the supernatural have already been mentioned, but the subject is sufficiently important to warrant a separate section. In view of the omnipresence of supernatural beings and powers, and their influence on the lives of mortals, it is not surprising that the propitiation of them is a vital factor in human life. The chief means are prayer, sacrifice, and the observance of ceremonial chastity.

Prayer

[796] Prayers are regularly addressed to *Ałquntăm* who, in this connection, is known as *Mănakaix* or *Tätä*, both meaning, "Father." A wise man or woman desiring success in hunting, in love affairs, in the acquisition of wealth, or in any activity whatsoever, is accustomed to ask *Mănakaix* to grant his desire. No ritual is required. The petitioner merely seeks a lonely

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This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail in vol. I, chap. VII, but mention of it here has been necessary to explain the composition of the ancestral family. 582 [614]

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to marry foreign women in order that they, or their children, might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a trend towards exogamy has arisen from the same reason which is supposed to have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said that this practice was initiated by a certain *Potles*, father of a man about sixty years old in 1923. White influence probably had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its wide adoption has been made more easy by the establishment of peaceful conditions on the coast. [554] [177]

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestry, it is unlikely that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These are of two kinds: names and land. 614 554

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bella Coola nomenclature is that each name must have originated in connection with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable to apply a casual designation to a child. At a person's death his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were all given designations by *Ālquntām*; these have been carefully handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying 551 [768] [553] [773] [428]

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551 with it some definite prerogative of a dance or other function,
428 but all are transmissible, and at the owner's death these may fall to different relatives. A name may pass from man to woman, or *vice versa*, in some cases with a minor alteration. [756] The only non-inheritable appellations are those obtained by shamans as a result of their supernatural experiences.

551 Not only did each group of first settlers bring with them a
773 number of designations from above, but they also created a number on this earth and bestowed them on their children,
553 and on the children of their sisters or brothers, in whom they felt an almost parental interest. To mark the dignity of the names, all present at the ceremony of bestowal received gifts from the creator of the name, the person who called them together for the rite. The importance of the individual depended largely upon the value of the goods distributed with respect to his name, a concept which will be elaborated in the following chapter. The descendants of these first people likewise created new designations and established their dignity by distributing presents, a practice which still continues. It follows that any complete origin myth should include a large number of names, those brought down from the land above[1] and also those created by the powerful first people on this earth itself.[2] Both types of cognomen will be referred to henceforth as "ancestral names," no distinction being made between those actually brought from above and those made on earth. This is in accordance with Bella Coola usage.

553 Soon after the birth of a child his father, uncle, or other near relative,[3] either on the paternal or maternal side, calls the members of the village together to bestow a name on the infant. The one selected must be embodied in the origin myth of one or other of the parents, and must be one not then in use by any other member of the ancestral family. A relative may give the

[1]Such a name is a *smatlas skwatsta*, or "Petrified Name."
[2]Such a name is a *smanti-a skwatsta*, or "Earth-Made Name."
[3]The most careful investigation failed to show that it was incumbent on any particular relative.

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614 The converse of this process of loss is the assimilation to
553 an origin myth of names originally brought into the ancestral
178 family by a woman from abroad. Unless intercourse and
773 friendly relations were maintained by "return marriages," in a few generations no tradition would be remembered to account for the name, and this, if used at all, would be interwoven into the well-known ancestral myth. Hence a myth is not static with regard to the names embodied in it. These change from generation to generation; it is probable that elements of the story itself suffer like additions and alterations, even though the people do not consider this to be the case.

611 The Bella Coola regard the ancestral family as a social unit,
614 not only in terms of the present, but as stretching back to the first settlement of the earth. Viewed from this angle, it is in fact, though not admitted to be so by the Bella Coola, a unilateral grouping with patrilineal descent, which may, in both the most recent and most ancient generations, be marked by matrilineal descent instead. A man frequently uses prerogatives obtained through his mother, her mother, or even her mother's mother, but it is tacitly assumed that for many previous generations such rights passed in the patrilineal line. Sometimes this succession extended back to the beginning of time; in other cases, prerogatives were transmitted matrilineally for a considerable period after the settlement of the earth, before gradually becoming patrilineal.

614 It has been thus far assumed that the only prerogative
424 wrapped up in an ancestral name is a knowledge of the myth in which it is embodied. But there are others. For example,
551 several of the first inhabitants of the world are said to have erected totem-poles, each of which was displayed by its owner at the gathering when he took for himself a name. Thenceforth, the only person entitled to use that particular totem-
[532] pole design was the person with the legal right to the name in
[535] question. The same principle governs all dance names; each entitles its owner to perform a certain ceremonial. Thus it is possible to enlarge the previous definition by saying that:

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The ancestral family consists of those whose ancestral names, embodying definite prerogatives, are embodied in a single origin myth. 614 424 551

A stranger finds it easier to understand why names are so carefully maintained within the ancestral family by thinking of them as symbols of prerogatives, but it must be emphasized that the Bella Coola preserve with equal jealousy those designations of which the only prerogative is the marking of this actual membership. [554]

If, then, the ancestral family be regarded as a group possessing a large number of name-prerogatives, it may well be asked how these are distributed among the members. The first point to be emphasized is that the ancestral family is a unit held together without definite social mechanism. There is no accepted "head" of the family, nor are there any clearly formulated laws governing the transmission of the name-prerogatives. Before death a man usually calls together his relatives and bequeaths,[8] according to his desire, his personal property in slaves and canoes, and his intangible property in names. Such a designation does not become the property of the new owner unless he is able to validate his ownership by a distribution of presents; meanwhile the name is "dead." If, during this period, some other member of the ancestral family should desire it for a child, or for himself, he can take possession of it by the customary distribution of presents. In doing so he would anger the legatee, but the latter cannot himself use the appellation since it is already in use. Even at the present time there are bitter quarrels over the assumption of names, and such have certainly occurred for many generations. If a man can validate fairly promptly a name willed to him, it is most unusual for anyone else to try to forestall him. 614 553 428 553 431 [578]

If a man dies intestate, his sons consider themselves his normal heirs, and the most respected of them validates for himself as many names as he desires or is able to assume. Disputes are not as common as might be expected since the 428 553 [578]

[8] In case of sudden death or failure to make a will confusion sometimes occurs.

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
601 [614] Female relatives of the same ancestral family and generation as the speaker	.....	*pauxlaxte*
Child	*mimas*	*mimas*
Son, until twelve or thirteen years old	*Ŧai*, a term of endearment used for any small child, or by name. Use of the personal name becomes more frequent with increasing age.	*ameulki*
[551] Son, when adult	By name, or *djatskai*.	By name or *ameulki* (man). *pauxulx-i*
Daughter, until twelve or thirteen years of age	*Ŧai*, a term of endearment used for any small girl, or by name. Use of the personal name becomes more frequent with increasing age.	
Daughter, when adult	By name; infantile term of endearment is also sometimes used.	By name.
Stepchild	Same as for own child.	
Brother's child or Sister's child	Usually by same terms as own children, merely as a mark of endearment; also *emis*. Corresponding to the use of *ŧwalkw* where *sisai* is strictly applicable, *sapinas* is used in some cases instead of *emis*.	*emis*. Depending on the composition of the family, this term is in many cases applied to the children of an *emis* if they form part of the family group.
Son's child or Daughter's child	Usually as for own child, or by name, or *skwimakais*. This last is merely the term for indirect address, with the endearing suffix, *kais*.	*skwis*
Descendants	.....	*kwaidjat* or *skwaidjat*. Terms used rhetorically to describe a man with many descendants. The latter term means "manyness."
[614] Family	.....	*mamamis* the ancestral family, those who claim descent from one group of ancestors, even though their exact relationship has been forgotten.

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554 or sat in two rows, facing one another, on opposite sides of the
* 556 central fire, parallel to the side walls of the house. When these
[773] first ancestors died, the name of each was passed on to some
descendant. The Bella Coola feel that he who bears the name
[551] of the first settler in a village should have his ancestor's seat.
[171] Comparison with the practices of other coastal tribes suggests that formerly the Bella Coola must have had a definite series of seats in their houses, either according to the rank of the occupant, or according to the rank of the ancestor whose name he bore. The most careful investigation, however, failed to show such a system of ranked seating. The only indications that such may once have been customary, are found in the feeling today that the bearer of the first chief's name ought to occupy the central seat behind the fire, and in the expression, "He seats himself where his ancestor sat," when a youth is given his place in the house.

[551] A seat can be claimed and an ancestral name assumed at any age. Goods must be given away which are said to be "covering" for the young man, to have "flowed away," or to have "become nothing" for the name. These validate the official assumption of the designation. With it is given a place in the house. A seat is chosen at the side of the fire, and the goods mark that spot as his in conjunction with the name.
[424] The seat itself is not material, though the general location on which a person shall sit is indicated. His "seat" is the goods that have been expended. Several men may have positions at practically the same spot, but when all are seated they merely move slightly so that all have room. There is no thought of one person infringing on the location of another. A parent who gives ample wealth at successive potlatches may seek for his son a seat behind the fire. Such is entirely his own affair and if sufficient goods are distributed the son may seat himself in that place, but if the gifts are of little value the occupant is secretly held in derision, as having a seat that is unsound, or unfirm. In later years the man may expend large sums in strengthening his seat; by so doing he wins recognition from

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the food and goods distributed, since it was winter and the 553
people were in dire straits on account of the destruction of all 556 *
their stores. In consequence, the uncle decided to make a new name for his nephew, *Skāml*, "Charred Wood." By virtue of the goods expended this name became an honourable title, and was maintained by lavish presents. Any similar incident connected with a potlatch can be made the origin of a designation. Another example of a manufactured name is one derived from a peculiarity of the man giving the potlatch. A number of years ago a chief was jeered at by his associates on account of the frequency with which he had to visit the toilet. When next he gave a potlatch he created the name *Āpstel·a*, "The Toilet One," and gave great dignity to the designation by presents.

Since a seat is valuable only on account of the goods ex- 554
pended in obtaining it with respect to a certain name, it is 556 *
obvious that names and seats are closely associated. A man who wishes his son to succeed to his own location in the house seats the youth, as has been described, at his feet. It may be a matter of years before he actually takes his father's position, but during that time he is treated with respect; he is still a commoner, but it is recognized that his parent considers him likely to "make good" and become a true chief by ability to give presents. Should he fail to do so, inexorably his influence wanes, in spite of his name and duly validated seat. He keeps the latter, but it is no longer considered one of importance. Thus, too, the course of names from generation to generation [551] ●
is a series of curves; sometimes one is on a pinnacle of glory when "made strong" by a powerful chief, but in the next generation it may fall to the dust through ownership by a [195]
weakling. As the Bella Coola express it: It has become hermaphroditized.

A woman is rarely established in a seat, and usually only when a chief has no sons or other near male descendants. In [562]
such a case she receives an ancestral name and has the same status as a male chief. At the present time one important

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554 chief had thus obtained a seat for his daughter, as well as ones
* 556 for his two sons. But usually a woman continues to use the
562 ancestral name given to her in infancy until she is able to
[553] assist her husband in a potlatch, when a name is validated for her (see I, p. 410). The ancestral names of the first women to occupy this earth are reserved for women and, like men's names, vary in prestige according to the prowess of their owners. Most names given to children, though embodied in
[551] origin myths, are applicable to either sex; and these are the common designations of women. Cases are known in which a woman has assumed an ancestral name if her brother has allowed it to fall into ill-repute through failure to give potlatches.

554 With such a fluid system, no fixed line can be drawn be-
* 556 tween chief and commoner. But after his fourth potlatch a
622 man's influence in the community has become so great that he will usually feel justified in having the carpenters make for
[352] him a material seat. There is nothing to prevent a person having one made for him before he has given the requisite number of potlatches, but too rapid assumption may render him liable to the scorn of the community through his failure to show himself sufficiently "strong." The contempt shown
[626] to anyone attempting to usurp too lofty a place is a strong deterrent to a proud young man.

[532] On the material seat are carved the man's ancestral crests,
[352] in other words the forms in which his first ancestors came to earth, or some of the beings with whom they came in contact. To show these is a matter of pride, but unless the display is fittingly validated, the man's own dignity will be lowered, as well as that of his ancestors. Construction of a seat is particularly common when a man is establishing himself in the central position behind the fire, and claims this to be where his first ancestor sat. Others among the first people may have chosen seats in other parts of the house, and in these, likewise, a man who is taking his ancestral name may have a material seat constructed. Establishment in such a position increases a chief's feeling of mental superiority, as if strength-

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as a man by the duly validated ownership of a chief's name in her own right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat seal, unless he had been the slayer. If many seals are killed, chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs seat themselves according to their proper positions and are first served with the blood-stained grease that floats to the top of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is cut into strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths, according to the number of guests. The cuts run down each fore-flipper, so that each receives a narrow strip including one of the toes. The head is always given to the herald.[3]

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary meals even when no seal or deer has been killed. On these occasions, as at seal feasts, the guests are designated by their ancestral names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also accustomed to meet for the discussion of matters connected with the winter ceremonial; on such occasions their number may be augmented by men of influence in the secret society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the *kallat* society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a *numitl* chief is outweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the views of some individual must be accepted. The writer was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but

[3] Every effort was made to ensure the accuracy of this account, but errors may have crept in on account of the length of time which has elapsed since the ceremony was carried out in full detail.

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184 standardized. Boys and girls helped their parents, and there
476 was no definite age at which they ceased to do so. The fluidity
* 556 of the Bella Coola system was contrary to any standardization. The more important a chief became, the more did he receive from dependent relatives, but the more did they expect in the way of "return presents." It was advantageous to be generous, within the family circle as well as without, since life was so public that every transaction even of a "private" nature, was well known. Unquestionably, a greedy and strong-minded individual must frequently have taken advantage of help from his housemates, but there was no strict code of ethics in regard to this. In brief, it may be said that the acquisition of wealth was an unstandardized, individual, matter; its distribution was likewise according to individual volition, although within a rigidly defined tribal pattern.

Sisaak Society

551 The ancestral names that chiefs desire to raise to a position
* 556 of eminence are usually embodied in myths dealing with the first settlement of this earth, names which belong, as has been
575 stated, to the ancestral family. Many of these traditions
614 record other designations as well, each of which carries with it
[535] the prerogative of performing a type of dance known as *sisaak*. These will be spoken of, henceforth, as *sisaak* names. The Bella Coola do not know the meaning of this term. These
[553] names, like ancestral ones, are the potential property of members of the ancestral family, but can only be assumed when duly validated by presents. Such an assumption follows a
553 period of seclusion in the back-room of the house. Both men
* 556 and women are eligible. A person may be secluded in this way
575 a number of times, acquiring a new *sisaak* name on each occa-
[562] sion, but as presents must be distributed every time, it follows that only the children or relatives of wealthy chiefs can be so favoured. It is desirable to have the bestowal of a *sisaak* name occur at a potlatch, since guests from foreign tribes are then

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present, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried farther afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in attendance. Every individual duly secluded and given a *susook* name feels himself ceremonially allied to others who have had a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be termed the *susook* secret society. 553 556* 575

The close connection between this society and chiefs is obvious from the presence of names of each type in the same ancestral myths. None the less, every chief, that is a person with duly validated ancestral name and seat, is not a *susook*, unless he has validated a *susook* name for himself and undergone the period of seclusion. Conversely, a man may be a duly authorized member of the *susook* although lacking a seat and the other marks of chieftainship. The relationship is, however, so close that the Bella Coola think of the *susook* society as a society of chiefs. *Susook* dances take place at potlatches and funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance. Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use some of his goods for the acquisition of a *susook* name. Such a case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in the summer of 1923. Theoretically, he was ignorant of *susook* rites, but after much discussion these were used on account of his importance as a *numitl* chief, an instance of the manner in which a man's personal importance over-rules ceremonial dictates. 575 622 [553] [535] [766] [183]

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *susook* name-prerogatives came to this earth at the beginning of time with their first ancestors, and that many more have been acquired later by supernatural experiences. These were especially common among their forbears as they ranged over this earth seeking places to settle in the beginning of time. No *susook* name can be assumed casually; each must have had a specific origin. There are few *susook* origin myths, though theoretically there should be one to account for every name. The explanation appears to lie in the undoubted fact that many *susook* prerogatives have been acquired comparatively recently 424 551 575 773 [177]

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177 from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not diffi-
424 cult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking,
even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella
551 Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella
575 prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time
[773] of the coming of the white man. There has since been general
decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situa-
tion is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the
investigator.

428 *Sisaok* names are willed and inherited in the manner already
described for other prerogatives. The type of dance, and the
551 time of use, will be described in the following section of this
575 chapter.

The Potlatch

* 556 It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank
128 among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch
since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a
number of features which, logically, should have been post-
poned until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has
been made to lessen references to non-ritualistic features by
the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chief-
tainship and the *sisaok* society. Other ideas will require rather
lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems
preferable to the use of many foot-notes, its only alternative.

General Observations

104 In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "pot-
* 556 latch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents,
[431] and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella
Coola, such distribution of gifts is necessary at every cere-
monial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is
one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most impor-
tant of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach,
the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

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bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name. The speaker always recounts the whole myth before announcing which portion of it is transmitted to X as a prerogative. It is understood that this transference will be duly validated by presents to X when he gives his potlatch. Such are termed *dsämänumtnum* and signify the repurchase of a wife from her husband. Though this is known to be a fiction it has extreme social importance. Unless *dsämänumtnum* is paid there is an ineradicable blot upon the children; in fact, it is one of the essentials of a legal marriage. All prerogatives thus transferred on *xläxtnum* become the property of X and will in time pass to his children, unless recalled to the wife's family by further repurchase (*dsämänumtnum*) money or goods. In this fashion elements of family myths become scattered, and one of the considerations in choosing a wife is to select a woman able to bring back some missing part of the husband's myth. 556* 425 583 [581]

The usual present is an ancestral name, which X henceforth uses as potlatches as his most distinguished title, though the myth in which it is incorporated does not belong to him. As long as the name remains in X's family those who originally owned it are unable to make use of it. Such a name is said to be "dragged across" by the wife to her husband, the immense weight or importance of the designation being compared with the dragging of a heavy log. Occasionally, the father of a married woman, animated by the kindliest feelings towards his son-in-law, may give him outright a myth with all the names embodied therein. This can happen only where there are no other survivors of the family. In such a case when the myth is recounted it must always be mentioned how it has been obtained. The number and type of the prerogatives transferred depend upon the sentiments with which his wife's family regard X. If, in addition to being a worthy man, he is member of their ancestral family, or of one with which his wife's has frequently intermarried, so that in course of generations prerogatives have intermingled, there is less objection to giving him such rights than if he were an unrelated individual. [553] [551] 556* 425 606 553

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first established on his seat, he must reward the heralds lavishly for their remarks. 203 556*

As with so many elements of culture, the Bella Coola ascribe the origin of heralds to the wish of *Ālquntām* as expressed to the first people in the beginning of time. Some groups of these early settlers brought with them heralds whose games had been created by the supreme deity himself in his house in the land above. Such a one was *Q̄āqāt'li* who was a member of *Xemcua*'s (I, p. 326) party at Kimsquit, another was *Olḳdimut* who came with *ɩyuyuyut* (I, p. 329). These heralds functioned in the manner of their descendants of today; others of the first chiefs appointed certain of their relatives to perform this service, and by means of the power with which they were endowed, created names with respect to their functions. Besides his ordinary name every herald must have an ancestral appellation of some kind, as well as the probability of possessing *kusiut* ones in addition to those of a professional nature. Either by bringing with them from above, or by creation on this earth, each group of first settlers became provided with a herald, whose name is embodied in the ancestral myth describing their experiences. As each of the first heralds died, his name was passed to a successor, and this practice has been carried out from generation to generation until the present. The Bella Coola state that no new names for heralds have been created since the time of the first people, and it is certain that none has been made for many years. Consequently, the number of heralds is strictly limited in accordance with mythological beliefs, and every man who owns one of the ancient designations embodied in an origin myth knows the name of the herald associated with his first namesake. 203 773 551 [428]

At the death of a herald his name becomes dormant. Since heralds function at all ceremonies, whether or not the donor belongs to the same ancestral family as themselves, the members of the group sustaining the loss are not deprived of their 203 553 556* 614 424

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*556 773 flesh cut from the body is fastened to the point of the spear, making it so potent that when next the chief lunges at a salmon he transfixes it and brings it ashore. He warms the fish at a fire and then pounds it on a stone until it becomes a copper.

No Bella Coola has visited this distant river for many generations and the belief concerning the manufacture of *taitaimx* appears to have been handed down from dim antiquity. Coppers of this kind are said to have been considered much more valuable than the usual *łālia*, but were always uncommon. In addition to their ordinary uses, they had a certain curative value. If the owner of one was ill, he used to clean it [755] with a rough stone and water; then he would drink four cupfuls of the liquid which contained minute fragments of metal. In almost every case a speedy recovery followed. In all other respects *łālia* or *taitaimx* could be used indiscriminately.

Łālia are likewise said to have a supernatural origin. When found in the forest, they are due to the supernatural salmon- [776] like being, *sisiutl*, having changed itself into one. None has been found in recent years because the *sisiutl* have moved away owing to their dislike of the smell of human footsteps and the taint of smoke.

These stories serve to emphasize the complete ignorance of [325] the Bella Coola concerning the methods of manufacturing coppers. It is possible that long ago they were able to make their own by pounding the native metal, but if so it is surprising that some traditions to this effect were not preserved. On the other hand, there is little reason to doubt their use of [177] coppers, obtained from the northern tribes, antedating the coming of the whites. All informants agreed on this point, and the frequent references to coppers in mythology likewise point to considerable age. In many of the ancestral myths there are accounts of the obtaining of coppers by some of the [551] first people, and many ancestral names, both of men and women, are derived from them.

[237] The Bella Coola attribute the value of coppers to the fact

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424 as possible, a potlatch is the most suitable occasion. Goods
463 distributed for this purpose are not returnable; they have
"become nothing" in the acquisition. The value of presents so
* 556 bestowed differs enormously; a man who is proud of his prerogative validates it lavishly until he is strong in his vocation, whereas another establishes himself on a lesser scale. The origin
[773] of professional rights, like so many of other kinds, is lost in antiquity and ascribed to the wishes of *Ăłquntăm* as expressed to the first people. Some of the early settlers came to earth
[551] with definite duties and vocations, each indicated by a special name; others, lacking these, created them through their own enormous power. At the death of one of these incumbents,
424 his name passed to one of his relatives who acted in the same
463 manner as his predecessor after duly validating the name in
553 question. Ever since that time, the owner of a confirmed professional name has been able to perform the functions of the
* 556 prerogative. This is never a man's sole designation, but merely
[551] an addition to those of ancestral, *kusiut*, *ssaok*, and other types. Like them, professional names are usually willed by their owners, though if this is neglected, one can be revived by any member of the deceased's ancestral family. In such a case, the older people usually decide on a suitable incumbent and suggest the matter to him; if he does not accept, the opportunity is given to another. If a member of the group is eager to validate the name, it is unlikely that anyone would try to
[789] forestall him. Ability in certain respects can also be obtained by magical means (I, p. 701), and a member of the ancestral family so endowed is the natural choice for the prerogative in question.

Prerogatives of this kind can be grouped according to the types of vocation included.

THE PROFESSION OF RIVER GUARDIAN

424
463 In the beginning of time, *Ăłquntăm* is said to have sent
551 down with *Ło̧il*, who landed on the mountain behind *Ło̧mqo·ts*,
693
773

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a man, *ux·winaisa*, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this function. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the validation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name *ux·winaisa* has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been enforced concerning the river: No refuse may be thrown in, otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them from seeing the route. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are considered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the salmon and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringements, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river. The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

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688 his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the
693 upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse
into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the
[177] coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without
hesitation.

THE PROFESSION OF UTTERING A DRONING CRY

424 At the appearance of masked figures representing super-
551 natural beings, whether in *sisaok* or *kusiut* dances, many of the
women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry
[575] which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness
[463] of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral
prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents.
[431] Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women
[773] were given by *Ałquntäm*, or acquired in other ways, the right
to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with
respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously de-
scribed, many of the first women possessed this privilege,
which is accordingly common at the present time. A name
[553] of this type is usually confirmed in girlhood, sometimes even
in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be
validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One
of these names is *Nunuqwełełslaixen·a*, which has reference to
[773] the blue-green sheen of some abalone-shell brought from the
east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the
ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many
[178] years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this
prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to
drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to
increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

424 There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incum-
767 bent to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of
463 time, *Smaoan* of Kimsquit married *Tłäkwaitł*, the daughter of
773 a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been
transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kims-
quit.

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quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type. 424 767 463

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly validated before she can function. One of these is *Stłxwaxwak-nimän·a*, another is *Łoʼyɔ*. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditized. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to ripen the berries. 222 424 463 551 562 532 789

"Get ready to pick red elderberries [or whatever species is ripe] tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. As far as could be learnt, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker; obedience seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared. 688 183

THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring validation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors confirmed as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal on them of professional names. At the present time, it is 701 424 463 431 551

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THE PROFESSION OF HUNTER

224 424 Another profession which is entered by means of an ancestral prerogative is that of hunting. Many Bella Coola have [463] validated their right to this vocation, some by confirming names created by their early ancestors, others by legalizing those brought down from above in the beginning of time. [551] One of the latter is *Lelaimkila*, "The Brusher Off," so-called because the owner is such a successful hunter that he can sweep mountain goats from the mountains as easily as an ordinary person can brush insects from a wall. Unlike the professions of carpenter and singer, it is believed that legalization of a hunter's name always brings success to the holder; perhaps because everyone is more or less successful, it follows [555] that whatever good fortune is achieved by a professional hunter can be attributed to the validation of his prerogative. Others, [556] lacking this assistance, may be proficient, but their success never carries with it the social prestige gained by a man who has distributed goods to substantiate the prerogative.

224 424 184 There is a difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not certain hunting methods are inheritable prerogatives. [177] With the introduction of rifles, these have long been discontinued, and no definite information was obtained regarding the social position of their users. Several of the older men believed that the contrivances depended upon ancestral prerogatives, whereas others stated that they were merely individual discoveries which could have been, and in many cases were, imitated by anyone. It seems probable that most of the following practices are prerogatives, although it may be that they are no more than special hunting devices suitable only in certain areas and, therefore, limited to the members of the ancestral family owning that particular locality.

223 424 The method about which the most definite information was obtained, was one formerly employed by a certain *Nusxalxiq* to catch geese at *Tāl·io*. According to one elderly Bella Coola,

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575 574 535 [533] [525] [526] [178]

presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds. These conclude the chief features of the *a'alk* dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *sisaok*, they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

A'alk ORIGIN MYTHS

551 575 773

Theoretically, every Bella Coola *a'alk* should be able to record the myth in which his name is embodied, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both ancestral and *a'alk* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *a'alk* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *a'alk* can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kimsquit *nusqwal* for his name *Sinxälotła* which came to earth with *Smaoan* (I, p. 332) in the beginning of time. Another Kimsquit *a'alk*, *Łłaiyäkam*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sinuxetł* (I, p. 326), who assumed the designation of *Łłaiyäkam* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *Wi'tälao*.

539

The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once,[9] long, long ago, *Äłqunłäm* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *Sinxen·a*, and a mortal; so he

[115] [177]

[9]Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

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539 to climb up to visit his grandfather. *Bo'ostom* did not discourage him, so his son began the ascent and soon disappeared from sight. In course of time he reached the land above and made his way to his grandfather, *Ăłquntăm*, who was delighted to see him. He told his visitor that he was weary of constantly carrying the sun's light, and asked him to relieve [821] him of the duty for a time. He mentioned that on previous occasions when his wife had acted as his substitute, she, being a woman, had been shy and had hidden herself behind clouds. The boy was willing to undertake the task and listened to his grandfather's instructions; in the morning he was to use only one fire stick, a little later, two, then three, and, finally, four at midday. In the afternoon he was to decrease the number in a manner corresponding to the morning's increase.[10]

Next day *Ăłquntăm* went away for a holiday after entrusting his grandson with the precious fire sticks. As soon as he was alone, the malicious youth began to pile one after another on the fire, until people in the world far below were wakened at dawn by the suffocating warmth. *Bo'ostom's* son threw on log after log, each increasing the heat below. The earth began to sizzle, and finally burst into flames, and the water boiled in the rivers and ocean. *Sıxan·a* had realized what must be the matter as soon as she felt the great heat, so she went outside and rubbed her hand over the planks on her house. Thus protected, those within survived, although all other human beings perished. Most of the animals [825] escaped by hiding, though the weasel failed to conceal the tip of its tail which was burnt black, a characteristic inherited by all weasels ever since. *Ăłquntăm* felt the heat and hurried home.

"You have done great harm to mortals," he burst out angrily. "Hence- [825] forth you shall live on earth as a mink."

Ăłquntăm seized his grandson and cast him to earth in this guise.

539 The survivors of the catastrophe multiplied until the whole world was repopulated from the single household. Each of them took an *a'alk* 551 name from the burning, and these have been transmitted from one to 575 another of the descendants of each until this day. One of these, a *nusqwal* name, is *Stalḑalosam*, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks"; another, a *Haiyăkam*, *ıxnukwnelsaix*, "The Track of the Sun"; a third, *Skumi*, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log."

539 The following Kimsquit story[11] describes the obtaining of 575 an *a'alk* prerogative in the distant past.

[10]For another version of this tale, see Boas, p. 95.
[11]Related by Jim Pollard.

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Long ago, there lived in Kimsquit a young chief who was a great hunter. On one occasion, he was camping in a cave, *Anokokwläls*, on the mountains when not only its roof, but the dome of the sky as well, opened so that he was able to gaze into the upper regions of space. From this manifestation of the supernatural, he took for himself the name *Älkwi*, "The Opening of the Upper Regions," and validated it by giving valuable presents. This name has been transmitted from generation to generation and was recently brought to the present owner by his wife. With it is the prerogative of distributing potlatch gifts outside the house since the first *Älkwi* claimed that the sky itself was his only ceiling. 539 575 [551] [424]

A few years after *Älkwi* had had this experience, he and his three brothers left Kimsquit by canoe to hunt mountain goats at *Suxwälk*. To their surprise, a gull perched on the bow of their canoe; they did not scare it away, thinking it indicated a manifestation of the supernatural. At intervals it left its perch and circled around the canoe, but soon returned. As they neared the landing-place, the gull flew ashore and changed into a yearling mountain goat. *Älkwi* told his brothers, of whom the second was named *Älkexa* and the third *O'miäsl*, that he believed this to be a further visitation of the supernatural to himself and that he would investigate it, and later meet them at *Anokokwläls*.

Älkwi leapt ashore and followed the yearling goat. Wherever the road was rough, his strange guide travelled slowly so that his human companion could follow him. At length they came to a deep chasm with sheer walls about six feet apart, and a ledge running along one side. *Älkwi* followed the goat along this, until the animal leapt across the gorge, struck the face of the precipitous rock, and vanished. It was clear that he had passed into the interior of the mountain and the chief could hear the distant sound of a drum.

"I can die but once," he said to himself.

Then the brave hunter leapt across the chasm, struck the rock, and passed through it as if it had been tissue paper, to find himself in a vast cavern amid a large number of people. These were really animals who had gathered to await the coming of his guide, the yearling goat. The latter told him not to be afraid, that henceforth he would be under the protection of all animals and would not come to harm, no matter how often he hunted. With breathless interest, *Älkwi* watched the performance of a *nusqual* dance, for every yearling goat is a supernatural dancer of this type. The ceremony lasted throughout the night, and next morning he set out for *Anokokwläls*, not realizing that it was really a year since he had left his brothers. [825]

Meanwhile, though the three brothers had almost despaired of their elder's safe return, they patiently remained at their post, and after a year were overjoyed to see smoke rising from *Anokokwläls*. They hurried

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539 to the cave and greeted their long-lost brother affectionately. Though
575 he, too, was delighted at the reunion, he said but little, and for two days told them nothing of his experiences. They remained in camp and on the third night *Ätkwi* told his brothers that he had obtained supernatural hunting powers. The following morning the four went out and killed so many mountain goats that the cave was filled with their carcasses. Their good fortune was amazing. *Ätkwi* sent one of his brothers to invite to the cave not only the people of Kimsquit but of the whole countryside as well. While he was absent on this errand, the remaining three prepared and smoked the meat, taking care to preserve the leg bones.

Within two weeks the guests began to assemble. *Anokokwäls* was a good place for a ceremony because *Ätkwi* had decorated it with paintings after its roof had opened to show him the upper regions of space.[11] When all the people had arrived, the host gave a mountain goat leg-bone to each, asking every recipient to beat time with it. Then *Ätkwi* danced
[535] a *nusqwal* dance, imitating the one he had seen done by the goat. After performing, he unfolded the story of his adventures and finished by giving away valuable presents of smoked meat and goat grease. Thus was initiated this particular *nusqwal* dance.

In later years, *Ätkwi* had such phenomenal success in hunting that
[551] by distributing the spoil he was able to create and confirm for his youngest brother the name, *Nustakwalämi*, "The One Who is Always Successful." This has since been transmitted from one generation to another. *Ätkwi*,
[103] too, is responsible for the name of Mount *Tcopinäti*, "Leg-Bones." On one occasion he killed a large number of mountain goats on the mountain and left their leg-bones, *tcopinäti*, piled together near the spot. He instructed everyone to refer to the mountain by that name, which has since been done.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY

575 A few words should be said about the reputed early history
578 of the *a'alk* society. Its members seem always to have been on the best of terms with the *sisaok*, and there is no mention of feuds between these two organizations. On the other hand, there is said to have been constant friction with members of the *kusiut* society.[12] The latter comprises a large number of individuals bound together by the possession of supernatural

[532] [11]These paintings are said to be still in existence, and the sister of one informant claimed to have seen them.

[12]This point is elaborated in vol. II, chap. 1.

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rite, *nusäxkämx*. This can be described here, since, although not closely associated with the potlatch, it serves to teach children the principles of present-giving and indebtedness. February is the proper month for *nusäxkämx*, although preliminary arrangements are made early in the winter. A chief who has a son or daughter about ten or twelve years of age may decide to use some of his food, and a small part of his wealth, for the benefit of the child. With the assistance of his relatives, the father begins making large numbers of toy canoes, miniature bows and arrows, small baskets, and models of all other types of articles commonly given away at potlatches. The manufacture of these requires several months, but towards the end of January they are nearly ready.

A name must then be chosen for the child. Since a *nusäxkämx* dance is a humorous, non-sacred affair, a *nusäxkämx* name is not embodied in a myth, but is drawn from some story. Occasionally, parents decide on a new one, but more often the designation selected is one used for the same purpose by a grandparent of the child. There is no rivalry with regard to names of this type, and one of them can be re-used without asking consent of the last incumbent, although permission would never be refused. There must be a song with each name and the grandparents and other elderly relatives teach this to a number of boys who are to act as singers. The words may have been remembered from a previous occasion; if not, a simple theme is composed by one of the old people having some reference to the name about to be conferred. For example, one appellation of this type is *Ťopiwac*, Fawn, and the accompanying words are:

"We hear that Deer has borne a child."

Another name is *Qplon*, Beaver, and the song: "Be of good cheer, the Beaver is coming."

A third song is, "Go outside under the house like a dog."

Occasionally a small incident in an ancestral myth is used. The teaching of the song to the juvenile singers is a source of constant merriment; the parents and grandparents are the

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ceremony. The child singers first beat out the song of the present donor, then that of his predecessor, to which the latter dances once again. If food is plentiful, *nusäxkämx* ceremonies may be carried out every day for several weeks, or a year or two may elapse without one. A child's song is remembered from year to year and he dances whenever it is beaten out. The name acquired in this way is used semi-jocularly by a lad's comrades. After marriage, it is considered unfitting for a youth to be concerned with *nusäxkämx* and he normally becomes an *a'alk*.

Ceremonies of this kind have been discontinued for many years and it was impossible to obtain detailed accounts. The main features are clear: they served to instruct children in the methods of present-giving. According to one informant, there were two types of *nusäxkämx* ceremonial; one of the humorous pattern above described in which, however, food alone was given away, and another in which miniature presents were distributed. This man believed that the latter was only possible for the children of wealthy chiefs, and that on such occasions the themes consisted of small incidents in the family myth. In either case, the importance of ceremonial can be judged from the manner in which it was impressed upon mere children.

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* 539 and *Qwax*, the Raven. The former flew ahead to clear a path down the mountain slope for *Yuyulk"mai*. At that time there was no sun, everything was dark and bleak. As they descended the mountain, they remembered that they had forgotten to bring from above the sticks for making fire which *Sinx* had promised them. So Raven assumed the form of a deer, returned to the upper regions, collected the desired appliances, and rejoined his companions below. *Sinx* had given *Yuyulk"mai* a stone hammer to use in making a salmon-weir, so he chose a site near the river, where the village of *Ālqālāxi* now stands, and built a house of evergreen boughs. The perpetual gloom annoyed Raven so that he determined to release light, *sxem*, which he knew was in a container in the house above. Once again he ascended and succeeded in uncovering the light of the sun which has since shone forth on this world. From this Raven took for himself the name, *Qunqwinim uldidā sxem*.

When *Yuyulk"mai* awoke after the first night in his new house, he found a salmon-weir ready for him, built by *Sinx* while he was sleeping. That night he slept again, but nothing had altered in the morning.

* 539 During the day, *Sinx* appeared to *Yuyulk"mai*, saying:

● 551 "I bring you the name, *Sinxālotla*. When you give a potlatch, carve my face on your totem-pole."

The next day *Sinx* came again.

"I bring you the name, *Sinxākila*," he said. "When you give a potlatch, carve my face on the bench where the chiefs sit."

The third day *Sinx* appeared once more, saying:

"I bring you the name, *Ānuxemlaix*. When you give a potlatch, paint my face on the back wall of your house."

Next day *Sinx* appeared in the form of a stump with numerous radiating roots, scoured and polished by the river.

"You will have the name *Alqexqi'djut*,"[4] he said. "If you find a hammer used in the construction of salmon-weirs, you will know that other people are living above you on the river. Put abalone-shell on the hammer."

* 539 With these instructions *Sinx* went away and never came back.

In course of time, when the population of the earth increased, *Yuyulk"mai* became rich and invited the people to a potlatch. The name he used on this occasion was *Sinxālotla* and he carved the face of *Sinx* on his totem-pole, as he had been instructed to do. A few years later he gave another potlatch, with the name *Sinxākila*, and this time he carved *Sinx*'s face on the bench where the chiefs sat. When he gave

[192] [4] Meaning, "A glance downwards." It is the word used when a person looks downwards between his legs, or over his shoulders, a reference to the manner in which *Sinx*, from aloft, watches the actions of mortals.

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his third rite he validated the name *Ānuxemlaix*, and he had *Sinx*'s face painted on the back wall of his house. *Yuyulk"mai*'s fourth and last potlatch was given in the name of *Ālqexqī'djut*. This time he erected as a totem-pole a bare stick, presumably in reference to the appearance of *Sinx* as a tree-trunk.[5] 539*

When *Yuyulk"mai* came to Mount *Nus·mātllaix* he was accompanied by his old father, *Ṭciknutl*, his younger brother *Diqom'notl*, and a still younger sister, *Kimilkān*. These three went away at once to the Skeena River, taking with them some of the large cone-shaped whistles which they had brought with them as a present from the supreme god. The people living on the Skeena desired these articles so greatly that they quarrelled and fought for them, disgusting *Ṭciknutl* and *Kimilkān* so much that they determined to return.[6] But *Ṭciknutl* was too old to travel. His daughter had a copper upon which she thrust her aged father, and then placed it firmly against the under side of a rock which was suspended without visible support a few feet above the ground. *Ṭciknutl* was wedged between boulder and copper, and there he died. *Kimilkān* retraced her steps back to Bella Coola, to the summit of Mount *Nus·mātllaix*, whence she took flight back to the land above.

Meanwhile *Diqom'notl* was prospering. He lived in a copper shelter on the shore of a river with a copper raven, *Snuqwaxwāls*, perched on the roof of his house where it could peer over the edge into the river beneath to see the salmon, *Snusumkāls*, and the salmon, *Snusumlkānk'*. *Diqom'notl* was able to give potlatches at which he made for himself the name *Ao·sti*, and the *sisaok* name, *Łāliāmx*. One of the songs which he used was composed as if it were sung by the copper itself: the themes of others were *Snuqwaxwāls*, *Snusumkāls*, and *Snusumlkānk'*. [551]

At last *Diqom'notl* became weary of the Skeena and determined to visit *Yuyulk"mai*. Travelling in a copper canoe he soon reached the mouth of the *Pe·sls* where he found no one. From this experience he created for himself the name, *U·sḥāxus*, which means, "There is Nothing." *Diqom'notl* proceeded on foot to *Sinxl*, where he met *Yuyulk"mai* to whom he told his adventures. [551]

SECOND ORIGIN MYTH OF *Ālqāläxl*[7]

In the beginning there came down to the western slope of Mount *Nus·mātllaix* three brothers, whose names, in relative order of their ages, [551]

[5]The names which occur in this myth are still in use.

[6]Another version states that they married and settled on the Skeena where their descendants still live; it is said that their origin myths record their Bella Coola ancestry.

[7]Related by Mrs. Webber.

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From this he took for himself the name, *Yelyelhuslaix*, "The Face Cleanser." 539*

According to another informant the first settler at *Ālqālāxl* was *Xemxemtnim* who brought with him a moosehide and a model of *Nusmāt·a*. He set up this house and it expanded or contracted according to his wish.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Slskistl*[9]

Among the first people to be sent down to this earth was *Ḳril*. For some time he lived on the north side of the Bella Coola River near its mouth; then with his sister, *Ānusyalaix*, and a herald he moved across to *Slskistl*, at the base of the mountain on the south shore of the river. He had a daughter who married a son of *Xemxemtnim*, living on the north side of the river. To their child he gave the name *Noamtāxaik*.

About this time *Ālkwi*, a *Snulle·tl* chief, lost *Alqcālas*, a stake decorated with abalone-shells which he used for his salmon-trap. It floated down into *Ḳril*'s country where *Ānusyalaix* saw it, and advised her brother to take possession of it. *Ḳril* did so gladly because of its beautiful decoration, without knowing what it was or whence it came. He took it home and displayed it to many of his neighbours, but no one could tell him what it was. In honour of this event *Ḳril* gave his son the name *Alqcālas*, which has since been handed down in his family. *Ālkwi* followed downstream after his stake, but failed to overtake it before *Ḳril* had obtained it; so it was never returned to its rightful owner. [551]

FRAGMENT OF A *Ḳomqo·ts* ORIGIN MYTH[10]

In the beginning *Ālqunlām* sent down from *Nusmāt·a* to Mount *Nus·lāxum*, on the south side of the Bella Coola River, about one and a half miles from the sea, four brothers: the eldest, *Xemlaix* or *Laqwomais*; the second whose name is unknown; the third, *ux·lqolam*; and the youngest, *ux·wunaisa*. They each came in the form of some animal, bringing with them a miniature salmon-weir, which they set up in the river near where they had settled. *ux·wunaisa* had brought with him the prerogative of punishing violators of taboos connected with the river. The four brothers lived for some time at the base of the mountain until jealousy arose among them and the eldest moved to *Ḳomqo·ts*. There he caught innumerable salmon in the river so he was soon able to give them to people all over the world. It seemed as if the earth were tilted so that all its [551]

[9]Fragmentary version related by Judas.
[10]Related by Albert King.

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539 wealth flowed in upon him; accordingly he took for himself the name *Sitlenlix* which has this significance. Since he was the eldest and chief [551] of the four brothers the name has always been considered the most exalted in *Xemqo-ti*.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Snaloli*[11]

In the beginning of time *Ilqanxlm* created the forefathers of all mankind in his house above and then asked each in what form he wished to go to earth. A number of bird and animal cloaks were hanging on the walls of the house, and each was invited to take his choice. One whose name was *Kalilxlx* chose the raven. When he had donned the garment he became a raven. Slowly he circled down from above in long spirals, carrying with him his two younger brothers and a sister, all in raven form, as a bird carries its young. He set down the two small brothers on the top of a flat mountain near *Snaloli* where he told them to remain, adding:

"I am going to the east but will return."

He brought back some abalone-shells, which he set down near the diminutive ravens, saying:

"Stay here, I am going to the west but will return."

This time he brought back with him some copper, that flashed in the sun.

Kalilxlx and his two brothers now assumed human form and sent their raven cloaks floating back to the land above. This was what happened to all the bird and animal forms used by the first people. The three descended the mountain and built their house by the Bella Coola River at the spot now known as *Snaloli*. *Kalilxlx* had brought with him a mountain goat, which, when set at liberty, bred with great rapidity, so that these first *Snaloli* people subsisted largely on goat flesh, the provision made for them by *Ilqanxlm*. In some inexplicable manner it appears that the supernatural hunter *Tsualklit*, whose other name is *Lelemkile*, "The One Who Throws Down [Goats]," had come with this group. *Kalilxlx* had such success in hunting that he was able to give a potlatch and bestow valuable presents of goat meat, goat grease, and woollen blankets. At this ceremony he took for himself the *xnaak* name, *Kallalimdimat*, "The Copper One," because when returning from the west the raven had covered himself with copper, so that it seemed as if he were made of it.[12]

During his lifetime, though whether before or after his potlatch, it is impossible to state, *Kalilxlx* determined to obtain light for mankind,

[11] Related by Joshua Moody.

[551] [12] This name has since been used by the descendants of *Kalilxlx*.

act as guide against his masters. The man led in the party under cover of a fog which lifted at an inopportune moment, but the slave deceived the Fort Rupert Indians into believing that his comrades were not hostile. *Kāmālsong*[w] rewarded the guide with a marten-skin coat and one of marmot-skins. 539*

When he gave a potlatch, *Kāmālsong*[w] had the back wall of his house decorated with pictures of sun and moon, while he himself wore a grizzly bear-skin with its head above his own. As he danced, there rose through the floor a large box on which was painted a raven. *Kāmālsong*[w] went to the receptacle and took from it sufficient presents to supply the requirements of the visitors from one tribe, the Bella Bella, for example. Then the box would sink from sight, only to reappear with gifts for another group; this was repeated as many times as there were parties of guests from outside places. This was the method of procedure decreed by *Alqunstm*.

These first *Nusqalst* people made a number of special objects for their potlatches. As a representation of the five-peaked mountain beneath which they lived, they erected five peaks over the front of their house, a custom which has been carried out until the present day. Projecting from one of them was a figure of a mountain goat, since that animal was brought to earth to serve as food by their first ancestors. They also made a number of large stone spoons, which, after being used for many generations, were buried with a certain *Paitu* about 1875. These utensils were of a type used by *Nusqalst* before he became a mountain, and were later copied by the carpenter-masons. [424] [415]

Kāmālsong[w] was so powerful that he altered a *nusuk* rite of his potlatch into a *kusiut* dance, changed *Nusmāt-a* to a *kusiut* name, and decreed that the repository should be under the spot where his house stood. For this ceremonial he always used a whistle with the voice of a raven.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nusqalst*

(*Second version dealing with another settlement*)[18]

Nusqalst is a chief among mountains. Like a human leader, it has several names, *Tsāhwaāks*, *Sāsutlum*, and others; these names belong to several persons now living. Like a person, too, the mountain was sent down from above at the beginning of the world to *Tsowat*, Bute Inlet, whence it moved to its present position midway up the Bella Coola valley, a location which it had heard was a pleasant one. [551]

[18]Related by Captain Schooner.

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* 539 In course of time, as they grew wealthy, they were able to summon people from far and near for potlatches. This in turn enabled them to validate several names which they had brought from above. *Ālqanstm* had given *Nusmālurwai* a box containing whistles for *kusiut* rites. He used these and bestowed on one of his sisters the name *Nuwarmray*, a *kusiut* designation still in existence. When the roof of the house was opened light shone through, from which circumstance the name *Sgsnil* was acquired at one of their annual potlatches. Not only was *Nusmālurwai* able to validate designations which *Ālqanstm* had given him, but he created several new ones as well. He gave to his sisters the names *Kālgsmāknm* and *Sgpmpmān·a*; the latter means "Rising Dust," with reference to the dust rising from the floor of the house as *Nusmālurwai* threw down the moosehides which he was about to give away to his guests.

[551] All the names mentioned in this myth have been preserved. That of *Nusmālurwai* is held in especial esteem by the people of *Stuix*. It means "Head of the River," referring to the point where he came to this [552] earth. Even *Thmstadimut* is still in use, applied to a dog as the owner has no children.

THIRD ORIGIN MYTH OF *Stuix*[m]

In the beginning *Ālqanstm* sent down to *Smaisu·a*, at the head of the Clearwater, a branch of the Bella Coola River, four brothers, *Ālkwi*, *Dudusmq'*, *Nānātskwi*, and one whose name has been forgotten, with their sisters, *Kāwilkas* and *O'wielkas*. *Dudusmq'* had brought with him from above as a present from *Ālqanstm* some olachen in concentrated form and one of the large cone-shaped whistles used in *kusiut* ceremonials. The two women cried because they had no house. But presently they thought they were in one with a wonderfully painted roof; in reality it was the sky and the decorations were brightly shining stars. By means of their supernatural power, for they were not yet mortals, they reduced the firmament to such small compass that it was really a house to them, with the star-illuminated sky as roof. Taking this abode with them, the six set out next day for *Tsowut*, a point on the mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island. They travelled down the valley of a river which rises not far from the *Smaisu·a* source of the Bella Coola. *Ālkwi* and his relatives did not like the language of the people living at *Tsowut*, so they returned to *Smaisu·a*, taking with them some of the fine

[m]Related by Steamboat Annie.

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*539 532 before he came to this world. It was a large pole and stood across the sidewalk from the house, not being pierced by the doorway. At the base was a grizzly bear, with paws wrapped around it as if desirous of climbing after the food which could be seen higher up. Immediately above the bear was an eagle's nest with four fledglings standing amid their broken eggshells and craning their necks eagerly upwards to greet the mother eagle flying back with a salmon. At the top of the pole was a ball, *Nuxpemda*, representing the container in which the sun was enclosed; it was this that Raven broke to release light to mortals. The name of the pole was *Ałikuł*.[a]

[551] The names contained in this myth are still in use. *Kānilku* was the relator of it; her *nuxuł* song deals with *Smaiu-a* and, since the salmon enter Bella Coola River in hopes of reaching this place, salmon are used in the decorations of her house. The name *Dadzuxuy'* varies; it becomes *Mázuxuy'* when applied to a youth, and *Mázuxuy'ax-a* for a girl.

FOURTH ORIGIN MYTH OF *Stax*[b]

*539 Long, long ago there was in a mysterious place far to the east and far above this world, a very large house, *Nulotómais*, in which dwelt together all people, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, Carriers, and the rest. In it there lived too, all kinds of birds, including the thrush who taught each its song. [829] The chief of the house, *Sikaw* by name, lived there too and gave to each tribe its special language. One day he decided to visit the earth, and dived from his house downwards, becoming the sun. In this guise he came to earth on Mount *Naya*, near *Stax*, where he became a man and built for himself a house which was a copy of *Nulotómais*, and to which he gave the same name. *Sikaw* became prosperous and gave many potlatches.

FRAGMENT OF A *Snuilx-il* ORIGIN MYTH[c]

In the beginning of time, *Ałpuxtu*, in guise of the sun, sent down to earth a number of brothers with their one sister. Their names have been forgotten except that of the oldest man, *Tulałmula*, who had brought with him a beaver as provender. He released the animal, which multi-

[424] [551] [a]As is commonly the case, there is no connection between this totem-pole and the adventures of *Ałkul*. The person using this name has the right to use these designs as a part of his myth, exactly as the right to recount the adventures of his namesake belongs to him.

[b]Fragmentary version, relator unrecorded.

[c]Related by Joshua Moody.

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plied to provide abundant food for all; it became the ancestor of all the beaver of the upper valley. Owing to their position higher up the Bella Coola, *Tsiskwale* and his brothers considered that they were nearer to the sun than any of the people dwelling below, a fact of which they were exceedingly proud. Moreover, having been sent down by him, the sun was their crest. 539 X

There were two large boulders in the river near the settlement, which *Sqamtsin* had shown *Tsiskwale* how to use as supports for a salmon-weir. With the help of his brothers, a hole was drilled in one of the rocks; then they felled a large tree upstream and allowed it to drift down until the butt lodged in the perforated boulder and the head swung across against the other. With this as base, other trunks were woven in upright so that the river was almost spanned and a fine dam constructed. In this they caught so many salmon that *Tsiskwale* and his brothers were able to call people from far and near to potlatches and feast them liberally on the fish. In course of time their sister was married to a chief from another town. Henceforth, whenever one of her brothers gave a potlatch, he was able to rebuy his sister on a lavish scale with the teeming salmon. The sun had taught the woman a song for such occasions, which has since been used as a prerogative by her descendants when rebuying themselves from their husbands. [424] [583]

Tsiskwale made a long voyage of exploration during which he reached the Skeena River. He made friends with the inhabitants of the town, *Kitwanga*, who gave him the name, *Xwulkw*,[*] meaning *whale* in their language. Continuing his journey, he ultimately circled the earth before returning home. He obtained several other designations, including *Ailumka* from the Kwatna people.[**]

Years after the settlement of *Snalk'al*, the drilled stone supporting the salmon-weir broke and the ruins were swept away downstream. The people cut their hair and blackened their faces in mourning, then moved to *Sinur* where a number of their daughters had married chiefs.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *NAISEQ*[***]

It is common to add details from a story to a family myth in order to increase its length and importance. Almost cer- [178] [114]

[*] It appears that *Xwulkw* is an attempt to pronounce the English, *whale-bone*, an interesting example of the way in which modern words have been incorporated into ancient myths and been clothed with the glamour of antiquity. [178]

[**] Such are still used by members of the ancestral family descended from *Tsiskwale*. [551]

[***] Related by Mrs. Webber, who had learnt it from her late father, *Sqamtsin*, a chief of *Sinur*, whose hamlet name was *Sneilmp*.

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Arma, two brothers, *Snaykākila* and *Miaī'sila*, with their sister, *Sللsلān·i*. *Ālqunūm* had provided them with means of sustenance; *Sللsلān·i* brought cranberries and *Miaī'sila* a model salmon-trap, such as is used in salt water. The three had no house, but *Ālqunūm* sent them some logs of driftwood from which *Snaykākila* constructed a shelter, which they called *Yentsānī* because it was made of flotsam. On the roof *Snaykākila* placed a huge copper with which the smoke vent could be closed, and immediately above the door a wooden loon kept calling incessantly. 539*

When they had been on this earth for some time *Snaykākila* became a shaman from the sight of a copper house that rose from the depths of the ocean in mid-channel. He paddled out to it in his canoe, climbed to the roof on a conveniently placed ladder, and went from the roof down inside. Then he discovered that it was the house of *Ḳemaqma*, who was sitting in the middle behind the fire, his long hair protruding from beneath his huge hat. All around the walls were paintings of different denizens of the water world, and various creatures were sharing the house. As *Snaykākila* stood by the front door looking inwards he saw on his right a number of seals sitting around a small fire in one corner of the house. In the opposite corner, on his left, also by a fire, was a very old woman; in some unexplained manner *Snaykākila* knew that her name was *Nuixwanaix*. In the right-hand rear corner a man, *Nuiqual*, was seated by his fire, and in the remaining corner, by a fourth fire, was another man, *Nuuxemlaix*. *Xaqānts*, the Heron, was stalking back and forth behind the fire; as his dignified gait shows, he is a chief, and as such has the chiefly names, *Numelsdmut*, *ᵘmappātsdjut*, *Ānuxlnmdmut*, and *Ānuicellāmdmut*. Near the left wall, opposite the fire, was a large box, *Snulkānāls*, containing heavy coppers, *tsānkdmut*, and mice, which gnawed incessantly. A porcupine and a grizzly bear were playing together in the back-room. Halibut was lying outside the front door so that anyone jumping down outside leaped through its open mouth into its stomach. Whale was likewise lying outside, parallel to the front wall of the house. The totem-pole of this strange house was *Kdsta*, a supernatural ocean being. [551]

From his seat behind the fire *Ḳemaqma* greeted *Snaykākila* in a kindly fashion. The chief wrapped some of his own hair around a stick and pulled, thus breaking off a few strands, which he gave to his guest. He then told him to take three names for the use of himself and his children forever: they were, *Tsānkdmut*, the coppers, *Āmkpls*, the mice, and *Snulkānāls*, the box in which these were contained. After spending a few hours with *Ḳemaqma*, *Snaykākila* returned to land, whereupon a gale arose and the house sank beneath the waves. [551]

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*539 In course of time *Snaxhākila* became so wealthy that he was able to call people from far and near for a potlatch. He built a house identical in every particular with that of *Ḷomoqwa* as he had seen it. He bestowed on his children not only the names which *Ḷomoqwa* gave to him, but also [551] two which he took from what he had seen, *Ḳ'unts*, the whale which was outside the front of the house, and *Łaliāhs*, the significance of which could not be determined.

[552] These two designations have since been transmitted in this family, and now been bestowed on a dog, there being no children left.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Tāl·io*[22]

In the beginning of time, *Ālquntām* sent down to this world a man, *Āl·imlsaix*, with his two sisters, *Ailsamka*, "The Abalone-Shell Woman," and *Alhlxān·istlliax*, "The One with Abalone on Her Hat." The three landed on an island several miles in circumference, formed of an enormous abalone-shell; its location is now unknown, but it was somewhere in the south, presumably not far from Vancouver. Here they dwelt for some time and began to construct a house for themselves out of the shell. All the time they longed to travel in search of a desirable place to settle, but they lacked means of transportation. At this juncture Raven appeared, and offered them a canoe if they would promise to use it. They readily agreed and presently the supernatural bird returned with one. It was a *sḳāmtsk*, one of the mythical monsters who live beneath the ocean and suck down small craft by opening their mouths.

Āl·imlsaix and his sisters embarked. They had decorated their hats and blankets with abalone-shell and took with them a large store of the same material. Raven perched on the bow and croaked whenever they drew near a landing-place. After travelling a considerable distance, they saw smoke rising, and presently noticed a house. *Āl·imlsaix* landed to investigate and found it occupied by a solitary woman, *Ṭlakwakilayakwa*; the place where she lived was called *Nuqwdlax*, probably on Schooner Pass. *Āl·imlsaix* asked her to accompany the party as his sister (meaning here a non-marriageable female relative, not an own sister). She agreed after much discussion. The four continued their travels until they drew near Fort Rupert, where they saw more smoke. As before, *Āl·imlsaix* landed and found another solitary woman, *Kwal'kila'yakwa*, whom he also persuaded to join the group as his sister. The five now passed on to Rivers Inlet, where Raven vanished. The others thought he had left them but, unknown to them all, he had entered *Ṭlakwakilayakwa*'s body. They paddled as far as the lake at the head of Rivers Inlet where they abandoned

[22]Related by Mrs. Schooner.

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their craft and set out on foot along the overland path to the head of South Bentinck Arm. 539*

Midway along this trail the travellers saw a house, called *Tcäkwalotl* because it could lengthen itself at will. From this supernatural sight each of the five became a shaman. This house was a replica of the one above in which mankind was made and, like it, contained many rooms, in each of which lived an individual speaking a different language. *Äl·imlsaix* failed to understand them and in his annoyance scattered the speakers, who fled to different parts of the coast where each increased and perpetuated his own language. This is why the various coastal tribes have their own tongues; if *Äl·imlsaix* had been able to understand them in *Tcäkwalotl* there would be no diversity of speech now. [829]

Various dances were taking place in the rooms within the house. There was a constant din from the large whistles used in *sisaok* ceremonial which sounded of their own accord and were continually answered by Echo. Only at this place and at *Nusqalst* did Echo appear to the first people; hence only the descendants of *Äl·imlsaix* and of the *Nusqalst* people have the right to portray him in their dances. *Äno°likwolsaix* (II, p. 8) stood near the door; when at last she called out, the *sisaok* whistles became silent as if in fear. [424] [535]

Continuing their journey the travellers reached *Täl·io*, at the head of South Bentinck Arm, where a solitary man, *Nusxemda*, was living. At this place *Ťlakwakilayakwa* gave birth to Raven, who was born as a boy with the legs of a raven. *Äl·imlsaix* named him *ixlqotlamsqwaxdjinas*. After a short sojourn at *Täl·io* they ascended the river, and presently *Äl·imlsaix* saw a female grizzly bear, whom he also invited to join the party as his sister. The bear accepted and he endeavoured to change the creature to a woman. He had fair success with the paws and face; that is why these parts of a bear are similar to those of men at the present day, but the beast's hairy hide defied his efforts and in disgust he told it to run away. Before banishing it, he bade the animal always show a friendly disposition to human beings, wherefore grizzly bears at *Täl·io* have never been known to attack a person. The party proceeded up the river to Mount *Step'*, where *Äl·imlsaix* found a repository (II, p. 8) through the discovery of which he became a Cannibal with the name *Snunkka°ks* and an eagle as incubus. From this point they returned to *Täl·io*, where they settled permanently. [825]

Many of the names which occur in this myth are still in use. Mrs. Schooner's designation as chief is *Ťlakwakilayakwa*, a name that can be used by either man or woman; in the former case the suffix *yakwa* is 551

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551 dropped. *Kwaï'hila'yokwɔ* is held by a Fort Rupert chief. Several *kusiut* names, with dances, were obtained from *Tcäkwälotl* where the travellers saw them being performed; among them were *Änudakänuts* and *Duduspux*, which are now used by two Bella Coola women. *Ailsamka* is now a Cannibal (II, p. 71) name. At *Täl·io Äl·imdsaix* gave a *kusiut* dance, and with his own power made there a repository as if he had brought it with him from *Tcäkwalotl*. This was only possible because of his supernatural power as one of the first people, strengthened by his becoming a shaman through seeing *Tcäkwalotl*.

SECOND ORIGIN MYTH OF *Täl·io*[34]

*539 In the beginning, there came down to the Skeena River,[35] *Nusqäps*, *Nusxemda*, *Wiaqaii*, and their younger sister *Nulixwemankta*; they brought from *Älquntäm* some of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *sisaok* ceremonials.[36] The three travelled all over the coast seeking a place in which to settle, and always the whistles kept calling out of their own accord, giving advice. Finally they decided to locate at *Täl·io*, the head of South Bentinck Arm.

When they had lived there for some time, the neighbours objected to the din of the whistles, which drove away olachen and herring, so *Nusxemda* built a high, narrow mound of refuse, on the tip of which he constructed his house. The building was peculiar; its door opened horizontally and used to close with a crash when anyone entered. On either side of the hill there lived a *smnq*, whose keen ears could hear the wailing of an infant at any distance. In those ancient days, these beasts were [776] like dogs and did not annoy mortals; they were servants to *Nusxemda*. One day he learnt that a raiding-party was approaching, but instead of being afraid he instructed the *smnq* to use their power when it drew near. When the hostile canoes came in sight the two creatures reversed their eyeballs, causing a blinding flash which stunned the occupants of the canoes. After a little they recovered consciousness and again came on, but again the *smnq* reversed their eyeballs with a like result. When this had happened several times the raiders withdrew discouraged.

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[34]Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

[35]It is not uncommon for the Skeena to figure as the place where some of the first people came to earth; but few descended nearer to Bella Coola than that region.

[424] [171] [36]This prerogative is less common among the Bella Coola than the Bella Bella.

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presents were distributed to validate the name, *Ťlaiyākam*, which *Sinuxetl* had chosen for himself. 539*

Sinuxetl married a Bella Bella woman who brought with her the prerogative of a dance with respect to the devil-fish. In Bella Bella this rite was connected both with the *kusiut* and the *sisaok*, but in Kimsquit it was performed only as a *kusiut* dance. It was first given there by *Łulqwan·i*, a relative of *Sinuxetl*, and has since been performed in like fashion in Kimsquit. Their daughter received the Bella Bella name, *Xelāsu*, which has since remained in Kimsquit. [424] [575] [535] [551]

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Āxet·i*[40]

In the beginning of time there came to *Āxet·i*, on the east side of the Dean River, about one mile from the sea, *Sonxwāāks* and his three younger brothers. They brought a stone hammer as their present from *Ālquntām*. After they had lived some time on this earth, *Sonxwāāks* asked *Yulātimut* to have a canoe ready for him on the morrow. By the next day *Yulātimut* had completed a fine craft. *Sonxwāāks* was delighted and spent four days fitting it out; then set out with his three younger brothers for a trip to the far north, where he knew by report that abalone-shells were to be found.[41] The four did not know the route and were constantly penetrating into fiords from which there was no exit; however, they persevered and were helped by all whom they encountered, *Sonxwāāks*'s name being well known. After a month's voyage, they reached their goal. They found themselves before a lofty precipice falling sheer into the ocean with a cavern visible in it at very low tide. This they boldly entered. At first they were deluged with falling star-fish; in fact, their canoe would have been sunk by the weight of these if the youngest brother had not held up his cedar-bark cloak to ward them off. A little farther on they found countless abalone-shells, with which they swiftly filled the canoe, fearing lest the tide should rise sufficiently to prevent their return if they stayed to investigate further. Once safely outside they camped, and the eldest brother took the opportunity to bestow names on the younger brothers for things they had seen or done on the way. He called his second brother *Nuswin·āmx*, "The Warrior," as if he had fought against the abalone; the third *Ālus·limān*, "Falling Star-Fish," and the youngest *Ālusqax*, "The Roof-Maker," a reference to the

[40]Related by Jim Pollard. Boas (p. 60), has recorded a similar myth from Bella Coola with different characters.

[41]The Bella Coola are emphatic in stating that abalone-shell comes from the north or the east; possibly this may be explained by an indirect trade route. [487]

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*539 the people of Kimsquit and the Dean River, and ever since then inter-
[582] marriages have been common.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Siwal·os*[45]

Soon after the first people had reached this earth *Älquntäm* feared that as they increased, they might quarrel about land tenure. Accordingly he sent down to *Siwal·os*, on the Dean River thirty-five miles from the sea, three brothers, *Älquntäm*, *ʒyuyuyut*, and *Łäliäxsa*, a name in many
[551] cases used by women, with their sister *Sxaþe·tl*. He gave the oldest brother instructions to divide the land among the different villages. *Älquntäm* came in the guise of a mountain goat, but promptly sent his animal cloak back to the land above, before starting downstream. To the inhabitants of each town he allotted certain valleys in the vicinity to serve as hunting-grounds, and told the people that these, and only these, were to be theirs forever. After reaching the coast, he travelled down Dean Inlet as far as the Bella Bella country, likewise allotting land to the different settlements, and marking each boundary with a stick. After finishing his task, *Älquntäm* returned up the Dean River to his brothers. The three built a weir that spanned the river, and in it they caught so many steel-head salmon that the Carriers used to come from great distances to buy from them. *Sxaþe·tl* was married to a chief living on the lower part of the river, and her brothers, too, came below for their wives. *Älquntäm* ultimately moved to *Nusqäþts*, on the east side of the Dean River, twenty-five miles from the sea.

ʒyuyuyut had come from above in the form of a deer. After taking
[825] off this cloak, he released it as an animal, which became the ancestor of all the deer near Kimsquit. They did not like *Siwal·os*, where it was very cold, so they moved to *Nihtcks*, on Dean Inlet, about three miles below Kimsquit, and there built their town. Unfortunately, the snowfall was so heavy that they had much trouble in lighting their fires; sometimes as much as ten feet of snow fell in a single night.

"Please, *Łäliäxas*," said the deer, "don't keep falling on us."

In the language of men, *snow* is *kai*, and *Łäliäxas* means, "Copper One," but the language of deer is quite different. The snow, unmoved by their appeals, continued to fall, until at last the deer held a meeting and resolved to move away to the outer coast near Bella Bella, and never
[825] return again. They carried out this plan, and it is only within the last few years that some have come back, although for centuries none lived near Kimsquit.

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[45]Related by Jim Pollard.

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*539 [551] The names embodied in this myth are still in use. That of *Noākila* was validated at a potlatch during the winter of 1921, after being dormant since the death of the eighth *Noākila*, an old man, which had taken place some thirty years previously.[50] To illustrate this myth a representation is made of the merganser canoe, a specimen of which, obtained by Mr. Harlan I. Smith, is now in the National Museum, Ottawa.

According to another version of this myth, *Noākila* and his party came to earth at Anaham Lake, in the country of the Carriers, bringing with them the steel-head salmon. They first went to *Stuix*, but *Noākila* did not like the place, so released only a few of the fish. They returned to Anaham Lake, and from there went to Salmon House. They found this spot so desirable that they settled and set free their store of steel-head salmon. That is the reason why this fish is so plentiful in the Dean River, and so relatively rare in the Bella Coola. [825]

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Sā·tsk'*[51]

In the beginning of time *Älquntäm* constructed an abalone-shell covered post which reached from *Nusmät·a* to *Älwolsqämus*, a mountain near the Kimsquit River, not far from its mouth. To this place came from above two men, *Smaoan*, "The First One," and his younger brother, *Omqomkilıka*. The former flew down as an eagle, but the latter, in raven form, swarmed down the post, which vanished after he had reached the earth. *Smaoan* spread his wings, like a mother bird, to shelter his younger brother. *Älquntäm* had given *Omqomkilıka* a box containing sockeye salmon, with instructions to throw them into the ocean, where they would increase rapidly to serve as food for him and his elder brother. He also taught the two how to build a salmon-weir to catch the fish. The brothers climbed down the mountain-side to the mouth of the Kimsquit River, where *Omqomkilıka* became a man and sent back his raven cloak above. He then released the salmon as he had been instructed, and also another present from *Älquntäm*, a *mätsqus* (I, p. 525), which was to serve as bait not only for fish but also for wealth and goods.

Smaoan declined to assume human form immediately, so began to travel, and his younger brother, sad at being thus left alone, started to

[173] [50]This was the only instance given of an approximation of the interval since the first peopling of the earth. The Bella Coola usually reply, "long, long ago," and have not questioned further. This myth was received from a reliable informant, but it is doubtful whether his statement concerning the "eighth" *Noākila* would find credence among most Bella Coola. Even if it should be the eighth, that would be of little value in estimating the period at which the Bella Coola believe the earth to have been populated, since names may remain dormant for generations.

[51]Related by Jim Pollard.

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* 539 [551] potlatches,[14] at which he validated names for his children. One of these was *Äs·ɣänam*, the designation he had applied to his salmon-weir; it has been used by his descendants as a child's name ever since. As time went on, when his children grew into manhood, he obtained for them seats in the house and also procured wives for them. His eldest son, whose mother was *Sximäna*, had the names *Łäloxmän·a*, the meaning of which is unknown, and *Äluskmän·aix*, "The Most Important of All Chiefs' Sons." *Smaoan* had arranged marriages for this young man with four women, but *Łäloxmän·a* was so ugly that only one of his wives, as ugly as himself, would have anything to do with him. His only real friend was a younger brother, *Älkexa*, aged about twelve years, who was his constant companion.

One day *Łäloxmän·a* became so embittered and disgusted at his own ugliness that he went away, determined never to return, and not caring whither he went. As provisions he carried only a goat bladder filled with goat marrow. This prevents hunger and is said never to become exhausted, no matter how long the hunter may be absent. *Älkexa* saw his elder brother depart, and decided to accompany him. *Łäloxmän·a* allowed him to come with him for about ten miles, up the valley of the Kimsquit River, where he shot some mergansers which he asked *Älkexa* to take back as a present to his parents. The younger boy was unwilling, nor could he be dissuaded from following, even when *Łäloxmän·a* told him he was going off to die.

So the two camped for the night, and next morning continued their journey up the valley of the Kimsquit River, a region then unknown. *Łäloxmän·a* was very sad at the thought of the hardships which his younger brother would have to endure, but he could see no way in which to persuade him to return. On and on they pressed, camping at night, their only food being the goat marrow which *Łäloxmän·a* carried. Far up the river they followed an affluent from the left, and from its valley climbed the bare mountain which, though they knew it not, is the watershed between the Kimsquit and Kitlobe rivers. Here, above the tree-line, they met a wolf. It lowered its ears, hummed, walked a few paces along a path, stopped, and looked back, as if it wished to guide the two wanderers. They decided to follow the animal which, once assured that

[811] [14] Although the Bella Coola are sufficiently logical to demand an explanation for everything, once a belief has been formulated they cease to inquire whether it is possible. Thus, in all these accounts of the first people, the reader wonders how there were enough people in the world so soon after its settlement to make potlatches possible. Who were the musicians? Who formed the bulk of the guests? Such questions do not strike the Bella Coola as obvious; the stories have been handed down as facts, and they believe that anything was possible in those early days before man had lost his supernatural power.

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At this juncture someone saw a party of strangers, and wondered who they might be as they entered the town. There was great rejoicing when the two brothers told their parents who they were, for they had been so transformed that they were unrecognizable. As *Sä·lma* had said, *Łäloxmän·a's* three beautiful wives came rushing up, eager to have him take them back, but he paid no attention to them. He welcomed only the ugly one, who had mourned for him, and massaged her until she became the most lovely of all. 539*

Smaoan, delighted at the safe return of his sons, and proud of *Łäloxmän·a's* beautiful children, sent invitations far and near to a great potlatch. At this ceremony he validated, with many presents, a seat in the house for *Łäloxmän·a*. The name thus confirmed was *Spätcaldt*, "The First Born," a name given to *Łäloxmän·a* by *Kapsälopst*. *Smaoan* also took this opportunity to confer names on his numerous grandchildren. After sojourning for some time in Kimsquit, the Kitlobe people returned home, richly laden with gifts.

In the course of time *Wisamkilak* bore her husband two more children. *Smaoan* continued to prosper and to give potlatches, at one of which he gave one of his grandchildren the name *Stältımx*, "Chief." This designation at once became honourable on account of the goods expended. *Łäloxmän·a* did not wish to forget his Kitlobe friends, so in time he sent two of his children to live there. One of them was *Stältımx*, a name that has ever since remained there. Thus friendly relations between Kimsquit and Kitlobe, first opened by *Łäloxmän·a*, have been maintained. There have been many marriages between people of these two areas, each knows of *Łäloxmän·a*, and it was only about one hundred and fifty years ago that a Kimsquit woman, *Ätsqtutl* by name, was married to a Kitlobe man to repay the original marriage of *Wisamkilak*. [648] [582]

When *Smaoan* became old he gave yet another potlatch at which he took for himself the name *Łilixwnimut*, "The Scatterer." He created this from his own fertile imagination, with reference to the way in which he scattered eagle down when first travelling to the north in eagle form. It has since been used by his descendants when old. [551]

The descendants of *Smaoan* enjoy not only the prerogative of using this myth and the names included in it, but other privileges connected with it. If one of them gives a potlatch he carves the form of a *mätsqus* on the spoons to be used at it, and paints the wall of his house with a whale design. *Omqomkilka's* descendants are more likely than others to receive supernatural good fortune from a *mätsqus*. The descendants of both 539* 424 [532]

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BC
* 539

he travelled the whole distance on a single billow, so asked to be sent on a four-billow wave. His canoe was a sea-lion's stomach, into which he climbed through the mouth and which he made watertight by tying up the entrance with the animal's entrails. Whether or not the creature was alive is not clear, but at any rate the man set off in the strange craft. He felt as if he were on the back of an animal which made long, easy, slow bounds; it was the slow surging of a gigantic Pacific comber. After four bounds he untied the neck and found himself at home.

BC
[552]
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Certain names have been preserved from this myth. The name *Nęqaqa* is now used by a dog, as the owner is the last of her family. Another name is *Ꞗlaxamxmitl*, "The Crash," derived from the metallic sound of the closing door of the sea-lion house. The name *Namutsta* was also obtained inside the house, but the details of its significance are lost.

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539
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* 539
[178]
[424]

AN EARLY MYTH OF *Kıldeˑt*[79]

As has been said, ambitious individuals, especially if they lack origin myths of the customary kind, sometimes claim ordinary stories as such. The following is almost certainly a case in point. It was obtained from an unreliable informant, who claimed it as a family myth, and said he had used it at a potlatch. He asserted that it was a Bella Bella story, transmitted through the marriage of one of his ancestors with a Bella Bella woman. Another informant, well versed in Bella Bella folk-lore, recounted another version of the same myth as a mere tale. There seems little doubt that the first narrator had merely laid claim to a common story to supply the deficiency of a true myth.

In the beginning, there came down to earth at the head of Gas Bay, *Kıldeˑt*, a solitary man whose name was *Kāsānˑa*. He was so lonely that he made for himself from soft punky wood a woman, dressed her in blankets and clothing, and gave her the name, *Ꞗaˑlems*, which is in the Bella Bella language. *Kāsānˑa* was a great hunter; every day he went out to seek mountain goats, which provided him with great quantities of grease, as well as yarn that he wove into blankets. Before leaving the house he always placed *Ꞗaˑlems* in front of a loom, put food beside her and told her to eat as much as she liked and to work diligently.

[79]Related by Kimsquit Alec.

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Other people had come down to earth at the same time as *Käsän·a*, and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of Gas Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, so entered, and laughed heartily to find her made of rotten wood. They kicked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they seated themselves in her place, worked diligently at the blanket and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and hid themselves.

BB 539 BC 539 *

Soon *Käsän·a* entered. He embraced the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that she had burnt her head, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. At this the two girls who were hiding burst out laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to *Käsän·a* that he choose one of them for his wife; he agreed, selected the elder and married her. He built a house on a hilltop where they lived and to which he called people from far and near when he gave a potlatch.

Sisaok Origin Myths

As already stated, many *sisaok* names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the *sisaok* origin myth is the same as the ancestral myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or takes it from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were obtained which deal solely with the acquisition of a *sisaok* prerogative. No doubt this is chiefly to be explained by the fact that most *sisaok* rites have been derived from the Bella Bella.

BC 773 551 575 [787] [556] [177]

THE ORIGIN OF THE *Sisaok* NAME, *Spuxpuxxä·mpdimut*[80]

About 1840, a party of *Xixais* Indians[81] spent the winter in Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg so

BC 539* 609 424 BC [829]

[80] Related by Joshua Moody.

[81] It was impossible to identify this tribe. According to the Bella Coola they are akin to the Carriers, but have adopted the use of totem-poles, *kusiut* dances

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MARRIAGE RITES

Y's family decide when the period of engagement shall be terminated. Although it is considered undignified for X or his relatives to hurry them in this matter, there is always a certain amount of urging. Y's father has strong reasons for procrastination. A long engagement strengthens the status of the children whom his daughter may bear, and besides, he frequently receives presents from X's relatives. As Y's relatives will have to bear the heavier part of the expenses of the wedding, it may be necessary for them to delay it for years while saving the requisite goods. The ceremony may take place at any time of the year. Foreign guests are occasionally invited, but usually only the members of X's and Y's village are present. If the marriage should be with the child of a foreign chief his relatives and friends are present to take part. When Y's relations decide that they are ready, they choose the actual day after consultation with X's family, though the assumption is that Y's father merely informs X's father of the date. 584 585

It is incumbent on X's family to proclaim the event on the day preceding the ceremony. In the late afternoon his father sends a herald through the village calling out: 585 203

"*Q̇wimap*, ye chiefs! *Q̇wimap*, ye wives of chiefs! *Q̇wimap*, ye commoners!"

The actual meaning of *q̇wimap* is unknown, though it is well understood to be an invitation to gather for the announcement of a wedding. In conjunction with the summons, X's ancestral name is used, although all in the village are probably well aware of what is about to take place. It is noteworthy that at a marriage the guests, as well as the participants, are called by the ancestral names, as opposed to the *kusiut* ones by which individuals who own such are generally known. Red colouring is much in evidence at weddings; heralds smear their faces with red paint and the guests similarly tint themselves. They wear collars, wristlets, and anklets of undyed cedar-bark, and cover themselves with eagle down. [551] 585 [551] [302] [301]

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(5) They govern Y's status in this world. When women quarrel, as they often do, the most common boast to shame a less wealthy rival is a reminder of the number of times the speaker was repurchased and the value of the goods used. 556 583 [578]

"I can sit down on fifteen canoes," or "I am carried by five slaves," says the angry woman, mentioning whatever goods were used for her repurchase.

(6) Finally, these goods serve a more definite purpose in obtaining for Y a name, or names, of which the value is directly proportionate to the expenditure, precisely as the importance of a chief's designation depends on the goods used to validate it. [553]

As with men's names, some women's appellations were given by *Ālquntäm* to the first arrivals; others were created on this earth with regard to peculiar events, and still others are names which can be used either by men or women. Theoretically, the dignity of the first type of name is greater than either of the others, but in practice the importance of the owner depends on the number of times she has bought herself from her husband; the principles governing the rank of women are thus the same as those already described for men. The term *yetsalt*, applied to a woman who has many times rebought herself and so reached a position of eminence, is the feminine equivalent to *stältumx*. The creation of women's names in reference to personal characteristics or incidents connected with their married life is more common than similar creations for men. The ritual of the bestowal of a name on Y, here given, was omitted from the description of the potlatch in order to lessen the complexity of that ceremony. It will be remembered that on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch Y's relatives appear outside X's house, carrying valuable presents. 551 556 583 [554] [562] 553 556 583

The announcer calls out that Y's father has come to give "food" to X and his relatives. By food, presents are meant, which are the return, with interest, of the gifts given by X's relatives on various occasions. The giver is announced, for other relatives than Y's father contribute, and to whom the

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In one case where an orphan woman, without relatives, repurchased herself by her own arduous labours, the announcement was made: 553 556 583

"Y's belt has come to rebuy her."

The reference was to the manner in which she had looped up her clothing with a belt when working. If Y's father should die after amassing goods to repurchase her, they are used for the purpose intended and the announcement is:

"Y's father's anus has come to rebuy her."

The ancestral family descended from the first settlers at *Snulle·tl* have the prerogative of singing a special song as they rebuy one of their daughters. This was used by their first ancestors on a like occasion. The theme is: [424] [533]

"I, I, I am the highest of you all. No one of you is capable of doing what I can accomplish. You all live on what I void."

The significance of this last sentence is that the village of *Snulle·tl* is farthest up the Bella Coola River. Its inhabitants used to claim that the people of the other villages lived on the refuse which they threw into the river, a source of pride to them. [186]

After announcing the various relatives who have rebought Y, the presents are counted and carried into X's house. The statement concerning their number, who has given them, and for what purpose, is repeated to the foreign guests there assembled, and they are then piled indiscriminately in a large heap for future distribution. At this juncture X calls out:

"Come in, come in," as though he were welcoming arrivals from a distance.

Y's relatives enter, and the ritual of the potlatch continues in the manner already described. The origin myth in which Y's new name is embodied is related in considerable detail, especially its recent history, that is, by whom it was last used and any pertinent items connected with its transmission. If she has received several names from different myths, each is similarly expounded.

As has been said, many women's names have been created 551 553

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551 with respect to their appearance or actions on this earth. As
[553] far as could be learnt, the procedure of bestowal is identical with that just described. The following examples illustrate designations of this type:

Änäbsullänämlaix, "The Resident Maker." In the begin-
[773] ning of time the wife of *Ṭaiakwala* had twins so often that the village rapidly increased in population. Accordingly she took this name for herself when she rebought herself from her husband. It was transmitted for generations in the ancestral family of *Ṭaiakwala*'s descendants until lent about one hundred years ago. The recipients claimed it as their own and passed it to a certain *Omqomkilka*, recently deceased, who gave it to her brother's daughter at the time of her marriage. Since this woman's husband has not yet given a potlatch the name is accordingly in a degraded condition at the present time (1923).

551 *Olliyaiyɔ*, "I Am the Worthless One." The mother-in-law
578 of this woman had been in the habit of insulting her daughter-
606 in-law by saying, even when strangers were present:

"We have a worthless daughter-in-law."

On rebuying herself the woman advertised the rudeness of her husband's mother by throwing her words back in her teeth.

Nulalulaks, "I Am the One Whose Eyes Are Hungry." The mother-in-law of this woman used to eat without offering food to her son's wife.

Nukokwixodjäx, "The One Whose Haunches Are Dusty." Her mother-in-law did not give her a place to sit in the house so that she was forced to stay close to the fire in the ashes.

Kwiläxlaix, "The One Who Sits Where There Is No Space." Her mother-in-law objected to this woman sitting near her husband when he took his ceremonial seat, and insulted her with the above remark.

551 *Nunuaox'as*, "The Stingy One." It was said that this
578 woman restrained her husband's generosity until he gained an unpleasant reputation for parsimony. She publicly shamed

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her husband's critics by taking this name for herself when she rebought herself from him. 551 578

Nu'aos, "The Inhospitable One." Her husband received this reputation owing to his wife's manners, so she advertised what had been said about him.

Nupłätlsikän, "Heedlessly Deaf." This woman's mother-in-law claimed that she deliberately failed to hear what she was told to do, and applied the above epithet to her. The daughter-in-law confounded her by taking it as her own name. [606]

When a name of this type is assumed it is always announced when, where, and for what purpose it was first created. 553

A description has already been given of the actual ritual by which X bestows the goods acquired from the repurchase of Y, but it is necessary to enlarge on the prohibition against their use for the direct benefit of one of the children of the couple. The theory is that the goods bind the marriage contract and express in a practical and lofty form the kindly sentiments with which Y's relatives regard her husband, and the bond between the two families, hence they must be used solely for the benefit of him and his relatives. A man usually applies these goods to initiate the children of his brothers or sisters into the ranks of the *sisaok* or *kusiut*. It is unthinkable for goods to be delivered without an exposition of Y's family's glories, but if this should ever take place, there would be no difficulty in applying them to the direct benefit of her children. When used, for example, to make a child of X's brother a *sisaok*, he is a living testimony of the noble way in which Y's relatives have done that which is fitting for the family of her husband. Due to accidents in announcing and storing of presents, it sometimes happens that those obtained by the repurchasing of Y are used for the benefit of her own children. Unless this error is corrected, the child could always be shamed by having it said: 556 583 [558]

"You are a mere nobody. The goods expended in the

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tried to incorporate as many of these as possible, so that the rite soon became a chorus of obscenities. The songs were sung and resung until all present were familiar with them, then the donor of the rite distributed food and all departed. 586 626 837 796

The following afternoon everyone, including those uninitiated into either society, were invited to the donor's house. Probably the only absentees from the village were the deserting wife and her lover, while guests from neighbouring settlements were often in attendance. On this occasion, for the first time, the deserted husband used to take the leading part. When the singers struck up the tune of the first song, he used to appear, supported by four or five assistants. His face was blackened with soot, he wore a lynx-skin belt, and above his head was fashioned some insulting object, usually a representation of the female organs made of wood, cedar-bark and berries, as realistic as possible. As the singers sang, aided by those who had learnt the songs on the previous day, the husband danced, moving his body so that the ornament on top of his head was shaken suggestively. Meanwhile the spectators kept calling out filthy epithets of any kind on his ex-wife and her lover. Sometimes the dancer was able to insert some obscene remarks into the display. On one occasion, for example, he pulled some lynx fur from his belt and threw it in the face of a *Tāl-io* man who happened to be present, and who had once seduced a married woman and accordingly been the butt of a similar rite, with the remark: [302] [292]

"All *Tāl-io* women have hairy pudenda like that."

The guests were invited to suggest foul nick-names for the man with whom the dancer's wife had eloped. One of these was adopted by general agreement of opinion, and the man was commonly called by it henceforth. Two names so created were: [551]

Skulxes, "The One Whose Face is Wrinkled like a Woman's Organs," and,

Emslxaik, "The One Who Cohabited Publicly."

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588 556 mate object. Bella Coola financiers are always seeking to arrange such undertakings; the potlatch is the culminating point, but the same principle pervades their whole life.

It is to the advantage of the intending donor of a potlatch to become the fictitious husband of as many children as possible. Accordingly he sometimes take the initial step, as is customary for the relatives of the husband in real marriage, but not in ceremonial. In such a case it is necessary for him to offer some inducement, perhaps in the form of one of the few women's names brought to earth in the beginning of time. He approaches a suitable father-in-law, suggesting that at a fictitious marriage he would be willing to give his wife a noble woman's name. If this is agreeable, the rite is carried out accordingly. The wife is in many cases a son of the person to [551] whom the proposal was made; he duly receives a woman's name, the only circumstance under which this is possible. The actual designation will probably be returned through many repurchasings, but the boy has reached an enviable position. In later years he can always silence a person with whom he is quarrelling by saying:

"I need not answer you. You cannot even approach my body, so thickly am I padded with the goods which my father used when he rebought me."

556 608 858 Another business transaction of a similar nature is the giving of a small infant to an old person to "hold." This appears to be uncommon, and the only instance about which information was available occurred under the following circumstances:

A man and a woman were married with full ceremony and the best of feelings prevailed between the two families. The wife was several times rebought until she and her relatives had fully maintained their dignity, in fact the relations of the husband felt that they were being out-shone. Then the wife's father died. To mark their sympathy, the husband's family gave the widow one of her daughter's children to "hold." Valuable non-returnable presents were transmitted as "soft

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"I am *Ānolxmdimut*," she said. "Everyone calls on me to visit the sick, and henceforth they will likewise seek you and your basin." 756 * 787 *

Something entered his stomach, causing it to heave violently, and he felt that the sickness had left him. He sent for the singers and repeated to them the words that *Tlitcāplilān-a* had chanted; these formed the text of the shaman's song which he used on future occasions. While giving them to the singers, he endeavoured to dance, but was too feeble to do more than weakly shake his hands. From that time on, *Ānolxmdimut* was able to cure the sick.

This last account is typical. *Tlitcāplilān-a* appears, inserts something into the body of the patient to cure him, sings one or more songs, gives the sufferer a name, and then vanishes. [553] The curing power thus bestowed remains within the person benefited; it is this that enables him to heal others if *Tlitcāplilān-a* has so decided. In such cases, there is mention of a "basin" in the song, and the one who has just recovered will be able to treat others, especially those suffering from the same malady as himself. [755] The reference to a basin is because such utensils are used during treatments. To the Bella Coola a shaman is one who has had such an experience and has publicly claimed it, whether or not he can cure the sick.

Tlitcāplilān-a is known by many names, in accordance with her ability to treat many diseases, and the designation she bestows depends upon the malady cured. [796] [553] The following are some of the names received from her by shamans.

Sxxanqwalpulaxslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breath." [551] This name was given to a person who was cured when he found breathing very difficult. The text of his song was:

"*Tlitcāplilān-a* gave me (the name) *Sxxanqwalpulaxslaix* with a small object to aid the breathing of the very sick." [533]

Tāmtāmslo-psta. This has the same significance as the last.

Nxmār-mālxsaix, "The Dancer Near the Fire." [551]

Ānolxmdimut, "The Dancer Who Makes Noise Only with

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756 His Body." A shaman with this name does not use a rattle
787 when curing.

Awapulmut, "Quivering To and Fro." This refers to the
[551] movements of a shaman when he dances for curative purposes.
[755] *Kwapulktumlaic*, "The Revolver." This is derived from *kwapulktum*, to revolve sunwise, and as this is done for curative purposes, the name really signifies, "The One Who Restores to Strength."

It is believed that *Tlitxpilitx-a* often uses her own discretion about visiting the sick, but that sometimes a number of the supernatural beings confer as to whether an ailing person should be helped, and if so request her to visit him. Sometimes
[71] the patient is so sick that an enormous amount of power must be inserted to help him, and he dies from its receipt. In such cases he is revived by *Anamitxdtum*, a male being whose sole function is to restore those whom *Tlitxpilitx-a* has slain. This return to life has frequently occurred when relatives have been mourning the death of the patient, who is presently able to recount all that he has seen. Sometimes *Tlitxpilitx-a*, instead of herself bestowing power upon a sick person, carries him[1] away to a locality in which a supernatural being was petrified in the beginning of time.

756 Although it is *Tlitxpilitx-a* who most frequently cures a
776 sick person, there are many instances of other supernatural
787 beings having done so. Little seems to be known of these, except that they have been recorded as appearing to give a patient their name and to cure him of his malady. So far as could be ascertained, they are thought of only in connection with apparitions to the sick and, since in function they exactly resemble *Tlitxpilitx-a*, and as it is she who is most commonly spoken of, it is possible, or even probable, that these are actually the same being under other names. The following beings are of this type.

[1] The Bella Coola do not theorize as to the part of the person thus transported; if questioned, they conclude that it must be the spirit.

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suspend the bundle by ropes from a stick which projected horizontally from the wall. It was to these ropes that *Kalikka* tied the bangles, so that they jingled with every movement of the child.

Alpoomtsa heard this peculiar noise from his house in the land above and sent a *Sîpunt-ás*, a diminutive supernatural being of human form, which lives on air, to investigate. The creature perched on the cradle rope where *Kalikka* saw it. Owing to his former life in the land above he knew what it was, and how to deal with it, so he quickly threw over it a blanket which he had frequently used.* This brought him supernatural good fortune. He concealed the *Sîpunt-ás* for safety in an old chequer-work rear sack, and left it lying on the floor.

Wealth flowed in upon him so that he was able to give a potlatch every year. At one of them he gave his infant daughter, the occupant of the cradle, the name *Sîpunt-ás*, which has been handed down from generation to generation, and has recently been given to a Bella Bella child. *Kalikka*'s prosperity roused the jealousy of his fellows so that they murdered him, but his children still had the *Sîpunt-ás* and they continued to prosper. At last their enemies slew them too, sparing only one small boy.

This orphan led a precarious existence. He was refused admission to what had been his father's house and was forced to live in the space between the floor and the ground below, while his food was taken from the refuse heaps. In time he grew to young manhood, frequently brooding on the fate of his relatives and hoping for revenge. One day he crossed the river, ascended a mountain, and found there a large cave, where he lay down to sleep, wrapped in a bear-skin. A supernatural being came to him.

"I have watched your woes," said the stranger, "and I will help you if you are brave. You must accompany me to my land. The road is dangerous, and if you should fear me it would be disastrous to you, so keep close."

They took a difficult path down through the earth to the land of the dead below.

"I will keep you here for a night and teach you," said the supernatural one as he gave the boy a stick in which was power.

"You must take this," he said, "and go at night to your father's house. Throw the stick at one of those who killed your father. It will rebound to you, after having your enemy dead without a mark on his body. Do this every night, killing only one man at a time, until you have slain all the murderers, but be careful not to harm anyone else."

Although he had not at first revealed himself, the being from whom

*A new one would have been useless.

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the lad received this shaman power was *Sá-ḿa*. The boy spent one night in the land below, then returned to the village, carrying the stick with him. A whole year had, of course, elapsed since his departure, so the people suspected he had been trying to obtain power. When he did not display it at once, they jeered at him, but he said nothing. That night he killed one of his father's murderers in the manner which he had been taught, and did the same every night until all who had taken part in his parent's death had been disposed of. Thus he regained his father's house and became wealthy.

The orphan had not only become a shaman through the assistance of *Sá-ḿa*, he had also acquired the name, *Sá-ḿamate-i*, carrying with it a *kaxiw* dance prerogative, which has but recently been forgotten. The name was last used by the father of a man now living, but he disliked it on account of its similarity to the word for "death," *á-ḿa*, and accordingly, altered it.* The repository (II, p. 8) of the dance was the cave wherein the vision took place; it is still called, *xwawá-ḿa*, "The Place of Death."

Xálálás was not the only man to whom a *Sísqwá-ás* appeared in the beginning of time. One appeared likewise to *Talalmale* (I, p. 312), in consequence of which the name *Sísqwá-ás* has also been preserved by the descendants of this first man. From that time until recently none of the creatures have been seen. Early in the century, however, a certain man saw one when undergoing treatment at the Hot Springs; and in 1920 a youth saw another at a cannery, but failed in his efforts to catch it. As there is a tendency for such creatures to appear only to those whose ancestors have seen them, and there is no tradition of such an occurrence in this lad's family, he was possibly mistaken. Perhaps he saw only a mouse which demonstrated its supernatural power by appearing in a peculiar form.

THE GOAT HUNTERS

Four brothers, the youngest of whom was named *Nuqumalite-i*, used to hunt mountain goats in the upper valley of the river which enters North Bentinck Arm at Green Bay. In some unknown fashion *Nuqumalite-i* realized that supernatural power had been granted to him, and accordingly determined to stay behind when his brothers went hunting. Every day the three went out after goats, but without success. They did not realize that this was because the youngest brother was keeping the dogs in camp by singing to them and giving them choice morsels of food. This went on for several weeks.

Then *Nuqumalite-i* said, "You stay in camp today, I will try my luck."

*Such a change would have been unthinkable before white influences had broken down the ancient customs.

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103, 192, 551, 773, 776

/For a Bella Coola-English vocabulary which includes place names, personal names, and names of spirits, gods, mythological characters and places, see category 116, pp. 573-630./

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CHAPTER I

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

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General Observations on the Kusiut Society — Powers and Functions of the Society — Initiation — The Ritual of Specific Dances — Various Origin Myths — Kusiut Prerogatives Other than Dances — The Death of a Kusiut — The Final Rite — Concluding Observations and History.

General Observations on the *Kusiut* Society

IN view of the importance of the *kusiut* society in the lives of the Bella Coola, it would seem logical to have described it in an earlier part of this monograph. Though an integral part of the complicated structure of social organization, it is a secret, semi-religious grouping which can best be treated separately. The word *kusiut* is connected etymologically, according to native belief, with *siut*, the term for a supernatural being. Thus the meaning of the society's designation is "The Supernatural," or "The Learned," for *siut* has both these significations. A member of the society is likewise called a *kusiut*, plural, *kukusiut*.

575* 575* 192 [776]

The investigator soon learns of the existence of the society. If he asks a man his name, and then inquires further what type of designation it is, the answer is always that it is his *kusiut* name, that is, the one by which he is known as a member of the society. Ancestral names are used only at potlatches or other ceremonial occasions, whereas an individual's *kusiut* appellation is the one which he uses commonly. Moreover, for about three months of every year the Bella Coola live in an atmosphere of *kusiut* dances with a performance, or its preliminaries, taking place almost every night. Preparations for this ceremonial season, for so it may be termed, begin four days after the September moon is full, while the actual dances commence early in November and are continued until March. During this period the *kukusiut* are believed to be in intimate

551 575* [124] 535 575* 796 [787]

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535 contact with supernatural beings, so that it is a time for grave
*575 thoughts and decorous behaviour. Even by day the members
796 pass from house to house with dignified mien, not loitering
[787] around the sidewalks nor indulging in frivolity. Every effort is made to prevent quarrels between members who are expected to show by their appearance and actions the gravity of the rites in which they are engaged. Night after night they assemble at the house wherein the dance is taking place; those who have performed, and are therefore most closely in touch with the supernatural, even sleep there, not returning to their own houses until March. A dance usually lasts four nights, and during that time the performer's house, in which it takes place, is termed a *nuqpik*, "An Empty House." The significance of this designation is unknown.

178 Membership in the society depends on a duly validated
*575 ancestral prerogative to perform one of the many *kusiut* dances.
[424] At the present time every Bella Coola is a *kusiut*, even babes in arms being initiated, but formerly no one was admitted until he or she had reached an age of discretion. Some informants went so far as to say that the hair of an initiate must have begun to turn grey, and all agreed that no one was ever admitted until at least twenty, or more often, twenty-five years of age. Initiates were frequently still older; one woman, for example, stated that her mother was past the age of child-
[551] bearing before admission. Since only a member of the society could be called by a *kusiut* name, the uninitiated continued to be known by the ancestral names conferred on them at infancy until they received *kusiut* designations. The importance of the
178 society depends on the belief of the uninitiated in the super-
*575 natural powers of its members, and as there are now none to
796 impress, the rites carried out today are little more than pic-
128 tures of what took place years ago. It is the aim of the Bella Coola to carry out the dances as if uninitiated persons were in attendance, and since most of the following information was obtained from men who well remembered their sensations when not members of the society, it is justifiable to use the present

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*575 *Ano°likwolsaix*. They may be termed marshals of the society. [424] Each must have an ancestral prerogative for this, duly vali- [776] dated by presents to the *kukusiut*, in addition to a *kusiut* prerogative of some kind. In each village there are four or five of these men. Whenever food is being served at a *kusiut* dance, the marshals receive theirs first and then one or other of them addresses the audience in slow and impressive style, beating on the floor with a stick to add emphasis to his words. He admonishes his fellows to safeguard the ancient rites of the society, to be bold, to be secretive, and he pays honour to the member who has given the dance. It is they who take the leading part if a youth is dragged away to the meeting-place for initiation, and it is they who arrange matters when a spy reports that a *575 non-member is over-inquisitive. If any member of the society should break one of its laws at a time when no uninitiated are 688 present, the marshal is expected to seize a burning stick from the fire and strike the offender with it. If death should result, revenge is unthinkable, since the criminal had broken the law. The same fate is unhesitatingly meted out to any *kusiut* who should dare to betray any of the mysteries to the uninitiated. Moreover, it is the marshals who decide whether any improper act lowers the dignity of a dance, and punish accordingly. Not many years ago a *kusiut* woman gave birth to a child while a dance was taking place and the infant was slain by one of the [761] marshals. The usual explanation made to the uninitiated for a death within the dance-house is that a supernatural being caused the roof to fall and kill the victim.

*575 Each marshal has, in connection with his prerogative of this vocation, a professional name, used only within the house 551 where a *kusiut* dance is taking place and carefully concealed [424] from the uninitiated. Some designations were obtained from *Ano°likwolsaix* by an ancestor of the possessor, others were created on this earth with reference to some specific event, and [553] duly made valid by presents to the *kukusiut* alone. Some of these names are:

Xwolsekmis, "The Destroyer," so given on account of an

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elaborate *kusiut* ritual which failed; 575* 551

Namulsta, meaning unknown;

"The One who Guards the Ritual by Gripping with his Teeth";

"The Terrifier";

"The Dog-Toothed One."

When a *kusiut* acts contrary to the interests of the society 575* the marshals gather in the sacred meeting-place of the village, with other senior *kukusiut*. 688 There is no definite order respecting who shall, or shall not, be summoned. The matter is discussed until unanimity of opinion is reached, although a marshal, particularly if he is also a rich and influential chief, is the guiding spirit. In *Nusqulxwaista* the supernatural being *Sikiliktnum* kills any supernatural *kusiut* who errs, so in this world it is always said that a verdict of death has been given by this being. Several of those at the meeting are sent out to lure the victim who, brought before the group, is told that he is to die. He is seized, thrown on his back, and a pole laid across his neck; two men sit on each end until the man is dead.[3] Sometimes less drastic punishments are meted out. About 177 1880, when the influence of the white man had become evident on the coast, a dancer who had been, theoretically, 575* disembowelled and was supposed to remain for months within 688 his house to recover from the operation, insisted on fleeing to Kimsquit to a woman with whom he was in love. When he returned to Bella Coola a meeting was held to decide whether or not he should be killed. Fear of the white men prevented summary punishment, but the marshals insisted that the offender submit himself to periodic scratching on the stomach with a nail so that it would appear to the uninitiated that he was suffering from a deep wound. The offender was thankful to escape thus lightly.

[3]Occasionally the relative of a condemned person saves him by saying that he must not be killed. This means that the speaker is willing to die as a substitute; he is executed in due course, but the mechanism by which the diffusion of information is stopped is not clear.

[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

773 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 *Smaien·a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nusqulxwaista* to await the coming of *Ałquntām*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nebusam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noākxnum* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[785] times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
[831] eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[787] that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[626] patron was *Noākxnum*, but that the marshals requested him
[776] not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noākxnum* is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the unini-
575 tiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
796 the *kusiut* dances begin.
184 It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village,
[424] as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only slight variations, if any. In *Tcumotl* the *kusiut* who has the
[551] prerogative of seeing *Noākxnum* is a certain *Qaxolān·i*,[15] in Kimsquit, *Ałuskinwasam*,[16] and in *Siskistl*, *Xemtnum*. Although,

[115] [15]Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qaxolān·i*, who intimated
[426] that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman
[578] referred to the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

[16]Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significances of this type.

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*575 him as guide. Both heard the beating, and soon saw a pack of super-
*796 natural wolves eating dog-flesh. The men were able to steal away with-
424 out being observed and *Hai·alakila* told *Ẓälsmus* to say nothing about
539 what they had seen. A little later he gave a dance in which he wore a wolf's mask and pretended to eat dog-flesh. His neighbours, ignorant of the vision by which this dance had been inspired, were tremendously impressed.

Another exploit of *Hai·alakila* and *Ẓälsmus* may here be recorded, although it is unconnected with the Cannibal dance.

One night when they were spearing fish, a forest suddenly arose before them. *Ẓälsmus*, startled and terrified, began to cry, but *Hai·alakila* quieted him.

"I am master here," he said. "We are in this adventure together and your task is to keep quiet."

Then a house appeared before them from the depths of the ocean. It was really a *sḳämtsk*, with its ferocious mouth as doorway, and though *Hai·alakila* naturally feared to enter, he climbed to the roof, so that he could gaze within through what corresponded to a smoke-vent. The house was filled with valuables of all kinds, guarded only by gulls. *Hai·alakila* reached inside with his pole, hooked forth one object after another and swung each across to his slave on the mainland to hide in a tree. Unfortunately, a canoe happened to draw near, whereupon the house slowly sank back into the depths.

*575 Mention might here be made of a *Stuux* repository, said to
778 be unique in Bella Coola, that contains five Cannibal names.
●551 It is in the form of a human being with a tail, kneeling and bent forward so that hands and head touch the ground. A repository is at each point of contact. The names are:

Ẓitlia, the head of the creature; *Änuximän·a*, the left hand; *Sinuximätl*, the right hand; *Älximän·a*, the left foot; *Xuximän·a*, the right foot; *Älquntäm*, the tail.

In this repository there lives a *mätsqus* with a copper lining to its mouth.

*575 It will be seen that these myths help but little to explain
*796 the *kusiut* society, or even the origin of the Cannibal dances;
424 they appear to be only rationalizations attempting to account
539 for established customs. For this reason they have been inserted after a description of the Cannibal dance.

[The Scratch Dance]

obey one prohibition; he must not sleep with his wife for four days. 575* 796*

Like a Cannibal, X is liable to frenzy for the rest of the ceremonial season. During this period he remains secluded within his house, and the uninitiated willingly avoid him, believing him to be mentally deranged. He attends every *kusiut* dance, where his latent madness helps to frighten the uninitiated. If strangers from Kimsquit or *Täl·io* visit Bella Coola, he at once becomes frenzied, rushes to the beach and scratches them, precisely as a Cannibal would do; in this case he must be pacified in the same manner. A Scratcher always saves goods to recompense scratched foreigners. If it is the first time that X has danced, he must remain secluded for the following summer, and give his ceremony the next winter. During the warm months he remains within the back-room of his house, and though some of the uninitiated know of his presence, still believing him mad they do not intrude upon his privacy. The coming of foreigners during this period excites him to frenzy and he scratches them, irrespective of the time of year. [834] [828]

It might be mentioned that some Scratcher names are indicative of the dancer's function, and others, such as "The Cause of Fear," have reference to his prowess. [551]

THE BREAKER DANCE

When a Bella Coola speaks of the fear which *kusiut* dances cause the uninitiated, he almost invariably cites in order the Cannibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances. *Kukusiut* with these three prerogatives have no more privileges than other members of the society, nor are they considered superior in rank, but similarity in their functions leads to an almost automatic association. If questioned further, a Bella Coola will usually say that he regards the Cannibal dance to be first, with the Scratch and Breaker equal, but less important. Breakers share with Cannibals and Scratchers the prerogatives of not blackening their faces; of having as theme for their songs the land 575* 796* 424 [781] [554] [302] [533] [264]

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elaborate myths dealing with the origin of the *kusiotem* dances. They believe that they are performed by the supernatural beings in the land above, and that long, long ago *Ałquntäm* and his associates held a meeting at which it was decided to send them down to mortals. They chose as recipient a certain *Onixwałtcua* of Kimsquit, and the prerogative of giving *kusiotem* dances has since been possessed by the owner of that name.[44] The following accounts are of the dances performed by a certain *Onixwałtcua* whom it will be convenient to call X. He has six repositories, one for each section of his dance.

As with all other *kusiut* prerogatives, the impetus to dance can come only on receipt of a call from a supernatural patron, the being *Kułsłkäkmidjut* in the case of all *kusiotem* dancers. The uninitiated are told that a call "falls" on the recipient, and moreover that for *kusiotem* dances it can take place only when the supernatural beings are rushing out of the house above on the entry of the sun at the winter solstice. Thus *kusiotem* dances should take place after the winter solstice, although this requirement has not been enforced in recent years.

The Stomach-Cutting Dance

In the early summer X decides to exercise his prerogative the following winter. He informs one of the marshals of his wish, and the latter summons his associates to the secret meeting-place where the matter is debated at length. Danger of exposure of details to the uninitiated is so great that the marshals refuse permission for the performance unless the would-be dancer is a man of proved reliability. Once this consent has been obtained, X quietly proceeds with his preparations, laying in supplies of food and asking his *kusiut* friends for their assistance. When the dances begin, X attends as do all other *kukusiut*, though his secret mental excitement increases as the time draws near for him to perform. The exact time of starting is discussed with the marshals, and a prelimi-

[44] There are other *kusiotem* dancers in Bella Coola.

*575 his follower on earth can do the same. The ritual of *nebusam*
*796 of a Thunder dancer is accordingly identical with that of a
424 Mystery dancer. In the field an effort was made to obtain
[776] accounts of what had actually occurred at dances rather than of what should have happened; at the dance of Mystery, previously described, several of the usual features were omitted, and these were accordingly left out of the account. They will now be mentioned in connection with the dance of Thunder, but the fact must be emphasized that they belong equally to all *kusiut* rites in which the dancer has the prerogative of showing all supernatural beings, including Thunder.

[551] In Kimsquit the name of the *kusiut* having the prerogative of singing of Thunder signifies, "The Roarer," with reference to his patron. The native term could not be learnt. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X.

*575 The Thunder dance is of the normal *kusiut* type in every
*796 respect, so no account need be given of the ceremonial of the
776 first three days. Many masks are ordered on the night of *nusiutälsap* and these are ready early on *nebusam*. During that day the expectant uninitiated are excited to see the masked figure of *Ano°likwolsaix* emerge from X's house, accompanied by a throng of *kukusiut* who chase all but members of the society back to their homes. Following them comes Thunder's herald, *Ałxwolätnum*, calling on all to prepare to come to the dance of Thunder, the leading *kusiut* of the supernatural beings. This messenger circles *Sonx°'* to summon the supernatural ones to Thunder's dance, the reason that all can be shown at X's ceremonial. Immediately behind *Ałxwolätnum* comes *Ṭłoqots*, the Defamer, protesting that Thunder's dance is not worth attending since he, and he alone, is the senior *kusiut* of the supernatural ones. *Ano°likwolsaix* adds her usual comments to the remarks of the two masked figures. This series of invitations and counter-invitations is repeated four times during the day, to the wonder of the uninitiated who peer out through chinks in the houses and around corners of the buildings. Sometimes *Ałxwolätnum* and *Ṭłoqots* pass from

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tune previously described. To the Bella Coola philosopher, apparently no explanation is needed of the manner in which *Saiks* was allowed to use his experience as the basis of a *kusiut* dance. The assumption is that he was a *kusiut* at the time of his experience, although this is not clearly stated. The last to use the name died about 1910, each *Saiks* having had the prerogative of giving the Thunder dance.

575* 796* 539 424 [777] [551]

THE GHOST DANCE[91]

Among the numerous patrons of *kusiut* dancers are Ghosts. The term, *äskankots*, applied to a shaman whose power is derived from a ghost, is also applied to *kusiut* with one as patron, but the two functionaries must not be confused. It is a fairly common prerogative and there are Ghost dancers in every village, their right depending in every case on some experience of an ancestor with a ghost. The following is an account of the manner in which *Soptos* of *Tcimotl* performed his ritual; it may be regarded as typical of all, and the dancer can be referred to as X.

575* 796* [775] [756] [424]

At any time during the ceremonial season X consults with the marshals to decide upon a suitable time for his performance. On the evening preceding, normally the *qotlim* of some other *kusiut*, the marshals state that his call is imminent; X makes his final arrangements and asks the assistance of a number of his fellows.

When the *nebusam* rites of the following evening have been completed and the uninitiated have returned to their own houses, they are startled to hear whistling from the forest near at hand. It is not the instrumentally produced sound that accompanies the coming of a call, but tuneless whistling with the mouth; everyone knows that this is the language of ghosts. A visitation from them is by no means unknown, and always dreaded, so at once there is excitement and everyone cowers in the bedrooms. Presently heralds go through the village

575* 796* 787 [775]

[91] No relationship is implied with the dance of the same name among Indians of other culture areas. [171]

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[The Ghost Dance]

*575 *796 [787] X's, where he is soothed by the four times repeated frenzied beating of sticks and his call returned whence it came.

During the rest of the ceremonial season X becomes mad at intervals and displays his insanity by rushing to every house and throwing dirt and sand. His *kukusiut* escort is always with him, and the procedure is identical with that already [424] recorded. X makes no recompense for the damage inflicted, so it is probable that his fellows do not regard his dance as an unmitigated pleasure, but nothing can be done to deter him from exercising his prerogative.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CHARMER

*575 *796 776 Although the Bella Coola are probably as moral as members of any other tribe, they enjoy humour of an obscene nature, and a dance which never fails to provide amusement is that of [522] the Supernatural Charmer. The patron of this is *Sximsximdt*, [831] a beautiful, unmarried, feminine being who is also termed *Aliqmän·i* and *Nuxkmälsaix*. She is thought to disregard the efforts of her supernatural relatives to restrain her, and comes to this earth where she bestows her favours not only on human beings, but on animals. Her protégé at Kimsquit is a young [557] man, *Łälaiuks*, at Bella Coola, a young woman, *Kwaläkmus*; [562] like all other *kusiut* names these can be used either by men or [424] women. It is said that *Łälaiuks*'s prerogative is derived from the experience of an ancestor in past ages, whereas that of *Kwaläkmus* was initiated three generations ago by a very powerful chief. The ritual in each case is identical, so the dancer [533] can be referred to as X. Each has the prerogative of singing [532] not only of *Sximsximdt*, but also of the being known as *Winwintumak*. Many masks are required at the *nebusam* of either of these beings, so it is customary for X to perform with respect to *Sximsximdt* one year, and to *Winwintumak* at the next or a subsequent ceremonial season, though the actual songs always refer to both patrons.

*796 *575 When X wishes to dance he consults the marshals, obtains their consent, and then makes final arrangements on, normally,

*575 *796 but a proud and energetic dancer sometimes repeats a ceremony three or four times. [424]

THE SUN DANCE[34]

[776] [821] One of the forms in which *Ałquntäm* appears is that of the Sun, and in that case he is referred to as *Sinxälotla*. Considering the importance of this deity, it is rather surprising that the *kusiut* dance of which he is patron is not more impressive. Efforts were made to obtain full details of the ceremonial from several informants, but only a number of incidents and a bare [124] outline could be obtained. In part this was due to the fact that none of the informants[35] were themselves protégés of *Ałquntäm*, but this is not in itself sufficient to explain the comparative unimportance of the dance, since full accounts were obtained of other rituals from those who did not own them.

Nothing was learnt of the origin of any of the Sun dance [424] prerogatives, except that ancestors of the owners obtained them from *Ałquntäm*. It is a common right, and *kukusiut* having [551] *Ałquntäm* as patron are found in every village, among them being *Qoxolän·i* of *Tcmotl*, and *Nexnexliwalaix* of *Nusqalst*. As far as could be ascertained, the ritual of various Sun dance performances is identical, so one account will suffice and the dancer can be termed X.

Like other *kusiut* dancers, X can perform at any time during the ceremonial season, subject to the approval of the marshals. The call comes to him in the normal manner, the uninitiated are expelled, and the *kukusiut* gather in his house to practise the songs which the singers have just composed. The theme [533] is of *Ałquntäm*, describing his manifold functions, and particu- [776] larly that of guiding the Sun. The following day a second song with similar theme is composed, and in the evening the tasks are allotted for the manufacture of masks. Four are required; a large one representing *Ałquntäm* himself, one of [532]

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[34]Needless to say, no connection or similarity is implied with the dance of the same name in other areas.

[35]Except one man who had forgotten all details since his conversion to Christianity many years before.

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the one that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make good the path" of the patron. It would formerly have been a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with death by the marshals. One informant vividly recalled his fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his conversion to Christianity, and reiterated that he had been in deadly peril from the marshals in spite of the white man's law.

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THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron to *kusiut* dancers, the Moon also has many human protégés. Among them is *Nuhwimäx*, "The Moon When It Is Unobscured," of *Tcmotl*, from whom the following account of the Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as X.

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The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to X's wishes and the consent of the marshals. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *kukusiut* presently assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

Asiutänem:[11] A woman who lives in the moon and who can be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of water.

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The two *Aiqwaiust:* These two beings are able periodically to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse.

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The two *Snitsmän·a:*[12] These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who come to earth to assist stricken *kukusiut*.

The song also describes how no supernatural being dares to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition similar to that obeyed by uninitiated with regard to passing outside a house where a *kusiut* ceremony is taking place.

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[11] *Asiutänem* is the usual term for *ghost*; no reason was given for the application of the same designation to the woman living in the moon.

[12] There is difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not there is more than one of these beings.

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[The Moon Dance]

*575 No detailed description is needed for the ceremonial on
*796 either *nuxiutálxap* or *qotlm*. On the evening of the former day
821 the masks are ordered; one for *Asiutánem*, who appears to be
[532] confused with the Moon itself, one for each *Aiqwaiust*, one for each *Snitsmán-a*, and one for *Ano'líkwolxaix*.

Late in the afternoon the *kukuxiut* assemble in X's house to see that everything is in good shape. A large mat has been
[532] spread across the back wall of the house and on it a disk representing the Moon, with a human face in the middle. After the usual discussion the uninitiated are called in. Each *Snitsmán-a* remains standing alone in the two back corners of the house, while the two *Aiqwaiust* are in the central space behind the fire, constantly waving their arms to and fro. Suddenly the Moon itself appears against the matting. A carpenter, concealed behind the screen, directs its course so that it moves in a short arc across the background and disappears; *Ano'líkwolxaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is the track of the new Moon, low down on the horizon. A second time it "rises," and moves across in a longer and higher curve, which *Ano'líkwolxaix* says is the longer orbit of the waxing Moon. On its third course it is still higher, and on its fourth appearance it moves across the full width of the house near the roof, which *Ano'líkwolxaix* describes as the course of the full Moon, far above the mountains. She also explains that we are indebted to *Snitsmán-a* for cleaning the Moon's face after the *Aiqwaiust* have blackened it, as otherwise no light would be visible. This ends the spectacle; the uninitiated are sent away, and the ceremonial concludes in the manner already described.

This constitutes the Moon dance as practised during the ceremonial season, but in addition X is required to dance whenever his patron is hidden by an eclipse. On such occasions the ritual is identical with that described for an eclipse of the Sun.

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THE DANCE OF THE MURDERED SLAVE

One of the chieftains who came to earth in the beginning of time was *Ałkumatsaix*, whose wealth was so great that he was able to invite his associates from far and near to potlatches, and thus acquire many *xuxuk*

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names for his only son. Becoming surfeited with this form of greatness, he decided to initiate a *ḵwaiat* ceremonial for his child. At that time chiefs were so powerful that they could create their own repositories, and *Ałkumasalc* resolved to make his son's in his own house. To give strength to it, he dug a hole and buried alive in it a female slave with her small infant. The unfortunate woman was a member of the tribe known to the Bella Coola as *Tsawâł*, probably a branch of the Haida; like all other northern tribeswomen she wore in her lower lip a plug of abalone-shell. *Ałkumasalc* also buried in the hole a large number of the wasps which abounded in his house. The uninitiated were told that the woman had chanced to stumble upon a repository and had become *ḵulał*, "rendered incapable of returning"; from this circumstance she was henceforth known as *Ałnałululaix*. The *ḵulałaiat* also informed non-members that the woman had been made immortal, and was forever to remain as a "live" in the repository. *Ałkumasalc* chose the name *Ḵespâtus*, "Sharp-Nosed," for his son, a reference to the sharp beaks of the numerous ravens shown on every object in his house. This designation has since been transmitted in the usual manner; every owner has had the right to perform a dance with the buried woman as patron.

In describing the ritual it will be convenient to refer to *Ḵespâtus* as X. 575* 796*

When X wishes to dance he obtains permission from the marshals and makes his preliminary plans in the customary way. A suitable date for the coming of the call is chosen, and, on the night preceding, the weeping of *Ałnałululaix* is heard in the forest behind the village. The weeper is one of X's associates, but no uninitiated would be reckless enough to venture near. She moves down the valley, as if coming from the repository near the village of *Stuix*. The next evening X receives his call and the uninitiated are expelled from his house. The dancer blackens his face, puts on a ceremonial collar, and goes out alone to find the slave woman; presently he returns, leading *Ałnałululaix* by the hand. She is disguised as an old, old woman, clad in rags and carrying on her back a bundle made to represent a small infant; over her face is a mask with a plug of abalone-shell in the lower lip (see Plate 12).* She slowly circles the fire, weeping bitterly, while the *ḵulałaiat* [532]

* [See category 116, p 164 (F)- ANALYST]

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This ceremony is an example of the great diversity in *kusiut* dances. Instead of the usual patron in the land above, the slave woman is considered to be definitely located on this earth, at a spot near *Staux*. Moreover, the call comes through her actual appearance. The writer would have liked to learn further details of the dance, but they were unobtainable. 575* 796*

THE DANCE OF THE OTTER

Since every Bella Coola has, at the present time, some sort of *kusiut* dance, it would have been possible to collect the details of a large number. Only the main outlines of the dances which follow were obtained, but it is hoped that the complexity of those already described will suffice to explain the scope of the *kusiut* society. In some cases the details were omitted to save time, in other cases the informant was ignorant of them. The latter reason is responsible for the sketchiness of the Otter dance. [424]

This ritual is the prerogative of a *Swalsli kusiut*, *Xwodjw·i*, "The Crash," a name which refers to the din when the first *Sony* collapsed in the beginning of time. Presumably one of *Xwodjw·i*'s ancestors was present at the fall and chose the name in consequence. The dancer's patron is the land otter, but the connection between this animal and the name has been forgotten, as the father of the performer frankly admitted. He suggested that probably one of his ancestors remembered having seen an otter before coming to this world, and chose it as patron for a dance which he instituted with respect to the name *Xwodjw·i*. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X. 575* 796* 424 551

X can perform at any convenient period during the ceremonial season. When the call comes, the ritual of the first three days follows normally, except that the songs used are supposed to have been unaltered. Before *nakwaw* the carpenters prepare a dummy otter, using a skin stretched over a wooden framework. A long rope is fastened to this and the figure thrown into the water so that it sways to and fro 575* 796* [593]

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[The Dance of the Otter]

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below a rapids. Care is taken that the uninitiated do not observe these arrangements. About noon on *sakaam* the heralds go to every house with a cry:

"Come to watch the *hamat* catch the supernatural one in the river."

The uninitiated are wise enough to remain within their houses as the *hahamat* troop down to the bank of the river. Presently X appears, clad in the usual ceremonial costume. In he dives, as if in pursuit of the dark shape which can be seen swirling to and fro in the water. Non-members, watching from the background, are amazed to see what appears to be a struggle, followed by the emergence of X clutching an otter in his arms. They are too far away to perceive that it is merely a dummy, nor do they know that a *hamat* has assisted the performer by cutting the rope at the proper time. As X reaches shore with his burden the *hahamat* women drum. Forcing his way through the throng of his associates, the performer goes to his house where the uninitiated presently hear the frenzied beating of sticks repeated four times. The dummy is carefully concealed in the back-room so that it can be used if necessary on a later occasion.

As X comes ashore, water is splashed in all directions from the dummy and often dampens several of the *hahamat*. Anyone to whom this happens is expected to give his clothes to a herald, and a man of chief-like disposition never hesitates to do so; in fact, he welcomes this opportunity of displaying his generous nature.

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It is probable that a number of masked figures appear on the evening of *sakaam*, but detailed information is lacking. It might be added that a question as to whether the catching of this otter had any influence on the ability of X as an otter hunter was regarded by the informant as highly humorous.

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THE OTTOPIS DANCE

In the beginning of time *Sinaxoit* of *Kimsquit* married a Bella Bella woman who brought as part of her dowry a *hamat*

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dance with Ocuqun as patron. This was first used by *Lalqnem-i*, a relative of *Sisuqutl*, and has since been the prerogative of the owner of the name, whom it will be convenient to term X. Being of foreign origin, there is no repository at Kimsquit; in fact, there is none even in Bella Bella itself where the *kwaxa* society is believed to lack both localized power and ancestral authority.** The Ocuqun dance is thus the only one without a repository; so far as could be learned it is not performed in Bella Coola. In Bella Bella the original rite was connected both with the *nusad* and *kwaxa* organizations, but in Kimsquit with the latter alone.

When X wishes to dance, which may be at any time during the ceremonial season, he consults the marshals and picks a suitable date. As this draws near, the carpenters are requested to make an ocuqun, sometimes using a seal skin as basis. On the day that the call comes, the dummy is placed in the water of the fiord, close to shore. Suddenly the heralds raise the cry that a supernatural being is coming to X; the assembled uninitiated flee from his house and the *kwaxa* assemble. Presently the dancer rushes forth, followed by a band of his fellows, and plunges into the water. From a distance non-members can see arms and legs flying to and fro, blood flows as the *kwaxa* struggling in the shallows strike each other's noses, and they have no hesitation in believing the heralds who report that a fight is taking place with a watching ocuqun. X at last leaves his heavy sabers, amid the drooning of the women.

That night the uninitiated are called to X's house where the dummy ocuqun, guarded by the dancer and several other *kwaxa*, is placed behind the fire. Hidden strings have been fastened to its arms so that it moves and seems to be alive. One of the ocuqun takes a horn and blows three, ocuqun, and all the *kwaxa* call out *i-oo*. This is repeated four times, accompanied, on the last repetition, by the return of the ocuqun whence it came. This is done by pulling the body from sight, but of course the uninitiated do not know this. A

**This is, of course, a Bella Coola version.

source of awe to the uninitiated, who marvel that a man can still appear like an ordinary mortal when he has just brought a supernatural visitor home. According to one informant who, however, is not well posted on *Sacrier* matters, there is neither quiet nor seclusion, and Dark-Shade is merely sent away after four days. This may be the case, but the dance has not been carried out for many years, and the man frankly admitted that he did not know the details. It seems more likely that there is some kind of ceremony, since a song would not be composed unless for a definite purpose.

The coming of Dark-Shade complicates the *Sacrier* ceremonial since a number of dancers receive their calls simultaneously. In this case the ritual is carried out in unison which requires, for example, the composition of one song for each performer on *Sacrieum*. Calls never come in this way to dancers with important or complicated prerogatives, but it is a useful means of dealing with those whose right is merely to sing of their patrons. On *sacrieum* the patrons of all are displayed, a method which has the advantage of producing a dramatic effect which would be lacking if only one were in evidence. The coming of a call by means of Dark-Shade is called *nulendimat*, "Emerging from Below to Their Sight." Another time when several calls may come simultaneously to different *Sakacier* is at the winter solstice when, on the story of *Alpoxiow*, the supernatural beings rush forth and some of them fall, causing calls to come to their human protégés.

THE DANCE OF THE STONE MAN

Tsyakmpl, the man who was provided with his Ocean Lake wife and four children at the beginning of time, is patron for a *Kimsquit Sacrier* man named *Kmoots*. His repository is just above high-water mark on the east side of Dean Channel, about five miles from its head, and about one hundred and fifty feet north of the legal fishing boundary. This is almost immediately opposite *Tsyakmpl*'s station. The repository is beneath the ground, and its doorway is a beaver which became

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[The Dance of the Stone Man]

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petrified and which can still be seen, with its head facing the water.

The preliminaries of *Kwaxa's* dance do not differ from those already described, although it is uncertain whence comes the actual call. A large number of masks are constructed, as well as a huge wooden figure of the Stone Man himself, and smaller ones of his wife and four children. When the uninitiated are called in on the night of *sakwam* they see the Stone Man and his family standing behind the fire, while the body of the house is filled with a number of masked figures. The latter keep shouting to the Stone Man and he answers them, as he does mortals who pass his station on Dean Channel. The marshals always arrange that he does not reply to one of the masked figures, whereupon the others gibe at this unfortunate and tell him that he will die within a year. It is common knowledge that if the Stone Man does not answer the hail of a passer-by, the latter will soon die. The uninitiated are impressed to find that supernatural beings share this belief.

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[763]

THE FIRE DANCE

This dance is the prerogative of a *hamat* named *Wai:*, "Coho Salmon." Its origin is attributed to the experience of an ancestor of the dancer who was helped by, and received his name from, one of these fish. Only a fragment of the ritual could be learned, enough to show that it has many points of resemblance with *hamatsa* rites. When *Wai:* performs, the central fire is raked apart and he appears to lie down on the ashes between the two flaming sections; evergreen boughs and sand are thrown over him, and the fire drawn together over his body. After an hour or more, when the uninitiated imagine he must be baked, his singing is heard, and *Wai:* walks in through the front door. Deception is practised probably by means of a dummy fastened with deer tendons which contract with the heat so that it seems as if the body itself were writhing. It is said that the first *Wai:* was actually able to perform this feat by means of the power given him by the salmon,

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[551]

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*575 but the *kukuxiut* all understand that later performances by
*796 those with the same name are only possible with the assistance of carpenters. This dance has not been carried out for so many years that the details have been forgotten.

THE DANCE OF THE BIRDS

*575 The Bella Coola notice that in autumn many of the birds
*796 disappear, to be seen no more until spring. Ignorant of a warmer climate to the south and of the causes of migration,
825 they explain the phenomenon by saying that *Ālquntām* collects
[776] the birds in some mysterious place for the winter and releases them in the spring. It is believed that he does the same with supernatural birds in the land above. The setting free of the
[424] birds, which is in effect a scattering, is known as *nusqwekotl*
[551] and is personified; he is the patron of a *kusiut* named *Qweta*.
[592] For the enhancement of this man's dance a huge circular cage containing wooden birds is constructed. By means of a regular maze of hidden strings they are made to "fly," to the extreme amusement of the uninitiated. This is one of the most complicated *kusiut* rites. Contrary to the usual practice, no eagle down is used for fear that it might settle on the strings and betray their existence to the spectators.

THE DANCE OF DARKNESS AND SLEEP

*575
*796 The patron of this dance is a being who has the power of bringing nightfall, and later, sleep. In accordance with his
776 double function, a dual personality is attributed to him. In
821 fact, he is almost two beings; as *Sinqlominit*, "Darkness," he
[518] causes night to come once every twenty-four hours, whereupon
[592] as *Sicinma*, he brings sleep. His *kusiut* protégé displays on
[424] enhance figures with black painted masks, representing both phases of his patron.

THE DANCE OF THE WHIRLWIND

Whirlwinds, though of rare occurrence in British Columbia, are known to the Bella Coola who believe that they are caused by the being *Sculiaxmaxm*. Like all supernatural creatures,

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Whirlwind usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits this earth. He is patron for a *kusiut* who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary. 575* 796* 776 [821] [532]

THE DANCE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the grasp of *Sninia*. This being is patron for certain *kukusiut* and whenever a tremor occurs, his protégés call their associates and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is identical with that described for dancers whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The theme of the song is of the manner in which *Sninia* performs his function of holding the world. A call from *Sninia* may also come in the normal manner to one of his protégés during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, *Sninia* is patron to a *kusiut* named *Ällibaläxlaix*. [823] [533] [551]

THE DANCE OF TIDE-MEASURER

The height to which the tides shall rise is decided by a male supernatural being, *Mintlato·snim*, "Tide-Measurer." He is patron of a *kusiut* named *Tsäl*, whose repository is near *Sätlia*. One of *Tsäl*'s ancestors brought the rite with him from above in the beginning of time. The songs used at the dance describe how Tide-Measurer uses a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of *nuhusam* the uninitiated are told to go to their houses but, by peering round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the ocean, and thrust down to the bottom a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day. [823] [551] [778] [533]

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BULL-HEAD

Since any supernatural being can act as patron to *kusiut* dancers, and since all mammals and birds are, in a sense, super- [825]

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with such powers that they killed one another in their performances. Consequently, they decided to dance only in the winter months, and merely to imitate the actions which had been previously carried out. 575* 796* 173

There are other traditions, probably with an historical basis, describing conflicts with the *a'alk*. The Bella Coola say that long, long ago there were not enough *kusiut* names for more than the old people to be admitted to the society, and that though members were regarded as having supernatural powers, yet the *a'alk*, confident in their numbers and strength, used frequently to assail the supremacy of the *kukusiut*. On one occasion, when the latter had prepared an elaborate feast of smoked goat flesh for themselves, the *a'alk* collected their weapons and demanded a share of the feast. The *kukusiut*, furiously angry, felt compelled to yield, though later they took revenge through the destruction wrought by many Cannibals and Scratchers when frenzied. It is said that even recently if the *kukusiut* did not invite the *a'alk* to one of their dances, they were always careful to placate them by sending half of the food as a present. 575* 578 173 [424] [551] [431]

Sometimes the *a'alk*, collectively, were bold enough to kill a *kusiut*, particularly if something had gone amiss in a dance house. Or other motives might be strong enough to outweigh respect for a member of the society. On one occasion a chief, who was not a member of the society, was told that his wife, who was, had been in the habit of prowling off at night with a Cannibal. The jealous husband prepared his bear-spear and slew the Cannibal when next he entered his house during a frenzied rampage of the village. *Kukusiut*, both from that village and others in the vicinity, combined to cause the murderer's death with the aid of a member of the society who was a professional killer. 575* 578 682

Success did not always come to the *kukusiut* in quarrels between members of the two societies. Long ago, the *a'alk* were invited to a *gothw* in a village in the upper Bella Coola valley. One of their own dances was taking place, but they 575* 578 796*

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Nusäxkämx Songs

The texts of *nusäxkämx* songs are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. The rites in which they were used have long been discontinued and, since they were never ceremonially important, there was nothing to impress either tunes or words on the minds of the singers. In addition, it is probable that the songs were always less carefully constructed than those of other types. 533* [796]

Song Used for Qalon(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

Qisänaowitsiya	*sihmsiänäkcistsiya*	*sätwimmlnndai*
Be happy,	ye people,	it is about to come,
dässulnyumdai	*dsqolonlaotsaiya*	
that hidden one(c),	Beaver.	

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

Qalonl'i	*Qalonl'i*	*wa·nai·yai*
Beaver(d)!	Beaver!	*wa·nai·yai*(e).

(a) This word means "Beaver." It is most unlikely that it was the dancer's own designation, more probably a nickname used in connection with the *nusäxkämx* rite. [551]
(b) Recorded as song VII D 9b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
(c) This signifies a person who is hidden ceremonially, such as a *hamat* dancer who has gone to the land above. The dancer expected to be a Cannibal and the rite in which this song was used served as a kind of rehearsal. [796] [575]
(d) This refrain replaces a second and third part of the song itself.
(e) A meaningless series of choral ejaculations.

Song Used for a Kimsquit Woman(a)

Äxnuydimqudaks	*äupiwcsudax*	*tupwiimqoskidax*	*ähusmäskidax*
They heard	of Fawn(b),	when they were playing	long ago(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 9d, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) The theme being of a fawn, the dancer wore a deer-skin. [535]
(c) As in many *nusäxkämx* songs, the words refer to an ancient story, probably one describing the adventures of deer and wolves; see vol. II, p. 488.

Song Used for W'anäqslain, a Kimsquit Man(a)

Läläwmäsänämx	*wawanyäqstn·ai*	*waipäki*	*äqalänäqs*
Run in all directions,	ye dogs,	for the first time	it is there
nänäqsälänäm	*äsnäkäänäm*	*mamäk*	*mamäk*
he brings much food(b),	go below the house	?(c)	?(d).

[776] [192]

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(*b*) *Xemtsk* came down from above with *ułuxuxut* in the beginning of time; he had the prerogative of dancing at weddings. 533*
(*c*) *Łulaiyu* likewise came down with *ułuxuxut*, bringing the same prerogative as *Xemtsk*. 585
(*d*) The rest of this song has been forgotten. [773] [424]

Fragmentary and short as are these songs, they are more elaborate than many used at weddings. These frequently contain no words, merely an ancient tune accompanied by humming and meaningless choral interjections.[4]

SHAMING SONGS

533*
Songs of this type are sung by the singers while the principal performer dances; in this respect, they resemble *sisaok* compositions and differ entirely from the abbreviated and individualistic wedding songs. Though used primarily to shame a runaway husband or wife, one is sometimes employed on other occasions. 586 578 [585]

Song Used for Nełuma(a), a Kimsquit Woman(b)

A *Yełałaly* Has too much	*dulma* lusted	*Mamlas* *Mamlas(c)*	*sisaistas* further,	*dimsałtsaiya'a* he has taken with her

tsełwastłałumał my child, *Tsełwastłas(d)*, | *dimsałtsaiya'a* he has taken with her(*e*). [109]

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

B *Sisałłałłimał* Be brave,	*sewaxsmmmmał* mothers(*f*),	*łłał ełłmastsaiała* when I speak of your ugliness(*g*);

ałłałłałłłwamp you have had much trouble, | *mamsłwałłstałamyał* your breasts have become long and pendant.

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) This word means "The one (feminine) with the very hairy pudenda." The woman in question had run away from her husband and the nickname was conferred at this shaming *łłaiyałam* rite. [551] [553]

[4]Two examples of such wordless songs were collected. They are song VII D 3a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard, and song VII D 3a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

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*533 (*aa*) Referring to a spot outside Smith Inlet.

[776] (*bb*) That is: *Tłaliakt'kak'* had just stilled the rough sea. She was another of *Qwinao*'s first ancestors, the most powerful of a group of four consisting of her brothers, *Nain'akwa*, *Tłaowika'lis*, and *Tłaliatłis*, and of herself.

(*cc*) *Qemoqua*'s house, a reference to an incident in *Qwina*'s ancestral myth.

(*dd*) The house contained whistles and other valuables which they obtained.

[551] (*ee*) That is: All people, everywhere, know of *Nain'akwa* and *Tłaowika'lis*. Each name, though singular, has a plural significance since the other brothers are likewise implied.

(*ff*) Referring again to the band of first settlers.

(*gg*) A place on the mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island.

Song Used for Sinupał(a)

A *Yao kā'ismaiustimqudax* They(*b*) will presently inform(*c*) | *dīnululdsitmł'ldīli* my dead relatives(*d*) | *yauikālīskadnimodaox* when they reach

yao aldātrwuniqudistax the outer places(*e*); | *dufukdjudjimultsidax* they(*f*) see(*g*) | *dualultsmtlimdax* where they irst came down.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Kau-ambohm-itsmāisu* I clothe myself with(*h*) | *aiyawasmaiustalīsli* my ancestral myth, | *ābustālaoskidax* as it was

dīsodutiye-mskidax in the time | *pdunuwufunm-ālstskidax* of the *Nunufmālt*(*i*) | *aiyāmtsai'aisudax* house.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Shāmalnubumnuslmł'* Had just emerged(*j*) | *dīqwnatumsttnaslundax* the place where our relatives get their food(*k*). | *tāmitlqwlāstil*

Aiyadawmtaiyuax Thither went | *tsāhhsikdimut-shidax* when it became dry(*l*) | *aiyamotkū-uax* *Wātku*.

Sialkiyuhldilundax That is why | *dīno'asqtu-tmhldstil* all people, everywhere, know | *aiyasmān-ukstil* of our ancestors(*m*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 37, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. Both words and tune were composed by him about 1907.

(*b*) Referring to *Wātku* and his band, (I, p. 390). *Sinupał* was descended from this group of first people.

[192] (*c*) The significance of this word is stronger than *inform*. It means that *Wātku* will relate to the deceased their ancestral myth.

(*d*) The chief for whom this song was composed had lost several relatives.

(*e*) Referring to Goose Island, *Ya'dalsis*, where *Wātku* landed.

(*f*) Referring again to the deceased.

[192] [775] (*g*) The significance of this word is stronger than *see*. It means that those recently dead will gaze with rapture on the places which belong to them owing to their ancestral myth.

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B *Nuyämhmlimilnk* They(g) sang | *dinustkäklidinilsdai* over my wash-basin(h); | *dälqäpäqm·idals* they all watched over *yululukwalätmm* my shaman's power(i).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Änuqwiklumilnk* Became open | *wanustlukwalästa* the place of shaman's power(j); | *ämätqamilsaix* there I saw *Ťlitcäplilän·alsaix Ťlitcäplilän·a.*

(a) This man received his name and his ability to cure the sick from *Ťlitcäplilän·a* about 1850. He was very ill, apparently on the point of death, at the time of his visitation.

(b) Recorded as song VII D 45a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(c) The first part is worded as if supernatural beings were speaking.

(d) The reference is to the healing ability granted to shamans who have themselves been cured when seriously ill.

[753] (e) That is: Human beings. It is believed that a person can be cured only if *Ťlitcäplilän·a* or some other supernatural being implant within the patient's body some of the healing power.

[776] (f) The two choruses of this song have different tunes, an unusual feature.

(g) Referring to supernatural beings; this part of the song is worded as if *Ninitsamlaix* were speaking, and describing the time he was made a shaman.

(h) Reference to the wash-basin shows that *Ninitsamlaix* had the ability to cure the sick.

(i) The theme is worded as if supernatural beings had tended and brooded over the power which they ultimately sent down.

(j) The reference is to *Nusmät·a* which, as the home of supernatural beings, is consequently the place from which comes a shaman's power. When *Ninitsamlaix* was at the point of death, it seemed to him that the sky opened above him so that he was able to gaze upon those resident there. He watched the supernatural ones conferring about his own fate, and gazed with joy at the departure of *Ťlitcäplilän·a* to rescue him.

● [551]

Song Used by Sikwalxwlxlx(a), a Bella Coola Woman(b)

[195]

A *Wiluksixilaxmy* It waved up and down | *aiyuwasa·ny^w·als* *Song^w*(c) | *dänuyämhmalim* when they(d) sang | *aiyälqämxämila* of salmon(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sänuspuxlimilnk* They(f) placed eagle down | *dinustkäklinilsdai* within the wash-basin(g) | *älomäxm·alnadai* where I was(h); *dinuk'ıäkmm·ämqällsdai* he(i) pulled me forth.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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C Wastl·ıkwainulıls | *yao dislukwalalıtsudai* | *dastlıhmnalostlıs* 533* 756
I gazed upon | what gave me power as a shaman(*j*) | when it stood up

sawıs·amınm·a·tls·wals
in the centre of a place of petrified power(*k*).

(*a*) This was the woman's *kusiut* designation; her shaman's name has been forgotten. [551]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 56, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tāl·ia* Charlie and Steamboat Annie.

(*c*) That is: The sky moved up and down. Grandiloquent phrases of this kind are frequent in songs used by shamans. [195]

(*d*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*e*) *Ḡamxāmila* is said to be the word for *salmon* in the language of the supernatural beings; it is used by mortals in the rites following the taking of the first spring salmon. The shaman has received some of her power from a fish. [198] [226]

(*f*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*g*) Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

(*h*) The meaning is obscure. Apparently the shaman had been carried away by *Ṫlitcāplilān·a* and treated by immersion in a basin in which eagle down was deposited.

(*i*) This refers to the supernatural being, *Ăuunitsakıum*, who restores to life mortals killed by the receipt of too much power from *Ṫlitcāplilān·a*. It is clear that this fate befell the shaman. [776]

(*j*) The woman is said to have received power from several sources, salmon, ghosts, and *Ṫlitcāplilān·a* herself. It is impossible to state which of her supernatural patrons is referred to in this subdivision.

(*k*) The woman must have been taken to one of the spots where cures could be effected by the power of a supernatural being petrified there. [755]

Song Used by Nexnāx·mālosaix(a), a Kimsquit Man(b) [551] [776]

A Ăuāqsuwiyuuuals | *wa·iustāldwamals* | *aiakusiaat*
Look at the teeming supernatural beings above(*c*), not one is my equal(*d*), | wise one(*e*)!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Suuhālpiktalyāmt'suk | *sānatcyustrumulwals* | *aiakusiaat*
You must sometimes waken at night to meditate on what I am bringing your mouth(*f*), | wise one!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Ḡatamyāluālk | *sānaslkāks·amuudja* | *aiakusiaat*
You must sometimes use your wash-basin(*g*), | wise one!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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*533 756 [551] [776]

(*a*) "The One Who Dances Near the Fire." This is one of *Ṭlitcāplilāw-a*'s designations and, therefore, one of the names she gives to those she cures.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 20a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) As is often the case, the theme is worded as if *Ṭlitcāplilāw-a* were speaking.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions.

(*e*) Referring to *Nexnāx-mālasaix*; such self-praise is a common device in songs used by shamans.

(*f*) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions. Reference to the mouth is in connection with the way a shaman accompanies his song by furious clashing together of his teeth. *Ṭlitcāplilāw-a* herself does this.

(*g*) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions. Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

Song Used by Ximxmoslaix, a Kimsquit Woman(a)

A Sqāpāxai'ailamlı	*walukwalhhumāxl*	*xwālplhhumāxlı*
All(*b*) have given me	the power of a shaman;	give me mental strength

waiyuwaxiut
the good supernatural beings.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Nuqwiqlimilnha	*aiyadiseyo·xqʷsudai*	*dimxtnaqwuw-ālāxadıl*
They opened	*Sonqʷ*;	they saw me

waqālkījudum-ālāxadıl(*c*)
as they peered down.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten(*d*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 21a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It was used when the woman first danced as a shaman.

(*b*) This refers to supernatural beings in general. The song is worded as if the shaman herself were speaking.

(*c*) When a record was being made of this song, the singer forgot this subdivision and substituted for it the final one of the first part.

(*d*) It is said that there was no mention of a wash-basin in the third part and that, accordingly, the shaman had no power to heal the sick.

[551]

Song Used by Nuxuimmlxum(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A Yuu ālxmxtalıxı	*ālxmlxalıxa*	*yata ālxmxanlı*	*ālxxlxalıqa*
Hail! Mortals,	I(*c*) repeat(*d*);	I give life,	I am a learned one.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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B *Ālmrlālimaqo(e)* They measure when(*f*) | *shānlhmstnānamltom* will be visible | *shusiutsdomqdai* my wisdom, 593* 756

slukwalaiyākais
my ability as a shaman(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten; it is said that in it there was reference to a wash-basin, showing that the shaman was able to treat the sick.

(*a*) "The One of Whom All Sick People Think," a name received from *Thiraplilāw-a*. [551]
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 32b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*c*) Referring to *Thiraplilāw-a*; this part of the song is worded as if she were speaking.
(*d*) That is: I do as I have done before.
(*e*) When this song was being recorded on the phonograph, the singer erred and replaced this subdivision with the first of the first part.
(*f*) That is: They decide upon the time when.
(*g*) The reference is to the dramatic performance which marks his status as shaman; this part of the song is worded as if the shaman himself were speaking.

Song Used by Tritomdylaiy(a), a Bella Coola Woman(b) [551]

A *Āumslimālmn* Is ready | *dinsilhāksaiyutsdai* my wash-basin(*c*), | *diptsmomāmp* I will use it

shālumhdjatum-ādjnp
when you(*d*) come for treatment.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C*. The rest of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) "The Sleep-Giver," a name received from *Thiraplilāw-a*. [551]
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 27b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie. In 1922 he was about seventy years of age and the song was used by his step-mother.
(*c*) This reference shows that the shaman had power to treat the sick.
(*d*) Referring to human beings in general.

Fragment of a Song Used by Nuwatmmālmum, a Bella Coola Man(a)

Sinchālkashmālāmdai Hold me in his cupped hands | *yun dilāsiutsdai* the learned one(*b*), | *shumtchwmiutsdai* when he bore me

wulimkdjatchwmiutsdai
to the place of treatment.

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

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Song Used for Snayaxilkuse-a(a), a Female Bella Coola Sun(b) Dancer(c)

*533 A *Ăxaximxalitdakt* | *ne'alxaklite-itmăk* | *ce-xmlakhm-alimdai*
dixilăpxtailaxpa

There was light above me when they(d) opened the very powerful thing for me(e).

(WOMAN'S CONTROL)

B *Xalwalxtamimlinla* | *dixpyaxa-hmlimdai*
Loud voices(f) are discussing him(g) multitudinous works(h);

dixmăpxnimmilimdai | *dixmalkhxinilimdai*
when he stirred unwise | the water in the shaman's wash-basin(i).

(WOMAN'S CONTROL)

C *Wa'xmlxmimmymala* | *xla'alăpxlachinx* | *dăpmlxa-xa-xămăk*
yalmayăkilxmăk

Smaiskile(j) and his associates are immortal; they guard life. In the beginning of time they created *Alăpxlachin(k)*.

[551] [424] [776]

(a) This is a Rivers Inlet name, inherited by the present owner as a result of the marriage of one of her ancestors with a Rivers Inlet woman.
(b) According to a strict definition, *Snayaxilkuse-a* is not a Sun dancer. Her patron is *Alpaxtam*, but she does not refer to him as *Snaxlatla*, Sun, but as *Smaiskile*.
(c) This song was composed for, and used during the *hactar* season of 1923-4.
(d) Referring to the supernatural beings.
(e) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions.
(f) Referring to those of the supernatural beings.
(g) Referring to *Smaiskile*.
(h) It was impossible to obtain individual translations of these two subdivisions.
(i) The reference is obscure. Allusions to wash-basins are usually found only in songs used by shamans; it is said that the dancer had a prerogative of that nature in Rivers Inlet, and insisted on it being mentioned in her *hactar* song. This is contrary to Bella Coola custom.
(j) The dancer's patron.
(k) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions. *Alăpxlachin* is a supernatural being with the ability to revive mortals; little is known of him and he may be a Rivers Inlet being.

[424] [776]

Song Used for Alpaxtamalin, a Bella Coola Moon Dancer(a)

A *Yaa xmăpxnimmylalakt* | *dixlakmalimmăllimdai* | *yaa ulă'xmalimmăk*
I was surprised at what was told to me; it was too much, it described(b) | *xmăxlxtimmăk*
the descending supernatural being(c).

(WOMAN'S CONTROL)

*593 C *Ka'asxwnálosqwínndax* | *Tlátkwakilasudax* | *ałałłiasudax*
Is like a fire | *Tlátkwakila*(g) | the copper of(h);

ski-kpałłomqwínndax | *gdukukpiyasudax* | *eiałnukiadjidax*
has carried him round(i) | his grandfather | *Nukiadji*(j).

(a) Recorded as songs VII D 5 and VII D 6a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. VII D 5 is a two-minute record, and as the song was too long, the last part of it was concluded on VII D 6. This resembles an ordinary mourning song, and is said to have been used formerly as one at Kimsquit. During the season of 1923-4, however, it was used at a *hosiut* dance given by *Łałał'nimut*, son of the deceased *Yákotłes*.

(b) Referring to the dead *Yákotłes*.

(c) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these six subdivisions, and even the free interpretation may be inaccurate.

(d) That is: *Yákotłes* wants the best. The meaning is that the dead man is seeking out the finest elements in his ancestral myths.

[773] (e) Referring to a house at *Nuxałał* used by his first forefathers; it had the power of expanding so as to provide room for all who came to potlatches.

(f) The name of the house.

[551] (g) A Bella Bella name owned by *Yákotłes*.

(h) That is: The copper of *Yákotłes* is bright and gleaming like a fire. The reference is to a copper mentioned in the deceased's ancestral myth; the article furbished itself in delight at the sight of one of its first owner's ancestors. Such boasting remarks are frequent in mourning songs.

(i) In the sense of: Around the places where his first forefathers ranged.

(j) That is: His grandfather, *Nukiadji*, carried him around the scenes of the experiences of his first forefathers. *Nukiadji* was a Kwakiutl chief.

Song Used for Siymaw-a, Combined with Mourning for Yákotłes(a)

A Sumqqwnidjustałsitałłałs | *a'łkpyawidjustałł* | *dzstłjałałpałs*
I was careful, I watched myself, when I felt strange(b); I rose above the ground(c) when I reached(d)

alnuzkłsiutłs
the repository(e).

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

[551] B *Skłmałłpałsinłhmqw'* | *yustłnsinłdzstudłs* | *yustłwsałłłmałłmałłs*
As soon as he saw | *Sinłsinłdzst*(f), | the lordly mountain(g)

yas dzałłpałsinłdłs
illuminated itself(h).

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

C *Nuyałpłnmqwłmałł* | *ainłs ałm'nałł* | *nudłstu łmałłłł*
Rejoiced | *łpłłmt*(i); | she welcomed him(j)

łstnzkwałłłsłłłus
to the expansible house(k).

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 19a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *kwiat* season of 1923-4; the exact relationship of *Sigmaw-a* to *Yakuhs* could not be learnt. 533*

(*b*) *Sigmaw-a* was being initiated into the *kwiat* society and this part of the song describes, for the benefit of those who were not members, her experiences when she discovered her repository. The theme states that she felt peculiar when she reached its neighbourhood.

(*c*) An expression inserted to impress the uninitiated.

(*d*) Individual translations for these three subdivisions could not be obtained.

(*e*) When this song was being recorded on the phonograph, the performer erred and substituted for this subdivision the following:

ałtmuxsiwuxuł
where I went.

(*f*) One of the names of *Yakuhs*. The theme here changes to the usual mourning type, describing the experiences of the deceased. [551]

(*g*) Referring to Mount *Swaq* near Kimsquit.

(*h*) This mountain is said to have been an active volcano within the last century and a half. The first ancestors of *Yakuhs* landed upon its slopes, hence the mountain became wrapped up with their fortunes and showed its delight at welcoming one of their descendants.

(*i*) That is: *Qałmu* rejoiced. She was one of his first ancestresses.

(*j*) That is: *Qałmu* welcomed *Yakuhs*.

(*k*) A house which figures in the origin myth of *Yakuhs*. It had the ability of expanding to accommodate as many guests as assembled. [773]

Song Used for . . . . . (a) , Combined with Mourning for Qwmxwkwmi(b)

A Bł'uxlimsdja | *ałxłaiwałłxdai* | *diqwałłimałłxudai*
I(c) was in trouble, I was in fear, when I saw illuminate itself(d)

Kwmłłkłaxdai
the place of petrified power(e). [773]

[illegible]

B Kłxwłxałłimsqwłxudai | *Qwmxwkwmłxudai* | *łkxa xałłxaw qwim*
Is now established(f) | *Qwmxwkwmi(g)* | at the place of

ałłłxwłxałłxdai
his established name(h).

[illegible] (i)

C Kłxqwłłxłłimsqwłxudai | *xw łxwxłimqwłxdai* | *xłxł łłqwłqwqałxudai*
Welcomed him(j) | *Łxwxłimqwi(k)* | and guided him around

ałłqwłłxqwłxałłxdai
the places of his crests(l).

*539 a large cave in the vicinity where the hunters smoked the meat and boiled
[224] down the grease and marrow, but they had killed so many that it was January before their task was completed. Meanwhile the smell of flesh had attracted a number of martens which were caught in snares; in fact, they captured enough for two blanket-robes. When ready to leave for home, they prepared snow-shoes and on these safely negotiated the deep drifts and reached the village where all hope of their safety had long been abandoned. *Ätsaxomtsam* arrived at dusk and heard his parents weeping and wailing; he asked who had died and found that they were mourning for him. His safe return turned their lamentations into rejoicings and a herald was sent out to call in the villagers to share the good news. When finally packed in, there was enough goat meat for an elaborate potlatch.*

[226] A year or two later, four men prepared to set out one afternoon to fish for trout. As they were leaving, *Ätsaxomtsam*'s young son begged to be taken along and cried so piteously that they at last consented. So they wrapped him carefully in a goat-skin blanket, and placed him in the bottom of the canoe which they paddled about six miles upstream. They landed on the bank, cooked a meal, and dried black spruce branches over
[226] the fire to serve as torches to lure the fish within range of their spears. When night had fallen, they began to drift downstream, one man holding aloft a brand while the others speared. They had fair success, but nothing noteworthy occurred until, as they neared *Nuqalit*, they saw white on the water, and paddled slowly forward, thinking it must be a huge flock of swans. As they drew nearer they saw that it was snow; a huge slide had swept over the village and blocked the channel of the river. The water, no longer able to flow westward, was swirling back to the east, and the fishermen drifted with it until they found a place to camp for the night with their young companion.

As soon as it was light, they returned to the scene of the disaster and found a deep bed of snow over the site of the village. They landed to investigate, and called repeatedly, hoping that some at least had escaped. At last they heard an answer and began to dig, imagining that it must be *Ätsaxomtsam* himself. After excavating a deep hole, they unburied the sole survivor, a slave who had escaped by covering with a copper the

* We will be noticed that there are many points of similarity between this story and the one in vol. II, p. 111. It is possible that they are versions of the same incident, but it seems more likely that they refer to different incidents of which the principal character of one has been forgotten. In such cases the Bella Coola, believing
[538] that individuals with the same name often have the same characteristics, frequently
[551] give to the hero of an earlier incident the name of a person who has figured in a similar one within recent years.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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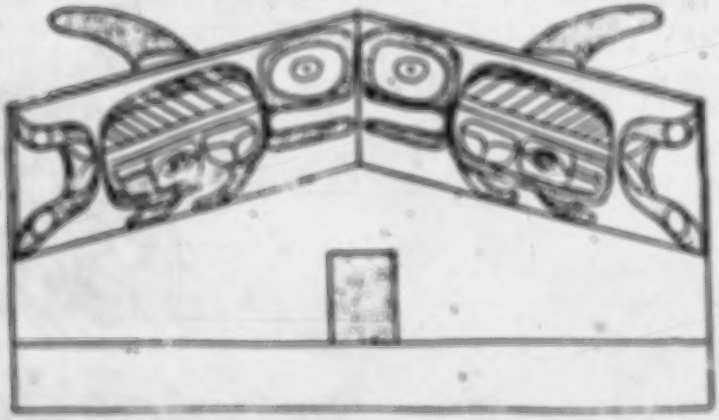
614 583 [551] The evidence which I can present regarding the laws of intermarriage is the following: I inquired of Nuxk'ala'ata (would water in bow), a member of the Ialx'ulmult gens, whether he might marry a Spatel'ût woman; this suggestion he rejected with the greatest indignation.

FIG. 1.—House-front of the gens Tsk-at'a.

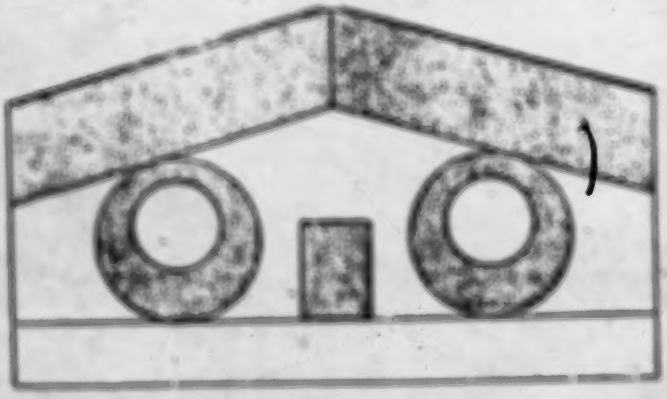
[392] [532]



Members of the first two gentes, he explained later on, are not allowed to intermarry, neither are members of the last two gentes, while the first and second may marry among the third and fourth. He accounted for

FIG. 2.—House-front of the gens Tsk-aunat'at, representing the moon.

[392] [532]



this by stating that Ialx'ulmult's are essential Spatel'ût's daughters, and that consequently the two gentes were related to each other.

614 The gentes have totemic similar to those of the neighbouring coast

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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ceremonial. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the 614
people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the 532
various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That
is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of 422
carvings and masks, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. 556
Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become
Sisaa'ks. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is [567]
given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nesh'e- [848]
la'ula, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is
a member of the gens Tale'ainist of the Talle'ait, stated that he had
received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch [115]
he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale
at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets
connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others
from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very
good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets
to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he 64
changes his name. Each person has two names, a Ki'ititt name, which 424
remains the same throughout life; and a Qi'ntelen name, which is changed 551
at these festivals. Thus, Nesh'ele'ula's (which is his Ki'ititt name)
present Qi'ntelen name is Ai'ilmaw'lna'ait, but at his next potlatch he 556
intends to take the name of Kalit'la. These names are also the property
of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of 575
gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Ki'ititt names of the
gentes. In two cases only the Qi'ntelen names have been ascertained
(see p. 426). When a man possesses several Sisaa'ks secrets he will dis- 424
tribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or 575
mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of
their Sisaa'ks secrets to her husband, so his children make him a member 614
of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisaa'ks
secrets. After my secret has been given away the giver must not use it [426]
any more. The crest and the Sisaa'ks carvings must not be loaned to
others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions
are the sacred headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the
property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. 556
The creditor of a person becomes the debtor of the person who gave 426
the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his
heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the
debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned,
and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who
performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given
by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow
part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was
told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and
burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which
he was going to pay to the owner in the stead. Since that feast he died,
and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Ki'ititt is presided over by a female spirit, called Aneiklitini'a. 575
She dwells in a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February 773
till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the
door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been 776
the first to find her. Aneiklitini'a invited her into her cave and taught

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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575 her the secrets of the Ka'siût. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the women to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Ka'siût. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Ka'siût.'

575 Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Ka'siût. When a man has
776 seen Anaûlikûtsai'n sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a Ka'siût. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Ka'siût lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Ka'siût are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the Sisaa'kn dances (see above), but belong to the
424 members of the gens alone. They may, however, be leased and borrowed by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who
[426] do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Ka'siût is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Ka'siût name, which
[551] he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Ka'siût names,
[428] which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pû'pû until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of T'kûs'ûl. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[552] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisaa'kn, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Ka'siût have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] tlaqô'tla (the Ha'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ô'lq (the Ts'ûmsît of the Kwakiutl), and the Dâ'tla (the Ts'ûnsîsît of the Ts'ûnsît). These grades are also hereditary. A Ka'siût novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the tlaqô'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
785 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[266] killed, in order to serve as food for the tlaqô'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the tlaqô'tla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

751 whence wind, light, and life, to the natives
of the valleys of their hills have stopped down." During their monthly
[illegible] periods women place with cedar bark in the vagina. The bark is afterwards
burnt in the woods. The source of this fire is believed to be primeval.

It is evident that the culture of the Bilqula is very greatly influenced
177 by that of the K'wakiutl. The social organization and the political organization
551 are almost a copy of those of the Dzitsaqa. This influence has been so
556 deep that names of even fables and of the mythical ancestors of certain
575 gentes are purely K'wakiutl words, or have at least K'wakiutl endings. Thus
575 the name K'wadi'lkya (see p. 410) is purely K'wakiutl, meaning "good all
716 over the world." K'wak'wadi'lkya is also a K'wakiutl word, meaning
721 "the rich one of the world." The chief's name, Ma'kayala (see p. 410)
belongs to the same class of K'wakiutl names. On the other hand, the
religious ideas of the Bilqula are very centrally developed, and apparently
but slightly influenced by their neighbors. The whole Shamanistic
tradition is peculiar to them, but has been partly adopted by the Ts'ets'aut,
Tsaq, with whom the Bilqula have intermarried.

[pp. 435-499 not preserved]

[illegible] one my information regarding the class, and who is a member of the [illegible] gens Iaivalent of the Iaivalent, stated that he had received the [illegible] when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received [illegible] the maple. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his [illegible] potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets [illegible] with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the baby's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a [illegible] name, which remains through life, and a [illegible] name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Fort Simpson (which is his [illegible] name) [illegible] name was [illegible], but at his next potlatch he intended to take the name of [illegible]. These names are the property of the various clans, and also having to own names. When a man possesses several clan's secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their clan's secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his clan's secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the clan's carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headbands and the carve rattles, which are not the property of any particular clan.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the [illegible]. The nephew of a person becomes the father of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his heirs. If the father should die, his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed the act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person to a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and [illegible] at a potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going to pay the owner to the chief. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The [illegible] is presided over by a female spirit, called [illegible]. The abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps clear from February till October, consisting all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. [illegible] invited her into her cave and taught her the secrets of the [illegible]. She was covered of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair shaven with sagle down. She commanded the

O/Dmx E-5 (888-ca. 1950)[illegible]
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[illegible] to dance in the same way as the new hat dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the Kwakiu. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. Do whatever, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kwakiu."

[illegible] Kwakiutl dance the Kwakiu. When a man has been installed in sitting in front of his room, he will invite the people to a Kwakiu. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the latter house. Each Kwakiu lasts three days.

The various dances performed by members of the Kwakiu are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the clan's dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may exhibit the dance or the harpoon may return it at any time. Membership of the Kwakiu is obtained through an initiation. In this dance the novice is given his Kwakiu name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Prince until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of [illegible]. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation. It seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the clan's, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that to most "dances" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kwakiu have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the Sisiutl (the [illegible] of the Kwakiu), the [illegible] (the [illegible] of the Kwakiu), and the [illegible] (the [illegible] of the Kwakiu). These grades are also hereditary. A Kwakiu novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

When the Sisiutl is initiated, he goes into the woods, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sky, and [illegible] he [illegible] the right preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the Sisiutl. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the Sisiutl order devoured one half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears

S.Sk.Dominion N-1 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Alpuxtáw is ceremonially, but inaccurately, called *Sun*, the Sun.

Though *Alpuxtáw* often sojourns in the sun, his home is in the flat land above the sky, a huge house which figures prominently both in Bella Coola mythology and present-day thought. The name of the house is *Nacmáx-a*. It resembles those constructed on this earth, but is boundless in size. Like the houses of human beings, its name is changed according to what is taking place within. Every autumn the supernatural beings gather there to await the coming of *Alpuxtáw* at the winter solstice; while waiting they pass the time by performing the equivalent of the earthly *Sacrat* dances (II, chap. 4). This assembly is termed *palowaic*, and the house, during this period, *Nacpalowaicta*.

The following names of the house, with meanings, were obtained:

Nacmáx-a, "The Place of Myths."

Nacpámlaxtáw, "Where Everything Was Begun."

Nacmáxlátowaxtáw, "The Place Whence Came the Falling Down."

Nacmáxwaxtáw, "The Place Where Mankind was Made."

Nacálpuxtáwtáw, "The Place Where *Alpuxtáw* Speaks."

Nacpalowaicta, "The Place of the *Palowaic*."

Nacmáxtáw, "The Place of Meeting," or "The Council House."

Nalowaxtáx. The meaning of this word is unknown.

Anacmáxtáwáx, "The Moving House." The significance of this last name rests on an ancient myth in which the house is conceived as moving from place to place.

To grasp the significance of these designations it is necessary to understand the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the creation. The mythology contains no account of the origin or birth of *Alpuxtáw* himself, nor of the making of this world. In the beginning of time no living creature, either animal or vegetable, existed with the exception of *Alpuxtáw*. He, therefore, decided to alter and populate the world and

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

and eagles whom he invites to devour it. In so doing, he does not address them by their usual names, but calls Wolf, *Ałwa-i-gunum*, "The Devourer of Meat Which He Does Not Kill," that is, "The Biting Scavenger"; and Eagle, *Aoaikaiyuamunum*, "The Constant Eater," that is, "The One Who Eats before He Is Hungry." Next morning the flesh has been devoured and the hunter believes his guests have eaten it. Animals and birds, being supernatural, can hear the words of mortals and read their thoughts. The significance of these actions is that animals have the power to conceal themselves, so a hunter must gain their favour before he can hope to succeed. Belief in the efficacy of such customs as these is rapidly falling into decay and bear meat is now often eaten, but the skull is carefully placed in an evergreen tree near where the animal is slain, so that it may come back to life.

Fish, likewise, are immortal. In autumn the streams are choked with dead and dying salmon, but the Bella Coola know that they are not really dead, they have merely shed their worthless blankets in accordance with *Alpuxtiw*'s decrees. At that season of the year he causes the rivers to rise so that they will sweep away these useless and outworn cloaks.

Although the salmon, from the kindness of their hearts, allow human beings to feast on their blankets, yet they have certain likes and dislikes which are carefully observed. From the time the first spring salmon appear (I, pp. 759-762) until the rising of the July moon, women are not allowed to eat them or to go near the river. Men may eat the flesh, but instead of throwing the bones to dogs, they carefully return them to the river saying:

"Please come back tomorrow."

If this is inconvenient, bones can be thrown into the woods with impunity.

Salmon, like men and animals, live a human-like existence in their homes far beneath the surface of the ocean. They lack and desire earthly objects, especially pounded cedar-bark (see Appendix A) to use as sponges for their children, so the Bella Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Raven, perhaps made conceited by this power, did not always use it for good purposes. He learnt many new inventions which he taught to the Bella Coola, but sometimes he indulged in adventures of an obscene nature. In fact, he was often too "smart." The Bella Coola relate many tales concerning his exploits. These are all mere stories, such as can be told by anyone, and they fall into two classes. One comprises humorous anecdotes, describing how Raven tried to show off, to outwit other birds and animals, and his consequent discomfiture. These belong to the realm of mythology and are recorded in vol. II, chap. v. In addition, there are stories describing the inventions and boons obtained by Raven; these are given in detail here as the only satisfactory means of illustrating the attitude of the Bella Coola towards Raven.

The first Raven, to whom *Alquntám* granted such power, is not regarded as a bird, but essentially as a superman, with the kindly characteristics of a human being, and the weakness of a conceited individual who is always trying to display his prowess. The ordinary word used for a raven is *qmas*, but this first Raven is properly referred to by his titles as chief, *Nemaklis*; *Ináwaimdmots*, "The Light-Bringer"; *Kilakumsmi*, "The Wise One"; *Ná'cwmhumnsis*, "The Widower";* *Kumqumsa ulkilit cqwa*, "The Unknown of Light";* *Qas ásmcila*, *Qmai ilit*, and *Qmi*. The Bella Coola do not explain what happened to this first *Nemaklis*; he appears to have dropped out of existence, and his power has not been transmitted to his descendants, the ravens of today. They are regarded as birds, with but the slightest trace of their ancestor's greatness. The Bella Coola know of the beliefs of the Kitkatla concerning Raven, and say that in the north he is esteemed only a little less than the supreme deity himself. But in Bella Coola the exploits of Raven are always considered to be due to the power given him by *Alquntám*, whose servant he was, although he delighted to show his own prowess by outwitting his maker.

* Whatever he is supposed to have widowed (from his second of the first section, referring to the manner in which Raven is supposed to have corrupted the sun.

614 extinct, are unusual; normally, the group is largely centred in
621 one village, but with members scattered in other localities. There is no central organization. It is generally recognized that such a unit belongs in the village where its first ancestors settled, and the leading chief of that village is, therefore, an important person in the family, though without status of [622] "head" of it. His advice may be appealed to in cases of dis- [553] putes concerning names, but he lacks judicial authority. Theoretically, the descendants of the elder of two first people are considered as "elder brothers and elder sisters" of those descended from a younger brother or sister; but this is nothing more than an accepted fact; it plays no part in the social life of the community.

552 In addition to human names, the origin myths include those
614 applied to dogs. The first ancestral group had dogs, and these
793 animals had names, or were given them by their powerful masters. Ever since that time their descendants can apply these designations to their own dogs. It is unnecessary to validate such names, but no two canines can be given the same one at the same time, according to the rule which governs the bestowal of human names. This matter was not investigated in detail, and the only dog's name collected was one for which [539] the origin myth is as follows:

When Tal'ia was first settled in the beginning of time, the houses were built in parallel rows, one above the other, up the side of a steep knoll. At the very top was a cedar house, built over such a steep incline [54] that movement rolled down the hillside. In consequence, one of the early chiefs living there gave to his dog the name, *Ha'ipmamal ki mual*, "Rolling movement," which has since been preserved in the ancestral family of his descendants.

LAND

124 Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining information
428 about land tenure. The Bella Coola cannot keenly the way in
177 which their land has been occupied by white settlers without, according to their standpoint, proper compensation. Com-

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554 it to the digestive tract. After a man has given four potlatches
he feels superior to those who have been unable to do likewise.
556 His name is "bright," "clean," "heavy," "firm," or "upright"
622 in Bella Coola terms, and so, likewise, his seat. He feels inde-
[578] pendent and proud. Such a chief will fearlessly enter the back-
room where ceremonial rites are taking place, even if not en-
titled to do so.

"He is so strong, he can go where he will," say the Bella Coola.

The advice of such a man is taken because of his ability and prestige, especially by the members of his own family. A few years ago, for example, when a certain Bella Coola died, his brother wished a *kwiat* name-prerogative of the deceased to pass to the dead man's daughter. The girl's mother's father, a *nemit* chief, objected, and his desires were followed, although the name in question was not connected in any way with his family. In small matters, too, people gladly carry out the
[592] wishes of a chief. Work around the house is done for him without thought of disobedience. An old man was asked whether, when he was young, chiefs gave many orders and acted as masters in their households.

"You bet," the old man answered emphatically with a dry chuckle.

231 It is difficult now to form an accurate estimate, from observation, of the influence of chiefs solely through virtue of the
• 552 goods they have expended. But the following is a concrete
622 example. In November, 1923, the writer, while walking through the Bella Coola village, was bitten by a dog. He was told that the animal belonged to a certain old woman. When next he saw the owner he asked her whether she knew that her dog attacked passers-by.

"Yes," she answered, in a matter-of-fact tone, "He is a chief and can do what he likes."

Further questioning elicited the information that the old
[766] woman and her husband, the childless last survivors of an ancestral family, had transferred some of their ancestral

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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names to their dog, and had distributed presents to validate 231
the bestowal. Consequently, the animal is a chief (see Plate 552
11) and can do as he likes. When it dies it will be mourned 622
as a chief. Moreover, a number of people have returned the 766
presents which they received at the time the dog wasmade a chief, and this money is kept by the woman and her husband, to be used when they perform the rite of mourning fothe dog at death.

When this is possible, in the present degenerate dys, it is 556 *
not difficult to understand how, formerly, a great chief felt 622
himself above the restraints that hindered lesser men. The [156]
last great Bella Coola chief was *Pashe*, who died between 1870 and 1880. His influence and power were so great the he was a virtual ruler, during anything. If he requested a yong man to take his food hom home and the youth was slow o obey, *Pashe* had no hesitation in killing him on the spot. Sch great power, though unusual, is intelligible to the Bella Coola, since *Pashe* gave far more potlatches than any of his contemporaries. Other chiefs have been known to attempt a similar rbitrary use of power, but have failed, since their prestige was ot great enough to justify it. The force of a mighty chief spreads up [628]
and down the coast, and protects him and the members of his family from being ambushed and slain in any sporadic fray. During an actual fight, however, a chief has to take [726]
his chances with the rest, but the comparative immunity was a great advantage.

The Bella Coola recognize the fundamental differences 171
between their own concepts about chieftainship andthose of 556 *
other coastal tribes with whom they come in contact. This 622
point was mentioned in the course of conversation by several 829
men. The most powerful chief known to them was *Tsalua*, who, they say, was virtual monarch of the Kitkatla. None of his subjects could go hunting without his permission, and he had rights to a certain share of their booty. At any ceremony presents had first to be given to him, and if he were slighted in this respect, he would kill the offender. It is be-

[See ms. 116, p 116 (c) - ANALYST]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*556 chief to pay somewhat lavishly, since the value of the copper
[435] depends on the amount expended on it.
[497] The $20 received by the poor man must not be casually
spent. He is expected to invite the whole village to his house,
*556 otherwise he would never again be given a copper. The heralds
735 call everyone to the house, the singers as usual being the first
to arrive. They beat out the *kuziut* song of anyone, to which
[533] the owner dances; the songs are used one after another, until
[575] almost every member of the society has danced. *Sasaá* songs
may then be used in the same way. Since the supernatural
beings are not present, the rite has no religious significance;
it is merely a social affair. At the close of the dancing, the
poor man distributes food to all, equivalent in value to the
money received. It is probable that poor men sometimes
give away slightly less than they have received, although
any noticeable laxity in this would be punished by the receipt
of no further coppers. The recipient of a copper from a fire
derives no direct gain from it, though it is to his indirect
advantage, since a person who has given away food is likely
to receive larger presents on future occasions than one who
has not.

Meanwhile the chief owning the copper is unable to use it
495 at his potlatch since the value, dependent on the goods ex-
*556 pended for it, is only $10, a sum so small that to use it would
be insulting to his dead ancestor. There are several ways of
increasing its value:

(1) *By Painting.* Taking advantage of some ceremony
[532] when a number of people are present, the owner gives a car-
penter $10, for example, with a request that he paint on his
copper a representation of the crest used by his, the owner's,
first ancestor, when coming to this earth. Henceforth the
value of the copper is $20.

495 (2) *By Naming.* The Bella Coola say that among the
●552 Kwakiutl names are given to almost all coppers; in Bella
*556 Coola it is a rare practice. Occasionally, a chief creates a
name for his copper and validates this by presents to all the

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village at some ceremony, exactly as a child's name is conferred. Designations are chosen with respect to the appearance of the copper, or some incident connected with its history. Such a designation is *Gwaiowas*, "Begrimed," applied to a copper thrown many times into the fire. If, for instance, $50 be expended for a name, the value of a $30 copper is henceforth $80. 435 552 556*

(3) *By Making Gifts.* The owner of a copper can increase its value by calling together the other chiefs of his village, and sometimes of adjacent ones as well. After the customary meal, the owner expounds the history of his possession, giving details of its value. Then he passes it to one of his guests, who, unless he wishes to insult his host, must hold it upright, that is, with the broad end uppermost. The owner gives it in turn to each of his guests. To validate the display, the owner must bestow gifts on all present, and the total value of these is added to the value of the copper. Such gifts are not strictly returnable, although it is customary for chiefs to show their generosity and prowess to their fellows by a later repayment with interest. 435 556* [578] [426]

By these means the original purchaser of a worthless copper can increase its value to such a point that it can be used at a potlatch. There is no established custom about this. Coppers are not as valuable in Bella Coola as, for instance, at Fort Rupert, and it is unlikely that any are ever worth more than $300, and the average value is probably between $150 and $200. Considerable time is required to raise the value of a copper to this sum and the owner in many cases finds that he has all the other requirements before his copper is ready for use. In that case, he tries to buy another which has been raised to sufficient worth by its owner. Everyone knows the values of the different coppers in the community, and the intending purchaser calls his fellow-chiefs to his house and offers to buy one valued, for example, at $150. If the owner consents to sell, he usually endeavours to get as much as possible, perhaps $175. The sum is publicly paid and is henceforth the value of the copper, which is transmitted to the new [771] 435 437 556*

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534 In course of time, as they grew wealthy, they were able to summon people from far and near for potlatches. This in turn enabled them to validate several names which they had brought from above. *Ilpentsw* had given *Nuxmalkmut* a box containing whistles for *Sacint* rites. He used them and bestowed on one of his sisters the name *Nuxwemut*, a *Sacint* designation still in existence. When the roof of the house was opened light came through, from which circumstance the name *Syeut* was acquired at one of their annual potlatches. Not only was *Nuxmalkmut* able to validate designations which *Ilpentsw* had given him, but he created several new ones as well. He gave to his sisters the names *Kilpentsum* and *Sphenjuste-a*; the latter means "Rising Dust," with reference to the dust rising from the floor of the house as *Nuxmalkmut* threw down the remnants which he was about to give away to his guests.

[551] All the names mentioned in this myth have been preserved. That of *Nuxmalkmut* is held in especial esteem by the people of *Swan*. It means "Head of the River," referring to the point where he came to this [552] earth. Even *Nuxmalkmut* is still in use, applied to a dog as the owner has no children.

THIRD ORIGIN MYTH OF *Swan*[*]

In the beginning *Ilpentsw* went down to *Sneiter-a*, at the head of the Clearwater, a branch of the Bella Coola River, four brothers, *Alkut*, *Dudzeeny*[*], *Nimtchut*, and one whose name has been forgotten, with their sisters, *Kinthlu* and *Cwinthu*. *Dudzeeny*[*] had brought with him from above as a present from *Ilpentsw* some clubs to announced down and one of the large ones shaped whistles used in *sacint* ceremonials. The two women cried because they had no house. But presently they thought they were in one with a wonderfully painted roof; in reality it was the sky and the decorations were brightly shining stars. By means of their supernatural power, for they were not yet mortals, they reduced the firmament to such small compass that it was really a house to them, with the one-dimensional sky as roof. Taking this shader with them, the six set out next day for *Pawat*, a point on the mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island. They travelled down the valley of a river which runs not far from the *Sneiter-a* source of the Bella Coola. *Alkut* and his relatives did not like the language of the people living at *Pawat*, so they returned to *Sneiter-a*, taking with them some of the few

[*] Related by Snaxelkum Smith.

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$539 In course of time *Swaqhkhlo* became so wealthy that he was able to call people from far and near for a potlatch. He built a house identical in every particular with that of *Sqwayna* as he had seen it. He bestowed on his children not only the names which *Sqwayna* gave to him, but also [557] two which he took from what he had seen, *Lots*, the whale which was outside the front of the house, and *Lhlakho*, the significance of which could not be determined.

[558] These two designations have since been transmitted in this family, and now have bestowed on a dog, there being no children left.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Tsi'ts*[a]

In the beginning of time, *Sqwayna* sent down to this world a man, *Ai'mulnaix*, with his two sisters, *Ailsumka*, "The Shadow-Shell Woman," and *Ailsinlo-tsilhin*, "The One with Shadows on Her Hair." The three landed on an island several miles in circumference, formed of an enormous shadow-shell; its location is now unknown, but it was somewhere in the south, presumably not far from Vancouver. There they dwelt for some time and began to construct a house for themselves out of the shell. All the time they longed to travel in search of a desirable place to settle, but they lacked means of transportation. At this juncture Raven appeared, and offered them a canoe if they would promise to use it. They readily agreed and presently the supernatural bird returned with one. It was a *sqwatch*, one of the mythical monsters who live beneath the ocean and such dives small craft by opening their mouths.

Ai'mulnaix and his sisters embarked. They had discovered their hats and blankets with shadow-shell and took with them a large store of the same material. Raven perched on the bow and croaked whenever they drew near a landing-place. After travelling a considerable distance, they saw smoke rising, and presently noticed a house. *Ai'mulnaix* landed to investigate and found it occupied by a solitary woman, *Tlelmulkiqualem*, the place where she lived was called *Nqamulim*, probably on Johnson Point. *Ai'mulnaix* asked her to accompany the party as his sister (meaning her a non-marriageable female relative, not an own sister). She agreed after much discussion. The four continued their travels until they drew near Fort Rupert, where they saw more smoke. As before, *Ai'mulnaix* landed and found another solitary woman, *Ktsul'kiu'yulem*, whom he also persuaded to join the group as his sister. The five now passed on to Rivers Inlet, where Raven vanished. The others thought he had left them here, unknown to them all, he had secured *Tlelmulkiqualem's* body. They paddled on for so the lake on the head of Rivers Inlet where they abandoned

[a] Related by Mrs. Schooner

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BC
4 SM

he rowed the whole distance on a single billow, or wave, to be seen on a four-billow wave. His canoe was a sea-lion's stomach, into which he climbed through the mouth and which he made watertight by tying up the entrance with the animal's entrails. Whether or not the creature was alive is not clear, but at any rate the man set off in the strange craft. He felt as if he were on the back of an animal which made long, slow, slow bounds. It was the slow surging of a gigantic Pacific comber. After four bounds he arrived the rock and found himself at home.

BC
[55]
[55]

Certain names have been preserved from this myth. The name Nuqua is now used by a dog as the owner to the face of his family. Another name is Tlamamqmid, "The Creek," derived from the metallic sound of the closing door of the sea-lion house. The name Numaxes was also obtained inside the house, but the details of its significance are lost.

BB
SM
BC
4 SM
[178]
[104]

AN EARLIER MYTH OF *Kitlah*?*

As has been said, ambitious individuals, especially if they lack origin myths of the customary kind, sometimes claim ordinary stories as such. The following is almost certainly a case in point. It was obtained from an unreliable informant, who claimed it as a family myth, and said he had used it as a potlatch. He asserted that it was a Bella Bella story, transmitted through the marriage of one of his ancestors with a Bella Bella woman. Another informant, well versed in Bella Bella folk-lore, recounted another version of the same myth as a mere tale. There seems little doubt that the first informant had merely laid claim to a common story to supply the deficiency of a true myth.

In the beginning, there came down to earth at the head of Cox Bay, Kitlah, a salmon man whose name was Sisaka. He was so lonely that he made for himself from soft pasky wood a woman, dressed her in blankets and clothing, and gave her the name, Qualtaxa, which is in the Bella Bella language. Sisaka was a great hunter; every day he went out to seek numerous game, which provided him with great quantities of grease, as well as yarn that he wove into blankets. Before leaving the house he always placed Qualtaxa in front of a fire, put food beside her and told her to eat as much as she liked and to work diligently.

*Referred by Swanton thus.

#192

Nakiqalaw: An influential Kwakiutl chief.
Nakuxu: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkuchu.
nalpaum: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a factor who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an uninitiated person.
nalukmalk: Grease extracted from sockeye salmon heads.
[825] *Nalsalji*: Ancestral name of a *Snaw* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
[778] *nalsle ste*: 1—Spider.
2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where caves are located; the power is derived from a spider petrified there.
Nalsli, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
Nalsletsmajlas, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[552] *Nalsplamat di mual*, "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.
Nalsletsmaw: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Nusiyamu*'s departure to warn *Sakaxtar* to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.
[352] 2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.
Nalsletsla, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[431] *nalsum*: Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.
Nalliqalaxl, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.
Nalsymamalas: One of the four women to settle at *Tal* in the beginning of time.
nalumkwanalas: Fastenings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.
Nalsiil: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.
nalkwalas: Beads used to fasten a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nalumkwanalas*.
[428] *nalsnymas*: Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.
nalsleteset-ses, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *nusal* head-dress.
nalji: Lendable, such as is caused by *Paudalit* or *sxtsal*.
Nalqualas: Name given to their sister by the four settlers at *Nusiyamu* in the beginning of time.
nalpum, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a position which is thereafter vacant or serving no purpose.
nalpumtar: Blown-grass vacant to front door.
nalsnylas: Place extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
[426] *nalsleteslamas*, "Bell Clouds": Cloud borrowed during a potlatch by a dancer who finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to famen up his clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.
[356] *nalsnylas*: Cry uttered by a *nusal* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *nusal* service.
[342] *nalsnylaslas*: The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *nusal* service.
nalsnylalas: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.
namalkalas: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.
Namlaw, "Place of Flat": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

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This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail in vol. I, chap. vii, but mention of it here has been necessary to explain the composition of the ancestral family. 582 [614]

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to marry foreign women in order that they, or their children, might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a trend towards exogamy has arisen from the same reason which is alleged to have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said that this practice was initiated by a certain *Pudas*, father of a man about sixty years old in 1923. White influence probably had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its wide adoption has been made more easy by the establishment of peaceful conditions on the coast. [554] [777]

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestry, it is unlikely that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These are of two kinds: names and land. 614 554

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bella Coola nomenclature is that each name must have originated in connection with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable to apply a casual designation to a child. At a person's death his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were all given designations by *Alquntsha*; these have been carefully handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying 551 [48] [553] [773] [828]

551 with is some definite prerogative of a dance or other function,
421 but all are transmissible, and at the owner's death these may fall to different relatives. A name may pass from man to woman, or vice versa, in some cases with a minor alteration. [752] The only non-inheritable appellations are those obtained by shamans as a result of their supernatural experiences.

551 Not only did each group of first settlers bring with them a
775 number of designations from above, but they also created a
[illegible] number on this earth and bestowed them on their children, and on the children of their sisters or brothers, in whom they felt an almost personal interest. To mark the dignity of the names, all present at the ceremony of bestowal received gifts from the creator of the name, the person who called them together for the rite. The importance of the individual depended largely upon the value of the goods distributed with respect to his name, a concept which will be elaborated in the following chapter. The descendants of these first people likewise created new designations and established their dignity by distributing presents, a practice which still continues. It follows that any complete origin myth should include a large number of names, those brought down from the land above[1] and also those created by the powerful first people on this earth itself.[2] Both types of cognomen will be referred to henceforth as "ancestral names," no distinction being made between those actually brought from above and those made on earth. This is in accordance with Bella Coola usage.

553 Soon after the birth of a child his father, uncle, or other [illegible] members of the village together to bestow a name on the infant. The one selected must be embodied in the origin myth of one or other of the parents, and must be one not then in use by any other member of the ancestral family. A relative may give the

[1] Such a name is a *mythic* character, or "Provided Name."
[2] Such a name is a *creator* character, or "Earth-Made Name."
[3] The most careful investigation failed to show that it was hereditary on any particular relative.

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child one of his own names, in which case the donor surrenders all claim to it. This designation is the obvious mark of the position of the child in the ancestral family. Without such a formal conferring of an ancestral name an infant would be without status in the community, but, as children are always welcome, some relative is invariably ready to confirm the bestowal by the necessary distribution of goods, a feature that is present in every Bella Coola ceremonial. On such occasions the guests are called by their ancestral names. An effort was made to learn what would happen if the number of children born into an ancestral family exceeded the number of ancestral names embodied in its origin myth, but no answer was forthcoming. Established custom demands that a name be provided for every child, and one is always provided. Without question designations must be invented, usually from some event in the origin myth, but it is always claimed that such were used by a long-deceased ancestor. In fact, the social custom agrees with the requirements of the mythological concept. Since bestowal of names is a matter of pride, it follows that a child often receives several from the ancestral families of which he is a member; the possession of these is a source of gratification to the owner.

553 ● [431]

An ancestral name given to a child is spoken of as an *ástqaut* name, and the recipient as an *ástqaut*, which may be translated, "commoner." He may be given several names from one origin myth, or ones from diverse origin myths if his parents are members of different ancestral families. These designations may either be those brought down from above by the first people, those made on this earth by them, or those made at some important event by later persons. Irrespective of what combination of these possibilities a child may have, he is still a commoner, and his ability to rise to the position of chief depends on his own, or his parents', ability to give potlatches, as will be described in the next chapter. In such a case his *ástqaut* name is said to have been elevated to that of a *sáhlumy* (chief's) name.

[556]

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614 *The ancestral family may, therefore, be defined as those*
553 *whose distinct names are embodied in the same origin*
[773] *myth.*

What is the stability of this group?

In consequence of the large number of names theoretically embodied in every myth, and of the necessity for validating the bestowal of any one of these by means of presents, it follows that there is always a large number of dormant names. The Bella Coola describe these as being, "In the burial ground." They are, in fact, dead. Any one of these may be resurrected by any member of the ancestral family. If a woman marries into a foreign tribe her relatives occasionally give her husband, outright, an ancestral name. In such a case that name is permanently alienated from the family to which it formerly belonged; this should happen only when the group is reduced to a few individuals, all of whom agree to the transaction.
[583] But more often a woman takes as a wedding gift to her husband a name which it is understood cannot be transmitted to one of his relatives unless he has children. On the death of the childless husband, this designation reverts to his widow's ancestral family. If there are children, they cement the bond of friendship between the two families. The brother of a woman so married also bestows names on her children, as further mark of their incorporation into her ancestral family.
[583] It is customary and proper, however, for the ancestral family into which a woman is married and bears children to reciprocate the compliment a few generations later, and by the marriage of one of their women to restore such names to the ancestral family to which they originally belonged. According to the Bella Coola, this practice of "return-marriage" has been the rule since the first exogamic marriages of the first people, with the result that names usually return to the patrilineal descendants of the first people to use them.

611 If a woman marries outside her ancestral family, her chil-
614 dren will belong to at least two distinct ancestral groups. It is difficult to say how long an individual remembers the dif-

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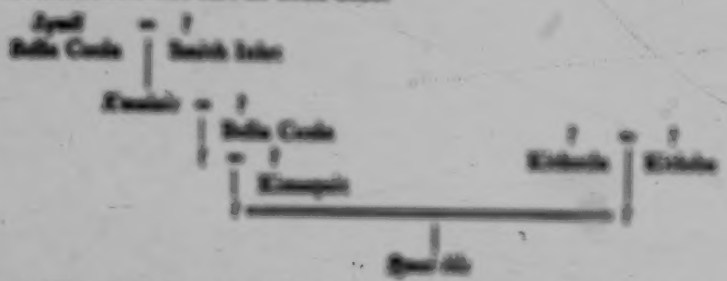
fewest units with which he is connected, but the following is an instance of survival for several generations. *Ḡwai-lik* is an orphan about ten years of age, now living in Bella Coola; he is looked upon with considerable respect as being a member of ancestral families in Bella Coola, Kimsquit, Smith Inlet, Kitkatla, and Kitkata. His pedigree, given below, explains his powers. The symbol = marks a marriage, and the male is shown on the left in each case.



Theoretically, *Ḡwai-lik* is as much a native of Smith Inlet as he is of Bella Coola where his father made his home. If he should visit Smith Inlet and make known his pedigree, he would be received by the members of the ancestral family of his great-great-grandmother.[1] His welcome would be more assured if he were the owner of a name from their origin myth. Difficulties of communication and frequent wars made it virtually impossible in the old days to keep in touch with relatives in distant tribes, except in the case of a mighty chief who was able to invite visitors from great distances to feasts. Thus names taken by women to foreign husbands were virtually lost to the members of her ancestral family. In the course of a few generations, such designations carried, whilst would be revived as if dormant by some member of the family, and all recollection of the foreign marriage forgotten.

[1] As the Bella Coola are now living in a single village, it was impossible to obtain a modern instance of the ownership by one individual of rights in a number of families within the tribal area. It appears certain, however, that the sentiment expressed with regard to *Ḡwai-lik* on Smith Inlet are identical with those formerly held for possession by ancestral families located in different Bella Coola villages.

The converse of this process of loss is the assimilation to an origin myth of names originally brought into the ancestral family by a woman from abroad. Unless intercourse and friendly relations were maintained by "return marriages," in a few generations no tradition would be remembered to account for the name, and this, if used at all, would be interwoven into the well-known ancestral myth. Hence a myth is not static with regard to the names embodied in it. Thus change from generation to generation, it is probable that elements of the story itself suffer like additions and alterations, even though the people do not consider this to be the case.

The Bella Coola regard the ancestral family as a social unit, not only in terms of the present, but as extending back to the first settlement of the earth. Viewed from this angle, it is in fact, though not admitted to be so by the Bella Coola, a unilateral grouping with patrilineal descent, which may, in both the most recent and most ancient generations, be marked by matrilineal descent instead. A man frequently uses prerogatives obtained through his mother, her mother, or even her mother's mother, but it is tacitly assumed that for many previous generations such rights passed in the patrilineal line. Sometimes this succession extended back to the beginning of time; in other cases, prerogatives were transmitted matrilineally for a considerable period after the settlement of the earth, before gradually becoming patrilineal.

It has been thus far assumed that the only prerogative wrapped up in an ancestral name is a knowledge of the myth in which it is embodied. But there are others. For example, several of the four inheritances of the world are said to have crest-totem-poles, each of which was displayed by its owner at the gathering when he took for himself a name. Therefore, the only person entitled to use that particular crest-pole design was the person with the legal right to the name in question. The same principle governs all dance names, each entitling its owner to perform a certain ceremonial. Thus it is possible to enlarge the previous definition by saying that:

The uncorrel family consists of those whose uncorrel names, embodying definite prerogatives, are embodied in a single origin myth.

A stranger finds it easier to understand why names are so carefully maintained within the uncorrel family by thinking of them as symbols of prerogatives, but it must be emphasized that the Bella Coola preserve with equal jealousy those designations of which the only prerogative is the marking of this actual membership.

If, then, the uncorrel family be regarded as a group possessing a large number of name-prerogatives, it may well be asked how these are distributed among its members. The first point to be emphasized is that the uncorrel family is a unit held together without definite social mechanism. There is no recognized "head" of the family, nor are there any clearly formulated laws governing the transmission of the name-prerogatives. Before death a man usually calls together his relatives and bequeaths,[7] according to his desire, his personal property to sisters and uncles, and his intangible property to heirs. Such a designation does not become the property of the new owner unless he is able to validate his ownership by a distribution of presents, customarily the name is "dead." If, during this period, some other member of the uncorrel family should desire it for a child, or for himself, he can take possession of it by the customary distribution of presents. In doing so he would anger the bereaved, but the bereaved cannot himself use the appellation since it is already in use. Even at the present time there are bitter quarrels over the assumption of names, and such have certainly occurred for many generations. If a man can validate fairly promptly a name willed to him, it is more unusual for anyone else to try to demand him.

If a man dies intestate, his sons consider themselves his natural heirs, and the most respected of them validates for himself as many names as he desires or is able to assume. Disputes are not as common as might be expected since the

[illegible]

influence of a chief is usually sufficient to settle claims as to which of his brothers shall receive which name. Even if none of them is a chief, some one of them is certain to have greater influence than the others. If a dead man has no sons, his daughters can name his nephew, which they may transmit to their children. Failing both sons and daughters, a man's brothers and sisters are his heirs, as usual, the use of influence being the one who really arranges matters.[illegible] Where the law, it must be emphasized, that if the members of the immediate family are slow to validate a dead man's names, they may be taken by any member of the extended family.

In former days it was customary to create a "remembrancer" to preserve the ancestral myth. The elder and more influential members of the extended family would choose an intelligent young relative to whom the myth is given details. One informant described how his mother, the last official "remembrancer," had been instructed by her grandfather. The old man had been accustomed to take his granddaughter, a girl about twelve years of age, to bed with him, and whisper to her the myth, with his hand pressed over her mouth to prevent escape of his words. In the conclusion of the recitation he always spat in her mouth to make the words stick. The members of the extended family, recognizing that the "remembrancer" was the person best acquainted with the myth, were wont to consult him as he alone is, and of course, alone the names embodied in it. A "remembrancer" had no authority to decree who should receive names, but opinions were often made to him, and a tactful individual was frequently able to settle disputes.

Considering the extreme fluidity of the whole system it is surprising that quarrels are not more common. These are limited by the system of wills, through which a man bequeaths his most valuable personal property, especially his intangible property to twelve name-grandchildren (II, p. 4). Ancestral

In the group that he was already given the figure of house and garden in his name.

[illegible] value depends on the [illegible] 578
[illegible] there is million litigations 614
[illegible] chief who is the legal owner [illegible] 553
[illegible] shown in the beginning of [illegible] 428
[illegible] shown his position with [illegible] 428
[illegible] recent date. But if any [illegible] 485
[illegible] a ancestral family should [illegible] 178
[illegible] be numbers rise to average [illegible]
[illegible] In recent years, however, [illegible]
[illegible] tively common. In such [illegible]
[illegible] glorious of a myth and side [illegible]
[illegible] ancestral name to which [illegible]
[illegible] of the white man alone [illegible]
[illegible] y. Names are sometimes [illegible] 426
[illegible] members of the group for [illegible] 427
[illegible] person the individual. If [illegible]
[illegible] ral generations generally [illegible]
[illegible] claims to be the real owner [illegible]
[illegible] During his tenancy of the [illegible]
[illegible] tive attached to it, but he [illegible]
[illegible] er of the ancestral family. [illegible]
[illegible] h an old man or woman, [illegible] 428
[illegible] ber of an ancestral family [illegible]
[illegible] dense who have intermarried [illegible]
[illegible] ber who buried him. Some [illegible] 587
[illegible] to conduct the funerals of [illegible]
[illegible] an obnoxious name. But [illegible]
[illegible] ration, since it is virtually [illegible]
[illegible] to die out. Perhaps in the [illegible]
[illegible] ering one, some youth will [illegible]
[illegible] of the supposedly defunct [illegible]
[illegible] ancestral chorus. This [illegible] 428
[illegible] his descendants, who be- [illegible]
[illegible] pose to the "last" of the [illegible]
[illegible] family becoming practically [illegible] 614 621

[illegible] name are also called, but since [illegible]
[illegible] guide expected to validate their [illegible]
[illegible] about their allowance. Indeed, [illegible]
[illegible] of a designation which came from [illegible]
[illegible] time, will in many cases choose [illegible]
[illegible] respect to a title of compensation [illegible]
[illegible] person who is not a member of [illegible]
[illegible] there to use an ancestral name, [illegible]
[illegible] the dead, for such they feel it is [illegible]
[illegible] this position has become compe- [illegible]
[illegible] cum a man, eager to show to [illegible]
[illegible] to give a potlatch, has validated [illegible]
[illegible] he has no right. The present [illegible]
[illegible] contains the injured ancestral fa- [illegible]
[illegible] law is lined to those who are [illegible]
[illegible] different name, the recipient [illegible]
[illegible] such names are not reserved for [illegible]
[illegible] one age to write down the recipient [illegible]
[illegible] and not the competent possessor [illegible]
[illegible] cause he is entitled to any prop- [illegible]
[illegible] is not considered a form for [illegible]

Instances have occurred in which [illegible] following himself to be the last [illegible] has deserted his name and myth [illegible] line, or these have been taken by [illegible] individuals are constantly [illegible] Grandfather old people in the [illegible] to almost every case this truth [illegible] responsible for an ancestral family [illegible] one generation, perhaps in the [illegible] claim descent from the first [illegible] family, and claim the myth and [illegible] tails as a fault with the person [illegible] received the name through [illegible] family.

Such instances of an ancestral

[illegible] ancient, are unusual; normally, the group is largely centered in one village, but with members scattered in other localities. There is no central organization. It is generally recognized that such a unit belongs to the village where its first ancestors settled, and the leading chief of that village is, therefore, an important person in the family, though without status of "head" of it. His advice may be appealed to in cases of disputes concerning names, but he lacks judicial authority. Theoretically, the descendants of the elder of two first people are considered as "elder brothers and elder sisters" of those descended from a younger brother or sister; but this is nothing more than an accepted fact, it plays no part in the social life of the community.

In addition to human names, the origin myths include those applied to dogs. The first ancestral group had dogs, and these animals had names, or were given them by their powerful ancestors. Even since that time their descendants can apply these designations to their own dogs. It is unnecessary to enumerate such names, but no two canines can be given the same one at the same time, according to the rule which governs the bestowal of human names. This matter was not investigated in detail, and the only dog's name collected was one for which the origin myth is as follows:

When *Tsi'a* was first settled in the beginning of time, the houses were built in parallel rows, one above the other, up the side of a steep hill. At the very top was a cedar house, built over such a steep incline that accidents called down the hillside. In consequence, one of the early chiefs living there gave to his dog the name, *Nalqimmal ti mual*, "falling accidents," which has since been preserved in the ancestral family of the descendants.

[illegible]

Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining information about land names. The Bella Coola owners hotly the way in which their land has been occupied by white settlers without, according to their standpoint, proper compensation. Quite

is a more obvious social grouping than the ancestral family, though it is of the latter that a man is most proud. The member of a small, unimportant village often describes himself as a native of a neighboring, larger one where at a distance from his home, simply as a matter of convenience.

Even before the coming of the white man, village sites were abandoned and people took up their residence with friends or relatives elsewhere. In fact, mythology contains instances of such migrations at the very beginning of time. In cases of this kind, memory of the earlier home has been preserved for many generations, and may perhaps be the explanation of the many villages which are described as two, and which have two names. In the early days immigrants were always to have been welcomed; they added to the numerical strength of the village, and the original inhabitants enjoyed boasting to the newcomers of their descent from the first settlers. Since any group forced to abandon their own homes naturally moved to those of relatives, there is no difficulty in understanding the process by which they continued to intermarry with their new neighbors. Thus two, or even more ancestral families, inhabiting one village tended to form a closely inter-related stock. In rare instances, two unrelated ancestral families may have become inhabitants of the same village, which would ultimately lead to intermarriage.

In most cases the endogamic tendencies already described cause the village community to be largely members of one ancestral family. In addition there are always other occupants: strangers who have fled from their homes and sought refuge among the Bella Coola, the offspring of their intermarriage with slaves, guests, foreigners, especially Carriers temporarily resident in Bella Coola, and finally slaves, without status in the community. The real inhabitants, those whose power is firmly planted in the village, are the reputed descendants of the first group of settlers, and accordingly a relative coming to dwell in a village usually endeavours to obtain a name from the origin myth of the ancestral family occupying it, and then

[illegible]

establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the peculiarl tendency of the whole organization.

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem to have been uncommon; individual rebellions were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighboring settlements were generally on friendly terms and often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the same town, about to attack land, passed within a quarter of a mile of Bonaparte without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours.

So far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. iv), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the four group of brothers, the low chief, but there are sufficient chiefs to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat-

family are liable. It is very rare for a woman to be killed in a blood feud. A death is avenged by a death. If two persons should be slain for one murder the family which has suffered the double loss endeavours to kill another of their enemies. In case of wounding, an effort is made to wound the offender, but if he should be killed his family would try to avenge him. More often, one of the offender's family takes the initiative of offering goods to the injured family, "to cure the wound." If the offer is accepted, and the goods delivered properly, the matter is at an end. If a murder is committed within the circle of the immediate family, for instance, if a brother kill a brother, revenge, if exacted, must be meted out to the actual offender. If approved to do so, the leading chief of a village may offer his advice, but it is always considered that revenge concerns only the immediate family.

Revenge is a right which shows clearly the essential limits of the family. There are no well-defined degrees of relationship within which responsibility exists. Instead, everyone knows, in the open life of the community, how many persons share the family life of the individual, and they alone are held to account, or they alone demand compensation. Even in very serious, the family must be a bilateral unit which, when powerful, stretches out to church members of the sentimental families of both mother and father.

Not only does the family thus appear consequently to be extending to half members of the sentimental family of other persons, but these relatives themselves are deeply concerned in the affairs of the family. This is most clearly shown in the case of children who, of course, are members of the sentimental family of both their mother and father. A few days after birth some relative is expected to call together the people of the village where the child is born for the honoured and valuable due of an unusual name. It is considered an evidence of poverty if this is done by the father, as if the child were only recognized by the parents, not by a larger circle of relatives. It is immaterial whether this gathering be called by a relative

of the father or the mother. In June, 1910, a Bella Coola girl had reached the age of about six months without having received a name. There was much adverse criticism about the parsimony of her father's father and her mother's father, who were held equally to blame, but who had really been deterred by fear of the law prohibiting the potlatch.

As a child grows older he is helped in the performance of ceremonial rites by his parents and by their brothers and sisters. In this way, it is considered a mark of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his ancestral family, a boy [558] no hesitation in favouring the children of either a brother or sister, since, like his own, they are all members of the same [614] ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit[1] it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children, not that there is any lack of knowledge of the real father, but rather as a mark of respect and family feeling displayed by a man to his sister. Moreover, [553] in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is not improper for a name which a man has raised to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much goods to be passed to his own son, it should go to a distant relative. When a father relinquishes a name for his child it should be one long distant.

The aspect of the manner in which the family escape impoverishing into the ancestral family can be seen in the distribution of names. When a man calls his relatives together to make his will he is guided in the choice of recipients by the characteristics of his children. The child can receive much from his father, but boy children are slighted without hesitation. This is particularly true of names with which are bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whereas, as previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the importance depends

[1] According to an intelligent Bella Coola informant, a Bella Bella [illegible] greater [illegible] of the children of the brothers are spoken little of the son-children, and the men are accepted by spirits that the Kimsquit people are more Bella Bella informant. Kimsquit informants insist that, though acknowledging the importance [illegible] to a man's inherited prerogatives [illegible] [illegible] of the son, child is one of Bella Coola. [84] [71]

on the value of the goods distributed in connection with them, usually revert to the ancestral family and can be revived by any member of it. It seems needless to publish lengthy pedigrees, illustrating the transmission of ancestral names; it will suffice to say that such sometimes pass from father to son, from a man to his brother's son, his sister's son, his sister, his daughter, or to other relatives belonging to the immediate family. On the other hand, with equal frequency, names pass from a man to distant relatives of the same ancestral family.

Thus the Bella Coola family, important though it is in the life of the individual, cannot be defined with exactitude either as regards composition or functions; it varies according to the importance of its head, and tends to merge in the ancestral families of the parents.

Kinship Terms

In Bella Coola, as in so many parts of the world, kinship terms mirror the social life of the community. The Bella Coola system of nomenclature is not so clear-cut in its application as in other regions, and requires considerable explanation concerning the uses of many of the terms. It will be seen that the system, although fundamentally founded on the family, preserve many classificatory features. Whether or not these are to be ascribed to an ancient class system is most doubtful; a short discussion of that point will be found at the end of this section.

The terms are arranged in the following order: first, an individual's relatives of the preceding generation, then those of the next preceding, with their parents, then those of the present generation, followed by terms for his of the generations following. Finally come relatives by marriage.

Term	Meaning of term	Meaning of term
Father	Man	Woman
	This term is properly used only by a small child, though often employed by an adult as a term of endearment.	Term used only by a small child.

[195]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mother's sister's husband	Same as father's sister's husband	
Brother's son's wife	Same as son's wife	Same as son's wife, or as [illegible], "Wife of my son"
or		
Sister's son's wife	" "	
Brother's daughter's husband	Same as daughter's husband	Same as daughter's husband, or as [illegible], "Husband of my son"
or		
Sister's daughter's husband	" "	

[illegible] In case of adoption, the same kinship terms are used as if the adopted person were a member of the family by birth. A more complicated situation arises when a child who is regarded as the reincarnation (2, p. 616) of a recently deceased elderly relative, is given the latter's name. In such a case the child is addressed by the kinship terms applicable to his namesake. In recent years, at any rate, this application is without social significance, and, as far as could be learned, this has always been the case. Bella Coola sentiment is that it is fitting for a child to receive the name of one of its ancestors. When a person sees the child, and thinks of his name, he thinks of the late deceased, hence it is natural to use kinship terms accordingly. This is more obvious when the child is regarded as a reincarnation, though even in such a case he does not receive any of the marks of respect paid to his namesake; the reincarnation is physical, not social. In course of time this is forgotten and the child takes his place among others of his own generation, though it may be remembered in theoretical question of ancestral reincarnation.

The kinship terminology of the Bella Coola contains features of the family and classificatory systems. The reciprocal terms for parents and children-in-law, brothers and sisters-in-law, lack of sex differentiation for brothers and sisters, and the importance of age in the designations applied to persons of the same generation, are all features of the classificatory system. On the other hand, bilateralism, failure to

the writer was in Bulu Coulu, a non-commercial entertainment was given one evening at which several men sang and performed. The writer was asked to sing a Bulu Coulu song, which he did in the belief that it was not one that was incorporated in the ancestral myth of anyone. Unfortunately, his teacher had erred, and as soon as the song was completed an old woman arose and stated that it belonged to her ancestral family. She avoided the difficulty of its singing by immediately announcing that the singer was her "son." Thus the writer was adopted into a Bulu Coulu family, a circumstance which aided him considerably in collecting information. This did not alter the fact that a ceremonial song had been sung. Accordingly, the women gave presents to the guests, thereby legalizing the adoption, and saving herself from the disgrace of having one of her songs used as if it were a matter of no consequence, free to anyone.

[illegible]

Presents are also a means of obtaining name. Every Bulu Coulu has at least one name embodied in an ancient myth. A man who wishes to become a chief can do so only by giving lavish presents to make his designation "strong," "free," or "bright," to use Bulu Coulu expressions. Such gifts increase the importance of the owner's name, and they obtain for him the right to a more, more or less definitely located, in the house. Since all Bulu Coulu habitations are built on similar lines, a man can occupy his wanted position when announced to a ceremony in any house. The validating of ancestral names and the acquisition of more are among the important factors which cause or prolongs.

In the beginning of time, when the first people were sent down to populate the earth, it is announced that each who established a village, consisting of a single house, secured himself in the best spot within the dwelling, namely the central position behind the fire. His younger relatives ranged either beside him

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

the food and goods distributed, since it was winter and the people were in dire straits on account of the destruction of all their crops. In consequence, the uncle decided to make a new name for his nephew, Shimi, "Charred Wood." By virtue of the goods expended this name became an honorable title, and was maintained by lavish presents. Any similar incident connected with a potlatch can be made the origin of a designation. Another example of a manufactured name is one derived from a peculiarity of the man giving the potlatch. A number of years ago a chief was joined in by his associates on account of the frequency with which he had to visit the toilet. When now he gave a potlatch he created the name *Ajiwi'a*, "The Toilet One," and gave great dignity to the designation by generosity.

Since a name is valuable only on account of the goods expended in obtaining it with respect to a certain name, it is obvious that names and ranks are closely associated. A man who wishes his son to succeed to his own location in the house owns the crests, as has been described, at his feet. It may be a matter of years before he actually takes his father's position, but during that time he is treated with respect, he is still a commoner, but it is recognized that his parent considers him likely to "make good" and become a true chief by ability to give generously. Should he fail to do so, necessarily his influence wanes, in spite of his name and duly ordained rank. He keeps the latter, but it is no longer considered one of importance. Thus, too, the course of names from generation to generation is a series of curves, sometimes one is on a pinnacle of glory, other, "made among" by a powerful chief, but in the next generation it may fall to the dust through ownership by a weakling. In the Haida Circle reposes it. It has become hereditarily[illegible].

A name is rarely established in a man, and usually only when a chief has no son or other man with descendants. In such a case the nephew or sister's name and has the same status as a male chief. In the present time one important

554 chief had thus obtained a seat for his daughter, as well as one
* 556 for his two sons. But usually a woman continues to use the
562 ancestral name given to her in infancy until she is able to
[553] assist her husband in a potlatch, when a name is validated for
her (see I, p. 470). The ancestral names of the first women
to occupy this earth are reserved for women and, like men's
names, vary in prestige according to the prowess of their
[55] owners. Most names given to children, though embodied in
origin myths, are applicable to either sex; and these are the
common designations of women. Cases are known in which a
woman has assumed an ancestral name if her brother has al-
lowed it to fall into disrepute through failure to give potlatches.

554 With such a fluid system, no fixed line can be drawn be-
* 556 tween chief and commoner. But after his fourth potlatch a
622 man's influence in the community has become so great that
[552] he will usually feel justified in having the carpenters make for
him a material seat. There is nothing to prevent a person
having one made for him before he has given the requisite
number of potlatches, but too rapid assumption may render
him liable to the scorn of the community through his failure
to show himself sufficiently "strong." The contempt shown
[624] to anyone attempting to usurp too lofty a place is a strong
deterrent to a proud young man.

[592] On the material seat are carved the man's ancestral crests,
[562] in other words the forms in which his first ancestors came to
earth, or some of the beings with whom they came in con-
tact. To show these is a matter of pride, but unless the dis-
play is fittingly validated, the man's own dignity will be
lowered, as well as that of his ancestors. Construction of a
seat is particularly common when a man is establishing himself
in the central position behind the fire, and claims this to be
where his first ancestor sat. Others among the first people
may have chosen seats in other parts of the house, and in these,
likewise, a man who is taking his ancestral name may have a
material seat constructed. Establishment in such a position
increases a chief's feeling of mental superiority, as if strength-

184 476 * 556 standardized. Boys and girls helped their parents, and there was no definite age at which they ceased to do so. The fluidity of the Bella Coola system was contrary to any standardization. The more important a chief became, the more did he receive from dependent relatives, but the more did they expect in the way of "return presents." It was advantageous to be generous, within the family circle as well as without, since life was so public that every transaction even of a "private" nature, was well known. Unquestionably, a greedy and strong-minded individual must frequently have taken advantage of help from his housemates, but there was no strict code of ethics in regard to this. In brief, it may be said that the acquisition of wealth was as unstandardized, individual, matter; its distribution was likewise according to individual volition, although within a rigidly defined tribal pattern.

Sound Security

551 * 556 576 614 [549] The ancestral names that chiefs desire to raise to a position of eminence are usually embedded in myths dealing with the first settlement of this earth, names which belong, as has been stated, to the ancestral family. Many of these traditions record other designations as well, each of which carries with it the prerogative of performing a type of dance known as *sound*. These will be spoken of, henceforth, as *sound* names. The Bella Coola do not know the meaning of this term. These [553] names, like ancestral ones, are the potential property of members of the ancestral family, but can only be assumed when duly validated by presents. Such an assumption follows a 553 * 554 576 [549] period of seclusion in the back-room of the house. Both men and women are eligible. A person may be secluded in this way a number of times, acquiring a new *sound* name on each occasion, but as presents must be distributed every time, it follows that only the children or relatives of wealthy chiefs can be so favoured. It is desirable to have the bestowal of a *sound* name occur at a potlatch, since guests from foreign tribes are then

powers, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried further afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in attendance. Every individual duly included and given a *sumé* name feels himself communically allied to others who have had a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be termed the *sumé* secret society. 553 ● 564 * 575

The close connection between this society and chiefs is obvious from the presence of names of each type in the same ancestral myths. None the less, every chief, that is a person with duly validated ancestral name and seat, is not a *sumé*, unless he has validated a *sumé* name for himself and undergone the period of seclusion. Conversely, a man may be a duly authorized member of the *sumé* although lacking a seat and the other marks of chiefdomship. The relationship is, however, so close that the Bella Coola think of the *sumé* society as a society of chiefs. *Sumé* dances take place at potlatches and funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance. Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use some of his goods for the acquisition of a *sumé* name. Such a case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in the summer of 1923. Theoretically, he was ignorant of *sumé* rites, but after much discussion these were used on account of his importance as a *sumé* chief, an instance of the manner in which a man's personal importance over-rules ceremonial decorum. 575 622 [553] [596] [966] [183]

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *sumé* name-prerogatives came to this earth at the beginning of time with their first ancestors, and that many more have been acquired later by supernatural experiences. These were especially common among their forbears as they ranged over this earth making places to settle in the beginning of time. No *sumé* name can be assumed casually; each must have had a specific origin. There are few *sumé* origin myths, though theoretically there should be one to account for every name. The explanation appears to lie in the undoubted fact that many *sumé* prerogatives have been acquired comparatively recently 424 531 675 973 [779]

* 556 Although guests from different tribes are sometimes invited
574 to other ceremonials, it is at potlatches that they are essential.
Since the validity of such transactions as marriages, divorces,
[205] or the assumption of professional prerogatives depends on the
presence of witnesses, and since the importance of such a rite
depends on the number of witnesses, a man is always eager to
carry out any public performance at a potlatch when he is sure
of the attention of foreigners, and the consequent wider dif-
fusion of knowledge of what he has done. The man who has
invited guests is usually willing to allow others to perform at
his potlatch, since it increases the complexity and importance
[184] of the affair. It follows that no two potlatches are alike; one
will contain features entirely lacking in another. Moreover,
the wealth of the donor determines how many rites he himself
will cause to be performed. The fundamental concept of the
potlatch is the inviting of guests from abroad to witness rites
[144] in connection with an ancestral myth, especially the return of
a recently deceased relative of the donor to visit the living.

* 556 At any important potlatch the following rites are carried
946 out, and in the account of the ritual it will be assumed that
these above are taking place. If the reader bears this summary
in mind, he is less likely to be confused by the complication of
rites.

(1) The return of a dead ancestor to visit the living.

[575] (2) The initiation of young men or women into the *nuxalk*
[533] society. This includes the validation of a *nuxalk* name for each,
and a period of seclusion in the back-room. The initiates may
either be relatives of the donor of the potlatch, or young persons
whose relatives are taking the opportunity to carry out the
rite in the presence of foreigners. Some of the initiates may
already be members of the society, undergoing a further period
of seclusion in order to increase their status by a further dis-
tribution of presents.

[554] (3) The payment by the wife of the donor and her family
[158] of goods to "rebuy" her from her husband. This is a legal
[513] fiction, though necessary to maintain the status of the children.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name. The speaker always recounts the whole myth before announcing which portion of it is transmitted to X as a prerogative. It is understood that this transference will be duly validated by presents to X when he gives his potlatch. Such are termed *dzémènumtnum* and signify the repurchase of a wife from her husband. Though this is known to be a fiction it has extreme social importance. Unless *dzémènumtnum* is paid there is an ineradicable blot upon the children; in fact, it is one of the essentials of a legal marriage. All prerogatives thus transferred on *sléstnum* become the property of X and will in time pass to his children, unless recalled to the wife's family by further repurchase (*dzémènumtnum*) money or goods. In this fashion elements of family myths become scattered, and one of the considerations in choosing a wife is to select a woman able to bring back some missing part of the husband's myth. 556* 425 583 [581]

The usual present is an ancestral name, which X henceforth uses as potlatches as his most distinguished title, though the myth in which it is incorporated does not belong to him. As long as the name remains in X's family those who originally owned it are unable to make use of it. Such a name is said to be "dragged across" by the wife to her husband, the immense weight or importance of the designation being compared with the dragging of a heavy log. Occasionally, the father of a married woman, animated by the kindliest feelings towards his son-in-law, may give him outright a myth with all the names embodied therein. This can happen only where there are no other survivors of the family. In such a case when the myth is recounted it must always be mentioned how it has been obtained. The number and type of the prerogatives transferred depend upon the sentiments with which his wife's family regard X. If, in addition to being a worthy man, he is member of their ancestral family, or of one with which his wife's has frequently intermarried, so that in course of generations prerogatives have intermingled, there is less objection to giving him such rights than if he were an unrelated individual. [553] [551] 556* 425 606 553

553 * 556 425 [606] [532] A man may receive so many prerogatives with regard to house painting that he has to continue the designs on the sides of his dwelling, or he may receive so many figures for a totem-pole that he can erect one of composite pattern. X may acquire prerogatives not only from his father-in-law, but from his mother-in-law, and if he is the husband of several wives, the family of each may contribute something. If, for some inexplicable reason, X is not given any prerogative from the family of his wife, he uses one of his own ancestral myths with the names belonging thereto. A man who gives many potlatches can choose to validate numerous family names for himself, or to concentrate on one alone, elevating it to a position of great importance. But any names he validates must belong to his [615] family; it is contrary to custom for a Bella Coola to steal a name to which he has no right.

*556 782 At this, or some other suitable time, X prays for assistance in the complicated rites that are to follow. Taking four pieces of pounded and dyed cedar-bark, and four pieces of undyed bark, he places on each a small quantity of food and throws the eight into the fire. Likewise he may throw in four small pieces of any kind of goods. As he does so he appeals to the supreme god:

"Please strengthen my spirit for the many duties which are before me."

[756] Instead of praying himself, X may ask a shaman to do so for him, in the belief that the latter's supplication will be more efficacious.

*556 688 628 The necessity for supernatural assistance lies in the fact that any serious error or disaster in the performance of potlatch rites calls for summary punishment, since X has allowed ceremonial *sisook* knowledge to reach the uninitiated. In such a case the duty of meting out a penalty falls upon the members of a foreign tribe. Nothing is said at the time, but the departing guests take away with them information of what has happened. Great latitude is allowed as to who shall be the chastisers. The guests may be related to X and the members

* 552 [575] [981] The *sisi* returns to the house and tells the guests that *Mulaklile* has indeed been near and has promised to return later on. Those who are not *nusak*, being steeped in the belief concerning the omnipresence of supernatural beings and ignorant of the carefully concealed whistles, readily credit the tale that they have heard the voice of a denizen of the land above, whose language is intelligible to the *sisi*. Thus is the supernatural element of the potlatch first called forth.

After a final distribution of food, the guests return to their homes.

THE INITIATION OF *NUSAK* NEOPHYTES

* 556 575 [609] At a potlatch valuable presents are given to the foreign guests, but it is unthinkable for the donor to give to his fellow-villagers. Accordingly, if X desires to display his generosity towards them, he does so at a preliminary ceremony, when he begins the initiation, or re-initiation, into the *nusak* society of any number of young people. After elaborate counting and re-counting of his goods, both those actually stored in his house and those promised,* X decides that he has sufficient to initiate, for example, seven neophytes. His first choice will be his own children, failing those, the sons and daughters of a brother or sister, or of his wife's relatives, or, if none of these are available, those of a friend. X does not gain any pecuniary advantage from such a transaction, in fact he loses, but the prestige attached outweighs this consideration.

"Is it not the privilege of a chief to be generous?" say the Bella Coola.

He approaches the parents of those whom he has selected, always members of old-established families. As it is to the [553] social advantage of a young person to be a *nusak*, a father usually tells X a *nusak* name, dormant in his family, which he wishes to have conferred on his son, and how much he is willing to contribute for the purpose. In many cases, a man will

[426] *In spite of the care exercised, mistakes are frequent, giving rise to hurried borrowings from friends to make up the necessary amount.

preservation of an air of mystery by keeping out of sight of 556*
those who are not *nawt*. Food is brought to them, and mem- 579
bers of the society are free to enter the room at any time. Some of the older men enlighten T and his fellows with regard to the secret rites, and especially to the human origin of the whistle. Proud of his new status, an initiate never dreams of transmitting this information to those who are not members of the society. As a privilege, the neophytes are sometimes allowed to go out at night, care being taken that no uninitiated person shall see them. The length of the period of confinement varies according to the number of young people to be admitted, and on the actual time of the potlatch; the minimum duration is about two weeks, the maximum, four months. Sometimes the tediousness is lightened by the arrival of carpenters who have chosen this secret place to work at the *nawt* masks. After all the initiates have been confined to the back-room, X [538]
continues to invite people to his house at frequent intervals to practise their songs. On each occasion food is distributed, so that the meetings are expensive to the host, but no donor grumbles about it, as thereby he establishes his prestige as a chief.

THE VALIDATION OF *NAWT* NAMES

The next event is the validation of the initiates' *nawt* 553 ●
names,* a ceremony termed *ne'ondiku*. X, with the assis- 556*
tance of his family, piles on the floor of his house the goods 575
which he intends to use for this purpose. In the old days these consisted of skins, blankets, food, baskets, bowls, slaves (symbolized by stones), canoes (symbolized by sticks), and so on. Nowadays, money is used. Towards dusk a herald summons [208]
the people to X's house. For many years it has been customary to invite everyone, but it is said that long ago only
the *nawt* would have been present. When all are seated, [537]

*Validation of the neophytes' names is essential at the potlatch itself, but chiefs endeavour to display their wealth and generosity to their fellow-villagers as well. Consequently, though donors are eager to perform this rite, it can be omitted entirely without affecting the potlatch.

without special places, X calls upon some eloquent friend to direct the distribution of the money. This speaker states how X is carrying out the vow incumbent on his noble and exalted station, how all honour him for so doing, and how all should strive to follow his example. He then says that to give strength to the name *Sqaqmaxila*, for example, X will give away, say $100. He further announces who have contributed this amount: perhaps $50 from X, and the other half from various relations of X. If the sum in question be large it is always mentioned from whom, and how the donor has obtained the money. Thus every financial transaction becomes publicly known, and the more prominently a man figures, the greater is his prestige. Next, the amount to be used for the second initiate's name is announced, with the same details, and in like fashion the sum decided upon for each successive initiate.

Thus the total amount is distributed among the guests by the heralds, under X's supervision. He usually gives everyone the same amount; men sometimes receive more than women, but in every case members of the same sex receive an equal sum. The Bella Coola are not expert mathematicians, so that faulty division is the rule. If X, for example, decides to give $1.50 to each person present, it is a time of considerable anxiety while the stack of bills is being reduced, to watch whether or not there will be the exact amount. If X finds out he is short he will hastily borrow some money, as it would be an insult to omit anyone. If the amount be too great, he will use the surplus in making presents to the more influential guests.

With the exception of this possible surplus, the money distributed is regarded as an outright present; "it has flowed away to make good the boys' names" is the Bella Coola expression. A chief will remember how much he has received, and if he wishes to uphold or to increase his own dignity, he will make a point of returning at least an equivalent to X on some future occasion. But though in effect he may make return, such is never said to be the case. "The money has flowed away."

Poor people, white guests, or others from whom no return can possibly be received, share equally in the distribution; the money goes to all to validate the transaction. On the other hand, it appears that the presents, if any, made to a few individuals after the general distribution, will be conferred with interest. In selecting the recipients of these he has been influenced, first, by the necessity of repaying old debts, and secondly by his desire to make good investments in the shape of presents to those likely to show their chiefly return by returning with heavy interest. No request is ever made for such repayment, but as the transaction has been publicly witnessed, a man fears to fail to repay, since that would lower his prestige. No one may refuse a present, no matter how embarrassing it may be.

After the gifts have been distributed the songs of the initiates are practised. Members of the sound society join in with the singers; the other spectators have attentively, full of interest, but take no part. K with his helpers then gives food to all, and they depart.

Before the coming of the white man a potlatch was a rare event, and sound members were initiated at local gatherings. The period of confinement was the same as that just described, but instead of merely practising the songs during the interval, the initiates appeared and danced to them. It will be convenient here to describe that ritual, emphasizing the fact that at a potlatch, where the initiates can be confirmed in the presence of foreign guests, this preliminary rite does not take place.

After the distribution of goods the singers beat out* the tune of any one of the initiates, and all emerge in close succession from the back-room, each wearing a blanket, without distinctive design, a collar of dyed and pounded cedar-bark decorated with pendant wapiti skins, and the distinctive sound head-dress (see Plate 1).† This consists of a circlet of grizzly bear claws, surmounted in front by a small forehead mask; from the inner side of the circlet there rise a number of sea-lion

*The present tense is used for uniformity.

†Dec. ed. 116, [acing p 218 - ANALYST]

the last songs they have made for the initiates, and any of the usual members of the audience desiring to "help" the initiates dance to them, even X himself on occasion. By "help" no material aid is indicated; such dancing merely displays a friendly and sympathetic interest. The initiates, emphasized to avoid head-dress, appear at the door of the back-room, and sometimes dance a few steps. Occasionally, at the conclusion of his song, a lad's parents, or other relatives, bring forward the goods which will be later distributed by X to the guests. On other occasions, this is reserved for the following day. Food is distributed and all disperse.

THE POTLATCH: SECOND DAY

On this, one of the two most important days of the whole ceremony, the following rites take place.

During the Day

(a) Communication to the foreign guests of the new *nuxuk* names of the initiates concealed within the back-room; these names are the ones that have been made known to the Bella Coola before the potlatch proper.

(b) Payment to X by the members of his wife's family of the goods necessary to ransom her from her husband.

During the Evening

(c) Repayment by X of debts owed to members of his own village.

(d) Return of a dead relative of X to visit the living.

(i) Distribution of presents to validate this appearance.

(ii) In some cases, dancing by some of the *nuxuk* initiates.

Early in the morning X gives each of his guests a washbasin with the other necessary appurtenances for cleaning up, and towards noon all of those invited reassemble in his house. Three river canoes have been brought in and are ranged, two parallel to the side walls, and one parallel to the back wall, all far enough out to permit people to sit behind them. Boxes containing large quantities of red elderberries and olachen

grease have been placed in readiness. X selects as many 556*
youths as the number on whom he intends to confer the names 575
which have already been announced and validated among the 553
Bella Coola, but are now to be made known to the foreign
guests. He meets the lads, who are to substitute for the initiates, on the various boxes. Everybody understands that these are merely representations. X requests two chiefs to act as his announcers, choosing two with good voices and abundant self-confidence. To one of these X whispers the sacred name of one of the initiates.

"His name is now——" calls out the announcer, pointing to one of the substitutes, and the listeners readily recognize the initiate intended, from the use, in conjunction with his new designation, of his well-known ancestral name. The lowlife [203]
repeat the new name with the usual bodings, so that it becomes well known to all present. In like manner the sacred name given to each initiate is publicly announced. The substitutes receive no advantage from their part in the proceedings.

Then the boxes are opened and red elderberries poured into 556*
the canoes in front of the guests. Stones are provided with 324
which the visitors pound the fruit into pulp which they pro-
ceed to mix with their hands, as eulachon grease and cranberries [252]
are added. Then X's helpers distribute spoons and the feast commences. All start to eat, but after an interval one of the leading Bella Coola chiefs strikes the side of his canoe with a spoon, as a signal that all must stop. X has several dishes in [415]
readiness. If he is wealthy some of these will be carved in the [532]
shape of beaver, eagle, or other form in which an ancestor appeared. These dishes are filled with the food which all have been eating and then placed before the principal chiefs, who thus have a second supply. At this point the singers begin to 533
beat out an ancient song of the type known as *se-ala*. Each 556*
of these has been handed down from the distant past, when
some chief, ancestor of X, had it composed for himself at a
potlatch. The theme is always about the form or fame of his [171]

fame to spread beyond his village. These goods are then distributed among the guests, and are not returnable, as they are said to have "become nothing" for X's sent. He may nevertheless humbly himself in the giving of these presents. 551*

The next scene is the strengthening, or initial establishment, of seats for some of X's younger relations, in many cases including those concealed within the back-room. It is not necessary for him to do this, nor need he do so for all, unless he desires. The parents of the youths have been consulted as to the ancestral names which each is to receive, embodied in an ancestral myth. On the other hand, X may choose to establish in a seat some young man whom he has not initiated into the ranks of the *ozuak*. The two actions are distinct, though closely related. 553* 554*

X picks out a place at the side of the house for one of the initiates, whom it will be convenient to designate as Y. Another youth acts as a substitute for Y, whether or not he is within the back-room. The substitute is recognized as such, and receives no social or pecuniary advantage from his position. He stands near the door till the speaker calls upon him to enter, as if he had newly come into the house. He is surrounded by the *ozuak* name recently announced for Y. After consultation with X the announcer calls out that henceforth Y's name is So-and-So, giving an ancestral one dormant in Y's family, and that his seat is where he is now sitting. The family of Y contribute to the strengthening of his seat, in fact X himself may not provide any portion of the goods expended. The speaker, prompted by some member of Y's family, gives the general outline of the myth in which the name is featured, and concludes with a polite speech expressing the hope that Y may rise to the fame of the first holder of the name he now wears.

Then one of the heralds calls out, "Y's seat is too hard!"

Someone, Y's father, mother, or other relative, X or his wife, brings forward goods to soften his seat.

"Y's neck is unsupported," cries another of the heralds.

When goods are brought forth. In the fashion all kinds of things are bestowed: a copper, "to support Y's back"; a moose-skin, "to shield him from the fire"; two slaves, "to make him strong and heavy so he moves about the earth"; a pile of blankets, "to provide a cape to keep him warm"; more goods, "to give him shoes"; some cloth, "to wipe his mouth after eating"; and other things to provide him with fuel, baggage, and so on. The family of Y keep telling the lavishly that they have more goods, so that he knows how long to continue his complaint about Y's needs.

As soon as all the available goods have been piled up, they are given to the guests, who are witnesses of the validation of the name and seat in the house. Theoretically, the value of the presents received by each is not affected by the rank of the recipient. X decides whether or not each guest shall receive a present of like value, or whether men shall receive more than women. Owing to the difficulty of accurate estimation of the amount required, there is often a residue, which is given away to the more important chiefs. These goods are strictly not returnable. They are spoken of as having "become nothing," with reference to the name and seat in question.

Exactly the same procedure is carried out for every young person whom X wishes to start or to validate in his seat. Parents take advantage of a potlatch to "strengthen" their children in this way, and X never refuses a request for participation. It is always announced whence have come the goods for distribution, so that X receives no direct increase of fame, if they have been provided solely by the relatives of the youth, but, indirectly, his prestige is increased through the transaction having taken place at his potlatch.

It is at this time too that other names are validated. There will be usually a number of infants whose parents wish them to receive their first child names, such as are incorporated in the family myths. Likewise, men may be confirmed in their occupations, as warriors, singers, or other professions in which

first established on his seat, he must reward the heralds lavishly for their services.

As with so many elements of culture, the Bella Coola ascribe the origin of heralds to the wish of *Hemaxa* as expressed to the first people in the beginning of time. Some groups of these early settlers brought with them heralds whose names had been created by the supreme deity himself in his house in the land above. Such a one was *Sisqa'l* who was a member of *Kimsa-a's* (3, p. 316) party at *Kimsquit*, another was *Sqalmax* who came with *xnamxnam* (3, p. 319). These heralds functioned in the manner of their descendants of today, others of the first chiefs appointed servants of their relations to perform this service, and by means of the power with which they were endowed, created names with respect to their functions. Besides his ordinary name every herald must have an ancestral appellation of some kind, as well as the probability of possessing *hactat* ones in addition to those of a professional nature. Either by bringing with them from above, or by creation on this earth, each group of first settlers became provided with a herald, whose name is embodied in the ancestral myth describing their experiences. As each of the first heralds died, his name was passed to a successor, and this practice has been carried out from generation to generation until the present. The Bella Coola state that no new names for heralds have been created since the time of the first people, and it is certain that none has been made for many years. Consequently, the number of heralds is strictly limited in accordance with mythological beliefs, and every man who owns one of the ancient designations embodied in an origin myth knows the name of the herald associated with his first namesake.

At the death of a herald his name becomes dormant. Since heralds function at all ceremonies, whether or not the donor belongs to the same ancestral family as themselves, the members of the group sustaining the loss are not deprived of their

service. From the box, one of their prized properties, the visible embodiment of an element in their ancestral myth, is no longer present. In such circumstances, no member of an ancestral family would give a potlatch unless able to revive at it the dormant name in a new herald. The intending donor usually consults with the senior members of the ancestral family as to a suitable incumbent, or especially if he is an influential chief, he may simply use his own discretion. In either case, some relatively young member of the ancestral family is offered the post. If he accepts, the matter is settled; if not, another is invited to his stead. The new herald cannot function until his name and appointment have been validated by the distribution of presents at the potlatch. Such gifts are not returnable, since they are held to "have become nothing" for the name. Relatively lavish expenditure for this purpose is one of the many ways in which a chief is able to show his prowess and generosity. Thus established, a herald can carry out his duties thereafterwards. He functions at every ceremonial, but especially at potlatches given by members of his own ancestral family, in whose origin myth his own name is embodied. From frequent participation in all kinds of ceremonials, a herald becomes conversant with every type, and is appealed to as arbiter in difficult points of ritual, thus adding to his reputation.

Although acceptance of the post of herald somewhat curtails a man's activities in other respects, instances are known of energetic men using the gifts received to establish themselves as chiefs, passing on their herald names at the same time to other incumbents. More often, a herald uses his wealth for the benefit of a son or other relative, being satisfied with his own status in the community. He takes a prominent part in every ceremony and is a person of some standing, yet is spared the responsibility of actually giving rise himself, a position which offers many attractions to a man lacking great ambition and initiative.

424 as possible, a potlatch is the most suitable occasion. Goods
463 distributed for this purpose are not returnable; they have
* 556 "become nothing" to the acquisitor. The value of presents so
borrowed differs enormously; a man who is proud of his prerogative validates it lavishly until he is strong in his vocation, whereas another establishes himself on a lesser scale. The origin
[773] of professional rights, like so many of other kinds, is lost in antiquity and ascribed to the wishes of *Alquntám* as expressed to the first people. Some of the early settlers came to earth
[551] with definite duties and vocations, each indicated by a special name; others, lacking these, created them through their own enormous power. At the death of one of these incumbents,
424 his name passed to one of his relatives who acted in the same
463 manner as his predecessor after duly validating the name in
● 533 question. Ever since that time, the owner of a confirmed pro-
* 556 fessional name has been able to perform the functions of the prerogative. This is never a man's sole designation, but merely
[551] an addition to those of ancestral, *hereditary*, *nuxsé*, and other types. Like them, professional names are usually willed by their owners, though if this is neglected, one can be revived by any member of the deceased's ancestral family. In such a case, the older people usually decide on a suitable incumbent and suggest the matter to him; if he does not accept, the opportunity is given to another. If a member of the group is eager to validate the name, it is unlikely that anyone would try to
[789] forestall him. Ability in certain respects can also be obtained by magical means (I, p. 701), and a member of the ancestral family so endowed is the natural choice for the prerogative in question.

Prerogatives of this kind can be grouped according to the types of vocation included.

THE PROFESSION OF RIVER GUARDIAN

424
463 In the beginning of time, *Alquntám* is said to have sent
551 down with *Ṡxil*, who landed on the mountain behind *Ṡxmqo·ts*,
693
773

his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without hesitation.

THE PREROGATIVE OF UTTERING A DRONING CRY

As the appearance of masked figures representing supernatural beings, whether in *nuxalk* or *kwaxa* dances, many of the women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents. Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women were given by *Alpanism*, or acquired in other ways, the right to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously described, many of the first women possessed this privilege, which is accordingly common at the present time. A name of this type is usually conferred in girlhood, sometimes even in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One of these names is *Nuxuqmbilaiqua-a*, which has reference to the blue-green sheen of some abalone-shell brought from the east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incumbent to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of time, *Smaaw* of Kimsquit married *Tlikwalil*, the daughter of a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kimsquit.

than that of anyone else. The Bella Coola do not rationalize in a scientific manner; if a man holds a belief firmly, he acts on it without questioning its logic. Moreover, if a professional warrior functions a number of times, this in itself is enough to strengthen his conviction that he must act henceforth in the same way. It can be said with confidence that the owner of a professional prerogative has considerable belief in his own powers, that this acts on himself to render him proficient, and that the majority of the community have respect for his capabilities.

THE PROFESSION OF SINGER

Singing is one of the professions open to a Bella Coola either through natural ability or an ancestral prerogative. There is a constant need for men able to sing and compose songs for every kind of ceremonial, so a young man of talent has little difficulty in gaining admittance to the choir. He may even win great distinction and become recognized as the leading authority on musical matters. None the less, his success is considered to be accidental and unauthoritative, lacking the foundation that comes from the possession of a duly validated professional prerogative. A person made a singer by the latter means may be entirely unable to compose; in this case he is not a member of the choir, although he enjoys the social distinction which he has won by distributing goods to confirm his professional name. The singer most respected is he who combines with natural ability a confirmed prerogative to give substance and power to his position and compositions. At the death of such an one, an effort is always made by the members of his ancestral family to transmit the name to a youth who has shown musical promise. Arguments and differences of opinion are common among the members of the choir and in such cases the self-assurance and influence of a man whose position has been made strong by the distribution of presents often outweighs that of one who can rely only on his actual ability.

[illegible] ASSOCIATED WITH THE POSLATCH [illegible]

THE PRERQUISITES OF CARPENTRY

So with singers, there are many carpenters who ply their trade without the advantage of an ancestral prerogative. They, also, may be expert and receive credit for their skill, but they can never achieve quite the distinction that comes to a man who has been made a carpenter by the distribution of prerogatives. The latter may be as clumsy with tools that no one would ever trust him to make a canoe, or even a mask; but he is, socially, a carpenter, whereas a skilled artisan lacking a prerogative is admired for his ability but has no foundation of social esteem. In transferring a professional carpenter's name, however, an [559] effort is always made to give it to a youth with a bent in that direction.

The most esteemed carpenters are those who can make canoes, a trade which requires no special prerogative. In the beginning of time, *Yaldzewat* was the canoe-maker *par excellence*; he assisted many of the first people, and no one can have a professional prerogative as carpenter unless this supernatural being appears in his ancestral myth. The Bella Coola ascribe the skill of the Bella Bella in carpentry to the fact that *Yaldzewat* married a Bella Bella woman in the early period of the world and that many of that tribe are his descendants. In the old days, before the coming of the white man, carpenters were always respected as esteemed members of the community. Chiefs always cared for them, and they received abundant food at every ceremonial. None the less, they were not wealthy, and only in recent years, since the Bella Coola have realized the value put upon good craftsmanship by the white man, has it become customary to give valuable presents to carpenters. Ceremonially, they have considerable influence, since the carpenter who makes a mask usually decides who shall wear it and takes charge of the fitting and adjustment. He is also held responsible for any accident such as its falling when in use or for mechanical defects.

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[illegible] 567

[illegible] [554]

[illegible] [555]

[illegible], naming. This can be described here, since, although not closely associated with the potlatch, it serves to teach children the principles of present-giving and hospitalities. February is the proper month for naming, although preliminary arrangements are made early in the winter. A chief who has a son or daughter about ten or twelve years of age may decide to use some of his food, and a small part of his wealth, for the benefit of the child. With the assistance of his relatives, the father begins making large numbers of toy canoes, miniature bows and arrows, small baskets, and models of all other types of articles commonly given away at potlatches. The manufacture of these requires several months, but towards the end of January they are nearly ready.

A name must then be chosen for the child. Since a naming-feast dance is a humorous, non-sacred affair, a naming name is not embedded in a myth, but is drawn from some story. Occasionally, parents decide on a new one, but more often the designation selected is one used for the same purpose by a grandparent of the child. There is no rivalry with regard to names of this type, and one of them can be re-used without asking consent of the last incumbent, although permission would never be refused. There must be a song with each name and the grandparents and other elderly relatives teach this to a number of boys who are to act as singers. The words may have been remembered from a previous occasion; if not, a simple theme is composed by one of the old people having some reference to the name about to be conferred. For example, one appellation of this type is *Tepiwar*, Fawn, and the accompanying words are:

"We hear that Deer has borne a child."

Another name is *Epiw*, Beaver, and the song: "Be of good cheer, the Beaver is coming."

A third song is, "Go outside under the house like a dog."

Occasionally a small incident in an ancestral myth is used. The teaching of the song to the juvenile singers is a source of constant merriment; the parents and grandparents are the

[illegible] E-1 ([illegible]) 1948
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852 principal instructors, aided by the professional musicians.
867 Boys are always willing to act as singers for the practice they
[533] receive, and the gifts they will acquire. Other lads are chosen to act as heralds, an effort being made in each case to pick those likely to pursue these professions.

[196] The day finally selected for the ceremony is in February, on a date when nothing of importance is taking place. The juvenile heralds summon the child guests, who have been invited in accordance with the rules governing a potlatch, especial care being taken to omit none to whom the child donor is indebted. His father carefully instructs him in this matter, thus impressing on his son's mind one of the fundamental points of Bella Coola life. In the late afternoon, when all have
[535] assembled, the boy singers beat out the donor's song and he dances to it. It may be in the nature of a *nuuk*, *a'alk*, or *kusiut* dance, according to the wishes of his parents. In many cases, one of the grandparents or some other old relative likewise dances to the song, using whatever style he chooses. There is no ceremonial significance to the ceremony and all enjoy themselves immensely, especially the adult guests. After
[553] the dancing, the new name is announced and presents are given to the guests. The father of the young donor carefully instructs him as to the scale of his gifts, emphasizing the necessity of rewarding the singers and heralds, and of repaying with interest those children from whom he has received favours. In this way, the ceremony serves as a practical example of how to conduct a potlatch. The parents of the donor always provide some tasty food for the occasion, and this is distributed after
[556] the gifts have been handed round. The necessity for food and presents makes it impossible for any but the children of chiefs to enjoy this training.

After the ceremony, the children parade up and down the sidewalk in front of the houses, singing boisterously. The performance has been for their benefit and they wish to "show off." One night completes the affair, but the following afternoon another child may summon his comrades to a similar

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than the presents just given by X's relatives, though occasionally they may exceed them. Y's father, or a herald, or an eloquent friend on his behalf, speaks to the following effect: 583 584

"Be bold. Henceforth you will have to work a very long time for us. We will let you know when we need your services."

The significance of this speech lies in the fact that X, and to a certain extent his relatives, are expected to perform almost menial tasks for Y's father during the period of engagement, which has now been duly ratified. X's father and his followers now leave Y's house. It is immaterial whether or not X and Y themselves have been present. It is important that this formal acknowledgment of the engagement should take place during the day; otherwise any children resulting from the marriage could be shamed by having it said to them: "Your parents were not married in the open light of day." [858]

For a varying length of time X now acts almost as a servant to Y's father. He does not live with her family, but he cuts wood, draws water, and performs other menial tasks. Whenever a member of X's family gives a ceremony, he takes care to give lavish presents to Y's relatives. If it is impossible to hold a sacred rite, X's father is at least expected to invite Y's family to a ceremonial feast, and also to share with them any game that he may kill. Meanwhile, X and Y are not subject to any restrictions as to seeing each other. In theory if they should cohabit it would "spoil" the engagement, but in most cases when this occurs, as it often does, the matter is simply hushed up. [836]

Children whose parents were long engaged are said to be "heavy"; their entry into life having been prepared with careful thought and due ceremony, so that their limbs are clear to travel with success to the position of chief. When such a child is born, the relatives are eager to call their fellow-villagers to confer a name soon after birth, and the infant starts life with this advantage. There is no specific length of time for engagements; if X and Y are the children of influential chiefs, the 584 [858] [553]

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584 preliminary agreement may have been made while they were only seven or eight years old, though marriage seldom occurs before the age of seventeen or eighteen. More often the agreement is made when X and Y have passed the age of puberty, and they wait for about two years before marrying.

583 Throughout this period, X's relatives are expected to give at
425 least one feast at which Y's relatives are the guests of honour, and always receive presents. At one of these rites X's father,
533 with the concurrence of his relatives, may mark his approval
[584] of the coming event by bestowing on Y's father, or one of her other relations, an ancestral name from his family myth. This does not become the absolute property of Y's family, since the myth in which it is embodied does not belong to them, unless, of course, they are members of the same ancestral family. It is fitting that a name of this kind be bestowed by the recipient on one of Y's children, or returned to X's family a few generations later by a return marriage. If this is not done, in course of time the designation is apt to be regarded by Y's family as their own. If there are no children, Y's relatives should give back the name to X's
[627] family, but there are many instances of feuds caused by failure to do so. According to mythology, prerogatives may some-
[773] times be given outright, without thought of their use by the resultant children, or of their being restored by return marriages. It is claimed that the people of the Kimsquit River
[648] have, through such a present, the inalienable title to use a certain spot in the Kitlobe River for their olachen nets, and likewise the Kitlobe people have an irrevocable right to the Kimsquit name *Stálkmy*. These two prerogatives were transferred at the beginning of time. At present, anyone bestowing outright his family prerogatives would be considered weak-
[978] minded and the other members of the ancestral family would strenuously object. Considerations of this sort make it desirable to seek a wife within the ranks of the ancestral family.

During the period of engagement, Y's family may present a name, or names, to X's father, with the same conditions as those just described.

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ancestry. He may wish to give X one of his ancestral names on this occasion, and if so, an eloquent speaker outlines the myth in which it is embodied, and announces that henceforth it belongs to X. He is called by it for the rest of the ceremony. Occasionally, X will receive several names, perhaps from different myths belonging to the different ancestral families of which Y is a member; or her father may grant X the especial use of some hunting-ground, although with the marriage he naturally has the right to use all belonging to his bride's ancestral family. *Sisaok* rarely, and *kuziut* prerogatives more commonly, may likewise be transmitted at this time, though they are never expounded, since some who are not members of these two societies may be present. X's father may likewise use his *xe-tia* song and follow it by giving an ancient name to Y; if so, the procedure is the same as that just described.

Names transferred by marriage may be given when the engagement is announced, at the actual wedding or, as will be explained later, when the wife is rebought from her husband. A transference from the family of X to the family of Y is made only as a mark of respect and friendly feelings, but a transference in the opposite direction is necessary to establish the children on a firm footing. Accordingly, it is often delayed until after their birth, at a time when Y rebuys herself from her husband. A name bestowed at the wedding itself becomes the legal property of the recipient, but not of his ancestral family, since it cannot be passed on except to a child of X and Y. If there are no children, it is felt that the name has become practically dormant and it can be revived by a member of the donor's ancestral family. Thus it is virtually held in readiness for X's and Y's children, though literally this is not the case, since it belongs, meanwhile, to some individual. A sentiment that enters into a transaction of this kind is that, by the presentation of a name to some member of the family of the other partner, a kindly disposition is shown and confidence that it will be duly honoured by bestowal on the children of the couple. Indeed, some parents do no more than promise that

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585 if a grandchild be born they will give him a certain name if a
553 boy, and another if a girl, so that henceforth no one can take
that title for himself, even though it is not in use. As already
425 mentioned, even when a name has duly passed to one of the children, it can be recalled in future generations by a return marriage. The transmission of names, or the promising of them for children yet unborn, is perhaps the most binding feature of the whole marriage rite. Mythology contains instances in which names, and other prerogatives, have been given away outright. Cases are cited by the Bella Coola where a father has given hunting-grounds as "food" for the use of the relatives of his son- or daughter-in-law, but it is usual merely to promise the use of them to the grandchildren.

581 Since the transference of names, or other prerogatives, is
553 the foundation stone of Bella Coola marriages, it is necessary
to digress still further in an attempt to analyse the concepts
578 at the base of the transaction. If the contracting parties are
425 members of different ancestral families, or even of different branches of the same family, there is a feeling of strain and unpleasantness at the intimate relations into which they are brought. There is a conflict of desires. On one hand is the wish to keep the family prerogatives from going afield; on the other, a wish that they should go afield to show the respect felt for the bride or bridegroom. If children result, the matter is simple, since they are equally members of the ancestral families of mother and father and form a bond which draws the two social units into the closest community of interest. Return marriages will then be sought by successive generations, until the prerogatives of the two families become so closely interwoven that a child will, indeed, be born into the ranks of related ancestors from both parents. But when there are no children the matter is complicated, since the recipients of names not uncommonly try to keep them unjustly. They may do so with the best intentions, feeling that it would be a slight to the donors to give them back. Bella Coola etiquette is not sufficiently exact to stipulate what should be done. If the

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name is not returned, the donors may be offended at its being kept; if it is returned, they may be offended that it has not been kept.

The following examples will help to explain this rather complex point.

About 1900 the sister of a man who was middle-aged in 1922 was married to a Bella Coola to whom she was not related. At the wedding, her father being dead, her brother expounded one of the family's origin myths, and she took her husband a name from it. It was said to have been "hauled across," the word used being the same as that signifying the dragging of a heavy timber, suggesting, of course, the importance and dignity of the designation in question. On two later occasions the woman's family gave valuable presents to the man's, thus doing their part to cement the *pulya*, the strength which comes to both families by an interchange of presents marking the dignity of marriage, in fact, its basic principle. Unfortunately, there were no children. If the husband had wished to retain these names for his family, he should have arranged a further marriage between one of his own relatives and one of his wife's, to return the value of gifts he had received. He did not do so, and thus lost all legal claim to the designations in question. None the less, he was indignant when his wife's brother duly validated one of these names for himself at a potlatch, as if it had been dormant.

The accompanying diagram-pedigree shows another instance of the same kind. *Iwanus*'s daughter, *Iwalkinis*, was married to *Niniwamlais*, and at the wedding her father promised his name for any offspring. No children were born, but *Niniwamlais* illegally used the designation, *Iwanus*, for King George, his son by another wife. This naturally incensed the relatives of the first *Iwanus*, especially as the debt could not be adjusted by the marriage of one of *Niniwamlais*'s daughters to one of their family, since there were no daughters. To make matters worse, King George passed the name to his son, Jack King George, and again there were no daughters to readjust the debt. Finally, Jack King George married *Spakal*, a relative of the first *Iwanus*, without the usual lengthy period of engagement, and while she was still concealed for the year that follows puberty. No children resulted, by which part of the debt could have been repaid. Thus, not only did Jack King George violate the customary ideas of decency, but in the course of three generations two women were obtained from the *Iwanus* family without any recompense. Bitter feelings arose, and a few years ago one of the descendants of the first *Iwanus* took the name for himself at a potlatch as if it had been dormant, thus arousing the ire of Jack King George. In 1913

581 two of his female relatives were murdered at Kimsquit. The slayer was
553 never detected, but most of the Bella Coola believe that it was done by
571 one of *Smaoan's* relatives, and that the dispute about names was quite
425 sufficient to furnish an excuse for the deed.

It is hoped that these two instances will serve to emphasize why the
[682] Bella Coola prefer marriages within the ranks of the ancestral family. When this takes place, names are usually given outright, and not merely promised for the use of the future children.

Smaoan = ♀
|
Nsnitsamlaix = *Snuikanālt* = another woman
|
King George = ♀
|
Jack King George = *Qwakul*

585 After this digression, to return to the marriage of X and Y: The ceremony is taking place in the house of Y's father, and the parents of each participant have expounded parts of their origin myths, and promised names for the resultant children.

Then Y's relatives give numerous presents to X's family, in each case including those who are associating themselves with the contract. Canoes, slaves, blankets, and other articles of great worth are given; they are said to be "bed covering" for Y. The greater their value, the greater her prestige. Her
[537] father asks a fluent chief to address the assemblage, speaking as though he were Y. He says in effect:

"My father, my mother, my brothers, my uncles, and their associates have given me my bed covering."

These presents are the binding feature of the wedding. They are said to lock the girl in her husband's house, and
[587] accordingly are sometimes called, "rope fastenings." This is only done when a woman is married for the first time.

[537] Another orator now holds forth on behalf of Y's father:

"What we do today is no small matter. We have done today what was done in former times, and what shall be done in the future."

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old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language. 602 476

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *kusiut*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *susook* names can never be transferred in this manner. 606 431 425 [785] [575] [553] [575]

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a 593 [602] [627] [567] 432 [648]

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sents given by X's relatives up to the time of the wedding have exceeded in value those which they have received. Later, whenever, and as often as X gives a potlatch, Y's relatives are expected to rebuy her from her husband. Although this is the expression used by the Bella Coola, it has only a ceremonial significance, since Y remains X's wife. 556 583

Whenever X intimates that he is going to give a potlatch, Y and her relatives begin to hoard goods irrespective of whether or not children have been born. Their value is unregulated by custom, although the individuals concerned always try to give as much as they can; usually X does not know exactly how much will be provided until their actual delivery. Moreover, this is the occasion most preferred by the relatives of a wife to present to her husband ancestral names or other prerogatives embodied in origin myths. The exact rights of X with respect to such gifts have already been defined so need not be repeated here. Even if Y has taken an ancient name to her husband when she was married, she may bring him another when repurchased. This is an event of even greater importance to a woman than marriage, so no effort is spared to add to the dignity of the occasion.

On the second night of a potlatch Y's father announces what prerogatives he proposes to grant to X. These may include the right to a certain totem-pole design, the carving of a spoon, a painting for the wall of the house, or any other element embodied in the origin myth. These privileges are displayed by X at the coming potlatch. If, as is usual, Y's father wishes to give his son-in-law an ancestral name, it is announced on this occasion, and is the designation by which X is known during the ceremony. It is always said that such a name is so "heavy," in the sense of "so important" that it must be "dragged across" to her husband by Y. *Kusiut* names are commonly transferred as presents, but without any public bestowal, and one or two instances are known of the similar acquisition of *susak* prerogatives and whistles; it was in this way that *Potlas* was able to import *susak* ritual from Bella Bella. After announcing the 425 556 583 [553]

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(5) They govern Y's status in this world. When women quarrel, as they often do, the most common boast to shame a less wealthy rival is a reminder of the number of times the speaker was repurchased and the value of the goods used. 556 583 [578]

"I can sit down on fifteen canoes," or "I am carried by five slaves," says the angry woman, mentioning whatever goods were used for her repurchase.

(6) Finally, these goods serve a more definite purpose in obtaining for Y a name, or names, of which the value is directly proportionate to the expenditure, precisely as the importance of a chief's designation depends on the goods used to validate it. [553]

As with men's names, some women's appellations were given by *Ālqustäm* to the first arrivals; others were created on this earth with regard to peculiar events, and still others are names which can be used either by men or women. Theoretically, the dignity of the first type of name is greater than either of the others, but in practice the importance of the owner depends on the number of times she has bought herself from her husband; the principles governing the rank of women are thus the same as those already described for men. The term *yutsak*, applied to a woman who has many times rebought herself and so reached a position of eminence, is the feminine equivalent to *stäkmy*. The creation of women's names in reference to personal characteristics or incidents connected with their married life is more common than similar creations for men. The ritual of the bestowal of a name on Y, here given, was omitted from the description of the potlatch in order to lessen the complexity of that ceremony. It will be remembered that on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch Y's relatives appear outside X's house, carrying valuable presents. 551 556 583 [554] [562] 553 556 583

The announcer calls out that Y's father has come to give "food" to X and his relatives. By food, presents are meant, which are the return, with interest, of the gifts given by X's relatives on various occasions. The giver is announced, for other relatives than Y's father contribute, and to whom the

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553 556 583 present is made. The recipient may either be X himself or one of his relatives who has conferred a gift on one of Y's family. The goods are taken inside, counted, displayed, and the same announcement made. These presents are given away by X the same evening, so that the only practical advantage that he receives is that the ultimate recipients make their returns, if any, to him. He makes no recompense to Y's relatives for these.

[537] A fluent orator next speaks on behalf of Y's father to the following effect:

"Please, ye people, listen to my words. This is an important occasion, hearken to what I have to say. Long ago our first ancestors were married, as X and Y have been, and it is fitting that we should make the name ..... live again in Y. Three years [or as long as the name has been dormant] it has been dead, as if living with the ghosts beneath the earth. Now it shall stand up again in Y; henceforth we use it for her. Come forth ..... [using Y's new name], your father rebuys you from X for fifty blankets [for example]."

Y may be anywhere; the statement "come forth" is merely symbolical. The fifty blankets are piled outside the house and the spectators, of whom many have gathered to witness the transaction, know that that number of blankets has been given with reference to that name. In some cases the wife is rebought three, four, or even more times for one name, either repeatedly by her father, or successively by her father and other relatives, or several names may be acquired by the different repurchasings. For instance, at one potlatch not many years ago a woman obtained the names *Łałłkt*, *Xwulbw*, *Smaiw-a*, and *Ailtamka*. As with men, some women prefer to have one very strong name, rather than diffuse their importance over a number. In this particular case the four designations were received from different relatives. At each repurchase the call is raised:

"Come forth ..... your brother [uncle, or whatever relative it may be] rebuys you from X for ....."

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In one case where an orphan woman, without relatives, repurchased herself by her own arduous labours, the announcement was made: 553 556 583

"Y's belt has come to rebuy her."

The reference was to the manner in which she had looped up her clothing with a belt when working. If Y's father should die after amassing goods to repurchase her, they are used for the purpose intended and the announcement is:

"Y's father's anus has come to rebuy her."

The ancestral family descended from the first settlers at *Swalle tl* have the prerogative of singing a special song as they rebuy one of their daughters. This was used by their first ancestors on a like occasion. The theme is: [424] [533]

"I, I, I am the highest of you all. No one of you is capable of doing what I can accomplish. You all live on what I void."

The significance of this last sentence is that the village of *Swalle tl* is farthest up the Bella Coola River. Its inhabitants used to claim that the people of the other villages lived on the refuse which they threw into the river, a source of pride to them. [186]

After announcing the various relatives who have rebought Y, the presents are counted and carried into X's house. The statement concerning their number, who has given them, and for what purpose, is repeated to the foreign guests there assembled, and they are then piled indiscriminately in a large heap for future distribution. At this juncture X calls out:

"Come in, come in," as though he were welcoming arrivals from a distance.

Y's relatives enter, and the ritual of the potlatch continues in the manner already described. The origin myth in which Y's new name is embodied is related in considerable detail, especially its recent history, that is, by whom it was last used and any pertinent items connected with its transmission. If she has received several names from different myths, each is similarly expounded.

As has been said, many women's names have been created 551 553

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551 with respect to their appearance or actions on this earth. As
far as could be learnt, the procedure of bestowal is identical with
[553] that just described. The following examples illustrate designations of this type:

Ȧnäbsullänämlaix, "The Resident Maker." In the begin-
[773] ning of time the wife of *Ṫaiakwala* had twins so often that the village rapidly increased in population. Accordingly she took this name for herself when she rebought herself from her husband. It was transmitted for generations in the ancestral family of *Ṫaiakwala*'s descendants until lent about one hundred years ago. The recipients claimed it as their own and passed it to a certain *Omqomkilska*, recently deceased, who gave it to her brother's daughter at the time of her marriage. Since this woman's husband has not yet given a potlatch the name is accordingly in a degraded condition at the present time (1923).

551 *Olliyaiyɔ*, "I Am the Worthless One." The mother-in-law
578 of this woman had been in the habit of insulting her daughter-
606 in-law by saying, even when strangers were present:

"We have a worthless daughter-in-law."

On rebuying herself the woman advertised the rudeness of her husband's mother by throwing her words back in her teeth.

Nulalulaks, "I Am the One Whose Eyes Are Hungry." The mother-in-law of this woman used to eat without offering food to her son's wife.

Nukokwixodjäx, "The One Whose Haunches Are Dusty." Her mother-in-law did not give her a place to sit in the house so that she was forced to stay close to the fire in the ashes.

Kwiläxlaix, "The One Who Sits Where There Is No Space." Her mother-in-law objected to this woman sitting near her husband when he took his ceremonial seat, and insulted her with the above remark.

551 *Nunuaox'as*, "The Stingy One." It was said that this
578 woman restrained her husband's generosity until he gained an unpleasant reputation for parsimony. She publicly shamed

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her husband's critics by taking this name for herself when she rebought herself from him. 551 578

Nu'aos, "The Inhospitable One." Her husband received this reputation owing to his wife's manners, so she advertised what had been said about him.

Nuplätlsikän, "Heedlessly Deaf." This woman's mother-in-law claimed that she deliberately failed to hear what she was told to do, and applied the above epithet to her. The daughter-in-law confounded her by taking it as her own name. [606]

When a name of this type is assumed it is always announced when, where, and for what purpose it was first created. 553

A description has already been given of the actual ritual by which X bestows the goods acquired from the repurchase of Y, but it is necessary to enlarge on the prohibition against their use for the direct benefit of one of the children of the couple. The theory is that the goods bind the marriage contract and express in a practical and lofty form the kindly sentiments with which Y's relatives regard her husband, and the bond between the two families, hence they must be used solely for the benefit of him and his relatives. A man usually applies these goods to initiate the children of his brothers or sisters into the ranks of the *ssaok* or *kusiut*. It is unthinkable for goods to be delivered without an exposition of Y's family's glories, but if this should ever take place, there would be no difficulty in applying them to the direct benefit of her children. When used, for example, to make a child of X's brother a *ssaok*, he is a living testimony of the noble way in which Y's relatives have done that which is fitting for the family of her husband. Due to accidents in announcing and storing of presents, it sometimes happens that those obtained by the repurchasing of Y are used for the benefit of her own children. Unless this error is corrected, the child could always be shamed by having it said: 556 583 [558]

"You are a mere nobody. The goods expended in the

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556 repurchase of your mother have become nothing beneath your
583 feet."

When such an accident occurs, the relatives of X take some
[558] future occasion to give presents to validate his child, with the announcement:

"The goods used from the repurchase of his mother have become nothing beneath his feet. We hereby supply that deficiency."

Thus it is demonstrated that the relatives of both parents are interested in his welfare, so that his path is clear before him.

553 Many women are only repurchased once, but an effort is
556 made to do this frequently since the more times, the greater
583 her prestige. After several repurchasings it is felt that the names and other prerogatives "dragged across" by Y have become valueless. But since new names have been taken to her husband on each occasion, the marks of friendship between the two families are still plain. Then it is that those first transmitted can be revived by relatives of Y, unless, of course, X has validated them for his children. If there is only one repurchasing, the names remain the definite property of X. This is not a clearly formulated law, merely a sentiment that the earlier names have been covered by those later given, and that accordingly Y's relatives, having done what was proper, can now use the titles once more. There is a constant interchange of names and privileges between families related by marriage.

556 It is virtually impossible to over-estimate the importance
583 of this rite of repurchase among the Bella Coola, one of the
[182] few customs preserved tenaciously amid the ruins of their ancient culture. The writer was forcibly struck with the following instance which occurred while he was in Bella Coola:

About fifteen years before, a young man and woman had married with due formality. After three children had been
[586] born, the mother took to drink and vice until her husband at last repudiated her, retaining possession of the children. The woman, weakened by disease, divorced by her husband, and

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composed the tunes used; to the carpenter who had prepared and used the masked figure; to the members of the band, including a payment for their services whenever Dan Nelson's child should die; to a carpenter to erect a fence around the grave; to another to cut the representation of an eagle on a stone to be erected over the grave; to the speakers at the funeral; to the speakers at the rite then taking place; to those who delivered the money; to the youth who, with pencil and paper, assisted in keeping accounts; to the cook, and to all others who had assisted in any manner. In every case the amount was announced, the bill held up, the name of the recipient stated, the reason for his reward, and the money was then taken to him by a messenger. Captain Schooner really decided how much each should receive, he being in the best position to judge what was suitable, and there being no fixed scale of charges to help him. Work paid for in advance, such as the erection of the fence, was carefully carried out.

A little money had been kept to validate the assumption of ancestral names by several children of the Schooner family. Everyone received a small amount, a child sometimes as trifling a sum as 25 cents. Captain Schooner had virtually chosen who was to receive which designation, although he received advice from all his relatives. Harry Schooner's infant was given the name, *Pätcätcus*, a reference to the manner in which the first beams of the morning sun strike the lofty summit of Mount *Nusqalst*. Reuben's son was called *ellmäls*, a *Snulle-tl* designation connected with the crash when the first *Sonq'* fell. The myths in which these names were embodied were not expounded; in fact, they had been almost forgotten, even by Captain Schooner. *Täl-io* Jenny wished to transmit one of her names to Andy Schooner's infant; this was announced in the same way as the others and validated with them by the gifts to all. Jenny had not contributed to the common stock, but some of it was used with the understanding that she would later repay. Nebuchadnezzar announced the

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769 sum being used for each name, and the bills were displayed
*556 before messengers carried them to the recipients.

Finally, Jim Pollard took the opportunity to bestow on
553 Captain Schooner the name, *Swaulhals*. This designation
425 was the property of the donor's ancestral family and should
[614] not have been transmitted without the consent of all its mem-
[622] bers. Jim had probably informed several of them of his intention, but no objections would have been raised if he had overlooked this courtesy, since he is the only *wamitl* chief among them, and the only one with determination and prestige. It was not an outright gift, since it was announced that it must be returned to the donor's family on Captain Schooner's death. Jim Pollard acted as his own announcer for this transaction, explaining that he gave the name in gratitude for the help which Captain Schooner had rendered at the death of his, Jim's, father about twenty years before. He promised that at the earliest opportunity he would give presents to validate the transmission.

769 During the lengthy distribution of money, the audience had
*556 shown unmistakable signs of weariness. It was now between 2.00 and 3.00 A.M., and as soon as Jim had finished speaking the guests dispersed quietly, though many of them gathered in groups in one another's houses to discuss what had taken place.

Captain Schooner slept late after the lengthy ceremony, but was proud and contented when interviewed about noon. He felt that what was fitting for his daughter had been performed, and was willing to take the consequences of having broken the law.

968 Little else of note occurred in connection with Jessie's funeral. Samuel King deposited near her grave a sewing-machine which his wife had used for only a short time and Captain Schooner decided to replace this with an older one belonging to his wife. He made this exchange on the afternoon of June 30, when Samuel, in company with a number of women, was burning the rest of Jessie's clothing and possessions. Captain Schooner explained his act by saying:

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"I am *Ánolxmdimut*," she said. "Everyone calls on me to visit the sick, and henceforth they will likewise seek you and your basin." 756* 787*

Something entered his stomach, causing it to heave violently, and he felt that the sickness had left him. He sent for the singers and repeated to them the words that *Ťłitcäplilän·a* had chanted; these formed the text of the shaman's song which he used on future occasions. While giving them to the singers, he endeavoured to dance, but was too feeble to do more than weakly shake his hands. From that time on, *Ánolxmdimut* was able to cure the sick.

This last account is typical. *Ťłitcäplilän·a* appears, inserts something into the body of the patient to cure him, sings one or more songs, gives the sufferer a name, and then vanishes. [553] The curing power thus bestowed remains within the person benefited; it is this that enables him to heal others if *Ťłitcäplilän·a* has so decided. In such cases, there is mention of a "basin" in the song, and the one who has just recovered will be able to treat others, especially those suffering from the same [755] malady as himself. The reference to a basin is because such utensils are used during treatments. To the Bella Coola a shaman is one who has had such an experience and has publicly claimed it, whether or not he can cure the sick.

Ťłitcäplilän·a is known by many names, in accordance with [776] her ability to treat many diseases, and the designation she bestows depends upon the malady cured. The following are [553] some of the names received from her by shamans.

Sexsexqwalxlaoslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breath." [551] This name was given to a person who was cured when he found breathing very difficult. The text of his song was:

"*Ťłitcäplilän·a* gave me (the name) *Sexsexqwalxlaoslaix* [533] with a small object to aid the breathing of the very sick."

Tämtämslo·psta. This has the same significance as the last.

Nexnäx·mälosaix, "The Dancer Near the Fire." [551]

Ánolxmdimut, "The Dancer Who Makes Noise Only with

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Ninitsamlaix, "The Restorer." He is able to cure the sick even when at the point of death. 756*

Ānuskieknm, "The Saviour." He can rescue persons who have been injured by other supernatural beings. 776 787*

Nunutsnumikmem, "The One Who is Thought Of." Having powerful curing abilities, people think of him when ill.

Ānotābākmots, "The Open-Mouthed One." His mouth is always open to suck forth sickness.

Nustkākstāmidjut, "He Whose Basin Is in His Own Body." A person who receives the ability to cure from this being does not use the customary basin.

Sisiutl. It is said that many Rivers Inlet shamans have received their powers from this creature, which is accordingly well known to the Bella Coola in this connection, although few of their own people are said to have been benefited by it. 756* 787*

Since all animals are supernatural, it follows that any of them can cure the sick. Instances are remembered of this, in which the patient received a name differing slightly from that of his animal benefactor. Salmon, especially cohoes and early spring salmon, are extremely potent curers and many sick people have received aid from them. It is recognized that the former are uncanny since they have the ability to hide themselves in insignificant streams. One man was cured by a tree which gave him a yodel-like shaman's song, imitating the creaking and waving of its branches. More often, however, a supernatural animal merely speaks to a man without making him a shaman. [825] [533]

Two courses are open to the patient who has been cured by such a visitation. He may at once proclaim his powers, or he may say nothing about them in the hope of obtaining further revelations and further names. From a single experience he has received a certain amount of power, but the more he has, the greater this will be. If he decides not to wait, he at once calls the singers and repeats to them the words and tunes of the songs he has received. When later on he gives presents to validate his shamanistic name, it becomes publicly recognized [553] [554]

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* 756 that he is a shaman, and his future status depends on his
* 787 success in curing those who appeal to him. If the man decides
[553] not to make use of his experience, he must not mention the
[556] name of his apparition, as to do so would not only prevent further benefits, but would cause the return of the disease from which he had been suffering. Some shamans have waited until they have received three or four separate visitations, acquiring a name at each; and a Bella Bella man was known to have had ten. Whether or not it is wise at once to display shaman's power is a matter on which there is no general agreement. On the one hand by long, and perhaps fruitless, waiting, a man postpones the social esteem which would have been his if he had at once displayed his prowess, gambling with his chances of receiving still greater gifts. While awaiting further visitations, a man may be able to make use of the power already received, although he cannot do so formally as an accredited shaman. Thus one man, who long ago was visited by a supernatural being, but has made no public claim of his apparition,
[955] is able to cure stomach-ache among his own grandchildren by massaging the stomach as if to force something from it, and then puffing this something, four times, from his spread hands. Still hoping for power, he declined to say by which supernatural being he had been visited.

The following account was obtained from one of the few old Bella Coola who claim to have had shamanistic experiences. It describes what is done when the patient decides not to wait for further revelations:

When comparatively young, the informant slept one night in the forest with a companion. On awakening the following morning, they found a trail of dried blood leading to their blankets. They examined themselves and found no wound, so concluded that the blood could not be their own, and, therefore, was a mystery, over which they worried for a few days but then forgot. About a week later, the narrator of the incident dreamed that a strange creature came to him; he did not know what it was, but it terrified him. A few minutes later

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* 756 and heard her utter the name that was to be his, as a shaman,
* 787 *Nitsumdimul*. He began to shake his hands as if dancing, for he was too feeble to do more, and began to sing the song. His mother at once called in the singers who listened, learning it for future use. The man is firmly convinced that if his mother had not thus called in the singers so speedily he would, after four days, have received another vision, and with it real shamanistic power. As it is, he is a shaman, since he was cured when at the point of death by *Thitäplilin-a* and received a name and song from her, but he is unable himself to effect cures. As soon as the singers had departed, his mother at once began to make for him a collar formed of alternate bands of dyed, and
[292] undyed, cedar-bark. This is the distinctive decoration worn constantly by a shaman for a certain period after receiving his powers, and at all times when dancing. Within a few days all the inhabitants of the village were called in and the man's
[552] [554] family distributed presents, thus validating his shamanistic name. Such presents are not returnable; "they have become nothing" for the designation. Thus accredited, a shaman is in a position to start curing, if his song has contained a reference to a basin, otherwise, as in the present case, he is merely a shaman in a social sense, not professionally. There is thought to be actually within the new shaman's body, some peculiar
[292] power which is too potent to allow him to mix with others. Accordingly he wears the distinctive collar, which serves as a
[841] warning to menstruating women and others who are unclean to remain at a distance, and he spends much of his time alone in the forest. This continues until the next *kusiut* dance season when the coming to him of a *you* (II, p. 6) frees him from restraint, since the one supernatural power drives out the other. If the shaman himself is unwilling to have a *you*, it is sufficient if one comes to a son, or other near relative.

A shaman who has been told by his supernatural visitor to use a basin instructs a carpenter to make one for him. The design depends either on the owner's wish, or on that of his benefactor if the latter has decreed specifically.

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type of dance differs from all other Bella Coola ones, since no inherited prerogative is required. Years ago such exhibitions were common, although curing shamans were rare. 756* 556

The usual time for a shaman's performance is at the conclusion of the *kuxiut* season, though one is sometimes held prior to that period if the would-be performer fears that the food which he has stored up for the event is likely to be frozen. [796]

When he decides to give a dance, the shaman first summons the singers to his house and teaches them a song of his own composition. Theoretically both text and tune should have been received from his supernatural benefactor, but many performers undoubtedly employ songs used by shaman ancestors which they have chanced to remember. Another device is to describe a supernatural being seen in a dream. In some cases there is deliberate deception, but in most the performer persuades himself that he has received supernatural authorization. The texts are full of obscure allusions, a river, for example, is spoken of as swift running water. Often a man will treasure a song for years, before collecting the wealth necessary to use it publicly, with the social prestige attached. A shaman always obtains a name from his supernatural benefactor, but if a man merely uses a feat observed in a dream, this is impossible, so he adopts the designation of some deceased shaman, soon convincing himself that it was uttered by the apparition. Others will probably remember this name, hence suspicions may easily be aroused concerning the authenticity of the performance, but it is not customary to voice these. The singers repeat the song which they have just heard, and continue doing so until they have mastered it. Sometimes they compose further songs themselves for the performer. During the practising, those who are not *kuxiut* are expelled from the house. A shaman is a person who has come in contact with the supernatural; hence he is akin to the members of the society who, therefore, support him during his rite.* A herald is sent out

533 756* 556 [195] [553] [183] 756* 556 [575] [203]

*Theoretically, a shaman need not be a *kuxiut*, but visitations usually come only to those of religious and imaginative temperaments, who are in the majority of cases already members of the society.

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* 787 843 If a woman dreams that she has caught two salmon, two small birds, or is holding two infants, the birth of twins is foretold. This type of explanation is obvious; in fact, these examples lie on the border-line between direct and symbolic interpretations.

* 787 843 775 Another indication of approaching pregnancy is for a woman to dream of a dead relative; this means that the latter will soon be re-born. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that some fifty years earlier his mother dreamt that her dead mother came to her, saying that she was lonesome and wished to return. Soon afterwards she conceived, and the daughter born was considered to be the reincarnation of her own grandmother whose names she was promptly given. At the present time, this informant addresses his sister as sister, though he states that as a child he was taught to call her grandmother. As already mentioned, if a new-born infant is a reincarnation, the fact can often be recognized by holes or dimples in the ears, relics of previous borings for rings. Unless such a birth has been foretold in a dream, it is impossible to learn whom the child re-embodies. [553]

* 787 [761] A dream of frequent occurrence in Bella Coola is the return of the sleeper to the scenes and activities of his childhood. This always signifies a long life. Strangely enough, to dream of being nailed in one's coffin and carried to the grave is translated conversely, and likewise indicates a long life. It is remembered that there were many dreams of fire before the outbreak of the smallpox epidemic, so it has since been assumed that such presage an outbreak of this disease. [731]

* 787 224 [785] The only dreams of which the interpretations are wholly symbolic are those experienced by hunters. The Bella Coola explain this by saying that hunters always observe ceremonial chastity and their spirits are, therefore, in a receptive condition to supernatural impressions. When a man has set his traps, he is able to tell from his dreams whether or not any animals have been caught:

To dream that a canoe has been upset in the river and that

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*575 *Ano'likwolxaix*. They may be termed marshals of the society. [424] Each must have an ancestral prerogative for this, duly vali- [776] dated by presents to the *kukuxiut*, in addition to a *kuxiut* prerogative of some kind. In each village there are four or five of these men. Whenever food is being served at a *kuxiut* dance, the marshals receive theirs first and then one or other of them addresses the audience in slow and impressive style, beating on the floor with a stick to add emphasis to his words. He admonishes his fellows to safeguard the ancient rites of the society, to be bold, to be secretive, and he pays honour to the member who has given the dance. It is they who take the leading part if a youth is dragged away to the meeting-place for initiation, and it is they who arrange matters when a spy reports that a non-member is over-inquisitive. If any member of the society *575 should break one of its laws at a time when no uninitiated are 688 present, the marshal is expected to seize a burning stick from the fire and strike the offender with it. If death should result, revenge is unthinkable, since the criminal had broken the law. The same fate is unhesitatingly meted out to any *kuxiut* who should dare to betray any of the mysteries to the uninitiated. Moreover, it is the marshals who decide whether any improper act lowers the dignity of a dance, and punish accordingly. Not many years ago a *kuxiut* woman gave birth to a child while a dance was taking place and the infant was slain by one of the marshals. The usual explanation made to the uninitiated for [961] a death within the dance-house is that a supernatural being caused the roof to fall and kill the victim.

*575 Each marshal has, in connection with his prerogative of 551 this vocation, a professional name, used only within the house where a *kuxiut* dance is taking place and carefully concealed [424] from the uninitiated. Some designations were obtained from *Ano'likwolxaix* by an ancestor of the possessor, others were created on this earth with reference to some specific event, and [553] duly made valid by presents to the *kukuxiut* alone. Some of these names are:

Xwulxlmis, "The Destroyer," so given on account of an

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*575 only by members of the same tribe. The Bella Coola firmly
648 believe that if, for example, there is a serious disaster at
688 *Xemqo-ti*, that village will be raided by the people of Bella
721 Bella, Fort Rupert, Kitkatla, or by tribes even farther away.
[628] News of the accident reaches *Tāl-io* or Kimsquit and the inhabitants, themselves related by blood to the offenders and therefore unwilling to punish them, call upon the members of a foreign tribe to do so. On different occasions this statement, in practically identical terms, was made by six independent informants, so there appears to be not the slightest doubt as to the belief of the people in this law. But when specific cases were asked for, they could not be obtained. It therefore appears clear that the Bella Coola, probably owing to long teaching on the part of the *kukusiut*, consider that an error in ritual is sufficient to bring punishment from an alien tribe. There must be some basis of truth in this conviction, and it is highly probable that the *kukusiut* must have taken advantage of raids to explain to the uninitiated that these were caused by disasters in ritual. One informant was of the opinion that, following the collapse of a house at Kimsquit during a Canpibal dance, a Bella Coola chief called upon *Tokise*, chief of the Kitkatla, who raided Kimsquit in punishment. Quite apart from the belief inculcated in the uninitiated, it is obvious that tribes eager for war sometimes used an accident as pretext. The Bella Coola know of no case in which they raided a foreign tribe for this reason, although they state that if they had been called upon to act as punisher, they could not have refused.

*575 Leaving now the functions of the society as a whole, the
424 rights of an individual member can next be described. Each
425 *kusiut* has:

553 (1) *A Kusiut Name.* Like every other prerogative, a name of this type can be acquired from father, uncle, grandfather, or other relative, or even by a son from his mother. As a rule a *kusiut* wills his designation or designations, for a man may
[556] have several, before death and his wishes are observed. Al-

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though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kusiut* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kusiut* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor.

575* 424 425 553 [556] [578] [426]

(2) *A Patron, omätuts.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

575* 424 776 [533] [535] [578]

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Äns'likwolsaix.* An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each.

575* 424 778

Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

[773] [981]

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 some ashes which he puts into his mouth and chews. Of course
791 he masticates only the ashes but X, unaware of this, is con-
796 cerned for the fate of his spirit. At last it is restored to him
[794] and he is told that the *siki* has altered it from that of an
[781] uninitiated person to that of a *kusiut*.[11] The psychological effect of this act on the mind of a young man who has not had time to adjust himself to his new knowledge and who is firmly convinced of the powers of the *siki* is tremendous.

The first *siki* now instructs two *kukusiut* sitting on either side of X to lie down to serve as a seat for him. They do so, irrespective of who they may be. If the novice is still ignorant of the full mysteries of the society, the *siki* announces that he is going to get a call for X. He walks around the house, peering here and there as if seeking something, and then pounces as if he had caught an object between his hands. A whistle
[534] is heard, such as the novice knows accompanies the coming of every call; but he does not know that the noise is made by compressing a goat or bear bladder-whistle between two sticks held beneath the armpit. This is the "mystery" of the strange noises.

*575 "Do you know what makes that noise?" ask the two *kuku-*
796 *siut* on whom X is sitting.

If X denies all knowledge, the mystery is explained to him,
[688] and he is warned that he will be killed if he communicates the information to uninitiated persons. If he answers that he knows the cause, he is asked who has told him. Perhaps some lad has been peeking and has told X of what he has seen; in that case the over-inquisitive youth is at once initiated to prevent further leakage of information. As soon as X has learnt the great secret he moves to one side and the singers take their positions behind the fire. His father, or whoever it
[425] may be from whom he is to obtain his name, then stands up
[553] and unfolds its origin, telling which supernatural being is his patron, and the locality of his repository. X sometimes re-

[178] [11]This part of the rite has been omitted for so many years that many of the middle-aged *kukusiut* have forgotten it.

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

X sometimes receives two prerogatives at his initiation, one from each parent, or from some other interested relative. In this case both are expounded. The singers listen intently, knowing that they will later be called upon to compose songs on the theme, or themes. According to some informants they immediately sing one, as if they had just created it, though it was really prepared in advance. The *kukusiut* listen until they have mastered it. 575* 796 [425] [553] [533]

Helpers now distribute the food provided by X's father, or whoever is responsible for his initiation. At every *kusiut* ceremonial the marshals are the first recipients, then the singers, and finally the others without distinction. As the guests are eating, X's father gives presents to all, without deference to rank. An announcer calls out: 575* 796 556 [264]

"Here are [for example] ten bear-skins from X's mother. They are to obtain for him his cedar-bark bracelets."

These goods are then distributed. Similarly other gifts from various relatives are handed out for his anklets, his blanket, his collar, his head-dress, and all other parts of his clothing. As each item of his ceremonial costume is validated, X dons the prepared article. A novice's head-dress consists of a round roll of dyed cedar-bark, covering a grass frame; in *Stuix* and the other villages of the upper valley this is decorated with a tuft of swan's down. The *kukusiut* of these villages also wear a distinctive decoration consisting of a swan's skin with the feathers attached. In recent years it has been customary to pile all the goods together and distribute them as *ālq·ił*, which has the significance of "something that has vanished for the novice's dyed cedar-bark." Theoretically, the aim of the donor is to bestow his presents on all equally, but if he finds that he has some remaining, he gives these to the chiefs, or to the relatives of someone whom he expects will soon be a novice. None of the goods used in general distributions are returnable, but a chief who receives an extra gift at the end usually remembers from whom it was received and cancels his indebtedness at the earliest opportunity. There is no close connection between the disbursements and the worth of the [425] [292] [184] [237]

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(*b*) *Xemtsk* came down from above with *uyuyuyut* in the beginning of time; he had the prerogative of dancing at weddings. 533*

(*c*) *Łqaleiyu* likewise came down with *uyuyuyut*, bringing the same prerogative as *Xemtsk*. 585

(*d*) The rest of this song has been forgotten. [773] [424]

Fragmentary and short as are these songs, they are more elaborate than many used at weddings. These frequently contain no words, merely an ancient tune accompanied by humming and meaningless choral interjections.[4]

SHAMING SONGS

533*

Songs of this type are sung by the singers while the principal performer dances; in this respect, they resemble *sisaok* compositions and differ entirely from the abbreviated and individualistic wedding songs. Though used primarily to shame a runaway husband or wife, one is sometimes employed on other occasions.

586 578 [585]

Song Used for Nełxwna(a), a Kimsquit Woman(b)

A Yełakeiz	*łałima*	*Mastałos*	*sälneixtus*	*dämnałtcaiya'a*
Has too much	looted	*Mastałos(c)*	further,	he has taken with her

tsukwałhastumał	*dämnałtcaiya'a*
my child, *Tcłkwałkis(d)*,	he has taken with her(*e*).

[103]

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sänałłałdimut	*nowasłłhammtsałs*	*ikat-ähänutsaixts*
Be brave,	mothers(*f*),	when I speak of your ugliness(*g*);

ałsłłjłłtłłwamap	*wanusłwałsłłtahmgałs*
you have had much trouble,	your breasts have become long and pendant.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) This word means "The one (feminine) with the very hairy pudenda." The woman in question had run away from her husband and the nickname was conferred at this shaming *łłaiyałam* rite. [551] [553]

[4]Two examples of such wordless songs were collected. They are song VII D 2a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard, and song VII D 3a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

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*192 [426] *ähwekam:* Excess of amount returned over that previously received as an investment present.

Aiamkikka: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

Aiiläxa: 1—Supernatural beings who drone as the sun moves.
2—Voice of the supernatural woman, *Snitsmän·a*; the term is occasionally applied to the being herself. The sound is produced by *kusiut* whistles.

Aimälotla: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

Aimaltua: "The Coming of Foul Weather," in the language of supernatural beings: The phenomenon is semi-anthropomorphized.

Aimä·ts: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Ancient chief from whom the village is supposedly named.

Aiqwaiosamlaix: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.

[821] *Aiqwaiust:* Supernatural beings who blacken the face of the moon at eclipses.

Aitsamka: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Täl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of an *ustäm* chief mentioned in an ancient story.

Aiutla: 1—One of the designations of *Kämai·ts*, the mysterious supernatural woman.
2—Ferocious, awe-inspiring, *adjective*.

[526] *akstxyu:* Swing consisting of two long ropes with cross-seat.

[824] *äkpädultsi,ɔ:* Spruce leaves.

Alumtci: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

aljpotnam: Lehal.

Alkalalis: 1—One of the first men to settle at Calvert Island in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwlst* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Aimä·ts* in the beginning of time.

alkdjales: Stake supporting olachen net.

[796] *alkexpiämm:* Ritual repeated at intervals between the allotment of tasks for a potlatch, and the coming of a supernatural being to the first *nsaek* initiate.

alk", plural, wealk"ats: Herald.

Alokämam: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[533] *alox:* Third part of song.

'alox: Pleasure expedition of boys and girls to the forest.

[517] *Ałox:* Name of an isolated star.

[821] *Alqotlros:* Supernatural man-eater, patron of Cannibals.

Alqtcälos: Stick decorated with abalone-shell used by one of the settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.

Älkwulus: Supernatural female berry-picker resident in the land of the dead.

ältaia: Announcer.

Äpukwlakso·s: Bay of the Thousand Islands near Namu.

Älustnaix: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

älwotla: Cannibal.

[587] *älwuläm:* Marriage with sister of a deceased wife; the word is undoubtedly connected with the verb, *to bequeath*.

Äiskwis: Supernatural creature similar to a human being.

Ätala: Supernatural woman, wife of Cold Wind and mother of Ice.

Ätalälis: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.

[425] [553] [584] *ätel·iqem:* The transference of a name, during the period of engagement, from the father of the future bridegroom to the father of the future bride.

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Ālālhmktmm: Supernatural being sent by *Smaien·a* to meet *Noākgmm.*

ālālqo·xi, "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will certainly give a potlatch to start him on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremoniously at every feast. [556]

Ālhlxān·i: Abalone-shell covered stick used by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

Alhlxān·iatliax: One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.

āldinnki: Word of uncertain meaning often appended to *lnxtāmem* as complete term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance. [575]

ālikslxmm, "A Dragging Across" (as one does with a heavy log): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being repurchased. [425] [553]

ālikwis: Toasted food of any kind. [262]

Ālilixwumax: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.

ālilig': Perforated, *adjective.* [252]

ālimusnām: Those who perform to assist marriage dancers.

Ālimalwalaix: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Āl·imlsaix: One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time. [585]

ālipāxlits, "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and hers prior to entering her house. [431]

ālipoalm: Gifts given in secret, soon after betrothal, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [584]

ālipotlām: Marshal.

Ālipmān·i: Immoral supernatural woman; synonym for *Sximsximlt.*

Ālinmatusaix: One of the men who came to earth at Mount *Tanisi* in the beginning of time.

Āl·slkotl: Totem-pole erected by the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.

ālhhotl: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]

ālq: Sisook song in fast time.

āld: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [533] [535]

Ālī'gmān·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Sātlia* in the beginning of time.

ālmpus: Kusiut dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

ālnkla: Synonym for *knumdjut*; one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]

ālnlla: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

ālx: Come, *imperative singular.*

Ālkexa: 1—One of *Smaoan*'s sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at *Nuxulst* in the beginning of time.

ālsl·ilaix: Central seat behind the fire.

ālsldjalos: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-nets. [412]

Ālsiksmlāku: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola.

ālsiksmm: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun. [805]

Ālsu·lgumm, "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf. [825]

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nixobäxta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract. [424]

Nixps: Expert supernatural dancer; to his associates he is a yearling mountain goat.

nomlg or *nomlgämut:* First complete dance given by a *kusiut* initiate. [825]

nomomk: Mammal, any kind.

Nonixwanaix: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

Noäkila: 1—One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuisli* in the beginning of time.

Noäkgmm: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Noamtäxsik: Name given to his grandson by one of the first settlers at *Siskiut* in the beginning of time.

nolcista: *Kusiut* prerogative as a Breaker; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.

nolxäkta: Sloping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kimsquit, *kusiut* masks are hung.

nomwak: The making and use of hand nets for olachen.

Nonodjonistem: 1—"The Adviser": One of the names of the supreme god. [622]
2—Chiefs of a village, collectively; virtually, "The Sages."

no'onätlim: 1—Ceremony at which *susook* names are validated in the eyes of the fellow-villagers. [553]
2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed. [796]

no'ondjut: Assemblage of the *kukusiut* to practise difficult rites.

No-dwm, "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": *Tlaiyäkam* name given to a deserting wife.

Nowakila: One of the names of Raven as chief.

nowlxikulum: Sentence of death passed by the *kukusiut* on one of their fellows as punishment for an error. [688]

nuaiyao: A loan, especially of an ancestral right. [426]

Nuälulmm: Synonym for *Noäkgmm,* the supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Nu'oos, "Inhospitable": Name taken by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

nuäpsulta: Toilet-hole.

nuaska: Birth.

Nuclcäqos: Anthropomorphized evil cold wind. [821]

nudak-än: Rhetorical term of respect for aged dead. [769]

nudak-än du lkmsta: 1—High tide.
2—Long life. [823]

nudjiqosta: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold olachen-net post steady while being driven.

Nu'cymäq, "Place of Foul Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Nuk:* 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.
2—River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.

Nuxkmälsin: Synonym for *Sximsximdt,* an immoral supernatural woman.

nupal: The achievement of success against supernatural odds; the term is used with reference to the solutions of the riddles of the Mystery dance.

nukamlmäxmm: Any non-sacred dance held at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season. [535]

Nukoo-ss: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

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Nuswin·ăwx, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago. [578]
nuswinăsta: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige.
Nuxx: 1—Barren district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, *adjective.*
Nuxpalyiq: Tăl·io bird hunter.
Nuxyemda: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tăl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alpăltxl* in the beginning of time.
3—Ball of the universe which, when broken, released the sun. [772]
Nuxyemtaiăn·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Alpăltxl* in the beginning of time.
Nuxxeq: 1—(Probably) "The Place of Barrenness": Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
nuxxi'ipăsta: Repository, archaic term.
nuxwun·ăi·nutxnum: The assumption of a name upon earth. [431]
nuxwokmpalta, "Things to Sweep the Floor With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage. [585]
nuxwu·ăsta: Wooden dish used for washing an infant.
nuxwulămtom: Abstinence from acts of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine. [415]
nulsikim: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient. [785]
Nulsodaxw': Name of a celebrated shaman. [756]
Nulum: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
Nulxl, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
nulxxymm: Alteration of a dance from *nsaok* to *kusiut.*
nultăkxita: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck. [825]
nultăldmtmm, "A Drying-Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband. [586]
nultăldmum: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion. [431]
Nultnx, "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Nuthoqq: Totem-pole of the first settlers at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
nuthunăt: Parents of twins. [845]
nutsaqwax: Wolf. [825]
Nulxăthwis: Mythical house in the sky.
Nulxqmăls: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nutsiakem: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Thitcplăn·a* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *nulsikim.* [756]
nulsiqmum: A creation of new *kusiut* names, such as is necessitated by a disaster, or at the will of a mighty chief. [553]
nulsiăthm: Kusiutem rite in which the performer pretends to swallow hot stones.
nulsiewum: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to heralds by a person splashed in Otter dance. [431]
2—Presents given by guests at a potlatch to their host and his associates.
nulqosa, "The Face Maker": Name given to a woman who paints upon the bandages used to produce cranial deformation in an infant. [856]
Nutsqmalt, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kimsquit village.
Nulwimăx: Kusiut name of a *Tsimsel* man.

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844 fessional midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go [846] near the room for a year (according to Nusk'slu'sta, for ten days), else [825] the salmon would take offence.

553 The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive [852] small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member of the Kū'siūt, when it is given its Kū'siūt name. This ceremony takes [556] place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qē'mtsioa name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet [292] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat, [821] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose [262] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She [261] must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee, 1889, p. 838).

584 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His [431] friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has [527] been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four [302] women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and 585 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been [431] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his Sisan'kH secrets as soon as the pair have their first child. [851] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

586 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

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128 from *Snuhli*. My informant's grandchildren regard them-
173 selves as *Snuhli* boys, and their names are embodied in myths
361 of that village, although their forbears have not lived there
166 for five generations. There is no reason to suppose this case exceptional. Other instances were obtained of movements of people from one village to another at earlier times, and there seems no cause to doubt the general accuracy of these. Names
[554] embodied in the origin myths of different towns are used as prerogatives and have been potent factors in keeping their memory alive. Uncertainties and inaccuracies there must be in the foregoing list, but on the whole it appears to be fairly reliable, since few contradictions were received from different informants.

128 Accounts obtained of the same ceremonies from the descen-
184 dants of people of different villages were found in most cases to be identical. There were a few differences in custom between
[796] the people of *Stuix* and those of the other upper valley towns on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the lower valley on
[101] the other. These will be mentioned when necessary, but on the whole the inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley can be considered as a tribal entity.

114 Boas (p. 48) gives a list of Bella Coola towns which agrees
361 fairly well with the above. Among his villages are included *Pe·ɔslɔ* (no. 4), *Nulxuɣtskwan·e* (no. 7), and *Nusälsum* (no. 16).[11] All the older people agreed that these are the names of streams, though settlements located on them may have been known by the same designations. Names of the five villages recorded by Boas, nos. 6, 8, 9, 19, and 24, were not known by several old men questioned on the subject.

101 The villages of the Bella Coola valley did not form a political
619 unit; each was independent. A common language was spoken throughout and the inhabitants of the different towns recog-
[631] nized that their origins and customs were similar. This was
[197] also recognized to be the case with regard to the people living on South Bentinck Arm, and at the head of Dean Channel.

[11] Using in each case the spelling of this monograph.

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from the moon and stated that there were mountains and snow on it. It is commonly stated that the marks on the moon represent a man carrying a bucket. 821 [756]

The stars figure but slightly either in Bella Coola mythology or thought; it is not even known who made them. Two in the Great Bear constellation are called respectively *Tpiksta* and *X̌inxinas*, "Little Girls." A lone star in the same part of the sky, named *A'lox*, is said to be following the girls to the forest for illicit intercourse. [773]

Moon, stars, and above all the sun, were, and still are to a certain extent, used by the Bella Coola in computing the passage of time. There are no individuals with the definite prerogative of keeping count of time, but formerly wise old men used to do so.[4] Differences of opinion were the rule rather than the exception, a condition which often led to bitter disputes concerning the proper date for starting the winter ceremonials. Boas (p. 41) has recorded the Bella Coola calendar in greater detail than the present writer has been able to do. The making of calendrical observations is a lost art, and the following list of the months was all that could be learnt. It will be noted that these agree with Boas in regard to the months in the early part of the year, but not in those between the summer and winter solstices; no explanation is offered for this disparity. 805 821 [554] [578] [796] [114] [178] [114]

First moon after the summer solstice: *Sikālamtak*, which has the significance, "The Time for Sockeye Salmon to Ascend the River."

Second moon after the summer solstice: *Si'islalitl*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon."

Third moon after the summer solstice: *Si'iswai·stl*, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon."

Fourth moon after the summer solstice: *Siqālxam*, "The Time for Gathering Fern Root," or *Sidakaos di Ano'likwolsaix*,

[4] A Kimsquit informant stated that there were professional calendrical experts in his home, when he was a young lad although members of the *kusiut* society (II, chap. 1) sometimes attended to this matter. [575] [463]

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773 hanging a number of bird and animal cloaks, representing ravens, eagles, whales, grizzly bears, black bears, and a few others. *Alqantăm* asked each individual which of these cloaks he preferred to wear. One selected a raven, another an eagle, and so on. Each donned his choice from the wall and immediately became the bird or animal chosen. *Alqantăm* gave each man or woman one or more names, and some food in compressed form; then sent him down in avian or mammal form. Even the animals could travel through the air like birds, and each landed on the peak of a mountain in the Bella Coola country, took off his cloak, and reassumed human form. The discarded coverings floated back up to *Nasmăt·a*. A few individuals, instead of coming to earth in animal form, swarmed down posts which stretched between the worlds.

177 This myth is fervently believed by the Bella Coola. Even
773 Christian Indians, though they readily admit the biblical creation as applied to the white race, remain convinced of the manner in which their own ancestors came into being. At the present time, though most ancient beliefs are rapidly passing away, few, if any, Bella Coola doubt this account of the creation of their forefathers. Their conviction rests not only on the religious aspect of their life, but on the sociological. A man's
[551] most treasured possessions are the name brought down from
[424] above by his ancestor in the beginning of time, the knowledge of the form taken by that ancestor, and information about the place where he landed. A collection of myths of this kind is given in vol. I, chap. vi. Lacking knowledge of his first an-
[622] cestor's form, a Bella Coola has slight chance of becoming a
[554] chief; such lore is the birthright of every descendant of one of
[567] these first people, and those without it are almost certain to be the offspring of slaves. The social aspects of creation myths will be described later; at this point a broad outline must suffice. *Nasmăt·a*, "The House of Myths," is the place in which these myths were made, and are now stored, two reasons for its importance in the eyes of the Bella Coola.

[775] *Nasmăt·a* is not only connected with the history of an indi-

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396 one at Restoration Bay. He had reached the point where he
* 776 needed help to turn the craft over, and one day, returning to his work, he heard the sound of many voices. He tarried for a few minutes, and when he reached his canoe it had been turned over as he desired.

On that occasion the beings who assisted the canoe-maker appear to have had definite form, and certainly to have displayed physical strength, but this extreme anthropomorphizing is unusual with respect to the assistance given to carpenters. The construction of a canoe is an arduous and difficult work; the person who has made one is regarded by his fellows with re-
[554] spect mixed with envy, and it is tacitly assumed that he must have received more than human assistance. Considering the number of anthropomorphic beings known to the Bella Coola, it is not surprising that some individuals should assume that the successful carpenter must have had assistance from one of them, but to other Bella Coola the explanation would be in the intangible help vouchsafed to him by some kind of supernatural power.

* 776 Similar intangible power is believed to be evident in a per-
828 son's thoughts. If a man receive either good or evil from a comrade it is his duty and privilege to repay. He intends to do so, but only a good man can carry out the resolution. What a white man would attribute to forgetfulness, procrastination, or lassitude, the Bella Coola say is caused by the intervention of *Snuqwalnkaista*, who steals away his thoughts. It is doubtful whether this being is considered to have any definite form; rather he is a barrier, normally situated within the doorway of every house. The ideas of a strong man are able to surmount the obstacle, but *Snuqwalnkaista* abstracts those of a weakling, and directs him to matters of no importance.

372 Another intangible supernatural being is that which de-
* 776 vours firewood. The Bella Coola say that no matter how well a fire may be provided with fuel when a person sits down to a meal, it is certain to be either out, or nearly so, when he has finished eating. The natural explanation does not satisfy

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THE WASH-BASIN

A third supernatural element which must be in good condition if a Bella Coola is to prosper in life, is a *nusḱulusta*, wash-basin. In the land above, *Ālquntām* has a large one filled with water which, having been constructed by himself, is replete with power. When a child is born, a small part of this receptacle, with its contents, is reserved for him; the supernatural artisans choose the actual section, but it is *Ālquntām* who gives them the ability to do so. A fortunate man, whose ventures are successful and to whom goods are attracted, is said to have a good wash-basin; whereas the ill-luck of an unfortunate person is attributed, among other reasons, to the small size of his supernatural vessel. The Bella Coola have no clear ideas about the connection between an individual and his wash-basin. Some state that it remains in the land above; others believe that its intangible essence comes to a child at birth and grows up with him, always near his body, as if it were the offspring of the basin in the land above. As long as it remains in motion the owner continues in good health and prosperity, but if it becomes sluggish he falls ill. Long ago, shamans knew how to reanimate a wash-basin, but since the time of the first people, when supernatural ability was common, this has been a lost art. Senile decay is attributed to listlessness of this possession.

River water, being a creation of *Ālquntām*, is akin to the water in his basin above. Boys are always advised to bathe in the river at dawn; the act is termed *ásḱulusam*, a word connected with *nusḱulusta*. A prayer is uttered while washing. The combination of verbal appeal and the application of water strengthens the petitioner's wash-basin and so increases his chances for prosperity. Until a few years ago, this practice was almost universal. Water is always considered a strange substance, obviously a supernatural creation, and believed to be the chief means of sustenance for a child after being weaned.[29]

[29]This may be a mere rationalization.

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This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail 582
in vol. I, chap. VII, but mention of it here has been necessary [614]
to explain the composition of the ancestral family.

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to marry foreign women in order that they, or their children, might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a trend towards exogamy has arisen from the same reason which is supposed to [554] have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said that this practice was initiated by a certain *Potlus*, father of a man about sixty years old in 1923. White influence probably [177] had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its wide adoption has been made more easy by the establishment of peaceful conditions on the coast.

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestry, it is unlikely 614
that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of 554
the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These are of two kinds: names and land.

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bella Coola nomen- 551
clature is that each name must have originated in connection with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable to apply a casual designation to a child. At a person's death [768] his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it [553] is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition [773] affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were all given designations by *Alquntám*; these have been carefully handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One [428] person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying

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The ancestral family consists of those whose ancestral names, embodying definite prerogatives, are embodied in a single origin myth. 614 424 551

A stranger finds it easier to understand why names are so carefully maintained within the ancestral family by thinking of them as symbols of prerogatives, but it must be emphasized that the Bella Coola preserve with equal jealousy those designations of which the only prerogative is the marking of this actual membership. [554]

If, then, the ancestral family be regarded as a group possessing a large number of name-prerogatives, it may well be asked how these are distributed among the members. The first point to be emphasized is that the ancestral family is a unit held together without definite social mechanism. There is no accepted "head" of the family, nor are there any clearly formulated laws governing the transmission of the name-prerogatives. Before death a man usually calls together his relatives and bequeaths,[8] according to his desire, his personal property in slaves and canoes, and his intangible property in names. Such a designation does not become the property of the new owner unless he is able to validate his ownership by a distribution of presents; meanwhile the name is "dead." If, during this period, some other member of the ancestral family should desire it for a child, or for himself, he can take possession of it by the customary distribution of presents. In doing so he would anger the legatee, but the latter cannot himself use the appellation since it is already in use. Even at the present time there are bitter quarrels over the assumption of names, and such have certainly occurred for many generations. If a man can validate fairly promptly a name willed to him, it is most unusual for anyone else to try to forestall him. 614 553 428 553 431 [578]

If a man dies intestate, his sons consider themselves his normal heirs, and the most respected of them validates for himself as many names as he desires or is able to assume. Disputes are not as common as might be expected since the 428 553 [578]

[8] In cases of sudden death or failure to make a will confusion sometimes occurs.

423 is no doubt that a man tends to lose those rights in property
614 which are strictly his, if they are located at a distance. Thus several men claim that they are legally entitled to hunt at Kitlobe, but from mere difficulty of access neither they nor their fathers have exercised the right, and it would have been lost in the course of a few generations, even without the utter decay of custom which has followed the advent of the white man. Practically, a man hunts only in the grounds of those ancestral families in whose origin myths he has names, though, theoretically, he is entitled to hunt on any hunting-ground of any ancestral family of which he is a member whether or not he holds a duly validated name from its origin myth. It is not necessary to confirm the right to property as with a name, though a validated ancestral name is the usual mark of a man's right to that area of the ancestral family to which that designation belongs. Although the ownership of land in distant regions is of little practical importance, it is, none the less, a
[554] matter of great pride to a man to feel that he has rights in many places. The efforts of an individual to make good those
[921] claims has often led to bloodshed; in fact, one intelligent old man stated that property disputes were the principal cause for war in British Columbia. A person who lacks hunting-grounds
[554] is little better than a slave, whereas one who has much land is important.

The Bella Coola regard land as almost inalienable. Though a man does not own the land of his wife's ancestral family, he can use it and his children have full rights to it. Conversely, a wife can gather berries on her husband's land, though it is not hers. A guest at a village may be allowed to use the
[574] territory of his hosts, but it does not become his. In the old
927 days wars between the coastal tribes were common, but though slaves were taken freely, land was never seized; such is un-
423 thinkable to a Bella Coola. In fact, several of the older people
[567] inquired how it had been possible, in the first world war, for the allies, whose cause they believed to be righteous, to annex territory from Germany. If the victors had killed or enslaved

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614 The recent decay of Bella Coola culture may have destroyed
[182] traces of more definite obligations with respect to the ancestral family, but all the evidence indicates that it has always been a fluid unit. Its very lack of functions makes it difficult to
[128] discuss, and the above account was pieced together from scraps of information collected from many different people at various times; yet, intangible though it be, it is a very real unit to the Bella Coola and pervades their life. Each individual knows those to whom he is related. In many cases the exact kinship is lost, but it is remembered that a man from such-and-such a village married a woman from another village, and it is proved from the use by their descendants of names from the same origin myth. The concept of physical strength imparted by a closely akin ancestry is always present and gives a person the real "power" in the village founded by those first ancestors
614 of his. For the ancestral family is usually thought of in terms
621 of villages. A man belongs to the village where his first ancestor came to earth, though he is equally a member of other towns into which his ancestors may have married. A
[554] man without ancestry, without *sel'olam*, is a miserable creature; he has no home in this world, or, theoretically, in the world to come. The ancestral family is a unit essentially held together by the ties of sentiment and pride of ancestry.

614 In addition to the above social elements of the ancestral
827 family, it is felt that all its members have certain tendencies. If one of the first ancestors had a certain physical peculiarity, or met with a particular kind of fortune, either good or bad, his descendants are more likely to experience the same than any other people. These tendencies may skip many generations, and may be inherited either through the mother or the father. In fact, Bella Coola belief on this point closely agrees with modern knowledge of heredity; the term for such an inheritable tendency is *sällaslim* or *sällaymadjat*. Such characteristics are:

(1) Proficiency in using tools;
(2) Ability as a hunter;

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614 621 is a more obvious social grouping than the ancestral family, though it is of the latter that a man is most proud. The member of a small, unimportant village often describes himself as a native of a neighbouring, larger one when at a distance from his home, simply as a matter of convenience.

Even before the coming of the white man, village sites were abandoned and people took up their residence with friends or relatives elsewhere. In fact, mythology contains instances of [973] such migrations at the very beginning of time. In cases of this [361] kind, memory of the earlier home has been preserved for many generations, and may perhaps be the explanation of the many villages which are described as two, and which have two names. In the early days immigrants seem always to have been welcome; they added to the numerical strength of the village, and the original inhabitants enjoyed boasting to the newcomers of their descent from the first settlers. Since any group forced to abandon their own homes naturally moved to those of relatives, there is no difficulty in understanding the process by [582] which they continued to intermarry with their new neighbours. Thus two, or even more ancestral families, inhabiting one village tended to form a closely inter-related stock. In rare instances, two unrelated ancestral families may have become inhabitants of the same village, which would unquestionably lead to intermarriage.

In most cases the endogamic tendencies already described cause the village community to be largely members of one ancestral family. In addition there are always other occupants; strangers who have fled from their homes and sought [563] refuge among the Bella Coola; the offspring of illicit intercourse [567] with slaves; guests; foreigners, especially Carriers temporarily [554] resident in Bella Coola; and finally slaves, without status in the community. The real inhabitants, those whose power is firmly planted in the village, are the reputed descendants of the first group of settlers, and accordingly a relative coming to [553] dwell in a village usually endeavours to obtain a name from the origin myth of the ancestral family occupying it, and thus

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621
establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This [614] is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole [553] organization.

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another [628] settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong [682] inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem [578] to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, [627] and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and [628] often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the outer coast, about to attack *Sunsf*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Sumpe-ts* without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours.

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one indi- 622 vidual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch 554 system (vol. I, chap. IV), he is "chief" of the village, and his [536] advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village 621 are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat- 623 595 796

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601 Coola social organization, and of the absence of standardized obligations based upon specific relationships.

Slaves

567 Since a slave was* without status in the Bella Coola community, it is perhaps incorrect to include a description of [554] slavery in a chapter on social organization; but as slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages, it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was 162 impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of their number in 567 Bella Coola; slavery has been so long abandoned that the present natives could only hazard vague guesses. Judging from conversational remarks by elderly men, it seems probable that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as thirty to forty per cent of the total population.

567 When a party raided a village most of the inhabitants were 927 slain, but some, especially children, young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. As far as could be learned, once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief [422] or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

567 Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold. 437 The Bella Coola were usually so well provided with salmon that they were able to exchange these fish with the members [622] of other tribes for slaves. Lack of strong chieftainship among [726] the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of [431] their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category [773] belong those obtained as presents at potlatches. If, however, a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was

[648]

*One of the first efforts of the white man's establishment in British Columbia was the freeing of all slaves. Consequently the past tense is used in this section.

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given as a slave to a Bella Coola, he was treated as a guest.[11] 567
Slaves were bartered between Bella Coola individuals as a [437]
matter of course. Their value depended on sex, ability, and [435]
industriousness, as well as on supply and demand. When there
was an over-supply, the value of a slave fell to twenty or thirty [437]
salmon, but whenever an owner found that someone wished
to purchase a particular slave he endeavoured to raise the price.
If a foreigner borrowed goods in Bella Coola he usually had to [426]
leave a relative as pledge. Thus, not many years ago, a *Xuxais*-
Indian, from near Ootsa Lake, borrowed goods from a Kim-
squit man and left his son as pledge. The goods were not re-
turned, so the son was sold as a slave to the people of Kitimat.

It was not uncommon for a Bella Coola to lose his freedom 525
by gambling. At *lehql* especially, a player who had exhausted 567
his goods not infrequently wagered his children, or in extreme
cases, himself. If he lost, his children, or himself, became the
property of the winner. Unless speedily repurchased by some
relative, such slaves were usually sold or given away at the
first opportunity to a member of a foreign tribe, since it was
considered improper for a man to hold a member of his own 567
tribe in servitude. The same course of action was taken on [628]
those rare occasions when one Bella Coola village fought [727]
against its neighbour and prisoners were taken.

To the Bella Coola, who still consider a man's "power" in [554]
the land as dependent to a considerable extent on his ancestral
myth, a slave's greatest misfortune lay in the fact that he had [773]
no ancestral home, and hence no rights.

"No slaves came to earth with the first people," they say.

A slave was a stranger in a strange land, unsupported by a
chain of ancestors reaching back to the beginning of time. On [727]
the whole, captives taken in war were better treated than other
slaves since it was felt that such a misfortune might occur to
anyone at any time. They were frequently ransomed by their

[11]This is said to be an ancient practice, due to the fact that several of the forefathers of the Bella Coola came to earth in that region and were on friendly terms with the inhabitants. It is conceivable that this tradition may have reference to the breaking away of the Bella Coola from the main Salish stock. [773]

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to arrange his marriage with some female slave; once this had taken place, the actual treatment meted out to him differed only slightly from that shown to a member of the family. In former times it would probably have been difficult for a stranger to tell married slaves from the members of the Bella Coola community until he had been long enough in the country to understand more than appeared on the surface. 567 582

Marriages between Bella Coola men and slave women were not infrequent, while like partnerships between slave men and even the daughters of chiefs were not unknown. In such cases the status of the children depended on the performance of ceremonies to wash from them the stain of their slave blood. While the mother was still pregnant her husband would call guests, not only from his own village, but from foreign tribes as well. Presents were given, according to the wealth of the donor, often aided by his immediate family, to "wash the child." Such ceremonies would be repeated several times before birth, and again at that time. Bella Coola sentiment was that such presents gagged the recipients; they knew of the dishonourable ancestry of the child, but the receipt of gifts on his account had wiped away the disgrace. Such a child was able to inherit prerogatives from his mother's old home, duly validated in Bella Coola by valuables, and by his own lavish presents he could silence those who remembered the blot on his ancestry. Similar procedure was carried out if a free woman married a slave. Unless her husband were already owned by one of her family, the woman's father or brother would arrange to purchase him. Then, aided by him, they would give the same type of presents to clear the children from the taint of slavery. If this were not done, the children had only the status of slaves, though, born and brought up in Bella Coola and associating from infancy with their master's children, they were virtually considered members of the family. 431 567 [428]

"Washing the child," during pregnancy and at birth, sufficed to cover the taint on its history, but in later years if such a person failed to continue to give ceremonies, people would again talk of his short-comings. So, too, for the child or grand- [554] [578]

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431 child of a mixed Bella Coola and slave marriage. As long as
567 such an one maintained a position of importance in the com-
578 munity by the distribution of presents, nothing was said, but if he should fail to do so, he could be, and frequently was, insulted by having references made to his ancestry. In case
[554] of dispute or rivalry it was always a temptation to refer to such a blot, but if he had atoned for it with presents, references were considered improper. Unquestionably, memory of slave
554 ancestry was forgotten in course of time if the line was influ-
567 ential, although recollections of the stigma were always carried for at least two or three generations. At the present time the most influential woman in Bella Coola, the one who has given most presents, is the granddaughter of a Smith Inlet slave. This man had lived in Bella Coola for many years and had married another slave, by whom he had a son. The latter became the husband of an influential *Stuix* woman. When she became pregnant, her family secured the liberation of her husband, and gave many presents to "wash the child." One daughter was born to this couple, the woman just mentioned. Her mother's relatives were influential, and her father was
[555] such an expert canoe-maker that he was able to win an honourable position for his daughter by presents of his handicraft. The woman, possessed of considerable ability herself, has been able to give many ceremonies and so reach a position of eminence. No one dares insult her by mentioning her ancestry, but everyone knows about it and if her children should fail to hold their position, they would be open to insult on this score. The woman has validated names and myths derived both from her mother and father, without explaining how the Smith Inlet traditions came to Bella Coola.

To sum up, it may be said that the position of slaves in Bella Coola was not particularly onerous, though it depended entirely on the will of their masters. Without status in the
[182] community, a slave could have been abused by a cruel owner, though the public life of the village, where all lived and ate together, tended to break down the unsystematically enforced differences of rank.

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CHAPTER IV

RANK

Chieftainship—Sisaok Society—The Potlatch

CHIEFTAINSHIP

IN the previous chapter have been described the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the origin of names, and the attitude of pride with which they regard those embodied in ancestral myths, which carry with them prized prerogatives. But the unsystematic method by which ancestral names are inherited is sufficient to show that their possession, though valued for sentimental reasons, is not enough to make the owner a chief. On what, then, is Bella Coola chieftainship based? Expressed briefly, it depends on the number and value of presents distributed at any kind of ceremonial. To the Bella Coola, every rite, whether it be a marriage, the bestowal of a name, a dance, a type of funeral, or admission into a secret society, is a prerogative intimately associated with the myth by which the performance is authorized. Accordingly, the host is really displaying the glories of his ancestors before the eyes of guests present at the ceremony. To the Bella Coola it is unthinkable for such to be performed without the giving of presents to all; failure to do so would destroy the value of the prerogative. The potlatch is the ceremonial at which the most lavish generosity is displayed, but the principle of the acquisition of prestige by the giving of presents is the same for all other rites; the only difference is that at a potlatch a man is able to display his generosity to a larger number of recipients. In consequence, the aim of every ambitious man is to hold potlatches, since his status in the community virtually rests on his ability in this respect. The ritual of a potlatch will be given in detail in the latter part of this chapter, but its complications will be intelligible only after a description of the

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the writer was in Bella Coola, a non-ceremonial entertainment was given one evening at which several men sang and performed. The writer was asked to sing a Bella Coola song, which he did in the belief that it was not one that was incorporated in the ancestral myth of anyone. Unfortunately, his teacher had erred, and as soon as the song was completed an old woman arose and stated that it belonged to her ancestral family. She avoided the difficulty of its singing by immediately announcing that the singer was her "son." Thus the writer was adopted into a Bella Coola family, a circumstance which aided him considerably in collecting information. This did not alter the fact that a ceremonial song had been sung. Accordingly, the woman gave presents to the guests, thereby legalizing the adoption, and saving herself from the disgrace of having one of her songs used as if it were a matter of no consequence, free to anyone.

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[597]

SEATING

Presents are also a means of obtaining seats. Every Bella Coola has at least one name embodied in an ancient myth. A man who wishes to become a chief can do so only by giving lavish presents to make his designation "strong," "firm," or "bright," to use Bella Coola expressions. Such gifts increase the importance of the owner's name, and they obtain for him the right to a seat, more or less definitely located, in the house. Since all Bella Coola habitations are built on similar lines, a man can occupy his wonted position when summoned to a ceremony in any house. The validating of ancestral names and the acquisition of seats are among the important features which occur at potlatches.

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556*
[622]
[424]
[553]

In the beginning of time, when the first people were sent down to populate the earth, it is assumed that each who established a village, consisting of a single house, seated himself in the best spot within the dwelling, namely the central position behind the fire; his younger relatives ranged either beside him

[773]

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554 or sat in two rows, facing one another, on opposite sides of the
* 556 central fire, parallel to the side walls of the house. When these
[773] first ancestors died, the name of each was passed on to some
[551] descendant. The Bella Coola feel that he who bears the name
[171] of the first settler in a village should have his ancestor's seat. Comparison with the practices of other coastal tribes suggests that formerly the Bella Coola must have had a definite series of seats in their houses, either according to the rank of the occupant, or according to the rank of the ancestor whose name he bore. The most careful investigation, however, failed to show such a system of ranked seating. The only indications that such may once have been customary, are found in the feeling today that the bearer of the first chief's name ought to occupy the central seat behind the fire, and in the expression, "He seats himself where his ancestor sat," when a youth is given his place in the house.

[551] A seat can be claimed and an ancestral name assumed at any age. Goods must be given away which are said to be "covering" for the young man, to have "flowed away," or to have "become nothing" for the name. These validate the official assumption of the designation. With it is given a place in the house. A seat is chosen at the side of the fire, and the goods mark that spot as his in conjunction with the name.
[424] The seat itself is not material, though the general location on which a person shall sit is indicated. His "seat" is the goods that have been expended. Several men may have positions at practically the same spot, but when all are seated they merely move slightly so that all have room. There is no thought of one person infringing on the location of another. A parent who gives ample wealth at successive potlatches may seek for his son a seat behind the fire. Such is entirely his own affair and if sufficient goods are distributed the son may seat himself in that place, but if the gifts are of little value the occupant is secretly held in derision, as having a seat that is unsound, or unfirm. In later years the man may expend large sums in strengthening his seat; by so doing he wins recognition from

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all that he sits in an enviable spot, irrespective of its location in the house. 554● 556*

In precisely the same manner a man may take for himself a seat in the central part of the row behind the fire, but he is laughed at for endeavouring to assume a dignity, unworthily, unless he can validate his position by lavish presents. The Bella Coola are always ready to make fun of a person who fails to maintain his seat. On the death of the occupant of the central position it is taken for granted that whoever inherits his name will assume that location and give the essential presents, but it is not incumbent upon him to do so. He may choose to establish his new name at his old station, beside, instead of behind, the fire. Thus it has come to pass that the seat of the most important chief of a village is often at the side of the house. When all are seated the chiefs may be widely separated, and a parent may have obtained for his son a seat in a better part of the house than his own. But as a rule the chiefs sit in a row at the back of the fire, the most influential one in the middle. There must have been feuds when two men desired to seat themselves in the central position at the same time, but disputes about this were uncommon, because a man's seat was, and still is, primarily regarded as the intangible goods wherewith he is clothed, rather than his right to sit at any particular spot. It is these non-material coverings that enable a man to be bold and assertive in argument or suggestion, in fact to be a chief. A young man may have had conferred on him one of the noblest names, but his influence depends on the value of the goods expended on his behalf, subject of course to the universal characteristic that a man of forceful character may have more influence than his actual position warrants. [424] [428] [622] [424]

Jealous feuds are common when the man who owns the name of the first chief, first ancestor of a village, has duly validated it, but is being eclipsed in the giving of potlatches by a man whose name is of less intrinsic importance. Such a complication recently arose at Kimsquit, and the Bella Coola [578] [682]

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554 ascribe two murders which took place there in 1915 to jealousy engendered by rivalry.

* 556 A chief who desires to have his son, or other near relative, [578] succeed to his actual seat may validate for him a position at [682] his feet. If several potlatches be given, with distribution of goods for this purpose, it becomes recognized that the son shall [622] take his father's seat. None the less, he will not have his father's influence or prestige unless he can himself continue to give away goods, because the power of a chief rests on this, not on his ancient name or the location of his seat.

553 Further evidence that a man's influence rests less on his * 556 actual name than on the wealth distributed with reference to it is found in the lack of uniformity in the type of names validated. Those of highest potential importance are the ones brought to the earth by the first-comers, yet in many cases a man prefers to elevate his position with respect to a name of later origin. It is not uncommon for a man to validate several ancestral designations, and choose one of them to be his most important by valuable gifts for the seat which he occupies with respect to it; or in other cases a name of modern origin is selected and elevated. Thus, a certain Bella Coola chief who is the legal owner of the names *Q̓eil* and *Xemlaix*, two of the first people to settle this earth, has based his greatness on the goods expended for a seat with reference to the name *Siälxeläx*, of more modern origin. It is accordingly clear that any Bella Coola can rise to a position of importance, even though he lacks the right to one of the most ancient names. Moreover, some chiefs prefer to validate several names rather than concentrate on one alone.

[622] Furthermore, a powerful chief can create a name. In this case the "power" of the designation rests, not in any supernatural origin, but in the actual wealth distributed. Two examples will serve to illustrate this point. Between 1880 and 1890 a chief was preparing to give a potlatch at which his nephew was to receive a name, when fire destroyed the village with the exception of his house. This added to the value of

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the food and goods distributed, since it was winter and the 553
people were in dire straits on account of the destruction of all 556*
their stores. In consequence, the uncle decided to make a new name for his nephew, *Skämł*, "Charred Wood." By virtue of the goods expended this name became an honourable title, and was maintained by lavish presents. Any similar incident connected with a potlatch can be made the origin of a designation. Another example of a manufactured name is one derived from a peculiarity of the man giving the potlatch. A number of years ago a chief was jeered at by his associates on account of the frequency with which he had to visit the toilet. When next he gave a potlatch he created the name *Ăpstel·a*, "The Toilet One," and gave great dignity to the designation by presents.

Since a seat is valuable only on account of the goods ex- 554
pended in obtaining it with respect to a certain name, it is 556*
obvious that names and seats are closely associated. A man who wishes his son to succeed to his own location in the house seats the youth, as has been described, at his feet. It may be a matter of years before he actually takes his father's position, but during that time he is treated with respect; he is still a commoner, but it is recognized that his parent considers him likely to "make good" and become a true chief by ability to give presents. Should he fail to do so, inexorably his influence wanes, in spite of his name and duly validated seat. He keeps the latter, but it is no longer considered one of importance. Thus, too, the course of names from generation to generation [551]
is a series of curves; sometimes one is on a pinnacle of glory when "made strong" by a powerful chief, but in the next generation it may fall to the dust through ownership by a [195]
weakling. As the Bella Coola express it: It has become hermaphroditized.

A woman is rarely established in a seat, and usually only [562]
when a chief has no sons or other near male descendants. In such a case she receives an ancestral name and has the same status as a male chief. At the present time one important

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554 chief had thus obtained a seat for his daughter, as well as ones
for his two sons. But usually a woman continues to use the
* 556 ancestral name given to her in infancy until she is able to
562 assist her husband in a potlatch, when a name is validated for
[553] her (see I, p. 410). The ancestral names of the first women
to occupy this earth are reserved for women and, like men's
names, vary in prestige according to the prowess of their
owners. Most names given to children, though embodied in
[551] origin myths, are applicable to either sex; and these are the
common designations of women. Cases are known in which a
woman has assumed an ancestral name if her brother has allowed it to fall into ill-repute through failure to give potlatches.

554 With such a fluid system, no fixed line can be drawn be-
tween chief and commoner. But after his fourth potlatch a
* 556 man's influence in the community has become so great that
622 he will usually feel justified in having the carpenters make for
[352] him a material seat. There is nothing to prevent a person
having one made for him before he has given the requisite
number of potlatches, but too rapid assumption may render
him liable to the scorn of the community through his failure
to show himself sufficiently "strong." The contempt shown
[626] to anyone attempting to usurp too lofty a place is a strong
deterrent to a proud young man.

[532] On the material seat are carved the man's ancestral crests,
in other words the forms in which his first ancestors came to
[352] earth, or some of the beings with whom they came in contact. To show these is a matter of pride, but unless the display is fittingly validated, the man's own dignity will be lowered, as well as that of his ancestors. Construction of a seat is particularly common when a man is establishing himself in the central position behind the fire, and claims this to be where his first ancestor sat. Others among the first people may have chosen seats in other parts of the house, and in these, likewise, a man who is taking his ancestral name may have a material seat constructed. Establishment in such a position increases a chief's feeling of mental superiority, as if strength-

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ened by the age-long power of his ancestor. Finally, in old age a powerful chief is careless where he seats himself; his fame is so great that he can afford to disregard all conventions. 554 ● 556 * 622 [183]

POWER OF CHIEFS

It will be seen from the foregoing that chieftainship among the Bella Coola does not depend on hereditary rank, still less on an elective principle, but on the individual's prestige as displayed, especially in his ability to acquire for himself a firm seat by the giving of presents. As he continues to do so his influence becomes ever greater. Consequently, it is impossible to state clearly what are the powers of a chief; such depend upon his prestige and influence. For a Bella Coola chief has no executive or judicial authority; what deference is shown to him depends on his success as a man, a factor which is constantly rising or falling.

The coming of the white man has enabled the Bella Coola [177] to earn comparatively large sums of money by trapping and fishing. This in turn has enabled nearly everyone to give at [434] least one potlatch, a very different state of affairs from that which prevailed in the last century when it required years of toil for a man to amass the necessary food and skins. Consequently, in many towns there were no men who had given potlatches, so that a man's prestige was estimated by the [431] presents he had given at smaller ceremonies. Sometimes, [535] moreover, a man preferred to increase his fame by giving rites of a different nature, such as *kusiut* dances, and the presents then distributed might elevate him in the eyes of the community, to a position above that of a man who had given a potlatch. This, however, was unusual.

After a fourth potlatch a man is accorded a position of eminence, and is termed a *numitl* chief. *Numitl* is an untranslatable word, with the significance of "passage," an allusion to the amount of goods which have passed through his hands. Jealous and vulgar-minded persons pun on the word, applying [578]

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554 it to the digestive tract. After a man has given four potlatches
556 he feels superior to those who have been unable to do likewise.
622 His name is "bright," "clean," "heavy," "firm," or "upright"
[578] in Bella Coola terms, and so, likewise, his seat. He feels independent and proud. Such a chief will fearlessly enter the back-room where ceremonial rites are taking place, even if not entitled to do so.

"He is so strong, he can go where he will," say the Bella Coola.

The advice of such a man is taken because of his ability and prestige, especially by the members of his own family. A few years ago, for example, when a certain Bella Coola died, his brother wished a *kusiut* name-prerogative of the deceased to pass to the dead man's daughter. The girl's mother's father, a *numitl* chief, objected, and his desires were followed, although the name in question was not connected in any way with his family. In small matters, too, people gladly carry out the
[592] wishes of a chief. Work around the house is done for him without thought of disobedience. An old man was asked whether, when he was young, chiefs gave many orders and acted as masters in their households.

"You bet," the old man answered emphatically with a dry chuckle.

231 It is difficult now to form an accurate estimate, from obser-
552 vation, of the influence of chiefs solely through virtue of the
622 goods they have expended. But the following is a concrete example. In November, 1923, the writer, while walking through the Bella Coola village, was bitten by a dog. He was told that the animal belonged to a certain old woman. When next he saw the owner he asked her whether she knew that her dog attacked passers-by.

"Yes," she answered, in a matter-of-fact tone, "He is a chief and can do what he likes."

Further questioning elicited the information that the old
[766] woman and her husband, the childless last survivors of an ancestral family, had transmitted some of their ancestral

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*556 574 [203] Although guests from different tribes are sometimes invited to other ceremonials, it is at potlatches that they are essential. Since the validity of such transactions as marriages, divorces, or the assumption of professional prerogatives depends on the presence of witnesses, and since the importance of such a rite depends on the number of witnesses, a man is always eager to carry out any public performance at a potlatch when he is sure of the attention of foreigners, and the consequent wider diffusion of knowledge of what he has done. The man who has invited guests is usually willing to allow others to perform at his potlatch, since it increases the complexity and importance [184] of the affair. It follows that no two potlatches are alike; one will contain features entirely lacking in another. Moreover, the wealth of the donor determines how many rites he himself will cause to be performed. The fundamental concept of the potlatch is the inviting of guests from abroad to witness rites [769] in connection with an ancestral myth, especially the return of a recently deceased relative of the donor to visit the living.

*556 796 At any important potlatch the following rites are carried out, and in the account of the ritual it will be assumed that these alone are taking place. If the reader bears this summary in mind, he is less likely to be confused by the complication of rites.

(1) The return of a dead ancestor to visit the living.

[575] [553] (2) The initiation of young men or women into the *susask* society. This includes the validation of a *susask* name for each, and a period of seclusion in the back-room. The initiates may either be relatives of the donor of the potlatch, or young persons whose relatives are taking the opportunity to carry out the rite in the presence of foreigners. Some of the initiates may already be members of the society, undergoing a further period of seclusion in order to increase their status by a further distribution of presents.

[554] [858] [583] (3) The payment by the wife of the donor and her family of goods to "rebuy" her from her husband. This is a legal fiction, though necessary to maintain the status of the children.

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(4) The strengthening of the donor's seat. 556*

(5) The strengthening, or initial establishment, of seats for a number of young relatives of the donor who may, or may not, be those who are being initiated into the *nusek* society. Other youths may also be established on seats by their relatives. 796

The duration of a potlatch varies with the number of rites being performed. The preliminaries, including the beginning of seclusion for *nusek* initiates, requires at least several weeks, in some cases months. There is further delay of a week or more after the arrival of the first guests, as only when the last party has arrived can the actual potlatch begin. This can then be completed in three days and nights, although if many initiates are performing their *nusek* dances, a longer time is required.

What are the consequences of giving a potlatch?

In the first place the donor spreads the fame of his name far and wide, also the myth with which it is incorporated. Thus he increases the renown of his ancestors, a source of intense pride and gratification. 556*

More important even than this, it elevates the donor himself. With the proper carrying out of the complicated ritual and the knowledge that his name is now known among different tribes, a man experiences a feeling of mental superiority which enables him to take a leading part in the affairs of his community. In Bella Coola a chief (*stâhmq*) is a person whose influence is paramount owing to his success in giving potlatches.* If several chiefs in one village have given potlatches, he who has given most is generally of greatest importance, although often a man of forceful character who has held, for example, five potlatches will be regarded with greater respect than one of lesser weight, even if he has given six. The whole system is exceedingly fluid, as might be expected where chieftainship depends on individual prowess. In theory, the man who holds the name of the first person to occupy a village, at

[156] 556* 622 [554] [182]

*Particularly if he has given four potlatches and can accordingly be described as a *nuxnit* chief (I, p. 172). In *nuxnit* songs the archaic word *sitkamenk* is also sometimes employed for "chief."

* 556 622 the time the earth was settled, ought to be chief of that village. If he has been able to give the necessary potlatches to weight his possession of that name, the fact that he is the legal descendant of the first chief will add a certain amount to his prestige, but unless he has been able to do this his influence will be slight.

* 556 622 766 [775] Thirdly, potlatches smooth the way for the giver after death. Before the corpse of a chief is removed from the house where he has died, a speaker always announces the number of potlatches he has given and the total value of goods distributed at them. These gifts in a vague way are felt to make easy the deceased's path in the next world as they have done in the present. The feature of the potlatch, though firmly believed by some of the older people, plays a less important part in the life of the Bella Coola than might be expected.

* 556 What are the requisites for giving a potlatch?

[424] (1) Possession of an ancient myth, containing a name or names. Probably every Bella Coola has this requirement. A man's family may not be the proud owners of one of the ancestral myths dealing with the first settlement of this earth, but they will at least own some ancient myth which they can elevate by giving a potlatch. As has been said, the owner of one of the most ancient names in many cases chooses to elevate one of lesser antiquity, a course which must, perforce, be done by one who lacks an origin myth. The slight feeling of deference with which those are regarded who hold the names of the [554] first inhabitants of the earth, the mighty chiefs of old, is subordinate to the very real feeling of respect in which is held the successful giver of potlatches. The descendant of one of the first people has the potential right to chieftainship, but unless he can give potlatches he will fail to gain that eminence.

* 556 769 (2) An occasion for giving a potlatch is never lacking. It consists of a number of closely associated rites, any one of which will serve as a reason for the ceremony. The most important feature, the return of a dead ancestor or ancestors to visit the living, is available to anyone at any time. The Bella

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Pre-
* 556 sently the guests assemble, those who are *nuxk* wearing on
[575] their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership
[237] in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled,
[292] the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners,
[558] slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair. It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by
[203] the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial gain.

264 A number of young lads, friends or relatives of X, distribute the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called
* 556 upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no
[183] standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests; otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in
[378] this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its reward.

589 Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a
* 556 fluent friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech,
[537] extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that
[425] X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may
[424] be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with
[582] the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name.

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As the dances proceed, those women who have the prerogative for doing so, utter a peculiar droning cry. After dancing, the initiates return to the back-room, where they doff their attire. The ceremony concludes with the distribution of food. 535 556 * 575 [424]

The initiates are now free to leave their place of concealment, as each has become a legal member of the *sisaek* society. Some young men, sons of influential chiefs, are secluded a number of times, others but once. The oftener a youth is secluded, the greater is his prestige, because goods must be distributed on each occasion to validate his name. At the present time, there is considerable uncertainty about the exact details of the ceremony, for it has been so easy of late years to give potlatches that the simpler rite has fallen into disuse; some informants state that each initiate should emerge alone and dance by himself. This concludes the shorter ceremony, but with a potlatch the dancing is reserved until the coming of the foreign guests. [554]

DELIVERING OF INVITATIONS

Returning now to preparations for the true potlatch; it does not matter whether the ceremonies already described are carried out before or after the departure of messengers to invite guests from abroad. Although X usually consults his relatives and friends as to whom he shall invite, this is entirely optional. In giving his invitations X is actuated, first, by a desire to summon those from whom he has previously received hospitality; having accepted presents from them he must discharge the obligations or sink in social estimation. Considerations of friendship also enter into his selection, and he will likewise invite anyone whom he wishes to put to shame by a lavish display of wealth. It is taken as a matter of course that each guest will be accompanied by a number of followers, members of his family, slaves, or adherents. 556* [203] [558]

Acting on X's instructions, a herald invites the people of his village to X's house. X stands up and announces to them [203] [484]

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* 556 The first course is dried coboe salmon mixed with olachen
264 grease. The fish is first placed in boxes, approximately one
to every four persons, though a chief may be honoured by an
[262] individual box, and the grease poured over it. As always, any
food not consumed is carried away. Failure to do so would
[578] be an insult to X. Then round wooden dishes are distributed
into which are poured the berries of *Viburnum pauciflorum*.
[262] The waiters pour olachen grease over these and the mixture is
eaten with wooden spoons. These two foods are invariably
the first meal of a potlatch.

* 556 If the *siki* of the last guests to arrive has not returned the
575 power given him by the Bella Coola expert, he now stands up
and shakes his rattle as a signal that he desires to start his
535 dance. The Bella Coola *siki* also stands up, and the visiting
siki contorts himself and finally pretends to produce something
from his stomach, which he throws across to his colleague.
The latter feigns to catch it, cries *hoip* loudly several times,
and makes the motions of hurling what he has just received
into the room at the back of the house where the initiates are
concealed. Then he sits down. Meanwhile the last-to-arrive
party of guests have started to beat out the tune of one of the
sisook[19] songs of their own *siki* who dances in time to it. Then
another song is beaten out and another member of the party
dances, and so on until all have danced who desire to do so.
Each wears his own head-dress and each performs in the
manner already described. After the dancing, the members
of this party of guests give presents to X and other Bella Coola
chiefs. There is no fixed ratio between the value of the gifts
* 556 and the rank of the recipients, though chiefs receive more than
• [554] lesser men, and X most of all. These presents are *spandjat*,
which may be translated as "eagle down-ness," merely a mark
of friendship and goodwill. They are not returnable. Goods
so received are distributed by X with his other possessions at
[578] the potlatch, care being taken not to return them to the donors,
which would be insulting.

[19] *Ko-do* songs (I, p. 187) are sometimes used.

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After bestowal of these presents, the *siki* of the penultimate group of guests shakes his rattle, and exactly the same procedure is carried out by members of his party. They, too, give presents to X and the other Bella Coola chiefs. The same rites are carried out by each party of guests in the reverse order of their arrival. It is frequently near dawn before the first-comers have completed their dances and distribution of gifts. X then gives another meal to all, with no restriction on the choice of food. This concludes the night's ceremony, and the guests depart, except those who are staying in X's house. 556

THE POTLATCH: FIRST DAY

Considering the lengthy ceremonials of the preceding evening, it is not surprising that on this day no one stirs early. The guests receive their breakfast in the houses where they are accommodated, and meanwhile a number of young men gather in X's house to assist in the preparation of food for the main meal of the day. During the previous night a large amount of smoked mountain goat has been put in water to soak. This is now placed in a number of food-boxes, ready for distribution, water is added and hot stones lifted in to bring it to a boil. When the water comes to the boil, mountain goat grease is added, and then bearberries; it is usually about two o'clock in the afternoon before the meal is ready. The guests are summoned and the food given them, the chiefs, as usual, receiving more than those of lower rank. After eating they disperse to await the evening rites. [251] [252] [554]

It was impossible to obtain an accurate account of the ritual carried out on the evening of this, the first day of the potlatch proper. The ceremonial was of less importance than those preceding and following, and it has long fallen into disuse. The guests take up their accustomed places, and the Bella Coola members of the *nuxut* range themselves near them and behind the fire. The corners near the door are occupied by non-members of the society. The singers beat out two of [182] 556 575 [535]

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THE PROFESSION OF CARPENTER

As with singers, there are many carpenters who ply their trade without the advantage of an ancestral prerogative. They, also, may be expert and receive credit for their skill, but they can never achieve quite the distinction that comes to a man who has been made a carpenter by the distribution of presents. The latter may be so clumsy with tools that no one would ever trust him to make a canoe, or even a mask; but he is, socially, a carpenter, whereas a skilled artisan lacking a prerogative is admired for his ability but has no foundation of social esteem. In transmitting a professional carpenter's name, however, an effort is always made to give it to a youth with a bent in that direction.

The most esteemed carpenters are those who can make canoes, a trade which requires no special prerogative. In the beginning of time, *Yaldzimat* was the canoe-maker *par excellence;* he assisted many of the first people, and no one can have a professional prerogative as carpenter unless this supernatural being appears in his ancestral myth. The Bella Coola ascribe the skill of the Bella Bella in carpentry to the fact that *Yaldzimat* married a Bella Bella woman in the early period of the world and that many of that tribe are his descendants. In the old days, before the coming of the white men, carpenters were always respected as esteemed members of the community. Chiefs always cared for them, and they received abundant food at every ceremonial. None the less, they were not wealthy, and only in recent years, since the Bella Coola have realized the value put upon good craftsmanship by the white men, has it become customary to give valuable presents to carpenters. Ceremonially, they have considerable influence, since the carpenter who makes a mask usually decides who shall wear it and takes charge of the fitting and adjustment. He is also held responsible for any accident such as its falling when in use or for mechanical defects.

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881 bundle of four macaroni-shaped shells, probably *Dentalium*,
[301] which are said to have been imported from the north in early
434 times. These marks serve to indicate the position of the girl,
who is both feared and respected, possessed of supernatural
789 power, and yet baneful. Many Bella Coola stories describe
how adolescent girls have been able to vanquish supernatural
[536] beings; perhaps the most striking of these is the manner in
which they once saved mankind when the sun came too close to
the earth. At the end of a year, or eleven months according to one old woman, the seclusion is terminated, and the girl resumes her normal activities. The first time she goes to the river she must throw on the water four pieces of dyed, and four pieces of undyed cedar-bark. This is especially important if the salmon are running at the time, although no explanation of this ritual is given.

582 The resumption of her freedom indicates that a girl has
556 reached marriageable age. Chiefs sometimes confine their
882 daughters for even longer than a year, and usually delay their marriages for several years to demonstrate their importance; but this is not necessary, nor is it practised by other than wealthy individuals. It is not uncommon for a girl to wed before her year is out; in that case her restrictions automatically
[554] lapse. Chiefs never allow such a curtailment for their daughters; to do so would diminish the prestige of the latter, and be detrimental to the status of their children when they marry
886 and have families. Illicit intercourse with a secluded adoles-
883 cent is considered not only illegal but disgusting as well. Be-
[881] tween the period of confinement and marriage, intercourse is prohibited and guarded against by the parents of a girl, but is not considered filthy and seems to have been fairly common in former times with the daughters of poor people and slaves. This sometimes took place before the first menstruation in spite of the disapproval with which this was regarded.

886 Although the menstrual blood which appears at the first
841 discharge is considered more baneful than that emitted on later
789 occasions, it is always regarded as uncanny or unclean. It is

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855 rebuked. They grow up in the open environment of the
[861] houses, absorbing more of their lore by watching and imitat-
[854] ing than by actual instruction. Their care devolves chiefly on the mother, although at any ceremony the father will be seen arriving with the baby in his arms, while his wife leads another child. Nurses are unknown and the parents take their children with them on all occasions; if it is necessary for a mother to be absent on some arduous toil, her child will be entrusted to a grandmother or other elderly relative. There are no avoidances between the young people and their
606 parents-in-law.

The obligation of present-giving does not stop with the
602 marriage ceremony. Whenever X gives a *kusiut* dance or other
431 ceremony, Y's relatives are expected to contribute. It is felt that the weight of the presents given them during the period of engagement and at the wedding has become too heavy, and they throw this off by lavish giving. No count is kept of the value of gifts bestowed or received, though it is known that the family of the woman loses financially in the end. The father of many daughters is regarded as an unfortunate individual, who is always poor and overworked through the necessity of
[554] providing for them. By so doing, however, he increases his own prestige, and the Bella Coola have the happy sentiment that such a man manages to get along some way; perhaps necessity rouses his ambition. Likewise X's relatives contribute to any ritual carried out by Y's father. If, for example, one of his wife's relatives dies, X and his friends may wish to contribute towards the funeral expenses. In fact, any cere-
[556] monial serves as an excuse for relatives by marriage to donate goods and thus demonstrate publicly their influence, importance, and generosity.

602 The concept of mutual help between families who have
476 intermarried is one that lasts for generations. In 1922 there was in Bella Coola an old Kimsquit man who had left home some forty years earlier and had since lived in Smith Inlet where he married and had a boy. On the death of his wife, this

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567 ceremony usually consisted simply of the man and woman
588 living together. In theory, this prevented the children from ever obtaining a name or other prerogative embodied in the ancestral myth of the free-born parent, and an effort was always made to conceal from them the details of the ancestral family's origin myth. But, as already described in the section dealing with slaves, the expenditure of valuable presents served to eradicate, or at least to cover, the blot. If the child succeeded in giving many potlatches, the stain was generally
[554] forgotten. On the other hand, if the child of a slave married to a free man was not "washed," he could always be shamed by a reminder of the disgrace of his parents' wedding.

682 In case of murder, the son or other near relative of the victim sometimes accepts a daughter or other member of the
[583] offender's family instead of exacting blood revenge. The bride
[627] is delivered to her husband with valuable goods "to wash away the blood," but these never suffice entirely to remove the disgrace from her or her children. The latter may inherit names and prerogatives from their father, but even if they attain to the position of chiefs, they can always be put to shame by reference to their mother's marriage as an atonement for murder. Of course the influence of a great chief makes it impolitic to refer to his ancestry, and there are a few instances of men having reached such a position of eminence that the blot
[554] has been practically forgotten. The wife's family must continue to give presents to the husband for years after marriage, otherwise her lot is unenviable indeed, and her children have the status of the unwashed offspring of a slave and a free-man. In some cases a marriage of this type is entered upon years after a murder, if a son or other descendant wishes to end the anxiety of constantly expecting blood revenge.

REPURCHASE OF THE WIFE

556 Repurchase of a wife is the necessary consequence of every
583 reputable Bella Coola marriage. It is assumed that the pre-

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556 prerogatives he is transmitting, Y's father usually takes the
583 opportunity of stating that he wishes to hunt on X's hunting-
[425] grounds, or fish in his fishing-grounds. Permission is never refused, though it is only for the period of the potlatch. Since Y's father is to assist X, it is considered fitting to grant him facilities for obtaining pelts and food.

It is on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch that the goods are delivered. They serve six purposes, which can be described separately, although the Bella Coola usually think of them as being too closely associated for division.

(1) They increase the dignity, influence, and prestige of the donors. This theme needs no further elaboration. When X later gives these presents to his foreign guests, he announces the person from whom he has received them and in this way knowledge of the manner in which Y's relatives have upheld the dignity of the marriage is spread far and wide, to their intense gratification.

(2) They help X to rise to a position of influence in the community by the credit which comes to him from their later distribution. Though a man may acquire goods in various ways, the Bella Coola affirm that without contributions from his wife's relatives no man can become a chief.

(3) They validate the transmission of names, or other prerogatives, taken by Y to her husband. Even presents given
[606] directly from father-in-law to son-in-law are always said to have been taken by the daughter to her husband.

(4) Indirectly, they increase the prestige of the children,
[554] either born at that time or who may appear later. None of the goods used for repurchasing their mother can actually be used for their benefit, but the whole rite gives them strength to succeed in life. A child whose mother has not been repurchased is said to be unable to walk, as if his legs were powerless; he lacks intelligence, and the ability to prosper. From the
[578] petty quarrels of childhood until old age, a person is proud to recall the number of times his mother was rebought, and to thrust this statement in the teeth of those less fortunate.

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(5) They govern Y's status in this world. When women quarrel, as they often do, the most common boast to shame a less wealthy rival is a reminder of the number of times the speaker was repurchased and the value of the goods used. 556 583 [578]

"I can sit down on fifteen canoes," or "I am carried by five slaves," says the angry woman, mentioning whatever goods were used for her repurchase.

(6) Finally, these goods serve a more definite purpose in obtaining for Y a name, or names, of which the value is directly proportionate to the expenditure, precisely as the importance of a chief's designation depends on the goods used to validate it. [553]

As with men's names, some women's appellations were given by *Älquntäm* to the first arrivals; others were created on this earth with regard to peculiar events, and still others are names which can be used either by men or women. Theoretically, the dignity of the first type of name is greater than either of the others, but in practice the importance of the owner depends on the number of times she has bought herself from her husband; the principles governing the rank of women are thus the same as those already described for men. The term *yetsalt*, applied to a woman who has many times rebought herself and so reached a position of eminence, is the feminine equivalent to *stältum*. The creation of women's names in reference to personal characteristics or incidents connected with their married life is more common than similar creations for men. The ritual of the bestowal of a name on Y, here given, was omitted from the description of the potlatch in order to lessen the complexity of that ceremony. It will be remembered that on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch Y's relatives appear outside X's house, carrying valuable presents. 551 556 583 [554] [562] 553 556 583

The announcer calls out that Y's father has come to give "food" to X and his relatives. By food, presents are meant, which are the return, with interest, of the gifts given by X's relatives on various occasions. The giver is announced, for other relatives than Y's father contribute, and to whom the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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588 it, although it is customary for the parents of a wife to exhibit
556 their wealth on several occasions.

What are the advantages of such an agreement to the two parties? The husband receives considerable assistance, both in actual goods and in ceremonial prerogatives. Moreover, his vanity is gratified by the desire shown by others to have him as husband of their daughters. The advantages to the wife are more difficult to describe. Financially, her relatives always lose, yet they consider that the prestige gained by their daughter as wife of a mighty chief fully compensates for their monetary loss. Accordingly, they take pains to have a daughter married several times before puberty, either simultaneously or [595] in succession. Thus there is a form of ceremonial polyandry *existing in Bella Coola at the present day. No ceremonial* marriage takes place after puberty. In later years, when the [554] wife grows up, marries, and has children of her own, their status is increased materially by the pre-puberty marriages of their mother. They address her fictitious husband as "father," and his children as brother or sister, although there are no incest prohibitions with regard to them. A chief sometimes arranges the bestowal of names or other prerogatives on the children of a fictitious ex-wife, but such favours are too uncertain to provide a motive for the prevalence of the rite. Its value rests on the esteem attached to a woman whose relatives have shown their wealth and prowess by marrying her several times. When her children quarrel with their playfellows, it is common to hear one boast:

"*I* have three fathers. How many have you?"

[558] Occasionally the relatives of a fictitious bride are unable to provide the goods to repurchase her from her husband and the girl remains disgraced for life. In no circumstances has her husband any claims to marital rights with her, and in due course she can marry someone else; but it is never forgotten that she was not rebought from her husband. In 1916 a girl about four years of age was married to a man of sixty, who at the time gave her relatives $80 and a motor boat. She had

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body became eagle down and was wafted upwards is psychologically of the type which might serve as basis for a rite of this kind. If the descendants of the person to whom this had happened had dramatized the incident at subsequent deaths, a custom analogous to the one here described would have arisen. 575 766 424 [773]

DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When possible, it takes place on the day following death, but as many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the performance of the rite just described. Another reason for postponement is the absence of near relatives; if they can be summoned within four or five days, the funeral may be delayed until their arrival. There is always endless discussion concerning the exact details; all relatives and members of the ancestral family take part, though the wishes of a son, brother, or other near kinsman are usually followed. In this, as in so many points of Bella Coola ritual, an influential chief often overrules the desires even of those who are more closely related to the deceased. 764 [796] [554]

Heralds announce the hour chosen,[6] usually about noon, and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even strangers being welcome. Women wail dolorously, and another indication of the occasion is the bundles containing clothing, cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once, with a stone; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed and a hole made in one of the front corners of the house, through which the man throws out the stone. The women redouble their lamentations as an old woman, previously asked to do so, lights a bundle of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and climbs through the opening carrying this. No request has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong men, especially [203] [609]

[6] This is done at present, even after the carrying away of the "body." In former times it was omitted when the corpse was secretly buried by the *nuesk*. [178]

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CHAPTER IX

RELATIONS WITH THE SUPERNATURAL

Introductory—Sterile Apparitions—Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate—Supernatural Good Luck—Shamanism—Direct Revelations from the Supreme God—Power Localized in Certain Spots—Dreams

INTRODUCTORY

THE aspects of Bella Coola life thus far described have been principally of a nature which might be experienced by any member of the community. On the other hand, contact with supernatural beings is a privilege granted to individuals without respect to rank; even a vulture appeal cannot assure it. The few to whom signal favours are granted acquire a position of importance totally different from that of chiefs. The Bella Coola are firmly convinced that supernatural beings abound in the mountains and forests of British Columbia, and that every activity of human life is governed by them. Not only do these creatures include monsters of the imagination, but birds, animals, and fish; even the activities of the human mind are considered to be beyond the scope of normal life. Ancient stories describing the actions of strange creatures and conversations between man and animals are accepted as truthful accounts, so that it seems obvious to the Bella Coola that his ancestors were more powerful than he is today. Never considering the possibility of errors in his stories, he accepts the alternative hypothesis that mankind has sadly degenerated from the golden age. Nevertheless, he assumes that the beings have not altered, and consequently hopes to encounter them on every occasion. Moreover, this firm background of belief makes it easy for him to recognize supernatural influence in events which a white man would consider to be natural. It is impossible to over-emphasize this concept.

787* [554] 787* 776 [828] [538] 781

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755 to the part affected. In such a case the object, a toad for
* 756 example, becomes visible at the end of the staff. Conjuring is employed to do this, and often a tuft of dyed cedar-bark is used, which makes the deception still easier. Shamans are very expert in such matters. It is said that when two rival shamans once disputed about their prowess, one of them cast his stick on the ground and it became a snake, whereupon the other did likewise; and his became a toad which hopped after
[177] the snake. The Bella Coola find biblical parallels for such revelations of power in the transformation of Aaron's rod, and the appearance of fire on Mount Carmel.

Shamanistic Ceremonies

●554 In addition to his professional abilities, a shaman has also
* 756 certain social prerogatives. As has been mentioned, many shamans lack the power to cure, but they may have seen some
787 feat during a dream, or during a visitation from *Ṫlitcäplilän·a*. It enhances a man's social prestige if he can graphically display whatever he has observed. It follows that the rites about to be described are often, perhaps usually, performed by a person unable to cure the sick, but it must be remembered that to the Bella Coola there is no social difference between a shaman who can cure with the aid of a basin, and one who lacks this power. Each has merely received a different gift from his supernatural benefactor. There seems little doubt that a man of imagina-
* 756 tive temperament frequently invents a feat of this type, or rather that he ponders over one until he either dreams of it,
787 or imagines himself to have done so. Certainly, after he has performed such a rite, he deludes himself into believing that he has had supernatural authorization for it. Conjuring feats performed long ago by shamans, feats practised by the members of other tribes, personal inventions, either actually or theoretically dreamed of, all these are among the sources from which shamanistic dances are derived. It follows that almost
* 756 anyone who has the necessary skill is able to perform, provided
556 that he has sufficient food to validate the ceremony. Thus this

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754 members, and delegated the task to a man who was known to be skilled in such matters. The latter stole some shreds of the offender's clothing, placed them in a human skull which he fastened to a long rope and threw into a swift stretch of the river. As the rapids tossed the skull to and fro, the person whose clothing was within began to feel uneasy; first he experienced a jumping pain in his head, but as the wild movements continued, he became light-headed and finally delirious. At this juncture, it was decided to pull back the skull, but the rope broke and it was carried away downstream. Nothing could save the man and he died within a few hours. This particular incident occurred among the Bella Bella, but it is agreed that it might have happened in Bella Coola.

[554] The mingled fear of, and aversion to, a person who knows some such secret method of killing, fades into insignificance compared to the extreme loathing of every Bella Coola for sorcerers. Their methods of killing may be similar to the ones just described, but they are evil creatures who practise secretly, working entirely to gratify their own personal desires. Not [683] only is the murder of a sorcerer a virtuous act, but the relatives of one should be put to death without mercy. There is no single factor which has caused so much hatred, bitterness, and suspicion as belief in the activities of sorcerers. Conversion to [797] Christianity has scarcely altered it, and men who have been members of the church for ten to twenty years remain fully convinced that some of their associates have loathsome abilities as sorcerers. In many parts of the world, belief in black magic and witchcraft is one of the last native convictions to pass away, and it seems probable that this will be the case in Bella Coola although, of course, it will become increasingly difficult to obtain information about the subject.

The actual methods used by different sorcerers vary, although most of them require an article which has been in contact with their intended victim. Consequently, they seek pieces of soiled clothing, nail parings, hair clippings, spittle, and other objects of the same type which are usually concealed

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is spoken of in the Chinook jargon as a *mesatche box*, that is, a "dirty," "unclean," or "repulsive" box, and this term is one which is mentioned whenever an unexpected death takes place, or whenever a coastal Indian is accused of loitering around a deserted camp or of stealing into another's house. The belief is not limited to the Bella Coola, but has formed the basis for criminal cases all over the coast of British Columbia. It is difficult to find words sufficiently strong to express the disgust, loathing, and fear with which the Bella Coola regard a person suspected of sorcery.

Ability in this respect carries with it certain prohibitions. A sorcerer would lose his power if he should wash or blow his nose except when about to commit murder. The one old Bella Coola now thought to be a sorcerer never washes; he knows that if he did so, he would be immediately accused of plotting someone's death. This man is greatly feared, as he is said to have a collection of spittle from every member of the tribe; efforts have been made to break into his house and steal this, but it has never been found. He takes credit for the death of at least one white man in the valley. A peculiar impediment suffered by all sorcerers is a prohibition against turning around, although no one knows why doing so should deprive them of their strength. The explanation may be that their power would recoil upon themselves, a concept well illustrated by the following incident:

When the first Christian Bella Coola left the old village to settle near the mission station, they were regarded with dislike and suspicion by their fellow-tribesmen. One day, one of them happened to follow a path through the woods which led her to a rude shelter in which was a bundle. Hastily summoning her fellows, they opened it and found an article of clothing belonging to each Christian. The man who told this incident described his fear at finding a dirty shirt of his own among the others. They felt that the garments had been collected by a young man who claimed to be a shaman, but whom they suspected to be merely the accomplice of a sorcerer, and this was soon proved to be the case. He was insufficiently trained; instead of touching the patient's body with his stick, he used to suck wherever the pain was located and then

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tense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a number of young men and women ignorant of the significance of the rites. Formerly, the *kukusiut* often had difficulty in impressing the uninitiated with their prowess, and feuds with the *a'alk* were common.

Although membership in the *kusiut* society depends on an ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution. A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *kusiut* prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great importance within the ranks of the society. Nor are the prerogatives considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that slaves are often admitted as *kukusiut* by their masters. An important *kusiut* is not esteemed by the community in the same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, membership in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *kusiut* organization can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without special invitation, he dares enter the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non-

*575 more difficult dramatic rites in which failure would lead to the
796 uninitiated learning the mysteries of the society, the matter is
424 debated at length. The writer was present at one meeting held for this purpose, with regard to a performance which had not been carried out for over thirty years. An air of solemnity was evident throughout, as if each present realized the gravity of the topic. The prospective dancer explained what he wished to do, then anyone was at liberty to comment, and most of those present took advantage of it, the marshals speaking last of all. The influence of each speaker depended in part on the
[554] type of *kusiut* dance which he himself had given, and in part on his general status in the community as chief or otherwise, an intangible position dependent on public estimation rather than upon functional rights. In this case, after considerable discussion, it was decided that the dancer could proceed with his arrangements. But if there should be any doubt as to the would-be performer's ability, the marshals have no hesitation in prohibiting his intended rite, and they often do so later if rehearsals show that it is unlikely to be successful.

Refusal of permission to perform occurs only in case of the more difficult dances, which include the Cannibal, Scratch, Breaker, Fungus and *Kusiotem*. Members of the society whose prerogatives are for one of these types are considered as having greater importance than those who can merely sing of some minor deity-patron; yet all are equally members of the *kusiut* society, which is not graded according to the performances of its members.

*575 Many of the more difficult dances require weeks of pre-
796 paration, when it is sometimes said that the dancer has disappeared to the land above. When he returns they usually conclude in four nights, the time taken by those of a simpler
[104] type. Each of these nights[1] is known by an untranslatable term, and, as it will be necessary to use these throughout, it may assist the reader to summarize the ritual which takes place on each. It can be assumed that it is a simple dance, that is, one without elaborate preliminaries.

1 [i.e. of a Kusiut dance - ANALYST]

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[The Cannibal Dance]

forth, followed by a number of *kukusiut* who remain constantly in attendance on him. 575* 796*

X enters the lowest house and sits down near the door, too heavy, with the weight of the crystals, to proceed further. He growls persistently, while the *kukusiut* women present drone monotonously, and those who have accompanied him utter their cry of *hoip*. These measures at last persuade the Cannibal to move, but only to the next house, where the same procedure is repeated, and so for each in the village. The uninitiated peer curiously and fearfully from their bedrooms, but would never dream of joining in the cry of *hoip*. If X should be asleep or otherwise engaged when the voices are heard, some of his assistants awaken him and send him forth. The arrival of strangers also excites X. One of his followers tells him of their coming and when a canoe reaches the river, he runs down into the water and bites as many of the newcomers as he desires. The herald, watching the approach of the strangers and knowing what will happen, cries out to the uninitiated to conceal themselves prior to X's appearance. The guests proceed to the dwelling of their host, but that evening the Cannibal's father, or whoever acts for him, calls them to his house where he gives them presents to validate the biting. If foreigners have been expected, gifts are always saved for them from the previous distribution. The value of the present depends in part on the rank of the recipient, but more upon the feeling of like or dislike with which X's father regards him. A chief naturally receives more than a person of lower rank, although these donations are not returned. 575* 796* 431 [609] [554]

On the morning of the fifth day of X's retirement, some of the *kukusiut* collect chamber-pots and towards noon he is immersed in the river in the manner previously described. Then he goes through the village four times, on each round visiting every house. The uninitiated are told that the washing has caused his call to depart, and the whistle is heard no more.[a] 575* 796*

Towards dusk all the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house. He

[a] The dismissal of the call at this time may not be the correct procedure.

[The Scratch Dance]

* 575 They do not blacken their faces on receipt of a call as do
424 most *kukusiut*.

[302] The theme of their songs is of the land above, instead solely
[787] of their patrons.

[533] On visiting a house where a *qulem* or *nakuam* is taking place they sit with the Cannibals in one of the back corners; this group is given food before any of the other guests.

They do not exercise their prerogative on fellow-Scratchers, Cannibals, or Breakers.

[787] They are liable to frenzy both when the call is upon them and after its departure. In such cases they run forth, apparently guarded and restrained by other *kukusiut*, and rush into every house to frighten the uninitiated.

They must recompense those whom they have scratched.

[578] They act as peace-makers among the *kukusiut*, since the necessity of accompanying a Scratcher who pretends to be frenzied overrules all petty causes of strife.

[554] Though any definite concept of graded rank in the *kusiut* society is quite foreign to the Bella Coola, it is generally felt that Scratchers and Breakers are only slightly less important than Cannibals. The patron of every Scratcher is *Sno'olxdis*
[776] *Alquntām*, one of the sons of *Alquntām*; this supernatural being scratches the supernatural ones in the land above, and his father alone can restrain him. The prerogative is fairly common, and it is probable that in early days there was at least one Scratcher in every village.

* 575 The following account of the ritual was obtained from one
* 796 of the Bella Coola marshals and describes the manner in which the dance should have been performed by the Scratcher,
[424] *Alushnaix*, his daughter's daughter's son, who had recently obtained the prerogative formerly possessed by his deceased mother's father. It will be convenient to refer to *Alushnaix* as X and use the present tense in recording the proper ritual, though it was largely omitted on the last occasion the dance was given.

X arranges a suitable day with the marshals for receiving

½ [i.e. - the Scratchers - ANALYST]

[The Scratch Dance]

obey one prohibition; he must not sleep with his wife for four days. 575* 746*

Like a Cannibal, X is liable to frenzy for the rest of the ceremonial season. During this period he remains secluded within his house, and the uninitiated willingly avoid him, believing him to be mentally deranged. He attends every *kusiut* dance, where his latent madness helps to frighten the uninitiated. If strangers from Kimsquit or *Tal'ia* visit Bella Coola, he at once becomes frenzied, rushes to the beach and scratches them, precisely as a Cannibal would do; in this case he must be pacified in the same manner. A Scratcher always owns goods to recompense scratched foreigners. If it is the first time that X has danced, he must remain secluded for the following summer, and give his ceremony the next winter. During the warm months he remains within the back room of his house, and through some of the uninitiated know of his presence, still believing him mad they do not intrude upon his privacy. The coming of foreigners during this period excites him to frenzy and he scratches them, irrespective of the time of year. [834] [828]

It might be mentioned that some Scratcher names are indicative of the dancer's function, and others, such as "The Cause of Fear," have reference to his prowess. [551]

THE BREAKER DANCE

When a Bella Coola speaks of the fear which *kusiut* dances cause the uninitiated, he almost invariably cites in order the Cannibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances. *Kukusiut* with these three prerogatives have no more privileges than other members of the society, nor are they considered superior in rank; but similarity in their functions leads to an almost automatic association. If questioned further, a Bella Coola will usually say that he regards the Cannibal dance to be first, with the Scratch and Breaker equal, but less important. Breakers share with Cannibals and Scratchers the prerogatives of not blackening their faces; of having as theme for their songs the land 575* 746* 424 [781] [554] [302] [533] [264]

[The Breaker Dance]

* 575 * 796 [424] feats. X is one of the few *ʔukaciat* having the prerogative of using supernatural singers. The evening's ceremony concludes in the usual fashion.

Until the departure of his call, X is liable to fits of frenzy so that on both *qulaw* and *nakcaw* he often visits every house and breaks utensils, though his guardians appear to be making every effort to restrain him. Breakers, irrespective of their [424] exact prerogative, are enabled to act in any unusual manner they desire, and strive to excel in peculiar behaviour. A favourite trick is to smear themselves with excrement, either real or imitation. It is difficult to over-estimate the enormous [554] prestige which such actions call forth in the eyes of the uninitiated, to whom it appears that the coming of a call entirely [787] alters the mentality of the recipient, a belief which the *ʔukaciat* [828] make every effort to maintain. Nothing further need be said of either *qulaw* or the predilections of *nakcaw*, both of which follow the usual pattern.

* 575 * 796 781 When the uninitiated are admitted to X's house on *nakcaw* evening, they are filled with wonder at the sight of the masked singers, of *Xwalqwalit Alqantēn*, and of the four supernatural Breakers who move wildly to and fro as the songs are sung, as if only the eagle down which the *ʔukaciat* blow upon them restrains them from destroying property. The fluent *Awʔikwalxaix* makes the most of her opportunity to describe the wonders which are before their eyes. Then the uninitiated are told that it will be safer for them to withdraw, and hurry out. Presently they are startled to hear the sound of people moving, and the four supernatural Breakers, followed by all the *ʔukaciat*, leave the house and proceed to the lowest one in the village. Around the fire go the masked four, picking up stones and hurling them at any destructible property. Most [252] houses contain a number of stones which have been used in [578] boiling liquids, so that there is no lack of missiles. *ʔukaciat* [615] who are wise take care to hide or remove valuable property before this inroad begins, since the wearers of the masks take advantage of the opportunity to destroy the goods of those

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126 195 533 text, although they are obvious on the phonograph records. In singing, moreover, sounds, especially vowel sounds, are altered to fit the tune, a factor which accounts for further discrepancies between record and text. A frequent device is reduplication, a word or group of words is repeated in singing when not called for in the spoken version. Finally one sound occurs in singing which is practically unknown in speaking, a velar *s* (recorded as *s*) which gives a whistling effect. Most choruses and some whole songs consist of meaningless sounds; in such cases the tune alone is important and no attempt was made to record the syllables.

It was quite as difficult to obtain interpretations as to record texts. Songs which have been handed down for generations abound in archaic expressions which are meaningless even to the older men; some recently composed are full of metaphorical devices to conceal their real significance from the uninitiated. The result is consequently a series of words which, taken one at a time, convey no meaning. In many cases it was impossible to obtain literal translations, even with the willing assistance of younger men familiar with English. Every effort was made to get the general *meaning*, and it is felt that this object was tolerably achieved, though the transcriptions may not be sufficiently accurate for grammatical analysis.

533 796 575 554 424 555 Singers function at every ceremony; in fact, its success depends so largely upon their efforts that they are always important members of the community. Some singers are created by the validation of an ancestral prerogative; others by having composed a suitable tune. The young man who has done so, calls one of the established musicians aside and hums it to him; if the hearer is favourably impressed, he may learn and repeat it to his fellows, and if it wins their approval, the composer may be asked to join their ranks for the occasion on which it is to be used. Thus encouraged, the young man is likely to try again, or he may be invited to assist at some ceremony for which a large number of singers is required. If proficient, he is certain to win recognition in course of time,

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uxt-mumulsumsimstu	*si ennilimutsu(s)n*	*omsi tlaqilqumsh*	599*
you are the prey of misfortune,	you unmarried mother;	you are spilt(d), you women	576
xmul'ldlye ya-lumh	*Ăntsu*	*Yumtsin*	*sumtsin*	578
who pretend to be virtuous(e).	Alas(f)!	I am ashamed,	I am *Sum*(g).	

[WOODLAND CROSS]

B *Qamamulsi-sletsiklus*	*dzkulldzulsiklusis*	*yas sldzimulkul-u**	
Exactly similar	is the little boy's name	to that of the round-headed	
siyayaqolsdidsi	*Ăntsu*	*Yumtsin*	*sumtsin*
Qolsti(h).	Alas!	I am ashamed,	I am *Sum*.

[WOODLAND CROSS]

C The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(a) This differs from most *Sisyutlum* songs in that *Sum* was an unmarried mother, not a faithless wife. She was held up to scorn by the men of Kimsquit and this song composed for her by a certain *Sisyutlum*. [848]

(b) Recorded as song VII D 38a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(c) It is said that women, even of slave blood, used to endeavour to increase their importance in the eyes of their children by lamenting, falsely, of ancestral history. [554]

(d) A term of opprobrium, difficult to translate. It is said to imply slave ancestry, but is more probably a mere epithet, referring to the female organ. [195]

(e) This is addressed to women in general.

(f) An expression of pain or sorrow, used under all circumstances. [192]

(g) The theme is here changed as if it were *Sum* herself speaking. This is a common device in all kinds of songs.

(h) *Qolsti* was supposed to be the father of *Sum*'s child.

Mourning Songs

Mourning songs excel all other Bella Coola compositions in length, complexity, and wealth of detail. Especially those composed for mighty chiefs contain numerous references to the ancestral history of the deceased and mention incidents referred to in origin myths, a source of pride to the survivors and of envy to those who listen. 599* [765] [766]

Song Used for Qami when Mourning his Son, Qwinsu(a)

A *Sumulus*	*wanlitsdumu*	*Itlinuymus*	*stanlculyai*
Why has my son done so(b)?	Come, ye who are residents of foreign lands(c)		

J. McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
NES Bellacoola NES
Tsimshian NE15

B 721 these accounts seemed to be exaggerations, and the casualties were probably few. The Bella Coola did not have the same [554] admiration for the successful warrior as for the man who gave many potlatches, while everything indicates that their raids B [703] were on a small scale, rendered singularly ineffective by lack of discipline.

B 72 128 539

Specific Accounts

Active warfare has been so long discontinued on the coast that none of the living Bella Coola can describe conditions as they existed during hostilities. It was possible to collect the following accounts of raids and adventures which, though individually of small value, illustrate tactics and strategy, and recount incidents which throw light on the frame of mind of the participants.

B T 648 721

Kitkatla War

For many years there was animosity between the Bella Coola and the Kitkatla who, with the advantage of strong government, used to swoop down from the north for salmon and slaves. Bella Coola itself was comparatively immune from attack, but the Kimsquit people suffered severely. The attackers were not always successful; one old man related how, when his mother's mother was an infant, they were driven off with the loss of four canoes and many men. The fact that this B incident had been remembered for so many years indicates that T it was unusual.

567 494 [727]

Slaves captured in this way were traded from tribe to tribe and rarely escaped. When an elderly Bella Coola was a lad, there was considerable excitement in the community owing to the return of *Sluhmala*, a woman who had been carried off when a girl. She had been traded to a northern tribe among whom, she said, it was customary to crush captives beneath totem-poles and house-posts. Her diligence saved her from this fate, and she was passed on until she reached the far north, on the

Schlesewatch E-5 (1952-1954) 1968
NEB Bellacoola NEB
Transliteration NEB

Tsakoo remained encamped for several days, during which time he sent word to the Bella Coola that he regretted the death of *Sekwalitat* and had come to make peace. He added that his followers had tried to dissuade him, saying that he would be killed, but he had answered that he was too great a man to allow fear to influence his actions.

Having waited for several days, the party came up the Bella Coola River, their canoe loaded with presents and eagle down, while *Tsakoo's* brother, *Sisaiks*, wore the mask of his ancestors as further proof of friendly intentions. It was unusual to display one escape to a rival community, but this was an unprecedented event; to have that he might soon be killed and he preferred to die while bearing the obvious mark of incorporation with some incident of an unusual myth. The canoe was beached opposite the house of *Pielo* where the crew blew eagle down into the air to mark their peaceful mission. Men had gathered from all parts of the Bella Coola valley and several hot-heads wished to disregard the safe-conduct and slay their enemies, a course which they had recommended for several days and had tried to precipitate by cross-acts against the Kitlacla. *Pielo* himself had not spoken, but he now appeared and advised the people not to harm *Tsakoo*, since continuing hostility would result. Though his wishes did not entirely quiet the angry ones, they outwardly assured the Kitlacla of a welcome. *Pielo* brought forward a mountain-skin, and told some of his people to hold it spread as then, when *Tsakoo* leaps from his canoe, he would land upon it, and could be carried to the house without putting foot to the ground. *Tsakoo* expressed gratitude that there was nothing on earth strong enough to support him, since his many protection had made him incomparably heavy. Since the hon, he occupied the honour, an assurance to landing shown only to mighty chiefs, and was carried into the house where he was seated in the far right-hand corner, an honourable location. *Pielo* invited all the people in the vicinity, shown as well as Bella Coola, and the inner partitions of the house had to be removed to provide space for the dining.

Though *Pielo* had decided against the immediate killing of the Kitlacla, he had concocted a scheme to test their bravery and the sincerity of their desire for peace. No one knew of this except his nephew, *Sisaiks*, who was to carry it out. When all were seated, the latter appeared, his face smeared with ochre, and his hair tied up in a top-knot with eagle down as is customary during war. *Sisaiks* moved surreptitiously around the house, brandishing a weapon and repeatedly pointing it at *Tsakoo* in a threatening manner. If the Kitlacla had shown nervousness, particularly if one of them had fled his own weapon, a massacre would have resulted. But they remained unmoved, confident in the prestige of their leader, while he knew that though his body might be

Z:Mc:Uwrath R-9 (1922-1926) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

in former times. *Skiu* might almost be called the Bella Coola national game, although it is now (1923) seldom played. 526 [172]

A game with somewhat similar rules is *squelaxit*, played with small wooden spears tipped with bone. When a number of men or boys decide to play, they choose two captains who in turn select their teams; any number can take part, provided that the sides are equal, but five each is usual. There is a special name for each player according to his position, and he bets against the corresponding number of the other team. A mark is set up, and one of the captains throws his spear, so that it will stick upright in the ground as near the target as possible. The rival leader endeavours to beat this, and if he fails, his second man throws, and each in succession until one comes closer to the goal than the rival captain. Then the loser's number two tries to beat the last thrower, followed by those on his own side until one succeeds or till all have thrown. The game then ends when all of one side have thrown unsuccessfully. The winning side is, of course, the one to which belongs the player whose throw is nearest the target. Each member of the losing team pays his wager to his adversary and a second round is begun. 526 525

The sport is now rarely indulged in, but in former times games used to continue all day, and valuables were lost in the gambling which was considered to be a necessary part of it. [785] Men used to observe ceremonial chastity to increase their [354] chances of success and the expert was regarded with admiration by younger lads. The crack team of a village often used to [628] visit other towns to compete against their representatives, and the games were continued amid frenzied excitement on the part of the supporters. This occasionally led to serious fighting. [578]

Another sport of a similar type is archery; a mark is set up and each competitor tries to lodge his arrow as close to it as possible. This game has now entirely lost favour, the young men preferring a type of football played without strict attention to rules, but with great energy. 526

Bella Coola children, too, have their games and recreations, many of them of an imitative nature. Little boys enjoy nothing 557

2:McDougalth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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APPENDIX D

577 192*

alpin: Something long sought for on account of its superior desirability, such as well-grained wood.

alpin nai mamo: Child whose parents were long engaged and who is accordingly regarded as being well prepared for. [554]

Ayaks: Small initiate concealed within the back-room.

Ayaxalk: One of the four men to settle in Kitamgaat in the beginning of time.

dip: Grease or a potlatch.

Ayaxsalam, "The Shelterer": Name assumed by *Swanx* in the beginning of time.

alpinaxlaxs, "What Has Been Shaken Off": Term applied to presents distributed when a corpse has been carried through the roof. The implication is that they are that shaken from the fingers of the deceased. [481] [764]

Ayaxsim: 1—The supreme god.
2—One of the four men to settle on the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
3—One of the four men to settle on the upper Kitamgaat in the beginning of time.
4—Tail of a *Sisaxa* supernatural.

Ayaxsmalkx: 1—Mountain on the north side of the lower Bella Coola.
2—Name assumed by one of the four settlers at *Snalal* in the beginning of time.

Ayaxlaxsalp: Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for direct address. [601]

Ayaxlaxlalk: Supernatural artisans who made mankind in the beginning of time. [576]

ayik: Presents given to validate the initiation of a *hamat*. [331]

Ayaxlaxa: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [463]

ayaxsalaxaxtay: Professional mourner.

ayaxsqaxlalk: Professional dancer at marriages.

ayaxsqaxa: Professional hunter.

ayaqalk: Professional worker.

Ayaxlaxa: Kitamgaat fishermen living in the last century.

ayi'ax: Chalkers war.

Ayaxa: Celebrated hunter mentioned in an ancient story. [601]

ayik ai ai gaalax: Second oldest sibling.

Ayaxsa: Repository of a Kitamgaat Cannibal where corpses are offered.

ayaxsalk: Professional worker. [463]

ayaxsalaxa: Professional river guard.

Ayaxlaxsa: Mountain west south of the Kitamgaat River.

ayaxalk: Shaman.

ayaxsalaxa: 1—Meeting of those who have given potlatches. [753]
2—Unidentified dances said to attach only chiefs.

ayaxsa: Marriage negotiators, i.e. those who, not being relatives, wish to associate themselves with the bride's family in the financial transactions of a marriage.

Ayaxlaxsaxa: Name applied to the supernatural artisans with reference to their construction of everything used by mankind.

Ayaxlaxsaxa, "Chief-Creator": Name applied to the supernatural being Halpaxa with reference to his frequent invisibility.

Ayaxlaxsaxa, "The Highest of All Chiefs' Sons": Name of *Swanx's* son in the beginning of time.

Ayaxlaxsa, "Falling Into Fire": Name assumed by a Kitamgaat man long ago.

Ayaxsa, "The Red-Shaker": Name supplied by a Kitamgaat man long ago.

ayaqalk: One who has supplied a commission for carpentry work in preparation for a potlatch. [465]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[765] [illegible]: 1—Memorial potlatch.
2—Mourning song.
3—The wailing of mourners at a grave.

[765] [illegible] or [illegible], "The Weeper": Female supernatural being whose appearance indicates the death of a chief.

[illegible]: Profesional *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to sing of [illegible] during *kusiutem* dances.

[illegible]: Name.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* cane of a Bella Coola woman.

[illegible] River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola.

[illegible]: Long grass suitable for pasturage.

[illegible]: Smoked spring salmon with the bone removed.

[illegible]: Moon, *adjective*.

[554] [illegible], "The One with Many Descendants": Term used to describe an elderly man with many children and grandchildren.

[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: Game, resembling a tug-of-war, played with wooden loops and spears.

[601] [illegible], *[illegible]*: Grandchild; the vocative indicates endearment.

[578] [illegible]: The deposition of eagle down on the heads of those quarrelling to pacify them.

[illegible]: Gull [illegible].

[illegible]: 1—Breathing.
2—Sound of a *nasal* whistle, referred to as the breathing of *Mitlakila*.

[illegible]: Chicken grouse.

[illegible]: 1—Ancient village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
2—Place of petrified power at site of ancient village.

[778] 3—Semi-anthropomorphized being responsible for power in this locality.

[illegible]: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of every river.

[illegible]: The vine.

[824] [illegible]: Dried oleberries.

[illegible]: 1—Human-like power, as brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Coola woman.

[821] [illegible]: Eclipse.

[illegible]: 1—One who keeps in touch with a concealed Cannibal.

[824] 2—One who has the inherited right to assist *kusiut* or *nasal* dancers; this prerogative occurs in Kimsquit only.

[illegible]: One of the names of the supreme god.

[illegible]: One of the names of the supreme god.

[illegible]: 1—Synonym for *Skulelwasily*, q.v.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

[824] [illegible]: A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first people in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Scbris from cones eaten by squirrels.

[illegible], "The First": One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Man mentioned in an origin myth of a southern locality.

[illegible], [illegible], *[illegible]*: Friends.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[728] *yuhmax:* Peace ceremony.
Yulahn: Bella Coola carpenter living in the last century.
yun-imut: Ceremonial error.
[534] *Yentsänl:* House of the first settlers at *Sätla* in the beginning of time.
yut-an: Rattle.
[425] *yut-umm:* The sending back of a name to the family of its original owners through a return marriage, or the proposal to do so, made by the relatives of the wife.
[589] *yutsalt; plural, yutsält; vocative plural, yutsalt:* A woman who has attained an honourable position through being many times repurchased from her husband; virtually, a female chief.
[554] *Yalqwikaiya:* Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
Yenzitla: Kuziut name of a Kimsquit man.
yundimut: Fire-holder carried by Thunder.
[825] *yuo'mait:* Old, female sea-lion.
Yupkin: Ancestral name of a *Sunel* man.
Yurwemait: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Yulstimut: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[372] *yukuta:* Sticks for making fire.
yupkly: Promontory.
yu'pait: The actual appearance of a performer at an *a'alt* dance during a potlatch.
Yufmet: Lostmy village.
Yuyukmpl: Stone on the shore of Dean Channel believed to have been a man a long time ago.
Yuyulk'mai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Alpältal* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuhell* in the beginning of time.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575 her the secrets of the Kû'siût. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
713 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
716 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kû'siût. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kû'siût.'

575 Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kû'siût. When a man has
716 seen Anânlikûtsai'n sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a Kû'siût. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Kû'siût lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kû'siût are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband,
424 as is the case with the Sisau'kn dances (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
[424] by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Kû'siût is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kû'siût name, which
[551] he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kû'siût names,
[428] which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pô'pô until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Ti'akô'etl. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[556] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisau'kn, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kû'siût have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
● [554] tlaqô'tla (the Hâ'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ô'lsq (the Nû'tlmatl of the Kwakiutl), and the Dâ'tla (the Nô'ntaistatl of the He'iltsuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Kû'siût novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the tlaqô'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
785 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any-one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[244] killed, in order to serve as food for the tlaqô'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the tlaqô'tla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
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woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the kû'siut. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the kû'siut." 575 773 776 535

Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the kû'siut. When a man has seen Anaûlikuta'al'x· sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a kû'siut. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each kû'siut lasts three days. 575 776 535

The various dances performed by members of the kû'siut are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisau'k· dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the kû'siut is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kû'siut name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pô'pô until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of L'akô'ot. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the sisau'k·, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kû'siut have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the xlaxô'la (the hâ'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the ô'lex (the nû'lmal of the Kwakiutl), and the dâ'tin (the nô'ntsistalal of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kû'siut novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation. 535 575 [426] [551] [428] [556] [171] [554]

When the xlaxô'la is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the xlaxô'la. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the xlaxô'la order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears 575 785 787 [266]

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431 child of a mixed Bella Coola and slave marriage. As long as
567 such an one maintained a position of importance in the com-
578 munity by the distribution of presents, nothing was said, but
if he should fail to do so, he could be, and frequently was,
[554] insulted by having references made to his ancestry. In case
of dispute or rivalry it was always a temptation to refer to
such a blot, but if he had atoned for it with presents, references
were considered improper. Unquestionably, memory of slave
554 ancestry was forgotten in course of time if the line was influ-
567 ential, although recollections of the stigma were always car-
ried for at least two or three generations. At the present time
the most influential woman in Bella Coola, the one who has
given most presents, is the granddaughter of a Smith Inlet
slave. This man had lived in Bella Coola for many years and
had married another slave, by whom he had a son. The latter
became the husband of an influential *Stuix* woman. When she
became pregnant, her family secured the liberation of her
husband, and gave many presents to "wash the child." One
daughter was born to this couple, the woman just mentioned.
Her mother's relatives were influential, and her father was
[555] such an expert canoe-maker that he was able to win an honour-
able position for his daughter by presents of his handicraft.
The woman, possessed of considerable ability herself, has been
able to give many ceremonies and so reach a position of emi-
nence. No one dares insult her by mentioning her ancestry,
but everyone knows about it and if her children should fail to
hold their position, they would be open to insult on this score.
The woman has validated names and myths derived both from
her mother and father, without explaining how the Smith Inlet
traditions came to Bella Coola.

To sum up, it may be said that the position of slaves in
Bella Coola was not particularly onerous, though it depended
entirely on the will of their masters. Without status in the
community, a slave could have been abused by a cruel owner,
[182] though the public life of the village, where all lived and ate
together, tended to break down the unsystematically enforced
differences of rank.

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701 than that of anyone else. The Bella Coola do not rationalize
156 in a scientific manner; if a man holds a belief firmly, he acts on it without questioning its logic. Moreover, if a professional warrior functions a number of times, this in itself is enough to strengthen his conviction that he must act henceforth in the same way. It can be said with confidence that the owner of
[463] a professional prerogative has considerable belief in his own powers, that this acts on himself to render him proficient, and that the majority of the community have respect for his capabilities.

555

THE PROFESSION OF SINGER

424 Singing is one of the professions open to a Bella Coola
533 either through natural ability or an ancestral prerogative. There is a constant need for men able to sing and compose
[463] songs for every kind of ceremonial, so a young man of talent has little difficulty in gaining admittance to the choir. He may even win great distinction and become recognized as the leading authority on musical matters. None the less, his success is considered to be accidental and unsubstantial, lacking the foundation that comes from the possession of a duly validated professional prerogative. A person made a singer by the latter means may be entirely unable to compose; in this case he is not a member of the choir, although he enjoys the social distinction which he has won by distributing goods to confirm his professional name. The singer most respected is he who combines with natural ability a confirmed prerogative to give substance and power to his position and composi-
[553] tions. At the death of such an one, an effort is always made
[428] by the members of his ancestral family to transmit the name to a youth who has shown musical promise. Arguments and
[578] differences of opinion are common among the members of the choir and in such cases the self-assurance and influence of a man whose position has been made strong by the distribution of presents often outweighs that of one who can rely only on his actual ability.

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THE PROFESSION OF CARPENTER

As with singers, there are many carpenters who ply their trade without the advantage of an ancestral prerogative. They, also, may be expert and receive credit for their skill, but they can never achieve quite the distinction that comes to a man who has been made a carpenter by the distribution of presents. The latter may be so clumsy with tools that no one would ever trust him to make a canoe, or even a mask; but he is, socially, a carpenter, whereas a skilled artisan lacking a prerogative is admired for his ability but has no foundation of social esteem. In transmitting a professional carpenter's name, however, an effort is always made to give it to a youth with a bent in that direction.

The most esteemed carpenters are those who can make canoes, a trade which requires no special prerogative. In the beginning of time, *Yulätimut* was the canoe-maker *par excellence;* he assisted many of the first people, and no one can have a professional prerogative as carpenter unless this supernatural being appears in his ancestral myth. The Bella Coola ascribe the skill of the Bella Bella in carpentry to the fact that *Yulätimut* married a Bella Bella woman in the early period of the world and that many of that tribe are his descendants. In the old days, before the coming of the white men, carpenters were always respected as esteemed members of the community. Chiefs always cared for them, and they received abundant food at every ceremonial. None the less, they were not wealthy, and only in recent years, since the Bella Coola have realized the value put upon good craftsmanship by the white men, has it become customary to give valuable presents to carpenters. Ceremonially, they have considerable influence, since the carpenter who makes a mask usually decides who shall wear it and takes charge of the fitting and adjustment. He is also held responsible for any accident such as its falling when in use or for mechanical defects.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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THE PROFESSION OF HUNTER

224 424 [463] Another profession which is entered by means of an ancestral prerogative is that of hunting. Many Bella Coola have validated their right to this vocation, some by confirming names created by their early ancestors, others by legalizing those brought down from above in the beginning of time. [551] One of the latter is *Lalaimkila*, "The Brusher Off," so-called because the owner is such a successful hunter that he can sweep mountain goats from the mountains as easily as an ordinary person can brush insects from a wall. Unlike the professions of carpenter and singer, it is believed that legalization of a hunter's name always brings success to the holder; [555] perhaps because everyone is more or less successful, it follows that whatever good fortune is achieved by a professional hunter [556] can be attributed to the validation of his prerogative. Others, lacking this assistance, may be proficient, but their success never carries with it the social prestige gained by a man who has distributed goods to substantiate the prerogative.

224 424 184 [177] There is a difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not certain hunting methods are inheritable prerogatives. With the introduction of rifles, these have long been discontinued, and no definite information was obtained regarding the social position of their users. Several of the older men believed that the contrivances depended upon ancestral prerogatives, whereas others stated that they were merely individual discoveries which could have been, and in many cases were, imitated by anyone. It seems probable that most of the following practices are prerogatives, although it may be that they are no more than special hunting devices suitable only in certain areas and, therefore, limited to the members of the ancestral family owning that particular locality.

223 424 The method about which the most definite information was obtained, was one formerly employed by a certain *Nazpalqiq* to catch geese at *Tāl-ie*. According to one elderly Bella Coola,

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948.
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expenditure though he must forgo the prestige enjoyed by a man who has been able to elevate his professional names in a lavish manner. Selection is a constant factor in the social life of a Bella Coola; the man who uses all his wealth to acquire a firm seat cannot be "strong" in *ssaok* matters; the man who desires to specialize in *kusiut* affairs cannot afford to display an elaborate totem-pole. Amid these conflicting desires, it often happens that a man somewhat neglects his professional prerogatives, especially those of which the dignity has been slightly lessened through superior skill shown by individuals endowed with no more than native ability. Upstarts of this kind have always infringed upon professional dignity, and the coming of the white man has added a new factor which has almost destroyed vocational prerogatives.

424 556 182 [555] [177]

A'alk Dances

The most important, as well as the most spectacular, dances that occur at potlatches are those given by members of the *ssaok* society. In addition to these, a feature of many potlatches is the performance of *a'alk* dances.[1] As already mentioned, from 1870 onwards there have been many changes in *ssaok* ritual; new elements have been acquired by the marriages of Bella Coola to members of the coastal tribes, with the result that details of procedure vary at every ceremony according to the prerogatives of the donor. Since 1910, the influence of white civilization has increased to such an extent that *ssaok* ceremonials have virtually been abandoned. This took place at a time when the ritual was in transition, a state of affairs which rendered difficult the collection of coherent information. *A'alk* dances are associated with *ssaok*, but the addition of new features to the latter was accompanied by a decay of the former. Both societies have now almost ceased to exist, but whereas the *ssaok* organization was abandoned during a period of change and accretion, that

177 535 575 [184] [796] [128]

[1] Called *a'alpas* in Kitamaat.

126 text, although they are obvious on the phonograph records.
195 In singing, moreover, sounds, especially vowel sounds, are altered to fit the tune, a factor which accounts for further
*533 discrepancies between record and text. A frequent device is reduplication, a word or group of words is repeated in singing when not called for in the spoken version. Finally one sound occurs in singing which is practically unknown in speaking, a velar *s* (recorded as *ʃ*) which gives a whistling effect. Most choruses and some whole songs consist of meaningless sounds; in such cases the tune alone is important and no attempt was made to record the syllables.

It was quite as difficult to obtain interpretations as to record texts. Songs which have been handed down for generations abound in archaic expressions which are meaningless even to the older men: some recently composed are full of metaphorical devices to conceal their real significance from the uninitiated. The result is consequently a series of words which, taken one at a time, convey no meaning. In many cases it was impossible to obtain literal translations, even with the willing assistance of younger men familiar with English. Every effort was made to get the general *meaning*, and it is felt that this object was tolerably achieved, though the transcriptions may not be sufficiently accurate for grammatical analysis.

*533 Singers function at every ceremony; in fact, its success
*796 depends so largely upon their efforts that they are always
*575 important members of the community. Some singers are created by the validation of an ancestral prerogative; others
[554] by having composed a suitable tune. The young man who has
[424] done so, calls one of the established musicians aside and hums
[555] it to him; if the hearer is favourably impressed, he may learn and repeat it to his fellows, and if it wins their approval, the composer may be asked to join their ranks for the occasion on which it is to be used. Thus encouraged, the young man is likely to try again, or he may be invited to assist at some ceremony for which a large number of singers is required. If proficient, he is certain to win recognition in course of time,

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until it is accepted by all that he is one of the men who should be called upon to take part in all rites. If possible, he endeavours to legalize his position by a distribution of presents. Men are always eager to become singers, both for fame and for emoluments. 533* 796* 575* [555] [424]

New songs are required every year for *sisaok* and *kusiut* dances, necessitating an almost limitless number of compositions. Singers frequently make use of fragments of old tunes, or snatches from half-forgotten songs, but they are ridiculed as inefficient if the plagiarism be too obvious. Tunes are always prepared in advance; in fact, proficient composers spend much of their time at all seasons of the year in humming over to themselves possible combinations. When word is passed around that a song is required, they meet in some lonely spot and each who has one in readiness hums it, tapping a gentle accompaniment. After considerable discussion, one is selected as being the most suitable and the singers make themselves familiar with it. Words are then put to it, consisting of fragments from the ancestral myth of the person for whom it has been prepared, or from some other theme appropriate to the occasion. Sometimes this is done by the composer of the tune; sometimes by another singer more familiar with the subject. The provision of words is considered less difficult and less important than the composition of a tune; no one knows the source of inspiration for the latter, but the former is said to come from either the heart or the head. All ceremonial songs are divided into three sections; *kelulo·s* or first part, *ăs·iko·tl* or second part, and *ălox* or third part, separated from one another by the *siutnălos*, wordless chorus. The three parts correspond, approximately, to verses and each contains four, rarely six, subdivisions. In mourning songs there are sometimes as many as six or eight *ălox*, and the whole is correspondingly lengthened.

On the night of a ceremony, the singers always take their places beforehand for a final rehearsal. Each brings his own beating-stick, a stout baton about two feet long to pound on the floor in time with his singing. The only other musical [534]

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/For information on achieving prestige through the giving of gifts, especially at a potlatch, see category 116, pp. 163-262, and pp. 458-494./

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quantities of ducks and geese, and the inhabitants of the inland villages sometimes made hunting expeditions to the nesting places of wild-fowl in the lakes of the interior uplands. Although numbers of birds were sometimes killed in this way, they were never a steady article of diet. The same is true of geese. Always plentiful, these birds were commonly killed, but never in large numbers. 223 [136] [262]

The basis of the food supply was fish. The river teemed with salmon, which enabled the country to support its relatively large population. Spring, sockeye, hump-back, dog, and coho salmon, all entered the river in thousands during the spring and summer, while the steel-head could be caught throughout the year. They were taken in weirs and their flesh smoked for winter use. Throughout the year, salmon was the principal article of diet. Second in importance was the olachen, a fish somewhat resembling a herring, which entered the river in great numbers during April or May. They were taken in purse-like nets,* allowed to rot for ten days or two weeks, and then boiled. The grease was skimmed off and kept indefinitely to be used as a relish for other foods. It was always a sign of poverty if a person were obliged to eat berries without olachen grease. Trout and bull-heads were found in the river, but were not sufficiently plentiful to be of importance. 226 262 [251] [252] [263] [237] [735] [556]

Although no form of agriculture was practised, the Bella Coola used vegetable food to a considerable extent. Berries were abundant; some were eaten raw, but many more were pounded into a pulpy mass and dried in the sun. Cakes prepared in this way kept indefinitely and formed one of the regular winter foods. The bark of the hemlock and cottonwood was eaten, as well as the roots of many plants. In recent years many of these have not been used, so that an investigator is apt to overlook their great importance in early times. Although useless for food, the cedar was the corner-stone of Bella Coola material culture. From its trunk were split out, with wedges, the wide planks which formed 262 [241] [251] [178] 824 322

*See Appendix A for a description of olachen fishing.

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000 Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

424 Before leaving the subject of supernatural animals, a word
773 must be said concerning the attitude of the Bella Coola to
825 those in whose forms their first ancestors came to earth. If, for example, a man's first ancestor descended as a raven, this knowledge is a valuable possession of himself and his family.
[559] Indeed, the most treasured possessions of a Bella Coola are not the material objects collected by him through life, but the intangible rights wrapped up in his ancestral history. These are referred to under four names:

(1) *Smaiuste*, "Preserved Story"; the myth describing the coming to earth of a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(2) *Kelaka*, "What Was Sent Down"; the names and other possessions given by *Alqantăm* to a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(3) *Tsămăl*, "Whence We Came"; the place to which a man's first ancestors came in the beginning of time, and the one from which they have since spread.

(4) *Qwathuta*.

Various *smaiuste* are recorded in vol. I, chap. vi, and the second and third terms are really part of the first, although to the Bella Coola they are psychologically distinct. *Qwathuta* is the word used for both the birds or animals chosen as cloaks by the first settlers, and also for creatures with which the early people came in contact. The nearest interpretation
424 appears to be, "Crest." When a Bella Coola whose first an-
773 cestor came to earth as a raven portrays that bird, it serves as
825 a visible mark of his intangible possession. In former days,
211 if a man carved on stone so that his work and his name would never be forgotten, it was a *qwathuta*, a constant reminder of his greatness to generations then unborn. A *qwathuta*, therefore, combines the concept of *memorial* with that of *crest*, so that Bella Coola speak of the white man's memorials as *qwathuta*. In brief, a man regards the form assumed by his ancestor when coming to this earth as an emblem of the

424 exact answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the
999 Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the
825 narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his
stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience, and added that though he was quite willing to accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not
[582] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of
sanctity.

211 Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet
424 they have some importance in the realm of social life. The
993 portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral
myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy
825 chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a
painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a
[532] design is impressed with the glorious of the family history of
[550] the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of
the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delineation is a memento of family history. For that reason a man
[304] is often tattooed* with his crest, that derived from his father's first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow. After the death of a chief a memorial post is erected over his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his
[890] family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

[191] [184] *This is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal tribes but also the Carriers. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated themselves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with potlatches; in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the back room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle covered with colouring material, the second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were boiled for a long time and then ground into a powder. This began indefinitely and was by much easier for men but making with women. As far as could be learned, any skilled craftsman might perform the operation.

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of thought, of success and failure and of life itself, to powers of another sphere. Their ideas are not clearly crystallized on this subject, but in the following section an attempt has been made to give a fair picture, gleaned from many informants, of the supernatural parts of the human body.

THE SPIRIT

The most important part of the human body is the *sucúmlis*, spirit. This is small, but of great power, since it belongs to the world of the supernatural; in fact, the spirit of a man is not mortal, but *ciut*. Everyone, man or woman, rich or poor, chief or slave, has one; without it, life would be impossible. When a child is born, his parents supply him with food and care, and *Hyamtsin* provides the even more necessary invisible elements, including the spirit. It resides in the back of the neck and resembles a thin bone shaped like a maple-leaf. Animals have similar ones, but with them the bone is visible, whereas only shamans can see it in human beings. The spirit is a new-born infant in weak and powerless, but it increases in strength with the body. If a man prospers in his ventures and has success in life, it is due, not to his own efforts, but to the activity of his spirit. When a man acquires wealth with little labour, he knows that his spirit has been constantly tumbling on the back of his neck; when he is unfortunate, that it has become sore or sluggish. It is the cause of dreams, which are desired as means of foretelling the future. Some Bella Coola believe that in sleep it leaves the body and travels, unrestrained by any barrier, to the scene of the dreams; others, that it causes the images to appear. During waking hours the spirit formulates every thought, no matter how trifling. When a man remembers that he left his fire with insufficient fuel and hurries home to rectify the omission, it is this element which has brought the need to his mind; when he thinks of a dance given, his spirit is responsible for the thought and some men even believe that it has travelled there. Sometimes an action one can give warning, as in the following instance. A few

child one of his own names, in which case the donor surrenders all claim to it. This designation is the obvious mark of the position of the child in the ancestral family. Without such a formal conferring of an ancestral name an infant would be without status in the community, but, as children are always welcome, some relative is invariably ready to confirm the bestowal by the necessary distribution of goods, a feature that is present in every Bella Coola ceremonial. On such occasions the guests are called by their ancestral names. An effort was made to learn what would happen if the number of children born into an ancestral family exceeded the number of ancestral names enumerated in the origin myth, but no answer was forthcoming. Established custom demands that a name be provided for every child, and one is always provided. Without question designations must be invented, usually from some event in the origin myth, but it is always claimed that such were used by a long-deceased ancestor. In fact, the social custom agrees with the requirements of the mythological concept. Since bestowal of names is a source of pride, it follows that a child often receives several from the ancestral families of which he is a member; the possession of these is a source of gratification to the owner.

An ancestral name given to a child is spoken of as an *dogbad* name, and the recipient as *ts dogbad*, which may be translated, "commoner." He may be given several names from one origin myth, or ones from diverse origin myths if his parents are members of different ancestral families. These designations may either be those brought down from above by the first people, those made on this earth by them, or those made at some important event by later persons. Irrespective of what combination of these possibilities a child may have, he is still a commoner, and his ability to rise to the position of chief depends on his own, or his parents', ability to give potlatches, as will be described in the next chapter. In such a case his *dogbad* name is said to have been elevated to that of a *nilkuay* (chief's) name.

establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the peculiarl resiliency of the whole organization.

Politically, the village is the most important Bulu Centre unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the same town, about to attack *Ewondo* passed within a quarter of a mile of *Bonga* to without the inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours.

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bulu Centre groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. xv), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such chieftainship as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the elder of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat-

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be rendered powerful by magical means or the ritual acts of relatives. Although these often entail great labour and expense, parents seldom neglect their duty; in fact, care for their children is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics, though the methods used are so foreign to the white man that he has difficulty in realizing their meaning. The hope of both parents is to have children to carry on their names; infanticide is unknown and the death of an infant is mourned almost as much as that of an adult. Sterility and impotency are frequent causes for divorce.

At the present time there is a high birth-rate in Bella Coola, though the heavy infant mortality prevents any appreciable increase in the population. In the old days, it is said, there were always large families, though much confidence cannot be placed in this statement. In families where there are several children, the first-born, whether boy or girl, assumes an important position. His or her influence, as eldest, is naturally considerable, and the parents foster this through the vague feeling that it is proper for the eldest to be the most important in the family. In adult years, and after marriage, the influence of the eldest of a family continues to have considerable weight with younger brothers and sisters.

If a man is poor he cannot hope to have more than one wife, and his family circle will be limited to their children, and perhaps wealthy parents. On the other hand, a wealthy and powerful man usually has a larger family. Not only may he have several wives, but his aged relatives, and those of his wife, look to him for support and assistance. Such are usually welcome to live in his house; they lend what aid they can in collecting food, and it gratifies a man's pride and sense of power to be closely surrounded by a large family. The Bella Coola are, on the whole, considerate to their aged relatives.[19]

[illegible] not true of the present. During the winter of 1923-4 a feeble old man, living alone, was often in actual want of food. Disliked and despised, of a most disagreeable himself, none of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were [illegible], would take him into their houses. Commenting on this man's fate, [illegible] pointed out how, in the old days, such a man could have found

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The married sons of a chief usually live in his house, and if he is very powerful the husbands of his daughters may also reside with him. Such a man is at the zenith of power, surrounded by a close group, formed of elderly relatives, of children and grandchildren. Connections by marriage are also added to the family group. At the present time, for example, one Bella Coola man is looking after his brother's widow, and it is felt that she is a member of his family. 592 556 622 602

Another way in which a rich man can increase the size of his family is by adoption. Parents who have lost an infant may adopt the child of some member of the ancestral family of either father or mother. The matter is usually arranged soon after birth, and the transfer takes place immediately after weaning. The real parents are willing since they know that the adopting parents will be able to validate valuable prerogatives and names for the child, which they themselves are unable to do. This desire for their child's welfare overrules parental love. In such cases the real father or mother can likewise bestow names and other prerogatives on the child, who really becomes a member of two families. This is often done by an old couple whose own children have married and moved away, and who thus find themselves lonely. It is considered disgraceful for parents to allow their children to be adopted by anyone not a member of their ancestral family, since that would be an admission of inability to bring up a child in the path of his ancestors. 556 597 614 [188]

"Your father was not strong," could be said to such a child as a reproach.

In the case of an orphan some wealthy relative is almost always ready to adopt him. Consequently, as he grows up, he receives his full share of the ancestral origin myth, and the names embodied therein, so that the loss of his own parents is of little consequence in the course of life. Occasionally a child is not adopted by relatives, and then his fate is indeed hard. 736 599

shelter in the house of any chief, and shared in the food which was being distributed at the almost continuous ceremonial feasts. Now, each family lives alone and no one feels any responsibility for this old man. [178]

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THE PROFESSION OF HUNTER

Another profession which is entered by means of an ancestral prerogative is that of hunting. Many Bella Coola have validated their right to this vocation, some by confirming names created by their early ancestors, others by legalizing those brought down from above in the beginning of time. One of the latter is *Lalaimkila*, "The Brusher Off," so-called because the owner is such a successful hunter that he can sweep mountain goats from the mountains as easily as an ordinary person can brush insects from a wall. Unlike the professions of carpenter and singer, it is believed that legalization of a hunter's name always brings success to the holder; perhaps because everyone is more or less successful, it follows that whatever good fortune is achieved by a professional hunter can be attributed to the validation of his prerogatives. Others, lacking this assistance, may be proficient, but their success never carries with it the social prestige gained by a man who has distributed goods to substantiate the prerogative.

There is a difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not certain hunting methods are inheritable prerogatives. With the introduction of rifles, these have long been discontinued, and no definite information was obtained regarding the social position of their users. Several of the older men believed that the contrivances depended upon ancestral prerogatives, whereas others stated that they were merely individual discoveries which could have been, and in many cases were, imitated by anyone. It seems probable that most of the following practices are prerogatives, although it may be that they are no more than special hunting devices suitable only in certain areas and, therefore, limited to the members of the ancestral family owning that particular locality.

The method about which the most definite information was obtained, was one formerly employed by a certain *Nuxalpiy* to catch goats at *Tal'in*. According to one elderly Bella Coola,

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225 small ocean-going canoe, with an assistant who passed his paddle through the water in such a way that a slight phosphorescent streak resulted. This resembled the course of a salmon. In a short time a seal would rise in pursuit of the "fish," and the watchful hunter would harpoon it. The seal would rush off with the head of the weapon, which was attached by a long line to the shaft remaining in the hunter's hand. He would play it like a huge fish, until the exhausted animal was drawn to the side of the canoe and clubbed. Several seals were often obtained by this means in the course of a single night.

224 424 The two usual methods of killing mountain goats are by cornering them with dogs and then choking them to death, or by shooting with rifle or bow. There was formerly a special method of snaring which had been handed down as a prerogative from the time of the first people. The hunter used to set his snares on a precipitous path commonly used by goats and had remarkable success. Others might know how to make snares and where the hunter set them, but no one would ever attempt this method of hunting without the proper prerogative. Another right, enjoyed by another hunter, was the catching of bears in a similar way in snares.

424 551 182 Little need be said in conclusion about these particular privileges, except to emphasize that they are merely an aspect of the principle of validated prerogatives which permeates every phase of Bella Coola life. It is as natural for a man to be made a singer or a hunter by the distribution of presents as it is for him to acquire a dance by the same means. Each is contained in an ancestral myth, and the validation of the prerogative enables the incumbent either to function actively, or at least to enjoy the social prestige attached to the craftsman who has been duly confirmed in his vocation. The necessity of bestowing gifts to validate a prerogative introduces an economic element to the concept, but this is lessened by the fact that a poor man can acquire a name by a relatively small

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expenditure though he must forgo the prestige enjoyed by a man who has been able to elevate his professional names in a lavish manner. Selection is a constant factor in the social life of a Bella Coola; the man who uses all his wealth to acquire a firm seat cannot be "strong" in *nuxnk* matters; the man who desires to specialize in *hactsa* affairs cannot afford to display an elaborate totem-pole. Amid these conflicting desires, it often happens that a man somewhat neglects his professional prerogatives, especially those of which the dignity has been slightly lessened through superior skill shown by individuals endowed with no more than native ability. Upstarts of this kind have always infringed upon professional dignity, and the coming of the white man has added a new factor which has almost destroyed vocational prerogatives.

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A'alt Dances

The most important, as well as the most spectacular, dances that occur at potlatches are those given by members of the *nuxnk* society. In addition to these, a feature of many potlatches is the performance of *a'alt* dances.[1] As already mentioned, from 1870 onwards there have been many changes in *nuxnk* ritual; new elements have been acquired by the marriages of Bella Coola to members of the coastal tribes, with the result that details of procedure vary at every ceremony according to the prerogatives of the donor. Since 1910, the influence of white civilization has increased to such an extent that *nuxnk* ceremonials have virtually been abandoned. This took place at a time when the ritual was in transition, a state of affairs which rendered difficult the collection of coherent information. *A'alt* dances are associated with *nuxnk*, but the addition of new features to the latter was accompanied by a decay of the former. Both societies have now almost ceased to exist, but whereas the *nuxnk* organization was abandoned during a period of change and secession, that

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[1] Called *ts'alpen* in Kwakiutl.

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177 of the *a'alk* came to an end when it was already waning in
535 importance. It was impossible to obtain as much detailed
575 information about the latter as was desired, and it is even
128 possible that some of the facts recorded in connection with
nuxnk ceremonial really belong to *a'alk* rites.

The right to perform an *a'alk* dance depends upon a duly
424 validated ancestral prerogative of which the obvious mark is
535 an *a'alk* name. Some of the first people brought down such
575 designations and dances with them from above in the beginning
of time, a few were acquired on this earth as gifts from super-
[773] natural beings. Those who have rights of this kind form a
loose organization which may be termed the *a'alk* society.
This is closely associated both with the *nuxnk* society and with
chiefs, owing to the occurrence of the three types of names
in the same ancestral myths. One member of an ancestral
family may use his goods to validate his ancestral name,
[554] another to make himself a *nuxnk*, a third to become an *a'alk*,
and an important chief, endowed with ability and wealth, may
be able to do all these.

A'alk dances are less spectacular than those of either the
nuxnk or *hamat'sa* societies, nor are rattles or whistles used.
The prerogatives of a member are limited to his name, the
right to perform a certain dance, and the use of a song which
commonly describes some feature of his ancestral myth. Four
types of dances are considered to be *a'alk*; the methods
of acquiring and using any one of these are similar, so it is
unnecessary to describe the differences before the actual
account of the performance of each.

If there is a dormant *a'alk* prerog
552 family of the donor of a potlatch, he usu ative in the ancestral
575 this as one of the features of his cere ally chooses to validate
his wife and other relatives to assist ony. He first consults
be forthcoming, and if this matter can hat sufficient goods will
ently, he chooses three young relatives n be arranged satisfac-
dormant right. It would be most usu as the recipient of the
herald to declare the honour. Or some usual for the youth se-
e man, other than the

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holder of the potlatch, may wish to confirm a prerogative and 556
requests the donor to allow this to take place at his ceremony. 575
Permission is never refused, since the more incidental rites, the greater is the prestige of the whole. The young man on whom the name is to be confirmed is always told what is planned for him, and his relatives instruct him what to do.

As the time for the potlatch draws near, the donor requests the singers to prepare an *a'alk* song for the youth. The theme [533]
always deals with some incident of his ancestral story with which the singers are already familiar. If a number of youths are to be made *a'alk*, a song must be composed for each. The 532
carpenters are also requested to make for the initiate one, or sometimes two, masks representing a supernatural being, either 556
human or animal, connected with the myth in which occurs 575
the *a'alk* name about to be conferred. The design is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family concerned; it is usually, though not necessarily, the same as that employed by the last incumbent of the name. If the designation about to be confirmed is one which came down from above in the beginning of time, the mask usually represents the guise adopted by the first user of the name; if the prerogative were obtained on earth, it portrays the being from whom the right was received. These arrangements are made in secret, and are known only to the craftsmen, the donor of the potlatch, and his family.

On the night of *sdâtsum*, when the work for the potlatch is 556
allotted, the youth who is to be made an *a'alk* is confined 575
within the back-room of the house, presumably in company with the *sisaxl* initiates, though there is ambiguity on this point. After the general arrangements have been made, an elderly *a'alk* whose aid has been requested, suddenly rushes

from the house as if he had heard some noise. One of the *sisi*, or an influential chief, makes some allegedly witty remark as to why he has gone out, and then follows, taking with him the dance head-dress belonging to the *a'alk*. This is identical with the type worn by *sisaxl*, one of the many points of resemblance [184] [535]

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552 575 [184] [292] [535] between the two societies. Presently the elderly *a'alt* returns, clad in his ceremonial costume consisting of the head-gear, a blanket, and a narrow apron from which hang deer hooves, small pieces of copper, or other jingling articles. The singers strike up his song, and he dances near the fire in a manner depending upon which of the four dances he has the right to perform. Again the *sôki* leaves the house; when he returns he announces that a *tutsinaw* is coming with a song for the youth, naming the one who is to be made an *a'alt*. A moment passes, and in stalks a masked figure depicting the form taken by the first ancestor of the novice, or the being from which one of his later forefathers received an *a'alt* prerogative. Sometimes two of these beings appear. The apparition circles the fire, stops beside the singers, and chants a song to them in a low voice. Then it enters the back-room and is seen no more. Presently the singers strike up the song they have just heard. To those who are neither *a'alt* nor *nuxsê* it seems that the song was brought by the supernatural visitor; in reality, it is the one previously composed by the singers and taught by them to the wearer of the mask to lend realism to the performance. The youth concealed within the back-room does not emerge on this occasion, the song is merely sung in practice. Sometimes the masked figure appears during the daytime and walks openly along the shore of the river like a foreign guest, as indeed it is said to be.

[184] [198] The coming of a *tutsinaw* is one of the points of resemblance between *a'alt* and *nuxsê* rites. The older people agree that this has long been a feature of the former society, adopted by the latter in recent years. The description given in this section appears to be of the original and proper use, although, as already noted, the *nuxsê* have recently employed *tutsinaw* for somewhat different purposes.

It is uncertain whether or not the *a'alt* novice remains secluded any longer within the back-room. In ancient times he probably did, but with the recent growth of the *nuxsê*

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society and decline of the *a'alk*, concealment has become limited to initiates of the former organization. 556 575

No more *a'alk* dances take place during the potlatch preliminaries, but with the coming of the first group of foreign guests, the host displays as many types of dance as he is entitled to, including *a'alk* if he has the necessary prerogative. On this occasion other *a'alk*, especially relatives of the donor, give their dances, the only time that such are used at potlatches except by novices receiving names. This is repeated on the arrival of every party of guests. [178] 556 575 535

Meanwhile the novice, or novices, has been practising the proper steps for his appearance, which always occurs immediately before the entry of the masked figure representing the donor's dead relative. As already mentioned, there are four kinds of *a'alk* dances, known as *nacpual*,[4] *ilaiyakaw*, *gi'aqa*, and *aw'hl'a*. A similar song is used for a dancer of any one of these four; the text describes some small incident of the ancestral myth in which the name occurs, such as the bringing down of the prerogative by the first incumbent in the beginning of time. At the proper moment, the singers beat this out and the audience joins them in singing it. Then the singers begin to strike rapidly on the floor with double beats, assisted by the guests who clap their hands in rapid couplets. Out comes the dancer, resplendent in his head-dress decorated with weasel skins, and women with the required prerogative begin to dance. If his prerogative is as a *ilaiyakaw* or *gi'aqa*, he proceeds to a place beside the fire and begins to run around it, sideways, in short mincing steps, revolving at the same time on himself. He clasps his hands behind his back and bends down, then stands upright with palms extended upwards, never ceasing to move his feet in rapid steps. This type of dance is far more violent than a *nacpual* one, and the amount of energy expended by a dancer in his rapid circuits of the fire is tremendous. Never, even for a moment, are his feet quiet, while his body twists and bends in an amazing fashion. After two

[4] Among the supernatural beings, the *nacpual* is a pouting mountain goat.

[533] [533] [576]

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552 or three rounds he retires utterly exhausted. The time beaten
575 out for a *naxpual* or *ow'hl'a* dancer is the same. He too comes
535 near the fire and at first dances in the same manner until the
[599] singers in unison bellow out, *W'ai-*, "More." With a run that ends in a crashing leap that seems to shake the floor, the performer takes his position between the fire and one of the side walls and begins to revolve furiously upon himself. His body is bent forward until it seems as if all that prevents him from falling to the floor is his hands clutched together as far as possible behind his back; while his feet move so rapidly that the short mincing steps run into each other. Gradually the beating becomes less violent, only to be followed by another cry of *W'ai-*, and another rush and jump that lands the dancer behind the fire. Here he revolves once more in the same furious fashion; the same is repeated on the side of the fire opposite to the place where he first performed, and finally between the fire and the door. *Naxpual* and *ow'hl'a* are the most strenuous of all Bella Coola dances and the performer is glad to retire. He afterwards joins the audience. This dance entails no taboo or restrictions on the dancer.

This terminates the performance of this type of dance at a potlatch, but among the goods distributed are some to validate the name acquired by the dancer, and others to legalize his actual display.

574 The occasion on which importance and solemnity are
575 attached to *o'alt* dances is during potlatches, but they are
535 also given at other times. Most Bella Coola performances are so steeped in the presence of the supernatural that the element of enjoyment is secondary, but in the spring, when the [794] *and* of the *Raven* season has heralded the warmer mode of the *clowns*, dances for pleasure are of common occurrence. A *naxul* can call his fellows to his house and the singers beat out *naxul* songs to which the *owsura* dance, but the most common beats are *o'alt*. Of course an individual may be a member of both societies, but the hostile invite the guests in his *o'alt* name. These summoned include both members of the society

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patrons and claiming to possess supernatural powers. In contrast to the *a'alt*, the *hactat* are well organized and regulated; its members are proud of their powers, and scornful of those who lack the same. Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to understand jealousy between the two. Until relatively recent times, the *a'alt* were numerically stronger, and included some chiefs, whereas the strength of the *hactat* society depended on the supernatural strength claimed by its members. It is true that individuals occasionally belonged to both, if they happened to possess prerogatives of both kinds, but, as a rule, the *a'alt* were young men and the *hactat* were older people. This rivalry was formerly so intense that all who were not members of the latter society were often termed *a'alt* irrespective of whether or not they actually possessed dances of that type; Carrier Indians alone were not so designated. During the summer, members of the two societies dwelt amicably together, but during the winter, when dances took place, there were continual bickerings. The *hactat* constantly endeavoured to impress their rivals with their own prowess; while the *a'alt*, not convinced of the others' power, used to mock them in their songs. This was the usual practice in case of some error in *hactat* ritual. The *a'alt* frequently disobeyed the orders of the *hactat* and a number of them once tried to pry up a huge boulder beneath which was the "power" of a certain *hactat* (II, p. 6). In recent years the *hactat* society has entirely gained the supremacy, but it is agreed by all Bella Coola that in former years this was by no means the case, and that *a'alt* did not hesitate even to kill one of their rivals.

Miscellaneous Ceremonies

The rites described in this chapter and the one preceding comprised the greatest of the Bella Coola so far as its aborigines could be known. Until the increase of wealth in recent years, the potlatch was rare, and it is unlikely that in any village more than one month in the year was consumed in the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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556 performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical
[182] concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch,
are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of
the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly
[577] displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue
must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a
576 major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a
574 meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do otherwise would be considered rude. The person summoned must take at least a trifle to show that he is not churlish and too proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shares whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of
[177] the family should be the first to taste any wine* as proof that
[293] it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better
[342] than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse
[414] through the construction of individual family houses with doors and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suitable place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his
476 catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon,
[226] the first solicitor is given one, later comers, none at all. When a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to raise it and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a
[685] despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy;
[626] hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried
[224] to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

556 Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who
431 has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

*This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of house-fires.

1:McIlwraith E-1 (1922-1924)946
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he can. Several of the older people mentioned that early white traders would have received more for their goods by giving them away than by selling.

Even at the present time the Bella Coola sometimes carry out a practice which was once common. Particularly in the early autumn or in spring, a chief who has large supplies of food may decide to show his wealth to the members of a neighbouring tribe such as the Bella Bella. Alone, or with a few friends, he goes to a foreign village where he is sure to find accommodation in the home of some friend, relative, or important chief. In the evening he invites the inhabitants of his host's village to the house in which he is staying, and uses the food he has brought with him to provide them with an elaborate meal. His guests now feel it incumbent on them to repay this generosity, and one of them asks the singers to beat out one of his songs, the Bella Bella equivalent to *nuxnit*, *o'alt*, or even *hactat*. The owner dances to it and then gives presents to the stranger to validate the performance he has just witnessed. This is repeated by everyone to whom he has given food, and although each present may be small, their total is greater than the original outlay. Sometimes a poor man, feeling himself too insignificant to give a ceremony of this kind, takes a supply of food to a foreign tribe to sell. If the hosts wish to show their generous dispositions they persuade him to give it away in the fashion just described, which always brings in more than he could obtain by sale. It is even customary for the hosts to lend such a stranger enough food for public distribution if his own stock is too small.

Although the most important Bella Coola dances are performed at potlatches or during the *hactat* season, they are not confined to these periods. Professional singers do nothing else but, except during the run of salmon when everyone is busy fishing, a dance occurs every few nights. Supernatural beings are not called down; consequently there is little solemnity and everyone has a good time. On these occasions, *hactat* songs are first beaten out, followed by *nuxnit* and *o'alt*, and the owner

533 of each song dances to it. Anyone who has enough food to
535 provide a meal for all is glad to invite his neighbours to such
574 an affair, but the singers and heralds can force a stingy man to act as host. Everyone knows his neighbour's resources and the singers have no hesitation in going to the house of a man with an ample supply of food and beginning to beat out songs
[214] there. The heralds are quick to see what is happening and
[624] call the people, with the result that the involuntary host is compelled to provide a meal in order not to be thought mean and churlish. Without waiting for the singers to take the
[203] initiative, heralds likewise often invite people to the house of a man whom they know to be well provided with food.

During the summer, the necessity of laying in supplies of
[221] salmon makes it impossible to hold many dances, although one
[996] of the non-sacred type just described takes place whenever there is a lull in the fishing. In the early autumn, when berries, fish, and game are abundant, the thoughts of chiefs turn
556 to potlatches and the lengthy preliminaries are begun. At this
792 season, too, a chief who lacks sufficient wealth to invite foreign
[221] guests, calls in his neighbours for a round dance and initiates
[375] some of his young relatives into that society. The ritual,
[535] described in the last chapter, resembles that of a potlatch except that no new house is constructed, there is no return of a dead relative, and the ceremonial connected with the coming of foreigners is necessarily omitted. In some cases a chief performs this type of rite a year before he proposes to hold a potlatch, and explains that he is doing so because he will be unable to give presents to the inhabitants of his own village
[434] at the later affair. Gifts so distributed are returnable with interest, though it is not obligatory for recipients to do this in time for the donor to make use of their repayment at his potlatch.

Ceremonials of this nature occupy the Bella Coola during
[575] the early autumn, while in winter *tsaiat* dances take place
[535] almost nightly. When they are over, it is time for the non-sacred variety of *s'ult* performances, and for another type of rite, *nuxkelmx*.

ciss, *wadekdaw*. This can be described here, since, although not closely associated with the potlatch, it serves to teach children the principles of present-giving and indebtedness. February is the preparatory month for *wadekdaw*, although preliminary arrangements are made early in the winter. A chief who has a son or daughter about ten or twelve years of age may decide to use alloy of his food, and a small part of his wealth, for the benefit of the child. With the assistance of his relatives, the father begins making large numbers of toy canoes, miniature bows and arrows, small baskets, and models of all other types of articles commonly given away at potlatches. The manufacture of these requires several months, but towards the end of January they are nearly ready.

A name must then be chosen for the child. Since a *wadekdaw* dance is a humorous, non-sacred affair, a *wadekdaw* name is not embodied in a myth, but is drawn from some story. Occasionally, parents decide on a new one, but more often the designation selected is one used for the same purpose by a grandparent of the child. There is no rivalry with regard to names of this type, and one of them can be re-used without asking consent of the last incumbent, although permission would never be refused. There must be a song with each name and the grandparents and other elderly relatives teach this to a number of boys who are to act as singers. The words may have been remembered from a previous occasion; if not, a simple theme is composed by one of the old people having some reference to the name about to be conferred. For example, one appellation of this type is *Tqelnar*, Fawn, and the accompanying words are:

"We hear that Deer has borne a child."

Another name is *Qolw*, Beaver, and the song: "Be of good cheer, the Beaver is coming."

A third song is, "Go outside under the house like a dog."

Occasionally a small incident in an ancestral myth is used. The teaching of the song to the juvenile singers is a source of constant merriment; the parents and grandparents are the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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852 principal instructors, aided by the professional musicians.
867 Boys are always willing to act as singers for the practice they
[533] receive, and the gifts they will acquire. Other lads are chosen to act as heralds, an effort being made in each case to pick those likely to pursue these professions.

[194] The day finally selected for the ceremony is in February, on a date when nothing of importance is taking place. The juvenile heralds summon the child guests, who have been invited in accordance with the rules governing a potlatch, especial care being taken to omit none to whom the child donor is indebted. His father carefully instructs him in this matter, thus impressing on his son's mind one of the fundamental points of Bella Coola life. In the late afternoon, when all have
[535] assembled, the boy singers beat out the donor's song and he dances to it. It may be in the nature of a *nuseek*, *a'alk*, or *kwaiar* dance, according to the wishes of his parents. In many cases, one of the grandparents or some other old relative likewise dances to the song, using whatever style he chooses. There is no ceremonial significance to the ceremony and all enjoy themselves immensely, especially the adult guests. After
[553] the dancing, the new name is announced and presents are given to the guests. The father of the young donor carefully instructs him as to the scale of his gifts, emphasizing the necessity of rewarding the singers and heralds, and of repaying with interest those children from whom he has received favours. In this way, the ceremony serves as a practical example of how to conduct a potlatch. The parents of the donor always provide some tasty food for the occasion, and this is distributed after
[554] the gifts have been handed round. The necessity for food and presents makes it impossible for any but the children of chiefs to enjoy this training.

After the ceremony, the children parade up and down the sidewalk in front of the houses, singing boisterously. The performance has been for their benefit and they wish to "show off." One night completes the affair, but the following afternoon another child may summon his comrades to a similar

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ceremony. The child singers first beat out the song of the present donor, then that of his predecessor, to which the latter dances once again. If food is plentiful, *nuxûxûmy* ceremonies may be carried out every day for several weeks, or a year or two may elapse without one. A child's song is remembered from year to year and he dances whenever it is beaten out. The name acquired in this way is used semi-jocularly by a lad's comrades. After marriage, it is considered unfitting for a youth to be concerned with *nuxûxûmy* and he normally becomes an *a'alk*. 852 867 [796] [533] [535] [551] [815]

Ceremonies of this kind have been discontinued for many years and it was impossible to obtain detailed accounts. The main features are clear: they served to instruct children in the methods of present-giving. According to one informant, there were two types of *nuxûxûmy* ceremonial; one of the humorous pattern above described in which, however, food alone was given away, and another in which miniature presents were distributed. This man believed that the latter was only possible for the children of wealthy chiefs, and that on such occasions the themes consisted of small incidents in the family myth. In either case, the importance of ceremonial can be judged from the manner in which it was impressed upon mere children. [182] [556]

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nuxalk*[a]

*539

In the beginning of time there came down from *Nuxmit'a* to *Nuxalk* a man whose name was *Kimtilong*[b]. As a present from *Sqamtin* he had brought with him a model of *Nuxmit'a*, which he set up on this earth and to which he gave the same name. This was after the first sun[c] sky, had fallen; it was from this catastrophe that *Kimtilong*[b] derived his name.

Kimtilong[b] had sun at the mouth of *Nuxmit'a* the face of a grizzly bear, in consequence of which he used that animal for all his decorations. His blankets, food boxes, spoons, all were adorned with grizzly bear designs; the door of his house, *Nuxmit'a*, was the mouth of one which opened to admit a guest, and closed when he had entered. The dwelling, which lengthened of its own accord whenever *Kimtilong*[b] gave a potlatch, endured for generations.[d] Before the door there lay on his back a man, *Ki'ulem*, with a huge stomach on which anyone entering the house had to step; a slave or commoner did so without emitting noise, but when a mighty chief trod on *Ki'ulem* his weight drew forth a groan from the mumbling man.[d] Any chief entering gave to *Kimtilong*[b] a slave, a canoe, or a copper, "to open the door," otherwise the mouth of the grizzly bear would snap shut and kill him.

Kimtilong[b] was powerful enough to give many potlatches; when planning one, he began his preparations early in the spring for the following winter. First he brought his canoe before his house, covered its grizzly bear nose with urine, and bent upon it with evergreen boughs. This was a signal that he proposed to go on a raiding expedition, and his fellow villagers were always glad to follow him. His forays were always successful due to his own power and because he took care when entering his destination to send forward a scouting party to determine the number of hostile houses and decide how many attackers should be allotted to deal with each. On one occasion he attacked the Fort Rupert people and captured a woman of chief's rank, who begged him not to enslave her, promising him her name, *Wi'nasa-ulmala or Kuala*. He agreed to her request and she tied a long leather line around her neck and told the other women to grasp it; those who did so were spared. In the same attack *Kimtilong*[b] made use of a Fort Rupert slave whom he bribed to

[a]Dictated by Mrs. Willie Mack. In this myth are included many fictions of a period later than that of the legend itself, but regarded by the informant as being strictly dependent upon it.

[b]The father of a woman, about fifty years old in 1923, is said to have seen the native poets when a young man.

[c]The important chief is always said to be "heavy" by virtue of the goods he has given away, and this expresses graphically the style of thought.

[539]

[illegible] (1922-1924) [illegible]
MES Bellacoola [illegible]
Bellabella MES

Bc
v 534
BB

[illegible] OF A [illegible] [illegible]*

In the beginning *[illegible]* came down to *[illegible]*, a place east of *[illegible]*, two men with their respective wives. The men's names were *[illegible]* and *[illegible]*, and those of the women, *[illegible]** and *[illegible]*.

[534]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]*

In the beginning there came down to *[illegible]*, on Salmon Fish, a woman whose name was *[illegible]*. On the shore of a lake near there she became a shaman, through a vision of which the details are lost. To show the continued goodwill of the power residing in the lake *[illegible]* a two mast ship sailed upon the water night down and lived underfoot, and sent this water when creating patterns. One day when she was singing, she was overheard by *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, and *[illegible]*, who had come to earth on the Dean River, *[illegible]* and were travelling by canoe, looking for a suitable place to settle. The four first named were brothers, the remaining two their sisters. Attracted by the song the six landed and ultimately chose *[illegible]* as their abode, where they lived amicably with the powerful *[illegible]*. In this they were fortunate, for she was so magically endowed that she had success in whatever she undertook.

[illegible] and his brothers built a large house of the kelp which grew abundantly in the vicinity. In course of time they were able to call people from far and near to a potlatch, at which a whale crested grease down through the smoke vent on to the central fire causing it to blaze brightly, much to the amusement of the guests.

Bc
[534]
[534]

Since that time, whenever the owner of the name *[illegible]* has given a potlatch, carpenters have prepared for him a smoke vent which crests grease on to the fire, a jealously preserved prerogative.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]*

In the beginning, *[illegible]* came down *[illegible]* with a hamlet on *[illegible]*, near a lake in the country now occupied by the Carrier Indians. *[illegible]* brought with him a sack containing the model of a house which, when he put it on the ground, expanded without visible cause into a big, large dwelling. In front of it there was a towering totem pole commemorative by an owl.

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*Related by [illegible] Indian.
*Related by [illegible] Indian.
*Related by Mrs. [illegible] Indian.

Bulbulile NES

these times, and these moments grew apparent, itself, on the ground before him. He took the fan from the stomach of a yowling and carried it to his father, who had walked some distance away, to proof that he had had success in his hunting, then returned to the place where he had been abandoned.

That morning, with in hand, he went to the edge of the forest where he stood looking down from the rim of the settlement, as the appointed being had instructed him, and prayed to Mwadze for forests. After praying he looked around and found four large buildings standing on the spot, on the first set on angle, on the second a kingfisher, on the third a gull, and on the fourth an owl. The angle-economic, as angles are commonly called in the early morning, and at once the forest on which it set was filled with all manner of goods, including boxes containing the large cone-shaped whistles such as are used for coach announcements. During the day the kingfisher settled, the gull called, the owl hooted, and at each attempt to set the forest on which it set was filled with all kinds of goods, foods, shoes, blankets, and household utensils. With the assistance of acquired *Mkwa* gave a potlatch to which he announced the people from far and near. The whistles sounded, imitating the voices of the four birds which had set on the buildings and through the cries of which they had been filled. The Bulu Bulu chief, *Wiyayamatu*, covered his head with his blanket because he had nothing to repay the kingfisher, so *Mkwa* gave him a whistle with to boot. All the guests were witnesses of the transaction, and it was in this way that the coach announcement reached Bulu Bulu.

Mkwa lived to a great age, and during his lifetime moved to several places, to each of which he gave potlatches. His last stopping-place was Canada, where he held the longest rite, erecting for the purpose a new house with six rows of seats to hold the audience. It was there that he died.

Whenever a descendant of *Mkwa* gives a potlatch he erects outside his house a totem-pole on which are the four birds that brought good fortune to his ancestor.

AN INDIAN MYTH OF *Bella*[1]

In the beginning two brothers, *Wiakka*, *Nanny*, *Kilkulat*, *Nanakkdanu*, and their sister, *Nikmaklik*, came to earth on Bella Bella Island, *Kalamamu*, in the tribe of *Nanu*. They moved to *Bella*, but often returned to their landing-place to hunt sea-lions which they would club

[1] Related by Mrs. Walker.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[77]

the house in imitation of *Sqoqqwa's*; since then any possessor of this amulet wears his jaw likewise. From that time *Sqoqqwa* has been a common Bella Bella[illegible], and is always shown with his huge jaw.

The narrator claimed this myth through the marriage of his mother's mother with an alien man.

[MYTH OF SEA-LION ISLAND][illegible]

In the beginning of time the sea-lions came down to earth on an island outside Rivers Inlet where they lived and multiplied. The place is still known as Sea-Lion Island and hunters from all parts of the coast used to go there, as the animals were not only good food but easy to kill.

On one occasion one had wandered apart from his companions and saw a strange sight—a house. He accepted and followed his host into a nearby house though he had never known before that there was one in the vicinity. Once within, the door closed with a metallic crash and the sea-lion vanished from the sight of his companions, who thought that he must have been drowned. But he had really entered a sea-lion house. The animals were sitting around their fire exactly as human beings are accustomed to do; in fact, the only strange thing was that they were very human bone-cups as dishes. He listened to their conversation.

"Lend your dish to *Sqoqqwa*," he heard one of the animals say to a friend.

Sqoqqwa was an old woman who was sitting in one corner of the house.

"The dish will be too small to hold a meal," thought the sea-lion.

The sea-lions read understood his thoughts.

"Don't say that," said one of them. "*Sqoqqwa* has the power of making the dish inexhaustible."

Presently one of the hosts gave the man a bone-cup dish containing a delicious meal of salmon soaked in oil.

"This meal is enough for me," he thought.

But again a sudden misapprehension came into his mind. It was this: The man knew he could eat no more, but the amount of food on the plate did not diminish.

He stayed with them for several months, but at last grew homesick and lonely. He spoke and his servitude desire.

"Your home is on the ocean," said one of them. "We will send you there whenever you like. You are tired of a meal; would you prefer one that will carry you a mile, or two, or three, or ten?"

The man thought of the job with which he would strike the beach if

[illegible] Sqoqqwa Dance.

Bellabella NES

Other people had come down to earth at the same time as Kimsa-a, and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of Gee Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, so covered, and laughed heartily to find her made of cotton wood. They kicked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they entered themselves in her place, worked diligently at the blanket and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and left themselves.

Soon Kimsa-a returned. He endowed the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that the head burnt her head, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. At this the two girls who were being burnt not laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to Kimsa-a that he choose one of them for his wife. He agreed, selected the elder and married her. He built a house on a hilltop where they lived and to which he called people from far and near when he gave a potlatch.

Animal Origins Myths

As already stated, many animal names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the animal origin myth is the same as the ancestral myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or taken it from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were obtained which deal solely with the acquisition of a animal guardian. No doubt this is chiefly to be explained by the fact that most animal cries have been derived from the Bella Bella.

THE MOUSE OR THE *Kumi* CRABS, *Spermophilus mediomaculatus*[*]

Almost that, a party of *Kumi* Indians[*] spent the winter in Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg on

[*] Related by Jackson Mesach.

[*] We are unable to identify this color. According to the Bella Coola, there are also in the Cariboo, but have adopted the use of cross-poles, tracks known

[illegible] E-1 [illegible]
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poverty-stricken," say the elders. "If you do, you will become like them yourself."

As a boy grows older, his father insists that he wash, pray, and practice other ritual acts likely to win approval from supernatural beings. He is frequently beaten to move him to better ship. By the time a youth is eleven or twelve years of age he has become fully acquainted with the principles of the patriarch system and a wise parent teaches him to remember debts. Taking his son to some quiet spot in the woods, he makes a small bundle of cedar twigs, for example, and tells him:

"Six-and-so at Bella Bella gave you fifteen beaver skins. When you see this bundle you must think of those skins."

Then he takes another bunch, perhaps of spruce twigs, to represent a present from a Rivers Inlet chief. A bundle of nettle fibre may stand for a Kitsumgalum debt; one ornamented with a tuft of undyed cedar-bark, a gift from a Tsimshian chief; a solid piece of cedar-root, a local debt; another section of cedar-root with a notch in it, another local debt, and so on. The son is expected to learn consciously, and to repeat after his father what each represents. Then the pupil turns his back and the instructor alters the positions of the bundles. His father tells him to look at them and repeat what each signifies. This is repeated time after time until a boy becomes familiar with remembering debts by means of symbols. In later years, if he becomes a chief, he will use this method for bearing his indebtedness in mind. No system of conventional signs has been evolved, each individual merely designates what he wishes by a mark which he alone can recognize.

A child grows up in the community, absorbing information and law without conscious effort, learning the activities which he will later practise, fearing the supernatural beings that are dreaded by his parents, marvelling at the power of those endowed with supernatural ability, and generally fitting himself for the struggle of life. If his parents are wealthy, he may be fortunate enough to be given a name and to partake in

initiation ceremony, but he cannot himself carry out a ceremony until he has reached manhood.

Puberty Rites

The change from childhood to adult age is, of course, more obvious with girls than with boys, and the former alone must observe strict taboos. Menstrual blood, like that which follows delivery, is unclean, especially that omitted at the first discharge. A woman who has just given birth is a *cmiskc*, an adolescent girl, a *sqoomi*, that is, "A Person Not Fully Grown"; the attitude with which the former is regarded is bold, in a lesser extent, for the latter.

At the first indication, the girl asks a woman to inform her mother of her condition, and goes home immediately if she happens to be away at the time. The parents at once make a small enclosure or bedroom of planks or matting in either of the front corners of the house, providing it with a trap-door and ladder by which she can leave without passing through the front door. There the girl must lie for four days, with legs close together and hers at the knees, never stretched out straight. She is not allowed to drink anything, and must eat sparingly. If she should consume much food, she would be greedy when an adult. When necessary for her to leave the enclosure, a woman must always accompany her. The mother, or some other female relative, provides her with the usual soft cedar-bark pads. On the fifth day, she leaves her shelter early in the morning with one feminine friend and goes to a secluded pool back in the forest, where she washes for the first time. Then she runs rapidly through the woods, which has the effect of making her a strong woman. Should a girl fail to do this, she would be afflicted with an illness caused by the salmon, become blind, and die young.

For one year an adolescent girl is subject to many restrictions. The rear approach to the river would offend the salmon and cause them to avoid Bella Coola, so she is not allowed to dress twice, or even to appear on the beach. She may not eat

bundle of four numerous-shaped shells, probably *Tonnelum*, which are said to have been imported from the north in early times. These marks serve to indicate the position of the girl, who is both feared and respected, possessed of supernatural power, and yet beautiful. Many Bella Coola stories describe how adolescent girls have been able to vanquish supernatural beings; perhaps the most striking of these is the manner in which they were saved mankind when the sun came too close to the earth. At the end of a year, or eleven months according to one old woman, the seclusion is terminated, and the girl resumes her normal activities. The first time she goes to the river she must throw on the water four pieces of food, and four pieces of undyed cedar-bark. This is especially important if the salmon are running in the river, although no explanation of this ritual is given.

The assumption of her freedom indicates that a girl has reached marriageable age. Chiefs sometimes confine their daughters for even longer than a year, and usually delay their marriages for several years to demonstrate their importance, but this is not necessary, nor is it practiced by other than wealthy individuals. It is not uncommon for a girl to wed before her year is over, in that case her menstrual seclusion lapses. Chiefs never allow such a curtailment for their daughters, as to do so would diminish the prestige of the house, and be detrimental to the status of their children when they marry and have families. Illicit intercourse with a secluded adolescent is considered not only illegal but disgusting as well. Between the period of betrothement and marriage, intercourse is prohibited and guarded against by the parents of a girl, but is not considered filthy and seems to have been fairly common in former times with the daughters of poor people and slaves. This sometimes took place before the first menstruation in spite of the disapproval with which this was regarded.

Although the menstrual blood which appears at the first discharge is considered more beneficial than that secured on later occasions, it is always regarded as unclean or unclean. It is

[illegible] ritual information of the peop[illegible] global ignorance, and dislike[illegible] and other relatives take part [illegible] may likewise be taken into co[illegible] tion, theoretically, little choice [illegible] kind of influence. The number [illegible] eligibility are only with regard [illegible] relations, but consider his choi[illegible] is not desirable, though neither [illegible]

If Y's relatives agree to [illegible] inform the intermediary, or [illegible] are considered to be engaged. [illegible] waits for several days, either [illegible] known reason. X's relatives [illegible] of presents to Y's family. The [illegible] called "secret gifts"; they [illegible] future children. Since no [illegible] no social prestige accrues from [illegible] included in the "family" of [illegible] sister, uncles, aunts, grandpa[illegible] in the giving and receiving of [illegible] do so. Sometimes distant [illegible] arrangements, either to hoge[illegible] obtaining social influence by [illegible] have reason to believe that Y [illegible] proposal, several of them may go [illegible] the "secret gifts" to Y's home [illegible] proposal. Should this be [illegible] their guests, and so the affair [illegible] is born.

The acceptance of "secret [illegible] X and Y, but a few days elapse [illegible] Y's family is doubtful, the fam[illegible] usually review all the relations [illegible] The singers, in their usual [illegible] the form of some Indian and the [illegible]

[illegible] posed marriage, but they always [illegible] for several days. Y's parents [illegible] in the discussion, and Y herself [illegible] silence. Although a daughter [illegible] in practice she exercises a great [illegible] and father weigh the suitor's [illegible] to wealth and ancestral pre[illegible] rogative. An immoral young man [illegible] or is one who is impotent.

[illegible] the proposal, some one of them [illegible] X's father, and the young people [illegible]

The fact is supposed to be kept [illegible] ugh the news usually becomes [illegible] as soon as possible take a number [illegible] are given in private, and are [illegible] are said to give strength to the [illegible] are present it follows that [illegible] the transaction. The relatives [illegible] that X or Y are not always the [illegible] men, may or may not take part [illegible] presents, the parents alone always [illegible] taken take a leading part in the [illegible] of receiving valuable gifts, or of [illegible] lavish giving. If X's relatives [illegible] Y's family will accept their pre[illegible] in company and actually carry [illegible] at the time of making the first [illegible] proposal, they merely carry away [illegible] has been private, no one's vanity [illegible]

[illegible] gifts" binds the engagement of [illegible] before this is made public. If [illegible] father, or other near relatives, pre[illegible] sents of the village to his house. [illegible] seated behind the fire, strike up [illegible] a verse of the song, then second,

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dances in time to it. Using their own discretion, the musicians proceed to beat out the time for *hacint* after *hacint*, and each performs. In like fashion they then beat out the time of one *sound* after another, and each member of that society gives his dance. Since none of the supernatural beings is present, the affair is non-sacred. The singers consult with the host as to the number of songs to be used. When they stop at last, X's father, aided by his younger relatives, gives valuable presents of food. No mention of the coming marriage is made, but the *sun* gives the donor an opportunity of displaying his generosity as a chief and indirectly increases the importance of the wedding because the value of the food will later be remembered in connection with it. [589]

If X's father is very wealthy, he may recall the people for several nights, always providing the same type of entertainment, and always giving food. He uses his own judgment as to the number of such entertainments; but at that which he decides shall be the last, he announces:

"Tomorrow we shall go to Y's father's house."

If X's father does not wish to give away such large quantities of food he may omit the dancing in his own house and make this announcement at a potlatch, a *hacint* dance,* or any other public gathering. But the more elaborate the ceremonial, the greater is the importance of the marriage in the eyes of the Bella Coola, which in turn increases the strength of the children who may result from it. [558]

On the morning after this declaration, X's father calls to his house those whom he wishes to be witnesses of the alliance that has been planned. These include as many of his relatives and those of his wife as he desires, and other intimate friends. These individuals comprise the group interested, on behalf of X, in the marriage; they provide the goods which are given for him, and receive the presents from the corresponding group of Y's relatives. Anyone having the necessary financial ability 579 564

*This is probably a recent innovation.

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dance, taking as inconspicuous a part as X does in the whole affair. As the singers start the marriage song, some of X's relatives carry into Y's house a part of the goods which X's relatives have assumed for the occasion, deposit them on the floor near the door, and then withdraw. These goods are said, "to sweep the house." Long ago they are said to have been of great value, though nowadays small presents are considered ample. Any member of Y's family can accept one by picking it from the floor, but as he is expected to return the gift with something of greater value, sometimes nothing is taken. Should none of his relatives appear willing to do so, it devolves on Y's father to accept the present.

When the marriage song has ended, X's father gives to some strong youth narrow strips of goat-skin with the wool still attached. Carrying these in one hand the young man runs up and down the sidewalk, waving his arms, and at intervals throwing one of the strips into the air, away from himself. All the younger people of the village pursue him, and a wild scramble takes place for each strip. Sometimes, instead of running up and down, the running is done in a clear space near Y's house. Only the sons of important chiefs are prohibited from this sport, since it is thought to be beneath their dignity. It is an animated scene, in which the participants thoroughly enjoy themselves. Thereafter have the right to ask any dancer for his clothing, and unless he is willing to lose this, he must give a present to the one who has demanded it. This is a common source of amusement to the onlookers. Nothing is known of the origin or meaning of the wholesale giving away of strips of goat-skin, nor why the heralds should be able to demand clothing on this occasion.

"It has always been done," the Bella Coola say simply.

When the noise has somewhat subsided, the singers again beat out the time of the marriage song, and again the dancers begin to perform. Y's father then sends out one of his male relatives, with gifts, "to stop the dance." The honor given a present to one of the dancers, who cease his gyrations, then

dies hence that she has done one of much, but as the practice has not found favour in Bella Coola, it is little to her advantage.*

These complicated marriage rites are necessary to satisfy the pride of the two families in their origin myths, and also serve to establish the resultant children in the paths of their ancestors. Among those or others who lack ceremonial prerogatives, marriage is an affair of slight worth. Such persons simply live together with little ceremony, though they always try to give at least a feast so that there may be witnesses of the transaction. It is immaterial whether or not they marry their own relatives, since no ceremonial prerogatives are to be transmitted.

[illegible]

Y usually lives in the house of X's father, though economic circumstances may compel her husband to live in her house. If the parents are very wealthy, a house may be built for the young people, but usually their home is one of the bedrooms in the house of X's father; this provisional residence exposes Y not only to good advice from her mother-in-law, but often to caustic criticism. The marital life of X and Y does not differ essentially from that of other young couples in any part of the world, and is accordingly difficult to describe. Although love rarely occurs into the original choice of a mate, a similar selection is found in the mutual respect for each other's economy, and the knowledge of the importance of the rites performed with the aid of each other's already numerous. The young people realize that marriage affects the families of both, and accordingly accept it as a matter of course. The Bella Coola are fond of children. Their birth is a matter of sincere rejoicing, partly because it binds the two families more closely together, but personal affection is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics. The parents usually spoil their children; infants, especially, are never chastised and rarely

* The head and as the mother are portrayed in the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

[555] [561] [564] adulthood. They grow up in the open environment of the house, absorbing most of their lore by watching and listening than by actual instruction. Their care devolves chiefly on the mother, although at any ceremony the father will be seen arriving with the baby in his arms, while his wife leads another child. Nurses are unknown and the parents take their children with them on all occasions. It is necessary for a mother to be absent on some occasions and her child will be entrusted to a grandmother or other elderly relative. There are no avoidances between the young people and their parents-in-law.

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[639] [651] The obligation of potlatch-giving does not stop with the marriage ceremony. Whenever X gives a burial dance or other ceremony, Y's relatives are expected to contribute. It is felt that the weight of the potlatch given them during the period of engagement and at the wedding has become too heavy, and they throw this off by lavish giving. We cannot be kept of the value of gifts borrowed or received, though it is known that the family of the women loses financially in the end. The father of every daughter is regarded as an unfortunate individual, who is always poor and overwhelmed through the necessity of providing for them. By so doing, however, he increases his own prestige, and the Bella Coola have the happy sentiment that such a man manages to get along some way; perhaps necessity causes his ambition. Likewise X's relatives contribute to any ritual carried out by Y's father. If, for example, one of his wife's relatives dies, X and his friends may wish to contribute towards the funeral expenses. In fact, any ceremonial serves as an excuse for relatives by marriage to donate goods and thus demonstrate publicly their influence, importance, and generosity.

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[648] [476] The concept of mutual help between families who have intermarried is one that lasts for generations. In upper Dean was in Bella Coola an old Kitamaat man who had left home some forty years earlier and had since lived in Smith Inlet where he married and had a boy. On the death of his wife, this

as a guest was regarded as amusing. In many cases, however, some husbands have made a practice of meeting their wives at white men. This is not considered creditable, but the Bulu Code do not strongly condemn breaches of the moral code, which are regarded as the affair of the husband alone. There is said to be a Bulu Bulu custom by which a wife takes as recognized paramour one of the friends of her husband who is thought not only to know of this but to receive the presents which the lover gives his wife. The two continue to be friends and often have together, in fact, their mutual income in the manner is a bond between them. No trace of this practice could be found in Bulu Code.

[illegible]

It has been for long assumed that the Bulu Code are monogamous, we assumption correct only since the period of white dominance. Previous to that time it was quite common for wealthy men to have three, four, or more wives. Polly, the important chief as often mentioned, had nine, ten, or eleven, the exact number is not known. A man wishing to take a second wife could do so in the manner already described, although the period of engagement was usually much shorter, and waiting for his parents-in-law was not expected. The reason for this was obvious to the Bulu Code. None but a chief of importance could afford more than a single wife, and such an one could not be expected to demean himself by waiting for anyone else. Besides, parents were glad to have their daughters married to a great chief, so willingly entered the customary period of servitude. Few retained the distinction of having several wives. So far as could be learned the number of the sexes seems always to have been almost equal, to itself a check to polygamy in a community where practically every adult had a wife. A number of males were always slain in war, and it is to be assumed that polygamy was made possible only through the surplus of women thus created. The great majority of men had a single wife, some chiefs had

two, but only one of great importance could hope to aspire to more, while the case of *Pathe* was considered to be unique and highly desirable.

A chief's wives always lived in the same house, and it is said that disputes were frequent. *Pathe* endeavored to prevent jealousy by providing each woman with a special bedroom and sleeping for a single night with each in order. One informant had two wives when a young man, and he found that the only way to avoid constant bickering was by sleeping in one bed, between them. The evidence seems clear that plurality of wives was usually the cause of considerable friction, though this never deterred a man from taking a second wife if he could. The only special rule of incest in this regard was that two sisters could not be married at the same time.

In answer to questions about polyandry, two men told of a licentious woman who had two feeble-minded husbands between whom she used to sleep. The whole affair was considered disgusting, but public opinion did not sanction the offenders since a person's marital affairs were considered to concern the individual only. It was accordingly assumed that the institution of true polyandry did not exist, when, unexpectedly, information was volunteered about its occurrence in the families of influential men. A very powerful chief, if his only child was a daughter, quite frequently married her simultaneously to the sons of other chiefs. She was then considered most fortunate, since only a wealthy man could provide for a daughter in this way, and expend the large quantities of goods necessary to ensure her proper marriage in each case. The husbands were never brothers, and seldom related, since the ambitious parent wished to ally his daughter with different ancestral families for the benefit of any resultant children. The joint wife was accustomed to live for a number of months in the house of one of her husbands, with her other husbands forming part of his household. She would then move to the house of another, who assumed the leadership of the group,

with the others, including the one who had just been leader, as follows. It is said that there was rarely friction among the joint husbands, since each realized that his turn would come as head of the household, and meanwhile the wife endeavoured to share her favours indiscriminately. The children were considered equally the offspring of each husband, thus automatically acquiring membership in several economic families. Such were regarded as indeed fortunate, provided with every potential means of assistance in the struggle of life.

Recognizing its importance, every effort was made to verify this information. Further questioning elicited the statement that the informant had never seen a case of this, though he asserted that when a young man he had often heard of it and that the custom had then only recently died out. Another old man and an elderly woman confirmed the above statement almost word for word, and each added that it was well known when they were young, though they had never actually seen it in practice. One man believed that the custom had formerly prevailed in several parts of the coast, and said that he had heard of its occurrence among the "*Kwantlen*" people near Newton. Considering the reliability of his informants, the writer gives as his personal belief that the institution of polyandry among the daughters of chiefs occurred in Bella Coola not many years ago. Knowledge of the term of address for co-husband, already given, is strong evidence in support of this view.

[illegible] MARRIAGES

Since it has been assumed that T is the daughter of a chief, properly married with due formality, it is necessary to digress still further from the account of her relations with X to describe connections of a less creditable nature. The most common of these was with slaves. Though frowned upon by all Bella Coola ethics, such alliances, of a permanent nature, do not appear to have been rare. In some cases it was a man who thus dishonoured himself, in some a woman. Since no slave could provide the goods necessary for an elaborate wedding, the

547 547 ceremony usually consisted simply of the man and woman living together. In theory, this prevented the children from ever obtaining a name or other prerogative included in the ancestral myth of the first-born parent, and no effort was always made to conceal from them the details of the ancestral family's origin myth. But, as already described in the section dealing with slaves, the expenditure of valuable presents served to ameliorate, or at least to cover, the blot. If the child succeeded in giving many potlatches, the stain was generally forgotten. On the other hand, if the child of a slave married to a free man was not "washed," he could always be shamed by a reminder of the disgrace of his parents' wedding.

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In case of murder, the son or other near relative of the victim sometimes accepts a daughter or other member of the offender's family instead of exacting blood revenge. The bride is delivered to her husband with valuable goods "to wash away the blood," but these never suffice entirely to remove the disgrace from her or her children. The latter may inherit names and prerogatives from their father, but even if they attain to the position of chiefs, they can always be put to shame by reference to their mother's marriage as an atonement for murder. Of course the influence of a great chief makes it impolitic to refer to his ancestry, and there are a few instances of men having reached such a position of eminence that the blot has been practically forgotten. The wife's family must continue to give presents to the husband for years after marriage, otherwise her lot is unenviable indeed, and her children have the status of the unwanted offspring of a slave and a free man. In some cases a marriage of this type is entered upon years after a murder, if a son or other descendant wishes to end the anxiety of constantly expecting blood revenge.

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REPURCHASE OF THE WIFE

556 556 Repurchase of a wife is the necessary consequence of every 558 558 respectable Bella Coola marriage. It is assumed that the pre-

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sents given by X's relatives up to the time of the wedding have exceeded in value those which they have received. Later, 513
whenever, and as often as X gives a potlatch, Y's relatives are expected to ransom her from her husband. Although this is the expression used by the Bella Coola, it has only a ceremonial significance, since Y remains X's wife.

Whenever X intimates that he is going to give a potlatch, Y and her relatives begin to hoard goods irrespective of whether or not children have been born. Their value is unregulated by custom, although the individuals concerned always try to give as much as they can; usually X does not know exactly how much will be provided until their actual delivery. Moreover, this is the occasion most preferred by the relatives of a wife to present to her husband ancestral names or other prerogatives embodied in origin myths. The exact rights of X with respect to such gifts have already been defined so need not be repeated here. Even if Y has taken an ancient name to her husband when she was married, she may bring him another when repurchased. This is an event of even greater importance to a woman than marriage, so no effort is spared to add to the dignity of the occasion.

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On the second night of a potlatch Y's father announces what prerogatives he proposes to grant to X. These may include the 556
right to a certain totem-pole design, the carving of a spoon, a 513
painting for the wall of the house, or any other element embodied in the origin myth. These privileges are displayed by X at the coming potlatch. If, as is usual, Y's father wishes to give his son-in-law an ancestral name, it is announced on this occasion, and is the designation by which X is known during the ceremony. It is always said that such a name is so "heavy," in the sense of "so important" that it must be "dragged across" to her husband by Y. *Karlar* names are commonly transferred [553]
as presents, but without any public bestowal, and one or two instances are known of the similar acquisition of *xaxaal* prerogatives and whistles; it was in this way that *Pathe* was able to import *xaxaal* ritual from Bella Bella. After announcing the

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556 prerogatives he is transmitting, Y's father usually takes the
583 opportunity of stating that he wishes to hunt on X's hunting-
[425] grounds, or fish in his fishing-grounds. Permission is never refused, though it is only for the period of the potlatch. Since Y's father is to assist X, it is considered fitting to grant him facilities for obtaining pelts and food.

It is on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch that the goods are delivered. They serve six purposes, which can be described separately, although the Bella Coola usually think of them as being too closely associated for division.

(1) They increase the dignity, influence, and prestige of the donors. This theme needs no further elaboration. When X later gives these presents to his foreign guests, he announces the person from whom he has received them and in this way knowledge of the manner in which Y's relatives have upheld the dignity of the marriage is spread far and wide, to their intense gratification.

(2) They help X to rise to a position of influence in the community by the credit which comes to him from their large distribution. Though a man may acquire goods in various ways, the Bella Coola affirm that without contributions from his wife's relatives no man can become a chief.

(3) They validate the transmission of names, or other prerogatives, taken by Y to her husband. Even presents given
[606] directly from father-in-law to son-in-law are always said to have been taken by the daughter to her husband.

(4) Indirectly, they increase the prestige of the children,
[554] either born at that time or who may appear later. None of the goods used for repurchasing their mother can actually be used for their benefit, but the whole rite gives them strength to succeed in life. A child whose mother has not been repurchased is said to be unable to walk, as if his legs were powerless; he lacks intelligence, and the ability to prosper. From the
[578] petty quarrels of childhood until old age, a person is proud to recall the number of times his mother was rebought, and to thrust this statement in the teeth of those less fortunate.

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(5) They govern Y's status in this world. When women quarrel, as they often do, the most common boast to shame a less wealthy rival is a reminder of the number of times the speaker was repurchased and the value of the goods used. 556 583 [578]

"I can sit down on fifteen canoes," or "I am carried by five slaves," says the angry woman, mentioning whatever goods were used for her repurchase.

(6) Finally, these goods serve a more definite purpose in obtaining for Y a name, or names, of which the value is directly proportionate to the expenditure, precisely as the importance of a chief's designation depends on the goods used to validate it. [553]

As with men's names, some women's appellations were given by *Ālqantām* to the first arrivals; others were created on this earth with regard to peculiar events, and still others are names which can be used either by men or women. Theoretically, the dignity of the first type of name is greater than either of the others, but in practice the importance of the owner depends on the number of times she has bought herself from her husband; the principles governing the rank of women are thus the same as those already described for men. The term *yutsak*, applied to a woman who has many times rebought herself and so reached a position of eminence, is the feminine equivalent to *stāltumy*. The creation of women's names in reference to personal characteristics or incidents connected with their married life is more common than similar creations for men. The ritual of the bestowal of a name on Y, here given, was omitted from the description of the potlatch in order to lessen the complexity of that ceremony. It will be remembered that on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch Y's relatives appear outside X's house, carrying valuable presents. 551 556 583 [554] [562] 553 556 583

The announcer calls out that Y's father has come to give "food" to X and his relatives. By food, presents are meant, which are the return, with interest, of the gifts given by X's relatives on various occasions. The giver is announced, for other relatives than Y's father contribute, and to whom the

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553 present is made. The recipient may either be X himself or
556 one of his relatives who has conferred a gift on one of Y's
583 family. The goods are taken inside, counted, displayed, and the same announcement made. These presents are given away by X the same evening, so that the only practical advantage that he receives is that the ultimate recipients make their returns, if any, to him. He makes no recompense to Y's relatives for these.

[537] A fluent orator next speaks on behalf of Y's father to the following effect:

"Please, ye people, listen to my words. This is an important occasion, hearken to what I have to say. Long ago our first ancestors were married, as X and Y have been, and it is fitting that we should make the name ..... live again in Y. Three years [or as long as the name has been dormant] it has been dead, as if living with the ghosts beneath the earth. Now it shall stand up again in Y; henceforth we use it for her. Come forth ..... [using Y's new name], your father rebuys you from X for *fifty* blankets [for example]."

Y may be anywhere; the statement "come forth" is merely symbolical. The *fifty* blankets are piled outside the house and the spectators, of whom many have gathered to witness the transaction, know that that number of blankets has been given with reference to that name. In some cases the wife is rebought three, four, or even more times for one name, either repeatedly by her father, or successively by her father and other relatives, or several names may be acquired by the different repurchasings. For instance, at one potlatch not many years ago a woman obtained the names *Lilikk*, *Xwulkw*, *Smaisi-a*, and *Ailsamka*. As with men, some women prefer to have one very strong name, rather than diffuse their importance over a number. In this particular case the four designations were received from different relatives. At each repurchase the call is raised:

"Come forth ..... your brother [uncle, or whatever relative it may be] rebuys you from X for ....."

In one case where an orphan woman, without relatives, repurchased herself by her own arduous labours, the announcement was made: 553 554 553

"Y's belt has come to ransom her."

The reference was to the manner in which she had looped up her clothing with a belt when working. If Y's father should die after assuming goods to repurchase her, they are used for the purpose intended and the announcement is:

"Y's father's arms has come to ransom her."

The ancestral family descended from the first settlers at *Swalk'ut* have the prerogative of singing a special song as they ransom one of their daughters. This was used by their first ancestors on a like occasion. The theme is: [724] [553]

"I, I, I am the highest of you all. No one of you is capable of doing what I can accomplish. You all live on what I void."

The significance of this last sentence is that the village of *Swalk'ut* is farthest up the Bella Coola River. Its inhabitants used to claim that the people of the other villages lived on the refuse which they threw into the river, a source of pride to them. [78C]

After announcing the various relatives who have ransomed Y, the presents are counted and carried into X's house. The statement concerning their number, who has given them, and for what purpose, is repeated to the foreign guests there assembled, and they are then piled indiscriminately in a large heap for future distribution. At this juncture X calls out:

"Come in, come in," as though he were welcoming arrivals from a distance.

Y's relatives enter, and the ritual of the potlatch continues in the manner already described. The origin myth in which Y's new name is embodied is related in considerable detail, especially its recent history, that is, by whom it was last used and any pertinent items connected with its transmission. If she has received several names from different myths, each is similarly expounded.

As has been said, many women's names have been created 551 553

her husband's crime by taking this name for herself when she [552]
[578]
[illegible] [illegible] from him.

Sirmu, "The Inhospitable One." The husband received this expulsion owing to his wife's manners, as she adversized what had been said about him.

Nagabhaktaka, "Unedifiedly Dead." This woman's mother-in-law claimed that she deliberately failed to hear when she was [546]
told to do, and applied the above epithet to her. The daughter-in-law confounded her by taking it as her own name.

When a name of this type is assumed it is always announced [553]
when, where, and for what purpose it was first assumed.

A description has already been given of the actual ritual [554]
by which X borrows the goods acquired from the expulsion [553]
of Y, but it is necessary to enlarge on the prohibition against their use for the direct benefit of one of the children of the couple. The theory is that the goods bind the marriage contract and express in a practical and lofty form the kindly sentiments with which Y's relatives regard her husband, and the bond between the two families, hence they must be used solely for the benefit of him and his relatives. A man usually applies these goods to initiate the children of his brothers or sisters into the ranks of the *naual* or *factor*. It is unthinkable for goods to be delivered without an expulsion of Y's family's glories, but if this should ever take place, there would be no difficulty in applying them to the direct benefit of her children. When used, for example, to make a child of X's brother a *naual*, he is a living testimony of the noble way in which Y's relatives have done that which is fitting for the family of her husband. Due to accidents in announcing and storing of presents, it sometimes happens that those obtained by the expul- [551]
sion of Y are used for the benefit of her own children. Unless this error is corrected, the child could always be shamed by having it said:

"You are a mere nobody. The goods expended in the

556 583 [584] repurchase of your mother have become nothing beneath your feet."

When such an accident occurs, the relatives of Y take some future occasion to give presents to validate his child, with the announcement:

"The goods used from the repurchase of his mother have become nothing beneath his feet. We hereby supply that deficiency."

Thus it is demonstrated that the relatives of both parents are interested in his welfare, so that his path is clear before him.

583 556 583 Many women are only repurchased once, but an effort is made to do this frequently since the more times, the greater her prestige. After several repurchasings it is felt that the names and other prerogatives "dragged across" by Y have become valueless. But since new names have been taken to her husband on such occasion, the marks of friendship between the two families are still plain. Thus it is that these few transmitted can be revived by relatives of Y, unless, of course, X has validated them for his children. If there is only one repurchasing, the names remain the definite property of X. This is not a clearly formulated law, merely a statement that the earlier names have been covered by those later given, and that accordingly Y's relatives, having done what was proper, can now use the titles once more. There is a constant interchange of names and privileges between families related by marriage.

556 583 [182] It is virtually impossible to over-estimate the importance of this rite of repurchase among the Bella Coola, one of the few customs preserved tenaciously amid the ruins of their ancient culture. The writer was forcibly struck with the following instance which occurred while he was in Bella Coola:

About fifteen years before, a young man and woman had married with due formality. After three children had been born, the mother took to drink and vice until her husband at last repudiated her, retaining possession of the children. The woman, weakened by disease, divorced by her husband, and [586]

[illegible]
[illegible]

looked upon with contempt by her family, was yet determined that nothing she had done should ruin her children's chances in life. Accordingly she donated $500 to her ex-husband to enlarge himself. Marriage is accepted as a matter of course, but to be many times repurchased is the goal of every ambitious woman. In Fiji the custom prevails of depicting on the walls the number of coppers paid for repurchasing a wife. Thus her fame is displayed to all.

It is somewhat difficult for a white man to realize what a privilege the family of a wife considers it to repurchase her from her husband. If the latter is unwilling to give a potlatch, his relatives-in-law may urge him to do so, and if he still declines to court himself they take the drastic step of inviting their fellow-villagers to assemble in his house where, with these guests as witnesses, the wife's relatives give presents to her husband and his relations. They may make this presentation on any gathering when they are assured of a large audience. In so doing the donors have demonstrated their proper sentiments, in spite of the inertness of the husband.

The assistance which the relatives of a wife have given her husband in a manner about which they can boast for the rest of their lives, a fact impressed upon the writer by listening to a quarrel between two Bella Coola men. One of them owned a horse and waggon which the other had hired to move some goods. The latter became very angry, claiming that the former had overcharged him and must be poor and greedy to be so eager to acquire money. The teamster, thus deeply insulted, silenced the other man by reminding him that the only reason he was wealthy was by means of the goods used to repurchase his, the teamster's, sister from her husband, brother of the man with whom he was disputing. To the observer the dispute was made more interesting by the fact that both the husband and wife had been dead for at least fifteen years, but their families had not ceased to remember the financial obligations connected with the marriage.

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A man who is giving a ceremony of any kind can offer few greater insults to his wife's relatives than omission to ask their assistance. The following is a good instance of such an insult.

About 1900 a man and woman were married and had three children. Then the mother died, before being repurchased from her husband. In addition, the husband had outlived his wife's father when one of his younger children had died; so that it was more fitting that the wife's relatives should contribute to any ceremony given by the husband. Four years later the husband proposed to marry once more, and to have the wedding occur at a potlatch. But on the day of ceremony, he insulted the relatives of his dead wife by failing to invite them. The cause of the feud was not disclosed, but the husband increased it by again failing to invite her family when, during the potlatch, they should have remembered her for the benefit of his young relatives about to be initiated into the ranks of the crowd. The father of the dead woman came forward uninvited with a large present for each, saying in effect:

"I, too, have a right to contribute to add prestige to my daughter and her children."

In this way he delivered the wife of his son-in-law who had hoped to shame his father-in-law by the failure of the latter to contribute to his potlatch. The son-in-law endeavoured to excuse himself by saying that his late wife's relatives had not existed for so long that he thought they would not wish to do so. This retort further incensed the father of the dead woman so that next day he and his wife publicly gave the donor of the potlatch $300 "to make clean where we sit."

This somewhat lengthy description has been necessary to explain the important part which the repurchase of wives plays in the lives of the Bella Coola; it is one of the fundamentals of society and is, therefore, worthy of attention.

DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

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Either death or divorce can terminate marriage. The decease of a wife is an unfortunate affair, quite apart from the grief which it may cause her husband. Two families have been brought into peculiarly close relations through her, and now the bond itself has snapped; delicate financial arrangements have been undertaken, and it is not easy to settle these without ill-feeling, particularly if the alliance was a return marriage. If no child has been born, and no repurchasing of the wife

One very old man is still, 1923, commonly called by this last designation, much to his annoyance.

When the songs had been sung, each accompanied by the dancing of the deserted husband, the donor of the ceremony distributed food and the guests departed. The only advantage to the giver of the rite was that it enabled him to show his wealth in an apparently disinterested fashion by gifts of food. Usually he was a friend of the aggrieved husband.

When a husband deserted his wife, the other women of the village used to perform an exactly similar ceremony. The same type of songs were composed, and during their singing the deserted wife used to dance, wearing above her head representations of a penis and testicles. By means of hidden strings she was able to cause the former to become erect.

On other occasions the ceremony was varied by an announcer asking the offended party about the appearance of the deserter. There followed a minute and highly coloured description about the unpleasantness of his genital organs, a description which was swiftly incorporated into the songs.

It can be taken as a matter of course that the above description is little more than an outline of the Bella Coola ceremony of shaming. In spite of its deficiencies, it is important, as evidence of the former sentiment with regard to divorce. Obscene though the ceremony must have been, both in acting and in the free use of personalities, it must have been a powerful deterrent to divorce.* Indeed it would be difficult to imagine a stronger one in a community where a man's position is judged by public opinion and where his greatest aversion is to public ridicule. It is unfortunate that we shall probably never know whether the rite was associated with chiefs or commoners.

CEREMONIAL MARRIAGE

Since marriage gains much of its importance from the complicated business transactions between the two families, with

*A similar rite was ceremonially carried out for unmarried mothers.

the usual side neglected, it is perhaps not surprising that the Bulu Creole carry out a ceremonial form entirely disconnected from marital rights. It is believed that such ceremonial marriages were performed by the first inhabitants of this earth, and that they have been customary ever since. A careful father or uncle always endeavours to arrange such a rite for a girl when she is two or three years of age. The relatives decide on some influential chief whom they would like to have as their daughter's fictitious husband, considering his wealth and prestige, but not his age. They interview the proposed bridegroom, who may consult his wife or other relatives before accepting, although he rarely refuses, as that would be an insult to the petitioners as well as a financial loss to himself. No period of engagement is necessary, as the wedding is arranged for the near future. Among important chiefs the ritual is identical with that of real marriage, though usually it is somewhat curtailed. The relatives of the bride welcome her husband and his relatives in their house and receive from him rather larger presents than they give; the same remark is made about it being the proper time to take the bride to her new home, and the husband and his party depart, without the girl. Presents of canoes or pirogues may likewise be transmitted. The two are now considered as married, although there is no necessity for husband and wife even to see one another; on the other hand, there is no reason for avoidance since the marriage is essentially a business affair and not a sexual one. Whenever the husband gives a potlatch or other ceremony, he is assisted by the relatives of his fictitious wife, sometimes to a greater extent than by the relatives of his real one. This ceremonial wedlock may last for three or four years, until the relatives of the wife rebuy her from her husband. On this occasion it is essential that he receive from the relations of his fictitious wife presents of greater value than he himself has given, otherwise she would be disgraced. Ceremonial marriage differs from real marriage in that one repurchasing terminates

[illegible] is, although it is customary for the parents of a wife to exhibit
[illegible] their wealth on several occasions.

What are the advantages of such an agreement to the two parties? The husband receives considerable satisfaction, both in actual goods and in ceremonial prerogatives. Moreover, his vanity is gratified by the desire shown by others to have him as husband of their daughters. The advantages to the wife are more difficult to describe. Financially, her relatives always lose, yet they consider that the prestige gained by their daughter as wife of a mighty chief fully compensates for their monetary loss. Accordingly, they take pains to have a daughter married several times before puberty, either simultaneously or
[553] in succession. Thus there is a form of ceremonial polyandry existing in Bella Coola at the present day. No ceremonial
[554] marriage takes place after puberty. In later years, when the wife grows up, married, and has children of her own, their status is increased materially by the pre-puberty marriages of their mother. They address her fictitious husband as "father," and his children as brother or sister, although there are no more prohibitions with regard to them. A chief sometimes arranges the bestowal of names or other prerogatives on the children of a fictitious co-wife, but such favours are too uncertain to provide a motive for the prevalence of the rite. Its value rests on the esteem attached to a woman whose relatives have shown their wealth and prowess by marrying her several times. When her children quarrel with their playfellows, it is common to hear one boast:

"*I have three fathers. How many have you?*"

[555] Occasionally the relatives of a fictitious bride are unable to provide the goods to repurchase her from her husband and the girl remains disgraced for life. In no circumstances has her husband any claims to marital rights with her, and in due course she can marry someone else; but it is never forgotten that she was not rebought from her husband. In 1916 a girl about four years of age was married to a man of sixty, who at the time gave her relatives $80 and a motor boat. She had

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588 556 more object. Bella Coola financiers are always seeking to arrange such undertakings; the potlatch is the culminating point, but the same principle pervades their whole life.

It is to the advantage of the intending donor of a potlatch to become the fictitious husband of as many children as possible. Accordingly he sometimes takes the initial step, as is customary for the relatives of the husband in real marriage, but not in ceremonial. In such a case it is necessary for him to offer some inducement, perhaps in the form of one of the few women's names brought to earth in the beginning of time. He approaches a suitable father-in-law, suggesting that at a fictitious marriage he would be willing to give his wife a noble woman's name. If this is agreeable, the rite is carried out accordingly. The wife is in many cases a son of the person to [551] whom the proposal was made; he duly receives a woman's name, the only circumstance under which this is possible. The actual designation will probably be returned through many repurchasings, but the lucky has reached an enviable position. In later years he can always silence a person with whom he is quarrelling by saying:

"I need not answer you. You cannot even approach my body, so thickly am I padded with the goods which my father used when he rebought me."

556 608 858 Another business transaction of a similar nature is the giving of a small infant to an old person to "hold." This appears to be uncommon, and the only instance about which information was available occurred under the following circumstances:

A man and a woman were married with full ceremony and the best of feelings prevailed between the two families. The wife was several times rebought until she and her relatives had fully maintained their dignity, in fact the relations of the husband felt that they were being out-shone. Then the wife's father died. To mark their sympathy, the husband's family gave the widow one of her daughter's children to "hold." Valuable non-returnable presents were transmitted as "soft

[illegible]

blankets" for the child. The advantages to the donors were that they had an opportunity of showing their dignity, and it would always be a mark of pride for the child to be able to boast of the way in which she had been "held." 556 628 658

Ceremonial marriage clearly demonstrates two strong Bella Coola characteristics; namely, the desire publicly to enter into financial undertakings to demonstrate the wealth of the contracting party, and the desire to increase the prestige of children by means of this wealth expended indirectly on their behalf.

EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

Although the Bella Coola do not regard marriage primarily as a means of regulating relations between the sexes, yet the connection between the two is sufficiently close to warrant description in this chapter. A man considers intercourse as one of the normal phenomena of life: by marrying he has exclusive rights to his wife, but few moral restraints deter him from anyone else to whom he can gain access without infringing the prerogatives of some other husband. Moreover, sexual intercourse is not regarded solely as a gratification of desires; it has a significance which can be described, not inaptly, as holy. As already explained, two favourite methods of obtaining success in any undertaking are by preserving lengthy continence or by observing ceremonial chastity. If a young unmarried man or widower should wish to make use of this latter means, he is compelled to have relations with a woman to whom he has no just claims. This is universally recognized, nor is there the slightest odium attached to the man. The only essential is that he neither violate another's wife, nor force a young girl against her will. 581 831 837

At the present time there is great laxity in Bella Coola, a condition which makes it difficult to judge the state of affairs in former times. Every effort was made to obtain satisfactory evidence, and the following was verified and re-verified with the older men. [128]

A wife, properly married with full ceremony, was usually 837 839

to force his attentions on a slave woman if she objected, although her refusal would be most unusual on account of his prestige. There were no professional prostitutes; a man usually gave a small present to a girl from whom he had received favours, and she was expected to give him a little, dainty basket filled with analysed cedar-bark to use as a sponge. Such relations appear always to have been of common occurrence. Today, as formerly, a man's morality is considered to be his own affair; laxity may lower his prestige, but no law is broken, and his neighbours laugh and chaff him about it. In fact, sexual matters are discussed with the greatest freedom, and a person who has been caught in mischief merrilously. When visiting a foreign tribe, a man sometimes lives with a woman and, on parting, composes and sings a song describing her charms. One man did this after living with a Kitlobo woman, and on his return to Bella Coola found that some of his fellows had learnt it in some unexplained manner; they used to sing it to him, much to their amusement, in part to his own, and somewhat to the annoyance of his wife. This perhaps illustrates rather clearly the attitude of the Bella Coola to an infraction of morality—where no marriage rite has been broken; it is amusing rather than disgusting. There are no times when the moral code ceases to function. At potlatches, and also at *kuxiut* dances, there appears always to have been a certain amount of laxity, although this was strictly prohibited within the house where the ceremony was taking place. Such behaviour is due to the excitement and stimulus of a large gathering, not to anything connected with the rites themselves.

Perverted sexual desires, like other matters connected with the relations of the sexes, are regarded as concerning the individual alone. Sodomy appears to be unknown. Intercourse by pre-adolescents is held to be disgusting, but carries with it no social ostracism. Incestuous union, however, is mildly anti-social; it exposes the offender to secret contempt, but does not interfere with his attainment of whatever position his wealth

and influence may have sent for him. One or two instances are known of contact between parent and child, a matter in which it is the duty of no one to interfere; if a person thus flouts public opinion, it is his own affair.

In view of the firmness of the marriage bond and the absence of professional prostitutes, it is difficult to explain the wholesale exodus of Bella Coola women to Victoria in the last century. In some peculiar manner this came to be regarded as socially proper. The daughters both of chiefs and commoners trooped off for a varying period of months or years and those who returned brought back venereal diseases which appear to have been unknown before that date. Few of these bore children afterwards, a factor of prime importance in estimating the reasons for the decline of the Bella Coola. The motives which led the women to the city seem to have been: (a) the desire for wealth; (b) the influence of strong liquor; (c) the lure of a strange environment; (d) the attraction of the white men, on account of their higher culture.

It is fortunate for the Bella Coola that this fatal custom has ceased to be considered estimable, although the harm already done may be irremediable.

[764] while the relatives are preparing the body for disposal. For a child, these services are performed by the parents; for a married man whose parents are dead, by his brothers and other kindred; for a married woman, by her husband or the members of her own family. If she has borne no children, it is customary for her relatives to carry out the funeral rites, especially if she has been many times rebought from her husband. If such a payment has not been made, it is considered correct for a husband to bury his wife, although it is a point of honour for her relatives to reimburse him later for his expenditure. On the other hand, where children have been born and financial assistance mutually given and received several times, it is proper for the husband to perform the funeral rites, although he may receive assistance from his wife's kinsmen. There is no rigid ruling on the point, but bickerings seldom occur in connection with disposal of the dead. Members of the ancestral family are ready to assist in every case, both on account of the disgrace that would follow a niggardly funeral, and also as a means of displaying their wealth.

[614] [556]

The first essential is to wash the body, a rite performed by men for a man, by women for a woman. It is immaterial who does this though some of the relatives usually volunteer. Neither husband nor wife touches a dead consort, though it is said that long ago a man would hold intercourse with a deceased wife to indicate his excessive grief. The most influential member of the immediate family takes the lead in the various necessary acts, although there is always endless discussion and advice from members of the ancestral family and others interested. A nose-ring is placed in the septum of the corpse; if this is omitted, the body will not be able to dissolve into its elements but will range the earth as a walking phantom, causing injury to anyone who observes it. If the deceased has just eaten some of the first run of spring salmon or oolachen, a shaman washes out his mouth with a sponge of undyed cedar-bark which he throws into the river. The essence of the salmon is thus extracted from the body; if

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Schl:Overall: E-5 (922-1524)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

the hole in the *roof*, ponderously and slowly, until its taboo 575
grip the "body." In the same gradual fashion it carries this 766
upwards until, just before the burden disappears through the *roof*, one of the principal singers leads his fellows and the audience in calling out:

"*Ya-*," which has the significance of, "May you have a safe passage whence you came and whither you are going."

As soon as the bird has disappeared, its notes are heard from above, growing gradually fainter as the actors blow their whistles less violently. An eloquent *sisaak* stands up and expounds how the deceased's crest has come down from above to carry away his body, and often mentions incidents in the ancestral myth to explain why this bird had appeared. A young man is sent up to replace the *roof* boards and the hidden accomplices rejoin the audience unostentatiously. The corpse itself remains hidden in some back corner of the house where it was concealed at the time the dummy was seized, so that nothing indicates what has taken place.

The relatives must give presents to all who have witnessed this ceremonial prerogative. These are now distributed without regard to the rank of the recipient; such gifts are not returnable and are said to be, "What Has Been Shaken Off," like dust from the departing body. A meal, likewise provided by the kinsmen of the deceased, is next served, and as the people are eating, it is customary for senior *sisaak* to make laudatory speeches, extolling the dead chief and comforting the survivors by reminding them of the way in which he will be looked after in virtue of his ancestral traditions. This procedure may continue for several hours, and it is only when no one else wishes to speak that the people disperse. [552] [537]

It is not easy to comprehend the attitude of the Bella Coola to this rite. Some influential *sisaak* state emphatically that in former days it was possible to carry it out so realistically that the uninitiated were deceived, and never suspected that the actual corpse was later on buried in secret by the singers, carpenters, and *sisaak*. On the other hand, those who do not 575 766 781

1:McDowell, E.S. (1922-1924) 1948
NZA Bellacoola NZA

PLATE IX

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Painted sign showing the wealth distributed at a potlatch. The animal figures above represent mountain goats.

[4 442 (H)]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Indeed, a grave is never
965 disturbed except, rarely, when it is necessary to obtain a
[989] portion of a skeleton for magical purposes. In such a case,
the coffin lid must be lifted up on the side away from the
[961] opener, so that he looks within over its upturned edge. A
person failing to obey this injunction will soon die.

968 Burning or deposition near the grave is not restricted to
the actual utensils and artifacts of the deceased. There, too,
must be laid dried salmon which a man has smoked for winter
use, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready
[984] by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person seems
indescribably indecent. In recent years, the crop, if a man
dies after tilling and hoeing a field, is allowed to ripen, and
then rot unharvested. So, too, the canoe in which a body has
been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Coola are
not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is
[961] apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of
[984] death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or that
has been in contact with a corpse.

964 The rituals described above may be considered as religious
in nature; almost equally important are the social require-
431 ments of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This
556 indebtedness falls on the near relatives, though all members
[614] of the ancestral family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite
manner. If a canoe has been destroyed that did not belong
to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents
must be given to the pall-bearers, to the woman who bore the
flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered
laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way.
Failure to do so brands the relatives as miners with little respect
for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the
outlook and minds of chiefs. Consequently, even poor people
try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own
sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately,
it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which
this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has
made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

and recompense to funeral assistants is usually deferred until that time. Such was often true even in former years, although poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the express purpose of publicly rewarding those who had helped to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any convenient ceremony, such as a non-sacred *sisaok* dance. As repeatedly mentioned, when the people have been called together for a ceremony, advantage is often taken of the gathering to settle debts or to perform rites of an entirely different nature. It is probable that the summoning of guests solely to witness the payment of helpers was always unusual; at present it never occurs. On those occasions when a body was buried in secret after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the crest, the goods of the deceased were deposited as usual in the cemetery. Those who carried them were the ones who had performed the secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the gifts as reward for the hidden rite without exposing the subterfuge.

Another type of ceremonial taking place after a funeral is the cleansing from the contamination of death of near relatives of the deceased, and of those who have handled the corpse. If spring salmon or olachen are running, pall-bearers must not go near the river for ten days, or twenty according to some informants, after taking a body to the grave. They have become tainted with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the river bank, would poison the salmon. Unwillingness to become affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly, friendless slave being carried out to the cemetery by some old women who covered him with boards. The taint on grave-diggers cannot be removed, but automatically lapses after ten days.

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife whose consort has passed away. It is believed that *Sa-lma*

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NE6

995 one of the several crests which it is believed he has become. The point does not appear important to the Bella Coola, corresponding to their indefinite ideas concerning whether the spirit and the life have become a single being, or several.

Knowledge of the life led in *Nuxmáx-a* by the deceased, now in the form of his crest,* is most indefinite. In a general way it is felt that the actions of this being are similar to those carried on during life, but in a more advanced degree. A skilled carpenter is a better carpenter in the land above, a chief who has given many potlatches below can give more in *Nuxmáx-a*. This [598] belief finds expression in mourning songs which frequently state how *Alqunúm* has called a good carpenter to work above, or how a chief has gone to exhibit his generosity in a new sphere. It is doubtful whether this sentiment plays any real part in Bella Coola thought. The spirit and the life of a dead person have gone too far away to affect the living; what little is known of their actions has been handed down from the distant past and is merely a matter of history. The only time that these 995 two merged elements come to this world is at a memorial pot- 969 latch, and formerly the uninitiated undoubtedly believed that 556 they were witnessing such a visit. Though the spectators were shown as a matter of course that the spirit and the life had become bird or animal, emphasis was laid on the fact that they had become the *particular* bird or animal crest of the donor's ancestral family. The effect of the memorial potlatch in former times, as at present, was, therefore, social rather than religious. Besides, the two parts portrayed have never been known 995 to affect a human being; they expect no offerings, grant no assistance, cause no injury, and are accordingly neglected.

In comparison with the above vague beliefs, Bella Coola information concerning ghosts is clear and exact. As already

[993] *It is accepted that men were created as human beings, and only assumed bird or animal shapes in order to reach the earth, but there is no corresponding belief that the spirit and the life change back from crest to human form on arrival above. Of course the performance of human activities by zoomorphic creatures presents no difficulties in Bella Coola thought.

1:McIlwraith K-5 (1922-1924)948
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Supernatural good fortune has also been obtained from the "Mothers" of certain plants. 777

Among the roots that are sought for when a man intends to give a potlatch are those of clover and of *oéál*, a grass which grows on flats near the sea. Once the aunt of an elderly (in 1923) Bella Coola woman dug up the Mother of *Oéál*, a root, thick as her thumb, but shaped like a woman. Perhaps the reason that she found it was because she was digging in the darkness, after the setting of the sun. The woman, ignorant of the proper procedure, did nothing, with the result that her hands became painfully swollen. If she had wrapped the root in a portion of her used clothing and kept it hidden for one year, without saying anything about her find, it would have brought her supernatural good luck.

824 [556] [53]

Another woman found an elderberry as large as a baseball, and shaped like the mask worn above the forehead by a member of the *nusaé* society. Her father, an old man skilled in such matters, wrapped the berry in his daughter's soiled clothing and kept it carefully hidden in her box. It brought her supernatural good luck because, no matter how much or how often she gave away presents, goods always came to her.

SUPERNATURAL GOOD LUCK FROM STONES

Stones are among the objects from which supernatural good luck can be obtained. A person who has long observed ceremonial chastity may be fortunate enough to hear what seems to be the weeping of a new-born infant, as he passes in his canoe beneath some steep ocean cliff. Then, if he watches, he will see a stone being born from a larger one at the level of the sea. If the observer takes the infant-stone, wraps it in his soiled clothing and stores it among his possessions, it will act as other bringers of supernatural good fortune by luring all kinds of valuables to the owner. In fact, such a stone is said to be so potent that if left in an empty box for some time, it will attract enough skins to fill the receptacle.

777 987 823 [785]

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Nintrandaia, "The Restorer." He is able to cure the sick even when at the point of death. 756*

Awaxidaxum, "The Saviour." He can rescue persons who have been injured by other supernatural beings. 776 787*

Nawaxwalaxum, "The One Who is Thought Of." Having powerful curing abilities, people think of him when ill.

Awaxhâxwaxt, "The Open-Mouthed One." His mouth is always open to suck forth sickness.

Nanhâxtawâqut, "He Whose Basin is in His Own Body." A person who receives the ability to cure from this being does not use the customary basin.

Sxiaxl. It is said that many Rivers Inlet shamans have received their powers from this creature, which is accordingly well known to the Bella Coola in this connection, although few of their own people are said to have been benefited by it. 756* 787*

Since all animals are supernatural, it follows that any of them can cure the sick. Instances are remembered of this, in which the patient received a name differing slightly from that of his animal benefactor. Salmon, especially cohoes and early spring salmon, are extremely potent curers and many sick people have received aid from them. It is recognized that the former are uncanny since they have the ability to hide themselves in insignificant streams. One man was cured by a tree which gave him a yodel-like shaman's song, imitating the creaking and waving of its branches. More often, however, a supernatural animal merely speaks to a man without making him a shaman. [825] [533]

Two courses are open to the patient who has been cured by such a visitation. He may at once proclaim his powers, or he may say nothing about them in the hope of obtaining further revelations and further names. From a single experience he has received a certain amount of power, but the more he has, the greater this will be. If he decides not to wait, he at once calls the singers and repeats to them the words and tunes of the songs he has received. When later on he gives presents to validate his shamanistic name, it becomes publicly recognized [553] [556]

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* 756 that he is a shaman, and his future status depends on his
* 787 success in curing those who appeal to him. If the man decides
[553] not to make use of his experience, he must not mention the
[556] name of his apparition, as to do so would not only prevent further benefits, but would cause the return of the disease from which he had been suffering. Some shamans have waited until they have received three or four separate visitations, acquiring a name at each; and a Bella Bella man was known to have had ten. Whether or not it is wise at once to display shaman's power is a matter on which there is no general agreement. On the one hand by long, and perhaps fruitless, waiting, a man postpones the social esteem which would have been his if he had at once displayed his prowess, gambling with his chances of receiving still greater gifts. While awaiting further visitations, a man may be able to make use of the power already received, although he cannot do so formally as an accredited shaman. Thus one man, who long ago was visited by a supernatural being, but has made no public claim of his apparition,
[755] is able to cure stomach-ache among his own grandchildren by massaging the stomach as if to force something from it, and then puffing this something, four times, from his spread hands. Still hoping for power, he declined to say by which supernatural being he had been visited.

The following account was obtained from one of the few old Bella Coola who claim to have had shamanistic experiences. It describes what is done when the patient decides not to wait for further revelations:

When comparatively young, the informant slept one night in the forest with a companion. On awakening the following morning, they found a trail of dried blood leading to their blankets. They examined themselves and found no wound, so concluded that the blood could not be their own, and, therefore, was a mystery, over which they worried for a few days but then forgot. About a week later, the narrator of the incident dreamed that a strange creature came to him; he did not know what it was, but it terrified him. A few minutes later

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* 756 and heard her utter the name that was to be his, as a shaman,
* 787 *Nitsumdimut*. He began to shake his hands as if dancing, for he was too feeble to do more, and began to sing the song. His mother at once called in the singers who listened, learning it for future use. The man is firmly convinced that if his mother had not thus called in the singers so speedily he would, after four days, have received another vision, and with it real shamanistic power. As it is, he is a shaman, since he was cured when at the point of death by *Ṭlitcäplilän-a* and received a name and song from her, but he is unable himself to effect cures. As soon as the singers had departed, his mother at once began to make for him a collar formed of alternate bands of dyed, and
[292] undyed, cedar-bark. This is the distinctive decoration worn constantly by a shaman for a certain period after receiving his powers, and at all times when dancing. Within a few days all the inhabitants of the village were called in and the man's
[553] family distributed presents, thus validating his shamanistic
[552] name. Such presents are not returnable; "they have become nothing" for the designation. Thus accredited, a shaman is in a position to start curing, if his song has contained a reference to a basin, otherwise, as in the present case, he is merely a shaman in a social sense, not professionally. There is thought to be actually within the new shaman's body, some peculiar
[292] power which is too potent to allow him to mix with others. Accordingly he wears the distinctive collar, which serves as a
[841] warning to menstruating women and others who are unclean to remain at a distance, and he spends much of his time alone in the forest. This continues until the next *kusiut* dance season when the coming to him of a *yax* (II, p. 6) frees him from restraint, since the one supernatural power drives out the other. If the shaman himself is unwilling to have a *yax*, it is sufficient if one comes to a son, or other near relative.

A shaman who has been told by his supernatural visitor to use a basin instructs a carpenter to make one for him. The design depends either on the owner's wish, or on that of his benefactor if the latter has decreed specifically.

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955 to the part affected. In such a case the object, a toad for
* 756 example, becomes visible at the end of the staff. Conjuring is employed to do this, and often a tuft of dyed cedar-bark is used, which makes the deception still easier. Shamans are very expert in such matters. It is said that when two rival shamans once disputed about their prowess, one of them cast his stick on the ground and it became a snake, whereupon the other did likewise; and his became a toad which hopped after the snake. The Bella Coola find biblical parallels for such [177] revelations of power in the transformation of Aaron's rod, and the appearance of fire on Mount Carmel.

Shamanistic Ceremonies

554 In addition to his professional abilities, a shaman has also
* 756 certain social prerogatives. As has been mentioned, many shamans lack the power to cure, but they may have seen some
787 feat during a dream, or during a visitation from *Thicăplilăn-a*. It enhances a man's social prestige if he can graphically display whatever he has observed. It follows that the rites about to be described are often, perhaps usually, performed by a person unable to cure the sick, but it must be remembered that to the Bella Coola there is no social difference between a shaman who can cure with the aid of a basin, and one who lacks this power. Each has merely received a different gift from his supernatural benefactor. There seems little doubt that a man of imagina-
* 756 tive temperament frequently invents a feat of this type, or rather that he ponders over one until he either dreams of it,
787 or imagines himself to have done so. Certainly, after he has performed such a rite, he deludes himself into believing that he has had supernatural authorization for it. Conjuring feats performed long ago by shamans, feats practised by the members of other tribes, personal inventions, either actually or theoretically dreamed of, all these are among the sources from which shamanistic dances are derived. It follows that almost
* 956 anyone who has the necessary skill is able to perform, provided that he has sufficient food to validate the ceremony. Thus this
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type of dance differs from all other Bella Coola ones, since no inherited prerogative is required. Years ago such exhibitions were common, although curing shamans were rare. 756 556

The usual time for a shaman's performance is at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season, though one is sometimes held prior to that period if the would-be performer fears that the food which he has stored up for the event is likely to be frozen. [796]

When he decides to give a dance, the shaman first summons the singers to his house and teaches them a song of his own composition. Theoretically both text and tune should have been received from his supernatural benefactor, but many performers undoubtedly employ songs used by shaman ancestors which they have chanced to remember. Another device is to describe a supernatural being seen in a dream.[1] In some cases there is deliberate deception, but in most the performer persuades himself that he has received supernatural authorization. The texts are full of obscure allusions, a river, for example, is spoken of as swift running water. Often a man will treasure a song for years, before collecting the wealth necessary to use it publicly, with the social prestige attached. A shaman always obtains a name from his supernatural benefactor, but if a man merely uses a feat observed in a dream, this is impossible, so he adopts the designation of some deceased shaman, soon convincing himself that it was uttered by the apparition. Others will probably remember this name, hence suspicions may easily be aroused concerning the authenticity of the performance, but it is not customary to voice these. The singers repeat the song which they have just heard, and continue doing so until they have mastered it. Sometimes they compose further songs themselves for the performer. During the practising, those who are not *kukusiut* are expelled from the house. A shaman is a person who has come in contact with the supernatural; hence he is akin to the members of the society who, therefore, support him during his rite.[1] A herald is sent out

533 756 556 [195] [553] [183] 756 556 [575] [203]

[1] Theoretically, a shaman need not be a *kusiut*, but visitations usually come only to those of religious and imaginative temperaments, who are in the majority of cases already members of the society.

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to make known to all that there will be a dance on the following day, using the name of the shaman. After such announcement, it would be most unusual for anyone to think of leaving a village until after the performance.

Towards dusk on the appointed day the people are summoned to the house of the shaman. Near the door are seated those who are not initiated *kukusiut*; in the inner part of the house are members of the society, with the singers in their accustomed places behind the fire. The shaman stands alone between the fire and the door and sings one of his songs, the time being marked by the words alone. Then he dances, his wrists shaking, his head rolling from side to side, and his feet marking time to the beating of sticks, as the singers accompany the singing of his song. If more than one song has been composed he dances to each, always accompanied by other shamans and by them alone. The shaman's costume consists of the usual blanket, and eagle down is scattered in his hair, with the additional and distinctive mark of intertwined dyed, and undyed, cedar-bark. After every song, the singers beat time very rapidly,[1] too rapidly for the dancer to keep pace with it, so he merely sways backwards and forwards shaking his hands violently. Then the shaman, assisted by a few friends whom he has chosen for the purpose, performs a conjuring feat to impress the uninitiated. The *kukusiut* realize that this may be merely a deception, but since real shamans perform something of the same nature, there is always the possibility that it may be genuine. The shaman may choose some feat which he has seen some old shaman perform, or he may use something which he has seen in a dream; or rely purely on his own inventive ability, aided, as he always is, by carpenters. The method of carrying out each trick is carefully guarded, with the result that it was impossible to obtain information about more than a few. After the conjuring act, the shaman gives food to all, followed by presents. If it is the first time that he has given

[1] This fast beating of time is called *ahl*; it occurs only in shaman and *nusuk* dances.

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such a ceremony, that is, if he is validating his name, the gifts must be valuable. On later occasions, irrespective of whether it is the same trick or another that is performed, the presents will be of small value. Goods so given are not returnable. After dancing, a shaman wears his collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark all summer, in fact until he rids himself of his supernatural endowment by the performance of a *kusiut* rite the following winter. 756 * 556 ● [292]

Thus there is close inter-dependence of shaman and *kusiut* dances. On any later occasion, at a ceremony when songs of all types are being sung, if the singers beat out the tunes of those used at the ritual just described, the shaman dances to them. This is said to "cure" him, as if the power within him was a source of danger. [575] [533] [535]

The following are examples of the conjuring tricks performed, most of them done by the shaman *Ninitsamlaix*, a relative of an informant, who was able to learn the methods employed. 756 * 789

On one occasion *Ninitsamlaix* prepared two boxes, apparently the ordinary wooden sort used for cooking; across each he arranged a diagonal cross-piece so that the receptacle contained two watertight compartments. Previous to the performance, *Ninitsamlaix* poured water, dyed red with the bark of the alder, into one section of one of the boxes, and put eagle down in one of the compartments of the other. When the time came to carry out the rite he asked an accomplice, another shaman, to bring some water and pour it into his box. This was done, the assistant taking care to put it into the empty half, not into that which contained the dyed water. *Ninitsamlaix* shook the box and poured out some of the liquid to prove that it really was water, and then drank. The spectators, unaware of the cross-piece, did not notice that he did so from the corner opposite to that from which he had poured the water. He had, of course, drunk the dyed fluid. *Ninitsamlaix* cried out that what he had swallowed was paining him, and proceeded to vomit the red water, much to the surprise of the

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them renders it more likely that they will grant his requests. Therefore, a shaman is usually called upon to perform the following rites: 756* 782

(1) Washing the mouth of a person who has died without voiding from his body the first salmon or olachen of the season (I, p. 436). [764]

(2) Asking assistance for the complicated rites of the potlatch (I, p. 192). [556]

(3) Request for assistance before starting on a journey, by puffing eagle down into the air (I, p. 106). [484]

(4) Request for aid by means of placing food on the water and blowing eagle down into the air at Mesatche Nose and Kwatna (I, p. 109).

In fact a supplication to any supernatural being can be made with greater prospect of success by a shaman than by any other person.

The Power of Shamans

As has been said, a shaman actually has power within himself, and this is so strong that it may be a source of danger to others. If a man should pass behind one so endowed when the latter is eating, his spirit would be drawn from his body into the shaman's mouth, which would close with a click, crushing the spirit and killing the man. This is quite involuntary on the part of the shaman. It happened more than once among the early inhabitants, and since that time people have been very careful not to pass behind an eating shaman; this taboo was still in force until about 1885. A shaman, too, is said to be able to recall a spirit which has left its body, and thus caused illness. It is believed by some that shamans can see the position of a person's tally post, and so judge the length of his life. These examples show the varying beliefs of different Bella Coola concerning the powers of shamans. 756* [761] [264] [178] [755]

But the force within the shaman is really more dangerous to its possessor than to others. As certain "unclean" objects are able to subdue supernatural beings, so do these same ob- 756* 783 841

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 756 *

shaman pours the grease on the central fire, and throws on it 755
also the figures and some dried salmon. Thus propitiated, it 782
is believed that the dead will be more likely to allow the sickness to be sucked forth.

Shamans from the dead perform conjuring feats and 756 *
dramatic performances of the same type as ordinary shamans. 556
Until he gives his first dance a newly created shaman is known
as a *lsix*, the same word that is used for a *kusiut* initiate, and [575]
during this period he wears the shaman's collar of intertwined
dyed and undyed cedar-bark. If he is wealthy and influential,
a shaman will repeat his dance every fourth year. Such a per- [796]
formance can be held at any season, although the usual time is
after the *kusiut* ceremonies. The dramatic representations are
of scenes witnessed in the land below, though sometimes they
are done in a reverse manner, following the practice of the dead
in doing things strangely. Thus one shaman reported that the
ghosts wore very long blankets, but when he danced he wore
one that came only to his hips. The method of singing is the
same as that employed by ordinary shamans, but one whose [535]
power is derived from the dead dances with head bent downwards, his free hand pointing to the ground with first finger
extended. Also his cry of "*xwai, xwai, xwai*," uttered at intervals with a deep cadence, differs from that used by ordinary
shamans. A dance always terminates with the distribution of
food to validate the ceremony.

Like ordinary shamans, those from the dead cannot trans- 756 *
mit their power. At death their songs too are lost, unless they 533
choose to give them to a friend who is also a shaman from the [428]
dead. This is obviously contrary to the theoretical belief that
all songs have been obtained during revelations, but is not at
all contrary to the Bella Coola practice of having the singers
assist the visionaries in "remembering" their visions.

The following tale, although drawn from the distant past, 539
is a typical illustration of one of the many ways in which 756 *
shamanistic power is received from the dead.[8] 775

[8] A few stories of similar type have been included in vol. I, chap. VIII to explain the life of the dead, and others are grouped together in the next chapter.

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branches, and again threw the stone. This time the man was able to hurl it back the full distance. 539 *

The washing had made him strong as a grizzly bear, lithe and handsome, and had also given him the ability to see supernatural beings when concealed from the eyes of ordinary mortals. This last accomplishment was due to his having been made so clean by the expulsion of all the filth from his body that the supernatural ones had no aversion to being seen by him. After the cleansing, the man returned to his village, where he soon entered into an argument with two of the people who had been unkind to him. They quarrelled and the man seized his enemies and pulled their arms from their bodies. The parents of the injured men were angry and wished to take revenge on the assailant, but were prevented by friends who pointed out that the punishment given to their sons was well warranted. 787 *

THE LAD WHO VISITED THE HOME OF THE FISH

Long, long ago, there lived a lad who was so poor that all he had for clothing was a rough goat-skin blanket. He was so miserable and friendless that he made up his mind to commit suicide. The ice was breaking in the Bella Coola River at the time, and large cakes were floating down to the sea. The lad leaped out upon one block, then sprang to another, and finally into a clear patch of water. Associates seeking to dissuade him had followed him from one cake of ice to another, but they drew back when he plunged into the cold water.

The youth was not drowned. He found a road under the water which led him to the land of the herring; then, still following the path, he passed in succession the countries of the olachen, the steel-head salmon, the spring salmon, the sockeye salmon, the hump-back salmon, the dog salmon, and lastly the cohoe. Each kind of fish dwelt in its own country, the cohoe salmon, being the last to reach the Bella Coola River, living at the greatest distance from it. Not long after his arrival in the land of the fish, the salmon boat, *Nuskymm*, left for Bella Coola and on it the youth returned home. Owing to this experience he became in time both wealthy and famous.

THE SUCCESSFUL SEALER

Long, long ago, a man living at *Sunxl* failed to display the generosity expected of him as a chief. He showed no initiative or pride, accepting what was given him without demur, and doing nothing to uphold the dignity of his ancestral home. Whenever a feast was given, this man's share was thrown down so clumsily before him that he was spattered with the food, but he was too lethargic even to show resentment. His four 539 * 787 * 556 ●

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* 534 * 787 sons, of whom the eldest was about sixteen, though old enough to appreciate the slights put upon their father, could do nothing to defend him.

On a winter day one of these lads felt impelled to follow a trail down the north side of the Bella Coola valley along the edge of salt water. [556] The weather had been cold for some time, but on this day it was so warm that he lay down to doze on the warm rocks. Near his head was a small opening which connected with a long passage to the ocean, and through this he presently heard the hoarse breathing of sleeping seals. His hunting desires aroused, he went to the edge of the steep crag overlooking the sea and dived in. He bravely penetrated into a narrow passage which led him under the rocks, until with his last gasp he emerged into a cave where there were countless seals. Waiting only a moment, and without disturbing the animals, he dived back through the passage safely.

[411] When he reached home the lad said nothing about what he had seen, but that evening he began to make a seal-spear of the usual type with a wooden handle and a bone point. He asked his father to help him with this carpentry task, and his mother to make a rope for the harpoon-head. Though surprised at their son's energy, the parents did as he requested, but the fellow-villagers mocked at his efforts, for the lad was no hunter.

Next morning he asked his father to accompany him, and the two set off in a canoe, carrying the spear which had been made the previous evening. Before starting, the lad requested one of his brothers to have a fire ready for cooking the spoil that night. Father and son paddled to the entrance of the subterranean passage, though the old man was, of course, ignorant of its existence. The son told him to wait, and dived overboard, armed only with a club, for the seal-spear had really been unnecessary. He penetrated through the passage and at once killed a seal pup, born that year, with which he returned to the canoe. The lad explained nothing to his father, so that it seemed to the latter as if his son had dived down into the depths and there slain a seal, after remaining below for an amazingly long time.

When the two returned to the village they were greeted with a shriek of laughter at the small size of their quarry. In derision, the villagers took the pup from them and threw it from hand to hand, as if it had been a ball.

[224] [225] [574] [556] As already described, it is customary whenever a man kills a deer, a mountain goat, several seals, or any other large game, for him to invite his fellows to a feast. The number of guests depends on the size of the quarry, but in all cases the chiefs are the first to be invited and anyone who fails to do so is laughed at for his stinginess. On this occasion the seal-pup was obviously so small that any general invitation to partake of it was ludicrous. Nevertheless, the lad sent a herald to invite not only

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the people of his own village but those of two neighbouring towns. All accepted, as is customary, irrespective of the amount of food. The carcass was cut up and the guests received such minute portions that they became wildly hilarious over the meagre fare provided and flung many insulting remarks at their host. This was what the lad had planned. Confident of his ability to establish his good name, he desired to make his resurgence more striking by first emphasizing his degradation. 539* 787* 556

Next day the father and son again went hunting, and this time the lad killed a seal of slightly larger size. Once more he called in his neighbours and again they made sarcastic remarks about his poverty. The succeeding day he killed one large seal, and summoned the people. Next day he slew two seals; the next, four; then eight, sixteen, and thirty-two on successive days. Each evening a feast was held and the booty distributed. By this time contempt and scorn had been replaced by respectful wonder, and when the hunter returned with his canoe filled with seals everyone was able to eat to repletion. There was a surfeit of the highly esteemed flesh.

The next day the lad brought back his canoe filled with seals, and the same night the people gathered for the usual feast. Now was the time for which the youth had been waiting. When the carcasses had been cut up and cooked, ready for distribution, he made a speech, reminding those present of the manner in which his parents had been "dirtied," by food thrown at them during feasts, and how they had never actively resented it. Then he intimated that he was about to retaliate. Starting with the chiefs at the upper end of the house, he threw pieces of cooked seal at his guests, nor did he desist until the faces and chests of all had been well spattered with the grease. The people, realizing that it was their own rudeness which was being returned to them, could not defend themselves.

The successful sealer had had a second quantity of seal meat cooked in readiness, which he now distributed to his ruffled guests in a gracious manner. In this way he was able to refurbish the prestige of his family. By his lavish donations of seal meat on many occasions, he gained a reputation for generosity which was envied by all.[15]

Stories Illustrating Supernatural Good Luck 539* 787* 777

THE *Mätsqus*

Not many years ago two men were canoeing up the Kimsquit River. As one of them pressed down with his pole he saw that it had grazed a

[15] It is not clear whether or not this story should, strictly speaking, be included in this category. Such a sudden stroke of fortune is termed a *suf'anxilim*. It seemed as if the seals themselves had given their lives to this lad in his misfortune.

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tense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a number of young men and women ignorant of the significance of the rites. Formerly, the *kukusiut* often had difficulty in impressing the uninitiated with their prowess, and feuds with the *a'alt* were common.

Although membership in the *kusiut* society depends on an ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution. A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *kusiut* prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great importance within the ranks of the society. Nor are the prerogatives considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that slaves are often admitted as *kukusiut* by their masters. An important *kusiut* is not esteemed by the community in the same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, membership in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *kusiut* organization can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without special invitation, he dares enter the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non-

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*575 648 688 721 [628] only by members of the same tribe. The Bella Coola firmly believe that if, for example, there is a serious disaster at *Qomqo·ts*, that village will be raided by the people of Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, Kitkatla, or by tribes even farther away. News of the accident reaches *Tāl·io* or Kimsquit and the inhabitants, themselves related by blood to the offenders and therefore unwilling to punish them, call upon the members of a foreign tribe to do so. On different occasions this statement, in practically identical terms, was made by six independent informants, so there appears to be not the slightest doubt as to the belief of the people in this law. But when specific cases were asked for, they could not be obtained. It therefore appears clear that the Bella Coola, probably owing to long teaching on the part of the *kukusiut*, consider that an error in ritual is sufficient to bring punishment from an alien tribe. There must be some basis of truth in this conviction, and it is highly probable that the *kukusiut* must have taken advantage of raids to explain to the uninitiated that these were caused by disasters in ritual. One informant was of the opinion that, following the collapse of a house at Kimsquit during a Cannibal dance, a Bella Coola chief called upon *Tsāsia*, chief of the Kitkatla, who raided Kimsquit in punishment. Quite apart from the belief inculcated in the uninitiated, it is obvious that tribes eager for war sometimes used an accident as pretext. The Bella Coola know of no case in which they raided a foreign tribe for this reason, although they state that if they had been called upon to act as punisher, they could not have refused.

*575 424 425 553 Leaving now the functions of the society as a whole, the rights of an individual member can next be described. Each *kusiut* has:

(1) *A Kusiut Name.* Like every other prerogative, a name of this type can be acquired from father, uncle, grandfather, or other relative, or even by a son from his mother. As a rule a *kusiut* wills his designation or designations, for a man may [556] have several, before death and his wishes are observed. Al-

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though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kusiut* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kusiut* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor.

575* 424 425 553 [556] [578] [426]

(2) *A Patron, omätuts.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

575* 424 776 [533] [535] [578]

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Awa'likwalsaix.* An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each.

575* 424 778

Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

[773] [781]

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years in deceiving, undoubtedly begins to convince himself that he is different from lesser mortals. 575* 778

Before describing in detail initiation into the *kusiut* society, and then the ritual of various dances, it will be convenient to outline the type of ceremonial, although emphasizing the fact that each differs so much from every other that lengthy descriptions will be necessary later on. When a person has been initiated, either in the proper manner during the ceremonial season or as a "shaman" during the summer, he is known as a *lax*, a novice, until the *kusiut* dances of the next winter. During this period he wears certain distinctive cedar-bark ornaments and is expected to keep himself somewhat apart from the uninitiated. He is always required to give his ceremonial during the first dance season after initiation; by so doing he ceases to be a novice. In later years a *kusiut* can suit himself whether or not to perform. Having once done so, he is a fully qualified member of the society, nor does he increase his rank in direct proportion to the number of his ceremonies. It is true that one who often dances hears himself praised by the marshals, and gains a certain amount of fame among his fellow *kukusiut*. But no matter how often he may perform, he cannot become a chief, with prestige spread far and wide among neighbouring tribes, nor can he increase the fame of his ancestors by adding lustre to his ancestral names. Thus the benefits are not sufficient to urge a man to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials in preference to potlatches. The society is essentially one in which a relatively poor man can display his semi-religious prerogative equally with a chief. Usually, a man performs a complicated ritual, such as that of a Cannibal dance, three or four times during his lifetime; less onerous ones in which no dramatic theme is presented may be more often given.

575* 796 [301] 575* 796 556 575* 796 424

A man who proposes to give a dance must always notify one of the marshals of his village, who summons his fellows, some of the senior members of the society, and chiefs who are also *kukusiut* to discuss the intention. If it entails one of the

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perform several ancient rites through a desire to "show off" before someone who was ignorant. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials, and to judge a man's worth by his lavishness in them, but this is only a modern development due to the prohibition of the potlatch. Nevertheless, even in former times some individuals preferred to invite foreign guests to *kusiut* dances and to give them valuable gifts rather than to save these for potlatches; such a ceremony is called a *kukusiutek*. Whenever strangers are present at a *kusiut* dance they receive small pieces of dyed cedar-bark as proof of the friendly intentions of the host. The general consensus of Bella Coola opinion is that it is foolish for a man to concentrate on *kusiut* performances, particularly if he impoverish himself to the detriment of potlatches.

Although foreign guests are seldom invited to *kusiut* rites, a dancer frequently calls in his fellows from adjacent villages. But as the ceremonial season is simultaneous in the different settlements, with almost nightly performances, it is often impossible to avoid conflict in dates. Which invitation shall have preference is decided in the following manner:

During the days of *qothm* and *nekusam* the dancer sends a herald of powerful physique to invite guests from as many villages as he wishes. Simultaneously, a messenger may be approaching from the opposite direction with a similar invitation. Each envoy watches carefully around each bend in the path for his rival, and whichever can first call out his message is entitled to continue to give his invitation in the village of the outwitted herald. It is considered exceedingly bad taste to decline a summons, so the ceremony to which the defeated herald was bearing an invitation must be postponed. Sometimes the two messengers sight one another simultaneously, and the relative priority of their messages is then decided by a contest of strength. The rivals stand in the path, shoulder to shoulder, arms close to their sides, and shove with all their strength, the winner being the one who can force his opponent to move his feet. This last means of deciding is used exclu-

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

X sometimes re-
ceives two prerogatives at his initiation, one from each parent, 575*
or from some other interested relative. In this case both are 796
expounded. The singers listen intently, knowing that they [425]
will later be called upon to compose songs on the theme, or [553]
themes. According to some informants they immediately sing [533]
one, as if they had just created it, though it was really prepared
in advance. The *kukusiut* listen until they have mastered it.

Helpers now distribute the food provided by X's father, 575*
or whoever is responsible for his initiation. At every *kusiut* 796
ceremonial the marshals are the first recipients, then the 556
singers, and finally the others without distinction. As the [264]
guests are eating, X's father gives presents to all, without
deference to rank. An announcer calls out:

"Here are [for example] ten bear-skins from X's mother. They are to obtain for him his cedar-bark bracelets."

These goods are then distributed. Similarly other gifts from various relatives are handed out for his anklets, his blanket, his collar, his head-dress, and all other parts of his clothing. As each item of his ceremonial costume is validated, [425]
X dons the prepared article. A novice's head-dress consists of a round roll of dyed cedar-bark, covering a grass frame; in [292]
Staux and the other villages of the upper valley this is decor- [784]
ated with a tuft of swan's down. The *kukusiut* of these villages
also wear a distinctive decoration consisting of a swan's skin [237]
with the feathers attached. In recent years it has been customary to pile all the goods together and distribute them as *ály-ll*, which has the significance of "something that has vanished for the novice's dyed cedar-bark." Theoretically, the aim of the donor is to bestow his presents on all equally, but if he finds that he has some remaining, he gives these to the chiefs, or to the relatives of someone whom he expects will soon be a novice. None of the goods used in general distributions are returnable, but a chief who receives an extra gift at the end usually remembers from whom it was received and cancels his indebtedness at the earliest opportunity. There is no close connection between the disbursements and the worth of the

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 individual, other than an indefinite recollection of the amount
796 of goods used for his dyed cedar-bark. People always have
556 sufficient goods to validate *kusiut* prerogatives; in fact, if a proud person gives too lavishly to confirm the initiation of a relative, the marshals sometimes burn the goods, giving no explanation other than that the uninitiated must not be led to believe that a *kusiut* ceremony is an affair of wealth like a potlatch. Formerly, goods were given only at initiation ceremonies, but between 1880 and 1890 a chief gave presents, instead of food, at a dance. His example was followed, since none was willing to be outdone, although such gifts are still called "food." The name of the donor is always announced, whether he is the dancer himself or one of his relatives.

*575 X, though now a member of the *kusiut* society, is still a
984 novice and cannot give a dance[11] until the next ceremonial
[796] season, that is, until one year has elapsed. The marshals instruct him about his costume, and about the manner in which he must deport himself during this period, matters which depend to a considerable extent upon his prerogative. If he
[262] is a Cannibal, Scratch, or Breaker dancer he must not eat unsmoked salmon, nor must he enter a house in which either a potlatch or a memorial potlatch is taking place.[12] Failure to obey this injunction would warrant punishment from a foreign
[302] tribe. Unless his prerogative is to give one of these, or the Ghost dance, he must keep his face constantly blackened.
[292] Every novice must wear a collar of dyed cedar-bark. The marshals warn him to be circumspect in dealing with uninitiated persons; he can talk to them, but it is most improper for him to engage in any familiarity or frivolous play. Above
[524] all, he must neither gamble nor take part in non-athletic games,
[525]

[11] A Cannibal novice, however, begins to exercise his prerogative immediately, although he must also perform a complete dance the following year.

[12] This prohibition was once broken at *Kemp-ts*. A skilled leader was required to arrange the tests at a memorial potlatch and the only man fit for the purpose, a resident of *Sand*, was a Cannibal novice. After much deliberation he was called upon, but great care was taken to hide his identity and it was years before the infraction became known.

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THE DANCE OF *Wł·a*

*575 *996 556 Although potlatches and *kusiut* dances cannot take place simultaneously in the same house, and although the former are supposedly completed before the beginning of the ceremonial season, they often overlap the lengthy preliminaries of the *Noäkynim* dance. In such cases, when visiting the houses of the village, the *kukusiut* are careful to pass by the one in which the potlatch is going on. It often happens that foreign guests are still present when *Noäkynim* ascends the river and their host wishes to provide entertainment for them in the shape of a spectacular *kusiut* display. This is possible if a *kusiut* with a *wł·a* prerogative is willing to have a call come to him. It [424] is probable that in every village there is at least one *kusiut* with this prerogative; in *Tcimotl* the owner is a certain *Łukwala*,[30] in Kimsquit a woman named *Nunuxemlaix*. An ancestor of the former received his designation at the direct wish of *Älquntäm* as leader of the supernatural *kukusiut*. It is unnecessary to describe the ritual in detail in both places, although certain differences must be mentioned. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X. He has ten patrons, the nine brothers [776] *Xemxemälotla*, *Xemcua*, *Omqamkilka*, *Äimälotla*, *Äiamkilka*, *Qomcua*, *Qwlaxwoa*, *Kwlilias Nuskämptä*, *Älmäk*[*], and their sister *Ťlitcäplilän·a*.[31] These supernatural beings remain in *Nusmät·a* except when summoned below by X, or when *Ťlitcäplilän·a* appears for her own purposes as already described.

If X accedes to the request of the donor of the potlatch and is willing to summon his patrons from above, one or other of them interviews the marshals, and if these acquiesce, the rite can proceed. In Bella Coola X asks the help of four *kukusiut* *575 who are termed his "Path Clearers"; no special prerogative is *996 required to perform this service. For four days X lies on the floor of his house, near the door to the back-room, while his

[30] The rite has not been carried out in Bella Coola since the death of the former owner about 1912; the name has passed to his brother's son's son.

[31] Boas (p. 33) gives the same list of beings although in slightly different order.

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[The Dance of Wil·a]

lieve the thud on the roof, which is made by an accomplice, is the call itself, or a being bringing it to X, is problematical. All non-members are expelled immediately, including guests other than Kimsquit or *Täl·io kukusiut*. One is tempted to conjecture whether or not the donor of the potlatch does not use this rite as a means of getting rid of his guests if they show a disposition to linger too long. 575* 796* [787] [556]

The call having come to X, this is the day of *Isuxtämem*. In the early evening a herald goes up and down the platform outside the houses, calling out in effect:

"He has been pressed to earth beneath the weight."

No mention is made of who "he" may be, although the uninitiated are well aware. The herald then enters each house in order, starting at the bottom, to invite the *kukusiut* to assemble in X's. After he has been aided by the beating of sticks, four times repeated, the singers seat themselves behind the fire, where X joins them. The fiction is always carried out that the call has brought him a song, which he pretends to sing or recite to the singers who appear to be listening intently. Usually he says nothing, or talks about something else, though sometimes the deception is furthered by X first learning the words from the musicians and repeating them as if teaching. 575* 796* 533 [787]

The theme is always of the supernatural patrons and how the offering attracts them. Since only *kukusiut* are present and since they all understand the methods, this part of the ceremony may be slighted.[49] The singers beat out and sing the song a number of times, softly, as if practising, then more loudly for the benefit of the audience, and finally at full strength while X dances. Later in the season when many *kukusiut* have performed, and there is danger of the songs being forgotten, it is customary to sing them over on the night of *Isuxtämem* while the owner of each song dances. Throughout, the whistle sounds, to the awe of the uninitiated in the other 575* 796*

[49] Even when no uninitiated are present, the *kukusiut* always surround their ceremonials with an air of mystery which ultimately affects themselves.

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[The Dance of Wil·a]

*575 *796 *I···, and *ao···,*[41] revolving sunwise at the same time. *Ano°likwolsaix* does not fail to point out to the uninitiated: "That is the way he sings up above. Look at him! That is what he does in his own home."

*575 *796 If foreigners, guests for the potlatch, are in attendance, *Ano°likwolsaix* adds that the supernatural beings are disappointed at having been called too late for it. Then the uninitiated 556 are expelled, the masks burnt, and the *kukusiut* disperse.

A few further notes are necessary on this dance. If a potlatch is to be given after the *kusiut* season, the calling of these supernatural beings is sometimes reserved as the last *kusiut* dance, and any foreigners present, as uninitiated guests, are told that the beings have come for the ceremony. There is [776] thus a superficial appearance of confusion between these *kusiut* patrons and *susaok* deities. It is nothing more than a resemblance, since the nine brothers do not appear at the potlatch, and nothing is said to explain their absence; it is merely a subterfuge to increase the interest of the rite. Nor is any [787] connection necessary; in fact, X usually obtains his call like any other *kusiut*, without the spectacular throwing of presents on the fire. In this case X and the marshals consult and select the proper day for the beginning of the ceremony. On the *575 night preceding that chosen, the *kukusiut* are called to X's *796 house and one of the marshals announces that he can hear X's 787 call wanting to come to him. He answers simply:

"I am afraid."

The uninitiated are not expelled from X's house, so that they learn what is to take place. No ritual occurs on that evening, but one of X's friends remains constantly with him, as if to assist in any emergency. *Kukusiut* are often sent up the slopes of the neighbouring mountains with whistles which the uninitiated hear, and which lead them to believe that supernatural beings are in the vicinity.

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[126] *A phonographic record was made of this; National Museum of Canada, record VII D 6b; singer, Jim Pollard.

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[The Cannibal Dance]

through the village announcing what has taken place. Meanwhile X, maddened by the taste of blood, dashes from the house, closely guarded by a number of *kukusiut*. Growling, he enters the lowest house of the village and, to the uninitiated there, it appears as if the restraint of his guardians is all that prevents the biting demon from breaking loose among them. This is repeated at every house in the village, and then X returns to that in which *qotlum* is taking place, where he is guided to his usual corner and a *kusiut* throws cold water over him. Any senior *kusiut*, often one who is also a shaman, calls on those present to beat time, and the frenzied orchestra of sticks sounds forth. X remains quiet and more water is thrown over him. This pounding of sticks is four times repeated, and after each more water is thrown over the Cannibal, until at last his temporary fit of frenzy is stilled. Then the *kukusiut* eat in comfort and leave. It must be remembered that the uninitiated hear the beating of sticks from adjacent houses, and their awe is perhaps increased by the fact that they cannot actually see what is taking place. 575* 796* [781]

This liability to madness lasts throughout the ceremonial season, effectively suppressing any venturesome uninitiated, and at the same time serving as a bond of union among the *kukusiut* themselves, who must sink individual differences of opinion in face of the absolute necessity of upholding X's prestige. A Cannibal novice can likewise become frenzied at any time during the summer following his initiation. [626]

The Cannibal dance entails a considerable amount of physical and mental effort, while if X bites many individuals, as he likes to do as a means of demonstrating his prerogative, he is forced to expend a considerable amount of goods as "Bandages." These two factors often deter a man from performing this dance. A Cannibal who has just been initiated as a *kusiut* at once begins to bite, and is carried away to the upper regions. He is required, moreover, to give his ceremony the following winter, like any other novice. During the summer he generally remains hidden within his house, and when he goes 575* 796* 556 [431] [424]

[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 to the woods he is always accompanied by a number of *kukusiut*
*796 to drive the uninitiated from his path. If it were necessary
to perform the full rite just described, it would, in effect, limit
556 this dance to wealthy individuals. One reason why it is
possible for a poor Bella Coola to become a Cannibal is that
on his second, or subsequent, ceremonial, he can give an
abbreviated rite, known as *lilstom*. The essence of this is
*575 that a kindly supernatural being has visited X on earth, saving
*796 him from the perils of going aloft. In this case the ritual
787 closely follows that of a normal *kusiut* dance and is concluded
in four days.

After the *nebusam* rites of some other *kusiut* have been concluded, the call comes to X, who responds by growling and biting a few people. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house. Thanks to the friendly intervention of the supernatural being, usually *Ālquntäm*, X's mental powers are unimpaired so that he does not become infuriated and bites only a few individuals. As with ordinary *kusiut* rites, the singers
[533] beat out a song composed for the occasion, describing the beneficent being who came down to X, and the *kukusiut* practise and learn it. No other songs are rehearsed on this night, owing to the extreme solemnity of the occasion; it is a Cannibal rite and nothing can take place at the same time.

The next day is *nusiutälsap*; a second song is composed
and a number of the *kukusiut* are sent to collect wood for
[532] masks. Six of these must be constructed representing the fol-
[776] lowing supernatural beings:

Ālquntäm, who has benignly interfered to save X from risking the dangers of a trip aloft.

Ālqotleos, a supernatural man-eater from whom the call has come impelling X to eat flesh.

Three *Ällipaios*, "Holders," who restrain *Ālqotleos*. In the land above their function corresponds to that of the *kukusiut* who guard a Cannibal.

Ano°likwolsaix.

In the evening, after the work has been allotted, X's two

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to discuss the event and lay plans for the future, but as it is now daylight they too soon retire to sleep. 575* 796*

The *kusiotem* ceremony resembles a double *kusiut* rite since it comprises two sets of four days and nights. The one on which X's stomach was cut is considered to be *lsuxtämem*. Accordingly, the heralds call the *kukusiut* to X's house early on the afternoon following and the regular ritual of *nusiutälsap* takes place. Some of the younger men are at once sent to the forest for wood to be made into more masks but, with the love of drama typical of the *kukusiut*, it is assumed that X himself is too feeble to accompany them. Accordingly his power is transferred to a substitute by means of the frenzied beating of sticks and repeated cries of *hoip*. On the return of the wood collectors, who carry their burdens as usual on tump-lines and set them down carefully, this power is restored to X in the same manner. The work of making the masks is now allotted. For *kusiotem*, and several other *kusiut* rites hereafter to be described, the dancer is entitled to show as many of the beings in the Bella Coola pantheon as he desires. Consequently if X is wealthy and wishes to have a spectacular *nebusam*, he orders many masks. Then the *kukusiut* practise a number of songs composed by the singers. One, or sometimes two, prepared for X is couched as if he himself were telling what he had seen in the upper regions. They describe *Ăłquntäm*, his messenger *Oǫolikts Ăłquntäm*, and, especially *Kułsłkäkmidjut*, the supernatural being whose stomach is periodically cut in the land above. It is he who has entered X and impelled him to suffer the same mutilation from the effects of which *Snitsmän·a* has restored him. X himself usually remains concealed behind the matting in the rear part of the house, but sometimes, if he wishes to practise what he will perform the next night, he comes forward for a rehearsal. He still pretends to be very ill, and instead of dancing in the usual violent manner, totters around the fire, supported by several assistants, while he feebly shakes his hands. The women drone, and the uninitiated in the other houses realize that more exciting events are impending.

[482] [424] [556] [776] [787]

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time of day, X must sing. The heralds call everyone to his house where the singers at once compose a new song, describing sun or moon as the case may be. They then sing it while X dances. Other *kukusiut* have the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of the sun, and still others at an eclipse of the moon, but X claims to be the only one entitled to dance at both. 575* 796* 821 [533] [424]

THE MYSTERY DANCE

Mystery is the key-note of all *kusiut* dances, but in the one termed *Ałmutsämk* that element is brought home so forcibly to the uninitiated that it may aptly be called the Dance of Mystery. The Bella Coola explain that the word *Ałmutsämk* means *staḑam*, "What Is Hidden." The essence of the rite, as explained to non-members, is that the supernatural power which has come to the dancer is embodied in three supernatural beings or in manifestations of them. Unless someone guesses its locations, the performer will die. The Mystery dance is one of the most lengthy Bella Coola rituals and necessitates such a lavish expenditure of food that only a rich man can undertake it. 575* 796* [556]

Accounts were obtained of the ritual as carried out by *Qoxołän·i* of *Tcumotł* and *Saixnäs* of Kimsquit, both of whom have the necessary prerogative. The details differ so slightly in the two localities that only one description need be given, and the dancer can be spoken of as X. The patron of most Mystery dancers is *Sänołłxumułełts Ałquntäm*, but that of *Saixnäs* is *Kokostxum*, a supernatural being remarkable for his wild and erratic behaviour. [424] [776]

When X has stored up as much food as he thinks necessary, he calls the marshals together to tell them of his desire to dance. In case of consent, they admonish him not to hurry matters but to perform the rite slowly and properly. Preliminary arrangements include the choosing of four *kukusiut* gifted with good memories to store up in their minds the guesses made by the uninitiated. If many *kukusiut* are anxious to dance, X usually asks permission on the night of a

[The Mystery Dance]

*575 *796 *kukusiut* who listen as usual to words of advice from the marshals.

X retires once more to his enclosure and throughout the night the sound of his rattling apron can be heard. Here he remains for four more days, except when making his round of the village twice daily, or when attending the ceremony of another *kusiut*. When a *qothm* comes, X does not immediately put in an appearance, but waits until all other *kukusiut* have taken their places. Someone asks where X is, and a herald is sent specially for him. He enters, and proceeds at once to the left corner behind the fire where he stands throughout all the dances, moving his feet as if marking time to the music, but not altering his position. When all have danced, both *kukusiut* and uninitiated are invited to guess X's secret, and answers pour in rapidly. X heightens the interest by pretending that someone has almost solved it before *Ánuyulikailaix* "pulled back his thoughts," as the Bella Coola express it. He finally passes sunwise around the fire and returns home.

On the evening of the fourth day after the *kukusiut* were invited to X's house, they are summoned there once more. First they learn a new song, composed for the occasion, then, as before, the uninitiated are called in and everyone tries to guess the three hiding places. This is followed by the same elaborate feast. Henceforth the *kukusiut* are called to X's house on every fourth evening, and a new song is composed and food distributed on every occasion. X makes two rounds of the village daily, and attends the *qothm* of every *kusiut*. This succession of dances may continue for a month or six weeks; [556] in fact, the deciding factor is usually X's desire to distribute no more food. In former times it is probable that the necessity for an emaciation-producing diet was an important consideration in choosing when to conclude the dance.

The time finally comes when X or his family wants the riddle answered. The marshals discuss the matter on the evening preceding one of the regular gatherings of the *kukusiut* in X's house. Two important points must be settled. First,

[The Mystery Dance]

*575 masks representing the three successful answers. Little atten-
*796 tion is paid to actual design, and the workmen use their ini-
532 tiative to a considerable extent.[22] One mask always made is that of *Snuslaxwai*, a being who appears to act as concealer for *Ałquntäm*. As far as could be learnt, if *Ałquntäm* wishes to conceal anything from a human being, such as the hiding-places in a Mystery dance, *Snuslaxwai* is entrusted with the task. In addition to the usual well-known supernatural beings, X often orders representations of mammals, birds, or fish; he may even ask a man to make a mask without stipulations and then the finished product is as much a surprise to him as to anyone else. There is no relationship between the masks made
[556] and the guesses registered. If X is wealthy, the number to be constructed may run to fifty or more. *Nusiutälsap* concludes in the usual way as soon as all the work has been allotted.

Two days is not long enough for the completion of such a large number of masks, so *nebusam* must be postponed, and *qotłm* is correspondingly delayed for four days. In the evening the heralds invite first the *kukusiut* and then the eager, though
[184] fearful uninitiated. They take their places and in Kimsquit, not in Bella Coola, marvel at some of the masks hanging behind the fire, though no explanation is vouchsafed them until the following evening. Presently the singers begin to beat out one of
*575 X's songs and he starts dancing violently, only to stop long
*796 before it is ended. The musicians quickly change to another; he performs briefly, then ceases; this is repeated for a third tune, and similarly for a fourth, a fifth, and so on. If the preliminaries have been long drawn out, X may have as many as twenty songs and he dances to a fragment of each. After he has performed, the singers strike up the tune of any *kusiut*

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[178] [22]Possibly this disregard for exact portrayal of supernatural beings is a modern degeneration. The Bella Coola of today say quite frankly that they have forgotten many beings used by their ancestors, so have no hesitation in inventing new designs and naming them even for natural phenomena which they consider must be caused by supernatural agency. On the other hand, the burning of masks, which seems to be an old practice, would tend to lessen conventionalization in all but the best-known figures.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Dance of the Otter]

*575 below a rapids. Care is taken that the uninitiated do not ob-
*796 serve these arrangements. About noon on *nebusam* the heralds go to every house with a cry:

"Come to watch the *kusiut* catch the supernatural one in the river."

The uninitiated are wise enough to remain within their houses as the *kukusiut* troop down to the bank of the river. Presently X appears, clad in the usual ceremonial costume. In he dives, as if in pursuit of the dark shape which can be seen swirling to and fro in the water. Non-members, watching from the background, are amazed to see what appears to be a struggle, followed by the emergence of X clutching an otter in his arms. They are too far away to perceive that it is merely a dummy, nor do they know that a *kusiut* has assisted the performer by cutting the rope at the proper time. As X reaches shore with his burden the *kukusiut* women drone. Forcing his way through the throng of his associates, the performer goes to his house where the uninitiated presently hear the frenzied beating of sticks repeated four times. The dummy is carefully concealed in the back-room so that it can be used if necessary on a later occasion.

As X comes ashore, water is splashed in all directions from
[556] the dummy and often dampens several of the *kukusiut*. Anyone to whom this happens is expected to give his clothes to a herald, and a man of chief-like disposition never hesitates to do so; in fact, he welcomes this opportunity of displaying his generous nature.

It is probable that a number of masked figures appear on the evening of *nebusam*, but detailed information is lacking. It might be added that a question as to whether the catching of this otter had any influence on the ability of X as an otter hunter was regarded by the informant as highly humorous.

THE OCTOPUS DANCE

*575
*796 In the beginning of time *Sinuxeti* of Kimsquit married a
424 Bella Bella woman who brought as part of her dowry a *kusiut*
551
778

[The Octopus Dance]

*575 Cannibal begins to growl and soon the *kukusiut* are left alone
*796 in the house. The singers beat out a new song for X and the ritual continues like that of any other *lsuxtämem*. No description is needed for the ceremonial that occurs on *nusiutälsap* and *qotlim*.

On the evening of *nebusam* the uninitiated are summoned in due course. The exact number of masked figures shown
[532] could not be learnt, but among them is always an octopus. The rite concludes in the usual manner.

The presents given in connection with the Octopus dance
[431] are more valuable than those bestowed at most *kusiut* rituals, accordingly none but wealthy people are able to carry it out.
[556] The heralds especially are always beneficiaries.

THE DANCE OF THE DARK-SHADE

*575 One of the most peculiar and irregular of *kusiut* dances is
*796 that performed by a certain *Kälqam*, whom it will be conven-
424 ient to call X. His patron is the supernatural woman *Stcqwast-*
[776] *lustkwi*, Dark-Shade, whose home is beneath the thick evergreens of the river valleys, thus explaining the darkness and shadows found in such places. X's repository is beneath some
[778] large cedars near the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, a few hundred yards above the end of the fiord; it is probable that other dancers with the same patron have repositories in other dark and gloomy spots.

When X wishes to dance he must as usual obtain consent from the marshals who insist that he delay his performance until after the solstice at earliest. The reason is because his
[776] patron, Dark-Shade, alone of all supernatural beings, has the power to open every repository; X brings her to the village and
[787] in consequence calls come to many *kukusiut*,[100] which would be undesirable during the first few weeks of the season. On
*575 the evening of the day selected for the beginning of the dance,
*796 X steals away from the village with three or four *kukusiut*,

[100] The implication in this case is that calls come from repositories, not from the land above, the customary source.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*533 B *Ämuntskayaikipk^{w}lsai* — Count how many times will distribute | *aiyatcistänakasals* — my mother, | *aiyaskätcaiyänmakas* — how many times

älakätaiämkisals — she will scatter [presents]. | *Wikäsinutcymikas* — Will hide [the guests]. | *dilisuts-amatimdai* — our returning food and goods(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 45b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was used about 1915.

(*b*) Meaning: The guests.

(*c*) This song was used at a potlatch and is accordingly phrased grandiloquently.

[556] (*d*) One of the dancer's first ancestors. It is not claimed that *Älqnulils* actually brought to earth the goods which his descendant is about to distribute, but the wording is ostentatiously bashful as if the dancer were unwilling to claim the honour.

(*e*) That is: The food and goods which we are about to give in return for previous donations will entirely overwhelm our guests.

Song Used for Wäkas of Kimsquit(*a*)

A *uxyupälläxwaiya* — Clear the way! | *Dikllähmsdai* — Is coming down for me | *diziuläisdai* — my supernatural being(*b*).

Däiqwmndumsdai — It bears | *sikpuspusas* — what goes | *älxwoldjäntals* — to those who sing(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Stiqwiutsamlip* — Do not insult | *sisg^{w}läläläxp* — you have less than | *dimänäkasdja* — my father(*d*). | *Änudodjetik* — Always is increasing

watqändus — my box(*f*) | *was-ullä-kasls*(*e*) — in my house(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 43b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) This song was used at a potlatch. Those used on such occasions were practised carefully and are accordingly the best remembered at the present time.

(*c*) That is: It bears presents for those who sing and assist the ceremony in any way.

(*d*) That is: Do not pride yourselves on equalling my father, he is greater than any of you.

(*e*) When this song was being sung for the phonograph, this subdivision was temporarily forgotten and replaced by a repetition of the third division of the second part.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

533*

ḳmusmālxmanuyt	*aiyumaseyo·nyuals*	
he circled and returned	*Sang*^{w}.	

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 39a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) A sign of victory, eagerly watched for when a war-party is returning. [727]
(*c*) A reference to *Wīnat*, one of *Sinugutl*'s first ancestors in the beginning of time. He made a journey to the Skeena, returning from there with canoe and paddles decorated with sun designs. The exploits of his descendant are compared with those of his pattern, that is, his first forbear. Such references to family history are sources of pride to the chief being honoured. [773]
(*d*) That is: From whom I am descended.

Fragment of a Xe·tla Song(a) Used by Qwayusditna of Kimsquit(b)

A *Kaiyumsāmālxan*	*di sāhaiāmpdai*	*hailpainuxits*	2
Presently he will be ashamed	that chief	if I get	

aiyudilālialsdai
my copper.

(*a*) Both tune and theme are said to be of Kwakiutl origin. [177]
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 34b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

Fragment of a Xe·tla Song Used by Sinugutl of Kimsquit(a)

A Sānusikqomosīnandai	*yau (b) dīqwotcaiyailtumdai*	*Oldīqaxlāmitlīnandai*
They are smiling,	greetings to the out-stretched glass!	They drink

sawās qomcwadja
the food of white men(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 41b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) Literally: *Hello!*
(*c*) This song was used at a potlatch where the fare provided was whisky. The tune is said to be very ancient although new words were composed for the occasion. [556] [279]

A'alk Songs

A'alk songs somewhat resemble *sisaok* ones and, like them, are difficult to collect completely. Parts of many are remem- [575] [796]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 28a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The tune is said to have been handed down for more than two hundred years. 533 *

(*b*) That is: Let us stop paying the customary respect to.

(*c*) It is not remembered which chief was thus held up to the scorn of his fellows.

(*d*) That is: He does not act in accordance with the traditions of the name he uses.

(*e*) That is: The dancer is feeble. This refers to another *nusqual* dancer who, owing to his poverty, had not performed for many years. It is not known whether he was the same individual as the one derided in the first part of the song. [558]

(*f*) To flaunt another's poverty in his face is the height of Bella Coola rudeness. [735]

(*g*) That is: He, too, was a *nusqual*. [576]

(*h*) The ancestor from whom the prerogative was derived.

(*i*) That is: In virtue of my *nusqual* ability. This appears to be a departure from the usual theme of a mocking song.

*Nusqual Song Used for Q̓wixlakilak*ʷ, a Kimsquit Man*(*a*)

A Tuksdjidjsdumalnuwit	*yaqwixlakilakwsudai*	*skâ'anutsayanmixwals*
Please do not sleep,	*Q̓wixlakilak*ʷ(*b*),	listen to your

sawaqoptanuswals
drums(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sanamaodjamadu	*snuyaiyatuwikals*	*altaltamstaqailsandai*
I alone	am content(*d*);	is increasing

aiyadispaliwatsdai
my prerogative(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 29a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) It is not uncommon in *nsaak* and *a'alk* songs for the dancer to address himself in this way. [575]

(*c*) That is: Be ready to listen to drums beaten at one of your ceremonies.

(*d*) The dancer is deriding another *nusqual* who has not performed for a long time. [558]

(*e*) This song differs slightly from the usual mocking type in lack of specific references to the person derided; lack of reference to an ancestral myth, however, shows that it was not composed for a potlatch. [556]

Song of a Kimsquit Nusqual(*a*)

A Dipu-uqo	*halalalaix*	*dastalumqwot*	*disisut*
That is he,	the impostor,	the chief	of the paddle(*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*533 newly composed whenever required, though in recent years
*[575] old ones have occasionally been re-used owing to lack of ability
*[796] on the part of the singers. The following songs have been arranged in the same order as the descriptions of the *kusiut* dances at which they were employed.

Song Used for Anuipuxm-ain, a Kimsquit Man(a)

A Sewaiktmaiyakwaxalı | *nastlqwätsaiyakhuxı* | *ähäxqmstkwälmadjudalı*
Everything(b) | shook slightly(c) | when he came(d)

skamälliyuqalyuxlı
to the first point.

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

B Skamähläilailaxalı | *äläuxsqäkwaiyaixalı*
Have made up their minds | the calendrical experts(e);

sinuqwlamdimuxlaxalı | *äxuliyalakuqalı*
they have curtailed | through their greed(f).

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

C Nuxuqpätäyleiyaiymäqo | *yao dinuqalaixlxsdai* | *yao diomomäxhıı*
Constantly refills | water(g) | the dishes

dinuxälliyumemqudai
which elevate him(h).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 46a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been used about 1870.
(b) This is a reference to *Sang*[w].
(c) This is a grandiloquent expression, such as are common in *kusiut* songs.
(d) Referring to *Nuätkymm*, the dancer's patron.
[805] (e) That is: The calendrical experts have come to an agreement.
(f) That is: They have abbreviated the period of waiting owing to their greed. This song was used by the *kulusiut* at one of their gatherings during *Nuätkymm*'s approach. At Kimsquit no uninitiated were present on such occasions so it was possible to indulge in comments without betraying the secrets of the society. The significance here is that the experts were so greedy to share in the food that they agreed to say that *Nuätkymm* had arrived before his proper time.
(g) That is: Water constantly re-fills. By water is meant food and mountain goat grease.
[556] (h) That is: The dishes of which the contents, when distributed, increase his status.

(a) "The Beautifier." This is one of the appellations of the infant's patron, the otter, so-called because people adorn themselves whenever an Otter dance is given. 533*
(b) Recorded as song VII D 16a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *hoxlat* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of *Lilitsawdzis*, a female infant distantly related to *Xemtsalwala*. [776]
(c) A reference to Otter, the neophyte's patron. The significance is that chiefs have an opportunity to display, "open," their generosity by lavish giving at every Otter dance. [556]
(d) The elaborate ritual of an Otter dance dispels grief. It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions.
(e) Referring to one of the dead man's ancestors. The theme changes, and is henceforth of the usual mourning pattern.
(f) Referring to the dead *Xemtsalwala*.
(g) "The Loftiest." This is one of the many designations for *Nusqalst*, one of the dead man's crests.
(h) A reference to the expanding house described in the dead man's origin myth. [773]
(i) One of *Xemtsalwala*'s names.
(j) This is another name for *Nusqalst*. The meaning of the whole part is: *Xemtsalwala* sits down within the expansible house on Mount *Nusqalst*. There is the added implication that he seats himself as does his supernatural namesake in the land above.

Non-Ceremonial Songs

The Bella Coola are not an intensely musical people. Singing in unison is an essential feature of every ceremonial rite, but, when alone, an individual seldom bursts into melody from sheer *joie de vivre*. They have, however, a certain number of non-ceremonial songs, shorter and more diverse in theme than any of those previously recorded. The people themselves do not attempt to classify them, though they can conveniently be grouped in accordance with their themes. Some deal with love; others are sung jocularly at sight of certain birds or mammals, while a third class can only be described as miscellaneous. Still others accompany stories and games; these are included in vol. II, chap. V, and appendix B. [796]* [825]

Love Songs

Men sometimes compose songs which they sing, unaccompanied, to their lady loves. Occasionally, too, the maker of a popular one will teach it to his friends who will serenade the 533* 882 424

[See cat. 116, pp. 543 to 567 - ANALYST]

CHAPTER III

WARFARE[1]

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

721 PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was con-
648 siderable warfare among the coastal tribes of British Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermination of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks. These were never as continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless,
[796] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were even received as guests at some dances. At potlatches they
[556] might be subjected to insult, later to be avenged in the same manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and
726 friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who
825 bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests them-
778 selves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter
[486] to veer over to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was
[578] considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling
[627] a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads.
721 In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was
[575] at all common. Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were
[622] not entirely forgotten; no *kuxiut* novice went to war and

[1] Warfare having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject. [721] [575] [622]

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Stuw* and *Alqālāxl* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe. [648] [685] [626] [556] [688] [628] [727] [777]

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Tāl·io*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack. [642] [648] [133] [161]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

B T 648 728

killed, his reputation would only be increased by the manner of his death. At length *Ne-wunkai* fired into the air; not until a shower of eagle down was blown forth did anyone realize that his musket had been loaded with nothing more deadly. This marked the establishment of friendly relations.

B T [539] [431]

The Kitkatla had brought their own singers, who now began to beat out time for *Tsihsa* to perform a *sisaek* dance. He was followed by several other chiefs, and then the strangers gave presents to influential Bella Coola on the most lavish scale. *Patlu* likewise performed a *sisaek* dance, and bestowed gifts on the guests to validate it; such were, of course, not returnable. A meal was then served, and after that *Tsihsa* made a speech of which the gist was that the Bella Coola had previously known his achievements as a warrior, they now knew his nobility and bravery in risking his life, and that the name *Tsihsa* could never be forgotten, irrespective of his own fate.

Tsihsa left soon afterwards. It was somewhat difficult fully to comprehend his motive in thus risking his life. Undoubtedly his main object was to display his valour and disregard of danger. Moreover, it gave him an opportunity to impress these qualities upon the Bella Coola, and thus to exhibit his prowess actually within the enemy's camp, which must have been a source of tremendous gratification to him. The alleged motive, regret at killing a chief, may have been a contributory factor.

B T 648 556 574 [721]

Although this visit was an intimation from *Tsihsa* that the Bella Coola need have no further fear of him, the suspicions of years could not be immediately allayed; in fact, an occasional skirmish still took place although *Tsihsa* himself refrained from fighting. A few years after his visit to Bella Coola, *Patlu* prepared to give a potlatch to which he determined to invite the northern chief. Many of the Bella Coola doubted whether the Kitkatla warriors would respect the safe-conduct usually afforded to envoys, and no one was anxious to bear the invitation. At length six chiefs volunteered for the task and set out, though with many misgivings. They stopped *en route* at Bella Bella where a chief of that tribe, *Ompa*, joined the party; he thought that he would have influence with the Kitkatla and might add protection to the Bella Coola. Fearing to be seen by any small Kitkatla bands, the delegation travelled only by night until they could actually reach *Tsihsa*'s village. As they paddled up, they indicated their mission by singing one of *Patlu*'s *sisaek* songs. On hearing this, *Tsihsa* asked one of his Bella Coola slaves whose song it might be, and when he answered that it was one of *Patlu*'s, *Tsihsa* despatched a chief, *Kwinas*, to invite the guests to his house. *Ompa* was thankful when he saw this man approaching, since he felt that it heralded a friendly welcome. The party was conducted to *Tsihsa*'s

[i.e. to the peace negotiations - ANALYST]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

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dwelling in spite of the fact that a Cannibal dance was taking place there. All the messengers were *hamsta* in Bella Coola, while three had Bella Bella rights as well; *Tsakoa* allowed the latter to take part in the ceremony while the former were treated as uninitiated. They were greatly interested in the details of the Kitkatla rites, which were exceedingly strict and included the eating of a corpse. At the conclusion, the envoys received their share of the small presents which were distributed.

At this juncture one of the envoys, *Xemoemlala*, fell seriously ill and was cured only through the attention and care of one of *Tsakoa*'s wives. This delayed their departure so that it was a long time before they and the invited guests finally set out, much to the envy of two Bella Coola slaves who greatly desired to return home.

Meanwhile the long absence of the messengers had filled the Bella Coola with fear that they had been massacred, and there was great rejoicing when a large flotilla was seen approaching. The guests landed on the shore at *Sympo-ts* where the customary ceremonious greetings were exchanged. Many of the Bella Coola, inflamed by ancient wrongs, endeavoured to break the canoes of the guests and in other ways to threaten them, but *Pielas* finally succeeded in restraining them and establishing some kind of discipline. The ceremony that took place that night in the house of *Pielas* is said to have been the most spectacular ever witnessed in Bella Coola. One old man who, as a mere lad, had attended, grew eloquent as he spoke of the lavish display. Unfortunately, he had had no part in the rites and could remember none of the details except that his childish mind was amazed at a dance in which a masked performer, representing a whale, vomited grease on the fire to give light. *Tsakoa* did not return home immediately, but remained in Bella Coola until spring when the weather was more suitable for travelling.

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This exchange of hospitality virtually ended all hostility, although the Bella Coola and other tribes of the central coast still regard their northern neighbours with dislike and suspicion. Between 1880 and 1890 a party of Rivers Inlet people went to Kitlope to prepare olachen grease, for which purpose a number of Kitkatla had also camped there. Among them was *Tsakoa*, a descendant of the warrior chief whose exploits have been recounted, and his nephew. One day the latter was gambling with *Matsu-a*, a Rivers Inlet youth who had recently been initiated into the *hamsta* society and was consequently decorated with a cedar-bark collar. *Matsu-a*'s luck was amazing and some of the Kitkatla's friends asked him why he continued to play with a man who was clearly in such close contact with the supernatural that he could not lose. Heedless of this advice, *Tsakoa*'s nephew continued until finally, losing his temper, he

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

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the first time that two girls were missing. Then they set forth on the track of the Carriers. The raiders, knowing that their assault could not have been heard in any village, and unaware of the three young people hidden in the woods, took no precautions. The first night the pursuers reached the camp where the Carriers had built a long, narrow fire of some kind of wood which emitted no sparks, on either side of which they had placed a long tree-trunk on which to rest their feet as they dried their moccasins at the flames. One of the Bella Coola girls was placed near one end of the fire, the other at the other end on the opposite side. Neither could sleep, but kept watching silently in the hope of being able to escape. Towards dawn one of them was overjoyed to see a Bella Coola scout peering around a tree-trunk. He motioned her to keep silent and she nodded to show that she understood his signal; then he went away. He told his waiting companions how the Carriers were resting with their feet over logs beside the fire, and suggested that they prepare heavy clubs. Having done this, the Bella Coola stole up behind the drowsing enemy. Each selected a victim and broke his leg, or legs, with a crack of the club. Not one of the raiders escaped, the cripples being killed without difficulty. In some manner this event was made the theme of a *nusaḵ* song.

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The following unrelated incident is probably historically correct, in outline at least, since it is said to have taken place about 1860, and two of the participants were great-uncles of the man from whom the account was obtained.

One October a number of Carriers were staying at *Nuxḵalst*. Their chief was a certain *Ṗimtlaxw* who was distantly related to the people of that village, though he had long since ceased to be regarded as anything but a Carrier. The river was running full and though there were many cohoe and dog salmon in it, they were difficult to catch on account of the roaring torrent. A *Nuxḵalst* man, *Ṗiwulist*, had laid in an abundant store of fish for the winter, but his bad-tempered wife urged him to get her some fresh salmon and he ventured forth. A drifting log struck his canoe; he called out for help, but before it reached him, his craft capsized and he was drowned. *Ṗiwulist* was a popular man and there was great grief at his untimely death.

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[554]
[754]

As was so often the case, jealousy was rife in *Nuxḵalst*, where a certain *Nūxūt* had become wealthy. He was a good carpenter, and his riches had been amassed as rewards for making *ḵaxlat* masks, but of course such payments had been made in secret and many people wondered how he had acquired his fortune. This was enough to cause a certain amount of suspicion, and a rival determined to take advantage of it. This man approached *Ṗimtlaxw* and said that he believed *Nūxūt* was responsible

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for *Ẓelxwliotl*'s death, that he was sure the wealthy man was really a sorcerer, and had used some evil means to cause the fisherman's drowning. *Ẓāmālxem* was distantly related to the dead man and, thus incited, determined to kill *Nānāt* in revenge. That evening, as he was lying playing with his grandchild, the Carrier chief entered his house and thrust a musket against the unsuspecting man's chest. *Nānāt* quickly knocked down the muzzle so that the bullet, instead of killing him, merely passed through the fleshy part of his hipe. *Ẓāmālxem* made no attempt to run away. In such cases it rests with the relatives of the injured man whether or not to take revenge, and they usually avoid beginning a vendetta unless virtually driven to it. News of the assault spread down the valley, and two of *Nānāt*'s nephews, *Ṭsā·kmai* and *Oẓmikmẓ*, went up to investigate. They were both men of considerable influence in the community, both validated warriors who had taken prominent parts in the unsuccessful attack on Kitkatla a few years before. Realizing that their uncle was not seriously wounded, the two brothers carried him to their canoe, intending to take him home and to disregard the assault.

During this time, the evil *Nuẓẓalt* man had been working on *Ẓāmālxem*'s fears by telling him that *Nānāt* was certain to kill him by magical means, until he decided that he could escape only by murdering the wounded man. His followers learnt of this and tried to dissuade him, fearing the presence of the two famous warriors. As their canoe was going downstream, it was caught in an eddy and tipped so that one musket and both cartridge boards were lost. This seemed to *Ẓāmālxem* the chance for which he had been waiting: he fired from the bank and *Nānāt* fell dead, much to the consternation of his own followers as well as the *Nuẓẓalt* people.

If *Ṭsā·kmai* and *Oẓmikmẓ* had been ordinary men they would probably have fled downstream but, being duly validated men of valour, this course never occurred to them.[14] *Oẓmikmẓ*, who had one charge left in his musket, consulted his brother as to their course of action.

"*Nānāt* is dead," his brother replied. "It is probably time for us to die as well. You had better shoot."

Meanwhile *Ẓāmālxem* had remained on the bank, laughing at the two warriors. *Oẓmikmẓ* told him to be silent, then fired, instantly killing his uncle's murderer. The Carriers began to run to and fro on the shore, whence they could hear the two brothers talking to each other:

"Let us not think of escaping," said one. "We have displayed our characters today. If we are to die, let us die."

[14] The man from whom this account was obtained mentioned as a matter of course that condemned warriors could never run away; when questioned further, he explained that the public validation of bravery made it utterly impossible for them to flee from danger.

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538 certain that his account is the only accurate one, and ridicules his rival, but as no social importance is attached to the tales, an error in narration is a matter of small moment. Probably there have been instances in which an individual possessing [556] much wealth has transformed a story into a family myth, but it was impossible to obtain a concrete illustration of this; it is thought that this may have been done in former years, though of course such would be absolutely contrary to custom.

Stories can be conveniently divided into two types:

[825] I. Those in which the principal character is a mammal or bird endowed with human intelligence.

II. Those in which the principal character is a human being.

[825] Many of the first type describe the adventures and mis-
[776] adventures of Raven. It must be remembered that the Bella Coola regard these stories as accurate statements of fact, and base their characterizations of many supernatural beings on their actions as recorded therein.

Raven Stories

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HOW RAVEN BECAME BLACK

When Raven was being prepared for his descent to earth, *Ālqnxōm* told *Mālālālitsēk* to make him the prettiest of all the birds. When finished, he was adorned with many colours and was very handsome. But the vain Raven looked at himself and was not satisfied. First he asked that one arm might be changed, and when this was done as he desired, he asked for an alteration in one of his legs; and so on with nearly every part of his body. Finally, *Ālqnxōm* became angry, and told some of his assistants to throw ashes all over him. This made Raven a uniform black, in which guise he was sent down to earth.

RAVEN AND WATER OUZEL[3]

As he was able to assume any form, Raven, once upon a time, took that of a herald and went to the home of Water Ouzel, who, having spread a fine cedar-mat for his guest, proceeded to prepare a meal. He brought

[3] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 93.

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105 of their omnipresence; the guiding force of public opinion is
182 seen as a check on individual licence, fostered or inculcated by
the ties which hold together ancestral families and make it
[626] impossible for a man to lead an isolated life where others will
not be affected by his actions. If the white man is willing to
receive new ideas, he will learn much from the comments of
the Bella Coola on his own customs. Many have been to
Victoria or Vancouver, and they feel that the contrasts of
[556] wealth observable in such big cities are atrocious; they ask
how this is compatible with Christianity. They feel that it is
[602] unnatural for a man not to receive support from his cousins of
[556] all degrees; that the hoarding of wealth for the mere grati-
fication of personal desires is selfish; that the selling of land is
extraordinary; and that failure to ascribe every incident to
supernatural causes is sacrilegious. These differences of view-
point on so many matters explain the first impression of
strangeness. A careful investigator comes to realize that he
is among a people who fundamentally differ but slightly from
his compatriots, though outwardly they have little in common.
With respect to love, ambition, parental affection, sense of
honour, pride, intelligence, even humour and vanity, the Bella
Coola are essentially similar to ourselves. Unfortunately,
these characteristics are expressed in ways unintelligible
and often repellant to the casual traveller. If he will only look
beneath the surface, he will find a people who are neither saints
nor sinners, but essentially human, with the faults and follies
as well as the elements of strength and wisdom which comprise,
as Kipling puts it, "Men in a world of men."

177 The coming of the white civilization has been cataclysmic
[161] to the Bella Coola. Within two generations they have been
reduced to a mere handful; instead of living in scattered vil-
[361] lages, roaming the mountains for game and fishing at will, they
now dwell in a single settlement and the taking of animals and
fish is subject to law; the introduction of metal tools and
mechanical appliances has revolutionized their mode of life;
new foods, new clothing, new furniture has altered their living
conditions; fermented drink has presented a factor unknown

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to their forefathers. Profound as these material changes have been, those of a psychological nature have been even more important. New worlds have been thrown open to them, stimulating ideas have been brought to their attention, and they have realized for the first time that the world is infinitely larger than they had imagined. Hand in hand with this extension of knowledge has gone disbelief in their own ancient lore. The white man, whose superiority and mechanical skill they admit, positively denies the actuality of their mythology, and laughs at the dramatic performances which were wont to fill the winter with engrossing interest. Such rites can flourish only in an attitude of profound belief: this has been so shaken that the dances continue listlessly, a mere shadow of a once living art. The young people were the first to embrace a scepticism that has rapidly grown into disbelief of the faith of their ancestors, and a half-concealed scorn for their elders, the upholders of the old customs. Worst of all, prohibition of the potlatch has made it impossible for a man to reach a position of social eminence. Moreover, since the holding of any type of ceremonial requires a distribution of gifts, formal gatherings of all kinds have become virtually impossible; even marriages have no longer the social support that formerly made them so lasting.

These cumulative blows would be enough to shake any civilization, and that of the Bella Coola has been entirely unable to adjust itself to the new conditions. The young people, having lost respect for their elders, are deprived of the advice and support essential to the continuity of culture. They ape the white man's dress; they want his mechanical devices, but have failed to assimilate them. For example, a gramophone in a Bella Coola house is an anachronism, while several similar articles spoil the old picture but do not provide a new one. Seeking to copy the new ways thrown open to them, they have achieved the outward show but not the substance, and in so doing have destroyed their own culture. In the old days they were ambitious to hold potlatches and willing to work steadily towards that goal; now, new desires have not kept pace with

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Ālālkmktmm: Supernatural being sent by *Smaien·a* to meet *Noākgnm.*

ālālqo·xi, "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will certainly give a potlatch to start him on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremoniously at every feast. [556]

Ālblxān·i: Abalone-shell covered stick used by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

Alblxān·iatliax: One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.

āldinnkl: Word of uncertain meaning often appended to *lnxtāmem* as complete term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance. [575]

ālikslxsmm, "A Dragging Across" (as one does with a heavy log): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being repurchased. [425] [553]

āljkwis: Toasted food of any kind. [262]

Ālilixwumax: Ancestral name of a *Stuax* man.

ālilig': Perforated, *adjective.* [252]

ālimusnām: Those who perform to assist marriage dancers.

Ālimalwalaix: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Āl·imlsaix: One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.

ālipaxlits, "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and hers prior to entering her house. [585] [431]

ālipoahm: Gifts given in secret, soon after betrothal, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [584]

ālipotlām: Marshal.

Ālipmān·i: Immoral supernatural woman; synonym for *Sximsximlt.*

Ālixmotusaix: One of the men who came to earth at Mount *Tenisi* in the beginning of time.

Āl·ālikstl: Totem-pole erected by the first settlers at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.

ālklstl: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]

ālly: Sisook song in fast time.

ālt: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [533] [535]

Ālt'gmān·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Sātlia* in the beginning of time.

ālumpus: Kusiut dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

ālunlla: Synonym for *knumdjut*; one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]

ālutla: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

ālx: Come, *imperative singular.*

Ālkxa: 1—One of *Smaean's* sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at *Nuxulst* in the beginning of time.

ālpā·ilaix: Central seat behind the fire.

ālkidjalos: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-nets. [412]

Ālkhumlāhn: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola.

ālkhālmm: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun. [805]

Ālhn·lgnmm, "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf. [825]

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uxsiut, "The Time for *Kusiut* Rites": Fifth moon after the summer solstice.
uyuyuyut: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Alqālxl* in the beginning of time. [805]
2—One of the first men to settle on the lower Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Suook* name of a Kimsquit man.
uhlulāk: One of the supernatural carpenters.
ilsāmāmmmum: The repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]
uxaiāk': Synonym for *spuxdjut*, a present for which a return is not expected. [431]
uxsimxdjut: Hereditary tendency.
uxem: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man. [827]
uxiax: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *ilakwik* is problematical. [825]
uxlqolam: One of the first men to settle at *Qomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
uxlliwatem'xiamit·al·at': The entrusting of a woman to a husband's care. This phrase is used by a wife's relatives when about to rebuy her as expressing their somewhat boastful sentiments concerning the relations entered into at marriage. [583]
uyu·ahalwadjutlaix: Sterile supernatural visitation. [787]
uxkuta: 1—To strengthen, or to shore up. [556]
2—Goods provided by a wife to strengthen her husband's position.
uxlāhmhq, "Different from All Others": Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
uxlexwan·i: Wife of North Wind, a supernatural being resident in a side valley of the upper Bella Coola.
uxlokwaladjut: Supernatural aid granted to the unfortunate.
uxlqotlamsqwaxdjinas: Son of Raven and one of the first settlers at *Tāl·is* in the beginning of time.
uxnukwoalxaix, "The Track of the Sun": *A'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
uxnutlxāmlaix: Supernatural name of *uxsiut*.
uxquntām, "Commander": 1—Said to be the word from which *Alquntām* is derived.
2—One of the names of the supreme god.
uxliikmosaix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smooan* in the beginning of time.
uxwappātsdjut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
uxwal·a: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man.
uxwimxala: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
ux·wnaisa: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Qomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
uxālyotsaix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smooan* in the beginning of time.
uxpāam, "The Walker": Supernatural being resident in a glacier near the overland trail between *Snuhsli* and *Tāl·is*.

K

kai: 1—Snow. [821]
2—Unidentified berry. [824]
Kaiusdias: Name obtained from a supernatural being by a Bella Bella man.
Kahamiit: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
kakas: Crow. [825]
Kakuhn: Locality in the Bella Coola valley mentioned in an ancient story.

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Łaliaxia: One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Łahaml: Unidentified town on the outer coast mentioned in a *Stuix* story of the beginning of time.
Łallaliamdimut: Name acquired by one of the first settlers at *Snulsli* in the beginning of time.
Łaloxmäw·a: *Smaoan*'s son in the beginning of time.
łalas·i: Small portable canoe.
łalstum: Desertion of a spouse. [586]
Łaxosmai: 1—"The Copper One."
2—"Snow," in the language of Deer.
łahmtmakgwao: Imitation potlatch carried out by *nusäxkämy.*
Łaknus: Bella Bella Cannibal living in the beginning of time.
Łilixwnimut, "The Scatterer of Eagle Down": Name created by *Smaoan* for his son in the beginning of time.
lima: To loot.
Łixlixkikka: Bella Bella supernatural being who brings food.
lixwnimut: Person of placid disposition.
lldla: Bull-roarer.
ldt: To excise rot; the word for potlatch, *łm,* is supposedly derived from this. [556]
łm: Potlatch.
łmkmitl: The binding down of a Cannibal with rope.
Łmolim: Unidentified autumn moon, probably the fourth after the summer solstice. [821]
Łmoliz di Nusäxkämy, "The Potlatch of the *nusäxkämy*": Second moon after winter solstice. [805]
Łkamkila, "First of All": One of the first men to settle at *Nukils* in the beginning of time.
łkaluwädjut: Shaman's ritual error, such as the curing of one who is ceremonially unclean. [756]
łkumkksta: Miniature totem-pole such as is used in mourning ceremony.
łmänkmm: Partnership of a poor man with a chief about to give a potlatch, so that the former may repay debts, for which his poverty required no compensation, and thus start himself on the path towards greatness. [556]
łmänsimtim: The turning over of a mountain.
Ło'ys: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
łqomksta: Stick decorated with copper bangles used in mourning rites by one of the first settlers at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time. [765]
łqia: The painting of the face as a sign of mourning. [302]
'Łhmdimut: Cannibal *kusiut* name used by the first settlers at *Satlia* in the beginning of time.
Łłiqwam: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola male Scratcher.
łuklai: Aversion.
Łukwala: 1—*Kusiut* name of a *Tsimotl* man.
2—Shamanistic power.
łullulumut: Visitation from the life of a recently dead friend, notification of which is conveyed by a start or other feeling of discomfort. [775] [787]
Łulqwaw·i: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. The first to use this designation was a relative of the earliest settlers in the beginning of time.
Łulukwahnmm, "The Giver of Shamanistic Power": One of the names of *Thlcap-lilläw·a,* and hence a designation given to shamans.

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*192 *nā'ɬlu:* Miniature copper ornament worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.
[301] *Nā·tci:* Bella Bella man living in the beginning of time.
nāxum: To dance.
[825] *nāxumda:* Those who dance at marriages.
nāxnx: Mallard duck.
[824] *nāxmusmm:* Night of potlatch on which *sisaok* initiates appear for a short dance.
naxski: Berries of Canadian buffalo berry.
[415] *nabixakta:* Thimble-like wooden dish.
'namlānkaix: Ceremonial seating of chiefs according to their validated places in a house.
Namutsta: Name acquired by a Rivers Inlet man from sea-lions in the beginning of time.
Namulsta: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
'Nāx·wān·a: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Scratcher; the designation was derived from Rivers Inlet.
Ne·slo·s: Celebrated Kitkatla chief.
Ne·xwankai: Influential Bella Coola chief.
*[776 *Nebsullāhaix,* "The Resident": Supernatural being dwelling under rivers who punishes infractions of taboos concerning them.
[784] *nebusam:* 1—Fourth day of a *kusiut* dance, on the evening of which masked figures appear.
2—Something exposed to view.
Neqaqa: Old woman resident in Sea-lion's house in the beginning of time.
nexnk, "Little Dance": Term of grandiose humility.
nexnāxum: Gathering of the people for a non-sacred dance after the *kusiut* season.
Nexnāx·mālosaix: 1—"The Dancer Near the Fire": One of *Ťlitcāplilān·a*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
2— *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Nexnexliwalaix: *Kusiut* name of a *Nusqalst* man.
niamlumtām: One who has preserved a marriage song.
niaxwālemsk: The intangible strengthening that comes to a bridegroom as a result of the oration of his ancestral myths and the giving of presents to the bride's relatives when they first come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] [431] *Niallallaix:* Daughter of the first people who came down to Mount *Tsnisi* in the beginning of time.
[524] *niłq'cūl:* Wooden ring used in a game.
Nihtcks: Place on Dean Channel, about three miles from the head, where the deer formed a colony soon after the beginning of time.
[825] *nikqaqa':* Otter.
Ninilānk: Name of a certain spot where mountain goats are wont to congregate for mating.
Ninitsamlaix: 1—"The Restorer": One of *Ťlitcāplilān·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—One of the first men to settle in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[556] *nitsam,* "Brought to Life": Term applied to a copper brought back from a cemetery and renamed.
Nitsmdimut: Shaman's name derived from *Ťlitcāplilān·a.*
nitstominu: "I have saved you."

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Nukāpnkam: An influential Kwakiutl chief.
Nukātco: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.
nuḳaxem: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a *kusiut* who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an uninitiated person.
nukəlomskf': Grease extracted from sockeye salmon heads.
[825] *Nukiadji:* Ancestral name of a *Stuix* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
nukila·xta: 1—Spider.
[778] 2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where cures are effected; the power is derived from a spider petrified there.
Nukiis, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
Nukokwixodjāx, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[552] *Nuliḳumutl di mink',* "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.
Nulālumtnam: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Noākgmm*'s departure to warn *kukusiut* to tidy their houses for the
[356] ceremonial season.
2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.
Nulalulaks, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[431] *nulexm:* Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.
Nuliliqolānk, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.
Nulixwemankta: One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
nulumkmānkdās: Fastenings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.
Nulkitl: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.
nulkmākdas: Bonds used to fasten a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nulumkmānkdās.*
[428] *nulmāxtmax:* Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.
nulolostunik·esta, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *sisook* head-dress.
nulḳ: Landslide, such as is caused by *Twalālīit* or *sisiutl.*
Nulqānlaix: Name given to their sister by the first settlers at *Nutsqwalt* in the beginning of time.
nulḳunta, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a poultice which is thrown away after serving its purpose.
nulḳwātas: House-posts nearest to front door.
nultunikta: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
nullsmāmmtnum, "Belt Goods": Goods borrowed during a potlatch by a donor who
[426] finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to fasten up his
[556] clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.
nulxodjim: Cry uttered by a *sisook* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *sisook* novices.
[342] *nulxinqailaix:* The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *sisook* novice.
nulxwālkāls: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.
numālkāls: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.
Numām·ic, "Place of Flies": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

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*192 *Nusnäxnqkt:* Area around a spring near *Nulkax.*
[198] *nusmista:* Chamber-vessel in the language of supernatural beings.
Nusmista: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Nusḿskunsta, "Place of Meeting": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nuspuxta Smaiaikila, "The Peace-Giving *Smaiaikila*": Designation of the supreme god with reference to the function of peace.
Nusqäps: Skeena River.
Nusqäḿts, "Place of Many Spring Salmon": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
nusqalst-a: 1—Chamber-vessel.
2—Nickname of a Kimsquit child.
Nusq̓alst, "Place of *Sq̓alst*": 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Mountain, the loftiest in the Bella Coola valley, near the village.
Nusqatl: ustämq village.
nusq̓djot: Kusiotem rite in which the performer pretends to have his stomach cut.
nusqilbutsäx: Person fastened to the ground with roots.
[826] *nusq̓o:* Person suffering from umbilical hernia.
nus'qodjusmsta: Appurtenances for washing given by the donor of a potlatch to his guests.
[431] *Nusqulxwaista:* House of the supreme god during the winter dances of the supernatural beings.
nusqwal: 1—One of the *a'alk* dances.
[825] 2—Yearling mountain goat.
3—Man dwelling in *Qomoqwa's* house.
nusqwalxi: The alleged attraction of the spirit of an uninitiated person to a performer in the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place.
Nusqwalxwaista: Variant of *Nusqulxwaista.*
Nusqwalxwalmikt Noäkymm: Supernatural dancer who comes in *Noäkymm's* canoe.
[198] *Nusqwaleix*, "Kingfisher," in the language of supernatural beings: Ancestral name of a herald who came down to the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Nusq̓wstlnaista, "The Making Place" (with reference to *q̓wstlnusta*): One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nusqwaxlstn-i: 1—Man mentioned in an ancient story of Green Bay.
2—Man mentioned in an ancient story of *Stuax.*
*Nusq̓**los:* Supernatural merry-maker or clown.
[825] *nusqwekstl:* The annual scattering of birds by the supreme god in the land above.
Nusq̓wl: Locality near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.
[583] *nusqwotsonmsta*, "Washing Appurtenances": Term applied to presents given to a husband by his wife's relatives when rebuying her.
[431] *Nusthlsta:* Locality near *Stuq.*
nusthxomälta, "Ground Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate *nsaak* initiates with regard to the ground over which they will dance, or
[556] chiefs to the ground over which they will tread.
[431] *nusthxomästa*, "Seat Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate the seat of a chief or of a *nsaak* dancer.
Nusthiuq: Herald of *Smaaax* in the beginning of time.
Nusthmnämmsta, "Place Where People Were Made": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nustskmqs: Carpenter.
nustqwasmäl-a: Smear of red paint.

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omätuslaix: Goods obtained by a man's own exertions and forming the nucleus of his wealth for a potlatch. [556]
omätuts, plural, älomätuts: Kusiut patron.
O'miätl: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
O'mielkes: One of the first women to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
O'mielmai: Son of Raven in the beginning of time.
Omqomkikka: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Siskiut* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Tsmoti* woman who died about 1915.
'Omilom: ustämg village.
Omgut: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola *kusiotem* dancer.
Onikotl: 1—Ancestral name of a *Snuiäli* man.
2—Celebrated Kimsquit hunter.
'onikwatl: Any non-sacred rite, especially an *a'alk* dance held subsequent to the *kusiut* season.
Onixwalicua: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit *kusiotem* dancer.
Omqwak: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
onostälpstumm: The taking of food to another tribe for ceremonious beatowal.
Onstcitoma: Supernatural being who sleeps perpetually, literally, "The Sleepy One."
Oqmikumg: 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Celebrated Bella Coola warrior. [824]
o'qok: Skunk cabbage.
Oqolikts: Supernatural being, herald of *Älquntäm.*
oqpä: The steeping of *usaok* novices in smoke, this being the final rite of initiation.
Oqsmai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Siskiut* in the beginning of time.
oqla: Temporary fish-dam of interlocked branches. [226]
Oqwan·i: Small mountain on south side of the Bella Coola valley behind *Qomqo·ts.*
O·qwi·: Place near *Stuax.*
'Oqwolikdmut: One of the first men to settle at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.
oqxälemsk': The leading across of a bride to a groom during a wedding. [585]
osälostäm: Hereditary tendency. [827]
osdukän: One made sick by salmon, especially a woman who suffers from this cause through disregard of adolescence taboos. [784]
osipax: Variety of dog salmon found at Bella Bella. [825]
o·usmtdiqixwaix: Conferring of ancestral names at a potlatch.
osnäxmunaix: The performance of a *kusiut* dance with supernatural dog salmon as patron.
Ossqkpumg, "Treeless Place": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley. [585]
osqälism: Distribution of stripe of mountain goat skin at marriage.
ostämuiks: "Where are you going?"
Ostcälikeq', "Lake-Swallower": A mythical monster.
oslwellaix: First night of a potlatch. [601]
oltsk: Third eldest brother or sister.
Oltuya: Name of Mink as chief.
O·llok di Stälumg: One of the names of the supreme god.
Olowu: Celebrated *Waoyal·a* warrior.

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qālikw: Omen of death, generic term. [787]
qālka: One of the berries, probably raspberry.
qāmā, vocative, qāmas: Mother, term used by child. [824]
Qāmāhxm: Celebrated Carrier chief.
Qāmex: 1—Village on west bank of the Necleetsconnay, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. [601]
2—Mountain behind the village.
Qāmspoxtāmem: am'kel-a name of a Kimsquit man.
qāmxāmila, vocative, qāmxāmilas: 1—Term used for spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish. [825]
2—Term used by *smmq* to human beings, who are like salmon to them.
3—Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings. [198]
qaouxta, "Rope Fastenings," i.e., something binding: The function of the "Bed Covering" and other presents given with a wife which bind her to her husband. [585]
qaotlaks: Unidentified species of duck. [431]
Qeominoaka: Kwakiutl term for "The Weeper," a female supernatural being.
Qepātus: Kusiut name of a *Stuax* man. [825]
Qē·pxaok: ustāmq chief living soon after the beginning of time.
Qēqēᵃli: Herald who came with the first settlers to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Qēfos: Carrier pronunciation of *Tcafos,* one of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
qēānm: Kusiut with ability to produce a puppet-patron, cf. *nunuyaxum.*
qētitsta: Sweat-bath. [515]
Qēlmus: Slave mentioned in an ancient story.
qētsy': Star-fish. [825]
qēx: Rabbit.
qē·y: Salmon-berry. [824]
Qēxlewāli: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
qēymāts: Unidentified plant.
qahm: Black cod. [825]
qam, "A Wiping of the Feet upon the Ground of Chiefs": Term applied to a deadly insult offered to persons of importance. [578]
qamta: Wooden armour. [714]
Qankāst: 1—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Island off Rivers Inlet.
3—Island.
Qay·axwsila: One of the names of Raven as chief.
Qēil: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Sīskiut* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
qē·ka: Unidentified migratory bird, black in colour. [825]
Qēldjut: Scratch River, near Bella Bella.
qī'aqa: One of the *a'alk* dances.
Qīlia, "Head": *Stuax* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
qaskpālpāhosslaixnam: A verbal exposure of what should have remained concealed, such as comments upon the slave ancestry of a person whose blot in this respect has been covered over by lavish giving. [578]
qāshalitsta: Presents distributed by a wife to strengthen her husband's seat, and thus prevent him from "wobbling." [431] [556]

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614 The gens Spatsâ'tlt have breakers painted on the house-front, and use
532 in dances the mask of a large kind of whale (*k·'xnts*), of the crow, and of
342 the black bear.

The gens Tumqoâ'akyas use the mask of Ōnzstaitō'ma (=the sleeper) and the eagle.

The gens Tl'ak·aumō'ot of the Nusk·'x'lstemh use the moon (fig. 2).

The gens Ialo'stimōt of the Tâlio'mh use the raven, robin (*sisi'a·qomâ*), eagle, whale, the bird *t'êntlala* (genus?), and *s'allel'ots*, the flood-tide. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the *usqe·'mta* suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. 420).

The highest gens of Nûtl'x'l has the name Smō'xn (=the north wind). He has the mountain Sûwâ'khh surmounted by a mackerel sky, and with clouds on its sides, painted on his house-front (fig. 3). Another object belonging to his crest represents waves.

614 The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the deci-
851 sion being left to the choice of the parents.

Secret Societies and the Potlatch.

171 The social organisation, festivals, and secret societies of the Bilqula
575 are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the Sisau'kh, and the Kû'siût. The Sisau'kh corresponds to the Tlôola'qa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the Kû'siût to the Ts'êtsâ'ek·a. The
556 Bilqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine
773 brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Qê'mtslea, to whose
776 care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Qê'mtslea.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Qêmqêmalî'ala.

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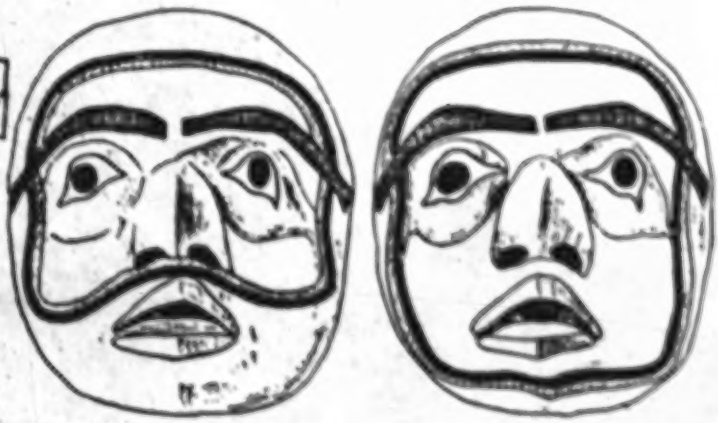

house in the far east, and cries ô! ô! every morning when the sun rises. He has to take care that the sun rises properly. The first six of these deities

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are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the Kû'siût these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks which I have copied. Qē'mtaloa and Qēmqēmalâ'otla wear the design of the full moon, indicated in the mask Qē'mtaloa (fig. 4) by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Qēmqēmalâ'otla has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin (fig. 5). Aiumkî'likya (fig. 6) and Aiumalâ'otla (fig. 7) wear the design of the crescent, drawn

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FIG. 6.—Mask representing Aiumkî'likya.

FIG. 7.—Mask representing Aiumalâ'otla.

in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second. The fifth, K'ōmk'ōmkî'likya, and K'ō'mtaloa have designs representing stars (fig. 8), both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is K'ula'qawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmonberry bush (fig. 9). The next in order, Kulē'lias (=who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue (fig. 10). The ninth, At'amâ'k wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a birdskin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called Tl'ōtsâ'aplētlâna (=the eater), the sister of all the others. Her face is painted with a bladder filled with grease (fig. 11). She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

The Sisan'ku, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of gentes, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had gone out hunting met the Sisan'ku, and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned he asked the people to clean their houses, and to strew them with clean sand, before he consented to enter. Then he danced the Sisan'ku, and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with

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represent. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become Sisan'ĸн. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'ɛ-lu'sta, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is a member of the gens Ialo'stimöt of the Talio'mн, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a Kū'sött name, which remains the same throughout life; and a Qē'mtelon name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'ɛlu'sta's (which is his Kū'sött name) present Qē'mtelon name is Atl'itlemɛ'lns'aiн, but at his next potlatch he intends to take the name of Kaliä'kia. These names are also the property of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Kū'sött names of the ancestors. In two cases only the Qē'mtelon names have been ascertained (see p. 409). When a man possesses several Sisan'ĸн secrets he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their Sisan'ĸн secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisan'ĸн secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the Sisan'ĸн carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Kū'sött is presided over by a female spirit, called Anätlikötsai'ɛ. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anätlikötsai'ɛ invited her into her cave and taught

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575 her the secrets of the Ki'sitt. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
713 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
716 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the women to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Ki'sitt. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Ki'sitt.'

Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Ki'sitt. When a man has
575 seen Amilikstmi's sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a
716 Ki'sitt. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Ki'sitt lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Ki'sitt are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband,
424 as in the case with the Sisa'ka dances (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be bought and borrowed
[424] by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may redeem the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Ki'sitt is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Ki'sitt name, which
[551] he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Ki'sitt names,
[428] which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Ts'pê until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of T'kêt'ell. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[552] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisa'ka, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Ki'sitt have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] tlaqi'la (the Ha'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the O'lag (the Ki'tlamil of the Kwakiutl), and the Dê'la (the Ki'atainatl of the Ha'ilzuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Ki'sitt novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

When the tlaqi'la is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
575 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun,
785 and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs hold a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any-
787 one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[344] killed, in order to serve as food for the tlaqi'la. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the tlaqi'la cedar dressed one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

844 fessional midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
[846] the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[845] near the room for a year (according to Nusk'ala'ata, for ten days), else the salmon would take offence.

The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole
[553] tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive
[552] small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member
[554] of the Ka'aitt, when it is given its Ka'aitt name. This ceremony takes place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qa'ratala name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[242] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
[821] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[242] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She
[241] must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee, 1885, p. 320).

584 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his
[431] friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has
[532] been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four
[302] women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and
585 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[431] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his Gaax'ta sacrets as soon as the pair have their first child.
[551] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

586 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be. 764 [301] [323] [766] [567] [775]

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they chewe four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, chewing new trees every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones. 765 783 [795] 765 [302]

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or eulachon. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person. [242] [828] [322]

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was "the same as giving away the house of the deceased." 765 556

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to 773 171

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751 Women wear tight anklets to prevent
481 the calves of their legs from slipping down.' During their monthly
824 periods women place soft cedar-bark in the vagina. The bark is afterwards burnt in the woods. The smoke of this fire is believed to be poisonous.

177 It is evident that the culture of the Bilqula is very greatly influenced
551 by that of the Kwakiutl. The secret societies and the potlatch ceremonies
556 are almost a copy of those of the Heiltsuk'. This influence has been so
575 deep that names of even deities and of the mythical ancestors of certain
776 gentes are purely Kwakiutl words, or have at least Kwakiutl endings. Thus
771 the name Alxmkt'ikya (see p. 418) is purely Kwakiutl, meaning 'good all over the world.' K'tmk'tmkt'ikya is also a Kwakiutl word, meaning 'the rich one of the world.' The chief's name, Ma'hkylhail (see p. 419) belongs to the same class of Kwakiutl names. On the other hand, the religious ideas of the Bilqula are very curiously developed, and apparently but slightly influenced by their neighbours. The whole Mamamkt'ala tradition is peculiar to them, but has been partly adopted by the Awiky'-s'aqq, with whom the Bilqula have intermarried.

[pp. 425-449 not processed]

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(550) One of them must wash his body, one must wash his head, and the two others hold him. In return they receive one or two blankets each. During this ceremony the qoqq'ûlû, who are described as wild men, dance around the novice. They have ropes tied around their waists, and are held by other members of the society by these ropes. Then the xwexwe'tal lead the novice into the woods, where he remains for a long time, until he meets the spirit that initiates him. It seems that during this time he is secretly led to the house in which the xwexwe'tal continue to celebrate festivals at the expense of the novice's father, and there he is taught the secrets of the society. During this time, until the return of the novice from the woods, the house is tabooed. A watchman is stationed at the entrance, who keeps out uninitiated persons. During the absence of the novice, his mother prepares cedar bark ornaments and weaves mountain goat blankets for his use. One afternoon he returns, and then his father gives a feast to let the people know that his child has returned. The latter performs his first dance, in which he uses masks and cedar bark ornaments. This dance is called xwexwe'mat. On this day the father must distribute a great number of blankets among the xwexwe'tal. The initiated are permitted to take part in the feast, and sit on one side of the house. The new member spends all his nights in the woods, where he bathes. In the spring the new member, if a man, is thrown into the sea, and after that is free from all regulations attending the initiation. One of the principal regulations regarding novices of the xwexwe'tal is that they must return from the woods in the direction in which the sun is moving, starting so that the sun is at their backs. Therefore they must sometimes go in roundabout ways. They must go backward through doors, which are sla'lequm (supernatural) against them. Frequently the sit'ca (a female shaman) is called to lengthen the door in their behalf before they pass through it. Before their dance the sit'ca must also address the earth, as it is supposed that else it might open and swallow up the dancers. It is also sla'lequm against the novice. The expression used is that the earth would "open its eyes" (k'u'nalaxta); that means, swallow the novice. In order to avert this danger, the sit'ca must "give a name to the earth," and show red paint and feathers over the place where the novice is to dance.

THE SI'LENA.

(551) The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Si'tcala are still more closely interwoven than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the sinax'i, and the kwiut. The sinax'i corresponds to the tsa'lasa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the kwiut to the ts'u'natqa. The Si'tcala believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Xa'nalem, to whom now the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful house in the far east, and rises "a, a,"

(552) (553) (554)

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every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the ki'nist these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks. Xi'utsina and Xmaxmalili'na wear the design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xi'utsina by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xmaxmalili'na has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin. Aiomki'lik'a and Aiomali'na wear the design of the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second masks. The fifth Q'omq'omki'lik'a and Q'u'mina have designs representing stars, both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is Qala'sova, whose face represents the blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kali'lim (who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue. The ninth, Ai'mai'k, wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called L'ltai'qlc'ana (the eater), the sister of the others. Her face is painted with the design of a blubber filled with grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

The sisnai'k, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of the class, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had gone out hunting met the sisnai'k and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he connected to enter. Then he danced the sisnai'k and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Hi'tsola dance the sisnai'k. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each class its secrets. Each class has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the sisnai'k only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are the sacred possessions of each class. All class, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a class are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various class, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the class to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, can not become sisnai'k. A person can not take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Kwak'ale'ma, the Indian, to whom I

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424 532 614 owe my information regarding the class, and who is a member of the gens Iait'stimit of the Talit'mx, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a kō'mat name, which remains through life, and a Xō'mtsina name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nuk'nlu'sta's (which is his kō'mat name) Xō'mtsina name was AL'LEMAK'lus'aix, but at his next potlatch he intended to take the name of Kalia'kia. These names are also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names. When a man possesses several sisan'k secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisan'k secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisan'k secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the sisan'k carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular clan.

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The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going to pay the owner in his stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

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The kō'mat is presided over by a female spirit, called Anatlkuta'al'x. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anatlkuta'al'x invited her into her cave and taught her the secrets of the kō'mat. She wore ornaments of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

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woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the kō'sint. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the kō'sint." 575 773 776 535

Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the kō'sint. When a man has seen Anaklkuta'xi'x sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a kō'sint. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each kō'sint lasts three days. 575 776 535

The various dances performed by members of the kō'sint are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisau'k dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the kō'sint is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kō'sint name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of i'kō'ut. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the sisau'k, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kō'sint have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the klaxō'la (the hō'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the ō'lki (the nō'lmat of the Kwakiutl), and the dō'tla (the nō'ntsistalat of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kō'sint novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation. 575 [426] [551] [428] [556] [171] [554]

When the klaxō'la is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the klaxō'la. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the klaxō'la order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears 575 785 787 [266]

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names are also willed, but since their value depends on the 578
goods expended to validate them, there is seldom bitterness 614
about their allotment. Indeed, a chief who is the legal owner 553
of a designation which came from above in the beginning of
time, will in many cases choose to elevate his position with [428]
respect to a title of comparatively recent date. But if any
person who is not a member of the ancestral family should [685]
dare to use an ancestral name, all the members rise to avenge
the theft, for such they feel it to be. In recent years, however, [178]
this practice has become comparatively common. In such
cases a man, eager to share in the glories of a myth and able
to give a potlatch, has validated an ancestral name to which
he has no right. The presence of the white man alone
restrains the injured ancestral family. Names are sometimes
lent or hired to those who are not members of the group for [426]
definite sums; the recipient recompenses the individual. If [427]
such names are not returned for several generations quarrels
are apt to arise since the recipient claims to be the real owner
and not the temporary possessor. During his tenancy of the
name he is entitled to any prerogative attached to it, but he
is not considered a *bona fide* member of the ancestral family.

Instances have occurred in which an old man or woman,
believing himself to be the last survivor of an ancestral family, [428]
has donated his names and myth to those who have befriended
him, or these have been taken by those who buried him. Some
individuals are constantly watching to conduct the funerals of [557]
friendless old people in the hope of so obtaining names. But
in almost every case this leads to friction, since it is virtually
impossible for an ancestral family to die out. Perhaps in the
next generation, perhaps in the following one, some youth will
claim descent from the first ancestors of the supposedly defunct
family, and claim the myth and names embodied therein. This
leads to a feud with the person, or his descendants, who has [628]
received the names through aid given to the "last" of the
family.

Such instances of an ancestral family becoming practically 614
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593 family are liable. It is very rare for a woman to be killed in
627 a blood feud. A death is answered by a death; if two persons
682 should be slain for one murder the family which has suffered the double loss endeavours to kill another of their enemies. In
[562] case of wounding, an effort is made to wound the offender, but
[683] if he should be killed his family would try to avenge him. More often, one of the offender's family takes the initiative of offering goods to the injured family, "to cure the wound." If the offer is accepted, and the goods delivered properly, the matter is at an end. If a murder be committed within the ranks of the immediate family, for instance, if a brother kill a brother, revenge, if exacted, must be meted out to the actual
[622] offender. If requested to do so, the leading chief of a village may offer his advice, but it is always considered that revenge concerns only the immediate family.

612 Revenge is a topic which shows clearly the essential fluidity
614 of the family. There are no well-defined degrees of relationship within which responsibility rests. Instead, everyone
[627] knows, in the open life of the community, how many persons
[682] share the family life of the individual, and they alone are held to account, or they alone demand compensation. From its very nature, the family must be a bilateral unit which, when powerful, stretches out to absorb members of the ancestral families of both mother and father.

Not only does the family thus appear constantly to be attracting to itself members of the ancestral family of either parent, but these relatives themselves are deeply interested in the affairs of the family. This is most clearly shown in the case of children who, of course, are members of the ancestral family of both their mother and father. A few days after
553 birth some relative is expected to call together the people of the village where the child is born for the bestowal and validation of an ancestral name. It is considered an evidence of
614 poverty if this is done by the father, as if his child were only
[558] supported by his parents, not by a larger circle of relatives. It is immaterial whether this gathering be called by a relative

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of the father or the mother. In June, 1922, a Bella Coola girl had reached the age of about six months without having received a name. There was much adverse criticism about the parsimony of her father's father and her mother's father, who were held equally to blame, but who had really been deterred by fear of the law prohibiting the potlatch. 612 614 553

As a child grows older he is helped in the performance of ceremonial rites by his parents and by their brothers and sisters. In this, too, it is considered a mark of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his ancestral family, he has no hesitation in favouring the children of either a brother or sister, since, like his own, they are all members of the same ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit[11] it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children; not that there is any lack of knowledge of the real father, but rather as a mark of respect and family feeling displayed by a man to his sister. Moreover, in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is most improper for a name which a man has raised to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much goods to be passed to his own son; it should go to a distant relative. When a father validates a name for his child it should be one long dormant. 593 604 852 [558] [614] [553]

One aspect of the manner in which the family merges imperceptibly into the ancestral family can be seen in the inheritance of names. When a man calls his relatives together to make his will he is guided in the choice of recipients by the characteristics of his children. An able son receives much from his father, but lazy children are slighted without hesitation. This is particularly true of names with which are bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whereas, as previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the importance depends 593 614 428 553

[11]According to an intelligent Bella Coola informant, a Bella Bella pays greater attention to the children of his brothers and sisters than to his own offspring, and the same man expressed the opinion that the Kimsquit practice was due to Bella Bella influence. Kimsquit informants denied this, though emphasizing the important part taken by an uncle in obtaining prerogatives for his sisters' children, in some cases to the detriment of his own, which is rare in Bella Coola. [184] [177]

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622
* 556 broader principles of chieftainship. The first essential is to
431 consider the principles of present-giving.

PRESENTS

* 556 Consider, for example, a man who wishes to take for him-
431 self one of his ancestral names, and at the same time to display
certain features of his ancestral myth—a particular type of
424 house, totem-pole, or dance used by one of his forefathers.
He invites guests to his house, displays the feature of his myth,
and must give a present to each to show the value of his pre-
rogative and to demonstrate that he has not merely casually
usurped the function in question. In giving a present of, for
instance, $20, it is as if he said to the recipient:

"See! These are the glories of my ancestors of whom *I* am the descendant. *I* have a part in their fame. To make this valid I give you from my wealth a mere trifle, a matter of no consequence to me, who am so firmly established in the path of my ancestors."

* 556 The guest receives the money with mixed feelings. On the
one hand he has received $20 as a "present." But if he wishes
431 to elevate his own position and his own prestige, together with
that of his ancestors, it is incumbent on him to repay this sum
with interest. Contrary to the practice among some other
[171] coastal tribes, there is no fixed rate of interest among the Bella
Coola. An ambitious man who seeks to become a chief will
strive to the utmost to pay back with heavy interest when he
himself gives a ceremony so that his fame will be carried far
● [558] and near. If he should repay only the principal, he would be
regarded as having done all that was obligatory, but should he
fail to do even so much, he would soon sink to a position of
little consequence, no matter how lofty and distinguished his
ancestral name might be.

171 In this respect there is a parallel between the Bella
* 556 Coola and ourselves. A man invited to a dinner party is not
558 compelled to return the compliment, but if, in the course of

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time, he fails in any way to reciprocate the hospitality, he loses his place among his special associates. So, likewise, the Bella Coola who receives present after present, but fails to give any in return gradually receives smaller and smaller gifts and in time loses his social position and influence entirely. As with ourselves, too, there is a disguised feeling of contempt for the *parvenu*, the man who, lacking the traditional dignity attached to one of the names which came from above at the beginning of time, has elevated the fame of a more recent name by ostentatious giving. But in Bella Coola, as with ourselves, success is the great criterion, and the donor finds his influence little impaired by the lack of one of the ancient origin myths. It is dangerous to cite similarities between the social practices of divergent peoples, and this one must not be stretched too far. The pride of a man in being able to incorporate himself in the traditions of his ancestors is lacking with the host at a dinner party, nor does the latter, to any extent, attain the status of chief through his hospitality. Further, a Bella Coola will sometimes endeavour to shame the poverty of a guest by giving him a large present. Unless the recipient is willing to admit his inferiority he must repay this with a still larger gift. The original donor will then vindicate himself by increasing the value of his next gift until a fierce competition ensues. This feature of rivalry in generosity is rare in Bella Coola, and never reached the same proportions that it did among the Kwakiutl. 171 556* 558●

The following is a good instance of the manner in which a haughty man regards the acceptance of gifts. A Rivers Inlet man married a Calvert Island woman who went to live with her husband. The man's mother, to show her amiable feelings towards the marriage, frequently gave thick slices of boned spring salmon, a great delicacy, to the family of her daughter-in-law. The Calvert Island chief considered these presents an insult to him, as if the Rivers Inlet people thought that he and his people were so poverty-stricken they lived on skin and bones. To avenge this slight he made war on the Rivers Inlet Indians and slew many of them. This attitude of the Calvert 556* 578

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*556 578 Island chief was felt by the Bella Coola to be quite natural; one of their own chiefs might have resented the insult in the same manner. This account may have no historical basis, but it is a clear example of Bella Coola sentiment.

*556 648 558 [765] Further examples may help to clarify this point. A few years ago a number of Kwakiutl Indians visited Bella Coola to perform a mourning ceremony in honour of a deceased Bella Coola who had a Kwakiutl name from his grandfather, a member of that tribe. All the natives were invited to a large house, where the visitors gave a dance according to their own ancestral myths; the songs which were used recounted the history of the Kwakiutl name of the dead man. After thus displaying their prerogatives, they felt themselves obliged, and proud, as hosts, to give presents as validation. The sum of $546 was distributed among the guests. Realizing that it would be impossible to return such a sum by holding ceremonials in Fort Rupert, the home of the Kwakiutl, the leading Bella Coola decided to return the compliment immediately. The amount to be given was discussed at great length. Appreciating the courtesy of the foreigners in thus coming to pay honour to the deceased, it was not wished to insult them by giving a larger present, which would have had the effect of intimating that the recipients considered the $546 a trifling amount. Accordingly it was finally agreed to give the visitors about $300, which was done as validation of a Bella Coola ceremony at which the strangers were present. Thus the hosts allowed themselves to be shamed as a mark of courtesy. Not to be outdone in politeness, the Kwakiutl chief made a speech, expressing his willingness to allow the Bella Coola to drive him (this occurred in the days of horses and carts) to the wharf to take the steamer. In other words, he allowed the Bella Coola to put him in their debt, as they had allowed him and his party to do with respect to the distribution of money. The visit terminated with friendly relations maintained on both sides.

123 533 The need of validating every ceremonial act by presents can be further illustrated by the following instance. When

*556 424

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Poor people, white guests, or others from whom no return can 553
possibly be received, share equally in the distribution; the 556*
money goes to all to validate the transaction. On the other
hand, X expects that the presents, if any, made to a few indi- 575
viduals after the general distribution, will be returned with
interest. In selecting the recipients of these he has been ani-
mated, first, by the necessity of repaying old debts, and sec-
ondly by his desire to make good investments in the shape of
presents to those likely to show their chiefly nature by return-
ing with heavy interest. No request is ever made for such
repayment, but as the transaction has been publicly an- [558]
nounced, a man fears to fail to repay, since that would lower
his prestige. No one may refuse a present, no matter how
embarrassing it may be.

After the gifts have been distributed the songs of the [533]
initiates are practised. Members of the *susaok* society join in
with the singers; the other spectators listen attentively, full of
interest, but take no part. X with his helpers then gives food
to all, and they depart.

Before the coming of the white man a potlatch was a rare 535
event, and *susaok* members were initiated at local gatherings. 556*
The period of confinement was the same as that just described,
but instead of merely practising the songs during the interval, 575
the initiates appeared and danced to them. It will be con- 177
venient here to describe that ritual, emphasizing the fact that
at a potlatch, when the initiates can be confirmed in the pre-
sence of foreign guests, this preliminary rite does not take place.

After the distribution of goods the singers beat out[18] the 292
tune of any one of the initiates, and all emerge in close suc- 535
cession from the back-room, each wearing a blanket, without
distinctive design, a collar of dyed and pounded cedar-bark 556*
decorated with pendant weasel skins, and the distinctive *susaok* 575
head-dress (see Plate 15).[1/1] This consists of a circlet of grizzly
bear claws, surmounted in front by a small forehead mask; from 237
the inner side of the circlet there rise a number of sea-lion

[18] The present tense is used for uniformity.

1/1 [see cat. 116, facing p 218 - ANALYST]

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As the dances proceed, those women who have the prerogative for doing so, utter a peculiar droning cry. After dancing, the initiates return to the back-room, where they doff their attire. The ceremony concludes with the distribution of food. 535 556* 575 [424]

The initiates are now free to leave their place of concealment, as each has become a legal member of the *nusok* society. Some young men, sons of influential chiefs, are secluded a number of times, others but once. The oftener a youth is secluded, the greater is his prestige, because goods must be distributed on each occasion to validate his name. At the present time, there is considerable uncertainty about the exact details of the ceremony, for it has been so easy of late years to give potlatches that the simpler rite has fallen into disuse; some informants state that each initiate should emerge alone and dance by himself. This concludes the shorter ceremony, but with a potlatch the dancing is reserved until the coming of the foreign guests. [554]

DELIVERING OF INVITATIONS

Returning now to preparations for the true potlatch; it does not matter whether the ceremonies already described are carried out before or after the departure of messengers to invite guests from abroad. Although X usually consults his relatives and friends as to whom he shall invite, this is entirely optional. In giving his invitations X is actuated, first, by a desire to summon those from whom he has previously received hospitality; having accepted presents from them he must discharge the obligations or sink in social estimation. Considerations of friendship also enter into his selection, and he will likewise invite anyone whom he wishes to put to shame by a lavish display of wealth. It is taken as a matter of course that each guest will be accompanied by a number of followers, members of his family, slaves, or adherents. 556* [203] [558]

Acting on X's instructions, a herald invites the people of his village to X's house. X stands up and announces to them [203] [484]

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203 nature will try to bestow a valuable present. If a man is too
* 556 poor to give anything, he can avoid the obligation by not
[535] dancing when his tune is beaten out. The presents are piled
[537] together, and then the host, aided by several important chiefs, distributes them to the messengers, at the same time making laudatory speeches. The chief of the envoys receives more than the members of his crew.

Then the messenger-chief stands up and announces the names of those whom X has invited to his potlatch, using in each case the ancestral designation of the person summoned. Then the envoys, in a body, go to every house in the village. Probably all to be invited are present in the house of the chief, yet the messenger-chief must call out in the doorway of each house:

"Chief So-and-so, prepare your paddles and leave tomorrow."

Early next morning the messengers rouse those whom they have invited and, as a mark of respect, help them to carry their goods to the canoes. There is an attitude of shaming com-
• [558] bined with that of deference, since those assisted will have been placed under obligations. They also take to their canoes their own recently acquired goods. Envoys and guests set out together in their respective craft, and only separate as they near Bella Coola.

ARRIVAL OF THE GUESTS

* 556 While the canoes containing the first party of guests remain
575 at anchor to wait for high tide, the envoys proceed at once to X's house, now completely redecorated if not entirely rebuilt. Here a huge fire is blazing, and members of the *sisaak* society are passing in and out, making ready for the ceremony. Both
[302] men and women beautify themselves by painting their faces in any designs they fancy, and by combing their hair and
[535] placing eagle down upon it. The guests at anchor lay planks across their canoes so as to form a dancing platform. Then, as the tide rises, the singers in the house beat out the tune of

*556 [575] (11) Dismissal of the supernatural power possessed by the *nusack* initiates, thereby enabling them to return to normal life in the community.

*556 578 171 All day, food is being distributed in X's house with guests in almost constant attendance. Not only are large presents of food made to any chief who has previously shown generosity to X, but he also takes this opportunity to bestow insults on anyone from whom he has received the same. Among the Bella Bella and people of Rivers Inlet guests were frequently ridiculed with respect to their habitual diet or mode of life. Unquestionably, the Bella Coola sometimes did likewise, both at potlatches and at *kusiut* rites to which strangers were invited. Although it is dangerous to dogmatize on this point, because the practice has long since fallen into disuse, it appears highly probable that mockeries were less prevalent in Bella Coola than at other places on the coast.

*556 558 628 It is comparatively common, however, for a chief to shame a guest by a lavish disregard for valuables. News is constantly passing from town to town, so that the intended victim usually hears what is in store for him. A guest always takes valuable goods with him when he goes to a potlatch, but one who expects to be insulted takes care to have an unusually large supply. The host seats this particular visitor close to the fire, and during the afternoon or early evening he throws large quantities of grease and food upon it, to demonstrate "the warmth" and "fineness" of his house. The guest experiences physical discomfort from the extreme heat, and suffers mental pangs at having a rival boast of his power and fame. To assert his own importance he will throw goods on the fire, as if they were water to extinguish it, and the host will counter by throwing on more valuables. The contest is continued until the goods of the guest are exhausted, or the host fears to burn more lest he should not have enough left to validate the potlatch. He who has destroyed most is considered to have shown his superiority. The Bella Coola state that such rivalry was unknown [578] between chiefs of the same village.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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The following is an account of a feud which took place about 1870: 556* 558 628

The people of *Sauel* had gone to a potlatch at *Tăl-ie* with a plentiful supply of goods, expecting to be insulted in revenge for a slight cast upon their host when visiting *Sauel*. They were allotted places close to the fire, upon which the donor cast a large quantity of oolachen grease until the intense heat almost roasted his guests. Not one of them moved; to have done so would have meant an admission that they were being made uncomfortable by their host's demonstration of wealth by this waste of valuable food. Presently, *Sauăltsla*, the leading chief of the visitors, stood up and called for "water" to douse the flames, meaning goods of equal or greater value, to indicate that he was as wealthy as his host and as little afraid of destroying valuables. His companions threw on the fire boxes filled with skins, but *Sauăltsla* desired still further to demonstrate his prowess. Hastily, he asked some of the other Bella Coola present to lend him a sea canoe (of the large type called *Hăldăl*), promising to repay [501] with two of the same kind. The Bella Coola agreed and the craft was carried in, the bearers showing their disregard for the host by breaking his door as they did so. The canoe was thrown on the fire and the flames mounted. *Sauăltsla* called upon his *Tăl-ie* rival to douse that fire. The latter was afraid to do so, being aware that he had barely enough goods to pay his debts at the coming distribution. Accordingly, he tacitly acknowledged the superiority of *Sauăltsla*, who thus rose in public esteem.

It is very difficult to discover just how often such destruction of goods took place. The Bella Coola realize that the prevalence of this practice among the Kwakiutl led to the potlatch being forbidden by law, and are reticent on the subject. Reliable informants agree that it was a fairly common custom in the early days, although it never went to the extremes prevailing at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay, where, too, was common the breaking of coppers in anger, an act unknown in Bella Coola. In other respects, also, the potlatch among the Bella Coola appears to be less important and less complicated in ritual than among the Kwakiutl, so it is highly probable that the above statement is correct. 556* 558 171

Another method of shaming a guest is to serve him, or any member of his party, so clumsily or gracelessly with food that it is spattered over him. In some cases this happens acci- 558 556*

1; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*556 dentally, but the sentiment is that the guest has been "dis-
558 tied." To cleanse himself he gives presents to the heralds of his host, and perhaps to some of the latter's fellow-villagers, thus showing that he too is in a position to demonstrate his chief-like nature by a distribution of goods. The host usually takes the hint and is more gracious in future.

A man can render himself liable to ridicule and insult by saying that he is about to give a potlatch, and then failing to do so. Influenced by his announcement, those giving potlatches have showered presents upon the prospective donor, and if he fails to carry out his plans he will undoubtedly receive insults. Such a man, if he is wise, will carry with him to potlatches large quantities of goods to throw on the fire of his host, or to give to his host's heralds, or to use in both ways.

Thus the afternoon passes. When the people, including
*556 those who are not members of the *nsnek* society, have assembled in the evening, a dramatic representation of some event connected with X's ancestral myth is common. A similar performance has sometimes taken place as the first event on the preceding evening. The commonest rite is connected with a whale and can be performed by those whose first forefathers came to this earth as whales, or by those whose ancestors obtained the prerogative by marriage with people who owned it. When all are seated, a number of young men rush into the house carrying with them a tree-trunk roughly hollowed out to represent a whale. The cry is raised that the animal is about to vomit, and at the same time large quantities of grease are thrown on the fire by assistants on the roof. The subterfuge is realized by all. None imagines that the whale actually throws up the grease, but the comparison is drawn between the monster voiding grease because it is fat, and a chief throwing away wealth which lesser men would consider of great worth. A display of this kind increases the fame of X, the concept being the usual one, that he has demonstrated his nobility of mind.

Now begins the distribution of the large quantities of goods

1:McDwesith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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he may now repay with one hundred and fifty blankets. The amount of the original present will be announced, so that it is made known that he is repaying with 50 per cent interest. This completes the transaction. The man who receives the additional fifty blankets is not required to repay these, though he may endeavour to do so, should he wish to add to his own fame. It is sufficient if X pays back the principal only, though in that case he does not increase his prestige. No claim is ever made for the repayment of an investment present; repayment is so obviously to the advantage of the debtor that there is no necessity for dunning. A man who did so would expose himself to the ridicule of the community; it would demonstrate that he thought in terms of goods, whereas a chief is expected to give presents as if they were a mere nothing. 426 556* [558]

On rare occasions a chief has been unable to repay his investment presents. In the autumn of 1911, a Bella Bella chief, aided by his son, prepared to give a potlatch, and the news spread far and wide. But during the summer the young man accidentally shot himself while deer-hunting. The father realized that, bereft of his son's assistance, he would be unable to repay even the principal of his indebtedness. He wept with grief. A disgrace of this kind affects the man and all who are in any way related to him, so he called upon his relatives, and they gave him sufficient money to save the situation. In such a case, nobody is compelled to contribute aid, but a feeling of compassion is at work, as well as a vague sense of family pride. One Bella Coola gave this chief $10, although all that was remembered about his relationship to the Bella Bella man was that one of his ancestors had married a woman from the village of the Bella Bella chief. Particular inquiries were made to ascertain whether or not the disgrace of failure to repay would fall on the ancestral family and whether they were legally bound to contribute. Such is decidedly not the Bella Coola concept; only feelings of pride and affection govern the contributions. Assistance of that kind is given without witnesses, 426 556* 558 [614]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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426 hence repayment or non-repayment does not affect the standing of the debtor in the community. The giver expects no
556 return, but should he come to financial straits he would have
[558] no hesitation in asking aid from the Bella Bella chief. He expects, moreover, that the latter will contribute to the expenses of his funeral. This would be optional, as repayment of a non-ceremonial present concerns the donor and recipient alone, without effect on the status of either in the community. In this instance, if the old man had died soon after his son, his debts would not have been paid, since there were surviving no immediate relatives. Sons or other near kinsmen always settle the debts of dead parents out of family pride, but it is considered most improper for the creditors to think about re-
[558] payment. By giving they have shown their power, the question of return is the concern of the family of the deceased recipient.

Very rarely does the donor of a potlatch fail to return his investment presents except through oversight. In spite of every precaution, errors occur, and these are said to be caused either by a supernatural being, itself invisible, rising between
[176] the donor and his guest, hiding the latter, or by *Snuqualnkaiste* stealing away his thoughts. Unless the donor wishes
[578] to insult a guest, he will give him presents later on, and that ends the matter. But if he does not do so, the slighted man
426 may return the insult, and thus feuds are often generated that
556 may lead to war between tribes. About 1860 it is said
648 that a conflict between the people of Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet was caused in that way. In the autumn of 1921, a Bella Coola chief insisted on dancing at a Bella Bella potlatch, although it was commonly known he did not have the necessary goods for distribution to validate his dance. The hosts waxed sarcastic, taunts were answered by taunts, and only the presence of some white men prevented bloodshed. Relations between the two tribes are still strained as a result of this
[128] incident. The Bella Coola chief was subject to spells of insanity, and danced during one of these. According to the

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[648]
[828]
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Bella Coola, the Bella Bella should have taken this into account, along with the man's generosity on previous occasions, and overlooked his remissness.

Cases have been known of a "stupid" man endeavouring to increase his prestige by giving many potlatches when unable to pay his debts. Such a one is laughed at for his stinginess, which is not the attribute of a chief, and is given only small presents.

It must be clearly understood that debts publicly incurred, in other words investment presents received at any ceremony, must be publicly returned, if the debtor is to gain the public esteem granted to one who pays back with interest. But everyone cannot give a potlatch; hence any young man desirous of returning his obligations, and of rising in public favour, can do so at a potlatch given by somebody else. Guests are present from abroad, so his discharge of indebtedness is made known farther afield than if he had done so at a local gathering, and the donor has the additional satisfaction of being able to give to these strangers. Sometimes as many as ten young men will ask X for permission to pay their debts at his potlatch. Such is never refused, because it means more ceremonial, and greater interest, which indirectly increase X's prestige. A young man who has been taken to a foreign potlatch as an adherent of a guest always receives presents, and if he repays these with interest his name begins to become known, especially as his return payments are unexpected. It is thus that a man whose chiefly name (or names) has been dormant for generations, can begin to restore it. Thanks to presents he gives at X's potlatch, he will in return receive large gifts, until finally he is able to give a potlatch himself. After X has paid his own indebtedness the debts of others are settled. In each case the speaker announces the amount received on such and such an occasion and the amount returned. Thus all present are able to estimate the generosity of the payer, a chiefly attribute. When a young man plans to give his first potlatch it is customary for the older chiefs of his village to advise whether he has

Libbie Dowsith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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421 sufficient goods, though every man is understood to be master
556 of his own affairs.

After paying his debts X still has many heavy expenses in connection with the *cosmi* initiates, and the young people for whom he is obtaining seats. Goods for these purposes have been put on one side. The remainder he now proceeds to give away as investment presents. His exhibition of ancestral prerogatives, and the guise in which his ancestors are now living, as eagle, raven, whale, or such like, have been duly validated by the presents given on the preceding evening, and his social status has been cared for by the payments to his creditors and other creditors. Thus investment presents are not essential, though a man always endeavours to give them, both for economic and social reasons. There are no definite laws regarding their distribution. X is guided in his choice of recipients[27] by the following considerations:

(1) If a certain chief is likely to give a potlatch soon he knows that a present given him will be returned with interest.

(2) He desires to give something to a chief from whom he has often received favours.

(3) He wishes to ingratiate himself with a powerful chief by presents.

421 (4) He wishes to give presents to a chief with whom he is
556 not on friendly terms. Unless the latter reciprocates, it will be considered that X has shown his superiority.

●551 (5) Usually an important chief will receive more valuable presents than one of lesser rank. This custom is not governed by any fixed scale, and an important chief may be deliberately slighted, if X thinks that he has not shown him, X, sufficient respect.

It is considered the height of folly to give presents without due regard to their return.

The amount of gifts depends entirely on the wealth and desires of X. If he wishes to increase his fame, he will endea-

[27] Only one present is given to each man, irrespective of the number of names he may have. The Kwakiutl are said to give a gift for each designation.

[191]

Lib McGeveth E-5 (952-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

wear to give valuable presents, but he need not give any. It is a deep disgrace to any man to be unable to return these presents. Nothing is said, nor does the donor take active steps to receive his returns, but the influence of the recipient perceptibly wanes. It is expected that a heavier rate of interest will be paid on presents received many years before repayment, but again this is a matter of individual volition. The debts of a man who dies while owing for goods received at potlatches are scrupulously discharged by his family. If they fail to do so, their own influence is lessened. 426 556* 558

One method of reducing the value of an investment present can be used by a man who feels unable to repay a large gift. The uncle of an elderly Bella Coola was once guest at a Kimquit potlatch, where he received, as an investment present, a fine large canoe and two hundred blankets. Not wishing to incur so large a liability he at once returned fifty of the blankets as his host for distribution among the guests. Consequently, he was expected to make return for only one hundred and fifty blankets, with whatever interest he desired. This action tended to lower his prestige, since it acknowledged his inability or unwillingness to repay his present. The chief in question, being firmly established in his chiefly status, did not fear to do this, though one of lower rank would have hesitated to confirm his inferiority.

It is on the value of the goods distributed in these three types of presentation, namely, recompense for work done, repayment of debts, and investment presents, that the importance of the potlatch, and consequently of X himself, is virtually judged. These distributions of presents are for the potlatch as a whole, including the return of the dead and the intangible prestige of X; the directions which follow are to validate specific transactions which can be omitted. In one or two families the whole course of the potlatch is changed, since the members have the prerogative of distributing their presents outside the house. In such a case the giving is done during the day instead of at night. Details of this ritual, 426 556* [184 424]

1:bb:Swanton E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

sion by repeating loudly a few words, or even phrases, from the speeches being delivered, or calling on the audience to notice what has just been said and to listen attentively. A white man would be annoyed at such interruptions, but the Bella Coola consider them evidences of attentiveness. 203 556*

The making of comments is a duty performed at every type of ceremony, but it is indispensable at potlatches; since a chief depends on the heralds to emphasize and explain the points of his family history which are being displayed. One intelligent man likened their functions to a compass, constantly guiding the course of ceremonial life. Without a herald a chief would be as useless as a ship round on the ocean with no hand to steer. Although the principal duty of heralds is to extol the actions of a chief, they can, and are expected to, deride one who fails to carry out the customary requirements. Cases have occurred in which influential men have so far forgotten their function of generosity as to fail to invite their fellows after killing a deer or other large animal; or women have declined to share their abundant berries. Nothing is said at the time, but when next the people have come together for some ceremony, a herald refers to the omission under so slim a disguise that everyone is aware of his meaning. This public ridicule lowers the prestige of a chief to such an extent that he is careful not to offend again. Not many years ago, a certain Kimsquit chief failed to ask others to share some mountain goats which he had killed; at the first opportunity a herald referred to himself as Yaki, Mountain Goat, and all present realized that he was really alluding to the one who had been remiss. 203 556* 558 626 [224] [222]

Heralds must exercise care in their witticisms at the expense of chiefs because, unless public opinion is with them, the point of the remark is lost, and they expose themselves to the wrath of the person offended. Nevertheless, heralds always strive to cause merriment, and often take risks with this aim in view. They try to make humorous remarks, and also to cause amusement by their action. As already described, the donor of a potlatch may throw to one of them a dish containing liquid food 203 522 556*

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435 owner with a statement of its history and the amount expended
437 on it. The purchase of a copper is, therefore, a good business
*556 transaction, and it might be assumed that a chief with keen
[171 commercial instinct would endeavour to acquire as many as
189] possible. This is said to be the case in Fort Rupert, but in Bella Coola public opinion is averse to the obtaining of coppers unless for use at potlatches. As every ambitious chief hopes to give potlatches, he can always claim that the acquisition of a copper is for this end, and that the sale of it is from a kindly desire to assist a fellow-chief who is nearer the desired goal than he himself. Consequently, the sale of coppers is tolerably common, and a chief is not considered to be mercenary unless he sells too frequently.

426 The intending donor of a potlatch can now proceed to the
*556 ceremony, secure in the possession of a copper worthy to be thrown on the fire after the passage of his deceased relative. In addition, he may own another copper of too small value for this purpose. As described in the last chapter, he repeatedly calls together the inhabitants of his own village to rites which he validates by the distribution of presents, and at which he also gives away investment presents. He may decide to use his second copper for this purpose. All investment presents,
[556] which are given only to men of standing in the community, must be repaid with interest unless the recipient is willing to decline in popular estimation; but when a gift of this kind consists of a copper, a return of 100 per cent is expected on the transaction. Borrowed of a copper in such circumstances is not spoken of as an investment present, *ddlmkawdm*, but as *dwanqf*, which has the definite significance of something that must be returned with 100 per cent interest. If the value of the copper were $25 before this borrowed, it is now $50, since the new owner must repay this amount to the chief planning to give the potlatch. The new owner can use the copper in any way he desires; if he repays a previous indebtedness, he records $50 by giving it; whereas if he borrows it as *dwanqf*, announcement is made that its value is $50, and he expects to

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her husband's critics by taking this name for herself when she rebought herself from him. 551 578

Na'ast, "The Inhospitable One." Her husband received this reputation owing to his wife's manners, so she advertised what had been said about him.

Nuphinlsikin, "Heedlessly Deaf." This woman's mother-in-law claimed that she deliberately failed to hear what she was told to do, and applied the above epithet to her. The daughter-in-law confounded her by taking it as her own name. [606]

When a name of this type is assumed it is always announced when, where, and for what purpose it was first created. 553

A description has already been given of the actual ritual by which X bestows the goods acquired from the repurchase of Y, but it is necessary to enlarge on the prohibition against their use for the direct benefit of one of the children of the couple. The theory is that the goods bind the marriage contract and express in a practical and lofty form the kindly sentiments with which Y's relatives regard her husband, and the bond between the two families, hence they must be used solely for the benefit of him and his relatives. A man usually applies these goods to initiate the children of his brothers or sisters into the ranks of the *ssaak* or *kusiut*. It is unthinkable for goods to be delivered without an exposition of Y's family's glories, but if this should ever take place, there would be no difficulty in applying them to the direct benefit of her children. When used, for example, to make a child of X's brother a *saaak*, he is a living testimony of the noble way in which Y's relatives have done that which is fitting for the family of her husband. Due to accidents in announcing and storing of presents, it sometimes happens that those obtained by the repurchasing of Y are used for the benefit of her own children. Unless this error is corrected, the child could always be shamed by having it said: 556 583 [558]

"You are a mere nobody. The goods expended in the

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556 repurchase of your mother have become nothing beneath your
583 feet."

When such an accident occurs, the relatives of X take some
[558] future occasion to give presents to validate his child, with the announcement:

"The goods used from the repurchase of his mother have become nothing beneath his feet. We hereby supply that deficiency."

Thus it is demonstrated that the relatives of both parents are interested in his welfare, so that his path is clear before him.

553 Many women are only repurchased once, but an effort is
556 made to do this frequently since the more times, the greater
583 her prestige. After several repurchasings it is felt that the names and other prerogatives "dragged across" by Y have become valueless. But since new names have been taken to her husband on each occasion, the marks of friendship between the two families are still plain. Then it is that those first transmitted can be revived by relatives of Y, unless, of course, X has validated them for his children. If there is only one repurchasing, the names remain the definite property of X. This is not a clearly formulated law, merely a sentiment that the earlier names have been covered by those later given, and that accordingly Y's relatives, having done what was proper, can now use the titles once more. There is a constant interchange of names and privileges between families related by marriage.

556 It is virtually impossible to over-estimate the importance
583 of this rite of repurchase among the Bella Coola, one of the few customs preserved tenaciously amid the ruins of their
[182] ancient culture. The writer was forcibly struck with the following instance which occurred while he was in Bella Coola:

About fifteen years before, a young man and woman had married with due formality. After three children had been
[586] born, the mother took to drink and vice until her husband at last repudiated her, retaining possession of the children. The woman, weakened by disease, divorced by her husband, and

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588 it, although it is customary for the parents of a wife to exhibit
556 their wealth on several occasions.

What are the advantages of such an agreement to the two parties? The husband receives considerable assistance, both in actual goods and in ceremonial prerogatives. Moreover, his vanity is gratified by the desire shown by others to have him as husband of their daughters. The advantages to the wife are more difficult to describe. Financially, her relatives always lose, yet they consider that the prestige gained by their daughter as wife of a mighty chief fully compensates for their monetary loss. Accordingly, they take pains to have a daughter married several times before puberty, either simultaneously or [595] in succession. Thus there is a form of ceremonial polyandry existing in Bella Coola at the present day. No ceremonial marriage takes place after puberty. In later years, when the [554] wife grows up, marries, and has children of her own, their status is increased materially by the pre-puberty marriages of their mother. They address her fictitious husband as "father," and his children as brother or sister, although there are no incest prohibitions with regard to them. A chief sometimes arranges the bestowal of names or other prerogatives on the children of a fictitious ex-wife, but such favours are too uncertain to provide a motive for the prevalence of the rite. Its value rests on the esteem attached to a woman whose relatives have shown their wealth and prowess by marrying her several times. When her children quarrel with their playfellows, it is common to hear one boast:

"*I* have three fathers. How many have you?"

[558] Occasionally the relatives of a fictitious bride are unable to provide the goods to repurchase her from her husband and the girl remains disgraced for life. In no circumstances has her husband any claims to marital rights with her, and in due course she can marry someone else; but it is never forgotten that she was not rebought from her husband. In 1916 a girl about four years of age was married to a man of sixty, who at the time gave her relatives $80 and a motor boat. She had

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[The Cannibal Dance]

if the latter agrees to undertake the commission, he must next obtain a slave, a matter of no difficulty if he is at all wealthy. An effort is made to find a victim from the tribe that has committed the murder, though any alien will suffice. The details are worked out with great care so that the slave is sent to the river for water, or on some other errand at the time the call comes to the Cannibal. A shout is raised, and the uninitiated hurriedly run out of the house, followed by the dancer and a body of athletic *kukusiut*, who pounce on the unsuspecting foreigner. The Cannibal cuts his throat, and the corpse is carried back to his house, where all members of the society are assembling. Part of the body is cut off, then the *kukusiut* accompany the Cannibal to every house of the village. He carries the mutilated remains, and the uninitiated readily believe that he has devoured the missing portion. The corpse is later dismembered and the bloody pieces displayed, convincing proof of the gruesome meal. It is needless to say that they are carefully buried where there is no danger that they will be found. The rite then proceeds in the usual manner.

575* 796* 567 648

If two biting Cannibals, or their parents, quarrel, they may be shamed into killing and "eating" a slave. Angry words lead to insults, insults to scorn at each other's prowess, until one of the Cannibals throws a stone at the feet of the other, an action which has the significance of:

575* 796* 567 578

"Eat that!"

Since a stone is always symbolic of a slave, the Cannibal so taunted knows what is expected. If he accepts the challenge, he throws a stone at his adversary's feet, bidding him do likewise. The one challenged soon receives a call and kills a slave in the manner previously described; his rival must do the same unless he is willing to admit himself outdone. The occasional killing of a slave under such circumstances does not give to either the right of doing so habitually. Of course the challenged individual is not bound to accept, but if he declines the "dare," he sinks in popular estimation. This

[558]

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*533 (d) A somewhat boastful reference to the power of the dancer's *tutwinam*.
(e) Another arrogant reference to the *tutwinam*.
[776] (f) In Bella Bella.
[424] (g) This is a Bella Bella being of whom little is known by the Bella Coola. The right to use him as *tutwinam* came from a remote ancestor.
(h) Presumably, the dancer's right to perform.

Fragment of a Song Used for Kaqaix, a Kimsquit Man(a)

A Alqazmaewin	*mulixwimmap*	*Sakannnamsin*
Protect your faces,	you quiet people!	Is always shooting arrows

kwuhnteiyadzlaix
my crest(b).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

Aywaiow	*kazflmawumdinit*
Don't do that,	they will cover us with valuables(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 29b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to be an extremely ancient one, used by some of the earliest settlers; the tune is said to be entirely different from any recent *nasal* compositions.

[424] (b) The dancer's crest was the wasp, an insect which is believed to sting by the
[825] discharge of invisible, minute arrows. This admonition to the guests to hide their
[773] faces was, of course, a boasting reference to the goods which would be distributed at the approaching potlatch. None of the first settlers was sent down to earth as a wasp, but several, including *Nuxkila*, were guided and assisted by these insects to such an extent that they have been regarded as crests.

*558 (c) It is customary, when quoting this song, to add this final remark. It is related
[424] that, many years ago, a Kimsquit man used his wasp prerogative, but was shamed at the potlatch by being inundated with goods from a rival. Since that time, none of his descendants has dared to use the right and the admonition against doing so has become almost proverbial.

Fragment of a Song Used for Nuquilmlaix of Kimsquit(a)

A Qaxadjilwaw	*stalfalwildai*	*Dilqualqdadai*	*nuxxaqaxaly*
We all go	to see(b).	He(c) informs us	of what he carries.

B and *C* No more of this song is remembered, though it was used at a potlatch about 1910.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 29b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louis Hall.
(b) Meaning: To gaze upon something supernatural.
(c) An unnamed supernatural being.

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(a) Recorded as song VII D 28a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The tune is said to have been handed down for more than two hundred years. 533*

(b) That is: Let us stop paying the customary respect to.

(c) It is not remembered which chief was thus held up to the scorn of his fellows.

(d) That is: He does not act in accordance with the traditions of the name he uses.

(e) That is: The dancer is feeble. This refers to another *nusqwal* dancer who, owing to his poverty, had not performed for many years. It is not known whether he was the same individual as the one derided in the first part of the song. [558]

(f) To flaunt another's poverty in his face is the height of Bella Coola rudeness. [735]

(g) That is: He, too, was a *nusqwal*.

(h) The ancestor from whom the prerogative was derived. [576]

(i) That is: In virtue of my *nusqwal* ability. This appears to be a departure from the usual theme of a mocking song.

Nusqwal Song Used for Ḵwiststikl̓ᵐ, a Kimsquit Man(a)

A *Tuhsdjidjsdumalnuwit* Please do not sleep,	*yuḵwiststiklwusdai* Ḵwiststikl̓ᵐ(b),	*sts'ausdyenmixwals* listen to your

semuḵqstsuwals
drums(c).

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

B *Sumsumsadjumsds* I alone	*swyaiyatsweitals* am content(d);	*ststumsmsdsandai* in increasing

siyudiqsdimsdai
my prerogative(e).

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

C The third part has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 29a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) It is not uncommon in *nusqwal* and o'alt songs for the dancer to address himself in this way. [575]

(c) That is: Be ready to listen to drums beaten at one of your ceremonies.

(d) The dancer is deriding another *nusqwal* who has not performed for a long time. [558]

(e) This song differs slightly from the usual mocking type in lack of specific reference to the person derided; lack of reference to an ancestral myth, however, shows that it was not composed for a potlatch. [556]

Song of a Kimsquit Nusqwal(a)

A *Dipsrsqs* That is to,	*ḵdsdsdsis* the impotent,	*dsstsdsqsmsi* the chief	*dsisnt* of the paddle(b).

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

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differentiate between cross- and ortho-cousins, and the unsystematic groupings of nephews and nieces show "family," as opposed to classificatory, principles. Finally, rhetorical terms for the ancestral family, for many ancestors, and many descendants, correspond to the importance of a large number of relatives in Bella Coola thought. 601 [602]

In many parts of the world the classificatory system of relationship occurs where the community is divided into clans. The occurrence of some of these features among the Bella Coola raises the question of whether or not they should be regarded as survivals from an earlier clan form of social organization. The Bella Coola may once have had clans, but their relationship system does not furnish any real evidence to this effect. The reciprocal terms really have the significance, "Relation by marriage of the same generation," or "of a generation once removed," a form of address which does not require explanation in any ancient form of social organization. Moreover, the importance of the eldest child, as potential transmitter of the glories of the ancestral family, is sufficient reason for differentiating brothers and sisters in terms of their relative ages. This feature suggests that in former times this was more important than it has been in the recent past. It is not implied that the Bella Coola never had a clan system, as such may have been the case many generations ago, but their kinship terminology can be explained without that hypothesis. The somewhat wide application to cousins of terms which are properly limited to brothers and sisters may easily have been derived from a process of copying. The Bella Coola are well acquainted with the clan system of the northern coastal tribes, so that it is by no means impossible, or unlikely, that they should have adopted the principle of applying the same kinship term to many individuals, and hence to members of their own ancestral families. Finally, the somewhat vague and unsystematic application of terms to relatives according to whether or not they are members of the immediate family, is a feature not at all surprising in view of the essential fluidity of Bella

601 614 178 [561] [177] 601

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177 fathers. Inherited beliefs are too deep-rooted to pass away
771 entirely within a few generations. Even those who claim to
have adopted the new faith remain convinced of the potency
[181] of magic, and of the existence of those supernatural creatures
which do not actively conflict with the white man's creed.
Such lack of consistency is a world-wide trait, particularly
intelligible among the Bella Coola whose philosophy abounds
in contradictions, dependent upon statements handed down
in the origin myths of different families.

626 The Bella Coola are constrained not only by the omni-
presence of supernatural beings; they are constantly subjected
[181] to the influence of their fellows. They are far less individual-
istic than white people. A chief may boast that he can do as
[622] he pleases, that he can disregard the restrictions of lesser men;
he often does so, but only because public opinion recognizes
that he has reached a position of eminence by giving many
potlatches. The duly validated warrior is brave because he
[703] feels that everyone is aware of his valour. The man who per-
forms some ceremony in accordance with an ancestral myth
[769] incorporates himself with his forbears, and is strengthened by
the conviction that he has gained their support and appro-
bation. In every phase of life, a person is profoundly affected
177 by the approval or disapproval of his neighbours. At present
626 the construction of small houses, each occupied by a single
342 family, makes it possible for a man to hide himself, or to do
work unknown to the rest of the community. This lessens the
force of public opinion, although it is even now more potent
than conscience in checking anti-social acts. Formerly, in
communal houses, every action was fully known, making indi-
vidual freedom of thought and act virtually impossible. A man
[602] is chiefly influenced by his relatives who take a great share in
what the white man would consider purely family affairs. The
effect of the group upon the individual must not be overlooked,
nor can it be over-stressed in a study of these people.

177 The education and conversion of the younger men have
626 enormously lessened their reliance upon their fellows. In former
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times, older relatives were revered, not only as senior members 177
of the ancestral family, but as those most familiar with myths 626
and other cherished possessions. With the spread of new ideas, 182
the young people no longer respect the lore of their elders, and 561
consequently do not heed their admonitions and advice. Theoretically, such self-reliance would seem desirable, but in practice it has led to unfortunate results. A young man, considering himself superior to the older people, glories in acting on his own initiative, but too often he lacks the requisite strength of character to guide his own life. If he wishes to drink, he does so; if he desires to marry, he chooses his mate without con- [581]
sidering the transmission of ancestral rights which stabilized unions in former times; if he tires of his wife, he deserts her for another; if he cheats or steals, he is no longer restrained by relatives who fear disgrace. The elders, incapable of stemming the tide, watch sadly and ask seriously whether the coming of the white man has brought compensation for the loss it has caused. It is deplorable that the emancipation of the younger men and women has taken place before the development of the sense of individual responsibility and conscience which public opinion formerly rendered less necessary. Christianity provides a moral code for those who are fully converted, but for the many in the transition stage, the break-down of the old system of family influence has been tragic.

Profound religious beliefs and lack of individual initiative 181
are shared by all Bella Coola with the exception, perhaps, of a 177
few of the younger people who, having been educated at white man's schools, have adopted the new outlook unconditionally. In most characteristics they display as wide variability as any 577
other people. In truthfulness, for example, they range from one extreme to the other. As the writer became familiar with 124
the older men, he found it possible to recognize without difficulty the strength of some and the weakness of others. There are liars, but they can be easily detected owing to their lack of finesse. It is a pleasure to record the reliability of the author's friends and informants.* Their veracity was checked repeat-

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to their forefathers. Profound as these material changes have been, those of a psychological nature have been even more important. New worlds have been thrown open to them, stimulating ideas have been brought to their attention, and they have realized for the first time that the world is infinitely larger than they had imagined. Hand in hand with this extension of knowledge has gone disbelief in their own ancient lore. The white man, whose superiority and mechanical skill they admit, positively denies the actuality of their mythology, and laughs at the dramatic performances which were wont to fill the winter with engrossing interest. Such rites can flourish only in an attitude of profound belief: this has been so shaken that the dances continue listlessly, a mere shadow of a once living art. The young people were the first to embrace a scepticism that has rapidly grown into disbelief of the faith of their ancestors, and a half-concealed scorn for their elders, the upholders of the old customs. Worst of all, prohibition of the potlatch has made it impossible for a man to reach a position of social eminence. Moreover, since the holding of any type of ceremonial requires a distribution of gifts, formal gatherings of all kinds have become virtually impossible; even marriages have no longer the social support that formerly made them so lasting.

These cumulative blows would be enough to shake any civilization, and that of the Bella Coola has been entirely unable to adjust itself to the new conditions. The young people, having lost respect for their elders, are deprived of the advice and support essential to the continuity of culture. They ape the white man's dress; they want his mechanical devices, but have failed to assimilate them. For example, a gramophone in a Bella Coola house is an anachronism, while several similar articles spoil the old picture but do not provide a new one. Seeking to copy the new ways thrown open to them, they have achieved the outward show but not the substance, and in so doing have destroyed their own culture. In the old days they were ambitious to hold potlatches and willing to work steadily towards that goal; now, new desires have not kept pace with

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and eagles whom he invites to devour it. In so doing, he does not address them by their usual names, but calls Wolf, *Ałkwi-gawum*, "The Devourer of Meat Which He Does Not Kill," that is, "The Biting Scavenger"; and Eagle, *Axałkayuxmarnum*, "The Constant Eater," that is, "The One Who Eats before He Is Hungry." Next morning the flesh has been devoured and the hunter believes his guests have eaten it. Animals and birds, being supernatural, can hear the words of mortals and read their thoughts. The significance of these actions is that animals have the power to conceal themselves, so a hunter must gain their favour before he can hope to succeed. Belief in the efficacy of such customs as these is rapidly falling into decay and bear meat is now often eaten, but the skull is carefully placed in an evergreen tree near where the animal is slain, so that it may come back to life.

Fish, likewise, are immortal. In autumn the streams are choked with dead and dying salmon, but the Bella Coola know that they are not really dead, they have merely shed their worthless blankets in accordance with *Ałquntźw*'s decrees. At that season of the year he causes the rivers to rise so that they will sweep away these useless and outworn cloaks.

Although the salmon, from the kindness of their hearts, allow human beings to feast on their blankets, yet they have certain likes and dislikes which are carefully observed. From the time the first spring salmon appear (I, pp. 759-761) until the rising of the July moon, women are not allowed to eat them or to go near the river. Men may eat the flesh, but instead of throwing the bones to dogs, they carefully return them to the river saying:

"Please come back tomorrow."

If this is inconvenient, bones can be thrown into the woods with impunity.

Salmon, like men and animals, live a human-like existence in their homes far beneath the surface of the ocean. They lack and desire earthly objects, especially pounded cedar-bark (see Appendix A) to use as sponges for their children, so the Bella Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

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593 family are liable. It is very rare for a woman to be killed in
627 a blood feud. A death is answered by a death; if two persons
682 should be slain for one murder the family which has suffered
the double loss endeavours to kill another of their enemies. In
[562] case of wounding, an effort is made to wound the offender, but
[689] if he should be killed his family would try to avenge him.
More often, one of the offender's family takes the initiative of
offering goods to the injured family, "to cure the wound." If
the offer is accepted, and the goods delivered properly, the
matter is at an end. If a murder be committed within the
ranks of the immediate family, for instance, if a brother kill
a brother, revenge, if exacted, must be meted out to the actual
[622] offender. If requested to do so, the leading chief of a village
may offer his advice, but it is always considered that revenge
concerns only the immediate family.

612 Revenge is a topic which shows clearly the essential fluidity
614 of the family. There are no well-defined degrees of relation-
ship within which responsibility rests. Instead, everyone
[627] knows, in the open life of the community, how many persons
[689] share the family life of the individual, and they alone are held
to account, or they alone demand compensation. From its
very nature, the family must be a bilateral unit which, when
powerful, stretches out to absorb members of the ancestral
families of both mother and father.

Not only does the family thus appear constantly to be
attracting to itself members of the ancestral family of either
parent, but these relatives themselves are deeply interested in
the affairs of the family. This is most clearly shown in the
case of children who, of course, are members of the ancestral
family of both their mother and father. A few days after
559 birth some relative is expected to call together the people of
612 the village where the child is born for the bestowal and validi-
614 zation of an ancestral name. It is considered an evidence of
[551] poverty if this is done by the father, as if his child were only
supported by his parents, not by a larger circle of relatives.
It is immaterial whether this gathering be called by a relative

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the food and goods distributed, since it was winter and the 553
people were in dire straits on account of the destruction of all 556 *
their stores. In consequence, the uncle decided to make a new name for his nephew, *Ikdmi*, "Charred Wood." By virtue of the goods expended this name became an honourable title, and was maintained by lavish presents. Any similar incident connected with a potlatch can be made the origin of a designation. Another example of a manufactured name is one derived from a peculiarity of the man giving the potlatch. A number of years ago a chief was jeered at by his associates on account of the frequency with which he had to visit the toilet. When next he gave a potlatch he created the name *Ilpmlu*, "The Toilet One," and gave great dignity to the designation by presents.

Since a seat is valuable only on account of the goods ex- 554
pended in obtaining it with respect to a certain name, it is 556 *
obvious that names and seats are closely associated. A man who wishes his son to succeed to his own location in the house seats the youth, as has been described, at his feet. It may be a matter of years before he actually takes his father's position, but during that time he is treated with respect; he is still a commoner, but it is recognized that his parent considers him likely to "make good" and become a true chief by ability to give presents. Should he fail to do so, inevitably his influence wanes, in spite of his name and duly validated seat. He keeps the latter, but it is no longer considered one of importance. Thus, too, the course of names from generation to generation [551]
is a series of curves; sometimes one is on a pinnacle of glory when "made strong" by a powerful chief, but in the next generation it may fall to the dust through ownership by a [195]
weakling. As the Bella Coola express it: "It has become homogenitized."

A woman is rarely established in a seat, and usually only when a chief has no sons or other near male descendants. In [522] ●
such a case she receives an ancestral name and has the same status as a male chief. At the present time one important

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554 chief had thus obtained a seat for his daughter, as well as ones
* 556 for his two sons. But usually a woman continues to use the
● 562 ancestral name given to her in infancy until she is able to
assist her husband in a potlatch, when a name is validated for
[553] her (see I, p. 410). The ancestral names of the first women
to occupy this earth are reserved for women and, like men's
names, vary in prestige according to the prowess of their
owners. Most names given to children, though embodied in
[551] origin myths, are applicable to either sex; and these are the
common designations of women. Cases are known in which a
woman has assumed an ancestral name if her brother has al-
lowed it to fall into ill-repute through failure to give potlatches.

554 With such a fluid system, no fixed line can be drawn be-
* 556 tween chief and commoner. But after his fourth potlatch a
man's influence in the community has become so great that
622 he will usually feel justified in having the carpenters make for
[559] him a material seat. There is nothing to prevent a person
having one made for him before he has given the requisite
number of potlatches, but too rapid assumption may render
him liable to the scorn of the community through his failure
to show himself sufficiently "strong." The contempt shown
[624] to anyone attempting to usurp too lofty a place is a strong
deterrent to a proud young man.

[532] On the material seat are carved the man's ancestral crests,
[552] in other words the forms in which his first ancestors came to
earth, or some of the beings with whom they came in con-
tact. To show these is a matter of pride, but unless the dis-
play is fittingly validated, the man's own dignity will be
lowered, as well as that of his ancestors. Construction of a
seat is particularly common when a man is establishing himself
in the central position behind the fire, and claims this to be
where his first ancestor sat. Others among the first people
may have chosen seats in other parts of the house, and in these,
likewise, a man who is taking his ancestral name may have a
material seat constructed. Establishment in such a position
increases a chief's feeling of mental superiority, as if strength-

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171 lieved that all the Kitkatla chiefs were powerful, but *Tsakis*
+ 556 was the greatest of all. It is said that one of his prerogatives[1]
622 was to exercise *jus primae noctis* whenever a Kitkatla was
829 married. Without question, tales of this chief's prowess have become exaggerated in transmission, none the less they show that the Bella Coola realize the great importance of the northern chiefs. Concerning their nearer neighbours, the Bella Bella, the Bella Coola understand the way in which the members of a family combine to help their chief in the giving of presents. They say that the Bella Bella consider the Bella Coola practice of each one endeavouring to make himself a chief to be foolish in the extreme. Such is also said to be the opinion among the Kwakiutl, who support their contention that in Bella Coola all are chiefs, from the fact that flooring exists under the seats of all, whereas in Fort Rupert, their home, such occurs only beneath the seats of chiefs.

262 Corresponding to the extreme paucity of functions pos-
574 sessed by Bella Coola chiefs, their prerogatives are likewise
622 scanty. Indeed, they take their validated seats only during certain rites of the secret society connected with chiefs, at potlatches, and at ceremonial meals. These last occur whenever a deer or seal is killed; the latter is considered a great delicacy.[2]
[225] Anyone can kill a seal, but it would be unthinkable for a Bella
[252] Coola to share its flesh with his immediate family only. The animal is cleaned, the hole made by bullet or spear carefully
[203] plugged, and the carcass boiled whole in a large box. Meanwhile a herald (I, p. 244) summons the chiefs to the house where the successful hunter lives. If the meal is to consist merely of one small seal, only a few chiefs are invited, those of greatest influence through their possession of "strong" seats. When
• [562] several seals have been killed, the number invited is correspondingly larger, but no woman may partake unless she ranks

[1] This is said to have been a personal prerogative, not shared by all chiefs, and requiring validation by valuable presents.

[178] [2] Only traces of the rite described in this paragraph occur at the present time. In fact, the reservation of seal meat for chiefs alone was discontinued towards the close of the last century.

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as a man by the duly validated ownership of a chief's name in her own right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat seal, unless he had been the slayer. If many seals are killed, chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs seat themselves according to their proper positions and are first served with the blood-stained grease that floats to the top of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is cut into strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths, according to the number of guests. The cure run down each fore-flipper, so that each receives a narrow strip including one of the toes. The head is always given to the herald.[1]

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary meals even when no seal or deer has been killed. On these occasions, as at seal feasts, the guests are designated by their ancestral names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also accustomed to meet for the discussion of matters connected with the winter ceremonial; on such occasions their number may be augmented by men of influence in the secret society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the *hoolat* society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a *nanlit* chief is outweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the views of some individual must be accepted. The writer was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but

[1] Every effort was made to secure the accuracy of this account, but errors must have crept in on account of the length of time which has elapsed since the ceremony. Pony cooked not in full detail.

unstandard. Boys and girls helped their parents, and there was no definite age at which they ceased to do so. The fluidity of the Bella Coola system was contrary to any standardization. The more important a chief became, the more did he receive from dependent relatives, but the more did they expect in the way of "return presents." It was advantageous to be generous, within the family circle as well as without, since life was so public that every transaction even of a "private" nature, was well known. Unquestionably, a greedy and strong-minded individual must frequently have taken advantage of help from his kinsmen, but there was no strict code of ethics to expect in this. In brief, it may be said that the acquisition of wealth was an unstandardized, individual, matter; its distribution was likewise according to individual volition, although within a rigidly defined tribal pattern.

Sacred Sources

The ancestral names that chiefs desire to raise to a position of eminence are usually embedded in myths dealing with the first settlement of this earth, names which belong, or has been stated, to the ancestral family. Many of these traditions record other designations as well, each of which carries with it the prerogative of performing a type of dance known as sacred. These will be spoken of, henceforth, as sacred names. The Bella Coola do not know the meaning of this term. These names, like ancestral name, are the potential property of members of the ancestral family, but can only be assumed when duly validated by presents. Such an assumption follows a period of seclusion in the back room of the house. Both men and women are eligible. A person may be secluded in this way a number of times, acquiring a new sacred name on each occasion, but as presents must be distributed every time, it follows that only the children or relatives of wealthy chiefs can be so favoured. It is desirable to have the bestowal of a sacred name occur at a potlatch, since guests from foreign tribes are then

without special phrase, X calls upon some eloquent friend to direct the distribution of the money. This speaker states how X is carrying out the rites incumbent on his noble and exalted station, how all honour him for so doing, and how all should strive to follow his example. He then says that to give strength to the name *Sisqumaxlis*, for example, X will give away, say $100. He further announces who have contributed this amount: perhaps $50 from X, and the other half from various relatives of Y. If the sum in question be large it is always mentioned from whom, and how the donor has obtained the money. Thus every financial transaction becomes publicly known, and the more prominently a man figures, the greater is his prestige. Now, the amount to be used for the second initiate's name is announced, with the same details, and in distribution the same decided upon for each successive initiate.

Thus the total amount is distributed among the guests by the heralds, under X's supervision. He usually gives everyone the same amount; men sometimes receive more than women, but in every case members of the same sex receive an equal sum. The Bella Coola are not expert mathematicians, so that lengthy division is the rule. If X, for example, decides to give $1.50 to each person present, it is a time of considerable anxiety while the stack of bills is being reduced, to watch whether or not there will be the same amount. If X finds out he is short he will hastily borrow some money, as it would be an insult to omit anyone. If the amount be too great, he will use the surplus in making presents to the more influential guests.

With the exception of this possible surplus, the money distributed is regarded as an outright present. "It has flowed away to make good the boys' name" is the Bella Coola expression. A child will remember how much he has received, and if he wishes to uphold or to increase his own dignity, he will make a point of returning at least an equivalent to X on some future occasion. But though in effect he may make return, such is never said to be the case. "The money has flowed away."

to a complicated figure such as a whale, and in that case an expert dancer among the guests is called upon to perform. It is announced that this is, "to make clear the road for the dead."

After such masked figure has disappeared, the sound of whistling from without grows gradually weaker, as the apparition returns whence it came. In silence almost X takes a copper* which he has had in readiness, breaks it across his knee,* and throws it either into the fire or down on the ground in the track that the figure has taken. Then the announcer calls out loudly:

"It is for his crest.* It has 'made bone for the dead.'* Then he continues, speaking for X and using the first person:

"My heart is glad at seeing my father.* At death he returned back on the path of my family's ancestors and donned our ancient crest. We now live in *Nuxalk-a*, whence he came to visit us and whither he has now gone back."

The significance of the throwing down of a copper is entirely unknown to the modern Bella Coola, although they still perform the ritual. In some vague way it is felt that "bone," which may imply *stability*, has been provided for the deceased. The act thus appears to the light of an offering to the dead, but this sentiment is not clearly appreciated by the participants in the rite, the present has been made for, rather than to, the one being mourned.

The copper, now valueless, is picked up by any chief and *given to a poor man.*

After a short interval a number of youths begin to distribute presents, provided by X, which have been placed in readiness. Gifts of equal value are given to all foreign male guests, while the women receive cows less valuable. These presents

*One of the phases of native copper, such as were formerly known and sold and used as tokens of value by the coast tribes of British Columbia. This amulet-crest by the Bella Coola will be described later in greater detail [illegible].

*The breaking is sacrificial ritual.

*Thus he: "For the dead man, now in form of his crest."

*He whatever relative the deceased may have been.

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a man, *ts'munsa*, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this function. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the validation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name *ts'munsa* has always been able to perform his duties. 424 463 551 693 [793]

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been enforced concerning the river: No refuse may be thrown in, otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them from coming to roots. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to drive canoes or olachen nets. 784 825 226 [515] 841 [562]

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can be set about, and even a canoe which has just been completed must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are considered to be offences. [502] [765]

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the salmon and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringements, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river. The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by 688 693

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quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type.

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly validated before she can function. One of these is *Sîtowaxwâ-nimde·a*, another is *Ła'ya*. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditical. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to ripen the berries.

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"Get ready to pick red elderberries [or whatever species is ripe] tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. As far as could be learnt, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker; obedience seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared.

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THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring validation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors confirmed as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal on them of professional names. At the present time, it is

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(c) They govern Y's status in this world. When women quarrel, as they often do, the most common boast to shame a less wealthy rival is a reminder of the number of times the speaker was repurchased and the value of the goods used. 556 583 [578]

"I can sit down on fifteen canoes," or "I am carried by five slaves," says the angry woman, mentioning whatever goods were used for her repurchase.

(d) Finally, these goods serve a more definite purpose in obtaining for Y a name, or names, of which the value is directly proportionate to the expenditure, precisely as the importance of a chief's designation depends on the goods used to validate it. [553]

As with men's names, some women's appellations were given by *Alpuxtáw* to the first arrivals; others were created on this earth with regard to peculiar events, and still others are names which can be used either by men or women. Theoretically, the dignity of the first type of name is greater than either of the others, but in practice the importance of the owner depends on the number of times she has bought herself from her husband; the principles governing the rank of women are thus the same as those already described for men. The term *yaxwil*, applied to a woman who has many times rebought herself and so reached a position of eminence, is the feminine equivalent to *xáthway*. The creation of women's names in reference to personal characteristics or incidents connected with their married life is more common than similar creations for men. The ritual of the bestowal of a name on Y, here given, was omitted from the description of the potlatch in order to lessen the complexity of that ceremony. It will be remembered that on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch Y's relatives appear outside X's house, carrying valuable presents. 551 556 583 [554] [562] 553 556 583

The announcer calls out that Y's father has come to give "food" to X and his relatives. By food, presents are meant, which are the return, with interest, of the gifts given by X's relatives on various occasions. The giver is announced, for other relatives than Y's father contribute, and to whom the

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*556 969 messengers may be marked with the same ritual as at a potlatch, but there is always curtailment of most features if rites of that nature are to be omitted.

Meanwhile other preparations have not been neglected. 424 Among the prerogatives embodied in many origin myths, is *556 that of the presence of professional mourners at memorial 969 potlatches. If mention of these is made in the ancient tradi- tion of the donor's ancestral family, it is a matter of pride for [967] him to do as was done by his ancestors in the distant past. For example, it may be recorded that at the memorial potlatch of some ancient chief, a number of his younger relatives appeared with red paint smeared upon their faces, with finely chopped undyed cedar-bark in the hair, or with bands of the [965] same material across their heads. *Alpaxiw* had decreed that they should thus exhibit their grief, and the descendants of the chief have since had the privilege of doing likewise. Such signs of mourning may not, however, be worn without proper validation. It is only the members of the ancestral family who are entitled to don these marks, and among them, only those whose right has been confirmed by the distribution of presents. This is a masculine professional prerogative, known [962] by the same name as the feminine one of uttering a drawing cry to which it is closely akin. The right is ratified at memorial potlatches, and the donor of one is glad to do so as a means of displaying his own wealth as well as of making plain the glory of his ancestors to whom the one being commemorated has returned. There is no mention of professional mourners in [967] the myths of many families, nor are they ever as important in [17] Bella Coola as among the Bella Bella and other tribes of the outer coast. If such belong to the family of the donor, he notifies the incumbents and asks them to be ready, although, eager to act, they seldom wait for such an invitation.

533 The most difficult task is the preparation of mourning songs *556 at which the singers toil for several weeks. The donor first 969 invites them to his house and recounts the myths from which they must be composed. These may include several traditions

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phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe.

FOOD TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would derange the catamenia and cause profuse growth of hair.

Women of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do so would cause a difficult delivery.

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat roasted salmon until the sticks have been removed which hold it in front of the fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded.

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when nearing the hunting or fishing-ground.

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a *custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola.*

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness.

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull or the whole head into tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the man removes only an eye, places it in a notched stick and set this under an over-

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since each fisherman provided one when his box was filled. 226

No one is allowed to drink water immediately after eating the first olachen of the spring, since to do so would cause a flood. It is considered most improper for a child to cry soon after partaking of this food; if he does so, he is quieted by having nettles stuffed into his mouth. As already described, if a person dies before the first fish have passed through his bowels, a shaman must wipe his lips with cedar-bark. 796 574 [865]

After the first meal of olachen, rakes for the nets can be driven, and the restrictions become less exacting. Women are not allowed to assist in fishing, but the men devote their full time to the task, working with zest and energy.[1] An abundant supply of olachen is a source of joy, and all listen eagerly for the singing of the thrush, *cmcmcmcmcmcm*, which signifies that the nets are full to bursting. Half jocularly, people invite the bird to come and eat, but his melody is interpreted as: 226 [562] [825]

"I shall eat when the river is full."

RITES CONNECTED WITH THE FIRST SPRING SALMON[2]

Salmon is the most important article of Bella Coola diet and the rites which accompany the earliest taking of the fish are relatively complicated. 226 796 [262]

When the first spring salmon have been caught, they are laid in the canoe with their heads all pointing eastward, upstream. The fisherman paddles to shore, but instead of landing his catch, he throws the salmon to a stake driven at the edge of the bank so that they remain in the water. A number of posts are usually placed in readiness, each decorated with alternate spirals of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with an eagle's tail. Each day one or two more fish may be caught, but all are left in the water until the first have become soft, thus giving sufficient time for the necessary preparations on shore. It is the duty of every owner of a salmon-weir to build near its end a so-called Spring Salmon House, a shed-like [343]

[1] For a description of olachen fishing, see Appendix A.
[2] Boas, p. 78.

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women listening from the village are able to tell how many have been caught from the number of times the cry *xaĺ'loi* is raised. 226 796

Then the salmon are cut up (only shell knives may be used for the purpose) and cooked. Everything must be used, heads, bones, and entrails, the only refuse being the blood which is scraped from the leaves and carried into the woods. The leaves themselves, and the strings of dyed and undyed cedar-bark are thrown into the river in accordance with a desire expressed by *Naĺkymm* long ago. When everything is ready for a meal, the men take their places in two rows, facing each other across a coarse bark mat. Bark spoons have been provided, and when the heralds call for food, the fisherman brings the heads of the salmon and the guests make the motions of eating, though in reality these parts are dried and kept for winter. Boxes containing a liberal portion of the choice meat are next served and all eat freely. Each guest puts on one side what he has not consumed as if to carry it away, as is the custom at an ordinary feast, though his share is really left in the shelter until the following day. Finally, a third course is provided, the back of the fish cooked with the bone in position. Like the last, the guests eat as much as they desire and pack up the residue as if to take away. Then they leave the Spring Salmon House. [412] 226 796 574 [251]

All the fish are not cooked on the one occasion. The following day the fisherman again calls back the men of his village. The same type of meal is served, but this time the guests carry away what they do not eat for the benefit of their families. This portion may be eaten by the women without *offending the salmon.* [562]

This rite has not been performed in full detail in Bella Coola for many years, and it was impossible to collect information on some points. It is uncertain, for example, whether this ceremony was carried out by every fisherman or whether there used to be certain individuals with the prerogative of dealing with the first catch. The latter appears to be the most logical 226 796 424

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manner, and was definitely stated to be the case by one well-informed old man. It is clear, however, that every spring salmon was landed with the cry of *xal'lai*, taken to the Spring Salmon House, and cut up by the men until the time when women were allowed near the river. Another old man stated that the feast took place at night and that only the heads and refuse of the first catch were eaten, the remainder being dried for the winter. Women of child-bearing age were not allowed on the river bank, and were rigorously excluded from the Spring Salmon House until the time when the sun's shadow reached a diagonal scar on the slope of one of the mountains on the north side of North Bentinck Arm. This occurs about August. From that time onwards, there was no calling of *xal'lai*, and women, except those who were taboo, could cut salmon freely on the bank. It was even stated that refuse of salmon could be thrown into the river after that time. No one knows the origin of this seasonal prohibition, or why it should end when the sun reaches a certain point, but it was faithfully observed in former times.

In Kimsquit similar rites were carried out, the chief variation being that the bodies of four swans were placed in the Spring Salmon House and the fish laid with these at intervals in the line. Moreover, the youth used to bite the back of each salmon so he presented it with the cedar-bark streamer. The same regulations with regard to drinking water, and crying after eating, were enforced for spring salmon as for eulachon.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

The following miscellaneous beliefs and customs cannot be assigned to any special aspect of Bella Coola life:

If a spark from a fire jumps out and lights on a person's head, it is said:

"The fire wants to give you [the person on whom the brand has fallen] food."

If a man sneezes repeatedly, it is said:

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[The Dance of Nuxkxnim]

*575 arms being brought into play, so that the whole hands are con-
*796 stantly quivering without spasmodic movements. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a skilful performer, and the incessant shaking is continued without stop throughout the dance.
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[533] Most *kwiat* songs are in five parts, which may be described as three verses, separated by two choruses. Near the beginning of the first verse X stands up, raises his arms, shakes his fingers, then slightly bends his legs and begins to step in time to the beating of the sticks. Some dancers remain almost stationary, marking time, to use the military term, others advance in steps of an inch or so, at intervals slowly revolving sunwise.[*] Sometimes X introduces a variation by bending from side to side, in which case one hand rises above the other. If the time of the song is very slow, he sinks, bending his knees to a great extent, and advances in more lengthy strides, never ceasing to shake his hands. At each chorus the time becomes so rapid that it is impossible to move the feet in accordance with it, and then X crouches, his shaking hands the only movement. If it
[424] is a woman who is dancing—like most *kwiat* prerogatives, this
[52] one is not limited to men—the style of dancing is quite different. Keeping the upper part of each arm close to her body, the dancer extends her fore-arms, outwards, parallel to the ground, with the palms upwards. Like a man, she shakes her wrists, but few female dancers move from the spot on which they start, except perhaps to turn around, sunwise. Hereldz always keep up a running fire of comments, especially when a woman is dancing, urging her not to be bashful, but to allow her breasts to shake. Some dancers have merged into one
[424] prerogative rights acquired from different coastal tribes. In such cases they perform in two or more styles, each part according to one prerogative.

Kukwilat are always ready to assist one of their fellows, so that three or four friends are always willing to accompany the dancer. They stand close behind him, at frequent intervals blowing over his head the eagle down which either X, or some

[*] The Bella Coola state that the Bella Bella sometimes crouch sunwise.

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This ejaculation is supposed to make the work of manufacture less difficult. The same procedure is repeated with every mask ordered, except that if the being to be represented is a woman, X's ejaculation is *i* ....., *Any Indian* can make a mask, but the preference is always given to a man who has shown ability in previous tasks. The carpenters endeavour to follow well-recognized designs for many representations, but a great deal of latitude is allowed, and a workman receives greater praise and fame for turning out a fine and distinctive piece of new design, than for rigid adherence to a former type. This, combined with the burning of masks and consequent loss of permanent patterns, is responsible for the variability in Bella Coola forms, and the difficulty which they themselves experience in recognizing portrayed beings.

As soon as all the carpentry has been allotted, the singers strike up one of X's eight songs. Whether or not he dances to them is a matter about which there is a difference of opinion among informants. In any case the re-singing on recitatives is purely for rehearsal, made necessary by the large number of songs. Later on in the *Indian* season, the songs of other dancers may be practised on this night, and if the owners wish to practise their steps, it is quite proper for them to do so. Finally, a meal is distributed, while the recitatives dancers in the usual way. Fruits are features of all *Indian* dances, and the food distributed is regarded as a free-will gift, without thought of repayment. After eating, the *Indian* dancers, X must sleep within his own house, but no longer remains within his plankers-enclosure.

The next day, the twenty-sixth of the ceremony, is quiet. Early in the morning a herald summons to X's house, where the blocks have been left, all those to whom work has been assigned. All morning they carve diligently. The speed with which masks are completed is surprising, although this has undoubtedly increased since the introduction of metal tools. In the middle of the day a few *Indian* men, no women, are invited to show "the carpenters' meal," as the food provided

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by X is called. Having dined, the guests depart while the craftsmen continue their labours. Towards dusk the house is cleared up, the chips thrown on the fire and everything made ready. On this night the uninitiated are invited, but there is a wide and important difference in ritual between Bella Coola and Kitsaquit. In the former the masks are carefully concealed, whereas in Kitsaquit one or two, or sometimes all, are suspended behind the fire by the carpenters. It is accordingly difficult for an observer to understand why this practice does not at once remove all secrecy from the rite. The explanation appears to lie in the fact that the uninitiated, ignorant of how they have been made, see in these strange objects evidence of the power of the dancers. In Kitsaquit, moreover, members of the society emphasize the fact that the dancers are supernaturally endowed representations of what the beings above are doing and performing, and it is only at certain rites that they are actually supposed to be present. One old Bella Coola remembered having heard from his grandfather that long before his time the carpenters used to make the masks in their own houses where the uninitiated could see them; the dancer would come in, wave his arm over the craftsman's head and cry *hoi!* if the workmanship was excellent. The man who described this expressed his own scepticism, and added that it would have destroyed the key-note of secrecy. A possible explanation of this important difference in ritual will be given at the end of this chapter; for the present it will be enough to point out that the masks are left suspended in Kitsaquit, and concealed in Bella Coola.

Towards dusk the herald goes to every house to summon the dancers, who have adorned themselves for the ceremony by washing and painting, as the uninitiated have also done. The members assemble slowly, in fact an observer finds the interminable delays of every dancer more provoking. At last all have appeared and taken their places around the fire, while the uninitiated eagerly wait near the door for the instructions which they know will soon be given. One of the men-

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is now sufficiently tamed so that he can lie down and rest, and thenceforth the nocturnal raids on the village are discontinued. 575* 746* 787

X remains concealed on the platform, supposedly without eating, for four days. On the fourth day occurs the ceremony of washing. Early in the morning a herald goes to every house in the village asking for urine and grease extracted from the heads of sockeye salmon. The *kukwiat* gather in X's house, to which full chamber-vessels and pots of grease have been taken. No uninitiated are allowed to be present, but from adjacent houses they hear sounds of furious struggling, combined with growling. Presently they see a number of *kukwiat* carrying X, smeared with liquid, to the river. Some informants state that he is actually covered with urine and fish-oil, others that these are merely emptied within the house and water poured over X, that their collection is merely to deceive the uninitiated. At any rate he is taken to the river, where, in spite of his shrieks, kicks, and struggles, he is four times dressed by his guardians. Often he seizes stones from the bed of the stream and hurls them at his captors, sometimes bruising them severely. This washing assists in the restoration of X to sanity. He is taken four times to every house in the village, no longer growling and struggling, and a herald announces that he will dance that evening.

Soon after dusk the *kukwiat* are summoned and they practise the four songs composed for X. Then the uninitiated are called in. As his songs are sung, X dances in the usual *kwakiutl* style, but more violently than usual, and growling at intervals. The women drone and his four guardians stand close by, spitting into his ears to soothe him.* This is done by calling *hoip* loudly close to his head, so that a spray of fine saliva is ejected over him. After dancing, X sits down once more and a marshal calls out that food is to be given to him; he is supposed to have eaten nothing but morsels of human flesh since his departure for the upper world. The women are sent [542]

*Spitting also occurs frequently in connection with curing by means of the frenzied handling of adepts.

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[The Cannibal Dance]

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away since no female can witness a Cannibal's first meal. Three *kakaciut* are dispatched to ask for food, as if they were begging on behalf of X. Olachen grease, dried salmon, dried meat, and other luxuries are always given to them, and the uninitiated women are excited at witnessing this collection of food. Sometimes a request is made during the day, and the messengers are entitled to call upon any individual by name to provide grease or some other delicacy.

[152]

The actual feeding is done by a shaman who is also a *kaciut*. He first dips his hands in the grease, warms them at the fire and rubs them over X's face as the struggling Cannibal is held by six or eight *kakaciut*. Members of the society keep calling out *hoip* to soothe X, who is supposed to be like a wild animal, and to have lost all desire for ordinary food. Like a maniac he snaps at the shaman's fingers, while the *kakaciut* cry out and the uninitiated watch with fear and amazement. After rubbing the Cannibal's cheeks four times, the shaman shouts out that he is almost ready to eat. The heralds echo his words, and go through the village to inform all of what has taken place. The shaman now puts a few morsels of food in a spoon and tries to feed X, who struggles and tries to bite pieces out of the wooden staff. Undiscouraged, he puts small pieces of food actually into X's mouth, headlong of the snapping jaws, and at last persuades him to swallow a little.

"He has eaten," the shaman calls out joyfully, and the heralds repeat the good tidings.

An effort is next made to force him to drink, but X only bites the vessel, and the fingers of the shaman, and succeeds in drenching himself with the liquid. But at last he swallows a few mouthfuls.

"He has drunk," calls the shaman, and as before the heralds repeat his words.

The shaman now tells the uninitiated that X will be all right, but that it will be safer for them to depart, as they leave willingly. Heralds keep everyone in the village informed of the events.

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in a flesh-coloured bathing-suit, imitating the nakedness of earlier years. The writer was talking to one of the marshals, a very old man, and remarked how different the present rites must appear to him.

"Yes," replied the old man. "But after all, the change is not so great. In former years we imitated what the supernatural beings did, now we imitate what our fathers did."

Many ethnologists, acquainted with the elaborate rituals carried out on the coast early in this century, have expressed surprise at the rapidity with which these have dwindled to mere shadows. The writer believes that one factor for the Bella Coola decline in ritual, is the realization that the rites are imitative, and that accordingly their significance could not be lost when further imitation is added.

Further research would undoubtedly have added particulars of the manner in which other Cannibals carried out their rites, but to obtain the full details of all would have been detrimental to other types of investigation; it is believed that the above descriptions are typical. Before passing to other dances, a few general remarks on the Cannibal ritual may prove useful.

In view of the arduous character of the dance, and the necessity for impressing the uninitiated with the great power of the Cannibals, the marshals usually prohibit a man from acting unless he is physically strong. Rarely, however, a woman is allowed to be a Cannibal if she has the necessary prerogative, but usually only if she is the last survivor of her family. In such cases the shorter rite is the more common.

As before stated, *Bacchic* origin myths are supposed to be remembered, but in practice few *Bacchic* know the history of their prerogatives. The process of forgetting has undoubtedly increased in the last few years, but the writer feels confident that they were never maintained with the same care as origin myths connected with the Circle people.

[The Ghost Dance]

X's, where he is soothed by the four times repeated frenzied beating of sticks and his call returned whence it came.

During the rest of the ceremonial season X becomes mad at intervals and displays his insanity by rushing to every house and throwing dirt and sand. His *kulaxiar* escort is always with him, and the procedure is identical with that already recorded. X makes no recompense for the damage inflicted, so it is probable that his fellows do not regard his dance as an unmitigated pleasure, but nothing can be done to deter him from exercising his prerogative.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CHARMER

Although the Bella Coola are probably as moral as members of any other tribe, they enjoy humour of an obscene nature, and a dance which never fails to provide amusement is that of the Supernatural Charmer. The patron of this is *Sainxcoimuk*, a beautiful, unmarried, feminine being who is also termed *Mlqmaks* and *Nuxkmalaxis*. She is thought to disregard the efforts of her supernatural relatives to restrain her, and comes to this earth where she bestows her favours not only on human beings, but on animals. Her prestige at Kimsquit is a young man, *Xalaxalc*, at Bella Coola, a young woman, *Kwalkwac*; like all other *kuxiar* names these can be used either by men or women. It is said that *Xalaxalc*'s prerogative is derived from the experience of an ancestor in past ages, whereas that of *Kwalkwac* was initiated three generations ago by a very powerful child. The ritual in each case is identical, so the dancer can be referred to as X. Each has the prerogative of singing not only of *Sainxcoimuk*, but also of the being known as *Wunsinamuk*. Many masks are required at the *nakwam* of either of these beings, so it is customary for X to perform with respect to *Sainxcoimuk* one year, and to *Wunsinamuk* at the next or a subsequent ceremonial season, though the actual songs always refer to both persons.

When X wishes to dance he consults the marshals, obtains their consent, and then makes final arrangements on, normally,

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cases though an infant in arms, though uninitiated, can be brought to dances by its mother; distinctions between rich and poor, slave and freeman, become of slight importance; all that really matters is whether a person is or is not a *kuxiut*. Membership in the society seems to the uninitiated the most desirable thing in life, although their fears are always so strong that they never cease to dread actual admission. The feeling of class consciousness which exists in a somewhat mild form at other seasons of the year, gives place to a powerful sentiment of superiority on the part of members of the society over those who are not so fortunate. Even the respect normally shown to chiefs is submerged since they, too, are subject to the rule of the marshals.

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Apart entirely from this attitude of superiority and inferiority, is the bond of fellowship engendered among members of the society by the rites. Whatever happens, the uninitiated must be deceived. Moreover, the psychological effect of gathering nightly in a body for a specific purpose is tremendous. Night after night they eat together; night after night they listen to the words of the marshals, who impress on them the need for co-operation and secrecy, who hold before them the good example set by their fellows who have carried out rites successfully, who emphasize the fact that they are doing as their fathers did. The ceremonial import is of greatest consequence at all these gatherings, but when the uninitiated have withdrawn the *kuxiut* relax somewhat and enjoy themselves. The food itself is always of the best and some of the usual restrictions are removed. It is, for example, the only time that women are allowed to eat the flesh of seals. If this delicacy is provided the marshals enjoy the tidbits, but after Cannibals, novices, and others have received preferential treatment, the remainder is distributed to all and sundry.

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It has been stated by some writers, especially those unfamiliar with the significance of native ceremonial life, that the dances of the coastal tribes are orgies of immorality. This point was investigated with care and it may be stated posi-

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opened out on to a wooden platform, which served as sidewalk and extended from one end of the settlement to the other. The outer side of this structure was always supported on piles; in fact, in many cases, the houses as well as the whole sidewalk were thus raised from the ground. This type of construction was necessitated by the sloping sites of the villages, but had the added advantage of being a protection against attack. The villages differed in size from insignificant settlements of three to four houses, to ones with twenty or thirty, each containing several families. The ease with which the red cedar could be split and worked into large planks made possible the construction of these large, rectangular houses which, with their horizontally laid walls and sloping roofs, presented a picture of stability and relative comfort superior to that of most Indian habitations.

Each village was practically an independent political unit. Neighbouring settlements had many common interests which drew them into contact with one another, but there was no organized cohesion between the towns of the Bella Coola valley, or between those of *Tal'ts* and Kimsquit. There was still less to draw these three groups together. There was no supreme chief and no governmental meeting of the tribe as a whole. Not only were the three divisions not bound to support one another in war, they were often at loggerheads among themselves. Indeed, bloodshed between towns of the Bella Coola valley itself was not uncommon. Moreover, each group tended to merge with its neighbours. The *Tal'ts* people frequently married with the Rivers Inlet and the Bella Bella; the Kimsquit with the *ostmay*[*] of Dean Channel and the Kitlala of Gardner Canal; and the Bella Coola of the upper valley with the Carriers.

In spite of these inconsistencies, the application of the word *tribe* is justifiable for the following reasons:

A. Language. All spoke the same language. There were dialectical differences among the people of Bella Coola, *Tal'ts*, and Kimsquit, but each group could understand the

[*] As would commonly speaking, capital + has not been used.

tribes. This differentiated them clearly from all neighbouring tribes.

B. Ceremonies. A member of a secret society in any of the above towns was accepted as a member in any other one. A person of another tribe, even if known to belong to a comparable society, was treated as an uninitiated person.

C. Omens and Reasons. The people of Bella Coola, Tl'ai'o, and Kimsquit felt themselves to be akin through acceptance of the fact that their ancestors had been created together in the beginning of time. This marked them off with great clearness from all other tribes, especially from the Carriers of the interior. This belief formed a sentimental and religious bond of great strength.

Neighbouring Tribes

It is desirable to describe, briefly, the tribes with which the Bella Coola came in contact.

The Carriers

East of Bella Coola, amid the mountains of the interior, dwell the Carriers. In summer they often came down to the river valley to fish or trade for salmon, and in winter they were sometimes forced by cold and starvation again to visit the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, or Rivers Inlet people. There was a good deal of intermarriage between them and the inhabitants of the upper valley, so that the wanderers were able to spend the cold months with relatives. Since the ban, the Bella Coola considered these people utterly foreign in habits and beliefs, and to call a man a "Carrier" was, and still is, a deadly insult. The Carriers lacked the rich commercial life of the coastal peoples who, therefore, supplied them with arrows and canoes. The presence of a few of the much-despised Carriers was, however, almost necessary to the correct performance of the winter dances since they were uninitiated spectators whom it was necessary to impress and delude.

THE BULLA BULLA

West of Bulla Coola lived the Bulla Bulla, known as Ojindikwey. Although linguistic differences prevented free exchange of ideas, and active hostility was not unknown, there was considerable intermarriage between the two tribes. The Bulla Coola recognized the similarity of culture between them; in fact, whereas a Captor was despised for lack of knowledge of ceremonial and domestic duetons, a Bulla Bulla was respected for his superior lore in that respect. The Bulla Coola believe that many of their clan have been obtained from them.

The chief Bulla Bulla villages are said to have been: *Ymahm*, on "Kwawa" Bay; *Ilil'ma*, on "Dlama"; *Qoiyai*, four miles from the last-mentioned; *Yiahm*.

At *Ymahm*, the nearest settlement, so many of the people spoke Bulla Coola that it was practically bilingual. There had been so many intermarriages for generations that the people were not considered foreigners. In fact, Boas includes it among Bulla Coola villages (p. 48). There were seven villages on Kwawa Inlet and the Kwawa River which flows in from the south-east.

(c) *Ymahkamil*, "Where It Spoke": a small outpost on the eastern shore of Kwawa Inlet near the entrance. There may once have been a permanent settlement on the site, but for many years it was used only as a look-out station when raiders were expected.

It is said that on one occasion, long long ago, a party of Kwawa people was encamped at this spot, waiting for enemy raiders whose approach had been reported. They did not appear when expected and one of the members, wearied by the long wait, said to the guards (agents of one of the hostile companions who had accepted him):

"Tell us when is going to happen."

"You will all be killed to-morrow," answered a rumbling voice from the engine, to the great consternation of everybody.

So it transpired. The hostile raiders surprised the outlaws the next day and only one escaped to tell the tale.

The place has since been known as, "Where It Spoke." It was long ago deserted.

THE *ceiney*[a]

Before the smallpox epidemic, about 1885, there were towns on the fords and villages of Deen Channel between Kinnapit and Bulla Bulla. The inhabitants were called *ceiney* by the Bulla Coola, and *ceeiy* by the Bulla Bulla. Their settlements were at Elder Harbour, Green River, Cascade Inlet, and at several unidentified places. Their language is said to have differed slightly from that of the Bulla Bulla, but the people themselves mixed freely with both Kinnapit and Bulla Bulla, thus forming a connecting link between these tribes.

A list of *ceiney* towns was obtained from one old man, who claimed to be a descendant of the people. It was impossible to verify this information, and since he himself was not an ideal informant, the following can be regarded only as approximately correct.

(1) *Ilkw* on Elder Harbour.

(2) *Kilk-i* on a ford one mile above the last-named.

(3) *Ilkkl* or *Tsqiw-i* on a river three miles above the preceding.

(4) *Tsemsit-ai* on a river two miles above the preceding.

(5) *Tsequil* on a ford three miles above the preceding.

(6) *Tsulkw* on a ford three miles above the preceding.

(7) *Tsemsilk* on a river two miles above the last-named and thirty miles below Kinnapit.

According to the old man from whom the above list was obtained, *Tsemsilk*, or Kinnapit, occupied earlier as village no. 1[1], was also populated by *ceiney* people. There was so much intermarriage between the two groups that it is now impossible to ascertain whether the inhabitants not only of *Tsemsilk*, but of *Tsemsit-ai* and, perhaps, *Tsequil*, were predominantly Kinnapit or *ceiney*.

The open glacier in which the Bulla Coola River rises has always made travel possible for long distances, as there are only

a [Unknown, name for the people of Bella Bella = Kinnapit which also included the chiefs of Deen Channel. See B. McFarlane, Ms. 16, p.28. Analyst]

is a more obvious social grouping than the ancestral family, though it is of the latter that a man is most proud. The member of a small, unimportant village often describes himself as a native of a neighboring, larger one where at a distance from his home, simply as a matter of convenience.

Even before the coming of the white man, village sites were abandoned and people took up their residence with friends or relatives elsewhere. In fact, mythology contains instances of such migrations at the very beginning of time. In case of this kind, memory of the earlier home has been preserved for many generations, and may perhaps be the explanation of the many villages which are described as two, and which have two names. In the early days immigrants seem always to have been welcomed, they added to the numerical strength of the village, and the original inhabitants enjoyed boasting to the newcomers of their descent from the first settlers. Since any group forced to abandon their own homes naturally moved to those of relatives, there is no difficulty in understanding the process by which they continued to intermarry with their new neighbors. Thus two, or even more ancestral families, inhabiting one village tended to form a closely inter-related stock. In rare instances, two unrelated ancestral families may have become inhabitants of the same village, which would unquestionably lead to intermarriage.

In most cases the endogamic tendencies already described mean the village community to be largely members of one ancestral family. In addition there are always other residents, strangers who have fled from their homes and sought refuge among the Bella Coola; the offspring of illicit intercourse with slaves; guests; foreigners, especially Carriers temporarily resident in Bella Coola; and finally slaves, without status in the community. The real inhabitants, those whose power is firmly planted in the village, are the reputed descendants of the first group of settlers, and accordingly a relative coming to live in a village usually endeavors to obtain a name from the origin myth of the ancestral family occupying it, and thus

with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *nawi* ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from them, and sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy being had landed there. At once there is great excitement within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove them to be at hand. No one is allowed to leave except a *nawi ahi*[17] who is skilled in dealing with *Mulishla*,[18] also called *Sisiqhenem*, the supernatural being closely connected with the *nawi* ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *ahi* raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance.

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

[17] The accounts of all informants agree that much of the *nawi* ritual was merely imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements, Pielas, a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella wife, who was from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with them to their village the *nawi* ceremony. It is said that previous to this time the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the profile painted in the back-room, nor to depict the beings on the conclusion of the rites. On the other hand, some Bella Coola claim that their two ancestors brought the whistles with them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural beings is a recent addition to the prelude, which accounts for the contradictory statements, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It appears certain that the prerogative of *ahi* has recently been obtained from the Bella Bella. *Ahi* means "the one who cures," and the name is given to the man whose prerogative it is to treat the doctor initiates to whom supernatural powers are bestowed. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for *Kaiai* nurses, known as a *kai ahi*[illegible]. Though *nawi*-marriage-owned Bella Coola have recently obtained this prerogative, in such case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to them, as formerly, the term *ahi*, as they do for the doctor "*nawi*," though the Bella Bella *nawi*, but *ahi*[illegible], is used with equal frequency. The present *ahi* have endeavoured to claim for themselves certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by *nawi*-men. In this account of a prelude it is assumed that a *ahi* is functioning on all occasions, but in many cases *nawi*-men could be considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *nawi*-man was regarded as capable of doing so.

[18] Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a certain chiefess of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time.

585 "sewing" or "rope fastening" for her. Within a few days or weeks, they must invite their fellow-villagers to a community of some kind. If it is winter this can be a social dance, but in summer it must be a non-sacred affair. Y's father and other relatives attend, furnished with the usual gifts. When the ceremony is over and the time has come for the distribution of presents, a herald calls out that X has no seat. If he has already been established in one he calls out that it is not free." Y at once brings forward some of the goods provided by her relatives, and places them with the goods which X's family received at the wedding and are about to give away. The whole is then divided among the guests, together with presents provided by X for Y's relatives. The actual purpose of the rite may be to obtain names for some of X's young relatives or to establish seats for them; it is immaterial to Y's people to what end they are applied. Within recent years this has sometimes taken place at a *Sacred* dance, but such overlapping between the two types of ceremonial is probably an innovation due to decay.

[192]

1177 585 Since 1900 an effort was made to introduce a marriage custom of the Kwakiutl. According to the Bella Coola, among them the wife given to her husband's relatives one or more boards studded with teeth of the sea-otter. This makes teeth for the bride, so that if she ever quarrels with another woman she can draw back her lips and shame her rival by saying:

"What can you do? You have no teeth, while I have two sets," or as many boards as have been given at her marriage.

[583] The grandson of a Fort Rupert Kwakiutl, living in Bella Coola and considered a member of the tribe, owned one of these boards and used it at the marriage of his daughter in 1919. It was first given to the mother of the bridegroom, and superimposed with a copper; then given to the bridegroom, and subsequently finally given, and again superimposed, from the father of the groom. The woman for whom this was done can

The podium was in the middle; it being a potlatch and the dance associated with it has already been described (L.c. 60).

#192

[illegible] "Come and eat". Invitation to the initiate to assemble in a gentleman's house.

Gadu: Ngala Guka.

[illegible] the Wanangan hearing invitation to a gathering.

[illegible] Wanangan.

[illegible] 1 = Property, regarded as clothing, etc., given for the groom's relatives by the bride's relatives when the latter visit the house on the wedding day.

2 = Other presents given for the bridegroom's relatives in the bride's kraal prior to her marriage.

[illegible] "The Opening Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulder". Part of the ceremony by a child's relatives of presents received from her husband's kraal.

Beneficiary: 1 = Bridegroom.

2 = The relatives of the bride of a child who is about to give a gift.

Subjection: One of the names of the supreme god.

[illegible] Beneficiaries, for presents to the bride, to a child to go to the wedding place.

[illegible] The employment of Dionyo's child hearing.

[illegible] Ngala Guka.

[illegible] "The Hearing". Synonym for ukuwaza, q.v., this is a Kinyagulu term only.

[illegible] Place where the gentleman appears to the bride's relatives.

[illegible] The carrying of bride's presents to the bride.

[illegible] "Dye from the River". Village on the upper Kinyagulu River.

[illegible] Wanangan.

[illegible] "Disappointed", name of the commonest things called by a name known only among the bride's relatives.

[illegible] Place from the lower Kinyagulu during the last century.

[illegible] Bulu Kuku were for the Bulu Bulu.

[illegible] Dual function of half-sisters.

[illegible] 1 = Wife.

2 = Bulu Kuku used for old persons to direct children to which.

3 = Husband.

[illegible] Bulu relatives of male concerned bridegroom.

[illegible] Women who performed bride's bath.

[illegible] Bulu function in a family with several sisters.

[illegible] "Washing Clothes". Presents given for the relatives of the bride's bride to the relatives of the bride bridegroom in the first appearance of the bridegroom. The bridegroom's first visit will have to have substantially to obtain the marriage.

[illegible] Bulu Kuku were for the children.

[illegible] Bulu Bulu were for the children.

[illegible] Bulu Kuku were for the speech of school Bulu Bulu Kinyagulu much the relatives the dance of Dion Channel.

(c) *Bentzipu* and, "Kalmerud": the eastern continuation of the last mentioned.[1] The name is explained as follows:

One of the people who came to the earth in the beginning of time, *Tsuishmale* by name, travelled to the Skeena River, and there saw women wearing labrets. On his return to Bella Coola he settled at *Bentzipu* and carved on his totem-pole[2] the figure of a woman with an abalone-shell labret as a memorial of his voyage. Visitors coming to his potlatches named the town from this figure.

This was one of the largest towns in the valley.

*(d) *Ainsi*-*ci*: a small town to the north of the last, not far from the *Pi*-*ish*. It is uncertain that it was founded by a descendant of *Tsuishmale* named *Ainsi*-*ci*. The consensus of opinion is that it has not been occupied for many years, but one informant recently dug up a clay pipe on the alleged site.

*(e) *Nuhuk*, "Where the Bear Divided": on the south shore of the Bella Coola River about a quarter of a mile from the sea. This village was founded by *Cuwiash* *Ipil*.

*(f) *Kwaqa*-*ci*, meaning doubtful, perhaps "Salty": this, the most populous village of the valley in the recent past, is still inhabited by one or two families. The inhabitants of other towns explain its large population by marriages with slaves. This is the upper, or eastern, continuation of the preceding, and the two in combination formed a row of houses stretching for three-quarters of a mile (see Plate 3).

(g) *Qwaqlaqua*, "The Tombs Place": on the north side of the Bella Coola, apparently about half a mile above *Ainsi*-*ci*. This village was long ago deserted.

(h) *Tsuhcumulu*-*ci*, "Where There Is Much Inshore-rolls," a kind of hollow-ceremonial place some distance from

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[1] Several towns, each consisting of a single row of houses, are regarded as forming one village. In each case there is an Indian boundary mark.

[2] The Bella Coola believe that their totem-poles, unlike those of other tribes, represent ancestors or heroes who brought the rite of Bachelors and others as the main origin of totem-poles in the North-West but believe that the Bella Coola example are not historically accurate.

1:McDermith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NER Bella Coola NBA

[175] hanging a number of bird and animal cloaks, representing ravens, eagles, whales, grizzly bears, black bears, and a few others. *Algaxtiw* asked each individual which of these cloaks he preferred to wear. One selected a raven, another an eagle, and so on. Each donned his choice from the wall and immediately became the bird or animal chosen. *Algaxtiw* gave each man or woman one or more names, and some food in non-human form; then sent him down in avian or mammal form. Even the animals could travel through the air like birds, and each landed on the peak of a mountain in the Bella Coola country, took off his cloak, and resumed human form. The discarded coverings floated back up to *Nuxalk-a*. A few individuals, instead of coming to earth in animal form, swamed down ropes which stretched between the worlds.

[177] [178] This myth is fervently believed by the Bella Coola. Even Christian Indians, though they readily admit the biblical creation as applied to the white race, remain convinced of the manner in which their own ancestors came into being. At the present time, though most ancient beliefs are rapidly passing away, few, if any, Bella Coola doubt this account of the creation of their forefathers. Their conviction rests not only on the religious aspect of their life, but on the sociological. A man's most treasured possessions are the name brought down from above by his ancestor in the beginning of time, the knowledge of the form taken by that ancestor, and information about the place where he landed. A collection of myths of this kind is given in vol. I, chap. vi. Lacking knowledge of his first ancestor's form, a Bella Coola has slight chance of becoming a chief; such law is the birthright of every descendant of one of these first people, and those without it are almost certain to be the offspring of slaves. The social aspects of creation myths will be described later; at this point a broad outline must suffice. *Nuxalk-a*, "The House of Myths," is the place in which these myths were made, and are now stored, two reasons for its importance in the eyes of the Bella Coola.

[179] *Nuxalk-a* is not only concerned with the history of an indi-

is no doubt that a man tends to lose those rights in property which are strictly his, if they are located at a distance. Thus several men claim that they are legally entitled to hunt at Kitlaha, but from mere difficulty of access neither they nor their fathers have exercised the right, and it would have been lost in the course of a few generations, even without the over-decay of custom which has followed the advent of the white man. Practically, a man hunts only in the grounds of those ancestral families to whose origin myths he has access, though, theoretically, he is entitled to hunt on any hunting-ground of any ancestral family of which he is a member whether or not he holds a duly validated name from its origin myth. It is not necessary to confirm the right to property as with a name, though a validated ancestral name is the usual mark of a man's right to that area of the ancestral family to which that designation belongs. Although the ownership of land in distant regions is of little practical importance, it is, none the less, a matter of great pride to a man to feel that he has rights in many places. The efforts of an individual to make good these claims has often led to bloodshed; in fact, one intelligent old man stated that property disputes were the principal cause for war in British Columbia. A person who lacks hunting-grounds is little better than a slave, whereas one who has much land is important.

The Bella Coola regard land as almost inalienable. Though a man does not own the land of his wife's ancestral family, he can use it and his children have full rights to it. Conversely, a wife can gather berries on her husband's land, though it is not hers. A guest or a village may be allowed to use the territory of his hosts, but it does not become his. In the old days wars between the central tribes were common, but though slaves were taken freely, land was never seized; such is unthinkable to a Bella Coola. In fact, several of the older people inquired how it had been possible, in the free world war, for the allies, whose cause they believed to be righteous, to assume territory from Germany. If the victors had killed or enslaved

[illegible] is a more obvious social grouping than the ancestral family, though it is of the latter that a man is most proud. The member of a small, unimportant village often identifies himself as a native of a neighbouring, larger one when at a distance from his home, simply as a matter of convenience.

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Coast social organization, and of the absence of constitutional obligations based upon specific relationships.

Slaves

Since a slave was[a] without status in the Bella Coola community, it is perhaps incorrect to include a description of slavery in a chapter on social organization; but as slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages, it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of their number in Bella Coola; slavery has been so long abandoned that the present natives could only hazard vague guesses. Judging from conversational remarks by elderly men, it seems probable that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as thirty to forty per cent of the total population.

When a party raided a village most of the inhabitants were slain, but some, especially children, young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. So far as could be learned, once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, slave torture or ignominious slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

Like any other commodities, slaves were bought and sold. The Bella Coola were usually as well provided with salmon that they were able to exchange them fish with the members of other tribes for slaves. Lack of strong clanfriendship among the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category belong those obtained as prisoners or pedlarlike. If however, a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was

[a] One of the few slaves of the tribe such's ancestors in Bella Coola was the being of all slaves. Consequently he got was a man in his action.

given as a slave to a Bulu Cocle, he was treated as a guest. Slaves were borrowed between Bulu Cocle individuals as a matter of course. Their value depended on sex, ability, and industriousness, as well as on supply and demand. When there was an over-supply, the value of a slave fell to twenty or thirty cubiens, but whenever an owner found that someone wished to purchase a particular slave he endeavoured to raise the price. If a foreigner borrowed goods in Bulu Cocle he usually had someone a relative as pledge. Thus, not many years ago, a Kamsi Indian, from near Green Lake, borrowed goods from a Kiwanguale man and left his son as pledge. The goods were not returned, so the son was sold as a slave to the people of Kiwanu.

It was not uncommon for a Bulu Cocle to lose his freedom by gambling. In this connection, a player who had exhausted his goods was subsequently wagered his children, or in extreme cases, himself. If he lost, his children, or himself, became the property of the winner. Unless specially repurchased by some relative, such slaves were usually sold or given away at the first opportunity to a member of a foreign tribe, since it was considered improper for a man to hold a member of his own tribe in servitude. The same course of action was taken with those men captives whom our Bulu Cocle village fought against; his neighbors and prisoners were taken.

To the Bulu Cocle, who will consider a man's "power" to be the land at disposition to a considerable extent on his ancestral myth, a slave's greatest misfortune lay in the fact that he had no ancestral home, and hence no rights.

"The slaves came to earth with the first people," they say.

A slave was a stranger in a strange land, unsupported by a chain of ancestors reaching back to the beginning of time. On the whole, captives taken in war were better treated than other slaves, since it was felt that such a misfortune might occur to anyone at any time. They were frequently remembered by their

[50] friends, a further cause for their preferential treatment. A
[727] Bella Coola who had been enslaved and ransomed had to
[728] undergo a cleansing ceremony to remove the taint of slavery before he could take part in the ceremonies of the community. It was impossible to learn the details of this rite.

[620] A master had complete power over a slave, unaffected by the force of public opinion, since the affairs of a slave, being without relatives, were of no consequence to anyone. Accordingly, the lot of a slave depended on the character of his master, and on his own ability and industry. An industrious slave was valued; such an one would not be traded or sold except through dire necessity, and in course of years he became, as far as actual treatment was concerned, one of the
[424] family. Many masters gave their slaves *hamat*[a] dance prerogatives, expending large sums for the purpose. In such a
[49] case the slave might become an influential member of the community, though the fact that he was not free was never forgotten. On the other hand, a master had not the slightest compunction about beating a lazy slave, and could kill him if he so desired. None of the present Bella Coola has heard of such a case; it was considered more sensible to sell or give away an unsatisfactory slave. It was accepted as a matter of course that a master should provide his slaves with food and clothing, since anything produced or obtained by one belonged to him. A slave-owner had full rights to his female slaves,
[837] and unquestionably exercised them. The only restraints were the jealousy of his own wife, or wives, and the feeling that it was undignified for a free man to demean himself. It was impossible to learn with even approximate accuracy to what extent intercourse took place between masters and slaves. Probably not a great deal, though there was considerable freedom of relations between slave women and the young men of the community, unrestrained by the pride of chieftainship. When a slave had been faithful for a number of years and had
[572] become almost a member of the family, his master would try

[a] Hamat privileges (I, p. 49) were seen rarely given.

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NEA Bellacoola NEA

to arrange his marriage with some female slave; once this had taken place, the actual ceremony meted out to him differed only slightly from that shown to a member of the family. In former times it would probably have been difficult for a stranger to tell married slaves from the members of the Bella Coola community until he had been long enough in the country to understand more than appeared on the surface. 527 562

Marriages between Bella Coola men and slave women were not infrequent, while like partnerships between slave men and even the daughters of chiefs were not unknown. In such cases the status of the children depended on the performance of ceremonies to wash from them the stain of their slave blood. While the mother was still pregnant her husband would call guests, not only from his own village, but from foreign villages as well. Presents were given, according to the wealth of the donor, often aided by his immediate family, to "wash the child." Such ceremonies would be repeated several times before birth, and again at that time. Bella Coola sentiment was that such presents gagged the recipients; they knew of the dishonorable ancestry of the child, but the receipt of gifts on his account had wiped away the disgrace. Such a child was able to inherit prerogatives from his mother's old home, duly validated in Bella Coola by valuables, and by his own lavish presents he could silence those who remembered the blot on his ancestry. Similar procedure was carried out if a free woman married a slave. Unless her husband were already owned by one of her family, the woman's father or brother would arrange to purchase him. Then, aided by him, they would give the same type of presents to clear the children from the taint of slavery. If this were not done, the children had only the status of slaves, though, born and brought up in Bella Coola and associating from infancy with their master's children, they were virtually considered members of the family. 431 567 [428]

"Washing the child," during pregnancy and at birth, seemed to cover the taint on its history, but in later years if such a person failed to continue to give ceremonies, people would again talk of his slave-marriage. So, too, for the child or grand- [559] [571]

431 child of a mixed Bella Coola and slave marriage. As long as
527 such an one maintained a position of importance in the com-
527 munity by the distribution of presents, nothing was said, but
578 if he should fail to do so, he could be, and frequently was,
[554] insulted by having reference made to his ancestry. In case
of dispute or rivalry it was always a temptation to refer to
such a blot, but if he had atoned for it with presents, references
were considered improper. Unquestionably, memory of slave
522 ancestry was forgotten in course of time if the line was influ-
527 ential, although recollections of the origins were always cur-
527 rent for at least two or three generations. At the present time
the most influential woman in Bella Coola, the one who has
given most presents, is the granddaughter of a Smith Inlet
slave. This man had lived in Bella Coola for many years and
had married another slave, by whom he had a son. The latter
became the husband of an influential *Stuo* woman. When she
became pregnant, her family secured the liberation of her
husband, and gave many presents to "wash the child." One
daughter was born to this couple, the woman just mentioned.
Her mother's relatives were influential, and her father was
[555] such an expert cause-maker that he was able to win an honor-
able position for his daughter by presents of his handiwork.
The woman, possessed of considerable ability herself, has been
able to give many ceremonies and so reach a position of emi-
nence. No one dares insult her by mentioning her ancestry,
but everyone knows about it and if her children should fail to
hold their position, they would be open to insult on this score.
The woman has validated names and myths derived both from
her mother and father, without explaining how the Smith Inlet
traditions came to Bella Coola.

To sum up, it may be said that the position of slaves in
Bella Coola was not particularly onerous, though it depended
entirely on the will of their masters. Without status in the
[112] community, a slave could have been abused by a cruel owner,
though the public life of the village, where all lived and ate
together, tended to break down the unsymmetrically enforced
differences of rank.

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as a man by the duly validated ownership of a chief's name in law over right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat 262
seal, unless he had been the slayer. If many seals are killed, 574
chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs 622
seat themselves according to their proper positions and are [562]
first served with the blood-stained grease that floats to the top [527]
of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is [628]
cut into strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths, according to the number of guests. The cuts run down each fore-flipper, so that each receives a narrow strip including one of the toes. The head is always given to the herald.[209]

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary meals even when no seal or deer has been killed. On these occasions, as at seal feasts, the guests are designated by their [551] ceremonial names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also accustomed to meet for the discussion of 575
matters connected with the winter ceremonial; on such occa- 622
sions their number may be augmented by men of influence in 623
the secret society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the *hamat'sa* society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a *nemit* chief is outweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the views of some individual must be accepted. The writer was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such [178] meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but

[114] Every effort was made to secure the accuracy of this account, but errors may have crept in on account of the length of time which has elapsed since the ceremony was carried out in full detail.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

thus boast that she has three sets of teeth, but as the practice has not found favour in Bella Coola, it is little to her advantage.[9] 585 [177]

These complicated marriage rites are necessary to satisfy the pride of the two families in their origin myths, and the need to establish the resultant children in the paths of their ancestors. Among slaves or others who lack ancestral prerogatives, marriage is an affair of slight worth. Such persons simply live together with little ceremony, though they always try to give at least a feast so that there may be witnesses of the transaction. It is immaterial whether or not they marry their own relatives, since no ancestral prerogatives are to be transmitted. [556] [567] [581]

MARRIED LIFE

Y usually lives in the house of X's father, though economic circumstances may compel her husband to live in her home. If the parents are very wealthy, a house may be built for the young people, but usually their home is one of the bedrooms in the house of X's father; this patrilocal residence exposes Y not only to good advice from her mother-in-law, but often to caustic criticism. The married life of X and Y does not differ materially from that of other young couples in any part of the world, and is accordingly difficult to describe. Although love rarely enters into the original choice of a mate, a serviceable substitute is found in the mutual respect for each other's ancestry, and the knowledge of the importance of the rites performed with the aid of each other's elderly relatives. The young people realize that marriage affects the families of both, and accordingly accept it as a matter of course. The Bella Coola are fond of children. Their birth is a matter of sincere rejoicing, partly because it binds the two families more closely together, but parental affection is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics. The parents usually spoil their children; infants, especially, are never chastised and rarely 591 [556] 593 855 [861]

[9] The board used on this occasion was purchased for the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language. 602 476

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *kusiut*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *siusk* names can never be transferred in this manner. 606 431 425 [785] [575] [553] [575]

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a 593 [602] [627] [567] [432] [648]

Schlesinger E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

593 slave, and this is believed to have occurred on one occasion
527 to the daughter of a chief.

432 Once, many hundred years ago, the daughter of a Bella Coola chief
48 was married to the son of Tsadewaum, a Bella Bella chief, living at Rqaqyul. At the marriage, in Bella Coola, valuable presents were given by both families, and the girl went to live in Bella Bella with her husband. Some ten years later, Tsadewaum gave a large potlatch to which he had invited guests from all parts of the coast. As in duty bound, his daughter-in-law's relatives gave a certain amount of goods to relieve her. They were not wealthy, so that the contribution was of small value. Tsadewaum had expected a larger present, and now found himself unable even to repay his debts to those who had assembled. He did not immediately show his resentment, but soon afterwards sold his daughter-in-law as slave to a Kitkatla chief. The Bella Coola were justly indignant, but could not make up their minds what to do in such an unprecedented case. The girl ultimately escaped and made her way home after lengthy wanderings (II, p. 305).

837 A husband demands faithfulness on the part of his wife, though he himself is often rather lax. Illicit intercourse is regarded, not as a deadly sin, but as an infringement of the husband's prerogatives. But if a woman should bear a child at a time when it was impossible for the husband to have been the father, due to absence, he would probably accept it as his
[586] own and do no more than administer a beating, though some jealous men would divorce a wife for this. Bella Coola senti-
ment on such matters varies with the individual; it is univer-
sally considered to be a matter that concerns the husband
[184] alone and he can do as he thinks fit. The daughters of chiefs are usually faithful to their husbands, whereas those of poorer persons, unrestrained by the valuables expended at their mar-
[682] riages, are more lax. If the husband should catch an adulterer, he can, if bold, slay him on the spot and the exaction of blood revenge would be uncalled for. Usually a fight ends the matter, though the offender's family may give presents to the aggrieved husband, and his wife's relatives may also make donations to atone for their daughter's failings. A husband does not share his wife with anyone, and a question as to the lending of a wife

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MOA Bella Coola 1928

with the others, including the one who had just been leader, as followers. It is said that there was rarely friction among the joint husbands, since each realized that his turn would come as head of the household, and meanwhile the wife endeavoured to share her favours indiscriminately. The children were considered equally the offspring of each husband, thus automatically acquiring membership in several amorous families. Such were regarded as indeed fortunate, provided with every potential means of assistance in the struggle of life. 575 556 [551]

Recognizing its importance, every effort was made to verify this information. Further questioning elicited the statement that the informant had never seen a case of this, though he asserted that when a young man he had often heard of it and that the custom had then only recently died out. Another old man and an elderly woman confirmed the above statement almost word for word, and each added that it was well known when they were young, though they had never actually seen it in practice. One man believed that the custom had formerly prevailed in several parts of the coast, and said that he had heard of its occurrence among the "Kwakiutl" people near Nootka. Considering the reliability of his informants, the writer gives as his personal belief that the institution of polyandry among the daughters of chiefs occurred in Bella Coola not many years ago. Knowledge of the term of address for co-husband, already given, is strong evidence in support of this view. 128 575 556

DISCREDITABLE MARRIAGES

Since it has been assumed that Y is the daughter of a chief, properly married with due formality, it is necessary to digress still further from the account of her relations with X to describe connections of a less creditable nature. The most common of these was with slaves. Though frowned upon by all Bella Coola ethics, such alliances, of a permanent nature, do not appear to have been rare. In some cases it was a man who thus dishonored himself, in some a woman. Since no slave could provide the goods necessary for an elaborate wedding, the 567 588

547 ceremony usually consisted simply of the man and woman
588 living together. In theory, this prevented the children from ever obtaining a name or other prerogative included in the ancestral myth of the free-born parent, and no effort was always made to conceal from them the details of the ancestral family's origin myth. But, as already described in the section dealing with slaves, the expenditure of valuable presents served to weaken, or at least to cover, the blot. If the child succeeded in giving many potlatches, the stain was generally forgotten. On the other hand, if the child of a slave married to a free man was not "washed," he could always be shamed by a reminder of the disgrace of his parents' wedding.

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681 In case of murder, the son or other near relative of the
[588] victim sometimes accepts a daughter or other member of the offender's family instead of exacting blood revenge. The bride
[627] is delivered to her husband with valuable goods "to wash away the blood," but these never suffice entirely to remove the disgrace from her or her children. The latter may inherit names and prerogatives from their father, but even if they attain to the position of chiefs, they can always be put to shame by reference to their mother's marriage as an atonement for murder. Of course the influence of a great chief makes it impolitic to refer to his ancestry, and there are a few instances of men having reached such a position of eminence that the blot
[554] has been practically forgotten. The wife's family must continue to give presents to the husband for years after marriage, otherwise her lot is unenviable indeed, and her children have the status of the unwashed offspring of a slave and a free-man. In some cases a marriage of this type is entered upon years after a murder, if a son or other descendant wishes to end the anxiety of constantly expecting blood revenge.

REPURCHASE OF THE WIFE

556 Repurchase of a wife is the necessary consequence of every
589 reputable Bella Coola marriage. It is assumed that the pre-

[illegible] faithful and cases of rape were either unknown or very rare. The daughters of chiefs, too, were guarded with great care and any effort to seduce one of them would be punished by her father. The parents of a girl used to watch her carefully, and the opportunity for immorality was not great in the days when everyone went to bed at sundown except on the occasion of a ceremonial dance. As one informant described it:

"The daughters of chiefs used to be looked after as if they were in house, cherished and guarded by their parents and relatives. No one would dream of molesting them. And a chief's daughter used to be proud and look after herself. Nowadays, girls don't care, and everything has become degraded."

If the daughter of a chief did dishonor herself, the parents lost interest in her, as one who was spoilt. It was always assumed that a girl of rank was a virgin at marriage, and if it was discovered that she had been living an immoral life, her husband in many cases returned her in disgrace to her parents who, equally shamed, were expected to send back to him the goods he had expended for their daughter. Loss of virtue was judged only from indirect information. If the daughter of a chief was found pregnant before marriage, she was almost ostracized by her family. No ceremonial marriage could be arranged for her, and the child could not be cleansed from the stigma of illegitimacy.

On the other hand, it appears certain that there was a good deal of intercourse in the old days between chiefs and slave women, or even between slaves and the daughters of chiefs. In the latter case the woman was often cast aside by her relatives though they sometimes yielded to the inevitable and tried to wash away the disgrace with gifts. At the same time, public opinion was unfavourable to a man who consorted with many women, or to a woman who allowed herself to be at the disposal of many men. Any regular union of masters with their slave women for the deliberate purpose of having children was unknown. A girl's consent was always necessary, given either personally or through an intermediary. Even a chief hesitated

to force his [illegible] on a slave woman if she objected, although her [illegible] would be most unusual on account of his prestige. There were no professional prostitutes; a man usually gave a small present to a girl from whom he had received favours, and she was expected to give him a little, dainty basket filled with unused cedar-bark to use as a sponge. Such relations appear always to have been of common occurrence. Today, as formerly, a man's morality is considered to be his own affair; laxity may lower his prestige, but no law is broken, and his neighbours laugh and chaff him about it. In fact, sexual matters are discussed with the greatest freedom, and a person who has been caught is mocked mercilessly. When visiting a foreign tribe, a man sometimes lives with a woman and, on parting, composes and sings a song describing her charms. One man did this after living with a Kitlobe woman, and on his return to Bella Coola found that some of his fellows had learnt it in some unexplained manner; they used to sing it to him, much to their amusement, in part to his own, and somewhat to the annoyance of his wife. This perhaps illustrates rather clearly the attitude of the Bella Coola to an infraction of morality—where no marriage rite has been broken; it is amusing rather than disgusting. There are no times when the moral code ceases to function. At potlatches, and also at *kusiut* dances, there appears always to have been a certain amount of laxity, although this was strictly prohibited within the house where the ceremony was taking place. Such behaviour is due to the excitement and stimulus of a large gathering, not to anything connected with the rites themselves.

Perverted sexual desires, like other matters connected with the relations of the sexes, are regarded as concerning the individual alone.

Sodomy appears to be unknown. Intercourse by pre-adolescents is held to be disgusting, but carries with it no social ostracism. Incestuous union, however, is mildly anti-social; it exposes the offender to secret contempt, but does not interfere with his attainment of whatever position his wealth

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sense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a number of young men and women ignorant of the significance of the rites. Formerly, the *hakuxiut* often had difficulty in impressing the uninitiated with their powers, and feuds with the *o'ala* were common.

Although membership in the *hakuxiut* society depends on an ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution. A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *hakuxiut* prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great importance within the ranks of the society. Nor are the prerogatives considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that slaves are often admitted as *hakuxiut* by their masters. An important *hakuxiut* is not esteemed by the community in the same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, membership in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

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Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *hakuxiut* organization can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *hakuxiut* and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without special invitation, he dares enter the house where a *hakuxiut* dance is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non-

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he heats in the fire with his stick, and expresses the hope that the cause of the scandal in the town where the error took place may be blackened within he does better.

As an individual *hactcat* who sees is punished by a scandal, so is punishment meted out to the members of a village in which any serious accident occurs during a dance. Such disasters are fire, causing concealed *hakaciat* to appear among the uninitiated, the breaking of a sidewalk on which a number of the members are dancing, or the capsizing of loaded canoes which are used in some of the performances. The obvious effect of such mishaps is to lower the prestige of the *hactcat* society in the eyes of the uninitiated. The news travels from town to town, and to adjacent tribes. This is a *casus belli* for any village which wishes to attack the one where the disaster took place; in fact, a raid is considered meritorious. Owing to frequent marriages between the members of neighbouring villages, it usually happens that the inhabitants of adjacent settlements are unwilling to attack, but the news spreads until it reaches a town willing to take the lead. The marshals, aided by any other influential *hakaciat*, discuss the matter and decide on war; uninitiated are called upon to take part, though they are told only that the foray is connected with the rites of the *hactcat* society which increases rather than decreases their awe. The threatened villagers, knowing that an attack is inevitable, send out sentinels and guards, and, if possible, flee at the last moment to neighbouring towns for safety, allowing the raiders to burn their village and carry off loot. If a fight takes place many people may be killed, but slaves are never taken. In the last century *Itsaa* attacked *Alqâlâxl*; the assailants were aided by a number of Chilkotin to whom they were related but who had not the slightest idea of the cause of the raid. Although an attacked town is usually helped by its neighbours, this is not the case when the assault is caused by error in *hactcat* or *xaxak* ceremonial.

Nor is punishment for error or disaster in ritual meted out

It is hoped that this somewhat lengthy description will assist the reader in following the complicated details of the actual rites. 575*

Initiation

Although *kactcit* ceremonials take place only during the winter, preliminary arrangements are discussed and carried out throughout the year. One of the subjects over which the old men and the marshals debate at length is the admission of new members. Sometimes the relatives of a young man or woman wish to have him, or her, initiated and propose to use a *kactcit* prerogative dormant in their family. More often an elderly person is willing to transfer one of his prerogatives to a younger relative; comparatively few are unused owing to the small sums needed to validate them. In either case, one of the marshals is consulted. He passes word to his fellows, and to a number of the elderly *kakactcit*, who meet in the council-place of the village. The prospective novice's relatives are there and express the belief that he is sufficiently mature in mind to be a credit to the society. If some of those present demur, the matter is discussed at length until all agree, or until it appears that there is strong objection on account of the youth or inconsistency in character of the proposed novice. In this case his relatives can only hope that their proposal will be more favourably received the following year. Sometimes the young man or woman is informed that his relatives have exerted their influence with *Ka'kilwulnais* to make him a *kactcit*, more often he remains in ignorance until the ceremonial season. [425]

The initiation of one admitted under these normal circumstances is the same as for one made a "shaman" on account of too great knowledge. Sometimes the marshals themselves take the first steps. If few *kakactcit* wish to give ceremonials so that there are gaps in the nightly performances, the marshals select a suitable slave and ask his owner to give him some *kactcit* prerogative of little value. If the latter agrees, a pretext is found to lure the victim to the woods whence he is carried, 575* 567● [425]

[Secret Society Initiation]

*[975] struggling in fear, to the secret meeting-place. There the mardhals discuss what shall be done with him; some suggest that he be killed, others a lesser fate, and finally someone advises his initiation. After apparently due deliberation, this is decided upon; the slave is told the mysteries of the society and is warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells the uninitiated of his knowledge. The actual ceremonial rites of admission do not vary according to the preliminaries used.

*[976] Initiation can take place at any time during the *kwaxa* season. After consulting with the mardhals in order to choose an evening when no other dance is to take place, the relatives of the neophyte, whom it will be convenient to term X, invite the *kwaxa* to their house. Sometimes songs are sung by way of rehearsal, at other times food is distributed at once. As the people are eating, one of the mardhals stands up to address them, saying that X's relatives propose to take him to the repository of the name ———, so that he may become a *kwaxa*. X, to whom this may be the first intimation, is called from his house and taken from the village by several of his kinsmen, with one or more of the mardhals. The *kwaxa* disperse and tell the uninitiated in the other houses that X has gone to meet *Ăwĭ'ĭtsnalaxa*. His companions hear the news with mingled envy and thankfulness that they are not to have this dangerous privilege.

[978] In ancient times X and his guides may actually have proceeded to his repository, but for several generations at least it has been customary for the party merely to go to some lonely spot in the woods for the night. Those accompanying X tell him as much of the ritual of the society as they think fit, not forgetting to emphasize the trust put upon him, and the fate which will befall him if he should communicate his knowledge. [987] He is expected to report that he went to the repository where, [984] lying face downwards on the ground, he saw *Ăwĭ'ĭtsnalaxa*; in Kimsquit he is supposed also to see her husband.*

[976] *According to one old Bella Coola a sister of *Ăwĭ'ĭtsnalaxa* also remains in every repository.

[The Cannibal Dance]

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

in burning the eye if they do not think the dancer will be able to carry it out properly. When the call comes, the uninitiated are at once expelled from the Cannibal's house; later he rushes to the graveyard and exhumes one of the most-filled frames previously buried. Non-members watch with horror as he sinks his teeth in the "flesh." Closely guarded, he is then taken to every house where, if they are held, the uninitiated peer forth from their bedrooms and watch his performance. He carries part of the corpse in his arms and periodically sinks his teeth in the repulsive mass. As usual, apparent attempts are made to tie him to this earth, but in spite of them he escapes to the upper regions where he remains for an unusually long period. Great efforts are made to reduce him to a state of emaciation, for which purpose he drinks large amounts of water in which cedar-wood has been boiled. When the Cannibal ultimately returns to earth, the cannibalistic incubus is expelled and he at length becomes normal. When dancing, a corpse-eater commonly bends both hands towards the floor in front of him and upwards, as though raising some heavy object towards his face. Then his head sinks towards this, only to be thrown quickly upwards and to one side, with a wild expression in his eyes. The uninitiated are told that this represents the manner in which he lifts a corpse towards his mouth and bites, only to be revolted by its putrescence. He has, they hear, no actual liking for human flesh, but his incubus fills him with an irresistible craving for it. Frequently he wears on his blanket wooden representations of skulls (see Plate 71), symbolic of the corpses devoured.

Rarely, a corpse-eating Cannibal kills a slave and pretends to devour his body as a means of impressing the uninitiated,** but usually this is done only under the driving force of revenge or jealousy. If a man hears that a near relative, slave of a foreign tribe, has been killed, he often determines to wipe out blood with blood. He consults a corpse-eating Cannibal, and

**Eating of corpses has long ceased among the Bella Coola; the present tense is used merely for convenience.

[see category 116, p 164(A) - ANALYST]

[The Cannibal Dance]

If the latter agrees to undertake the commission, he must 575
next obtain a slave, a matter of no difficulty if he is at all 996
wealthy. An effort is made to find a victim from the tribe 567
that has committed the murder, though any alien will suffice. 648
The details are worked out with great care so that the slave is
sent to the river for water, or on some other errand at the time
the call comes to the Cannibal. A shout is raised, and the
uninitiated hurriedly run out of the house, followed by the
dancer and a body of athletic *kekwiut*, who pounce on the
unsuspecting foreigner. The Cannibal cuts his throat, and
the corpse is carried back to his house, where all members of
the society are assembling. Part of the body is cut off, then
the *kekwiut* accompany the Cannibal to every house of the
village. He carries the mutilated remains, and the uninitiated
readily believe that he has devoured the missing portion. The
corpse is later dismembered and the bloody pieces displayed,
convincing proof of the gruesome meal. It is needless to say that
they are carefully buried where there is no danger that they
will be found. The rite then proceeds in the usual manner.

If two biting Cannibals, or their parents, quarrel, they may 575
be shamed into killing and "eating" a slave. Angry words lead 996
to insults, insults to scorn at each other's prowess, until one of 567
the Cannibals throws a stone at the feet of the other, an action 578
which has the significance of:

"Eat that!"

Since a stone is always symbolic of a slave, the Cannibal so taunted knows what is expected. If he accepts the challenge, he throws a stone at his adversary's feet, bidding him do likewise. The one challenged soon receives a call and kills a slave in the manner previously described; his rival must do the same unless he is willing to admit himself outdone. The occasional killing of a slave under such circumstances does not give to either the right of doing so habitually. Of [558] course the challenged individual is not bound to accept, but if he declines the "dare," he sinks in popular estimation. This

type of rivalry can be carried out only during the ceremonial season.

After killing and eating a human being, a Cannibal must conceal himself for a considerable period, sometimes as long as four years. The uninitiated are told that the great power within him has taken him so far into the upper regions that one or more years must elapse before his return. During this time he can be seen only by *kukwisut*. The writer was told of one unfortunate corpse-eating Cannibal, *Xetsalas*, who was virtually secluded for eight years, since a stone was cast at his feet every time he reappeared, thus forcing him to kill and eat. This name had been dormant for a number of years until conferred on the writer, who failed to uphold the prerogative.

One other type of Cannibal prerogative remains to be described, namely, that of biting oneself. This is even less common than that of corpse-eating, being enjoyed only by two individuals, *Spillaakmq of Sisaa* and *Snamq of* the Kimsquit River. The following account of the origin of the latter's prerogative was obtained:

> Many years ago, soon after the first people came to this world, the ritual of the *kwisut* dances was much more exacting than it is at present. At that time the inhabitants of the earth were still endowed with such semi-supernatural powers that they were able to perform rites that people of the present day can represent only with the aid of carpenters' devices. There was then living in one of the villages on the Kimsquit River a certain *Snamq* who had the prerogative of biting himself. He once went hunting on one of the mountains, and when he failed to return the people were convinced that he had eaten so heartily of his own flesh that he had died. Although search was made for his body, it was not until the following year that a professional hunter found the skeleton. From the position of the bones it was judged that their conclusion was correct: he had killed himself by eating too much of his own flesh. The chiefs and other influential *kukwisut* held a meeting at which it was decided that henceforth *kwisut* dances would only be acted, not carried out in reality. The following winter the name and prerogative were transmitted to the son of the dead man, who bit himself, but not sufficiently deeply to cause serious injury.

726 cold sticks to sleep. Meanwhile, their wives at home were
724 required to be very careful, since a woman's loudness playing
722 would cause injury to her husband, and faithlessness, his death. These restrictions were obligatory during the absence of the expedition.

726 As the party neared the enemy's country, they would conceal the craft under projecting trees by day and travel only at night. When within striking distance, a scouting canoe was sent forward to learn the hostile dispositions, the best means of approach, and so forth. This was usually done at dusk, and when the scouts had returned, the party would steal quietly through the forest and hide behind the unsuspecting village. At dawn the leader would give the signal, and the attackers would rush forward with a fierce shout, killing all the men and [727] seizing women and children as slaves. When captives were [422] taken by slave members of the expedition, they belonged to the latter's masters. The victors would cut off the heads of their victims, seize what loot they could, set fire to the village [567] and rush home before support could arrive from neighbouring towns. At first, the slaughter was usually a somewhat unpleasant task, but as the warriors became inflamed with the heat of battle, they began to delight in killing, and even women and children frequently suffered.

727 The exulting victors sped homewards, rejoicing at their success but somewhat fearful that they might be cut off by overwhelming reinforcements. During the journey, each warrior who had taken a head removed the scalp by cutting the skin around the cranium close above the eyebrows and ears. These trophies were washed at the rock *Skulzumanta* on the ford below Bella Coola. When within sight of home, the [583] captain stood up in the canoe and sang again his *xe-tla* song, a symbol of victory as the bloody scalps were held aloft. Women and children would rush forth to greet the conquerors who landed amid scenes of wild enthusiasm and rejoicing.

[422] Prisoners of war became the property of those who had [567] taken them, with the exception of those captured by slaves.

If the war had one hour of long duration in which unusually [727]
brave findings had been around, captives were often ren-
dered by their relatives, who were considered for the purpose
when the hour of battle had subsided. Failing this, prisoners re-
mained as slaves, the children especially growing up virtually [726]
as members of their owner's family as far as food and clothing
were concerned, though never sharing in the prowess of his
ancestral family. Torture or killing of prisoners seems to have
been a rare practice. One extremely old Kwaguis woman
related that in her childhood she had seen a captive crushed
out on the hot rocks on the side of the ocean, fastened there,
his mouth crushed with stones, and allowed to die. No other
similar traditions could be obtained and it seems probable that
this must have been an unusual case. It is true that hostilities
have long ceased, but the Bella Coola have clear recollections
of other long-abandoned customs, and it is unlikely that torture
was ever a common occurrence. It is, of course, one about
which reticence is to be expected, but information would have
been obtainable if the custom had been common or if it had
been one which played an important part in the lives of the
Bella Coola.

Scalps were hung on a cord and dried like salmon, then [722]
suspended as valuable trophies in the taker's house. When
setting out on a war expedition, he would often cover his head [714]
with one, holding it in position by weaving its hair into his own.
At a man's death, they were either inherited by his heirs or, [768]
more often, burnt with his other possessions. It is said that
the Fort Rupert people used to tie scalps in bundles to
their masks. When the Bella Coola went to war to retaliate [721]
for a murder, instead of scalping a victim, they sometimes [748]
brought back his whole head and impaled it on a stake over [682]
the grave of the person avenged.

At this late period it is virtually impossible to form any [721]
opinion as to the amount of bloodshed in wars waged by the
Bella Coola. Several of the older people spoke in gloating
terms of the slaughter accomplished by their ancestors, but all

B 721 these accounts seemed to be exaggerations, and the casualties were probably few. The Bella Coola did not have the same admiration for the successful warrior as for the man who gave many potlatches, while everything indicates that their raids were on a small scale, rendered singularly ineffective by lack of discipline.

B 72 [illegible] 128 [illegible] 539

Swanton: Accounts

Active warfare has been so long discontinued on the coast that none of the living Bella Coola can describe conditions as they existed during hostilities. It was possible to collect the following accounts of raids and adventures which, though individually of small value, illustrate tactics and strategy, and recount incidents which throw light on the frame of mind of the participants.

B T 648 721

KITKATLA WAR

For many years there was animosity between the Bella Coola and the Kitkatla who, with the advantage of strong government, used to sweep down from the north for salmon and slaves. Bella Coola itself was comparatively immune from attack, but the Kimsquit people suffered severely. The attackers were not always successful; one old man related how, when his mother's mother was an infant, they were driven off with the loss of four canoes and many men. The fact that this incident had been remembered for so many years indicates that it was unusual.

B T 567 [illegible] [727]

Slaves captured in this way were traded from tribe to tribe and rarely escaped. When an elderly Bella Coola was a lad, there was considerable excitement in the community owing to the return of *Sîskwala*, a woman who had been carried off when a girl. She had been traded to a northern tribe among whom, she said, it was customary to crush captives beneath totem-poles and house-posts. Her diligence saved her from this fate, and she was passed on until she reached the far north, on the

Schoolcraft E-1 (1922-1924) 1969
NEA Bellacoola NEA
Thompson NE15

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shore of a river where "the white man got money stone." Then *Slukwala* began to go south, and was finally sold to an important chief living north of Fort Simpson. He used to beat her; in fact, she carried the scars with her to her grave. *Slukwala's* master had another slave, a male Bella Bella, with whom the woman was on friendly terms since she was related by blood to a Bella Bella family and could speak that language. Angered by her harsh treatment, *Slukwala* suggested to her companion in misfortune that they kill their master and escape. The man was at first unwilling, but she assured him that she knew the route southward. The conspirators awaited their opportunity which came when their master went halibut fishing, accompanied only by his two slaves. One evening *Slukwala* cooked a large meal for him which made him drowsy as he sat by the fire; then she stole behind him, picked up an axe, and killed him by hitting him over the head. The two murderers carefully scraped up all the blood, tied stones to the corpse, and sank it in deep water so that their master's friends would believe that he had been drowned with his slaves. Then the two, having stolen a canoe, paddled off, hiding by day, and subsisting on what shell-fish they could gather. After many perils they reached Bella Bella, whence *Slukwala* returned home.

She had been carried off as a mere girl, but was past the age of child-bearing when she returned and had almost forgotten her native language. The Bella Coola were keenly interested in the tale of her adventures, and especially in the way that slaves were buried in Alaska. It was assumed that some of their own captives must have been killed in that way, so a slave from the far north was crushed in revenge. It is said that this custom was common among the northern tribes from whom the Bella Coola adopted several practices, although this particular one was carried out but once.

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The most famous Kitkatla chief, and the one most dreaded by the Bella Coola, was *Tsihsa*, who is said to have had almost despotic powers over his northern warriors. The name itself was transmitted from one holder to another, but the most

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Schlesinger E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA
Carrier NEA

The other opened, as they paddled in and landed at the bottom of the village, heedless of the fact that it was full of Carriers. The *Nuxalkt* people seem to have remained passive, but the angry Carriers came rushing forth and *Ts'ètsèm* spoke proudly to them:

"You would be dead as your chief if we had not lost our weapons."

The two brothers walked slowly up the long sidewalk of the village, while the Carriers skulked around, uttering threats, casting curses and shooting arrows. Some of the latter stuck in their backs, but long previously both *Ts'ètsèm* and *Ts'ètsèm* had taken part of a *cuisat* which had rendered their bodies impervious to such wounds. Arrived at the upper end of the village, they stopped and waited, making no attempt to defend themselves, until they were killed. At intervals throughout the day the Carriers treated the two bodies with ignominy, now throwing spears into them, now beating them, and all this time not a single Bella Coola dared even to protest, so much were they filled with fear of the Carriers who, when roused as they then were, fight like mad dogs. In the late afternoon one of the women thrust a knife into the eyes of the fallen warriors. Even this insult did not rouse the *Nuxalkt* people themselves, but *Winds*, one of their slaves, felt called upon to take action. Before being captured, he had been a person of importance in his own home and the Bella Coola had allowed him to become a leading member of the *Sisiutl* society; in the course of time he had become entirely reconciled to his fate, and even thought as a Bella Coola which gave him the necessary assurance to address the Carriers.

"*Wu, wu,*" he said. "See the breadth of the sky.[11] I have never seen, nor have I even heard of such a thing as you have done today. Truly you have wiped your feet on all that is sacred and powerful."

This speech for the first time brought the enormity of their offence home to the Carriers. The actual taking of life did not affright them, but in their excitement they had overlooked what was to *Winds* the most obvious sin: they had passed and repassed on the sidewalk outside a house where a *Sisiutl* dance was taking place. Thus reminded of the danger to which they had exposed themselves, the Carriers withdrew.

Next day the *Nuxalkt* people buried the four victims. *Ts'ètsèm* had been a mighty chief and, being distantly related, they would normally have given him an elaborate funeral, but now they acted as if dazed and unaware of his prowess. A man who owned a powerful medicine put some of it in the eyes of the two who had been mutilated by the Carrier woman; as the bodies began to decompose, those who had killed them began to suffer from eye-trouble, and the woman became blind. Believing that their sin had caused their misfortunes, the Carriers fled home.

[11] To call attention in this way to the breadth of the universe carries with it the implication that it will fall to crush those who have broken a sacred law.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

525 he is wrong, he pays them. It is said that in former times each stick used to be painted with a special device, and that each had its own name; even now they are beautifully made and highly polished by much passing from hand to hand. The Carriers [171] play the same game but use beaver teeth instead of sticks. Formerly it was not uncommon for a man to bet his goods, his wives and children, and even himself at this game. If he lost, [567] the persons so wagered became slaves of the victor unless [575] redeemed by their friends. Women, too, gambled freely; in fact, neophytes recently admitted into the *kusiut* society were the only ones to whom this pastime was forbidden.

526 Of actual games, the one most commonly played is *shlsa*. As many as eight or ten contestants can take part, each providing himself with one, two, or three stones,[1] pecked down to the proper shape. Each is about six inches in length, three inches wide, flat on one side, and oval on the other, well rounded at either end. Before the coming of the white man, when the Bella Coola habitually used stone, it is said that one of these could be made in a few minutes. A mark is set up, and the first player throws his missile in the air, endeavouring to make it come to rest as close as possible to the target. The game is usually played on an open space near the village, but even on comparatively smooth ground there is great chance of bouncing and the thrower must gauge this possibility as well as have correct direction and distance. The second player likewise throws his stone, trying to land it nearer the target, or to knock away his rival's. In so doing, the latter, lying on the ground, is often broken, which puts its owner out of the game for the time being. When all have thrown, the one who has come nearest the mark is the winner. Sometimes each contestant throws two or more stones, and sometimes sides are chosen. Large numbers of broken gaming stones can be found [172] near every old village site, confirming the statements of the older men and women concerning the universality of the sport

[1] Likewise called *shlsa*, a name said either to be derived from that of a fungus, or that the latter is derived from it.

142 sally used but the older people state that beards were by no
144 means rare in former times. Careful inquiries were made
[302] concerning the ancestry of a man, about seventy years of age in 1922, whose curly beard suggests that he must be a half-breed, as indeed he is assumed to be by the white settlers of the valley. His father was *Pattsi*, the most influential chief of recent years, his mother was herself the daughter of an important chief. None of the older men had ever heard the slightest rumour of faithlessness on her part. There were white
[648] traders on the coast at the time of his birth, and intercourse with
[567] slave women and others of low family was not uncommon, but
[622] it would have been difficult for a chief's wife to misconduct herself, and still more difficult for her to conceal all knowledge of it in view of the open life which prevailed at that period. Moreover, it is said that *Pattsi* himself had a similar beard, as did also the parents of several men who in 1922 were fifty or sixty years of age.

142 Although the possibility of white mixture cannot be over-
144 looked in the case of this one individual, one must not dis-
826 regard the opinion of the people themselves on hairiness in general. They are proud of it and regard beards and mous-
[302] taches as marks of virility given to them by *Alquntám*; baldness and lack of facial hair are considered a sign of weakness. They aver that their fathers and grandfathers were even more hirsute than they. Furthermore, they point out with pride
[186] that this is a difference between themselves and the tribes of the interior, who are, as they say in scorn, "hairless like Chinamen." Finally, it is noteworthy that the hair on the head of many Bella Coola is wavy, or even curly (see Plate 20), instead of straight as among the majority of Indian tribes.[1]

Character

181 It is an almost impossible task to describe briefly the characteristics of a people. Those of the Bella Coola have

[1] This characteristic has led the writer to wonder if it could possibly have been caused by Ainu mixture.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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[777] [825]

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[552] [534]

[581] [825] [527]

[825]

qwatkinuly: The dancing, by several of his associates, to "help" a *kwakiut* performer.
Qwatul: Undefined locality in the Bella Bella area.
Qy: Mountain above *Sisaa*.
qulaa-a: Supernatural bird, bringer of good luck.
Qulhulat: Locality near the head of Dean Channel.
qulsa: 1—Beaver.
2—*Nuxalkmay* name of a *Kimsquit* man.
Qulsuti: Man mentioned in a song.
Qulhlaskmay: *Kwakiut* name of a *Sisaa* man with prerogative of biting himself.
qululili: The location in a house taken by a wife when ceremonially seated behind her husband.
Qulwaskuti: Influential *Nuxalkit* chief who died about 1910.
Qumtwalmula: Ancestral name of a *Sisaa* chief; the designation may be of Kwakiutl origin.
Qumwaa: 1—One of the nine supernatural beings.
2—White person.
3—*Kwakiut* name of a *Kimsquit* woman.
qumxiqlwal: Clean, dry skull.
qumqumal-a: Stump, in the language of Raven.
Qumqum: 1—Supernatural being, lord of the under-sea world.
2—Ancestral name of a *Qumqum-a* man.
Qumul-nala: Man living in Bella Bella in early times.
Qumulin: Ancestral name of a *Tsimsaf* woman.
qumu-a: Large, cone-shaped whistle used in sound rites.
Qumqum, "Salty?": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
qulsa: To drift over, of smoke.
Qulsqulsa-a: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
qupu: Framework of split sticks for roasting salmon.
qupu: Drum.
Qupuat: One of the first men to settle at *Nuxalkit* in the beginning of time.
Qusqul: Bella Bella village.
quu: Kwakiutl term for "eagle down" pennants.
quuna: Third day of a *kwakiut* dance.
Quuhulin: Harbour on Lekumchene Channel.
Quhuslin: Settlement in the Carrier country.
quuhum, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud.
quuli: Wolverine.
quuhlulu ulumu, "A Washing to Free from Taint": Term applied to a ceremony to clear the path of the children when a husband has married a slave wife or sister-wife.
Qwai: 1—One of the names of Raven as chief.
2—*Tlelqubum* name of a *Kimsquit* man.
3—*Kwaiul* name of a *Kimsquit* man.
Qwakwaxa: Supernatural woman from whom the Carpenters are said to have derived their skill in the beginning of time.
Qwalilu-a: 1—*Kwakiut* name of a *Tsimsaf* man.
2—*Kwakiut* name of a *Kimsquit* man.
qwaxu: White swan.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

repeatedly. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the 614
people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the 532
various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That 422
is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of 556
carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs.
Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become
Sisaʼxit. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is [567]
given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nesk'a- [848]
la'xin, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is
a member of the gens Tale'xtimit of the Talio'xit, stated that he had
received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch [115]
he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale
at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets
connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others
from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very
good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets
to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he 614
changes his name. Each person has two names, a Ki'xitit name, which 424
remains the same throughout life; and a Qi'xtalos name, which is changed 551
at these festivals. Thus, Nesk'ela'xa'a (which is his Ki'xitit name) 556
present Qi'xtalos name is Ati'xtoxsa'lisa'xin, but at his next potlatch he 575
intends to take the name of Kalia'xin. These names are also the property
of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of
gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Ki'xitit names of the
members. In two cases only the Qi'xtalos names have been ascertained 424
(see p. 419). When a man possesses several Sisaʼxit secrets he will dis- 575
tribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or 614
mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of
their Sisaʼxit secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member
of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisaʼxit
secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it [426]
any more. The crest and the Sisaʼxit carvings must not be loaned to
others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions
are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the
property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. 556
The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave 426
the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his
heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the
debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned,
and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who
performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given
by a person at a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow
part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was
told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and
burnt it also potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which
he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died,
and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Ki'xitit is presided over by a female spirit, called Aneikitsa'a. 575
Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she occupies from February 773
till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the 776
door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been
the first to find her. Aneikitsa'a invited her into her cave and taught

6:Boas E-3 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be. 764 [301] [823] [766] [567] [775]

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they cleave four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, cleaving new trees every day. Mourners wet their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones. 765 783 [775] 765 [302]

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or olachen. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person. [262] [828] [822]

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was 'the same as giving away the bones of the deceased.' 765 556

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to 773 171

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the kā'siut these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks. Xē'mtsioa and Xēmxēmalā'oLa wear the design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xē'mtsioa by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xēmxēmalā'oLa has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin. Aiumki'lik·a and Ainmalā'oLa wear the design of the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second masks. The fifth Q'ōmq'ōmki'lik·a and Q'ō'mtsioa have designs representing stars, both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is Qula'xawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kulō'lias (who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue. The ninth, At'amā'k, wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called L'ētsā'aplēLāna (the eater), the sister of the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed. 556 773 776 532 575 776

The sisau'k·, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had gone out hunting met the sisau'k· and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to enter. Then he danced the sisau'k· and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the sisau'k·. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the sisau'k· only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, can not become sisau'k·. A person can not take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or older brother. Nusk'ēlu'sta, the Indian, to whom I 575 773 776 796 614 424 532 [592] [534] 424 532 556 614 [567] [848] [115]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

556 769 a man and assuage his sorrow to know that he has shown fitting respect to the dead, there is also a gain in social prestige. As the whole community respects, admires, and sometimes envies a man for having carried out a memorial potlatch, there is no doubt that he is pleased and gratified to such an extent that his grief is dulled. These two factors must constantly be kept in mind; memorial potlatches serve to commemorate the dead, but in so doing they add to the social importance of the donors. The two combine to bring considerable comfort to the chief who has lost a dear relative. In some cases the social prestige is the real motive, the grief assumed and unimportant; but in others the latter is the only factor that matters, and a chief is entirely oblivious to any increase in his own status. In most memorial potlatches, both feelings are present in the mind of the donor, and both are gratified.

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF A FUNERAL

764 114 In the preceding pages, an attempt has been made to describe the traditional death rites of the Bella Coola. The following section comprises a detailed account of funeral ceremonies witnessed in 1922. The contrast between these and the ones already recorded, will indicate some of the changes [178] in custom which are of such importance in studies of cultural [182] growth or decline. The following description will also serve to demonstrate a point repeatedly mentioned, the manner in [571] which business transactions and arrangements of all kinds take place whenever the people have been called together.

[123] On June 27, 1922, the death occurred in Bella Coola of Jessie, Mrs. Samuel King, daughter of Captain Schooner. The latter, now deceased, was one of the writer's most trusted friends, and as a result of this friendship it was possible not only to attend the actual rites, but to ascertain much of the feeling underlying them. This advantage had its drawbacks, since it was manifestly impossible to question either the father or the husband of the woman too closely. The details will be de-

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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*575 sticks, while everyone calls out, *hoip*. This is repeated four
*796 times. The sticks continue to sound irregularly as the younger
[787] men pull the enclosure to pieces and throw it on the central fire. By these means the *kukusiut* have been freed from their contact with the supernatural and, perhaps even more important, the repositories have been "tied up," to use the native term, for another year. Those members of the society whose dances have taken place in the house now wash the black from their faces and all share a light meal. The marshals take this last opportunity of addressing their fellows, impressing on them the necessity of maintaining the secrecy of the rites during the summer season. Above all, they warn them to hide the whistles and other paraphernalia most carefully. This concludes the season's ceremony in the house in question; some of the *kukusiut* withdraw, others remain, and the uninitiated are free to enter and take up the old threads of family life, as it was before the coming of the first call.

If it is not too late at night the party may move to a second house and remove the taboo from it in the same way. More often this is done on the following night, when a second body of *kukusiut* are allowed to wash. Another house is visited on the next evening, and so on in succession till all the enclosures are burnt and the only visible mark of what has happened is the collar of dyed cedar-bark worn by each novice.

There may be certain prerogatives connected with this
[424] finale which could not be learnt owing to its discontinuance for many years. In fact, one old woman claimed to have a definite right to sing at the destruction of the enclosures, but it was unfortunately impossible to investigate the matter.

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Concluding Observations and History

It is virtually impossible to overestimate the importance of the sociological aspects of the society. During the ceremonial season the whole fabric of social life is altered; families are divided, parents and children being separated in many

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

cases though an infant in arms, though uninitiated, can be brought to dances by its mother; distinctions between rich and poor, slave and freeman, become of slight importance; all that really matters is whether a person is or is not a *kusiut*. Membership in the society seems to the uninitiated the most desirable thing in life, although their fears are always so strong that they never cease to dread actual admission. The feeling of class consciousness which exists in a somewhat mild form at other seasons of the year, gives place to a powerful sentiment of superiority on the part of members of the society over those who are not so fortunate. Even the respect normally shown to chiefs is submerged since they, too, are subject to the rule of the marshals.

575 * 796 * 182 571 ● [781]

Apart entirely from this attitude of superiority and inferiority, is the bond of fellowship engendered among members of the society by the rites. Whatever happens, the uninitiated *must* be deceived. Moreover, the psychological effect of gathering nightly in a body for a specific purpose is tremendous. Night after night they eat together; night after night they listen to the words of the marshals, who impress on them the need for co-operation and secrecy, who hold before them the good example set by their fellows who have carried out rites successfully, who emphasize the fact that they are doing as their fathers did. The ceremonial import is of greatest consequence at all these gatherings, but when the uninitiated have withdrawn the *kukusiut* relax somewhat and enjoy themselves. The food itself is always of the best and some of the usual restrictions are removed. It is, for example, the only time that women are allowed to eat the flesh of seals. If this delicacy is provided the marshals enjoy the tidbits, but after Cannibals, novices, and others have received preferential treatment, the remainder is distributed to all and sundry.

[262] 562 [264]

It has been stated by some writers, especially those unfamiliar with the significance of native ceremonial life, that the dances of the coastal tribes are orgies of immorality. This point was investigated with care and it may be stated posi-

575* 796* 577 273 834

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since each fisherman provided one when his box was filled. 226

No one is allowed to drink water immediately after eating the first olachen of the spring, since to do so would cause a flood. It is considered most improper for a child to cry soon after partaking of this food; if he does so, he is quieted by having nettles stuffed into his mouth. As already described, if a person dies before the first fish have passed through his bowels, a shaman must wipe his lips with cedar-bark. 796 574 [865]

After the first meal of olachen, stakes for the nets can be driven, and the restrictions become less exacting. Women are not allowed to assist in fishing, but the men devote their full time to the task, working with zest and energy.[7] An abundant supply of olachen is a source of joy, and all listen eagerly for the singing of the thrush, *smixmixaxts*, which signifies that the nets are full to bursting. Half jocularly, people invite the bird to come and eat, but his melody is interpreted as: 226 [562] [825]

"I shall eat when the river is full."

RITES CONNECTED WITH THE FIRST SPRING SALMON[8]

Salmon is the most important article of Bella Coola diet and the rites which accompany the earliest taking of the fish are relatively complicated. 226 796 [262]

When the first spring salmon have been caught, they are laid in the canoe with their heads all pointing eastward, upstream. The fisherman poles to shore, but instead of landing his catch, he fastens the salmon to a stake driven at the edge of the bank so that they remain in the water. A number of posts are usually placed in readiness, each decorated with alternate spirals of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with an eagle's tail. Each day one or two more fish may be caught, but all are left in the water until the first have become soft, thus giving sufficient time for the necessary preparations on shore. It is the duty of every owner of a salmon-weir to build near its end a so-called Spring Salmon House, a shed-like [343]

[7]For a description of olachen fishing, see Appendix A.
[8]Cf. Boas, p. 78.

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women listening from the village are able to tell how many have been caught from the number of times the cry *xak'loi·* is raised. 226 796

Then the salmon are cut up (only shell knives may be used for the purpose) and cooked. Everything must be used, heads, bones, and entrails, the only refuse being the blood which is scraped from the leaves and carried into the woods. The leaves themselves, and the strings of dyed and undyed cedar-bark are thrown into the river in accordance with a desire expressed by *Noākymm* long ago. When everything is ready for a meal, the men take their places in two rows, facing each other across a coarse bark mat. Bark spoons have been provided, and when the heralds call for food, the fisherman brings the heads of the salmon and the guests make the motions of eating, though in reality these parts are dried and kept for winter. Boxes containing a liberal portion of the choice meat are next served and all eat freely. Each guest puts on one side what he has not consumed as if to carry it away, as is the custom at an ordinary feast, though his share is really left in the shelter until the following day. Finally, a third course is provided, the back of the fish cooked with the bone in position. Like the last, the guests eat as much as they desire and pack up the residue as if to take away. Then they leave the Spring Salmon House. [412] 226 796 574 [251]

All the fish are not cooked on the one occasion. The following day the fisherman again calls back the men of his village. The same type of meal is served, but this time the guests carry away what they do not eat for the benefit of their families. This portion may be eaten by the women without affronting the salmon. [562]

This rite has not been performed in full detail in Bella Coola for many years, and it was impossible to collect information on some points. It is uncertain, for example, whether this ceremony was carried out by every fisherman or whether there used to be certain individuals with the prerogative of dealing with the first catch. The latter appears to be the most logical 226 796 424

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226 manner, and was definitely stated to be the case by one well-
796 informed old man. It is clear, however, that every spring
salmon was landed with the cry of *xak'loi·*, taken to the Spring
[424] Salmon House, and cut up by the men until the time when
women were allowed near the river. Another old man stated
[574] that the feast took place at night and that only the heads and
[251] refuse of the first catch were eaten, the remainder being dried
for the winter. Women of child-bearing age were not allowed
[562] on the river bank, and were rigorously excluded from the
Spring Salmon House until the time when the sun's shadow
reached a diagonal scar on the slope of one of the mountains
on the north side of North Bentinck Arm. This occurs about
August. From that time onwards, there was no calling of
xak'loi·, and women, except those who were taboo, could cut
salmon freely on the bank. It was even stated that refuse of
salmon could be thrown into the river after that time. No one
knows the origin of this seasonal prohibition, or why it should
end when the sun reaches a certain point, but it was faithfully
observed in former times.

In Kimsquit similar rites were carried out, the chief variation being that the bodies of four swans were placed in the Spring Salmon House and the fish laid with these at intervals in the line. Moreover, the youth used to bite the back of each salmon as he presented it with the cedar-bark streamer. The same regulations with regard to drinking water, and crying after eating, were enforced for spring salmon as for olachen.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

372 The following miscellaneous beliefs and customs cannot be assigned to any special aspect of Bella Coola life:

If a spark from a fire jumps out and lights on a person's hand, it is said:

"The fire wants to give you [the person on whom the brand has fallen] food."

827 If a man sneezes repeatedly, it is said:

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[The Dance of Noakxnim]

of his relatives, has given them for this purpose. When he crouches during the chorus they crowd close around, almost concealing him. Particularly in those dances fraught with danger to the performer, it is customary for any number of his friends, either men or women, to dance to "help" him. Anyone wishing to do so merely stands up and begins, in time to the music, irrespective of what part of the house he may be in. It is considered contrary to good manners for a father so to help his son, or a brother a brother, but a dancer is pleased to have aid from anyone else. It is said that in Bella Bella certain *kukusiut* have definite prerogatives of helping in this way, but this is not the case in Bella Coola. Throughout every dance the *kukusiut* women utter their droning cry. 575* 796x 535 [593] [171] [533]

This, then, is the type of dance which the uninitiated in the lowest house see. They hear the song, too, and gaze with awe at X, imbued as he is with the supernatural power of sight. Then the sounding-boards are picked up and taken to the next house, where the whole ceremonial is repeated. This is done at each house of the village.[19] All the *kukusiut* now return to X's house, where he once more dances to his song. A box-drum is always used to help the singers in keeping time, and when the song has been finished two men continue in turn to beat it all day. X always arranges to have a relative or friend superintend the distribution of food, which follows his final dancing. As the *kukusiut* are eating, the marshals deliver their usual admonishments, a task that accompanies every meal. Then they call on the people to erect a raised platform between the fire and the back-wall of the house. Materials have been placed in readiness so that it is an easy matter to build a framework a few feet in height, of which the flat top is screened by a matting wall about three feet high. This is often decorated with designs of dyed cedar-bark without ritual significance as far as the Bella Coola of today are aware. X climbs to this platform, the *kukusiut* disperse, and only the incessant pounding of the drum proves that some unusual event is taking place. 575* 796x [534] [574] [531]

[19] In Bella Coola, but perhaps not in Kimsquit.

[184]

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*575 This ejaculation is supposed to make the work of manu-
*796 facture less difficult. The same procedure is repeated with
532 every mask ordered, except that if the being to be represented
[789] is a woman, X's ejaculation is *i* ..... Any *kusiut* can make a mask, but the preference is always given to a man who has shown ability in previous tasks. The carpenters endeavour to follow well-recognized designs for many representations, but a great deal of latitude is allowed, and a workman receives greater praise and fame for turning out a fine and distinctive piece of new design, than for rigid adherence to a former type. This, combined with the burning of masks and consequent loss of permanent patterns, is responsible for the variability in Bella Coola forms, and the difficulty which they themselves experience in recognizing portrayed beings.

*575 As soon as all the carpentry has been allotted, the singers
*796 strike up one of X's eight songs. Whether or not he dances
[533] to them is a matter about which there is a difference of opinion among informants. In any case the re-singing on *nusiutälsap* is purely for rehearsal, made necessary by the large number of songs. Later on in the *kusiut* season, the songs of other dancers may be practised on this night, and if the owners wish to practice their steps, it is quite proper for them to do so.
[574] Finally, a meal is distributed, while the marshals discourse in
[431] the usual way. Feasts are features of all *kusiut* dances, and the
[421] food distributed is regarded as a free-will gift, without thought of repayment. After eating, the *kukusiut* disperse; X must sleep within his own house, but no longer remains within his platform-enclosure.

*575 The next day, the twenty-sixth of the ceremony, is *gotlm*.
*796 Early in the morning a herald summons to X's house, where
532 the blocks have been left, all those to whom work has been assigned. All morning they carve diligently. The speed with
[203] which masks are completed is surprising, although this has undoubtedly increased since the introduction of metal tools.
[177] In the middle of the day a few *kukusiut* men, no women, are
[562] invited to share "the carpenters' meal," as the food provided

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

supposed to have taught them, he appears, supported by two *kukusiut*, and attempts to dance, but is too feeble to do more than be assisted around the fire, feebly shaking his hands. He retires, but comes forth once more as the singers beat out the song of regular *kusiut* type composed for him and which his fellows have practised. If two have been composed, he appears a third time. After X has finally withdrawn, the ritual proceeds in the usual manner, by the dancing of every *kusiut* who has had a call in time to his two songs. It is late before all have danced; then the uninitiated are given a little food and sent away. The *kukusiut* eat more leisurely, and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. On account of the solemnity of the occasion, their words of wisdom are even more grandiloquent than usual. The following may be regarded as a typical address: 575* 796* [574] 575* 796* 537

"You have done well, ye *kukusiut*, in thus carrying out the ceremony so admirably. I thank you. You have done well X, you have done as our fathers did. None of you must ever forget the precepts and example of our fathers who have handed down this rite from dim antiquity. Perhaps when we marshals are dead some of you will become careless and want to alter the ceremonial. Do not dream of anything so foolish. The proper method is that which you have just seen. Try no other."

When the marshals have finished, X dances once again, and the weary *kukusiut* at length disperse.

The next day, or rather later in the same day, for it is long after midnight before the ceremony is completed, is *nebusam*. Many of the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house about four o'clock in the afternoon to try on the masks and attend to the innumerable details. A representation of *Ano'likwolsaix* is always prepared, as well as those of *Alquntām*, *Sexsexkālaix*, and *Snusilkāls*. The last-named is the "Wise One," "He of Whom Questions are Asked," the supernatural being who decides points of ritual in the dances in the land above. No paint is used on his mask, but a coloured effect is obtained by means 575* 796* 532 [776]

[The Mystery Dance]

*575 This is such an important occasion that leading *kukusiut* from
*796 neighbouring towns are often invited to be present. If this is
to be done, heralds are sent for the purpose during the following
[574] day.

Next evening the *kukusiut* are invited to X's house in the usual manner, many of them unaware that the answer is soon to be given. The customary ritual is carried out and the uninitiated summoned in due course. By this time X is supposed to have been weakened by his long fast, and to give colour to that claim, two assistants support him as he totters feebly to and fro in his enclosure. Instead of waving his stick horizontally above his head, X now rests his weight on it, with his helpers holding the ends. After the customary frenzied beating with sticks, X again invites guesses, but still no one can find the three answers. Meanwhile the father or some elderly friend of the youth chosen to guess correctly, slips down to where he is sitting and whispers to him to try, for example, *Aimaltua*. The youth timidly does so, and at once X begins to shake violently, and calls frantically:

"More! More!"

*575 In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, the long drawn-
*796 out whistling of *Snitsmän·a* is heard, though of course the un-
184 initiated do not know that four *kukusiut* have been sent out for this purpose. The excitement becomes intense.

The man who is prompting the successful guesser whispers to him the second answer. The young man calls it out and X becomes more and more excited, shaking wildly and shouting:

"More! More! You mortal."

Finally the third answer is given. In Bella Coola the dancer leaps high in the air from his enclosure and falls to the ground beneath as if dead. *Saignäs* of Kimsquit, on the other hand, whose patron is the wild *Kokoshum*, becomes frenzied, breaks his stick and enclosure and acts like a raging, though feeble, lunatic. Irrespective of X's behaviour, the marshals ask the uninitiated to withdraw, and the growling Cannibals add point to the request. It is at this juncture in Bella Coola

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killed, his reputation would only be increased by the manner of his death. At length *Ne-xwankai* fired into the air; not until a shower of eagle down was blown forth did anyone realize that his musket had been loaded with nothing more deadly. This marked the establishment of friendly relations.

B T [535] [431]

The Kitkatla had brought their own singers,[1] who now began to beat out time for *Tcuhsa* to perform a *xwaak* dance. He was followed by several other chiefs, and then the strangers gave presents to influential Bella Coola on the most lavish scale. *Pattu* likewise performed a *xwaak* dance, and bestowed gifts on the guests to validate it; such were, of course, not returnable. A meal was then served, and after that *Tcuhsa* made a speech of which the gist was that the Bella Coola had previously known his achievements as a warrior, they now knew his nobility and bravery in risking his life, and that the name *Tcuhsa* could never be forgotten, irrespective of his own fate.

Tcuhsa left soon afterwards. It was somewhat difficult fully to comprehend his motive in thus risking his life. Undoubtedly his main object was to display his valour and disregard of danger. Moreover, it gave him an opportunity to impress these qualities upon the Bella Coola, and thus to exhibit his prowess actually within the enemy's camp, which must have been a source of tremendous gratification to him. The alleged motive, regret at killing a chief, may have been a contributory factor.

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Although this visit was an intimation from *Tcuhsa* that the Bella Coola need have no further fear of him, the suspicions of years could not be immediately allayed; in fact, an occasional skirmish still took place although *Tcuhsa* himself refrained from fighting. A few years after his visit to Bella Coola, *Pattu* prepared to give a potlatch to which he determined to invite the northern chief. Many of the Bella Coola doubted whether the Kitkatla warriors would respect the safe-conduct usually afforded to envoys, and no one was anxious to bear the invitation. At length six chiefs volunteered for the task and set out, though with many misgivings. They stopped *en route* at Bella Bella where a chief of that tribe, *Omyu*, joined the party; he thought that he would have influence with the Kitkatla and might add protection to the Bella Coola. Fearing to be seen by any small Kitkatla bands, the delegation travelled only by night until they could actually reach *Tcuhsa*'s village. As they paddled up, they indicated their mission by singing one of *Pattu*'s *xwaak* songs. On hearing this, *Tcuhsa* asked one of his Bella Coola slaves whose song it might be, and when he answered that it was one of *Pattu*'s, *Tcuhsa* despatched a chief, *Kwinas*, to invite the guests to his house. *Omyu* was thankful when he saw this man approaching, since he felt that it heralded a friendly welcome. The party was conducted to *Tcuhsa*'s

[1] [i.e. to the peace negotiations - ANALYST]

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dwelling in spite of the fact that a Cannibal dance was taking place there. All the messengers were *hamsiut* in Bella Coola, while three had Bella Bella rights as well; *Tsuhua* allowed the latter to take part in the ceremony while the former were treated as uninitiated. They were greatly interested in the details of the Kitkatla rites, which were exceedingly strict and included the eating of a corpse. At the conclusion, the envoys received their share of the small presents which were distributed.

At this juncture one of the envoys, *Xemxemálala*, fell seriously ill and was cured only through the attention and care of one of *Tsuhua*'s wives. This delayed their departure so that it was a long time before they and the invited guests finally set out, much to the envy of two Bella Coola slaves who greatly desired to return home.

Meanwhile the long absence of the messengers had filled the Bella Coola with fear that they had been massacred, and there was great rejoicing when a large flotilla was seen approaching. The guests landed on the shore at *Xempo-ts* where the customary ceremonious greetings were exchanged. Many of the Bella Coola, inflamed by ancient wrongs, endeavoured to break the canoes of the guests and in other ways to threaten them, but *Putlu* finally succeeded in restraining them and establishing some kind of discipline. The ceremony that took place that night in the house of *Putlu* is said to have been the most spectacular ever witnessed in Bella Coola. One old man who, as a mere lad, had attended, grew eloquent as he spoke of the lavish display. Unfortunately, he had had no part in the rites and could remember none of the details except that his childish mind was amazed at a dance in which a masked performer, representing a whale, vomited grease on the fire to give light. *Tsuhua* did not return home immediately, but remained in Bella Coola until spring when the weather was more suitable for travelling.

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This exchange of hospitality virtually ended all hostility, although the Bella Coola and other tribes of the central coast still regard their northern neighbours with dislike and suspicion. Between 1880 and 1890 a party of Rivers Inlet people went to Kitlope to prepare olachen grease, for which purpose a number of Kitkatla had also camped there. Among them was *Tsuhua*, a descendant of the warrior chief whose exploits have been recounted, and his nephew. One day the latter was gambling with *Afatsu-a*, a Rivers Inlet youth who had recently been initiated into the *hamsiut* society and was consequently decorated with a cedar-bark collar. *Afatsu-a*'s luck was amazing and some of the Kitkatla's friends asked him why he continued to play with a man who was clearly in such close contact with the supernatural that he could not lose. Heedless of this advice, *Tsuhua*'s nephew continued until finally, losing his temper, he

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Ilhe: *xxxxxg* village.

Ilhe-xp, "He of the Tied-up Penis": Name given to a lad whose sex was disguised in infancy.

[426] *ilkumandat*: Refusal to lend to an outsider a family prerogative such as the employment of marriage dancers.

[574] *ilkupalcmam*: Meal served when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an announcement of his coming potlatch.

Ilnaiyumm: Name of a female shaman.

Ilnai, "The Opening of the Sky":
1—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of a *Snuke'ut* chief.

Ilkhaitulaix: *Kuxiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Ilkhmulhaxis: One of the first men to settle at *Skhiut* in the beginning of time.

[575] *ilkumumm*: *Xuxut* having the ability to enter the back-room and treat initiates concealed there. The function probably antedates the employment of *kai skhile*.

Ilkhaiu: Holders, supernatural beings who restrain supernatural Cannibals.

[583] *ilkoxum*: Frenzied beating of sticks.

Ilmumuxm: Wife of *Tuuxlaix*, the supernatural hunter.

Ilmuxhitum: Supernatural calendrical experts.

Ilmuphilile: Husband of *Ana'ilhmulaix*; he is known only in Kimsquit.

[575] *ilmutimk*: *Kuxiut* dance of mystery.

ilnaiwumm: Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests

[574] to a mourning ceremony.

ilnaiwummap: Call used by heralds when summoning to a mourning ceremony.

[425] *ilnumlaix*: The "Dragging Across" of a name, crest, or other intangible prerogative from wife to husband either at marriage or later at a repurchasing of

[583] the wife.

ilnum: To drag a heavy burden.

[262] *ilnuslow-ax*: Cranberries mixed with eulachon grease.

ilnuxim: Visit to his repository by a *kuxiut* initiate.

[821] *Ilnuxilimat*, "Facing Both Ways": Second moon after the winter solstice.

ilnlipumuy, "The Actionless Time": Hushed assemblage of the *kukuxiut* after departure of a Cannibal.

[597] *ilnulukum*: Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.

Ilpalpalaix: 1—Supernatural being who revives mortals.
2—Name received by a shaman from this being.

ilpa: Food.

[425] *ilpamum*, "Food Supplies": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage.

Ilpalual, "Snowshoed": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

[756] *ilpuxu*: Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in alternate strands.

[882] *ilpuxit*: Guarded, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.

[825] *Ilpuxlyuu-a*: Supernatural name of eulachon, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.

Ilpuqi'ilut, "A Glance Downwards": Name given to an *Ilpalual* man in the beginning of time.

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the neighbouring Carriers, but Chilkotin as well sometimes descended to the valley. On the coast, though the dense underbrush prevented travel along the shore, the long fiords, sheltered from the open Pacific, were ideal for the use of canoes.[16] Comparatively lengthy journeys were neither difficult nor uncommon. The *Tăl-is* people were usually on amicable terms with the inhabitants of Rivers Inlet, and the Kimsquit with the Kitlobe. The Bella Coola were accustomed to attend potlatches at Alert Bay and Fort Rupert,[17] Knight's Inlet, and Butc Inlet, receiving their hosts, in turn, at Bella Coola. On the other hand, there was little friendly intercourse with the northern tribes, of which the Kitkatla especially were dreaded by the residents of the central coast. Until recent years the Bella Coola had no direct knowledge of other Salish-speaking peoples, although some of the Chilkotin told them of a tribe living far to the south, in the interior, whom they encountered in some of their wanderings and used to term *Nuxălkuy*, recognizing the similarity between their language and that of the Bella Coola. A few years ago several Bella Coola attended a boarding-school and were amazed to find that many of their words were understood by fellow-students from Chilliwack.

To sum up: The Bella Coola were in close contact with the neighbouring coastal tribes, with the members of which they felt themselves to have cultural affinities. They recognize that they have received many ceremonial rites from their neighbours, and must have adopted other elements of culture which they now consider indigenous. It is probable that certain Bella Coola customs must likewise have been transmitted to other tribes, but such lie without the scope of this monograph. The outlying villages were in close contact with foreign neighbours, and tended to assimilate elements of their culture, but, on the whole, the Bella Coola present a tribal unity with distinctive local customs, falling within the general pattern of coastal culture.

[16] For types of canoes, see Appendix A.
[17] The principal Kwakiutl villages.

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423 is no doubt that a man tends to lose those rights in property
614 which are strictly his, if they are located at a distance. Thus several men claim that they are legally entitled to hunt at Kitlobe, but from mere difficulty of access neither they nor their fathers have exercised the right, and it would have been lost in the course of a few generations, even without the utter decay of custom which has followed the advent of the white man. Practically, a man hunts only in the grounds of those ancestral families in whose origin myths he has names, though, theoretically, he is entitled to hunt on any hunting-ground of any ancestral family of which he is a member whether or not he holds a duly validated name from its origin myth. It is not necessary to confirm the right to property as with a name, though a validated ancestral name is the usual mark of a man's right to that area of the ancestral family to which that designation belongs. Although the ownership of land in distant regions is of little practical importance, it is, none the less, a
[554] matter of great pride to a man to feel that he has rights in many places. The efforts of an individual to make good those
[721] claims has often led to bloodshed; in fact, one intelligent old man stated that property disputes were the principal cause for
[554] war in British Columbia. A person who lacks hunting-grounds is little better than a slave, whereas one who has much land is important.

The Bella Coola regard land as almost inalienable. Though a man does not own the land of his wife's ancestral family, he can use it and his children have full rights to it. Conversely, a wife can gather berries on her husband's land, though it is not hers. A guest at a village may be allowed to use the
[574] territory of his hosts, but it does not become his. In the old
727 days wars between the coastal tribes were common, but though slaves were taken freely, land was never seized; such is un-
423 thinkable to a Bella Coola. In fact, several of the older people
[567] inquired how it had been possible, in the first world war, for the allies, whose cause they believed to be righteous, to annex territory from Germany. If the victors had killed or enslaved

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171 lieved that all the Kitkatla chiefs were powerful, but *Tcubsia*
556 was the greatest of all. It is said that one of his prerogatives[1]
622 was to exercise *jus primae noctis* whenever a Kitkatla was
829 married. Without question, tales of this chief's prowess have become exaggerated in transmission, none the less they show that the Bella Coola realize the great importance of the northern chiefs. Concerning their nearer neighbours, the Bella Bella, the Bella Coola understand the way in which the members of a family combine to help their chief in the giving of presents. They say that the Bella Bella consider the Bella Coola practice of each one endeavouring to make himself a chief to be foolish in the extreme. Such is also said to be the opinion among the Kwakiutl, who support their contention that in Bella Coola all are chiefs, from the fact that flooring exists under the seats of all, whereas in Fort Rupert, their home, such occurs only beneath the seats of chiefs.

262 Corresponding to the extreme paucity of functions pos-
574 sessed by Bella Coola chiefs, their prerogatives are likewise
622 scanty. Indeed, they take their validated seats only during certain rites of the secret society connected with chiefs, at potlatches, and at ceremonial meals. These last occur whenever a deer or seal is killed; the latter is considered a great delicacy.[2] Anyone can kill a seal, but it would be unthinkable for a Bella
[225] Coola to share its flesh with his immediate family only. The
[252] animal is cleaned, the hole made by bullet or spear carefully plugged, and the carcass boiled whole in a large box. Mean-
[203] while a herald (I, p. 244) summons the chiefs to the house where the successful hunter lives. If the meal is to consist merely of one small seal, only a few chiefs are invited, those of greatest influence through their possession of "strong" seats. When several seals have been killed, the number invited is corres-
[562] pondingly larger, but no woman may partake unless she ranks

[1] This is said to have been a personal prerogative, not shared by all chiefs, and requiring validation by valuable presents.

[2] Only traces of the rite described in this paragraph occur at the present time. In fact, the reservation of seal meat for chiefs alone was discontinued towards the close of the last century.

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as a man by the duly validated ownership of a chief's name in her own right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat seal, unless he had been the slayer. If many seals are killed, chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs seat themselves according to their proper positions and are first served with the blood-stained grease that floats to the top of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is cut into strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths, according to the number of guests. The cuts run down each fore-flipper, so that each receives a narrow strip including one of the toes. The head is always given to the herald.[3]

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary meals even when no seal or deer has been killed. On these occasions, as at seal feasts, the guests are designated by their ancestral names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also accustomed to meet for the discussion of matters connected with the winter ceremonial; on such occasions their number may be augmented by men of influence in the secret society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the *kusiut* society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a *numitl* chief is outweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the views of some individual must be accepted. The writer was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but

[3]Every effort was made to ensure the accuracy of this account, but errors may have crept in on account of the length of time which has elapsed since the ceremony was carried out in full detail.

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556 *

monograph the term "potlatch" will be limited to this, the *łum*. [104]

Every Bella Coola is, or should be, able to recount how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god, *Ałquntäm*, caused his ancestors to be created in his house in the land above, whence they were sent down to populate the earth. A creation legend of this type is a man's most treasured possession.[4] Most myths describe the adventures of these first people, how they prospered in the Bella Coola country until they were able to invite to their homes guests from far and near, to whom they showed what they had achieved, through the assistance of *Ałquntäm*, or of some other supernatural being. In so doing they were carrying out *Ałquntäm*'s wishes. He told some of these first people that if they accumulated much wealth, in those days chiefly food, there was danger that the provisions first stored would rot, hence they should cut away the bottom of the pile and present it to other men and women. The Bella Coola term for "to cut out that which is rotten" is *łłt*, hence the origin, according to their belief, of the word *łum*, which thus has the significance of "a giving away of long accumulated goods which otherwise might rot."

556 * 773 [424] [192]

By the splendour of his gifts each of the first people able to give a potlatch (*łum*), spread the knowledge of his name and fame to the towns whence his guests had assembled. Further, those who had received dances from *Ałquntäm* were able to demonstrate them. In course of time those who had first given potlatches died, but on taking their fathers' names, the sons, or other descendants, endeavoured to uphold the parental tradition by inviting guests from afar and giving them valuable presents. At such a ceremony the family history, or family myth, was recounted, so that the donor of a potlatch not only increased his own prestige, he incorporated therewith the traditions of his parent. This is the essence of the potlatch as carried out today.[5]

[574]

[4] Examples of these are given in vol. I, chap. vi.

[5] It has been found convenient to use the present tense throughout, although the potlatch is not now carried out in its entirety.

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*556 Although guests from different tribes are sometimes invited to other ceremonials, it is at potlatches that they are essential. ●574 Since the validity of such transactions as marriages, divorces, [203] or the assumption of professional prerogatives depends on the presence of witnesses, and since the importance of such a rite depends on the number of witnesses, a man is always eager to carry out any public performance at a potlatch when he is sure of the attention of foreigners, and the consequent wider diffusion of knowledge of what he has done. The man who has invited guests is usually willing to allow others to perform at his potlatch, since it increases the complexity and importance [184] of the affair. It follows that no two potlatches are alike; one will contain features entirely lacking in another. Moreover, the wealth of the donor determines how many rites he himself will cause to be performed. The fundamental concept of the potlatch is the inviting of guests from abroad to witness rites [769] in connection with an ancestral myth, especially the return of a recently deceased relative of the donor to visit the living.

*556 At any important potlatch the following rites are carried out, and in the account of the ritual it will be assumed that 796 these alone are taking place. If the reader bears this summary in mind, he is less likely to be confused by the complication of rites.

(1) The return of a dead ancestor to visit the living.

[575] (2) The initiation of young men or women into the *susaok* society. This includes the validation of a *susaok* name for each, [553] and a period of seclusion in the back-room. The initiates may either be relatives of the donor of the potlatch, or young persons whose relatives are taking the opportunity to carry out the rite in the presence of foreigners. Some of the initiates may already be members of the society, undergoing a further period of seclusion in order to increase their status by a further distribution of presents.

[554] (3) The payment by the wife of the donor and her family [858] of goods to "rebuy" her from her husband. This is a legal fiction, though necessary to maintain the status of the children. [583]

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535 The reception of this power from his Bella Coola confrère
* 556 enables the guest *siki* to dance at X's potlatch, if he so desires.
In that case the guests are guided to X's house without further
575 delay. If, however, he does not wish to dance, he goes through the motions of throwing something back to the Bella Coola *siki*, who pretends to catch it. He bends down, twists himself about, then throws back his cape—to display there the representation of *Mulakila*. At the time of throwing, the visiting *siki* had slipped his mask out of sight, so that those witnessing the transaction, ignorant of the fact that the recipient has had an identical mask hidden beneath his cape throughout, are suitably impressed. He now revolves four times, while an assistant, sheltered under a large cloak, sounds the whistle constantly. Then the *siki* makes the motion of throwing something to X's house, and after that the whistle sounds from within, while the man who had been blowing one beside the *siki* ceases. Thus the uninitiated are led to believe that the voice can proceed only from the place where the power over which the *siki* has control is situated.

* 556 The guests are conducted to X's house, to which a number
of young men carry their goods. A meal of toasted salmon,
● 574 provided by X, is served to them by a number of youths, all of whom are eager to undertake this task throughout the ceremony. A section of the house is allotted to each party of guests, and within that space they arrange themselves according to convenience. Some informants state that the first group to arrive is seated nearest the fire. The whole of those invited are not placed according to rank. The amount of space allotted to each party of guests depends upon their number, and there is no particular choice made of a section in the house. X, or more often some one who speaks for him, welcomes the guests, and a spokesman from among them makes a suitable reply, usually with the assistance of an interpreter. After the meal, the guests can remain where they are or go out. As many as wish to do so stay in X's house, but many prefer to

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go to the homes of their friends in the village; it is a matter of convenience, not of ritual. 556* [574]

In the evening, there may be no rite of any kind, but X often invites everyone to his house for the performance of non-ceremonial dances. The singers strike up one of his *susaok* or *a'alk* (I, p. 273) tunes and he dances to it. Then a tune belonging to one of his relatives is beaten out, and he too dances. After several have thus performed, a meal is served and all disperse. No supernatural beings are in attendance, hence there is no solemnity to the occasion; the evening's rites merely serve to show the guests the dances owned by their host and his family. 535 556*

As each party of guests arrives the same procedure is repeated. X provides food for those who have assembled from day to day, so he anxiously awaits the last-comers. When at last they come the guests from all other towns are in their allotted sections of X's house, and are free to make gibes at the tardiness of those latest in appearing. Occasionally, hard feelings are engendered in this way, although it is an established custom to mock at the last to arrive. They seat themselves and a small amount of food is given them. 556* 574 [628]

RITUAL CARRIED OUT BY THE GUESTS

Two youths, chosen by X for the purpose, sprinkle eagle down over the heads of all those present, as far as possible blowing it first over the chiefs. It serves as a token of good-will, and marks also the ceremonial nature of the occasion. Then a leading *susaok*, perhaps a *siki*, stands up and says in effect: 556* [788] [237] [575]

"Thank you for coming. You are welcome. We thank you for coming to witness what X has done. He is delighted to have you here, because he has lost many of his relatives and wishes to perpetuate their memory. They would be grieved if he did not do so."

An elaborate meal is now served by a number of young men. [264]

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* 556 the best songs they have made for the initiates, and any of the *sisaok* members of the audience desiring to "help" the initiates
575 dance to them, even X himself on occasion. By "help" no
[535] material aid is indicated; such dancing merely displays a friendly and sympathetic interest. The initiates, resplendent in *sisaok* head-dresses, appear at the door of the back-room, and sometimes dance a few steps. Occasionally, at the conclusion of his song, a lad's parents, or other relatives, bring forward the goods which will be later distributed by X to the guests. On other occasions, this is reserved for the following day. Food is distributed and all disperse.

THE POTLATCH: SECOND DAY

On this, one of the two most important days of the whole ceremony, the following rites take place.

During the Day

(1) Communication to the foreign guests of the new *sisaok*
[553] names of the initiates concealed within the back-room; these names are the ones that have been made known to the Bella Coola before the potlatch proper.

(2) Payment to X by the members of his wife's family of the goods necessary to rebuy her from her husband.

During the Evening

(3) Repayment by X of debts owed to members of his own village.

(4) Return of a dead relative of X to visit the living.

(5) Distribution of presents to validate this appearance.

(6) In some cases, dancing by some of the *sisaok* initiates.

[575] Early in the morning X gives each of his guests a wash-
[574] basin with the other necessary appurtenances for cleaning up, and towards noon all of those invited reassemble in his house. Three river canoes have been brought in and are ranged, two parallel to the side walls, and one parallel to the back wall, all far enough out to permit people to sit behind them. Boxes containing large quantities of red elderberries and olachen

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CHAPTER V

FEATURES ASSOCIATED WITH THE POTLATCH

Heralds—Totem-Poles—Coppers—Professional Prerogatives—A'alk Dances—Miscellaneous Ceremonies

128 *556 THE ritual of the potlatch is so complicated that, in order to present a coherent account of it, it has been necessary to omit entirely some features that occur at many potlatches, and to refer briefly to others. This chapter is devoted to an elaboration of these points, thus avoiding the use of lengthy foot-notes in the preceding chapter.

HERALDS

203 *556 The principal functions of heralds[1] have already been described. They go from house to house inviting the people to assemble for the different ceremonies connected with the potlatch, but that is only one of their many duties. They likewise bear invitations to all types of ceremonies, such as marriages, mourning rites, or *kusiut* dances; in fact, they act as town criers. A person holding any public rite requests one or more heralds to deliver the invitation which is repeated in every house of the village in order from bottom to top.[2]

There are variations, of course, according to the rites to be performed. At a potlatch, the first duty of a herald is to seat [574 628 578] the guests in their proper places. This requires not only a good memory, but also considerable tact, since errors with foreign guests cause friction and embarrassment, and diminish the prestige of the whole ceremony. During the actual progress of the rites, a herald must constantly add dignity to the occa-

[1]Herald, *a'lk*ʷ, plural, *waalk*ʷ*at*, not to be confused with *a'alk*, the name of a society (I, p. 273).

[2]This order may once have had a ceremonial significance but it has been considered for a long time merely a matter of convenience. When giving presents also, a man follows the same order in his mind and names first the occupants of the bottom house, thus minimizing the danger of overlooking a guest.

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556 or three rounds he retires utterly exhausted. The time beaten
575 out for a *nusqwal* or *am'lel·a* dancer is the same. He too comes
535 near the fire and at first dances in the same manner until the
[533] singers in unison bellow out, *Wai··*, "More." With a run that ends in a crashing leap that seems to shake the floor, the performer takes his position between the fire and one of the side walls and begins to revolve furiously upon himself. His body is bent forward until it seems as if all that prevents him from falling to the floor is his hands clutched together as far as possible behind his back; while his feet move so rapidly that the short mincing steps run into each other. Gradually the beating becomes less violent, only to be followed by another cry of *Wai··*, and another rush and jump that lands the dancer behind the fire. Here he revolves once more in the same furious fashion; the same is repeated on the side of the fire opposite to the place where he first performed, and finally between the fire and the door. *Nusqwal* and *am'lel·a* are the most strenuous of all Bella Coola dances and the performer is glad to retire. He afterwards joins the audience. This dance entails no taboo or restrictions on the dancer.

This terminates the performance of this type of dance at a potlatch, but among the goods distributed are some to validate the name acquired by the dancer, and others to legalize his actual display.

● 574 The occasion on which importance and solemnity are
575 attached to *a'alk* dances is during potlatches, but they are
535 also given at other times. Most Bella Coola performances are so steeped in the presence of the supernatural that the element of enjoyment is secondary, but in the spring, after the
[796] end of the *kusiut* season and before the salmon come to the rivers, dances for pleasure are of common occurrence. A *sisaok* can call his fellows to his house and the singers beat out *sisaok* songs to which the owners dance, but the most common hosts are *a'alk*. Of course an individual may be a member of both societies, but the heralds invite the guests in his *a'alk* name. Those summoned include both members of the society

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and those who are not. Any *a'alk*, provided that he has enough food for a meal, can call in his neighbours, but the one who usually does so is a man who has received his name a year or two before the occasion. 574 575 535

A few days before the time selected, the host asks the singers to compose a new song for him. For a *nusqwal* dancer particularly, and in some cases for any one of the other three divisions of the society, the text does not deal with incidents connected with the host's ancestral story, but with humorous or disgraceful incidents of the present time. If a man has caught ten salmon and kept them all for himself, his miserliness is commented upon in the song; if a wife has deserted her husband for another man, the actions of the two are mercilessly ridiculed; if a chief has failed to display generosity it is likewise recorded, and reference is made to errors in dance ritual. To do this is one of the functions of a *nusqwal*, and the singers are always ready to assist him. At the same time they often add a new incident to the tune belonging to some other *a'alk* dancer so that he too will be able to perform. In this way the airs are remembered from year to year, which is different from the customary Bella Coola usage. 575 574 535 533 [626]

On the morning of the day chosen, the host asks one of the singers to beat a drum repeatedly but slowly, as a signal that a non-ceremonial dance is about to take place. About noon, heralds go from house to house announcing who is to give the dance. In the late afternoon the people gather in the donor's house where men, women, and children seat themselves without distinction of rank, the only reserved place being that for the singers behind the fire. They beat out the host's tune and he dances to it, while the singers themselves sing the words to the amusement of the audience. Using their own discretion, they then beat out the tune of another *a'alk* and he also dances, followed in succession by a third, a fourth, and as many as the singers think fit. Sometimes the songs of *susaok* are used in a similar manner. When many have danced, the host distributes food to all his guests, not forgetting to give the largest [202] [203]

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575 574 535 [533] [525] [526] [178]

presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds. These conclude the chief features of the *a'alk* dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *sisaok*, they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

A'alk ORIGIN MYTHS

551 575 773

Theoretically, every Bella Coola *a'alk* should be able to record the myth in which his name is embodied, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both ancestral and *a'alk* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *a'alk* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *a'alk* can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kimsquit *nusqwal* for his name *Sinxälotla* which came to earth with *Smaoan* (I, p. 332) in the beginning of time. Another Kimsquit *a'alk*, *Tlaiyäkam*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sinuxetl* (I, p. 326), who assumed the designation of *Tlaiyäkam* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *Wi'tälao*.

539

The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once,[9] long, long ago, *Äiqunäm* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *Sinxan·a*, and a mortal; so he

[115] [177]

[9]Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

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556 performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical
[182] concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch, are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly
[577] displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a
576 major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do other-
574 wise would be considered rude. The person summoned must take at least a trifle to show that he is not churlish and too proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shares
[177] whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of the family should be the first to taste any wine[14] as proof that
[273] it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better
[342] than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse through the construction of individual family houses with doors
[414] and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suitable place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his
476 catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon,
[226] the first solicitor is given one, later comers, none at all. When a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to raise it and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a
[685] despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy;
[626] hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats
[224] or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

556 Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who
431 has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

[14] This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of home-brew.

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he can. Several of the older people mentioned that early white traders would have received more for their goods by giving them away than by selling. 556 431

Even at the present time the Bella Coola sometimes carry out a practice which was once common. Particularly in the early autumn or in spring, a chief who has large supplies of food may decide to show his wealth to the members of a neighbouring tribe such as the Bella Bella. Alone, or with a few friends, he goes to a foreign village where he is sure to find accommodation in the home of some friend, relative, or important chief. In the evening he invites the inhabitants of his host's village to the house in which he is staying, and uses the food he has brought with him to provide them with an elaborate meal. His guests now feel it incumbent on them to repay this generosity, and one of them asks the singers to beat out one of his songs, the Bella Bella equivalent to *sisaok*, *a'alk*, or even *kusiut*. The owner dances to it and then gives presents to the stranger to validate the performance he has just witnessed. This is repeated by everyone to whom he has given food, and although each present may be small, their total is greater than the original outlay. Sometimes a poor man, feeling himself too insignificant to give a ceremony of this kind, takes a supply of food to a foreign tribe to sell. If the hosts wish to show their generous dispositions they persuade him to give it away in the fashion just described, which always brings in more than he could obtain by sale. It is even customary for the hosts to lend such a stranger enough food for public distribution if his own stock is too small. 556 648 [484]

Although the most important Bella Coola dances are performed at potlatches or during the *kusiut* season, they are not confined to these periods. Professional singers do nothing else and, except during the run of salmon when everyone is busy fishing, a dance occurs every few nights. Supernatural beings are not called down; consequently there is little solemnity and everyone has a good time. On these occasions, *kusiut* songs are first beaten out, followed by *sisaok* and *a'alk*, and the owner 533 535 574

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533 of each song dances to it. Anyone who has enough food to
535 provide a meal for all is glad to invite his neighbours to such
an affair, but the singers and heralds can force a stingy man
●574 to act as host. Everyone knows his neighbour's resources and
the singers have no hesitation in going to the house of a man
with an ample supply of food and beginning to beat out songs
[203] there. The heralds are quick to see what is happening and
[626] call the people, with the result that the involuntary host is
compelled to provide a meal in order not to be thought mean
and churlish. Without waiting for the singers to take the
[203] initiative, heralds likewise often invite people to the house of
a man whom they know to be well provided with food.

During the summer, the necessity of laying in supplies of
[221] salmon makes it impossible to hold many dances, although one
[796] of the non-sacred type just described takes place whenever
there is a lull in the fishing. In the early autumn, when ber-
556 ries, fish, and game are abundant, the thoughts of chiefs turn
796 to potlatches and the lengthy preliminaries are begun. At this
season, too, a chief who lacks sufficient wealth to invite foreign
[221] guests, calls in his neighbours for a *susaok* dance and initiates
575 some of his young relatives into that society. The ritual,
described in the last chapter, resembles that of a potlatch
[535] except that no new house is constructed, there is no return of
a dead relative, and the ceremonial connected with the coming
of foreigners is necessarily omitted. In some cases a chief
performs this type of rite a year before he proposes to hold a
potlatch, and explains that he is doing so because he will be
unable to give presents to the inhabitants of his own village
[426] at the later affair. Gifts so distributed are returnable with
interest, though it is not obligatory for recipients to do this in
time for the donor to make use of their repayment at his
potlatch.

Ceremonials of this nature occupy the Bella Coola during
[575] the early autumn, while in winter *kusiut* dances take place
[535] almost nightly. When they are over, it is time for the non-
sacred variety of *a'alk* performances, and for another type of
rite, nusäxkämx.

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* 539 * 787 sons, of whom the eldest was about sixteen, though old enough to appreciate the slights put upon their father, could do nothing to defend him.

[556] On a winter day one of these lads felt impelled to follow a trail down the north side of the Bella Coola valley along the edge of salt water. The weather had been cold for some time, but on this day it was so warm that he lay down to doze on the warm rocks. Near his head was a small opening which connected with a long passage to the ocean, and through this he presently heard the hoarse breathing of sleeping seals. His hunting desires aroused, he went to the edge of the steep crag overlooking the sea and dived in. He bravely penetrated into a narrow passage which led him under the rocks, until with his last gasp he emerged into a cave where there were countless seals. Waiting only a moment, and without disturbing the animals, he dived back through the passage safely.

[411] When he reached home the lad said nothing about what he had seen, but that evening he began to make a seal-spear of the usual type with a wooden handle and a bone point. He asked his father to help him with this carpentry task, and his mother to make a rope for the harpoon-head. Though surprised at their son's energy, the parents did as he requested, but the fellow-villagers mocked at his efforts, for the lad was no hunter.

Next morning he asked his father to accompany him, and the two set off in a canoe, carrying the spear which had been made the previous evening. Before starting, the lad requested one of his brothers to have a fire ready for cooking the spoil that night. Father and son paddled to the entrance of the subterranean passage, though the old man was, of course, ignorant of its existence. The son told him to wait, and dived overboard, armed only with a club, for the seal-spear had really been unnecessary. He penetrated through the passage and at once killed a seal pup, born that year, with which he returned to the canoe. The lad explained nothing to his father, so that it seemed to the latter as if his son had dived down into the depths and there slain a seal, after remaining below for an amazingly long time.

When the two returned to the village they were greeted with a shriek of laughter at the small size of their quarry. In derision, the villagers took the pup from them and threw it from hand to hand, as if it had been a ball.

[224] [225] [574] [556] As already described, it is customary whenever a man kills a deer, a mountain goat, several seals, or any other large game, for him to invite his fellows to a feast. The number of guests depends on the size of the quarry, but in all cases the chiefs are the first to be invited and anyone who fails to do so is laughed at for his stinginess. On this occasion the seal-pup was obviously so small that any general invitation to partake of it was ludicrous. Nevertheless, the lad sent a herald to invite not only

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224 hanging rock where no rain can penetrate. Long ago, some
[732] hunter failed to do this and became blind in consequence, hence the rite has since been carried out.

When a hunter is in the field, his wife must not swing. To do this causes him to go up into lofty and dangerous places as she rises on the swing, and also destroys the power laboriously accumulated by ceremonial chastity.

Ritual Acts

796 Ceremonialism is an extremely important aspect of Bella
226 Coola life, but most of their rites are social or religious rather than magical, so that descriptions of them belong to other
789 chapters. In connection with the taking of the first olachen and salmon, however, a number of ritual acts are performed to bring about desired ends; the element of propitiation is not entirely absent, but on the whole they may be considered as magical.

Rites connected with the first olachen

226 At the height of the olachen run, the fish are so abundant
796 that they can be taken profitably in large purse-nets. They do not, however, come simultaneously, and eager fishermen
574 keep watching for their arrival and catching the straggling forerunners in hand dip-nets. These fish must not be eaten immediately. Each fisherman arranges a box in the front part of his house in which he deposits them as taken; if several men are doing this in a single dwelling, one box for each will be arranged near the front-door. Whenever a dance is held, eagle down is blown over the receptacle to placate the olachen and prevent them from being disturbed by the noise. As soon as a man has caught enough for a feast, he invites all his fellows to his house and the fish are distributed. It is taboo for any woman to share this meal, and it is most improper for a man to summon his neighbours until he has enough olachen to allow each guest to carry home a plentiful supply for his family. In former times, there used to be a number of meals of this kind,

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619 others. This differentiated them clearly from all neighbouring
[199] tribes.

B. Ceremonial. A member of a secret society in any of
[575] the above towns was accepted as a member in any other one.
[609] A person of another tribe, even if known to belong to a comparable society, was treated as an uninitiated person.

C. Origin and Religion. The people of Bella Coola, *Tal-ío*, and Kimsquit felt themselves to be akin through acceptance of the fact that their ancestors had been created together in the beginning of time. This marked them off with
[771] great clearness from all other tribes, especially from the Carriers of the interior. This belief formed a sentimental and religious bond of great strength.

Neighbouring Tribes

648 It is desirable to describe, briefly, the tribes with which the Bella Coola came in contact.

THE CARRIERS

East of Bella Coola, amid the mountains of the interior, roved the Carriers. In summer they often came down to the river valley to fish or trade for salmon, and in winter they were sometimes forced by cold and starvation again to visit the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, or Rivers Inlet people. There was a
[563] good deal of intermarriage between them and the inhabitants of the upper valley, so that the wanderers were able to spend the cold months with relatives. None the less, the Bella Coola
[180] considered these people utterly foreign in habits and beliefs,
[578] and to call a man a "Carrier" was, and still is, a deadly insult. The Carriers lacked the rich ceremonial life of the coastal peoples who, therefore, regarded them with scorn and con-
[794] tempt. The presence of a few of the much-despised Carriers was, however, almost necessary to the correct performance of the winter dances since they were uninitiated spectators whom it was necessary to impress and delude.

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from the moon and stated that there were mountains and snow on it. It is commonly stated that the marks on the moon represent a man carrying a bucket. 821 [756]

The stars figure but slightly either in Bella Coola mythology or thought; it is not even known who made them. Two in the Great Bear constellation are called respectively *Tpikste* and *Xinpines*, "Little Girls." A lone star in the same part of the sky, named *A'lox*, is said to be following the girls to the forest for illicit intercourse. [773]

Moon, stars, and above all the sun, were, and still are to a certain extent, used by the Bella Coola in computing the passage of time. There are no individuals with the definite prerogative of keeping count of time, but formerly wise old men used to do so.[4] Differences of opinion were the rule rather than the exception, a condition which often led to bitter disputes concerning the proper date for starting the winter ceremonials. Boas (p. 41) has recorded the Bella Coola calendar in greater detail than the present writer has been able to do. The making of calendrical observations is a lost art, and the following list of the months was all that could be learnt. It will be noted that these agree with Boas in regard to the months in the early part of the year, but not in those between the summer and winter solstices; no explanation is offered for this disparity. 805 821 [554] [578] [796] [114] [178] [114]

First moon after the summer solstice: *Sikālamtak*, which has the significance, "The Time for Sockeye Salmon to Ascend the River."

Second moon after the summer solstice: *Sī'islālil*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon."

Third moon after the summer solstice: *Sī'ismal·ōl*, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon."

Fourth moon after the summer solstice: *Sigālpam*, "The Time for Gathering Fern Root," or *Sidakas di Ano'lkwalais*,

[4] Kimsquit informant stated that there were professional calendrical experts in his home, when he was a young lad although members of the healer society (II, chap. v) sometimes attended to this matter. [575] [463]

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*776 tribe are superior to themselves in carpentry, and ascribe their
[486] skill to the fact that many of them are descendants of *Yalâ-*
[648] *timut*. Some of the coastal tribes are said to believe that *Âlqantûm* erred in the manufacture of many of the sea mammals, giving them, for example, human heads on fish bodies; he later rectified this by sending his Carpenters to adjust their form. This is not a Bella Coola belief. One elderly man stated that the skill of the Carpenters in painting and modelling was derived from a little girl named *Qexhanao*; no confirmation could be obtained for this statement and the information was vague and unreliable.

Since their creation of the sky and many features of this world, as well as birds and animals, the Carpenters have entered but little into the lives of the Bella Coola. Like other supernatural beings, they are capable of going anywhere, but for many generations they have not been seen on this earth. Their most important function, perhaps, is to act as patrons [575] for various *kusiut* dancers. This subject will be described in detail in vol. II, chap. 1; for the moment it is enough to say that many supernatural beings regard members of this semi-sacred society as their protégés, and grant them power to per-
[535] form dances. On these occasions masked figures are used to represent the patrons, thus enlightening uninitiated persons as to the appearance and attributes of various supernatural beings.

Among the many residents of *Nuxmâ·a* are two sons of *Âlqantûm*, *Sâxelipmulâlx Âlqantûm* and *Sno'olnâx Âlqantûm*. The former in particular is dearly loved by his father and is often spoken of as *Nuxlxwnuxwâum*, "The Cherished One." These two beings take no part in the affairs of mortals except
[575] as patrons of *kusiut* dancers. Like all supernatural beings they are considered to be immortal. Since *Âlqantûm* has two sons it is to be assumed that he has, or had, a wife. Her name is not generally known, although she is sometimes spoken of as
[538] *Nuxmâ·aien·a*, "The Woman of *Nuxmâ·a*." There are also many stories describing his amours with human women resulting in semi-supernatural offspring.

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* 776 the top. He concluded that this must be the home of the woman. Before the door of her house, wherever it may be, there are miniature totem-poles which open their painted mouths and speak in the voice of the animal or bird portrayed. The writer did not hear that her home was in the land above [114] *Nazmît-a*, as Boas (p. 28) states. At the present time knowledge of *Kāmai-ts* is so scanty that failure to confirm the previous observation is not surprising.

One or two passing remarks of elderly informants imply that *Kāmai-ts* may once have been more important to Bella Coola belief than she is now. One old man, already in his [775] dotage, stated that long ago the dead used to dwell in her [782] house. Another declared that long ago prayers were addressed to her, which is never done now. The word *kāmai-ts* is com- [192] monly used by the Bella Coola in a manner difficult to translate. It serves as equivalent for "please" or "thank you," but has an underlying significance of a supernatural benison or appeal. It is not a word to be used in casual conversation; it is reserved for important occasions or times of emotional stress. The comparative unimportance of *Kāmai-ts* probably rests on the fact that she belongs merely to the realm of ancient history and has no sociological significance, even as the patron of a *kusiut* dancer.

772 Another supernatural being so far removed from this world
* 776 that he enters but little into the lives of the Bella Coola, is *Swinia*. He is the male being whom *Ālqustēm* sent down from above in the beginning of time to hold the earth in position, and who has since performed this duty. He lives among the ice of the far north, and has not been seen by mortals for many generations. He holds a rope fastened to the earth; when he is afraid that it has slipped slightly he takes a new grip and pulls the rope taut, pressing the world against the soles of his feet as he sits with legs extended, as a man would do to hold tight a kicking salmon. It is the tightening of the rope which [823] causes an earthquake. If *Swinia* should lose his grip entirely
● 575 the earth would capsize. He is patron for several *kusiut*
* 776 dancers.

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* 776 is in the upper Bella Coola valley near Firvale, cause cold
773 breezes by blowing them through their anuses. *uxlexman·i* es-
[821] pecially is a prominent figure in mythology (I, p. 670), but she has not appeared for many generations and her actions belong to legend rather than to either religion or social practices. It is said that she has four sons who once wanted to break a large number of grass stalks. Finding it difficult to do so on account of their toughness, they asked their mother to freeze them; she did this and destroyed every other plant at the same time.

* 776 Another anthropomorphic being is *Sxk'lätl*, the super-
821 natural South Wind of winter who brings storm and snow.
177 The Carriers affirm that every icicle which grows down until
[731] its end is in the snow is his walking-stick, and that to break one causes famine. Some Bella Coola have adopted this belief and carefully refrain from destroying such icicles.

* 776 Supernatural beings experience the same difficulty as mortals in reckoning the passage of time. A number of calendrical experts live in the land above, whose duty it is to record both months and years. They are called *Älmnskällwaiyaix* or
[575] *Älmnskitlnm*. They have been seen occasionally, and are shown, as masked figures, at *ts'aok* (I, p. 180), but not at *kusiut* dances. Two of these beings always appear, and they argue about their observations after the fashion of humans.

Another denizen of *Nusmät·a* of slight importance in the social life of the Bella Coola is *Xemxemälotla*, a friend and
[575] associate of *Älquntäm*. He acts as patron of *kusiut* dancers, and in this manner is brought to the notice of mortals. In the land above his function is to cherish *Tläqmä·ks*, a being resembling a diminutive man, created by *Älquntäm* as a child to all supernatural beings. *Xemxemälotla* is its guardian or nurse; and for safety he usually keeps his charge in the far distant upper land above *Nusmät·a*, where *Älquntäm* frequently visits the two. In some mysterious manner, *Tläqmä·ks* has been
[777] known to reach this earth, giving good fortune to the lucky finder. He is in many cases spoken of as "The Cherished

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838 woman who dressed as a man and used to hunt successfully,
[171] though she was married. Such practices are said to have been not uncommon among the Haida. The women were considered bold and independent, but the Bella Coola of today know little
*[776] about them, and are not even certain that *Sxants* is responsible for a female assuming the actions of a male. It will be readily understood that he is not regarded with much awe, nor does he influence their daily lives.

*776 Another supernatural being, uninfluential though resident
[822] upon earth, is Echo, *Setsaläni*, "The Voice Repeater." The Bella Coola regard him as a male being, in human form, and recognize his presence whenever sounds reverberate. He figures in mythology, occasionally appears as a masked figure at
●[575] *kusiut* or *sisaok* dances, but has neither helped nor harmed human beings for so many generations that he is accordingly neglected.

*776 A supernatural being from whom many Bella Coola have
787 had unpleasant visitations is *Slhmsila*, the cause of nightmares.
828 He is a man-like creature with black face and an enormous head which he constantly scratches. His home is in *Nusmät·a*, but he frequently descends to this world and frightens sleepers. If a person scratches his head while asleep it is because he has just seen *Slhmsila* doing so, and if he walks in his sleep it is to escape this supernatural visitor. A sleep-walker is usually aroused by having a bucket of water thrown over him. A
[751] person frequently troubled by *Slhmsila* can avoid him by painting a black circle around each eye before going to sleep.

*776 With the exception of *Alquntäm*, the supernatural beings thus far described play little part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They believe in their existence, but do not expect to meet them, and do not believe that they exercise much influence on the course of their daily life. Supernatural beings of this ineffective
781 type are exceptional. A man goes into remote parts of the mountains, or even into little frequented areas around his
*776 village, with mingled fear lest he encounter an actively malicious being, and hope that he may meet a benevolent one. More-

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including the dreaded point, Mesatche Nose, in human form. As each came in, water swirled in and the canoe was tossed as if in a whirlpool; if it had capsized the occupants would have been devoured, but on each occasion one of the hunters threw a morsel of false hellebore on the surface, which stilled the waves. At last *Ḷomoqwa* and his friends admitted defeat, granted the four fishermen the powers of shamans, and gave them certain prerogatives. 539 776*

Though *Ḷomoqwa* is usually unkind to mortals, and is correspondingly feared, instances are known in which he has bestowed shamanistic powers for no apparent reason. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella know more about *Ḷomoqwa* than they do, since he is essentially an ocean being and the Bella Bella are ocean people. It is possible that the Bella Coola concepts of this supernatural personage are entirely of Bella Bella origin. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that *Ḷomoqwa* seldom appears in connection with the *kusiut* society, but frequently with the *sisaok* society, many of the rites of which came from Bella Bella. [756] 177 776* [575]

Since human beings can travel on the sea only by means of canoes, it is not surprising that the Bella Coola think of supernatural beings as doing likewise. Their beliefs include at least three huge canoes, manned by supernatural beings. The most important is that of *Noākxnim*,[16] the name of its captain, whose crew consists of a number of supernatural birds and the hermaphrodite. Every year they come from the lands of the salmon and the berries, in the far west beyond the sea, and bear these to the coast of British Columbia. This belief, which runs counter to the conviction that *Ālquntām* caused the animals and plants to grow, is merely one of the many inconsistencies of Bella Coola theology. *Noākxnim* comes every autumn on his way to attend the gathering of the supernatural beings in the land above, and his arrival in the Bella Coola River marks the commencement of the *kusiut* dances. He is one of the most important of *kusiut* patrons and his powers and functions are described in the chapter devoted to that 773 776* [575]

[16]Cf. Boas, p. 40.

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773 subject. He does not often appear to mankind, though every
* 776 Bella Coola knows of his existence.

Another supernatural craft is that of *Winwina*.[17] It, too,
[575] brings salmon and berries from their home in the extreme west. Knowledge of this canoe is limited to certain families who own stories connected with it, and it likewise serves as patron for *kusiut* dancers. Although both *Noāk̓ɣnum* and *Winwina* can
[761] easily destroy human beings, they usually pay no attention to them, and have even been known to bestow supernatural power. *Winwina* will be described in greater detail in connection with *kusiut* dances.

The third canoe is termed *Winäs di Sä·łłdjo·ts*, "The War-Party of the Tide," or *Winäs di Q̓ala*, "The War-Party of the Ocean." Its home is among small islands in the ocean. It is a large canoe, manned by invisible submarine beings, who are able to drive it at tremendous speed wherever they wish. The members of the crew are not in themselves dangerous, but the craft is greatly feared because it always transports *Sxlo·xlˢ*. This supernatural creature is about the size of a seal, brown in colour, and of jelly-like substance; it lies in the boat immediately aft of the place from which water is bailed and constantly rolls to and fro, like an animated mass of repulsive jelly. Poison is constantly spreading from *Sxlo·xlˢ*, and anyone placed in the canoe soon becomes weak, begins to shake like *Sxlo·xlˢ*, and presently dies. This canoe is a source of danger to those with whom it may come in contact, and an even greater peril indirectly. The poison emanating from
773 *Sxlo·xlˢ* kills clams and mussels in the vicinity and renders
* 776 them unfit for food. In some cases they die at once, with
825 open shells, and anyone finding them knows what has hap-
761 pened and does not eat them, but in other cases they live for a considerable period though saturated with the venom. If
[756] anyone eats these shellfish, he becomes flabby and jelly-like, and soon dies, unless a powerful shaman can conquer the
* 776 poison. Sometimes when a party is encamped on the shore
789

[17] Cf. Boas, p. 38.

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775 walk backwards, or on their heads. Mortals sometimes see ghosts, but the apparition seals their lips so that they cannot [761] recount their experiences. Death invariably follows. Shamans [756] and other mortals endowed with great powers have been able to penetrate to the realm below, and the knowledge of conditions there has been derived from their accounts. Food is scarce in that land and ghosts are often driven up to earth to 264 search for it. Even a small morsel is enough to satisfy their hunger, so that mortals throw fragments on the fire for the 775 benefit of their dead relatives. If a person drop a crumb it is because a ghost has hooked it away from his hand; no wise Bella Coola ever picks up such a morsel, knowing that to do so would offend the hungry spectre. Deceased beings are 775 generally feared, although instances are known in which they have shown kindness, particularly to their relatives. Like so [575] many supernatural beings, they figure most prominently as patrons of *kusiut* dancers (see vol. II, chap. 1). Further information concerning them is contained in the description of life after death.

* 776 Not even a complete list of beings would exhaust the 177 beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural, since any unexpected visitation is attributed by them to this source. For example, when Mackenzie appeared, the first white man with whom the Bella Coola had come in contact, they thought that he must be from another world. Some thought him a dead man returned to life, and others considered him a supernatural visitor from above who had fallen down to earth, as did their first ancestors. The latter view prevailed, and it was ultimately decided that he must be *Qomcua*, a supernatural being resident aloft of whom little was known. This name was applied to him, and it has since been given to all white men.[18]

[18]Although it was in 1793 that Mackenzie passed down the Bella Coola valley, a number of stories of that event were still remembered in 1922. What most impressed the Bella Coola was his ability to make fire quickly. One man, now living, stated that he had heard from his mother that her father had spoken with him. Traditions of this type are valuable as reflecting the interests of a people, but their historical accuracy may well be doubted. One Kimsquit man, for example,

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* 776 and gaping holes in the earth. In such regions no fire can be
[778] lit. The last known area of this kind is up the river behind Green Bay, about four miles from the sea. So far as could be learnt, *bābink'* have never assisted Bella Coola in any way nor played any part in the social life of the community. They are feared on account of their supernatural power, but appear so seldom that they are practically disregarded.

More common than the last, and accordingly more important, is the *haohao*. It is an enormous bird with bony wings and long, flexible beak. As it flies, the wings rattle violently, and its note, an oft repeated "*Hao, hao, hao,*" can be heard for miles. These birds are said to have been numerous in former
[535] years, and are well known to all Bella Coola. Masked figures
[575] representing them are often used at *kusiut* dances. The *haohao*
761 is feared for its practice of inserting its long beak into the
* 776 rectum of anyone sleeping carelessly in the forest and drawing forth his entrails. This can be prevented by standing upright
[789] a staff, such as all hunters carry, before going to sleep.

[539] A popular story states that once, not many years ago, a number of men camped at the edge of a canyon near their home, without taking this precaution. One of them was awakened by a slight movement of one of his companions and, looking up, he saw the long neck and beak of a *haohao* projecting over the rim of the canyon and sucking his partner's entrails. The convulsive shiver of the stricken man had awakened him. With his bow he shot an arrow into the bird's neck, causing it to disappear over the brink. Presently the long beak reappeared and he discharged another arrow with the same result. Again and again this happened until the attack ceased at dawn. The hunter assumed that a single bird had been repeatedly attacking, but when he looked over the edge of the cliff, he saw below a number of carcasses, each with an arrow in its throat. The canyon must have been a roosting place for the birds. His companions seemed still asleep, but when he investigated he found that all were dead; only the slightly enlarged orifice showed how they had been killed.

* 776 No *haohao* has been seen within recent years, but one infor-
789 mant and her husband heard them on the south side of the Bella Coola River about two miles from the sea. They would have

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instructed people about the significance of death omens; it was Raven who showed them the use of slings; and it was Raven who constructed secluded caves and ledges to serve as meeting-places for chiefs. 773 [622 823]

In brief, the Bella Coola regard Raven as an explorer, teacher, and inventor, whose power, obtained from *Ałquntäm*, enabled him to construct and outwit his maker, but not to create. Much of his work was for the good of mankind, but much was evil and malicious, an aspect which belongs to mythology. Essentially human, Raven could have been included among anthropomorphic, as well as among zoomorphic beings. He differs from most of the supernatural ones in belonging entirely to the past, as his descendants have none of the first Raven's power. It is doubtful whether he still exists, but in any case he has long since ceased to take any interest in the affairs of the Bella Coola, who consider him only as a figure of mythology and ancient history. 773 776 [825]

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS OF THE VEGETABLE AND MINERAL KINGDOMS

Bella Coola beliefs concerning anthropomorphic and zoomorphic beings are relatively clear and exact; their appearance is known, their powers and functions recognized. The supernatural attributes of trees and plants are less definite. *Ałquntäm* created the former in the beginning of time, and they were consequently able to talk and act like human beings at that distant period. Owing to the degeneration of man, mortals are no longer able to converse with trees, although the latter can still understand our remarks. In a vague way, the Bella Coola continue to think of trees as having human personalities, but so little is known of their powers, and they enter so seldom into contact or conflict with mortals, that they are practically ignored. 776 824

In an equally vague manner, Nature is regarded as a Mother, giving birth to the trees and plants. One of the *kusiut* dances portrays this birth of the flowers every spring (II, p. 196). [535 575]

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774 becomes critical. Only a shaman (I, p. 539) can return one, and
755 if he fails death always results. In some cases a spirit leaves
[753] its owner without apparent reason; he becomes insane, tries
to eat dirt, and his relatives realize at once what is the matter.
[756] They summon a shaman who takes off his cape, hangs it like a pouch on his stick, and points it in all directions as he sings his shaman's song. Finally he locates what is missing, and traps it in his cloak, which he places around the sick man. This restores the element and the sufferer recovers immediately. Another method is for the shaman to press the back of the patient's neck, and by blowing and spitting cause the wandering spirit to return. Either cure must be performed by a shaman because of the supernatural power required.

774 Spirits can be extracted in various ways. Shamans can draw one forth by sucking at the back of the neck between their cupped hands; in former times, some were so powerful that they could extract them by their mere presence. During
774 *kusiut* dances (II, chap. 1), the uninitiated are told that if they
●575 enter the house where a ceremony is taking place, or even pass
[535] on the sidewalk outside the door, their spirits will be drawn from them by the power within and attracted to the dancer or to the sacred platform on which he is concealed. Many
[178] stories are told of this, which were firmly believed by the uninitiated until the last few years. Members of the society claim that their great power acts as a magnet to the spirits of all but their associates, except children in arms; the latter can be taken by their mothers into the house, because their supernatural elements have not developed sufficient strength to
774 leave their bodies. A person may also lose his spirit through a sudden shock. If two people meet unexpectedly in the forest and one of them shouts loudly at the other, even if only in fun, the spasmodic contraction of the muscles is enough to expel it.
[761] The person to whom this happens falls down as if dead, and
[756] though he soon recovers, his spirit has left him, and if it is not brought back by a shaman he dies a lingering death.

775 At death, the spirit permanently leaves the body. In some

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below. These are termed tally posts.[11] Each remained upright as long as the individual to whom it referred was alive, but fell at his death. Since that time, whenever *Ałquntām* lends to a mortal *sininits*, the undefined power that causes life, his supernatural artisans erect in the land above a tally post for the new-born infant, marked with the bird or animal used by an ancestor. As long as this remains upright and straight, firmly fixed to the ground, its owner continues to be strong and prosperous, and has success in all his undertakings; if it becomes loose, or is crooked, he ceases to succeed. Prosperity does not depend upon the activities of an individual, but upon his supernatural possessions, spirit, tally post, and a third to be described later. If the tally post tilts far from the perpendicular, its owner becomes ill, and can be cured only by straightening it. In some cases *Ałquntām* is kind enough to do this if placated by prayer and ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), and in olden days, shamans were occasionally able to penetrate to the land above for this purpose. Even when a post was reached, they were sometimes unable to set it upright, though they could always estimate the length of a man's life from its angle of inclination. In one of the *kusiut* dances, the performer pretends to have the ability to go aloft and the uninitiated are deceived by the erection of a tall ladder up which he climbs and disappears (II, p. 202). On his return, he reports the condition of the tally posts of various people. This performance serves to remind both members of the society and uninitiated of the existence of these supernatural elements, and of the dependence of individuals on them for success in life. In spite of this ritual, actual knowledge of the powers and functions of tally posts has been derived only from the first Bella Coola who, created in the land above, were acquainted with the mysteries of life and transmitted such lore to their descendants. One old man expressed the opinion

[11] *Łmałłnusta*. One of the names of *Nusmąt-a*, *Nusłmałłnaista*, refers to these, meaning, "The Place of the Tally Posts." *Łmałłnusta* and *łmałłnusta* are closely associated; sometimes the latter is pronounced *łmałłnuta*, although this may be an error in recording.

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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *kusiut* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Ałquntärı* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy abstin-

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as a man by the duly validated ownership of a chief's name in her own right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat seal, unless he had been the slayer. If many seals are killed, chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs seat themselves according to their proper positions and are first served with the blood-stained grease that floats to the top of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is cut into strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths, according to the number of guests. The cuts run down each fore-flipper, so that each receives a narrow strip including one of the toes. The head is always given to the herald.[3]

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary meals even when no seal or deer has been killed. On these occasions, as at seal feasts, the guests are designated by their ancestral names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also accustomed to meet for the discussion of matters connected with the winter ceremonial; on such occasions their number may be augmented by men of influence in the secret society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the *kusiut* society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a *numitl* chief is outweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the views of some individual must be accepted. The writer was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but

[3]Every effort was made to ensure the accuracy of this account, but errors may have crept in on account of the length of time which has elapsed since the ceremony was carried out in full detail.

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622 there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by
623 members of the *kusiut* society that none would dare go there.
778 If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formerly have
been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-
[575] place of the *Q̓omqo·ts* chiefs is on a ledge of rock jutting out
over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village.
The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side,
screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a caul-
dron, so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can enter. The
ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the
most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of
other villages lack such natural settings, though all are at the
bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some
178 of them are decorated with rude carvings, pecked into the
532 stone. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of
778 the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago,
by chiefs when they were composing tunes; they picked out
the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others
[211] were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an
important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure,
perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with
the rite, to recall the occasion. No carvings have been made
within the life-time of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that
they had further significance, now unknown.

622 When a chief wishes to summon his fellows for a meeting
623 he visits each and notifies him by a simple pressure of the foot,
in many cases unobserved even by those sitting near. The
201 person so called slips away, unostentatiously, to the meeting-
place.

578 The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the
old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who
622 succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows
682 became an object of envy. Their mythology contains many
[152] examples of the murder of some powerful chief by rivals of his
own village, and informants of today state that these records
are true. One intelligent man asserted that his father had

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184 standardized. Boys and girls helped their parents, and there
476 was no definite age at which they ceased to do so. The fluidity
* 556 of the Bella Coola system was contrary to any standardization. The more important a chief became, the more did he receive from dependent relatives, but the more did they expect in the way of "return presents." It was advantageous to be generous, within the family circle as well as without, since life was so public that every transaction even of a "private" nature, was well known. Unquestionably, a greedy and strong-minded individual must frequently have taken advantage of help from his housemates, but there was no strict code of ethics in regard to this. In brief, it may be said that the acquisition of wealth was an unstandardized, individual, matter; its distribution was likewise according to individual volition, although within a rigidly defined tribal pattern.

Sisaok Society

551 The ancestral names that chiefs desire to raise to a position
* 556 of eminence are usually embodied in myths dealing with the
●575 first settlement of this earth, names which belong, as has been stated, to the ancestral family. Many of these traditions
614 record other designations as well, each of which carries with it
[535] the prerogative of performing a type of dance known as *sisaok*. These will be spoken of, henceforth, as *sisaok* names. The Bella Coola do not know the meaning of this term. These
[553] names, like ancestral ones, are the potential property of members of the ancestral family, but can only be assumed when duly validated by presents. Such an assumption follows a
553 period of seclusion in the back-room of the house. Both men
* 556 and women are eligible. A person may be secluded in this way
575 a number of times, acquiring a new *sisaok* name on each occa-
[562] sion, but as presents must be distributed every time, it follows that only the children or relatives of wealthy chiefs can be so favoured. It is desirable to have the bestowal of a *sisaok* name occur at a potlatch, since guests from foreign tribes are then

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present, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried farther afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in attendance. Every individual duly secluded and given a *sisaok* name feels himself ceremonially allied to others who have had a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be termed the *sisaok* secret society. 553 556* 575

The close connection between this society and chiefs is obvious from the presence of names of each type in the same ancestral myths. None the less, every chief, that is a person with duly validated ancestral name and seat, is not a *sisaok*, unless he has validated a *sisaok* name for himself and undergone the period of seclusion. Conversely, a man may be a duly authorized member of the *sisaok* although lacking a seat and the other marks of chieftainship. The relationship is, however, so close that the Bella Coola think of the *sisaok* society as a society of chiefs. *Sisaok* dances take place at potlatches and funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance. Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use some of his goods for the acquisition of a *sisaok* name. Such a case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in the summer of 1923. Theoretically, he was ignorant of *sisaok* rites, but after much discussion these were used on account of his importance as a *numitl* chief, an instance of the manner in which a man's personal importance over-rules ceremonial dictates. 575 622 [553] [535] [766] [183]

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *sisaok* name-prerogatives came to this earth at the beginning of time with their first ancestors, and that many more have been acquired later by supernatural experiences. These were especially common among their forbears as they ranged over this earth seeking places to settle in the beginning of time. No *sisaok* name can be assumed casually; each must have had a specific origin. There are few *sisaok* origin myths, though theoretically there should be one to account for every name. The explanation appears to lie in the undoubted fact that many *sisaok* prerogatives have been acquired comparatively recently 424 551 575 773 [177]

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177 from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not diffi-
424 cult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking,
even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella
551 Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella
575 prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time
[773] of the coming of the white man. There has since been general decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situation is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the investigator.

428 *Susook* names are willed and inherited in the manner already
described for other prerogatives. The type of dance, and the
551 time of use, will be described in the following section of this
575 chapter.

The Potlatch

*556 It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank
128 among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a number of features which, logically, should have been postponed until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has been made to lessen references to non-ritualistic features by the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chieftainship and the *susook* society. Other ideas will require rather lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems preferable to the use of many foot-notes, its only alternative.

General Observations

104 In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "pot-
*556 latch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents,
[431] and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella Coola, such distribution of gifts is necessary at every ceremonial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most important of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach, the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

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* 556 Although guests from different tribes are sometimes invited
574 to other ceremonials, it is at potlatches that they are essential.
Since the validity of such transactions as marriages, divorces,
[203] or the assumption of professional prerogatives depends on the
presence of witnesses, and since the importance of such a rite
depends on the number of witnesses, a man is always eager to
carry out any public performance at a potlatch when he is sure
of the attention of foreigners, and the consequent wider dif-
fusion of knowledge of what he has done. The man who has
invited guests is usually willing to allow others to perform at
his potlatch, since it increases the complexity and importance
[184] of the affair. It follows that no two potlatches are alike; one
will contain features entirely lacking in another. Moreover,
the wealth of the donor determines how many rites he himself
will cause to be performed. The fundamental concept of the
potlatch is the inviting of guests from abroad to witness rites
[769] in connection with an ancestral myth, especially the return of
a recently deceased relative of the donor to visit the living.

* 556 At any important potlatch the following rites are carried
out, and in the account of the ritual it will be assumed that
796 these alone are taking place. If the reader bears this summary
in mind, he is less likely to be confused by the complication of
rites.

(1) The return of a dead ancestor to visit the living.

• [575] (2) The initiation of young men or women into the *nuaak*
[553] society. This includes the validation of a *nuaak* name for each,
and a period of seclusion in the back-room. The initiates may
either be relatives of the donor of the potlatch, or young persons
whose relatives are taking the opportunity to carry out the
rite in the presence of foreigners. Some of the initiates may
already be members of the society, undergoing a further period
of seclusion in order to increase their status by a further dis-
tribution of presents.

[554] (3) The payment by the wife of the donor and her family
[858] of goods to "rebuy" her from her husband. This is a legal
[583] fiction, though necessary to maintain the status of the children.

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PLATE 12

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Sacred whistles

[+ 186(b)]

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Pre-
* 556 sently the guests assemble, those who are ~~usual~~ wearing on
[575] their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership
[237] in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled,
[292] the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners,
[554] slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair. It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by
[203] the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial gain.

264 A number of young lads, friends or relatives of X, distribute
* 556 the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no
[883] standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests; otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in
[578] this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its reward.

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* 556 Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a
[537] fluent friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech, extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general
[425] outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may
[424] be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with
[532] certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name.

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are built. The central fire is laid in the bottom of the pit, a few feet above that is the platform where the guests are seated, and the ground-level is a few feet above that again. A few instances are remembered of houses having been built with two, and even three, of these tiers, or platforms. In those cases it appears certain that this type of construction was embodied in a myth derived from Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people, where, according to the Bella Coola, large houses, of five or six tiers, were not unknown. 342 424 556* [177]

X uses his own discretion in choosing his workmen,[1] avoiding only his own relatives and those of his wife. The question of pay is never broached, but it is understood that X will recompense those who have worked for him. The scale on which he does so will depend entirely on his generosity. This is one of the ways in which a chief helps the poor people of his village. More food is distributed to "sharpen the wedges." 335 556* 465

While a man is engaged on his allotted task any food or other articles which he or his family may obtain belongs to X. If a man who hews the planks takes his wife with him and she chances to pick berries while he is at work, these must be given to X who will distribute them with his other food at the potlatch, and it will be announced from whom he has received them. If a man's friends should help him to complete his task and then all go hunting, any skins acquired will belong to X; but when he repays his indebtedness he is expected to reward the worker, not only for his carpentry, but also for the berries or pelts. As X must give lavishly to prove his chief-like generosity, the collection of foods or skins by his workmen is profitable for them.

The guests have been passing in and out of X's house all day and towards dusk all again assemble within. Suddenly the door is burst open by a number of young men carrying a large log, like a battering-ram. The majority of the bearers are naked, though they may obtain assistance from those who are not members of the society. The people within the house spring up to eject the ram, and a sham battle ensues. Back- 556* [575]

1 [ie. to build a new house for a potlatch. -ANALYST]

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* 556 wards and forwards sway the contestants with shouting and merriment, and those who have failed to carry away their boxes of food hasten to remove them out of the danger zone. It is a time of licence, and even one of the most influential chiefs may be struck by the ram or his food scattered without consideration. The ram is driven back, but those who bear it steer the log so that instead of passing out through the door it strikes the front wall, shattering some of the boards with their old paintings. With a shout they drive forwards again until part of the wall at the back of the house is likewise destroyed. Then those within the house gain the mastery and the log is carried outside, dragging its struggling bearers with it. They drop the log and return inside as if nothing untoward had occurred. This destruction of the house walls is a necessary preparation for their replacement with new paintings on new boards. When quiet has been restored a herald stands up.

"Listen!" he cries. "Ye chiefs, ye wives of chiefs, and ye commoners, soon we shall hear the supernatural beings."

533 535 ●575 * 556 Then the singers[1] beat out the tune of any *kwiat*. He whose song it is begins to dance, using the type of which he has the prerogative, but as the supernatural being with whom he has a ceremonial affinity is not present, the dance is not considered sacred. As soon as one *kwiat* has finished, the tune of another is beaten, and he too dances. The singers change from *kwiat* to *kwiat*, and please themselves about the order in which they shall dance, also about how many shall perform. This continues until late in the night. Then they beat out a *nusad* tune and the member of that society to whom it belongs performs his dance, a non-sacred affair, like those of the *kwiat*. One after another dances as his or her tune is beaten out, until dawn approaches. Meanwhile several *nusad* have been sent outside

[1] Throughout in this monograph the term "singer" will be used as a translation of the Bella Coola word, *nuxtmil*. The singers sit together behind the fire. It is their duty to remember the tune and text of every song, to beat out this tune for every dancer and to accompany him by singing the words of his song.

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with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *nusuk* ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from these, and sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy being had landed there. At once there is great excitement within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove them to be at hand. No one is allowed to leave except a *nusuk siki*[9] who is skilled in dealing with *Mulakila*,[10] also called *Sisnaqutsam*, the supernatural being closely connected with the *nusuk* ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *siki* raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance.

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

[9]The accounts of all informants agree that much of the *nusuk* ritual was newly imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements, *Pudes*, a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella wife, also one from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with them so dowry certain *nusuk* prerogatives. It is said that previous to that time the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the youths secluded in the back-room, nor to dispel the beings at the conclusion of the rites. On the other hand, some Bella Coola claim that their first ancestors brought the whistles with them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural beings is a recent addition to the potlatch, which accounts for the contradictory accounts, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It appears certain that the prerogative of *siki* has recently been obtained from the Bella Bella. *Siki* means "the one who cures," and the name is given to the man whose prerogative it is to send the *hamsta* initiates in whom supernatural powers are located. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for *nusuk* matters, known as a *hai-whikila*. Through intermarriage several Bella Coola have recently obtained this prerogative; in each case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to them, as forewarned, the term *siki*, as they do for the *hamsta* "cures," though the Bella Bella name, *hai-whikila*, is used with equal frequency. The present *siki* have endeavoured to claim for themselves certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by any *nusuk*. In this account of a potlatch it is assumed that a *siki* is functioning on all occasions, but in many cases any senior *nusuk* is considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *nusuk* was regarded as capable of doing so.

[10]Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a certain *Sasanax* of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time.

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* 552 The *siki* returns to the house and tells the guests that *Mulaktila* has indeed been near and has promised to return later on. Those who are not *sisaek*, being steeped in the belief [575] [781] concerning the omnipresence of supernatural beings and ignorant of the carefully concealed whistles, readily credit the tale that they have heard the voice of a denizen of the land above, whose language is intelligible to the *siki*. Thus is the supernatural element of the potlatch first called forth.

After a final distribution of food, the guests return to their homes.

THE INITIATION OF *SISAEK* NEOPHYTES

* 552 At a potlatch valuable presents are given to the foreign 575 guests, but it is unthinkable for the donor to give to his fellow- [609] villagers. Accordingly, if X desires to display his generosity towards them, he does so at a preliminary ceremony, when he begins the initiation, or re-initiation, into the *sisaek* society of any number of young people. After elaborate counting and re-counting of his goods, both those actually stored in his house and those promised,[1] X decides that he has sufficient to initiate, for example, seven neophytes. His first choice will be his own children, failing those, the sons and daughters of a brother or sister, or of his wife's relatives, or, if none of these are available, those of a friend. X does not gain any pecuniary advantage from such a transaction, in fact he loses, but the prestige attached outweighs this consideration.

"Is it not the privilege of a chief to be generous?" say the Bella Coola.

He approaches the parents of those whom he has selected, always members of old-established families. As it is to the [553] social advantage of a young person to be a *sisaek*, a father usually tells X a *sisaek* name, dormant in his family, which he wishes to have conferred on his son, and how much he is willing to contribute for the purpose. In many cases, a man will

[1] In spite of the care exercised, mistakes are frequent, giving rise to hurried borrowings from friends to make up the necessary amount. [426]

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request X to have his son initiated, promising him financial assistance. 556* 575●

These preliminaries have probably been commenced before *xlāxtnim*; at any rate they are completed as soon as possible, so that a few nights later X is able to instruct a herald to invite the *suaek* to his house. The singers are in attendance. The father, or other relative, of one of those about to be received into the ranks of the *suaek*, expounds in general terms the ancestral myth containing the name to be conferred, or will ask a fluent speaker to deputize for him. Another follows, until myths have been recited for all. The singers listen attentively, knowing that without further instruction they are expected to compose two songs for each person, embodying a few salient points in the myth, without exposing the details. In point of fact, the singers have probably heard the myth on previous occasions. After a distribution of food, provided by X, the people disperse. [537] 533 556* 575

For several days the singers work at the songs. The principles governing their composition are identical for all types. At night, as he walks in the forest, or at any other time, a singer constantly tries to compose a tune. Others do the same, and at intervals they meet, either in some lonely spot or in the back-room of a house. Each singer who has composed a tune beats out its time, humming as he does so; then another gives his tune, and perhaps a third. After much discussion, which in some cases becomes acrimonious, it is decided what two tunes are the best for so-and-so. Words are then supplied, a matter of less difficulty, all the singers assisting. In this way the fourteen songs required are provided. When ready, one of the singers informs X of the fact.

X decides that on a certain night two of the initiates shall begin a period of confinement in the back-room of his house. This information is passed round in secret by the *suaek*, and the initiate, whom it will be convenient to refer to as Y, is duly warned. At dusk a reliable *suaek* is sent out to the woods behind the village with one of the large cone-shaped whistles.

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533 This is presently heard. Y may be in his own house, but at
* 556 once any number of *susaok* rush in and conduct him, concealed
in their midst, to the back-room of X's dwelling. All the *susaok*
● 575 of the village begin to gather there; those who are not members of the society are also free to enter the main part of the house, though they cannot take any part in the proceedings.
[781] They lurk near the door, watching with interest mixed with fear, and ready to flee if the danger from supernatural beings seems too acute.

After some delay, a whistle is heard at intervals, gradually becoming louder as if the supernatural being, of which it is the voice, were coming nearer. Presently it sounds immediately outside the door, and a *siki* rushes forth. He returns in a moment, followed, amid the breathless excitement of the unin-
[532] itiated, by a figure masked as a bird or animal. The design represents Y's crest, or some creature with which one of his ancestors came in contact, and which is therefore regarded as having the same sociological importance. A member of the society has carved the mask, another wears it, but this the uninitiated do not know.

[776] "It is a *tutwinam*,"[12] they gasp.

The figure crosses the house and bends down beside the singers to whom it appears to be whispering. Presently they begin, softly, to tap out a song in rapid time as if the supernatural visitor had just taught it to them. It is divided into two or three parts and the theme is taken from Y's ancestral myth.[13] After two or three rehearsals, the singers beat out the time more loudly and accompany it with their voices, while
[535] the masked figure dances. A number of older *susaok* accompany the performer as he whirls around the house; it is pretended that this is necessary to shield the spectators, though the real function is to guide the dancer whose sight is handi-

[12] Meaning, "What is displayed," or, "A materialization."

[13] If the neophyte is a son or other near relative of the chief who is giving the potlatch, the theme may consist of boasting references to the goods about to be distributed. This is customary for X himself if he performs as a *susak* at the actual ceremony.

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capped by the mask. If the *tutwinam* represents Wasp[14] or Grizzly Bear, he does not make a circuit and a fluent *sisaok* explains that to do so would be unsafe owing to the ferocity of these animals. When the song is ended, the figure passes into the back-room. After a short interval it reappears, recrosses the house, and leaves by the front door, to the accompaniment of increased whistling.

A few myths embody two *tutwinam*. In this case, a second figure presently enters and the same ritual is repeated for a second song. This usually differs, musically, from the first, being in three parts and with even more rapid time. More often, the second song is merely beaten out by the singers without the appearance of a *tutwinam* to supply an obvious source.

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This is the normal, but not the only practice with regard to a *tutwinam*. In some cases the figure does not appear until after the singing of the first song, and the uninitiated are told that it has been attracted by the music. In this case it passes into the back-room, later to reappear and leave by the front door. An announcement is made that it has brought a strange power, that Y has become peculiar, and that his name is now, for example, *Qwaqwasila*. A herald bears this news through the village. A second song is then sung in due course.

[776]

The *tutwinam* is difficult to classify among Bella Coola supernatural beings. It appears in the form of an ancestral crest, but the *sisaok* do not seem to have taught the uninitiated to regard it as Y's actual forefather. It remains as a supernatural embodiment of his crest, a materialization of an element of family history, and a motive for the use by Y of a mask representing the apparition. The uninitiated do not seek further; they have seen a wonderful sight and are content.

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Several of the older *sisaok* stated that the *tutwinam* concept was not indigenous to Bella Coola; it had been recently

[14]None of the first people came to earth as Wasps, but several received so much help from these insects that they are regarded as crests by the descendants of those whom they assisted.

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* 556 adopted, probably as a prerogative obtained through mar-
● 575 riage, from the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people. The diver-
177 sity in ritual supports this view. There was not sufficient
[776] time for the procedure to become stabilized between the introduction of the concept and the dislocation of Bella Coola social life through the influence of the white man. It is also possible that the *tutwinam* was added to *sisaok* rites from the older *a'alk* society (I, p. 273).

532 Whatever may have been the history of the *tutwinam*, it
* 556 provides Y with a mask, or with two, if two figures have ap-
575 peared. He guards them jealously, though secretly, throughout his life and uses them only on rare ceremonial occasions.
[769] It is one of these masks which will be brought out if one of his family gives a dramatic representation of his return after death.
[428] A mask of this type is sometimes willed, but the legatee alters the design before using it.

* 556 A short pause follows the singing of the second, or third,
575 song, during which some chief or chiefs may make a laudatory
[537] speech concerning Y's family history. Then the singers again sing the first song, and *sisaok* members of the audience join in.
[533] Similarly, the second song is practised. These two are sung, time after time, until the *sisaok* have thoroughly mastered them. When the singers consider that this has been accomplished, they tell X, who communicates with the *sisaok* man outside who has the whistle, and again its eerie notes are heard.
[781] Some of the uninitiated, believing that the supernatural being who gives potency to the ritual is at hand, hurriedly leave in fear. At the same time some of the *sisaok* conduct to the back-room the second initiate whose songs are to be sung that night. The procedure in his case is identical with that described for Y. Usually it is considered sufficient to seclude two on one night, though three may be attempted. When the songs of the last have been sung, food is distributed and the people disperse.

A few nights later the same ritual is repeated for two more initiates, who join their predecessors in the back-room. Here they spend their time in idleness, the only essential being the

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preservation of an air of mystery by keeping out of sight of 556*
those who are not *sisaok*. Food is brought to them, and mem- 575
bers of the society are free to enter the room at any time. Some of the older ones enlighten Y and his fellows with regard to the secret rites, and especially to the human origin of the whistle. Proud of his new status, an initiate never dreams of transmitting this information to those who are not members of the society. As a privilege, the neophytes are sometimes allowed to go out at night, care being taken that no uninitiated person shall see them. The length of the period of confinement varies according to the number of young people to be admitted, and on the actual time of the potlatch; the minimum duration is about two weeks, the maximum, four months. Sometimes the tediousness is lightened by the arrival of carpenters who have chosen this secret place to work at the *sisaok* masks. After all the initiates have been confined to the back-room, X [533]
continues to invite people to his house at frequent intervals to practise their songs. On each occasion food is distributed, so that the meetings are expensive to the host, but no donor grumbles about it, as thereby he establishes his prestige as a chief.

THE VALIDATION OF *Sisaok* NAMES

The next event is the validation of the initiates' *sisaok* 553
names,[16] a ceremony termed *no'onätlum*. X, with the assis- 556*
tance of his family, piles on the floor of his house the goods 575
which he intends to use for this purpose. In the old days these consisted of skins, blankets, food, baskets, boxes, slaves (symbolized by stones), canoes (symbolized by sticks), and so on. Nowadays, money is used. Towards dusk a herald summons [203]
the people to X's house. For many years it has been customary to invite everyone, but it is said that long ago only [537]
the *sisaok* would have been present. When all are seated,

[16] Validation of the neophytes' names is essential at the potlatch itself, but chiefs endeavour to display their wealth and generosity to their fellow-villagers as well. Consequently, though donors are eager to perform this rite, it can be omitted entirely without affecting the potlatch.

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553 without special places, X calls upon some eloquent friend to
direct the distribution of the money. This speaker orates how
* 556 X is carrying out the rites incumbent on his noble and exalted
● 575 station, how all honour him for so doing, and how all should
[537] strive to follow his example. He then says that to give strength
to the name *Qwaqwasila*, for example, X will give away, say
$100. He further announces who have contributed this
amount: perhaps $50 from X, and the other half from various
relatives of Y. If the sum in question be large it is always
mentioned from whom, and how the donor has obtained the
money. Thus every financial transaction becomes publicly
known, and the more prominently a man figures, the greater
is his prestige. Next, the amount to be used for the second
initiate's name is announced, with the same details, and in
like fashion the sums decided upon for each successive initiate.

Then the total amount is distributed among the guests by
the heralds, under X's supervision. He usually gives every-
[562] one the same amount; men sometimes receive more than
women, but in every case members of the same sex receive an
equal sum. The Bella Coola are not expert mathematicians,
[803] so that faulty division is the rule. If X, for example, decides
to give $1.50 to each person present, it is a time of considerable
anxiety while the stack of bills is being reduced, to watch
whether or not there will be the exact amount. If X finds out
[426] he is short he will hastily borrow some money, as it would be
[578] an insult to omit anyone. If the amount be too great, he will
use the surplus in making presents to the more influential
guests.

With the exception of this possible surplus, the money distributed is regarded as an outright present; "it has flowed away to make good the boys' names" is the Bella Coola expression. A chief will remember how much he has received, and if he wishes to uphold or to increase his own dignity, he will make a point of returning at least an equivalent to X on some future occasion. But though in effect he may make return, such is never said to be the case. "The money has flowed away."

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Poor people, white guests, or others from whom no return can possibly be received, share equally in the distribution; the money goes to all to validate the transaction. On the other hand, X expects that the presents, if any, made to a few individuals after the general distribution, will be returned with interest. In selecting the recipients of these he has been animated, first, by the necessity of repaying old debts, and secondly by his desire to make good investments in the shape of presents to those likely to show their chiefly nature by returning with heavy interest. No request is ever made for such repayment, but as the transaction has been publicly announced, a man fears to fail to repay, since that would lower his prestige. No one may refuse a present, no matter how embarrassing it may be.

After the gifts have been distributed the songs of the initiates are practised. Members of the *susaok* society join in with the singers; the other spectators listen attentively, full of interest, but take no part. X with his helpers then gives food to all, and they depart.

Before the coming of the white man a potlatch was a rare event, and *susaok* members were initiated at local gatherings. The period of confinement was the same as that just described, but instead of merely practising the songs during the interval, the initiates appeared and danced to them. It will be convenient here to describe that ritual, emphasizing the fact that at a potlatch, when the initiates can be confirmed in the presence of foreign guests, this preliminary rite does not take place.

After the distribution of goods the singers beat out[16] the tune of any one of the initiates, and all emerge in close succession from the back-room, each wearing a blanket, without distinctive design, a collar of dyed and pounded cedar-bark decorated with pendant weasel skins, and the distinctive *susaok* head-dress (see Plate 15).[1] This consists of a circlet of grizzly bear claws, surmounted in front by a small forehead mask; from the inner side of the circlet there rise a number of sea-lion

[16] The present tense is used for uniformity.

[1] [see cat. 116, facing p 218 - ANALYST]

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292 whiskers over which is scattered eagle down. From the back
535 of the head-dress hang weasel skins. In Bella Bella it is said to
be customary for a skin to be added on every occasion when a
* 556 *sisaok* is confined to the back-room. This may happen as many
575 as fifteen times to the child of wealthy parents, and a few Bella
Coola have adopted the practice of marking each with a skin.
[237] Usually, some six or nine are hung in two tiers, without consideration of the number of times the wearer has been in seclusion. The central figure of the forehead mask is a head with
[532] a hooked nose, the recurved hook being joined to the face itself. This figure does not vary with the wearer's ancestral myth, and no one knows what it represents. This design is
[177] said to have been introduced to Bella Coola from the north a few generations ago; before that time the head-dress consisted
[237] of a circular band of dyed cedar-bark, decorated with the tail
[824] feathers of one of the large woodpeckers. The Bella Coola call it simply, "forehead mask." Each initiate carries a hollow
[532] rattle, carved in the shape of a bird, which he holds in his right
[534] hand, belly uppermost. Long, long ago, when a dancer failed to do so, the rattle became alive and the bird flew away; hence, this rule has been obeyed ever since.

535 Each initiate takes up his station in some part of the house
behind the fire and dances to the beating of the sticks. The
* 556 left hand of each is clasped behind his back and in his right he
575 holds the rattle and keeps it in constant motion by shaking his wrist. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a good dancer. Keeping the body stiff and the legs close together, he rises with slight jumps, barely altering his position on the floor. Sometimes he slowly turns around sunwise[17] in his series of jumps, at other times he does not alter his position. The head is bent from side to side and downwards at each jump, causing the eagle down to fly in all directions. *Sisaok* assistants blow more of the material on to the head-dress at intervals (see Plate 16).

[821] [17]The Bella Coola believe that the sun moves from east to south to west to
[796] north. Many ceremonial movements follow this direction, which will henceforth be described as sunwise.

[See cat 116, facing p 219 - ANALYST]

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As the dances proceed, those women who have the prerogative for doing so, utter a peculiar droning cry. After dancing, the initiates return to the back-room, where they doff their attire. The ceremony concludes with the distribution of food. 535 556* 575 [424]

The initiates are now free to leave their place of concealment, as each has become a legal member of the *susaok* society. Some young men, sons of influential chiefs, are secluded a number of times, others but once. The oftener a youth is secluded, the greater is his prestige, because goods must be distributed on each occasion to validate his name. At the present time, there is considerable uncertainty about the exact details of the ceremony, for it has been so easy of late years to give potlatches that the simpler rite has fallen into disuse; some informants state that each initiate should emerge alone and dance by himself. This concludes the shorter ceremony, but with a potlatch the dancing is reserved until the coming of the foreign guests. [554]

DELIVERING OF INVITATIONS

Returning now to preparations for the true potlatch; it does not matter whether the ceremonies already described are carried out before or after the departure of messengers to invite guests from abroad. Although X usually consults his relatives and friends as to whom he shall invite, this is entirely optional. In giving his invitations X is actuated, first, by a desire to summon those from whom he has previously received hospitality; having accepted presents from them he must discharge the obligations or sink in social estimation. Considerations of friendship also enter into his selection, and he will likewise invite anyone whom he wishes to put to shame by a lavish display of wealth. It is taken as a matter of course that each guest will be accompanied by a number of followers, members of his family, slaves, or adherents. 556* [203] [558]

Acting on X's instructions, a herald invites the people of his village to X's house. X stands up and announces to them [203] [484]

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203 that he wants so-and-so, giving the name of a chief, to go, for
instance, to Bella Bella, to invite a certain person, whose name
* 556 he gives, to the potlatch. X likewise names those whom he
484 wishes to form the escort. As a *susaok* whistle is used, it is
essential either that the chief himself be a senior *susaok*, or that.
● [575] a *siki* go with him. It is immaterial whether or not all of the
crew are members of the society. Nobody is compelled to go,
but as all know it will be a matter of pride to X to recompense
them, none declines except for some strong reason. X names
those whom he wishes to proceed to other tribes, sending one
canoe to each group of towns. He arranges their departure
according to the distance each must travel, the aim being to
have all the guests arrive at Bella Coola at the same time.
X is expected to provide food for his guests as soon as they
arrive, and as the potlatch cannot start until all have assem-
bled, X tries to ensure simultaneous arrival, no easy matter
[648] since the area from which guests are invited extends from the
Nass River to Alert Bay.

The mysterious and sacred nature of the potlatch is impressed on the minds of the uninitiated at the time of departure. When the chief who is to bear the invitation, and the members of the crew are ready in the canoe at the beach, there is heard from X's house the sound of a whistle. The uninitiated, unaware of the method by which the noise is produced, consider it to be the voice of some supernatural being connected with the potlatch. Either the messenger himself, or some assistant with him, blows a whistle. This can be done without exposing the method by putting the whistle to the lips under cover of a large blanket. When this has sounded the canoe is free to proceed.

The messenger-chief carries with him his *susaok* mask,
which he dons if he sees another canoe approaching, while
[532] eagle down is scattered over the heads of the paddlers. These
two signs intimate that the occupants of the craft are on cere-
monial business, therefore must not be molested. For a con-
[726] siderable distance up and down the coast the sacred nature of

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the potlatch is recognized to such an extent that an attack upon envoys is unthinkable, though one or two myths recount how this unwritten law was violated on rare occasions. A canoe meeting potlatch messengers veers over to the other side of the channel to give them the right of way. 203 556* [484] [726]

On reaching the destination the canoe is brought-to close to shore until the inhabitants of the village have gathered on the beach, which they swiftly do on the arrival of strangers. The messenger sounds his whistle, the significance of which is fully understood by members of the *sisaok* society. Any chief who wishes to show his wealth and importance will invite them to his house. As they are landing, he sends a herald to summon a number of influential people of his village, who seat themselves in their rightful places. As the messengers enter they are given seats on the bench behind the fire, the spot usually reserved for chiefs. A number of lads are called in to toast smoked salmon, and when this has been done the fish are broken into shreds by young girls and served to the messengers on a mat, in lieu of a table-cloth. The envoys do not deliver their message as soon as they arrive. On the contrary, they spend the rest of the day aimlessly talking with their hosts, and sleep in the house where they have been received. [575] [262]

The following day likewise passes without ceremony, but towards nightfall the host summons all his fellow-villagers to his house. The singers take up their customary places and beat out a *kusiut* tune. Upon hearing his or her air, the owner of it starts to dance. Using their own discretion, the singers beat out the tunes of *kusiut* after *kusiut*, and each dances. In like fashion the singers beat out *sisaok* songs, and the owner of each dances. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the dances are merely of a ceremonial, not a sacred, nature. When all have danced, each gives a present to the envoys. These gifts are not returnable. They are merely "eagle down," but it is necessary that something be given to validate the dances. The value is immaterial, so far as the purpose is concerned, though a chief who wishes to exhibit his chief-like 203 535 556*

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203 nature will try to bestow a valuable present. If a man is too
* 556 poor to give anything, he can avoid the obligation by not
dancing when his tune is beaten out. The presents are piled
[535] together, and then the host, aided by several important chiefs,
[537] distributes them to the messengers, at the same time making
laudatory speeches. The chief of the envoys receives more than the members of his crew.

Then the messenger-chief stands up and announces the names of those whom X has invited to his potlatch, using in each case the ancestral designation of the person summoned. Then the envoys, in a body, go to every house in the village. Probably all to be invited are present in the house of the chief, yet the messenger-chief must call out in the doorway of each house:

"Chief So-and-so, prepare your paddles and leave tomorrow."

Early next morning the messengers rouse those whom they have invited and, as a mark of respect, help them to carry their goods to the canoes. There is an attitude of shaming com-
[558] bined with that of deference, since those assisted will have been placed under obligations. They also take to their canoes their own recently acquired goods. Envoys and guests set out together in their respective craft, and only separate as they near Bella Coola.

ARRIVAL OF THE GUESTS

* 556 While the canoes containing the first party of guests remain
● 575 at anchor to wait for high tide, the envoys proceed at once to X's house, now completely redecorated if not entirely rebuilt. Here a huge fire is blazing, and members of the *susook* society are passing in and out, making ready for the ceremony. Both
[302] men and women beautify themselves by painting their faces in any designs they fancy, and by combing their hair and
[535] placing eagle down upon it. The guests at anchor lay planks across their canoes so as to form a dancing platform. Then, as the tide rises, the singers in the house beat out the tune of

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one after another of the concealed initiates, while the audience, consisting of *susaok* alone, join in the singing. As the sounds drift out to the guests, they too beat out some of their well-known *susaok* songs. 535 556 * 575 ●

At high tide, as the canoes draw near, carefully guided by poles and saddles, the *susaok* troop down to the beach to meet the guests, led by a *siki*, who alone wears an apron of puffin beaks and carries a rattle. The singers beat out one of his tunes and the *siki* dances on the beach, while the supernatural whistle which has been sounding from the back-room of X's house, is now heard at his side, blown by an assistant under cover of his blanket. After the *siki* has danced, the singers among the guests, and there are always enough of them to make possible the beating out of the better known tunes, sing one of their *siki*'s songs as he dances on the platform surmounting the canoes. [292] [533]

The Bella Coola *siki*, surrounded by a group of *susaok*, now begins to turn about in a frenzied manner, always sunwise, bending down, then straightening himself, twisting and writhing like a maniac. Finally, standing erect, he pretends to throw something to the foreign *siki*, and then falls to the ground. The recipient makes the motion of catching something heavy, and at the same time one of his accomplices in the canoe sounds another *susaok* whistle, deluding the uninitiated observers into the belief that some power has been transmitted, which is the source of the strange noise. The visiting *siki* revolves four times; twisting and bending, then straightens up and throws back his cloak, to expose a mask representing *Mulakila*. This has been concealed there all the time, but the uninitiated readily believe it to be the creature which has made the noise, or else that it is an object miraculously made by this being. The *siki* revolves four times more, with the mask in plain sight and the whistle constantly booming, while a fluent speaker "explains" the meaning of it all to the uninitiated who are watching with interest from the background.

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535 The reception of this power from his Bella Coola confrère
* 556 enables the guest *siki* to dance at X's potlatch, if he so desires.
In that case the guests are guided to X's house without further
575 delay. If, however, he does not wish to dance, he goes through the motions of throwing something back to the Bella Coola *siki*, who pretends to catch it. He bends down, twists himself about, then throws back his cape—to display there the representation of *Mutlakila*. At the time of throwing, the visiting *siki* had slipped his mask out of sight, so that those witnessing the transaction, ignorant of the fact that the recipient has had an identical mask hidden beneath his cape throughout, are suitably impressed. He now revolves four times, while an assistant, sheltered under a large cloak, sounds the whistle constantly. Then the *siki* makes the motion of throwing something to X's house, and after that the whistle sounds from within, while the man who had been blowing one beside the *siki* ceases. Thus the uninitiated are led to believe that the voice can proceed only from the place where the power over which the *siki* has control is situated.

* 556 The guests are conducted to X's house, to which a number
of young men carry their goods. A meal of toasted salmon,
574 provided by X, is served to them by a number of youths, all of whom are eager to undertake this task throughout the ceremony. A section of the house is allotted to each party of guests, and within that space they arrange themselves according to convenience. Some informants state that the first group to arrive is seated nearest the fire. The whole of those invited are not placed according to rank. The amount of space allotted to each party of guests depends upon their number, and there is no particular choice made of a section in the house. X, or more often some one who speaks for him, welcomes the guests, and a spokesman from among them makes a suitable reply, usually with the assistance of an interpreter. After the meal, the guests can remain where they are or go out. As many as wish to do so stay in X's house, but many prefer to

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go to the homes of their friends in the village; it is a matter of convenience, not of ritual. 556* [574]

In the evening, there may be no rite of any kind, but X often invites everyone to his house for the performance of non-ceremonial dances. The singers strike up one of his *sisaek* or *a'alk* (I, p. 273) tunes and he dances to it. Then a tune belonging to one of his relatives is beaten out, and he too dances. After several have thus performed, a meal is served and all disperse. No supernatural beings are in attendance, hence there is no solemnity to the occasion; the evening's rites merely serve to show the guests the dances owned by their host and his family. 535 556*

As each party of guests arrives the same procedure is repeated. X provides food for those who have assembled from day to day, so he anxiously awaits the last-comers. When at last they come the guests from all other towns are in their allotted sections of X's house, and are free to make gibes at the tardiness of those latest in appearing. Occasionally, hard feelings are engendered in this way, although it is an established custom to mock at the last to arrive. They seat themselves and a small amount of food is given them. 556* 574 [628]

RITUAL CARRIED OUT BY THE GUESTS

Two youths, chosen by X for the purpose, sprinkle eagle down over the heads of all those present, as far as possible blowing it first over the chiefs. It serves as a token of good-will, and marks also the ceremonial nature of the occasion. Then a leading *sisaok*, perhaps a *siki*, stands up and says in effect: 556* [788] [237] [575]

"Thank you for coming. You are welcome. We thank you for coming to witness what X has done. He is delighted to have you here, because he has lost many of his relatives and wishes to perpetuate their memory. They would be grieved if he did not do so."

An elaborate meal is now served by a number of young men. [264]

The first course is dried cohoe salmon mixed with olachen grease. The fish is first placed in boxes, approximately one to every four persons, though a chief may be honoured by an individual box, and the grease poured over it. As always, any food not consumed is carried away. Failure to do so would be an insult to X. Then round wooden dishes are distributed into which are poured the berries of *Viburnum pacificum*. The waiters pour olachen grease over these and the mixture is eaten with wooden spoons. These two foods are invariably the first meal of a potlatch.

If the *siki* of the last guests to arrive has not returned the power given him by the Bella Coola expert, he now stands up and shakes his rattle as a signal that he desires to start his dance. The Bella Coola *siki* also stands up, and the visiting *siki* contorts himself and finally pretends to produce something from his stomach, which he throws across to his colleague. The latter feigns to catch it, cries *hoip* loudly several times, and makes the motions of hurling what he has just received into the room at the back of the house where the initiates are concealed. Then he sits down. Meanwhile the last-to-arrive party of guests have started to beat out the tune of one of the *sisaok*[11] songs of their own *siki* who dances in time to it. Then another song is beaten out and another member of the party dances, and so on until all have danced who desire to do so. Each wears his own head-dress and each performs in the manner already described. After the dancing, the members of this party of guests give presents to X and other Bella Coola chiefs. There is no fixed ratio between the value of the gifts and the rank of the recipients, though chiefs receive more than lesser men, and X most of all. These presents are *spuxdjut*, which may be translated as "eagle down-ness," merely a mark of friendship and goodwill. They are not returnable. Goods so received are distributed by X with his other possessions at the potlatch, care being taken not to return them to the donors, which would be insulting.

[11] *Xi-da* songs (I, p. 217) are sometimes used.

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After bestowal of these presents, the *siki* of the penultimate group of guests shakes his rattle, and exactly the same procedure is carried out by members of his party. They, too, give presents to X and the other Bella Coola chiefs. The same rites are carried out by each party of guests in the reverse order of their arrival. It is frequently near dawn before the first-comers have completed their dances and distribution of gifts. X then gives another meal to all, with no restriction on the choice of food. This concludes the night's ceremony, and the guests depart, except those who are staying in X's house. 556 *

THE POTLATCH: FIRST DAY

Considering the lengthy ceremonials of the preceding evening, it is not surprising that on this day no one stirs early. The guests receive their breakfast in the houses where they are accommodated, and meanwhile a number of young men gather in X's house to assist in the preparation of food for the main meal of the day. During the previous night a large amount of smoked mountain goat has been put in water to soak. This is now placed in a number of food-boxes, ready for distribution, water is added and hot stones lifted in to bring it to a boil. When the water comes to the boil, mountain goat grease is added, and then bearberries; it is usually about two o'clock in the afternoon before the meal is ready. The guests are summoned and the food given them, the chiefs, as usual, receiving more than those of lower rank. After eating they disperse to await the evening rites. [251] [252] [554]

It was impossible to obtain an accurate account of the ritual carried out on the evening of this, the first day of the potlatch proper. The ceremonial was of less importance than those preceding and following, and it has long fallen into disuse. The guests take up their accustomed places, and the Bella Coola members of the *nuxalk* range themselves near them and behind the fire. The corners next the door are occupied by non-members of the society. The singers beat out two of [182] 556 * 575 ● [535]

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the best songs they have made for the initiates, and any of the *sisaak* members of the audience desiring to "help" the initiates dance to them, even X himself on occasion. By "help" no material aid is indicated; such dancing merely displays a friendly and sympathetic interest. The initiates, resplendent in *sisaak* head-dresses, appear at the door of the back-room, and sometimes dance a few steps. Occasionally, at the conclusion of his song, a lad's parents, or other relatives, bring forward the goods which will be later distributed by X to the guests. On other occasions, this is reserved for the following day. Food is distributed and all disperse.

THE POTLATCH: SECOND DAY

On this, one of the two most important days of the whole ceremony, the following rites take place.

During the Day

(1) Communication to the foreign guests of the new *sisaak* names of the initiates concealed within the back-room; these names are the ones that have been made known to the Bella Coola before the potlatch proper.

(2) Payment to X by the members of his wife's family of the goods necessary to rebuy her from her husband.

During the Evening

(3) Repayment by X of debts owed to members of his own village.

(4) Return of a dead relative of X to visit the living.

(5) Distribution of presents to validate this appearance.

(6) In some cases, dancing by some of the *sisaak* initiates.

Early in the morning X gives each of his guests a wash-basin with the other necessary appurtenances for cleaning up, and towards noon all of those invited reassemble in his house. Three river canoes have been brought in and are ranged, two parallel to the side walls, and one parallel to the back wall, all far enough out to permit people to sit behind them. Boxes containing large quantities of red elderberries and olachen

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grease have been placed in readiness. X selects as many youths as the number on whom he intends to confer the names which have already been announced and validated among the Bella Coola, but are now to be made known to the foreign guests. He seats the lads, who are to substitute for the initiates, on the various boxes. Everybody understands that these are merely representatives. X requests two chiefs to act as his announcers, choosing two with good voices and abundant self-confidence. To one of these X whispers the *secret* name of one of the initiates.

"His name is now——" calls out the announcer, pointing to one of the substitutes, and the listeners readily recognize the initiate intended, from the use, in conjunction with his new designation, of his well-known ancestral name. The heralds repeat the new name with the usual bedizzage, so that it becomes well known to all present. In like manner the *secret* name given to each initiate is publicly announced. The substitutes receive no advantage from their part in the proceedings.

Then the boxes are opened and red elderberries poured into the canoes in front of the guests. Spoons are provided with which the visitors pound the fruit into pulp which they proceed to mix with their hands, as clarifiers grease and cranberries are added. Then X's helpers distribute spoons and the food commences. All start to eat, but after an interval one of the leading Bella Coola chiefs strikes the side of his canoe with a spoon, as a signal that all must stop. X has several dishes in readiness. If he is wealthy some of these will be carved in the shape of beaver, eagle, or other form in which an ancestor appeared. These dishes are filled with the food which all have been eating and then placed before the principal chiefs, who then have a second supply. At this point the singers begin to beat out an ancient song of the type known as *ts'ela*. Each of these has been handed down from the distant past, when some chief, ancestor of X, had it composed for himself at a potlatch. The theme is always about the form or fame of his

556* 575 553 [203] 556* 264 [252] [415] [539] 539 556* [171]

1:McDowell: E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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.575

PLATE II

Sound head-dress

[facing p 218]

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535
575

PLATE 16

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Eagle dance being blown over a consol dancer

[facing p219]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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556 184 ings to reward carpenters and others who had helped X prepare for his potlatch, but in Bella Coola this was usually done the following night.

556 769 535 575 [538] Now comes what the Bella Coola regard as the most important feature of the potlatch.[*] The singers strike up one of the songs of a senior *nuxuk*, perhaps a *sisi* chosen for his skill in acting. As he dances, clad in his ceremonial costume and head-dress, whistling is heard without the house. A number of *nuxuk* are making the noise and they modulate it so that it appears to draw nearer and nearer. This is effected either with whistles of different sizes or by blowing harder. The dancer rushes out of the house. The whistling continues in a series of short bursts, as if a conversation were being carried on in that language. The *nuxuk* or *sisi* returns, and the audience, silenced by the mystery of the affair, listens to his explanation:

"It is so-and-so," he announces, using the ancestral name of one of X's deceased relatives. "The crest has come to pay his son [or whatever relation X may be to him] a visit. I will bring him in."

While he speaks, continuous whistling is heard from without, but when he leaves the house it once more takes on the form of a dialogue. Presently he returns, followed by a masked figure in the centre of a group of members of the *nuxuk* society. If the deceased's first ancestor had been an eagle, in that guise [532] the figure will appear—an eagle mask on his head, and his whole body, except perhaps the feet, covered by a large blanket thickly covered with eagle down and furnished with painted wooden wings. The dancer is usually entirely blinded by this costume, but he is guided by a number of the *nuxuk* whose presence is attributed to the necessity for guarding and paying honour to the supernatural visitor. Among those who accompany him there is always a man with a whistle, the note of [538] which simulates the cry of an eagle, and this is sounded at intervals. The actor bends in imitation of a bird and shakes [532] himself, lifting his head and opening the movable beak by

[*] Though publishers can be held without this feature.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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means of a hidden string, while the whistle sounds. Then he 556*
stoops down and hops a few steps eagle fashion. Slowly, with 769
pauses and turnings around, the figure circles the fire and
retires through the front door; always attended by a number 535
of *nusk*. The actor displays considerable dramatic ability, 575
and the performance is strikingly effective in the large, plank- [532]
built house, illumined only by a smoky central fire which
casts flickering shadows over the intently watching audience.
The dogs, alone unimpressed by the solemnity of the occasion,
skulk to and fro.

If a whale is represented, a large wooden frame-work is [532]
carried by several men who walk inside of it. Raven, bear, or
other animals may also be used, according to the ancestral
myth of the deceased. Some of the first people came to this
earth as men, but there have always been a sufficient number
of intermarriages to permit everyone to portray some bird or
beast, obtained from the family into which an ancestor mar-
ried. A supernatural object claimed to have been seen by a
forefather can also be used on these occasions. In some cases
a composite figure is used. Such may have the head of an [532]
eagle, a killer whale projecting from the back, and a raven on
its chest. In such a case those three creatures have been
connected with the ancestry of the deceased, and his spirit is
believed to have assumed those forms. Great individual choice [184]
is allowed in such matters.

If several of X's deceased relatives are being commem-
orated, the sound of whistling is again heard from without, a
short time after the departure of the first masked figure. A
similar *nusk* goes out, and the same ritual is repeated. This
time the masked actor represents some other bird or animal.
Three, or in some cases four, dead people are thus shown,
though one is more customary. The actual management of
the figures is left to the direction of the carpenters who have
made them. Often a foreign workman is employed, as a mark
of respect for his skill. In spite of all precautions there are
often delays about the final preparations, especially with regard

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*556 769 [575] [535] to a complicated figure such as a whale, and in that case an expert dancer among the guests is called upon to perform. It is announced that this is, "to make clean the road for the dead."

After each masked figure has disappeared, the sound of whistling from without grows gradually weaker, as the apparition returns whence it came. In solemn silence X takes a copper[21] which he has had in readiness, breaks it across his knee,[22] and throws it either into the fire or down on the ground in the track that the figure has taken. Then the announcer calls out loudly:

"It is for his crest.[23] It has 'made bone for the dead.'" Then he continues, speaking for X and using the first person:

"My heart is glad at seeing my father.[24] At death he returned back on the path of my family's ancestors and donned our ancient crest. He now lives in *Nusmät·a*, whence he came to visit us and whither he has now gone back."

[178] The significance of the throwing down of a copper is entirely unknown to the modern Bella Coola, although they still perform the ritual. In some vague way it is felt that "bone," which may imply *stability*, has been provided for the deceased. The act thus appears in the light of an offering to the dead, but this sentiment is not clearly appreciated by the participants in the rite; the present has been made *for*, rather than *to*, the one being mourned.

The copper, now valueless, is picked up by any chief and given to a poor man.

After a short interval a number of youths begin to distribute presents, provided by X, which have been placed in readiness. [562] [431] Gifts of equal value are given to all foreign male guests; while the women receive ones less valuable. These presents

[325] [436]

[21] One of the plaques of native copper, such as were formerly beaten out cold and used as tokens of value by the coast tribes of British Columbia. Their employment by the Bella Coola will be described later in greater detail (I, p. 252).

[22] The breaking is sometimes omitted.

[23] That is: "For the dead man, now in form of his crest."

[24] Or whatever relative the deceased may have been.

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556*

are strictly non-returnable, being regarded as "eagle down,"[a] and having, therefore, a ceremonial significance. They validate and mark the importance of the representation just displayed. They are spoken of as having been shaken off by the deceased as he departed to return to his home above. [769] [431]

If there are many *sisaok* initiates concealed within the back-room, some of them may now be called upon to dance, but usually this is reserved for the following night. Unless some of those secluded are going to dance, food is distributed and all disperse. [575] [535]

THE POTLATCH: THIRD DAY

This is the day when presents are given and, with the previous, is the most important of the whole ceremonial. The following are its features.

During the Day

(1) Distribution of much food, and sometimes of insults to the guests by excessive presents, or by the destruction of valuables. [578]

During the Evening and Night

(2) Dramatic representation of some object connected with X's ancestral myth.

(3) Distribution of presents by X to recompense the craftsmen who have assisted in the potlatch.

(4) Repayments by X of gifts received at previous potlatches.

(5) Giving of presents by X to some of his guests.

(6) Distribution of presents to strengthen X's seat.

(7) Distribution of presents to strengthen, or establish, seats for a number of young men.

(8) Dancing of the *sisaok* initiates. 556*

(9) Distribution of presents to recompense those who have assisted the *sisaok* dancers. 575

(10) Distribution of presents to validate the *sisaok* dances and the names thereby acquired by the initiates.

[a] The Bella Coola state that the Kwakiutl term for this is *sisa* or *gosa*.

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*556 (11) Dismissal of the supernatural power possessed by the
[575] *susaok* initiates, thereby enabling them to return to normal life in the community.

*556 All day, food is being distributed in X's house with guests
578 in almost constant attendance. Not only are large presents of
171 food made to any chief who has previously shown generosity to X, but he also takes this opportunity to bestow insults on anyone from whom he has received the same. Among the Bella Bella and people of Rivers Inlet guests were frequently ridiculed with respect to their habitual diet or mode of life. Unquestionably, the Bella Coola sometimes did likewise, both at potlatches and at *kusiut* rites to which strangers were invited. Although it is dangerous to dogmatize on this point, because the practice has long since fallen into disuse, it appears highly probable that mockeries were less prevalent in Bella Coola than at other places on the coast.

*556 It is comparatively common, however, for a chief to shame
558 a guest by a lavish disregard for valuables. News is constantly
628 passing from town to town, so that the intended victim usually hears what is in store for him. A guest always takes valuable goods with him when he goes to a potlatch, but one who expects to be insulted takes care to have an unusually large supply. The host seats this particular visitor close to the fire, and during the afternoon or early evening he throws large quantities of grease and food upon it, to demonstrate "the warmth" and "fineness" of his house. The guest experiences physical discomfort from the extreme heat, and suffers mental pangs at having a rival boast of his power and fame. To assert his own importance he will throw goods on the fire, as if they were water to extinguish it, and the host will counter by throwing on more valuables. The contest is continued until the goods of the guest are exhausted, or the host fears to burn more lest he should not have enough left to validate the potlatch. He who has destroyed most is considered to have shown his superiority. The Bella Coola state that such rivalry was unknown
[578] between chiefs of the same village.

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556* [463]

success, according to the Bella Coola, depends upon the goods expended in their establishment (I, p. 261).

556* 575 535

Throughout all this ceremonial the initiates have been carefully concealed in the back-room. They are now eagerly, though with trepidation, awaiting their time to dance. The order of appearance is a matter of no importance. It is arranged by the singers, who send word to one of the initiates and then begin to beat out one of his songs. He emerges, clad in a ceremonial blanket, wearing a *sisaok* head-dress, and holding a rattle in his hand. Taking up his station behind the fire he dances in time to the beating of sticks. As he does so, the speaker calls upon X's wife to bring forward goods as "cedar-bark mats for him to stand upon," or "cedar-bark mats to make soft his seat." These are piled at some convenient spot. After dancing, the initiate retires to the back-room, accompanied by one of the older members of the *sisaok* society, perhaps a *siki*. This man presently emerges, saying:

"It is most peculiar. An eagle is there now."[22]

At the same time a whistle sounds from the back-room, in imitation of the scream of an eagle.

There ensues a constant interplay of remarks between the heralds and those regulating the ceremony. One of the former may call out:

"Let us see it."

The elder returns to the back-room, saying, "I will bring it out."

There now emerges a figure masked to represent an eagle, or whatever bird or animal it may be, with a long blanket covering all but the feet. Any clever dancer is employed to wear this disguise, seldom the initiate himself. The "eagle" bends down beside the singers as if whispering a song to them, though in reality they have themselves composed it. They sing this as the masked figure moves around the fire, imitating the gait of an eagle with considerable dramatic skill, while an

[22] Or whatever may have been the guise in which the animal came to him, in itself dependent on his ancestral myth.

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*556 assistant blows a whistle, sounding like an eagle. When the
●575 figure has disappeared into the back-room, the heralds discuss
with one another in a loud tone of voice how that was the form
[535] in which the initiate's ancestor appeared long ago. At the
present time there is uncertainty concerning the proper ritual
connected with the appearance of the *tutwinam* at this juncture.

A senior *susaok* then calls on X to bring forward goods, "to shield our eyes from the supernatural being." These articles, part of which may have been provided by relatives of the initiate, are piled beside those brought forward by X's wife, which may also have come from the same source.

[535] The singers strike up the second song of the initiate; again he appears and dances to it, then vanishes into the rear room.

The two assortments of goods are now distributed. First, those provided by X are presented to the singers who composed
[465] the songs for the initiates, to the carpenters who made the masks, the heralds, and announcers, and any others who have assisted; if any remain they are presented to the stranger-guests. Then the goods which are "mats for the dancer's feet" are distributed, entirely to the guests, and are said to have "become nothing" or to have "flowed away" in the transaction. Neither set of goods is returnable. These presents validate in the eyes of the guests, the right of the initiate to membership in the *susaok* society.

Then a second, third, or fourth neophyte is called out, one at a time, and the same procedure is repeated.[31] In distributing the goods, efforts are made to remember those guests who received nothing at the first distribution.

Toward dawn, one of the important chiefs, it is immaterial which one, calls out:

"I want a *siki*."

It is understood that for this part of the ceremony a foreign
[789] expert is required, and one such comes forward according to previous arrangement. He retires to the back-room and re-

[31] Though desirable, it is seldom possible for all the initiates to dance on the same night.

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turns, clad in his ceremonial costume, including a long cape with pockets. With him come the four or five young men who have just finished dancing. The singers beat time furiously with their sticks, and the *siki* whirls round and round, working himself into a frenzy with twists and gyrations. Gradually, he approaches one of the initiates, and pretends to pluck something from his body. As he opens his hands the spectators see that there is something in them, what exactly, they cannot distinguish. Only those who are *susaok* understand that, whatever it is, it has been palmed from one of his cape pockets. He pretends to throw this object upwards, at the same time slipping it back into his cape. As the article is, theoretically, thrown aloft the sound of whistling is heard, which grows weaker and weaker till it finally ceases. Meanwhile the heralds discourse loudly with one another about how the "eagle" or whatever it is, has been extracted, and is now returning above. The same procedure is repeated for the other initiates. This concludes the night's ceremony. Food is distributed and the people disperse. 556* 575 789

The employment of a foreign *siki* to expel the power from the initiates is necessary since this particular prerogative is not native to Bella Coola. Formerly the expulsion was done in the back-room without any elaborate ceremony. This rite marks the admission of initiates into the *susaok* society although they cannot yet leave the back-room. It must be understood, however, that a youth may be initiated several times, on each occasion receiving new songs and perhaps a different mask. In this way his prestige as a *susaok* is increased, and the son of a powerful chief will often be initiated ten or more times. A mask so acquired is preserved in concealment as the personal property of the owner who may use it at potlatches on future occasions. It will be the guise in which a dead person returns to visit the living. After being used for this purpose, a mask may be burnt, or willed to a near relative of the deceased, who slightly alters the painting before using it himself. [424] [177] 556* 575 [422] [532] [428]

It is somewhat difficult to understand the attitude of those [781]

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*556 ●575 ·781 watching either the masked dancer or a representation of the deceased. Usually, the feet are plainly visible, and the spectators cannot fail to realize they are looking, not at an eagle or other supernatural creature, but at a man. Yet no one ever expresses this doubt. It must be remembered that all are firmly convinced of the close relationship existing between denizens of the land above and members of the *sisaok* society. To the uninitiated this is proved by the whistling. They regard the figures as supernaturally endowed representations of those beings with whom the participants are able to come in contact. A sophisticated Bella Coola likened their attitude to that of a man praying before images of the saints, fully realizing that these are only inanimate statues, yet mentally experiencing a feeling of close contact with the saints themselves. Another expressed it thus:

"The uninitiated are trained to believe what they see. It would be most improper for them to voice any doubts, in fact they do not have any, so firm is their belief in the supernatural power of the members of the *sisaok* society."

This last appears to be the real explanation. Everyone must have his or her doubts, but each is afraid to express them, realizing that so doing would not only offend the chiefs, as individuals, but the supernatural powers with whom they are in touch, which is obvious from the whistling that accompanies the ceremony. It appears that the uninitiated have no idea how this is produced.

CONCLUDING CEREMONIES AND OBSERVATIONS

*556 575 The number of *sisaok* initiates is usually too great to allow all to dance on one night. If possible, this is done; but if not, on the following evening more of the initiates perform in the manner already described. The distribution of presents and [789] the expulsion of power from the young *sisaok* also follow the same lines. If many of them are secluded, three, or even four, nights may be required until the last one has danced, and the last cleansing has been performed.

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There now remains only the necessity of removing from the house itself the supernatural power with which it is firmly believed to have been impregnated throughout the many weeks of the ceremony. Should this not be done, it would be so strong that only *sisaok* could thenceforth live in it, and no *kusiut* rite could be performed therein. One of the senior chiefs, acting on X's behalf, requests as many *siki* as are present to go to the back-room. At the same time a drum is beaten slowly. The *siki* call out loudly, in unison, *hoip* four times. The whistles sound from the back-room with ever-lessening intensity, as if the supernatural being, whose voice they are, were going away. It is said that this practice has been comparatively recently adopted from Rivers Inlet: there used to be nothing of the kind. The *siki* re-emerge, and one of them stands behind the fire with his stick which he beats on the floor and calls on the audience to shout with him, "*hi* . . ." This is done four times. It serves to purify the house from the supernatural power with which it has been saturated. The people then disperse, without food.

556* 575 783 789 [177]

Goods from the general store are reserved to pay these men for their services, and also for cleansing the initiates from the powers with which they have been imbued, a rite that takes place the following morning in the presence of several *siki* alone. The initiates are brought from the back-room and seated in a close circle between the door and the fire.* A foreign *siki* is chosen by X to perform the actual cleansing rite. He has been asked beforehand and has come provided with a long pole and some soiled clothing. It is immaterial whose this is, provided that it has been in contact with a human body; the most potent articles are catamenial cedar-bark pads.

[465] [778] [841]

The *siki* covers the young men with a large cedar-bark mat. Then he fastens the clothing or pads to his pole and holds the end in the fire until they are smouldering. Then he swings it four times over the heads of the initiates and throws the stick

*Behind the fire according to some informants.

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*556 with the objects back on the fire. In some cases four sets of
●575 cloths are used. This rite, which is regarded as very impor-
783 tant, frees the lads from the supernatural powers with which
789 they have been endowed, and permits them finally to leave the back-room and return to normal life, just as their earlier cleansing freed them from the *tutwinam*. During their period of seclusion no initiate can perform a *kusiut* ceremony of any kind. The supernatural beings of the two societies, though closely akin, are yet independent, and it would be unthinkable for a man to enter into contact with the two at the same time, unless he should be the owner of a rare prerogative enabling
[424 him to do so. Only a few men have the right, which un-
177] doubtedly was derived either from the Bella Bella or the people of Rivers Inlet.

*556 X pays the functioning *siki* with new clothing. This com-
575 pletes the whole ceremony. The guests either return home or adjourn to some other house where a potlatch is taking place,
[465] but no rites mark their departure.

*556 Such, then, are the principal features of the Bella Coola
171 potlatch. Without making a careful comparison of its features with those of neighbouring tribes, the following points stand out with great clearness:

(1) The basic concepts of the potlatch in Bella Coola are the same as those of the rite practised elsewhere on the coast.

(2) A potlatch has not the same importance at Bella Coola as it has on other parts of the coast, especially among the Kwakiutl. All informants stated repeatedly that they did not
[186] carry their potlatches to the same lengths as did the "foolish" Kwakiutl, nor were they as keen financiers. A Bella Coola would never entirely impoverish himself by lavish giving.

(3) The potlatch, though fundamentally the same as it is elsewhere on the coast, has certain rites characteristic of the locality. The central Bella Coola feature, the return of a dead ancestor, is not equally important elsewhere. It would be interesting to be able to trace the history of this. The most

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*556 chief to pay somewhat lavishly, since the value of the copper
[435] depends on the amount expended on it.
[437] The $20 received by the poor man must not be casually spent. He is expected to invite the whole village to his house,
*556 otherwise he would never again be given a copper. The heralds
735 call everyone to the house, the singers as usual being the first to arrive. They beat out the *kusiut* song of anyone, to which
[533] the owner dances; the songs are used one after another, until
[575] almost every member of the society has danced. *Swaok* songs may then be used in the same way. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the rite has no religious significance; it is merely a social affair. At the close of the dancing, the poor man distributes food to all, equivalent in value to the money received. It is probable that poor men sometimes give away slightly less than they have received, although any noticeable laxity in this would be punished by the receipt of no further coppers. The recipient of a copper from a fire derives no direct gain from it, though it is to his indirect advantage, since a person who has given away food is likely to receive larger presents on future occasions than one who has not.

435 Meanwhile the chief owning the copper is unable to use it at his potlatch since the value, dependent on the goods ex-
*556 pended for it, is only $20, a sum so small that to use it would be insulting to his dead ancestor. There are several ways of increasing its value:

[532] (1) *By Painting.* Taking advantage of some ceremony when a number of people are present, the owner gives a carpenter $10, for example, with a request that he paint on his copper a representation of the crest used by his, the owner's, first ancestor, when coming to this earth. Henceforth the value of the copper is $30.

435 (2) *By Naming.* The Bella Coola say that among the
552 Kwakiutl names are given to almost all coppers; in Bella
*556 Coola it is a rare practice. Occasionally, a chief creates a name for his copper and validates this by presents to all the

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688 his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the
693 upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse
into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the
[177] coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without
hesitation.

THE PROFESSION OF UTTERING A DRONING CRY

424 At the appearance of masked figures representing super-
551 natural beings, whether in *sisaok* or *kusiut* dances, many of the
women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry
[575] which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness
[463] of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral
prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents.
[431] Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women
[773] were given by *Ālquntām*, or acquired in other ways, the right
to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with
respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously de-
scribed, many of the first women possessed this privilege,
which is accordingly common at the present time. A name
[553] of this type is usually confirmed in girlhood, sometimes even
in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be
validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One
of these names is *Nunuqwelelslaixen-a*, which has reference to
[773] the blue-green sheen of some abalone-shell brought from the
east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the
ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many
[178] years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this
prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to
drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to
increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

424 There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incum-
767 bent to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of
time, *Smaoan* of Kimsquit married *Tlākwaitl*, the daughter of
463 a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been
773 transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kims-
quit.

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701 difficult to estimate the former influence of such warriors. The belief of all in their ability must have given them some prestige, although the requirements of practical qualifications in fighting must often have prevented them from functioning as military leaders. In other words, a man may be, socially, a warrior, even though he lacks ability as a fighting man.

701 The functions of warriors are not limited to fighting with
693 enemies of other tribes. Each has the power to kill and must exercise it when requested. If a mistake is made in a cere-
[688] monial *kusiut* dance, the offender must be killed, and one way
[575] in which this is accomplished is by the senior members of the society requesting a professional warrior to act as executioner.
[428] One of these men, who lived at *Ăsăn-ăn-i*, always used a stone
[411] club which had been handed down from generation to generation, becoming the property of each new incumbent of the
[754] name and prerogative. In other cases, the killing is said to have been done with the aid of magic. The power of the *Ăsăn-ăn-i* warrior had been confirmed with so much goods that he was the most powerful professional killer known to the Bella Coola. He acted on instructions from the senior members of the *kusiut* society or when called upon by anyone. If,
[684] for example, a man found that his wife had been faithless and wished to kill her lover, it was only necessary to tell the professional warrior, who was bound to act in accordance with his prerogative. He received no pay, since he was merely
[682] exercising his right. The relatives of the murdered person never took revenge on the slayer, realizing that he was powerless in the matter, though they frequently requested him to slay the person who had asked him to kill the first victim. He could never refuse to do so, even if the victim were his own brother, or if he knew that the person he was to kill was guiltless. The underlying principle was that this man's power had
[761] been increased to such a pitch by the distribution of presents that if he failed to exercise it on demand, it would react upon himself and cause his own death. This *Ăsăn-ăn-i* warrior began in time to have an aversion for his vocation, since he

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was being feared and hated by all. Yet his prerogative was so strong that he could not cease to act. He found by chance a cave near the top of precipitous Mount *Nusimusta*, not far from his village, and told everyone that he would die there, where no one would ever be able to spit or tread upon his grave. One autumn, when an old man, he disappeared, and although search parties scoured the woods for him, they were unsuccessful. Next spring, some young men visited the cave in which they found his badly decomposed corpse; the warrior had kept his promise. 701 693

The profession of warrior carries with it prohibitions and requirements other than with regard to killing. Such men are thought always to be so wild and restless that they cannot sleep at night, but prowl around the village watching for possible foes. In actual fact, warriors seldom sleep quietly throughout the night. They have one restriction of a social nature, in that they can never be confined in the back-room as initiates into the *nasak* society. Consequently, no *tatwinam* ever comes to one of them. When one gives a potlatch, a rather boastful song is sung for him as he remains in the central part of the house. What affiliation this brings him with the *nasak* society is obscure. 701 [575]

It is difficult to say to what extent a professional warrior believes in his own powers, since there is, and must always have been, great individual variation. The white man finds it difficult to understand the psychology of a man who considers himself bound to kill on request, simply because presents have been distributed to make him a warrior. It must be remembered that this is one of the most pervasive features of Bella Coola life; functions of all kinds depend upon validated prerogatives, and there is no doubt that a man who has one of this kind is actually influenced to such an extent that he begins to believe in his own prowess. It was unusual for a warrior to exercise his powers as freely as did the *Ada-de-i* man, but the Bella Coola have no difficulty in explaining this:—his prerogative had been confirmed with more lavish expenditure 156 701

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expenditure though he must forgo the prestige enjoyed by a man who has been able to elevate his professional names in a lavish manner. Selection is a constant factor in the social life of a Bella Coola; the man who uses all his wealth to acquire a firm seat cannot be "strong" in *nusuk* matters; the man who desires to specialize in *kusiut* affairs cannot afford to display an elaborate totem-pole. Amid these conflicting desires, it often happens that a man somewhat neglects his professional prerogatives, especially those of which the dignity has been slightly lessened through superior skill shown by individuals endowed with no more than native ability. Upstarts of this kind have always infringed upon professional dignity, and the coming of the white man has added a new factor which has almost destroyed vocational prerogatives.

424 556 182 [555] [177]

A'alk Dances

The most important, as well as the most spectacular, dances that occur at potlatches are those given by members of the *nusuk* society. In addition to these, a feature of many potlatches is the performance of *a'alk* dances.[1] As already mentioned, from 1870 onwards there have been many changes in *nusuk* ritual; new elements have been acquired by the marriages of Bella Coola to members of the coastal tribes, with the result that details of procedure vary at every ceremony according to the prerogatives of the donor. Since 1910, the influence of white civilization has increased to such an extent that *nusuk* ceremonials have virtually been abandoned. This took place at a time when the ritual was in transition, a state of affairs which rendered difficult the collection of coherent information. *A'alk* dances are associated with *nusuk*, but the addition of new features to the latter was accompanied by a decay of the former. Both societies have now almost ceased to exist, but whereas the *nusuk* organization was abandoned during a period of change and accretion, that

177 535 575 [184] [196] [128]

[1] Called *a'alpas* in Kwakiutl.

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177 of the *a'alk* came to an end when it was already waning in
535 importance. It was impossible to obtain as much detailed
575 information about the latter as was desired, and it is even
128 possible that some of the facts recorded in connection with *tsaak* ceremonial really belong to *a'alk* rites.

The right to perform an *a'alk* dance depends upon a duly
424 validated ancestral prerogative of which the obvious mark is
535 an *a'alk* name. Some of the first people brought down such
575 designations and dances with them from above in the beginning of time, a few were acquired on this earth as gifts from super-
[173] natural beings. Those who have rights of this kind form a loose organization which may be termed the *a'alk* society. This is closely associated both with the *tsaak* society and with chiefs, owing to the occurrence of these three types of names in the same ancestral myths. One member of an ancestral
[556] family may use his goods to validate his ancestral name, another to make himself a *tsaak*, a third to become an *a'alk*, and an important chief, endowed with ability and wealth, may be able to do all three.

A'alk dances are less spectacular than those of either the *tsaak* or *kasiut* societies, nor are rattles or whistles used. The prerogatives of a member are limited to his name, the right to perform a certain dance, and the use of a song which commonly describes some feature of his ancestral myth. Four types of dances are considered to be *a'alk*; the methods of acquiring and using any one of these are similar, so it is unnecessary to describe the differences before the actual account of the performance of each.

556 If there is a dormant *a'alk* prerogative in the ancestral
575 family of the donor of a potlatch, he usually chooses to validate this as one of the features of his ceremony. He first consults his wife and other relatives to ensure that sufficient goods will be forthcoming, and if this matter can be arranged satisfactorily, he chooses some young relative as the recipient of the dormant right. It would be most unusual for the youth selected to decline the honour. Or some man, other than the

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holder of the potlatch, may wish to confirm a prerogative and requests the donor to allow this to take place at his ceremony. Permission is never refused, since the more incidental rites, the greater is the prestige of the whole. The young man on whom the name is to be confirmed is always told what is planned for him, and his relatives instruct him what to do. 551 575

As the time for the potlatch draws near, the donor requests the singers to prepare an *a'alk* song for the youth. The theme always deals with some incident of his ancestral story with which the singers are already familiar. If a number of youths are to be made *a'alk*, a song must be composed for each. The carpenters are also requested to make for the initiate one, or sometimes two, masks representing a supernatural being, either human or animal, connected with the myth in which occurs the *a'alk* name about to be conferred. The design is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family concerned; it is usually, though not necessarily, the same as that employed by the last incumbent of the name. If the designation about to be confirmed is one which came down from above in the beginning of time, the mask usually represents the guise adopted by the first user of the name; if the prerogative were obtained on earth, it portrays the being from whom the right was received. These arrangements are made in secret, and are known only to the craftsmen, the donor of the potlatch, and his family. [533] 532 556 575

On the night of *xlāxtnum*, when the work for the potlatch is allotted, the youth who is to be made an *a'alk* is confined within the back-room of the house, presumably in company with the *sisask* initiates, though there is ambiguity on this point. After the general arrangements have been made, an elderly *a'alk* whose aid has been requested, suddenly rushes from the house as if he had heard some noise. One of the *sisi*, or an influential chief, makes some allegedly witty remark as to why he has gone out, and then follows, taking with him the dance head-dress belonging to the *a'alk*. This is identical with the type worn by *sisask*, one of the many points of resemblance 556 575 [184] [535]

532 between the two sections. Presently the elderly *a'alt* returns,
595 clad in his ceremonial costume consisting of the head-gear, a
[184] blanket, and a narrow apron from which hang deer hooves,
[242] small pieces of copper, or other jingling articles. The singers
[535] strike up his song, and he dances near the fire in a manner depending upon which of the four dances he has the right to perform. Again the *ski* leaves the house; when he returns he announces that a *tutsiwas* is coming with a song for the youth, naming the one who is to be made an *a'alt*. A moment passes, and in walks a masked figure depicting the form taken by the first ancestor of the novice, or the being from which one of his later forefathers received an *a'alt* prerogative. Sometimes two of these beings appear. The apparition circles the fire, stops beside the singers, and chants a song to them in a low voice. Then it enters the back-room and is seen no more. Presently the singers strike up the song they have just heard. To those who are neither *a'alt* nor *nuxnl* it seems that the song was brought by the supernatural visitor; in reality, it is the one previously composed by the singers and taught by them to the wearer of the mask to lend realism to the performance. The youth concealed within the back-room does not emerge on this occasion, the song is merely sung in practice. Sometimes the masked figure appears during the daytime and walks openly along the shore of the river like a foreign guest, as indeed it is said to be.

The coming of a *tutsiwas* is one of the points of resemblance between *a'alt* and *nuxnl* rites. The older people agree
[184] that this has long been a feature of the former society, adopted
[198] by the latter in recent years. The description given to this section appears to be of the original and proper use, although, as already noted, the *nuxnl* have recently employed *tutsiwas* for somewhat different purposes.

It is uncertain whether or not the *a'alt* novice remains secluded any longer within the back-room. In ancient times he probably did, but with the recent growth of the *nuxnl*

[illegible]

society and decline of the *a'ak*, concealment has become limited to initiates of the former organization.

No more *a'ak* dances take place during the potlatch proliferation, but with the coming of the first group of foreign guests, the host displays as many types of dance as he is entitled to, including *a'ak* if he has the necessary prerogative. On this occasion other *a'ak*, especially relatives of the dancer, give their dances, the only time that such are used at potlatches except by novices receiving names. This is repeated on the arrival of every party of guests.

Meanwhile the novice, or novices, has been practising the proper steps for his appearance, which always occurs immediately before the entry of the masked figure representing the dancer's dead relative. As already mentioned, there are four kinds of *a'ak* dances, known as *ma'ma'ak'* *ha'yahum*, *q'ayu*, and *ow'ha'a*. A similar song is used for a dance of any one of these four; the two dances some small incident of the ancestral myth in which the name occurs, such as the bringing down of the prerogative by the first incumbent in the beginning of time. At the proper moment, the singers beat time and the audience joins them in singing it. Then the singers begin to strike rapidly on the floor with double boxes, assisted by the guests who clap their hands in rapid couplets. Out comes the dancer, resplendent in his head-dress decorated with sound skins, and women with the required prerogative begin to dance. If his prerogative is as a *ha'yahum* or *q'ayu*, he proceeds to a place beside the fire and begins to run around it, novices, in short mincing steps, crouching at the same time on himself. He clasps his hands behind his back and bends down, then stands upright with palms extended upwards, never ceasing to move his feet in rapid steps. This type of dance is far more violent than a sound one, and the amount of energy expended by a dancer in his rapid circuits of the fire is tremendous. Never, even for a moment, are his feet quiet, while his body twists and bends in an amazing fashion. After two

Among the supernatural beings, the *naqaw'* is a puzzling anomalous gem.

or three rounds he retires utterly exhausted. The first heaven-
ner for a *waqpaal* or *ow'ki'a* dancer is the same. He too comes
near the fire and at first dances in the same manner until the
singers in unison hallow out, *Hi'ai*, "Move." With a run
that ends in a crashing leap that seems to shake the floor, the
performer takes his position between the fire and one of the
side walls and begins to revolve furiously upon himself. His
body is bent forward until it seems as if all that prevents him
from falling to the floor is his hands clenched together as far
as possible behind his back; while his feet move so rapidly
that the short mincing steps run into each other. Gradually
the hooting becomes less violent, only to be followed by
another cry of *Hi'ai*, and another rush and jump that lands
the dancer behind the fire. Then he revolves once more
in the same furious fashion, the same is repeated on the side
of the fire opposite to the place where he first performed, and
finally between the fire and the door. *Waqpaal* and *ow'ki'a*
are the most strenuous of all Bella Coola dances and the per-
former is glad to retire. He afterwards joins the audience.
This dance entails no taboo or restrictions on the dancer.

This terminates the performance of this type of dance at
a potlatch, but among the goods distributed are some to vali-
date the name acquired by the dancer, and others to legalize
his actual display.

The occasions on which importance and solemnity are
attached to *a'alt* dances is during potlatches, but they are
also given at other times. When Bella Coola performances
are to *waqpaal* in the presence of the supernatural that the
[illegible]
end of the *hacha* season and before the salmon come to the
rivers, dances for pleasure are of common occurrence. A
xaxal can call his fellows to his house and the singers hear our
xaxal songs to which the owners dance, but the most common
hosts are *a'alt*. Of course an individual may be a member of
both societies, but the hostess invite the guests in his *a'alt*
name. These occasions include both members of the society

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and those who are not. Any o'alk, provided that he has enough food for a meal, can call in his neighbours, but the one who usually does so is a man who has received his name a year or two before the occasion.

A few days before the time selected, the host asks the singers to compose a new song for him. For a waxpul dancer particularly, and in some cases for any one of the other three divisions of the society, the song does not deal with incidents connected with the host's ancestral story, but with humorous or disgraceful incidents of the present time. If a man has caught an salmon and keps them all for himself, his miserliness is commented upon in the song; if a wife has deserted her husband for another man, the actions of the two are mercilessly ridiculed; if a chief has failed to display generosity in a likewise recorded, and reference is made to seven in dance ritual. To do this is one of the functions of a waxpul, and the singers are always ready to assist him. At the same time they often add a new incident to the song belonging to some other o'alk dancer so that he too will be able to perform. In this way the songs are transferred from year to year, which is different from the customary Bella Coola usage.

On the morning of the day chosen, the host asks one of the singers to beat a drum repeatedly but slowly, as a signal that a non-ceremonial dance is about to take place. Almost soon, heralds go from house to house announcing who is to give the dance. In the late afternoon the people gather in the dancer's house where men, women, and children sort themselves without distinction of rank, the only reserved place being that for the singers behind the fire. They beat out the host's name and he dances to it, while the singers themselves sing the words to the amusement of the audience. Using their own discretion, they then beat out the name of another o'alk and he also dances, followed in succession by a third, a fourth, and as many as the singers think fit. Sometimes the songs of round are used in a similar manner. When many have danced, the host distributes food to all his guests, not forgetting to give the largest

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presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds. These conclude the chief features of the *a'alk* dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *nuaxt*, they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

A'alk origin myths

Theoretically, every Bella Coola *a'alk* should be able to record the myth in which his name is embodied, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both ancestral and *a'alk* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *a'alk* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *a'alk* can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kimsquit *nuxpual* for his name *Sunaklelle* which came to earth with *Smaxae* (I, p. 331) in the beginning of time. Another Kimsquit *a'alk*, *Tlaiyakaw*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sinaqut* (I, p. 316), who assumed the designation of *Tlaiyakaw* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *W'ialas*.

The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once,[1] long, long ago, *Hagunim* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *Sawaw-a*, and a mortal; so he

[1] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

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539 to climb up to visit his grandfather. *Ts'ooxw* did not discourage him, so his son began the ascent and soon disappeared from sight. In course of time he reached the land above and made his way to his grandfather, *Ałquntsw*, who was delighted to see him. He told his visitor that he was weary of constantly carrying the sun's light, and asked him to relieve [821] him of the duty for a time. He mentioned that on previous occasions when his wife had acted as his substitute, she, being a woman, had been shy and had hidden herself behind clouds. The boy was willing to undertake the task and listened to his grandfather's instructions; in the morning he was to use only one fire stick, a little later, two, then three, and, finally, four at midday. In the afternoon he was to decrease the number in a manner corresponding to the morning's increase."

Next day *Ałquntsw* went away for a holiday after entrusting his grandson with the precious fire sticks. As soon as he was alone, the malicious youth began to pile one after another on the fire, until people in the world far below were wakened at dawn by the suffocating warmth. *Ts'ooxw*'s son threw on log after log, each increasing the heat below. The earth began to sizzle, and finally burst into flames, and the water boiled in the rivers and ocean. *Tsooxw* had realized what must be the matter as soon as she felt the great heat, so she went outside and rubbed her hand over the planks on her house. Thus protected, those within survived, although all other human beings perished. Most of the animals [825] escaped by hiding, though the weasel failed to conceal the tip of its tail which was burnt black, a characteristic inherited by all weasels ever since. *Ałquntsw* felt the heat and hurried home.

"You have done great harm to mortals," he burst out angrily. "Henceforth you shall live on earth as a mink."

[825] *Ałquntsw* seized his grandson and cast him to earth in this guise.

539 The survivors of the catastrophe multiplied until the whole world 551 was repeopled from the single household. Each of them took an *s'alt* 575 name from the burning, and these have been transmitted from one to another of the descendants of each until this day. One of them, a *sacqual* name, is *Sałqlaxum*, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks"; another, a *Sałqałkum*, *sanakamulnic*, "The Track of the Sun"; a third, *Skaul*, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log."

539 The following Kimsquit story* describes the obtaining of 575 an *s'alt* prerogative in the distant past.

*For another version of this tale, see Boas, p. 95.
*Related by Jim Pollard.

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Long ago, there lived in Kimsquit a young chief who was a great hunter. On one occasion, he was camping in a cave, *Anskelwhlis*, on the mountains when not only its roof, but the dome of the sky as well, opened so that he was able to gaze into the upper regions of space. From this manifestation of the supernatural, he took for himself the name *Alhwi*, "The Opening of the Upper Regions," and validated it by giving valuable presents. This name has been transmitted from generation to generation and was recently brought to the present owner by his wife. With it is the prerogative of distributing potlatch gifts outside the house since the first *Alhwi* claimed that the sky itself was his only ceiling.

A few years after *Alhwi* had had this experience, he and his three brothers left Kimsquit by canoe to hunt mountain goats at *Zawelk*. To their surprise, a gull perched on the bow of their canoe; they did not scare it away, thinking it indicated a manifestation of the supernatural. At intervals it left its perch and circled around the canoe, but soon returned. As they neared the landing-place, the gull flew ashore and changed into a yearling mountain goat. *Alhwi* told his brothers, of whom the second was named *Alhcoa* and the third *O'wistl*, that he believed this to be a further visitation of the supernatural to himself and that he would investigate it, and later meet them at *Anskelwhlis*.

Alhwi leapt ashore and followed the yearling goat. Wherever the road was rough, his strange guide travelled slowly so that his human companion could follow him. At length they came to a deep chasm with sheer walls about six feet apart, and a ledge running along one side. *Alhwi* followed the goat along this, until the animal leapt across the gorge, struck the face of the precipitous rock, and vanished. It was clear that he had passed into the interior of the mountain and the chief could hear the distant sound of a drum.

"I can do but once," he said to himself.

Then the brave hunter leapt across the chasm, struck the rock, and passed through it as if it had been tissue paper, to find himself in a vast cavern amid a large number of people. These were really animals who had gathered to await the coming of his guide, the yearling goat. The latter told him not to be afraid, that henceforth he would be under the protection of all animals and would not come to harm, no matter how often he hunted. With breathless interest, *Alhwi* watched the performance of a sacred dance, for every yearling goat is a supernatural dancer of this type. The ceremony lasted throughout the night, and next morning he set out for *Anskelwhlis*, not realizing that it was really a year since he had left his brothers.

Meanwhile, though the three brothers had almost despaired of their elder's safe return, they patiently remained at their post, and after a year were overjoyed to see smoke rising from *Anskelwhlis*. They hurried

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530 to the cave and greeted their long-lost brother affectionately. Though
575 he, too, was delighted at the reunion, he said but little, and for two days told them nothing of his experiences. They remained in camp and on the third night *Ałwi* told his brothers that he had obtained supernatural hunting powers. The following morning the four went out and killed so many mountain goats that the cave was filled with their carcasses. Their good fortune was amazing. *Ałwi* sent one of his brothers to invite to the cave not only the people of Kimsquit but of the whole countryside as well. While he was absent on this errand, the remaining three prepared and smoked the meat, taking care to preserve the leg bones.

Within two weeks the guests began to assemble. *Ałwi*'s house was a good place for a ceremony because *Ałwi* had decorated it with paintings after its roof had opened to show him the upper regions of space.* When all the people had arrived, the host gave a mountain goat leg-bone to each, asking every recipient to beat time with it. Then *Ałwi* danced
[535] a *waqwal* dance, imitating the one he had seen done by the goat. After performing, he unfolded the story of his adventures and finished by giving away valuable presents of smoked meat and goat grease. Thus was initiated this particular *waqwal* dance.

In later years, *Ałwi* had such phenomenal success in hunting that
[551] by distributing the spoil he was able to create and confirm for his youngest brother the name, *Nuxhwmalkwal*, "The One Who is Always Successful." This has since been transmitted from one generation to another. *Ałwi*,
[103] too, is responsible for the name of Mount *Tsqinxtil*, "Leg-Bones." On one occasion he killed a large number of mountain goats on the mountain and left their leg-bones, *tsqinxtil*, piled together near the spot. He instructed everyone to refer to the mountain by that name, which has since been done.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY

575 A few words should be said about the reputed early history
578 of the *a'alt* society. Its members seem always to have been on the best of terms with the *xaaxa*, and there is no mention of feuds between these two organizations. On the other hand, there is said to have been constant friction with members of the *łaxtai* society.* The latter comprises a large number of individuals bound together by the possession of supernatural

[532] *These paintings are said to be still in existence, and the owner of one inheritance claimed to have seen them.

*This point is elaborated in vol. II, chap. 4.

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patrons and claiming to possess supernatural powers. In contrast to the *a'alk*, the *kwiat* are well organized and regulated; its members are proud of their powers, and scornful of those who lack the same. Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to understand jealousy between the two. Until relatively recent times, the *a'alk* were numerically stronger, and included some chiefs, whereas the strength of the *kwiat* society depended on the supernatural strength claimed by its members. It is true that individuals occasionally belonged to both, if they happened to possess prerogatives of both kinds, but, as a rule, the *a'alk* were young men and the *kwiat* were older people. This rivalry was formerly so intense that all who were not members of the latter society were often termed *a'alk* irrespective of whether or not they actually possessed dances of that type; Carrier Indians alone were not so designated. During the summer, members of the two societies dwelt amicably together, but during the winter, when dances took place, there were continual bickerings. The *kwiat* constantly endeavoured to impress their rivals with their own prowess; while the *a'alk*, not convinced of the others' power, used to mock them in their songs. This was the usual practice in case of some error in *kwiat* ritual. The *a'alk* frequently disobeyed the orders of the *kwiat* and a number of them once tried to pry up a huge boulder beneath which was the "power" of a certain *kwiat* (II, p. 8). In recent years the *kwiat* society has entirely gained the supremacy, but it is agreed by all Bella Coola that in former years this was by no means the case, and that *a'alk* did not hesitate even to kill one of their rivals.

Miscellaneous Ceremonies

The rites described in this chapter and the one preceding comprise the potlatch of the Bella Coola so far as its details could be learnt. Until the increase of wealth in recent years, the potlatch was rare, and it is unlikely that in any village more than one month in the year was consumed in the

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of each song dance to it. Anyone who has enough food to provide a meal for all is glad to invite his neighbours to such an affair, but the singers and heralds can force a stingy man to act as host. Everyone knows his neighbour's resources and the singers have no hesitation in going to the house of a man with an ample supply of food and beginning to beat out songs there. The heralds are quick to see what is happening and call the people, with the result that the involuntary host is compelled to provide a meal in order not to be thought mean and churlish. Without waiting for the singers to take the initiative, heralds likewise often invite people to the house of a man whom they know to be well provided with food.

During the summer, the necessity of laying in supplies of salmon makes it impossible to hold many dances, although one of the non-sacred type just described takes place whenever there is a lull in fishing. In the early autumn, when berries, fish, and game are abundant, the thoughts of chiefs turn to potlatches and the lengthy preliminaries are begun. At this season, too, a chief who lacks sufficient wealth to invite foreign guests, calls in his neighbours for a *tsaask* dance and initiates some of his young relatives into that society. The ritual, described in the last chapter, resembles that of a potlatch except that no new house is constructed, there is no return of a dead relative, and the ceremonial connected with the coming of foreigners is necessarily omitted. In some cases a chief performs this type of rite a year before he proposes to hold a potlatch, and explains that he is doing so because he will be unable to give presents to the inhabitants of his own village at the later affair. Gifts so distributed are returnable with interest, though it is not obligatory for recipients to do this in time for the donor to make use of their repayment at his potlatch.

Ceremonials of this nature occupy the Bella Coola during the early autumn, while in winter *kwiat* dances take place almost nightly. When they are over, it is time for the non-sacred variety of adult performances, and for another type of rite, *nusaxlmx*.

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presents were distributed to validate the name, *Ťisiyăkam*, which *Sinuqul* had chosen for himself. 539*

Sinuqul married a Bella Bella woman who brought with her the prerogative of a dance with respect to the devil-fish. In Bella Bella this rite was connected both with the *kusiut* and the *nuxuk*, but in Kimsquit it was performed only as a *kusiut* dance. It was first given there by *Łulqmun-i*, a relative of *Sinuqul*, and has since been performed in like fashion in Kimsquit. Their daughter received the Bella Bella name, *Yoltsu*, which has since remained in Kimsquit. [424] [575] [535] [551]

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Ăqul-i*[*]

In the beginning of time there came to *Ăqul-i*, on the east side of the Dean River, about one mile from the sea, *Senewatkx* and his three younger brothers. They brought a stone hammer as their present from *Ăłqwuttăm*. After they had lived some time on this earth, *Senewatkx* asked *Yultsimut* to have a canoe ready for him on the morrow. By the next day *Yultsimut* had completed a fine craft. *Senewatkx* was delighted and spent four days fitting it out; then set out with his three younger brothers for a trip to the far north, where he knew by report that abalone-shells were to be found.[*] The four did not know the route and were constantly penetrating into fiords from which there was no exit; however, they persevered and were helped by all whom they encountered, *Senewatkx*'s name being well known. After a month's voyage, they reached their goal. They found themselves before a lofty precipice falling sheer into the ocean with a cavern visible in it at very low tide. This they boldly entered. At first they were deluged with falling star-fish; in fact, their canoe would have been sunk by the weight of these if the youngest brother had not held up his cedar-bark cloak to ward them off. A little farther on they found countless abalone-shells, with which they swiftly filled the canoe, fearing lest the tide should rise sufficiently to prevent their return if they stayed to investigate further. Once safely outside they camped, and the eldest brother took the opportunity to bestow names on the younger brothers for things they had seen or done on the way. He called his second brother *Nuxwis-dzap*, "The Warrior," as if he had fought against the abalone; the third *Ałac-łimăx*, "Falling Star-Fish," and the youngest *Ałaqwa*, "The Road-Maker," a reference to the

[*]Related by Jim Pollard. Boas (p. 66), has recorded a similar myth from Bella Coola with different characters.

[*]The Bella Coola are emphatic in stating that abalone-shell comes from the north or the east; possibly this may be explained by an indirect trade route. [487]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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Other people had come down to earth at the same time as *Kásta-a*, and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of Gas Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, so entered, and laughed heartily to find her made of rotten wood. They kicked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they seated themselves in her place, worked diligently at the blanket and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and hid themselves. BB 539 BC 539 *

Soon *Kásta-a* entered. He embraced the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that she had burnt her head, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. At this the two girls who were hiding burst out laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to *Kásta-a* that he choose one of them for his wife; he agreed, selected the older and married her. He built a house on a hilltop where they lived and to which he called people from far and near when he gave a potlatch.

Sláná Origin Myths

As already stated, many *sláná* names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the *sláná* origin myth is the same as the ancestral myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or taken it from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were obtained which deal solely with the acquisition of a *sláná* prerogative. No doubt this is chiefly to be explained by the fact that most *sláná* rites have been derived from the Bella Bella. BC 773 551 575 [787] [556] [177]

THE ORIGIN OF THE *SLÁNÁ* NAME, *Sqwqwaxá-mqalmat*[*]

About 1840, a party of *Xaxis* Indians[*] spent the winter in Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg so BC 556 607 624 BC [824]

[*]Dictated by Jackson Moody.

[*]It was impossible to identify this tribe. According to the Bella Coola they are akin to the Cowichan, but have adopted the use of wooden-poles, further distant

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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The name used for the *nusk* initiate was *Spaxpaxpt-mpdimut*, with reference to the feather which had carried away his brother. 534*

A *Sunet Sunsk* MYTH

It is doubtful whether the following tradition is a true *nusk* myth or merely an explanation for a dramatic performance carried out at potlatches. 534* 575

About 1880 a man of Sunet was made a shaman by the supernatural being *Tlaqmai-ks*, a woman who normally lives in the land above. She is made almost entirely of copper so that whenever she walks there is the sound of clashing metal. The visionary was given the shaman's name of *Sunsskila*. It was not generally known how he obtained his power, but as his wealth increased in an amazing manner, it was assumed that he must have received something from *Tlaqmai-ks* which, kept in his box, acted as a magnet to wealth.*

Sunsskila laid down four laws for behaviour in his house, which were obeyed, since he was a person of influence both as a shaman and as a man of wealth. He said that *Tlaqmai-ks* had instructed him in the following:

(1) No bread was to be taken from the central fire, lest the supernatural men who were watching it should be offended at the removal.

(2) No menstrual woman was to be allowed within the house.

(3) No pounding of cedar-bark was to be allowed within the house.

(4) Since his power was in some manner connected with the fire he decreed that while his songs were being sung, there was to be no obstruction of any kind between the singers and it. Accordingly, they did not arrange themselves in the usual circle, but sat in a row with a sloping mat stretched between them and the fire, as if it were a connecting causeway.

Whenever *Sunsskila* gave a dance, six holes were cut through the wall of the back-room, at a height of about seven feet from the floor. While actually dancing, six assistants pulled ropes down through these holes one to his hand, in time to the music. Moreover, instead of standing on the floor, *Sunsskila* used to perform within a large box, which concealed him below the thighs and which was moved to and fro by assistants, as if it had been on castors. After dancing in time to two songs, a metallic clashing would be heard, without any *Sunsskila* would not drop, returning with a small, naked girl whose clothing was entirely covered with tiny copper ornaments. She represented *Tlaqmai-ks*. *Sunsskila*

*This incident resembles the clashing of supernatural good fortune, see vol. I, p. 256.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES
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would guide the child to the box, lift her in, then leap in himself and dance vigorously beside her. After a time he carried his assistant to the back-room, whence he returned alone to supervise the usual distribution of presents.

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A BELLA BELLA *flood* MYTH*

Years ago, when white men first came to the coast, a schooner was surprised and captured by some unkwy Indians near whose village it was anchored in Johnstone Channel. The crew was massacred with the exception of one man who crawled ashore on a mooring rope; his name was given as *Kimpa*, probably an attempt to pronounce Campbell. For over a year he was hunted by the unkwy people without success, and it was assumed that he must have died. Four years later, however, a Bella Bella canoe was cautiously rounding a point when the bow man saw a strange figure collecting clams. He went ashore armed with his musket and stalked the creature, which turned out to be the white man, clad in woven bark and moss. The latter made friendly signals, and the Bella Bella treated him kindly, giving him food and clothing. He remained with them for years and learnt their language. On one occasion when his rescuers' supply of powder was exhausted, this man said that he was going away, and left early one morning at high tide, to return to the schooner with some powder he had made himself. He refused to share with the Bella Bella his knowledge of how to make it, but kept them well supplied, and also furnished much game. When at length a white man's craft came to Bella Bella the survivor sent a message written in charcoal on cedar wood to the captain, and he was taken off. Presents were given to his rescuers for their kindness in aiding him, as well as a paper setting forth the particulars of their friendliness to the whites.

Many years later the son of *Kimpa*'s rescuer made a cured totem, and used a mask representing the white man. The myth used in connection with it told of the manner in which the father of the donor had found a strange creature who brought him good fortune, first by providing him with powder, and then by bringing him into friendly relations with the white man. The only innovent part of the rite was the postponement of its inauguration until many years after the event.

If this tale has an historical basis, it must be assumed that the survivor of the massacre had been able to conceal some powder which he claimed to have made in order to increase his reputation.

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*Related by Joshua Hendy.

Hill-Tout, Charles, 1866-1945 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

ceived information of the proposed marriage, but they always plead ignorance, and deliberate for several days. Y's parents and other relatives take part in the discussion, and Y herself may likewise be taken into confidence. Although a daughter has, theoretically, little choice, in practice she exercises a great deal of influence. Her mother and father weigh the suitor's eligibility not only with regard to wealth and ancestral possessions, but consider his character. An immoral young man is not desirable, though neither is one who is impotent.

If Y's relatives agree to the proposal, some one of them informs the intermediary, or X's father, and the young people are considered to be engaged. The fact is supposed to be kept secret for several days, although the news usually becomes known sooner. X's relatives as soon as possible take a number of presents to Y's family. These are given in private, and are termed "secret gifts"; they are said to give strength to the future children. Since no witnesses are present it follows that no social prestige accrues from the transaction. The relatives included in the "family" of either X or Y are not always the same; uncles, aunts, grandparents, may or may not take part in the giving and receiving of presents, the parents alone always do so. Sometimes distant relatives take a leading part in the arrangements, either in hope of receiving valuable gifts, or of obtaining social influence by lavish gifts. If X's relatives have reason to believe that Y's family will accept their proposal, several of them may go in company and actually carry the "secret gifts" to Y's house at the time of making the first proposal. Should this be rejected, they merely carry away their goods, and as the affair has been private, no one's vanity is hurt.

The acceptance of "secret gifts" binds the engagement of X and Y, but a few days elapse before this is made public. If X's family is wealthy, his father, or other near relative, presently invites all the inhabitants of the village to his house. The singers, in their usual sections behind the fire, strike up the tune of some feastsong and the owner of the song, thus warned,

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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dances in time to it. Using their own discretion, the musicians proceed to beat out the time for *kusiut* after *kusiut*, and each performs. In like fashion they then beat out the tune of one [535] *nusek* after another, and each member of that society gives his [575] dance. Since none of the supernatural beings is present, the affair is non-sacred. The singers consult with the host as to the number of songs to be used. When they stop at last, X's father, aided by his younger relatives, gives valuable presents [518] of food. No mention of the coming marriage is made, but the rite gives the donor an opportunity of displaying his generosity as a chief and indirectly increases the importance of the wedding because the value of the food will later be remembered in connection with it.

If X's father is very wealthy, he may recall the people for several nights, always providing the same type of entertainment, and always giving food. He uses his own judgment as to the number of such entertainments, but at that which he decides shall be the last, he announces:

"Tomorrow we shall go to Y's father's house."

If X's father does not wish to give away such large quantities of food he may omit the dancing in his own house and make this announcement at a potlatch, a *kusiut* dance,[1] or any other public gathering. But the more elaborate the ceremonial, the greater is the importance of the marriage in the eyes of the Bella Coola, which in turn increases the strength of the children [158] who may result from it.

On the morning after this declaration, X's father calls to 518
his house those whom he wishes to be witnesses of the alliance 584
that has been planned. These include as many of his relatives and those of his wife as he desires, and often intimate friends. These individuals comprise the group interested, on behalf of X, in the marriage; they provide the goods which are given for him, and receive the presents from the corresponding group of Y's relatives. Anyone having the necessary financial ability

[1] This is probably a recent innovation.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language. 602 476

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret love such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *tsaciut*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *nuxsé* names can never be transferred in this manner. 606 491 425 [715] [575] [553] [575]

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be avenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a 593 [602] [627] [567] [432] [418]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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this rite is neglected no more salmon will come to the river. No precautions are necessary after the food has been digested. 764 [725]

Many men prepare their coffins before death. If this has not been done, a large, wooden box is provided by a kinsman of the deceased. The body is dressed in good clothing and bound into a squatting position, head between knees, hands clasped around shins, and the haunches just above the level of the soles of the feet. In this posture it is thrust into the coffin. Particularly if the corpse has been brought from some distance and *rigor mortis* has set in, it may be necessary to break the back-bone and even to crush the skull before the box can be closed. A stone is placed on the back of the neck, within the coffin, to prevent the ghost from returning to haunt the survivors. A little choice food is placed beside the body of a dearly loved child for nourishment during the journey to the next world. [763] [602] [775]

From this point onwards, the funeral rites differ according to the rank of the deceased. On the death of an influential *xaxa*, the senior members of that society meet as soon as possible to arrange the dramatization of the coming of *Malakila*. A *xaxa* son, brother, or other near relative is always present even if he has little importance in the affairs of the society. If the death has taken place during the night, the conference is held the following morning and the rites begin at noon. There may be delay until all have gathered, but about the middle of the first possible day two *xaxa* are sent up one of the mountains behind the village. They carry large, cone-shaped whistles which they blow twice. The sound is plainly audible in the village and all, whether or not members of the *xaxa* society, recognize that a supernatural being is drawing near. After a short interval, another whistle is blown by a *xaxa* concealed on the roof of the house in which the corpse is lying, and after another pause the same sound comes from within, beside the body itself. Most of the collaborators know that this is the voice of *Malakila* (also called *Xexispuxum*), 775 966 [776]

Inlet Dwellth E-5 (1912-1914) 1948
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but even if unaware of the fact, they realize that some supernatural, invisible visitor has arrived.

Heralds go from house to house, and sometimes to adjacent villages as well,[1] inviting the people to pay a farewell visit to the dead man who will soon leave them; in this invitation the *nuxnt* name of the deceased is used. The guests assemble at once, irrespective of their rank or membership in the *nuxnt* society. To mark their grief, female relatives pull out tufts of their hair, and both men and women of the immediate family cut their hair short. The body, either in its coffin or covered with blankets, is placed between the central fire and the back-room, immediately behind the place where the singers take their stations. When all are present, a son or other near relative who is also a fluent speaker, stands up and expounds how the Chief, meaning *Malakila*, has come to visit the dead man, and how all should try to understand the song he has brought.[2] A hidden *nuxnt* has been blowing a whistle intermittently, and the singers pretend to be able to understand words of a song in its notes. In reality they have prepared in advance the new one which they now beat out, accompanied by their voices. The theme either describes the coming of the supernatural visitor, or recounts the number of potlatches given by the deceased, and the manner in which these will make smooth the path whither he is going in the same way that distributed goods validate a chief's seat in this world. This song is practised and improved upon amid the booming of the whistle as if the singers were constantly gaining new ideas and embellishments from the words of the supernatural visitor. Sometimes a few incidents are added from the *nuxnt* myth. After several repetitions, a relative of the dead man asks the singers to beat out the latter's *nuxnt* songs, as many of them as are remembered from the time he was first initiated into the so-

[1] The Bella Bella are said to invite foreign guests to this ceremony.

[2] Sometimes the people are grouped where the singing of *Malakila*, heralded by whistling and a drumming on the roof, takes place. There are variations in this, as in all other *nuxnt* rites.

1:Mc:Ilwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

ciety. These are given several times, serving to recall the 533
ceremonies in which the chief took part during his life. At 575
intervals, the new song is repeated and *nuxalk* members of the 766
audience join in as they become familiar with the words. Fre-
quently one or more relatives of the deceased dance in his [535]
stead during the singing. The details of this rite, especially
of the songs used at it, differ considerably according to the
actions of the person during life; if a mighty chief, the donor
of many potlatches, this fact is described in the song, whereas
only an incident from the ancestral myth can be used for a
young *nuxalk*. If some of his female relatives are professional [767]
wailers, they function during the ceremony. In all circum-
stances, the rite aims to comfort the grieving kinsmen, an end
which it usually achieves.

As already described, *nuxalk* ceremonial was in a state of 575
transition at the time of the coming of the white man. Pre- 766
vious to that date, a spectacular funeral prerogative had been 177
adopted from Rivers Inlet,[8] which has since been claimed by a 424
number of *nuxalk*. All the Bella Coola know of this ceremony,
and most of them desire to perform it at the death of a dearly [178]
loved relative; at the present time this is possible owing to the
slight regard paid to prerogatives, but it is certain that a few
years ago it would have been forbidden to most people, and
that it was never a universal Bella Coola rite.

When this rite is performed, the corpse is allowed to remain 575
in its coffin for at least one night after the day on which 766
Mulukhila came and the *nuxalk* songs were sung. Meanwhile
the carpenters have prepared an imitation body, usually of 532
rags on a light framework, and a wooden representation of the
deceased's crest. Since this figure is to come through the roof
and carry aloft the corpse, stout hooks are attached to its feet.
In theory, the bird or animal disguise used by the first ancestor

[8] One old Bella Coola stated that this prerogative was obtained during his own lifetime from a Rivers Inlet chief who moved to *Tal'ds*. It is impossible to state accurately when this ritual was adopted by the Bella Coola, though it is unquestionably of recent origin.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

575 766 [532] of the deceased, traced patrilineally, should come for the body, but this is difficult to arrange in case of whale, bear, and other marine or land mammals. Consequently, it has been customary to use only raven or eagle for this purpose, and it is assumed that at least one of these birds is present in the ancestral history of every individual as a result of the marriage of some of his forbears with a woman possessing one of these crests.[1] It is a common practice for an influential *nusek* to prepare a figure of this kind during his life-time and tell a son or other trusted relative where it has been hidden; if this has been done, it obviates the necessity of carpenters manufacturing one at short notice.

Several days are often required to complete these arrangements, but on the first evening possible, which may be two or three days after the death, the people are summoned to the dead man's house. The singers take their usual positions behind the fire and beat out the song used at the mourning ceremony already described; then, as on that occasion, they follow it with a number of the deceased's *nusek* songs. Once more they strike up the one newly composed and, as it is proceeding, whistling is heard, accompanied by the screaming of an eagle or the croaking of a raven. Those who are not members of the *nusek* society do not understand that these sounds are produced by hidden members blowing whistles on the roof. There is a crash on the planking and, through a space opened by the removal of several boards, the face of the bird crest can be seen peering in. It is a dramatic spectacle and the audience gasps appreciatively, especially those who see in it a manifestation of the supernatural, testifying to the importance of the deceased. If the stage management has been accurate, the figure appears at the termination of the song, but if it has arrived during the actual singing, the singers beat time slowly and cease to use their voices. The eagle, or raven, keeps squealing repeatedly and gradually comes through

[178] [1] The use of only raven or eagle is probably a degeneration due to recent decay of customs.

1:Mc:Dwesith E-1 (522-1524)948
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the hole in the roof, ponderously and slowly, until its talons grip the "body." In the same gradual fashion it carries this upwards until, just before the burden disappears through the roof, one of the principal singers leads his fellows and the audience in calling out: 575 766

"Yo-," which has the significance of, "May you have a safe passage whence you came and whither you are going."

As soon as the bird has disappeared, its notes are heard from above, growing gradually fainter as the actors blow their whistles less violently. An eloquent *naual* stands up and expounds how the deceased's *ovoat* has come down from above to carry away his body, and often mentions incidents in the ancestral myth to explain why this bird had appeared. A young man is sent up to replace the roof boards and the hidden accomplices rejoin the audience unostentatiously. The corpse itself remains hidden in some back corner of the house where it was concealed at the time the dummy was seized, so that nothing indicates what has taken place.

The relatives must give presents to all who have witnessed this ceremonial prerogative. These are now distributed without regard to the rank of the recipient; such gifts are not returnable and are said to be, "What Has Been Shaken Off," like dust from the departing body. A meal, likewise provided by the kinsmen of the deceased, is now served, and as the people are eating, it is customary for senior *naual* to make laudatory speeches, extolling the dead chief and comforting the survivors by reminding them of the way in which he will be looked after in virtue of his ancestral traditions. This procedure may continue for several hours, and it is only when no one else wishes to speak that the people disperse. [552] [537]

It is not easy to comprehend the attitude of the Bella Coola to this rite. Some influential *naual* state emphatically that in former days it was possible to carry it out so realistically that the uninitiated were deceived, and never suspected that the actual corpse was later on buried in secret by the singers, carpenters, and *naual*. On the other hand, those who do not 575 766 781

wish to emphasize the importance of this society, were that the dumpline was always apparent, and that even the hooks and ropes by which the figure was manipulated could be seen. Still others regard the ceremony as a symbolic means of portraying the manner in which a man's crest comes to carry away his spirit and life. It seems clear that different interpretations must always have been accepted by different members of the community. A young and ingenuous initiated, steeped in the atmosphere of the supernatural, may well have believed that he was going upon an actual supernatural being, as the senior crest desired him to do; others must have recognized that a dumpline of some kind was being practised, but demonstration is such an important factor in Bella Coola life that individuals often disregard the difference between semblance and reality, and it is contrary to custom for a person to cast aspersions upon the prerogative of another. It is easy for such as one to accept the dumpline as a symbol or representation of the manner in which the crest carries off the intangible elements of the dead. This is certainly the attitude of the Bella Coola at the present time. Everyone realizes that the crest is of human manufacture and that the corpse itself is not carried away, but the rite is still performed and practised the survivors by giving them an opportunity to display their prerogative and the death of the deceased's ancestor.

Perhaps because of its relatively recent introduction, details of the performance of this rite are not fully standardized. In some cases, the crest is made to appear at the same time as *Malakila*, instead of at a subsequent ceremony. It is assumed that the origin of the rite is in some ancient myth in which the body was actually taken above by the crest, as are copied, with the aid of carpenters, by the descendants of the person to whom this occurred. There are no myths of this nature current in Bella Coola, although it is thought that such must have been common among the peoples of the same crest to explain the prevalence of the practice in that area. One old man mentioned that an Owikl myth in which a

body became night-blown and was walled upwards in psychologically of the type which might serve as basis for a rite of this kind. If the descendants of the person to whom this had happened had demanded the incident or subsequent death, a custom analogous to the one here described would have arisen.

[illegible] OF THE DEAD

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When possible, it takes place on the day following death, but as many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the performance of the rite just described. Another reason for postponement is the absence of near relatives; if they can be summoned within four to five days, the funeral may be delayed until their arrival. There is always endless discussion concerning the exact details, all relatives and members of the extended family take part, though the widow of a son, brother, or other near kinsman are chiefly followed. In this, as in many points of Bella Coola ritual, an influential chief often overrules the desires even of those who are more closely related to the deceased.

Should sunset the hour chosen,* usually about noon, and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even strangers being welcome. Women wail intermittently, and another indication of the occasion is the bundle containing clothing, cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once, with a stone; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed and a hole made in one of the front corners of the house, through which the men throw out the stone. The women redouble their lamentations as an old woman, previously asked to do so, lights a bundle of dried and undried cedar-bark and climbs through the opening carrying this. No request has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong man, especially

* This is then a period, even after the carrying away of the "body." In former times it was customary when the corpse was actually buried by the coast.

and recompense to funeral assistants is usually delayed until their time. Such was often true even in former years, although poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the express purpose of publicly rewarding those who had helped to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any convenient ceremony, such as a wife-second would dance. Indirectly mentioned, when the people have been called together for a ceremony, advantage is often taken of the gathering to settle debts or to perform one of an entirely different nature. It is probable that the announcing of graves solely to witness the payment of helpers was always unusual, or present in recent times. On these occasions when a body was buried in secret after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the men, the goods of the deceased were deposited in secret in the cemetery. Those who carried them were the men who had performed the secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the gifts as reward for the hidden one without exposing the subterfuge.

Another type of ceremonial taking place after a funeral is the cleansing from the contamination of death of near relatives of the deceased, and of those who have handled the corpse. If spring waters or shallow are running, pall-bearers must not go near the river for ten days, or twenty according to some informants, after taking a body to the grave. They have become tainted with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the river bank, would poison the waters. Unwillingness to become affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly Dimdim dame being carried out to the cemetery by some old women who covered him with hands. The rules on grave-diggers cannot be removed, but ceremonially lapse after ten days.

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife whose consort has passed away. It is believed that Ob-ben

[176] new family. Confusion is probable only when a chief is
[177] invested after he has stored up goods and made preliminary preparations for a potlatch; he may then carry out the rites intended, but designate the ceremony a memorial potlatch. There often, however, the affair is limited to rites associated with the deceased. Consequently, there is omission of the initiation of neophytes into the *sacred and of all societies*,* there is no establishment of new seats for young relatives of the
[178] dead, and no strengthening of his own. It must be emphasized once more that there is no unalterable sequence of prescribed rituals at either potlatch or memorial potlatch; the omissions just mentioned are customary, not universal, and thus present the ritual of the two ceremonies in identical. Except on those rare occasions when invited at a potlatch, the return of a dead relative is the central feature of both.

[179] In recent years, the great increase in wealth has made it possible for a chief to perform a memorial potlatch soon after the death of an honored relative. This was rarely the case in former times, but as there was no other reason for which valuables were so ardently desired, every expedient was used to obtain the necessary goods. Occasionally, a chief happened to have the needful goods stored up so that he could give a memorial potlatch almost immediately. To such a fortunate individual the term, *pamla*, was applied, a word difficult to translate but combining the significances of *rich, ready, fortunate*, and *reserved*.

[180] Memorial potlatches, like those of the ordinary kind, are usually held in the early autumn, though occasionally one may be postponed until after the frosts season. When an intending donor has decided that he owns sufficient goods, he first calls to his fellow-chiefs and makes known his intentions, at the same time expounding in considerable detail the myths which he proposes to use as themes for mourning songs, and for other
[181]

*Performances of such rites at a memorial potlatch would be considered useful to the Bella Bella and were always resolved during the period when their influence was important.

Lillooet Seventh E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

(see Plate 45). So, too, wooden representations of coppers are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are commemorated in this way, a father often places over his daughter's grave pictures of the goods used to rehay her from her husband; wooden plaques representing coppers are commonly used for this purpose.* Such symbols are usually cut down after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for them to remain standing too long. The function of this type of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person as judged by the riches given away by him, or on his behalf, during his life-time. With the introduction of writing, the Bella Coola have been quick to recognize it as an easy means for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In consequence, signs are often painted and erected, giving in figures a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent introduction has been the tombstone. One of these is often set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate his memory, and a representation of his crest to record his ancestral history. Such a memorial combines the functions of the first and third types.

As the carpenters labour at the memorials, other arrangements for the ceremony present space. As at a potlatch, the fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited repeatedly to his house for the performance of sacred dances, but this feature is often omitted, especially if there are no employees to be invited. The mask to be worn by the deceased relative must be prepared in secret; or if several are to be commemorated at the single ceremony, one must be made ready for each. As the time drawn near, envoys are dispatched to invite foreign guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This has been customary for many years, but during the period when no features of the potlatch were allowed at a memorial potlatch, the latter was sometimes carried out in the presence of the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the

*The National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, has specimens of these wooden coppers.

lowed the actor, blowing eagle down over him repeatedly. After one circuit of the hall, the performer passed out through the front door, from the vicinity of which was heard once more the large whistle and the screaming of the eagle, both growing less distinct as if the bird were flying away.

The wearer of the mask displayed considerable dramatic talent and succeeded in giving a realistic display in spite of the glaring lights which exposed his bare feet and betrayed the human handiwork of the mask in a manner impossible in the native type of house with a single, central fire as the sole illumination. The Carrier had worked the performance with zeamer, probably singed with cottonwoods, but to the Bella Coola it was no mere spectacle, it was a religious rite of the highest importance. All the spectators realized that the figure was human, but this mental incongruity in they gazed upon the representation of the dead woman in the form of her crest, to which they believed she had been transformed by death. Even the children were silent, and the only sound during the passage was the wailing of a sleepy infant. The eagle crest belonged to Jessie by virtue of membership in the ancestral family descended from her father's first ancestor, crest peculiarly, who had come to earth as *Tsonai* in the form of this bird. The blackfish was a crest acquired through her mother; the raven represented a copper raven belonging to an ancestral myth of the dying grandchild. In former times, carpenters would have worked for weeks preparing an elaborate composite figure, but Capsule Schooner wished no delay in the ceremony for fear of police interference, so that it was necessary to use what could happened to be in existence and to place them in conjunction by means of the crude white cloth. Jessie had not been initiated into the *xaxai* society, but no opposition was raised to the use of *xaxai* whistles both on account of her status as chief, and owing to the influence of her father who, a *xaxai* chief, found no restrictions and heeded no conventions. Besides, both her brothers were infe-

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[178]
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[180]

social scandal. In former times it is certain that objections would have been raised to this breach of ceremonial privilege.

There was a pause for several minutes after the withdrawal of the figure. Then Boulton threw a copper on the floor in the track taken by the actor "to make home for the dead woman." A number of chiefs were forward to join the singers and discuss whether or not the copper should be enhanced. No one wished to do so, as Captain Schooner said he would have it fastened to a post over Jessie's grave, a proposition to which all agreed.

After interminable discussion in which Captain Schooner, Nakachakoomar, Boulton Schooner, Jim Pollard, and Abe Davis took the principal parts, it was decided to sing the fourth mourning song at this point. There was no reason why this should not have been done at the customary time, after the other dress, but wide latitude in detail was allowed in this ceremony; in fact, exact ritual never flourished in Bella Coola and has become increasingly rare in recent years. This song had been composed a number of years previously when Captain Schooner had called in the Bella Bella to a memorial potlatch, and great care had been expended on its composition owing to the skill of the guests in songs of this type. The words, altered to fit the circumstances, were phrased as if George and Dan were lamenting the loss of their mother and other relatives.

"O, we," they sang, "are thinking of our mother, our brothers, our sisters, our mother's brothers, our mother's sisters, our father's brothers, our father's sisters, of all our dead relatives. Please, ye chiefs from abroad, turn your hands, listen to our wail. You several great men, let us all cry together. It is we who have called you hither, look upon us."

This song was sung in the manner already described, except that more of the Bella Coola were familiar with the words and tune and could accordingly join in.

Meanwhile Captain Schooner, with his sons Boulton and Harry and his grandsons George Nelson and Andy Schooner, had been crouching in a corner of the hall, poring over the money which was to be distributed to validate the ceremony,

occupants of the canoe, heard a roaring noise and saw a fish-weir, similar to those used by the Bella Coola, stretching across Burke Channel, which is about a mile and a half wide at this point. They were close to the beach and a brave went out a passage through the obstacle. A similar trap was once seen stretching across South Bentinck Arm.

An unusual apparition may be regarded as an omen of death. For example, not many years ago a young half-breed saw a motor-boat moored to the beach of North Bentinck Arm with an eagle seated in the stern. He ran his own motor-boat towards it, but as he approached the eagle became a man. This man he then still owner, never taking his eyes off the other boat, it, with its occupant, sank beneath the water, without leaving so much as a ripple. On relating the incident to his father, the latter recognized it as an omen of death. Six months later the half-breed's sister died, thus confirming her father's prognostication.

Supernatural Beings and Creatures in the Universe

Experiences such as have been cited in the last section are regarded as of possible, and not infrequent occurrence at the present time. On the other hand, supernatural old ground to them is misfortune, though it is the theme of many stories, is not considered as likely to happen now. The Bella Coola believe the narratives to be chronicles of actual events, and base their conceptions of many supernatural beings on their characteristics as therein described. There is no ceremonial significance attached to any of these stories; they may be, and are told by anyone, frequently for entertainment. Unquestionably, there is a feeling that the moral brought out in each tale is of value in admonishing the young people, though this point is never emphasized.

Supernatural old ground to an unfortunate person is normal acknowledgment. Power as obtained cannot be transferred by the recipient, although memory of the experience is

G.96/Dorsey/B. 5 (1902-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

[illegible] ceremonially presented to the chorus of a *naxnox* dance. The [illegible] is also somewhat loosely applied to any instance of supernatural help. The reason for the receipt of power is often attributed to the strong supernatural elements of the favoured one, or to his having made himself agreeable to supernatural beings by the observance of ceremonial chastity or other preliminary means. A few individuals assert that there is a tendency for supernatural aid to follow certain ancestral families, but such a belief is not general.

The following story is typical of the kind of assistance granted although no clear picture can be presented except through the native medium—a number of different tales, such as are given in the following chapter.

THE GOOD NATURED OF *Tsimdji*

One long after the earth was first populated there were living at *Qwiqwi*, near Nanaq, two Bella Bella men, *Qwa'sala* and *Ealkas*, with their wives, children, and slaves. *Qwa'sala's* son, *Tsimdji*, fell a victim to the evident disease, during which causes the face of the sufferer to swell and his flesh to rot. When the case appeared hopeless, his father called his people to tell the people to abandon *Qwiqwi*, and to leave the dying youth alone. Accordingly they removed the planks from the houses, packed them on canoes with all the food and clothing from the village and went away, leaving the unfortunate *Tsimdji* alone in his misery. Only an old slave woman took pity on him; before she left she did some glowing embers, and frayed cedar-bark in a large clam-shell and told him where to find them.

Tsimdji was lonely when his relatives departed, but presently he dried his tears and set about making the best of his position. He succeeded the clam-shell and lay the embers into a fire. Then he made a tomahawk with which he built a rude shelter. A diet of clams at first satisfied him, but before long he made a hook in hopes of catching some cod. He went up the river to a suitable spot, dropped in his baited hook and almost immediately felt a bite. He hauled up his line eagerly, but it was only a worthless bell-head. Angrily he pulled out the hook and threw the fish back into the water. Almost immediately there was a bite, again he threw up the line only to find as before that it was a bell-head, which he hurled back into the river. This happened twice more, and, discouraged at landing only four useless fish, he wrapped his head

1:McGrath E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

type of dance differs from all other Bella Coola ones, since no 756 *
initiatory prerogative is required. Years ago such exhibitions 556
were common, although curing shamans were rare.

The usual time for a shaman's performance is at the con- [796]
clusion of the fasting season, though one is sometimes held prior
to that period if the would-be performer fears that the food
which he has stored up for the event is likely to be frozen.

When he decides to give a dance, the shaman first summons 533
the singers to his house and teaches them a song of his own 756 *
composition. Theoretically both text and tune should have 556
been received from his supernatural benefactor, but many per-
formers undoubtedly employ songs used by shamans ancestors
which they have chanced to remember. Another device is to
describe a supernatural being seen in a dream. In some cases
there is deliberate deception, but in most the performer per-
suades himself that he has received supernatural authorization.
The texts are full of obscure allusions, a river, for example, is [195]
spoken of as swift running water. Often a man will treasure
a song for years, before collecting the wealth necessary to use
it publicly, with the social prestige attached. A shaman
always obtains a name from his supernatural benefactor, but [653]
if a man merely uses a feat observed in a dream, this is impos-
sible, so he adopts the designation of some deceased shaman,
more convincing himself that it was attained by the apparition.
Others will probably remember this name, hence suspicions [189]
may easily be aroused concerning the authenticity of the per-
formance, but it is not customary to voice them. The singers
repeat the song which they have just heard, and continue
doing so until they have mastered it. Sometimes they compose
further songs themselves for the performer. During the prac- 756 *
tising, those who are not *initiates* are expelled from the house. 556
A shaman is a person who has come in contact with the super- [575]
natural; hence he is akin to the members of the society who, [203]
therefore, support him during his rise.* A herald is sent out

*Theoretically, a shaman need not be a healer, but exhibitions usually come only to those of religious and imaginative temperaments, who are in the majority of cases already members of the society.

1:McDowell: K-5 (1921-1924)1948
NEA Bellevue NEA

such a ceremony, that is, if he is validating his name, the gifts must be valuable. On later occasions, irrespective of whether it is the same trick or another that is performed, the presents will be of small value. Goods so given are not returnable. After dancing, a shaman wears his collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark all summer, in fact until he rids himself of his supernatural endowment by the performance of a *hactsa* rite the following winter.

Thus there is close inter-dependence of shaman and *hactsa* dancer. On any later occasion, at a ceremony when songs of all types are being sung, if the singers hear out the tunes of those used at the ritual just described, the shaman dances to them. This is said to "cure" him, as if the power within him was a source of danger.

The following are examples of the conjuring tricks performed, most of them done by the shaman *Nootcumlaie*, a relative of an informant, who was able to learn the methods employed.

On one occasion *Nootcumlaie* prepared two boxes, apparently the ordinary wooden ones used for cooking; across each he arranged a diagonal cross-piece so that the receptacle contained two watertight compartments. Previous to the performance, *Nootcumlaie* poured water, dyed red with the bark of the alder, into one section of one of the boxes, and put eagle down in one of the compartments of the other. When the time came to carry out the rite he asked an accomplice, another shaman, to bring some water and pour it into his box. This was done, the assistant taking care to put it into the empty half, not into that which contained the dyed water. *Nootcumlaie* shook the box and poured out some of the liquid to prove that it really was water, and then drank. The spectators, unaware of the cross-piece, did not notice that he did so from the corner opposite to that from which he had poured the water. He had, of course, drunk the dyed fluid. *Nootcumlaie* cried out that what he had swallowed was poising him, and proceeded to vomit the red water, much to the surprise of the

[illegible]

shamans power the grease on the central fire, and throws on it also the figures and some dried salmon. Thus propitiated, it is believed that the dead will be more likely to allow the soul-man to be sucked forth.

Shamans from the dead perform conjuring feats and dramatic performances of the same type as ordinary shamans. Until he gives his first dance a newly entered shaman is known as a *lion*, the same word that is used for a *Bactar initiate*, and during this period he wears the shaman's collar of incrustated dyed and undyed cedar-bark. If he is wealthy and influential, a shaman will repeat his dance every fourth year. Such a performance can be held at any season, although the usual time is after the *Bactar* ceremonies. The dramatic representations are of scenes witnessed in the land below, though sometimes they are done in a reverse manner, following the practice of the dead in doing things oppositely. Thus one shaman reported that the ghosts wore very long blankets, but when he danced he wore one that came only to his hips. The method of singing is the same as that employed by ordinary shamans, but one whose power is derived from the dead dances with hand here down-wards, his free hand pointing to the ground with first finger extended. Also his cry of "*ewai, ewai, ewai,*" covered by incrustals with a deep cadence, differs from that used by ordinary shamans. A dance always continues with the distribution of food to validate the ceremony.

Like ordinary shamans, those from the dead cannot communicate their power. At death their songs too are lost, unless they choose to give them to a friend who is also a shaman from the dead. This is obviously contrary to the theoretical belief that all songs have been obtained during revelations, but is not at all contrary to the Bella Coola practice of having the singers recite the ceremonies in "remembering" their visions.

The following tale, although drawn from the shaman past, is a typical illustration of one of the many ways in which shamanistic power is received from the dead.*

* If the stories of similar type have been included in vol. 1, they are to explain the life of the body, and others are grouped together in the next chapter.

S.McDowell R-3 [illegible]
NEB Bellecrete NBR

and those who have knowledge of them are sorcerers. Even a man of this kind is not outside the pale of society unless he practises indiscriminately; members of the *Sacrae* society, for example, frequently employ one to kill an individual who has offended against their regulations (2, p. 140). A man is regarded as a sorcerer not on account of his knowledge but on account of the ends to which he applies it.

Closely related to, if not identical with, the belief that certain consequences follow certain acts, is the conviction that the infraction of ritual prohibitions brings disaster. There are many such taboos, for so they may be called. Though more important at the critical periods of life, puberty, pregnancy, while observing ceremonial chastity, and so forth, there are many which must be observed at all times.

Restrictions pertaining to the rites and regulations at birth and death have already been described. Like magical acts, these often verge on the religious owing to the belief that disregard offends supernatural beings. On the whole, however, it seems as if most infractions bring their own punishment without intervention of higher powers, a concept which throws taboos into the category of magic rather than of religion, with the ever-present proviso that the two cannot be separated entirely from one another. With them may be mentioned a number of ritual acts connected with fishing and hunting in which, though the element of propitiation is not absent, it is outdated by the performance of definite rites. Finally, there have been included in this chapter a number of unimportant beliefs, the psychology of which cannot be analysed.

What is the basis of these rites defined as Medicine, Magic, and Taboo? As already described, the Bulu Code either do not explain their origin and function, or merely state that *Mpwomo* is responsible, as he is for every activity of life. This is unsatisfactory because many which, viewed scientifically, have neither causative nor preventive power, produce the desired end. A child who has been "made" a sorcerer during infancy, usually grows up to be proficient in that profession; the person

[755] of water in which bad bass boiled eight spikeroes from a coffin. She would have obtained two from each side, and two from each end, in each case inserting the point of a crooked knife to pry loose a fragment of the wood, and then pulling it off in the same direction as the sun travels. It would have been immaterial from which aspect the first bad been taken, but it would have been needful to move around the coffin from east to south to west to north, corresponding to the course of the sun.

It is believed that no one has now the ability to use this charm.

Sorcerers

[756] Among the counter medicines of which knowledge has been handed down to various families for generations are secret means of killing. Every sorcerer must have such a possession, but he is not so bounded within he begins to exercise his powers for anti-social purposes. For example, if it be known that a [757] certain individual is able to cause death, the members of the Darter society are eager to attach him to their group, so that his ability will be at their disposal to punish anyone who breaks their regulations. Likewise, if a chief decides that a certain [758] man should die, the power of his thoughts may suffice to cause the death, but the desired end will be effected more certainly by separating out from the owner of a means of killing. Such [759] an individual is frequently a shaman who is only too glad of an opportunity to exhibit his powers. The following methods of sorcerer are said to have been employed socially, that is, with the sorcerer or at the request of chiefs or the members of the Darter society:

(a) The sorcerer secretes for four successive nights on the door of the victim's house. If the latter suspects what is to take place, he may endeavour to escape by remaining awake which renders the sorcerer powerless. It is said that no one has been able to remain sleepless for more than three nights which gives the killer his opportunity.

2: McIlwraith NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575, 796

/For texts and comments on songs used in kusiut rites see category 116, pp. 305-331./

2: McIlwraith NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575

/For a discussion of the *kusiut* society, including its ritual and origin myths, see category 116, pp. 1-271./

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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533 in the following examples. The subdivisions as called out by the announcer are separated by vertical lines and, where possible, a translation of each is given. The sounds of wordless choruses were not recorded. The different types are arranged according to order of mention in this monograph.

Sisaak Songs

533 575 946 The themes of *sisaak* songs differ according to the purpose for which they have been composed. For instance, when a young person is being initiated into the society, the words usually refer to his crest, the *tsuwinam* which brought his song; at potlatches, to the goods which will soon be given away and the phrasing is often grandiloquent; sometimes the two concepts are combined. These differences are clearly shown in the examples which follow. A few *sisaak* songs have been preserved for generations, but most are newly composed for each winter season and the old ones forgotten. Since few rites of this type have been carried out during recent years, it was difficult to obtain complete versions.

533 *Song Used by Wilnalks (a) of Kimsquit when Initiated into the Society (b)*

A [illegible] Go out	[illegible] ye citizens	[illegible] to see	[illegible] the arrival

[illegible]
of my supernatural being.

[women enter] (*d*)

B [illegible] That is what	[illegible] brought down	[illegible] my grandfather(*e*)	[illegible] and has left for me(*f*)
[illegible] Be careful	[illegible] my children	[illegible] my children	[illegible] it will spear you
[illegible] what has come to me	[illegible] my crest(*g*).		

[women enter]

C [illegible] Shows him	[illegible] the wonderful one(*h*)	[illegible] the wonderful one.	[illegible] He desires

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Fragment of a Song Used for Sanskinis, a Man of Salmon House(a)

5334

Wîhdîyuskîsis	*nanuny*
Whence came those(b)	who were too late?

No more of this song is remembered.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 9c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Refers to guests at the potlatch.

Fragment of a Song Used for Ishamsta of Kimsquit(a)

Xatiqunîye	*natiqunîye*	*hesdai*
I am happy at seeing you(b),	I am happy at seeing you,	good-bye(c).

No more of this song is remembered.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 31b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Presumably refers to the dancer's *tsawinam*, Beaver, obtained from his mother's mother, a Kitlope woman. [424]
(c) This word is said to be in the Haida language.

Song(a) Used for Laisîyaw-k'(b) of Kimsquit(c)

A Xtsamhwastsdîmustîyuskîsu	*Ts'emsî(d)*
I make two of myself(a),	Raven(f),

stsîyustîyskîyuskîsuîn	*Ts'emsî*
I make a huge whale of myself,	Raven,

stsîs-îîstsamskîs	*Xsîsmîldîîstsmîsîs*	*stsîyustîyskîyuskîsuîn*
at the place of lucky finds (g).	People will dismember me,	I make a huge whale of myself(h).

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

B Xsmîlmîyskîsk'	*dats-ahsîskîs*	*skîpsag'*	*stsîdai*
I stand upon	my point(i);	I cry out loudly(j)	

Xsîskungsdai
with respect to my position as chief.

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

C Xsîtsîmskapî'	*Sîtîlsyusîjskap*	*Oîsqsîtsmîsmîs*	*mesîsîskîs*
Go yourselves!	Pick out what you want!	My house	is open(k).

(a) It is doubtful whether or not this song should be included in this section. It was used by a professional warrior at a potlatch but, like all others with his

701
575
424

Z; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[533] [701] [575] [424] [177]

genealogies, he was debarred from inclusion in the back-room and consequent initiation as a cannibal. The exact relationship between warriors and members of the cannibal society is obscure.

(d) *Lawelpaw-ĕ'* is a Kitkatla name from the north. The first owner moved to Kitkatla where he married, and the designation was transmitted to his descendants. One of the latter migrated to Kimsquit, where the name has since been handed down from generation to generation through its original owners has not been forgotten.

(e) Recorded as song VII D 36, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been sung about 1870.

(f) Vocative form.

(g) That is: I double my importance. This kind of expression is popular among chiefs.

[424] [262]

(h) *Sqaai* is one of the ancestral names of Raven, the dancer's crest. In thus addressing the bird, he called attention to his ancestral history.

(i) The house of the first *Lawelpaw-ĕ'* was near a point where dead whales often drifted ashore. The dancer likens himself to a whale on which people will dine.

(j) Such superstition is not uncommon. The dancer implies that his wealth will be divided in a manner similar to the cutting up of a whale's carcass.

(k) A pronouncing owned by the first *Lawelpaw-ĕ'*.

(l) That is: I summon people [to a feast.]

(m) An invitation not to be taken too literally.

Xe-tla Songs

The tunes of *xe-tla* songs are believed to have been handed down, unaltered, for many generations. The words, too, are frequently ancient although the singers sometimes make slight changes so that they will be more suitable for the chief in whose honour they are being sung. Owing to the decline of ceremonials in which they were used, few *xe-tla* songs are now remembered. [796]

Xe-tla Song Used by Sinaqut of Kimsquit(a)

[727]

A Ainsayaaw	*Ahlawu' alĕdai*	*Di nuhuimpdai*	*dinuilhuuit*
Come!	See!	The chief	a man stands in the bow(b)

di yalnatu' alĕdai
of those who travelled everywhere.

[WOMAN SINGS]

B Aleiqualnayaaw	*Di'natuu'ĕ'ilĕdai*	*ai'yuuiiyanatĕ'ilĕdai*
He did so,	my pattern(c),	whence I came(d);

533*

[illegible]
he visited and returned | [illegible]
Sang[illegible].

[illegible]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded on song VII D 30a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) A sign of victory, majority received for when a war-party is returning. [727]
(c) A reference to *Wiwa*, one of *Umsapid*'s five companions in the beginning of time. He made a journey to the Heaven, returning from there with songs and paddles decorated with sun designs. The exploits of his descendants are compared with those of his partners, that is, his first fathers. Such references to family history are sources of pride to the chief being honoured. [775]
(d) That is: From whom I am descended.

Fragment of a Kwakiutl Song(s) Used by Qwayaxilaxa of Kwagu'ł(?)

A *Kalyaxwalaxa* | *Ał xałałxwaqałał* | *Łaxłałłaxwała*
Presently he will be ashamed | their chief | if I get

[illegible]
my copper.

(a) Both tune and theme are said to be of Kwakiutl origin. [177]
(b) Recorded on song VII D 34b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

Fragment of a Kwakiutl Song Used by Umsapid of Kwagu'ł(?)

A *Gwaxłłgwaxwałwała* | *yaa łł ałgwaxwałwała* | *Ołłgwałłwałłwała*
They are smiling, | greetings to the not-stretched glass! | They drink

wała gwaxwała
the food of white man(s).

[illegible]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

(a) Recorded on song VII D 41b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Linearity: *Hałał*
(c) This song was used at a potlatch where the fare provided was whisky. The tune is said to be very ancient although new words were composed for the occasion. [556] [275]

A'alk Songs

A'alk songs somewhat resemble *naxnak* ones and, like them, are difficult to collect completely. Parts of many are remem- [575] [796]

#533 [illegible] [774] [774] bowl, but the rites in which they were used have been practically discontinued for several years so that authenticated versions are almost impossible to obtain. *Ala* dances vary according to the occasions to which they are used. For potlatches, they consist of incidents from ancestral myths; whereas for non-ceremonial occasions following the *hamat* season, they deal with current events. The following examples are divided into these two classes.

[illegible]

[illegible] *Ala* [illegible]

A [illegible]
They give valuable wealth, | [illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
concerning to whom of them wealth to my house I shall give presents(a).

[illegible]

B [illegible]
I speak lightly | [illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
I become elevated, | my power to give potlatches (b) | [illegible]

[illegible]

C [illegible]
Formerly I shall send | [illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
where found to all(c) | [illegible] | [illegible]

(a) Recorded as song VII D 21a, National Museum of Canada stages, Jim Pollard.
(b) That is: The goods which I am about to distribute advise me. This statement is not to be taken literally.
(c) It was impossible to obtain a translation of each subdivision.
(d) Refers to the dancer's many prerogatives.
(e) Refers to his male relatives.
(f) The dancer had obtained several prerogatives from ancestors, treated patriarchally.
(g) A reference to the dancer's origin myth (I, p. 320). The house of his first forefather, [illegible], had its door in a back corner instead of the centre front.
(h) That is: Whatever were distributed at potlatches.

#424 [773]

(a) Recorded as song VII D 10a, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pelkey. The tune is said to have been handed down for seven days ceremonial [illegible] [531] *

(b) This is, for as long as the ceremony required so.

(c) It is not remembered which chief was then holding up to the score of his fellows.

(d) This is, the dance was not in accordance with the conditions of the tunes [illegible]

(e) This is. The dancer is hidden. This refers to another supposed dancer who, owing to his poverty, had not purchased his masks yet. It is not known whether he was the same individual as the one mentioned in the first part of the song. [558]

(f) To Boom another's property is the loss to the height of Bella Coola customs. [785]

(g) This is. He, was a recipient. [377a]

(h) The occasion from which the prerogative was derived.

(i) This is. In virtue of an acquired ability. This appears to be a departure from the usual theme of a marching song.

Pacquet Song (Cod for Quackiutl), a Kwagiutl Moiety

A Pakalakilakalakalakal

*533 *B* [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Go within | my house, | I am giving food | to my friends.

[illegible]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

[614] [824] [135] [609]

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 20b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said that this song has been handed down for generations in an ancestral family; they were regard it as a family possession and would consider its use by others to be sacrilege.

(*b*) Many years ago a solitary Bella Bella used to paddle to Kimsquit almost every year. He was dressed like a chief and had the name of one, so that his hosts assumed him to be a person of importance. It was later found that he was a poor man. The mocking of foreigners is a common theme of *a'alt* songs.

a'alt's Song Used for Xaxamlaiala

*533 *A* [illegible] | [illegible]
575 He has fallen so that his buttocks are apparent, | Hai!(2)!
578 [illegible] | [illegible]
He has come to hurt, | that factor(s).

[illegible]

B and *C*. The second and third parts have been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 3c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) A mockingly deferential salutation used in *a'alt* songs describing the factor.

(*c*) *Xaxamlaiala* was an *a'alt* who is said to have been a Cannibal factor when the latter was supposed to be in the land above. A song was composed about the incident, and the above fragment has been remembered for many years. *Xaxamlaiala* was initiated into the *factor* society; see vol. II, p. 265.

*533 As already described, whenever a dancer is performing, the
575 women utter a peculiar high-pitched drone and the heralds call
796 out remarks suitable to the occasion. A phonograph record[9]
203 was made of the drone, followed by a cry suitable for either *nusak* or *a'alt* dances. The following words are virtually sung:

Yakstalimat	*sathnpalais*
Do not err,	chiefs.

[9]Recorded as song VII D 29c, National Museum of Canada.

Kwakiutl Songs

The texts of *kwakiutl* songs are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. The rites in which they were used have long been discontinued and, since they were never ceremonially important, there was nothing to impress either tunes or words on the minds of the singers. In addition, it is probable that the songs were always less carefully constructed than those of other types. 538* [796]

Song Used for Qalem(a), a Kwagu'ł Man(b)

Qwanamkilaye	*Ałwanałkilanaye*	*ałwanałkilanała*
Be happy,	ye people,	it is about to come,
ałqałqayanała	*ałqałqałanaye*	
that hidden one(c),	Raven.	

[illegible]

Qałem'i	Qałem'i	*ma xat pał*
Raven(d)!	Raven!	*ma xat pał(e).*

(a) This word means "Raven." It is most unlikely that it was the dancer's own designation, more probably a nickname used in connection with the *kwakiutl* rite. [551]
(b) Recorded as song VII D 9b, National Museum of Canada, singer, Louie Hall.
(c) This signifies a person who is hidden ceremonially, such as a *hamatsa* dancer who has gone to the land otters. The dancer appeared to be a Cowichan and the rite in which this song was used served as a kind of rite-of-passage. [796] [575]
(d) This refrain replaces a second and third part of the song itself.
(e) A meaningless series of choral ejaculations.

Song Used for a Kwagu'ł Woman(a)

Ałwanałkilanała	*ałqałwanała*	*łaqałwanałkilaye*	*ałwanałkilaye*
They heard	of Fawn(b),	when they were playing	long ago(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 9d, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) The theme being of a fawn, the dancer wore a deer-skin. [595]
(c) As in many *kwakiutl* songs, the words refer to an ancient story, probably one describing the adventures of deer and wolves; see vol. II, p. 486.

Song Used for Wanałqałas, a Kwagu'ł Man(a)

Łilanałwałaxa	*wanałqayaxa ał*	*waiqiłał*	*qałłaqa*	[776]
Run in all directions,	ye dogs,	for the first time	is in there	
xałqałałaxa	*xałałqałaxa*	*mamł*	*mamł*	[192]
he brings much food(b),	go below the house	*ł(c)*	*ł(c).*	

WARFARE*

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

721 PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was considerable warfare among the coastal tribes of British
648 Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the commencement of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks. These were never so continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless,
[794] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were
[589] even received as guests at some dances. At potlatches they might be subjected to insults, later to be avenged in the same manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and
726 friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who
825 bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests themselves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever
778 another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter
[784] to veer over to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was
[578] considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling
[627] a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads.
721 In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was
[575] at all common. Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were
[622] not entirely forgotten; no *haiat* novice went to war and

*Warfare having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

[721]

[375]

[633]

[648]

[615]

[636]

[556]

[688]

[628]

[727]

[777]

[642]

[648]

[193]

[161]

[illegible] a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject.

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often envied the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to sail for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule or punishment, and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Ilmo* and *Alpitkof* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When *Ilkatk* had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe.

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, *Kimsquit*, and *Tal-is*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack.

[illegible] he is wrong, he pays them. It is said that in former times each stick used to be painted with a special device, and that each had its own name; even now they are beautifully made and highly polished by much passing from hand to hand. The Clowess play the same game but use heavier sticks instead of sticks. Formerly it was not uncommon for a man to bet his goods, his wives and children, and even himself at this game. If he lost, the persons so wagered became slaves of the victor unless redeemed by their friends. Women, too, gambled freely; in fact, neophytes recently admitted into the Bear society were the only men to whom this practice was forbidden.

Of actual games, the one most commonly played is shinny, as many as eight or ten contestants can take part, each providing himself with one, two, or three stones, packed down to the proper shape. Each is about six inches in length, three inches wide, flat on one side, and oval on the other, well rounded at either end. Before the coming of the white man, when the Bella Coola habitually used stone, it is said that one of these could be made in a few minutes. A mark is set up, and the first player throws his missile in the air, endeavoring to make it come to rest as close as possible to the target. The game is usually played on an open space near the village, but even on comparatively smooth ground there is great chance of bouncing and the thrower must gauge this possibility as well as have correct direction and distance. The second player likewise throws his stone, trying to land it nearer the target, or to knock away his rival's. In so doing, the latter, lying on the ground, is often broken, which puts its owner out of the game for the time being. When all have thrown, the one who has come nearest the mark is the winner. Sometimes each contestant throws two or more stones, and sometimes sides are chosen. Large numbers of broken gaming stones can be found near every old village site, confirming the statements of the older men and women concerning the universality of the sport

Likewise called shin, a name said either to be derived from that of a forgan, or that the latter is derived from it.

[157] tacker than hunting birds and small animals with miniature bows and arrows, or snaring them in nooses of grass or string. Little girls make playhouses in which they cook wonderful meals of berries, with perhaps the addition of a wooden fish. On the whole, however, the children do not enter into play as boisterously as white boys and girls, nor do they seem to derive as much pleasure from it. In former times, when clothing was scanty, small boys used to delight in pricking nettles and beating one another with the stinging branches; this must have caused considerable pain, but it was a point of honour not to cry out, and anyone, perhaps caught unaware, who showed discomfort, was laughed at as a coward. Both boys and girls are fond of swinging, and even adult women sometimes find time to enjoy themselves by swaying to and fro at the end of a rope.

[158] [159]

Young Bella Coola do not have as many toys as white children, and none of them is complex. Some girls have crude wooden dolls, though elaborate figurines are reserved for use in dance dances. Perhaps the most cherished plaything is a small puppy or, in recent years, a kitten, though the unfortunate animal is handled and mauled without consideration. A good carpenter may make for his son a wooden top or a bull-roarer, to the envy of his less fortunate friends. Both types of toys are said to be used in *Nusmaiti* and at some *Swaiat* dances the masked figures carry them to play with.

[160] [161]

[162]

There is one game, *sleli*, which the salmon are said to delight to watch, and which is accordingly played by boys as soon as the first spring salmon have been disposed of with fitting rites. Each makes for himself, or is given by his father, a wooden spear with a projecting barb, fastened as shown in the accompanying sketch (see Fig. 2). A hoop of branches is made and thrown into a pool of stagnant, or slow-moving water, on each side of which stands a rival group of competitors. At a signal, all throw their spears simultaneously, with the intention of passing them through the ring, so that the barb of each will

FIG. 2.
"Toy spear."

APPENDIX B

BELLA COOLA-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

DURING the period in the field, the writer's attention was devoted 128
entirely to sociological and religious investigation, and no attempt 192*
was made either to analyze the structure of the Bella Coola language or
to record texts. This part of the monograph consists only of words which [114]
were collected incidentally, and no effort was made to compile an exhaustive list, or even a representative one. This explains the preponderance of proper names, and the large number of terms connected with rituals of all kinds, some of which are rapidly disappearing from common usage. Many of these were used by the writer incidentally in gathering technical data, and their interpretation is unquestionably correct. A few words, however, were not recorded on different occasions, or from different informants, so that some errors may have crept in, either in transcription or in recording. No terms have been employed of which the writer has any real doubt, but the same accuracy is not claimed for this vocabulary as for the monograph as a whole. Lack of knowledge of Bella Coola [195]
grammar made it impracticable to utilize the words recorded in the songs, since many of them include affixes and other grammatical elements that affect the root.

In listing the words alphabetically, the following arbitrary system of letter order has been followed and all symbols have been disregarded, for example, *a* and *ā* are not separated.

- *a* follows *n*.
- *ā* follows *a*.
- *b* follows *a*.
- *c* follows *b*.
- *d* follows *c*.
- *e* follows *a*.

A

192*
[575]

Ala: 1—Loosely organized society of which the members are partners from various of clans.
2—Member of the society.
Alaxbiki: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Alaxbiku: Chief of [illegible] in the beginning of time.
Alnak, *nuxalin*, *Alnakin*: Residence.

192F

Hishchinnee: Supernatural being sent by *Yoodzin* to meet *Nadleeneh*.

ninjeeni, "One Who Is a Giant": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will eventually give a potlatch in order him on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is normally commemorated by every [352] [illegible]

Nakaneh: Hishkon-shell crescent which used by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

Nilching-ladiher: One of the first women to settle at *Tl'ii* in the beginning of time.

nilcoolli: Word of ceremonial meaning often supposed to footstone or complete [375] [illegible] for the first night of a dance dance.

nilchinnee, "A Dragging Forward" (as one dress with a heavy log): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being experienced. [425] [552]

nilnee: Tanned hide of any kind. [248]

Nilkwanee: Ancestral name of a *Dzee* man. [252]

nilly: Performed, adjusted.

nilnanee: Those who perform or assist marriage dances.

nilnoolchinin: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.

Ni-nachoo: One of the first men to settle at *Tl'ii* in the beginning of time. [575]

nilpinin, "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and here prior to entering her house. [431]

nilpoolee: Gifts given in secret, usually after bereavement, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [584]

nilpoolee: Wanted.

nilpoolee: Ancestral supernatural weasel, synonym for *Ninnoolnoh*.

Nilsumlaquin: One of the men who came to settle at *Mount Tsowi* in the beginning of time.

Ni-ldilah: Totem-pole erected by the first settlers at *Dzee* in the beginning of time.

nilshoot: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]

nilsi: Sacred song in four time. [533]

nilt: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [535]

Nil-yaniee: Daughter of the first settlers at *Sutlin* in the beginning of time.

nimdee: Kwakiutl dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

nimlin: Synonym for *ninnoolin*, one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]

nimlin: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

nin: Course, *separate chapter*.

Ninnee: 1—One of *Tsowesi's* sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at *Nuxalkt* in the beginning of time.

nind-dzee: Control seat behind the fire.

nindzinin: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-nets. [412]

nindzinin: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola. [305]

nindzinin: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun.

Nine-lquoon, "The Devourer of Most Killed by Another": Term used by humans to Wolf. [425]

*142 *Ala*: young village.
Alacalp, "Site of the Dark-up Point": Name given to a hut where are two fireplaces in tolerance.
[426] *alacumcular*: Refusal to lend to an outsider a family paraphernalia such as the employment of marriage dances.
[379] *alaqulcumu*: Ritual served when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an announcement of his coming potlatch.
Alaxcumu: Name of a female shaman.
Alem, "The Opening of the Sky":
1—One of the first men to settle at *Kimsquit* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Dean* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of a *Snake-Chief*.
Alilachulem: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.
Allimcultlem: One of the first men to settle at *Bella* in the beginning of time.
[375] *allimcumu*: Avant having the ability to enter the back-room and cover initiates concealed there. The function probably considers the employment of his shields.
Alqlem: Hidden, supernatural beings who contain supernatural Cannibals.
[398] *alumcu*: Formal hearing of stolen.
Amamcumu: Wife of *Tsaalalit*, the supernatural hunter.
Amaxlalitem: Supernatural calendrical experts.
Amaqlalitlem: Husband of *Ewilthmalem*, he is known only in *Kimsquit*.
[573] *amaxtumu*: Earlier dance of women.
[574] *amamcumu*: Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning community.
amamcumuqu: Call used by hostile tribes announcing to a mourning community.
[425] *amamcumlem*: The "Dragging Across" of a canoe, coat, or other intangible gift, [illegible] from wife to husband either on marriage or later or a repurchasing of the wife.
[584] *amamu*: To drag a heavy burden.
[462] *amaulus*: Cooliverine mixed with chicken grease.
[821] *amaxtlem*: Visit to his repository by a *Secret initiate*.
Amaxtlem, "Facing Both Ways": Second name when the winner selection.
amlqumcumu, "The Activities Time": Shaded assemblage of the *Initiate* after departure of a Cannibal.
[547] *amlqulcumu*: Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.
Amlqulcumlem: 1—Supernatural being who revives mortals.
2—Name received by a shaman from this being.

ala: Food.
[425] *alakumu*, "Food Supplies": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage.
Alqulcul, "Secluded": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[756] *alqulcu*: Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in alternate strands.
[882] *alqumlu*: Guarded, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.
[825] *Alqumlqu-a*: Supernatural name of chicken, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
Alqumlqulus, "A Chosen Downwards": Name given to an *Alqulcul* man in the beginning of time.

[illegible] *Kumsaxa*, "Left Foot": Once equivalent second from part of a supernatural creature.
Kumsilem: Kimsquit horses living in the last century.
Kumsuk: Dancing-shell.
Kumsulag, "Has Finished": Said concerning a hunter who has harvested initiation and his first complete dance.
Kumsum: Shell cup of grass and dentalium-shells worn by adolescent girls during initiation.
Kunalx: Crest, especially from sky, as a hunter dance.
Kundaxum: 1—Supernatural female.
2—Ancestorship of the people for possession of different kinds, especially shamans' dances and guessing competitions in connection with the Winter dance.
3—Kimsquit were for the first night of a hunter dance.
Kunqulum, "It Surrounding": Said of cases where a child's relatives have given more presents to the husband's than they have received in return.
Kunt: Place of concealment of a Winter dancer's power.
Kuntlaqin: The people, especially parents, who have given for indecent addresses.
Kunxun: Rightful location, especially the ordained position of a chief in a house.
Kuqqum: Widow covered with ceremonial cloth.
Kuqlqi: 1—Wives.
2—Daughter of the four sections or fields.
Kut: Spring salmon.
Kutlx: Spring salmon house.
Kutsalxiu: Professional name of a hunter wonder.
Kuxalin: Supernatural being resident on the mouth of the Bella Coola River.
Kuxlamlem: 1—The ultimate of work to hereafter in the manufacture of masks and other requisitions.
2—Shaman, the time when such tasks are assigned, the second crossing of a hunter dance.
Kuxlamlemkumsalem, "The Rainbow Maker": Name given to the daughter of the four sections or fields.
Kuxmalin or *Kimsalin*: That which serves as pattern, picture, or model for a hunter crest.
Kuxqlaxt: Second night of a potlatch.
Kuxtalxlah: Artificial, pan-like structure built into a river for use in hand-net fishing.
Kulamalx, "Where People Go": A reflecting pool created by Raven at Kimsquit.
Qaalxlalalx: Grey-nest Dance Channel.
Kulamalxmal, "The Dancer Whose Only Noise-Making Instrument Is His Body": One of Thingalkin's names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Kulilamalxlem: Supernatural woman who guards reputations.
Kulilalxmem: 1—"The Open-Mouthed" (in the sense of open to such forth sickness): One of Thingalkin's names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.
Kumam: Bath running water.
Kulamalxmem: 1—Ranks of ordinary individuals, this term is used to distinguish those who are being initiated into the secret society.
2—Something supernatural seen when awake.

[illegible]: Club. 192*
[illegible]: Cave.
[illegible]: Black Sandstone. [825]
[illegible]: Proper name of a Kiowapah man. [824]
[illegible]: Personal name of the wife of Daulty who was changed to [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Wagon.
[illegible]: Little chief living in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: 1—Marriage, properly arranged and legitimate. [586]
2—The actual wedding day.
[illegible]: Proper name of a Kiowapah woman.
[illegible]: Bark basket for holding liquids. [415]
[illegible]: The making of assistance from a man who wants a caring supervisory.
[illegible]: Arrangement-present, i.e., one for which a return is expected. [420]
[illegible]: Bark cups in which sacred substances and others are concealed.
[illegible]: Women during menstruation. [431]
[illegible]: "When Was Sun Down". Incomplete conversation, such as a mark or a gesture, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to consciousness of the first settlers in the beginning of time. [424]
[illegible]: Wooden wedge such as are used for tilting hot ovens. [412]
[illegible]: Gestures into description. Gestures into to which the performer appears to be devoted.
[illegible]: "The Cutter". One who has been initiated as a member of the Sacred society but has not yet danced, apparently was educated through a [illegible] knowledge to through successful participation in either a Sun-dance or a Medicine dance. [575]
[illegible]: "Emotional Incapable of Removing". Said of an unintentional person who is alleged to have stumbled on a repository.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: The dancers waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one a vision, [illegible] further manifestations before displaying his ability. [756]
[illegible]: Grandmother. [601]
[illegible]: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
[illegible]: Phase given to their camps by the first settlers or those in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: "The Wise One". One of Kiowa's seniors as chief.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle on [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: 1—Club.
2—Enormous club-like structure, alleged to be found far in the forest. [825]
[illegible]: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts. [824]
[illegible]: Red sandstone.
[illegible]: Wooden implement used in the pounding of sinew back. [413]
[illegible]: Undecorated place.
[illegible]: To meet dried salmon. [2*2]
[illegible]: Supported, in the sense of held in place by physical endeavors, i.e.
[illegible]: Locality on Deer Creek, west of Fort [illegible].
[illegible]: Place on south side of North Boudoir Ave., about one-quarter mile from its head.

*This name appears to be an entirely different word from [illegible].

APPENDIX D

 192*

Sallamut: Generic name for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future bride. [431]

Xalalalaxalqa: Supernatural being whose stomach is cut in the head above. [584]

Sanai-a: Good-bye.

Xanhamlqalaxa, "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being *Winuxtsa*. [576]

Sacisiam: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular *Sacisi* dances.

Sacisi-nam: Said to be identical with *sakahamin*, the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor. [152]

Sacisi: *plural*, *Sacisiat*; *vocative*, *Sacisat*; *vocative plural*, *Sacisiam*:

1—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season. [575]

2—Member of the society.

3—"The Learned One": Designation occasionally applied to a supernatural being, especially a purified one, or to a person having power to cure the sick. [152]

Sacipar: Kimsquit female shaman living in the last century.

Sadam: Beloved son, especially a child; this is the vocative form of the word.

Sadiyam: Orphan.

Saai'hilt'qalam: Woman dwelling at Fort Rupert in the beginning of time.

Saayala: Smith Inlet.

Saalaalt'ia: Supernatural name of Cormorant.

Saa-laam-a: Mosquito. [825]

Saalaamalal: Mosquito canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Sisaa*. [763]

Saalaam: Unidentified bird of which the note is an omen of death.

Saalaia: *Kaxlat* name of a Bella Coola man.

Saalaitam: *Kaxlat* name of a Bella Coola man.

Saala-xaamat: *Kaxlat* name of a male Green Bay Cannibal.

Saal-la-i: Smooth pebbles, "pebbles," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. [823]

Saala: Evergreen bough. [824]

Saalalal: Famous Bella Coola warrior.

Saaqamal: One of the sculpins.

Saaxta: *Kaxlat* name of a Kimsquit man.

Saaxt-laal-a, "The Big One": Lustful male supernatural being.

Saaxtaalm: Man who came to earth near *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.

Saa-taam: Kimsquit woman.

Saalaia: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Saalaam: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.

Saalaam: Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

Saalaalaia, "One Who Sits without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Saala: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nuxalxt* chief; the word is a synonym for *Wiitsaa-alaala*.

Saalika: Nuxtampta: One of the nine supernatural siblings. [533]

Saalaalhlaa-aia: Lullaby.

Saal-yaia: Archaic expression used in a string figure.

Saalia: 1—Pen or trap in the ocean for salmon. [226]

2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

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192 *ntin:* Supernatural good luck.
[821] *nkumnis:* Fog.
[825] *nkw':* Pitch-wa.
nk: Mind or mentality.
[828] *nkiyen:* Place of lucky finds, such as a point where whales drift ashore.
nkuhkstiyen: Cannibal recently returned from the land shown.
Ndlelen-i: One of the first women to settle at *Ilatlin* in the beginning of time.
[823] *nemel:* Mountain.
nesh ts nesh: Salmon, generic form.
nmlnmlelen: (Probably) viscera of an animal, archaic.
Nmlnmlelen: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[172] *nmmm:* Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be related by anyone.
Nmpu: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[822] *Nsal'kamen:* Bella Coola chief.
[828] *Nsalqumnis:* Darkness, earthquake-and-kind.
nsqlen: Anger.
nsta: Sun.
Nsnaklin: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at *Ilgulnd* in the beginning of time.
Nsnaklulp: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—*Full* name of a Kimsquit man.
4—*Small* name of a Kimsquit man.
Nsnaw-a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.
[827] *nsnik:* Moon.
Nsnl, "Sunny": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
nsnlnisk: Game played with miniature spears.
[575] *nsnuk:* 1—Society intimately connected with chiefs.
2—Member of the society.
nstnl: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a double-headed salmon.
Nsnuskilu: Shaman's name of a *head* woman.
nskhl': Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Tlatqilim-a* to the man favoured.
[601] *nskum:* Father's sister or mother's sister (in either direct or indirect address).
[583] *nsmmulu:* The ceremonial strength acquired by a child through the repurchase of its mother.
[431] *nsqu-ai:* Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] *nspuel':* Western dock (plant).
[824] *nsrmmululp:* Snowberry.
nsnaqulim: Distribution of carpentry tasks prior to a potlatch.
[825] *nsrmmuts, "Food Supply":* Synonym for *ssl'ahm*, ancestral hunting-ground.
nsulk': Porcupine.
[824] *nsul'ats:* Black huckleberry.
[821] *nsulutsiatsi:* Eye-lashes of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

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614 The gens Spatsá'lit have brooches painted on the house-front, and use in dances the mask of a large kind of whale (*k'ûsis*), of the crow, and of
532 the black bear.
342 The gens Tsmoó'skyas use the mask of Ôuxtsilt'ma (=the sleeper) and the eagle.

The gens Tl'ah'amû'ôt of the Nsak'a'listmx use the moon (fig. 2).

The gens Isle'stimôt of the Tâlis'mx use the raven, robin (*sin'a'gmô*), eagle, whale, the bird *t'ûmîsis* (goose?), and *o'ailad'ots*, the flood-tide. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the *wasp'ots* suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. 420).

The highest gens of Nôtl'a'l has the name Smô'xa (=the north wind). He has the mountain Sawâ'kmx surmounted by a mackerel sky, and with clouds on its sides, painted on his house-front (fig. 3). Another object belonging to his crest represents warm.

614 The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the deci-
851 sion being left to the choice of the parents.

Secret Societies and the Potlatch.

171 The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Bilqula are still more closely interwoven than they are among the Kwakiutl, and
575 must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the Sisa'kn, and the Ko'sôt. The Sisa'kn corresponds to the Tlôxla'qa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the Ko'sôt to the Ts'tsat'ch'a. The Bilqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine
556 brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Qô'mtôm, to whose
773 care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful
776

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Qô'mtôm.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Qômqômtsô'ôs.

[532]
[575]

house in the *far east*, and rises ô! ô! every morning when the sun rises. He has to take care that the sun rises properly. The first six of these deities

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the Ku'sitt these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks which I have copied. Qō'mtsina and Qtsqōmalk'otin wear the design of the full moon, indicated in the mask Qō'mtsina (fig. 4) by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Qtsqōmalk'otin has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin (fig. 5). Alemki'lkya (fig. 6) and Alemalk'otin (fig. 7) wear the design of the crescent, drawn 556 773 776 592 575 776

Fig. 6.—Mask representing Alemki'lkya.

Fig. 7.—Mask representing Alemalk'otin.

in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second. The fifth, K'tsak'tsakl'lkya, and K'ū'mtsina have designs representing stars (fig. 8), both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is K'ula'qawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmonberry bush (fig. 9). The next in order, Kuit'lina (=who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue (fig. 10). The ninth, Ai'sent'k wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a birdskin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called Ti'tsal'qōtlkna (=the sister), the sister of all the others. Her face is painted with a bladder filled with grease (fig. 11). She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

The Sisem'ku, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of gentes, is presided over by a being that lives in the sea. A man who had gone out fishing met the Sisem'ku, and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned he asked the people to clean their houses, and to strew them with clean sand, before he commenced to enter. Then he danced the Sisem'ku, and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with 575 773 776 796

6:Boas K-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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595 773 776 796 tails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Ilkqala dance the Sisaa'ka. Besides this it is stated that the Raven gave each gens its secrets.

FIG. 8.—Mask representing K'emk'mokl'ikya.

FIG. 9.—Mask representing K'ela'qawa.

532 575 776

614 532 422 Each gens has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the Sisaa'ka only, and are otherwise kept a deep secret, i.e., they are the sacred posses-

FIG. 10.—Mask representing Kala'Tlan.

FIG. 11.—Mask representing T'ltsak'qalakaa.

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[534] [292] sions of each gens. All gentes, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent.

61:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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represent. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the 614
people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the 532
various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That 432
is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of 556
carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become Sisaa'ks. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is [567]
given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nesh'a- [848]
la'ela, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is a member of the gens Iele'ilemit of the Talio'mx, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch [115]
he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he 614
changes his name. Each person has two names, a Ki'eitt name, which 424
remains the same throughout life; and a Qi'ntelem name, which is changed 551
at these festivals. Thus, Nesh'ela'ela's (which is his Ki'eitt name) 556
present Qi'ntelem name is Ait'ilemer'ha'eit, but at his next potlatch he intends to take the name of Kalit'kin. These names are also the property 575
of the various gentes, each gens having its own name. In the list of gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Ki'eitt names of the acquirers. In two cases only the Qi'ntelem names have been ascertained 424
(see p. 428). When a man possesses several Sisaa'ks secrets he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or 575
mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of 614
their Sisaa'ks secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisaa'ks secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it [426]
any more. The crest and the Sisaa'ks carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. 556
The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave 426
the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and burned it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner in the stead. Since that time he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Ki'eitt is presided over by a female spirit, called Aneilkitsai'a. 575
Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February 773
till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the 776
door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Aneilkitsai'a invited her into her cave and taught

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her the secrets of the Ka'uût. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Ka'uût. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Ka'uût.'

Ever since that time the Hâqah dance the Kû'siût. When a man has seen Amaklikstem's sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a Ka'uût. A sling made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Ka'uût lasts three days.

The various dances performed by members of the Kû'siût are also the property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted to members of the gens. They may not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the Sisaa'ka dances (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the Kû'siût is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kû'siût name, which he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kû'siût names, which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pô'pô until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Tl'akô'otl. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisaa'ka, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kû'siût have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the tlaqô'tla (the Hâ'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ô'lsq (the Nû'tlmatl of the Kwakiutl), and the Dâ'tla (the Nô'nteistatl of the Hâ'iltsuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Kû'siût novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

When the tlaqô'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed, in order to serve as food for the tlaqô'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the tlaqô'tla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

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out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he cannot catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the ɮlaqô'tla dances clothed in a bear-skin and wearing a large headring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red and white cedar-bark. Some ɮlaqô'tla do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon, or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also eat corpses. The ɮlaqô'tla has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house. 575 [774] [756] [292] [301]

The Ô'lɮq (= the laugher) and the Dâ'tia (= the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The Ô'lɮq 'makes fun of everything' and scratches people with his nails. The Dâ'tia carries stones and sticks, and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day he pays for it at night when he dances. The Ôlɮq and the Dâ'tia must stay for one month, after they have danced, in their houses. [785]

If a person transgresses the laws of the Kû'siût, for instance when the ɮlaqô'tla gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offence has been proved he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing, and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared, and the substitute is killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is entrusted to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him, or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger-nail, around the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender he will fall sick. Blood collects in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the Kû'siût are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklet of red cedar-bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others the thunder-bird and his servant Atlqulâ'tɛnum, who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and a staff with red and blue spiral lines, appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Qô'mtsioa and his brothers and his sister (see p. 412), Maamaalâ'niq and his fellows, the raven and the Nuuqô'mta, and many others. 575 688 575 532 796 [776]

Customs regarding Birth, Puberty, Marriage, and Death.

When the time of delivery approaches, the woman leaves the house and resorts to a small hut built for the purpose. She is assisted by pro- 844

751 Women wear tight anklets 'to prevent
the calves of their legs from slipping down.' During their monthly
841 periods women place soft cedar-bark in the vagina. The bark is afterwards
824 burnt in the woods. The smoke of this fire is believed to be poisonous.

It is evident that the culture of the Bilqula is very greatly influenced
177 by that of the Kwakiutl. The secret societies and the potlatch ceremonies
551 are almost a copy of those of the Hêiltsuk. This influence has been so
556 deep that names of even deities and of the mythical ancestors of certain
575 gentes are purely Kwakiutl words, or have at least Kwakiutl endings. Thus
776 the name Aiumkt'likya (see p. 413) is purely Kwakiutl, meaning 'good all
771 over the world.' K'ômk'omkt'likya is also a Kwakiutl word, meaning
'the rich one of the world.' The chief's name, Ma'lakyilail (see p. 409)
belongs to the same class of Kwakiutl names. On the other hand, the
religious ideas of the Bilqula are very curiously developed, and apparently
but slightly influenced by their neighbours. The whole Masmasla'niq
tradition is peculiar to them, but has been partly adopted by the Awiky'-
ô'noq, with whom the Bilqula have intermarried.

[pp. 425-449 not processed]

7:Boas E-5 (1884-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

776 the House of Myths, but who has given up his place in favor of Sunx and
Ats'unts'un. These two might be called the rulers of mankind. In most
traditions they are described as trying to destroy man, notwithstanding the
fact that they are considered the creators of mankind. This peculiar charac-
773 teristic of these deities is clearly brought out in the traditions recorded on
776 pp. 38 ff. In one legend which I collected in 1890, Ats'unts'un's mother,
Nanaumik'tequna'm, is described as a Cannibal, who inserts her long
snout in the ears of men, and sucks out his brain. Eventually she was
transformed into the mosquito.[1] I did not hear her mentioned as one of the
deities residing in the House of Myths. According to the same tradition,
the salmon were obtained by a man who gambled with Ats'unts'un, the
stake being the salmon. Ats'unts'un lost, and the man took the salmon down
[828] from heaven. Another legend of the origin of the salmon is recorded on p. 38,
where it is told how the birds obtained the salmon. According to still another
tradition (p. 94), the Raven obtained the salmon by marrying a salmon girl.
In the tradition quoted above, Ats'unts'un also gives to man the power to cure
[755] disease by means of the water of life, which the shaman sprinkles on the
sick person.

A number of inferior deities live in the House of Myths. They might
776 be called the assistants of the principal deities. In order to understand their
[772] functions, it is necessary to state that the deities residing in the House
of Myths have particular charge of the religious winter ceremonial of the
[796] Bella Coola which is called kā'siut, and which corresponds to the ts'ents'eqa
[575] of the Kwakiutl. I have described this ceremonial, and its importance in
the social life of the Kwakiutl, in another paper.[2] The kā'siut is of equal
importance to an understanding of the social life and mythology of the
Bella Coola. It is sufficient to say at this place that the ceremonials per-
formed during the kā'siut are mostly dramatic representations of myths
[532] referring to the various deities, particularly to those of the House of Myths:
therefore masks representing these deities are used in the ceremonials.
Plates VII to XII[3] show a series of these masks. Figs. 1, 2, and 4 (Plate VII)
are Sunx, Ats'unts'un, and Sneak'alx'a'la. The functions of many of the
575 inferior deities seem to refer solely to the kā'siut. These deities and their
776 functions are as follows: Sha'ath'tial'x' (Plate VII, Fig. 6) ordains the death
of men and animals. According to one statement that I received, there are
four deities of this name in the House of Myths. It is his particular duty
to kill those who transgress the laws of the kā'siut. This deity is men-
tioned by Jacobsen, who calls him Sch-selk Kallai.[4] Nanat'seq'ala (Plate
VII, Fig. 7), or the Sneat'iq of the House of Myths, sits by himself in one

[113]

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1898, p. 948.
[2] Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, pp. 311-738.
[3] Drawings by Mr. Rudolph Weber.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1897, p. 388.

corner of the house. He prevents those who are not initiated in the secrets of the kā'xlat from approaching the house. The Sxnu'q is a fabulous monster, the peculiarities of which are described in a number of traditions (see pp. 83 ff.). S'ants.a'mnn.a'lt (Plate VII, Figs. 12 and 13) is a boy who performs kā'xlat dances all the time. When the deities resolve to send a new dance down to our world, it is conveyed by S'ants.a'mnn.a'lt. It is the office of another deity to sing, accompanying the kā'xlat dances of the gods (Plate VII, Fig. 3). Anuqat'n'xnn is a deity in regard to whose functions I have not been able to obtain detailed information. It is said that he intervenes on behalf of man when Sanx and A.k'antā'm threaten to punish him. There are two goddesses in the house who also intervene in favor of man when the principal deities threaten him with death and sickness. Their names are Sntoma'xn (Plate VII, Fig. 9) and Ainlā'xxa (Plate VII, Figs. 10 and 11). They wake man after sleep. Without their help, nobody could wake from sleep. Ainlā'xxa is at the same time the guardian of the moon. Every month she restores the moon to her full size, and she cleans her face after an eclipse. The moon is called A'm.'ts.gilo (Plate X, Fig. 10). The eclipse is produced by several deities called Aiq'ut'yonnm, which means "painting the face black" (Plate X, Figs. 4-6). It is believed that at this time the moon performs one of the most sacred ceremonies of the kā'xlat, which are thought to be very dangerous to the performer. The black paint with which her face is covered is supposed to be a protection against these dangers. Ainlā'xxa cleans off the paint after the dance has been completed. According to Jacobsen,[1] the Indians say that during an eclipse the moon (Ewklo-bellilla) paints her face black. The same deities are believed to paint and to clean the faces of human kā'xlat dancers. Sntoma'xn and Ainlā'xxa also resuscitate those who are killed by the dangerous performances of the kā'xlat.

While the functions of the beings enumerated here are mostly concerned with the kā'xlat, others are more immediately concerned with the affairs of the world. Important among these is K'ū'xū'k'ni'm (Plate VII, Fig. 1). Sanx is the creator of man, but his work is supplemented by that of the god K'ū'xū'k'ni'm. When Sanx creates a new-born child, K'ū'xū'k'ni'm gives the child its individual features. Before children are born, the goddess named Nutx'qamalal'x' or Stmatma'lotas Sanxalā'n.nis places them in a cradle and rocks them. After she ceases rocking them, the children are sent down to our world. She also rocks the young of all animals; and when she stops, Sanx sends them down to our world to be born. At the same time he ordains that their skins and their flesh shall serve for clothing and food for man. Nutx'qamalal'x' might therefore be called the deity

575 776 575 776 821 776 842

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1892, p. 111.

paint. They taught him the methods of hunting, and, according to some, they made the fish. The Bella Coola say, when carving a design, that Mem-mamlk'nis gives them the idea which they are working out. 776

Sees has a daughter named Sp'ex'p'ik'ent'm, who invented the art of working cedar-bark. Her figure is also used in the kt'int ceremonial, in which the invention of the preparation of cedar-bark is represented. This deity has an assistant called Omstmc'k', who supports the stick over the edge of which she is breaking the bark. When first breaking bark, she shouts, "Ai.ets sisya'kmm ti Omstmc'k'mes" ("Bring to me Omstmc'k'"). After he has been given to her, she shouts, "Ai.ets sisya'kmm to spek'n.m" ("Bring me the board on which to break the bark"). After receiving this, she demands the cedar-bark breaker, saying, "Ai.ets ensk'pmm.ai'ts to sp'k'mm." Finally she asks for cedar-bark, saying, "Ai.ets k'ush.tkamo'kais ti sp'k'emmes." Then she begins to work, singing,— [575] [539]

[539]

"E ses ek'k'emes! ts'mes'k'mes ts'ses!
E ses emmel'ts ts! Sp'ex'p'ik'ent'm mes tsemelli'ts'ts."

("Behold me, ye who are not intimidated!
I am the Cedar-bark Breaker of tsemelli'ts'ts.")

It seems that most of the Bella Coola maintain that the Raven also lives in the House of Myths, but this point of their mythology is somewhat obscure and contradictory. According to the tradition of a number of families, the Raven was one of the beings sent down by Sees to our world to become the ancestor of man, but at the same time it is told that he invented certain arts. It is stated that he made the first salmon-trap (m.tk'a'l), which is used in connection with the salmon-weir. 776 773

It is also said that Mem-mamlk'nis attempted to make the whistles for the winter ceremonial, that he was unsuccessful, and that the Raven succeeded in making them; also that the Raven came down to give the world its present shape. He instituted the festivals of the Bella Coola, and then returned to the House of Myths.

Besides all these deities, there are nine brothers and their sister particularly concerned with the observations of the kt'int ceremonial (Plate IX, Figs. 1-9). The names of the brothers are, Xemstmalk'm.la, Xe'mstiwa, Omq'mak'lik'a, Q'a'mstiwa, Almalk'm.ala, Al'amk'lik'a, K'ik'lias, Q'alaxt'wa, A'i'mak'; and of their sister, i.'ttat'apits.ana. These deities are painted with certain designs. Xemstmalk'm.la and Xe'mstiwa are painted with the design of the full moon (the former carries a staff wound with red and white cedar-bark); Omq'mak'lik'a and Q'a'mstiwa, with the design of the half-moon; Almalk'm.ala and Al'amk'lik'a, with the design representing the stars; K'ik'lias, with the design of the rainbow; Q'alaxt'wa, with the de- 776 776 532

776 sign of the salmon-berry blossom: A't'mâk' has the shape of a kingfisher;
532 and L'ctsa'aplêLana is painted with the design of a sea-lion bladder filled with grease. She wears rings of red and white cedar-bark. The carving representing the kingfisher has the wings attached to the sides of the head, while the tail rises over the forehead. Xêmxêmalâ'oLla is said to carry a small woman in his arms. Her name is Nuspô'xta. When the brothers and their sister threaten to do harm to man, she entreats them to desist. In some traditions these deities are described as the children of ALk'unta'm.[1]

776 In one tradition L'ctsa'aplêLana' is described as visiting houses and
773 stealing provisions. She is then pursued by the person whom she has wronged, and returns to the House of Myths. The deities are unable to cure her; but the person who wounded her is called in, and withdraws his arrow, whereupon she recovers.[2] Formerly I had the impression that these
[114] ten deities were particularly concerned with the sisau'k' ceremonial,[2] but this
[575] impression has not been substantiated by the information I received during the past year. The ten deities appear much rather as deities of the kô'siut.

● 575 In the rear of the House of Myths there is a room named L'lô'sta, in
773 which the son of the deities lives. His name is Ba'gxôLla or Snupaaxola'lt.
776 When Sgnx and ALk'unta'm desire to destroy their visitors, they send them
[772] past the door of Ba'gxôL'la's room. The latter then rushes out of his room and devours the visitors. He also initiates the Cannibal. According to the tradition of the tribe Se'nxLemx', they acquired membership in the Cannibal Society in the following manner: Ba'gxôLla came down to the mountain Sqsl., where he met with the son of Sgnxalo'Lela, the first of the tribe. He conducted him up to the House of Myths. He took him into his room, and gave him the name Q'oalaiu'tstimot. He put a snake into his body, which enabled him to pass through the water. When the youth applied his mouth to the body of a person, the snake tore pieces of flesh from the body, and devoured it. Then Ba'gxôLla took the youth to the upper heaven, past the rent in the sky, and to the house of the supreme deity, Qama'its. The two approached the house, being blown towards it by the strong gale prevailing in the open country of the upper heaven. They found Qama'its sitting in front of her house; and she said to Ba'gxôLla, "Why don't you come in? You wish that your friend should obtain great supernatural power. Bring him to my house, and I will give him what you desire. Stay for a short while where you are, and I will show you what I am doing. Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." After a little while the post closed its eyes. It grew dark at once, and the two visitors fainted, but soon they recovered. When the post opened its eyes again, it grew light. The visitors remained sitting on the ground, and

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 294.
[2] Seventh Report on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, p. 6.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

suddenly a strong wind began to blow, which rolled them over the prairie until they reached the door of the house. Then suddenly the wind calmed down. They remained sitting on the ground near the doorway; and Qama'its said, "Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." They were sitting opposite each other, watching the post; and when it closed its eyes, they were transformed into two stones, but they soon regained human shape. Then Qama'its asked them to enter. Now the woman took the youth's blanket, and gave him another one made of bear-skin set with fringes of red cedar-bark. She told him that this blanket was to keep him warm, and that it would direct his course. Next she fetched some water from the salt-water pond behind her house. She sprinkled it over the faces of her visitors, and told the youth to sing about his experiences in the upper heaven when performing the Cannibal dance. If she had not sprinkled the faces of her visitors with water, they would have died. She said to the youth, "Your country is not far away. Do not be afraid of the dangerous road that you have to pass. Later on there shall be many Cannibals like you. Do not be afraid to touch the food that another Cannibal may offer to you. You are strong because you have seen me." Then Qama'its sent him back to the lower sky. Here the gods placed him on the back of a bird (Sq'xsEn), which carried him down to the sea. As soon as the bird reached the water, it uttered its cry, and at the same time the young man uttered the cry of the Cannibal. The people heard it, and said to one another, "That must be the boy whom we lost some time ago." They connected many canoes by means of planks, and paddled out to the place where the bird was swimming about. They covered the canoes with red cedar-bark and eagle-down, and tried to capture the youth; but when they approached, the bird swam towards the village. They surrounded it with their canoes; but the bird flew up, and disappeared in the sky, and at the same time the youth flew towards the village. When the people landed, he attacked them, taking hold of their arms; and the snake, which was still in his body, tore pieces of flesh out of their arms. The people sang and beat time in order to appease him.

575 773 776

In a second room in the rear of the House of Myths, next to that of the Cannibal, lives Kōkō'sLxEm, another son of the deities. His room is called Nus'ō'lxsta. He initiates the Olx-dancer (see Chap. VI).

776 575 [172]

The path of the Sun is guarded by a number of deities. At sunrise is stationed the Bear of Heaven, Snanō's ti Sōnx· t'aix· (Plate X, Fig. a). He is described as a fierce warrior, who protects the Sun against the attacks of his enemies, and he is the cause of the warlike spirit of man. His hair is tied up in a knot on top of his head. His mask is used in the sisau'k·

[821]

776 ceremonial, and sometimes in the kā'siut. The following song belongs to
575 his mask and dance:—

[539] Xsumō'ltsaxit ti q'ıqstl'mnt'nix'. Nō'nsq'ıwtsum ta'xn t'ıyōtsalat'nix' ıyunt
unmō's ti xlnx' t'aix', wā, ōhō, ai!

("Cry now, as though you had left me! I shall tie up my hair, warriors, like the Bear of Heaven.")

776 821 At sunset stands an enormous post which is called Nutēexoa'axtatas ti Sōax' t'aix'. It supports the sky, and prevents the Sun from falling down into the lower world. The trail of the Sun is described as a bridge which was built by Masmasala'nix. The bridge is as broad as the distance between the winter solstice and the summer solstice. The Sun walks, his face turned towards the west. In summer he walks on the right-hand side of the bridge, in winter on the left-hand side of the bridge, which explains the varying heights of the sun in the course of the year. The extreme right and extreme left of the bridge are called Sē'ıxnt ("the place where he sits down," that is, the solstices). At each of these points a being is placed who is called Atk'xē'tlnem (Plate X, Fig. 3). It is their duty to see that the Sun does not tarry too long at the solstice. If in summer or winter he should be inclined to stay too long or to return too soon, they regulate his course. When the Sun tarries too long at the winter solstice, the people say, "ēx tsēs pa'nia" ("salmon will be dried late this year"). If he leaves it without tarrying, they say, "ēk!x' tsēs pa'nia" ("soon we shall dry salmon"). Three guardians named Naqumiqa'otsaix (Plate X, Fig. 1) accompany the Sun on his course, dancing around him all the time. The halo is called Itwu'xtsia ti Mānt. t'aix' ("the cape of our father"). A sun-
[731] dog that appears westward from the Sun is called Atqōt. ti Mānt. t'aix' ("the
[753] painted face of our father"). The Bella Coola believe that when it drops down to our earth, it causes epidemics. During an eclipse the Sun is believed to lose his torch. The rays of the Sun are his eyelashes.

There are twenty-four guardians appointed to take care of the sky. They are called Nexolak'al'x'. According to tradition, the sky must be continually fed with firewood. Once upon a time they put too much firewood into the sky and made it burst. All the pieces except one, called S'ıtlwalō'ıxm, fell down to our earth. The fragments hit the faces of the twenty-four guardians, and distorted them. They tried to mend the sky, but did not know how to do it. They went down the river, and came to Masmasala'nix, whose assistance they asked. Masmasala'nix gathered up the broken pieces, and glued them together. Up to that time the Sun had staid in the east, but now he began to go on his daily course. At that time Masmasala'nix built the bridge over which the Sun travels every day. He placed a wedge in the opening of the sky, into which the Nexolak'al'x'

Smayá'ots, that is considered a human being. It is said that his children make the canoe go up Bella Coola River with the rising tide, A'nxunk'ila. The canoe travels the distance from the mouth of the river to the mountain Smayá'ns in a single tide. The canoe "Nó'ak'nxem" stays for four months. Then the canoe "Kunkunu'qstula" returns from the country of the Salmon, while "Nó'ak'nxem" leaves again. It is said that all the gods of the House of Myths come to the villages of the Bella Coola in the canoe "Nó'ak'nxem." 773 [776]

The arrival and the departure of these canoes are strictly regulated according to the calendar of the Bella Coola, which for this reason should be explained in connection with their beliefs. The Bella Coola divide the year into two parts, which are separated by the winter and summer solstices. The solstices are periods of indefinite length, between which five months are counted. Each solstice is reckoned, therefore, as approximately six weeks. The names of the months are as follows: — 773 805 821

Sqa'ut (winter solstice)	Sqa'ut (summer solstice)
Sxóla'mx'nxem	Sl'ixem
[illegible]	Sexex'mut
Sinq'a'm	Sinuilh'hemtenxm
Sqóla'n	Tsl'ak'ítm [illegible] Anaólkuts'ai'x
Sinq'amak	[illegible]

The canoe "Nó'ak'nxem" arrives, and "Kunkunu'qstula" leaves, in the month Sinuilh'hemtenxm. The canoe "Nó'ak'nxem" leaves, and "Kunkunu'qstula" returns, in the month Sxóla'mx'nxem.

At the moment when the canoe "Nó'ak'nxem" arrives, a deity called Anaólkuts'ai'x (Plate XII, Figs. 1 and 2), who is believed to live in a cave, opens the door of her abode. There is one deity of this name to each village. Her cave is called Nuskéin'tsta. It is said that one Anaólkuts'ai'x lives on the mountain Sqtsi. Her house is described as a large hollow bowlder suspended from the top of the mountain by means of a rope. Each Anaólkuts'ai'x has an older sister who is called Nutsé'xenxm. When the canoe "Nó'ak'nxem" appears, and she opens her door, she steps outside and stands in front of her house, dancing, with trembling hands. When a person sees her, he faints. His soul is taken into her house, and is initiated into the secrets of the ku'sint. 773 776 [575]

A particular Nuskéin'tsta is believed to be at the foot of the creek Anó'nk', on the northern side of North Bentinck Arm, near the mouth of Bella Coola River. A woman called Nustsxoaxlo'stxnit, lives there. She is described as emaciated, of black skin, and as wearing a black blanket. A certain chief who lived long ago was the first to see her. He was initiated by her, and after his return he performed a dance, and told what he had seen. Then he died.

7:Boas E-5 (1884-ca. 1890)900 NEb Bellacoola NEb

Some of these he gives to the shaman. . . . A third spirit is the Skaia [Sual'exnex], which is believed to live in rivers, and to have the shape of a salmon. When a shaman who is inspired by this spirit makes an incantation in a house, singing and dancing, as all the shamans do, wherever approaches the house and hears the song turns back. They believe that whoever passes the house during the incantation will be punished with death by the spirit Skaia." 776 756

I believe this spirit is identical with LALAIT'E., who, as stated before, has the second name Sual'exnex. According to Jacobsen, some shamans are initiated by the ghosts. He says that the ghosts are believed to have bald heads and blue faces. I am under the impression, however, that the people initiated by them are not shamans, but ka'xiat dancers (see Chap. VI). [775] [575]

Another being who initiates shamans is described in the following tradition: — 539

Once upon a time there was a man and a woman who had four sons. The three elder ones died. Then the father and mother and the youngest brother were very unhappy, and the old people cried for grief until they died. The young man was now left all alone. He left his village, intending to go away and never to return. He pulled his blanket over his head and walked on. Sometimes he would stop to pray. He lived on the meat of mountain-goats which he shot. He built a small hut high up on the mountains, and dried the meat. He was crying and praying all the time. He prayed to the Sun to give him a gift which would restore his happiness. One day early in the morning he ascended the mountain. He addressed the rising Sun, saying, "Look at me, how unhappy I am." After he had gone a short distance he came to a ravine. The bed of the ravine was filled with pretty pebbles. There he met a beautiful man, who was no other than the Sun, who had descended from the sky. He had caused the water of the creek that runs through the ravine to disappear. When the young man saw the stranger from a distance, he thought, "He seems to be looking for me." He went nearer; and when they met, the Sun said, "I am the one to whom you are praying all the time, and I came to help you. Now be happy. When you open your mouth and speak to me, I know your thoughts at once. I help those who address themselves to me. Take this." With these words he handed the young man a switch carved in the shape of a man. The Sun was carrying it under his arm, the point of the switch directed downward. "Fold your arms and hold this switch to your chest, and then return to the village. When you approach anyone, hide the switch under your arm. You will find a person who wears a nose-ornament of beautiful green color. Then you must try to hit the ornament with this switch, and throw it to your right side." 756 776

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

They had hit a stone, and their points were broken. He staid there some time, and when it was nearly dark he returned home. Before he reached his house, he cut his own belly and took out some of the fat from his intestines. He cut it in five pieces, and replaced his intestines. He put the fat into his quiver. When he reached his house, he hung the quiver up outside, and entered. He imitated everything the Lynx had done. When it grew dark, he told his wife to fetch his quiver. She brought it, and he told her to open it and to feed his children. She took the fat out, placed it on a stick, and put it near the fire: and as soon as it grew warm, the Raven cried, "Tttt! Don't put it so near the fire. I feel sick when you do so." He jumped up, took hold of the fat, and put it back in his belly. The Lynx said, "Formerly I fed your children, but you were the first not to treat me properly. You did not give any food to my children." Then the Lynx took some fat, and flung one piece to each of the Raven's children. He cut some meat and gave it to them also. Then the Raven said, "I will give you one of my children, that it may grow up in company with yours." 539 776

It is said that the former spirit Toa'lat.'it was killed at one time by an Indian who took his place. This tale is recorded in Chap. IV. It belongs to the tribe of the village Nusxe'q!. A similar tradition is told of Astas,[1] by which name the Carriers call the Raven, their principal culture hero. Many traditions referring to Astas are common to the Carriers, the Bella Coola, and the Awi'k-'enôx of Rivers Inlet. 773 776 [170]

The Bella Coola believe that a being called K'tsôs is the father of all mountain-goats. When a hunter meets him, he thinks he sees a kid. Then he should close his eyes and open them again. If the animal is K'tsôs, it will appear in its real shape as a buck of enormous size. The hunter should then ascend the mountain. If he should descend, he would fall and die. 776 825

The thunder-storm is produced by the Thunder-bird, who lives on the mountains, in the company of a number of spirits, who are considered his particular friends. The Thunder-bird himself is represented by a black mask with red nostrils. The nose is strongly curved, the forehead bulges forward, and the chin protrudes almost as far forward as the nose (Plate XI, Fig. 1). His herald is called A.xula'tenum (Plate XI, Fig. 2). His face is painted with orange and blue stripes, and he carries a speaker's staff, which is painted with spirals of the same color. He watches the door of the Thunder-bird's house. In his house live the Rabbit (Plate XI, Fig. 3); the Owl, who is considered the rival of the Thunder-bird (Plate XI, Fig. 4); the Mountain, L.e'qots (Plate XI, Fig. 5); the Raindrop (Plate XI, Fig. 6). 776 [621] [532] [575]

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 391.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

776 The Thunder-bird and his companions appear in the kō'siut ceremonial. When they enter the house, a dancer appears who carries an instrument in
575 the shape of a bird-rattle (Plate XI, Fig. 7), which is provided with holes
[534] in its lower side, and has a loose back. This implement is filled with cedar-bark and eagle-down, and is shaken by the dancer. The eagle-down is thus made to fly about in the house, symbolizing the wealth and power of the Thunder-bird.

IV.

184 In the preceding pages I have summarized the principal features of
773 Bella Coola mythology, which are characteristic of the traditions of the whole tribe. Besides these, there are other groups of traditions which are very conflicting. One reason for the existence of numerous contradictory traditions must be looked for in the peculiar social organization of the Bella Coola. In former times, when the tribe was populous, the Bella Coola inhabited a great many villages. The inhabitants of each village are considered the descendants of a number of mythical ancestors who were sent down by SENX. Each of these village communities has traditions of its own, which are its property, and which are not well known to the rest of the tribe. Many of these traditions refer to the origin of our world, and for this reason a number of the most important myths differ in various villages. Indications of such conflicting ideas may be found in the traditions recorded in the preceding pages. To make this subject clear, it is necessary to describe somewhat fully the traditions belonging to a number of village communities. Before recording these traditions I shall enumerate the villages of the tribe.
103 The following list is the result of repeated inquiries. In it the names and
361 locations of the villages are given in consecutive order from the mouth of Bentinck Arm upward along Bella Coola River, and the names of the
773 mythical ancestors of the village communities have been added where these have been ascertained.

Village.	Location.	Ancestors.
1. Q'oā'ıaa	At the bay of this name.	
2. Sx'ıia	At the entrance of South Bentinck Arm.	Tōtsō'ıa.
3. Nusxē'q!	On North Bentinck Arm.	Sxnuiata'k'ıa, Nusqua'-xlsnē, Sx'ists, and their sister E'ıa.'xlsana.
4. Pē'ıszla	At the entrance of the valley opening on the north side of the mouth of Bella Coola River.	Sxē'homs, Yuyō'lk', Mystai'i, Sisō'i.
5. Atqla'xi.	The present division at the north side of Bella Coola River, near its mouth.	Iuyō'yōi, Xemsē'ıuts-xem, Sinxnsla'h, and their sister Iuqsē'ıuts.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

000 the middle of the water, the barnacles and worms bit her. She jumped up, and the canoe capsized. The birds swam ashore. After a short time the barnacles and sea-worms came ashore too. They looked very stout, because they had eaten the bear. Then the youth said to the girl, "There are two trails here,—one leading to the left, the other to the right. You follow the one, I will follow the other. If the trails meet, we will marry; if they do not, we here separate forever. They started, and after a while met each other. Then the youth married the girl. (Mask of the Bear, Plate X, Fig. 11.)[1]

VI.

12 It is necessary to make a few remarks on the relation of the ceremonials
796 of the Bella Coola Indians to their mythology. I have not seen any of their
ceremonials, and my descriptions are based on inquiries, and upon the accounts
[124] published by Fillip and Adrian Jacobsen.

The Bella Coola have two ceremonials,—the sisau'k and the ku'siut, which
796 correspond to the ła'łaxa and the ts'etsa'eqa of the Kwakiutl. I have
described these ceremonials fully in another paper.[2] The sisau'k ceremonials
575 are mostly dramatic representations illustrating the clan legends, some of
which have been recorded in Chap. IV, while the ku'siut ceremonials are
dramatic representations of the initiation of members of various clans into
certain secret societies. Among these, the Cannibal Society, the Society of
the Laughers, and the Society of the Throwers, are the most important.
These are called by the Bella Coola the xlaxo'łała, Ots, and Da'tis. I
described on pp. 34, 35, the spirits presiding over the two first-named
114 societies. The information which I obtained on these points is perfectly
575 clear and consistent. I cannot quite reconcile the explanations given by
776 A. and F. Jacobsen to the accounts which I received. It seems that their
accounts do not clearly distinguish between the opinions held by various
796 tribes. In the article above referred to, I described fully the opinions held
by the Kwakiutl in regard to the origin of their Cannibal Society. They
believe that a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsi'wae initiates the Cannibals. He
is represented as having an enormous black head with dilated nostrils and
large mouth. I have made frequent inquiries among the Bella Coola, but
received the uniform answer that this being does not initiate their Cannibals.
It is not impossible that a few families may have adopted this tradition from
the Kwakiutl tribes, but I have not been able to find it among the Bella
Coola. Jacobsen maintains that Baxbakualanuxsi'wae is the particular spirit
of the Cannibal among the Bella Coola, and brings forward the well-known

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[1] Additional legends of the Bella Coola have been published in the publications quoted on pp. 16, 17.
[2] Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 311-338.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NEA Bellacoola NEA

tradition of the Awi'k'enox as an explanation of the ceremonial. The only modification which I note in this tradition is that the Cannibal's wife is described as sucking out through their ears the brains of children,—an incident which I heard related of the mother of A.k'nnt'm.[1] He calls him "Beck-Beck-Kvalanit, and in the Bella Coola dialect, Pth-Pth Kualanuiva." This word is decidedly of Kwakiutl origin, meaning "the one who eats human flesh at the mouth of the river (or at the north end of the world)." Neither have I been able to find any mask representing this being among the Bella Coola tribe. The masks which they use in connection with the Cannibal ceremony are of quite a different character (Plate XII, Figs. 1-8). I am the more inclined to think that Mr. Jacobsen did not clearly distinguish between the customs and traditions of various tribes, since he introduces "Gaskilhaq[illegible] (q'nig'ilak')" in the traditions of the Bella Coola, while it is distinctively a legend of the Kwakiutl tribes of the extreme northwest of Vancouver Island. Jacobsen does not distinguish clearly between the sisau'k' and the ka'niut, stating that the ka'niut dances are performed during the sisau'k' in the same way as, among the Kwakiutl, a LAO'laxa may be celebrated during the ta'a'ta'aqa. This may be, but theoretically the two ceremonials must be considered entirely distinct. According to the information which I received, sisau'k' dances may be held in summer, in which case the ka'niut could not possibly form part of the sisau'k' ceremonial. When, on the other hand, the sisau'k' takes place during the ka'niut period, it would naturally be accompanied by ka'niut dances.

As stated before, the sisau'k' is a ceremonial in which the legend of the clan is illustrated by means of dramatic performances. At the same time valuable presents are distributed among the guests who are invited to witness the ceremonial. The value of the gifts amounts often to several thousand dollars. At this time the family legend is told in general outlines, but the details of the legend are kept a secret, and are transmitted only to those who are initiated in the sisau'k' of the clan. It seems that we must consider the transmission of the sisau'k' legend in the following manner: At any given time it is the property of the chief of the family, who, at the time of the celebration, transfers his rights to his successor, generally to his son. The full tradition is kept secret by the owner. It seems that there is a close analogy between the conditions prevailing in the northwest and those found among the southwestern Indians, among whom certain priests are guardians of traditions. Among the tribes of the northwest coast the chief of a family is the guardian and owner of the family tradition, while among the southwestern tribes the priest is the guardian of the tradition belonging to a clan or to a fraternity. My impression is, however, that among the northwestern

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 304.
[2] Ibid., 1894, p. 495.

114 575 776 746 575 424 [431] [n3]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE5 Bellacoola NE5

1424 Indians the tradition is considered much more clearly the property of the
575 person who has it in charge than it is among the southwestern Indians. A
description of the sisau'k ceremonial has been given by Jacobsen in the
paper above referred to.[1]

604 A clan legend which is illustrated in the sisau'k ceremonial is called
424 by the Bella Coola "Semsma" or "Smt'yusta." These traditions are the
exclusive property of each clan. The laws according to which they descend
from generation to generation differ from the laws prevailing among the other
[621] Coast tribes. The inhabitants of each Bella Coola village are not subdivided
into clans, gentes, or septs; but each village community forms a unit, and
possesses the same tradition. In order to keep the tradition in the tribe, the
614 law requires that no person shall marry outside of his own village community.
429 Thus the clan tradition is kept the exclusive property of the village com-
582 munity by means of endogamy. I have made very careful inquiries in regard
to this point, and all the old men make substantially the same statement.
Even marriages among near relatives are permitted;[2] and although marriages
of people who are distantly related, or not related at all, are preferred, it
even happens that cousins marry, or that an uncle marries his niece, in order
to keep the clan tradition from being acquired by another village community.
It seems, however, that, owing to the influence of the Coast tribes, the
[622] endogamic system has begun to give way to an exogamic system. Powerful
and wealthy chiefs marry outside of their own village community, in order
to secure an additional clan legend through marriage. This new system
agrees with the one prevalent among the Kwakiutl tribes.

575 The ka'xlat, as stated before, is a religious ceremony in which all the
614 deities of heaven are personified. The members of various clans are initiated
796 according to their clan traditions; but the same societies and the same deities
appear in the traditions of all the various clans. From what little I have
been able to learn, it seems that there is an elaborate opening of the whole
ceremonial, corresponding to the opening of the ceremonial among the
Kwakiutl.[2] I received the following description of the opening ceremony:—

575 The person who invites to the ka'xlat, that is to say, the man whose
796 son is to be initiated into one of the secret societies according to the tradition
of his clan, requests a person who is called E'xtem to invite the nine brothers
and their sister, who reside in the House of Myths, and in whose charge the
[776] ka'xlat is placed. The names of the brothers are Xemxemsla'ts.la, Xe'mxiwa,
Omq'omk'lk'a, Q'o'mxiwa, Aimsla'ts.la, Al'omk'lk'a, K'ela'lisa, Q'ulaxa'wa,
Al'omk'; and that of their sister, L'tsa'xpilsana (see p. 33). In the rear
of the house an elevated room is prepared for E'xtem, in which he lies down.
He is covered with rings made of red cedar-bark. For four days he stays

[1] Vanc. Ofg. pp. 1-43.
[2] I have described this fully in the Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. [illegible].

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NEA Bellacoola NEA

575 196 [203]

in this room. Then the host sends messengers to invite the people. They take staffs, and tie red cedar-bark round their heads, and go from house to house, singing, "Nayaxdets wa nonosp'otstsé' he!" ("I wish to find some one who understands the winter ceremonial.") This they repeat in every house. Then they return to the host's house, who sends them out again, ordering them to sing, "Qots'ak·im tstets wa nonosp'otstsé' he!" ("I wish the dancers would wash their hands.") Again they return to his house. They are sent out once more with the message, "Xo'tsak·omstets wa nonosp'otstsé' he!" ("I wish the dancers would make their hands tremble.") They return once more to the chief's house, and are sent out again with the message, "Tapamak·tets wa nonosp'otstsé' he!" ("I want the dancers to look at their hands.") Now the dancers are ready, and come to the house. Then É'xem arises and dresses. He puts on a head-dress of birds' skins, ornamented with red cedar-bark. He is accompanied by women. Another man, who is called Nuax·ia'mi., adorns himself with red cedar-bark. He carries in his right hand a small baton covered with red cedar-bark. In his left he carries a larger stick, on which he beats time with the small baton. He sits down, and now all the people enter. First of all, É'xem comes in, accompanied by many women. Nuax·ia'mi. begins to sing and to beat time, and É'xem shouts, "Ooo!" É'xem walks around the fire, keeping it to his left, and shaking his bark. Before he begins the circuit, he gives four jumps near the door. Four times he goes round the fire, and every time he reaches the door he gives four jumps. As soon as he does so, Nuax·ia'mi. beats time slowly. When É'xem has finished his dance, the people take him to a place near the door, and a woman sings near him. Nuax·ia'mi. and the people join her, then she dances her winter dance. Before she quite finishes, the people make her stop, and another woman begins her dance. Nuax·ia'mi. beats time, and the other people join his song. The people make her stop again. Thus a great many people perform their dances. Now É'xem appears again, crying, "Ooo!" and Nuax·ia'mi. beats time. Again he jumps four times to the right and four times to the left when reaching the door. After this, two more men and two more women perform their dances. After this has been done twice, É'xem stands near the door, looking upward, and says, "They are very near now." By this time the whole house is full of people. He goes around the house three times, dancing. Then he stays near the door, looking upward, saying all the time, "They are near by." When he reaches the door the fourth time, he cries, "They have arrived! Now they are here, dancing on the roof." É'xem continues to dance in the house, in order to induce them to come down. The first to come down is Xemxemala'o.la, who stops at the rear of the house and sits down. É'xem continues to dance, and the others enter in order. É'xem stands near them and says, "Now I have placed

7/Boas E-5 (1895-ca. 1898)/960 NEA Bellacoola NEA

them. Let the chief give them red cedar-bark." The people take small pieces of blankets, and sew red cedar-bark on to them in designs corresponding to the paintings on the faces of these deities, and they give these to the deities in order to appease them. Then they throw grease into the fire. During all this time E'xtem stands in the rear of the house; and when a painting has been finished, the man who offers it to the deity shouts, "Xemsemsnit'ts.ln t'ais'ten'!" ("This is Xemsemsnit'ts.ln.") And E'xtem sings, "Yayak'tamen'tk'a wa k'wsnsnsnt'a'ns, t'ais' ta'ya; ma'ns.'a'nsnsnsnts sank'nsinsnsnt'a sank'nsinsnsnts'ya." As soon as he has finished his song, a loud noise is heard on the roof, as though a heavy stone were falling down. E'xtem arises and performs a dance, while the noise of whistles is heard proceeding from him.

I am not familiar with the details of the ceremonial, and shall proceed to record the principal characteristics of the various societies. The Cannibal is initiated in the House of Myths by Ba'xxts.ln. I recorded above (p. 34) how a young man was initiated by this spirit, and how he was returned to his friends. The return of the Cannibal is accompanied by ceremonies similar to those recorded in the tradition. It seems that the ceremonies of the Cannibals of various families are much alike, each having a tradition of its own referring to the initiation. It is believed that all the Cannibals, during their initiation, go up to the sky. I was told that on this journey they have to take human flesh along for food. It is said that in former times the chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for Ba'xxts.ln. The offer was accepted, and a payment made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the Ba'xxts.ln order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods.

The spirit appears to the novice while he is in the woods, and takes him up to the House of Myths, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside of the houses. He has lost all his hair except a little in the median line of the head. It is believed that it has been torn off by the strong wind blowing in the higher regions. Some Cannibals do not devour human flesh, but tear dogs to pieces or devour raw salmon. The ceremonial consists in purifying the Cannibal, and exorcising the spirit that possesses him. This is the object of the ka'xlat ceremonial. After a Cannibal has returned, the people try to capture him. When he is first heard to approach, the speaker, whose face is painted black, and who wears a cedar-bark ring, and is covered with eagle-down, shouts, "Tla'ma'n'ns tak'xxm'l.ln, tam,'a'nm'al. P'ala'xxmlsnsnsnt' tla'ma'n'ns mskwsnk'l.ln. t'an,'ainm'a'l!" ("Arise, it may be our Cannibal. Awake!") The Cannibal is accompanied by four assistants, who are called Ala'ps, and who from time to time utter

9:Boas B.5 (BBS-ca.1895)/900 NBS Bellacoola NBS

the cry, "*Hoop!*" which is intended to pacify the Cannibal. They wear masks (Plate XII, Figs. 4 and 5). The people try to throw a mouse over his head; but he throws it off, refusing to be captured. Then the people shout, "Ya'i!" beating time rapidly. The Cannibal tears the ropes that hold him, and disappears. Then the people follow him, and search for him until they find him. As soon as they approach, he attacks them, but gradually he becomes quieter. Then the speaker (Alk') invites the people to the dancing-house, saying, "Ip'a'sap kakuisa'i!" That means, "Dance, dancers!" Now the Cannibal opens the door, accompanied by his assistants. He wears the mask shown in Plate XII, Fig. 3. At once a number of women arise, ready to surround him as soon as he enters the house. They are called Alas.'ne'i.tsmex. The speaker, who holds a staff, arises and shouts, "O a ya'lo-wainuxtx Alqta.ayak'ai's!" That means, "Act like a real Cannibal." The Cannibal utters his cry, "Hoaxa, hoaxa, hoaxa!" ending with a long deep growl. He stays in the doorway for a long time. Then he steps into the house, turns his left shoulder outward once, bites one man on the right-hand side of the house, and one on the left-hand side, and then performs his circuit of the fire, leaving the fire to his left. In dancing he holds his fists in front of his chest, one on each side. He moves in a stooping position, raising his feet very high. He dances for four nights, during which time the people try to pacify him by means of songs and dances. After he has first been induced to enter the house, he becomes quieter. Then he tells the people what he has seen during his absence, and the song-leader makes a song on the subject. The women do not learn about the events that took place during his absence until they hear the song. After four days the ceremony of exorcising the S'a'.qata (Plate XII, Figs. 6 and 7), the monster that possesses him, is performed. A large dish is ornamented with red cedar-bark; and the assistant of the S'a'.qata (Plate XII, Fig. 8), by means of incantations, makes the Cannibal vomit the snake, or the wolf, or the eagle, that possesses him. Then he is seen to carry the head of the animal under his left arm, while the body is seen in the rear, being held by his assistants. Then this animal is seen to vomit flesh and blood into the dish which has been prepared for the purpose. The Cannibal's assistants cover the body of the animal with down, while they cry from time to time, "Hoop!" Then the people beat time very rapidly, and suddenly the S'a'.qata has disappeared. The people beat time four times, and after this the Cannibal has become like an ordinary man. He walks around the fire, which he keeps to his right, and says, "Now Sa'xaxa.is has left me." The contents of the dish are thrown into the water, but the dish itself is burned in the dancing-house. It is supposed that it is then conveyed to heaven. After the dish has been burned, the Cannibal does not dance any more. Then a bed is prepared for him in the rear of the house, in which he must stay for four days. After this, he is

7:Boas E-9 (1886-co.1898)940 NEA Ballacoola NEB

allowed to re-enter the houses; but before doing so for the first time, he must stop at the door and shout, "Wa, wa, wa!" Then he jumps over the threshold. Accompanied by many men, he is led, after four days more, to the river for final purification. He is pushed into the water, but struggles to free himself. He tries to duck his companions, and utters his cries. Finally he is led back. Then he weeps, because the spirit has left him entirely. The people beat time while he is going back to the house. Then he is offered a piece of salmon, which is placed on his throat, while the people shout, "Hoip, hoip!" The salmon is taken away again, and after some time he is allowed to take one bite. Then he must lie down. After the dancing season is ended, he is again allowed to eat in the same way as other people do. The piece of salmon that was placed on his throat is eaten by children as a protection against sickness. Finally a ceremony is performed which is called "taking the lip of the S'ā'ī.qata out of the Cannibal's body." While this is being done, the people cry, "Hoip!" Then they throw the lip upon another Cannibal, who at once falls into an ecstasy. Then the shaman takes it back and throws it up towards the sky, where it disappears. The dish and the spoon that the Cannibal used during his ecstasy are destroyed. For four years he must wear a small ring of red cedar-bark, in summer as well as in winter.

The Ōtx is also initiated in heaven by the being described before (p. 35). There are different traditions regarding his initiation among different clans. Some Ōtx, during their performances, walk ropes which are stretched through the house. When he returns from his initiation, small whistles, called ea.ʼlaxa, which imitate the voices of eagles, are heard outside of the houses. Then the Ōtx enters in a state of ecstasy, scratching the people who assemble to hold him, and tearing their blankets. Finally the people succeed in placing a blanket over his head, and he begins to come to his senses. When he enters the house, the people beat time, then he teaches the chorus-leader a song. The mask worn by the Ōtx is quite large, and characterized by a large nose (Plate XII, Fig. 9). He carries a dancing-club (Plate XII, Fig. 10), and rings made of red cedar-bark. He is accompanied by two assistants, who also wear masks.

VII.

We will now discuss the probable origin of the mythology described in the preceding pages. In order to do so, it is necessary to make a brief statement in regard to the social organization of the neighboring tribes. In another paper[1] I have fully discussed the considerable amount of borrowing that has taken place among the Coast tribes, and the relation of their

[1] Ethnologische Gegenstände aus der nordpacifischen Küste Amerikas, Berlin, 1895, pp. 41 et seq.

7:Boas E.5 (1884-ca.1890)900 NEA Bellacoola NES

174 contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast,
424 they nowhere reach such a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I presume
414 the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts for this curious condition.

The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to Sanx or Ta'ata bear a
171 remarkable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Laxha,
782 the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face it will be clear weather, and man will be happy; consequently the prayer to
[824] the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from
177 the Coast tribes is the kə'siut ceremonial, with which are connected the various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism.
575 The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the
773 Kwakiutl are practically identical. I told above (p. 34) the legend explaining
786 the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another tradition is told to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsi'wae, who lives in the forest, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by three distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the
174 development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious incon-
773 sistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the word and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not co-ordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 62 ff.

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8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
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every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are 556 773 776
believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the kū'siut these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks. Xē'mtsioa and Xēmxēmalà'oLa wear the 532
design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xē'mtsioa by a 575
double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over 776
forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xēmxēmalà'oLa has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin. Aiumkī'lik·a and Aiumalà'oLa wear the design of the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second masks. The fifth Q'ōmq'ōmkī'lik·a and Q'ō'mtsioa have designs representing stars, both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is Qula'xawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kulē'lias (who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue. The ninth, At'amā'k, wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called L'ētsā'aplēLāna (the eater), the sister of the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

The sisau'k·, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of 575
the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who 773
had gone out hunting met the sisau'k· and was instructed by him in the 776
secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean 796
their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to enter. Then he danced the sisau'k· and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance
the sisau'k·. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its 614
secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the 424
sisau'k· only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are 532
the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the [592] [534]
carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are
shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although 424
the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by 532
each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to 556
acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan 614
to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, can not become sisau'k·. A person can not take a [567] [848]
new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—
father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'Elu'stta, the Indian, to whom I [115]

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424 owe my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the
532 gens Ialô'stimôt of the Taliô'mx·, stated that he had received the raven
614 when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received
[115] the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his
[556] next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his
424 secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new
551 secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a kū'siut
556 name, which remains through life, and a Xē'mtsioa name, which is
575 changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'Elu'sta's (which is his kū'siut
614 name) Xē'mtsioa name was AL'ILEMNE'lus'aix·, but at his next potlatch he intended to take the name of Kaliā'kis. These names are also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names. When a man possesses several sisau'k· secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisau'k· secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisau'k· secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more.
[426] The crest and the sisau'k· carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular clan.

426 The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl.
556 The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going to pay the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

575 The kū'siut is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaālikuta'-
773 ai'x·. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from
776 February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to
535 have been the first to find her. Anaālikuta'ai'x· invited her into her cave and taught her the secrets of the kū'siut. She wore ornaments of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

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woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the kū'siut. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the kū'siut." 575 773 776 535

Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the kū'siut. When a man has seen Anaūlikuts'ai'x· sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a kū'siut. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each kū'siut lasts three days. 575 776 535

The various dances performed by members of the kū'siut are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisau'k· dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the kū'siut is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kū'siut name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of L'akō'oL. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the sisau'k·, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kū'siut have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the ELaxō'LA (the hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the ō'lEX (the nū'LmaL of the Kwakiutl), and the dā'tis (the nō'ntsistalaL of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kū'siut novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation. 535 575 575 614 575 [426] [551] [428] [556] [171] [554]

When the ELaxō'LA is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the ELaxō'LA. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the ELaxō'LA order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears 575 785 787 [266]

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575 to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one
[785] morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all
[787] his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze
[52] blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone
[774] whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his
[756] own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the
[292] body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try
[301] for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the ELAXŌ'LA dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark. Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the S'Ā'LPSTA (fig. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that
[532] of BaxbakuālanuXsī'wnē of the Kwakiutl. Some ELAXŌ'LA do not
[171] bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The ELAXŌ'LA has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not
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gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

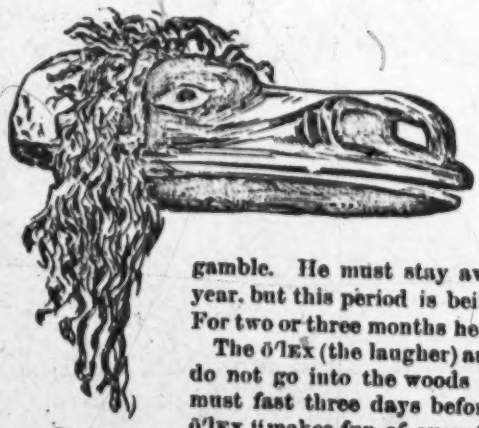

Fig. 200.
MASK OF THE S'Ā'LPSTA. Bi'kals.
Cat. No. 19909, U. S. N. M. Collected by F. Boas.

The Ō'LEX (the laugher) and the dā'tia (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The Ō'LEX "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The dā'tia carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The Ō'LEX and the dā'tia, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

575 If a person transgresses the laws of the kū'siut, for instance, when
688 the ELAXŌ'LA gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in
[692] council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing
575 to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the sub-
688 stitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted
754 to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing dis-
756 ease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around

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the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender, he will fall sick. Blood is believed to collect in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the kū'siut are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklace of red cedar bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others, the thunder bird and his servant, ALxulā'tEnum (who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and carries a staff with red and blue spiral lines), appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Xē'mtsioa and his brothers and his sisters; Masmasalā'nix and his fellows, the raven and the nusxē'mta, and many others.[1]

Fig. 201.
HEADDRESS OF ŌLALA'.
Haida.
Cat. No. [illegible], U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

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THE TSIMSHIAN, NĪSQA', HAIDA, AND TLINGIT.

The tribes of this group learned the ceremonial avowedly from the Hē'iltsuq. Although I have not witnessed any part of their ceremonials, the descriptions which I received bring out with sufficient clearness its similarities to the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl. The ceremonials seem to be almost identical among all these tribes. It is most complete among the southwestern Tsimshian tribes, particularly the G-itxā'LA, but has been adopted by all the tribes of the coast. It is said that it reached the Haida not more than a hundred years ago.

I will tell here what I learned from the Nisqa'. They have six societies, which rank in the following order: The sEmhalai't, mēiLa', LōLE'm, ōlala', nanēstā't, hōnana'L, the last being the highest. The sEmhalai't is really not confined to the winter ceremonial, but is obtained when a person acquires the first guardian spirit of his clan and performs the ceremony belonging to this event. The tradition of the origin of these ceremonies localizes the events at Bellabella, and it

[1] See "Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas," page 211, by F. Boas.

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556 performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical
[182] concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch, are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly
[577] displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a
576 major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a
574 meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do otherwise would be considered rude. The person summoned must take at least a trifle to show that he is not churlish and too proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shares
[177] whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of
[273] the family should be the first to taste any wine[14] as proof that it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better
[342] than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse
[414] through the construction of individual family houses with doors and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suit-
476 able place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his
[226] catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon, the first solicitor is given one, later comers, none at all. When a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to raise it and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may
[685] remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a
[626] despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy; hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried
[224] to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

556 Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who
431 has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

[14] This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of home-brew.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 28a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The tune is said to have been handed down for more than two hundred years. 533*

(*b*) That is: Let us stop paying the customary respect to.

(*c*) It is not remembered which chief was thus held up to the scorn of his fellows.

(*d*) That is: He does not act in accordance with the traditions of the name he uses.

(*e*) That is: The dancer is feeble. This refers to another *nusqwal* dancer who, owing to his poverty, had not performed for many years. It is not known whether he was the same individual as the one derided in the first part of the song. [558]

(*f*) To flaunt another's poverty in his face is the height of Bella Coola rudeness. [735]

(*g*) That is: He, too, was a *nusqwal*. [576]

(*h*) The ancestor from whom the prerogative was derived.

(*i*) That is: In virtue of my *nusqwal* ability. This appears to be a departure from the usual theme of a mocking song.

*Nusqwal Song Used for Q̓wixlăkilak*ʷ, *a Kimsquit Man*(*a*)

A Tukesdjidjsdumalnuwit	*yeqwixlăkilakwsudai*	*skă'ănutsăyenmixwais*
Please do not sleep,	Q̓wixlăkilakʷ(*b*),	listen to your

sewaqoptănuswais
drums(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sănanmaodjămădu	*snuyaiyatuwikais*	*ăltăltămstaqailsandai*
I alone	am content(*d*);	is increasing

aiyadispxliwatsdai
my prerogative(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 29a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) It is not uncommon in *sisaok* and *a'alk* songs for the dancer to address himself in this way. [575]

(*c*) That is: Be ready to listen to drums beaten at one of your ceremonies.

(*d*) The dancer is deriding another *nusqwal* who has not performed for a long time. [558]

(*e*) This song differs slightly from the usual mocking type in lack of specific references to the person derided; lack of reference to an ancestral myth, however, shows that it was not composed for a potlatch. [556]

Song of a Kimsquit Nusqwal(*a*)

A Dipsrugo	*pălnlslaix*	*dastălhmxwos*	*disisut*
That is he,	the impostor,	the chief	of the paddle(*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

APPENDIX D

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ālqim: Something long sought-for on account of its especial desirability, such as well-grained wood.

ālqim was mnas: Child whose parents were long engaged and who is accordingly regarded as being well prepared for. [554]

ālglus: Sisaok initiate concealed within the back-room.

Ālqnulis: One of the first men to settle in Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

ālqo: Guests at a potlatch.

Alqaxinkam, "The Shelterer": Name assumed by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.

ālłpmātlmis, "What Has Been Shaken Off": Term applied to presents distributed when a corpse has been carried through the roof. The implication is that they are dust shaken from the fingers of the deceased. [431] [764]

Ālquntām: 1—The supreme god.
2—One of the first men to settle on the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
4—Tail of a *Stux* repository.

Alquntāmaāks: 1—Mountain on the north side of the lower Bella Coola.
2—Name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Snuhli* in the beginning of time.

ālłwallaiqelx: Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for direct address. [601]

Ālłwatlntutl: Supernatural artisans who made mankind in the beginning of time. [576]

alq"it: Presents given to validate the initiation of a *kusiut.*

Alqwutimut: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [431]

ālāmnuskwanāhmx: Professional mourner.

ālāmnuyaiyetl: Professional droner at marriages. [463]

ālāmyamx: Professional hunter.

ālāmyelit: Professional warrior.

Ālnakān·i: Kimsquit fisherman living in the last century.

ālte'xu: Olachen net.

Ālisiāx: Celebrated hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

ālłkt ol di łwakm: Second oldest sibling. [601]

Ālissmos: Repository of a Kimsquit Cannibal where cures are effected.

ālutuemlk: Professional warrior. [463]

ālutusxoiaxm: Professional river guard.

Ālwolsqāmus: Mountain near mouth of the Kimsquit River.

ālukwala: Shaman.

ālulixwostnum: 1—Meeting of those who have given potlatches. [753]
2—Unidentified disease said to attack only chiefs.

ālulimut: Marriage associates, i.e. those who, not being relatives, wish to associate themselves with the bride's family in the financial transactions of a marriage.

Ālunpāmmm: Name applied to the supernatural artisans with reference to their construction of everything used by mankind.

Ālusskinwasam, "Cloud-Covered": Name applied to the supernatural being *Nestkynm* with reference to his frequent invisibility.

Ālusksman·aix, "The Highest of All Chiefs' Sons:" Name of *Smaoan*'s son in the beginning of time.

Ālus·limān, "Falling Star-Fish": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

Ālusqax, "The Roof-Maker": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

ālwlāk: One who has received a commission for carpentry work in preparation for a potlatch. [465]

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*192 *Älximän·a*, "Left Foot": *Snux* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.

Älximlaix: Kimsquit hunter living in the last century.

[825] *älxmutl:* Dentalium-shell.

älxwale'ax, "Not Finished": Said concerning a *kusiut* who dies between initiation and his first complete dance.

[292] [881] *älxwam:* Skull cap of grass and dentalium-shells worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.

älxwola: Guest, especially from afar, to a *kusiut* dance.

Älxwolämm: 1—Supernatural herald.
2—Assemblage of the people for ceremonies of different kinds, especially shamans' dances and guessing competitions in connection with the Mystery dance.
3—Kimsquit term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance.

älxwpaix, "A Surpassing": Said of cases where a wife's relatives have given more presents to the husband's than they have received in return.

[576] *ämät:* Place of concealment of a Mystery dancer's power.

[601] *ä'mätälaxkt:* Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for indirect address.

ämätax: Rightful location, especially the validated position of a chief in a house.

[415] *ämätuts:* Dishes carved with ancestral crest.

ämkpls: 1—Mouse.
2—Daughter of the first settlers at *Sätlia*.

[825] *äml:* Spring salmon.

ämlta: Spring salmon house.

Ämläklis: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.

Ämläklis: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of the Bella Coola River.

ämläämkum: 1—The allotment of work to *kukusiut* in the manufacture of masks and other requirements.
2—Hence, the time when such tasks are assigned, the second evening of a *kusiut* dance.

Änäbsullänämlaix, "The Resident Maker": Name given to the daughter of the first settlers at *Snulsli*.

[575] *änänusks* or *siänusks:* That which serves as pattern, picture, or model for a *kusiut* ritual.

änätsqtutl: Second night of a potlatch.

[226] *änäxwolaal:* Artificial, pier-like structure built into a river for use in hand-net fishing.

Änilxsaix, "Where People Go": A reflecting pool created by Raven at Kimsquit.

Änokokwäls: Cave near Dean Channel.

Änolymdimut, "The Dancer Whose Only Noise-Making Instrument Is His Body": One of *Tlitcäplilän·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Äno°likwolsaix: Supernatural woman who guards repositories.

Änottäkmots: 1—"The Open-Mouthed" (in the sense of open to suck forth sickness): One of *Tlitcäplilän·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.

[756] [823] *anoxom:* Swift running water.

anlhmsqnänäm: 1—Ranks of ordinary inidviduals; this term is used to distinguish those who are being initiated into the *xaask* society.
2—Something supernatural seen when awake.

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[824] *kak'telp:* Tree, probably birch.
Kalasdak': One of the first men to settle at *Ḵwiyai* in the beginning of time.
Kaliaks: One of the first men to settle at *Snulsli* in the beginning of time.
Kalkum: Bella Bella woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Kalotl: Kimsquit man.
[222] *Kalqam:* *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[262] *kalqam:* The gathering of fern root for food.
Kalqsmakmm: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
Ka'lan·a: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[585] *kalmbilimsta:* Public oration, previous to marriage, of the bride's ancestral myths in order to cause children to be born.
[842] *kalqwem:* Ritual on the day before a marriage, including the oration of myths by the bride's relatives, the choosing of assistants, and the singing of songs of all kinds.
Kamai·ts: 1—Mysterious supernatural woman.
[576] 2—"Please," or "Thank You," a word implying benison.
Kamalsong^{w}: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nulkax* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nusḵalst* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of the first sky that fell in the beginning of time.
Kamalalkl: Lazy supernatural beings who accompanied *Noakymm.*
Kamalqwax: Man mentioned in an origin myth of *Alqalaxl.*
Kamatslaks: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kamatsong^{w}: House brought to earth by first settlers at *Nusḵalst* in the beginning of time.
[824] *kamk':* Kelp.
[227] *kamola:* Cod hook.
kamut: Termination.
[824] *kanan·i:* 1—Shelf fungus.
2—*Kusiut* dance in which a shelf fungus is used.
Kanilkas: One of the first women to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
kan·imut: Ceremonial error.
Kanxia: Herald of a *Tal·ia* chief in the beginning of time.
ḵankas: Trap.
Kannstaliam: 1—Daughter of the first settlers at *Sattia* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of *Ojsmai*, one of the first settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[264] *kaolikta:* Assemblage of the people for a meal of any kind.
Kaospoklamm: One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
Kaowikudjan·a: Supernatural berry-picker resident in the land of ghosts.
[825] *kapai:* 1—Hump-back salmon.
2—Convex transverse beam near front and rear of house.
3—Mountain on the Dean River.
Kaqaix: *Susook* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kasana: Man mentioned in an ancient story of Raven.
[756] *kasiut:* The seeking for shaman's power by a lad.
[825] *kasmia:* Golden eagle.
kathm: Top, toy.
[524]

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kulkāmut: Generic term for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future bride. [431]
Kulslkākmidjut: Supernatural being whose stomach is cut in the land above. [584]
kumai·t: Good-bye. [576]
Kunkunālpstus, "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being *Winwina.*
kusiotem: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular *kusiut* dances.
kusio·tem: Said to be identical with *sālukwalās,* the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor. [756]
kusiut: plural, kukusiut; vocative, kusiaot; vocative plural, kukusiaot:
1—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season. [575]
2—Member of the society.
3—"The Learned One": Designation occasionally applied to a supernatural being, especially a petrified one, or to a person having power to cure the sick. [756]
Kusiyot: Kimsquit female shaman living in the last century.
kuskao: Beloved one, especially a child; this is the vocative form of the word.
kusqiyum: Orphan.
Kwai'hila'yokwa: Woman dwelling at Fort Rupert in the beginning of time.
Kwa·sla: Smith Inlet.
Kwakwak'la: Supernatural name of Cormorant.
kwa·kwao·s: Merganser. [825]
Kwakwaosslotl: Merganser canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Stuix.* [763]
kwakwas: Unidentified bird of which the note is an omen of death.
Kwalais: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Kwalākms: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Kwala·tstamut: Kusiut name of a male Green Bay Cannibal.
kwal·io·l: Smooth greenstone, "jadeite," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. [823]
kwals: Evergreen bough. [824]
Kwalsānl: Famous Bella Coola warrior.
kwaqwai: One of the sculpins.
Kwasta: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.
Kwat·iwal·a, "The Big One": Lustful male supernatural being.
Kwatlnustsa: Man who came to earth near *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
Kwa·tsua: Kimsquit woman.
Kwilais: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
Kwilnao: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Kwinao: Kitkatla chief living in the last century.
Kwilāxlaix, "One Who Sits without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
Kwla: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nusqalst* chief; the word is a synonym for *Wikwan·ekwla.*
Kwlilias Nuskāmpts: One of the nine supernatural siblings. [533]
kwlowālsikān·aix: Lullaby.
kwoi·yaix: Archaic expression used in a string figure.
kudis: 1—Pen or trap in the ocean for salmon. [226]
2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

APPENDIX D

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xosa: Kwakiutl term for presents distributed as "Eagle down."
ṣota: Scoop-net for catching salmon in rivers. [227]
ṣoxpankuta: Head-dress of eagles' tails worn by *kusiut* dancers. [292]
xwanetl: Spring water.
Xwantlo: Settlement in the Carrier country. [824]
xwe·k': Cow parsnip.
Xwelbon: Name obtained in the beginning of time from the Skeena people in whose language it is said to mean *whale*.
Xwinxwitsakimlaix: Shaman who obtained his power from Thunder.
Xwisamkila: Daughter of a Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
xwlxwulla: Wrestling.
Xwodjen·i, "The Crash": Name taken by one of the first settlers at *Nuiltux* in the beginning of time but long since changed to a *kusiut* designation.
xwonxwemm: 1—Hummingbird. [825]
2—One of the first men to settle at *Äläläxl* in the beginning of time.
xwonxwontäl·aix: Puppet-patron in the form of a hummingbird.
xwopa·xts di siut: The concluding ritual of the *kusiut* season. [525]
ṣwosän·i: Gambling game played with crabapple sticks.
Xwolxekmis, "The One Whose Work Has Failed": Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
xwpntmak: The desertion of her husband by a wife. [586]

Y

Yäkotlas: Ancestral name of a *Stuax* man.
Yä·k"axwaxwa: Kimsquit man mentioned in an allegedly historical account. [576]
yao: "Hello!" "Hail!" or "Greetings!"
ye··: Exclamation having the significance of, "May you have a safe passage," said when a corpse is drawn through the roof.
Yeälos: One of the first men to settle at *Nuisqwalt* in the beginning of time.
'Yeäxdji: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
yeaxmax: 1—Prerogative, tangible or intangible, which some *kukusiut* possess in addition to a dance.
2—Similar prerogative formerly displayed in *sisaok* rites.
yax: 1—Call, that is, that which impels a *kusiut* to dance.
2—*Kusiut* whistle.
Ye'mudjalaos: Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
yeotla: Term, implying both wealth and good fortune, applied to a man able to give a memorial potlatch soon after the death of a relative.
yeyä'timut: Presents given by a prospective bridegroom to his future father-in-law. [431]
ya: Good, *adjective*. [584]
yaki: Mountain goat.
Yal·äxlaix: Goose Island. [825]
yahla: "All Right," cry used in a *kusiut* dance.
Yalhal·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Yalyalhuslaix: One of the first men to settle at *Äläläxl* in the beginning of time.
yalkulmem: Bringing down of a call by means of the rite of *sawadjut*.
yallailaint: Presents given by the bride's relatives to the groom's when they enter her house on the wedding day. [431] [585]

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423 sumed that ten is the largest number of traps possible at that
614 weir. Those who have the right to that weir are the members
of the ancestral family with the names of those first users. At
[773] this point the logic of the Bella Coola fails to uphold the mytho-
[226] logical pattern. No salmon-weir has remained in existence
since the beginning of time; when one broke, owners were
sometimes infants, and those who repaired the break became
regarded as the rightful possessors. The system of ownership
prevailing at the time of abandoning the weirs, was that *indi-*
[428] *viduals*, not groups, had rights to certain sections of the weir
which were willable like other personal property. In most
[431] cases this right was transmitted with a name, marking the
section of weir, which had to be duly validated by presents.
[428] In other cases, the intangible ownership was willed without
any mark whatever.[8] Unless bequeathed in this way, disputes
were frequent. Rights of this kind were never sold although
[427] an owner often leased his section for a night, or longer period,
receiving goods in return, and not forfeiting his ownership
[431] thereby. This was particularly common when the renter was
planning to give a potlatch. No case was heard of in which
the right to a certain section of salmon-weir was given to a
non-member of the ancestral family. Theoretically, this was
possible, but practically it would be so inconvenient that it is
most unlikely ever to have occurred, since the Bella Coola is
[671] never such a slave to legal privileges that he fails to be guided
by common sense.

226 Although individual ownership is thus recognized with
[423] regard to sections of salmon-weirs and suitable places for
olachen-nets, the owner is bound to share his haul. When he
[577] catches a large number of fish, anyone, whether related to him
[626] or not, can demand some. He cannot refuse, since to do so
would brand him as selfish. The effective check on this system

[128] [8]Great difficulty was experienced in learning about the distribution of rights to sections of salmon-weirs. The evidence is conflicting, and though every effort was made to verify and check the above, there may be further regulations which were not learnt.

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556 performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical
[182] concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch, are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly
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[414] and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suit-
476 able place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon,
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provided with means of sustenance, a house, and certain supernatural powers. The right to the names of these people, as well as to the type of ceremonial objects used by them, has been the privilege of their descendants. But these early Bella Coola, like their modern descendants, had several designations, each carrying with it a definite prerogative. In a single myth there may be embodied a dozen or more names and incidents which are quoted at the present day to authorize such different phases of culture as dances, rights to hunting-grounds, professions, names of dogs, or *kusiut* prerogatives.[9] Any myth which gives the initial use of a name, a dance, or any other prerogative, is termed a *smaiusta*. Each of these is, or was in the old days, remembered with great care and never recounted in full detail except to the members of the ancestral family whose names are embodied in it. Even at potlatches the full details of the myth are not laid bare. Indeed, if a young man is of a flighty, garrulous disposition, unlikely to preserve the dignity of his ancestral fame, the details are concealed from him. Even at the present time there is much resentment at any unauthorized use of a *smaiusta*, and in the old days this would inevitably have led to bloodshed.

Boas (p. 116) states that the terms *smaiusta* and *sumsma* are synonymous. The writer feels certain that this is an error. It was discussed repeatedly with various Bella Coola, all of whom agreed that a *sumsma* is a mere story which can be told by anyone, whereas a *smaiusta* is a myth possessed by the individual, or individuals, whose prerogatives are derived from it. To the Bella Coola the two are utterly different.

None the less, there is no doubt that records of the past change from one category to the other. A wealthy chief, eager to give a potlatch, but lacking the mythical authorization, must frequently have used a *sumsma*, claiming the hero as an ancestor. There would be veiled amusement at him for doing so, but the prestige of one who can give potlatches is so great that in time his claim would probably be accepted. The two

[9] The details of these will be described later.

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198 773 versions of the myth given (vol. I, pp. 313-19) is a case in point. The first was told as a *smaiuste* by a woman who claimed to be a descendant of the people figuring in it; the second, as a story, *tomma*, by a man. In view of the reliability of both informants, it seems highly probable that this is a story, partly converted to a myth. In other examples there are incidents resembling the supernatural tales given in vol. I, chap. IX, and here too it appears probable that *tomma* have been assimilated into *smaiuste*. It is complimentary to the truthfulness [577] of the Bella Coola, and to the respect they show for intangible [424] property, that none of the myths recorded were *smaiuste* owned by others. Repeatedly an informant would say that he knew one, but would not tell it since it belonged to some other family.

128 773 After collecting a few myths, in each of which it was stated that the first settlers at village X were A, B, and C, with their sisters, P and Q, it seemed as if it would have been possible, before the culture of the Bella Coola had fallen into its present decay, to make a census of those whom they believe to have been first settlers of this earth, and that such a list would have had few contradictions. This was soon found to be false. Two myths may give different people as the first occupants of a certain village, nor does such contradiction trouble the Bella Coola. Each man, convinced of the authenticity of his own family account, is quite willing to believe that the one belonging [811] to someone else is equally correct. This characteristic lack of logical consistency has already been mentioned in other connections. Boas (p. 61) likewise gives an instance of uncertainty as to the first occupants of a village, though, on the whole, he found Bella Coola mythology to be more codified than the present writer has done. In view of their lack of systematization in other matters, it would have been surprising if they had evolved a census of their first ancestors, accepted by all as accurate.

Another matter to be considered at this point is the simi- [178] larity of detail in many myths. In part this can be explained

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cases though an infant in arms, though uninitiated, can be brought to dances by its mother; distinctions between rich and poor, slave and freeman, become of slight importance; all that really matters is whether a person is or is not a *kwiut*. Membership in the society seems to the uninitiated the most desirable thing in life, although their fears are always so strong that they never cease to dread actual admission. The feeling of class consciousness which exists in a somewhat mild form at other seasons of the year, gives place to a powerful sentiment of superiority on the part of members of the society over those who are not so fortunate. Even the respect normally shown to chiefs is submerged since they, too, are subject to the rule of the marshals.

575 * 796 * 182 571 [781]

Apart entirely from this attitude of superiority and inferiority, is the bond of fellowship engendered among members of the society by the rites. Whatever happens, the uninitiated *must* be deceived. Moreover, the psychological effect of gathering nightly in a body for a specific purpose is tremendous. Night after night they eat together; night after night they listen to the words of the marshals, who impress on them the need for co-operation and secrecy, who hold before them the good example set by their fellows who have carried out rites successfully, who emphasize the fact that they are doing as their fathers did. The ceremonial import is of greatest consequence at all these gatherings, but when the uninitiated have withdrawn the *kwiut* relax somewhat and enjoy themselves. The food itself is always of the best and some of the usual restrictions are removed. It is, for example, the only time that women are allowed to eat the flesh of seals. If this delicacy is provided the marshals enjoy the tidbits, but after Cannibals, novices, and others have received preferential treatment, the remainder is distributed to all and sundry.

[262] [562] [264]

It has been stated by some writers, especially those unfamiliar with the significance of native ceremonial life, that the dances of the coastal tribes are orgies of immorality. This point was investigated with care and it may be stated posi-

575 * 796 * 577 ● 293 884

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*575 tively that such is not the case among the Bella Coola. At
*796 the present time both drunkenness and vice are rampant, but
●577 neither of these practices is apparent on the nights when dances
273 are taking place. The writer was present at many *kusiut* dances, in each case attended by practically every resident,
[834] and during them he saw only two drunken men. With regard to these, the sentiment of the influential members of the society was one of regret that the marshals could no longer exercise their prerogatives and punish the offenders. As several Bella Coola expressed it:

"Our dances are sacred and ceremonial, a drunken man spoils them."

As a rule they do not regard drunkenness as a serious vice, if a vice at all, hence this attitude was illuminating. It is more
*575 difficult to speak with certainty about morality; no breaches
*796 of it could have occurred at the ceremonies witnessed, nor was
577 there any evidence that the excitement led to any licentious
834 actions. On the whole, the dances are desirable since they provide a source of tremendous interest and importance. Vice flourishes with lassitude and boredom; anything that stimulates the people reduces it, and when the Bella Coola are engaged in ceremonial rites, the sentiment of the seniors of the community is strongly opposed to anything that interferes with the solemnity of the occasion.

There is no reason to suppose that these factors were not present in former times, more potent than now when belief in the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* has passed away. The whole question of sexual morality at *kusiut* dances was investigated with considerable care.

One point emphasized by all Bella Coola was that no *kusiut* was allowed to have relations with an uninitiated person, whether his wife or not, during the period that his face was blackened and he was wearing a ceremonial collar. The reason for this prohibition seems to have been one not of morality, but of the necessity for preserving the dignity and secrecy of
[688] the *kusiut* society. An offender was punished by being struck

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by a marshal with a billet of firewood; such a blow was never repeated and might or might not cause death. The woman with whom the member had misdemeaned himself was either initiated at once or killed if her relatives could not provide a name and prerogative. 575* 796* 577● 834

Restrictions between members of the society were less severe. Particularly during the long nights of *lnxtāmem* and *nusiutālsap*, when only *kukusiut* were present and when men and women, often scantily clad, were closely associated, there seems to have been a certain amount of immorality. It was by no means a time of licence, nor was laxity encouraged by the marshals; intercourse between members of the society did not conflict with *kusiut* regulations, and was accordingly a matter that concerned the individuals alone. [688]

Relations between the actual dancers and members of the other sex were formerly governed by strict rules, rigidly enforced by the marshals. After the coming of a call, a man could hold intercourse with a *kusiut*, provided that he did so in his own home, but in no other. But after *nebusam*, when he left his house, continence was demanded until the end of the season and the burning of the enclosure-platform. The only exception to this rule was that if a second dancer received a call in the same house, the restrictions placed on the first were raised while the call was actually upon the second; that is, between *lnxtāmem* and *nebusam*. After that both were subject to strict continence, unless a third call came to the same dwelling. The Bella Coola of today offer no explanation for this law, save that disregard of it was displeasing to the supernatural beings. An offender in this case was likewise punished by being struck once by a marshal. [688]

The religious aspects of the dances, as exemplified by the attitude of the Bella Coola to the masked figures and other phenomena, was described in the early part of this chapter, but additional observations may now be made. The writer realizes that the reader must find it difficult to understand how the uninitiated can be deluded into thinking that masked 575* 796* 781

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times, older relatives were revered, not only as senior members 177
of the ancestral family, but as those most familiar with myths 626
and other cherished possessions. With the spread of new ideas, 182
the young people no longer respect the loree of their elders, and 561
consequently do not heed their admonitionns and advice. Theoretically, such self-reliance would seem dessirable, but in practice it has led to unfortunate results. A ycoung man, considering himself superior to the older people, gloories in acting on his own initiative, but too often he lacks the rrequisite strength of character to guide his own life. If he wishhes to drink, he does so; if he desires to marry, he chooses hiss mate without con- [581]
sidering the transmission of ancestral rights which stabilized unions in former times; if he tires of his wiife, he deserts her for another; if he cheats or steals, he is no ldonger restrained by relatives who fear disgrace. The elders, inccapable of stemming the tide, watch sadly and ask seriously whhether the coming of the white man has brought compensationn for the loss it has caused. It is deplorable that the emancipaation of the younger men and women has taken place before the development of the sense of individual responsibility anod conscience which public opinion formerly rendered less neceessary. Christianity provides a moral code for those who are fully converted, but for the many in the transition stage, the brreak-down of the old system of family influence has been tragic.

Profound religious beliefs and lack of iindividual initiative 181
are shared by all Bella Coola with the exceeption, perhaps, of a 177
few of the younger people who, having beeen educated at white man's schools, have adopted the new outlcook unconditionally. In most characteristics they display as widde variability as any 577
other people. In truthfulness, for exampple, they range from one extreme to the other. As the writer bbecame familiar with 124
the older men, he found it possible to reccognize without difficulty the strength of some and the weakneess of others. There are liars, but they can be easily detected oowing to their lack of finesse. It is a pleasure to record the reliabbility of the author's friends and informants. Their veracity was checked repeat-

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577 edly until complete confidence was established, simplifying
[124] work in the field to an enormous extent. Equal trust could be placed on these men in other respects; articles of value were repeatedly left in their houses with the absolute certainty that they would be guarded with care. Some few individuals there were, however, who were neither honest nor trustworthy.
[771] Bella Coola religion is not concerned with ethics, but public
626 opinion demands honour in dealing with relatives or friends.
577 In former times, for example, debts incurred by an individual were considered a liability by his relations. If a man died after
[426] buying goods on credit for a potlatch, his family were disgraced
[602] if they failed to pay his bills; now, unfortunately, nothing con-
[177] strains the younger people, many of whom try to avoid settling even their own debts, much less those of dead relatives. Individual conscience has not replaced the tribal and, more specifically, family influence. Dishonesty in small matters is not
[648] uncommon, particularly in dealing with white people who,
[177] according to the Bella Coola, were the first to transgress. The older people bitterly lament the lack of morality of the younger and state, probably with entire justification, that they would have been prevented by the open life which prevailed when several families shared a single house. On the whole, however, the average Bella Coola is probably no less honest than the average white man.

153 Individuals vary enormously in mental ability. In making
124 this investigation, it was necessary to interview all the older people of the tribe. Disregarding those unwilling to provide information, it was found that some absolutely lacked the ability to explain matters with which they were familiar; some did not have sufficient patience to be good teachers; some were so forgetful that they would omit necessary points in a story or account; some were downright stupid, whereas others displayed mental ability of no mean order. In reading ethnological literature, one is apt to think of the troubles experienced by the author, and to overlook the fact that natives have as

515 sionally, in a half-hearted manner, but it is not unusual for a man to allow the basin of water in which he makes his ablutions to remain standing for two or three weeks. Not many [177] years ago the Carriers taught their neighbours to make a kind [296] of soap from the ashes of burnt cottonwood sticks thrown into [388] water; with this clothes are washed irregularly and in most cases from sheer necessity only. In former times bathing was [783] a semi-sacred rite, but this fell into disuse with the passing of [177] the old religion, and the use of soap and water merely for the [291] sake of cleanliness has not become a daily habit. The women have more vanity; the younger girls especially like to have new clothes, though they wear them carelessly, heedless of fit. [196] An effort is often made to clean up for ceremonial dances, but it entails little more than the removal of the more obvious dirt and the putting on, over unchanged undergarments, of a sweater. Pride in personal appearance, love of tidiness, delight in a clean house, are all quite foreign to the Bella Coola.

356 Probably the reason for lack of comforts in the houses is simply that the people do not feel the need for them. They [264] consider it no hardship to sit on a rickety chair, scoop up food [231] from a common dish and, if they think of it, throw morsels [152] down to the dog or the cat. The smell, the flies, the dirt, the chaos do not concern them. Capable of undergoing privations, hardships, and even sufferings, they think neither of the com-231 fort of themselves nor of others. Their domestic animals are often treated abominably, not through lack of affection or cruelty, but from callousness. More than once the writer has seen a favourite dog steal a piece of food from the table. Its master, after a furious blow or kick at it, would suddenly, as if by inspiration, throw a choice bit to the animal, saying:

"Why, he must have been hungry!"

Though the Bella Coola feel a kinship with animals unknown to the white man, it is not combined with any recognition of their feelings as living creatures. There are, of course, [577] many exceptions, but on the whole public opinion demands generosity and kindness only towards human members of the group. The moral code is not concerned with animals.

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619 others. This differentiated them clearly from all neighbouring
[197] tribes.

B. Ceremonial. A member of a secret society in any of
575 the above towns was accepted as a member in any other one.
[609] A person of another tribe, even if known to belong to a comparable society, was treated as an uninitiated person.

C. Origin and Religion. The people of Bella Coola, *Tal·io*, and Kimsquit felt themselves to be akin through acceptance of the fact that their ancestors had been created together in the beginning of time. This marked them off with
[771] great clearness from all other tribes, especially from the Carriers of the interior. This belief formed a sentimental and religious bond of great strength.

Neighbouring Tribes

648 It is desirable to describe, briefly, the tribes with which the Bella Coola came in contact.

THE CARRIERS

East of Bella Coola, amid the mountains of the interior, roved the Carriers. In summer they often came down to the river valley to fish or trade for salmon, and in winter they were sometimes forced by cold and starvation again to visit the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, or Rivers Inlet people. There was a
[563] good deal of intermarriage between them and the inhabitants of the upper valley, so that the wanderers were able to spend the cold months with relatives. None the less, the Bella Coola
[186] considered these people utterly foreign in habits and beliefs,
[578] and to call a man a "Carrier" was, and still is, a deadly insult. The Carriers lacked the rich ceremonial life of the coastal peoples who, therefore, regarded them with scorn and con-
[796] tempt. The presence of a few of the much-despised Carriers was, however, almost necessary to the correct performance of the winter dances since they were uninitiated spectators whom it was necessary to impress and delude.

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from the moon and stated that there were mountains and snow on it. It is commonly stated that the marks on the moon represent a man carrying a bucket. .821 [.756]

The stars figure but slightly either in Bella Coola mythology or thought; it is not even known who made them. Two in the Great Bear constellation are called respectively *Tpiksta* and *X̱inx̱ines*, "Little Girls." A lone star in the same part of the sky, named *A'lox*, is said to be following the girls to the forest for illicit intercourse. [.773]

Moon, stars, and above all the sun, were, and still are to a certain extent, used by the Bella Coola in computing the passage of time. There are no individuals with the definite prerogative of keeping count of time, but formerly wise old men used to do so.[4] Differences of opinion were the rule rather than the exception, a condition which often led to bitter disputes concerning the proper date for starting the winter ceremonials. Boas (p. 41) has recorded the Bella Coola calendar in greater detail than the present writer has been able to do. The making of calendrical observations is a lost art, and the following list of the months was all that could be learnt. It will be noted that these agree with Boas in regard to the months in the early part of the year, but not in those between the summer and winter solstices; no explanation is offered for this disparity. .805 .821 [.554] .578 [.796] [.114 .178] [.114]

First moon after the summer solstice: *Sikālamtak*, which has the significance, "The Time for Sockeye Salmon to Ascend the River."

Second moon after the summer solstice: *Si'islalitl*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon."

Third moon after the summer solstice: *Si'iswai·stl*, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon."

Fourth moon after the summer solstice: *Siqālxam*, "The Time for Gathering Fern Root," or *Sidakaos di Ano'likwolsaix*,

[4] A Kimsquit informant stated that there were professional calendrical experts in his home when he was a young lad although members of the *kasiut* society (II, chap. 1) sometimes attended to this matter. [.575] [.463]

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The ancestral family consists of those whose ancestral names, embodying definite prerogatives, are embodied in a single origin myth. 614 424

A stranger finds it easier to understand why names are so carefully maintained within the ancestral family by thinking of them as symbols of prerogatives, but it must be emphasized that the Bella Coola preserve with equal jealousy those designations of which the only prerogative is the marking of this actual membership. 551 [554]

If, then, the ancestral family be regarded as a group possessing a large number of name-prerogatives, it may well be asked how these are distributed among the members. The first point to be emphasized is that the ancestral family is a unit held together without definite social mechanism. There is no accepted "head" of the family, nor are there any clearly formulated laws governing the transmission of the name-prerogatives. Before death a man usually calls together his relatives and bequeaths,[8] according to his desire, his personal property in slaves and canoes, and his intangible property in names. Such a designation does not become the property of the new owner unless he is able to validate his ownership by a distribution of presents; meanwhile the name is "dead." If, during this period, some other member of the ancestral family should desire it for a child, or for himself, he can take possession of it by the customary distribution of presents. In doing so he would anger the legatee, but the latter cannot himself use the appellation since it is already in use. Even at the present time there are bitter quarrels over the assumption of names, and such have certainly occurred for many generations. If a man can validate fairly promptly a name willed to him, it is most unusual for anyone else to try to forestall him. 614 553 428 553 431 [578]

If a man dies intestate, his sons consider themselves his normal heirs, and the most respected of them validates for himself as many names as he desires or is able to assume. Disputes are not as common as might be expected since the 428 553 [578]

[8]In case of sudden death or failure to make a will confusion sometimes occurs.

428 influence of a chief is usually sufficient to settle claims as to
553 which of his brothers shall receive which name. Even if none
of them is a chief, some one of them is certain to have greater
[578] influence than the others. If a dead man has no sons, his
daughters can assume his names, which they may transmit to
their children. Failing both sons and daughters, a man's
brothers and sisters are his heirs, as usual, the one of influence
being the one who really arranges matters.[6] None the less, it
[614] must be emphasized that if the members of the immediate
family are slow to validate a dead man's names, they may be
taken by any member of the ancestral family.

463 In former days it was customary to create a "remem-
brancer" to preserve the ancestral myth. The older and more
869 influential members of the ancestral family would choose an
[614] intelligent young relative to whom to relate the myth in great
detail. One informant described how her mother, the last offi-
cial "remembrancer," had been instructed by her grandfather.
The old man had been accustomed to take his granddaughter,
a girl about twelve years of age, to bed with him, and whisper
to her the myth, with his hand pressed over her anus to pre-
vent escape of his words. At the conclusion of the recitation
[789] he always spat in her ears to make the words stick. The mem-
bers of the ancestral family, recognizing that the "remem-
brancer" was the person best acquainted with the myth, were
wont to consult him or her about it, and, of course, about the
[553] names embodied in it. A "remembrancer" had no authority
to decree who should receive names, but appeals were often
made to him, and a tactful individual was frequently able to
settle disputes.

578 Considering the extreme fluidity of the whole system it is
428 surprising that quarrels are not more common. These are
614 limited by the system of wills, through which a man bequeaths
his most valuable personal property, especially his intangible
553 property in *kusiut* name-prerogatives (II, p. 2). Ancestral

[6] At the present time the same principle governs the disposal of houses and gardens on the reserve.

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names are also willed, but since their value depends on the 578
goods expended to validate them, there is seldom bitterness 614
about their allotment. Indeed, a chief who is the legal owner 553
of a designation which came from above in the beginning of
time, will in many cases choose to elevate his position with [428]
respect to a title of comparatively recent date. But if any
person who is not a member of the ancestral family should [685]
dare to use an ancestral name, all the members rise to avenge
the theft, for such they feel it to be. In recent years, however, [178]
this practice has become comparatively common. In such
cases a man, eager to share in the glories of a myth and able
to give a potlatch, has validated an ancestral name to which
he has no right. The presence of the white man alone
restrains the injured ancestral family. Names are sometimes [426]
lent or hired to those who are not members of the group for
definite sums; the recipient recompenses the individual. If [427]
such names are not returned for several generations quarrels
are apt to arise since the recipient claims to be the real owner
and not the temporary possessor. During his tenancy of the
name he is entitled to any prerogative attached to it, but he
is not considered a *bona fide* member of the ancestral family.

Instances have occurred in which an old man or woman, [428]
believing himself to be the last survivor of an ancestral family,
has donated his names and myth to those who have befriended
him, or these have been taken by those who buried him. Some [557]
individuals are constantly watching to conduct the funerals of
friendless old people in the hope of so obtaining names. But
in almost every case this leads to friction, since it is virtually
impossible for an ancestral family to die out. Perhaps in the
next generation, perhaps in the following one, some youth will
claim descent from the first ancestors of the supposedly defunct
family, and claim the myth and names embodied therein. This [628]
leads to a feud with the person, or his descendants, who has
received the names through aid given to the "last" of the
family.

Such instances of an ancestral family becoming practically 614
621

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establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole organization. 621 [614] [553]

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the outer coast, about to attack *Sinxl*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Q̓omqo·ts* without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours. [628] [682] [578] [627] [628]

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. IV), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat- 622 554 [556] 621 623 535 796

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to arrange his marriage with some female slave; once this had taken place, the actual treatment meted out to him differed only slightly from that shown to a member of the family. In former times it would probably have been difficult for a stranger to tell married slaves from the members of the Bella Coola community until he had been long enough in the country to understand more than appeared on the surface. 567 582

Marriages between Bella Coola men and slave women were not infrequent, while like partnerships between slave men and even the daughters of chiefs were not unknown. In such cases the status of the children depended on the performance of ceremonies to wash from them the stain of their slave blood. While the mother was still pregnant her husband would call guests, not only from his own village, but from foreign tribes as well. Presents were given, according to the wealth of the donor, often aided by his immediate family, to "wash the child." Such ceremonies would be repeated several times before birth, and again at that time. Bella Coola sentiment was that such presents gagged the recipients; they knew of the dishonourable ancestry of the child, but the receipt of gifts on his account had wiped away the disgrace. Such a child was able to inherit prerogatives from his mother's old home, duly validated in Bella Coola by valuables, and by his own lavish presents he could silence those who remembered the blot on his ancestry. Similar procedure was carried out if a free woman married a slave. Unless her husband were already owned by one of her family, the woman's father or brother would arrange to purchase him. Then, aided by him, they would give the same type of presents to clear the children from the taint of slavery. If this were not done, the children had only the status of slaves, though, born and brought up in Bella Coola and associating from infancy with their master's children, they were virtually considered members of the family. 431 567 [428]

"Washing the child," during pregnancy and at birth, sufficed to cover the taint on its history, but in later years if such a person failed to continue to give ceremonies, people would again talk of his short-comings. So, too, for the child or grand- [557] [578]

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431 child of a mixed Bella Coola and slave marriage. As long as
567 such an one maintained a position of importance in the com-
578 munity by the distribution of presents, nothing was said, but
[554] if he should fail to do so, he could be, and frequently was, insulted by having references made to his ancestry. In case of dispute or rivalry it was always a temptation to refer to such a blot, but if he had atoned for it with presents, references were considered improper. Unquestionably, memory of slave
554 ancestry was forgotten in course of time if the line was influ-
567 ential, although recollections of the stigma were always carried for at least two or three generations. At the present time the most influential woman in Bella Coola, the one who has given most presents, is the granddaughter of a Smith Inlet slave. This man had lived in Bella Coola for many years and had married another slave, by whom he had a son. The latter became the husband of an influential *Stuix* woman. When she became pregnant, her family secured the liberation of her husband, and gave many presents to "wash the child." One daughter was born to this couple, the woman just mentioned. Her mother's relatives were influential, and her father was
[555] such an expert canoe-maker that he was able to win an honourable position for his daughter by presents of his handicraft. The woman, possessed of considerable ability herself, has been able to give many ceremonies and so reach a position of eminence. No one dares insult her by mentioning her ancestry, but everyone knows about it and if her children should fail to hold their position, they would be open to insult on this score. The woman has validated names and myths derived both from her mother and father, without explaining how the Smith Inlet traditions came to Bella Coola.

To sum up, it may be said that the position of slaves in Bella Coola was not particularly onerous, though it depended entirely on the will of their masters. Without status in the
[182] community, a slave could have been abused by a cruel owner, though the public life of the village, where all lived and ate together, tended to break down the unsystematically enforced differences of rank.

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time, he fails in any way to reciprocate the hospitality, he loses his place among his special associates. So, likewise, the Bella Coola who receives present after present, but fails to give any in return gradually receives smaller and smaller gifts and in time loses his social position and influence entirely. As with ourselves, too, there is a disguised feeling of contempt for the *parvenu*, the man who, lacking the traditional dignity attached to one of the names which came from above at the beginning of time, has elevated the fame of a more recent name by ostentatious giving. But in Bella Coola, as with ourselves, success is the great criterion, and the donor finds his influence little impaired by the lack of one of the ancient origin myths. It is dangerous to cite similarities between the social practices of divergent peoples, and this one must not be stretched too far. The pride of a man in being able to incorporate himself in the traditions of his ancestors is lacking with the host at a dinner party, nor does the latter, to any extent, attain the status of chief through his hospitality. Further, a Bella Coola will sometimes endeavour to shame the poverty of a guest by giving him a large present. Unless the recipient is willing to admit his inferiority he must repay this with a still larger gift. The original donor will then vindicate himself by increasing the value of his next gift until a fierce competition ensues. This feature of rivalry in generosity is rare in Bella Coola, and never reached the same proportions that it did among the Kwakiutl.

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The following is a good instance of the manner in which a haughty man regards the acceptance of gifts. A Rivers Inlet man married a Calvert Island woman who went to live with her husband. The man's mother, to show her amiable feelings towards the marriage, frequently gave thick slices of boned spring salmon, a great delicacy, to the family of her daughter-in-law. The Calvert Island chief considered these presents an insult to him, as if the Rivers Inlet people thought that he and his people were so poverty-stricken they lived on skin and bones. To avenge this slight he made war on the Rivers Inlet Indians and slew many of them. This attitude of the Calvert

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*556 Island chief was felt by the Bella Coola to be quite natural;
● 578 one of their own chiefs might have resented the insult in the same manner. This account may have no historical basis, but it is a clear example of Bella Coola sentiment.

*556 Further examples may help to clarify this point. A few
648 years ago a number of Kwakiutl Indians visited Bella Coola
558 to perform a mourning ceremony in honour of a deceased Bella
[765] Coola who had a Kwakiutl name from his grandfather, a member of that tribe. All the natives were invited to a large house, where the visitors gave a dance according to their own ancestral myths; the songs which were used recounted the history of the Kwakiutl name of the dead man. After thus displaying their prerogatives, they felt themselves obliged, and proud, as hosts, to give presents as validation. The sum of $546 was distributed among the guests. Realizing that it would be impossible to return such a sum by holding ceremonials in Fort Rupert, the home of the Kwakiutl, the leading Bella Coola decided to return the compliment immediately. The amount to be given was discussed at great length. Appreciating the courtesy of the foreigners in thus coming to pay honour to the deceased, it was not wished to insult them by giving a larger present, which would have had the effect of intimating that the recipients considered the $546 a trifling amount. Accordingly it was finally agreed to give the visitors about $300, which was done as validation of a Bella Coola ceremony at which the strangers were present. Thus the hosts allowed themselves to be shamed as a mark of courtesy. Not to be outdone in politeness, the Kwakiutl chief made a speech, expressing his willingness to allow the Bella Coola to drive him (this occurred in the days of horses and carts) to the wharf to take the steamer. In other words, he allowed the Bella Coola to put him in their debt, as they had allowed him and his party to do with respect to the distribution of money. The visit terminated with friendly relations maintained on both sides.

123 The need of validating every ceremonial act by presents
533 can be further illustrated by the following instance. When
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all that he sits in an enviable spot, irrespective of its location in the house. 554 556*

In precisely the same manner a man may take for himself a seat in the central part of the row behind the fire, but he is laughed at for endeavouring to assume a dignity, unworthily, unless he can validate his position by lavish presents. The Bella Coola are always ready to make fun of a person who fails to maintain his seat. On the death of the occupant of the central position it is taken for granted that whoever inherits his name will assume that location and give the essential presents, but it is not incumbent upon him to do so. He may choose to establish his new name at his old station, beside, instead of behind, the fire. Thus it has come to pass that the seat of the most important chief of a village is often at the side of the house. When all are seated the chiefs may be widely separated, and a parent may have obtained for his son a seat in a better part of the house than his own. But as a rule the chiefs sit in a row at the back of the fire, the most influential one in the middle. There must have been feuds when two men desired to seat themselves in the central position at the same time, but disputes about this were uncommon, because a man's seat was, and still is, primarily regarded as the intangible goods wherewith he is clothed, rather than his right to sit at any particular spot. It is these non-material coverings that enable a man to be bold and assertive in argument or suggestion, in fact to be a chief. A young man may have had conferred on him one of the noblest names, but his influence depends on the value of the goods expended on his behalf, subject of course to the universal characteristic that a man of forceful character may have more influence than his actual position warrants. [424] [428] [622] [424]

Jealous feuds are common when the man who owns the name of the first chief, first ancestor of a village, has duly validated it, but is being eclipsed in the giving of potlatches by a man whose name is of less intrinsic importance. Such a complication recently arose at Kimsquit, and the Bella Coola [578] [682]

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554 ascribe two murders which took place there in 1915 to jealousy
* 556 engendered by rivalry.

A chief who desires to have his son, or other near relative,
[578] succeed to his actual seat may validate for him a position at
[682] his feet. If several potlatches be given, with distribution of
goods for this purpose, it becomes recognized that the son shall
[622] take his father's seat. None the less, he will not have his
father's influence or prestige unless he can himself continue to
give away goods, because the power of a chief rests on this,
not on his ancient name or the location of his seat.

553 Further evidence that a man's influence rests less on his
* 556 actual name than on the wealth distributed with reference to
it is found in the lack of uniformity in the type of names validated. Those of highest potential importance are the ones brought to the earth by the first-comers, yet in many cases a man prefers to elevate his position with respect to a name of later origin. It is not uncommon for a man to validate several ancestral designations, and choose one of them to be his most important by valuable gifts for the seat which he occupies with respect to it; or in other cases a name of modern origin is selected and elevated. Thus, a certain Bella Coola chief who is the legal owner of the names *Q̓eil* and *Xemlaix*, two of the first people to settle this earth, has based his greatness on the goods expended for a seat with reference to the name *Siäkeläx*, of more modern origin. It is accordingly clear that any Bella Coola can rise to a position of importance, even though he lacks the right to one of the most ancient names. Moreover, some chiefs prefer to validate several names rather than concentrate on one alone.

[622] Furthermore, a powerful chief can create a name. In this case the "power" of the designation rests, not in any supernatural origin, but in the actual wealth distributed. Two examples will serve to illustrate this point. Between 1880 and 1890 a chief was preparing to give a potlatch at which his nephew was to receive a name, when fire destroyed the village with the exception of his house. This added to the value of

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ened by the age-long power of his ancestor. Finally, in old age a powerful chief is careless where he seats himself; his fame is so great that he can afford to disregard all conventions. 554 556 622 [183]

POWER OF CHIEFS

It will be seen from the foregoing that chieftainship among the Bella Coola does not depend on hereditary rank, still less on an elective principle, but on the individual's prestige as displayed, especially in his ability to acquire for himself a firm seat by the giving of presents. As he continues to do so his influence becomes ever greater. Consequently, it is impossible to state clearly what are the powers of a chief; such depend upon his prestige and influence. For a Bella Coola chief has no executive or judicial authority; what deference is shown to him depends on his success as a man, a factor which is constantly rising or falling.

The coming of the white man has enabled the Bella Coola to earn comparatively large sums of money by trapping and fishing. This in turn has enabled nearly everyone to give at least one potlatch, a very different state of affairs from that which prevailed in the last century when it required years of toil for a man to amass the necessary food and skins. Consequently, in many towns there were no men who had given potlatches, so that a man's prestige was estimated by the presents he had given at smaller ceremonies. Sometimes, moreover, a man preferred to increase his fame by giving rites of a different nature, such as *kusiut* dances, and the presents then distributed might elevate him in the eyes of the community, to a position above that of a man who had given a potlatch. This, however, was unusual. [177] [434] [431] [535]

After a fourth potlatch a man is accorded a position of eminence, and is termed a *namitl* chief. *Namitl* is an untranslatable word, with the significance of "passage," an allusion to the amount of goods which have passed through his hands. Jealous and vulgar-minded persons pun on the word, applying [578]

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554 it to the digestive tract. After a man has given four potlatches
556 he feels superior to those who have been unable to do likewise.
622 His name is "bright," "clean," "heavy," "firm," or "upright" in Bella Coola terms, and so, likewise, his seat. He feels independent and proud. Such a chief will fearlessly enter the back-
[578] room where ceremonial rites are taking place, even if not invited to do so.

"He is so strong, he can go where he will," say the Bella Coola.

The advice of such a man is taken because of his ability and prestige, especially by the members of his own family. A few years ago, for example, when a certain Bella Coola died, his brother wished a *haxiat* name-prerogative of the deceased to pass to the dead man's daughter. The girl's mother's father, a *nuxsit* chief, objected, and his desires were followed, although the name in question was not connected in any way with his family. In small matters, too, people gladly carry out the wishes of a chief. Work around the house is done for him
[592] without thought of disobedience. An old man was asked whether, when he was young, chiefs gave many orders and acted as masters in their households.

"You bet," the old man answered emphatically with a dry chuckle.

231 It is difficult now to form an accurate estimate, from observation, of the influence of chiefs solely through virtue of the
552 goods they have expended. But the following is a concrete
622 example. In November, 1913, the writer, while walking through the Bella Coola village, was bitten by a dog. He was told that the animal belonged to a certain old woman. When next he saw the owner he asked her whether she knew that her dog attacked passers-by.

"Yes," she answered, in a matter-of-fact tone, "He is a chief and can do what he likes."

Further questioning elicited the information that the old
[766] woman and her husband, the children but survivors of an ancestral family, had transmitted some of their ancestral

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622 there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by
628 members of the *hamat* society that none would dare go there.
998 If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formerly have
been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-
[575] place of the *ilemqa-ic* chiefs is on a ledge of rock jutting out
over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village.
The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side,
screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a cauldron, so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can enter. The
ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the
most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of
other villages lack such natural settings, though all are at the
bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some
998 of them are decorated with rude carvings, pecked into the
582 stone. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of
998 the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago,
by chiefs when they were composing tunes; they picked out
the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others
[211] were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an
important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure,
perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with
the rite, to recall the occasion. No carvings have been made
within the life-time of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that
they had further significance, now unknown.

622 When a chief wishes to summon his fellows for a meeting
623 he visits each and notifies him by a simple pressure of the foot,
in many cases unobserved even by those sitting near. The
201 person so called slips away, unostentatiously, to the meeting-
place.

571 The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the
622 old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who
623 succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows
became an object of envy. Their mythology contains many
[152] examples of the murder of some powerful chief by rivals of his
own village, and informants of today state that these records
are true. One intelligent man asserted that his father had

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thus been slain about seventy years earlier. It appears that attempts were commonly made to kill chiefs by means of sympathetic magic, and it is quite possible that such attempts, becoming known, preyed upon the minds of the victims to such an extent that death resulted. 578 622 682 [154]

WEALTH

Since wealth is so important in chieftainship, it would be desirable at this point to consider the concepts of wealth. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a satisfactory treatment of this subject. The coming of the white man altered the economic aspects of Bella Coola life so radically, and at such an early period, that concrete examples of economic interdependence, so useful in a thorough study, could not be obtained in the field. It is possible that greater attention to this subject might have produced more satisfactory results, but I am doubtful of this. 114 177 556*

In the old days, "wealth" was of two categories: (*a*) Prerogatives, tangible or intangible, which could be shown, pictorially or dramatically, or could be expounded in words; and (*b*) Goods which could be distributed for validating such prerogatives. Individual possessions, unused for distribution, were hardly considered as wealth; a sewing-machine, a bottle of whiskey, a bed, or some other luxury might give satisfaction to the owner, but did not increase his importance in the eyes of his fellows. The value of objects was only for their use in ceremonial distribution; indeed, prior to such distribution, they were only of potential value. This attitude controlled Bella Coola economics in the early days of contact, and still influences their behaviour. A native store-keeper once ruefully commented on the fact that he would gain no advantage from the goods on his shelves, since he hoped merely to sell them, not to give them away. 556* [422] [177]

A man's relatives were expected to help him in the acquisition of goods, but the extent of their contributions was never 184 476 556*

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ability are always seeking to lend goods to those who are planning potlatches or other rites, knowing that the investment is safe and lucrative. 556* [726]

X uses his own discretion as to how much wealth is necessary. He knows how much he owes for presents received on previous occasions, and would not dream of giving a potlatch until able to repay these. Failure to do so would hold him up to the derision of the whole countryside. But he acts upon his own judgment with regard to interest. If he continues to hoard goods until he is able to repay with great increase, he gains prestige from his generous returns, but meanwhile he does not enjoy the distinction which would have followed a smaller affair at an earlier period. Further, there is the uncertainty about how much his wife's family will contribute, though that can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy; in Bella Coola every transaction is made publicly, so each man knows the wealth of his neighbour. The favourite month for a potlatch is October, before the *kusiut* dances, when there is abundance of food. At this season there is plenty of salmon roe, berries, and crabapples, all of which might be ruined by frost. Occasionally, a potlatch takes place after the *kusiut* period, but in that case the only foods available are olachen grease, smoked meat, smoked fish, dried hemlock-bark, and dried berries. If several men in one village decide to give potlatches in the same year there may be rivalry and dispute as to which shall be first. There is no satisfactory method of settling this point. [626] [796] [262] [578]

When all is ready X tells a herald (I, p. 244) to summon his fellow villagers to his house the following day for *nlâxtem*. It is customary for all to accept, but no social obligation is broken should a man or woman fail to do so. [203]

The next morning no one eats in his own house, knowing that free food will be distributed. While his expected guests are adorning themselves by washing and painting, X, aided by his family and others, prepares large quantities of food, borrows boxes, and makes other necessary arrangements. Pre- [802] [426]

Pre-
* 556 sently the guests assemble, those who are *sisaok* wearing on
[575] their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership
237 in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled,
292 the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners,
[554] slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair. It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by
[203] the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial gain.

264 A number of young ladis, friends or relatives of X, distribute the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called
* 556 upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no
[885] standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests; otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in
• [578] this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its reward.

583 Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a
* 556 dumat friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech,
[537] extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general
425 outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that
[424] X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with
[532] the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name.

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of his village, hence they will not feel it incumbent upon them to intervene. But news travels, and in course of time the *sisaok* members of some other tribe will decide to send a raiding party against X's village. All informants agreed most emphatically that this custom prevailed among the coast people from the Tsimshian country to Alert Bay, but specific examples could not be obtained. The Bella Coola regard such a raid as the proper course to pursue, and belligerent tribes may have used an irregularity in the potlatch rites as an excuse for an assault. It is clear, however, that this custom never attained such prominence that it could be called a law. 556* 688 628

The following is an instance of the Bella Coola outlook on the question: 556* 688

The father of an informant had had such success in giving potlatches that his neighbours were jealous. On one occasion he prepared a representation of a whale, an elaborate wooden frame, fifteen feet long, operated by men concealed within and carrying passengers; this was a figure which entered into his ancestral myth. One of the carpenters who made it, bribed by a jealous rival of the donor of the potlatch, arranged that the lower jaw of the whale should fall to the floor during the proceedings. This revealed the mechanism of the structure. White influence on the coast prevented an incursion of foreign raiders, but according to this informant, the chiefs determined that his father should die, and they employed a sorcerer for this purpose. His father and eleven other relatives died soon afterwards. This man, the sole survivor, ascribes his escape to his adoption of Christianity. [578] [532] [578] [177] [754]

Another instance of the penalty which follows errors in potlatch ritual occurred a few years ago, when a number of young men used the cone-shaped whistles openly, as if they had been toys. The presence of the white man prevented any open steps towards punishment, but before long all the youths died. No one knows what caused their deaths, though probably they were due to an expert in black magic acting on the instructions of a senior *sisaok*. [534] [177] [754]

After the prayer, X and his family give more food to their guests, whose boxes containing what they are to carry away are increasing in number. By his lavishness, X increases his prestige in the eyes of his fellow-villagers. 556*

If he can afford to build a new house embodying the form [335]

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553 without special places, X calls upon some eloquent friend to
direct the distribution of the money. This speaker orates how
* 556 X is carrying out the rites incumbent on his noble and exalted
575 station, how all honour him for so doing, and how all should
[537] strive to follow his example. He then says that to give strength
to the name *Qwaqwasila*, for example, X will give away, say
$100. He further announces who have contributed this
amount: perhaps $50 from X, and the other half from various
relatives of Y. If the sum in question be large it is always
mentioned from whom, and how the donor has obtained the
money. Thus every financial transaction becomes publicly
known, and the more prominently a man figures, the greater
is his prestige. Next, the amount to be used for the second
initiate's name is announced, with the same details, and in
like fashion the sums decided upon for each successive initiate.

Then the total amount is distributed among the guests by
the heralds, under X's supervision. He usually gives every-
[562] one the same amount; men sometimes receive more than
women, but in every case members of the same sex receive an
equal sum. The Bella Coola are not expert mathematicians,
[803] so that faulty division is the rule. If X, for example, decides
to give $1.50 to each person present, it is a time of considerable
anxiety while the stack of bills is being reduced, to watch
whether or not there will be the exact amount. If X finds out
[426] he is short he will hastily borrow some money, as it would be
an insult to omit anyone. If the amount be too great, he will
[578] use the surplus in making presents to the more influential
guests.

With the exception of this possible surplus, the money distributed is regarded as an outright present; "it has flowed away to make good the boys' names" is the Bella Coola expression. A chief will remember how much he has received, and if he wishes to uphold or to increase his own dignity, he will make a point of returning at least an equivalent to X on some future occasion. But though in effect he may make return, such is never said to be the case. "The money has flowed away."

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* 556 The first course is dried cohoe salmon mixed with olachen
264 grease. The fish is first placed in boxes, approximately one
to every four persons, though a chief may be honoured by an
[262] individual box, and the grease poured over it. As always, any
food not consumed is carried away. Failure to do so would
● [578] be an insult to X. Then round wooden dishes are distributed
into which are poured the berries of *Viburnum pauciflorum*.
[262] The waiters pour olachen grease over these and the mixture is
eaten with wooden spoons. These two foods are invariably
the first meal of a potlatch.

* 556 If the *siki* of the last guests to arrive has not returned the
power given him by the Bella Coola expert, he now stands up
575 and shakes his rattle as a signal that he desires to start his
535 dance. The Bella Coola *siki* also stands up, and the visiting
siki contorts himself and finally pretends to produce something
from his stomach, which he throws across to his colleague.
The latter feigns to catch it, cries *hoip* loudly several times,
and makes the motions of hurling what he has just received
into the room at the back of the house where the initiates are
concealed. Then he sits down. Meanwhile the last-to-arrive
party of guests have started to beat out the tune of one of the
ssaok[18] songs of their own *siki* who dances in time to it. Then
another song is beaten out and another member of the party
dances, and so on until all have danced who desire to do so.
Each wears his own head-dress and each performs in the
manner already described. After the dancing, the members
of this party of guests give presents to X and other Bella Coola
chiefs. There is no fixed ratio between the value of the gifts
* 556 and the rank of the recipients, though chiefs receive more than
[554] lesser men, and X most of all. These presents are *spuxdjut*,
which may be translated as "eagle down-ness," merely a mark
of friendship and goodwill. They are not returnable. Goods
so received are distributed by X with his other possessions at
[578] the potlatch, care being taken not to return them to the donors,
which would be insulting.

[18] *Xe-ne* songs (I, p. 217) are sometimes used.

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not returnable by X to his wife's family. A question on this point was regarded as highly amusing. If used for investment-gifts, the presents received in return are given to X, not to his wife's relations. 556* 583

A speaker, acting on instructions from the brother or other member of X's wife's family, also announces what names, portions of myth-prerogatives, or other privileges she is bestowing on her husband. After that the people disperse, although they are free to re-enter the house, where, during the afternoon, arrangements are being made for the elaborate ceremonial which takes place that night. 556*

Towards dusk the guests reassemble and take their places as before. Part of the goods which X proposes to give away has been brought in, and, aided by members of his family, he busies himself recounting and making final plans for its distribution. As the Bella Coola have no system of writing, accurate division of goods at a potlatch causes considerable difficulty and worry to the donor. A slighted guest will feel aggrieved, and the sacred nature of the rite will have been subjected to insult if arrangements are not satisfactory. The first business is the settlement of debts by X to the members of his own village. He may perhaps have borrowed fifty blankets ten years previously from a certain individual whom he now intends to repay, with foreign guests as witnesses to the transaction. X always endeavours to reimburse with as large a premium as possible, because by so doing he displays his nobility of mind to the assemblage; but if he can restore only the amount borrowed, or the same with a small increase, there will be no trouble such as might occur should he fail to return at least the principal. When the debt has been settled with interest the matter is at an end, for there is no compulsion upon the man who receives the additional sum to repay this with interest in his turn. The amount previously lent, and the occasion, are always publicly announced, so that all are made aware of his generosity with regard to interest. [212] [578] 426 556*

In Kimsquit it was customary at this stage of the proceed- 556* 184

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are strictly non-returnable, being regarded as "eagle down,"[a] and having, therefore, a ceremonial significance. They validiate and mark the importance of the representation just displayed. They are spoken of as having been shaken off by the deceased as he departed to return to his home above. [769] [431]

If there are many *susaok* initiates concealed within the back-room, some of them may now be called upon to dance, but usually this is reserved for the following night. Unless some of those secluded are going to dance, food is distributed and all disperse. [575] [535]

THE POTLATCH: THIRD DAY

This is the day when presents are given and, with the previous, is the most important of the whole ceremonial. The following are its features.

During the Day

(1) Distribution of much food, and sometimes of insults to the guests by excessive presents, or by the destruction of valuables. [578]

During the Evening and Night

(2) Dramatic representation of some object connected with X's ancestral myth.

(3) Distribution of presents by X to recompense the craftsmen who have assisted in the potlatch.

(4) Repayments by X of gifts received at previous potlatches.

(5) Giving of presents by X to some of his guests.

(6) Distribution of presents to strengthen X's seat.

(7) Distribution of presents to strengthen, or establiish, seats for a number of young men.

(8) Dancing of the *susaok* initiates. 556*

(9) Distribution of presents to recompense those who haave assisted the *susaok* dancers. 575

(10) Distribution of presents to validate the *susaok* dannces and the names thereby acquired by the initiates.

[a] The Bella Coola state that the Kwakiutl term for this is *sisa* or *gasa*.

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*556 [575] (11) Dismissal of the supernatural power possessed by the *susaok* initiates, thereby enabling them to return to normal life in the community.

*556 ●578 171 All day, food is being distributed in X's house with guests in almost constant attendance. Not only are large presents of food made to any chief who has previously shown generosity to X, but he also takes this opportunity to bestow insults on anyone from whom he has received the same. Among the Bella Bella and people of Rivers Inlet guests were frequently ridiculed with respect to their habitual diet or mode of life. Unquestionably, the Bella Coola sometimes did likewise, both at potlatches and at *kusiut* rites to which strangers were invited. Although it is dangerous to dogmatize on this point, because the practice has long since fallen into disuse, it appears highly probable that mockeries were less prevalent in Bella Coola than at other places on the coast.

*556 558 628 It is comparatively common, however, for a chief to shame a guest by a lavish disregard for valuables. News is constantly passing from town to town, so that the intended victim usually hears what is in store for him. A guest always takes valuable goods with him when he goes to a potlatch, but one who expects to be insulted takes care to have an unusually large supply. The host seats this particular visitor close to the fire, and during the afternoon or early evening he throws large quantities of grease and food upon it, to demonstrate "the warmth" and "fineness" of his house. The guest experiences physical discomfort from the extreme heat, and suffers mental pangs at having a rival boast of his power and fame. To assert his own importance he will throw goods on the fire, as if they were water to extinguish it, and the host will counter by throwing on more valuables. The contest is continued until the goods of the guest are exhausted, or the host fears to burn more lest he should not have enough left to validate the potlatch. He who has destroyed most is considered to have shown his superiority. [578] The Bella Coola state that such rivalry was unknown between chiefs of the same village.

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426 hence repayment or non-repayment does not affect the stand-
*556 ing of the debtor in the community. The giver expects no
return, but should he come to financial straits he would have
[558] no hesitation in asking aid from the Bella Bella chief. He
expects, moreover, that the latter will contribute to the expenses of his funeral. This would be optional, as repayment of a non-ceremonial present concerns the donor and recipient alone, without effect on the status of either in the community. In this instance, if the old man had died soon after his son, his debts would not have been paid, since there were surviving no immediate relatives. Sons or other near kinsmen always settle the debts of dead parents out of family pride, but it is considered most improper for the creditors to think about re-
[558] payment. By giving they have shown their power, the question of return is the concern of the family of the deceased recipient.

Very rarely does the donor of a potlatch fail to return his investment presents except through oversight. In spite of every precaution, errors occur, and these are said to be caused either by a supernatural being, itself invisible, rising between
[776] the donor and his guest, hiding the latter, or by *Snuqwalnikaista* stealing away his thoughts. Unless the donor wishes
●[578] to insult a guest, he will give him presents later on, and that ends the matter. But if he does not do so, the slighted man
426 may return the insult, and thus feuds are often generated that
*556 may lead to war between tribes. About 1860 it is said
648 that a conflict between the people of Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet was caused in that way. In the autumn of 1921, a Bella Coola chief insisted on dancing at a Bella Bella potlatch, although it was commonly known he did not have the necessary goods for distribution to validate his dance. The hosts waxed sarcastic, taunts were answered by taunts, and only the presence of some white men prevented bloodshed. Relations between the two tribes are still strained as a result of this
[828] incident. The Bella Coola chief was subject to spells of insanity, and danced during one of these. According to the

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CHAPTER V

FEATURES ASSOCIATED WITH THE POTLATCH

Heralds—Totem-Poles—Coppers—Professional Prerogatives—A'alk Dances—Miscellaneous Ceremonies

128 *556 THE ritual of the potlatch is so complicated that, in order to present a coherent account of it, it has been necessary to omit entirely some features that occur at many potlatches, and to refer briefly to others. This chapter is devoted to an elaboration of these points, thus avoiding the use of lengthy foot-notes in the preceding chapter.

HERALDS

203 *556 The principal functions of heralds[1] have already been described. They go from house to house inviting the people to assemble for the different ceremonies connected with the potlatch, but that is only one of their many duties. They likewise bear invitations to all types of ceremonies, such as marriages, mourning rites, or *kusiut* dances; in fact, they act as town criers. A person holding any public rite requests one or more heralds to deliver the invitation which is repeated in every house of the village in order from bottom to top.[2]

There are variations, of course, according to the rites to be performed. At a potlatch, the first duty of a herald is to seat the guests in their proper places. This requires not only a good memory, but also considerable tact, since errors with foreign guests cause friction and embarrassment, and diminish the prestige of the whole ceremony. During the actual progress of the rites, a herald must constantly add dignity to the occa-

[574] [628] [578]

[1]Herald, *ā'lk*ᵛ, plural, *waā'lk*ᵛ*ats*, not to be confused with *a'alk*, the name of a society (I, p. 273).

[2]This order may once have had a ceremonial significance but it has been considered for a long time merely a matter of convenience. When giving presents also, a man follows the same order in his mind and names first the occupants of the bottom house, thus minimizing the danger of overlooking a guest.

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village at some ceremony, exactly as a child's name is conferred. Designations are chosen with respect to the appearance of the copper, or some incident connected with its history. Such a designation is *Qwaixwos*, "Begrimed," applied to a copper thrown many times into the fire. If, for instance, $50 be expended for a name, the value of a $30 copper is henceforth $80. 435 552 556*

(3) *By Making Gifts.* The owner of a copper can increase its value by calling together the other chiefs of his village, and sometimes of adjacent ones as well. After the customary meal, the owner expounds the history of his possession, giving details of its value. Then he passes it to one of his guests, who, unless he wishes to insult his host, must hold it upright, that is, with the broad end uppermost. The owner gives it in turn to each of his guests. To validate the display, the owner must bestow gifts on all present, and the total value of these is added to the value of the copper. Such gifts are not strictly returnable, although it is customary for chiefs to show their generosity and prowess to their fellows by a later repayment with interest. 435 556* [578] [426]

By these means the original purchaser of a worthless copper can increase its value to such a point that it can be used at a potlatch. There is no established custom about this. Coppers are not as valuable in Bella Coola as, for instance, at Fort Rupert, and it is unlikely that any are ever worth more than $300, and the average value is probably between $150 and $200. Considerable time is required to raise the value of a copper to this sum and the owner in many cases finds that he has all the other requirements before his copper is ready for use. In that case, he tries to buy another which has been raised to sufficient worth by its owner. Everyone knows the values of the different coppers in the community, and the intending purchaser calls his fellow-chiefs to his house and offers to buy one valued, for example, at $150. If the owner consents to sell, he usually endeavours to get as much as possible, perhaps $175. The sum is publicly paid and is henceforth the value of the copper, which is transmitted to the new [171] 435 437 556*

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pended, so that it serves as a visible and tangible memorandum 556*
of the chief-like generosity of its owner. By means of these [435]
media, debts are passed from one individual to another without [426]
actual liquidation in goods; in fact, it is unlikely that the Bella Coola possess sufficient money to meet the sums represented by their coppers.

Professional Prerogatives

The importance of prerogatives in the lives of the Bella 424
Coola has already been noted in many connections. A man's
name is his only because his ancestral family has the preroga- 556*
tive of using that designation; a *kusiut* dance can be performed only by an individual with the necessary prerogative; specific totem-pole designs, the portrayal of bird or animal on spoons, [532]
seats, house-posts, and other objects is a right dependent upon an ancestral prerogative; as is also the area on which a man can hunt or fish. The concept colours all Bella Coola life. [796]
Not only is a man's ceremonial life based on this principle, but on it depend his actions as chief, and the economic sources of his food-supply. No prerogative, even though it be the pro- [431]
perty of a man, is effective until validated by the distribution of presents. Much of a man's energy throughout life is ex- [627]
pended on the validation and display of his prerogatives; most Bella Coola feuds are caused by the infringement of one indi- [578]
vidual on another's rights.

In addition to the various types already mentioned, there 424
are a number of professional prerogatives on which depend a
man's vocation. That of herald approximates this class, al- 463
though the Bella Coola consider it rather as a right operative 556*
only during ceremonials. Professional prerogatives rest on the belief that a man's ability as a hunter, wood-worker, and so forth does not rest in his innate skill, but upon an inherited right which must be confirmed and validated by the distribution of presents. These can be given at any convenient time when the people have been called together, but, as it is to the man's advantage to have his right made known as widely

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701 than that of anyone else. The Bella Coola do not rationalize
156 in a scientific manner; if a man holds a belief firmly, he acts on it without questioning its logic. Moreover, if a professional warrior functions a number of times, this in itself is enough to strengthen his conviction that he must act henceforth in the same way. It can be said with confidence that the owner of
[463] a professional prerogative has considerable belief in his own powers, that this acts on himself to render him proficient, and that the majority of the community have respect for his capabilities.

555 THE PROFESSION OF SINGER

424 Singing is one of the professions open to a Bella Coola
533 either through natural ability or an ancestral prerogative. There is a constant need for men able to sing and compose
[463] songs for every kind of ceremonial, so a young man of talent has little difficulty in gaining admittance to the choir. He may even win great distinction and become recognized as the leading authority on musical matters. None the less, his success is considered to be accidental and unsubstantial, lacking the foundation that comes from the possession of a duly validated professional prerogative. A person made a singer by the latter means may be entirely unable to compose; in this case he is not a member of the choir, although he enjoys the social distinction which he has won by distributing goods to confirm his professional name. The singer most respected is he who combines with natural ability a confirmed prerogative to give substance and power to his position and composi-
[553] tions. At the death of such an one, an effort is always made
[428] by the members of his ancestral family to transmit the name to a youth who has shown musical promise. Arguments and
[578] differences of opinion are common among the members of the choir and in such cases the self-assurance and influence of a man whose position has been made strong by the distribution of presents often outweighs that of one who can rely only on his actual ability.

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539 to the cave and greeted their long-lost brother affectionately. Though
575 he, too, was delighted at the reunion, he said but little, and for two days told them nothing of his experiences. They remained in camp and on the third night *Ätkwi* told his brothers that he had obtained supernatural hunting powers. The following morning the four went out and killed so many mountain goats that the cave was filled with their carcasses. Their good fortune was amazing. *Ätkwi* sent one of his brothers to invite to the cave not only the people of Kimsquit but of the whole countryside as well. While he was absent on this errand, the remaining three prepared and smoked the meat, taking care to preserve the leg bones.

Within two weeks the guests began to assemble. *Anokokwläls* was a good place for a ceremony because *Ätkwi* had decorated it with paintings after its roof had opened to show him the upper regions of space.[12] When all the people had arrived, the host gave a mountain goat leg-bone to each, asking every recipient to beat time with it. Then *Ätkwi* danced
[535] a *nusqwal* dance, imitating the one he had seen done by the goat. After performing, he unfolded the story of his adventures and finished by giving away valuable presents of smoked meat and goat grease. Thus was initiated this particular *nusqwal* dance.

In later years, *Ätkwi* had such phenomenal success in hunting that by distributing the spoil he was able to create and confirm for his youngest
[551] brother the name, *Nuslakwalämi*, "The One Who is Always Successful." This has since been transmitted from one generation to another. *Ätkwi*,
[103] too, is responsible for the name of Mount *Tcopinäti*, "Leg-Bones." On one occasion he killed a large number of mountain goats on the mountain and left their leg-bones, *tcopinäti*, piled together near the spot. He instructed everyone to refer to the mountain by that name, which has since been done.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY

575 A few words should be said about the reputed early history
578 of the *a'alk* society. Its members seem always to have been on the best of terms with the *sisaok*, and there is no mention of feuds between these two organizations. On the other hand, there is said to have been constant friction with members of the *kusiut* society.[13] The latter comprises a large number of individuals bound together by the possession of supernatural

[532] [12]These paintings are said to be still in existence, and the sister of one informant claimed to have seen them.

[13]This point is elaborated in vol. II, chap. I.

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patrons and claiming to possess supernatural powers. In contrast to the *a'alk*, the *kusiut* are well organized and regulated; its members are proud of their powers, and scornful of those who lack the same. Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to understand jealousy between the two. Until relatively recent times, the *a'alk* were numerically stronger, and included some chiefs, whereas the strength of the *kusiut* society depended on the supernatural strength claimed by its members. It is true that individuals occasionally belonged to both, if they happened to possess prerogatives of both kinds, but, as a rule, the *a'alk* were young men and the *kusiut* were older people. This rivalry was formerly so intense that all who were not members of the latter society were often termed *a'alk* irrespective of whether or not they actually possessed dances of that type; Carrier Indians alone were not so designated. During the summer, members of the two societies dwelt amicably together, but during the winter, when dances took place, there were continual bickerings. The *kusiut* constantly endeavoured to impress their rivals with their own prowess; while the *a'alk*, not convinced of the others' power, used to mock them in their songs. This was the usual practice in case of some error in *kusiut* ritual. The *a'alk* frequently disobeyed the orders of the *kusiut* and a number of them once tried to pry up a huge boulder beneath which was the "power" of a certain *kusiut* (II, p. 8). In recent years the *kusiut* society has entirely gained the supremacy, but it is agreed by all Bella Coola that in former years this was by no means the case, and that *a'alk* did not hesitate even to kill one of their rivals.

Miscellaneous Ceremonies

The rites described in this chapter and the one preceding comprise the potlatch of the Bella Coola so far as its details could be learnt. Until the increase of wealth in recent years, the potlatch was rare, and it is unlikely that in any village more than one month in the year was consumed in the

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584 preliminary agreement may have been made while they were only seven or eight years old, though marriage seldom occurs before the age of seventeen or eighteen. More often the agreement is made when X and Y have passed the age of puberty, and they wait for about two years before marrying.

583 Throughout this period, X's relatives are expected to give at least one feast at which Y's relatives are the guests of honour,
425 and always receive presents. At one of these rites X's father,
553 with the concurrence of his relatives, may mark his approval
[584] of the coming event by bestowing on Y's father, or one of her other relations, an ancestral name from his family myth. This does not become the absolute property of Y's family, since the myth in which it is embodied does not belong to them, unless, of course, they are members of the same ancestral family. It is fitting that a name of this kind be bestowed by the recipient on one of Y's children, or returned to X's family a few generations later by a return marriage. If this is not done, in course of time the designation is apt to be regarded by Y's family as their own. If there are no children, Y's relatives should give back the name to X's
[627] family, but there are many instances of feuds caused by failure to do so. According to mythology, prerogatives may some-
[773] times be given outright, without thought of their use by the resultant children, or of their being restored by return marriages. It is claimed that the people of the Kimsquit River
[648] have, through such a present, the inalienable title to use a certain spot in the Kitlobe River for their olachen nets, and likewise the Kitlobe people have an irrevocable right to the Kimsquit name *Stálhmy*. These two prerogatives were transferred at the beginning of time. At present, anyone bestowing outright his family prerogatives would be considered weak-
[578] minded and the other members of the ancestral family would strenuously object. Considerations of this sort make it desirable to seek a wife within the ranks of the ancestral family.

During the period of engagement, Y's family may present a name, or names, to X's father, with the same conditions as those just described.

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585 if a grandchild be born they will give him a certain name if a
553 boy, and another if a girl, so that henceforth no one can take
425 that title for himself, even though it is not in use. As already mentioned, even when a name has duly passed to one of the children, it can be recalled in future generations by a return marriage. The transmission of names, or the promising of them for children yet unborn, is perhaps the most binding feature of the whole marriage rite. Mythology contains instances in which names, and other prerogatives, have been given away outright. Cases are cited by the Bella Coola where a father has given hunting-grounds as "food" for the use of the relatives of his son- or daughter-in-law, but it is usual merely to promise the use of them to the grandchildren.

581 Since the transference of names, or other prerogatives, is
553 the foundation stone of Bella Coola marriages, it is necessary
578 to digress still further in an attempt to analyse the concepts
425 at the base of the transaction. If the contracting parties are members of different ancestral families, or even of different branches of the same family, there is a feeling of strain and unpleasantness at the intimate relations into which they are brought. There is a conflict of desires. On one hand is the wish to keep the family prerogatives from going afield; on the other, a wish that they should go afield to show the respect felt for the bride or bridegroom. If children result, the matter is simple, since they are equally members of the ancestral families of mother and father and form a bond which draws the two social units into the closest community of interest. Return marriages will then be sought by successive generations, until the prerogatives of the two families become so closely interwoven that a child will, indeed, be born into the ranks of related ancestors from both parents. But when there are no children the matter is complicated, since the recipients of names not uncommonly try to keep them unjustly. They may do so with the best intentions, feeling that it would be a slight to the donors to give them back. Bella Coola etiquette is not sufficiently exact to stipulate what should be done. If the

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name is not returned, the donors may be offended at its being kept; if it is returned, they may be offended that it has not been kept. 581 553 578 425

The following examples will help to explain this rather complex point.

About 1900 the sister of a man who was middle-aged in 1922 was married to a Bella Coola to whom she was not related. At the wedding, her father being dead, her brother expounded one of the family's origin myths, and she took her husband a name from it. It was said to have been" hauled across," the word used being the same as that signifying the dragging of a heavy timber, suggesting, of course, the importance and dignity of the designation in question. On two later occasions the woman's family gave valuable presents to the man's, thus doing their part to cement the *qwlan*, the strength which comes to both families by an interchange of presents marking the dignity of marriage, in fact, its basic principle. Unfortunately, there were no children. If the husband had wished to retain these names for his family, he should have arranged a further marriage between one of his own relatives and one of his wife's, to return the value of gifts he had received. He did not do so, and thus lost all legal claim to the designations in question. None the less, he was indignant when his wife's brother duly validated one of these names for himself at a potlatch, as if it had been dormant.

The accompanying diagram-pedigree shows another instance of the same kind. *Smaoun*'s daughter, *Swalkanals*, was married to *Ninitsamlais*, and at the wedding her father promised his name for any offspring. No children were born, but *Ninitsamlais* illegally used the designation, *Smaoun*, for King George, his son by another wife. This naturally incensed the relatives of the first *Smaoun*, especially as the debt could not be adjusted by the marriage of one of *Ninitsamlais*'s daughters to one of their family, since there were no daughters. To make matters worse, King George passed the name to his son, Jack King George, and again there were no daughters to readjust the debt. Finally, Jack King George married *Qwalal*, a relative of the first *Smaoun*, without the usual lengthy period of engagement, and while she was still concealed for the year that follows puberty. No children resulted, by which part of the debt could have been repaid. Thus, not only did Jack King George violate the customary ideas of decency, but in the course of three generations two women were obtained from the *Smaoun* family without any recompense. Bitter feelings arose, and a few years ago one of the descendants of the first *Smaoun* took the name for himself at a potlatch as if it had been dormant, thus arousing the ire of Jack King George. In 1911 [482]

581 one of his female relatives were murdered at Kitsumpalo. The slayer was
583 never detected, but most of the Bella Coola believe that it was done by
one of *Snamut*'s relatives, and that the dispute about names was quite
sufficient to furnish an excuse for the deed.

425 It is hoped that these two instances will serve to emphasize why the
[L12] Bella Coola prefer marriages within the ranks of the aristocrat family.
When this rule plays, names are usually given outright, and not merely
promised for the use of the future children.

Snamut = ?
|
Nistimalaia = *Snaklamalis* = another woman
|
King George = ?
|
Jack King George = *Sparkel*

586 After this digression, to return to the marriage of X and Y.
The ceremony is taking place in the house of Y's father,
and the parents of each participant have expounded parts of
their origin myths, and promised names for the resultant
children.

Then Y's relatives give numerous presents to X's family, in
each case including those who are associating themselves with
the contract. Canoes, slaves, blankets, and other articles of
great worth are given; they are said to be "bed covering" for
Y. The greater their value, the greater her prestige. Her
[597] father asks a female child to address the assemblage, speak-
ing as though he were Y. He says in effect:

"My father, my mother, my brothers, my uncles, and their
associates have given me my bed covering."

These presents are the binding factors of the wedding.
They are said to lock the girl in her husband's house, and
accordingly are sometimes called, "rope fastenings." This is
[597] only done when a woman is married for the first time.
[597] Another orator now holds forth on behalf of Y's father:

"What we do today is no small matter. We have done
today what was done in former times, and what shall be
done in the future."

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two, but only one of great importance could hope to aspire to more, while the case of *Pathe* was considered to be unique and highly desirable.

A chief's wives always lived in the same house, and it is said that disputes were frequent. *Pathe* endeavoured to prevent jealousy by providing each woman with a special bedroom and sleeping for a single night with each in order. One informant had two wives when a young man, and he found that the only way to avoid constant bickering was by sleeping in one bed, between them. The evidence seems clear that plurality of wives was usually the cause of considerable friction, though this never deterred a man from taking a second wife if he could. The only special rule of incest in this regard was that two sisters could not be selected at the same time.

In answer to questions about polyandry, two men told of a licentious woman who had two feeble-minded husbands between whom she used to sleep. The whole affair was considered disgusting, but public opinion did not correct the offenders since a person's marital affairs were considered to concern the individual only. It was accordingly assumed that the institution of true polyandry did not exist, when, unexpectedly, information was volunteered about its occurrence in the families of influential men. A very powerful chief, if his only child was a daughter, quite frequently married her simultaneously to the sons of other chiefs. She was then considered most fortunate, since only a wealthy man could provide for a daughter in this way, and expend the large quantities of goods necessary to secure her proper marriage in each case. The husbands were never brothers, and seldom related, since the ambitious parent wished to ally his daughter with different ancestral families for the benefit of any resultant children. The joint wife was accustomed to live for a number of months in the house of one of her husbands, with her other husbands forming part of his household. She would then move to the house of another, who assumed the leadership of the group,

556 prerogatives he is transmitting, Y's father usually takes the
563 opportunity of stating that he wishes to hunt on X's hunting-
[425] grounds, or fish in his fishing-grounds. Permission is never refused, though it is only for the period of the potlatch. Since Y's father is to assist X, it is considered fitting to grant him facilities for obtaining pelts and food.

It is on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch that the goods are delivered. They serve six purposes, which can be described separately, although the Bella Coola usually think of them as being too closely associated for division.

(1) They increase the dignity, influence, and prestige of the donors. This theme needs no further elaboration. When X later gives these presents to his foreign guests, he announces the person from which he has received them and in this way knowledge of the manner in which Y's relatives have upheld the dignity of the marriage is spread far and wide, to their inverse gratification.

(2) They help X to rise to a position of influence in the community by the credit which comes to him from their lump distribution. Though a man may acquire goods in various ways, the Bella Coola allow that without contributions from his wife's relatives no man can become a chief.

(3) They validate the transmission of names, or other prerogatives, taken by Y to her husband. Even presents given
[426] directly from father-in-law to son-in-law are always said to have been taken by the daughter to her husband.

(4) Indirectly, they increase the prestige of the children,
[554] either here or that time or who may appear later. None of the goods used for repurchasing their mother can actually be used for their benefit, but the whole rite gives them strength to succeed in life. A child whose mother has not been repurchased is said to be unable to walk, as if his legs were powerless; to lack intelligence, and the ability to prosper. From the
[576] merry quarrels of childhood until old age, a person is proud to recall the number of times his mother was redeemed, and to devote this statement in the work of those less fortunate.

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(c) They govern Y's status in this world. When women quarrel, as they often do, the most common boast to shame a less wealthy rival is a reminder of the number of times the speaker was repurchased and the value of the goods used. 556 583 [577]

"I can sit down on fifteen canoes," or "I am carried by five slaves," says the angry woman, mentioning whatever goods were used for her repurchase.

(d) Finally, these goods serve a more definite purpose in obtaining for Y a name, or names, of which the value is directly proportionate to the expenditure, precisely as the importance of a chief's designation depends on the goods used to validate it. [558]

As with men's names, some women's appellations were given by *Alquentin* to the first arrivals; others were created on this earth with regard to peculiar events, and still others are names which can be used either by men or women. Theoretically, the dignity of the first type of name is greater than either of the others, but in practice the importance of the owner depends on the number of times she has bought herself from her husband; the principles governing the rank of women are thus the same as those already described for men. The name *yaiwil*, applied to a woman who has many times ransomed herself and so reached a position of eminence, is the feminine equivalent to *siilhemp*. The creation of women's names in reference to personal characteristics or incidents connected with their marital life is more common than similar creations for men. The ritual of the bestowal of a name on Y, here given, was omitted from the description of the potlatch in order to lessen the complexity of that ceremony. It will be remembered that on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch Y's relatives appear outside X's house, carrying valuable presents. 551 556 583 [554] [562] 553 556 583

The announcer calls out that Y's father has come to give "food" to X and his relatives. By food, presents are meant, which are the return, with interest, of the gifts given by X's relatives on various occasions. The giver is announced, for other relatives than Y's father contribute, and to whom the

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551 with respect to their appearance or actions on this earth. As
[553] far as could be learnt, the procedure of bestowal is identical with that just described. The following examples illustrate designations of this type:

T̈silkalinxwnlaix, "The Resident Maker." In the begin-
[773] ning of time the wife of *Taiatwala* had twins so often that the village rapidly increased in population. Accordingly she took this name for herself when she rebought herself from her husband. It was transmitted for generations in the ancestral family of *Taiatwala*'s descendants until lent about one hundred years ago. The recipients claimed it as their own and passed it to a certain *Omqomkilska*, recently deceased, who gave it to her brother's daughter at the time of her marriage. Since this woman's husband has not yet given a potlatch the name is accordingly in a degraded condition at the present time (1923).

551 *Ollkwelqa*, "I Am the Worthless One." The mother-in-law
578 of this woman had been in the habit of insulting her daughter-
646 in-law by saying, even when strangers were present:

"We have a worthless daughter-in-law."

On relinquishing herself the woman advertised the rudeness of her husband's mother by throwing her words back in her teeth.

Nakalakalu, "I Am the One Whose Eyes Are Hungry." The mother-in-law of this woman used to eat without offering food to her son's wife.

Nakalxwinqlilu, "The One Whose Haunches Are Dusty." Her mother-in-law did not give her a place to sit in the house so that she was forced to stay close to the fire in the ashes.

Ewilalaix, "The One Who Sits Where There Is No Space." Her mother-in-law objected to this woman sitting near her husband when he took his ceremonial seat, and insulted her with the above remark.

551 *Nawaste'ax*, "The Stingy One." It was said that this
578 woman exercised her husband's generosity until he gained an unpleasant reputation for parsimony. She publicly shamed

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her husband's critics by taking this name for herself when she rebought herself from him. 551 578

Nu'aoi, "The Inhospitable One." Her husband received this reputation owing to his wife's manners, so she advertised what had been said about him.

Nuphätlsikän, "Heedlessly Deaf." This woman's mother-in-law claimed that she deliberately failed to hear what she was told to do, and applied the above epithet to her. The daughter-in-law confounded her by taking it as her own name. [606]

When a name of this type is assumed it is always announced when, where, and for what purpose it was first created. 553

A description has already been given of the actual ritual by which X bestows the goods acquired from the repurchase of Y, but it is necessary to enlarge on the prohibition against their use for the direct benefit of one of the children of the couple. The theory is that the goods bind the marriage contract and express in a practical and lofty form the kindly sentiments with which Y's relatives regard her husband, and the bond between the two families, hence they must be used solely for the benefit of him and his relatives. A man usually applies these goods to initiate the children of his brothers or sisters into the ranks of the *nuaek* or *kusiat*. It is unthinkable for goods to be delivered without an exposition of Y's family's glories, but if this should ever take place, there would be no difficulty in applying them to the direct benefit of her children. When used, for example, to make a child of X's brother a *nuaek*, he is a living testimony of the noble way in which Y's relatives have done that which is fitting for the family of her husband. Due to accidents in announcing and storing of presents, it sometimes happens that those obtained by the repurchasing of Y are used for the benefit of her own children. Unless this error is corrected, the child could always be shamed by having it said: 556 583 [558]

"You are a mere nobody. The goods expended in the

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looked upon with contempt by her family, was yet determined that nothing she had done should ruin her children's chances in life. Accordingly she donated $300 to her ex-husband to rebuy herself. Marriage is accepted as a matter of course, but to be many times repurchased is the goal of every ambitious woman. In *Tăl-io* the custom prevails of depicting on the rocks the number of coppers paid for repurchasing a wife. Thus her fame is displayed to all. 556 583 [184 532]

It is somewhat difficult for a white man to realize what a privilege the family of a wife considers it to repurchase her from her husband. If the latter is unwilling to give a potlatch, his relatives-in-law may urge him to do so, and if he still declines to exert himself they take the drastic step of inviting their fellow-villagers to assemble in his house where, with these guests as witnesses, the wife's relatives give presents to her husband and his relations. They may make this presentation at any gathering where they are assured of a large audience. In so doing the donors have demonstrated their proper sentiments, in spite of the inertness of the husband.

The assistance which the relatives of a wife have given her husband is a matter about which they can boast for the rest of their lives, a fact impressed upon the writer by listening to a quarrel between two Bella Coola men. One of them owned a horse and waggon which the other had hired to move some goods. The latter became very angry, claiming that the former had overcharged him and must be poor and greedy to be so eager to acquire money. The teamster, thus deeply insulted, silenced the other man by reminding him that the only reason he was wealthy was by means of the goods used to repurchase his, the teamster's, sister from her husband, brother of the man with whom he was disputing. To the observer the dispute was made more interesting by the fact that both the husband and wife had been dead for at least fifteen years, but their families had not ceased to remember the financial obligations connected with the marriage. 556 583 578

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556 A man who is giving a ceremony of any kind can offer few greater insults to his wife's relatives than omission to ask their assistance. The following is a good instance of such an insult:

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About 1900 a man and woman were married and had three children. Then the mother died, before being repurchased from her husband. In addition, the husband had assisted his wife's father when one of his younger children had died; so that it was most fitting that the wife's relatives should contribute to any ceremony given by the husband. Four years later the husband proposed to marry once more, and to have the wedding occur at a potlatch. But on the day of *xlatanum*, he insulted the relatives of his dead wife by failing to invite them. The cause of the feud was not disclosed, but the husband increased it by again failing to invite her family when, during the potlatch, they should have rebought her for the benefit of his young relatives about to be initiated into the ranks of the *xusak*. The father of the dead woman came forward uninvited with a large present for each, saying in effect:

"I, too, have a right to contribute to add prestige to my daughter and her children."

In this way he defeated the wiles of his son-in-law who had hoped to shame his father-in-law by the failure of the latter to contribute to his potlatch. The son-in-law endeavoured to excuse himself by saying that his late wife's relatives had not assisted for so long that he thought they would not wish to do so. This retort further incensed the father of the dead woman so that next day he and his wife publicly gave the donor of the potlatch $300 "to make clean where we sit."

This somewhat lengthy description has been necessary to explain the important part which the repurchase of wives plays in the lives of the Bella Coola; it is one of the fundamentals of society and is, therefore, worthy of attention.

DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

768 Either death or divorce can terminate marriage. The de-
[586] cease of a wife is an unfortunate affair, quite apart from the grief which it may cause her husband. Two families have been brought into peculiarly close relations through her, and now the bond itself has snapped; delicate financial arrangements have been undertaken, and it is not easy to settle these without ill-feeling, particularly if the alliance was a return marriage. If no child has been born, and no repurchasing of the wife

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entertained such kindly sentiments towards him that he would be glad to have his friend receive it.

In recent years the number of incombustible objects has increased enormously with the introduction of metal utensils, gramophones, and other things obtained from white traders. Although these are considered to be of use to the ghost, and must be carefully placed near the grave, they can be publicly exchanged for others by a relative. The sentiments expressed on such occasions are that the ghost, though aware of what is taking place, does not resent an open transfer; and that it is unnecessary to deposit the equivalent of what has been removed. There is undoubtedly a vague idea that the ghost uses, not the actual object, but its essence, which is received by the deposition. It must be emphasized that this feeling has not become crystallized to such a state that it is customary to replace goods laid on the grave with others. Such an exchange is a rare event and would cause animosity if carried out by anyone except a near relative.

Sometimes a dying person requests that a house be erected over his grave, a common Bella Bella custom. This is built immediately after the funeral and articles that cannot be burnt are placed within it instead of being piled on the ground. The sorrowing relatives may choose to erect a picket fence around the spot, but no other mark for the grave is put up until a memorial potlatch several years after death. House or fence soon falls into decay and rarely an effort is made to repair either. Nor is the grave itself disturbed. Cow-parsnips, which are much used for food, grow frequently in cemeteries, but no one would gather the shoots that rise above a grave; they are food belonging to the dead person. The white man has taught the Bella Coola how to plant apple-trees and these are often set out in graveyards, though the fruit is allowed to fall to the ground for the benefit of those interred beneath. The Bella Bella are said formerly to have replaced at intervals the coffin containing a dead person, but this seems never to have been a Bella Coola practice. Indeed, a grave is never

tense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a number of young men and women ignorant of the significance of the rites. Formerly, the *kukusiut* often had difficulty in impressing the uninitiated with their prowess, and feuds with the *a'alk* were common.

Although membership in the *kusiut* society depends on an ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution. A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *kusiut* prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great importance within the ranks of the society. Nor are the prerogatives considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that slaves are often admitted as *kukusiut* by their masters. An important *kusiut* is not esteemed by the community in the same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, membership in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *kusiut* organization can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without special invitation, he dares enter the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non-

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though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kusiut* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kusiut* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor. 575* 424 425 553 [556] [578] [426]

(2) *A Patron, omätuts.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform. 575* 424 776 [533] [535] [578]

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Änoºlikwolsaix.* An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each. 575* 424 778

Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time [773] [781]

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[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

773 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 *Smaien·a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nusqulxwaista* to await the coming of *Ăłquntăm*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nabusam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noăkxnim* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[785] times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
[831] eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[787] that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[626] patron was *Noăkxnim*, but that the marshals requested him
[776] not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noăkxnim* is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the unini-
575 tiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
*796 the *kusiut* dances begin.

184 It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village,
[424] as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
[551] slight variations, if any. In *Tsimotl* the *kusiut* who has the prerogative of seeing *Noăkxnim* is a certain *Qaxolăn·i*,[11] in Kimsquit, *Ałuskinmasam*,[12] and in *Skikiatl*, *Xemtnim*. Although,

[115] [11]Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qaxolăn·i*, who intimated
[426] that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman
[578] referred to the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

[12]Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significances of this type.

[The Cannibal Dance]

if the latter agrees to undertake the commission, he must next obtain a slave, a matter of no difficulty if he is at all wealthy. An effort is made to find a victim from the tribe that has committed the murder, though any alien will suffice. The details are worked out with great care so that the slave is sent to the river for water, or on some other errand at the time the call comes to the Cannibal. A shout is raised, and the uninitiated hurriedly run out of the house, followed by the dancer and a body of athletic *kukusiut*, who pounce on the unsuspecting foreigner. The Cannibal cuts his throat, and the corpse is carried back to his house, where all members of the society are assembling. Part of the body is cut off, then the *kukusiut* accompany the Cannibal to every house of the village. He carries the mutilated remains, and the uninitiated readily believe that he has devoured the missing portion. The corpse is later dismembered and the bloody pieces displayed, convincing proof of the gruesome meal. It is needless to say that they are carefully buried where there is no danger that they will be found. The rite then proceeds in the usual manner. 575* 796* 567 648

If two biting Cannibals, or their parents, quarrel, they may be shamed into killing and "eating" a slave. Angry words lead to insults, insults to scorn at each other's prowess, until one of the Cannibals throws a stone at the feet of the other, an action which has the significance of: 575* 796* 567 578

"Eat that!"

Since a stone is always symbolic of a slave, the Cannibal so taunted knows what is expected. If he accepts the challenge, he throws a stone at his adversary's feet, bidding him do likewise. The one challenged soon receives a call and kills a slave in the manner previously described; his rival must do the same unless he is willing to admit himself outdone. The occasional killing of a slave under such circumstances does not give to either the right of doing so habitually. Of course the challenged individual is not bound to accept, but if he declines the "dare," he sinks in popular estimation. This [558]

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type of rivalry can be carried out only during the ceremonial season.

After killing and eating a human being, a Cannibal must conceal himself for a considerable period, sometimes as long as four years. The uninitiated are told that the great power within him has taken him so far into the upper regions that one or more years must elapse before his return. During this time he can be seen only by *kukusiut*. The writer was told of one unfortunate corpse-eating Cannibal, *Xekalus*, who was virtually secluded for eight years, since a stone was cast at his feet every time he reappeared, thus forcing him to kill and eat. This name had been dormant for a number of years until conferred on the writer, who failed to uphold the prerogative.

One other type of Cannibal prerogative remains to be described, namely, that of biting oneself. This is even less common than that of corpse-eating, being enjoyed only by two individuals, *Qolliachmq* of *Stuix* and *Smmq* of the Kimsquit River. The following account of the origin of the latter's prerogative was obtained:

> Many years ago, soon after the first people came to this world, the ritual of the *kusiut* dances was much more exacting than it is at present. At that time the inhabitants of the earth were still endowed with such semi-supernatural powers that they were able to perform rites that people of the present day can represent only with the aid of carpenters' devices. There was then living in one of the villages on the Kimsquit River a certain *Smmq* who had the prerogative of biting himself. He once went hunting on one of the mountains, and when he failed to return the people were convinced that he had eaten so heartily of his own flesh that he had died. Although search was made for his body, it was not until the following year that a professional hunter found the skeleton. From the position of the bones it was judged that their conclusion was correct: he had killed himself by eating too much of his own flesh. The chiefs and other influential *kukusiut* held a meeting at which it was decided that henceforth *kusiut* dances would only be acted, not carried out in reality. The following winter the name and prerogative were transmitted to the son of the dead man, who bit himself, but not sufficiently deeply to cause serious injury.

[The Scratch Dance]

*575 424 They[3] do not blacken their faces on receipt of a call as do most *kukusiut*.

[302] [787] [533] The theme of their songs is of the land above, instead solely of their patrons.

On visiting a house where a *qethm* or *nduxam* is taking place they sit with the Cannibals in one of the back corners; this group is given food before any of the other guests.

They do not exercise their prerogative on fellow-Scratchers, Cannibals, or Breakers.

[787] They are liable to frenzy both when the call is upon them and after its departure. In such cases they run forth, apparently guarded and restrained by other *kukusiut*, and rush into every house to frighten the uninitiated.

They must recompense those whom they have scratched.

[578] They act as peace-makers among the *kukusiut*, since the necessity of accompanying a Scratcher who pretends to be frenzied overrules all petty causes of strife.

[554] Though any definite concept of graded rank in the *kusiut* society is quite foreign to the Bella Coola, it is generally felt that Scratchers and Breakers are only slightly less important than Cannibals. The patron of every Scratcher is *Sne'oluls Alqustām*, one of the sons of *Alqustām*; this supernatural being [776] scratches the supernatural ones in the land above, and his father alone can restrain him. The prerogative is fairly common, and it is probable that in early days there was at least one Scratcher in every village.

*575 *796 [424] The following account of the ritual was obtained from one of the Bella Coola marshals and describes the manner in which the dance should have been performed by the Scratcher, *Alusknais*, his daughter's daughter's son, who had recently obtained the prerogative formerly possessed by his deceased mother's father. It will be convenient to refer to *Alusknais* as X and use the present tense in recording the proper ritual, though it was largely omitted on the last occasion the dance was given.

X arranges a suitable day with the marshals for receiving

[3] [i.e. - the Scratchers - ANALYST]

[The Breaker Dance]

*575 *lsaix*. X is one of the few *kukusiut* having the prerogative of
*796 using supernatural singers. The evening's ceremony concludes
[424] in the usual fashion.

Until the departure of his call, X is liable to fits of frenzy so that on both *qotlm* and *nebusam* he often visits every house and breaks utensils, though his guardians appear to be making every effort to restrain him. Breakers, irrespective of their
[424] exact prerogative, are enabled to act in any unusual manner they desire, and strive to excel in peculiar behaviour. A favourite trick is to smear themselves with excrement, either real or imitation. It is difficult to over-estimate the enormous
[554] prestige which such actions call forth in the eyes of the unini-
[787] tiated, to whom it appears that the coming of a call entirely
[828] alters the mentality of the recipient, a belief which the *kukusiut* make every effort to maintain. Nothing further need be said of either *qotlm* or the preliminaries of *nebusam*, both of which follow the usual pattern.

*575 When the uninitiated are admitted to X's house on *nebusam*
*796 evening, they are filled with wonder at the sight of the masked
781 singers, of *Sänoltxmulelts Alquntäm*, and of the four supernatural Breakers who move wildly to and fro as the songs are sung, as if only the eagle down which the *kukusiut* blow upon them restrains them from destroying property. The fluent *Ano°likwolsaix* makes the most of her opportunity to describe the wonders which are before their eyes. Then the uninitiated are told that it will be safer for them to withdraw, and hurry out. Presently they are startled to hear the sound of people moving, and the four supernatural Breakers, followed by all the *kukusiut*, leave the house and proceed to the lowest one in the village. Around the fire go the masked four, picking up stones and hurling them at any destructible property. Most
[252] houses contain a number of stones which have been used in
[578] boiling liquids, so that there is no lack of missiles. *Kukusiut* who are wise take care to hide or remove valuable property
[685] before this inroad begins, since the wearers of the masks take advantage of the opportunity to destroy the goods of those

[The Breaker Dance]

they do not like. No compensation can be claimed, on the theory that supernatural beings do not have to pay for any damage they may do. Although the property of some *kukusiut* is destroyed, the chief sufferers are the uninitiated; this serves to increase their fear and respect for the society with which such all-powerful beings are in league. After visiting every house in the village, the party returns to X's, where the masks are burnt, the call sent back, and the proceedings conclude in the usual manner. 575* 796* 781 [578] [685]

A certain amount of information concerning the history of the Breaker dance was obtained from *Syek*, the owner of the prerogative just described. He is a well-informed man, but the writer had no opportunity of comparing his beliefs with those of his associates, so the following must be regarded as unsubstantiated evidence. This man stated that the Breaker dance is the most important of all in Bella Bella, and that many Bella Coola prerogatives have been obtained from this source, although some of their first ancestors likewise enjoyed it. He further stated that the term, *noltcista*, by which the Bella Coola always designate a Breaker, is of Bella Bella origin, and that the ancient Bella Coola term was *dirtia*.[41] *Syek* also told of an occasion when a number of Bella Bella, present on the *qothm* night of a Bella Coola ceremony, were disturbed when eating by the thud of a stone thrown, from outside, against the wall of the back-room. Out rushed a number of *kukusiut*, incensed at the disrespect shown to their gathering. They caught the offender, but released him when he was found to be a Bella Bella Breaker, foolishly demonstrating his prowess. The marshals decided to retaliate and arranged with two Bella Coola Breakers to exercise their rights and destroy the canoes and food-boxes of their guests. They did so, and later paid for the damage. The Bella Coola were thus able to demon- 575* 796* [115] [171] [177] 575* 796* 648 688

[41] *Syek* and several of his children are the only Bella Coola known to the writer who habitually use the sound "r." For example, he says "*Sealori*," instead of "*Sealoli*." He says that he is himself unable to distinguish any peculiarity in his own pronunciation, although other Bella Coola are aware of it. [197]

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[The Drowning Dance]

*575 *796 for a rehearsal. The box is placed on top of the concealed opening; X enters it, raises the flap in the bottom, and opens the trap-door through which he squeezes into the space between the floor of the house and the ground beneath. The false body, clothed like himself, has been placed in readiness and X passes it up into the box which he has just left. Water is then poured in upon it and the movable section of bottom fits sufficiently tightly that none flows out. If everything is satisfactory, the box is returned to its owner for safe-keeping.

When the time for the ceremony comes, the senior *kukusiut* meet for a final rehearsal after the *gothm* of a *kusiut*. Cases are remembered of intentional tampering with the box by [578] some malicious individual, hence the necessity for careful testing. The following night the call comes to X, and he goes to every house of the village with his cry:

"Please speak plainly; I will do what you want."

The ritual of the next four days is identical with that already described and the uninitiated keep wondering what is going to happen. If they should ask any *kusiut*, the answer given is:

"We don't quite understand what it is. Something dreadful has fallen upon X, but the details are not yet clear."

So the time passes until the night when X is to be drowned. As in other *kusiutem* dances, the uninitiated are guided to their places in inky darkness and sit there until the weird stillness and awe of it all has had time to take effect upon them. At last the fire is kindled and one of the marshals announces that X wants to borrow a large boiling box from so-and-so, naming the man to whom the prepared one has been entrusted. The owner says that he is willing to lend it and two *kukusiut* are sent to bring the receptacle. It is placed over the trap-door, and X circles the fire four times while the *kukusiut* beat time frenziedly with sticks. Suddenly he cries out:

"My patron bids me enter this box and have water poured upon me."

The *kukusiut* women drone out in fear and the *dzayas*

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[The Mystery Dance]

* 575 with fatal results to his victims. The uninitiated listen and
* 796 are impressed as *Ana'likwolsaix* confirms and supplements what has just been told them.

532 After a short pause, the announcer cries, *O*·····,
776 which serves as an invitation and precedes the appearance of every supernatural being. *Snunq* emerges, a man clad in a bear-skin blanket covered with evergreen tufts, and wearing a mask of which the eyes can be made to swing open or shut by the pulling of concealed cords. The monster does not speak; merely circles the fire, terrifying the beholders by his ferocious expression. When the figure has withdrawn, the announcer explains the significance.

The next to appear is a Deer, *Sno'olxlts Alquntäm*, "The Foolish Son of *Alquntäm*." The skin and antlers of a real deer are worn by two men with sticks thrust down the legs to make the representation appear life-like. Two more performers with human masks follow, trying to catch the creature which frisks around the fire and avoids them by escaping back into the enclosure. The announcer informs the audience that this is no ordinary animal, it is a deer from the land above, the son of *Alquntäm*. This mischievous creature is said frequently to
[578] destroy the back-room in his father's house, hence it is a mild term of reproach to call a person *Sno'olxlts Alquntäm*.

After the usual delay comes the Varied Thrush, an actor
[825] with mask representing a bird. This is considered to be the finest bird songster; the Bella Coola say that all animals, including even mountain goats and halibut, gather to listen to its melody. The performer sings, then withdraws, and the announcer and *Ana'likwolsaix* explain who has just disappeared.

Next is Wolf, a man wearing a tail and the stuffed head of one of these animals. He circles the fire, howling like a wolf, the performer having been chosen for his ability to imitate that sound. The announcer tells the uninitiated that they have just seen a wolf from *Nuxqalwaixts*, and have listened to it howling for *Alquntäm*; as usual, *Ana'likwolsaix* confirms his

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

one is permitted to leave, and the uninitiated gaze in amazement as the seemingly endless rope continues to be drawn up through the roof, although the rattle itself can no longer be heard as if X had passed beyond earshot. They do not know that he has merely stepped from the ladder to the roof of the house, and thence to the ground, taking care to loop the cord over a projection so that he can continue drawing it out steadily. He has carefully practised rattling so that he can gradually lessen the intensity as if he were passing beyond ear-shot. One of the marshals describes the dangers to which X is exposed on his journey aloft, and calls on the *kukusiut* to sing his two songs to aid him. They are sung several times, but no others are used during the long night, nor are puppet-patrons employed as in *kusietem* rites. The rope is being drawn from a large coil on the floor near the fire, and when the carpenters notice that it is nearly exhausted one of their number slips out to tell X to stop his climb. Presently, one or two yards of rope are quickly pulled through the hole in the roof and then all movement stops. 575* 796*

"He has jumped," cry the *kukusiut*.

A fluent *kusiut* explains to the uninitiated that the roof of the land above has opened before X's ever-lengthening ladder, that he has leapt from it to the ground above and tied his rope to something. On one occasion, a malicious rival cut the cable hoping that no one would notice the break, but luckily one of the watchful carpenters noticed it in time to knot the two ends. The *kukusiut* always explain that the rope is X's point of contact with the lower world, and that if it is severed, he cannot return. Accordingly, if the broken end had been drawn up through the roof, X could never have come back, and only his secret death would have served to maintain the reputation of the society. [772] 575* 796* 578● 688

The rope remains stationary for some time, and then is seen to be coming back through the aperture. 575* 796*

"X is returning," whisper the *kukusiut* to one another and the excitement becomes intense.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

with such powers that they killed one another in their performances. Consequently, they decided to dance only in the winter months, and merely to imitate the actions which had been previously carried out. 575* 796* 173

There are other traditions, probably with an historical basis, describing conflicts with the *a'alk*. The Bella Coola say that long, long ago there were not enough *kusiut* names for more than the old people to be admitted to the society, and that though members were regarded as having supernatural powers, yet the *a'alk*, confident in their numbers and strength, used frequently to assail the supremacy of the *kukusiut*. On one occasion, when the latter had prepared an elaborate feast of smoked goat flesh for themselves, the *a'alk* collected their weapons and demanded a share of the feast. The *kukusiut*, furiously angry, felt compelled to yield, though later they took revenge through the destruction wrought by many Cannibals and Scratchers when frenzied. It is said that even recently if the *kukusiut* did not invite the *a'alk* to one of their dances, they were always careful to placate them by sending half of the food as a present. 575* 578 173 [424] [551] [491]

Sometimes the *a'alk*, collectively, were bold enough to kill a *kusiut*, particularly if something had gone amiss in a dance house. Or other motives might be strong enough to outweigh respect for a member of the society. On one occasion a chief, who was not a member of the society, was told that his wife, who was, had been in the habit of prowling off at night with a Cannibal. The jealous husband prepared his bear-spear and slew the Cannibal when next he entered his house during a frenzied rampage of the village. *Kukusiut*, both from that village and others in the vicinity, combined to cause the murderer's death with the aid of a member of the society who was a professional killer. 575* 578 682

Success did not always come to the *kukusiut* in quarrels between members of the two societies. Long ago, the *a'alk* were invited to a *qothm* in a village in the upper Bella Coola valley. One of their own dances was taking place, but they 575* 578 796*

*575 accepted the invitation. The house was so crowded that the
*578 uninitiated in front were driven forwards by pressure from the
*996 rear until they encroached on the space behind the fire. An elderly *hamatsa* decided that this was a good occasion to frighten the visitors, so he whispered to a recently admitted member of the society:

"You fall down, and I will explain that it is because you have attracted to yourself the spirit of an uninitiated person."

Under most circumstances this would have unnerved the uninitiated, as indeed it did the majority. But the leader of the *a'alk*, perhaps excited by the dance in which he had just taken part, refused to be impressed. He knew that the *hamatsa* would threaten to throw the spirit of the offender into the fire, irrevocably compelling the owner to follow it, but he was not afraid.

"Let us see your powers," he said. "Go ahead with your throwing of a spirit into the fire."

The *hamatsa* responsible for the scheme knew that it must be carried out, and only hoped that, as the spirit was about to be burnt, the owner would offer to pay for its return, as usually happened in such cases. He instructed the fellow *hamatsa* to pretend and the latter one, fumbled at the back of his neck, as if drawing something forth, and thrust the "something" into the fire. Breathless with fear, the uninitiated waited for someone to be forced into the flames. But nothing happened. It was a dangerous situation for the *hamatsa*, and as the only means of maintaining their reputation, they began to whisper that the man must have accidentally extracted his own spirit instead of the alien one. The heralds repeated what was being said, and the guests waited to see what would happen. The unfortunate *hamatsa* was surrounded by a group of his fellows and thrust into the fire, although their acting was sufficiently good to make it appear that they were trying to check him. By these drastic means the *hamatsa* were able to add to the prestige of their society, though it is said that the *a'alk* leader

expressed the opinion that the whole affair was a stupid blunder.

The Bella Coola were then long, long ago the usual outcome of friction between *a'ult* and *hahaetc* was the incorporation of members of the former society into the latter like any other uninitiated. The following account of an incident of this kind was obtained from a Kitsepti man who regarded it as historically accurate.

Some two hundred years after the first settlement of this earth, the members of the two societies used to live amicably together during the summer, which was not surprising considering that both consisted mostly of the same families. But during the winter the *hahaetc* all gathered to a village on the Dean River for their dances, while the *a'ult* also gathered at the same season to the village of Tsalalk, opposite the present Stanton Cannery below Kitsepti.[10] There was considerable jealousy between the two organizations, and the members were always seeking an opportunity to divide and subjugate their rivals. A Cannibal dance had been given by the *hahaetc* and the *a'ult*, who were present as uninitiated guests, had succeeded with wonder the disappearance of the performer into the mysterious cedar chest. But a few days later, Cannibalis, a chief and leader to one of the *a'ult* dances, happened to be in a lonely part of the forest where he was amused to meet the Cannibal. The latter, candidate of the supernatural power, spoke:

"In meeting me today you have not changed, you will soon be a corpse."

Cannibalis, a middle-aged man of powerful physique, was not impressed by the other's powers, whether physical or supernatural.

"Why," he answered, "it is you who have taken my trouble. You are old and feeble and if you try to injure me I will be the worse for you."

"My age has nothing to do with it," answered the Cannibal. "You have not not with me."

In this previous run of the Cannibal's supernatural competitors appeared, but Cannibalis still did not fear because they were both old and unarmed, whereas he had no one. But when two more *hahaetc* appeared,

[10] The Kitsepti informant stated that long ago a similar segregation of *a'ult* took place at Tsalalk and *hahaetc* took place at Bella Coola. Bella Coola informants have nothing of this. The migration of the uninitiated from Dean to Tsalalk further down are taking place tends to a division of the village, and it is most unlikely that two societies would have been created without definite reason. This would hardly account for a separation into two villages and no explanation for the movement is offered.

173 he heard nets alone, knowing that he alone was too great for him. The Cassiabal noticed that if this powerful man could be induced into their society he would be a source of strength, so he said:

375 376

"You are now an initiate of mine."

Kawambia understood that this meant he was to be initiated into the Barim society. He agreed, but asked to be permitted to complete the ritual dance which he was performing that evening, and to get holding sticks for which he had gone to the forest. The Cassiabal were only too willing to grant this dispensation in view of having a valuable recruit.

On his return to the village, Kawambia told his fellow ritual that he was going to be a Barim and they were greatly grieved at loss of their leader. That night they gave the dance which had been started and composed a song of which the theme was the way in which their chief had fallen until their heads were saddle down. The Cassiabal, realized in this way, heard that this was a prelude to further trouble with the ritual, but Kawambia duly carried out his promise and was enrolled as a Barim. Death of their leader, many of his fellow-dancers were admitted to Barim, and now also that time there has been absolutely little rivalry between the two societies. In the event the Cassiabal gave his dance with a song indicating how he had not a strange contract over others he had prevailed, this was, of course, the assistance Kawambia.

[illegible] To these two is attributed the origin of the practice of showing to decide priority of invitation giving. It is said that both Kawambia and the Cassiabal were anxious to invite the people to a ceremony on the same evening and agreed to dance against each other to decide which should have preference. Kawambia prevailed, and the Cassiabal duly postponed his dance and went with his followers to the winner's house.

[illegible] In fairness overall, course of the tribal dealing with the origin history of the society are of slight value. So far as they go, they agree with other evidence pointing to the gradual growth of the Barim society from a band of elders endowed with supernatural power to a society with everyone prestige, dominating the life of the community and entirely overshadowing the cult who seem once to have been their rivals.

[illegible]

(1) [illegible] from [illegible] as a present from [illegible].
(2) [illegible] of the donor's [illegible].
(3) [illegible] [illegible] such as this, referring both to the approaching [illegible] and the donor's origin myth, are [illegible] or [illegible] and [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] the people who [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible], [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] (a) [illegible] | [illegible] my friends, | [illegible] I am giving food | [illegible] to my friends.

[illegible]

c The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 2[illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim [illegible]. It is said that this song has been handed down for generations in an [illegible] family, they are regard it as a family possession and would consider [illegible] to use it others in its meaning.

(b) Many years ago a military Bella Bella used to paddle to Kimsquit almost every year. He was dressed like a chief and had the voice of one, so that his [illegible] mistook him to be a person of importance. It was later found that he was a poor man. This musicing of foreigners is a common theme of s'ult songs.

[illegible] (a) [illegible] | [illegible] Hai(d)!

[illegible] | [illegible]

[illegible]

d and e The second and third parts have been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 2[illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim [illegible].

(b) A musicing's [illegible] dancing used in s'ult songs describing the behavior [illegible].

(c) [illegible] who is said to have seen a Cowichan hunter when [illegible] the hunter was supposed to be in the land above. A song was composed about the incident, and the dance-drama has been remembered for many years. [illegible] see [illegible], p. [illegible].

[illegible] As already described, whenever a dancer is performing, the women wear a peculiar high-pitched drone and the hawkbill call and rattles suitable to the occasion. A phonograph record[1] was made of the drone, followed by a cry suitable for either round or s'ult dances. The following words are virtually sung:

[illegible] | [illegible] the [illegible], | [illegible] chiefs.

[1] Recorded as song VII D 3b, National Museum of Canada.

*588 (a) Recorded on song VII D 8c, National Museum of Canada, singer, Louis Hall.
[776] (b) Presumably a reference to *Kuskyaxa*, the dancer's *hamat* spirit(?).
[792] (c) The meaning of this word is not known; it is considered to be quite distinct from the identical term in Chinook jargon for "dance."
(d) The meaning of the whole song is commonly obscure.

Marriage Songs

*633 As marriage songs, two distinct classes may be considered:
515 A. Those used at weddings;
[581] B. Shaming songs used in connection with divorce cases.
[577] The former are said to have been handed down from the ancient past and consist of a few almost meaningless words. The latter are composed whenever required, and consist of foul allusions to the person being ridiculed.

Wedding Songs

(Sun Marriage Song)

Pura-qwhlhlmqamamil'	*yaa tsilqaqlaqulu*	*alwaalwalaqqa*
Unusual for joy	*(Qulaqualt)*	where they brought
al'alhamamulu	*yaa dalqaqa-tsualu*	
the girl	from the place of light(?).	

(a) Recorded on song VII D 8c, National Museum of Canada, singer, Louis Clarke.

[775] (b) *Qulaqua* came down with *xayqayat* in the beginning of time, and brought, as a gift from *Alqaxmen*, the prerogative of dancing at weddings. He landed at *Kumaqnit*, and an explanation is given by the Bella Coola for the use of this song by the people of there.

[424] (c) A reference to a marriage among the first people on earth. One of *Qulaqua's* companions married a woman whose relatives had brought light with them from above.

[775]

(Kimsquit Marriage Song)

Ial'Ulalhlqamamulu	*yaa dumamulalamul*	*mamlqaqlqaqlu-alamulu*
They came down	*Kumulq(?)*	with his relatives
yaa lalqaqlalqualamul		
Qulaqua (?)(?).		

(a) Recorded on song VII D 8c, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pollard.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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(d) *Kamala* came down from above with *ayayayat* in the beginning of time, he had the prerogative of dancing at weddings. 533*
(e) *Kamala* likewise came down with *ayayayat*, bringing the same prerogative as *Kamala*. 515
(f) The rest of this song has been forgotten. [779] [424]

Fragmentary and short as are these songs, they are more elaborate than many used at weddings. These frequently contain no words, merely an ancient tune accompanied by humming and meaningless choral interjections.*

DANCING SONGS

533*
Songs of this type are sung by the singers while the principal performer dances; in this respect, they resemble *kamala* compositions and differ entirely from the abbreviated and individualistic wedding songs. Though used primarily to shame a runaway husband or wife, one is sometimes employed on other occasions. 516 571 [315]

Song Used for Pa-qamala(a), a Kwagiutl Woman(b)

A *Tsilalaly*	*ahilaw*	*Mamlay*	*ahlaxiwa*	*dzamalkwaye's*
Has two moth	tamed	Mamlay(c)	further,	he has taken with her

mahamalis-dzamal	*dzamalkwaye's*
my child, Pahlamalis(d),	he has taken with her(e).

[103]

(remainder omitted)

B *Gwadzilkwa*	*amis-ramamaxal*	*dzai-dzlaxwaxa*
Be brave,	mothered(f),	when I speak of your uplifting(g),

ahilgilakhamay	*mamaxgalalalaxagal*
you have had much trouble,	your breasts have become long and pendent.

(remainder omitted)

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(c) This word means "The one (feminine) with the very hairy pubends." The woman in question had run away from her husband and the sickness was confined at this dancing Kwakiutlan rite. [551] [552]

Two examples of such wedding songs were collected. They are song VII D 2a, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pelkey, and song VII D 2c, National Museum of Canada, singer, Louie Charlie.

*599
586
571
[108]

(c) Recorded on song VII D 10a, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pulkeit.

(d) That is: *Mamlo* has loosed two souls. He was the seducer of *Nelpaus*.

(e) This ancestral name is one of the designations of Mount *Nagkala*.

(f) This repetition merely adds force to the complaint of the aggrieved husband. It was impossible to obtain an accurate translation of such substitutes.

(g) Referring to all women in general.

(h) In this second part, the theme changes from the specific phrase of the aggrieved husband to his condemnation and criticism of the whole female sex. Such conclusions are common to dancing songs, and are often accompanied by a change of tune.

Song Used for Nelkila(a), a Kwagutl Man(b)

A Dhaqhlh (dhaqhlhhaaaa) Being poverty-stricken(c)	*Aqaaaahlhqhqal* has come to this one

nelkaaqhlhl
Nelkila(d).

[xxxxxxxx xxxxxx]

B Ghlhqaaaahlhaa (If the final expressions used by men are applicable only)	*ghlhqhqal* the crippled

qaalhaa
Ellen(f).

[xxxxxxxx xxxxxx]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) This song was sung by women to shame *Nelkila* who had deserted his wife to run the work of a business company, *Tsawin*.

(b) Recorded on song VIII D 10b, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pulkeit.

(c) It was impossible to obtain translations of such substitutes.

(d) Any nickname is picked upon to a dancing song. *Nelkila* must have failed to perform deeds of any kind, and the feminine members chose to decide him for this reason of his faithlessness.

(e) It was impossible to obtain translations of such substitutes.

(f) *Ellen* was one of the regular Kwagutl singers who had shown special spirit both in the insertion of obscene sex motives in songs used by men to decide faithless women. The women apparently considered this a good opportunity to voice their general disapproval by coupling his name with that of *Nelkila*. *Ellen* had suffered a broken arm when fighting and it had been badly set.

Song Used for Gwa(a), a Kwagutl Woman(b)

A Qwaqhqwaqhqhaaaa (Do not talk too much to a proud woman(c)),	*ahaqhqwqwaaaa* then,

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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	533*
you are the *[illegible]* of widowers,	you concerned mother,	you are spirit(s), you women	576
[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	578
who pretend to be virtuous(?).	Aha!	I am ashamed,	I am [illegible].

([illegible])

3 [illegible]	[illegible]	you [illegible]	
Exactly similar	to the little boy's mom	to that of the round-headed	
[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	[illegible]
[illegible].	Aha!	I am ashamed,	I am [illegible].

(([illegible]))

4 The third part, if it was existed, has been forgotten.

(a) This differs from most [illegible] songs in that [illegible] was an concerned mother, not a faithless wife. She was held up to scorn by the men of Kitsegukla and this song composed for her by a certain [illegible] [illegible]. [944]

(b) Recorded as song VII, D 16a, National Museum of Canada, stages, [illegible] [illegible].

(c) It is said that women, even of slave blood, used to endeavour to increase their importance in the eyes of their children by boasting, falsely, of concerned lovers. [554]

(d) A term of opprobrium, difficult to translate. It is said to imply slave ancestry, but is more probably a mere epithet, referring to the female organs. [195]

(e) This is addressed to women in general. [193]

(f) An expression of pain or sorrow, used under all circumstances. [192]

(g) The theme is here changed as if it were [illegible] herself speaking. This is a common device in all kinds of songs.

(h) [illegible] was supposed to be the father of [illegible]'s child.

Mourning Songs

Mourning songs excel all other Bella Coola compositions in length, complexity, and wealth of detail. Especially those composed for mighty chiefs contain numerous references to the ancestral history of the deceased and mention incidents referred to in origin myths, a source of pride to the survivors and of envy to those who listen. 533* [765] [764]

Song Used for Quiet when Mourning the Son, [illegible]

1 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Why has my son been [illegible]? Come, ye who are residents of foreign lands(?)

*333

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Come(!),	let us be down together	we for every.

(a) Recorded on song VII D 10b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Joe Pelkoot. This is the type of song sung by a group of women on a picnic.
(b) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.
(c) This is addressed to another town.

(Women's Love Sought)

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
I do not want him	to be down with me	that there	Eulooli(?).

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Don't go too far down(!)	[illegible]	to you will be unable to stay behaving(?).

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
I want to sleep,	I dreamed of you(!),	how dissatisfied I am!

(a) Recorded on song VII D 10c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Joe Pelkoot.

*[illegible]

(b) Eulooli was a man who specialized in composing songs that ridiculed women, hence the singer said the name in this derogatory manner to ridicule.
(c) The implication is that her lover has been fooling her here, and that she did not want him to touch her body. The form of this song have no apparent relationship to one another.
(d) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions. The translation of the chorus expressions is complicated.
(e) Referring to her lover.

*333
236

[illegible]

(Fishing Sought)

This song is sung by boys as they count for crowd.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Come along, [illegible],	I want to [illegible],	I want to [illegible],

[illegible]	[illegible]
you [illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]
I hit the [illegible],	I hit the [illegible]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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CHAPTER III

WARFARE[1]

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

721 648 PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was considerable warfare among the coastal tribes of British Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermination of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks. These were never as continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless, [794] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were [556] even received as guests at some dances. At potlatches they might be subjected to insult, later to be avenged in the same manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and 726 friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who 825 bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests them- 778 selves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever [484] another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter [578] to veer over to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was [677] considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads.

721 In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was [576] at all common. Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were [622] not entirely forgotten; no *Indian* novice went to war and

[1] Warfare having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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in former times. *Sklus* might almost be called the Bella Coola national game, although it is now (1923) seldom played. 526 [172]

A game with somewhat similar rules is *squdsiat*, played with small wooden spears tipped with bone. When a number of men or boys decide to play, they choose two captains who in turn select their teams; any number can take part, provided that the sides are equal, but five each is usual. There is a special name for each player according to his position, and he bets against the corresponding member of the other team. A mark is set up, and one of the captains throws his spear, so that it will stick upright in the ground as near the target as possible. The rival leader endeavours to beat this, and if he fails, his second man throws, and each in succession until one comes closer to the goal than the rival captain. Then the latter's number two tries to beat the last thrower, followed by those on his own side until one succeeds or till all have thrown. The game thus ends when all of one side have thrown unsuccessfully. The winning side is, of course, the one to which belongs the player whose throw is nearest the target. Each member of the losing team pays his wager to his adversary and a second round is begun. 526 525

The sport is now rarely indulged in, but in former times games used to continue all day, and valuables were lost in the gambling which was considered to be a necessary part of it. Men used to observe ceremonial chastity to increase their chances of success and the expert was regarded with admiration by younger lads. The crack team of a village often used to visit other towns to compete against their representatives, and the games were centered amid frenzied excitement on the part of the supporters. This occasionally led to serious fighting. [785] [354] [628] [578]

Another sport of a similar type is archery; a mark is set up and each competitor tries to lodge his arrow as close to it as possible. This game has now entirely lost favour, the young men preferring a type of football played without strict attention to rules, but with great energy. 526

Bella Coola children, too, have their games and recreations, many of them of an imitative nature. Little boys enjoy nothing 857

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*192 **Ednamainuw**: The charm that keeps a foolish man from success as a chief; the concept is semi-anthropomorphized.
Ataim: First ceremonial discharge.
Ealo: sunny village.
Ielm: Supernatural creature dwelling in the moon.
[852] **Eiyakimut**: Shamen who received power from ghosts.
Emulmulcoim: Bella Coola hunter.
*[108] **Kimpkuai**, "Canyon": Bella Bella designation for the Dean River, whence the sagebrush Kimpuit has been derived.
Kimkuit: Nass River.
Kimkuit: Kimpuit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[825] **Kuiu**: 1—Whale.
2—Assumed name of a Tsi'is woman; this is said to be an exclusively feminine designation.
Kiu'mant: 1—Name acquired by a Bella Bella man in the beginning of time.
2—Industrial Kimpuit chief, who died about 1918.
[820] **Ma'ai**: Hudson.
[824] **Mi**: White fir (?).
Mulcoi: Herring.
mualjut: Propagation of living oneself.
Pauin: Dried salmon.
pauwaijut: Synonym for *sisalin*: one of the dove of a potlatch, probably that fed, leaving the appearance of masked representations of the deceased. The word is derived from *pauin*.
[820] **Sakalinm**: Porpoise.
[845] **Sakulum**: Supernatural being who behaves in an erratic manner.
Sa'ia: Twin whose birth is attributed to salmon.
[824] **Sa'ainm**: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Sakalum: Unidentified berry (strawberry?).
Sakum: Supernatural female shamen who guided *Wiasim*.
Sal'mynkum: Earlier name of a Bella Coola Canoeist.
Sakal'kum, "Earthy Oum": Ghosts.
Sakalum: Land, region, earth.
Sakalu: Dim part of soup.
Sanal: Tentow monsters about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.
[825] **Sapatumulaim**, "The One Who Makes Us Fat": Supernatural name of silver salmon.
[765] **Sawaiam**: Goods distributed to relatives songs used at a mourning ceremony when no representation of the deceased has been employed.
*[578] **Sawaim**: Goods offered to foreigners at potlatches concerning their museum or food.
[60] **Sawakuain** or **Sawakuaim**: Synonym for *Sakalu*, [illegible]?
[42] **Sawamulaim**: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Sakiyi, sweetie, *Sakiyai*: Grandfather.
[60] **Sakulum**: Earlier ceremonial at which foreigners are present.
Sakin: The construction of salmon weirs.

*This was the pronunciation of the word by the individual with an obscure scale + sound.

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Nuxwa-ewy, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kwakiutl man long ago.
nuxwinum: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige.
Pace: 1—Barren district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, adjective.
Paqaqlay: Tsi'ia bird hunter.
Paqawala: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tsi'ia* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Ripalod* in the beginning of time.
3—Ball of the universe which, when broken, released the sun.
Paqawanuxa: Daughter of the first settlers at *Ripalod* in the beginning of time.
Paqway: 1—(Probable) "The Place of Sorcerers", Village on Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
pasa'ipaw: Expository, written term.
pasawat ai nuxwum: The assumption of a name upon earth.
pastaqlaqalas, "Things to Scrap the Door With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage.
pawaq-gim: Wooden disk used for washing on infant.
paxwalitsum: Abstinence from sale of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine.
pelalim: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient.
Pelaskwa: Name of a celebrated shaman.
Pelaw: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
Pelil, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
pelqaqwa: Alteration of a dance from round to factor.
pelsilim: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck.
pelsilitsamum, "A Drying Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband.
pelsilitsum: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion.
Pelkum, "Place Where There Are No Pole": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Pelsalgal: Totem pole of the first settlers at *Paqway* in the beginning of time.
pelsalik: Powers of cures.
penqaqwa: Wall.
Pelsilimsu: Mythical house in the sky.
Pelsumalik: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
penskalu: Powers, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Pinqalilas* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *pelsilim*.
pelsiqwum: A creation of non-human nature, such as a manifestation by a shaman, or at the will of a mighty chief.
pelsiwalim: Ritualism this is which the performer proceeds to confirm his powers.
pelsiwum: 1—"A Drying Up": Term used with reference to presents given to humble by a person splashed in River shame.
2—Presents given by guests or a publicist to their host and his assistants.
pelsqwa, "The Fire Maker": Name given to a woman who paints upon the hands signs used to produce mental deformities in an infant.
Pempeli, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kwakiutl village.
Pelskinu: Earlier name of a Tsimsian man.

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[765] *ałwaxa*: 1—Memorial potlatch.
2—Mourning song.
3—The wailing of mourners at a grave.

[763] *ałwaxa-xa-ł*, "The Weeper": Female supernatural being whose appearance indicates the death of a chief.

ałwaxałxałxa: Professional *haxlat* prerogative consisting of the right to sing of *łaitxada* during *haxlatsw* dances.

ałwaxlax: Name.

ło-wa-ła: *Haxlat* name of a Bella Coola woman.

[824] *łło-łł*: Whitewater River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola.

łłoo: Long grass suitable for pasturage.

[252] *łłołł'i*: Smoked spring salmon with the bone removed.

łłoło: Many, *adjective*.

[554] *łłowułłał*, "The One with Many Descendants": Term used to describe an elderly man with many children and grandchildren.

łła: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

łłł: Game, resembling a tug-of-war, played with wooden hoops and spears.

[601] *łłwaxa*, *łwaxlax*, *łłwaxałxa*: Grandchild, the massive indirect endearment.

[578] *łłwaxwaxix*: The deposition of eagle down on the heads of those quarrelling to pacify them.

łł-x: Gall bladder.

łłqaxix: 1—Breathing.
2—Sound of a sacred whistle, referred to as the breathing of *Mułłłłła*.

łłuł': Chalkers grouse.

Łłułłwaxdły: 1—Ancient village in the upper Bella Coola valley.

[778] 2—Place of petrified power at site of ancient village.
3—Semi-anthropomorphized being responsible for power in this locality.

łłłkw: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of every river.

łłłwaxix: The voice.

[824] *łłwał*: Dried *łłołołołoo*.

łłołwała: 1—Shaman-like power, as brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Coola woman.

[821] *łłołqaw*: Eclipse.

łłwaxałłłł': 1—One who keeps in touch with a concealed Cannibal.

[424] 2—One who has the inherited right to assist *haxlat* or sacred dancers; this prerogative occurs in Kimsquit only.

Łwaxłłłła: One of the names of the supreme god.

Łwaxłłłła: One of the names of the supreme god.

Łwaxłał-w: 1—Synonym for *Łłułłwaxdły*, q.v.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

[424] *łłqałwaxix*: A pronouncing, such as a mystic or a pronouncement, concerning some sub-ordinate post, usually from the coming to earth of the first people in the beginning of time.

łłwaxłłłwaxdły: Debris from sacred canoe by squirrels.

Łwaxwa, "The First": One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Łwaxwała: Man mentioned in an origin myth of a southern locality.

łwał-way, *łwałłła*, *łwał-way*: Friends.

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[824] **qualip**: Cedar roots.
qual: Sling.
qualqualim: To use a sling.
[578] **qulk**: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slave economy.
[821] **qumqum**: Fleecy cloud.
[412] **quiak**: Mythic-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary food.
qlaus: Wooden comb.
Ra'a: Lord of Ashes, alternative name for *Sqawl*.
rip: Unfolded bowrie.
[601] **sapkamu**: Distant relative of female sex, when referred to by man.
saskalaqlas: Long phallus.
Sqawl: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sqaw: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
sqwalp: Food distributed for carrying away as sqaw.
[415] **squlc**: Large, flat, soft basket of broad strips of bark.
[431] **sqwaqwa**: Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
[824] **sqwip**: Maple.
sqwa: Sudden snort that expels the spirit.
sqwqwil: Outer plank of cedar, canoe and bark covered on one side.
sqwal: Love song or other non-commercial composition.
squakw: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium*.
[533] **sqwalwalkw**: 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions to the faults of someone present.
2—Singers who use this type of composition.
[825] **sqwal-ness**: Large, unidentified bird.
Squalakw: Hero: A supernatural being.
[874] **Squak**: Rector name of a Bella Coola man.
[825] **sqwi-ne**: Loon.
sqwi-ti: Mountain goat sweetness, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of preventing hunger.
[262] **Sqwlqwlaum**, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Five Sticks": *A* tale name attributed to the beginning of time.
sunkwaq; plural, *sunkwaq*; counter plural, *sunkkwaq*:
1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Sqalakw* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Kwal* in the beginning of time.
4—Name assumed by *Sunsum* for a grandson.
5—Assumed name of a Kitamaat man.
[601] **sun**: Mother, term commonly used by *ut* which is indirect address.
[825] **sunskalaqlas**: Bat.
sunskwaq: Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
[601] **sunsunqamu**: Elderly female relatives of the same numerical family as the speaker.
[614] **shash**: Whetstone.
Sasin: Man mentioned in a story.
[412] **Saqi**: Mountain near Talio.
saqlam, "What Is Hidden": The newest selection of the Mystery dance.
sunkwaq: Archaic term for chief, now used only rhetorically.
[824] **shin**: Cranberry.

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Coola say that the return of the dead "washes away grief," and unquestionably it has a comforting effect on the mind of the donor of the potlatch. 552* 769

(3) Wealth. Unless a man has the necessary goods with which to make presents he cannot invite guests, no matter how important may be his ancestral myths and names. Some of this wealth he may be able to amass by his own labours, but unless he is assisted by his wife's family it is virtually impossible for him to succeed. The Bella Coola believe that a man cannot become a chief except through large payments made by a woman's family when they "rebuy" her from her husband. In other words, no man can succeed without the support of his wife. In choosing a mate a man is guided almost entirely by the ability of her family to give him financial support. In some cases an elderly couple assist a married son to give a potlatch; this custom, though considered quite proper, is not common. 476 552* 602 [578] [622] [581]

(4) Supernatural assistance. To the Bella Coola this is quite as important as the preceding. One man may work very hard but his efforts are never crowned with success, whereas another man will prosper in every venture. This is due to the supernatural attributes given by the supreme god to the latter. By prayer, ceremonial chastity, and other means, a man may increase the powers granted to him, but if these are entirely lacking, he can never hope to rise to the position of chief. 556* 787

PRELIMINARIES

In describing the potlatch, it will be convenient to refer to the donor as X, and assume him to be a middle-aged member of the *nuxul* society, whose seat and name, though duly ratified, lack importance through his previous failure to give large presents. 556*

For a number of years X has prospered. He has amassed quantities of skins, blankets, tools, copper ornaments, clothing, canoes, baskets, dentalium shell, slaves, and other valuables.

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bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name. The speaker always recounts the whole myth before announcing which portion of it is transmitted to X as a prerogative. It is understood that this transference will be duly validated by presents to X when he gives his potlatch. Such are termed *dzémémemtsem* and signify the repurchase of a wife from her husband. Though this is known to be a fiction it has extreme social importance. Unless *dzémémemtsem* is paid there is an ineradicable blot upon the children; in fact, it is one of the essentials of a legal marriage. All prerogatives thus transferred on *xlástsem* become the property of X and will in time pass to his children, unless recalled to the wife's family by further repurchase (*dzémémemtsem*) money or goods. In this fashion elements of family myths become scattered, and one of the considerations in choosing a wife is to select a woman able to bring back some missing part of the husband's myth. 556* 425 583 [581]

The usual present is an ancestral name, which X henceforth uses as potlatches as his most distinguished title, though the myth in which it is incorporated does not belong to him. As long as the name remains in X's family those who originally owned it are unable to make use of it. Such a name is said to be "dragged across" by the wife to her husband, the immense weight or importance of the designation being compared with the dragging of a heavy log. Occasionally, the father of a married woman, animated by the kindliest feelings towards his son-in-law, may give him outright a myth with all the names embodied therein. This can happen only where there are no other survivors of the family. In such a case when the myth is recounted it must always be mentioned how it has been obtained. The number and type of the prerogatives transferred depend upon the sentiments with which his wife's family regard X. If, in addition to being a worthy man, he is member of their ancestral family, or of one with which his wife's has frequently intermarried, so that in course of generations prerogatives have intermingled, there is less objection to giving him such rights than if he were an unrelated individual. [553] [551] 556* 425 606 553

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* 539 brothers have the right, moreover, to hunt and collect food in the places
424 used by these first ancestors. The areas so authorized are:

Ätwulsqōmus: the mountain where they first came to earth.

Okqomēy: a valley leading into the main valley of the Kimsquit River where *Omqomkilkle* was accustomed to hunt.

Ïulqā-kil: a valley where *Smasaw*'s wives used to pick berries.

Iqumk: a level tract of country on the bank of the Kimsquit River twenty-eight miles from its mouth. No people landed here and *Smasaw* pre-empted it as a hunting-ground.

Nulqa-kul: another valley where *Smasaw*'s wives used to pick berries.

The place in the Kimsquit River where their salmon-weir was erected, and the spot where they caught olachen.

538 The length and wealth of detail embodied in this myth raises the
115 question of whether it is one of the usual type, or represents a combination of several stories strung together and related by a man eager to glorify the traditions of his own ancestors. It was received from Jim Pollard, a Kimsquit Indian, descended from *Smasaw*, and himself the user of this name, a valuable and reliable informant. Jim is a man of great ability, who has given more potlatches than any other Indian of either Bella Coola or Kimsquit, and who, accordingly, has been able to validate very fully his ancestral myths and the names embodied therein. Owing to the deaths of his relatives, Jim has been able to use designations and portions of this legend which otherwise would certainly have belonged to other people. In this respect it, therefore, represents an amalgamation, but one of a legitimate nature. Theoretically, every myth would be com-
[424] plete if it were not for the parts possessed by others, and the aim of every
[581] wise Bella Coola is to seek the return of these pieces by judicious marriage. Jim has been able to achieve this by the death of his relatives and the assistance of his wife, herself a descendant of *Smasaw*. Before the coming of the white man and the consequent dwindling of population, it is unlikely that any one person would have the duly validated right to tell a myth of this length, but theoretically it was possible, and might have been done by anyone as superior to his fellows as this man is to the present inhabitants of Kimsquit.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nuxwalst*[20]

* 539 Among the first people dispatched to this earth were four brothers, *Hamet*, *Wattis*, *Ikhwa*, and *Ähäläli*, who came as eagles and settled in *Nuxwalst*, the site of the present Masters Cannery, Kimsquit. Before

[20] Related by Jim Pollard.

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the most human of all substances, and, therefore, a potent 836
protection against supernatural beings. It is valuable as a 841
defence against evil monsters, but it is equally deadly to 789
shamans and other human beings with supernatural powers.
In the distant past, Raven taught mankind that to sleep with a 834
menstruating woman would so blind a man that he would be 841
unsuccessful in hunting. The belief is that animals, knowing
everything that takes place, avoid one who is so unclean. One [773]
old man mentioned that he had failed to obey this injunction [825]
and considered his loss of virility as a punishment, overlooking
the fact that he was over seventy years of age.

The coming of adolescence in a boy is recognized by change 881
in voice and the other usual indications. He is neither taboo nor unclean, and consequently does not have to undergo any restrictions on his actions. There is no ceremony to mark the entry of a youth into adult membership of the tribe; instead, this comes gradually and puberty is no more than an indication of increasing age and strength.

Marriage

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola 571
regard the married state as the normal condition of man. 589
Anyone unwilling to wed is considered unnatural. Since the
number of the sexes is approximately equal, the only persons [735]
forced to live alone are elderly widows and widowers, and those
crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are
looked upon as unfortunate; in fact, they have failed in one
of the most fundamental of life's struggles. Men provides fish 581
and game, builds houses and canoes, while women collects
berries, makes baskets, cooks, and performs the multitudinous [462]
small household tasks.

"Is it not to the benefit of each to marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is not a mere economic arrangement, nor is its sole function to regulate relations between the sexes. Its most [858]
important feature is that it governs the status of the child.

Confidently believing that he has descended from ancestors who came to this earth in the beginning of time, a Bella Coola wishes to have his children firmly established in the path of his forbears. This can be accomplished only with the aid of a suitable mother. It follows that marriage is not primarily a matter of affection, but of the ancestral eligibility of the contracting parties.

CHOICE OF MATE

Since the initiative for marriage is taken by the man in almost all cases, it will be convenient and proper to describe the factors which enter into the search for a wife, remembering that the concerns govern the decision of the woman and her relatives. The choice of the woman who is to be the mother of the children who will carry on the traditions of the ancestral family is a matter of too great importance to be entrusted to any young person. Accordingly, while their son is yet a child, his parents often discuss who would be a suitable wife for him. They view the matter from a strictly business standpoint. Proud of their own ancient lineage, they would not demean themselves by allowing their son to marry a girl who could not trace her ancestry back to the first people, or with one whose forbears had disgraced themselves by marriage with slaves. Instead, it is a matter of pride for parents to have a daughter-in-law the child of a powerful chief. Nor can they choose a woman too closely related to their son. Marriage with a sister, an aunt, a niece, or any first cousin is strictly prohibited. No reason for these laws could be obtained; the Bella Coola consider that it would be "indecent" or unclean so to marry, but have theorized no further about the matter. An adopted child is regarded in the same light as an own child. The Bella Coola know, and are amused by, the regulation of marriage according to totem among the northern tribes, but practise nothing of the same nature themselves. In fact, marriages usually take place among those who are descended from one ancestor and who have, accordingly, the same crest, though the significance

of the sons is very different from his son among the northern tribes.

Having eliminated those girls who are too closely related, or who are unwanted on account of the poverty of their parents, the father and mother can concentrate on others of about the same age as their son. The most desirable is a member of the extended family of one of the parents. This obviates the dangers and difficulties of marriage with a stranger, and any children will be born into the close-knit circle of related women stretching back to the beginning of time. They consider that such a child is fortunate, as if he were held close to the spiritual embrace of his powerful forefathers of antiquity. Each extended family is jealously proud of its ancient traditions and prerogatives, and as some of these are transmitted at marriage, it follows that a meeting within its ranks is desirable from a business standpoint. Moreover, it is recognized that the husband obtains more prestige than the wife on the wedding and that her relatives are more likely to be generous when their son-in-law is one in whom they are related. Indeed, some extended families are as "stingy," (to use the Dalu Creek expression), that for generations they have habitually married endogamously. In such cases it is not unknown for the children of first cousins to mate, though this is usually regarded as not quite proper. The most common marriages are between the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of first cousins, or between the child and grandchild of a first cousin when of suitable age. According to mythology, unions have sometimes taken place between brother and sister in order to preserve the traditions within the family, and it appears highly probable that marriages have occasionally occurred between first cousins, although no specific instances of this could be learned. As long as the laws against incest are observed, any girl of appropriate age who is addressed as mamu (G, p. [illegible]) is a fit partner. Since extended families have usually become localized in certain villages, there is a strong leaning to local endogamy, though this is not compulsory. The restrictions

[illegible] marriage are of a bilateral nature, and the preferences are equally bilateral, with a tendency to become patrilineal, in accordance with the patrilineal tendency of the ancestral family as already described.

[illegible] Although these considerations greatly restrict the selection of a suitable daughter-in-law, a number of choices always remain. The parents of the prospective bridegroom consider the essential advantages of each of them. Since the ability of a man to give patrilineal depends largely on the wealth contributed by his wife's matrilineal family, wise parents choose a girl whose brothers are lazy. Moreover, they know that their son's children will receive prerogatives from their maternal grandparents, hence it is desirable to choose those who have prized their dowry, or other valuable rights. Personal names are not so important, because these are the personal property of all members of the ancestral family. A great consideration is the industriousness of the girl herself, though this is of less moment than the working ability of her father and brothers. Marriage was discussed with a very old man who had had four wives. After describing the idiosyncrasies of the four, he continued:

"My last wife was by far the best. Her family gave me many presents."

[illegible] Frequently the choice of a wife is simplified by an institution which may be termed "return marriage." If, for example, a few generations ago a widow was married into another ancestral family, or into a distant branch of her own, it was considered proper for a man of her family to receive as wife a woman of the family into which she had married. During the previous wedding then the women's family bestowed much wealth and valuable prerogatives. It is proper that the latter should be returned to the ancestral family of their owners. A return marriage also binds two families together, with consequent strength to the children. A few examples will make the matter clear.

[illegible] as possible, though one now is considered highly desirable. The sentiment is thus clearly described: the more closely the parents are bound together by ties of common ancestry, the greater will be their children's commercial strength. Further, endogamous alliances of this type obviate all danger of feuds, since return marriages are not required.

[illegible] In recent years it has become fashionable, or socially "smart," with some Bella Coola families to seek wives from outlying coastal fishing, and even from other tribes. It is said that this practice was initiated by *Pashe*, an important chief who died between 1870 and 1880. He sought foreign marriages on account of the prerogatives which were brought to dowry by his wives and considered that such rights, transmissible to his children, more than compensated for the lack of strength provided by shared ancestors. Many have followed his example, with the result that some ancestral families have entirely abandoned its endogamic tendency. Boas (p. 104) has made the same observation. Although this exogamic principle is directly contrary to that which has already been described, yet it should be noted that each has the same emphasis—the search for a wife able to bring most to her as our ordinary children.

[illegible] Should the parents consider a foreign woman as wife for their son, then her worth is discussed from every angle. One woman may have the right to good hunting grounds, the family of another may have some valuable social prerogatives, a third some hunter-rite. Anxious thought is put on the relative values of these. Her mate had heard of the French system of dot, and emphasizes strongly how far superior to, and more sensible is it than to Canadian practice. In recent years the younger Bella Coola have been arranging their own marriages, and the elder are honest enough that they are influenced only by the beauty and working ability of the girl, not by her real worth, the prerogatives which she can bring to her children.

[illegible] Although parents consider chiefly the ancestry of their

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future daughter-in-law, yet they are not entirely oblivious to the girl herself. She must be of about the same age as their son, preferably a year or two older. Should the wife be the younger, it is thought that she ages rapidly until she appears as old as her husband. Boys usually marry at seventeen or eighteen, and it is essential that the women chosen for wife must have been secluded for at least a year following puberty. Not a wealthy girl chosen, or one of notoriously bad temper. As their son reaches the age of marriage, his parents usually consult him, though it is not usual for him to privately their wishes. A girl who has been leading a notoriously bad life is not desired, though this is more unusual for the daughter of a chief. The feeling is that such a girl would be a faithless and fickle wife, rather than any objection to her sin as such.

Realizing the importance of marriage, the parents of a boy discuss and plan the event for years, weighing the relative value of girls whom they think they could choose for their son. By the time he has reached the age of fourteen or fifteen, they have decided on the most suitable partner, and it then becomes necessary to consult her parents and win their approval.

PROCEDURE OF ENGAGEMENT

When the parents of the young man (whom it will be convenient to name X) have at last decided on a suitable partner, they must choose an intermediary for the first proposal. In all these discussions the elderly relatives of the parents take a leading part, and especially their own parents if alive. Sometimes X's father himself interviews the father of the girl (here termed Y), at other times he asks some friend to do so. The matter is not supposed to be generally known, and the intermediary goes to Y's father's house, and quietly tells her parents that X's family would like their daughter to become X's wife. This preliminary asking is done unceremoniously, at any time and in any place, and the messenger withdraws after giving his message. In all probability Y's family have already re-

[illegible] ceived information of the proposed marriage, but they always plead ignorance, and deliberate for several days. Y's parents and other relatives take part in the discussion, and Y herself may likewise be taken into confidence. Although a daughter has, theoretically, little choice, in practice she exercises a great deal of influence. The mother and father weigh the suitor's eligibility not only with regard to wealth and ancestral pretensions, but consider his character. An immoral young man is not desirable, though neither is one who is impotent.

If Y's relatives agree to the proposal, some one of them informs the intermediary, or X's father, and the young people are considered to be engaged. The fact is supposed to be kept secret for several days, although the news usually becomes known sooner. X's relatives as soon as possible take a number of presents to Y's family. These are given in private, and are termed "secret gifts"; they are said to give strength to the future children. Since no witnesses are present it follows that no social prestige accrues from the transaction. The relatives included in the "family" of either X or Y are not always the same; uncles, aunts, grandparents, may or may not take part in the giving and receiving of presents, the parents alone always do so. Sometimes distant relatives take a leading part in the arrangements, either in hope of receiving valuable gifts, or of obtaining social influence by lavish giving. If Y's relatives have reason to believe that Y's family will accept their proposal, several of them may go in company and actually carry the "secret gifts" to Y's house at the time of making the first proposal. Should this be rejected, they merely carry away their goods, and as the affair has been private, no one's vanity is hurt.

The acceptance of "secret gifts" binds the engagement of X and Y, but a few days elapse before this is made public. If Y's family is wealthy, his father, or other near relative, personally invites all the inhabitants of the village to his house. The singers, in their usual sections behind the fire, strike up the tune of some burial and the owner of the song, then warned,

If a grandchild be born they will give him a certain name if a boy, and another if a girl, so that henceforth no one can take that title for himself, even though it is not in use. As already mentioned, even when a name has duly passed to one of the children, it can be recalled in future generations by a return marriage. The maintenance of names, or the providing of them for children yet unborn, is perhaps the most binding factor of the whole marriage rite. Mythology contains incidents to which names, and other prerogatives, have been given away outright. Cases are cited by the Bella Coola where a father has given hunting-grounds as "food" for the use of the relatives of his son- or daughter-in-law, but it is usual merely to promise the use of them to the grandchildren.

Since the maintenance of names, or other prerogatives, is the foundation stone of Bella Coola marriages, it is necessary to digress still further in an attempt to analyze the concepts at the base of the connection. If the contracting parties are members of different unrelated families, or even of different branches of the same family, there is a feeling of strain and unpleasantness at the intimate relations into which they are brought. There is a conflict of desires. On one hand is the wish to keep the family prerogatives from going astray, on the other, a wish that they should go astray so as to give the required for the bride or bridegroom. If children result, the matter is simple, since they are equally members of the unrelated families of mother and father and form a bond which draws the two social units into the closer community of interest. Future marriages will then be sought by successive generations, until the prerogatives of the two families become so closely interwoven that a child will, indeed, be born into the midst of related ancestors from both parents. But when there are no children, the matter is complicated, since the recipients of names are unnecessarily try to keep them entirely. They must do so with the best intentions, feeling that it would be a slight to the donors to give them back. Bella Coola etiquette is not sufficiently exact to stipulate when should be done. If the

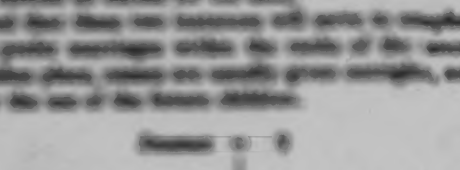
[illegible] is not concerned, the donors may be offended at its being kept; if it is concerned, they may be offended that it has not been kept.

The following examples will help to explain this rather complex point.

[illegible]

[illegible] one of his family relatives was murdered in Kimanjo. The deceased was never detected, but most of the Mella Chila believe that it was done by one of Omanyi's relatives, and that the deceased's name was quite sufficient to furnish an excuse for the deed.

It is hoped that these two instances will serve to emphasize why the Mella Chila prefer marriages within the ranks of the ancestral family. When this other place, women are usually given outsights, and are merely presented for the use of the lower children.



[illegible] After this digression, to return to the marriage of X and Y. The ceremony is taking place in the house of Y's father, and the parents of each participant have expounded parts of their origin myths, and provided names for the resultant children.

Then Y's relatives give numerous presents to X's family, in each case including those who are exercising themselves with the contract. Cattle, sheep, blankets, and other articles of great worth are given; they are said to be "bird covering" for X. The greater their value, the greater her prestige. Her father calls a Boran chief to address the assemblage, speaking as though he were Y. He says to others:

"My father, my mother, my brothers, my uncles, and their associates have given me my bird covering."

These presents are the binding factors of the wedding. They are said to bind the girl to her husband's house, and accordingly are sometimes called, "rope dowerage." This is only done when a woman is married for the first time.

Another woman now holds forth on behalf of Y's father:

"What we do today is no small matter. We have done today what was done in former times, and what shall be done in the future."

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[177]

dus boast that she has three sons of such, but as the practice has not found favour in Bella Coola, it is little to her advantage.[1]

[556]

These complicated marriage rites are necessary to satisfy the pride of the two families in their origin myths, and the need to establish the resultant children in the paths of their ancestors. Among slaves or others who lack ancestral prerogatives, marriage is an affair of slight worth. Such persons simply live together with little ceremony, though they always try to give at least a feast so that there may be witnesses of the transaction. It is immaterial whether or not they marry their own relatives, since no ancestral prerogatives are to be transmitted.

[527]

[381]

MARRIAGE LIFE

Y usually lives in the house of X's father, though economic circumstances may compel her husband to live in her home. If the parents are very wealthy, a house may be built for the young people, but usually their home is one of the bedrooms in the house of X's father; this particular residence expects Y not only to good advice from her mother-in-law, but often to caustic criticism. The marital life of X and Y does not differ materially from that of other young couples in any part of the world, and is accordingly difficult to describe. Although love rarely enters into the original choice of a mate, a serviceable substitute is found in the mutual respect for each other's ancestry, and the knowledge of the importance of the rites performed with the aid of each other's elderly relatives. The young people realize that marriage affects the families of both, and accordingly accept it as a matter of course. The Bella Coola are fond of children. Their birth is a matter of sincere rejoicing, partly because it binds the two families more closely together, but parental affection is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics. The parents usually spoil their children; infants, especially, are never chastised and rarely

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[1] The boast said to this session was purchased for the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

blessing" for the child. The advantages to the donors were that they had an opportunity of showing their dignity, and it would always be a mark of pride for the child to be able to boast of the way in which she had been "sold."

Commercial marriage clearly demonstrates two strong Bella Coola characteristics; namely, the desire publicly to enter into financial undertakings to demonstrate the wealth of the contracting party, and the desire to increase the prestige of children by means of this wealth expended indirectly on their behalf.

EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

Although the Bella Coola do not regard marriage primarily as a means of regulating relations between the sexes, yet the connection between the two is sufficiently close to warrant description in this chapter. A man considers intercourse as one of the normal phenomena of life: by marrying he has exclusive rights to his wife, but her moral restraints deter him from anyone else to whom he can gain access without infringing the prerogatives of some other husband. Moreover, sexual intercourse is not regarded solely as a gratification of desires; it has a significance which can be described, not tragically, as holy. As already explained, one favourite methods of obtaining success in any undertaking are by preserving lengthy continence or by observing ceremonial chastity. If a young ceremonial man or widower should wish to make use of this latter means, he is compelled to have relations with a woman to whom he has no just claims. This is universally recognized, nor is there the slightest odium attached to the man. The only essential is that he neither violate another's wife, nor force a young girl against her will.

In the present time there is great laxity in Bella Coola, a condition which makes it difficult to judge the extent of adultery in former times. Every effort was made to obtain satisfactory evidence, and the following was verified and re-verified with the elder men.

A wife, properly married with full ceremony, was usually

[illegible] elder relatives were removed, not only as entire members of the ancestral family, but as those most familiar with myths and other cherished possessions. With the spread of new ideas, the young people no longer respect the loss of their elders, and consequently do not heed their admonitions and advice. Theoretically, such self-reliance would seem desirable, but in practice it has led to unfortunate results. A young man, considering himself superior to the older people, glories in acting on his own initiative, but too often he lacks the requisite strength of character to guide his own life. If he wishes to drink, he does so. If he desires to marry, he chooses his mate without considering the transmission of ancestral rights which entitled [illegible] to former times. If he tires of his wife, he deserts her for another. If he chooses to steal, he is no longer restrained by relatives who fear disgrace. The elders, incapable of assuming the role, watch sadly and ask seriously whether the coming of the white man has brought compensation for the loss it has caused. It is deplorable that the emancipation of the younger men and women has taken place before the development of the sense of individual responsibility and conscience which public opinion formerly rendered less necessary. Christianity provides a moral code for those who are fully convinced, but for the many in the transition stage, the break-down of the old system of family influence has been tragic.

Profound religious beliefs and lack of individual initiative are shared by all Bella Coola with the exception, perhaps, of a few of the younger people who, having been educated in white man's schools, have adopted the new outlook unconditionally. In most characteristics they display as wide variability as any other people. In institutions, for example, they range from one extreme to the other. As the writer became familiar with the elder men, he found it possible to recognize without difficulty the strength of some and the weakness of others. There are few, but they can be easily detected owing to their lack of forceps. It is a pleasure to record the reliability of the author's friends and informants. Their veracity was checked repeat-

to their forefathers. Profound as these material changes have been, those of a psychological nature have been even more important. New worlds have been thrown open to them, stimulating ideas have been brought to their attention, and they have realized for the first time that the world is infinitely larger than they had imagined. Hand in hand with this extension of knowledge has gone disbelief in their own ancient lore. The white man, whose superiority and mechanical skill dazzle them, positively denies the actuality of their mythology, and laughs at the dramatic performances which were wont to fill the winter with engrossing interest. Such rites can flourish only in an atmosphere of profound belief. He has been so shaken that the dances continue listlessly, a mere shadow of a once living art. The young people were the first to embrace a scepticism that has rapidly grown into disbelief of the faith of their ancestors, and a half-concealed scorn for their elders, the upholders of the old customs. Worse of all, prohibition of the potlatch has made it impossible for a man to reach a position of social eminence. Moreover, since the holding of any rank of ceremonial requires a distribution of gifts, formal gatherings of all kinds have become virtually impossible; even marriages have no longer the social support that formerly made them so lasting.

These cumulative blows would be enough to shake any civilization, and that of the Bella Coola has been entirely unable to adjust itself to the new conditions. The young people, having lost respect for their elders, are deprived of the advice and support essential to the continuity of culture. They see the white man's power, they want his mechanical devices, but have failed to assimilate them. For example, a gramophone in a Bella Coola house is an anachronism, which several similar articles and the old picture but do not provide a new one. Desiring to copy the new ways thrown open to them, they have adopted the outward show but not the substance, and in so doing have discarded their own culture. In the old days they were ambitious to hold potlatches and willing to work steadily towards that goal; now, new desires have not kept pace with

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]: 1—Fully grown, one of the supernatural character possessed by all human beings.
2—Invisible supernatural character which commonly seems before the face.
[illegible]: [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]. Cross.
[illegible]: Raven.
[illegible]: Dog, old male mountain goat.
[illegible]: Kimsquit man living in the last century.
[illegible]: Cinderwood Kindred chief.
[illegible]: Name of a shaman who received his power from Raven.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at Dean in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Fourth eldest, or youngest, brother or sister.
[illegible]: Soldier's job.
[illegible]: Kimsquit woman.
[illegible]: Wizard's guide lady.
[illegible]: Sea-lion cub.
[illegible]: Those who are present and receive gifts when an announcement of a marriage is first made.
[illegible]: Doctor name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: A revelation, such as the sight of a supernatural being or object usually concealed.
[illegible]: Traveling mail.
[illegible]: Word used in inviting to a marriage announcement.
[illegible]: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Kindred supernatural being, said to be identical with [illegible].
[illegible]: Personal name of a Kimsquit man.
[illegible]: Bella Bella village near of Nuxalk.
[illegible]: Hot Springs on Lillooet Channel.
[illegible]: Prehistoric female marriage dancer who came down to Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
[illegible]: "Place of Herbage"; Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Inspiration, in the sense of the sound of a doctor dancer's power of thought.
[illegible]: Village name of Kimsquit, settled in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Actual goods used for the expenditure of a wife.
[illegible]: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit chief.
[illegible]: Cradle.
[illegible]: Doctor name of a Bella Coola woman.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: The units and signifed apartments occupied by both families for an elaborate marriage, either real or fictitious. The word includes the concept of financial interdependence and of conspicuous personal strength.
[illegible]: The transference of activities to a new sphere, the term is used, chiefly, when referring to the death of a skilled craftsman.

[illegible]

[illegible]: 1—Shaman.
2—Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Doctor name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: The common blinking of the eyes.

APPENDIX D

 192*

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[illegible]: Earlier name of a Gispe man.
[illegible]: Earlier name of a Tsimshian man.
[illegible]: Scalp.
[illegible]: Gentle projection of wood from a birch tree.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who wakes his kinsmen in the morning.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle on the Kitsegukla River in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Temporary mourning place.
[illegible], "The Fire Bird": Name brought from Kitkata to Kitsegukla by a messenger in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Bear.
[illegible], "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud.
[illegible]: The forking upwards of water at high tide, through openings in the rocks at sea level.
[illegible]: Person who provide cedar-bark.
[illegible]: Tools for procuring cedar-bark, specifically the upper hatchet.
[illegible]: Region on the east side of Dixon Channel, where one sells from the head, where supernatural power is localized.
[illegible]: Island east of Metlakatla.
[illegible]: 1.—Pedestals.
2.—Pertaining of money with female crayons.
[illegible]: Unidentified berry.
[illegible], Cold Wind: A supernatural being.
[illegible]: Meeting place of chiefs on each lodge behind [illegible], the term is probably applied to any meeting place of chiefs.
[illegible]: Wooden wand by Raven in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Chieftain.
[illegible]: Eagle down.
[illegible], "Eagle Down-coat": Figurative reference to a garment for which an eagle is required.
[illegible]: Long, delicate feathers on an eagle's breast.
[illegible]: Earlier name of a woman went down near Hagaleb in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Small name of Russ origin.
[illegible]: Small name of a Kitsegukla woman.
[illegible]: Unidentified berry.
[illegible]: Older sound, dead and dried.
[illegible]: Spring salmon which have spawned.
[illegible]: Shooting ability. The term usually refers to the ability of the supernatural animals to have, i.e., to kill, human beings.
[illegible]: Down, suitable for ceremonial, found on Mount Hagaleb. The name of the mountain is said to be derived from this.
[illegible]: 1.—Chest.
2.—Bundle sent for discovery of the chest.
[illegible]: Land of Adam.
[illegible]: Free proposal of marriage if made by relatives of the man.
[illegible]: Stone used mixed with small pebbles.
[illegible]: Mountain on north side of the Nass Bella Coola River.
[illegible]: Fend.

Schultz Dwyatt E-5 (1922-1924) 948
NEA Bella-coola NEA

(s) *Awatqwa-xtl*, "Labreted": the eastern continuation of the last mentioned.* The name is explained as follows: 361

One of the people who came to the earth in the beginning of time, *Taiatwala* by name, travelled to the Skeena River, and there saw women wearing labrets. On his return to Bella Coola he settled at *Awatqwa-xtl* and carved on his totem-pole* the figure of a woman with an abalone-shell labret as a memorial of his voyage. Visitors coming to his potlatches named the town from this figure. [173]

This was one of the largest towns in the valley.

*(t) *Aimd-ts*: a small town to the north of the last, not far from the *Pe-xyh*. It is assumed that it was founded by a descendant of *Taiatwala* named *Aimd-ts*. The consensus of opinion is that it has not been occupied for many years, but one informant recently dug up a clay pipe on the alleged site. [172]

*(u) *Skhiitl*, "What Has Been Divided": on the south shore of the Bella Coola River about a quarter of a mile from the sea. This village was founded by a certain *Xyll*.

*(v) *Qwaqa-ts*, meaning doubtful, perhaps "Salty": this, the most populous village of the valley in the recent past, is still inhabited by one or two families. The inhabitants of other towns explain its large population by marriages with slaves. This is the upper, or eastern, continuation of the preceding, and the two in combination formed a row of houses stretching for three-quarters of a mile (see Plate 9). [162] [172] [567]

(w) *Gwaqdqwaq*, "The Treeless Place": on the north side of the Bella Coola, supposedly about half a mile above *Aimd-ts*. This village was long ago deserted.

(x) *Tsaskwaxalqa-ts*, "Where There Is Much *Saskwaxalq*," a kind of hollow-stemmed plant: some distance from

*Several towns, each consisting of a single row of houses, are regarded as forming one village. In such cases there is no visible boundary mark.

*The Bella Coola believe that their early ancestors used totem-poles, regarded adhesive to stand will be made, even though the work of Barbeau and others on the totem origin of totem-poles on the North-West Coast indicates that the Bella Coola example are not historically accurate. [771]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

424 nearest answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the
979 Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the
825 narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience, and added that though he was quite willing to accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not [582] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of exogamy.

211 Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet
424 they have some importance in the realm of social life. The
993 portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy
825 chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a [532] design is impressed with the glories of the family history of [556] the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of [304] the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delineation is a memento of family history. For that reason a man is often tattooed* with his crest, that derived from his father's first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow. After the death of a chief a memorial-post is erected near his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his 000 family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

[171] [184] *It is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal tribes but also the Carriers. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated themselves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with potlatches; in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the back-room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material; the second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were baked for a long time and then ground into a powder. This keeps indefinitely and can be made ready for use by mixing with water. As far as could be learnt, any skilled craftsman [386] might perform the operation.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

614 773 A man may claim descent from as many as eight of these groups, that is, he may be a member of eight ancestral families. Some restrictive means must have been employed to limit the choice of marriage partners, otherwise a man's membership in ancestral families would have been far greater than it is. The explanation lies in the high regard with which the members of an ancestral family esteem the prerogatives they have received from their forbears. With the marriage of the first women, their brothers were called upon to share their rights, both practical in regard to hunting territory, and ceremonial with regard to dance prerogatives, with their sisters' children. Bella Coola mythology contains no references to unwillingness on the part of the first men to do this; in fact, their own children benefited equally from the marriages of their fathers with other women. But, say the Bella Coola, after these first marriages, necessarily exogamic, men realized that it would be foolish to allow their children to marry far afield and so diffuse valuable prerogatives. It was far wiser for a man to seek as future son-in-law a youth belonging to the same ancestral family as himself or his wife. Then any resultant children would come into this world provided by both parents with common relatives, so that the child would be, as they express it, "Held close and supported by a close circle of ancestors."

582 614 [773] Bella Coola logic does not explain how marriages could have been arranged in the early generations without violating the laws of incest. The endogamic principle displayed at that time, however, has been carried out until the present day, so that a man endeavours to arrange marriages for his children with members of the same ancestral family. One of the strongest Bella Coola desires is to "make good the path" for his offspring, and this can best be done when they are born amply provided with relatives of common ancestry. There is [769] no belief in the active participation of distant ancestors in the affairs of men, yet, though incapable of clear expression, the Bella Coola feel strongly that a child is born into the companionship of its deceased relatives back to the beginning of time.

1:McDowalth E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail in vol. I, chap. vii, but mention of it here has been necessary to explain the composition of the ancestral family. 582 [614]

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to marry foreign women in order that they, or their children, might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a trend towards exogamy has arisen from the same reason which is supposed to have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said that this practice was initiated by a certain *Pudes*, father of a man about sixty years old in 1913. White influence probably had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its wide adoption has been made more easy by the establishment of peaceful conditions on the coast. [554] [177]

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestry, it is unlikely that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These are of two kinds: names and land. 614 554

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bella Coola nomenclature is that each name must have originated in connection with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable to apply a casual designation to a child. At a person's death his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were all given designations by *Alpuntáw*; these have been carefully handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying 551 [768] [553] [773] [428]

fan in public opinion which expresses contempt for a lazy man who is constantly begging.

To anyone familiar with the definite social groupings of a tribe divided into clans or land-owning families, the ancestral family of the Bella Coola must appear as a vague and unreal unit, only distinguished by its intangibility. So it was found when investigating in the field. When information began to accumulate, it seemed as if there must be some definite obligations incumbent upon all members of the ancestral family, but none could be found. Without asking a direct question, the point was raised whether, if a man were killed, the members of his ancestral family would unite to avenge him. Conversely, were they liable for the deeds of any member? In each case the reply was in the negative; these matters concern only the immediate family. In regulating marriage the ancestral family is important, since it is wise for a man or woman to seek his mate within the members of that group, though it is not compulsory. Theoretically, the terms of kinship applied to members of the immediate family may be extended to members of the ancestral family, but in practice this is rarely the case, and, if so, is functionless. It might be argued that this somewhat wide application of kinship terms, verging on the classificatory usage, is a relic of an earlier, and now broken-down, clan system. It is impossible to prove or to deny such a contention. When trying to discover whether the members of an ancestral family ever contributed to a potlatch whereby one of their fellows established himself as a chief, the following interesting comment was received. The previous winter the informant had been in Bella Bella, and there the point was raised by a Bella Bella chief whom he quoted as follows:

"We laugh at you Bella Coola because each of you is always trying to be chief. Our system is much better; we all help our chiefs."

The man agreed with the Bella Bella man that there was an important difference between the practices of the two tribes.

[619] [621] is a more obvious social grouping than the ancestral family, though it is of the latter that a man is most proud. The member of a small, unimportant village often describes himself as a native of a neighbouring, larger one when at a distance from his home, simply as a matter of convenience.

Even before the coming of the white man, village sites were abandoned and people took up their residence with friends or relatives elsewhere. In fact, mythology contains instances of such migrations at the very beginning of time. In cases of this [773] [34] kind, memory of the earlier home has been preserved for many generations, and may perhaps be the explanation of the many villages which are described as two, and which have two names. In the early days immigrants seem always to have been welcome; they added to the numerical strength of the village, and the original inhabitants enjoyed boasting to the newcomers of their descent from the first settlers. Since any group forced to abandon their own homes naturally moved to those of relatives, there is no difficulty in understanding the process by [538] which they continued to intermarry with their new neighbours. Thus two, or even more ancestral families, inhabiting one village tended to form a closely inter-related stock. In rare instances, two unrelated ancestral families may have become inhabitants of the same village, which would unquestionably lead to intermarriage.

In most cases the endogamic tendencies already described cause the village community to be largely members of one ancestral family. In addition there are always other occupants; strangers who have fled from their homes and sought [563] refuge among the Bella Coola; the offspring of illicit intercourse [567] with slaves; guests; foreigners, especially Carriers temporarily [554] resident in Bella Coola; and finally slaves, without status in the community. The real inhabitants, those whose power is firmly planted in the village, are the reputed descendants of the first group of settlers, and accordingly a relative coming to [553] dwell in a village usually endeavours to obtain a name from the origin myth of the ancestral family occupying it, and thus

[52] friends, a further cause for their preliminary ostracism. A
[72] Bella Coola who had been enslaved and ransomed had to
[73] undergo a cleansing ceremony to remove the taint of slavery
before he could take part in the ceremonies of the community.
It was impossible to leave the details of this rite.

[2.24] A master had complete power over a slave, unaffected by the force of public opinion, since the affairs of a slave, being without relatives, were of no consequence to anyone. Accordingly, the lot of a slave depended on the character of his master, and on his own ability and industry. An industrious slave was valued; such an one would not be traded or sold except through dire necessity, and in course of years he became, so far as actual treatment was concerned, one of the family. Many masters gave their slaves *social*[*] dance prerogatives, expending large sums for the purpose. In such a case the slave might become an influential member of the community, though the fact that he was not free was never forgotten. On the other hand, a master had not the slightest compunction about beating a lazy slave, and could kill him if he so desired. None of the present Bella Coola has heard of such a case; it was considered more sensible to sell or give away an unsatisfactory slave. It was accepted as a matter of course that a master should provide his slaves with food and clothing, since everything produced or obtained by one belonged to him. A slave-owner had full rights to his female slaves, and unquestionably exercised them. The only restraints were the jealousy of his own wife, or wives, and the feeling that it was undignified for a free man to demean himself. It was impossible to learn with even approximate accuracy to what extent intercourse took place between masters and slaves. Probably not a great deal, though there was considerable freedom of relations between slave women and the young men of the community, unrestrained by the pride of chieftainship. When a slave had been faithful for a number of years and had
• [57] became almost a member of the family, his master would try

[424] [49]

[53]

*Social privileges (I, p. 180) were more rarely given.

to arrange his marriage with some female slave; once this had taken place, the actual treatment meted out to him differed only slightly from that shown to a member of the family. In former times it would probably have been difficult for a stranger to tell married slaves from the members of the Bella Coola community until he had been long enough in the country to understand more than appeared on the surface. 527 582

Marriages between Bella Coola men and slave women were not infrequent, while the partnerships between slave men and even the daughters of chiefs were not unknown. In such cases the status of the children depended on the performance of ceremonies to wash from them the stain of their slave blood. While the mother was still pregnant her husband would call guests, not only from his own village, but from foreign tribes as well. Presents were given, according to the wealth of the donor, often aided by his immediate family, to "wash the child." Such ceremonies would be repeated several times before birth, and again at their time. Bella Coola sentiment was that such presents gagged the recipients; they knew of the dishonourable ancestry of the child, but the receipt of gifts on his account had wiped away the disgrace. Such a child was able to inherit prerogatives from his mother's old home, duly validated in Bella Coola by valuables, and by his own lavish presents he could silence those who remembered the blot on his ancestry. Similar procedure was carried out if a free woman married a slave. Unless her husband were already owned by one of her family, the woman's father or brother would arrange to purchase him. Then, aided by him, they would give the same type of presents to clear the children from the taint of slavery. If this were not done, the children had only the status of slaves, though, born and brought up in Bella Coola and associating from infancy with their master's children, they were virtually considered members of the family. 431 567 [428]

"Washing the child," during pregnancy and at birth, sufficed to cover the taint on its history, but in later years if such a person failed to continue to give ceremonies, people would again talk of his slave ancestry. So, too, for the child or grand- [557] [578]

#534 headands and brows, were so angry at the interloper that they decided to raid Green Bay. *Skáli's* friend, however, heard of this plan and told his comrade. "All right," replied *Skáli*, "if they dare to do so I will show them my power. Of course you will have to accompany them, but when the attack is launched stay a short distance to one side. You will see for here."

Skáli now determined to return home. But the raiders, who were assembling at *Kitwa*, a point on the south side of North Bentinck Arm about a quarter mile from the head, had taken all the canoes, so the best *Skáli's* friend could obtain for him was the broken bow of a river canoe. In this frail craft he reached *Ivacy*, on the north side of North Bentinck Arm about one mile from the head, without difficulty, and there he took on the form of a black bear once more. In this guise he travelled so rapidly that he reached Green Bay long before the raiders.

Once more in human form, *Skáli* said to his parents, "A Bella Coola war party is on its way to attack us, because they are angry at the way I have avenged their women. Stay inside the house, and all will be well."

Before long the hostile canoes appeared in close formation near the beach. *Skáli* had dressed his bear blanket, over which he had strewed a large quantity of eagle down. He now shook himself. As Black Bear had promised, the down flew in all directions and those of the enemy on whom it lighted fell helpless to the bottom of their canoes, their arms, legs, heads, or bodies swollen beyond recognition. After a time *Skáli* called back the down, thus curing his victims. As he did so he told his father's herald to call out to the attackers that they must never again try to raid Green Bay. In spite of their discomfiture many of the Bella Coola rashly landed to press the assault, but *Skáli* clambered on to the roof of the house, from which point he struck them down with the death-dealing end of his bow. When the abortive attack had ended with the death of all those who had landed, *Skáli's sister* came to shore and requested him to restore his relatives to life. The two walked among the corpses, the friend pointing out his relations, whom *Skáli* revived with the life-giving end of his bow. Each of these brought back to life begged for a friend, which *Skáli* granted, until finally he had restored all those whom he had slain.

In their gratitude many of the Bella Coola brought *Skáli* to accept their daughters as wives. He took only one wife, but by this marriage friendly relations were established between Green Bay and Bella Coola, and ever since that time the people of the two places have intermarried and been on the best of terms.

[582]

Next morning they found a house to continue for them, a short distance from the lake; its name was *Nanaqidaxa*, and it had been erected for them by *Alpaxsim* who had selected this spot for their residence. It resembled other houses except that the door was in a back corner instead of in the middle of the front because bears must not approach the river, and the two will had some characteristics. The salmon would have been frightened if they had lived on one. The paintings on the back walls were of Kingfisher.

Chief from their forward *Sawed* downstream to the point where *Swanee* (I, p. 332) lived. Judging that someone was occupied above him, he set out to investigate. He met *Tidlin* and entered into conversation with him, finally asking if he, *Swanee*, might marry *Tidlin's* sister, *Sainsim*, "The Light Shower." *Tidlin* agreed, and the two were married in due course. At this ceremony a marriage song given by *Alpaxsim* was first used.*

Gyayyar and his brothers made a special kind of fish-trap, in which they caught large quantities of trout and sockeyed salmon, and below them *Swanee* and his family were also catching large quantities of salmon. The two settlements combined to give a potlatch. The brothers built an extension to the house to accommodate their guests, and when all were seated a representation of a black bear emerged from the room at the back of the house, imitating the appearance and actions of its ancestor when first they arrived on this earth. The artifacts brought by *Gyayyar* and his brothers from above were displayed to the guests, as has since been done on similar occasions by their descendants. At this potlatch the name *Nakgalaix* was given to *Sainsim*, having reference to the coloured house with the rear doorway.

Tidlin once sent his kingfisher *Sawed* up the river to discover whether or not there were people there, for at that time it was unknown country. He reported that there were, so *Tidlin* built a canoe, in the manner taught by *Raven*, and set off; *en route* he met the upstream settlers, who had likewise learnt the art of making canoes and were travelling downstream on an errand similar to his own.

The brothers used some of their wealth on one occasion to give a *Sacior* dance, at which they validated for *Naqamalaix* the Breaker (II, p. 133) name, *Nanlomdilaix*. This refers to the way in which he had flown with quivering wings when a kingfisher, and as he danced he shook his hands in imitation of this. This name had been given him by *Alpaxsim*, as had also his third, *Gilgilwat*, referring to his status as herald.

Swanee and *Sainsim* had many children who formed a band between

*It has since been transmitted as a prerogative by the descendants of this couple.

[512]
[424]
[539]

[illegible] THE [illegible] CONFLICT

[illegible] the people of Kimsquit and the Dean River, and ever since that marriages have been common.

[illegible] GIVE UP *Sisaal'a**

Soon after the Dean people had reached this earth *Ayamim* found that as they increased, they might spread about land scarce. Accordingly he sent down to *Sisaal'a*, on the Dean River thirty-five miles from the sea, three brothers, *Ayamim*, *Gwayaxt*, and *Ldiitoax*, a crane to serve as food for women, with their sister *Sqajo'it*. He gave the oldest brother instructions to divide the land among the different villages. *Ayamim* came in the guise of a mountain goat, but promptly sent his animal cloak back to the land above, before meeting downstream. To the inhabitants of each town he allotted certain valleys in the country to serve as hunting-grounds, and told the people that then, and only then, were to be their frontier. After reaching the coast, he travelled down Dean Inlet as far as the Bella Bella country, likewise allotting land to the different settlements, and marking each boundary with a stick. After finishing his task, *Ayamim* returned up the Dean River to his brothers. The three built a weir that spanned the river, and in it they caught so many small land salmon that the Carrier used to come from great distances to buy from them. *Sqajo'it* was married to a chief living on the lower part of the river, and her brothers, too, came below for their wives. *Ayamim* ultimately moved to *Nooqhlo*, on the east side of the Dean River, twenty-five miles from the sea.

Gwayaxt had come from above in the form of a deer. After taking off this cloak, he released it as an animal, which became the ancestor of all the deer near Kimsquit. They did not like *Sisaal'a*, where it was very cold, so they moved to *Nikinik*, on Dean Inlet, about three miles below Kimsquit, and there built their town. Unfortunately, the snowfall was so heavy that they had much trouble in lighting their fires; sometimes as much as ten feet of snow fell in a single night.

"Please, *Ldiitoax*," said the deer, "don't keep falling on us."

In the language of men, *snow* is *ksi*, and *Ldiitoax* means, "Copper One," but the language of deer is quite different. The snow, unmoved by their appeals, continued to fall, until at last the deer held a meeting and resolved to move away to the outer coast near Bella Bella, and never return again. They carried out this plan, and it is only within the last few years that some have come back, although for centuries some lived near Kimsquit.

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*Related by Jim Pollard.

[illegible] *Ashiba*[1]

In the beginning of time *Ajaxmin* sent down to *Ashiba*, Salmon House on the Dean River, *Nashiba*, his younger brother *Tsagin*, and their sister [illegible], "Sun," to search for a supernatural tree in the land above. *Tsagin* brought a cedar with him, and released it on earth.[2] With these people came to Ashiba, The Way of Heaven, who has created human form and guided them. *Tsagin* in turn moved about to the country of the Carrier Indians, where he constructed[3] taking the adopted name *Sagin*.

Nashiba, unprovided with a house or clothing, was so lonely and unhappy that for four days he fed hungry, naked and dependent, alone with his sister. *Ajaxmin* had promised to provide for his welfare, and, four days after *Nashiba's* landing, sent down the four supernatural carpenters to help him. Underneath an oven showed his dwelling spirit by building him a house, which was a replica of Heaven's tent. *Nashiba* asked the first carpenter, [illegible], to provide him with food, and the latter, obedient to *Ajaxmin's* instructions, whittled a cedar-bark salmon from maple wood and put it into the river. The fish came to life, swam, and jumped for a short time, but soon died. The carpenter tried several times with the same result. Then Raven appeared and gave him the form which every cedar-bark salmon has in the back of its neck. [illegible] put this form in one of his wooden models, and when he had thrown it in the river it swam strongly and survived. This fish multiplied so rapidly that *Nashiba* and his sister were able to suppose themselves on this kind of salmon, which have been plentiful in the Dean River ever since. [P.25]

After a time *Nashiba* decided to visit the people dwelling on the ocean. He asked [illegible] for a canoe, and the carpenter made him one in the form of an enormous sturgeon, that travelled without visible moving power. As dye time the Dean River disappeared beneath a huge boulder a short distance above the sea, but the craft shattered the rock and opened a channel.[4]

At the mouth of the Dean River *Nashiba* met *Kimsan* and married his sister *Kitlan*, using at this ceremony a wooden marriage ring given him by *Ajaxmin*. They had many children and ever since that time there have been intermarriages and friendly relations between the people of Salmon House and Kimsquit. [512]

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[1]Related by Jim Pollard; for another version of this myth see Boas, p. 66.

[2]The footprints are still to seen in the rocks near Salmon House.

[3]The obvious fact that the Carriers were already here long in the land does not strike the Bella Coola. They do not discuss the subject, but if asked, reply that they too were sent down from above at the same time. [P.24]

[4]The canyon on this river marks the site of the observation.

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

539 *

At this juncture *Smanu* saw a party of strangers, and wondered who they might be as they crossed the river. There was great rejoicing when the two brothers told their parents who they were, for they had been so transformed that they were unrecognizable. *At the time* had said, *Lélewate-a*'s three beautiful wives came rushing up, eager to have him take them back, but he paid no attention to them. He welcomed only the ugly one, who had mourned for him, and managed her until she became the most lovely of all.

Smanu, delighted at the safe return of his sons, and proud of *Lélewate-a*'s beautiful children, sent invitations far and near to a great potlatch. At this ceremony he validated, with many presents, a name in the house for *Lélewate-a*. The name thus confirmed was *Spitwáldi*, "The First Born," a name given to *Lélewate-a* by *Kapatlíqhe*. *Smanu* also took this opportunity to confer names on his numerous grandchildren. After sojourning for some time in Kimsquit, the Kitlobe people returned home, richly laden with gifts.

In the course of time *Wíxwéklaá* bore her husband two more children. *Smanu* continued to prosper and to give potlatches, at one of which he gave one of his grandchildren the name *Sóklwaq*, "Chief." This designation at once became honourable on account of the goods expended. *Lélewate-a* did not wish to forget his Kitlobe friends, so in time he sent two of his children to live there. One of them was *Sóklwaq*, a name that has ever since remained there. Thus friendly relations between Kimsquit and Kitlobe, first opened by *Lélewate-a*, have been maintained. There have been many marriages between people of these two areas, each known of *Lélewate-a*, and it was only about one hundred and fifty years ago that a Kimsquit woman, *Ásqwal* by name, was married to a Kitlobe man to repay the original marriage of *Wíxwéklaá*. [548] [582]

When *Smanu* became old he gave yet another potlatch at which he took for himself the name *Lélewéwat*, "The Scatterer." He created this from his own fertile imagination, with reference to the way in which he scattered eagle down when first travelling to the north in eagle form. It has since been used by his descendants when old. [551]

539 * 424 [592]

The descendants of *Smanu* enjoy not only the prerogative of using this myth and the names included in it, but other privileges connected with it. If one of them gives a potlatch he carves the form of a *mítqas* on the spoons to be used at it, and paints the wall of his house with a whale design. *Omqemlikha*'s descendants are more likely than others to receive supernatural good fortune from a *mítqas*. The descendants of both

[881] bundle of four macaroni-shaped shells, probably *Dentalium*,
[302] which are said to have been imported from the north in early
[434] times. These marks serve to indicate the position of the girl,
[789] who is both feared and respected, possessed of supernatural
[536] power, and yet beautiful. Many Bella Coola myths describe
how adolescent girls have been able to vanquish supernatural
beings; perhaps the most striking of these is the manner in
which they once saved mankind when the sun came too close to
the earth. At the end of a year, or eleven months accord-
ing to one old woman, the seclusion is terminated, and the girl
resumes her normal activities. The first time she goes to the
river she must throw on the water four pieces of dried, and four
pieces of undyed cedar-bark. This is especially important if
the salmon are running at the time, although no explanation
of this ritual is given.

582 The resumption of her freedom indicates that a girl has
556 reached marriageable age. Chiefs sometimes confine their
882 daughters for even longer than a year, and usually delay their
marriages for several years to demonstrate their importance;
but this is not necessary, nor is it practised by other than
wealthy individuals. It is not uncommon for a girl to wed
before her year is out; in that case her restrictions automatically
[554] lapse. Chiefs never allow such a curtailment for their daugh-
ters; to do so would diminish the prestige of the latter, and
be detrimental to the status of their children when they marry
836 and have families. Illicit intercourse with a secluded adoles-
883 cent is considered not only illegal but disgusting as well. Be-
[881] tween the period of confinement and marriage, intercourse is
prohibited and guarded against by the parents of a girl, but
is not considered filthy and seems to have been fairly common
in former times with the daughters of poor people and slaves.
This sometimes took place before the first menstruation in
spite of the disapproval with which this was regarded.

826 Although the menstrual blood which appears at the first
841 discharge is considered more baneful than that emitted on later
789 occasions, it is always regarded as uncanny or unclean. It is

581 Confidently believing that he has descended from ancestors
[581] who came to this earth in the beginning of time, a Bella Coola wishes to have his children firmly established in the path of his forbears. This can be accomplished only with the aid of a suitable mother. It follows that marriage is not primarily a matter of affection, but of the ancestral eligibility of the contracting parties.

CHOICE OF MATE

564 Since the initiative for marriage is taken by the man in
581 almost all cases, it will be convenient and proper to describe the factors which enter into the search for a wife, remembering that the converse governs the decision of the woman and her relatives. The choice of the woman who is to be the mother of the children who will carry on the traditions of the ancestral family is a matter of too great importance to be entrusted to any young person. Accordingly, while their son is yet a child, his parents often discuss who would be a suitable wife for him. They view the matter from a strictly business standpoint.
581 Proud of their own ancient lineage, they would not demean themselves by allowing their son to marry a girl who could not trace her ancestry back to the first people, or with one whose forbears had disgraced themselves by marriage with slaves. Instead, it is a matter of pride for parents to have as daughter-in-law the child of a powerful chief. Nor can they choose a
582 woman too closely related to their son. Marriage with a sister, an aunt, a niece, or any first cousin is strictly prohibited. No reason for these laws could be obtained; the Bella Coola consider that it would be "indecent" or unclean so to marry, but have theorized no further about the matter. An adopted child
[597] is regarded in the same light as an own child. The Bella Coola
[829] know, and are amused by, the regulation of marriage according
[171] to crests among the northern tribes, but practise nothing of the same nature themselves. In fact, marriages usually take place among those who are descended from one ancestor and who have, accordingly, the same crest, though the significance

of the sons is very different from his son among the northern tribes.

Having eliminated those girls who are too closely related, or who are unsuited on account of the poverty of their parents, the father and mother can concentrate on others of about the same age as their son. The most desirable is a member of the ancestral family of one of the parents. This obviates the dangers and difficulties of marriage with a stranger, and any children will be born into the close-knit circle of related ancestors stretching back to the beginning of time. They consider that such a child is fortunate, as if he were held close in the spiritual embrace of his powerful forefathers of antiquity. Each ancestral family is jealously proud of its ancient traditions and genealogies, and as some of these are transmitted at marriage, it follows that a marriage within its ranks is desirable from a business standpoint. Moreover, it is recognized that the husband obtains more presents than the wife at the wedding and that her relatives are more likely to be generous when their son-in-law is one to whom they are related. Indeed, some ancestral families are so "stingy," (to use the Bella Coola expression), that for generations they have habitually married endogamously. In such cases it is not unknown for the children of first cousins to mate, though this is usually regarded as not quite proper. The most common marriages are between the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of first cousins, or between the child and grandchild of a first cousin when of suitable age. According to mythology, unions have sometimes taken place between brother and sister in order to preserve the traditions within the family, and it appears highly probable that marriages have occasionally occurred between first cousins, although no specific instances of this could be learnt. As long as the laws against incest are obeyed, any girl of appropriate age who is addressed as *nemas* (I, p. 153) is a fit partner. Since ancestral families have usually become localized in certain villages, there is a strong leaning to local endogamy, though this is not compulsory. The restrictions

[illegible] on marriage are of a bilateral nature, and the prohibitions are equally bilateral, with a tendency to become patrilineal, in accordance with the patrilineal tendency of the ancestral family in already described.

[illegible] Although these considerations greatly restrict the selection of a suitable daughter-in-law, a number of choices always remain. The parents of the prospective bridegroom consider the material advantages of each of these. Since the ability of a man to give protection depends largely on the wealth contributed by his wife's immediate family, wise parents choose a girl whose brothers are lazy. Moreover, they know that their son's children will receive prerogatives from their maternal grandparents, hence it is desirable to choose those who have prized doctor dances, or other valuable rights. Ancestral names are not so important, because these are the potential property of all members of the ancestral family. A great consideration is the industriousness of the girl herself, though this is of less moment than the working ability of her father and brothers. Marriage was discussed with a very old man who had had four wives. After describing the idiosyncrasies of the four, he continued:

"My last wife was by far the best. Her family gave me many presents."

[illegible] Frequently the choice of a wife is simplified by an institution which may be termed "return marriage." If, for example, a few generations ago a woman was married into another ancestral family, or into a distant branch of her own, it was considered proper for a man of her family to receive as wife a woman of the family into which she had married. During the previous wedding rites the woman's family bestowed much wealth and valuable prerogatives; it is proper that the latter should be restored to the ancestral family of their owners. A return marriage also binds two families together, with consequent strength to the children. A few examples will make the matter clear.

Schwatka E-9 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

583 at present, though even now it is considered highly desirable.
[178] The sentiment is that already described: the more closely the parents are bound together by ties of common ancestry, the greater will be their children's ceremonial strength. Further, reciprocal alliances of this type obviate all danger of feuds, since return marriages are not required.

582 In recent years it has become fashionable, or socially
178 "smart," with some Bella Coola families to seek wives from
648 unrelated ancestral families, and even from other tribes. It is said that this practice was initiated by *Pudas*, an important chief who died between 1870 and 1880. He sought foreign marriages on account of the prerogatives which were brought as dowers by his wives, and considered that such rights, transmissable to his children, more than compensated for the lack of strength peovided by related ancestors. Many have followed his example, with the result that some ancestral families have entirely abandoned the endogamic tendency. Boas (p. 124) has made the same observation. Although this exogamic
[581] principle is directly contrary to that which has already been described, yet it should be noted that each has the same explanation—the search for a wife able to bring most to her as yet unborn children.

584 Should the parents consider a foreign woman as wife for
581 their son, then her worth is discussed from every angle. One woman may have the right to good hunting grounds, the family of another may have some valuable *sisook* prerogatives, a third some *kusiut* rites. Anxious thought is put on the relative values of these. One man had heard of the French system of *dot*, and emphasized strongly how far superior to, and more sensible it was than the Canadian practice. In recent years
[178] the younger Bella Coola have been arranging their own marriages, and the older men lament bitterly that they are influenced only by the beauty and working ability of the girl, not by her real worth, the prerogatives which she can bring to her children.

Although parents consider chiefly the ancestry of their

G.McDowell R-5 (922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

future daughter-in-law, yet they are not entirely oblivious to the girl herself. She must be of about the same age as their son, preferably a year or two older. Should the wife be the younger, it is thought that she ages rapidly until she appears as old as her husband. Boys usually marry at seventeen or eighteen, and it is essential that the woman chosen for wife must have been concealed for at least a year following puberty. Nor is a weakly girl chosen, or one of notoriously bad temper. As their son reaches the age of marriage, his parents usually consult him, though it is not usual for him to gainsay their wishes. A girl who has been leading a notoriously lax life is not desired, though this is most unusual for the daughter of a chief. The feeling is that such a girl would be a faithless and fickle wife, rather than any objection to her sins as such. 584 581 [582]

Realising the importance of marriage, the parents of a boy discuss and plan the event for years, weighing the relative value of girls whom they think they could obtain for their son. By the time he has reached the age of fourteen or fifteen, they have decided on the most suitable partner, and it then becomes necessary to consult her parents and win their approval. 584

PERIOD OF ENGAGEMENT

When the parents of the young man (whom it will be convenient to term X) have at last decided on a suitable partner, they next choose an intermediary for the first proposal. In all these discussions the elderly relatives of the parents take a leading part, and especially their own parents if alive. Sometimes X's father himself interviews the father of the girl (here termed Y), at other times he asks some friend to do so. The matter is not supposed to be generally known, and the intermediary goes to Y's father's house, and quietly tells her parents that X's family would like their daughter to become X's wife. This preliminary asking is done unostentatiously, at any time and in any place, and the messenger withdraws after giving his message. In all probability Y's family have already re-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

595 556 two, but only one of great importance could hope to aspire to more, while the case of *Patlu* was considered to be unique and highly desirable.

595 578 A chief's wives always lived in the same house, and it is said that disputes were frequent. *Patlu* endeavoured to prevent jealousy by providing each woman with a special bedroom and sleeping for a single night with each in order. One informant had two wives when a young man, and he found that the only way to avoid constant bickering was by sleeping in one bed, between them. The evidence seems clear that plurality of wives was usually the cause of considerable friction, though this never deterred a man from taking a second wife if he could. The only special rule of incest in this regard was that two sisters could not be married at the same time.

[835] [582]

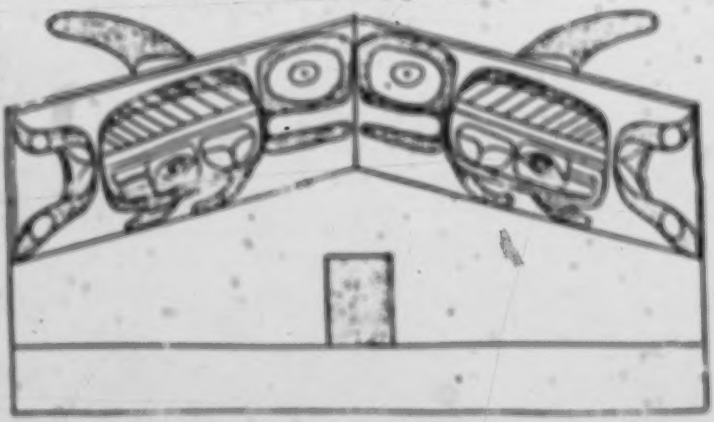
595 183 626 In answer to questions about polyandry, two men told of a licentious woman who had two feeble-minded husbands between whom she used to sleep. The whole affair was considered disgusting, but public opinion did not ostracize the offenders since a person's marital affairs were considered to concern the individual only. It was accordingly assumed that the institution of true polyandry did not exist, when, unexpectedly, information was volunteered about its occurrence in the families of influential men. A very powerful chief, if his only child was a daughter, quite frequently married her simultaneously to the sons of other chiefs. She was thus considered most fortunate, since only a wealthy man could provide for a daughter in this way, and expend the large quantities of goods necessary to ensure her proper marriage in each case. The husbands were never brothers, and seldom related, since the ambitious parent wished to ally his daughter with different ancestral families for the benefit of any resultant children. The joint wife was accustomed to live for a number of months in the home of one of her husbands, with her other husbands forming part of his household. She would then move to the house of another, who assumed the leadership of the group,

595 556

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

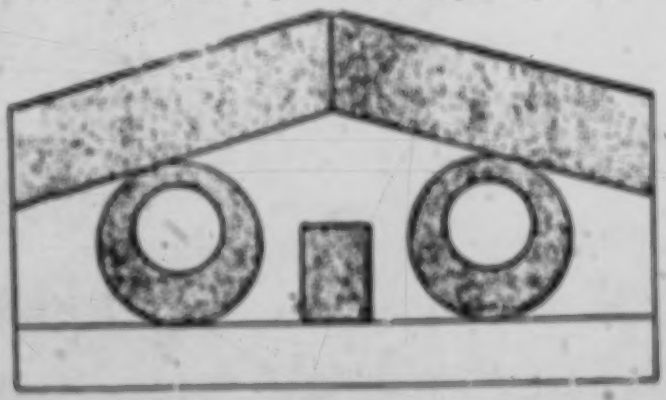
614 The evidence which I can present regarding the laws of intermarriage
●582 is the following: I inquired of Nuxk'ale'xin (would water in low), a
[551] member of the Iale'xlmitt gens, whether he might marry a Sputel'lit woman; this suggestion he rejected with the greatest indignation.

FIG. 1.—House-front of the gens Tlok-ut'le.



Members of the first two gentes, he explained later on, are not allowed to intermarry, neither are members of the last two gentes, while the first and second may marry among the third and fourth. He accounted for

FIG. 2.—House-front of the gens Tlok-wunt'et, representing the moon.



this by stating that Iale'xlmitt's are married Sputel'lit's daughter, and that consequently the two gentes were related to each other.

614 The gentes have crests similar to those of the neighboring coast

7:Boas B-1 (2886-on, 1892)980 NBS Bellacoola NES

[624] 575 Indians the tradition is considered much more closely the property of the person who has it in charge than it is among the southwestern Indians. A description of the clan's ceremonial has been given by Jacobsen in the paper above referred to.[1]

[624] 424 A clan legend which is illustrated in the clan's ceremonial is called by the Bella Coola "Semsim" or "Sem'yum." These traditions are the exclusive property of each clan. The laws according to which they descend from generation to generation differ from the laws prevailing among the other Coast tribes. The inhabitants of each Bella Coola village are not subdivided [621] into clans, gentes, or septs; but each village community forms a unit, and possesses the same tradition. In order to keep the tradition in the tribe, the law requires that no person shall marry outside of his own village community. [624] 424 Thus the clan tradition is kept the exclusive property of the village community by means of endogamy. I have made very careful inquiries in regard [582] to this point, and all the old men make substantially the same statement. Even marriages among near relatives are permitted,[2] and although marriages of people who are distantly related, or not related at all, are preferred, it even happens that cousins marry, or that an uncle marries his niece, in order to keep the clan tradition from being acquired by another village community. It seems, however, that, owing to the influence of the Coast tribes, the endogamic system has begun to give way to an exogamic system. Powerful [622] and wealthy chiefs marry outside of their own village community, in order to secure an additional clan legend through marriage. This new system agrees with the one prevalent among the Kwakiutl tribes.

575 [624] 796 The hi'ulat, as stated before, is a religious ceremony in which all the deities of heaven are personified. The members of various clans are initiated according to their clan traditions; but the same societies and the same deities appear in the traditions of all the various clans. From what little I have been able to learn, it seems that there is an elaborate opening of the whole ceremonial, corresponding to the opening of the ceremonial among the Kwakiutl. I received the following description of the opening ceremonial:—

575 796 The person who invites to the hi'ulat, that is to say, the man whose son is to be initiated into one of the secret societies according to the tradition of his clan, requests a person who is called E'ulem to invite the nine brothers [796] and their sister, who reside in the House of Hyiha, and in whose charge the hi'ulat is placed. The names of the brothers are Xwaxwaxwa'ula, Xi'nuiwa, Qaq'ooxk'ilk'a, Qi'ustwa, Ainuk'ula, Ai'uuk'ilk'a, K'ek'ilus, Qakuu'wa, Ai'uuk'; and that of their sister, Ulmi'qaiwaxa (see p. 33). In the rear of the house an elevated room is prepared for E'ulem, in which he lies down. He is covered with cings made of red cedar-bark. For four days he stays

[1] Op. cit., pp. 1-12.

[2] I have detailed this fully in the Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895 (in press).

follow either father or mother, but that it had not the right to use the property of both parents. It seems to my mind that the former method was more likely to develop under the existing social conditions, and that to this reason we must ascribe the development of an endogamic system among the Bella Coola. The occurrence of endogamic marriage among this tribe is quite isolated on the Pacific coast. All the other tribes have exogamic institutions, and by this means preserve their property rights. It is interesting to note that the northern Kwakiutl, who originally seem to have been organized in village communities, have adopted exogamic institutions; but there is a notable difference, in the organization of the village community, between the Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl. Among the Bella Coola we generally find four ancestors to each village,—usually three men and one woman. It is true that these are generally called brothers and sisters, but they were created independently by Sun, and are therefore not necessarily considered as blood relations. Among the Kwakiutl the village community are considered the descendants of one single being; consequently, among the latter tribe they are all relatives, who are forbidden to intermarry; while among the Bella Coola they are not relatives, and may intermarry.

My interest is, therefore, that the curious social system of the Bella Coola developed through the influence of the customs of the Coast tribes upon the home social unit of the Salish village community. The possession of clan traditions was felt as a great advantage, and consequently the desire developed to possess clan traditions. These were acquired partly by intermarriage with the Coast tribes, as is shown by the fact that many of these traditions are borrowed from these tribes, partly by independent invention. The desire to guard the traditions which were once acquired led to the development of endogamic institutions, in order to prevent the spread of the traditions over the whole tribe.

The jealousy with which the traditions are guarded has had the effect of making each family try to prevent other families from knowing its own clan traditions. For this reason the clan traditions of the whole tribe are remarkably inconsistent. We find, for instance, that the well-known raven legend of the northern Coast tribes has been utilized by many families as a family tradition. But while one family uses one part of the tradition, other families use other parts of the same tradition. Thus it happens that among the Bella Coola we find the most contradictory myths in regard to important events in the world's history. Some families maintain that the Raven liberated the sun, while, according to another one, the Mink was essential in bringing about the present state of affairs. Still others say that Tsimo'ten, during his travels, caused the sun to appear. The discrepancies in the traditions referring to the visit of the Mink and Wasp to their fathers, the Sun, are also very remarkable. Although a considerable amount of

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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614 553 [773] *The ancestral family may, therefore, be defined as those whose ätsiqtul names are embodied in the same origin myth.*

What is the stability of this group?

In consequence of the large number of names theoretically embodied in every myth, and of the necessity for validating the bestowal of any one of these by means of presents, it follows that there is always a large number of dormant names. The Bella Coola describe these as being, "In the burial ground." They are, in fact, dead. Any one of these may be resurrected by any member of the ancestral family. If a woman marries into a foreign tribe her relatives occasionally give her husband, outright, an ancestral name. In such a case that name is permanently alienated from the family to which it formerly belonged; this should happen only when the group is reduced to a few individuals, all of whom agree to the transaction. [583] But more often a woman takes as a wedding gift to her husband a name which it is understood cannot be transmitted to one of his relatives unless he has children. On the death of the childless husband, this designation reverts to his widow's ancestral family. If there are children, they cement the bond of friendship between the two families. The brother of a woman so married also bestows names on her children, as further mark of their incorporation into her ancestral family. [583] It is customary and proper, however, for the ancestral family into which a woman is married and bears children to reciprocate the compliment a few generations later, and by the marriage of one of their women to restore such names to the ancestral family to which they originally belonged. According to the Bella Coola, this practice of "return-marriage" has been the rule since the first exogamic marriages of the first people, with the result that names usually return to the patrilineal descendants of the first people to use them.

611 614 If a woman marries outside her ancestral family, her children will belong to at least two distinct ancestral groups. It is difficult to say how long an individual remembers the dif-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*556 574 [203] Although guests from different tribes are sometimes invited to other ceremonials, it is at potlatches that they are essential. Since the validity of such transactions as marriages, divorces, or the assumption of professional prerogatives depends on the presence of witnesses, and since the importance of such a rite depends on the number of witnesses, a man is always eager to carry out any public performance at a potlatch when he is sure of the attention of foreigners, and the consequent wider diffusion of knowledge of what he has done. The man who has invited guests is usually willing to allow others to perform at his potlatch, since it increases the complexity and importance [184] of the affair. It follows that no two potlatches are alike; one will contain features entirely lacking in another. Moreover, the wealth of the donor determines how many rites he himself will cause to be performed. The fundamental concept of the potlatch is the inviting of guests from abroad to witness rites [769] in connection with an ancestral myth, especially the return of a recently deceased relative of the donor to visit the living.

*556 796 At any important potlatch the following rites are carried out, and in the account of the ritual it will be assumed that these alone are taking place. If the reader bears this summary in mind, he is less likely to be confused by the complication of rites.

(1) The return of a dead ancestor to visit the living.

[575] [553] (2) The initiation of young men or women into the *susook* society. This includes the validation of a *susook* name for each, and a period of seclusion in the back-room. The initiates may either be relatives of the donor of the potlatch, or young persons whose relatives are taking the opportunity to carry out the rite in the presence of foreigners. Some of the initiates may already be members of the society, undergoing a further period of seclusion in order to increase their status by a further distribution of presents.

[554] [858] [583] (3) The payment by the wife of the donor and her family of goods to "rebuy" her from her husband. This is a legal fiction, though necessary to maintain the status of the children.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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Coola say that the return of the dead "washes away grief," and unquestionably it has a comforting effect on the mind of the donor of the potlatch. 556* 769

(3) Wealth. Unless a man has the necessary goods with which to make presents he cannot invite guests, no matter how important may be his ancestral myths and names. Some of this wealth he may be able to amass by his own labours, but unless he is assisted by his wife's family it is virtually impossible for him to succeed. The Bella Coola believe that a man cannot become a chief except through large payments made by a woman's family when they "rebuy" her from her husband. In other words, no man can succeed without the support of his wife. In choosing a mate a man is guided almost entirely by the ability of her family to give him financial support. In some cases an elderly couple assist a married son to give a potlatch; this custom, though considered quite proper, is not common. 476 556* 602 [583] [622] [581]

(4) Supernatural assistance. To the Bella Coola this is quite as important as the preceding. One man may work very hard but his efforts are never crowned with success, whereas another man will prosper in every venture. This is due to the supernatural attributes given by the supreme god to the latter. By prayer, ceremonial chastity, and other means, a man may increase the powers granted to him, but if these are entirely lacking, he can never hope to rise to the position of chief. 556* 787

PRELIMINARIES

In describing the potlatch, it will be convenient to refer to the donor as X, and assume him to be a middle-aged member of the *nuxek* society, whose seat and name, though duly ratified, lack importance through his previous failure to give large presents. 556*

For a number of years X has prospered. He has amassed quantities of skins, blankets, tools, copper ornaments, clothing, canoes, baskets, dentalium shell, slaves, and other valuables.

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Pre-
* 556 sently the guests assemble, those who are used wearing on
[575] their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership
[237] in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled,
[292] the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners,
[554] slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair. It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by
[203] the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial gain.

264 A number of young lads, friends or relatives of X, distribute the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called
* 556 upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no
[883] standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests; otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in
[578] this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its
● 589 reward.

* 556 Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a fluent friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech,
[537] extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that
[425] X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may
[424] be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with
[532] certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name.

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bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name. The speaker always recounts the whole myth before announcing which portion of it is transmitted to X as a prerogative. It is understood that this transference will be duly validated by presents to X when he gives his potlatch. Such are termed *dzāmāuxmtxum* and signify the repurchase of a wife from her husband. Though this is known to be a fiction it has extreme social importance. Unless *dzāmāuxmtxum* is paid there is an ineradicable blot upon the children; in fact, it is one of the essentials of a legal marriage. All prerogatives thus transferred on *xlāxtxum* become the property of X and will in time pass to his children, unless recalled to the wife's family by further repurchase (*dzāmāuxmtxum*) money or goods. In this fashion elements of family myths become scattered, and one of the considerations in choosing a wife is to select a woman able to bring back some missing part of the husband's myth. 556* 425 583 [581]

The usual present is an ancestral name, which X henceforth uses as potlatches as his most distinguished title, though the myth in which it is incorporated does not belong to him. As long as the name remains in X's family those who originally owned it are unable to make use of it. Such a name is said to be "dragged across" by the wife to her husband, the immense weight or importance of the designation being compared with the dragging of a heavy log. Occasionally, the father of a married woman, animated by the kindliest feelings towards his son-in-law, may give him outright a myth with all the names embodied therein. This can happen only where there are no other survivors of the family. In such a case when the myth is recounted it must always be mentioned how it has been obtained. The number and type of the prerogatives transferred depend upon the sentiments with which his wife's family regard X. If, in addition to being a worthy man, he is member of their ancestral family, or of one with which his wife's has frequently intermarried, so that in course of generations prerogatives have intermingled, there is less objection to giving him such rights than if he were an unrelated individual. [553] [551] 556* 425 606 553

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with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *sisaok* ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from these, and sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy being had landed there. At once there is great excitement within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove them to be at hand. No one is allowed to leave except a *sisaok siki*[9] who is skilled in dealing with *Mulakila*,[10] also called *Sixsixqwtnam*, the supernatural being closely connected with the *sisaok* ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *siki* raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance.

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

[9]The accounts of all informants agree that much of the *sisaok* ritual was newly imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements, *Putlus*, a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella wife, also one from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with them as dower certain *sisaok* prerogatives. It is said that previous to that time the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the youths secluded in the back-room, nor to dispel the beings at the conclusion of the rites. On the other hand, some Bella Coola claim that their first ancestors brought the whistles with them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural beings is a recent addition to the potlatch, which accounts for the contradictory accounts, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It appears certain that the prerogative of *siki* has recently been obtained from the Bella Bella. *Siki* means "the one who cures," and the name is given to the man whose prerogative it is to tend the *kusiut* initiates in whom supernatural powers are located. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for *sisaok* matters, known as a *hai-alakila*. Through intermarriage several Bella Coola have recently obtained this prerogative; in each case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to these, so favoured, the term *siki*, as they do for the *kusiut* "curer," though the Bella Bella name, *hai-alakila*, is used with equal frequency. The present *siki* have endeavoured to claim for themselves certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by any *sisaok*. In this account of a potlatch it is assumed that a *siki* is functioning on all occasions, but in many cases any senior *sisaok* is considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *sisaok* was regarded as capable of doing so.

[10]Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a certain *Smaxax* of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time.

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533 earliest ancestors, and the text is commonly grandiloquently
*556 phrased.[19] Frequently the singers alter the words slightly to
suit the occasion, and sometimes compose entirely new words
[171] for an old tune. As they sing, they are aided by some of X's
friends who rise and stand between the fire and the front door.
[532] They occasionally wear forehead masks carved with his crest
to add dignity to the rite.

203 After the song the chiefs continue their meal, and there is
much practical joking with the heralds.

522 "Don't you want some food?" X calls to one of them.

*556 Without waiting for an answer he throws a box containing
the liquid pulp, inclined at such an angle that the mess is spattered over the recipient. Occasionally, a herald will succeed in catching a box without spilling the contents, but usually he is smeared from head to foot, while the spectators shriek with laughter. It is one of the functions of a herald to be a laughing stock for the visitors.

*556 During the afternoon X's wife and the members of her
family deliver to him the goods which they have amassed to
●583 "re-buy" her from her husband. These are called "washing
material," as if they supplied X with wash-basin and toilet necessities. The speaker orates how the wife has lived up to her obligation in making this presentation, and how it will clear the path for her children. These goods will later on be distributed by X. They can be used for:

(1) Repayment of potlatch debts, or

(2) Making potlatch investments, or

(3) Validating names, either *sisaak* or ancestral, for the children of his relatives.

It would be most disgraceful should any of the goods be applied to validating *sisaak* names for any of X's own children, because they have come from his wife's people and react to the advantage of her children in any case. These goods are

[19] Though not to the same extent as among the Kwakiutl where the words may describe how the sky is supported on a chief's shoulders, or how he has pushed his head into the land above.

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not returnable by X to his wife's family. A question on this point was regarded as highly amusing. If used for investment-gifts, the presents received in return are given to X, not to his wife's relations. 556* 583

A speaker, acting on instructions from the brother or other member of X's wife's family, also announces what names, portions of myth-prerogatives, or other privileges she is bestowing on her husband. After that the people disperse, although they are free to re-enter the house, where, during the afternoon, arrangements are being made for the elaborate ceremonial which takes place that night. 556*

Towards dusk the guests reassemble and take their places as before. Part of the goods which X proposes to give away has been brought in, and, aided by members of his family, he busies himself recounting and making final plans for its distribution. As the Bella Coola have no system of writing, accurate division of goods at a potlatch causes considerable difficulty and worry to the donor. A slighted guest will feel aggrieved, and the sacred nature of the rite will have been subjected to insult if arrangements are not satisfactory. The first business is the settlement of debts by X to the members of his own village. He may perhaps have borrowed fifty blankets ten years previously from a certain individual whom he now intends to repay, with foreign guests as witnesses to the transaction. X always endeavours to reimburse with as large a premium as possible, because by so doing he displays his nobility of mind to the assemblage; but if he can restore only the amount borrowed, or the same with a small increase, there will be no trouble such as might occur should he fail to return at least the principal. When the debt has been settled with interest the matter is at an end, for there is no compulsion upon the man who receives the additional sum to repay this with interest in his turn. The amount previously lent, and the occasion, are always publicly announced, so that all are made aware of his generosity with regard to interest. [212] [578] 426 556*

In Kimsquit it was customary at this stage of the proceed- 556* 184

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plied to provide abundant food for all; it became the ancestor of all the beaver of the upper valley. Owing to their position higher up the Bella Coola, *Taiałwala* and his brothers considered that they were nearer to the sun than any of the people dwelling below, a fact of which they were exceedingly proud. Moreover, having been sent down by him, the sun was their crest. 539

There were two large boulders in the river near the settlement, which *Ałquałtm* had shown *Taiałwala* how to use as supports for a salmon-weir. With the help of his brothers, a hole was drilled in one of the rocks; then they felled a large tree upstream and allowed it to drift down until the butt lodged in the perforated boulder and the head swung across against the other. With this as base, other trunks were woven in upright so that the river was almost spanned and a fine dam constructed. In this they caught so many salmon that *Taiałwala* and his brothers were able to call people from far and near to potlatches and feast them liberally on the fish. In course of time their sister was married to a chief from another town. Henceforth, whenever one of her brothers gave a potlatch, he was able to rebuy his sister on a lavish scale with the teeming salmon. The sun had taught the woman a song for such occasions, which has since been used as a prerogative by her descendants when rebuying themselves from their husbands. [424] [583]

Taiałwala made a long voyage of exploration during which he reached the Skeena River. He made friends with the inhabitants of the town, *Q̓ałwan*, who gave him the name, *Xwałkw*,[18] meaning *whale* in their language. Continuing his journey, he ultimately circled the earth before returning home. He obtained several other designations, including *Ałkamła* from the Kwatna people.[19]

Years after the settlement of *Snałk'ał*, the drilled stone supporting the salmon-weir broke and the ruins were swept away downstream. The people cut their hair and blackened their faces in mourning, then moved to *Stuax* where a number of their daughters had married chiefs.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nułxtq*[20]

It is common to add details from a story to a family myth in order to increase its length and importance. Almost cer- [178] [114]

[18]It appears that *Xwałkw* is an attempt to pronounce the English, *whale-how*, an interesting example of the way in which modern words have been incorporated into ancient myths and been clothed with the glamour of antiquity. [178]

[19]Both are still used by members of the ancestral family descended from *Taiałwala*. [551]

[20]Related by Mrs. Webber, who had learnt it from her late father, *Snałkłałk*, a chief of *Snał*, whose hamlet name was *Snałkmp*.

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air. As they did so the feathers began to move, gradually rising in the air until some passed through the roof. It was as if a miniature whirlwind of gentle power were agitating them. As the three continued to use the sticks, the corpse itself began to move, finally disintegrating into the down and passing through the roof. As it did so the three said:

"Go back whence we came. *Yr* ....."

Since that time the people of *Owikì* have disposed of their dead in this manner.

The first *Ałkałałc* brought with him from above not only the right to a *nanał* dance, but also a Cannibal *hamat* dance (II, p. 71) with the Bella Bella name *Łełnaz*. He had, moreover, the rare privilege of performing *hamat* and *nanał* rites on alternate nights.

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[766]
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[424]

This myth is important since it embodies an account of the disappearance of a corpse through a roof, a method of removal of the dead now practised by the Bella Coola in the case of chiefs. This means is recognized by the Bella Coola to have been a recent introduction from either Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet to *Tal'ùs*, and thence to Bella Coola. Judging from this account, it would appear that such a method of removal of a corpse must be considered as originally a prerogative embodied in a myth, although it has ceased to be regarded as such in Bella Coola. The man from whom this tradition was obtained said it was only one of the type current in Bella Coola, though such are common in Bella Bella. It was obtained by the marriage of one of his ancestors to a woman of *Owikì*, and was used as theme for a mourning-ceremony at the death of his sister.

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AN EARLY BELLA BELLA MYTH TRANSMITTED BY MARRIAGE TO BELLA COOLA*

In the beginning of time, when the population of the earth consisted only of the few people who had come down from above, *Yałkimat* went to the Bella Bella town, *Łqqyał*, where, as was common at that period, people had no houses but were sheltered under huge trees which *Łłqwałłw* had placed there for that purpose. *Yałkimat* was in the form of a man at the time and fell in love with a girl of the village. Her father, *Nà·ai*, agreed to the match and the two were married. The husband never slept with his wife; when he wished children, he willed that they

*Related by Joshua Moody.

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of the term is very different from its use among the northern tribes. 582 171

Having eliminated those girls who are too closely related, or who are unsuited on account of the poverty of their parents, 581 the father and mother can concentrate on others of about the same age as their son. The most desirable is a member of the ancestral family of one of the parents. This obviates the dangers and difficulties of marriage with a stranger, and any children will be born into the close-knit circle of related ancestors stretching back to the beginning of time. They consider that such a child is fortunate, as if he were held close in the spiritual embrace of his powerful forefathers of antiquity. Each ancestral family is jealously proud of its ancient traditions and prerogatives, and as some of these are transmitted at marriage, it follows that a mating within its ranks is desirable from a business standpoint. Moreover, it is recognized that the husband obtains more presents than the wife [583] at the wedding and that her relatives are more likely to be generous when their son-in-law is one to whom they are related. Indeed, some ancestral families are so "stingy," (to use the Bella Coola expression), that for generations they have habitually married endogamously. [582] In such cases it is not unknown for the children of first cousins to mate, though this is usually regarded as not quite proper. The most common marriages are between the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of first 582 cousins, or between the child and grandchild of a first cousin when of suitable age. According to mythology, unions have sometimes taken place between brother and sister in order to [773] preserve the traditions within the family, and it appears highly probable that marriages have occasionally occurred between first cousins, although no specific instances of this could be learnt. As long as the laws against incest are obeyed, any girl of appropriate age who is addressed as *numao* (I, p. 153) is a fit partner. Since ancestral families have usually become localized in certain villages, there is a strong leaning to local endogamy, though this is not compulsory. The restrictions

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582 on marriage are of a bilateral nature, and the preferences are equally bilateral, with a tendency to become patrilineal, in accordance with the patrilineal tendency of the ancestral family as already described.

581 Although these considerations greatly restrict the selection of a suitable daughter-in-law, a number of choices always remain. The parents of the prospective bridegroom consider the material advantages of each of these. Since the ability of a man to give potlatches depends largely on the wealth contributed by his wife's immediate family, wise parents eliminate a girl whose brothers are lazy. Moreover, they know that their son's children will receive prerogatives from their maternal grandparents, hence it is desirable to choose those who have prized *kusiut* dances, or other valuable rights. Ancestral names are not so important, because these are the potential property of all members of the ancestral family. A great consideration is the industriousness of the girl herself, though this is of less moment than the working ability of her father and brothers. Marriage was discussed with a very old man who had had four wives. After describing the idiosyncrasies of the four, he continued:

"My last wife was by far the best. Her family gave me many presents."

583 [581] Frequently the choice of a wife is simplified by an institution which may be termed "return marriage." If, for example, a few generations ago a woman was married into another ancestral family, or into a distant branch of her own, it was considered proper for a man of her family to receive as wife a woman of the family into which she had married. During the previous wedding rites the woman's family bestowed much wealth and valuable prerogatives; it is proper that the latter should be restored to the ancestral family of their owners. A return marriage also binds two families together, with consequent strength to the children. A few examples will make the matter clear.

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In the beginning of time it is believed that a son of *Smaoan* married the daughter of a Kitlobe chief (I, p. 338). As dower she brought her husband several Kitlobe names, which were transmitted in time to her children and which remained in *Smaoan*'s home, Kimsquit, for many generations. The Bella Coola believe that it was remembered for hundreds of years that these designations did not belong there. Whenever one was conferred, the myth was recounted to tell how it first came to Kimsquit; whereas in Kitlobe when the myth from which the names were taken was related, it was always added that those in question could not be used since they were now in Kimsquit. About one hundred and fifty years ago, *Ätsqutl*, a Kimsquit woman, was married to a Kitlobe man to repay this debt, and cement friendship between the two tribes. She took as dower the names long ago brought from Kitlobe. Similarly, if any name or other prerogative of an ancestral myth has been alienated from the ancestral family to which it belongs, a father searches for a woman who will be able to restore it to his son as a marriage gift. The word used for searching is "hunt," the term applied to seeking fur-bearing animals. 173 583 648

The accompanying pedigree illustrates a return marriage. *Qwakila*'s daughter was married to a Fort Rupert man and took with her as dower several Bella Coola names and other prerogatives. The loss of these was remembered and they were brought back by the marriage of *Yäkutsi*, a member of *Qwakila*'s ancestral family, with a daughter of the woman who had gone to Fort Rupert. Usually several generations elapse before a return marriage is made. This incident was perfectly well known to the son of *Yäkutsi*.

Qwakila of *Qwaqa-ti* — Daughter

Nakas-sa of Fort Rupert — Daughter

Yäkutsi of *Qwaqa-ti*

If parents who are seeking a wife for their son have also a daughter approaching marriageable age, they may try to avoid a later return marriage by arranging that their daughter shall be married to a brother, or other near relative, of their son's wife. Exchange marriage was formerly more common than 583 [178]

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583 at present, though even now it is considered highly desirable.
[178] The sentiment is that already described: the more closely the parents are bound together by ties of common ancestry, the greater will be their children's ceremonial strength. Further, reciprocal alliances of this type obviate all danger of feuds, since return marriages are not required.

582 In recent years it has become fashionable, or socially
178 "smart," with some Bella Coola families to seek wives from
648 unrelated ancestral families, and even from other tribes. It is said that this practice was initiated by *Patlas*, an important chief who died between 1870 and 1880. He sought foreign marriages on account of the prerogatives which were brought as dowers by his wives, and considered that such rights, transmissable to his children, more than compensated for the lack of strength provided by related ancestors. Many have followed his example, with the result that some ancestral families have entirely abandoned the endogamic tendency. Boas (p. 124) has made the same observation. Although this exogamic
[581] principle is directly contrary to that which has already been described, yet it should be noted that each has the same explanation—the search for a wife able to bring most to her as yet unborn children.

584 Should the parents consider a foreign woman as wife for
581 their son, then her worth is discussed from every angle. One woman may have the right to good hunting grounds, the family of another may have some valuable *nuseek* prerogatives, a third some *kaxiat* rites. Anxious thought is put on the relative values of these. One man had heard of the French system of *dot*, and emphasized strongly how far superior to, and more sensible it was than the Canadian practice. In recent years
[178] the younger Bella Coola have been arranging their own marriages, and the older men lament bitterly that they are influenced only by the beauty and working ability of the girl, not by her real worth, the prerogatives which she can bring to her children.

Although parents consider chiefly the ancestry of their

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584 ceived information of the proposed marriage, but they always plead ignorance, and deliberate for several days. Y's parents and other relatives take part in the discussion, and Y herself may likewise be taken into confidence. Although a daughter has, theoretically, little choice, in practice she exercises a great deal of influence. Her mother and father weigh the suitor's [581] eligibility not only with regard to wealth and ancestral possessions, but consider his character. An immoral young man is not desirable, though neither is one who is impotent.

If Y's relatives agree to the proposal, some one of them informs the intermediary, or X's father, and the young people are considered to be engaged. The fact is supposed to be kept secret for several days, although the news usually becomes known sooner. X's relatives as soon as possible take a number 583 of presents to Y's family. These are given in private, and are 584 termed "secret gifts"; they are said to give strength to the future children. Since no witnesses are present it follows that no social prestige accrues from the transaction. The relatives included in the "family" of either X or Y are not always the same; uncles, aunts, grandparents, may or may not take part in the giving and receiving of presents, the parents alone always do so. Sometimes distant relatives take a leading part in the arrangements, either in hope of receiving valuable gifts, or of obtaining social influence by lavish giving. If X's relatives have reason to believe that Y's family will accept their proposal, several of them may go in company and actually carry the "secret gifts" to Y's house at the time of making the first proposal. Should this be rejected, they merely carry away their goods, and as the affair has been private, no one's vanity is hurt.

The acceptance of "secret gifts" binds the engagement of X and Y, but a few days elapse before this is made public. If 552, X's family is wealthy, his father, or other near relative, pre- 584 sently invites all the inhabitants of the village to his house. 535 The singers, in their usual stations behind the fire, strike up 575 the tune of some *kwaiat* and the owner of the song, thus warned,

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dances in time to it. Using their own discretion, the musicians proceed to beat out the time for *kusiut* after *kusiut*, and each performs. In like fashion they then beat out the tune of one *susook* after another, and each member of that society gives his dance. Since none of the supernatural beings is present, the affair is non-sacred. The singers consult with the host as to the number of songs to be used. When they stop at last, X's father, aided by his younger relatives, gives valuable presents of food. No mention of the coming marriage is made, but the rite gives the donor an opportunity of displaying his generosity as a chief and indirectly increases the importance of the wedding because the value of the food will later be remembered in connection with it. [589]

If X's father is very wealthy, he may recall the people for several nights, always providing the same type of entertainment, and always giving food. He uses his own judgment as to the number of such entertainments, but at that which he decides shall be the last, he announces:

"Tomorrow we shall go to Y's father's house."

If X's father does not wish to give away such large quantities of food he may omit the dancing in his own house and make this announcement at a potlatch, a *kusiut* dance,[5] or any other public gathering. But the more elaborate the ceremonial, the greater is the importance of the marriage in the eyes of the Bella Coola, which in turn increases the strength of the children who may result from it. [858]

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On the morning after this declaration, X's father calls to his house those whom he wishes to be witnesses of the alliance that has been planned. These include as many of his relatives and those of his wife as he desires, and often intimate friends. These individuals comprise the group interested, on behalf of X, in the marriage; they provide the goods which are given for him, and receive the presents from the corresponding group of Y's relatives. Anyone having the necessary financial ability

[5]This is probably a recent innovation.

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583 584 is glad of this opportunity to demonstrate it, but a poor man can decline without loss of social esteem.

Carrying presents, the specific value of which is immaterial, they set out for Y's house. Her father, accompanied by his relatives, has been warned and is waiting at the door. A herald, or other eloquent speaker, addresses them on behalf of X's father. He says in effect:

"We do not come secretly or wrongfully to steal something from you. We come with the loftiest intentions. Great is our affection for your child. What we are about to do has long been a practice of our two families [if the two families have intermarried in past generations]; let us do according to our wishes. I am the opening."[4]

Then X's father throws on the ground several stones, representing slaves who will later be given to Y's relatives. These are said to "open the door," that is, to make clear the entrance of X and his relatives into Y's house. There is the added significance that they start upon a clear road the children whom it is hoped will result from the marriage. This thought finds expression in many rites both during engagement and at the wedding ceremony itself. After throwing the stones, X's father gives gifts to Y, to her father, her mother, and to her other relatives assembled. These are of such great value that X's father sometimes almost impoverishes himself, but he knows that though these will never actually be returned, Y's family will be proud to uphold their dignity, and the importance of Y, by equally lavish givings.

Y's father now invites his guests to enter his house, and ushers them to their duly validated seats where the food that has been prepared is served with all solemnity in the usual food-boxes. Then Y's family give presents to X's family, that is to all who have come to share in the marriage. These goods are known as "working clothes"; they are usually of less value

[4] Opening, *ckelmenjlut*. This term is applied to the whole ceremony at Y's house and, like it, has a double significance, as opening the way for the marriage, and clearing the path for the future children.

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than the presents just given by X's relatives, though occasionally they may exceed them. Y's father, or a herald, or an eloquent friend on his behalf, speaks to the following effect: 583 584

"Be bold. Henceforth you will have to work a very long time for us. We will let you know when we need your services."

The significance of this speech lies in the fact that X, and to a certain extent his relatives, are expected to perform almost menial tasks for Y's father during the period of engagement, which has now been duly ratified. X's father and his followers now leave Y's house. It is immaterial whether or not X and Y themselves have been present. It is important that this formal acknowledgment of the engagement should take place during the day; otherwise any children resulting from the marriage could be shamed by having it said to them: "Your parents were not married in the open light of day." [858]

For a varying length of time X now acts almost as a servant to Y's father. He does not live with her family, but he cuts wood, draws water, and performs other menial tasks. Whenever a member of X's family gives a ceremony, he takes care to give lavish presents to Y's relatives. If it is impossible to hold a sacred rite, X's father is at least expected to invite Y's family to a ceremonial feast, and also to share with them any game that he may kill. Meanwhile, X and Y are not subject to any restrictions as to seeing each other. In theory if they should cohabit it would "spoil" the engagement, but in most cases when this occurs, as it often does, the matter is simply hushed up. [836]

Children whose parents were long engaged are said to be "heavy"; their entry into life having been prepared with careful thought and due ceremony, so that their limbs are clear to travel with success to the position of chief. When such a child is born, the relatives are eager to call their fellow-villagers to confer a name soon after birth, and the infant starts life with this advantage. There is no specific length of time for engagements; if X and Y are the children of influential chiefs, the 584 [858] [553]

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584 preliminary agreement may have been made while they were only seven or eight years old, though marriage seldom occurs before the age of seventeen or eighteen. More often the agreement is made when X and Y have passed the age of puberty, and they wait for about two years before marrying.

583 Throughout this period, X's relatives are expected to give at least one feast at which Y's relatives are the guests of honour,
425 and always receive presents. At one of these rites X's father,
553 with the concurrence of his relatives, may mark his approval
[584] of the coming event by bestowing on Y's father, or one of her other relations, an ancestral name from his family myth. This does not become the absolute property of Y's family, since the myth in which it is embodied does not belong to them, unless, of course, they are members of the same ancestral family. It is fitting that a name of this kind be bestowed by the recipient on one of Y's children, or returned to X's family a few generations later by a return marriage. If this is not done, in course of time the designation is apt to be regarded by Y's family as their own. If there are no children, Y's relatives should give back the name to X's
[627] family, but there are many instances of feuds caused by failure
[773] to do so. According to mythology, prerogatives may sometimes be given outright, without thought of their use by the resultant children, or of their being restored by return marriages. It is claimed that the people of the Kimsquit River
[648] have, through such a present, the inalienable title to use a certain spot in the Kitlobe River for their olachen nets, and likewise the Kitlobe people have an irrevocable right to the Kimsquit name *Stáhmy*. These two prerogatives were transferred at the beginning of time. At present, anyone bestowing outright his family prerogatives would be considered weak-
[578] minded and the other members of the ancestral family would stremuously object. Considerations of this sort make it desirable to seek a wife within the ranks of the ancestral family.

During the period of engagement, Y's family may present a name, or names, to X's father, with the same conditions as those just described.

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those just described. The giving of these at this time is not obligatory, nor does it affect the validity of the coming marriage. It is merely a mark of friendly feeling between the two groups of relatives, and, by adding to the importance of the event, increases the potential strength of the unborn children. 583

If either X or Y should die during the period of engagement, the presents, or their equivalent, must be returned to the donors. No formal methods are employed to ensure this; but the force of public opinion suffices to compel a man to do that which is proper; in fact, he is anxious to do so. If Y should die, an effort is made to replace her with a sister, cousin, or other near relative, so that the friendly relations entered upon by the two families may not be lost. The gifts mutually given by the two families may be returned and re-donated or the substitute simply takes Y's place without further arrangement. Sometimes, in spite of the wishes of their parents and the elaborate rites carried out, either X or Y breaks the engagement by going to live with somebody else. It is then a mark of pride for the family of the offender to return the gifts they have received, and almost equally a mark of honour for the aggrieved party to give back what has been bestowed upon them, in order to demonstrate how little value they place on the possession of goods. 584 [583] [626] [154] [583]

Though a lengthy engagement is desirable, it may be curtailed. If, for example, one of X's relatives should die before the usual period has elapsed, Y's father may suggest an immediate wedding. He knows that X's family will have heavy expenses in connection with the burial and mourning rites, hence it is courteous to offer a quick marriage with the financial advantages accruing to them at the ceremony. In this case, X either does not work at all for Y's family, or for only a short time. Moreover, if Y reaches marriageable age without her father receiving suitable proposals, he can himself take the initiative by consulting the parents of an eligible young man. If the suggestion is agreeable, the engagement is announced in the manner already described, and the marriage takes place [764]

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584 as soon as possible. Though strictly legal, and commonly practised even long ago, this is not considered a desirable preliminary, since the children lack the strength which would have been theirs if their parents had been long engaged. In recent 178 years the custom of short engagements has become popular, 584 though the older Bella Coola feel resentment, saying that the woman is simply "bought" with goods or money at the actual wedding. The return of such sums in due course does not compensate for the omission of the lengthy period of engagement. A few years ago a powerful chief even "bought" husbands for his grand-daughters. His influence was so great that by bestowing large sums on the families of the youths they accepted the young women as wives. The girls in question were desirable in every way, according to Bella Coola standards, but by marrying without a long engagement and suitable presents the husbands, and their families, failed to live up to the dignity of their ancestry. These are breakings down of the ancient rites, and as such are lamented by the older people.

•583 Sometimes, despite the wishes of their parents, a boy and 584 girl announce their desire to marry by living together. After much storming, the parents usually decide to make the best of a bad business by performing the marriage rites as soon as possible and by lavish expenditure on them to lessen the impediment placed against the future offspring by lack of long engagement of their parents. But such a child can never be [858] called an *ālqim*, which has the significance of something good that has long been sought for, such as a smoothed-grained tree that carpenters like. It will thus be seen that the marriage ceremony must be carried out, irrespective of whether or not it has been preceded by a lengthy period of engagement in which the first proposal was made by the boy's family, by a shorter one in which the girl's family took the initiative, or by no period of engagement whatever. These rites can now be described.

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567 ceremony usually consisted simply of the man and woman
588 living together. In theory, this prevented the children from ever obtaining a name or other prerogative embodied in the ancestral myth of the free-born parent, and an effort was always made to conceal from them the details of the ancestral family's origin myth. But, as already described in the section dealing with slaves, the expenditure of valuable presents served to eradicate, or at least to cover, the blot. If the child succeeded in giving many potlatches, the stain was generally forgotten. On the other hand, if the child of a slave married to a free man was not "washed," he could always be shamed by a reminder of the disgrace of his parents' wedding.

682 In case of murder, the son or other near relative of the
[583] victim sometimes accepts a daughter or other member of the offender's family instead of exacting blood revenge. The bride
[627] is delivered to her husband with valuable goods "to wash away the blood," but these never suffice entirely to remove the disgrace from her or her children. The latter may inherit names and prerogatives from their father, but even if they attain to the position of chiefs, they can always be put to shame by reference to their mother's marriage as an atonement for murder. Of course the influence of a great chief makes it impolitic to refer to his ancestry, and there are a few instances of men having reached such a position of eminence that the blot
[554] has been practically forgotten. The wife's family must continue to give presents to the husband for years after marriage, otherwise her lot is unenviable indeed, and her children have the status of the unwashed offspring of a slave and a free-man. In some cases a marriage of this type is entered upon years after a murder, if a son or other descendant wishes to end the anxiety of constantly expecting blood revenge.

REPURCHASE OF THE WIFE

556 Repurchase of a wife is the necessary consequence of every
583 reputable Bella Coola marriage. It is assumed that the pre-

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sents given by X's relatives up to the time of the wedding have exceeded in value those which they have received. Later, whenever, and as often as X gives a potlatch, Y's relatives are expected to rebuy her from her husband. Although this is the expression used by the Bella Coola, it has only a ceremonial significance, since Y remains X's wife. 556 583

Whenever X intimates that he is going to give a potlatch, Y and her relatives begin to hoard goods irrespective of whether or not children have been born. Their value is unregulated by custom, although the individuals concerned always try to give as much as they can; usually X does not know exactly how much will be provided until their actual delivery. Moreover, this is the occasion most preferred by the relatives of a wife to present to her husband ancestral names or other prerogatives embodied in origin myths. The exact rights of X with respect to such gifts have already been defined so need not be repeated here. Even if Y has taken an ancient name to her husband when she was married, she may bring him another when repurchased. This is an event of even greater importance to a woman than marriage, so no effort is spared to add to the dignity of the occasion.

On the second night of a potlatch Y's father announces what prerogatives he proposes to grant to X. These may include the right to a certain totem-pole design, the carving of a spoon, a painting for the wall of the house, or any other element embodied in the origin myth. These privileges are displayed by X at the coming potlatch. If, as is usual, Y's father wishes to give his son-in-law an ancestral name, it is announced on this occasion, and is the designation by which X is known during the ceremony. It is always said that such a name is so "heavy," in the sense of "so important" that it must be "dragged across" to her husband by Y. *Kusiut* names are commonly transferred as presents, but without any public bestowal, and one or two instances are known of the similar acquisition of *sisaok* prerogatives and whistles; it was in this way that *Potlas* was able to import *sisaok* ritual from Bella Bella. After announcing the 425 556 583 [553]

556 prerogatives he is transmitting, Y's father usually takes the
583 opportunity of stating that he wishes to hunt on X's hunting-
[425] grounds, or fish in his fishing-grounds. Permission is never refused, though it is only for the period of the potlatch. Since Y's father is to assist X, it is considered fitting to grant him facilities for obtaining pelts and food.

It is on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch that the goods are delivered. They serve six purposes, which can be described separately, although the Bella Coola usually think of them as being too closely associated for division.

(1) They increase the dignity, influence, and prestige of the donors. This theme needs no further elaboration. When X later gives these presents to his foreign guests, he announces the person from whom he has received them and in this way knowledge of the manner in which Y's relatives have upheld the dignity of the marriage is spread far and wide, to their intense gratification.

(2) They help X to rise to a position of influence in the community by the credit which comes to him from their later distribution. Though a man may acquire goods in various ways, the Bella Coola affirm that without contributions from his wife's relatives no man can become a chief.

(3) They validate the transmission of names, or other prerogatives, taken by Y to her husband. Even presents given
[606] directly from father-in-law to son-in-law are always said to have been taken by the daughter to her husband.

(4) Indirectly, they increase the prestige of the children,
[554] either born at that time or who may appear later. None of the goods used for repurchasing their mother can actually be used for their benefit, but the whole rite gives them strength to succeed in life. A child whose mother has not been repurchased is said to be unable to walk, as if his legs were powerless; he lacks intelligence, and the ability to prosper. From the
[578] petty quarrels of childhood until old age, a person is proud to recall the number of times his mother was rebought, and to thrust this statement in the teeth of those less fortunate.

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(5) They govern Y's status in this world. When women quarrel, as they often do, the most common boast to shame a less wealthy rival is a reminder of the number of times the speaker was repurchased and the value of the goods used. 556 583 [578]

"I can sit down on fifteen canoes," or "I am carried by five slaves," says the angry woman, mentioning whatever goods were used for her repurchase.

(6) Finally, these goods serve a more definite purpose in obtaining for Y a name, or names, of which the value is directly proportionate to the expenditure, precisely as the importance of a chief's designation depends on the goods used to validate it. [553]

As with men's names, some women's appellations were given by *Ālquntām* to the first arrivals; others were created on this earth with regard to peculiar events, and still others are names which can be used either by men or women. Theoretically, the dignity of the first type of name is greater than either of the others, but in practice the importance of the owner depends on the number of times she has bought herself from her husband; the principles governing the rank of women are thus the same as those already described for men. The term *yetsalt*, applied to a woman who has many times rebought herself and so reached a position of eminence, is the feminine equivalent to *stāltumx*. The creation of women's names in reference to personal characteristics or incidents connected with their married life is more common than similar creations for men. The ritual of the bestowal of a name on Y, here given, was omitted from the description of the potlatch in order to lessen the complexity of that ceremony. It will be remembered that on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch Y's relatives appear outside X's house, carrying valuable presents. 551 556 583 [554] [562] 553 556 583

The announcer calls out that Y's father has come to give "food" to X and his relatives. By food, presents are meant, which are the return, with interest, of the gifts given by X's relatives on various occasions. The giver is announced, for other relatives than Y's father contribute, and to whom the

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553 present is made. The recipient may either be X himself or
556 one of his relatives who has conferred a gift on one of Y's
583 family. The goods are taken inside, counted, displayed, and the same announcement made. These presents are given away by X the same evening, so that the only practical advantage that he receives is that the ultimate recipients make their returns, if any, to him. He makes no recompense to Y's relatives for these.

[537] A fluent orator next speaks on behalf of Y's father to the following effect:

"Please, ye people, listen to my words. This is an important occasion, hearken to what I have to say. Long ago our first ancestors were married, as X and Y have been, and it is fitting that we should make the name ..... live again in Y. Three years [or as long as the name has been dormant] it has been dead, as if living with the ghosts beneath the earth. Now it shall stand up again in Y; henceforth we use it for her. Come forth ..... [using Y's new name], your father rebuys you from X for fifty blankets [for example]."

Y may be anywhere; the statement "come forth" is merely symbolical. The fifty blankets are piled outside the house and the spectators, of whom many have gathered to witness the transaction, know that that number of blankets has been given with reference to that name. In some cases the wife is rebought three, four, or even more times for one name, either repeatedly by her father, or successively by her father and other relatives, or several names may be acquired by the different repurchasings. For instance, at one potlatch not many years ago a woman obtained the names *Łäliäks*, *Xwelbon*, *Smaien·a*, and *Aiksamka*. As with men, some women prefer to have one very strong name, rather than diffuse their importance over a number. In this particular case the four designations were received from different relatives. At each repurchase the call is raised:

"Come forth ..... your brother [uncle, or whatever relative it may be] rebuys you from X for ....."

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In one case where an orphan woman, without relatives, 553
repurchased herself by her own arduous labours, the announce- 556
ment was made: 583

"Y's belt has come to rebuy her."

The reference was to the manner in which she had looped up her clothing with a belt when working. If Y's father should die after amassing goods to repurchase her, they are used for the purpose intended and the announcement is:

"Y's father's anus has come to rebuy her."

The ancestral family descended from the first settlers at *Snulle·tl* have the prerogative of singing a special song as they [424] rebuy one of their daughters. This was used by their first [533] ancestors on a like occasion. The theme is:

"I, I, I am the highest of you all. No one of you is capable of doing what I can accomplish. You all live on what I void."

The significance of this last sentence is that the village of *Snulle·tl* is farthest up the Bella Coola River. Its inhabitants [186] used to claim that the people of the other villages lived on the refuse which they threw into the river, a source of pride to them.

After announcing the various relatives who have rebought Y, the presents are counted and carried into X's house. The statement concerning their number, who has given them, and for what purpose, is repeated to the foreign guests there assembled, and they are then piled indiscriminately in a large heap for future distribution. At this juncture X calls out:

"Come in, come in," as though he were welcoming arrivals from a distance.

Y's relatives enter, and the ritual of the potlatch continues in the manner already described. The origin myth in which Y's new name is embodied is related in considerable detail, especially its recent history, that is, by whom it was last used and any pertinent items connected with its transmission. If she has received several names from different myths, each is similarly expounded.

As has been said, many women's names have been created 551
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her husband's critics by taking this name for herself when she rebought herself from him. 551 578

Nu'aos, "The Inhospitable One." Her husband received this reputation owing to his wife's manners, so she advertised what had been said about him.

Nupłätlsikän, "Heedlessly Deaf." This woman's mother-in-law claimed that she deliberately failed to hear what she was told to do, and applied the above epithet to her. The daughter-in-law confounded her by taking it as her own name. [606]

When a name of this type is assumed it is always announced when, where, and for what purpose it was first created. 553

A description has already been given of the actual ritual by which X bestows the goods acquired from the repurchase of Y, but it is necessary to enlarge on the prohibition against their use for the direct benefit of one of the children of the couple. The theory is that the goods bind the marriage contract and express in a practical and lofty form the kindly sentiments with which Y's relatives regard her husband, and the bond between the two families, hence they must be used solely for the benefit of him and his relatives. A man usually applies these goods to initiate the children of his brothers or sisters into the ranks of the *sisaok* or *kusiut*. It is unthinkable for goods to be delivered without an exposition of Y's family's glories, but if this should ever take place, there would be no difficulty in applying them to the direct benefit of her children. When used, for example, to make a child of X's brother a *sisaok*, he is a living testimony of the noble way in which Y's relatives have done that which is fitting for the family of her husband. Due to accidents in announcing and storing of presents, it sometimes happens that those obtained by the repurchasing of Y are used for the benefit of her own children. Unless this error is corrected, the child could always be shamed by having it said: 556 583 [558]

"You are a mere nobody. The goods expended in the

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556 repurchase of your mother have become nothing beneath your
583 feet."

When such an accident occurs, the relatives of X take some
[558] future occasion to give presents to validate his child, with the announcement:

"The goods used from the repurchase of his mother have become nothing beneath his feet. We hereby supply that deficiency."

Thus it is demonstrated that the relatives of both parents are interested in his welfare, so that his path is clear before him.

553 Many women are only repurchased once, but an effort is
556 made to do this frequently since the more times, the greater
583 her prestige. After several repurchasings it is felt that the names and other prerogatives "dragged across" by Y have become valueless. But since new names have been taken to her husband on each occasion, the marks of friendship between the two families are still plain. Then it is that those first transmitted can be revived by relatives of Y, unless, of course, X has validated them for his children. If there is only one repurchasing, the names remain the definite property of X. This is not a clearly formulated law, merely a sentiment that the earlier names have been covered by those later given, and that accordingly Y's relatives, having done what was proper, can now use the titles once more. There is a constant interchange of names and privileges between families related by marriage.

556 It is virtually impossible to over-estimate the importance
583 of this rite of repurchase among the Bella Coola, one of the few customs preserved tenaciously amid the ruins of their
[182] ancient culture. The writer was forcibly struck with the following instance which occurred while he was in Bella Coola:

About fifteen years before, a young man and woman had married with due formality. After three children had been
[586] born, the mother took to drink and vice until her husband at last repudiated her, retaining possession of the children. The woman, weakened by disease, divorced by her husband, and

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looked upon with contempt by her family, was yet determined that nothing she had done should ruin her children's chances in life. Accordingly she donated $300 to her ex-husband to rebuy herself. Marriage is accepted as a matter of course, but to be many times repurchased is the goal of every ambitious woman. In *Täl·io* the custom prevails of depicting on the rocks the number of coppers paid for repurchasing a wife. Thus her fame is displayed to all. 556 583 [184] [532]

It is somewhat difficult for a white man to realize what a privilege the family of a wife considers it to repurchase her from her husband. If the latter is unwilling to give a potlatch, his relatives-in-law may urge him to do so, and if he still declines to exert himself they take the drastic step of inviting their fellow-villagers to assemble in his house where, with these guests as witnesses, the wife's relatives give presents to her husband and his relations. They may make this presentation at any gathering where they are assured of a large audience. In so doing the donors have demonstrated their proper sentiments, in spite of the inertness of the husband.

The assistance which the relatives of a wife have given her husband is a matter about which they can boast for the rest of their lives, a fact impressed upon the writer by listening to a quarrel between two Bella Coola men. One of them owned a horse and waggon which the other had hired to move some goods. The latter became very angry, claiming that the former had overcharged him and must be poor and greedy to be so eager to acquire money. The teamster, thus deeply insulted, silenced the other man by reminding him that the only reason he was wealthy was by means of the goods used to repurchase his, the teamster's, sister from her husband, brother of the man with whom he was disputing. To the observer the dispute was made more interesting by the fact that both the husband and wife had been dead for at least fifteen years, but their families had not ceased to remember the financial obligations connected with the marriage. 556 583 578

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556 A man who is giving a ceremony of any kind can offer few greater insults to his wife's relatives than omission to ask their assistance. The
583 following is a good instance of such an insult:

578 About 1900 a man and woman were married and had three children. Then the mother died, before being repurchased from her husband. In
602 addition, the husband had assisted his wife's father when one of his younger children had died; so that it was most fitting that the wife's relatives should contribute to any ceremony given by the husband. Four years later the husband proposed to marry once more, and to have the wedding occur at a potlatch. But on the day of *xlāstwm*, he insulted the relatives of his dead wife by failing to invite them. The cause of the feud was not disclosed, but the husband increased it by again failing to invite her family when, during the potlatch, they should have rebought her for the benefit of his young relatives about to be initiated into the ranks of the *sisook*. The father of the dead woman came forward uninvited with a large present for each, saying in effect:

"I, too, have a right to contribute to add prestige to my daughter and her children."

In this way he defeated the wiles of his son-in-law who had hoped to shame his father-in-law by the failure of the latter to contribute to his potlatch. The son-in-law endeavoured to excuse himself by saying that his late wife's relatives had not assisted for so long that he thought they would not wish to do so. This retort further incensed the father of the dead woman so that next day he and his wife publicly gave the donor of the potlatch $300 "to make clean where we sit."

This somewhat lengthy description has been necessary to explain the important part which the repurchase of wives plays in the lives of the Bella Coola; it is one of the fundamentals of society and is, therefore, worthy of attention.

DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

768 Either death or divorce can terminate marriage. The de-
[586] cease of a wife is an unfortunate affair, quite apart from the grief which it may cause her husband. Two families have been brought into peculiarly close relations through her, and now the bond itself has snapped; delicate financial arrangements have been undertaken, and it is not easy to settle these without ill-feeling, particularly if the alliance was a return marriage. If no child has been born, and no repurchasing of the wife

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764 worthy of record that his wishes were scrupulously obeyed.
159 During the morning he was visited by the singers and other chiefs to discuss details of the coming ceremonial.

764 Meanwhile Samuel King had been summoned from his logging-camp. He wished to show his own grief, and also his
159 sorrow that the union between his family and the Schooners, forged by his marriage to Jessie, should be terminated. No
584 children had been born to cement the bond. He consulted his brother and sister, who agreed with him that a marriage between his daughter, by a former wife, and George Nelson would be desirable. The girl was consulted and raised no objections.
[769] Samuel then addressed Captain Schooner who was favourably disposed, so it was decided that this ceremony should take
*[556] place in connection with the memorial potlatch. It would be a real, not a fictitious marriage, as the girl had reached adolescence several years previously.

764 Another visitor to Captain Schooner that morning was
159 Joe Williams. Several years earlier, when he had given a ceremony in honour of two of his children who had died, Captain Schooner had contributed $100 as "A Blanket for George Nelson's Wife." This was really part of the marriage
•[583] transaction, although deferred for a number of years after the actual time of the wedding. This sum had been divided as follows: $20 to Joe Williams; $20 to Mrs. Joe Williams; $10 to Mrs. George Nelson; $10 to her brother; $20 to Lame Charlie; and $20 to Mrs. Lame Charlie. Joe consulted the recipients and found that all were willing to repay their indebtedness at this time. Captain Schooner did not ask for it, but Joe was glad of the opportunity to do the proper thing at the right time and thus rise in popular estimation. He and his relatives decided to return $150, a sum which he mentioned to Captain Schooner that morning.

[583] Joe Williams, his wife, and Mrs. George Nelson also decided to take advantage of the gathering to rebuy the last named from her husband. The fact that they had been separated for at least a year and that the woman had been living an immoral

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life did not alter the necessity of rebuying her "to make good the path" of her children. For this purpose they decided to give a copper and a sum of money; it was impossible to learn the exact amount. Joe told Captain Schooner of their intention. 764 159 [583]

About noon the body was brought in a canoe from the cannery in its closed coffin and lifted ashore at a convenient spot near the cemetery. Those manning the canoe were young men who happened to be at the cannery, irrespective of whether or not they were related to Jessie. The coffin was laid on a grassy place and Captain Schooner seated himself beside it. People were passing and repassing, some sat down for a time, then moved off to dinner. Occasionally, a woman would sit and wail, the most constant being Reuben's married daughter; Captain Schooner moved around talking to his friends amidst the eerie wailing. About 1.30 P.M. everyone in the village had assembled, including a number of Carrier Indians, anxious to see the sight. Captain Schooner withdrew to his house after asking Bobby Nebby to summon the chiefs to meet him there. The messenger, who thus acted as herald, went around the gathering whispering to each; in addition to those notified at the cannery the preceding evening he called all the older and most influential Bella Coola, Albert King, Samuel King, Joe Williams, Joshua Moody, Alec Davis, Lame Charlie, Judas, and Nebuchadnezzar. Captain Schooner requested the last named, an important chief, to take charge of the ceremony. At this time Samuel King told Nebuchadnezzar, who informed the others, what had been arranged for his daughter and they agreed that it was good. It was tacitly assumed that George Nelson would be delighted; probably he had been on friendly terms with the girl for some time. Joe Williams also told Nebuchadnezzar the two business propositions that he intended to carry out, the return of the money to Captain Schooner, and the rebuying of his daughter. Nebuchadnezzar informed the people concerned. At this meeting it was decided that various chiefs should speak after the Christian service at the grave. [203] [584] [587]

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for the Carriers and other foreigners. The cook began to ladle the rice into basins provided by Captain Schooner; these were taken by some of the younger men who poured helpings into the dishes of the guests. Spoons had been forgotten, and there was delay until these were provided by slivers split from a block of wood for the purpose. Contrary to ancient usage, no attempt was made to serve food to the guests in order of their rank. Men, women, and children were sitting everywhere, the infants kept moving around and crying continually throughout the performance, but no one seemed to be disturbed thereby. 769 556* 264 [178] [852]

When everyone had eaten, Nebuchadnezzar, who had been sitting facing the other singers, beat on the floor to attract attention and then rose to speak. He asked the help of all to make the ceremony a success, and thus assuage the grief of the bereaved relatives. 769 556*

Joe Williams and his daughter had taken their places on the right-hand side of the hall and had requested Willie Mack, a fluent speaker and influential chief, to assist them in announcing the financial transactions. They spread a blanket on the floor on which the bills were counted, and beside this Willie knelt. Joe gave him a sum of money, which was counted and re-counted; Willie then held it up in the vain hope that it could be seen by everyone in the hall. He announced the amount, also that it was to rebuy (the divorced) Mrs. George Nelson from her late husband, and that it would "make clean the place where she sat." A young man delivered the money to George who added it to the general stock for later distribution. Next a copper was produced, held up, and presented to him for the same purpose. Meanwhile Joe, assisted by his mother and other relatives, had been counting the money which they proposed to give to Captain Schooner in settlement of the previously contracted debt. One hundred and fifty dollars were produced and handed to Willie Mack, who held them up and announced that it was in return for the $100 given by Captain Schooner on a previous occasion to Joe Williams, his wife, his son, his daughter, his mother, and his stepfather. The bills 769 556* 583 [537] 769 556*

969 were taken by one of the younger men to Captain Schooner,
4.556 who accepted them without showing either gratitude or the reverse; this return was a matter that concerned the Williams family, not the Schooners. After a short delay, Billy Pollard moved over to the group and spoke to Joe and Willie Mack, [583] to whom he gave $10. The latter stated that this sum, which he held up, and a horse, which was not produced, were being given to George Nelson to rebuy his (divorced) wife. Billy is not related to the woman, but had long been friendly and wished to share in making good the path for her children. This matter had not been previously broached. The choice of [537] Willie Mack as announcer was made merely because he was a fluent speaker and, as a chief, had the necessary self-confidence to act fittingly.

969 After these preliminaries, the main rite was begun. Jim
4.556 Pollard, an eloquent chief unrelated to any of the principals,
537 spoke at some length describing the journey taken by Jessie to visit the scenes of her ancestral myths. He was followed by a Bella Bella chief who happened to be in Bella Coola at the time. In the Chinook jargon he first expressed his sympathy and respect for Captain Schooner because he was carrying out the fitting rites, then asked leave to speak in Bella Bella because he found it difficult to express himself in Chinook. He described the journey which the deceased had taken owing to her membership in the ancestral family of her mother, a Bella Bella woman. No one paid much attention to the speeches; in fact, it was impossible at the back of the hall to hear what was said owing to the chattering and crying of children.

969 After considerable delay, the singers decided it was time to
4.556 sing the first mourning song. It had never before been used,
533 although the composer, Billy Pollard, had prepared it several years earlier and had merely altered the words during the morning after consulting Captain Schooner about his ancestral myths. The singers had learnt text and tune during the rehearsal a few hours before. It was impossible to record it in detail; in outline, it consisted of the words:

and deciding how to divide it. Harry Schooner is neither dominant nor capable, and Andy acted only as clerk, so the actual decision rested with Captain Schooner, Reuben, and George. Daniel Nelson would normally have played a prominent part, but he was absent owing to the illness of his infant daughter. Samuel King joined the group, bringing with him two coppers, two rifles, and a sum of money, and whispered the purpose of this contribution. 769 556* 769 556*

After the usual pause, George Nelson and Captain Schooner, the latter substituting for the absent Dan Nelson, stood up and walked around the hall carrying three coppers and two rifles. Then they returned to their places. 583

Nebuchadnezzar had been asked by Captain Schooner to act as announcer on account of his good voice and self-confidence. He joined the group in the corner to call out whatever they whispered to him. First he stated that one of the coppers just displayed had been given to George Nelson to rebuy from him his wife, Joe Williams' daughter. He explained that the other two, as well as the rifles, were presents from Samuel King, assisted by his brother, Albert, and his sister, Mrs. Alexander Clallaman, to George Nelson in consequence of the latter's marriage to Samuel King's daughter. This arrangement having been initiated by the relatives of the girl, it was fitting that they should give the first presents. [537]

Captain Schooner had first planned to expend $200 to validate the return of his dead daughter. His wife gave him $20 for the purpose, and when Joe Williams returned $150, he decided to use only $100 of his savings, making $270 in all. To this Reuben added $60, Harry $40, and Dan Nelson $40, increasing the total to $410. George contributed what he had received from Joe Williams for the repurchase of the latter's daughter, as well as what Samuel King had just given him. Samuel added to the pile some money belonging to Jessie,[18] 769 556*

[18] The writer could not learn why this money had not been destroyed with her other possessions. The reason may have been that the Bella Coola knew that, though a potlatch was illegal, the goods of a dead person could be distributed and by doing this at a ceremony they hoped for no interference from the law.

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Ālhe: *atsmy* village.
Alhe-ayh, "He of the Tied-up Penis": Name given to a lad whose sex was disguised in infancy.
[426] *alhkamandut:* Refusal to lend to an outsider a family prerogative such as the employment of marriage dancers.
[574] *alkqulomam:* Meal served when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an announcement of his coming potlatch.
Ālkusiyastem: Name of a female shaman.
Alkwi, "The Opening of the Sky":
1—One of the first men to settle at *Kimsquit* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of a *Snaik'ut* chief.
Ālkhalalaix: *Kaxlat* name of a Bella Coola man.
Alkhamthsaix: One of the first men to settle at *Sikkid* in the beginning of time.
[575] *alkwamam:* *Sisaik* having the ability to enter the bath-room and treat initiates concealed there. The function probably antedates the employment of *kai-skalila*.
Ālkjaies: Holders, supernatural beings who restrain supernatural Cannibals.
[583] *alkstam:* Frenzied beating of sticks.
Almomatem: Wife of *Tsaslaix*, the supernatural hunter.
Almushitem: Supernatural calendrical experts.
Almuqtaikhlie: Husband of *Ana'kitsulaix*; he is known only in Kimsquit.
[575] *almutsmk:* *Kaxlat* dance of mystery.
[574] *alnaiwutsmm:* Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning ceremony.
alnaiwutsmmap: Call used by heralds when summoning to a mourning ceremony.
[425] [583] *alnamlaix:* The "Dragging Across" of a name, crest, or other intangible prerogative from wife to husband either at marriage or later at a repurchasing of the wife.
[262] *alnim:* To drag a heavy burden.
alnulw-ta: Cranberries mixed with olachen grease.
[821] *alnuxim:* Visit to his repository by a *kaxlat* initiate.
Alnuxdimut, "Facing Both Ways": Second moon after the winter solstice.
alolipsmmp, "The Actionless Time": Hushed assemblage of the *kalaxim* after departure of a Cannibal.
[597] *alqualakem:* Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.
Alqalqulaix: 1—Supernatural being who revives mortals.
2—Name received by a shaman from this being.
alqa: Food.
[425] *alqatem*, "Food Supplier": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage.
Ālqatlad, "Snatched": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
alqtsis: Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in alternate strands.
[756] [882] *alqunik:* Guarded, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.
[825] *Alqunsiyas-a:* Supernatural name of olachen, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
Alqunq'ilut, "A Gleam Downwards": Name given to an *Ālqalad* man in the beginning of time.

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#192 *Lexlexmap*, "Come and eat": Invitation to the *kekwiat* to assemble in a performer's house.

Lexlu: House house.

Lexl ste: Messenger bearing invitation to a potlatch.

[952] *lexlkiste*: Message.

[585] *lexlstwah*: 1—Presents, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter visit his house on the wedding day.

[431] 2—Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's kinsmen prior to her repurchase.

[518] *L'mamqlat*, "The Throwing Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders": Said of the repayment by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's kinsmen.

lexwalkste: 1—Burning cave.

2—The destruction of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.

Lexlqalem: One of the names of the supreme god.

lqalmaxstem: Notification, by pressure on the foot, to a chief to go to the meeting-place.

[201] *lexlsmaxtem*: The employment of branded stick-beating.

[533] *Lqlo-mate*: Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.

Lexlsqamaxtem, "The Hearing": Synonym for *ellamem*, q.v.; this is a Kimsquit term only.

Lqlmal: Excitement in which the performer appears to be burnt to death.

Lqmalmem: The casting of *kwiat* masks on the fire.

Lqmash, "Far from the River": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

[947] *lqmal*: Absurdity.

Lqmalk, "Disappointed": said of the supernatural beings called by a *nu'a* dancer who arrive too late for the potlatch.

lhac: Slave from the lower Fraser owned in Kimsquit during the last century.

[101] *lqhalkwmay*: Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.

[601] *lqhalkwlakwmay*: Half-brother or half-sister.

lqalk: 1—Man.

2—Boy; term used by old person in direct address to adult.

3—Husband.

[614] *lqalkmin*: Male relative of some unnamed family.

lqalkhlem: Woman who performs man's work.

[601] *lqalkpamin*: Single brother in a family with several sisters.

lqamalk, plural, *lqamalkalc*: Small boy, especially one; term used in indirect address.

[431] *lqalqa*, "Working Clothes": Presents given by the relatives of the future bride to the kinsmen of the future bridegroom at the first announcement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.

[821] *lqlaxtawal*: Cold wind of the mountains, semi-anthropomorphized.

lqmlay: Bella Bella term for the sitting.

[563] *lqmmay*: Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

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[805]

xwalal, "The Time for *Kwiat* Rise": Fifth moon after the summer solstice.
xpayayat: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ałqałał* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle on the lower Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—Based name of a Kimsquit man.
xłałałił: One of the supernatural carpenters.
xłnwnwnum: The repurchase of a wife from her husband.
xnnił': Synonym for *cpnnłjat*, a prayer for which a return is not expected.
xnnwnnłjat: Hereditary tendency.
xpm: *Kwiat* name of a *Sisaa* man.
xstsa: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *łłałwił* is problematical.
xwłłałem: One of the first men to settle at *Kwaqwa* in the beginning of time.
xwłłnwnw'xnnwnał: The entrusting of a woman to a husband's care. This phrase is used by a wife's relatives when about to relay her as expressing their somewhat boastful sentiments concerning the relations entered into at marriage.
xpw xłłnwnłjatłnłnłn: Sterile supernatural visitation.
xwłałnw: 1—To strengthen, or to shore up.
2—Goods provided by a wife to strengthen her husband's position.
xwłłnłnłq, "Different from All Others": Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
xwłnwnwł: Wife of North Wind, a supernatural being resident in a side valley of the upper Bella Coola.
xwłłnwnłjat: Supernatural aid granted to the underworld.
xwłnłnwnwnłjat: Son of Raven and one of the first settlers at *Tał'ała* in the beginning of time.
xwnłnwnłnłnłn, "The Track of the Sun": *Ałał* name obtained in the beginning of time.
xwnłłnłnłnłn: Supernatural name of *xwłał*.
xwpnnłnłn, "Commander": 1—Said to be the word from which *Ałpnnłnw* is derived.
2—One of the names of the supreme god.
xwłłnwnwnłn, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
xwnwpłnnłjat: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
xwnał'n: *Kwiat* name of a *Sisaa* man.
xwnłnwnłn: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
xw wnwnłnw: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Kwaqwa* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
xwpłłnwnłn, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
xwpłnwn, "The Walker": Supernatural being resident in a glacier near the overland trail between *Łnałał* and *Tał'ała*.

K

[821]
[824]

łnł: 1—Snow.
2—Unidentified berry.
łnłnwłłnł: Name obtained from a supernatural being by a Bella Bella man.
łnłnwnłł: One of Raven's Crow names.

[825]

łnłnłnł: Crow.
łnłnłnłnł: Locality in the Bella Coola valley mentioned in an ancient story.

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L

[825] *Lakkkhs:* Kimsquit man mentioned in ancient story.
la-ka: Squirrel.
Lagumnais: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Xumpa-ts* in the beginning of time.
2—Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
[463] *Lasaiyae-t':* Name of a professional warrior; the word is said to have originated in Kitkatla but has remained for many generations in Kimsquit.
La'pala: Atnarko River, northern fork of the Bella Coola.
Lalamak: *Sacred* name of a Kimsquit man.
Lalaimbila, "The Brusher Off [of Goats]": Professional name of one of the first settlers at *Saalali* in the beginning of time. This may be the same word as *Lalambila.*
Lalambila: Another name for *Tsalalila,* the supernatural hunter. This may be the same word as *Lalaimbila.*
[825] *Lilawamlaia:* 1—"The Beautifier": Supernatural name of Otter.
2—*Kwaiar* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[886] *Lakjaalila:* Return in old age to the thoughts and actions of infancy, senile decay.
[426] *Lakjat:* To repay indebtedness of any kind, especially presents received at potlatches.
[583] *Lalawadjat,* "A Paying": An arrangement by which a man's sons-in-law give him as "wife" an infant female relative by way of repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters.
Lalaman: Wrestling or shoving.
Lalaum: Abbreviated Cannibal rite.
La'qaw-a: 1—Famous Bella Bella chief.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Lakaiu: Mask.
Lala: Tool for making vertical incisions in the bark of cedar trees.

M

Lalaambila: *Tsawat* man living in the beginning of time.
Lalalaki: *Kwaiar* name of a Kimsquit man.
[828] *Lalla:* 1—Copper.
2—Unidentified town on the outer coast, mentioned in a story of the beginning of time.
3—Chief of this town.
Lallaaiaia: Daughter of chief of the town of Copper.
Lallamlal: Copper canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Sinas* in the beginning of time.
Lallaka: Man's name, created by the first settlers at *Sadila,* in the beginning of time.
Lallakfa: Name taken for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Lallala: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Lallawa: *Sacred* name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Sipakad* in the beginning of time.
Lallaua, "The Copper One": One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

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numas, nestiw, numaotas: Member of same sex and same ancestral family as speaker. [601]

Numatam: Supernatural being who comes with *Nułkymm* to bring a call to the latter's protégé. [614]

Numułkmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

numit: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract. [826]
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.

numumułtas: Toilet-hole.

numułtsam: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony. [465]

numułnumnas: Exchange marriage. [583]

numpałtmm: Passenger.

Nu-mts: Place near *Nułtas.*

Nunsemłaia: *Kusiut* name created by *ułyuyuyut* at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

nunnosi di mnas: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

nunnosi ti stnas: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

Nunuasa'as, "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Nuqutsmuxt: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunadjipmm: Supernatural being who created repositories in the beginning of time.

Nunałsunk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunułpsum: House occupied by the first settlers at *Nutsymult* in the beginning of time.

nunu-f'stimut: The use of potent medicines after seeing a giant toad.

nunułwustsum or *nunułwuststimut:* 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dyed cedar-bark to *Tłitsplitsa.* [782]
2—The making of offerings to ghosts by the casting of food on a fire. [775]

Nunuwa-ak: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunuwłełhłimut: Male supernatural being who travels with *Nułkymm,* takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.

Nunuxła: Mother Nature.

nunyp: Fisherman with inherited right to use of a salmon-weir or of a place for catching oolachen. [424]

nunuqumumły, "A Calling Back", or "A Seining": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural artisans having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [226] [761]

Nunułpmnk, "Where Water Entered": House of one of the first groups of settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Nunąwułełnin: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunąwułłłsiqpa-a: Professional name of a female d[illegible].

Nunąwłułsmm: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.

Nunułłmut: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunumnuk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunumnułł: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Nunułłhumum, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [825]

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*192 *Nuxnānuqlt:* Area around a spring near *Nulleax.*
[198] *nuxmista:* Chamber-vessel in the language of supernatural beings.
Nuxmista: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Nuxpskuusta, "Place of Meeting": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nuxpusta Smaisikila, "The Peace-Giving *Smaisikila*": Designation of the supreme god with reference to the function of peace.
Nuxqtqs: Skeena River.
Nuxqtqts, "Place of Many Spring Salmon": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
nuxqulx-a: 1—Chamber-vessel.
2—Nickname of a Kimsquit child.
Nuxqulx, "Place of *Squlx*": 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Mountain, the loftiest in the Bella Coola valley, near the village.
Nuxqul: [illegible] village.
nuxqulqut: Kusiutem rite in which the performer pretends to have his stomach cut.
nuxqulqutsix: Person fastened to the ground with roots.
[824] *nuxqu:* Person suffering from umbilical hernia.
nuxqulqumsta: Appurtenances for washing given by the donor of a potlatch to
[431] his guests.
Nuxqulxwaista: House of the supreme god during the winter dances of the supernatural beings.
nuxqual: 1—One of the *a'alk* dances.
[825] 2—Yearling mountain goat.
3—Man dwelling in *Qomoqwa*'s house.
nuxqualxi: The alleged attraction of the spirit of an uninitiated person to a performer in the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place.
Nuxqulxwaista: Variant of *Nuxqulxwaista.*
Nuxqulxwalmikt Nuxkymm: Supernatural dancer who comes in *Nuxkymm*'s canoe.
[198] *Nuxqulxix,* "Kingfisher," in the language of supernatural beings: Ancestral name of a herald who came down to the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Nuxqualxwaista, "The Making Place" (with reference to *qualxusta*): One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nuxqualxa-i: 1—Man mentioned in an ancient story of Green Bay.
2—Man mentioned in an ancient story of *Stuax.*
Nuxq'ulx: Supernatural merry-maker or clown.
[825] *nuxqurkut:* The annual scattering of birds by the supreme god in the land above.
Nuxqut: Locality near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.
[583] *nuxqutnumsta,* "Washing Appurtenances": Term applied to presents given to a husband by his wife's relatives when rebuying her.
[431] *Nuxkhlsx:* Locality near *Stuq.*
nuxkumsta, "Ground Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate *nuxsk* initiates with regard to the ground over which they will dance, or
[556] chiefs to the ground over which they will tread.
[431] *nuxkumsta,* "Seat Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate the seat of a chief or of a *nuxsk* dancer.
Nuxlinx: Herald of *Smaeax* in the beginning of time.
Nuxlumsta, "Place Where People Were Made": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nuxlumqs: Carpenter.
nuxlymmqs-a: Smear of red paint.

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* [773] [777] *ɬwatlnusta:* 1—Tally post, one of the supernatural elements possessed by all human beings.
2—Invisible supernatural element which constantly moves before the face.

ɬwatlnsta; vocative, ɬwatlnstas, (rarely, *ɬwatlnsta*): Crest.

[825] *qwax:* Raven.

ɬwax: Big old male mountain goat.

Qwaxila: Qomqo·ts man living in the last century.

Qwaxliallis: Celebrated Kwakiutl chief.

Qwaxqwax·wamm: Name of a shaman who received his power from Raven.

[601] *Qwaxwats:* One of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.

qwaxwam: Fourth oldest, or youngest, brother or sister.

qwa'yalaks: Steller's jay.

Qwakitl: Kimsquit woman.

[825] *ɬwana:* Woman's pubic hair.

ɬwata: Sea-lion cub.

[431] *ɬwem:* Those who are present and receive gifts when an announcement of a marriage is first made.

Qwela: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

qwia·x'sem: A revelation, such as the sight of a supernatural being or object usually concealed.

[825] *ɬwilais:* Yearling seal.

ɬwimap: Word used in inviting to a marriage announcement.

Qwinao: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Qwiqwaxoowa: Kwakiutl supernatural being, said to be identical with *Ālqunsam.*

Qwixlakilak^w: Nusqual name of a Kimsquit man.

Qwiyai: Bella Bella village west of Namu.

Qwl: Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.

Qwlaiyu: Professional female marriage droner who came down to Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Qwlaxwoa: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

Qwliutl, "Place of Herbage": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.

ɬwnta: Inspiration, in the sense of the source of a *kusiut* dancer's power of thought.

[583] *Qwoselk:* Village west of Kwatna, settled in the beginning of time.

qwoxlaxdjut: Actual goods used for the repurchase of a wife.

[854] *Qwoyusditsas:* Ancestral name of a Kimsquit chief.

ɬwtutl: Cradle.

Qwu'nāk': Kusiut name of a Bella Coola woman.

Qwuwa: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[581] *ɬ^{w}xlin:* The noble and rightful sentiments engendered in both families by an elaborate marriage, either real or fictitious. The word embodies the concepts of financial interdependence and of consequent mutual strength.

[195] *ɬxwakim:* The transference of activities to a new sphere; the term is used, rhetorically, when referring to the death of a skilled craftsman.

S

saiks: 1—Skeleton.
2—Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Saikwaio·sam: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

sai·mis ɬlalas: The constant blinking of the eyes.

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sa·qwa·t: String figure.
Saskwanuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sdjidji'is:* Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sekakmōn·a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sekilāxt:* Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
[822] *sekima sidlamkek:* River net for salmon.
Setsalānl: Echo.
Sexsexkālaix: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Sexsexkwalxelaoslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Ttitcāplilān·a's* names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Sialxelāx:* Ancestral name created on earth by a *Qomqo·ts* man.
[825] *Siaqam*, "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[805] *sidāxsu:* One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
Sidakaos di Ano°likwolsaix, "The Coming of *Ano°likwolsaix*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
siwala: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Si'ishlitl*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Si'iwai·stl, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *si'itlliukek:* Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of marriage is broached.
[431] *si'iqikum*, "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Sium*, "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Siksāml*, "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Sikālamtak, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] *siki*, "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *sisook* rites.
Sikiliktmm: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Sikulq*, "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikwalxwlekx: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikwldjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Sikum: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
[226] *Silias:* Celebrated composer.
[827] *siltmaq:* Salmon-weir.
sinaxgme'ax: Sisook head-dress.
[761] *sininits:* Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
si·nipodjoxstumax: Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
[805] *Simpicus:* Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
Sinomwak, "Time for the Use of Olachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[726] *Sinulkemitl*, "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinunkālikm: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

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*192 *sire:* Supernatural good luck.
[821] *sk̓ʷsés:* Fog.
skʷ': Pack-rat.
[825] *sik:* Mind or mentality.
[828] *sk̓ʷan:* Place of lucky finds, such as a point where whales drift ashore.
sixetlaltna: Cannibal recently returned from the land above.
Sillsiln-i: One of the first women to settle at *Sällis* in the beginning of time.
sm̓d: Mountain.
[825] *smik* or *smikats:* Salmon, generic form.
sm̓ʷmnikas: (Probably) viscera of an animal, *archaic.*
Smsiutsäks: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[173] *smsma:* Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be related by anyone.
Smtus: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[822] *Smk'luxm:* Bella Coola chief.
Smk̓ʷominit: Darkness, anthropomorphized.
[828] *smx̓ʷs:* Anger.
smx: Sun.
Smxäkila: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at *Alpälal* in the beginning of time.
Smxälotla: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—*A'alk* name of a Kimsquit man.
4—*Sisook* name of a Kimsquit man.
Smxan-a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.
[827] *snxkt:* Mucus.
Smal, "Sunny": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sqwlaläk: Game played with miniature spears.
[575] *ssook:* 1—Society intimately connected with chiefs.
2—Member of the society.
ssiutl: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a double-headed salmon.
Ssnxakila: Shaman's name of a *Smal* woman.
sskiak': Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Tlitäplilän-a* to the one favoured.
[601] *sskam:* Father's sister or mother's sister (in either direct or indirect address).
[583] *ssmmäs:* The ceremonial strength acquired by a child through the repurchase of its mother.
[431] *ssqo-si:* Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] *sspunk':* Western dock (plant).
[824] *sisxwatwalelp:* Snowberry.
sxnqelinu: Distribution of carpentry tasks prior to a potlatch.
[825] *sxmmsta,* "Food Supply": Synonym for *sel'ekm,* ancestral hunting-ground.
shälk': Porcupine.
[824] *shä-ats:* Black huckleberry.
[821] *shäluslais:* Eye-lashes of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

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Tcold: River on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
Tcopinsil: Mountain near Dean Channel.
Tcus·st: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
tsloos: To marry.
tsloosem: 1—Marriage in which the woman's relatives make the first proposal, especially one hurried owing to bereavement or other financial stringency in the man's family. [584]
2—Marriage without lengthy engagement.
titilit: One having a voice like an eagle's.
hqwaistmam, "A Holding": The arrangement by which a man's sons-in-law give him as "wife" an infant female relative in repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters. [583]
hxcus: Clover. [824]
hxlala: Robin. [825]
hxnnsma: Game played with bows and arrows. [411]
hxsmmta: Arrow. [412]
tqxta: Adze. [825]
hxwoma: Stone maul without handle for driving fish-net stakes. [586]
lla: Black bear. [825]
llaiyakum: 1—One of the *a'alk* dances.
2—Ceremonial held to shame a deserting husband or wife.
3—Name taken by an early *llaiyakum* dancer at Kimsquit.
llakan: Snail.
Tlakwaisl: Bella Bella woman married by *Smaoan* of Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Tlakwakila: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.
2—Name acquired by one of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
3—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Tlakwakilayek[wo]*:* Woman dwelling on the coast south of Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
llakwan·i: Knife of mountain goat bone. [412]
llakwlk: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *tsiag* is problematical. [825]
Tlaliatis: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tlaliaki'lak': 1—Supernatural woman known to the people of Smith Inlet.
2—One of the first women to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tlao'kwas: Servant to the supernatural being *Nuskiapak.*
Tlaowika'ks: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tlaqmai·ks: Supernatural woman resident in the land above. This word is said to be unrelated to *Tlaqma·ks,* although a common origin seems probable.
Tlaqma·ks: 1—Supernatural child resident in the land above.
2—Name acquired by a female child in the beginning of time.
llaqlac: Fir-bark. [824]
llaqnqs: Correct term, in the language of Raven, for skull-cap worn by adolescent girls. See *ahwam.*
lla'xwala: The pouring, by a shaman, of grease from ten vessels on the fire as a means of curing the sick.
Tlawas: One of the first women to settle in the Dean valley in the beginning of time.

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Tlaxamymil: Name acquired in the beginning of time by a Rivers Inlet man from a sea-lion.
[825] *lleakindhtsil:* Sardine.
Tlikmaxstlkha, "The Walking One": Supernatural name of the water ouzel.
lilkmuts: Song sung during Cannibal dance while the performers run from house to house.
[825] *lima:* Mountain goat sinew.
Tlisla: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
2—Wife of Mount *Nusdalst*, when in human form at the beginning of time.
Tlitcaplitsa: One of the nine supernatural siblings, a woman who brings aid to those in sickness and is thus the initiator of shamans.
[825] *litixin:* Sea-lion.
Tlmstodimut, "Be Like a Person": Instruction given to a stick in the beginning of time. This designation has since been used as an ancestral name.
[821] *lok':* 1—Moon.
2—The zenith.
[825] *lokly:* Virulent skin disease.
lopaw-i: Cormorant.
Tlofo-tl, "Small Mound": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Tlopots, "Maligner" or "Defamer": A supernatural being.
lipa: 1—Gaff.
2—To cut wood for masks.
[823] *lipamp:* "Cut!" Call used on second day of *kusiut* dances.
lipapalum: Small trickle that flows from rocks near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel. The term is probably applied to other similar rivulets.
[415] *lisloi:* Water-tight basket.
[824] *lmiax:* Water-washed stump with scoured, radiating roots.
Tsiqo: Region on the upper Kitlobe River.
[482] *lsiuot:* Tump-line.
tsha: Navel.
[825] *Tskuhl:* Raven's canoe in the beginning of time.
lsqa: Mink.
lsuidjut, "He of the Big Family": Term used to describe a man with many descendants.
[583] *tsp-a:* Synonym for *ulamamum*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. This term is perhaps used in Kimsquit alone.
[825] *lspimu:* 1—Fawn.
2—*Nusdzhmy* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[821] *Tpikste:* Star in the Great Bear.
tqaq: Lower of the two beaters used in the preparation of cedar-bark.
Tqwantlos, "Facing": Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, synonymous with *Tsklo*.
[291] *lsuihul:* Hat with flat top and broad brim.
lsuiz: Stonecrop.
Tsuiulit: Kimsquit shaman mentioned in an ancient story.
Tsi-lmai: Bella Coola warrior living in the last century.
Tsilits: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
Tsil: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Tsuhmm: Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.
lsuk: Green barnacles on water-covered stones.
[825] *lsiim:* Large woodpecker, species unidentified.

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Tsi-dis: Kitlobe River.
Tsilmukts: Eagle that perched on top of a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time. [825]
tsime: Animal's entrails.
tsi-t: Note of the *kwakwas*, foretelling death. [763]
tsitsemi: Cormorant, in Bella Bella language.
tsklusnum: Goods taken to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him. [586]
Tsukwi: Restoration Bay.
Tsilit, bald eagle: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley. [431]
2—Bald eagle.
3—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time. [825]
tsu: Novice, either *tsusiut* or shaman.
tsustmem or *tsustlaix:* First night of a *tsusiut* dance.
tshashkmut: 1—Heavy coppers in *Qomoqua's* house.
2—Name obtained from these by a *Sattis* man in the beginning of time.
tsti-hdimat: Kusiutem rite in which the performer's head appears to be pulled off. [415]
tsla: Closely woven basket of spruce roots.
tslaqnoeix: Any act of an unclean nature which prevents a supernatural being from seeing the perpetrator. [784]
tsla: Presents distributed when a *sasek* initiate dances. They are provided by the donor "To Shield Our Eyes" from the *tsawinam* and serve to recompense the carpenters and others who have assisted in the rite. [431]
tsma: Belt. [465]
tsna: Nettle. [824]
Tsmilkts: Woman resident in the far north in the beginning of time.
tspadjut: The giving of presents to the servants and associates of the donor of a potlatch in return for being served with food in a rude manner. [431]
tspank: Small woodpecker, species unidentified. [824]
tspatlu: Winter wren.
tspunk: Spawning sockeye salmon. [825]
tsuklilu: Intangible *tsusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the genitalia. [424]
tsulkum: Prompter.
Tsumlkts: One of the first women to settle at *Snukll* in the beginning of time.
Tsustlikt: One of the first men to settle at *Tsumot* in the beginning of time. [824]
tsumtsip: Unidentified tree of which the bark was smoked. [825]
tsutskung: To grasp firmly with both hands, *archaic*.
tsupu-i: Trout, *plural*.
tsus'ut'skunk: Ceremony resembling a potlatch given by a chief for the benefit of his fellow-villagers, especially during the year preceding his main rite.
tsuya, "What Is Good": Synonym for *tsumamamum*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]
Tsumi-as: Synonym for *Nustlelaulkm:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.
tsumum: 1—Masked figure, usually in crest form, which appears to *sasek* and *s'alt* initiates.
2—An appearance, that is, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.
Tsuklit: Supernatural hunter of mountain goats.

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[728] *yuhmax:* Peace ceremony.
Yekhn: Bella Coola carpenter living in the last century.
yu·imut: Ceremonial error.
[534] *Yentsänl:* House of the first settlers at *Sätlia* in the beginning of time.
yet·an: Rattle.
[425] *yet·umm:* The sending back of a name to the family of its original owners through a return marriage, or the proposal to do so, made by the relatives of the wife.
[583] [554] *yetsält; plural, yeetsält; vocative plural, yeetsält:* A woman who has attained an honourable position through being many times repurchased from her husband; virtually, a female chief.
Yelqwikaiya: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
Yexsiila: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
yexdimut: Fire-holder carried by Thunder.
[825] *yexo'maitl:* Old, female sea-lion.
Yexthn: Ancestral name of a *Suxl* man.
Yexwomaitl: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Yulätimut: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[372] *yuhmta:* Sticks for making fire.
yuhälq: Promontory.
yu'gätl: The actual appearance of a performer at an *a'alk* dance during a potlatch.
Yuqwo·t: *ustämq* village.
Yuyuhmpl: Stone on the shore of Dean Channel believed to have been a man a long time ago.
Yuyulk"mai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Äiqälxl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuhili* in the beginning of time.

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581 Confidently believing that he has descended from ancestors
[858] who came to this earth in the beginning of time, a Bella Coola wishes to have his children firmly established in the path of his forbears. This can be accomplished only with the aid of a suitable mother. It follows that marriage is not primarily a matter of affection, but of the ancestral eligibility of the contracting parties.

CHOICE OF MATE

584 Since the initiative for marriage is taken by the man in
581 almost all cases, it will be convenient and proper to describe the factors which enter into the search for a wife, remembering that the converse govern the decision of the woman and her relatives. The choice of the woman who is to be the mother of the children who will carry on the traditions of the ancestral family is a matter of too great importance to be entrusted to any young person. Accordingly, while their son is yet a child, his parents often discuss who would be a suitable wife for him. They view the matter from a strictly business standpoint.
581 Proud of their own ancient lineage, they would not demean themselves by allowing their son to marry a girl who could not trace her ancestry back to the first people, or with one whose forbears had disgraced themselves by marriage with slaves. Instead, it is a matter of pride for parents to have as daughter-in-law the child of a powerful chief. Nor can they choose a
582 woman too closely related to their son. Marriage with a sister, an aunt, a niece, or any first cousin is strictly prohibited. No reason for these laws could be obtained; the Bella Coola consider that it would be "indecent" or unclean so to marry, but have theorized no further about the matter. An adopted child
[597] is regarded in the same light as an own child. The Bella Coola
829 know, and are amused by, the regulation of marriage according
[171] to crests among the northern tribes, but practise nothing of the same nature themselves. In fact, marriages usually take place among those who are descended from one ancestor and who have, accordingly, the same crest, though the significance

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583 at present, though even now it is considered highly desirable.
[178] The sentiment is that already described: the more closely the parents are bound together by ties of common ancestry, the greater will be their children's ceremonial strength. Further, reciprocal alliances of this type obviate all danger of feuds, since return marriages are not required.

582 In recent years it has become fashionable, or socially
178 "smart," with some Bella Coola families to seek wives from
648 unrelated ancestral families, and even from other tribes. It is said that this practice was initiated by *Petlus*, an important chief who died between 1870 and 1880. He sought foreign marriages on acccount of the prerogatives which were brought as dowers by his wives, and considered that such rights, transmissable to his children, more than compensated for the lack of strength provided by related ancestors. Many have followed his example, with the result that some ancestral families have entirely abandoned the endogamic tendency. Boas (p. 124) has made the same observation. Although this exogamic
[581] principle is directly contrary to that which has already been described, yet it should be noted that each has the same explanation—the search for a wife able to bring most to her as yet unborn children.

● 584 Should the parents consider a foreign woman as wife for
581 their son, then her worth is discussed from every angle. One woman may have the right to good hunting grounds, the family of another may have some valuable *nsaak* prerogatives, a third some *kusiut* rites. Anxious thought is put on the relative values of these. One man had heard of the French system of *dot*, and emphasized strongly how far superior to, and more sensible it was than the Canadian practice. In recent years
[178] the younger Bella Coola have been arranging their own marriages, and the older men lament bitterly that they are influenced only by the beauty and working ability of the girl, not by her real worth, the prerogatives which she can bring to her children.

Although parents consider chiefly the ancestry of their

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future daughter-in-law, yet they are not entirely oblivious to the girl herself. She must be of about the same age as their son, preferably a year or two older. Should the wife be the younger, it is thought that she ages rapidly until she appears as old as her husband. Boys usually marry at seventeen or eighteen, and it is essential that the woman chosen for wife must have been concealed for at least a year following puberty. Nor is a weakly girl chosen, or one of notoriously bad temper. As their son reaches the age of marriage, his parents usually consult him, though it is not usual for him to gainsay their wishes. A girl who has been leading a notoriously lax life is not desired, though this is most unusual for the daughter of a chief. The feeling is that such a girl would be a faithless and fickle wife, rather than any objection to her sins as such. 584 581 [582]

Realizing the importance of marriage, the parents of a boy discuss and plan the event for years, weighing the relative value of girls whom they think they could obtain for their son. By the time he has reached the age of fourteen or fifteen, they have decided on the most suitable partner, and it then becomes necessary to consult her parents and win their approval. 584

PERIOD OF ENGAGEMENT

When the parents of the young man (whom it will be convenient to term X) have at last decided on a suitable partner, they next choose an intermediary for the first proposal. In all these discussions the elderly relatives of the parents take a leading part, and especially their own parents if alive. Sometimes X's father himself interviews the father of the girl (here termed Y), at other times he asks some friend to do so. The matter is not supposed to be generally known, and the intermediary goes to Y's father's house, and quietly tells her parents that X's family would like their daughter to become X's wife. This preliminary asking is done unostentatiously, at any time and in any place, and the messenger withdraws after giving his message. In all probability Y's family have already re-

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584 ceived information of the proposed marriage, but they always plead ignorance, and deliberate for several days. Y's parents and other relatives take part in the discussion, and Y herself may likewise be taken into confidence. Although a daughter has, theoretically, little choice, in practice she exercises a great deal of influence. Her mother and father weigh the suitor's [581] eligibility not only with regard to wealth and ancestral possessions, but consider his character. An immoral young man is not desirable, though neither is one who is impotent.

If Y's relatives agree to the proposal, some one of them informs the intermediary, or X's father, and the young people are considered to be engaged. The fact is supposed to be kept secret for several days, although the news usually becomes known sooner. X's relatives as soon as possible take a number 583 of presents to Y's family. These are given in private, and are 584 termed "secret gifts"; they are said to give strength to the future children. Since no witnesses are present it follows that no social prestige accrues from the transaction. The relatives included in the "family" of either X or Y are not always the same; uncles, aunts, grandparents, may or may not take part in the giving and receiving of presents, the parents alone always do so. Sometimes distant relatives take a leading part in the arrangements, either in hope of receiving valuable gifts, or of obtaining social influence by lavish giving. If X's relatives have reason to believe that Y's family will accept their proposal, several of them may go in company and actually carry the "secret gifts" to Y's house at the time of making the first proposal. Should this be rejected, they merely carry away their goods, and as the affair has been private, no one's vanity is hurt.

The acceptance of "secret gifts" binds the engagement of X and Y, but a few days elapse before this is made public. If 552, X's family is wealthy, his father, or other near relative, pre- 584 sently invites all the inhabitants of the village to his house. 535 The singers, in their usual stations behind the fire, strike up 575 the tune of some *kusiut* and the owner of the song, thus warned,

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dances in time to it. Using their own discretion, the musicians proceed to beat out the time for *kusiut* after *kusiut*, and each performs. In like fashion they then beat out the tune of one *nanak* after another, and each member of that society gives his dance. Since none of the supernatural beings is present, the affair is non-sacred. The singers consult with the host as to the number of songs to be used. When they stop at last, X's father, aided by his younger relatives, gives valuable presents [585] of food. No mention of the coming marriage is made, but the rite gives the donor an opportunity of displaying his generosity as a chief and indirectly increases the importance of the wedding because the value of the food will later be remembered in connection with it.

If X's father is very wealthy, he may recall the people for several nights, always providing the same type of entertainment, and always giving food. He uses his own judgment as to the number of such entertainments, but at that which he decides shall be the last, he announces:

"Tomorrow we shall go to Y's father's house."

If X's father does not wish to give away such large quantities of food he may omit the dancing in his own house and make this announcement at a potlatch, a *kusiut* dance,[5] or any other public gathering. But the more elaborate the ceremonial, the greater is the importance of the marriage in the eyes of the Bella Coola, which in turn increases the strength of the children [858] who may result from it.

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On the morning after this declaration, X's father calls to his house those whom he wishes to be witnesses of the alliance that has been planned. These include as many of his relatives and those of his wife as he desires, and often intimate friends. These individuals comprise the group interested, on behalf of X, in the marriage; they provide the goods which are given for him, and receive the presents from the corresponding group of Y's relatives. Anyone having the necessary financial ability

[5]This is probably a recent innovation.

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583 is glad of this opportunity to demonstrate it, but a poor man
584 can decline without loss of social esteem.

Carrying presents, the specific value of which is immaterial, they set out for Y's house. Her father, accompanied by his relatives, has been warned and is waiting at the door. A herald, or other eloquent speaker, addresses them on behalf of X's father. He says in effect:

"We do not come secretly or wrongfully to steal something from you. We come with the loftiest intentions. Great is our affection for your child. What we are about to do has long been a practice of our two families [if the two families have intermarried in past generations]; let us do according to our wishes. I am the opening."[6]

Then X's father throws on the ground several stones, representing slaves who will later be given to Y's relatives. These are said to "open the door," that is, to make clear the entrance of X and his relatives into Y's house. There is the added significance that they start upon a clear road the children whom it is hoped will result from the marriage. This thought finds expression in many rites both during engagement and at the wedding ceremony itself. After throwing the stones, X's father gives gifts to Y, to her father, her mother, and to her other relatives assembled. These are of such great value that X's father sometimes almost impoverishes himself, but he knows that though these will never actually be returned, Y's family will be proud to uphold their dignity, and the importance of Y, by equally lavish givings.

Y's father now invites his guests to enter his house, and ushers them to their duly validated seats where the food that has been prepared is served with all solemnity in the usual food-boxes. Then Y's family give presents to X's family, that is to all who have come to share in the marriage. These goods are known as "working clothes"; they are usually of less value

[6] Opening, *ebdemsilat*. This term is applied to the whole ceremony at Y's house and, like it, has a double significance, as opening the way for the marriage, and clearing the path for the future children.

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than the presents just given by X's relatives, though occasionally they may exceed them. Y's father, or a herald, or an eloquent friend on his behalf, speaks to the following effect: 583 584

"Be bold. Henceforth you will have to work a very long time for us. We will let you know when we need your services."

The significance of this speech lies in the fact that X, and to a certain extent his relatives, are expected to perform almost menial tasks for Y's father during the period of engagement, which has now been duly ratified. X's father and his followers now leave Y's house. It is immaterial whether or not X and Y themselves have been present. It is important that this formal acknowledgment of the engagement should take place during the day; otherwise any children resulting from the marriage could be shamed by having it said to them: "Your parents were not married in the open light of day." [858]

For a varying length of time X now acts almost as a servant to Y's father. He does not live with her family, but he cuts wood, draws water, and performs other menial tasks. Whenever a member of X's family gives a ceremony, he takes care to give lavish presents to Y's relatives. If it is impossible to hold a sacred rite, X's father is at least expected to invite Y's family to a ceremonial feast, and also to share with them any game that he may kill. Meanwhile, X and Y are not subject to any restrictions as to seeing each other. In theory if they should cohabit it would "spoil" the engagement, but in most cases when this occurs, as it often does, the matter is simply hushed up. [836]

Children whose parents were long engaged are said to be "heavy"; their entry into life having been prepared with careful thought and due ceremony, so that their limbs are clear to travel with success to the position of chief. When such a child is born, the relatives are eager to call their fellow-villagers to confer a name soon after birth, and the infant starts life with this advantage. There is no specific length of time for engagements; if X and Y are the children of influential chiefs, the 584 [858] [553]

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584 preliminary agreement may have been made while they were only seven or eight years old, though marriage seldom occurs before the age of seventeen or eighteen. More often the agreement is made when X and Y have passed the age of puberty, and they wait for about two years before marrying.

583 Throughout this period, X's relatives are expected to give at least one feast at which Y's relatives are the guests of honour,
425 and always receive presents. At one of these rites X's father,
553 with the concurrence of his relatives, may mark his approval
[584] of the coming event by bestowing on Y's father, or one of her other relations, an ancestral name from his family myth. This does not become the absolute property of Y's family, since the myth in which it is embodied does not belong to them, unless, of course, they are members of the same ancestral family. It is fitting that a name of this kind be bestowed by the recipient on one of Y's children, or returned to X's family a few generations later by a return marriage. If this is not done, in course of time the designation is apt to be regarded by Y's family as their own. If there are no children, Y's relatives should give back the name to X's
[627] family, but there are many instances of feuds caused by failure to do so. According to mythology, prerogatives may some-
[773] times be given outright, without thought of their use by the resultant children, or of their being restored by return marriages. It is claimed that the people of the Kimsquit River
[648] have, through such a present, the inalienable title to use a certain spot in the Kitlobe River for their olachen nets, and likewise the Kitlobe people have an irrevocable right to the Kimsquit name *Stáhmy*. These two prerogatives were transferred at the beginning of time. At present, anyone bestowing outright his family prerogatives would be considered weak-
[578] minded and the other members of the ancestral family would strenuously object. Considerations of this sort make it desirable to seek a wife within the ranks of the ancestral family.

During the period of engagement, Y's family may present a name, or names, to X's father, with the same conditions as those just described.

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those just described. The giving of these at this time is not obligatory, nor does it affect the validity of the coming marriage. It is merely a mark of friendly feeling between the two groups of relatives, and, by adding to the importance of the event, increases the potential strength of the unborn children. 583

If either X or Y should die during the period of engagement, the presents, or their equivalent, must be returned to the donors. No formal methods are employed to ensure this, but the force of public opinion suffices to compel a man to do that which is proper; in fact, he is anxious to do so. If Y should die, an effort is made to replace her with a sister, cousin, or other near relative, so that the friendly relations entered upon by the two families may not be lost. The gifts mutually given by the two families may be returned and re-donated or the substitute simply takes Y's place without further arrangement. Sometimes, in spite of the wishes of their parents and the elaborate rites carried out, either X or Y breaks the engagement by going to live with somebody else. It is then a mark of pride for the family of the offender to return the gifts they have received, and almost equally a mark of honour for the aggrieved party to give back what has been bestowed upon them, in order to demonstrate how little value they place on the possession of goods. 584 [583] [624] [154] [583]

Though a lengthy engagement is desirable, it may be curtailed. If, for example, one of X's relatives should die before the usual period has elapsed, Y's father may suggest an immediate wedding. He knows that X's family will have heavy expenses in connection with the burial and mourning rites, hence it is courteous to offer a quick marriage with the financial advantages accruing to them at the ceremony. In this case, X either does not work at all for Y's family, or for only a short time. Moreover, if Y reaches marriageable age without her father receiving suitable proposals, he can himself take the initiative by consulting the parents of an eligible young man. If the suggestion is agreeable, the engagement is announced in the manner already described, and the marriage takes place [764]

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584 as soon as possible. Though strictly legal, and commonly practised even long ago, this is not considered a desirable preliminary, since the children lack the strength which would have been theirs if their parents had been long engaged. In recent
171 years the custom of short engagements has become popular,
584 though the older Bella Coola feel resentment, saying that the woman is simply "bought" with goods or money at the actual wedding. The return of such sums in due course does not compensate for the omission of the lengthy period of engagement. A few years ago a powerful chief even "bought" husbands for his grand-daughters. His influence was so great that by bestowing large sums on the families of the youths they accepted the young women as wives. The girls in question were desirable in every way, according to Bella Coola standards, but by marrying without a long engagement and suitable presents the husbands, and their families, failed to live up to the dignity of their ancestry. These are breakings down of the ancient rites, and as such are lamented by the older people.

583 Sometimes, despite the wishes of their parents, a boy and
584 girl announce their desire to marry by living together. After much storming, the parents usually decide to make the best of a bad business by performing the marriage rites as soon as possible and by lavish expenditure on them to lessen the impediment placed against the future offspring by lack of long engagement of their parents. But such a child can never be
[858] called as *dipiw*, which has the significance of something good that has long been sought for, such as a smoothed-grained tree that carpenters like. It will thus be seen that the marriage ceremony must be carried out, irrespective of whether or not it has been preceded by a lengthy period of engagement in which the first proposal was made by the boy's family, by a shorter one in which the girl's family took the initiative, or by no period of engagement whatever. These rites can now be described.

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MARRIAGE RITES

Y's family decide when the period of engagement shall be terminated. Although it is considered undignified for X or his relatives to hurry them in this matter, there is always a certain amount of urging. Y's father has strong reasons for procrastination. A long engagement strengthens the status of the children whom his daughter may bear, and besides, he frequently receives presents from X's relatives. As Y's relatives will have to bear the heavier part of the expenses of the wedding, it may be necessary for them to delay it for years while saving the requisite goods. The ceremony may take place at any time of the year. Foreign guests are occasionally invited, but usually only the members of X's and Y's village are present. If the marriage should be with the child of a foreign chief his relatives and friends are present to take part. When Y's relations decide that they are ready, they choose the actual day after consultation with X's family, though the assumption is that Y's father merely informs X's father of the date. 584 585

It is incumbent on X's family to proclaim the event on the day preceding the ceremony. In the late afternoon his father sends a herald through the village calling out: 585 209

"*Qwimap*, ye chiefs! *Qwimap*, ye wives of chiefs! *Qwimap*, ye commoners!"

The actual meaning of *qwimap* is unknown, though it is well understood to be an invitation to gather for the announcement of a wedding. In conjunction with the summons, X's ancestral name is used, although all in the village are probably well aware of what is about to take place. It is noteworthy that at a marriage the guests, as well as the participants, are called by the ancestral names, as opposed to the *kwiat* names by which individuals who own such are generally known. Red colouring is much in evidence at weddings; heralds smear their faces with red paint and the guests similarly tint themselves. They wear collars, wristlets, and anklets of undyed cedar-bark, and cover themselves with eagle down. [551] 585 [551] [302] [301]

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764 worthy of record that his wishes were scrupulously obeyed.
159 During the morning he was visited by the singers and other chiefs to discuss details of the coming ceremonial.

Meanwhile Samuel King had been summoned from his
764 logging-camp. He wished to show his own grief, and also his
159 sorrow that the union between his family and the Schooners, forged by his marriage to Jessie, should be terminated. No
● 584 children had been born to cement the bond. He consulted his brother and sister, who agreed with him that a marriage between his daughter, by a former wife, and George Nelson would be desirable. The girl was consulted and raised no objections. Samuel then addressed Captain Schooner who was favourably
[769] disposed, so it was decided that this ceremony should take
* [356] place in connection with the memorial potlatch. It would be a real, not a fictitious marriage, as the girl had reached adolescence several years previously.

764 Another visitor to Captain Schooner that morning was
159 Joe Williams. Several years earlier, when he had given a ceremony in honour of two of his children who had died, Captain Schooner had contributed $100 as "A Blanket for George Nelson's Wife." This was really part of the marriage
[583] transaction, although deferred for a number of years after the actual time of the wedding. This sum had been divided as follows: $20 to Joe Williams; $20 to Mrs. Joe Williams; $10 to Mrs. George Nelson; $10 to her brother; $20 to Lame Charlie; and $20 to Mrs. Lame Charlie. Joe consulted the recipients and found that all were willing to repay their indebtedness at this time. Captain Schooner did not ask for it, but Joe was glad of the opportunity to do the proper thing at the right time and thus rise in popular estimation. He and his relatives decided to return $150, a sum which he mentioned to Captain Schooner that morning.

[583] Joe Williams, his wife, and Mrs. George Nelson also decided to take advantage of the gathering to rebuy the last named from her husband. The fact that they had been separated for at least a year and that the woman had been living an immoral

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life did not alter the necessity of rebuying her "to make good the path" of her children. For this purpose they decided to give a copper and a sum of money; it was impossible to learn the exact amount. Joe told Captain Schooner of their intention. 764 159 [583]

About noon the body was brought in a canoe from the cannery in its closed coffin and lifted ashore at a convenient spot near the cemetery. Those manning the canoe were young men who happened to be at the cannery, irrespective of whether or not they were related to Jessie. The coffin was laid on a grassy place and Captain Schooner seated himself beside it. People were passing and repassing, some sat down for a time, then moved off to dinner. Occasionally, a woman would sit and wail, the most constant being Reuben's married daughter; Captain Schooner moved around talking to his friends amidst the eerie wailing. About 1.30 P.M. everyone in the village had assembled, including a number of Carrier Indians, anxious to see the sight. Captain Schooner withdrew to his house after asking Bobby Nebby to summon the chiefs to meet him there. The messenger, who thus acted as herald, went around the gathering whispering to each; in addition to those notified at the cannery the preceding evening he called all the older and most influential Bella Coola, Albert King, Samuel King, Joe Williams, Joshua Moody, Alec Davis, Lame Charlie, Judas, and Nebuchadnezzar. Captain Schooner requested the last named, an important chief, to take charge of the ceremony. At this time Samuel King told Nebuchadnezzar, who informed the others, what had been arranged for his daughter and they agreed that it was good. It was tacitly assumed that George Nelson would be delighted; probably he had been on friendly terms with the girl for some time. Joe Williams also told Nebuchadnezzar the two business propositions that he intended to carry out, the return of the money to Captain Schooner, and the rebuying of his daughter. Nebuchadnezzar informed the people concerned. At this meeting it was decided that various chiefs should speak after the Christian service at the grave. [203] [584] [537]

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[426] *ăkwekum:* Excess of amount returned over that previously received as an investment present.
Aiamkikks: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Ăiklăxa: 1—Supernatural beings who drone as the sun moves.
2—Voice of the supernatural woman, *Snitsmăn·a*; the term is occasionally applied to the being herself. The sound is produced by *kusiut* whistles.
Aimălotla: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Aimaltus: "The Coming of Foul Weather," in the language of supernatural beings: The phenomenon is semi-anthropomorphized.
Aimă·ts: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Ancient chief from whom the village is supposedly named.
Aiqwaiosamlaix: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
[821] *Aiqwaiust:* Supernatural beings who blacken the face of the moon at eclipses.
Aiksamka: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Tăl·ło* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of an *ăsămq* chief mentioned in an ancient story.
Aiatla: 1—One of the designations of *Kămai·ts*, the mysterious supernatural woman.
2—Ferocious, awe-inspiring, *adjective.*
[526] *ăkăxyu:* Swing consisting of two long ropes with cross-seat.
[824] *ăkpădultsłp:* Spruce leaves.
Ăkumtci: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
ăłpoimam: Lehal.
Ăłkălăłis: 1—One of the first men to settle at Calvert Island in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwalst* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Aimă·ts* in the beginning of time.
ălkdjălos: Stake supporting olachen net.
[796] *ălkexpiămm:* Ritual repeated at intervals between the allotment of tasks for a potlatch, and the coming of a supernatural being to the first *nsook* initiate.
ălk", *plural,* *wăłk*"*ats:* Herald.
Ăłokănam: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[533] *ălox:* Third part of song.
'ălox: Pleasure expedition of boys and girls to the forest.
[517] *Ăłox:* Name of an isolated star.
[821] *Ăłqotłos:* Supernatural man-eater, patron of Cannibals.
Ăłqscalos: Stick decorated with abalone-shell used by one of the settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
Ăłqwulus: Supernatural female berry-picker resident in the land of the dead.
ăłsaia: Announcer.
Ăłsukwlakse·s: Bay of the Thousand Islands near Namu.
Ăłushnaix: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
ăłxotla: Cannibal.
[587] *ăłxwalăm:* Marriage with sister of a deceased wife; the word is undoubtedly connected with the verb, *to bequeath.*
Ăłtkwis: Supernatural creature similar to a human being.
Ăłtala: Supernatural woman, wife of Cold Wind and mother of Ice.
Ăłtăłli: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
[425] *ăłt·łpem:* The transference of a name, during the period of engagement, from the father of the future bridegroom to the father of the future bride.
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Alalhmktmm: Supernatural being sent by *Smaien·a* to meet *Nesksmm.*

alalqo·xi, "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will certainly give a potlatch to start him on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremoniously at every feast. [556]

Ālhlxw·i: Abalone-shell covered stick used by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

Alhlxw·iallax: One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.

aldinskl: Word of uncertain meaning often appended to *Inxtāmem* as complete term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance. [575]

alikslxmm, "A Dragging Across" (as one does with a heavy log): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being repurchased. [425] [553]

alikwis: Toasted food of any kind. [262]

Alilixwmax: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.

aliliq': Perforated, *adjective.* [252]

alimusnām: Those who perform to assist marriage dancers.

Alimalwalsix: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Al·imlsaix: One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time. [585]

alipaxlits, "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and hers prior to entering her house. [431]

alipoahm: Gifts given in secret, soon after betrothal, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [584]

alipotlam: Marshal.

Alipman·i: Immoral supernatural woman; synonym for *Sximsximdt.*

Alinmotusaix: One of the men who came to earth at Mount *Tenisi* in the beginning of time.

Āl·likut: Totem-pole erected by the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.

ahhbat: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]

ahly: Sisask song in fast time.

ahl: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [533] [535]

Āhl'gmāx·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Sātlia* in the beginning of time.

ahmpus: Kusiut dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

ahnkla: Synonym for *Inumdjut*; one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]

ahnlla: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

ahx: Come, *imperative singular.*

Ahkna: 1—One of *Smaoan's* sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at *Nuxmlst* in the beginning of time.

ahol·ilsix: Central seat behind the fire.

ak·ldjabs: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-nets. [412]

Akhmlskx: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola.

akiskhm: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun. [805]

Ākw·ipmm, "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf. [825]

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*192 *istutsmap*, "Come and eat": Invitation to the *kukusiut* to assemble in a performer's house.
isulta: House beams.
isut·sta: Messenger bearing invitation to a potlatch.
[752] *iscliktas:* Massage.
[585] *ilskalemtk:* 1—Presents, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter visit his house on the wedding day.
[431] 2—Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's kinsmen prior to her repurchase.
[583] *ilxwaxdjut*, "The Throwing Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders": Said of the repayment by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's kinsmen.
itxwolhsta: 1—Battering-ram.
2—The destruction of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.
Ixlłotlam: One of the names of the supreme god.
[201] *iyuhmaxtem:* Notification, by pressure on the foot, to a chief to go to the meeting-place.
[533] *ixlxaxm:* The employment of frenzied stick-beating.
Ixłe·mm: Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.
ixstcłcpamas, "The Hearing": Synonym for *xlastmm*, q.v.; this is a Kimsquit term only.
i·stimut: Kusiotem rite in which the performer appears to be burnt to death.
i·xwatwam: The casting of *kusiut* masks on the fire.
Iymnk, "Far from the River": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
[847] *ixwotl:* Abortion.
i·xwsila, "Disappointed": said of the supernatural beings called by a *wu·s* dancer who arrive too late for the potlatch.

łkas: Slave from the lower Fraser owned in Kimsquit during the last century.
[101] *ułwłatamy:* Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.
[601] *ułwłatsłałostmax:* Half-brother or half-sister.
umlk: 1—Man.
2—Son; term used by old person in direct address to adult.
3—Husband.
[614] *umłkasta:* Male relative of same ancestral family.
umłkiwa: Woman who performs man's work.
[601] *umłkpasta:* Single brother in a family with several sisters.
[431] *ummłki, plural, ummłkłsi:* Small boy, especially son; term used in indirect address.
[584] *ułalik*", "Working Clothes": Presents given by the relatives of the future bride to the kinsmen of the future bridegroom at the first announcement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.
[821] *usinaxul:* Cold wind of the mornings, semi-anthropomorphized.
usaity: Bella Bella term for the *ustamy*.
[563] *ustamy:* Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

kulkāmut: Generic term for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future bridе. [431]
Kulilkākmidjut: Supernatural being whose stomach is cut in the land above. [584]
kumai·t: Good-bye. [576]
Kunkunālpitus, "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being *Winwina.*
kusiotem: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular *kusiut* dances.
kusio·tem: Said to be identical with *sālukwalās,* the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor. [756]
kusiut: plural, kukusiut; vocative, kusiaot; vocative plural, kukusiaot:
1—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season. [575]
2—Member of the society.
3—"The Learned One": Designation occasionally applied to a supernatural being, especially a petrified one, or to a person having power to cure the sick. [756]
Kusiyot: Kimsquit female shaman living in the last century.
kuṣḥao: Beloved one, especially a child; this is the vocative form of the word.
kuṣḥiyum: Orphan.
Kwai'hila'yokwa: Woman dwelling at Fort Rupert in the beginning of time.
Kwa·sla: Smith Inlet.
Kwakwak·la: Supernatural name of Cormorant.
kwa·kwas·s: Merganser. [825]
Kwakwaselotl: Merganser canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Stuix.*
kwakwas: Unidentified bird of which the note is an omen of death. [763]
Kwalais: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Kwalākmas: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Kwala·tstamut: *Kusiut* name of a male Green Bay Cannibal.
kwal·io·l: Smooth greenstone, "jadeite," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. [823]
kwals: Evergreen bough. [824]
Kwalsānl: Famous Bella Coola warrior.
kwaqwai: One of the sculpins.
Kwasta: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kwat·iwal·a, "The Big One": Lustful male supernatural being.
Kwatlnusha: Man who came to earth near *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
Kwa·tsua: Kimsquit woman.
Kwilais: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
Kwilnas: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Kwinas: Kitkatla chief living in the last century.
Kwilāxlaix, "One Who Sits without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
Kwla: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nuṣḥalst* chief; the word is a synonym for *Wikwan·ekwla.*
Kwlilias Nushāmpts: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
kwkwālsikw·ais: Lullaby. [533]
kwsi·yais: Archaic expression used in a string figure.
kwlis: 1—Pen or trap in the ocean for salmon. [226]
2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

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sa·qwa·t: String figure.
Saskwanuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sdjidji'is:* Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sekakmân·a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sekilâst:* Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
[822] *sekima siâkmkek:* River net for salmon.
Sesalânl: Echo.
Sexuxûlaix: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Sexuxûwalqalaislaix, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Ît̓ecâplilân·a's* names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Siâlselâx:* Ancestral name created on earth by a *Qomqo·ts* man.
Siâqam, "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[825] *siâkxsu:* One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
[805] *Siâqkaos di Ano'likwalsaix*, "The Coming of *Ano'likwalsaix*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
siâsâs: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Sî'isâlitl*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Sî'iswai·stl, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *sî'itlliukek:* Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of mar-
[431] riage is broached.
sî'iyikm, "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Sîsmî*, "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Sîsâmî*, "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Sîsâmtak, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] *siki*, "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *susook* rites.
Sikilîktum: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Sîqulq*, "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikwalxwlekx: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikwldjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Siknm: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
Silias: Celebrated composer.
[226] *silmaq:* Salmon-weir.
[827] *sinaqqme'ax: Susook* head-dress.
siniuits: Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
[761] *si·nipadjaxtmax:* Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Simpâcus: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[805] *Sinomwak*, "Time for the Use of Olachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[726] *Sinulkemîl*, "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Siowuklilîm: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

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Sinuyul: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.
Sinuxinutl: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Stax* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
sis'nuta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative of imitating coitus. [424]
sisalyakouts: Song sung by a *kusiutem* dancer on recovery from apparent death. [861]
siskin: Regular beatings given to a male child.
Siyalyam, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]
Siyahumtu: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]
Siyahmoir di Siut, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]
siyuskljut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]
siyuuk: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage. [425]
siuuta: Departure to a new locality.
siui, uuatiu, siuai: Father's brother or mother's brother. [601]
siuut: Puddle.
siututa: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]
Siluuta: One of the names of the supreme god.
Siillaq': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [778]
siut, uuatiu, siuut: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being, "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qoma-ts,* the large *nasak* whistle.
4—Killer whale. [825]
5—Song.
6—*Kusiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Siutu-i: Part of a peculiar repository.
Siutumhlis: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.
siutulhs: Wordless chorus. [533]
Siuul-ut, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
Siuuk: Celebrated *Djelldzamx* chief living in the last century.
siulliutu: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a despondent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]
Siyuuu-u: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
siuuta-iuutu: Place where healing power is petrified.
Siuulqutuuu: Synonym for *Mulukila,* the supernatural being connected with *nasak* rites.
siuuiuuq: *Kusiut* dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, *sutuuuta,* for the user's protégé on earth.
siuuqtulauuk: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage. [584]
siuuuk: Unmarried mother. [848]
siyuulu: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *siuulu* may be connected with this.

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skalk': Devil's-club.
skālnāmxdits: To lament ceremonially, the term used to describe the reason for a memorial potlatch. [824]
Skāml, "Ashes": Ancestral name created for a *Snuhli* chief about 1910. [765]
skāmtsk: Supernatural creature dwelling in water.
skāy: Anus. [824]
skānm: Splinters projecting upwards from the bole of a broken tree-trunk.
Skamolsymān·a: One of the first women to settle at *Snuhli* in the beginning of time.
Skatpts: Chief of the spring salmon.
skatsāmkm: Narrow strips of goat skin with wool attached, distributed at marriage. [585]
skelixts: Merganser. [825]
skekwadjut, "The Opening": Ceremony when the first public presents are given to the family of a future wife, following the announcement of betrothal. [584]
ski: To cure, especially with the aid of a frenzied beating of sticks. [431]
Skimutcitl: Stunx man mentioned in an ancient story.
skinap, "Cure Ye!": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the upper Bella Coola valley.
skinwas: Cloud. [825]
skma: Thick hide, either of moose or caribou. [412]
skma: Semi-circular knife used by women for cutting salmon.
skmaix, skmaml, or *skmdjut:* 1—Frenzied beating of sticks for curing purposes, especially when the patient is a member of a secret society. [755]
2—Final *kusiut* rite at end of the ceremonial season.
skmim: To cure by means of the frenzied pounding of sticks.
Skml, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log": *a'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
Skmnānl: House used by a group of first settlers near *Stunx* in the beginning of time.
Skmnulān·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Nusdalst* in the beginning of time.
sks'tcalx: Fungus. [824]
skstmaixts: 1—Box made of strands of cedar-bark. [415]
2—Ancient name of *sisook* head-dress.
sky: Ceremonial designs executed on the exterior front wall of a house.
skokk': Rose.
Skolikwan·a: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man. [825]
skotl: Wasp.
Skotsemmnsta: Rock on shore of North Bentinck Arm where war trophies were washed. [727]
Skywāhtl: Name of house brought down by first settlers at *Siskiut* in the beginning of time; the term was also applied by them to one of their female relatives.
ṣksi, vocative, ṣksai: Parent-in-law or child-in-law. [601]
sklāy: Suitable place in the river for setting olachen nets.
sklsa: Game played with throwing stones.
skusiut: Synonym for *yexmax,* the tangible or intangible prerogative possessed by some *kukusiut* in addition to a dance rite. [424]
skwakwa: River sculpin. [825]

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Sonq'mai: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuax* man.
Sopos: *Kusiut* name of a *Tsmait* man.
sołołaxmm: Scalp.
soqwałskt': Gnarled projection of wood from a birch knot. [824]
Spaixpaxqmmża: Supernatural being who wakens his fellows in the morning.
Spanhałłnaix: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
späniusta: Temporary camping-place.
Spatcahłt, "The First Born": Name brought from Kitlobe to Kimsquit by a marriage in the beginning of time.
spälkł: Star.
sphłm, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud. [581]
spapendots: The forcing upwards of water at high tide, through openings in the rocks at sea-level. [823]
sphłpłkmm: Person who pounds cedar-bark.
sphłta: Tools for pounding cedar-bark, specifically the upper beater.
Sphłpłhwn-i: Region on the east side of Dean Channel, about one mile from its head, where supernatural power is localized. [778]
Spł'xnunsta: Island west of Namu.
sphx: 1—Pudenda.
2—Variety of *smmq* with female organs. [824]
spoxältcua: Unidentified berry. [821]
S'łs', Cold Wind: A supernatural being.
Sphłwusta: Meeting place of chiefs on rock ledge behind *Łomqo-ts*; the term is probably applied to any meeting place of chiefs.
splo: War-knife used by Raven in the beginning of time.
sputy: Otachen. [825]
spux: Eagle down.
spundjut, "Eagle Down-ness": Rhetorical reference to a present for which no return is expected. [431]
spuxpux: Long, delicate feathers on an eagle's breast. [825]
Spuxpunhełłaix: *Kusiut* name of a woman sent down near *Nusłalst* in the beginning of time.
Spuxpuxpł'mpdimut: *Sisook* name of *Xusis* origin.
Spuxpusta: *Sisook* name of a Kimsquit woman.
sqäl-a: Unidentified berry. [824]
sqoult: Alder wood, dead and dried. [825]
sqółts: Spring salmon which have spawned.
squłł: Hunting ability. The term usually refers to the ability of the supernatural artisans to hunt, i.e., to kill, human beings.
słalst or *słałtustł:* Stone, suitable for axes, found on Mount *Nusłalst.* The name of the mountain is said to be derived from this. [316]
sqama: 1—Chest. [103]*
2—Smoke cure for diseases of the chest.
Sqamł: Land of Ashes. [584]
słaxusts: First proposal of marriage if made by relatives of the man.
słałs: River sand mixed with small pebbles.
Sqatrals: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola River. [823]
słosm: Flood.

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Tsold: River on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
Tsepinał: Mountain near Dean Channel.
Tsuu-ıt: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
tsłoos: To marry.
tsłoosem: 1—Marriage in which the woman's relatives make the first proposal, especially one hurried owing to bereavement or other financial stringency in the man's family. [584]
2—Marriage without lengthy engagement.
tsłilit: One having a voice like an eagle's.
łqwaistuum, "A Holding": The arrangement by which a man's sons-in-law give him as "wife" an infant female relative in repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters. [583]
łsıcus: Clover. [824]
łsıtsła: Robin. [825]
łsxnasna: Game played with bows and arrows.
łsxmasta: Arrow. [411]
łqsta: Adze. [412]
łxwuma: Stone maul without handle for driving fish-net stakes.
łła: Black bear. [825]
łłaiyałum: 1—One of the *a'alt* dances.
2—Ceremonial held to shame a deserting husband or wife. [586]
3—Name taken by an early *łłaiyałum* dancer at Kimsquit.
łłakun: Snail. [825]
Łłakwaitł: Bella Bella woman married by *Smooan* of Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Łłakwakila: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Ł̣wiyai* in the beginning of time.
2—Name acquired by one of the first men to settle at *Stałx* in the beginning of time.
3—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Łłakwakilayakʷ: Woman dwelling on the coast south of Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
łłakwan-i: Knife of mountain goat bone. [412]
łłakwłk: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *ıriaq* is problematical. [825]
Łłaliałis: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Łłaliakł'łak': 1—Supernatural woman known to the people of Smith Inlet.
2—One of the first women to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tłoo'kwoo: Servant to the supernatural being *Nuskiayak.*
Tłoowika'lis: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Łłaymai-ks: Supernatural woman resident in the land above. This word is said to be unrelated to *Łłąymá-ks*, although a common origin seems probable.
Łłąymá-ks: 1—Supernatural child resident in the land above.
2—Name acquired by a female child in the beginning of time. [824]
łłąpıt: Fir-bark.
łłąpąs: Correct term, in the language of Raven, for skull-cap worn by adolescent girls. See *ałwum.*
łła'wała: The pouring, by a shaman, of grease from ten vessels on the fire as a means of curing the sick.
Łławos: One of the first women to settle in the Dean valley in the beginning of time.

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xaxa: Kwakiutl term for presents distributed as "Eagle down." [227]
gate: Scoop-net for catching salmon in rivers. [292]
xeppanhqin: Head-dress of eagles' tails worn by *kusiut* dancers. [324]
xwaxwi: Spring water.
Xwaxilc: Settlement in the Carrier country.
xwe-l': Cow parsnip.
Xwelhen: Name obtained in the beginning of time from the Skeena people in whose language it is said to mean *whale*.
Xwiawaitchmlaix: Shaman who obtained his power from Thunder.
Xwiamhlis: Daughter of a Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
xwlwalla: Wrestling.
Xwudjw-i, "The Creek": Name taken by one of the first settlers at *Nulkax* in the beginning of time but long since changed to a *kusiut* designation.
xwexwaxwax: 1—Hummingbird. [525]
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqaklaxl* in the beginning of time.
xwexwaxwaxl-ais: Puppet-person in the form of a hummingbird.
xwqhe-ais di xiut: The concluding ritual of the *kusiut* season.
yaaxte-i: Gambling game played with *crabapple* sticks. [525]
Xwulchwis, "The One Whose Work Has Failed": Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
xwjuntmak: The desertion of her husband by a wife. [586]

Y

Yakoths: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Ya-k"axuaxua: Kimsquit man mentioned in an allegedly historical account. [576]
yao: "Hello!" "Hail!" or "Greetings!"
ye-: Exclamation having the significance of, "May you have a safe passage," said when a corpse is drawn through the roof.
Yeiks: One of the first men to settle at *Nuiqwalt* in the beginning of time.
'Yeiudji: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
yeaxmax: 1—Prerogative, tangible or intangible, which some *kukusiut* possess in addition to a dance.
2—Similar prerogative formerly displayed in *xaaak* rites.
yax: 1—Call, that is, that which impels a *kusiut* to dance.
2—*Kusiut* whistle.
Ye'mdjelaos: Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
yeatla: Term, implying both wealth and good fortune, applied to a man able to give a memorial potlatch soon after the death of a relative.
yeyá'timut: Presents given by a prospective bridegroom to his future father-in-law. [431]
ye: Good, *adjective.* [584]
yeki: Mountain goat. [825]
Yel-axlaix: Goose Island.
yehle: "All Right," cry used in a *kusiut* dance.
Yellal-a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Yelyelkuxleix: One of the first men to settle at *Alqaklaxl* in the beginning of time.
yellaiaxem: Bringing down of a call by means of the rite of *xemadjat.*
yellaiaiaxl: Presents given by the bride's relatives to the groom's when they enter her house on the wedding day. [431] [585]

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844 fessional midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
[846] the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[825] near the room for a year (according to Nuuk'sla'sta, for ten days), else the salmon would take offence.

553 The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole
[852] tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member
[556] of the Ka'siôt, when it is given its Ka'siôt name. This ceremony takes place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qa'mtsiza name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[292] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
[821] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[262] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She
[261] must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee, 1889, p. 838).

● 584 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His
[431] friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has
[527] been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and
[302] accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and
585 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[431] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his Sisan'kH secrets as soon as the pair have their first child.
[851] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

586 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

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208 in such a way that the contents dribble over the recipient;
522 sometimes, though able to catch the dish, a herald may
556 deliberately allow the sticky pulp to cover him. The humour of this is increased by the fact that guests at potlatches always receive their food in a ceremonious manner.

208 Though one of a herald's duties is to act as buffoon, his
556 position is only very slightly derogatory. In the beginning of time, Raven himself did not hesitate to act in this capacity on
[773] many occasions. Ever since, the post has usually been occupied by relatives of chiefs, especially by those who are unable to give potlatches. In some cases the position is sought by ambitious young men, willing to endure the slight loss of dignity for the emoluments. Since the basic principle of every Bella Coola ceremony is that the donor must recompense those who have assisted him, heralds are always lavishly rewarded. At potlatches especially, chiefs remember their dependence upon the heralds, and shower presents upon them. One who has allowed himself to be spattered with liquid food to amuse the guests, is suitably compensated, but in any case he receives presents for summoning and seating the guests and for interrupting the speeches. The same principle holds good in all other ceremonies. An elderly informant related that once in his younger days he had been dancing a *ɬsaok* dance, when two heralds remarked that the ground on which he was dancing was dirty, meaning, that it had not been made clean by the distribution of sufficient presents to justify his dance. His mother at once gave the heralds two muskets, valuable articles in those days, to clear her son's path. These belonged to the informant, who knew nothing about the transaction until it had been completed, but he accepted as a matter of course the necessity of giving presents to heralds. If the seat on which a chief is sitting should break, presents must be given to heralds, and if a *kusiat* should fall when a herald is watching, the latter
[622] receives gifts. At the marriage of a chief's son, a herald can
585 claim and remove any of the clothing of the bridegroom or his associates. Above all other occasions, when a young chief is

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MARRIAGE RITES

Y's family decide when the period of engagement shall be terminated. Although it is considered undignified for X or his relatives to hurry them in this matter, there is always a certain amount of urging. Y's father has strong reasons for procrastination. A long engagement strengthens the status of the children whom his daughter may bear, and besides, he frequently receives presents from X's relatives. As Y's relatives will have to bear the heavier part of the expenses of the wedding, it may be necessary for them to delay it for years while saving the requisite goods. The ceremony may take place at any time of the year. Foreign guests are occasionally invited, but usually only the members of X's and Y's village are present. If the marriage should be with the child of a foreign chief his relatives and friends are present to take part. When Y's relatives decide that they are ready, they choose the actual day after consultation with X's family, though the assumption is that Y's father merely informs X's father of the date.

It is incumbent on X's family to proclaim the event on the day preceding the ceremony. In the late afternoon his father sends a herald through the village calling out:

"*Qwimap*, ye chiefs! *Qwimap*, ye wives of chiefs! *Qwimap*, ye commoners!"

The actual meaning of *qwimap* is unknown, though it is well understood to be an invitation to gather for the announcement of a wedding. In conjunction with the summons, X's ancestral name is used, although all in the village are probably well aware of what is about to take place. It is noteworthy that at a marriage the guests, as well as the participants, are called by the ancestral names, as opposed to the *kuaist* ones by which individuals who own such are generally known. Red colouring is much in evidence at weddings; heralds smear their faces with red paint and the guests similarly tint themselves. They wear collars, wristlets, and anklets of undyed cedar-bark, and cover themselves with eagle down.

585 In the gathering dusk all assemble in X's house; Y's relatives attend or not as they wish. X's father would feel insulted if anyone else should stay away without a valid excuse, but in point of fact everyone is eager for an evening's entertainment. The singers take their accustomed places behind the fire and the guests arrange themselves in the house without reference to rank. The musicians strike up the *kusiut* song of anyone present, and the person so indicated dances. The first tune used is frequently that of X's father, and then that of his mother, but there is no fixed rule about this. The singers [539] house and beat out tune after tune, and guest after guest dances, but, since none of the supernatural beings is present, the affair is of a non-sacred nature. After exhausting the most popular *kusiut* songs, the musicians beat out the *susaok* songs of many of the guests who, in succession, dance to them; the songs of shamans are used in like fashion. Sometimes the singers continue until everyone present has danced, at other times they curtail the ceremony, as they think fit. When they decide to stop, they intimate this to X's father, who superintends the distribution to the guests of whatever kind of food has been provided.

During the meal, a fluent speaker stands up and expounds 537 on behalf of X's father the ancestral myth in which his son's 585 ancestral name is embodied. Sometimes X's father acts as his own orator, but usually a herald is called upon. Only sufficient [203] details are given to show the importance of X. The myth may either be one of the most ancient type dealing with the first settlement of this earth, or one of later date describing the exploits of X's famous ancestors; but in either case, as shown by the examples given in the last chapter, each contains an account of a marriage. It is always known, although not generally described, that at each of these several dancers performed, their number varying between two and eighteen. The orator, when outlining the myth, stresses this part of it, and always announces how many danced at that time; with the statement that there will be a like number on the morrow. In

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the same manner the fluent speaker outlines a myth belonging to the ancestral family of X's mother, again with emphasis on the dancers used by her ancestors. X, as a member of both ancestral families, can combine his rights from both sides, but it is customary for him to use no more than five or six performers. Should X have no claim to this privilege from either mother or father, an almost unthinkable situation, he is able to borrow the prerogative of using some from friends. The sentiment on which this oration of myths is based is the one so often mentioned; it marks the close relationship between the future children and their noble ancestors of old, a source of strength to the former.

X's father now names those whom he wishes to assist him on the following day. These are the dancers, who are chosen primarily for their skill in dancing, and secondarily in accordance with their rank. With them he selects a number of persons to stand near and help or "cherish" them as they perform. He also asks the services of some of the women who are professional droners; of the keeper of the marriage song of his ancestral family; and, finally, of a number of men to sit near the singers and assist them with suggestions. It would be most exceptional for anyone so called upon to decline the honour. It is near morning by this time and the guests depart.

On the following morning, the actual wedding day, X's father calls to his house those selected the previous evening as dancers and their assistants. The former wear blankets decorated with small copper ornaments[1] and carry circular wooden rattles provided with handles. Their clothing and rattles may be their own, but if they do not possess suitable attire, it is incumbent on X's father to provide them. Skins are piled up within the house, and some of these are said to "make soft the

[1]At the present time there is uncertainty as to the proper clothing of a marriage dancer. Several informants stated that it was a copper-decorated blanket, whereas others said that there was no special attire; one man claimed that an attempt was made to imitate the form and costume of X's first ancestor, and another that round costume was used. Probably there was no uniformity in custom.

515 handles of the rattles"; symbolizing that they are pads to protect the hands, though the dancers derive no benefit from the pads, which are stacked with others for later distribution to Y's family. A large amount of provisions has been prepared and placed in boxes, one for each member of Y's family. In many cases it is difficult to estimate how much food will be required, and if there is a surplus, it is eaten by the performers and other assistants.

When all are ready they rush forth; dancers, dancers' assistants, and young relatives of X, followed more sedately by his father. The rest of the villagers watch with interest, but do not take part in the ceremony. Choosing a position outside Y's house, the singers beat the time of the marriage [593] song used by X's ancestors; if the words are known they sing [424] them. Like the prerogative of marriage dances, there may [424] not be a marriage song embodied in every origin myth, but if X lacks such he is usually able to borrow one.* The keeper of the song is stationed near the singers, ready to help them with the words or the tune, if necessary. Meanwhile the [595] dancers are performing on the sidewalk outside Y's house. Each uses whatever type of dance he chooses, *kwiat*, *xeaxl*, *a'alt*, or even *shamat'a*, but all dance simultaneously, though without paying greater attention to each other than is necessary to avoid collisions. The professional dancers ac- [533] company the singing with their high-pitched quavers.

Meanwhile Y's father, surrounded by his relatives and friends, waits in readiness within their house. Y herself is

*The reputed origin of marriage songs has been described in vol. I, chap. iv. They are less strongly preserved as prerogatives than most elements of origin myths; in fact some keepers of the songs are willing to perform or sell wedding, although this may be a modern development. The keeper, either man or woman, is chosen by the senior members of the ceremonial family, after discussion with the singers. It is his duty to remember each and tune, and the only pecuniary advantage is from the presents made by those to whom he teaches it. Some songs have words, others only a tune. The tune of a song brought down by *Algaxtan* is thought of as

"Hahe, *Sunshine!* We do as we have done before. Please make good the path for those who are about to marry."

Algaxtan obtained this song from his heavenly ancestor and used it at the over marriage, as his male descendants have since done.

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them, taking no inconspicuous a part as X does in the whole affair. As the singers start the marriage song, some of X's relatives carry into Y's house a part of the goods which X's relatives have assumed for the occasion, deposit them on the floor near the door, and then withdraw. These goods are said, "to sweep the house." Long ago they are said to have been of great value, though nowadays small presents are considered ample. Any member of Y's family can accept one by picking it from the floor, but as he is expected to return the gift with something of greater value, sometimes nothing is taken. Should none of his relatives appear willing to do so, it devolves on Y's father to accept the present.

When the marriage song has ended, X's father gives to some strong youth narrow strips of goat-skin with the wool still attached. Carrying these in one hand the young man runs up and down the sidewalk, waving his arms, and at intervals throwing one of the strips into the air, away from himself. All the younger people of the village pursue him, and a wild scramble takes place for each strip. Sometimes, instead of running up and down, the tossing is done in a clear space near Y's house. Only the sons of important chiefs are prohibited from this sport, since it is thought to be beneath their dignity. It is an animated scene, in which the participants thoroughly enjoy themselves. Should have the right to ask any dancer for his clothing, and unless he is willing to lose this, he must give a present to the one who has demanded it. This is a common source of amusement to the onlookers. Nothing is known of the origin or meaning of the wholesale giving away of strips of goat-skin, nor why the heralds should be able to demand clothing on this occasion.

"It has always been done," the Bella Coola say simply.

When the noise has somewhat subsided, the singers again beat out the time of the marriage song, and again the dancers begin to perform. Y's father then sends out one of his male relatives, with gifts, "to stop the dance." The bearer gives a present to one of the dancers, who ceases his gyrations, then

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515 to the others in succession. If Y's father is not wealthy, he may dispense with presents to the dancers, who before long come of their own accord. When the song is finished, more strips of goat-skin are thrown in the manner already described. Then the song is sung for the third time, accompanied by the dancers who have not been "stopped" by the receipt of gifts. Again Y's father's friend brings out presents, to "stop" more of the dancers. After another disposal of goat-skin, and a fourth singing, all have been "stopped." Care is taken that at least one dancer is left to accompany the fourth singing of the song.

X's relatives now send in valuable presents to Y, her father, mother, and other relatives, and also to those who wish to associate themselves with Y's father in the marriage transaction, prompted by kindly feelings towards him, or, it may be, through a desire to display publicly their wealth and importance. The number of these individuals has been communicated secretly to X's kinsmen, who are thus able to send a present to each, such as a canoe, a slave, a marten, lynx, or goat-skin blanket, or some equally treasured object. These gifts are called "weapons of war," since the assumption is that X is acting like a warrior in taking something of value from Y's family. At the same time the goods that Y's father has given to stop the dancers are returned to him unostentatiously.

Y's father now invites X's party into his house by calling out:

"Come mine, come *ninkiloq*," "Enter you war-party, enter ye chiefs."

They go into the house and sit in a group in the place of honour behind the fire. Some of the other villagers may crowd in to watch, remaining near the front door, but having no part in the proceedings. Y's father superintends a distribution of food to his guests, sometimes a lavish feast, at other times a small meal, depending on the food supply and time of year.

In many cases, though not always, Y's father sings a *ne-ele* song at this juncture, emphasizing the importance of his dances by

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ancestry. He may wish to give X one of his ancestral names on this occasion, and if so, an eloquent speaker outlines the myth in which it is embedded, and announces that henceforth it belongs to X. He is called by it for the rest of the ceremony. Occasionally, X will receive several names, perhaps from different myths belonging to the different ancestral families of which Y is a member; or her father may grant X the especial use of some hunting-ground, although with the marriage he naturally has the right to use all belonging to his bride's ancestral family. *Sound* rarely, and *Sacred* prerogatives more commonly, may likewise be transmitted at this time, though they are never expounded, since some who are not members of these two societies may be present. X's father may likewise use his *ce-tlo* song and follow it by giving an ancient name to Y; if so, the procedure is the same as that just described.

Names transferred by marriage may be given when the engagement is announced, at the actual wedding or, as will be explained later, when the wife is rebought from her husband. A transference from the family of X to the family of Y is made only as a mark of respect and friendly feelings, but a transference in the opposite direction is necessary to establish the children on a firm footing. Accordingly, it is often delayed until after their birth, at a time when Y rebuys herself from her husband. A name borrowed at the wedding itself becomes the legal property of the recipient, but not of his ancestral family, since it cannot be passed on except to a child of X and Y. If there are no children, it is felt that the name has become practically dormant and it can be revived by a member of the donor's ancestral family. Thus it is virtually held in readiness for X's and Y's children, though literally this is not the case, since it belongs, meanwhile, to some individual. A sentiment that enters into a transaction of this kind is that, by the presentation of a name to some member of the family of the other partner, a kindly disposition is shown and confidence that it will be duly honoured by bestowal on the children of the couple. Indeed, some persons do no more than promise that

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515 553 425 if a grandchild be born they will give him a certain name if a boy, and another if a girl, so that henceforth no one can take that title for himself, even though it is not in use. As already mentioned, even when a name has duly passed to one of the children, it can be recalled in future generations by a return marriage. The transmission of names, or the promising of them for children yet unborn, is perhaps the most binding feature of the whole marriage rite. Mythology contains instances in which names, and other prerogatives, have been given away outright. Cases are cited by the Bella Coola where a father has given hunting-grounds as "food" for the use of the relatives of his son- or daughter-in-law, but it is usual merely to promise the use of them to the grandchildren.

581 553 571 425 Since the transference of names, or other prerogatives, is the foundation stone of Bella Coola marriages, it is necessary to digress still further in an attempt to analyse the concepts at the base of the transaction. If the contracting parties are members of different ancestral families, or even of different branches of the same family, there is a feeling of strain and uneasiness at the intimate relations into which they are brought. There is a conflict of desires. On one hand is the wish to keep the family prerogatives from going afield; on the other, a wish that they should go afield to show the respect felt for the bride or bridegroom. If children result, the matter is simple, since they are equally members of the ancestral families of mother and father and form a bond which draws the two social units into the closest community of interest. Return marriages will then be sought by successive generations, until the prerogatives of the two families become so closely interwoven that a child will, indeed, be born into the ranks of related ancestors from both parents. But when there are no children the matter is complicated, since the recipients of names not uncommonly try to keep them unjustly. They may do so with the best intentions, feeling that it would be a slight to the donors to give them back. Bella Coola etiquette is not sufficiently exact to stipulate what should be done. If the

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581 two of his female relatives were murdered at Kimsquit. The slayer was
553 never detected, but most of the Bella Coola believe that it was done by
578 one of *Smasan*'s relatives, and that the dispute about names was quite
425 sufficient to furnish an excuse for the deed.

It is hoped that these two instances will serve to emphasize why the
[682] Bella Coola prefer marriages within the ranks of the ancestral family. When this takes place, names are usually given outright, and not merely promised for the use of the future children.

Smasan = ♀
|
Ninitsmlaix = *Snalkuli* = another woman
|
King George = ♀
|
Jack King George = *Qwakil*

585 After this digression, to return to the marriage of X and Y: The ceremony is taking place in the house of Y's father, and the parents of each participant have expounded parts of their origin myths, and promised names for the resultant children.

Then Y's relatives give numerous presents to X's family, in each case including those who are associating themselves with the contract. Canoes, slaves, blankets, and other articles of great worth are given; they are said to be "bed covering" for Y. The greater their value, the greater her prestige. Her
[537] father asks a fluent chief to address the assemblage, speaking as though he were Y. He says in effect:

"My father, my mother, my brothers, my uncles, and their associates have given me my bed covering."

These presents are the binding feature of the wedding. They are said to lock the girl in her husband's house, and
[587] accordingly are sometimes called, "rope fastenings." This is only done when a woman is married for the first time.

[537] Another orator now holds forth on behalf of Y's father:

"What we do today is no small matter. We have done today what was done in former times, and what shall be done in the future."

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One of Y's relatives now whispers to X's father that it is time to lead away the bride. One of X's party, either man or woman, comes forward, takes Y by the hand and guides her to a place among X's people, close to X himself. Y's father gives the conductor presents, which are not returnable. Without further ceremony, X's party returns to his house, taking the bride with them. She and X usually sit close together for the rest of the rite, but their actions are really of slight importance. 585

An hour or so after the return from Y's home, a messenger is sent to invite her father and other relatives to X's house. The guests seat themselves behind the fire, and a number of others crowd in to watch and listen. X and Y are both present, but do not take any leading part in the ceremony. A large amount of food is given to the guests, provided, of course, by X's father, and, as they are eating, a few gifts, termed "food," may be given. Then an eloquent chief expounds in lofty style the manner in which X's ancestors were married in the days of antiquity. As soon as his speech is ended, X's father distributes to Y's relatives presents, which are spoken of as "clothing." Theoretically, the presents "become nothing" for this purpose, but in reality they are returned later on as a means of increasing the prestige of each recipient. In consequence, care is taken to ensure that industrious individuals receive more than others. These presents are often of considerable value, since they not only mark the noble sentiments of X's family with regard to him, but they are also a sound financial investment on behalf of X, whose wife will help him at future potlatches. Goods received as "food" at the meal are restored in the same fashion as this "clothing." This completes the marriage ceremony. Y's relatives often stay for some time longer in X's house, but gradually go home as they think fit. [537]

That night X and Y sleep together.

It is contrary to custom for X's relatives to hoard the goods which they have received from Y's relatives as "bed

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585 covering" or "rope fastening" for her. Within a few days or weeks, they must invite their fellow-villagers to a ceremony of some kind. If it is winter this can be a *susook* dance, but in summer it must be a non-sacred affair. Y's father and other relatives attend, furnished with the usual gifts. When the ceremony is over and the time has come for the distribution of presents, a herald calls out that X has no seat. If he has already been established in one he calls out that it is not firm.[7] Y at once brings forward some of the goods provided by her relatives, and places these with the goods which X's family received at the wedding and are about to give away. The whole is then divided among the guests, together with presents provided by X for Y's relatives. The actual purpose of the rite may be to obtain names for some of X's young relatives or to establish seats for them: it is immaterial to Y's people to what end they are applied. Within recent years this [182] has sometimes taken place at a *kusiut* dance, but such overlapping between the two types of ceremonial is probably an innovation due to decay.

177 About 1910 an effort was made to introduce a marriage 585 custom of the Kwakiutl. According to the Bella Coola, among them the wife gives to her husband's relatives one or more boards studded with teeth of the sea-otter. This makes teeth for the bride, so that if she ever quarrels with another woman she can draw back her lips and shame her rival by saying:

"What can you do? You have no teeth, while I have two sets," or as many boards as have been given at her marriage.

[563] The grandson of a Fort Rupert Kwakiutl, living in Bella Coola and considered a member of the tribe, owned one of these boards and used it at the marriage of his daughter in 1914. It was first given to the mother of the bridegroom, and repurchased with a copper; then given to the bridegroom, and redeemed; finally given, and again repurchased, from the father of the groom. The woman for whom this was done can

[7] The preferred time for this establishment is during a potlatch and the ritual connected with it has already been described (I, p. 167).

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thus boast that she has three sets of teeth, but as the practice has not found favour in Bella Coola, it is little to her advantage.[8] 585 [177]

These complicated marriage rites are necessary to satisfy the pride of the two families in their origin myths, and the need to establish the resultant children in the paths of their ancestors. Among slaves or others who lack ancestral prerogatives, marriage is an affair of slight worth. Such persons simply live together with little ceremony, though they always try to give at least a feast so that there may be witnesses of the transaction. It is immaterial whether or not they marry their own relatives, since no ancestral prerogatives are to be transmitted. [556] [567] [581]

MARRIED LIFE

Y usually lives in the house of X's father, though economic circumstances may compel her husband to live in her home. If the parents are very wealthy, a house may be built for the young people, but usually their home is one of the bedrooms in the house of X's father; this patrilocal residence exposes Y not only to good advice from her mother-in-law, but often to caustic criticism. The married life of X and Y does not differ materially from that of other young couples in any part of the world, and is accordingly difficult to describe. Although love rarely enters into the original choice of a mate, a serviceable substitute is found in the mutual respect for each other's ancestry, and the knowledge of the importance of the rites performed with the aid of each other's elderly relatives. The young people realize that marriage affects the families of both, and accordingly accept it as a matter of course. The Bella Coola are fond of children. Their birth is a matter of sincere rejoicing, partly because it binds the two families more closely together, but parental affection is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics. The parents usually spoil their children; infants, especially, are never chastised and rarely 591 [556] 593 855 [861]

[8] The board used on this occasion was purchased for the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

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*533 (a) Recorded as song VII D 9c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
[776] (b) Presumably a reference to *Nuxkymm*, the dancer's *kusiut* patron(?).
[192] (c) The meaning of this word is not known; it is considered to be quite distinct from the identical term in Chinook jargon for "deer."
(d) The meaning of the whole song is extremely obscure.

Marriage Songs

*533 As marriage songs, two distinct classes may be considered:
● 585 A. Those used at wedding;
[586] B. Shaming songs used in connection with divorce rites.
[578] The former are said to have been handed down from the distant past and consist of a few almost meaningless words. The latter are composed whenever required, and consist of foul allusions to the person being ridiculed.

WEDDING SONGS

Stuax Marriage Song(a)

Nuxa-ijwhlimalqwmanil	*yax ixlaqwlaiylas*	*ałtusałwnainuqis*
Danced for joy	*Qwlaiya*(b)	when they brought
ał'ałłmuxuxudux	*yax daiyaxyr-muxdux*	
the girl	from the place of light(c).	

(a) Recorded as song VII D 3h, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.
[773] (b) *Qwlaiya* came down with *xwaxwai* in the beginning of time, and brought, as a gift from *Alquntam*, the prerogative of lancing at weddings. He landed at Kimsquit, and no explanation is given by the Bella Coola for the use of this song by the people of *Stuax*.
[424] (c) A reference to a marriage among the first people on earth. One of *Qwlaiya*'s associates married a woman whose relatives had brought light with them from above.
[773]

Kimsquit Marriage Song(a)

Ło'łłałimqwudułx	*yax daxumłałaiumł*	*wastsqolynałdomdux*
They went down	*Xwmsła*(b)	with his relative
yax ixlaqwlaiyałaiumł		
Qwlaiya (c)(d).		

(a) Recorded as song VII D 3h, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

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(*b*) *Xemtsla* came down from above with *ʒyuyuyut* in the beginning of time; he had the prerogative of dancing at weddings. 533*

(*c*) *Qulaiyu* likewise came down with *ʒyuyuyut*, bringing the same prerogative as *Xemtsla*. 585

(*d*) The rest of this song has been forgotten. [773] [424]

Fragmentary and short as are these songs, they are more elaborate than many used at weddings. These frequently contain no words, merely an ancient tune accompanied by humming and meaningless choral interjections.[4]

SHAMING SONGS

533* 586 578 [585]

Songs of this type are sung by the singers while the principal performer dances; in this respect, they resemble *sisaok* compositions and differ entirely from the abbreviated and individualistic wedding songs. Though used primarily to shame a runaway husband or wife, one is sometimes employed on other occasions.

Song Used for Nɔ·ɬuma(a), a Kimsquit Woman(b)

A Yelakaiy Has too much	*dalima* looted	*Mistelos* *Mistelos(c)*	*sälnaixtus* further,	*dämnalicaiya'a* he has taken with her

trakwaäkastumal my child, *Trakwaäkis(d)*,	*dämnälicaiya'a* he has taken with her(*e*). [103]

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sänolɬoldimut Be brave,	*sewäsiähmmtsalʒ* mothers(*f*),	*ikäi·äkänutsaixts* when I speak of your ugliness(*g*);

alaskdjäsliwanap you have had much trouble,	*wanusɬwäsätsahmgalʒ* your breasts have become long and pendant.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) This word means "The one (feminine) with the very hairy pudenda." The woman in question had run away from her husband and the nickname was conferred at this shaming *Haiyäkam* rite. [551] [553]

[4] Two examples of such wordless songs were collected. They are song VII D 2a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard, and song VII D 3a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

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Ālālkmktmm: Supernatural being sent by *Smaien·a* to meet *Noākgmm.*

ālalqe·xi, "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will certainly give a potlatch to start him on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremoniously at every feast. [556]

Ālhlxāu·i: Abalone-shell covered stick used by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

Alhlxāu·istlinx: One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·is* in the beginning of time.

āldinukl: Word of uncertain meaning often appended to *Inxāmem* as complete term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance. [575]

ālikulxmm, "A Dragging Across" (as one does with a heavy log): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being repurchased. [425] [553]

ālikwis: Toasted food of any kind. [262]

Ālilixwumax: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.

ālilq': Perforated, *adjective.* [252]

ālimusnām: Those who perform to assist marriage dancers.

Ālimalwalaix: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Āl·imlsaix: One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·is* in the beginning of time. [585]

ālipāxlits, "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and hers prior to entering her house. [431]

ālipoalm: Gifts given in secret, soon after betrothal, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [584]

ālipotlam: Marshal.

Ālīqmāx·i: Immoral supernatural woman; synonym for *Sximsximlt.*

Ālinmotusaix: One of the men who came to earth at Mount *Tsnāti* in the beginning of time.

Āl·iktel: Totem-pole erected by the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.

ālkhtel: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]

ālly: Susuk song in fast time. [533]

āl: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [535]

Ālī'gmāx·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Sātlia* in the beginning of time.

ālmhus: Kusiut dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

ālnālia: Synonym for *Inumdjut;* one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]

ālnālu: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

ālu: Come, *imperative singular.*

Ālkrsa: 1—One of *Smaian's* sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at *Nuxulit* in the beginning of time.

ālsel·ilsis: Central seat behind the fire.

ālsīlālu: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-nets. [412]

Ālsilmālaka: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola.

ālsilmtum: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun. [805]

Ālsu·lqemm, "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf. [825]

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*192 *istutsmap*, "Come and eat": Invitation to the *kukusiut* to assemble in a performer's house.

isuita: House beams.

isut-sta: Messenger bearing invitation to a potlatch.

[752] *iteliktas:* Massage.

[585] *iliskalemsk:* 1—Presents, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter visit his house on the wedding day.

[431] 2—Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's kinsmen prior to her repurchase.

[583] *ilxwandjut*, "The Throwing Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders": Said of the repayment by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's kinsmen.

itxwolhsta: 1—Battering-ram.

2—The destruction of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.

Ixlljotlám: One of the names of the supreme god.

[201] *iyuhmastom:* Notification, by pressure on the foot, to a chief to go to the meeting-place.

[533] *ixlxánm:* The employment of frenzied stick-besting.

Ixjo-nam: Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.

ixkwtcpámmx, "The Hearing": Synonym for *nlátnam*, q.v.; this is a Kimsquit term only.

i-gimut: Kusiutm rite in which the performer appears to be burnt to death.

i-gwatnam: The casting of *kusiut* masks on the fire.

Iymnk, "Far from the River": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

[847] *ixwotl:* Abortion.

i-xwsila, "Disappointed": said of the supernatural beings called by a *wá-á* dancer who arrive too late for the potlatch.

[101] *ulta:* Slave from the lower Fraser owned in Kimsquit during the last century.

[601] *ulpultamp:* Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.

ulpulstnálstmax: Half-brother or half-sister.

umlk: 1—Man.

2—Son; term used by old person in direct address to adult.

3—Husband.

[614] *umlkasta:* Male relative of same ancestral family.

umlkfma: Woman who performs man's work.

[601] *umlkpasta:* Single brother in a family with several sisters.

[431] *umumlki*, *plural*, *umumlkski:* Small boy, especially son; term used in indirect address.

[584] *uplalit*, "Working Clothes": Presents given by the relatives of the future bride to the kinsmen of the future bridegroom at the first announcement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.

[821] *uinintual:* Cold wind of the mornings, semi-anthropomorphized.

uinip: Bella Bella term for the *ustomp*.

[563] *ustomp:* Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

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[824] *kâk'nlp:* Tree, probably birch.
Kâlâskâ': One of the first men to settle at *Ẋnaiyai* in the beginning of time.
Kâlâks: One of the first men to settle at *Snaiâli* in the beginning of time.
Kâlkm: Bella Bella woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Kâlsil: Kimsquit man.
[222] *Kâlpam:* *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[262] *kâlpam:* The gathering of fern root for food.
Kâlpmâkmm: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Ẋnuz* in the beginning of time.
Kâ'lsw-a: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[585] *kâhmâlmsta:* Public oration, previous to marriage, of the bride's ancestral myths in order to cause children to be born.
[842] *kâlpam:* Ritual on the day before a marriage, including the oration of myths by the bride's relatives, the choosing of assistants, and the singing of songs of all kinds.
[576] *Kâmai-ts:* 1—Mysterious supernatural woman.
2—"Please," or "Thank You," a word implying benison.
Kâmalsny^{w}: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nulâmx* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxpâlt* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of the first sky that fell in the beginning of time.
Kâmalâlâl: Lazy supernatural beings who accompanied *Nuxkymm.*
Kâmalymm: Man mentioned in an origin myth of *Alpâlint.*
Kâmâtâks: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kâmâtsny^{w}: House brought to earth by first settlers at *Nuxpâlt* in the beginning of time.
[824] *kâmâ':* Kelp.
[227] *kâmala:* Cod hook.
kâmat: Termination.
[824] *kâmâ-i:* 1—Shelf fungus.
2—*Kusiut* dance in which a shelf fungus is used.
Kâmlâks: One of the first women to settle at *Ẋnuz* in the beginning of time.
kâm-imat: Ceremonial error.
Kâmnâs: Herald of a *Tâl-is* chief in the beginning of time.
kâmkas: Trap.
Kâmsâlâlâm: 1—Daughter of the first settlers at *Sâlâs* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of *Ojimai*, one of the first settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[264] *kâmlâks:* Assemblage of the people for a meal of any kind.
Kâmpâhlmm: One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
Kâmsâmâjâw-a: Supernatural berry-picker resident in the land of ghosts.
[825] *kâpai:* 1—Hump-back salmon.
2—Convex transverse beam near front and rear of house.
3—Mountain on the Dean River.
Kâpsin: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kâstna: Man mentioned in an ancient story of Raven.
[752] *kâstat:* The seeking for shaman's power by a lad.
[825] *kâsnin:* Golden eagle.
kâtkm: Top, toy.
[524]

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hitsin: Tail.
hitskit: Ants.
hix: Black hawthorn.
Kulawi: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kumilhix: Ancestral name of the wife of *Swaly* who was changed to stone in the beginning of time.
kuuli: Region.
Kupuhkjut: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
kustly: 1—Marriage, property arranged and legalized.
2—The actual wedding day.
Kuwuiwi: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.[1]
lalai: Bark bucket for holding liquids.
lalawkajut: The seeking of assistance from a man who owns a curing repository.
lalawkanam: Investment-present, i.e., one for which a return is expected.
lalaxta: Back-room in which *naxnox* initiates and others are concealed.
lalia: Woman during catamenia.
lalala, "What Was Sent Down": Intangible possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
lamapsta: Wooden tongs such as are used for lifting hot stones.
lalawkajut ala hwantsyta: *Kusiutaw* rite in which the performer appears to be drowned.
lal-aia or lal-ait, "The Gainer": One who has been initiated as a member of the *kusiut* society but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through unauthorized knowledge or through successful participation in either a *kusiutaw* or a Mystery dance.
lalali, "Rendered Incapable of Returning": Said of an uninitiated person who is alleged to have stumbled on a repository.
Lalaqa: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
lamaw: The dormant waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one visitation, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability.
lalu, uwatin, lilaas: Grandmother.
lalu-tamawwi: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
Li'laidat: Name given to their canoe by the first settlers at *Ilaua* in the beginning of time.
Lilakamawu, "The Wise One": One of Raven's names as chief.
Limilhix: One of the first women to settle at *Alqaikat* in the beginning of time.
Lina'a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
limaw: 1—Crab.
2—Enormous crab-like creature, alleged to be found far in the ocean.
Lipulu: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts.
lipli: Red elderberry.
lipla: Wooden tweezers used in the pounding of cedar-bark.
lis: Unidentified place.
listaw: To roast dried salmon.
lislamanla: Supported, in the sense of held in place by physical assistance.
Lisipaat: Locality on Dean Channel, west of *Jacomb*.
Litwat: Place on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

[1]This name appears to be an entirely different word from *Kulawi*.

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*192 *nā'plu:* Miniature copper ornament worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.
[301] *Nā·ti:* Bella Bella man living in the beginning of time.
nāxm: To dance.
[825] *nāxmda:* Those who dance at marriages.
nāxnx: Mallard duck.
[824] *nāxmusmm:* Night of potlatch on which *xuaat* initiates appear for a short dance.
naxki: Berries of Canadian buffalo berry.
[415] *nahinkta:* Thimble-like wooden dish.
'namlānkaix: Ceremonial seating of chiefs according to their validated places in a house.
Namutsta: Name acquired by a Rivers Inlet man from sea-lions in the beginning of time.
Namulsta: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
'Nāx·wān·a: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola Scratcher; the designation was derived from Rivers Inlet.
Ne·xlo·s: Celebrated Kitkatla chief.
Ne·xwnhai: Influential Bella Coola chief.
*[776] *Nekulālhaix,* "The Resident": Supernatural being dwelling under rivers who punishes infractions of taboos concerning them.
[784] *nhuxm:* 1—Fourth day of a *kusiut* dance, on the evening of which masked figures appear.
2—Something exposed to view.
Nepepe: Old woman resident in Sea-lion's house in the beginning of time.
nnnk, "Little Dance": Term of grandiose humility.
nxnāxm: Gathering of the people for a non-sacred dance after the *kusiut* season.
Nexnāx·mālsaix: 1—"The Dancer Near the Fire": One of *Tlūxpālūx·a*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
2— *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Nexnulmulsix: Kusiut name of a *Nuxalit* man.
nlemlumtm: One who has preserved a marriage song.
[585] *nlexnālmxk:* The intangible strengthening that comes to a bridegroom as a result of the oration of his ancestral myths and the giving of presents to the bride's relatives when they first come to his house on the wedding day.
[431] *Nlulkaix:* Daughter of the first people who came down to Mount *Tsoxlā* in the beginning of time.
[524] *nlulp'ral:* Wooden ring used in a game.
Nlūtsk: Place on Dean Channel, about three miles from the head, where the deer formed a colony soon after the beginning of time.
[825] *nlāpqa':* Otter.
Nmilāsk: Name of a certain spot where mountain goats are wont to congregate for mating.
Nmixmlaix: 1—"The Runner": One of *Tlūxpālūx·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—One of the first men to settle in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[556] *nmum,* "Brought to Life": Term applied to a copper brought back from a cemetery and renamed.
Nlxmdlmut: Shaman's name derived from *Tlūxpālūx·a.*
nlxmmlxx: "I have saved you."

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Nanuxyymm: Woman endowed supernaturally by *Ana'lkwalnis* and serving as patron (?) to a *kusiut* dancer.

[787] *nanulint:* Omen of death.

Nanutmumlmem, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Tlitxplitx-a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nanumlnin: 1—Man dwelling in *Xemsyne's* house.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.

nanupim: The cry of *hi, hi,* uttered by Cannibals.

Nanumnay: *Kusiut* name assumed by a *Sisaa* woman in the beginning of time.

[424] *nanuyaxum:* *Kusiut* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and *qaiaxum* is obscure.

Na'ernuthmnaix, "The Widener": One of Raven's names as chief.

[585] *nexkaxilal-em:* Synonym for *kaxatum:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

Nephanlikkan, "Hoodlendy Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[302] *nelse-ents:* The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.

neqatelem-i: Medicine brewed in a skull.

Neqtymtx, "Place of Much *Xeqmtx*": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Neqeqtmix: *Nuxymal* name of a Kimsquit man.

Neqilkqatlem-a: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[505] *neqlmamm-ii ma xeny"nix:* One year.

[828] *neqem:* Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.

neqlpil, "Empty House": House in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place.

neqlelqat: The throwing of grease on a fire to heat, both literally and figuratively, a rival.

[821] *Neqely":* 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.

[827] *neqelitsta:* Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

neqmaxmix: Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *kusiutem* and other important *kusiut* rites.

[777] *neq"nanitlin:* Unexpected stroke of good fortune.

Neqwilmlnix: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.

[772] *Neqwilmx:* Site of an ancient town on Schooner Pass.

Neqwlitx: The upper heaven.

neqwna: Woman with thick pubic hair.

Neqwnalqlatx-i: A *Sisaa* supernatural.

Neqlqaxtmnix, "Where *Xqaxtem* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[824] *neqtmqtne-nay:* Cottonwood buds.

Neqtqmil'em, "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.

neqtlqmy: Canoe-maker.

Neqlnem: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Nuqulch.*

[535] [869] *neqtelemp:* Children's dance which serves as training for *kusiut* rites and to provide entertainment.

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Nacwin-ewy, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago. 192*
nacwinaxa: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige. [578]
Naas: 1—Barren district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, *adjective*.
Nacpalqip: *Tal'ia* bird hunter.
Nacpemda: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tal'ia* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alpalial* in the beginning of time.
3—Bell of the universe which, when broken, released the sun. [772]
Nacpemtsin-a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Alpalial* in the beginning of time.
Nacsay: 1—(Probably) "The Place of Berrcoonum": Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
nacsi'ipsa: Repository, archaic term.
nacswar-ti-natnam: The assumption of a name upon earth. [431]
nacswalempalu, "Things to Sweep the Floor With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage. [585]
nacswa-gua: Wooden dish used for washing an infant.
nacwalhamam: Abstinence from acts of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine. [415] [785]
nalalim: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient. [756]
Nalandaw': Name of a celebrated shaman.
Nalem: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
Nalel, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
nalexpam: Alteration of a dance from *nasad* to *lactiel*.
nalkalcin: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck. [825]
nalklalnamam, "A Drying-Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband. [516]
nalklalnam: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion. [491]
Nalleas, "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Nalnalqid: Totem-pole of the first settlers at *Naqlalit* in the beginning of time. [845]
nalnanik: Parents of twins. [825]
nalnapam: Wolf.
Nalnalmaxin: Mythical house in the sky.
Nalnaymalx: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nalnikam: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Tsimqalqa-a* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *nalalim*. [756]
nalnaynam: A creation of new *lactiel* names, such as is necessitated by a disaster or at the will of a mighty chief. [553]
nalnalnim: Ancient rite in which the performer pretends to swallow hot stones.
nalskwam: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to heralds by a person splashed in Otter dance. [431]
2—Presents given by guests at a potlatch to their host and his associates.
nalqam, "The Face Maker": Name given to a woman who paints upon the head upon used to produce cranial deformation in an infant. [856]
Naqapsalt, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kimsquit village.
Naqlalmin: Ancient name of a *Tsimsal* man.

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*192 [53] *nuhaiuxu*: Synonym for *qaxa-u*, the large cone-shaped sound whistle.
Nuhe-kai: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nuhe-kai: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nulqaxbaxa-a, "Nearest River": River flowing from the north into the northern corner of the head of North Bentinck Arm. The Anglicized form is Nulkaxa-creeny.
[103] *nu'xqulaiu*: Issue supernaturally born from another at sea level.
[824] *Nuxaxiat-a*: ancient village.
Nuxalah, "The Mother of Dogs": Name given to a Bella Bella woman in an ancient story.
Nuyalk: Bella Coola valley.
[101] *Nuyalkmay*: Inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley.
Nuyem: *Kwakiut* name of a *Sisaa* man.
Nuxem: Name of a female companion.
Nuyakmalaxin, "The Light Giver": One of the women of the supreme god.
nuyem: Light.
Nuxim: *Kwakiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Nuxinaklaiu: *Ki'ispa* name of a Kimsquit man.
Nuyumkumaxa-a, "Stick-Breaker": Name taken by daughter of the first settlers at *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
[825] *nuxxuxtuk*: Mountain goat with long hair on its chest.
nuxxiiwat, "The Silent Night": The hushed assemblage of *kukwakat* after departure of a Cannibal.
[227] *nuxtaxxiu*: Cross-piece which holds upon mouth of chicken net.
Nuxwalc: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
[585] [425] *nuxwalukum*: Public promise by the parents of bride and bridegroom on the wedding night that names will be provided for resultant children. This is combined with an oration of origin myths. The term is also used for a similar promise of rights to hunting grounds, although the granting of this is extremely.
[828] *Nuyas*: Mountain near *Sisaa*.
nuyakkiskaxat: Person who wandered away from home in dangerous.
Nuyal-ahsis: One of the first women to settle at *Tal'is* in the beginning of time.
Nu'yuz-tuiu: Land of salmon.

O

o'ulqum: Kimsquit term for *o'kik*, orchids.
O'i: Kwakiut half-mentioned in an ancient story.
[824] [262] *okai*: Grass with edible roots growing on tide-flats.
Okipanuiu: Valley pre-emptied by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Okpkiwat: Herald who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
ola: 1—The *kwakiut* pronunciation of something.
2—Rock, *ulkulin*.
Olaxa-i: *Kwakiut* name of a *Sisaa* man.
Ollkyaxin, "The Worthless One": Name assumed by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[825] [264] *Olukkiwat*, "The One that Changes Itself": Supernatural name of spring salmon.
omkiwat: Assemblage of the people for food of any kind.

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[illegible]: Goods obtained by a man's own exertions and forming the nucleus of his wealth for a potlatch.
[illegible], *plural, dimminutive*: *Kwakiut* person.
G'ustal: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
G'usilla: One of the first women to settle at *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
G'usiskwat: Son of Raven in the beginning of time.
Gwgwakilikla: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Sloklaif* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Tsimsif* woman who died about 1915.
'Gwilem: enemy village.
Gwgwi: *Kwakiut* name of a Bella Coola *kwakiutl* dancer.
Gwikuk: 1—Ancestral name of a *Snaiskil* man.
2—Celebrated Kimsquit hunter.
'gwilwasi: Any non-sacred rite, especially an *s'alt* dance held subsequent to the *kwakiut* season.
Gwiwashwa: *Kwakiut* name of a Kimsquit *kwakiutl* dancer.
Gwgwasi: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: The taking of food to another tribe for ceremonious bestowal.
Gwatsimaw: Supernatural being who sleeps perpetually, literally, "The Sleepy One."
Gwelkwaq: 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.
s'gwi: Skunk cabbage.
Gwildzis: Supernatural being, herald of *Sqwaxtin*.
[illegible]: The stamping of *[illegible]* novices in smoke, this being the final rite of initiation.
Gwnasi: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nusdalx* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Sloklaif* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Temporary fish-dam of interlocked branches.
Gwsaw-i: Small mountain on south side of the Bella Coola valley behind *Sqwaxtin*.
G-pai: Place near *Sisaa*.
Gwsalilkamut: One of the first men to settle at *Sqwiyai* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: The feeding across of a bride to a groom during a wedding.
[illegible]: Hereditary tendency.
[illegible]: One made sick by salmon, especially a woman who suffers from this cause through disregard of abstinence taboos.
[illegible]: Variety of dog salmon found at Bella Bella.
[illegible]: Conferring of ancestral names at a potlatch.
[illegible]: The performance of a *kwakiut* dance with supernatural dog salmon as patron.
Gwsqlqwaq, "Traction Place": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Distribution of strips of mountain goat skin at marriage.
[illegible]: "Where are you going?"
Gwsalilla: "Lake-Swallower": A mythical monster.
[illegible]: First night of a potlatch.
[illegible]: Third oldest brother or sister.
Gilaqwa: Name of Mink as chief.
G'ilsi di Sinkaq: One of the names of the supreme god.
Gloss: Celebrated *Wuqwi*'s warrior.

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stuxlu: Promontory on hunting ground extending into ocean.
Ouleu'i: Kimsquit fisherman.
Ouili: Calvert Island.
Ouhsum: Synonym for *Xemsemkinla*, one of the nine supernatural siblings.

P

[415] *pai'i:* Small wooden dish.
Palaat: Lagloo messenger of the dead.
Pa'i: Place on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
[585] [431] *pasatum:* Synonym for *nuplaxcikal'um:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.
Pátstrus: Ancestral name of a *Nuxalk* man.
[412] *petsalu:* Bone needle.
pésaulu: Anything powerful and dreaded; the word is frequently applied, characteically, to Cannibals.
Pe'sob: Small stream rising north of the Bella Coola valley and east of the Nuskonsconnay; it flows into the head of South Bentinck Arm between the Nuskonsconnay and the Bella Coola.
Pisaulu: Bella Coola man figuring in a story.
pilal: Herring scales.
pondata: Dance-apron.
[825] *Pusphla:* One of the first men to settle at *Snukult* in the beginning of time.
pkam: Mosquito.
Pospalaxdimat: Name assumed by *Smanu* in the beginning of time.
pe-qmoi: Variety of *smang.*
Pudu: Celebrated Bella Coola chief who died about 1880.
Pu'ulu: Moustache Nose, the point between Labouchere Channel and North Bentinck Arm.
[824] *putapi:* False bullchers.
[411] *pulatu:* Bow, weapon.
[195] *puyay,* "Fallen Heavily with a Crash," as when a dead tree thunders to earth: The term is used rhetorically when referring to the death of an old and influential chief.
[372] *Ksaiai:* Tree, probably birch, used for torches.
Ksbau: Meeting of chiefs.
[825] *ksai:* Halibut.
[824] *ka':* Crabapple.
kauk: Bunchberry.

Q

[525] *Qa'alili:* Rivers Inlet man, living in the last century.
qai: King stick in a gambling game.
qaiaaqamkid: Women's drowning cry uttered at the appearance of a masked dancer.
qai-nugs: Uncommon term for the second day of a *Sacred* dance, applied to the rites taking place during the day itself only.
Qaiya: Name conferred on the grandson of *Smanu* in the beginning of time.
Qal'lk: Man mentioned in a story.
Qalmu: 1—One of the first women to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
2—Celebrated Bella Bella chief.

APPENDIX D

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

APPENDIX [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

APPENDIX [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

[illegible]

[illegible] Supernatural good luck.
[illegible] Dog.
[illegible] Rock-cod.
[illegible] Whale or sea-mammal.
[illegible] Name of lucky rock, such as a potlatch where whales drift ashore.
[illegible] Carved wooden crescent from the head dance.
[illegible] One of the four women to write or dance to the beginning of time.
[illegible] Mountain.
[illegible] Salmon, generic form.
[illegible] Name of an animal, eagle.
[illegible] One of the four women to write or Dance Boy to the beginning of time.
[illegible] Story, i.e., a legend which, having sociological significance, can be referred to as myth.
[illegible] Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible] Bella Coola chief.
[illegible] Dishonest, unfriendly.
[illegible] Eagle.
[illegible] Sun.
[illegible] 1. One of the four men to write or Crown Boy to the beginning of time.
2. Name received by one of the four women or Dogfish to the beginning of time.
[illegible] 1. "The Light Maker". Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2. Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3. Chief name of a Kitimaat man.
4. Chief name of a Kitimaat man.
[illegible] 1. Daughter of the supreme god.
2. Bella Coola woman.
[illegible] Moon.
[illegible] "Bear". Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[illegible] Name already with existence spirits.
[illegible] 1. Spirits commonly associated with death.
2. Ancestor of the society.
[illegible] Supernatural creature [illegible] resembling a double-headed salmon.
[illegible] Ancestral name of a Bella Coola [illegible].
[illegible] Property, available to all but the owner, given by Thunderbird to the [illegible].
[illegible] Raven's name in another's name. In other dances or ceremonies [illegible].
[illegible] The economic strength required by a chief through the expenditure of his wealth.
[illegible] Name given on "Feast" for a distinguished guest who [illegible] when the latter sang in the house on the wedding day.
[illegible] Western dark (place).
[illegible] Sunshine.
[illegible] Distribution of economic wealth prior to a potlatch.
[illegible] "Feast Supply". Synonym for [illegible], [illegible] hunting-ground.
[illegible] Thunder.
[illegible] Bella Bella.
[illegible] Eye-balls of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

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1924

[824]
[965]

[824]

[515]
[825]

[584]
[451]

[825]
[412]
[755]

[824]
[415]

[825]
[727]

[601]

[824]
[825]

2:Mc[illegible]wrath E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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chopsticks: Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his construction as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
fast runner: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
fence: That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
fetishes: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being. [579]
2—Sleep, intangible factor propagation.
fish-name: Presents given to the man who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [582]
fogmanikwakwat, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]
ga-pit: Shadow.
gamamay: Hummer, archer. [412]
gokas: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law. [601]
gomaskis: Shaman's witch with power of life or one and and death or the other.
gokas: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
gulp: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
halko: 1—Caribou hide. [825]
2—Thong made of caribou hide.
hamm: Changes work under-deck meeting. [285]
hawk: Caribou.
hiwa: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
hkwaxila: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
hkwaxis or *hkwaxisalas*: Mermaids, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
hkwaxsalitsas: Body.
hkwaxsalitsas: Description of human characteristics by medical in the beginning of time.
hkwaxsalitsas-a: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
hkwaxsalitsas: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
hlaka: Mountain goat grease. [824]
hlaklaqa: Canoe.
hlqaxil, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Hlulis: Son of the four brothers at Green Bay in the beginning of time. [825]
hmay: Dewpeas.
Hmakulas: One of Raven's female Grave relatives. [386]
hqaqawas: Red rock paint.
hlas: Singer's house.
hsalt: Tree.
hlaqawas: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones. [829]
ntalo: 1—Mountain-goat, decorated with cones, crushed root grass. [211]
2—Plain goats mounted root grass to indicate major ceremonies performed by the dancers. [764]
Ntem: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley. [262]
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
nuxum: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
nqaxalis: Masked representation of a dead person in west form.
nlq, "Salmon-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
nlulalt: Black raspberry. [824]
nulatu: Grass.

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[227]
[242]
[324]

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[525]

[576]

V

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[584]
[825]

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[585]

[illegible]: Knotted turns for presents distributed at "Eagle dance."
[illegible]: Scoop-net for catching salmon in river.
[illegible]: Hand-drum of eagles' calls were by Ancient dancers.
[illegible]: Spring water.
[illegible]: Settlement in the Carrier country.
[illegible]: Cow parsnip.
[illegible]: Name obtained in the beginning of time from the Skeena people in whose language it is said to mean which.
[illegible]: Shaman who obtained his power from Thunder.
[illegible]: Daughter of a Kitlala chief living in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Shooting.
[illegible]: "The Crab": Name taken by one of the first settlers at Hallaw in the beginning of time but long since changed to a Ancient designation.
[illegible]: 1—Shamanlighted.
2—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Puppet-person in the form of a hummingbird.
[illegible]: The contending chief of the Ancient season.
[illegible]: Gambling game played with [illegible] sticks.
[illegible]: "The One Whom Work Has Failed": Professional name of a Ancient [illegible].
[illegible]: The desertion of her husband by a wife.

[illegible]: Ancestral name of a Dzoo man.
[illegible]: Examples were mentioned in an allegedly historical account.
[illegible]: "Shell" "Shell" or "Greetings!"
[illegible]: Exclamation having the significance of, "May you have a safe passage," said when a corpse is drawn through the [illegible].
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Baby Bells were mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: 1—Paraphernalia, tangible or intangible, which some Ancient possess in addition to a dance.
2—Similar paraphernalia formerly displayed in secret rites.
[illegible]: 1—Gift, dues in, that which begets a Ancient to dance.
2—Ancient whistle.
[illegible]: Man who dwelt near of Kyoxen in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Term, implying both wealth and good humor, applied to a man who to give a successful potlatch soon after the death of a relative.
[illegible]: Presents given by a prospective bridegroom to the future father-in-law.
[illegible]: Good, adjective.
[illegible]: Mountain goat.
[illegible]: Green Island.
[illegible]: "All Right," any word in a Ancient dance.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Bringing down of a call by means of the use of [illegible].
[illegible]: Presents given by the bride's relatives to the groom's when they come for house on the wedding day.

6:Boas K-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NES Bellacoola NES

[944] [946] [945] [955] [953] [954] [921] [942] [943] [924] [926] [927] [931] [930] [932] [933] [935] [936]

trained midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go near the room for a year (according to Nuk'tla'ats, for ten days), else the salmon would take offence.

The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole tribe is invited to a feast, the room is made public, and the guests receive small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member of the Ki'ulit, when it is given the Ki'ulit name. This ceremony takes place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qi'ulatca name.

When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this hour she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat, which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee, 1887, p. 110).

If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, accompanied by his friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his Sisa'ka secrets as soon as the pair have their first child. The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

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be made more powerful by magical means or the ritual acts of relatives. Although these often entail great labour and expense, parents seldom neglect their duty; in fact, care for their children is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics, though the methods used are so foreign to the white man that he has difficulty in realizing their meaning. The hope of both parents is to have children to carry on their names; infanticide is unknown and the death of an infant is mourned almost as much as that of an adult. Sterility and impotency are frequent causes for divorce.

At the present time there is a high birth-rate in Bella Coola, although the heavy infant mortality prevents any appreciable increase in the population. In the old days, it is said, there were always large families, though much confidence cannot be placed in this statement. In families where there are several children, the first-born, whether boy or girl, assumes an important position. His or her influence, as eldest, is naturally considerable, and the parents foster this through the vague feeling that it is proper for the eldest to be the most important in the family. In adult years and after marriage, the influence of the eldest of a family continues to have considerable weight with younger brothers and sisters.

If a man is poor he cannot hope to have more than one wife, and his family circle will be limited to their children, and perhaps to elderly parents. On the other hand, a wealthy and powerful man usually has a larger family. Not only may he have several wives, but his aged relatives, and those of his wife, look to him for support and assistance. Such are usually welcome to live in his house, very fond what aid they can in collecting food, and it greatly a man's pride and sense of power to be closely surrounded by a large family. The Bella Coola are, on the whole, considerate to their aged relatives.*

*This is not true of the present. During the winter of 1923-4 a feeble old man, living alone, was often in actual want of food. Disliked and degraded, of a most disagreeable himself, none of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were nephews, would take him into their homes. Commenting on this man's fate, several informants pointed out how, in the old days, such a man would have found

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593 567 slave, and this is believed to have occurred on one occasion to the daughter of a chief.

432 448 Once, many hundred years ago, the daughter of a Bella Coola chief was married to the son of *Tsaiowum*, a Bella Bella chief, living at *Spuyul*. At the marriage, in Bella Coola, valuable presents were given by both families, and the girl went to live in Bella Bella with her husband. Some ten years later, *Tsaiowum* gave a large potlatch to which he had invited guests from all parts of the coast. As in duty bound, his daughter-in-law's relatives gave a certain amount of goods to rebuy her. They were not wealthy, so that the contribution was of small value. *Tsaiowum* had expected a larger present, and now found himself unable even to repay his debts to those who had assembled. He did not immediately show his resentment, but soon afterwards sold his daughter-in-law as slave to a Kitkatla chief. The Bella Coola were justly indignant, but could not make up their minds what to do in such an unprecedented case. The girl ultimately escaped and made her way home after lengthy wanderings (II, p. 505).

837 A husband demands faithfulness on the part of his wife, though he himself is often rather lax. Illicit intercourse is regarded, not as a deadly sin, but as an infringement of the husband's prerogatives. But if a woman should bear a child at a time when it was impossible for the husband to have been the father, due to absence, he would probably accept it as his [526] own and do no more than administer a beating, though some jealous men would divorce a wife for this. Bella Coola sentiment on such matters varies with the individual; it is universally considered to be a matter that concerns the husband [184] alone and he can do as he thinks fit. The daughters of chiefs are usually faithful to their husbands, whereas those of power persons, unrestrained by the valuables expended at their marriages, are more lax. If the husband should catch an adulterer, [187] he may, if he kill, slay him on the spot and the exaction of blood revenge would be uncalled for. Usually a fight ends the matter, though the offender's family may give presents to the aggrieved husband, and his wife's relatives may also make donations to atone for their daughter's failings. A husband does not share his wife with anyone, and a question as to the lending of a wife

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556 repurchase of your mother have become nothing beneath your
583 feet."

When such an accident occurs, the relatives of X take some
[558] future occasion to give presents to validate his child, with the announcement:

"The goods used from the repurchase of his mother have become nothing beneath his feet. We hereby supply that deficiency."

Thus it is demonstrated that the relatives of both parents are interested in his welfare, so that his path is clear before him.

553 Many women are only repurchased once, but an effort is
556 made to do this frequently since the more times, the greater
583 her prestige. After several repurchasings it is felt that the names and other prerogatives "dragged across" by Y have become valueless. But since new names have been taken to her husband on each occasion, the marks of friendship between the two families are still plain. Then it is that those first transmitted can be revived by relatives of Y, unless, of course, X has validated them for his children. If there is only one repurchasing, the names remain the definite property of X. This is not a clearly formulated law, merely a sentiment that the earlier names have been covered by those later given, and that accordingly Y's relatives, having done what was proper, can now use the titles once more. There is a constant interchange of names and privileges between families related by marriage.

556 It is virtually impossible to over-estimate the importance
583 of this rite of repurchase among the Bella Coola, one of the
[182] few customs preserved tenaciously amid the ruins of their ancient culture. The writer was forcibly struck with the following instance which occurred while he was in Bella Coola:

About fifteen years before, a young man and woman had married with due formality. After three children had been
[586] born, the mother took to drink and vice until her husband at last repudiated her, retaining possession of the children. The woman, weakened by disease, divorced by her husband, and

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556 583 578 602

A man who is giving a ceremony of any kind can offer few greater insults to his wife's relatives than omission to ask their assistance. The following is a good instance of such an insult:

About 1900 a man and woman were married and had three children. Then the mother died, before being repurchased from her husband. In addition, the husband had assisted his wife's father when one of his younger children had died; so that it was most fitting that the wife's relatives should contribute to any ceremony given by the husband. Four years later the husband proposed to marry once more, and to have the wedding occur at a potlatch. But on the day of ultimatum, he insulted the relatives of his dead wife by failing to invite them. The cause of the feud was not disclosed, but the husband increased it by again failing to invite her family when, during the potlatch, they should have rebought her for the benefit of his young relatives about to be initiated into the ranks of the *naxnox*. The father of the dead woman came forward uninvited with a large present for each, saying in effect:

"I, too, have a right to contribute to said prestige to my daughter and her children."

In this way he defeated the wiles of his son-in-law who had hoped to shame his father-in-law by the failure of the latter to contribute to his potlatch. The son-in-law endeavoured to excuse himself by saying that his late wife's relatives had not assisted for so long that he thought they would not wish to do so. This retort further incensed the father of the dead woman so that next day he and his wife publicly gave the donee of the potlatch $300 "to make them where we sit."

This somewhat lengthy description has been necessary to explain the important part which the repurchase of wives plays in the lives of the Bella Coola; it is one of the fundamentals of society and is, therefore, worthy of attention.

DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

968 [592]

Either death or divorce can terminate marriage. The decease of a wife is an unfortunate affair, quite apart from the grief which it may cause her husband. Two families have been brought into peculiarly close relations through her, and now the bond itself has snapped; delicate financial arrangements have been undertaken, and it is not easy to settle these without ill-feeling, particularly if the alliance was a return marriage. If no child has been born, and no repurchasing of the wife

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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587 carried out *in toto*, since the repurchasing has wiped out the original expenditure. This is not necessary in the case of elderly widows or widowers. It is considered fitting for a widow or widower to wait for at least six months before re-
[186] marrying. The Bella Coola say that in Bella Bella wives are willed, as if they were slaves.

586 In spite of the efforts made to ensure the stability of marriage by elaborate ceremonies and repeated exchange of presents by the two families, divorce is not unknown. Due to the decay of Bella Coola culture, it is now the rule and not the exception. It was difficult to obtain satisfactory data concerning its prevalence in the old days. Unquestionably every effort was made by both families to keep together a husband and wife who had been wed with due ceremony, but it is evident that these attempts were not always successful. If a husband deserts his wife, or she him, and refuses to return, it is considered that the marriage contract is at an end. The usual grounds for desertion on his part are childlessness, inability of the wife to help at potlatches, and habitual faithlessness. Continued cruelty and neglect are the usual reasons for a woman abandoning her husband. These factors seem to have governed divorce in years gone by, as well as at the present time. The most unfortunate consequence, in the eyes of the Bella Coola, is the stigma it casts on the children. The younger ones normally remain with the mother, those older use their own discretion, and sometimes pass back and forth from one parent to the other. Both mother and father continue to take an interest in their welfare, and a child can receive presents from either, irrespective of which he is living with. Hence the less, there is a sentimental bar against the children of a divorced couple who can be shamed by a reference to the marital faithlessness of a parent. This factor, combined with the difficulties, financial and otherwise, between the two families, explains the efforts made to prevent divorce and the odium with which it is regarded. Of course, if husband and wife are poor persons or slaves, married without elaborate

1:McDowell: E-5 (1911-1914)948
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ceremony, they can part at discretion without anyone being affected.

When a wife runs away and seeks refuge with another man, her husband sometimes tries to kill his rival, but frequently both families endeavour to heal the breach amicably. Some of her relatives, particularly those who played an influential part in the marriage, first ask the husband whether or not he is willing to take her back. If the answer is in the affirmative, they next try to persuade her to return. Every argument is used, in many cases combined with threats against her seducer, and the intermediaries often succeed. But she must never go back without presents, "to dry with fire the water that has entered the marriage." Her husband invites all his fellow-villagers to his house to a ceremony which is said "to uproot the house [of wealth]." The singers are in attendance and sing in succession many *karim* songs, followed by *ramal* songs, and to each the owner of the song dances, but since the supernatural beings are not present, the affair is of a non-sacred nature. The goods received from the family of the erring wife are distributed and the matter is at an end. Those who persuaded the wife to return are especially rewarded.

If the faithless wife should refuse to return, or if she should bear a child to her lover, reconciliation is not possible. Then it is incumbent on the women's relatives to return to the husband as much goods as he has expended, with additions if they wish to uphold their own reputation. If the husband is clearly to blame, or if he is the deserting partner, his wife's family are not required to return the gifts they have received. There is no judicial tribunal of any kind, the force of public opinion alone imparts restitution if the offender wishes to maintain his reputation in the community. Acting on this principle, the relatives of a deserted wife sometimes return to her husband's family the presents they have received, thereby demonstrating their nobility and at the same time shaming the offender.

Formerly there was an elaborate ceremony to shame the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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husband or wife who destroyed a marriage by deserting his, or her, partner for a lover. One informant, aged about seventy, twice took part in this rite when a young man, but probably did not know the full details of it. He stated that it followed a divorce of two persons who had been married with full ceremony, whereas another, slightly younger informant, who remembered having seen the ceremony once when a mere lad, believed that it was only in the families of commoners. It appears certain that the rite has not been practised since about 1880, consequently there is an element of doubt as to the actual details, and even as to whether it was an affair of chiefs or commoners. It is probable that it was among the former.

When a woman deserted her husband one of the leading chiefs would take this opportunity of giving a ceremony of the type known as *Ikiyákaw*.* After consulting with his fellows to ensure that no one had any objections, and rarely including the deserted husband, he summoned the singers to his house. He would tell them his plans, and they would prepare the songs for the occasion. Five or six were always composed, with an effort to include as many foul remarks and allusions as possible, particularly with regard to the organs of the woman and her lover.

The singers spent about a week composing the songs, and meanwhile the chief who was giving the ceremony prepared food and made other necessary arrangements. When these were ready, the donor invited to his house all the members of the *xaxat* and *kaxiat* societies for a rehearsal. The singers sang over the airs for the instruction of the guests. They were always worded as if it were the deserted husband speaking in foul terms of his ex-wife. The theme of one was:

"My wife has pudenda like those of a black bear."

The guests joined in the singing and also supplied foul themes by calling out observations about the organs of women in general, and of the deserting wife in particular. The singers

*The relation of this to the *yáh* dance of the same name is obscure, cf. I, p. 179.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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tried to incorporate as many of these as possible, so that the rite soon became a chorus of obscenities. The songs were sung and resung until all present were familiar with them, then the donor of the rite distributed food and all departed. 516 626 837 996

The following afternoon everyone, including those uninitiated into either society, were invited to the donor's house. Probably the only absentees from the village were the deserting wife and her lover, while guests from neighbouring settlements were often in attendance. On this occasion, for the first time, the deserted husband used to take the leading part. When the singers struck up the tune of the first song, he used to appear, supported by four or five assistants. His face was blackened with soot, he wore a lynx-skin belt, and above his head was fashioned some insulting object, usually a representation of the female organs made of wood, cedar-bark and berries, as realistic as possible. As the singers sang, aided by those who had learnt the songs on the previous day, the husband danced, moving his body so that the ornament on top of his head was shaken suggestively. Meanwhile the spectators kept calling out filthy epithets of any kind on his ex-wife and her lover. Sometimes the dancer was able to insert some obscene remarks into the display. On one occasion, for example, he pulled some lynx fur from his belt and threw it in the face of a *Tsi'is* man who happened to be present, and who had once seduced a married woman and accordingly been the butt of a similar rite, with the remark: [302] [292]

"All *Tsi'is* women have hairy pudends like that."

The guests were invited to suggest foul nick-names for the man with whom the dancer's wife had eloped. One of these was adopted by general agreement of opinion, and the man was commonly called by it henceforth. Two names so created were: [551]

Stalcc, "The One Whose Face is Wrinkled like a Woman's Organs," and,

Emulcutt, "The One Who Cohabited Publicly."

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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One very old man is still, 1923, commonly called by this last designation, much to his annoyance.

When the songs had been sung, each accompanied by the dancing of the deserted husband, the donor of the ceremony distributed food and the guests departed. The only advantage to the giver of the rite was that it enabled him to show his wealth in an apparently disinterested fashion by gifts of food. Usually he was a friend of the aggrieved husband.

When a husband deserted his wife, the other women of the village used to perform an exactly similar ceremony. The same type of songs were composed, and during their singing the deserted wife used to dance, wearing above her head representations of a penis and testicles. By means of hidden strings she was able to cause the former to become erect.

On other occasions the ceremony was varied by an announcer asking the offended party about the appearance of the deserter. There followed a minute and highly coloured description about the unpleasantness of his genital organs, a description which was swiftly incorporated into the songs.

It can be taken as a matter of course that the above description is little more than an outline of the Bella Coola ceremony of shaming. In spite of its deficiencies, it is important, as evidence of the former sentiment with regard to divorce. Obscene though the ceremony must have been, both in acting and in the free use of personalities, it must have been a powerful deterrent to divorce.* Indeed it would be difficult to imagine a stronger one in a community where a man's position is judged by public opinion and where his greatest aversion is to public ridicule. It is unfortunate that we shall probably never know whether the rite was associated with chiefs or commoners.

CEREMONIAL MARRIAGE

Since marriage gains much of its importance from the complicated business transactions between the two families, with

*A similar rite was occasionally carried out for aggrieved mothers.

1:Mc:Dowalth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[534] faithful and cases of rape were either unknown or very rare.
[534] The daughters of chiefs, too, were guarded with great care and
422 any effort to seduce one of them would be punished by her
534 father. The parents of a girl used to watch her carefully, and the opportunity for immorality was not great in the days when everyone went to bed at sundown except on the occasion of a ceremonial dance. As one informant described it:

"The daughters of chiefs used to be looked after as if they were in boxes, cherished and guarded by their parents and relatives. No one would dream of molesting them. And a chief's daughter used to be proud and look after herself. Nowadays, girls don't care, and everything has become degraded."

[536] If the daughter of a chief did demean herself, the parents lost interest in her, as one who was spoilt. It was always assumed that a girl of rank was a virgin at marriage, and if it was discovered that she had been living an immoral life, her husband in many cases returned her in disgrace to her parents who, equally shamed, were expected to send back to him the goods he had expended for their daughter. Loss of virtue was
422 judged only from indirect information. If the daughter of a
548 chief was found pregnant before marriage, she was almost ostracized by her family. No ceremonial marriage could be arranged for her, and the child could not be cleansed from the stigma of illegitimacy.

536 On the other hand, it appears certain that there was a good
527 deal of intercourse in the old days between chiefs and slave women, or even between slaves and the daughters of chiefs.
[431] In the latter case the woman was often cast aside by her relatives though they sometimes yielded to the inevitable and tried to wash away the disgrace with gifts. At the same time, public opinion was unfavourable to a man who consorted with many women, or to a woman who allowed herself to be at the disposal of many men. Any regular union of masters with their slave women for the deliberate purpose of having children was unknown. A girl's consent was always necessary, given either personally or through an intermediary. Even a chief hesitated

*583 (a) Recorded as song VII D 9c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louis Hall.
[776] (b) Presumably a reference to *Nuxlpmm*, the dancer's *hamat* patron(?).
[192] (c) The meaning of this word is not known; it is considered to be quite distinct from the identical term in Chinook jargon for "deer."
(d) The meaning of the whole song is extremely obscure.

Marriage Songs

*583 As marriage songs, two distinct classes may be considered:
585 A. Those used at weddings;
[584] B. Shaming songs used in connection with divorce rites.
[578] The former are said to have been handed down from the distant past and consist of a few almost meaningless words. The latter are composed whenever required, and consist of foul allusions to the person being ridiculed.

WEDDING SONGS

Sisa Marriage Song(a)

Nuxu-ywalklwatpuxwal!	*yax tsilqmlcyulax*	*ulnuxqwaslmqis*
Desired for joy	*Qwlcyu*(b)	when they brought
al ulnuxuxmulax	*yax dulqmyx muulax*	
the girl	from the place of light(c).	

(a) Recorded as song VII D 3h, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.
[778] (b) *Qwlcyu* came down with *xyayaxal* in the beginning of time, and brought,
[424] as a gift from *Alqmxtm*, the prerogative of dancing at weddings. He landed at
[778] Kimsquit, and no explanation is given by the Bella Coola for the use of this song by the people of *Sisa*.
(c) A reference to a marriage among the first people on earth. One of *Qwlcyu*'s associates married a woman whose relatives had brought light with them from above.

Kimsquit Marriage Song(a)

Sal'Ulslimqwululx	*yax dusqmtlslumul*	*mustqulyutulumulax*
They sent down	*Xemsla*(b)	with his relative
yax tsilqmlcyulumul		
Qwlcyu (c)(d).		

(a) Recorded as song VII D 2h, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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(*b*) *Xemtsk* came down from above with *ayayayat* in the beginning of time; he had the prerogative of dancing at weddings. 533*

(*c*) *Qulaiya* likewise came down with *ayayayat*, bringing the same prerogative as *Xemtsk*. 585

(*d*) The rest of this song has been forgotten. [779] [424]

Fragmentary and short as are these songs, they are more elaborate than many used at weddings. These frequently contain no words, merely an ancient tune accompanied by humming and meaningless choral interjections.[4]

SHAMING SONGS

533*

Songs of this type are sung by the singers while the principal performer dances; in this respect, they resemble *sisaok* compositions and differ entirely from the abbreviated and individualistic wedding songs. Though used primarily to shame a runaway husband or wife, one is sometimes employed on other occasions. 586 578 [585]

Song Used for Ne-ḡwa(a), a Kimsquit Woman(b)

A Yelakaly	*dalime*	*Mistakes*	*sisaoistas*	*dimnalisaiya's*
Has too much	lusted	*Mistakes(c)*	further,	he has taken with her

tsalmostaskumal	*dimnalisaiya's*
my child, *Tsalmostaks(d)*,	he has taken with her(*e*).

[109]

[WOMBLESS CHORUS]

B Sinalkaldimat	*sentsisimantsals*	*ikar-alimaisaiats*
Be brave,	mothers(*f*),	when I speak of your ugliness(*g*);

alaskjhalimamp	*wanaqhalisiakmpals*
you have had much trouble,	your breasts have become long and petulant.

[WOMBLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) This word means "The one (feminine) with the very hairy pudendum." The woman in question had run away from her husband and the nickname was conferred at this shaming *Ma'yalum* rite. [551] [553]

Two examples of such wordless songs were collected. They are song VII D 3a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard, and song VII D 3c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

*589
● 586
578
[108]

(a) Recorded on song VII D 10a, National Museum of Canada, singer, Joe Pollard.
(b) This is *Mistakin* has lasted one week. He was the seducer of *Nulpum*.
(c) This occurred name is one of the designations of Mount *Nuphelis*.
(d) This expression merely adds force to the complaint of the aggrieved husband. It was impossible to obtain an accurate translation of each subdivision.
(f) Referring to old women in general.
(g) In this second part, the theme changes from the specific phrase of the aggrieved husband to his condemnation and criticism of the whole female sex. Such contradictions are common in dancing songs, and are often accompanied by a change of tune.

Song Used for Nuhelis(a), a Kwagiutl Man(b)

A Dzawadis [illegible] Being poverty-stricken(c)	[illegible] has come to this city

[illegible]
Nuhelis(d).

[illegible]

B Dzilgamaxlum [illegible] All the foul expressions used by men are applicable only	[illegible] the crippled

[illegible]
Ellis(f).

[illegible]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) This song was sung by women to shame *Nuhelis* who had deserted his wife. It was the work of a feminine composer, *Tsawa*.
(b) Recorded on song VII D 10b, National Museum of Canada, singer, Joe Pollard.
(c) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.
(d) Any weakness is picked upon in a dancing song. *Nuhelis* must have failed to perform some of any kind, and the feminine members chose to decide him for this lapsed of his faithlessness.
(e) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.
(f) *Ellis* was one of the regular Kwagiutl singers who had shown special aptitude in the insertion of obscene expressions to songs used by men to decide faithless women. The women apparently considered this a good opportunity to voice their general disapproval by coupling his name with that of *Nuhelis*. *Ellis* had suffered a broken arm when fighting and it had been badly set.

Song Used for Ewa(a), a Kwagiutl Woman(b)

A Wawalgamalakwaxsid The men talk too much in a proud manner(c),	[illegible] then,

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] 533*
you are the prey of misfortune, | you committed sorcery, | you are spilled, you [illegible] 576
[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] 578
who pretend to be witnesses(?) | thou(?) | I am ashamed, | I am living.

[illegible]

8 [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Exactly similar | to the little boy's mom | to that of the round-headed
[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] | thou! | I am ashamed, | I am free.

[illegible]

9 The third part, if it was omitted, has been forgotten.

(a) This differs from most forgotten songs in that it was an commercial medium, not a fetishism rite. This was held up to scorn by the men of Kwagiutl and this song transported the law by a certain Hamatsa.
(b) Recorded on song 418 (I Ha, National Museum of Canada, Ottawa, Ont. Indian) [944]
(c) It is said that women, even of slave blood, used to embarrass or increase their importance in the eyes of their children by boasting, falsely, of ancestral honors. [554]
(d) A form of superstitious, difficult to translate. It is said to imply slave ancestry, but is more probably a mere epithet, referring to the female organs. [195]
(e) This is addressed to women in general. [195]
(f) An expression of pride or scorn, used under all circumstances. [195]
(g) The theme is here changed as if it were that herself speaking. This is a common device in all kinds of songs.
(h) Robert was supposed to be the father of Ann's child.

Mourning Songs

Mourning songs excel all other Bella Coola compositions in length, complexity, and wealth of detail. Especially those composed for mighty chiefs contain numerous references to the ancestral history of the deceased and mention incidents referred to in origin myths, a source of pride to the survivors and of envy to those who listen. 533* [765] [766]

(Song Cycle for Kwan who Mourning for Ann, Kwanwin)

1 [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Why has my son been sold? Come, ye who are members of foreign tribes(?)

APPENDIX D

Ashkenaz. One of the first men to settle on the upper Euphrates River in the beginning of time.

Ashnah. (Ashnahlia) name on the moon most mentioned in a Shen story of the beginning of time.

Ashkhanahlia. Name acquired by one of the five settlers on Shalid in the beginning of time.

Ashkenaz. Shemed's son in the beginning of time.

Atta-i. Small portable [illegible].

Atlaim. Shaughing of a [illegible].

Ancient: 1.—"The Upper Sea."
2.—"Sea," in the language of Shen.

Atlantaimian. Intensive prehistoric [illegible] not by everything.

Ashkar. Bella Bella Cowichan living in the beginning of time.

Ashkenazim. "The Sorrows of Eight Years". Name [illegible] by Shemed for his sons in the beginning of time.

Ashe. [illegible].

Ashkhalim. Bella Bella [illegible] being [illegible].

Ancestor. Person of [illegible].

Ashby. Bell [illegible].

Ash. [illegible], the word for [illegible], [illegible] is [illegible] derived from this.

Ash, Dakaeh.

Ashkah. The [illegible] of a Cowichan [illegible].

Ashahlia. Unidentified [illegible] name, probably the South after the [illegible] [illegible].

Ashah of Ashnahlia. "The Pulsate of the [illegible]". Name [illegible] [illegible].

Ashnahlia. "Five of All". One of the five men to settle on Shalid in the beginning of time.

Ashnaughin. Shemed's third [illegible], such as the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible].

Ashkhalim. [illegible] such as [illegible] [illegible].

Ashkhalim. Personified of a [illegible] with a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

APPENDIX D

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

APPENDIX D

 192*

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

2.bb:Dawson E-1 (1922-1924) 1948
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APPENDIX D

1922*

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APPENDIX D

[illegible]

[illegible]: Eagle that perched on top of a pole supporting the sky in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Animal's nostrils.

[illegible]: Horn of the buffalo, foretelling death.

[illegible]: Ceremony, in Bella Bella language.

[illegible]: Goods taken to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him.

[illegible]: Ceremonial Box.

[illegible], bald eagle: 1.—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2.—Bald eagle.
3.—Name assumed for himself by one of the first settlers of Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Worms, either buried or drowned.

[illegible]: Dive eight of a hunter house.

[illegible]: 1.—Heavy supports in Kwakiutl's house.
2.—Name obtained from Alaska by a Haida man in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Ceremonial rite in which the performer's head appears to be pulled off.

[illegible]: Clearly carved feather of spruce roots.

[illegible]: Any act of an medicine woman which prevents a supernatural being from seeing the proprietors.

[illegible]: Pattern displayed when a sound letters dances. They are provided for the dance "To Shake the Earth" from the spectator and serve to accompanies the supernatural and others who have assisted in the rite.

[illegible]: Bell.

[illegible]: Bottle.

[illegible]: Women resident in the far north in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: The giving of presents to the servants and dancers of the house of a potlatch in return for being served with food in a rude manner.

[illegible]: Small woodpecker, species unidentified.

[illegible]: Water snake.

[illegible]: Spreading northern salmon.

[illegible]: Geographic factor prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the grass [illegible].

[illegible]: Dwarfs.

[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at Gwaii[illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at Gwaii[illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Unidentified tree of which the bark was needed.

[illegible]: To grasp firmly with both hands, [illegible].

[illegible]: Tower, [illegible].

[illegible]: Ceremony resembling a potlatch given by a chief for the benefit of the [illegible] villagers, especially during the year preceding the main rite.

[illegible]: "Where is Chief?": Synonym for [illegible], the disappearance of a wife from her husband.

[illegible]: Synonym for Pachelmaluth. Supernatural being who descended huge feet from his fellows.

[illegible]: 1.—Masked figure, usually in coat form, which appears to sound and [illegible] activities.
2.—An appearance, due to, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.

[illegible]: Supernatural beings of mountain [illegible].

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

[illegible], "A Coming up from Below into Plain Sight". Town used with reference to the obtaining of a soul through the medium of Dark-Heads.

[illegible] [illegible], "Where We Come". A prominence, such as a mark or a geographic, selected from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[illegible] [illegible]: Old village near the head of Dean Channel, on the site of the present cannery on the opposite side of the Bird from Bluebird Cannery.

[illegible]-[illegible]: Tree, blackened by soot, behind the supreme god's house.

[illegible]: Space in a house between central fire and side of chief, second behind it.

[illegible]

[illegible], "What Is Wanted Is Lacking". Place created for himself by one of the first settlers on [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]

[illegible]: 1. One of the first men to settle on [illegible] in the beginning of time.
2. One of the first men to settle on [illegible] in the beginning of time.
3. One of the first men to settle on [illegible] in the beginning of time.
4. One of the first men to settle on Kimsquit Lake in the beginning of time.
5. Phase of the Kimsquit River as chief.
6. Small name of a Kimsquit man.

[illegible] [illegible]: 1. Other [illegible].
2. Place supposed to a man long [illegible].

[illegible]: [illegible] who [illegible] to the Clearwater River in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: 1. One of the first men to settle on [illegible] in the beginning of time.
2. Kimsquit River.

[illegible]: Village on Kimsquit Lake. This word is in the Bella Bella language.

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle on [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible] [illegible]: [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]: Person who has inherited his [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible]: [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

APPENDIX D

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4:Box E-3 (1884-ca. 1890)892
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[94] [96] [95] [97] [98] [99] [100] [101] [102] [103] [104] [105] [106] [107] [108] [109] [110] [111] [112]

[illegible] midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go near the room for a year (according to Boas' Vision, for ten days), else the unborn would take offence.

The child is now given its first name. On this occasion the whole tribe is invited to a feast, the room is made public, and the guests receive small presents. The child owing this name until it becomes a member of the Kwakiutl, when it is given its Kwakiutl name. This ceremony takes place when puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qi'wistin name.

When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this time she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not pass near to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat, which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not cross over the river or sea for a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She must not show grief or eat more (see Fifth Report of Committee, [illegible], p. [illegible]).

If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, accompanied by his friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until he is finally rejected or accepted. After the date of the marriage has been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He also a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other articles of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his daughter's sister as soon as she gets from their first child. The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase money. The children may stay with either parents, or part of them may

G:Boas E-5 (BBS-ca. 1898)BS2
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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children.

When a person has died, the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The commencement of the deceased to put into his mouth, his attire to put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned back-ward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The tombs of the deceased are buried. Sky cloth is spread on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, copper, beads, blankets and shawls he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the column. Carefully shown even killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by as many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down as a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the house would, the house of the dead, is believed to be.

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. He must relieve stick a down-bent into the ground at each corner of their beds. After two days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick down-bended into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they choose themselves by setting their bodies with cedar-branches. They also cover to people. After mourning they shave hair small down and away through the clothes, following the course of the sun. This they do on two subsequent mornings, shaving one from every day. Mourners not their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would friends of the deceased. Women when mourning wrapped their clothes with skins or stones.

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, also the dead with an husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the widower, who nearly dies. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to comb or cut colours for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or chickens. Widow and widower choose themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their children are considered orphans, and must not fall on any person.

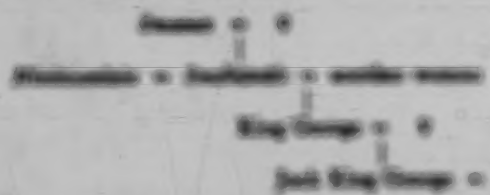
Some time after the death of a rich or influential person he usually relatives broken the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he stages a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was the custom to giving away the house of the deceased.

Religion and Superstition.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to

[illegible] one of the bride's relatives were murdered at Kimsquit. The dispute was never demanded, but most of the Bella Coola believe that it was done by one of Dawson's relatives, and that the dispute about names was quite sufficient to furnish an excuse for the deed.

[illegible] It is hoped that these two instances will serve to emphasize why the Bella Coola prefer marriages within the ranks of the ancestral family. When the other place, names are usually given outright, and are merely presented for the use of the future children.



[illegible] After this digression, to return to the marriage of X and Y. The ceremony is taking place in the house of Y's father, and the parents of each participant have impounded parts of their origin myths, and presented names for the resultant children.

Then Y's relatives give numerous presents to X's family, in each case including those who are associating themselves with the contract. Canoes, slaves, blankets, and other articles of great worth are given; they are said to be "bad covering" for X. The greater their value, the greater her prestige. The father calls a Raven chief to address the newlyweds, speaking as though he were Y. He says to effect:

"My father, my mother, my brothers, my sisters, and their ancestors have given me my bad covering."

These presents are the binding factors of the wedding. They are said to lock the girl in her husband's house, and accordingly are sometimes called, "rope marriage." This is only done when a woman is married for the first time.

Another speech now holds forth on behalf of Y's father:

"When we do today is no small matter. We have done today what was done in former times, and what shall be done in the future."

married men, her relatives are expected to return to her husband's family the goods received during the engagement and at the wedding. The matter is then settled. If the deceased has a younger sister, cousin, or other near relative, an effort is usually made to have this individual replace the dead wife.* No further goods are given, except perhaps a few to add dignity to the ceremonies, the new wife merely replaces her dead sister and the bond between the two families continues unbroken. If the husband should die, his wife's relatives are considered honorable and endowed with the minds of chiefs if they restore to his relatives the presents which they have received. But if the wife can be remarried to one of his relatives, there is no need for this and the two families continue to enjoy the mutual strength acquired by the long period of engagement and exchange of benefits and presents.

If death takes place after the repurchasing of the wife, there is no need to return presents, since the offspring has cancelled the expenditure by the husband. If children have been born and the women has long become practically a member of her husband's family, she is buried by them as a matter of course, but should she die soon after marriage, her own family usually performs the obsequies.

With the passing of many years of married life, the repurchasing several times of the women, and the birth of children, she becomes so much a member of her husband's family that his death seldom ends the arrangement. The widow either no longer a slave and usually is master of her own destiny, especially if she has children and has reached a position of eminence in the community. Since the desirability of preserving the bond between the two families is fully realized, it is accordingly customary for a widow to wed her husband's brother, or a husband his deceased wife's sister. But in such case the ritual of marriage and exchange of presents must be

* The native was explicit in the fact that he was only a casually selected by his husband.

Libb McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

537 carried out *in toto*, since the repurchasing has wiped out the original expenditure. This is not necessary in the case of elderly widows or widowers. It is considered fitting for a widow or widower to wait for at least six months before re-
[NL] marrying. The Bella Coola say that in Bella Bella wives are willed, as if they were slaves.

536 In spite of the efforts made to ensure the stability of marriage by elaborate ceremonies and repeated exchange of presents by the two families, divorce is not unknown. Due to the decay of Bella Coola culture, it is now the rule and not the exception. It was difficult to obtain satisfactory data concerning its prevalence in the old days. Unquestionably every effort was made by both families to keep together a husband and wife who had been wed with due ceremony, but it is evident that these attempts were not always successful. If a husband deserts his wife, or she him, and refuses to return, it is considered that the marriage contract is at an end. The usual grounds for desertion on his part are childlessness, inability of the wife to help at potlatches, and habitual faithlessness. Continued cruelty and neglect are the usual reasons for a woman abandoning her husband. These factors seem to have governed divorce in years gone by, as well as at the present time. The most unfortunate consequence, in the eyes of the Bella Coola, is the stigma it casts on the children. The younger ones normally remain with the mother, those older use their own discretion, and sometimes pass back and forth from one parent to the other. Both mother and father continue to take an interest in their welfare, and a child can receive prerogatives from either, irrespective of which he is living with. Hence the law, there is a sentimental bar against the children of a divorced couple who can be shamed by a reference to the marital faithlessness of a parent. This factor, combined with the difficulties, financial and otherwise, between the two families, explains the efforts made to prevent divorce and the odium with which it is regarded. Of course, if husband and wife are poor persons or slaves, married without elaborate

Lisianski/Krusenstern II-5 (1922-1928)[illegible]
NES Bellacoola NES

place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death. 764 783

The above rite protects widower or widow, but does not alter the fact that for one year they are ceremonially "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the ocean. The one near Kitnaqui is called *Sgiwi'ti*, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of which the bottoms are bent upwards; should this be omitted, when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will soon die. 765 [785] [785] [262] [484] [292] [761]

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should cut their hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; if this rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and [621] [302] [784] [587] [735]

J. McDowell R-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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the hand, and they found the various assets. Finally they stripped off the false skin and disclosed the body of the bad woman. The whole population of the village had gathered by this time and all were witnesses to the impostures. *Itsaa* spoke:

"I had my suspicions that this was the case; this woman came to the camp and asked my wife a great many questions. I told her that she had done wrong in letting a stranger know the details of my observance of ceremonial chastity."

"Have you any idea where your wife is?" asked the chief.

"No," replied *Itsaa*. "The only clue I have is that an owl kept calling from that tree over yonder behind the house, saying: '*Itsaa*'s wife has tied up a fold of skin around her lips.'"[1]

The young men began to dig under the tree and presently uncovered the skinned body which had been thrown into the earth without clothing of any kind. The people, filled with grief and horror at the deed, showed their sympathy by gifts to *Itsaa*; a coffin with carved sides, copper knives, and other valuables to place beside the body in it. The corpse was washed and burnt in state with the many presents, including a large number given by *Itsaa* himself, to the cemetery near the village, where it was interred. The family of the murderess buried her hastily on the spot, fearing the wrath of the people at the crime she had committed.

Itsaa was so heartbroken that he did not leave off mourn, but supported himself on the stump laid up in his house. Grieved though he was at his wife's loss, a greater sorrow was that she had not lived long enough to bear him a son to perpetuate his name. Some four months after her death his father-in-law approached him, suggesting that he marry one of her sisters. The dead woman had two brothers and three sisters, and the whole family sympathized with the bereaved husband. *Itsaa* was very much pleased with the proposition and promptly married one of the sisters,[2] who took the place of the murdered woman. Once more *Itsaa* went hunting, in which he was so successful that many youths were constantly employed carrying home his game.

Within a year his wife bore him a male child who was likewise given the name of *Itsaa* and who received supernatural good fortune at a time of famine.

THE WAR OF THE BIRDS[3]

A day's journey from *Itsaa* there is a lake near which there used to

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[1] Such a marriage is common if the dead wife's family respect the husband, though not otherwise.

[2] The Bella Coola regard the following as a record of an event which occurred

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[492] *Alcoholic*: Excess of amount returned over that previously received as an honorarium present.
Anadidilla: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Anahiaw: 1—Supernatural beings who dance on the sun curves.
2—Name of the supernatural woman, *Intlemin*; or, the term is sometimes applied to the being herself. The sound is produced by harlot whistles.
Anaskalis: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Anaskaw: "The Coming of Foul Weather," in the language of supernatural beings. The phenomenon is semi-anthropomorphized.
Anawa: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Ancient chief from whom the village is supposedly named.
Aqpachamkulus: Harlot name of a Bella Coola man; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
[521] *Aqpachiut*: Supernatural beings who blacken the face of the moon or eclipses.
Atlantlis: 1—One of the four women to settle at *Tal* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of an eating chief mentioned in an ancient story.
Atsalis: 1—One of the designations of *Kimsi-n*, the supernatural supernatural woman.
2—Eyeshine, eye inspiring, adjective.
[526] *Atsnaqa*: Being consisting of two long ropes with cross-ness.
[524] *Atsnalakiliy*: Spruce leaves.
Atsnaqa: Harlot name of a Bella Coola man.
Atsqamaw: Lahal.
Atsulis: 1—One of the four men to settle at Calvert Island in the beginning of time.
2—One of the four men to settle at *Pacawlit* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the four men to settle at *Ahnet* in the beginning of time.
Atlatlaiw: Sticks supporting kitchen ware.
[496] *Atlachimsu*: Ritual repeated at intervals between the allowance of tasks for a potlatch, and the coming of a supernatural being to the first canoe initiate.
ap'i, plural, *amili'ut*: Harelid.
Ahlkamu: Harlot name of a Bella Coola man.
[539] *ahu*: Third part of song.
ahu: Pleasure expedition of boys and girls to the forest.
[577] *Ai'ut*: Name of an industrial man.
[521] *Alpaulus*: Supernatural man-eater, partner of Cannibals.
Alpaulus: Stick decorated with abalone shell used by one of the settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
Alpaulus: Supernatural female berry-picker resident in the land of the dead.
ahtsu: Appearance.
Ahtsulalaw: Boy of the Thousand Islands near Nanaimo.
Ahtsumatu: Harlot name of a Bella Coola man.
ainsiu: Cannibal.
[377] *ainsulus*: Marriage with sister of a deceased wife; the word is undoubtedly associated with the verb, *to bequeath*.
Ainkaw: Supernatural creature similar to a human being.
ainlu: Supernatural woman, wife of Cold Wind and mother of Ice.
Ainlulu: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
[425] *ainl'ulus*: The transference of a woman, during the period of engagement, from the father of the future bridegroom to the father of the future bride.
[559]
[574]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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with the others, including the one who had just been leader, as followers. It is said that there was rarely friction among the joint husbands, since each realized that his turn would come as head of the household, and meanwhile the wife endeavoured to share her favours indiscriminately. The children were considered equally the offspring of each husband, thus automatically acquiring membership in several ancestral families. Such were regarded as indeed fortunate, provided with every potential means of assistance in the struggle of life. 595 556 [851]

Recognizing its importance, every effort was made to verify this information. Further questioning elicited the statement that the informant had never seen a case of this, though he asserted that when a young man he had often heard of it and that the custom had then only recently died out. Another old man and an elderly woman confirmed the above statement almost word for word, and each added that it was well known when they were young, though they had never actually seen it in practice. One man believed that the custom had formerly prevailed in several parts of the coast, and said that he had heard of its occurrence among the "*Kwatcine*" people near Newitte. Considering the reliability of his informants, the writer gives as his personal belief that the institution of polyandry among the daughters of chiefs occurred in Bella Coola not many years ago. Knowledge of the term of address for co-husband, already given, is strong evidence in support of this view. 128 595 556

DISCREDITABLE MARRIAGES

Since it has been assumed that Y is the daughter of a chief, properly married with due formality, it is necessary to digress still further from the account of her relations with X to describe connections of a less creditable nature. The most common of these was with slaves. Though frowned upon by all Bella Coola ethics, such alliances, of a permanent nature, do not appear to have been rare. In some cases it was a man who thus demeaned himself, in some a woman. Since no slave could provide the goods necessary for an elaborate wedding, the 567 588

567 ceremony usually consisted simply of the man and woman
588 living together. In theory, this prevented the children from ever obtaining a name or other prerogative embodied in the ancestral myth of the free-born parent, and an effort was always made to conceal from them the details of the ancestral family's origin myth. But, as already described in the section dealing with slaves, the expenditure of valuable presents served to eradicate, or at least to cover, the blot. If the child succeeded in giving many potlatches, the stain was generally
[556] forgotten. On the other hand, if the child of a slave married to a free man was not "washed," he could always be shamed by a reminder of the disgrace of his parents' wedding.

682 In case of murder, the son or other near relative of the victim sometimes accepts a daughter or other member of the
[583] offender's family instead of exacting blood revenge. The bride is delivered to her husband with valuable goods "to wash away
[627] the blood," but these never suffice entirely to remove the disgrace from her or her children. The latter may inherit names and prerogatives from their father, but even if they attain to the position of chiefs, they can always be put to shame by reference to their mother's marriage as an atonement for murder. Of course the influence of a great chief makes it impolitic to refer to his ancestry, and there are a few instances of men having reached such a position of eminence that the blot
[554] has been practically forgotten. The wife's family must continue to give presents to the husband for years after marriage, otherwise her lot is unenviable indeed, and her children have the status of the unwashed offspring of a slave and a free-man. In some cases a marriage of this type is entered upon years after a murder, if a son or other descendant wishes to end the anxiety of constantly expecting blood revenge.

REPURCHASE OF THE WIFE

556 Repurchase of a wife is the necessary consequence of every
583 reputable Bella Coola marriage. It is assumed that the pre-

586 One very old man is still, 1923, commonly called by this
626 last designation, much to his annoyance.

When the songs had been sung, each accompanied by the
837 dancing of the deserted husband, the donor of the ceremony
946 distributed food and the guests departed. The only advantage
[556] to the giver of the rite was that it enabled him to show his wealth in an apparently disinterested fashion by gifts of food. Usually he was a friend of the aggrieved husband.

When a husband deserted his wife, the other women of the village used to perform an exactly similar ceremony. The same type of songs were composed, and during their singing
[292] the deserted wife used to dance, wearing above her head representations of a penis and testicles. By means of hidden strings she was able to cause the former to become erect.

On other occasions the ceremony was varied by an announcer asking the offended party about the appearance of the deserter. There followed a minute and highly coloured description about the unpleasantness of his genital organs, a description which was swiftly incorporated into the songs.

It can be taken as a matter of course that the above description is little more than an outline of the Bella Coola ceremony of shaming. In spite of its deficiencies, it is important, as evidence of the former sentiment with regard to divorce. Obscene though the ceremony must have been, both in acting and in the free use of personalities, it must have been a powerful deterrent to divorce.* Indeed it would be difficult to imagine a stronger one in a community where a man's position is judged by public opinion and where his greatest aversion is to public ridicule. It is unfortunate that we shall probably never know whether the rite was associated with chiefs or commoners.

CEREMONIAL MARRIAGE

588 Since marriage gains much of its importance from the com-
552 plicated business transactions between the two families, with

[848] *A similar rite was occasionally carried out for unmarried mothers.

[illegible]
[illegible]

the sexual side neglected, it is perhaps not surprising that the Bella Coola carry out a ceremonial form entirely dissociated from marital rights. It is believed that such ceremonial marriages were performed by the first inhabitants of this earth, and that they have been customary ever since. A careful father or uncle always endeavors to arrange such a rite for a girl when she is two or three years of age. The relatives decide on some influential chief whom they would like to have as their daughter's fictitious husband, considering his wealth and prestige, but not his age. They interview the proposed bridegroom, who may consult his wife or other relatives before accepting, although he rarely refuses, as that would be an insult to the petitioners as well as a financial loss to himself. No period of engagement is necessary, as the wedding is arranged for the near future. Among important chiefs the ritual is identical with that of real marriage, though usually it is somewhat curtailed. The relatives of the bride welcome her husband and his relatives in their house and receive from him rather larger presents than they give; the same remark is made about it being the proper time to take the bride to her new home, and the husband and his party depart, without the girl. Presents of names or prerogatives may likewise be transmitted. The two are now considered as married, although there is no necessity for husband and wife even to see one another; on the other hand, there is no reason for avoidance since the marriage is essentially a business affair and not a sexual one. Whenever the husband gives a potlatch or other ceremony, he is assisted by the relatives of his fictitious wife, sometimes to a greater extent than by the relatives of his real one. This ceremonial wedlock may last for three or four years, until the relatives of the wife relegy her from her husband. On this occasion it is essential that he receive from the relations of his fictitious wife presents of greater value than he himself has given, otherwise she would be disgraced. Ceremonial marriage differs from real marriage in that one repurchasing terminates

[551] [552] is, although it is customary for the parents of a wife to exhibit their wealth on several occasions.

What are the advantages of such an agreement to the two parties? The husband receives considerable assistance, both in actual goods and in ceremonial prerogatives. Moreover, his vanity is gratified by the desire shown by others to have him as husband of their daughters. The advantages to the wife are more difficult to describe. Financially, her relatives always lose, yet they consider that the prestige gained by their daughter as wife of a mighty chief fully compensates for their monetary loss. Accordingly, they take pains to have a daughter married several times before puberty, either simultaneously or in succession. Thus there is a form of ceremonial polyandry [553] pointing to Bella Coola at the present day. No ceremonial marriage takes place after puberty. In later years, when the [554] girl grows up, matrons, and has children of her own, their status is increased materially by the pre-puberty marriages of their mother. They address her fictitious husband as "father," and his children as brother or sister, although there are no incest prohibitions with regard to them. A chief sometimes arranges the bestowal of names or other prerogatives on the children of a fictitious co-wife, but such favours are too uncertain to provide a motive for the prevalence of the rite. Its value rests on the esteem attached to a woman whose relatives have shown their wealth and prowess by marrying her several times. When her children quarrel with their playfellows, it is common to hear one boast:

"*I* have three fathers. How many have you?"

[558] Occasionally the relatives of a fictitious bride are unable to provide the goods to repurchase her from her husband and the girl remains disgraced for life. In no circumstances has her husband any claims to marital rights with her, and in due course she can marry someone else; but it is never forgotten that she was not rebought from her husband. In 1916 a girl about four years of age was married to a man of sixty, who at the time gave her relatives $80 and a motor boat. She had

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not yet been repurchased in 1924 and the Bella Coola were beginning to look askance at her. It is doubtful whether the child realized that she was married, certainly the fact had not the slightest effect on her behaviour. Unless the wife is rebought, any names which she took to her husband at her fictitious marriage remain his property.

Ceremonial marriages are sometimes carried out for special reasons. If the husband at a real marriage feels that he is over-indebted to his wife's relatives through the names and prerogatives they have brought him, he sometimes arranges to restore some of them and thus even the transaction by ceremonially marrying one of his young female relatives to one of his wife's family. She takes back some of the acquired names to her fictitious husband and the matter is amicably arranged. Realizing the difficulties experienced by the father of many daughters, one of his sons-in-law may, if his father-in-law has many times rebought his daughter and so demonstrated his stability, try to arrange a fictitious marriage between the old man and one of his son-in-law's relatives. It often happens that the proud old chief will decline such assistance, confident in his own ability and prestige. Revenge is often settled by a fictitious marriage, arranged in the same manner and with the same armchair origins as that already described. Sometimes the infant is ceremonially married to the son of a chief, instead of to the chief himself, though no true wedlock follows. [227]

It is not even necessary to have a small girl to act as bride. If a man wishes to ally himself by marriage to a famous chief and lacks a daughter, he can perform the marriage rite with a "bride" consisting of his finger, leg, hand, or other part of the body. In a case in 1915 the "wife" was a favourite dog, which was duly married to a chief. In fact, ceremonial marriage is merely one of the many methods used by the Bella Coola to enter into financial dealings with an influential chief; it provides an honourable means of displaying the wealth of the bride's family; it increases the prestige of a girl and her relatives, or the prestige of her relatives alone if "she" is an inani-

588 556 many objects. Bella Coola financiers are always seeking to arrange such undertakings; the potlatch is the culminating point, but the same principle pervades their whole life.

It is to the advantage of the intending donor of a potlatch to become the fictitious husband of as many children as possible. Accordingly he sometimes takes the initial step, so is customary for the relatives of the husband in real marriage, but not in ceremonial. In such a case it is necessary for him to offer some inducement, perhaps in the form of one of the few women's names brought to earth in the beginning of time. He approaches a suitable father-in-law, suggesting that at a fictitious marriage he would be willing to give his wife a noble woman's name. If this is agreeable, the rite is carried out accordingly. The wife is in many cases a son of the person to whom the proposal was made; he duly receives a woman's name, the only circumstance under which this is possible. The actual designation will probably be returned through many repurchasings, but the boy has reached an enviable position. In later years he can always silence a person with whom he is quarrelling by saying:

[551]

"I need not answer you. You cannot even approach my body, so thickly am I padded with the goods which my father used when he rebought me."

556 608 858 Another business transaction of a similar nature is the giving of a small infant to an old person to "hold." This appears to be uncommon, and the only instance about which information was available occurred under the following circumstances:

A man and a woman were married with full ceremony and the best of feelings prevailed between the two families. The wife was several times rebought until she and her relatives had fully maintained their dignity, in fact the relations of the husband felt that they were being out-shone. Then the wife's father died. To mark their sympathy, the husband's family gave the widow one of her daughter's children to "hold." Valuable non-returnable presents were transmitted as "soft

the most famous of all talismans, and, therefore, a potent protection against supernatural beings. It is valuable as a defense against evil monsters, but it is equally deadly to shamans and other human beings with supernatural powers. In the distant past, Raven taught mankind that to sleep with a menstruating woman would as blind a man that he would be unsuccessful in hunting. The belief is that animals, knowing everything that takes place, avoid one who is so unclean. One old man mentioned that he had failed to obey this injunction and considered his loss of virility as a punishment, overlooking the fact that he was over seventy years of age.

The coming of adolescence in a boy is recognized by change in voice and the other usual indications. He is neither taboo nor unclean, and consequently does not have to undergo any restrictions on his actions. There is no ceremony to mark the entry of a youth into adult membership of the tribe; instead, this comes gradually and puberty is no more than an indication of increasing age and strength.

Marriage

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola regard the married state as the normal condition of man. Anyone unwilling to wed is considered unnatural. Since the number of the sexes is approximately equal, the only persons forced to live alone are elderly widows and widowers, and those crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are looked upon as unfortunate; in fact, they have failed in one of the most fundamental of life's struggles. Man provides fish and game, builds houses and canoes, while woman collects berries, makes baskets, cooks, and performs the multitudinous small household tasks.

"Is it not to the benefit of each to marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is not a mere economic arrangement, nor is its sole function to regulate relations between the sexes. Its most important feature is that it governs the status of the child.

These [illegible] lilies (of the species known as [illegible], "The [illegible] of the pond") from the roots of which a remedy can be learned. They can be collected by anyone, and the places where they grow are well known, but certain rules must be followed. Before reaching the pond the gatherer must find four green saplings, one from each a bough projecting eastward, and lay them one by one, beside the water, with a space between. After plucking the lily roots he must place them on the ground between the green branches and tie the whole into a bundle with strips of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. He must be careful to wind these wrappings clockwise. On arriving at the house where the remedy is to be prepared, the bundle must be thrown in through the smoke-vent, never carried through the door. After these precautions the medicine can be prepared with safety. The roots are cut into thin slices and boiled for four days; a sick person then drinks several cupsful of the brew, which is particularly good for the blood. This remedy is especially effective if the patient is observing ceremonial chastity. The person administering the potion sees to it that the one being treated conforms to certain regulations for forty days. He must not eat fresh meat, fresh salmon, or any food prepared by a widow or a ceremonial woman; he must not approach too closely a girl who is secluded following puberty, and he must observe absolute continence, not even sleeping with his wife. Death follows the breaking of any of these taboos.

Although supernatural good fortune is most frequently obtained from either a *manitqat* or a *naiad*, it can be derived from other supernatural beings. In such cases the acquisition is seldom dangerous. The following tale describes the *gokée-i*.

Long before the coming of the white man, but very long after the first people came to this earth, a certain Kitsumpit man, *Wilmanat*, who was also called *O'mitid*, was wearing mountain goats on Mount *Tsqinlat* when he heard on the upper slopes a peculiar cry which he recognized, from descriptions given him by the old people, as the voice of a *gokée-i*.

on the value of the goods distributed in connection with them, usually revert to the ancestral family and can be revived by any member of it. It seems needless to publish lengthy pedigrees, illustrating the transmission of ancestral names; it will suffice to say that such sometimes pass from father to son, from a man to his brother's son, his sister's son, his sister, his daughter, or to other relatives belonging to the immediate family. On the other hand, with equal frequency, names pass from a man to distant relatives of the same ancestral family.

Thus the Bella Coola family, important though it is in the life of the individual, cannot be defined with exactitude either as regards composition or functions; it varies according to the importance of its head, and tends to merge in the ancestral families of the parents.

Kinship Terms

In Bella Coola, as in so many parts of the world, kinship terms mirror the social life of the community. The Bella Coola system of nomenclature is not so clear-cut in its application as in other regions, and requires considerable explanation concerning the uses of many of the terms. It will be seen that the system, although fundamentally founded on the family, presents many classificatory features. Whether or not these are to be ascribed to an ancient clan system is most doubtful; a short discussion of that point will be found at the end of this section.

The terms are arranged in the following order: first, an individual's relatives of the preceding generation, then those of the next preceding, with their parents, then those of the present generation, followed by terms for kin of the generations following. Finally come relations by marriage.

Term	Direct address	Indirect address
Father.....	ASIS This term is properly used only by a small child, though often continued by an adult as a term of endearment.	ASIS Term used only by a small child.

[195]

773 have been many changes. Raven, the culture hero, taught
849 the early settlers many useful arts, and they were themselves so powerful that they were able to create ceremonial and other prerogatives in a manner impossible to their descendants. Moreover, the people realize that they have been influenced by neighbouring tribes since that time, but in spite of these additions, they believe that their life is patterned on that of their earliest forbears.

[181] As a group, the Bella Coola are philosophers. They demand a reason for everything, though once a reason has been given, and accepted, they think no more about the matter. The elaboration of Bella Coola mythology may be due in part to their desire to explain their social organization; but without question these myths, now accepted as facts, have had a great influence on the lives of the people. In fact the social structure of the tribe has tended to conform to the myths.

621 It is believed that each group of first people formed a village
773 community, and pre-empted hunting-grounds in the vicinity. These usually consisted of small valleys opening from the main
[361] Bella Coola River, tracts which could thus be easily defined.
[826] Each group also took possession of a suitable part of the river for a salmon-weir, or, if located on the coast, a convenient place for an ocean fish-trap. In course of time the first people married, of necessity with members of other villages. According
[591] to mythology, and equally according to modern practice, the women usually moved to the villages of their husbands. When
773 a child was born, it naturally grew up to share in the hunting-grounds of its father's village. Moreover, the father was able to bestow on his child various ceremonial dances; the concepts of some he had brought with him from above, others he had formulated on this earth. It is assumed that all the first people were mighty chiefs, able to initiate rites in a way that few modern men have been able to equal. But the mothers of these children, the first born on this earth, did not surrender the privileges of their own villages at marriage. Consequently, their children were of almost as much interest to the brothers

than honor that she has three sets of teeth, but as the practice has not found favour in Bella Coola, it is little to her advantage.*

These complicated marriage rites are necessary to satisfy the pride of the two families in their origin myths, and the need to establish the resultant children in the paths of their ancestors. Among slaves or others who lack ancestral prerogatives, marriage is an affair of slight worth. Such persons simply live together with little ceremony, though they always try to give at least a feast so that there may be witnesses of the transaction. It is immaterial whether or not they marry their own relatives, since no ancestral prerogatives are to be transmitted.

MARRIED LIFE

Y usually lives in the house of X's father, though economic circumstances may compel her husband to live in her home. If the parents are very wealthy, a house may be built for the young people, but usually their home is one of the bedrooms in the house of X's father; this patrilocal residence exposes Y not only to good advice from her mother-in-law, but often to caustic criticism. The married life of X and Y does not differ materially from that of other young couples in any part of the world, and is accordingly difficult to describe. Although love rarely enters into the original choice of a mate, a serviceable substitute is found in the mutual respect for each other's ancestry, and the knowledge of the importance of the rites performed with the aid of each other's elderly relatives. The young people realize that marriage affects the families of both, and accordingly accept it as a matter of course. The Bella Coola are fond of children. Their birth is a matter of sincere rejoicing, partly because it binds the two families more closely together, but parental affection is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics. The parents usually spoil their children; infants, especially, are never chastised and rarely

*The board used on this occasion was purchased for the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

When all hope has been abandoned, they are summoned and the *sukaiam* completes the ceremony, doing only that part of it left undone by the original recipient of the call. The principle is the same as that described when a novice dies, that someone must finish the rite. This aspect of the *kaciat* ceremonial is still preserved unanimously as the winter found to his cost. It was proposed that he be formally initiated into the society, but this was not allowed on the ground that he would not be present the following winter to complete the rite commenced by the coming of the call.

575* 796* 797 787 [123]

Two Fires Rule

The commencement of the *kaciat* season is regulated by the coming of *Nuskyum*, but its conclusion is a matter of arrangement. By February the number of *kaciat* wishing to dance has become negligible and the marshals decide to terminate the ceremonial season. It must be remembered that an enclosure has been built in every house where an important *kaciat* dance has taken place, and that so long as these are in existence the uninitiated have not been allowed to live in these houses. The social life of the community has accordingly been profoundly disturbed. Of course several dances may have taken place in a single dwelling, but even allowing for that, the fact remains that the uninitiated have been forced to dwell temporarily in perhaps only one or two houses. The most obvious mark of the end of the ceremonial season is the destruction of these enclosures.

575* 796* 591 784

A few nights after the last *sukaiam*, the heralds summon the *kaciat* to the house in which it took place. They sit down but the usual drumming is omitted. Presently sticks are distributed and one of the singers takes his place to lead in the customary frenzied beating. But before he raises his baton, one of the marshals, or another *kaciat* with ability in that respect, steps to the centre of the house and spits noisily in all directions, his aim being to deluge the house and spectators with a spray of saliva. Then the singer leads the beating of

575* 796* 787 784

996*
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expressed the opinion that the whole affair was a stupid blunder.

The Bella Coola state that long, long ago the usual outcome of friction between *a'alk* and *kukusiut* was the incorporation of members of the former society into the latter like any other uninitiated. The following account of an incident of this kind was obtained from a Kimsquit man who regarded it as historically accurate.

173
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Some five hundred years after the first settlement of this earth, the members of the two societies used to live amicably together during the summer, which was not surprising considering that both contained members of the same families. But during the winter the *kukusiut* all gathered in a village on the Dean River for their dances, while the *a'alk* also performed at the same season in the village of *Tpelkoi*, opposite the present Manitou Cannery below Kimsquit.** There was considerable jealousy between the two organizations, and the members were always seeking an opportunity to deride and ridicule their rivals. A Cannibal dance had been given by the *kukusiut* and the *a'alk*, who were present as uninitiated guests, had watched with wonder the disappearance of the performer into the mysterious realms above. But a few days later, *Xemsmlaix*, a chief and leader in one of the *a'alk* dances, happened to be in a lonely part of the forest where he was amazed to meet the Cannibal. The latter, confident of his supernatural power, spoke:

"In meeting me today you have met disaster, you will soon be a corpse."

Xemsmlaix, a middle-aged man of powerful physique, was not impressed by the other's powers, whether physical or supernatural.

"No," he answered. "It is you who have fallen into trouble. You are old and feeble and if you try to injure me it will be the worse for you."

"My age has nothing to do with it," reiterated the Cannibal. "You have met me and will die."

At this juncture two of the Cannibal's guardian-companions appeared, but *Xemsmlaix* still did not fear because they were both old and unarmed, whereas he had an axe. But when two more *kukusiut* appeared,

**This Kimsquit informant stated that long ago a similar segregation of *a'alk* into one village and *kukusiut* into another took place in Bella Coola. Bella Coola informants knew nothing of this. The expulsion of the uninitiated from houses in which *kusiut* dances are taking place leads to a division of the village, and it is easy to understand how two sections could have been created without definite intention. This would hardly account for a separation into two villages and no explanation for the statement is offered.

[621]
[591]

[174 177 176 [10]] words of Kwakiutl derivation will become clear by a glance at the following list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin:—

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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621 623 ters, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact
[535] this ceremonial unity is its most important function.
[796] With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore,
each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the
361 river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built
[184] type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them
[342] stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side
[171] nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many
cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by
the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two
rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there
[487] is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge
of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox
[164] epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty,
others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of
the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space.
[493] Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages,
each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean
fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

342 The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire,
[354] often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor,
and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side-
walls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the dif-
ferent families, or for different members of one. In many cases
the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for
small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire
being used for heating and for more important meals. The
[572] number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an
[622] important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous
house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses
contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free
and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and any-
[261] one present when food is being distributed is given a share as
a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with
[353] carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall.
[535] A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important
in dances.

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594 be made more powerful by magical means or the ritual acts of
869 relatives. Although these often entail great labour and expense, parents seldom neglect their duty; in fact, care for their children is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics, though the methods used are so foreign to the white man that he has difficulty in realizing their meaning. The hope of both
[847] parents is to have children to carry on their names; infanticide is unknown and the death of an infant is mourned almost as
[586] much as that of an adult. Sterility and impotency are frequent causes for divorce.

163 At the present time there is a high birth-rate in Bella
[165] Coola, although the heavy infant mortality prevents any appreciable increase in the population. In the old days, it is said, there were always large families, though much confidence cannot be placed in this statement. In families where there are
593 several children, the first-born, whether boy or girl, assumes an important position. His or her influence, as eldest, is naturally considerable, and the parents foster this through the vague feeling that it is proper for the eldest to be the most important in the family. In adult years, and after marriage, the influence of the eldest of a family continues to have considerable weight with younger brothers and sisters.

592 If a man is poor he cannot hope to have more than one wife,
556 and his family circle will be limited to their children, and per-
[595] haps to elderly parents. On the other hand, a wealthy and powerful man usually has a larger family. Not only may he have several wives, but his aged relatives, and those of his wife,
[602] look to him for support and assistance. Such are usually welcome to live in his house; they lend what aid they can in collecting food, and it gratifies a man's pride and sense of power to be closely surrounded by a large family. The Bella
[888] Coola are, on the whole, considerate to their aged relatives.[19]

[19] This is not true of the present. During the winter of 1923-4 a feeble old man, living alone, was often in actual want of food. Dulled and degraded, of a mean disposition himself, none of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were nephews, would take him into their houses. Commenting on this man's fate, several informants pointed out how, in the old days, such a man could have found
[178]

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The married sons of a chief usually live in his house, and if he is very powerful the husbands of his daughters may also reside with him. Such a man is at the zenith of power, surrounded by a close group, formed of elderly relatives, of children and grandchildren. Connections by marriage are also added to the family group. At the present time, for example, one Bella Coola man is looking after his brother's widow, and it is felt that she is a member of his family. 592 556 622 602

Another way in which a rich man can increase the size of his family is by adoption. Parents who have lost an infant may adopt the child of some member of the ancestral family of either father or mother. The matter is usually arranged soon after birth, and the transfer takes place immediately after weaning. The real parents are willing since they know that the adopting parents will be able to validate valuable prerogatives and names for the child, which they themselves are unable to do. This desire for their child's welfare overrules parental love. In such cases the real father or mother can likewise bestow names and other prerogatives on the child, who really becomes a member of two families. This is often done by an old couple whose own children have married and moved away, and who thus find themselves lonely. It is considered disgraceful for parents to allow their children to be adopted by anyone not a member of their ancestral family, since that would be an admission of inability to bring up a child in the path of his ancestors. 556 597 614 [888]

"Your father was not strong," could be said to such a child as a reproach.

In the case of an orphan some wealthy relative is almost always ready to adopt him. Consequently, as he grows up, he receives his full share of the ancestral origin myth, and the names embodied therein, so that the loss of his own parents is of little consequence in the course of life. Occasionally a child is not adopted by relatives, and then his fate is indeed hard. 736 597

shelter in the house of any chief, and shared in the food which was being distributed at the almost continuous ceremonial feasts. Now, each family lives alone and we were finds any responsibility for this old man. [178]

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as far as incest rules are concerned. In this particular instance 597
the woman did not show any interest in her new relatives, failed to visit them, or to take part in their ceremonies, so that the adoption, though still legal, has practically lapsed. When [428]
this man dies his children will not consider the claims of their father's "sister" to inherit any of his possessions, as they would have done if she had showed herself appreciative of her adoption.

It will thus be seen that the size and composition of the 592
family vary according to the wealth and influence of the father. The duties of the members are difficult to define since they concern almost entirely the routine of life. The father, head of the family, directs the gathering of firewood, repair of the house, obtaining of food supplies, and other matters of the same sort. If he gives a potlatch his children must help him, [431]
which they do willingly since they gain from the ceremony. If a father is too autocratic, his older, especially his married children, simply move away. Nor is his power over his younger [602]
children unbounded, since their mother's relatives take great interest in their welfare and would resent any ill-treatment.

If a person is killed or wounded, revenge is the affair of his 593
family. Just how many individuals are involved depends on 627
the composition of the family. In the case of the killing of a 682
child, living with his parents alone, none but the father would feel it incumbent to retaliate. If an adult person is murdered, his or her brothers feel and avenge the insult. But should an important member of the community be slain, an old man surrounded by a numerous family, it is the affair of all. Every effort is made to slay the murderer, but if he should escape from the country, the injured group is satisfied by killing one of his family. Here again the same inexact composition is found. A man's son, brother, or father are the only persons strictly liable, and even here the common sense of the Bella [671]
Coola outweighs their theoretical laws. A murderer's brother, living in another village, would not be held liable; but more distant relatives living with the offender and considered as his family are liable.

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554 it to the digestive tract. After a man has given four potlatches
556 he feels superior to those who have been unable to do likewise.
622 His name is "bright," "clean," "heavy," "firm," or "upright"
[578] in Bella Coola terms, and so, likewise, his seat. He feels independent and proud. Such a chief will fearlessly enter the back-room where ceremonial rites are taking place, even if not entitled to do so.

"He is so strong, he can go where he will," say the Bella Coola.

The advice of such a man is taken because of his ability and prestige, especially by the members of his own family. A few years ago, for example, when a certain Bella Coola died, his brother wished a *kusiut* name-prerogative of the deceased to pass to the dead man's daughter. The girl's mother's father, a *nuuitl* chief, objected, and his desires were followed, although the name in question was not connected in any way with his family. In small matters, too, people gladly carry out the
[592] wishes of a chief. Work around the house is done for him without thought of disobedience. An old man was asked whether, when he was young, chiefs gave many orders and acted as masters in their households.

"You bet," the old man answered emphatically with a dry chuckle.

231 It is difficult now to form an accurate estimate, from obser-
552 vation, of the influence of chiefs solely through virtue of the
622 goods they have expended. But the following is a concrete example. In November, 1923, the writer, while walking through the Bella Coola village, was bitten by a dog. He was told that the animal belonged to a certain old woman. When next he saw the owner he asked her whether she knew that her dog attacked passers-by.

"Yes," she answered, in a matter-of-fact tone, "He is a chief and can do what he likes."

Further questioning elicited the information that the old
[766] woman and her husband, the childless last survivors of an ancestral family, had transmitted some of their ancestral

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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593 family are liable. It is very rare for a woman to be killed in
627 a blood feud. A death is answered by a death; if two persons
682 should be slain for one murder the family which has suffered the double loss endeavours to kill another of their enemies. In
[562] case of wounding, an effort is made to wound the offender, but
[683] if he should be killed his family would try to avenge him. More often, one of the offender's family takes the initiative of offering goods to the injured family, "to cure the wound." If the offer is accepted, and the goods delivered properly, the matter is at an end. If a murder be committed within the ranks of the immediate family, for instance, if a brother kill a brother, revenge, if exacted, must be meted out to the actual
[622] offender. If requested to do so, the leading chief of a village may offer his advice, but it is always considered that revenge concerns only the immediate family.

612 Revenge is a topic which shows clearly the essential fluidity
614 of the family. There are no well-defined degrees of relationship within which responsibility rests. Instead, everyone
[627] knows, in the open life of the community, how many persons
[682] share the family life of the individual, and they alone are held to account, or they alone demand compensation. From its very nature, the family must be a bilateral unit which, when powerful, stretches out to absorb members of the ancestral families of both mother and father.

Not only does the family thus appear constantly to be attracting to itself members of the ancestral family of either parent, but these relatives themselves are deeply interested in the affairs of the family. This is most clearly shown in the case of children who, of course, are members of the ancestral family of both their mother and father. A few days after
553 birth some relative is expected to call together the people of
612 the village where the child is born for the bestowal and validation of an ancestral name. It is considered an evidence of
614 poverty if this is done by the father, as if his child were only
[558] supported by his parents, not by a larger circle of relatives. It is immaterial whether this gathering be called by a relative

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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of the father or the mother. In June, 1922, a Bella Coola girl had reached the age of about six months without having received a name. There was much adverse criticism about the parsimony of her father's father and her mother's father, who were held equally to blame, but who had really been deterred by fear of the law prohibiting the potlatch. 612 614 553

As a child grows older he is helped in the performance of ceremonial rites by his parents and by their brothers and sisters. In this, too, it is considered a mark of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his ancestral family, he has no hesitation in favouring the children of either a brother or sister, since, like his own, they are all members of the same ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit* it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children; not that there is any lack of knowledge of the real father, but rather as a mark of respect and family feeling displayed by a man to his sister. Moreover, in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is most improper for a name which a man has raised to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much goods to be passed to his own son; it should go to a distant relative. When a father validates a name for his child it should be one long dormant. 593 604 852 [558] [614] [553]

One aspect of the manner in which the family merges imperceptibly into the ancestral family can be seen in the inheritance of names. When a man calls his relatives together to make his will he is guided in the choice of recipients by the characteristics of his children. An able son receives much from his father, but lazy children are slighted without hesitation. This is particularly true of names with which are bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whereas, as previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the importance depends 593 614 420 553

*According to an intelligent Bella Coola informant, a Bella Bella pays greater attention to the children of his brothers and sisters than to his own offspring, and the same man expressed the opinion that the Kimsquit practice was due to Bella Bella influence. Kimsquit informants denied this, though emphasizing the important part taken by an uncle in obtaining prerogatives for his sisters' children, in some cases to the detriment of his own, which is rare in Bella Coola. [184] [177]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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593 614 553 428 on the value of the goods distributed in connection with them, usually revert to the ancestral family and can be revived by any member of it. It seems needless to publish lengthy pedigrees, illustrating the transmission of ancestral names; it will suffice to say that such sometimes pass from father to son, from a man to his brother's son, his sister's son, his sister, his daughter, or to other relatives belonging to the immediate family. On the other hand, with equal frequency, names pass from a man to distant relatives of the same ancestral family.

59 Thus the Bella Coola family, important though it is in the life of the individual, cannot be defined with exactitude either as regards composition or functions; it varies according to the importance of its head, and tends to merge in the ancestral families of the parents.

Kinship Terms

601 In Bella Coola, as in so many parts of the world, kinship terms mirror the social life of the community. The Bella Coola system of nomenclature is not as clear-cut in its application as in other regions, and requires considerable explanation concerning the uses of many of the terms. It will be seen that the system, although fundamentally founded on the family, presents many classificatory features. Whether or not these are to be ascribed to an ancient clan system is most doubtful; a short discussion of that point will be found at the end of this section.

The terms are arranged in the following order: first, an individual's relatives of the preceding generation, then those of the next preceding, with their parents, then those of the present generation, followed by terms for kin of the generations following. Finally come relations by marriage.

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Father.....	Atlas	Ass
	This term is properly used only by a small child, though often continued by an adult as a term of endearment.	Term used only by a small child.

[195]

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thus boast that she has three sets of teeth, but as the practice has not found favour in Bella Coola, it is little to her advantage.[8] 585 [177]

These complicated marriage rites are necessary to satisfy the pride of the two families in their origin myths, and the need to establish the resultant children in the paths of their ancestors. Among slaves or others who lack ancestral prerogatives, marriage is an affair of slight worth. Such persons simply live together with little ceremony, though they always try to give at least a feast so that there may be witnesses of the transaction. It is immaterial whether or not they marry their own relatives, since no ancestral prerogatives are to be transmitted. [556] [567] [581]

MARRIED LIFE

Y usually lives in the house of X's father, though economic circumstances may compel her husband to live in her home. If the parents are very wealthy, a house may be built for the young people, but usually their home is one of the bedrooms in the house of X's father; this patrilocal residence exposes Y not only to good advice from her mother-in-law, but often to caustic criticism. The married life of X and Y does not differ materially from that of other young couples in any part of the world, and is accordingly difficult to describe. Although love rarely enters into the original choice of a mate, a serviceable substitute is found in the mutual respect for each other's ancestry, and the knowledge of the importance of the rites performed with the aid of each other's elderly relatives. The young people realize that marriage affects the families of both, and accordingly accept it as a matter of course. The Bella Coola are fond of children. Their birth is a matter of sincere rejoicing, partly because it binds the two families more closely together, but parental affection is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics. The parents usually spoil their children; infants, especially, are never chastised and rarely 591 [556] 593 855 [861]

[8] The board used on this occasion was purchased for the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

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old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language. 602 476

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *kusiut*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *ɹsaok* names can never be transferred in this manner. 606 431 425 [785] [575] [553] [575]

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a 593 [602] [627] [567] [432] [48]

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593 slave, and this is believed to have occurred on one occasion
567 to the daughter of a chief.

432 Once, many hundred years ago, the daughter of a Bella Coola chief
448 was married to the son of *Tanferwam*, a Bella Bella chief, living at *Qqayul*. At the marriage, in Bella Coola, valuable presents were given by both families, and the girl went to live in Bella Bella with her husband. Some ten years later, *Tanferwam* gave a large potlatch to which he had invited guests from all parts of the coast. As in duty bound, his daughter-in-law's relatives gave a certain amount of goods to rebuy her. They were not wealthy, so that the contribution was of small value. *Tanferwam* had expected a larger present, and now found himself unable even to repay his debts to those who had assembled. He did not immediately show his resentment, but soon afterwards sold his daughter-in-law as slave to a Kitkatla chief. The Bella Coola were justly indignant, but could not make up their minds what to do in such an unprecedented case. The girl ultimately escaped and made her way home after lengthy wanderings (II, p. 505).

837 A husband demands faithfulness on the part of his wife, though he himself is often rather lax. Illicit intercourse is regarded, not as a deadly sin, but as an infringement of the husband's prerogatives. But if a woman should bear a child at a time when it was impossible for the husband to have been the father, due to absence, he would probably accept it as his
[586] own and do no more than administer a beating, though some jealous men would divorce a wife for this. Bella Coola sentiment on such matters varies with the individual; it is universally considered to be a matter that concerns the husband
[184] alone and he can do as he thinks fit. The daughters of chiefs are usually faithful to their husbands, whereas those of poorer persons, unrestrained by the valuables expended at their mar-
[582] riages, are more lax. If the husband should catch an adulterer, he can, if bold, slay him on the spot and the exaction of blood revenge would be uncalled for. Usually a fight ends the matter, though the offender's family may give presents to the aggrieved husband, and his wife's relatives may also make donations to atone for their daughter's failings. A husband does not share his wife with anyone, and a question as to the lending of a wife

[The Dance of NeaKxnim]

of his relatives, has given them for this purpose. When he 575*
crouches during the chorus they crowd close around, almost
concealing him. Particularly in those dances fraught with 796*
danger to the performer, it is customary for any number of his 535
friends, either men or women, to dance to "help" him. Anyone wishing to do so merely stands up and begins, in time to the music, irrespective of what part of the house he may be in. [593]
It is considered contrary to good manners for a father so to help his son, or a brother a brother, but a dancer is pleased to have aid from anyone else. It is said that in Bella Bella [171]
certain *kukusiut* have definite prerogatives of helping in this way, but this is not the case in Bella Coola. Throughout every dance the *kukusiut* women utter their droning cry. [533]

This, then, is the type of dance which the uninitiated in 575*
the lowest house see. They hear the song, too, and gaze with
awe at X, imbued as he is with the supernatural power of sight. 796*
Then the sounding-boards are picked up and taken to the next house, where the whole ceremonial is repeated. This is done at each house of the village.[19] All the *kukusiut* now return to X's house, where he once more dances to his song. A box-drum is always used to help the singers in keeping time, and [534]
when the song has been finished two men continue in turn to beat it all day. X always arranges to have a relative or friend superintend the distribution of food, which follows his final [574]
dancing. As the *kukusiut* are eating, the marshals deliver their usual admonishments, a task that accompanies every meal. Then they call on the people to erect a raised platform between the fire and the back-wall of the house. Materials have been placed in readiness so that it is an easy matter to build a framework a few feet in height, of which the flat top is screened by a matting wall about three feet high. This is often decorated [531]
with designs of dyed cedar-bark without ritual significance as far as the Bella Coola of today are aware. X climbs to this platform, the *kukusiut* disperse, and only the incessant pounding of the drum proves that some unusual event is taking place.

[19] In Bella Coola, but perhaps not in Kimsquit.

[184]

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in dances. In front of most houses rises a short totem-pole,* either pierced for the doorway, or standing on the opposite side of the sidewalk. [211] [778]

The Family

It is probably no exaggeration to say that in every part of the world the most important social unit is the family. It certainly is among the Bella Coola, yet its lack of definite social obligations makes it difficult to define. Reduced to minimum size, the family consists of a man, his wife, or wives, and his children. Such a unit occupies one of the bedrooms of a large house, and it is to such a family that an infant automatically belongs at birth. Disregarding for the moment ceremonial obligations, which are shared by others, it is the father and mother who are responsible largely for the upbringing of the child. Such education as he receives comes from them, with the assistance of members of the ancestral family. This is chiefly imitative; a boy, as he increases in strength, follows his father on hunting expeditions or fishing. The mother teaches her daughters how to make baskets, and they follow her when she gathers berries, or when she cooks and performs household duties. The Bella Coola are fond of children, in many cases to the extent of over-indulging them, and they grow up amid the open life of the large houses, absorbing information of all kinds without being aware of so doing.

594 [851] 594 868 855 861

Only two kinds of functional training need be mentioned. A wise father carefully trains his sons to remember their debts (I, p. 369), and the method of teaching ancient myths has already been described; otherwise there is little direct instruction. On the other hand, parents devote great care to furnishing their children with every possible means of strengthening their supernatural elements on which success depends. These can

594 869

*Since the Bella Coola believe that totem-poles were used by their ancestors in early times, they are included in this description of a village, without reference to their development in post-European times. This account is compiled from descriptions given by elderly informants; it is inevitable, therefore, that changes due to European contact may be included. [177]

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594 be made more powerful by magical means or the ritual acts of
869 relatives. Although these often entail great labour and expense, parents seldom neglect their duty; in fact, care for their children is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics, though the methods used are so foreign to the white man that he has difficulty in realizing their meaning. The hope of both
[847] parents is to have children to carry on their names; infanticide is unknown and the death of an infant is mourned almost as
[586] much as that of an adult. Sterility and impotency are frequent causes for divorce.

163 At the present time there is a high birth-rate in Bella
[165] Coola, although the heavy infant mortality prevents any appreciable increase in the population. In the old days, it is said, there were always large families, though much confidence cannot be placed in this statement. In families where there are
593 several children, the first-born, whether boy or girl, assumes an important position. His or her influence, as eldest, is naturally considerable, and the parents foster this through the vague feeling that it is proper for the eldest to be the most important in the family. In adult years, and after marriage, the influence of the eldest of a family continues to have considerable weight with younger brothers and sisters.

592 If a man is poor he cannot hope to have more than one wife,
556 and his family circle will be limited to their children, and perhaps to elderly parents. On the other hand, a wealthy and
[595] powerful man usually has a larger family. Not only may he have several wives, but his aged relatives, and those of his wife,
[602] look to him for support and assistance. Such are usually welcome to live in his house; they lend what aid they can in collecting food, and it gratifies a man's pride and sense of power to be closely surrounded by a large family. The Bella
[888] Coola are, on the whole, considerate to their aged relatives.[19]

[19]This is not true of the present. During the winter of 1923-4 a feeble old man,
[178] living alone, was often in actual want of food. Disliked and degraded, of a mean disposition himself, none of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were nephews, would take him into their houses. Commenting on this man's fate, several informants pointed out how, in the old days, such a one could have found

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[178]

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Father (*continued*)....	*mēn*	*mēn*
	Term used, rarely, by an adult of either sex; *ātāo* is more common. *Mēn* is often used by an adult when speaking to any old man as a courtesy title.	Used by an adult.
Mother's husband....	*ātāo*	*āsā*
	Terms used by small children.	
	mēn	*mēndimat*
	Used by adult; more commonly *ātāo*.	Used by adult.
Mother.....	*mēmao*	*mēmā*
	Used by baby.	Used by baby.
	pēmao	*pēmā*
	Used by small child.	Used by small child.
	sēn	*sēn*
	Used by adults of either sex with same limitations as *mēn*.	
Father's wife.....	*mēmao* or *pēmao*	*mēmā* or *pēmā*
	Used by small children.	
	sēn	*sēndimat*
	Used by adults, more commonly *pēmao*.	Used by adults.
	The application to step-parents of the terms usually limited to the real parents is merely a mark of endearment, without social significance.	
Parent of either sex...	*ālpmalaiyuly*	*a'matsiayāt*
	These terms are used for a parent of either sex when old and feeble. Their use is a mark of courtesy and implies respect for those with wide knowledge of family history.	
Father's brother.....	*sisai*, or by name, or *ālpmalaiyuly*	*sisi*
Mother's brother.....	" " "	"
Father's sister.....	*sukaw* " "	*sukaw*
Mother's sister.....	" " "	"
	If the family contains more distant relatives of the generation preceding that of the speaker, for example, a father's father's brother's son, or a mother's mother's brother's daughter, the terms *sisi* and *sukaw* may be applied in courtesy to these individuals.	
Father's father.....	*halpai*, or more commonly, *ātāo*	*halpi*
Mother's father.....	" " " "	"
Father's mother.....	*hilpaw* " "	*hilpa*
Mother's mother.....	" " " *pēmao*	"
	Especially when living together, children usually address their grandparents by the terms properly applied to parents.	

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[888]

[595]

[888]

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Husband	Usually by name, or *di hamamy lai*, "my husband," or *cmili*, "man."	*di hamamy lai*, or by name.
Co-husband, in a polyandrous household		
	WOMAN'S	
Wife	Usually by name, or *ni pwa lnaie*, "my pwa," woman.	By name, or *ni pwa lnaie*.
Co-wife, in a polygamous household		
	ñaki	*ñaki*
Wife's brother and the reciprocal,	By name, or *gulnaie*	*gulnaie*
Sister's husband (man speaking)	" "	"
Wife's sister and the reciprocal,	*ntskas*, or by name.	*ntskas*
Sister's husband (woman speaking)	" "	"
Brother's wife (man speaking) and the reciprocal,	" "	"
Husband's brother	" "	"
Brother's wife (woman speaking) and the reciprocal,	" "	"
Husband's sister	" "	"
Wife's father or	*ptsai*	*ptsi*
Wife's mother and the reciprocal,	"	"
Daughter's husband	" or by name.	"
Husband's father or	"	"
Husband's mother and the reciprocal,	"	"
Son's wife	" or by name.	"
Father's brother's wife	*ntsa*, *ntsadlaut*, or (as a term of affection without social significance) *ntskas*.	*ntsadlaut* or *ni pwa di ntili*, "Wife of my *ntsi*."
Mother's brother's wife	Same as father's brother's wife.	
Father's sister's husband	*ntsa*, *ntsadlaut*, or (as a term of affection without social significance) *ntsai*.	*ntsadlaut* or *di hamamy di ntskas*, "Husband of my *ntskas*."

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to a guest was regarded as amusing. In recent years, however, 837
some husbands have made a practice of renting their wives to [48]
white men. This is not considered creditable, but the Bella [548]
Coola do not strongly condemn breaches of the moral code, [183]
which are regarded as the affair of the husband alone. There is said to be a Bella Bella custom by which a wife takes as recognized paramour one of the friends of her husband who is thought not only to know of this but to receive the presents which the lover gives his wife. The two continue to be friends and often hunt together; in fact, their mutual interest in the woman is a bond between them. No trace of this practice [171]
could be found in Bella Coola.

POLYGAMY

It has thus far been assumed that the Bella Coola are 595
monogamous, an assumption correct only since the period of 556
white dominance. Previous to that time it was quite common [177]
for wealthy men to have three, four, or more wives. *Potlas*, the important chief so often mentioned, had nine, ten, or eleven, the exact number is not known. A man wishing to take a second wife could do so in the manner already described, although the period of engagement was usually much shorter, and working for his parents-in-law was not expected. The reason for this was obvious to the Bella Coola. None but a chief of importance could afford more than a single wife, and such an one could not be expected to demean himself by working for anyone else. Besides, parents were glad to have their daughters married to a great chief, so willingly omitted the customary period of servitude. Few attained the distinction of having several wives. As far as could be learnt, [162]
the number of the sexes seems always to have been about equal, in itself a check to polygyny in a community where practically every adult had a wife. A number of males were always slain in war, and it is to be assumed that polygyny was made possible only through the surplus of women thus caused. The great majority of men had a single wife, some chiefs had

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595 two, but only one of great importance could hope to aspire to
556 more, while the case of *Pothes* was considered to be unique and highly desirable.

595 A chief's wives always lived in the same house, and it is
578 said that disputes were frequent. *Pothes* endeavoured to prevent jealousy by providing each woman with a special bedroom and sleeping for a single night with each in order. One informant had two wives when a young man, and he found that the only way to avoid constant bickering was by sleeping in one bed, between them. The evidence seems clear that plurality of wives was usually the cause of considerable friction, though this never deterred a man from taking a second wife if he could. The only special rule of incest in
[835] this regard was that two sisters could not be married at the
[582] same time.

595 In answer to questions about polyandry, two men told of
183 a licentious woman who had two feeble-minded husbands
626 between whom she used to sleep. The whole affair was considered disgusting, but public opinion did not ostracize the offenders since a person's marital affairs were considered to concern the individual only. It was accordingly assumed that
595 the institution of true polyandry did not exist, when, unex-
556 pectedly, information was volunteered about its occurrence in the families of influential men. A very powerful chief, if his only child was a daughter, quite frequently married her simultaneously to the sons of other chiefs. She was thus considered most fortunate, since only a wealthy man could provide for a daughter in this way, and expend the large quantities of goods necessary to ensure her proper marriage in each case. The husbands were never brothers, and seldom related, since the ambitious parent wished to ally his daughter with different ancestral families for the benefit of any resultant children. The joint wife was accustomed to live for a number of months in the home of one of her husbands, with her other husbands forming part of his household. She would then move to the house of another, who assumed the leadership of the group,

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with the others, including the one who had just been leader, as followers. It is said that there was rarely friction among the joint husbands, since each realized that his turn would come as head of the household, and meanwhile the wife endeavoured to share her favours indiscriminately. The children were considered equally the offspring of each husband, thus automatically acquiring membership in several ancestral families. Such were regarded as indeed fortunate, provided with every potential means of assistance in the struggle of life. 595 556 [851]

Recognizing its importance, every effort was made to verify this information. Further questioning elicited the statement that the informant had never seen a case of this, though he asserted that when a young man he had often heard of it and that the custom had then only recently died out. Another old man and an elderly woman confirmed the above statement almost word for word, and each added that it was well known when they were young, though they had never actually seen it in practice. One man believed that the custom had formerly prevailed in several parts of the coast, and said that he had heard of its occurrence among the "*Kwatcino*" people near Newitte. Considering the reliability of his informants, the writer gives as his personal belief that the institution of polyandry among the daughters of chiefs occurred in Bella Coola not many years ago. Knowledge of the term of address for co-husband, already given, is strong evidence in support of this view. 128 595 556

DISCREDITABLE MARRIAGES

Since it has been assumed that Y is the daughter of a chief, properly married with due formality, it is necessary to digress still further from the account of her relations with X to describe connections of a less creditable nature. The most common of these was with slaves. Though frowned upon by all Bella Coola ethics, such alliances, of a permanent nature, do not appear to have been rare. In some cases it was a man who thus demeaned himself, in some a woman. Since no slave could provide the goods necessary for an elaborate wedding, the 567 588

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588 it, although it is customary for the parents of a wife to exhibit
556 their wealth on several occasions.

What are the advantages of such an agreement to the two parties? The husband receives considerable assistance, both in actual goods and in ceremonial prerogatives. Moreover, his vanity is gratified by the desire shown by others to have him as husband of their daughters. The advantages to the wife are more difficult to describe. Financially, her relatives always lose, yet they consider that the prestige gained by their daughter as wife of a mighty chief fully compensates for their monetary loss. Accordingly, they take pains to have a daughter married several times before puberty, either simultaneously or [595] in succession. Thus there is a form of ceremonial polyandry existing in Bella Coola at the present day. No ceremonial marriage takes place after puberty. In later years, when the [554] wife grows up, marries, and has children of her own, their status is increased materially by the pre-puberty marriages of their mother. They address her fictitious husband as "father," and his children as brother or sister, although there are no incest prohibitions with regard to them. A chief sometimes arranges the bestowal of names or other prerogatives on the children of a fictitious ex-wife, but such favours are too uncertain to provide a motive for the prevalence of the rite. Its value rests on the esteem attached to a woman whose relatives have shown their wealth and prowess by marrying her several times. When her children quarrel with their playfellows, it is common to hear one boast:

"*I* have three fathers. How many have you?"

[558] Occasionally the relatives of a fictitious bride are unable to provide the goods to repurchase her from her husband and the girl remains disgraced for life. In no circumstances has her husband any claims to marital rights with her, and in due course she can marry someone else; but it is never forgotten that she was not rebought from her husband. In 1916 a girl about four years of age was married to a man of sixty, who at the time gave her relatives $80 and a motor boat. She had

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qaxta, "Bed Covering": Term applied to the presents given as such to the party of a bridegroom when they enter the bride's house on a wedding day. [585]

qāmdjut, "A Shaking of the Fingers": Rhetorical allusion to presents regarded as "Dust." [431]

qpānliktmm: To revolve sunwise. [195]

Qpānpānliktmmlaix, "The One Who Revolves Sunwise to Give Strength": One of *Tlitcāplitn·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Qāqalxs: Place of petrified power near Kwatna. [778]

Qxwan: Village on the Skeena River.

qaiuit: Supernatural creature resembling a diminutive human being. [825]

qabat: Salmon liver.

qaks: Co-wife in a polygynous household. [595]

qalnas, vocative, qalnais: Wife's brother, or sister's husband, man speaking.

qalxwaix: Gathering of the supernatural beings for the performance of dances in the land above. [601]

qama: Unidentified salt water fish, said to be called "Lard-fish" by white men. [825]

Qanqamm ul di dā Sqem, "The Unlooser of Light": One of Raven's names as chief.

qapstānm: 1—The ability of a chief to sit down ceremonially in virtue of the goods distributed for his seat, the ground over which he walks, and other requirements.
2—The initial establishment of a youth as chief.

qapatālets: Stone axe. [412]

qas: Period of engagement.

Qasbila: Qamqo·ts man.

Qasi·lils: 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Qasistamlaix: Stsax man mentioned in an ancient story.

Qasiwsān·i: Shaman's name of a *Stsax* woman.

Qasiwas, "Begrimed": Name of a copper often cast into fire.

qasla: Unidentified (and probably mythical) type of lizard, allegedly about four feet long, found near Dean Channel. [825]

qaskm, vocative, qaslam; plural, alqaslam: Eldest brother or sister. [601]

Qas'kms: Name, in the Bella Bella language, given to a wooden woman made by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

qaslik: Gull. [825]

qasl'ma'ks, "Eldest": Term of respectful address to Porcupine as senior of all animals.

Qasl·mahlim, "The Mover": Name given to their house by one of the first groups of settlers at *Tāl·ia* in the beginning of time.

Qatna: Term from which the Anglicized "Kwatna" is derived: Generic name for the villages at Kwatna Harbour, Burke Channel. [103]*

Qamans'ks: Chief living on the upper *Tsomat* in the beginning of time.

qanā·xsta: Large box used for boiling olachen. [415]

Qaqa: Village south-west of the head of South Bentinck Arm.

Qaqasi: Place on Schooner Pass.

Qaqasila: Sisaak name of a Bella Coola man.

qastwham: Marks made to commemorate an event, such as carvings at chiefs' meeting-place, virtually a *memorial*. [211]

qastwasam: Figure representing crest.

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124 whom I was working. Before I left, this medley contained so much Bella Coola that it was unintelligible to white people who knew Chinook alone.

Activities in the canneries would have interfered seriously with my work during the summer of 1922 if two men had not [115] been confined to the village, Captain Schooner owing to an injured wrist, and Jim Pollard by the illness of his wife. These two men were willing to work half a day apiece without jealousy. Each was intensely proud of the traditions of his people and, realizing that their culture was passing away, was glad to assist in making it permanent in writing. An intimacy sprang 123 up between Captain Schooner (see Plate 3) and myself culmin- [597] ating in my adoption, a circumstance which established and improved my position in the community. In this way I was enabled to collect a large amount of material before July when it was necessary for me to leave for the east.

In September, 1923, when I returned to Bella Coola, I found that Captain Schooner had died a few months before, respected alike by white men and Indians. With the aid of others with whom I had made contact it was possible to obtain much new information, as well as to clear up many obscure points. The previous summer I had been so overwhelmed with material that I had no time to collate it in the field and the gaps only became apparent after a year's study. The men were so busy hunting and laying in stocks of fire-wood, however, that I found it difficult to arrange regular hours of work, but this was a trifle compared with the initial difficulties of my first trip. In October, when the Bella Coola began to prepare for 123 the winter dances, they had to appoint a successor to Captain 796 Schooner, who had played a leading part in their production. 887 Having been adopted by him, it was suggested that I take his place, a proposition which I readily accepted. This admitted me to the ranks of the old men, and I imagine that my interest encouraged them to hold more ceremonials than they had done for several years. In former times, a number of the older men used to devote much time and thought to the composing, re-

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The married sons of a chief usually live in his house, and if he is very powerful the husbands of his daughters may also reside with him. Such a man is at the zenith of power, surrounded by a close group, formed of elderly relatives, of children and grandchildren. Connections by marriage are also added to the family group. At the present time, for example, one Bella Coola man is looking after his brother's widow, and it is felt that she is a member of his family. 592 556 622 602

Another way in which a rich man can increase the size of his family is by adoption. Parents who have lost an infant may adopt the child of some member of the ancestral family of either father or mother. The matter is usually arranged soon after birth, and the transfer takes place immediately after weaning. The real parents are willing since they know that the adopting parents will be able to validate valuable prerogatives and names for the child, which they themselves are unable to do. This desire for their child's welfare overrules parental love. In such cases the real father or mother can likewise bestow names and other prerogatives on the child, who really becomes a member of two families. This is often done by an old couple whose own children have married and moved away, and who thus find themselves lonely. It is considered disgraceful for parents to allow their children to be adopted by anyone not a member of their ancestral family, since that would be an admission of inability to bring up a child in the path of his ancestors. 556 597 614 [888]

"Your father was not strong," could be said to such a child as a reproach.

In the case of an orphan some wealthy relative is almost always ready to adopt him. Consequently, as he grows up, he receives his full share of the ancestral origin myth, and the names embodied therein, so that the loss of his own parents is of little consequence in the course of life. Occasionally a child is not adopted by relatives, and then his fate is indeed hard. 736 597

shelter in the house of any chief, and shared in the food which was being distributed at the almost continuous ceremonial feasts. Now, each family lives alone and no one feels any responsibility for this old man. [178]

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597 736 Ignorant of his ancestral names, and lacking the means to validate them even if someone should tell them to him, owning no hunting-grounds, the unfortunate infant is little better than a slave. This is almost unthinkable except in the extremely rare contingency of a child being left without relatives.

Although public opinion does not impel kindly treatment to orphans left without kindred, yet many Bella Coola have charitable dispositions and it is not unknown for a family to adopt and tend an infant wthout reason or hope of reward. One old man mentioned how his mother and a Chilkotin child had been born on the same day when a party of the latter had been encamped near *Nusqalt*. A few days later they left for the interior, abandoning the infant. The grandfather of the old man chanced to pass their camp while the ashes of their fire were still warm and found the baby, whom he brought back, to be a brother to his own daughter. His wife suckled the two, giving each a breast, and treating the foundling as her own. When the boy grew into manhood, he went back to his own people, but never forgot his adopted parents. Forty years later he visited Bella Coola, bringing with him his own wife and family. The old man who related this incident recalled the manner in which the Chikotin had instructed his children to regard him as their brother.

597 [768] Children are not the only persons to be adopted. On the death of an adult his relatives may "adopt to replace" someone who has a striking facial resemblance to the deceased. Thus, some time after the death of his sister, a certain man was in Bella Bella and saw a Bella Bella woman who closely resembled her. He desired to adopt her, and since he was a man of importance, his wish was granted. To legalize the transaction [431] he distributed valuable presents among the Bella Bella. A person so adopted does not usually change his abode, nor does [601] he lose membership in his own family; instead, he becomes a [835] member of two, with full rights to names and prerogatives in both, is addressed with the same kinship terms as if related by blood, and is likewise considered a member of the family as far as incest rules are concerned.

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as far as incest rules are concerned. In this particular instance the woman did not show any interest in her new relatives, failed to visit them, or to take part in their ceremonies, so that the adoption, though still legal, has practically lapsed. When this man dies his children will not consider the claims of their father's "sister" to inherit any of his possessions, as they would have done if she had showed herself appreciative of her adoption. 597 [428]

It will thus be seen that the size and composition of the family vary according to the wealth and influence of the father. The duties of the members are difficult to define since they concern almost entirely the routine of life. The father, head of the family, directs the gathering of firewood, repair of the house, obtaining of food supplies, and other matters of the same sort. If he gives a potlatch his children must help him, which they do willingly since they gain from the ceremony. If a father is too autocratic, his older, especially his married children, simply move away. Nor is his power over his younger children unbounded, since their mother's relatives take great interest in their welfare and would resent any ill-treatment. 592 [431] [602]

If a person is killed or wounded, revenge is the affair of his family. Just how many individuals are involved depends on the composition of the family. In the case of the killing of a child, living with his parents alone, none but the father would feel it incumbent to retaliate. If an adult person is murdered, his or her brothers feel and avenge the insult. But should an important member of the community be slain, an old man surrounded by a numerous family, it is the affair of all. Every effort is made to slay the murderer, but if he should escape from the country, the injured group is satisfied by killing one of his family. Here again the same inexact composition is found. A man's son, brother, or father are the only persons strictly liable, and even here the common sense of the Bella Coola outweighs their theoretical laws. A murderer's brother, living in another village, would not be held liable; but more distant relatives living with the offender and considered as his family are liable. 593 627 682 [671]

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Mother's sister's husband	Same as father's sister's husband.	
Brother's son's wife or Sister's son's wife	Same as son's wife. " "	Same as son's wife, or *tci gmes di emts*, "Wife of my *emts*."
Brother's daughter's husband or Sister's daughter's husband	Same as daughter's husband. " " "	Same as daughter's husband, or *di kwamsts di emts*, "Husband of my *emts*."

[597] In case of adoption, the same kinship terms are used as if the adopted person were a member of the family by birth. A more complicated situation arises when a child who is regarded as the reincarnation (I, p. 616) of a recently deceased elderly relative, is given the latter's name. In such a case the child is addressed by the kinship terms applicable to his namesake. In recent years, at any rate, this application is without social significance, and, as far as could be learned, this has always been the case. Bella Coola sentiment is that it is fitting for a child to receive the name of one of its ancestors. When a parent sees the child, and thinks of his name, he thinks of the late deceased, hence it is natural to use kinship terms accordingly. This is more obvious when the child is regarded as a reincarnation, though even in such a case he does not receive any of the marks of respect paid to his namesake; the reincarnation is physical, not social. In course of time this is forgotten and the child takes his place among others of his own generation, though it may be remembered in rhetorical speeches on ceremonial occasions.

601 553 775

601 The kinship terminology of the Bella Coola combines features of the family and classificatory systems. The reciprocal terms for parents- and children-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law, lack of sex differentiation for brothers and sisters, and the importance of age in the designations applied to persons of the same generation, are all features of the classificatory system. On the other hand, bilateralism, failure to

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the writer was in Bella Coola, a non-ceremonial entertainment was given one evening at which several men sang and performed. The writer was asked to sing a Bella Coola song, which he did in the belief that it was not one that was incorporated in the ancestral myth of anyone. Unfortunately, his teacher had erred, and as soon as the song was completed an old woman arose and stated that it belonged to her ancestral family. She avoided the difficulty of its singing by immediately announcing that the singer was her "son." Thus the writer was adopted into a Bella Coola family, a circumstance which aided him considerably in collecting information. This did not alter the fact that a ceremonial song had been sung. Accordingly, the woman gave presents to the guests, thereby legalizing the adoption, and saving herself from the disgrace of having one of her songs used as if it were a matter of no consequence, free to anyone. 123 533 556* 424 [597]

SEATING

Presents are also a means of obtaining seats. Every Bella Coola has at least one name embodied in an ancient myth. A man who wishes to become a chief can do so only by giving lavish presents to make his designation "strong," "firm," or "bright," to use Bella Coola expressions. Such gifts increase the importance of the owner's name, and they obtain for him the right to a seat, more or less definitely located, in the house. Since all Bella Coola habitations are built on similar lines, a man can occupy his wonted position when summoned to a ceremony in any house. The validating of ancestral names and the acquisition of seats are among the important features which occur at potlatches. 554 556* [622] [424] [553]

In the beginning of time, when the first people were sent down to populate the earth, it is assumed that each who established a village, consisting of a single house, seated himself in the best spot within the dwelling, namely the central position behind the fire; his younger relatives ranged either beside him [773]

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581 Confidently believing that he has descended from ancestors
[858] who came to this earth in the beginning of time, a Bella Coola wishes to have his children firmly established in the path of his forbears. This can be accomplished only with the aid of a suitable mother. It follows that marriage is not primarily a matter of affection, but of the ancestral eligibility of the contracting parties.

CHOICE OF MATE

584 Since the initiative for marriage is taken by the man in
581 almost all cases, it will be convenient and proper to describe the factors which enter into the search for a wife, remembering that the converse govern the decision of the woman and her relatives. The choice of the woman who is to be the mother of the children who will carry on the traditions of the ancestral family is a matter of too great importance to be entrusted to any young person. Accordingly, while their son is yet a child, his parents often discuss who would be a suitable wife for him. They view the matter from a strictly business standpoint.
581 Proud of their own ancient lineage, they would not demean themselves by allowing their son to marry a girl who could not trace her ancestry back to the first people, or with one whose forbears had disgraced themselves by marriage with slaves. Instead, it is a matter of pride for parents to have as daughter-in-law the child of a powerful chief. Nor can they choose a
582 woman too closely related to their son. Marriage with a sister, an aunt, a niece, or any first cousin is strictly prohibited. No reason for these laws could be obtained; the Bella Coola consider that it would be "indecent" or unclean so to marry, but have theorized no further about the matter. An adopted child
[597] is regarded in the same light as an own child. The Bella Coola
[829] know, and are amused by, the regulation of marriage according
[171] to crests among the northern tribes, but practise nothing of the same nature themselves. In fact, marriages usually take place among those who are descended from one ancestor and who have, accordingly, the same crest, though the significance

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Ăłkə: *ʌstāmɣ* village.

Ălkə·sɣł, "He of the Tied-up Penis": Name given to a lad whose sex was disguised in infancy.

[426] *ălkstmaxdut:* Refusal to lend to an outsider a family prerogative such as the employment of marriage dancers.

[574] *ălkuqulosnam:* Meal served when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an announcement of his coming potlatch.

Ăłkusiyustem: Name of a female shaman.

Ălkwi, "The Opening of the Sky":
1—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuur* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of a *Snuite·tl* chief.

Ăłlibalāxlaix: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Ălihmnālosaix: One of the first men to settle at *Slskiul* in the beginning of time.

[575] *ăllimusnam: Sisaok* having the ability to enter the back-room and treat initiates concealed there. The function probably antedates the employment of *hai·shakila*.

Ăłlipaios: Holders, supernatural beings who restrain supernatural Cannibals.

[583] *ăłlixānm:* Frenzied beating of sticks.

Ălmanmnām: Wife of *Twalalit*, the supernatural hunter.

Ălmanskitlnm: Supernatural calendrical experts.

Ălmoqltaikila: Husband of *Ano'liktwalsaix*; he is known only in Kimsquit.

[575] *ălmutsāmk: Kusiut* dance of mystery.

[574] *ălnaixwotsmm:* Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning ceremony.

ălnaixwotsmmap: Call used by heralds when summoning to a mourning ceremony.

[425] [583] *ălnāxamlaix:* The "Dragging Across" of a name, crest, or other intangible prerogative from wife to husband either at marriage or later at a repurchasing of the wife.

[262] *ălnānm:* To drag a heavy burden.

ălnaxlaw·ax: Cranberries mixed with olachen grease.

[821] *ălnusxim:* Visit to his repository by a *kusiut* initiate.

Ălnansdimut, "Facing Both Ways": Second moon after the winter solstice.

ălolipsmmy, "The Actionless Time": Hushed assemblage of the *kukusiut* after departure of a Cannibal.

[597] *ălpnkiokm:* Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.

Ălpălpalslaix: 1—Supernatural being who revives mortals.
2—Name received by a shaman from this being.

ălps: Food.

[425] *ălpsmm*, "Food Supplies": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage.

Ălpălsl, "Stockaded": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

[756] *ălpānts:* Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in alternate strands.

[882] *ălpoik:* Guarded, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.

[825] *Ălqaxaiyu·a:* Supernatural name of olachen, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.

Ălqaqi'djut, "A Glance Downwards": Name given to an *Ălpălsl* man in the beginning of time.

*776 According to the general Bella Coola belief the supernatural ones may be classified as anthropomorphic beings, zoomorphic beings, and supernatural members of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC BEINGS

The Bella Coola agree that the most important of their supernatural beings is *Ālquntām*, the supreme deity, maker of men and animals. He is most commonly known by this name but he has other appellations with reference to his various functions. The word *Ālquntām* is said to be derived from *ıxquntām*, "foreman," or "chief." He is chief of the supernatural beings. Other names by which he is known are as follows:

Sınxälotla, a word derived from *sınx*, the Sun. This term is used almost as commonly as *Ālquntām*.

*776 538 *Smaiaikila*, "The Story Man," because *Ālquntām* created the ancestral myths at the same time that he created mankind. The supreme deity is called *Smaiaikila* with reference to his membership in the *kusiut* society of the supernatural beings.

Smaialotla, "From Whom Come, and To Whom Belong, All Myths." As creator of the highly valued myths, the supreme deity is owner of them.

*776 *Snusılkäls*, "The Wise One," "The Thoughtful," or "The One with Great Mental Ability."

[601] *Mınakais*, a word supposedly derived from *mān*, "Father," with the suffix *kais* as a term of endearment. This is used in praying to *Ālquntām*.

[601] [782] *Tätä*, "Father," the term for father used by a child; this, like the last, is used in prayer.

Ixulqotläm.

Nonodjonostem, "The Adviser."

Silhmstä.

Nuxukmälsaix, "The Light Giver."

O·hok di Stälhmg, "The Moon Chief."

These names are not meaningless synonyms; all, or at any

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lies in public opinion which expresses contempt for a lazy man who is constantly begging. 226 626

To anyone familiar with the definite social groupings of a tribe divided into clans or land-owning families, the ancestral family of the Bella Coola must appear as a vague and unreal unit, only distinguished by its intangibility. So it was found when investigating in the field. When information began to accumulate, it seemed as if there must be some definite obligations incumbent upon all members of the ancestral family, but none could be found. Without asking a direct question, the point was raised whether, if a man were killed, the members of his ancestral family would unite to avenge him. Conversely, were they liable for the deeds of any member? In each case the reply was in the negative; these matters concern only the immediate family. In regulating marriage the ancestral family is important, since it is wise for a man or woman to seek his mate within the members of that group, though it is not compulsory. Theoretically, the terms of kinship applied to members of the immediate family may be extended to members of the ancestral family, but in practice this is rarely the case, and, if so, is functionless. It might be argued that this somewhat wide application of kinship terms, verging on the classificatory usage, is a relic of an earlier, and now broken-down, clan system. It is impossible to prove or to deny such a contention. When trying to discover whether the members of an ancestral family ever contributed to a potlatch whereby one of their fellows established himself as a chief, the following interesting comment was received. The previous winter the informant had been in Bella Bella, and there the point was raised by a Bella Bella chief whom he quoted as follows:

614 [627] [582] [601] [178] 614 622 431 171

"We laugh at you Bella Coola because each of you is always trying to be chief. Our system is much better; we all help our chiefs."

The man agreed with the Bella Bella man that there was an important difference between the practices of the two tribes.

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597 736 Ignorant of his ancestral names, and lacking the means to validate them even if someone should tell them to him, owning no hunting-grounds, the unfortunate infant is little better than a slave. This is almost unthinkable except in the extremely rare contingency of a child being left without relatives.

Although public opinion does not impel kindly treatment to orphans left without kindred, yet many Bella Coola have charitable dispositions and it is not unknown for a family to adopt and tend an infant without reason or hope of reward. One old man mentioned how his mother and a Chilkotin child had been born on the same day when a party of the latter had been encamped near *Nuxalst*. A few days later they left for the interior, abandoning the infant. The grandfather of the old man chanced to pass their camp while the ashes of their fire were still warm and found the baby, whom he brought back, to be a brother to his own daughter. His wife suckled the two, giving each a breast, and treating the foundling as her own. When the boy grew into manhood, he went back to his own people, but never forgot his adopted parents. Forty years later he visited Bella Coola, bringing with him his own wife and family. The old man who related this incident recalled the manner in which the Chilkotin had instructed his children to regard him as their brother.

597 [768] Children are not the only persons to be adopted. On the death of an adult his relatives may "adopt to replace" someone who has a striking facial resemblance to the deceased. Thus, some time after the death of his sister, a certain man was in Bella Bella and saw a Bella Bella woman who closely resembled her. He desired to adopt her, and since he was a man of importance, his wish was granted. To legalize the transaction [431] he distributed valuable presents among the Bella Bella. A person so adopted does not usually change his abode, nor does [601] he lose membership in his own family; instead, he becomes a [835] member of two, with full rights to names and prerogatives in both, is addressed with the same kinship terms as if related by blood, and is likewise considered a member of the family as far as incest rules are concerned.

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593 on the value of the goods distributed in connection with them,
614 usually revert to the ancestral family and can be revived by
553 any member of it. It seems needless to publish lengthy pedi-
428 grees, illustrating the transmission of ancestral names; it will suffice to say that such sometimes pass from father to son, from a man to his brother's son, his sister's son, his sister, his daughter, or to other relatives belonging to the immediate family. On the other hand, with equal frequency, names pass from a man to distant relatives of the same ancestral family.

59 Thus the Bella Coola family, important though it is in the life of the individual, cannot be defined with exactitude either as regards composition or functions; it varies according to the importance of its head, and tends to merge in the ancestral families of the parents.

Kinship Terms

601 In Bella Coola, as in so many parts of the world, kinship terms mirror the social life of the community. The Bella Coola system of nomenclature is not as clear-cut in its application as in other regions, and requires considerable explanation concerning the uses of many of the terms. It will be seen that the system, although fundamentally founded on the family, presents many classificatory features. Whether or not these are to be ascribed to an ancient clan system is most doubtful; a short discussion of that point will be found at the end of this section.

The terms are arranged in the following order: first, an individual's relatives of the preceding generation, then those of the next preceding, with their parents, then those of the present generation, followed by terms for kin of the generations following. Finally come relations by marriage.

Term	Direct Address	Indirect Address
Father.....	Alee This term is properly used only by a small child, though often continued by an adult as a term of endearment.	Ase Term used only by a small child.

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Father (*continued*)....	*mǎn*	*mǎn*
	Term used, rarely, by an adult of either sex; *sisso* is more common. *Mǎn* is often used by an adult when speaking to any old man as a courtesy title.	Used by an adult.
Mother's husband....	*sisso*	*sisi*
	Terms used by small children.	
	mǎn	*mǎndimut*
	Used by adult; more commonly *sisso*.	Used by adult.
Mother.....	*mǎmas*	*mǎmá*
	Used by baby.	Used by baby.
	ǫimas	*ǫimá*
	Used by small child.	Used by small child.
	sisa	*sisa*
	Used by adults of either sex with same limitations as mǎn.	
Father's wife.....	*mǎmas* or *ǫimas*	*mǎmá* or *ǫimá*
	Used by small children.	
	sisa	*sisadimut*
	Used by adults, more commonly *ǫimas*.	Used by adults.
	The application to step-parents of the terms usually limited to the real parents is merely a mark of endearment, without social significance.	
Parent of either sex...	*sispuliaiyuly*	*ɔ-matskayki*
	These terms are used for a parent of either sex when old and feeble. Their use is a mark of courtesy and implies respect for those with wide knowledge of family history.	
Father's brother.....	*sisai*, or by name, or *sispuliaiyuly*	*sisi*
Mother's brother.....	" " "	"
Father's sister.....	*sukwa* " "	*sukwa*
Mother's sister.....	" " "	"
	If the family contains more distant relatives of the generation preceding that of the speaker, for example, a father's father's brother's son, or a mother's mother's brother's daughter, the terms *sisi* and *sukwa* may be applied in courtesy to these individuals.	
Father's father.....	*kakpai*, or more commonly, *sisso*	*kakpi*
Mother's father.....	" " " "	"
Father's mother.....	*kiiaas* " " *ǫimas*	*kiia*
Mother's mother.....	" " " "	"
	Especially when living together, children usually address their grandparents by the terms properly applied to parents.	

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Brother or sister of a grandparent.....	Addressed as the grandparent, especially when living in the same family. The terms are further widely applied to elderly members of the same matrilineal family.	*[illegible]* Seldom used term; more commonly spoken of by name, or as grandparents.
Great grandparents...	As grandparents.	As grandparents.
Elderly male relatives spoken of collectively.....	.....	*[illegible]*
Elderly female relatives spoken of collectively.....	.....	*[illegible]* These two terms are used with respect to a man's "power" through the possession of many elderly relatives.
Eldest brother or sister	By name, or *ipaulem*.	*ipaulem*
Second eldest brother or sister.....	By name.	*ta-lha-ol*, or *alhite ol di ipaulem*
Third eldest brother or sister.....	" "	*alhit*
Fourth eldest brother or sister.....	" "	*qwaowaa*
Youngest brother or sister.....	" " or *sapinem*.	*sapi*

[178]

At the present time the intermediate terms are rarely, if ever, used. *Ipaulem* and *sapi* are continually employed, the former for a brother or sister older than the speaker, the latter for a brother or sister younger than the speaker. When necessary sex is usually indicated by giving the person's name, or by the use of sex-denoting particles.

Only brother with several sisters.....	.....	*[illegible]*
Only sister with several brothers.....	.....	*[illegible]*
Stepbrother or sister, same father, different mother.....	By name, or *ipaulem*, or *sapinem*, according to relative age.	*[illegible]*
Stepbrother or sister, same mother, different father.....	By name, or *ipaulem*, or *sapinem*, according to relative age.	*[illegible]*

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Father's brother's child, or Father's sister's child, or Mother's brother's child, or Mother's sister's child.	No distinction is made, either in direct or indirect address, between ortho- and cross-cousins. By name, or *ḡwalim*, or *sapinas*. These terms, though properly reserved for brother and sister, are usually used for all cousins in direct address when an individual's name is not employed. The choice between *ḡwalim* and *sapinas* depends on the relative ages of the parents, not on the ages of the speakers. Theoretically, this should be traced back to the first settlement of the earth, so that, for example, an old man claiming descent from the younger of two brothers who first came to this earth, addresses a young girl descended from the elder, as *ḡwalim*. In consequence, there is often a choice in terminology. Thus a man calls his mother's father's elder brother's son either *ḡwalim* or *sinl*.	By name, or *ḡwalim*, or *sapi*, or, rarely, the intermediate terms as used for brother or sister.
Members of the maternal family, considered the same generation but more distantly related than first cousins.	When male addresses male or female addresses female— *nemenas*	When male speaks of male or female speaks of female— *nemas*
	When male addresses female, or female addresses male— *spulyaw*	When male speaks of female, or female speaks of male— *spulyaw*

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These terms are seldom used except on ceremonial occasions when the bond of ancient relationship is invoked, especially if assistance is needed in danger. They are also applicable to first cousins.

The term most commonly employed for these relatives is the one for "friend," or "partner," which does not necessarily imply relationship. It is—

sinlel *sister*

Sister are usually of the same rank and inhabitants of the same village.

Male relatives of the same maternal family and generation as the speaker. . . . . *sinlelas*

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
[614] Female relatives of the same ancestral family and generation as the speaker	.....	*gwudzits*
Child	*mimo*	*mimo*
Son, until twelve or thirteen years old	*Tsi*, a term of endearment used for any small child, or by name. Use of the personal name becomes more frequent with increasing age.	*smamilki*
[551] Son, when adult	By name, or *djatzhkzi*.	By name or *smalk* (man).
Daughter, until twelve or thirteen years of age	*Tsi*, a term of endearment used for any small girl, or by name. Use of the personal name becomes more frequent with increasing age.	*gunguts-i*
Daughter, when adult	By name; infantile term of endearment is also sometimes used.	By name.
Stepchild	Same as for own child.	
Brother's child or Sister's child	Usually by same terms as own children, merely as a mark of endearment; also *emts*. Corresponding to the use of *gualim* where *sisai* is strictly applicable, *sapinas* is used in some cases instead of *emts*.	*emts*. Depending on the composition of the family, this term is in many cases applied to the children of an *emts* if they form part of the family group.
Son's child or Daughter's child	Usually as for own child, or by name, or *skwutsakals*. This last is merely the term for indirect address, with the endearing suffix, *kals*.	*skwuts*
Descendants	.....	*lamidjat* or *skamidjat*. Terms used rhetorically to describe a man with many descendants. The latter term means "manyness."
[614] Family	.....	*mamamts*; the ancestral family, those who claim descent from one group of ancestors, even though their exact relationship has been forgotten.

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Husband	Usually by name, or *di kutamsts lai*, "my husband," or *tsulk*, "man."	*di kulamsts lai*, or by name.
Co-husband, in a polyandrous household	*wazzai-s*	[595]
Wife	Usually by name, or *tci gwes lasis*, "my *gwes*," woman.	By name, or *tci gwes lasis*.
Co-wife, in a polygamous household	*ḳuks*	*ḳuks* [595]
Wife's brother and the reciprocal,	By name, or *ḳulsais*	*ḳulsas*
Sister's husband (man speaking)	" "	"
Wife's sister and the reciprocal,	*stskas*, or by name.	*stskas*
Sister's husband (woman speaking)	" "	"
Brother's wife (man speaking) and the reciprocal,	" "	"
Husband's brother	" "	"
Brother's wife (woman speaking) and the reciprocal,	" "	"
Husband's sister	" "	"
Wife's father or	*ḳsai*	*ḳsi*
Wife's mother and the reciprocal,	"	"
Daughter's husband	" or by name.	"
Husband's father or	"	"
Husband's mother and the reciprocal,	"	"
Son's wife	" or by name.	"
Father's brother's wife	*stin*, *stindimat*, or (as a term of affection without social significance) *sutsem*.	*stindimat* or *tci gwes di sisi*, "Wife of my *sisi*."
Mother's brother's wife	Same as father's brother's wife.	
Father's sister's husband	*stin*, *stindimat*, or (as a term of affection without social significance) *sisai*.	*stindimat* or *di kulamsts di sutsem*, "Husband of my *sutsem*."

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Mother's sister's husband.....	Same as father's sister's husband.	
Brother's son's wife... or Sister's son's wife.....	Same as son's wife. " "	Same as son's wife, or *tci gnes di emts*, "Wife of my *emts*."
Brother's daughter's husband..... or Sister's daughter's husband.....	Same as daughter's husband. " " "	Same as daughter's husband, or *di kwa-mstsdi emts*, "Husband of my *emts*."

[597] In case of adoption, the same kinship terms are used as if the adopted person were a member of the family by birth. A more complicated situation arises when a child who is regarded as the reincarnation (I, p. 616) of a recently deceased elderly relative, is given the latter's name. In such a case the child is addressed by the kinship terms applicable to his namesake. In recent years, at any rate, this application is without social significance, and, as far as could be learned, this has always been the case. Bella Coola sentiment is that it is fitting for a child to receive the name of one of its ancestors. When a parent sees the child, and thinks of his name, he thinks of the late deceased, hence it is natural to use kinship terms accordingly. This is more obvious when the child is regarded as a reincarnation, though even in such a case he does not receive any of the marks of respect paid to his namesake; the reincarnation is physical, not social. In course of time this is forgotten and the child takes his place among others of his own generation, though it may be remembered in rhetorical speeches on ceremonial occasions.

601 553 775

601 The kinship terminology of the Bella Coola combines features of the family and classificatory systems. The reciprocal terms for parents- and children-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law, lack of sex differentiation for brothers and sisters, and the importance of age in the designations applied to persons of the same generation, are all features of the classificatory system. On the other hand, bilateralism, failure to

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differentiate between cross- and ortho-cousins, and the unsystematic groupings of nephews and nieces show "family," as opposed to classificatory, principles. Finally, rhetorical terms for the ancestral family, for many ancestors, and many descendants, correspond to the importance of a large number of relatives in Bella Coola thought.

In many parts of the world the classificatory system of relationship occurs where the community is divided into clans. The occurrence of some of these features among the Bella Coola raises the question of whether or not they should be regarded as survivals from an earlier clan form of social organization. The Bella Coola may once have had clans, but their relationship system does not furnish any real evidence to this effect. The reciprocal terms really have the significance, "Relation by marriage of the same generation," or "of a generation once removed," a form of address which does not require explanation in any ancient form of social organization. Moreover, the importance of the eldest child, as potential transmitter of the glories of the ancestral family, is sufficient reason for differentiating brothers and sisters in terms of their relative ages. This feature suggests that in former times this was more important than it has been in the recent past. It is not implied that the Bella Coola never had a clan system, as such may have been the case many generations ago, but their kinship terminology can be explained without that hypothesis. The somewhat wide application to cousins of terms which are properly limited to brothers and sisters may easily have been derived from a process of copying. The Bella Coola are well acquainted with the clan system of the northern coastal tribes, so that it is by no means impossible, or unlikely, that they should have adopted the principle of applying the same kinship term to many individuals, and hence to members of their own ancestral families. Finally, the somewhat vague and unsystematic application of terms to relatives according to whether or not they are members of the immediate family, is a feature not at all surprising in view of the essential fluidity of Bella

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601 Coola social organization, and of the absence of standardized obligations based upon specific relationships.

Slaves

567 Since a slave was[11] without status in the Bella Coola community, it is perhaps incorrect to include a description of [554] slavery in a chapter on social organization; but as slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages, it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was 162 impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of their number in 567 Bella Coola; slavery has been so long abandoned that the present natives could only hazard vague guesses. Judging from conversational remarks by elderly men, it seems probable that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as thirty to forty per cent of the total population.

567 When a party raided a village most of the inhabitants were 727 slain, but some, especially children, young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. As far as could be learned, once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief [422] or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

567 Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold. 437 The Bella Coola were usually so well provided with salmon that they were able to exchange these fish with the members [622] of other tribes for slaves. Lack of strong chieftainship among [726] the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of [431] their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category [773] belong those obtained as presents at potlatches. If, however, a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was

[648] [11]One of the first effects of the white man's establishment in British Columbia was the freeing of all slaves. Consequently the past tense is used in this section.

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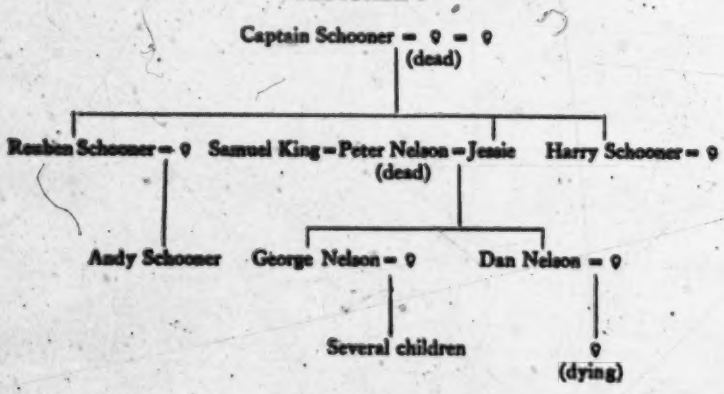
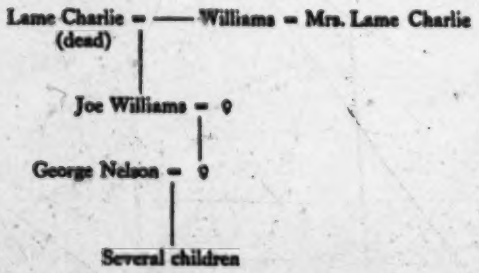
scribed, in spite of some repetition entailed thereby, both to record customs surviving the decay of Bella Coola ritual, and as a means of illustrating the sentiments of the participants. To avoid native terminology, white man's names will be used throughout. It will be necessary to understand the relationships of those taking part in the ceremony, as shown in the following pedigrees:

764 [114] 601 764

PEDIGREE I*



PEDIGREE II



Samuel King was a widower with one daughter at the time of his marriage to Jessie, by whom he had no children. His

764 159

*No attempt has been made to record the complete pedigrees; only those who took part in the ceremony are indicated.

APPENDIX D

ālqim: Something long sought-for on account of its especial desirability, such as well-grained wood.

ālqim was mnas: Child whose parents were long engaged and who is accordingly regarded as being well prepared for. [554]

ālqlus: Sisook initiate concealed within the back-room.

Ālqualils: One of the first men to settle in Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

ālqo: Guests at a potlatch.

Ālqonnkam, "The Shelterer": Name assumed by *Smasan* in the beginning of time.

ālkpmālmis, "What Has Been Shaken Off": Term applied to presents distributed when a corpse has been carried through the roof. The implication is that they are dust shaken from the fingers of the deceased. [431] [764]

Ālquntām: 1—The supreme god.
2—One of the first men to settle on the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
4—Tail of a *Stulx* repository.

Ālquntāmāāks: 1—Mountain on the north side of the lower Bella Coola.
2—Name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Snuhli* in the beginning of time.

ālkwallaiyals: Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for direct address. [601]

Ālkwalintutl: Supernatural artisans who made mankind in the beginning of time. [576]

ālq"il: Presents given to validate the initiation of a *kusiut.*

Ālqwutimut: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [431]

ālāmnuskwanāhmx: Professional mourner.

ālāmnuyaiyutl: Professional droner at marriages. [463]

ālāmyaanx: Professional hunter.

ālāmyalit: Professional warrior.

Ālnakān·i: Kimsquit fisherman living in the last century.

ālp'xu: Olachen net.

Ālsiax: Celebrated hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

ālsikt ol di kwakm: Second oldest sibling. [601]

Ālsmas: Repository of a Kimsquit Cannibal where cures are effected.

ālsutumlk: Professional warrior.

ālsutuxwiāxm: Professional river guard. [463]

Ālwolsqāmus: Mountain near mouth of the Kimsquit River.

ālwuale: Shaman.

ālulixwstmm: 1—Meeting of those who have given potlatches. [753]
2—Unidentified disease said to attack only chiefs.

ālulimut: Marriage associates, i.e. those who, not being relatives, wish to associate themselves with the bride's family in the financial transactions of a marriage.

Ālunpkāmtmm: Name applied to the supernatural artisans with reference to their construction of everything used by mankind.

Ālusklwasam, "Cloud-Covered": Name applied to the supernatural being *Noākpmm* with reference to his frequent invisibility.

Ālusklmāx-aix, "The Highest of All Chiefs' Sons:" Name of *Smasan's* son in the beginning of time.

Ālus-limāx, "Falling Star-Fish": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

Ālusqax, "The Roof-Maker": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

ālwālāk: One who has received a commission for carpentry work in preparation for a potlatch. [465]

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*192 *Ăłximăx-a*, "Left Foot": *Stax* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.

Ăłximlaix: Kimsquit hunter living in the last century.

[825] *ałymutł:* Dentalium-shell.

ałymałʼax, "Not Finished": Said concerning a *kusiut* who dies between initiation and his first complete dance.

[292] [881] *ałxwam:* Skull cap of grass and dentalium-shells worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.

ałxwola: Guest, especially from afar, to a *kusiut* dance.

Ałxwolămum: 1—Supernatural herald.
2—Assemblage of the people for ceremonies of different kinds, especially shamans' dances and guessing competitions in connection with the Mystery dance.
3—Kimsquit term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance.

ałxwpaix, "A Surpassing": Said of cases where a wife's relatives have given more presents to the husband's than they have received in return.

[576] *ămăł:* Place of concealment of a Mystery dancer's power.

[601] *ămăstałąkł:* Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for indirect address.

ămăłux: Rightful location, especially the validated position of a chief in a house.

[415] *ămăłuts:* Dishes carved with ancestral crest.

ămkłł: 1—Mouse.
2—Daughter of the first settlers at *Sałłia*.

[825] *ămł:* Spring salmon.

ămłia: Spring salmon house.

Ămłtkłł: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.

Ămtkłł: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of the Bella Coola River.

ămłămkum: 1—The allotment of work to *kukusiut* in the manufacture of masks and other requirements.
2—Hence, the time when such tasks are assigned, the second evening of a *kusiut* dance.

Ănăhsułłănămłaix, "The Resident Maker": Name given to the daughter of the first settlers at *Snułoli*.

[575] *ănănusks* or *sănusks:* That which serves as pattern, picture, or model for a *kusiut* ritual.

ănăsłutł: Second night of a potlatch.

[226] *ănăwołałł:* Artificial, pier-like structure built into a river for use in hand-net fishing.

Ănłxsaix, "Where People Go": A reflecting pool created by Raven at Kimsquit.

Ąnołkwłałł: Cave near Dean Channel.

Ąnołpmdimut, "The Dancer Whose Only Noise-Making Instrument Is His Body": One of *Thłcąplitn-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Ąnʼłłkwołxaix: Supernatural woman who guards repositories.

Ąnołłkłmots: 1—"The Open-Mouthed" (in the sense of open to suck forth sickness): One of *Thłcąplitn-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.

[756] [823] *ąnąsum:* Swift running water.

ąnłhmsnąnąm: 1—Ranks of ordinary inidviduals; this term is used to distinguish those who are being initiated into the *nusek* society.
2—Something supernatural seen when awake.

Anulklx: Village near mouth of the Dean River.
Anulnklam: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ănutsqwa·xstl, "Labretted": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Ănuxemlaix: Name obtained by an *Älqälxl* man in the beginning of time.
Ănuqulmmut, "Quivering To and Fro": One of *Tlitcaplilăn·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Ănuximälos: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Ănuximăn·a: 1—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
2—"Left Hand": *Stmx* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
[431] [426] *ănuxop':* Term applied to the giving of a copper, indicating that 100 per cent interest is expected in return.
Ănuximmdmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
[463] *ănuxwitcekm·aix: Kusiut* profession, at Kimsquit only, of throwing masks on the fire.
Ănuxwolsekmals, "The Moving House": One of the names of the supreme god's dwelling.
ănuyax: 1—Owner of a puppet-patron.
2—Synonym for *usămămmtmm,* q.v.
Ănuyulikailaix: Supernatural being who robs *kukusiut* of their thoughts at the Mystery dance.
Ao·sti: 1—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Älqälxl* in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Bella chief.
ăpi: Excreta.
Äpstul·a, "The Privy One": Name taken by a chief for himself in virtue of the remarks made about his habits.
Aqalais: Sisook name of a Kimsquit man.
[825] *aqam:* Herring eggs.
[824] *aqmexlp:* Cottonwood.
aqna: Type of sea-going canoe.
[825] *aqwa:* Harlequin duck.
Aqaikaiyutsmaxmm, "The Constant Eater": Term used by hunters to Eagle.
Ăsăn·ăn·i, "Concave Town": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
ăq·awanăx: Canoes lashed together.
Ăs·ăx: Locality on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head, including the area beneath the surface of the water.
[601] *ăs·iko·tl:* 1—Second oldest sibling.
2—Second part of song.
[775] *asiutănum:* 1—"They Who Have Become Supernatural": Title preferred by ghosts.
2—Woman living in the moon.
Ăs·ixwamy: Inhabitants of the village of *Ăs·ux*ʷ.
[424] *ăs·umsmaius:* Person with good memory commissioned to remember family prerogatives.
*Ăs·ux*ʷ, "At the Head": Village southwest of the head of South Bentinck Arm.
ăskaistl: Totem-pole, *literally,* "Outside Post."
[756] *ăskankots:* Shaman with power derived from ghosts.
ăqalusam: Ceremonial bathing at dawn.
[515] *Ăskluseilaix: Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
Ăskmkk: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

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Askla: Village at Salmon House, on the upper Dean River.
ăskma: Position between two fires.
ăs-latl: 1—Raised bed behind the fire used by a person seeking power, or by one who has been in contact with the supernatural.
2—Waterfall.[1] [823]
ăs·maius: To teach.
ăs·maiustamkil': Hereditary lore handed down secretly in a family. [424]
Asqtmks: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
ăsqwxwa: Sisaok song in slow time. [533]
ăstakan: 1—Box, *archaic*; hence, seat.
2—One of the nights of a potlatch, probably that on which a representation of the deceased appears.
ăstas: Rocky Mountain jay. [825]
ăsuxwatl: Carved house post.
Ăstsalnexkl: Wife of *Swaks*; both were changed to stone in the beginning of time.
ăsutcăxunk: That part of a house between fire and doorway.
Aswinwinaiuts: Expedition of the supernatural being *Winwina* against berries and fish.
Ăs·ganam: Smaoan's fish-dam in the beginning of time; the name has since been used by his descendants,
ăsgmsăxta: Only sister in a family of several brothers. [601]
ăsg": Seals. [825]
ăsxwaltom: Steeping in medicinal smoke as a curative measure.
ăltaqwlp: Fir. [755]
Ăltat·iaistl: Evil male supernatural being.
ă·lma: 1—Death, not anthropomorphized. [824]
2—Dead.
ălmăk": Kingfisher. [825]
ălsi: Fish-hook.
Ălskam, "They of the Huge Jaws": Supernatural beings resident in the land above. [227]
ătskmas: Kusiut spy.
ătsqtutl: plural, ănătsqtutl; vocative plural, ănătsqtaotl:
1—Person who has not given a potlatch, a commoner.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Ăltlk: ustămy village.
Ăpă: Stuux man mentioned in an ancient story.
ăpa·hendjut, "He Urinates Over Himself." The implication is that this is an indication of misfortune, hence the word really means *omen*. It is the Kimsquit variant of *ă·xendjut*. [787]
ă·xendjut: Omen of death.
Ăpat·l, "Occupied Mound": 1—Village at Kwatna.
2—Artificial mound at *Tăl·ia*.
3—Village on the Kimsquit River.
4—Island near Ocean Falls.
Ăpat·l nas Wawalsuks, "Place of Dogs": Locality near Ocean Falls where the dogs came to earth in the beginning of time.
ăpuxon·l: Varied thrush. [825]

[1]The latter is a favourite place for obtaining power, the probable reason for the identity of the two terms.

*192 *Äxyätl:* Locality near *Stuax* where berries are plentiful.
A'yooḷ: Chief living at *Tälʼio* in the beginning of time.

A

am'kl·a: One of the *a'alk* dances.
ans: I, first person singular.
[262] *'art:* Herring eggs when brought into house ready for preparation as food.[1]

B

bähnk': Supernatural animal.
Bälak[w]*:* One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
bä·pka: To guess, as done by the uninitiated at a Mystery dance.
Bäxbäxqwaiwa or *Bäxbäxqwanälociwa:* Kwakiutl supernatural being.
[825] *bilikt':* Lamprey.
Bilkwt: Kusiut name of a *Sätlia* man.
bixän·i: Abalone-shell.
Bixwakaks: Influential Kwatna woman who died about 1870.
[292] *biḷotl:* Ball-topped hat worn by chiefs.
[622] *Blo·qwas:* A Kimsquit composer.
Bo'ostom: Stuax man mentioned in an ancient story.
boḷs: Supernatural, man-like creature.

D

[821] [772] *dä sonx*[w]*'dä* or *sonx*[w]*:* The sky, regarded as the lower side of a land inhabited by supernatural beings.
Dakdak·älaix: 1—"The Comer," synonym for *Noäkymm.*
2—The *kusiut* prerogative of seeing *Noäkymm.*
Dakdakän, "The Ever-Comer": Synonym for *Noäkymm.*
Dakdakänmem: Supernatural being who awaits *Noäkymm.*
Dakdakänus: Supernatural dog salmon resident in the land above.
[601] *di kwiamsts di emts:* Niece's husband.
di kwiamsts tci sisksom: Aunt's husband.
Diqom'notl: One of the first men to settle at *Äiqälaxi* in the beginning of time.
drtia: Archaic term for *kusiut* Breaker.[2]
[824] *dxdik:* Frayed cedar-wood, as used for tinder.
[372] *djatsluksi, plural, djaldjaloksm:* Son; term used in direct address for an adult.
[601] *Djishp:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Dji Sisnäxitl, "The Slave Owner": Designation of the supernatural woman *Kämai·ts.*
[101] *Djoldäuux:* Collective term applied to the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples of the mainland.
Djusdju·sa: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Dodosonx[w]*:* Chief of abalone-shell people on the lower Fraser in the beginning of time.
Dudusonx[w]*:* One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Duduspux: One of the first women to settle at *Tälʼio* in the beginning of time.

[1]This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.
[2]This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.

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E

eaxsa or *eaxsāl·i:* Medicine; generic term for all remedies of a magical or medicinal nature. [278]
e·m: Coitus, term in common usage.
emts: Nephew or niece. [601]

ē

ēlmāls: Ancestral name of a *Snuile·tl* man.
'ēnlālān·a: Daughter of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
ēnlātlaikila: Moon, semi-anthropomorphized.

H

hai·shkila: 1—Bella Bella term, commonly used in Bella Coola, for *sisaok* official
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
haidāl: Type of sea-going canoe used by the Haida; the word may be a corruption from English.
Hai·k·kela: Man who descended to the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
Hān·o: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
hoohoo: Mythical, supernatural bird. [825]
Hamcu: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwlst* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.
hōli: Penis.
hoip: Call used by members of the *kāsiut* society to strengthen their fellow-members.

I

ikw': Pounded cedar-bark, undyed. [824]
ilaix: Zigzag course up or down a mountain slope.
Ilaixāl: *Twalaklit*'s dog.
Ililmai·s: One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
ildustas dia sxim: Bandage of undyed cedar-bark placed around an infant's head to produce cranial deformation. [856]
ildutsam, Bandages: Term applied to presents distributed as validation for the bitings of a self-Cannibal. [431]
ilk: One of the *fritillariae.*
imaltundjutqulsan: Abbreviated rite of *Nēakymm* dance.
imānts: Nest.
I'mātsilak: *Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Imimāhnaix, "The Moorer": Male supernatural child who fastens *Nēakymm*'s craft.
ipāmp; "Hold Him Down": Cry used in Cannibal dances.
ipāsellai, "Accept": Said to spring salmon during the ritual connected with the first taking of these fish. [226]
ipkusatmm: Alleged singing of a *sisaok* initiate's song by the supernatural being, *Mātlakila.*
ipo'le·sman: Reduction of the value of an investment-present by immediate return of part of it. [426]
i·pīs: Moss. [824]
isnahusāmhdim: Polyandry.

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*192 *istutsmap*, "Come and eat": Invitation to the *kukusiut* to assemble in a performer's house.

isulta: House beams.

isut·sta: Messenger bearing invitation to a potlatch.

[752] *itcliktsa:* Massage.

[585] *itskalemsk:* 1—Presents, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter visit his house on the wedding day.

[431] 2—Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's kinsmen prior to her repurchase.

[583] *ilxwaudjut*, "The Throwing Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders": Said of the repayment by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's kinsmen.

itxwolhsta: 1—Battering-ram.
2—The destruction of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.

Ixulqotlam: One of the names of the supreme god.

[201] *iqdhmastom:* Notification, by pressure on the foot, to a chief to go to the meeting-place.

[533] *inlxanm:* The employment of frenzied stick-beating.

Ixpk·mm: Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.

ixstrokpamas, "The Hearing": Synonym for *alastam*, q.v.; this is a Kimsquit term only.

i·gtimut: Kusiutem rite in which the performer appears to be burnt to death.

i·gwatmam: The casting of *kusiut* masks on the fire.

Iguank, "Far from the River": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

[847] *ixwotl:* Abortion.

i·xwsila, "Disappointed": said of the supernatural beings called by a *ul·á* dancer who arrive too late for the potlatch.

ulhas: Slave from the lower Fraser owned in Kimsquit during the last century.

[101] *ulqulanmy:* Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.

ulqulsholostmax: Half-brother or half-sister.

●[601] *umlk:* 1—Man.
2—Son; term used by old person in direct address to adult.
3—Husband.

[614] *umlkasta:* Male relative of same ancestral family.

umlkiwa: Woman who performs man's work.

[601] *umlkpasta:* Single brother in a family with several sisters.

[431] *ummlki, plural, ummlhekti:* Small boy, especially son; term used in indirect address.

[584] *ulalik*, "Working Clothes": Presents given by the relatives of the future bride to the kinsmen of the future bridegroom at the first announcement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.

[821] *uminawul:* Cold wind of the mornings, semi-anthropomorphized.

usaity: Bella Bella term for the *usamy*.

[563] *usamy:* Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

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kätsän: Tail. 192*
katskitl: Ants. [825]
kax: Black hawthorn. [824]
Kalän·i: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kamilkän: Ancestral name of the wife of *Swaky* who was changed to stone in the beginning of time.
kanki: Region.
Kapsälopst: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
kasälx: 1—Marriage, properly arranged and legalized. [585]
2—The actual wedding day.
Kaxwlän·i: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.[1]
kolai: Bark bucket for holding liquids. [415]
kolämkodjut: The seeking of assistance from a man who owns a curing repository.
kolämkusnäm: Investment-present, i.e., one for which a return is expected. [426]
kolusta: Back-room in which *tsaok* initiates and others are concealed.
kolän: Woman during catamenia. [431]
kolelta, "What Was Sent Down": Intangible possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time. [424]
komapsta: Wooden tongs such as are used for lifting hot stones. [412]
kolsämkdjot ola kwanqsta: *Kusiotem* rite in which the performer appears to be drowned.
kel·aix or *kel·äil,* "The Gainer": One who has been initiated as a member of the *kusiut* society but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through unauthorized knowledge or through successful participation in either a *kusiotem* or a Mystery dance. [575]
kelels, "Rendered Incapable of Returning": Said of an uninitiated person who is alleged to have stumbled on a repository.
Keldcap: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
kestcao: The dormant waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one visitation, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability. [756]
kiqa, vocative, kiqaas: Grandmother. [601]
kiks·tsam·um·i: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
Ki'laielast: Name given to their canoe by the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
Kilalxamuxus, "The Wise One": One of Raven's names as chief.
Kimilkän: One of the first women to settle at *Alqalxi* in the beginning of time.
Kina'o·: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
kinaxu: 1—Crab. [825]
2—Enormous crab-like creature, alleged to be found far in the forest. [824]
Kipäks: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts.
kipl: Red elderberry. [413]
kipla: Wooden tweezers used in the pounding of cedar-bark. [252]
kis: Unidentified plant.
kisäm: To toast dried salmon.
kisiamsotla: Supported, in the sense of held in place by physical assistance.
Kislqmal: Locality on Dean Channel, west of *Suxwlk.*
Kit·ea: Place on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

[1]This name appears to be an entirely different word from *Kalän·i.*

Kitlmnitamem: The chasm that keeps a foolish man from success as a chief; the concept is semi-anthropomorphized.
kitsân: First catamenial discharge.
Kldr·t: *ustimx* village.
kłxta: Supernatural creature dwelling in the ocean.
[756] *Kłyekâmut:* Shaman who received power from ghosts.
Kumsłxwałxtsta: Bella Coola hunter.
Kimgkwt, "Canyon": Bella Bella designation for the Dean River, whence the anglicized *Kimsquit* has been derived.
Kundust: Nass River.
Kmłknł: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[825] *łnts:* 1—Whale.
2—Ancestral name of a *Tał·is* woman; this is said to be an exclusively feminine designation.
Kłak"âmot: 1—Name acquired by a Bella Bella man in the beginning of time.
2—Influential *Qomqo·ts* chief, who died about 1910.
[825] *k'łax"':* Muskrat.
kłp: White fir (?).
[824] *łmân·i:* Herring.
łmxdjut: Prerogative of biting oneself.
łnum: Dried salmon.
łnumdjut: Synonym for *âhnkła:* one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of masked representations of the deceased. The word is derived from *łnum.*
[825] *kokolikm:* Porpoise.
Kokoikm: Supernatural being who behaves in an erratic manner.
[845] *ko'la:* Twin whose birth is attributed to salmon.
[824] *Ko'laiânts:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
koluloxo: Unidentified berry (strawberry?).
Kolxeta: Supernatural female shaman who guided *W'inwina.*
Kol·iaiyuhmg: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
kolku"âmg, "Earthy Ones": Ghosts.
koluhmg: Land, region, earth.
[533] *kolulo·s:* First part of song.
Kotnk': Treeless mountain about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.
[825] *Kpapstustusailaix,* "The One Who Makes Us Fat": Supernatural name of cohoe salmon.
[765] *kpustmm:* Goods distributed to validate songs used at a mourning ceremony when no representation of the deceased has been employed.
[578] *kqosnâm:* Insult offered to foreigners at potlatches concerning their manners or food.
[609] *krâmkusaix* or *krâmkusnâm:* Synonym for *kstâmkusnâm,* investment-present.[1]
[426] *Ksmasmmâmut:* Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
kukpi, vocative, *kukpai:* Grandfather.
[601] *kukusiutsk:* *Kusiut* ceremonial at which foreigners are present.
łukn: The construction of salmon-weirs.

[1] This was the pronunciation of the word by the individual with an idiosyncratic *r* sound.

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Łułułimut: *Kusiut* name of a *Nuxalkt* man.
Łułul'nimut: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[824] *łuqal:* Inner bark of cedar.
łutàlemsk, "A Stripping Off": The giving, on demand, by a marriage dancer of his clothing to a herald.
'Łuxuaqsàlaix: Supernatural name of Raven.
[828] *łxwaix*, "Frenzied": Term applied to Cannibals and other destructive *łukusiut* when in a state of madness.
łyuum: Occasional exclusion of all but the singers from a house where a shaman is performing.
Łxwumxwumłaix: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
Łxwuntnum: *Kusiut* name, probably of Kwakiutl origin.

M

Ma'cilsa: Female dancer mentioned in a Raven story.
Màłàsiut: *Kusiut* name of a *Łemqo·ts* man.
[601] *mama*, *vocativ*, *mamas:* Mother, term used by children.
Mamaiyu: Celebrated *Xusais* hunter.
[825] *mam·aiyu:* Butterfly.
mam·atka: Measuring worm.
[824] *mam·a:* Fly, insect.
ma'manka: Swamp gooseberry.
[601] *man:* 1—Father, common term in indirect address.
2—Occasional designation for the supreme deity.
mandimut: Stepfather.
[614] *manmanuks:* Elderly male relatives of same ancestral family.
Masonq'': 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuhlax* in the beginning of time.
2—Form of the name *Dudusonq''* when used by a male child.
Masonq''an·a: Form of the name *Dudusonq''* when used by a female child.
Maslebàliuuk: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
Mallaperuuk: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[804] *ma·łqi:* Measure of distance equal to the breadth of one thumb plus one finger.
[825] *mà·tsq':* Toad.
màtsqus: Supernatural giant toad.
malsa: Salmon eggs.
ma·uaqe: Old male sea-lion.
[825] *ma·ustakka:* Water ousel.
Maqunts: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[601] *Mazzilian*, "Long Neck": One of the supernatural names of Great Blue Heron.
mazzai·s: Co-husband in a polyandrous household.
[824] *ma'zual·i:* One of the parsleys.
mequal: Berry, black in colour.
Mezmazàlema: Generic term for the four supernatural Carpenters.
mezmikelp: Spruce.
Miał'sila: One of the first men to settle at *Sàtla* in the beginning of time.
Miskuma: Land of salmon.
[224] *Mł'ab:* Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
mł·a: Stick carried by hunters when penetrating into the mountains.
[824] *mlla'':* Red bearberry.

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mimiskulp: Leaf of salalberry.
mis-madjat: 1—Omen of misfortune, such as preceded the outbreak of smallpox, hence, [824]
2—Smallpox. [787]
mitka: Type of sea-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.
mna, mnatin, mnaa: Child. [601]
Mnaksis: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.
mnt': Excreta.
mnmnt, mnatin, mnmnatin-i: Ancestral family, practically equivalent to *children* when used by an old person. [614]
mnskhnmnsts: The commemoration of a chief's potlatches and other major ceremonies by means of plain posts erected near his grave. [211]
Mnslato-snm, Tide-Measurer: A supernatural being. [764]
Mnsles: Man mentioned in a song.
Mslskila: Supernatural being who gives potency to *nsnsk* rites.
mslstsn: Grandiloquent expression used by the *kukusiut* with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives. [776]*
mslshosm: 1—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living. [775]
2—To visit, term used with reference to the coming of a masked representation of a dead person; the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.
mst': Pounded, dyed cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.
mstunks: Head-ring of cedar-bark worn by *kusiut* initiates in the upper Bella Coola valley.
mspk: Lice. [825]
mspnila: Adolescent youth.
msnmsnk': Blue grouse.
msnmsnkhtnds: Dentalium-shell ear-rings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion. [301]
mu: Hand net for catching olachen. [227]
mukstmbkstn: Yellow cedar stave decorated with swan feathers such as is carried by a Mystery dancer.
mustsmn: Wrestling.
Mstsw-a: Rivers Inlet man living in the last century.

N

Nsin'ktwn: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Ns'mu: Bella Bella village; the Anglicized form is Namu.
nsw: Grizzly bear. [825]
Nsntstlis: Name received from Grizzly Bear by a Kimsquit man in the beginning of time.
Nsntsk: *Kusiut* name of a *Nsqhslt* man.
Nsntshni: One of the first men to settle at *Stuxs* in the beginning of time.
Nsnshtsnik: One of the names of Mount *Nsqhslt* as chief.
nsw-lmnt: Non-ceremonial weeping, usually individual, and always with real feeling. [827]
Nsss: Indeterminate locality in the distant east. [152]

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numan, tuxatiw, numastas: Member of same sex and same ancestral family as speaker. [601]

Numéiam: Supernatural being who comes with *Nułkynm* to bring a call to the latter's protégé. [614]

Numolkmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

numit: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract. [826]
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.

numomukts: Toilet-hole.

nunlutnum: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony. [465]

nunsilmmum: Exchange marriage. [583]

nunpkhitnum: Passenger.

Nu-mis: Place near *Nulkwa*.

Nunzmółsis: *Kuxiut* name created by *xyuyuyut* at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

nunnusi di mínas: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

nunnusi ti ninas: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

Nununa'as, "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Nunukmuxsi: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunudjipum: Supernatural being who created repositories in the beginning of time.

Nunulunuk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunulpxum: House occupied by the first settlers at *Nutsymsit* in the beginning of time.

nunu-l'ximut: The use of potent medicines after seeing a giant toad.

nunulwuitnum or *nunulwuitimut:* 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dyed cedar-bark to *Thinxpilitz-a.* [782]
2—The making of offerings to ghosts by the casting of food on a fire. [775]

Nununa-uk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunuuisikhimut: Male supernatural being who travels with *Nułkynm*, takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.

Nunuxka: Mother Nature.

nunyp: Fisherman with inherited right to use of a salmon-weir or of a place for catching eulachon. [424]

nunqumumulp, "A Calling Back", or "A Seizing": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural artisans having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [226] [761]

Nunqimuis, "Where Water Entered": House of one of the first groups of settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Nunqmulsis: *Kuxiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunqmhhlsipu-a: Professional name of a female dancer.

Nunqsistmum: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.

Nunuhmut: *Kuxiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunumunk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunuxumulsk: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Nunuthumum, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [825]

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omitsalaix: Goods obtained by a man's own exertions and forming the nucleus of his wealth for a potlatch. [556]

omitsuts, plural, ãomitsuts: *Kusiut* patron.

O'miat: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

O'miaku: One of the first women to settle at *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.

O'miatmai: Son of Raven in the beginning of time.

Omqumhikka: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Sisikiul* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Tsimsit* woman who died about 1915.

'Omlum: Lattimy village.

Omqt: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola *kusiutem* dancer.

Onikul: 1—Ancestral name of a *Snuladi* man.
2—Celebrated Kimsquit hunter.

'onikmal: Any non-sacred rite, especially an *o'alk* dance held subsequent to the *kusiut* season.

Oniomakua: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit *kusiutem* dancer.

Onqmak: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

onostiptamm: The taking of food to another tribe for ceremonious bestowal.

Onstcioma: Supernatural being who sleeps perpetually, literally, "The Sleepy One."

Ojmikmy: 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

o'gol: Skunk cabbage. [824]

Ojalikts: Supernatural being, herald of *Ãipustiw.*

ojjit: The steeping of *nasat* novices in smoke, this being the final rite of initiation.

Ojmai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nusqulz* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Sisikiul* in the beginning of time.

ojla: Temporary fish-dam of interlocked branches. [226]

Ojmw-i: Small mountain on south side of the Bella Coola valley behind *Qmqwtu.*

O-ojui-: Place near *Sisaa.*

'Ojmilkkamm: One of the first men to settle at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.

ojmlamt': The leading across of a bride to a groom during a wedding. [585]

ombulam: Hereditary tendency.

ombulu: One made sick by salmon, especially a woman who suffers from this cause through disregard of adolescence taboos. [827]

oipaa: Variety of dog salmon found at Bella Bella. [784]

o-omstiphumsix: Conferring of ancestral names at a potlatch. [825]

ondemmsix: The performance of a *kusiut* dance with supernatural dog salmon as patron.

Oosqlqamq, "Treeless Place": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

oqulim: Distribution of strips of mountain goat skin at marriage. [585]

ostmuiks: "Where are you going?"

Ostulliq', "Lake-Swallower": A mythical monster.

ownulliaix: First night of a potlatch.

ulsit: Third oldest brother or sister. [601]

Ulsqaa: Name of Mink as chief.

O-lhit ã Sinhamq: One of the names of the supreme god.

Ulsum: Celebrated *Wuyal-a* warrior.

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ałkłm: Omen of death, generic term.
ałłm: One of the berries, probably raspberry. [787]
ałmł, ałmłm, ałmm: Mother, term used by child.
Ałmałłm: Celebrated Carrier chief. [824]
Ałmm: 1—Village on west bank of the Nechacowmay, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. [601]
2—Mountain behind the village.
Ąmąpamłm: *ąm'łłs* name of a Kwanąsit man.
ąmmłmłs, mmłłm, ąmmmłłm: 1—Term used for spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish. [825]
2—Term used by *mmąq* to human beings, who are like salmon to them.
3—Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings.
ąmmłm, "Bear Fastenings," i.e., something binding: The function of the "Bad Counting" and other preparations given with a wife which bind her to her husband. [198] [515]
ąm łłs: Unidentified species of duck. [431]
Ąmmłmłs: Kwakiutl term for "The Weaver," a female supernatural being. [825]
Ąmmłm: *Kwakiutl* name of a *Ełmo* man.
Ąp ąmmł: *mmq* chief living soon after the beginning of time.
Ąpął'łł: Herald who came with the first settlers to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Ąpłm: Carrier pronunciation of *Tmąłm*, one of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
ąłłmm: *Kwakiutl* with ability to produce a puppet-person, cf. *mmąyamm*.
ąmłłm: Sweat-bath. [315]
Ąłłmm: Raven mentioned in an ancient story.
ąmy': Star-fish. [825]
ąm: Rabbit.
ął ą: Salmon-berry. [824]
Ąmłmmłs: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
ąłmmm: Unidentified plant. [825]
ąmłm: Black cod.
ąm, "A Wiping of the Feet upon the Ground of Chiefs": Term applied to a deadly insult offered to persons of importance. [578]
ąmm: Wooden scoop. [914]
Ąmłłłs: 1—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Island off Rivers Inlet.
3—Island.
Ąmą mmłłs: One of the names of Raven as chief.
Ąłł: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ełłłłł* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Ełmo* in the beginning of time.
ąłłm: Unidentified migratory bird, black in colour. [825]
Ąłłłłł: Seventh River, near Bella Bella.
ął'mm: One of the *ełłł* dances.
Łłłm, "Heal": *Ełmo* respiratory instrument from part of a supernatural creature. [578]
*łłłłł

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[601]

[825]

[415]

[211]

[illegible]: Term applied to the presents given as such to the party of a bridegroom when they enter the bride's house on a wedding day.

[illegible], "A Sticking of the Fingers": Rhetorical allusion to presents regarded as "Dues."

[illegible]: To receive souvenir.

[illegible], "The One Who Revolves Sparrow to Give Strength": One of Pitlopillow's names and hence a designation given to shamans.

[illegible]: Place of petrified power near Kwatna.

[illegible]: Village on the Skeena River.

[illegible]: Supernatural creature resembling a diminutive human being.

[illegible]: Salmon Inn.

[illegible]: Co-wife in a polygynous household.

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: Wife's brother, or sister's husband, man speaking.

[illegible]: Gathering of the supernatural beings for the performance of dances in the land above.

[illegible]: Unidentified salt water fish, said to be called "Lord-fish" by white men.

[illegible] of [illegible], "The Universe of Light": One of Raven's names as chief.

[illegible]: 1—The ability of a chief to sit down ceremonially in virtue of the goods distributed for his seat, the ground over which he walks, and other requirements.

2—The initial establishment of a youth as chief.

[illegible]: Stone axe.

[illegible]: Period of engagement.

[illegible]: Ranger to man.

[illegible]: 1—One of Raven's names as chief.

2—Kwakiutl name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: Slave man mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: Shaman's name of a Slave woman.

[illegible], "Beginning": Name of a copper when cast into fire.

[illegible]: Unidentified (and probably mythical) type of lizard, allegedly about four feet long, found near Dean Channel.

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: Elder brother or sister.

[illegible]: Name, in the Bella Bella language, given to a wooden woman made by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: God.

[illegible], "Elder": Term of respectful address to Porcupine on assize of all animals.

[illegible], "The Moved": Name given to their house by one of the first groups of settlers at Tsi'is in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Term from which the Anglicized "Kwatna" is derived. Generic name for the villages at Kwatna Harbour, Burke Channel.

[illegible]: Chief living on the upper Tsimsi in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Large box used for boiling chicken.

[illegible]: Village south-west of the head of South Bentinck Arm.

[illegible]: Place on Schooner Pass.

[illegible]: Secret name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: Marks made to commemorate an event, such as carvings on chiefs' sitting-place, virtually a memorial.

[illegible]: Figure representing crest.

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ʼsuʼtsuʼtu: 1—Tally post, one of the supernatural elements possessed by all human beings.
2—Invisible supernatural element which constantly moves before the face.
ʼsuʼtsuʼtu; sutsitu, ʼsuʼtsutsu, (rarely, *ʼsuʼtsuʼtsu*): Crest.
ʼsuqa: Raven.
ʼsuse: Big old male mountain goat.
ʼsuscila: *ʼSuqa-ti* man living in the last century.
ʼsuqʼtlaklu: Celebrated Kwakiutl chief.
ʼsuqqwiu-sumun: Name of a shaman who received his power from Raven.
ʼsusumu: One of the first men to settle at *Ituna* in the beginning of time.
ʼsusumun: Fourth oldest, or youngest, brother or sister.
ʼsuʼtsuʼtu: Stellar's jay.
ʼsuskut: Kitamaat women.
ʼsusu: Women's pubic hair.
ʼsusu: Sea-lion cub.
ʼsutu: Those who are present and receive gifts when an announcement of a marriage is first made.
ʼsutu: *Kwakiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
ʼsutu-ʼsun: A revelation, such as the sight of a supernatural being or object usually concealed.
ʼsutlu: Yearling seal.
ʼsutsup: Word used in inviting to a marriage announcement.
ʼsutsun: Kitamaat man mentioned in an ancient story.
ʼsutsunsun: Kwakiutl supernatural being, said to be identical with *ʼsqawtsu*.
ʼsutsitsiʼ: *Nootka* name of a Kitamaat man.
ʼsutyu: Bella Bella village west of Nemo.
ʼsuu: Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.
ʼsuʼtsiya: Professional female marriage dancer who came down to Kitamaat in the beginning of time.
ʼsuʼtsutsu: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
ʼsuʼtuti, "Place of Harbage": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
ʼsuwu: Inspiration, in the sense of the source of a *kwaiut* dancer's power of thought.
ʼsuwulk: Village-site of Kwatna, settled in the beginning of time.
ʼsuwlaqʼtsu: Actual goods used for the repurchase of a wife.
ʼsuyuwilitsu: Ancestral name of a Kitamaat chief.
ʼsuʼtsi: Cradle.
ʼsuʼtsiʼ: *Kwakiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
ʼsuwa: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
ʼsulu: The noble and rightful sentiments engendered in both families by an elaborate marriage, either real or fictitious. The word embodies the concepts of financial interdependence and of consequent mutual strength.
ʼsuulim: The transference of activities to a new sphere; the term is used, characteristically, when referring to the death of a skilled craftsman.

S

sala: 1—Shakman.
2—Kitamaat man mentioned in an ancient story.
Salmon-sam: *Kwakiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
sal-sin ʼsulu: The constant blinking of the eyes.

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Saiad: Thunder, anthropomorphized. 192*
Saiyuts: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. [821]
sakhal: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property. [173]
sa-thikhamm: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kusiut* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food. [431]
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal.
sa-thote: Cannibalistic insulton. [25]
sa-thumm: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day. [585]
sathkhalimut: Profession of *kusiut* executioner. [431]
sathtunda: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him. [463]
saual: Sockeye salmon. [825]
Sauilpamulsh: *Sipanow*: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sauntsumulsh: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land above.
Sauthkm or *Sauthkmulmut*: One of the names of Mount *Nuqhalt* as chief.
Sauxumtsum, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Sisaa* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sawa; vocative, *sáwi*; vocative *plural*, *sáwwa ts*: Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
sa-tha: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Satla: Village at point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Sat'yuuts: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Sa-tma: Death, anthropomorphized. [761]
saula: Whetstone, archaic.
Sa-ual': 1—Kimsquit River. [412]
2—Village near the mouth of the river.
Sa-ualamp: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley. [101]
sauhwa'a: Raft.
Sa-shamanwi: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
sawa: Pillow. [573]
sawaijut, "Pillowsun": *Kusiut* ceremonial at which no call is present.
sapi, vocative, *sapisam*: Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family. [601]
Sapisam: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story. [824]
sasdum: Bracken.
sawanu: Tide flats. [829]
sahjhalt: Heart.
Sahsahsum: That part of *Sway'* which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Sawhalt: Village on Rivers Inlet.
Sawinlatta: Part of a peculiar repository.
sawumthlimut, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steelhead salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
sa'nimi, "Resting Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this. [805]
sashwalaiw: Leader of musicians. [821]

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Sinaqsal: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Sinaxinaxl: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Stunx* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sis'mata: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative of imitating coitus. [424]

sisilyalaxuts: Song sung by a *kusiotem* dancer on recovery from apparent death. [861]

sisiim: Regular beatings given to a male child.

Siqalyam, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

Siqakaxtm: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Siqalxmais di Siut, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

siqmaldjut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]

siqmuk: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage. [425]

siqnata: Departure to a new locality.

siul, tecatlu, siaut: Father's brother or mother's brother. [601]

siuta: Puddle.

siutata: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

Siklanata: One of the names of the supreme god.

Siklling': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [778]

siut, tecatlu, siaut: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being, "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qomo·ts*, the large *sisaok* whistle.
4—Killer whale. [825]
5—Song.
6—*Kusiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Siutaw·i: Part of a peculiar repository.

Siutawhila: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

siutaxlu: Wordless chorus. [533]

Siuul·ax, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Siuld: Celebrated *Djaldamx* chief living in the last century.

siuldiam: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a despondent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]

Siqmas·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

siuxta·tmatna: Place where healing power is petrified.

Siuxlaqatmam: Synonym for *Mulakila*, the supernatural being connected with masked rites.

siwaiwaqs: *Kusiut* dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, *dadauxts*, for the user's protégé on earth.

siwaqkatamk: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage. [584]

siwaul: Unmarried mother. [848]

siyaxlu: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *siuxla* may be connected with this.

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siya: Supernatural good luck.
[821] *sknoás:* Fog.
[825] *skn':* Pack-rat.
slk: Mind or mentality.
[828] *sklían:* Place of lucky finds, such as a point where whales drift ashore.
slxotlaltwa: Cannibal recently returned from the land above.
Sllslan·i: One of the first women to settle at *Sátlia* in the beginning of time.
smd: Mountain.
[825] *smlk* or *smlkás:* Salmon, generic form.
smqmnikdas: (Probably) viscera of an animal, *archaic.*
Smsiutaáks: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[173] *smsma:* Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be related by anyone.
Smtus: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[822] *Smk'lusm:* Bella Coola chief.
[828] *Smqlominit:* Darkness, anthropomorphized.
smqwa: Anger.
smx: Sun.
Smxakila: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at *Alqalaxl* in the beginning of time.
Smxalotla: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—*A'alk* name of a Kimsquit man.
4—*Sisook* name of a Kimsquit man.
Smxan·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.
[827] *smxki:* Mucus.
Smxl, "Sunny": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sqwlaiak: Game played with miniature spears.
[575] *sisook:* 1—Society intimately connected with chiefs.
2—Member of the society.
sisuk: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a double-headed salmon.
Sisuxakila: Shaman's name of a *Smxl* woman.
sskiek': Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Thitaplilan·a* to the one favoured.
[601] *sskum:* Father's sister or mother's sister (in either direct or indirect address).
[583] *ssmmuks:* The ceremonial strength acquired by a child through the repurchase of its mother.
[431] *ssqo·si:* Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] *sspunk':* Western dock (plant).
[824] *sisxwawalip:* Snowberry.
sxwqalisu: Distribution of carpentry tasks prior to a potlatch.
[825] *sxmmsta,* "Food Supply": Synonym for *sel'sham,* ancestral hunting-ground.
skalk': Porcupine.
[824] *skal·ats:* Black huckleberry.
[821] *skalutslaix:* Eye-lashes of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

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shalk': Devil's-club.
shälnämxdits: To lament ceremonially, the term used to describe the reason for a memorial potlatch. [824]
Shäml, "Ashes": Ancestral name created for a *Snuhli* chief about 1910. [765]
shämtsk: Supernatural creature dwelling in water.
shäy: Anus.
shänm: Splinters projecting upwards from the bole of a broken tree-trunk. [824]
Shamelsymän·a: One of the first women to settle at *Snuhli* in the beginning of time.
Shatpts: Chief of the spring salmon.
shatsämkm: Narrow strips of goat skin with wool attached, distributed at marriage. [585]
shelists: Merganser. [825]
shekwadjut, "The Opening": Ceremony when the first public presents are given to the family of a future wife, following the announcement of betrothal. [584]
shi: To cure, especially with the aid of a frenzied beating of sticks. [431]
Shimutcitl: Stnux man mentioned in an ancient story.
shimp, "Cure Ye!": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the upper Bella Coola valley.
shiwäs: Cloud. [825]
shme: Thick hide, either of moose or caribou. [412]
shme: Semi-circular knife used by women for cutting salmon.
shmaix, shmanl, or *shmdjut:* 1—Frenzied beating of sticks for curing purposes, especially when the patient is a member of a secret society. [755]
2—Final *kusiut* rite at end of the ceremonial season.
shimim: To cure by means of the frenzied pounding of sticks.
Shml, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log": *a'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
Shmnäul: House used by a group of first settlers near *Stnux* in the beginning of time.
Shmnulän·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
sha'tcalx: Fungus. [824]
shalsmelanta: 1—Box made of strands of cedar-bark. [415]
2—Ancient name of *nsook* head-dress.
shq: Ceremonial designs executed on the exterior front wall of a house.
shshk': Rose.
Shslikman·a: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man. [825]
shsl: Wasp.
Shslsmmasta: Rock on shore of North Bentinck Arm where war trophies were washed. [727]
Shymthal: Name of house brought down by first settlers at *Slskiut* in the beginning of time; the term was also applied by them to one of their female relatives.
shsi, sscatse, shssi: Parent-in-law or child-in-law. [601]
shläq: Suitable place in the river for setting olachen nets.
shlsa: Game played with throwing stones.
shsniut: Synonym for *yuxmax*, the tangible or intangible prerogative possessed by some *hukusiut* in addition to a dance rite. [424]
shwalsia: River sculpin. [825]

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[765] *skwanāt:* 1—Memorial potlatch.
2—Mourning song.
3—The wailing of mourners at a grave.

[763] *Skwanāt·ān·ā,* "The Weeper": Female supernatural being whose appearance indicates the death of a chief.

skwanātānkusaix: Professional *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to sing of *Snitsmān·a* during *kusiotem* dances.

skwatsta: Name.

Skwo·ts: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

[824] *Sla·kl:* Whitewater River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola.

slaos: Long grass suitable for pasturage.

[252] *slāqk'i:* Smoked spring salmon with the bone removed.

slāxkt: Many, *adjective.*

[554] *slāxmidjut,* "The One with Many Descendants": Term used to describe an elderly man with many children and grandchildren.

Sla·: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[601] *sleli:* Game, resembling a tug-of-war, played with wooden loops and spears.

slemts, vocative, slemtsakais: Grandchild; the vocative indicates endearment.

[578] *slexmenix:* The deposition of eagle down on the heads of those quarrelling to pacify them.

slī·s: Gall bladder.

sloptsta: 1—Breathing.
2—Sound of a *nsaok* whistle, referred to as the breathing of *Mislakila.*

sluk': Olachen grease.

Sluxlekwailx: 1—Ancient village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
2—Place of petrified power at site of ancient village.

[778] 3—Semi-anthropomorphized being responsible for power in this locality.

Slihm: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of every river.

slkumsta: The voice.

[824] *slkumi:* Dried elderberries.

slukwala: 1—Shaman-like power, as brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Coola woman.

[821] *sluqum:* Eclipse.

slwosamlikw': 1—One who keeps in touch with a concealed Cannibal.

[424] 2—One who has the inherited right to assist *kusiut* or *nsaok* dancers; this prerogative occurs in Kimsquit only.

Smaiaikila: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaialotla: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaien·a: 1—Synonym for *Slexlekwailx,* q.v.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

[424] *smaiusta:* A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first people in the beginning of time.

smāmāisnuelp: Debris from cones eaten by squirrels.

Smaoan, "The First": One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Smaoarek: Man mentioned in an origin myth of a southern locality.

smāi·amy, vocative, smāi·amy: Friends.

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[824] *sqedilp:* Cedar roots.
sqeil: Sling.
[578] *sqeilqathm:* To use a sling.
sqili: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slave ancestry.
[821] *sqimauas:* Fleecy cloud.
sqiolz: Muzzle-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary food.
[412] *sqma:* Wooden comb.
S'qs't: Land of Ashes, alternative term for *Sqaml.*
sqo: Umbilical hernia.
[601] *sqolxnas:* Distant relative of female sex, when referred to by man.
sqolkisdjat: Long phallus.
Sqomell: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sqosa: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
sqosalx: Food distributed for carrying away as *sqosa.*
[415] *sqols:* Large, flat, soft basket of broad strips of bark.
sqpmeax: Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
[431] *sqsefp:* Maple.
[824] *squm:* Sudden start that expels the spirit.
squpaitl: Outer plank of cedar, convex and bark-covered on one side.
squal: Love song or other non-ceremonial composition.
squalem: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium.*
[533] *squalxwalam:* 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions to the faults of someone present.
2—Singers who use this type of composition.
[825] *squal-ähn:* Large, unidentified bird.
[374] *Squläkua:* Heat: A supernatural being.
Squli: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
[825] *sqwo'nn:* Loon.
stai-tl: Mountain goat marrow, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of preventing hunger.
[262] *Stalqalosum*, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks": *A'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
stälhmg; plural, stätälhmg; vocative plural, stätälhämg:
1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Äläläxl* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Sinxl* in the beginning of time.
4—Name created by *Smaaas* for a grandson.
5—*Sisook* name of a Kimsquit man.
[601] *stan:* Mother, term commonly used by an adult in indirect address.
[825] *ständabilam:* Bat.
ständimut: Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
[601] *stanänamts:* Elderly female relatives of the same ancestral family as the speaker.
[614] *steelt:* Whetstone.
Steets: Man mentioned in a story.
[412] *Step':* Mountain near *Tälio.*
stajam, "What Is Hidden": The correct solution of the Mystery dance.
stämmts: Archaic term for chiefs, now used only rhetorically.
[824] *skls:* Cranberry.

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sxqalikw': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
Sxē·tsxem: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
sxuq": That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
Sxitoma: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being. [513]
2—Sleep, intangible *kusiut* prerogative.
sxiusnăm: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [585]
Sxqwastlustkwi, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]
sx-pil: Shadow.
sxsqwmas: Hammer, *archaic.* [412]
sxhao: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law.
shiatmalks: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other. [601]
sxiha: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
sxip: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
shlks: 1—Caribou hide. [825]
2—Thong made of caribou hide.
shxem: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
sxuxdr: Caribou.
shms: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
Sihmsila: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
sihmstā or *sihmstănălos:* Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
sihmstaliktsta: Body.
sihmstănălosăm: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Sikwarwakimăn-a: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Sikwarwakanam: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
siska: Mountain goat grease. [824]
siskalaya: Castor.
Siskiui, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Slskls: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
slmăs: Octopus. [825]
Slsoaklas: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
slsqwasma: Red rock paint. [386]
slsla: Singer's baton.
slsulk: Text.
sllio-pass: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones. [823]
stulu: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
Stuax: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story. [262]
stutum: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
sutusalks: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
Sly', "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
sukwhl: Black raspberry. [824]
sulow: Ocean.

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Sqnqnesāxs: Supernatural children guarded by the hermaphrodite in the land above.
Sqsutl: Name taken by a *Stuax* man in the beginning of time.
sxtsugmutl: Place in stream or river where a salmon has just jumped.
sxwanāt·a: Name created upon earth. [825]
sxwapānitl: Deer.
sxwat: Water-tight receptacle made from the internal organs of a mountain goat. [415]
Sxwokmqnam, "What Sweeps Away the Food": First moon after the winter solstice. [805]
sywomaqs, "Tears": Preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch. [431]
sxw'ilāmkis, "Short-lived": Rhetorical term used with reference to the death of a young chief. [195]
syerwi: An adolescent girl, not yet subject to the full taboos of womanhood.

T

labālst: Cave.
lai: 1—Son, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for lads unrelated to the speaker. [601]
2—Masculine suffix.
Taiakwala: 1—One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuile·tl* in the beginning of time.
taiāmtmak: Desertion of husband by his wife. [586]
lain: Dorsal fin of a fish. [825]
taitaimq: Heavy kind of copper. [628]
taitamax: Tournament between rival villages. [101]
Tal·io: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Generic name applied to all villages on South Bentinck Arm.
Tāliokān·a: Nuxqual name embodied in a *Snuhsli* origin myth.
Tāmtāmslo·psta, "The Breather": One of *Tlitcāplilān·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Tamukua: Stuax man mentioned in an ancient story.
tāpānamtmm: The issuing abroad of invitations to a memorial potlatch. [824]
lāqax: Forest consisting of dense underbrush between big trees.
lāqul: Blood-stained cedar-bark pad.
tā·s: 1—Bird arrow.
2—Weapon, invisible to mortals, with which a wolf kills its prey.
Tāsā; vocative, Tāsao: 1—Designation of supreme god used in prayer. [601]
2—Father, term used by child. [824]
lālkānalp: Water-lily.
Ta·qa·xl: Land inhabited by the Kwakiutl.
Tānkwam: Leading chief of *Alqālul* and reputed founder of the village.
Taqqlexam: Bella Coola chief living in the last century.
lakax: Type of sea-going canoe with bow and stern identical. [825]
tamkwl·i: 1—White-fronted goose. [601]
2—Type of sea-going canoe named from the bird.
lamst: Husband (*di tulamstslai:* My husband).
tamra': River.
Tamrmathis: Chief who came to Cape Mudge in the beginning of time and later moved to Bella Coola.

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Taqwalaisla: Bella Bella chief mentioned in a semi-historical account.

[825] *Taxakl:* Northern tribe, possibly Haida.

łęli: Dog salmon.

Tsiałlimę, "Whose Feet Are Shortened": Village on shore of North Bentinck Arm west and north of the Necleetsconnay River.

tsęnęn·i: Owl.

[601] *tcai:* 1—Daughter, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for girls unrelated to the speaker.
2—Feminine suffix.

Tcakwaaks: 1—One of the names of Mount *Nusęlst* as chief.
2—Man who descended to Mount *Nusęlst* in the beginning of time.

Tcakwak: Supernatural name of bald eagle.

tcakwalotl: 1—Type of expansible house brought down from above by several of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
2—One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[825] *tcakwliwa:* White slug with black and red face.

[824] *tcałtcałuksum:* Pleasure walk.

tcałt^w: Cedar-bark.

[411] *tcā·n:* Sealing spear.

[825] *tcan:* Snake.

Tcaqoleks': Mountain near the Dean River.

Tcaqos: One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean River in the beginning of time.

[824] *tcatstaolp:* Red cedar tree.

Tcawat: Locality on mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island, *probably* Knight Inlet.

tcaxwanāt·aia: Unidentified grape-like tuber.

Tcalkwap: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[342] *tciba:* Underground house with entrance and flue combined.

Tciba: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.

Tciknutl: One of the first men to settle at *Alqalāxl* in the beginning of time.

[825] *tciman·i:* Large clam-shell.

Tcimlaix: Sisaok name of a *Sinxl* man.

Tcimtliax: Lad mentioned in an ancient story.

tcipsx: Fisher.

[601] *Tcitomdęlaię*, "The Sleep Giver": Name of a female shaman.

tci ęnes di emis: Nephew's wife, term of indirect address.

tci ęnes di sisi: Uncle's wife, term of indirect address.

Tcixwotl: Man mentioned in an ancient story of the upper Bella Coola valley.

Tcłusa: Celebrated Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

Tcał'laiyu, "He of the Penis": Nickname given to a lad mentioned in an ancient story.

tcmilk: Valley.

Tcmotl, "Where the River Covers the Stones": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Tcmęuk: Locality on Fitzhugh Sound.

[824] *Tcnisi:* Mountain in the Carrier country.

tcukurwtelp: Unidentified hollow-stemmed plant.

Tcukurwtelpa·ts, "Where There Is Much *tcukurwtelp*": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

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Wat·as: *Xixais* woman living in the beginning of time.
wals: Dog. [825]
wawnic: Dog, *archaic.*
wa·xsia: Cape of yellow cedar-bark. [291]
waxwaxtsia: Brother or sister of grandparent.
Wiakai: One of the first women to settle at *Snuloli* in the beginning of time. [601]
Wiaqaii: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Wikwan·ukwla: Synonym for *Kwla:* Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nuxalst* chief.
Wikwanuil: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
wina, vocative, winas: War-party.
Winās: Slave living at *Nuxalst* several generations ago.
winās di qak, "War-Party of the Ocean," or *winās di sā·ldjo·is,* "War-Party of the Tides": Supernatural being.
Winwina: Supernatural being who captured birds and fish for the benefit of mankind.
Winwinamak: Supernatural being, perhaps identified with one of the warm winds.
winxts: Assistance rendered by the inhabitants of a town to a neighbouring settlement being attacked. [628]
Wipitpawakis: Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time. [726]
Wisamkilak: *Smooan's* daughter-in-law in the beginning of time.
Wi'tālas: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Wilnlks: *Sisook* name of a Kimsquit man.
Wixat: Man who travelled to the Skeena River in the beginning of time.
Wixon: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
wl·a: *Kusiut* dance in which the nine supernatural siblings are summoned to earth.
Wlq: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Wlx: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
wlq: Cripple.

X

Xaiāqalil: Ancestral name of a *Tāl·io* man.
Xaiqts: Stream entering the Bella Coola from the north near *Nuilrax.* [821]
Xai·ull: Continuous North Wind, anthropomorphized.
xak'loi·: Cry raised as each of the first spring salmon is brought ashore. [226]
Xālaiya: Step-daughter of Raven in the beginning of time.
xaqānts: Great blue heron.
Xāt: Designation of a tribe, probably a branch of the Carriers, dwelling far to the south-east of the Bella Coola. [825]
xāraf: Canada goose.
ya·a: Root of *qāymāts,* an unidentified plant.
Xebalus: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Xelwotsaw·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xelimai: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
xem: The successive rising of the sun from day to day. This word, which is common in derivatives, appears usually to be pronounced *yem* after *s.* [821]
Xemewa: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Swaloli* in the beginning of time.

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Xemlaix: One of the first men to settle at *Qemqe·ts* in the beginning of time.
Xemtmm: Kusiut name of a *Slskiut* man.
Xemxemālotla: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Xemxemlaix: Sisaok name brought from above in the beginning of time.
Xemxemtmm: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqālxal* in the beginning of time.
[533] *xe·ila:* Boastful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.
Xedilkas: One of the first men to settle at *Qatuslas* in the beginning of time.
Xelāsu: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit woman. The designation is of Bella Bella origin.
[825] *'ewe:* Marten.
[412] *xilz:* Stone axe.
xilxl: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
[203] *Ximpdimut:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximmmlaix: A'alk man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximmmeslaix: Celebrated female shaman.
[821] *gmgmds·i, plural, gmgmdsokst:* Little girl.
[517] *Xmgmes:* 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.
Xnxais: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
Xnximān·a, "Right Foot": *Stuix* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
Xqis: Mountain in the Carrier country.
xxmānoās: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
xlāxtmm: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
xlānl: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
Xlikwals: Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[586] *xlokw·imut:* The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
Xmaxots: Locality below *Nusqalst.*
[825] *gmgmatsl:* Minnows.
[601] *gmes:* Woman, or wife in indirect address (*kei gmesaix:* My wife).
[614] *gmesāxta:* Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
gmesdām or *nugmesdām:* The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.
[423] *Xnutli:* Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
xokst: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
Xolāxwosem: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[785] *xoldjut:* Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[831] *Xomtsla:* Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Xomxemqa: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
Xmgustm: Supernatural scoop-net fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
Xqostls: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

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594 be made more powerful by magical means or the ritual acts of
869 relatives. Although these often entail great labour and expense, parents seldom neglect their duty; in fact, care for their children is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics, though the methods used are so foreign to the white man that he has difficulty in realizing their meaning. The hope of both
[847] parents is to have children to carry on their names; infanticide is unknown and the death of an infant is mourned almost as
[586] much as that of an adult. Sterility and impotency are frequent causes for divorce.

163 At the present time there is a high birth-rate in Bella
[165] Coola, although the heavy infant mortality prevents any appreciable increase in the population. In the old days, it is said, there were always large families, though much confidence cannot be placed in this statement. In families where there are
593 several children, the first-born, whether boy or girl, assumes an important position. His or her influence, as eldest, is naturally considerable, and the parents foster this through the vague feeling that it is proper for the eldest to be the most important in the family. In adult years, and after marriage, the influence of the eldest of a family continues to have considerable weight with younger brothers and sisters.

592 If a man is poor he cannot hope to have more than one wife,
556 and his family circle will be limited to their children, and per-
[595] haps to elderly parents. On the other hand, a wealthy and powerful man usually has a larger family. Not only may he have several wives, but his aged relatives, and those of his wife,
[602] look to him for support and assistance. Such are usually welcome to live in his house; they lend what aid they can in collecting food, and it gratifies a man's pride and sense of power to be closely surrounded by a large family. The Bella
[888] Coola are, on the whole, considerate to their aged relatives.[10]

[10]This is not true of the present. During the winter of 1923-4 a feeble old man,
[178] living alone, was often in actual want of food. Disliked and degraded, of a mean disposition himself, none of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were nephews, would take him into their houses. Commenting on this man's fate, several informants pointed out how, in the old days, such a one could have found

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The married sons of a chief usually live in his house, and if he is very powerful the husbands of his daughters may also reside with him. Such a man is at the zenith of power, surrounded by a close group, formed of elderly relatives, of children and grandchildren. Connections by marriage are also added to the family group. At the present time, for example, one Bella Coola man is looking after his brother's widow, and it is felt that she is a member of his family. 592 556 622 602

Another way in which a rich man can increase the size of his family is by adoption. Parents who have lost an infant may adopt the child of some member of the ancestral family of either father or mother. The matter is usually arranged soon after birth, and the transfer takes place immediately after weaning. The real parents are willing since they know that the adopting parents will be able to validate valuable prerogatives and names for the child, which they themselves are unable to do. This desire for their child's welfare overrules parental love. In such cases the real father or mother can likewise bestow names and other prerogatives on the child, who really becomes a member of two families. This is often done by an old couple whose own children have married and moved away, and who thus find themselves lonely. It is considered disgraceful for parents to allow their children to be adopted by anyone not a member of their ancestral family, since that would be an admission of inability to bring up a child in the path of his ancestors. 556 597 614 [888]

"Your father was not strong," could be said to such a child as a reproach.

In the case of an orphan some wealthy relative is almost always ready to adopt him. Consequently, as he grows up, he receives his full share of the ancestral origin myth, and the names embodied therein, so that the loss of his own parents is of little consequence in the course of life. Occasionally a child is not adopted by relatives, and then his fate is indeed hard. 736 597

shelter in the house of any chief, and shared in the food which was being distributed at the almost continuous ceremonial feasts. Now, each family lives alone and so one feels any responsibility for this old man. [178]

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as far as incest rules are concerned. In this particular instance 597
the woman did not show any interest in her new relatives, failed to visit them, or to take part in their ceremonies, so that the adoption, though still legal, has practically lapsed. When [428]
this man dies his children will not consider the claims of their father's "sister" to inherit any of his possessions, as they would have done if she had showed herself appreciative of her adoption.

It will thus be seen that the size and composition of the 592
family vary according to the wealth and influence of the father. The duties of the members are difficult to define since they concern almost entirely the routine of life. The father, head of the family, directs the gathering of firewood, repair of the house, obtaining of food supplies, and other matters of the same sort. If he gives a potlatch his children must help him, [431]
which they do willingly since they gain from the ceremony. If a father is too autocratic, his older, especially his married children, simply move away. Nor is his power over his younger [602]
children unbounded, since their mother's relatives take great interest in their welfare and would resent any ill-treatment.

If a person is killed or wounded, revenge is the affair of his 593
family. Just how many individuals are involved depends on 627
the composition of the family. In the case of the killing of a 682
child, living with his parents alone, none but the father would feel it incumbent to retaliate. If an adult person is murdered, his or her brothers feel and avenge the insult. But should an important member of the community be slain, an old man surrounded by a numerous family, it is the affair of all. Every effort is made to slay the murderer, but if he should escape from the country, the injured group is satisfied by killing one of his family. Here again the same inexact composition is found. A man's son, brother, or father are the only persons [671]
strictly liable, and even here the common sense of the Bella Coola outweighs their theoretical laws. A murderer's brother, living in another village, would not be held liable; but more distant relatives living with the offender and considered as his
family are liable.

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differentiate between cross- and ortho-cousins, and the unsystematic groupings of nephews and nieces show "family," as opposed to classificatory, principles. Finally, rhetorical terms for the ancestral family, for many ancestors, and many descendants, correspond to the importance of a large number of relatives in Bella Coola thought. 601 [602]

In many parts of the world the classificatory system of relationship occurs where the community is divided into clans. The occurrence of some of these features among the Bella Coola raises the question of whether or not they should be regarded as survivals from an earlier clan form of social organization. The Bella Coola may once have had clans, but their relationship system does not furnish any real evidence to this effect. The reciprocal terms really have the significance, "Relation by marriage of the same generation," or "of a generation once removed," a form of address which does not require explanation in any ancient form of social organization. Moreover, the importance of the eldest child, as potential transmitter of the glories of the ancestral family, is sufficient reason for differentiating brothers and sisters in terms of their relative ages. This feature suggests that in former times this was more important than it has been in the recent past. It is not implied that the Bella Coola never had a clan system, as such may have been the case many generations ago, but their kinship terminology can be explained without that hypothesis. The somewhat wide application to cousins of terms which are properly limited to brothers and sisters may easily have been derived from a process of copying. The Bella Coola are well acquainted with the clan system of the northern coastal tribes, so that it is by no means impossible, or unlikely, that they should have adopted the principle of applying the same kinship term to many individuals, and hence to members of their own ancestral families. Finally, the somewhat vague and unsystematic application of terms to relatives according to whether or not they are members of the immediate family, is a feature not at all surprising in view of the essential fluidity of Bella

601 614 178 [561] [177] 601

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Coola say that the return of the dead "washes away grief," 556* and unquestionably it has a comforting effect on the mind of 769 the donor of the potlatch.

(3) Wealth. Unless a man has the necessary goods with 476 which to make presents he cannot invite guests, no matter how 556* important may be his ancestral myths and names. Some of 602 this wealth he may be able to amass by his own labours, but unless he is assisted by his wife's family it is virtually impossible for him to succeed. The Bella Coola believe that a man [583] cannot become a chief except through large payments made [622] by a woman's family when they "rebuy" her from her husband. In other words, no man can succeed without the support of his wife. In choosing a mate a man is guided almost entirely by [581] the ability of her family to give him financial support. In some cases an elderly couple assist a married son to give a potlatch, this custom, though considered quite proper, is not common.

(4) Supernatural assistance. To the Bella Coola this is 556* quite as important as the preceding. One man may work very 787 hard but his efforts are never crowned with success, whereas another man will prosper in every venture. This is due to the supernatural attributes given by the supreme god to the latter. By prayer, ceremonial chastity, and other means, a man may increase the powers granted to him, but if these are entirely lacking, he can never hope to rise to the position of chief.

PRELIMINARIES

In describing the potlatch, it will be convenient to refer to 556* the donor as X, and assume him to be a middle-aged member of the *nsaak* society, whose seat and name, though duly ratified, lack importance through his previous failure to give large presents.

For a number of years X has prospered. He has amassed quantities of skins, blankets, tools, copper ornaments, clothing, canoes, baskets, dentalium shell, slaves, and other valuables.

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855 rebuked. They grow up in the open environment of the
[861] houses, absorbing more of their lore by watching and imitat-
[854] ing than by actual instruction. Their care devolves chiefly on the mother, although at any ceremony the father will be seen arriving with the baby in his arms, while his wife leads another child. Nurses are unknown and the parents take their children with them on all occasions; if it is necessary for a mother to be absent on some arduous toil, her child will be entrusted to a grandmother or other elderly relative.
606 There are no avoidances between the young people and their parents-in-law.

602 The obligation of present-giving does not stop with the
431 marriage ceremony. Whenever X gives a *hasiwi* dance or other ceremony, Y's relatives are expected to contribute. It is felt that the weight of the presents given them during the period of engagement and at the wedding has become too heavy, and they throw this off by lavish giving. No count is kept of the value of gifts bestowed or received, though it is known that the family of the woman loses financially in the end. The father of many daughters is regarded as an unfortunate individual, who is always poor and overworked through the necessity of
[554] providing for them. By so doing, however, he increases his own prestige, and the Bella Coola have the happy sentiment that such a man manages to get along some way; perhaps necessity rouses his ambition. Likewise X's relatives contribute to any ritual carried out by Y's father. If, for example, one of his wife's relatives dies, X and his friends may wish to contribute towards the funeral expenses. In fact, any cere-
[556] monial serves as an excuse for relatives by marriage to donate goods and thus demonstrate publicly their influence, importance, and generosity.

602 The concept of mutual help between families who have
476 intermarried is one that lasts for generations. In 1922 there was in Bella Coola an old Kimsquit man who had left home some forty years earlier and had since lived in Smith Inlet where he married and had a boy. On the death of his wife, this

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old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language. 602 476

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of rights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *favorite*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that sacred names can never be transferred in this manner. 606 494 425 [715] [575] [553] [575]

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be avenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a 593 [602] [627] [627] [432] [48]

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A man who is giving a ceremony of any kind can offer his greatest insults to his wife's relatives than contribute to sub their assistance. The following is a good instance of such an insult:

About 1900 a man and woman were married and had three children. Then the mother died, before being repurchased from her husband. In addition, the husband had assisted his wife's father when one of his younger children had died; so that it was most fitting that the wife's relatives should contribute to any ceremony given by the husband. Four years later the husband proposed to marry once more, and to have the wedding occur at a potlatch. But on the day of ceremony, he insulted the relatives of his dead wife by failing to invite them. The cause of the feud was not disclosed, but the husband increased it by again failing to invite her family when, during the potlatch, they should have sponsored her for the benefit of his young relatives about to be initiated into the ranks of the cousil. The father of the dead woman came forward unannounced with a large pounce for such, saying in effect:

"I, too, have a right to contribute to add prestige to my daughter and her children."

In this way he defeated the wiles of his son-in-law who had hoped to shame his father-in-law by the failure of the latter to contribute to his potlatch. The son-in-law endeavoured to excuse himself by saying that his his wife's relatives had not assisted for so long that he thought they would not wish to do so. This cause further increased the father of the dead woman so that next day he and his wife publicly gave the dance of the potlatch KMS "to make clear where we sit."

This somewhat lengthy description has been necessary to explain the important part which the repurchase of wives plays in the lives of the Bella Coola; it is one of the fundamentals of society and is, therefore, worthy of attention.

DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

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Either death or divorce can terminate marriage. The decease of a wife is an unfortunate affair, quite apart from the grief which it may cause her husband. Two families have been brought into peculiarly close relations through her, and now the bond itself has snapped; delicate financial arrangements have been undertaken, and it is not easy to settle these without dishonor, particularly if the alliance was a return marriage. If no child has been born, and no repurchasing of the wife

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this rite is neglected no more salmon will come to the river. No precautions are necessary after the food has been digested. 764 [125]

Many men prepare their coffins before death. If this has not been done, a large, wooden box is provided by a kinsman of the deceased. The body is dressed in good clothing and bound into a squatting position, head between knees, hands clasped around shins, and the haunches just above the level of the soles of the feet. In this posture it is thrust into the coffin. Particularly if the corpse has been brought from some distance and *rigor mortis* has set in, it may be necessary to break the back-bone and even to crush the skull before the box can be closed. A stone is placed on the back of the neck, within the coffin, to prevent the ghost from returning to haunt the survivors. A little choice food is placed beside the body of a dearly loved child for nourishment during the journey to the next world. 763 [402] [775]

From this point onwards, the funeral rites differ according to the rank of the deceased. On the death of an influential *xaxal*, the senior members of that society meet as soon as possible to arrange the dramatization of the coming of *Mulelela*. A *xaxal* son, brother, or other near relative is always present even if he has little importance in the affairs of the society. If the death has taken place during the night, the conference is held the following morning and the rites begin at noon. There may be delay until all have gathered, but about the middle of the first possible day two *xaxal* are seen up one of the mountains behind the village. They carry large, cone-shaped whistles which they blow twice. The sound is plainly audible in the village and all, whether or not members of the *xaxal* society, recognize that a supernatural being is drawing near. After a short interval, another whistle is blown by a *xaxal* concealed on the roof of the house in which the corpse is lying, and after another pause the same sound comes from within, beside the body itself. Most of the uninitiated know that this is the voice of *Mulelela* (also called *Sisiutlpawaxa*), 375 766 [776]

177 771 [181] fathers. Inherited beliefs are too deep-rooted to pass away entirely within a few generations. Even those who claim to have adopted the new faith remain convinced of the potency of magic, and of the existence of those supernatural creatures which do not actively conflict with the white man's creed. Such lack of consistency is a world-wide trait, particularly intelligible among the Bella Coola whose philosophy abounds in contradictions, dependent upon statements handed down in the origin myths of different families.

626 [181] [622] The Bella Coola are constrained not only by the omnipresence of supernatural beings; they are constantly subjected to the influence of their fellows. They are far less individualistic than white people. A chief may boast that he can do as he pleases, that he can disregard the restrictions of lesser men; he often does so, but only because public opinion recognizes that he has reached a position of eminence by giving many potlatches. The duly validated warrior is brave because he feels that everyone is aware of his valour. The man who performs some ceremony in accordance with an ancestral myth [703] [76] incorporates himself with his forbears, and is strengthened by the conviction that he has gained their support and approbation. In every phase of life, a person is profoundly affected by the approval or disapproval of his neighbours. At present 177 626 342 the construction of small houses, each occupied by a single family, makes it possible for a man to hide himself, or to do work unknown to the rest of the community. This lessens the force of public opinion, although it is even now more potent than conscience in checking anti-social acts. Formerly, in communal houses, every action was fully known, making individual freedom of thought and act virtually impossible. A man [602] is chiefly influenced by his relatives who take a great share in what the white man would consider purely family affairs. The effect of the group upon the individual must not be overlooked, nor can it be over-stressed in a study of these people.

177 626 182 561 The education and conversion of the younger men have enormously lessened their reliance upon their fellows. In former

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[577] [124] edly until complete confidence was established, simplifying work in the field to an enormous extent. Equal trust could be placed on these men in other respects; articles of value were repeatedly left in their houses with the absolute certainty that they would be guarded with care. Some few individuals there were, however, who were neither honest nor trustworthy. [177] [62] Bella Coola religion is not concerned with ethics, but public opinion demands honour in dealing with relatives or friends. [577] [42] [602] [177] In former times, for example, debts incurred by an individual were considered a liability by his relations. If a man died after having goods on credit for a potlatch, his family were disgraced if they failed to pay his bills; now, unfortunately, nothing constrains the younger people, many of whom try to avoid settling even their own debts, much less those of dead relatives. Individual conscience has not replaced the tribal and, more specifically, family influence. [648] [177] Dishonesty in small matters is not uncommon, particularly in dealing with white people who, according to the Bella Coola, were the first to transgress. The older people bitterly lament the lack of morality of the younger and state, probably with entire justification, that they would have been prevented by the open life which prevailed when several families shared a single house. On the whole, however, the average Bella Coola is probably no less honest than the average white man.

[153] [124] Individuals vary enormously in mental ability. In making the investigation, it was necessary to interview all the older people of the tribe. Disregarding those unwilling to provide information, it was found that some absolutely lacked the ability to explain matters with which they were familiar; some did not have sufficient patience to be good teachers; some were so forgetful that they would omit necessary points in a story or account; some were downright stupid, whereas others displayed mental ability of no mean order. In reading ethnological literature, one is apt to think of the troubles experienced by the author, and to overlook the fact that natives have as

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105 of their omnipresence; the guiding force of public opinion is
182 seen as a check on individual licence, fostered or inculcated by
[626] the ties which hold together ancestral families and make it impossible for a man to lead an isolated life where others will not be affected by his actions. If the white man is willing to receive new ideas, he will learn much from the comments of the Bella Coola on his own customs. Many have been to
[556] Victoria or Vancouver, and they feel that the contrasts of wealth observable in such big cities are atrocious; they ask how this is compatible with Christianity. They feel that it is
[602] unnatural for a man not to receive support from his cousins of
[356] all degrees; that the hoarding of wealth for the mere gratification of personal desires is selfish; that the selling of land is extraordinary; and that failure to ascribe every incident to supernatural causes is sacrilegious. These differences of viewpoint on so many matters explain the first impression of strangeness. A careful investigator comes to realize that he is among a people who fundamentally differ but slightly from his compatriots, though outwardly they have little in common. With respect to love, ambition, parental affection, sense of honour, pride, intelligence, even humour and vanity, the Bella Coola are essentially similar to ourselves. Unfortunately, these characteristics are expressed in ways unintelligible and often repellant to the casual traveller. If he will only look beneath the surface, he will find a people who are neither saints nor sinners, but essentially human, with the faults and follies as well as the elements of strength and wisdom which comprise, as Kipling puts it, "Men in a world of men."

177 The coming of the white civilization has been cataclysmic
[161] to the Bella Coola. Within two generations they have been
[36] reduced to a mere handful; instead of living in scattered villages, roaming the mountains for game and fishing at will, they now dwell in a single settlement and the taking of animals and fish is subject to law; the introduction of metal tools and mechanical appliances has revolutionized their mode of life; new foods, new clothing, new furniture has altered their living conditions; fermented drink has presented a factor unknown

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of the father or the mother. In June, 1922, a Bella Coola girl had reached the age of about six months without having received a name. There was much adverse criticism about the parsimony of her father's father and her mother's father, who were held equally to blame, but who had really been deterred by fear of the law prohibiting the potlatch. 612 614 553

As a child grows older he is helped in the performance of ceremonial rites by his parents and by their brothers and sisters. In this, too, it is considered a mark of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his ancestral family, he has no hesitation in favouring the children of either a brother or sister, since, like his own, they are all members of the same ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit[11] it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children; not that there is any lack of knowledge of the real father, but rather as a mark of respect and family feeling displayed by a man to his sister. Moreover, in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is most improper for a name which a man has raised to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much goods to be passed to his own son; it should go to a distant relative. When a father validates a name for his child it should be one long dormant. 593 604 852 [558] [614] [553]

One aspect of the manner in which the family merges imperceptibly into the ancestral family can be seen in the inheritance of names. When a man calls his relatives together to make his will he is guided in the choice of recipients by the characteristics of his children. An able son receives much from his father, but lazy children are slighted without hesitation. This is particularly true of names with which are bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whereas, as previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the importance depends 593 614 428 553

[11]According to an intelligent Bella Coola informant, a Bella Bella pays greater attention to the children of his brothers and sisters than to his own offspring, and the same man expressed the opinion that the Kimsquit practice was due to Bella Bella influence. Kimsquit informants denied this, though emphasizing the important part taken by an uncle in obtaining prerogatives for his sisters' children, in some cases to the detriment of his own, which is rare in Bella Coola. [184] [177]

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bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name. The speaker always recounts the whole myth before announcing which portion of it is transmitted to X as a prerogative. It is understood that this transference will be duly validated by presents to X when he gives his potlatch. Such are termed *dzämänumtnum* and signify the repurchase of a wife from her husband. Though this is known to be a fiction it has extreme social importance. Unless *dzämänumtnum* is paid there is an ineradicable blot upon the children; in fact, it is one of the essentials of a legal marriage. All prerogatives thus transferred on *xläxtnum* become the property of X and will in time pass to his children, unless recalled to the wife's family by further repurchase (*dzämänumtnum*) money or goods. In this fashion elements of family myths become scattered, and one of the considerations in choosing a wife is to select a woman able to bring back some missing part of the husband's myth. 556* 425 583 [581]

The usual present is an ancestral name, which X henceforth uses as potlatches as his most distinguished title, though the myth in which it is incorporated does not belong to him. As long as the name remains in X's family those who originally owned it are unable to make use of it. Such a name is said to be "dragged across" by the wife to her husband, the immense weight or importance of the designation being compared with the dragging of a heavy log. Occasionally, the father of a married woman, animated by the kindliest feelings towards his son-in-law, may give him outright a myth with all the names embodied therein. This can happen only where there are no other survivors of the family. In such a case when the myth is recounted it must always be mentioned how it has been obtained. The number and type of the prerogatives transferred depend upon the sentiments with which his wife's family regard X. If, in addition to being a worthy man, he is member of their ancestral family, or of one with which his wife's has frequently intermarried, so that in course of generations prerogatives have intermingled, there is less objection to giving him such rights than if he were an unrelated individual. [553] [551] 556* 425 606 553

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* 556 A man may receive so many prerogatives with regard to house
425 painting that he has to continue the designs on the sides of his
dwelling, or he may receive so many figures for a totem-pole
[606] that he can erect one of composite pattern. X may acquire
[532] prerogatives not only from his father-in-law, but from his
mother-in-law, and if he is the husband of several wives, the
family of each may contribute something. If, for some inex-
plicable reason, X is not given any prerogative from the family
of his wife, he uses one of his own ancestral myths with the
names belonging thereto. A man who gives many potlatches
can choose to validate numerous family names for himself, or
to concentrate on one alone, elevating it to a position of great
importance. But any names he validates must belong to his
[685] family; it is contrary to custom for a Bella Coola to steal a
name to which he has no right.

*556 At this, or some other suitable time, X prays for assistance
782 in the complicated rites that are to follow. Taking four pieces
of pounded and dyed cedar-bark, and four pieces of undyed
bark, he places on each a small quantity of food and throws
the eight into the fire. Likewise he may throw in four small
pieces of any kind of goods. As he does so he appeals to the
supreme god:

"Please strengthen my spirit for the many duties which are before me."

Instead of praying himself, X may ask a shaman to do so
[756] for him, in the belief that the latter's supplication will be more
efficacious.

* 556 The necessity for supernatural assistance lies in the fact
688 that any serious error or disaster in the performance of potlatch
628 rites calls for summary punishment, since X has allowed cere-
monial *susook* knowledge to reach the uninitiated. In such a
case the duty of meting out a penalty falls upon the members
of a foreign tribe. Nothing is said at the time, but the de-
parting guests take away with them information of what has
happened. Great latitude is allowed as to who shall be the
chastisers. The guests may be related to X and the members

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211 example, there is a description of his totem-pole with a ball
*556 at the top, and beneath it an eagle's nest containing two fledg-
778 lings towards which a grizzly bear is endeavouring to climb.
532 This is the only known instance of a pole on which the different figures stand in definite relationship to one another. No explanation is offered beyond the statement that this was the form used by *Ālkwi* in the beginning of time. Another ancient
[773] pole, used by one of the ancestral families of *Sinxl*, consists of a simple shaft surmounted by a sphere; this represents a mountain which enters into their ancestral myth as supporting the sky.

As with all features embodied in ancestral myths, a chief can use his own discretion in cases where he has a choice of
[431] design. A totem-pole with specific figures is a common pre-
[622] sent from a chief to his son-in-law, and it is a mark of respect
[606] for the latter to use and validate this at the first opportunity, in preference to one belonging to his own ancestral family. Since the pole erected at a potlatch may have no association with the ancestral name and myth of the donor, the underlying principle in all cases is that the value of the pole depends upon the quantity of gifts distributed to validate its erection. One man mentioned an instance in which he had become confused with regard to the proper design for the totem-pole connected with his ancestral myth, and had used one belonging to a second myth in association with a name from the first. Both were his property, the transaction was duly validated, and the matter passed off without question. It is possible that the
[183] decay of custom which has followed the coming of the white man may have been partly responsible for this error, which was regarded as a somewhat stupid, though not improper mistake; yet it is clear that even when designs are remembered as portions of ancestral myths, they can be alienated from them and validated as isolated objects in the same manner as names and all other features of ancestral myths.

More often, the exact details of a pole are not included in the ancestral myth and a chief wishing to have one erected can

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855 rebuked. They grow up in the open environment of the
[861] houses, absorbing more of their lore by watching and imitat-
[854] ing than by actual instruction. Their care devolves chiefly on the mother, although at any ceremony the father will be seen arriving with the baby in his arms, while his wife leads another child. Nurses are unknown and the parents take their children with them on all occasions; if it is necessary for a mother to be absent on some arduous toil, her child will be entrusted to a grandmother or other elderly relative. There are no avoidances between the young people and their
●606 parents-in-law.

602 The obligation of present-giving does not stop with the
431 marriage ceremony. Whenever X gives a *kusiut* dance or other ceremony, Y's relatives are expected to contribute. It is felt that the weight of the presents given them during the period of engagement and at the wedding has become too heavy, and they throw this off by lavish giving. No count is kept of the value of gifts bestowed or received, though it is known that the family of the woman loses financially in the end. The father of many daughters is regarded as an unfortunate individual, who is always poor and overworked through the necessity of
[554] providing for them. By so doing, however, he increases his own prestige, and the Bella Coola have the happy sentiment that such a man manages to get along some way; perhaps necessity rouses his ambition. Likewise X's relatives contribute to any ritual carried out by Y's father. If, for example, one of his wife's relatives dies, X and his friends may wish to contribute towards the funeral expenses. In fact, any cere-
[556] monial serves as an excuse for relatives by marriage to donate goods and thus demonstrate publicly their influence, importance, and generosity.

602 The concept of mutual help between families who have
476 intermarried is one that lasts for generations. In 1922 there was in Bella Coola an old Kimsquit man who had left home some forty years earlier and had since lived in Smith Inlet where he married and had a boy. On the death of his wife, this

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old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language. 602 476

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *kusiut*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *nusuk* names can never be transferred in this manner. 606 431 425 [785] [575] [553] [575]

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a 593 [602] [627] [567] [432] [48]

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556 prerogatives he is transmitting, Y's father usually takes the
583 opportunity of stating that he wishes to hunt on X's hunting-
[425] grounds, or fish in his fishing-grounds. Permission is never refused, though it is only for the period of the potlatch. Since Y's father is to assist X, it is considered fitting to grant him facilities for obtaining pelts and food.

It is on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch that the goods are delivered. They serve six purposes, which can be described separately, although the Bella Coola usually think of them as being too closely associated for division.

(1) They increase the dignity, influence, and prestige of the donors. This theme needs no further elaboration. When X later gives these presents to his foreign guests, he announces the person from whom he has received them and in this way knowledge of the manner in which Y's relatives have upheld the dignity of the marriage is spread far and wide, to their intense gratification.

(2) They help X to rise to a position of influence in the community by the credit which comes to him from their later distribution. Though a man may acquire goods in various ways, the Bella Coola affirm that without contributions from his wife's relatives no man can become a chief.

(3) They validate the transmission of names or other prerogatives, taken by Y to her husband. Even presents given
[406] directly from father-in-law to son-in-law are always said to have been taken by the daughter to her husband.

(4) Indirectly, they increase the prestige of the children,
[534] either born at that time or who may appear later. None of the goods used for repurchasing their mother can actually be used for their benefit, but the whole rite gives them strength to succeed in life. A child whose mother has not been repurchased is said to be unable to walk, as if his legs were powerless; he lacks intelligence, and the ability to prosper. From the
[576] petty quarrels of childhood until old age, a person is proud to recall the number of times his mother was bought, and to thrust this statement in the teeth of those unfortunate.

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551 with respect to their appearance or actions on this earth. As
[553] far as could be learnt, the procedure of bestowal is identical with that just described. The following examples illustrate designations of this type:

Ānābsullānāmlaix, "The Resident Maker." In the begin-
[773] ning of time the wife of *Ṭaiakwala* had twins so often that the village rapidly increased in population. Accordingly she took this name for herself when she rebought herself from her husband. It was transmitted for generations in the ancestral family of *Ṭaiakwala*'s descendants until lent about one hundred years ago. The recipients claimed it as their own and passed it to a certain *Omqomkilika*, recently deceased, who gave it to her brother's daughter at the time of her marriage. Since this woman's husband has not yet given a potlatch the name is accordingly in a degraded condition at the present time (1923).

551 *Olliyaiya*, "I Am the Worthless One." The mother-in-law
578 of this woman had been in the habit of insulting her daughter-
606 in-law by saying, even when strangers were present:

"We have a worthless daughter-in-law."

On rebuying herself the woman advertised the rudeness of her husband's mother by throwing her words back in her teeth.

Nalalulaki, "I Am the One Whose Eyes Are Hungry." The mother-in-law of this woman used to eat without offering food to her son's wife.

Nakakuixodjāx, "The One Whose Haunches Are Dusty." Her mother-in-law did not give her a place to sit in the house so that she was forced to stay close to the fire in the ashes.

Kwilāxlaix, "The One Who Sits Where There Is No Space." Her mother-in-law objected to this woman sitting near her husband when he took his ceremonial seat, and insulted her with the above remark.

551 *Nuxaasa'as*, "The Stingy One." It was said that this
578 woman restrained her husband's generosity until he gained an unpleasant reputation for parsimony. She publicly shamed

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her husband's critics by taking this name for herself when she rebought herself from him. 551 578

Nu'aos, "The Inhospitable One." Her husband received this reputation owing to his wife's manners, so she advertised what had been said about him.

Nuphätslikän, "Heedlessly Deaf." This woman's mother-in-law claimed that she deliberately failed to hear what she was told to do, and applied the above epithet to her. The daughter-in-law confounded her by taking it as her own name. [606]

When a name of this type is assumed it is always announced when, where, and for what purpose it was first created. 553

A description has already been given of the actual ritual by which X bestows the goods acquired from the repurchase of Y, but it is necessary to enlarge on the prohibition against their use for the direct benefit of one of the children of the couple. The theory is that the goods bind the marriage contract and express in a practical and lofty form the kindly sentiments with which Y's relatives regard her husband, and the bond between the two families, hence they must be used solely for the benefit of him and his relatives. A man usually applies these goods to initiate the children of his brothers or sisters into the ranks of the *nuank* or *kwiat*. It is unthinkable for goods to be delivered without an exposition of Y's family's glories, but if this should ever take place, there would be no difficulty in applying them to the direct benefit of her children. When used, for example, to make a child of X's brother a *nuank*, he is a living testimony of the noble way in which Y's relatives have done that which is fitting for the family of her husband. Due to accidents in announcing and storing of presents, it sometimes happens that those obtained by the repurchasing of Y are used for the benefit of her own children. Unless this error is corrected, the child could always be shamed by having it said: 556 583 [558]

"You are a mere nobody. The goods expended in the

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588 556 mate object. Bella Coola financiers are always seeking to arrange such undertakings; the potlatch is the culminating point, but the same principle pervades their whole life.

It is to the advantage of the intending donor of a potlatch to become the fictitious husband of as many children as possible. Accordingly he sometimes take the initial step, as is customary for the relatives of the husband in real marriage, but not in ceremonial. In such a case it is necessary for him to offer some inducement, perhaps in the form of one of the few women's names brought to earth in the beginning of time. He approaches a suitable father-in-law, suggesting that at a fictitious marriage he would be willing to give his wife a noble woman's name. If this is agreeable, the rite is carried out accordingly. The wife is in many cases a son of the person to [551] whom the proposal was made; he duly receives a woman's name, the only circumstance under which this is possible. The actual designation will probably be returned through many repurchasings, but the boy has reached an enviable position. In later years he can always silence a person with whom he is quarrelling by saying:

"I need not answer you. You cannot even approach my body, so thickly am I padded with the goods which my father used when he rebought me."

Another business transaction of a similar nature is the giving of a small infant to an old person to "hold." This appears to be uncommon, and the only instance about which information was available occurred under the following circumstances:

556 608 558

A man and a woman were married with full ceremony and the best of feelings prevailed between the two families. The wife was several times rebought until she and her relatives had fully maintained their dignity, in fact the relatives of the husband felt that they were being out-shone. Then the wife's father died. To mark their sympathy, the husband's family gave the widow one of her daughter's children to "hold." Valuable non-returnable presents were transmitted as "soft

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blankets" for the child. The advantages to the donors were that they had an opportunity of showing their dignity, and it would always be a mark of pride for the child to be able to boast of the way in which she had been "held." 556 608 858

Ceremonial marriage clearly demonstrates two strong Bella Coola characteristics; namely, the desire publicly to enter into financial undertakings to demonstrate the wealth of the contracting party, and the desire to increase the prestige of children by means of this wealth expended indirectly on their behalf.

EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

Although the Bella Coola do not regard marriage primarily as a means of regulating relations between the sexes, yet the connection between the two is sufficiently close to warrant description in this chapter. A man considers intercourse as one of the normal phenomena of life: by marrying he has exclusive rights to his wife, but few moral restraints deter him from anyone else to whom he can gain access without infringing the prerogatives of some other husband. Moreover, sexual intercourse is not regarded solely as a gratification of desires; it has a significance which can be described, not inaptly, as holy. As already explained, two favourite methods of obtaining success in any undertaking are by preserving lengthy continence or by observing ceremonial chastity. If a young unmarried man or widower should wish to make use of this latter means, he is compelled to have relations with a woman to whom he has no just claims. This is universally recognized, nor is there the slightest odium attached to the man. The only essential is that he neither violate another's wife, nor force a young girl against her will. 581 831 837

At the present time there is great laxity in Bella Coola, a condition which makes it difficult to judge the state of affairs in former times. Every effort was made to obtain satisfactory evidence, and the following was verified and re-verified with the older men. [128]

A wife, properly married with full ceremony, was usually 837 839

others. This differentiated them clearly from all neighboring tribes.

B. Ceremonial. A member of a secret society in any of the above towns was accepted as a member in any other one. A person of another tribe, even if known to belong to a comparable society, was treated as an uninitiated person.

C. Origin and Relations. The people of Bella Coola, *Talio*, and Kimsquit felt themselves to be akin through acceptance of the fact that their ancestors had been created together in the beginning of time. This marked them off with great clearness from all other tribes, especially from the Carriers of the interior. This belief formed a sentimental and religious bond of great strength.

Neighboring Tribes

It is desirable to describe, briefly, the tribes with which the Bella Coola came in contact.

The Carriers

East of Bella Coola, amid the mountains of the interior, roved the Carriers. In summer they often came down to the river valley to fish or trade for salmon, and in winter they were sometimes forced by cold and starvation again to visit the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, or Rivers Inlet people. There was a good deal of intermarriage between them and the inhabitants of the upper valley, so that the wanderers were able to spend the cold months with relatives. Now the less, the Bella Coola considered these people utterly foreign in habits and beliefs, and to call a man a "Carrier" was, and still is, a deadly insult. The Carriers lacked the rich ceremonial life of the coastal peoples who, therefore, regarded them with scorn and contempt. The presence of a few of the much-despised Carriers was, however, almost necessary to the correct performance of the winter dances since they were uninitiated spectators whom it was necessary to impress and delude.

The *ulki* returns to the house and tells the guests that Malakhi has indeed been sent and has promised to return later on. Those who are not sound, being cowed in the belief concerning the omnipresence of supernatural beings and ignorant of the carefully concealed whistles, readily credit the tale that they have heard the voice of a deities of the land above, whose language is intelligible to the *ulki*. Thus is the supernatural element of the potlatch first called forth.

After a final distribution of food, the guests return to their homes.

THE [illegible] OF [illegible]

As a potlatch valuable presents are given to the foreign guests, but it is unthinkable for the donee to give to his fellow-villagers. Accordingly, if X desires to display his generosity towards them, he does so at a preliminary ceremony, when he begins the initiation, or re-initiation, into the sound society of any number of young people. After elaborate counting and re-counting of his goods, both those actually stored in his house and those promised,* X decides that he has sufficient to initiate, for example, seven neophytes. His first choice will be his own children, failing them, the sons and daughters of a brother or sister, or of his wife's relations, or, if none of these are available, those of a friend. X does not gain any pecuniary advantage from such a transaction, in fact he loses, but the prestige attached outweighs this consideration.

"Is it not the privilege of a chief to be generous?" say the Bella Coola.

The neophytes, the parents of those whom he has selected, always members of old-established families. As it is to the social advantage of a young person to be a sonth, a father usually calls X a sound name, dowered to his family, which he wishes to have conferred on his son, and how much he is willing to contribute for the purpose. In many cases, a man will

* The sale of the new sounds, whether are frequent, giving rise to heated bargaining from friends to make up the necessary amount.

[illegible]
[illegible]
Bulletin. [illegible]

Other people had come down to earth at the same time as Kisin-a, and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of Cox Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, as usual, and laughed heartily to find her made of cotton wool. They looked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they seated themselves in the place, worked diligently at the blanket and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and left themselves.

Soon Kisin-a returned. He unbarred the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that the fire burnt her head, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. At this the two girls who were hiding here ran laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to Kisin-a that he choose one of them for his wife. He agreed, selected the older and married her. He built a house on a hilltop where they lived and to which he called people from far and near when he gave a potlatch.

Sound Origin Myths

In already sound, many sound names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the sound origin myth is the same as the personal myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or taken it from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were obtained which deal solely with the acquisition of a sound prerogative. We doubt this is chiefly as the neighborhood by the [illegible] sounds were [illegible] been derived from the Bella Bella.

THE CHIEF OF THE *Kamik* WOMEN, *Tsnqamqi-ugalmat*[illegible]

Almost that, a party of *Kamik* Indians[illegible] came the winter to Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg on [illegible]

[illegible] to Indian Hands.

He was naturally so chosen the wife. According to the Bella Coola there are also in the Cariboo, but have adopted the use of [illegible]

that he was unable to return home. A young Bella Coola woman charitably took the injured man into her house, but though she tended him with care, the injury did not heal properly, and he was crippled for life. He used to work around the house as light chores, but was unable to perform any hard work, and was virtually adopted into the family, though, belonging land to Bella Coola, he could never acquire any real status there. After remaining for more than five years the cripple became ill, and realized that he was about to die. In gratitude to the woman who had sheltered him, he asked her to use his scarlet cloak, ornamented moccasins, for one of her children, if she ever had any. Soon afterwards, the stranger died. The woman's family paid for his burial, and it was recognized that the cloak, with such scarlet, belonged to them. In later years it was duly validated with potlatch, for the benefit of her son from whom this account was obtained.

The myth is as follows:

Long, long ago, a number of the men of Alert Bay were playing on the shore of Alert Bay, not far from a village. One of them, happening to look upwards, was surprised to see falling down from a great height a canoeful of the long timbers which grow on the upper leg of an eagle. This idly wondered who would get it, and passed this together, vaguely to struggle, forcibly, for the prize, but it slipped from unprotected hands, and fell on the head of one of the boys. There, to the consternation of all, he was lifted from the ground, as if the feather had been a weapon throwing the dart. One of the friends seized the victim and tried to pull him down, but in vain; moreover, he found that he could not release his grasp. A third had grasped the foot of the would-be rescuer, but he too was lifted from the ground. One other another tried to pull down the friends, but were unable to do, until finally the last man was drawn down by the latter, each holding the legs of the one above him. Nothing was ever heard of them.

A few years later the father of the boy on whom the feather had fallen gave a potlatch, at which he used this event as a crest theme for one of his surviving children. A crest representing the sun was used to the belief that the supernatural being there would have caused such an event, and the crest appeared through intermarriage with the crest people of the Thunder Bird. That boy is still in his 50s in the north of Bella Coola, but, as no Bella Coola has ever seen them, this reliability can be placed on the statement

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body became eagle down and was wafted upwards is psycho- 575
logically of the type which might serve as basis for a rite of 766
this kind. If the descendants of the person to whom this had 424
happened had dramatized the incident at subsequent deaths, [775]
a ceremony analogous to the one here described would have arisen.

DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When 764
possible, it takes place on the day following death, but as
many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the
performance of the rite just described. Another reason for
postponement is the absence of near relatives; if they can be
summoned within four or five days, the funeral may be delayed
until their arrival. There is always endless discussion con-
cerning the exact details; all relatives and members of the
deceased family take part, though the wishes of a son, brother, [796]
or other near kinsman are usually followed. In this, as in so
many points of Bella Coola ritual, an influential chief often [554]
controls the desires even of those who are more closely related
to the deceased.

Shields announce the hour chosen,[1] usually about noon, [203]
and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even [609]
strangers being welcome. Women wail dolorously, and another
indication of the occasion is the bundles containing clothing,
cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead
person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when
everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once,
with a cane; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed
and a sale made in one of the front corners of the house,
through which the men throw out the stone. The women
redouble their lamentations as an old woman, previously
asked to do so, lights a bundle of dyed and undyed cedar-bark
and rides through the opening carrying this. No request
has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong men, especially

[1] This does at present, even after the carrying away of the "body." In former times it is mentioned when the corpse was actually buried by the canoe. [775]

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211 stone and served as landing-place for some of the first settlers.
556 In fact, any of the dead person's crests may be used according
764 to the wishes of the chief giving the memorial potlatch. A
769 figure displayed in this way cannot be used as the guise in which the dead relative returns, but as every individual has several crests, inability to use one does not make it difficult to carry out the rite. According to one well-informed old man, when a design has once been used in a cemetery it cannot again be shown by members of the ancestral family, having itself become "dead." Other informants flatly contradicted this statement, and it seems clear that the above is true only with regard to the use of the figure in connection with the return of the deceased. The erection of the figure serves to remind all beholders, especially foreign guests summoned to the memorial potlatch, of the ancestral myth of the deceased. It is, there-
[778] fore, equivalent to a totem-pole erected during a man's lifetime, in fact, one of these is sometimes moved to the cemetery to serve as a memorial-post (see Plate 11). Instead of placing a representation of the crest in the cemetery, one is sometimes painted on broad boards and placed on some conspicuous promontory where all who pass by will see it and think of the person commemorated.

The second type of memorial consists of plain poles set upright in the cemetery, one for each major ceremony given by the deceased. Potlatches, memorial potlatches, and *kakaxtsa* (II, p. 19) are alone indicated in this way, these being the only
[Lost] ones to which foreign guests are invited. These poles suggest, in a general way, the greatness of the deceased.

The third type of memorial-post comprises representations of the goods given away by the deceased. These are usually
[532] painted on boards attached to a post set up near the grave. On this are pictures of canoes, cippers, slaves, and other valuables distributed at potlatches or memorial potlatches (see Plate 12). Alternatively, there may be a series of small poles, each surmounted by a model canoe manned by miniature human figures, symbolic of a canoe and slaves given away

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(see Plate 25). So, too, wooden representations of coppers are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are commemorated in this way, a father often places over his daughter's grave pictures of the goods used to ransom her from her husband; wooden plaques representing coppers are commonly used for this purpose.[*] Such symbols are usually cut down after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for them to remain standing too long. The function of this type of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person, judged by the riches given away by him, or on his behalf, during his life-time. With the introduction of writing, the Bella Coola have been quick to recognize it as an easy means for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In consequence, signs are often painted and erected, giving in figures a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent introduction has been the tombstone. One of these is often set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate his memory, and a representation of his crest to record his ancestral history. Such a memorial combines the functions of the first and third types.

As the carpenters labour at the memorials, other arrangements for the ceremony proceed apace. As at a potlatch, the fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited repeatedly to his house for the performance of sacred dances, but this feature is often omitted, especially if there are no neophytes to be initiated. The mask to be worn by the deceased relative must be prepared in secret; or if several are to be commemorated at the single ceremony, one must be made ready for each. As the time drawn near, envoys are dispatched to invite foreign guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This has been customary for many years, but during the period when no features of the potlatch were allowed at a memorial potlatch, the latter was sometimes carried out in the presence of the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the

[*] The National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, has specimens of these wooden coppers.

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537 viewed by the presence of welcome guests. Mention is fre-
& 536 quently made of the journey taken by the dead man to the
969 scenes of his ancestral myths. In addition to being an orator,
[622] the speaker must also be a *sumit* chief, since it is felt that none other can have the necessary assurance and poise to refer to these most sacred and important subjects. During the speech, assistants blow eagle down over the heads of all present.

Food has been prepared in advance, and as soon as the speaker has finished, the heralds call the guests to partake of it. The first course is then distributed, smoked salmon mixed
[264] with oolachan grease. Speeches are sometimes delivered during this part of the meal, as well as at the second course, cranberries with more oolachan grease. If the guests have arrived during the afternoon, there is no delay between the feast and the ritual that follows, but if they have come during the morning, there is a gap until the evening. Visitors usually time their arrival for the early part of the afternoon.

537 The next event is a speech from one of the foreign chiefs,
& 536 phrased in grandiloquent terms similar to those used by the
969 Bella Coola orator. He speaks of the manner in which the
● 609 supernatural Carpenters have hurried the deceased, but reminds
533 his hearers that this is because *Alpentlow* has decreed it, therefore all must be for the best. He refers to the dead man's crest, and to the manner in which this guise will be available to him. During the day, the singers have been careful to learn the tune of a mourning song used by the ancestral family of each foreign chief likely to speak. This they now hear one, often assisted by some of the guests, and always accompanied by their singing. No one dances to accompany the song; it is merely a careful mark of sympathy, implying that the speaker himself knows the grief occasioned by death, and, also, that he too is sufficiently important to be able to use a mourning song. If, as is usually the case, there is more than one influential chief in the party, a second rises to speak, repeating in different terms the sentiments expressed by his predecessor. Another

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mourning song is sung for him in the same way. Sometimes so many as five or six speeches are made, each followed by a song of the same type. In such circumstances it is impossible for the Bella Coola musicians to learn all the tunes, but if five or six chiefs are present, it implies the presence of a large delegation among whom are always a number of singers. It is they who really beat out the tunes, assisted by their Bella Coola *confrères*. When the last song has been sung, the guests present their hosts with gifts brought for the purpose. The donor himself receives the most valuable, but all the Bella Coola are remembered, chiefs to a greater extent than commoners. Such gifts are not to be returned; in fact, to do so specifically, especially soon after the receipt, would be insulting. After the distribution the evening concludes with the usual meal.

This ritual is repeated at the arrival of every group of guests. It is uncertain whether or not all the mourning songs are again beaten out after the song of the final speaker of the last group. This seems to have been done occasionally, and the distribution of presents by the guests likewise postponed. Just before the gathering breaks up, the heralds call out: "*Ahwinwinwinwap.*"

This serves as intimation that the Bella Coola rites will take place the following morning, and the guests prepare accordingly. Occasionally, when a man is poor, a memorial potlatch is held without the presence of foreign guests.* In such cases the preliminaries just described are, of course, omitted and the above call marks the commencement of the ceremony.

The next day the guests gather in the donor's house, clad in their best. The mourners are in attendance, each conspicuous with the proper mark. In many cases several of them carry miniature totem-poles, carved to represent bird or animal chiefs assumed by the donor's ancestors, and which

*This was probably quite common during the period when all potlatch features were omitted.

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entered through their mother. After a little further discussion, Harry took the rattle from his brother and began to sing as he walked around the hall, followed by Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar. Harry was less familiar than his brother with the proper words, but supplied this deficiency by humming. He was also less at ease, and he lacked the musical ability which had made his brother's singing so impressive. After a single circuit, he returned the rattle to Reuben, who continued to go around the hall as he sang. This time he paused at intervals, and kept glancing towards the door, his whole attitude betraying that something was interfering with the previously arranged plans. The purpose of the singing was to summon the dead woman in the form of her crest, but she did not appear. In early times those who were not *xuxsk* were told that the words and music penetrated to the upper regions, reminding the deceased of the grief of his relatives and persuading him to return. This belief had passed away at the time of the ceremony here described, but the fiction was continued, and it had been planned that the representation of the deceased should enter when the song was finished. It later transpired that the delay was due to a number of white people who, having gathered at the doorway, made the performer unwilling to put on his masks and disguise. Reuben continued to sing half-heartedly, and finally cried out:

"Perhaps I have lost my power, it does not come."

Alec Davis, who had previously left the hall, came rushing in and called out in a loud voice:

"[Sewanla (Jessie's ancestral name and the one in connection with which she had been made a chief)] is coming. She has been in the season of her ancestral myths. Her crests have taken her. She comes as Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, bearing her grandchild."*

The speaker is a morose, rather surly individual, usually undignified and often drunk, but on this occasion his manner had changed to a remarkable degree. His eyes were bright, his

*Although we are sure dead, all hope has been abandoned for the child's recovery.

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969 these various amounts making $864 when added to the previous $410."

* 556 It was first decided to give a present to everyone as "Eagle Down Shaken Off by the Dead Woman." Captain Schooner and his assistants thought first of the bottom house in the village, remembered who lived in it, then, after a little more discussion, agreed upon the amount each should receive. This was whispered to Nebuchadnezzar, who held up a bill and called out, for example:

"$10 for so-and-so."

A number of young men had volunteered as messengers and one of them took the money to the designated recipient. After giving to all in the bottom house, they passed to the next above it, and so in succession for the whole village. Absentees were remembered and their presents received by friends or relatives. *Kuriat* names were used because Nebuchadnezzar was unfamiliar with the little-used ancestral designations. Contrary to ancient usage, the amounts varied; some chiefs received as much as $20, a child, $1, or 50 cents. Each recipient accepted his gift without showing whether it was more or less than he had expected. There was not sufficient change, so that five persons were often named together and a $5 bill given to the first mentioned for sharing with the other four, a transaction always carried out honestly. Many of the Carriers
609 were strangers, so they could not be rewarded in accordance with their rank, but $50 was given to one of their chiefs to share as he thought fit.

465 Not all the money was distributed in this way. Payments
969 had to be made to those who had assisted at the funeral. Gifts
were bestowed upon the women who had washed and dressed
$556 the corpse; to the men who had helped to make the coffin; to
964 the canoe-men who had brought the body to Bella Coola; to the pall-bearers; to the grave-diggers; to the women who had carried the fire; to the singers, especially to those who had

[illegible]The [illegible] were mentioned by Samuel King and George Nelson [illegible] be known.

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575 not considered necessary. With few exceptions, hereafter to
796 be noted, *kwiat* masks are burnt at the conclusion of each
532 ceremony, a practice which probably originated in order to
[171] avoid the possibility of their being seen by the uninitiated. The Bella Coola state that this is one of the most striking differences between their rites and those of the Bella Bella.

575 Next in importance to masks are whistles (see Plate 1).[1]
796 The large, cone-shaped form used in *nuxat* ceremonial is re-
534 placed in *kwiat* dances by a smaller type consisting of portions
[237] of wood glued together, which can be blown with ease from beneath a concealing blanket. Another type has bellows consisting of a mountain goat bladder, which is held beneath the arm-pit so that it can be worked invisibly. During the summer the whistles are kept by one individual, usually a marshal. Specific information concerning the ownership of
[422] these whistles could not be obtained; it appears that any *kwiat* can make one, or have one made for him by a skilled carpenter, and that their retention by one person during the summer is merely for convenience. They are freely lent to
[420] anyone for use in a ceremony.

575 In some dances special objects are used in connection with
796 dramatic performances, such as bull-roarers, wooden repre-
532 sentations of animals, birds, or miniature human beings. One
[534] old man described a pipe formerly used at *Tal'ia*, which had
[124] a carved bowl as large as a tea-cup with three radiating stems. It was carved from a knotty excrescence on a bench hole. Little could be learnt of its history, except that it was supposed to have been carved by a chief with the design of his person and displayed through pride.

575 The usual guests at a performance of the type just sum-
● 609 marized are the dancer's fellow-villagers and any strangers
796 who happen to be present in the town. Great as is the desire
[241] of the *kwiatsin* to impress their uninitiated *ritbanyan*, they
[123] are still more eager to impress strangers, hence the presence of Carriers while piqueery to the rites. The writer believes that his presence and interest encouraged the Bella Coola to

[1 See category 16, p 84(B) - Analyst]

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perform several ancient rites through a desire to "show off" before someone who was ignorant. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate on *kwiat* ceremonials, and to judge a man's worth by his lavishness in them, but this is only a modern development due to the prohibition of the potlatch. Nevertheless, even in former times some individuals preferred to invite foreign guests to *kwiat* dances and to give them valuable gifts rather than to save these for potlatches; such a ceremony is called a *kulaciaud*. Whenever strangers are present at a *kwiat* dance they receive small pieces of dyed cedar-bark as proof of the friendly intentions of the host. The general consensus of Bella Coola opinion is that it is foolish for a man to concentrate on *kwiat* performances, particularly if he impoverish himself to the detriment of potlatches.

Although foreign guests are seldom invited to *kwiat* rites, a dancer frequently calls in his fellows from adjacent villages. But as the ceremonial season is simultaneous in the different settlements, with almost nightly performances, it is often impossible to avoid conflict in dates. Which invitation shall have preference is decided in the following manner:

During the days of *qulaw* and *nakaw* the dancer sends a herald of powerful physique to invite guests from as many villages as he wishes. Simultaneously, a messenger may be approaching from the opposite direction with a similar invitation. Each envoy watches carefully around each bend in the path for his rival, and whichever can first call out his message is entitled to continue to give his invitation to the village of the unarrived herald. It is considered exceedingly bad taste to decline a summons, so the ceremony to which the delayed herald was bearing an invitation must be postponed. Sometimes the two messengers sight one another simultaneously, and the relative priority of their messages is then decided by a contest of strength. The rivals stand in the path, shoulder to shoulder, arms close to their sides, and shove with all their strength, the winner being the one who can force his opponent to move his feet. This last means of deciding is used exclu-

2:Mc:Dowalth E-3 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Cannibal Dance]

forth, followed by a number of *hahamat* who remain constantly in attendance on him.

X enters the lowest house and sits down near the door, too heavy, with the weight of the crystals, to proceed further. He growls persistently, while the *hahamat* women present drone monotonously, and those who have accompanied him utter their cry of *hoip*. These measures at last persuade the Cannibal to move, but only to the next house, where the same procedure is repeated, and so for each in the village. The uninitiated peer curiously and fearfully from their bedrooms, but would never dream of joining in the cry of *hoip*. If X should be asleep or otherwise engaged when the voices are heard, some of his assistants awaken him and send him forth. The arrival of strangers also excites X. One of his followers tells him of their coming and when a canoe reaches the river, he runs down into the water and bites as many of the newcomers as he desires. The herald, watching the approach of the strangers and knowing what will happen, cries out to the uninitiated to conceal themselves prior to X's appearance. The guests proceed to the dwelling of their host, but that evening the Cannibal's father, or whoever acts for him, calls them to his house where he gives them presents to validate the biting. If foreigners have been expected, gifts are always saved for them from the previous distribution. The value of the presents depends in part on the rank of the recipient, but more upon the feeling of like or dislike with which X's father regards him. A chief naturally receives more than a person of lower rank, although these distinctions are not universal.

On the morning of the fifth day of X's retirement, some of the *hahamat* collect chamber-pots and towards noon he is immersed in the river in the manner previously described. Then he goes through the village four times, on each round visiting every house. The uninitiated are told that the wailing has caused his call to depart, and the whistle is heard no more.*

Towards dusk all the *hahamat* assemble in X's house. He

*The duration of the call at this time may not be the usual procedure.

[The Power of the Supernatural Charms]

ever since. Pay for strangers is not a strong Bella Coola 75*
sentiment and the audience laughs heartily at the spectacle 96*
of the doddering old man in vain pursuit of a heartless woman 22]
who is forever young. A considerable number of *tsaxwiye* 09]
always accompany the procession, pushing their way out with
Ana'tlemakais and *Sisqawa*. Several of them carry whistles 52]
concealed beneath their arm-pits and the noise of these serves
to maintain the dignity of the occasion.

So many masked figures are used that all cannot accompany
Sisnaxwaxt into each house. Those unable to do so remain on
the sidewalk outside, holding one of her boxes, a live male
mountain goat. At the next house another group of the
chamber's victims enters and the ceremonial just described is
repeated. The same is carried out at every dwelling in the
village. *Sisnaxwaxt* and her followers stop a few minutes in
X's house before starting out on a second round, in which the
same ritual is carried out. This is done twice more, so that
each house is visited four times.

By this time dusk has fallen and all the *tsaxwiye* except
those acting as escort to X have gathered in his house. Pre-
cisely the entertainers are called in. *Sisnaxwaxt* is coaxing
on a low box behind the fire, encouraging her masked lovers
to come to her, and bestowing her affections indiscriminately
in a heartless manner. The crowd shows such color to and fr
enthusiastically and though blows are not actually exchanged
great care must be taken to prevent masks from falling to the
much uncouth. The efforts of the unfortunate *Sisqawa* 622]
much his desire are always a source of merriment. *Bella*
Coola to need explain the significance of it all. Sometime
a cradle is brought in, over which *Sisnaxwaxt* croons while 333]
song to song, describing her as the mother of many children
of whom the failures are animals. It is uncertain whether the
part of the ceremony takes place before or after the dance fig
or, indeed, whether it is not another type of ceremony which
can use as well. The crowd concludes in the normal way wi
the expulsion of the entertainers, the dancing of *Ana'tlemakais*

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*533 B

Xwumwuqmu	*ełkuełc*	*ełełłqulułułc*	*ełwuł-uqełc*
Go within	my house,	I am giving food	to my friends.

[*wuwuwu* covered]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

[614 824 685 609]

(a) Recorded as song VII D 20b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said that this song has been handed down for generations in an ancestral family; they now regard it as a family possession and would consider its use by others to be stealing.

(b) Many years ago a solitary Bella Bella used to paddle to Kimsquit almost every year. He was dressed like a chief and had the mien of one, so that his hosts assumed him to be a person of importance. It was later found that he was a poor man. The ridicling of foreigners is a common theme of *c'ełł* songs.

*533 575 578

ułc'łłc Song Used for Xwumłełc(ał)

A *Nełułłłxwumqułułwu*	*łłxwumełłłc*
He has fallen so that his buttocks are uppermost,	Hell(!)!
Xwumwułwu ułwuł	*łłxwułełc*
He has come to burn,	that hell(!).

[*wuwuwu* covered]

B and C. The second and third parts have been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 3c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) A seemingly disrespectful exhortation sung to *c'ełł* songs describing the *łułwułwu*.

(c) *Xwumełełc* was an *c'ełł* who is said to have sung a Coastal *łułwu* when the latter was supposed to be in the land above. A song was composed about the incident, and the above fragment has been remembered for many years. *Xwumełełc* was initiated into the *łułwu* society; see vol. II, p. 90[illegible].

*533 575 786 786 209

As already described, whenever a dancer is performing, the women utter a peculiar high-pitched drone and the heralds call out remarks suitable to the occasion. A phonograph record* was made of the drone, followed by a cry suitable for either *nułł* or *c'ełł* dances. The following words are virtually sung:

Łłłwułłłwu	*ułłłwułełc*
Do not go,	chief.

*Recorded as song VII D 20c, National Museum of Canada.

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#192

Kilmaximaw: The chosen that keeps a foolish man from success as a chief; the concept is semi-anthropomorphized.

Kimin: Fine ceremonial dancings.

Kimlo: enemy village.

Kimo: Supernatural creature dwelling in the woods.

[952] Kinkakmut: Shamans who received power from ghosts.

Kinskwaskwas: Bella Coola hunter.

Kinspisi, "Coyote": Bella Bella designation for the Dean River, whence the [1078] emigrant Kinspisi has been derived.

Kinskut: Nass River.

Kinthul: Kinspisi man mentioned in an ancient story.

[825] Kiu: 1—Whale.
2—Assumed name of a Tsi'is woman; this is said to be an exclusively feminine designation.

Kiu'mas: 1—Name acquired by a Bella Bella man in the beginning of time.
2—Influential Kwagu'ts chief, who died about 1918.

[825] Kiu'ts*: Shadows.

[824] Kiu: Where is (?).

Kiuts: Shoving.

Kiuxlar: Prerogative of being consult.

Kiuxts: Dried salmon.

Kiuxwlar: Synonym for *skulla*: one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a called representation of the deceased. The word is derived from *kiuxts*.

[826] Kokalkiuw: Porpoise.

[945] Kokwlem: Supernatural being who believes in an erotic woman.

Ko'ls: Twin whose birth is attributed to salmon.

[824] Ko'mmlis: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

Kokolem: Unidentified berry (strawberry?).

Kokum: Supernatural female shaman who guided *Wi'mwim*.

Ko'mxyaskwa: *Kwakiu* name of a Bella Coola Canoeist.

Kolol'lamp, "Earthy Dust": Ghosts.

Kolulmp: Land, capital, earth.

[555] Kolulu: First part of song.

Komal: Tradition concerning short hairy white ape the Bella Coola valley.

Kopyamamkulis, "The One Who Makes Us Fat": Supernatural name of white salmon.

[825] Koselmas: Goods distributed to relatives usage used at a mourning ceremony when no representation of the deceased has been employed.

[765] Koselus: Goods offered to foreigners or guests at mourning ceremony their measure or food.

[378] Koskuts: Kwakiu: Synonym for Ishkatsuts, [illegible]

[1001] Kosmamkulmut: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.

[420] Kotlat, mother, kotlat: Grandfather.

[601] Kulakuam: Kwakiu ceremonial at which foreigners are present.

Kulu: The construction of salmon weirs.

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*This was the pronunciation of the word by the informant with an almost audible s sound.

b:bb:Dworetzky K-5 (1922-1924)948
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and other relatives of their mothers as to their fathers. It was taken as a matter of course that a child had full rights in the village of his mother, and from her, as from her relatives, he likewise received various prerogatives. Thus each child was a member of a bilateral social group. From actual residence in his father's village he tended to be more intimately associated with him and his brothers than with his mother's relatives, but this did not prevent him from visiting at the home of the latter, where he was received as a member of that village. Through the bestowal of prerogatives by his mother and the members of her family, his relationship with them was further emphasized. Such a child was, in fact, a full member of two groups.

When the members of the second generation married and begot children, each of these could have been a member of four groups; that of his father's father, father's mother, mother's father, and mother's mother. The Bella Coola believe that there were approximately forty-five groups of first settlers, corresponding to the forty-five towns, and it is obvious that if the system of intermarriage had continued for a few generations, a man would have been a member of each of these first groups. They assume that their first ancestors came to this earth far more than a few generations ago, and yet at the present time no one claims to be a descendant of more than eight of these first groups, and most claim descent from only two or three. In part this can be explained by forgetfulness, though a Bella Coola would regard this statement as heresy. The residence of a man in the village of his father has tended to emphasize relationship with the ancestral group that first populated that village, and there is no doubt that actual relationship, through the mother, with the members of other groups must in many cases have been forgotten in the course of generations. The term *ancestral family*, *nemamis*, is used in this monograph to designate those individuals who believe themselves to be descended from one of the first groups that populated this earth.

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614 553 *The ancestral family may, therefore, be defined as those whose distinct names are embodied in the same origin myth.*

[173] What is the stability of this group?

In consequence of the large number of names theoretically embodied in every myth, and of the necessity for validating the bestowal of any one of these by means of presents, it follows that there is always a large number of dormant names. The Bella Coola describe these as being, "In the burial ground." They are, in fact, dead. Any one of these may be resurrected by any member of the ancestral family. If a woman marries into a foreign tribe her relatives occasionally give her husband, outright, an ancestral name. In such a case that name is permanently alienated from the family to which it formerly belonged; this should happen only when the group is reduced to a few individuals, all of whom agree to the transaction. [583] But more often a woman takes as a wedding gift to her husband a name which it is understood cannot be transmitted to one of his relatives unless he has children. On the death of the childless husband, this designation reverts to his widow's ancestral family. If there are children, they cement the bond of friendship between the two families. The brother of a woman so married also bestows names on her children, as further mark of their incorporation into her ancestral family. [583] It is customary and proper, however, for the ancestral family into which a woman is married and bears children to reciprocate the compliment a few generations later, and by the marriage of one of their women to restore such names to the ancestral family to which they originally belonged. According to the Bella Coola, this practice of "return-marriage" has been the rule since the first exogamic marriages of the first people, with the result that names usually return to the patrilineal descendants of the first people to use them.

611 614 If a woman marries outside her ancestral family, her children will belong to at least two distinct ancestral groups. It is difficult to say how long an individual remembers the dif-

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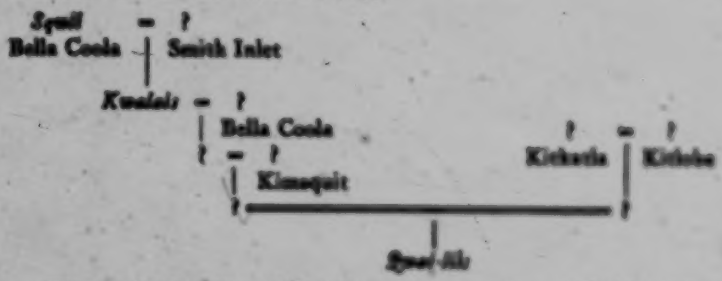
ferent units with which he is connected, but the following is 611
an instance of survival for several generations. *Qmai-lils* is an 649
orphan about ten years of age, now living in Bella Coola; he is looked upon with considerable respect as being a member of ancestral families in Bella Coola, Kimsquit, Smith Inlet, Kitkatla, and Kitlobe. His pedigree, given below, explains his powers. The symbol = marks a marriage, and the male is shown on the left in each case.



Theoretically, *Qmai-lils* is as much a native of Smith Inlet as he is of Bella Coola where his father made his home. If he should visit Smith Inlet and make known his pedigree, he would be received by the members of the ancestral family of his great-great-grandmother.[4] His welcome would be more assured if he were the owner of a name from their origin myth. Difficulties of communication and frequent wars made it [628]
virtually impossible in the old days to keep in touch with relatives in distant tribes, except in the case of a mighty chief who was able to invite visitors from great distances to feasts. Thus names taken by women to foreign husbands were virtu- 614
ally lost to the members of her ancestral family. In the 553
course of a few generations, such designations carried afield
would be revived as if dormant by some member of the family, 178
and all recollection of the foreign marriage forgotten.

[4] As the Bella Coola are now living in a single village, it was impossible to obtain a modern instance of the ownership by one individual of rights in a number of localities within the tribal area. It appears certain, however, that the sentiments expressed with regard to *Qmai-lils* at Smith Inlet are identical with those formerly held for possessions in ancestral families located in different Bella Coola villages. [628]

614 553 178 173 The converse of this process of loss is the assimilation to an origin myth of names originally brought into the ancestral family by a woman from abroad. Unless intercourse and friendly relations were maintained by "return marriages," in a few generations no tradition would be remembered to account for the name, and this, if used at all, would be interwoven into the well-known ancestral myth. Hence a myth is not static with regard to the names embodied in it. These change from generation to generation; it is probable that elements of the story itself suffer like additions and alterations, even though the people do not consider this to be the case.

611 614 The Bella Coola regard the ancestral family as a social unit, not only in terms of the present, but as stretching back to the first settlement of the earth. Viewed from this angle, it is in fact, though not admitted to be so by the Bella Coola, a unilateral grouping with patrilineal descent, which may, in both the most recent and most ancient generations, be marked by matrilineal descent instead. A man frequently uses prerogatives obtained through his mother, her mother, or even her mother's mother, but it is tacitly assumed that for many previous generations such rights passed in the patrilineal line. Sometimes this succession extended back to the beginning of time; in other cases, prerogatives were transmitted matrilineally for a considerable period after the settlement of the earth, before gradually becoming patrilineal.

614 429 551 It has been thus far assumed that the only prerogative wrapped up in an ancestral name is a knowledge of the myth in which it is embodied. But there are others. For example, several of the first inhabitants of the world are said to have owned totem-poles, each of which was displayed by its owner at the gathering when he took for himself a name. Thereforth, the only person entitled to use that particular totem-pole design was the person with the legal right to the name in question. The same principle governs all dance names; each entitles its owner to perform a certain ceremonial. Thus it is possible to enlarge the previous definition by saying that:

[532] [535]

family are liable. It is very rare for a woman to be killed in a blood feud. A death is avenged by a death. If two persons should be slain for one murder the family which has suffered the double loss endeavours to kill another of their enemies. In case of wounding, no effort is made to wound the offender, but if he should be killed his family would try to avenge him. Where often, one of the offender's family takes the initiative of offering goods to the injured family, "to cure the wound." If the offer is accepted, and the goods delivered properly, the matter is up an end. If a murder is committed within the circle of the immediate family, for instance, if a brother kill a brother, revenge, if exacted, must be exacted not to the actual offender. If requested to do so, the leading chief of a village may offer his advice, but it is always considered that revenge concerns only the immediate family.

Revenge is a topic which shows clearly the essential fluidity of the family. There are no well-defined degrees of relationship within which responsibility rests. Instead, everyone knows, in the open life of the community, how many persons share the family life of the individual, and they alone are held to account, or they alone demand compensation. From in very nature, the family must be a bilateral unit which, when powerful, stretches out to absorb members of the ancestral families of both mother and father.

Not only does the family thus appear constantly to be extending to itself members of the ancestral family of other persons, but these relatives themselves are deeply interested in the affairs of the family. This is most clearly shown in the case of children who, of course, are members of the ancestral family of both their mother and father. A few days after birth some relative is expected to call together the people of the village where the child is born for the honoured and valid[illegible] of an ancestral name. It is considered an evidence of poverty if this is done by the father, as if his child were only supported by his parents, not by a larger circle of relatives. It is immaterial whether this gathering be called by a relative

of the father to the mother. In June, 1911, a Bulu Code girl had reached the age of about six months without having received a name. There was much adverse criticism about the parsimony of her father's father and her mother's father, who were held equally to blame, but who had really been deterred by fear of the law prohibiting the potlatch.

As a child grows older he is helped in the performance of ceremonial rites by his parents and by their brothers and sisters. To this, too, it is considered a mark of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his ancestral family, he has no hesitation in favouring the children of either a brother or sister, since, like his own, they are all members of the same ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit[1] it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children, so that there is any lack of knowledge of the real father, but rather as a mark of respect and family feeling displayed by a man to his sister. Moreover, in both Bulu Code proper and in Kimsquit, it is more the proper for a name which a man has raised to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much goods to be passed to his own son; it should go to a distant relative. When a father validates a name for his child it should be one long dormant.

One aspect of the manner in which the family merges imperceptibly into the ancestral family can be seen in the inheritance of names. When a man calls his relatives together to make his will he is guided in the choice of recipients by the characteristics of his children. So able son receives much from his father, but lazy children are slighted without hesitation. This is particularly true of names with which are bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whereas, as previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the importance depends

[1] According to an intelligent Bulu Code informant, a Bulu Bulu may assume relatives in the children of his brothers and sisters than to his own offspring, and the same man expressed the opinion that the Kimsquit people are not a Bulu Bulu tribe[illegible]. Kimsquit informants denied this, though confirming the opinion that a man is choosing prerogatives for his sisters' children, in some cases to the detriment of his own, which is not a Bulu Code.

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and other relatives of their mothers as to their fathers. It was taken as a matter of course that a child had full rights in the village of his mother, and from her, or from her relatives, he likewise received various prerogatives. Thus each child was a member of a bilateral social group. From actual residence in his father's village he tended to be more intimately associated with him and his brothers than with his mother's relatives, but this did not prevent him from visiting at the home of the latter, where he was received as a member of that village. Through the bestowal of prerogatives by his mother and the members of her family, his relationship with them was further emphasized. Such a child was, in fact, a full member of two groups.

When the members of the second generation married and begot children, each of these could have been a member of four groups; that of his father's father, father's mother, mother's father, and mother's mother. The Bella Coola believe that there were approximately forty-five groups of first mothers, corresponding to the forty-five towns, and it is obvious that if the system of intermarriage had continued for a few generations, a man would have been a member of each of these four groups. They assume that their first ancestors came to this earth far more than a few generations ago, and yet at the present time no one claims to be a descendant of more than eight of these four groups, and most claim descent from only two or three. In part this can be explained by forgetfulness, though a Bella Coola would regard this statement as heresy. The residence of a man in the village of his father has tended to emphasize relationship with the ancestral group that first populated that village, and there is no doubt that actual relationship, through the mother, with the members of other groups must in many cases have been forgotten in the course of generations. The term *ancestral family*, moreover, is used in this monograph to designate those individuals who believe themselves to be descended from one of the first groups that populated this earth.

A man may claim descent from as many as eight of these groups, that is, he may be a member of eight ancestral families. Some restrictive means must have been employed to limit the choice of marriage partners, otherwise a man's membership in ancestral families would have been far greater than it is. The explanation lies in the high regard with which the members of an ancestral family accorded the prerogatives they have received from their fathers. With the marriage of the four women, their brothers were called upon to share their rights, both practical in regard to hunting territory, and ceremonial with regard to dance prerogatives, with their sisters' children. Bella Coola mythology contains no references to unwillingness on the part of the four men to do this; in fact, their own children benefited equally from the marriages of their fathers with other women. But, say the Bella Coola, after these four marriages, economically exigentic, men realized that it would be foolish to allow their children to marry for child and so diffuse valuable prerogatives. It was far wiser for a man to seek as future son-in-law a youth belonging to the same ancestral family as himself or his wife. Then any resultant children would come into this world provided by both parents with common relatives, so that the child would be, as they express it, "Held close and supported by a close circle of ancestors."

Bella Coola logic does not explain how marriages could have been arranged in the early generations without violating the laws of incest. The endogamic principle displayed at that time, however, has been carried out until the present day, so that a man endeavours to arrange marriages for his children with members of the same ancestral family. One of the strongest Bella Coola desires is to "make good the path" for his offspring, and this can best be done when they are born amply provided with relatives of common ancestry. There is no belief in the active participation of distant ancestors in the affairs of men, yet, though incapable of clear expression, the Bella Coola feel strongly that a child is born into the community of its deceased relatives back to the beginning of time.

This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail in vol. I, chap. xvi, but mention of it here has been necessary to explain the composition of the ancestral family.

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to marry foreign women in order that they, or their children, might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a total towards exogamy has arisen from the same reason which is supposed to have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said that this practice was initiated by a certain *Pulu*, father of a man about sixty years old in 1923. White influence probably had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its wide adoption has been made more easy by the establishment of peaceful conditions on the coast.

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestor, it is unlikely that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These are of two kinds: names and land.

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bulu Coole nomenclature is that each name must have originated in connection with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable to apply a casual designation to a child. On a person's death his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were all given designations by *Alpandee*; these have been carefully handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying

The *uncestral family* may, therefore, be defined as those whose *defined names* are embodied in the same origin myth.

What is the stability of this group?

In consequence of the large number of names theoretically embodied in every myth, and of the necessity for validating the lineal of any one of them by means of primaria, it follows that there is always a large number of dormant names. The Bella Coola describe them as being, "in the burial ground." They are, in fact, dead. Any one of them may be resurrected by any member of the uncestral family. If a woman marries into a foreign tribe her relatives sometimes give her husband, outright, an uncestral name. In such a case that name is permanently alienated from the family to which it formerly belonged; this should happen only when the group is reduced to a few individuals, all of whom agree to the transaction. But more often a woman takes as a wedding gift to her husband a name which is in unlineal manner to transmitted to one of his relatives unless he has children. On the death of the children's husband, this designation reverts to his widow's uncestral family. If there are children, they remove the bond of friendship between the two families. The brother of a woman so married also bestows names on her children, as further mark of their incorporation into her uncestral family. It is customary and proper, however, for the uncestral family into which a woman is married and bears children to reciprocate the compliment a few generations later, and by the marriage of one of their women to restore such names to the uncestral family to which they originally belonged. According to the Bella Coola, this practice of "return marriage" has been the rule since the first exogamic marriages of the two people, with the result that names usually return to the patrilineal descendants of the first people to use them.

If a woman marries outside her uncestral family, her children will belong to at least two distinct uncestral groups. It is difficult to say how long an individual remembers the dif-

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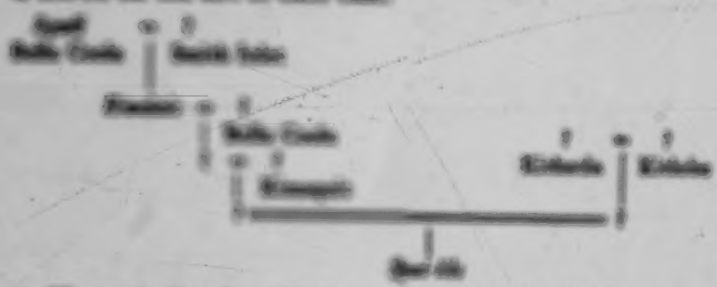
former units with which he is connected, but the following is an instance of survival for several generations. Qasi Ali is an orphan about ten years of age, now living in Bulla Costa; he is looked upon with considerable respect as being a member of ancestral families in Bulla Costa, Kimapoi, Smith Inlet, Kitkatla, and Kitkata. His pedigree, given below, explains his position. The symbol ∞ marks a marriage, and the male is shown on the left in each case.



Theoretically, Qasi Ali is as much a native of Smith Inlet as he is of Bulla Costa where his father made his home. If he should visit Smith Inlet and make known his pedigree, he would be received by the members of the ancestral family of his great-great-grandmother. His welcome would be more assured if he were the owner of a crest from their origin myth. Difficulties of communication not frequent were made it virtually impossible in the old days to keep in touch with relatives in distant villages, except in the case of a mighty chief who was able to invite visitors from great distances to feasts. Thus names taken by women to foreign husbands were virtually lost to the members of her ancestral family. In the course of a few generations, such designations carried, which would be carried as if dormant by some member of the family, and all recollection of the foreign marriage forgotten.

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614 553 178 973 The success of this process of loss is the satisfaction to an origin myth of names originally brought into the ancestral family by a woman from abroad. Unless intercourse and friendly relations were maintained by "return marriages," in a few generations no tradition would be remembered to account for the name, and this, if used at all, would be interwoven into the well-known ancestral myth. Hence a myth is not static with regard to the names embodied in it. These change from generation to generation; it is probable that elements of the story itself suffer like additions and alterations, even though the people do not consider this to be the case.

611 614 The Bella Coola regard the ancestral family as a social unit, not only in terms of the present, but as extending back to the first settlement of the earth. Viewed from this angle, it is in fact, though not admitted to be so by the Bella Coola, a unilateral grouping with patrilineal descent, which may, in both the most recent and most ancient generations, be marked by matrilineal descent instead. A man frequently uses prerogatives obtained through his mother, her mother, or even his mother's mother, but it is tacitly assumed that for many previous generations such rights passed in the patrilineal line. Sometimes this succession extended back to the beginning of time; in other cases, prerogatives were transmitted matrilineally for a considerable period after the settlement of the earth, before gradually becoming patrilineal.

614 424 551 It has been thus far assumed that the only prerogative wrapped up in an ancestral name is a knowledge of the myth in which it is embedded. But there are others. For example, several of the first inhabitants of the world are said to have ancestral totem-poles, each of which was displayed by its owner at the gathering when he took for himself a name. Thenceforth, the only person entitled to use that particular totem-pole design was the person with the legal right to the name in question. The same principle governs all dance names; each entitles its owner to perform a certain ceremonial. Thus it is possible to enlarge the previous definition by saying that:

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The ancestral family consists of those whose ancestral names, embodying definite prerogatives, are embedded in a single origin myth.

A stranger finds it easier to understand why names are so carefully maintained within the ancestral family by thinking of them as symbols of prerogatives, but it must be emphasized that the Bella Coola preserve with equal jealousy those designations of which the only prerogative is the marking of the actual membership.

If, then, the ancestral family be regarded as a group possessing a large number of name-prerogatives, it may well be asked how these are distributed among the members. The first point to be emphasized is that the ancestral family is a unit held together without definite social mechanism. There is no accepted "head" of the family, nor are there any clearly formulated laws governing the transmission of the name-prerogatives. Before death a man usually calls together his relatives and bequeaths,[1] according to his desire, his personal property in slaves and canoes, and his transmissible property in names. Such a designation does not become the property of the new owner unless he is able to validate his ownership by a distribution of presents, whereupon the name is "dead." If, during this period, some other member of the ancestral family should desire it for a child, or for himself, he can take possession of it by the customary distribution of presents. By doing so he would wipe the legacy, but the latter cannot himself use the appellation since it is already in use. Even at the present time there are bitter quarrels over the assumption of names, and such have certainly occurred for many generations. If a man can validate fairly promptly a name willed to him, it is most unusual for anyone else to try to forestall him.

If a man dies intestate, his sons consider themselves his natural heirs, and the most respected of them validates for himself as many names as he desires or is able to assume. Disputes are not as common as might be expected since the

[1] In case of sudden death or failure to make a will, ambitious relatives assume

influence of a chief is usually sufficient to settle claims as to which of his brothers shall receive which names. Even if none of them is a chief, some one of them is certain to have greater influence than the others. If a dead man has no sons, his daughters can assume his names, which they may transmit to their children. Failing both sons and daughters, a man's brothers and sisters are his heirs, as usual, the one of influence being the one who really arranges matters.[1] Since the law, it must be emphasized that if the members of the immediate family are slow to validate a dead man's names, they may be taken by any member of the ancestral family.

In former days it was customary to create a "name-bearer" to preserve the ancestral myth. The older and more influential members of the ancestral family would choose an intelligent young relative to whom to relate the myth in great detail. One informant described how her mother, the last official "nameBearer," had been instructed by her grandfather. The old man had been accustomed to take his granddaughter, a girl about twelve years of age, to bed with him, and whisper to her the myth, with his hand pressed over her mouth to prevent escape of his words. At the conclusion of the recitation he always spat in her mouth to make the words stick. The members of the ancestral family, recognizing that the "name-bearer" was the person best acquainted with the myth, were wont to consult him or her about it, and, of course, about the names embodied in it. A "nameBearer" had no authority to decree who should receive names, but appeals were often made to him, and a tactful individual was frequently able to settle disputes.

Considering the extreme fluidity of the whole system it is surprising that quarrels are not more common. These are limited by the system of wills, through which a man bequeaths his most valuable personal property, especially his intangible property in social name-perspectives (II, p. 4). Ancestral

[1] On the grounds that the man principally governs the disposal of house and goods on the reserve.

names are also sold, but since their value depends on the goods expected to validate them, there is seldom literature about their allotment. Indeed, a chief who is the legal owner of a designation which came from above in the beginning of time, will in many cases choose to abrogate his position with respect to a title of comparatively recent date. But if any person who is not a member of the ancestral family should dare to use an ancestral name, all the members rise to avenge the theft, for such they feel it to be. In recent years, however, this practice has become comparatively common. In such cases a man, eager to show to the glories of a myth and able to give a potlatch, has validated an ancestral name to which he has no right. The presence of the white man also contains the mixed ancestral family. Names are sometimes lent or hired to those who are not members of the group for definite sums; the recipient accompanies the individual. Such names are not reserved for several generations; generally speaking, the recipient claims to be the real owner and not the temporary possessor. During his tenancy of the name he is entitled to any prerogative attached to it, but he is not considered a bona fide member of the ancestral family.

Instances have occurred in which an old man or woman, believing himself to be the last survivor of an ancestral family, has entrusted his names and myth to those who have befriended him, or these have been taken by those who buried him. Some individuals are constantly searching to conduct the funerals of friendless old people in the hope of so obtaining names. But as almost every case this leads to friction, since it is virtually impossible for an ancestral family to die out. Perhaps in the next generation, perhaps in the following one, some youth will claim descent from the last ancestors of the supposedly defunct family, and claim the myth and names entrusted thereto. This leads to a feud with the parents, or his descendants, who have received the names through and given to the "last" of the family.

Such instances of an ancestral family becoming practically

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tions on this subject always excited them, but many effort was made to verify the following statements.

As with names, the easiest way to understand the rights of the uncontrol family in land is by first considering the mythological explanation, which mirrors conditions as they existed at the coming of white men. On reaching this earth the first people are believed to have prospected for suitable settlement sites, places where salmon and eulachon could be caught, and if possible, near side valleys where berries were abundant. There they released the animals and plants which they had brought with them, on which they thenceforth subsisted, in accordance with the supreme deity's instructions. The members of the group pre-empted these areas for themselves. Waste land, far from any village was, and still is, free to anyone. A few years after the first settlements had been made, according to the myths, the supreme god sent down to Kimsquit a certain *Alquatim* who allotted and marked the territory which was the property of each community; at that time a village consisted merely of a group of the first settlers. No similar myth was recounted for either Bella Coola or *Tal'ts*, although their concepts with regard to land are identical with those of the Kimsquit. This really gave a sacred sanction to the possession of land, an important matter to a people so religiously inclined as the Bella Coola.

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The system of land tenure follows the same somewhat obscure principles that govern the possession of names in an uncontrol family. Hunting and collecting grounds appropriated by the first people, or by their immediate descendants, are the property of their offspring, the uncontrol family. The Bella Coola term for such an area is *ut'kum*, also called, *ucumsta*, which means "Food Supply."

It will thus be seen that a hunting area is not the property of any single individual, but belongs to a group of persons, most of which live in a single town. The relatives of a man who intends to give a potlatch usually give him, temporarily, exclusive rights to the hunting-ground. As with names, there

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is no doubt that a man needs to have these rights in property which are entirely his, if they are located at a distance. Thus several men claim that they are legally entitled to hunt at Kitlope, but from some difficulty of access neither they nor their fathers have exercised the right, and it would have been lost in the course of a few generations, even without the other decay of custom which has followed the advent of the white man. Practically, a man hunts only in the grounds of those ancestral families in whose origin myths he has names, though, theoretically, he is entitled to hunt on any hunting-ground of any ancestral family of which he is a member whether or not he holds a duly validated name from its origin myth. It is not necessary to confirm the right to property as with a name, though a validated ancestral name is the usual mark of a man's right to that area of the ancestral family to which that designation belongs. Although the ownership of land in distant regions is of little practical importance, it is, none the less, a matter of great pride to a man to feel that he has rights in many places. The efforts of an individual to make good these claims has often led to bloodshed; in fact, one intelligent old man stated that property disputes were the principal cause for war in British Columbia. A person who lacks hunting-grounds is little better than a slave, whereas one who has much land is important.

The Bella Coola regard land as almost inalienable. Though a man does not own the land of his wife's ancestral family, he can use it and his children have full rights to it. Conversely, a wife can gather berries on her husband's land, though it is not hers. A guest at a village may be allowed to use the territory of his hosts, but it does not become his. In the old days were between the central villas were common, but though slaves were taken freely, land was never seized; such is undesirable to a Bella Coola. In fact, several of the older people inquired how it had been possible, in the first world war, for the allies, whose cause they believed to be righteous, to assist territory from Germany. If the victors had killed or enslaved

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the Germans it would have been moral and proper according to Bella Coola ethics, but to take land was unheard of. 428 [921]

Since land is only valued for hunting or collecting purposes, it is not divided into small areas. Any man can build his house at will near the village. It is said that at Kitlope the crab-apple trees are the property of different ancestral families, themselves members of different tribes, but this is unknown in Bella Coola. It may be mentioned that the Bella Coola somewhat naively assume that all other coastal tribes have ancestral families similar to their own, although they recognize that some of them also have a clan system which has no counterpart in their social organization. Since the concentration of the tribe on a small reserve and the beginning of agriculture, a system of individual ownership of cultivated land has sprung up. It is realized that if a man clears and cultivates a field, the produce is his own, and he can will this land to whomsoever he pleases. Likewise a man who rings a tree to kill it for firewood is the sole owner. The Bella Coola regard uncultivated land in the reserve as being at the disposal of anyone, a concept which appears not to have been taught them by any white schoolmaster. Its origin seems rather to lie in the old belief that any unpreempted land, far removed from a village, can be used by anyone. It is recognized that the reserve cannot be considered as a *cul'xhaw* belonging to any ancestral group, hence it is free to all. One corner of it, however, includes the lower part of a side-valley formerly used by the people of Tsnaul. An old man, whose ancestral family lived in that village for generations, has set his bean-crops in this corner of the reserve for a number of years without interference from other hunters, who go far afield with their crops. Even within the limits of the reserve it is felt that this man has the prime right to that area for the use of himself and his family. [128] [191] [428] [614]

Theoretically an ancestral family may die out. Several instances were mentioned of old men who, believing themselves to be the sole survivors of their family, bequeathed their names 614 428 921

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and hunting-grounds to those who had helped them in their old age. But in every case the gift turned out to be of doubtful value, since young men grew up who claimed membership in the supposedly defunct ancestral family and confirmed the right of those to whom it had been given. This always led to war.

BB BC 423 696

The following is an instance of a feud which arose from the bestowal of a hunting-area.

It is said that about 1830 the people of *Tsawat* (probably Butze Inlet) captured a Bella Bella woman as a slave. She escaped and fled up the *Tsawat* River, hoping to come in contact with the Bella Coola, who often hunted in that area. The woman was found by the mother's father of an informant who carefully looked after her while he was hunting beaver and brought her back to Bella Coola, thence sending her to Bella Bella. In gratitude her father, a Bella Bella chief, gave her owner the hunting-area known as *Nalaw*, near Kwatna Inlet, with the consent of the members of his ancestral family. The land so alienated should have remained permanently in possession of the Bella Coola ancestral family, but was too far removed from Bella Coola to be used regularly by the new owners. After the death of the Bella Bella chief, a number of individuals who claimed membership in his ancestral family asserted their rights to it. Many years later, after white traders had made their appearance on the coast, a Bella Coola went to *Nalaw* and killed a large number of beaver. As he was leaving with their pelts he was murdered by some Bella Bella, ostensibly as a trespasser. But for the restraining influence of the white man this incident would undoubtedly have led to war. The informant still feels that he is entitled to hunt at *Nalaw*, and did so several times when he was a young man; but his sons have never exercised the right, and it has practically lapsed.

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It is unfortunate that the above incident is drawn from Bella Bella, where the power of chiefs is much greater than among the Bella Coola. Consequently it is impossible to say

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exactly what right the Bella Bella chief had to dispose of the land. The informant assumed that he must have been powerful enough to dictate to his followers, an unknown possibility in Bella Coola. However, the informant regards the case as typical of what would likely happen should a Bella Coola try to give away land. Out of generosity or gratitude old men have sometimes done so, but always they have forgotten someone, perhaps a mere infant, who on growing up lays claim to the *xul'alam*.

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Hunting-grounds are not the only valuable parts of the country. Even more important are stretches of river suitable for salmon-weirs. Of the same type are good places for olachen-nets, and rocks from which these fish can be caught with scoop-nets. Like hunting-grounds, these are said to have been pre-empted by the first people[1] and have passed into the ownership of the ancestral families descended from them. It is needless to repeat the gradual lapsing of rights to property of this kind in distant areas, since the principle is the same as that already described for land.

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In one respect, salmon-weirs differ from hunting-areas, since the latter can be used by any number of individuals, whereas the number of salmon-traps possible at any one weir is limited. Again the mythological origin must be given to explain the customary usage. If, for example, a salmon-weir supposedly built by one of the first groups of people was fully manned in the third generation by ten individuals, it is as-

[1] Several Bella Coola myths describe how the first-comers brought with them from above some hemlocks for the construction of fish-dams, and how others were provided with miniature dams which grew larger when placed in position. Mr. H. I. Smith kindly gave the writer the following account, received from an elderly Bella Coola:

Long, long ago a certain *Tsmokus* lived with his father, the Sun, who decided to send his child to earth. He came down to *Ituna*, carrying a stone beneath his arm-pit, and accompanied by a Wolf. *Tsmokus* made the stone into a pile-driver with a face sculptured upon it, and with this tool drove piles to make a fish-weir. After a while a number of human beings came paddling up the Bella Coola River. In course of time the Wolf returned above, but *Tsmokus* remained on earth catching salmon, and teaching the people the method which was in use until the last few years.

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423 sumed that ten is the largest number of traps possible at that
●614 weir. Those who have the right to that weir are the members of the ancestral family with the names of those first users. At
[773] this point the logic of the Bella Coola fails to uphold the mytho-
[226] logical pattern. No salmon-weir has remained in existence since the beginning of time; when one broke, owners were sometimes infants, and those who repaired the break became regarded as the rightful possessors. The system of ownership prevailing at the time of abandoning the weirs, was that *individuals*, not groups, had rights to certain sections of the weir
[428] which were willable like other personal property. In most
[431] cases this right was transmitted with a name, marking the section of weir, which had to be duly validated by presents.
[428] In other cases, the intangible ownership was willed without any mark whatever.[8] Unless bequeathed in this way, disputes were frequent. Rights of this kind were never sold although
[427] an owner often leased his section for a night, or longer period, receiving goods in return, and not forfeiting his ownership
[431] thereby. This was particularly common when the renter was planning to give a potlatch. No case was heard of in which the right to a certain section of salmon-weir was given to a non-member of the ancestral family. Theoretically, this was possible, but practically it would be so inconvenient that it is most unlikely ever to have occurred, since the Bella Coola is
[671] never such a slave to legal privileges that he fails to be guided by common sense.

226 Although individual ownership is thus recognized with regard to sections of salmon-weirs and suitable places for
[423] olachen-nets, the owner is bound to share his haul. When he catches a large number of fish, anyone, whether related to him
[577] or not, can demand some. He cannot refuse, since to do so
[626] would brand him as selfish. The effective check on this system

[128] [8]Great difficulty was experienced in learning about the distribution of rights to sections of salmon-weirs. The evidence is conflicting, and though every effort was made to verify and check the above, there may be further regulations which were not learnt.

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lies in public opinion which expresses contempt for a lazy man 626
who is constantly begging.

To anyone familiar with the definite social groupings of a 614
tribe divided into clans or land-owning families, the ancestral family of the Bella Coola must appear as a vague and unreal unit, only distinguished by its intangibility. So it was found when investigating in the field. When information began to accumulate, it seemed as if there must be some definite obligations incumbent upon all members of the ancestral family, but none could be found. Without asking a direct question, the point was raised whether, if a man were killed, the members of his ancestral family would unite to avenge him. Conversely, [629] were they liable for the deeds of any member? In each case the reply was in the negative; these matters concern only the immediate family. In regulating marriage the ancestral family is important, since it is wise for a man or woman to seek his [582] mate within the members of that group, though it is not compulsory. Theoretically, the terms of kinship applied to members of the immediate family may be extended to members of [601] the ancestral family, but in practice this is rarely the case, [178] and, if so, is functionless. It might be argued that this somewhat wide application of kinship terms, verging on the classificatory usage, is a relic of an earlier, and now broken-down, clan system. It is impossible to prove or to deny such a contention. When trying to discover whether the members 614
of an ancestral family ever contributed to a potlatch whereby 622
one of their fellows established himself as a chief, the following 431
interesting comment was received. The previous winter the 171
informant had been in Bella Bella, and there the point was raised by a Bella Bella chief whom he quoted as follows:

"We laugh at you Bella Coola because each of you is always trying to be chief. Our system is much better; we all help our chiefs."

The man agreed with the Bella Bella man that there was an important difference between the practices of the two tribes.

614 The recent decay of Bella Coola culture may have destroyed
[183] traces of more definite obligations with respect to the ancestral family, but all the evidence indicates that it has always been a fluid unit. Its very lack of functions makes it difficult to
[128] discuss, and the above account was pieced together from scraps of information collected from many different people at various times; yet, intangible though it be, it is a very real unit to the Bella Coola and pervades their life. Each individual knows those to whom he is related. In many cases the exact kinship is lost, but it is remembered that a man from such-and-such a village married a woman from another village, and it is proved from the use by their descendants of names from the same origin myth. The concept of physical strength imparted by a cloudy skin ancestry is always present and gives a person the real "power" in the village founded by those first ancestors
614 of his. For the ancestral family is usually thought of in terms
621 of villages. A man belongs to the village where his first ancestor came to earth, though he is equally a member of other towns into which his ancestors may have married. A
[559] man without ancestry, without *xel'xlem*, is a miserable creature; he has no home in this world, or, theoretically, in the world to come. The ancestral family is a unit essentially held together by the ties of sentiment and pride of ancestry.

614 In addition to the above social elements of the ancestral
827 family, it is felt that all its members have certain tendencies. If one of the first ancestors had a certain physical peculiarity, or met with a particular kind of fortune, either good or bad, his descendants are more likely to experience the same than any other people. These tendencies may skip many generations, and may be inherited either through the mother or the father. In fact, Bella Coola belief on this point closely agrees with modern knowledge of heredity; the term for such an inheritable tendency is *xelkulém* or *xelkumudjat*. Such characteristics are:

(1) Proficiency in using tools;
(2) Ability as a hunter;

(v) The begetting of exceptionally well-behaved children; 614
(vi) The begetting of exceptionally naughty children; 827
(vii) Disposition to steal;
(viii) Uncontrollable sexual desires;
(ix) Sudden death, that is, members of certain ancestral families are less apt than others to die of disease or old age;
(x) Death by drowning. One informant, in whose family this is a tendency, has twice been thrown into the water and barely escaped. He fully expects to meet his fate in this manner;
(xi) Insanity (not a common malady); [58]
(xii) Dribbling at the mouth with increasing age;
(xiii) Liability to contract the skin disease known as *fadada*. 614
With regard to the transmission of this disease the surprising 827
information was received that if a relative of a sufferer should 953
drink from the same bucket or use the same spoon as the 199
patient, he is likely to contract the disease, whereas another person can use them with impunity. This statement may be based on a knowledge of germs learnt from the white man, and warped by a belief in inheritable tendencies, although it is amazing that the theory of germs could have reached the elderly Bella Coola. Possibly this statement is a relic of an old belief in the transmissibility of disease through contact, but it is more reasonable to ascribe it to white influence.

In a later chapter an account is given of certain occupational abilities, including that of carpentry, which must be confirmed and validated by presents. The above are quite different; they are either present or absent without any action on the part of the individual. 614 827

The Village Community

The village community referred to in the preceding section consists, fundamentally, of the descendants, traced in the patrilineal line, of the reputed first settlers to occupy a site. Since a Bella Coola always describes himself as a native of such-and-such a town, it follows that the village community 614 621

[549] [551] is a more obvious social grouping than the ancestral family, though it is of the lower that a man is most proud. The member of a small, unimportant village often describes himself as a native of a neighbouring, larger one where or a distance from his home, simply as a matter of convenience.

Even before the coming of the white man, village sites were abandoned and people took up their residence with friends or relatives elsewhere. In fact, mythology contains instances of [573] such migrations at the very beginning of time. In cases of this [561] kind, memory of the earlier home has been preserved for many generations, and may perhaps be the explanation of the many villages which are described as two, and which have two names. In the early days immigrants seem always to have been welcome; they added to the numerical strength of the village, and the original inhabitants enjoyed boasting to the newcomers of their descent from the first settlers. Since any group forced to abandon their own homes naturally moved to those of relatives, there is no difficulty in understanding the process by [538] which they continued to intermarry with their new neighbours. Thus two, or even more ancestral families, inhabiting one village tended to form a closely inter-related stock. In rare instances, two unrelated ancestral families may have become inhabitants of the same village, which would unquestionably lead to intermarriage.

In most cases the endogamic tendencies already described cause the village community to be largely members of one ancestral family. In addition there are always other occupants; strangers who have fled from their homes and sought [523] refuge among the Bella Coola; the offspring of illicit intercourse [527] with slaves; guests; foreigners, especially Carriers temporarily [554] resident in Bella Coola; and finally slaves, without status in the community. The real inhabitants, those whose power is firmly planted in the village, are the reputed descendants of the first group of settlers, and accordingly a relative coming to [553] dwell in a village usually endeavours to obtain a name from the origin myth of the ancestral family occupying it, and thus

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acquaintanceship with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the personal tendency of the whole organization.

Politically the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the outer coast, about to attack *Bowd*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Bowd-ai* without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours.

628 689 578 627 628

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. iv), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat-

622 554 536

621 623 535 796

The married sons of a chief usually live in his house, and if he is very powerful the husbands of his daughters may also reside with him. Such a man is at the zenith of power, surrounded by a close group, formed of elderly relatives, of children and grandchildren. Connections by marriage are also added to the family group. At the present time, for example, one Bella Coola man is looking after his brother's widow, and it is felt that she is a member of his family. 582 536 622 602

Another way in which a rich man can increase the size of his family is by adoption. Parents who have lost an infant may adopt the child of some member of the ancestral family of either father or mother. The matter is usually arranged soon after birth, and the transfer takes place immediately after weaning. The real parents are willing since they know that the adopting parents will be able to validate valuable prerogatives and names for the child, which they themselves are unable to do. This desire for their child's welfare overrules parental love. In such cases the real father or mother can likewise bestow names and other prerogatives on the child, who really becomes a member of two families. This is often done by an old couple whose own children have married and moved away, and who thus find themselves lonely. It is considered disgraceful for parents to allow their children to be adopted by anyone not a member of their ancestral family, since that would be an admission of inability to bring up a child in the path of his ancestors. 536 597 614 [888]

"Your father was not strong," could be said to such a child as a reproach.

In the case of an orphan some wealthy relative is almost always ready to adopt him. Consequently, as he grows up, he receives his full share of the ancestral origin myth, and the names embodied therein, so that the loss of his own parents is of little consequence in the course of life. Occasionally a child is not adopted by relatives, and then his fate is indeed hard. 736 597

shelter in the house of any chief, and shared in the food which was being distributed at the almost continuous ceremonial feasts. Now, each family lives alone and no one feels any responsibility for this old man. [178]

[illegible] family are liable. It is very rare for a woman to be killed in a blood feud. A death is avenged by a death; if two persons should be slain for one murder the family which has suffered the double loss endeavours to kill another of their enemies. In [illegible] of wounding, an effort is made to wound the offender, but if he should be killed his family would try to avenge him. More often, one of the offender's family takes the initiative of offering goods to the injured family, "to cure the wound." If the offer is accepted, and the goods delivered properly, the matter is at an end. If a murder be committed within the ranks of the immediate family, for instance, if a brother kill a brother, revenge, if exacted, must be meted out to the actual offender. If requested to do so, the leading chief of a village may offer his advice, but it is always considered that revenge concerns only the immediate family.

Revenge is a topic which shows clearly the material fluidity of the family. There are no well-defined degrees of relationship within which responsibility rests. Instead, everyone knows, in the open life of the community, how many persons share the family life of the individual, and they alone are held to account, or they alone demand compensation. From its very nature, the family must be a bilateral unit which, when powerful, stretches out to absorb members of the ancestral families of both mother and father.

Not only does the family thus appear constantly to be attracting to itself members of the ancestral family of either parent, but these relatives themselves are deeply interested in the affairs of the family. This is most clearly shown in the case of children who, of course, are members of the ancestral family of both their mother and father. A few days after birth some relative is expected to call together the people of the village where the child is born for the bestowal and validation of an ancestral name. It is considered an evidence of poverty if this is done by the father, as if his child were only supported by his parents, not by a larger circle of relatives. It is immaterial whether this gathering be called by a relative

of the father or the mother. In June, 1900, a Bella Coola girl had reached the age of about six months without having received a name. There was much adverse criticism about the paucity of her father's father and her mother's father, who were held equally to blame, but who had really been deterred by fear of the law prohibiting the potlatch.

As a child grows older he is helped in the performance of ceremonial rites by his parents and by their brothers and sisters. In this, too, it is considered a mark of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his ancestral family, he has no hesitation in favouring the children of either a brother or sister, since, like his own, they are all members of the same ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit* it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children; not that there is any lack of knowledge of the real father, but rather as a mark of respect and family feeling displayed by a man to his sister. Moreover, in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is most improper for a name which a man has raised to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much goods to be passed to his own son; it should go to a distant relative. When a father validates a name for his child it should be one long dormant.

One aspect of the manner in which the family merges imperceptibly into the ancestral family can be seen in the inheritance of names. When a man calls his relatives together to make his will he is guided in the choice of recipients by the characteristics of his children. An able son receives much from his father, but lazy children are slighted without hesitation. This is particularly true of names with which are bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whereas, as previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the importance depends

*According to an intelligent Bella Coola informant, a Bella Bella pays greater attention to the children of his brothers and sisters than to his own offspring, and the same man expressed the opinion that the Kimsquit practice was due to Bella Bella influence. Kimsquit informants denied this, though emphasizing the important part taken by an uncle in obtaining prerogatives for his sisters' children, in some cases to the detriment of his own, which is rare in Bella Coola.

on the value of the goods distributed in connection with them, usually owner to the ancestral family and can be owned by any member of it. It seems needless to publish lengthy pedigrees, illustrating the transmission of ancestral names; it will suffice to say that such ancestors pass from father to son, from a man to his brother's son, his sister's son, his sister, his daughter, or to other relatives belonging to the immediate family. On the other hand, with equal frequency, names pass from a man to distant relatives of the same ancestral family.

Thus the Bella Coola family, important though it is in the life of the individual, cannot be defined with exactitude either as regards composition or functions; it varies according to the importance of its head, and tends to merge in the ancestral families of the parents.

Kinship Terms

In Bella Coola, as in so many parts of the world, kinship terms mirror the social life of the community. The Bella Coola system of nomenclature is not so clear-cut in its application as in other regions, and requires considerable explanation concerning the uses of many of the terms. It will be seen that the system, although fundamentally founded on the family, presents many classificatory features. Whether or not these are to be ascribed to an ancient clan system is most doubtful; a short discussion of that point will be found at the end of this section.

The terms are arranged in the following order: first, an individual's relatives of the preceding generation, then those of the next preceding, with their parents, then those of the present generation, followed by terms for kin of the generations following. Finally come relations by marriage.

TERM	MEANT AMONG MEN	MEANT AMONG WOMEN
Father	This term is properly used only by a small child, though often employed by an adult as a term of endearment.	Term used only by a small child.

[195]

601

	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
601 [illegible] Female relatives of the same ancestral family and generation as the speaker	.....	[illegible]
Child	[illegible]	[illegible]
Son, until twelve or thirteen years old	Tsi, a term of endearment used for any small child, or by name. Use of the personal name becomes more frequent with increasing age.	[illegible]
[551] Son, when adult	By name, or [illegible].	By name or small (name) [illegible]
Daughter, until twelve or thirteen years of age	Tsi, a term of endearment used for any small girl, or by name. Use of the personal name becomes more frequent with increasing age.	
Daughter, when adult	By name; infantile term of endearment is also sometimes used.	By name.
Stepchild	Same as for own child.	
Brother's child or Sister's child	Usually by some terms as own children, merely as a mark of endearment, also own. Corresponding to the use of [illegible] where [illegible] is usually applicable, [illegible] is used in some cases instead of own.	own. Depending on the composition of the family, this term is in many cases applied to the children of an own if they form part of the family group.
Son's child or Daughter's child	Usually as for own child, or by name, or [illegible]. This last is merely the term for indirect address, with the endearing suffix, [illegible].	[illegible]
Descendants	.....	[illegible] or [illegible]. Terms used [illegible] to describe a man with many descendants. The latter term means "manyman."
[614] Family	.....	[illegible] the [illegible] family, those who claim descent from one group of ancestors, even though their exact relationship has been forgotten.

differentiate between cross- and ortho-cousins, and the unsystematic groupings of nephews and nieces show "family," as opposed to classificatory, principles. Finally, ancestral terms for the ancestral family, for many ancestors, and many descendants, correspond to the importance of a large number of relatives in Bella Coola thought.

In many parts of the world the classificatory system of relationship occurs where the community is divided into clans. The occurrence of some of these features among the Bella Coola raises the question of whether or not they should be regarded as survivals from an earlier clan form of social organization. The Bella Coola may once have had clans, but their relationship system does not furnish any real evidence to this effect. The reciprocal terms really have the significance, "Relation by marriage of the same generation," or "of a generation once removed," a form of address which does not require explanation in any ancient form of social organization. Moreover, the importance of the eldest child, as potential transmitter of the glories of the ancestral family, is sufficient reason for differentiating brothers and sisters in terms of their relative ages. This feature suggests that in former times this was more important than it has been in the recent past. It is not implied that the Bella Coola never had a clan system, as such may have been the case many generations ago, but their kinship terminology can be explained without that hypothesis. The somewhat wide application to cousins of terms which are properly limited to brothers and sisters may easily have been derived from a process of copying. The Bella Coola are well acquainted with the clan system of the northern coastal tribes, so that it is by no means impossible, or unlikely, that they should have adopted the principle of applying the same kinship term to many individuals, and hence to members of their own ancestral families. Finally, the somewhat vague and unsystematic application of terms to relatives according to whether or not they are members of the immediate family, is a feature not at all surprising in view of the essential fluidity of Bella

184 unconditional. Boys and girls helped their parents, and there
496 was no definite age at which they ceased to do so. The fluidity
* 556 of the Bella Coola system was contrary to any standardization.
The more important a chief became, the more did he receive
from dependent relatives, but the more did they expect in the
way of "return presents." It was advantageous to be generous,
within the family circle as well as without, since life was so
public that every transaction even of a "private" nature, was
well known. Unquestionably, a greedy and strong-minded
individual must frequently have taken advantage of help from
his kinsmen, but there was no strict code of ethics to regard
to this. In brief, it may be said that the acquisition of wealth
was an unconditional, individual, matter; its distribution
was likewise according to individual volition, although within
a rigidly defined tribal pattern.

Sneed Secrecy

551 The ancestral names that chiefs desire to raise to a position
* 556 of eminence are usually embodied in myths dealing with the
575 first settlement of this earth, names which belong, as has been
614 stated, to the ancestral family. Many of these traditions
[595] record other designations as well, each of which carries with it
the prerogative of performing a type of dance known as *sneed*.
These will be spoken of, henceforth, as *sneed* names. The
Bella Coola do not know the meaning of this term. These
[553] names, like ancestral ones, are the potential property of mem-
bers of the ancestral family, but can only be assumed when
duly validated by presents. Such an assumption follows a
553 period of seclusion in the back-room of the house. Both men
* 556 and women are eligible. A person may be secluded in this way
575 a number of times, acquiring a new *sneed* name on each occa-
[562] sion, but as presents must be distributed every time, it follows
that only the children or relatives of wealthy chiefs can be so
favoured. It is desirable to have the bestowal of a *sneed* name
occur at a potlatch, since guests from foreign tribes are then

he may now repay with one hundred and fifty blankets. The amount of the original present will be announced, so that it is made known that he is repaying with 50 per cent interest. This completes the transaction. The man who receives the additional fifty blankets is not required to repay them, though he may endeavour to do so, should he wish to add to his own fame. It is sufficient if X pays back the principal only, though in that case he does not increase his prestige. No claim is ever made for the repayment of an investment present; repayment is so obviously to the advantage of the debtor that there is no necessity for dunning. A man who did so would expose himself to the ridicule of the community; it would demonstrate that he thought in terms of goods, whereas a chief is expected to give presents as if they were a mere nothing.

On rare occasions a chief has been unable to repay his investment presents. In the autumn of 1911, a Bella Bella chief, aided by his son, prepared to give a potlatch, and the news spread far and wide. But during the summer the young man accidentally shot himself while deer-hunting. The father realized that, bereft of his son's assistance, he would be unable to repay even the principal of his indebtedness. He wept with grief. A disgrace of this kind affects the man and all who are in any way related to him, so he called upon his relatives, and they gave him sufficient money to save the situation. In such a case, nobody is compelled to contribute aid, but a feeling of compassion is at work, as well as a vague sense of family pride. One Bella Coola gave this chief $20, although all that was remembered about his relationship to the Bella Bella man was that one of his ancestors had married a woman from the village of the Bella Bella chief. Particular inquiries were made to ascertain whether or not the disgrace of failure to repay would fall on the ancestral family and whether they were legally bound to contribute. Such is decidedly not the Bella Coola concept; only feelings of pride and affection govern the contributions. Assistance of that kind is given without witnesses,

[illegible] 203 56 *

As with so many elements of culture, the Bella Coola 103
ascribe the origin of heralds to the wish of *Sparrow* as ex- 173
pressed to the first people in the beginning of time. Some 551
groups of these early settlers brought with them heralds whose
names had been created by the supreme deity himself in his
house in the land above. Such a one was *Sqqa'l'l* who was a
member of *Kimsam's* (I, p. 340) party at *Kimsquit*, another
was *Qlqlmax* who came with *xpaqxpaq* (I, p. 394). These
heralds functioned in the manner of their descendants of to-
day, others of the first chiefs appointed certain of their rela-
tives to perform this service, and by reason of the power with
which they were endowed, created names with respect to their
functions. Besides his ordinary name every herald must have
an ancestral appellation of some kind, as well as the proba-
bility of possessing *tsaxiut* ones in addition to those of a pro-
fessional nature. Either by bringing with them from above,
or by creation on this earth, each group of first settlers became
provided with a herald, whose name is embodied in the ancen-
tral myth describing their experiences. As each of the first
heralds died, his name was passed to a successor, and this [428]
practice has been carried out from generation to generation
until the present. The Bella Coola state that no new names
for heralds have been created since the time of the first people,
and it is certain that none has been made for many years.
Consequently, the number of heralds is strictly limited in
accordance with mythological beliefs, and every man who owns
one of the ancient designations embodied in an origin myth
knows the name of the herald associated with his first name-
sake.

At the death of a herald his name becomes dormant. Since 203
heralds function at all ceremonies, whether or not the donor 553
belongs to the same ancestral family as themselves, the mem- 556 *
bers of the group sustaining the loss are not deprived of their 614 ●
424

203 353 *556 614 [124] serious. None the less, one of their prized prerogatives, the visible embodiment of an element in their ancestral myth, is no longer present. In such circumstances, no member of an ancestral family would give a potlatch unless able to revive at it the dormant name in a new herald. The intending donor usually consults with the senior members of the ancestral family as to a suitable incumbent, or especially if he is an influential chief, he very simply use his own discretion. In either case, some relatively young member of the ancestral family is offered the post. If he accepts, the matter is settled; if not, another is invited in his stead. The new herald cannot function until his name and appointment have been validated by the distribution of presents at the potlatch. Such gifts are not returnable, since they are held to "have become nothing" for the name. Relatively lavish expenditure for this purpose is one of the many ways in which a chief is able to show his prowess and generosity. Thus established, a herald can carry out his duties thenceforth. He functions at every ceremonial, but especially at potlatches given by members of his own ancestral family, in whose origin myth his own name is embodied. From [627] [196] constant participation in all kinds of ceremonials, a herald becomes conversant with every type, and is appealed to as arbiter in difficult points of ritual, thus adding to his reputation.

203 *556 Although acceptance of the post of herald somewhat curtails a man's activities in other respects, instances are known of energetic ones using the gifts received to establish themselves as chiefs, passing on their herald names at the same time to other incumbents. More often, a herald uses his wealth for the benefit of a son or other relative, being satisfied with his own status in the community. He takes a prominent part in every ceremony and is a person of some standing, yet is spared the responsibility of actually giving rites himself, a position which offers many attractions to a man lacking great ambition and initiative.

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Totem-Poles

A feature embodied in many ancestral myths is a description of the totem-pole[1] erected by a group of the first people, either according to a design given them by *Alqantun*, or in consequence of their experiences on this earth. It is the privilege of a chief descended from that group to erect such a pole, under the same restrictions as apply to the portrayal and use of other features belonging, not to him individually, but to the ancestral family as a whole. Totem-poles are also frequently erected to depict incidents connected with the ancestors of a chief, even if there is no mention of one in his ancestral myth. In either case, the setting-up is a source of pride to the chief, especially as it emphasizes the importance of his ancestors, and its display must be duly validated. Theoretically, this may be done at a gathering of less importance than a potlatch, but in practice it occurs at no other ceremony, since a chief wealthy enough to erect a pole naturally desires it to be seen by as many persons as possible.

Poverty limits the number of totem-poles, but is not sufficient to account for their relative rarity. It is a matter of pride for a chief in whose ancestral myth there is mention of a pole to erect one, but all myths do not include totem-poles. Consequently the absence of one before the door of the chief's house is not proof of the owner's poverty or lack of importance. This matter was investigated with great care, and all the older people reiterated that the number and size of their poles were never as great as among the northern tribes.

When a chief is preparing for a potlatch, he allots, among other carpentry tasks, the construction of a totem-pole, if he is sufficiently wealthy to reward the artisan and to validate the erection in the customary manner. If a special design is embodied in the ancestral myth containing the name which he is about to assume, or to make strong, he indicates that design to the carpenter. In the story of *Alkwi* (I, p. 312), for

[1] *Ashaitl*, "Outside Post."

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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the same manner the fluent speaker outlines a myth belonging 537
to the ancestral family of X's mother, again with emphasis on 585
the dancers used by her ancestors. X, as a member of both ancestral families, can combine his rights from both sides, but it is customary for him to use no more than five or six performers. Should X have no claim to this privilege from either mother or father, an almost unthinkable situation, he is able [426]
to borrow the prerogative of using some from friends. The sentiment on which this oration of myths is based is the one so often mentioned; it marks the close relationship between the future children and their noble ancestors of old, a source of strength to the former.

X's father now names those whom he wishes to assist him 585
on the following day. These are the dancers, who are chosen [595]
primarily for their skill in dancing, and secondarily in accordance with their rank. With them he selects a number of persons to stand near and help or "cherish" them as they perform. He also asks the services of some of the women who are professional droners; of the keeper of the marriage song of his [614]
ancestral family; and, finally, of a number of men to sit near the singers and assist them with suggestions. It would be most exceptional for anyone so called upon to decline the honour. It is near morning by this time and the guests depart.

On the following morning, the actual wedding day, X's father calls to his house those selected the previous evening as dancers and their assistants. The former wear blankets decorated with small copper ornaments[1] and carry circular wooden [534]
rattles provided with handles. Their clothing and rattles may be their own, but if they do not possess suitable attire, it is incumbent on X's father to provide them. Skins are piled up within the house, and some of these are said to "make soft the

[1] At the present time there is uncertainty as to the proper clothing of a marriage dancer. Several informants stated that it was a copper-decorated blanket, whereas others said that there was no special attire; one man claimed that an attempt was made to imitate the form and costume of X's first ancestor, and another that *russel* costume was used. Probably there was no uniformity in custom. [292] [535] [184]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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585 handles of the rattles"; symbolizing that they are pads to protect the hands, though the dancers derive no benefit from the pelts, which are stacked with others for later distribution to Y's family. A large amount of provisions has been prepared and placed in boxes, one for each member of Y's family. In many cases it is difficult to estimate how much food will be required, and if there is a surplus, it is eaten by the performers and other assistants.

When all are ready they rush forth; dancers, dancers' assistants, and young relatives of X, followed more sedately by his father. The rest of the villagers watch with interest, but do not take part in the ceremony. Choosing a position outside Y's house, the singers beat the time of the marriage [533] song used by X's ancestors; if the words are known they sing [424] them. Like the prerogative of marriage dancers, there may [426] not be a marriage song embodied in every origin myth, but if X lacks such he is usually able to borrow one.[6] The keeper of the song is stationed near the singers, ready to help them with the words or the tune, if necessary. Meanwhile the [535] dancers are performing on the sidewalk outside Y's house. Each uses whatever type of dance he chooses, *kuxiat*, *nuaxk*, *a'alk*, or even shaman's, but all dance simultaneously, though without paying greater attention to each other than is [533] necessary to avoid collisions. The professional droners accompany the singing with their high-pitched quaver.

Meanwhile Y's father, surrounded by his relatives and friends, waits in readiness within their house. Y herself is

[6] The reputed origin of marriage songs has been described in vol. I, chap. vi. They are less strongly preserved as prerogatives than most elements of origin myths; in fact some keepers of the songs are willing to perform at any wedding, although this may be a modern development. The keeper, either man or woman, is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family, after discussion with the singers. It is his duty to remember text and tune, and the only pecuniary advantage is from the presents made by those to whom he teaches it. Some songs have words, others only a tune. The text of a song brought down by *Alpaxstan* to *Snalle'ai* is:

"Hello, *Sanalalai*! We do as we have done before. Please make good the path for those who are about to marry."

Alpaxstan obtained this song from his heavenly namesake and used it at his own marriage, as his male descendants have since done.

[614]

764 while the relatives are preparing the body for disposal. For a child, these services are performed by the parents; for a married man whose parents are dead, by his brothers and other kindred; for a married woman, by her husband or the members of her own family. If she has borne no children, it is customary for her relatives to carry out the funeral rites, especially if she has been many times rebought from her husband. If such repayment has not been made, it is considered correct for a husband to bury his wife, although it is a point of honour for her relatives to reimburse him later for his expenditure. On the other hand, when children have been born and financial assistance mutually given and received several times, it is proper for the husband to perform the funeral rites, although he may receive assistance from his wife's kinsmen. There is no rigid ruling on the point, but bickerings seldom occur in connection with disposal of the dead. Members of the ancestral family are ready to assist in every case, both on account of the disgrace that would follow a niggardly funeral, and also as a means of displaying their wealth. [614] [556]

The first essential is to wash the body, a rite performed by men for a man, by women for a woman. It is immaterial who does this though some of the relatives usually volunteer. Neither husband nor wife touches a dead consort, though it is said that long ago a man would hold intercourse with a deceased wife to indicate his excessive grief. The most influential member of the immediate family takes the lead in the various necessary acts, although there is always endless discussion and advice from members of the ancestral family and others interested. A nose-ring is placed in the septum of the corpse; if this is omitted, the body will not be able to dissolve into its elements but will range the earth as a walking phantom, causing injury to anyone who observes it. If the deceased has just eaten some of the first run of spring salmon or olachen, a shaman washes out his mouth with a sponge of undyed cedar-bark which he throws into the river. The essence of the salmon is thus extracted from the body; if [839] [301] [175] [825]

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Indeed, a grave is never
965 disturbed except, rarely, when it is necessary to obtain a
[789] portion of a skeleton for magical purposes. In such a case,
the coffin lid must be lifted up on the side away from the
[961] opener, so that he looks within over its upturned edge. A
person failing to obey this injunction will soon die.

968 Burning or deposition near the grave is not restricted to
the actual utensils and artifacts of the deceased. There, too,
must be laid dried salmon which a man has smoked for winter
use, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready
[964] by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person seems
indescribably indecent. In recent years, the crop, if a man
dies after tilling and sowing a field, is allowed to ripen, and
then rot unharvested. So, too, the canoe in which a body has
been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Coola are
not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is
[961] apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of
[789] death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or that
has been in contact with a corpse.

964 The rituals described above may be considered as religious
in nature; almost equally important are the social require-
431 ments of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This
556 indebtedness falls on the near relatives, though all members
of the ancestral family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite
[614] manner. If a canoe has been destroyed that did not belong
to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents
must be given to the pall-bearers, to the woman who bore the
flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered
laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way.
Failure to do so brands the relatives as misers with little respect
for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the
outlook and minds of chiefs. Consequently, even poor people
try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own
sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately,
it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which
this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has
made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death

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969 sum being used for each name, and the bills were displayed
*556 before messengers carried them to the recipients.

Finally, Jim Pollard took the opportunity to bestow on
553 Captain Schooner the name, *Snusilkāls*. This designation
425 was the property of the donor's ancestral family and should
[614] not have been transmitted without the consent of all its mem-
[622] bers. Jim had probably informed several of them of his intention, but no objections would have been raised if he had overlooked this courtesy, since he is the only *numitl* chief among them, and the only one with determination and prestige. It was not an outright gift, since it was announced that it must be returned to the donor's family on Captain Schooner's death. Jim Pollard acted as his own announcer for this transaction, explaining that he gave the name in gratitude for the help which Captain Schooner had rendered at the death of his, Jim's, father about twenty years before. He promised that at the earliest opportunity he would give presents to validate the transmission.

969 During the lengthy distribution of money, the audience had
*556 shown unmistakable signs of weariness. It was now between 2.00 and 3.00 A.M., and as soon as Jim had finished speaking the guests dispersed quietly, though many of them gathered in groups in one another's houses to discuss what had taken place.

Captain Schooner slept late after the lengthy ceremony, but was proud and contented when interviewed about noon. He felt that what was fitting for his daughter had been performed, and was willing to take the consequences of having broken the law.

968 Little else of note occurred in connection with Jessie's funeral. Samuel King deposited near her grave a sewing-machine which his wife had used for only a short time and Captain Schooner decided to replace this with an older one belonging to his wife. He made this exchange on the afternoon of June 30, when Samuel, in company with a number of women, was burning the rest of Jessie's clothing and possessions. Captain Schooner explained his act by saying:

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has gone contrary to something about which there has been universal agreement for generations. 771 754

To understand Bella Coola medicines it is, therefore, necessary to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practise them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to those effecting death, but is equally true with regard to all medicines, whether curative or causative. 828 [784] [755]

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of medicines. Knowledge of most remedies has been handed down for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type can be practised by any member of the group to which it belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment, but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction that only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship of some medicines, but these are indicated whenever possible. 424 755 757 [614] [465] [614] [425]

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(*i*) Brought from above as a present from *Ālqunstem*.
(*j*) One of the dancer's first ancestors.
(*k*) Combined themes such as this, referring both to the approaching potlatch and the dancer's origin myth, are common at potlatches and *kukusiutek*.

599*

am'hl·a Song Used for Ḵ̄amspoxtmom of Kimsquit(a)

A Ḵ̄aiyeɛmālaxa | skānuqomnapilsdax | ḵ̄ismaiustadax | se·itamshḵ̄ālsaix
Presently the people who lack prerogatives will envy(*b*) what I possess. Because

dānuɛmaiyelist | dam'hl·asadai
it increases annually, it is *am'hl·a*(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

*B Samk'ānax·adomdax | P̄ōnpalōtsdimat | 'an'nā'asamy*ʷ*mis*
In the beginning there came down | *Pōnpalōtsdimat*(*d*) | with his river(*e*).

Shawamāsīpis | tsqwanqwanimālsnats | moakas·wals
He seats himself | at the mouth | of the "Heavy One"(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The last part has been forgotten(*g*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 30*a*, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) The word *nuqom*, which is translated as *envy*, is used only for the desire of ancestral prerogatives which can never be attained except by those who are members of the ancestral family concerned. [424] [614]
(*c*) It was impossible to obtain literal translations of the subdivisions.
(*d*) A name which *Smooan* (I, p. 332) took for himself on earth. It is claimed that the composers of this song erred in using this designation.
(*e*) *Smooan* came down to the Kimsquit River, but the grandiloquent phrasing expresses the sentiment that man and stream came together.
(*f*) The Kimsquit River is sometimes termed *Wōkas* as its name as chief. This designation was obtained by *Smooan* from Bella Bella, with his marriage to a woman of that tribe, and bestowed by him on the river. [103] [424]
(*g*) This song was used during the winter of 1923-4 and nearly led to friction. It is claimed that the right to the name *Ḵ̄amspoxtmom* was lent to a Kimsquit man who failed to return it. The borrower has been dead many years, but when his son proceeded to dance, one of the singers who was related to the original lender refused to take part in the singing. [578] [426] [424]

Ṯlaiyāham Song Used for a Kimsquit Man(a)

A anx·shqodja | aiyadiomtaipas | ditwinamldada | aiyawamnukwals
I have obtained | the ancestral right | which displayed | my forefathers(*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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*533 *B* *Sisstotsyuoo* | *ałtzułt* | *sta'ałłsdułsłsi* | *dismatumpłjt*
Go within | my house, | I am giving food | to my friends.

[WOODLASS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

[614] [424] [685] [609]

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 28b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said that this song has been handed down for generations in an ancestral family; they now regard it as a family possession and would consider its use by others to be stealing.

(*b*) Many years ago a solitary Bella Bella used to paddle to Kimsquit almost every year. He was dressed like a chief and had the mien of one, so that his hosts assumed him to be a person of importance. It was later found that he was a poor man. The mocking of foreigners is a common theme of *a'alk* songs.

am'ła'a Song Used for Xmnmlais(a)

*533 575 578 *A* *Nałsqałłsłsstsmamqualsas* | *ałłwsmasłłła*
He has fallen so that his buttocks are uppermost, | Hail(*b*)!

Demnmalsas imat | *słsuiatłsłsi*
He has come to hurt, | that *łsuiat*(*c*).

[WOODLASS CHORUS]

B and *C*. The second and third parts have been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 3c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) A mockingly deferential salutation used in *a'alk* songs describing the *łsłsuiat*.

(*c*) *Xmnmlais* was an *a'alk* who is said to have seen a Cannibal *łsuiat* when the latter was supposed to be in the land above. A song was composed about the incident, and the above fragment has been remembered for many years. *Xmnmlais* was initiated into the *łsuiat* society; see vol. II, p. 265.

*533 575 796 203 As already described, whenever a dancer is performing, the women utter a peculiar high-pitched drone and the heralds call out remarks suitable to the occasion. A phonograph record[1] was made of the drone, followed by a cry suitable for either *sisaok* or *a'alk* dances. The following words are virtually sung:

Yałsałłimat | *sstłumpałsis*
Do not err, | chiefs.

[1]Recorded as song VII D 29c, National Museum of Canada.

#192 *ʼatstmap*, "Come and eat": Invitation to the *ʼatsaist* to assemble in a performer's house.
ʼatsha: House beams.
ʼaut-ste: Messenger bearing invitation to a potlatch.
[752] *ʼaddzap*: Massage.
[585] *ʼaddzawak*: 1—Presents, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter visit his house on the wedding day.
[431] 2—Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's kinsmen prior to her repurchase.
[583] *ʼawaqʼist*, "The Throwing Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders": Said of the repayment by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's kinsmen.
ʼawalstste: 1—Battering-ram.
2—The destruction of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.
ʼaxlqaʼdam: One of the names of the supreme god.
[201] *ʼqalmastem*: Notification, by pressure on the foot, to a chief to go to the meeting-place.
[533] *ʼsalsaam*: The employment of feminine stick-beating.
ʼsqlo-mem: Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.
ʼsstskqalmas, "The Hearing": Synonym for *ʼalstem*, q.v.; this is a Kimsquit term only.
ʼt-qimut: *Kwiatam* rite in which the performer appears to be burnt to death.
ʼt-qualtem: The casting of *ʼsaist* masks on the fire.
ʼtymuk, "Far from the River": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
[847] *ʼtsaal*: Abortion.
ʼt-wetla, "Disappointed": said of the supernatural beings called by a *wáʼá* dancer who arrive too late for the potlatch.

ulka: Slave from the lower Fraser owned in Kimsquit during the last century.
[101] *ulmaktamp*: Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.
ulmaktaskstamas: Half-brother or half-sister.
[601] *umlk*: 1—Man.
2—Son; term used by old person in direct address to adult.
3—Husband.
[614] *umlkato*: Male relatives of same ancestral family.
umlkiles: Women who performs man's work.
[601] *umlkstato*: Single brother in a family with several sisters.
umulki, plural, *umulkaki*: Small boy, especially son; term used in indirect address.
[431] *ʼqalla*, "Working Clothes": Presents given by the relatives of the future bride
[584] to the kinsmen of the future bridegroom at the first announcement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.
[821] *uminaxal*: Cold wind of the mornings, semi-anthropomorphized.
usaly: Bella Bella term for the *ustay*.
[563] *ustay*: Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

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ksholmut: *Kwiat* name of a *Nuxalk* man.
ksla'wimut: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.
[824] *kspel*: Inner bark of cedar.
ksnishwut, "A Stripping Off": The giving, on demand, by a marriage dancer of his clothing to a herald.
'ksowapsilaix: Supernatural name of Raven.
[828] *ksuaix*, "Frenzied": Term applied to Cannibals and other destructive *kukusiut* when in a state of madness.
ksyum: Occasional exclusion of all but the singers from a house where a shaman is performing.
ksowaxwaxlaix: Kitsaquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
ksowatman: *Kwiat* name, probably of Kwakiutl origin.

M

Ma'ulus: Female dancer mentioned in a Raven story.
Malkiut: *Kwiat* name of a *Kemgaix* man.
[601] *mama, mamia, mamas*: Mother, term used by children.
Mamaiya: Celebrated *Xenaix* hunter.
[825] *mam-aiya*: Butterfly.
mam-gila: Measuring worm.
[824] *mam-ia*: Fly, insect.
ma'mukia: Swamp gooseberry.
[601] *mda*: 1—Father, common term in indirect address.
2—Occasional designation for the supreme deity.
mendimut: Stepfather.
[614] *mesmesuks*: Elderly male relatives of same ancestral family.
Mexmy: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuklum* in the beginning of time.
2—Form of the name *Dudexmy* when used by a male child.
Mexmy-aw-a: Form of the name *Dudexmy* when used by a female child.
Mistalitlawk: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
Mistipawuk: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[804] *mi-kp*: Measure of distance equal to the breadth of one thumb plus one finger.
[825] *mi-ny'*: Toad.
mitipa: Supernatural giant toad.
mitlin: Salmon eggs.
mu-mqin: Old male sea-lion.
[825] *mu-sutkha*: Water ouzel.
Mkqmtsis: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Mkusstilas, "Long Neck": One of the supernatural names of Great Blue Heron.
[601] *mnsai-i*: Co-husband in a polyandrous household.
[824] *mu'usal-i*: One of the paralys.
mqlul: Berry, black in colour.
Mkumsklitma: Generic term for the four supernatural Carpenters.
mumkulp: Spruce.
Mlal'ula: One of the first men to settle at *Ialla* in the beginning of time.
Mlalhamu: Land of salmon.
[224] *Ml'uh*: Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
mlu-a: Stick carried by hunters when penetrating into the mountains.
[824] *mlla'*: Red bearberry.

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mixmixfulp: Leaf of salalberry.

mla·wadjut: 1—Omen of misfortune, such as preceded the outbreak of smallpox, hence, [824]
2—Smallpox. [787]

mlka: Type of sea-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.

mna, vocative, mnao: Child. [601]

Mnakais: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.

mnk': Excreta.

mnmuntı, vocative, mnmuntcân·i: Ancestral family, practically equivalent to *children* when used by an old person. [614]

mnskânmaxta: The commemoration of a chief's potlatches and other major ceremonies by means of plain posts erected near his grave. [211]

Mntlato·mm, Tide-Measurer: A supernatural being. [764]

Mstelos: Man mentioned in a song.

Mtlakila: Supernatural being who gives potency to *ssook* rites.

mtletsta: Grandiloquent expression used by the *kukusiut* with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives. [776]

mtlalosâm: 1—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living. [775]
2—To visit, term used with reference to the coming of a masked representation of a dead person; the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.

mok': Pounded, dyed cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.

mokwuk: Head-ring of cedar-bark worn by *kusiut* initiates in the upper Bella Coola valley.

mopla: Lice. [825]

mopwila: Adolescent youth.

moxmoxk': Blue grouse.

mormouthlokânda: Dentalium-shell ear-rings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion. [301]

mu: Hand net for catching olachen. [227]

mudcâmkekta: Yellow cedar stave decorated with swan feathers such as is carried by a Mystery dancer.

mustomu: Wrestling.

Mutan·a: Rivers Inlet man living in the last century.

N

Nain'akwas: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.

Nâ'mu: Bella Bella village; the Anglicized form is Namu.

nân·: Grizzly bear. [825]

Nanantis: Name received from Grizzly Bear by a Kimsquit man in the beginning of time.

Nânâll: *Kusiut* name of a *Nusfulst* man.

Nanâtskwi: One of the first men to settle at *Stmx* in the beginning of time.

Nanâlskwil: One of the names of Mount *Nusfulst* as chief.

nân·lmnt: Non-ceremonial weeping, usually individual, and always with real feeling. [827]

Naos: Indeterminate locality in the distant east. [15.2]

 192*

numao, vocative, numaotao: Member of same sex and same ancestral family as speaker. [601]

Numätlam: Supernatural being who comes with *Noätqmm* to bring a call to the latter's protégé. [614]

Numelshmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

numitl: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract. [826]
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.

numnumktäs: Toilet-hole.

numlutsmam: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony. [465]

numnälnmmax: Exchange marriage. [583]

numpälotlmm: Passenger.

Nu·mts: Place near *Nulkax.*

Nunäxmälaix: Kusiut name created by *ɩɩyuyuɩ* at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

nunmaoi di mänao: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

nunmaoi ici stänao: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

Nunnaxa'as, "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Nunuäxmusk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunudjigmm: Supernatural being who created repositories in the beginning of time.

Nunulnusk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunulpänem: House occupied by the first settlers at *Nutqmalt* in the beginning of time.

nunu·l'stimut: The use of potent medicines after seeing a giant toad.

nunulkwutstmm or *nunulkwutstimut:* 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dyed cedar-bark to *Tlitcaplilu·a.* [782]
2—The making of offerings to ghosts by the casting of food on a fire. [775]

Nunumu·sk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nununaixikdimut: Male supernatural being who travels with *Noätqmm,* takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.

Nunuska: Mother Nature.

nunupp: Fisherman with inherited right to use of a salmon-weir or of a place for catching olachen. [424]

nunqomamälq, "A Calling Back", or "A Seizing": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural artisans having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [226] [761]

Nunuqmäli, "Where Water Entered": House of one of the first groups of settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Nunuqualaints: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunuqwlelslaiqu·a: Professional name of a female droner.

Nunuqwiutmm: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.

Nunushmai: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunusmaouk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunuxwmolsk: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Nunutthunmm, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [825]

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[824] *sqedilp:* Cedar roots.
sqeil: Sling.
[578] *sqeilqelkm:* To use a sling.
sqili: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slave ancestry.
[821] *sqimamas:* Fleecy cloud.
[412] *sqiola:* Muzzle-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary food.
sqma: Wooden comb.
S'qa'i: Land of Ashes, alternative term for *Sqamf.*
sqo: Umbilical hernia.
[601] *sqolyma:* Distant relative of female sex, when referred to by man.
sqoltkidjat: Long phallus.
Sqomall: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sqosa: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
sqoulq: Food distributed for carrying away as *sqosa.*
[415] *sqoli:* Large, flat, soft basket of broad strips of bark.
[431] *sqomaqa:* Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
sqolp: Maple.
[824] *squm:* Sudden start that expels the spirit.
squpail: Outer plank of cedar, convex and bark-covered on one side.
squal: Love song or other non-ceremonial composition.
squalm: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium.*
[533] *squalwalam:* 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions to the faults of someone present.
2—Singers who use this type of composition.
[825] *squal-ann:* Large, unidentified bird.
[374] *Squalaha:* Heat: A supernatural being.
Sqali: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[825] *sqaw'nn:* Loon.
[262] *stai-tl:* Mountain goat marrow, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of preventing hunger.
Stalqalaqam, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks": *A'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
stalhmq; plural, statalhmq; vocative plural, statalhmq:
1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqalaal* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Sunal* in the beginning of time.
4—Name created by *Smaoan* for a grandson.
5—*Sisook* name of a Kimsquit man.
[601] *stan:* Mother, term commonly used by an adult in indirect address.
[825] *standakidum:* Bat.
standimut: Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
[601] *standamats:* Elderly female relatives of the same ancestral family as the speaker.
[614] *skook:* Whetstone.
Sisots: Man mentioned in a story.
[412] *Stap':* Mountain near *Tal-ia.*
stakam, "What Is Hidden": The correct solution of the Mystery dance.
stakmats: Archaic term for chiefs, now used only rhetorically.
[824] *slals:* Cranberry.

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Xemlaix: One of the first men to settle at *Xemqe·ts* in the beginning of time.
Xemtum: *Kusiut* name of a *Sisiutl* man.
Xemxemlalts: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Xemxemlaix: *Sisaak* name brought from above in the beginning of time.
Xemxemtum: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Xlpalxal* in the beginning of time.
[533] *xe·tle:* Boastful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.
Xedilkes: One of the first men to settle at *Xetlaalx* in the beginning of time.
Xelkes: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman. The designation is *pl* Bella Bella origin.
[825] *'ixpe:* Marten.
[412] *xile:* Stone axe.
xilxil: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
[203] *Ximpdimut:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximmlaix: *A'alk* man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xmmmeslaix: Celebrated female shaman.
[821] *ximpindz·i, plural, ximpindzakzi:* Little girl.
[517] *Xinpmes:* 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.
Xinsis: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
Xsimtu·a, "Right Foot": *Stuax* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
Xipis: Mountain in the Carrier country.
xemtnots: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
xlixtum: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
xlixl: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
[586] *Xlitwalt:* Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
xlokw·imut: The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
[825] *Xmaxts:* Locality below *Nuxpalxt.*
xmpmatsl: Minnows.
[601] *xmu:* Woman, or wife in indirect address (*ki xmulaix:* My wife).
[614] *xmuxuts:* Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
[423] *xmudzm* or *xupmudzm:* The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.
Xnutli: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
xolelt: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
Xoltxwsem: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[785] *xoltjut:* Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[891] *Xomtsla:* Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Xomxomps: Ancestral name of a *Stuax* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
Xompstem: Supernatural scoop-net fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
Xopalis: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

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Since the end of the last century they have dwindled down in numbers, and a few only of their once populous villages are still inhabited, namely, Sâtaq, at the head of Dean Inlet; Nûtl'a'l, at the mouth of Salmon River; Nuqa'lkn (which embraces five villages, at the mouth of Bella Coola River; Stû'in, twenty-eight miles up Bella Coola River; and Ta'lio, at the head of South Bentinck Arm. The dialect of Nûtl'a'l and Sâtaq differs slightly from that of the other villages. The following is a list of their ancient villages, most of which are still inhabited at certain seasons, although not regularly:— 161 361 [197] 103 361

1. Sâtaq.
2. Nûtl'a'l. The tribe of this place is called Sûtalcmn.
3. Nuqa'lkn, embracing the villages K'emkô'tza and Stekô'etl on the north side, Pô'intla and Nutnô'intakônê on the south side of the river.
4. Sxnqtl.
5. Tsômô'etl.
6. Snû't'ak'.
7. Nû'kmita.
8. Asx'nanô.
9. Nuk-â'sqmsta.
10. Tsqcqk'â'nô.
11. Nû'sk-'alst.
12. Nûtlte'iq.
13. Stû'in, twenty-eight miles from the sea.
14. Snû'tl'alstl. Nos. 4 to 14 are situated along Bella Coola River, and are given as they are met with in ascending the river.
15. Sîâ'aqtl, at the confluence of Bella Coola and Driver (?) Rivers.
16. Ta'lio, at the head of South Bentinck Arm, embracing K'ea'pô, Ta'lio, Nû'ik', A'sêq.
17. K'eâ'lma, at the bay of that name in the southern entrance of Bentinck Arm. On the north entrance of Bentinck Arm were the Kîlô'ôl, but it is doubtful whether they belonged to the Bîlqula or to the Hâ'ilteuk. The latter call the people of Dean Inlet Ki'mkuitq. [101]

Each of these tribes is subdivided into gentes, which appear to be arranged in exogamic groups. I learnt the names of the following gentes, which bear the names of their ancestors:— 614

Gentes of the Nuqa'lkmn:

1. Tuk'eâ'la (=looking down on his family).
2. Spuqpuqô'lxmq; Qê'mtsica name: Mâ'lakyîlatl (see p. 415).
3. Sîatlqêlâ'aq.
4. Ka'hâqk'ana.
5. Pô'ilna.

Gentes of the Nuak'a'latxmn:

1. Tl'ak'anmô'et.
2. K'êuqêtlâ'nê.
3. ?

Gentes of the Tâlio'mn:

1. Iale'stmêt (=making good fire); Qê'mtsica name; T'â'l'xntâlit (=a cave protecting from rain).
2. Spatsâ'tlt.
3. Tumqoâ'akyas.
4. Ha'mtelt.

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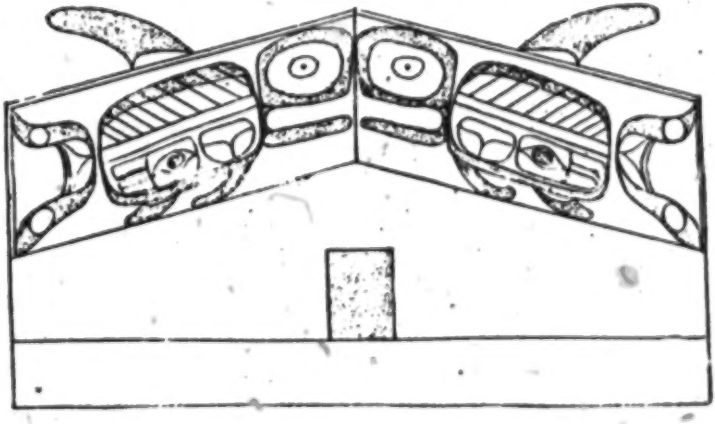
614 582 [551] The evidence which I can present regarding the laws of intermarriage is the following: I inquired of Nusk'ɛlu'sta (=cold water in face), a member of the Ialo'stimōt gens, whether he might marry a Spatsā'tlt woman; this suggestion he rejected with the greatest indignation.

FIG. 1.—House-front of the gens Tōk·oā'ls.

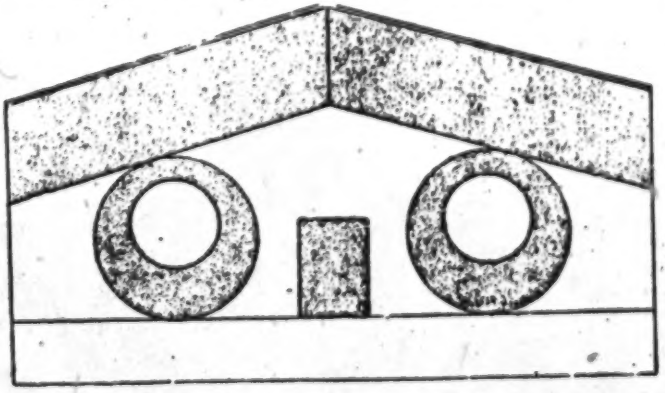
[342] [532]



Members of the first two gentes, he explained later on, are not allowed to intermarry, neither are members of the last two gentes, while the first and second may marry among the third and fourth. He accounted for

FIG. 2.—House-front of the gens Tlak·aumō'ot, representing the moon.

[342] [532]



this by stating that Ialo'stimōt's son married Spatsā'tlt's daughter, and that consequently the two gentes were related to each other.

614 The gentes have crests similar to those of the neighbouring coast

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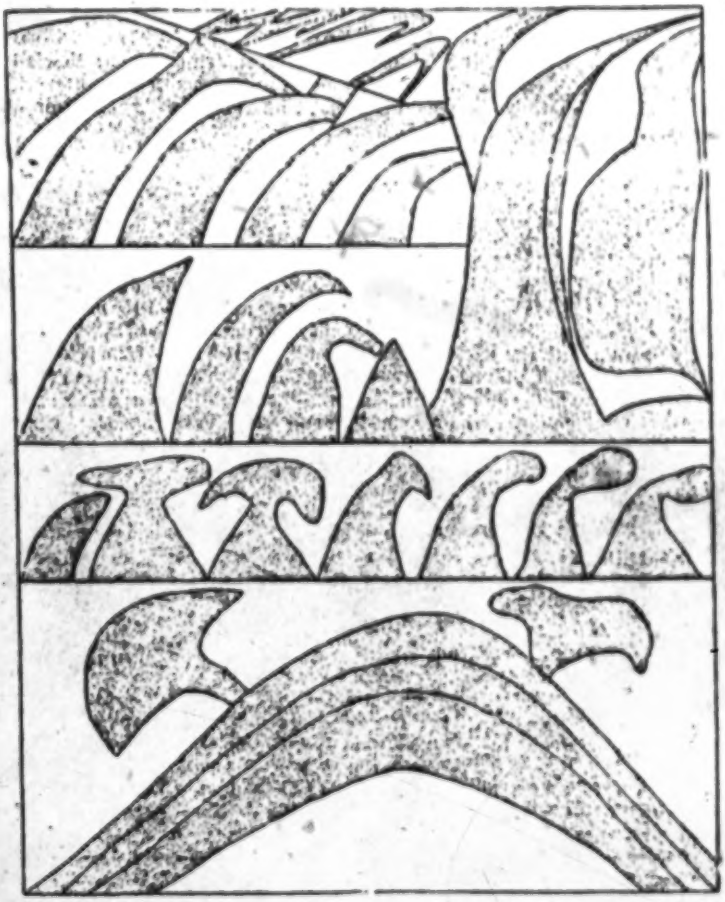
tribes. The crest is represented in paintings on the house-front and on dancing implements.

The gens Tōk·ōā'is has a killer-whale (*Delphinus orca*) painted on the house-front (fig. 1). The tradition says that the ancestor of this gens

FIG. 3.—Crest of the gens Smō'ɛn, showing the mountain Suwā'kɛh, with two clouds near its summit; above a mackerel sky.



one day, when hunting in the mountains, found a house on which a killer was painted. The chief who lived in the house invited him and presented him with his crest for himself and for his descendants. The crest consists of the killer-whale, eagle, swan, and heron.

The crests of all gentes were obtained in like manner.

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●614 The gens Spatsâ'tlt have breakers painted on the house-front, and use
532 in dances the mask of a large kind of whale (*k·'ɛsts*), of the crow, and of
342 the black bear.

The gens Tumqoâ'akyas use the mask of Ônɛstaitô'ma (=the sleeper) and the eagle.

The gens Tl'ak·aumô'ot of the Nusk·'ɛ'hɛtɛmh use the moon (fig. 2).

The gens Ialo'stimôt of the Tâlio'mh use the raven, robin (*sist'a'qoud*), eagle, whale, the bird *t'êntlala* (genus?), and *s'atlel'ots*, the flood-tide. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the *nusq·'sula* suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. 420).

The highest gens of Nûtl'ɛ'l has the name Smô'ɛn (=the north wind). He has the mountain Suwâ'khh surmounted by a mackerel sky, and with clouds on its sides, painted on his house-front (fig. 3). Another object belonging to his crest represents waves.

614 The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the decis-
851 ion being left to the choice of the parents.

Secret Societies and the Potlatch.

171 The social organisation, festivals, and secret societies of the Bilqula
575 are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the Sisau'kh, and the Kû'siût. The Sisau'kh corresponds to the Tlôola'qa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the Kû'siût to the Ts'êtsâ'ek·a. The
556 Bilqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine
773 brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Qê'mtslos, to whose
776 care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Qê'mtslos.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Qêmqêmlâ'ola.

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house in the far east, and cries ô! ô! every morning when the sun rises. He has to take care that the sun rises properly. The first six of these deities

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575 773 776 796 trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Sisin'ka. Besides this it is stated that the Raven gave each gens its secrets.

FIG. 8.—Mask representing K'emk'emki'lika.

FIG. 9.—Mask representing K'ulu'qawa.

532 575 776

614 532 422 Each gens has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the Sisin'ka only, and are otherwise kept a deep secret, i.e., they are the sacred posses-

FIG. 10.—Mask representing Kuli'lian.

FIG. 11.—Mask representing Ti'etsk'qiniliana.

[575 776]

[531 292] sions of each gens. All gentes, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent.

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represent. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become Sisan'kn. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nesk'a-la'sta, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is a member of the gens Ialo'stimit of the Talio'mn, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a Kū'sūt name, which remains the same throughout life; and a Qō'mtsīn name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nesk'sla'sta's (which is his Kū'sūt name) present Qō'mtsīn name is Atl'itlsmn'ha'sin, but at his next potlatch he intends to take the name of Kalū'kin. These names are also the property of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Kū'sūt names of the ancestors. In two cases only the Qō'mtsīn names have been ascertained (see p. 409). When a man possesses several Sisan'kn secrets he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their Sisan'kn secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisan'kn secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the Sisan'kn carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Kū'sūt is presided over by a female spirit, called Anūlikūtsai'n. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anūlikūtsai'n invited her into her cave and taught

575 her the secrets of the Kû'siût. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kû'siût. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kû'siût.'

575 Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kû'siût. When a man has
776 seen Auaûlikûtsai'n sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a Kû'siût. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Kû'siût lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kû'siût are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the Sisan'kn dances (see above), but belong to the
424 members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
[426] by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Kû'siût is obtained through
[551] an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kû'siût name, which he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kû'siût names,
[428] which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pô'pô until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Ti'akô'etl. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[556] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisan'kn, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kû'siût have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] xlaqô'tla (the Ha'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ô'lsq (the Nô'tlmatl of the Kwakiutl), and the Dâ'tla (the Nô'ntsistatl of the Hâ'iltsuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Kû'siût novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the xlaqô'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
785 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[266] killed, in order to serve as food for the xlaqô'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the xlaqô'tla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

Indians the tradition is considered much more clearly the property of the person who has it in charge than it is among the southwestern Indians. A description of the sisau'k ceremonial has been given by Jacobsen in the paper above referred to.[1]

A clan legend which is illustrated in the sisau'k ceremonial is called by the Bella Coola "Samoma" or "Smx̌'yusta." These traditions are the exclusive property of each clan. The laws according to which they descend from generation to generation differ from the laws prevailing among the other Coast tribes. The inhabitants of each Bella Coola village are not subdivided into clans, gentes, or septs; but each village community forms a unit, and possesses the same tradition. In order to keep the tradition in the tribe, the law requires that no person shall marry outside of his own village community. Thus the clan tradition is kept the exclusive property of the village community by means of endogamy. I have made very careful inquiries in regard to this point, and all the old men make substantially the same statement. Even marriages among near relatives are permitted;[2] and although marriages of people who are distantly related, or not related at all, are preferred, it even happens that cousins marry, or that an uncle marries his niece, in order to keep the clan tradition from being acquired by another village community. It seems, however, that, owing to the influence of the Coast tribes, the endogamic system has begun to give way to an exogamic system. Powerful and wealthy chiefs marry outside of their own village community, in order to secure an additional clan legend through marriage. This new system agrees with the one prevalent among the Kwakiutl tribes.

The k̓ō'sint, as stated before, is a religious ceremony in which all the deities of heaven are personified. The members of various clans are initiated according to their clan traditions; but the same societies and the same deities appear in the traditions of all the various clans. From what little I have been able to learn, it seems that there is an elaborate opening of the whole ceremonial, corresponding to the opening of the ceremonial among the Kwakiutl.[1] I received the following description of the opening ceremony:—

The person who invites to the k̓ō'sint, that is to say, the man whose son is to be initiated into one of the secret societies according to the tradition of his clan, requests a person who is called E'xtm to invite the nine brothers and their sister, who reside in the House of Myths, and in whose charge the k̓ō'sint is placed. The names of the brothers are Xtmxtmalā'ts.la, Xt'mtsiwa, Omq'omkī'lk'a, Q'ō'mtsiwa, Almalā'ts.la, Al'umkī'lk'a, K'ōē'lāa, Q'alaxē'wa, Ā'mik'; and that of their sister, t.'ctsā'xpēt.āsa (see p. 33). In the rear of the house an elevated room is prepared for E'xtm, in which he lies down. He is covered with rings made of red cedar-bark. For four days he stays

[1] Tram, 1894, pp. 1-43.

[2] I have described this fully in the Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 310ff.

inhabited by Salish tribes refer to the early separation of the Bella Coola tribe from the related tribes of the Gulf of Georgia, and that in their traditions they have retained the memory of the emigration of part of the tribe from the southern territory. It seems also probable that the allusion to the origin of one family of the tribe on Skeena River refers to a mixture with the tribes inhabiting northern British Columbia. 174

The traditions of the tribes also describe the style of house used by the ancestors of certain village communities; and it is interesting to note that some of these houses correspond to the subterranean lodges that were in use among the Chilcotin, while others correspond to the tents that were in use among the Carriers. It is said that the ancestor of the Nulle'ix used the subterranean lodge which is called tsi'pa (see p. 87), while the ancestor of the Nusq'a'lst used the skin lodge which is called skema (see p. 64). 171 174 177 342

Since the Bella Coola retain the fundamental traits of the social organization of their congeners in the south, and since their traditions bear evidence of an emigration from that region, and since, furthermore, the linguistic evidence proves that the Bella Coola and the Coast Salish at one time inhabited contiguous areas on the coast, we are justified in assuming that the general culture of the Bella Coola at the time of their emigration must have resembled that of the Coast Salish. The question then arises, How did the peculiar endogamic system and the remarkable mythology of the Bella Coola originate from the much simpler forms that we find among the Coast Salish? 174

One of the most remarkable features in the inner life of the tribes of the northern coast of British Columbia is the great importance of the clan legend, which is considered one of the most valuable properties of each clan or family. It is carefully guarded in the same way as material property, and an attempt on the part of a person not a member of the clan to tell the tradition as his own is considered one of the gravest offences against property rights. The possession of a clan tradition is felt by the Indian to be one of his most important prerogatives. When, therefore, the Bella Coola settled on Bella Coola River, and were thrown into contact with the northern Coast tribes, the lack of a well-developed clan tradition must have been felt as a serious drawback. The physical appearance of the Bella Coola proves that at one time they must have intermarried to a great extent with the Bella Bella. Through these marriages the peculiar customs of the Coast tribes were first introduced among them. This is shown by the fact that a great many of the mythological names can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin, of which stock the Bella Bella are a branch. Thus the name for their supreme deity, Smal'yakila, is a Kwakiutl word meaning "the one who must be worshipped." The name Ö'sq'tsakilkx is also of Kwakiutl origin, and may be translated as "the wealthiest one." The great frequency of 174 177 [144] 174 177 776

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174 words of Kwakiutl derivation will become clear by a glance at the following
177 list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin:—

776 a'xhoala = shaman.
Alk' = speaker.
E'mask'in (p. 49) (Kwakiutl, He'mask'in) = the greatest chief.
[192] Hau'hon (p. 100) = a fabulous bird.
L'E'qoog'ila = the copper maker.
L'E'qumóiks = sister of Mamaxalt'nix (the ending, ilx, designates "woman" in Kwakiutl).
L'E'qumoil' = mythological name of deer.
Ma'lak'ilas.
Mentsi't (p. 48).
Mia'lina = the country of the salmon (p. 38) (Kwakiutl, me) = salmon.
No'skila (pp. 49, 66).
O'mest.k'as (p. 70) = the real O'mest.
O'mest.mai (p. 70).
O'mq'omkl'ik'a (p. 33) (Kwakiutl, Q'ō'mq'omkilik a) = the wealthiest one.
Po'l.os.
Qonātsla'qa (p. 49).
Q'ōmō'qoa (p. 32) = the wealthy one.
Q'ō'mqōlis (p. 49) = rich at opposite side of river.
Q'ō'mtsiwa (p. 33) = wealthy at mouth of river.
Smki'yakila (p. 29) = the one who must be worshipped.
sl'siot = a fabulous fish or snake (pp. 28, 44, 48).
Smayalo'ōsla (p. 29).
T'ō'pewas (p. 97) = the fawn.
Winwi'ns (p. 38) = war.
Wa'k'itxmai (p. 50) = the greatest river.

174 With these names and customs the clan traditions must have found their
177 way to the Bella Coola, but their social organization differed fundamentally
from that of the Bella Bella branch of the Kwakiutl. While the latter,
424 owing to intimate contact with the northern tribes, had adopted the four-clan
system with prevalent maternal descent, the Bella Coola were still distinctly
614 divided into village communities that were not exogamic. It seems very likely
[621] that the jealousy with which the ownership of a clan tradition was guarded
by the Coast tribes was very early introduced among the Bella Coola. Two
means were available for preventing outsiders from acquiring the traditions.
Among the Coast tribes with prevailing maternal institutions, among whom a
limited number of clans existed, the ordinary law of inheritance was sufficient
to retain the tradition inside of the clan. Not so among the Bella Coola.
174 If their organization at an early time was similar to that of the Coast Salish,
182 it is likely that the child was counted as well a member of the father's as
424 of the mother's family, although the young woman generally moved to the
village occupied by her husband. If the child belonged to the families of
614 both parents, it had the right to use the tradition of either family; and
consequently in the course of a few generations, the traditions acquired by
[591] each family would have spread practically over the whole tribe. There were
[851] only two methods possible to avoid this result. The one was to prevent
marriages outside the village community; and this method would seem to
have been most natural for a tribe organized in village communities, members
[621] of which were allowed to intermarry. The other method would have been
to regulate the laws of inheritance in such a way that the child had to

follow either father or mother, but that it had not the right to use the property of both parents. It seems to my mind that the former method was more likely to develop under the existing social conditions, and that to this reason we must ascribe the development of an endogamic system among the Bella Coola. The occurrence of endogamic marriage among this tribe is quite isolated on the Pacific coast. All the other tribes have exogamic institutions, and by this means preserve their property rights. It is interesting to note that the southern Kwakiutl, who originally seem to have been organized in village communities, have adopted exogamic institutions; but there is a notable difference, in the organization of the village community, between the Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl. Among the Bella Coola we generally find four ancestors to each village,—usually three men and one woman. It is true that these are generally called brothers and sister, but they were created independently by Sɛnx, and are therefore not necessarily considered as blood relations. Among the Kwakiutl the village community are considered the descendants of one single being; consequently, among the latter tribe they are all relatives, who are forbidden to intermarry; while among the Bella Coola they are not relatives, and may intermarry.

My inference is, therefore, that the curious social system of the Bella Coola developed through the influence of the customs of the Coast tribes upon the loose social unit of the Salish village community. The possession of clan traditions was felt as a great advantage, and consequently the desire developed to possess clan traditions. These were acquired partly by intermarriage with the Coast tribes, as is shown by the fact that many of these traditions are borrowed from these tribes, partly by independent invention. The desire to guard the traditions which were once acquired led to the development of endogamic institutions, in order to prevent the spread of the traditions over the whole tribe.

The jealousy with which the traditions are guarded has had the effect of making each family try to prevent other families from knowing its own clan tradition. For this reason the clan traditions of the whole tribe are remarkably inconsistent. We find, for instance, that the well-known raven legend of the northern Coast tribes has been utilized by many families as a family tradition. But while one family uses one part of the tradition, other families use other parts of the same tradition. Thus it happens that among the Bella Coola we find the most contradictory myths in regard to important events in the world's history. Some families maintain that the Raven liberated the sun, while, according to another one, the Mink was essential in bringing about the present state of affairs. Still others say that Tɔtɔsɔ'nx, during his travels, caused the sun to appear. The discrepancies in the traditions referring to the visit of the Mink and Wasp to their father, the Sun, are also very remarkable. Although a considerable amount of

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174 contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast,
424 they nowhere reach such a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I presume
414 the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts for this curious condition.

The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to Senx or Ta'ata bear a
171 remarkable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Laxha,
782 the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face it will be clear weather, and man will be happy; consequently the prayer to
[821] the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from
177 the Coast tribes is the kn'siut ceremonial, with which are connected the
575 various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism. The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the
773 Kwakiutl are practically identical. I told above (p. 34) the legend explaining
796 the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another tradition is told to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsi'wae, who lives in the forest, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by three distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the
774 development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious incon-
773 sistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the word and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not co-ordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 60 ff.

[113]

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every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the kō'siut these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks. Xē'mtsioa and Xēmxēmalâ'oLa wear the design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xē'mtsioa by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xēmxēmalâ'oLa has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin. Aiumkī'lik·a and Aiumalâ'oLa wear the design of the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second masks. The fifth Q'ōmq'ōmkī'lik·a and Q'ō'mtsioa have designs representing stars, both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is Qula'xawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kulē'lias (who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue. The ninth, Aē'amā'k, wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called L'ētsā'aplēLāna (the eater), the sister of the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

556 773 776 532 575 776

The sisau'k·, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had gone out hunting met the sisau'k· and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to enter. Then he danced the sisau'k· and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bī'lxula dance the sisau'k·. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the sisau'k· only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, can not become sisau'k·. A person can not take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'Elu'sta, the Indian, to whom I

575 773 776 796 614 424 532 [692] [534] 424 532 556 614 [567] [848] [115]

424 owe my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the
532 gens Ialô'stimôt of the Taliô'mx·, stated that he had received the raven
614 when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received
[115] the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his
[556] next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new
424 secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a kû'siut
551 name, which remains through life, and a Xê'mtsioa name, which is
556 changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'Elu'sta's (which is his kû'siut
575 name) Xê'mtsioa name was AL'ILEMNE'lus'aix·, but at his next pot-
614 latch he intended to take the name of Kaliâ'kis. These names are also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names. When a man possesses several sisau'k· secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisau'k· secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisau'k· secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more.
[426] The crest and the sisau'k· carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular clan.

426 The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl.
556 The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going to pay the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

575 The kû'siut is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaâlikuta'
773 ai'x·. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from
776 February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to
535 have been the first to find her. Anaâlikuta'ai'x· invited her into her cave and taught her the secrets of the kû'siut. She wore ornaments of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

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woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the kū'siut. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the kū'siut." 575 773 776 535

Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the kū'siut. When a man has seen Anaūlikuts'ai'x· sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a kū'siut. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each kū'siut lasts three days. 575 776 535

The various dances performed by members of the kū'siut are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisau'k· dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the kū'siut is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kū'siut name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of L'akō'oL. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the sisau'k·, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kū'siut have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the ƛaxō'La (the hā'mata'a of the Kwakiutl), the ō'ƛex (the nū'LmaL of the Kwakiutl), and the dā'tia (the nō'ntsistalaL of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kū'siut novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation. 535 575 614 575 [426] [551] [428] [556] [171] [554]

When the ƛaxō'La is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the ƛaxō'La. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the ƛaxō'La order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears 575 785 787 [266]

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128 from *Snuhli*. My informant's grandchildren regard them-
173 selves as *Snuhli* boys, and their names are embodied in myths
361 of that village, although their forbears have not lived there
166 for five generations. There is no reason to suppose this case exceptional. Other instances were obtained of movements of people from one village to another at earlier times, and there seems no cause to doubt the general accuracy of these. Names
[554] embodied in the origin myths of different towns are used as prerogatives and have been potent factors in keeping their memory alive. Uncertainties and inaccuracies there must be in the foregoing list, but on the whole it appears to be fairly reliable, since few contradictions were received from different informants.

128 Accounts obtained of the same ceremonies from the descen-
184 dants of people of different villages were found in most cases to be identical. There were a few differences in custom between
[796] the people of *Stuix* and those of the other upper valley towns on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the lower valley on
[101] the other. These will be mentioned when necessary, but on the whole the inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley can be considered as a tribal entity.

114 Boas (p. 48) gives a list of Bella Coola towns which agrees
361 fairly well with the above. Among his villages are included *Pe·ɔslɔ* (no. 4), *Nulxuxtskwan·e* (no. 7), and *Nusälsum* (no. 16).[11] All the older people agreed that these are the names of streams, though settlements located on them may have been known by the same designations. Names of the five villages recorded by Boas, nos. 6, 8, 9, 19, and 24, were not known by several old men questioned on the subject.

101 The villages of the Bella Coola valley did not form a political
●619 unit; each was independent. A common language was spoken throughout and the inhabitants of the different towns recog-
[631] nized that their origins and customs were similar. This was
[197] also recognized to be the case with regard to the people living on South Bentinck Arm, and at the head of Dean Channel.

[11] Using in each case the spelling of this monograph.

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Indians from both of these areas were interviewed and it was found that, except for minor details in certain Beliefs, their customs were identical with those of the Bella Coola proper. Accordingly, in this monograph, the term "Bella Coola" will be taken to include the inhabitants, not only of that valley, but of South Bentinck Arm and the head of Dean Channel. Those living on South Bentinck Arm will be referred to as *Tāl·io* people, the Bella Coola term for them; those of Dean Channel as Kimsquit, the name by which they are generally known. It is an anglicized form of the word *Kimgkwut*, meaning "Canyon," by which the Bella Bella designate the people of Dean River. 101 619

VILLAGES ON SOUTH BENTINCK ARM

(28) *Sātlia:* on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the point that marks its junction with North Bentinck Arm. Food was obtained from an ocean fish-trap.[13] Long deserted except as a summer camp. 361 [226]

(29) *Qankdst*, "Island": east side of South Bentinck Arm, slightly north of the island opposite the Hot Springs on the west side of the fiord. The town took its name from this island. In summer the numerous inhabitants lived immediately opposite it, at a place where they had an ocean salmon-trap; in winter they moved to a fortified spot at the base of a mountain slightly farther to the north. This village was blotted out by a landslide one spring long ago, and the few survivors were unable to re-establish it. [133] [226] [221] [731]

*(30)[14] *Tsaoltmem:* on the east side of the fiord about four miles above the last-named. A small town, whose inhabitants lived on the catch from their ocean fish-trap; it was recently deserted. [226]

[13]Ocean fish-traps work as follows:—A pen is made by a series of stakes, into which the salmon enter at high tide. It is then closed and, as the falling tide lays bare the mud, the imprisoned fish can be scooped out by hand or in hand-nets.

[14]Mackenzie did not visit either South Bentinck Arm, or Kimsquit, but it will be convenient to continue the use of asterisks to mark those towns which are said to have been inhabited at that time. [175]

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174 reliable traditions of Carrier settlements there. The probable explanation is that the Bella Coola formerly extended over the area, either in actual fact or according to mythology, but were supplanted by the Carriers.

175 The Dean River is called *Nułəl*, and the generic name for the people of the Dean valley is *Sutslimx*. About eighty years [101] ago a smallpox epidemic so reduced the villages on the Kims- [164] quit that the survivors abandoned them and moved to the [731] Dean. At that time a certain Kimsquit man is believed to have said: "We will take their places and kill even their dogs."

Since that time, the joint settlement has suffered one [164] epidemic after another, until a mere handful of the people [731] survive, and they are almost entirely descended from the Kimsquit River immigrants. Within the last few years, these have requested permission from the Bella Coola to abandon Kimsquit entirely and live among them. The two groups have [628] always been on the best of terms, but the Bella Coola have not forgotten the fate of the Dean River people and have been unwilling to admit the Kimsquit survivors.

Villages on the Kimsquit River, Sä·tsk'

361 *(44) *Sä·tsk':* this large and important town, at the mouth of the river, was deserted at the time of the smallpox epidemic.

*(45) *Nuxwlst:* this settlement can be grouped with the last-mentioned, although situated on the shore of Dean Channel, at the site of the present Manitou Cannery, six miles away. No meaning of the name is known.

Tribal Organization

●619 The subject of this monograph is the people of the above forty-five villages. They will be referred to as a *tribe*, and as this term is customarily limited to a political unit, a brief justification for its use is necessary.

342 Each Bella Coola village consisted of a single row of houses, 361 built along the shore of a river or the ocean. The front doors

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opened out on to a wooden platform, which served as sidewalk 342
and extended from one end of the settlement to the other. 361
The outer side of this structure was always supported on piles; in fact, in many cases, the houses as well as the whole sidewalk were thus raised from the ground. This type of construction was necessitated by the sloping sites of the villages, but had the added advantage of being a protection against attack. The villages differed in size from insignificant settlements of three to four houses, to ones with twenty or thirty, each containing several families. The ease with which the red cedar could be split and worked into large planks made possible the construction of these large, rectangular houses which, with their horizontally laid walls and sloping roofs, presented a picture of stability and relative comfort superior to that of most Indian habitations.

Each village was practically an independent political unit. 631
Neighbouring settlements had many common interests which 628
threw them into contact with one another, but there was no organized cohesion between the towns of the Bella Coola valley, or between those of *Täl·io* and Kimsquit. There was still less to draw these three groups together. There was no supreme chief and no governmental meeting of the tribe as a whole. Not only were the three divisions not bound to support one another in war, they were often at loggerheads among themselves. Indeed, bloodshed between towns of the Bella Coola valley itself was not uncommon. Moreover, each group tended to merge with its neighbours. The *Täl·io* people fre- 563
quently married with the Rivers Inlet and the Bella Bella; 648
the Kimsquit with the *ıstämx*[11] of Dean Channel and the Kitlobe of Gardner Canal; and the Bella Coola of the upper valley with the Carriers.

In spite of these inconsistencies, the application of the word 619
tribe is justifiable for the following reasons:

A. Linguistic. All spoke the same language. There [197]
were dialectical differences among the people of Bella Coola, *Täl·io*, and Kimsquit, but each group could understand the

[11]To avoid unnecessary symbols, capital ı has not been used.

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619 others. This differentiated them clearly from all neighbouring
[197] tribes.

B. Ceremonial. A member of a secret society in any of
[575] the above towns was accepted as a member in any other one.
[609] A person of another tribe, even if known to belong to a comparable society, was treated as an uninitiated person.

C. Origin and Religion. The people of Bella Coola, *Täl·io*, and Kimsquit felt themselves to be akin through acceptance of the fact that their ancestors had been created together in the beginning of time. This marked them off with
[771] great clearness from all other tribes, especially from the Carriers of the interior. This belief formed a sentimental and religious bond of great strength.

Neighbouring Tribes

648 It is desirable to describe, briefly, the tribes with which the Bella Coola came in contact.

THE CARRIERS

East of Bella Coola, amid the mountains of the interior, roved the Carriers. In summer they often came down to the river valley to fish or trade for salmon, and in winter they were sometimes forced by cold and starvation again to visit the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, or Rivers Inlet people. There was a
[563] good deal of intermarriage between them and the inhabitants of the upper valley, so that the wanderers were able to spend the cold months with relatives. None the less, the Bella Coola
[186] considered these people utterly foreign in habits and beliefs,
[578] and to call a man a "Carrier" was, and still is, a deadly insult. The Carriers lacked the rich ceremonial life of the coastal peoples who, therefore, regarded them with scorn and con-
[796] tempt. The presence of a few of the much-despised Carriers was, however, almost necessary to the correct performance of the winter dances since they were uninitiated spectators whom it was necessary to impress and delude.

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773 have been many changes. Raven, the culture hero, taught
829 the early settlers many useful arts, and they were themselves so powerful that they were able to create ceremonial and other prerogatives in a manner impossible to their descendants. Moreover, the people realize that they have been influenced by neighbouring tribes since that time, but in spite of these additions, they believe that their life is patterned on that of their earliest forbears.

[181] As a group, the Bella Coola are philosophers. They demand a reason for everything, though once a reason has been given, and accepted, they think no more about the matter. The elaboration of Bella Coola mythology may be due in part to their desire to explain their social organization; but without question these myths, now accepted as facts, have had a great influence on the lives of the people. In fact the social structure of the tribe has tended to conform to the myths.

•621 It is believed that each group of first people formed a village
773 community, and pre-empted hunting-grounds in the vicinity. These usually consisted of small valleys opening from the main
[361] Bella Coola River, tracts which could thus be easily defined.
[226] Each group also took possession of a suitable part of the river for a salmon-weir, or, if located on the coast, a convenient place for an ocean fish-trap. In course of time the first people married, of necessity, with members of other villages. According
[591] to mythology, and equally according to modern practice, the women usually moved to the villages of their husbands. When
773 a child was born, it naturally grew up to share in the hunting-grounds of its father's village. Moreover, the father was able to bestow on his child various ceremonial dances; the concepts of some he had brought with him from above, others he had formulated on this earth. It is assumed that all the first people were mighty chiefs, able to initiate rites in a way that few modern men have been able to equal. But the mothers of these children, the first born on this earth, did not surrender the privileges of their own villages at marriage. Consequently, their children were of almost as much interest to the brothers

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names are also willed, but since their value depends on the 578
goods expended to validate them, there is seldom bitterness 614
about their allotment. Indeed, a chief who is the legal owner
of a designation which came from above in the beginning of 553
time, will in many cases choose to elevate his position with [428]
respect to a title of comparatively recent date. But if any
person who is not a member of the ancestral family should [685]
dare to use an ancestral name, all the members rise to avenge
the theft, for such they feel it to be. In recent years, however, [178]
this practice has become comparatively common. In such
cases a man, eager to share in the glories of a myth and able
to give a potlatch, has validated an ancestral name to which
he has no right. The presence of the white man alone
restrains the injured ancestral family. Names are sometimes [426]
lent or hired to those who are not members of the group for
definite sums; the recipient recompenses the individual. If [427]
such names are not returned for several generations quarrels
are apt to arise since the recipient claims to be the real owner
and not the temporary possessor. During his tenancy of the
name he is entitled to any prerogative attached to it, but he
is not considered a *bona fide* member of the ancestral family.

Instances have occurred in which an old man or woman, [428]
believing himself to be the last survivor of an ancestral family,
has donated his names and myth to those who have befriended
him, or these have been taken by those who buried him. Some [557]
individuals are constantly watching to conduct the funerals of
friendless old people in the hope of so obtaining names. But
in almost every case this leads to friction, since it is virtually
impossible for an ancestral family to die out. Perhaps in the
next generation, perhaps in the following one, some youth will
claim descent from the first ancestors of the supposedly defunct
family, and claim the myth and names embodied therein. This [628]
leads to a feud with the person, or his descendants, who has
received the names through aid given to the "last" of the
family.

Such instances of an ancestral family becoming practically 614
621

614 extinct, are unusual; normally, the group is largely centred in one village, but with members scattered in other localities. 621. There is no central organization. It is generally recognized that such a unit belongs in the village where its first ancestors settled, and the leading chief of that village is, therefore, an important person in the family, though without status of [622] "head" of it. His advice may be appealed to in cases of dis- [553] putes concerning names, but he lacks judicial authority. Theoretically, the descendants of the elder of two first people are considered as "elder brothers and elder sisters" of those descended from a younger brother or sister; but this is nothing more than an accepted fact; it plays no part in the social life of the community.

552 In addition to human names, the origin myths include those 614 applied to dogs. The first ancestral group had dogs, and these 773 animals had names, or were given them by their powerful masters. Ever since that time their descendants can apply these designations to their own dogs. It is unnecessary to validate such names, but no two canines can be given the same one at the same time, according to the rule which governs the bestowal of human names. This matter was not investigated in detail, and the only dog's name collected was one for which [539] the origin myth is as follows:

> When *Tāl·ie* was first settled in the beginning of time, the houses were built in parallel rows, one above the other, up the side of a steep knoll. At the very top was a toilet-house, built over such a steep incline [514] that excrement rolled down the hillside. In consequence, one of the early chiefs living there gave to his dog the name, *Nuliqwmutl di mink'*, "Rolling excrement," which has since been preserved in the ancestral family of his descendants.

LAND

124 Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining information 423 about land tenure. The Bella Coola resent keenly the way in 177 which their land has been occupied by white settlers without, according to their standpoint, proper compensation. Ques-

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614 The recent decay of Bella Coola culture may have destroyed
[182] traces of more definite obligations with respect to the ancestral family, but all the evidence indicates that it has always been a fluid unit. Its very lack of functions makes it difficult to
[128] discuss, and the above account was pieced together from scraps of information collected from many different people at various times; yet, intangible though it be, it is a very real unit to the Bella Coola and pervades their life. Each individual knows those to whom he is related. In many cases the exact kinship is lost, but it is remembered that a man from such-and-such a village married a woman from another village, and it is proved from the use by their descendants of names from the same origin myth. The concept of physical strength imparted by a closely akin ancestry is always present and gives a person the real "power" in the village founded by those first ancestors
614 of his. For the ancestral family is usually thought of in terms
621 of villages. A man belongs to the village where his first ancestor came to earth, though he is equally a member of other towns into which his ancestors may have married. A
[554] man without ancestry, without *sol'olam*, is a miserable creature; he has no home in this world, or, theoretically, in the world to come. The ancestral family is a unit essentially held together by the ties of sentiment and pride of ancestry.

614 In addition to the above social elements of the ancestral
827 family, it is felt that all its members have certain tendencies. If one of the first ancestors had a certain physical peculiarity, or met with a particular kind of fortune, either good or bad, his descendants are more likely to experience the same than any other people. These tendencies may skip many generations, and may be inherited either through the mother or the father. In fact, Bella Coola belief on this point closely agrees with modern knowledge of heredity; the term for such an inheritable tendency is *ɛsälonläm* or *uläxmundjut*. Such characteristics are:

(1) Proficiency in using tools;
(2) Ability as a hunter;

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(3) The bearing of exceptionally well-behaved children; 614
(4) The bearing of exceptionally naughty children; 827
(5) Disposition to steal;
(6) Uncontrollable sexual desires;
(7) Sudden death, that is, members of certain ancestral families are less apt than others to die of disease or old age;
(8) Death by drowning. One informant, in whose family this is a tendency, has twice been thrown into the water and barely escaped. He fully expects to meet his fate in this manner;
(9) Insanity (not a common malady); [158]
(10) Dribbling at the mouth with increasing age;
(11) Liability to contract the skin disease known as *lodaly*. With regard to the transmission of this disease the surprising information was received that if a relative of a sufferer should drink from the same bucket or use the same spoon as the patient, he is likely to contract the disease, whereas another person can use them with impunity. This statement may be based on a knowledge of germs learnt from the white man, and warped by a belief in inheritable tendencies, although it is amazing that the theory of germs could have reached the elderly Bella Coola. Possibly this statement is a relic of an old belief in the transmissability of disease through contact, but it is more reasonable to ascribe it to white influence. 614 827 753 177

In a later chapter an account is given of certain occupational abilities, including that of carpentry, which must be confirmed and validated by presents. The above are quite different; they are either present or absent without any action on the part of the individual. 614 827

The Village Community

The village community referred to in the preceding section consists, fundamentally, of the descendants, traced in the patrilineal line, of the reputed first settlers to occupy a site. Since a Bella Coola always describes himself as a native of such-and-such a town, it follows that the village community 614 621

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614 is a more obvious social grouping than the ancestral family,
621 though it is of the latter that a man is most proud. The member of a small, unimportant village often describes himself as a native of a neighbouring, larger one when at a distance from his home, simply as a matter of convenience.

Even before the coming of the white man, village sites were abandoned and people took up their residence with friends or relatives elsewhere. In fact, mythology contains instances of [773] such migrations at the very beginning of time. In cases of this [361] kind, memory of the earlier home has been preserved for many generations, and may perhaps be the explanation of the many villages which are described as two, and which have two names. In the early days immigrants seem always to have been welcome; they added to the numerical strength of the village, and the original inhabitants enjoyed boasting to the newcomers of their descent from the first settlers. Since any group forced to abandon their own homes naturally moved to those of relatives, there is no difficulty in understanding the process by [582] which they continued to intermarry with their new neighbours. Thus two, or even more ancestral families, inhabiting one village tended to form a closely inter-related stock. In rare instances, two unrelated ancestral families may have become inhabitants of the same village, which would unquestionably lead to intermarriage.

In most cases the endogamic tendencies already described cause the village community to be largely members of one ancestral family. In addition there are always other occu- [563] pants; strangers who have fled from their homes and sought refuge among the Bella Coola; the offspring of illicit intercourse [567] with slaves; guests; foreigners, especially Carriers temporarily [554] resident in Bella Coola; and finally slaves, without status in the community. The real inhabitants, those whose power is firmly planted in the village, are the reputed descendants of the first group of settlers, and accordingly a relative coming to [553] dwell in a village usually endeavours to obtain a name from the origin myth of the ancestral family occupying it, and thus

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621 establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole organization. [614] [553]

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the outer coast, about to attack *Sunxl*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Xemqo-ts* without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours. [628] [682] [578] [627] [628]

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. IV), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat- 622 554 [556] 621 623 595 796

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621 623 ters, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact [535] this ceremonial unity is its most important function.

[796] With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the 361 river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built [184] type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side 342 nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many [171] cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there [487] is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox [164] epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space. [433] Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

342 The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, [354] often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side-walls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the different families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The [572] number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an [622] important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and any-[261] one present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with [353] carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall. [535] A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important in dances.

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796* 575* 578

expressed the opinion that the whole affair was a stupid blunder.

The Bella Coola state that long, long ago the usual outcome of friction between *a'alk* and *kukusiut* was the incorporation of members of the former society into the latter like any other uninitiated. The following account of an incident of this kind was obtained from a Kimsquit man who regarded it as historically accurate.

173 575* 578

Some five hundred years after the first settlement of this earth, the members of the two societies used to live amicably together during the summer, which was not surprising considering that both contained members of the same families. But during the winter the *kukusiut* all gathered in a village on the Dean River for their dances, while the *a'alk* also performed at the same season in the village of *Tselhik*, opposite the present Manitou Cannery below Kimsquit.[184] There was considerable jealousy between the two organizations, and the members were always seeking an opportunity to deride and ridicule their rivals. A Cannibal dance had been given by the *kukusiut* and the *a'alk*, who were present as uninitiated guests, had watched with wonder the disappearance of the performer into the mysterious realms above. But a few days later, *Xmxmlsix*, a chief and leader in one of the *a'alk* dances, happened to be in a lonely part of the forest where he was amazed to meet the Cannibal. The latter, confident of his supernatural power, spoke:

"In meeting me today you have met disaster, you will soon be a corpse."

Xmxmlsix, a middle-aged man of powerful physique, was not impressed by the other's powers, whether physical or supernatural.

"No," he answered. "It is you who have fallen into trouble. You are old and feeble and if you try to injure me it will be the worse for you."

"My age has nothing to do with it," reiterated the Cannibal. "You have met me and will die."

At this juncture two of the Cannibal's guardian-companions appeared, but *Xmxmlsix* still did not fear because they were both old and unarmed, whereas he had an axe. But when two more *kukusiut* appeared,

[184]This Kimsquit informant stated that long ago a similar segregation of *a'alk* into one village and *kukusiut* into another took place in Bella Coola. Bella Coola informants knew nothing of this. The expulsion of the uninitiated from houses in which *kusiut* dances are taking place leads to a division of the village, and it is easy to understand how two sections could have been created without definite intention. This would hardly account for a separation into two villages and no explanation for the statement is offered.

[621] [591]

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424 Indians the tradition is considered much more clearly the property of the
575 person who has it in charge than it is among the southwestern Indians. A description of the sisau'k· ceremonial has been given by Jacobsen in the paper above referred to.[1]

604 A clan legend which is illustrated in the sisau'k· ceremonial is called
424 by the Bella Coola "Sæmsma" or "Sma'yusta." These traditions are the exclusive property of each clan. The laws according to which they descend from generation to generation differ from the laws prevailing among the other
[621] Coast tribes. The inhabitants of each Bella Coola village are not subdivided into clans, gentes, or septs; but each village community forms a unit, and possesses the same tradition. In order to keep the tradition in the tribe, the
614 law requires that no person shall marry outside of his own village community.
424 Thus the clan tradition is kept the exclusive property of the village community by means of endogamy. I have made very careful inquiries in regard
582 to this point, and all the old men make substantially the same statement. Even marriages among near relatives are permitted:[2] and although marriages of people who are distantly related, or not related at all, are preferred, it even happens that cousins marry, or that an uncle marries his niece, in order to keep the clan tradition from being acquired by another village community. It seems, however, that, owing to the influence of the Coast tribes, the endogamic system has begun to give way to an exogamic system. Powerful
[622] and wealthy chiefs marry outside of their own village community, in order to secure an additional clan legend through marriage. This new system agrees with the one prevalent among the Kwakiutl tribes.

575 The kō'siut, as stated before, is a religious ceremony in which all the
614 deities of heaven are personified. The members of various clans are initiated according to their clan traditions; but the same societies and the same deities
796 appear in the traditions of all the various clans. From what little I have been able to learn, it seems that there is an elaborate opening of the whole ceremonial, corresponding to the opening of the ceremonial among the Kwakiutl.[3] I received the following description of the opening ceremony:—

575 The person who invites to the kō'siut, that is to say, the man whose
796 son is to be initiated into one of the secret societies according to the tradition of his clan, requests a person who is called E'xem to invite the nine brothers and their sister, who reside in the House of Myths, and in whose charge the
[776] kō'siut is placed. The names of the brothers are Xemxemala'oLla, Xe'mtsiwa, Omq'omki'lik·a, Q'o'mtsiwa, Aimala'oLla, Al'omki'lik·a, K·le'lias, Q'ulaxa'wa, Λt'mak·; and that of their sister, L'etsa'apleLana (see p. 33). In the rear of the house an elevated room is prepared for E'xem, in which he lies down. He is covered with rings made of red cedar-bark. For four days he stays

[1] Vaan, 1894, pp. 1-13.

[2] I have described this fully in the Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 310ff.

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mythologies to those of the interior. It is unnecessary to revert to this subject here. The similarity of the Bella Coola legends to those of the other Coast tribes on the one hand, and to the traditions of the Athapascan tribes on the other, is evident. 114 177

It is, however, important to compare their social organization with that of the neighboring tribes, in order to gain a clearer understanding of the origin of their peculiar organization. As stated before, the Bella Coola are divided into village communities, which are organized on an endogamic basis. Each village community has its tradition, which is represented in certain ceremonies. The supernatural beings which play a part in these traditions are personified by certain dancers. Other Coast tribes have a much more complex organization. The Tlingit and Haida are divided into two clans, each of which is subdivided into a great many families, which, as it would seem, were originally village communities. This opinion is based on the fact that the names of many of the families must be translated as "inhabitants of such and such a place." The two clans are present in all the villages of the tribe, each family belonging to either one clan or the other. The Tsimshian have the same system, except that the number of clans is four instead of two. Each tribe is divided into families, which embrace the inhabitants of a certain region; but all the families of the whole tribe are classified according to the four clans. Among the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian, descent is purely maternal; among the northern Kwakiutl tribes, conditions are somewhat different, according to observations made by Dr. Livingston Farrand. Here we have village communities which are subdivided according to four clans in the same way as those of the Tsimshian, but descent is not purely maternal. There is a strong preponderance of the latter form of descent, but parents are at liberty to place their children in either the paternal or maternal clan. The preponderance of maternal descent is, however, so strong, that from my previous occasional inquiries I drew the inference that descent was purely maternal. 621 171 [196] [176]

Among the southern Kwakiutl tribes the families constituting a village community are subdivided into a number of clans, but each clan is confined to one village. We do not find a limited number of clans pervading the whole tribe, as we do among the northern tribes. An analysis of the social organization of this tribe has shown that the present organization has evidently developed from a previous simpler state, in which the tribe was divided into single village communities. The present more complex organization resulted from the amalgamation of various villages. Owing to the influence of the totemism of the northern tribes, each village community adopted a crest, which in course of time became the totem of the clan.[1] The Kwakiutl have a peculiar organization, which may be considered a transitional stage between

[1] "Social Organization of the Kwakiutl Indians" (Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, p. 333). [113]

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171 maternal and paternal institutions. Descent is in the paternal line; but a
621 man, at the time of his marriage, receives his father-in-law's crest as a dowry, which he holds in trust for his son, so that actually each individual inherits the crest of his maternal grandfather. The clans are exogamic.

The organization of the Salish tribes of the southern coast, who are linguistically closely related to the Bella Coola, is somewhat similar to that of the Kwakiutl. They are divided into village communities, a few of which have amalgamated, as, for instance, among the Salish tribes of Vancouver Island, among whom the tribe consists of a number of septs, each of which owns a separate village. Here the influence of northern totemism is very much weaker. While most of the village communities have certain crests, these do not play so important a part in the social life of the tribe or in its mythology as they do among the Kwakiutl, and the village communities are not exogamic. The Salish tribes of the interior are organized in very loose village communities without any trace of totem.

The fundamental difference between the northern tribes and the southern tribes consists, therefore, in the fact that the northern tribes have a limited number of clans which are present in all the villages, while among the southern tribes the village community is the only unit of organization.

The organization of the Bella Coola resembles most closely that of the Coast Salish tribes of southern British Columbia. In both cases the tribe is divided into village communities, which possess crests and traditions. This latter feature is, however, very much more strongly developed among the Bella Coola than among the southern tribes. They differ in their laws of intermarriage. While among the southern Coast Salish tribes there is a tendency to exogamy, the Bella Coola have developed a system of endogamy.

The tribes of the Coast Salish of the Gulf of Georgia claim descent from mythical ancestors, who are believed to have originated at the place which the tribe now inhabit. A number of traditions of this kind bear evidence of having been derived from historical events. Some of the tribes in the delta of Fraser River have traditions which refer to the amalgamation of tribes who descended from the mountains, and who are described as the descendants of animals living in the mountains, and of the natives of the delta.[1] I believe
174 that the tribal traditions of the Bella Coola which were told in a previous chapter also bear evidence of the historical fates of the tribe. It is very remarkable that the important tradition of Tōtosō'nx gives Fraser River as the place to which he descended from heaven. In another tradition, Bute Inlet is given as the place at which one of the Bella Coola tribes originated. In still another one, Skeena River is mentioned as the home of one of the tribes (see p. 69). I do not doubt that these allusions to territory

[113] [1] Ninth Report of the Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, 1894, p. 5.

174 words of Kwakiutl derivation will become clear by a glance at the following
177 list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin :—

776

a'tokoala = shaman.
Alk^a = speaker.
E'mask'in (p. 49) (Kwakiutl, He'mask'in) = the greatest chief.
[195] Hau'hau (p. 100) = a fabulous bird.
L'ā'qoq'ila = the copper maker.
L'ā'qumēiks = sister of Masmasla'nix (the ending, *lēx*, designates "woman" in Kwakiutl).
Lēqumail' = mythological name of deer.
Ma'lak'ilas.
Mmisi't (p. 48).
Mta'lina = the country of the salmon (p. 38) (Kwakiutl, mē) = salmon.
No'akila (pp. 49, 66).
O'"mesk'as (p. 70) = the real O'mēsL.
O'"mest.mēi (p. 70).
Omq'omkl'lik'a (p. 33) (Kwakiutl, Q'ō'mq'ōmkilik a) = the wealthiest one.
Pō'Las.
Qandatela'qs (p. 49).
Q'ōmō'qoa (p. 52) = the wealthy one.
Q'ō'mqētis (p. 49) = rich at opposite side of river.
Q'ō'mtsiwa (p. 33) = wealthy at mouth of river.
Smai'yakila (p. 29) = the one who must be worshipped.
sī'siut. = a fabulous fish or snake (pp. 28, 44, 48).
Smayale'ola (p. 29).
T'ō'pewas (p. 97) = the fawn.
Winwi'na (p. 38) = war.
Wa'k'itzmai (p. 50) = the greatest river.

174 With these names and customs the clan traditions must have found their
177 way to the Bella Coola, but their social organization differed fundamentally
424 from that of the Bella Bella branch of the Kwakiutl. While the latter,
614 owing to intimate contact with the northern tribes, had adopted the four-clan
system with prevalent maternal descent, the Bella Coola were still distinctly
[621] divided into village communities that were not exogamic. It seems very likely
that the jealousy with which the ownership of a clan tradition was guarded
by the Coast tribes was very early introduced among the Bella Coola. Two
means were available for preventing outsiders from acquiring the traditions.
Among the Coast tribes with prevailing maternal institutions, among whom a
limited number of clans existed, the ordinary law of inheritance was sufficient
to retain the tradition inside of the clan. Not so among the Bella Coola.
174 If their organization at an early time was similar to that of the Coast Salish,
182 it is likely that the child was counted as well a member of the father's as
424 of the mother's family, although the young woman generally moved to the
village occupied by her husband. If the child belonged to the families of
614 both parents, it had the right to use the tradition of either family; and
consequently in the course of a few generations, the traditions acquired by
[591] each family would have spread practically over the whole tribe. There were
[851] only two methods possible to avoid this result. The one was to prevent
marriages outside the village community; and this method would seem to
have been most natural for a tribe organized in village communities, members
[621] of which were allowed to intermarry. The other method would have been
to regulate the laws of inheritance in such a way that the child had to

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follow either father or mother, but that it had not the right to use the property of both parents. It seems to my mind that the former method was more likely to develop under the existing social conditions, and that to this reason we must ascribe the development of an endogamic system among the Bella Coola. The occurrence of endogamic marriage among this tribe is quite isolated on the Pacific coast. All the other tribes have exogamic institutions, and by this means preserve their property rights. It is interesting to note that the southern Kwakiutl, who originally seem to have been organized in village communities, have adopted exogamic institutions; but there is a notable difference, in the organization of the village community, between the Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl. Among the Bella Coola we generally find four ancestors to each village,—usually three men and one woman. It is true that these are generally called brothers and sister, but they were created independently by Sɛnx, and are therefore not necessarily considered as blood relations. Among the Kwakiutl the village community are considered the descendants of one single being; consequently, among the latter tribe they are all relatives, who are forbidden to intermarry; while among the Bella Coola they are not relatives, and may intermarry.

My inference is, therefore, that the curious social system of the Bella Coola developed through the influence of the customs of the Coast tribes upon the loose social unit of the Salish village community. The possession of clan traditions was felt as a great advantage, and consequently the desire developed to possess clan traditions. These were acquired partly by intermarriage with the Coast tribes, as is shown by the fact that many of these traditions are borrowed from these tribes, partly by independent invention. The desire to guard the traditions which were once acquired led to the development of endogamic institutions, in order to prevent the spread of the traditions over the whole tribe.

The jealousy with which the traditions are guarded has had the effect of making each family try to prevent other families from knowing its own clan tradition. For this reason the clan traditions of the whole tribe are remarkably inconsistent. We find, for instance, that the well-known raven legend of the northern Coast tribes has been utilized by many families as a family tradition. But while one family uses one part of the tradition, other families use other parts of the same tradition. Thus it happens that among the Bella Coola we find the most contradictory myths in regard to important events in the world's history. Some families maintain that the Raven liberated the sun, while, according to another one, the Mink was essential in bringing about the present state of affairs. Still others say that Totoso'nx, during his travels, caused the sun to appear. The discrepancies in the traditions referring to the visit of the Mink and Wasp to their father, the Sun, are also very remarkable. Although a considerable amount of

1: McIlwraith

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/For information on achieving the status of "chief" through the display and distribution of wealth (especially at potlatches) see category 556./

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773 hanging a number of bird and animal cloaks, representing ravens, eagles, whales, grizzly bears, black bears, and a few others. *Ālquntām* asked each individual which of these cloaks he preferred to wear. One selected a raven, another an eagle, and so on. Each donned his choice from the wall and immediately became the bird or animal chosen. *Ālquntām* gave each man or woman one or more names, and some food in compressed form; then sent him down in avian or mammal form. Even the animals could travel through the air like birds, and each landed on the peak of a mountain in the Bella Coola country, took off his cloak, and reassumed human form. The discarded coverings floated back up to *Nusmāt·a*. A few individuals, instead of coming to earth in animal form, swarmed down posts which stretched between the worlds.

177 This myth is fervently believed by the Bella Coola. Even
773 Christian Indians, though they readily admit the biblical creation as applied to the white race, remain convinced of the manner in which their own ancestors came into being. At the present time, though most ancient beliefs are rapidly passing away, few, if any, Bella Coola doubt this account of the creation of their forefathers. Their conviction rests not only on the religious aspect of their life, but on the sociological. A man's
[551] most treasured possessions are the name brought down from
[424] above by his ancestor in the beginning of time, the knowledge of the form taken by that ancestor, and information about the place where he landed. A collection of myths of this kind is given in vol. I, chap. VI. Lacking knowledge of his first an-
[622] cestor's form, a Bella Coola has slight chance of becoming a
[554] chief; such lore is the birthright of every descendant of one of
[561] these first people, and those without it are almost certain to be the offspring of slaves. The social aspects of creation myths will be described later; at this point a broad outline must suffice. *Nusmāt·a*, "The House of Myths," is the place in which these myths were made, and are now stored, two reasons for its importance in the eyes of the Bella Coola.

[775] *Nusmāt·a* is not only connected with the history of an indi-

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instructed people about the significance of death omens; it was Raven who showed them the use of slings; and it was Raven who constructed secluded caves and ledges to serve as meeting-places for chiefs. 773 [622] [823]

In brief, the Bella Coola regard Raven as an explorer, teacher, and inventor, whose power, obtained from *Ałquntäm*, enabled him to construct and outwit his maker, but not to create. Much of his work was for the good of mankind, but much was evil and malicious, an aspect which belongs to mythology. Essentially human, Raven could have been included among anthropomorphic, as well as among zoomorphic beings. He differs from most of the supernatural ones in belonging entirely to the past, as his descendants have none of the first Raven's power. It is doubtful whether he still exists, but in any case he has long since ceased to take any interest in the affairs of the Bella Coola, who consider him only as a figure of mythology and ancient history. 773 776 [825]

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS OF THE VEGETABLE AND MINERAL KINGDOMS

Bella Coola beliefs concerning anthropomorphic and zoomorphic beings are relatively clear and exact; their appearance is known, their powers and functions recognized. The supernatural attributes of trees and plants are less definite. *Ałquntäm* created the former in the beginning of time, and they were consequently able to talk and act like human beings at that distant period. Owing to the degeneration of man, mortals are no longer able to converse with trees, although the latter can still understand our remarks. In a vague way, the Bella Coola continue to think of trees as having human personalities, but so little is known of their powers, and they enter so seldom into contact or conflict with mortals, that they are practically ignored. 776 824

In an equally vague manner, Nature is regarded as a Mother, giving birth to the trees and plants. One of the *kusiut* dances portrays this birth of the flowers every spring (II, p. 196). [535] [575]

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539 who, in turn, would pass on the request so that it might reach each
831 member of the party. Not only is it contrary to custom for a commoner
785 to hold intercourse with a chief's wife, but it is unknown for a man to
ask another to sleep with his wife, so the youth was surprised and rather
[837] frightened. However, he acceded to the request, passed on the instruc-
tions, and washed. As he was bathing, a seal appeared in the surf beside
[622] him, and he was able to kill it easily. Each in turn behaved in the same
manner, washed, and then killed a seal. Next morning, when the chief
returned he was delighted that all had turned out in accordance with his
hopes. At the same time the wind dropped so that the party was able
to return home.

831 The power which had brought the seals within reach of the
785 men had been engendered in their own bodies by these ritual
acts after a rather lengthy period of continence. The Bella
Coola believe that such a procedure always increases their
strength and ability, therefore giving them a better chance to
gain favour from supernatural beings, and to take advantage
of opportunities offered. Hunters in particular are careful with
[224] regard to their marital life since animals know their acts and
825 thoughts, and hide from one who has not made himself "clean"
[783] by continence, its termination, and bathing. *Sxetsta* consists
of these three elements, but since continence is the most pro-
minent feature, the term may be translated as "ceremonial
chastity."

In its simplest form this comprises merely the three ele-
ments already mentioned. The longer the continence, the
greater the power engendered by its termination. A man who
has practised abstinence for a year has such strength within
himself that almost any good fortune may occur, and cases
are known in which it has been carried out for even longer
periods. More often, an individual practises ceremonial chas-
[184] tity in accordance with a family tradition. One old man gave
the following recipe and was most emphatic that it always
224 brought success in hunting and fishing; he added that on the
785 two occasions he had tried it, he had brought back a pheno-
menal number of skins.

A person planning to set out on an expedition for any pur-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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614 extinct, are unusual; normally, the group is largely centred in one village, but with members scattered in other localities.
621. There is no central organization. It is generally recognized that such a unit belongs in the village where its first ancestors settled, and the leading chief of that village is, therefore, an important person in the family, though without status of [622] "head" of it. His advice may be appealed to in cases of dis-
[553] putes concerning names, but he lacks judicial authority. Theoretically, the descendants of the elder of two first people are considered as "elder brothers and elder sisters" of those descended from a younger brother or sister; but this is nothing more than an accepted fact; it plays no part in the social life of the community.

552 In addition to human names, the origin myths include those applied to dogs. The first ancestral group had dogs, and these
614 animals had names, or were given them by their powerful
773 masters. Ever since that time their descendants can apply these designations to their own dogs. It is unnecessary to validate such names, but no two canines can be given the same one at the same time, according to the rule which governs the bestowal of human names. This matter was not investigated in detail, and the only dog's name collected was one for which
[539] the origin myth is as follows:

> When *Tāl·io* was first settled in the beginning of time, the houses were built in parallel rows, one above the other, up the side of a steep knoll. At the very top was a toilet-house, built over such a steep incline
> [514] that excrement rolled down the hillside. In consequence, one of the early chiefs living there gave to his dog the name, *Nuliqwmutl di mink'*, "Rolling excrement," which has since been preserved in the ancestral family of his descendants.

LAND

124 Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining information about land tenure. The Bella Coola resent keenly the way in
423 which their land has been occupied by white settlers without,
177 according to their standpoint, proper compensation. Ques-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Bella bella NE5

BC 614 428 721 and hunting-grounds to those who had helped them in their old age. But in every case the gift turned out to be of doubtful value, since young men grew up who claimed membership in the supposedly defunct ancestral family and combatted the right of those to whom it had been given. This always led to war.

BB BC 423 648 The following is an instance of a feud which arose from the bestowal of a hunting-area.

It is said that about 1850 the people of *Tcawat* (probably Bute Inlet) captured a Bella Bella woman as a slave. She escaped and fled up the *Tcawat* River, hoping to come in contact with the Bella Coola, who often hunted in that area. The woman was found by the mother's father of an informant who carefully looked after her while he was hunting beaver and brought her back to Bella Coola, thence sending her to Bella Bella. In gratitude her father, a Bella Bella chief, gave her rescuer the hunting-area known as *Nulam*, near Kwatna Inlet, with the consent of the members of his ancestral family. BB [425] The land so alienated should have remained permanently in possession of the Bella Coola ancestral family, but was too far rempved from Bella Coola to be used regularly by the new owners. After the death of the Bella Bella chief, a number of individuals who claimed membership in his ancestral family asserted their rights to it. Many years later, after white traders had made their appearance on the coast, a Bella Coola went to *Nulam* and killed a large number of beaver. As he was leaving with their pelts he was murdered by some Bella Bella, ostensibly as a trespasser. But for the restraining influence of the white man this incident would undoubtedly have led to war. The informant still feels that he is entitled to hunt at *Nulam*, and did so several times when he was a young man; but his sons have never exercised the right, and it has practically lapsed.

BB BC 423 622 It is unfortunate that the above incident is drawn from Bella Bella, where the power of chiefs is much greater than among the Bella Coola. Consequently it is impossible to say

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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Bella bella NE5

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exactly what right the Bella Bella chief had to dispose of the land. The informant assumed that he must have been powerful enough to dictate to his followers, an unknown possibility in Bella Coola. However, the informant regards the case as typical of what would likely happen should a Bella Coola try to give away land. Out of generosity or gratitude old men have sometimes done so, but always they have forgotten someone, perhaps a mere infant, who on growing up lays claim to the *sol'olam*.

BC
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[226]
[773]

Hunting-grounds are not the only valuable parts of the country. Even more important are stretches of river suitable for salmon-weirs. Of the same type are good places for olachen-nets, and rocks from which these fish can be caught with scoop-nets. Like hunting-grounds, these are said to have been pre-empted by the first people[7] and have passed into the ownership of the ancestral families descended from them. It is needless to repeat the gradual lapsing of rights to property of this kind in distant areas, since the principle is the same as that already described for land.

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In one respect, salmon-weirs differ from hunting-areas, since the latter can be used by any number of individuals, whereas the number of salmon-traps possible at any one weir is limited. Again the mythological origin must be given to explain the customary usage. If, for example, a salmon-weir supposedly built by one of the first groups of people was fully manned in the third generation by ten individuals, it is as-

[7]Several Bella Coola myths describe how the first-comers brought with them from above stone hammers for the construction of fish-dams, and how others were provided with miniature dams which grew larger when placed in position. Mr. H. I. Smith kindly gave the writer the following account, received from an elderly Bella Coola:

Long, long ago a certain *Tamukus* lived with his father, the Sun, who decided to send his child to earth. He came down to *Stuix*, carrying a stone beneath his arm-pit, and accompanied by a Wolf. *Tamukus* made the stone into a pile-driver with a face sculptured upon it, and with this tool drove piles to make a fish-weir. After a while a number of human beings came paddling up the Bella Coola River. In course of time the Wolf returned above, but *Tamukus* remained on earth catching salmon, and teaching the people the method which was in use until the last few years.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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lies in public opinion which expresses contempt for a lazy man 626
who is constantly begging.

To anyone familiar with the definite social groupings of a 614
tribe divided into clans or land-owning families, the ancestral family of the Bella Coola must appear as a vague and unreal unit, only distinguished by its intangibility. So it was found when investigating in the field. When information began to accumulate, it seemed as if there must be some definite obligations incumbent upon all members of the ancestral family, but none could be found. Without asking a direct question, the point was raised whether, if a man were killed, the members [627]
of his ancestral family would unite to avenge him. Conversely, were they liable for the deeds of any member? In each case the reply was in the negative; these matters concern only the immediate family. In regulating marriage the ancestral family [582]
is important, since it is wise for a man or woman to seek his mate within the members of that group, though it is not compulsory. Theoretically, the terms of kinship applied to mem- [601]
bers of the immediate family may be extended to members of [178]
the ancestral family, but in practice this is rarely the case, and, if so, is functionless. It might be argued that this somewhat wide application of kinship terms, verging on the classificatory usage, is a relic of an earlier, and now broken-down, clan system. It is impossible to prove or to deny such a contention. When trying to discover whether the members 614
of an ancestral family ever contributed to a potlatch whereby 622
one of their fellows established himself as a chief, the following 431
interesting comment was received. The previous winter the 171
informant had been in Bella Bella, and there the point was raised by a Bella Bella chief whom he quoted as follows:

"We laugh at you Bella Coola because each of you is always trying to be chief. Our system is much better; we all help our chiefs."

The man agreed with the Bella Bella man that there was an important difference between the practices of the two tribes.

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establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole organization. 621 [614] [553]

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the outer coast, about to attack *Sinxl*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Ło̧mqo·ts* without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours. [628] [682] [578] [627] [628]

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. IV), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat- 622 554 [536] 621 623 535 796

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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621 623 ters, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact [535] this ceremonial unity is its most important function.

[796] With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the 361 river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built [184] type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them [342] stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side [171] nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there [487] is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox [164] epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space. [433] Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

342 The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, [354] often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side-walls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the different families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The [572] number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an [622] important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and any-[261] one present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with [353] carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall. [535] A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important in dances.

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The married sons of a chief usually live in his house, and if he is very powerful the husbands of his daughters may also reside with him. Such a man is at the zenith of power, surrounded by a close group, formed of elderly relatives, of children and grandchildren. Connections by marriage are also added to the family group. At the present time, for example, one Bella Coola man is looking after his brother's widow, and it is felt that she is a member of his family. 592 556 622 602

Another way in which a rich man can increase the size of his family is by adoption. Parents who have lost an infant may adopt the child of some member of the ancestral family of either father or mother. The matter is usually arranged soon after birth, and the transfer takes place immediately after weaning. The real parents are willing since they know that the adopting parents will be able to validate valuable prerogatives and names for the child, which they themselves are unable to do. This desire for their child's welfare overrules parental love. In such cases the real father or mother can likewise bestow names and other prerogatives on the child, who really becomes a member of two families. This is often done by an old couple whose own children have married and moved away, and who thus find themselves lonely. It is considered disgraceful for parents to allow their children to be adopted by anyone not a member of their ancestral family, since that would be an admission of inability to bring up a child in the path of his ancestors. 556 597 614 [888]

"Your father was not strong," could be said to such a child as a reproach.

In the case of an orphan some wealthy relative is almost always ready to adopt him. Consequently, as he grows up, he receives his full share of the ancestral origin myth, and the names embodied therein, so that the loss of his own parents is of little consequence in the course of life. Occasionally a child is not adopted by relatives, and then his fate is indeed hard. 736 597

shelter in the house of any chief, and shared in the food which was being distributed at the almost continuous ceremonial feasts. Now, each family lives alone and no one feels any responsibility for this old man. [178]

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593 family are liable. It is very rare for a woman to be killed in
627 a blood feud. A death is answered by a death; if two persons
682 should be slain for one murder the family which has suffered
the double loss endeavours to kill another of their enemies. In
[562] case of wounding, an effort is made to wound the offender, but
[683] if he should be killed his family would try to avenge him.
More often, one of the offender's family takes the initiative of offering goods to the injured family, "to cure the wound." If the offer is accepted, and the goods delivered properly, the matter is at an end. If a murder be committed within the ranks of the immediate family, for instance, if a brother kill a brother, revenge, if executed, must be meted out to the actual
[622] offender. If requested to do so, the leading chief of a village may offer his advice, but it is always considered that revenge concerns only the immediate family.

612 Revenge is a topic which shows clearly the essential fluidity
614 of the family. There are no well-defined degrees of relation-
[627] ship within which responsibility rests. Instead, everyone
[682] knows, in the open life of the community, how many persons share the family life of the individual, and they alone are held to account, or they alone demand compensation. From its very nature, the family must be a bilateral unit which, when powerful, stretches out to absorb members of the ancestral families of both mother and father.

Not only does the family thus appear constantly to be attracting to itself members of the ancestral family of either parent, but these relatives themselves are deeply interested in the affairs of the family. This is most clearly shown in the case of children who, of course, are members of the ancestral family of both their mother and father. A few days after
553 birth some relative is expected to call together the people of
612 the village where the child is born for the bestowal and validi-
614 zation of an ancestral name. It is considered an evidence of
[551] poverty if this is done by the father, as if his child were only supported by his parents, not by a larger circle of relatives. It is immaterial whether this gathering be called by a relative

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601 Coola social organization, and of the absence of standardized obligations based upon specific relationships.

Slaves

567 Since a slave was[20] without status in the Bella Coola community, it is perhaps incorrect to include a description of [559] slavery in a chapter on social organization; but as slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages, it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was 162 impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of their number in 567 Bella Coola; slavery has been so long abandoned that the present natives could only hazard vague guesses. Judging from conversational remarks by elderly men, it seems probable that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as thirty to forty per cent of the total population.

567 When a party raided a village most of the inhabitants were 727 slain, but some, especially children, young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. As far as could be learned, once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief [422] or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

567 Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold. 437 The Bella Coola were usually so well provided with salmon that they were able to exchange these fish with the members [622] of other tribes for slaves. Lack of strong chieftainship among [726] the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of [431] their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category [773] belong those obtained as presents at potlatches. If, however, [641] a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was

[20] One of the first efforts of the white man's establishment in British Columbia was the freeing of all slaves. Consequently the past tense is used in this section.

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CHAPTER IV

RANK

Chieftainship—Secret Society—The Potlatch

CHIEFTAINSHIP

IN the previous chapter have been described the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the origin of names, and the attitude of pride with which they regard those embodied in ancestral myths, which carry with them prized prerogatives. But the unsystematic method by which ancestral names are inherited is sufficient to show that their possession, though valued for sentimental reasons, is not enough to make the owner a chief. On what, then, is Bella Coola chieftainship based? Expressed briefly, it depends on the number and value of presents distributed at any kind of ceremonial. To the Bella Coola, every rite, whether it be a marriage, the bestowal of a name, a dance, a type of funeral, or admission into a secret society, is a prerogative intimately associated with the myth by which the performance is authorized. Accordingly, the host is really displaying the glories of his ancestors before the eyes of guests present at the ceremony. To the Bella Coola it is unthinkable for such to be performed without the giving of presents to all; failure to do so would destroy the value of the prerogative. The potlatch is the ceremonial at which the most lavish generosity is displayed, but the principle of the acquisition of prestige by the giving of presents is the same for all other rites; the only difference is that at a potlatch a man is able to display his generosity to a larger number of recipients. In consequence, the aim of every ambitious man is to hold potlatches, since his status in the community virtually rests on his ability in this respect. The ritual of a potlatch will be given in detail in the latter part of this chapter, but its complications will be intelligible only after a description of the

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622 broader principles of chieftainship. The first essential is to
556 consider the principles of present-giving.
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PRESENTS

556 Consider, for example, a man who wishes to take for him-
431 self one of his ancestral names, and at the same time to display
certain features of his ancestral myth—a particular type of
424 house, totem-pole, or dance used by one of his forefathers.
He invites guests to his house, displays the feature of his myth,
and must give a present to each to show the value of his pre-
rogative and to demonstrate that he has not merely casually
usurped the function in question. In giving a present of, for
instance, $20, it is as if he said to the recipient:

"See! These are the glories of my ancestors of whom *I* am the descendant. *I* have a part in their fame. To make this valid I give you from my wealth a mere trifle, a matter of no consequence to me, who am so firmly established in the path of my ancestors."

556 The guest receives the money with mixed feelings. On the
431 one hand he has received $20 as a "present." But if he wishes
to elevate his own position and his own prestige, together with
that of his ancestors, it is incumbent on him to repay this sum
[171] with interest. Contrary to the practice among some other
coastal tribes, there is no fixed rate of interest among the Bella
Coola. An ambitious man who seeks to become a chief will
strive to the utmost to pay back with heavy interest when he
himself gives a ceremony so that his fame will be carried far
[558] and near. If he should repay only the principal, he would be
regarded as having done all that was obligatory, but should he
fail to do even so much, he would soon sink to a position of
little consequence, no matter how lofty and distinguished his
ancestral name might be.

171 In this respect there is a parallel between the Bella
556 Coola and ourselves. A man invited to a dinner party is not
558 compelled to return the compliment, but if, in the course of

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the writer was in Bella Coola, a non-ceremonial entertainment was given one evening at which several men sang and performed. The writer was asked to sing a Bella Coola song, which he did in the belief that it was not one that was incorporated in the ancestral myth of anyone. Unfortunately, his teacher had erred, and as soon as the song was completed an old woman arose and stated that it belonged to her ancestral family. She avoided the difficulty of its singing by immediately announcing that the singer was her "son." Thus the writer was adopted into a Bella Coola family, a circumstance which aided him considerably in collecting information. This did not alter the fact that a ceremonial song had been sung. Accordingly, the woman gave presents to the guests, thereby legalizing the adoption, and saving herself from the disgrace of having one of her songs used as if it were a matter of no consequence, free to anyone.

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SEATING

Presents are also a means of obtaining seats. Every Bella Coola has at least one name embodied in an ancient myth. A man who wishes to become a chief can do so only by giving lavish presents to make his designation "strong," "firm," or "bright," to use Bella Coola expressions. Such gifts increase the importance of the owner's name, and they obtain for him the right to a seat, more or less definitely located, in the house. Since all Bella Coola habitations are built on similar lines, a man can occupy his wonted position when summoned to a ceremony in any house. The validating of ancestral names and the acquisition of seats are among the important features which occur at potlatches.

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In the beginning of time, when the first people were sent down to populate the earth, it is assumed that each who established a village, consisting of a single house, seated himself in the best spot within the dwelling, namely the central position behind the fire; his younger relatives ranged either beside him

[773]

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all that he sits in an enviable spot, irrespective of its location in the house. 554 556*

In precisely the same manner a man may take for himself a seat in the central part of the row behind the fire, but he is laughed at for endeavouring to assume a dignity, unworthily, unless he can validate his position by lavish presents. The Bella Coola are always ready to make fun of a person who fails to maintain his seat. On the death of the occupant of the central position it is taken for granted that whoever inherits his name will assume that location and give the essential presents, but it is not incumbent upon him to do so. He may choose to establish his new name at his old station, beside, instead of behind, the fire. Thus it has come to pass that the seat of the most important chief of a village is often at the side of the house. When all are seated the chiefs may be widely separated, and a parent may have obtained for his son a seat in a better part of the house than his own. But as a rule the chiefs sit in a row at the back of the fire, the most influential one in the middle. There must have been feuds when two men desired to seat themselves in the central position at the same time, but disputes about this were uncommon, because a man's seat was, and still is, primarily regarded as the intangible goods wherewith he is clothed, rather than his right to sit at any particular spot. It is these non-material coverings that enable a man to be bold and assertive in argument or suggestion, in fact to be a chief. A young man may have had conferred on him one of the noblest names, but his influence depends on the value of the goods expended on his behalf, subject of course to the universal characteristic that a man of forceful character may have more influence than his actual position warrants. [424] [428] [622] [424]

Jealous feuds are common when the man who owns the name of the first chief, first ancestor of a village, has duly validated it, but is being eclipsed in the giving of potlatches by a man whose name is of less intrinsic importance. Such a complication recently arose at Kimsquit, and the Bella Coola [578] [682]

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554 ascribe two murders which took place there in 1915 to jealousy engendered by rivalry.

*556 A chief who desires to have his son, or other near relative, [578] succeed to his actual seat may validate for him a position at [682] his feet. If several potlatches be given, with distribution of goods for this purpose, it becomes recognized that the son shall [622] take his father's seat. None the less, he will not have his father's influence or prestige unless he can himself continue to give away goods, because the power of a chief rests on this, not on his ancient name or the location of his seat.

553 Further evidence that a man's influence rests less on his actual name than on the wealth distributed with reference to *556 it is found in the lack of uniformity in the type of names validated. Those of highest potential importance are the ones brought to the earth by the first-comers, yet in many cases a man prefers to elevate his position with respect to a name of later origin. It is not uncommon for a man to validate several ancestral designations, and choose one of them to be his most important by valuable gifts for the seat which he occupies with respect to it; or in other cases a name of modern origin is selected and elevated. Thus, a certain Bella Coola chief who is the legal owner of the names *Q̣eil* and *Xemlaix*, two of the first people to settle this earth, has based his greatness on the goods expended for a seat with reference to the name *Siälxeläx*, of more modern origin. It is accordingly clear that any Bella Coola can rise to a position of importance, even though he lacks the right to one of the most ancient names. Moreover, some chiefs prefer to validate several names rather than concentrate on one alone.

[622] Furthermore, a powerful chief can create a name. In this case the "power" of the designation rests, not in any supernatural origin, but in the actual wealth distributed. Two examples will serve to illustrate this point. Between 1880 and 1890 a chief was preparing to give a potlatch at which his nephew was to receive a name, when fire destroyed the village with the exception of his house. This added to the value of

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554 chief had thus obtained a seat for his daughter, as well as ones
* 556 for his two sons. But usually a woman continues to use the
562 ancestral name given to her in infancy until she is able to
[553] assist her husband in a potlatch, when a name is validated for
her (see I, p. 410). The ancestral names of the first women
to occupy this earth are reserved for women and, like men's
names, vary in prestige according to the prowess of their
owners. Most names given to children, though embodied in
[551] origin myths, are applicable to either sex; and these are the
common designations of women. Cases are known in which a
woman has assumed an ancestral name if her brother has al-
lowed it to fall into ill-repute through failure to give potlatches.

554 With such a fluid system, no fixed line can be drawn be-
* 556 tween chief and commoner. But after his fourth potlatch a
man's influence in the community has become so great that
● 622 he will usually feel justified in having the carpenters make for
[352] him a material seat. There is nothing to prevent a person
having one made for him before he has given the requisite
number of potlatches, but too rapid assumption may render
him liable to the scorn of the community through his failure
to show himself sufficiently "strong." The contempt shown
[626] to anyone attempting to usurp too lofty a place is a strong
deterrent to a proud young man.

[532] On the material seat are carved the man's ancestral crests,
in other words the forms in which his first ancestors came to
[352] earth, or some of the beings with whom they came in con-
tact. To show these is a matter of pride, but unless the dis-
play is fittingly validated, the man's own dignity will be
lowered, as well as that of his ancestors. Construction of a
seat is particularly common when a man is establishing himself
in the central position behind the fire, and claims this to be
where his first ancestor sat. Others among the first people
may have chosen seats in other parts of the house, and in these,
likewise, a man who is taking his ancestral name may have a
material seat constructed. Establishment in such a position
increases a chief's feeling of mental superiority, as if strength-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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ened by the age-long power of his ancestor. Finally, in old age a powerful chief is careless where he seats himself; his fame is so great that he can afford to disregard all conventions. 554 556* 622 [183]

POWER OF CHIEFS

It will be seen from the foregoing that chieftainship among the Bella Coola does not depend on hereditary rank, still less on an elective principle, but on the individual's prestige as displayed, especially in his ability to acquire for himself a firm seat by the giving of presents. As he continues to do so his influence becomes ever greater. Consequently, it is impossible to state clearly what are the powers of a chief; such depend upon his prestige and influence. For a Bella Coola chief has no executive or judicial authority; what deference is shown to him depends on his success as a man, a factor which is constantly rising or falling.

The coming of the white man has enabled the Bella Coola [177] to earn comparatively large sums of money by trapping and fishing. This in turn has enabled nearly everyone to give at [434] least one potlatch, a very different state of affairs from that which prevailed in the last century when it required years of toil for a man to amass the necessary food and skins. Consequently, in many towns there were no men who had given potlatches, so that a man's prestige was estimated by the [431] presents he had given at smaller ceremonies. Sometimes, [535] moreover, a man preferred to increase his fame by giving rites of a different nature, such as *kusiut* dances, and the presents then distributed might elevate him in the eyes of the community, to a position above that of a man who had given a potlatch. This, however, was unusual.

After a fourth potlatch a man is accorded a position of eminence, and is termed a *numitl* chief. *Numitl* is an untranslatable word, with the significance of "passage," an allusion to the amount of goods which have passed through his hands. Jealous and vulgar-minded persons pun on the word, applying [578]

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554 it to the digestive tract. After a man has given four potlatches
he feels superior to those who have been unable to do likewise.
* 556 His name is "bright," "clean," "heavy," "firm," or "upright"
● 622 in Bella Coola terms, and so, likewise, his seat. He feels inde-
[578] pendent and proud. Such a chief will fearlessly enter the back-
room where ceremonial rites are taking place, even if not entitled to do so.

"He is so strong, he can go where he will," say the Bella Coola.

The advice of such a man is taken because of his ability and prestige, especially by the members of his own family. A few years ago, for example, when a certain Bella Coola died, his brother wished a *kusiut* name-prerogative of the deceased to pass to the dead man's daughter. The girl's mother's father, a *numitl* chief, objected, and his desires were followed, although the name in question was not connected in any way with his family. In small matters, too, people gladly carry out the
[592] wishes of a chief. Work around the house is done for him
without thought of disobedience. An old man was asked whether, when he was young, chiefs gave many orders and acted as masters in their households.

"You bet," the old man answered emphatically with a dry chuckle.

231 It is difficult now to form an accurate estimate, from obser-
vation, of the influence of chiefs solely through virtue of the
552 goods they have expended. But the following is a concrete
622 example. In November, 1923, the writer, while walking through the Bella Coola village, was bitten by a dog. He was told that the animal belonged to a certain old woman. When next he saw the owner he asked her whether she knew that her dog attacked passers-by.

"Yes," she answered, in a matter-of-fact tone, "He is a chief and can do what he likes."

Further questioning elicited the information that the old
[766] woman and her husband, the childless last survivors of an
ancestral family, had transmitted some of their ancestral

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names to their dog, and had distributed presents to validate the bestowal. Consequently, the animal is a chief (see Plate 11)[1] and can do as he likes. When it dies it will be mourned as a chief. Moreover, a number of people have returned the presents which they received at the time the dog was made a chief, and this money is kept by the woman and her husband, to be used when they perform the rite of mourning for the dog at death.

When this is possible, in the present degenerate days, it is not difficult to understand how, formerly, a great chief felt himself above the restraints that hindered lesser men. The last great Bella Coola chief was *Potles*, who died between 1870 and 1880. His influence and power were so great that he was a virtual ruler, daring anything. If he requested a young man to take his food box home and the youth was slow to obey, *Potles* had no hesitation in killing him on the spot. Such great power, though unusual, is intelligible to the Bella Coola, since *Potles* gave far more potlatches than any of his contemporaries. Other chiefs have been known to attempt a similar arbitrary use of power, but have failed, since their prestige was not great enough to justify it. The fame of a mighty chief spreads up and down the coast, and protects him and the members of his family from being ambushed and slain in any sporadic foray. During an actual fight, however, a chief had to take his chances with the rest, but the comparative immunity was a great advantage.

The Bella Coola recognize the fundamental differences between their own concepts about chieftainship and those of other coastal tribes with whom they come in contact. This point was mentioned in the course of conversation by several men. The most powerful chief known to them was *Tcubisa*, who, they say, was virtual monarch of the Kitkatla. None of his subjects could go hunting without his permission, and he had rights to a certain share of their booty. At any ceremony presents had first to be given to him, and if he were slighted in this respect, he would kill the offender. It is be-

[1] [See cat. 116, p 186 (c) - ANALYST]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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171 lieved that all the Kitkatla chiefs were powerful, but *Tcubsa*
* 556 was the greatest of all. It is said that one of his prerogatives[1]
● 622 was to exercise *jus primae noctis* whenever a Kitkatla was
829 married. Without question, tales of this chief's prowess have become exaggerated in transmission, none the less they show that the Bella Coola realize the great importance of the northern chiefs. Concerning their nearer neighbours, the Bella Bella, the Bella Coola understand the way in which the members of a family combine to help their chief in the giving of presents. They say that the Bella Bella consider the Bella Coola practice of each one endeavouring to make himself a chief to be foolish in the extreme. Such is also said to be the opinion among the Kwakiutl, who support their contention that in Bella Coola all are chiefs, from the fact that flooring exists under the seats of all, whereas in Fort Rupert, their home, such occurs only beneath the seats of chiefs.

262 Corresponding to the extreme paucity of functions pos-
574 sessed by Bella Coola chiefs, their prerogatives are likewise
622 scanty. Indeed, they take their validated seats only during certain rites of the secret society connected with chiefs, at potlatches, and at ceremonial meals. These last occur whenever a deer or seal is killed; the latter is considered a great delicacy.[2]
[225] Anyone can kill a seal, but it would be unthinkable for a Bella Coola to share its flesh with his immediate family only. The
[252] animal is cleaned, the hole made by bullet or spear carefully plugged, and the carcass boiled whole in a large box. Mean-
[203] while a herald (I, p. 244) summons the chiefs to the house where the successful hunter lives. If the meal is to consist merely of one small seal, only a few chiefs are invited, those of greatest influence through their possession of "strong" seats. When
[562] several seals have been killed, the number invited is correspondingly larger, but no woman may partake unless she ranks

[1]This is said to have been a personal prerogative, not shared by all chiefs, and requiring validation by valuable presents.

[178] [2]Only traces of the rite described in this paragraph occur at the present time. In fact, the reservation of seal meat for chiefs alone was discontinued towards the close of the last century.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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as a man by the duly validated ownership of a chief's name in her own right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat seal, unless he had been the slayer. If many seals are killed, chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs seat themselves according to their proper positions and are first served with the blood-stained grease that floats to the top of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is cut into strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths, according to the number of guests. The cuts run down each fore-flipper, so that each receives a narrow strip including one of the toes. The head is always given to the herald.[3]

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary meals even when no seal or deer has been killed. On these occasions, as at seal feasts, the guests are designated by their ancestral names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also accustomed to meet for the discussion of matters connected with the winter ceremonial; on such occasions their number may be augmented by men of influence in the secret society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the *kusiut* society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a *numitl* chief is outweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the views of some individual must be accepted. The writer was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but

[3]Every effort was made to ensure the accuracy of this account, but errors may have crept in on account of the length of time which has elapsed since the ceremony was carried out in full detail.

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622 there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by
623 members of the *kusiut* society that none would dare go there.
778 If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formerly have been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-
[575] place of the *Q̓omqo·ts* chiefs is on a ledge of rock jutting out over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village. The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side, screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a cauldron, so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can enter. The ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of other villages lack such natural settings, though all are at the bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some
178 of them are decorated with rude carvings, pecked into the
532 stone. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of
778 the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago, by chiefs when they were composing tunes; they picked out the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others
[211] were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure, perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with the rite, to recall the occasion. No carvings have been made within the life-time of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that they had further significance, now unknown.

622 When a chief wishes to summon his fellows for a meeting
623 he visits each and notifies him by a simple pressure of the foot, in many cases unobserved even by those sitting near. The
201 person so called slips away, unostentatiously, to the meeting-place.

578 The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who
622 succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows
682 became an object of envy. Their mythology contains many
[152] examples of the murder of some powerful chief by rivals of his own village, and informants of today state that these records are true. One intelligent man asserted that his father had

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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thus been slain about seventy years earlier. It appears that attempts were commonly made to kill chiefs by means of sympathetic magic, and it is quite possible that such attempts, becoming known, preyed upon the minds of the victims to such an extent that death resulted.

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WEALTH

Since wealth is so important in chieftainship, it would be desirable at this point to consider the concepts of wealth. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a satisfactory treatment of this subject. The coming of the white man altered the economic aspects of Bella Coola life so radically, and at such an early period, that concrete examples of economic interdependence, so useful in a thorough study, could not be obtained in the field. It is possible that greater attention to this subject might have produced more satisfactory results, but I am doubtful of this.

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In the old days, "wealth" was of two categories: (*a*) Prerogatives, tangible or intangible, which could be shown, pictorially or dramatically, or could be expounded in words; and (*b*) Goods which could be distributed for validating such prerogatives. Individual possessions, unsuited for distribution, were hardly considered as wealth; a sewing-machine, a bottle of whiskey, a bed, or some other luxury might give satisfaction to the owner, but did not increase his importance in the eyes of his fellows. The value of objects was only for their use in ceremonial distribution; indeed, prior to such distribution, they were only of potential value. This attitude controlled Bella Coola economics in the early days of contact, and still influences their behaviour. A native store-keeper once ruefully commented on the fact that he would gain no advantage from the goods on his shelves, since he hoped merely to sell them, not to give them away.

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A man's relatives were expected to help him in the acquisition of goods, but the extent of their contributions was never

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present, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried farther afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in attendance. Every individual duly secluded and given a *sisaok* name feels himself ceremonially allied to others who have had a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be termed the *sisaok* secret society. 553 556* 575

The close connection between this society and chiefs is obvious from the presence of names of each type in the same ancestral myths. None the less, every chief, that is a person with duly validated ancestral name and seat, is not a *sisaok*, unless he has validated a *sisaok* name for himself and undergone the period of seclusion. Conversely, a man may be a duly authorized member of the *sisaok* although lacking a seat and the other marks of chieftainship. The relationship is, however, so close that the Bella Coola think of the *sisaok* society as a society of chiefs. *Sisaok* dances take place at potlatches and funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance. Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use some of his goods for the acquisition of a *sisaok* name. Such a case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in the summer of 1923. Theoretically, he was ignorant of *sisaok* rites, but after much discussion these were used on account of his importance as a *numitl* chief, an instance of the manner in which a man's personal importance over-rules ceremonial dictates. 575 622 [553] [535] [766] [183]

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *sisaok* name-prerogatives came to this earth at the beginning of time with their first ancestors, and that many more have been acquired later by supernatural experiences. These were especially common among their forbears as they ranged over this earth seeking places to settle in the beginning of time. No *sisaok* name can be assumed casually; each must have had a specific origin. There are few *sisaok* origin myths, though theoretically there should be one to account for every name. The explanation appears to lie in the undoubted fact that many *sisaok* prerogatives have been acquired comparatively recently 424 551 575 773 [177]

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(4) The strengthening of the donor's seat. 556*

(5) The strengthening, or initial establishment, of seats for a number of young relatives of the donor who may, or may not, be those who are being initiated into the *sisaok* society. Other youths may also be established on seats by their relatives. 796

The duration of a potlatch varies with the number of rites being performed. The preliminaries, including the beginning of seclusion for *sisaok* initiates, requires at least several weeks, in some cases months. There is further delay of a week or more after the arrival of the first guests, as only when the last party has arrived can the actual potlatch begin. This can then be completed in three days and nights, although if many initiates are performing their *sisaok* dances, a longer time is required.

What are the consequences of giving a potlatch?

In the first place the donor spreads the fame of his name far and wide, also the myth with which it is incorporated. Thus he increases the renown of his ancestors, a source of intense pride and gratification. 556*

More important even than this, it elevates the donor himself. With the proper carrying out of the complicated ritual and the knowledge that his name is now known among different tribes, a man experiences a feeling of mental superiority which enables him to take a leading part in the affairs of his community. In Bella Coola a chief (*stältumx*) is a person whose influence is paramount owing to his success in giving potlatches.[6] If several chiefs in one village have given potlatches, he who has given most is generally of greatest importance, although often a man of forceful character who has held, for example, five potlatches will be regarded with greater respect than one of lesser weight, even if he has given six. The whole system is exceedingly fluid, as might be expected where chieftainship depends on individual prowess. In theory, the man who holds the name of the first person to occupy a village, at

[156] 556* 622 [554] [182]

[6] Particularly if he has given four potlatches and can accordingly be described as a *sumäl* chief (I, p. 173). In *sisaok* songs the archaic word *stäämunts* is also sometimes employed for "chief."

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* 556 the time the earth was settled, ought to be chief of that village.
● 622 If he has been able to give the necessary potlatches to weight his possession of that name, the fact that he is the legal descendant of the first chief will add a certain amount to his prestige, but unless he has been able to do this his influence will be slight.

* 556 Thirdly, potlatches smooth the way for the giver after
622 death. Before the corpse of a chief is removed from the house
766 where he has died, a speaker always announces the number of
[775] potlatches he has given and the total value of goods distributed at them. These gifts in a vague way are felt to make easy the deceased's path in the next world as they have done in the present. The feature of the potlatch, though firmly believed by some of the older people, plays a less important part in the life of the Bella Coola than might be expected.

* 556 What are the requisites for giving a potlatch?

(1) Possession of an ancient myth, containing a name or
[424] names. Probably every Bella Coola has this requirement. A man's family may not be the proud owners of one of the ancestral myths dealing with the first settlement of this earth, but they will at least own some ancient myth which they can elevate by giving a potlatch. As has been said, the owner of one of the most ancient names in many cases chooses to elevate one of lesser antiquity, a course which must, perforce, be done by one who lacks an origin myth. The slight feeling of defer-
[554] ence with which those are regarded who hold the names of the first inhabitants of the earth, the mighty chiefs of old, is subordinate to the very real feeling of respect in which is held the successful giver of potlatches. The descendant of one of the first people has the potential right to chieftainship, but unless he can give potlatches he will fail to gain that eminence.

* 556 (2) An occasion for giving a potlatch is never lacking. It
769 consists of a number of closely associated rites, any one of which will serve as a reason for the ceremony. The most important feature, the return of a dead ancestor or ancestors to visit the living, is available to anyone at any time. The Bella

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PLATE 11

Photograph by the author

A Bella Coola couple with their dogs; the one on the left is a chief.

[+186 (c)]

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Coola say that the return of the dead "washes away grief," 556* 769
and unquestionably it has a comforting effect on the mind of the donor of the potlatch.

(3) Wealth. Unless a man has the necessary goods with 476
which to make presents he cannot invite guests, no matter how 556*
important may be his ancestral myths and names. Some of 602
this wealth he may be able to amass by his own labours, but unless he is assisted by his wife's family it is virtually impossible for him to succeed. The Bella Coola believe that a man [583]
cannot become a chief except through large payments made [622]
by a woman's family when they "rebuy" her from her husband. In other words, no man can succeed without the support of his wife. In choosing a mate a man is guided almost entirely by [587]
the ability of her family to give him financial support. In some cases an elderly couple assist a married son to give a potlatch; this custom, though considered quite proper, is not common.

(4) Supernatural assistance. To the Bella Coola this is 556*
quite as important as the preceding. One man may work very 787
hard but his efforts are never crowned with success, whereas another man will prosper in every venture. This is due to the supernatural attributes given by the supreme god to the latter. By prayer, ceremonial chastity, and other means, a man may increase the powers granted to him, but if these are entirely lacking, he can never hope to rise to the position of chief.

PRELIMINARIES

In describing the potlatch, it will be convenient to refer to 556*
the donor as X, and assume him to be a middle-aged member of the *nusk* society, whose seat and name, though duly ratified, lack importance through his previous failure to give large presents.

For a number of years X has prospered. He has amassed quantities of skins, blankets, tools, copper ornaments, clothing, canoes, baskets, dentalium shell, slaves, and other valuables.

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203 522 *556 in such a way that the contents dribble over the recipient; sometimes, though able to catch the dish, a herald may deliberately allow the sticky pulp to cover him. The humour of this is increased by the fact that guests at potlatches always receive their food in a ceremonious manner.

203 *556 [773] Though one of a herald's duties is to act as buffoon, his position is only very slightly derogatory. In the beginning of time, Raven himself did not hesitate to act in this capacity on many occasions. Ever since, the post has usually been occupied by relatives of chiefs, especially by those who are unable to give potlatches. In some cases the position is sought by ambitious young men, willing to endure the slight loss of dignity for the emoluments. Since the basic principle of every Bella Coola ceremony is that the donor must recompense those who have assisted him, heralds are always lavishly rewarded. At potlatches especially, chiefs remember their dependence upon the heralds, and shower presents upon them. One who has allowed himself to be spattered with liquid food to amuse the guests, is suitably compensated, but in any case he receives presents for summoning and seating the guests and for interrupting the speeches. The same principle holds good in all other ceremonies. An elderly informant related that once in his younger days he had been dancing a *nusek* dance, when two heralds remarked that the ground on which he was dancing was dirty, meaning, that it had not been made clean by the distribution of sufficient presents to justify his dance. His mother at once gave the heralds two muskets, valuable articles in those days, to clear her son's path. These belonged to the informant, who knew nothing about the transaction until it had been completed, but he accepted as a matter of course the necessity of giving presents to heralds. If the seat on which a chief is sitting should break, presents must be given to heralds, and if a *kasiat* should fall when a herald is watching, the latter receives gifts. At the marriage of a chief's son, a herald can claim and remove any of the clothing of the bridegroom or his associates. Above all other occasions, when a young chief is

[622] [585]

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211 example, there is a description of his totem-pole with a ball
556 at the top, and beneath it an eagle's nest containing two fledg-
778 lings towards which a grizzly bear is endeavouring to climb.
532 This is the only known instance of a pole on which the different figures stand in definite relationship to one another. No explanation is offered beyond the statement that this was the form used by *Alkai* in the beginning of time. Another ancient pole, used by one of the ancestral families of *Ilaxod*, consists of [778] a simple shaft surmounted by a sphere; this represents a mountain which enters into their ancestral myth as supporting the sky.

As with all features embodied in ancestral myths, a chief can use his own discretion in cases where he has a choice of [431] design. A totem-pole with specific figures is a common present from a chief to his son-in-law, and it is a mark of respect [422] for the latter to use and validate this at the first opportunity, [601] in preference to one belonging to his own ancestral family. Since the pole erected at a potlatch may have no association with the ancestral name and myth of the donor, the underlying principle in all cases is that the value of the pole depends upon the quantity of gifts distributed to validate its erection. One man mentioned an instance in which he had become confused with regard to the proper design for the totem-pole connected with his ancestral myth, and had used one belonging to a second myth in association with a name from the first. Both were his property, the transaction was duly validated, and the matter passed off without question. It is possible that the [183] decay of custom which has followed the coming of the white man may have been partly responsible for this error, which was regarded as a somewhat stupid, though not improper mistake; yet it is clear that even when designs are remembered as portions of ancestral myths, they can be alienated from them and validated as isolated objects in the same manner as names and all other features of ancestral myths.

More often, the exact details of a pole are not included in the ancestral myth and a chief wishing to have one erected can

1:McDermith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[534] Faithful and cases of rape were either unknown or very rare. The daughters of chiefs, too, were guarded with great care and any effort to seduce one of them would be punished by her father. The parents of a girl used to watch her carefully, and the opportunity for immorality was not great in the days when everyone went to bed at sundown except on the occasion of a ceremonial dance. As one informant described it:

"The daughters of chiefs used to be looked after as if they were in house, cherished and guarded by their parents and relatives. No one would dream of molesting them. And a chief's daughter used to be proud and look after herself. Nowadays, girls don't care, and everything has become degraded."

If the daughter of a chief did dishonor herself, the parents lost interest in her, as one who was spoilt. It was always assumed that a girl of rank was a virgin at marriage, and if it was discovered that she had been living an immoral life, her husband in many cases returned her in disgrace to her parents who, equally shamed, were expected to send back to him the goods he had expended for their daughter. Loss of virtue was judged only from indirect information. If the daughter of a chief was found pregnant before marriage, she was almost ostracized by her family. No ceremonial marriage could be arranged for her, and the child could not be cleansed from the stigma of illegitimacy.

On the other hand, it appears certain that there was a good deal of intercourse in the old days between chiefs and slave women, or even between slaves and the daughters of chiefs. In the latter case the woman was often cast aside by her relatives though they sometimes yielded to the inevitable and tried to wash away the disgrace with gifts. At the same time, public opinion was unfavourable to a man who consorted with many women, or to a woman who allowed herself to be at the disposal of many men. Any regular union of masters with their slave women for the deliberate purpose of having children was unknown. A girl's consent was always necessary, given either personally or through an intermediary. Even a chief hesitated

1:Mc:Dowalth X-5 (1922-1924)948
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to kill an enemy, but his success is accredited to his supernatural possessions which have given him skill as a warrior rather than to his own ability. 761 726

It is felt that no ordinary explanation is sufficient to account for the death of a great chief. No matter what may have been the actual cause, it is always said that the supernatural Carpenters, who in the beginning of time created mankind, came down and "seized" or "called back" the deceased, thinking him too good for this world. It is believed that these beings are keen hunters, and that *Alqaxmim* allows them to pursue influential people. This sentiment is always expressed in mourning songs for a dead chief, but although accepted as a matter of fact, it is little more than a conventional belief which serves to comfort the mourners. The infraction of a taboo is another reason frequently given for a chief's death. It is said that there was a loud crash and the earth shook before the death of *Pasko*; he became ill immediately, and his stomach began to swell. The stricken chief said that *Sway'* itself had fallen upon him, but the common belief was that he had erred in some ritual act. At any rate, he died within a few hours. 761 622 [775] [538]

RITES FOLLOWING DEATH

News of a critical illness spreads rapidly through the village and the house in which the sufferer is lying becomes a rendezvous for friends asking about his condition. Failure to do so would be considered ungracious, with the result that there is such a constant coming and going that rest is denied the sick person. Shamans are called upon to practise their powers in a noisy manner, and female relatives weep and wail. The die is irrevocable. 963 [956]

When the patient shows no further indication of life, the shamans cease, but the women redouble their cries. Relatives, friends, and sympathizers all crowd into the house and begin to weep, often adding verbal lamentations. The progress of the news from house to house can be traced by the wailings. Meanwhile 964

1:McDowalth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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765 religious rites affecting the whole community. In spite of the prohibitions enforced, it is said that a widow or widower usually becomes fat after the death of a partner. This observation agrees with several instances known to the writer, but whether it is of universal application is doubtful, although the Bella Coola emphatically state that this is the case.

Memorial Rites

THE MEMORIAL POTLATCH

177 The most important, as well as the most complicated, 552 mourning rite is the memorial potlatch, *ckwanit*, for which so 769 much wealth is required that it can be carried out by chiefs 622 alone. This ceremony, being associated with *nuxwi* rites, has altered enormously in form within recent years. Before the introduction of cone-shaped whistles and other foreign elements, it was almost indistinguishable from an ordinary potlatch and the two were occasionally combined, having as central feature the return of the deceased in the form of his crest. Among the tribes of the outer coast, especially the Bella Bella, the two types of ceremonial were apparently distinct, and as the Bella Coola adopted more and more of their neighbours' *nuxwi* ritual, they followed their custom in this respect as well. It is said that a certain *Nuskila*, uncle of a man about sixty years of age in 1922, was the last to combine both. The Bella Bella felt that he had thereby committed a ritual error for which he would be punished; within a few years he died, and the Bella Coola assumed that this was due to the unanimous expectation of his death on the part of the Bella Bella. From that time onwards, the Bella Coola were careful to separate features belonging to potlatches from those of memorial potlatches.

After a comparatively few years, the white man's domin- 648 ation had increased so enormously on the central coast that the potlatch, including both types, was prohibited by law. Owing to the consequent difficulty of performing complicated

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rites, the Bella Coola were again led to carry out at a single gathering features which properly belonged to several. To combine the memorial potlatch with the potlatch, being a return to an earlier custom, presented no serious difficulties and was consequently widely adopted. The Kimsquit people, moreover, seem never to have adopted the clear Bella Bella differentiation, and as the rapid decrease in population threw them in ever closer contact with the Bella Coola, their influence tended to lessen differences between the two ceremonials. 177 556* 769

At the present time, a memorial potlatch is almost identical with an ordinary potlatch in practice. The same rites are often carried out at both; each varies considerably, and when the distinctive elements are omitted the two become indistinguishable. None the less, they are never confused in the minds of the participants. The house where a potlatch, *hau*, is taking place is called a *nuslimsta*, that where a memorial potlatch, *skwanit*, is occurring, a *nuskwanätsta*. In giving invitations and making comments, heralds are careful not to refer to the ritual under the wrong name; in fact, it may be said that the chief difference between the two is in the minds of the donor and his guest. Sociologically, both are considered to be on a par. Equal wealth is required, and each can be performed only by a chief, both on account of the expenditure involved and owing to the difficulties in procedure which are thought to be too great for a lesser man to surmount. 556* 769 [203] [622]

Difference in the donor's motives is usually sufficient to separate a memorial potlatch from an ordinary one. The latter is given by a chief desirous of increasing his prestige by lavish expenditure, for which one of the excuses is the validation of the appearance of a dead relative. Although this is the central feature, so many other rites are performed that it is sometimes obscured or may, indeed, be omitted entirely. On the other hand, a memorial potlatch occurs as soon as possible after the death of a father, mother, or other dearly loved kinsman, and it is clear to all that the donor's reasons for the rite are to commemorate the deceased, and to console himself and his imme- [622]

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of different ancestral families to which the deceased belonged, irrespective of whether or not he had used a name from one. Being a member of the group, its songs can legally be used in his honour. Elements from different myths are often combined into one composition, corresponding to the different localities and characters which the dead person has visited in travelling back the path of his multiple ancestors to the beginning of time. If one person only is being commemorated, four songs are prepared; if several, two are used for each. Three for any individual is unlucky. Two types, *skwanät* and *änultnänk*, are in common usage, and the singers, after conversation with the donor of the ceremony, decide which shall be employed. The former describes in some detail features from one or more of the deceased's ancestral myths, mentions the journey which he has taken to visit the individuals and scenes referred to, and calls on him to assume the form of his first forefather. A common theme is to state the origin of his name, and how he loved it so greatly that he left the earth to follow it back through time and space. The following is an abbreviated version of such a song, based on the origin myth of *Käliäkıs*:

"We have been unable to satisfy you here. Go whither *Käliäkıs* came, and become a raven. Go to the east and get abalone-shell; go to the west and get copper. They will satisfy you."

Another *skwanät* of the same type is:

"Your first ancestor circled the world with the aid of an abalone-shell paddle. Do you likewise. That will gratify you as nothing on earth could do."

On the other hand, an *änultnänk* seldom refers to the ancestral history of the deceased, but to his actions during life. It records the number of slaves, canoes, and other valuables given away at potlatches,[36] and alludes to other praiseworthy actions. This type of mourning song, though usually used

[36] An analogous method of making known a man's distribution of wealth is by a written sign over his door (see Plate 24).

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533 only for a chief, can be employed for a dead child. In this case,
*556 the theme describes the efforts of the parents to incorporate
769 the deceased in the traditions of their ancestors, and the
[622] number of times he had been ceremonially married. The text of one used a few years ago is:

"We said, Hail! *Sinxälotla* [the child's crest was the Sun] when she was born. What more could we have done? Why did she leave us?"

The text may refer to the prerogative of employing mourners, as in the following:

"Come ye professional mourners, help me to give voice to my lamentations."

The tunes of mourning songs are usually remembered from year to year, and the singers may merely alter words to make an old song applicable. In some cases, such compositions are
[424] changed so slightly that they become virtually possessions of an ancestral family, and may then be preserved for generations until even the history of the names embodied is forgotten.
[174] Occasionally, ancient relationship between two such groups can be deduced from the occurrence of the same names in their mourning songs, although all traditions of intermarriage have been forgotten. There is considerable difference between the tunes of *skwanät* and *änuhänk*; in fact, this distinction may be more important than the themes, since the latter do not invariably conform to the types just described. A few items of ancestral history may be incorporated into a song dealing primarily with the actions of the deceased and *vice versa*. Sometimes four of one type are used, sometimes two of each. Much thought is devoted to the compositions, the singers meeting every day to try over and improve one another's efforts. The texts, long and complicated, require much practice, since any error would be an admission of gross inefficiency. These daily rehearsals take place in the donor's house and he is required to provide food for the singers. It is not uncommon to use a
[177] song of Bella Bella origin, since the Bella Coola admit that members of that tribe excel in compositions of this type.

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537 viated by the presence of welcome guests. Mention is fre-
* 556 quently made of the journey taken by the dead man to the
769 scenes of his ancestral myths. In addition to being an orator,
the speaker must also be a *numitl* chief, since it is felt that
● [622] none other can have the necessary assurance and poise to refer
to these most sacred and important subjects. During the
speech, assistants blow eagle down over the heads of all
present.

Food has been prepared in advance, and as soon as the
speaker has finished, the heralds call the guests to partake of
it. The first course is then distributed, smoked salmon mixed
[264] with olachen grease. Speeches are sometimes delivered during
this part of the meal, as well as at the second course, cranberries
with more olachen grease. If the guests have arrived during
the afternoon, there is no delay between the feast and the ritual
that follows, but if they have come during the morning, there
is a gap until the evening. Visitors usually time their arrival
for the early part of the afternoon.

537 The next event is a speech from one of the foreign chiefs,
phrased in grandiloquent terms similar to those used by the
* 556 Bella Coola orator. He speaks of the manner in which the
769 supernatural Carpenters have hunted the deceased, but reminds
609 his hearers that this is because *Alquntăm* has decreed it, there-
fore all must be for the best. He refers to the dead man's crest,
533 and to the manner in which this guise will be available to him.
During the day, the singers have been careful to learn the tune
of a mourning song used by the ancestral family of each foreign
chief likely to speak. This they now beat out, often assisted
by some of the guests, and always accompanied by their sing-
ing. No one dances to accompany the song; it is merely a
tactful mark of sympathy, implying that the speaker himself
knows the grief occasioned by death, and, also, that he too is
sufficiently important to be able to use a mourning song. If,
as is usually the case, there is more than one influential chief
in the party, a second rises to speak, repeating in different
terms the sentiments expressed by his predecessor. Another

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764 stepson, George Nelson, had not been living with his wife for
159 about one year.

Early in the afternoon of June 27, Captain Schooner was notified by telephone of the serious illness of his daughter at the cannery where she was working. He set out immediately, but found her dead on his arrival. Without waiting to consult Samuel King, he called together the chiefs who happened to be [622] in the vicinity, Willie Mack, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Bobby Nebby, and Alexander Clallaman.[11] He informed them that 764 he did not propose to let his daughter be thrown carelessly into 769 the ground like a dog, but that he was going to hold a memorial potlatch immediately after the funeral. Schooner, being a *556 *numitl* chief as well as father of the dead woman, was able to 159 do as he liked, and no one objected to this plan, although in [178] former times such a ceremony neither took place at once, nor in summer. If Samuel had been present, he would have been consulted as a matter of course. It was quite fitting for Jessie to be buried by her father, since she had borne her husband no children, and had been rebought several times. Moreover, Samuel lacked the determination and prestige of his father-in-law. Having settled this main point, Captain Schooner intimated that as Jessie's granddaughter, Dan Nelson's infant, was at the point of death, it would be well to combine the mourning for both at the single ceremony. No mention was made of the amount to be used for the rite. Schooner himself had $200 to expend for the purpose which would have been sufficient, and his attitude was that he neither knew nor cared whether his relatives would assist him. Soon after the other chiefs had left, Reuben Schooner arrived from the logging-camp from which he had been summoned. Father and son discussed arrangements not only for the actual interment, a simple matter, but for the memorial potlatch. It was decided that the dead woman should return as a composite figure consisting

[11] None of these was closely related to the Schooner family.

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lowed the actor, blowing eagle down over him repeatedly. After one circuit of the hall, the performer passed out through the front door, from the vicinity of which was heard once more the large whistles and the screaming of the eagle, both growing less distinct as if the bird were flying away. 769 556* 535

The wearer of the mask displayed considerable dramatic talent and succeeded in giving a realistic display in spite of the glaring lights which exposed his bare feet and betrayed the human handicraft of the mask in a manner impossible in the native type of house with a single, central fire as the sole illumination. The Carriers had watched the performance with interest, probably tinged with contempt, but to the Bella Coola it was no mere spectacle, it was a religious rite of the highest importance. All the spectators realized that the figure was human, but this seemed inconsequential as they gazed upon the representation of the dead woman in the form of her crests, to which they believed she had been transformed by death. Even the children were silent, and the only sound during the passage was the wailing of a sleepy infant. The eagle crest belonged to Jessie by virtue of membership in the ancestral family descended from her father's first ancestor, traced patrilineally, who had come to earth at *Tcimott* in the form of this bird. The blackfish was a crest acquired through her mother; the raven represented a copper raven belonging to an ancestral myth of the dying grandchild. In former times, carpenters would have worked for weeks preparing an elaborate composite figure, but Captain Schooner wished no delay in the ceremony for fear of police interference, so that it was necessary to use what masks happened to be in existence and to place them in conjunction by means of the crude white sheet. Jessie had not been initiated into the *sisaok* society, but no opposition was raised to the use of *sisaok* whistles both on account of her status as chief, and owing to the influence of her father who, a *nemitl* chief, feared no restrictions and heeded no conventions. Besides, both her brothers were influ- 769 556* 424 178 575 622

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769 *556 ential *susaok*. In former times it is certain that objections would have been raised to this breach of ceremonial privilege.

[424] [178] [575] [622] There was a pause for several minutes after the withdrawal of the figure. Then Reuben threw a copper on the floor in the track taken by the actor "to make bone for the dead woman." A number of chiefs went forward to join the singers and discuss whether or not the copper should be redeemed. No one wished to do so, so Captain Schooner said he would have it fastened to a post over Jessie's grave, a proposition to which all agreed.

769 *556 533 After interminable discussion in which Captain Schooner, Nebuchadnezzar, Reuben Schooner, Jim Pollard, and Alec Davis took the principal parts, it was decided to sing the fourth mourning song at this point. There was no reason why this should not have been done at the customary time, after the other three, but wide latitude in detail was allowed in this [178] ceremony; in fact, exact ritual never flourished in Bella Coola and has become increasingly rare in recent years. This song had been composed a number of years previously when Captain Schooner had called in the Bella Bella to a memorial potlatch, and great care had been expended on its composition owing to the skill of the guests in songs of this type. The words, altered to fit the circumstances, were phrased as if George and Dan were lamenting the loss of their mother and other relatives.

"I, we," they ran, "are thinking of our mother, our brothers, our sisters, our mother's brothers, our mother's sisters, our father's brothers, our father's sisters, of all our dead relatives. Please, ye chiefs from abroad, turn your heads, listen to our wail. You revered great ones, let us all cry together. It is we who have called you hither; look upon us."

This song was sung in the manner already described, except that more of the Bella Coola were familiar with the words and tune and could accordingly join in.

769 *556 Meanwhile Captain Schooner, with his sons Reuben and Harry and his grandsons George Nelson and Andy Schooner, had been crouching in a corner of the hall, poring over the money which was to be distributed to validate the ceremony,

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769 sum being used for each name, and the bills were displayed
*556 before messengers carried them to the recipients.

553 Finally, Jim Pollard took the opportunity to bestow on
425 Captain Schooner the name, *Snusilkāls*. This designation
[614] was the property of the donor's ancestral family and should
[622] not have been transmitted without the consent of all its members. Jim had probably informed several of them of his intention, but no objections would have been raised if he had overlooked this courtesy, since he is the only *numitl* chief among them, and the only one with determination and prestige. It was not an outright gift, since it was announced that it must be returned to the donor's family on Captain Schooner's death. Jim Pollard acted as his own announcer for this transaction, explaining that he gave the name in gratitude for the help which Captain Schooner had rendered at the death of his, Jim's, father about twenty years before. He promised that at the earliest opportunity he would give presents to validate the transmission.

769 During the lengthy distribution of money, the audience had
*556 shown unmistakable signs of weariness. It was now between 2.00 and 3.00 A.M., and as soon as Jim had finished speaking the guests dispersed quietly, though many of them gathered in groups in one another's houses to discuss what had taken place.

Captain Schooner slept late after the lengthy ceremony, but was proud and contented when interviewed about noon. He felt that what was fitting for his daughter had been performed, and was willing to take the consequences of having broken the law.

768 Little else of note occurred in connection with Jessie's funeral. Samuel King deposited near her grave a sewing-machine which his wife had used for only a short time and Captain Schooner decided to replace this with an older one belonging to his wife. He made this exchange on the afternoon of June 30, when Samuel, in company with a number of women, was burning the rest of Jessie's clothing and possessions. Captain Schooner explained his act by saying:

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in the second, as indicated by their diminished population. It is also said that about 1850, when a party of Bella Coola had camped for the night near Ocean Falls, one of the sleepers wakened his comrades by calling on them to look at the brilliant lights. No one then understood what he meant, but the meaning has become clear since the installation of electric lights in the town. 177 756* 787*

In addition to the preceding, a number of stories of the regular shaman type were collected, in which, however, the principal figure is said to have been a *snāxom*. They are included in this section for the reasons already mentioned. 539 756* 787*

A POTENTIAL *Snaxom*

The mother of an elderly Bella Coola used to receive direct communications from *Ālquntām* which gave her the necessary qualifications for a *snāxom*, though she did not wish to exercise her power. She was able to see over the whole earth, and to talk to sun, moon, and stars in a language which the other Bella Coola did not understand. She built a small house for herself in the woods where she usually slept alone; sometimes her husband joined her, but he was always afraid of the gigantic toads and other monsters that were her companions.

THE WOMAN WHO COULD CALL THUNDER

About one hundred years ago there was living in a village at the mouth of the Dean River, a man, *uwinuxdle*, and his wife, *Snaqwaix*. He was a famous hunter who frequently observed ceremonial chastity and his wife claimed to be a shaman, but the inhabitants of the villages on both the Dean and Kimsquit rivers doubted this, as did also those living in the lower Bella Coola valley. *Snaqwaix* was so boastful and disagreeable that at last the chiefs held a meeting and went one day to her house, where they told her that if she failed to give a satisfactory demonstration of her powers she would be killed.[18] Some were ashamed to doubt her word, but the concensus of opinion was that she should prove her claims, so they all sat down in her house and waited. She looked around and selected one man, *Kmlkad*, without apparent reason, and told him that he was to

[18] Such power on the part of chiefs is most unusual and, though it was related without comment by the narrator, should not be regarded as historically correct. [622]

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754 would probably fall a victim. He became ill in May, 1923,
761 and, though treated by a white doctor, grew steadily worse
789 until he died in the latter part of June, three weeks after the
828 year had elapsed. All the Bella Coola firmly believe that this
[622] was due to the power of thought. The father of the woman was a powerful chief whose thoughts were accordingly potent, and some consider that his concentrated desires and expectations were enough to kill the accused, while others believe that his expressed statements convinced others of the result, and that it was their combined thought that caused the death. It usually requires the thoughts of more than one individual to lead to this effect. The doctor who attended this man stated that his patient had shown symptoms of melancholy and resignation during his last sickness; it seems clear that the expectation of death must have lessened his chance of recovery.

771 A prominent theme in Bella Coola folk-lore is the belief
954 that a person cannot long survive who has made himself un-
828 popular. It is sometimes stated that a magical means was
[538] employed to remove him, and this was no doubt often the case; a person who learns that a "medicine" had been employed to kill him is in no fit mental condition to counteract the power of suggestion, particularly if he knows that others are aware of what has been done. His death is regarded as proof of the efficacy of the means employed and the belief of others grows stronger. As already stated, this conviction still survives. When this ethnological investigation was being conducted, a
[648] point under discussion was whether or not the Kimsquit people should be allowed to live in Bella Coola. One chief took the lead in objecting and everyone expected that, having thus roused the ire of would-be immigrants, he would die. He did so soon afterwards, and it is universally believed that it was caused by the concentration of the hostile thoughts of the Kimsquit. Similarly, the potency of taboos is increased by the fact that since
[784] time immemorial the thoughts of everyone have been opposed to any infraction. Consequently, an offender is liable to punishment both for breaking an injunction and because he

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789 ceremonial dances without making mistakes. The Bella Bella
856 paint a representation of a wolf's bladder for the same purpose.
[532] The basis of this medicine is the belief that it is the gall-
[826] bladder which causes wildness and intelligent fear, and hence
that anyone so treated will be careful not to make mistakes.
[825] A bird with a large bladder is thought to be difficult to approach, whereas a deer, which has a small one, or none at all, is often stupidly brave. This medicine is known only to the mem-
[424] bers of certain families and is used for the children of chiefs
[622] alone, since errors on the part of others is a matter of little importance.

MEDICINES OF CHILDHOOD

789 Some of the instruction given to boys and girls, and the
856 acts which they are enjoined to perform, are virtually religious,
and have accordingly been described in earlier chapters. For
771 example, when a lad washes in the river before daybreak, scours himself with a smooth stone and prays to *Alqantăm*, he is carrying out what might with justice be called a religious act. If, however, he believes that mere washing is enough to compel some desire or end, it is magical. Different Bella Coola have different sentiments concerning the exact means by which this method causes the desired effect. To some it is unquestionably a true prayer, but in other families it is customary for a father to take his son, when he has reached about eight years of age, and wash him four times, to the accompaniment of the usual prayer. It is believed that this causes the lad to grow up powerful and active, constantly striving for success. This type of washing may be called magical.

789 In the following there is no element of uncertainty; they
856 belong unquestionably to the category described in the preceding section.

To Cause Agility

The following medicine is frequently employed by fathers when their sons are first able to walk:

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It is said that one man accidentally sucked when spitting on a toad, and swallowed the creature. It lived within his stomach for fifty years, causing no discomfort though its master could feel it moving, and its singing could be heard at intervals. This brought him no supernatural power, although he was enabled by it to live to a great age. When at last he died, the toad came hopping out of his throat and was carried respectfully to the river by his friends who covered the creature with eagle down and dyed and undyed cedar-bark. 789 825 886

Some of the rites already described with regard to animals and fish are similar in nature to this medicine.

To Cause Obesity 789

A medicine was formerly used by chiefs to make them fat and important-looking, but details of it have been forgotten. 826 622

To Cause Ability in Singing

Catch an *apxon·i* (varied thrush?) alive and pat it four times against the throat of the woman to whom it is desired to impart the art, saying: 533 789

"May she be a singer like you." 825

Release the bird and the woman will become a good singer.

This bird is considered by the Bella Coola to be the finest songster among British Columbia birds, and they say that many animals and fish, including even the halibut, gather to hear its singing.

To Cause Ability in Hunting 224

There is a poisonous plant which, when eaten, almost kills the eater. If he recovers, he is henceforth endowed with great ability as a hunter. The species could not be ascertained. 789 824

To Cause Change in Weather

If a cold wind is desired: Heat the penis of a mountain goat or beaver at a fire. 789 821

If rain is desired: Wash the penis of a large buck and throw it into the ocean or a river, saying: 825

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755 of water in which had been boiled eight splinters from a coffin. She would have obtained two from each side, and two from each end, in each case inserting the point of a crooked knife to pry loose a fragment of the wood, and then pulling it off in the same direction as the sun travels. It would have been immaterial from which aspect the first had been taken, but Y would have been careful to move around the coffin from east to south to west to north, corresponding to the course of the sun.

It is believed that no one has now the ability to use this cure.

Sorcerers

754 Among the causative medicines of which knowledge has [424] been handed down in various families for generations are secret means of killing. Every sorcerer must have such a possession, but he is not so branded unless he begins to exercise his powers for anti-social purposes. For example, if it be known that a [575] certain individual is able to cause death, the members of the *kusiut* society are eager to admit him to their group, so that his ability will be at their disposal to punish anyone who breaks their regulations. Likewise, if a chief decides that a certain [622] man should die, the power of his thoughts may suffice to cause the death, but the desired end will be effected more certainly by requesting aid from the owner of a means of killing. Such [756] an individual is frequently a shaman who is only too glad of an opportunity to exhibit his powers. The following methods of execution are said to have been employed socially, that is, with the connivance or at the request of chiefs or the members of the *kusiut* society:

(1) The executioner scratches for four successive nights on the door of the victim's house. If the latter suspects what is to take place, he may endeavour to escape by remaining awake which renders the scratching powerless. It is said that no one has been able to remain sleepless for more than three nights which gives the killer his opportunity.

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[The Dance of Wil·a]

About dusk on the following day X, who is in his own house, suddenly stands up and cries out: 575* 796*

"Yes. It has come. I am afraid. Yes! I will do as you bid me." 787

The *kukusiut* women begin to drone and the uninitiated are expelled. Heralds announce that a *kusiut* has been pressed to earth, and presently they go to every house inviting the *kukusiut* to gather in X's. From this point on, the rite of *lustāmem* continues in the manner already described.

The ability of X to summon these nine brothers from above is a special prerogative; other *kukusiut* have one or other of them as patron, but lack the power to call the whole number to earth. One *kusiut* has exclusive knowledge of the mat which is spread for *Omqomkilka* when the other supernatural beings summon him to a ceremony; another of the place where the brethren obtain their eagle down. Detailed information was not obtained about these ceremonies. [424]

THE CANNIBAL DANCE

Of all *kusiut* dances, the one of which the uninitiated are most afraid, and which is, therefore, the strongest, is the Cannibal dance. It is believed that the performer is exposed to greater dangers than in any other rite, and observers have the most spectacular ocular demonstrations of his powers. The patrons of most Cannibals are *Alqantām*, *Sxexēlaiq*, or *Kāmai·ts*, who implant in their protégés a wolf, bear, or eagle, causing them to devour strange foods. The Bella Coola consider that a man is equally a Cannibal whether he has the prerogative of eating corpses, biting the living, eating dogs or raw salmon, or biting himself. The most common of these is the right to bite the living, and few of the older people are not scarred thereby. Fear of Cannibals is one of the strongest causes for the respect with which the uninitiated regard the *kusiut* society, but though the holders of prerogatives of this type are regarded with awe on account of their powers, they are not considered as chiefs, as the Bella Coola say is the case

575* 796* 424 [981] [796] [787] [981] [171] [622]

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[The Cannibal Dance]

among the Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and Rivers Inlet people. Indeed, in Bella Coola a poor man may be the most dreaded Cannibal of all, if he has been able duly to validate and perform his right in this respect. Nor is the dance carried out with the same rigour in Bella Coola as among the tribes of the outer coast.

The ritual of different prerogatives varies to such an extent that several accounts must be given, in spite of the repetitions that this form of presentation entails. On account of the length of time necessary, a Cannibal dance usually begins early in the season. The following describes the manner in which *Kāmātslak* of Kimsquit, who can bite the living, carried out his rite; it was obtained from his brother, who is thoroughly conversant with the details. It will be convenient to refer to *Kāmātslak* as X, and to use the present tense throughout.

A meeting is held at which the marshals and others choose, in agreement with X and his relatives, a day suitable for him to commence his performance. Under normal circumstances it is on some *qulem* that a marshal announces that he can hear X's call, and on the following evening, when the ritual has been completed, the uninitiated are startled to hear continuous whistling from the slopes of the mountains near the village. The instruments used are of the usual bladder type, but the long-drawn-out sound, termed *Ālālāwa*, is said to be the voice of the kindly supernatural woman, *Snitsmāx*.*

*The sole function of this being seems to be the restoring to life of those who appear to have been killed in the performance of *hamat* rites. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether or not she is identical with *Tlātqālālāwa*. The noise which heralds her coming is produced by the whistles of four *hamatsa* who throughout the night range the forests and mountains within ear-shot of the village. By bending their heads up and down, they are able to increase the weirdness and apparent shortness of the sound. The four travel in single file; the leader blows, and when his breath is nearly exhausted he passes the head of the second man, who starts whistling forthwith, while the original leader drops to the rear. As the second harmonic wearies, he signals in the same way to the third, and so on; in this way the whistling is continuous, and the uninitiated are convinced that it cannot be caused by mortals, even if such as they should venture to them. If a non-member should meet the four, they would at once kill him or make him a prisoner, keeping him out of sight until he could be initiated into the society.

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CHAPTER III

WARFARE[1]

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

721 648 PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was considerable warfare among the coastal tribes of British Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermination of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks. These were never as continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless, [796] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were [556] even received as guests at some dances. At potlatches they might be subjected to insult, later to be avenged in the same manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and 726 friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who 825 bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests them- 778 selves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter [484] to veer over to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was [578] considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling [622] a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads. 721 In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was [575] at all common. Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were [622] not entirely forgotten; no *hamat* novice went to war and

[1] Warfare having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

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seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject. [721] [575] [622]

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. [648]

Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Stuix* and *Ālqālāxl* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe. [685] [626] [556] [688] [628] [727] [777]

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Tāl·io*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack. [642] [648] [133] [161]

721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided
48 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near
the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free
themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
[727] of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and
steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but
[728] were at last discovered and ambushed. On such occasions the
villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the
help of *Kimsquit*, the most exposed one, although there was
no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of
[774] this town attributed their protection to *Alquatsin*, and used
to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune
owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola
[361] itself was comparatively free from molestation, Kimsquit and
[162] *Talio*, with smaller populations and less strategic positions,
were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade
of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and covered by a
water-gate with a deadfall.[1] This water-gate protected the
[48] residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one
[72] Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring
to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders,
armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled
in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of
their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such
statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way
[42] and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong govern-
ment was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being
[23] assailed, the members of the town would discuss retaliation,
and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was de-
[22] cided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually
[70] a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one
whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[1] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite infor-
mation on this point was unavailable.

as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to serve under him, but he could not compel the services of anyone except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join the party. If some of their relatives had been slain in the previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the retaliation, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could attract them. No case is known to which all the Bella Coola villages joined in a single expedition; there were often temporary alliances between neighbouring settlements, but complete lack of central organization. The course of events was similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been endeared by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was to kill a slave belonging to the murderer, though sometimes he led a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the same as those used for hunting. Bows with sinew-sipped arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a distance with much noise, boasting, and explosions, but few casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers succeeded in surprising a village at night. Hatchets are a thing of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed information concerning offensive weapons. Armour consisted of maple or birch slats reinforced with mountain and were around the body and chest; this rendered quick movements difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were introduced many years ago and armour consequently became useless. Large shields of mountain were carried in all cases.

the body to his own house, preparatory to burying it. It was April, but as they were waiting, a violent thunderstorm blew up from the east, the body done that such had ever occurred at that season. Thunder had promised to come to Frank's aid, but the lacres had died so suddenly to make any appeal, the supernatural one had just leaves of his grandfather's death and had come rushing to his assistance. Realizing the danger, the mourners and his friends hastily buried the corpse, throwing over it a number of blood-stained shirts, and hastily scurrying down the earth. There was a furious hurricane, trees were uprooted, houses shook, the earth over the grave swelled up if in a whirlpool and shirts of it were carried up into the air. Only the presence of the blood on the shirts prevented the return to life of Frank.[1]

This second unsuccessful attack on the Kitkatla so disheartened the Bella Coola that they made no more raids on their northern foemen who, flushed with victory, became even bolder than before. As usual, the Kimsquit and [illegible] people suffered more than the inhabitants of the more valley. On one of these forays, about 1800, the Kitkatla killed Quiemstal, a brother of Pudes, the leading chief of the Bella Coola at the time. This was revenged in all the rules of warfare even by the murder of one of the leading families and the burn of many prisoners, a man whom none was so well known as that of Pudes, Nalagulum of Dean Rapids, or Pudes-himself. The loss of such chiefs was enough to protract their escape during the second hour of conflict, and the Bella Coola were partly empty.

A few years later a single canoe came paddling up North Bentinck Arm and was hailed about half a mile from the beach. Scouts investigated, and returned to Bangkwa with news that the occupants were Kitkatla, and that Pudes-himself was among them. At once there was heated discussion among the people of the lower valley. Many who had lost relatives in the protracted struggle wished to wipe out the party, others, to see what they wanted. A few daring individuals dashed through the forest and lied on the visitors at long range; they were unarmed, not with bullets, but by the bear cross-holding staff of a messenger, a sign of friendly intentions. If the newcomers had fired on the scouts, a fight would have ensued, but the peaceful complexion thereout suggested

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[1] This tale is a curious illustration of the manner in which supernatural elements become some less common which have an historical basis. It is to be assumed that the incidents were in a supposedly dark range to principles, and really believed that supernatural powers must have assisted them. Frank was found as a minor, and probably learned of a rainstorm from Thunder during his war, danger. This was accepted and the interpretation of impossible incidents followed in the mouth.

Fuhon remained encamped for several days, during which time he sent word to the Bella Coola that he regretted the death of *Qoiwulist* and had come to make peace. He added that his followers had tried to dissuade him, saying that he would be killed, but he had answered that he was too great a man to allow fear to influence his actions.

Having waited for several days, the party came up the Bella Coola River, their canoe loaded with presents and eight slaves, while Fuhon's brother, *Ho-ulis*, were the weak of his ceremonies as further proof of friendly intentions. It was unusual to display one escape in a crowd ceremonial, but this was an unprecedented event, to know that he might soon be killed and he preferred to die while bearing the obvious mark of recuperation with some incident of an unusual myth. The canoe was beached opposite the house of Fuhon where the crew blew eagle down into the air to mark their peaceful mission. Men had gathered from all parts of the Bella Coola valley and several hundred wished to disregard the talk-makers and slay their enemies, a course which they had recommended for several days and had tried to precipitate by cross-acts against the Kitkatla. *Fuhon* himself had not spoken, but he also approved and advised the people not to leave Fuhon, since overbearing hostility would result. Though his wishes did not entirely quiet the angry men, they actually received the Kitkatla of a welcome. *Fuhon* brought forward a cross-stick, and told some of his people to hold it upright as then, when Fuhon leaps from his canoe, he would land upon it, and could be carried to the house without putting foot to the ground. Fuhon expressed proudly that there was nothing so weak strong enough to support him, since his many protection had made him incomparably heavy. Now the two, he accepted the honour, as necessary to binding chiefs only to mighty chiefs, and was carried into the house where he was seated in the far right-hand corner, an honourable location. *Fuhon* invited all the people in the vicinity, slaves as well as Bella Coola, and the inner partitions of the house had to be removed to provide space for the dining.

Though *Fuhon* had decided against the immediate killing of the Kitkatla, he had concocted a scheme to test their bravery and the accuracy of their claims for peace. The one brave of this escape his nephew, *Ho-ulis*, who was to carry it out. When all were seated, the latter appeared, his face smeared with ochre, and his hair tied up in a top-knot with wound skins as is customary during war. *Ho-ulis* moved motionless around the house, brandishing a weapon and repeatedly pointing to or Fuhon in a threatening manner. If the Kitkatla had shown cowardice, particularly if one of them had fired his own weapon, a massacre would have resulted. But they remained unmoved, confident in the prestige of their leader, while he knew that though his body might be

[illegible] McDowell E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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[illegible] The man, a crack shot, took careful aim at *Sekakmtw-a*'s top-knot, but the musket had a flatter trajectory than he expected, so the bullet, instead of dropping and filling the man, flew straight and merely cut down the tuft on top of his head. *Sekakmtw-a* ran off to the village and *Nacwalata* was carried to the house of one of his relatives on the north bank of the river.

Conflicting reasons are given for this assault. Some state that *Sekakmtw-a*'s uncontrollable temper led him to fire; others that he did so on the orders of *Pathe*, who was offended because *Nacwalata* had disobeyed an order to carry food home to his wife. It is whispered that on several occasions *Pathe* had used *Sekakmtw-a* to get rid of those who had displeased him.

If the assault had been committed during the summer, revenge would have been an affair of the injured youth's relatives, but it occurred during the fishing season so all members of the society were affected. A party was organized to arrest the offender with the aid of an American who happened to be at the Hudson's Bay Company's post at the time. *Sekakmtw-a* was in the rear part of one of the houses at *Kimsquit* when his enemies assembled and stood hesitating at the door. As he faced them, an old man, relative to *Nacwalata*, crept behind and leapt on him, wrapping his arms and legs around him. The murderer drew a knife and struggled furiously before he was overcome, bound and carried to *Alqulkiel* where his victim lived. *Sekakmtw-a* pleaded that he had mistaken *Nacwalata* for one of his Chilkotin relatives, to whom no attention was paid to this, he said that he had acted under orders from *Pathe*. This was likewise disregarded, and was shown any intention of revenge on the alleged instigator since he, being a chief, could do as he liked. It is said that *Pathe* endeavoured to help his henchman by sending a message to some Chilkotin who were camped in the vicinity and inviting them to rescue their kinsman. [22]

Meanwhile it was obvious the *Nacwalata* was seriously wounded. His relatives said that if he lived, they would be willing to accept compensation for the assault, so *Sekakmtw-a* was kept, bound hand and foot, in a house where a dance was taking place. During the night he almost succeeded in freeing himself from his bonds, but this was discovered and he was again tied up; it is possible that an accomplice assisted him in the attempt to escape. Towards dawn *Nacwalata* died and it was decided that his murderer should be killed at once.

The dancers all helped to tie him outside and make preparations for shooting him, but no one dared the task of executioner. Meanwhile the Chilkotin were gathering; night seemed imminent and the excite-

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142 sally used but the older people state that beards were by no
144 means rare in former times. Careful inquiries were made
[302] concerning the ancestry of a man, about seventy years of age in 1922, whose curly beard suggests that he must be a half-breed, as indeed he is assumed to be by the white settlers of the valley. His father was *Patlas*, the most influential chief of recent years, his mother was herself the daughter of an important chief. None of the older men had ever heard the slightest rumour of faithlessness on her part. There were white
[648] traders on the coast at the time of his birth, and intercourse with
567 slave women and others of low family was not uncommon, but
622 it would have been difficult for a chief's wife to misconduct herself, and still more difficult for her to conceal all knowledge of it in view of the open life which prevailed at that period. Moreover, it is said that *Patlas* himself had a similar beard, as did also the parents of several men who in 1922 were fifty or sixty years of age.

142 Although the possibility of white mixture cannot be over-
144 looked in the case of this one individual, one must not dis-
896 regard the opinion of the people themselves on hairiness in general. They are proud of it and regard beards and mous-
[302] taches as marks of virility given to them by *Alqantäm*; baldness and lack of facial hair are considered a sign of weakness. They aver that their fathers and grandfathers were even more hirsute than they. Furthermore, they point out with pride
[186] that this is a difference between themselves and the tribes of the interior, who are, as they say in scorn, "hairless like Chinaman." Finally, it is noteworthy that the hair on the head of many Bella Coola is wavy, or even curly (see Plate 70), instead of straight as among the majority of Indian tribes.[1]

Character

181 It is an almost impossible task to describe briefly the characteristics of a people. Those of the Bella Coola have

[1] This characteristic has led the writer to wonder if it could possibly have been caused by Ainu mixture.

177 fathers. Inherited beliefs are too deep-rooted to pass away
771 entirely within a few generations. Even those who claim to
[181] have adopted the new faith remain convinced of the potency of magic, and of the existence of those supernatural creatures which do not actively conflict with the white man's creed. Such lack of consistency is a world-wide trait, particularly intelligible among the Bella Coola whose philosophy abounds in contradictions, dependent upon statements handed down in the origin myths of different families.

626 The Bella Coola are constrained not only by the omni-
[181] presence of supernatural beings; they are constantly subjected to the influence of their fellows. They are far less individualistic than white people. A chief may boast that he can do as
[622] he pleases, that he can disregard the restrictions of lesser men; he often does so, but only because public opinion recognizes that he has reached a position of eminence by giving many potlatches. The duly validated warrior is brave because he
[703] feels that everyone is aware of his valour. The man who per-
[769] forms some ceremony in accordance with an ancestral myth incorporates himself with his forbears, and is strengthened by the conviction that he has gained their support and approbation. In every phase of life, a person is profoundly affected
777 by the approval or disapproval of his neighbours. At present
626 the construction of small houses, each occupied by a single
942 family, makes it possible for a man to hide himself, or to do work unknown to the rest of the community. This lessens the force of public opinion, although it is even now more potent than conscience in checking anti-social acts. Formerly, in communal houses, every action was fully known, making individual freedom of thought and act virtually impossible. A man
[602] is chiefly influenced by his relatives who take a great share in what the white man would consider purely family affairs. The effect of the group upon the individual must not be overlooked, nor can it be over-stressed in a study of these people.

177 The education and conversion of the younger men have
626 enormously lessened their reliance upon their fellows. In former
182
561

Ayant: Locality near *Dean* where berries are plentiful.
A'yaqi: Chief living at *Tal'o* in the beginning of time.

A

ana'kla: One of the *a'ult* dances.
ana: I, first person singular.
'ax: Hearing eggs which brought into house ready for preparation as food.*

B

Bakwal: Supernatural animal.
Balak: One of the five women who dwell west of *Kwatsa* in the beginning of time.
ba'pla: To gamble, as done by the uninitiated at a Mystery dance.
Bashqumalus or *Bashqumalaklus*: Kwakiutl supernatural being.
bilk': Longevity.
Bilkwa: *Kwakiutl* name of a *Salia* man.
bilsa-i: Abalone shell.
Bilsamakla: Influential Kwatsa woman who died about 1870.
bqlal: Bell-capped bar worn by chiefs.
Bla-gmu: A Kimsquit company.
Bla'ksma: *Dean* man mentioned in an ancient story.
bqla: Supernatural, man-like creature.

D

da xoxq' *da xo xoxq'*: The sky, regarded as the lower side of a land inhabited by supernatural beings.
Dakdal-ulaxs: 1.—"The Comet," synonym for *Nadapum*.
2.—The *Sacred* paraphernalia of secret *Nadapum*.
Dakdalaxs, "The Even-Comet": Synonym for *Nadapum*.
Dakdalaxsmu: Supernatural being who events *Nadapum*.
Dakdalaxsu: Supernatural dog salmon resident in the land above.
di tsalaxsa di ulaxs: Dawn's husband.
di tsalaxsa ut ulaxsa: Aurora's husband.
Dagwa'nalt: One of the first men to settle at *Bqalla'* in the beginning of time.
daxlas: Archaic term for *Sacred Bundles*.*
dawlk: Frayed cedar-wood, as used for tinder.
dawlaklu, plural, *dqlklaklaxsa*: Sun; term used in direct address for an adult.
Dawlqa: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Dji dzamalil, "The Slave Owner": Designation of the supernatural women *Kwatsa*.
Djaklaxsa: Collective term applied to the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples of the mainland.
Dzaqlu'ax: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Dzakwaq[1]: Chief of abalone-shell people on the lower Fraser in the beginning of time.
Dzakwaq[2]: One of the first men to settle at *Dean* in the beginning of time.
Dzakwqan: One of the first women to settle at *Tal'o* in the beginning of time.

*This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *s* sound.
*This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.

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[424]

nindinte: Intangible factor prerogative consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract.
Nuqlo: Expert supernatural dancer; to his associates he is a yearling mountain goat.
nuxuy or *nuxdyâxuc*: First complete dance given by a factor initiate.
nuxwnak: Mummel, any kind.
Nuxwnamis: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
Nuxlâlis: 1—One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snaitâ* in the beginning of time.
Nuxlayam: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.
Nuxnamamâ: Name given to his grandson by one of the first settlers at *Ilchul'u* in the beginning of time.
nuhcim: Factor prerogative as a Bracket; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.
nulpitin: Sloping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kemano, factor masks are hung.
nunnuqâ: The making and use of hood nets for chicken.
Nunqâmaxum: 1—"The Adviser"; One of the names of the supreme god.
2—Chiefs of a village, collectively; virtually, "The Sages."
nu'nuxkim: 1—Ceremony at which sacred names are validated to the eyes of the fellow villagers.
2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed.
nu'nuqâxi: Assemblage of the initiates to practise difficult cries.
Nu'qwim, "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": Phrase-name given to a dancing wife.
Nunsâlis: One of the names of Raven as chief.
nunsâlisâxum: Sentence of death passed by the initiates on one of their fellows as punishment for an error.
nunjiqu: A loss, especially of an ancestral right.
Nunkâxum: Synonym for *Nuqlayam*, the supernatural being who brings the salmon.
Nu'nu, "Inheritable": Name taken by a woman in consequence of rights received from her husband's relatives.
nuqâlnâc: Taboo-feth.
nuqcin: Herb.
Nuqkâqu: Anthropomorphized evil cold wind.
nuqkâ'nu: Historical term of respect for aged dead.
nuqkâ'nu ala Kamu: 1—High rule.
2—Long life.
nuqlqanu: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold chicken-net post usually while being driven.
Nu'qumiq, "Place of Foul Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Nuq'i: 1—Village on head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.
2—River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.
Nuqlâmâxum: Synonym for *Nuhcimâxum*, an inferior supernatural woman.
nuqlâ: The inheritance of income against supernatural odds, the term is used with reference to the selection of the relatives of the Wyanny dance.
nuhnâmâmum: Any non-sacred dance held at the conclusion of the factor season.
Nuhsa'an: An inferior Kwakiutl chief.

[422]
[559]
[796]
[611]
[424]
[121]
[769]
[125]
[535]

[illegible] Indeed the tradition is considered much more clearly a property of the person who has it to charge than it is among the southern Indians. A description of the clan's ceremonial has been given by Jacobsen in the paper above referred to.[1]

A clan legend which is illustrated in the clan's ceremonial is called by the Bella Coola "Sesnem" or "Sesl'ynem." The traditions are the exclusive property of each clan. The laws according to which they descend from generation to generation differ from the laws prevailing among the other Coast tribes. The inhabitants of each Bella Coola village are not subdivided into clans, gentes, or septs; but each village community forms a unit, and possesses the same traditions. In order to keep the traditions in the tribe, the law requires that no person shall marry outside of his village community. Thus the clan tradition is kept the exclusive property of the village community by means of endogamy. I have made very careful inquiries in regard to this point, and all the old men make substantially the same statement. Even marriages among very near relatives are permitted, although marriages of people who are distantly related, or not related at all, are preferred. It even happens that a cousin marry, or that an uncle marry his niece, in order to keep the clan tradition from being acquired by another village community. It seems, however, that, owing to the influence of the Coast tribes, the endogamic system has begun to give way to an exogamic system. Powerful and wealthy chiefs marry outside of their own village community, in order to secure an additional clan legend through marriage. This new system agrees with the one prevalent among the Kwakiutl tribe.

The Sl'ima, or sacred lodge, is a religious society in which all the deities of heaven are represented. The members of each clan are initiated according to their clan traditions; but the same societies of the same deities appear in the traditions of all the various clans. From what little I have been able to learn, it seems that there is an elaborate ceremonial of the whole community, corresponding to the winter of the ceremonial among the Kwakiutl. I received the following description of the ceremonial:—

The person who invites to the Sl'ima, that is to s., the man whose son is to be initiated into one of the secret societies according to the tradition of his clan, requests a person who is called Ts'ems to be the nine brothers and their sister, who reside in the House of Qulha, and whose charge the Sl'ima is placed. The names of the brothers are Sesnemlk'ula, Xl'ameiwa, Sesqumlk'ula, Ql'ameiwa, Ximmlk'ula, Sl'amlk'ula, Sl'ula, Qulsal'wa, Xl'ulsl'a, and that of their sister, Ulmlqulqum (see p. 33). In the rear of the house an elevated room is prepared for Ts'ems, which he has down. He is covered with cedar mats of red underbark. Ts'ems four days he stays

[1] Op. cit., p. 130.

[2] See Boas, The Indians of the Lower Fraser, p. 71. Compare Sim Ian, op. cit.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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621 establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This [614] is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole [553] organization.

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another [628] settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong [582] inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem [578] to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or [627] considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and [628] often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the outer coast, about to attack *Ilwed*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Symqa-ts* without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours.

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch 622 system (vol. I, chap. IV), he is "chief" of the village, and his 554 advice is generally followed. If several men have approx- [536] imately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village 621 are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat- 623 585 596

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621 623 [535] [996] 961 [184] [342] [171] [487] [164] [493] 342 [354] [572] [223] [264] [352] [535]

tere, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact this ceremonial unity is its most important function.

With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space. Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the sidewalls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the different families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and anyone present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall. A door through the lower beam to the back-room, so important in dances.

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as a man by the duly validated ownership of a chief's name in her own right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat seal, unless he had been the slayer. If many seals are killed, chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs seat themselves according to their proper positions and are first served with the blood-stained grease that floats to the top of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is cut into strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths, according to the number of guests. The cuts run down each fore-dipper, so that each receives a narrow strip including one of the tens. The head is always given to the herald.*

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary meals even when no seal or deer has been killed. On these occasions, as at seal feasts, the guests are designated by their ancestral names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also accustomed to meet for the discussion of matters connected with the winter ceremonial; on such occasions their number may be augmented by men of influence in the secret society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the *hamat'sa* society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a *semáil* chief is overweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the views of some individual must be accepted. The writer was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but

*Every effort was made to ensure the accuracy of this account, but errors must have crept in on account of the length of time which has elapsed since the ceremony was carried out to full detail.

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622 there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by
623 members of the *hamatsa* society that none would dare go there.
998 If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formerly have
been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-
[575] place of the *tlemqa-ti* chiefs is on a ledge of rock jutting out
over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village.
The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side,
screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a cauld-
ron, so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can come. The
ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the
most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of
other villages lack such natural settings, though all are at the
bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some
178 of them are decorated with rude carvings, pecked into the
592 stone. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of
998 the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago,
by chiefs when they were composing songs; they pecked out
the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others
[211] were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an
important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure,
perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with
the rite, to recall the occasion. No carvings have been made
within the life-time of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that
they had further significance, now unknown.

622 When a chief wishes to summon his fellows for a meeting
623 he visits each and notifies him by a simple pressure of the foot,
in many cases unobserved even by those sitting near. The
201 person so called slips away, unostentatiously, to the meeting-
place.

The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the
571 old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who
622 succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows
623 became an object of envy. Their mythology contains many
[165] examples of the murder of some powerful chief by rivals of his
own village, and informants of today state that these records
are true. One intelligent man asserted that his father had

*583 [424] (a) This is a Rivers Inlet name, the dancer's prerogative having come from that area.

(b) This song was composed for, and used during the *hamatsa* season of 1923-4.

(c) A reference to the house in the land above. The somewhat grandiloquent phrasing is to impress the uninitiated.

[424] (d) The dancer had prerogatives both as Scratcher and Cannibal, a rare combination.

(e) The dancer must, presumably, have been in concealment for some reason. The implication is that the fear and danger of his powers had been increased from the fact that he was out of sight.

(f) That is: The crying is increasing. The reference is to the peculiar cry of all Seventh dancers.

(g) That is: His cedar-bark ornaments return to him. These indicate that he is about to dance.

(h) Presumably referring to the dancer.

(i) The wording is as if the *hahaiat* themselves were startled at the excessive vigour of the dancer.

(j) The significance is that those who have not received calls are terrified at what has come to the dancer.

(k) That is: When there is too much talking above. The uninitiated are led to believe that lengthy discussion in the land above presages some strange power coming to the dancer.

Song Used for Sanskilaxa(a), a Bella Coola Pungee Dancer(b)

A *W'xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx* I am terrified | *x'xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx* at what I hear(c), | *xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx* some talking | *xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx* by *Xqaxxxx*.

[xxxxxxxx xxxxxxx]

B *xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx* They(d) have hidden themselves, | *xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx* they do not want to die(e), | *xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx* they are debating furiously,

xxx xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx their force becomes strange(f).

[xxxxxxxx xxxxxxx]

C *Xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx* Some have parted in anger, | *xxx xxxxxxxxx* their thoughts being at variance;

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx [623] they move round to be with those of the same opinion(g); | *xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx* they agree with a wise man(h).

*575 [796] (a) This woman performed during the *hamatsa* season of 1923-4, the first time a Pungee dance had been displayed for many years. Four songs were composed for her.

(b) Recorded as song VII D 12a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(c) The dance is wended as if the dancer were listening to the supernatural beings discussing the call which they proposed to send down. The uninitiated are led to believe that she actually has this ability. 583* [787]

(d) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(e) The implication is that the power of the dancer is so great, and the rite so dangerous, that even the supernatural beings themselves are afraid.

(f) The dancers is so animated and so such an important subject that the faces of the participants take on strained expressions.

(g) When a Bella Coola meeting is being held, those who hold similar views usually group themselves together. [229]

(h) A man of forceful character has expressed himself and the others concur.

Second Song Used for Sneeźźa'ha, a Bella Coola Forager Dancer(a)

A [illegible] It is true what my mother	[illegible] [illegible] to me(b),	[illegible] has spoken to me

[illegible]
Sneeźźa'ha(c).

[illegible]

B [illegible]	[illegible]
He(d) told me to raise my hand to me what he was holding(e)(f)	
[illegible] the world(f)	[illegible] of the gathering above(g).

[illegible]

C [illegible] Bent their heads together(h)	[illegible] all the chiefs(f),	[illegible] those of lesser prestige

[illegible]
But were to fear, unable to [illegible]

(a) Recorded as song VII D 10a, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pollard. This song, composed by Peter Nelson, was used during the festival season of 1923-4.

(b) This was the animal song used when *Sneeźźa'ha* danced, and the dance follows, in a certain sense, the first one. The uninitiated are led to believe that the dancer was able to see what her mother had described to her in previous years.

(c) That is: *Sneeźźa'ha* has spoken to me.

(d) Referring to a supernatural being, probably the dancer's patron.

(e) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions. The implication is that the dancer was sitting with head bowed as her chief when the supernatural one held her hand upward to me when he was holding out to her in his hand. [787]

(f) *Ahalal* is a great translation. The reference is to the rite above as which the dancer personal has performed.

(g) A reference to the gathering of the supernatural beings.

(h) As if in secret and confidential discussion.

721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided
648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches [727] of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but [628] were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the help of *Sympo-o*, the most exposed one, although there was no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of [774] this town attributed their protection to *Alpanim*, and used to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola [561] itself was comparatively free from molestation, *Kimsquit* and [162] *Talio*, with smaller populations and less strategic positions, were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and entered by a water-gate with a drop-door.[1] This water-gate protected the [648] residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one [724] Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders, armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way [642] and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong government was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being [628] assailed, the members of the town would discuss retaliation, and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was de- [622] cided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually [701] a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[1] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

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● 624

/For information on Bellacoola heralds and their function in the potlatch ceremonies, see category 203./

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

law in public opinion which expresses contempt for a lazy man who is constantly begging.

To anyone familiar with the definite social groupings of a tribe divided into clans or land-owning families, the uxorieal family of the Bulu Cocis must appear as a vague and unreal unit, only distinguished by its intangibility. So it was found when investigating in the field. When information began to accumulate, it seemed as if there must be some definite obligations incumbent upon all members of the uxorieal family, but none could be found. Without asking a direct question, the point was raised whether, if a man were killed, the members of his uxorieal family would unite to avenge him. Conversely, were they liable for the deeds of any member? In each case the reply was in the negative; these matters concern only the matrilineal family. In regulating marriage the uxorieal family is important, since it is wise for a man or woman to seek husband within the members of that group, though it is not compulsory. Theoretically, the terms of kinship applied to members of the matrilineal family may be extended to members of the uxorieal family, but in practice this is rarely the case, and, if so, is fortuitous. It might be argued that this somewhat wide application of kinship terms, ranging on the classificatory usage, is a relic of an earlier, and now broken-down, clan system. It is impossible to prove or to deny such a connection. When trying to discover whether the members of an uxorieal family ever constituted a patrilineal kinship one of their fellows established himself as a chief, the following interesting statement was received. The previous witness the informant had been in Bulu Bulu, and there the point was raised by a Bulu Bulu chief whom he quoted as follows:

"We laugh at you Bulu Cocis because each of you is always trying to be chief. Our system is much better; we all help one chief."

The man agreed with the Bulu Bulu men that there was an important difference between the practices of the two tribes.

G/DE/Swedish E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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friends, a further cause for their preferential treatment. A Bella Coola who had been enslaved and ransomed had to undergo cleansing ceremony to remove the taint of slavery before he could take part in the ceremonies of the community. It was impossible to learn the details of this rite.

A master had complete power over a slave, unaffected by the force of public opinion, since the affairs of a slave, being without redress, were of no consequence to anyone. Accordingly, the lot of a slave depended on the character of his master, as on his own ability and industry. An industrious slave was valued; such an one would not be traded or sold except though dire necessity, and in course of years he became, so far as actual treatment was concerned, one of the family. Very wealthy men gave their slaves *Tsetsa*[*] dance preparations, spending large sums for the purpose. In such a case the one might become an influential member of the community, though the fact that he was not free was never forgotten. On the other hand, a master had not the slightest compunction about beating a lazy slave, and could kill him if he so desired. None of the present Bella Coola has heard of such a act; it was considered more sensible to sell or give away an unsatisfactory slave. It was accepted as a matter of course that a master should provide his slaves with food and clothing, and everything produced or obtained by one belonged to him. A slave-owner had full rights to his female slaves, and unquestionably exercised them. The only restraints were the jealousy of his own wife, or wives, and the feeling that it was unlighted for a free man to demean himself. It was impossible to learn with even approximate accuracy to what extent intercourse took place between masters and slaves. Probably at a great deal, though there was considerable freedom exhibited between slave women and the young men of the community, unrestrained by the pride of chieftainship. When a slave had been faithful for a number of years and had become about a member of the family, his master would try-

[*] Such plays (I, p. 18) were seen rarely given.

554 chief had thus obtained a seat for his daughter, as well as one
* 556 for his two sons. But usually a woman continues to use the
562 ancestral name given to her in infancy until she is able to
[553] assist her husband in a potlatch, when a name is validated for
her (see I, p. 400). The ancestral names of the first women
to occupy this earth are reserved for women and, like men's
names, vary in prestige according to the prowess of their
owners. Most names given to children, though embedded in
[55] origin myths, are applicable to either sex; and these are the
common designations of women. Cases are known in which a
woman has assumed an ancestral name if her brother has al-
lowed it to fall into ill-repute through failure to give potlatches.

554 With such a fluid system, no fixed line can be drawn be-
* 556 tween chief and commoner. But after his fourth potlatch a
622 man's influence in the community has become so great that
[359] he will usually feel justified in having the carpenters make for
him a memorial seat. There is nothing to prevent a person
having one made for him before he has given the requisite
number of potlatches, but too rapid assumption may render
him liable to the scorn of the community through his failure
to show himself sufficiently "strong." The contempt shown
[624] to anyone attempting to usurp too lofty a place is a strong
deterrent to a proud young man.

[592] On the memorial seat are carved the man's ancestral crests,
[359] in other words the forms in which his first ancestors came to
earth, or some of the beings with whom they came in con-
tact. To show these is a matter of pride, but unless the dis-
play is fittingly validated, the man's own dignity will be
lowered, as well as that of his ancestors. Construction of a
seat is particularly common when a man is establishing himself
in the ancestral position behind the fire, and claims this to be
where his first ancestor sat. Others among the first people
may have chosen seats in other parts of the house, and in these,
likewise, a man who is taking his ancestral name may have a
memorial seat constructed. Establishment in such a position
increases a chief's feeling of moral superiority, so if strength-

ability are always seeking to lend goods to those who are planning potlatches or other rites, knowing that the investment is safe and lucrative.

X uses his own discretion as to how much wealth is necessary. He knows how much he owes for presents received on previous occasions, and would not dream of giving a potlatch until able to repay them. Failure to do so would hold him up to the derision of the whole countryside. But he acts upon his own judgment with regard to interest. If he continues to lend goods until he is able to repay with great interest, he gains prestige from his generous returns, but meanwhile he does not enjoy the distinction which would have followed a smaller effort at an earlier period. Further, there is the uncertainty about how much his wife's family will contribute, though this can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy; in Bella Coola every transaction is made publicly, so each man knows the wealth of his neighbour. The favourite month for a potlatch is October, before the *hamat* dances, when there is abundance of food. At this season there is plenty of salmon roe, berries, and crabapples, all of which might be ruined by frost. Occasionally, a potlatch takes place after the *hamat* period, but in that case the only foods available are slacken grass, smoked roes, smoked fish, dried herring-hack, and dried berries. If several men in one village decide to give potlatches in the same year there may be rivalry and dispute as to which shall be first. There is no satisfactory method of settling this point.

When all is ready X sets a herald (S. p. 344) to summon his fellow villagers to his house the following day for *ulamen*. It is customary for all to accept, but no social obligation is broken should a man or woman fail to do so.

The man moving to and fro in his own house, knowing that free food will be distributed. While his expected guests are adorning themselves by washing and painting, X, aided by his family and others, prepares large quantities of food, borrows boxes, and makes other necessary arrangements. The

one by repeating loudly a few words, or even phrases, from the speeches being delivered, or calling on the audience to notice what has just been said and to learn accordingly. A white man would be annoyed at such interruptions, but the Bella Coola consider them evidence of attentiveness.

The making of comments is a duty performed at every type of ceremony, but it is indispensable at potlatches, since a chief depends on the heralds to emphasize and explain the points of his family history which are being displayed. One intelligent man likened their functions to a compass, constantly guiding the course of ceremonial life. Without a herald a chief would be as useless as a ship tossed on the ocean with no hand to steer. Although the principal duty of heralds is to extol the actions of a chief, they can, and are expected to, decide one who fails to carry out the customary requirements. Cases have occurred in which influential men have so far forgotten their function of generosity as to fail to invite their fellows after killing a deer or other large animal; or women have declined to share their abundant berries. Nothing is said at the time, but when next the people have come together for some ceremony, a herald refers to the occasion under as slim a disguise that everyone is aware of his meaning. This public ridicule lowers the prestige of a chief to such an extent that he is careful not to offend again. Not many years ago, a certain Kimsquit chief failed to ask others to share some mountain goats which he had killed; at the first opportunity a herald referred to himself as Tahi, Mountain Goat, and all present realized that he was really alluding to the one who had been remiss.

Heralds must exercise care in their criticisms at the expense of chiefs because, unless public opinion is with them, the point of the remark is lost, and they expose themselves to the wrath of the person offended. Nevertheless, heralds always strive to cause merriment, and often take risks with this aim in view. They try to make humorous remarks, and also to raise amusement by their action. As already described, the dancer of a potlatch may throw to one of them a dish containing liquid food

and those who are not. Any o'alt, provided that he has enough food for a meal, can call in his neighbors, but the one who usually does so is a man who has received his name a year or two before the occasion.

A few days before the time selected, the host asks the singers to compose a new song for him. For a marginal dance particularly, and in some cases for any one of the other three divisions of the society, the new dance not deal with incidents connected with the host's ancestral story, but with humorous or disgraceful incidents of the present time. If a man has caught ten salmon and kept them all for himself, his misfortune is commented upon in the song. If a wife has deserted her husband for another man, the actions of the two are mercilessly ridiculed. If a chief has failed to display generosity it is likewise recorded, and reference is made to events in dance circle. To do this is one of the functions of a marginal, and the singers are always ready to assist him. In the same time they often add a new incident to the dance belonging to some other o'alt dance so that he can will be able to perform. In this way the songs are remembered from year to year, which is different from the customary Bella Coola usage.

On the morning of the day chosen, the host asks one of the singers to beat a drum repeatedly but slowly, as a signal that a non-commercial dance is about to take place. Minor men, heralds go from house to house announcing who is to give the dance. In the late afternoon the people gather in the dance's house where men, women, and children sort themselves without distinction of rank, the only reserved place being that for the singers behind the fire. They hear out the host's name and he dances to it, while the singers themselves sing the words to the accompaniment of the audience. Using their own discretion, they then hear out the name of another o'alt and he also dances, followed in succession by a third, a fourth, and as many as the singers think fit. Sometimes the songs of round are used in a similar manner. When many have danced, the host distributes food to all his guests, not forgetting to give the largest

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NEB Discards NEA

performances of this kind. But ceremonial and ethical concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch, are not limited to a few weeks of the year or to any class of the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a major sin. Persons who happened to pass house in which a meal is taking place must be invited to dine in; to do otherwise would be considered rude. The poor newcomer must take at least a bite to show that he is at cheerful and not proud to eat with his host, while if he changes, he shows whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of the family should be the first to move any food* as proof that it is not poisoned, but otherwise he form rule, if any, better than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse through the construction of individual food houses with doors and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suitable place for netting eulachon or salmon may give some of his catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon, the first solicitor is given one, later comers none at all. When a net is set in the river, anyone passing followed to raise it and take some of the contents. If there is two fish, he may remove one, if many, three or four. To do all would be a despicable theft, sufficient to brand the trespasser as greedy; hence public opinion governs the transactions being carried to excess. A hunter who brings back naval mountain goats or other large game is expected to invite a neighbours to a feast, which certainly means that he must save his takings.

Presents of this kind increase the power of the donor who has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are advantageous investments since others are indebted. The system is carried to such lengths that, will recent years, it was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavors to give as little as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift shows as much as

*This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of house-doors.

1:McDavitt E.-1 (1922-1924) 1948
NES DeDavitt NES

533 of each song dances to it. Anyone who has enough food to
536 provide a meal for all is glad to invite his neighbours to such
574 an affair, but the singers and heralds can force a stingy man to act as host. Everyone knows his neighbour's resources and the singers have no hesitation in going to the house of a man with an ample supply of food and beginning to beat out songs [illegible] there. The heralds are quick to see what is happening and [illegible] call the people, with the result that the involuntary host is compelled to provide a meal in order not to be thought mean and churlish. Without waiting for the singers to take the initiative, heralds likewise often invite people to the house of a man whom they know to be well provided with food.

During the summer, the necessity of laying in supplies of salmon makes it impossible to hold many dances, although one of the non-sacred type just described takes place whenever there is a lull in the fishing. In the early autumn, when berries, fish, and game are abundant, the thoughts of chiefs turn to potlatches and the lengthy preliminaries are begun. At this season, too, a chief who lacks sufficient wealth to invite foreign guests, calls in his neighbours for a social dance and initiates some of his young relatives into that society. The ritual, described in the last chapter, resembles that of a potlatch except that no new house is constructed, there is no return of a dead relative, and the ceremonial connected with the coming of foreigners is necessarily omitted. In some cases a chief performs this type of rite a year before he proposes to hold a potlatch, and explains that he is doing so because he will be unable to give presents to the inhabitants of his own village at the later affair. Gifts so distributed are returnable with interest, though it is not obligatory for recipients to do this in time for the donor to make use of their repayment at his potlatch.

Ceremonials of this nature occupy the Bella Coola during the early autumn, while in winter *hamat'sa* dances take place almost nightly. When they are over, it is time for the non-sacred variety of *s'alt* performances, and for another type of rite, *nusa'xa'xa'mas*.

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well, and these are some learnt by the child who is fortunate enough to have many kinsmen. Primarily, responsibility rests with the parents for the care and support of their offspring, but they have the advice, assistance, and material aid of their relatives. Nor are these limited to the near kindred of either father or mother; all members of the ancestral family take their part. Strangers, also, even if unrelated, take an interest in any child who shows their hallmarks, irrespective of his rank.

Much of the care bestowed on children is of a magical nature and must be reserved until a later chapter. Little boys follow their fathers on hunting expeditions and so acquire knowledge by practical experience, as do girls from their mothers with regard to household tasks and feminine occupations. Even small children are quick to notice the attention paid to the orders of chiefs, and carry out their commands without demur. A disobedient child is beaten or thrown into cold water; the parents usually act in such cases, though a near relative does not hesitate to do so, especially if he is a chief. Like all other children, Bella Coola boys and girls are fond of stories and listen eagerly to the tales told in the long evenings by some old man or woman. Many of these are somewhat obscene, but they serve to teach much ancient lore, and at the same time to emphasize many taboos and restrictions which are thus inculcated without definite schooling. They illustrate the laws of morality, as does the public disapproval shown to anyone who infringes some point of etiquette or behaviour. If a child makes fun of a sea-fish or a bull-head, he is not told to stop doing so; instead, one of his elders tells him how, in the distant past, there was a famine, and adviseth him not to scoff at the fish which alone saved his ancestors from starvation at that time. If a rude little boy laughs at a maimed or deformed man, he is told of *Sisiutl*, a Bella Bella cockle who repeatedly mocked a one-eyed man and presently, himself, lost the sight of an eye.

"Don't laugh at cripples, blind people, or those who are

[584]

dress just described. The giving of dress at this time is not obligatory, nor does it affect the validity of the coming marriage. It is merely a mark of friendly feeling between the two groups of relatives, and, by adding to the importance of the event, increases the potential strength of the unions children.

[584]

If either X or Y should die during the period of engagement, the presents, or their equivalent, must be returned to the donors. No formal methods are employed to ensure this, but the force of public opinion suffices to compel a man to do [585] [586] that which is proper, in fact, he is anxious to do so. If Y should die, an effort is made to replace her with a sister, cousin, or other near relative, so that the friendly relations entered upon by the two families may not be lost. The gifts mutually given by the two families may be returned and re-donated or the substitute simply takes Y's place without further arrangement. Sometimes, in spite of the wishes of their parents and the [587] disloyal ceremonies carried out, either X or Y breaks the engagement by going to live with somebody else. It is then a mark [588] of pride for the family of the offender to return the gifts they have received, and almost equally a mark of honour for the aggrieved party to give back what has been bestowed upon them, in order to demonstrate how little value they place on the possession of goods.

Though a lengthy engagement is desirable, it may be curtailed. If, for example, one of X's relatives should die before the usual period has elapsed, Y's father may suggest an immediate wedding. He knows that X's family will have heavy [764] expenses in connection with the burial and mourning ceremonies; hence it is courteous to offer a quick marriage with the financial advantages accruing to them at the ceremony. In this case, X either does not work at all for Y's family, or for only a short time. Moreover, if Y reaches marriageable age without her father receiving suitable proposals, he can himself take the initiative by consulting the parents of an eligible young man. If the suggestion is agreeable, the engagement is announced in the manner already described, and the marriage takes place

[illegible] one, but only one of great importance could hope to aspire to more, while the case of *Pakic* was considered to be unique and highly desirable.

[illegible] A chief's wives always lived in the same house, and it is said that disputes were frequent. *Pakic* endeavored to prevent jealousy by providing each woman with a special bedroom and sleeping for a single night with each in order. One informant had two wives when a young man, and he found that the only way to avoid constant bickering was by sleeping in one bed, between them. The evidence seems clear that plurality of wives was usually the cause of considerable friction, though this never deterred a man from taking a second wife if he could. The only special rule of incest in this regard was that two sisters could not be married at the same time.

[illegible] In answer to questions about polyandry, two men told of a barren woman who had two little-minded husbands between whom she used to sleep. The whole affair was considered disgusting, but public opinion did not correct the offenders since a person's marital affairs were considered to concern the individual only. It was accordingly assumed that the institution of true polyandry did not exist, when, exceptionally, information was volunteered about its occurrence in the families of influential men. A very powerful chief, if his only child was a daughter, quite frequently married her simultaneously to the sons of other chiefs. She was then considered more fortunate, since only a wealthy man could provide for a daughter in this way, and expend the large quantities of goods necessary to ensure her proper marriage in each case. The husbands were never brothers, and seldom related, since the additional power sought to ally his daughter with different ancestral families for the benefit of any resultant children. The joint wife was accustomed to live for a number of months in the house of one of her husbands, with her other husbands forming part of his household. She would then move to the house of another, who assumed the leadership of the group,

ceremony, they can part in discretion without anyone being offended.

When a wife runs away and seeks refuge with another man, her husband sometimes tries to kill his rival, but frequently both families endeavour to heal the breach amicably. Some of her relatives, particularly those who played an influential part in the marriage, first ask the husband whether or not he is willing to take her back. If the answer is in the affirmative, they next try to persuade her to return. Every argument is used, in many cases confined with threats against her relatives, and the reconciliation often succeeds. But she must never go back without presents, "to do with the water that has covered the marriage." The husband invites all his fellow-villagers to his house to a ceremony which is said "to uncover the house (of troubles)." The singers are in attendance and sing in succession many theme songs, followed by comic songs, and to which the owner of the song dances, but since the supernatural beings are not present, the effect is of a non-sacred nature. The goods received from the family of the erring wife are distributed and the matter is at an end. Those who persuaded the wife to return are specially rewarded.

If the brethren will should refuse to return, or if she should have a child to her lover, reconciliation is not possible. There is no incumbent on the woman's relatives to return to the husband so much goods as he has expended, with additions if they wish to uphold their own reputation. If the husband is clearly to blame, or if he is the deserting person, his wife's family are not required to return the gifts they have received. There is no judicial tribunal of any kind, the force of public opinion alone impels restitution if the offender wishes to maintain his reputation in the community. Acting on this principle, the relatives of a deserted wife sometimes restore to her husband's family the presents they have received, thereby demonstrating their nobility and at the same time shaming the offender.

Formerly there was an elaborate ceremony to dissolve the

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husband or wife who destroyed a marriage by deserting his, or her, partner for a lover. One informant, aged about seventy, twice took part in this rite when a young man, but probably did not know the full details of it. He stated that it followed a divorce of two persons who had been married with full ceremony, whereas another, slightly younger informant, who remembered having seen the ceremony once when a mere lad, believed that it was only in the families of commoners. It appears certain that the rite has not been practised since about 1880, consequently there is an element of doubt as to the actual details, and even as to whether it was an affair of chiefs or commoners. It is probable that it was among the former.

When a woman deserted her husband one of the leading chiefs would take this opportunity of giving a ceremony of the type known as *ilaqkhum*.* After consulting with his fellows to ensure that no one had any objections, and rarely including the deserted husband, he summoned the singers to his house. He would tell them his plans, and they would prepare the songs for the occasion. Five or six were always composed, with an effort to include as many foul remarks and allusions as possible, particularly with regard to the organs of the woman and her lover.

The singers spent about a week composing the songs, and meanwhile the chief who was giving the ceremony prepared food and made other necessary arrangements. When these were ready, the donor invited to his house all the members of the *nuxnt* and *kwiat* societies for a rehearsal. The singers sang over the airs for the instruction of the guests. They were always worded as if it were the deserted husband speaking in foul terms of his ex-wife. The theme of one was:

"My wife has pudendum like those of a black bear."

The guests joined in the singing and also supplied foul themes by calling out observations about the organs of women in general, and of the deserting wife in particular. The singers

*The relation of this to the *ilaqkhum* of the same name is obscure, cf. I, p. 378.

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mind to incorporate as many of these as possible, so that the rite soon became a chorus of obscenities. The songs were sung and resung until all present were familiar with them, then the dancer of the rite distributed food and all departed.

The following afternoon everyone, including those uninitiated into either society, were invited to the dancer's house. Probably the only absentees from the village were the deserting wife and her lover, while guests from neighbouring settlements were often in attendance. On this occasion, for the first time, the deserted husband used to take the leading part. When the singers struck up the tune of the first song, he used to appear, supported by four or five assistants. His face was blackened with soot, he wore a lynx-skin belt, and above his head was fashioned some insulting object, usually a representation of the female organs made of wood, cedar-bark and leaves, as realistic as possible. As the singers sang, aided by those who had learnt the songs on the previous day, the husband danced, moving his body so that the ornament on top of his head was shaken suggestively. Meanwhile the spectators kept calling out filthy epithets of any kind on his ex-wife and her lover. Sometimes the dancer was able to insert some obscene remarks into the display. On one occasion, for example, he pulled some lynx fur from his belt and threw it in the face of a *Tlil-ie* man who happened to be present, and who had once seduced a married woman and accordingly bore the brunt of a similar rite, with the remark:

"All *Tlil-ie* women have hairy pudendis like that."

The guests were invited to suggest foul nicknames for the man with whom the dancer's wife had eloped. One of these was adopted by general agreement of opinion, and the man was commonly called by it henceforth. Two names so created were:

Ishdoo, "The One Whose Face is Wrinkled like a Woman's Organs," and,

Zoodzaak, "The One Who Cohabited Publicly."

536 One very old man is still, 1923, commonly called by this
●626 last designation, much to his annoyance.

When the songs had been sung, each accompanied by the
839 dancing of the deserted husband, the donor of the ceremony
796 distributed food and the guests departed. The only advantage
[556] to the giver of the rite was that it enabled him to show his wealth in an apparently disinterested fashion by gifts of food. Usually he was a friend of the aggrieved husband.

When a husband deserted his wife, the other women of the village used to perform an exactly similar ceremony. The same type of songs were composed, and during their singing the deserted wife used to dance, wearing above her head
[292] representations of a penis and testicles. By means of hidden strings she was able to cause the former to become erect.

On other occasions the ceremony was varied by an announcer asking the offended party about the appearance of the deserter. There followed a minute and highly coloured description about the unpleasantness of his genital organs, a description which was swiftly incorporated into the songs.

It can be taken as a matter of course that the above description is little more than an outline of the Bella Coola ceremony of shaming. In spite of its deficiencies, it is important, as evidence of the former sentiment with regard to divorce. Obscene though the ceremony must have been, both in acting and in the free use of personalities, it must have been a powerful deterrent to divorce.* Indeed it would be difficult to imagine a stronger one in a community where a man's position is judged by public opinion and where his greatest aversion is to public ridicule. It is unfortunate that we shall probably never know whether the rite was associated with chiefs or commoners.

CEREMONIAL MARRIAGE

511 Since marriage gains much of its importance from the complicated business transactions between the two families, with
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*A similar rite was occasionally carried out for unmarried mothers.

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place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death. 764 783

The above rite protects widower or widow, but does not alter the fact that for one year they are ceremonially "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the ocean. The one near Kimsquit is called *Sqiw'ti*, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of which the bottoms are bent upwards; should this be omitted, when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will soon die. 765 [783] [785] [262] [484] [292] [761]

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should cut their hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; if this rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and [621] [302] [834] [587] [735]

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tense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a number of young men and women ignorant of the significance of the rites. Formerly, the *kukusiut* often had difficulty in impressing the uninitiated with their prowess, and feuds with the o'alt were common.

Although membership in the *kusiut* society depends on an ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution. A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *kusiut* prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great importance within the ranks of the society. Nor are the prerogatives considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that slaves are often admitted as *kukusiut* by their masters. An important *kusiut* is not esteemed by the community in the same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, membership in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *kusiut* organization can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without special invitation, he dares enter the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non-

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It is believed that if a non-
*575 initiate pass between the central fire and the raised platform
774 behind it, where the dancer is usually concealed, his spirit will
755 be attracted to this material object. Even though the performer is in another house at the time, he at once senses what
[784 has happened and asks who has lost his spirit. The guilty
626 person, believing that he will die unless it is returned to him, always admits what he has done. The dancer, accompanied by several attendant *kukusiut*, proceeds to the raised platform, presses his cupped hands four times against it, and by sucking with his mouth pretends to draw forth the spirit. But since the dancer has a direct call (II, p. 6) from his supernatural patron (II, p. 6), he cannot come in contact with the uninitiated without danger to the latter, so he transfers the supernatural element to the leg of another *kusiut*, who is not dancing at the time, by pressing four times. This assistant then returns it to the owner by kneading it four times into the back of his neck.
[626 The reckless uninitiated person suffers no harm, but is more careful in future.

[784 Another belief is that if a non-member even walks close to
626 the doorway of the house during the four days, or more, that a dance is taking place, his spirit is attracted to the dancer, wherever he may be at the moment. Consequently the uninitiated use the beach path instead of the sidewalk. Accounts differ as to what results from the transgression. According to
[778 one, the dancer falls down as if dead, due to the contact between something non-sacred and the power with which he is imbued. It is at once recognized what has happened and any *kusiut* can draw forth the spirit by placing his two hands, shaped like a cup, against the dancer and sucking violently. While so doing he calls *hoip* loudly and any *kukusiut* present beat time furiously. As soon as the alien spirit has been removed, the dancer recovers. Still holding his hands cupped together, the extractor now proceeds to the house of the non-member and returns the latter's spirit by kneading it into the back of his neck. If this were not done, the loser would soon
[784 become mad, try to eat dirt, and die. According to another

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informant, the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not inconvenience the dancer, although he senses its presence, and asks who will pay for its return. Unless the owner at once steps forward to claim his property and promises to pay, his spirit is thrown into the fire and he dies. The *kukusiut* sometimes tell an uninitiated person that his spirit has been attracted from him, thereby terrifying him so greatly that he appeals to a shaman to recover it for him. The expert greases his hands, warms them at a fire, and pretends to pluck something from the *kusiut* which he inserts into the loser's neck. 575* 774 785 [784]

In view of the firm conviction that the spirit is essential to an individual's welfare, it is not surprising that this belief should awe the uninitiated and fill them with profound respect for the *kukusiut*. The diversity in the details of procedure proves that the practice has not become standardized; those who are not members of the society believe and do not test the claims. 575* 774 626

Another source of strength claimed by the *kukusiut* is ability to witness and imitate the dances of the supernatural beings held in *Nusmät-a* prior to the entry of *Äiqunäm*. As already described, it is believed that a supernatural element from every living creature upon earth ascends at this time but, in a way that is not fully understood, only those belonging to *kukusiut* can take part in the ceremonies. Is it strange, therefore, that members of the society are regarded with awe by their less fortunate fellows? Presents are given after every dance in *Nusmät-a* and the supernatural elements receive their due share. When, however, *Äiqunäm* enters, he is so big and so hot that almost all who have assembled rush forth furiously, and in the crush at the narrow doorway disaster overtakes many of the visiting human representatives. Some drop their gifts, and their owners will be unfortunate; others fall, and their owners cannot survive until the next ceremonial season. This same fate may befall even those who are not members of the *kusiut* society, but they do not have the ability to appreciate what has happened. 575* 787 776 996 777 761

and their subterfuges, it sometimes happens that an uninitiated person sees or hears something which he should not know. The simplest way to deal with this situation is to kill the observer. It is said that no less an type a young man, impelled by curiosity, wandered up a valley into which he had been warned not to penetrate, and met a Cannibal whom he believed had vanished into the upper realms. Almost dumbfounded, he accepted the latter's invitation to sit down, and was slain by him. More often, and especially if the observer is the child of a *kwaiat*, he is initiated into the ranks of the society. If this happens at any time of year except the actual ceremonial season, he cannot perform immediately, but he is taken to the secret meeting place of the village chiefs, and there the mysteries of the organization are explained to him. The uninitiated are told that the observer has had a shaman's experience. With the aid of the older *kwaiat* he then performs a dance and conjuring feat of the type already described (I, p. 564), and is secluded until the next autumn, meanwhile wearing the distinctive collar of a shaman. In the songs used on this occasion no mention is made of a wash-basin, so of course the lad only performs ceremonially. When winter comes he is formally initiated into the society.

It is somewhat difficult to understand and explain the sentiments which lead a young man to obey rigidly the dictates of the senior *kwaiat* in deceiving his former friends. If it becomes known that a youth has seen something which should have been concealed, the senior *kwaiat* of his village meet in their ceremonial spot and decide that he must be put through the shaman's rite. Some relative of the youth is always ready to provide the necessary *kwaiat* prerogative; otherwise he would have to be killed. Two or three members are then sent to catch the young man. On some pretext they lure him into the woods and then carry him away, struggling in fear, to the holy of holies, the place which he had been told to avoid since he would die if he penetrated to it. Here he finds all the seniors of his village, seated with grave expressions on

#575 their form. In spite of what he may have seen, the lad cannot rid himself of the supernatural fears with which he has been 781 involved from childhood, and the experience is terrifying to 424 a degree. It may be that he has seen some of the whistles, and thereby knows that the strange sounds are made by men, not by supernatural beings. In this case he is shown their mechanism in detail, and warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells others of his knowledge. Fear impels him to silence, and at the same time he realizes that what he has discovered has placed him in a superior position to that of his former associates. He feels, too, that he has been admitted into the ranks of the society to which his father, grandfather, and ancestors have distinguished themselves, and that it would be desecration to make light of what they have held sacred. Finally, an initiate does not at first grasp the fact that all the cries are deceptions, and by the time that this is apparent to him he has become so thoroughly a part of the organization that he has no thought of betraying his associates, upsetting a vital part in the complicated fabric of Bella Coola life, and exposing himself to ruin and death. A logical white man might think these considerations insufficient, but the existence of the society proves that the varied motives operate so strongly that a young man does keep silence. Some informants state that hypnotism was formerly used to ensure obedience.

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#575 The *hahaiat* are always ready to deal with an emergency 176 such as sometimes occurs in spite of every precaution. It is 781 remembered that about one hundred and fifty years ago during 424 a dance at the village of *Nuqáymáts*, a figure, representing one of the supernatural beings, had the misfortune to drop his mask, the strings by which it was tied having worn through. The house was crowded with uninitiated to whom the deception at once became apparent. For a moment there was wild confusion, but the senior *hahaiat* rose to the occasion and closed the door, allowing no uninitiated person to leave. Then a *hahaiat* was sent out with a whistle which he sounded as if the supernatural being of which it was the voice was growing

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[No Dance of NoaKunim]

approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is *Smaxmaxa*, where its captain leaps to *Nuxpalemaxta* to await the coming of *Sqaweiem*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonies the night of *nalaxem*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noakynum* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, several succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose patron was *Nuikynum*, but that the marshals requested him not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noakynum* is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the uninitiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river the *kusiut* dances begin.

It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village, as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only slight variations, if any. In *Tsmasti* the *kusiut* who has the prerogative of seeing *Noakynum* is a certain *Qoxalin-i*,[15] in Kimsquit, *Alaxinuasam*,[16] and in *Sististi*, *Xemtnum*. Although,

[15] Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qoxalin-i*, who intimated that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman referred to the handing of this designation by her father and said that the present name had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

[16] Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significances of this type.

*576 tion and those quarrelling follow him as he goes to every house
*796 growling and crying *xwe*, *xwe*, *xwe*. By the time he returns home their anger has cooled. It is then necessary to quiet X by means of the elaborate beating of sticks. This is repeated four times, while a *kwiat* spits violently over him.

Before leaving his own home to attend a *kwiat* dance, a little food is always given to X in case he should become hungry and start biting people. On *qulaw* he always dances after the *dance of the ceremony*,[illegible] and when the *kukusiut* eat together he always receives his portion immediately after that of the marshals. Fear of all Cannibals is one of the most potent deterrents to the uninitiated, but the most dreaded are those, like X, who have just returned from the land above and may at any moment break forth into an orgy of biting. Several elderly informants recalled vividly the terror with which they regarded such a Cannibal when they were young.

[620] [781]

The *kukusiut* take full advantage of the fear which X inspires in the uninitiated. On *qulaw* nights when the time arrives for the latter to depart, they are often chased forth by the frenzy of X, or one of his fellow-Cannibals who has likewise been to the land above. X starts to call out, *xwe*, *xwe*, *xwe*, and rises to his feet; the singers at once begin to beat out one of his songs and the uninitiated hurriedly flee, while the Cannibal's guardians press close around him as he dances as if to prevent him running amuck among the frightened people crowding out of the door. As he dances and hears his song, he becomes more and more excited; he growls and only the repeated *hoip* of his guardians and their pressure upon the back of his neck appear to restrain him. Non-members and even those *kukusiut* who do not understand the full mysteries of the Cannibal dance cannot fail to be impressed. The raising of the arms is supposed to inflame a Cannibal, so if it is desired still more to impress the uninitiated, one of the *kukusiut* lifts his arms, and is bitten by X. The heralds at once go

[781]

[illegible] Cannibals have performed in a single year, the order in which they dance is subject to arrangement.

[The Cannibal Dance]

through the village announcing what has taken place. Meanwhile X, maddened by the taste of blood, dashes from the house, closely guarded by a number of *hahaiat*. Growling, he enters the lowest house of the village and, to the uninitiated there, it appears as if the restraint of his guardians is all that prevents the biting demon from breaking loose among them. This is repeated at every house in the village, and then X returns to that in which *potlatch* is taking place, where he is guided to his usual corner and a *hahaiat* throws cold water over him. Any senior *hahaiat*, often one who is also a dancer, calls on these present to beat time, and the frenzied confusion of sticks sounds forth. X remains quiet and more water is thrown over him. This pounding of sticks is four times repeated, and after each more water is thrown over the Cannibal, until at last his temporary fit of frenzy is stilled. Then the *hahaiat* set in conclave and leave. It must be remembered that the uninitiated hear the beating of sticks from adjacent houses, and their awe is perhaps increased by the fact that they cannot actually see what is taking place. 575* 796* [981]

This liability to madness lasts throughout the ceremonial season, effectively suppressing any venturesome uninitiated, and at the same time serving as a bond of union among the *hahaiat* themselves, who must sink individual differences of opinion in face of the absolute necessity of upholding X's prestige. A Cannibal novice can likewise become frenzied at any time during the summer following his initiation. [626]

The Cannibal dance entails a considerable amount of physical and mental effort, while if X bites many individuals, as he likes to do as a means of demonstrating his prerogative, he is forced to expend a considerable amount of goods as "Bandages." These two factors often deter a man from performing this dance. A Cannibal who has just been initiated as a *hahaiat* at once begins to bite, and is carried away to the upper regions. He is required, moreover, to give his ceremony the following winter, like any other novice. During the summer he generally remains hidden within his house, and when he goes 575* 796* 556 [431] [424]

[The Cannibal Dance]

The ini-
tiated, who have seen or heard of X's heroism, readily believe the fiction that he has returned for a meal, and has once more gone aloft. One informant stated most emphatically that this was his belief when a young man; he had been warned by his father of the seriousness of the ceremonial and told that if he should dare to speak or think disrespectfully of it, a *tsaxiut* would "grip him by the ankle causing the flesh to become rotten." During a Cannibal's absence the uninitiated remain in a state of terror, fearing that, on returning, he may chance to light beside them and devour them. In consequence, they seek refuge in their bedrooms, or at any rate in the immediate vicinity of their houses.

After an absence of thirty or forty days it is decided that X shall return at a certain time. During the night preceding, he washes and shaves his head to further the belief that he has been to a land where the great wind has blown away his hair as well as the dirt from his body. Several accomplices are sent out, to a mountain above the village, to a house in the valley below, and to an island in the vicinity. In the early dawn the man up the mountain drones and growls, usually four times, according to the arrangement made. The people listen expectantly. After a short pause, the man in the valley makes the same noise; no mortal could cover the distance between the two places in the time that has elapsed, but all things are possible to a Cannibal. A herald goes through the village, crying out:

"We are left behind, we are left behind."

The *tsaxiut* dash off upstream towards the place from which the sound is still coming, but as they draw near it is stilled, only to break forth presently from the island behind them. The herald goes through the village informing everybody that:

"He has gone away."

Presently X dashes out into a clearing on the island, naked and with arms reddened; he runs around madly while an accomplice in concealment uses a whistle. The *tsaxiut* pursue

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[161]

sublime a chief who had given many proofs. Successful raids rarely slew such as one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject.

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to sail for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule or pelaboration, and the invasion gradually increased until wiped out in blood-shed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial axe brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Stuie* and *Mpätäiod* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe.

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Tälio*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack.

as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. 721
If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to 701
serve under him, but he could not compel the services of any- 622
one except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to 626
follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion 628
usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of
other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join
the party. If some of their relations had been slain in the
previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the retali-
ation, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could
attract them. No case is known in which all the Bella Coola 642
villages joined in a single expedition; there were often tem- 628
porary alliances between neighbouring settlements, but com-
plete lack of central organization. The course of events was
similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of
avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been 648
enslaved by a foreign tribe and slain by its owner, a brother
of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was
to kill a slave belonging to the murderer, though sometimes
he had a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the 726
same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped 411
arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were
also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed
like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was
relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a
distance with much noise, boasting, and expletives, but few
casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers suc-
ceeded in surprising a village at night. Hostilities are a thing
of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed
information respecting offensive weapons. Armour consisted 714
of maple or birch slats reinforced with moosehide and worn 726
around the body and chest; this rendered quick movement
difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were intro- 411
duced many years ago and armour consequently became use- 177
less. Large shields of moosehide were carried in all canoes,

177 factors. Inherited beliefs are too deep-rooted to pass away
771 entirely within a few generations. Even those who claim to
[181] have adopted the new faith remain convinced of the potency of magic, and of the existence of those supernatural creatures which do not actively conflict with the white man's creed. Such lack of consistency is a world-wide trait, particularly intelligible among the Bella Coola whose philosophy abounds in contradictions, dependent upon statements handed down in the origin myths of different families.

626 The Bella Coola are constrained not only by the omni-
[181] presence of supernatural beings; they are constantly subjected to the influence of their fellows. They are far less individualistic than white people. A chief may boast that he can do as
[622] he pleases, that he can disregard the restrictions of lesser men; he often does so, but only because public opinion recognizes that he has reached a position of eminence by giving many potlatches. The duly validated warrior is brave because he
[703] feels that everyone is aware of his valour. The man who per-
[769] forms some ceremony in accordance with an ancestral myth incorporates himself with his forbears, and is strengthened by the conviction that he has gained their support and approbation. In every phase of life, a person is profoundly affected
177 by the approval or disapproval of his neighbours. At present
626 the construction of small houses, each occupied by a single
342 family, makes it possible for a man to hide himself, or to do work unknown to the rest of the community. This lessens the force of public opinion, although it is even now more potent than conscience in checking anti-social acts. Formerly, in communal houses, every action was fully known, making individual freedom of thought and act virtually impossible. A man
[602] is chiefly influenced by his relatives who take a great share in what the white man would consider purely family affairs. The effect of the group upon the individual must not be overlooked, nor can it be over-stressed in a study of these people.

177 The education and conversion of the younger men have
626 enormously lessened their reliance upon their fellows. In former
182
561

times, older relatives were revered, not only as senior members of the ancestral family, but as those most familiar with myths and other cherished possessions. With the spread of new ideas, the young people no longer respect the love of their elders, and consequently do not heed their admonitions and advice. Theoretically, such self-reliance would seem desirable, but in practice it has led to unfortunate results. A young man, considering himself superior to the older people, glories in acting on his own initiative, but too often he lacks the requisite strength of character to guide his own life. If he wishes to drink, he does so; if he desires to marry, he chooses his mate without considering the transmission of ancestral rights which stabilized unions in former times; if he tires of his wife, he deserts her for another; if he cheats or steals, he is no longer restrained by relatives who fear disgrace. The elders, incapable of stemming the tide, watch sadly and ask seriously whether the coming of the white man has brought compensation for the loss it has caused. It is deplorable that the emancipation of the younger men and women has taken place before the development of the sense of individual responsibility and conscience which public opinion formerly rendered less necessary. Christianity provides a moral code for those who are fully converted, but for the many in the transition stage, the break-down of the old system of family influence has been tragic.

Profound religious beliefs and lack of individual initiative are shared by all Bella Coola with the exception, perhaps, of a few of the younger people who, having been educated at white man's schools, have adopted the new outlook unconditionally. In most characteristics they display as wide variability as any other people. In truthfulness, for example, they range from one extreme to the other. As the writer became familiar with the older men, he found it possible to recognize without difficulty the strength of some and the weakness of others. There are liars, but they can be easily detected owing to their lack of finesse. It is a pleasure to record the reliability of the author's friends and informants. Their veracity was checked repeat-

577 [illegible]ally until complete confidence was established, simplifying
[124] work in the field to an enormous extent. Equal trust could be placed on these men in other respects; articles of value were repeatedly left in their houses with the absolute certainty that they would be guarded with care. Some few individuals there were, however, who were neither honest nor trustworthy.
[777] Bella Coola religion is not concerned with ethics, but public
326 opinion demands honour in dealing with relatives or friends.
977 In former times, for example, debts incurred by an individual
[42] were considered a liability by his relations. If a man died after
[60] buying goods on credit for a potlatch, his family were disgraced
[177] if they failed to pay his bills; now, unfortunately, nothing constrains the younger people, many of whom try to avoid settling even their own debts, much less those of dead relatives. Individual conscience has not replaced the tribal and, more specifically, family influence. Dishonesty in small matters is not
[648] uncommon, particularly in dealing with white people who,
[177] according to the Bella Coola, were the first to transgress. The older people bitterly lament the lack of morality of the younger and state, probably with entire justification, that they would have been prevented by the open life which prevailed when several families shared a single house. On the whole, however, the average Bella Coola is probably no less honest than the average white man.

153 Individuals vary enormously in mental ability. In making
124 this investigation, it was necessary to interview all the older people of the tribe. Disregarding those unwilling to provide information, it was found that some absolutely lacked the ability to explain matters with which they were familiar; some did not have sufficient patience to be good teachers; some were so forgetful that they would omit necessary points in a story or account; some were downright stupid, whereas others displayed mental ability of no mean order. In reading ethnological literature, one is apt to think of the troubles experienced by the author, and to overlook the fact that natives have as

115 Schooner lacked the musical acumen of Joshua and Jim, but
117 he revealed himself as a tribal patriarch, proud of his family's
[153] history and eager to assist his grandchildren and great-grandchildren, but feeling himself lost and helpless in the struggle before them. With sadness, but without bitterness, he used to speak of the approaching end of Bella Coola culture, and his words brought home the tragedy which the spread of civilization brings to so many, and the responsibility resting upon the white people as a whole.

153 Until an intelligence test is devised to correlate the mental
115 ability of the white man with that of the native, it is impossible to compare the two scientifically. None the less, the writer deliberately expresses the opinion that Joshua Moody and Jim Pollard are two of the most brilliant men he has met in any walk of life. They are undoubtedly the most able of the Bella Coola; others have only slightly less ability, while the mass of the population compares favourably with an average white community. Their ability, however, is def-
198 initely conditioned by their conservatism. Absolute trust in the traditions of their ancestors has checked speculation, as the established explanation is never questioned; new inventions, unauthorized by custom, have been regarded as almost sacri-
[624] legious; the force of public opinion, while valuable as a deterrent to anti-social practices, has effectively restrained innovations. The Bella Coola are a good example of a community where development has been atrophied by extreme conservatism fostered by religious beliefs.

105 Taking into account the material obstacles, the achievements of these people have not been insignificant. In former
[322] times, provided only with tools of stone and untempered copper, they built graceful canoes, made watertight boxes, hewed planks from mighty cedars, and erected large houses which called for considerable engineering skill. Judged by
[532] white standards, their carving and painting lacked artistic deli-
[535] cacy, but it required no mean ability to portray crest designs to meet their own standards. Passing from the purely mechanical

group. The moral code is not concerned with animals. The life of the Bella Coola would be unbearable to most white people, yet they find it far from unpleasant. They sigh at present conditions, but there is much to amuse them notwithstanding. If several people are talking together, one is sure to hear bursts of laughter every few minutes. It takes little to interest them; a story they have heard a hundred times, the troubles of a neighbour with his wife, the eccentricity of a white man, the stupidity of the investigator, any of these is enough to cause a hearty laugh. When collecting information, it was constantly necessary to joke with them; the most feeble attempt was enough, but they lost interest in the work unless kept smiling. Their sense of humour is not refined; jests about sexual matters are common and are enjoyed alike by men, women, and children. It is not that their tastes are perverted, but rather that they have no reticence in discussing this topic, so they find it easy to see the ludicrous aspects of a subject which is ever near the surface in their minds. They have no hesitation in poking fun at their friends; a successful practical joke, such as hiding the writer's tobacco, is enough to fill them with amusement. If the victim shows temporary resentment, the glee of his friends is complete, and shrieks of laughter usually terminate the trick.

Unless the white man who comes to live among the Bella Coola is unusually broad-minded, he is at first repelled by the dirt and untidiness prevailing everywhere; even the people themselves seem unnatural. He finds it difficult to realize the sincerity of their religious beliefs, and the manner in which these influence their daily lives is hard to grasp. The potlatch system appears so grotesque that it seems to reflect a psychology diametrically opposed to his own. The force of public opinion on personal conduct is almost incomprehensible. Gradually, however, he begins to understand the reasons underlying Bella Coola life. The potlatch becomes intelligible when regarded as a means of achieving fame; constant attention to supernatural beings is natural considering the firm conviction

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105 of their omnipresence; the guiding force of public opinion is
182 seen as a check on individual licence, fostered or inculcated by
[626] the ties which hold together ancestral families and make it impossible for a man to lead an isolated life where others will not be affected by his actions. If the white man is willing to receive new ideas, he will learn much from the comments of the Bella Coola on his own customs. Many have been to
[556] Victoria or Vancouver, and they feel that the contrasts of wealth observable in such big cities are atrocious; they ask
[602] how this is compatible with Christianity. They feel that it is unnatural for a man not to receive support from his cousins of
[356] all degrees; that the hoarding of wealth for the mere gratification of personal desires is selfish; that the selling of land is extraordinary; and that failure to ascribe every incident to supernatural causes is sacrilegious. These differences of viewpoint on so many matters explain the first impression of strangeness. A careful investigator comes to realize that he is among a people who fundamentally differ but slightly from his compatriots, though outwardly they have little in common. With respect to love, ambition, parental affection, sense of honour, pride, intelligence, even humour and vanity, the Bella Coola are essentially similar to ourselves. Unfortunately, these characteristics are expressed in ways unintelligible and often repellant to the casual traveller. If he will only look beneath the surface, he will find a people who are neither saints nor sinners, but essentially human, with the faults and follies as well as the elements of strength and wisdom which comprise, as Kipling puts it, "Men in a world of men."

177 The coming of the white civilization has been cataclysmic
[161] to the Bella Coola. Within two generations they have been reduced to a mere handful; instead of living in scattered vil-
[361] lages, roaming the mountains for game and fishing at will, they now dwell in a single settlement and the taking of animals and fish is subject to law; the introduction of metal tools and mechanical appliances has revolutionized their mode of life; new foods, new clothing, new furniture has altered their living conditions; fermented drink has presented a factor unknown

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Sinaqoil: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Sinaxinaxi: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Sisaw* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kwakiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sin'ucin: Intangible *kwakiut* prerogative of imitating eaglets. [424]

sinalqakuxu: Song sung by a *kwakiutl* dancer on recovery from apparent death. [861]

sinkim: Regular bearings given to a male child.

Sinlaxan, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

Sinlaxwim: Rain after snow, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Sinlaxmis di Xiut, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

sinmil(ia): Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]

sinmuk: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage.

sinuta: Departure to a new locality. [425]

sisi, sucutiu, sisui: Father's brother or mother's brother.

sisui: Paddle. [601]

sisuitin: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

Sitkuxu: One of the names of the supreme god.

Sitlinq': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [778]

siut, sucutiu, sisui: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qomoxu,* the large *nusuk* whistle.
4—Killer whale. [825]
5—Song.
6—*Kwakiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Siutaw-i: Part of a peculiar repository.

Siutuxtiu: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

siutuxtu: Wordless chorus. [533]

Siuxl-u, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Siwid: Celebrated *Djoldzum:* chief living in the last century.

sinlitum: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a dependent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]

Siyuxw-u: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kwakiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

siuxtu-iuxuta: Place where healing power is petrified.

Siuxlufutum: Synonym for *Mutlakila,* the supernatural being connected with *nusuk* rites.

siwiumuq: *Kwakiut* dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, *tuxuxu,* for the user's protégé on earth.

siwuqkuxtunk: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage. [584]

siwuxul: Unmarried mother. [848]

siyuxtu: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *siuxtu* may be connected with this.

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lies in public opinion which expresses contempt for a lazy man 626
who is constantly begging.

To anyone familiar with the definite social groupings of a 614
tribe divided into clans or land-owning families, the ancestral family of the Bella Coola must appear as a vague and unreal unit, only distinguished by its intangibility. So it was found when investigating in the field. When information began to accumulate, it seemed as if there must be some definite obligations incumbent upon all members of the ancestral family, but none could be found. Without asking a direct question, the point was raised whether, if a man were killed, the members [629] of his ancestral family would unite to avenge him. Conversely, were they liable for the deeds of any member? In each case the reply was in the negative; these matters concern only the immediate family. In regulating marriage the ancestral family [582] is important, since it is wise for a man or woman to seek his mate within the members of that group, though it is not compulsory. Theoretically, the terms of kinship applied to members of the immediate family may be extended to members of [601] the ancestral family, but in practice this is rarely the case, [178] and, if so, is functionless. It might be argued that this somewhat wide application of kinship terms, verging on the classificatory usage, is a relic of an earlier, and now broken-down, clan system. It is impossible to prove or to deny such a contention. When trying to discover whether the members 614
of an ancestral family ever contributed to a potlatch whereby 622
one of their fellows established himself as a chief, the following 431
interesting comment was received. The previous winter the 171
informant had been in Bella Bella, and there the point was raised by a Bella Bella chief whom he quoted as follows:

"We laugh at you Bella Coola because each of you is always trying to be chief. Our system is much better; we all help our chiefs."

The man agreed with the Bella Bella man that there was an important difference between the practices of the two tribes.

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621 establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole organization. [614] [553]

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the outer coast, about to attack *Sinxl*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Xemqo-ti* without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours. [628] [628] [578] [627] [628]

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. IV), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat- 622 554 [536] 621 623 535 796

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as far as incest rules are concerned. In this particular instance 597
the woman did not show any interest in her new relatives, failed to visit them, or to take part in their ceremonies, so that the adoption, though still legal, has practically lapsed. When [428]
this man dies his children will not consider the claims of their father's "sister" to inherit any of his possessions, as they would have done if she had showed herself appreciative of her adoption.

It will thus be seen that the size and composition of the 592
family vary according to the wealth and influence of the father. The duties of the members are difficult to define since they concern almost entirely the routine of life. The father, head of the family, directs the gathering of firewood, repair of the house, obtaining of food supplies, and other matters of the same sort. If he gives a potlatch his children must help him, [431]
which they do willingly since they gain from the ceremony. If a father is too autocratic, his older, especially his married children, simply move away. Nor is his power over his younger [602]
children unbounded, since their mother's relatives take great interest in their welfare and would resent any ill-treatment.

If a person is killed or wounded, revenge is the affair of his 593
family. Just how many individuals are involved depends on 627
the composition of the family. In the case of the killing of a 682
child, living with his parents alone, none but the father would feel it incumbent to retaliate. If an adult person is murdered, his or her brothers feel and avenge the insult. But should an important member of the community be slain, an old man surrounded by a numerous family, it is the affair of all. Every effort is made to slay the murderer, but if he should escape from the country, the injured group is satisfied by killing one of his family. Here again the same inexact composition is found. A man's son, brother, or father are the only persons strictly liable, and even here the common sense of the Bella [671]
Coola outweighs their theoretical laws. A murderer's brother, living in another village, would not be held liable; but more distant relatives living with the offender and considered as his
family are liable.

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593 family are liable. It is very rare for a woman to be killed in
627 a blood feud. A death is answered by a death; if two persons
682 should be slain for one murder the family which has suffered the double loss endeavours to kill another of their enemies. In
[562] case of wounding, an effort is made to wound the offender, but
[683] if he should be killed his family would try to avenge him. More often, one of the offender's family takes the initiative of offering goods to the injured family, "to cure the wound." If the offer is accepted, and the goods delivered properly, the matter is at an end. If a murder be committed within the ranks of the immediate family, for instance, if a brother kill a brother, revenge, if exacted, must be meted out to the actual
[622] offender. If requested to do so, the leading chief of a village may offer his advice, but it is always considered that revenge concerns only the immediate family.

612 Revenge is a topic which shows clearly the essential fluidity
614 of the family. There are no well-defined degrees of relationship within which responsibility rests. Instead, everyone
[627] knows, in the open life of the community, how many persons
[682] share the family life of the individual, and they alone are held to account, or they alone demand compensation. From its very nature, the family must be a bilateral unit which, when powerful, stretches out to absorb members of the ancestral families of both mother and father.

Not only does the family thus appear constantly to be attracting to itself members of the ancestral family of either parent, but these relatives themselves are deeply interested in the affairs of the family. This is most clearly shown in the case of children who, of course, are members of the ancestral family of both their mother and father. A few days after
553 birth some relative is expected to call together the people of
612 the village where the child is born for the bestowal and validation of an ancestral name. It is considered an evidence of
614 poverty if this is done by the father, as if his child were only
[558] supported by his parents, not by a larger circle of relatives. It is immaterial whether this gathering be called by a relative

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He is especially rich in caribou-skins, used for foot covering, and goat-skins, so treasured for their wool.[1] He and his wife have laid up abundant food, and, most important of all, his wife's family is wealthy. Rumours have spread that X will soon give a potlatch and perhaps one or more foreign chiefs has given him a large cone-shaped whistle, such as is used in *nusk* ritual (see Plate 12). These whistles, called *qomo·ts*, are often referred to as the "breath" or "voice" of a chief; they are also called *sloptsta*, the "heart" or "wind" of a chief; a third designation is *nulwinuts*. X carefully conceals a whistle in one of his boxes. Such a present expresses the kindly feeling existing between those akin to one another in that they have risen to a position of eminence above the common crowd. Its receipt spurs a man to greater efforts to amass the wealth necessary for giving a potlatch by keeping before his eyes the realization of what another has done. A rival chief never gives such a present. X returns each whistle secretly at the time of his potlatch.

Early in the autumn X decides that he has almost enough wealth. To complete the essential amount he will not hesitate to borrow from his friends. It is most unusual to be refused, for it is incumbent on X, unless he wishes to lose the esteem of the community, to repay his borrowings with heavy interest, and when X distributes his goods at his potlatch it will be announced how he has obtained them, and the lender is proclaimed as a person of sufficient wealth to be able to spare some of it. Goods so loaned are termed "belt goods," a reference to the manner in which a man fastens up his cape with a belt before setting to work. The assumption is that X will have to labour to repay his indebtedness. Failure to repay is a serious matter, and the lender would be justified in seizing a canoe or other valuable article as surety for his debt; in fact, feuds are commonly caused by unpaid debts. Men of business

[1] Formerly, when goat-skin blankets were highly valued, goats were never shot for fear of the blood staining the wool. Instead, they were cornered by dogs, and choked to death in nooses. For presentation, each skin was laid out on the floor and then cut into longitudinal strips, two, three, or four fingers wide.

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203 553 *556 614 [424] services. None the less, one of their prized prerogatives, the visible embodiment of an element in their ancestral myth, is no longer present. In such circumstances, no member of an ancestral family would give a potlatch unless able to revive at it the dormant name in a new herald. The intending donor usually consults with the senior members of the ancestral family as to a suitable incumbent, or especially if he is an influential chief, he may simply use his own discretion. In either case, some relatively young member of the ancestral family is offered the post. If he accepts, the matter is settled; if not, another is invited in his stead. The new herald cannot function until his name and appointment have been validated by the distribution of presents at the potlatch. Such gifts are not returnable, since they are held to "have become nothing" for the name. Relatively lavish expenditure for this purpose is one of the many ways in which a chief is able to show his prowess and generosity. Thus established, a herald can carry out his duties thenceforth. He functions at every ceremonial, but especially at potlatches given by members of his own ancestral family, in whose origin myth his own name is embodied. From [627] [796] constant participation in all kinds of ceremonials, a herald becomes conversant with every type, and is appealed to as arbiter in difficult points of ritual, thus adding to his reputation.

203 *556 Although acceptance of the post of herald somewhat curtails a man's activities in other respects, instances are known of energetic ones using the gifts received to establish themselves as chiefs, passing on their herald names at the same time to other incumbents. More often, a herald uses his wealth for the benefit of a son or other relative, being satisfied with his own status in the community. He takes a prominent part in every ceremony and is a person of some standing, yet is spared the responsibility of actually giving rites himself, a position which offers many attractions to a man lacking great ambition and initiative.

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pended, so that it serves as a visible and tangible memorandum of the chief-like generosity of its owner. By means of these media, debts are passed from one individual to another without actual liquidation in goods; in fact, it is unlikely that the Bella Coola possess sufficient money to meet the sums represented by their coppers. 556* [435] [426]

Professional Prerogatives

The importance of prerogatives in the lives of the Bella Coola has already been noted in many connections. A man's name is his only because his ancestral family has the prerogative of using that designation; a *kusiut* dance can be performed only by an individual with the necessary prerogative; specific totem-pole designs, the portrayal of bird or animal on spoons, seats, house-posts, and other objects is a right dependent upon an ancestral prerogative; as is also the area on which a man can hunt or fish. The concept colours all Bella Coola life. Not only is a man's ceremonial life based on this principle, but on it depend his actions as chief, and the economic sources of his food-supply. No prerogative, even though it be the property of a man, is effective until validated by the distribution of presents. Much of a man's energy throughout life is expended on the validation and display of his prerogatives; most Bella Coola feuds are caused by the infringement of one individual on another's rights. 424 556* [532] [796] [431] [627] [578]

In addition to the various types already mentioned, there are a number of professional prerogatives on which depend a man's vocation. That of herald approximates this class, although the Bella Coola consider it rather as a right operative only during ceremonials. Professional prerogatives rest on the belief that a man's ability as a hunter, wood-worker, and so forth does not rest in his innate skill, but upon an inherited right which must be confirmed and validated by the distribution of presents. These can be given at any convenient time when the people have been called together, but, as it is to the man's advantage to have his right made known as widely 424 463 556*

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provided with means of sustenance, a house, and certain supernatural powers. The right to the names of these people, as well as to the type of ceremonial objects used by them, has been the privilege of their descendants. But these early Bella Coola, like their modern descendants, had several designations, each carrying with it a definite prerogative. In a single myth there may be embodied a dozen or more names and incidents which are quoted at the present day to authorize such different phases of culture as dances, rights to hunting-grounds, professions, names of dogs, or *kusiut* prerogatives.[1] Any myth which gives the initial use of a name, a dance, or any other prerogative, is termed a *smaiusta*. Each of these is, or was in the old days, remembered with great care and never recounted in full detail except to the members of the ancestral family whose names are embodied in it. Even at potlatches the full details of the myth are not laid bare. Indeed, if a young man is of a flighty, garrulous disposition, unlikely to preserve the dignity of his ancestral fame, the details are concealed from him. Even at the present time there is much resentment at any unauthorized use of a *smaiusta*, and in the old days this would inevitably have led to bloodshed.

Boas (p. 116) states that the terms *smaiusta* and *sumsma* are synonymous. The writer feels certain that this is an error. It was discussed repeatedly with various Bella Coola, all of whom agreed that a *sumsma* is a mere story which can be told by anyone, whereas a *smaiusta* is a myth possessed by the individual, or individuals, whose prerogatives are derived from it. To the Bella Coola the two are utterly different.

None the less, there is no doubt that records of the past change from one category to the other. A wealthy chief, eager to give a potlatch, but lacking the mythical authorization, must frequently have used a *sumsma*, claiming the hero as an ancestor. There would be veiled amusement at him for doing so, but the prestige of one who can give potlatches is so great that in time his claim would probably be accepted. The two

[1] The details of these will be described later.

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584 preliminary agreement may have been made while they were only seven or eight years old, though marriage seldom occurs before the age of seventeen or eighteen. More often the agreement is made when X and Y have passed the age of puberty, and they wait for about two years before marrying.

583 Throughout this period, X's relatives are expected to give at
425 least one feast at which Y's relatives are the guests of honour,
553 and always receive presents. At one of these rites X's father, with the concurrence of his relatives, may mark his approval
[584] of the coming event by bestowing on Y's father, or one of her other relations, an ancestral name from his family myth. This does not become the absolute property of Y's family, since the myth in which it is embodied does not belong to them, unless, of course, they are members of the same ancestral family. It is fitting that a name of this kind be bestowed by the recipient on one of Y's children, or returned to X's family a few generations later by a return marriage. If this is not done, in course of time the designation is apt to be regarded by Y's family as their own. If there are no children, Y's relatives should give back the name to X's
[627] family, but there are many instances of feuds caused by failure to do so. According to mythology, prerogatives may some-
[773] times be given outright, without thought of their use by the resultant children, or of their being restored by return marriages. It is claimed that the people of the Kimsquit River
[648] have, through such a present, the inalienable title to use a certain spot in the Kitlobe River for their olachen nets, and likewise the Kitlobe people have an irrevocable right to the Kimsquit name *Siálhmy*. These two prerogatives were transferred at the beginning of time. At present, anyone bestowing outright his family prerogatives would be considered weak-
[578] minded and the other members of the ancestral family would strenuously object. Considerations of this sort make it desirable to seek a wife within the ranks of the ancestral family.

During the period of engagement, Y's family may present a name, or names, to X's father, with the same conditions as those just described.

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old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language. 602 476

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *kusiut*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *sisaok* names can never be transferred in this manner. 606 431 425 [785] [575] [553] [575]

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a 593 [602] [627] [567] [432] [648]

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567 ceremony usually consisted simply of the man and woman
588 living together. In theory, this prevented the children from ever obtaining a name or other prerogative embodied in the ancestral myth of the free-born parent, and an effort was always made to conceal from them the details of the ancestral family's origin myth. But, as already described in the section dealing with slaves, the expenditure of valuable presents served to eradicate, or at least to cover, the blot. If the child succeeded in giving many potlatches, the stain was generally forgotten. On the other hand, if the child of a slave married to a free man was not "washed," he could always be shamed by a reminder of the disgrace of his parents' wedding.

682 In case of murder, the son or other near relative of the
[583] victim sometimes accepts a daughter or other member of the offender's family instead of exacting blood revenge. The bride
[627] is delivered to her husband with valuable goods "to wash away the blood," but these never suffice entirely to remove the disgrace from her or her children. The latter may inherit names and prerogatives from their father, but even if they attain to the position of chiefs, they can always be put to shame by reference to their mother's marriage as an atonement for murder. Of course the influence of a great chief makes it impolitic to refer to his ancestry, and there are a few instances of men having reached such a position of eminence that the blot
[554] has been practically forgotten. The wife's family must continue to give presents to the husband for years after marriage, otherwise her lot is unenviable indeed, and her children have the status of the unwashed offspring of a slave and a free-man. In some cases a marriage of this type is entered upon years after a murder, if a son or other descendant wishes to end the anxiety of constantly expecting blood revenge.

REPURCHASE OF THE WIFE

556 Repurchase of a wife is the necessary consequence of every
583 reputable Bella Coola marriage. It is assumed that the pre-

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not yet been repurchased in 1924 and the Bella Coola were beginning to look askance at her. It is doubtful whether the child realized that she was married, certainly the fact had not the slightest effect on her behaviour. Unless the wife is rebought, any names which she took to her husband at her fictitious marriage remain his property.

Ceremonial marriages are sometimes carried out for special reasons. If the husband at a real marriage feels that he is over-indebted to his wife's relatives through the names and prerogatives they have brought him, he sometimes arranges to restore some of these and thus even the transaction by ceremonially marrying one of his young female relatives to one of his wife's family. She takes back some of the acquired names to her fictitious husband and the matter is amicably arranged. Realizing the difficulties experienced by the father of many daughters, one of his sons-in-law may, if his father-in-law has many times rebought his daughter and so demonstrated his nobility, try to arrange a fictitious marriage between the old man and one of his son-in-law's relatives. It often happens that the proud old chief will decline such assistance, confident in his own ability and prestige. Revenge is often settled by a fictitious marriage, arranged in the same manner and with the same attached stigma as that already described. Sometimes the infant is ceremonially married to the son of a chief, instead of to the chief himself, though no true wedlock follows.

It is not even necessary to have a small girl to act as bride. If a man wishes to ally himself by marriage to a famous chief and lacks a daughter, he can perform the marriage rite with a "bride" consisting of his finger, leg, hand, or other part of the body. In a case in 1915 the "wife" was a favourite dog, which was duly married to a chief. In fact, ceremonial marriage is merely one of the many methods used by the Bella Coola to enter into financial dealings with an influential chief; it provides an honourable means of displaying the wealth of the bride's family; it increases the prestige of a girl and her relatives, or the prestige of her relatives alone if "she" is an inani-

CHAPTER III

WARFARE[1]

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

721 PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was con-
648 siderable warfare among the coastal tribes of British Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermination of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks. These were never as continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless,
[796] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were
[556] even received as guests at some dances. At potlatches they might be subjected to insult, later to be avenged in the same manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and
726 friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who
825 bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests them-
778 selves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever
[486] another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter
[578] to veer over to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling
[627] a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads.
721 In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was
[575] at all common. Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were
[622] not entirely forgotten; no *kusiut* novice went to war and

[1]Warfare having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

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174 reliable traditions of Carrier settlements there. The probable explanation is that the Bella Coola formerly extended over the area, either in actual fact or according to mythology, but were supplanted by the Carriers.

175 The Dean River is called *Nulsl*, and the generic name for the people of the Dean valley is *Sutshmx*. About eighty years [101] ago a smallpox epidemic so reduced the villages on the Kims- [164] quit that the survivors abandoned them and moved to the [731] Dean. At that time a certain Kimsquit man is believed to have said: "We will take their places and kill even their dogs."

Since that time, the joint settlement has suffered one [164] epidemic after another, until a mere handful of the people [731] survive, and they are almost entirely descended from the Kimsquit River immigrants. Within the last few years, these have requested permission from the Bella Coola to abandon Kimsquit entirely and live among them. The two groups have [628] always been on the best of terms, but the Bella Coola have not forgotten the fate of the Dean River people and have been unwilling to admit the Kimsquit survivors.

Villages on the Kimsquit River, Sä-tsk'

361 *(44) *Sä-tsk':* this large and important town, at the mouth of the river, was deserted at the time of the smallpox epidemic.

*(45) *Nuxwlst:* this settlement can be grouped with the last-mentioned, although situated on the shore of Dean Channel, at the site of the present Manitou Cannery, six miles away. No meaning of the name is known.

Tribal Organization

619 The subject of this monograph is the people of the above forty-five villages. They will be referred to as a *tribe*, and as this term is customarily limited to a political unit, a brief justification for its use is necessary.

342 Each Bella Coola village consisted of a single row of houses, 361 built along the shore of a river or the ocean. The front doors

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opened out on to a wooden platform, which served as sidewalk and extended from one end of the settlement to the other. The outer side of this structure was always supported on piles; in fact, in many cases, the houses as well as the whole sidewalk were thus raised from the ground. This type of construction was necessitated by the sloping sites of the villages, but had the added advantage of being a protection against attack. The villages differed in size from insignificant settlements of three to four houses, to ones with twenty or thirty, each containing several families. The ease with which the red cedar could be split and worked into large planks made possible the construction of these large, rectangular houses which, with their horizontally laid walls and sloping roofs, presented a picture of stability and relative comfort superior to that of most Indian habitations. 342 361

Each village was practically an independent political unit. Neighbouring settlements had many common interests which threw them into contact with one another, but there was no organized cohesion between the towns of the Bella Coola valley, or between those of *Täl·io* and Kimsquit. There was still less to draw these three groups together. There was no supreme chief and no governmental meeting of the tribe as a whole. Not only were the three divisions not bound to support one another in war, they were often at loggerheads among themselves. Indeed, bloodshed between towns of the Bella Coola valley itself was not uncommon. Moreover, each group tended to merge with its neighbours. The *Täl·io* people frequently married with the Rivers Inlet and the Bella Bella; the Kimsquit with the *ɪstāmɩ*[11] of Dean Channel and the Kitlobe of Gardner Canal; and the Bella Coola of the upper valley with the Carriers. 631 628 563 648

In spite of these inconsistencies, the application of the word *tribe* is justifiable for the following reasons: 619

A. Linguistic. All spoke the same language. There were dialectical differences among the people of Bella Coola, *Täl·io*, and Kimsquit, but each group could understand the [197]

[11]To avoid unnecessary symbols, capital ɪ has not been used.

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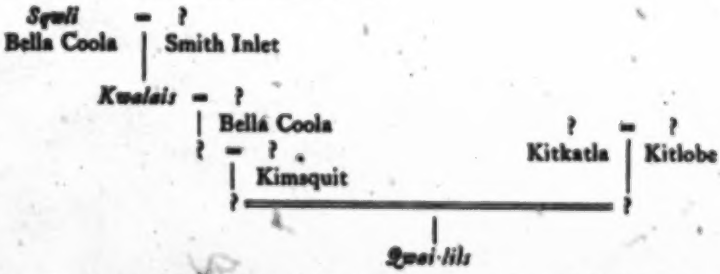
ferent units with which he is connected, but the following is 611
an instance of survival for several generations. *Qwai·lils* is an 614
orphan about ten years of age, now living in Bella Coola; he is looked upon with considerable respect as being a member of ancestral families in Bella Coola, Kimsquit, Smith Inlet, Kitkatla, and Kitlobe. His pedigree, given below, explains his powers. The symbol = marks a marriage, and the male is shown on the left in each case.



Theoretically, *Qwai·lils* is as much a native of Smith Inlet as he is of Bella Coola where his father made his home. If he should visit Smith Inlet and make known his pedigree, he would be received by the members of the ancestral family of his great-great-grandmother.[4] His welcome would be more assured if he were the owner of a name from their origin myth. Difficulties of communication and frequent wars made it [628] virtually impossible in the old days to keep in touch with relatives in distant tribes, except in the case of a mighty chief who was able to invite visitors from great distances to feasts. Thus names taken by women to foreign husbands were virtu- 614
ally lost to the members of her ancestral family. In the
course of a few generations, such designations carried afield 553
would be revived as if dormant by some member of the family, 178
and all recollection of the foreign marriage forgotten.

[4]As the Bella Coola are now living in a single village, it was impossible to obtain a modern instance of the ownership by one individual of rights in a number of localities within the tribal area. It appears certain, however, that the sentiments expressed with regard to *Qwai·lils* at Smith Inlet are identical with those formerly held for possessions in ancestral families located in different Bella Coola villages. [628]

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names are also willed, but since their value depends on the 578
goods expended to validate them, there is seldom bitterness 614
about their allotment. Indeed, a chief who is the legal owner
of a designation which came from above in the beginning of 553
time, will in many cases choose to elevate his position with [428]
respect to a title of comparatively recent date. But if any
person who is not a member of the ancestral family should [685]
dare to use an ancestral name, all the members rise to avenge [178]
the theft, for such they feel it to be. In recent years, however,
this practice has become comparatively common. In such
cases a man, eager to share in the glories of a myth and able
to give a potlatch, has validated an ancestral name to which
he has no right. The presence of the white man alone
restrains the injured ancestral family. Names are sometimes [426]
lent or hired to those who are not members of the group for [427]
definite sums; the recipient recompenses the individual. If
such names are not returned for several generations quarrels
are apt to arise since the recipient claims to be the real owner
and not the temporary possessor. During his tenancy of the
name he is entitled to any prerogative attached to it, but he
is not considered a *bona fide* member of the ancestral family.

Instances have occurred in which an old man or woman, [428]
believing himself to be the last survivor of an ancestral family,
has donated his names and myth to those who have befriended
him, or these have been taken by those who buried him. Some [557]
individuals are constantly watching to conduct the funerals of
friendless old people in the hope of so obtaining names. But
in almost every case this leads to friction, since it is virtually
impossible for an ancestral family to die out. Perhaps in the
next generation, perhaps in the following one, some youth will
claim descent from the first ancestors of the supposedly defunct
family, and claim the myth and names embodied therein. This [628]
leads to a feud with the person, or his descendants, who has
received the names through aid given to the "last" of the
family.

Such instances of an ancestral family becoming practically 614
621

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establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole organization. 621 [614] [553]

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the outer coast, about to attack *Sinxl*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Qomqo-ts* without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours. [628] [682] [578] [627] [628]

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. IV), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat- 622 554 [536] 621 623 535 796

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given as a slave to a Bella Coola, he was treated as a guest.[11] 567
Slaves were bartered between Bella Coola individuals as a [437]
matter of course. Their value depended on sex, ability, and [435]
industriousness, as well as on supply and demand. When there
was an over-supply, the value of a slave fell to twenty or thirty [437]
salmon, but whenever an owner found that someone wished
to purchase a particular slave he endeavoured to raise the price.
If a foreigner borrowed goods in Bella Coola he usually had to [426]
leave a relative as pledge. Thus, not many years ago, a *Xaxais*
Indian, from near Ootsa Lake, borrowed goods from a Kimsquit man and left his son as pledge. The goods were not returned, so the son was sold as a slave to the people of Kitimat.

It was not uncommon for a Bella Coola to lose his freedom 525
by gambling. At *lɛ̂hɛ̂l* especially, a player who had exhausted 567
his goods not infrequently wagered his children, or in extreme cases, himself. If he lost, his children, or himself, became the property of the winner. Unless speedily repurchased by some relative, such slaves were usually sold or given away at the first opportunity to a member of a foreign tribe, since it was considered improper for a man to hold a member of his own 567
tribe in servitude. The same course of action was taken on [628]
those rare occasions when one Bella Coola village fought [727]
against its neighbour and prisoners were taken.

To the Bella Coola, who still consider a man's "power" in [554]
the land as dependent to a considerable extent on his ancestral
myth, a slave's greatest misfortune lay in the fact that he had [773]
no ancestral home, and hence no rights.

"No slaves came to earth with the first people," they say.

A slave was a stranger in a strange land, unsupported by a chain of ancestors reaching back to the beginning of time. On the whole, captives taken in war were better treated than other [727]
slaves since it was felt that such a misfortune might occur to anyone at any time. They were frequently ransomed by their

[11] This is said to be an ancient practice, due to the fact that several of the forefathers of the Bella Coola came to earth in that region and were on friendly terms with the inhabitants. It is conceivable that this tradition may have reference to the breaking away of the Bella Coola from the main Salish stock. [773]

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names to their dog, and had distributed presents to validate the bestowal. Consequently, the animal is a chief (see Plate 11)[1] and can do as he likes. When it dies it will be mourned as a chief. Moreover, a number of people have returned the presents which they received at the time the dog was made a chief, and this money is kept by the woman and her husband, to be used when they perform the rite of mourning for the dog at death. 231 552 622 766

When this is possible, in the present degenerate days, it is not difficult to understand how, formerly, a great chief felt himself above the restraints that hindered lesser men. The last great Bella Coola chief was *Potlas*, who died between 1870 and 1880. His influence and power were so great that he was a virtual ruler, daring anything. If he requested a young man to take his food box home and the youth was slow to obey, *Potlas* had no hesitation in killing him on the spot. Such great power, though unusual, is intelligible to the Bella Coola, since *Potlas* gave far more potlatches than any of his contemporaries. Other chiefs have been known to attempt a similar arbitrary use of power, but have failed, since their prestige was not great enough to justify it. The fame of a mighty chief spreads up and down the coast, and protects him and the members of his family from being ambushed and slain in any sporadic foray. During an actual fight, however, a chief had to take his chances with the rest, but the comparative immunity was a great advantage. 556* 622 [156] [628] [726]

The Bella Coola recognize the fundamental differences between their own concepts about chieftainship and those of other coastal tribes with whom they come in contact. This point was mentioned in the course of conversation by several men. The most powerful chief known to them was *Tsakse*, who, they say, was virtual monarch of the Kitkatla. None of his subjects could go hunting without his permission, and he had rights to a certain share of their booty. At any ceremony presents had first to be given to him, and if he were slighted in this respect, he would kill the offender. It is be- 171 556* 622 829

[1] [See cut. 116, P 186 (c) - ANALYST]

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as a man by the duly validated ownership of a chief's name in her own right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat seal, unless he had been the slayer. If many seals are killed, chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs seat themselves according to their proper positions and are first served with the blood-stained grease that floats to the top of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is cut into strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths, according to the number of guests. The cuts run down each fore-flipper, so that each receives a narrow strip including one of the toes. The head is always given to the herald.[1]

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary meals even when no seal or deer has been killed. On these occasions, as at seal feasts, the guests are designated by their ancestral names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also accustomed to meet for the discussion of matters connected with the winter ceremonial; on such occasions their number may be augmented by men of influence in the secret society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the *kusiut* society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a *numitl* chief is outweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the views of some individual must be accepted. The writer was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but

[1] Every effort was made to ensure the accuracy of this account, but errors may have crept in on account of the length of time which has elapsed since the ceremony was carried out in full detail.

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553
* 556 A man may receive so many prerogatives with regard to house
425 painting that he has to continue the designs on the sides of his
[606] dwelling, or he may receive so many figures for a totem-pole
[532] that he can erect one of composite pattern. X may acquire prerogatives not only from his father-in-law, but from his mother-in-law, and if he is the husband of several wives, the family of each may contribute something. If, for some inexplicable reason, X is not given any prerogative from the family of his wife, he uses one of his own ancestral myths with the names belonging thereto. A man who gives many potlatches can choose to validate numerous family names for himself, or to concentrate on one alone, elevating it to a position of great importance. But any names he validates must belong to his
[685] family; it is contrary to custom for a Bella Coola to steal a name to which he has no right.

*556 At this, or some other suitable time, X prays for assistance
782 in the complicated rites that are to follow. Taking four pieces of pounded and dyed cedar-bark, and four pieces of undyed bark, he places on each a small quantity of food and throws the eight into the fire. Likewise he may throw in four small pieces of any kind of goods. As he does so he appeals to the supreme god:

"Please strengthen my spirit for the many duties which are before me."

Instead of praying himself, X may ask a shaman to do so
[756] for him, in the belief that the latter's supplication will be more efficacious.

* 556 The necessity for supernatural assistance lies in the fact
688 that any serious error or disaster in the performance of potlatch rites calls for summary punishment, since X has allowed cere-
● 628 monial *susask* knowledge to reach the uninitiated. In such a case the duty of meting out a penalty falls upon the members of a foreign tribe. Nothing is said at the time, but the departing guests take away with them information of what has happened. Great latitude is allowed as to who shall be the chastisers. The guests may be related to X and the members

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of his village, hence they will not feel it incumbent upon them to intervene. But news travels, and in course of time the *susaok* members of some other tribe will decide to send a raiding party against X's village. All informants agreed most emphatically that this custom prevailed among the coast people from the Tsimshian country to Alert Bay, but specific examples could not be obtained. The Bella Coola regard such a raid as the proper course to pursue, and belligerent tribes may have used an irregularity in the potlatch rites as an excuse for an assault. It is clear, however, that this custom never attained such prominence that it could be called a law. 556* 688 628

The following is an instance of the Bella Coola outlook on the question: 556* 688

The father of an informant had had such success in giving potlatches that his neighbours were jealous. On one occasion he prepared a representation of a whale, an elaborate wooden frame, fifteen feet long, operated by men concealed within and carrying passengers; this was a figure which entered into his ancestral myth. One of the carpenters who made it, bribed by a jealous rival of the donor of the potlatch, arranged that the lower jaw of the whale should fall to the floor during the proceedings. This revealed the mechanism of the structure. White influence on the coast prevented an incursion of foreign raiders, but according to this informant, the chiefs determined that his father should die, and they employed a sorcerer for this purpose. His father and eleven other relatives died soon afterwards. This man, the sole survivor, ascribes his escape to his adoption of Christianity. [578] [532] [578] [177] [754]

Another instance of the penalty which follows errors in potlatch ritual occurred a few years ago, when a number of young men used the cone-shaped whistles openly, as if they had been toys. The presence of the white man prevented any open steps towards punishment, but before long all the youths died. No one knows what caused their deaths, though probably they were due to an expert in black magic acting on the instructions of a senior *susok*. [534] [177] [754]

After the prayer, X and his family give more food to their guests, whose boxes containing what they are to carry away are increasing in number. By his lavishness, X increases his prestige in the eyes of his fellow-villagers. 556*

If he can afford to build a new house embodying the form [335]

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go to the homes of their friends in the village; it is a matter of convenience, not of ritual. 556* [574]

In the evening, there may be no rite of any kind, but X often invites everyone to his house for the performance of non-ceremonial dances. The singers strike up one of his *sisaok* or *a'alk* (I, p. 273) tunes and he dances to it. Then a tune belonging to one of his relatives is beaten out, and he too dances. After several have thus performed, a meal is served and all disperse. No supernatural beings are in attendance, hence there is no solemnity to the occasion; the evening's rites merely serve to show the guests the dances owned by their host and his family. 535 556*

As each party of guests arrives the same procedure is repeated. X provides food for those who have assembled from day to day, so he anxiously awaits the last-comers. When at last they come the guests from all other towns are in their allotted sections of X's house, and are free to make gibes at the tardiness of those latest in appearing. Occasionally, hard feelings are engendered in this way, although it is an established custom to mock at the last to arrive. They seat themselves and a small amount of food is given them. 556* 574 [628]

RITUAL CARRIED OUT BY THE GUESTS

Two youths, chosen by X for the purpose, sprinkle eagle down over the heads of all those present, as far as possible blowing it first over the chiefs. It serves as a token of good-will, and marks also the ceremonial nature of the occasion. Then a leading *sisaok*, perhaps a *siki*, stands up and says in effect: 556* [788] [237] [575]

"Thank you for coming. You are welcome. We thank you for coming to witness what X has done. He is delighted to have you here, because he has lost many of his relatives and wishes to perpetuate their memory. They would be grieved if he did not do so."

An elaborate meal is now served by a number of young men. [264]

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*556 [575] (11) Dismissal of the supernatural power possessed by the *nusok* initiates, thereby enabling them to return to normal life in the community.

*556 578 171 All day, food is being distributed in X's house with guests in almost constant attendance. Not only are large presents of food made to any chief who has previously shown generosity to X, but he also takes this opportunity to bestow insults on anyone from whom he has received the same. Among the Bella Bella and people of Rivers Inlet guests were frequently ridiculed with respect to their habitual diet or mode of life. Unquestionably, the Bella Coola sometimes did likewise, both at potlatches and at *kusiut* rites to which strangers were invited. Although it is dangerous to dogmatize on this point, because the practice has long since fallen into disuse, it appears highly probable that mockeries were less prevalent in Bella Coola than at other places on the coast.

*556 558 628 It is comparatively common, however, for a chief to shame a guest by a lavish disregard for valuables. News is constantly passing from town to town, so that the intended victim usually hears what is in store for him. A guest always takes valuable goods with him when he goes to a potlatch, but one who expects to be insulted takes care to have an unusually large supply. The host seats this particular visitor close to the fire, and during the afternoon or early evening he throws large quantities of grease and food upon it, to demonstrate "the warmth" and "fineness" of his house. The guest experiences physical discomfort from the extreme heat, and suffers mental pangs at having a rival boast of his power and fame. To assert his own importance he will throw goods on the fire, as if they were water to extinguish it, and the host will counter by throwing on more valuables. The contest is continued until the goods of the guest are exhausted, or the host fears to burn more lest he should not have enough left to validate the potlatch. He who has destroyed most is considered to have shown his superiority. [578] The Bella Coola state that such rivalry was unknown between chiefs of the same village.

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The following is an account of a feud which took place about 1870: 556* 558 628

The people of *Sinxi* had gone to a potlatch at *Tāl·io* with a plentiful supply of goods, expecting to be insulted in revenge for a slight cast upon their host when visiting *Sinxi*. They were allotted places close to the fire, upon which the donor cast a large quantity of olachen grease until the intense heat almost roasted his guests. Not one of them moved; to have done so would have meant an admission that they were being made uncomfortable by their host's demonstration of wealth by this waste of valuable food. Presently, *Sinxālotla*, the leading chief of the visitors, stood up and called for "water" to douse the flames, meaning goods of equal or greater value, to indicate that he was as wealthy as his host and as little afraid of destroying valuables. His companions threw on the fire boxes filled with skins, but *Sinxālotla* desired still further to demonstrate his prowess. Hastily, he asked some of the other Bella Coola present to lend him a sea canoe (of the large type called *Haidāl*), promising to repay with two of the same kind. The Bella Coola agreed and the craft was carried in, the bearers showing their disregard for the host by breaking his door as they did so. The canoe was thrown on the fire and the flames mounted. *Sinxālotla* called upon his *Tāl·io* rival to douse that fire. The latter was afraid to do so, being aware that he had barely enough goods to pay his debts at the coming distribution. Accordingly, he tacitly acknowledged the superiority of *Sinxālotla*, who thus rose in public esteem. [501]

It is very difficult to discover just how often such destruction of goods took place. The Bella Coola realize that the prevalence of this practice among the Kwakiutl led to the potlatch being forbidden by law, and are reticent on the subject. Reliable informants agree that it was a fairly common custom in the early days, although it never went to the extremes prevailing at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay, where, too, was common the breaking of coppers in anger, an act unknown in Bella Coola. In other respects, also, the potlatch among the Bella Coola appears to be less important and less complicated in ritual than among the Kwakiutl, so it is highly probable that the above statement is correct. 556* 558 171

Another method of shaming a guest is to serve him, or any member of his party, so clumsily or gracelessly with food that it is spattered over him. In some cases this happens acci- 558 556*

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CHAPTER V

FEATURES ASSOCIATED WITH THE POTLATCH

Heralds—Totem-Poles—Coppers—Professional Prerogatives—A'alk Dances—Miscellaneous Ceremonies

128 *556 THE ritual of the potlatch is so complicated that, in order to present a coherent account of it, it has been necessary to omit entirely some features that occur at many potlatches, and to refer briefly to others. This chapter is devoted to an elaboration of these points, thus avoiding the use of lengthy foot-notes in the preceding chapter.

HERALDS

203 *556 The principal functions of heralds[1] have already been described. They go from house to house inviting the people to assemble for the different ceremonies connected with the potlatch, but that is only one of their many duties. They likewise bear invitations to all types of ceremonies, such as marriages, mourning rites, or *kusiut* dances; in fact, they act as town criers. A person holding any public rite requests one or more heralds to deliver the invitation which is repeated in every house of the village in order from bottom to top.[2]

There are variations, of course, according to the rites to be performed. At a potlatch, the first duty of a herald is to seat [574] the guests in their proper places. This requires not only a good •628 memory, but also considerable tact, since errors with foreign [578] guests cause friction and embarrassment, and diminish the prestige of the whole ceremony. During the actual progress of the rites, a herald must constantly add dignity to the occa-

[1]Herald, *alk*ʷ, plural, *mɛalk*ʷ*als*, not to be confused with *a'alk*, the name of a society (1, p. 273).

[2]This order may once have had a ceremonial significance but it has been considered for a long time merely a matter of convenience. When giving presents also, a man follows the same order in his mind and names first the occupants of the bottom house, thus minimizing the danger of overlooking a guest.

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766 575 but even if unaware of the fact, they realize that some supernatural, invisible visitor has arrived.

[776] Heralds go from house to house, and sometimes to adjacent [203] villages as well,[2] inviting the people to pay a farewell visit to [628] the dead man who will soon leave them; in this invitation the *susaok* name of the deceased is used. The guests assemble at once, irrespective of their rank or membership in the *susaok* society. To mark their grief, female relatives pull out tufts of their hair, and both men and women of the immediate family [302] cut their hair short. The body, either in its coffin or covered with blankets, is placed between the central fire and the back-room, immediately behind the place where the singers take their stations. When all are present, a son or other near rela- [537] tive who is also a fluent speaker, stands up and expounds how the Chief, meaning *Mulakila*, has come to visit the dead man, 533 and how all should try to understand the song he has brought.[3] 575 A hidden *susaok* has been blowing a whistle intermittently, and 766 the singers pretend to be able to understand words of a song in its notes. In reality they have prepared in advance the new one which they now beat out, accompanied by their voices. The theme either describes the coming of the supernatural visitor, or recounts the number of potlatches given by the deceased, and the manner in which these will make smooth the path whither he is going in the same way that distributed goods validate a chief's seat in this world. This song is practised and improved upon amid the booming of the whistle as if the singers were constantly gaining new ideas and embellishments from the words of the supernatural visitor. Sometimes a few incidents are added from the *susaok* myth. After several repetitions, a relative of the dead man asks the singers to beat out the latter's *susaok* songs, as many of them as are remembered from the time he was first initiated into the so-

[2]The Bella Bella are said to invite foreign guests to this ceremony.

[3]Sometimes the people are present when the coming of *Mulakila*, heralded by [184] whistling and a thump on the roof, takes place. There are variations in this, as in all other *susaok* rites.

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525 were about to die. During the day he spent much of his time aimlessly
* 539 making miniature wooden darts and circles of pliant-wood, such as are
* 787 used in a game, and idly tossing these around. One day when he was so engaged he heard someone come to the door, and looking up he saw a strange man.

"A *wina*[1] is coming to *Djusdju·sa*," said the stranger.

"Come in," replied *Djusdju·sa*.

The stranger was a supernatural being, though whether *Djusdju·sa* was at once aware of this is doubtful.

"What do you bet?" asked the stranger, assuming that they would play with the darts and hoops which *Djusdju·sa* held in his hands.

"Alas, I have nothing," said the miserable man, though all his gambling instincts were aroused. "All I own in the world is a dried salmon fin which I use to chew on; I can barely keep alive with that and clams."

"Come on," said the supernatural stranger; "I will wager this pair of decorated moccasins against your salmon fin."

They gambled and *Djusdju·sa* won.

The loser handed over the moccasins, saying, "Go down to the beach and put just the toes of these shoes into the ocean."

Then he disappeared.

Djusdju·sa placed the toes in the water, and instantly the sea was filled with small herring-like fish called *ḵmän·i*. *Djusdju·sa* caught and devoured as many of these as he wanted, but he did not clean himself, nor did he tell his brothers of his good fortune on their return.

Next day the supernatural stranger again appeared, offering to wager another pair of shoes against one of the hoops which *Djusdju·sa* had made. Once more the lad was victorious, receiving a pair of moccasins which, when dipped in the sea, brought countless spring salmon. The following day he won a pair which attracted the sockeye salmon, and on successive days ones to bring other species of salmon, until he was able to attract every kind. Finally, during his brothers' absence one day, *Djusdju·sa*, throwing off his disguise of lethargy, filled the house with all kinds of salmon. Great was the surprise of the hunters on their return; they asked him if he had become endowed with supernatural power, and he replied that he had. In exchange for being taught to gamble with crab-apple sticks, the supernatural one had so cleaned *Djusdju·sa*'s eyes that he could see where the king-stick[2] was concealed; hence he would be able to win on all occasions.

[192] [628]

[1] *Wina*, the term used for a raiding-party, is also applied to a contest in any game of skill, especially one in which teams or individuals from different villages take part.

[2] This is a marked stick and the players guess in whose hand it is concealed.

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*575 688 Frequently the marshals and associated *kukusiut* depute others to act as their executioners. Sometimes a shaman who is also a *kusiut* is asked to slay the offender, or a *kusiut* in whose ancestral family a knowledge of means for secret murder has been handed down for generations may be called upon. The executioner is told that if he fails he will himself be killed. Although no Bella Coola would admit that a person so charged had committed murder by other than magical means, it appears highly probable that such was the case. It is believed that long ago the *kukusiut* were able to kill an offending uninitiated person by drawing forth his spirit, wrapping it in undyed cedar-bark and casting it into the fire. The victim would die within a short time. [761] [754]

*575 203 628 The desire to carry out *kusiut* ceremonials with proper dignity and ritual not only acts as a strong bond of union among members of the society in a single village, but between those in different towns and even in different tribes. When a marshal has struck a *kusiut*, the ceremony, whatever it may be, is at once stopped. Two *kukusiut* are sent off to bear the tidings to the nearest village up the valley, and two more to the one below. The messengers go beneath the house in which a dance is taking place and knock on the floor of the back-room. Someone presently hears them and a *kusiut* goes out to investigate. When the envoys have told their tale he returns, whispers to the singers, and the ceremony concludes for that night. As soon as the uninitiated, if any are present, have been ejected, the messengers enter with blankets almost covering their faces and seat themselves between the fire and the back-room where the senior members crowd around to listen. From this village two more *kukusiut* are despatched with the news which is thus transmitted with remarkable speed from end to end of the valley. When next the marshals are admonishing the *kukusiut* of their respective villages, they do not fail to draw attention to the way in which the law has been upheld. Conversely, if a marshal hears indirectly that there has been a flaw in the ritual of a neighbouring village,

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he beats in the fire with his stick, and expresses the hope that the name of the marshal in the town where the error took place may be blackened unless he does better. 575* 628 203

As an individual *kusiut* who errs is punished by a marshal, so is punishment meted out to the members of a village in which any serious accident occurs during a dance. Such disasters are fire, causing concealed *kukusiut* to appear among the uninitiated, the breaking of a sidewalk on which a number of the members are dancing, or the capsizing of lashed canoes which are used in some of the performances. The obvious effect of such mishaps is to lower the prestige of the *kusiut* society in the eyes of the uninitiated. The news travels from town to town, and to adjacent tribes. This is a *casus belli* for any village which wishes to attack the one where the disaster took place; in fact, a raid is considered meritorious. Owing to frequent marriages between the members of neighbouring villages, it usually happens that the inhabitants of adjacent settlements are unwilling to attack, but the news spreads until it reaches a town willing to take the lead. The marshals, aided by any other influential *kukusiut*, discuss the matter and decide on war; uninitiated are called upon to take part, though they are told only that the foray is connected with the rites of the *kusiut* society which increases rather than decreases their awe. The threatened villagers, knowing that an attack is inevitable, send out sentinels and guards, and, if possible, flee at the last moment to neighbouring towns for safety, allowing the raiders to burn their village and carry off loot. If a fight takes place many people may be killed, but slaves are never taken. In the last century *Stuux* attacked *Ałqäläxl*; the assailants were aided by a number of Chilkotin to whom they were related but who had not the slightest idea of the cause of the raid. Although an attacked town is usually helped by its neighbours, this is not the case when the assault is caused by error in *kusiut* or *susaok* ceremonial.

575* 628 688 721 [727] [567]

Nor is punishment for error or disaster in ritual meted out [648]

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*575 only by members of the same tribe. The Bella Coola firmly
648 believe that if, for example, there is a serious disaster at
688 *Qomqo·ts*, that village will be raided by the people of Bella
721 Bella, Fort Rupert, Kitkatla, or by tribes even farther away.
[628] News of the accident reaches *Täl·io* or Kimsquit and the inhabitants, themselves related by blood to the offenders and therefore unwilling to punish them, call upon the members of a foreign tribe to do so. On different occasions this statement, in practically identical terms, was made by six independent informants, so there appears to be not the slightest doubt as to the belief of the people in this law. But when specific cases were asked for, they could not be obtained. It therefore appears clear that the Bella Coola, probably owing to long teaching on the part of the *kukusiut*, consider that an error in ritual is sufficient to bring punishment from an alien tribe. There must be some basis of truth in this conviction, and it is highly probable that the *kukusiut* must have taken advantage of raids to explain to the uninitiated that these were caused by disasters in ritual. One informant was of the opinion that, following the collapse of a house at Kimsquit during a Cannibal dance, a Bella Coola chief called upon *Tcubisa*, chief of the Kitkatla, who raided Kimsquit in punishment. Quite apart from the belief inculcated in the uninitiated, it is obvious that tribes eager for war sometimes used an accident as pretext. The Bella Coola know of no case in which they raided a foreign tribe for this reason, although they state that if they had been called upon to act as punisher, they could not have refused.

*575 Leaving now the functions of the society as a whole, the
424 rights of an individual member can next be described. Each
425 *kusiut* has:
553

(1) *A Kusiut Name.* Like every other prerogative, a name of this type can be acquired from father, uncle, grandfather, or other relative, or even by a son from his mother. As a rule a *kusiut* wills his designation or designations, for a man may
[556] have several, before death and his wishes are observed. Al-

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perform several ancient rites through a desire to "show off" before someone who was ignorant. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials, and to judge a man's worth by his lavishness in them, but this is only a modern development due to the prohibition of the potlatch. Nevertheless, even in former times some individuals preferred to invite foreign guests to *kusiut* dances and to give them valuable gifts rather than to save these for potlatches; such a ceremony is called a *kukusiutek*. Whenever strangers are present at a *kusiut* dance they receive small pieces of dyed cedar-bark as proof of the friendly intentions of the host. The general consensus of Bella Coola opinion is that it is foolish for a man to concentrate on *kusiut* performances, particularly if he impoverish himself to the detriment of potlatches.

Although foreign guests are seldom invited to *kusiut* rites, a dancer frequently calls in his fellows from adjacent villages. But as the ceremonial season is simultaneous in the different settlements, with almost nightly performances, it is often impossible to avoid conflict in dates. Which invitation shall have preference is decided in the following manner:

During the days of *qotlum* and *nebusam* the dancer sends a herald of powerful physique to invite guests from as many villages as he wishes. Simultaneously, a messenger may be approaching from the opposite direction with a similar invitation. Each envoy watches carefully around each bend in the path for his rival, and whichever can first call out his message is entitled to continue to give his invitation in the village of the outwitted herald. It is considered exceedingly bad taste to decline a summons, so the ceremony to which the defeated herald was bearing an invitation must be postponed. Sometimes the two messengers sight one another simultaneously, and the relative priority of their messages is then decided by a contest of strength. The rivals stand in the path, shoulder to shoulder, arms close to their sides, and shove with all their strength, the winner being the one who can force his opponent to move his feet. This last means of deciding is used exclu-

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[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

for the dance to start, and X suddenly cries out that he is feeling peculiar. The night selected is usually that of the *nebusam* of some other *kusiut*, and X is at once escorted to his own house from which the uninitiated are expelled. For that night and the two following he remains concealed within, leaving only when necessary and taking care that no uninitiated see him. During the afternoon following the third night of concealment, a large number of *kukusiut* gather in X's home and escort him to the lowest house of the village. He goes around the fire shaking a rattle violently and calling out: 575* 796*

"More! More! Please say exactly what you want and I will do it."

The uninitiated have been told that X has been unable to comprehend the impending call, hence they have no difficulty in realizing that this is a request to his supernatural patron to be more explicit.[89] This appeal is repeated in every house of the village in order from bottom to top. The rite is so important that X often summons *kukusiut* from neighbouring towns and, on the occasion described, the dancer proceeded to *Sinxl* with his escort and there entered every dwelling with the same request that he had made in his own village. [628]

In the evening X returns to his home where presently the *kukusiut* gather from the villages that he visited. The uninitiated from adjacent houses hear whistling so are not surprised when heralds enter to announce that a call has come to X. The ritual is of the regular *lsuxtämem* pattern and a song is composed and practised; the theme is of X's ability to visit the land above but the type is that of a shaman's song. The ritual concludes in the usual manner. [533]

The next day, *nusiutälsap*, the customary raised enclosure is erected and a number of *kukusiut* gather wood in the forest. In the evening the carpenters are requested to make a long ladder, the only paraphernalia required. The evening's ritual ends as usual. [417]

[89] The patron for this dance could not be learnt.

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seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject. 721 575 622

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Stuxʷ* and *Äłqäläxł* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe. 648 685 626 556 688 628 727 777

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Täl·io*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack. 642 648 133 161

721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided
648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
[727] of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but
[628] were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the help of *Q̓omqo·ts*, the most exposed one, although there was no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of
[776] this town attributed their protection to *Älquntäm*, and used to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune
[361] owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola itself was comparatively free from molestation, Kimsquit and
[162] *Täl·io*, with smaller populations and less strategic positions, were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and entered by a water-gate with a drop-door.[1] This water-gate protected the
[648] residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one
[726] Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders, armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way
[642] and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong govern-
[623] ment was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being assailed, the members of the town would discuss retaliation, and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was de-
[622] cided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually
[701] a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[1] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

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as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. 721
If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to 701
serve under him, but he could not compel the services of any- 622
one except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to [626]
follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion [628]
usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of
other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join the party. If some of their relatives had been slain in the previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the retaliation, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could attract them. No case is known in which all the Bella Coola [642]
villages joined in a single expedition; there were often tem- [628]
porary alliances between neighbouring settlements, but complete lack of central organization. The course of events was similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been [648]
enslaved by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was to kill a slave belonging to the murderers, though sometimes he led a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the 726
same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped 411
arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a distance with much noise, boasting, and expletives, but few casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers succeeded in surprising a village at night. Hostilities are a thing of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed information respecting offensive weapons. Armour consisted 714
of maple or birch slats reinforced with moosehide and worn 726
around the body and chest; this rendered quick movement [411]
difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were introduced many years ago and armour consequently became use- [177]
less. Large shields of moosehide were carried in all canoes,

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CHAPTER IV

GAMES

517 121 [177] THE subject of games, lying on the border-line of social customs, was one which was not fully investigated. The Bella Coola, like all other peoples, have a number of sports and pastimes and although the old diversions are being forgotten by the younger people, many of the old men and women are familiar with those played in their youth. As isolated customs these may be of small value, but games of all kinds often preserve ancient practices and, as providing useful clues to the spread of peoples or of culture, are worthy of investigation. Unfortunately, lack of time made it impossible to give the subject the attention it deserved, and the few games here described must not be considered an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

526 [171] [628] Though less fond of competitive sports than the Indians of the Plains, the Bella Coola enjoy canoe-racing and wrestling. The former appears to have been an ancient diversion; picked crews from different villages competed amid the encouraging shouts of their fellows, and even now the younger men are anxious to display their skill in this respect. Wrestling, which [177] used to be common during all non-sacred gatherings, has almost entirely disappeared since the prohibition of the potlatch.

538 [517] The favourite sedentary pastime, enjoyed equally by young and old, is the telling of stories. Those of a sacred nature, especially ancestral myths, are reserved of course for ceremonial occasions, but the older men and women remember [825] many tales describing the exploits of birds and animals which are recounted again and again to the enjoyment of the listeners, although they may have heard the same recital fifty times. Children enjoy the companionship of some old story-teller and it is a common sight to see an old man or woman, surrounded by an eager group, explaining once more how Raven outwitted his rivals or was himself led into difficulties. Many of these [867] stories are somewhat indecent; others appear brutally frank,

in former times. *Sklsa* might almost be called the Bella Coola national game, although it is now (1923) seldom played. 526 [172]

A game with somewhat similar rules is *sqwlaiăk*, played with small wooden spears tipped with bone. When a number of men or boys decide to play, they choose two captains who in turn select their teams; any number can take part, provided that the sides are equal, but five each is usual. There is a special name for each player according to his position, and he bets against the corresponding member of the other team. A mark is set up, and one of the captains throws his spear, so that it will stick upright in the ground as near the target as possible. The rival leader endeavours to beat this, and if he fails, his second man throws, and each in succession until one comes closer to the goal than the rival captain. Then the latter's number two tries to beat the last thrower, followed by those on his own side until one succeeds or till all have thrown. The game thus ends when all of one side have thrown unsuccessfully. The winning side is, of course, the one to which belongs the player whose throw is nearest the target. Each member of the losing team pays his wager to his adversary and a second round is begun. 526 525

The sport is now rarely indulged in, but in former times games used to continue all day, and valuables were lost in the gambling which was considered to be a necessary part of it. Men used to observe ceremonial chastity to increase their chances of success and the expert was regarded with admiration by younger lads. The crack team of a village often used to visit other towns to compete against their representatives, and the games were contested amid frenzied excitement on the part of the supporters. This occasionally led to serious fighting. [785] [554] [628] [578]

Another sport of a similar type is archery; a mark is set up and each competitor tries to lodge his arrow as close to it as possible. This game has now entirely lost favour, the young men preferring a type of football played without strict attention to rules, but with great energy. 526

Bella Coola children, too, have their games and recreations, many of them of an imitative nature. Little boys enjoy nothing 857

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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become entangled in the loop when drawn back by the cord attached to the butt. A tug-of-war now takes place, those of each party who have caught the ring endeavouring to pull it to their side of the water. At last one or other is successful, and brings ashore the prize, with the dangling spears of their adversaries. Sometimes a lad with a fine weapon determines to retain possession of it at all costs and is dragged through the pool to the amusement of all. 526

TOURNAMENTS

It is doubtful whether the subject of tournaments should be considered as belonging to mythology, warfare, or games, since it has aspects pertaining to each. Several of the older men affirmed that prior to the introduction of muskets, it was not uncommon for rival villages to stage fights according to definite rules, after full intimation of the attack had been given. This usually followed a period when angry comments had been made, but when the provocation was not sufficient for war. In such a case, the challenging town would notify its rival that on such a date an expedition consisting of, for example, twenty canoes would attack them with stones. Such an announcement could not be disregarded; the inhabitants of the two settlements prepared for action and wagered the large number of valuables essential to all such competitions. 526 628 726 [525]

Many years ago, the Kimsquit people challenged the *ıstämx* to a tournament of this kind. It was first necessary to choose the contestants. Twenty of the strongest men were selected, each to stand in the bow of a canoe and hold a moose-skin to shield the paddlers behind. To test their endurance, each took his place and the canoes were paddled towards the shore while all the other inhabitants, lined up on the beach, showered stones on them. On this first test, six of the twenty fell beneath the avalanche of projectiles and were accordingly considered too feeble. Their places were taken by six others who were tested the same way the following day, and the same procedure was repeated until the twenty strongest men in all Kimsquit had been found. A certain *Sinuxetl* was chosen as

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526 captain. Meanwhile the *stáms* people had been carrying out similar tests, so that the picked men of both settlements were
628 ready on the appointed day.
726 A canoe was sent forward to give final notice of the approaching flotilla so that the twenty canoes from each settlement came together, fully manned and armed. First ten canoes on each side came to blows, the captain of each craft singling out a hostile one and dealing with it alone. The crews threw stones over and around their own bow-man, trying to beat down the moose-skin held up by their rival, or sometimes endeavouring to throw missiles high up into the air on to the heads of their foes. Whenever a bow-man was knocked down, his crew was defenceless and subject to serious injury if they continued the fight. If, however, they abandoned the conflict, the winners made no effort to punish them further, nor did they join in an attack on any other canoe; that each craft had one adversary only was the rule in all tournaments. In this instance, the Kimsquit people were victorious, no less than eighteen of their canoes defeating the craft opposed to them. *Sinuqutl* returned home in triumph, singing his war-song, and was received with as much enthusiasm as if he had led a successful raid. Indeed the casualties, consisting chiefly of broken heads, were sometimes almost as serious as on a foray, but no revenge was ever claimed in case of death so caused. Instead of throwing stones by hand, it was sometimes agreed that they were to be cast by slings which made the tournament more dangerous. The warriors never left their canoes, so that hand-to-hand fighting was impossible.

It is probable that tournaments of this nature took place many years ago, although none of the men now living had ever participated in one, and many had never heard of this type of competition. Until relatively recent years, however, heavy moose-skins were held up as protections in the bows of canoes, and men were selected for the task of being pelted with stones in the manner just described.

000 One other type of game, string figures, was studied rather extensively. These are described in Appendix B.

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Sxyamuxtx: Supernatural children guarded by the hermaphrodite in the land above.
Sxwul: Name taken by a *Sisaa* man in the beginning of time.
sxtuxymuit: Place in stream or river where a salmon has just jumped.
sxwumit'a: Name created upon earth.
sxwuptuit: Door.
sxwut: Water-tight receptacle made from the internal organs of a mountain goat.
Sxwukmyuxw, "What Sweeps Away the Food": First moon after the winter solstice.
sxwumuls, "Tears": Preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch.
sxw'ikumkiix, "Short-lived": Rhetorical term used with reference to the death of a young chief.
sxyaxwi: An adolescent girl, not yet subject to the full taboos of womanhood.

[825] [415] [805] [431] [195]

T

ináxix: Cave.
lai: 1—Son, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for lads unrelated to the speaker.
2—Masculine suffix.
Taiskwak: 1—One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snaile'ut* in the beginning of time.
taitsumuuk: Desertion of husband by his wife.
taiu: Dorsal fin of a fish.
taiuiuq: Heavy kind of copper.
taiumuu: Tournament between rival villages.
Tal'ax: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Generic name applied to all villages on South Bentinck Arm.
Talukw'a: *Nuxalk* name embodied in a *Snaili* origin myth.
Tamtmuk-pain, "The Breather": One of *Titcqilite'a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Tamukuu: *Sisaa* man mentioned in an ancient story.
tapamuuxum: The issuing abroad of invitations to a memorial potlatch.
tapix: Forest consisting of dense underbrush between big trees.
taqul: Blood-stained cedar-bark pad.
ta'a: 1—Bird arrow.
2—Weapon, invisible to mortals, with which a wolf kills its prey.
Taxi, vocative, *Taxu:* 1—Designation of supreme god used in prayer.
2—Father, term used by child.
lakkanip: Water-lily.
Ta-qa-ai: Land inhabited by the Kwakiutl.
Tashuuum: Leading chief of *Sisaitsut* and reputed founder of the village.
Taqakwum: Bella Coola chief living in the last century.
takuu: Type of sea-going canoe with bow and stern identical.
tamkuuk'a: 1—White-fronted goose.
2—Type of sea-going canoe named from the bird.
tamu: Husband (*di tamuuxulai:* My husband).
tamuul: River.
Tamuuxulai: Chief who came to Cape Mudge in the beginning of time and later moved to Bella Coola.

[601] [586] [825] [628] [101] [824] [601] [824] [825] [601]

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Wa·as: *Xnais* woman living in the beginning of time.
wals: Dog. [825]
warmats: Dog, *archaic.*
wa·xsia: Cape of yellow cedar-bark. [291]
waxmastsia: Brother or sister of grandparent.
Wiahai: One of the first women to settle at *Swalill* in the beginning of time. [601]
Wiaqoli: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tăl·ie* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stsux* in the beginning of time.
Wikwas-ăwula: Synonym for *Kwala:* Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nuxalkt* chief.
Wikwasuat: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
wina, waratse, winao: War-party.
Winăs: Slave living at *Nuxalkt* several generations ago.
winăs di qulu, "War-Party of the Ocean," or *winăs di sa·ilăje·ts,* "War-Party of the Tides": Supernatural being.
Wiswina: Supernatural being who captured birds and fish for the benefit of mankind.
Wiswinawak: Supernatural being, perhaps identified with one of the warm winds. [628]
winato: Assistance rendered by the inhabitants of a town to a neighbouring settlement being attacked. [726]
Wiqitqawakts: Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
Wiumbilak: *Smoan's* daughter-in-law in the beginning of time.
Wi'ttlao: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Wiuklts: *Sisaak* name of a Kimsquit man.
Wiwat: Man who travelled to the Skeena River in the beginning of time.
Wiwas: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
wi·a: *Kasiat* dance in which the nine supernatural siblings are summoned to earth.
Wily: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Wilu: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
wly: Cripple.

X

Xaiqalat: Ancestral name of a *Tăl·ie* man.
Xaiqu: Stream entering the Bella Coola from the north near *Nuliaz.* [821]
Xai·ut: Continuous North Wind, anthropomorphized.
xak'lai·: Cry raised as each of the first spring salmon is brought ashore. [226]
Xalatya: Stop-daughter of Raven in the beginning of time.
xaqtsis: Great blue heron.
Xat: Designation of a tribe, probably a branch of the Carriers, dwelling far to the south-east of the Bella Coola. [825]
xawf: Canada goose.
xal·a: Root of *qaymăx,* an unidentified plant.
Xebalas: *Kasiat* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Xebustaw·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xelimak: *Kasiat* name of a Bella Coola woman.
xem: The successive rising of the sun from day to day. This word, which is common in derivatives, appears usually to be pronounced *yem* after *s.* [821]
Xemesa: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Swalali* in the beginning of time.

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128 from *Snuləli*. My informant's grandchildren regard them-
173 selves as *Snuləli* boys, and their names are embodied in myths
361 of that village, although their forbears have not lived there
166 for five generations. There is no reason to suppose this case exceptional. Other instances were obtained of movements of people from one village to another at earlier times, and there seems no cause to doubt the general accuracy of these. Names
[554] embodied in the origin myths of different towns are used as prerogatives and have been potent factors in keeping their memory alive. Uncertainties and inaccuracies there must be in the foregoing list, but on the whole it appears to be fairly reliable, since few contradictions were received from different informants.

128 Accounts obtained of the same ceremonies from the descen-
184 dants of people of different villages were found in most cases to be identical. There were a few differences in custom between
[796] the people of *Stuix* and those of the other upper valley towns on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the lower valley on
[101] the other. These will be mentioned when necessary, but on the whole the inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley can be considered as a tribal entity.

114 Boas (p. 48) gives a list of Bella Coola towns which agrees
361 fairly well with the above. Among his villages are included *Pe·ɔlə* (no. 4), *Nukɣ.ɣtskwən·e* (no. 7), and *Nusälsum* (no. 16).[13] All the older people agreed that these are the names of streams, though settlements located on them may have been known by the same designations. Names of the five villages recorded by Boas, nos. 6, 8, 9, 19, and 24, were not known by several old men questioned on the subject.

101 The villages of the Bella Coola valley did not form a political
619 unit; each was independent. A common language was spoken throughout and the inhabitants of the different towns recog-
[631] nized that their origins and customs were similar. This was
[197] also recognized to be the case with regard to the people living on South Bentinck Arm, and at the head of Dean Channel.

[13] Using in each case the spelling of this monograph.

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opened out on to a wooden platform, which served as sidewalk 342
and extended from one end of the settlement to the other. 361
The outer side of this structure was always supported on piles; in fact, in many cases, the houses as well as the whole sidewalk were thus raised from the ground. This type of construction was necessitated by the sloping sites of the villages, but had the added advantage of being a protection against attack. The villages differed in size from insignificant settlements of three to four houses, to ones with twenty or thirty, each containing several families. The ease with which the red cedar could be split and worked into large planks made possible the construction of these large, rectangular houses which, with their horizontally laid walls and sloping roofs, presented a picture of stability and relative comfort superior to that of most Indian habitations.

Each village was practically an independent political unit. 631
Neighbouring settlements had many common interests which 628
threw them into contact with one another, but there was no organized cohesion between the towns of the Bella Coola valley, or between those of *Tāl·io* and Kimsquit. There was still less to draw these three groups together. There was no supreme chief and no governmental meeting of the tribe as a whole. Not only were the three divisions not bound to support one another in war, they were often at loggerheads among themselves. Indeed, bloodshed between towns of the Bella Coola valley itself was not uncommon. Moreover, each group tended to merge with its neighbours. The *Tāl·io* people frequently married with the Rivers Inlet and the Bella Bella; 563
the Kimsquit with the *ıstāmx*[11] of Dean Channel and the Kitlobe 648
of Gardner Canal; and the Bella Coola of the upper valley with the Carriers.

In spite of these inconsistencies, the application of the word 619
tribe is justifiable for the following reasons:

A. Linguistic. All spoke the same language. There were dialectical differences among the people of Bella Coola, [197]
Tāl·io, and Kimsquit, but each group could understand the

[11]To avoid unnecessary symbols, capital ı has not been used.

2: McIlwraith NE6 Bellacoola NE6
642

/The locus of political power and authority appears to be the kusiut society. For information on this secret society, its disciplining of members, and its relations with the uninitiated see category 116, pp. 1-266./

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject. 721 575 622

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Stuux* and *Ałqäläxł* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe. 648 685 626 556 688 628 727 777

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Täl·io*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack. 642 648 133 161

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721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided
648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
[727] of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but
[628] were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the help of *Q̓omqo·ts*, the most exposed one, although there was no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of
[776] this town attributed their protection to *Ałquntäm*, and used to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune
[361] owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola itself was comparatively free from molestation, Kimsquit and
[162] *Täl·io*, with smaller populations and less strategic positions, were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and entered by a water-gate with a drop-door.[1] This water-gate protected the
[648] residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one
[726] Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders, armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way
[642] and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong government was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being
[623] assailed, the members of the town would discuss retaliation, and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was de-
[622] cided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually
[701] a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[1] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

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as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. 721
If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to 701
serve under him, but he could not compel the services of any- 622
one except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to [626]
follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion [628]
usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of
other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join
the party. If some of their relatives had been slain in the
previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the retaliation, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could
attract them. No case is known in which all the Bella Coola [642]
villages joined in a single expedition; there were often tem- [628]
porary alliances between neighbouring settlements, but complete lack of central organization. The course of events was
similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of
avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been [648]
enslaved by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother
of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was
to kill a slave belonging to the murderers, though sometimes
he led a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

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same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped 411
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around the body and chest; this rendered quick movement
difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were intro- [411]
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less. Large shields of moosehide were carried in all canoes,

714 and one was held up by the bow paddler as the craft neared the
726 shore to protect him and those behind from arrows and stones cast by slings. When not in use, shields were laid away in boxes with some white substance resembling flour.[3] On the
[103] shore of the fiord below Bella Coola, opposite Winter Bay, there are some boulders of the same white tint; even now these are often spoken of as "The Shields of the Bella Coola." It is said that hostile raiders, seeing them, used to remark that they had reached the outposts of Bella Coola.

726 The same lack of leadership shown during preparations for a war was evident during hostilities. The so-called leader had
701 little authority over his men, who could desert and return home
703 at any time. Lack of martial ability among their own chiefs
[648] sometimes led the Bella Coola to place themselves under the authority of a Bella Bella in a way which would be impossible
[642] for a war-like people. Frequently such divided leadership led to disaster, and is the surest proof that the Bella Coola were not as aggressive or bellicose as other coastal tribes.

726 Except when attacking the Carriers, all raiding parties
[533] embarked in canoes and followed a definite order of procedure
[703] handed down from the past. In the stern of each craft sat the captain, a chief, who, as the craft was leaving, began to sing his *xe·tla* song, keeping time to it with the beats of his paddle; the recounting of the glories of their ancestors was supposed to encourage the warriors. Instead of leaving simultaneously, a rendezvous was often chosen down the fiord, and the expedition finally moved off from there when all the canoes had arrived. While still in friendly territory, a flotilla proceeded
726 openly. A small amount of dried salmon and water was car-
789 ried by a war party and morsels of the former were eaten at intervals. The bow-man took as much food and drink as he thought could be consumed at one sitting, put a fragment of dried salmon in his mouth, chewed it four times on the same side of his mouth as he was paddling, and swallowed it. Then

[3]Some undetermined substance said to have had protective or preservative qualities.

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and extended from one end of the settlement to the other. 361
The outer side of this structure was always supported on piles; in fact, in many cases, the houses as well as the whole sidewalk were thus raised from the ground. This type of construction was necessitated by the sloping sites of the villages, but had the added advantage of being a protection against attack. The villages differed in size from insignificant settlements of three to four houses, to ones with twenty or thirty, each containing several families. The ease with which the red cedar could be split and worked into large planks made possible the construction of these large, rectangular houses which, with their horizontally laid walls and sloping roofs, presented a picture of stability and relative comfort superior to that of most Indian habitations.

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619 others. This differentiated them clearly from all neighbouring
[197] tribes.

B. Ceremonial. A member of a secret society in any of
[575] the above towns was accepted as a member in any other one.
[609] A person of another tribe, even if known to belong to a comparable society, was treated as an uninitiated person.

C. Origin and Religion. The people of Bella Coola, *Täl·io*, and Kimsquit felt themselves to be akin through acceptance of the fact that their ancestors had been created together in the beginning of time. This marked them off with
[771] great clearness from all other tribes, especially from the Carriers of the interior. This belief formed a sentimental and religious bond of great strength.

Neighbouring Tribes

648 It is desirable to describe, briefly, the tribes with which the Bella Coola came in contact.

THE CARRIERS

East of Bella Coola, amid the mountains of the interior, roved the Carriers. In summer they often came down to the river valley to fish or trade for salmon, and in winter they were sometimes forced by cold and starvation again to visit the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, or Rivers Inlet people. There was a
[563] good deal of intermarriage between them and the inhabitants of the upper valley, so that the wanderers were able to spend the cold months with relatives. None the less, the Bella Coola
[180] considered these people utterly foreign in habits and beliefs,
[578] and to call a man a "Carrier" was, and still is, a deadly insult. The Carriers lacked the rich ceremonial life of the coastal peoples who, therefore, regarded them with scorn and con-
[796] tempt. The presence of a few of the much-despised Carriers was, however, almost necessary to the correct performance of the winter dances since they were uninitiated spectators whom it was necessary to impress and delude.

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bellabella NE5

THE BELLA BELLA

BC 648

West of Bella Coola lived the Bella Bella, known as *ułqwläsıms*. Although linguistic differences prevented free exchange of ideas, and active hostility was not unknown, there was considerable intermarriage between the two tribes. The Bella Coola recognized the similarity of culture between them; in fact, whereas a Carrier was despised for lack of knowledge of ceremonial and dramatic matters, a Bella Bella was respected for his superior lore in that respect. The Bella Coola believe that many of their rites have been obtained from them.

BB [101] [563] BC [563] [186]

The chief Bella Bella villages are said to have been: *Qwalna*, on "Kwatna" Bay; *Nā'mu*, at "Namu"; *Qwiyai*, four miles from the last-mentioned; *Nulam*.

BB 361 [191] [563]

At *Qwalna*, the nearest settlement, so many of the people spoke Bella Coola that it was practically bilingual. There had been so many intermarriages for generations that the people were not considered foreigners; in fact, Boas includes it among Bella Coola villages (p. 48). There were seven villages on Kwatna Inlet and the Kwatna River which flows in from the south-east.

BC [563] [648]

(1) *Sinulkemitl*, "Where It Spoke": a small outpost on the eastern shore of Kwatna Inlet near the entrance. There may once have been a permanent settlement at the site, but for many years it was used only as a look-out station when raiders were expected.

BB 173 361

It is said that on one occasion, long, long ago, a party of Kwatna people was encamped at this spot, waiting for enemy raiders whose approach had been reported. They did not appear when expected and one of the watchers, wearied by the long wait, said to the genital organs of one of his female companions who had annoyed him:

"Tell us what is going to happen."

"You will all be killed to-morrow," answered a rumbling voice from the organs, to the great amazement of everybody.

So it transpired. The hostile raiders surprised the watchers the next day and only one escaped to tell the tale.

The place has since been known as, "Where It Spoke." It was long ago deserted.

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bellabella NE5

THE *ıstämx*[1]

BB
BC
563
361
[164]
101
[197]

Before the smallpox epidemic, about 1865, there were towns on the fiords and villages of Dean Channel between Kimsquit and Bella Bella. The inhabitants were called *ıstämx* by the Bella Coola, and *ıstaitx* by the Bella Bella. Their settlements were at Elcho Harbour, Green River, Cascade Inlet, and at several unidentified places. Their language is said to have differed slightly from that of the Bella Bella, but the people themselves married freely with both Kimsquit and Bella Bella, thus forming a connecting link between these tribes.

A list of *ıstämx* towns was obtained from one old man, who claimed to be a descendant of the people. It was impossible to verify this information, and since he himself was not an ideal informant, the following can be regarded only as approximately correct.

(1) *Ällko:* at Elcho Harbour.

(2) *Kıldeıt:* on a fiord one mile above the last-named.

(3) *Ällhk* or *Yuqwaıt:* on a river three miles above the preceding.

(4) *Nuwaisäx:* on a river two miles above the preceding.

(5) *Nusqatl:* on a fiord three miles above the preceding.

(6) *'Omllom:* on a fiord three miles above the preceding.

(7) *Suxwlk:* on a river two miles above the last-named and thirty miles below Kimsquit.

According to the old man from whom the above list was obtained, *Nuxwlst*, at Kimsquit, recorded earlier as village no. 45, was also populated by *ıstämx* people. There was so much intermarriage between the two groups that it is now impossible to ascertain whether the inhabitants not only of *Nuxwlst*, but of *Suxwlk* as well, were predominantly Kimsquit or *ıstämx*.

BC
484
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[648]

The open plateau in which the Bella Coola River rises has always made travel possible for long distances, so that not only

1 [^Bellacoola term for the people of mixed Bellabella - Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of 'Dean Channel' - see 2: McIlwraith, cat. 116, p584 - Analyst]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

133 the neighbouring Carriers, but Chilkotin as well sometimes
484 descended to the valley. On the coast, though the dense under-
[648] brush prevented travel along the shore, the long fiords, shel-
[501] tered from the open Pacific, were ideal for the use of canoes.[16]
648 Comparatively lengthy journeys were neither difficult nor uncommon. The *Täl·io* people were usually on amicable terms with the inhabitants of Rivers Inlet, and the Kimsquit with the Kitlobe. The Bella Coola were accustomed to attend
[574] potlatches at Alert Bay and Fort Rupert,[17] Knight's Inlet, and Bute Inlet, receiving their hosts, in turn, at Bella Coola. On the other hand, there was little friendly intercourse with the northern tribes, of which the Kitkatla especially were dreaded by the residents of the central coast. Until recent years the Bella Coola had no direct knowledge of other Salish-speaking peoples, although some of the Chilkotin told them of a tribe living far to the south, in the interior, whom they encountered in some of their wanderings and used to term *Nuxälkımx*, recognizing the similarity between their language and that of the
[197] Bella Coola. A few years ago several Bella Coola attended a
[871] boarding-school and were amazed to find that many of their words were understood by fellow-students from Chilliwack.

648 To sum up: The Bella Coola were in close contact with
177 the neighbouring coastal tribes, with the members of which they felt themselves to have cultural affinities. They recognize that they have received many ceremonial rites from their neighbours, and must have adopted other elements of culture which they now consider indigenous. It is probable that certain Bella Coola customs must likewise have been transmitted to other tribes, but such lie without the scope of this monograph. The outlying villages were in close contact with foreign neighbours, and tended to assimilate elements of their culture,
[101] but, on the whole, the Bella Coola present a tribal unity with distinctive local customs, falling within the general pattern of coastal culture.

[16]For types of canoes, see Appendix A.
[17]The principal Kwakiutl villages.

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human beings, in the beginning of time when they were semi-supernatural, sometimes prevailed against him. One story actually records his murder. From the point of view of morality, an angle from which the Bella Coola themselves do not regard him, *Ałquntām* is neither moral nor immoral; he has the virtues and vices of a man. That, in fact, is a fair summing up of *Ałquntām*; he is a superman, creator of life, supreme god in the sense that he is chief of the supernatural beings, but not an all-powerful deity. 776* [538]

Compared with *Ałquntām*, other supernatural beings are insignificant. The Bella Coola do not regard them as a hierarchy with definitely graded rank and power; accordingly, the order in which they are described is immaterial. Reference has already been made to the supernatural Carpenters.[9] There are four of them, created by *Ałquntām* in the beginning of time; it was they who constructed the mountains and rivers of this land, the animals and birds populating them, and supervised the making of mankind. They are considered to be four brothers, collectively known as *Mesmesälänx*.

The eldest and most powerful is *Yulätimut*, "He Who Completes Any Task with a Single Smoothing Motion."

The second brother is *Mätläbälitcak*, "He Who Completes Any Task with a Single Stroke of an Adze."

The third brother is *Mälläpexwak*, "He Who Completes Any Task with Two Strokes of His Adze."

The fourth and youngest brother is *ıhtlulāk*, "He Who Completes Any Task in a Single Day."

In Kimsquit, *Mätläbälitcak* is often called *Mesmesälänx* and the collective term is not used. These names explain the beliefs of the Bella Coola with regard to the powers of the Carpenters. After their work in the beginning of time, the three younger brothers returned to *Nusmät·a*, where they have since resided, but *Yulätimut* came to earth and married a Bella Bella woman. The Bella Coola admit that members of this [186] [648]

[9]Cf. Boas, p. 32.

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*776 tribe are superior to themselves in carpentry, and ascribe their [186] skill to the fact that many of them are descendants of *Yulā-* [648] *timut*. Some of the coastal tribes are said to believe that *Ālquntām* erred in the manufacture of many of the sea mammals, giving them, for example, human heads on fish bodies; he later rectified this by sending his Carpenters to adjust their form. This is not a Bella Coola belief. One elderly man stated that the skill of the Carpenters in painting and modelling was derived from a little girl named *Q̓oxtlanao*; no confirmation could be obtained for this statement and the information was vague and unreliable.

Since their creation of the sky and many features of this world, as well as birds and animals, the Carpenters have entered but little into the lives of the Bella Coola. Like other supernatural beings, they are capable of going anywhere, but for many generations they have not been seen on this earth. Their most important function, perhaps, is to act as patrons [575] for various *kusiut* dancers. This subject will be described in detail in vol. II, chap. 1; for the moment it is enough to say that many supernatural beings regard members of this semi-sacred society as their protégés, and grant them power to per- [535] form dances. On these occasions masked figures are used to represent the patrons, thus enlightening uninitiated persons as to the appearance and attributes of various supernatural beings.

Among the many residents of *Nusmät·a* are two sons of *Ālquntām*, *Sänollxmulelts Ālquntām* and *Sno'olxlts Ālquntām*. The former in particular is dearly loved by his father and is often spoken of as *Nuslexwanxwultam*, "The Cherished One." These two beings take no part in the affairs of mortals except [575] as patrons of *kusiut* dancers. Like all supernatural beings they are considered to be immortal. Since *Ālquntām* has two sons it is to be assumed that he has, or had, a wife. Her name is not generally known, although she is sometimes spoken of as [538] *Nusmät·aien·a*, "The Woman of *Nusmät·a*." There are also many stories describing his amours with human women resulting in semi-supernatural offspring.

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* 776 encountered on land, but the sea likewise is the home of anthropomorphic creatures. Far beneath the surface is a land much [772] like the earth, inhabited by people resembling humans who sometimes assist a drowning person. The mysteries of this undersea world are known to the Bella Coola chiefly through accounts handed down from generation to generation, though its inhabitants have often appeared at the surface. Their hair is long and somewhat reddish, their bodies are hairless, and their faces are in many cases stained with black. One man stated that about three years before a Japanese, fishing near Namu, had caught in his net one of these people, a girl about two years old. He drew her into his boat, where she squatted on the bottom, docile and submissive. After a time the fisherman became frightened and threw his captive overboard. The [648] [186] Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella, greater seafarers than themselves, have more extensive knowledge of these undersea dwellers.

539 Similar, if not identical, beings live beneath rivers and lakes; they have often been seen on the surface, and occa- * 776 sionally, long, long ago, certain fortunate individuals saw their houses. Accounts of such are embodied in Bella Coola mythology and will be described later. The following can be considered an example of a simple type:

About three hundred years ago, *Lewumewumlaix*, a Kimsquit fisherman, built a pier-like framework, projecting into the Dean River, on which to stand while fishing for salmon with a long-handled[10] scoop-net. One August day he was using his net when, after a number of successful sweeps, it became very heavy. As the net came to the surface he found, to his amazement, that a small boy was hanging on the rim. A number of people who had been watching from the shore, called to him to throw away his net with its uncanny haul. Heedless of this advice, *Lewumewumlaix* tried to lift his net and, on finding it too heavy, began to drag it through the water so as to drag it out on the shore. All went well for the first few yards, till suddenly the boy shoved against the net, pushing the fisherman into the water on the other side of the pier. Immediately the supernatural one vanished from sight. As the bystanders rushed to

[10] The handles of nets of this type are said to have been about thirty feet in length.

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ancient history and fame of his family. It is a matter connected with the past, a matter of the mind, a source of pride to him to have such a possession, but a matter that does not affect his daily life. 211 424 993

So far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola crests consist of the following birds and animals: raven, bald eagle, grizzly bear, black bear, wolf, whale, blackfish, merganser, loon, *sqémstsé*, possibly deer, and the mythical double-headed snake, *nsiatl*. To these must be added the sun, because some of the original people came to earth in human form by sliding down his eye-lashes, the sun-beams; and *nahnéitsa*, the posts which stretched from earth to the land above, down which a number [illegible] The Bella Coola believe that these posts are particularly common memorials among the tribes of the outer coast. According to some accounts it was these posts which supported the first sky until it fell. 825 [796] * [792] [829] [792]

A crest is connected almost exclusively with the distant past. A Bella Coola whose ancestor came to earth as a raven pays no attention to the ravens of the present time. The matter was approached from every possible angle and not the slightest sign of respect toward living specimens of a man's crest could be noticed. A query as to whether or not a man refrained from eating his crest was regarded as highly humorous. Nor is there any trace of fellowship between unrelated families even if they happen to have the same crest. The subject was broached repeatedly, until at last one informant smiled broadly and said: 424 999 825

"I know now what you want to find out, I can tell you all about it."

He recounted how the Kitkatla are, in his opinion, stupid enough to regard as brothers all those who have the same animal story even if they are members of different tribes. He said that when he was a young man at Vizneia, where Indians from all parts of the coast used to meet, a Kitkatla had once asked him what was his animal. He was puzzled, but as the [648]

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Bella bella NE5

BC 614 428 721

and hunting-grounds to those who had helped them in their old age. But in every case the gift turned out to be of doubtful value, since young men grew up who claimed membership in the supposedly defunct ancestral family and combatted the right of those to whom it had been given. This always led to war.

BB BC 423 648

The following is an instance of a feud which arose from the bestowal of a hunting-area.

It is said that about 1850 the people of *Tsawat* (probably Bute Inlet) captured a Bella Bella woman as a slave. She escaped and fled up the *Tsawat* River, hoping to come in contact with the Bella Coola, who often hunted in that area. The woman was found by the mother's father of an informant who carefully looked after her while he was hunting beaver and brought her back to Bella Coola, thence sending her to Bella Bella. In gratitude her father, a Bella Bella chief, gave her rescuer the hunting-area known as *Nulaw*, near Kwatna Inlet, with the consent of the members of his ancestral family. The land so alienated should have remained permanently in possession of the Bella Coola ancestral family, but was too far removed from Bella Coola to be used regularly by the new owners. After the death of the Bella Bella chief, a number of individuals who claimed membership in his ancestral family asserted their rights to it. Many years later, after white traders had made their appearance on the coast, a Bella Coola went to *Nulaw* and killed a large number of beaver. As he was leaving with their pelts he was murdered by some Bella Bella, ostensibly as a trespasser. But for the restraining influence of the white man this incident would undoubtedly have led to war. The informant still feels that he is entitled to hunt at *Nulaw*, and did so several times when he was a young man; but his sons have never exercised the right, and it has practically lapsed.

BB [425]

BB BC 423 622

It is unfortunate that the above incident is drawn from Bella Bella, where the power of chiefs is much greater than among the Bella Coola. Consequently it is impossible to say

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601 Coola social organization, and of the absence of standardized obligations based upon specific relationships.

Slaves

567 Since a slave was[11] without status in the Bella Coola community, it is perhaps incorrect to include a description of [554] slavery in a chapter on social organization; but as slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages, it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was 162 impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of their number in 567 Bella Coola; slavery has been so long abandoned that the present natives could only hazard vague guesses. Judging from conversational remarks by elderly men, it seems probable that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as thirty to forty per cent of the total population.

567 When a party raided a village most of the inhabitants were 927 slain, but some, especially children, young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. As far as could be learned, once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief [422] or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

567 Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold. 437 The Bella Coola were usually so well provided with salmon that they were able to exchange these fish with the members [622] of other tribes for slaves. Lack of strong chieftainship among [726] the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of [431] their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category [773] belong those obtained as presents at potlatches. If, however, a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was

[11] One of the first efforts of the white man's establishment in British Columbia was the freeing of all slaves. Consequently the past tense is used in this section. [648]

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*556 578 Island chief was felt by the Bella Coola to be quite natural; one of their own chiefs might have resented the insult in the same manner. This account may have no historical basis, but it is a clear example of Bella Coola sentiment.

*556 ●648 558 [765] Further examples may help to clarify this point. A few years ago a number of Kwakiutl Indians visited Bella Coola to perform a mourning ceremony in honour of a deceased Bella Coola who had a Kwakiutl name from his grandfather, a member of that tribe. All the natives were invited to a large house, where the visitors gave a dance according to their own ancestral myths; the songs which were used recounted the history of the Kwakiutl name of the dead man. After thus displaying their prerogatives, they felt themselves obliged, and proud, as hosts, to give presents as validation. The sum of $546 was distributed among the guests. Realizing that it would be impossible to return such a sum by holding ceremonials in Fort Rupert, the home of the Kwakiutl, the leading Bella Coola decided to return the compliment immediately. The amount to be given was discussed at great length. Appreciating the courtesy of the foreigners in thus coming to pay honour to the deceased, it was not wished to insult them by giving a larger present, which would have had the effect of intimating that the recipients considered the $546 a trifling amount. Accordingly it was finally agreed to give the visitors about $300, which was done as validation of a Bella Coola ceremony at which the strangers were present. Thus the hosts allowed themselves to be shamed as a mark of courtesy. Not to be outdone in politeness, the Kwakiutl chief made a speech, expressing his willingness to allow the Bella Coola to drive him (this occurred in the days of horses and carts) to the wharf to take the steamer. In other words, he allowed the Bella Coola to put him in their debt, as they had allowed him and his party to do with respect to the distribution of money. The visit terminated with friendly relations maintained on both sides.

123 533 *556 424 The need of validating every ceremonial act by presents can be further illustrated by the following instance. When

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203 that he wants so-and-so, giving the name of a chief, to go, for
* 556 instance, to Bella Bella, to invite a certain person, whose name
484 he gives, to the potlatch. X likewise names those whom he
[575] wishes to form the escort. As a *susaok* whistle is used, it is essential either that the chief himself be a senior *susaok*, or that a *siki* go with him. It is immaterial whether or not all of the crew are members of the society. Nobody is compelled to go, but as all know it will be a matter of pride to X to recompense them, none declines except for some strong reason. X names those whom he wishes to proceed to other tribes, sending one canoe to each group of towns. He arranges their departure according to the distance each must travel, the aim being to have all the guests arrive at Bella Coola at the same time. X is expected to provide food for his guests as soon as they arrive, and as the potlatch cannot start until all have assembled, X tries to ensure simultaneous arrival, no easy matter
[648] since the area from which guests are invited extends from the Nass River to Alert Bay.

The mysterious and sacred nature of the potlatch is impressed on the minds of the uninitiated at the time of departure. When the chief who is to bear the invitation, and the members of the crew are ready in the canoe at the beach, there is heard from X's house the sound of a whistle. The uninitiated, unaware of the method by which the noise is produced, consider it to be the voice of some supernatural being connected with the potlatch. Either the messenger himself, or some assistant with him, blows a whistle. This can be done without exposing the method by putting the whistle to the lips under cover of a large blanket. When this has sounded the canoe is free to proceed.

The messenger-chief carries with him his *susaok* mask, which he dons if he sees another canoe approaching, while
[532] eagle down is scattered over the heads of the paddlers. These two signs intimate that the occupants of the craft are on ceremonial business, therefore must not be molested. For a con-
[726] siderable distance up and down the coast the sacred nature of

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426 hence repayment or non-repayment does not affect the standing of the debtor in the community. The giver expects no
*556 return, but should he come to financial straits he would have
[558] no hesitation in asking aid from the Bella Bella chief. He expects, moreover, that the latter will contribute to the expenses of his funeral. This would be optional, as repayment of a non-ceremonial present concerns the donor and recipient alone, without effect on the status of either in the community. In this instance, if the old man had died soon after his son, his debts would not have been paid, since there were surviving no immediate relatives. Sons or other near kinsmen always settle the debts of dead parents out of family pride, but it is considered most improper for the creditors to think about re-
[558] payment. By giving they have shown their power, the question of return is the concern of the family of the deceased recipient.

Very rarely does the donor of a potlatch fail to return his investment presents except through oversight. In spite of every precaution, errors occur, and these are said to be caused either by a supernatural being, itself invisible, rising between
[776] the donor and his guest, hiding the latter, or by *Snuqwalnkaista* stealing away his thoughts. Unless the donor wishes
[578] to insult a guest, he will give him presents later on, and that ends the matter. But if he does not do so, the slighted man
426 may return the insult, and thus feuds are often generated that
*556 may lead to war between tribes. About 1860 it is said
●648 that a conflict between the people of Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet was caused in that way. In the autumn of 1921, a Bella Coola chief insisted on dancing at a Bella Bella potlatch, although it was commonly known he did not have the necessary goods for distribution to validate his dance. The hosts waxed sarcastic, taunts were answered by taunts, and only the presence of some white men prevented bloodshed. Relations between the two tribes are still strained as a result of this incident. The Bella Coola chief was subject to spells of
[828] insanity, and danced during one of these. According to the

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556 *
[648]
[828]
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Bella Coola, the Bella Bella should have taken this into account, along with the man's generosity on previous occasions, and overlooked his remissness.

Cases have been known of a "stupid" man endeavouring to increase his prestige by giving many potlatches when unable to pay his debts. Such a one is laughed at for his stinginess, which is not the attribute of a chief, and is given only small presents.

It must be clearly understood that debts publicly incurred, in other words investment presents received at any ceremony, must be publicly returned, if the debtor is to gain the public esteem granted to one who pays back with interest. But everyone cannot give a potlatch; hence any young man desirous of returning his obligations, and of rising in public favour, can do so at a potlatch given by somebody else. Guests are present from abroad, so his discharge of indebtedness is made known farther afield than if he had done so at a local gathering, and the donor has the additional satisfaction of being able to give to the strangers. Sometimes as many as ten young men will ask X for permission to pay their debts at his potlatch. Such is never refused, because it means more ceremonial, and greater interest, which indirectly increase X's prestige. A young man who has been taken to a foreign potlatch as an adherent of a guest always receives presents, and if he repays these with interest his name begins to become known, especially as his return payments are unexpected. It is thus that a man whose chiefly name (or names) has been dormant for generations, can begin to restore it. Thanks to presents he gives at X's potlatch, he will in return receive large gifts, until finally he is able to give a potlatch himself. After X has paid his own indebtedness the debts of others are settled. In each case the speaker announces the amount received on such and such an occasion and the amount returned. Thus all present are able to estimate the generosity of the payer, a chiefly attribute. When a young man plans to give his first potlatch it is customary for the older chiefs of his village to advise whether he has

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he can. Several of the older people mentioned that early white traders would have received more for their goods by giving them away than by selling. 556 431

Even at the present time the Bella Coola sometimes carry out a practice which was once common. Particularly in the early autumn or in spring, a chief who has large supplies of food may decide to show his wealth to the members of a neighbouring tribe such as the Bella Bella. Alone, or with a few friends, he goes to a foreign village where he is sure to find accommodation in the home of some friend, relative, or important chief. In the evening he invites the inhabitants of his host's village to the house in which he is staying, and uses the food he has brought with him to provide them with an elaborate meal. His guests now feel it incumbent on them to repay this generosity, and one of them asks the singers to beat out one of his songs, the Bella Bella equivalent to *susaok*, *a'alk*, or even *kusiut*. The owner dances to it and then gives presents to the stranger to validate the performance he has just witnessed. This is repeated by everyone to whom he has given food, and although each present may be small, their total is greater than the original outlay. Sometimes a poor man, feeling himself too insignificant to give a ceremony of this kind, takes a supply of food to a foreign tribe to sell. If the hosts wish to show their generous dispositions they persuade him to give it away in the fashion just described, which always brings in more than he could obtain by sale. It is even customary for the hosts to lend such a stranger enough food for public distribution if his own stock is too small. 556 648 [484]

Although the most important Bella Coola dances are performed at potlatches or during the *kusiut* season, they are not confined to these periods. Professional singers do nothing else and, except during the run of salmon when everyone is busy fishing, a dance occurs every few nights. Supernatural beings are not called down; consequently there is little solemnity and everyone has a good time. On these occasions, *kusiut* songs are first beaten out, followed by *susaok* and *a'alk*, and the owner 533 535 574

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At this juncture someone saw a party of strangers, and wondered who they might be as they entered the town. There was great rejoicing when the two brothers told their parents who they were, for they had been so transformed that they were unrecognizable. As *Sä·lma* had said, *Łäloxmän·a*'s three beautiful wives came rushing up, eager to have him take them back, but he paid no attention to them. He welcomed only the ugly one, who had mourned for him, and massaged her until she became the most lovely of all. 539*

Smaoan, delighted at the safe return of his sons, and proud of *Łäloxmän·a*'s beautiful children, sent invitations far and near to a great potlatch. At this ceremony he validated, with many presents, a seat in the house for *Łäloxmän·a*. The name thus confirmed was *Spätcaldt*, "The First Born," a name given to *Łäloxmän·a* by *Kapsälopst*. *Smaoan* also took this opportunity to confer names on his numerous grandchildren. After sojourning for some time in Kimsquit, the Kitlobe people returned home, richly laden with gifts.

In the course of time *Wisamkilak* bore her husband two more children. *Smaoan* continued to prosper and to give potlatches, at one of which he gave one of his grandchildren the name *Stältumx*, "Chief." This designation at once became honourable on account of the goods expended. *Łäloxmän·a* did not wish to forget his Kitlobe friends, so in time he sent two of his children to live there. One of them was *Stältumx*, a name that has ever since remained there. Thus friendly relations between Kimsquit and Kitlobe, first opened by *Łäloxmän·a*, have been maintained. There have been many marriages between people of these two areas, each knows of *Łäloxmän·a*, and it was only about one hundred and fifty years ago that a Kimsquit woman, *Äts̓qutl* by name, was married to a Kitlobe man to repay the original marriage of *Wisamkilak*. [648] [582]

When *Smaoan* became old he gave yet another potlatch at which he took for himself the name *Łilixwnimut*, "The Scatterer." He created this from his own fertile imagination, with reference to the way in which he scattered eagle down when first travelling to the north in eagle form. It has since been used by his descendants when old. [551]

The descendants of *Smaoan* enjoy not only the prerogative of using this myth and the names included in it, but other privileges connected with it. If one of them gives a potlatch he carves the form of a *mätsqus* on the spoons to be used at it, and paints the wall of his house with a whale design. *Omqomkilka*'s descendants are more likely than others to receive supernatural good fortune from a *mätsqus*. The descendants of both 539* 424 [532]

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In the beginning of time it is believed that a son of *Smaoan* married the daughter of a Kitlobe chief (I, p. 338). As dower she brought her husband several Kitlobe names, which were transmitted in time to her children and which remained in *Smaoan*'s home, Kimsquit, for many generations. The Bella Coola believe that it was remembered for hundreds of years that these designations did not belong there. Whenever one was conferred, the myth was recounted to tell how it first came to Kimsquit; whereas in Kitlobe when the myth from which the names were taken was related, it was always added that those in question could not be used since they were now in Kimsquit. About one hundred and fifty years ago, *Ätsqtutl*, a Kimsquit woman, was married to a Kitlobe man to repay this debt, and cement friendship between the two tribes. She took as dower the names long ago brought from Kitlobe. Similarly, if any name or other prerogative of an ancestral myth has been alienated from the ancestral family to which it belongs, a father searches for a woman who will be able to restore it to his son as a marriage gift. The word used for searching is "hunt," the term applied to seeking fur-bearing animals. 173 583 648

The accompanying pedigree illustrates a return marriage. *Qwahila*'s daughter was married to a Fort Rupert man and took with her as dower several Bella Coola names and other prerogatives. The loss of these was remembered and they were brought back by the marriage of *Yäkotlıs*, a member of *Qwahila*'s ancestral family, with a daughter of the woman who had gone to Fort Rupert. Usually several generations elapse before a return marriage is made. This incident was perfectly well known to the son of *Yäkotlıs*.

Qwahila =
of *Qomqo·ts*
|
Nukao·sa = Daughter
of Fort Rupert
|
Yäkotlıs = Daughter
of *Qomqo·ts*

If parents who are seeking a wife for their son have also a daughter approaching marriageable age, they may try to avoid a later return marriage by arranging that their daughter shall be married to a brother, or other near relative, of their son's wife. Exchange marriage was formerly more common than 583 [178]

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583 at present, though even now it is considered highly desirable.
[178] The sentiment is that already described: the more closely the parents are bound together by ties of common ancestry, the greater will be their children's ceremonial strength. Further, reciprocal alliances of this type obviate all danger of feuds, since return marriages are not required.

582 In recent years it has become fashionable, or socially
178 "smart," with some Bella Coola families to seek wives from unrelated ancestral families, and even from other tribes. It is
648 said that this practice was initiated by *Potles*, an important chief who died between 1870 and 1880. He sought foreign marriages on acccount of the prerogatives which were brought as dowers by his wives, and considered that such rights, transmissable to his children, more than compensated for the lack of strength provided by related ancestors. Many have followed his example, with the result that some ancestral families have entirely abandoned the endogamic tendency. Boas (p. 124) has made the same observation. Although this exogamic
[581] principle is directly contrary to that which has already been described, yet it should be noted that each has the same explanation—the search for a wife able to bring most to her as yet unborn children.

584 Should the parents consider a foreign woman as wife for
581 their son, then her worth is discussed from every angle. One woman may have the right to good hunting grounds, the family of another may have some valuable *sisaok* prerogatives, a third some *kusiut* rites. Anxious thought is put on the relative values of these. One man had heard of the French system of *dot*, and emphasized strongly how far superior to, and more sensible it was than the Canadian practice. In recent years
[178] the younger Bella Coola have been arranging their own marriages, and the older men lament bitterly that they are influenced only by the beauty and working ability of the girl, not by her real worth, the prerogatives which she can bring to her children.

Although parents consider chiefly the ancestry of their

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584 preliminary agreement may have been made while they were only seven or eight years old, though marriage seldom occurs before the age of seventeen or eighteen. More often the agreement is made when X and Y have passed the age of puberty, and they wait for about two years before marrying.

583 Throughout this period, X's relatives are expected to give at least one feast at which Y's relatives are the guests of honour,
425 and always receive presents. At one of these rites X's father,
553 with the concurrence of his relatives, may mark his approval
[584] of the coming event by bestowing on Y's father, or one of her other relations, an ancestral name from his family myth. This does not become the absolute property of Y's family, since the myth in which it is embodied does not belong to them, unless, of course, they are members of the same ancestral family. It is fitting that a name of this kind be bestowed by the recipient on one of Y's children, or returned to X's family a few generations later by a return marriage. If this is not done, in course of time the designation is apt to be regarded by Y's family as their own. If there are no children, Y's relatives should give back the name to X's
[627] family, but there are many instances of feuds caused by failure to do so. According to mythology, prerogatives may some-
[773] times be given outright, without thought of their use by the resultant children, or of their being restored by return marriages. It is claimed that the people of the Kimsquit River
[648] have, through such a present, the inalienable title to use a certain spot in the Kitlobe River for their olachen nets, and likewise the Kitlobe people have an irrevocable right to the Kimsquit name *Stälumx*. These two prerogatives were transferred at the beginning of time. At present, anyone bestowing outright his family prerogatives would be considered weak-
[578] minded and the other members of the ancestral family would strenuously object. Considerations of this sort make it desirable to seek a wife within the ranks of the ancestral family.

During the period of engagement, Y's family may present a name, or names, to X's father, with the same conditions as those just described.

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old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language. 602 476

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *kusiut*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *susaok* names can never be transferred in this manner. 606 431 425 [785] [575] [553] [575]

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a 593 [602] [627] [567] [432] [648]

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593 slave, and this is believed to have occurred on one occasion
567 to the daughter of a chief.

432 Once, many hundred years ago, the daughter of a Bella Coola chief
● 648 was married to the son of *Ťaxlexwam*, a Bella Bella chief, living at *Łoqoyel*. At the marriage, in Bella Coola, valuable presents were given by both families, and the girl went to live in Bella Bella with her husband. Some ten years later, *Ťaxlexwam* gave a large potlatch to which he had invited guests from all parts of the coast. As in duty bound, his daughter-in-law's relatives gave a certain amount of goods to rebuy her. They were not wealthy, so that the contribution was of small value. *Ťaxlexwam* had expected a larger present, and now found himself unable even to repay his debts to those who had assembled. He did not immediately show his resentment, but soon afterwards sold his daughter-in-law as slave to a Kitkatla chief. The Bella Coola were justly indignant, but could not make up their minds what to do in such an unprecedented case. The girl ultimately escaped and made her way home after lengthy wanderings (II, p. 505).

837 A husband demands faithfulness on the part of his wife, though he himself is often rather lax. Illicit intercourse is regarded, not as a deadly sin, but as an infringement of the husband's prerogatives. But if a woman should bear a child at a time when it was impossible for the husband to have been the father, due to absence, he would probably accept it as his
[586] own and do no more than administer a beating, though some jealous men would divorce a wife for this. Bella Coola sentiment on such matters varies with the individual; it is universally considered to be a matter that concerns the husband
[184] alone and he can do as he thinks fit. The daughters of chiefs are usually faithful to their husbands, whereas those of poorer persons, unrestrained by the valuables expended at their marriages, are more lax. If the husband should catch an adulterer,
[682] he can, if bold, slay him on the spot and the exaction of blood revenge would be uncalled for. Usually a fight ends the matter, though the offender's family may give presents to the aggrieved husband, and his wife's relatives may also make donations to atone for their daughter's failings. A husband does not share his wife with anyone, and a question as to the lending of a wife

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to a guest was regarded as amusing. In recent years, however, 837
some husbands have made a practice of renting their wives to [648]
white men. This is not considered creditable, but the Bella [548]
Coola do not strongly condemn breaches of the moral code, [183]
which are regarded as the affair of the husband alone. There is said to be a Bella Bella custom by which a wife takes as recognized paramour one of the friends of her husband who is thought not only to know of this but to receive the presents which the lover gives his wife. The two continue to be friends and often hunt together; in fact, their mutual interest in the woman is a bond between them. No trace of this practice [171] could be found in Bella Coola.

POLYGAMY

It has thus far been assumed that the Bella Coola are 595
monogamous, an assumption correct only since the period of 556
white dominance. Previous to that time it was quite common [177]
for wealthy men to have three, four, or more wives. *Potlas*, the important chief so often mentioned, had nine, ten, or eleven, the exact number is not known. A man wishing to take a second wife could do so in the manner already described, although the period of engagement was usually much shorter, and working for his parents-in-law was not expected. The reason for this was obvious to the Bella Coola. None but a chief of importance could afford more than a single wife, and such an one could not be expected to demean himself by working for anyone else. Besides, parents were glad to have their daughters married to a great chief, so willingly omitted the customary period of servitude. Few attained the distinction of having several wives. As far as could be learnt, [162]
the number of the sexes seems always to have been about equal, in itself a check to polygyny in a community where practically every adult had a wife. A number of males were always slain in war, and it is to be assumed that polygyny was made possible only through the surplus of women thus caused. The great majority of men had a single wife, some chiefs had

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to force his attentions on a slave woman if she objected, 836
although her refusal would be most unusual on account of his [567]
prestige. There were no professional prostitutes; a man [548]
usually gave a small present to a girl from whom he had received favours, and she was expected to give him a little, dainty basket filled with undyed cedar-bark to use as a sponge. Such relations appear always to have been of common occurrence. Today, as formerly, a man's morality is considered to 836
be his own affair; laxity may lower his prestige, but no law is 522
broken, and his neighbours laugh and chaff him about it. In fact, sexual matters are discussed with the greatest freedom, and a person who has been caught is mocked mercilessly. When visiting a foreign tribe, a man sometimes lives with a woman and, on parting, composes and sings a song describing [648]
her charms. One man did this after living with a Kitlobe woman, and on his return to Bella Coola found that some of his fellows had learnt it in some unexplained manner; they used to sing it to him, much to their amusement, in part to his own, and somewhat to the annoyance of his wife. This perhaps illustrates rather clearly the attitude of the Bella Coola to an infraction of morality—where no marriage rite has been broken; it is amusing rather than disgusting. There 836
are no times when the moral code ceases to function. At pot-
latches, and also at *kusiut* dances, there appears always to [834]
have been a certain amount of laxity, although this was strictly prohibited within the house where the ceremony was taking place. Such behaviour is due to the excitement and stimulus of a large gathering, not to anything connected with the rites themselves.

Perverted sexual desires, like other matters connected with 839
the relations of the sexes, are regarded as concerning the individual alone. Sodomy appears to be unknown. Intercourse 836
by pre-adolescents is held to be disgusting, but carries with it
no social ostracism. Incestuous union, however, is mildly anti- 835
social; it exposes the offender to secret contempt, but does not
interfere with his attainment of whatever position his wealth 556

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835 and influence may have won for him. One or two instances
556 are known of contact between parent and child, a matter in which it is the duty of no one to interfere; if a person thus flouts public opinion, it is his own affair.

648 In view of the firmness of the marriage bond and the ab-
167 sence of professional prostitutes, it is difficult to explain the wholesale exodus of Bella Coola women to Victoria in the last century. In some peculiar manner this came to be regarded as socially proper. The daughters both of chiefs and commoners trooped off for a varying period of months or years
[164] and those who returned brought back venereal diseases which appear to have been unknown before that date. Few of them bore children afterwards, a factor of prime importance in estimating the reasons for the decline of the Bella Coola. The motives which led the women to the city seem to have been: (1) the desire for wealth; (2) the influence of strong liquor; (3) the lure of a strange environment; (4) the attraction of the white men, on account of their higher culture.

It is fortunate for the Bella Coola that this fatal custom has ceased to be considered estimable, although the harm already done may be irremediable.

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ning of time. The following speech was made by an elderly Bella Coola chief at the funeral of his great-granddaughter in June, 1922: 764 537

"Granddaughter![7] Go with your grandmother[8] to the mountain above *Tcumotl* where my first [patrilineal] ancestor came to earth. Go to the mountain across the river where *Qeil*[9] descended; go to the north where your ancestor found a copper house with a raven inside; go to the Skeena where another of your early ancestors found a whale; go to all the places where your forefathers experienced the incidents recorded in our myths; go and be happy.[10] I do not want these ever-recurring deaths in my family, but I am helpless. I hope that *Sixsixqwtnam* will cease hunting us." [773]

Turning to the Carrier Indians who were present, the old man continued: "Thank you for coming twice within two days to share our grief." [648]

Turning back towards the grave, he went on:

"I have made ready the road for you.[11] Your grandfather[12] and I are grieved; our families became united when your parents married, and the bond was cemented by your birth. Now it is lost. When you were born, I rejoiced; now I am sorry. You are all right; you cannot fall because you are supported[13] by the names and fame of your father and mother, your grandfather and grandmother, your uncles and aunts, and your other ancestors who have passed away here in *Qomqo·ts*. You rest with them in your own village where is located your power from the experiences of your forefathers.

[7]The term, *slemts*, was used, although the child was really a great-grandchild.

[8]The grandmother had been buried two days previously.

[9]One of the first people to reach this earth.

[10]The places and people mentioned were all described in the myths of the dead child's ancestral family.

[11]A reference to goods distributed by the speaker at a ceremony held a few days previously when it was certain that the child would soon die. [763]

[12]The child's mother's father. [431]

[13]Supported, *kisiamotla*, a word having the sense of physical support. The implication is that the deceased relatives are sitting in such a close circle that the pressure of their bodies is enough to prevent any one of them, including the dead child, from falling. [195]

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765 religious rites affecting the whole community. In spite of the prohibitions enforced, it is said that a widow or widower usually becomes fat after the death of a partner. This observation agrees with several instances known to the writer, but whether it is of universal application is doubtful, although the Bella Coola emphatically state that this is the case.

Memorial Rites

THE MEMORIAL POTLATCH

177 + 556 769 [622] The most important, as well as the most complicated, mourning rite is the memorial potlatch, *skwanāt*, for which so much wealth is required that it can be carried out by chiefs alone. This ceremony, being associated with *sisaok* rites, has altered enormously in form within recent years. Before the introduction of cone-shaped whistles and other foreign elements, it was almost indistinguishable from an ordinary potlatch and the two were occasionally combined, having as central feature the return of the deceased in the form of his crest. Among the tribes of the outer coast, especially the Bella Bella, the two types of ceremonial were apparently distinct, and as the Bella Coola adopted more and more of their neighbours' *sisaok* ritual, they followed their custom in this respect as well. It is said that a certain *Noākila*, uncle of a man about sixty years of age in 1922, was the last to combine both. The Bella Bella felt that he had thereby committed a ritual error for which he would be punished; within a few years he died, and the Bella Coola assumed that this was due to the unanimous expectation of his death on the part of the Bella Bella. From that time onwards, the Bella Coola were careful to separate features belonging to potlatches from those of memorial potlatches.

After a comparatively few years, the white man's domination had increased so enormously on the central coast that [648] the potlatch, including both types, was prohibited by law. Owing to the consequent difficulty of performing complicated

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556*
769
[211]
[764]

by presents, and the greater the number of these, the greater the value of the memorial. Nothing need be added concerning this point, or other rites, to the detailed description given in vol. I, chap. IV.

Psychologically, the memorial potlatch is of tremendous importance. There may be a vague feeling that the ritual is of actual assistance to the deceased since grease burnt at it reaches him, and is of service to him, but such a belief is no more than an intangible sentiment of no weight in the lives of the people. Quite otherwise is its effect on the survivors, especially on the donor. A memorial potlatch is considered the fitting tribute of respect to a chief, and if none of his near relatives should hold one, they would brand themselves as unmindful of the fame of their dead kinsman. In recent years the white man's law has prohibited the potlatch, but chiefs [648] have often preferred to go to jail rather than to forgo this form of memorial. The reason for this cannot be explained better than in the words of an old man whose only daughter, a "Chieftainess," died in 1922. He determined to hold a memorial potlatch and expressed himself to the writer, as follows:

"If I should fail to do what is right under the circumstances, to do what my ancestors would have done, my heart would be dead, dead as my daughter. But if I call the people, if we sing mourning songs for my child, I will be able to bear my grief. I shall have done what is right, and will be able to hold up my head with anyone, knowing that the rites have been performed for my child which are due her as a chief. If I allow her to be neglected, I would be ashamed and miserable. Jim [another "chief"] warned me when I first told him of my intention that the law forbade such ceremonies. I cannot help that. If I am sent to jail, to jail shall I go. I would rather have that happen than that my daughter should not receive fitting treatment as a chief."

In this case, though only abbreviated rites were carried out, their performance unquestionably lessened the father's grief, a fact observed on several occasions. Not only does it comfort

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men had vanished. It is possible that in this particular case there was a belief that *Alquntăm* granted the wish when convinced that all had the same desire, but this element is often entirely lacking.

Belief in the power of thought is a concept which the investigator constantly meets in Bella Coola at the present day. For example, in 1921 a government official working in the valley, purchased a representation of a merganser which had been used in a ceremonial.[3] Although this should have been destroyed after use, no difficulty would have been raised if the transaction had remained a secret. Unfortunately, the buyer allowed the object to be seen by several Bella Coola and by some Carriers. This caused indignation throughout the community and news of it reached the Bella Bella, who concluded that the vendor would suffer disaster for allowing a secret object to be seen by the despised Indians of the interior. Within a year, his wife died. The Bella Bella believed that his sin had brought its own punishment, but the Bella Coola, who knew the details of the sale and did not consider the exposure of the article to have been the fault of the seller, attributed it to the power of the thoughts of the Bella Bella. They all expected that he would be punished; therefore he was punished; the expectation was sufficient to effect its own fulfilment. This incident was too fresh in the minds of several men to allow them to sell ceremonial objects to the writer.

The most common form taken by this conviction is with regard to death; if it is believed that a man will die, he is almost certain to do so. In June, 1922, a woman died in Bella Coola and her father claimed that she had been murdered by a certain man either with material poison or by magical means. He took no direct steps in revenge but stated emphatically that the man whom he suspected would die within a year. The threatened man knew of this, and more than once said that he

[3] The article, now in the National Museum of Canada, consists of a cloth and wood representation of a merganser canoe such as was used by *Nusdzilc* in the beginning of time.

754 would probably fall a victim. He became ill in May, 1923,
761 and, though treated by a white doctor, grew steadily worse
759 until he died in the latter part of June, three weeks after the
828 year had elapsed. All the Bella Coola firmly believe that this
[622] was due to the power of thought. The father of the woman was a powerful chief whose thoughts were accordingly potent, and some consider that his concentrated desires and expectations were enough to kill the accused, while others believe that his expressed statements convinced others of the result, and that it was their combined thought that caused the death. It usually requires the thoughts of more than one individual to lead to this effect. The doctor who attended this man stated that his patient had shown symptoms of melancholy and resignation during his last sickness; it seems clear that the expectation of death must have lessened his chance of recovery.

771 A prominent theme in Bella Coola folk-lore is the belief
754 that a person cannot long survive who has made himself unpopular. It is sometimes stated that a magical means was
828 employed to remove him, and this was no doubt often the case;
[530] a person who learns that a "medicine" had been employed to kill him is in no fit mental condition to counteract the power of suggestion, particularly if he knows that others are aware of what has been done. His death is regarded as proof of the efficacy of the means employed and the belief of others grows stronger. As already stated, this conviction still survives. When this ethnological investigation was being conducted, a
[648] point under discussion was whether or not the Kimsquit people should be allowed to live in Bella Coola. One chief took the lead in objecting and everyone expected that having thus roused the ire of would-be immigrants, he would die. He did so soon afterwards, and it is universally believed that it was caused by the concentration of the hostile thoughts of the Kimsquit. Similarly, the potency of taboos is increased by the fact that since time immemorial the thoughts of everyone have been opposed
[718] to any infraction. Consequently, an offender is liable to punishment both for breaking an injunction and because he

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by their owners for safety. Judas, an old Bella Coola believed to be a sorcerer, has been seen to scrape up the moist earth where a man has urinated; in former times anyone doing such a suspicious act would have been killed. The article obtained is hidden and kept for future use, and if the practitioner wishes to inflict pain or death, he places it in contact with some potent medicine. Human bones are frequently employed for this purpose, although the most powerful is said to be grease obtained by boiling flesh cut from the inner side of the thigh of a recently buried corpse. To obtain either of these, graves must be robbed, another reason for hating sorcerers. 754 [685]

Secrecy is essential, as a sorcerer is usually assisted by his children, and in this way he has a better chance of obtaining articles belonging to different people without arousing suspicion. The necessary knowledge can accordingly be transmitted from generation to generation, sometimes without the slightest inkling of it becoming known. Even if a man is found out, he may be able to bribe his discoverer to silence. [824]

Sometimes two from different tribes work in partnership to lessen the danger of practising their vices near the village of a victim. For example, a Bella Coola sorcerer may send an article to an accomplice in Bella Bella for placing in contact with strong medicine; this causes the victim to languish and die while the person responsible continues his usual routine of life around the village, suspected by no one. The commencement of such a partnership is a matter of great difficulty, since anyone who admits his crimes places himself in the power of his confidant. Sometimes, however, rumours that a certain individual is practising malevolent magic reach a foreign sorcerer who needs an accomplice. If he considers that the information is authentic, he may admit his own prowess and suggest that they work together. Such an arrangement is profitable to both parties, and a partnership so formed may continue for generations. 648 754

Sorcerers display considerable ingenuity in arranging that their skill shall bring them pecuniary benefits as well as the 754 756

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he beats in the fire with his stick, and expresses the hope that the name of the marshal in the town where the error took place may be blackened unless he does better. 575* 628 203

As an individual *ḋaxiat* who errs is punished by a marshal, so is punishment meted out to the members of a village in which any serious accident occurs during a dance. Such disasters are fire, causing concealed *ḋaḋaxiat* to appear among the uninitiated, the breaking of a sidewalk on which a number of the members are dancing, or the capsizing of lashed canoes which are used in some of the performances. The obvious effect of such mishaps is to lower the prestige of the *ḋaxiat* society in the eyes of the uninitiated. The news travels from town to town, and to adjacent tribes. This is a *casus belli* for any village which wishes to attack the one where the disaster took place; in fact, a raid is considered meritorious. Owing to frequent marriages between the members of neighbouring villages, it usually happens that the inhabitants of adjacent settlements are unwilling to attack, but the news spreads until it reaches a town willing to take the lead. The marshals, aided by any other influential *ḋaḋaxiat*, discuss the matter and decide on war; uninitiated are called upon to take part, though they are told only that the foray is concerned with the rites of the *ḋaxiat* society which increases rather than decreases their awe. The threatened villagers, knowing that an attack is inevitable, send out sentinels and guards, and, if possible, flee at the last moment to neighbouring towns for safety, allowing the raiders to burn their village and carry off loot. If a fight takes place many people may be killed, but slaves are never taken. In the last century *Ḋaxa* attacked *Alqaḋiut*; the assailants were aided by a number of Chilkotin to whom they were related but who had not the slightest idea of the cause of the raid. Although an attacked town is usually helped by its neighbours, this is not the case when the assault is caused by error in *ḋaxiat* or *xaxaxi* ceremonial.

575* 628 688 921 [727] [567]

Not in punishment for error or disaster in ritual meted out [248]

#575 only by members of the same tribe. The Bella Coola firmly
648 believe that if, for example, there is a serious disaster at
688 *Xemqo·ti*, that village will be raided by the people of Bella
721 Bella, Fort Rupert, Kitkatla, or by tribes even farther away.
[628] News of the accident reaches *Tăl·ło* or Kimsquit and the inhabitants, themselves related by blood to the offenders and therefore unwilling to punish them, call upon the members of a foreign tribe to do so. On different occasions this statement, in practically identical terms, was made by six independent informants, so there appears to be not the slightest doubt as to the belief of the people in this law. But when specific cases were asked for, they could not be obtained. It therefore appears clear that the Bella Coola, probably owing to long teaching on the part of the *ĕulxaiat*, consider that an error in ritual is sufficient to bring punishment from an alien tribe. There must be some basis of truth in this conviction, and it is highly probable that the *ĕulxaiat* must have taken advantage of raids to explain to the uninitiated that these were caused by disasters in ritual. One informant was of the opinion that, following the collapse of a house at Kimsquit during a Cannibal dance, a Bella Coola chief called upon *Tsĕłxa*, chief of the Kitkatla, who raided Kimsquit in punishment. Quite apart from the belief inculcated in the uninitiated, it is obvious that tribes eager for war sometimes used an accident as pretext. The Bella Coola know of no case in which they raided a foreign tribe for this reason, although they state that if they had been called upon to act as punisher, they could not have refused.

#575 Leaving now the functions of the society as a whole, the
424 rights of an individual member can next be described. Each
425 *ĕulxaiat* has:
853

(1) *A Kaoiat Name.* Like every other prerogative, a name in this type can be acquired from father, uncle, grandfather, or other relative, or even by a son from his mother. As a rule a *ĕulxaiat* wills his designation or designations, for a man may [536] have several, before death and his wishes are observed. Al-

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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not considered necessary. With few exceptions, hereafter to be noted, *kusiut* masks are burnt at the conclusion of each ceremony, a practice which probably originated in order to avoid the possibility of their being seen by the uninitiated. The Bella Coola state that this is one of the most striking differences between their rites and those of the Bella Bella.

Next in importance to masks are whistles (see Plate 2).[1] The large, cone-shaped form used in *susook* ceremonial is replaced in *kusiut* dances by a smaller type consisting of portions of wood glued together, which can be blown with ease from beneath a concealing blanket. Another type has bellows consisting of a mountain goat bladder, which is held beneath the arm-pit so that it can be worked invisibly. During the summer the whistles are kept by one individual, usually a marshal. Specific information concerning the ownership of these whistles could not be obtained; it appears that any *kusiut* can make one, or have one made for him by a skilled carpenter, and that their retention by one person during the summer is merely for convenience. They are freely lent to anyone for use in a ceremony.

In some dances special objects are used in connection with dramatic performances, such as bull-roarers, wooden representations of animals, birds, or miniature human beings. One old man described a pipe formerly used at *Tāl·io*, which had a carved bowl as large as a tea-cup with three radiating stems. It was carved from a knotty excrescence on a beech bole. Little could be learnt of its history, except that it was supposed to have been carved by a chief with the design of his person and displayed through pride.

The usual guests at a performance of the type just summarized are the dancer's fellow-villagers and any strangers who happen to be present in the town. Great as is the desire of the *kukusiut* to impress their uninitiated tribesmen, they are still more eager to impress strangers, hence the presence of carriers adds piquancy to the rites. The writer believes that his presence and interest encouraged the Bella Coola to

[1] See category 116, p 84(B) ANALYCT]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 sively when the villages in which the dances are taking place
203 are adjacent or separated by such a short distance that envoys cannot meet *en route*.

*575 A word may be said about the attitude of the Bella Coola
177 to the dances of other coastal tribes. They know that the
829 Bella Bella, Rivers Inlet, Kwakiutl, and Kitkatla people have *kusiut* societies, but until recently their members were con-
[648] sidered to be uninitiated, as Bella Coola were when they visited foreign tribes.[8] A few years ago the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, and Rivers Inlet people decided that their rites were sufficiently akin to permit membership in one tribe to carry with it membership in the others:

"We have now one repository," they say.

This development is due to ease of communication and diminution of population in the three tribes. None the less, the Bella Coola recognize differences between their own rites and those of their neighbours. They say that no other tribe
[171] has repositories; also that in the other tribes the *kusiut* society is more intimately connected with the chiefs, in fact, that in Bella Bella and Fort Rupert the Cannibals are the chiefs, whereas in Bella Coola even a poor man, uninfluential in every other respect, can be one.

*575 Theorization is out of place in a descriptive monograph such as this, but the writer gives it as his personal opinion that
177 the Bella Coola have adopted much, if not all, of the *kusiut*
[796] ceremonial from other coastal tribes, though they have profoundly altered it in respect to certain ancient beliefs connected with localized guardian spirits and the patrons of ancestral families. He further believes that it will be found that this Bella Coola technique has in its turn affected the Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet Indians. There seems little doubt that the
[171] Bella Coola are correct in saying that the society is more im-
[796] portant among them than among their neighbours, and the writer feels that dances and rituals of different types have certainly been adapted to the *kusiut* pattern of the Bella Coola.

[8] Except a few individuals who had inherited foreign prerogatives.

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[The Cannibal Dance]

787 * 575 * 796 [424] in banning the rite if they do not think the dancer will be able to carry it out properly. When the call comes, the uninitiated are at once expelled from the Cannibal's house; later he rushes to the graveyard and exhumes one of the meat-filled frames previously buried. Non-members watch with horror as he sinks his teeth in the "flesh." Closely guarded, he is then taken to every house where, if they are bold, the uninitiated peer forth from their bedrooms and watch his performance. He carries part of the corpse in his arms and periodically sinks his teeth in the repulsive mass. As usual, apparent attempts are made to tie him to this earth, but in spite of them he escapes to the upper regions where he remains for an unusually long period. Great efforts are made to reduce him to a state of [824] emaciation, for which purpose he drinks large amounts of water in which cedar-wood has been boiled. When the Cannibal ultimately returns to earth, the cannibalistic incubus is expelled and he at length becomes normal. When dancing, a [535] corpse-eater constantly bends both hands towards the floor in front of him and upwards, as though raising some heavy object towards his face. Then his head sinks towards this, only to be thrown quickly upwards and to one side, with a wild expression in his eyes. The uninitiated are told that this represents the manner in which he lifts a corpse towards his mouth and bites, only to be revolted by its putrescence. He has, they hear, no actual liking for human flesh, but his incubus fills him with an irresistible craving for it. Frequently [532] he wears on his blanket wooden representations of skulls (see Plate 7), symbolic of the corpses devoured.

* 575 * 796 Rarely, a corpse-eating Cannibal kills a slave and pretends to devour his body as a means of impressing the uninitiated,** but usually this is done only under the driving force of revenge 567 or jealousy. If a man hears that a near relative, slave of a 648 foreign tribe, has been killed, he often determines to wipe out blood with blood. He consults a corpse-eating Cannibal, and

**Eating of corpses has long ceased among the Bella Coola; the present tense is used merely for consistency.

[see category 116, p 164(A) - ANALYST]

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[The Cannibal Dance]

if the latter agrees to undertake the commission, he must next obtain a slave, a matter of no difficulty if he is at all wealthy. An effort is made to find a victim from the tribe that has committed the murder, though any alien will suffice. The details are worked out with great care so that the slave is sent to the river for water, or on some other errand at the time the call comes to the Cannibal. A shout is raised, and the uninitiated hurriedly run out of the house, followed by the dancer and a body of athletic *kukusiut*, who pounce on the unsuspecting foreigner. The Cannibal cuts his throat, and the corpse is carried back to his house, where all members of the society are assembling. Part of the body is cut off, then the *kukusiut* accompany the Cannibal to every house of the village. He carries the mutilated remains, and the uninitiated readily believe that he has devoured the missing portion. The corpse is later dismembered and the bloody pieces displayed, convincing proof of the gruesome meal. It is needless to say that they are carefully buried where there is no danger that they will be found. The rite then proceeds in the usual manner. 575* 796* 567 648

If two biting Cannibals, or their parents, quarrel, they may be shamed into killing and "eating" a slave. Angry words lead to insults, insults to scorn at each other's prowess, until one of the Cannibals throws a stone at the feet of the other, an action which has the significance of: 575* 796* 567 578

"Eat that!"

Since a stone is always symbolic of a slave, the Cannibal so taunted knows what is expected. If he accepts the challenge, he throws a stone at his adversary's feet, bidding him do likewise. The one challenged soon receives a call and kills a slave in the manner previously described; his rival must do the same unless he is willing to admit himself outdone. The occasional killing of a slave under such circumstances does not give to either the right of doing so habitually. Of course the challenged individual is not bound to accept, but if he declines the "dare," he sinks in popular estimation. This [558]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Breaker Dance]

they do not like. No compensation can be claimed, on the theory that supernatural beings do not have to pay for any damage they may do. Although the property of some *kukusiut* is destroyed, the chief sufferers are the uninitiated; this serves to increase their fear and respect for the society with which such all-powerful beings are in league. After visiting every house in the village, the party returns to X's, where the masks are burnt, the call sent back, and the proceedings conclude in the usual manner. 575* 796* 781 [578] [685]

A certain amount of information concerning the history of the Breaker dance was obtained from *Sxek*, the owner of the prerogative just described. He is a well-informed man, but the writer had no opportunity of comparing his beliefs with those of his associates, so the following must be regarded as unsubstantiated evidence. This man stated that the Breaker dance is the most important of all in Bella Bella, and that many Bella Coola prerogatives have been obtained from this source, although some of their first ancestors likewise enjoyed it. He further stated that the term, *noltcista*, by which the Bella Coola always designate a Breaker, is of Bella Bella origin, and that the ancient Bella Coola term was *dirtia*.[41] *Sxek* also told of an occasion when a number of Bella Bella, present on the *qothm* night of a Bella Coola ceremony, were disturbed when eating by the thud of a stone thrown, from outside, against the wall of the back-room. Out rushed a number of *kukusiut*, incensed at the disrespect shown to their gathering. They caught the offender, but released him when he was found to be a Bella Bella Breaker, foolishly demonstrating his prowess. The marshals decided to retaliate and arranged with two Bella Coola Breakers to exercise their rights and destroy the canoes and food-boxes of their guests. They did so, and later paid for the damage. The Bella Coola were thus able to demon- 575* 796* [115] [171] [177] 575* 796* 648 688

[41] *Sxek* and several of his children are the only Bella Coola known to the writer who habitually use the sound "r." For example, he says "*Sxulert*," instead of "*Sxulek*." He says that he is himself unable to distinguish any peculiarity in his own pronunciation, although other Bella Coola are aware of it. [197]

[The Breaker Dance]

*575 strate their own superiority; they had paid those who had wit-
*796 nessed their prerogative, whereas the Bella Bella Breaker had
648 merely cast a stone without solemnity. Speeches were made,
688 and it was decided that henceforth instead of waging true war
[921] in case of an error in ritual, it would be sufficient if the Breakers exacted punishment by destroying property. That is the explanation offered by this nan as to why foreign war-parties have not more frequently upleld the law by raiding. As before stated, the writer is uncertain whether such beliefs are generally held by the Bella Coola and of course the historical accuracy of the information is still more doubtful.

THE *Kusiotem* DANCES

*575 More awe-inspiring, though less terrifying, than the Can-
*796 nibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances, are the *kusiotem* dances.
424 In these the dancer undergoes mutilation and death, but his
[975] supernatural power enables iim to return to life—at least so it appears to the credulous non-members. The five dances known as *kusiotem* are:

The Stomach-Cutting Dance;
The Beheading Dance;
The Drowning Dance;
The Burning Dance; and
The Swallowing of Hot Sones Dance.

Each of these comprises a distinct ceremonial of great complexity, but only one prerogative is required. That is, a man who has the *kusiotem* right may allow his stomach to be cut one year, and when he next performs will choose to display his ability to swallow hot sones. In this respect, it differs from all other *kusiut* ceremones. Although a *kusiotem* dancer is entitled to exercise his privilege as often as he wishes, provided his marshals consent, the rite is so difficult that it is rarely carried out.

[973] As far as could be learnt, he Bella Coola of today have no

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CHAPTER III

WARFARE[1]

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

721 648 PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was considerable warfare among the coastal tribes of British Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermination of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks. These were never as continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless, [796] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were [556] even received as guests at some dances. At potlatches they might be subjected to insult, later to be avenged in the same manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and 726 friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who 825 bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests them- 778 selves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever [486] another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter [578] to veer over to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling [627] a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads. 721 In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was [575] at all common. Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were [622] not entirely forgotten; no *kusiut* novice went to war and

[1]Warfare having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

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seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject. [721] [575] [622]

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Stuix* and *Ałqäläxł* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe.

[648] [685] [626] [556] [688] [628] [727] [777]

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Täl-io*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack.

[642] [648] [133] [161]

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721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided
●648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
[727] of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but
[628] were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the help of *Qomqo·ts*, the most exposed one, although there was no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of
[776] this town attributed their protection to *Älquntäm*, and used to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola
[361] itself was comparatively free from molestation, Kimsquit and
[162] *Täl·io*, with smaller populations and less strategic positions, were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and entered by a water-gate with a drop-door.[1] This water-gate protected the
[648] residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one
[726] Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders, armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way
[642] and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong govern-
[623] ment was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being assailed, the members of the town would discuss retaliation,
[622] and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was decided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually
[701] a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[1] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

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as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. 721
If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to 701
serve under him, but he could not compel the services of any- 622
one except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to [626]
follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion [628]
usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of
other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join
the party. If some of their relatives had been slain in the
previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the retali-
ation, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could
attract them. No case is known in which all the Bella Coola [642]
villages joined in a single expedition; there were often tem- [628]
porary alliances between neighbouring settlements, but com-
plete lack of central organization. The course of events was
similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of
avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been [648]
enslaved by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother
of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was
to kill a slave belonging to the murderers, though sometimes
he led a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the 726
same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped 411
arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were
also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed
like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was
relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a
distance with much noise, boasting, and expletives, but few
casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers suc-
ceeded in surprising a village at night. Hostilities are a thing
of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed
information respecting offensive weapons. Armour consisted 714
of maple or birch slats reinforced with moosehide and worn 726
around the body and chest; this rendered quick movement
difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were intro- [411]
duced many years ago and armour consequently became use- [177]
less. Large shields of moosehide were carried in all canoes,

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714 and one was held up by the bow paddler as the craft neared the
726 shore to protect him and those behind from arrows and stones cast by slings. When not in use, shields were laid away in boxes with some white substance resembling flour.[3] On the
[103] shore of the fiord below Bella Coola, opposite Winter Bay, there are some boulders of the same white tint; even now these are often spoken of as "The Shields of the Bela Coola." It is said that hostile raiders, seeing them, used to remark that they had reached the outposts of Bella Coola.

726 The same lack of leadership shown during preparations for a war was evident during hostilities. The so-called leader had
701 little authority over his men, who could desert and return home
703 at any time. Lack of martial ability among their own chiefs sometimes led the Bella Coola to place themselves under the
[648] authority of a Bella Bella in a way which would be impossible
[642] for a war-like people. Frequently such divided leadership led to disaster, and is the surest proof that the Bella Coola were not as aggressive or bellicose as other coastal tribes

726 Except when attacking the Carriers, all raiding parties
[533] embarked in canoes and followed a definite order of procedure
[703] handed down from the past. In the stern of each craft sat the captain, a chief, who, as the craft was leaving, began to sing his *xr-tla* song, keeping time to it with the beats of his paddle; the recounting of the glories of their ancestors was supposed to encourage the warriors. Instead of leaving simultaneously, a rendezvous was often chosen down the fiord, and the expedition finally moved off from there when all the canoes had arrived. While still in friendly territory, a flotilla proceeded
726 openly. A small amount of dried salmon and water was car-
789 ried by a war party and morsels of the former were eaten at intervals. The bow-man took as much food and drink as he thought could be consumed at one sitting, put a fragment of dried salmon in his mouth, chewed it four times on the same side of his mouth as he was paddling, and swallowed it. Then

[3] These underground substances said to have had preservative or preservative qualities.

If the war had not been of long duration in which extremely bitter feelings had been aroused, captives were often ransomed by their relatives, who came unmolested for the purpose when the heat of battle had subsided. Failing this, prisoners remained as slaves, the children especially growing up virtually as members of their owner's family as far as food and clothing were concerned, though never sharing in the prowess of his ancestral family. Torture or killing of prisoners seems to have been a rare practice. One extremely old Kimsquit woman related that in her childhood she had seen a captive stretched out on the hot rocks at the side of the ocean, fastened there, his testes crushed with stones, and allowed to die. No other similar traditions could be obtained and it seems probable that this must have been an unusual case. It is true that hostilities have long ceased, but the Bella Coola have clear recollections of other long-abandoned customs, and it is unlikely that torture was ever a common occurrence. It is, of course, one about which reticence is to be expected, but information would have been obtainable if the custom had been common or if it had been one which played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola. 727 [567]

Scalps were hung on a cord and dried like salmon, then suspended as valuable trophies in the taker's house. When setting out on a war expedition, he would often cover his head with one, holding it in position by weaving its hair into his own. At a man's death, they were either inherited by his heirs or, more often, burnt with his other possessions. It is said that the Fort Rupert people used to tie scalps in bundles to their masks. When the Bella Coola went to war to retaliate for a murder, instead of scalping a victim, they sometimes brought back his whole head and impaled it on a stake over the grave of the person avenged. [422] [714] [768] [721] [648] [682]

At this late period it is virtually impossible to form any opinion as to the amount of bloodshed in wars waged by the Bella Coola. Several of the older people spoke in gloating terms of the slaughter accomplished by their ancestors, but all 721

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B 721 these accounts seemed to be exaggerations, and the casualties were probably few. The Bella Coola did not have the same [554] admiration for the successful warrior as for the man who gave many potlatches, while everything indicates that their raids B [703] were on a small scale, rendered singularly ineffective by lack of discipline.

Specific Accounts

B 72 Active warfare has been so long discontinued on the coast that none of the living Bella Coola can describe conditions as 128 they existed during hostilities. It was possible to collect the *539 following accounts of raids and adventures which, though individually of small value, illustrate tactics and strategy, and recount incidents which throw light on the frame of mind of the participants.

Kitkatla War

B T 648 For many years there was animosity between the Bella 721 Coola and the Kitkatla who, with the advantage of strong government, used to sweep down from the north for salmon and slaves. Bella Coola itself was comparatively immune from attack, but the Kimsquit people suffered severely. The attackers were not always successful; one old man related how, when his mother's mother was an infant, they were driven off with the loss of four canoes and many men. The fact that this B incident had been remembered for so many years indicates that T it was unusual.

567 Slaves captured in this way were traded from tribe to tribe 439 and rarely escaped. When an elderly Bella Coola was a lad, there was considerable excitement in the community owing to [727] the return of *Stukwala*, a woman who had been carried off when a girl. She had been traded to a northern tribe among whom, she said, it was customary to crush captives beneath totem-poles and house-posts. Her diligence saved her from this fate, and she was passed on until she reached the far north, on the

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shore of a river where "the white men got money stone." Then *Slukwala* began to go south, and was finally sold to an important chief living north of Port Simpson. He used to beat her; in fact, she carried the scars with her to her grave. *Slukwala*'s master had another slave, a male Bella Bella, with whom the woman was on friendly terms since she was related by blood to a Bella Bella family and could speak that language. Angered by her harsh treatment, *Slukwala* suggested to her companion in misfortune that they kill their master and escape. The man was at first unwilling, but she assured him that she knew the route southward. The conspirators awaited their opportunity which came when their master went halibut fishing, accompanied only by his two slaves. One evening *Slukwala* cooked a large meal for him which made him drowsy as he sat by the fire; then she stole behind him, picked up an axe, and killed him by hitting him over the head. The two murderers carefully scraped up all the blood, tied stones to the corpse, and sank it in deep water so that their master's friends would believe that he had been drowned with his slaves. Then the two, having stolen a canoe, paddled off, hiding by day, and subsisting on what shell-fish they could gather. After many perils they reached Bella Bella, whence *Slukwala* returned home.

She had been carried off as a mere girl, but was past the age of child-bearing when she returned and had almost forgotten her native language. The Bella Coola were keenly interested in the tale of her adventures, and especially in the way that slaves were buried in Alaska. It was assumed that some of their own captives must have been killed in that way, so a slave from the far north was crushed in revenge. It is said that this custom was common among the northern tribes from whom the Bella Coola adopted several practices, although this particular one was carried out but once.

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The most famous Kitkatla chief, and the one most dreaded by the Bella Coola, was *Trikza*, who is said to have had almost despotic powers over his northern warriors. The name itself was transmitted from one holder to another, but the most

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2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bimshian NE15
Bella bella NE5

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648 celebrated *Tohsa* was he who held sway between 1850 and
721 1870, a man of almost gigantic proportions, of tremendous phy-
T sical strength, and endowed with force of character and initi-
622 ative as well. Pitted against him, the Kimsquit people suf-
648 fered even more than before; there were few direct assaults,
721 but Kitkatla canoes seemed always to be lurking in the vicinity, ready to kill or enslave heedless fishermen or those travelling between Kimsquit and Bella Coola or *Tăl'ĭo*. Friends of the victims repeatedly discussed counter-measures, but lack of leadership prevented them from coming to a decision for several years.

B
Bb One winter, about the middle of the last century,[1] the Kimsquit
648 determined to take the offensive in May. This plan was discussed both
721 at Bella Coola and *Tăl'ĭo*; at *Ḫemqo'o* the leading chief, *Nuxmăx*, gave his support and many men whose relatives had been killed or enslaved promised to join the Kimsquit raiders. Among others who took part in the conference was a certain *Lo-qwa'i*, an influential Bella Bella chief who chanced to be visiting relatives in *Ḫemqo'o* at the time. It was decided that the rendezvous should be *Ḫutsalos*, on Labouchere Channel.

B During the spring those who planned to take part in the expedition
[70] busied themselves with their preparations. No one knew how large would be the force, since as usual, everyone used his own discretion whether or not to join it; some did so to avenge injuries to their relatives, some merely to display martial ability, whereas others declined to repay their wrongs. At last the appointed date came round, and some fifty
B canoes, each containing twenty to thirty men, gathered at the appointed
Bb place.[2] Thence they set out and encamped for the first night at Scrotch
648 River, *Ḫăqlat*, near Bella Bella. *Lo-qwa'i* knew the time of meeting and
B the route that would be followed, so sent out two lads to hunt deer at
[72] the spot, though, not wishing to circulate news of the raiders, he did not tell them what they were likely to find. The two hunters stumbled upon the encampment without being observed, and hurried home to report what they had seen. *Lo-qwa'i* had intended to join the party, so he now set out in a small canoe with the two paddlers, after warning them
Bb that they must say nothing at home of his movements. His war equip-
[713] ment consisted of a musket and two palette-shaped boards with small
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[1] The approximate date was judged from the fact that the old man who told of the expedition in 1922 said that his father was about five years of age at the time.
[2] The strength of the expedition was probably exaggerated.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bellabella NE5

divisions, each containing a loaded and measured charge; these were novelties recently obtained in trade from the white man and considered very valuable. On reaching the place where the Bella Coola canoes were drawn up, *Lo·qua·t* called out four times:

"*Nazmâ·a*, are you there?"

On being answered in the affirmative, *Lo·qua·t* leapt ashore, sent back his own canoe, and definitely joined the expedition.

The Bella Bella chief gave *Nazmâ·a* one of the prized palette-shaped boards, and the recipient repaid this overwhelming generosity with the gift of a marten-skin coat which he was wearing. A Kitsquit chief likewise gave *Lo·qua·t* a valuable blanket-coat. As usual, the war-party was suffering from lack of leadership. *Lo·qua·t*, a properly validated warrior, was a man who had given many potlatches, and though not a Bella Coola, was related to them by blood; in addition, he alone knew the route to Kitkatla, so he virtually assumed command, although many of the Bella Coola were unwilling followers. *Lo·qua·t* suggested an immediate move, and gained his point owing to the fact that no one had a definite counter-suggestion. After travelling seven miles in the darkness, *Lo·qua·t* massed the canoes to address his ill-disciplined and somewhat uncertain force. He pointed out that the way to Kitkatla was long and difficult and that it would be dangerous to attack their northern foe-men, but that the *W'aya'a*[1] near at hand would be an easy prey. The Bella Coola had no quarrel with these people, and were reluctant to attack them, especially as there had been inter-marriage between the two tribes. *Lo·qua·t* spoke fluently, saying that the *W'aya'a* had mocked him in their potlatches, and that many of their women, gathering sea-weed on lonely beaches at this season, would be easy victims. His arguments were given strength by the fact that he was a *nawit* chief and warrior; no one dared to stand against him, so it was decided to follow his wishes, though the Bella Coola stipulated that none of the *W'aya'a* were to be killed.

The flotilla continued and in the early dawn raided a small *W'aya'a* settlement and captured several slaves. Continuing their journey, they took prisoner a number of women who were gathering sea-weed, and destroyed the supplies which had been stored up. *Lo·qua·t* had joined the expedition merely in hope of getting revenge upon the *W'aya'a*; now that this end was accomplished, he was willing and eager to return home, but uncertain how to leave his followers.

With this in view, *Lo·qua·t* suggested an attack on a China Hat settlement, adding that he knew where some of their frames[2] used in Cannibal dances were stored, and that the China Hat people were too arrogant

[1] Probably one of the Bella Bella-speaking groups.
[2] Such as were covered with moss to represent human bodies.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bellabella NE5
Tsimshian NE15

B Bb 648 721 in their ceremonies. Again the Bella Coola were unwilling, but again their unformulated and uncertain wishes were overruled by the dominant chief, and the assault was made. The frames were stored in an unguarded shelter near the cemetery, into which the raiders broke, smashed them, and threw the debris into the water. While this was taking place, a *Wawpi-a* canoe rounded a point, and *Lo-qwa-i* took the opportunity to jump aboard, saying that he was escaping from a Bella Coola raiding-party. The canoe paddled away and the expedition was left leaderless. The usual discussion took place about what was to be done, but finally the raiders returned home. They had been diverted from their original objective, had been led to attack a friendly tribe, had been deserted by their leader, and the only spoils of the long-prepared expedition were a few slaves.

B 727 Among the prisoners were two daughters of a certain *Olewa*, who was hated because he had frequently been in partnership with *Tsikoa*. A few days after the return of the expedition, the father appeared to ransom his children. Some of the Bella Coola wanted to kill him, others demurred, and it was finally decided that a spear, fastened to a line, should be hurled against his canoe so that it would project outwards and lodge against an olachen stake, capsizing the craft and drowning the occupant. The spear was thrown, but clever handling prevented the intended disaster. *Olewa* was a validated warrior, one who never showed fear, so he calmly pulled out the missile and again paddled upstream. This time the Bella Coola fired shots close to either side of his head, but he sat unmoved and unarmed amid his boxes of presents. Finally, a Bella Coola tried to wrench off a tuft of hair from above one ear, but though he pulled with all his force, he did not succeed, and everyone on shore laughed at him. This restored good humour, and *Olewa* was allowed to land and ransom his daughters. When he left for home he was told to send his friends if they wished the return of their relatives. This was done and peace followed; if *Olewa* had waited a few days until the excitement of victory had cooled, he would have been able to land without molestation. The only other result of the expedition was that the China Hat *Sakaxiw* killed their own Cannibals for having allowed their frameworks to be exposed.

B T 648 [721] After this fiasco, the Kitkatla became even bolder and many years elapsed before another expedition was sent against them. This time, there was no Bella Bella chief to interfere with the arrangements and after the plans had been discussed for a winter, a flotilla from Bella Coola, *Kimsquit* and *Tal-ia* took the water one day in May.

B [722] Nothing of importance took place until, near Kitkatla, a canoe was captured containing a man and his wife. The former's face was marked with a vertical scar, and it was remembered that, four years earlier, when *Tsikoa* had been attacking *Kimsquit*, one of the defenders had shot an

some distance from his station above the doorway so that its sharpened point pierced the foot of one of the ambushers. This was obviously the same man, so a Kimaqui chief promptly slew him as a fine mark of revenge. From the captive women it was learnt that Tuhoe himself was at Bulle Bulle. There was a golden opportunity, but the Bulle Coole wasted it through divided counsels. Some wanted to proceed to Bulle Bulle to capture Tuhoe himself, others to continue to Kitkatla and wreak during the absence of their warrior-chief. Either plan might have been successful, but as usual there was no central authority and days were wasted in idle talking. At length they determined to assault the village, and cautiously drew nearer for the purpose. The same futile discussion delayed matters, but at last one night some of the attackers lurked in the woods behind the unsuspecting town, while others guarded the canoes hidden at a distance.

Meanwhile Tuhoe, while at Bulle Bulle, had heard that a Bulle Coole raiding party had set out. He knew that no objection would be his own village, so he hurried home in a fast travelling canoe with relays of paddlers to obviate delay through camping at night. Under cover of darkness, he passed unnoticed into Kitkatla at the very time that the attackers were in ambush. Though unaware of this, Tuhoe acted with promptness. He called his followers together and told them what he had learnt at Bulle Bulle, and that from the time which had elapsed since he heard the news, the enemy must be at hand. Drums were beaten and all the community called together in conclave. The lurking Bulle Coole overheard the preparations, but could not make up their minds to attack immediately; some wanted to do so, others desired to wait for dawn, and once more lack of leadership caused an opportunity to slip by. Just as daylight the assault was launched. With a wild yell the Bulle Coole fell upon the town, but the Kitkatla were on the alert, their arms beside them, and the onslaught was a failure. The first rush was driven back, as the assault degenerated into a sporadic musketry duel which continued throughout the day with advantage to the ambushers although the casualties were heavy on both sides. Tuhoe owned a small brass cannon which he fired as a signal to other towns of the Kitkatla to rally to his assistance, and the Bulle Coole were forced to consider the possibility of hostile reinforcements arriving at any time. Some of the attackers tried to burn the village by crawling on the roofs and setting them alight, but the very defenders pulled them through the smoke-vents and killed them. In the afternoon several canoes came hurrying up, filled with allies summoned by the King of the canoes. As they sped past the place where the Bulle Coole canoes were concealed, they seized one of the warriors and took a few long-range shots at him. One struck him on the wrist, and the

D. McDermith E-5 (1929-1934) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA
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[illegible] pain caused him to shriek in agony. Judging by the sound that the guards had been overcome and were being killed, the raiders were thrown into confusion. With one accord they abandoned the attack and fled to their canoes, those who first reached them pushed off at once, abandoning their less fortunate comrades to their fate.

One of Tsakwi's wives was a Bella Bella who heard that a dearly loved relative, a certain *Nuxmalnx*, might be among the assailants. In the confusion that followed the war she called out to her native speech:

"*Nuxmalnx*, are you there?"

The Bella Coola had actually been accompanied by a number of Bella Bella volunteers including *Nuxmalnx*, but he had made good his escape. Another Bella Bella, her kinsman, realized that this was a chance for help and called back, imitating the voice of the man addressed. The woman was deceived and told him to drag one of the Kitkatla canoes into the water and that she would bring paddles as soon as she could do so unobserved. Alone forty of the attackers took possession of a large canoe, but their courage failed as they waited for the women with paddles and they shoved off, propelling the craft with their hands. Aided by an off-shore wind, they were able to send away from the coast and had almost reached a river when they saw another canoe coming to Tsakwi's assistance. A fight ensued, the refugees were driven ashore to the island and their canoe carried off. Even in their perilous position, the party continued to struggle. Some secured the needs for yellow cedar from the bark of which the Carriers used to make canoes, as we well know, although we generally procured by the coastal tribes. Five had crept over the island so that only two canoe were found, the discovery hastily pushed back from them. Informed in one safe canoe, and pushed off with their friends, having never been recovered. The two craft ultimately reached Bella Coola after various adventures.

Among the seven abandoned were two uncles of the father of the man from whom this account was obtained, as well as the grandfather of a middle-aged Kwakiutl man with whom the tale was also discussed. The two brothers were warriors, men whose bravery had been celebrated. One [illegible] the other:

"You are always boasting of your valour, now is your opportunity to display it. Swim across and steal a canoe from the village we attacked."

Thus urged, the man agreed to make the attempt, first requesting the others not to kill his brother, the originator of the scheme, in case of his non-return, though this was the usual penalty for proposing a plan which led to the death of another. But the Bella Bella who had intercept *Nuxmalnx*'s voice insisted on risking his life. He stripped, tied a knife to his head, took a board for support, and swamp the chief. He had no

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[illegible]

Schlesinger, R. S. (1922-1924) 1948
MSS. Collection MSS
Transkripsie MS 15

difficulty in getting near the village, but the dogs sniff his approach and their barking so demented him that he returned. Now is now the turn of the men to whom the scheme had first been suggested. We took the same fear and pushed off into the darkness. A celebration of victory was taking place, so that he was able to land unheard on the beach and mingle without suspicion among the many strangers who had assembled to Tshaka's aid. These included allies among whom were Zulus and others whose faces were unfamiliar to the residents of the village itself. After walking around for some time, the Sala Cafe noticed a house of suitable size at the end of the village. He joined a group walking in that direction, but detached himself by making some excuse when near the desired point. Once out of sight behind the house, he waited until he was unheard and moved the craft a few feet, again he waited, then shifted it once more, until he was ultimately able to launch it. By great good fortune, he was able to slip in unheard, and managed to return his companions although he had only his hands and a few pieces of wood with which to paddle. The seven remained on the site for two days more, making paddles and waiting until all suspicion of the proximity of the strangers had passed.

Then they launched their craft and moved homewards. Ignorant of what events thereof, they determined to follow the well-known coast, though this course exposed them to constant danger and necessitated travelling by night only. There was no little darkness, however, that they could neither ground nor approach their goal of land. On the eighth day, when lying near Hlatikulu Bay, they were almost starving. Tot Gwai, one of the warriors, said to his brother Ojambelungu:

'Do you want us to die of starvation? We cannot go on this way, let us camp for a few days and then, we marine when the danger.'

Ojambelungu agreed, and set off with a paddle, telling his companions not to worry even if he were absent four days since he did not know the country, and might have difficulty in finding game. Another hunter, Lumbumbumbu, went off with a paddle in the other direction but was returned unsuccessful and discouraged, though Tot Gwai cheered him by saying that he was sure his brother would succeed. Before night Ojambelungu and his mother brought back a fat buck which was divided among the starving wanderers. On that day we the far unwelcomed, but hunger so far down than to build a small fire and cook the meat in this way so that the minimum of heat and flame was required. Thus strengthened, they eventually reached home.

Even those who had fled on the arrival of the four wanderers had difficulties in reaching home owing to ignorance of the route. Some of the women reached Kokobe in safety, whence the occupants proceeded

J. McDermith R-5 (1911-1914) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[illegible] overland to Kimsquit, and from there to Bella Coola. The crew of another craft lost their way among the islands and fiords and wandered around for days until their food was exhausted. They were then near China Hat where they could have landed in safety but, thinking that they were still in hostile territory, they feared to camp and hunt. In fact, spurred by hunger, they determined to catch some eagles, the only living creatures in sight. A rude shelter was built on the shore, a hook was placed before it, and one of the party gashed the fleshy part of his back until the blood was sufficiently freely to fill the vessel and serve as bait. A companion hid himself and clubbed the eagles as they swooped down to the fresh blood. Though the food was coarse and bad to be sure now, it enabled the refugees to continue their journey home.

[illegible] Another canoe was surprised at the entrance to Douglas Channel by a party of Kitimat who slew all the crew except a certain Tyi-t'ismoose who succeeded in escaping into the woods. Thinking that the survivor would be driven down to the beach by hunger, the Kitimat patrolled the shore for days, but he eluded them by travelling overland, though his only food was uncooked plums and a single gull, killed by a stone. Tyi-t'ismoose was a Kimsquit man whose wife was from Kitlope, but whenever, fearing of his plight, watched the shore of Gardner Canal, hoping that he might be able to reach that village. He managed to do so, though at the last gasp, and was taken to Kitlope whence he returned to Kimsquit. This was the first time that anyone had travelled overland from Douglas Channel to Gardner Canal.

Still another canoe actually landed at Kitimat where the crew was butchered except for five men who fled to the forest. One of them, Frank, uncle of a man whose seventy years old in 1900, had made several sealing expeditions into the interior and was familiar with part of the coast. He acted as guide, but soon lost his way and the five wandered for months through the rugged country, often in dire straits for food, and becoming more and more weary. Their journey began in May, and [illegible] by October they were all exhausted through hardship and lack of food. Frank himself was the first to give up the struggle, saying that he could go no further. He asked his companions to make him as comfortable as possible, and then to leave him, reputedly they laid him on some evergreen boughs, and covered off, expecting their own death within a few days. Soon after their departure, there was a violent thunderstorm and, at the moment of a tremendous clap, Thunder, himself, appeared to the dying wanderer. The supernatural one went to a near-by creek and dipped up water which he brought Frank to drink, when he had done this four times, the man felt as if he had had a hearty meal. Thunder then told Frank to close his eyes. He did so, then the supernatural one

: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

body to his own house, preparatory to burying it. It was April, but hey were waiting, a violent thunderstorm blew up from the east, the time that such had ever occurred at that season. Thunder had mised to come to *Xnalk*'s aid, but the latter had died too suddenly make any appeal; the supernatural one had just learnt of his pro-d's death and had come rushing to his assistance. Realizing the ger, the executioner and his friends hastily buried the corpse, throwing it a number of blood-stained cloths, and finally stamping down the th. There was a furious hurricane; trees were uprooted, houses shook, earth over the grave seethed as if in a whirlpool and chunks of it e carried up into the air. Only the potency of the blood on the the prevented the return to life of *Xnalk*.[9]

This second unsuccessful attack on the Kitkatla so disheartened the la Coola that they made no more raids on their northern foemen who, ched with victory, became even bolder than before. As usual, the nquit and *Tsi'is* people suffered more than the inhabitants of the n valley. On one of these forays, about 1835, the Kitkatla killed *lowalind*, a brother of *Pudus*, the leading chief of the Bella Coola at the e. This was contrary to all the rules of warfare since he was a member one of the leading families and the donor of many potlatches, a man e name was as well known as that of *Pudus*, *Nekhpudum* of Fort ppert, or *Tsihoa* himself. The fame of such chiefs was enough to protect em except during the actual heat of conflict, and the Bella Coola were ly angry.

A few years later a single canoe came paddling up North Bentinck m and was beached about half a mile from the head. Scouts investi-ted, and returned to *Kimsquit* with news that the occupants were katla, and that *Tsihoa* himself was among them. At once there was ted discussion among the people of the lower valley. Many who had t relatives in the protracted struggle wished to wipe out the party; ers, to see what they wanted. A few daring individuals stalked ough the forest and fired on the visitors at long range; they were swered, not with bullets, but by the four times holding aloft of a mouse-n, a sign of friendly intentions. If the strangers had fired on the scouts, a fight would have ensued, but this peaceful reception disarmed suspicion.

[9] This tale is a curious illustration of the manner in which supernatural elements become woven into accounts which have an historical basis. It is to be remembered that the wanderers were in a suggestible state owing to privation, and readily followed that supernatural powers must have assisted them. *Xnalk* was feared as a sorcerer, and probably boasted of a visitation from Thunder during his wanderings. This was accepted and the incorporation of impossible incidents followed in due course.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

Tsihoo remained encamped for several days, during which time he sent word to the Bella Coola that he regretted the death of *Kelowalist* and had come to make peace. He added that his followers had tried to dissuade him, saying that he would be killed, but he had answered that he was too great a man to allow fear to influence his actions.

Having waited for several days, the party came up the Bella Coola River, their canoe loaded with presents and eagle down, while *Tsihoo*'s brother, *Nesulo'e*, wore the mask of his *tsesinam* as further proof of friendly intentions. It was unusual to display one except in a *tsesinam* ceremonial, but this was an unprecedented event; he knew that he might soon be killed and he preferred to die while bearing the obvious mark of incorporation with some incident of an ancestral myth. The canoe was beached opposite the house of *Pathe* where the crew blew eagle down into the air to mark their peaceful mission. Men had gathered from all parts of the Bella Coola valley and several hot-heads wished to disregard the safe-conducts and slay their enemies, a course which they had recommended for several days and had tried to precipitate by overt acts against the Kitkatla. *Pathe* himself had not spoken, but he now appeared and advised the people not to harm *Tsihoo*, since overbearing hostility would result. Though his wishes did not entirely quiet the angry ones, they certainly ensured the Kitkatla of a welcome. *Pathe* brought forward a cause-skin, and told some of his people to hold it spread so that, when *Tsihoo* leaped from his canoe, he would land upon it, and could be carried to the house without putting foot to the ground. *Tsihoo* answered proudly that there was nothing on earth strong enough to support him, since his many protections had made him incomparably heavy. None the less, he accepted the honour, as assistance to landing shown only to mighty chiefs, and was carried into the house where he was seated in the far right-hand corner, an honourable location. *Pathe* invited all the people in the vicinity, slaves as well as Bella Coola, and the inner partitions of the house had to be removed to provide space for the throng.

Though *Pathe* had decided against the immediate killing of the Kitkatla, he had concocted a scheme to test their bravery and the sincerity of their desire for peace. No one knew of this except his nephew, *Ne-emakai*, who was to carry it out. When all were seated, the latter appeared, his face smeared with soot, and his hair tied up in a top-knot with wasal skins as is customary during war. *Ne-emakai* moved menacing around the house, brandishing a musket and repeatedly pointing it at *Tsihoo* in a threatening manner. If the Kitkatla had shown nervousness, particularly if one of them had fired his own musket, a massacre would have resulted. But they remained unmoved, confident in the prestige of their leader, while he knew that though his body might be

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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killed, his reputation would only be increased by the manner of his death. At length *Nowakai* fired into the air; not until a shower of eagle down was blown forth did anyone realize that his musket had been loaded with nothing more deadly. This marked the establishment of friendly relations.

B T [595] [481]

The Kitkatla had brought their own singers,[1] who now began to beat out time for *Tsihoo* to perform a *cound* dance. He was followed by several other chiefs, and then the strangers gave presents to influential Bella Coola on the most lavish scale. *Pathe* likewise performed a *cound* dance, and bestowed gifts on the guests to validate it; such were, of course, not returnable. A meal was then served, and after that *Tsihoo* made a speech of which the gist was that the Bella Coola had previously known his achievements as a warrior, they now knew his nobility and bravery in risking his life, and that the name *Tsihoo* could never be forgotten, irrespective of his own fate.

Tsihoo left soon afterwards. It was somewhat difficult fully to comprehend his motive in thus risking his life. Undoubtedly his main object was to display his valour and disregard of danger. Moreover, it gave him an opportunity to impress these qualities upon the Bella Coola, and thus to exhibit his prowess actually within the enemy's camp, which must have been a source of commendous gratification to him. The alleged motive, regret at killing a chief, may have been a contributory factor.

B T 648 556 574 [72]

Although this visit was an intimation from *Tsihoo* that the Bella Coola need have no further fear of him, the suspicions of years could not be immediately allayed; in fact, an occasional skirmish still took place although *Tsihoo* himself refrained from fighting. A few years after his visit to Bella Coola, *Pathe* prepared to give a potlatch at which he determined to invite the northern chief. Many of the Bella Coola doubted whether the Kitkatla warriors would respect the safe-conduct usually afforded to envoys, and no one was anxious to bear the invitation. At length six chiefs volunteered for the task and set out, though with many misgivings. They stopped en route at Bella Bella where a chief of that tribe, *Omgai*, joined the party; he thought that he would have influence with the Kitkatla and might add protection to the Bella Coola. Fearing to be seen by any small Kitkatla bands, the delegation travelled only by night until they could actually reach *Tsihoo*'s village. As they paddled up, they indicated their mission by singing one of *Pathe*'s *cound* songs. On hearing this, *Tsihoo* asked one of his Bella Coola slaves whose song it might be, and when he answered that it was one of *Pathe*'s, *Tsihoo* despatched a chief, *Kwiwan*, to invite the guests to his house. *Omgai* was thankful when he saw this man approaching, were he felt that it heralded a friendly welcome. The party was conducted to *Tsihoo*'s

[1] [i.e. to the peace negotiations – Analyst]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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dwelling in spite of the fact that a Cannibal dance was taking place there. All the messengers were *Ancient* in Bella Coola, while three had Bella Bella rights as well; *Tsakas* allowed the latter to take part in the ceremony while the former were treated as uninitiated. They were greatly interested in the details of the Kitkatla rites, which were exceedingly strict and included the eating of a corpse. At the conclusion, the envoys received their share of the small presents which were distributed.

At this juncture one of the envoys, *Xwaxwaxlaxla*, fell seriously ill and was cured only through the attention and care of one of *Tsakas*'s wives. This delayed their departure so that it was a long time before they and the invited guests finally set out, much to the envy of two Bella Coola slaves who greatly desired to return home.

Meanwhile the long absence of the messengers had filled the Bella Coola with fear that they had been massacred, and there was great rejoicing when a large flotilla was seen approaching. The guests landed on the shore at *Sumpa* where the customary ceremonious greetings were exchanged. Many of the Bella Coola, inflamed by ancient wrongs, endeavoured to break the canons of the guests and in other ways to threaten them, but *Pudas* finally succeeded in restraining them and establishing some kind of discipline. The ceremony that took place that night in the house of *Pudas* is said to have been the most spectacular ever witnessed in Bella Coola. One old man who, as a mere lad, had attended, grew eloquent as he spoke of the lavish display. Unfortunately, he had had no part in the rites and could remember none of the details except that his childish mind was amazed at a dance in which a masked performer, representing a whale, vomited grease on the fire to give light. *Tsakas* did not return home immediately, but remained in Bella Coola until spring when the weather was more suitable for travelling.

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This exchange of hospitality virtually ended all hostility, although the Bella Coola and other tribes of the central coast still regard their northern neighbours with dislike and suspicion. Between 1880 and 1890 a party of Rivers Inlet people went to Kitkatla to prepare eulachon grease, for which purpose a number of Kitkatla had also camped there. Among them was *Tsakas*, a descendant of the warrior chief whose exploits have been mentioned, and his nephew. One day the latter was gambling with *Mimsa-a*, a Rivers Inlet youth who had recently been initiated into the *Ancient* society and was consequently decorated with a cedar-bark collar. *Mimsa-a*'s luck was amazing and some of the Kitkatla's friends asked him why he continued to play with a man who was clearly in such close contact with the supernatural that he could not lose. Heedless of this advice, *Tsakas*'s nephew continued until finally, losing his temper, he

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5
Tsimshian NE15

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seized his adversary's decorations and threw them on the ground. It is well known that anyone who does so, even if it be the wearer, will be punished. *Mauw-a* was prevented from fighting by his recent initiation, but he shamed his opponent by returning his winnings. The next day the Rivers Inlet people left for home without stopping to collect grease, since *Mauw-a's* father, *Pudu*,[1] thought that it would be dangerous to linger in the neighbourhood of *Tsdzu*, who was angry at his nephew's defeat and the insult shown to him.

The Kitkatla remained at Kitkata for the chicken season and then returned home. Soon afterwards *Tsdzu's* nephew fell ill, and died in spite of the efforts of the most powerful shamans. They attributed his death to *Mauw-a*, and *Tsdzu* swore revenge on the Rivers Inlet people. The latter, hearing of this, avoided the Kitkatla as much as possible, although the establishment of British rule had made open warfare impossible.

One July, a number of years later, a party left Rivers Inlet to hunt sea-lions on Virgin Rocks. The captain of the canoe was a Newitin man who had married a Rivers Inlet woman, and with him were nine Bella Coola and several Rivers Inlet people including two female relatives of *Mauw-a*. In a heavy fog they passed their destination, and when, having realized their mistake, they turned back, they found a party of Kitkatla encamped on the rocks. The northerners made pronouncements of friendship and lent them tents. When they had settled down, the Kitkatla suggested target shooting as a recreation, although their real motive was to exhaust the ammunition of the Rivers Inlet people. When this sport began to pall, the two parties gambled till nightfall, when they cooked their numbers together as proof of mutual trust and went to bed. A Kitkatla half-breed, who had taken the lead in seeking amicable overtures, now learnt that his companions planned to slay the Rivers Inlet people; he tried to dissuade them, but was told that interference from him would only cause his own death. One of the Rivers Inlet men, *Sp'ukis*, suspicious of treachery, declined to sleep with his fellows and spent the night in the canoe, his musket and two shells beside him. His fears were well-founded; as dawn the Kitkatla cut down the tents of the Rivers Inlet people and clubbed them to death with axes as they were struggling under the folds. *Sp'ukis* was awakened by the turmoil and fired twice, each time killing a Kitkatla, but his ammunition was then exhausted and he was shot down. The murderers dug a large hole on the beach, threw in the corpses of their victims and rolled a heavy log over the top. Unknown to the others, the half-breed wrote on this in English that something lay below. The Kitkatla made an effort to hide the

[1] The relation of the Bella Coola chief with the same name.

2; McIlwraith E-3 (1922-124) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

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marks of the tragedy and then returned home, hoping that suspicion would not fall on them.

As time went on, the people in Rivers Inlet began to worry at lack of news from the hunters. A passing traveller reported having seen smoke on Virgin Rocks, and this reassured them temporarily, but when several months had passed a search-party was sent out. One of the crew was a Cariboo who had married a Rivers Inlet woman and had long resided there, but had not forgotten his knowledge of all that pertained to woodcraft. On arrival at the island, they found a canoe of the missing party drawn up on the beach above high tide, though there was no trace of their friends. The Cariboo went ahead to investigate, warning his comrades to remain at a distance. He found the marks of buck-shot, smoothed over as if to obliterate them, but so sufficiently effaced to hide them from his sharp eyes. This attempt at concealment indicated foul play, and the Cariboo called his companions and pointed out the signs to them. None of the sea-line hunters had used ammunition of this kind, but it was known that some Kitkatla had been in the vicinity about the time of the disappearance and were armed therewith. As a matter of fact, the marks were actually those of the shotgun which *Ga'ddlis* had been killed. The Cariboo next found potato patches, trodden into the earth by boots; none of the hunters had taken footwear with them, but it was known that such had been worn by the Kitkatla. Having made these discoveries, the search-party returned home. Foul play was suspected; everything indicated that it had not been a struggle between members of the same party, but there was too little evidence to convict the Kitkatla.

A few weeks later a Bella Bella chief happened to be in Rivers Inlet and told the people that he had seen Kitkatla canoe returning northwards with two coffins. He had told who were dead, but though they told him, he judged that the party had been engaged in some illegal operation from their reticence concerning the cause of death. Still later, a young Bella Coola travelled to Vancouver on the steamboat with a Kitkatla who told him of the slaughter, ignorant of his confidant's tribe. Finally, the Kitkatla half-breed, who had opposed the killing, began to drop hints of what had happened. In former times this would have led to war, but the evidence was not conclusive enough for a court of justice. The Kitkatla informed their Indian Agent that they feared an attack from the tribes which were hostile to them, and asked him to lead a peace delegation to the former's village. He did so,[*] much to the surprise of the missionary established there. The conference led to nothing; the Kitkatla denied all knowledge of the fate of the missing hunters, but the suspicions of the Rivers Inlet and Bella Coola were increased rather than

[*] An attempt was made to verify this statement from official documents.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15
Kwakiutl NE10

B T 648 721

lessened. This ill-will has continued up to the present time. In 1920 word reached Bella Coola that *Tsilxa* had approached a Quatsino chief and asked him to spread the rumour that the missing party had been drowned at sea, at the same time admitting what had taken place. A year later a half-breed Kwatcino, hunting on Virgin Rocks, happened to unearth the bones buried beneath the log. There the matter rests for the moment as far as the Bella Coola are concerned, but they express the opinion that the continued ill-will may cause bloodshed at any time.

It must be remembered that the above account of this recent friction with the Kitkatla is of a partisan nature. No attempt was made to learn the Kitkatla side of the matter, so that the version here given may or may not be the truth. It has been inserted as an illustration of Bella Coola attitude, and of the manner in which, formerly, doubts, fears and suspicions led to war. This would certainly have been the case in the present instance but for the restraining influence of the white man's rule.

KWAKIUTL WAR

B K 648 721 K [622]

Only slightly less feared than the Kitkatla were the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples, especially those inhabiting Knight's Inlet, Kingcome Inlet, and Blunder Harbour, who were known collectively as *Djelldana*. As *Tsilxa* was feared among the northern raiders, so was *Sisiid* among the southerners. Bella Coola itself was too difficult of access and too densely populated to be successfully attacked, but *Tal'ia* was subject to constant raids. Even more discouraging was the constant danger of lurking foemen; one year it would be a hunter who was surprised and killed, the next a party of women would be carried off while picking berries.

B [712]

The raiders became so bold that the inhabitants of one of the *Tal'ia* villages decided to defend themselves by building a stockade. Everyone assisted in the task, so that the fortification was soon completed. It consisted of a fence of vertical logs with a platform running around near the top, on the inner side, on which the defenders could stand, and a water-gate through which canoes could enter at high tide. It surrounded five or six houses and was planned as a place of refuge for all the *Tal'ia* villages. One of the tree-trunks brought for the stockade was hollow, and there was considerable discussion as to whether it should be used, but finally it was set up with the others. A Kwakiutl who was visiting *Tal'ia* at the time took notice of this weakness, but no one seems to have suspected that he would inform his friends of it when he went home.

B K [724]

The summer after the stockade had been completed the Kwakiutl discussed the usual raid on *Tal'ia*; one of the principal chiefs opposed an expedition on the ground of the reputed strength of the defence, but

[a famous Tsimshian chief - ANALYST]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
KwaKiutl NE10

he was over-ruled by the popular wish and the raiders set out. They had chosen an opportune time, since most of the people were absent hunting and fishing; in fact, three men and three children were the sole occupants of the fortified village. They saw the approaching marauders in the distance, closed all openings, and prepared to defend themselves. The Kwakiutl felled a large tree and with this as ram attempted to batter down the gate. It was too strongly built, and while struggling with it, the attackers offered excellent targets to those within. One of them, *Iwung*, was a good shot and took heavy toll. Convinced that the gate was too strong for them, the Kwakiutl turned their attention to the hollow log; their ram failed to shatter it and they again suffered heavy casualties. Nor had the defenders escaped scatheless. One of the three was struck by an enemy bullet, another fell from the fighting-platform and accidentally shot himself, while *Iwung*'s powder began to fail. Fearing that all was lost, he told one of the little boys to open a concealed rear door* and flee into the woods with the two smaller children. The three managed to escape unobserved from the village and hid themselves under leaves. The Kwakiutl did not know how weakly the stockade was defended, and *Iwung* disguised the fact by rushing from one part of the platform to another and calling out in various tones as if a number of people were speaking. He could fire only occasionally on account of shortage of powder, but the ruse was effective and at last the raiders withdrew, carrying their dead with them. Two of them wandered into the forest instead of accompanying their comrades; they must have died of starvation, since their corpses were found in an emaciated condition several weeks later.

B K 648 726 [721]

Not content with defeating the raiders almost single-handed, *Iwung* embarked in a small canoe and cautiously followed the course which he knew they must have taken. His children had been slain by the Kwakiutl during a previous raid, a circumstance which had so embittered him that he regretted the escape of a single one of them, and was determined to treat even their dead with ignominy. At length he noticed a number of crows congregated on a sandy beach, and rightly judged that this indicated the spot where the vanquished had buried their slain. *Iwung* exhumed one of the corpses and impaled it on a stake in a crouching position.

B K 648 727

Meanwhile the relatives of the raiders, expecting the usual easy success, had gathered near their leader's house. They were filled with apprehension when they heard a mourning song from the returning canoes, and anxiously called out to learn the fate of different members

K 727

*Probably a mere chink in the stockade.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE5
KwaKiutl NE10

K 727 B K 721 648 K B 648 727 B 727

of the expedition. Some were able to answer for themselves, but to many queries the reply came that the one asked about had been slain.

This defeat did not by any means discourage the Kwakiutl, whose forays continued as before. On one occasion, as they were returning homewards, they noticed several canoes drawn up on the west side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its junction with Burke Channel. The raiders cautiously landed and stalked the unsuspecting owners, Bella Coola who had landed to cut stakes for a salmon-weir. The Kwakiutl bore down upon them with a rush; unarmed and taken unaware, the Bella Coola could make no real resistance. One of them managed to flee into the deeper woods, but the rest were either killed or captured. Among the prisoners was a chief, *SnêÎkum*, who was wearing a handsome marten-skin cloak at the time. His captor promptly appropriated this, leaving the man naked.

Elated at this success, the Kwakiutl continued their return journey. When near Kwatna, they encountered a fierce southeast gale which made progress impossible; at this point cliffs rise so precipitously on either side of Burke Channel that there is not even the semblance of a harbour, and the only chance to weather the storm was by anchoring. There was considerable anxiety as to whether or not the weight would hold, but it did so, and the canoe remained tied, now carried to the full extent of the mooring-rope almost against the cliffs, now to the same distance far out in mid-channel. Towards night it began to rain and the cold grew bitter. The crew, assured that the anchor would hold and weary from their exertions, went to sleep, as did most of the prisoners. *SnêÎkum*, without covering of any kind, was too uncomfortable to follow their example. As the canoe was toussed near the cliff, he happened to notice a narrow ledge just above water, with a small cedar growing in a nearby cleft. Here was a possibility of escape and the chief became alert at once. When next the canoe was dashed near he examined the cliff more closely, and decided that it might be possible to scale it. At any rate death was better than captivity, and he determined to make the venture. As the craft came shorewards again, he plunged overboard into the rough water and succeeded in grasping the tree-root with the aid of which it was an easy matter to pull himself to the ledge. The surf was breaking over it and he was bitterly cold, but he managed to reach another root and to scramble up to a second ledge. From it he gained a wider projection where he could rest in comfort. His escape had been unobserved, and as *SnêÎkum* looked downward he could see the canoe tossing to and fro at the end of the cable; there was a large boulder near him, and he thought of tipping this over to sink the craft, but refrained out of consideration for the prisoners. From this point the climb upwards was comparatively simple,

2:McIlwraith K-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Kwakiutl NE10

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and *Sal'lacaw* soon discovered a protected hollow where, having covered himself with leaves and cotton wood, he went to sleep. When he awoke in the morning the war-party had moved away.

Without clothing to protect him from thorny bushes, *Sal'lacaw* could not pass through the forest, so he climbed above the tree-line and made his way to the west side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from the place where he had been captured. With much difficulty and many scratches, he made his way down to sea-level and paddled across the fiord on a log. Then he climbed up once more, and crossed the mountains to Bella Coola above the tree limit. The one survivor of the attack had taken the same route when bearing the evil tidings. Women were wailing and weeping when a naked man was seen coming down the mountain-side; it was *Sal'lacaw*. They welcomed him as one returned from the dead; in earlier years he had boasted that, if ever captured, he would escape, and it was recognized that he had made good his promise.

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The defeat at *Tl'ii* rankled in the mind of *Sawid*, who made another attack on the attackers a few years later. This time it was fully manned and the assailants suffered even more severely than before. As they advanced with a rush, one of the defenders fired a powerful charge and the bullet passed through the bodies of several of the raiders. This so discouraged them that they dragged away the bodies of the slain and departed, having killed only two *Tl'ii* men. As they were going homewards, they chanced to pass beneath a precipitous mountain on which two young Bella Coola were hunting. The latter fired on them at long range and were fortunate enough to engineer several hits.

After this second failure, *Sawid* decided to make Bella Coola itself his next objective. With this aim in view, a party of Kwakiutl raiders set out one year. As is customary, they hid during the daytime when in hostile territory, and happened to be in a small harbour below Green Bay when a party of Kitamaats, en route to Bella Coola, landed there for water. As one of them, the uncle of a man of Sky in 1923, was drinking at a stream he was fired upon, whereon he heavily concealed himself. A skirmish ensued in which the same man was wounded in the arm. By this time he was some distance from the sea, and he tried to crawl back over the crest of a low ridge to rejoin the shore. Suddenly he felt a sharp pain in the back and thought he had been hit once more, he continued his flight till he found that his back-wound had become infected, and was the cause of the second discomfort. He threw it off and succeeded in escape. Another Kitamaats man was wounded in the back but hid himself within a hollow tree.

After this trifling success, the marauders decided to return home. Early the next morning, when paddling down Burke Channel on the east

2: McIlwraith K-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NE6
KulaKicH NE10

of Kwatna, a woman called down to them from the upper slopes of the mountains on the south-east. She was one of a party of Kwatna people who were picking berries; their canoes were lying in a bay beneath, where the youths of the party were resting and sleeping, ready to climb up and carry down the baskets of berries as the women filled them. *Islwalsk*, the woman who had called out, had done so under the impression that those passing were Bella Coola, and though one of her companions recognized her error and bade her be silent, the information had been given. The raiders would have passed in mid-channel unaware that anyone was in the vicinity, but now they quickly crossed the bay and slew the few lads who were with the canoes. Next they endeavoured to capture the women and started climbing up to the purpose, but as soon as they entered the woods, they lost sight of the fugitives who were on the open slopes above. One of the canoes was paddled back to mid-channel, whence here was a clear view so that the crew could call out and direct their comrades' pursuit. Two of the women had started climbing as soon as they saw the warriors turn towards, they escaped over the mountains and reached Kwatna with word of the affray. With one exception, the others kept together and sought refuge in a narrow cave, the entrance of which they were able to defend; the attackers did not dare linger for a sign, so they too escaped. But *Islwalsk*, the cause of the whole disaster, was cut off from her companions and hurried from place to place as she strove frantically to get away. When finally brought to bay, she struggled furiously and refused to be taken alive, so her throat was cut and the body decapitated. She was a member of a chief's family, a woman who had been confirmed as a good one, so the murder was strongly contrary to all natural customs. If she had been taken prisoner, she would have been ransomed and the matter would have ended, but her death demanded revenge.

When the two women who had fled overland reached Kwatna, a party of warriors set out immediately, but could do no more than bring back the women who had hidden in the cave. Meanwhile the Kwakiutl continued their voyage and encamped at Jacobsen's Bay where they watched a Bella Bella canoe pass up the channel towards Bella Coola. They concluded that the Kwatna people, whose canoes they had destroyed, would lay this passing craft and slay each Bella Coola [illegible] resident in the vicinity. So it campaigned, while almost [illegible] news came news from Kwatna of the woman's murder, but by [illegible] time the Kwakiutl had reached home waters.

Islwalsk's parents had been Kwatna people, but [illegible] was a Bella Bella, and she had Bella Coola ancestry as well, [illegible] members of these three tribes were all affronted by this killing of a [illegible]. At Bella

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
KwaKiutl NE10

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For some time no one was willing to take the risk of hitting a comrade, but *Kwalatal* continued his request until a good shot took careful aim and fired. The bullet cut the knot and the warrior's scanty locks fell streaming over his face; he was partially bald so that his top-knot was thin and collapsed easily. Everyone was pleased at this incident as foretelling victory. Those whose courage had been established either by magical means or by the distribution of wealth, often deliberately took public risks of this kind to show their bravery.

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Then the expedition continued, travelling only by night after leaving friendly waters. It was decided to attack the people of Kingcome Inlet, though it is unknown whether that objective had been decided upon before leaving Bella Coola or en route. When close to their goal, a scouting canoe was sent forward, guided by the slave. He led the party into one cove, then into another, without seeming to arrive anywhere; the scouts feared that he was deceiving them, so they landed, and while two or three lay in hiding, the others took *Siwid* back to the main party. One Bella Coola had a slight knowledge of the route, so he was sent forward to join the hidden scouts; their canoe was cautiously paddled forward in the darkness till the crew was able to land unobserved about a quarter of a mile from the objective. Kingcome Inlet is famous for its oolachen, which attract fishermen from all parts of the coast; on the day previous a canoe from the north had arrived for the spring run and reported the departure of the Bella Coola expedition. From the time which had elapsed, the Kingcome Inlet people knew that this must now be in the vicinity. Two canoes filled with men were sent out from the threatened village; they scoured the neighbouring coasts, but although one of the crews almost stumbled over the hidden scouts, they found no trace of them, and returned, reporting that no enemy was near. Having avoided those who were looking for them, the Bella Coola scouts returned to the main party and preparations were made to attack at dawn.

The warriors gained positions in ambush behind the village without being discovered, and just before daybreak the assault was launched. The *Djaldzana*, taken unawares, could offer no real resistance; many of them were killed or captured although *Siwid*, the chief, himself escaped. The Bella Coola suffered only one casualty, the captain of one of the canoes. During the journey, the warriors on one [illegible] the amounts of food and cedar-bark required, so that his leader, in the store, had received neither and was in no fit condition for fighting. Some of his friends advised him to remain with the canoes and promised to bring him prisoners to guard; the captain refused this offer, rushed into the fight and was slain. It was generally felt that lack of war decorations was responsible.

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6 ●
Kwakiutl NE10

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648 ●
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As the attackers rushed into the village, the mother of the slave *Siwid*, suspecting who they might be, cried out in Bella Coola to ask their tribe. A chief replied and added that they had come for revenge. Her son, who had taken his full share in the attack, was told where to find his mother, so he rescued her and brought her to Bella Coola, where she was given an honourable position instead of being treated as a slave. As soon as all resistance was ended, the Bella Coola warriors gathered in the captured village to take stock of their victory. At this juncture someone noticed a canoe-load of *Djaldkma* trying to steal away unobserved; they had no weapons and the craft was promptly stopped. One of the leading warriors, *Siatawkla*, uncle of a man about sixty years of age in 1922, had lost several of his relatives during raids from the south, and had joined the expedition for revenge. He came rushing up and slew first one occupant of the canoe, and then another, slowly and deliberately; until, as he became frenzied with blood, he killed them all as quickly as possible. The mother of the Bella Coola slave told the raiders that there were other *Djaldkma* villages in the neighbourhood from which help would certainly be sent. So the victors seized as many boxes of eulachon grease, blankets, and other valuables as possible, and fled with their captives, not stopping even to fire the village.

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[721]
[727]
B
[727]

Among the prisoners was a young woman whom the slave *Siwid* recognized as a chief. He determined to help her to escape and accordingly offered to aid her capture by guarding his prisoner, without telling him of her rank. The Bella Coola had retreated about two miles, their canoes strung out in a long line, when *Djaldkma* craft, hurrying up from other villages, appeared and a running fight ensued. In the rear Bella Coola canoe were two banners, both expert shots; two loaders kept handing them charges already measured out so that they were able to keep up a rapid and well-directed fire which kept the enemy at a distance. The pursuers being directly astern, several times a single bullet passed through the bodies of two warriors, and on one occasion this led to the capsizing of one of their canoes. While the Bella Coola were watching this manœuvre, *Siwid* whispered to the girl to dive overboard, that she would be picked up by her friends. By swimming underwater, she deceived the Bella Coola who, though several saw her, thought she was an animal, somewhat of a bullet from one of the marksmen. She reached her fellow-countrymen and was picked up by one of the chasing canoes. Soon afterwards *Siwid* abandoned the hopeless pursuit. Some of the Bella Coola wanted to camp and feast, but the majority thought it safer to push on and put a safe distance between them and their enemies. There is only one good harbour, Indian Cove, in that part of the coast, where they agreed to stop for a few hours if there were no recent footprints in the

2: McIlwraith K-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE5
Kwakiutl NE10
Bellabella NE5

B K L48 726

sand. None were to be seen, but after a short delay they proceeded homewards where they were welcomed with wild rejoicing. It was well that they had returned promptly since messengers had been sent immediately to Newitti, Fort Rupert, Alert Bay, and other Kwakiutl towns. A strong force was gathered as soon as possible and went straight to Indian Cove, knowing that the Bella Coola would be likely to camp there. When they found that the raiders had already gone by, they pursued no further.

B K L48 721

After this victory, the Bella Coola suffered less from the southern raiders. As before, occasional canoes came north to seize unprotected fishermen or berry-pickers, but the Kwakiutl had leaves a salutary lesson and were less bold than formerly. About four years later, they formed a large expedition to attack the Bella Coola, but the latter were forewarned enough to have it deflected by an accident.

B K B6 L48 726 B6

Some four years before the Bella Coola victory, a Bella Bella chief had decided to give an elaborate potlatch at which he would display an unusual prerogative consisting of twelve stripped platforms within his house. This meant that a large excavation had to be made, around which the uprights were built in receding tiers. The prerogative of building such a house was not unusual, but this was the largest ever known and eight years were spent in its construction. When at last it was finished, the owner prepared to invite guests from all the coastal tribes, including the Kwakiutl. As his envoys to them, heading southward, passed Trangate, near Kwaye River in Fitzhugh Sound, they met a canoe and promptly blew their whistles to make known their business. Instead of coming over to the other side of the channel, the craft was paddled alongside that of the potlatch messengers, who realized that the crew were warriors; it was, in fact, the advance guard of the Kwakiutl expedition against the Bella Coola. Before leaving, the men had sworn to kill every person whom they met, either forgetting or deliberately overlooking the possibility of encountering potlatch envoys.* Now that the time came to carry out their oath, the occupants of the leading canoe hesitated; they had failed to grant it right of way, but feared to begin killing, and while they dallied, the second craft ranged up on the other side. Its crew likewise hesitated to kill the messengers, and waited for the others to start the fray. [illegible] The second, the expedition had been travelling with the canoes in single file, three from each village together, with the leader in the rear craft of his detachment. Within a few minutes, the chief of the leading town came up to the Bella Bella messengers, but

[124] [205]

*Omen of a coming potlatch was usually considered so that the Kwakiutl were probably aware of the possibility of meeting messengers, and seem to have deliberately agreed to break the law so each their passion for revenge.

Z:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5
Kwakiutl NE10
Bellabella NE5
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he too delayed action until the foremost craft of the west town had arrived. This was continued until the whole flotilla, which had extended for nearly five miles, was ranged in an irregular mass around the canoes. The captain of the last canoe was *Qwaqhilla*, a Fort Rupert chief and celebrated warrior who had taken an unassuming position because he had Bella Coola blood in his veins and was unwilling to kill his kinsmen; he had been unable to dissuade his fellows from the expedition, but had determined to take little part in it himself. The reputation of this man was so great that it was decided by universal consent to leave the fate of the messengers in his hands. But when *Qwaqhilla* arrived, the canoes were massed so closely that he could not even see the cause for the delay. He secured a small craft and managed to make his way to the centre of the throng, where he quickly cured up the situation and bitterly upbraided those who had failed to keep their cards. Then he dressed his war accoutrements, killed a single Bella Bella cleanly and ceremoniously, then withdrew to the edge of the flotilla. Thus encouraged, an attack was made on the unfortunate messengers. One of them unshipped the mast, stood in the bow and offered a stout resistance by swinging this around like a heavy club, killing one of his foes. Another plunged overboard and in the confusion managed to swim ashore. When the massacre was over, *Qwaqhilla* called out in a loud voice:

"*Sisq*[a] will fall upon us for our sin. Take care. I am going home."

He turned and paddled homewards, followed by the other canoes from his own village. His real reason was to assist his Bella Coola kinsmen, but none of the Kwakiutl realized that. After some discussion, the whole expedition was abandoned.

The Bella Bella survivor eventually made his way home with the news which was received with great astonishment, disregard of a safe-conduct to peaceful messengers being virtually unknown. The ceremony itself was postponed and finally abandoned owing to the death of the intending donor. No punishment was meted out to the offenders by a third tribe, either because the crime was committed against a foreign tribe instead of among themselves, or because the offenders came from so many villages that it was impossible to isolate the guilty.

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After this calamity, *Sisq* himself made no more efforts to raid the Bella Coola. About twenty-five years later, when he was an old man, he made a peaceful visit northward to establish friendly relations; he was welcomed and no more hostile acts were committed by his followers during their chief's lifetime. On his death, his son, who was also warlike in disposition, tried to stir up trouble but was restrained by the influence of the white men which had become dominant on the coast by that time.

B K 648 721 [728]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

WAR WITH THE CARRIERS

B C 648 721 B [186] B [484]

The only other people with whom the Bella Coola came into frequent conflict were the Carriers. Some of the latter used to spend the winter among the coastal tribes, and had even intermarried with them to a considerable extent, but their mode of life was so different that they were always viewed as foreign in thought and outlook. The Bella Coola despised them for their dirtiness, their fondness for unsavoury food, and, above all, for their ignorance of *kusiut* and *nsask* matters. This distrust was mutual and not infrequently led to bloodshed. Owing to the location of the Carriers, they could not be reached by canoes, and the Bella Coola had no liking for long overland journeys. The mobility and relative lack of permanent villages made it difficult to bring the Carriers to bay, so that warfare between them and the Bella Coola usually took the form of a killing followed by a raid for revenge; continued hostility was virtually unknown. The people of the lower villages were scarcely affected, but in former times there seems to have been a considerable amount of intermittent fighting between the inhabitants of the upper valley and the Carriers living east of them.

B C 648 726

The following account, claimed to be historical, describes what was said to be a typical raid, followed by a counter-attack.

On one occasion all the young people of *Sɩ̂ɩ̂xɩ*, *Nakilɩ*, *Ăxăn-ăn-ɩ*, and *Ɩ̂xnɩlɩ* went on a picnic to a large, clear tract of ground up the valley, where they spent their time, playing and singing. Towards nightfall two young men, who had not come with the others, drew near cautiously until they could call a girl who was a friend of one of the two. She slipped off quietly from her companions and passed the night with her lover and his comrade in the woods. Towards dawn a party of marauding Carrier Indians swooped down on the sleeping picnickers who, unarmed and unprepared, could make no resistance. With the exception of two pretty girls carried off as slaves, all were slain. The three who had been in the woods hurried back to the villages with the news.

The men of the four towns prepared for action. They went to the picnic ground and brought back the corpses for burial, thus learning for

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

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the first time that two girls were missing. Then they set forth on the track of the Carriers. The raiders, knowing that their assault could not have been heard in any village, and unaware of the three young people hidden in the woods, took no precautions. The first night the pursuers reached the camp where the Carriers had built a long, narrow fire of some kind of wood which emitted no sparks, on either side of which they had placed a long tree-trunk on which to rest their feet as they dried their moccasins at the flames. One of the Bella Coola girls was placed near one end of the fire, the other at the other end on the opposite side. Neither could sleep, but kept watching silently in the hope of being able to escape. Towards dawn one of them was overjoyed to see a Bella Coola scout peering around a tree-trunk. He motioned her to keep silent and she nodded to show that she understood his signal; then he went away. He told his waiting companions how the Carriers were resting with their feet over logs beside the fire, and suggested that they prepare heavy clubs. Having done this, the Bella Coola stole up behind the drowsing enemy. Each selected a victim and broke his leg, or legs, with a crack of the club. Not one of the raiders escaped, the cripples being killed without difficulty. In some manner this event was made the theme of a *canoe* song.

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The following unrelated incident is probably historically correct, in outline at least, since it is said to have taken place about 1860, and two of the participants were great-uncles of the man from whom the account was obtained.

One October a number of Carriers were staying at *Nusdalt*. Their chief was a certain *Ṡtmālcow* who was distantly related to the people of that village, though he had long since ceased to be regarded as anything but a Carrier. The river was running full and though there were many cohoe and dog salmon in it, they were difficult to catch on account of the roaring torrent. A *Nusdalt* man, *Ṡpūwulīnt*, had laid in an abundant store of fish for the winter, but his bad-tempered wife urged him to get her some fresh salmon and he ventured forth. A drifting log struck his canoe; he called out for help, but before it reached him, his craft capsized and he was drowned. *Ṡpūwulīnt* was a popular man and there was great grief at his untimely death.

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As was so often the case, jealousy was rife in *Nusdalt*, where a certain *Nūndāl* had become wealthy. He was a good carpenter, and his riches had been amassed as rewards for making *hamat* masks, but of course such payments had been made in secret and many people wondered how he had acquired his fortune. This was enough to cause a certain amount of suspicion, and a rival determined to take advantage of it. This man approached *Ṡtmālcow* and said that he believed *Nūndāl* was responsible

B for Sqwemlaid's death, that he was sure the wealthy man was really a
C sorcerer, and had used some evil means to cause the fisherman's drowning.
648 Speaulkum was distantly related to the dead man and, thus incited, deter-
mined to kill Nuxalk in revenge. That evening, as he was lying playing
921 with his grandchild, the Carrier chief covered his lower and chosen a
B weapon against the unsuspecting man's chest. Nuxalk quickly knocked
[550] down the muzzle so that the bullet, instead of killing him, merely passed
[754] through the fleshy part of his lips. Speaulkum made no attempt to run
away. In such cases it rests with the relatives of the injured man whether
or not to take revenge, and they usually avoid beginning a vendetta
unless strongly driven to it. News of the affair spread down the valley,
and two of Nuxalk's nephews, Tsi-kwai and Cpaulkung, came up to in-
vestigate. They were both men of considerable influence in the com-
munity, both valiant warriors who had taken prominent parts in the
unsuccessful attack on Kitkatla a few years before. Realizing that their
uncle was not seriously wounded, the two brothers carried him to their
canoe, intending to take him home and to disarm the assailant.

During this time, the evil Sisqulis man had been working on Speau-
laulkum's fears by telling him that Nuxalk was certain to kill him by magical
means, until he decided that he could escape only by murdering the
wounded man. His followers learnt of this and tried to dissuade him,
B fearing the presence of the two famous warriors. As their canoe was
C going downstream, it was caught in an eddy and capsized so that one
648 musket and both cartridge boxes were lost. This seemed to Speaulkum
926 the chance for which he had been waiting: he fired from the bank and
Nuxalk fell dead, much to the consternation of his own followers as well
as the Sisqulis people.

If Tsi-kwai and Cpaulkung had been ordinary men they would prob-
ably have fled downstream but, being fully validated men of valour, this
course never occurred to them.* Cpaulkung, who had one charge left in
his musket, consulted his brother as to their course of action.

"Nuxalk is dead," his brother replied. "It is probably time for us to
die as well. You had better shoot."

Meanwhile Speaulkum had remained on the bank, laughing at the two
warriors. Cpaulkung told him to be silent, then fired, instantly killing
his uncle's murderer. The Carrier began to run to and fro on the shore,
whence they could hear the two brothers talking to each other:

"Let us not think of escaping," said one. "We have displayed our
B characters today. If we are to die, let us die."

[903] *The man from whom this account was obtained mentioned as a matter of course that undaunted warriors could never run away; when questioned further, he emphasized that the public validation of bravery made it utterly impossible for them to be from danger.

The other upward, as they paddled to and looked at the bottom of the village, bandfuls of the face that is was full of Carters. The *Nuqalit* people seem to have remained passive, but the angry Carters were making loud and *Ugarikmy* spoke proudly to them.

"You would be dead as was chief if we had not lost our weapons."

The two brothers walked slowly up the long sidewalk of the village, while the Carters skulked around, crawing drums, cooing songs and showing scores. Some of the lower stuck to their backs, but long previously both *Tit-tmat* and *Ugarikmy* had worn pair of a *sutard* which had rendered their bodies impervious to such wounds. Around to the upper end of the village, they stopped and waited, making no attempt to defend themselves, until they were killed. In inscrutable throughout the day the Carters caused the two bodies with ignominy, now throwing spears into them, now beating them, and all this time not a single Bella Coola dared even to protest, so much were they filled with fear of the Carters who, when round as they then were, fight like mad dogs. In the late afternoon one of the women threw a knife into the eyes of the fallen warrior. Even this insult did not cause the *Nuqalit* people themselves, but *Wimlo*, one of their chiefs, did called upon to take action. Before being captured, he had been a person of importance in his own house and the Bella Coola had allowed him to become a leading member of the *Sacrat* society; in the course of time he had become entirely reconciled to his fate, and even thought as a Bella Coola which gave him the necessary assurance to address the Carters.

"Wa, wa," he said. "Are the breasts of the sky? I have never seen, nor have I even heard of such a thing as you have done today. Truly you have equal your fate on all that is sacred and powerful."

This speech for the first time brought the severity of their offence home to the Carters. The actual killing of life did not affright them, but in their excitement they had overlooked what was to *Wimlo* the most obvious sin: they had passed and repassed on the sidewalk outside a house where a *Sacrat* dance was taking place. Thus reminded of the danger to which they had exposed themselves, the Carters withdrew.

Then the *Nuqalit* people buried the four victims. *Tit-tmat* had been a mighty chief and, being decently interred, they would normally have given him no dishonour funeral, but now they acted as if dead and unknown of his position. A man who caused a powerful medicine pass away is in the eyes of the one who had been mutilated by the Carters unknown; as the bodies began to decompose, those who had killed them began to suffer from eye-trouble, and the women became blind. Believing that their sin had caused their misfortune, the Carters fled home.

We will attention to this one in the benefit of the mission series with a the explanation that it will fail to crush those who have broken a sacred law.

[illegible]
Carter NE7
Cuskett NE15
Bellabella NE5

"This account was obtained from a descendant of Tatlenai and Qaaskay who emphatically vouched for its accuracy. Some of the incidents have doubtless been exaggerated, but there is probably a basis of truth, though the passivity of the Nuxalk people is difficult to explain. The killing is said to have taken place about seventy years before 1901, so colourfully accurate traditions of it are not impossible. No punishment was meted out to the Nuxalk behavior since the usual cause, the passing of uncontrolled outside the house where a ceremony was taking place, was committed by strangers, not by inhabitants of the town itself.

[illegible]

The tribes of the natural coast, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, and Rivers Inlet, were frequently engaged with enemies to north or south, but there was seldom serious bloodshed between one another. The following account, however, describes a conflict between the Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet people in which the Bella Coola were not embroiled.

Two favorite foods of the Rivers Inlet people are eulachon oilcake which have become soft after spawning and wild carrots, eaten without grease. Their neighbors, the Bella Bella, consider both these articles of diet to be disgusting, although they are fond of one seaweed which the Rivers Inlet people regard as filthy. As already described, it was customary on gathering of the tribes of the west coast for the hosts to build up their guests in rubbish. On one occasion the Bella Bella did so with reference to what they considered the objectionable food of their guests. A medial dancer, representing a stranger, entered the house and the host enquired whence he came.

"Are you from Fort Rupert?" he asked.

"No."

"From Bella Bella?"

"No."

The dancer pointed to the north as if to indicate the next question.

"Are you from Rivers Inlet?"

"Yes."

"What do you eat here?"

Instead of answering verbally, the dancer dove from beneath his cape

[illegible] ally used but the older people even that beards were by no [illegible] means rare in former times. Careful inquiries were made [illegible] concerning the ancestry of a man, about seventy years of age in 1922, whose curly beard suggests that he must be a half-breed, as indeed he is assumed to be by the white settlers of the valley. His father was *Pielo*, the most influential chief of recent years, his mother was herself the daughter of an important chief. None of the older men had ever heard the slightest rumour of faithlessness on her part. There were white traders on the coast at the time of his birth, and intercourse with [illegible] alien women and others of low family was not uncommon, but it would have been difficult for a chief's wife to miscondu[illegible] herself, and still more difficult for her to conceal all knowledge of it in view of the open life which prevailed at that period. Moreover, it is said that *Pielo* himself had a similar beard, as did also the parents of several men who in 1922 were fifty or sixty years of age.

[illegible] Although the possibility of white mixture cannot be overlooked in the case of this one individual, one must not disregard the opinion of the people themselves as between [illegible] general. They are proud of it and regard beards and moustaches as marks of virility given to them by *Hyomtsa*, baldness and lack of facial hair are considered a sign of weakness. They aver that their fathers and grandfathers were even more hairy than they. Furthermore, they point out with pride that this is a difference between themselves and the tribes of the interior, who are, as they say it seems, "hairless like Chinamen." Finally, it is noteworthy that the hair on the head of many Bella Coola is wavy, or even curly (see Plate [illegible]), instead of straight as among the majority of Indian tribes.*

Character

[illegible] It is an almost impossible task to describe briefly the characteristics of a people. Those of the Bella Coola have

* This characteristic has led the writer to wonder if it could possibly have been [illegible] by the Nootka settlers.

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NZS Bellacoola NZS

ally until complete confidence was established, simplifying work in the field to an enormous extent. Equal trust could be placed on these men in other respects; articles of value were repeatedly left in their houses with the absolute certainty that they would be guarded with care. Some few individuals there were, however, who were neither honest nor trustworthy. Bella Coola religion is not concerned with ethics, but public opinion demands honour in dealing with relatives or friends. In former times, for example, debts incurred by an individual were considered a liability by his relations. If a man died after buying goods on credit for a potlatch, his family were disgraced if they failed to pay his bills; now, unfortunately, nothing constrains the younger people, many of whom try to avoid settling even their own debts, much less those of dead relatives. Individual conscience has not replaced the tribal and, more specifically, family influence. Dishonesty in small matters is not uncommon, particularly in dealing with white people who, according to the Bella Coola, were the first to transgress. The older people bitterly lament the lack of morality of the younger and state, probably with entire justification, that they would have been prevented by the open life which prevailed when several families shared a single house. On the whole, however, the average Bella Coola is probably no less honest than the average white man.

Individuals vary enormously in mental ability. In making this investigation, it was necessary to interview all the older people of the tribe. Disregarding those unwilling to provide information, it was found that some absolutely lacked the ability to explain matters with which they were familiar; some did not have sufficient patience to be good teachers; some were so forgetful that they would omit necessary points in a story or account; some were downright stupid, whereas others displayed mental ability of no mean order. In reading ethnological literature, one is apt to think of the troubles experienced by the author, and to overlook the fact that natives have as

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hair with white eagle-down. Warriors who on a war party could not drink more than four mouthfuls of water, she they would be killed. A watchman was appointed to each canoe, who sat in the bow. On landing near the village of their enemies they divided themselves into a number of parties, one house of the village being assigned to each. Then, early in the morning, when all were asleep, they rushed up to the village-stating their war cry "ooo!" They took a stand at the fire which burns in the center of the house, and if any one of the enemies succeeded in taking up his arms and came out of his bedroom they killed him. Then they entered the bedrooms, killed the men, and took the women and children along as slaves. The heads of the dead were cut off, the house burnt, and they returned home singing war-songs. The heads which they had taken along were then washed, and the scalps tied to each end of a pole. When they approached their village one man stood up in the bow of each canoe and swung the pole to which the scalps were attached, and they all sang songs, in which their deeds were recounted. The scalps were raised the higher the longer and fuller the hair. They were used to the dance.

The following tales of war expeditions offer some points of interest. About thirty or forty years ago there was a house at Bella Coola. The people were overland to Knight Inlet, which belongs to the Tsimshian, a tribe of the Kwakiutl, to fall down. The Tsimshian made fun of them, took from them the fish they sought, tore the blankets from the backs of the women, and enslaved many of them. Finally the Bilqula returned home. There they held a council and resolved to make war upon the Tsimshian. The Tsimshian joined them in this expedition. They covered the mountains in two days. When they approached Knight Inlet they sent two spies in advance, who were to avoid the center of houses in the village of the Tsimshian. Early in the morning they attacked the houses and killed a great many men. The Tsimshian could not escape, as they were hemmed in by the river. The Bilqula slew them with knives, lances, and stone axes. They took away the children of the women, leaving them naked, and adjusted them to shameful tasks to revenge for the disgrace put upon their wives and daughters. Then they burnt the village.

About thirty-five years ago the Tsilx'ut were attacked by the Kwakiutl. Originally they intended to attack Nuqa'ltx, but the warrior, according to the narrator, changed their mind, as he always protects the village of Nuqa'ltx. They came in many canoes, with most of the Tsilx'ut were at the lake, which is situated above their town, fishing. Men were were in charge of the village, and a number of old men and women had also remained at home. The father of Ts'ak'ulx'ila, who still is one of these people, happened to be out picking berries, accompanied by his wife. He saw the canoes passing by and kept himself hidden. The village of Tsilx was at that time surrounded by a strong stockade, which consisted of a double row of palisades covered with boards. At each corner there was a strong box fastened on the stockade like a tower. Here watchmen were stationed, who were able to shoot at the enemy while being themselves protected. At that time the Tsilx'ut had only bow guns. The Kwakiutl sent out two spies, who reported that the village was well fortified. The Tsilx'ut had seen the canoes coming and were on their guard. The Kwakiutl thought that they would not be able to enter the village until after the stockade had been destroyed.

[illegible]
NEA Deliverable NEA

They resolved to make an attempt to have it and to break upon the foes. On the following day they came up to the village, but the guard on the towers said their plan to seek guard effect that the enemy had to retreat with severe losses. They made still another attempt, but with no better success. They had lost many men, while only two old men of the Tukrivs, Tuvaldayar and Ulkiss by name, and one woman had been hurt. The latter had been killed. When the Kwakiutl found such a contingent was at once sent up to the lake to call the young men, who then went to Kwakiu to ask for help. The Kwakiutl passed close to Tuk-Ulrivs's father's house, but they were so terrified by the losses they had sustained that they passed by without so much as calling it. Two of their number died they passed by without so much as calling it. Two of their number were so ashamed of their defeat that they would rather remain in the enemy's country than return with their friends, and they stayed where Kwanulis the Tukrivs and the Hilgals were pursuing the fugitives. They had reached the outlet of Sooktoch Arm, without overtaking them. Then their chiefs resolved to return, as they believed that their morning had a long start upon them. Later on they heard that the Kwakiutl were at this moment only a few miles from them, about to continue their homward journey, after having encamped at the outlet of the channel. Afterwards the Tukrivs found the two men who had remained behind. They called them and promised to send them back to their friends, saying that the way had ended, and that they had no foreign against them. The two men, however, too much afraid, and finally starved to death.

Later on the Tukrivs and Hilgals organized an expedition against the Kwakiutl to take revenge for the unprovoked attack. A chief named Kwanilis, whose father was a Tukrivs, while his mother was a Kwakiutl, was their leader. They intended to attack the Lekwiltoks and the Kwakiutl here. When they approached the village of the latter they sent a scouts ahead to search for the village, and to report the number of houses. The two days they were unable to find the village, which lies in a labyrinth of islands, but finally they found it, and saw that it consisted of eleven houses. On the next morning they attacked it. The attack was entirely taken by surprise and almost all of them were killed. Kwanilis's mother lived at this place, and when she heard the Hilgals coming she called at once for her son, and was taken care of by him. Only five men and four women escaped. The Hilgals allowed them to run away, as they had killed as many as they desired. Kwakiutlaula, a chief of the Kwakiutl, was the only man of the Hilgals who was wounded. He died on the way home. They returned, but in the country of the Kwakiutl they were overtaken by four Kwakiutl canoes which pursued them. The Hilgals were overtaken, but Kwanilis induced them to make peace. During the fight two of the women, whom they had taken as slaves, and one big pangolt overboard, and were rescued by the Kwakiutl.

Remarks.

Dolls are treated by medicinemen with dry bark or with pomegranates. Sometimes a series of parallel cuts is made over southwest of bells. Kwakiutl house are, and lapsed between spheres of cedar bark.

Dances of chiefs are in shadow of are given by means of a long robe with a semicircular middle of the wing form of an eagle. Shade pieces is collected and held as a pattern. Women wear light aprons to prevent [illegible]

[illegible] MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE BELLACOOLA

By [illegible]

MOST OF the Bellacoola Indians today believe in sympathetic magic and witchcraft, after over a hundred years of contact with white men. Most of them live within hearing of the bells of the mission church, and the government school. Not a few of the men take logging contracts, some of them build and operate motor boats, many of them join the fishing fleets for the salmon canneries, most of the women work in the canneries, and all deal in the white man's money.

The Bellacoola lived at the heads of the long inlets full way up the Pacific Coast of Canada and in the tributary Bella Coola valley. Now, numbering perhaps two hundred and fifty, they, with the exception of a few families, are concentrated on one reservation at the mouth of the Bella Coola river. The Bella Coola valley has been called the Norway of Canada. This was where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada overland, reached the sea.

Originally, the Bellacoola were of the North Pacific Coast culture of Boas, which is characterized by the extensive use of red cedar and its products, particularly salmon, the making of graceful, sea-going canoes, each hewn from a single cedar, the erection of large rectangular houses made of cedar planks, with carved house posts and totem poles, both of pottery, and superiority in sculpture work, carving, and painting. This culture belongs to the hundred area, but the Bellacoola were secondary in a certain sense. The art of the area was that best known from the paintings and carvings of the totem poles, largely of semi-conventionalized animal forms. The life carried around a very highly developed social organization, an extensive and powerful financial system, and property rights to canoes, fishing and hunting. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. They

423 [illegible] that ten is the largest number of traps possible at that
644 weir. Those who have the right to that weir are the members
of the ancestral family with the names of those first users. At
[773] this point the logic of the Bella Coola fails to uphold the mythe-
[224] logical pattern. No salmon-weir has remained in existence
since the beginning of time; when one breaks, owners were
sometimes inferred, and those who repaired the break became
regarded as the rightful possessors. The system of ownership
prevailing at the time of abandoning the weir, was that *indi-*
[428] *viduals*, not groups, had rights to certain sections of the weir
which were willable like other personal property. In most
[481] cases this right was transmitted with a name, marking the
section of weir, which had to be duly validated by possession.
[428] In other cases, the intangible ownership was willed without
any mark whatever.* Unless bequeathed in this way, disputes
were frequent. Rights of this kind were never sold although
[427] an owner often loaned his section for a night, or longer period,
receiving goods in return, and not forfeiting his ownership
[431] thereby. This was particularly common when the owner was
planning to give a potlatch. No case was heard of in which
the right to a certain section of salmon-weir was given to a
non-member of the ancestral family. Theoretically, this was
possible, but practically it would be so inconvenient that it is
most unlikely ever to have occurred, since the Bella Coola is
[671] never such a slave to legal privileges that he fails to be guided
by common sense.

826 Although individual ownership is thus recognized with
[428] regard to sections of salmon-weirs and suitable places for
[579] stacking nets, the owner is bound to share his haul. When he
[624] catches a large number of fish, anyone, whether related to him
or not, can demand some. He cannot refuse, since to do so
would brand him as selfish. The effective check on this system

[128] *Great difficulty was experienced in learning about the distribution of rights to sections of salmon-weirs. The evidence is conflicting, and though every effort was made to verify and check the above, there may be further explanations which were not known.*

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NEA Bellevoir NEA

as far as incest rules are concerned. In this particular instance the woman did not show any interest in her new relatives, failed to visit them, or to take part in their ceremonies, so that the adoption, though still legal, has practically lapsed. When this man dies his children will not consider the claims of their father's "sister" to inherit any of his possessions, as they would have done if she had showed herself appreciative of her adoption.

It will thus be seen that the size and composition of the family vary according to the wealth and influence of the father. The duties of the members are difficult to define since they concern almost entirely the routine of life. The father, head of the family, directs the gathering of firewood, repair of the house, obtaining of food supplies, and other matters of the same sort. If he gives a potlatch his children must help him, which they do willingly since they gain from the ceremony. If a father is too autocratic, his older, especially his married children, simply move away. Nor is his power over his younger children unbounded, since their mother's relations take great interest in their welfare and would cause any ill-treatment.

If a person is killed or wounded, revenge is the affair of his family. Just how many individuals are involved depends on the composition of the family. In the case of the killing of a child, living with his parents alone, none but the father would feel it incumbent to retaliate. If an adult person is murdered, his or her brothers feel and revenge the insult. But should an important member of the community be slain, an old man surrounded by a numerous family, it is the affair of all. Every effort is made to slay the murderer, but if he should escape from the country, the injured group is satisfied by killing one of his family. Here again the same interest composition is found. A man's son, brother, or father are the only persons actually liable, and even here the common sense of the Bella Coola outweighs their theoretical laws. A murderer's brother, living in another village, would not be held liable, but more distant relatives living with the offender and considered as his

family are liable

2: McDowelth NEA Bellacosia NEA
●441

/For information on sanctions employed to discipline members of the kusiut society see category 116, pp. 1-266./

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NES Bellacoola NES

or dilish himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole organization. 621 614 553

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the outer coast, about to attack *Ilwad*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Ilwaqa'a* without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours. 628 689 578 627 628

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. vi), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat- 622 554 536 621 623 535 996

L:Mc:Dowell: R-5 (511-514)948
NEA Bellecrete NEA

as far as incest rules are concerned. In this particular instance the woman did not show any interest in her new relatives, failed to visit them, or to take part in their ceremonies, so that the adoption, though still legal, has practically lapsed. When this man dies his children will not consider the claims of their father's "sister" to inherit any of his possessions, as they would have done if she had showed herself appreciative of her adoption. 597 [428]

It will thus be seen that the size and composition of the family vary according to the wealth and influence of the father. The duties of the members are difficult to define since they concern almost entirely the routine of life. The father, head of the family, directs the gathering of firewood, repair of the house, obtaining of food supplies, and other matters of the same sort. If he gives a potlatch his children must help him, which they do willingly since they gain from the ceremony. If a father is too autocratic, his older, especially his married children, simply move away. Nor is his power over his younger children unbounded, since their mother's relatives take great interest in their welfare and would resent any ill-treatment. 592 [431] [402]

If a person is killed or wounded, revenge is the affair of his family. Just how many individuals are involved depends on the composition of the family. In the case of the killing of a child, living with his parents alone, none but the father would feel it incumbent to retaliate. If an adult person is murdered, his or her brothers feel and avenge the insult. But should an important member of the community be slain, an old man surrounded by a numerous family, it is the affair of all. Every effort is made to slay the murderer, but if he should escape from the country, the injured group is satisfied by killing one of his family. Here again the same inexact composition is found. A man's son, brother, or father are the only persons strictly liable, and even here the common sense of the Bella Coola outweighs their theoretical laws. A murderer's brother, living in another village, would not be held liable; but more distant relatives living with the offender and considered as his family are liable. 595 627 682 [671]

Rockefeller Fund (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

family are liable. It is very rare for a woman to be killed in a blood feud. A death is answered by a death; if two persons should be slain for one murder the family which has suffered the double loss endeavours to kill another of their enemies. In case of wounding, an effort is made to wound the offender, but if he should be killed his family would try to avenge him. More often, one of the offender's family takes the initiative of offering goods to the injured family, "to cure the wound." If the offer is accepted, and the goods delivered properly, the matter is at an end. If a murder be committed within the ranks of the immediate family, for instance, if a brother kill a brother, revenge, if exacted, must be meted out to the actual offender. If requested to do so, the leading chief of a village may offer his advice, but it is always considered that revenge concerns only the immediate family.

Revenge is a topic which shows clearly the essential fluidity of the family. There are no well-defined degrees of relationship within which responsibility rests. Instead, everyone knows, in the open life of the community, how many persons share the family life of the individual, and they alone are held to account, or they alone demand compensation. From its very nature, the family must be a bilateral unit which, when powerful, stretches out to absorb members of the ancestral families of both mother and father.

Not only does the family thus appear constantly to be attracting to itself members of the ancestral family of either parent, but these relatives themselves are deeply interested in the affairs of the family. This is most clearly shown in the case of children who, of course, are members of the ancestral family of both their mother and father. A few days after birth some relative is expected to call together the people of the village where the child is born for the bestowal and validation of an ancestral name. It is considered an evidence of poverty if this is done by the father, as if his child were only supported by his parents, not by a larger circle of relatives. It is immaterial whether this gathering be called by a relative

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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all that he sits in an enviable spot, irrespective of its location in the house. 554 556*

In precisely the same manner a man may take for himself a seat in the central part of the row behind the fire, but he is laughed at for endeavouring to assume a dignity, unworthily, unless he can validate his position by lavish presents. The Bella Coola are always ready to make fun of a person who fails to maintain his seat. On the death of the occupant of the central position it is taken for granted that whoever inherits his name will assume that location and give the essential presents, but it is not incumbent upon him to do so. He may choose to establish his new name at his old station, beside, instead of behind, the fire. Thus it has come to pass that the seat of the most important chief of a village is often at the side of the house. When all are seated the chiefs may be widely separated, and a parent may have obtained for his son a seat in a better part of the house than his own. But as a rule the chiefs sit in a row at the back of the fire, the most influential one in the middle. There must have been feuds when two men desired to seat themselves in the central position at the same time, but disputes about this were uncommon, because a man's seat was, and still is, primarily regarded as the intangible goods wherewith he is clothed, rather than his right to sit at any particular spot. It is these non-material coverings that enable a man to be bold and assertive in argument or suggestion, in fact to be a chief. A young man may have had conferred on him one of the noblest names, but his influence depends on the value of the goods expended on his behalf, subject of course to the universal characteristic that a man of forceful character may have more influence than his actual position warrants. [424] [428] [622] [424]

Jealous feuds are common when the man who owns the name of the first chief, first ancestor of a village, has duly validated it, but is being eclipsed in the giving of potlatches by a man whose name is of less intrinsic importance. Such a complication recently arose at Kimsquit, and the Bella Coola [578] [682]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

554 ascribe two murders which took place there in 1915 to jealousy
* 556 engendered by rivalry.

A chief who desires to have his son, or other near relative,
[578] succeed to his actual seat may validate for him a position at
• 682 his feet. If several potlatches be given, with distribution of
goods for this purpose, it becomes recognized that the son shall
[622] take his father's seat. None the less, he will not have his
father's influence or prestige unless he can himself continue to
give away goods, because the power of a chief rests on this,
not on his ancient name or the location of his seat.

553 Further evidence that a man's influence rests less on his
* 556 actual name than on the wealth distributed with reference to
it is found in the lack of uniformity in the type of names validated. Those of highest potential importance are the ones brought to the earth by the first-comers, yet in many cases a man prefers to elevate his position with respect to a name of later origin. It is not uncommon for a man to validate several ancestral designations, and choose one of them to be his most important by valuable gifts for the seat which he occupies with respect to it; or in other cases a name of modern origin is selected and elevated. Thus, a certain Bella Coola chief who is the legal owner of the names *Q̣ṣil* and *Xemlaix*, two of the first people to settle this earth, has based his greatness on the goods expended for a seat with reference to the name *Siäkvelāx*, of more modern origin. It is accordingly clear that any Bella Coola can rise to a position of importance, even though he lacks the right to one of the most ancient names. Moreover, some chiefs prefer to validate several names rather than concentrate on one alone.

[622] Furthermore, a powerful chief can create a name. In this case the "power" of the designation rests, not in any supernatural origin, but in the actual wealth distributed. Two examples will serve to illustrate this point. Between 1880 and 1890 a chief was preparing to give a potlatch at which his nephew was to receive a name, when fire destroyed the village with the exception of his house. This added to the value of

McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
NEB Bellacoola NEB

622 there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by
623 members of the *kwaiat* society that none would dare go there.
778 If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formerly have
been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-
[575] place of the *Kwaqa-ti* chiefs is on a ledge of rock jutting out
over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village.
The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side,
screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a cauldron, so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can enter. The ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of other villages lack such natural settings, though all are at the bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some
178 of them are decorated with rude carvings, pecked into the
582 stone. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of
778 the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago, by chiefs when they were composing tunes; they picked out the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others
[211] were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure, perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with the rite, to recall the occasion. No carvings have been made within the life-time of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that they had further significance, now unknown.

622 When a chief wishes to summon his fellows for a meeting
623 he visits each and notifies him by a simple pressure of the foot,
201 in many cases unobserved even by those sitting near. The person so called slips away, unostentatiously, to the meeting-place.

578 The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the
622 old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who
682 succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows
[152] became an object of envy. Their mythology contains many examples of the murder of some powerful chief by rivals of his own village, and informants of today state that these records are true. One intelligent man asserted that his father had

[illegible] Seventh E-5 ([illegible])[illegible]
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thus been data about seventy years earlier. It appears that 571
sympathetic magic, and it is quite possible that such sympathetic 682
682
[154]

WEALTH

Since wealth is so important in chieftainship, it would be 114
desirable at this point to consider the concepts of wealth. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a satisfactory treatment of 177
556*
this subject. The coming of the white man altered the economic aspects of Bella Coola life so radically, and at such an early period, that concrete examples of economic interdependence, so useful in a thorough study, could not be obtained in the field. It is possible that greater attention to this subject might have produced more satisfactory results, but I am doubtful of this.

In the old days, "wealth" was of two categories: (a) Prerogatives, tangible or intangible, which could be shown, pictorially or dramatically, or could be expounded in words; and (b) Goods which could be distributed for validating such prerogatives. Individual possessions, unsuited for distribution, were hardly considered as wealth; a sewing-machine, a bottle of whiskey, a bed, or some other luxury might give satisfaction to the owner, but did not increase his importance in the eyes of his fellows. The value of objects was only for their use in ceremonial distribution; indeed, prior to such distribution, they were only of potential value. This attitude controlled Bella Coola economics in the early days of contact, and still influences their behaviour. A native store-keeper once ruefully commented on the fact that he would gain no advantage from the goods on his shelves, since he hoped merely to sell them, not to give them away.

556*
[122]
[177]

A man's relatives were expected to help him in the acquisition of goods, but the extent of their contributions was never 184
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556*

[701] difficult to estimate the former influence of such warriors. The belief of all in their ability must have given them some prestige, although the requirements of practical qualifications in fighting must often have prevented them from functioning as military leaders. In other words, a man may be, socially, a warrior, even though he lacks ability as a fighting man.

[701] [693] The functions of warriors are not limited to fighting with enemies of other tribes. Each has the power to kill and must exercise it when requested. If a mistake is made in a ceremonial *Sacred dance*, the offender must be killed, and one way [688] in which this is accomplished is by the senior members of the society requesting a professional warrior to act as executioner. [575] One of these men, who lived at *Ăsăn-de-i*, always used a stone club which had been handed down from generation to gener- [428] [411] ation, becoming the property of each new incumbent of the name and prerogative. In other cases, the killing is said to [754] have been done with the aid of magic. The power of the *Ăsăn-de-i* warrior had been confirmed with so much goods that he was the most powerful professional killer known to the Bella Coola. He acted on instructions from the senior members of the *Sacred* society or when called upon by anyone. If, for example, a man found that his wife had been faithless and [684] wished to kill her lover, it was only necessary to tell the professional warrior, who was bound to act in accordance with his prerogative. He received no pay, since he was merely exercising his right. The relatives of the murdered person [682] never took revenge on the slayer, realizing that he was powerless in the matter, though they frequently requested him to slay the person who had asked him to kill the first victim. He could never refuse to do so, even if the victim were his own brother, or if he knew that the person he was to kill was guiltless. The underlying principle was that this man's power had been increased to such a pitch by the distribution of presents [761] that if he failed to exercise it on demand, it would react upon himself and cause his own death. This *Ăsăn-de-i* warrior began in time to have an aversion for his vocation, since he

name is not returned, the donors may be offended at its being kept; if it is returned, they may be offended that it has not been kept.

The following examples will help to explain this rather complex point.

Since 1900 the sister of a man who was middle-aged in 1952 was married to a Sidi Cuda to whom she was not related. At the wedding, her father being dead, her brother expounded one of the family's origin myths, and she took her husband's name from it. It was said to have been "hooked across," the word used being the same as that signifying the dragging of a heavy timber, suggesting, of course, the importance and dignity of the designation in question. On two later occasions the woman's family gave valuable presents to the man's, thus doing their part to ensure the union, the strength which comes to both families by an interchange of presents marking the dignity of marriage, in fact, its basic principle. Unfortunately, there were no children. If the husband had wished to retain these names for his family, he should have arranged a further marriage between one of his own relatives and one of his wife's, to return the value of gifts he had received. He did not do so, and thus lost all legal claim to the designations in question. Since the loss, he was indignant when his wife's brother duly exhibited one of these names for himself as a patronym, as if it had been dormant.

The accompanying diagram-pedigree shows another instance of the same kind. *Swanee's* daughter, *Swaleheart*, was married to *Westwanlain*, and at the wedding her father presented his name for any offspring. Six children were born, but *Westwanlain* illegally used the designation, *Swanee*, for King George, his son by another wife. This naturally incensed the relatives of the first *Swanee*, especially as the debt could not be adjusted by the marriage of one of *Westwanlain's* daughters to one of their family, since there were no daughters. To make matters worse, King George passed the name on to his son, Jack King George, and again there were no daughters to compliate the debt. Finally, Jack King George married *Sweet*, a relative of the first *Swanee*, without the usual lengthy period of engagement, and while she was still immature for the year that follows puberty. Six children resulted, by which part of the debt could have been repaid. Thus, not only did Jack King George violate the customary ideas of decency, but in the course of three generations two women were obtained from the *Swanee* family without any compensation. Bitter feelings arose, and a few years ago one of the descendants of the first *Swanee* took the name for himself as a patronym as if it had been dormant, thus crossing the ire of Jack King George. In 1913 [182]

McGavin, E.-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[581] [582] [583] [584] [585] [586] sons of his female relatives were murdered at Kimsquit. The slayer was never detected, but most of the Bella Coola believe that it was done by one of *Snaneet*'s relatives, and that the dispute about women was quite sufficient to furnish an excuse for the deed.

It is hoped that these two instances will serve to emphasize why the Bella Coola prefer marriages within the ranks of the ancestral family. When this takes place, names are usually given outright, and not merely promised for the use of the future children.

Snaneet = ♀
|
Nistwanlaic = *Snalkaalic* = another woman
|
King George = ♀
|
Jack King George = *Spookal*

[587] After this digression, to return to the marriage of X and Y: The ceremony is taking place in the house of Y's father, and the parents of each participant have expounded parts of their origin myths, and promised names for the resultant children.

Then Y's relatives give numerous presents to X's family, in each case including those who are associating themselves with the contract. Canoes, slaves, blankets, and other articles of great worth are given; they are said to be "bed covering" for Y. The greater their value, the greater her prestige. Her father asks a fluent chief to address the assemblage, speaking as though he were Y. He says in effect:

"My father, my mother, my brothers, my uncles, and their associates have given me my bed covering."

These presents are the binding feature of the wedding. They are said to lock the girl in her husband's house, and accordingly are sometimes called, "rope fastenings." This is only done when a woman is married for the first time.

Another orator now holds forth on behalf of Y's father:

"What we do today is no small matter. We have done today what was done in former times, and what shall be done in the future."

543 above, and this is believed to have occurred on one occasion
527 to the daughter of a chief.

432 Once, many hundred years ago, the daughter of a Bella Coola chief
448 was married to the son of Tsaskwanem, a Bella Bella chief, living at [illegible]. At the marriage, in Bella Coola, valuable presents were given by both families, and the girl went to live in Bella Bella with her husband. Some ten years later, Tsaskwanem gave a large potlatch to which he had invited guests from all parts of the coast. As is duty bound, his daughter-in-law's relatives gave a certain amount of goods to reboy her. They were not wealthy, so that the contribution was of small value. Tsaskwanem had expected a larger present, and now found himself unable even to repay his debts to those who had assembled. He did not immediately show his resentment, but soon afterwards sold his daughter-in-law as slave to a Kitkatla chief. The Bella Coola were justly indignant, but could not make up their minds what to do in such an unprecedented case. The girl ultimately escaped and made her way home after lengthy wanderings (II, p. 80).

837 A husband demands faithfulness on the part of his wife, though he himself is often rather lax. Illicit intercourse is regarded, not as a deadly sin, but as an infringement of the husband's prerogatives. But if a woman should bear a child at a time when it was impossible for the husband to have been the father, due to absence, he would probably accept it as his [582] own and do no more than administer a beating, though some jealous men would divorce a wife for this. Bella Coola sentiment on such matters varies with the individual; it is universally considered to be a matter that concerns the husband [184] alone and he can do as he thinks fit. The daughters of chiefs are usually faithful to their husbands, whereas those of poorer persons, unrestrained by the valuables expended at their marriages, are more lax. If the husband should catch an adulterer, [482] he can, if bold, slay him on the spot and the exaction of blood revenge would be uncalled for. Usually a fight ends the matter, though the offender's family may give presents to the aggrieved husband, and his wife's relatives may also make donations to atone for their daughter's failings. A husband does not share his wife with anyone, and a question as to the lending of a wife

569 588 ceremony usually consisted simply of the man and woman living together. In theory, this prevented the children from ever obtaining a name or other prerogative embodied in the ancestral myth of the free-born parent, and an effort was always made to conceal from them the details of the ancestral family's origin myth. But, as already described in the section dealing with slaves, the expenditure of valuable presents served as a substitute, or at least to cover, the blot. If the child succeeded in giving many potlatches, the stain was generally forgotten. On the other hand, if the child of a slave married to a free man was not "washed," he could always be shamed by a reminder of the disgrace of his parents' wedding.

[554]

682 In case of murder, the son or other near relative of the victim sometimes accepts a daughter or other member of the offender's family instead of exacting blood revenge. The bride is delivered to her husband with valuable goods "to wash away the blood," but these never suffice entirely to remove the disgrace from her or her children. The latter may inherit names and prerogatives from their father, but even if they attain to the position of chiefs, they can always be put to shame by reference to their mother's marriage as an atonement for murder. Of course the influence of a great chief makes it impolitic to refer to his ancestry, and there are a few instances of men having reached such a position of eminence that the blot has been practically forgotten. The wife's family must continue to give presents to the husband for years after marriage, otherwise her lot is unenviable indeed, and her children have the status of the unwashed offspring of a slave and a free-man. In some cases a marriage of this type is entered upon years after a murder, if a son or other descendant wishes to end the anxiety of constantly expecting blood revenge.

[583] [627] [554]

REPURCHASE OF THE WIFE

556 583 Repurchase of a wife is the necessary consequence of every reputable Bella Coola marriage. It is assumed that the pre-

in a skirmish by the Carriers, one of their women mutilated a body by poking out the eyes. The corpses were rescued and a Bulla Coola with secret knowledge dropped into the eye sockets some potent medicine. As the corpses rotted, the murderers began to suffer pains, and the woman who had poked out the eyes lost her sight. As a blind, old woman, she had been seen by several men with whom the matter was discussed.

To Cause the Death of a Murderer (three means)

(1) Two women were murdered at Kimsquit in 1915. Before they were buried, an elderly Bulla Coola put a secret medicine on the back of the neck of each so that the murderer would die from a disease located there. Within eight months, a Rivers Inlet man succumbed to a deep sore on the back of the neck, and it was assumed that he must have visited Kimsquit women and perpetrated the double murder.

Medicines like this and the preceding are widely known, but it is sorcerers who specialize in using them.

(2) When a man dies suddenly and murder is suspected, although the perpetrator is unknown, place the corpse within an old, hollow spruce log. As it rots, needles and dirt enter the flesh and at the same time the body of the murderer becomes lacerated and full of sores. This method was employed during the lifetime of an informant and caused the death of the suspected murderer, whose guilt was thereby accepted as proved.

(3) Bury the victim's body with a toad in its mouth and the murderer will soon die.[1]

To Kill

Lift a corpse from the ground and point it at one or more individuals. This causes their death in the near future.

[1] This information was obtained from one informant only; details were unavailable, and confirmation from others could not be secured.

with such power that they killed one another in their performances. Consequently, they decided to dance only in the winter months, and merely to imitate the actions which had been previously carried out.

There are other traditions, probably with no historical basis, describing conflicts with the *a'ak*. The Bella Coola say that long, long ago there were not enough *Dzoxur* women for more than the old people to be admitted to the society, and that though members were regarded as having supernatural powers, yet the *a'ak*, confident in their numbers and strength, used frequently to assail the supremacy of the *Dzoxur*. On one occasion, when the latter had prepared an elaborate feast of smoked goat flesh for themselves, the *a'ak* collected their weapons and demanded a share of the feast. The *Dzoxur*, furiously angry, felt compelled to yield, though later they took revenge through the destruction wrought by many Cannibals and Sorcerers when frenzied. It is said that even recently if the *Dzoxur* did not invite the *a'ak* to one of their dances, they were always careful to placate them by sending half of the food as a present.

Sometimes the *a'ak*, collectively, were bold enough to kill a *Dzoxur*, particularly if something had gone amiss in a dance house. On other occasions might be strong enough to outweigh respect for a member of the society. On one occasion a chief, who was not a member of the society, was told that his wife, who was, had been in the habit of prowling off at night with a Cannibal. The jealous husband prepared his bear-spear and slew the Cannibal when next he entered his house during a frenzied rampage of the village. *Kakaxiut*, both from that village and others in the vicinity, combined to cause the murderer's death with the aid of a member of the society who was a professional killer.

Sorcery did not always come to the *Dzoxur* in quarrels between members of the two societies. Long ago, the *a'ak* were invited to a *potlatch* in a village in the upper Bella Coola valley. One of their own dances was taking place, but they

If the war feast and feast of t
latter feelings had been
owned by their relatives, who
when the heart of bereft had
restored as slaves, the children
as members of their owner's
were concerned, though never
ancestral family. Torture as
been a rare practice. One
referred that in her childhood
met on the bow rocks in the
his canoe crowded with women
similar conditions could to
this man have been an unusu
been long owned, but the Bell
of other long-abandoned custo
was over a common occasion
which entrance is to be expe
been abominable if the custom
been one which played an im
Bella Coola.

Scalps were hung on a
suspended as valuable trophi
serving men on a war expedition
with one, holding it in position
At a man's death, they were
more often, buried with his o
the Fort Rupert people
their cranks. When the Bella
for a murder, instead of scal
brought back his whole head
the grave of the person avenge

At this late period it is
opinion as to the amount of
Bella Coola. Several of the
terms of the slaughter accompa

g duration in which extremely 727
und, captives were often re-
some ennobled for the purpose
uded. Failing this, prisoners re-
especially growing up virtually [527]
mily as far as food and clothing
sharing in the prowess of his
illing of prisoners seems to have
xtremely old Kimsquit woman
he had seen a captive stretched
e of the ocean, fastened there,
and allowed to die. No other
ioned and it seems probable that
case. It is true that hostilities
s Coola have clear recollections
s, and it is unlikely that torture
e. It is, of course, one about
d, but information would have
had been common or if it had
portant part in the lives of the

d and dried like salmon, then [422]
s in the taker's house. When
, he would often cover his head [714]
by weaving its hair into his own.
either inherited by his heirs or, [768]
er possessions. It is said that
d to tie scalps in bundles to
Coola went to war to retaliate [721]
ping a victim, they sometimes [648]
and impaled it on a stake over [682]
ed.
irtually impossible to form any 721
bloodshed in wars waged by the
older people spoke in gloating
lished by their ancestors, but all

Schoolcraft R-5 (1851-1854) 1948
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A MURDERER AND HIS PUNISHMENT

For many generations, the name *Sokokmin-a* has been remembered among the Chilkoots. It seems to embody an inheritable tendency to lawlessness and killing, for almost all who have been so designated have been murderers. About 1860 or 1870, a certain *Sokokmin-a* married a Bella Coola woman, which brought his activities to the attention of her relatives. He used to do considerable trading at the Hudson's Bay Company's post, although his manner of obtaining furs was extremely pernicious. He had a wide knowledge of the interior and of the routes by which hunters were likely to bring pelts to Bella Coola. If he could learn that a stranger was likely to be travelling along a trail, it was *Sokokmin-a's* custom to set out, unarmed, to meet him. He would explain to the hunter that he had come to buy furs and the hunter would always make him welcome. The price was argued in a friendly manner and the two would prepare to camp together for the night. Then *Sokokmin-a* would say:

"Perhaps you do not know what a dangerous place Bella Coola is? Even now I am running away. I do not think I will be pursued, though I wish I had a musket to lay beside me as I sleep."

An unsuspicious hunter would usually offer to lend his to *Sokokmin-a* who, promising his gratitude, would lend it and go to sleep with it beside him. Early in the morning he would rise, shoot his sleeping companion, steal his furs and sell them at the trading post. Sometimes he would murder two or even three hunters on a single trip; thus in course of time he had amassed great riches, but had also made enemies over a wide area. Whenever it became too dangerous for him in the interior he would retreat to Bella Coola and live with his wife's relatives. People sometimes asked him why he continued his nefarious work, but he always answered that it was involuntary, his parents having smeared him with ashes from a wasp's nest when an infant.

On one occasion, *Sokokmin-a* set out for Salmon House, on the Dean River, where there was always an encampment of Carriers. He travelled up the valley of the Nechestacunnay and had just reached the open lands above the timber-line when he met two Carriers, bound for Bella Coola with furs. At once he began scheming to kill them and steal the pelts. *Sokokmin-a* greeted the two by saying:

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with the details, though the old man from whom the account was obtained discussed it with his wife and with several of his friends who were confident that it was related in the same form as it had been told to them by a Bella Bella many years before. Since it is not the type of theme to be invented as a story, it must be left as an unexplained incident, half-buried in the mists of tradition.

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Z:\Mc\Dawson E-9 (1922-1926) 1968
NEB Bella Coola NEB

"I was on my way to visit you, but that will be unnecessary now that I have been fortunate enough to meet you."

The two hunters, ignorant of *Sekalmūn-a*'s reputation, were willing to do business without having to journey to Bella Coola, and suggested that he turn back to a favourite camping-place within the timbered zone. He agreed, and they soon reached a spot which he had quitted half an hour previously. *Sekalmūn-a* at once went off to gather firewood, and soon returned with a load; this was not sufficient, but he told one of the Carriers that more was available in the direction he indicated, and that he would remain to help the other build a fire. The remaining Carrier lit some of the wood which had been broken up, but carelessly threw on too much so that the fire was choked. As he knelt to blow it up, *Sekalmūn-a* was given the opportunity for which he had been looking, and slew his companion with a single blow of his axe on the back of the head. Without waiting to conceal the body, the murderer hurried off to meet the other Carrier. He was returning without any fuel and inquired:

"Where did you get the wood? I could not find the place."

Sekalmūn-a guided him to the spot and suggested that they cut long stakes which they could carry between them. This they did, but as the Carrier bent to lift his end of the burden, he too was felled with a blow. *Sekalmūn-a* dragged the corpse under a fallen tree and covered it with bark, then returned to the fire and heaped stones over the body of his first victim. Having thus achieved his purpose, he camped for one night on the spot and then returned to Bella Coola with the stolen furs. It was plain to all that these must have been obtained illegally since sufficient time had not elapsed for him to take a trip to Salmon House. Moreover, he had blackened his face and tied his hair into a top-knot as is done by all warriors after killing people.

Two days after the unfortunate hunters left Salmon House, another party left for Bella Coola by the same route. They reached the usual camping-ground at dusk and looked for traces of their friends, but, to their surprise, found the remains of one bed only. A few minutes later one of the women happened to stumble on the corpse hidden beneath the tree. Torches were prepared and a careful investigation made, leading to the discovery of the other body. Taking into account the fact that the two had been carrying rich loads of furs, the Carriers suspected that it must have been *Sekalmūn-a* who had slain their friends.

Meanwhile *Sekalmūn-a* was at *Qempe-ts* where a Cannibal dance was taking place. During this, he fired upon and seriously wounded a young Bella Coola, *Nazwalsta*, who was employed at the Hudson's Bay Company's post. The assault was committed in the presence of the factor, who handed his gun to an elderly Bella Coola and told him to shoot the

[illegible] 539[illegible] 542

[illegible]. The man, a much elder, took careful aim at *Sekakwate-a*'s temple, but the musket had a flatter trajectory than he suspected, so the bullet, instead of dropping and killing the man, flew straight and neatly cut down the left ear cup of his hood. *Sekakwate-a* ran off to the village and *Nazudzie* was carried to the house of one of his relatives on the north bank of the river.

Conflicting reasons are given for this assault. Some state that *Sekakwate-a*'s uncontrollable temper led him to fire; others that he did so at the instance of *Pathe*, who was offended because *Nazudzie* had disobeyed an order to carry food home to his wife. It is whispered that on several occasions *Pathe* had used *Sekakwate-a* to get rid of those who had displeased him.

If the assault had been committed during the summer, revenge would have been an affair of the injured youth's relatives, but it occurred during the *kuriar* season so all members of the society were affected. A party was organized to arrest the offender with the aid of six Americans who happened to be at the Hudson's Bay Company's post at the time. *Sekakwate-a* was in the rear part of one of the houses at *Symgo* to whom his enemies entered and stood hesitating at the door. As he faced them, an old man, related to *Nazudzie*, crept behind and leapt on him, wrapping his arms and legs around him. The murderer drew a knife and struggled furiously before he was overcome, bound and carried to *Aldalitat* where his victim lived. *Sekakwate-a* pleaded that he had mistaken *Nazudzie* for one of his Chilkotin relatives, but when no attention was paid to this, he said that he had acted under orders from *Pathe*. This was likewise disregarded, nor was there any suggestion of revenge on the alleged instigator since he, being a chief, could do as he liked. It is said that *Pathe* endeavoured to help his henchman by sending a message to some Chilkotin who were camped in the vicinity and inviting them to rescue their kinsman. [522]

Meanwhile it was obvious that *Nazudzie* was seriously wounded. His relatives said that if he lived, they would be willing to accept compensation for the assault, so *Sekakwate-a* was kept, bound hand and foot, in a house where a *kuriar* dance was taking place. During the night he almost succeeded in freeing himself from his bonds, but this was discovered and he was again tied up; it is possible that an accomplice assisted him in the attempt to escape. Towards dawn *Nazudzie* died and it was decided that his murderer should be killed at once.

The *kukuriat* all helped to take him outside and make preparations for shooting him, but no one desired the task of executioner. Meanwhile the Chilkotin were gathering; a fight seemed imminent and the excite-

[illegible] man was [illegible]. One of the chiefs told two boys who were [illegible] shoot to fire, but another encouraged, saying:

"This is our weapon; a means for more bale."

He himself covered *Sokalmate-a* and made ready to press the trigger. The members, owing to fellow-relatives in the vicinity, cried to wait for time.

"Please do not shoot me," he called out. "I have always been terrified to die that way, please use a knife."

"Some of those you shot were probably terrified of mankind too," the self-appointed executioner gravely replied.

"Wait just a moment," *Sokalmate-a* pleaded. "I want to speak to my kinsmen."

"So probably did several of those you shot," came the terse answer.

Then the chief fired and *Sokalmate-a* fell dead. The Chilkotin were armed and massed on the point of rushing forward to avenge their relatives, but the chief took another member, brandished it in their direction, and said:

"All right. The dogs will eat your too."

A Chilkotin chief pointed out that the Bella Coola were armed and in overwhelming numbers, so advised his angry followers to withdraw. Thus the incident closed without further bloodshed. Some years then *Sokalmate-a's* corpse was given to his relatives, where then it was buried by the *Sokalmate* alone in a large grave, beneath the body of *Nayudzin*.

A SUCCESSFUL HUNT

One September, between 1840 and 1850, a certain *Sinaxomdzem* was preparing for a potlatch. Taking twenty men with him as packers, he set out for mountain goats up the valley of the *Sidlyomain*, which flows into the main Bella Coola from the north, nearly opposite Mount *Nuxalkin*. They camped at a suitable spot, and for several days *Sinaxomdzem* hunted with fair success. On one occasion, when out with his son, he happened to notice a number of female goats on a narrow point of rock, beneath which there was a sheer drop to a jagged pile of boulders. Quickly realizing that there was only one approach to the point where the animals were standing, *Sinaxomdzem* told his son to remain below while he climbed up to stalk his quarry. With extreme caution, he succeeded in getting between the goats and the only line of escape; then he knew they were his, and stood up boldly. He shot two or three, and stampeded the rest into plunging over the precipice where they were crushed to death on the rocks far beneath. The successful hunter climbed down to where his son had remained and the two carried one of the carcasses out to the trail where

By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able, to tell whether he will be present or whether he has left the body. If the soul should become weak, they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away, without breaking its shell. The shaman leaves its hovering wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy.

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The art of shamanism is bestowed by fate. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, deity will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to cure our diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself.

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When asked more closely about the various differences between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes our informant said: "When an Ostyak's wife wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountains where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Mt. Ural) who will initiate him. The Ostyaks use shamans the art in such a way."

[71]

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the "ch'a" of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 112), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called *ooot*. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bones of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms.

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If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the hole closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's head, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die.

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I add here a few current beliefs:—

Humming indicates that people are talking about me. 827

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry. [777]

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die. 825

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky. 763

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Wars.

When a war party was organized the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their 726 714

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593 family are liable. It is very rare for a woman to be killed in
627 a blood feud. A death is answered by a death; if two persons
682 should be slain for one murder the family which has suffered the double loss endeavours to kill another of their enemies. In
[562] case of wounding, an effort is made to wound the offender, but
[683] if he should be killed his family would try to avenge him. More often, one of the offender's family takes the initiative of offering goods to the injured family, "to cure the wound." If the offer is accepted, and the goods delivered properly, the matter is at an end. If a murder be committed within the ranks of the immediate family, for instance, if a brother kill a brother, revenge, if exacted, must be meted out to the actual
[622] offender. If requested to do so, the leading chief of a village may offer his advice, but it is always considered that revenge concerns only the immediate family.

612 Revenge is a topic which shows clearly the essential fluidity
614 of the family. There are no well-defined degrees of relationship within which responsibility rests. Instead, everyone
[627] knows, in the open life of the community, how many persons
[682] share the family life of the individual, and they alone are held to account, or they alone demand compensation. From its very nature, the family must be a bilateral unit which, when powerful, stretches out to absorb members of the ancestral families of both mother and father.

Not only does the family thus appear constantly to be attracting to itself members of the ancestral family of either parent, but these relatives themselves are deeply interested in the affairs of the family. This is most clearly shown in the case of children who, of course, are members of the ancestral family of both their mother and father. A few days after
553 birth some relative is expected to call together the people of
612 the village where the child is born for the bestowal and validation of an ancestral name. It is considered an evidence of
614 poverty if this is done by the father, as if his child were only
[558] supported by his parents, not by a larger circle of relatives. It is immaterial whether this gathering be called by a relative

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754 members, and delegated the task to a man who was known to be skilled in such matters. The latter stole some shreds of the offender's clothing, placed them in a human skull which he fastened to a long rope and threw into a swift stretch of the river. As the rapids tossed the skull to and fro, the person whose clothing was within began to feel uneasy; first he experienced a jumping pain in his head, but as the wild movements continued, he became light-headed and finally delirious. At this juncture, it was decided to pull back the skull, but the rope broke and it was carried away downstream. Nothing could save the man and he died within a few hours. This particular incident occurred among the Bella Bella, but it is agreed that it might have happened in Bella Coola.

[554] The mingled fear of, and aversion to, a person who knows some such secret method of killing, fades into insignificance compared to the extreme loathing of every Bella Coola for sorcerers. Their methods of killing may be similar to the ones just described, but they are evil creatures who practise secretly, working entirely to gratify their own personal desires. Not [683] only is the murder of a sorcerer a virtuous act, but the relatives of one should be put to death without mercy. There is no single factor which has caused so much hatred, bitterness, and suspicion as belief in the activities of sorcerers. Conversion to [797] Christianity has scarcely altered it, and men who have been members of the church for ten to twenty years remain fully convinced that some of their associates have loathsome abilities as sorcerers. In many parts of the world, belief in black magic and witchcraft is one of the last native convictions to pass away, and it seems probable that this will be the case in Bella Coola although, of course, it will become increasingly difficult to obtain information about the subject.

The actual methods used by different sorcerers vary, although most of them require an article which has been in contact with their intended victim. Consequently, they seek pieces of soiled clothing, nail parings, hair clippings, spittle, and other objects of the same type which are usually concealed

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by their owners for safety. Judas, an old Bella Coola believed to be a sorcerer, has been seen to scrape up the moist earth where a man has urinated; in former times anyone doing such a suspicious act would have been killed. The article obtained is hidden and kept for future use, and if the practitioner wishes to inflict pain or death, he places it in contact with some potent medicine. Human bones are frequently employed for this purpose, although the most powerful is said to be grease obtained by boiling flesh cut from the inner side of the thigh of a recently buried corpse. To obtain either of these, graves must be robbed, another reason for hating sorcerers. 754 [683]

Secrecy is essential, so a sorcerer is usually assisted by his children, and in this way he has a better chance of obtaining articles belonging to different people without arousing suspicion. The necessary knowledge can accordingly be transmitted from generation to generation, sometimes without the slightest inkling of it becoming known. Even if a man is found out, he may be able to bribe his discoverer to silence. [424]

Sometimes two from different tribes work in partnership to lessen the danger of practising their rites near the village of a victim. For example, a Bella Coola sorcerer may send an article to an accomplice in Bella Bella for placing in contact with strong medicine; this causes the victim to languish and die while the person responsible continues his usual routine of life around the village, suspected by no one. The commencement of such a partnership is a matter of great difficulty, since anyone who admits his crimes places himself in the power of his confidant. Sometimes, however, rumours that a certain individual is practising malevolent magic reach a foreign sorcerer who needs an accomplice. If he considers that the information is authentic, he may admit his own prowess and suggest that they work together. Such an arrangement is profitable to both parties, and a partnership so formed may continue for generations. 648 754

Sorcerers display considerable ingenuity in arranging that their skill shall bring them pecuniary benefits as well as the 754 756

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in a compartment of his box containing a bear's bladder tied into sections; this caused his enemy to suffer stricture and soon to die in agony. 539 754

Following the usual custom, the relatives of the dead man smeared their faces with ashes which they left in position for a year. The widow, who had loved her husband very dearly, allowed this indication of mourning to remain even longer than the customary period. On several occasions *Tsika* made somewhat slighting remarks about her excessive grief, and when one of his sons also commented upon it, she became suspicious and told her relatives. One of them was a chief of the village where *Tsika* was then living and where he was already regarded with distrust. This man visited the home of his bereaved kinswoman and called the chiefs of her village together to discuss the matter, and to inform them of the suspicions which his conduct had aroused in his new home. Three days later, *Tsika* happened to come to the village and was at once summoned to the house where the chiefs had assembled to interrogate him. *Tsika* sat on a box in the centre of the group and denied, slowly and positively, that he had any knowledge of sorcery, adding that his poverty confirmed his statement. At this moment *Awaxikxaixxaix-dis* came rushing into the house, furiously brandishing a rifle, and exclaiming that it was scandalous the way in which unjust accusations were being levelled at *Tsika*. One of the chiefs quietly slipped behind the shaman, knocked his fire-arm upwards so that it exploded harmlessly in the air, and threw him to the ground where he threatened him with a large knife.

"I will not brook any interference from you in this matter," he said.

This so frightened *Awaxikxaixxaix-dis* that he blurted out that he knew *Tsika* was a sorcerer and that he had seen his box containing a decayed human body. *Tsika* was less excited than anyone else, and slipped out of the house in the confusion, merely pausing to ask:

"What are you going to do about it?"

He returned to his new village where, of course, the news soon followed of what had been discovered. The chiefs decided that he must be killed, and that the most convenient occasion would be at a feast of seals which was to take place in the near future. *Tsika* accepted an invitation to this and was slain while he was busy handling his spoon. One of his sons was killed with him, another who escaped through a hole in the floor was slaughtered near the village. His two brothers were absent on a hunting expedition, but a party tracked them and slew them in their camp before they knew that their evil deeds had been found out. *Tsika*'s two daughters were allowed to live, but were given to a famous warrior who kept them practically as prisoners. *Awaxikxaixxaix-dis*, who seems to have escaped all punishment for his share in the affair, guided a party to the sorcerer's box. It was found to be old and moss-covered, obviously

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spit upon his own hands and rubbed them over the patient's head, his arms, his trunk, his legs, and finally his feet, as if massaging him. *Xwatli's* strength began to return at the first touch of Thunder's hands, and, when the treatment was finished, he felt entirely rejuvenated. Thunder told him to overtake his friends and to massage them in the same way and they would be revived. He explained that they had been travelling in circles of ever-decreasing radius which was the reason that they had neither reached their destination nor recrossed their own tracks. He added that they must think constantly of their first objective, Ulkatcho, *Nadäco* in the Bella Coola language, and that at night *Xwatli* must sleep on the side of the five nearest that goal. 727 787

Soon afterwards the four wanderers were surprised to see a stalwart man swinging along the trail behind them, and their amazement was intense when they realized that it was *Xwatli* whom they had left at the point of death. He bade three of his comrades hide, and massaged the fourth as Thunder had done to him; this restored his strength exactly as in his own case. The one so cured then concealed himself, while *Xwatli* treated another of his comrades, and finally the third and fourth. This was not the end of the assistance so obtained. Within a few minutes of their recovery, they found the trail they had so long been seeking and reached Ulkatcho before night, though under normal circumstances the same distance would have required four days of travel. There were several Bella Coola at the settlement who were overjoyed at the safety of those for whom all hope had long been abandoned. They rested for four days, then set out for home. *Xwatli* told his comrades to fix their minds upon their objective, and as a result they were able to make the journey with phenomenal rapidity. 727

Thunder had granted *Xwatli* the boon of *sakwalajat* on this occasion, and had promised that he would come to his help whenever called upon. *Xwatli* was a sorcerer, a profession which had been practised for generations in his family, and he now performed more openly than ever, assured that Thunder would be able to protect him. The malefactor killed more and more people, until he became an object of universal hatred and fear. At last the principal chief of the village, confident in the power which the giving of many potlatches had bestowed upon him, ordered an expert shot to slay *Xwatli*. The man so deputed had himself lost several relatives and gladly watched an opportunity. This came when the sorcerer was paddling across the Bella Coola near the old Hudson's Bay Company's post; he took careful aim from ambush, fired, and the evil man fell dead. A medicine can be made from the corpse of a murdered person, which, when used by the relatives, causes the killer's death. To prevent this, the executioner called his friends and they took 754 [776] [685]

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701 difficult to estimate the former influence of such warriors. The belief of all in their ability must have given them some prestige, although the requirements of practical qualifications in fighting must often have prevented them from functioning as military leaders. In other words, a man may be, socially, a warrior, even though he lacks ability as a fighting man.

701 The functions of warriors are not limited to fighting with enemies of other tribes. Each has the power to kill and must 693 exercise it when requested. If a mistake is made in a cere-[688] monial *kusiut* dance, the offender must be killed, and one way [575] in which this is accomplished is by the senior members of the society requesting a professional warrior to act as executioner. [428] One of these men, who lived at *Ăsăn·ăn·i*, always used a stone [411] club which had been handed down from generation to generation, becoming the property of each new incumbent of the [754] name and prerogative. In other cases, the killing is said to have been done with the aid of magic. The power of the *Ăsăn·ăn·i* warrior had been confirmed with so much goods that he was the most powerful professional killer known to the Bella Coola. He acted on instructions from the senior members of the *kusiut* society or when called upon by anyone. If, [684] for example, a man found that his wife had been faithless and wished to kill her lover, it was only necessary to tell the professional warrior, who was bound to act in accordance with his prerogative. He received no pay, since he was merely [682] exercising his right. The relatives of the murdered person never took revenge on the slayer, realizing that he was powerless in the matter, though they frequently requested him to slay the person who had asked him to kill the first victim. He could never refuse to do so, even if the victim were his own brother, or if he knew that the person he was to kill was guiltless. The underlying principle was that this man's power had [761] been increased to such a pitch by the distribution of presents that if he failed to exercise it on demand, it would react upon himself and cause his own death. This *Ăsăn·ăn·i* warrior began in time to have an aversion for his vocation, since he

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names are also willed, but since their value depends on the 578
goods expended to validate them, there is seldom bitterness 614
about their allotment. Indeed, a chief who is the legal owner 553
of a designation which came from above in the beginning of
time, will in many cases choose to elevate his position with [428]
respect to a title of comparatively recent date. But if any
person who is not a member of the ancestral family should [685]
dare to use an ancestral name, all the members rise to avenge
the theft, for such they feel it to be. [178] In recent years, however,
this practice has become comparatively common. In such
cases a man, eager to share in the glories of a myth and able
to give a potlatch, has validated an ancestral name to which
he has no right. The presence of the white man alone
restrains the injured ancestral family. Names are sometimes
lent or hired to those who are not members of the group for [426]
definite sums; the recipient recompenses the individual. If [427]
such names are not returned for several generations quarrels
are apt to arise since the recipient claims to be the real owner
and not the temporary possessor. During his tenancy of the
name he is entitled to any prerogative attached to it, but he
is not considered a *bona fide* member of the ancestral family.

Instances have occurred in which an old man or woman, [428]
believing himself to be the last survivor of an ancestral family,
has donated his names and myth to those who have befriended
him, or these have been taken by those who buried him. Some
individuals are constantly watching to conduct the funerals of [557]
friendless old people in the hope of so obtaining names. But
in almost every case this leads to friction, since it is virtually
impossible for an ancestral family to die out. Perhaps in the
next generation, perhaps in the following one, some youth will
claim descent from the first ancestors of the supposedly defunct
family, and claim the myth and names embodied therein. This [628]
leads to a feud with the person, or his descendants, who has
received the names through aid given to the "last" of the
family.

Such instances of an ancestral family becoming practically 614
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553
* 556 A man may receive so many prerogatives with regard to house
425 painting that he has to continue the designs on the sides of his
[606] dwelling, or he may receive so many figures for a totem-pole
[532] that he can erect one of composite pattern. X may acquire prerogatives not only from his father-in-law, but from his mother-in-law, and if he is the husband of several wives, the family of each may contribute something. If, for some inexplicable reason, X is not given any prerogative from the family of his wife, he uses one of his own ancestral myths with the names belonging thereto. A man who gives many potlatches can choose to validate numerous family names for himself, or to concentrate on one alone, elevating it to a position of great importance. But any names he validates must belong to his
[615] family; it is contrary to custom for a Bella Coola to steal a name to which he has no right.

*556 At this, or some other suitable time, X prays for assistance
782 in the complicated rites that are to follow. Taking four pieces of pounded and dyed cedar-bark, and four pieces of undyed bark, he places on each a small quantity of food and throws the eight into the fire. Likewise he may throw in four small pieces of any kind of goods. As he does so he appeals to the supreme god:

"Please strengthen my spirit for the many duties which are before me."

Instead of praying himself, X may ask a shaman to do so
[756] for him, in the belief that the latter's supplication will be more efficacious.

*556 The necessity for supernatural assistance lies in the fact
688 that any serious error or disaster in the performance of potlatch
628 rites calls for summary punishment, since X has allowed ceremonial *sisaok* knowledge to reach the uninitiated. In such a case the duty of meting out a penalty falls upon the members of a foreign tribe. Nothing is said at the time, but the departing guests take away with them information of what has happened. Great latitude is allowed as to who shall be the chastisers. The guests may be related to X and the members

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556 performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical
[182] concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch, are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly
[577] displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a
576 major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do other-
574 wise would be considered rude. The person summoned must take at least a trifle to show that he is not churlish and too proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shares
[177] whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of the family should be the first to taste any wine[14] as proof that
[273] it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better
[342] than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse through the construction of individual family houses with doors
[414] and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suit-
476 able place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon,
[226] the first solicitor is given one, later comers, none at all. When a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to raise it and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a
[685] despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy;
[626] hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats
[224] or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

556 Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are
431 advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

[14]This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of home-brew.

[The Breaker Dance]

*575 *lsaix*. X is one of the few *kukusiut* having the prerogative of
*796 using supernatural singers. The evening's ceremony concludes
[424] in the usual fashion.

Until the departure of his call, X is liable to fits of frenzy so that on both *qothm* and *nebusam* he often visits every house and breaks utensils, though his guardians appear to be making every effort to restrain him. Breakers, irrespective of their
[424] exact prerogative, are enabled to act in any unusual manner they desire, and strive to excel in peculiar behaviour. A favourite trick is to smear themselves with excrement, either real or imitation. It is difficult to over-estimate the enormous
[554] prestige which such actions call forth in the eyes of the unini-
[787] tiated, to whom it appears that the coming of a call entirely
[828] alters the mentality of the recipient, a belief which the *kukusiut* make every effort to maintain. Nothing further need be said of either *qothm* or the preliminaries of *nebusam*, both of which follow the usual pattern.

*575 When the uninitiated are admitted to X's house on *nebusam*
*796 evening, they are filled with wonder at the sight of the masked singers, of *Sänoltxmulelts Älquntäm*, and of the four super-
781 natural Breakers who move wildly to and fro as the songs are sung, as if only the eagle down which the *kukusiut* blow upon them restrains them from destroying property. The fluent *Änoºlikwolsaix* makes the most of her opportunity to describe the wonders which are before their eyes. Then the uninitiated are told that it will be safer for them to withdraw, and hurry out. Presently they are startled to hear the sound of people moving, and the four supernatural Breakers, followed by all the *kukusiut*, leave the house and proceed to the lowest one in the village. Around the fire go the masked four, picking up stones and hurling them at any destructible property. Most
[252] houses contain a number of stones which have been used in
[578] boiling liquids, so that there is no lack of missiles. *Kukusiut* who are wise take care to hide or remove valuable property
[685] before this inroad begins, since the wearers of the masks take advantage of the opportunity to destroy the goods of those

[The Breaker Dance]

they do not like. No compensation can be claimed, on the theory that supernatural beings do not have to pay for any damage they may do. Although the property of some *kukusiut* is destroyed, the chief sufferers are the uninitiated; this serves to increase their fear and respect for the society with which such all-powerful beings are in league. After visiting every house in the village, the party returns to X's, where the masks are burnt, the call sent back, and the proceedings conclude in the usual manner. 575* 796* 781 [578] [685]

A certain amount of information concerning the history of the Breaker dance was obtained from *Sxek*, the owner of the prerogative just described. He is a well-informed man, but the writer had no opportunity of comparing his beliefs with those of his associates, so the following must be regarded as unsubstantiated evidence. This man stated that the Breaker dance is the most important of all in Bella Bella, and that many Bella Coola prerogatives have been obtained from this source, although some of their first ancestors likewise enjoyed it. He further stated that the term, *noltcista*, by which the Bella Coola always designate a Breaker, is of Bella Bella origin, and that the ancient Bella Coola term was *dirtia*.[64] *Sxek* also told of an occasion when a number of Bella Bella, present on the *qothm* night of a Bella Coola ceremony, were disturbed when eating by the thud of a stone thrown, from outside, against the wall of the back-room. Out rushed a number of *kukusiut*, incensed at the disrespect shown to their gathering. They caught the offender, but released him when he was found to be a Bella Bella Breaker, foolishly demonstrating his prowess. The marshals decided to retaliate and arranged with two Bella Coola Breakers to exercise their rights and destroy the canoes and food-boxes of their guests. They did so, and later paid for the damage. The Bella Coola were thus able to demon- 575* 796* [115] [171] [177] 575* 796* 648 688

[64] *Sxek* and several of his children are the only Bella Coola known to the writer who habitually use the sound "r." For example, he says "*Snulsri*," instead of "*Snulsli*." He says that he is himself unable to distinguish any peculiarity in his own pronunciation, although other Bella Coola are aware of it. [197]

*533 *B* *Sàaststnagwuo* | *olàsulx* | *skà'alpsdulsdai* | *dirmàt·ampdjx*
Go within | my house, | I am giving food | to my friends.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

[614] [424] [685] [609] (*a*) Recorded as song VII D 28b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said that this song has been handed down for generations in an ancestral family; they now regard it as a family possession and would consider its use by others to be stealing.

(*b*) Many years ago a solitary Bella Bella used to paddle to Kimsquit almost every year. He was dressed like a chief and had the mien of one, so that his hosts assumed him to be a person of importance. It was later found that he was a poor man. The mocking of foreigners is a common theme of *a'alk* songs.

am'kl·a Song Used for Ximsimlaix(*a*)

*533 575 578 *A* *Nulwulukàstamqualsan* | *sìlxwosmaikila*
He has fallen so that his buttocks are uppermost, | Hail(*b*)!

Damunmulsan·imut | *skusiutdas*
He has come to hurt, | that *kusiut*(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C*. The second and third parts have been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 3c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) A mockingly deferential salutation used in *a'alk* songs describing the *kukusiut*.

(*c*) *Ximsimlaix* was an *a'alk* who is said to have seen a Cannibal *kusiut* when the latter was supposed to be in the land above. A song was composed about the incident, and the above fragment has been remembered for many years. *Ximsimlaix* was initiated into the *kusiut* society; see vol. II, p. 265.

*533 575 796 203 As already described, whenever a dancer is performing, the women utter a peculiar high-pitched drone and the heralds call out remarks suitable to the occasion. A phonograph record[3] was made of the drone, followed by a cry suitable for either *sisaok* or *a'alk* dances. The following words are virtually sung:

Yelosàldimut | *stàhmpakais*
Do not err, | chiefs.

[3]Recorded as song VII D 29c, National Museum of Canada.

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seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject.

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Stuix* and *Ałqäläxl* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe.

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Täl·io*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack.

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553 * 556 425 [606] [532] A man may receive so many prerogatives with regard to house painting that he has to continue the designs on the sides of his dwelling, or he may receive so many figures for a totem-pole that he can erect one of composite pattern. X may acquire prerogatives not only from his father-in-law, but from his mother-in-law, and if he is the husband of several wives, the family of each may contribute something. If, for some inexplicable reason, X is not given any prerogative from the family of his wife, he uses one of his own ancestral myths with the names belonging thereto. A man who gives many potlatches can choose to validate numerous family names for himself, or to concentrate on one alone, elevating it to a position of great importance. But any names he validates must belong to his [685] family; it is contrary to custom for a Bella Coola to steal a name to which he has no right.

*556 782 At this, or some other suitable time, X prays for assistance in the complicated rites that are to follow. Taking four pieces of pounded and dyed cedar-bark, and four pieces of undyed bark, he places on each a small quantity of food and throws the eight into the fire. Likewise he may throw in four small pieces of any kind of goods. As he does so he appeals to the supreme god:

"Please strengthen my spirit for the many duties which are before me."

[756] Instead of praying himself, X may ask a shaman to do so for him, in the belief that the latter's supplication will be more efficacious.

*556 ●688 628 The necessity for supernatural assistance lies in the fact that any serious error or disaster in the performance of potlatch rites calls for summary punishment, since X has allowed ceremonial *nsaok* knowledge to reach the uninitiated. In such a case the duty of meting out a penalty falls upon the members of a foreign tribe. Nothing is said at the time, but the departing guests take away with them information of what has happened. Great latitude is allowed as to who shall be the chastisers. The guests may be related to X and the members

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of his village, hence they will not feel it incumbent upon them to intervene. But news travels, and in course of time the *sisaok* members of some other tribe will decide to send a raiding party against X's village. All informants agreed most emphatically that this custom prevailed among the coast people from the Tsimshian country to Alert Bay, but specific examples could not be obtained. The Bella Coola regard such a raid as the proper course to pursue, and belligerent tribes may have used an irregularity in the potlatch rites as an excuse for an assault. It is clear, however, that this custom never attained such prominence that it could be called a law. 556* 688 628

The following is an instance of the Bella Coola outlook on the question: 556* 688

The father of an informant had had such success in giving potlatches that his neighbours were jealous. On one occasion he prepared a representation of a whale, an elaborate wooden frame, fifteen feet long, operated by men concealed within and carrying passengers; this was a figure which entered into his ancestral myth. One of the carpenters who made it, bribed by a jealous rival of the donor of the potlatch, arranged that the lower jaw of the whale should fall to the floor during the proceedings. This revealed the mechanism of the structure. White influence on the coast prevented an incursion of foreign raiders, but according to this informant, the chiefs determined that his father should die, and they employed a sorcerer for this purpose. His father and eleven other relatives died soon afterwards. This man, the sole survivor, ascribes his escape to his adoption of Christianity. [578] [532] [578] [177] [754]

Another instance of the penalty which follows errors in potlatch ritual occurred a few years ago, when a number of young men used the cone-shaped whistles openly, as if they had been toys. The presence of the white man prevented any open steps towards punishment, but before long all the youths died. No one knows what caused their deaths, though probably they were due to an expert in black magic acting on the instructions of a senior *sisaok*. [534] [177] [754]

After the prayer, X and his family give more food to their guests, whose boxes containing what they are to carry away are increasing in number. By his lavishness, X increases his prestige in the eyes of his fellow-villagers. 556*

If he can afford to build a new house embodying the form [335]

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a man, *ux·unaisa*, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience 424
to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it 463
has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this function. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the valid- 551
ation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary 693
ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but [773]
non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name *ux·unaisa* has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been en- 784
forced concerning the river: No refuse may be thrown in, 825
otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the 226
same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them [515]
from seeing the route. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes 841
is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the [562]
fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed [502]
must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose [765]
husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are considered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the 688
salmon and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the 693
offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringements, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river. The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

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688 his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the
693 upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse
into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the
[177] coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without
hesitation.

THE PROFESSION OF UTTERING A DRONING CRY

424 At the appearance of masked figures representing super-
551 natural beings, whether in *tsaak* or *kusiut* dances, many of the
women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry
[575] which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness
[463] of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral
prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents.
[431] Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women
[773] were given by *Alqustäm*, or acquired in other ways, the right
to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with
respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously de-
scribed, many of the first women possessed this privilege,
which is accordingly common at the present time. A name
[553] of this type is usually confirmed in girlhood, sometimes even
in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be
validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One
of these names is *Nunuqwelslaiqu-a*, which has reference to
[773] the blue-green sheen of some abalone-shell brought from the
east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the
ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many
[178] years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this
prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to
drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to
increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

424 There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incum-
767 bent to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of
time, *Smaoan* of Kimsquit married *Tlakwaitl*, the daughter of
463 a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been
773 transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kims-
quit.

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quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type. 424 767 463

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly validated before she can function. One of these is *Stlruarwak-simân-a*, another is *Ła'ya*. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditized. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to ripen the berries. 222 424 463 551 562 532 789

"Get ready to pick red elderberries [or whatever species is ripe] tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. As far as could be learnt, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker; obedience seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared. 688 183

THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring validation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors confirmed as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal on them of professional names. At the present time, it is 701 424 463 431 551

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701 difficult to estimate the former influence of such warriors. The belief of all in their ability must have given them some prestige, although the requirements of practical qualifications in fighting must often have prevented them from functioning as military leaders. In other words, a man may be, socially, a warrior, even though he lacks ability as a fighting man.

701 The functions of warriors are not limited to fighting with
693 enemies of other tribes. Each has the power to kill and must exercise it when requested. If a mistake is made in a cere-
[688] monial *kusiut* dance, the offender must be killed, and one way
[575] in which this is accomplished is by the senior members of the society requesting a professional warrior to act as executioner.
[428] One of these men, who lived at *Ăsăn·ăn·i*, always used a stone
[411] club which had been handed down from generation to generation, becoming the property of each new incumbent of the
[754] name and prerogative. In other cases, the killing is said to have been done with the aid of magic. The power of the *Ăsăn·ăn·i* warrior had been confirmed with so much goods that he was the most powerful professional killer known to the Bella Coola. He acted on instructions from the senior members of the *kusiut* society or when called upon by anyone. If,
[684] for example, a man found that his wife had been faithless and wished to kill her lover, it was only necessary to tell the professional warrior, who was bound to act in accordance with his prerogative. He received no pay, since he was merely
[682] exercising his right. The relatives of the murdered person never took revenge on the slayer, realizing that he was powerless in the matter, though they frequently requested him to slay the person who had asked him to kill the first victim. He could never refuse to do so, even if the victim were his own brother, or if he knew that the person he was to kill was guiltless. The underlying principle was that this man's power had
[761] been increased to such a pitch by the distribution of presents that if he failed to exercise it on demand, it would react upon himself and cause his own death. This *Ăsăn·ăn·i* warrior began in time to have an aversion for his vocation, since he

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534 one used by some of *Triks*'s ancestors. It was brought to the ocean and
754 thrown in.

Taboos

784 The Bella Coola regard as taboos those injunctions that are observed in the belief that their neglect would cause automatic punishment. The mechanism of enforcement is frequently not understood; it is enough to know that an unpleasant result would follow disobedience. Some taboos are in force at all times, others only during certain seasons of the year, and still others at critical periods of life. Since the psychology of such
[789] beliefs is essentially magical rather than religious, they could justifiably be grouped at this point. Unfortunately, to do so would destroy the continuity of accounts of birth, adolescence, death, ceremonial chastity, and many other aspects of Bella Coola life subject to taboo. The injunctions enforced by the River Guardian, the restrictions observed by a girl after puberty, the continence required after different medicines, all are taboos, disregard of which brings certain punishment. These and many others have already been described in connection with the activities to which they pertain. It is doubtful whether the Bella Coola have a single word to describe taboos
[783] in general, though they are all regarded as *sxaiâx*, that is, as something which is ceremonially unclean.

Scarcely to be distinguished from taboos are ceremonial errors, *yun-imut* or *kân-imut*. Failure to give presents to heralds when a seat breaks beneath a chief or a dancer stumbles, or unnecessary activity during the year's waiting for the fruition of supernatural good fortune are ritual mistakes of this type. Neglect of such regulations brings punishment, though of a lesser kind than the breaking of taboos. If the
[688] error has been in connection with a ceremony, the offence can
[203] be wiped out by presents to heralds, and the terms *yun-imut* and *kân-imut* are likewise applied to some of their prerogatives such as the ability to claim clothing during the marriage of a chief's child.

Most taboos and errors can best be described with other

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*575 untranslatable word with the significance of "One who has
778 suffered loss through faulty concealment [of his repository]."
425 Some of these vaults[1] are said to be dangerous to the uninitiated who avoid them and in this way the sanctity of some
[784] chiefs' meeting-places is guarded.

*575 According to Kimsquit belief, *Ano'likwolsaix* has a husband, *Almoqlaikila*, who dwells with her in every repository.
778 If an uninitiated person should chance to find a vault, he falls
776 dead before the power emanating from *Ano'likwolsaix*. Her husband then restores the dead by blowing violently on the back of the victim's neck, accompanying this with cries of *hoip*. When a person is initiated into the *kusiut* society, the uninitiated hear the songs used, in many of which are references to the experiences of the novice with this supernatural pair.

*575 Turning now to the manner in which the *kukusiut* regard their own society, it is evident that the most important duty of each member is to aid in impressing and deceiving the uninitiated. The prestige of the organization depends upon the ability of its members to inspire awe, hence any weakness in fulfilling this obligation is an anti-social act. For this purpose the society acts as a whole. Many *kukusiut* have, for example,
[424] Cannibal prerogatives, and on occasion the Cannibals, having the same functions, work together, but they do not form a separate organization of their own.[2] Many of the means employed to deceive and impress the uninitiated have already been described. Mythology records, and it appears to be a
[773] fact, that long ago the ascendancy of the *kukusiut* was often
[178] challenged by the *a'alk* and other uninitiated, but when the white man came the society had reached a position of such eminence that the powers of its members were unquestioned. Moreover, the combined strength of virtually all the seniors of the tribe was so great that an uninitiated person could not assert himself even if he was suspicious.

• [688] Although members of the society exert every effort to con-

[1] The Bella Coola state that such sub-societies are found among the Kwakiutl.

[2] [i.e. - a repository of supernatural power - ANALYST]

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ceal their subterfuges, it sometimes happens that an uninitiated 575*
person sees or hears something which he should not know. The 688
simplest way to deal with this situation is to kill the observer. ●
It is said that as late as 1900 a young man, impelled by curiosity, wandered up a valley into which he had been warned not to penetrate, and met a Cannibal whom he believed had vanished into the upper realms. Almost dumbfounded, he accepted the latter's invitation to sit down, and was slain by him. More often, and especially if the observer is the child of a *kusiut*, he is initiated into the ranks of the society. If this happens at any time of year except the actual cere- 575*
monial season, he cannot perform immediately, but he is taken to the secret meeting place of the village chiefs, and there the mysteries of the organization are explained to him. The uninitiated are told that the observer has had a shaman's experience. With the aid of the older *kukusiut* he then performs a dance and conjuring feat of the type already described (I, p. [292]
564), and is secluded until the next autumn, meanwhile [756]
wearing the distinctive collar of a shaman. In the songs used on this occasion no mention is made of a wash-basin, so of course the lad only performs ceremonially. When winter comes he is formally initiated into the society.

It is somewhat difficult to understand and explain the 575*
sentiments which lead a young man to obey rigidly the dictates 781
of the senior *kukusiut* in deceiving his former friends. If 626
it becomes known that a youth has seen something which
should have been concealed, the senior *kukusiut* of his village
meet in their ceremonial spot and decide that he must be put [688]
through the shaman's rite. Some relative of the youth is always ready to provide the necessary *kusiut* prerogative; otherwise he would have to be killed. Two or three members are then sent to catch the young man. On some pretext they lure him into the woods and then carry him away, struggling in fear, to the holy of holies, the place which he had been told to avoid since he would die if he penetrated to it. Here he finds all the seniors of his village, seated with grave expressions on

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Not knowing where to go nor what to do, he hid himself on a small island within sight of the village whence he could see and hear the people seeking him. At times some of his *kukusiut* friends came close, calling his name; but not till he was driven to do so by hunger did he reveal his hiding-place. Then he answered the shouts of two men who at first pretended they were merely seeking him because of the worry his prolonged disappearance was causing his parents. Once the lad was within their grasp they carried him swiftly to the house of one of the chiefs, where he found himself seated among the most influential men of his village with the door barred behind him. The fear which any youth would feel in like circumstances was increased greatly by the awe with which he, as an uninitiated person, regarded the *kukusiut*, especially on this occasion when he knew that he had roused their anger. 575* [781]

"What did you hear?" asked one of the marshals. The lad was too terrified to lie, so he blurted out all the gossip he had overheard, including the news of the death of the Rivers Inlet Cannibal.

"You have heard too much, you must join us," continued his questioner.

The same man then asked one of his relatives whether he would "buy" the lad from them, that is, whether they would provide the necessary goods to have him initiated. It was understood that through his improper knowledge he had come under the jurisdiction of the *kukusiut* and that, unless made one of them, they would kill him. The lad was the protégé of his uncle who at the time was initiating him into the *susaok* ceremonial, and who accordingly was most unwilling to have his nephew made a *kusiut*. [688]

"Let him be a spy," said the uncle.

After much discussion this proposition was agreed to; the decision was facilitated by the fact that one of the lad's ancestors had been a spy. All night he was kept sitting in the centre of a group of elders who revealed to him the mysteries of the organization and showed him the whistles and other regalia. For twenty years this man remained a spy, dutifully informing upon any over-inquisitive, uninitiated person.

The informant was more than sixty years of age when he related this incident, but the passage of time had not caused him to forget the utter terror and feeling of inferiority experienced when he was taken into the presence of the senior *kukusiut*. [781]

Although every *kusiut* assists in preserving the dignity and awe of the society, this duty is especially the function of those members who are regarded as the earthly representatives of 575* 424 776

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*575 *Ano°likwolsaix*. They may be termed marshals of the society.
[424] Each must have an ancestral prerogative for this, duly vali-
[776] dated by presents to the *kukusiut*, in addition to a *kusiut* pre-
rogative of some kind. In each village there are four or five of these men. Whenever food is being served at a *kusiut* dance, the marshals receive theirs first and then one or other of them addresses the audience in slow and impressive style, beating on the floor with a stick to add emphasis to his words. He admonishes his fellows to safeguard the ancient rites of the society, to be bold, to be secretive, and he pays honour to the member who has given the dance. It is they who take the leading part if a youth is dragged away to the meeting-place for initiation, and it is they who arrange matters when a spy reports that a
*575 non-member is over-inquisitive. If any member of the society
688 should break one of its laws at a time when no uninitiated are present, the marshal is expected to seize a burning stick from the fire and strike the offender with it. If death should result, revenge is unthinkable, since the criminal had broken the law. The same fate is unhesitatingly meted out to any *kusiut* who should dare to betray any of the mysteries to the uninitiated. Moreover, it is the marshals who decide whether any improper act lowers the dignity of a dance, and punish accordingly. Not many years ago a *kusiut* woman gave birth to a child while a dance was taking place and the infant was slain by one of the
[761] marshals. The usual explanation made to the uninitiated for a death within the dance-house is that a supernatural being caused the roof to fall and kill the victim.

*575 Each marshal has, in connection with his prerogative of
551 this vocation, a professional name, used only within the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place and carefully concealed
[424] from the uninitiated. Some designations were obtained from *Ano°likwolsaix* by an ancestor of the possessor, others were created on this earth with reference to some specific event, and
[553] duly made valid by presents to the *kukusiut* alone. Some of these names are:

Xwolsekmis, "The Destroyer," so given on account of an

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elaborate *kusiut* ritual which failed;

Namulsta, meaning unknown;

"The One who Guards the Ritual by Gripping with his Teeth";

"The Terrifier";

"The Dog-Toothed One."

When a *kusiut* acts contrary to the interests of the society the marshals gather in the sacred meeting-place of the village, with other senior *kukusiut*. There is no definite order respecting who shall, or shall not, be summoned. The matter is discussed until unanimity of opinion is reached, although a marshal, particularly if he is also a rich and influential chief, is the guiding spirit. In *Nusqulxwaista* the supernatural being *Sikiliktnum* kills any supernatural *kusiut* who errs, so in this world it is always said that a verdict of death has been given by this being. Several of those at the meeting are sent out to lure the victim who, brought before the group, is told that he is to die. He is seized, thrown on his back, and a pole laid across his neck; two men sit on each end until the man is dead.[3] Sometimes less drastic punishments are meted out. About 1880, when the influence of the white man had become evident on the coast, a dancer who had been, theoretically, disembowelled and was supposed to remain for months within his house to recover from the operation, insisted on fleeing to Kimsquit to a woman with whom he was in love. When he returned to Bella Coola a meeting was held to decide whether or not he should be killed. Fear of the white men prevented summary punishment, but the marshals insisted that the offender submit himself to periodic scratching on the stomach with a nail so that it would appear to the uninitiated that he was suffering from a deep wound. The offender was thankful to escape thus lightly.

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[3]Occasionally the relative of a condemned person saves him by saying that he must not be killed. This means that the speaker is willing to die as a substitute; he is executed in due course, but the mechanism by which the diffusion of information is stopped is not clear.

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*575 688 Frequently the marshals and associated *kukusiut* depute others to act as their executioners. Sometimes a shaman who is also a *kusiut* is asked to slay the offender, or a *kusiut* in whose ancestral family a knowledge of means for secret murder has been handed down for generations may be called upon. The executioner is told that if he fails he will himself be killed. Although no Bella Coola would admit that a person so charged had committed murder by other than magical means, it appears highly probable that such was the case. It is believed that long ago the *kukusiut* were able to kill an offending uninitiated person by drawing forth his spirit, wrapping it in undyed cedar-bark and casting it into the fire. The victim would die within a short time. [761] [754]

*575 203 628 The desire to carry out *kusiut* ceremonials with proper dignity and ritual not only acts as a strong bond of union among members of the society in a single village, but between those in different towns and even in different tribes. When a marshal has struck a *kusiut*, the ceremony, whatever it may be, is at once stopped. Two *kukusiut* are sent off to bear the tidings to the nearest village up the valley, and two more to the one below. The messengers go beneath the house in which a dance is taking place and knock on the floor of the back-room. Someone presently hears them and a *kusiut* goes out to investigate. When the envoys have told their tale he returns, whispers to the singers, and the ceremony concludes for that night. As soon as the uninitiated, if any are present, have been ejected, the messengers enter with blankets almost covering their faces and seat themselves between the fire and the back-room where the senior members crowd around to listen. From this village two more *kukusiut* are despatched with the news which is thus transmitted with remarkable speed from end to end of the valley. When next the marshals are admonishing the *kukusiut* of their respective villages, they do not fail to draw attention to the way in which the law has been upheld. Conversely, if a marshal hears indirectly that there has been a flaw in the ritual of a neighbouring village,

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he beats in the fire with his stick, and expresses the hope that the name of the marshal in the town where the error took place may be blackened unless he does better. 575* 628 203

As an individual *kusiut* who errs is punished by a marshal, so is punishment meted out to the members of a village in which any serious accident occurs during a dance. Such disasters are fire, causing concealed *kukusiut* to appear among the uninitiated, the breaking of a sidewalk on which a number of the members are dancing, or the capsizing of lashed canoes which are used in some of the performances. The obvious effect of such mishaps is to lower the prestige of the *kusiut* society in the eyes of the uninitiated. The news travels from town to town, and to adjacent tribes. This is a *casus belli* for any village which wishes to attack the one where the disaster took place; in fact, a raid is considered meritorious. Owing to frequent marriages between the members of neighbouring villages, it usually happens that the inhabitants of adjacent settlements are unwilling to attack, but the news spreads until it reaches a town willing to take the lead. The marshals, aided by any other influential *kukusiut*, discuss the matter and decide on war; uninitiated are called upon to take part, though they are told only that the foray is connected with the rites of the *kusiut* society which increases rather than decreases their awe. The threatened villagers, knowing that an attack is inevitable, send out sentinels and guards, and, if possible, flee at the last moment to neighbouring towns for safety, allowing the raiders to burn their village and carry off loot. If a fight takes place many people may be killed, but slaves are never taken. In the last century *Stuux* attacked *Ältqäläxl*; the assailants were aided by a number of Chilkotin to whom they were related but who had not the slightest idea of the cause of the raid. Although an attacked town is usually helped by its neighbours, this is not the case when the assault is caused by error in *kusiut* or *swaok* ceremonial. 575* 628 688 721 [727] [567]

Nor is punishment for error or disaster in ritual meted out [648]

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*575 648 688 721 [628] only by members of the same tribe. The Bella Coola firmly believe that if, for example, there is a serious disaster at *Ḷomqo·ts*, that village will be raided by the people of Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, Kitkatla, or by tribes even farther away. News of the accident reaches *Täl·io* or Kimsquit and the inhabitants, themselves related by blood to the offenders and therefore unwilling to punish them, call upon the members of a foreign tribe to do so. On different occasions this statement, in practically identical terms, was made by six independent informants, so there appears to be not the slightest doubt as to the belief of the people in this law. But when specific cases were asked for, they could not be obtained. It therefore appears clear that the Bella Coola, probably owing to long teaching on the part of the *kukusiut*, consider that an error in ritual is sufficient to bring punishment from an alien tribe. There must be some basis of truth in this conviction, and it is highly probable that the *kukusiut* must have taken advantage of raids to explain to the uninitiated that these were caused by disasters in ritual. One informant was of the opinion that, following the collapse of a house at Kimsquit during a Cannibal dance, a Bella Coola chief called upon *Tcabsa*, chief of the Kitkatla, who raided Kimsquit in punishment. Quite apart from the belief inculcated in the uninitiated, it is obvious that tribes eager for war sometimes used an accident as pretext. The Bella Coola know of no case in which they raided a foreign tribe for this reason, although they state that if they had been called upon to act as punisher, they could not have refused.

*575 424 425 553 Leaving now the functions of the society as a whole, the rights of an individual member can next be described. Each *kusiut* has:

(1) *A Kusiut Name.* Like every other prerogative, a name of this type can be acquired from father, uncle, grandfather, or other relative, or even by a son from his mother. As a rule a *kusiut* wills his designation or designations, for a man may [556] have several, before death and his wishes are observed. Al-

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 791 796 [774] [781] some ashes which he puts into his mouth and chews. Of course he masticates only the ashes but X, unaware of this, is concerned for the fate of his spirit. At last it is restored to him and he is told that the *siki* has altered it from that of an uninitiated person to that of a *kusiut*.[11] The psychological effect of this act on the mind of a young man who has not had time to adjust himself to his new knowledge and who is firmly convinced of the powers of the *siki* is tremendous.

The first *siki* now instructs two *kukusiut* sitting on either side of X to lie down to serve as a seat for him. They do so, irrespective of who they may be. If the novice is still ignorant of the full mysteries of the society, the *siki* announces that he is going to get a call for X. He walks around the house, peering here and there as if seeking something, and then pounces as if he had caught an object between his hands. A whistle [534] is heard, such as the novice knows accompanies the coming of every call; but he does not know that the noise is made by compressing a goat or bear bladder-whistle between two sticks held beneath the armpit. This is the "mystery" of the strange noises.

*575 796 "Do you know what makes that noise?" ask the two *kukusiut* on whom X is sitting.

● [688] If X denies all knowledge, the mystery is explained to him, and he is warned that he will be killed if he communicates the information to uninitiated persons. If he answers that he knows the cause, he is asked who has told him. Perhaps some lad has been peeking and has told X of what he has seen; in that case the over-inquisitive youth is at once initiated to prevent further leakage of information. As soon as X has learnt the great secret he moves to one side and the singers take their positions behind the fire. His father, or whoever it [425] may be from whom he is to obtain his name, then stands up [553] and unfolds its origin, telling which supernatural being is his patron, and the locality of his repository. X sometimes re-

[178] [11]This part of the rite has been omitted for so many years that many of the middle-aged *kukusiut* have forgotten it.

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 781 796 a woman about sixty years of age, vividly recalled her fears when she, a young woman, gave her first performance. It was the Dance of *Winwina* (II, p. 187), in which she had to call out loudly when a large number of uninitiated persons, including Carrier Indians, were present. One of the marshals was her great-uncle and he had carefully taught her what she was to say. A few minutes before the time for her announcement he came to where she lay hidden in an enclosure behind the fire:

"Do you see your relatives here?" he said. "Look at your father, your mother, and your uncles. If you fail to say what you are expected to say, they will all die in a few weeks, and so will you. Be bold!"

The woman asserted that it was the most terrifying experience in her whole life because, though she knew there was [688] deception in the rites, she also knew the power of the society and that the threat of death in case of error was no idle one. She was so frightened that she forgot the carefully learnt words and it required the prompting of the hidden marshal to get her through the ordeal.

But once the first rite has been successfully negotiated, it is a proud day for the novice. He feels himself a real *kusiut* and glories in his superiority over his former associates. For the rest of the season he, like everyone else who has performed a dance, must attend every rite. Energetic novices sometimes give their dances on two, or even three, successive years, though usually a man allows five or six to elapse between displays.

*575 766 If X should die during the year's interval between his initiation and his first dance, he is secretly buried by his fellow *kukusiut* without the customary mourning rites, and with no [533] uninitiated persons present at the grave. His song, if one has been composed for him, is sung softly, and he is interred adorned with his collar of dyed cedar-bark. During the next ceremonial season, that at which he should have danced, it is necessary for a brother, or other near relative, to receive a call since it is felt that a dance once begun must be completed,

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attend every *kusiut* dance. Usually all *kukusiut* do so in any case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been blackened, it must be kept so during this period. At every *qotlim* he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an uninitiated person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes to another housemate. Failure to obey this injunction was formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules apply to every dancer.

575* 796* [302] [292] [774] [834] [688]

Ałquntäm enters *Nusqulxwaista* at the winter solstice, and at that time calls come to those *kukusiut* of whom he is patron. It is uncertain whether or not this entails the regular ceremony of four nights' duration. On the entry of the supreme being, *Noäkxnım* seizes his paddle (or pole?), returns to *Smaien·a*, and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers compose a ninth song for him. The words describe how the departing *Noäkxnım* empties a large number of olachen into the river.[28] X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after calls have come to other *kukusiut*.

575* 796* 787 773 825

It sometimes happens that no *kusiut* of whom *Noäkxnım* is patron has enough food to give the lengthy dance just described, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper prerogative is asked by the marshals to see *Noäkxnım* when at the mouth of the river; then, when he passes upstream four days later, a call can come to any *kusiut*. This abbreviated ceremony, termed *Imältındjutqwlsan*, is carried out in the manner described above, except that it is completed in four days with only two songs.

575* 796* 787

[28] *Noäkxnım* is accordingly often called *Nuälulsnım*.

[776]

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[The Dance of Wil·a]

*575 *796 houses. The night's ceremony concludes with a meal and the admonitions of the marshals.

No further description is needed of the rites taking place the next day, that of *nusiutälsap*, when a second song is composed, again dealing with X's patrons, and wood for masks is cut. The evening's ceremonial does not last as long as that of *lsuxtämem*.

[532] [302] [515] The next day, *qothm*, the carpenters work at the masks, some of which must be finished by nightfall. Late in the evening both *kukusiut* and uninitiated prepare themselves by painting and washing; at this time the young men provide pans of warm water for their female friends. As already described, the *kukusiut* are the first to enter, followed by the uninitiated when all is ready. In Kimsquit they see the masks [184] of at least some of X's supernatural patrons suspended by cords of dyed cedar-bark from a sloping pole that stretches from the floor at the base of the back-room to the cross-beam behind the fire. It is said, although the informant could not guarantee the truth of the statement, that long ago masks had to be displayed at this dance, though it was optional at others. It is a serious and sacred time, one at which frivolity is quite out of place, and the marshals are in readiness to punish any [688] offender. One very old informant told of having seen a marshal strike down and kill a *kusiut* from another house for holding intercourse with a woman on this night. The heralds *[203] [537] stay near the door, repeating and enlarging on the remarks of the marshals; the fluency of these functionaries always adds appreciably to the success of any Bella Coola rite. On this occasion X and the dancer of *Noäkynm* must perform, followed by those who have danced in former years, according to the desire of the singers; later in the season, when many *kukusiut* have performed, the rite may continue almost till dawn, for all must dance. After the departure of the uninitiated the *kukusiut* eat leisurely, while a marshal addresses them, commenting on the ritual and, perhaps, asking a man

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[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 among the Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and Rivers Inlet people.
*796 Indeed, in Bella Coola a poor man may be the most dreaded Cannibal of all, if he has been able duly to validate and per-
[171] form his right in this respect. Nor is the dance carried out
[622] with the same rigour in Bella Coola as among the tribes of the outer coast.

[424] The ritual of different prerogatives varies to such an extent that several accounts must be given, in spite of the repetitions
[184] that this form of presentation entails. On account of the length of time necessary, a Cannibal dance usually begins early in the season. The following describes the manner in
[115] which *Kämätslaks* of Kimsquit, who can bite the living, carried out his rite; it was obtained from his brother, who is thoroughly conversant with the details. It will be convenient to refer to *Kämätslaks* as X, and to use the present tense throughout.

A meeting is held at which the marshals and others choose, in agreement with X and his relatives, a day suitable for him to commence his performance. Under normal circumstances
[787] it is on some *qotlum* that a marshal announces that he can hear X's call, and on the following evening, when the ritual has been completed, the uninitiated are startled to hear continuous whistling from the slopes of the mountains near the village.
[534] The instruments used are of the usual bladder type, but the
[776] long-drawn-out sound, termed *Aiiläxa*, is said to be the voice of the kindly supernatural woman, *Snitsmän·a*.[42]

[42] The sole function of this being seems to be the restoring to life of those who appear to have been killed in the performance of *kusiut* rites. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether or not she is identical with *Tlitäpliläw·a*. The noise which heralds her coming is produced by the whistles of four *kukusiut* who throughout the night range the forests and mountains within ear-shot of the village. By bending their heads up and down, they are able to increase the weirdness and apparent elusiveness of the sound. The four travel in single file; the leader blows, and when his breath is nearly exhausted he presses the hand of the second man, who starts whistling forthwith, while the original leader drops to the rear. As the second becomes weary, he signals in the same way to the third, and so on; in this way the whistling is continuous, and the uninitiated are convinced that it cannot be caused by mortals, even if such an idea should occur to them. If a non-member
[688] should meet the four, they would at once kill him or make him a prisoner, keeping him out of sight until he could be initiated into the society.

[The Cannibal Dance]

The most feared of all Cannibals are those who have the unusual prerogative of eating corpses. At present (1922), there is only one man with this right, whereas at least seven can bite the living. His prerogative was recently obtained from the people of Rivers' Inlet, although the ritualistic devouring of corpses was well known to the Bella Coola in former days. All informants agreed, however, that the actual eating of a body was practically unknown.[10] Even when one was provided and the Cannibal dragged it from house to house, accompanied by an escort of *kukusiut*, though he sank his teeth into the flesh and pulled forth morsels of the carcass, he invariably disposed of them as soon as he was out of sight of the uninitiated, as in the case of the dog. Of course, blood and small pieces of flesh must have been swallowed inadvertently, but the rite was always essentially ritualistic, not real. More often, the "corpse" consisted of a wooden frame-work, shaped like a human body, and covered with the scraped skins of deer or dogs. The interior was filled with the flesh of an animal, and the whole buried in the graveyard until the meat had become foul. The uninitiated, from a distance, watched the exhuming of this object and concluded that it really was a long-buried body. Fear prevented them from making a close inspection, so that the defects of the imitation were not apparent. The frames were kept hidden from year to year; an inquisitive non-member who chanced to stumble upon one would have to be initiated or die.

575* 796* [424] [177] [688]

On account of the long time that has elapsed since a complete corpse-eating Cannibal dance was carried out, it was found impossible to obtain a detailed account of the ritual. This deficiency is unimportant since all informants agreed that it closely resembled other Cannibal dances.

Like other Cannibals, one who has the prerogative of eating dead human flesh can perform as often as he desires, subject only to the approval of the marshals, who have no hesitation

[424] [787] [266]

[10] Apart from this ceremonial eating, no trace of cannibalism was found among the Bella Coola.

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[The Breaker Dance]

they do not like. No compensation can be claimed, on the theory that supernatural beings do not have to pay for any damage they may do. Although the property of some *kukusiut* is destroyed, the chief sufferers are the uninitiated; this serves to increase their fear and respect for the society with which such all-powerful beings are in league. After visiting every house in the village, the party returns to X's, where the masks are burnt, the call sent back, and the proceedings conclude in the usual manner. 575* 796* 781 [578] [685]

A certain amount of information concerning the history of the Breaker dance was obtained from *Sxek*, the owner of the prerogative just described. He is a well-informed man, but the writer had no opportunity of comparing his beliefs with those of his associates, so the following must be regarded as unsubstantiated evidence. This man stated that the Breaker dance is the most important of all in Bella Bella, and that many Bella Coola prerogatives have been obtained from this source, although some of their first ancestors likewise enjoyed it. He further stated that the term, *noltcista*, by which the Bella Coola always designate a Breaker, is of Bella Bella origin, and that the ancient Bella Coola term was *dirtia*.[44] *Sxek* also told of an occasion when a number of Bella Bella, present on the *qothm* night of a Bella Coola ceremony, were disturbed when eating by the thud of a stone thrown, from outside, against the wall of the back-room. Out rushed a number of *kukusiut*, incensed at the disrespect shown to their gathering. They caught the offender, but released him when he was found to be a Bella Bella Breaker, foolishly demonstrating his prowess. The marshals decided to retaliate and arranged with two Bella Coola Breakers to exercise their rights and destroy the canoes and food-boxes of their guests. They did so, and later paid for the damage. The Bella Coola were thus able to demon- 575* 796* [115] [171] [177] 575* 796* 648 688

[44] *Sxek* and several of his children are the only Bella Coola known to the writer who habitually use the sound "r." For example, he says "*Snulori*," instead of "*Snulili*." He says that he is himself unable to distinguish any peculiarity in his own pronunciation, although other Bella Coola are aware of it. [197]

[The Breaker Dance]

*575 strate their own superiority; they had paid those who had wit-
*796 nessed their prerogative, whereas the Bella Bella Breaker had
648 merely cast a stone without solemnity. Speeches were made,
688 and it was decided that henceforth instead of waging true war
[721] in case of an error in ritual, it would be sufficient if the Breakers exacted punishment by destroying property. That is the explanation offered by this man as to why foreign war-parties have not more frequently upheld the law by raiding. As before stated, the writer is uncertain whether such beliefs are generally held by the Bella Coola and of course the historical accuracy of the information is still more doubtful.

THE *Kusiotem* DANCES

*575 More awe-inspiring, though less terrifying, than the Can-
*796 nibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances, are the *kusiotem* dances.
424 In these the dancer undergoes mutilation and death, but his
[775] supernatural power enables him to return to life—at least so it appears to the credulous non-members. The five dances known as *kusiotem* are:

The Stomach-Cutting Dance;
The Beheading Dance;
The Drowning Dance;
The Burning Dance; and
The Swallowing of Hot Stones Dance.

Each of these comprises a distinct ceremonial of great complexity, but only one prerogative is required. That is, a man who has the *kusiotem* right may allow his stomach to be cut one year, and when he next performs will choose to display his ability to swallow hot stones. In this respect, it differs from all other *kusiut* ceremonies. Although a *kusiotem* dancer is entitled to exercise his privilege as often as he wishes, provided his marshals consent, the rite is so difficult that it is rarely carried out.

[773] As far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola of today have no

[The Stomach- Cutting Dance]

*575 dangerous. Unless he is restored to life before dawn we will
*796 slay you."

The other uninitiated marvel that any of their number should be bold enough to taunt the *kukusiut*, ignorant of the fact that those who do so are really spies whose part in the performance has long since been arranged by the marshals. Instances are remembered when the wooden or copper frame [688] was defective and the performer was killed; in such a case the spies actually slew one or more *kukusiut* to preserve the prestige of the society. Exact details were unobtainable, but it seems clear that the victims were selected with the aid of the marshals during the night; they were, of course, men of little importance in the community.

The spies prevent anyone from leaving the house and gradually the din subsides, except for the constant wailing of the women, particularly X's relatives. The *kukusiut*, granted a respite until dawn, allow some of the uninitiated to come forward and pass sunwise around the fire to see the corpse of X with the bloody entrails exposed. At this juncture, the old *575 women selected for the purpose sing the mourning song, of
*796 which the words and tune never vary; they are believed to
533 have been handed down from time immemorial. The theme
539 is of *Snitsmän a*, a kindly supernatural woman[70] who restores to life *kukusiut* killed in the performance of their rites. The singer in the upper, eastern, rear corner of the house sings the following words:

Nunuxwḑam·ixwakotsk'	*yao disiaiyäkmidjutnu*	*siyalaqailaoals*
Perhaps you[71] saw correctly[72]	hence you did so;[73]	it is too much
sawanutciyekelisi		
that has been given to you.[74]		

[70]Some informants state that there are several of these beings.
[71]Referring to X.
[72]Each vertical line marks the limit of a word or word-cluster, emphasized in singing, and the translation of it.
[73]That is: "You performed your dance in accordance with what you saw."
[74]That is: "You have received power that is too great and too dangerous." The specific reference is to the knife.

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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

and must never gossip or mingle casually with the outsiders. 575* In addition to a band of dyed cedar-bark on his head he wears 796* one around his stomach.

A number of years ago, when the influence of the white man 575* had become strong enough to undermine the old ritual, a Bella 796* Coola *kusiotem* dancer, instead of remaining in seclusion after 688 the dance, ran away to Kimsquit where lived a young woman 177 with whom he was in love. In the old days this would have led to punishment by a third tribe. When the offender wished to return to Bella Coola he was afraid of the wrath of the marshals, but plucked up courage to come back after several months. The marshals seized him and scratched his stomach with a metal nail so that the uninitiated, seeing the wound, might be led to believe that the man had been severely cut. Periodically the scabs were pulled off to re-enflame the injury and make it appear that a deep gash was slowly healing. The offender, of course, could not protest, since he was a *kusiut* who had broken the law and was fortunate in escaping so lightly.

The Beheading Dance

Another of the dramatic dances which can be performed by 575* a *kusiotem* is that of having his head pulled off. Like the 796* Stomach-Cutting dance, it is the prerogative of a Kimsquit [424] man named *Onixwaltcua*. He carried out the rite a few years after he had performed the one just described. The main points of ritual being identical for all *kusiotem* dances, minor points already recorded can be omitted. As before, it will be convenient to term *Onixwaltcua* X, and to describe the dance in the present tense.

Early in the summer X informs one of the marshals of his desire to have his head pulled off the following winter. The one consulted discusses the matter with his fellows; in this case no objections were raised as *Onixwaltcua* had already performed a *kusiotem* dance and it was felt that he was reliable. As soon as permission is granted, the would-be dancer asks the [532] best carpenters to meet him in a lonely place in the forest and

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* 575 *kukusiut* send back X's call in the usual manner. Then, two
* 796 by two, the masks are cast on to the fire and the ceremonial is over.

THE DANCE OF THE TALLY POSTS

[773] As previously described, a tally post is erected in the land
[777] above for every Bella Coola at birth. As long as this memorial
[753] is upright and firm, the individual to whom it refers enjoys health and prosperity, but if it becomes crooked he falls ill.
[424] The uninitiated believe that several *kukusiut* have the prerogative of climbing to the land above during the ceremonial season and straightening leaning tally posts. This is such a
[178] useful ability that it must have exercised great influence on the uninitiated in early days, but the rite has not been properly
[164] carried out since the smallpox epidemic in the last century.
[115] The following account was obtained from two old men who remembered the manner in which a certain *Onikotl* of *Tsmotl* performed a year or two before "The Great Sickness." Neither of the informants was a *kusiut* at the time, but they were able to supplement their recollections of the dance with what they afterwards learnt when initiated, so the following account is probably accurate in outline though deficient in detail. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X, and describe the ceremony in the present tense. It was also performed at Kimsquit many years ago.

The rite resembles *kusiotem* dances in many respects. X must obtain the consent of the marshals during the preceding summer, and their permission is refused unless the prospective dancer is a man of proved discretion. If they agree, X asks a
[283] number of *kukusiut* women to help him by making a very long and strong rope of nettle fibre. At intervals the work-women gather for the purpose in the back-room of X's house, taking
[688] care that no uninitiated see what they are doing. Every effort is made to ensure that there is no flaw in the rope as a break would be a serious matter, punishable by death.

Near the winter solstice the marshals choose a suitable time

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

one is permitted to leave, and the uninitiated gaze in amazement as the seemingly endless rope continues to be drawn up through the roof, although the rattle itself can no longer be heard as if X had passed beyond earshot. They do not know that he has merely stepped from the ladder to the roof of the house, and thence to the ground, taking care to loop the cord over a projection so that he can continue drawing it out steadily. He has carefully practised rattling so that he can gradually lessen the intensity as if he were passing beyond ear-shot. One of the marshals describes the dangers to which X is exposed on his journey aloft, and calls on the *kukusiut* to sing his two songs to aid him. They are sung several times, but no others are used during the long night, nor are puppet-patrons employed as in *kusiotem* rites. The rope is being drawn from a large coil on the floor near the fire, and when the carpenters notice that it is nearly exhausted one of their number slips out to tell X to stop his climb. Presently, one or two yards of rope are quickly pulled through the hole in the roof and then all movement stops. 575* 796*

"He has jumped," cry the *kukusiut*.

A fluent *kusiut* explains to the uninitiated that the roof of the land above has opened before X's ever-lengthening ladder, that he has leapt from it to the ground above and tied his rope to something. On one occasion, a malicious rival cut the cable hoping that no one would notice the break, but luckily one of the watchful carpenters noticed it in time to knot the two ends. The *kukusiut* always explain that the rope is X's point of contact with the lower world, and that if it is severed, he cannot return. Accordingly, if the broken end had been drawn up through the roof, X could never have come back, and only his secret death would have served to maintain the reputation of the society. [772] 575* 796* 578 618

The rope remains stationary for some time, and then is seen to be coming back through the aperture. 575* 796*

"X is returning," whisper the *kukusiut* to one another and the excitement becomes intense.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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the one that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make good the path" of the patron. It would formerly have been a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with death by the marshals. One informant vividly recalled his fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his conversion to Christianity, and reiterated that he had been in deadly peril from the marshals in spite of the white man's law.

575* 796* 821 [688] [177]

THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron to *kusiut* dancers, the Moon also has many human protégés. Among them is *Nulwimăx*, "The Moon When It Is Unobscured," of *Tcmoxl*, from whom the following account of the Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as X.

[776] [551] [424]

The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to X's wishes and the consent of the marshals. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *kukusiut* presently assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

Asiutănem:[97] A woman who lives in the moon and who can be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of water.

575* 796*

The two *Aiquaiut:* These two beings are able periodically to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse.

821 776

The two *Suitsmăx-a:*[98] These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who come to earth to assist stricken *kukusiut*.

The song also describes how no supernatural being dares to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition similar to that obeyed by uninitiated with regard to passing outside a house where a *kusiut* ceremony is taking place.

[784]

[97] *Asiutănem* is the usual term for ghost; no reason was given for the application of the same designation to the woman living in the moon.

[98] There is difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not there is more than one of these beings.

[775] [192]

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575 tively that such is not the case among the Bella Coola. At
796 the present time both drunkenness and vice are rampant, but
neither of these practices is apparent on the nights when dances
577 are taking place. The writer was present at many *kusiut*
273 dances, in each case attended by practically every resident,
[834] and during them he saw only two drunken men. With regard to these, the sentiment of the influential members of the society was one of regret that the marshals could no longer exercise their prerogatives and punish the offenders. As several Bella Coola expressed it:

"Our dances are sacred and ceremonial, a drunken man spoils them."

As a rule they do not regard drunkenness as a serious vice, if a vice at all, hence this attitude was illuminating. It is more
575 difficult to speak with certainty about morality; no breaches
796 of it could have occurred at the ceremonies witnessed, nor was
there any evidence that the excitement led to any licentious
577 actions. On the whole, the dances are desirable since they
834 provide a source of tremendous interest and importance. Vice flourishes with lassitude and boredom; anything that stimulates the people reduces it, and when the Bella Coola are engaged in ceremonial rites, the sentiment of the seniors of the community is strongly opposed to anything that interferes with the solemnity of the occasion.

There is no reason to suppose that these factors were not present in former times, more potent than now when belief in the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* has passed away. The whole question of sexual morality at *kusiut* dances was investigated with considerable care.

One point emphasized by all Bella Coola was that no *kusiut* was allowed to have relations with an uninitiated person, whether his wife or not, during the period that his face was blackened and he was wearing a ceremonial collar. The reason for this prohibition seems to have been one not of morality, but of the necessity for preserving the dignity and secrecy of
[688] the *kusiut* society. An offender was punished by being struck

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by a marshal with a billet of firewood; such a blow was never repeated and might or might not cause death. The woman with whom the member had misdemeaned himself was either initiated at once or killed if her relatives could not provide a name and prerogative. 575* 796* 577 834 [688]

Restrictions between members of the society were less severe. Particularly during the long nights of *lsuxtämem* and *nusiutälsap*, when only *kukusiut* were present and when men and women, often scantily clad, were closely associated, there seems to have been a certain amount of immorality. It was by no means a time of licence, nor was laxity encouraged by the marshals; intercourse between members of the society did not conflict with *kusiut* regulations, and was accordingly a matter that concerned the individuals alone.

Relations between the actual dancers and members of the other sex were formerly governed by strict rules, rigidly enforced by the marshals. After the coming of a call, a man could hold intercourse with a *kusiut*, provided that he did so in his own home, but in no other. But after *nebusam*, when he left his house, continence was demanded until the end of the season and the burning of the enclosure-platform. The only exception to this rule was that if a second dancer received a call in the same house, the restrictions placed on the first were raised while the call was actually upon the second; that is, between *lsuxtämem* and *nebusam*. After that both were subject to strict continence, unless a third call came to the same dwelling. The Bella Coola of today offer no explanation for this law, save that disregard of it was displeasing to the supernatural beings. An offender in this case was likewise punished by being struck once by a marshal. [688]

The religious aspects of the dances, as exemplified by the attitude of the Bella Coola to the masked figures and other phenomena, was described in the early part of this chapter, but additional observations may now be made. The writer realizes that the reader must find it difficult to understand how the uninitiated can be deluded into thinking that masked 575* 796* 781

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*575 long ago the *kusiut* society was composed of individuals re-
*796 garded as having supernatural endowments, and who perhaps
178 believed this themselves. In course of time their influence
184 increased to such an extent that they were able to convince
[532] non-members of the supernatural origin of objects used in their ceremonial.

[115] Unfortunately, information from Kimsquit was obtained almost exclusively from one old man, who, though a marshal well informed in *kusiut* matters and in many ways an almost ideal informant, had long since realized that the dances could be nothing more than representations, and it is possible that his remarks were coloured by this knowledge. Though he tended to minimize the attitude of belief with which the un-
[781] initiated regarded masked figures, yet he fully agreed with every statement made by the Bella Coola themselves with regard to the firm belief of non-members concerning the supernatural powers of the dancers. He also confirmed statements
[688] respecting punishment if an error should occur, and mentioned the shooting of a Bella Bella dancer who had allowed his mask to fall during a *susook* dance. As far as actual ritual is concerned, the differences in procedure between Bella Coola and Kimsquit are unimportant, and differences in belief are less than they appear at first sight. The Bella Coola *kukusiut*
[781] seem to have perfected their organization and to have been able to impress the uninitiated to a greater extent than their Kimsquit fellows, but the fundamentals of the society are identical.

*575 Traditions concerning the early history of the society are
*796 probably of little value historically, but they are important as
173 indicating the mental attitude of the Bella Coola. Considering the importance of the society there are relatively few accounts of what took place long ago; the Bella Coola know that it exists, believe that the rites are identical with those carried out by their ancestors for generations, and theorize no further. It was only in the beginning of time that things were radically different; it is believed that then all the people were endowed

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seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject.

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Stuux* and *Ałqäläxł* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe.

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Täl·io*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

The other agreed, so they paddled in and landed at the bottom of the village, heedless of the fact that it was full of Carriers. The *Nusq̓alst* people seem to have remained passive, but the angry Carriers came rushing forth and *Oq̓mikumx* spoke proudly to them:

"You would be dead as your chief if we had not lost our weapons."

The two brothers walked slowly up the long sidewalk of the village, while the Carriers skulked around, uttering threats, casting stones and shooting arrows. Some of the latter stuck in their backs, but long previously both *Ts̓ā·kmai* and *Oq̓mikumx* had eaten part of a *sisiutl* which had rendered their bodies impervious to such wounds. Arrived at the upper end of the village, they stopped and waited, making no attempt to defend themselves, until they were killed. At intervals throughout the day the Carriers treated the two bodies with ignominy, now thrusting spears into them, now beating them, and all this time not a single Bella Coola dared even to protest, so much were they filled with fear of the Carriers who, when roused as they then were, fight like mad dogs. In the late afternoon one of the women thrust a knife into the eyes of the fallen warriors. Even this insult did not rouse the *Nusq̓alst* people themselves, but *Winäs*, one of their slaves, felt called upon to take action. Before being captured, he had been a person of importance in his own home and the Bella Coola had allowed him to become a leading member of the *kusiut* society; in the course of time he had become entirely reconciled to his fate, and even thought as a Bella Coola which gave him the necessary assurance to address the Carriers.

"*Wa*, wa," he said. "See the breadth of the sky.[13] I have never seen, nor have I even heard of such a thing as you have done today. Truly you have wiped your feet on all that is sacred and powerful."

This speech for the first time brought the enormity of their offence home to the Carriers. The actual taking of life did not affright them, but in their excitement they had overlooked what was to *Winäs* the most obvious sin: they had passed and repassed on the sidewalk outside a house where a *kusiut* dance was taking place. Thus reminded of the danger to which they had exposed themselves, the Carriers withdrew.

Next day the *Nusq̓alst* people buried the four victims. *Q̓ämälxem* had been a mighty chief and, being distantly related, they would normally have given him an elaborate funeral, but now they acted as if dazed and unaware of his prowess. A man who owned a powerful medicine put some of it in the eyes of the two who had been mutilated by the Carrier woman; as the bodies began to decompose, those who had killed them began to suffer from eye-trouble, and the woman became blind. Believing that their sin had caused their misfortunes, the Carriers fled home.

[13] To call attention in this way to the breadth of the universe carries with it the implication that it will fall to crush those who have broken a sacred law.

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Kwakiutl NE10
Bellabella NE5

B C 648 726 This account was obtained from a descendant of *Tsä·kmai* and *Oḑmikuṁx* who emphatically vouched for its accuracy. Some of the incidents have doubtless been exaggerated, but there is probably a basis of truth, though the passivity of the *Nusḑalst* people is difficult to explain. The killing is said to have taken place about seventy years before 1922, so tolerably accurate traditions of it are not impossible. No punishment was meted out to the *Nusḑalst kukusiut* since the ritual error, B [688] the passing of uninitiated outside the house where a ceremony was taking place, was committed by strangers, not by inhabitants of the town itself.

A WAR BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF BELLA BELLA AND RIVERS INLET

K Bb 721 648 B [721] [648] The tribes of the central coast, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, and Rivers Inlet, were frequently engaged with enemies to north or south, but there was seldom serious bloodshed between one another. The following account, however, describes a conflict between the Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet people in which the Bella Coola were not embroiled.

K Bb [186] [262] [556] Two favourite foods of the Rivers Inlet people are sockeye salmon which have become soft after spawning, and wild currants, eaten without grease. Their neighbours, the Bella Bella, consider both these articles of diet to be disgusting, although they are fond of raw mussels which the Rivers Inlet people regard as filthy. As already described, it was not uncommon at potlatches of the tribes of the outer coast for the hosts to hold up their guests to ridicule. On one occasion the Bella Bella did so with reference to what they considered the objectionable food of their guests. A masked dancer, representing a stranger, entered the house and the host enquired whence he came.

"Are you from Fort Rupert?" he asked.

"No."

"From Bella Bella?"

"No."

The dancer pointed to the south as if to indicate the next question.

"Are you from Rivers Inlet?"

"Yes."

"What do you eat there?"

Instead of answering verbally, the dancer drew from beneath his cape

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nixobäxta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract. [424]

Nixps: Expert supernatural dancer; to his associates he is a yearling mountain goat.

nmlg or *nmlgämut:* First complete dance given by a *kusiut* initiate.

nmnmk: Mammal, any kind. [825]

Nnixwanaix: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

Noäkila: 1—One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuiäli* in the beginning of time.

Noäkynm: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Noamtäxaik: Name given to his grandson by one of the first settlers at *Siskiut* in the beginning of time.

nolcista: *Kusiut* prerogative as a Breaker; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.

nolxäkta: Sloping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kimsquit, *kusiut* masks are hung.

nomwak: The making and use of hand nets for olachen.

Nonodjonostum: 1—"The Adviser": One of the names of the supreme god. [622]
2—Chiefs of a village, collectively; virtually, "The Sages."

no'onätlum: 1—Ceremony at which *susook* names are validated in the eyes of the fellow-villagers. [553]
2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed.

no'ondjut: Assemblage of the *kukusiut* to practise difficult rites. [796]

No-qwna, "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": *Tlaiyäkam* name given to a deserting wife.

Nowakila: One of the names of Raven as chief.

nowlxikelum: Sentence of death passed by the *kukusiut* on one of their fellows as punishment for an error. [688]

nuaiyao: A loan, especially of an ancestral right. [426]

Nuälulsnum: Synonym for *Noäkynm,* the supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Nu'aos, "Inhospitable": Name taken by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

nuäpsulta: Toilet-hole.

nuaska: Birth.

Nucälcäqos: Anthropomorphized evil cold wind. [821]

nudak-an: Rhetorical term of respect for aged dead. [769]

nudak-an du lhmsta: 1—High tide.
2—Long life. [823]

nudjiqasta: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold olachen-net post steady while being driven.

Nu'exmäq, "Place of Foul Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Nuk:* 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.
2—River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.

Nuxkmälsaix: Synonym for *Sximsximlt,* an immoral supernatural woman.

nuqal: The achievement of success against supernatural odds; the term is used with reference to the solutions of the riddles of the Mystery dance.

nuksmälsnäxnum: Any non-sacred dance held at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season. [535]

Nukso-ss: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

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out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he cannot catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the ƛlaqō'tla dances clothed in a bear-skin and wearing a large headring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red and white cedar-bark. Some ƛlaqō'tla do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon, or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also eat corpses. The ƛlaqō'tla has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house. 575 [774] [756] [292] [301]

The Ō'lƛq (= the laugher) and the Dā'tia (= the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The Ō'lƛq 'makes fun of everything' and scratches people with his nails. The Dā'tia carries stones and sticks, and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day he pays for it at night when he dances. The Ōlƛq and the Dā'tia must stay for one month, after they have danced, in their houses. [785]

If a person transgresses the laws of the Kū'siūt, for instance when the ƛlaqō'tla gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offence has been proved he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing, and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared, and the substitute is killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is entrusted to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him, or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger-nail, around the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender he will fall sick. Blood collects in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the Kū'siūt are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklet of red cedar-bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others the thunder-bird and his servant Atlqulā'tƛnum, who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and a staff with red and blue spiral lines, appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Qē'mtsioa and his brothers and his sister (see p. 412), Masmasalā'niq and his fellows, the raven and the Nusqē'mta, and many others. 575 688 575 532 796 [776]

Customs regarding Birth, Puberty, Marriage, and Death.

When the time of delivery approaches, the woman leaves the house and resorts to a small hut built for the purpose. She is assisted by pro- 844

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575 to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one
[785] morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all
[787] his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze
[152] blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone
[774] whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his
[756] own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the
[292] body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try
[301] for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the ELAXŌ'LA dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark. Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the S'ā'LPsta (fig. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that
[532] of BaxbakuālanuXsī'wasē of the Kwakiutl. Some ELAXŌ'LA do not
[171] bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and
[266] devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The ELAXŌ'LA has to observe a number of regulations.
[525] For four years after his initiation he must not
[834] gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

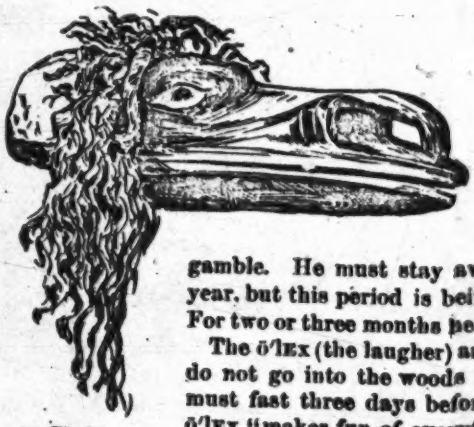

Fig. 200.
MASK OF THE S'Ā'LPSTA.
Bi'xula.
Cat. No. 77608, U. S. N. M.
Collected by F. Boas.

The ō'lEX (the laugher) and the dā'tia (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The ō'lEX "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The dā'tia carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The ō'lEX and the dā'tia, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

575 If a person transgresses the laws of the kū'siut, for instance, when
688 the ELAXŌ'LA gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in
[692] council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing
575 to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the sub-
688 stitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted
754 to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing dis-
756 ease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around

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the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender, he will fall sick. Blood is believed to collect in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the kū'siut are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklace of red cedar bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others, the thunder bird and his servant, ALxnlā'tsnum (who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and carries a staff with red and blue spiral lines), appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Xē'mtsioa and his brothers and his sisters; Masmasalā'nix and his fellows, the raven and the nusxē'mta, and many others.[1]

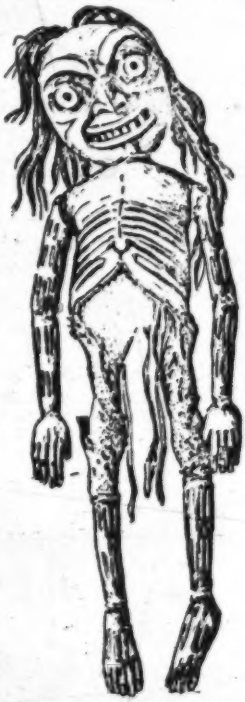

Fig. 201.
HEADDRESS OF ÖLALA'.
Haida.
Cat. No. [illegible], U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

000

THE TSIMSHIAN, NĪSQA', HAIDA, AND TLINGIT.

The tribes of this group learned the ceremonial avowedly from the Hē'iltsuq. Although I have not witnessed any part of their ceremonials, the descriptions which I received bring out with sufficient clearness its similarities to the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl. The ceremonials seem to be almost identical among all these tribes. It is most complete among the southwestern Tsimshian tribes, particularly the G·itxā'LA, but has been adopted by all the tribes of the coast. It is said that it reached the Haida not more than a hundred years ago.

I will tell here what I learned from the Nisqa'. They have six societies, which rank in the following order: The sEmhalai't, mēiLa', LōLE'm, ölala', nanēstā't, hönana'L, the last being the highest. The sEmhalai't is really not confined to the winter ceremonial, but is obtained when a person acquires the first guardian spirit of his clan and performs the ceremony belonging to this event. The tradition of the origin of these ceremonies localizes the events at Bellabella, and it

[1] See "Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas," page 241, by F. Boas.

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
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575 to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one
[785] morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all
[787] his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone
[152] whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the
[774] body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try
[756] for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the ELAXŌ'LA dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large
[292] head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark.
[301] Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the S'Ä'LPSTA (fig. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that
[532] of BaxbakuälanuXsi'waē of the Kwakiutl. Some ELAXŌ'LA do not
[171] bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and
[266] devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The ELAXŌ'LA has to observe a number of regulations.
[525] For four years after his initiation he must not
[834] gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

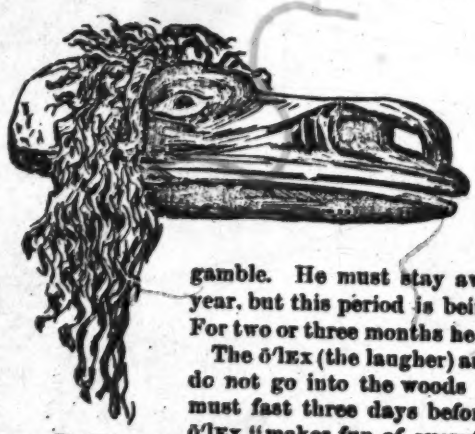

Fig. 200.
MASK OF THE S'Ä'LPSTA.
Bi'lxula.
Cat. No. 77600, U. S. N. M.
Collected by F. Boas.

The ō'LEX (the laugher) and the dä'tia (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The ō'LEX "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The dä'tia carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The ō'LEX and the dä'tia, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

575 If a person transgresses the laws of the kū'siut, for instance, when
688 the ELAXŌ'LA gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in
● [592] council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing
575 to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the sub-
688 stitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted
754 to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing dis-
756 ease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around

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424 as possible, a potlatch is the most suitable occasion. Goods
distributed for this purpose are not returnable; they have
463 "become nothing" in the acquisition. The value of presents so
* 556 bestowed differs enormously; a man who is proud of his pre-
rogative validates it lavishly until he is strong in his vocation,
whereas another establishes himself on a lesser scale. The origin
[773] of professional rights, like so many of other kinds, is lost in
antiquity and ascribed to the wishes of *Ałquntām* as expressed
to the first people. Some of the early settlers came to earth
[551] with definite duties and vocations, each indicated by a special
name; others, lacking these, created them through their own
enormous power. At the death of one of these incumbents,
424 his name passed to one of his relatives who acted in the same
463 manner as his predecessor after duly validating the name in
553 question. Ever since that time, the owner of a confirmed pro-
fessional name has been able to perform the functions of the
* 556 prerogative. This is never a man's sole designation, but merely
[551] an addition to those of ancestral, *kusiut*, *sisaok*, and other
types. Like them, professional names are usually willed by
their owners, though if this is neglected, one can be revived by
any member of the deceased's ancestral family. In such a case,
the older people usually decide on a suitable incumbent and
suggest the matter to him; if he does not accept, the oppor-
tunity is given to another. If a member of the group is eager
to validate the name, it is unlikely that anyone would try to
[789] forestall him. Ability in certain respects can also be obtained
by magical means (I, p. 701), and a member of the ancestral
family so endowed is the natural choice for the prerogative in
question.

Prerogatives of this kind can be grouped according to the types of vocation included.

THE PROFESSION OF RIVER GUARDIAN

424
463 In the beginning of time, *Ałquntām* is said to have sent
551 down with *Ło̧il*, who landed on the mountain behind *Ło̧mqo·ts*,
• 693
773

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a man, *ux·winaisa*, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience 424
to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it 463
has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this func- 551
tion. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the valid- 693
ation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary
ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but [773]
non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required
by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name *ux·winaisa*
has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been en- 784
forced concerning the river: No refuse may be thrown in, 825
otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the 226
same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe
lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them [515]
from seeing the route. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes 841
is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the [562]
fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the
bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to
drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical
period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can
be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed [502]
must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose
husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at [765]
the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of
the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be
deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would
smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the
upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are con-
sidered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the 688
salmon and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the 693
offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringe-
ments, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river.
The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be
swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

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688 his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the
693 upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse
into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the
[177] coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without
hesitation.

THE PROFESSION OF UTTERING A DRONING CRY

424 At the appearance of masked figures representing super-
551 natural beings, whether in *sisaok* or *kusiut* dances, many of the
women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry
[575] which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness
[463] of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral
prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents.
[431] Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women
[773] were given by *Ālquntäm*, or acquired in other ways, the right
to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with
respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously de-
scribed, many of the first women possessed this privilege,
which is accordingly common at the present time. A name
[553] of this type is usually confirmed in girlhood, sometimes even
in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be
validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One
of these names is *Nunuqwełełslaiżen·a*, which has reference to
[773] the blue-green sheen of some abalone-shell brought from the
east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the
ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many
[178] years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this
prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to
drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to
increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

424 There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incum-
767 bent to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of
time, *Smaoan* of Kimsquit married *Ťläkwaitl*, the daughter of
463 a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been
773 transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kims-
quit.

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701 difficult to estimate the former influence of such warriors. The belief of all in their ability must have given them some prestige, although the requirements of practical qualifications in fighting must often have prevented them from functioning as military leaders. In other words, a man may be, socially, a warrior, even though he lacks ability as a fighting man.

701 The functions of warriors are not limited to fighting with enemies of other tribes. Each has the power to kill and must 693 exercise it when requested. If a mistake is made in a cere- [688] monial *kusiut* dance, the offender must be killed, and one way [575] in which this is accomplished is by the senior members of the society requesting a professional warrior to act as executioner. [428] One of these men, who lived at *Äsän·än·i*, always used a stone [411] club which had been handed down from generation to generation, becoming the property of each new incumbent of the [754] name and prerogative. In other cases, the killing is said to have been done with the aid of magic. The power of the *Äsän·än·i* warrior had been confirmed with so much goods that he was the most powerful professional killer known to the Bella Coola. He acted on instructions from the senior members of the *kusiut* society or when called upon by anyone. If, [684] for example, a man found that his wife had been faithless and wished to kill her lover, it was only necessary to tell the professional warrior, who was bound to act in accordance with his prerogative. He received no pay, since he was merely [682] exercising his right. The relatives of the murdered person never took revenge on the slayer, realizing that he was powerless in the matter, though they frequently requested him to slay the person who had asked him to kill the first victim. He could never refuse to do so, even if the victim were his own brother, or if he knew that the person he was to kill was guiltless. The underlying principle was that this man's power had [761] been increased to such a pitch by the distribution of presents that if he failed to exercise it on demand, it would react upon himself and cause his own death. This *Äsän·än·i* warrior began in time to have an aversion for his vocation, since he

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was being feared and hated by all. Yet his prerogative was so strong that he could not cease to act. He found by chance a cave near the top of precipitous Mount *Nusimusta*, not far from his village, and told everyone that he would die there, where no one would ever be able to spit or tread upon his grave. One autumn, when an old man, he disappeared, and although search parties scoured the woods for him, they were unsuccessful. Next spring, some young men visited the cave in which they found his badly decomposed corpse; the warrior had kept his promise. 701 693

The profession of warrior carries with it prohibitions and requirements other than with regard to killing. Such men are thought always to be so wild and restless that they cannot sleep at night, but prowl around the village watching for possible foes. In actual fact, warriors seldom sleep quietly throughout the night. They have one restriction of a social nature, in that they can never be confined in the back-room as initiates into the *susaok* society. Consequently, no *tutwinam* ever comes to one of them. When one gives a potlatch, a rather boastful song is sung for him as he remains in the central part of the house. What affiliation this brings him with the *susaok* society is obscure. 701 [575]

It is difficult to say to what extent a professional warrior believes in his own powers, since there is, and must always have been, great individual variation. The white man finds it difficult to understand the psychology of a man who considers himself bound to kill on request, simply because presents have been distributed to make him a warrior. It must be remembered that this is one of the most pervasive features of Bella Coola life; functions of all kinds depend upon validated prerogatives, and there is no doubt that a man who has one of this kind is actually influenced to such an extent that he begins to believe in his own prowess. It was unusual for a warrior to exercise his powers as freely as did the *Ǎsän·än·i* man, but the Bella Coola have no difficulty in explaining this:—his prerogative had been confirmed with more lavish expenditure 156 701

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* 756 called out to him, and then remembered no more. It was
775 obvious that she had seen a ghost.

[787] It is over diseases caused by ghosts that a shaman from the dead has power. If a person picks up and eats any morsels
753 which he has dropped he will usually suffer, because, though
* 756 he thinks the crumbs have fallen, they have really been pulled
775 from his hands by a hungry ghost, who thus showed his desire for food. By picking up and eating the fragments, the man
[264] thwarts a dead person who retaliates by forcing some sickness into him. Ghosts may visit this land of the living and ask their relatives for food or clothing, but mortals, unable to hear the speech of the dead, are unaware of the requests of their deceased relatives, and so do not answer them. The irritated ghosts respond by causing sickness. In such cases a shaman
755 from the dead is able to suck out the cause of the ill, and some-
* 756 times to display it as a bone, twig, or other small object and at the same time to tell the sufferer what it was that his relatives desired. Like ordinary shamans, a shaman from the dead uses his own discretion whether or not to employ the violent beating of sticks, and like his fellow-practitioner re-
[465] ceives payment from those whom he has helped. There are no fixed charges, but a successful shaman is always wealthy.

* 756 The intimate contact of ghosts with shamans has already
787 been mentioned in connection with the ability of the latter to learn from the ghost of a murdered person whom he believes
● 694 to be his slayer.

There is one method of sacrificial curing practised by
755 shamans from the dead alone. If the sickness refuses to yield
* 756 to ordinary methods, the practitioner makes ten cedar-bark
782 vessels, fills these with grease and places them near the fire, one between it and the door, one on the inner side, and four on either side of it, parallel to the side walls of the house. By each vessel are placed two small wooden figures, roughly carved to represent men, and decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark. After endeavouring to suck forth the disease, with or without the assistance of the frenzied beating of sticks, the

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754 in a skirmish by the Carriers, one of their women mutilated a body by poking out the eyes. The corpses were rescued and [727] a Bella Coola with secret knowledge dropped into the eye sockets some potent medicine. As the corpses rotted, the murderers began to suffer pains, and the woman who had poked out the eyes lost her sight. As a blind, old woman, she had been seen by several men with whom the matter was discussed.

To Cause the Death of a Murderer (three means)

(1) Two women were murdered at Kimsquit in 1915. 754 Before they were buried, an elderly Bella Coola put a secret 682 medicine on the back of the neck of each so that the murderer [766] would die from a disease located there. Within eight months, a Rivers Inlet man succumbed to a deep sore at the back of the neck, and it was assumed that he must have visited Kimsquit unseen and perpetrated the double murder.

Medicines like this and the preceding are widely known, but it is sorcerers who specialize in using them.

(2) When a man dies suddenly and murder is suspected, [766] although the perpetrator is unknown, place the corpse within an old, hollow spruce log. As it rots, needles and dirt enter the flesh and at the same time the body of the murderer becomes lacerated and full of sores. This method was employed [695] during the lifetime of an informant and caused the death of the suspected murderer, whose guilt was thereby accepted as proved.

(3) Bury the victim's body with a toad in its mouth and [766] the murderer will soon die.*

To Kill 754

Lift a corpse from the ground and point it at one or more individuals. This causes their death in the near future.

*This information was obtained from one informant only; details were unavailable, and confirmation from others could not be secured.

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grave. When, presently, he feels sick and believes that the ghost has caused the malady, he throws the object he has obtained on a fire and allows the smoke to drift over his body. It is not known how this destroys the power of the dead victim. 755 775

At present (1922), in case of unexpected death in which murder is suspected, the relatives keep the body under lock and key and watch carefully to see whether anyone tries to gain access to it. To endeavour to do so would be considered proof of guilt. For the same reason, they may place boards over the grave and watch it for several weeks. As already described, a middle-aged woman died unexpectedly in 1922. Her father, believing that she had been murdered, expressed the opinion that a certain man was the criminal and that he would die within a year. He outlived this period by three weeks and it was generally agreed that the power of thought had been sufficient to cause the death. Apparently, the father shared this view and expected the ghost of the alleged murderer to be hostile, for he made two efforts to enter the shed where the body was lying, but the relatives of the deceased foiled him by locking all doors and windows. When he himself died a few weeks later, it was taken for granted that the ghost had exacted vengeance. [695]

To Cure a Malady Caused by a Sorcerer

The most complicated medicine about which information was obtained was one employed by an elderly Bella Coola who had incurred the enmity of a sorcerer. The latter had succeeded in breaking a triangular bone in the man's chest which would have caused his death if his mother had not consulted an old woman who knew the proper remedy for such an ailment. This knowledge had been handed down in her family for generations and she was rewarded lavishly for her services. It will be convenient to refer to the patient as X and the old woman who treated him as Y. 755 [424]

X's mother requested the services of Y who agreed to assist and called upon her husband to help her. They scoured the

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quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type. 424 767 463

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly validated before she can function. One of these is *Stlxwaxwak-nimăn·a*, another is *Łe'ye*. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditized. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to ripen the berries. 222 424 [463] [551] [562] [532] [789]

"Get ready to pick red elderberries [or whatever species is ripe] tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. As far as could be learnt, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker; obedience seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared. [688] [183]

THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring validation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors confirmed as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal on them of professional names. At the present time, it is 701 [424] [463] [431] [551]

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701 difficult to estimate the former influence of such warriors. The belief of all in their ability must have given them some prestige, although the requirements of practical qualifications in fighting must often have prevented them from functioning as military leaders. In other words, a man may be, socially, a warrior, even though he lacks ability as a fighting man.

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701 than that of anyone else. The Bella Coola do not rationalize
156 in a scientific manner; if a man holds a belief firmly, he acts on it without questioning its logic. Moreover, if a professional warrior functions a number of times, this in itself is enough to strengthen his conviction that he must act henceforth in the same way. It can be said with confidence that the owner of
[463] a professional prerogative has considerable belief in his own powers, that this acts on himself to render him proficient, and that the majority of the community have respect for his capabilities.

555 THE PROFESSION OF SINGER

424 Singing is one of the professions open to a Bella Coola
533 either through natural ability or an ancestral prerogative. There is a constant need for men able to sing and compose
[463] songs for every kind of ceremonial, so a young man of talent has little difficulty in gaining admittance to the choir. He may even win great distinction and become recognized as the leading authority on musical matters. None the less, his success is considered to be accidental and unsubstantial, lacking the foundation that comes from the possession of a duly validated professional prerogative. A person made a singer by the latter means may be entirely unable to compose; in this case he is not a member of the choir, although he enjoys the social distinction which he has won by distributing goods to confirm his professional name. The singer most respected is he who combines with natural ability a confirmed prerogative to give substance and power to his position and composi-
[553] tions. At the death of such an one, an effort is always made
[428] by the members of his ancestral family to transmit the name to a youth who has shown musical promise. Arguments and
[578] differences of opinion are common among the members of the choir and in such cases the self-assurance and influence of a man whose position has been made strong by the distribution of presents often outweighs that of one who can rely only on his actual ability.

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533*

Fragment of a Song Used for Sinxälotla, a Man of Salmon House(a)

Wikelqwlkslaix	*wammg*
Whence came those(b)	who were too late?

No more of this song is remembered.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 9e, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Refers to guests at the potlatch.

Fragment of a Song Used for Łäloxman·a of Kimsquit(a)

Xatiqwoiye	*xatiqwoiye*	*kunslai*
I am happy at seeing you(b),	I am happy at seeing you,	good-bye(c).

No more of this song is remembered.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 31b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Presumably refers to the dancer's *tutwinam*, Beaver, obtained from his mother's mother, a Kitlobe woman. [424]
(c) This word is said to be in the Haida language.

Song(a) Used for Laxaiyao·k'(b) of Kimsquit(c)

A Känunulnusämdimutdjmalsan	*Qo'owai(d)*
I make two of myself(e),	Raven(f),
skäqundjakaiyasinndja	*Qo'owai*
I make a huge whale of myself,	Raven,

ahas·ultänusudax	*Känixnikdinitsmälsin*	*skäqundjakaiyasinndja*
at the place of lucky finds (g).	People will dismember me,	I make a huge whale of myself(h).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Känuilmlgsitsk$^{w'}$	*dets·ultatslaix*	*skäqoog$^{w'}$ stulsdai*
I stand upon	my point(i);	I cry out loudly(j)

distälumgsdai
with respect to my position as chief.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Kästixwäkapk'a	*Skilaiyoodjudap*	*Olaqwiämsimals*	*wasulakasls*
Go yourselves!	Pick out what you want!	My house	is open(k).

(a) It is doubtful whether or not this song should be included in this section. It was used by a professional warrior at a potlatch but, like all others with his [701] [575] [424]

*533 prerogative, he was debarred from seclusion in the back-room and consequent
[701] initiation as a *sisaok*. The exact relationship between warriors and members of
[575] the *sisaok* society is obscure.

[424] (*b*) *Laxaiyao·k'* is a Kitkatla name from the north. The first owner moved to Kitlobe where he married, and the designation was transmitted to his descendants.
[177] One of the latter migrated to Kimsquit, where the name has since been handed down from generation to generation though its original source has not been forgotten.

(*c*) Recorded as song VII D 36, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been used about 1870.

(*d*) Vocative form.

(*e*) That is: I double my importance. This kind of expression is popular among chiefs.

[424] (*f*) *Qowi* is one of the ancestral names of Raven, the dancer's crest. In thus addressing the bird, he called attention to his ancestral history.

[262] (*g*) The home of the first *Laxaiyao·k'* was near a point where dead whales often drifted ashore. The dancer likens himself to a whale on which people will dine.

(*h*) Such repetition is not uncommon. The dancer implies that his wealth will be divided in a manner similar to the cutting up of a whale's carcass.

(*i*) *A promontory owned by the first Laxaiyao·k'.*

(*j*) That is: I summon people [to a feast.]

(*k*) An invitation not to be taken too literally.

Xe·tla Songs

The tunes of *xe·tla* songs are believed to have been handed down, unaltered, for many generations. The words, too, are frequently ancient although the singers sometimes make slight changes so that they will be more suitable for the chief in whose honour they are being sung. Owing to the decline of cere-
[796] monials in which they were used, few *xe·tla* songs are now remembered.

Xe·tla Song Used by Sinugwil of Kimsquit(a)

[727]

A Alinaywao	*Ahlxwal'alpdai*	*Di stałtaimydai*	*dänuilmik*
Come!	See!	The chief	a man stands in the bow(*b*)

di yälxwtsal'aikdai
of those who travelled everywhere.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Alaiqwalnxgaosts	*dä'änänuskilsdax*	*aiyatätyämätlalsdax*
He did so,	my pattern(*c*),	whence I came(*d*);

721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided
648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
[727] of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but
[628] were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the help of *Q̓omqo·ts*, the most exposed one, although there was no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of
[776] this town attributed their protection to *Ätquntäm*, and used to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune
[361] owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola itself was comparatively free from molestation, Kimsquit and
[162] *Täl·io*, with smaller populations and less strategic positions, were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and entered by a water-gate with a drop-door.[3] This water-gate protected the
[648] residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one
[726] Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders, armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way
[642] and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong govern-
[623] ment was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being assailed, the members of the town would discuss retaliation,
[622] and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was decided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually
[701] a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[3]It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. 721
If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to 701
serve under him, but he could not compel the services of any- 622
one except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to [626]
follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion [628]
usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of
other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join
the party. If some of their relatives had been slain in the
previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the retali-
ation, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could
attract them. No case is known in which all the Bella Coola [642]
villages joined in a single expedition; there were often tem- [628]
porary alliances between neighbouring settlements, but com-
plete lack of central organization. The course of events was
similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of
avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been [648]
enslaved by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother
of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was
to kill a slave belonging to the murderers, though sometimes
he led a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the 726
same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped 411
arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were
also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed
like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was
relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a
distance with much noise, boasting, and expletives, but few
casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers suc-
ceeded in surprising a village at night. Hostilities are a thing
of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed
information respecting offensive weapons. Armour consisted 714
of maple or birch slats reinforced with moosehide and worn 726
around the body and chest; this rendered quick movement
difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were intro- [411]
duced many years ago and armour consequently became use- [177]
less. Large shields of moosehide were carried in all canoes,

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

714 and one was held up by the bow paddler as the craft neared the
726 shore to protect him and those behind from arrows and stones cast by slings. When not in use, shields were laid away in boxes with some white substance resembling flour.[8] On the
[103] shore of the fiord below Bella Coola, opposite Winter Bay, there are some boulders of the same white tint; even now these are often spoken of as "The Shields of the Bella Coola." It is said that hostile raiders, seeing them, used to remark that they had reached the outposts of Bella Coola.

726 The same lack of leadership shown during preparations for a war was evident during hostilities. The so-called leader had
●701 little authority over his men, who could desert and return home
703 at any time. Lack of martial ability among their own chiefs
[648] sometimes led the Bella Coola to place themselves under the authority of a Bella Bella in a way which would be impossible
[642] for a war-like people. Frequently such divided leadership led to disaster, and is the surest proof that the Bella Coola were not as aggressive or bellicose as other coastal tribes.

726 Except when attacking the Carriers, all raiding parties
[533] embarked in canoes and followed a definite order of procedure
[703] handed down from the past. In the stern of each craft sat the captain, a chief, who, as the craft was leaving, began to sing his *xe·tla* song, keeping time to it with the beats of his paddle; the recounting of the glories of their ancestors was supposed to encourage the warriors. Instead of leaving simultaneously, a rendezvous was often chosen down the fiord, and the expedition finally moved off from there when all the canoes had arrived. While still in friendly territory, a flotilla proceeded
726 openly. A small amount of dried salmon and water was car-
789 ried by a war party and morsels of the former were eaten at intervals. The bow-man took as much food and drink as he thought could be consumed at one sitting, put a fragment of dried salmon in his mouth, chewed it four times on the same side of his mouth as he was paddling, and swallowed it. Then

[8]Some undetermined substance said to have had protective or preservative qualities.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15
Bellabella NE5

B 648 721 celebrated *Tcubsa* was he who held sway between 1850 and 1870, a man of almost gigantic proportions, of tremendous physical strength, and endowed with force of character and initiative as well. T 622 648 721 Pitted against him, the Kimsquit people suffered even more than before; there were few direct assaults, but Kitkatla canoes seemed always to be lurking in the vicinity, ready to kill or enslave heedless fishermen or those travelling between Kimsquit and Bella Coola or *Täl·io*. Friends of the victims repeatedly discussed counter-measures, but lack of leadership prevented them from coming to a decision for several years.

B Bb 648 721 One winter, about the middle of the last century,[4] the Kimsquit determined to take the offensive in May. This plan was discussed both at Bella Coola and *Täl·io*; at *Ḷomqo·ts* the leading chief, *Nusmäs·a*, gave his support and many men whose relatives had been killed or enslaved promised to join the Kimsquit raiders. Among others who took part in the conference was a certain *Lo·qwa·t*, an influential Bella Bella chief who chanced to be visiting relatives in *Ḷomqo·ts* at the time. It was decided that the rendezvous should be *Ḷotlnalos*, on Labouchere Channel.

B [701] During the spring those who planned to take part in the expedition busied themselves with their preparations. No one knew how large would be the force, since as usual, everyone used his own discretion whether or not to join it; some did so to avenge injuries to their relatives, some merely to display martial ability, whereas others declined to repay their wrongs. At last the appointed date came round, and some fifty B Bb 648 canoes, each containing twenty to thirty men, gathered at the appointed place.[5] Thence they set out and encamped for the first night at Scratch River, *Ḷeldjut*, near Bella Bella. *Lo·qwa·t* knew the time of meeting and B [724] the route that would be followed, so sent out two lads to hunt deer at the spot, though, not wishing to circulate news of the raiders, he did not tell them what they were likely to find. The two hunters stumbled upon the encampment without being observed, and hurried home to report what they had seen. *Lo·qwa·t* had intended to join the party, so he Bb [713] [177] now set out in a small canoe with the two as paddlers, after warning them that they must say nothing at home of his movements. His war equipment consisted of a musket and two palette-shaped boards with small

[4]The approximate date was judged from the fact that the old man who told of the expedition in 1922 said that his father was about five years of age at the time.
[5]The strength of the expedition was probably exaggerated.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bellabella NE5

divisions, each containing a loaded and measured charge; these were novelties recently obtained in trade from the white man and considered very valuable. On reaching the place where the Bella Coola canoes were drawn up, *Lo·qwa·t* called out four times:

"*Nusmāt·a*, are you there?"

On being answered in the affirmative, *Lo·qwa·t* leapt ashore, sent back his own canoe, and definitely joined the expedition.

The Bella Bella chief gave *Nusmāt·a* one of the prized palette-shaped boards, and the recipient repaid this overwhelming generosity with the gift of a marten-skin coat which he was wearing. A Kimsquit chief likewise gave *Lo·qwa·t* a valuable blanket-coat. As usual, the war-party was suffering from lack of leadership. *Lo·qwa·t*, a properly validated warrior, was a man who had given many potlatches, and though not a Bella Coola, was related to them by blood; in addition, he alone knew the route to Kitkatla, so he virtually assumed command, although many of the Bella Coola were unwilling followers. *Lo·qwa·t* suggested an immediate move, and gained his point owing to the fact that no one had a definite counter-suggestion. After travelling seven miles in the darkness, *Lo·qwa·t* massed the canoes to address his ill-disciplined and somewhat uncertain force. He pointed out that the way to Kitkatla was long and difficult and that it would be dangerous to attack their northern foe-men, but that the *Waoyel·a*[8] near at hand would be an easy prey. The Bella Coola had no quarrel with these people, and were reluctant to attack them, especially as there had been inter-marriage between the two tribes. *Lo·qwa·t* spoke fluently, saying that the *Waoyel·a* had mocked him in their potlatches, and that many of their women, gathering sea-weed on lonely beaches at this season, would be easy victims. His arguments were given strength by the fact that he was a *numitl* chief and warrior; no one dared to stand against him, so it was decided to follow his wishes, though the Bella Coola stipulated that none of the *Waoyel·a* were to be killed.

The flotilla continued and in the early dawn raided a small *Waoyel·a* settlement and captured several slaves. Continuing their journey, they took prisoner a number of women who were gathering sea-weed, and destroyed the supplies which had been stored up. *Lo·qwa·t* had joined the expedition merely in hope of getting revenge upon the *Waoyel·a*; now that this end was accomplished, he was willing and eager to return home, but uncertain how to leave his followers.

With this in view, *Lo·qwa·t* suggested an attack on a China Hat settlement, adding that he knew where some of their frames[7] used in Cannibal dances were stored, and that the China Hat people were too arrogant

[8]Probably one of the Bella Bella-speaking groups.
[7]Such as were covered with meat to represent human bodies.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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726 shore to protect him and those behind from arrows and stones cast by slings. When not in use, shields were laid away in boxes with some white substance resembling flour.[3] On the
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2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

B 721 these accounts seemed to be exaggerations, and the casualties were probably few. The Bella Coola did not have the same [554] admiration for the successful warrior as for the man who gave many potlatches, while everything indicates that their raids B were on a small scale, rendered singularly ineffective by lack [703] of discipline.

Specific Accounts

B 72 Active warfare has been so long discontinued on the coast that none of the living Bella Coola can describe conditions as 128 they existed during hostilities. It was possible to collect the *539 following accounts of raids and adventures which, though individually of small value, illustrate tactics and strategy, and recount incidents which throw light on the frame of mind of the participants.

B T 648 721

Kitkatla War

For many years there was animosity between the Bella Coola and the Kitkatla who, with the advantage of strong government, used to sweep down from the north for salmon and slaves. Bella Coola itself was comparatively immune from attack, but the Kimsquit people suffered severely. The attackers were not always successful; one old man related how, when his mother's mother was an infant, they were driven off with the loss of four canoes and many men. The fact that this B incident had been remembered for so many years indicates that T it was unusual.

567 Slaves captured in this way were traded from tribe to tribe *39 and rarely escaped. When an elderly Bella Coola was a lad, there was considerable excitement in the community owing to [727] the return of *Stukwala*, a woman who had been carried off when a girl. She had been traded to a northern tribe among whom, she said, it was customary to crush captives beneath totem-poles and house-posts. Her diligence saved her from this fate, and she was passed on until she reached the far north, on the

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

B for *Qolxwelioti*'s death, that he was sure the wealthy man was really a
C sorcerer, and had used some evil means to cause the fisherman's drowning.
648 *Qāmālxem* was distantly related to the dead man and, thus incited, deter-
721 mined to kill *Nānātl* in revenge. That evening, as he was lying playing
B with his grandchild, the Carrier chief entered his house and thrust a
musket against the unsuspecting man's chest. *Nānātl* quickly knocked
[556] down the muzzle so that the bullet, instead of killing him, merely passed
[754] through the fleshy part of his hips. *Qāmālxem* made no attempt to run
away. In such cases it rests with the relatives of the injured man whether
or not to take revenge, and they usually avoid beginning a vendetta
unless virtually driven to it. News of the assault spread down the valley,
and two of *Nānātl*'s nephews, *Ṭsā·kmai* and *Oḑmikuṃ*, went up to in-
vestigate. They were both men of considerable influence in the com-
munity, both validated warriors who had taken prominent parts in the
unsuccessful attack on Kitkatla a few years before. Realizing that their
uncle was not seriously wounded, the two brothers [illegible]
canoe, intending to take him home and to disregard the assault.

During this time, the evil *Nusḑalst* man had been working on *Qāmāl-
xem*'s fears by telling him that *Nānātl* was certain to kill him by magical
means, until he decided that he could escape only by murdering the
wounded man. His followers learnt of this and tried to dissuade him,
B fearing the presence of the two famous warriors. As their canoe was
C going downstream, it was caught in an eddy and tipped so that one
648 musket and both cartridge boards were lost. This seemed to *Qāmālxem*
the chance for which he had been waiting: he fired from the bank and
726 *Nānātl* fell dead, much to the consternation of his own followers as well
as the *Nusḑalst* people.

If *Ṭsā·kmai* and *Oḑmikuṃ* had been ordinary men they would prob-
ably have fled downstream but, being duly validated men of valour, this
course never occurred to them.[14] *Oḑmikuṃ*, who had one charge left in
his musket, consulted his brother as to their course of action.

"*Nānātl* is dead," his brother replied. "It is probably time for us to
die as well. You had better shoot."

Meanwhile *Qāmālxem* had remained on the bank, laughing at the two
warriors. *Oḑmikuṃ* told him to be silent, then fired, instantly killing
his uncle's murderer. The Carriers began to run to and fro on the shore,
whence they could hear the two brothers talking to each other:

"Let us not think of escaping," said one. "We have displayed our
B characters today. If we are to die, let us die."

[703] [14]The man from whom this account was obtained mentioned as a matter of course that confirmed warriors could never run away; when questioned further, he emphasized that the public validation of bravery made it utterly impossible for them to flee from danger.

177 fathers. Inherited beliefs are too deep-rooted to pass away
771 entirely within a few generations. Even those who claim to
have adopted the new faith remain convinced of the potency
[181] of magic, and of the existence of those supernatural creatures
which do not actively conflict with the white man's creed.
Such lack of consistency is a world-wide trait, particularly
intelligible among the Bella Coola whose philosophy abounds
in contradictions, dependent upon statements handed down
in the origin myths of different families.

626 The Bella Coola are constrained not only by the omni-
presence of supernatural beings; they are constantly subjected
[181] to the influence of their fellows. They are far less individual-
istic than white people. A chief may boast that he can do as
[622] he pleases, that he can disregard the restrictions of lesser men;
he often does so, but only because public opinion recognizes
that he has reached a position of eminence by giving many
potlatches. The duly validated warrior is brave because he
[703] feels that everyone is aware of his valour. The man who per-
forms some ceremony in accordance with an ancestral myth
[769] incorporates himself with his forbears, and is strengthened by
the conviction that he has gained their support and appro-
bation. In every phase of life, a person is profoundly affected
177 by the approval or disapproval of his neighbours. At present
626 the construction of small houses, each occupied by a single
342 family, makes it possible for a man to hide himself, or to do
work unknown to the rest of the community. This lessens the
force of public opinion, although it is even now more potent
than conscience in checking anti-social acts. Formerly, in
communal houses, every action was fully known, making indi-
vidual freedom of thought and act virtually impossible. A man
[602] is chiefly influenced by his relatives who take a great share in
what the white man would consider purely family affairs. The
effect of the group upon the individual must not be overlooked,
nor can it be over-stressed in a study of these people.

177 The education and conversion of the younger men have
626 enormously lessened their reliance upon their fellows. In former
182
561

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

133 on the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, east of the Necleetsconnay. Before merging their waters with North Bentinck Arm the three flow more slowly and there are extensive tide-flats (see Plate 8). Several villages formerly clustered
361 around their mouths.

(1) *Ẽmax:* on the west bank of the Necleetsconnay about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. Nothing is known of this long-abandoned village of which even the name is uncertain. The mountain that rises behind its site is called *Ẽmax*, and it is supposed that the village had the same designation. Some of the older people state that there was no town, only a temporary hunting station, at this spot.

(2) *Tsisklmy*, "Short Feet" (?) on the very shore of North Bentinck Arm, west and north of the mouth of the Necleetsconnay. The fiord terminates in a tolerably square end, running north and south, and this town was at the northern edge. It was built on piles and the inhabitants could step to the ground only at low tide. This is the explanation given of the peculiar name, a reference to the curtailed walking space. Long ago it was a large town, but was probably occupied only
[166] during the winter. In summer the people are believed to have moved to *Namdmoc*, "The Place of Flies," on the north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

[712] *(3) *Ilpklkul*, "The Fenced Town," so called because it was stockaded: near the south bank of the *Fe-xsb*, about a quarter of a mile from the sea, near the site of the present mission church. It was inhabited until about 1870. According to one informant this village was founded by a certain *Tsisdewum*, a descendant of *Tsisdwuis*, who decided to move close to the river.

(4) *Tlsqo-ol*, "Small Mound," so called from the knoll on which it was situated: above *Ilpklkul*, and about one-half mile to the north of the present Bella Coola River. Its site is crossed by the road connecting the Indian village of Bella Coola with the white settlement of the same name.

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648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
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[1] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

Tsimshian NE5
Kwakiutl NE10

learned. This ill-will has continued up to the present time. In 1920 word reached Bella Coola that Tsakoe had approached a Quatsino chief and asked him to spread the rumour that the missing party had been drowned at sea, at the same time admitting what had taken place. A year later a hell-bound Kwakiutl, hunting on Virgin Rocks, happened to uncover the bones buried beneath the log. There the matter rests for the moment so far as the Bella Coola are concerned, but they express the opinion that the continued ill-will may cause bloodshed at any time.

It must be remembered that the above account of this recent history with the Kitkatla is of a partisan nature. No attempt was made to have the Kitkatla side of the matter, so that the version here given may or may not be the truth. It has been inserted as an illustration of Bella Coola attitude, and of the manner in which, formerly, deaths, fears and suspicions led to war. This would certainly have been the case in the present instance but for the moderating influence of the white man's rule.

[illegible] WAR

Only slightly less feared than the Kitkatla were the Kwakiutl speaking peoples, especially those inhabiting Knight's Inlet, Kingcome Inlet, and Blunden Harbour, who were known collectively as *Dzelkanoe*. As Tsakoe was feared among the northern raiders, so was *Siwid* among the southerners. Bella Coola itself was too difficult of access and too densely populated to be successfully attacked, but Pa'a was subject to numerous raids. Even more disconcerting was the constant danger of lurking foemen; one year it would be a hunter who was surprised and killed, the next a party of women would be carried off while picking berries.

The raiders became so bold that the inhabitants of one of the Pa'a villages decided to defend themselves by building a stockade. Everyone assented to the task, so that the fortification was soon completed. It consisted of a fence of vertical logs with a platform running around near the top, on the inner side, on which the defenders could stand, and a water-gate through which canoes could enter at high tide. It accommodated five or six houses and was planned as a place of refuge for all the Pa'a villages. One of the two chiefs brought for the stockade was Ielkwa, and there was considerable discussion as to whether it should be used, but finally it was set up with the others. A Kwakiutl who was visiting Pa'a at the time took notice of this weakness, but no one seems to have suspected that he would inform his friends of it when he went home.

The summer after the stockade had been completed the Kwakiutl discussed the usual raid on Pa'a; one of the principal chiefs opposed an expedition on the ground of the reported strength of the defence, but

[a powerful Tsimshian chief = Anthropol]

6:Boas E-5 (1886--ca. 1890):1892
NEA Bellacoola NEA

hair with white eagle-down. Warriors who on a war party used not drink more than four mouthfuls of water, else they would be killed. A watchman was appointed in each canoe, who sat in the bow. On landing near the village of their enemies they divided themselves into a number of parties, one house of the village being assigned to each. Then, early in the morning, when all were asleep, they rushed up to the village uttering their war cry 'wu!'. They took a stand at the fire which burns in the centre of the house, and if any one of the enemies succeeded in taking up his arms and came out of his bedroom they killed him. Then they entered the bedrooms, killed the men, and took the women and children along as slaves. The heads of the dead were cut off, the houses burnt, and they returned home singing war-songs. The heads which they had taken along were then scalped, and the scalps tied to each end of a pole. When they approached their village one man stood up in the bow of each canoe and swung the pole to which the scalps were attached, and they all sang songs, to which their deeds were recounted. The scalps were valued the higher the longer and fuller the hair. They were used in the dances.

The following tales of war expeditions offer some points of interest. About thirty or forty years ago there was a freshet at Bella Coola. The people went overland to Knight Inlet, which belongs to the Tsonqua, a tribe of the Kwakiutl, to fish there. The Tsonqua made fun of them, took from them the fish they caught, tore the blankets from the backs of the women, and ordered many of them. Finally the Bilqula returned home. There they held a council and resolved to make war upon the Tsonqua. The Tsimsh joined them in this expedition. They ordered the mountains to turn down. When they approached Knight Inlet they sent two spies in advance, who were to count the number of houses in the village of the Tsonqua. Early in the morning they attacked the houses and killed a great many men. The Tsonqua could not escape, as they were hemmed in by the river. The Bilqula slew them with knives, bows, and stone axes. They took away the children of the women, having them tattooed, and adopted them as shameful hostile to revenge for the disgrace put upon their wives and daughters. Then they burnt the village.

About thirty-five years ago the Tsilx'ten were attacked by the Kwakiutl. Originally they intended to attack Nuqa'lks, but the seers, according to the narrators, changed their mind, as he always protects the village of Nuqa'lks. They came in many canoes, while most of the Tsilx'ten were at the lake, which is situated above that town, fishing. Four men were in charge of the village, and a number of old men and women had also remained at home. The father of Pax'ts'ts, who told one of these events, happened to be out picking berries, accompanied by his wife. He saw the canoes passing by and kept himself hidden. The village of Tsilx'ten was at that time surrounded by a strong stockade, which consisted of a double row of palisades covered with thorns. At each corner there was a strong box fastened on the stockade like a tower. Here watchmen were stationed, who were able to shoot at the enemy while being themselves protected. At that time the Tsilx'ten had only bows guns. The Kwakiutl sent out two spies, who reported that the village was well fortified. The Tsilx'ten had seen the canoes coming and were on their guard. The Kwakiutl thought that they would not be able to enter the village until after the stockade had been destroyed.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Dance of the Murdered Slave]

* 575 * 796 women drone, then she leaves the house, ostensibly to return to her repository up the valley.

The singers at once begin to compose a new song, describing X's visitor and something of her history. The ritual that follows is that of the ordinary *lsuxtāmem* and requires no special description. On the night of *nusiutālsap* a large number of masks are ordered, including one series representing wasps, another of young lads, and still another of the latter with swollen faces. The only other part of the dance with a distinctive ritual is that of *nebusam*. [532]

In the early evening the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to inspect the enormous wasps' nest which the carpenters have erected behind the fire. In recent years this has been made of canvas, taking the place of matting. Within are several stages, on which the defenders stand, each a *kusiut* wearing a wasp's mask and carrying a miniature bow and arrow. The attackers are other members of the society chosen for their small stature and armed with clubs and branches; each wears a boy's mask and each carries a second, representing the same individual with badly swollen face. Considerable time is required to perfect the arrangements and select the performers, but at last all is in readiness and the uninitiated are called in. [532] [178]

They marvel at the enormous wasps' nest and presently witness an assault on it. The attackers, protected by armour, valiantly beat on the structure with clubs as they swing their branches as if brushing away the angry insects; this is the way that boys normally attack a wasps' nest. The defenders discharge their arrows and at intervals one of the attackers calls out in pain and falls down, presently rising with badly swollen face. The uninitiated do not realize that he has slipped the second mask from beneath his blanket to his face. X stands at one side, throwing his arm with a sweeping motion in the direction of the combat, while *Awe'likwelsair* gives her customary explanations. At last the nest is beaten down whereupon one of the Cannibals begins to growl and the uninitiated rush away. The ritual concludes in the usual way. [714] [825]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. 721
If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to 701
serve under him, but he could not compel the services of any- 622
one except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to [626]
follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion [628]
usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of
other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join
the party. If some of their relatives had been slain in the
previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the retali-
ation, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could
attract them. No case is known in which all the Bella Coola [642]
villages joined in a single expedition; there were often tem- [628]
porary alliances between neighbouring settlements, but com-
plete lack of central organization. The course of events was
similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of
avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been [648]
enslaved by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother
of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was
to kill a slave belonging to the murderers, though sometimes
he led a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the 726
same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped 411
arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were
also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed
like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was
relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a
distance with much noise, boasting, and expletives, but few
casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers suc-
ceeded in surprising a village at night. Hostilities are a thing
of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed
information respecting offensive weapons. Armour consisted 714
of maple or birch slats reinforced with moosehide and worn 726
around the body and chest; this rendered quick movement
difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were intro- [411]
duced many years ago and armour consequently became use- [177]
less. Large shields of moosehide were carried in all canoes,

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714 and one was held up by the bow paddler as the craft neared the
726 shore to protect him and those behind from arrows and stones cast by slings. When not in use, shields were laid away in boxes with some white substance resembling flour.[1] On the
[103] shore of the fiord below Bella Coola, opposite Winter Bay, there are some boulders of the same white tint; even now these are often spoken of as "The Shields of the Bella Coola." It is said that hostile raiders, seeing them, used to remark that they had reached the outposts of Bella Coola.

726 The same lack of leadership shown during preparations for a war was evident during hostilities. The so-called leader had
701 little authority over his men, who could desert and return home
703 at any time. Lack of martial ability among their own chiefs sometimes led the Bella Coola to place themselves under the
[648] authority of a Bella Bella in a way which would be impossible
[642] for a war-like people. Frequently such divided leadership led to disaster, and is the surest proof that the Bella Coola were not as aggressive or bellicose as other coastal tribes.

726 Except when attacking the Carriers, all raiding parties
[533] embarked in canoes and followed a definite order of procedure
[703] handed down from the past. In the stern of each craft sat the captain, a chief, who, as the craft was leaving, began to sing his *xe-tla* song, keeping time to it with the beats of his paddle; the recounting of the glories of their ancestors was supposed to encourage the warriors. Instead of leaving simultaneously, a rendezvous was often chosen down the fiord, and the expedition finally moved off from there when all the canoes had arrived. While still in friendly territory, a flotilla proceeded
726 openly. A small amount of dried salmon and water was car-
789 ried by a war party and morsels of the former were eaten at intervals. The bow-man took as much food and drink as he thought could be consumed at one sitting, put a fragment of dried salmon in his mouth, chewed it four times on the same side of his mouth as he was paddling, and swallowed it. Then

[1] Some undetermined substance said to have had protective or preservative qualities.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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he took a sip of water, followed by another piece of dried fish, 726
chewed it four times, and washed it down as before. This was 789
four times repeated so that the provender consumed consisted of four morsels of salmon, each chewed four times, and four sips of water; it was most important that no more should be taken into the mouth than could be swallowed at a single gulp. Having eaten, the bow-man passed the food which he had taken from the store to the paddler behind him who ate and drank in the same manner, except that he chewed with the other side of his mouth, corresponding to the fact that he paddled on the other side of the canoe from the man in the bow. So the food and drink was passed down to the captain. If possible, he was required to eat whatever was left, though if there was too much, he threw the remains over his shoulder into the water. He was also expected to swallow whatever water was passed to him, but if there was too much he would lie back, his head projecting over the stern, and pour it out over his face so that it fell into the ocean. As the food and drink were completely consumed, so it was believed the enemy would be annihilated. If the bow-man had failed to take out enough salmon and water, the captain received none of it, since no second portion could be served.

Each captain took with him a supply of dyed and undyed 726
cedar-bark which was stored in the bow of the canoe. During 714
the course of the day, the party would land and the chief decide
upon some decoration made by combining strands of the two 824
colours of bark to serve as a distinguishing mark for members of the same canoe. He took out as much bark as he thought would suffice, and the bow-man was the first to don the symbol. The second paddler followed, and each in turn did the same in order of his position in the canoe. If too much had been taken, the captain had to wear collars of whatever was left over; if too little, he had to do without. Having thus arrayed them- 726
selves, the party continued until nightfall when a secluded spot 784
was chosen for camping. Wood was collected and fires laid, 722
but no light was ever struck and the warriors lay around the

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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If the war had not been of long duration in which extremely bitter feelings had been aroused, captives were often ransomed by their relatives, who came unmolested for the purpose when the heat of battle had subsided. Failing this, prisoners remained as slaves, the children especially growing up virtually as members of their owner's family as far as food and clothing were concerned, though never sharing in the prowess of his ancestral family. Torture or killing of prisoners seems to have been a rare practice. One extremely old Kimsquit woman related that in her childhood she had seen a captive stretched out on the hot rocks at the side of the ocean, fastened there, his testes crushed with stones, and allowed to die. No other similar traditions could be obtained and it seems probable that this must have been an unusual case. It is true that hostilities have long ceased, but the Bella Coola have clear recollections of other long-abandoned customs, and it is unlikely that torture was ever a common occurrence. It is, of course, one about which reticence is to be expected, but information would have been obtainable if the custom had been common or if it had been one which played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola. 727 [567]

Scalps were hung on a cord and dried like salmon, then suspended as valuable trophies in the taker's house. When setting out on a war expedition, he would often cover his head with one, holding it in position by weaving its hair into his own. At a man's death, they were either inherited by his heirs or, more often, burnt with his other possessions. It is said that the Fort Rupert people used to tie scalps in bundles to their masks. When the Bella Coola went to war to retaliate for a murder, instead of scalping a victim, they sometimes brought back his whole head and impaled it on a stake over the grave of the person avenged. [422] [714] [768] [721] [648] [682]

At this late period it is virtually impossible to form any opinion as to the amount of bloodshed in wars waged by the Bella Coola. Several of the older people spoke in gloating terms of the slaughter accomplished by their ancestors, but all 721

2:McIlwraith E-3 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bella:oola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

Tsúksa remained encamped for several days, during which time he sent word to the Bella Coola that he regretted the death of *Łólxwelioti* and had come to make peace. He added that his followers had tried to dissuade him, saying that he would be killed, but he hadanswered that he was too great a man to allow fear to influence his actions.

Having waited for several days, the party came up the Bella Coola River, their canoe loaded with presents and eagle down, while *Tsúksa*'s brother, *Ne·xlo·s*, wore the mask of his *tsúwinam* as futher proof of friendly intentions. It was unusual to display one except in a *sisaok* ceremonial, but this was an unprecedented event; he knewthat he might soon be killed and he preferred to die while bearing the olvious mark of incorporation with some incident of an ancestral myth. The canoe was beached opposite the house of *Pútlas* where the crew blew egle down into the air to mark their peaceful mission. Men had gatheredfrom all parts of the Bella Coola valley and several hot-heads wished todisregard the safe-conducts and slay their enemies, a course which thy had recommended for several days and had tried to precipitate by overt acts against the Kitkatla. *Pútlas* himself had not spoken, but he nowappeared and advised the people not to harm *Tsúksa*, since everlasting hostility would result. Though his wishes did not entirely quiet the angry ones, they virtually assured the Kitkatla of a welcome. *Pútlas* brought forward a moose-skin, and told some of his people to hold it spread so that, when *Tsúksa* leapt from his canoe, he would land upon it, and could be carried to the house without putting foot to the ground. *Tsúksa* answered proudly that there was nothing on earth strong enough tosupport him, since his many potlatches had made him incomparably heavy. None the less, he accepted the honour, an assistance to landing sown only to mighty chiefs, and was carried into the house where he waseated in the far right-hand corner, an honourable location. *Pútlas* invited all the people in the vicinity, slaves as well as Bella Coola, and the inner partitions of the house had to be removed to provide space for the throng.

Though *Pútlas* had decided against the immediate illing of the Kitkatla, he had concocted a scheme to test their bravery and the sincerity of their desire for peace. No one knew of this except his nephew, *Ne·xwudai*, who was to carry it out. When all were seated, the latter appeared, his face smeared with ashes, and his hair tied upon a top-knot with weasel skins as is customary during war. *Ne·xwudai* moved sunwise around the house, brandishing a musket and repeatedly pointing it at *Tsúksa* in a threatening manner. If the Kitkatla had shown nervousness, particularly if one of them had fired his own muskt, a massacre would have resulted. But they remained unmoved, confident in the prestige of their leader, while he knew that though his body might be

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Coola the important men of *Sınxł*, *Tcımotł*, and *Äłqäläxł* met at *Q̓omqo·ts* and discussed the matter stormily. *Potłes* was the leading Bella Coola chief at the time, but he alone did not attend the meeting at which all the others were present, though he sent a man to search a storehouse owned by the murdered woman on the south side of the mouth of Bella Coola River, near the former Hudson's Bay Company's post. *Bılxwalaks* had a large amount of ammunition stored within, and this was brought to the house of *Potłes*. Next morning, the chief himself appeared, his face smeared with ashes and his hair tied in a top-knot with a weasel-skin. This is done by anyone who has killed a man, and it was a clear intimation that *Potłes* had decided on war. He seated himself in the doorway of his house, a cocked musket in either hand, and intimated that he would shoot anyone who passed on the sidewalk before him. For four days he sat there, neither speaking nor eating: he was *numitł*, so no one disregarded his wishes and the inmates even of his own house used the refuse holes for egress during that period. No other case is known of such an action, but *Potłes* could do as he liked, and he manifested his grief and determination in this spectacular manner. On the fifth day, he ordered drums to be beaten, and the inhabitants of the adjacent villages gathered; *Potłes* wasted no words:

"*Bılxwalaks* has been murdered," he said. "She was a chief and my relative.[12] I am going to war. We shall use her own powder and shot."

The ammunition was distributed and the Bella Coola prepared for the expedition.

Owing to the prestige of *Potłes*, volunteers came swarming in, not only from Bella Coola itself, but from Kimsquit and *Täl·io* as well. No one was thoroughly acquainted with the geography of the Kwakiutl territory except a slave named, like the Kwakiutl warrior chief, *Siwid*, though not, however, related to him. This man had lived among the Bella Coola for so long that he was thought reliable; he readily agreed to act as guide, only asking that his old mother be spared, a request which was granted.

After the usual delays, the expedition set out and spent the first night at Kwatna. Next morning, *Kwalsänł*, one of the leading warriors, tied his hair into a top-knot and smeared his face with ashes. He was a man whose bravery had been firmly established by the distribution of valuable presents. To show his valour, he stood up on the beach within easy musket range and called out:

"Please fire at my top-knot. If you hit it and make it fall, so will we lay low our foes."

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[12] It is doubtful whether she was a kinswoman, but *Potłes* used the term figuratively in speaking of one who, like himself, was a person of importance.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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qālikw: Omen of death, generic term. [787]
qālka: One of the berries, probably raspberry.
qāmā, vocativ, qāmaa: Mother, term used by child. [824]
Qāmālxem: Celebrated Carrier chief.
Qāmaxe: 1—Village on west bank of the Necleetsconnay, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. [601]
2—Mountain behind the village.
Qāmspoxtāmem: am'lel·a name of a Kimsquit man.
qāmxāmila, vocativ, qāmxāmilaa: 1—Term used for spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish. [825]
2—Term used by *smmq* to human beings, who are like salmon to them.
3—Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings. [198]
qaoxta, "Rope Fastenings," i.e., something binding: The function of the "Bed Covering" and other presents given with a wife which bind her to her husband. [585]
qa·luks: Unidentified species of duck. [431]
Qaominoukw: Kwakiutl term for "The Weeper," a female supernatural being.
Qapātus: Kusiut name of a *Stuax* man. [825]
Qā·pxaok: ustāmq chief living soon after the beginning of time.
Qāqā^{a}li: Herald who came with the first settlers to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Qāqos: Carrier pronunciation of *Tcaqos,* one of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
qāānm: Kusiut with ability to produce a puppet-patron, cf. *nnnayanum.*
qāitsta: Sweat-bath. [515]
Qāimus: Slave mentioned in an ancient story.
qātsq': Star-fish. [825]
qāx: Rabbit.
qā·s: Salmon-berry. [824]
Qāxlwāls: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
qāxmāts: Unidentified plant.
qahm: Black cod. [825]
qam, "A Wiping of the Feet upon the Ground of Chiefs": Term applied to a deadly insult offered to persons of importance. [578]
qamia: Wooden armour.
Qanhlit: 1—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm. [714]
2—Island off Rivers Inlet.
3—Island.
Qay·ārwila: One of the names of Raven as chief.
Qeil: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Sistiut* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
qe·ka: Unidentified migratory bird, black in colour. [825]
Qeldjut: Scratch River, near Bella Bella.
qi'aqa: One of the *a'alt* dances.
Qīqia, "Head": *Stuax* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
qoiqoiqāwestleizymam: A verbal exposure of what should have remained concealed, such as comments upon the slave ancestry of a person whose blot in this respect has been covered over by lavish giving. [578]
qlaholitsia: Presents distributed by a wife to strengthen her husband's seat, and thus prevent him from "wobbling." [431] [556]

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By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy. 774 756 [828] [753] [828]

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Snq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Snq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself. 756 [776]

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: 'When an Awiky'ö'noq wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Mä'tem) who will initiate him. No Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way.' [171]

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 612), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called *snak*. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms. 753 755 754 [825]

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die. 682 754 [825]

I add here a few current beliefs:— 827

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry. [777]

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die. 825

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky. 763 777

WARS.

When a war party was organised the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their 726 714

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

726 hair with white eagle-down. Warriors when on a war party must not
[714] drink more than four mouthfuls of water, else they would be killed. A
[271] watchman was appointed in each canoe, who sat in the bow. On landing near the village of their enemies they divided themselves into a number of parties, one house of the village being assigned to each. Then, early in the morning, when all were asleep, they rushed up to the village uttering their war cry 'ɛsi!' They took a stand at the fire which burns in the centre of the house, and if any one of the enemies succeeded in taking up his arms and came out of his bedroom they killed him. Then
727 they entered the bedrooms, killed the men, and took the women and children along as slaves. The heads of the dead were cut off, the houses burnt, and they returned home singing war-songs. The heads which they had taken along were then scalped, and the scalps tied to each end of a pole. When they approached their village one man stood up in the bow of each canoe and swung the pole to which the scalps were attached, and they all sang songs, in which their deeds were recounted. The scalps were valued the higher the longer and fuller the hair. They were used in the Sisan'ku.

648 The following tales of war expeditions offer some points of interest.
726 About thirty or forty years ago there was a famine at Bella Coola. The
[73] people went overland to Knight Inlet, which belongs to the Tenaqtaq, a tribe of the Kwakiutl, to fish there. The Tenaqtaq made fun of them, took from them the fish they caught, tore the blankets from the backs of the women, and seduced many of them. Finally the Bilqula returned home. There they held a council and resolved to make war upon the Tenaqtaq. The Tinneh joined them in this expedition. They crossed the mountains in four days. When they approached Knight Inlet they sent two spies in advance, who were to count the number of houses in the village of the Tenaqtaq. Early in the morning they attacked the houses and killed a great many men. The Tenaqtaq could not escape, as they were hemmed in by the river. The Bilqula slew them with knives, lances, and stone axes. They took away the clothes of the women, leaving them naked, and subjected them to shameful insults in revenge for the disgrace put upon their wives and daughters. Then they burnt the village.

About thirty-five years ago the Talio'mx were attacked by the Kwakiutl. Originally they intended to attack Nɛqa'lku, but the raven, according to the narrator, changed their mind, as he always protects the village of Nɛqa'lku. They came in many canoes, while most of the Talio'mx were at the lake, which is situated above that town, fishing. Four men were in charge of the village, and a number of old men and women had also remained at home. The father of Nɛak'alu'sta, who told me of these events, happened to be out picking berries, accompanied by his wife. He saw the canoes passing by and kept himself hidden. The
[712] village of Talio was at that time surrounded by a strong stockade, which consisted of a double row of palisades crowned with thorns. At each corner there was a strong box fastened on the stockade like a tower. Here watchmen were stationed, who were able to shoot at the enemy while being themselves protected. At that time the Talio'mx had only four guns. The Kwakiutl sent out two spies, who reported that the village was well fortified. The Talio'mx had seen the canoes coming and were on their guard. The Kwakiutl thought that they would not be able to enter the village until after the stockade had been destroyed.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Tsimshian NE15

B 721 these accounts seemed to be exaggerations, and the casualties were probably few. The Bella Coola did not have the same [554] admiration for the successful warrior as for the man who gave many potlatches, while everything indicates that their raids B [703] were on a small scale, rendered singularly ineffective by lack of discipline.

Specific Accounts

B 72 Active warfare has been so long discontinued on the coast 128 that none of the living Bella Coola can describe conditions as they existed during hostilities. It was possible to collect the *539 following accounts of raids and adventures which, though individually of small value, illustrate tactics and strategy, and recount incidents which throw light on the frame of mind of the participants.

Kitkatla War

B T 648 For many years there was animosity between the Bella 721 Coola and the Kitkatla who, with the advantage of strong government, used to sweep down from the north for salmon and slaves. Bella Coola itself was comparatively immune from attack, but the Kimsquit people suffered severely. The attackers were not always successful; one old man related how, when his mother's mother was an infant, they were driven off with the loss of four canoes and many men. The fact that this B incident had been remembered for so many years indicates that T it was unusual.

567 Slaves captured in this way were traded from tribe to tribe 439 and rarely escaped. When an elderly Bella Coola was a lad, [727] there was considerable excitement in the community owing to the return of *Shukwala*, a woman who had been carried off when a girl. She had been traded to a northern tribe among whom, she said, it was customary to crush captives beneath totem-poles and house-posts. Her diligence saved her from this fate, and she was passed on until she reached the far north, on the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

423 is no doubt that a man tends to lose those rights in property
614 which are strictly his, if they are located at a distance. Thus several men claim that they are legally entitled to hunt at Kitlobe, but from mere difficulty of access neither they nor their fathers have exercised the right, and it would have been lost in the course of a few generations, even without the utter decay of custom which has followed the advent of the white man. Practically, a man hunts only in the grounds of those ancestral families in whose origin myths he has names, though, theoretically, he is entitled to hunt on any hunting-ground of any ancestral family of which he is a member whether or not he holds a duly validated name from its origin myth. It is not necessary to confirm the right to property as with a name, though a validated ancestral name is the usual mark of a man's right to that area of the ancestral family to which that designation belongs. Although the ownership of land in distant regions is of little practical importance, it is, none the less, a
[554] matter of great pride to a man to feel that he has rights in many places. The efforts of an individual to make good those
[721] claims has often led to bloodshed; in fact, one intelligent old man stated that property disputes were the principal cause for war in British Columbia. A person who lacks hunting-grounds
[554] is little better than a slave, whereas one who has much land is important.

The Bella Coola regard land as almost inalienable. Though a man does not own the land of his wife's ancestral family, he can use it and his children have full rights to it. Conversely, a wife can gather berries on her husband's land, though it is not hers. A guest at a village may be allowed to use the
[574] territory of his hosts, but it does not become his. In the old
727 days wars between the coastal tribes were common, but though slaves were taken freely, land was never seized; such is un-
423 thinkable to a Bella Coola. In fact, several of the older people
[567] inquired how it had been possible, in the first world war, for the allies, whose cause they believed to be righteous, to annex territory from Germany. If the victors had killed or enslaved

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

the Germans it would have been moral and proper according to Bella Coola ethics, but to take land was unheard of. 423 [727]

Since land is only valued for hunting or collecting purposes, it is not divided into small areas. Any man can build his house at will near the village. It is said that at Kitlobe the crab-apple trees are the property of different ancestral families, themselves members of different tribes, but this is unknown in Bella Coola. It may be mentioned that the Bella Coola somewhat naïvely assume that all other coastal tribes have [829] ancestral families similar to their own, although they recognize that some of them also have a clan system which has no counterpart in their social organization. Since the concentration of the tribe on a small reserve and the beginning of [177] agriculture, a system of individual ownership of cultivated land has sprung up. It is realized that if a man clears and cultivates a field, the produce is his own, and he can will this [428] land to whomsoever he pleases. Likewise a man who rings a tree to kill it for firewood is the sole owner. The Bella Coola regard uncultivated land in the reserve as being at the disposal of anyone, a concept which appears not to have been taught them by any white administrator. Its origin seems rather to lie in the old belief that any unpreëmpted land, far removed from a village, can be used by anyone. It is recognized that the reserve cannot be considered as a *sa'alam* belonging to any ancestral group, hence it is free to all. One corner of it, however, includes the lower part of a side-valley formerly used by the people of *Tsmail*. An old man, whose ancestral family lived in that village for generations, has set his bear-traps in [614] this corner of the reserve for a number of years without interference from other hunters, who go far afield with their traps. Even within the limits of the reserve it is felt that this man has the prime right to that area for the use of himself and his family.

Theoretically an ancestral family may die out. Several 614 accounts were received of old men who, believing themselves 428 to be the sole survivors of their family, bequeathed their names 921

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bella bella NE5

BC 614 428 721

and hunting-grounds to those who had helped them in their old age. But in every case the gift turned out to be of doubtful value, since young men grew up who claimed membership in the supposedly defunct ancestral family and combatted the right of those to whom it had been given. This always led to war.

BB BC 423 648

The following is an instance of a feud which arose from the bestowal of a hunting-area.

It is said that about 1850 the people of *Tcawat* (probably Bute Inlet) captured a Bella Bella woman as a slave. She escaped and fled up the *Tcawat* River, hoping to come in contact with the Bella Coola, who often hunted in that area. The woman was found by the mother's father of an informant who carefully looked after her while he was hunting beaver and brought her back to Bella Coola, thence sending her to Bella Bella. In gratitude her father, a Bella Bella chief, gave her rescuer the hunting-area known as *Nulam*, near Kwatna Inlet, with the consent of the members of his ancestral family. The land so alienated should have remained permanently in possession of the Bella Coola ancestral family, but was too far removed from Bella Coola to be used regularly by the new owners. After the death of the Bella Bella chief, a number of individuals who claimed membership in his ancestral family asserted their rights to it. Many years later, after white traders had made their appearance on the coast, a Bella Coola went to *Nulam* and killed a large number of beaver. As he was leaving with their pelts he was murdered by some Bella Bella, ostensibly as a trespasser. But for the restraining influence of the white man this incident would undoubtedly have led to war. The informant still feels that he is entitled to hunt at *Nulam*, and did so several times when he was a young man; but his sons have never exercised the right, and it has practically lapsed.

BB [425]

BB BC 423 622

It is unfortunate that the above incident is drawn from Bella Bella, where the power of chiefs is much greater than among the Bella Coola. Consequently it is impossible to say

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

he beats in the fire with his stick, and expresses the hope that the name of the marshal in the town where the error took place may be blackened unless he does better. 575* 628 203

As an individual *kusiut* who errs is punished by a marshal, so is punishment meted out to the members of a village in which any serious accident occurs during a dance. Such disasters are fire, causing concealed *kukusiut* to appear among the uninitiated, the breaking of a sidewalk on which a number of the members are dancing, or the capsizing of lashed canoes which are used in some of the performances. The obvious effect of such mishaps is to lower the prestige of the *kusiut* society in the eyes of the uninitiated. The news travels from town to town, and to adjacent tribes. This is a *casus belli* for any village which wishes to attack the one where the disaster took place; in fact, a raid is considered meritorious. Owing to frequent marriages between the members of neighbouring villages, it usually happens that the inhabitants of adjacent settlements are unwilling to attack, but the news spreads until it reaches a town willing to take the lead. The marshals, aided by any other influential *kukusiut*, discuss the matter and decide on war; uninitiated are called upon to take part, though they are told only that the foray is connected with the rites of the *kusiut* society which increases rather than decreases their awe. The threatened villagers, knowing that an attack is inevitable, send out sentinels and guards, and, if possible, flee at the last moment to neighbouring towns for safety, allowing the raiders to burn their village and carry off loot. If a fight takes place many people may be killed, but slaves are never taken. In the last century *Stuix* attacked *Alpâlâsl*; the assailants were aided by a number of Chilkotin to whom they were related but who had not the slightest idea of the cause of the raid. Although an attacked town is usually helped by its neighbours, this is not the case when the assault is caused by error in *kusiut* or *nusal* ceremonial.

575* 628 688 721 [727] [567]

Nor is punishment for error or disaster in ritual meted out [648]

575 only by members of the same tribe. The Bella Coola firmly
641 believe that if, for example, there is a serious disaster at
618 *Sowqa'a*, that village will be raided by the people of Bella
Bella, Fort Rupert, Kitkatla, or by tribes even further away.
921 News of the accident reaches *Tal'u* or Kimsquit and the
[628] inhabitants, themselves related by blood to the offenders and therefore unwilling to punish them, call upon the members of a foreign tribe to do so. On different occasions this statement, in practically identical terms, was made by six independent informants, so there appears to be not the slightest doubt as to the belief of the people in this law. But when specific cases were asked for, they could not be obtained. It therefore appears clear that the Bella Coola, probably owing to long teaching on the part of the *kulaxiat*, consider that an error in ritual is sufficient to bring punishment from an alien tribe. There must be some basis of truth in this conviction, and it is highly probable that the *kulaxiat* must have taken advantage of raids to explain to the uninitiated that these were caused by disasters in ritual. One informant was of the opinion that, following the collapse of a house at Kimsquit during a Cannibal dance, a Bella Coola chief called upon *Tsakas*, chief of the Kitkatla, who raided Kimsquit in punishment. Quite apart from the belief displayed in the uninitiated, it is obvious that tribes eager for war sometimes used as accident as pretext. The Bella Coola know of no case in which they raided a foreign tribe for this reason, although they state that if they had been called upon to act as punisher, they could not have refused.

575 Leaving now the functions of the society as a whole, the
424 rights of an individual member can next be described. Each
425 *kulaxiat* has:
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(1) *A Kaxiat Name.* Like every other prerogative, a name in this type can be acquired from father, uncle, grandfather, or other relative, or even by a son from his mother. As a rule a *kulaxiat* wills his designation or designations, for a man may
[556] have several, before death and his wishes are observed. Al-

[The Breaker Dance]

[175] [176] [177] [178] [179] [180] [181] [182] [183] [184] [185] [186] [187] [188] [189] [190] [191] [192] [193] [194] [195] [196] [197] [198] [199] [200] [201] [202] [203] [204] [205] [206] [207] [208] [209] [210] [211] [212] [213] [214]

WARFARE*

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was considerable warfare among the coastal tribes of British Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermination of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were constant raids, counter-raids, feuds, and scuffles. These were never so continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Bella Coola were unlinked every few years. Nevertheless, war was secondary in importance to economical ones. During the winter-longer raiders and members of hostile tribes were more secured as guests or some fashion. As protection they might be subjected to insult, loss or be avenged in the same manner as by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and friendliness was eagle down; the occupiers of a canoe who bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests themselves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter to row over to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads. In return, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was at all common. Even then the division of ceremonial life were not entirely forgotten; an burial cairns were to war and

* Whether having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

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[illegible]

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2: 9th Twelfth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the help of *Ilpuwis*, the most exposed one, although there was no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of this town attributed their protection to *Alpuntém*, and used to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune owing to that close association with him. Though Bella Coola itself was comparatively free from molestation, Kimsquit and Talio, with smaller populations and less strategic positions, were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at the head of North Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade of cedar trees, set upright in a double row and covered by a water-gate with a drop-door.[9] This water-gate protected the residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one from Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring to burst open the door with a huge ram. The defenders, armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled in the open.

All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong government was serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being insulted, the members of the town would discuss retaliation, and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was decided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[9] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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as a warrior. Such a chief had no command over his followers. 721
If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to 701
serve under him, but he could not compel the services of any- 622
one except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to 626
follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion 628
usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join the party. If some of their relatives had been slain in the previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the retaliation, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could attract them. No case is known in which all the Bella Coola 642
villages joined in a single expedition; there were often tem- 628
porary alliances between neighbouring settlements, but complete lack of central organization. The course of events was similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been 648
enslaved by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was to kill a slave belonging to the murderers, though sometimes he led a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the 926
same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped 411
arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a distance with much noise, boasting, and explosives, but few casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers succeeded in surprising a village at night. Hostilities are a thing of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed information respecting offensive weapons. Armour consisted 914
of maple or birch slats reinforced with moosehide and worn 926
around the body and chest; this rendered quick movement difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were intro- 411
duced many years ago and armour consequently became use- 177
less. Large shields of moosehide were carried in all canoes,

2;McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

If the war had not been of long duration in which extremely bitter feelings had been aroused, captives were often ransomed by their relatives, who came unmolested for the purpose when the heat of battle had subsided. Failing this, prisoners remained as slaves, the children especially growing up virtually as members of their owner's family as far as food and clothing were concerned, though never sharing in the prowess of his ancestral family. Torture or killing of prisoners seems to have been a rare practice. One extremely old Kimsquit woman related that in her childhood she had seen a captive stretched out on the hot rocks at the side of the ocean, fastened there, his testes crushed with stones, and allowed to die. No other similar traditions could be obtained and it seems probable that this must have been an unusual case. It is true that hostilities have long ceased, but the Bella Coola have clear recollections of other long-abandoned customs, and it is unlikely that torture was ever a common occurrence. It is, of course, one about which reticence is to be expected, but information would have been obtainable if the custom had been common or if it had been one which played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola.

Scalps were hung on a cord and dried like salmon, then suspended as valuable trophies in the taker's house. When setting out on a war expedition, he would often cover his head with one, holding it in position by weaving its hair into his own. At a man's death, they were either inherited by his heirs or, more often, buried with his other possessions. It is said that the Fort Rupert people used to tie scalps in bundles to their masks. When the Bella Coola went to war to revenge for a murder, instead of scalping a victim, they sometimes brought back his whole head and impaled it on a stake over the grave of the person avenged.

At this late period it is virtually impossible to form any opinion as to the amount of bloodshed in wars waged by the Bella Coola. Several of the older people spoke in glowing terms of the slaughter accomplished by their ancestors, but all

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES
Tsimshian NES

these accounts seemed to be exaggerations, and the casualties were probably few. The Bella Coola did not have the same admiration for the successful warrior as for the man who gave many potlatches, while everything indicates that their raids were on a small scale, rendered singularly ineffective by lack of discipline.

Specific Accounts

Active warfare has been so long discontinued on the coast that none of the living Bella Coola can describe conditions as they existed during hostilities. It was possible to collect the following accounts of raids and adventures which, though individually of small value, illustrate tactics and strategy, and recount incidents which throw light on the frame of mind of the participants.

Kitkatla War

For many years there was animosity between the Bella Coola and the Kitkatla who, with the advantage of strong government, used to sweep down from the north for salmon and eulachon. Bella Coola itself was comparatively immune from attack, but the Kimsquit people suffered severely. The attackers were not always successful; one old man related how, when his mother's mother was an infant, they were driven off with the loss of four canoes and many men. The fact that this incident had been remembered for so many years indicates that it was unusual.

Slaves captured in this way were traded from tribe to tribe and rarely escaped. When an elderly Bella Coola was a lad, there was considerable excitement in the community owing to the return of *Sladwala*, a woman who had been carried off when a girl. She had been traded to a northern tribe among whom, she said, it was customary to crush captives beneath totem-poles and house-posts. Her diligence saved her from this fate, and she was passed on until she reached the far north, on the

2;McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEb Bellacoola NEb
Tsimshian NE15

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shore of a river where "the white men got money stone." Then *Sîdewale* began to go south, and was finally sold to an important chief living north of Port Simpson. He used to beat her; in fact, she carried the scars with her to her grave. *Sîdewale*'s master had another slave, a male Bella Bella, with whom the woman was on friendly terms since she was related by blood to a Bella Bella family and could speak that language. Angered by her harsh treatment, *Sîdewale* suggested to her companion in misfortune that they kill their master and escape. The man was at first unwilling, but she assured him that she knew the route southward. The conspirators awaited their opportunity which came when their master went halibut fishing, accompanied only by his two slaves. One evening *Sîdewale* cooked a large meal for him which made him drowsy as he sat by the fire; then she stole behind him, picked up an axe, and killed him by hitting him over the head. The two murderers carefully scraped up all the blood, tied stones to the corpse, and sank it in deep water so that their master's friends would believe that he had been drowned with his slaves. Then the two, having stolen a canoe, paddled off, hiding by day, and subsisting on what shell-fish they could gather. After many perils they reached Bella Bella, whence *Sîdewale* returned home.

She had been carried off as a mere girl, but was past the age of child-bearing when she returned and had almost forgotten her native language. The Bella Coola were keenly interested in the tale of her adventures, and especially in the way that slaves were buried in Alaska. It was assumed that some of their own captives must have been killed in that way, or a slave from the far north was crushed in revenge. It is said that this custom was common among the northern tribes from whom the Bella Coola adopted several practices, although this particular one was carried out but once.

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The most famous Kitkatla chief, and the one most dreaded by the Bella Coola, was *Tsîkos*, who is said to have had almost despotic powers over his northern warriors. The name itself was transmitted from one holder to another, but the name

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celebrated Tsilcoz was he who held sway between 1850 and 1870, a man of almost gigantic proportions of tremendous physical strength, and endowed with force of character and initiative as well. Pitted against him, the Kimsquit people suffered even more than before; there were few direct assaults, but Kitkatla canoes seemed always to be lurking in the vicinity, ready to kill or enslave heedless fishermen or those travelling between Kimsquit and Bella Coola or Tsio. Friends of the victims repeatedly discussed counter-measures, but lack of leadership prevented them from coming to a decision for several years.

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One winter, about the middle of the last century,[1] the Kimsquit determined to take the offensive in May. This act was discussed both at Bella Coola and Tsio, as Kwaqa'a the leading chief, *Nazmk'a*, gave his support and many men whose relatives had been killed or enslaved promised to join the Kimsquit raiders. Among here who took part in the conference was a certain *Ka-qaw'a*, an influential Bella Bella chief who happened to be visiting relatives in Kwaqa at the time. It was decided that the rendezvous should be Qalmaitx, Labouchere Channel.

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During the spring those who planned to support in the expedition busied themselves with their preparations. None knew how large would be the force, since as usual, everyone of his own discretion whether or not to join in, some did so to avenge wrongs to their relatives, some merely to display martial ability, whereas here declined to repay their wrongs. At last the appointed date approached, and some fifty canoes, each containing crews to thirty men, gathered at the appointed place.[2] Thence they set out and encamped for a few nights at Scotch River, Kwaqa, near Bella Bella. *Ka-qaw'a* became aware of meeting and the route that would be followed, so sent word to Inda to hunt deer at the spot, though, not wishing to overtake some the raiders, he did not hold them when they were likely to find. The canoeists assembled upon the rendezvous, without being observed, returned home to report what they had seen. *Ka-qaw'a* had intended join the party, so he now set out in a small canoe with the two as pilots, after warning them that they must say nothing on home of his movements. His war equipment consisted of a weather and two plaited-cloth boards with small

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[1] The approximate date was judged from the fact that the old man who told of the expedition in 1922 said that his father was about 1 years of age at the time.
[2] The strength of the expedition was probably exaggerated.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bellabella NE5

divisions, each containing a loaded and measured charge; these were novelties recently obtained in trade from the white man and considered very valuable. On reaching the place where the Bella Coola canoes were drawn up, *Lo-qua-t* called out four times:

"*Nuxmăt-a*, are you there?"

On being answered in the affirmative, *Lo-qua-t* leapt ashore, sent back his own canoe, and definitely joined the expedition.

The Bella Bella chief gave *Nuxmăt-a* one of the prized paletto-shaped boards, and the recipient repaid this overwhelming generosity with the gift of a marten-skin coat which he was wearing. A Kitselas chief likewise gave *Lo-qua-t* a valuable blanket-coat. As usual, the war-party was suffering from lack of leadership. *Lo-qua-t*, a properly validated warrior, was a man who had given many potlatches, and though not a Bella Coola, was related to them by blood; in addition, he alone knew the route to Kitkatla, so he virtually assumed command, although many of the Bella Coola were unwilling followers. *Lo-qua-t* suggested an immediate move, and gained his point owing to the fact that no one had a definite counter-suggestion. After travelling seven miles in the darkness, *Lo-qua-t* massed the canoes to address his ill-disciplined and somewhat uncertain force. He pointed out that the way to Kitkatla was long and difficult and that it would be dangerous to attack their northern foe-men, but that the *Wa-ya'-a*[1] near at hand would be an easy prey. The Bella Coola had no quarrel with these people, and were reluctant to attack them, especially as there had been inter-marriage between the two tribes. *Lo-qua-t* spoke bluntly, saying that the *Wa-ya'-a* had mocked him in their potlatches, and that many of their women, gathering sea-weed on lonely beaches at this season, would be easy victims. His arguments were given strength by the fact that he was a *nuxmăt* chief and warrior; no one dared to stand against him, so it was decided to follow his wishes, though the Bella Coola stipulated that none of the *Wa-ya'-a* were to be killed.

The flotilla continued and in the early dawn raided a small *Wa-ya'-a* settlement and captured several slaves. Continuing their journey, they took prisoner a number of women who were gathering sea-weed, and destroyed the supplies which had been stored up. *Lo-qua-t* had joined the expedition merely in hope of getting revenge upon the *Wa-ya'-a*; now that this end was accomplished, he was willing and eager to return home, but uncertain how to leave his followers.

With this in view, *Lo-qua-t* suggested an attack on a China Hat settlement, adding that he knew where some of their frames[2] used in Cannibal dances were stored, and that the China Hat people were too arrogant

[1] Probably one of the Bella Bella-speaking groups.
[2] Such as were covered with sewn to represent human bodies.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Bellabella NE5
Tsimshian NE15

in their ceremonies. Again the Bella Coola were unwilling, but again their unformulated and uncertain wishes were overruled by the dominant chief, and the assault was made. The frames were stored in an unguarded shelter near the cemetery, into which the raiders broke, smashed them, and threw the debris into the water. While this was taking place, a *Wa-yal-a* canoe rounded a point, and *Lo-gua-i* took the opportunity to jump aboard, saying that he was escaping from a Bella Coola raiding-party. The canoe paddled away and the expedition was left leaderless. The usual discussion took place about what was to be done, but finally the raiders returned home. They had been diverted from their original objective, had been led to attack a friendly tribe, had been deserted by their leader, and the only spoils of the long-prepared expedition were a few slaves.

Among the prisoners were two daughters of a certain Glowa, who was hated because he had frequently been in partnership with Tsakoa. A few days after the return of the expedition, the father appeared to ransom his children. Some of the Bella Coola wanted to kill him, others demurred, and it was finally decided that a spear, fastened to a line, should be hurled against his canoe so that it would project outwards and lodge against an obstacle under, capsizing the craft and drowning the occupant. The spear was thrown, but clever handling prevented the intended disaster. Glowa was a validated warrior, one who never showed fear, so he calmly pulled out the missile and again paddled upstream. This time the Bella Coola fired shots close to either side of his head, but he sat unmoved and unwound amid his boxes of presents. Finally, a Bella Coola tried to wrench off a tuft of hair from above one ear, but though he pulled with all his force, he did not succeed, and everyone on shore laughed at him. This restored good humour, and Glowa was allowed to land and ransom his daughters. When he left for home he was told to send his friends if they wished the return of their relatives. This was done and peace followed; if Glowa had waited a few days until the excitement of victory had cooled, he would have been able to land without molestation. The only other result of the expedition was that the Chiton Hot Sakaxoe killed their own Cannibals for having allowed their frameworks to be captured.

After this fiasco, the Kitkatla became even bolder and many years elapsed before another expedition was sent against them. This time, there was no Bella Bella chief to interfere with the arrangements and after the place had been discussed for a winter, a flotilla from Bella Coola, Kimsquit and Tsi'ts took the water one day in May.

Nothing of importance took place until, near Kitkatla, a canoe was captured containing a man and his wife. The former's face was marked with a vertical scar, and it was remembered that, four years earlier, when Tsakoa had been attacking Kimsquit, one of the defenders had shot an

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

B 754 the body to his own house, preparatory to burying it. It was April, but
[796] as they were waiting, a violent thunderstorm blew up from the east, the only time that such had ever occurred at that season. Thunder had promised to come to *Xwalt*'s aid, but the latter had died too suddenly to make any appeal; the supernatural one had just learnt of his protégé's death and had come rushing to his assistance. Realizing the
B [719] danger, the executioner and his friends hastily buried the corpse, throwing over it a number of blood-stained cloths, and finally stamping down the earth. There was a furious hurricane; trees were uprooted, houses shook, the earth over the grave swirled as if in a whirlpool and chunks of it
B [784] were carried up into the air. Only the potency of the blood on the cloths prevented the return to life of *Xwalt*.[1]

This second unsuccessful attack on the Kitkatla so disheartened the
B Bella Coola that they made no more raids on their northern foemen who,
T flushed with victory, became even bolder than before. As usual, the
448 *Kimsquit* and *Tal'ts* people suffered more than the inhabitants of the main valley. On one of these forays, about 1835, the Kitkatla killed
[721] *Bakwalisal*, a brother of *Pathe*, the leading chief of the Bella Coola at the
[722] time. This was contrary to all the rules of warfare since he was a member
[622] of one of the leading families and the donor of many potlatches, a man whose name was as well known as that of *Pathe*, *Nakkjaxlem* of Fort Rupert, or *Tsakoe* himself. The fame of such chiefs was enough to protect them except during the actual heat of conflict, and the Bella Coola were justly angry.

B A few years later a single canoe came paddling up North Bentinck
T Arm and was hailed about half a mile from the beach. Scouts investi-
448 gated, and returned to *Kimsquit* with news that the occupants were
728 Kitkatla, and that *Tsakoe* himself was among them. At once there was heated discussion among the people of the lower valley. Many who had
B close relations in the preceding struggle wished to wipe out the party,
T others, to see what they wanted. A few daring individuals shouted
[724] through the forest and fired on the visitors at long range; they were unscathed, not with bullets, but by the four cinnamon-bedding shell of a mouse-skin, a sign of friendly intentions. If the strangers had fired on the scouts, a fight would have ensued, but this powerful suspicion discovered suspicion.

B [787]

[1] This tale is a curious illustration of the manner in which supernatural elements become woven into accounts which have an historical basis. It is to be assumed that the southerners were in a suspicious state owing to privation, and readily believed that supernatural powers must have assisted them. *Xwalt* was found on a mission, and probably boasted of a visitation from Thunder during his own damage. This was accepted and the incorporation of supernatural incidents followed as the course.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1947
Nuxalk Bellacoola NEIS
Tsimshian NEIS

B T 648 728

killed, his reputation would only be increased by the manner of his death. At length *Ne-mokai* fired into the air; not until a shower of eagle down was blown forth did anyone realize that his musket had been loaded with nothing more deadly. This marked the establishment of friendly relations.

B T 639 431

The Kitkatla had brought their own singers, who now began to beat out time for *Tsibou* to perform a scout dance. He was followed by several other chiefs, and then the strangers gave presents to influential Bella Coola on the most lavish scale. *Pielo* likewise performed a scout dance, and bestowed gifts on the guests to validate it; such were, of course, not returnable. A meal was then served, and after that *Tsibou* made a speech of which the gist was that the Bella Coola had previously known his achievements as a warrior, they now know his nobility and bravery in risking his life, and that the name *Tsibou* could never be forgotten, irrespective of his own fate.

Tsibou left soon afterwards. It was somewhat difficult fully to comprehend his motive in thus risking his life. Undoubtedly his main object was to display his valour and disregard of danger. Moreover, it gave him an opportunity to impress these qualities upon the Bella Coola, and thus to exhibit his prowess actually within the enemy's camp, which must have been a source of tremendous gratification to him. The alleged motive, rapor to killing a chief, may have been a contributory factor.

B T 648 552 576 [72]

Although this visit was an intimation from *Tsibou* that the Bella Coola need have no further fear of him, the suspicions of years could not be immediately allayed; in fact, an occasional skirmish still took place although *Tsibou* himself refrained from fighting. A few years after his visit to Bella Coola, *Pielo* prepared to give a potlatch to which he determined to invite the northern chief. Many of the Bella Coola doubted whether the Kitkatla warriors would respect the safe-conduct usually afforded to envoys, and no one was anxious to bear the invitation. At length six chiefs volunteered for the task and set out, though with many misgivings. They stopped en route at Bella Bella where a chief of that tribe, *Gaspa*, joined the party; he thought that he would have influence with the Kitkatla and might add prominence to the Bella Coola. Fearing to be seen by any small Kitkatla bands, the delegation travelled only by night until they could actually reach *Tsibou's* village. As they approached it, they indicated their mission by singing one of *Pielo's* scout songs. On hearing this, *Tsibou* asked one of his Bella Coola slaves whose song it might be, and when he answered that it was one of *Pielo's*, *Tsibou* dispatched a chief, *Eaiton*, to invite the guests to his house. *Gaspa* was doubtful when he saw this man approaching, since he felt that it heralded a friendly welcome. The party was conducted to *Tsibou's*

[i.e. to the peace negotiations - Analyst]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA ●
Tsimshian NE15

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dwelling in spite of the fact that a Cannibal dance was taking place there. All the messengers were Bella Coola, while there had Bella Bella rights as well; *Tsakoe* allowed the latter to take part in the ceremony while the former were treated as uninvited. They were greatly concerned in the details of the Kitkatla rites, which were exceedingly strict and included the eating of a corpse. At the conclusion, the envoys received their share of the small presents which were distributed.

At this juncture one of the envoys, *Xwaxwaiakala*, fell seriously ill and was cured only through the attention and care of one of *Tsakoe's* wives. This delayed their departure so that it was a long time before they and the invited guests finally set out, much to the envy of two Bella Coola slaves who greatly desired to return home.

Meanwhile the long absence of the messengers had filled the Bella Coola with fear that they had been massacred, and there was great rejoicing when a large flotilla was seen approaching. The guests landed on the shore at *Qwaqa* to where the customary ceremonious greetings were exchanged. Many of the Bella Coola, influenced by ancient wrongs, endeavored to break the canoes of the guests and in other ways to threaten them, but *Paiko* finally succeeded in recovering them and establishing some kind of discipline. The ceremony that took place that night in the house of *Paiko* is said to have been the most spectacular ever witnessed in Bella Coola. One old man who, as a mere lad, had attended, grew eloquent as he spoke of the lavish display. Unfortunately, he had had no part in the rites and could remember none of the details except that his childish mind was amazed at a dance in which a masked performer, representing a whale, vomited grease on the fire to give light. *Tsakoe* did not return home immediately, but remained in Bella Coola until spring when the weather was more suitable for travelling.

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P21

This exchange of hospitality usually ended all hostilities, although the Bella Coola and other tribes of the central coast still regard their northern neighbours with dislike and suspicion. Between 1880 and 1890 a party of Rivers Inlet people went to Kitkata to prepare chicken grease, for which purpose a number of Kitkatla had also camped there. Among them was *Tsakoe*, a descendant of the warrior chief whose exploits have been mentioned, and his nephew. One day the latter was gambling with *Mamaq*, a Rivers Inlet youth who had recently been initiated into the Hamatsa society and was consequently decorated with a cedar-bark collar. *Mamaq's* back was smarting and some of the Kitkatla's friends asked him why he continued to play with a man who was clearly in such close contact with the supernatural that he could not lose. Shrdless of this advice, *Tsakoe's* nephew continued until finally, losing his temper, he

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

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seized his adversary's decorations and threw them on the ground. It is well known that anyone who does so, even if it be the wearer, will be punished. *Matsw-a* was prevented from fighting by his recent initiation, but he shamed his opponent by returning his winnings. The next day the Rivers Inlet people left for home without stopping to collect grease, since *Matsw-a*'s father, *Pathe*,[1] thought that it would be dangerous to linger in the neighbourhood of *Trahoa*, who was angry at his nephew's defeat and the insult shown to him.

The Kitkatla remained at Kitlobe for the olachen season and then returned home. Soon afterwards *Trahoa*'s nephew fell ill, and died in spite of the efforts of the most powerful shamans. They attributed his death to *Matsw-a*, and *Trahoa* swore revenge on the Rivers Inlet people. The latter, hearing of this, avoided the Kitkatla as much as possible, although the establishment of British rule had made open warfare impossible.

One July, a number of years later, a party left Rivers Inlet to hunt sea-lions on Virgin Rocks. The captain of the canoe was a Newitti man who had married a Rivers Inlet woman, and with him were nine Bella Coola and several Rivers Inlet people including two female relatives of *Matsw-a*. In a heavy fog they passed their destination, and when, having realized their mistake, they turned back, they found a party of Kitkatla encamped on the rocks. The northerners made protestations of friendship and lent them tents. When they had settled down, the Kitkatla suggested target shooting as a recreation, although their real motive was to exhaust the ammunition of the Rivers Inlet people. When this sport began to pall, the two parties gambled till nightfall, when they stacked their muskets together as proof of mutual trust and went to bed. A Kitkatla half-breed, who had taken the lead in making amicable overtures, now learnt that his companions planned to slay the Rivers Inlet people; he tried to dissuade them, but was told that interference from him would only cause his own death. One of the Rivers Inlet men, *Ts'ukkiz*, suspicious of treachery, declined to sleep with his fellows and spent the night in the canoe, his musket and two shells beside him. His fears were well-founded; at dawn the Kitkatla cut down the tents of the Rivers Inlet people and clubbed them to death with axes as they were struggling under the folds. *Ts'ukkiz* was wakened by the turmoil and fired twice, each time killing a Kitkatla, but his ammunition was then exhausted and he was shot down. The murderers dug a large hole on the beach, threw in the corpses of their victims and rolled a heavy log over the top. Unknown to the others, the half-breed wrote on this in English that something lay below. The Kitkatla made no effort to hide the

[1] The relatives of the Bella Coola chief with the same name.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

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marks of the tragedy and then returned home, hoping that suspicion would not fall on them.

As time went on, the people in Rivers Inlet began to worry at lack of news from the hunters. A passing traveller reported having seen smoke on Virgin Rocks, and this reassured them temporarily, but when several months had passed a search-party was sent out. One of the crew was a Carrier who had married a Rivers Inlet woman and had long resided there, but had not forgotten his knowledge of all that pertained to woodcraft. On arrival at the island, they found the canoe of the missing party drawn up on the beach above high tide, although there was no trace of their friends. The Carrier went ahead to investigate, warning his comrades to remain at a distance. He found the marks of buck-shot, smoothed over as if to obliterate them, but not sufficiently effaced to hide them from his sharp eyes. This attempt at concealment indicated foul play, and the Carrier called his companions and pointed out the signs to them. None of the sea-lion hunters had carried ammunition of this kind, but it was known that some Kitkatla had been in the vicinity about the time of the disappearance and were armed therewith. As a matter of fact, the marks were actually those of the shot with which Ga'ahlis had been killed. The Carrier next found potato peelings, trodden into the earth by boots; none of the hunters had taken foot-wear with them, but it was known that such had been worn by the Kitkatla. Having made these discoveries, the search-party returned home. Foul play was suspected; everything indicated that it did not have a struggle between members of the same party, but there was too little evidence to convict the Kitkatla.

A few weeks later a Bella Bella chief happened to be in Rivers Inlet and told the people that he had met a Kitkatla canoe returning northwards with two coffins. He had asked who were dead, but though they told him, he judged that the party had been engaged in some illegal operation from their reticence concerning the cause of death. Still later, a young Bella Coola travelled to Vancouver on the steamboat with a Kitkatla who told him of the slaughter, ignorant of his confidant's tribe. Finally, the Kitkatla half-breed, who had opposed the killing, began to drop hints of what had happened. In former times this would have led to war, but the evidence was not conclusive enough for a court of justice. The Kitkatla informed their Indian Agent that they feared an attack from the Rivers Inlet and Bella Coola, and asked him to lead a peace delegation to the former's village. He did so,[*] much to the surprise of the missionary established there. The conference led to nothing; the Kitkatla denied all knowledge of the fate of the missing hunters, but the suspicions of the Rivers Inlet and Bella Coola were increased rather than

[*]No attempt was made to verify this statement from official documents.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES
Tsimshian NE15
Kwakiutl NE10

B T 641 721

lessened. This ill-will has continued up to the present time. In 1920 word reached Bella Coola that *Tsakus* had approached a Quatsino chief and asked him to spread the rumour that the missing party had been drowned at sea, at the same time admitting what had taken place. A year later a half-breed Kwatsino, hunting on Virgin Rocks, happened to unearth the bones buried beneath the log. There the matter rests for the moment so far as the Bella Coola are concerned, but they express the opinion that the continued ill-will may cause bloodshed at any time.

It must be remembered that the above account of this recent friction with the Kitkatla is of a partisan nature. No attempt was made to learn the Kitkatla side of the matter, so that the version here given may or may not be the truth. It has been inserted as an illustration of Bella Coola attitude, and of the manner in which, formerly, doubts, fears and suspicions led to war. This would certainly have been the case in the present instance but for the restraining influence of the white man's rule.

KWAKIUTL WAR

B K 641 721 K [522]

Only slightly less feared than the Kitkatla were the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples, especially those inhabiting Knight's Inlet, Kingcome Inlet, and Blunder Harbour, who were known collectively as *Djelikum*. As *Tsakus* was feared among the northern raiders, so was *Sisiutl* among the southerners. Bella Coola itself was too difficult of access and too densely populated to be successfully attacked, but *Tal'o* was subject to constant raids. Even more disconcerting was the constant danger of lurking foemen; one year it would be a hunter who was surprised and killed, the next a party of women would be carried off while picking berries.

B [712]

The raiders became so bold that the inhabitants of one of the *Tal'o* villages decided to defend themselves by building a stockade. Everyone assisted in the task, so that the fortification was soon completed. It consisted of a fence of vertical logs with a platform running around near the top, on the inner side, on which the defenders could stand, and a water-gate through which canoes could enter at high tide. It surrounded five or six houses and was planned as a place of refuge for all the *Tal'o* villages. One of the tree-trunks brought for the stockade was hollow, and there was considerable discussion as to whether it should be used, but finally it was set up with the others. A Kwakiutl who was visiting *Tal'o* at the time took notice of this weakness, but no one seems to have suspected that he would inform his friends of it when he went home.

B K [724]

The summer after the stockade had been completed the Kwakiutl discussed the usual raid on *Tal'o*; one of the principal chiefs opposed an expedition on the ground of the reported strength of the defences, but

[a famous Tsimshian chief - ANALYST]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEb Bellacoola NEb
KwaKiutl NE10

B K 648 726 [721]

he was over-ruled by the popular wish and the raiders set out. They had chosen an opportune time, since most of the people were absent hunting and fishing; in fact, three men and three children were the sole occupants of the fortified village. They saw the approaching marauders in the distance, closed all openings, and prepared to defend themselves. The Kwakiutl felled a large tree and with this as ram attempted to batter down the gate. It was too strongly built, and while struggling with it, the attackers offered excellent targets to those within. One of them, *Iwang*, was a good shot and took heavy toll. Convinced that the gate was too strong for them, the Kwakiutl turned their attention to the hollow log; their ram failed to shatter it and they again suffered heavy casualties. Nor had the defenders escaped scotheless. One of the three was struck by an enemy bullet, another fell from the fighting-platform and accidentally shot himself, while *Iwang*'s powder began to fail. Fearing that all was lost, he told one of the little boys to open a concealed rear door* and flee into the woods with the two smaller children. The three managed to escape unobserved from the village and hid themselves under leaves. The Kwakiutl did not know how weakly the stockade was defended, and *Iwang* disguised the fact by rushing from one part of the platform to another and calling out in various tones as if a number of people were speaking. He could fire only occasionally on account of shortage of powder, but the ruse was effective and at last the raiders withdrew, carrying their dead with them. Two of them wandered into the forest instead of accompanying their comrades; they must have died of starvation, since their corpses were found in an emaciated condition several weeks later.

B K 648 727

Not content with defeating the raiders almost single-handed, *Iwang* embarked in a small canoe and cautiously followed the course which he knew they must have taken. His children had been slain by the Kwakiutl during a previous raid, a circumstance which had so embittered him that he regretted the escape of a single one of them, and was determined to treat even their dead with ignominy. At length he noticed a number of crows congregated on a sandy beach, and rightly judged that this indicated the spot where the vanquished had buried their slain. *Iwang* exhumed one of the corpses and impaled it on a stake in a crouching position.

K 727

Meanwhile the relatives of the raiders, expecting the usual easy success, had gathered near their leader's house. They were filled with apprehension when they heard a mourning song from the returning canoe, and anxiously called out to learn the fate of different members

*Probably a mere chink in the stockade.

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Kwakiutl NE10

K 727

of the expedition. Some were able to answer for themselves, but to many queries the reply came that the one asked about had been slain.

B K 921 648

This defeat did not by any means discourage the Kwakiutl, whose forays continued as before. On one occasion, as they were returning homewards, they noticed several canoes drawn up on the west side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its junction with Burke Channel. The raiders cautiously landed and stalked the unsuspecting owners, Bella Coola who had landed to cut stakes for a salmon-weir. The Kwakiutl bore down upon them with a rush; unarmed and taken unaware, the Bella Coola could make no real resistance. One of them managed to flee into the deeper woods, but the rest were either killed or captured. Among the prisoners was a chief, *Sunk'luxam*, who was wearing a handsome marten-skin cloak at the time. His captor promptly appropriated this, leaving the man naked.

K B 648 727

Elated at this success, the Kwakiutl continued their return journey. When near Kwatna, they encountered a fierce southeast gale which made progress impossible; at this point cliffs rise so precipitously on either side of Burke Channel that there is not even the semblance of a harbour, and the only chance to weather the storm was by anchoring. There was considerable anxiety as to whether or not the weight would hold, but it did so, and the canoe remained tied, now carried to the full extent of the mooring-rope almost against the cliffs, now to the same distance far out in mid-channel. Towards night it began to rain and the cold grew bitter. The crew, assured that the anchor would hold and weary from their exertions, went to sleep, as did most of the prisoners. *Sunk'luxam*, without covering of any kind, was too uncomfortable to follow their example. As the canoe was tossed near the cliff, he happened to notice a narrow ledge just above water, with a small cedar growing in a nearby cleft. Here was a possibility of escape and the chief became alert at once. When next the canoe was dashed near he examined the cliff more closely, and decided that it might be possible to scale it. At any rate death was better than captivity, and he determined to make the venture. As the craft came shorewards again, he plunged overboard into the rough water and succeeded in grasping the tree-root with the aid of which it was an easy matter to pull himself to the ledge. The surf was breaking over it and he was bitterly cold, but he managed to reach another root and to scramble up to a second ledge. From it he gained a wider projection where he could rest in comfort. His escape had been unobserved, and as *Sunk'luxam* looked downward he could see the canoe tossing to and fro at the end of the cable; there was a large boulder near him, and he thought of tipping this over to sink the craft, but refrained out of consideration for the prisoners. From this point the climb upwards was comparatively simple,

B 727

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Kwakiutl NE10

B K 641 726

of Kwatna, a woman called down to them from the upper slopes of the mountains on the south-east. She was one of a party of Kwatna people who were picking berries; their canoes were lying in a bay beneath, where the youths of the party were resting and sleeping, ready to climb up and carry down the boxes of berries as the women filled them. *Bilwalakt*, the woman who had called out, had done so under the impression that those passing were Bella Coola, and though one of her companions recognized her error and bade her be silent, the intimation had been given. The raiders would have passed in mid-channel unaware that anyone was in the vicinity, but now they quickly entered the bay and slew the few lads who were with the canoes. Next they endeavoured to capture the women and started climbing up for the purpose, but as soon as they entered the woods, they lost sight of the fugitives who were on the open slopes above. One of the canoes was paddled back to mid-channel, whence there was a clear view so that the crew could call out and direct their comrades' pursuit. Two of the women had started climbing as soon as they saw the warriors turn inwards; they escaped over the mountains and reached Kwatna with word of the affray. With one exception, the others kept together and sought refuge in a narrow cave, the entrance of which they were able to defend; the attackers did not dare linger for a siege, so they too escaped. But *Bilwalakt*, the cause of the whole disaster, was cut off from her companions and harried from place to place as she strove frantically to get away. When finally brought to bay, she struggled furiously and refused to be taken alive, so her throat was cut and the body decapitated. She was a member of a chief's family, a woman who had been confirmed on a good seat, so the murder was entirely contrary to all coastal customs. If she had been taken prisoner, she would have been ransomed and the matter would have ended, but her death demanded revenge.

B K [727] [721]

When the two women who had fled overland reached Kwatna, a party of warriors set out immediately, but could do no more than bring back the women who had hidden in the cave. Meanwhile the Kwakiutl continued their voyage and encamped at Jacobson's Bay where they watched a Bella Bella canoe pass up the channel towards Bella Coola. They concluded that the Kimsquit people, whose canoes they had destroyed, would hail this passing craft and thus reach Bella Coola with news of raiders in the vicinity. So it transpired, while almost simultaneously came news from Kwatna of the woman's murder, but by this time the Kwakiutl had reached home waters.

B 721

Bilwalakt's parents had been Kwatna people, her husband was a Bella Bella, and she had Bella Coola ancestry as well, so the members of these three tribes were all affronted by this killing of a chief. At Bella

2:McDowell: E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
NEA DeGuerrola NEA

Coola the important men of *Land*, *Tomad*, and *Sighted* met at *Sengo* and discussed the matter secretly. *Parko* was the leading Sulu Coola chief at the time, but he alone did not attend the meeting at which all the others were present, though he sent a man to search a crowdhouse owned by the murdered woman on the south side of the mouth of Sulu Coola River, near the former Hudson's Bay Company's post. *Rokwalski* had a large amount of ammunition stored within, and this was brought to the house of *Parko*. Next morning, the chief himself appeared, his face smeared with ochre and his hair tied in a top-knot with a wound skein. This is done by anyone who has killed a man, and it was a clear intimation that *Parko* had decided on war. He seated himself in the doorway of his house, a cocked musket in either hand, and intimated that he would shoot anyone who passed on the sidewalk before him. For four days he sat there, neither speaking nor eating: he was starved, as no one disregarded his wishes and the inmates even of his own house used the refuse holes for egress during that period. No other case is known of such an action, but *Parko* could do as he liked, and he manifested his grief and determination in this spectacular manner. On the fifth day, he ordered drums to be beaten, and the inhabitants of the adjacent villages gathered; *Parko* wasted no words.

"*Rokwalski* has been murdered," he said. "He was a chief and my relative.* I am going to war. We shall use his own powder and shot."

The ammunition was distributed and the Sulu Coola prepared for the expedition.

Owing to the prestige of *Parko*, volunteers came swarming in, not only from Sulu Coola itself, but from Kimapuit and *Tiri* as well. No one was thoroughly acquainted with the geography of the Kwakiutl territory except a slave named, like the Kwakiutl warrior chief, *Sisaxi*, though not, however, related to him. This man had lived among the Sulu Coola for so long that he was thought reliable; he readily agreed to act as guide, only asking that his old mother be spared, a request which was granted.

After the usual delays, the expedition set out and spent the first night at Kwatsa. Next morning, *Kwakiutl*, one of the leading warriors, tied his hair into a top-knot and smeared his face with ochre. He was a man whose bravery had been freely established by the distribution of valuable presents. To show his valour, he stood up on the bench within easy musket range and called out:

"Please fire at my top-knot. If you hit it and make it fall, we will we lay low our foes."

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* It is doubtful whether she was a kinswoman, but *Parko* used the term figuratively in speaking of one who, like himself, was a person of importance.

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D. McIntosh E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB
Carrier NE?

WAR WITH THE CARRIERS

The only other people with whom the Bella Coola came into frequent conflict were the Carriers. Some of the latter used to spend the winter among the coastal tribes, and had even intermarried with them to a considerable extent, but their mode of life was so different that they were always viewed as foreign in thought and outlook. The Bella Coola despised them for their dirtiness, their fondness for unnecessary food, and, above all, for their ignorance of *hsaiat* and *nuxnit* matters. This disunion was carried and not infrequently led to bloodshed. Owing to the location of the Carriers, they could not be reached by canoes, and the Bella Coola had no liking for long overland journeys. The mobility and relative lack of permanent villages made it difficult to bring the Carriers to bay, so that conflicts between them and the Bella Coola usually took the form of a killing followed by a raid for revenge; continued hostility was virtually unknown. The people of the lower villages were centrally affected, but in former times there seems to have been a considerable amount of intermittent fighting between the inhabitants of the upper valley and the Carriers living east of them.

The following account, claimed to be historical, describes what was said to be a typical raid, followed by a counter-attack.

On one occasion all the young people of *Lowi, Nuhlit, Kuta-ne-i*, and *Nuxlit* went on a picnic to a large, clear town of ground up the valley, where they spent their time, playing and singing. Towards eighteen two young men, who had not come with the others, were seen continually until they could tell what who was a friend of one of the two. She dipped off quietly from her companions and passed the night with her lover and his comrade in the woods. Towards dawn a party of marauding Carrier Indians stealthily knew on the sleeping participants who, unarmed and unprepared, could take no resistance. With the exception of two young girls, carried off to slavery, all were slain. The three who had been in the woods hurried back to the villages with the news.

The men of the four towns prepared for action. They went to the place quietly and brought back the corpses for burial, then hurrying for

[illegible] E-5 ([illegible]) [illegible]
[illegible]
Carrier NET

the first time that two girls were missing. Then they set forth on the track of the Carriers. The raiders, knowing that their assault could not have been heard in any village, and ignorant of the three young people hidden in the woods, took no precautions. The first night the pursuers reached the camp where the Carriers had built a long, narrow fire of some kind of wood which emitted no sparks, on either side of which they had placed a long tree-trunk on which to rest their feet as they dried their moccasins at the fire. One of the Bella Coola girls was placed next one end of the fire, the other at the other end on the opposite side. Neither could sleep, but kept watching silently in the hope of being able to escape. Towards dawn one of them was conscious of an a Bella Coola scout peering around a tree-trunk. He motioned her to keep silent and she nodded to show that she understood his signal, then he went away. He told his waiting companions how the Carriers were resting with their feet over logs beside the fire, and suggested that they prepare heavy clubs. Having done this, the Bella Coola crept up behind the dreaming enemy. Each selected a victim and broke his leg, or legs, with a crack of the club. Not one of the victims escaped, the cripples being killed without difficulty. In some manner this event was made the theme of a scout song.

The following unusual incident is probably historically correct, in outline at least, since it is said to have taken place about 1880, and two of the participants were grandsons of the man from whom the account was obtained.

One October a number of Carriers were crossing at *Pitsakin*. There had was a certain *Qwatlum* who was recently related to the people of that village, though he had long since ceased to be regarded as anything but a Carrier. The river was running full and though there were many eddies and dog eddies in it, they were difficult to catch on account of the running current. *A Pitsakin* man, *Qwatlum*, had laid in an abundant store of fish for the winter, but his last canoe-load was upset, he could not swim, and he was drowned. *Qwatlum* was a popular man with them was great grief at his untimely death.

As was so often the case, jealousy was rife in *Pitsakin*, where a certain *Hamit* had become wealthy. He was a great conjurer, and his relatives had been amassed by contests for making their works, but of course such payments had been made in secret and many people wondered how he had acquired his fortune. This was enough to cause a certain amount of suspicion, and a evil disposition to take advantage of it. This man approached *Qwatlum* and said that he believed *Hamit* was responsible

[illegible] Mr. Schmidt's death, that he was now the wealthy man was really a [illegible] and had used some evil means to cause the Schmidt's drowning. [illegible] was recently related to the dead man and, thus incited, determined to kill Nuxalk in revenge. That evening, as he was lying playing with his grandchild, the Carver chief secured his bows and drawn a [illegible] against the unsuspecting man's chest. Nuxalk quickly levelled down the muzzle so that the bullet, instead of killing him, merely passed through the fleshy part of his hips. Grandfather made no attempt to run away. He and man's wife with the relatives of the injured man whether or not to take revenge, and they usually avoid beginning a vendetta unless virtually driven to it. Some of the month spent from the valley, and one of Nuxalk's nephews, Tsi-tsaat and Ts'ankang, went up to investigate. They were both men of considerable influence in the community, both relatives matrons who had taken prominent parts in the unprovoked attack on Kitkatla a few years before. Realizing that their uncle was not actually wounded, the two brothers carried him to their canoe, intending to take him home and to disappoint the month.

During this time, the evil Nuxalk men had been working on Grandfather's fears by telling him that Nuxalk was certain to kill him by magical means, until he decided that he could escape only by murdering the wounded man. His followers learn of this and tried to dissuade him, fearing the presence of the two famous warriors. As their canoe was going downstream, it was caught in an eddy and upset so that one member and both carriage boards were lost. This proved to Grandfather the danger to which he had been exposing his foot from the hook and Nuxalk left dead, much to the consternation of his two followers as well as the Nuxalk people.

If Tsi-tsaat and Ts'ankang had been ordinary men they would probably have fled downstream but, being fully validated men of rahen, the matter never occurred to them.[1] Ts'ankang, who had not change left to his mother, consulted his brother as to their course of action.

"Nuxalk is dead," his brother replied. "It is probably time for us to die as well. You had better shoot."

Meanwhile Grandfather had remained on the beach, laughing at the two warriors. Ts'ankang told him to be silent, then fired, instantly killing his uncle's murderer. The Carver began to run to and fro on the shore, whence they could hear the two brothers talking to each other.

"Let us not think of escaping," said one. "We have displayed our distinctive rahen. If we are to die let us die."

[illegible]

[1] The man from whom the account was obtained mentioned as a matter of course that validated matrons could serve two ways, when questioned further he emphasized that the public validation of factors made it utterly impossible for them to do less than avenge.

This account was obtained from a descendant of *Tal-kwa* and *Ogwilkuna* who emphatically vouched for its accuracy. Some of the incidents have doubtless been exaggerated, but there is probably a basis of truth, though the passivity of the *Wuikalo* people is difficult to explain. The killing is said to have taken place about seventy years before 1900, so relatively accurate traditions of it are not impossible. No punishment was meted out to the *Wuikalo* behavior since the ritual area, the passing of unnoticed outside the house where a ceremony was taking place, was committed by strangers, not by inhabitants of the town itself.

[illegible]

The tribes of the central coast, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, and Rivers Inlet, were frequently engaged with enemies to north or south, but there was seldom serious bloodshed between one another. The following account, however, describes a conflict between the Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet people in which the Bella Coola were not embroiled.

[illegible]

The favorite foods of the Rivers Inlet people are sockeye salmon which have become self-sterilizing and still-running, never without grease. Their neighbors, the Bella Bella, consider both these traits of fish to be disgusting, although they are fond of eye sockets which the Rivers Inlet people regard as filth. As already described, it was not uncommon as protection of the tribe of the town owner for the boys to build up their grease to rancidity. On one occasion the Bella Bella fed a feast with reference to what they considered the objectionable food of their guests. A masked dancer, representing a stranger, entered the house and the host inquired where he came.

"Are you from Fort Rupert?" he asked.

"No."

"From Bella Bella?"

"No."

The dancer gazed to the north as if to indicate the next question.

"Are you from Rivers Inlet?"

"Yes."

"What do you see there?"

Instead of answering verbally, the dancer dove from beneath his cape

he took a sip of water, followed by another ce of dried fish, 726
chewed it four times, and washed it down alive. This was 789
four times repeated so that the provender consisted
of four morsels of salmon, each chewed four ti, and four sips
of water; it was more important that no mouthful be taken
into the mouth than could be swallowed at a single gulp.
During meals, the hero-man passed the c which he had
taken from the store to the position holders who ate and
drank in the same manner, except that threw with the
other side of his mouth, corresponding ate fact that he
position on the other side of the cover to the man in the
hole. So the food and drink was passed ju to the captain.
If possible, he was required to eat whatever was left, though
if there was too much, he threw the remainder over his shoulder
into the water. He was also expected to allow whatever
water was passed to him, but if there was much he would
lie back, his head projecting over the and pour it out
over his face so that it fell into the mouth to the food and
drink were completely consumed, so it was avoid the enemy
would be mouthfuls. If the hero-man had ed to take out
enough salmon and water, the captain must none of it, since
no second portion could be served.

Each captain took with him a supply 726
cedar-bark which was stored in the hole of cover. During 714
the course of the day, the party would hang the chief decide 824
upon some decoration made by combining ends of the two
colours of bark to serve as a distinguishing ch for members
of the same canoe. He took care to mark k so he thought
would suffice, and the hero-man was the first the symbol.
The second paddler followed, and took to did the same in
order of his position in the canoe. If no had been taken,
the captain had to wear colours of whatever was left over; if
no bride, he had to do without. Having a several cham- 726
ber, the party continued until nightfall, a secluded spot 784
was chosen for camping. Wood was called and fire lit, 792
but no light was ever struck and the men lay around the

cold sticks to sleep. Meanwhile, their wives at home were required to be very careful, since a warrior's bandlum playing would cause injury to her husband, and faithlessness, his death. These restrictions were obligatory during the absence of the expedition.

As the party neared the enemy's country, they would conceal the craft under projecting cross by day and travel only at night. When within striking distance, a scouting canoe was sent forward to learn the hostile dispositions, the best means of approach, and so forth. This was usually done at dusk, and when the scouts had returned, the party would steal quietly through the forest and hide behind the unsuspecting village. At dawn the leader would give the signal, and the attackers would rush forward with a fierce shout, killing all the men and seizing women and children as slaves. When captives were taken by slave members of the expedition, they belonged to the leader's master. The victors would cut off the heads of their victims, seize what loot they could, set fire to the village and rush home before support could arrive from neighbouring towns. At first, the slaughter was usually a somewhat unpleasant task, but as the warriors became inflamed with the heat of battle, they began to delight in killing, and even women and children frequently suffered.

The exulting victors sped homewards, rejoicing at their success but somewhat fearful that they might be cut off by overwhelming reinforcements. During the journey, each warrior who had taken a head removed the scalp by cutting the skin around the tonsure close above the eyebrows and ears. These trophies were washed at the rock *Skalcomsum* on the forel below Bella Coola. When within sight of home, the captain stood up in the canoe and sang again his war song, a symbol of victory as the bloody scalps were held aloft. Women and children would rush forth to greet the conquerors who landed amid scenes of wild enthusiasm and rejoicing.

Prisoners of war became the property of those who had taken them, with the exception of those captured by slaves.

[illegible] (cont.)

[illegible] 824

[illegible] 773

[illegible] 825

[illegible]

[illegible] 773

[illegible] 774

[illegible] 825

[illegible]

[illegible] 773

[illegible] 774

[illegible] 825

[illegible]

[illegible]

place where he is not likely to be disturbed, and addresses the supreme god in a loud tone of voice, requesting his assistance.

Although prayers can be said at any time of the day, or at any season of the year, there are occasions when they are more potent than at other times. At dawn, for example, a wise young man is accustomed to go alone to the river to wash and pray. He enters the icy water, blows mucus over his hands, and rubs his body vigorously* either with a smooth pebble, or, if it can be obtained, with a stone taken from the stomach of a sea-lion.* As he scours himself, he asks *Mondhati* to grant him long life, power, success, and strength. On coming from the water, he repeats his request, and then washes himself again. This process is repeated four times, making eight prayers in all. A young man who does this habitually, and in other ways observes the supreme deity, is likely to have success, and may even be given supernatural assistance by one of the many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. The underlying belief is that *Mondhati* actually hears the words spoken and, almost thereby, aids the petitioner either directly, or by strengthening the supernatural elements in his body.

Mondhati has power over both rain and dry weather, and is petitioned for whichever is desired. When the sun is obscured by rain clouds, the Bella Coola pray:

"Please clean your face, *Mondhati*," or,

"Please show us your face, we need you."

Before a man starts on a journey, either by canoe or on foot, he always asks help for his undertaking.

"*Mondhati*," he prays, "Be with me," or "Go before me," or, "Give me what I want."

Corresponding to the importance of the occasion, prayers are always made before the departure of a hunting or war

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* When one bathes and he rubbing both his body and clothing. It was believed to be application of deer urine, and undoubtedly had a religious significance, taking, holding, and to *Mondhati* we are indebted and [illegible]

* The Bella Coola also has stones on which found in the stomach of sea-lions. The stones, considered of great value, are very, it was [illegible] a [illegible] the [illegible]

party. Canoes always start some other down, and each member of the expedition is careful to pray before leaving, and also to avoid using to cure food should in any way interfere with the success of the venture. Before reaching their destination, a chief in each canoe dozes from a pouch some eagle down brought for the purpose, holds it before his mouth, and blows a little towards each of the four cardinal points, at the same time asking Manitou to smile on the enterprise and grant a safe return. This does not guarantee success, but it is felt that any disaster which may occur would have been more serious if assistance had not been thus requested.

Although Algonkins, under the name of Manitou, is the one to whom prayers are most often addressed, petitions are sometimes made to other beings. In the beginning of time, when Raven had superhumanly power, mortals frequently sought his assistance. In the present time, he is sometimes asked for aid, in the belief that he may still have some shreds of his former power, or he is a better position than man to intercede with Manitou. If storms crash when it is raining, people may ask them to request the supreme being to stop the rain; in such cases, a pattiness is careful to address a raven as Pemaldis, his title as chief, rather than as Qwan. In cold winter weather, a raven is sometimes caught alive, its head smeared with grease, and as it is released, the caster says:

"Please send the cold wind, Pemaldis."

Prayers are also said half humorously, half seriously, on many occasions. When, for example, clothing has become too ragged for further use, it is thrown on a fire with the remark: "Please come to me again, soon."

The thrower does not actually believe that in so doing he is asking help from his clothing, but it gives him a certain sense of satisfaction thus to have expressed his desires.

The prayers above described can be said by anyone, at any time; they are means of propitiation known to the whole community. In addition, information was obtained about two prayers, each of which is the jealously guarded prerogative

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601 Coola social organization, and of the absence of standardized obligations based upon specific relationships.

Slaves

567 Since a slave was* without status in the Bella Coola community, it is perhaps incorrect to include a description of [559] slavery in a chapter on social organization; but as slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages, it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was 162 impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of their number in 567 Bella Coola; slavery has been so long abandoned that the present natives could only hazard vague guesses. Judging from conversational remarks by elderly men, it seems probable that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as thirty to forty per cent of the total population.

527 When a party raided a village most of the inhabitants were 127 slain, but some, especially children, young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. As far as could be learned, once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief [422] or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

527 Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold. 431 The Bella Coola were usually so well provided with salmon that they were able to exchange those fish with the members [422] of other tribes for slaves. Lack of strong chieftainship among 726 the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of [431] their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category [773] belong those obtained as presents at potlatches. If, however, [441] a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was

*One of the first efforts of the white man's civilization in British Columbia was the freeing of all slaves. Consequently the past tense is used in this section.

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names to the dog, and had distributed presents to validate the bestowal. Consequently, the animal is a chief (see Plate 11) and can do as he likes. When it dies it will be mourned as a chief. Moreover, a number of people have returned the presents which they received at the time the dog was made a chief, and this money is kept by the woman and her husband, to be used when they perform the rite of mourning for the dog at death. 281 552 622 766

When this is possible, in the present degenerate days, it is not difficult to understand how, formerly, a great chief felt himself above the restraints that hindered lesser men. The last great Bella Coola chief was *Pathu*, who died between 1870 and 1880. His influence and power were so great that he was a virtual ruler, daring anything. If he requested a young man to take his food box home and the youth was slow to obey, *Pathu* had no hesitation in killing him on the spot. Such great power, though unusual, is intelligible to the Bella Coola, since *Pathu* gave far more potlatches than any of his contemporaries. Other chiefs have been known to attempt a similar arbitrary use of power, but have failed, since their prestige was not great enough to justify it. The fame of a mighty chief spreads up and down the coast, and protects him and the members of his family from being ambushed and slain in any sporadic fray. During an actual fight, however, a chief had to take his chances with the rest, but the comparative immunity was a great advantage. 552* 622 [156] [628] [726]

The Bella Coola recognize the fundamental differences between their own concepts about chieftainship and those of other coastal tribes with whom they come in contact. This point was mentioned in the course of conversation by several men. The most powerful chief known to them was *Tsakun*, who, they say, was virtual monarch of the Kitkatla. None of his subjects could go hunting without his permission, and he had rights to a certain share of their bounty. At any ceremony presents had first to be given to him, and if he were slighted in this respect, he would kill the offender. It is be- 171 556* 622 829

[Doc. cit. III, p 86 (c) - ANALYST]

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203 that he wants so-and-so, giving the name of a chief, to go, for
556 instance, to Bella Bella, to invite a certain person, whose name
484 he gives, to the potlatch. X likewise names those whom he
[679] wishes to form the escort. As a sound whistle is used, it is essential either that the chief himself be a senior *sonad*, or that a *sibi* go with him. It is immaterial whether or not all of the crew are members of the society. Nobody is compelled to go, but as all know it will be a matter of pride to X to recompense them, none declines except for some strong reason. X names those whom he wishes to proceed to other tribes, sending one canoe to each group of towns. He arranges their departure according to the distance each must travel, the aim being to have all the guests arrive at Bella Coola at the same time. X is expected to provide food for his guests as soon as they arrive, and as the potlatch cannot start until all have assembled, X tries to ensure simultaneous arrival, no easy matter since the area from which guests are invited extends from the Nass River to Alert Bay.

[441]

The mysterious and sacred nature of the potlatch is impressed on the minds of the uninitiated at the time of departure. When the chief who is to bear the invitation, and the members of the crew are ready in the canoe at the beach, there is heard from X's house the sound of a whistle. The uninitiated, unaware of the method by which the noise is produced, consider it to be the voice of some supernatural being connected with the potlatch. Either the messenger himself, or some assistant with him, blows a whistle. This can be done without exposing the method by putting the whistle to the lips under cover of a large blanket. When this has sounded the canoe is free to proceed.

The messenger-chief carries with him his *sonad* mask, which he does if he sees another canoe approaching, while eagle down is scattered over the heads of the paddlers. These two signs intimate that the occupants of the craft are on ceremonial business, therefore must not be molested. For a considerable distance up and down the coast the sacred nature of

[532]

[724]

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the potlatch is recognized to such an extent that an attack upon envoys is unthinkable, though one or two myths recount how this unwritten law was violated on rare occasions. A canoe meeting potlatch messengers veers over to the other side of the channel to give them the right of way. 203 556 484 726

On reaching the destination the canoe is brought to close to shore until the inhabitants of the village have gathered on the beach, which they swiftly do on the arrival of strangers. The messenger sounds his whistle, the significance of which is fully understood by members of the *nuxalk* society. Any chief who wishes to show his wealth and importance will invite them to his house. As they are landing, he sends a herald to summon a number of influential people of his village, who seat themselves in their rightful places. As the messengers enter they are given seats on the bench behind the fire, the spot usually reserved for chiefs. A number of lads are called in to toast smoked salmon, and when this has been done the fish are broken into shreds by young girls and served to the messengers on a mat, in lieu of a table-cloth. The envoys do not deliver their message as soon as they arrive. On the contrary, they spend the rest of the day aimlessly talking with their hosts, and sleep in the house where they have been received. 575 262

The following day likewise passes without ceremony, but towards nightfall the host summons all his fellow-villagers to his house. The singers take up their customary places and beat out a *kaxiut* tune. Upon hearing his or her air, the owner of it starts to dance. Using their own discretion, the singers beat out the tunes of *kaxiut* after *kaxiut*, and each dances. In like fashion the singers beat out *nuxalk* songs, and the owner of each dances. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the dances are merely of a ceremonial, not a sacred, nature. When all have danced, each gives a present to the envoys. These gifts are not returnable. They are merely "eagle down," but it is necessary that something be given to validate the dances. The value is immaterial, so far as the purpose is concerned, though a chief who wishes to exhibit his chief-like 203 535 556

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CAUSES OF DEATH

The Bella Coola know that sickness, accident, wilful murder, old age, and a host of other factors may at any time terminate a man's life, but they consider that any one of these direct causes is possible only in conjunction with an indirect reason of a religious or supernatural nature; in the last analysis they attribute death to supernatural, not to natural causes. As described in a previous chapter, an ancient myth attributes the origin of death to the stupidity of Raven, but this belief, even if its historical accuracy is accepted, belongs to the realm of philosophy and ancient history rather than to everyday life. When a canoe is capsized on the ocean and its occupants are drowned,—the Bella Coola do not consider a drowning a mere accident—it is because *Xemoyma* was hungry and desired human flesh. This indirect reason is quite as important as the direct one. So, too, the death of a man beneath a falling tree or a land-slide is no accident; *Sā-lma* caused the tree to crash to earth or the slide to roll downwards. Most individuals believe that this supernatural being is responsible when an animal kills a hunter. He delights in death and always sits on a coffin before it is taken to the grave, although none but shamans can see him. Any supernatural being can cause death, but it must not be imagined that the Bella Coola go through life in a state of constant fear; death may vanquish them in the forests, but the probabilities are against it. Nor does sickness appear to them as a natural phenomenon. Its cause is either the intrusion of some foreign object into the body, or the weakness of one of the patient's supernatural elements. The only remedy in the latter case is an appeal to the supernatural, sometimes through the medium of a shaman, whereas a foreign object in the body can often be extracted by a skilled practitioner. A disease of this type is often brought on by the machinations of a sorcerer, and if death results it is attributed to the potency of his charms, not to a natural ailment. Even ghosts are able to cause death. In war, one man may be able

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to kill an enemy, but his success is accredited to his super- 761
natural possessions which have given him skill as a warrior 726
rather than to his own ability.

It is felt that no ordinary explanation is sufficient to ac- 761
count for the death of a great chief. No matter what may have 622
been the actual cause, it is always said that the supernatural
Carpenters, who in the beginning of time created mankind, [773]
came down and "seized" or "called back" the deceased, think-
ing him too good for this world. It is believed that these beings
are keen hunters, and that *Alquntám* allows them to pursue
influential people. This sentiment is always expressed in [533]
mourning songs for a dead chief, but although accepted as a
matter of fact, it is little more than a formalized belief
which serves to comfort the mourners. The infraction of a
taboo is another reason frequently given for a chief's death.
It is said that there was a loud crash and the earth shook before
the death of *Potlas*; he became ill immediately, and his stomach
began to swell. The stricken chief said that *Sonq'* itself had
fallen upon him, but the common belief was that he had erred
in some ritual act. At any rate, he died within a few hours.

RITES FOLLOWING DEATH

News of a critical illness spreads rapidly through the village 763
and the house in which the sufferer is lying becomes a rendez-
vous for friends asking about his condition. Failure to do so
would be considered ungracious, with the result that there is
such a constant coming and going that rest is denied the sick
person. Shamans are called upon to practise their powers in [756]
a noisy manner, and female relatives weep and wail. The
din is indescribable.

When the patient shows no further indication of life, the
shamans cease, but the women redouble their cries. Relatives,
friends, and sympathizers all crowd into the house and begin
to weep, often adding verbal lamentations. The progress of the
news from house to house can be traced by the wailings. Mean- 764

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CHAPTER III

WARFARE[1]

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

721 648 PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was considerable warfare among the coastal tribes of British Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermination of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks. These were never as continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless, [796] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were [556] even received as guests at some dances. At potlatches they might be subjected to insult, later to be avenged in the same manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and 726 friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who 825 bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests them- 778 selves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever [786] another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter [578] to veer over to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was [627] considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads. 721 In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was [575] at all common. Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were [622] not entirely forgotten; no *kusiut* novice went to war and

[1] Warfare having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once visited
648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
[727] of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but
[628] were at last discovered and scalped. On such occasions the villagers of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the help of *Ilgwaqo*, the most exposed one, although there was no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of
[774] this town attributed their protection to *Algaxiax*, and used to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola
[361] itself was comparatively free from molestation, *Kimsquit* and
[162] *Talio*, with smaller populations and less strategic positions, were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and entered by a water-gate with a drop-door.[1] This water-gate protected the
[648] residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one
[724] Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders, armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way
[642] and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong govern-
[623] ment was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being assailed, the members of the town would discuss retaliation,
[622] and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was de-
[701] cided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[1] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

as a warrior. Such a chief had to command over his followers. If he were a man of great prestige, many would be willing to serve under him, but he could not compel the services of anyone except his own slaves. A few individuals often declined to follow their fellows to war, although the force of public opinion usually prevented a too individualistic course. Inhabitants of other towns used their own discretion whether or not to join the party. If some of their relatives had been slain in the previous attack, revenge influenced them to share in the expedition, otherwise only the prestige of a mighty chief could attract them. No case is known in which all the Bella Coola villages joined in a single expedition; there were often temporary alliances between neighbouring settlements, but complete lack of central organization. The course of events was similar when a chief wished to raid without the motive of avenging an attack. For example, if a Bella Coola had been enslaved by a foreign tribe and slain by his owner, a brother of the victim might decide on revenge. The usual course was to kill a slave belonging to the murderers, though sometimes he led a raiding party if he could gain the necessary support.

Each warrior provided his own weapons, frequently the same as those used for hunting. Bows with obsidian-tipped arrows were most relied upon for offence, though slings were also used from canoes. Every man carried a spear, pointed like an arrow, for hand-to-hand fighting, although there was relatively little of this, most of the combats being fought at a distance with much noise, boasting, and explosives, but few casualties. Spears were, however, useful if the attackers succeeded in surprising a village at night. Hostilities are a thing of the past, consequently it was impossible to obtain detailed information respecting offensive weapons. Armour consisted of maple or birch slats reinforced with moosehide and worn around the body and chest; this rendered quick movement difficult but was effective against arrows. Muskets were introduced many years ago and armour consequently became useless. Large shields of moosehide were carried in all canoes,

and one was held up by the bow paddler as the craft neared the shore to protect him and those behind from arrows and stones cast by slings. When one is sick, shields were held away to leave with some white substance resembling flour.* On the shore of the land below Bella Coola, opposite Winter Bay, there are some boulders of the same white tint; even now these are often spoken of as "The Shields of the Bella Coola." It is said that hostile raiders, seeing them, used to remark that they had reached the outposts of Bella Coola.

The same lack of leadership shown during preparations for a war was evident during hostilities. The so-called leader had little authority over his men, who could desert and return home at any time. Lack of martial ability among their own chiefs sometimes led the Bella Coola to place themselves under the authority of a Bella Bella in a way which would be impossible for a war-like people. Frequently such divided leadership led to disaster, and is the surest proof that the Bella Coola were not as aggressive or bellicose as other coastal tribes.

Except when attacking the Carrier, all raiding parties embarked in canoes and followed a definite order of procedure handed down from the past. In the stern of each craft sat the captain, a chief, who, as the craft was leaving, began to sing his or the song, keeping time to it with the beam of his paddle; the recounting of the glories of their ancestors was supposed to encourage the warriors. Instead of leaving simultaneously, a rendezvous was often chosen down the fiord, and the expedition finally moved off from there when all the canoes had arrived. While still in friendly territory, a flotilla proceeded openly. A small amount of dried salmon and water was carried by a war party and morsels of the former were eaten at intervals. The bow-man took as much food and drink as he thought could be consumed at one sitting, put a fragment of dried salmon in his mouth, chewed it four times on the same side of his mouth as he was paddling, and swallowed it. Then

* These substituted substance said to have had protective or preservative qualities.

to suck a sip of water, fo
chewed to four times, and
four times squeezed as th
of four morsels of salmon,
of water. It was next im
into the mouth that o
Having eaten, the bow-
taken from the stern to
drink to the same man
other side of his mouth
paddled on the other si
bow. To the food and d
If possible, he was requi
if there was too much, h
into the ocean. He wa
water was passed to him
his back, his head positi
over his face so that it
drink were completely se
would be undiluted.
enough salmon and water
so second portion could

Each captain took w
cedar-bark which was u
the course of the day, the
upon some decoration o
colours of bark to serve
of the same canoe. He
would suffice, and the bo
The second paddler follo
order of his position in th
the captain had to wear
too little, he had to do
selves, the party continu
was chosen for camping
but no light was ever al

ollowed by another piece of dried fish, 926
washed it down as before. This was 789
at the provender consumed consisted
each chewed four times, and four sips
portant that no more should be taken
uld be swallowed at a single gulp.
man passed the food which he had
the paddler behind him who ate and
her, except that he chewed with the
, corresponding to the fact that he
e of the canoe from the man in the
rink was passed down to the captain.
red to eat whatever was left, though
e threw the remains over his shoulder
s also expected to swallow whatever
, but if there was too much he would
ting over the stern, and pour it out
fell into the ocean. As the food and
nsumed, so it was believed the enemy
If the bow-man had failed to take out
r, the captain received none of it, since
be served.

ith him a supply of dyed and undyed 926
ored in the bow of the canoe. During 914
party would land and the chief decide
ade by combining strands of the two 824
as a distinguishing mark for members
took out as much bark as he thought
w-man was the first to don the symbol.
wed, and each in turn did the same in
he canoe. If too much had been taken,
r collars of whatever was left over; if
without. Having thus arrayed them-
ed until nightfall when a secluded spot 726
g. Wood was collected and fires laid, 784
truck and the warriors lay around the 722

726 cold sticks to sleep. Meanwhile, their wives at home were
724 required to be very careful, since a woman's handling playing
722 would cause injury to her husband, and faithlessness, his death. These restrictions were obligatory during the absence of the expedition.

726 As the party neared the enemy's country, they would conceal the craft under projecting trees by day and travel only at night. When within striking distance, a scouting canoe was sent forward to learn the hostile dispositions, the best means of approach, and so forth. This was usually done at dusk, and when the scouts had returned, the party would steal quietly through the forest and hide behind the unsuspecting village. At dawn the leader would give the signal, and the attackers would rush forward with a fierce shout, killing all the men and
[727] seizing women and children as slaves. When captives were taken by slave members of the expedition, they belonged to
[425] the latter's masters. The victors would cut off the heads of their victims, seize what loot they could, set fire to the village
[567] and rush home before support could arrive from neighbouring towns. At first, the slaughter was usually a somewhat unpleasant task, but as the warriors became inflamed with the heat of battle, they began to delight in killing, and even women and children frequently suffered.

727 The exulting victors sped homewards, rejoicing at their success but somewhat fearful that they might be cut off by overwhelming reinforcements. During the journey, each warrior who had taken a head removed the scalp by cutting the skin around the cranium close above the eyebrows and ears. These trophies were washed at the rock *Skalzemunts* on the
[583] ford below Bella Coola. When within sight of home, the captain stood up in the canoe and sang again his *ne-ala* song, a symbol of victory as the bloody scalps were held aloft. Women and children would rush forth to greet the conquerors who landed amid scenes of wild enthusiasm and rejoicing.

[425] Prisoners of war became the property of those who had
[567] taken them, with the exception of those captured by slaves.

B
648 established Tsakoe was he who held sway between 1830 and
721 1870, a man of almost gigantic proportions, of tremendous physical strength, and endowed with force of character and initiative as well. Pitted against him, the Kimsquit people suffered even more than before; there were few direct assaults,
648 but Kitkatla canoes seemed always to be lurking in the vicinity,
721 ready to kill or enslave heedless fishermen or those travelling between Kimsquit and Bella Coola or Tallio. Friends of the victims repeatedly discussed counter-measures, but lack of leadership prevented them from coming to a decision for several years.

B
Bb One winter, about the middle of the last century,[1] the Kimsquit determined to take the offensive in May. This plan was discussed both at Bella Coola and Tallio, at Sqmqs the leading chief, Nuxmalk, gave his support and many men whose relatives had been killed or enslaved promised to join the Kimsquit raiders. Among others who took part in the conference was a certain Lo-qmx, an influential Bella Bella chief who happened to be visiting relatives in Sqmqs at the time. It was decided that the rendezvous should be Qalmalks, on Labouchere Channel.

B During the spring those who planned to take part in the expedition
[703] busied themselves with their preparations. No one knew how large would be the force, since as usual, everyone used his own discretion whether or not to join it; some did so to avenge injuries to their relatives, some merely to display martial ability, whereas others declined to repay their wrongs. At last the appointed date came round, and some fifty
B canoes, each containing twenty to thirty men, gathered at the appointed
Bb place.[2] Thence they set out and encamped for the first night at Ikwatch
648 River, Qalqat, near Bella Bella. Lo-qmx knew the time of meeting and
B the route that would be followed, so once out two lads to hunt deer at
[720] the spot, though, not wishing to circulate news of the raiders, he did not tell them what they were likely to find. The two hunters stumbled upon the encampment without being observed, and hurried home to report what they had seen. Lo-qmx had intended to join the party, so he now set out in a small canoe with the two as paddlers, after warning them that they must say nothing at home of his movements. His war equipment consisted of a musket and two paleto-shaped boards with small
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[713]
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[1] The approximate date was judged from the fact that the old man who told of the expedition in 1922 said that his father was about five years of age at the time.
[2] The strength of the expedition was probably exaggerated.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] from the station where the [illegible] to the [illegible] point passed the face of one of the sentinels. This was obviously the same man, as a Kinnaper chief promptly slit him up a fine case of corsage. From the captive [illegible] it was learnt that Tuhua himself was in Bulla Bulla. Here was a golden opportunity, but the Bulla Coolie neared it through divided counsels. Some wanted to proceed to Bulla Bulla to capture Tuhua himself, others to continue to Kitkatla and wreak during the absence of their warrior chief. Either plan might have been successful, but as usual there was no central authority and they were swayed to and fitting. At length they determined to assault the village, and cautiously drew nearer for the purpose. The same little discussion delayed matters, but at last six eight score of the attackers halted in the woods behind the unsuspecting town, while others guarded the canoes hidden in a thicket.

Meanwhile Tuhua, while at Bulla Bulla, had heard that a Bulla Coolie raiding party had set out. He knew that its objective would be his own village, so he hurried home in a fast travelling canoe with others of pick-alone to reinforce Kitkatla through creeping at night. Under cover of darkness, he passed unobserved into Kitkatla at the very time that the attackers were in ambush. Though unknown of this, Tuhua set out with promptness. He called his followers together and told them what he had learnt in Bulla Bulla, and that from the time which had elapsed since he heard the news, the enemy must be at hand. Drums were beaten and all the community rallied together in readiness. The lurking Bulla Coolie overheard the preparations, but could not make up their minds to attack instantly; some wanted to do so, others desired to wait for dawn, and even more lack of leadership caused an opportunity to slip by. Just as daylight the assault was launched. With a wild yell the Bulla Coolie fell upon the town, but the Kitkatla were on the alert, their arms beside them, and the onslaught was a failure. The first rush was driven back, so the assault degenerated into a sporadic musketry duel which continued throughout the day with advantage to the sentinels although the casualties were heavy on both sides. Tuhua owned a small brass cannon which he fired as a signal to other towns of the Kitkatla to rally to his assistance, and the Bulla Coolie were forced to consider the possibility of hostile reinforcements arriving at any time. Some of the attackers tried to burn the village by crawling on the roofs and setting them alight, but the very defenders pulled them through the smoke vents and killed them. In the afternoon several canoes came hurrying up, filled with allies summoned by the firing of the cannon. As they sped past the place where the Bulla Coolie canoes were concealed, they noticed one of the sentries and took a few long-range shots at him. One struck him on the wrist, and the

[illegible] the sound that
[illegible] the raiders were
[illegible] the attack and
[illegible] had off as soon,

[illegible] as a dearly loved
[illegible] relatives. In the
[illegible] live speech:

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[illegible] good his escape.
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[illegible] knife canoes into
[illegible] she could do so
[illegible] chance of a large
[illegible] were with paddles
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[illegible] score and had
[illegible] canoe coming to
[illegible] driven ashore to
[illegible] perilous position,
[illegible] sounds for yellow
[illegible] canoes, an art
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[illegible] found; the dis-
[illegible] rude canoes,
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[illegible] ventures.

[illegible] father of the man
[illegible] grandfather of a
[illegible] discussed. The
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[illegible] or opportunity to
[illegible] we attacked."
[illegible], first requesting
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[illegible] ped, tied a knife
[illegible] theft. He had no

Schoolcraft, H. R. (1822-1924) 1848
NEB Bethune NEB
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difficulty in getting over the village, but the dogs smelt his approach and their barking so distressed him that he returned. Now it was the turn of the men to whom the scheme had first been suggested. He took the canoe from and pushed off into the darkness. A celebration of victory was taking place, so that he was able to land unobserved on the beach and mingle without suspicion among the many strangers who had assembled to Techaro's call. These included allies among whom were slaves and others whose faces were unfamiliar to the residents of the village itself. After walking around for some time, the Bella Coola noticed a canoe of suitable size at the end of the village. He joined a group walking in that direction, but detached himself by making some excuse when near the desired point. Once out of sight behind the canoe, he waited until he was unobserved and moved the craft a few feet; again he waited, then shifted it once more, until he was ultimately able to launch it. By great good fortune, he was able to slip in unobserved, and managed to rejoin his companions although he had only his hands and a few pieces of wood with which to paddle. The seven remained on the islet for two days more, making paddles and waiting until all suspicion of the presence of any strangers had passed.

Then they launched their craft and started homewards. Ignorant of the outside channel, they determined to follow the well-known inner route, though this course exposed them to constant danger and necessitated travelling by night only. There was so little darkness, however, that they could neither proceed fast nor replenish their stock of food. On the eighth day, when lying near Hartley Bay, they were almost starving. *Tsi-ômai*, one of the warriors, said to his brother *Opwikany*:

"Do you want us to die of starvation? We cannot go on this way, let us camp for a few days and hunt, no matter what the danger."

Opwikany agreed, and set off with a packer, telling his comrades not to worry even if he were absent four days since he did not know the country, and might have difficulty in finding game. Another hunter, *Kwalwaltsma*, went off with a packer in the other direction but soon returned unsuccessful and discouraged, though *Tsi-ômai* cheered him by saying that he was sure his brother would succeed. Before night *Opwikany* and his packer brought back a fat buck which was divided among the starving wanderers. At first they ate the fat uncooked, but hunger at last drove them to build a small fire and toast the meat in thin strips so that the minimum of heat and flame was required. Thus strengthened, they eventually reached home.

Even those who had fled at the arrival of the first reinforcements had difficulties in reaching home owing to ignorance of the route. Some of the canoes reached Kitlobe in safety, whence the occupants proceeded

B 795 the body to his own house, preparatory to burying it. It was April, but
[796] as they were waiting, a violent thunderstorm blew up from the east, the
only time that such bad weather occurred at that season. Thunder had
promised to come to *Xwalil*'s aid, but the latter had died too suddenly
B to make any appeal; the supernatural one had just learnt of his gran-
[798] ndfather's death and had come rushing to his assistance. Realizing the
danger, the ceremonier and his friends hastily buried the corpse, throwing
over it a number of blood-stained cloths, and finally stamping down the
earth. There was a furious hurricane; trees were uprooted, houses shook,
B the earth over the grave swelled as if in a whirlpool and chunks of it
[799] were carried up into the air. Only the potency of the blood on the
cloths prevented the return to life of *Xwalil*.*

This second unmanageable crisis on the Kitkatla so disheartened the
B Bella Coola that they made no more raids on their northern foemen who,
T flushed with victory, became ever bolder than before. As usual, the
648 Kimsquit and *Tsi'o* people suffered more than the inhabitants of the
[721] main valley. On one of these forays, about 1835, the Kitkatla killed
[722] *Sekwaulaut*, a brother of *Pudus*, the leading chief of the Bella Coola at the
[622] time. This was contrary to all the rules of warfare since he was a member
of one of the leading families and the donor of many potlatches, a man
whose name was as well known as that of *Pudus*, *Nekhpelem* of Fort
Rupert, or *Tsibaos* himself. The fame of such chiefs was enough to protect
them except during the actual heat of conflict, and the Bella Coola were
justly angry.

B A few years later a single canoe came paddling up North Bentinck
T Arm and was beached about half a mile from the head. Scouts investi-
648 gated, and returned to *Kimsquit* with news that the occupants were
728 Kitkatla, and that *Tsibaos* himself was among them. At once there was
heated discussion among the people of the lower valley. Many who had
lost relatives in the protracted struggle wished to wipe out the party;
others, to see what they wanted. A few daring individuals stalked
B through the forest and fired on the visitors at long range; they were
T answered, not with bullets, but by the four times holding aloft of a moose-
[722] skin, a sign of friendly intentions. If the strangers had fired on the scouts,
a fight would have ensued, but this peaceful reception disarmed suspicion.

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[787] *This tale is a curious illustration of the manner in which supernatural elements become woven into accounts which have an historical basis. It is to be assumed that the wanderers were in a suggestible state owing to privation, and readily believed that supernatural powers must have assisted them. *Xwalil* was feared as a sorcerer, and probably boasted of a visitation from Thunder during his wanderings. This was accepted and the incorporation of impossible incidents followed in due course.

Tuhoe remained encamped for several days, during which time he sent word to the Bella Coola that he regretted the death of *Kitwanhat* and had come to make peace. He added that his followers had tried to dissuade him, saying that he would be killed, but he had answered that he was too great a man to allow fear to influence his actions.

Having waited for several days, the party came up the Bella Coola River, their canoe loaded with pemmican and eagle down, while *Tuhoe's* brother, *Nowakai*, wore the mask of his ancestors as further proof of friendly intentions. It was unusual to display one escape in a canoe ceremonial, but this was an unprecedented event; to have that he might soon be killed and he preferred to die while bearing the obvious mark of correspondence with some incident of an ancient myth. The canoe was launched opposite the house of *Pathe* where the men blew eagle down into the air to mark their peaceful mission. Men had gathered from all parts of the Bella Coola valley and several had doubtless wished to disregard the safe-conducts and slay their enemies, a course which they had recommended for several days and had tried to precipitate by overt acts against the Kitkatla. *Pathe* himself had not spoken, but he now appeared and advised the people not to harm *Tuhoe*, since overbearing hostility would result. Though his wishes did not entirely quiet the angry ones, they eventually received the Kitkatla of a welcome. *Pathe* brought forward a moose-skin, and told some of his people to hold it spread so that, when *Tuhoe* leaps from his canoe, he would land upon it, and could be carried to the house without putting foot to the ground. *Tuhoe* expressed proudly that there was nothing on earth strong enough to support him, since his many potlatches had made him incomparably heavy. Since the law, he accepted the honour, so someone to landing shown only to mighty chiefs, and was carried into the house where he was seated in the far right-hand corner, an honourable location. *Pathe* invited all the people in the vicinity, slaves as well as Bella Coola, and the inner partitions of the house had to be removed to provide space for the throng.

Though *Pathe* had decided against the immediate killing of the Kitkatla, he had concocted a scheme to test their bravery and the sincerity of their desire for peace. No one knew of this except his nephew, *Nowakai*, who was to carry it out. When all were seated, the latter appeared, his face smeared with ashes, and his hair tied up in a top-knot with weasel skins as is customary during war. *Nowakai* moved sunwise around the house, brandishing a musket and repeatedly pointing it at *Tuhoe* in a threatening manner. If the Kitkatla had shown nervousness, particularly if one of them had fired his own musket, a massacre would have resulted. But they remained unmoved, confident in the prestige of their leader, while he knew that though his body might be

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lasted. This feud has continued up to the present time. In 1909 word reached Bella Coola that Tsalos had approached a Quatsino chief and asked him to spread the rumour that the missing party had been drowned at sea, at the same time admitting what had taken place. A year later a half-breed Kwakiutl, hunting on Virgin Rocks, happened to unearth the bones buried beneath the tap. There the matter rests for the moment so far as the Bella Coola are concerned, but they express the opinion that the continued feud may cause bloodshed at any time.

It must be remembered that the above account of the meeting between the Kitkatla is of a partisan nature. No attempt was made to have the Kitkatla side of the matter, so that the version here given may or may not be the truth. It has been inserted as an illustration of Bella Coola attitude, and of the manner in which, formerly, doubts, fears and suspicions led to war. This would certainly have been the case in the present instance but for the moderating influence of the white man's rule.

KWAKIUTL WAR

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Only slightly less feared than the Kitkatla were the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples, especially those inhabiting Knight's Inlet, Kingcome Inlet, and Blunden Harbour, who were known collectively as *Dzelkwa*. As Tsalos was feared among the northern tribes, so was *Nawi* among the south-erners. Bella Coola itself was too difficult of access and too densely populated to be successfully attacked, but *Tsi'is* was subject to constant raids. Even more disconcerting was the constant danger of lurking foemen; one year it would be a hunter who was surprised and killed, the next a party of women would be carried off while picking berries.

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The raiders became so bold that the inhabitants of one of the *Tsi'is* villages decided to defend themselves by building a stockade. Everyone assisted in the task, so that the fortification was soon completed. It consisted of a fence of vertical logs with a platform running around near the top, on the inner side, on which the defenders could stand, and a water-gate through which canoes could enter at high tide. It surrounded five or six houses and was planned as a place of refuge for all the *Tsi'is* villages. One of the tree-trunks brought for the stockade was hollow, and there was considerable discussion as to whether it should be used, but finally it was set up with the others. A Kwakiutl who was visiting *Tsi'is* at the time took notice of this weakness, but no one seems to have suspected that he would inform his friends of it when he went home.

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The summer after the stockade had been completed the Kwakiutl discussed the usual raid on *Tsi'is*; one of the principal chiefs opposed an expedition on the ground of the reputed strength of the defence, but

[a famous Tsimshian chief - ANALYST]

[illegible]

[illegible] was overruled by the popular vote and the raiders set out. They had chosen an opportune time, since most of the people were absent hunting and fishing; in fact, three men and three children were the sole occupants of the fortified village. They saw the approaching marauders in the distance, closed all openings, and prepared to defend themselves. The Kwakiutl killed a large cow and with this as ram attempted to barricade the gate. It was too strongly built, and while struggling with it, the attackers offered excellent targets to those within. One of them, *Swang*, was a good shot and took heavy toll. Convinced that the gate was too strong for them, the Kwakiutl turned their attention to the hollow log; these men failed to observe it and thus again suffered heavy casualties. Thus had the defenders escaped scathless. One of the three was struck by an enemy bullet, another fell from the fighting platform and accidentally shot himself, while *Swang*'s powder began to fail. Fearing that all was lost, he told one of the little boys to open a concealed rear door* and fled into the woods with the two smaller children. The three managed to escape unobserved from the village and hid themselves under leaves. The Kwakiutl did not know how weakly the stockade was defended, and *Swang* disguised the fact by ranking from one part of the platform to another and calling out in various tones as if a number of people were speaking. He could fire only occasionally on account of shortage of powder, but the ruse was effective and at last the raiders withdrew, carrying their dead with them. Two of them wandered into the forest instead of accompanying their comrades; they must have died of exposure, since their corpses were found in an emaciated condition several weeks later.

Not content with defeating the raiders almost single-handed, *Swang* embarked in a small canoe and cautiously followed the course which he knew they must have taken. His children had been slain by the Kwakiutl during a previous raid, a circumstance which had so enhanced him that he regarded the escape of a single one of them, and was determined to treat even their dead with ignominy. At length he sighted a number of canoes congregated on a sandy beach, and rightly judged that this indicated the spot where the vanquished had buried their slain. *Swang* exhumed one of the corpses and impaled it on a stake in a crouching position.

Meanwhile the relatives of the raiders, expecting the usual easy success, had gathered near their leader's house. They were filled with apprehension when they heard a mourning song from the returning canoes, and anxiously called out to learn the fate of different members

*Probably a mere chink in the stockade.

Dobbs Growth B-5 (1922-1924) 1968
NEB Bellacoola NEB
Kwakiutl NE10

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and *SnE'lkum* soon discovered a protected hollow where, having concealed himself with leaves and rotten wood, he went to sleep. When he awoke in the morning the war-party had moved away.

Without clothing to protect him from cheesy bushes, *SnE'lkum* could not pass through the forest, so he climbed above the tree-line and made his way to the west side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from the place where he had been captured. With much difficulty and many scratches, he made his way down to sea-level and paddled across the fiord on a log. Then he climbed up once more, and crossed the mountains to Bella Coola above the tree limit. The one survivor of the attack had taken the same route when bearing the evil tidings. Women were wailing and weeping when a naked man was seen coming down the mountain-side; it was *SnE'lkum*. They welcomed him as one returned from the dead; in earlier years he had boasted that, if ever captured, he would escape, and it was recognized that he had made good his promise.

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The defeat at *Ta'ic* rankled in the mind of *Sîwid*, who made another attack on the stockade a few years later. This time it was fully manned and the assailants suffered even more severely than before. As they advanced with a ram, one of the defenders fired a powerful charge and the bullet passed through the bodies of several of the raiders. This so discouraged them that they dragged away the bodies of the slain and departed, having killed only two *Ta'ic* men. As they were going homewards, they chanced to pass beneath a precipitous mountain on which two young Bella Coola were hunting. The latter fired on them at long range and were fortunate enough to register several hits.

After this second failure, *Sîwid* decided to make Bella Coola itself his next objective. With this aim in view, a party of Kwakiutl raiders set out one year. As is customary, they hid during the daytime when in hostile territory, and happened to be in a small harbour below Green Bay when a party of Kimsquit, *en route* to Bella Coola, landed there for water. As one of them, the uncle of a man of fifty in 1923, was drinking at a stream he was fired upon, whereat he hastily concealed himself. A skirmish ensued in which the same man was wounded in the arm. By this time he was some distance from the sea, and he tried to crawl back over the crest of a low ridge to regain the shore. Suddenly he felt a sharp pain in the back and thought he had been hit once more; he continued his flight till he found that his bark-cape had become ignited, and was the cause of the second discomfort. He threw it off and contrived to escape. Another Kimsquit man was wounded in the back but hid himself within a hollow tree.

After this trifling success, the marauders decided to return home. Early the next morning, when paddling down Burke Channel to the east

E. McDowell E-1 [1922-1924] 1948
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KulaKiutl NE10

B K 491 926

of Kwatna, a woman called down to them from the upper slopes of the mountains on the south-east. She was one of a party of Kwatna people who were picking berries; their canoes were lying in a bay beneath, where the youths of the party were resting and sleeping, ready to climb up and carry down the boxes of berries as the women filled them. *Bilxwalakt*, the woman who had called out, had done so under the impression that those passing were Bella Coola, and though one of her companions recognized her error and bade her be silent, the intimation had been given. The raiders would have passed in mid-channel unaware that anyone was in the vicinity, but now they quickly entered the bay and slew the few lads who were with the canoes. Next they endeavoured to capture the women and started climbing up for the purpose, but as soon as they entered the woods, they lost sight of the fugitives who were on the open slopes above. One of the canoes was paddled back to mid-channel, whence there was a clear view so that the crew could call out and direct their comrades' pursuit. Two of the women had started climbing as soon as they saw the warriors turn inwards; they escaped over the mountains and reached Kwatna with word of the affray. With one exception, the others kept together and sought refuge in a narrow cave, the entrance of which they were able to defend; the attackers did not dare linger for a siege, so they too escaped. But *Bilxwalakt*, the cause of the whole disaster, was cut off from her companions and hurried from place to place as she strove frantically to get away. When finally brought to bay, she struggled furiously and refused to be taken alive, so her throat was cut and the body decapitated. She was a member of a chief's family, a woman who had been confirmed on a good seat, so the murder was entirely contrary to all coastal customs. If she had been taken prisoner, she would have been ransomed and the matter would have ended, but her death demanded revenge.

B K [727] [721]

When the two women who had fled overland reached Kwatna, a party of warriors set out immediately, but could do no more than bring back the women who had hidden in the cave. Meanwhile the Kwakiutl continued their voyage and encamped at Jacobson's Bay where they watched a Bella Bella canoe pass up the channel towards Bella Coola. They concluded that the Kimsquit people, whose canoes they had destroyed, would hail this passing craft and thus reach Bella Coola with news of raiders in the vicinity. So it transpired, while almost simultaneously came news from Kwatna of the woman's murder, but by this time the Kwakiutl had reached home waters.

B 721

Bilxwalakt's parents had been Kwatna people, her husband was a Bella Bella, and she had Bella Coola ancestry as well, so the members of these three tribes were all affronted by this killing of a chief. At Bella

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Coola the important men of *Sunxl*, *Tcmoxl*, and *Alpálxl* met at *Xemqo-ts* and discussed the matter stormily. *Putlx* was the leading Bella Coola chief at the time, but he alone did not attend the meeting at which all the others were present, though he sent a man to search a storehouse owned by the murdered woman on the south side of the mouth of Bella Coola River, near the former Hudson's Bay Company's post. *Bilxwalakz* had a large amount of ammunition stored within, and this was brought to the house of *Putlx*. Next morning, the chief himself appeared, his face smeared with ashes and his hair tied in a top-knot with a weasel-skin. This is done by anyone who has killed a man, and it was a clear intimation that *Putlx* had decided on war. He seated himself in the doorway of his house, a cocked musket in either hand, and intimated that he would shoot anyone who passed on the sidewalk before him. For four days he sat there, neither speaking nor eating: he was *nawxil*, so no one disregarded his wishes and the inmates even of his own house used the refuse holes for egress during that period. No other case is known of such an action, but *Putlx* could do as he liked, and he manifested his grief and determination in this spectacular manner. On the fifth day, he ordered drums to be beaten, and the inhabitants of the adjacent villages gathered; *Putlx* wasted no words:

"*Bilxwalakz* has been murdered," he said. "She was a chief and my relative.[10] I am going to war. We shall use her own powder and shot."

The ammunition was distributed and the Bella Coola prepared for the expedition.

Owing to the prestige of *Putlx*, volunteers came swarming in, not only from Bella Coola itself, but from Kimsquit and *Talio* as well. No one was thoroughly acquainted with the geography of the Kwakiutl territory except a slave named, like the Kwakiutl warrior chief, *Sewid*, though not, however, related to him. This man had lived among the Bella Coola for so long that he was thought reliable; he readily agreed to act as guide, only asking that his old mother be spared, a request which was granted.

After the usual delays, the expedition set out and spent the first night at Kwatna. Next morning, *Kwalxnl*, one of the leading warriors, tied his hair into a top-knot and smeared his face with ashes. He was a man whose bravery had been firmly established by the distribution of valuable presents. To show his valour, he stood up on the beach within easy musket range and called out:

"Please fire at my top-knot. If you hit it and make it fall, so will we lay low our foes."

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[10] It is doubtful whether she was a kinswoman, but *Putlx* used the term figuratively in speaking of one who, like himself, was a person of importance.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Kwakiutl NE10

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For some time no one was willing to take the risk of hitting a comrade, but *Kwalstnf* continued his request until a good shot took careful aim and fired. The bullet cut the knot and the warrior's scanty locks fell streaming over his face; he was partially bald so that his top-knot was thin and collapsed easily. Everyone was pleased at this incident as foretelling victory. Those whose courage had been established either by magical means or by the distribution of wealth, often deliberately took public risks of this kind to show their bravery.

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Then the expedition continued, travelling only by night after leaving friendly waters. It was decided to attack the people of Kingcome Inlet, though it is unknown whether that objective had been decided upon before leaving Bella Coola *or en route*. When close to their goal, a scouting canoe was sent forward, guided by the slave. He led the party into one cove, then into another, without seeming to arrive anywhere; the scouts feared that he was deceiving them, so they landed, and while two or three lay in hiding, the others took *Siwid* back to the main party. One Bella Coola had a slight knowledge of the route, so he was sent forward to join the hidden scouts; their canoe was cautiously paddled forward in the darkness till the crew was able to land unobserved about a quarter of a mile from the objective. Kingcome Inlet is famous for its olachen, which attract fishermen from all parts of the coast; on the day previous a canoe from the north had arrived for the spring run and reported the departure of the Bella Coola expedition. From the time which had elapsed, the Kingcome Inlet people knew that this must now be in the vicinity. Two canoes filled with men were sent out from the threatened village; they scoured the neighbouring coasts, but although one of the crews almost stumbled over the hidden scouts, they found no trace of them, and returned, reporting that no enemy was near. Having avoided those who were looking for them, the Bella Coola scouts returned to the main party and preparations were made to attack at dawn.

The warriors gained positions in ambush behind the village without being discovered, and just before daybreak the assault was launched. The *Djoldhaus*, taken unaware, could offer no real resistance; many of them were killed or captured although *Siwid*, the chief, himself escaped. The Bella Coola suffered only one casualty, the captain of one of the canoes. During the journey, the bow-man of his craft had misjudged the amounts of food and cedar-bark required, so that his leader, in the stern, had received neither and was in no fit condition for fighting. Some of his friends advised him to remain with the canoes and promised to bring him prisoners to guard; the captain refused this offer, rushed into the fight and was slain. It was generally felt that lack of war decorations was responsible.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
KwakiuH NE10

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As the attackers rushed into the village, the mother of the slave *Siwid*, suspecting who they might be, cried out in Bella Coola to ask their tribe. A chief replied and added that they had come for revenge. Her son, who had taken his full share in the attack, was told where to find his mother, so he rescued her and brought her to Bella Coola, where she was given an honourable position instead of being treated as a slave. As soon as all resistance was ended, the Bella Coola warriors gathered in the captured village to take stock of their victory. At this juncture someone noticed a canoe-load of *Djoldźawe* trying to steal away unobserved; they had no weapons and the craft was promptly stopped. One of the leading warriors, *Sisumbile*, uncle of a man about sixty years of age in 1923, had lost several of his relatives during raids from the south, and had joined the expedition for revenge. He came rushing up and slew first one occupant of the canoe, and then another, slowly and deliberately; until, as he became frenzied with blood, he killed them all as quickly as possible. The mother of the Bella Coola slave told the raiders that there were other *Djoldźawe* villages in the neighbourhood from which help would certainly be sent. So the victors seized as many boxes of olachen grease, blankets, and other valuables as possible, and fled with their captives, not stopping even to fire the village.

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[721]
[727]

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[727]

Among the prisoners was a young woman whom the slave *Siwid* recognized as a chief. He determined to help her to escape and accordingly offered to aid her captor by guarding his prisoner, without telling him of her rank. The Bella Coola had retreated about two miles, their canoes strung out in a long line, when *Djoldźawe* craft, hurrying up from other villages, appeared and a running fight ensued. In the rear Bella Coola canoe were two hunters, both expert shots; two loaders kept handing them charges already measured out so that they were able to keep up a rapid and well-directed fire which kept the enemy at a distance. The pursuers being directly astern, several times a single bullet passed through the bodies of two warriors, and on one occasion this led to the capsizing of one of their canoes. While the Bella Coola were watching this success, *Siwid* whispered to the girl to dive overboard, that she would be picked up by her friends. By swimming underwater, she deceived the Bella Coola who, though several saw her, thought she was an animal, unworthy of a bullet from one of the marksmen. She reached her fellow-countrymen and was picked up by one of the chasing canoes. Soon afterwards *Siwid* abandoned the hopeless pursuit. Some of the Bella Coola wanted to camp and feast, but the majority thought it safer to push on and put a safe distance between them and their enemies. There is only one good harbour, Indian Cove, in that part of the coast, where they agreed to stop for a few hours if there were no recent footprints in the

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5
Kwakiutl NE10
Bellabella NE5

B K 648 726

sand. None were to be seen; but after a short delay they proceeded homewards where they were welcomed with wild rejoicing. It was well that they had returned promptly since messengers had been sent immediately to Newitte, Fort Rupert, Alert Bay, and other Kwakiutl towns. A strong force was gathered as soon as possible and went straight to Indian Cove, knowing that the Bella Coola would be likely to camp there. When they found that the raiders had already gone by, they pursued no further.

B K 648 721

After this victory, the Bella Coola suffered less from the southern raiders. As before, occasional canoes came north to seize unprotected fishermen or berry-pickers, but the Kwakiutl had learnt a salutary lesson and were less bold than formerly. About four years later, they formed a large expedition to attack the Bella Coola, but the latter were fortunate enough to have it deflected by an accident.

B K Bb 648 726 Bb [424] [203]

Some four years before the Bella Coola victory, a Bella Bella chief had decided to give an elaborate potlatch at which he would display an ancestral prerogative consisting of twelve stepped platforms within his house. This meant that a large excavation had to be made, around which the stagings were built in receding tiers. The prerogative of building such a house was not unusual, but this was the largest ever known and eight years were spent in its construction. When at last it was finished, the owner prepared to invite guests from all the coastal tribes, including the Kwakiutl. As his envoys to them, heading southward, passed Tsowpuh, near Koeye River in Fitzhugh Sound, they met a canoe and promptly blew their whistles to make known their business. Instead of veering over to the other side of the channel, the craft was paddled alongside that of the potlatch messengers, who realized that the crew were warriors; it was, in fact, the advance guard of the Kwakiutl expedition against the Bella Coola. Before leaving, the men had sworn to kill every person whom they met, either forgetting or deliberately overlooking the possibility of encountering potlatch envoys.* Now that the time came to carry out their oath, the occupants of the leading canoe hesitated; they had failed to grant it right of way, but feared to begin killing, and while they dallied, the second craft ranged up on the other side. Its crew likewise hesitated to kill the messengers, and waited for the third, and they for the fourth. As usual, the expedition had been travelling with the canoes in single file, those from each village together, with the leader in the rear craft of his detachment. Within a few minutes, the chief of the leading town came up to the Bella Bella messengers, but

*News of a coming potlatch was usually circulated so that the Kwakiutl were probably aware of the possibility of meeting messengers, and seem to have deliberately agreed to break the law to mark their passion for revenge.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Kwakiuth NE10
Bellabella NE5

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be too delayed action until the foremost craft of the next town had arrived. This was continued until the whole flotilla, which had extended for nearly five miles, was ranged in an irregular mass around the envoys. The captain of the last canoe was *Qwaxiällis*, a Fort Rupert chief and validated warrior who had taken an unassuming position because he had Bella Coola blood in his veins and was unwilling to kill his kinsmen; he had been unable to dissuade his fellows from the expedition, but had determined to take little part in it himself. The reputation of this man was so great that it was decided by universal consent to leave the fate of the messengers in his hands. But when *Qwaxiällis* arrived, the canoes were massed so closely that he could not even see the cause for the delay. He entered a small craft and managed to make his way to the centre of the throng, where he quickly sized up the situation and bitterly upbraided those who had failed to keep their oaths. Then he donned his war accoutrements, killed a single Bella Bella silently and unemotionally, then withdrew to the edge of the flotilla. Thus encouraged, an attack was made on the unfortunate messengers. One of them unshipped the mast, stood in the bow and offered a stout resistance by swinging this around like a heavy club, killing one of his foes. Another plunged overboard and in the confusion managed to swim ashore. When the massacre was over, *Qwaxiällis* called out in a loud voice:

"*Sang*[w] will fall upon us for our sin. Take care. I am going home."

He turned and paddled homewards, followed by the other canoes from his own village. His real reason was to assist his Bella Coola kinsmen, but none of the Kwakiutl realized that. After some discussion, the whole expedition was abandoned.

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The Bella Bella survivor eventually made his way home with the news which was received with great astonishment, disregard of a safe-conduct to potlatch messengers being virtually unknown. The ceremony itself was postponed and finally abandoned owing to the death of the intending donor. No punishment was meted out to the offenders by a third tribe, either because the ritual was committed against a foreign tribe instead of among themselves, or because the offenders came from so many villages that it was impossible to isolate the guilty.

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After this calamity, *Sisiä* himself made no more efforts to raid the Bella Coola. About twenty-five years later, when he was an old man, he made a peaceful visit northward to establish friendly relations; he was welcomed and no more hostile acts were committed by his followers during their chief's lifetime. On his death, his son, who was also warlike in disposition, tried to stir up trouble but was restrained by the influence of the white man which had become dominant on the coast by that time.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

WAR WITH THE CARRIERS

B C 648 721 B [186] B [484]

The only other people with whom the Bella Coola came into frequent conflict were the Carriers. Some of the latter used to spend the winter among the coastal tribes, and had even intermarried with them to a considerable extent, but their mode of life was so different that they were always viewed as foreign in thought and outlook. The Bella Coola despised them for their dirtiness, their fondness for unsavoury food, and, above all, for their ignorance of *kusiut* and *susook* matters. This distrust was mutual and not infrequently led to bloodshed. Owing to the location of the Carriers, they could not be reached by canoes, and the Bella Coola had no liking for long overland journeys. The mobility and relative lack of permanent villages made it difficult to bring the Carriers to bay, so that warfare between them and the Bella Coola usually took the form of a killing followed by a raid for revenge; continued hostility was virtually unknown. The people of the lower villages were scarcely affected, but in former times there seems to have been a considerable amount of intermittent fighting between the inhabitants of the upper valley and the Carriers living east of them.

B C 648 726

The following account, claimed to be historical, describes what was said to be a typical raid, followed by a counter-attack.

On one occasion all the young people of *Sauxl*, *Nukils*, *Ăsăn-ăn-i*, and *Snuisli* went on a picnic to a large, clear tract of ground up the valley, where they spent their time, playing and singing. Towards nightfall two young men, who had not come with the others, drew near cautiously until they could call a girl who was a friend of one of the two. She slipped off quietly from her companions and passed the night with her lover and his comrade in the woods. Towards dawn a party of marauding Carrier Indians swooped down on the sleeping picnickers who, unarmed and unprepared, could make no resistance. With the exception of two pretty girls carried off as slaves, all were slain. The three who had been in the woods hurried back to the villages with the news.

The men of the four towns prepared for action. They went to the picnic ground and brought back the corpses for burial, thus learning for

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

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the first time that two girls were missing. Then they set forth on the track of the Carriers. The raiders, knowing that their assault could not have been heard in any village, and unaware of the three young people hidden in the woods, took no precautions. The first night the pursuers reached the camp where the Carriers had built a long, narrow fire of some kind of wood which emitted no sparks, on either side of which they had placed a long tree-trunk on which to rest their feet as they dried their moccasins at the flames. One of the Bella Coola girls was placed near one end of the fire, the other at the other end on the opposite side. Neither could sleep, but kept watching silently in the hope of being able to escape. Towards dawn one of them was overjoyed to see a Bella Coola scout peering around a tree-trunk. He motioned her to keep silent and she nodded to show that she understood his signal; then he went away. He told his waiting companions how the Carriers were resting with their feet over logs beside the fire, and suggested that they prepare heavy clubs. Having done this, the Bella Coola stole up behind the drowsing enemy. Each selected a victim and broke his leg, or legs, with a crack of the club. Not one of the raiders escaped, the cripples being killed without difficulty. In some manner this event was made the theme of a *sisaok* song.

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The following unrelated incident is probably historically correct, in outline at least, since it is said to have taken place about 1860, and two of the participants were great-uncles of the man from whom the account was obtained.

One October a number of Carriers were staying at *Nusqalst*. Their chief was a certain *Ṡämälxem* who was distantly related to the people of that village, though he had long since ceased to be regarded as anything but a Carrier. The river was running full and though there were many cohoe and dog salmon in it, they were difficult to catch on account of the roaring torrent. A *Nusqalst* man, *Ṡelxwliotl*, had laid in an abundant store of fish for the winter, but his bad-tempered wife urged him to get her some fresh salmon and he ventured forth. A drifting log struck his canoe; he called out for help, but before it reached him, his craft capsized and he was drowned. *Ṡelxwliotl* was a popular man and there was great grief at his untimely death.

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As was so often the case, jealousy was rife in *Nusqalst*, where a certain *Nänätl* had become wealthy. He was a good carpenter, and his riches had been amassed as rewards for making *kusiut* masks, but of course such payments had been made in secret and many people wondered how he had acquired his fortune. This was enough to cause a certain amount of suspicion, and a rival determined to take advantage of it. This man approached *Ṡämälxem* and said that he believed *Nänätl* was responsible

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

B for *Ẉáxwalistl*'s death, that he was sure the wealthy man was really a
C sorcerer, and had used some evil means to cause the fisherman's drowning.
648 *Ẉámálxem* was distantly related to the dead man and, thus incited, deter-
721 mined to kill *Nánátl* in revenge. That evening, as he was lying playing
B with his grandchild, the Carrier chief entered his house and thrust a
musket against the unsuspecting man's chest. *Nánátl* quickly knocked
[556] down the muzzle so that the bullet, instead of killing him, merely passed
[754] through the fleshy part of his hips. *Ẉámálxem* made no attempt to run
away. In such cases it rests with the relatives of the injured man whether
or not to take revenge, and they usually avoid beginning a vendetta
unless virtually driven to it. News of the assault spread down the valley,
and two of *Nánátl*'s nephews, *Ẉá·kmai* and *Oẉmikmẉ*, went up to investigate. They were both men of considerable influence in the community, both validated warriors who had taken prominent parts in the unsuccessful attack on Kitkatla a few years before. Realizing that their uncle was not seriously wounded, the two brothers carried him to their canoe, intending to take him home and to disregard the assault.

During this time, the evil *Nuxálst* man had been working on *Ẉámálxem*'s fears by telling him that *Nánátl* was certain to kill him by magical means, until he decided that he could escape only by murdering the wounded man. His followers learnt of this and tried to dissuade him,
B fearing the presence of the two famous warriors. As their canoe was
C going downstream, it was caught in an eddy and tipped so that one
648 musket and both cartridge boards were lost. This seemed to *Ẉámálxem*
the chance for which he had been waiting: he fired from the bank and
726 *Nánátl* fell dead, much to the consternation of his own followers as well as the *Nuxálst* people.

If *Ẉá·kmai* and *Oẉmikmẉ* had been ordinary men they would probably have fled downstream but, being duly validated men of valour, this course never occurred to them.[14] *Oẉmikmẉ*, who had one charge left in his musket, consulted his brother as to their course of action.

"*Nánátl* is dead," his brother replied. "It is probably time for us to die as well. You had better shoot."

Meanwhile *Ẉámálxem* had remained on the bank, laughing at the two warriors. *Oẉmikmẉ* told him to be silent, then fired, instantly killing his uncle's murderer. The Carriers began to run to and fro on the shore, whence they could hear the two brothers talking to each other:

"Let us not think of escaping," said one. "We have displayed our
B characters today. If we are to die, let us die."

[703] [14]The man from whom this account was obtained mentioned as a matter of course that confirmed warriors could never run away; when questioned further, he emphasized that the public validation of bravery made it utterly impossible for them to flee from danger.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

The other agreed, so they paddled in and landed at the bottom of the village, heedless of the fact that it was full of Carriers. The *Nuxalst* people seem to have remained passive, but the angry Carriers came rushing forth and *Oémikmy* spoke proudly to them: B C 648 726

"You would be dead as your chief if we had not lost our weapons."

The two brothers walked slowly up the long sidewalk of the village, while the Carriers skulked around, uttering threats, casting stones and shooting arrows. Some of the latter stuck in their backs, but long previously both *Ts̓ā·kmai* and *Oémikmy* had eaten part of a *xsiaitl* which had rendered their bodies impervious to such wounds. Arrived at the upper end of the village, they stopped and waited, making no attempt to defend themselves, until they were killed. At intervals throughout the day the Carriers treated the two bodies with ignominy, now thrusting spears into them, now beating them, and all this time not a single Bella Coola dared even to protest, so much were they filled with fear of the Carriers who, when roused as they then were, fight like mad dogs. In the late afternoon one of the women thrust a knife into the eyes of the fallen warriors. Even this insult did not rouse the *Nuxalst* people themselves, but *Winās*, one of their slaves, felt called upon to take action. Before being captured, he had been a person of importance in his own home and the Bella Coola had allowed him to become a leading member of the *kusiut* society; in the course of time he had become entirely reconciled to his fate, and even thought as a Bella Coola which gave him the necessary assurance to address the Carriers. B C 648 727 B [567]

"*Wa*, wa," he said. "See the breadth of the sky.[11] I have never seen, nor have I even heard of such a thing as you have done today. Truly you have wiped your feet on all that is sacred and powerful."

This speech for the first time brought the enormity of their offence home to the Carriers. The actual taking of life did not affright them, but in their excitement they had overlooked what was to *Winās* the most obvious sin: they had passed and repassed on the sidewalk outside a house where a *kusiut* dance was taking place. Thus reminded of the danger to which they had exposed themselves, the Carriers withdrew. B [688]

Next day the *Nuxalst* people buried the four victims. *Ts̓ēmālxem* had been a mighty chief and, being distantly related, they would normally have given him an elaborate funeral, but now they acted as if dazed and unaware of his prowess. A man who owned a powerful medicine put some of it in the eyes of the two who had been mutilated by the Carrier woman; as the bodies began to decompose, those who had killed them began to suffer from eye-trouble, and the woman became blind. Believing that their sin had caused their misfortunes, the Carriers fled home. B [754]

[11] To call attention in this way to the breadth of the universe carries with it the implication that it will fall to crush those who have broken a sacred law. B [784.195]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Kwakiutl NE10
Bellabella NE5

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This account was obtained from a descendant of *Tsä·kmai* and *Ōmitumg* who emphatically vouched for its accuracy. Some of the incidents have doubtless been exaggerated, but there is probably a basis of truth, though the passivity of the *Nuxqalst* people is difficult to explain. The killing is said to have taken place about seventy years before 1922, so tolerably accurate traditions of it are not impossible. No punishment was meted out to the *Nuxqalst kukusiut* since the ritual error, the passing of uninitiated outside the house where a ceremony was taking place, was committed by strangers, not by inhabitants of the town itself.

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[688]

A WAR BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF BELLA BELLA AND RIVERS INLET

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The tribes of the central coast, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, and Rivers Inlet, were frequently engaged with enemies to north or south, but there was seldom serious bloodshed between one another. The following account, however, describes a conflict between the Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet people in which the Bella Coola were not embroiled.

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Two favourite foods of the Rivers Inlet people are sockeye salmon which have become soft after spawning, and wild currants, eaten without grease. Their neighbours, the Bella Bella, consider both these articles of diet to be disgusting, although they are fond of raw mussels which the Rivers Inlet people regard as filthy. As already described, it was not uncommon at potlatches of the tribes of the outer coast for the hosts to hold up their guests to ridicule. On one occasion the Bella Bella did so with reference to what they considered the objectionable food of their guests. A masked dancer, representing a stranger, entered the house and the host enquired whence he came.

"Are you from Fort Rupert?" he asked.

"No."

"From Bella Bella?"

"No."

The dancer pointed to the south as if to indicate the next question.

"Are you from Rivers Inlet?"

"Yes."

"What do you eat there?"

Instead of answering verbally, the dancer drew from beneath his cape

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

become entangled in the loop when drawn back by the cord attached to the butt. A tug-of-war now takes place, those of each party who have caught the ring endeavouring to pull it to their side of the water. At last one or other is successful, and brings ashore the prize, with the dangling spears of their adversaries. Sometimes a lad with a fine weapon determines to retain possession of it at all costs and is dragged through the pool to the amusement of all. 526

TOURNAMENTS

526 628 726

It is doubtful whether the subject of tournaments should be considered as belonging to mythology, warfare, or games, since it has aspects pertaining to each. Several of the older men affirmed that prior to the introduction of muskets, it was not uncommon for rival villages to stage fights according to definite rules, after full intimation of the attack had been given. This usually followed a period when angry comments had been made, but when the provocation was not sufficient for war. In such a case, the challenging town would notify its rival that on such a date an expedition consisting of, for example, twenty canoes would attack them with stones. Such an announcement could not be disregarded; the inhabitants of the two settlements prepared for action and wagered the large number of valuables essential to all such competitions. [525]

Many years ago, the Kimsquit people challenged the *ıstāmx* to a tournament of this kind. It was first necessary to choose the contestants. Twenty of the strongest men were selected, each to stand in the bow of a canoe and hold a moose-skin to shield the paddlers behind. To test their endurance, each took his place and the canoes were paddled towards the shore while all the other inhabitants, lined up on the beach, showered stones on them. On this first test, six of the twenty fell beneath the avalanche of projectiles and were accordingly considered too feeble. Their places were taken by six others who were tested the same way the following day, and the same procedure was repeated until the twenty strongest men in all Kimsquit had been found. A certain *Sinuxstl* was chosen as

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526 captain. Meanwhile the *ustāmx* people had been carrying out similar tests, so that the picked men of both settlements were
628 ready on the appointed day.
726 A canoe was sent forward to give final notice of the approaching flotilla so that the twenty canoes from each settlement came together, fully manned and armed. First ten canoes on each side came to blows, the captain of each craft singling out a hostile one and dealing with it alone. The crews threw stones over and around their own bow-man, trying to beat down the moose-skin held up by their rival, or sometimes endeavouring to throw missiles high up into the air on to the heads of their foes. Whenever a bow-man was knocked down, his crew was defenceless and subject to serious injury if they continued the fight. If, however, they abandoned the conflict, the winners made no effort to punish them further, nor did they join in an attack on any other canoe; that each craft had one adversary only was the rule in all tournaments. In this instance, the Kimsquit people were victorious, no less than eighteen of their canoes defeating the craft opposed to them. *Sinuxell* returned home in triumph, singing his war-song, and was received with as much enthusiasm as if he had led a successful raid. Indeed the casualties, consisting chiefly of broken heads, were sometimes almost as serious as on a foray, but no revenge was ever claimed in case of death so caused. Instead of throwing stones by hand, it was sometimes agreed that they were to be cast by slings which made the tournament more dangerous. The warriors never left their canoes, so that hand-to-hand fighting was impossible.

It is probable that tournaments of this nature took place many years ago, although none of the men now living had ever participated in one, and many had never heard of this type of competition. Until relatively recent years, however, heavy moose-skins were held up as protections in the bows of canoes, and men were selected for the task of being pelted with stones in the manner just described.

000 One other type of game, string figures, was studied rather extensively. These are described in Appendix B.

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sa·qwa·t: String figure.
Saskwanuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sdjidji'is:* Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sekukmâw·a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sklilâst:* Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
skima siakmkek: River net for salmon.
[822] *Sxisalânt:* Echo.
Sxsxkâlsix: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Sxsxkwalyalaslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Tlitcaplitw·a's* names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Sitlxelkx:* Ancestral name created on earth by a *Lemqo·ts* man.
Siaqam, "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[825] *sidâxsu:* One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
[805] *Sidakoos di Ano°likwalsaix,* "The Coming of *Ano°likwalsaix*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
siaala: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Si'ishilil,* "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Si'iswai·itl, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *si'illiukek:* Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of marriage is broached.
[431] *si'ipikm,* "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Skmt,* "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Skâmi,* "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Sikâkmtak, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] *siki,* "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *sisaek* rites.
Sikilikmm: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Sikulq,* "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikwalxwlekx: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikwâdjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Siknm: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
[226] *Silias:* Celebrated composer.
siltmaq: Salmon-weir.
[827] *sinaqyme'ax: Sisaek* head-dress.
siminits: Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
[761] *si·nipadjaxtmax:* Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Simptcus: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[805] *Sinomwak,* "Time for the Use of Olachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[726] *Sinulkemitl,* "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinunukelâkm: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

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Wa'a: *Xixais* woman living in the beginning of time.
wals: Dog.
wawats: Dog, *archaic.*
wa-xsia: Cape of yellow cedar-bark.
waxwaxsia: Brother or sister of grandparent.
Wiakai: One of the first women to settle at *Swalell* in the beginning of time.
Wiqsaik: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tál-is* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Wikwaxwula: Synonym for *Xwala:* Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nuxalkt* chief.
Wikwanuk: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
wina, wostite, winso: War-party.
Winás: Slave living at *Nuxalkt* several generations ago.
winás di qsh, "War-Party of the Ocean," or *winás di sá-ildjo-ts,* "War-Party of the Tides": Supernatural being.
Winwina: Supernatural being who captured birds and fish for the benefit of mankind.
Winwinhwak: Supernatural being, perhaps identified with one of the warm winds.
winsts: Assistance rendered by the inhabitants of a town to a neighbouring settlement being attacked.
Wipitpawakts: Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
Wiumkilak: *Smaxan's* daughter-in-law in the beginning of time.
Wi'tsloo: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Wiuklk: *Sisook* name of a Kimsquit man.
Wixat: Man who travelled to the Skeena River in the beginning of time.
Wixon: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
wl-a: *Kusiut* dance in which the nine supernatural siblings are summoned to earth.
Wlly: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Wlx: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
wly: Cripple.

X

Xaiápalst: Ancestral name of a *Tál-is* man.
Xaiqts: Stream entering the Bella Coola from the north near *Nuhwa.*
Xai-ut: Continuous North Wind, anthropomorphized.
xak'lai: Cry raised as each of the first spring salmon is brought ashore.
Xalalya: Step-daughter of Raven in the beginning of time.
xapants: Great blue heron.
Xas: Designation of a tribe, probably a branch of the Carriers, dwelling far to the south-east of the Bella Coola.
xawf: Canada goose.
xal-a: Root of *qáymats,* an unidentified plant.
Xekalus: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Xekwatsaw-a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xelimal: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
xem: The successive rising of the sun from day to day. This word, which is common in derivatives, appears usually to be pronounced *yem* after *s.*
Xemenu: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Swalali* in the beginning of time.

[825]
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[821]
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By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swooons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy. 774 756 [828] [753] [828]

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Snq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Snq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself. 756 [776]

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: 'When an Awiky'ô'noq wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Ma'tom) who will initiate him. No Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way.' [171]

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 612), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called *smk*. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms. 753 755 754 [825]

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die. 682 754 [825]

I add here a few current beliefs:—

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about one. 827

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry. [777]

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die. 825

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky. 763 777

WARS.

When a war party was organised the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their 726 714

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726 hair with white eagle-down. Warriors when on a war party must not
[714] drink more than four mouthfuls of water, else they would be killed. A watchman was appointed in each canoe, who sat in the bow. On landing
[271] near the village of their enemies they divided themselves into a number of parties, one house of the village being assigned to each. Then, early in the morning, when all were asleep, they rushed up to the village uttering their war cry 'ieai!' They took a stand at the fire which burns in the centre of the house, and if any one of the enemies succeeded in taking up his arms and came out of his bedroom they killed him. Then
727 they entered the bedrooms, killed the men, and took the women and children along as slaves. The heads of the dead were cut off, the houses burnt, and they returned home singing war-songs. The heads which they had taken along were then scalped, and the scalps tied to each end of a pole. When they approached their village one man stood up in the bow of each canoe and swang the pole to which the scalps were attached, and they all sang songs, in which their deeds were recounted. The scalps were valued the higher the longer and fuller the hair. They were used in the Sisan'kH.

648 The following tales of war expeditions offer some points of interest.
726 About thirty or forty years ago there was a famine at Bella Coola. The
[731] people went overland to Knight Inlet, which belongs to the Tenaqtaq, a tribe of the Kwakiutl, to fish there. The Tenaqtaq made fun of them, took from them the fish they caught, tore the blankets from the backs of the women, and seduced many of them. Finally the Bilqula returned home. There they held a council and resolved to make war upon the Tenaqtaq. The Tinneh joined them in this expedition. They crossed the mountains in four days. When they approached Knight Inlet they sent two spies in advance, who were to count the number of houses in the village of the Tenaqtaq. Early in the morning they attacked the houses and killed a great many men. The Tenaqtaq could not escape, as they were hemmed in by the river. The Bilqula slew them with knives, lances, and stone axes. They took away the clothes of the women, leaving them naked, and subjected them to shameful insults in revenge for the disgrace put upon their wives and daughters. Then they burnt the village.

About thirty-five years ago the Talio'mH were attacked by the Kwakiutl. Originally they intended to attack Nuqa'lkH, but the raven, according to the narrator, changed their mind, as he always protects the village of Nuqa'lkH. They came in many canoes, while most of the Talio'mH were at the lake, which is situated above that town, fishing. Four men were in charge of the village, and a number of old men and women had also remained at home. The father of Nusk'ɛlu'sta, who told me of these events, happened to be out picking berries, accompanied by his wife. He saw the canoes passing by and kept himself hidden. The
[712] village of Talio was at that time surrounded by a strong stockade, which consisted of a double row of palisades crowned with thorns. At each corner there was a strong box fastened on the stockade like a tower. Here watchmen were stationed, who were able to shoot at the enemy while being themselves protected. At that time the Talio'mH had only four guns. The Kwakiutl sent out two spies, who reported that the village was well fortified. The Talio'mH had seen the canoes coming and were on their guard. The Kwakiutl thought that they would not be able to enter the village until after the stockade had been destroyed.

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They resolved to make an attempt to burn it and to break open the door. 648
On the following day they came up to the village, but the guard on the 726
towers used their guns to such good effect that the enemy had to retreat with severe losses. They made still another attempt, but with no better success. They had lost many men, while only two old men of the Talio'mH, TumHa'akyas and A'lk·ins by name, and one woman had been hurt. The latter had been killed. When the Kwakiutl turned back a messenger was at once sent up to the lake to call the young men, who then went to NuqaʼlkH to ask for help. The Kwakiutl passed close to Nusk'slu'sta's father's canoe, but they were so terrified by the losses they had sustained that they passed by without so much as noticing it. Two of their number were so ashamed of their defeat that they would rather remain in the enemy's country than return with their friends, and they stayed ashore. Meanwhile the Talio'mH and the Bilqula were pursuing the fugitives. They had reached the outlet of Bentinck Arm without overtaking them. Then their chiefs resolved to return, as they believed that their enemies had a long start upon them. Later on they learnt that the Kwakiutl were at that moment only a few miles from them, about to continue their homeward journey, after having encamped at the outlet of the channel. Afterwards the Talio'mH found the two men who had remained ashore. They called them and promised to send them back to their friends, saying that the war had ended, and that they had no grudge against them. The men were, however, too much afraid, and finally starved to death.

Later on the Talio'mH and Bilqula organised an expedition against the Kwakiutl to take revenge for the unprovoked attack. A chief named Koani'la, whose father was a Talio'mH, while his mother was a Kwakiutl, was their leader. They intended to attack the Lē'kwiltok· and the Kwē'k·sōt'ēnoq. When they approached the village of the latter they sent a canoe ahead to search for the village, and to report the number of houses. For two days they were unable to find the village, which lies in a labyrinth of islands; but finally they found it, and saw that it consisted of sixteen houses. On the next morning they attacked it. The tribe was wholly taken by surprise and almost all of them were killed. Koani'la's mother lived at this place, and when she heard the Bilqula coming she asked at once for her son, and was taken care of by him. Only five men and four women escaped. The Bilqula allowed these to run away, as they had killed as many as they desired. AnukH'tsem, a chief of the Sznqtlx'mh, was the only man of the Bilqula who was wounded. He died on the way home. They returned, but in the country of the Nā'koartok· they were overtaken by four Kwakiutl canoes which pursued them. The Bilqula were victorious, but Koani'la induced them to desist. During the fight two of the women, whom they had taken as slaves, and one boy jumped overboard, and were rescued by the Kwakiutl.

MEDICINE.

Boils are treated by cauterisation with dry bark or with gunpowder. 752
Sometimes a series of parallel cuts is made over swellings or boils. Fractured bones are set, and fastened between splints of cedar-bark.

Enemata of shark oil or olachen oil are given by means of a kelp tube, 757
with a mouthpiece made of the wing-bone of an eagle. Snake poison is [237]
collected and used as a poison. Women wear tight anklets to prevent 700

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423 is no doubt that a man tends to lose those rights in property
614 which are strictly his, if they are located at a distance. Thus several men claim that they are legally entitled to hunt at Kitlobe, but from mere difficulty of access neither they nor their fathers have exercised the right, and it would have been lost in the course of a few generations, even without the utter decay of custom which has followed the advent of the white man. Practically, a man hunts only in the grounds of those ancestral families in whose origin myths he has names, though, theoretically, he is entitled to hunt on any hunting-ground of any ancestral family of which he is a member whether or not he holds a duly validated name from its origin myth. It is not necessary to confirm the right to property as with a name, though a validated ancestral name is the usual mark of a man's right to that area of the ancestral family to which that designation belongs. Although the ownership of land in distant regions is of little practical importance, it is, none the less, a
[554] matter of great pride to a man to feel that he has rights in many places. The efforts of an individual to make good those
[721] claims has often led to bloodshed; in fact, one intelligent old man stated that property disputes were the principal cause for war in British Columbia. A person who lacks hunting-grounds
[554] is little better than a slave, whereas one who has much land is important.

The Bella Coola regard land as almost inalienable. Though a man does not own the land of his wife's ancestral family, he can use it and his children have full rights to it. Conversely, a wife can gather berries on her husband's land, though it is not hers. A guest at a village may be allowed to use the
[574] territory of his hosts, but it does not become his. In the old
727 days wars between the coastal tribes were common, but though slaves were taken freely, land was never seized; such is un-
423 thinkable to a Bella Coola. In fact, several of the older people
[567] inquired how it had been possible, in the first world war, for the allies, whose cause they believed to be righteous, to annex territory from Germany. If the victors had killed or enslaved

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the Germans it would have been moral and proper according to Bella Coola ethics, but to take land was unheard of. 423 [727]

Since land is only valued for hunting or collecting purposes, it is not divided into small areas. Any man can build his house at will near the village. It is said that at Kitlobe the crab-apple trees are the property of different ancestral families, themselves members of different tribes, but this is unknown in Bella Coola. It may be mentioned that the Bella Coola somewhat naïvely assume that all other coastal tribes have ancestral families similar to their own, although they recognize that some of them also have a clan system which has no counterpart in their social organization. Since the concentration of the tribe on a small reserve and the beginning of agriculture, a system of individual ownership of cultivated land has sprung up. It is realized that if a man clears and cultivates a field, the produce is his own, and he can will this land to whomsoever he pleases. Likewise a man who rings a tree to kill it for firewood is the sole owner. The Bella Coola regard uncultivated land in the reserve as being at the disposal of anyone, a concept which appears not to have been taught them by any white administrator. Its origin seems rather to lie in the old belief that any unpreëmpted land, far removed from a village, can be used by anyone. It is recognized that the reserve cannot be considered as a *xol'olam* belonging to any ancestral group, hence it is free to all. One corner of it, however, includes the lower part of a side-valley formerly used by the people of *Tsmoil*. An old man, whose ancestral family lived in that village for generations, has set his bear-traps in this corner of the reserve for a number of years without interference from other hunters, who go far afield with their traps. Even within the limits of the reserve it is felt that this man has the prime right to that area for the use of himself and his family. [829] [177] [428] [614]

Theoretically an ancestral family may die out. Several accounts were received of old men who, believing themselves to be the sole survivors of their family, bequeathed their names 614 428 721

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601 Coola social organization, and of the absence of standardized obligations based upon specific relationships.

Slaves

567 Since a slave was[11] without status in the Bella Coola community, it is perhaps incorrect to include a description of [554] slavery in a chapter on social organization; but as slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages, it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was 162 impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of their number in 567 Bella Coola; slavery has been so long abandoned that the present natives could only hazard vague guesses. Judging from conversational remarks by elderly men, it seems probable that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as thirty to forty per cent of the total population.

567 When a party raided a village most of the inhabitants were 727 slain, but some, especially children, young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. As far as could be learned, once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief [422] or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

567 Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold. 437 The Bella Coola were usually so well provided with salmon that they were able to exchange these fish with the members [622] of other tribes for slaves. Lack of strong chieftainship among [726] the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of [431] their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category [773] belong those obtained as presents at potlatches. If, however, a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was

[648]

[11] One of the first effects of the white man's establishment in British Columbia was the freeing of all slaves. Consequently the past tense is used in this section.

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given as a slave to a Bella Coola, he was treated as a guest.[1] 567
Slaves were bartered between Bella Coola individuals as a [437]
matter of course. Their value depended on sex, ability, and [435]
industriousness, as well as on supply and demand. When there
was an over-supply, the value of a slave fell to twenty or thirty [437]
salmon, but whenever an owner found that someone wished
to purchase a particular slave he endeavoured to raise the price.
If a foreigner borrowed goods in Bella Coola he usually had to [426]
leave a relative as pledge. Thus, not many years ago, a *Xiwais*
Indian, from near Ootsa Lake, borrowed goods from a Kimsquit man and left his son as pledge. The goods were not returned, so the son was sold as a slave to the people of Kitimat.

It was not uncommon for a Bella Coola to lose his freedom 525
by gambling. At *lehel* especially, a player who had exhausted 567
his goods not infrequently wagered his children, or in extreme cases, himself. If he lost, his children, or himself, became the property of the winner. Unless speedily repurchased by some relative, such slaves were usually sold or given away at the first opportunity to a member of a foreign tribe, since it was
considered improper for a man to hold a member of his own 567
tribe in servitude. The same course of action was taken on [628]
those rare occasions when one Bella Coola village fought [727]
against its neighbour and prisoners were taken.

To the Bella Coola, who still consider a man's "power" in
the land as dependent to a considerable extent on his ancestral [554]
myth, a slave's greatest misfortune lay in the fact that he had [773]
no ancestral home, and hence no rights.

"No slaves came to earth with the first people," they say.

A slave was a stranger in a strange land, unsupported by a chain of ancestors reaching back to the beginning of time. On
the whole, captives taken in war were better treated than other [727]
slaves since it was felt that such a misfortune might occur to anyone at any time. They were frequently ransomed by their

[1] This is said to be an ancient practice, due to the fact that several of the forefathers of the Bella Coola came to earth in that region and were on friendly terms with the inhabitants. It is conceivable that this tradition may have reference to the breaking away of the Bella Coola from the main Salish stock. [773]

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[567] friends, a further cause for their preferential treatment. A Bella Coola who had been enslaved and ransomed had to [727] undergo a cleansing ceremony to remove the taint of slavery [783] before he could take part in the ceremonies of the community. It was impossible to learn the details of this rite.

[624] A master had complete power over a slave, unaffected by the force of public opinion, since the affairs of a slave, being without relatives, were of no consequence to anyone. Accordingly, the lot of a slave depended on the character of his master, and on his own ability and industry. An industrious slave was valued; such an one would not be traded or sold except through dire necessity, and in course of years he became, as far as actual treatment was concerned, one of the [424] family. Many masters gave their slaves *kusiut*[34] dance pre- [431] rogatives, expending large sums for the purpose. In such a case the slave might become an influential member of the community, though the fact that he was not free was never forgotten. On the other hand, a master had not the slightest compunction about beating a lazy slave, and could kill him if he so desired. None of the present Bella Coola has heard of such a case; it was considered more sensible to sell or give away an unsatisfactory slave. It was accepted as a matter of course that a master should provide his slaves with food and clothing, since anything produced or obtained by one belonged to him. A slave-owner had full rights to his female slaves, [837] and unquestionably exercised them. The only restraints were the jealousy of his own wife, or wives, and the feeling that it was undignified for a free man to demean himself. It was impossible to learn with even approximate accuracy to what extent intercourse took place between masters and slaves. Probably not a great deal, though there was considerable freedom of relations between slave women and the young men of the community, unrestrained by the pride of chieftainship. When a slave had been faithful for a number of years and had [582] become almost a member of the family, his master would try

[34] Dance privileges (I, p. 180) were more rarely given.

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789 "Please, may it be as it was when you held intercourse."
821 The basis of these medicines is that mountain goats and
825 beaver mate in November when it is cold, and deer in October when it is rainy.

An old Kimsquit man mentioned that one winter he had been driven ashore by continuous cold winds and was on the verge of starving. He slew a buck and by using the medicine just described was able to bring rain with consequent lessening of wind so that he could continue his journey.

MALEVOLENT MEDICINES

754 *To Destroy the Benefits of Another's Ceremonial Chastity*
825 Place pieces of flesh from any recently skinned animal within a coffin from which the skeleton of an enemy has been removed, uttering at the same time the name of the person to be injured. This destroys the "cleanness" acquired by the observance of ceremonial chastity.[3]

To Cause Insanity in a Woman

Catch a squirrel alive and tie one of the woman's hairs around its stomach; then release the animal. As it runs violently through the forest, sometimes head upwards, sometimes head downwards, so will the brain of the person whose hair it is carrying begin to churn violently till madness ensues.

To Cause Ferocity in Grizzly Bears

Throw the body of a recently killed muskrat against a man's back. The next grizzly bear he encounters will be ferocious, and may kill him. Knowledge of this medicine was learnt by noticing that a number of men who had been struck in play with muskrats, were killed by grizzly bears. The potency of the act has since been recognized.

754 *To Cause Disease in a Malefactor*
● 727 A number of years ago, when three Bella Coola were killed

[3]This medicine was learnt from a rather unsatisfactory informant and was not confirmed by others.

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in a skirmish by the Carriers, one of their women mutilated a body by poking out the eyes. The corpses were rescued and a Bella Coola with secret knowledge dropped into the eye sockets some potent medicine. As the corpses rotted, the murderers began to suffer pains, and the woman who had poked out the eyes lost her sight. As a blind, old woman, she had been seen by several men with whom the matter was discussed. 754 [727]

To Cause the Death of a Murderer (three means)

(1) Two women were murdered at Kimsquit in 1915. Before they were buried, an elderly Bella Coola put a secret medicine on the back of the neck of each so that the murderer would die from a disease located there. Within eight months, a Rivers Inlet man succumbed to a deep sore at the back of the neck, and it was assumed that he must have visited Kimsquit unseen and perpetrated the double murder. 754 682 [766]

Medicines like this and the preceding are widely known, but it is sorcerers who specialize in using them.

(2) When a man dies suddenly and murder is suspected, although the perpetrator is unknown, place the corpse within an old, hollow spruce log. As it rots, needles and dirt enter the flesh and at the same time the body of the murderer becomes lacerated and full of sores. This method was employed during the lifetime of an informant and caused the death of the suspected murderer, whose guilt was thereby accepted as proved. [766] [695]

(3) Bury the victim's body with a toad in its mouth and the murderer will soon die.[4] [766]

To Kill 754

Lift a corpse from the ground and point it at one or more individuals. This causes their death in the near future.

[4]This information was obtained from one informant only; details were unavailable, and confirmation from others could not be secured.

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he beats in the fire with his stick, and expresses the hope that the name of the marshal in the town where the error took place may be blackened unless he does better. 575* 628 203

As an individual *kusiut* who errs is punished by a marshal, so is punishment meted out to the members of a village in which any serious accident occurs during a dance. Such disasters are fire, causing concealed *kukusiut* to appear among the uninitiated, the breaking of a sidewalk on which a number of the members are dancing, or the capsizing of lashed canoes which are used in some of the performances. The obvious effect of such mishaps is to lower the prestige of the *kusiut* society in the eyes of the uninitiated. The news travels from town to town, and to adjacent tribes. This is a *casus belli* for any village which wishes to attack the one where the disaster took place; in fact, a raid is considered meritorious. Owing to frequent marriages between the members of neighbouring villages, it usually happens that the inhabitants of adjacent settlements are unwilling to attack, but the news spreads until it reaches a town willing to take the lead. The marshals, aided by any other influential *kukusiut*, discuss the matter and decide on war; uninitiated are called upon to take part, though they are told only that the foray is connected with the rites of the *kusiut* society which increases rather than decreases their awe. The threatened villagers, knowing that an attack is inevitable, send out sentinels and guards, and, if possible, flee at the last moment to neighbouring towns for safety, allowing the raiders to burn their village and carry off loot. If a fight takes place many people may be killed, but slaves are never taken. In the last century *Stuux* attacked *Ālqāläxl*; the assailants were aided by a number of Chilkotin to whom they were related but who had not the slightest idea of the cause of the raid. Although an attacked town is usually helped by its neighbours, this is not the case when the assault is caused by error in *kusiut* or *susaok* ceremonial. 575* 628 688 721 [727] [567]

Nor is punishment for error or disaster in ritual meted out [648]

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*533 prerogative, he was debarred from seclusion in the back-room and consequent [701] initiation as a *ɜɜaok*. The exact relationship between warriors and members of [575] the *ɜɜaok* society is obscure.

[424] (*b*) *Laxsiyao·k'* is a Kitkatla name from the north. The first owner moved to Kitlobe where he married, and the designation was transmitted to his descendants. One of the latter migrated to Kimsquit, where the name has since been handed [177] down from generation to generation though its original source has not been forgotten.

(*c*) Recorded as song VII D 36, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been used about 1870.

(*d*) Vocative form.

(*e*) That is: I double my importance. This kind of expression is popular among chiefs.

[424] (*f*) *Qowi* is one of the ancestral names of Raven, the dancer's crest. In thus addressing the bird, he called attention to his ancestral history.

[262] (*g*) The home of the first *Laxsiyao·k'* was near a point where dead whales often drifted ashore. The dancer likens himself to a whale on which people will dine.

(*h*) Such repetition is not uncommon. The dancer implies that his wealth will be divided in a manner similar to the cutting up of a whale's carcass.

(*i*) A promontory owned by the first *Laxsiyao·k'*.

(*j*) That is: I summon people [to a feast.]

(*k*) An invitation not to be taken too literally.

Xe·tla Songs

The tunes of *xe·tla* songs are believed to have been handed down, unaltered, for many generations. The words, too, are frequently ancient although the singers sometimes make slight changes so that they will be more suitable for the chief in whose honour they are being sung. Owing to the decline of cere-[796] monials in which they were used, few *xe·tla* songs are now remembered.

Xe·tla Song Used by Sinugwil of Kimsquit(a)

[727] *A* *Alinaxwoo* | *Ahlxwal'aipdai* | *Di stalsaiamydai* | *dänuihmik*
Come! | See! | The chief | a man stands in the bow(*b*)

di yalxwtsal'aikdai
of those who travelled everywhere.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Alsiqwalxwqoots* | *dä'änänuskilsdax* | *aiyatätyämäthlsdax*
He did so, | my pattern(*c*), | whence I came(*d*);

533*

ḳmusmālixwanuxet	*aiyawasoyo·nxwals*
he circled and returned	*Sonx*[w].

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 39a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) A sign of victory, eagerly watched for when a war-party is returning. [727]
(*c*) A reference to *Wixut*, one of *Sinuxetl*'s first ancestors in the beginning of time. He made a journey to the Skeena, returning from there with canoe and paddles decorated with sun designs. The exploits of his descendant are compared with those of his pattern, that is, his first forbear. Such references to family history are sources of pride to the chief being honoured. [773]
(*d*) That is: From whom I am descended.

Fragment of a Xe·tla Song(a) Used by Qwoyusditsas of Kimsquit(b)

A *Kaiyumsāmōlsan*	*di stālaiāmxdai*	*kaiiḳainuxits*
Presently he will be ashamed	that chief	if I get

aiyadilāliaisdai
my copper.

(*a*) Both tune and theme are said to be of Kwakiutl origin. [177]
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 34b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

Fragment of a Xe·tla Song Used by Sinuxetl of Kimsquit(a)

A Sānusiḳomosīsandai	*yao (b) diḳxoiaiyalīumdai*	*Oldiḳaxlāmitlisandai*
They are smiling,	greetings to the out-stretched glass!	They drink

sewās qomcuadja
the food of white men(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 41b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) Literally: *Hello*!
(*c*) This song was used at a potlatch where the fare provided was whisky. The tune is said to be very ancient although new words were composed for the occasion. [556] [273]

A'alk Songs

A'alk songs somewhat resemble *sisaok* ones and, like them, are difficult to collect completely. Parts of many are remem- [575] [796]

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seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject. 721 575 622

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Stuux* and *Ältqäläxt* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe. 648 685 626 556 688 628 727 777

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Täl·io*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack. 642 648 133 161

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721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided
648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
[727] of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but
[628] were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the help of *Q̓omqo·ts*, the most exposed one, although there was no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of
[776] this town attributed their protection to *Ätquntäm*, and used to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune
[361] owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola itself was comparatively free from molestation, Kimsquit and
[162] *Täl·io*, with smaller populations and less strategic positions, were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and entered by a water-gate with a drop-door.[2] This water-gate protected the
[648] residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one
[726] Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders, armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way
[642] and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong government was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being
[623] assailed, the members of the town would discuss retaliation, and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was de-
[622] cided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually
[701] a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[2] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

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726 cold sticks to sleep. Meanwhile, their wives at home were
784 required to be very careful, since a woman's heedless playing
722 would cause injury to her husband, and faithlessness, his death. These restrictions were obligatory during the absence of the expedition.

726 As the party neared the enemy's country, they would conceal the craft under projecting trees by day and travel only at night. When within striking distance, a scouting canoe was sent forward to learn the hostile dispositions, the best means of approach, and so forth. This was usually done at dusk, and when the scouts had returned, the party would steal quietly through the forest and hide behind the unsuspecting village. At dawn the leader would give the signal, and the attackers would rush forward with a fierce shout, killing all the men and [727] seizing women and children as slaves. When captives were taken by slave members of the expedition, they belonged to [422] the latter's masters. The victors would cut off the heads of their victims, seize what loot they could, set fire to the village [567] and rush home before support could arrive from neighbouring towns. At first, the slaughter was usually a somewhat unpleasant task, but as the warriors became inflamed with the heat of battle, they began to delight in killing, and even women and children frequently suffered.

727 The exulting victors sped homewards, rejoicing at their success but somewhat fearful that they might be cut off by overwhelming reinforcements. During the journey, each warrior who had taken a head removed the scalp by cutting the skin around the cranium close above the eyebrows and ears. These trophies were washed at the rock *Skolsexumnsta* on the fiord below Bella Coola. When within sight of home, the [533] captain stood up in the canoe and sang again his *xe·tla* song, a symbol of victory as the bloody scalps were held aloft. Women and children would rush forth to greet the conquerors who landed amid scenes of wild enthusiasm and rejoicing.

[422] Prisoners of war became the property of those who had
[567] taken them, with the exception of those captured by slaves.

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If the war had not been of long duration in which extremely bitter feelings had been aroused, captives were often ransomed by their relatives, who came unmolested for the purpose when the heat of battle had subsided. Failing this, prisoners remained as slaves, the children especially growing up virtually as members of their owner's family as far as food and clothing were concerned, though never sharing in the prowess of his ancestral family. Torture or killing of prisoners seems to have been a rare practice. One extremely old Kimsquit woman related that in her childhood she had seen a captive stretched out on the hot rocks at the side of the ocean, fastened there, his testes crushed with stones, and allowed to die. No other similar traditions could be obtained and it seems probable that this must have been an unusual case. It is true that hostilities have long ceased, but the Bella Coola have clear recollections of other long-abandoned customs, and it is unlikely that torture was ever a common occurrence. It is, of course, one about which reticence is to be expected, but information would have been obtainable if the custom had been common or if it had been one which played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola. 727 [567]

Scalps were hung on a cord and dried like salmon, then suspended as valuable trophies in the taker's house. When setting out on a war expedition, he would often cover his head with one, holding it in position by weaving its hair into his own. At a man's death, they were either inherited by his heirs or, more often, burnt with his other possessions. It is said that the Fort Rupert people used to tie scalps in bundles to their masks. When the Bella Coola went to war to retaliate for a murder, instead of scalping a victim, they sometimes brought back his whole head and impaled it on a stake over the grave of the person avenged. [422] [714] [768] [721] [648] [682]

At this late period it is virtually impossible to form any opinion as to the amount of bloodshed in wars waged by the Bella Coola. Several of the older people spoke in gloating terms of the slaughter accomplished by their ancestors, but all 721

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B 721 these accounts seemed to be exaggerations, and the casualties were probably few. The Bella Coola did not have the same [554] admiration for the successful warrior as for the man who gave many potlatches, while everything indicates that their raids B [703] were on a small scale, rendered singularly ineffective by lack of discipline.

Specific Accounts

B 72 Active warfare has been so long discontinued on the coast that none of the living Bella Coola can describe conditions as 128 they existed during hostilities. It was possible to collect the *539 following accounts of raids and adventures which, though individually of small value, illustrate tactics and strategy, and recount incidents which throw light on the frame of mind of the participants.

KITKATLA WAR

B T 648 For many years there was animosity between the Bella 721 Coola and the Kitkatla who, with the advantage of strong government, used to sweep down from the north for salmon and slaves. Bella Coola itself was comparatively immune from attack, but the Kimsquit people suffered severely. The attackers were not always successful; one old man related how, when his mother's mother was an infant, they were driven off with the loss of four canoes and many men. The fact that this B incident had been remembered for so many years indicates that T it was unusual.

567 Slaves captured in this way were traded from tribe to tribe 439 and rarely escaped. When an elderly Bella Coola was a lad, there was considerable excitement in the community owing to [727] the return of *Slukwala*, a woman who had been carried off when a girl. She had been traded to a northern tribe among whom, she said, it was customary to crush captives beneath totem-poles and house-posts. Her diligence saved her from this fate, and she was passed on until she reached the far north, on the

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Bellabella NE5

divisions, each containing a loaded and measured charge; these were novelties recently obtained in trade from the white man and considered very valuable. On reaching the place where the Bella Coola canoes were drawn up, *Lo·qwa·t* called out four times:

"*Nusmät·a*, are you there?"

On being answered in the affirmative, *Lo·qwa·t* leapt ashore, sent back his own canoe, and definitely joined the expedition.

The Bella Bella chief gave *Nusmät·a* one of the prized palette-shaped boards, and the recipient repaid this overwhelming generosity with the gift of a marten-skin coat which he was wearing. A Kimsquit chief likewise gave *Lo·qwa·t* a valuable blanket-coat. As usual, the war-party was suffering from lack of leadership. *Lo·qwa·t*, a properly validated warrior, was a man who had given many potlatches, and though not a Bella Coola, was related to them by blood; in addition, he alone knew the route to Kitkatla, so he virtually assumed command, although many of the Bella Coola were unwilling followers. *Lo·qwa·t* suggested an immediate move, and gained his point owing to the fact that no one had a definite counter-suggestion. After travelling seven miles in the darkness, *Lo·qwa·t* massed the canoes to address his ill-disciplined and somewhat uncertain force. He pointed out that the way to Kitkatla was long and difficult and that it would be dangerous to attack their northern foe-men, but that the *Waoyel·a*[6] near at hand would be an easy prey. The Bella Coola had no quarrel with these people, and were reluctant to attack them, especially as there had been inter-marriage between the two tribes. *Lo·qwa·t* spoke fluently, saying that the *Waoyel·a* had mocked him in their potlatches, and that many of their women, gathering sea-weed on lonely beaches at this season, would be easy victims. His arguments were given strength by the fact that he was a *numitl* chief and warrior; no one dared to stand against him, so it was decided to follow his wishes, though the Bella Coola stipulated that none of the *Waoyel·a* were to be killed.

The flotilla continued and in the early dawn raided a small *Waoyel·a* settlement and captured several slaves. Continuing their journey, they took prisoner a number of women who were gathering sea-weed, and destroyed the supplies which had been stored up. *Lo·qwa·t* had joined the expedition merely in hope of getting revenge upon the *Waoyel·a*; now that this end was accomplished, he was willing and eager to return home, but uncertain how to leave his followers.

With this in view, *Lo·qwa·t* suggested an attack on a China Hat settlement, adding that he knew where some of their frames[7] used in Cannibal dances were stored, and that the China Hat people were too arrogant

[6]Probably one of the Bella Bella-speaking groups.
[7]Such as were covered with meat to represent human bodies.

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B Bb 648 721 in their ceremonies. Again the Bella Coola were unwilling, but again their unformulated and uncertain wishes were overruled by the dominant chief, and the assault was made. The frames were stored in an unguarded shelter near the cemetery, into which the raiders broke, smashed them, and threw the debris into the water. While this was taking place, a *Waoyel·a* canoe rounded a point, and *Lo·qwa·t* took the opportunity to jump aboard, saying that he was escaping from a Bella Coola raiding-party. The canoe paddled away and the expedition was left leaderless. The usual discussion took place about what was to be done, but finally the raiders returned home. They had been diverted from their original objective, had been led to attack a friendly tribe, had been deserted by their leader, and the only spoils of the long-prepared expedition were a few slaves.

B 727 Among the prisoners were two daughters of a certain *Olowa*, who was hated because he had frequently been in partnership with *Tcubsa*. A few days after the return of the expedition, the father appeared to ransom his children. Some of the Bella Coola wanted to kill him, others demurred, and it was finally decided that a spear, fastened to a line, should be hurled against his canoe so that it would project outwards and lodge against an olachen stake, capsizing the craft and drowning the occupant. The spear was thrown, but clever handling prevented the intended disaster. *Olowa* was a validated warrior, one who never showed fear, so he calmly pulled out the missile and again paddled upstream. This time the Bella Coola fired shots close to either side of his head, but he sat unmoved and unarmed amid his boxes of presents. Finally, a Bella Coola tried to wrench off a tuft of hair from above one ear, but though he pulled with all his force, he did not succeed, and everyone on shore laughed at him. This restored good humour, and *Olowa* was allowed to land and ransom his daughters. When he left for home he was told to send his friends if they wished the return of their relatives. This was done and peace followed; if *Olowa* had waited a few days until the excitement of victory had cooled, he would have been able to land without molestation. The only other result of the expedition was that the China Hat *kukusiut* killed their own Cannibals for having allowed their frameworks to be exposed.

B T 648 [721] After this fiasco, the Kitkatla became even bolder and many years elapsed before another expedition was sent against them. This time, there was no Bella Bella chief to interfere with the arrangements and after the plans had been discussed for a winter, a flotilla from Bella Coola, Kimsquit and *Tal·io* took the water one day in May.

B [726] Nothing of importance took place until, near Kitkatla, a canoe was captured containing a man and his wife. The former's face was marked with a vertical scar, and it was remembered that, four years earlier, when *Tcubsa* had been attacking Kimsquit, one of the defenders had shot an

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difficulty in getting near the village, but the dogs smelt his approach and their barking so dismayed him that he returned. Now it was the turn of the man to whom the scheme had first been suggested. He took the same float and pushed off into the darkness. A celebration of victory was taking place, so that he was able to land unobserved on the beach and mingle without suspicion among the many strangers who had assembled to *Tcubsa*'s aid. These included allies among whom were slaves and others whose faces were unfamiliar to the residents of the village itself. After walking around for some time, the Bella Coola noticed a canoe of suitable size at the end of the village. He joined a group walking in that direction, but detached himself by making some excuse when near the desired point. Once out of sight behind the canoe, he waited until he was unobserved and moved the craft a few feet; again he waited, then shifted it once more, until he was ultimately able to launch it. By great good fortune, he was able to slip in unobserved, and managed to rejoin his companions although he had only his hands and a few pieces of wood with which to paddle. The seven remained on the islet for two days more, making paddles and waiting until all suspicion of the proximity of any attackers had passed.

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Then they launched their craft and started homewards. Ignorant of the outside channel, they determined to follow the well-known inner route, though this course exposed them to constant danger and necessitated travelling by night only. There was so little darkness, however, that they could neither proceed fast nor replenish their stock of food. On the eighth day, when lying near Hartley Bay, they were almost starving. *Ṭsä·kmai*, one of the warriors, said to his brother *Oḑmikumẓ*:

"Do you want us to die of starvation? We cannot go on this way, let us camp for a few days and hunt, no matter what the danger."

Oḑmikumẓ agreed, and set off with a packer, telling his comrades not to worry even if he were absent four days since he did not know the country, and might have difficulty in finding game. Another hunter, *Ḳumslxwalāxtsta*, went off with a packer in the other direction but soon returned unsuccessful and discouraged, though *Ṭsä·kmai* cheered him by saying that he was sure his brother would succeed. Before night *Oḑmikumẓ* and his packer brought back a fat buck which was divided among the starving wanderers. At first they ate the fat uncooked, but hunger at last drove them to build a small fire and toast the meat in thin strips so that the minimum of heat and flame was required. Thus strengthened, they eventually reached home.

Even those who had fled at the arrival of the first reinforcements had difficulties in reaching home owing to ignorance of the route. Some of the canoes reached Kitlobe in safety, whence the occupants proceeded

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727 overland to Kimsquit, and from there to Bella Coola. The crew of another craft lost their way among the islands and fiords and wandered around for days until their food was exhausted. They were then near China Hat where they could have landed in safety but, thinking that they were still in hostile territory, they feared to camp and hunt. At last, spurred by hunger, they determined to catch some eagles, the only living creatures in sight. A rude shelter was built on the shore, a bark tray placed before it, and one of the party gashed the fleshy part of his back until the blood ran sufficiently freely to fill the vessel and serve as bait. A companion hid himself and clubbed the eagles as they swooped down to the fresh blood. Though the food was coarse and had to be eaten raw, it enabled the refugees to continue their journey home.

727 648 Another canoe was surprised at the entrance to Douglas Channel by a party of Kitimat who slew all the crew except a certain *Yā·k"axwaxwa* who succeeded in escaping into the woods. Thinking that the survivor would be driven down to the beach by hunger, the Kitimat patrolled the shore for days, but he eluded them by travelling overland, though his only food was uncooked plants and a single goat, killed by a stone. *Yā·k"axwaxwa* was a Kimsquit man whose wife was from Kitlobe; her relatives, hearing of his plight, watched the shore of Gardners Canal, hoping that he might be able to reach that refuge. He managed to do so, though at the last gasp, and was taken to Kitlobe whence he returned to Kimsquit. This was the first time that anyone had travelled overland from Douglas Channel to Gardner Canal.

Still another canoe actually landed at Kitimat where the crew was butchered except for five men who fled to the forest. One of them, *Xnutli*, uncle of a man about seventy years old in 1923, had made several trading expeditions into the interior and was familiar with part of the route. He acted as guide, but soon lost his way and the five wandered for months through the trackless interior, often in dire straits for food, and becoming more and more weary. Their journey began in May, and 727 by October they were all enfeebled through hardship and lack of food. 787 *Xnutli* himself was the first to give up the struggle, saying that he could go no further. He asked his comrades to make him as comfortable as possible, and then to leave him; regretfully they laid him on some evergreen boughs, and tottered off, expecting their own death within a few days. Soon after their departure, there was a violent thunderstorm and, at the moment of a tremendous clap, Thunder, himself, appeared to the dying wanderer. The supernatural one went to a near-by rivulet and dipped up water which he brought *Xnutli* to drink; when he had done this four times, the man felt as if he had had a hearty meal. Thunder then told *Xnutli* to close his eyes. He did so; then the supernatural one

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

spit upon his own hands and rubbed them over the patient's head, his arms, his trunk, his legs, and finally his feet, as if massaging him. *Xnutli*'s strength began to return at the first touch of Thunder's hands, and, when the treatment was finished, he felt entirely rejuvenated. Thunder told him to overtake his friends and to massage them in the same way and they would be revived. He explained that they had been travelling in circles of ever-decreasing radius which was the reason that they had neither reached their destination nor recrossed their own tracks. He added that they must think constantly of their first objective, Ulkatcho, *Nukätco* in the Bella Coola language, and that at night *Xnutli* must sleep on the side of the five nearest that goal. 727 787

Soon afterwards the four wanderers were surprised to see a stalwart man swinging along the trail behind them, and their amazement was intense when they realized that it was *Xnutli* whom they had left at the point of death. He bade three of his comrades hide, and massaged the fourth as Thunder had done to him; this restored his strength exactly as in his own case. The one so cured then concealed himself, while *Xnutli* treated another of his comrades, and finally the third and fourth. This was not the end of the assistance so obtained. Within a few minutes of their recovery, they found the trail they had so long been seeking and reached Ulkatcho before night, though under normal circumstances the same distance would have required four days of travel. There were several Bella Coola at the settlement who were overjoyed at the safety of those for whom all hope had long been abandoned. They rested for four days, then set out for home. *Xnutli* told his comrades to fix their minds upon their objective, and as a result they were able to make the journey with phenemonal rapidity. 727

Thunder had granted *Xnutli* the boon of *uxlokwaladjut* on this occasion, and had promised that he would come to his help whenever called upon. *Xnutli* was a sorcerer, a profession which had been practised for generations in his family, and he now performed more openly than ever, assured that Thunder would be able to protect him. The malefactor killed more and more people, until he became an object of universal hatred and fear. At last the principal chief of the village, confident in the power which the giving of many potlatches had bestowed upon him, ordered an expert shot to slay *Xnutli*. The man so deputed had himself lost several relatives and gladly watched an opportunity. This came when the sorcerer was paddling across the Bella Coola near the old Hudson's Bay Company's post; he took careful aim from ambush, fired, and the evil man fell dead. A medicine can be made from the corpse of a murdered person, which, when used by the relatives, causes the killer's death. To prevent this, the executioner called his friends and they took 754 [776] [683]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Kwakiutl NE10

he was over-ruled by the popular wish and the raiders set out. They had chosen an opportune time, since most of the people were absent hunting and fishing; in fact, three men and three children were the sole occupants of the fortified village. They saw the approaching marauders in the distance, closed all openings, and prepared to defend themselves. The Kwakiutl felled a large tree and with this as ram attempted to batter down the gate. It was too strongly built, and while struggling with it, the attackers offered excellent targets to those within. One of them, *Sninq*, was a good shot and took heavy toll. Convinced that the gate was too strong for them, the Kwakiutl turned their attention to the hollow log; their ram failed to shatter it and they again suffered heavy casualties. Nor had the defenders escaped scatheless. One of the three was struck by an enemy bullet, another fell from the fighting-platform and accidentally shot himself, while *Sninq*'s powder began to fail. Fearing that all was lost, he told one of the little boys to open a concealed rear door[11] and flee into the woods with the two smaller children. The three managed to escape unobserved from the village and hid themselves under leaves. The Kwakiutl did not know how weakly the stockade was defended, and *Sninq* disguised the fact by rushing from one part of the platform to another and calling out in various tones as if a number of people were speaking. He could fire only occasionally on account of shortage of powder, but the ruse was effective and at last the raiders withdrew, carrying their dead with them. Two of them wandered into the forest instead of accompanying their comrades; they must have died of starvation, since their corpses were found in an emaciated condition several weeks later.

B K 648 726 [721]

Not content with defeating the raiders almost single-handed, *Sninq* embarked in a small canoe and cautiously followed the course which he knew they must have taken. His children had been slain by the Kwakiutl during a previous raid, a circumstance which had so embittered him that he regretted the escape of a single one of them, and was determined to treat even their dead with ignominy. At length he noticed a number of crows congregated on a sandy beach, and rightly judged that this indicated the spot where the vanquished had buried their slain. *Sninq* exhumed one of the corpses and impaled it on a stake in a crouching position.

B K 648 727

Meanwhile the relatives of the raiders, expecting the usual easy success, had gathered near their leader's house. They were filled with apprehension when they heard a mourning song from the returning canoes, and anxiously called out to learn the fate of different members

K 727

[11] Probably a mere chink in the stockade.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Kwakiutl NE10

K 727 of the expedition. Some were able to answer for themselves, but to many queries the reply came that the one asked about had been slain.

B This defeat did not by any means discourage the Kwakiutl, whose forays continued as before. On one occasion, as they were returning K homewards, they noticed several canoes drawn up on the west side of 721 South Bentinck Arm, not far from its junction with Burke Channel. The raiders cautiously landed and stalked the unsuspecting owners, Bella 648 Coola who had landed to cut stakes for a salmon-weir. The Kwakiutl bore down upon them with a rush; unarmed and taken unaware, the Bella Coola could make no real resistance. One of them managed to flee K into the deeper woods, but the rest were either killed or captured. Among B the prisoners was a chief, *Sink'lusam*, who was wearing a handsome 648 marten-skin cloak at the time. His captor promptly appropriated this, 727 leaving the man naked.

Elated at this success, the Kwakiutl continued their return journey. When near Kwatna, they encountered a fierce southeast gale which made progress impossible; at this point cliffs rise so precipitously on either side of Burke Channel that there is not even the semblance of a harbour, and the only chance to weather the storm was by anchoring. There was considerable anxiety as to whether or not the weight would hold, but it did so, and the canoe remained tied, now carried to the full extent of the mooring-rope almost against the cliffs, now to the same distance far out in mid-channel. Towards night it began to rain and the cold grew bitter. The crew, assured that the anchor would hold and weary from their exertions, went to sleep, as did most of the prisoners. *Sink'lusam*, without B covering of any kind, was too uncomfortable to follow their example. As 727 the canoe was tossed near the cliff, he happened to notice a narrow ledge just above water, with a small cedar growing in a nearby cleft. Here was a possibility of escape and the chief became alert at once. When next the canoe was dashed near he examined the cliff more closely, and decided that it might be possible to scale it. At any rate death was better than captivity, and he determined to make the venture. As the craft came shorewards again, he plunged overboard into the rough water and succeeded in grasping the tree-root with the aid of which it was an easy matter to pull himself to the ledge. The surf was breaking over it and he was bitterly cold, but he managed to reach another root and to scramble up to a second ledge. From it he gained a wider projection where he could rest in comfort. His escape had been unobserved, and as *Sink'lusam* looked downward he could see the canoe tossing to and fro at the end of the cable; there was a large boulder near him, and he thought of tipping this over to sink the craft, but refrained out of consideration for the prisoners. From this point the climb upwards was comparatively simple,

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B 727

and *Sink'lusam* soon discovered a protected hollow where, having covered himself with leaves and rotten wood, he went to sleep. When he awoke in the morning the war-party had moved away.

Without clothing to protect him from thorny bushes, *Sink'lusam* could not pass through the forest, so he climbed above the tree-line and made his way to the west side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from the place where he had been captured. With much difficulty and many scratches, he made his way down to sea-level and paddled across the fiord on a log. Then he climbed up once more, and crossed the mountains to Bella Coola above the tree limit. The one survivor of the attack had taken the same route when bearing the evil tidings. Women were wailing and weeping when a naked man was seen coming down the mountain-side; it was *Sink'lusam*. They welcomed him as one returned from the dead; in earlier years he had boasted that, if ever captured, he would escape, and it was recognized that he had made good his promise.

B K 648 726

The defeat at *Tăl-io* rankled in the mind of *Siwid*, who made another attack on the stockade a few years later. This time it was fully manned and the assailants suffered even more severely than before. As they advanced with a ram, one of the defenders fired a powerful charge and the bullet passed through the bodies of several of the raiders. This so discouraged them that they dragged away the bodies of the slain and departed, having killed only two *Tăl-io* men. As they were going homewards, they chanced to pass beneath a precipitous mountain on which two young Bella Coola were hunting. The latter fired on them at long range and were fortunate enough to register several hits.

After this second failure, *Siwid* decided to make Bella Coola itself his next objective. With this aim in view, a party of Kwakiutl raiders set out one year. As is customary, they hid during the daytime when in hostile territory, and happened to be in a small harbour below Green Bay when a party of Kimsquit, *en route* to Bella Coola, landed there for water. As one of them, the uncle of a man of fifty in 1923, was drinking at a stream he was fired upon, whereat he hastily concealed himself. A skirmish ensued in which the same man was wounded in the arm. By this time he was some distance from the sea, and he tried to crawl back over the crest of a low ridge to regain the shore. Suddenly he felt a sharp pain in the back and thought he had been hit once more; he continued his flight till he found that his bark-cape had become ignited, and was the cause of the second discomfort. He threw it off and contrived to escape. Another Kimsquit man was wounded in the back but hid himself within a hollow tree.

After this trifling success, the marauders decided to return home. Early the next morning, when paddling down Burke Channel to the east

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
KwaKiutl NE10

B K 648 726

of Kwatna, a woman called down to them from the upper slopes of the mountains on the south-east. She was one of a party of Kwatna people who were picking berries; their canoes were lying in a bay beneath, where the youths of the party were resting and sleeping, ready to climb up and carry down the boxes of berries as the women filled them. *Bilxwalakt*, the woman who had called out, had done so under the impression that those passing were Bella Coola, and though one of her companions recognized her error and bade her be silent, the intimation had been given. The raiders would have passed in mid-channel unaware that anyone was in the vicinity, but now they quickly entered the bay and slew the few lads who were with the canoes. Next they endeavoured to capture the women and started climbing up for the purpose, but as soon as they entered the woods, they lost sight of the fugitives who were on the open slopes above. One of the canoes was paddled back to mid-channel, whence there was a clear view so that the crew could call out and direct their comrades' pursuit. Two of the women had started climbing as soon as they saw the warriors turn inwards; they escaped over the mountains and reached Kwatna with word of the affray. With one exception, the others kept together and sought refuge in a narrow cave, the entrance of which they were able to defend; the attackers did not dare linger for a siege, so they too escaped. But *Bilxwalakt*, the cause of the whole disaster, was cut off from her companions and harried from place to place as she strove frantically to get away. When finally brought to bay, she struggled furiously and refused to be taken alive, so her throat was cut and the body decapitated. She was a member of a chief's family, a woman who had been confirmed on a good seat, so the murder was entirely contrary to all coastal customs. If she had been taken prisoner, she would have been ransomed and the matter would have ended, but her death demanded revenge.

B K [727] [721]

When the two women who had fled overland reached Kwatna, a party of warriors set out immediately, but could do no more than bring back the women who had hidden in the cave. Meanwhile the Kwakiutl continued their voyage and encamped at Jacobson's Bay where they watched a Bella Bella canoe pass up the channel towards Bella Coola. They concluded that the Kimsquit people, whose canoes they had destroyed, would hail this passing craft and thus reach Bella Coola with news of raiders in the vicinity. So it transpired, while almost simultaneously came news from Kwatna of the woman's murder, but by this time the Kwakiutl had reached home waters.

B 721

Bilxwalakt's parents had been Kwatna people, her husband was a Bella Bella, and she had Bella Coola ancestry as well, so the members of these three tribes were all affronted by this killing of a chief. At Bella

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
KwaKiuth NE10

As the attackers rushed into the village, the mother of the slave *Siwid*, suspecting who they might be, cried out in Bella Coola to ask their tribe. A chief replied and added that they had come for revenge. Her son, who had taken his full share in the attack, was told where to find his mother, so he rescued her and brought her to Bella Coola, where she was given an honourable position instead of being treated as a slave. As soon as all resistance was ended, the Bella Coola warriors gathered in the captured village to take stock of their victory. At this juncture someone noticed a canoe-load of *Djeldtsmx* trying to steal away unobserved; they had no weapons and the craft was promptly stopped. One of the leading warriors, *Sintumhila*, uncle of a man about sixty years of age in 1923, had lost several of his relatives during raids from the south, and had joined the expedition for revenge. He came rushing up and slew first one occupant of the canoe, and then another, slowly and deliberately; until, as he became frenzied with blood, he killed them all as quickly as possible. The mother of the Bella Coola slave told the raiders that there were other *Djeldtsmx* villages in the neighbourhood from which help would certainly be sent. So the victors seized as many boxes of olachen grease, blankets, and other valuables as possible, and fled with their captives, not stopping even to fire the village.

B K 648 726 B [72] [27] B [27]

Among the prisoners was a young woman whom the slave *Siwid* recognized as a chief. He determined to help her to escape and accordingly offered to aid her capture by guarding his prisoner, without telling him of her rank. The Bella Coola had retreated about two miles, their canoes strung out in a long line, when *Djeldtsmx* craft, hurrying up from other villages, appeared and a running fight ensued. In the rear Bella Coola canoe were two hunters, both expert shots; two loaders kept handing them charges already measured out so that they were able to keep up a rapid and well-directed fire which kept the enemy at a distance. The pursuers being directly astern, several times a single bullet passed through the bodies of two warriors, and on one occasion this led to the capsizing of one of their canoes. While the Bella Coola were watching this success, *Siwid* whispered to the girl to dive overboard, that she would be picked up by her friends. By swimming underwater, she deceived the Bella Coola who, though several saw her, thought she was an animal, unworthy of a bullet from one of the marksmen. She reached her fellow-countrymen and was picked up by one of the chasing canoes. Soon afterwards *Siwid* abandoned the hopeless pursuit. Some of the Bella Coola wanted to camp and feast, but the majority thought it safer to push on and put a safe distance between them and their enemies. There is only one good harbour, Indian Cove, in that part of the coast, where they agreed to stop for a few hours if there were no recent footprints in the

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6 ●
Carrier NE7

B C 648 726

The other agreed, so they paddled in and landed at the bottom of the village, heedless of the fact that it was full of Carriers. The *Nuxalkmc* people seem to have remained passive, but the angry Carriers came rushing forth and *Ofmikmg* spoke proudly to them:

"You would be dead as your chief if we had not lost our weapons."

The two brothers walked slowly up the long sidewalk of the village, while the Carriers skulked around, uttering threats, casting stones and shooting arrows. Some of the latter stuck in their backs, but long previously both *Tsi-kmai* and *Ofmikmg* had eaten part of a *xsiutl* which had rendered their bodies impervious to such wounds. Arrived at the upper end of the village, they stopped and waited, making no attempt to defend themselves, until they were killed. At intervals throughout the day the Carriers treated the two bodies with ignominy, now thrusting spears into them, now beating them, and all this time not a single Bella Coola dared even to protest, so much were they filled with fear of the Carriers who, when roused as they then were, fight like mad dogs. In the late afternoon one of the women thrust a knife into the eyes of the fallen warriors. Even this insult did not rouse the *Nuxalkmc* people themselves, but *Winds*, one of their slaves, felt called upon to take action. Before being captured, he had been a person of importance in his own home and the Bella Coola had allowed him to become a leading member of the *kuxiut* society; in the course of time he had become entirely reconciled to his fate, and even thought as a Bella Coola which gave him the necessary assurance to address the Carriers.

B C 648 727 ● B [567]

"*Wa, wa*," he said. "See the breadth of the sky.[1] I have never seen, nor have I even heard of such a thing as you have done today. Truly you have wiped your feet on all that is sacred and powerful."

This speech for the first time brought the enormity of their offence home to the Carriers. The actual taking of life did not affright them, but in their excitement they had overlooked what was to *Winds* the most obvious sin: they had passed and repassed on the sidewalk outside a house where a *kuxiut* dance was taking place. Thus reminded of the danger to which they had exposed themselves, the Carriers withdrew.

B [688]

Next day the *Nuxalkmc* people buried the four victims. *Xmdzem* had been a mighty chief and, being distantly related, they would normally have given him an elaborate funeral, but now they acted as if dazed and unaware of his prowess. A man who owned a powerful medicine put some of it in the eyes of the two who had been mutilated by the Carrier woman; as the bodies began to decompose, those who had killed them began to suffer from eye-trouble, and the woman became blind. Believing that their sin had caused their misfortunes, the Carriers fled home.

B [754]

[1] To call attention in this way to the breadth of the universe carries with it the implication that it will fall to crush those who have broken a sacred law.

B [784-195]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

192*

shall': Devil's-club.
shalomadits: To lament ceremonially, the term used to describe the reason for a memorial potlatch. [824]
Shami, "Ashes": Ancestral name created for a *Sualali* chief about 1910. [765]
shamsk: Supernatural creature dwelling in water.
shay: Anus.
shaum: Splinters projecting upwards from the bole of a broken tree-trunk. [824]
Shamolpman-a: One of the first women to settle at *Sualali* in the beginning of time.
Shapts: Chief of the spring salmon.
shatsmam: Narrow strips of goat skin with wool attached, distributed at marriage. [585]
shehats: Merganser. [825]
shekmadjat, "The Opening": Ceremony when the first public presents are given to the family of a future wife, following the announcement of betrothal. [584]
shi: To cure, especially with the aid of a frenzied beating of sticks. [431]
Shimatsil: *Stuax* man mentioned in an ancient story.
shimp, "Cure Ye!": Call of invitation to a *hamat* dance in the upper Bella Coola valley.
shiowa: Cloud.
shma: Thick hide, either of moose or caribou. [825]
shma: Semi-circular knife used by women for cutting salmon. [412]
shmain, *shmaul*, or *shmdjat*: 1—Frenzied beating of sticks for curing purposes, especially when the patient is a member of a secret society. [755]
2—Final *hamat* rite at end of the ceremonial season.
shmim: To cure by means of the frenzied pounding of sticks.
Shmi, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log": *a'alt* name obtained in the beginning of time.
Shmotsil: House used by a group of first settlers near *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Shmualin-a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
sha'nale: Fungus.
shlomiants: 1—Box made of strands of cedar-bark. [824]
2—Ancient name of *nusak* head-dress. [415]
shop: Ceremonial designs executed on the exterior front wall of a house.
shshil': Rose.
Shsilkmo-a: *Kaziut* name of a Kimsquit man.
shsil: Wasp. [825]
Shshommants: Rock on shore of North Bentinck Arm where war trophies were washed. [727]
Shpuishit: Name of house brought down by first settlers at *Sishiat* in the beginning of time; the term was also applied by them to one of their female relatives.
shsi, *sucatin*, *shasi*: Parent-in-law or child-in-law. [601]
shtiq: Suitable place in the river for setting eulachen nets.
shlas: Game played with throwing stones.
shuiat: Synonym for *yaxwas*, the tangible or intangible prerogative possessed by some *hahalat* in addition to a dance rite. [424]
shuwshiw: River sculpin. [825]

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

726 hair with white eagle-down. Warriors when on a war party must not
[714] drink more than four mouthfuls of water, else they would be killed. A watchman was appointed in each canoe, who sat in the bow. On landing
[271] near the village of their enemies they divided themselves into a number of parties, one house of the village being assigned to each. Then, early in the morning, when all were asleep, they rushed up to the village uttering their war cry 'ʼwai!' They took a stand at the fire which burns in the centre of the house, and if any one of the enemies succeeded in taking up his arms and came out of his bedroom they killed him. Then
●727 they entered the bedrooms, killed the men, and took the women and children along as slaves. The heads of the dead were cut off, the houses burnt, and they returned home singing war-songs. The heads which they had taken along were then scalped, and the scalps tied to each end of a pole. When they approached their village one man stood up in the bow of each canoe and swang the pole to which the scalps were attached, and they all sang songs, in which their deeds were recounted. The scalps were valued the higher the longer and fuller the hair. They were used in the Sisan'kн.

648 The following tales of war expeditions offer some points of interest.
726 About thirty or forty years ago there was a famine at Bella Coola. The people went overland to Knight Inlet, which belongs to the Tenaqtaq, a
[731] tribe of the Kwakiutl, to fish there. The Tenaqtaq made fun of them, took from them the fish they caught, tore the blankets from the backs of the women, and seduced many of them. Finally the Bilqula returned home. There they held a council and resolved to make war upon the Tenaqtaq. The Tinneh joined them in this expedition. They crossed the mountains in four days. When they approached Knight Inlet they sent two spies in advance, who were to count the number of houses in the village of the Tenaqtaq. Early in the morning they attacked the houses and killed a great many men. The Tenaqtaq could not escape, as they were hemmed in by the river. The Bilqula slew them with knives, lances, and stone axes. They took away the clothes of the women, leaving them naked, and subjected them to shameful insults in revenge for the disgrace put upon their wives and daughters. Then they burnt the village.

About thirty-five years ago the Talio'mн were attacked by the Kwakiutl. Originally they intended to attack Nuqa'lkн, but the raven, according to the narrator, changed their mind, as he always protects the village of Nuqa'lkн. They came in many canoes, while most of the Talio'mн were at the lake, which is situated above that town, fishing. Four men were in charge of the village, and a number of old men and women had also remained at home. The father of Nuak'zlu'sta, who told me of these events, happened to be out picking berries, accompanied by his wife. He saw the canoes passing by and kept himself hidden. The
[712] village of Talio was at that time surrounded by a strong stockade, which consisted of a double row of palisades crowned with thorns. At each corner there was a strong box fastened on the stockade like a tower. Here watchmen were stationed, who were able to shoot at the enemy while being themselves protected. At that time the Talio'mн had only four guns. The Kwakiutl sent out two spies, who reported that the village was well fortified. The Talio'mн had seen the canoes coming and were on their guard. The Kwakiutl thought that they would not be able to enter the village until after the stockade had been destroyed.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

B 754 the body to his own house, preparatory to burying it. It was April, but
[776] as they were waiting, a violent thunderstorm blew up from the east, the only time that such had ever occurred at that season. Thunder had promised to come to *Xnutli*'s aid, but the latter had died too suddenly to make any appeal; the supernatural one had just learnt of his pro-
B tégé's death and had come rushing to his assistance. Realizing the
[789] danger, the executioner and his friends hastily buried the corpse, throwing over it a number of blood-stained cloths, and finally stamping down the earth. There was a furious hurricane; trees were uprooted, houses shook, the earth over the grave seethed as if in a whirlpool and chunks of it
B were carried up into the air. Only the potency of the blood on the
[789] cloths prevented the return to life of *Xnutli*.[8]

This second unsuccessful attack on the Kitkatla so disheartened the
B Bella Coola that they made no more raids on their northern foemen who,
T flushed with victory, became even bolder than before. As usual, the
648 Kimsquit and *Tāl·io* people suffered more than the inhabitants of the
[721] main valley. On one of these forays, about 1855, the Kitkatla killed *Q̣olxweliotl*, a brother of *Potles*, the leading chief of the Bella Coola at the
[726] time. This was contrary to all the rules of warfare since he was a member
[622] of one of the leading families and the donor of many potlatches, a man whose name was as well known as that of *Potles*, *Nukāpinkam* of Fort Rupert, or *Tcubsa* himself. The fame of such chiefs was enough to protect them except during the actual heat of conflict, and the Bella Coola were justly angry.

A few years later a single canoe came paddling up North Bentinck
B Arm and was beached about half a mile from the head. Scouts investi-
T gated, and returned to *Q̣omqo·ts* with news that the occupants were
648 Kitkatla, and that *Tcubsa* himself was among them. At once there was
728 heated discussion among the people of the lower valley. Many who had lost relatives in the protracted struggle wished to wipe out the party;
B others, to see what they wanted. A few daring individuals skulked
T through the forest and fired on the visitors at long range; they were
[726] answered, not with bullets, but by the four times holding aloft of a moose-skin, a sign of friendly intentions. If the strangers had fired on the scouts, a fight would have ensued, but this peaceful reception disarmed suspicion.

B
[787]

[8] This tale is a curious illustration of the manner in which supernatural elements become woven into accounts which have an historical basis. It is to be assumed that the wanderers were in a suggestible state owing to privation, and readily believed that supernatural powers must have assisted them. *Xnutli* was feared as a sorcerer, and probably boasted of a visitation from Thunder during his wanderings. This was accepted and the incorporation of impossible incidents followed in due course.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

Tcubsa remained encamped for several days, during which time he sent word to the Bella Coola that he regretted the death of *Qolxweliotl* and had come to make peace. He added that his followers had tried to dissuade him, saying that he would be killed, but he had answered that he was too great a man to allow fear to influence his actions.

Having waited for several days, the party came up the Bella Coola River, their canoe loaded with presents and eagle down, while *Tcubsa's* brother, *Ne·slo·s*, wore the mask of his *tutwinam* as further proof of friendly intentions. It was unusual to display one except in a *susaok* ceremonial, but this was an unprecedented event; he knew that he might soon be killed and he preferred to die while bearing the obvious mark of incorporation with some incident of an ancestral myth. The canoe was beached opposite the house of *Potles* where the crew blew eagle down into the air to mark their peaceful mission. Men had gathered from all parts of the Bella Coola valley and several hot-heads wished to disregard the safe-conducts and slay their enemies, a course which they had recommended for several days and had tried to precipitate by overt acts against the Kitkatla. *Potles* himself had not spoken, but he now appeared and advised the people not to harm *Tcubsa*, since everlasting hostility would result. Though his wishes did not entirely quiet the angry ones, they virtually assured the Kitkatla of a welcome. *Potles* brought forward a moose-skin, and told some of his people to hold it spread so that, when *Tcubsa* leapt from his canoe, he would land upon it, and could be carried to the house without putting foot to the ground. *Tcubsa* answered proudly that there was nothing on earth strong enough to support him, since his many potlatches had made him incomparably heavy. None the less, he accepted the honour, an assistance to landing shown only to mighty chiefs, and was carried into the house where he was seated in the far right-hand corner, an honourable location. *Potles* invited all the people in the vicinity, slaves as well as Bella Coola, and the inner partitions of the house had to be removed to provide space for the throng.

Though *Potles* had decided against the immediate killing of the Kitkatla, he had concocted a scheme to test their bravery and the sincerity of their desire for peace. No one knew of this except his nephew, *Ne·xwinkai*, who was to carry it out. When all were seated, the latter appeared, his face smeared with ashes, and his hair tied up in a top-knot with weasel skins as is customary during war. *Ne·xwinkai* moved sunwise around the house, brandishing a musket and repeatedly pointing it at *Tcubsa* in a threatening manner. If the Kitkatla had shown nervousness, particularly if one of them had fired his own musket, a massacre would have resulted. But they remained unmoved, confident in the prestige of their leader, while he knew that though his body might be

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

B T 648 728

killed, his reputation would only be increased by the manner of his death. At length *Ne·xwinkai* fired into the air; not until a shower of eagle down was blown forth did anyone realize that his musket had been loaded with nothing more deadly. This marked the establishment of friendly relations.

B T [535] [431]

The Kitkatla had brought their own singers,[1] who now began to beat out time for *Tcubsa* to perform a *susaok* dance. He was followed by several other chiefs, and then the strangers gave presents to influential Bella Coola on the most lavish scale. *Potlas* likewise performed a *susaok* dance, and bestowed gifts on the guests to validate it; such were, of course, not returnable. A meal was then served, and after that *Tcubsa* made a speech of which the gist was that the Bella Coola had previously known his achievements as a warrior, they now knew his nobility and bravery in risking his life, and that the name *Tcubsa* could never be forgotten, irrespective of his own fate.

Tcubsa left soon afterwards. It was somewhat difficult fully to comprehend his motive in thus risking his life. Undoubtedly his main object was to display his valour and disregard of danger. Moreover, it gave him an opportunity to impress these qualities upon the Bella Coola, and thus to exhibit his prowess actually within the enemy's camp, which must have been a source of tremendous gratification to him. The alleged motive, regret at killing a chief, may have been a contributory factor.

B T 648 556 574 [721]

Although this visit was an intimation from *Tcubsa* that the Bella Coola need have no further fear of him, the suspicions of years could not be immediately allayed; in fact, an occasional skirmish still took place although *Tcubsa* himself refrained from fighting. A few years after his visit to Bella Coola, *Potlas* prepared to give a potlatch to which he determined to invite the northern chief. Many of the Bella Coola doubted whether the Kitkatla warriors would respect the safe-conduct usually afforded to envoys, and no one was anxious to bear the invitation. At length six chiefs volunteered for the task and set out, though with many misgivings. They stopped *en route* at Bella Bella where a chief of that tribe, *Omxu*, joined the party; he thought that he would have influence with the Kitkatla and might add protection to the Bella Coola. Fearing to be seen by any small Kitkatla bands, the delegation travelled only by night until they could actually reach *Tcubsa*'s village. As they paddled up, they indicated their mission by singing one of *Potlas*'s *susaok* songs. On hearing this, *Tcubsa* asked one of his Bella Coola slaves whose song it might be, and when he answered that it was one of *Potlas*'s, *Tcubsa* despatched a chief, *Kwinao*, to invite the guests to his house. *Omxu* was thankful when he saw this man approaching, since he felt that it heralded a friendly welcome. The party was conducted to *Tcubsa*'s

[1] [i.e. to the peace negotiations - ANALYST]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Kwakiuth NE10
Bellabella NE5

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he too delayed action until the foremost craft of the next town had arrived. This was continued until the whole flotilla, which had extended for nearly five miles, was ranged in an irregular mass around the envoys. The captain of the last canoe was *Qwaxliällis*, a Fort Rupert chief and validated warrior who had taken an unassuming position because he had Bella Coola blood in his veins and was unwilling to kill his kinsmen; he had been unable to dissuade his fellows from the expedition, but had determined to take little part in it himself. The reputation of this man was so great that it was decided by universal consent to leave the fate of the messengers in his hands. But when *Qwaxliällis* arrived, the canoes were massed so closely that he could not even see the cause for the delay. He entered a small craft and managed to make his way to the centre of the throng, where he quickly sized up the situation and bitterly upbraided those who had failed to keep their oaths. Then he donned his war accoutrements, killed a single Bella Bella silently and unemotionally, then withdrew to the edge of the flotilla. Thus encouraged, an attack was made on the unfortunate messengers. One of them unshipped the mast, stood in the bow and offered a stout resistance by swinging this around like a heavy club, killing one of his foes. Another plunged overboard and in the confusion managed to swim ashore. When the massacre was over, *Qwaxliällis* called out in a loud voice:

"*Sonx*ʷ will fall upon us for our sin. Take care. I am going home."

He turned and paddled homewards, followed by the other canoes from his own village. His real reason was to assist his Bella Coola kinsmen, but none of the Kwakiutl realized that. After some discussion, the whole expedition was abandoned.

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The Bella Bella survivor eventually made his way home with the news which was received with great astonishment, disregard of a safe-conduct to potlatch messengers being virtually unknown. The ceremony itself was postponed and finally abandoned owing to the death of the intending donor. No punishment was meted out to the offenders by a third tribe, either because the ritual was committed against a foreign tribe instead of among themselves, or because the offenders came from so many villages that it was impossible to isolate the guilty.

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After this calamity, *Siwid* himself made no more efforts to raid the Bella Coola. About twenty-five years later, when he was an old man, he made a peaceful visit northward to establish friendly relations; he was welcomed and no more hostile acts were committed by his followers during their chief's lifetime. On his death, his son, who was also warlike in disposition, tried to stir up trouble but was restrained by the influence of the white man which had become dominant on the coast by that time.

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[728] *yelxmax:* Peace ceremony.
Yelxlin: Bella Coola carpenter living in the last century.
yen·imut: Ceremonial error.
[534] *Yentsänl:* House of the first settlers at *Sätlia* in the beginning of time.
yet·en: Rattle.
[425] *yet·umm:* The sending back of a name to the family of its original owners through a return marriage, or the proposal to do so,, made by the relatives of the wife.
[583] [554] *yetsalt*; *plural*, *yetsält*; *vocative plural*, *yetsalt::* A woman who has attained an honourable position through being many times repurchased from her husband; virtually, a female chief.
Yelsqwikaiya: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
Yexasila: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
[825] *yexdimut:* Fire-holder carried by Thunder.
yexo'maitl: Old, female sea-lion.
Yexlin: Ancestral name of a *Sinxl* man.
Yexwomaitl: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Yulätimut: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[372] *yuhmta:* Sticks for making fire.
yuhäly: Promontory.
yu'pätl: The actual appearance of a performer at an *a'alk* dance during a potlatch.
Yuqwa·t: *ustämg* village.
Yuyuhmgl: Stone on the shore of Dean Channel believed to have been a man a long time ago.
Yuyulk"mai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Äiqalänl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuhöli* in the beginning of time.

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Indians from both of these areas were interviewed and it was found that, except for minor details in certain beliefs, their customs were identical with those of the Bella Coola proper. Accordingly, in this monograph, the term "Bella Coola" will be taken to include the inhabitants, not only of that valley, but of South Bentinck Arm and the head of Dean Channel. Those living on South Bentinck Arm will be referred to as *Täl·io* people, the Bella Coola term for them; those of Dean Channel as Kimsquit, the name by which they are generally known. It is an anglicized form of the word *Kimẓkwut*, meaning "Canyon," by which the Bella Bella designate the people of Dean River.

VILLAGES ON SOUTH BENTINCK ARM

(28) *Sätlia:* on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the point that marks its junction with North Bentinck Arm. Food was obtained from an ocean fish-trap.[13] Long deserted except as a summer camp.

(29) *Q̣ankilst*, "Island": east side of South Bentinck Arm, slightly north of the island opposite the Hot Springs on the west side of the fiord. The town took its name from this island. In summer the numerous inhabitants lived immediately opposite it, at a place where they had an ocean salmon-trap; in winter they moved to a fortified spot at the base of a mountain slightly farther to the north. This village was blotted out by a landslide one spring long ago, and the few survivors were unable to re-establish it.

*(30)[14] *Tsaoltmem:* on the east side of the fiord about four miles above the last-named. A small town, whose inhabitants lived on the catch from their ocean fish-trap; it was recently deserted.

[13]Ocean fish-traps work as follows:—A pen is made by a series of stakes, into which the salmon enter at high tide. It is then closed and, as the falling tide lays bare the mud, the imprisoned fish can be scooped out by hand or in hand-nets.

[14]Mackenzie did not visit either South Bentinck Arm, or Kimsquit, but it will be convenient to continue the use of asterisks to mark those towns which are said to have been inhabited at that time.

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361 (31) *Ḱxdis*, "Ocean Fish-Trap": on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the *Nuk"* River. [226] It is doubtful whether this was a town, or merely a camping place of the people of *Nuk"* when using their salmon-trap.

*(32) *Nuk":* on a raised mound at the south side of the mouth of the *Nuk"* River, which enters the head of South [731] Bentinck Arm from the east. The meaning is unknown. This [164] was a populous town until the inhabitants were decimated by an epidemic of smallpox.

*(33) *Tāl·io:* on the west side of the mouth of the river of the same name which flows into South Bentinck Arm from the south. The location of this village was constantly changed, [133] owing to destructive variations in the course of the river. It was formerly a large town, and has been deserted only since 1900. This village had another name, *Ṭqwantlos*, "Facing," so called because its houses faced those of the town of *Nuk"*.

*(34) *Ȧs·ux"*, "At the Head": at the head of South Bentinck Arm there is a bay running south-west, into the upper end of which a small stream empties. The trail leading to the [487] lake at the head of Rivers Inlet follows this valley. *Ȧs·ux"* was located on this creek, at some little distance from the ocean; the name was derived from the geographical location of the town. It has not long been deserted and must have been a populous place to judge from the numerous repositories (II, p. 8).

(35) *Q̇wapx:* on the east side of the mouth of a creek flowing into the bay at the head of South Bentinck Arm, from the south. This town was of moderate size. The meaning of the name is unknown. It is thought to be in the Rivers Inlet language.

VILLAGES AT KIMSQUIT

[133] Two rivers, the Dean from the east, and the Kimsquit from the north, flow into the head of Dean Channel, and the villages of this area can be grouped according to the two rivers.

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174 reliable traditions of Carrier settlements there. The probable explanation is that the Bella Coola formerly extended over the area, either in actual fact or according to mythology, but were supplanted by the Carriers.

175 The Dean River is called *Nulɔl*, and the generic name for the people of the Dean valley is *Sutslmx*. About eighty years [101] ago a smallpox epidemic so reduced the villages on the Kims- [164] quit that the survivors abandoned them and moved to the Dean. At that time a certain Kimsquit man is believed to [731] have said: "We will take their places and kill even their dogs."

Since that time, the joint settlement has suffered one [164] epidemic after another, until a mere handful of the people [731] survive, and they are almost entirely descended from the Kimsquit River immigrants. Within the last few years, these have requested permission from the Bella Coola to abandon Kimsquit entirely and live among them. The two groups have [628] always been on the best of terms, but the Bella Coola have not forgotten the fate of the Dean River people and have been unwilling to admit the Kimsquit survivors.

Villages on the Kimsquit River, Sä·tsk'

361 *(44) *Sä·tsk':* this large and important town, at the mouth of the river, was deserted at the time of the smallpox epidemic.

*(45) *Nuxwlst:* this settlement can be grouped with the last-mentioned, although situated on the shore of Dean Channel, at the site of the present Manitou Cannery, six miles away. No meaning of the name is known.

Tribal Organization

619 The subject of this monograph is the people of the above forty-five villages. They will be referred to as a *tribe*, and as this term is customarily limited to a political unit, a brief justification for its use is necessary.

342 Each Bella Coola village consisted of a single row of houses, 361 built along the shore of a river or the ocean. The front doors

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* 776 is in the upper Bella Coola valley near Firvale, cause cold
773 breezes by blowing them through their anuses. *ułexwan·i* es-
[821] pecially is a prominent figure in mythology (I, p. 670), but she has not appeared for many generations and her actions belong to legend rather than to either religion or social practices. It is said that she has four sons who once wanted to break a large number of grass stalks. Finding it difficult to do so on account of their toughness, they asked their mother to freeze them; she did this and destroyed every other plant at the same time.

* 776 Another anthropomorphic being is *Sxk'łätł*, the super-
821 natural South Wind of winter who brings storm and snow.
177 The Carriers affirm that every icicle which grows down until its end is in the snow is his walking-stick, and that to break
[731] one causes famine. Some Bella Coola have adopted this belief and carefully refrain from destroying such icicles.

* 776 Supernatural beings experience the same difficulty as mortals in reckoning the passage of time. A number of calendrical experts live in the land above, whose duty it is to record both months and years. They are called *Ałmułskäłłwaiyaix* or
[575] *Ałmułskitłnum*. They have been seen occasionally, and are shown, as masked figures, at *sisaok* (I, p. 180), but not at *kusiut* dances. Two of these beings always appear, and they argue about their observations after the fashion of humans.

Another denizen of *Nusmät·a* of slight importance in the social life of the Bella Coola is *Xemxemälotła*, a friend and
[575] associate of *Ałquntäm*. He acts as patron of *kusiut* dancers, and in this manner is brought to the notice of mortals. In the land above his function is to cherish *Ťłäqmä·ks*, a being resembling a diminutive man, created by *Ałquntäm* as a child to all supernatural beings. *Xemxemälotła* is its guardian or nurse; and for safety he usually keeps his charge in the far distant upper land above *Nusmät·a*, where *Ałquntäm* frequently visits the two. In some mysterious manner, *Ťłäqmä·ks* has been
[777] known to reach this earth, giving good fortune to the lucky finder. He is in many cases spoken of as "The Cherished

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* 787 843 If a woman dreams that she has caught two salmon, two small birds, or is holding two infants, the birth of twins is foretold. This type of explanation is obvious; in fact, these examples lie on the border-line between direct and symbolic interpretations.

* 787 843 775 Another indication of approaching pregnancy is for a woman to dream of a dead relative; this means that the latter will soon be re-born. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that some fifty years earlier his mother dreamt that her dead mother came to her, saying that she was lonesome and wished to return. Soon afterwards she conceived, and the daughter born was considered to be the reincarnation of her own grandmother whose names she was promptly given. [553] At the present time, this informant addresses his sister as sister, though he states that as a child he was taught to call her grandmother. As already mentioned, if a new-born infant is a reincarnation, the fact can often be recognized by holes or dimples in the ears, relics of previous borings for rings. Unless such a birth has been foretold in a dream, it is impossible to learn whom the child re-embodies.

* 787 A dream of frequent occurrence in Bella Coola is the return of the sleeper to the scenes and activities of his childhood. [761] This always signifies a long life. Strangely enough, to dream of being nailed in one's coffin and carried to the grave is translated conversely, and likewise indicates a long life. It is remembered that there were many dreams of fire before the outbreak of the smallpox epidemic, so it has since been assumed that such presage an outbreak of this disease. [731]

* 787 224 The only dreams of which the interpretations are wholly symbolic are those experienced by hunters. The Bella Coola explain this by saying that hunters always observe ceremonial chastity and their spirits are, therefore, in a receptive condition to supernatural impressions. [785] When a man has set his traps, he is able to tell from his dreams whether or not any animals have been caught:

To dream that a canoe has been upset in the river and that

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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726 hair with white eagle-down. Warriors when on a war party must not
[714] drink more than four mouthfuls of water, else they would be killed. A watchman was appointed in each canoe, who sat in the bow. On landing
[271] near the village of their enemies they divided themselves into a number of parties, one house of the village being assigned to each. Then, early in the morning, when all were asleep, they rushed up to the village uttering their war cry 'wai!' They took a stand at the fire which burns in the centre of the house, and if any one of the enemies succeeded in taking up his arms and came out of his bedroom they killed him. Then
727 they entered the bedrooms, killed the men, and took the women and children along as slaves. The heads of the dead were cut off, the houses burnt, and they returned home singing war-songs. The heads which they had taken along were then scalped, and the scalps tied to each end of a pole. When they approached their village one man stood up in the bow of each canoe and swang the pole to which the scalps were attached, and they all sang songs, in which their deeds were recounted. The scalps were valued the higher the longer and fuller the hair. They were used in the Sisan'kH.

648 The following tales of war expeditions offer some points of interest.
726 About thirty or forty years ago there was a famine at Bella Coola. The people went overland to Knight Inlet, which belongs to the Tenaqtaq, a
[731] tribe of the Kwakiutl, to fish there. The Tenaqtaq made fun of them, took from them the fish they caught, tore the blankets from the backs of the women, and seduced many of them. Finally the Bilqula returned home. There they held a council and resolved to make war upon the Tenaqtaq. The Tinneh joined them in this expedition. They crossed the mountains in four days. When they approached Knight Inlet they sent two spies in advance, who were to count the number of houses in the village of the Tenaqtaq. Early in the morning they attacked the houses and killed a great many men. The Tenaqtaq could not escape, as they were hemmed in by the river. The Bilqula slew them with knives, lances, and stone axes. They took away the clothes of the women, leaving them naked, and subjected them to shameful insults in revenge for the disgrace put upon their wives and daughters. Then they burnt the village.

About thirty-five years ago the Talio'mH were attacked by the Kwakiutl. Originally they intended to attack Nuqa'lkH, but the raven, according to the narrator, changed their mind, as he always protects the village of Nuqa'lkH. They came in many canoes, while most of the Talio'mH were at the lake, which is situated above that town, fishing. Four men were in charge of the village, and a number of old men and women had also remained at home. The father of Nusk'slu'sta, who told me of these events, happened to be out picking berries, accompanied by his wife. He saw the canoes passing by and kept himself hidden. The
[712] village of Talio was at that time surrounded by a strong stockade, which consisted of a double row of palisades crowned with thorns. At each corner there was a strong box fastened on the stockade like a tower. Here watchmen were stationed, who were able to shoot at the enemy while being themselves protected. At that time the Talio'mH had only four guns. The Kwakiutl sent out two spies, who reported that the village was well fortified. The Talio'mH had seen the canoes coming and were on their guard. The Kwakiutl thought that they would not be able to enter the village until after the stockade had been destroyed.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

776 ceremonial, and sometimes in 'the kn'siut. The following song belongs to
575 his mask and dance :—

[539] Nanemō'istaxuit ti q'oyaki'mtst'aix·. Nō'noq'awēxum ts'ɛn t'ayōlɛlat'aix· ayati
smanō's ti sōnx· t'aix·, wā, nān, ai!

("Cry now, as though you had left me! I shall tie up my hair, warriors, like the Bear of Heaven.")

776 At sunset stands an enormous post which is called Nutēexoa'axtatas ti
821 Sōnx· t'aix·. It supports the sky, and prevents the Sun from falling down into the lower world. The trail of the Sun is described as a bridge which was built by Masmasala'nix. The bridge is as broad as the distance between the winter solstice and the summer solstice. The Sun walks, his face turned towards the west. In summer he walks on the right-hand side of the bridge, in winter on the left-hand side of the bridge, which explains the varying heights of the sun in the course of the year. The extreme right and extreme left of the bridge are called Sē'ɛmt ("the place where he sits down," that is, the solstices). At each of these points a being is placed who is called Alk·x·ē'lɛnɛm (Plate X, Fig. 3). It is their duty to see that the Sun does not tarry too long at the solstice. If in summer or winter he should be inclined to stay too long or to return too soon, they regulate his course. When the Sun tarries too long at the winter solstice, the people say, "ēx tsēs pa'nia" ("salmon will be dried late this year"). If he leaves it without tarrying, they say, "ēk·!x· tsēs pa'nia" ("soon we shall dry sālmon"). Three guardians named Naqumiqa'otsaix (Plate X, Fig. 1) accompany the Sun on his course, dancing around him all the time. The halo is called Itwu'xtsia ti Mānl t'aix· ("the cape of our father"). A sun-
[731] dog that appears westward from the Sun is called Alqōl ti Mānl t'aix· ("the
[753] painted face of our father"). The Bella Coola believe that when it drops down to our earth, it causes epidemics. During an eclipse the Sun is believed to lose his torch. The rays of the Sun are his eyelashes.

There are twenty-four guardians appointed to take care of the sky. They are called Nexolak·ai'x·. According to tradition, the sky must be continually fed with firewood. Once upon a time they put too much firewood into the sky and made it burst. All the pieces except one, called S'al-walō'sɛm, fell down to our earth. The fragments hit the faces of the twenty-four guardians, and distorted them. They tried to mend the sky, but did not know how to do it. They went down the river, and came to Masmasala'nix, whose assistance they asked. Masmasala'nix gathered up the broken pieces, and glued them together. Up to that time the Sun had staid in the east, but now he began to go on his daily course. At that time Masmasala'nix built the bridge over which the Sun travels every day. He placed a wedge in the opening of the sky, into which the Nexolak·ai'x·

have to put the firewood. This opening is called K·awa'umsta, that is, "mouth kept open by means of a wedge." Masmasala'nix spoke: "The sky shall not burst again. This wedge shall keep its mouth open." The following kō'siut song refers to these deities: — 776 821 [539]

Ai'mats tā mnatsai' tōsxts ti sō'nx·tsgi t'aix.
Aiēlx tā mnatsai' ōl ti S'ałwalō'szms ti Sōnx· t'aix.
Sk·a ya'hxtox ti si'lxnō tā mnatsai'.
Sk·a anōga wa xxxmē'x ti K·awa'umstask· ti Sōnx· t'aix· tā mnatsai.

("My child perished like the sky when it broke.
Go to S'ałwalō'szm of the sky, my child!
Gladden my heart, my child!
Sit down in the mouth of the sky, my child!")

Our world is called A'nēkō'ōł, or Qenk·i'łst, that is, "the land below." It is an island swimming in the boundless ocean. In the far east a giant is sitting with legs apart, who is called Ałēp!ałaxtnaix·. He holds a long stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar by means of two stone ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake; and the Bella Coola say, "Snēnik"pstak·imtōłs," that is, "he takes hold of our world." When he moves our earth westward, we have epidemics. When he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears. 772 776 823 [131] [753]

In the ocean lives a being called Sēłsāts, who twice every day swallows the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the kō'siut ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various levels of the sea.

The world below us is the country of the ghosts (kōłk"łōłē'mx·). It is called Asiutā'nem. Descriptions of the ghosts' country are principally obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the sandy banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with sharp stones. When it is summer here, it is winter there. When it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their heads. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls, on reaching the lower world, receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform 772 775 [756] [787]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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855 well, and these are soon learnt by the child who is fortunate
[867] enough to have many kinsmen. Primarily, responsibility rests with the parents for the care and support of their offspring, but they have the advice, assistance, and material aid of their relatives. Nor are these limited to the near kindred of either father or mother; all members of the ancestral family take their part. Housemates, also, even if unrelated, take an interest in any child who shares their habitation, irrespective of his rank.

Much of the care bestowed on children is of a magical nature and must be reserved until a later chapter. Little boys
868 follow their fathers on hunting expeditions and so acquire knowledge by practical experience, as do girls from their mothers with regard to household tasks and feminine occupations.
867 Even small children are quick to notice the attention paid to the orders of chiefs, and carry out their commands without demur. A disobedient child is beaten or thrown into cold
861 water; the parents usually act in such cases, though a near relative does not hesitate to do so, especially if he is a chief.
857 Like all other children, Bella Coola boys and girls are fond of
867 stories and listen eagerly to the tales told in the long evenings by some old man or woman. Many of these are somewhat
538 obscene, but they serve to teach much ancient lore, and at the same time to emphasize many taboos and restrictions which are thus assimilated without definite schooling. They illus-
[626] trate the laws of morality, as does the public disapproval shown to anyone who infringes some point of etiquette or behaviour.
[825] If a child makes fun of a cat-fish or a bull-head, he is not told to stop doing so; instead, one of his elders tells him how, in the distant past, there was a famine, and advises him not to scoff at the fish which alone saved his ancestors from starvation at that time. If a rude little boy laughs at a maimed or deformed
[732] man, he is told of *Ałałałi*, a Bella Bella urchin who repeatedly mocked a one-eyed man and presently, himself, lost the sight of an eye.

867 "Don't laugh at cripples, blind people, or those who are
[735]

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the most *human* of all substances, and, therefore, a potent protection against supernatural beings. It is valuable as a defence against evil monsters, but it is equally deadly to shamans and other human beings with supernatural powers. In the distant past, Raven taught mankind that to sleep with a menstruating woman would so blind a man that he would be unsuccessful in hunting. The belief is that animals, knowing everything that takes place, avoid one who is so unclean. One old man mentioned that he had failed to obey this injunction and considered his loss of virility as a punishment, overlooking the fact that he was over seventy years of age.

The coming of adolescence in a boy is recognized by change in voice and the other usual indications. He is neither taboo nor unclean, and consequently does not have to undergo any restrictions on his actions. There is no ceremony to mark the entry of a youth into adult membership of the tribe; instead, this comes gradually and puberty is no more than an indication of increasing age and strength.

Marriage

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola regard the married state as the normal condition of man. Anyone unwilling to wed is considered unnatural. Since the number of the sexes is approximately equal, the only persons forced to live alone are elderly widows and widowers, and those crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are looked upon as unfortunate; in fact, they have failed in one of the most fundamental of life's struggles. Man provides fish and game, builds houses and canoes, while woman collects berries, makes baskets, cooks, and performs the multitudinous small household tasks.

"Is it not to the benefit of each to marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is not a mere economic arrangement, nor is its sole function to regulate relations between the sexes. Its most important feature is that it governs the status of the child.

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phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe. 784

FOOD TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN 262

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would derange the catamenia and cause profuse growth of hair. 562

Women of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do so would cause a difficult delivery. [841] [826]

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat roasted salmon until the sticks have been removed which hold it in front of the fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded. [844] [845]

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when nearing the hunting or fishing-ground. 224 [226] [264]

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola. [171]

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness. [825] [753]

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the man remove only an eye, place it in a notched stick and set this under an over- [752]

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224 hanging rock where no rain can penetrate. Long ago, some
[732] hunter failed to do this and became blind in consequence, hence the rite has since been carried out.

When a hunter is in the field, his wife must not swing. To do this causes him to go up into lofty and dangerous places as she rises on the swing, and also destroys the power laboriously accumulated by ceremonial chastity.

Ritual Acts

796 Ceremonialism is an extremely important aspect of Bella
226 Coola life, but most of their rites are social or religious rather than magical, so that descriptions of them belong to other
789 chapters. In connection with the taking of the first olachen and salmon, however, a number of ritual acts are performed to bring about desired ends; the element of propitiation is not entirely absent, but on the whole they may be considered as magical.

Rites connected with the first olachen

226 At the height of the olachen run, the fish are so abundant
796 that they can be taken profitably in large purse-nets. They
574 do not, however, come simultaneously, and eager fishermen keep watching for their arrival and catching the straggling forerunners in hand dip-nets. These fish must not be eaten immediately. Each fisherman arranges a box in the front part of his house in which he deposits them as taken; if several men are doing this in a single dwelling, one box for each will be arranged near the front-door. Whenever a dance is held, eagle down is blown over the receptacle to placate the olachen and prevent them from being disturbed by the noise. As soon as a man has caught enough for a feast, he invites all his fellows to his house and the fish are distributed. It is taboo for any woman to share this meal, and it is most improper for a man to summon his neighbours until he has enough olachen to allow each guest to carry home a plentiful supply for his family. In former times, there used to be a number of meals of this kind,

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quantities of ducks and geese, and the inhabitants of the inland villages sometimes made hunting expeditions to the nesting places of wild-fowl in the lakes of the interior uplands. Although numbers of birds were sometimes killed in this way, they were never a steady article of diet. The same is true of grouse. Always plentiful, these birds were commonly killed, but never in large numbers.

The basis of the food supply was fish. The river teemed with salmon, which enabled the country to support its relatively large population. Spring, sockeye, hump-back, dog, and cohoe salmon, all entered the river in thousands during the spring and summer, while the steel-head could be caught throughout the year. They were taken in weirs and their flesh smoked for winter use. Throughout the year, salmon was the principal article of diet. Second in importance was the olachen, a fish somewhat resembling a herring, which entered the river in great numbers during April or May. They were taken in purse-like nets,* allowed to rot for ten days or two weeks, and then boiled. The grease was skimmed off and kept indefinitely to be used as a relish for other foods. It was always a sign of poverty if a person were obliged to eat berries without olachen grease. Trout and bull-heads were found in the river, but were not sufficiently plentiful to be of importance.

Although no form of agriculture was practised, the Bella Coola used vegetable food to a considerable extent. Berries were abundant; some were eaten raw, but many more were pounded into a pulpy mass and dried in the sun. Cakes prepared in this way kept indefinitely and formed one of the regular winter foods. The bark of the hemlock and cottonwood was eaten, as well as the roots of many plants. In recent years many of these have not been used, so that an investigator is apt to overlook their great importance in early times. Although useless for food, the cedar was the corner-stone of Bella Coola material culture. From its trunk were split out, with wedges, the wide planks which formed

*See Appendix A for a description of olachen fishing.

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of their occurrence in most ancestral myths.[6] There seems to be no mythological explanation for the casting of a copper into the fire after the passing of the representation of a deceased relative, but the desire of chiefs to use them at potlatches is the result of their use under similar circumstances by their ancestors. Some ancestral myths lack reference to coppers, but their use is common to all, whether or not embodied in such. It is said to be easier for a chief to acquire coppers if they had been used by his ancestors, but this is not essential. 556* 773 [769]

When arranging for the appearance of a dead relative, the donor of a potlatch is careful either to possess a copper, or to be able to borrow one at the right moment. As soon as the masked figure has disappeared, the donor stands up, breaks or bends his copper, and throws it into the fire "to make bone for the deceased." No matter how valuable a copper may have been, it is now worthless; its value has been expended on the purpose for which it has just been employed. It lies unheeded in the flames, a valueless article belonging to no one. 556* 769

At some convenient time, either hours or days later, any chief may remove the copper and give it to a poor man, only taking care to choose an individual who has not recently received one. It is said that the gift is "to patch his canoe." It is now the poor man's property, but it has no value, since no goods have been expended for it. The new owner straightens and repairs it, if necessary by riveting on the broken piece, thus making it ready for further use. The poor man may keep the copper for years, or it may be only a few weeks before some chief, preparing for a potlatch, offers, perhaps, $20, for it. In the old days, values were computed in slaves, canoes, salmon, and other commodities, but now in dollars. If two chiefs should happen to want it, the poor man may haggle about the price, though in such a case the two rivals would probably agree amicably rather than lower their dignity by seeming to be interested in a matter of money. It is to the advantage of a 556* [735] [325] 435 556* 437

[6]Abalone-shells and moosehides are treasured for the same reason; the former are mentioned in several origin myths, the latter in two at least. [237]

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*556 chief to pay somewhat lavishly, since the value of the copper [435] depends on the amount expended on it.

[437] The $20 received by the poor man must not be casually spent. He is expected to invite the whole village to his house, *556 otherwise he would never again be given a copper. The heralds call everyone to the house, the singers as usual being the first •735 to arrive. They beat out the *kusiut* song of anyone, to which [533] the owner dances; the songs are used one after another, until [575] almost every member of the society has danced. *Sisaok* songs may then be used in the same way. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the rite has no religious significance; it is merely a social affair. At the close of the dancing, the poor man distributes food to all, equivalent in value to the money received. It is probable that poor men sometimes give away slightly less than they have received, although any noticeable laxity in this would be punished by the receipt of no further coppers. The recipient of a copper from a fire derives no direct gain from it, though it is to his indirect advantage, since a person who has given away food is likely to receive larger presents on future occasions than one who has not.

435 Meanwhile the chief owning the copper is unable to use it at his potlatch since the value, dependent on the goods ex- *556 pended for it, is only $20, a sum so small that to use it would be insulting to his dead ancestor. There are several ways of increasing its value:

(1) *By Painting*. Taking advantage of some ceremony [532] when a number of people are present, the owner gives a carpenter $10, for example, with a request that he paint on his copper a representation of the crest used by his, the owner's, first ancestor, when coming to this earth. Henceforth the value of the copper is $30.

435 (2) *By Naming*. The Bella Coola say that among the 552 Kwakiutl names are given to almost all coppers; in Bella Coola it is a rare practice. Occasionally, a chief creates a *556 name for his copper and validates this by presents to all the

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855 well, and these are soon learnt by the child who is fortunate
[867] enough to have many kinsmen. Primarily, responsibility rests with the parents for the care and support of their offspring, but they have the advice, assistance, and material aid of their relatives. Nor are these limited to the near kindred of either father or mother; all members of the ancestral family take their part. Housemates, also, even if unrelated, take an interest in any child who shares their habitation, irrespective of his rank.

Much of the care bestowed on children is of a magical nature and must be reserved until a later chapter. Little boys
868 follow their fathers on hunting expeditions and so acquire knowledge by practical experience, as do girls from their mothers with regard to household tasks and feminine occupations.
867 Even small children are quick to notice the attention paid to the orders of chiefs, and carry out their commands without demur. A disobedient child is beaten or thrown into cold
861 water; the parents usually act in such cases, though a near relative does not hesitate to do so, especially if he is a chief.
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[732] man, he is told of *Ałałāls*, a Bella Bella urchin who repeatedly mocked a one-eyed man and presently, himself, lost the sight of an eye.

867 "Don't laugh at cripples, blind people, or those who are
[735]

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poverty-stricken," say the elders. "If you do, you will become like them yourself." 867 [735]

As a boy grows older, his father insists that he wash, pray, and practise other ritual acts likely to win approval from supernatural beings. He is frequently beaten to inure him to hardship. By the time a youth is eleven or twelve years of age he has become fully acquainted with the principles of the potlatch system and a wise parent teaches him to remember debts. Taking his son to some quiet spot in the woods, he makes a small bundle of cedar twigs, for example, and tells him: [869] [861] 211 867

"So-and-so at Bella Bella gave you fifteen beaver skins. When you see this bundle you must think of those skins."

Then he takes another bunch, perhaps of spruce twigs, to represent a present from a Rivers Inlet chief. A bundle of nettle fibre may stand for a Kimsquit debt; one ornamented with a tuft of undyed cedar-bark, a gift from a *Täl·io* chief; a solid piece of alder stem, a local debt; another section of alder stem with a notch in it, another local debt, and so on. The son is expected to listen attentively, and to repeat after his father what each represents. Then the pupil turns his back and the instructor alters the positions of the bundles. His father tells him to look at them and repeat what each signifies. This is repeated time after time until a boy becomes familiar with remembering debts by means of symbols. In later years, if he becomes a chief, he will use this method for bearing his indebtedness in mind. No system of standardized signs has been evolved, each individual merely designates what he wishes by a mark which he alone can recognize.

A child grows up in the community, absorbing information and lore without conscious effort, learning the activities which he will later practise, fearing the supernatural beings that are dreaded by his parents, marvelling at the power of those endowed with supernatural ability, and generally fitting himself for the struggle of life. If his parents are wealthy, he may be fortunate enough to be given a *susook* name and to partake in 867 [556]

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place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death. 764 783

The above rite protects widower or widow, but does not alter the fact that for one year they are ceremonially "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the ocean. The one near Kimsquit is called *Sq̣tan'ti*, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of which the bottoms are bent upwards; should this be omitted, when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will soon die. 765 [783] [825] [262] [484] [292] [761]

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should cut their hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; if this rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and [626] [302] [834] [587] [735]

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(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 28a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The tune is said to have been handed down for more than two hundred years. 533*

(*b*) That is: Let us stop paying the customary respect to.

(*c*) It is not remembered which chief was thus held up to the scorn of his fellows.

(*d*) That is: He does not act in accordance with the traditions of the name he uses.

(*e*) That is: The dancer is feeble. This refers to another *nusqwal* dancer who, owing to his poverty, had not performed for many years. It is not known whether he was the same individual as the one derided in the first part of the song. [558]

(*f*) To flaunt another's poverty in his face is the height of Bella Coola rudeness. [735]

(*g*) That is: He, too, was a *nusqwal*.

(*h*) The ancestor from whom the prerogative was derived. [576]

(*i*) That is: In virtue of my *nusqwal* ability. This appears to be a departure from the usual theme of a mocking song.

*Nusqwal Song Used for Q̇wixlâkilak*ʷ, *a Kimsquit Man*(*a*)

A Tukesdjidjsdumalnuwit	*yaqwixlâkilakwsudai*	*skâ'ânutsâyenmixwais*
Please do not sleep,	*Q̇wixlâkilak*ʷ(*b*),	listen to your

sewaqoptânuswais
drums(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sânanmaodjâmâdu	*snuyaiyatuwikais*	*âltâltâmstaqailsandai*
I alone	am content(*d*);	is increasing

aiyadispxliwatsdai
my prerogative(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 29a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) It is not uncommon in *sisaok* and *a'alk* songs for the dancer to address himself in this way. [575]

(*c*) That is: Be ready to listen to drums beaten at one of your ceremonies.

(*d*) The dancer is deriding another *nusqwal* who has not performed for a long time. [558]

(*e*) This song differs slightly from the usual mocking type in lack of specific references to the person derided; lack of reference to an ancestral myth, however, shows that it was not composed for a potlatch. [556]

Song of a Kimsquit Nusqwal(*a*)

A Dipas-uqo	*pâlnâlaix*	*dastâlumqwos*	*disisut*
That is he,	the impostor,	the chief	of the paddle(*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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his left cheek until the blood flows, takes also a mouthful of his own urine, and spits out the mixture. 776 823

The following instance of this belief was recorded. [789]

A Bella Coola chief and a number of followers were once at Kwatna where they had been gambling for stakes of mountain goat grease. Two of the men had lost their supply, so they went into the mountains between Kwatna and Restoration Bay to replenish it. They saw two goats, killed them, and at once two more appeared in the same place; these they also slew. When a fifth and sixth goat appeared and were likewise dispatched, one of the hunters tried to restrain his comrade, saying that such phenomenal success must be due to supernatural power which they should not abuse. They stopped firing, cut the grease from their quarry, and started on the return journey. Presently the mountain began to tilt upwards before their feet. They had no ropes, and almost in despair concealed themselves in a small rock shelter. Their dogs too felt the movement and barked in terror. Fortunately, the mountain did not rise more than a few feet and soon subsided, so that the men escaped. [525]

The attitude of the Bella Coola to supernatural powers of all kinds may be termed a doctrine of Opportunism. Supernatural beings abound and constantly play a part in the affairs of mortals. An alert and bold man can take advantage of these opportunities and obtain assistance, but he who hesitates is indeed lost. Certain types of assistance are most commonly granted to orphans and other unfortunates; accounts of these belong to the realm of mythology and will be described in a later chapter. On the whole the supernatural ones do not show discrimination in conferring boons, and the man who is quick to take advantage of them is the one to whom success comes. 776 [736]

Supernatural Elements in Human Beings

The Bella Coola believe that in the human body itself there are certain supernatural elements. Neither sticks nor stones can move, because they lack these attributes possessed by men and animals. Considering the firm belief of the Bella Coola in the omnipresence of the supernatural, it is not surprising that they should ascribe the phenomena of health and sickness, 774

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The married sons of a chief usually live in his house, and if he is very powerful the husbands of his daughters may also reside with him. Such a man is at the zenith of power, surrounded by a close group, formed of elderly relatives, of children and grandchildren. Connections by marriage are also added to the family group. At the present time, for example, one Bella Coola man is looking after his brother's widow, and it is felt that she is a member of his family. 592 556 622 602

Another way in which a rich man can increase the size of his family is by adoption. Parents who have lost an infant may adopt the child of some member of the ancestral family of either father or mother. The matter is usually arranged soon after birth, and the transfer takes place immediately after weaning. The real parents are willing since they know that the adopting parents will be able to validate valuable prerogatives and names for the child, which they themselves are unable to do. This desire for their child's welfare overrules parental love. In such cases the real father or mother can likewise bestow names and other prerogatives on the child, who really becomes a member of two families. This is often done by an old couple whose own children have married and moved away, and who thus find themselves lonely. It is considered disgraceful for parents to allow their children to be adopted by anyone not a member of their ancestral family, since that would be an admission of inability to bring up a child in the path of his ancestors. 556 597 614 [888]

"Your father was not strong," could be said to such a child as a reproach.

In the case of an orphan some wealthy relative is almost always ready to adopt him. Consequently, as he grows up, he receives his full share of the ancestral origin myth, and the names embodied therein, so that the loss of his own parents is of little consequence in the course of life. Occasionally a child is not adopted by relatives, and then his fate is indeed hard. 736 597

shelter in the house of any chief, and shared in the food which was being distributed at the almost continuous ceremonial feasts. Now, each family lives alone and no one feels any responsibility for this old man. [178]

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597 736 Ignorant of his ancestral names, and lacking the means to validate them even if someone should tell them to him, owning no hunting-grounds, the unfortunate infant is little better than a slave. This is almost unthinkable except in the extremely rare contingency of a child being left without relatives.

Although public opinion does not impel kindly treatment to orphans left without kindred, yet many Bella Coola have charitable dispositions and it is not unknown for a family to adopt and tend an infant without reason or hope of reward. One old man mentioned how his mother and a Chilkotin child had been born on the same day when a party of the latter had been encamped near *Nusqalst*. A few days later they left for the interior, abandoning the infant. The grandfather of the old man chanced to pass their camp while the ashes of their fire were still warm and found the baby, whom he brought back, to be a brother to his own daughter. His wife suckled the two, giving each a breast, and treating the foundling as her own. When the boy grew into manhood, he went back to his own people, but never forgot his adopted parents. Forty years later he visited Bella Coola, bringing with him his own wife and family. The old man who related this incident recalled the manner in which the Chilkotin had instructed his children to regard him as their brother.

597 [768] Children are not the only persons to be adopted. On the death of an adult his relatives may "adopt to replace" someone who has a striking facial resemblance to the deceased. Thus, some time after the death of his sister, a certain man was in Bella Bella and saw a Bella Bella woman who closely resembled her. He desired to adopt her, and since he was a man of importance, his wish was granted. To legalize the transaction [431] he distributed valuable presents among the Bella Bella. A person so adopted does not usually change his abode, nor does [601] he lose membership in his own family; instead, he becomes a [835] member of two, with full rights to names and prerogatives in both, is addressed with the same kinship terms as if related by blood, and is likewise considered a member of the family as far as incest rules are concerned.

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carried out, her relatives are expected to return to her husband's family the goods received during the engagement and at the wedding. The matter is then settled. If the deceased has a younger sister, cousin, or other near relative, an effort is usually made to have this individual replace the dead wife.[9] No further goods are given, except perhaps a few to add dignity to the transference; the new wife merely replaces her dead sister and the bond between the two families continues unbroken. If the husband should die, his wife's relatives are considered honourable and endowed with the minds of chiefs if they restore to his relatives the presents which they have received. But if the wife can be remarried to one of his relatives, there is no need for this and the two families continue to enjoy the mutual strength acquired by the long period of engagement and exchange of benefits and presents.

If death takes place after the repurchasing of the wife, there is no need to return presents, since the rebuying has cancelled the expenditure by the husband. If children have been born and the woman has long become practically a member of her husband's family, she is buried by them as a matter of course, but should she die soon after marriage, her own family usually performs the obsequies.

With the passing of many years of married life, the repurchasing several times of the woman, and the birth of children, she becomes so much a member of her husband's family that his death seldom ends the arrangement. The widow is by no means a slave and usually is master of her own destiny, especially if she has children and has reached a position of eminence in the community. Since the desirability of preserving the bond between the two families is fully realized, it is accordingly customary for a widow to wed her husband's brother, or a husband his deceased wife's sister. But in each case the ritual of marriage and exchange of presents must be

[9] The native term emphasizes the fact that the new wife is virtually inherited by her husband.

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838 woman who dressed as a man and used to hunt successfully,
[171] though she was married. Such practices are said to have been not uncommon among the Haida. The women were considered bold and independent, but the Bella Coola of today know little
*[776] about them, and are not even certain that *Sxunts* is responsible for a female assuming the actions of a male. It will be readily understood that he is not regarded with much awe, nor does he influence their daily lives.

*776 Another supernatural being, uninfluential though resident
[822] upon earth, is Echo, *Setsaläni*, "The Voice Repeater." The Bella Coola regard him as a male being, in human form, and recognize his presence whenever sounds reverberate. He figures in mythology, occasionally appears as a masked figure at
[575] *kusiut* or *sisaok* dances, but has neither helped nor harmed human beings for so many generations that he is accordingly neglected.

*776 A supernatural being from whom many Bella Coola have
787 had unpleasant visitations is *Shimsila*, the cause of nightmares.
828 He is a man-like creature with black face and an enormous head which he constantly scratches. His home is in *Nusmät-a*, but he frequently descends to this world and frightens sleepers. If a person scratches his head while asleep it is because he has just seen *Shimsila* doing so, and if he walks in his sleep it is to escape this supernatural visitor. A sleep-walker is usually aroused by having a bucket of water thrown over him. A
●[751] person frequently troubled by *Shimsila* can avoid him by painting a black circle around each eye before going to sleep.

*776 With the exception of *Ałquntäm*, the supernatural beings thus far described play little part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They believe in their existence, but do not expect to meet them, and do not believe that they exercise much influence on the course of their daily life. Supernatural beings of this ineffective type are exceptional. A man goes into remote parts of the
781 mountains, or even into little frequented areas around his
*776 village, with mingled fear lest he encounter an actively malicious being, and hope that he may meet a benevolent one. More-

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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receive such pretty objects, restores the sick, though she does not herself come to do so. 755 756 *

The shaman now sends a young man out to fill his curing basin. When this is done, he carries it around the fire, once, sunwise, and sets it down beside the patient. The practitioner drinks from it, and casts some eagle down on the surface. If it revolves sunwise, it signifies that the patient will soon recover, and the shaman proceeds to wash him with the water; if it remains stationary or revolves in the opposite direction, it is an unfavourable sign, and he throws the water out of the door. More is then brought, and the procedure repeated until it revolves sunwise. Although no Bella Coola can state definitely how this is performed, the concensus of opinion is that it is done by twisting the box slightly. [782] 755 756 * 787

Shamans are not the only ones who make offerings to *Ťlitcăplilän-a*. It is generally known that she likes to receive things, so a sick person often throws on the fire a little grease, some of his own clothing, or other objects of small value. By so doing he hopes that she may appear, or that the sickness will vanish as the object is consumed in the flames. A person in good health sometimes makes like offerings, either on the central house fire or on one built behind the house, at the same time asking *Ťlitcăplilän-a* to help guard him. 755 782 751 ● 782

(7) In recent years some shamans have been in the habit of displaying the sickness in visible form; this is said to have been a practice adopted from the Bella Bella. After throwing himself on top of the patient the shaman sucks violently, and produces such an object as a toad, a snail, or a stick of wood, which he claims to have been the cause of the malady. This has, of course, been concealed throughout in his mouth. This belief is fostered by the undoubted skill of some shamans in extracting such foreign substances as a salmon bone, wedged in a patient's throat, or a sliver. In such cases he first works with his fingers to force the object near the surface. It is believed that some shamans are so powerful they can draw forth foreign substances by the mere application of their stick 755 756 * [177]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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752 *For Fractures*

An effort is made to straighten the limb and to place the ends of the broken bone together in their proper position. If there is considerable swelling, an incision is made to let blood escape. Hemlock gum is applied freely to the whole region to soften the wound and hold the splints in position. This penetrates the cut, if one has been made, and is believed to facilitate the knitting process. Any small sticks are used for splints.

REMEDIES FOR AILMENTS CAUSED BY SUPERNATURAL OR HUMAN BEINGS

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789 [75] Hunters particularly, and others who are likely to come in contact with supernatural beings, employ a number of medicines to protect themselves or to alleviate the dangers to which they have been exposed. As already described, the most potent of these are articles which have been rendered essentially human by contact with the body. For example, an evil supernatural being such as the War-Party of the Tides can be kept at a distance by casting soiled clothing upon a fire. Even more powerful are stained cedar-bark sanitary napkins. It is remembered that when a Bella Bella lad was treated with a gull so that he could see beneath the ocean, his friends became so alarmed at his tremendous ability that they destroyed it by throwing pads of this kind on a fire built beneath the bed on which he was sleeping. The basis of this medicine is the belief

751 Women wear tight anklets to prevent
the calves of their legs from slipping down.' During their monthly
841 periods women place soft cedar-bark in the vagina. The bark is afterwards
824 burnt in the woods. The smoke of this fire is believed to be poisonous.

It is evident that the culture of the Bilqula is very greatly influenced
177 by that of the Kwakiutl. The secret societies and the potlatch ceremonies
551 are almost a copy of those of the Heiltsuk'. This influence has been so
556 deep that names of even deities and of the mythical ancestors of certain
gentes are purely Kwakiutl words, or have at least Kwakiutl endings. Thus
575 the name Aiumkt'lkya (see p. 413) is purely Kwakiutl, meaning 'good all
776 over the world.' K'ûmk'umkt'lkya is also a Kwakiutl word, meaning
771 'the rich one of the world.' The chief's name, Mt'lkyûtsil (see p. 419)
belongs to the same class of Kwakiutl names. On the other hand, the
religious ideas of the Bilqula are very curiously developed, and apparently
but slightly influenced by their neighbours. The whole Nanamuk'wis
tradition is peculiar to them, but has been partly adopted by the Awiky'-
ô'ness, with whom the Bilqula have intermarried.

[pp. 425-449 not processed]

L:McDavitt E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

It is the life that suffers

761 whenever the skin is broken. Any wound may prove dan-
[752] gerous, but particularly one that cuts either of the invisible
[827] lines along which vitality flows from the little finger to the little toe. An injury to one of these channels spreads rapidly and is in many cases fatal.

761 It is generally considered that a person dies if his life leaves
794 his body. In contradiction to this, though the discrepancy seems of slight importance to the Bella Coola, is the belief that it ascends at the winter solstice to the gathering of the supernatural beings in *Nacmitʼa* to greet *Alpaxtim*. It is common knowledge that some part of the human body does this, but there is diversity of opinion regarding which it may be. Some say it is the spirit, but the consensus of opinion is that it is the life. If it is successful and receives presents in the land above, its owner will prosper on earth; if it is unfortunate, he will be the same; if it falls in the crush as the guests hurry forth to escape the heat of *Alpaxtim*'s entry, he will die. By dreams
761 a man learns the fortune of his supernatural representative,
787 and from them he can judge what is in store for him during the coming year and receive intimations concerning birth and death, answer society matters and, in fact, every phase of human activity, since all are decided at the meeting of *Alpaxtim* and his associates. Dreams are considered to be especially important at this season of the year (I, p. 608) and information obtained from them may, perhaps, be the origin of the present firm conviction that some portion of the body actually ascends.
[182] Bella Coola beliefs have so broken down in recent years that lack of unanimity concerning the specific part is not surprising, nor does it alter the importance of this conviction. No attempt is made to explain how an individual can remain alive during the annual absence of his life.

761 Although the life is so ethereal, it really consists of four intangible elements which unite to form the immaterial whole. One of these parts, including the voice, is located in the throat, another in the trunk, a third in the legs, and a fourth in the feet; the body is thus divided into four quarters. The ear-

1:McIlwraith K-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

757 the science of medicine. The Bella Coola are familiar with
759 many acts which cause definite results. To place a new-born
girl in contact with the representation of a beautiful woman
[756] so that she may grow up to be like her, seems false science,
[757] magic, to the white man; whereas the application of splints
and gum to a fractured limb is a medical treatment, crude
perhaps, but definitely scientific. The two are identical to the
Bella Coola. They do not ask *why* or *how* a result follows,
they merely know that it does. Such lore has been handed
down from time immemorial; it is steeped in the sanctity of
antiquity and hallowed by the knowledge that their ancestors
have done the same for generations. All such acts may be
described as "medicines," for so they appear to those who
practise them. To separate them into magical and scientific
categories would misrepresent the native point of view; the
only division that can be made is between those that cause,
and those that prevent or cure. Even in this there is some
overlap. A medicine that cures a child from crying likewise
causes him to be placid and amiable; so, too, medicines of a
preventive nature comprise elements of both types. The prin-
ciple governing most of these is sympathetic magic, a concept
which, if put in words to the Bella Coola, would be regarded as
[755] logical and scientific. The second important class of medi-
cines consists of objects, either herbal or derived from the
human body, which are believed to have such abundant power
that they are effective against ailments of supernatural origin,
or against supernatural beings themselves. Some of these have
already been mentioned in connection with the attitude of
the Bella Coola towards these beings of the earth, sky,
and water.

754 Most curative medicines are used by the practitioner on
himself; most preventive, on someone else. The latter are either
755 social or anti-social, depending upon whether the result is
759 benevolent or malevolent. Shamans frequently use magical
means in curing the sick and are highly regarded by the com-
munity, but medicines of the same kind may be used to kill

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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glen, bites him between the eyes or at the back of the neck so that a little blood flows. 865 861

"If you don't keep quiet," he says to the screaming child, "I shall bite you all over your head."

This medicine acts in two ways: (1) The offender is so frightened that he is likely to reform; (2) Contact with a man of good disposition imparts the same to him. A tuft of mountain goat wool is inserted into the wound to make it heal properly.

To Cure Disobedience and Laziness 461

Parents whose child exhibits these bad qualities also ask help of a man of good character. If he accepts the task, he provides himself with a bone needle and waits until he hears the child refuse to perform some simple task. Then, with a rush, he throws the offender on his stomach and suppurts the needle until the blood flows freely. He then releases the frightened child who usually slinks away to bed for the rest of the day. When the bleeding has ceased, the quiet person cuts chips from the canoe of an energetic man and rubs them on the wound, saying: 865 861

"There, may you be like the canoe, always active and doing whatever is expected of you."

An old Kitamaat man recalled vividly the application of this medicine to him when he refused to fetch water for his mother. He was about eleven years of age at the time and asserted that it had greatly improved his behaviour.

MEDICINES FOR ORDINARY DISEASES

For Sprains and Bruises 752

Pound stalks of false hellebore, mix with hemlock gum, and bind on the injured spot as a poultice.

For Swollen Neck

Cut off small pieces of a thoroughly smoked bear's heart, pound in water, and drink the mixture. 757

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757 about one week. This causes the skin to turn white and draws out the matter.

752 [177] (2) The usual remedy for boils and similar sores is cutting. There are no professional surgeons so that a patient merely requests a friend in whom he has confidence to perform the operation which is now carried out with a metal knife instead of an obsidian blade. A man frequently performs on himself and it is not uncommon to see a Bella Coola sitting nonchalantly with the blood streaming down his leg into a receptacle filled with water. Even when a boil is on the buttocks, it may be cut by sitting down on a knife, but in this case a friend is always present to state when the position is correct.

752 759 *For Ulcers and Abscesses*

A few individuals, at present two at Bella Coola and one at Kimsquit, have the necessary skill to locate and operate on ulcers of the stomach. They have no inherited prerogative, their ability is due solely to practice and good sense. If a person suffers from internal pains and believes them to be caused by an ulcer, he requests one of these men to help him. The practitioner kneads and handles the patient to locate the growth, and suggests operating if he thinks it necessary. He measures off on the blade of a knife the depth required for the incision and asks consent to make such a cut. If the sufferer considers it too deep, he may indicate a shorter distance on the knife, or he may desire a still deeper one. As soon as patient and surgeon have agreed upon the depth of the wound, the latter inserts the knife to the proper distance, twists it around, and draws it out. If he has diagnosed correctly, pus comes pouring out; the wound is drained by the insertion of an eagle quill, and in many cases the patient recovers. Several instances are remembered of too deep cutting, resulting in penetration of the intestines and death. A surgeon is always suitably rewarded for his work.

It is believed that such operations were performed before the introduction of metal knives. Whether or not this be true,

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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it is certain that ones of this type took place about 1870. No 752
information could be obtained about other surgical practices. [759]
The Bella Coola are unacquainted with either trephining or cupping, and it is most unlikely that they performed more than cutting and the setting of broken limbs. Though incisions are primarily for boils and abscesses, one may be made in case of any obstinate pain, in the belief that some foreign matter has entered the body and must be extracted.

For Stomach-Ache (two means)

757

(1) Peel the outer surface of red elderberry roots and chew a section until all the juice has been squeezed forth and swallowed; then spit out the tasteless bark and take a second piece. This must be continued for some time. It is dangerous to allow the liquid to remain within the stomach, so warm water must be taken as an emetic.

(2) Take five roots of the plant *ma'xwal·i*, each about one-tenth of an inch in diameter and one inch in length, grind them to powder and pour on water. Warm the mixture to body heat and drink in large quantities. This acts as an emetic and the patient feels hungry after vomiting. If cooked for a longer [262]
time, the roots provide a valuable food.

This medicine is not sufficiently potent for serious attacks.

For Stomach-Ache, and also for Other Internal Pains (two means)

(1) Strip the bark from a *kāk'tslp* (birch?) branch a few inches in diameter and about three feet in length, and boil for an hour in a small amount of water. Care must be taken not to boil the decoction too long or it will become poisonous. Drink about four cupfuls of the mixture. It causes the stomach to heave violently, followed by vomiting. Then drink warm water, which also acts as an emetic. Take a further potion of the medicine, then more water, and continue with alternate doses until the vomit is clear. This medicine is so powerful that a patient usually recovers by the following day.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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An effort is made to straighten the limb and to place the ends of the broken bone together in their proper position. If there is considerable swelling, an incision is made to let blood escape. Hemlock gum is applied freely to the whole region to soften the wound and hold the splints in position. This penetrates the cut, if one has been made, and is believed to facilitate the knitting process. Any small sticks are used for splints.

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that the proximity of such intensely human articles is enough 789
to counteract and render powerless anything of a superhuman
nature. Likewise, when a certain woman came in contact [755]
with the War-Party of the Tides and began to exhibit symp-
toms of insanity, she was cured by drinking water in which
other women had squeezed out their menstrual pads. Another
defence is the burning of dried salmon, fumigation from which [828]
is particularly effective for one who suffers from nightmares.
Other remedies already mentioned are to cut the right leg and
smear a bullet with the resultant blood in order to kill a *smnq*,
and to lacerate the inside of the mouth and spit to withstand
a capsizing mountain.

The medicine most commonly taken is false hellebore, the 224
use of which was learnt by some ancient shaman. At dusk a 789
hunter should eat a small twig of it, raw; it draws from his
stomach everything injurious, particularly women's hairs,
which are abhorred by animals, and ensures him success on
the morrow. If he takes too much of it, he becomes ill and [752]
must swallow the antidote, mountain goat grease or marrow.
He should also carry twigs of the plant with him, ready either
to swallow or throw in the direction of any dreaded super-
natural being whom he may encounter. Eagle down and dried
salmon roe are sometimes similarly used.

The powers of a person who has obtained supernatural 756
ability, whether or not he is a shaman, can be destroyed by 789
similar means. For example, a lad treated so that he under-
stands the speech of ravens, will lose his ability if he eats food
cooked or prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has
lost her husband within the last year, or if he passes through
the hole in the floor used by an adolescent girl. The last Bella
Coola with this skill was deafened to the meaning of the birds'
croaking by lying near his sister one night for warmth, since
her mere proximity was enough to nullify his power. This 789
aspect of medicine merges with taboos. So, too, the power of
an object can be destroyed by washing; an instance of this in

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 tive. Hence compensation must be given. Payment for wounds
*796 inflicted is really parallel to payments to witnesses of any other
431 prerogative; without their assistance X would not have been
424 able to display his right. Long ago Cannibals are said to have
[773] had teeth of such sharpness that they were able to take pieces from the bodies of their victims with ease and quickness. In more recent years, it has been customary for a person about to be bitten to cut himself with a knife so that, when the Cannibal seizes him, a simple sucking at the chosen part will bring forth blood. In view of the honour attached to being bitten, no person to whom such a proposal is made would think of refusing. As previously mentioned, Cannibals do not bite other Cannibals, Scratchers, Breakers, or those whose patrons are ghosts, otherwise their victims may comprise any *kukusiut*.[a] Presents received by those bitten are called "Bandages." At the time of such payment gifts are usually given to all *kukusiut*, with additional compensation for the sufferers.

*575 Now that X has eaten ordinary food it is supposed that he
*796 is again normal, although special precautions must be taken for the rest of the winter since he is subject to returning fits of frenzy. Consequently, he is never allowed to be alone, but is always followed by a number of *kukusiut* whose function appears to the uninitiated to be to guard them from the Cannibal. The sight of strangers suffices to rouse him, so that when a canoe from *Tāl·ie* or Kimsquit approaches, a herald bids the uninitiated conceal themselves. On their arrival X rushes to the beach, apparently in spite of his guardians' restraint, and honours several of the strangers by biting them, as he did before he was able to eat ordinary food. On such occasions he then visits every house, attended by his escort, before returning to his own. Inside each dwelling he growls, cries out *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, and sometimes shakes or tears off the

[a] Every effort is made to convince the uninitiated of the severity of the wounds inflicted. For example, if a *kwiel* woman is suffering from some malady of the breast which requires an operation, a Cannibal bites her there and non-members are told that the incision, made about the same time, was caused by his teeth.

[752]

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him and bring him back, struggling, to the village where he snaps at all within reach. As soon as a person is bitten, an assistant covers the wound with undyed cedar-bark. A number of young men and women *kukusiut* accompany X wherever he goes, without any special prerogative for doing so. When he is weary, he rushes off into the forest where his followers sit down in two groups until he has recovered from his exertions; then he returns and bites more people. About noon the herald goes through the village calling out:

575* 796* [752]

Ipänap, ipänap, kukusiaot, "Come to hold him down, ye *kukusiut.*"

About two in the afternoon a number of *kukusiut* women assemble on the beach. X, apparently in spite of his guardians, dashes into the lowest house of the village where he growls and bites a few people, while any women present drone. Then those on the beach begin to drone and X rushes out of the house towards them. They become quiet, and when almost upon them, he appears to change his mind and hurries back to the house immediately above the one that he has just quitted. Again the women on the beach drone, and again he runs out, only to return to the house next above. This is repeated until he has visited every dwelling, his course up the village being a series of Ws. He returns finally to his own home and sits near the back-room.

Two sounding-boards and some beating sticks are brought in and a number of *kukusiut* range themselves in a double row under the leadership of a shaman to beat time madly to cure X. Four times the ritual is repeated, amid the droning of the women, and as the leader concludes with the short double jump, the sticks strike the floor with an ear-splitting crash. X now takes one of the sticks and starts to beat time for his own song, but almost immediately goes off into a wild beating like that of a maniac. Everyone cries out *hoip,* which ultimately soothes him. Once more he takes the stick and essays to beat time, but as before goes into a frenzy, and throws it away. The singers have been listening carefully, as if striving to learn

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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"I will give my necklace of dentalium to whoever will recover my foot." 539*

First Gull tried, but he could not stay under water long enough to find it; Loon, however, dived down and brought the foot back to *Ḷ̣aisetl*. She tied it to a stick which she carried over her shoulder, and paraded the village singing merrily:[10]

Ḳ̓ciälgdinits	*wesaitwastaiyia*	*ɣnuwakila*	*diaitums-aiyiya*
Has cut off my leg	now	*Nowakila*[11];	Yes, he did it.[12]

Sämlisqo	*dälalxäpnänidis*	*ḷ̣taisalxänixi*
What is that	is carrying	*Ḷ̣taisalx*?[13]

Digmäsolqo	*diɣälams*	*ḷ̣taisalxänixi*
It is her leg that	is carrying	*Ḷ̣taisalx*.[14]

Asnanikiqual	*asnanikiqual*
She will gum it on;	she will gum it on.

Then she went into the forest at one end of the village and collected a large quantity of hemlock gum with which she fastened her foot in its proper place, reinforcing the junction with pliant sticks. Once more she paraded up and down the town, singing. This time her theme was:

"*Ḷ̣taisetl*'s foot is now gum."

For ten days she kept it embedded in the gum, and when she removed the covering, the foot had regrown to her leg.[15] Raven was amazed, but said nothing; in fact, the two avoided one another as much as possible. However, when Raven once more invited *Ḷ̣taisetl* to accompany him, this time berry-picking, she refused to go, saying that she was afraid.

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[10]This was recorded as song VII D 13b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The same method of recording has been used as for dance songs, although the vertical lines indicate only word clusters, not grouped forms to be called out by an announcer. [533]

[11]That is: *Nowakila* [Raven's name as chief] has just cut off my leg.

[12]This song is divided into four parts, although they are not so clearly separated as dance songs. [533]

[13]That is: What is *Ḷ̣taisalx* carrying? The man from whom the song was obtained used this form of the woman's name; the narrator of the story called her *Ḷ̣taisetl*.

[14]That is: *Ḷ̣taisalx* is carrying her leg.

[15]The Bella Coola, who still use hemlock gum to fasten splints and for swollen wounds, affirm that they learnt the practice from *Ḷ̣taisetl*. [314] [752]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*192 *istutsmap*, "Come and eat": Invitation to the *kukusiut* to assemble in a performer's house.

isulta: House beams.

isut·sta: Messenger bearing invitation to a potlatch.

[752] *itcliktas:* Massage.

[585] *ilskalemsk:* 1—Presents, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter visit his house on the wedding day.

[431] 2—Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's kinsmen prior to her repurchase.

[583] *ilxwaxdjut*, "The Throwing Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders": Said of the repayment by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's kinsmen.

itxwolhsta: 1—Battering-ram.
2—The destruction of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.

Ixulqotlam: One of the names of the supreme god.

[201] *iqdhmaxtem:* Notification, by pressure on the foot, to a chief to go to the meeting-place.

[533] *ixlxanm:* The employment of frenzied stick-beating.

Ixpc·mm: Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.

ixskeicpanmas, "The Hearing": Synonym for *alastmm*, q.v.; this is a Kimsquit term only.

i·qtimut: Kusiotem rite in which the performer appears to be burnt to death.

i·qwatmm: The casting of *kusiut* masks on the fire.

Iywnk, "Far from the River": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

[847] *ixwotl:* Abortion.

i·xwsila, "Disappointed": said of the supernatural beings called by a *wl·á* dancer who arrive too late for the potlatch.

ilkas: Slave from the lower Fraser owned in Kimsquit during the last century.

[101] *ilqwlatamq:* Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.

[601] *ilqwlastwlastmax:* Half-brother or half-sister.

imlk: 1—Man.
2—Son; term used in direct address to adult.
3—Husband.

[614] *imlkasta:* Male relative of same ancestral family.

imlklima: Woman who performs man's work.

[601] *imlkqasta:* Single brother in a family with several sisters.

[431] *immlki, plural, immlkoksi:* Small boy, especially son; term used in indirect address.

[584] *iqlalk*", "Working Clothes": Presents given by the relatives of the future bride to the kinsmen of the future bridegroom at the first announcement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.

[821] *isinarul:* Cold wind of the mornings, semi-anthropomorphized.

istaity: Bella Bella term for the *istamq*.

[563] *istamq:* Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE 15

B
C

POLYPODIACEAE, FERN FAMILY

137
757

Polypodium vulgare L., Polypody, Parasitic Sword Fern

Bella Coola: Roots—sometimes mixed with leaves of the red cedar (*Thuja plicata* Donn) or with other medicinal roots which the informant had forgotten—boiled, and the warm decoction taken internally for pains in the stomach, but not for vomiting or diarrhoea. Neither an emetic nor a purgative.

Roots chewed for swollen sore throat.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Asplenium cyclosorum Rupr., Lady Fern

Bella Coola: Little roots cleaned off, from five to ten centres, mixed at times with roots or branches of the currant (*Ribes laxiflorum* Pursh. var.), boiled strongly, but for a short time only, and the decoction used as a wash for sore eyes.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

B

Aspidium spinulosum Sw., Shield Fern

[757]
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Bella Coola: Root eaten raw to neutralise poisoning from eating several kinds of shell-fish in the early part of the summer.

C
I
137
757

Fern, species uncertain

Northern Carrier: Root boiled and the decoction taken internally for worms.

Gitksan: The large, round, green root-stock, but not the rooflets, mashed with bark of balsam fir (*Abies grandis* Lindl.) and devil's club (*Fatsia horrida* Sm. B. and H.), a little gum of scrub pine (*Pinus contorta* Dougl.) or tideland spruce (*Picea sitchensis* Carr), and root of skunk cabbage (*Lysichiton kamtschatcense* Schott), warmed a little, and applied to a boil or ulcer, which it brought to a head. Also used for rheumatism, and as a plaster on the chest for hemorrhage of the lungs.

C

LYCOPODIACEAE, CLUB MOSS FAMILY

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757

Lycopodium clavatum L., Common Club Moss

Southern Carrier: Inserted in the nose to cause bleeding and cure headache.

TAXACEAE, YEW FAMILY

B
137
757

Taxus brevifolia Nutt., Yew

Bella Coola: Branches with leaves boiled, and the decoction taken internally for the lungs. Neither a purgative nor an emetic.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
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CONIFERAE, PINE FAMILY

Juniperus communis L., JUNIPER

B
E
137
757

Bella Coola: Roots, leaves, branches, and bark boiled, and the decoction taken internally as often as desired for many ailments, including a cough from the lungs, and pain in the stomach. Neither a purgative nor an emetic.

Southern Carrier: Branches boiled, and the vapour inhaled for headache and pain in the chest.

Northern Carrier: Tips boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative, also for a cough.

Juniperus sp.

B
J
137
757

Gitksan: Entire plant, including roots and berries, boiled for a day, and the decoction, when cool, taken internally for many ailments, including hemorrhage and kidney trouble. A purgative and diuretic.

Thuja plicata Donn, RED CEDAR

Bella Coola: Very soft bark used to bind up wounds, and to cover poultices of false bugbane (*Trautvetteria grandis* Nutt.) and of tall buttercup (*Ranunculus acris* L.).

Leaves, sometimes with the gum-coated cones, boiled, and the hot decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach. Neither an emetic nor a purgative.

Leaves powdered by pounding, mixed with a little cold water and taken internally for pain in the stomach, also externally for coughs and internal pains, as heart trouble, rheumatism, swollen neck, and pain in the stomach. *See also* Polypody, page 48.

Gitksan: Not used.

Chamaecyparis nootkatensis (Lamb) Spach, YELLOW CYPRESS, YELLOW CEDAR

B
137
757

Bella Coola: A little soft bark used to cover poultices of false bugbane (*Trautvetteria grandis* Nutt.) and of tall buttercup (*Ranunculus acris* L.).

Pinus contorta Dougl., SCRUB PINE, JACK PINE

B
[152]

Bella Coola: Gum applied to cuts.

Gum chewed and applied to broken skin.

B
[164]

Gum at the ends of branches, collected in November, December, and January, boiled and the decoction taken internally for "consumption."

Gum—like that of tideland spruce (page 51) and western hemlock (page 51)—mixed with the baked stems and leaves, or the dried and pulverized bulb, of false hellebore (page 53), and applied as a poultice (sometimes spread on red cedar bark) to the chest for heart trouble, and to the arms for rheumatism. Burned the skin within two or three days, but was sometimes left on as long as two weeks.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

Abies sp.

Northern Carrier: Bark boiled in water and the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

Gum used as an ointment on wounds, and especially on burns.

Sikani: Gum applied to wounds.

Gitksan: Juicy inner bark, scraped from the trunk of the tree, after removal of the outer bark, taken internally for constipation.

Gum from the bark blisters taken internally as a purgative and diuretic for "consumption," gonorrhoea, and many other serious ailments. Applied externally to cuts and sores, especially the sores of gonorrhoea.

The young cones, obtainable in August, sliced across, mashed, and used for the same purposes as the gum from the bark blisters.

See also fern, page 48.

Pseudotsuga taxifolia Britt., Douglas Fir

Bella Coola: Gum boiled and taken internally, while warm, as a diuretic for gonorrhoea.

Gum, spread on red cedar bark, applied to cuts. (One informant said that although gum of scrub pine (see page 49), hemlock (see page 51), and tideland spruce (see page 51) were good, Douglas fir gum made cuts worse.)

Gum mixed with dogfish (shark) oil or, if that were not available, eulachon oil, taken, two spoonfuls at a time, with warm water, as an emetic and purgative for colds, rheumatism, gonorrhoea, constipation, intestinal pains, and diarrhoea.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Tsuga heterophylla (Raf.) Sarg., Western Hemlock, and **Tsuga Mertensiana** Carr, Mountain Hemlock

Bella Coola: Leaves chewed and applied to burns.

See also scrub pine (page 49).

Gum warmed and applied to cuts. Not boiled for a diuretic for gonorrhoea.

Burning twigs applied to the skin for various internal ailments.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Picea sitchensis Carr., Tideland Spruce

Bella Coola: Tips of small, but not of large, spruces mixed with blue currant (*Ribes bracteosum* Dougl.), young juneberry (*Amelanchier florida* Lindl.), and crushed branches (leaves and stems) of garden snowberry (*Symphoricarpos racemosus* Michx.), boiled and taken internally for gonorrhoea.

Sap from the peeled trunk taken in doses of from half a cup to a cupful as a laxative from May to August.

B
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Ripe cones boiled, and the decoction taken internally for a pain. Neither an emetic nor a laxative. A bed consisting of a sack of ripe cones, placed on top of hot stones, used by rheumatics. Cones also burned to fumigate rheumatics.

A piece of the bark 5 feet long by 2 feet wide used as a mat in a hot bath for rheumatism. Many stones were heated, a little sand strewn over them, the bark spread above with the inside uppermost, and the patient, naked, lay on the bark, covering himself with one or more blankets. A similar bed, but with the bark covered with a few leaves of devil's club (*Fatsia horrida* Sm. B. and H.), used for chronic backache.

B
●[752]

Gum applied to small cuts, broken skin, and suppurating sores.

Branches used to whip a burned arm or leg until the blood came.

Gum boiled and taken internally while hot as a diuretic for gonorrhoea.

See also scrub pine (page 49).

For use with fern. *See* page 48.

C
T
137
757

The buds or new shoots, with the gum sometimes found around the outside when they are about half an inch long, boiled in water, and the decoction taken internally for tuberculosis.

Southern Carrier: New shoots and bark of small branches boiled for about two hours, and the decoction taken internally, one or two cupfuls at a time, for pain in the stomach, but not for vomiting, diarrhoea, or constipation. Said to effect a cure in one day, and preferred to the decoction made of scrub pine (page 49) or aspen (page 54).

Gum from new shoots and small branches, scraped out with a little stick, placed in the eyes for snow-blindness.

S
[757]

Sikani: Inside bark scraped and chewed for a cough.

Needles chewed, and the saliva applied to external sores.

Gum, obtained by splitting the tops, applied with a stick to white spots on the eye.

The "flower" boiled and the decoction taken internally for pain in the chest.

T
[287]
[164]

Gitksan: Gum extracted from the wood by boiling in water, added to eulachon oil, salmon oil, bear grease, ground-hog fat, lard, etc., and taken internally before meals for consumption.

Twigs bearing both leaves and bark boiled with entire roots of soapolallie (*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.); one cupful of the strong decoction taken internally three times a day for rheumatism.

ARACEAE, ARUM FAMILY

B
T

Lysichiton kamtschatcense Schott., Skunk Cabbage, Yellow Arum

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757

Bella Coola: Roots used with oil as a hair tonic.

Roots boiled, and the sweet decoction taken internally for stomach trouble.

B
[302]

See also white fir (page 56).

Gitksan: Root well mashed with water and applied externally for blood poison and boils. Said to bring boils to a head. For use with a fern (see page 48).

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
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Smoke from the burning roots inhaled for bad dreams, influenza, and rheumatism (a remedy avoided by medicine men, lest it destroy their magical power). Roots themselves considered poisonous.

Leaves used to sit or lie on when taking a sweat bath for rheumatism; also spread over the afflicted parts.

Calla palustris L., WATER ARUM

Gitksan: Roots well boiled and the decoction taken internally for cleaning the eyes of the blind, for hemorrhage, for short breath, and influenza.

LILIACEAE, LILY FAMILY

Clintonia uniflora Kunth., QUEENS CUP

Bella Coola: Boiled and used to wash the body. One leaf toasted and applied as a poultice to eyes or wounds.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Smilacina racemosa L., FALSE SOLOMON'S SEAL

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Roots boiled and decoction taken internally as a very strong medicine for rheumatism, sore back, and kidney trouble. A purgative. Bark and leaves useless. Roots mashed and bound on cuts.

Veratrum viride Ait., FALSE HELLEBORE

Bella Coola: Small bulbs or scrapings of large bulbs, boiled, and one cupful or less of the decoction, according to the strength of the patient, taken internally for chronic cough, gonorrhoea, constipation, pain in the stomach, and many illnesses. Two or three cupfuls acted as an emetic. Said to be poisonous if eaten raw.

Small pieces of the raw root swallowed with a little cold water as an emetic for pains in the stomach. More water taken if all the pieces not vomited. Overdose considered fatal.

See also scrub pine (page 48).

Southern Carrier: Entire roots dried in the sun, and powdered by rubbing on a stone. About a dessertspoonful of the powder taken in hot water as an emetic for sickness. Too strong a decoction considered fatal.[1]

SALICACEAE, WILLOW FAMILY

Salix lasiandra Benth., WILLOW

Bella Coola: Six sticks about a foot long charred, and pulverized on a stone. A teaspoonful of the powder taken in a cupful of cold water for diarrhoea. Said to effect a cure in two or three hours.

A piece of the inner bark folded once and the folded edge inserted into a knife cut; other edges then separated and flattened down, and the wound covered with eagle down. Thought to make the pus come out. Same process used to heal incisions in the abdomen made by those who tried to cure pain in the stomach.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

[1] The late Dr. C. F. Newcombe informed the writer that this plant seems to be used by every tribe in whose territory it grows.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
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S
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C

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B
[750]

Salix Scouleriana Hook., WILLOW

Bella Coola: Folded inner bark used like that of *Salix lasiandra* Benth. for cuts; but charcoal from the stick not used for diarrhoea.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Salix sp., WILLOW

Sikani: Young willow chewed and the saliva applied to external sores.

White powdery tops chewed for a cough.

Populus tremuloides Michx., ASPEN, TREMBLING POPLAR

Bella Coola: A quantity of bark from the roots boiled, and the decoction taken internally from seven to ten times a day for gonorrhoea with hemorrhage from the urethra. A very bitter decoction, said to be a good remedy that stopped the hemorrhage.

Southern Carrier: Bark used instead of tideland spruce bark (page 51) to make a decoction for pain in the stomach. Considered inferior to the spruce bark.

Sikani: Bark pulverized by pounding, moistened with water, and applied as a paste to wounds.

Bark scraped, scrapings steeped in hot water, and the decoction taken internally for worms. Caused a stool immediately.

Gitksan: Bark of roots chewed or mashed and put on cuts.

Bark alone boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative. Not an emetic.

B
C
137
757
B
[302]

Populus trichocarpa T. and G., BLACK COTTONWOOD

Bella Coola: Leaves, ten to fifteen years old, from the lower layers lying rotting on the ground, boiled, and the decoction used as a bath, the patient sitting in it up to his neck for about two hours to cure pain in the body, not rheumatism. A hot stone added from time to time, and the bath repeated the next day.

The buds with their resin boiled and the decoction used as a hair wash. *See* also white fir (page 50).

Half a cupful of buds, picked some time between December and March, mixed with two roots of cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.), a half cupful of buds of mountain alder (*Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt.), and a little water, mashed, and applied warm, but unwarmed, as a poultice for pains in the lungs or hips like rheumatism. Said to effect a cure in two days, but harmful if left on longer.

See also western dock (page 56).

Southern Carrier: Buds with their resin boiled for one or two hours, and the decoction taken internally for coughs and lung affections.

C
[302]
[326]

Resin from the buds applied to the face as a cosmetic, or, with the addition of oil, to repel mosquitoes, black flies, and gadflies.

Roots and bark not used; buds not boiled to make a hair wash.

C
[152]

Northern Carrier: Green roots chewed to a pulp and applied to wounds to stop bleeding.

Inside bark boiled and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

T
[302]
I
[161]

Gitksan: Gummy buds boiled and the resin mixed with bear grease for a hair pomade.

Roots, leaves, and seeds not used.

S: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

Ledum groenlandicum Oeder, Labrador Tea
Bella Coola: Leaves boiled, and the decoction used as a simple beverage, or for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting. Neither an emetic nor a purgative.
Southern Carrier: Not used formerly, now as a beverage only.
Gitksan: Leaves boiled, and the decoction used as a diuretic, or merely as a beverage.

Gaultheria shallon Pursh, Salal
Bella Coola: Leaves toasted, pulverized by rubbing, and applied to cuts.
Southern Carrier: Not used.

LABIATAE, MINT FAMILY

Prunella vulgaris L., Heal-All
Bella Coola: Roots, leaves, and blossoms washed, boiled, and a cupful of the weak decoction taken internally for the heart. Not used for diarrhoea or vomiting.
Southern Carrier: Not used.
Gitksan: Not used.

Mentha canadensis L., Mint
Bella Coola: Entire plant boiled, and the decoction taken internally, as often as desired, for pain in the stomach. Not used for vomiting, constipation, or diarrhoea.
Southern Carrier: Entire plant boiled, and a cupful of the decoction taken internally for the stomach, colds, lung affections, and various ailments.
Gitksan: Not used.

SCROPHULARIACEAE, FIGWORT FAMILY

Castilleja miniata Dougl., Paint-Brush
Bella Coola: Not used.
Southern Carrier: Not used.
Gitksan: Entire plant boiled, and the decoction taken internally for bleeding, stiff lungs, sore eyes, and lame back, possibly caused by kidney trouble. A purgative and diuretic.
Roots boiled and the decoction taken internally for coughs.

CAPRIFOLIACEAE, HONEYSUCKLE FAMILY

Lonicera involucrata Banks, Black Twin-Berry
Bella Coola: Leaves chewed and put applied for itch.
Leaves chewed and applied to boils, after they were cut open, to draw out the poison.
Leaves crushed and applied to burns and sores of gonorrhoea.
Bark toasted, pulverized, and applied to sores of gonorrhoea.
Bark boiled and decoction taken internally for cough.
Southern Carrier: Bark boiled for five hours, and the decoction used daily as an eye-wash. Roots, leaves, and berries not used.
Northern Carrier: See earth pine (page 48).
Gitksan: Fresh juice of berries used in sore eyes. Inner bark (when berries not available) soaked in water, and the milky solution used in the eyes.

S: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

COMPOSITAE, COMPOSITE FAMILY

Achillea Millefolium L., YARROW

Bella Coola: Leaves chewed and applied to burns.

Southern Carrier: Entire plant, except the roots, boiled, and the decoction taken internally at frequent intervals for colds.

Leaves chewed and applied to sprains and swellings.

Gitksan: The young plant, except the roots, gathered between June 1 and July 15, boiled, and the decoction gargled for sore throat. Roots, marked by the dead stalks, dug out at other seasons and used instead.

Artemisia discolor Dougl., SAGEBRUSH, GREEN WORMWOOD

Bella Coola: Used for medicine.

Southern Carrier: Chewed and applied to sprains and swellings.

Northern Carrier: Sagebrush (sp. ?) steeped in water and the hot decoction taken internally for headache.

Antennaria Howellii Greene, EVERLASTING

Bella Coola: Leaves boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pains in the body, but not for pains in the limbs. Not used for colds.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Taraxacum officinale Weber., COMMON DANDELION *introduced*

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting. Remedy said to have been learned from white men.

Gitksan: Not used.

Lactuca spicata (Lam.) Hitchc., TALL LETTUCE

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and many cups of the decoction taken internally for heart trouble, hemorrhage, pains in the body (but not in the limbs), for vomiting, or for diarrhoea. Neither an emetic nor a purgative. Milky juice not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Prenanthes alata (Hook.) Gray, RATTLESNAKE ROOT

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, two or three cupfuls of the decoction taken internally daily for colds. For a baby only a small spoonful given three or four times a day.

Bella Coola: Chewed, and applied to burns or to any painful part of the body.

Boiled, and two or three cupfuls of the decoction taken internally daily.

Malaxis ophioglossoides Bland, MOSS

Southern Carrier: Entire plant, except the "roots", boiled, and two or three cupfuls of the decoction used to bathe a swollen face.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923);1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

SKUNK

Spilogale, Spotted Skunk, or **Mephitis**, Striped Skunk

Bella Coola: Oil not used as a remedy.

Southern Carrier: Oil warmed, and a cupful taken as a purgative for worms.

HARE

Lepus americanus columbienais Rhoads, The British Columbia Varying Hare

Northern Carrier: Hare opened, ruminating stomach containing something like the white of an egg removed, and the liquid applied to a foot blistered by frost-bite. Considered a sure cure.

RED SQUIRREL

Sciurus hudsonicus Erxleben

Bella Coola: Opened along the under side and applied as a remedy to badly broken chancres in the groin.

GIANT SLUG

Bella Coola: Slug made to crawl into a baby's mouth to cure loss of skin on the inside of its mouth.

Slug opened, and bound tightly over large cut.

SEA CUCUMBER

Bella Coola: Decoction of the water in which the sea cucumber was boiled, taken internally as a specific against heartburn. Not a purgative.

SPITTLE INSECT

Cercopidae, Spittle Insect, Frog Hopper

Bella Coola: "Fly spit," *i.e.*, the material surrounding a nymph of a spittle insect, applied to sores.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

WOODWORMS

Gitksan: Pulverized and applied to cuts.

COPPER

Bella Coola: Fine particles scraped from clean copper (but not from a weathered green surface) placed in sore eyes.

Gitksan: Copper ground, poured into a vessel of cold water, first water poured off, and second water taken internally as a harmless contraceptive.

CHARCOAL

Northern Carrier: Charcoal daubed under the eyes to prevent snow-blindness.

4:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)[95]
NEA Bellacoola NEA

They resolved to make an attempt to burn it and to break upon the door. On the following day they came up to the village, but the guard on the towers used their guns to such good effect that the enemy had to retreat with severe losses. They made still another attempt, but with no better success. They had lost many men, while only two old men of the Tsilx'wis, Tsemkiyeel and A'k'ms by name, and one woman had been hurt. The latter had been killed. When the Kwakiutl turned back a messenger was at once sent up to the lake to call the young men, who then went to Kwa'ltis to ask for help. The Kwakiutl passed close to Bark-Wrinkle's father's canoe, but they were so terrified by the losses they had sustained that they passed by without so much as noticing it. Two of their number were so ashamed of their defeat that they would rather remain in the enemy's country than return with their friends, and they stayed where. Meanwhile the Tsilx'wis and the Bilqula were pursuing the fugitives. They had reached the outlet of Dentrish Arm without overtaking them. Then their chiefs resolved to return, as they believed that their enemies had a long start upon them. Later on they heard that the Kwakiutl were at that moment only a few miles from them, about to continue their homeward journey, after having encamped at the outlet of the channel. Afterwards the Tsilx'wis found the two men who had remained behind. They called them and promised to send them back to their friends, saying that the war had ended, and then they had no grudge against them. The men were, however, too much afraid, and finally starved to death.

Later on the Tsilx'wis and Bilqula organized an expedition against the Kwakiutl to take revenge for the unprovoked attack. A chief named Kwal'ts, whose father was a Tsilx'wis, while his mother was a Kwakiutl, was their leader. They intended to attack the Ts'ewhak and the Kwa'k'wi'lang. When they approached the village of the latter they sent a scouts ahead to search for the village, and to report the number of houses. For two days they were unable to find the village, which lies in a labyrinth of islands; but finally they found it, and saw that it consisted of sixteen houses. On the next morning they attacked it. The tribe was wholly taken by surprise and almost all of them were killed. Kwal'ts's mother lived at this place, and when she heard the Bilqula coming she ashed at once for her son, and was taken care of by him. Only five men and four women escaped. The Bilqula allowed them to run away, as they had killed as many as they desired. Ana'kwlaxa, a chief of the Ewqalt'ish, was the only man of the Bilqula who was wounded. He died on the way home. They returned, but to the country of the Ts'ewhak they were overtaken by four Kwakiutl canoes which pursued them. The Bilqula were victorious, but Kwal'ts induced them to desist. During the fight two of the women, whom they had taken as slaves, and one big pounded overboard, and were rescued by the Kwakiutl.

Massage.

Bells are treated by massageation with dry bark or with gunpowder. Sometimes a series of painful cuts is made over swellings or boils. Fractured bones are set, and fastened between splints of cedar-bark.

Remedies of shark oil or chicken oil are given by means of a baby tube, with a massageation made of the wing bone of an eagle. Snake poison is collected and held on a pillow. Women wear light aprons to prevent

and keep away apparently uninjured. The Bella Coola say that yearling goats have very strong spirits (l. p. 94) which make possible such actions.

Though generally callous with regard to the sufferings of animals, the Bella Coola are usually careful not to kill more than they need, and knowledge of the supernatural power possessed by animals sometimes leads men to treat them with great consideration. For example, if a bull-head is caught in an chicken net in the river, the fisherman throws it back into the water, saying:

"I have saved you; please do the same for me."

The following incident, believed without question by the Bella Coola, shows the manner in which bull-heads help those who have often befriended them. About 1880 a Kitsegukla fisherman, *Mudda-i*, fell into a rapids where he was in great danger of drowning. A bull-head, seeing his plight and mindful of former help, increased his size and showed *Mudda-i* ashore with its tail.

"I have saved you, saved," said the bull-head, as he did so.

The ability to increase in size is not restricted to fish, but is shared by small mammals and reptiles. Lizards, for instance, four feet in length, are said to live permanently in a pond about seven miles below Kitsegukla; they are named gwalic.

Snake, too, are old mortals. If a man see a snake devouring one of them he will, if he is wise, kill the snake and say to the snake:

"Please help me when I am in difficulties."

A snake never forgets its obligations and if that man should [illegible] large enough to drag him forth.

Snakes are regarded with aversion and disgust. This may be in part due to the belief that they suck for *Ahts-tsiid* (l. p. 96), but more because these reptiles enter the stomachs of human beings. The Bella Coola believe that snakes are the offspring of a supernatural Mother of Snakes, a mythical being of dread powers. The following story illustrates their beliefs

Title Overall: B-5 (1952-1953)1943
NEH Deliberate NEH

concerning the danger of near approach to this creature.

Eadale was a man of mixed lineage, Kinnapin and Fox, near Stanton. With several companions he was gathering berries when he stepped into a hole and felt numerous tiny creatures crawling over his legs. Looking down, he saw that they were small snakes, that had just been hatched from a Mother of Snakes. He fled, terrified, pursued by the reptiles, which he managed to keep off to some extent by breaking behind him a branch of spiny creeping greenberry, a known deterrent. When he had ran distanced the snakes he called his companions, told them of his adventure, and returned home. There he reported the tale. Though Eadale did not know it, many of the snakes had succeeded in entering his stomach. Presently he began to swell, his body became larger and larger until he was in danger of bursting. The reptiles within were breeding rapidly. Luckily, one of his fellow villagers knew the proper remedy. A raised bed was made for the sufferer about five feet from the ground where Eadale stretched himself on a number of thorny branches, while his friends built a fire of devil's club and creeping greenberry twigs so that he was fumigated by the smoke. Then, to give greater privacy, they went on the Roman relief clothing and provided either both pads covered with mentioned blood, over this was of no avail, so finally a woman squatted on top a round area of her menstrual blood which Eadale drank. This killed the snakes. The patient began to vomit, emitting a mass of wriggling serpents, and as soon began to grow thinner, now regaining his normal condition. Had he not been able to spot the reptiles, he would have died.

Eadale was not the only one to have this unpleasant experience. Many others have suffered in the same way, but in no case has anyone been able to find the snakes at the actual place or time of entry.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the power possessed by animals are clearly shown by their attitude with regard to killing them. Man is immortal, as are animals. Ayamisin decreed that bears and birds should serve as food for mankind, but it is only their clothing, their mortiform "Shadow of Souls," as the Bella Coola express it, which they give to hunters. In the autumn bears appear to die, but every spring they are reborn. Similarly, when an animal is slain, it merely discards its visible self while its spirit* ascends

*Comments, see vol. 1, p. 36.

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

years ago a chief, when [illegible]ting, sat down to rest. While he 774
sat a slide plunged down the mountain-side and swept away the ground where he would have been if he had not stopped. The Bella Coola know that such a fortunate escape is no accident, as foolish white men believe, but is the result of an active spirit. Sometimes it can convey only symbolic hints of what is to happen. An old Kwakiutl man told how his lower eyelids once became sore and his stomach began to heave. This [827] [787]
occurs with nothing, and he knew that ill-fortune was before him and was not surprised at the death of his son. A thoughtful person pays great attention to indications such as these, knowing that his spirit is always striving to pierce the future and obtain information of him, however indefinite. The importance of the supernatural to the Bella Coola can be judged from the fact that they attribute every action and thought to an element of this nature.

Mentality, soul, though caused by the spirit, is somewhat 774
vaguely regarded as a separate entity. It comprises two parts, 828
one constantly urging good deeds, particularly to activity in ritual matters, the other evil. No one knows the appearance, form, or nature of human mentality. Some of the thoughtful older men believe the opinion that every tree has mentality, whereas others say that it has a spirit. In former times especially, as one was falling, the crowd could occasionally see a dark object somewhat resembling an owl flash away and disappear. Not until then was the tree actually dead. Even the old people do not profess to know anything definite about mentality, which is important only as an attribute of the spirit. In indefinite 774
association with it, [illegible] breath, *sinimis*, provided by *Ai-* [961]
yanim for everyone at birth. The word signifies more than [827]
the mechanical act of breathing, it denotes the actual physical state of being alive, a condition "lent" by *Aiyanim* to mortals. The connection of these two elements with the spirit is unexplained, though their exact relationship is indefinite.

If the spirit moves far from its proper position at the back of the neck, the owner falls ill; if it leaves him, his condition [953] [955]

774 becomes critical. Only a shaman (I, p. 539) can return one, and
755 if he fails death always results. In some cases a spirit leaves
[753] its owner without apparent reason; he becomes insane, tries
[756] to eat dirt, and his relatives realize at once what is the matter. They summon a shaman who takes off his cape, hangs it like a pouch on his stick, and points it in all directions as he sings his shaman's song. Finally he locates what is missing, and traps it in his cloak, which he places around the sick man. This restores the element and the sufferer recovers immediately. Another method is for the shaman to press the back of the patient's neck, and by blowing and spitting cause the wandering spirit to return. Either cure must be performed by a shaman because of the supernatural power required.

774 Spirits can be extracted in various ways. Shamans can draw one forth by sucking at the back of the neck between their cupped hands; in former times, some were so powerful that they could extract them by their mere presence. During
774 *kwiat* dances (II, chap. i), the uninitiated are told that if they
575 enter the house where a ceremony is taking place, or even pass
[535] on the sidewalk outside the door, their spirits will be drawn from them by the power within and attracted to the dancer or to the sacred platform on which he is concealed. Many
[178] stories are told of this, which were firmly believed by the uninitiated until the last few years. Members of the society claim that their great power acts as a magnet to the spirits of all but their associates, except children in arms; the latter can be taken by their mothers into the house, because their supernatural elements have not developed sufficient strength to leave their bodies. A person may also lose his spirit through
774 a sudden shock. If two people meet unexpectedly in the forest and one of them shouts loudly at the other, even if only in fun, the spasmodic contraction of the muscles is enough to expel it.
[761] The person to whom this happens falls down as if dead, and
[756] though he soon recovers, his spirit has left him, and if it is not brought back by a shaman he dies a lingering death.

775 At death, the spirit permanently leaves the body. In some

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below. These are termed tally posts.[*] Each remained upright as long as the individual to whom it referred was alive, but fell at his death. Since that time, whenever *Ałqawtáw* lends to a mortal *sinsnitz*, the undefined power that causes life, his supernatural artisans erect in the land above a tally post for the new-born infant, marked with the bird or animal used by an ancestor. As long as this remains upright and straight, firmly fixed to the ground, its owner continues to be strong and prosperous, and has success in all his undertakings; if it becomes loose, or is crooked, he ceases to succeed. Prosperity does not depend upon the activities of an individual, but upon his supernatural possessions, spirit, tally post, and a third to be described later. If the tally post tilts far from the perpendicular, its owner becomes ill, and can be cured only by straightening it. In some cases *Ałqawtáw* is kind enough to do this if placated by prayer and ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), and in olden days, shamans were occasionally able to penetrate to the land above for this purpose. Even when a post was reached, they were sometimes unable to set it upright, though they could always estimate the length of a man's life from its angle of inclination. In one of the *kwiat* dances, the performer pretends to have the ability to go aloft and the uninitiated are deceived by the erection of a tall ladder up which he climbs and disappears (II, p. 201). On his return, he reports the condition of the tally posts of various people. This performance serves to remind both members of the society and uninitiated of the existence of these supernatural elements, and of the dependence of individuals on them for success in life. In spite of this ritual, actual knowledge of the powers and functions of tally posts has been derived only from the first Bella Coola who, covered in the land above, were acquainted with the mysteries of life and transmitted such lore to their descendants. One old man expressed the opinion

[*] *Kwalkwatsa*. One of the names of *Nuxalk* is, *Kwalkwatsaxáu*, refers to these, meaning, "The Place of the Tally Posts." *Kwalkwatsa* and *kwalkwatsa* are closely associated; sometimes the latter is pronounced *kwalkwa*, although this may be an error in recording.

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THE WASH-BASIN

A third supernatural element which must be in good condition if a Bella Coola is to prosper in life, is a *wa'ulaxte*, wash-basin. In the land above, *Ałqantēm* has a large one filled with water which, having been constructed by himself, is replete with power. When a child is born, a small part of this receptacle, with its contents, is reserved for him; the supernatural artisans choose the actual section, but it is *Ałqantēm* who gives them the ability to do so. A fortunate man, whose ventures are successful and to whom goods are attracted, is said to have a good wash-basin; whereas the ill-luck of an unfortunate person is attributed, among other reasons, to the small size of his supernatural vessel. The Bella Coola have no clear ideas about the connection between an individual and his wash-basin. Some state that it remains in the land above; others believe that its intangible essence comes to a child at birth and grows up with him, always near his body, as if it were the offspring of the basin in the land above. As long as it remains in motion the owner continues in good health and prosperity, but if it becomes sluggish he falls ill. Long ago, shamans knew how to reanimate a wash-basin, but since the time of the first people, when supernatural ability was common, this has been a lost art. Senile decay is attributed to lethargy of this possession.

River water, being a creation of *Ałqantēm*, is akin to the water in his basin above. Boys are always advised to bathe in the river at dawn; the act is termed *ła'ulaxem*, a word connected with *wa'ulaxte*. A prayer is uttered while washing. The combination of verbal appeal and the application of water strengthens the petitioner's wash-basin and so increases his chances for prosperity. Until a few years ago, this practice was almost universal. Water is always considered a strange substance, obviously a supernatural creation, and believed to be the chief means of sustenance for a child after being weaned.*

*This may be a more modern idea.

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975 small particles of food on a fire; these become large when they
982 reach the land below and nourish the ghosts. An individual making an offering of this kind says:

"*Ts-xxkkilimat ts-xxlas*," "This is to make straight your road, beloved one."

[952] The needs and desires of ghosts have been made known to mortals through visits paid by shamans to the land below, and by the coming of ghosts to this world. It is, therefore, realized that food placed on the ground does not reach the [372] land below, but that morsels thrown on a fire sink through into the abode of ghosts. Offerings to the dead are not made [953] with the hope of receiving favours from them, but rather to provide beloved relatives with necessary food and to prevent them from showing displeasure by causing stomach-aches and other ailments.

982 Other instances, both of prayer and of sacrifice, will be recorded in connection with various myths. The salient feature is that the Bella Coola are able to gain, by such means, the favour of supernatural beings, a factor which plays an important part in their daily life. In addition, they have a [944] large number of practices based on sympathetic magic. No absolutely rigid boundary line can be drawn between the latter and religious proper, but there is a fairly clear division between cites such as those just described, in which propitiation is the important element, and others in which the desired end follows the mere performance of a certain act. Customs of this last type will be reserved for later consideration (vol. I, chap. vi).

THE OBSERVANCE OF CEREMONIAL CHASTITY

984 In addition to prayer and sacrifice, the Bella Coola have
985 yet another means of obtaining the goodwill of supernatural beings, and at the same time of strengthening their own supernatural attributes so that good fortune is likely to occur. This is by the practice of certain, ceremonial chastity, of which the basis is that a man must not hold intercourse except after certain periods of continence. To understand this, it is neces-

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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *Tsaxis* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the loosing of his tally pole, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Alquntám* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the more force engendered in a man's body by lengthy abstin-

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(3) The bearing of exceptionally well-behaved children; 614
(4) The bearing of exceptionally naughty children; 827
(5) Disposition to steal;
(6) Uncontrollable sexual desires;
(7) Sudden death, that is, members of certain ancestral families are less apt than others to die of disease or old age;
(8) Death by drowning. One informant, in whose family this is a tendency, has twice been thrown into the water and barely escaped. He fully expects to meet his fate in this manner;
(9) Insanity (not a common malady); [158]
(10) Dribbling at the mouth with increasing age;
(11) Liability to contract the skin disease known as *tofaly*. With regard to the transmission of this disease the surprising information was received that if a relative of a sufferer should drink from the same bucket or use the same spoon as the patient, he is likely to contract the disease, whereas another person can use them with impunity. This statement may be based on a knowledge of germs learnt from the white man, and warped by a belief in inheritable tendencies, although it is amazing that the theory of germs could have reached the elderly Bella Coola. Possibly this statement is a relic of an old belief in the transmissability of disease through contact, but it is more reasonable to ascribe it to white influence. 614 827 753 177

In a later chapter an account is given of certain occupational abilities, including that of carpentry, which must be confirmed and validated by presents. The above are quite different; they are either present or absent without any action on the part of the individual. 614 827

The Village Community

The village community referred to in the preceding section consists, fundamentally, of the descendants, traced in the patrilineal line, of the reputed first settlers to occupy a site. Since a Bella Coola always describes himself as a native of such-and-such a town, it follows that the village community 614 621

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845 alone, and when she leaves it, it dries up immediately. When a year has elapsed, the parents return home with their children and the father resumes the ordinary routine of life. For three years more the mother must remain in the house, leaving it only at night through a hole in the floor. Above all else, she must keep away from the river; she cannot draw water from it, nor can she cut salmon on its bank. One instance is remembered in which the parents of twins failed to observe these restrictions; their legs became swollen and they soon died. In addition to punishment of the offenders in cases such as this, there is danger that if they fail to obey the customary taboos the salmon will be insulted and avoid the Bella Coola River.

[753] [825]

After four years a mother of twins resumes her normal life, but she is henceforth endowed with special powers. If she wishes to see anyone who is absent, she has only to think of the person, and in her dreams she will be able to see him. She must never try to start up a dying fire by blowing upon it, since to do so would cause a gale. When a person sets out on any kind of an expedition from the house in which a mother of twins is living, the latter must chew a little food and spit it out towards the departing guest, otherwise he will fail in his venture.

[778] [787]

845 825 Twins themselves, being akin to salmon, have miraculous ability to see their fish-kinsmen and read their thoughts. Bella Coola mythology contains many stories of the way in which twins could talk with, and change into, salmon. Such knowledge is not limited to tales of the distant past. An elderly Bella Coola described the manner in which her grandmother, a twin related to Sockeye Salmon, was consulted by a man who had been unlucky with his weir. Gazing down into the water, this woman saw that the fish were avoiding his dam because of the charred uprights used in its construction; when these were changed he was successful in his fishing.

845 Twins are believed to possess remarkable ability from earliest childhood, and even to remember incidents occurring

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867 imitation potlatches, but he cannot himself carry out a cere-
556 mony until he has reached manhood.

Puberty Rites

881 The change from childhood to adult age is, of course, more obvious with girls than with boys, and the former alone must observe strict taboos. Menstrual blood, like that which follows delivery, is unclean, especially that emitted at the first discharge. A woman who has just given birth is a *xwsile*; an [714] adolescent girl, a *syuswi*, that is, "A Person Not Fully Tabooed"; the attitude with which the former is regarded is held, in a lesser extent, for the latter.

At the first indication, the girl asks a woman to inform her mother of her condition, and goes home immediately if she happens to be away at the time. Her parents at once make a small enclosure or bedroom of planks or matting in either of the front corners of the house, providing it with a trap-door and ladder by which she can leave without passing through the front door. There the girl must lie for four days, with legs close together and bent at the knees, never stretched out straight. She is not allowed to drink anything, and must eat sparingly; if she should consume much food, she would be greedy when an adult. When necessary for her to leave the enclosure, a woman must always accompany her. Her mother, or some other female relative, provides her with the usual soft cedar-bark pads. On the fifth day, she leaves her shelter early in the morning with one feminine friend and goes to a secluded pool back in the forest, where she washes for the first time. Then she runs rapidly through the woods, which has the effect of making her a strong woman. Should a girl fail to do this, [753] she would be afflicted with an illness caused by the salmon, become blind, and die young.

784 For one year an adolescent girl is subject to many restrictions. Her near approach to the river would affend the salmon
881 and cause them to avoid Bella Coola, so she is not allowed to
[825] draw water, or even to appear on the bank. She may not use

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CAUSES OF DEATH

961 The Bella Coola know that sickness, accident, willful murder, old age, and a host of other factors may at any time terminate a man's life, but they consider that any one of these direct causes is possible only in conjunction with an indirect reason of a religious or supernatural nature; in the last analysis they attribute death to supernatural, not to natural causes. [773] As described in a previous chapter, an ancient myth attributes the origin of death to the stupidity of Raven, but this belief, even if its historical accuracy is accepted, belongs to the realm of philosophy and ancient history rather than to everyday life. 961 When a canoe is capsized on the ocean and its occupants are drowned, — the Bella Coola do not consider a drowning a mere 776 accident — it is because Qwaqwa was hungry and desired human flesh. This indirect reason is quite as important as the direct one. So, too, the death of a man beneath a falling tree or a land-slide is no accident; *Sil-lem* caused the tree to crash to earth or the slide to roll downwards. Most individuals believe that this supernatural being is responsible when an animal kills a hunter. He delights in death and always sits on [754] a coffin before it is taken to the grave, although none but shamans can see him. Any supernatural being can cause death, but it must not be imagined that the Bella Coola go through life in a state of constant fear; death may vanquish them in the forests, but the probabilities are against it. Nor does [753] sickness appear to them as a natural phenomenon. Its cause is either the intrusion of some foreign object into the body, or the weakness of one of the patient's supernatural elements. *The only remedy in the latter case is an appeal to the super-* [755] natural, sometimes through the medium of a shaman, whereas a foreign object in the body can often be extracted by a skilled [756] practitioner. A disease of this type is often brought on by the machinations of a sorcerer, and if death results it is attributed 761 to the potency of his charms, not to a natural ailment. Even [773] shamans are able to cause death. In war, one man may be able [776]

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177 964 squatting, now it is customary to use the extended position. It is impossible to state whether this is the direct result of white teaching, or whether the ease with which large boxes can now be made has led to interment at full length.

RITES FOLLOWING DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

968 Interment of the corpse does not end the ceremonial necessitated by a death in the community. As already described, some of the clothing and utensils of the dead person are burned during the funeral, but all are not destroyed at that time. The proportion kept for future treatment is immaterial, nor is there any established usage concerning the type of object reserved. During the days following the funeral, relatives of the deceased carefully gather his clothing, cooking utensils, rifles, and all other articles which have been his personal property or used exclusively by him. On the fourth day, these are taken to the cemetery by his immediate family, accompanied by as many of their friends as wish to show their sympathy. A fire is kindled near the grave and on it is deposited whatever can be burnt; other objects are either cast into the flames or piled near at hand (see Plate 11). It is most important that every article belonging to the deceased should be disposed of in this way. There are two reasons for this. First, it is considered indecent to use the possessions of a dead person; they would have the effect of poison on anyone doing so. Secondly, the ghost of the deceased receives goods that are burnt or deposited on the grave four days after the funeral. If deprived of what belongs to him, a ghost punishes the offenders by causing sickness. 178 968 Occasionally a new rifle, or some other treasured possession, is kept by a relative or friend; this is contrary to the established custom, but is justified by considering the article to be a gift from the deceased or a memento of him. No one would accept such a legacy unless he felt sure that the dead man

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775 to a ghost, he informs a shaman of the fact and the latter
[756] notifies the relatives of the deceased. If no shaman is convenient, the shade does not hesitate to help himself. Invisible,
264 and armed with a barbed hook, he approaches a person who is
775 eating and pulls away a crumb which falls to the earth. Should the eater stoop to pick this up, the ghost, robbed of his booty,
753 beats the offender with his hook, causing toothache or sometimes a sharp pain in the head or stomach. Other ailments are caused by the ghosts hitting with invisible stones those who have offended them. Consequently, no one picks up a crumb which has fallen, since it is impossible to know whether it has
[827] been an accident or a seizure. Another indication of a ghost's hunger is loss of a tooth. The loser should throw it on a fire
[782] with an invitation to the dead to accept his offering.

The barrier between ghosts and human beings is considered
775 to be little more than a wall of smoke, just too dense for ordinary eyes to penetrate. In early times intercommunication between the denizens of the two worlds was so easy that a doting mother was once allowed to tend her dead child on earth. Unfortunately, the woman's mother one day insisted on holding her grandchild, unaware that he was a ghost. Shocked at his appearance, the old woman dropped the child, much to the anger of the dead people.[*] Ever since that time it has been impossible for human beings to see and talk with
[538] their deceased kinsmen. Like so many Bella Coola stories, it is doubtful whether this one is regarded as more than an item of ancient history; it is considered to be a fact, but it is not one that enters into the daily thoughts of the people.

[824] Ghosts frequently come to their old homes at night where dogs can see them. If one of these animals begins to bark and gazes fixedly at a spot where nothing is to be seen, it is because a wraith is standing there and the dog's owner hopes that it will remain invisible. It is true that some individuals have
[754] received shamanistic power from a ghost, but more often a visitation is disastrous and to be avoided. A dead person often

[*] This story is recorded in detail later (I, p. 577).

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tries to speak to living relatives, but his whistling language is 775
unintelligible and frightens the hearer. Ghosts dislike urine, [789]
and the only means known to keep them away from a house is
to sprinkle this liquid outside the door, a common Bella Coola
custom. There is no actual danger in hearing a ghost, and 761
little even in seeing one, provided the observer does not relate 775
his experience, but should he try to do so, something happens
to his mouth as if an invisible hand had been clamped over it 753
to prevent his words issuing forth. He can neither eat nor
drink and soon dies.* It is possible that other beings are
responsible for this same affliction, but as no sufferer has ever
been able to explain the cause of his ailment, no one knows.
The most dangerous ghost is that of a person who, buried [764]
without a nose-ring, is unable to disintegrate into his elements.
The sight of such an apparition causes almost immediate death
through contraction and closing of the mouth.

An unpleasant habit of ghosts is the throwing of stones at 776
the living. This is done partly from a love of mischief, and
partly to remind their relatives of their needs. An old Kitsa-
quit man described how, when encamped on King Island, he
had almost been struck by a stone which seemed to fall from
a tree. He realized that it must have been thrown by a ghost, [753]
and his opinion was confirmed when he found he could not [755]
speak. He instantly built a fire and cast on it both food and
clothing as offerings to the dead, which had the effect of loosen-
ing his mouth. Pondering on the reason, he remembered that
one of his relatives had died not far away, and that he had
failed to give him any crumbs for a long time. In this case,
as in many others, the stone was visible, though the thrower
remained invisible.

Even near approach to ghosts is sometimes dangerous. The
same man related how, when hunting, he heard what he thought
was the note of a water ouzel, and passed by heedlessly. In a
few minutes he thought he heard the cackling of geese, but the
sound, instead of continuing to come from a pond a few hun-

*The disease attributed to the actions of ghosts may be lock-jaw. [764]

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Supernatural good fortune has also been obtained from the "Mothers" of certain plants. 777

Among the roots that are sought for when a man intends to give a potlatch are those of clover and of *oká*, a grass which grows on flats near the sea. Once the aunt of an elderly (in 1913) Bella Coola woman dug up the Mother of *Oká*, a root, thick as her thumb, but shaped like a woman. Perhaps the reason that she found it was because she was digging in the darkness, after the setting of the sun. The woman, ignorant of the proper procedure, did nothing, with the result that her hands became painfully swollen. If she had wrapped the root in a portion of her used clothing and kept it hidden for one year, without saying anything about her find, it would have brought her supernatural good luck.

824 [556] [559]

Another woman found an elderberry as large as a baseball, and shaped like the mask worn above the forehead by a member of the *nusuk* society. Her father, an old man skilled in such matters, wrapped the berry in his daughter's soiled clothing and kept it carefully hidden in her box. It brought her supernatural good luck because, no matter how much or how often she gave away presents, goods always came to her.

SUPERNATURAL GOOD LUCK FROM STONES

Stones are among the objects from which supernatural good luck can be obtained. A person who has long observed ceremonial chastity may be fortunate enough to hear what seems to be the weeping of a new-born infant, as he passes in his canoe beneath some steep ocean cliff. Then, if he watches, he will see a stone being born from a larger one at the level of the sea. If the observer takes the infant-stone, wraps it in his soiled clothing and stows it among his possessions, it will act as other bringers of supernatural good fortune by luring all kinds of valuables to the owner. In fact, such a stone is said to be so potent that if left in an empty box for some time, it will attract enough skins to fill the receptacle.

777 787 523 [785]

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The Curing of the Sick

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756

When a person is ill one of his relatives comes to request a shaman to cure him.

"I will help the mortal," answers the shaman, as though he were himself a supernatural being.

Indeed he considers himself to be removed from the ranks of ordinary mortals, and refers to the being from whom he has received his power as "comrade." No mention of recompense is made, but the shaman understands that if he succeeds he will be rewarded. Donning his collar of alternate rows of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, he proceeds to the patient's house, usually followed by some of the singers, as well as by anyone else who is interested. He throws himself down beside, or on, the sick person and begins to feel for the sickness. Particularly in the case of stomach or chest trouble this is a difficult matter. The practitioner kneads the flesh, pounds the patient, leaps on him, and pummels him until a spectator wonders that the sufferer survives. The aim throughout is to bring the disease, pictured as a foreign object having material form, towards the surface whence it can be extracted in one of the following ways. [753]

(1) Some shamans of long ago were the possessors of life-sticks, and could cure *merely* by touching the patient with the life-giving end.

(2) In a simple illness the shaman is able to cure by his power alone. After locating the seat of the disease he casts himself on the patient, with head pressed close to the spot where he has located the trouble, and growls and grunts with half-closed lips, ejecting a flow of saliva over the sick person. By so doing he imparts his own power into the sufferer, who at once begins to imitate the chattering and to shake his hands. Then the shaman proceeds to recall this power to himself by scooping it up with half-cupped hands. Endowed as he is, the sickness is harmless to him. No instance is known of a shaman having failed to recall his power, but, theoretically, if he did

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them that might escape. It is the sickness! The din increases; the leader works himself into a frenzy with his rapid gyrations, then he stills the noise as the shaman goes to the door. In dead silence, the more striking in contrast to the previous tumult, he partly opens his hands and puffs against them, as if blowing something out of the door, at the same time calling out, *hsip*. Again the beating of sticks breaks out, again it is stilled, and again the shaman blows forth the sickness. This is done four times. The shaman uses his own discretion whether to send the sickness through the door or the smoke-vent. 755 756 * [535]

A variant of this method is for the functioning shaman to dance during the beating of sticks, before throwing himself on the patient. With chattering teeth and shaking rattle, he revolves sunwise, his free arm bent at the elbow so that his wrist, which he shakes freely, is close to his chin; at intervals he calls out, *ensaiswa*. It is a serious and important proceeding to the Bella Coola, and the effects are considered nullified if a dog barks during the stick-beating. [535]

(4) Some powerful shamans cure by the use of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. A roll made of these two substances is placed among glowing embers until it is itself afire, when the shaman puts it in his mouth. After dancing for some time to the accompaniment of frenzied stick-beating, he hauls forth the bark, still burning, and again puts it in the fire. This is done four times. Then he thrusts the burning bark into the patient's mouth, and leaves it there for some time before pulling it forth. This, too, is repeated four times. When finally drawn forth, it has attracted the sickness, which can then be thrown away by the throwing away of the bark. It seems clear that this must be done by conjuring, but the writer was unable to learn the method employed, and was repeatedly assured that no subterfuge was used. [824] [535]

(5) One illness is caused by a person carelessly stepping on a dead salmon, such as dot the banks of the rivers in the autumn. The fish, indignant, injects a sickness into the offender. [753] [825]

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* 756 called out to him, and then remembered no more. It was
775 obvious that she had seen a ghost.

[787] It is over diseases caused by ghosts that a shaman from the dead has power. If a person picks up and eats any morsels
● 753 which he has dropped he will usually suffer, because, though
* 756 he thinks the crumbs have fallen, they have really been pulled
775 from his hands by a hungry ghost, who thus showed his desire for food. By picking up and eating the fragments, the man
[264] thwarts a dead person who retaliates by forcing some sickness into him. Ghosts may visit this land of the living and ask their relatives for food or clothing, but mortals, unable to hear the speech of the dead, are unaware of the requests of their deceased relatives, and so do not answer them. The irritated ghosts respond by causing sickness. In such cases a shaman
755 from the dead is able to suck out the cause of the ill, and some-
* 756 times to display it as a bone, twig, or other small object and at the same time to tell the sufferer what it was that his relatives desired. Like ordinary shamans, a shaman from the dead uses his own discretion whether or not to employ the violent beating of sticks, and like his fellow-practitioner re-
[465] ceives payment from those whom he has helped. There are no fixed charges, but a successful shaman is always wealthy.

* 756 The intimate contact of ghosts with shamans has already
787 been mentioned in connection with the ability of the latter to learn from the ghost of a murdered person whom he believes
694 to be his slayer.

There is one method of sacrificial curing practised by
755 shamans from the dead alone. If the sickness refuses to yield
* 756 to ordinary methods, the practitioner makes ten cedar-bark
782 vessels, fills these with grease and places them near the fire, one between it and the door, one on the inner side, and four on either side of it, parallel to the side walls of the house. By each vessel are placed two small wooden figures, roughly carved to represent men, and decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark. After endeavouring to suck forth the disease, with or without the assistance of the frenzied beating of sticks, the

1) McDowell E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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in a kind of a cave. He here unties the rope, dives into the water and out through a narrow passage to the open fiord where he is picked up by a waiting canoe. 778 755

If he is to recover, he feels as he dives the scraping of some rough-skinned animal against his side. No one knows what this is, perhaps a fish about seventy yards in length which was seen near the place about 1905. If a person is too ill to make the dive unaided, a stick is forced through the entrance from the fiord, with a rope attached. The patient, who has been lowered to the ledge from the upper air, is then tied firmly to the stick and hauled out. Before leaving, shreds of his clothing are always left at the mouth of the cave in payment to its supernatural occupant for his assistance. [757]

The method of curing at the spot, *Ałkwaxa*, differs from those previously described since it is only the man whose repository (II, p. 8) is there who is able to exercise the power. Patients whose flesh has become rotten are carried to the place and he scrubs their bodies, in the water, with various prickly bushes. This man is not a shaman, his power rests solely on the fact that this curing place is his repository. [756]

At *ɛxpaław* the virulent skin disease *łłokły* can be cured.* This is caused by a worm of colour salmon or fern root passing from the mouth up into the head, instead of down into the stomach. The Bella Coola have only slight knowledge of anatomy, and by "head" probably mean the passage connecting mouth and nose. In this spot the food becomes a frog egg, hatches into a tadpole, and finally transforms into a frog. If a shaman is called on immediately, he can remove the frog by thrusting his finger up the nasal passage and hanging down on the patient's head, but if he delays, the eye and nose become clogged, the hair falls, and the flesh on arms and body wastes away until the skin is shrivelled. Then the only hope is to visit *ɛxpaław*. [753] [754] [755] [756]

Friends of the sufferer carry him to the spot and place him in an ice cavern, roofed by the glacier itself, and then retire to

*On his earlier images it can be treated elsewhere.

#534
#787
777

mitaqan lying on the stones at the bottom of the river. Realizing his danger, he swiftly hurled the pole on to the shore beneath a huge cedar where no rain could penetrate. There it remained for twenty or thirty years until it had become covered with moss.

One day two sisters chanced to pass that way and the younger wished to gather some of the moss, but the elder, who apparently secretled with what the pole had been in contact, was afraid and tried to dissuade her. The handsome girl picked some of the moss, and threw it towards her elder sister, saying:

"Pshaw! It is nothing."

The moss struck her, and the elder girl, now thoroughly frightened, was determined that if any ill results were to follow, her younger sister should likewise suffer from them. So she, too, gathered some of the moss and threw it on the first picker. Nothing happened until they had gone home and down now to the fire when both began to swell. They told what had befallen them, but it was too late to apply any remedy and both continued to expand until their stomachs burst and they died.*

THE *MITAQAN* THAT WAS CAUGHT IN A NET

Between 1868 and 1870, a young man, related to the Bella Coola from whom this account was obtained, was visiting salmon near Tsawatl. He had caught all that he needed but decided to make one more haul. As he did so, he saw in the water a giant toad with enormous shining eyes and white feet. It was a mitaqan. The boat covered the net which sank under its weight. The terrified fisherman plucked up enough courage to haul in his net, and found that the toad had turned to a stone, the surface of which was covered with grass. He placed it on top of his salmon and went home to summon the people of his own and neighboring villages to view the wonder. There were ancient traditions about such beasts having been caught in nets, but this was the first time that such a marvel had ever been seen by any of the eager crowd that thronged the bank. A very old man, well-informed in such matters, now appeared and warned the people to keep away from the space between the stone and the river. He cautioned that they should see the whole beast turned in, carrying into the water, stones, the pile of freshly landed salmon, and the mysterious stone. The old man had heard of a similar occurrence, and his knowledge saved the lives of the onlookers.

[759]
[766]

*The usual explanation given for the bursting of the stomach is that some of the fire from the smoke has entered the victim's body, and there increased on coming close to a flame. It results in the early stages of swelling is said to be the coming of an unwelcomed stalkers dark.

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

For Fractures

An effort is made to straighten the limb and to place the ends of the broken bone together in their proper position. If there is considerable swelling, an incision is made to let blood escape. Hemlock gum is applied freely to the whole region to soften the wound and hold the splints in position. This prevents the sun, if one has been made, and is believed to facilitate the knitting process. Any small sticks are used for splints.

CONDITIONS FOR SUPERNATURAL CAUSES OF DISTURBANCES OR DISEASE DEFINED

Persons suffering from diseases or accidents of the types described in the previous section are not the only ones whom the Bella Coola consider to be sick. A girl at puberty, a mother who has just given birth, a man or woman whose consort has just died, has been placed in a peculiar relation to the supernatural and is in a condition identical to that of one suffering from a disease. The ritual acts prescribed at these crises of life are medicines, just as truly as are herbal potions or a curative ceremony. In fact, anyone who has been in close touch with the supernatural is in a critical condition and must act circumspectly, the reason for the taboos observed by diseases.

Hunters particularly, and others who are likely to come in contact with supernatural beings, employ a number of conditions to protect themselves or to alleviate the dangers to which they have been exposed. As already described, the main potency of these are articles which have been rendered essentially human by contact with the body. For example, an evil supernatural being such as the Wise-Party of the Tribe can be kept at a distance by wearing soiled clothing upon a fire. Even more powerful are soiled cedar-bark menstrual napkins. It is remembered that when a Bella Bella lad was treated with a gall so that he could see beneath the ocean, his friends became so alarmed at his tremendous ability that they destroyed it by throwing pads of this kind on a fire built beneath the bed on which he was sleeping. The basis of this medicine is the belief

[illegible] [illegible] as two figurines prepared to cause love has been described.

[illegible] In addition to these non-specialized medicines, the Bella Coola are acquainted with remedies for several specific ailments caused by supernatural beings. One of them, to cure a person in whose head a toad was formed, has already been described.

To Prevent Blindness

[illegible] Loss of sight is caused by a bee flying into a man's face, or by a raven's droppings falling upon him as he looks upward. After either accident, rub a feather from any bird in a raven's liver and draw it across the eyes. The person practising this cure must remain continent for one year or blindness will result.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Leg

If a man puts his foot in a hole so that he crumbles and falls, he will lose the use of that leg unless he counteracts the danger by placing a small stick upright in the cavity. In the summer of 1900 the writer noticed an old Bella Coola, with whom he was walking in the woods, break off a branch about two feet in length and place it in a hole where he had crumbled. He could give no explanation for his act, except that failure would cause him to lose the use of that leg.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Foot

If a person should happen to set his bare foot upon a dead wolf, he will lose the use of his lower limbs. The accident to this has been forgotten within recent years, and patients are merely treated by shamans.

To Prevent the Revenge of a Ghost

[illegible] The ghost of a murdered person usually tries to avenge himself on his killer, who can protect himself by obtaining a small piece from the body or clothing of his victim, a tuft of hair, a shred of cloth, or even a piece of earth from above his

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phases of activity, having here only certain rules about diet and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe. 784

THE TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN

212

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would derange the menstrual and cause profuse growth of hair. 562

Women of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do so would cause a difficult delivery. [841] 806

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat smoked salmon until the sticks have been removed which hold it in front of the fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded. [844] [849]

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

204

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is necessary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when nearing the hunting or fishing-ground. [206] [264]

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain-goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When it sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a reason of the Carrion as well as of the Bella Coola. [191]

When a hunter is carving up a bear, he must be careful not to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness. [825] [755]

When a hunter kills a bear he must place either the skull or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the man removes only an eye, places it in a scoubed stick and set this under an over- [752]

Sukaxtar and back X's call in the usual manner. Then, two by two, the masks are cast on to the fire and the ceremonial is over.

THE DANCE OF THE TALLY POSTS

As previously described, a tally post is erected in the land above for every Bella Coola at birth. As long as this memorial is upright and firm, the individual to whom it refers enjoys health and prosperity, but if it becomes crooked he falls ill. The uninitiated believe that several *Sukaxtar* have the prerogative of climbing to the land above during the ceremonial season and straightening leaning tally posts. This is such a useful ability that it must have exercised great influence on the uninitiated in early days, but the rite has not been properly carried out since the smallpox epidemic in the last century. The following account was obtained from two old men who remembered the manner in which a certain *Qoikaf* of *Tsimsil* performed a year or two before "The Great Sickness." Neither of the informants was a *Sucar* at the time, but they were able to supplement their recollections of the dance with what they afterwards learnt when initiated, so the following account is probably accurate in outline though deficient in detail. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X, and describe the ceremony in the present tense. It was also performed at Kimsquit many years ago.

The rite resembles *Sucrum* dances in many respects. X must obtain the consent of the masks during the preceding summer, and their permission is refused unless the prospective dancer is a man of proved discretion. If they agree, X asks a number of *Sukaxtar* women to help him by making a very long and strong rope of nettle fibre. At intervals the work-women gather for the purpose in the back-room of X's house, taking care that no uninitiated see what they are doing. Every effort is made to ensure that there is no flaw in the rope as a break would be a serious matter, punishable by death.

Near the winter solstice the masks choose a suitable time

(a) Recorded on song 512 (b 11), National Museum of Canada; source, Joshua Johnson, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and successor, entered by Pat'a Charlie and Jonathan Jones.

(b) In many of Pat'a's successors had been deemed that he considered such a loss to be an inheritable tendency and reserved accordingly. This song was composed for a memorial potlatch held after the drowning of three of his sons.

(c) Jim means, literally, the successive rising of the sun from day to day; in his therefore, the significance of. The span of life is shortening.

(d) This and explains the usual swallow chorus.

(e) Raven. This is one of the rarely used chief's names.

(f) The reference is to an incident related about Raven in the beginning of time. He made, and gave life to a son who was the chief par and delight. Afterward he wondered what the creature might be and sent down one of his sons. The supernatural lands to save him. Raven, ignorant of the reason for his son's loss and with no idea that he was being carefully guarded, was absolutely disconsolate. The myth is recorded in vol. 2, p. 40.

Inverted Tunes

In contrast to the carefully prepared and logically worded mourning songs, many of those used by shamans are extremely incoherent. This is natural in view of the belief, already described, that the words and tune are given to a sick person at the time that he is cured. Those who recover from an illness are convinced that they must have received a supernatural visitation, and at once begin to ponder on the song brought to them at that time. A person of imaginative temperament easily persuades himself that the words which begin to form in his mind were actually brought by an agent, and, having thus deluded himself, it is easy for him to convince others. The coherence of the text thus depends upon the ability of the patient, a factor which explains the extreme lack of skill in many compositions. The examples here given are, perhaps, unusually complex.

[illegible] (Pantomimic), a Tsimpsian Shamaness

1. [illegible]	[illegible]
In the beginning	the life-giving power(?) was made,
[illegible]	[illegible]
that is what we have given	within [illegible].

[illegible] (?).

*538
786

B [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
They(f) sang | over my ends heard(f), | they all worked over

[illegible]
my dancer's power(f).

[illegible]

C [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Because upon | the place of dancer's power(f), | there I am

[illegible]
[illegible]

(a) This song received his name and his ability to cure the sick from [illegible] a place [illegible]. He was very ill, apparently on the point of death, at the time of his initiation.

(b) Recorded as song 1(f) D the, National Museum of Canada, singer, [illegible]

(c) The first part is sung as if supernatural beings were speaking.

(d) The reference is to the healing ability granted to dancers who have demonstrated their overall ability actually (f).

[1158]
[1176]

(e) Thus to Human beings. It is believed that a person can be cured only if [illegible] or some other supernatural being implant within the patient's body some of the healing power.

(f) The two dancers of this song have different names, an unusual feature.

(g) Referring to supernatural beings, the part of the song is sung as if [illegible] were speaking, and describing the time by two night a dancer.

(h) Reference to the ends there shows that [illegible] had the ability to cure the sick.

(i) The dancer is sung as if supernatural beings had visited and bowded over the power which they ultimately sent down.

(j) The reference to to Thunder-a which, as the home of supernatural beings, is unmentioned, the place from which comes a dancer's power. When [illegible] was on the point of death, it seemed to him that he also spoke where him as that he was able to give upon those spirits there. He noticed the supernatural were [illegible] where he was lost, and good with you as the dispersion of [illegible] to [illegible] time.

[35]

Song Used by [illegible], a Bella Coola [illegible]

[195]

D [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
It moved up each down, | [illegible](f) | when they(f) sang | of [illegible].

[illegible]

E [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
They(f) placed eagle down, | within the ends heard(g) | when I sang(h),

[illegible]
he(f) pulled me forth.

[illegible]

APPENDIX D

377 192*

[illegible]: Something long sought for on account of its reported desirability, such as undiscovered wealth.

[illegible] [354]

[illegible]: Small letters concealed within the back cover.

[illegible]: One of the few men in uniform in Kitsapit in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Drawn on a pedestal.

[illegible]: "The Sickness". Name assumed by Gaunes in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: "Who Has Been Stolen Off". Name applied to present distributed when a woman has been carried through the mail. The implication is that they are that stolen from the Empire of the document. [491] [744]

[illegible]:
1. The supreme gift.
2. One of the few men in uniform on the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
3. One of the few men in uniform on the upper Kitsapit in the beginning of time.
4. Full of a Dove repository.

[illegible]:
1. Mountain on the north side of the lower Bella Coola.
2. Name assumed for one of the few uniform on Gualet in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Old people, especially persons who in a polite way for direct address. [471]

[illegible]: Supernatural priests who made appeared in the beginning of time. [374]

[illegible]: Powers given to children the initiation of a Kwakiutl. [231]

[illegible]: Ancient name of a Bella Coola woman. [231]

[illegible]: Professional musicians. [643]

[illegible]: Professional dancers or marriages.

[illegible]: Professional hunters.

[illegible]: Professional warriors.

[illegible]: Kitsapit Adventure Bring in the last century.

[illegible]: Chiefs are.

[illegible]: Unknown Gaunes appointed to an inferior away.

[illegible] [401]

[illegible]: Repository of a Kitsapit Classified when name are offered.

[illegible]: Professional warrior. [643]

[illegible]: Professional river guardy.

[illegible]: Ancients and world of the Kitsapit River.

[illegible]: Shaman.

[illegible]:
1. Starting of those who have given polyandry.
2. Unidentified Gaunes and in inward only slightly. [753]

[illegible]: Sayings appearing in those who are being adopting and in associate themselves with the world's health in the Inward connections of a marriage.

[illegible]: Name applied to the supernatural artisans with reference to their construction of everything used for weaving.

[illegible]: "Chief-Creator". Name applied to the supernatural being Kitsapit with reference to the Kitsapit invisibility.

[illegible]: "The Highest of All Chief-Gaun". Name of Gaunes's son in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: "Falling Into Fire". Name assumed by a Gaunes's son long ago.

[illegible]: "The Bad-Maker". Name applied to a Kitsapit son long ago.

[illegible]: One who has received a consolation for sequence made in preparation for a potlatch. [643]

By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether he and a person or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swooms it is believed that his soul has been away without leaving its shell. The diseases have its hovering wings which give a sound like those of a mosquito. Do any watch and replace it in the nape of the person. If the soul leaves the body without leaving its shell the person becomes crazy.

774
756
[828]
[753]
[828]

The art of divination is bestowed by God. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying as it has been among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a diviner will fall ill, and, during his illness, God will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. When this he is able to cure. Should a person falsely pretend to have received the gift of divination, and wish to work out diseases from a patient, he will fall ill himself.

956
[776]

When which were clearly shown the various differences between the method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes he subsequent said: "When an [illegible] wishes to become a diviner he must go to the ancestors whom the deity of their diseases resides (probably [illegible]) who will initiate him. Do Dingiki are others the are to work a song."

[171]

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The diseases is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft somewhat similar to the "ab" of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 116), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, preferably worked by perspiration being considered especially effective. When he is obtained a wall is built, and the clothing is put into the mouth, which is then tied up. When the wall is placed in a box. This procedure is called [illegible]. Sometimes the clothing or even hair is included in the form of a wall or of a head gear. The diseases are considered these diseases.

753
755
759
[826]

If a person has been bewitched and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the witchcraft's neck will become swollen and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If such is placing in the corpse's eyes and the life passes over to the witchcraft will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrows, or another weapon, in which case of the blood adhering, the latter is brought into contact with a witch's head, they feel, or anything else that is left and then throws into the fire or put into a fire in witch's mouth, then the witchcraft will die.

682
759
[828]

I will have a live witch's [illegible]

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about me.

Right shoulder of the sick indicates men, left shoulder good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky, of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry.

827
[777]
835
763
777

If a big [illegible] and lands to be sharp he cross will die.

The twitching of a [illegible] without an apparent cause is unlucky.

Wives.

When a man gently was expected the machine did not [illegible] quite [illegible], but they put on handkerchiefs of white cotton [illegible] and [illegible]

736
719

[illegible] and sometimes to 'the ki'ran. The following song belongs to the week end dance :—

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

here to get the firewood. This opening is called [illegible], that is, "a mouth kept open by means of a wedge." [illegible] spoke: "The sky shall not have spots. This wedge shall keep its mouth open." The following [illegible] songs refers to these deities:—

> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
>
> ("My child protect the sky, my child!
> [illegible] of the sky, my child!
> [illegible] sky, my child!
> [illegible] of the sky, my child!")

[illegible]

The world is called [illegible], or [illegible], that is, "the land below." It is an island connecting to the boundless ocean. In the [illegible] a ghost is sitting with legs apart, who is called [illegible]. He holds a long stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar by means of very strong ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake; and the Bella Coola say, "[illegible]," that is, "he takes hold of our world." When he moves our earth backward, we have spring-tides. When he moves it outward, all rivers disappear.

In the ocean lives a being called [illegible], who never sees the sun; he sees the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the [illegible] ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various levels of the sea.

The world below or in the country of the ghosts ([illegible]) is called [illegible]. Descriptions of the ghost country are principally obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the south banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with sharp stones. Where it is summer here, it is winter there. Where it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their heads. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls on reaching the lower world receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform

thus been done about seventy years earlier. It appears that attempts were commonly made to kill chiefs by means of sympathetic magic, and it is quite possible that such attempts, becoming known, preyed upon the minds of the victims to such an extent that death resulted.

WEALTH

Since wealth is so important in chieftainship, it would be desirable at this point to consider the concepts of wealth. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a satisfactory treatment of this subject. The coming of the white man altered the economic aspects of Bella Coola life so radically, and at such an early period, that concrete examples of economic investigations, so useful in a thorough study, could not be obtained in the field. It is possible that greater attention to this subject might have produced more satisfactory results, but I am doubtful of this.

In the old days, "wealth" was of two categories: (a) Possessions, tangible or intangible, which could be shown, personally or dramatically, or could be expounded in words, and (b) Goods which could be distributed for validating such possessions. Individual possessions, unrelated for distribution, were hardly considered as wealth; a sewing-machine, a bottle of whiskey, a bed, or some other luxury might give satisfaction to the owner, but did not increase his importance in the eyes of his fellows. The value of objects was only for their use in ceremonial distribution; indeed, prior to such distribution, they were only of potential value. This attitude controlled Bella Coola economics in the early days of contact, and still influences their behaviour. A native storekeeper was carefully commented on the fact that he would gain no advantage from the goods on his shelves, since he hoped merely to sell them, not to give them away.

A man's relatives were expected to help him in the acquisition of goods, but the extent of their contributions was never

of his village, hence they will not feel it incumbent upon them to intervene. But news travels, and in course of time the armed members of some other tribe will decide to send a raiding party against X's village. All informants agreed most emphatically that this custom prevailed among the coast people from the Trinidian country to Siara Bay, but specific examples could not be obtained. The Bulu Cooks regard such a raid as the proper course to pursue, and belligerent tribes may have used as irregularity in the potlatch rites as an excuse for an assault. It is clear, however, that this custom never attained such prominence that it could be called a law.

The following is an instance of the Bulu Cooks outlook on the question:

The father of an informant had had such success in giving potlatches that his neighbours were jealous. On one occasion he prepared a representation of a whale, an elaborate wooden frame, fifteen feet long, covered by mats crowded within and carrying passengers. (He was a figure which covered ten his assumed worth. One of the carpenters who made it, bribed by a jealous rival of the donor of the potlatch, arranged that the frame just of the whale should fall on the floor during the proceedings. This revealed the mechanism of the structure. While influence on the coast prevented an invasion of foreign raiders, but according to the informant, the chief determined that his father should die, and then employed a sorcerer for this purpose. His father and three other relatives died soon afterwards. This man, the sole survivor, ascribes his escape to the adoption of Christianity.

Another instance of the jealousy which follows events to potlatch rivalry occurred a few years ago, when a number of young men said the cross shaped whether quietly, as if they had been seen. The presence of the white man prevented any open steps towards punishment, but before long all the youths died. No one knows what caused their deaths, though probably they were due to an appeal to black magic acting on the instructions of a native sorcerer.

After the prayer, X and his family give more food to their guests, whose boats containing what they are to carry away are increasing in number. By his hospitality, X increases his prestige in the eyes of his fellow-villagers.

If he can afford to build a new house embodying the form

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701 difficult to estimate the former influence of such warriors. The belief of all in their ability must have given them some prestige, although the requirements of practical qualifications in fighting must often have prevented them from functioning as military leaders. In other words, a man may be, socially, a warrior, even though he lacks ability as a fighting man.

701 The functions of warriors are not limited to fighting with
693 enemies of other tribes. Each has the power to kill and must
exercise it when requested. If a mistake is made in a cere-
[688] monial *kwiat* dance, the offender must be killed, and one way
in which this is accomplished is by the senior members of the
[575] society requesting a professional warrior to act as executioner.
[428] One of these men, who lived at *Ada-do-i*, always used a stone
club which had been handed down from generation to gene-
[411] ration, becoming the property of each new incumbent of the
name and prerogatives. In other cases, the killing is said to
[754] have been done with the aid of magic. The power of the
Ada-do-i warrior had been confirmed with so much goods
that he was the most powerful professional killer known to the
Bella Coola. He acted on instructions from the senior mem-
bers of the *kwiat* society or when called upon by anyone. If,
[684] for example, a man found that his wife had been faithless and
wished to kill her lover, it was only necessary to call the pro-
fessional warrior, who was bound to act in accordance with
his prerogative. He received no pay, since he was merely
[682] exercising his right. The relatives of the murdered person
never took revenge on the slayer, realizing that he was pow-
less in the matter, though they frequently requested him to
slay the person who had asked him to kill the first victim.
He could never refuse to do so, even if the victim were his own
brother, or if he knew that the person he was to kill was guil-
less. The underlying principle was that this man's power had
been increased to such a pitch by the distribution of presents
[761] that if he failed to exercise it on demand, it would react upon
himself and cause his own death. This *Ada-do-i* warrior
began in time to have an aversion for his vocation, since he

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CHAPTER VIII

DEATH

Death Rites—Memorial Rites—Fate of the Dead

Death Rites

DEATH is marked by even more complicated and prolonged rites than marriage. Like so many primitive peoples, the Bella Coola not only carry out elaborate rituals soon after the actual decease, but hold lengthy commemorative and mourning ceremonials in later years. As these require the co-operation of a large number of people, the death of an individual affects a wider circle than his own relatives, and the celebrations have, therefore, an important social as well as religious significance. 76 796 [182]

OMENS OF DEATH

It is not surprising that the Bella Coola, believing in the omnipresence of the supernatural, should consider various peculiar occurrences to be omens of death. One of the simplest of these is to hear the falling of a tree when there is neither wind nor other reason to account for it. Such a fall is audible only to the person whom it warns of approaching death, either to himself or to one of his relatives. A number of men may be in the forest together, when one of them hears the crash of a tree and notices that his companions are unaware of it; he realizes that this is an omen and protects himself by calling out: 763

"Let this evil reach against whoever has been plotting evil against me."

The basis of this custom is the belief that someone has been practising black magic against the hearer, who, by this answer, is able to cause the sorcery to recoil upon the malefactor. Even more dangerous than to hear a falling tree, is to have one crash [754] [824]

Libb:Dwyer:Ch. E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NES

CAUSES OF DEATH

961 The Bella Coola know that sickness, accident, willful murder, old age, and a host of other factors may at any time terminate a man's life, but they consider that any one of these direct causes is possible only in conjunction with an indirect reason of a religious or supernatural nature; in the last analysis they attribute death to supernatural, not to natural causes. As described in a previous chapter, an ancient myth attributes [778] the origin of death to the stupidity of Raven, but this belief, even if its historical accuracy is accepted, belongs to the realm of philosophy and ancient history rather than to everyday life. When a canoe is capsized on the ocean and its occupants are 961 drowned,—the Bella Coola do not consider a drowning a mere 776 accident—it is because *Sisnaqua* was hungry and desired human flesh. This indirect reason is quite as important as the direct one. So, too, the death of a man beneath a falling tree or a land-slide is no accident; *Sisnaqua* caused the tree to crush to earth or the slide to roll downwards. Most individuals believe that this supernatural being is responsible when an animal kills a hunter. He delights in death and always sits on [754] a coffin before it is taken to the grave, although none but shamans can see him. Any supernatural being can cause death, but it must not be imagined that the Bella Coola go through life in a state of constant fear; death may vanquish them in the forests, but the probabilities are against it. Nor does 753 sickness appear to them as a natural phenomenon. Its cause is either the intrusion of some foreign object into the body, or the weakness of one of the patient's supernatural elements. The only remedy in the latter case is an appeal to the super- [755] natural, sometimes through the medium of a shaman, whereas a foreign object in the body can often be extracted by a skilled [754] practitioner. A disease of this type is often brought on by the machinations of a sorcerer, and if death results it is attributed 761 to the potency of his charms, not to a natural ailment. Even [779] shamans are able to cause death. In war, one man may be able [776]

1:Mc:Dewelth E-5 (1922-1924)1945
NE4 Bellacoola NE4

dance again in eight years. Four years later, one of his fellow- 778
villagers offered him five skins for the one which he had used, 539
and, when this was declined, the number was raised to ten, then to fifteen, and finally to twenty new bear-skins. As there was no particular value in the mantle itself, the owner became suspicious and asked advice from his mother who admonished him not to sell, in view of the time when he would want it. Accordingly, he did not accept the offer, but when it was increased to twenty-five skins he did so. He did not know that the purchaser's desire for it was to enable him to injure the seller by magic through the acquisition of this personal possession. [754]

The sale took place in April, and the following December 778
the former owner became crippled with a disease which so 755
weakened his back that he could hardly raise himself from 539
the ground. When the sickness had lasted for one year, his 787
friends carried him away to the Hot Springs on Lakeachere Channel.

It was known that if a patient were left night and day in the spring, scrubbing himself with hemlock boughs, he often was given such power by a supernatural being that, like a shaman of old, he could kill or cure by means of a stick. Many of this man's relatives had been killed by rivals envious of their success in giving potlatches, so it was feared that he might wish to retaliate if he gained too much power. To prevent this, he was removed from the spring at night. On the first day as he lay on a mat in the warm water, there appeared on a flat stone a diminutive man, about two feet tall, resembling a Bella Coola except for a short tail. It was probably a *tâqwal ts*, such as his first ancestor had obtained (I, p. 688). The little creature ran around the stone; when it returned to the starting point it stopped and was joined by a second one of the same kind. The two circled the stone three times, on each occasion stopping at the starting point; they then vanished. The next day while the patient lay in the stream he heard from within the mountain four beats of a drum and a sound as if a large number of people were talking and calling together, though he [796]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

757 the science of medicine. The Bella Coola are familiar with
789 many acts which cause definite results. To place a new-born
girl in contact with the representation of a beautiful woman
[856] so that she may grow up to be like her, seems false science,
[752] magic, to the white man; whereas the application of splints
and gum to a fractured limb is a medical treatment, crude
perhaps, but definitely scientific. The two are identical to the
Bella Coola. They do not ask *why* or *how* a result follows,
they merely know that it *does*. Such lore has been handed
down from time immemorial; it is steeped in the sanctity of
antiquity and hallowed by the knowledge that their ancestors
have done the same for generations. All such acts may be
described as "medicines," for so they appear to those who
practise them. To separate them into magical and scientific
categories would misrepresent the native point of view; the
only division that can be made is between those that cause,
and those that prevent or cure. Even in this there is some
overlap. A medicine that cures a child from crying likewise
causes him to be placid and amiable; so, too, medicines of a
preventive nature comprise elements of both types. The prin-
ciple governing most of these is sympathetic magic, a concept
which, if put in words to the Bella Coola, would be regarded as
logical and scientific. The second important class of medi-
[755] cines consists of objects, either herbal or derived from the
human body, which are believed to have such abundant power
that they are effective against ailments of supernatural origin,
or against supernatural beings themselves. Some of these have
already been mentioned in connection with the attitude of
the Bella Coola towards these beings of the earth, sky,
and water.

● 754 Most curative medicines are used by the practitioner on
himself; most causative, on someone else. The latter are either
755 social or anti-social, depending upon whether the result is
789 benevolent or malevolent. Shamans frequently use magical
means in curing the sick and are highly regarded by the com-
munity, but medicines of the same kind may be used to kill

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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and those who have knowledge of them are sorcerers. Even a man of this kind is not outside the pale of society unless he practises indiscriminately; members of the *kusiut* society, for example, frequently employ one to kill an individual who has offended against their regulations (I, p. 740). A man is regarded as a sorcerer not on account of his knowledge but on account of the ends to which he applies it.

Closely related to, if not identical with, the belief that certain consequences follow certain acts, is the conviction that the infraction of ritual prohibitions brings disaster. There are many such taboos, for so they may be called. Though most important at the critical periods of life, puberty, pregnancy, while observing ceremonial chastity, and so forth, there are many which must be obeyed at all times.

Restrictions pertaining to the river and regulations at birth and death have already been described. Like magical acts, these often verge on the religious owing to the belief that disregard offends supernatural beings. On the whole, however, it seems as if most infractions bring their own punishment without intervention of higher powers, a concept which throws taboos into the category of magic rather than of religion, with the ever-present proviso that the two cannot be separated entirely from one another. With them may be associated a number of ritual acts connected with fishing and hunting in which, though the element of propitiation is not absent, it is satisfied by the performance of definite rites. Finally, there have been included in this chapter a number of unimportant beliefs, the psychology of which cannot be analysed.

What is the basis of these rites defined as Medicine, Magic, and Taboo? As already described, the Bella Coola either do not explain their origin and function, or merely state that *Ałquntăm* is responsible, as he is for every activity of life. This is unsatisfactory because many which, viewed scientifically, have neither curative nor causative power, produce the desired end. A child who has been "made" a carpenter during infancy, usually grows up to be proficient in that profession; the person

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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men had vanished. It is possible that in this particular case there was a belief that *Alquntów* granted the wish when convinced that all had the same desire, but this element is often entirely lacking.

Belief in the power of thought is a concept which the investigator constantly meets in Bella Coola at the present day. For example, in 1921 a government official working in the valley, purchased a representation of a merganser which had been used in a ceremonial.[9] Although this should have been destroyed after use, no difficulty would have been raised if the transaction had remained a secret. Unfortunately, the buyer allowed the object to be seen by several Bella Coola and by some Carriers. This caused indignation throughout the community and news of it reached the Bella Bella, who concluded that the vendor would suffer disaster for allowing a secret object to be seen by the despised Indians of the interior. Within a year, his wife died. The Bella Bella believed that his sin had brought its own punishment, but the Bella Coola, who knew the details of the sale and did not consider the exposure of the article to have been the fault of the seller, attributed it to the power of the thoughts of the Bella Bella. They all expected that he would be punished; therefore he was punished; the expectation was sufficient to effect its own fulfilment. This incident was too fresh in the minds of several men to allow them to sell ceremonial objects to the writer.

The most common form taken by this conviction is with regard to death; if it is believed that a man will die, he is almost certain to do so. In June, 1922, a woman died in Bella Coola and her father claimed that she had been murdered by a certain man either with material poison or by magical means. He took no direct steps in revenge but stated emphatically that the man whom he suspected would die within a year. The threatened man knew of this, and more than once said that he

[9]The article, now in the National Museum of Canada, consists of a cloth and wood representation of a merganser canoe such as was used by *Nuxtáls* in the beginning of time.

759 would probably fall a victim. He became ill in May, 1923,
761 and, though treated by a white doctor, grew steadily worse
789 until he died in the latter part of June, three weeks after the
828 year had elapsed. All the Bella Coola firmly believe that this
[622] was due to the power of thought. The father of the woman was a powerful chief whose thoughts were accordingly potent, and some consider that his concentrated desires and expectations were enough to kill the accused, while others believe that his expressed statements convinced others of the result, and that it was their combined thought that caused the death. It usually requires the thoughts of more than one individual to lead to this effect. The doctor who attended this man stated that his patient had shown symptoms of melancholy and resignation during his last sickness; it seems clear that the expectation of death must have lessened his chance of recovery.

771 A prominent theme in Bella Coola folk-lore is the belief
954 that a person cannot long survive who has made himself unpopular. It is sometimes stated that a magical means was
828 employed to remove him, and this was no doubt often the case;
[536] a person who learns that a "medicine" had been employed to kill him is in no fit mental condition to counteract the power of suggestion, particularly if he knows that others are aware of what has been done. His death is regarded as proof of the efficacy of the means employed and the belief of others grows stronger. As already stated, this conviction still survives. When this ethnological investigation was being conducted, a
[648] point under discussion was whether or not the Kimsquit people should be allowed to live in Bella Coola. One chief took the lead in objecting and everyone expected that, having thus roused the ire of would-be immigrants, he would die. He did so soon afterwards, and it is universally believed that it was caused by the concentration of the hostile thoughts of the Kimsquit. Similarly, the potency of taboos is increased by the fact that since
[784] time immemorial the thoughts of everyone have been opposed to any infraction. Consequently, an offender is liable to punishment both for breaking an injunction and because he

U.S.N.M. Records, B.A.E. (1922-1924)/1945
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has gone contrary to something about which there has been universal agreement for generations.

To understand Bella Coola medicines it is, therefore, necessary to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practise them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to those affecting death, but is equally true with regard to all medicines, whether curative or connective.

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of medicines. Knowledge of most remedies has been handed down for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type can be practised by any member of the group to which it belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment, but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction that only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship of some medicines, but these are indicated whenever possible.

"Please, may it be as it was when you held ceremonies."

The basis of these medicines is their mountain grave and heaver nests in November when it is cold, and deer in October when it is rainy.

An old Kitamgatt man mentioned that one winter he had been driven ashore by continuous cold winds and was on the verge of starving. He drew a bath and by using the medicine just described was able to bring rain with consequent lessening of wind so that he could continue his journey.

MISCELLANEOUS MEDICINES

To Destroy the Benefits of Another's Ceremonial Charity

Place pieces of flesh from any recently skinned animal within a coffin from which the skeleton of an enemy has been removed, uttering at the same time the name of the person to be injured. This destroys the "charisma" acquired by the observance of ceremonial charity.[1]

To Cause Insanity in a Woman

Catch a squirrel alive and tie one of the woman's hairs around its stomach; then release the animal. As it runs violently through the forest, sometimes head upwards, sometimes head downwards, so will the brain of the person whose hair it is carrying begin to churn violently till madness ensues.

To Cause Ferocity in Grizzly Bears

Throw the body of a recently killed monkeyat against a man's back. The next grizzly bear he encounters will be ferocious, and may kill him. Knowledge of this medicine was learnt by noticing that a number of men who had been struck in play with monkeys, were killed by grizzly bears. The potency of the act has since been recognized.

To Cause Disease in a Malefactor

A number of years ago, when three Bella Coola were killed

[1] This medicine was learnt from a rather unsatisfactory informant and was not confirmed by others.

[illegible]

754 [727]

in a skirmish by the Cowichan, one of their women mutilated a body by poking out the eye. The corpses were rescued and a Bella Coola with secret knowledge dropped into the eye sockets some potent medicine. As the corpses rotted, the murderers began to suffer pains, and the woman who had poked out the eyes lost her sight. As a blind, old woman, she had been seen by several men with whom the matter was discussed.

To Cause the Death of a Murderer (three means)

754 682 [766]

(1) Two women were murdered at Kimsquit in 1915. Before they were buried, an elderly Bella Coola put a secret medicine on the back of the neck of each so that the murderer would die from a disease located there. Within eight months, a Bivouac Indian man succumbed to a deep sore at the back of the neck, and it was assumed that he must have visited Kimsquit unseen and perpetrated the double murder.

Medicines like this and the preceding are widely known, but it is sorcerers who specialize in using them.

[766]

(2) When a man dies suddenly and murder is suspected, although the perpetrator is unknown, place the corpse within an old, hollow spruce log. As it rots, needles and dirt enter the flesh and at the same time the body of the murderer becomes leprosied and full of sores. This method was employed during the lifetime of an informant and caused the death of the suspected murderer, whose guilt was thereby accepted as proved.

[695]

(3) Bury the victim's body with a toad in its mouth and the murderer will soon die.[4]

[766]

To Kill

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Lift a corpse from the ground and point it at one or more individuals. This causes their death in the near future.

[4]This information was obtained from one informant only; details were unavailable, and confirmation from others could not be secured.

755 of water in which had been boiled eight splinters from a coffin. She would have obtained two from each side, and two from each end, in each case inserting the point of a crooked knife to pry loose a fragment of the wood, and then pulling it off in the same direction as the sun travels. It would have been immaterial from which aspect the first had been taken, but Y would have been careful to move around the coffin from east to south to west to north, corresponding to the course of the sun.

It is believed that no one has now the ability to use this cure.

Sorcerers

754 [424] Among the causative medicines of which knowledge has been handed down in various families for generations are secret means of killing. Every sorcerer must have such a possession, but he is not so branded unless he begins to exercise his powers for anti-social purposes. For example, if it be known that a [575] certain individual is able to cause death, the members of the *kusiut* society are eager to admit him to their group, so that his ability will be at their disposal to punish anyone who breaks their regulations. Likewise, if a chief decides that a certain [622] man should die, the power of his thoughts may suffice to cause the death, but the desired end will be effected more certainly by requesting aid from the owner of a means of killing. Such [756] an individual is frequently a shaman who is only too glad of an opportunity to exhibit his powers. The following methods of execution are said to have been employed socially, that is, with the connivance or at the request of chiefs or the members of the *kusiut* society:

(1) The executioner scratches for four successive nights on the door of the victim's house. If the latter suspects what is to take place, he may endeavour to escape by remaining awake which renders the scratching powerless. It is said that no one has been able to remain sleepless for more than three nights which gives the killer his opportunity.

(c) The conscientious chewing the left, bottom rib from a man's skeleton, puts one end in the fire until it is alight, and keeps it smouldering by continuous puffing. When he knows that his victim is asleep, he knocks with the torch on the outside of his house and the sleeper dies immediately.

(d) The conscientious holds a dried human hand before his victim's face, or knocks with it on his door, and he falls dead.

Individuals who have such knowledge are regarded with fear and a certain amount of respect, but it is recognized that they have every right to use their inherited abilities when requested to do so. A similar medicine was tried recently with fatal results:

A few years ago a number of Bella Coola, travelling to the interior along a trail over which some Carriers had just passed, noticed a place where one of the latter had been picking Indian rhubarb and had spit on the fibres after chewing. One of the party decided to use a medicine which had been handed down in his family for a long time. Catching a cord, he threw some of the shreds down his throat, tied a loop of the fibre around his neck, and left the animal suspended to die of strangulation or starvation as the case might be. That night the Bella Coola overtook the carriers who had camped early owing to the illness of one of their party. He was lying on the ground, too sick to move, and complaining of a choking sensation in his throat. Realizing the seriousness of the case, the man who had fastened up the cord turned back to release it, but found it dead. Before he regained his companions, the Carrier had likewise choked to death. The efficacy of the medicine was thus proved.

Another man stated that a similar means of killing was to use in the same way fibres left exposed from bark which had been stripped for eating. There are believed to be many secret means of killing which, since they have often been employed indiscriminately, are thought to have had an appreciable effect in reducing the numbers of the Bella Coola.

The most common method of execution is by obtaining something belonging to the victim, and subjecting it to the fate desired for its owner. A few years ago, for example, the members of the *Axaist* society wanted to frighten one of their

[354] members, and delegated the task to a man who was known to be skilled in such matters. The latter stole some shreds of the offender's clothing, placed them in a human skull which he fastened to a long rope and drove into a swift stretch of the river. As the rapids tossed the skull to and fro, the person whose clothing was within began to feel uneasy; first he experienced a jumping pain in his head, but as the wild movements continued, he became light-headed and finally delirious. At this juncture, it was decided to pull back the skull, but the rope broke and it was carried every downstream. Nothing could save the man and he died within a few hours. This particular incident occurred among the Bella Bella, but it is agreed that it might have happened in Bella Coola.

[355] The mingled fear of, and aversion to, a person who knows such secret method of killing, fades into insignificance compared to the extreme loathing of every Bella Coola for sorcerers. Their methods of killing may be similar to the one just described, but they are evil creatures who practise secretly, working entirely to gratify their own personal desires. Not

[356] only is the murder of a sorcerer a virtuous act, but the relatives of one should be put to death without mercy. There is no single factor which has caused so much hatred, bitterness, and suspicion as belief in the activities of sorcerers. Conversion to

[357] Christianity has scarcely altered it, and men who have been members of the church for ten to twenty years remain fully convinced that some of their associates have loathsome abilities as sorcerers. In many parts of the world, belief in black magic and witchcraft is one of the last native convictions to pass away, and it seems probable that this will be the case in Bella Coola although, of course, it will become increasingly difficult to obtain information about the subject.

The actual methods used by different sorcerers vary, although most of them require an article which has been in contact with their intended victim. Consequently, they seek pieces of soiled clothing, nail parings, hair clippings, spittle, and other objects of the same type which are usually concealed

by their owners for safety. Juju, as old Bulu Coulo believed to be a sorcerer, has been seen to escape up the water earth where a man has witnessed, in former times anyone doing such a suspicious act would have been killed. The article obtained is hidden and kept for future use, and if the practitioner wishes to inflict pain or death, he places it in contact with some potent medicine. Human bones are frequently employed for this purpose, although the most powerful is said to be grease obtained by boiling flesh cut from the inner side of the thigh of a recently buried corpse. To obtain either of these, graves must be robbed, another reason for having sorcerers.

Secrecy is essential, as a sorcerer is usually assisted by his children, and in this way he has a better chance of obtaining articles belonging to different people without arousing suspicion. The necessary knowledge can accordingly be transmitted from generation to generation, sometimes without the slightest inkling of it becoming known. Even if a man is found out, he may be able to bribe his discoverer to silence.

Sometimes two from different villages work in partnership to lessen the danger of practising their rites near the village of a victim. For example, a Bulu Coulo sorcerer may send an article to an accomplice in Bulu Bulu for placing in contact with strong medicine; this causes the victim to languish and die while the person responsible continues his usual routine of life around the village, suspected by no one. The commencement of such a partnership is a matter of great difficulty, since anyone who admits his crimes places himself in the power of his confidant. Sometimes, however, rumours that a certain individual is practising malevolent magic reach a foreign sorcerer who needs an accomplice. If he considers that the information is authentic, he may admit his own powers and suggest that they work together. Such an arrangement is profitable to both parties, and a partnership so formed may continue for generations.

Sorcerers display considerable ingenuity in arranging that their skill shall bring them pecuniary benefits as well as the

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gratification of killing their enemies. To achieve this end, a member of the family claims to be a shaman and his relatives loudly acclaim him. It is not difficult for a man with skill in conjuring to perform some simple shamanic act, probably one carried out by an ancient shaman, which he announces has been shown to him by a supernatural being who has given him power to cure the sick. Then the accomplice selects a suitable victim and causes him to become ill by placing something taken from him in contact with his medicine. If the malefactor is fortunate, the victim will consult the "shaman" who will effect a cure and be paid for it, ignorant of the fact that his recovery has been due to the removal of the article by the practitioner's accomplice. This deception is especially difficult to expose if the sorcerer has a low cunning genius to conceal from human bodies, since the sickness increases or diminishes according to the depth to which the article is sunk. This is one of the ways in which some shamans have built up great reputations as sorcerers.

The psychology of sorcery is similar to that of other kinds of magic. It is not possible for the malefactor to tell his victim that he has stolen a nail paring, for example, and that he will die because it has been placed in a decoction of human groans. But if the attending shaman is an accomplice, he can inform the sufferer that his malady has been caused by a sorcerer and this belief profoundly affects him. He feels that he will die unless a remedy be found, and if the shaman assures him that he has rendered the evil influence impotent, his chances of recovery are increased accordingly. So, likewise, the members of families who possess remedies against the activities of sorcerers often work in conjunction with one. It is therefore not surprising that the Bella Coolas should firmly believe in their machinations and affirm that they have killed many thousands of people in the course of generations. The belief in magic would itself be sufficient to explain this, but it is strengthened by the social and economic aspects of a sorcerer's vocation. The container in which the potent mixture is kept

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is spoken of in the Chinook jargon as a *mesatchie hoo*, that is, a "dirty," "unclean," or "repulsive" hoo, and this term is one which is mentioned whenever an unexpected death takes place, or whenever a coastal Indian is accused of loitering around a deserted camp or of stealing into another's house. The belief is not limited to the Bella Coola, but has formed the basis for criminal cases all over the coast of British Columbia. It is difficult to find words sufficiently strong to express the disgust, loathing, and fear with which the Bella Coola regard a person suspected of sorcery.

Ability in this respect carries with it certain prohibitions. A sorcerer would lose his power if he should wash or blow his nose except when about to commit murder. The one old Bella Coola now thought to be a sorcerer never washes; he knows that if he did so, he would be immediately accused of plotting someone's death. This man is greatly feared, as he is said to have a collection of spittle from every member of the tribe; efforts have been made to break into his house and steal this, but it has never been found. He takes credit for the death of at least one white man in the valley. A peculiar impediment suffered by all sorcerers is a prohibition against turning around, although no one knows why doing so should deprive them of their strength. The explanation may be that their power would recoil upon themselves, a concept well illustrated by the following incident:

When the first Christian Bella Coola left the old village to settle near the mission station, they were regarded with dislike and suspicion by their fellow-tribesmen. One day, one of them happened to follow a path through the woods which led her to a rude shelter in which was a bundle. Hastily summoning her fellows, they opened it and found an article of clothing belonging to each Christian. The man who told this incident described his fear at finding a dirty shirt of his own among the others. They felt that the garments had been collected by a young man who claimed to be a shaman, but whom they suspected to be merely the accomplice of a sorcerer, and this was soon proved to be the case. He was insufficiently trained; instead of touching the patient's body with his stick, he used to suck wherever the pain was located and then

754 drink water. This washed the sickness down into his own stomach, which rotted away so that he died. Recovery of their clothes saved the Christians from injury on this occasion.

Although the Bella Coola suspect that several of their tribesmen are sorcerers, their work is so carefully concealed that it is naturally difficult to obtain evidence against them. A few years ago, however, the two daughters of a *Tâl'ic* man were searching for a pail lost by their father when they found a coal-oil can half hidden in a bush near the pasture fence. They peered into it, and were shocked to find a decayed human leg. They hurried home to their father, who investigated and found that it was the portion from knee to ankle, and that it was partly covered by a sock made for himself by his wife. This so terrified him that he took the find to the Indian Agent, who is believed still to have it. The finder was convinced that the deaths of several of his children must have been caused by earlier activities of the same, or another sorcerer. He suspected another *Tâl'ic* man who had cleared a small farm in the vicinity, and who asked the two girls whether they had found a jam-tin near the place where the leg had been discovered.

The Bella Coola agree that sorcerers were more powerful in early times than at present, and recount a number of stories describing their activities. The following examples require no further explanation and clearly illustrate their beliefs.

A BELLA BELLA SORCERER

539 754 Not many years ago, as a Bella Bella lad lay dozing, he saw a man approaching him with a stick to one end of which was fastened a tuft of undyed cedar-bark. He quickly realized that it must be a sorcerer who had come to collect some of his exhaled breath as a personal possession, so he pretended to be asleep. The villain came nearer, held the sponge-like bark before the sleeper's face for a moment, and then stole away. He did not know that his intended victim was following him. The sorcerer entered his house, cautiously drew out a human leg bone and tied the tuft of bark to it; then, wearied by the strain, he went to sleep. This was the victim's opportunity. He crept into the house, took another piece of bark, held it before the sleeper's face, removed the one stained

with his own breath, and suffused it with that containing the sorcerer's.

Before dawn the next morning, the sorcerer, ignorant of the substitution, took the bone and left the house. The youth had been watching and followed him to the edge of the sea, where he laid his bundle in a hole in the rocks through which the rising tide was sending up a miniature water-spout. The sorcerer went away at once, giving the lad an opportunity to remove the bone and secrete it in another cavity. He knew that the wicked man would soon become ill and would suspect that someone had tampered with the bone. So it proved. As the water whirled the lock containing his colluded breath, the sorcerer began to feel light headed and rushed off to the hole in the rocks. Meanwhile the troubled sorcerer had commenced his neighbours to watch what might happen. The man searched frantically, but of course could not find the bone, so, as the water rose and covered the lock, he was impelled to plunge repeatedly beneath the surge, until he was drowned.

THE OUTWITTING OF A SORCERER

Over one hundred years ago there was living in Ibonga a powerful chief who owned a salmon-weir. Though no expert fisherman himself, he relied to a great extent on the assistance of a concubine who was still more efficient. One summer this man died suddenly. Immediately after the funeral, the chief commissed his wife, removed the fish, and returned home, physically weary from his labour and more than ever regretting the loss of his assistant. For some reason he could not sleep, so, after tossing for an hour or more, he decided to gather firewood. There was a late-rising full moon, so he had no difficulty in seeing his road as he climbed the small mountain behind the village, carrying only an iron axe. He had cut a bundle and was ready to return when he heard a groaning sound as though someone with a heavy burden were climbing the slope. Putting down his load, he hid himself in such a position that clear moonlight shone upon the path. After waiting a few minutes, he saw a figure approaching; it was Omqwad, a local shaman, carrying a coffin upon his back. Now thoroughly suspicious, the chief decided to follow, trusting to his axe for protection.

Omqwad passed over the crest, descended the other side, and then ascended the slope of the mountain on the east, in long tangents to hide his course. The chief had no difficulty in following him unobserved, and finally watched his unsuspecting guide put down the coffin and clear away the brush-wood. He seemed to be lifting something, which was followed by a grating sound as if a large stone was being dragged across another; then he disappeared from sight and the chief realized that Omqwad had

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descended into an underground house of which the combustible door and smoke-vent had been covered with stones and small sticks.

The chief crawled to the entrance and looked within. Round the walls were seated the corpses of all those who had died recently in the village, and Onapaut was removing the body of the expert fisherman from its coffin. He put it to bed with the others and put on a dance-apron decorated with human fingers and toe nails. Then he began to dance, at the same time pressing the lever of a mechanical contrivance which caused the corpses to bear time with sticks and even to keep into the air as intricately as do living singers. It was most weird and uncanny, but after watching for a few minutes, the chief was forced to cough. Although this was the first intimation to Onapaut that he was being observed, he lowered an arrow and invited the cougher to come down the ladder into his house. The chief did so, and he was received in a courteous and hospitable manner by his host who frankly admitted that he was a sorcerer, and added that his corpses were just dancing to welcome the new arrival.[1] He showed his guest everything of interest in the dwelling, including a box containing potent medicine in which was held the skin of a man's left hand. He explained that he frequently took this to the village and, if he desired to kill anyone, would place within the palm a roll of cedar-bark on which his victim had breathed, then close the fingers upon it. This caused death almost instantly. The chief, though keenly interested, never relaxed his vigilance for a moment, knowing that the sorcerer would not have been so communicative unless he had felt confident of his ability to kill his hosts. Towards morning, Onapaut suggested that they return home, picked up the skinned hand, and was the first to climb the ladder, intending to stun the chief when his head appeared over the surface. His pursuer followed close at his heels and finally, at the top of the ladder, hurled the sorcerer with his head so that he sprawled on the ground and the chief was able to emerge with safety. Unperturbed by this first failure, Onapaut covered the entrance to his house so carefully that a man might have passed over it without suspecting its presence. The sorcerer wanted the chief to provide him homewards, but the latter was too cautious for any such subterfuge and insisted upon following close at the heels of the malefactor. They did not separate until they reached the village, where each proceeded to his own house.

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[1] Although this account is supposed to be a historical record of a comparatively recent incident, items of a supernatural type have obviously been added. The man who told the story did not seem to realize the difficulty of a mechanical contrivance to make corpses beat time, nor did it strike him that the dance of welcome must have been adapted from the similar ceremony performed by ghosts. The whole story was related as an unusual one but not of a supernatural nature.

The chief knew that his life was in serious danger although he had not seen the first sound. Consequently, instead of lying down to sleep, he placed himself with his arms stretched out before him on a log and his head supported on them so that he could watch through his fingers. As he suspected, Onqamd soon came creeping in, holding a rush of sealed cedar-bark. He made no movement, even when the sorcerer held this before his face and stole away with it when it had been touched upon. The brave man knew that his life would be in constant danger unless he could convert his enemy and that this was his opportunity. He waited for about one hour, then quietly entered Onqamd's house where the sorcerer was sleeping peacefully, thinking that all danger was over, and the bark-skin was lying in plain sight on a box. The chief carefully took a rush of cedar-bark, held it before the sleeper's nose till it was impregnated with his breath, and then placed it within the skin from which he withdrew the piece already there. Having accomplished his purpose, he returned home without disturbing the sleeper.

The chief knew that Onqamd would wash the following morning if he intended to kill, so he remained awake and was watching the sorcerer's house before daybreak. As he suspected, the malefactor presently appeared, carrying his chamber-vessel, and went to the river. First he cleansed himself with urine and walked in up to his knees, remained for a few minutes, and came ashore again. The second time, he waded in until the water was up to his thighs; the third time, he went on till it was shoulder-deep. Sorcerers always wash in this way in order that the lower parts of the body shall be covered successively, although no one knows why this should be done by them alone. The hidden chief knew that Onqamd would meet disaster when he bathed for the fourth time since the skin, carried beneath his arm-pit, would then be beneath the surface for a few moments. So it transpired. He dipped his head, but instead of being able to raise it, his feet floated above the surface, and he remained in that position, slowly drowning. This was the fate which he had destined for the chief whose breath he had placed within his closed hand, but he was unaware of the substitution which, of course, re-acted upon himself.

The watcher hastily roused his neighbours who came running to the back hall-shed and rubbing their eyes. They brought ashore the corpse of the drowned man while the chief recounted all that he had seen and done during the night. As soon as it was sufficiently light a number of men accompanied him to the underground house in the mountains from which the bodies were brought back and reburied by their relatives. Previous to this time, no one had suspected Onqamd of sorcery, but as soon as the discovery was made, the angry people slew all his relatives

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539 754 except an infant daughter. She grew up, married, and was the mother of the old Bella Coola, about seventy years of age in 1922, who is so honored as a sorcerer. It is he who has the collection of spirits, and it is believed that, like his grandfather, he is the owner of a skinned and stuffed left hand with which he can kill a man as surely as with a rifle.

THE DISCOVERY OF TWO SORCERERS

Many years ago there lived at *Stuie* two young men who were constant companions; they always hunted and travelled together, and were determined to share each other's fortune, no matter what it might be. One day they agreed to go up the valley to visit some friends, but decided to postpone their departure until dusk. One of the two went out for a short walk and failed to return by the time appointed; his comrade sought him everywhere and finally hurried off up the trail, thinking that his friend must have started before him. He soon heard sounds of laboured breathing as if people were carrying a heavy burden; and could just distinguish two men carrying a coffin on poles between them. He realized that they must be sorcerers and that their inability to turn around would give him an advantage. Stealing up behind them, he pushed the rear man, not only causing him to stumble, but the one in front as well, since their burden was resting between them. Neither could turn around to see who had discovered them, and they became more and more terrified as the brave youth first pushed, and then pulled the one in the rear. [774] Suddenly he called out, we-, so loudly in their ears that the sudden start expelled their spirits and they fell to earth as if dead. The lad watched their gradual recovery, feeling confident that his partner must be within ear-shot and would come hurrying back to his assistance if necessary. As soon as the sorcerers had revived, one of them said angrily to the boy:

"You will die presently."

"No," he answered. "It is you who are in grave peril."

At this point he called loudly for his companion who was so far ahead that he could barely hear the other's voice; he answered the shout and began to run back. The sorcerers, trying to make the best of a bad situation, mocked him by advising him to call again and to bring more helpers if he wanted to escape death. When his friend had come so close that he could see what was taking place, the youth called out to him:

"Partner! They say that I am in danger."

"No," the other answered. "It is they who will die."

When he joined the group the four began to discuss what was to be done. The sorcerers begged their discoverers not to expose their mis-

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dainge, and offered to make them members of the Raven society in return for their silence. Though uninitiated persons, even this tempting bribe was refused by the two youths. Next, each of the malefactors offered a daughter as wife to each of the pervers, and they accepted this bargain. For their part, the sorcerers were glad to escape at any cost, since they had been caught red-handed; they knew that henceforth they would have to assist their captors, but this was preferable to exposure.

The two groups parted company; the boys continued their journey to the upper village and the sorcerers went on their way to some cave in the mountains. Within a few weeks, each youth married the daughter of one of the malefactors, with whose assistance they were able to give potlatches and become influential personages.

A FAMILY OF KWATNA SORCERERS

Near the village of Kwatna there used to be two cemeteries. One was on a small point of ground at the mouth of the river which became an island at high tide; here were interred the bodies of chiefs alone, a custom said to be without parallel on the coast. It is not known why there should have been this special burial-ground, but the place was always spoken of as "The Chiefs' Island." Instead of being buried, coffins containing commoners were laid on ledges of rock at the base of a cliff behind the village; this custom, though unusual, is known elsewhere on the coast, at Kitsaquit and Port Simpson, for example.

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Many generations ago, there was a time when the corpses of commoners frequently disappeared from the ledges on which they had been placed, and although it was believed that a sorcerer was responsible, no one knew whom to blame. One old woman had lost nearly all her numerous relatives when she realized that, though there had been many deaths in the village and some families had been almost wiped out, no members of one group had been taken. This roused her suspicions; she soon noticed that whenever anyone was sick, four brothers of the family in question always made some plausible excuse to leave the village and proceed up the other arm of the inlet. She concluded that this could be no mere coincidence, the four must be sorcerers. Within a short while, another of her relatives fell ill and died in spite of all that could be done; this reduced her family to herself and her infant. On the day after the funeral, the four brothers said that they wanted to gather hemlock boughs and set off in a canoe up the other arm of the inlet for the purpose. They did not come back at night and the villagers assumed that they had been delayed and had camped. The bereaved woman, however, who had hidden herself below the village, saw the brothers paddle back around the

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point and conceal their canoe beneath a bushy tree instead of landing at the village. More suspicious than ever, she followed the four and was able to keep in touch with them in spite of the necessity of carrying her baby. They went to the cemetery, placed the coffin on poles, and two of them carried it away with the others in close attendance.

The mother, still clutching her child, followed the brothers up the side of a steep mountain behind Kwatna. They avoided all trails and travelled in zigzags until they reached the base of a precipice where a tall tree was growing. The mother, who was not far behind, could see that its upper branches grew across to touch the cliff at a point where the mouth of a cave was visible. The coffin was placed on the ground, three of the brothers climbed the tree, and passed from it into the opening in the rock. From this they shoved out a plank to form a narrow bridge to the upper trunk, and dropped a long rope which the one below fastened around the coffin; then it was hauled up, the fourth brother climbed the tree and all disappeared from sight. The woman continued to remain in hiding, but before long her curiosity was piqued by seeing smoke drift out from the opening. She decided that she must see what was taking place, so she nursed her infant to keep it quiet, and then began the ascent. Without difficulty she reached a point from which she could peer within, and saw the four melting down the grease from the dismembered body of her kinsman. They were sorcerers without doubt, and she noted that they were preserving with care all the fat that exuded from the inside of the thighs. Each was wearing a mask, but she was able to recognize them by their figures.

When the poisonous decoction had been prepared, the sorcerers fell asleep, still wearing their masks.' Made bold by her longing for revenge, the woman crept across the plank without disturbing the sleepers. Cautiously she picked up the spoon which they had used for stirring the mixture, lifted a few drops in it and held it to the mouth of the one whom she recognized as the oldest brother. He did not stir. With a quick, firm pressure she stamped upon his stomach, causing him to wake and swallow with a gasp; the poison was so potent that he died without making a sound. She took another spoonful of the brew and gave it to the second sorcerer in the same way and with the same result, and in this way killed all four. Stopping only to fill a receptacle with the brew, the woman climbed down the tree and hurried back to Kwatna.

Instead of describing what she had seen and done, the woman determined to wipe out the relatives of the sorcerers. So she invited the whole village to a feast, allotting the proper place to each family. This whole procedure was unusual because she had killed no large game, but there is always a good deal of latitude allowed in such matters, particularly as

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everyone sympathized with the hostess on account of her many bereavements. Her only assistant was a woman who, like herself, had lost all her kinsmen. The food provided was hemlock-bark dipped in fish-oil, but the hostess contrived that every relative of the sorcerers should receive a portion dipped in poison instead. They all started to eat at the same time, and all fell dead simultaneously without a word. 534 754

Instantly wild confusion broke out and the guests exclaimed that they were being served poison. Unperturbed, the woman explained everything; how she had first become suspicious, how she had followed the four brothers, and all that had resulted. A party set out at once under her guidance and found that everything she had said was true. In this way perished all the relatives of the sorcerers except one man who happened to be absent at the time. One of his descendants is now living in Bella Coola and is regarded with a certain amount of suspicion, although there is no evidence that he or any of his relatives have practised sorcery for generations.

A BELLA COOLA SORCERER

Since the introduction of muskets, there dwelt in the lower Bella Coola valley a shaman, *Awaxaikxaixaix-ăk* by name; he was a regular practitioner, able both to heal the sick or to cause death. When using his power beneficially, he shook a rattle containing a rock-crystal, but when he was requested to kill, he used one that appeared to be identical but contained human teeth and wolf fangs. In some unknown manner these were lost, which prevented him from slaying a man as requested by the chiefs of his village. One April day he mentioned his difficulty casually to a certain *Tsika* who surprised him by replying: [756]

"I can supply you with teeth and you will have greater power than ever."

The two were alone at the time and *Tsika*, having admitted that he was a sorcerer, suggested that they form a partnership. He must have felt confident that *Awaxaikxaixaix-ăk* would agree, as indeed he did gladly. *Tsika* explained that the necessary knowledge had been handed down in his family for generations, but that he had only recently begun to use it to avenge a slight at a feast of seals.

Next morning *Tsika* guided *Awaxaikxaixaix-ăk* up the mountain on the north side of the extreme head of North Bentinck Arm, just west of the Nechestucunnay River. Hunters frequently ranged over this area, but no one had ever seen a sorcerer's box there. *Tsika* led the way to a small rock shelter beneath which was concealed a chest about eight feet long. He kicked it four times with his left foot, and called out four times:

"Wake up!"

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Triks then raised the cover, and his companion saw that it contained a number of separate compartments, formed by vertical strips criss-crossing within, and that the whole bottom was covered with a thick, black, oily liquid. On top of the cube-like divisions lay a badly decomposed corpse which *Ăwaxaikaixaix-dis* recognized as that of a youth who had disappeared from the village the previous July and who was thought to have been drowned. *Triks* explained the mechanism of the box: Each section was for a different disease, stomach trouble in one, heart failure in another, consumption in a third, sudden death in a fourth, and so on. Whenever he wanted to cause a specific disease, he would dip a personal possession of the victim's in the oil at the bottom of the proper compartment and leave it there. All that was then necessary to improve the patient's condition was to raise the article slightly in the liquid, whereas to lower it increased the force of the malady, and to leave it covered entirely caused death. It was generally known that such methods were used by sorcerers, but this was the first box that *Ăwaxaikaixaix-dis* had ever seen and he was keenly interested. He inquired the purpose of the boy's body, and *Triks* replied that he had killed him with the intention of taking his skin to use against the lad's relatives, but had been forced to carry away the whole body owing to the difficulty of removing the skin alone. Whenever he wanted to kill a person quietly and rapidly, it was only necessary to lay an article which had belonged to the victim on the back of the neck of the corpse. Death resulted immediately, since this was the spot where the spirit had resided during life. After answering his friend's questions, *Triks* fumbled around in the bottom of the box and drew forth a number of wolf teeth which he gave to the grateful *Ăwaxaikaixaix-dis*. Then the two went home to their respective villages, after promising each other mutual support and secrecy.

Although the two malefactors took every precaution not to be seen together too often, rumours began to circulate that they were partners, and that *Triks* was a sorcerer. There was no proof of this, but the suspected man became so unpopular that he was virtually expelled from his village. More angry than perturbed at this, he moved three miles up the valley to the town in which *Ăwaxaikaixaix-dis* was living. After waiting for a few weeks to allay suspicion, *Triks* determined to murder the chief who had been the prime mover in his expulsion, and sent his son to steal the victim's chamber-pot. His wife discovered the theft the same night and promptly roused the whole village, realizing the danger to her husband if it should fall into the hands of a sorcerer; diligent search was made, but of course the article could not be found, since the thief had taken it away to his new home. *Triks* placed the vessel

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in a compartment of his box containing a bear's bladder tied into sections; this caused his enemy to suffer stricture and soon to die in agony. 539 754

Following the usual custom, the relatives of the dead man smeared their faces with ashes which they left in position for a year. The widow, who had loved her husband very dearly, allowed this indication of mourning to remain even longer than the customary period. On several occasions *Triks* made somewhat slighting remarks about her excessive grief, and when one of his sons also commented upon it, she became suspicious and told her relatives. One of them was a chief of the village where *Triks* was then living and where he was already regarded with distrust. This man visited the home of his bereaved kinswoman and called the chiefs of her village together to discuss the matter, and to inform them of the suspicions which his conduct had aroused in his new home. Three days later, *Triks* happened to come to the village and was at once summoned to the house where the chiefs had assembled to interrogate him. *Triks* sat on a box in the centre of the group and denied, slowly and positively, that he had any knowledge of sorcery, adding that his poverty confirmed his statement. At this moment *Awaxilkxaixxaix-dis* came rushing into the house, furiously brandishing a rifle, and exclaiming that it was scandalous the way in which unjust accusations were being levelled at *Triks*. One of the chiefs quietly slipped behind the shaman, knocked his fire-arm upwards so that it exploded harmlessly in the air, and threw him to the ground where he threatened him with a large knife.

"I will not brook any interference from you in this matter," he said.

This so frightened *Awaxilkxaixxaix-dis* that he blurted out that he knew *Triks* was a sorcerer and that he had seen his box containing a decayed human body. *Triks* was less excited than anyone else, and slipped out of the house in the confusion, merely pausing to ask:

"What are you going to do about it?"

He returned to his new village where, of course, the news soon followed of what had been discovered. The chiefs decided that he must be killed, and that the most convenient occasion would be at a feast of seals which was to take place in the near future. *Triks* accepted an invitation to this and was slain while he was busy handling his spoon. One of his sons was killed with him, another who escaped through a hole in the floor was slaughtered near the village. His two brothers were absent on a hunting expedition, but a party tracked them and slew them in their camp before they knew that their evil deeds had been found out. *Triks*'s two daughters were allowed to live, but were given to a famous warrior who kept them practically as prisoners. *Awaxilkxaixxaix-dis*, who seems to have escaped all punishment for his share in the affair, guided a party to the sorcerer's box. It was found to be old and moss-covered, obviously 539 754 539 754

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539 one used by some of *Tcika*'s ancestors. It was brought to the ocean and
754 thrown in.

TABOOS

784 The Bella Coola regard as taboos those injunctions that are observed in the belief that their neglect would cause automatic punishment. The mechanism of enforcement is frequently not understood; it is enough to know that an unpleasant result would follow disobedience. Some taboos are in force at all times, others only during certain seasons of the year, and still others at critical periods of life. Since the psychology of such [789] beliefs is essentially magical rather than religious, they could justifiably be grouped at this point. Unfortunately, to do so would destroy the continuity of accounts of birth, adolescence, death, ceremonial chastity, and many other aspects of Bella Coola life subject to taboo. The injunctions enforced by the River Guardian, the restrictions observed by a girl after puberty, the continence required after different medicines, all are taboos, disregard of which brings certain punishment. These and many others have already been described in connection with the activities to which they pertain. It is doubtful whether the Bella Coola have a single word to describe taboos [783] in general, though they are all regarded as *sxaiāx*, that is, as something which is ceremonially unclean.

Scarcely to be distinguished from taboos are ceremonial errors, *yen·imut* or *kān·imut*. Failure to give presents to heralds when a seat breaks beneath a chief or a dancer stumbles, or unnecessary activity during the year's waiting for the fruition of supernatural good fortune are ritual mistakes of this type. Neglect of such regulations brings punishment, though of a lesser kind than the breaking of taboos. If the [688] error has been in connection with a ceremony, the offence can [203] be wiped out by presents to heralds, and the terms *yen·imut* and *kān·imut* are likewise applied to some of their prerogatives such as the ability to claim clothing during the marriage of a chief's child.

Most taboos and errors can best be described with other

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*575 688 Frequently the marshals and associated *kukusiut* depute others to act as their executioners. Sometimes a shaman who is also a *kusiut* is asked to slay the offender, or a *kusiut* in whose ancestral family a knowledge of means for secret murder has been handed down for generations may be called upon. The executioner is told that if he fails he will himself be killed. Although no Bella Coola would admit that a person so charged had committed murder by other than magical means, it appears highly probable that such was the case. It is believed that long ago the *kukusiut* were able to kill an offending uninitiated person by drawing forth his spirit, wrapping it in undyed cedar-bark and casting it into the fire. The victim would die within a short time. [761] [754]

*575 203 628 The desire to carry out *kusiut* ceremonials with proper dignity and ritual not only acts as a strong bond of union among members of the society in a single village, but between those in different towns and even in different tribes. When a marshal has struck a *kusiut*, the ceremony, whatever it may be, is at once stopped. Two *kukusiut* are sent off to bear the tidings to the nearest village up the valley, and two more to the one below. The messengers go beneath the house in which a dance is taking place and knock on the floor of the back-room. Someone presently hears them and a *kusiut* goes out to investigate. When the envoys have told their tale he returns, whispers to the singers, and the ceremony concludes for that night. As soon as the uninitiated, if any are present, have been ejected, the messengers enter with blankets almost covering their faces and seat themselves between the fire and the back-room where the senior members crowd around to listen. From this village two more *kukusiut* are despatched with the news which is thus transmitted with remarkable speed from end to end of the valley. When next the marshals are admonishing the *kukusiut* of their respective villages, they do not fail to draw attention to the way in which the law has been upheld. Conversely, if a marshal hears indirectly that there has been a flaw in the ritual of a neighbouring village,

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spit upon his own hands and rubbed them over the patient's head, his 727
arms, his trunk, his legs, and finally his feet, as if massaging him. *Xnutli*'s
strength began to return at the first touch of Thunder's hands, and, 787
when the treatment was finished, he felt entirely rejuvenated. Thunder told him to overtake his friends and to massage them in the same way and they would be revived. He explained that they had been travelling in circles of ever-decreasing radius which was the reason that they had neither reached their destination nor recrossed their own tracks. He added that they must think constantly of their first objective, Ulkatcho, *Nukätco* in the Bella Coola language, and that at night *Xnutli* must sleep on the side of the five nearest that goal.

Soon afterwards the four wanderers were surprised to see a stalwart 727
man swinging along the trail behind them, and their amazement was intense when they realized that it was *Xnutli* whom they had left at the point of death. He bade three of his comrades hide, and massaged the fourth as Thunder had done to him; this restored his strength exactly as in his own case. The one so cured then concealed himself, while *Xnutli* treated another of his comrades, and finally the third and fourth. This was not the end of the assistance so obtained. Within a few minutes of their recovery, they found the trail they had so long been seeking and reached Ulkatcho before night, though under normal circumstances the same distance would have required four days of travel. There were several Bella Coola at the settlement who were overjoyed at the safety of those for whom all hope had long been abandoned. They rested for four days, then set out for home. *Xnutli* told his comrades to fix their minds upon their objective, and as a result they were able to make the journey with phenemonal rapidity.

Thunder had granted *Xnutli* the boon of *uxlokwaladjut* on this occa- 754
sion, and had promised that he would come to his help whenever called
upon. *Xnutli* was a sorcerer, a profession which had been practised for [776]
generations in his family, and he now performed more openly than ever, assured that Thunder would be able to protect him. The malefactor killed more and more people, until he became an object of universal hatred and fear. At last the principal chief of the village, confident in [689]
the power which the giving of many potlatches had bestowed upon him, ordered an expert shot to slay *Xnutli*. The man so deputed had himself lost several relatives and gladly watched an opportunity. This came when the sorcerer was paddling across the Bella Coola near the old Hudson's Bay Company's post; he took careful aim from ambush, fired, and the evil man fell dead. A medicine can be made from the corpse of a murdered person, which, when used by the relatives, causes the killer's death. To prevent this, the executioner called his friends and they took

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Tsimshian NE15

B 754 the body to his own house, preparatory to burying it. It was April, but
[776] as they were waiting, a violent thunderstorm blew up from the east, the only time that such had ever occurred at that season. Thunder had promised to come to *Xnatli*'s aid, but the latter had died too suddenly to make any appeal; the supernatural one had just learnt of his pro-
B [789] tégé's death and had come rushing to his assistance. Realizing the danger, the executioner and his friends hastily buried the corpse, throwing over it a number of blood-stained cloths, and finally stamping down the earth. There was a furious hurricane; trees were uprooted, houses shook, the earth over the grave seethed as if in a whirlpool and chunks of it
B [789] were carried up into the air. Only the potency of the blood on the cloths prevented the return to life of *Xnatli*.[1]

This second unsuccessful attack on the Kitkatla so disheartened the
B T 648 Bella Coola that they made no more raids on their northern foemen who, flushed with victory, became even bolder than before. As usual, the Kimsquit and *Tál'io* people suffered more than the inhabitants of the
[721] main valley. On one of these forays, about 1855, the Kitkatla killed *Łołxwelisel*, a brother of *Potlas*, the leading chief of the Bella Coola at the
[726] time. This was contrary to all the rules of warfare since he was a member of one of the leading families and the donor of many potlatches, a man
[622] whose name was as well known as that of *Potlas*, *Nuxáłpuxam* of Fort Rupert, or *Trúhsa* himself. The fame of such chiefs was enough to protect them except during the actual heat of conflict, and the Bella Coola were justly angry.

A few years later a single canoe came paddling up North Bentinck
B T 648 Arm and was beached about half a mile from the head. Scouts investigated, and returned to *Łomqo'ts* with news that the occupants were Kitkatla, and that *Trúhsa* himself was among them. At once there was
728 heated discussion among the people of the lower valley. Many who had lost relatives in the protracted struggle wished to wipe out the party; others, to see what they wanted. A few daring individuals skulked
B T through the forest and fired on the visitors at long range; they were
[726] answered, not with bullets, but by the four times holding aloft of a moose-skin, a sign of friendly intentions. If the strangers had fired on the scouts, a fight would have ensued, but this peaceful reception disarmed suspicion.

B [787]

[1] This tale is a curious illustration of the manner in which supernatural elements become woven into accounts which have an historical basis. It is to be assumed that the wanderers were in a suggestible state owing to privation, and readily believed that supernatural powers must have assisted them. *Xnatli* was feared as a sorcerer, and probably boasted of a visitation from Thunder during his wanderings. This was accepted and the incorporation of impossible incidents followed in due course.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

B C 648 726

the first time that two girls were missing. Then they set forth on the track of the Carriers. The raiders, knowing that their assault could not have been heard in any village, and unaware of the three young people hidden in the woods, took no precautions. The first night the pursuers reached the camp where the Carriers had built a long, narrow fire of some kind of wood which emitted no sparks, on either side of which they had placed a long tree-trunk on which to rest their feet as they dried their moccasins at the flames. One of the Bella Coola girls was placed near one end of the fire, the other at the other end on the opposite side. Neither could sleep, but kept watching silently in the hope of being able to escape. Towards dawn one of them was overjoyed to see a Bella Coola scout peering around a tree-trunk. He motioned her to keep silent and she nodded to show that she understood his signal; then he went away. He told his waiting companions how the Carriers were resting with their feet over logs beside the fire, and suggested that they prepare heavy clubs. Having done this, the Bella Coola stole up behind the drowsing enemy. Each selected a victim and broke his leg, or legs, with a crack of the club. Not one of the raiders escaped, the cripples being killed without difficulty. In some manner this event was made the theme of a *tsaak* song.

B C 648 721

The following unrelated incident is probably historically correct, in outline at least, since it is said to have taken place about 1860, and two of the participants were great-uncles of the man from whom the account was obtained.

One October a number of Carriers were staying at *Nuxalst*. Their chief was a certain *Ṡmâlxem* who was distantly related to the people of that village, though he had long since ceased to be regarded as anything but a Carrier. The river was running full and though there were many coho and dog salmon in it, they were difficult to catch on account of the roaring torrent. A *Nuxalst* man, *Ṡpkwulîtel*, had laid in an abundant store of fish for the winter, but his bad-tempered wife urged him to get her some fresh salmon and he ventured forth. A drifting log struck his canoe; he called out for help, but before it reached him, his craft capsized and he was drowned. *Ṡpkwulîtel* was a popular man and there was great grief at his untimely death.

B [556] 754

As was so often the case, jealousy was rife in *Nuxalst*, where a certain *Nûxâl* had become wealthy. He was a good carpenter, and his riches had been amassed as rewards for making *hasîlat* masks, but of course such payments had been made in secret and many people wondered how he had acquired his fortune. This was enough to cause a certain amount of suspicion, and a rival determined to take advantage of it. This man approached *Ṡmâlxem* and said that he believed *Nûxâl* was responsible

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

for *Ẓalwalist*'s death, that he was sure the wealthy man was really a sorcerer, and had used some evil means to cause the fisherman's drowning. *Ẓämälxem* was distantly related to the dead man and, thus incited, determined to kill *Nänätl* in revenge. That evening, as he was lying playing with his grandchild, the Carrier chief entered his house and thrust a musket against the unsuspecting man's chest. *Nänätl* quickly knocked down the muzzle so that the bullet, instead of killing him, merely passed through the fleshy part of his hips. *Ẓämälxem* made no attempt to run away. In such cases it rests with the relatives of the injured man whether or not to take revenge, and they usually avoid beginning a vendetta unless virtually driven to it. News of the assault spread down the valley, and two of *Nänätl*'s nephews, *Ṭsä·kmai* and *Oḏmikuṃẋ*, went up to investigate. They were both men of considerable influence in the community, both validated warriors who had taken prominent parts in the unsuccessful attack on Kitkatla a few years before. Realizing that their uncle was not seriously wounded, the two brothers carried him to their canoe, intending to take him home and to disregard the assault.

During this time, the evil *Nusḏalst* man had been working on *Ẓämälxem*'s fears by telling him that *Nänätl* was certain to kill him by magical means, until he decided that he could escape only by murdering the wounded man. His followers learnt of this and tried to dissuade him, fearing the presence of the two famous warriors. As their canoe was going downstream, it was caught in an eddy and tipped so that one musket and both cartridge boards were lost. This seemed to *Ẓämälxem* the chance for which he had been waiting: he fired from the bank and *Nänätl* fell dead, much to the consternation of his own followers as well as the *Nusḏalst* people.

If *Ṭsä·kmai* and *Oḏmikuṃẋ* had been ordinary men they would probably have fled downstream but, being duly validated men of valour, this course never occurred to them.[14] *Oḏmikuṃẋ*, who had one charge left in his musket, consulted his brother as to their course of action.

"*Nänätl* is dead," his brother replied. "It is probably time for us to die as well. You had better shoot."

Meanwhile *Ẓämälxem* had remained on the bank, laughing at the two warriors. *Oḏmikuṃẋ* told him to be silent, then fired, instantly killing his uncle's murderer. The Carriers began to run to and fro on the shore, whence they could hear the two brothers talking to each other:

"Let us not think of escaping," said one. "We have displayed our characters today. If we are to die, let us die."

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[14] The man from whom this account was obtained mentioned as a matter of course that confirmed warriors could never run away; when questioned further, he emphasized that the public validation of bravery made it utterly impossible for them to flee from danger.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

The other agreed, so they paddled in and landed at the bottom of the village, heedless of the fact that it was full of Carriers. The *Nusdalst* people seem to have remained passive, but the angry Carriers came rushing forth and *Odmikmx* spoke proudly to them: B C 648 726

"You would be dead as your chief if we had not lost our weapons."

The two brothers walked slowly up the long sidewalk of the village, while the Carriers skulked around, uttering threats, casting stones and shooting arrows. Some of the latter stuck in their backs, but long previously both *Tsā·kmai* and *Odmikmx* had eaten part of a *sisiutl* which had rendered their bodies impervious to such wounds. Arrived at the upper end of the village, they stopped and waited, making no attempt to defend themselves, until they were killed. At intervals throughout the day the Carriers treated the two bodies with ignominy, now thrusting spears into them, now beating them, and all this time not a single Bella Coola dared even to protest, so much were they filled with fear of the Carriers who, when roused as they then were, fight like mad dogs. In the late afternoon one of the women thrust a knife into the eyes of the fallen warriors. Even this insult did not rouse the *Nusdalst* people themselves, but *Winās*, one of their slaves, felt called upon to take action. Before being captured, he had been a person of importance in his own home and the Bella Coola had allowed him to become a leading member of the *kusiut* society; in the course of time he had become entirely reconciled to his fate, and even thought as a Bella Coola which gave him the necessary assurance to address the Carriers. B C 648 727 B [567]

"*Wa, wa*," he said. "See the breadth of the sky.[15] I have never seen, nor have I even heard of such a thing as you have done today. Truly you have wiped your feet on all that is sacred and powerful."

This speech for the first time brought the enormity of their offence home to the Carriers. The actual taking of life did not affright them, but in their excitement they had overlooked what was to *Winās* the most obvious sin: they had passed and repassed on the sidewalk outside a house where a *kusiut* dance was taking place. Thus reminded of the danger to which they had exposed themselves, the Carriers withdrew. B [688]

Next day the *Nusdalst* people buried the four victims. *Qāmālxem* had been a mighty chief and, being distantly related, they would normally have given him an elaborate funeral, but now they acted as if dazed and unaware of his prowess. A man who owned a powerful medicine put some of it in the eyes of the two who had been mutilated by the Carrier woman; as the bodies began to decompose, those who had killed them began to suffer from eye-trouble, and the woman became blind. Believing that their sin had caused their misfortunes, the Carriers fled home. B [754]

[15] To call attention in this way to the breadth of the universe carries with it the implication that it will fall to crush those who have broken a sacred law. B [784 195]

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

SYMPATHETIC MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE BELLACOOLA

By HARLAN I. SMITH

177 754 789 [997] [658] [464]

MANY OF the Bellacoola Indians today believe in sympathetic magic and witchcraft, after over a hundred years of contact with white men. Most of them live within hearing of the bells of the mission church, and the government school. Not a few of the men take logging contracts; some of them build and operate motor boats; many of them join the fishing fleets of the salmon canneries; most of the women work in the canneries; and all deal at the white men's stores.

101 131 [161]

The Bellacoola lived at the heads of the long inlets half way up the Pacific Coast of Canada and in the tributary Bella Coola valley. Now, numbering perhaps two hundred and fifty, they, with the exception of a few families, are concentrated on one reservation at the mouth of the Bella Coola river. The Bella Coola valley has been called the Norway of Canada. This was where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada overland, reached the sea.

105

Aboriginally, the Bellacoola were of the North Pacific Coast culture of America, which is characterized by the extensive use of red cedar and sea products, particularly salmon, the making of graceful, sea-going canoes, each hewn from a single cedar, the erection of large rectangular houses made of cedar planks, with carved house posts and totem poles, lack of pottery, and expertness in carpenter work, carving, and painting. This culture belongs to the barefoot area, but the Bellacoolas wore moccasins to a certain extent. The art of the area was that best known from the paintings and carvings of the totem poles, largely of conventionalized animal forms. The life centred around a very highly developed social organization, an extensive and powerful financial system, and property rights to names, rituals and honors. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. They

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

105

are apparently more recent comers to the coast than their neighbors and have not fully adopted this coast culture.

The following examples of sympathetic magic and witchcraft, collected during 1920 to 1923 among the Bellacoola, illustrate the extent of their belief in this direction. 114 121

Most of this information was given me by the late Captain Schooner, born about 1848, and Joshua Moody, born about 1868, both apparently full-blood Bellacoola Indians. Neither of them spoke English and both gave me the data in Chinook jargon, which I have endeavored to interpret and arrange in logical order, but have tried to render in as nearly as possible the Indian mode of thought, feeling and expression. Schooner was a pagan gentleman. Joshua has great knowledge of plants and animals, and is a Bellacoola scientist, but his great ambition and jealousy, combined with his disloyalty in giving up his own people's customs and adopting a very thin veneer of Christianity, color his statements relating to beliefs, although his plant and animal data have always withstood cross examination and comparison with the data supplied by other Indians. Alec Davis and Mrs. Willie Mack told of the toad. They do not talk English and spoke to me in Chinook jargon. Only the accounts about the grizzly bear skin and the bracelet of beaver skin, which were given me by Mrs. Stoessiger, were told in English. 115 [191] [191]

The material was not given as accounts of magic or witchcraft, but rather as part of the data regarding the properties of plants and animals of which I was endeavoring to collect as complete information as possible. 114 121

Joshua, who is even younger than Captain Schooner, remembers the time when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in the Bella Coola valley, and when they saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently these men remember the old Bellacoola beliefs before they were much, if at all, affected by European ideas. 114 115

It will be noticed that magic among the Bellacoola is considered of use both for beneficial and injurious purposes, and that the materials giving effect to it are of both plant and animal origin. 789 754

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

754 The beneficial purposes include: making a child grow up to
789 be a good dancer, industrious, a swift berry picker, or a strong
856 man; curing lung trouble; making the river erode where wanted; and two ways of stopping rain. The injurious purposes include: two ways of making a person grow up to be a thief; the causing of craziness and quarrelsomeness and the three ways of causing death.

754 The materials and actions used include: ashes of aspen leaves;
789 a dead toad, used with hair, with a red cedar bark face wiper,
824 and with lost pieces of thimble berry shoots which were acciden-
825 tally dropped while being eaten; ashes of a yellow jacket's nest; a living raven with phlegm; beaver paws, in two instances; a skin bracelet from a beaver's foreleg; a dead wood-rat; a dead mouse; a grizzly bear's skin; a living red squirrel with a bit of apron fringe; setting fire to a wood-rat's house; and poking an ant hill.

789 To make a person a good dancer the ashes of the burned leaves
856 of the aspen or trembling poplar were said to be useful, but
824 Joshua said this may have been a joke. The Bellacoola Indians
535 say the leaves dance. They never say that they tremble. When a baby was born, if the parents talked about it and the father desired that the baby grow up to be a good dancer, the mother or father got the leaves, burned them and put the ashes on the baby's hands, knees and elbows. When telling of this Joshua held his hands with the finger tips up and moved them as the Bellacoola do in dancing. Both rich and poor men danced.

789 A baby girl would grow up to be industrious, it was believed,
825 if the warm limbs of a recently dead beaver were applied to her.
856 The Bellacoola apparently observed the great industry of the beaver.

To make a baby girl grow up to be a fast berry-picking woman, the ring of skin from between two cuts around a beaver's foreleg was put on her wrist and was left on until it wore off.

To make a boy grow up to be a strong man, a skin of the grizzly bear, was thrown over him, generally by his father.

755 For phlegm on the lungs, more permanent than a simple cold,
825 the patient expectorated in something and some one secretly mixed the fresh phlegm with salmon eggs and put the mixture

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

out for the ravens to eat. This was done four times, and if a raven ate it, the patient recovered, according to Captain Schooner's belief. As the call of the raven sounds somewhat like a person affected with phlegm in the throat, this may be a case of sympathetic magic, at any rate it is one of witchcraft. 755 825 [754]

To make the river erode at a certain place in order to break a log jam, a beaver's foot was buried in each of several spots in the place. 789 825

A continuous rain would cease, and the sun would come out, it was said, if the people set fire to a wood-rat's house.

When it rained too much the Bellacoola Indians poked down an ant hill and said, "Give us warm sunshine." They believed this would bring results, but now that Joshua is a Christian he says he does not believe it and says it is useless play talk.

Bad boys or girls, but not adults, would take a dead mouse, warm it over a fire, and rub the warmed mouse on the hands of a baby. This made the baby steal when it grew up. The so-called stealing habits of the mouse were supposed to be transferred to the child. 754 856 825

The still warm body of a freshly killed wood-rat was used in the same way to make a baby, boy or girl, "crazy," and grow up to be a constant thief. The notorious habits of the wood-rat, as well as those of the mouse, were evidently well recognized by the Bellacoola.

To make people crazy, the red squirrel had to be properly used by a shaman and then it possessed strong power. One woman who had been made crazy in this way died in 1887. She did not like the shaman and he did not like her. He stole her apron. She was sorry. He took it into the forest and performed witchcraft because he wanted to spoil her life by making her crazy. He caught a red squirrel alive, possibly in a little basket. He had a box called a "bad box," in which he kept his things of evil power. He put some of the fringe of her apron around the red squirrel and let it run far away. The woman then became crazy and sometimes fell down, but part of the time she seemed well. My Indian informant, Joshua, had seen her. This example of sympathetic 754 756 825

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

754 magic probably originated from observing the many very erratic
756 825 and apparently purposeless movements of the red squirrel.

When one wished to cause the child of one's enemy to grow
754 up to be a quarrelsome person, a yellow jacket's nest was burned
825 and the ashes were rubbed on the face, hands, and arms of the
856 child. When the child grew up, it was believed, he or she would fight with everyone. The yellow jacket's natural defense of it's nest is interpreted as quarrelsome, even by white people.

754 The toad was a powerful medicine for the bad box used in
825 witchcraft.

To make a man or woman die of craziness, one of the hairs of the person's head was put in the body cavity of a disemboweled toad.

[515 825] To make a person's face swell and superate until death came, the little pieces of softened red cedar bark used to clean the person's face were put in the body cavity of a disemboweled toad. The idea underlying this was probably the reproduction of the warts of the toad on the face of the person.

[824] To make a person die, a piece of the young shoot of a thimble berry, lost by that person while eating, was put in the mouth of a toad. Death was supposed to take place in half an hour.

754 One very old man, Judas by name, boasts of having killed seven people by means of his bad box used in witchcraft, especially of having caused the death of Mr. John Clayton, who was the first white man to remain long in this area, having kept the Hudson's Bay store at Bella Coola, and later a store of his own, but who died far away from Bella Coola in 1909.

Mrs. Samuel King who died in 1922 was said to have been poisoned by Willie Mack. Her father, Captain Schooner, was said to have stated that Willie would die in July on the anniversary of her death. Willie Mack died in the summer of 1923. Captain Schooner died a few days later. He was said to understand malevolent witchcraft thoroughly. It was said that people often cut off the collars of Willie Mack's shirts. Willie Mack's father was too great a chief so that people were ashamed, and consequently killed Willie by means of witchcraft with something in a bad box.

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

754

Charlie West, a Carrier Indian from Ulkatcho, believed that Mrs. Samuel King had been killed by Willie Mack's witchcraft. Alexander Cleleman, a Bellacoola Indian, believed that Willie Mack had been killed by Captain Schooner's witchcraft in revenge for his daughter's death, and that Captain Schooner died of witchcraft on the part of Willie Mack.

That Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to visit the Bellacoola, performed acts of witchcraft on the beach, was strongly asserted by Joshua, who would not believe me that Mackenzie was probable taking observations, determining his geographical position.

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CANADA,
OTTAWA.

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

B 825 757 by some old Bellacoola men to be good for sores, but my informant did not believe it.

C 825 Among the Ulkatcho it is numerous, but was not used, not even as a medicine.

B 825 A bumble-bee, identified as *Bombus appositus* Cresson, by Dr. H. J. Franklin, among the Bellacoola, was called Tikquanats or the large Skotl, Skotl being the name of three kinds of insects, a bumble-bee, a yellow jacket, and a hornet. It was not taken nor used, and was said to do no harm to people. My informant did not know whether it had a house or not. Neither did he know that it made honey until told so by white men. They say the bee took one of the prickers of the swamp gooseberry for a stinger, but my informant said he did not believe this. He thought it had a sting in its mouth, not in its tail, until I showed him. The Bellacoola have a story that a being considered by a little girl to be a man, but by an elder sister to be a bumble-bee, was once seen coming from the noonday sun. The little girl became blind, B [773] but her eyes appeared to be all right. Many thought she was made blind by too much sunlight when she looked at the man who was a bumble-bee.

C 825 926 Among the Ulkatcho, this bumble-bee was called Whultocho, *Whulto* being the name of a yellow jacket, and *cho* meaning large. *Whus* or *Whis* means pricker. The bumble-bee was not used as fish bait.

B 825 An insect, probably the hornet, is called Slow lowsil, by the Bellacoola, who say it has a little white on the tail and makes a small nest in a tree in July.

The yellow jacket among the Bellacoola was called Quolalaits (Cloiaclaylaits) (Cloiaclaylaits skotl) while all three kinds of insects, the bumble-bee, the yellow jacket and the hornet, were called Skotl. The yellow jacket was known to make a nest. The nest was used in sympathetic magic or witchcraft as follows: When one wished to cause the child of one's enemy to grow up to B be a quarrelsome person, the nest of the yellow-jacket was burned [754] and the ashes rubbed on the child. When the child grew up he or she would fight with everyone.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy. 774 756 [828] [753] [828]

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Sûq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Sûq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself. 756 [776]

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: 'When an Awiky'ô'noq wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Ma'tem) who will initiate him. No Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way.' [171]

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 612), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called amk. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms. 753 755 754 [826]

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die. 682 754 [825]

I add here a few current beliefs:— 827

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry. [777]

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die. 825

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky. 763 777

WAR.

When a war party was organized the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their 726 714

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575 to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one
[785] morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all
[787] his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone
[52] whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the
[774] body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try
[756] for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the xlaxō'la dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large
[292] head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark.
[301] Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the S'a'lpsta (fig. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that
[532] of BaxbakuālanaXsī'wasē of the Kwakiutl. Some xlaxō'la do not
[171] bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and
[266] devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The xlaxō'la has to observe a number of regulations.
[525] For four years after his initiation he must not
[834] gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

Fig. 200.
MASK OF THE S'A'LPSTA.
Bellacoola.
Cat. No. 18668, U. S. N. M.
Collected by F. Boas.

The ō'lex (the laugher) and the dā'tia (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The ō'lex "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The dā'tia carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The ō'lex and the dā'tia, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

575 If a person transgresses the laws of the kō'sint, for instance, when
638 the xlaxō'la gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in
[592] council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing
575 to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the sub-
688 stitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted
754 to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing dis-
756 ease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
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the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender, he will fall sick. Blood is believed to collect in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the kū'nut are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklace of red cedar bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others, the thunder bird and his servant, ALXULĀ'TENUM (who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and carries a staff with red and blue spiral lines), appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Xē'mtsica and his brothers and his sisters; Masmasalā'nix and his fellows, the raven and the nuxxē'mta, and many others.[1]

Fig. 381.
HEADDRESS OF GALA'.
Haida.
Cat. No. [illegible], U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

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THE TSIMSHIAN, NĪSQA', HAIDA, AND TLINGIT.

The tribes of this group learned the ceremonial avowedly from the Hē'iltsuq. Although I have not witnessed any part of their ceremonials, the descriptions which I received bring out with sufficient clearness its similarities to the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl. The ceremonials seem to be almost identical among all these tribes. It is most complete among the southwestern Tsimshian tribes, particularly the G-itxā'LA, but has been adopted by all the tribes of the coast. It is said that it reached the Haida not more than a hundred years ago.

I will tell here what I learned from the Nisqa'. They have six societies, which rank in the following order: The ēmhalai't, mē'LA', ītLA'm, ōsala', nanēstā't, hōnana'L, the last being the highest. The ēmhalai't is really not confined to the winter ceremonial, but is obtained when a person acquires the first guardian spirit of his clan and performs the ceremony belonging to this event. The tradition of the origin of these ceremonies localizes the events at Bellabella, and it

[1] See "Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas," page 311, by F. Boas.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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and leapt away apparently uninjured. The Bella Coola say that yearling goats have very strong spirits (I, p. 94) which make possible such actions.

Though generally callous with regard to the sufferings of animals, the Bella Coola are usually careful not to kill more than they need; and knowledge of the supernatural power possessed by animals sometimes leads men to treat them with great consideration. For example, if a bull-head is caught in an olachen net in the river, the fisherman throws it back into the water, saying:

"I have saved you; please do the same for me."

The following incident, believed without question by the Bella Coola, shows the manner in which bull-heads help those who have often befriended them. About 1880 a Kimsquit fisherman, *Ăltakăn·i*, fell into a rapids where he was in great danger of drowning. A bull-head, seeing his plight and mindful of former help, increased his size and shoved *Ăltakăn·i* ashore with its nose.

"I have saved you, mortal," said the bull-head, as he did so.

The ability to increase in size is not restricted to fish, but is shared by small mammals and reptiles. Lizards, for instance, four feet in length, are said to live permanently in a pond about seven miles below Kimsquit; they are termed *qwalăs*.

Toads, too, can aid mortals. If a man see a snake devouring one of them he will, if he is wise, kill the snake and say to the toad:

"Please help me when I am in difficulties."

A toad never forgets its obligations and if that man should fall into a river when the toad is near, the latter will grow large enough to drag him forth.

Snakes are regarded with aversion and disgust. This may be in part due to the belief that they cook for *Ăllăt·iaiitl* (I, p. 49), but more because these reptiles enter the stomachs of human beings. The Bella Coola believe that snakes are the offspring of a supernatural Mother of Snakes, a mythical being of dread powers. The following story illustrates their beliefs

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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concerning the danger of near approach to this creature: 539

Ḱwilais was a man of mixed lineage, Kimsquit and *Ṗa·s*, near Newitte. With several companions he was gathering berries when he stepped into a hole and felt numerous tiny creatures crawling over his legs. Looking down, he saw that they were small snakes, that had just been hatched from a Mother of Snakes. He fled, terrified, pursued by the reptiles, which he managed to keep off to some extent by brushing behind him a branch of spiny swamp gooseberry, a known deterrent. When he had out-distanced the snakes he called his companions, told them of his adventure, and returned home. There he repeated the tale. Though *Ḱwilais* did not know it, many of the snakes had succeeded in entering his stomach. Presently he began to swell; his body became larger and larger until he was in danger of bursting. The reptiles within were breeding rapidly. Luckily, one of his fellow villagers knew the proper remedy. A raised bed was made for the sufferer about five feet from the ground where *Ḱwilais* stretched himself on a number of thorny branches, while his friends built a fire of devil's club and swamp gooseberry twigs so that he was fumigated in the smoke. Then, to give greater potency, they cast on the flames soiled clothing and pounded cedar-bark pads stained with menstrual blood; even this was of no avail, so finally a woman squeezed out into a vessel some of her menstrual blood which *Ḱwilais* drank. This killed the snakes. The patient began to vomit, emitting a mass of wriggling serpents, and at once began to grow thinner, soon regaining his normal condition. Had he not been able to eject the reptiles, he would have died.

776 825 755 [789] [753] [841]

Ḱwilais was not the only one to have this unpleasant experience. Many others have suffered in the same way, but in no case has anyone been able to feel the snakes at the actual place or time of entry.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the power possessed by animals are clearly shown by their attitude with regard to killing them. Man is immortal, so are animals. *Ałquntām* decreed that beasts and birds should serve as food for mankind, but it is only their clothing, their worthless "blanket of flesh," as the Bella Coola express it, which they give to hunters. In the autumn leaves appear to die, but every spring they are reborn. Similarly, when an animal is slain, it merely discards its visible self while its spirit[m] ascends

825 775 224 [774]

[m] *Xemtsedz*, see vol. I, p. 94.

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years ago a chief, when hunting, sat down to rest. While he 774
sat a slide plunged down the mountain-side and swept away the ground where he would have been if he had not stopped. The Bella Coola know that such a fortunate escape is no accident, as foolish white men believe, but is the result of an active spirit. Sometimes it can convey only symbolic hints of what is to happen. An old Kimsquit man told how his lower eyelids once became sore and his stomach began to heave. This [827] occurs with sobbing, so he knew that ill-fortune was before [787] him and was not surprised at the death of his son. A thoughtful person pays great attention to indications such as these, knowing that his spirit is always striving to pierce the future and obtain information for him, however indefinite. The importance of the supernatural to the Bella Coola can be judged from the fact that they attribute every action and thought to an element of this nature.

Mentality, *sik*, though caused by the spirit, is somewhat 774
vaguely regarded as a separate entity. It comprises two parts, 828
one constantly urging to good deeds, particularly to activity in ritual matters, the other to evil. No one knows the appearance, if any, of human mentality. Some of the thoughtful older men hazard the opinion that every tree has mentality, whereas others say that it has a spirit. In former times especially, as one was falling, the cutters could occasionally see a dark object somewhat resembling an otter flash away and disappear. Not until then was the tree actually dead. Even the old people do not profess to know anything definite about mentality, which is important only as an attribute of the spirit. In indefinite 774
association with it, too, is breath, *sininits*, provided by *Ałquntām* [761] for everyone at birth. The word signifies more than [827] the material act of breathing, it denotes the actual physical state of being alive, a condition "lent" by *Ałquntām* to mortals. The connection of these two elements with the spirit is unequivocal, though their exact relationship is indefinite.

If the spirit moves far from its proper position at the back [753] of the neck, the owner falls ill; if it leaves him, his condition [755]

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774 becomes critical. Only a shaman (I, p. 539) can return one, and
755 if he fails death always results. In some cases a spirit leaves
[753] its owner without apparent reason; he becomes insane, tries
to eat dirt, and his relatives realize at once what is the matter.
[756] They summon a shaman who takes off his cape, hangs it like a pouch on his stick, and points it in all directions as he sings his shaman's song. Finally he locates what is missing, and traps it in his cloak, which he places around the sick man. This restores the element and the sufferer recovers immediately. Another method is for the shaman to press the back of the patient's neck, and by blowing and spitting cause the wandering spirit to return. Either cure must be performed by a shaman because of the supernatural power required.

774 Spirits can be extracted in various ways. Shamans can draw one forth by sucking at the back of the neck between their cupped hands; in former times, some were so powerful that they could extract them by their mere presence. During
774 *kusiut* dances (II, chap. 1), the uninitiated are told that if they
575 enter the house where a ceremony is taking place, or even pass
[535] on the sidewalk outside the door, their spirits will be drawn from them by the power within and attracted to the dancer or to the sacred platform on which he is concealed. Many
[178] stories are told of this, which were firmly believed by the uninitiated until the last few years. Members of the society claim that their great power acts as a magnet to the spirits of all but their associates, except children in arms; the latter can be taken by their mothers into the house, because their supernatural elements have not developed sufficient strength to
774 leave their bodies. A person may also lose his spirit through a sudden shock. If two people meet unexpectedly in the forest and one of them shouts loudly at the other, even if only in fun, the spasmodic contraction of the muscles is enough to expel it.
[761] The person to whom this happens falls down as if dead, and
[756] though he soon recovers, his spirit has left him, and if it is not brought back by a shaman he dies a lingering death.

775 At death, the spirit permanently leaves the body. In some

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below. These are termed tally posts.[11] Each remained upright as long as the individual to whom it referred was alive, but fell at his death. Since that time, whenever *Ałquntäm* lends to a mortal *sininits*, the undefined power that causes life, his supernatural artisans erect in the land above a tally post for the new-born infant, marked with the bird or animal used by an ancestor. As long as this remains upright and straight, firmly fixed to the ground, its owner continues to be strong and prosperous, and has success in all his undertakings; if it becomes loose, or is crooked, he ceases to succeed. Prosperity does not depend upon the activities of an individual, but upon his supernatural possessions, spirit, tally post, and a third to be described later. If the tally post tilts far from the perpendicular, its owner becomes ill, and can be cured only by straightening it. In some cases *Ałquntäm* is kind enough to do this if placated by prayer and ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), and in olden days, shamans were occasionally able to penetrate to the land above for this purpose. Even when a post was reached, they were sometimes unable to set it upright, though they could always estimate the length of a man's life from its angle of inclination. In one of the *kusiut* dances, the performer pretends to have the ability to go aloft and the uninitiated are deceived by the erection of a tall ladder up which he climbs and disappears (II, p. 202). On his return, he reports the condition of the tally posts of various people. This performance serves to remind both members of the society and uninitiated of the existence of these supernatural elements, and of the dependence of individuals on them for success in life. In spite of this ritual, actual knowledge of the powers and functions of tally posts has been derived only from the first Bella Coola who, created in the land above, were acquainted with the mysteries of life and transmitted such lore to their descendants. One old man expressed the opinion

[11] *Łnałłnałts*. One of the names of *Nusmłt-a*, *Nusłnałłnałts*, refers to these, meaning, "The Place of the Tally Posts." *Łnałłnałts* and *łnałłnałts* are closely associated; sometimes the latter is pronounced *łnałłnałts*, although this may be an error in recording.

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773 Shamans achieve much of their success through their ability
777 to put their wash-basins, both tangible (I, p. 560) and immaterial, in tune with *Ālquntäm*'s in the land above. One method
823 of treating a patient is by washing, with the idea that the water
756 and vessel used have potency through association with those
[755] in the upper world. It is believed that in the distant past, shamans were even able to carry their patients to the land above and wash them in *Ālquntäm*'s own basin. Such feats
[551] are perpetuated in certain shamans' names, such as *Ālpälxeloslaix*.

773 It may be said in conclusion that although the Bella Coola
777 have indefinite ideas concerning the exact form and functions of this last element, there is a firm belief that an individual's fortune in life depends upon the activity of spirit, tally post, and wash-basin. With regard to supernatural elements as a whole, it is clear that in spite of somewhat conflicting beliefs concerning the precise functions of each, they play an important part in the life of every Bella Coola.

Means of Propitiation

782 Some of the methods employed by the Bella Coola to gain the favour of the supernatural have already been mentioned, but the subject is sufficiently important to warrant a separate section. In view of the omnipresence of supernatural beings and powers, and their influence on the lives of mortals, it is not surprising that the propitiation of them is a vital factor in human life. The chief means are prayer, sacrifice, and the observance of ceremonial chastity.

PRAYER

[776] Prayers are regularly addressed to *Ālquntäm* who, in this connection, is known as *Mınakais* or *Tätä*, both meaning, "Father." A wise man or woman desiring success in hunting, in love affairs, in the acquisition of wealth, or in any activity whatsoever, is accustomed to ask *Mınakais* to grant his desire. No ritual is required. The petitioner merely seeks a lonely

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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *kusiut* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Ałquntärv* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy abstin-

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*556 773 flesh cut from the body is fastened to the point of the spear, making it so potent that when next the chief lunges at a salmon he transfixes it and brings it ashore. He warms the fish at a fire and then pounds it on a stone until it becomes a copper.

No Bella Coola has visited this distant river for many generations and the belief concerning the manufacture of *taitaimx* appears to have been handed down from dim antiquity. Coppers of this kind are said to have been considered much more valuable than the usual *łälia*, but were always uncommon. In addition to their ordinary uses, they had a certain curative value. If the owner of one was ill, he used to clean it [755] with a rough stone and water; then he would drink four cupfuls of the liquid which contained minute fragments of metal. In almost every case a speedy recovery followed. In all other respects *łälia* or *taitaimx* could be used indiscriminately.

Łälia are likewise said to have a supernatural origin. When found in the forest, they are due to the supernatural salmon-[776] like being, *sisiutl*, having changed itself into one. None has been found in recent years because the *sisiutl* have moved away owing to their dislike of the smell of human footsteps and the taint of smoke.

These stories serve to emphasize the complete ignorance of [325] the Bella Coola concerning the methods of manufacturing coppers. It is possible that long ago they were able to make their own by pounding the native metal, but if so it is surprising that some traditions to this effect were not preserved. On the other hand, there is little reason to doubt their use of [177] coppers, obtained from the northern tribes, antedating the coming of the whites. All informants agreed on this point, and the frequent references to coppers in mythology likewise point to considerable age. In many of the ancestral myths there are accounts of the obtaining of coppers by some of the [551] first people, and many ancestral names, both of men and women, are derived from them.

[237] The Bella Coola attribute the value of coppers to the fact

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CAUSES OF DEATH

761 The Bella Coola know that sickness, accident, wilful murder, old age and a host of other factors may at any time terminate a man's life, but they consider that any one of these direct causes is possible only in conjunction with an indirect reason of a religious or supernatural nature; in the last analysis they attribute death to supernatural, not to natural causes. [773] As described in a previous chapter, an ancient myth attributes the origin of death to the stupidity of Raven, but this belief, even if its historical accuracy is accepted, belongs to the realm of philosophy and ancient history rather than to everyday life. 761 When a canoe is capsized on the ocean and its occupants are drowned, —the Bella Coola do not consider a drowning a mere 776 accident—it is because *Q̓omoqwa* was hungry and desired human flesh. This indirect reason is quite as important as the direct one. So, too, the death of a man beneath a falling tree or a land-side is no accident; *Sä·lma* caused the tree to crash to earth or the slide to roll downwards. Most individuals believe that this supernatural being is responsible when an animal kills a hunter. He delights in death and always sits on [756] a coffin before it is taken to the grave, although none but shamans can see him. Any supernatural being can cause death, but it must not be imagined that the Bella Coola go through life in a state of constant fear; death may vanquish them in the forests, but the probabilities are against it. Nor does 753 sickness appear to them as a natural phenomenon. Its cause is either the intrusion of some foreign object into the body, or the weakness of one of the patient's supernatural elements. The only remedy in the latter case is an appeal to the super- [755] natural, sometimes through the medium of a shaman, whereas a foreign object in the body can often be extracted by a skilled [754] practitioner. A disease of this type is often brought on by the machinations of a sorcerer, and if death results it is attributed 761 to the potency of his charms, not to a natural ailment. Even [775] ghosts are able to cause death. In war, one man may be able [726]

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tries to speak to living relatives, but his whistling language is 775
unintelligible and frightens the hearer. Ghosts dislike urine,
and the only means known to keep them away from a house is [789]
to sprinkle this liquid outside the door, a common Bella Coola
custom. There is no actual danger in hearing a ghost, and 761
little even in seeing one, provided the observer does not relate 775
his experience, but should he try to do so, something happens
to his mouth as if an invisible hand had been clamped over it 753
to prevent his words issuing forth. He can neither eat nor
drink and soon dies.[46] It is possible that other beings are
responsible for this same affliction, but as no sufferer has ever
been able to explain the cause of his ailment, no one knows.
The most dangerous ghost is that of a person who, buried [764]
without a nose-ring, is unable to disintegrate into his elements.
The sight of such an apparition causes almost immediate death
through contraction and closing of the mouth.

An unpleasant habit of ghosts is the throwing of stones at 775
the living. This is done partly from a love of mischief, and
partly to remind their relatives of their needs. An old Kimsquit man described how, when encamped on King Island, he
had almost been struck by a stone which seemed to fall from
a tree. He realized that it must have been thrown by a ghost, [753]
and his opinion was confirmed when he found he could not
speak. He instantly built a fire and cast on it both food and [755]
clothing as offerings to the dead, which had the effect of loosening his mouth. Pondering on the reason, he remembered that
one of his relatives had died not far away, and that he had
failed to give him any crumbs for a long time. In this case,
as in many others, the stone was visible, though the thrower
remained invisible.

Even near approach to ghosts is sometimes dangerous. The
same man related how, when hunting, he heard what he thought
was the note of a water ouzel, and passed by heedlessly. In a
few minutes he thought he heard the cackling of geese, but the
sound, instead of continuing to come from a pond a few hun-

[46]The disease attributed to the actions of ghosts may be lock-jaw. [164]

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775 dred yards away, rapidly drew near the hunter along the trail. He raised his musket and stepped aside, but though the sound went past him down the path, he could see nothing. Terrified, he realized that he had been near two ghosts, and rushed back [756] to the village. A shaman was called who informed him that he had met his dead father's sister and another relative, both of whom were hungry. The hunter, too weak from fright to help himself, watched the shaman light a fire and throw on it [755] a considerable amount of food and goods. Finally, he ripped the hunter's shirt from his back and threw it into the flames. Consequently, no harm resulted from this experience.

Ghosts, like all other supernatural beings, can, of course, control their powers so that their appearance does not injure a beholder. A few years before 1922 a certain *Qoxolän·i*, whose ancestral name was *Lo·qwa·t*, was encamped at *Saskwanuts* on the Labouchere Channel side of King Island. At dusk a woman came to his fire and proceeded to warm her cape. He recognized from her green face that she must be a ghost and boldly asked her what she wanted.

"I have been searching for mussels," she replied, "but without success."

In an instant she vanished and *Qoxolän·i* experienced neither good nor evil from this apparition. The Bella Coola say that this being may not have been a ghost as he had thought, [776] but was perhaps one of the under-sea dwellers who have somewhat the same appearance.

Since ghosts, like other supernatural beings, are believed to possess both wisdom and power, it might be thought that they would be invoked frequently. Instead, death has altered their character to such an extent that they are avoided and 756 kept at a distance. The only time that an appeal is made to 775 a ghost is when a young person dies without apparent reason and the survivors wish to learn the cause. The body is buried 787 with a long cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and [766] undyed cedar-bark projecting from its mouth and stretching to the surface. The relative desiring information summons to his house several shamans whose powers have been obtained

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"I am *Ȧnolxʷmdimut*," she said. "Everyone calls on me to visit the sick, and henceforth they will likewise seek you and your basin." 756* 787*

Something entered his stomach, causing it to heave violently, and he felt that the sickness had left him. He sent for the singers and repeated to them the words that *Ṫłitcäplilän·a* had chanted; these formed the text of the shaman's song which he used on future occasions. While giving them to the singers, he endeavoured to dance, but was too feeble to do more than weakly shake his hands. From that time on, *Ȧnolxʷmdimut* was able to cure the sick.

This last account is typical. *Ṫłitcäplilän·a* appears, inserts something into the body of the patient to cure him, sings one or more songs, gives the sufferer a name, and then vanishes. [553] The curing power thus bestowed remains within the person benefited; it is this that enables him to heal others if *Ṫłitcäplilän·a* has so decided. In such cases, there is mention of a "basin" in the song, and the one who has just recovered will be able to treat others, especially those suffering from the same [755] malady as himself. The reference to a basin is because such utensils are used during treatments. To the Bella Coola a shaman is one who has had such an experience and has publicly claimed it, whether or not he can cure the sick.

Ṫłitcäplilän·a is known by many names, in accordance with [776] her ability to treat many diseases, and the designation she bestows depends upon the malady cured. [553] The following are some of the names received from her by shamans.

Sexsexqwalxelaoslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breath." [551] This name was given to a person who was cured when he found breathing very difficult. The text of his song was:

"*Ṫłitcäplilän·a* gave me (the name) *Sexsexqwalxelaoslaix* with a small object to aid the breathing of the very sick." [533]

Tämtämslo·psta. This has the same significance as the last. [551]

Nexnäx·mälosaix, "The Dancer Near the Fire."

Ȧnolxʷmdimut, "The Dancer Who Makes Noise Only with

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* 756 His Body." A shaman with this name does not use a rattle
* 787 when curing.

Ánuxelnmut, "Quivering To and Fro." This refers to the
[551] movements of a shaman when he dances for curative purposes.

[755] *Qpänpänliktnmlaix*, "The Revolver." This is derived from *qpänliktnm*, to revolve sunwise, and as this is done for curative purposes, the name really signifies, "The One Who Restores to Strength."

It is believed that *Ťłitcäplilän·a* often uses her own discretion about visiting the sick, but that sometimes a number of the supernatural beings confer as to whether an ailing person should be helped, and if so request her to visit him. Sometimes
[761] the patient is so sick that an enormous amount of power must be inserted to help him, and he dies from its receipt. In such cases he is revived by *Ánunitsektnm*, a male being whose sole function is to restore those whom *Ťłitcäplilän·a* has slain. This return to life has frequently occurred when relatives have been mourning the death of the patient, who is presently able to recount all that he has seen. Sometimes *Ťłitcäplilän·a*, instead of herself bestowing power upon a sick person, carries him[1] away to a locality in which a supernatural being was petrified in the beginning of time.

* 756 Although it is *Ťłitcäplilän·a* who most frequently cures a
776 sick person, there are many instances of other supernatural
* 787 beings having done so. Little seems to be known of these, except that they have been recorded as appearing to give a patient their name and to cure him of his malady. So far as could be ascertained, they are thought of only in connection with apparitions to the sick and, since in function they exactly resemble *Ťłitcäplilän·a*, and as it is she who is most commonly spoken of, it is possible, or even probable, that these are actually the same being under other names. The following beings are of this type.

[1] The Bella Coola do not theorize as to the part of the person thus transported; if questioned, they conclude that it must be the spirit.

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that he is a shaman, and his future status depends on his success in curing those who appeal to him. If the man decides not to make use of his experience, he must not mention the name of his apparition, as to do so would not only prevent further benefits, but would cause the return of the disease from which he had been suffering. Some shamans have waited until they have received three or four separate visitations, acquiring a name at each; and a Bella Bella man was known to have had ten. Whether or not it is wise at once to display shaman's power is a matter on which there is no general agreement. On the one hand by long, and perhaps fruitless, waiting, a man postpones the social esteem which would have been his if he had at once displayed his prowess, gambling with his chances of receiving still greater gifts. While awaiting further visitations, a man may be able to make use of the power already received, although he cannot do so formally as an accredited shaman. Thus one man, who long ago was visited by a supernatural being, but has made no public claim of his apparition, is able to cure stomach-ache among his own grandchildren by massaging the stomach as if to force something from it, and then puffing this something, four times, from his spread hands. Still hoping for power, he declined to say by which supernatural being he had been visited.

The following account was obtained from one of the few old Bella Coola who claim to have had shamanistic experiences. It describes what is done when the patient decides not to wait for further revelations:

When comparatively young, the informant slept one night in the forest with a companion. On awakening the following morning, they found a trail of dried blood leading to their blankets. They examined themselves and found no wound, so concluded that the blood could not be their own, and, therefore, was a mystery, over which they worried for a few days but then forgot. About a week later, the narrator of the incident dreamed that a strange creature came to him; he did not know what it was, but it terrified him. A few minutes later

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The Curing of the Sick 755 ● 756 *

When a person is ill one of his relatives comes to request a shaman to cure him.

"I will help the mortal," answers the shaman, as though he were himself a supernatural being.

Indeed he considers himself to be removed from the ranks of ordinary mortals, and refers to the being from whom he has received his power as "comrade." No mention of recompense is made, but the shaman understands that if he succeeds he will be rewarded. Donning his collar of alternate rows of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, he proceeds to the patient's house, usually followed by some of the singers, as well as by anyone else who is interested. He throws himself down beside, or on, the sick person and begins to feel for the sickness. Particularly in the case of stomach or chest trouble this is a difficult matter. The practitioner kneads the flesh, pounds the patient, leaps on him, and pummels him until a spectator wonders that the sufferer survives. The aim throughout is to bring the disease, pictured as a foreign object having material form, towards the surface whence it can be extracted in one of the following ways. [753]

(1) Some shamans of long ago were the possessors of life-sticks, and could cure merely by touching the patient with the life-giving end.

(2) In a simple illness the shaman is able to cure by his power alone. After locating the seat of the disease he casts himself on the patient, with head pressed close to the spot where he has located the trouble, and growls and grunts with half-closed lips, ejecting a flow of saliva over the sick person. By so doing he inserts his own power into the sufferer, who at once begins to imitate the chattering and to shake his hands. Then the shaman proceeds to recall this power to himself by scooping it up with half-cupped hands. Endowed as he is, the sickness is harmless to him. No instance is known of a shaman having failed to recall his power, but, theoretically, if he did

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● 755 not do so, he would cease to be a shaman, and the ability would
*756 pass to the cured person.

(3) In more difficult cases the shaman uses his basin and seeks assistance from others by a frenzied beating of sticks. He sends some young man out to fill the receptacle at the river, sets it near the patient, and throws water over him as he kneads in the manner already described. While this is going on, and
533 it is often a lengthy performance, another shaman, or someone
535 accustomed to lead the singers, ranges the bystanders into two
755 rows, facing each other between the door and the central fire. Each is provided with a beating stick such as the singers use, and a sounding-board is placed before each row. The clever dancer who has been commissioned to lead the orchestra of stick-beaters stands near the door and the musicians take their time from his movements. First he slowly raises both arms and all beat time softly, then, as he lifts his arms higher, the noise increases, and he sways from side to side as if carried away by the music; as he does so the men towards whom he leans intensify their beating, while those on the other side decrease. Back and forth he sways followed by the beating; nearing the climax he treads mincingly, whereat the noise rises to thunder-pitch, then jumps twice, and as he strikes the ground the drums beat and all the sticks come down with a final ear-splitting crash. Throughout the whole the women drone *i*……. This elaborate beating of time is repeated four times, on each occasion concluding with the double jump which calls forth the double thunder of drums and sticks.

755 Meanwhile the functioning shaman is gurgling and chat-
*756 tering through half-closed lips, and at intervals the leader, or any stick-beater, shouts *hoip*, a call which is supposed to soothe the supernatural beings. The din is tremendous. No explanation could be found of the meaning of this noise.

"It has always been done," say the Bella Coola, and they theorize no further.

At last the shaman rises from the sick person, holding his hands carefully cupped together as if he held something within

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them that might escape. It is the sickness! The din increases; the leader works himself into a frenzy with his rapid gyrations, then he stills the noise as the shaman goes to the door. In dead silence, the more striking in contrast to the previous tumult, he partly opens his hands and puffs against them, as if blowing something out of the door, at the same time calling out, *hoip*. Again the beating of sticks breaks out, again it is stilled, and again the shaman blows forth the sickness. This is done four times. The shaman uses his own discretion whether to send the sickness through the door or the smoke-vent. 755 756 [535]

A variant of this method is for the functioning shaman to dance during the beating of sticks, before throwing himself on the patient. With chattering teeth and shaking rattle, he revolves sunwise, his free arm bent at the elbow so that his wrist, which he shakes freely, is close to his chin; at intervals he calls out, *snuaixwa*. It is a serious and important proceeding to the Bella Coola, and the effects are considered nullified if a dog barks during the stick-beating. [535]

(4) Some powerful shamans cure by the use of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. A roll made of these two substances is placed among glowing embers until it is itself afire, when the shaman puts it in his mouth. After dancing for some time to the accompaniment of frenzied stick-beating, he hauls forth the bark, still burning, and again puts it in the fire. This is done four times. Then he thrusts the burning bark into the patient's mouth, and leaves it there for some time before pulling it forth. This, too, is repeated four times. When finally drawn forth, it has attracted the sickness, which can then be thrown away by the throwing away of the bark. It seems clear that this must be done by conjuring, but the writer was unable to learn the method employed, and was repeatedly assured that no subterfuge was used. [824] [535]

(5) One illness is caused by a person carelessly stepping on a dead salmon, such as dot the banks of the rivers in the autumn. The fish, indignant, injects a sickness into the offender. [753] [825]

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755 offender. A shaman is able to diagnose the malady, and when
756 he has pulled it forth in the manner previously described, he
[825] ties it up in a bundle of four pieces of dyed, and four of undyed, cedar-bark, sprinkles eagle down over the whole, and throws it into the river. This not only causes the sickness to return whence it has come, but placates the salmon who are glad to receive the beautiful cedar-bark.

755 (6) Another method is by making a present to *Ťlitcăp-*
756 *lilăn·a*. The shaman prepares four collars of hemlock twigs,
782 wrapped around with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, and with numerous cross-pieces of dyed cedar-bark. When these are ready, all assemble to witness the curing, and to assist the practitioner by beating sticks. He first sets four basins, one at each corner of the fire, and then proceeds to pull it apart, leaving a glowing expanse of embers in the centre. The shaman throws on this bed pieces of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, as well as eagle down, and
[789] walks through, between the two halves of the separated fire. Several men stated that they had seen this done, but none could give any information as to the method. If actually carried out, the way in which the fire was prevented from burning the shaman and the highly inflammable bark and eagle down has been lost.

The shaman himself now guides the beating of sticks. When the tumult has reached its height he goes to the patient and places over his head one of the collars, passing it right down over his body, breaking the cross strings of dyed cedar-bark as he does so. The patient rises and the shaman picks up the collar from beneath his feet; his body has thus passed entirely through it. The sick man then revolves once, sunwise, while the shaman carries the collar once, sunwise, around the fire. He then stills the beating of sticks, which has been going on throughout, and casts the circlet on the fire. The same procedure is repeated with the three remaining collars. It is believed that these offerings reach *Ťlitcăplilăn·a* who, pleased to

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receive such pretty objects, restores the sick, though she does not herself come to do so. 755 756 *

The shaman now sends a young man out to fill his curing basin. When this is done, he carries it around the fire, once, sunwise, and sets it down beside the patient. The practitioner drinks from it, and casts some eagle down on the surface. If it revolves sunwise, it signifies that the patient will soon recover, and the shaman proceeds to wash him with the water; if it remains stationary or revolves in the opposite direction, it is an unfavourable sign, and he throws the water out of the door. More is then brought, and the procedure repeated until it revolves sunwise. Although no Bella Coola can state definitely how this is performed, the concensus of opinion is that it is done by twisting the box slightly. [782] 755 756 * 787

Shamans are not the only ones who make offerings to *Ťlitcāplilān-a*. It is generally known that she likes to receive things, so a sick person often throws on the fire a little grease, some of his own clothing, or other objects of small value. By so doing he hopes that she may appear, or that the sickness will vanish as the object is consumed in the flames. A person in good health sometimes makes like offerings, either on the central house fire or on one built behind the house, at the same time asking *Ťlitcāplilān-a* to help guard him. 755 782 751 782

(7) In recent years some shamans have been in the habit of displaying the sickness in visible form; this is said to have been a practice adopted from the Bella Bella. After throwing himself on top of the patient the shaman sucks violently, and produces such an object as a toad, a snail, or a stick of wood, which he claims to have been the cause of the malady. This has, of course, been concealed throughout in his mouth. This belief is fostered by the undoubted skill of some shamans in extracting such foreign substances as a salmon bone, wedged in a patient's throat, or a sliver. In such cases he first works with his fingers to force the object near the surface. It is believed that some shamans are so powerful they can draw forth foreign substances by the mere application of their stick 755 756 * [77]

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755 to the part affected. In such a case the object, a toad for
* 756 example, becomes visible at the end of the staff. Conjuring is employed to do this, and often a tuft of dyed cedar-bark is used, which makes the deception still easier. Shamans are very expert in such matters. It is said that when two rival shamans once disputed about their prowess, one of them cast his stick on the ground and it became a snake, whereupon the other did likewise; and his became a toad which hopped after the snake. The Bella Coola find biblical parallels for such [177] revelations of power in the transformation of Aaron's rod, and the appearance of fire on Mount Carmel.

Shamanistic Ceremonies

554 In addition to his professional abilities, a shaman has also
* 756 certain social prerogatives. As has been mentioned, many
787 shamans lack the power to cure, but they may have seen some feat during a dream, or during a visitation from *Tlitcâplidn-a*. It enhances a man's social prestige if he can graphically display whatever he has observed. It follows that the rites about to be described are often, perhaps usually, performed by a person unable to cure the sick, but it must be remembered that to the Bella Coola there is no social difference between a shaman who can cure with the aid of a basin, and one who lacks this power. Each has merely received a different gift from his supernatural benefactor. There seems little doubt that a man of imagina-
* 756 tive temperament frequently invents a feat of this type, or
787 rather that he ponders over one until he either dreams of it, or imagines himself to have done so. Certainly, after he has performed such a rite, he deludes himself into believing that he has had supernatural authorization for it. Conjuring feats performed long ago by shamans, feats practised by the members of other tribes, personal inventions, either actually or theoretically dreamed of, all these are among the sources from which shamanistic dances are derived. It follows that almost
* 756 anyone who has the necessary skill is able to perform, provided
556 that he has sufficient food to validate the ceremony. Thus this

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it. The uninitiated are so steeped in the atmosphere of belief that any simple conjuring trick is sufficient to delude them. 781 789

Finally, the following account is here inserted, though the details of the performance could not be learnt.

The father of an elderly Bella Coola was once so sick that no one could help him. He had coughed up blood, eagle down had been heaped on his body, and hope had been abandoned. Then a *sisiutl* came to him, restoring his health and making him a very powerful shaman. His supernatural visitor had told him to employ his power beneficially, and had further instructed him in the use of a rod wherein it lay. Whenever this man danced, a stick, decorated with bands of cedar-bark wound spirally, was hung horizontally from the roof of his house. He carried one similarly embellished, but smaller, about two and a half feet long and three inches in diameter, having at one end a tuft of bark. During his dance, in which he sang of *sisiutl*, he went under the suspended stick, held the small one in his hand, blew on one end of it, then threw it up so that it struck the large hanging one. This was presumably done by the tuft of bark folding over and catching in some way. Again he danced and, when underneath where the two sticks were suspended, he jumped up, and caught the lower end of the smaller with his hands. This supported his weight, and he swung back and forth on it until he voluntarily released his grip and dropped. When next he danced at the same spot he held out one hand with palm uppermost beneath the smaller stick; the other was held in front of his mouth pointing towards the suspended one. He blew on the latter as if blowing dust from his hand to the point of contact of the two sticks, and the smaller dropped into his outstretched hand. 756* 789

By means of this stick the shaman could cure diseases. When told in what part of the body the pain was situated he pressed on that part with one end of his stick. Then he carried it to the fire and held in the smoke the end that had been in contact with the sickness. He puffed twice at it with his 755 756*

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755 mouth, and the malady departed. It had been absorbed into the stick, and later driven from it by the shaman's breath.

* 756 789 This man made a great reputation for himself with his ability to hang from his small stick. On one occasion, after fishing on the lower Fraser River, he was encamped on the ocean beach near Seattle, where he had gone to pick hops. Four white men who had heard of his powers came to his tent for a demonstration. He put on his robes, took his small stick from his box, and used the ridge pole of his tent as the heavier horizontal one. The white men examined the small stick and found nothing peculiar about it. The man performed his dance, in the course of it throwing the small stick up against the ridge pole, where it remained suspended with the actor hanging from it. After releasing his hold, he struck the smaller stick a slight blow with his hand and it at once came away from the ridge pole.

* 756 787 As already mentioned, it is extremely difficult to obtain accounts of dreams which have served as sources for shamanistic performances. They are unconsciously embellished by the performer to such an extent that the ritual displayed has probably slight resemblance to the vision on which it is based.

The following, however, is an example of the type that could have served as theme. A man once dreamed that he saw Mount *Nusqalst* with its rocks adorned with handsome pictures. The other mountains of the valley were also decorated, but none of them was so fine. If he had had the desire and the necessary wealth he could have arranged with the carpenters to have the designs that he saw in his dream painted, and could have displayed them as a shaman's vision.

* 756 782 A shaman, particularly one who has received a vision from *Tlicdplilên-o*, and who has had marked success both in curing the sick and in giving conjuring exhibitions, is considered to be in peculiarly close association with supernatural beings. Accordingly, he is regarded as a fit person to ask their assistance, not that he has any means of gaining help that are not open to others, but merely that his greater acquaintance with

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them renders it more likely that they will grant his requests. Therefore, a shaman is usually called upon to perform the following rites: 756* 782

(1) Washing the mouth of a person who has died without voiding from his body the first salmon or olachen of the season (I, p. 436). [764]

(2) Asking assistance for the complicated rites of the potlatch (I, p. 192). [556]

(3) Request for assistance before starting on a journey, by puffing eagle down into the air (I, p. 106). [484]

(4) Request for aid by means of placing food on the water and blowing eagle down into the air at Mesatche Nose and Kwatna (I, p. 109).

In fact a supplication to any supernatural being can be made with greater prospect of success by a shaman than by any other person.

The Power of Shamans

As has been said, a shaman actually has power within himself, and this is so strong that it may be a source of danger to others. If a man should pass behind one so endowed when the latter is eating, his spirit would be drawn from his body into the shaman's mouth, which would close with a click, crushing the spirit and killing the man. This is quite involuntary on the part of the shaman. It happened more than once among the early inhabitants, and since that time people have been very careful not to pass behind an eating shaman; this taboo was still in force until about 1885. A shaman, too, is said to be able to recall a spirit which has left its body, and thus caused illness. It is believed by some that shamans can see the position of a person's tally post, and so judge the length of his life. These examples show the varying beliefs of different Bella Coola concerning the powers of shamans. 756* [761] [264] [178] [755]

But the force within the shaman is really more dangerous to its possessor than to others. As certain "unclean" objects are able to subdue supernatural beings, so do these same ob- 756* 783 841

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*756 783 841 jects have power over shamans. A shaman must never sleep beside his wife during her menses, must never eat food prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has recently washed a new-born infant, by a girl during the period of seclusion following puberty, or by a widow or widower during the year that follows the death of his partner. If a shaman's nose bleeds when he is dancing it is because a menstruating woman is present in the house; he at once asks the offender to withdraw, after which the bleeding stops. Moreover, he must [755] [785] never cure a woman during her periods. A wise shaman practises ceremonial chastity frequently. In view of the lack of cleanliness ascribed to menstrual blood, it is perhaps surprising that a woman can become a shaman while still of child-bearing age. This is rare, and only occurs when a woman is the last survivor of a family. The Bella Coola themselves consider it to be peculiar, only explicable on the ground that anything is possible to the supernatural beings, even the disregarding of feminine "uncleanness." Usually, female shamans are past the age of child-bearing; if not, they observe absolute chastity.

*756 761 Even inadvertent breaking of one of these rules causes death. This is not regarded as a punishment inflicted by *Thitcäplilän-a*; it is merely the inevitable consequence of the supernatural power within the shaman having come in contact with what is not clean. As a shaman is considered to be immune against all ordinary ailments, his death is always attributed to the breaking of a taboo. Frequently the death of a shaman is accompanied by some convulsion of nature. One female shaman, for example, told the people of her village to keep their children within doors, since a supernatural being was coming for her. Soon it became dark; there were four loud claps of thunder, at the fourth of which she fell dead.

539 The following was related as an instance of the danger to *756 a shaman of coming in contact with an unclean woman.

[783] [841] [787] The son of the first man to come to earth at *Nulleax* was, like his father, named *Dudzsong*ʷ. One April he and his wife went upstream to *Xwantlo*, a place in the country of the Carriers where milk-weed is plen-

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shaman from the dead once visited the land of ghosts and learnt their needs. They informed him that food and clothing thrown on the ground did not reach them, and that in order to do so it must be cast on the fire. Instead of journeying to the land of the dead some shamans receive their powers from ghosts who ascend to this earth, as the following account describes.

Within the lifetime of an elderly Bella Coola informant, a certain woman, *Sikwalxwlelx* by name, left her house one evening for a few minutes. When she came back she was crazy. Her face was green, her mouth and face distorted and twisted, she could only whistle when she tried to talk, and kept endeavouring to walk on her hands. Taking her blankets, she went through the motions of washing them, but instead of using water, she dragged them to and fro through the ashes of the central fire, until, utterly exhausted, she lay down. By these symptoms it was recognized that a ghost had stricken her with madness, and several shamans of the dead were called upon for help. For a long time their efforts were fruitless. Then one of them obtained some stained menstrual pads. While another conducted the frantic beating of sticks, the leading practitioner waved one of the pads through the smoke of the central fire and laid it, with hemlock bark and dyed cedar-bark, on the patient's face. After leaving it there a few moments, he took it off and, while the beating of sticks was stilled, threw it out the door. When this had been done four times the woman was restored to sanity. Later on she said she had seen the ghost of a certain *Tcixwotl*, a man recently deceased, Emerging from her trance she found herself in her house surrounded by numerous people and the shaman working over her. If he had not been able to cure her, she would have died; in fact, it was impossible to discover whether the Bella Coola regarded this woman as having been cured of an illness, or as having been restored from the dead.

Sikwalxwlelx called for the singers to whom she sang four songs, relating what she had seen. They described how she stood by a fire in the land below, where the sun travelled from west to east, and where everything differed from this earth, though reminiscent of it. The singers learnt the songs, and it was to their music that the woman danced on later occasions. She was able ever afterwards not only to cure maladies caused by ghosts but to talk with them. For this purpose she was in the habit of lying down at night in the graveyard, looking down into the land of the dead which was open to her, and conversing with the inhabitants in a strange whistling language which the living could hear, but could not

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* 756 called out to him, and then remembered no more. It was
775 obvious that she had seen a ghost.

[787] It is over diseases caused by ghosts that a shaman from the dead has power. If a person picks up and eats any morsels
753 which he has dropped he will usually suffer, because, though
* 756 he thinks the crumbs have fallen, they have really been pulled
775 from his hands by a hungry ghost, who thus showed his desire for food. By picking up and eating the fragments, the man
[264] thwarts a dead person who retaliates by forcing some sickness into him. Ghosts may visit this land of the living and ask their relatives for food or clothing, but mortals, unable to hear the speech of the dead, are unaware of the requests of their deceased relatives, and so do not answer them. The irritated ghosts respond by causing sickness. In such cases a shaman
● 755 from the dead is able to suck out the cause of the ill, and some-
* 756 times to display it as a bone, twig, or other small object and at the same time to tell the sufferer what it was that his relatives desired. Like ordinary shamans, a shaman from the dead uses his own discretion whether or not to employ the violent beating of sticks, and like his fellow-practitioner re-
[465] ceives payment from those whom he has helped. There are no fixed charges, but a successful shaman is always wealthy.

* 756 The intimate contact of ghosts with shamans has already
787 been mentioned in connection with the ability of the latter to learn from the ghost of a murdered person whom he believes
694 to be his slayer.

There is one method of sacrificial curing practised by
755 shamans from the dead alone. If the sickness refuses to yield
* 756 to ordinary methods, the practitioner makes ten cedar-bark
782 vessels, fills these with grease and places them near the fire, one between it and the door, one on the inner side, and four on either side of it, parallel to the side walls of the house. By each vessel are placed two small wooden figures, roughly carved to represent men, and decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark. After endeavouring to suck forth the disease, with or without the assistance of the frenzied beating of sticks, the

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shaman pours the grease on the central fire, and throws on it 755 ●
also the figures and some dried salmon. Thus propitiated, it 782
is believed that the dead will be more likely to allow the sickness to be sucked forth.

Shamans from the dead perform conjuring feats and 756 *
dramatic performances of the same type as ordinary shamans. 556
Until he gives his first dance a newly created shaman is known
as a *lsux*, the same word that is used for a *kusiut* initiate, and [575]
during this period he wears the shaman's collar of intertwined
dyed and undyed cedar-bark. If he is wealthy and influential,
a shaman will repeat his dance every fourth year. Such a per- [796]
formance can be held at any season, although the usual time is
after the *kusiut* ceremonies. The dramatic representations are
of scenes witnessed in the land below, though sometimes they
are done in a reverse manner, following the practice of the dead
in doing things strangely. Thus one shaman reported that the
ghosts wore very long blankets, but when he danced he wore
one that came only to his hips. The method of singing is the
same as that employed by ordinary shamans, but one whose [535]
power is derived from the dead dances with head bent downwards, his free hand pointing to the ground with first finger
extended. Also his cry of "*xwai, xwai, xwai,*" uttered at intervals with a deep cadence, differs from that used by ordinary
shamans. A dance always terminates with the distribution of
food to validate the ceremony.

Like ordinary shamans, those from the dead cannot trans- 756 *
mit their power. At death their songs too are lost, unless they 533
choose to give them to a friend who is also a shaman from the [428]
dead. This is obviously contrary to the theoretical belief that
all songs have been obtained during revelations, but is not at
all contrary to the Bella Coola practice of having the singers
assist the visionaries in "remembering" their visions.

The following tale, although drawn from the distant past, 539
is a typical illustration of one of the many ways in which 756 *
shamanistic power is received from the dead.[8] 775

[8] A few stories of similar type have been included in vol. I, chap. VIII to explain the life of the dead, and others are grouped together in the next chapter.

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* 787
[251]

About half a mile from the glacier there is a large rock shelter where mountain goat hunters are wont to smoke their meat. They are always careful to take with them dyed and undyed cedar-bark and eagle down, knowing that they may encounter the supernatural. Sometimes they hear the voice of *uxxekam*, a deep, long drawn-out hum, *m*·····. If this sound is repeated four times it is a happy augury, but if heard only once it presages ill fortune. In either case some member of the party, one who is ceremonially clean and is brave, blackens his face, puts on a collar of dyed cedar-bark, covered with eagle down, steps outside, and says in effect:

"Hail! Petrified One. In the beginning you came down from *Ałquntäm*, from all that was wonderful and powerful. You have not changed, hence we mortals can still hear your voice. Please, may it be well with us. There is none other like you."

If the supplicant is ceremonially clean the mountain will answer *hi*·····, four times, and there will be heard what sounds like a great landslide. Then the petitioner takes some small portions of meat, some dyed and some undyed cedar-bark, and eagle down and throws them on the fire.

"Please accept, Oh *Kusiaot*" (Powerful One), he says.

Thus propitiated, *uxxekam* grants them success in hunting.

778 (13) *Spipixlnän·i*: On the south side of the Dean River about one mile from its mouth. Here, in the beginning of time, Raven cast his war-knife, *spla*, which was turned to stone and can still be seen. Its power has likewise become localized at this point.

(14) In the beginning of time Mount *Swaky*, near the Dean River, was a man who was turned to stone. Across the river is his wife, *Ałsalnexkł*, whose ancestral name is *Kamilkän*, likewise petrified.

[755]
[785]

In most of these places[1] a sick person can receive assistance, if he is willing to risk the consequent dangers. The first essential is that he be in a "clean" condition by the observance of

[1 [i.e. - certain spots where power is localized - see cat. 116, pp 594-600 for their location - ANALYST]

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ceremonial chastity. This state is pleasing to supernatural beings, who otherwise are likely to punish one trespassing on their haunts. The Bella Coola have not clearly formulated their beliefs with regard to these places, consequently the experiences of one individual are usually quite different from those of another, a circumstance regarded as quite natural on the assumption that the supernatural beings are able to manifest themselves in many ways. 755 778 [785]

Sk̓ɛxłekwailx̣ and the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel are the places that figure most commonly in mythology. At the former is *Sk̓ɛxłekwailx̣*'s chamber-vessel, a pool always full of clear water though not fed by any spring. If a person suffering from the virulent skin disease known as *łokılx̣* swims in it, drinks some of the water, and then vomits, he will recover.

Not only the pond itself, but the whole neighbourhood, is the seat of mysterious power, as the following tale describes. 755

Near the western end of the pool there is a rock from which long ago three men dived and failed to return. A sick man decided to do the same and leapt in, feet first, wearing around his chest some dyed cedar-bark. He plunged through the water and found that he was standing on the roof of a house; he walked around it, then returned to the surface, and back to his starting point. He dived three times more, and when he emerged for the fourth time his sickness had left him. He returned to Bella Coola and told of his experience. Since that time sick people have been carried to the pool, and have dived in from the same rock, always feet first, and always wearing dyed cedar-bark. All are able to feel the roof of the house, and are cured by the immersion. 778 539

The trail used by the Carrier Indians when raiding the coastal tribes passed by this lake, and on one occasion the Bella Coola, bent on retaliation, used the same path and paused to rest on the shore. They all bathed in the pool and asked help from the power there localized, then as they lay on the grass drying their long hair in the sunshine, a house emerged. Slowly it floated upwards, filling the whole area formerly occu- 778 787* 539

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778 pied by the water, and came to rest when it had risen to the
* 787 usual height of a house. As each of the spectators gazed upon it he saw within that on which his own mind was centred. As
539 it were in perspective he visualized his whole life, both past and future. One man saw the slaying of an enemy, another a potlatch with himself in the role of donor, another his children, and a sensual individual saw a man and woman in the sexual act. To each it appeared that the house contained only one image. Then slowly the house sank into the depths. The party went on and had great success, killing their enemies, who were powerless before them, without the loss of a single Bella
[755] Coola. It was this house which the sick people felt with their feet; the sight of it had given the warriors phenomenal ability.

778 Another seat of power is near the western end of the lake
* 787 where the trail passes between two piles of dark red rocks that rise to a height of three or four feet. Each is roughly squared like a brick with dimensions of approximately 8 by 6 by 6 inches. The heaps are not regular, and yet form a distinct cairn. If a passer-by wishes to ascertain the length of his life, he takes a stick and shoves out one of the stones, which rolls far down the hillside; if he can do so without disturbing the rest, he will have long life, but should fate decree for him a short one, the whole pile falls in disorder. Another sign of long life is when the mass sways back and forth, emitting a squeaking sound like the leather in a new shoe, as he endeavours to poke out one of the rocks of which it is composed. On the traveller's return from the interior the heap has always assumed its original shape, though no one has ever seen one of the stones being picked up by human agency.

778 Sick people also derive benefit from immersion in the Hot
[755] Springs on Labouchere Channel. The following account was obtained from a man who himself underwent treatment there.

539 When a young man he had been initiated into the *kusiut*
778 society as a Breaker (II, p. 123) and as such wore a bear-skin cloak. His relatives were wealthy and advised him to keep his robe, saying that they would make it possible for him to

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dance again in eight years. Four years later, one of his fellow- 778
villagers offered him five skins for the one which he had used, 539
and, when this was declined, the number was raised to ten, then to fifteen, and finally to twenty new bear-skins. As there was no particular value in the mantle itself, the owner became suspicious and asked advice from his mother who admonished him not to sell, in view of the time when he would want it. Accordingly, he did not accept the offer, but when it was increased to twenty-five skins he did so. He did not know that [754]
the purchaser's desire for it was to enable him to injure the seller by magic through the acquisition of this personal possession.

The sale took place in April, and the following December 778
the former owner became crippled with a disease which so 755 ●
weakened his back that he could hardly raise himself from the ground. When the sickness had lasted for one year, his 539
friends carried him away to the Hot Springs on Labouchere 787 *
Channel.

It was known that if a patient were left night and day in the spring, scrubbing himself with hemlock boughs, he often was given such power by a supernatural being that, like a shaman of old, he could kill or cure by means of a stick. Many of this man's relatives had been killed by rivals envious of their success in giving potlatches, so it was feared that he might wish to retaliate if he gained too much power. To prevent this, he was removed from the spring at night. On the first day as he lay on a mat in the warm water, there appeared on a flat stone a diminutive man, about two feet tall, resembling a Bella Coola except for a short tail. It was probably a *tläqmä·ks*, [776]
such as his first ancestor had obtained (I, p. 688). The little creature ran around the stone; when it returned to the starting point it stopped and was joined by a second one of the same kind. The two circled the stone three times, on each occasion stopping at the starting point; they then vanished. The next day while the patient lay in the stream he heard from within the mountain four beats of a drum and a sound as if a large number of people were talking and calling together, though he

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778 could not distinguish any actual words. This ceased, to be
755 followed by the hissing sound of escaping steam; the water
539 became so unbearably hot that, crippled though he was, he
* 787 managed to crawl out. His courage soon revived, so, wrapping his head in his blanket, he returned to the spring. The water was still unpleasantly hot on his body and legs, but the covering protected his head. The same phenomenon occurred on the two following days. Four days later he was well enough to walk and was brought home. During his treatment he saw supernatural beings, and is still hoping for a further revelation that will make him a shaman. He believes that this would have been granted to him if his friends had allowed him to remain in the spring overnight.

755 During the four days of his immersion he ate nothing, and his only nourishment was a little mountain goat grease which he did not swallow but kept in the right side of his mouth. After each bath he scrubbed himself with hemlock boughs. As in all
[785] such cases, for one year he observed continence and refrained
[761] from eating unsmoked salmon. Failure to observe these taboos would have caused his death.[16]

755 According to another account the creature that visits a patient lying in the Hot Springs is a *bābınk'*. As already de-
776 scribed, it is a hairless animal, about as large as a small moose, with legs so short that its belly almost scrapes the ground, no tail, and a large head with glass-like eyes. The whole appearance suggests an enormous walking snake. This animal approaches the sick person, as he lies on a flat stone[17] in the spring, and takes a bite from wherever the sickness is situated. No wound can afterwards be seen, but the ailment is carried away with the biting. If the patient should lack courage and endeavour to escape he would soon die.

776 Others of these animals of the same or similar variety have been observed about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.

[16]See vol. I, p. 609 for further results of this treatment.
[17]There are two of these, one used by men and one by women.

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Between 1890 and 1900 two more were seen near Double Mountain. The last Bella Coola to see these animals left *Stuix* one morning armed with a light shot-gun. He followed the trail to the interior and was crossing the bare mountain, *Kotınk'*, about forty-eight miles from the sea, when he decided to turn aside to shoot some of the ducks which breed in great quantities on the small lakes near the top of the mountain. As he stalked through the grass he heard a rustling, and crawled so that he could get a better view of the place whence it came. He saw two *babınk'* which were catching ducks with their long tongues by shooting them out from their mouths. After watching them for some time the man returned to the camp without disturbing them. This man has only recently died. In former times they were more common, but one was seen not many years ago by a Carrier Indian. 776 787 * 539

According to other informants, no one knows what supernatural visitor comes to the spring, since it always appears at night, and any one who is rash enough to look at it dies immediately. A bold patient lies still, with eyes closed, while he is massaged back to health. 778 [755]

Another man, while fishing for one of the canneries, had been in the habit of landing at the Hot Springs to get hot water for his tea. He drew it from a small trickle which emerged from a rock near at hand. On one occasion the flow stopped when he put his pot beneath, but recommenced on his withdrawing it. Thinking this a mere accident, he reinserted the vessel only to have the water cease again. When this had happened four times, he realized that the cessation had been intended by some supernatural power. 778 539

"Hail! Powerful One," he called out. "I understand you now."

He knew that it must be some creature within the rock that had stopped the flow, not wishing it to be so used, and since then he has obtained his water elsewhere.

Leaving these tales of the past, which stress the supernatural, and passing from the experiences of men of sensitive, imaginative disposition, it is possible to describe the methods commonly employed by the Bella Coola when wishing to take advantage of the curative properties of these localities. In cases of serious illness it is common for a sufferer to make the rounds of all five places located on the ocean. This was done, for example, by the father of an informant who had seen what he took to be a spring salmon in an inland stream where no ocean salmon should have been. He was foolish enough to leap in to catch the fish, which was really a *sisiutl*, and as it 778 755 787 * [539]

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778 rushed past him it brushed his legs. From its malign touch
755 they became as if tied together at the knees, so that he could hardly walk. When all other cures failed he bathed in all the
* [787] healing places on the coast, and was cured by the time he had returned to Bella Coola.

[785] Before embarking on such an expedition, a sufferer must observe continence for at least three months, and continue this after his return, otherwise he will die. It is wise to start at *Snuwals*, on South Bentinck Arm, proceeding from there down South Bentinck Arm, across Labouchere Channel, and towards Kimsquit, since in this way the patient travels sunwise, increasing the potency of his efforts.

At *Snuwals* there is a ledge of rock that projects out over the water; the sick person dives through a hole into the fiord. From this point he proceeds to *Nukilä·xta*, on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about half a mile above the Hot Springs. This is the place of the giant, many-coloured spider, turned to stone. Among its legs there are numerous holes in which the patient lays a stick and pieces of his clothing, taken from the part of the body affected, saying as he does so:

"Please, Powerful One, help me to return to strength."

The third place of curing is the Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm, *Ixpe·xam*. Here the patient lies in the hot water and leaves portions of his worn clothing as some sort of vague offering to the being there. The Bella Coola have no clear conception as to why the scraps should be left; apparently they have never considered whether it was actually of service to the being. At the present time it appears to be only a ritual handed down from great antiquity.

Leaving South Bentinck Arm the patient proceeds to the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel, the characteristics of which have already been described. The final place visited is *Anulxwam*, on the west side of Dean Channel about nine miles below Kimsquit, where the ocean penetrates far under a ledge of rock. The sufferer is lowered through a vent about six feet in diameter until he stands on a boulder at the edge of the sea

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in a kind of a cave. He here unties the rope, dives into the water and out through a narrow passage to the open fiord where he is picked up by a waiting canoe. 778 755

If he is to recover, he feels as he dives the scraping of some rough-skinned animal against his side. No one knows what this is, perhaps a fish about seventy yards in length which was seen near the place about 1905. If a person is too ill to make the dive unaided, a stick is forced through the entrance from the fiord, with a rope attached. The patient, who has been lowered to the ledge from the upper air, is then tied firmly to the stick and hauled out. Before leaving, shreds of his clothing are always left at the mouth of the cave in payment to its supernatural occupant for his assistance. [787] *

The method of curing at the spot, *Ählssmos*, differs from those previously described since it is only the man whose repository (II, p. 8) is there who is able to exercise the power. Patients whose flesh has become rotten are carried to the place and he scrubs their bodies, in the water, with various prickly bushes. This man is not a shaman, his power rests solely on the fact that this curing place is his repository. [756]

At *uxwekam* the virulent skin disease *Hokulx* can be cured.[17] This is caused by a morsel of cohoe salmon or fern root passing from the mouth up into the head, instead of down into the stomach. The Bella Coola have only slight knowledge of anatomy, and by "head" probably mean the passage connecting mouth and nose. In this spot the food becomes a frog egg, hatches into a tadpole, and finally transforms into a frog. If a shaman is called on immediately, he can remove the frog by thrusting his finger up the nasal passage and banging down on the patient's head, but if he delays, the ears and nose become clogged, the hair falls, and the flesh on arms and body wastes away until the skin is shrivelled. Then the only hope is to visit *uxwekam*. [753] [826] [753] [756]

Friends of the sufferer carry him to the spot and place him in an ice cavern, roofed by the glacier itself, and then retire to

[17] In its earlier stages it can be treated elsewhere.

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778 the rock shelter half a mile away. Here he must lie alone, without food, for four days. If he is in a pure condition from ●755 the observance of chastity, he then feels the earth shake and * [787] hears a sound like a mighty landslide, though it is inaudible to those waiting in the cave. If the patient is frightened and tries to flee, he will die, but if he lies still he will be able to spit out the dead frog, or it will become so soft that it can drip from his nose. He then washes in the stream that flows through the ice-cavern, thus completing the cure. The malady [785] will return unless chastity is practised for one year.

756 Finally, in dreams a man is sometimes carried away to one or other of these curing places, or to several of them, and is * 787 there made a shaman. It will be noted that this method of acquiring the ability differs from those previously described, but his functions are the same as those whose power has been obtained in one of the usual ways.

Dreams

* 787 The last type of contact with the supernatural is by means of dreams. Psychologically, these are akin to visions; indeed, it is often impossible to learn whether the experiences described in an ancient story occurred during sleep or when awake. The [774] Bella Coola believe that dreams are caused by the spirit of the individual; they are, therefore, supernatural and worthy of attention, but in spite of this, it was difficult to obtain detailed accounts. The reason seems to lie in the intangibility of the experiences themselves. Unless one is sufficiently striking, it passes into oblivion as a fruitless manifestation of the workings of the spirit. Many of the visions seen in ancient times by those who had fasted or otherwise reached an emotional state, must have been dreams, but they have ceased to be recognized as such in the course of generations. The Bella Coola of today [159] state emphatically that they receive warning of future events during sleep, but the only individual from whom it was possible to obtain coherent descriptions was the elderly man previously described as X (I, p. 515).

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In his younger days X was somewhat wild, taking his full share in the frivolities of the village, and having a fondness for wine which he brewed himself. On one occasion he prepared a barrel of the mixture, half of which he promptly consumed with the aid of a few friends, then, semi-intoxicated, he fell asleep. He dreamt that there came to him what must have been a male being, although all that was visible was the lower half of his body, which was gleaming white. The apparition seized X by the nape of the neck, lifted him from the floor, and carried him across the house to the barrel of wine, revolving sunwise on himself the while. 159 787* [273]

"You made this fearful stuff," said his supernatural visitor. "It will make your life dirty, as dirty as this."

Still turning sunwise on himself, with these words he carried X to the doorstep and held him suspended, face downwards over it. Everyone who enters must tread there, so that it is recognized as being the dirtiest part of the house, and X had no doubt about the meaning of the apparition's remark. This experience was so vivid and impressive that X asserted he immediately became a Christian and abandoned his evil ways. At the present time he is one of the few Bella Coola not addicted to home-brew. [797] [273]

A few years later the same being came a second time. X had been ill for a number of months with a sickness caused, so he believed, by a sorcerer. His friends had carried him to bathe in the Hot Springs and the treatment helped his condition considerably, but a little later he suffered a relapse, and was so wretched that he told his mother he would die presently. The same night he was visited by his apparition, but this time he could see the whole body; it was a man with large, powerful frame and a face so white that he could not bear to look at it. The figure was clad in undyed cedar-bark, and X immediately realized that he would recover, though he knew he would not be granted the same power as if the clothing had been of dyed cedar-bark such as is worn by supernatural shamans. The dream-man told X that he had come to him because of the clean condition he had attained by washing in the Hot Springs, followed by continence, and warned him that he must continue this for a year from the time of his immersion or he would die, but that if he obeyed this injunction he would recover. His visitor, who was, of course, a supernatural being, took X under one arm and carried him far to the south, where he washed him in a hot spring at the base of a steep mountain. Then he vanished; X arose and prepared to make his way home, but, lo, he was there already. Rationalizing later, X concluded that his body must have remained in his house, and that it was either his spirit or his life that had been carried away. [755]

As X lay asleep the next night, the same being came to him and

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ling X, the monster carried away the girl. X watched and knew that it must have taken her life; so it transpired, for in the morning she was found dead. The black being did not reappear the following night. 159 787 *

X soon became fat and well, to the surprise of all, and many of the chiefs asked him to give a shaman's dance. He declined, not having received name, instructions, song, or tangible object from the white, supernatural being who had befriended him. He did not even know his benefactor's name. [756]

At intervals during his life-time, X has seen the white supernatural being and, more rarely, the black one in his dreams. The most vivid occasion was when he heard a sound in the attic of his house and climbed up outside to investigate. The ladder broke, precipitating him through an unglazed window into the loft with a broken leg. All night he lay there in agony, and it was not until the next day that his friends were able to lower him in a sling and take him to *Lomqo·ts* en route to the hospital at Bella Bella. Their departure was delayed by a storm and as X lay suffering he told his wife that it would have been better if he had broken his neck instead of his leg. That night, while half-asleep, the world again became open to him and he saw the black creature come bounding along the trail towards him; it entered the house, jumped around him, and finally leapt into his body. He called to his wife to burn dried salmon beneath his bed to expel the evil monster; this had the desired effect though he did not see its actual departure. The next night the white apparition came to him, telling him that he had erred seriously in wishing for death, that one should accept what was in store for one and not oppose *Ăłquntăm*'s wishes. The being went on to say that it was wicked to prepare too far in advance, and intimated that X's misfortune was the result of having made ready tools for clearing an unnecessary tract of land.[19] [755]

The white being has even appeared during his waking hours. On one occasion he felt it coming when he was in the mission-house, where the missionary was writing a letter for him. Although still invisible, X knew what was approaching and tried to close the door but he was helpless. In came the apparition, at sight of whom X swayed so violently that the missionary asked what was the matter. It went away again in a moment, leaving X shaken and bathed in perspiration. [797]

The experiences just described lie on the border-line between dream and vision. X has frequently seen the apparition

[19] This occurred during the first war, and X remembered having heard that the Germans had laid up stores of munitions. He concluded that this must be evil and that they would fail accordingly. He repeated this statement on many occasions and claims to have foretold the result of the war from his vision.

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*539 *787 777

mātsqus lying on the stones at the bottom of the river. Realizing his danger, he swiftly hurled the pole on to the shore beneath a huge cedar where no rain could penetrate. Here it remained for twenty or thirty years until it had become covered with moss.

One day two sisters chanced to pass that way and the younger wished to gather some of the moss, but the elder, who apparently surmised with what the pole had been in contact, was afraid and tried to dissuade her. The heedless girl picked some of the moss, and threw it towards her elder sister, saying:

"Pshaw! It is nothing."

The moss struck her, and the older girl, now thoroughly frightened, was determined that if any ill results were to follow, her younger sister should likewise suffer from them. So she, too, gathered some of the moss and threw it on the first picker. Nothing happened until they had gone home and drawn near to the fire when both began to swell. They told what had befallen them, but it was too late to apply any remedy and both continued to expand until their stomachs burst and they died."

THE *Mātsqus* THAT WAS CAUGHT IN A NET

Between 1860 and 1870, a young man, related to the Bella Coola from whom this account was obtained, was netting salmon near *Tsmusil*. He had caught all that he needed but decided to make one more haul. As he did so, he saw in the water a giant toad with enormous shining eyes and white feet. It was a *mātsqus*. The beast entered the net which sank under its weight. The terrified fisherman plucked up enough courage to haul in his net, and found that the toad had turned to a stone, the surface of which was smeared with grease. He placed it on top of his salmon and went home to summon the people of his own and neighbouring villages to view the wonder. There were ancient traditions about such beasts having been caught in nets, but this was the first time that such a marvel had ever been seen by any of the eager crowd that thronged the bank. A very old man, well-informed in such matters, now appeared and warned the people to keep away from the space between the stone and the river. No sooner had they obeyed than the whole bank caved in, carrying into the water, canoes, the pile of freshly landed salmon, and the mysterious stone. The old man had heard of a similar occurrence, and his knowledge saved the lives of the onlookers.

[753 755]

"The usual explanation given for the bursting of the stomach is that some of the fire from the monster has entered the victim's body, and there increased on coming close to a blaze. A remedy in the early stages of swelling is said to be the eating of an unsmoked mallard duck.

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757 the science of medicine. The Bella Coola are familiar with
789 many acts which cause definite results. To place a new-born girl in contact with the representation of a beautiful woman
[856] so that she may grow up to be like her, seems false science,
[752] magic, to the white man; whereas the application of splints and gum to a fractured limb is a medical treatment, crude perhaps, but definitely scientific. The two are identical to the Bella Coola. They do not ask *why* or *how* a result follows, they merely know that it *does*. Such lore has been handed down from time immemorial; it is steeped in the sanctity of antiquity and hallowed by the knowledge that their ancestors have done the same for generations. All such acts may be described as "medicines," for so they appear to those who practise them. To separate them into magical and scientific categories would misrepresent the native point of view; the only division that can be made is between those that cause, and those that prevent or cure. Even in this there is some overlap. A medicine that cures a child from crying likewise causes him to be placid and amiable; so, too, medicines of a preventive nature comprise elements of both types. The principle governing most of these is sympathetic magic, a concept which, if put in words to the Bella Coola, would be regarded as logical and scientific. The second important class of medi-
[755] cines consists of objects, either herbal or derived from the human body, which are believed to have such abundant power that they are effective against ailments of supernatural origin, or against supernatural beings themselves. Some of these have already been mentioned in connection with the attitude of the Bella Coola towards these beings of the earth, sky, and water.

754 Most curative medicines are used by the practitioner on himself; most causative, on someone else. The latter are either
755 social or anti-social, depending upon whether the result is
789 benevolent or malevolent. Shamans frequently use magical means in curing the sick and are highly regarded by the community, but medicines of the same kind may be used to kill

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and those who have knowledge of them are sorcerers. Even a man of this kind is not outside the pale of society unless he practises indiscriminately; members of the *kusiut* society, for example, frequently employ one to kill an individual who has offended against their regulations (I, p. 740). A man is regarded as a sorcerer not on account of his knowledge but on account of the ends to which he applies it.

Closely related to, if not identical with, the belief that certain consequences follow certain acts, is the conviction that the infraction of ritual prohibitions brings disaster. There are many such taboos, for so they may be called. Though most important at the critical periods of life, puberty, pregnancy, while observing ceremonial chastity, and so forth, there are many which must be obeyed at all times.

Restrictions pertaining to the river and regulations at birth and death have already been described. Like magical acts, these often verge on the religious owing to the belief that disregard of such supernatural things. In the world, however, it seems as if most infractions bring their own punishment without intervention of higher powers, a concept which throws taboos into the category of magic rather than of religion, with the ever-present proviso that the two cannot be separated entirely from one another. With them may be associated a number of ritual acts connected with fishing and hunting in which, though the element of propitiation is not absent, it is satisfied by the performance of definite rites. Finally, there have been included in this chapter a number of unimportant beliefs, the psychology of which cannot be analysed.

What is the basis of these rites defined as Medicine, Magic, and Taboo? As already described, the Bella Coola either do not explain their origin and function, or merely state that *Alqantin* is responsible, as he is for every activity of life. This is unsatisfactory because many which, viewed scientifically, have neither curative nor causative power, produce the desired end. A child who has been "made" a carpenter during infancy, usually grows up to be proficient in that profession; the person

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has gone contrary to something about which there has been universal agreement for generations. 771 754

To understand Bella Coola medicines it is, therefore, necessary to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practise them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to those effecting death, but is equally true with regard to all medicines, whether curative or causative. 121 [784] [755]

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of medicines. Knowledge of most remedies has been handed down for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type [614] [illegible] belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment, but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction that only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship of some medicines, but these are indicated wherever possible. 424 795 757 [465] [614] [426]

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of fur. Even at the present time, the death of a new-born child is usually attributed to omission of this precaution. 843 825

A Kimsquit man mentioned that he had once shot a marten during his wife's pregnancy, and had failed to preserve a piece of the skin. The bullet had passed through the head, making a hole in the cheek-bone beneath the eye. He thought no more of the incident until after the birth of a daughter with a blemish on her cheek in the same place as the wound on the marten's. The spot grew bigger, and the flesh began to mortify until the infant died a few weeks later. Her face resembled that of the animal and he is convinced that his loss was caused, in some way, by the marten. 789 [761]

To Cure Indigestion

Kill a raven, cut out a morsel of flesh from beneath its left wing, and then remove the heart. Place both in the infant's mouth and leave them there until wet with saliva. Replace them in the bird's body and tie a strip of dyed cedar-bark around its neck. Carry the carcass to some lonely spot in the mountains and hide it beneath a jutting rock where no water can penetrate. This cures the child. If, however, anyone should find the raven's body before the flesh has decayed, the patient would die. 955 [761]

This remedy, widely employed for small children, was used with success by an informant for his young daughter. It is not sufficiently potent for adults.

To Cure Crying

The Bella Coola consider that crying is not only unpleasant, but actively displeasing to the supernatural beings who permit it at death alone. Consequently, the persistent wailing of a child is likely to cause the death of a relative in order that the tears shed may have justification. Many stories illustrate this theme; in fact, to cry for no real reason is practically taboo. A mother quiets a fretting child by saying: 827 865 761 [784] [861]

"Do you want your father and me to die?"

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757 *For Head-ache*

Tie around the forehead a piece of dyed cedar-bark, undyed cedar-bark, or other similar material. No herbal remedy is known.

For Eye Trouble

Moisten the finger with saliva and rub the eyes with it.

For Baldness (two means)

(1) Boil cottonwood buds in water, causing the gum to exude. Skim this from the surface, mix with fresh olachen grease or oil obtained from sockeye salmon, and rub on the scalp.

(2) Rub on the scalp oil from olachen, dog-fish, or any kind of salmon. The best is grease from the liver (?) of a dog-fish, obtained by hanging the organ before a fire and collecting the drops which exude.

For Skin Irritation

Rub dog-fish liver oil on the rash or itching part.

755 828 *For Excessive Dreaming and Nightmares* (two means)

(1) Burn dried salmon beneath the bed of the person afflicted.

(2) Lie in a canoe which has been chiselled out to the right thickness but has not been widened and hardened by smoke. A mat is laid across for this purpose and the smoke directed beneath, thoroughly fumigating anyone lying within. An informant was so treated as a young man when he was greatly troubled by nightmares in which he used to see a huge head which so terrified him that he would leave his bed to rush around the house shrieking and tearing his hair. This medicine cured his trouble.

757 *For Canker*

Pound up a snail and rub on the sore spot within the mouth.

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For Cold 757

Snuff dried urine such as is found around the rims of unemptied chamber pots. *Kāmai·ts* taught the ancestors of the Bella Coola that this was good for colds. [773]

For Sore Throat

Boil cottonwood buds in dog-fish oil and drink about a teaspoonful of the decoction at intervals until cured. Dog-fish oil, being a necessary ingredient in many medicines, is always kept on hand for emergencies.

For Coughing

Boil roots of false hellebore in water and drink the decoction freely. It is so poisonous that the patient usually falls to the ground, spitting blood. Coughing is one of the many ailments cured by this plant.

Another remedy is used for a person whose cough causes him to spit frequently. A friend collects some of the fresh expectoration, mixes it with salmon roe, and places it where ravens are accustomed to feed. This is done four times and the patient is cured if the birds devour the mixture. 755

For Whooping-Cough

Boil cottonwood buds in water with the fat of any animal and drink frequently. 757

For Sores and Boils

Warm dried urine and rub on the part affected. Like the remedy for colds, it was *Kāmai·ts* who taught this to the ancestors of the Bella Coola. Gum or tobacco is sometimes added to the urine, and applied like a poultice. [773]

For Boils (two means)

(1) Heat human excrement thoroughly and apply to the boil, tying it in position with cloth. At intervals, add more, without removing the bottom layer and leave in position for

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757 throw it in through the smoke-vent. He cuts the roots into thin slices which are boiled in water for four days. The patient drinks several cupfuls of the decoction which never fail to benefit him.

[776] [773] The basis of this medicine is the belief, already described, that when a *sisiutl* swims through a pond it frequently sheds some of its scales which become water-lilies. They are, therefore, potent in themselves and are of greatest benefit to one who has practised ceremonial chastity. The patient must observe several taboos for forty days after treatment: He must hold no sexual intercourse; must eat neither salmon nor meat that has not been smoked; must eat nothing cooked either by a menstruating woman or by one who has lost her husband within a year; and must not approach a girl during the year following puberty. The breaking of one of these taboos causes [761] his death, and the man who has administered the medicine watches the conduct of his patient with great care.

755 *For Debility* (two means)

(1) Drink strong, stale urine, mixed with red rock-paint ground fine.

Knowledge of this medicine has been handed down for [424] generations in certain familes. It is said to be most unpleasant to take.

(2) The following medicine, said to be the most potent known to the Bella Coola, is used for a person who has long been feeble, especially if he has been spitting blood. It is the [424] property of several ancestral families, and must be administered by an elderly male member of one of them.

The owner of the remedy obtains a dry, clean skull, places within it a little water which he brings to a boil with hot pebbles and adds a small quantity of mountain goat marrow. The patient is given a dry stick, about three feet in length, from which the pith has been extracted to make a tube. With this he sucks four times, swallowing a little of the decoction, while the practitioner says to the skull:

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"Please remedy the invalid." 755

This is virtually a prayer, addressed to the deceased owner of the skull, and accordingly verges on appeal to the dead. None the less, there is no concept of active supplication to any individual ghost, but rather of acquiring aid by the use of a supernatural object.

For one year after this treatment, sexual intercourse is forbidden to both practitioner and patient. The latter, though not the former, dies if either fails to observe this taboo. The use of an old man to apply the medicine is to lessen danger from this source. The owner of this remedy is always liberally rewarded and some old men carefully preserve a skull under a rock-ledge in order to be ready if called upon. [785] [761]

For Smallpox

Pick up a toad, and tear off its head with the teeth, swallowing some of the blood. 757

This is an ancient remedy for some other ailment which was tried as a last resort during the smallpox epidemic. One man who succeeded in practising it on four successive days was cured of the dread disease.

For Consumption

Boil leaves and stems of a certain fleshy plant (not identified) in water and drink the decoction. The potency of the medicine increases accordingly to the number of plants used.

This medicine was a Nootka Indian's hereditary cure for a cough which was found to be effective for consumption as well. The malady was so prevalent on the coast in the last century that it seemed as if the inhabitants were doomed; this remedy was allegedly discovered at that time and knowledge of it spread rapidly from tribe to tribe, saving the lives of hundreds. The Bella Coola recognize that this was a private medicine, but have ceased to regard it as such and have no hesitation in applying it whenever required. [177] [164]

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755 *For Insanity*

177 The Bella Coola have no medicine for this disease, although they are familiar with one used by the Kwakiutl, which was applied not long ago to a Rivers Inlet youth by two old women, one from Newitte and the other from *Djoldäunx*. They exhumed a recently buried corpse, took a small piece of skin from the left side of the base of the neck, left this for twenty-four hours in a small stream, and then allowed it to steep for another twenty-four hours in a cup filled with water. This liquid was drunk by the patient who immediately recovered his sanity. He was next given water in which had been boiled needles from the yellow cedar; this strengthened him and prevented a relapse. The patient, now cured, observed continence for a year; failure to obey this injunction would have caused his death.

[785] [761]

The Bella Coola assume that this remedy is the property of Kwakiutl ancestral families who alone are entitled to use it. The practitioners are always suitably recompensed and do not undertake the treatment except at the request of one of the patient's relatives. Kwakjutl experts have been brought to Bella Coola several times within recent years to cure cases of insanity, but great secrecy is maintained concerning the methods employed. They are considered to be effective, in proof of which the attention of the writer was directed to two sane men who were said to have been raving lunatics before undergoing a Kwakiutl treatment. It is probable that the individuals had been subject to periodic fits of insanity and that a temporary improvement was regarded as a definite cure.

757 *For Venereal Disease* (four means)

(1) Boil scrapings of false hellebore roots in water for a long time and drink the decoction. If it is too strong, add more water.

(2) Pound *sks'tcalx*, a kind of fungus, in water and drink the brew.

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that the proximity of such intensely human articles is enough 789
to counteract and render powerless anything of a superhuman
nature. Likewise, when a certain woman came in contact [755]
with the War-Party of the Tides and began to exhibit symp-
toms of insanity, she was cured by drinking water in which
other women had squeezed out their menstrual pads. Another
defence is the burning of dried salmon, fumigation from which [828]
is particularly effective for one who suffers from nightmares.
Other remedies already mentioned are to cut the right leg and
smear a bullet with the resultant blood in order to kill a *smnıq*,
and to lacerate the inside of the mouth and spit to withstand
a capsizing mountain.

The medicine most commonly taken is false hellebore, the 224
use of which was learnt by some ancient shaman. At dusk a 789
hunter should eat a small twig of it, raw; it draws from his
stomach everything injurious, particularly women's hairs,
which are abhorred by animals, and ensures him success on
the morrow. If he takes too much of it, he becomes ill and [752]
must swallow the antidote, mountain goat grease or marrow.
He should also carry twigs of the plant with him, ready either
to swallow or throw in the direction of any dreaded super-
natural being whom he may encounter. Eagle down and dried
salmon roe are sometimes similarly used.

The powers of a person who has obtained supernatural 756
ability, whether or not he is a shaman, can be destroyed by 789
similar means. For example, a lad treated so that he under-
stands the speech of ravens, will lose his ability if he eats food
cooked or prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has
lost her husband within the last year, or if he passes through
the hole in the floor used by an adolescent girl. The last Bella
Coola with this skill was deafened to the meaning of the birds'
croaking by lying near his sister one night for warmth, since
her mere proximity was enough to nullify his power. This 789
aspect of medicine merges with taboos. So, too, the power of
an object can be destroyed by washing; an instance of this in

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789 regard to two figurines prepared to cause love has been described.

755 In addition to these non-specialized medicines, the Bella Coola are acquainted with remedies for several specific ailments caused by supernatural beings. One of these, to cure a person in whose head a toad was formed, has already been described.

To Prevent Blindness

[753] Loss of sight is caused by a bat flying into a man's face, or by a raven's dropping falling upon him as he looks upward. [825] After either accident, rub a feather from any bird in a raven's liver and draw it across the eyes. The person practising this [785] cure must remain continent for one year or blindness will result.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Leg

If a man puts his foot in a hole so that he stumbles and falls, he will lose the use of that leg unless he counteracts the danger by placing a small stick upright in the cavity. In the summer of 1922 the writer noticed an old Bella Coola, with whom he was walking in the woods, break off a branch about two feet in length and place it in a hole where he had stumbled. He could give no explanation for his act, except that failure would cause him to lose the use of that leg.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Feet

If a person should happen to set his bare feet upon a dead wolf, he will lose the use of his lower limbs. The antidote to this has been forgotten within recent years, and patients are merely treated by shamans.

755 *To Prevent the Revenge of a Ghost*

775 The ghost of a murdered person usually tries to avenge himself on his killer, who can protect himself by obtaining a small piece from the body or clothing of his victim, a tuft of hair, a shred of cloth, or even a piece of earth from above his

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grave. When, presently, he feels sick and believes that the ghost has caused the malady, he throws the object he has obtained on a fire and allows the smoke to drift over his body. It is not known how this destroys the power of the dead victim. 755 775

At present (1922), in case of unexpected death in which murder is suspected, the relatives keep the body under lock and key and watch carefully to see whether anyone tries to gain access to it. To endeavour to do so would be considered proof of guilt. For the same reason, they may place boards over the grave and watch it for several weeks. As already described, a middle-aged woman died unexpectedly in 1922. Her father, believing that she had been murdered, expressed the opinion that a certain man was the criminal and that he would die within a year. He outlived this period by three weeks and it was generally agreed that the power of thought had been sufficient to cause the death. Apparently, the father shared this view and expected the ghost of the alleged murderer to be hostile, for he made two efforts to enter the shed where the body was lying, but the relatives of the deceased foiled him by locking all doors and windows. When he himself died a few weeks later, it was taken for granted that the ghost had exacted vengeance. [695]

To Cure a Malady Caused by a Sorcerer

The most complicated medicine about which information was obtained was one employed by an elderly Bella Coola who had incurred the enmity of a sorcerer. The latter had succeeded in breaking a triangular bone in the man's chest which would have caused his death if his mother had not consulted an old woman who knew the proper remedy for such an ailment. This knowledge had been handed down in her family for generations and she was rewarded lavishly for her services. It will be convenient to refer to the patient as X and the old woman who treated him as Y. 755 [424]

X's mother requested the services of Y who agreed to assist and called upon her husband to help her. They scoured the

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755 forest until they found four spruce saplings growing fairly close to one another and forming a line from east to west. They split each of these, inserted a block to hold the two halves apart, and prevented the upper end of the cut from extending too far by wrapping around it branches of the tree itself, taking care only to bend, not to break these off. Then Y drew through each cleft stem as many of the prickly branches as possible, fastening them in position with their own twigs. Finally, she bound near the base of each sapling a long cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. On the day that these preparations were completed, Y boiled in water a number of branches of devil's club, swamp gooseberry, and other prickly plants. Then she told X's mother that all was in readiness for the next day, but that her son must hold intercourse that night. X was unmarried at the time, but his mother obtained the services of a woman for him.

At dawn the next day, before any of his neighbours were awake, X went to the spot where the four saplings had been prepared. With him were his mother and Y, who first washed him with the water in which the thorny branches had been boiled, then gave him his instructions: He was to force his way through the westernmost spruce, turn around on himself, sunwise, four times, pass to the next tree and repeat the same procedure; after this, he was to do the same at the third, and finally at the eastern sapling. With much difficulty, X pushed through the cleft stem, where the tied branches tore his flesh like needles, and rotated himself as he had been directed to do. Without waiting for Y, he acted similarly at the three other trees. As soon as X had passed through the first trunk, Y carefully pulled out the branches from the hole, knocked away the block that held the two sections apart, and loosened the long bough which had been wrapped around the top of the opening. When the sapling had sprung back to normal, she wound the long cedar-bark cord around the trunk, clockwise, so that it would knit together. The old woman followed X to each tree so that there was little indication of anything unusual

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having taken place when she had finished. Then the three went home, Y telling X that he must remain continent until she told him to do otherwise.

Three days later, Y told X's mother that her son would have to sleep that night with another woman whose services were obtained as before. This intercourse was on the fourth night after the first one. Meanwhile, Y and her husband had located and prepared another set of spruce saplings to which X was taken the following dawn. The same ritual was carried out without variation. Four nights later, he slept with another woman and passed through a third line of trees; four nights after that, the same procedure was repeated. Being unmarried, X required the services of four different women although if he had had a wife, she would have sufficed.

During the four days after the fourth set of trees had been used, Y collected, drop by drop, hemlock gum which had exuded from holes made by a small woodpecker.[5] X's mother accompanied the practitioner and heard her say something to the gum but could not understand what it was; X does not know whether the words were in a strange language or merely mumbled. Y also rifled a coffin to obtain the same bone as the one of X's which had been broken. X's mother was again present and heard Y speaking unintelligibly for some time as she cautiously opened the box, taking care to raise the farther side of the lid. The bone was covered with the hemlock gum and Y bound it, like a poultice, on X's chest on the fourth day after he had passed through the fourth set of saplings. It was left in position for four days, then thrown away as useless; it had "become nothing" for the malady and was consequently valueless. With its removal, the pain vanished. Y told X that he would have a long life, since no evil could harm him henceforth, but added that he would never be wealthy. X mentioned that both predictions have come to pass.

If the application of the gum had not been successful, Y would have waited for four days more and then given X a drink

[5] *Tipout*; the species could not be identified.

755 of water in which had been boiled eight splinters from a coffin. She would have obtained two from each side, and two from each end, in each case inserting the point of a crooked knife to pry loose a fragment of the wood, and then pulling it off in the same direction as the sun travels. It would have been immaterial from which aspect the first had been taken, but Y would have been careful to move around the coffin from east to south to west to north, corresponding to the course of the sun.

It is believed that no one has now the ability to use this cure.

Sorcerers

754 Among the causative medicines of which knowledge has [424] been handed down in various families for generations are secret means of killing. Every sorcerer must have such a possession, but he is not so branded unless he begins to exercise his powers for anti-social purposes. For example, if it be known that a [575] certain individual is able to cause death, the members of the *kusiut* society are eager to admit him to their group, so that his ability will be at their disposal to punish anyone who breaks their regulations. Likewise, if a chief decides that a certain [622] man should die, the power of his thoughts may suffice to cause the death, but the desired end will be effected more certainly by requesting aid from the owner of a means of killing. Such [756] an individual is frequently a shaman who is only too glad of an opportunity to exhibit his powers. The following methods of execution are said to have been employed socially, that is, with the connivance or at the request of chiefs or the members of the *kusiut* society:

(1) The executioner scratches for four successive nights on the door of the victim's house. If the latter suspects what is to take place, he may endeavour to escape by remaining awake which renders the scratching powerless. It is said that no one has been able to remain sleepless for more than three nights which gives the killer his opportunity.

It is believed that if a non-
*575 initiate pass between the central fire and the raised platform
774 behind it, where the dancer is usually concealed, his spirit will
755 be attracted to this material object. Even though the performer is in another house at the time, he at once senses what
[784] has happened and asks who has lost his spirit. The guilty
[626] person, believing that he will die unless it is returned to him, always admits what he has done. The dancer, accompanied by several attendant *kukusiut*, proceeds to the raised platform, presses his cupped hands four times against it, and by sucking with his mouth pretends to draw forth the spirit. But since the dancer has a direct call (II, p. 6) from his supernatural patron (II, p. 6), he cannot come in contact with the uninitiated without danger to the latter, so he transfers the supernatural element to the leg of another *kusiut*, who is not dancing at the time, by pressing four times. This assistant then returns it to the owner by kneading it four times into the back of his neck.
[626] The reckless uninitiated person suffers no harm, but is more careful in future.

[784] Another belief is that if a non-member even walks close to
[626] the doorway of the house during the four days, or more, that a dance is taking place, his spirit is attracted to the dancer, wherever he may be at the moment. Consequently the uninitiated use the beach path instead of the sidewalk. Accounts differ as to what results from the transgression. According to
[778] one, the dancer falls down as if dead, due to the contact between something non-sacred and the power with which he is imbued. It is at once recognized what has happened and any *kusiut* can draw forth the spirit by placing his two hands, shaped like a cup, against the dancer and sucking violently. While so doing he calls *hoip* loudly and any *kukusiut* present beat time furiously. As soon as the alien spirit has been removed, the dancer recovers. Still holding his hands cupped together, the extractor now proceeds to the house of the non-member and returns the latter's spirit by kneading it into the back of his neck. If this were not done, the loser would soon
[784] become mad, try to eat dirt, and die. According to another

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informant, the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not inconvenience the dancer, although he senses its presence, and asks who will pay for its return. Unless the owner at once steps forward to claim his property and promises to pay, his spirit is thrown into the fire and he dies. The *kukusiut* sometimes tell an uninitiated person that his spirit has been attracted from him, thereby terrifying him so greatly that he appeals to a shaman to recover it for him. The expert greases his hands, warms them at a fire, and pretends to pluck something from the *kusiut* which he inserts into the loser's neck. 575* 774 755● [784]

In view of the firm conviction that the spirit is essential to an individual's welfare, it is not surprising that this belief should awe the uninitiated and fill them with profound respect for the *kukusiut*. The diversity in the details of procedure proves that the practice has not become standardized; those who are not members of the society believe and do not test the claims. 575* 774 626

Another source of strength claimed by the *kukusiut* is ability to witness and imitate the dances of the supernatural beings held in *Nusmät·a* prior to the entry of *Älquntäm*. As already described, it is believed that a supernatural element from every living creature upon earth ascends at this time but, in a way that is not fully understood, only those belonging to *kukusiut* can take part in the ceremonies. Is it strange, therefore, that members of the society are regarded with awe by their less fortunate fellows? Presents are given after every dance in *Nusmät·a* and the supernatural elements receive their due share. When, however, *Älquntäm* enters, he is so big and so hot that almost all who have assembled rush forth furiously, and in the crush at the narrow doorway disaster overtakes many of the visiting human representatives. Some drop their gifts, and their owners will be unfortunate; others fall, and their owners cannot survive until the next ceremonial season. This same fate may befall even those who are not members of the *kusiut* society, but they do not have the ability to appreciate what has happened. 575* 787 776 796 777 761

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*575 of the darker hue of the inner part of the wood. His nose and
*796 forehead are wrinkled as if in deep thought. Masks of many
other supernatural beings and animals have been made, in-
532 cluding two which are reserved for *kusiotem* dances alone. The
first of these is X's patron, *Kulslkäkmidjut*, who is capable of
having his stomach cut. A face mask is made for him of the
usual human type, and in addition a wooden stomach with a
slit which can be moved by strings to display entrails painted
on a frame beneath. The second distinctive mask is that of
[776] *Oqolikts Älquntäm*, the herald of *Älquntäm*. Above his mask
is fastened a bird, made of wood, the wings of which can be
made to flap by pulling on a cord which runs down under the
wearer's blanket. He carries a staff, decorated with alternate
spiral bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with
another wooden bird likewise provided with flapping wings.
By the time the masks have been adjusted it is quite dark.

*575 The uninitiated, listening from their houses, hear first the
*796 frantic, but measured, beating of sticks that always accom-
[755] panies a curing ceremony. Then *Oqolikts* leaves X's house,
followed by all the *kukusiut* who have danced the same year
and accordingly wear dyed cedar-bark collars, and many others
as well. The party goes to the bottom house of the village
where *Oqolikts* pounds on the floor with his staff and cries out:

Xwo . . . .

The *kusiut* chosen to wear this mask is one who has powerful lungs. The heralds, always in attendance, echo his words and explain to the wondering uninitiated who their supernatural visitor is, and that this is the way he summons the supernatural beings to the dances in the land above. *Oqolikts* causes the wings of his birds to flap, the party moves to the next house, and thence in succession to every one in the village before returning to X's. After a short delay the uninitiated hear another crash of the frenzied beating of sticks, and again *Oqolikts* parades to every house in the village. On this, his second round, his announcement is:

"I act as herald; prepare to come."

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*575 natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is
*796 usually added that the animal in question is the one resident
776 in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary
825 river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to
[773] follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the
[821] stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed
[226] his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. As far as could be learnt, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who is patron for a certain *kusiut* is the head of a female herring. Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to
[532] doubt. For the *nebusam* of her protégé, a number of masks representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are prepared. When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dakdakänus*, the supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *kusiut* but the ritual of the dance, known as *osnäxmuṇaix*, was not obtained. The similarity between *Dakdakänus* and *Dakdakänmem*, those who await *Noäkynm*, appears merely to be an accidental re-
[192] semblance in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning "to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

*575
*796
776
184
[755]

THE DANCE OF *Ämoqltaikila*

In Kimsquit it is believed that *Änoᵊlikwolsaix* has a husband, *Ämoqltaikila*, who is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to

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stumble upon a repository and are stricken down by his wife. Like a shaman, he does this by blowing violently upon the back of the victim's neck and calling out, *hoip*. From constant repetition his mouth has become large and round. When displayed on *nebusam*, the mask representing *Almoqltaikila* is painted black and has bulging, blown-out cheeks, and a round protruding mouth as if in the act of blowing. Neither the dance nor belief in this figure appear to occur in Bella Coola itself.

575* 796* 776 184 [755] [532]

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BARK-BEATER

In the land above there lives a supernatural woman who spends all her time in pounding cedar-bark such as is used, either dyed or undyed, for ceremonial objects of different kinds. Her name is *Spikpiknm di Sinxälstla* and she is patron for various *kukusiut*. On the *nebusam* of her Kimsquit protégés she appears as a masked figure engaged in her usual occupation and makes a circuit of the house while a salmon is displayed. The relationship between this being and the salmon is problematical, and it is uncertain whether or not the same rite is practised in Bella Coola.

[532]

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL AWAKENER

Every morning in *Nusqulxwaista* the woman *Spaixpaxnumän·a* goes around waking up the supernatural beings. She is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. On the *nebusam* of her protégé, a masked figure representing the Awakener goes to every house in the village and pounds on the doors, but does not enter, to the relief of the uninitiated who have sought refuge within the bed-rooms.

575* 796* 776 [532]

THE DANCE OF DAWN

Not only must the supernatural beings be aroused in the morning, but every day the Sun himself must be requested to appear; this is done by the beings known as *Xemxemtnum*, who are patrons for several *kukusiut*. On *nebusam* they appear and *Ano°likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated who they are and

[821]

C *Wastl-ḱwuinuḱlis*	*yas Ḱislaxnalalḱwalas*	*ḱistlḱwustlis*
I stand upon	what gave me power as a shaman(*f*)	when it stood up

sewtz-amaw-a-tz-ual;
in the centre of a place of petrified power(*i*).

(*a*) This was the woman's *Łaxlat* designation; her shaman's name has been forgotten.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 56, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tal'o* Charlie and Steamboat Annie.

(*c*) That is: The sky moved up and down. Grandiloquent phrases of this kind are frequent in songs used by shamans.

(*d*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*e*) *Ḱimoxmile* is said to be the word for salmon in the language of the supernatural beings; it is used by mortals in the rites following the taking of the first spring salmon. The shaman has received some of her power from a fish.

(*f*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*g*) Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

(*h*) The meaning is obscure. Apparently the shaman had been carried away by *Thiexplitsw-a* and treated by immersion in a basin in which eagle down was deposited.

(*i*) This refers to the supernatural beings, *Łxamlxtsem*, the [illegible] mortals killed by the receipt of too much power from *Thiexplitsw-a*. It is clear that this fate befell the shaman.

(*j*) The woman is said to have received power from several sources, salmon, ghosts, and *Thiexplitsw-a* herself. It is impossible to state which of her supernatural patrons is referred to in this subdivision.

(*k*) The woman must have been taken to one of the spots where cures could be effected by the power of a supernatural being petrified there.

Song Used by Nuxtz-mālsair(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A *Ämtqawiqunuxal;*	*wa-ixtāldumxal;*	*aiakuxiaat*
Look at the teeming supernatural beings above(*c*), not one is my equal(*d*),		wise one(*e*)!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Suxpalqhtaiyam'xal*	*stuatqustumulxual;*	*aiakuxiaat*
You must sometimes waken at night to meditate on what I am bringing your mouth(*f*),		wise one!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Sutmyalsuḱlal*	*stāuadhtkramxadja*	*aiakuxiaat*
You must sometimes use your wash-basin(*g*),		wise one!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Ałkhu: Village at Salmon House, on the upper Dean River.
ałkma: Position between two fires.
ałtut: 1—Raised bed behind the fire used by a person seeking power, or by one who has been in contact with the supernatural.
2—Waterfall.[1] [823]
ałmaiu: To teach.
ałmaiuxmbit': Hereditary lore handed down secretly in a family. [424]
Ałpinkt: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
ałpuma: Sunset song in slow time. [583]
ałxłła: 1—Box, *ałxłaiu*; hence, seat.
3—One of the nights of a potlatch, probably that on which a representation of the deceased appears.
ałma: Rocky Mountain jay. [825]
ałpawał: Carved house post.
Ałsałxałł: Wife of *Snałq*; both were changed to stone in the beginning of time.
ałsałxałł: That part of a house between fire and doorway.
Ałsłwinłuiu: Expedition of the supernatural being *Wiwaiu* against berries and fish.
Ałsnawu: *Snauu*'s fish-dam in the beginning of time; the name has since been used by his descendants.
ałsnałxałł: Chief's house; a railway; or several orchestras. [601]
ałq": Scale. [825]
ałxmałum: Steeping in medicinal smoke as a curative measure.
ałłaqałp: Fir. [755]
Ałłał-łałał: Evil male supernatural being.
ałma: 1—Death, not anthropomorphized. [824]
2—Dead.
ałmał": Kingfisher. [825]
ałł: Fish-hook.
Ałłkum, "They of the Huge Jaws": Supernatural beings resident in the land above. [227]
ałłmas: *Kwiał* spy.
ałłqałł: *plural, łałłqałł; vocative plural, łałłqłaił:*
1—Person who has not given a potlatch, a commoner.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Ałłł: enemy village.
Ałpł: *Snauu* man mentioned in an ancient story.
ałpu łaułłał, "He Urinates Over Himself." The implication is that this is an indication of misfortune, hence the word really means *omen*. It is the Kimsquit variant of *ałaułłał*. [787]
ałaułłał: Omen of death.
Ałpu-i, "Occupied Mound": 1—Village at Kwafna.
2—Artificial mound at *Tałła*.
3—Village on the Kimsquit River.
4—Island near Ocean Falls.
Ałpu-i nuu Wawałuła, "Place of Dogs": Locality near Ocean Falls where the dogs came to earth in the beginning of time.
ałpuu-i: Varied thrush. [825]

[1] The latter is a favourite place for obtaining power, the probable reason for the identity of the two terms.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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1924

sla'ā': Devil's-club.
sla'ōstmaxlis: To lament ceremonially, the term used to describe the reason for a memorial potlatch. [824] [965]
Slamī, "Ashes": Ancestral name created for a *Swalē'ī* chief about 1910.
slamuk: Supernatural creature dwelling in water.
slay: Anus.
slāmm: Splinters projecting upwards from the hole of a broken tree-trunk. [824]
Slamalymta-a: One of the first women to settle at *Swalē'ī* in the beginning of time.
Slaqa: Chief of the spring salmon.
slaxōmkun: Narrow strips of goat skin with wool attached, distributed at marriage. [515]
sleāsis: Mergansers. [825]
slakmadjat, "The Opening": Ceremony when the first public presents are given to the family of a future wife, following the announcement of betrothal. [584]
sli: To cure, especially with the aid of a frozzled beating of sticks. [481]
Slimusīnī: *Snuc* man mentioned in an ancient story.
slimp, "Come To!": Call of invitation to a *hamat* dance in the upper Bella Coola valley.
sliwata: Cloud.
slome: Thick hide, either of moose or caribou. [825]
slomu: Semi-circular knife used by women for cutting salmon. [412]
slomoix, *slomoxl*, or *slōmdjat*: 1—Frozzled beating of sticks for curing purposes, especially when the patient is a member of a secret society. [755]
2—Final *hamat* rite at end of the ceremonial season.
slomix: To cure by means of the frozzled pounding of sticks.
Slomī, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log": *o'ulā* name obtained in the beginning of time.
Slomstaā: House used by a group of first settlers near *Snuc* in the beginning of time.
Slomsdīx-a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Nusqulā* in the beginning of time.
sla'nuk: Fungus. [824]
slōmstqata: 1—Box made of strands of cedar-bark. [415]
2—Ancient name of a small hand-drum.
slop: Ceremonial designs executed on the exterior front wall of a house.
slokā': Rose.
Slōlīmm-a: *Kwakiutl* name of a Kitamaat man.
slot: Wasp. [825]
Slolomnamx: Rock on shore of North Bentinck Arm where war trophies were washed. [727]
Slpaslāsī: Name of house brought down by first settlers at *Slōlīmī* in the beginning of time; the term was also applied by them to one of their female relatives.
slsī, *sneātsa*, *sluxī*: Parent-in-law or child-in-law. [601]
sltlāp: Suitable place in the river for setting checkers nets.
sltlu: Game played with throwing stones.
slualsīs: Synonym for *yaxwma*, the tangible or intangible prerogative possessed by some *hamatsa* in addition to a dance rite. [824]
slusualāsīs: River sculpin. [825]

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
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759 The homicidal purposes include: making a child grow up to
789 be a good dancer, industrious, a swift berry picker, or a strong
856 man; causing long trouble; making the river souls where wanted;
and two ways of stopping rain. The injurious purposes include:
two ways of making a person grow up to be a thief; the causing
of cruelness and quarrelsomeness and the three ways of causing
death.

759 The materials and actions used include: ashes of aspen leaves;
789 a dead toad, used with hair, with a red cedar bark face wiper,
815 and with hair pieces of thimble berry shoots which were accidentally dropped while being eaten; ashes of a yellow jacket's nest;
825 a living raven with phlegm; beaver paws, in two instances; a skin bracelet from a beaver's leading; a dead wood-rat; a dead woman; a grizzly bear's skin; a living owl squirted with a bit of spruce bringe; setting fire to a wood-rat's house; and poking an ant hill.

789 To make a person a good dancer the ashes of the burned leaves
856 of the aspen or trembling poplar were said to be useful, but
829 Jackson said this may have been a joke. The Bellacoola Indians
836 say the leaves dance. They never say that they tremble. When a baby was born, if the parents talked about it and the father desired that the baby grow up to be a good dancer, the mother or father got the leaves, burned them and put the ashes on the baby's hands, knees and elbows. When talking of this Jackson held his hands with the finger tips up and moved them as the Bellacoola do in dancing. Both rich and poor were dancers.

789 A baby girl would grow up to be industrious, it was believed,
815 if the warm limbs of a recently dead beaver were applied to her.
824 The Bellacoola apparently observed the great industry of the beaver.

To make a baby girl grow up to be a fast berry-picking woman, the ring of skin from between two cuts around a beaver's leading was put on her wrist and was left on until it were off.

To make a boy grow up to be a strong man, a skin of the grizzly bear, was thrown over him, generally by his father.

● 755 For phlegm on the lungs, more permanent than a simple cold,
825 the patient experimented in something and some one secretly mixed the fresh phlegm with salmon eggs and put the mixture

In Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
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815

out for the ravens to eat. This was done four times, and if a raven ate it, the patient recovered, according to Captain Schooner's belief. As the call of the raven sounds somewhat like a person affected with phlegm in the throat, this may be a case of sympathetic magic, at any rate it is one of witchcraft.

[754]

To make the river erode at a certain place in order to break a log jam, a beaver's foot was buried in each of several spots in the place.

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A continuous rain would cease, and the sun would come out, it was said, if the people set fire to a wood-rat's house.

When it rained too much the Bellacoola Indians poked down an ant hill and said, "Give us warm sunshine." They believed this would bring results, but now that Joshua is a Christian he says he does not believe it and says it is useless play talk.

Bad boys or girls, but not adults, would take a dead mouse, warm it over a fire, and rub the warmed mouse on the hands of a baby. This made the baby steal when it grew up. The so-called stealing habits of the mouse were supposed to be transferred to the child.

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856
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The still warm body of a freshly killed wood-rat was used in the same way to make a baby, boy or girl, "crazy," and grow up to be a constant thief. The notorious habits of the wood-rat, as well as those of the mouse, were evidently well recognized by the Bellacoola.

To make people crazy, the red squirrel had to be properly used by a shaman and then it possessed strong power. One woman who had been made crazy in this way died in 1897. She did not like the shaman and he did not like her. He stole her spoon. She was crazy. He took it into the forest and performed witchcraft because he wanted to spoil her life by making her crazy. He caught a red squirrel alive, possibly in a little basket. He had a box called a "bad box," in which he kept his things of evil power. He put some of the fringe of her spoon around the red squirrel and let it run far away. The woman then became crazy and sometimes fell down, but part of the time she seemed well. My Indian informant, Joshua, had seen her. This example of sympathetic

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5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE5 Bellacoola NE5
Cottier NE7
Turnham NE16

ARISTOLOCHIACEAE, BIRTHWORT FAMILY

Asarum cordatum Lindl., Wild Ginger

Bella Coola: Boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting.

Boiled, and applied externally for headache, intestinal pains, and pain in the knees.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

POLYGONACEAE, BUCKWHEAT FAMILY

Rumex occidentalis Wats., Western Dock

Bella Coola: Roots roasted for a short time in a hole in the earth among the ashes of a fire, covered with earth, smashed, and applied in quantity as a poultice for boils. Both leaves and roots used, according to another informant, and the poultice applied to wounds as well as boils.

Leaves used for a sweat bath for pains similar to rheumatism all over the body. Stones were heated, a little cold sand spread over them, and leaves spread on the sand; or else the leaves were spread on hot ashes. The patient sat or lay naked directly on the leaves, and was covered with blankets. Western Nettle (*Urtica Lyallii* Wats.), small branches of black cottonwood (*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.) with the leaves on them, or the small kelp found on rocks were sometimes used when leaves of the western dock could not be obtained.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

LORANTHACEAE, MISTLETOE FAMILY

Arceuthobium americanum Nutt., Small Mistletoe

Bella Coola: Boiled, and decoction taken as a potent medicine for hemorrhage of the lungs.

Southern Carrier: Boiled, and decoction taken freely for hemorrhage from the mouth, tuberculosis of the lungs, and consumption.

NYMPHACEAE, WATER-LILY FAMILY

Nymphaea polysepala (Engelm.) Greene, Yellow Pond-Lily

Bella Coola, old medicine: Used in a magical way for pain in all parts of the body. A root in many cases as large as a man's leg was cut free from the bed of a pool with a hardwood pole sharpened like a shovel. A hollow was made in it, water placed in the rootpocket, and hot stones added. The stones were changed four times, after which the patient drank one or two cupfuls of the water. He repeated the dose each day for four days. To be effective the root had to be thrown back into the water, not on the ground.

Present medicine: Root boiled twelve hours, and decoction taken internally for pain in any part of the body, such as "consumption", rheumatism, heart disease, and gonorrhoea. Considered good for the blood. Not used as a diuretic, or for diarrhoea, constipation, or vomiting.

Gitksan: Infusion of sweetings of roasted root (or according to another informant, boots of root, boiled) taken internally for hemorrhage of the lungs and as a contraceptive.

6:Boas E-5 [1886-ca. 1890]1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swooms it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy.

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Snq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Snq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself.

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: 'When an Awiky'i'ang wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Sk'ium) who will initiate him. No Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way.'

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'sk'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 61B), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called sinck. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms.

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, in which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is hot, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die.

I add here a few current beliefs:—

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight singing of the ears indicates rain, loud singing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry.

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die.

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky.

Wars.

When a war party was organized the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and adorned their

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

776 the House of Myths, but who has given up his place in favor of Sênx and
Alk'unta'm. These two might be called the rulers of mankind. In most
traditions they are described as trying to destroy man, notwithstanding the
773 fact that they are considered the creators of mankind. This peculiar charac-
776 teristic of these deities is clearly brought out in the traditions recorded on
pp. 78 ff. In one legend which I collected in 1890, Alk'unta'm's mother,
Nûnusômik·ceqonx'm, is described as a Cannibal, who inserts her long
snout in the ears of man, and sucks out his brain. Eventually she was
transformed into the mosquito.[1] I did not hear her mentioned as one of the
deities residing in the House of Myths. According to the same tradition,
the salmon were obtained by a man who gambled with Alk'unta'm, the
stake being the salmon. Alk'unta'm lost, and the man took the salmon down
[828] from heaven. Another legend of the origin of the salmon is recorded on p. 38,
where it is told how the birds obtained the salmon. According to still another
tradition (p. 94), the Raven obtained the salmon by marrying a salmon girl.
In the tradition quoted above, Alk'unta'm also gives to man the power to cure
[755] disease by means of the water of life, which the shaman sprinkles on the
sick person.

776 A number of inferior deities live in the House of Myths. They might
be called the assistants of the principal deities. In order to understand their
[772] functions, it is necessary to state that the deities residing in the House
of Myths have particular charge of the religious winter ceremonial of the
[196] Bella Coola which is called kû'siut, and which corresponds to the ts'êtsa'eqa
of the Kwakiutl. I have described this ceremonial, and its importance in
[575] the social life of the Kwakiutl, in another paper.[2] The kû'siut is of equal
importance to an understanding of the social life and mythology of the
Bella Coola. It is sufficient to say at this place that the ceremonials per-
formed during the kû'siut are mostly dramatic representations of myths
[532] referring to the various deities, particularly to those of the House of Myths:
therefore masks representing these deities are used in the ceremonials.
Plates VII to XII[3] show a series of these masks. Figs. 1, 2, and 4 (Plate VII)
are Sênx, Alk'unta'm, and Snêlk'ulx·a'ls. The functions of many of the
575 inferior deities seem to refer solely to the kû'siut. These deities and their
776 functions are as follows: Sîx·sek·tisî'x· (Plate VII, Fig. 6) ordains the death
of man and animals. According to one statement that I received, there are
four deities of this name in the House of Myths. It is his particular duty
to kill those who transgress the laws of the kû'siut. This deity is men-
tioned by Jacobsen, who calls him Sek-selk Kalsi.[4] Nsnsî'seq'als (Plate
VII, Fig. 7), or the Sscnc'iq of the House of Myths, sits by himself in one

[113]

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 1[illegible].
[2] Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, pp. 311-738.
[3] Drawings by Mr. Rudolph Weber.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 3[illegible].

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

539 He walked on, and after a while he noticed a man sitting at a distance.
756 Then he hid the switch under his arm. When he came near, he saw that
776 the man wore a large green nose-ring. He hit it with his switch, and threw it to the right-hand side. Then the man said, "You have attained me as your supernatural helper. Your name shall be S'a'tema [from 'a'tema,' 'dead']. Many people have seen me, but nobody has done what you did. If you had not struck my nose-ornament, you would have died on seeing me. You shall have the power to heal the sick by the touch of your hands. Whenever a person dies and is put into a box, after the box has been placed in the burial-ground, go there. You will find me sitting on the coffin. If then you knock the nose-ring from out of my nose, I shall leave, and the dead will revive. He will break the box, and will arise."

Then the young man felt very glad. He returned to the village, and by following the instructions of the spirit he resuscitated the dead. He was given many blankets, and the men whom he had resuscitated gave him their daughters in marriage.

756 Other shamans are initiated by L'etsa'aplèLana. The same man who
776 gave me the record of his supposed visit to the country of the ghosts (see p. 38) told me that at another time he saw L'etsa'aplèLana flying in the air outside of his house. She wore a ring of red cedar-bark around her neck. She was turning round all the time. Songs were coming from all parts of her body. Although she did not open her mouth, it sounded as though a great many people were singing. She gave him a song, or, as the narrator expressed it, "she threw a song into his body." At that time he was sick, suffering from a wound in his leg inflicted by an axe. He said four days after meeting the spirit he was able to walk, and since that time she has assisted him in curing diseases.

The s'siut is another helper of the shaman, and the means of curing disease (see p. 18). It appears that it obtains its supernatural power from the fact that it lives in the water in which the supreme deity washes her face. When a person sees a s'siut, he should throw sand on it, by which means he will be able to catch it. Its skin is so hard that it cannot be pierced with a spear or knife. The person who catches it should not try to cut it with his knife, but should stretch his hand backward, and then he will find the leaf of a holly, which is the only thing that can cut its skin. He should not touch the s'siut with his hands, but hold it with hemlock twigs. He should wrap it in white cedar-bark and tie it up in his blanket. If it is not thus tied up, it will disappear. It must not be taken into the
[755] house, but should be placed in a small box and hidden under stones, or buried in a hole under the root of a tree. It is a most potent means of curing disease. Sick people will buy small pieces of the s'siut, for which

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

they pay high prices. The piece is thrown into water, in which it is kept for four days. Then the water is used for washing the body. If a healthy person uses this water, he will live to an old age. Sick persons chew the white cedar-bark in which it is wrapped up, in order to regain health. They must not swallow the cedar-bark, but only the saliva that gathers in their mouths. A person who has chewed the cedar-bark becomes invulnerable. The eye of the st'siut, is described as about a foot in diameter, and as transparent as rock crystal. 756 776 [755]

Toa'lat.'it is the spirit who protects the mountain-goat hunter. He himself is invisible; but great hunters sometimes see his hat, his moccasins, or his mountain staff moving about. The following tradition describes some of his characteristics:— 776 539

The Raven and the Lynx lived in one house, each occupying one side. Early in the morning the Raven went out to catch salmon with the harpoon. He was very successful, and carried the fish home. Toa'lat.'it watched the Raven, who, when he arrived at the house, roasted his salmon. The children of the Lynx were sitting near by, and looking at the Raven while he was roasting the fish. They wished to participate in the meal, but he did not give them anything. Then the children were very sad. Now the Lynx made up his mind to make arrows and to go hunting mountain-goat. He went out and cut some wood for his arrows; then he told his wife to make a quiver, which he called Ta'ô'lapala. She did so, and wove a quiver of cedar-bark. The Lynx was quite impatient for the sun to rise, so eager was he to start hunting. Early in the morning he arose and ascended the mountain. When he reached the limit of the trees, he sat down on a flat rock and looked for goats. Then he saw the staff of a man who was coming down the mountain. He did not see the person himself. He thought, "Who is that? Who may be hunting here?" The stick approached him; and when it came near, he saw Toa'lat.'it, who wore a large hat. His hat was named Q!pôx (that means a "barren mountain-top"). Toa'lat.'it reached the Lynx, and sat down opposite him. Neither spoke a word. After a while Toa'lat.'it arose, took the arrows of the Lynx, and said, "How beautiful these arrows are!" He took up one after another until he had looked at all the four arrows of the Lynx. Then he asked, "Who made these arrows?" The Lynx did not reply. Toa'lat.'it asked again, "Who made these arrows?" Then Lynx replied, "Toa'lat.'it made my arrows." Then Toa'lat.'it was very much pleased, and said, "Is he the one who made your arrows?"—"Certainly!" replied Lynx. Then Toa'lat.'it took his arrows and threw one after another down the mountain, and said to the Lynx, "Now go down the mountain and look at your arrows. If you spoke the truth, every

1: McIlwraith NE6 Bellacoola NE6

● 756

/For information on shamanism and stories illustrating shamanism, see category 116, pp. 539-594, and pp. 661-692./

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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772 beneath the Bella Coola valley, and the land of the living
775 forms a dome over it corresponding to that of the sky over this world. But everything is reversed. A river flows in the land of ghosts, but it rises in the west instead of the east; when it is warm on this earth it is cold in the land below; when it is sunrise here, it is sunset there. Shamans are be-
[756] lieved to have penetrated frequently to this land, and on information from them the Bella Coola base their beliefs.

772 There is another land beneath the ocean. In this live the fish and sea mammals in human form, as well as other beings to be described in the next section of this chapter. Like all
[821] other worlds it has a sun above it,[2] and conditions are said to be similar to those existing on this earth. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether this undersea world is at the same level as the land of ghosts, and whether or not it extends beneath the rivers.

821 Although Bella Coola concepts regarding the sun and other heavenly bodies will require further consideration, it will be convenient at this point to describe them in outline. The sun is regarded as a heat-radiating ball of such intensity that a human being cannot approach it. Its path, as it crosses the land above, varies from day to day until it reaches its limits at the solstices. As it travels, it is accompanied by the droning
[776] of two *Aiiilāxa*, supernatural feminine beings who remain continually, one in the east and one in the west. According to most informants, the ends of the sun's course, though fixed and invariable from year to year, are not marked by any vis-
[776] ible means. Others state that at each limit there is the mouth of a *snuuq*, a mythological animal of enormous size.

The moon is thought likewise to travel[3] each day but is said to be very cold. Few stories are current concerning it, although the Bella Coola say that long ago a man tried to reach it, only to be driven back by the intense cold. A shaman
[756] who died not many years ago claimed to have received power

[776] [2]One informant stated that our sun served that purpose.
[3]The *Aiiilāxa* drone as it travels, as they do for the sun.

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from the moon and stated that there were mountains and snow on it. It is commonly stated that the marks on the moon represent a man carrying a bucket. 821 [756]

The stars figure but slightly either in Bella Coola mythology or thought; it is not even known who made them. Two in the Great Bear constellation are called respectively *Tpiksta* and *X̱inx̱ines*, "Little Girls." A lone star in the same part of the sky, named *A'lox*, is said to be following the girls to the forest for illicit intercourse. [773]

Moon, stars, and above all the sun, were, and still are to a certain extent, used by the Bella Coola in computing the passage of time. There are no individuals with the definite prerogative of keeping count of time, but formerly wise old men used to do so.[4] Differences of opinion were the rule rather than the exception, a condition which often led to bitter disputes concerning the proper date for starting the winter ceremonials. Boas (p. 41) has recorded the Bella Coola calendar in greater detail than the present writer has been able to do. The making of calendrical observations is a lost art, and the following list of the months was all that could be learnt. It will be noted that these agree with Boas in regard to the months in the early part of the year, but not in those between the summer and winter solstices; no explanation is offered for this disparity. 805 821 [554] [578] [796] [114] [178] [114]

First moon after the summer solstice: *Sikālamtak*, which has the significance, "The Time for Sockeye Salmon to Ascend the River."

Second moon after the summer solstice: *Sī'islalitl*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon."

Third moon after the summer solstice: *Sī'iswai·stl*, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon."

Fourth moon after the summer solstice: *Siqālxam*, "The Time for Gathering Fern Root," or *Sidakaos di Ano'likwolsaix*,

[4] A Kimsquit informant stated that there were professional calendrical experts in his home, when he was a young lad although members of the *hamat* society (II, chap. 1) sometimes attended to this matter. [575] [463]

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not systematized; if a man is asked about the powers or functions of a certain supernatural being, he will usually answer by recounting a story in which that being appears. What is known respecting many of the lesser supernatural beings depends upon information contained in stories, and as many of these are personal possessions, it follows that there is tremendous variation in individual knowledge. Psychologically, this is of little importance; there are enough supernatural beings for everyone to know some of them, and to expect to meet or hear them in the forests. To insert many of the stories contained in later chapters would break the sequence of description; all that is here attempted is to give a general summary, in a way foreign to Bella Coola thought. 771 776* [424] [184]

Supernatural beings are by no means all-powerful. It is true that they have miraculous powers and can work weal or woe to human beings who chance to come in contact with them, but likewise they may sometimes be overwhelmed by mortals armed with objects steeped in human essence, such as a blanket which has been worn until it is impregnated not only with the smell, but the physical being of its owner. In particular, shamans or other mortals of great strength have been able to conquer the supernatural ones. Consequently, it may be said that although supernatural beings live on a plane different from that of mortals, they are not omnipotent. Long, long ago, man was able to come in contact with them more frequently, but that golden age when the semi-mythical ancestors of the Bella Coola were living has long since passed away, though it is only within the last few years that such beings, particularly supernatural animals, have become comparatively rare. The Bella Coola give three main reasons for this: 776* [756] [773] 776* 178

(1) Supernatural animals do not like the sound of muskets and have moved far away.

(2) With increasing dependence on the canning industry, fewer hunters penetrate into their haunts in the distant parts of the mountains.

(3) The younger Bella Coola no longer take pains to purify themselves as a means of placating supernatural beings.

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over, he is aware that by certain means he may have good expectations of beseeching, cajoling, deceiving, or rendering powerless any supernatural beings whom he may meet. This attitude is typical; the Bella Coola by no means move in constant dread of the mysterious denizens of the forests, nor do they eagerly hope for their appearance; they have their likes and dislikes, their moments of weakness and of strength, their times of greatness and of pettiness, all to be considered with care and forethought. 781 776 *

One of the beings for whom the older people have a profound respect is *Ṫlitcāplilān·a*, a supernatural woman whose home is in *Nusmāt·a*, but who frequently visits this earth. She can be recognized by her snout-like mouth and long, pendant breasts, but even when beyond the range of vision her proximity can be detected by her singing. *Ṫlitcāplilān·a* often takes pity on a person who is dangerously ill and visits him, not only curing the malady but bringing the sufferer a name and song. In many cases he is thus made a shaman with power to cure. At other times *Ṫlitcāplilān·a* bestows her favours on a person in good health, so that wise Bella Coola are always hoping to meet her. Such an experience is not without its dangers, for she is so powerful that nearness to her may be enough to cause death. The exploits of those who have come in contact with *Ṫlitcāplilān·a* belong to shamanism and will be reserved for vol. I, chap. IX. 776 * 787 [752]

Ṫlitcāplilān·a, though her great power inspires fear, usually behaves in a kindly manner to mortals, who accordingly welcome her. But it is quite otherwise with *Snaiarmax*, whose coming almost invariably brings death.[11] He is a black-faced being of repulsive appearance and sensual nature, whose chief function is to seduce women. For this purpose he often skulks near a village at night, and assumes the voice and appearance of a girl's lover to lure her into the forest. Fearlessly she goes with him, but if she allows his approaches, a hemorrhage results and she soon dies. There is said to be no limit to the number 776 * 761

[11] Cf. Boas, p. 42.

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* 776 761 of his disguises. For example, he once appeared at New Westminster in the form of a handsome white man; a Bella Coola girl yielded to his pleadings, but as soon as he had left her, she began to bleed and died.[11] He is so evil that shamans [756] can rarely cure anyone visited by him. *Sxaiaxwax* usually carries a stick which he need only to point at a woman to cause her death.

Nor are men exempt from *Sxaiaxwax*'s visitations. Sometimes he sneaks up behind a man and seizes his arms, so that he cannot see who has gripped him. He is soon released but no matter how quickly he turns around can never see his captor. Presently he begins to bleed from mouth and nose and death follows. *Sxaiaxwax* may become visible under such conditions. One old man stated that his son had once been playing outside the village at Kimsquit when he rushed into the house weeping and saying that he had been seized by a black-faced man. In a few minutes his nose began to bleed so that his father knew it was *Sxaiaxwax* who had visited him. Nothing was of any avail and the lad died. His approach is usually heralded by a series of grunting, explosive puffs, like those of a big bear rising sulkily. If, warned by the sound, the hearer turn sharply, he can escape danger. An informant described how, when camped on Labouchere Channel, he had once gone to the river for water with two companions, a man and a woman. They all heard these gasping puffs and turned, but he alone had jumped from the path quickly enough. The other two began to pant like *Sxaiaxwax* himself; blood gushed from their mouths and genital organs and they soon died.

Like other supernatural beings, *Sxaiaxwax* has his limitations. Though he comes to this earth he can travel only on fixed paths, invisible to mortals. If either a man or a woman is unfortunate enough to fall asleep on one of these tracks, it is

[11] A curious blending of aboriginal and white man's belief was recorded in connection with this incident. It is said that as the girl's suitor left her, carrying his hat in his hand, she saw two horns rising from his forehead and realized that her lover had been *Sxaiaxwax*. [177]

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easy for *Sxaiaxwax* to gain control over them, and the sleeper wakes to find that he has been bleeding profusely and death is inevitable. This occurred to a man whose experiences are described in vol. I, chap. IX. 776* [761]

Although *Sxaiaxwax* is usually a curse to mortals, he can also do good. Occasionally he makes a man a shaman, and in many cases he helps a woman in childbirth. Such beneficent acts are not sufficient to counterbalance his evil deeds, and he remains one of the most dreaded of Bella Coola supernatural beings, a monster whose machinations make camping in a strange place a dangerous undertaking, and who is as likely to strike down rich or poor, young or old. [756] [844] [484]

Less feared than *Sxaiaxwax*, because he appears less frequently, is *Allät·iaistl*. The Bella Coola speak of this being with trepidation, but little definite information could be obtained concerning him. He has human form and sometimes comes at dusk to cause death by carrying away a man's spirit.[11] The home of this creature appears to be beneath the earth rather than in *Nusmät·a*. [761] [774]

A third dreaded being who, like the two preceding, usually lives on this earth and only visits in *Nusmät·a*, is *Sä·lma*, "The Death Dealer." He, too, appears in human form and can be distinguished by the nose-ring which he always wears. Sudden death in the forest is always attributed to "The Death Dealer." If a man is engulfed by a slide, or killed by a falling tree, it is because this malevolent being has entered the slide or tree. Some Bella Coola say that he is responsible for animals who kill hunters. He rarely carries out his designs with the aid of sickness, nor is death by drowning often attributed to him, but for all other fatal disasters he must take the blame. While a corpse is resting in a coffin awaiting burial, *Sä·lma* invariably sits on the cover, though none can see him. Instances are known in which even this monster has acted in a kindly manner. 776* 761

The supernatural beings thus far described are usually 776*

[11] See vol. I, pp. 94-7.

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including the dreaded point, Mesatche Nose, in human form. As each came in, water swirled in and the canoe was tossed as if in a whirlpool; if it had capsized the occupants would have been devoured, but on each occasion one of the hunters threw a morsel of false hellebore on the surface, which stilled the waves. At last *Ḷomoqwa* and his friends admitted defeat, granted the four fishermen the powers of shamans, and gave them certain prerogatives. 539 776*

Though *Ḷomoqwa* is usually unkind to mortals, and is correspondingly feared, instances are known in which he has bestowed shamanistic powers for no apparent reason. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella know more about *Ḷomoqwa* than they do, since he is essentially an ocean being and the Bella Bella are ocean people. It is possible that the Bella Coola concepts of this supernatural personage are entirely of Bella Bella origin. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that *Ḷomoqwa* seldom appears in connection with the *kusiut* society, but frequently with the *ɪsaak* society, many of the rites of which came from Bella Bella. [756] 177 776* [575]

Since human beings can travel on the sea only by means of canoes, it is not surprising that the Bella Coola think of supernatural beings as doing likewise. Their beliefs include at least three huge canoes, manned by supernatural beings. The most important is that of *Nəẽkynum*,[18] the name of its captain, whose crew consists of a number of supernatural birds and the hermaphrodite. Every year they come from the lands of the salmon and the berries, in the far west beyond the sea, and bear these to the coast of British Columbia. This belief, which runs counter to the conviction that *Ałqantəm* caused the animals and plants to grow, is merely one of the many inconsistencies of Bella Coola theology. *Nəẽkynum* comes every autumn on his way to attend the gathering of the supernatural beings in the land above, and his arrival in the Bella Coola River marks the commencement of the *kusiut* dances. He is one of the most important of *kusiut* patrons and his powers and functions are described in the chapter devoted to that 773 776* [575]

[18] Cf. Boas, p. 68.

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subject. He does not often appear to mankind, though every Bella Coola knows of his existence.

Another supernatural craft is that of *Winwina*.[11] It, too, brings salmon and berries from their home in the extreme west. Knowledge of this canoe is limited to certain families who own stories connected with it, and it likewise serves as patron for *kusiut* dancers. Although both *Noākynum* and *Winwina* can easily destroy human beings, they usually pay no attention to them, and have even been known to bestow supernatural power. *Winwina* will be described in greater detail in connection with *kusiut* dances.

The third canoe is termed *Winās di Sā-lldjo-ts*, "The War-Party of the Tide," or *Winās di Qala*, "The War-Party of the Ocean." Its home is among small islands in the ocean. It is a large canoe, manned by invisible submarine beings, who are able to drive it at tremendous speed wherever they wish. The members of the crew are not in themselves dangerous, but the craft is greatly feared because it always transports *Sxlo-sf*. This supernatural creature is about the size of a seal, brown in colour, and of jelly-like substance; it lies in the boat immediately aft of the place from which water is bailed and constantly rolls to and fro, like an animated mass of repulsive jelly. Poison is constantly spreading from *Sxlo-sf*, and anyone placed in the canoe soon becomes weak, begins to shake like *Sxlo-sf*, and presently dies. This canoe is a source of danger to those with whom it may come in contact, and an even greater peril indirectly. The poison emanating from *Sxlo-sf* kills clams and mussels in the vicinity and renders them unfit for food. In some cases they die at once, with open shells, and anyone finding them knows what has happened and does not eat them, but in other cases they live for a considerable period though saturated with the venom. If anyone eats these shellfish, he becomes flabby and jelly-like, and soon dies, unless a powerful shaman can conquer the poison. Sometimes when a party is encamped on the shore

[11] Cf. Boas, p. 38.

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775 walk backwards, or on their heads. Mortals sometimes see ghosts, but the apparition seals their lips so that they cannot [761] recount their experiences. Death invariably follows. Shamans [756] and other mortals endowed with great powers have been able to penetrate to the realm below, and the knowledge of conditions there has been derived from their accounts. Food is scarce in that land and ghosts are often driven up to earth to 264 search for it. Even a small morsel is enough to satisfy their 775 hunger, so that mortals throw fragments on the fire for the benefit of their dead relatives. If a person drop a crumb it is because a ghost has hooked it away from his hand; no wise Bella Coola ever picks up such a morsel, knowing that to do so would offend the hungry spectre. Deceased beings are 775 generally feared, although instances are known in which they have shown kindness, particularly to their relatives. Like so [575] many supernatural beings, they figure most prominently as patrons of *kwiut* dancers (see vol. II, chap. 1). Further information concerning them is contained in the description of life after death.

776 Not even a complete list of beings would exhaust the 177 beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural, since any unexpected visitation is attributed by them to this source. For example, when Mackenzie appeared, the first white man with whom the Bella Coola had come in contact, they thought that he must be from another world. Some thought him a dead man returned to life, and others considered him a supernatural visitor from above who had fallen down to earth, as did their first ancestors. The latter view prevailed, and it was ultimately decided that he must be *Qomcus*, a supernatural being resident aloft of whom little was known. This name was applied to him, and it has since been given to all white men.[19]

[19]Although it was in 1793 that Mackenzie passed down the Bella Coola valley, a number of stories of that event were still remembered in 1923. What most impressed the Bella Coola was his ability to make fire quickly. One man, now living, stated that he had heard from his mother that her father had spoken with him. Traditions of this type are valuable as reflecting the interests of a people, but their historical accuracy may well be doubted. One Kitamaat man, for example,

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* 776 825 [773] forefathers of the Bella Coola had the ability to talk with animals and birds. The men of today, who realize that such intercourse is not now possible, assume that they have degenerated from the golden age of their first ancestors. On the other hand, they see no reason to believe that beasts have undergone a similar change, and take it for granted that they have continued in the supernatural, or semi-supernatural state in which they were created by *Alqantām*. It is true that man is stronger than most animals, but that does not affect the attitude with which the latter are regarded, for supernatural and powerful are not synonymous terms. *Alqantām* decreed that they should serve as food for mankind, and they have since obeyed his command, but the Bella Coola do not consider themselves undisputed lords of creation. They fear *snuix*, *snuuq*, and other creatures of great power, but they know how to avoid them; similarly, deer and mountain goats fear men, but they are not entirely defenceless, because their speed and agility give them advantages corresponding to those of men in combat with beasts stronger than themselves. All living creatures use the weapons with which they are equipped. For example, when a mountain goat eludes a hunter by scaling a precipice too steep for its pursuer, the latter considers it has escaped through supernatural climbing ability; whereas the goat has merely used the power granted by *Alqantām*. Likewise, when a *snuix* or a *snuuq* is outwitted by the use of soiled [789] clothing or smoked salmon roe, the means, unnatural to it, are natural to the human being employing them. Men and animals alike regard each other's weapons as supernatural.

In consequence of these beliefs, the attitude of the Bella Coola towards animals is fundamentally different from that of white men. They regard them as possessing human mentality, and even the ability to assume human form if they so desire. In fact, they believe that animals merely appear to them in the shape of beasts, but can change to human, or other form and behave accordingly whenever they wish to do [756] so. The degeneration of mankind has made it impossible for

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men to see these transformed beings habitually, but even now, or at any rate until a few years ago, shamans were able to lift the intervening veil. From accounts given by those who have had such experience, the Bella Coola believe that *Alquntam* gave to birds and animals, as well as to humans, the boon of fire, and it is only the unworthiness of men that makes them unable to see the smoke rising from the houses of different creatures. In former times, fortunate hunters were able to do so, and consequently had phenomenal success. The smoke that ascends from the fires of different animals corresponds in colour to that of its owner; a mountain goat's is white, a beaver's, black, a squirrel's, red, a wolf's, gray, and so on. When a goat stamps the earth on a mountain, it rings hollow, as indeed it is to those animals, for their home is within; and when a hunter loses his quarry entirely, it is because the latter has entered its house. Shamans are sometimes able to hear the gatherings of animals under the peaks. Like human beings, they dance to the accompaniment of music, and in all respects behave like them. They have their times of joy and sorrow, of success and failure. When ill they are cured by their own shamans, grizzly bear, *snang*, and wolverine; these three also dance to welcome the dead. All animals and birds are like brothers, able to converse with each other and living harmoniously together in that other part of their life which only shamans have seen. Porcupine is the oldest, and a hunter always tries to kill one before passing to more important prey. The animals know about the actions of human beings and show their aversion to certain habits by refusing to allow themselves to be seen by anyone practising them. For example, they do not like people to drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked, and no hunter would dream of partaking of that food. Bella Coola mythology is full of accounts of human beings who, with supernatural aid, were able to penetrate to the homes of animals. Tales of this type would be unintelligible without understanding the attitude of the people to the animal and bird kingdoms.

776 825 [756] [773] [823] [756] [224] [784] [224] [773] [538]

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[774] of thought, of success and failure and of life itself, to powers of another sphere. Their ideas are not clearly crystallized on this subject, but in the following section an attempt has been made to give a fair picture, gleaned from many informants, of the supernatural parts of the human body.

THE STUFF

The most important part of the human body is the *nuxwlmulc*, spirit. This is small, but of great power, since it belongs to the world of the supernatural; in fact, the spirit of a man is not mortal, but *sint*. Everyone, man or woman, rich or poor, chief or slave, has one; without it, life would be impossible. When a child is born, his parents supply him with food and care, and *Alpentsim* provides the even more necessary invisible elements, including the spirit. It resides in the back of the neck and resembles a thin bone shaped like a maple-leaf. Salmon have similar ones, but with them the bone is visible, whereas only shamans can see it in human beings. The spirit in a new-born infant is weak and powerless, but it increases in strength with the body. If a man prospers in his ventures and has success in life, it is due, not to his own efforts, but to the activity of his spirit. When a man acquires wealth with little labour, he knows that his spirit has been constantly travelling at the back of his neck; when he is unfortunate, that it has become inert or sluggish. It is the cause of dreams, which are desired as means of foretelling the future. Some Bella Coola believe that in sleep it leaves the body and travels, unrestrained by any barrier, to the scene of the dreams; others, that it causes the images to appear. During waking hours the spirit [illegible] every thought, no matter how trifling. When a man remembers that he left his fire with insufficient fuel and hurries home to rectify the omission, it is this element which has brought the need to his mind; when he thinks of a distant place, his spirit is responsible for the thought and some men even believe that it has travelled there. Sometimes an active one can give warning, as in the following instance. A few

[756] [554] [761] [728]

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774 becomes critical. Only a shaman (I, p. 138) can return one, and
775 if he fails death always results. In some cases a spirit leaves
[759] its owner without apparent reason; he becomes insane, tries
[760] to eat dirt, and his relatives realize at once what is the matter.
They summon a shaman who takes off his cape, hangs it like
a pouch on his stick, and points it in all directions as he sings
his shaman's song. Finally he learns what is missing, and
steps it in his cloak, which he places around the sick man.
This restores the element and the sufferer recovers immediately. Another method is for the shaman to press the back
of the patient's neck, and by blowing and spitting cause the
wandering spirit to return. Either cure must be performed
by a shaman because of the supernatural power required.

774 Spirits can be extracted in various ways. Shamans can
draw one forth by sucking at the back of the neck between
their cupped hands; in former times, some were so powerful
that they could extract them by their mere presence. During
774 Secret dances (II, chap. i), the uninitiated are told that if they
575 enter the house where a ceremony is taking place, or even pass
[559] on the sidewalk outside the door, their spirits will be drawn
from them by the power within and extracted to the dancer
or to the sacred platform on which he is concealed. Many
[778] stories are told of this, which were firmly believed by the uninitiated until the last few years. Members of the society
claim that their great power acts as a magnet to the spirits of
all but their associates, except children in arms; the latter can
be taken by their mothers into the house, because their supernatural elements have not developed sufficient strength to
774 leave their bodies. A person may also lose his spirit through
a sudden shock. If two people meet unexpectedly in the forest
and one of them shouts loudly at the other, even if only in fun,
the spasmodic contraction of the muscles is enough to expel it.
[761] The person to whom this happens falls down as if dead, and
[762] though he soon recovers, his spirit has left him, and if it is not
brought back by a shaman he dies a lingering death.

775 At death, the spirit permanently leaves the body. In some

that tally posts have mortality, and suggested that it might be done which around the gathering of the supernatural beings at the winter solstice instead of an element from the human body itself.

One elderly Bella Coola, of philosophical temperament, described *pentlacate* in terms far removed from the accounts of tally posts. According to him, every individual receives this supernatural possession at birth, and it remains with him, in close association with his body, throughout life. It stays in front of his face, invisible, yet having substance, and constantly shaking from side to side. If a man fails to receive a present at a potlatch, it is because his *pentlacate* has ceased to move. When stationary it is not transparent, and not only hides its owner from the donor's sight, but acts as a barrier to his thoughts. The same man stated that this element can leave the body, can be seen by shamans, and that it is the one which ascends at the winter solstice to *Nuxmalx*. At death it is believed to accompany the spirit and the life to the land above.

There seems no reason to doubt that the concept of tally posts is an ancient belief. Nor does the application of the term *pentlacate* to another immaterial possession of quite another type destroy this probability. It must be remembered that within the last eighty years the Bella Coola have suffered not only from the vermilion epidemic caused by the coming of the white man, but have been reduced to a mere fraction of their former numerical strength by various epidemics. These factors have led to the partial forgetting of ancient beliefs, with consequent confusion. It is probable that the use of the same term for the tally post, intimately connected with an individual's life although situated in the land above, and the an invisible and intangible possession which goes in front of him, is due to this recent decay of ancient convictions. If this be true, it merely means that in former times the Bella Coola had yet another supernatural element to govern and influence their lives.

[778] Shamans achieve much of their success through their ability [779] to put their wash-basins, both tangible (I, p. 384) and immaterial, in tune with *Alquntim*'s in the land above. One method [780] of curing a patient is by washing, with the idea that the water [781] and vessel used have potency through association with those [782] in the upper world. It is believed that in the distant past, [783] shamans were even able to carry their patients to the land above and wash them in *Alquntim*'s own basin. Such feats [784] are perpetuated in certain shamans' names, such as *Alqalqalaskin*.

[785] It may be said in conclusion that although the Bella Coola have indefinite ideas concerning the exact form and functions [786] of this last element, there is a firm belief that an individual's fortune in life depends upon the activity of spirit, tally post, and wash-basin. With regard to supernatural elements as a whole, it is clear that in spite of somewhat conflicting beliefs concerning the precise functions of each, they play an important part in the life of every Bella Coola.

Means of Persuasion

[787] Some of the methods employed by the Bella Coola to gain the favour of the supernatural have already been mentioned, but the subject is sufficiently important to warrant a separate section. In view of the omnipresence of supernatural beings and powers, and their influence on the lives of mortals, it is not surprising that the propitiation of them is a vital factor in human life. The chief means are prayer, sacrifice, and the observance of ceremonial chastity.

Prayer

[788] Prayers are regularly addressed to *Alquntim* who, in this connection, is known as *Mosakait* or *Tlitl*, both meaning, "Father." A man or woman desiring success in hunting, in love affairs, in the acquisition of wealth, or in any activity whatsoever, is accustomed to ask *Mosakait* to grant his desire. No ritual is required. The petitioner merely makes a lonely

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next day the weather was fine. This particular method of praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the beginning of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family. With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grandfather of the man from whom the information was obtained.

SACRIFICE

It might be expected that a clear division should be made between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire tithes of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*W'ai, wai, wai,*" "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Masstche Nose,

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the point between Labouchere Channel and Bentinck Arm, there is danger from treacherous currents, so, when a shaman passes either of these places, he lays some food on the water and puffs eagle down into the air as he asks for help. If no shaman is in the canoe, this is done by the captain. 782 [133] [502] [756]

The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is *Thiténlilén-a*, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and gives power to shamans. Whenever a hunter kills an edible animal in the forest, he cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws them into his fire to gain her goodwill. Long, long ago, *Thiténlilén-a* appeared to a hunter, seized some of his quarry, and told him of her wishes with regard to presents; these have since been obeyed by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of a man absent in the mountains or at sea throw scraps of food on the fire and ask the protection of *Thiténlilén-a* for the one in danger. In this case, it is clear that objects thrown into flames are received and appreciated by *Thiténlilén-a*. [776] [224] [779]

Mouakait, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accompanies his words by blowing up into the air small particles of eagle down. Prayers in connection with the departure of war or hunting expeditions have already been mentioned, but before starting on any journey by canoe, the captain is careful to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and four of yellow cedar-bark. The blowing upwards of eagle down is a common accompaniment to all kinds of prayers, but, if none is available, cedar-bark can be used equally satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water, otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and considered valuable by *Mouakait*, but they emphasize and accompany the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's sincerity. [776] [484] [824] [825]

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on presents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw 775 782

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775 small particles of food on a fire; these become large when they
782 reach the land below and nourish the ghosts. An individual making an offering of this kind says:

"*Awtáldimut ásqas*," "This is to make straight your road, beloved one."

[752] The needs and desires of ghosts have been made known to mortals through visits paid by shamans to the land below, and by the coming of ghosts to this world. It is, therefore, realized that food placed on the ground does not reach the [372] land below, but that morsels thrown on a fire sink through into the abode of ghosts. Offerings to the dead are not made [953] with the hope of receiving favours from them, but rather to provide beloved relatives with necessary food and to prevent them from showing displeasure by causing stomach-aches and other ailments.

782 Other instances, both of prayer and of sacrifice, will be recorded in connection with various myths. The salient feature is that the Bella Coola are able to gain, by such means, the favour of supernatural beings, a factor which plays an important part in their daily life. In addition, they have a [719] large number of practices based on sympathetic magic. No absolutely rigid boundary line can be drawn between the latter and religion proper, but there is a fairly clear division between rites such as those just described, in which propitiation is the important element, and others in which the desired end follows the mere performance of a certain act. Customs of this last type will be reserved for later consideration (vol. I, chap. xi).

THE OBSERVANCE OF CEREMONIAL CHASTITY

784 In addition to prayer and sacrifice, the Bella Coola have
785 yet another means of obtaining the goodwill of supernatural beings, and at the same time of strengthening their own supernatural attributes so that good fortune is likely to occur. This is by the practice of *sustin*, ceremonial chastity, of which the basis is that a man must not hold intercourse except after certain periods of continence. To understand this, it is neces-

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551 with it some definite prerogative of a dance or other function,
421 but all are transmissible, and at the owner's death these may fall to different relatives. A name may pass from man to woman, or *vice versa*, in some cases with a minor alteration. The only non-inheritable appellations are those obtained by [956] shamans as a result of their supernatural experiences.

551 Not only did each group of first settlers bring with them a
773 number of designations from above, but they also created a
553 number on this earth and bestowed them on their children, and on the children of their sisters or brothers, in whom they felt an almost parental interest. To mark the dignity of the names, all present at the ceremony of bestowal received gifts from the creator of the name, the person who called them together for the rite. The importance of the individual depended largely upon the value of the goods distributed with respect to his name, a concept which will be elaborated in the following chapter. The descendants of these first people likewise created new designations and established their dignity by distributing presents, a practice which still continues. It follows that any complete origin myth should include a large number of names, those brought down from the land above[1] and also those created by the powerful first people on this earth itself.[2] Both types of cognomens will be referred to henceforth as "ancestral names," no distinction being made between those actually brought from above and those made on earth. This is in accordance with Bella Coola usage.

553 Soon after the birth of a child his father, uncle, or other near relative,[3] either on the paternal or maternal side, calls the members of the village together to bestow a name on the infant. The one selected must be embodied in the origin myth of one or other of the parents, and must be one not then in use by any other member of the ancestral family. A relative may give the

[1] Such a name is a *nuxlin* *ahamana*, or "Purified Name."
[2] Such a name is a *nuxmalt* *ahamana*, or "Earth-Made Name."
[3] The most careful investigation failed to show that it was hereditary on any particular relative.

553
* 556 A man may receive so many prerogatives with regard to house
425 painting that he has to continue the designs on the sides of his
[604] dwelling, or he may receive so many figures for a totem-pole
[599] that he can erect one of composite pattern. X may acquire prerogatives not only from his father-in-law, but from his mother-in-law, and if he is the husband of several wives, the family of each may contribute something. If, for some inexplicable reason, X is not given any prerogative from the family of his wife, he uses one of his own ancestral myths with the names belonging thereto. A man who gives many potlatches can choose to validate numerous family names for himself, or to concentrate on one alone, elevating it to a position of great importance. But any names he validates must belong to his
[615] family; it is contrary to custom for a Bella Coola to steal a name to which he has no right.

*556 At this, or some other suitable time, X prays for assistance
782 in the complicated rites that are to follow. Taking four pieces of pounded and dyed cedar-bark, and four pieces of undyed bark, he places on each a small quantity of food and throws the eight into the fire. Likewise he may throw in four small pieces of any kind of goods. As he does so he appeals to the supreme god:

"Please strengthen my spirit for the many duties which are before me."

Instead of praying himself, X may ask a shaman to do so
[756] for him, in the belief that the latter's supplication will be more efficacious.

* 556 The necessity for supernatural assistance lies in the fact
581 that any serious error or disaster in the performance of potlatch
621 rites calls for necessary punishment, since X has allowed ceremonial sacred knowledge to reach the uninitiated. In such a case the duty of meting out a penalty falls upon the members of a foreign tribe. Nothing is said at the time, but the departing guests take away with them information of what has happened. Great latitude is allowed as to who shall be the chastisers. The guests may be related to X and the members

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further conceptions by wriggling her body on her haunches immediately after the deliver of a child. 842

To the Bella Coola religious concepts of birth are as important as the physiological aspects. The blood discharged at birth, and the mother from whom it has come, is *xwaiāx*, a word difficult to translate. It is applied to a person or thing which is taboo, and combine the significance of "uncanny," "abhorred," "to be avoided," "feared"; perhaps "unclean," in the biblical sense, is the best synonym. Essentially human, this blood is not only potent against supernatural beings, but is dangerous to men as well. For this reason a mother must never be delivered within a house. The smell of the unclean blood might kill all residents within, or at least prevent them receiving payments of any kind. Supernatural beings and inherent supernatural powers are alike repelled by it. 826 844 783

A recent mother is taboo and must exercise due precautions to prevent her baneful influence from affecting her associates, but this power is most strongly present in one who has borne twins. Even younger people sophisticated in most matters, shudder when speaking of twins; fortunately, double births are not common. They are attributed to the entry of a salmon into the body, so that a twin is half-salmon, half-human. Occasionally a woman who is pregnant with twins discovers her condition in a dream and avoids the perils of a multiple birth by calling upon a shaman to remove the spirit from one foetus so that the infant will be born dead and deformed. If this is not done, the two infants arrive in due course, to the horror and grief of parents and relatives. Though abhorred, no case is known of the killing of a twin at birth. 845 [825] [787] [756] [847]

Instead of the two children being brought back to the village, word is sent to the father who must join his wife in the temporary shelter in the woods where delivery took place. For one year, they must not return home, and during this period must eat no salmon. Four times during the year they must shift from one shelter to another, each built on the bank of a small creek. The mother can draw water from this stream

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CAUSES OF DEATH

761 The Bella Coola know that sickness, accident, wilful murder, old age, and a host of other factors may at any time terminate a man's life, but they consider that any one of these direct causes is possible only in conjunction with an indirect reason of a religious or supernatural nature; in the last analysis they attribute death to supernatural, not to natural causes. [773] As described in a previous chapter, an ancient myth attributes the origin of death to the stupidity of Raven, but this belief, even if its historical accuracy is accepted, belongs to the realm of philosophy and ancient history rather than to everyday life. 761 When a canoe is capsized on the ocean and its occupants are drowned,—the Bella Coola do not consider a drowning a mere 776 accident—it is because *Xemqwa* was hungry and desired human flesh. This indirect reason is quite as important as the direct one. So, too, the death of a man beneath a falling tree or a land-slide is no accident; *Sē'lma* caused the tree to crash to earth or the slide to roll downwards. Most individuals believe that this supernatural being is responsible when an animal kills a hunter. He delights in death and always sits on [756] a coffin before it is taken to the grave, although none but shamans can see him. Any supernatural being can cause death, but it must not be imagined that the Bella Coola go through life in a state of constant fear; death may vanquish them in the forests, but the probabilities are against it. 753 Nor does sickness appear to them as a natural phenomenon. Its cause is either the intrusion of some foreign object into the body, or the weakness of one of the patient's supernatural elements. The only remedy in the latter case is an appeal to the super- [755] natural, sometimes through the medium of a shaman, whereas a foreign object in the body can often be extracted by a skilled [754] practitioner. A disease of this type is often brought on by the machinations of a sorcerer, and if death results it is attributed 761 to the potency of his charms, not to a natural ailment. Even [775] ghosts are able to cause death. In war, one man may be able [726]

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to kill an enemy, but his success is accredited to his supernatural possessions which have given him skill as a warrior rather than to his own ability. 761 726

It is felt that no ordinary explanation is sufficient to account for the death of a great chief. No matter what may have been the actual cause, it is always said that the supernatural Carpenters, who in the beginning of time created mankind, came down and "seized" or "called back" the deceased, thinking him too good for this world. It is believed that these beings are keen hunters, and that *Ałquntáw* allows them to pursue influential people. This sentiment is always expressed in mourning songs for a dead chief, but although accepted as a matter of fact, it is little more than a formalized belief which serves to comfort the mourners. The infraction of a taboo is another reason frequently given for a chief's death. It is said that there was a loud crash and the earth shook before the death of *Pałku*; he became ill immediately, and his stomach began to swell. The stricken chief said that *Sonq'* itself had fallen upon him, but the common belief was that he had erred in some ritual act. At any rate, he died within a few hours. 761 622 [773] [538]

RITES FOLLOWING DEATH

News of a critical illness spreads rapidly through the village and the house in which the sufferer is lying becomes a rendezvous for friends asking about his condition. Failure to do so would be considered ungracious, with the result that there is such a constant coming and going that rest is denied the sick person. Shamans are called upon to practise their powers in a noisy manner, and female relatives weep and wail. The din is indescribable. 963 [956]

When the patient shows no further indication of life, the shamans cease, but the women redouble their cries. Relatives, friends, and sympathizers all crowd into the house and begin to weep, often adding verbal lamentations. The progress of the news from house to house can be traced by the wailings. Mean- 964

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day after the funeral, the relatives of the dead person burn the remainder of his property, which passes through the earth to the ghost for whom it is intended. Ghost-singers have taken their places and begin to beat out music, and presently the recently deceased appears, stepping backwards from the back-room in time to the beating of sticks. He is at once surrounded by his fellows, each anxious to learn the latest news of relatives still alive. This dance is really to welcome the new arrival, and takes place irrespective of his rank. After it has been held, it is hopeless to attempt to rescue a dead person, although that has been done several times during the four days immediately succeeding death.

Only shamans are able to peer down into the land of the dead, though stories are told of inadvertent visits to it in relatively recent times. Human beings are prevented from visiting their dead relatives, but the latter, being supernatural, can come to the earth at will. They are always dreaded, and anyone who hears their whistling or their tongueless chatter cowers in his house, and hopes they will pass by. Shamans can understand their speech and to them the dead explain their mission. If the relations of a dead person have failed to burn all his personal possessions, he returns to earth to inform them, through a shaman, of the omission. The house is scoured for anything left and it is burnt at once near the grave, though no one knows how a ghost would punish failure to give him his property. Thoughtful people, remembering the scarcity of food in the land below, frequently give presents to their dead relatives by casting small morsels of food on the side of the central fire nearest the front door, beneath which is a passage to the lower regions. The food becomes magnified as it falls down this, so that even small fragments are sufficient to feed many hungry ghosts. Since the introduction of metal stoves, it has become customary to throw food into a fire kindled for the purpose in the cemetery; the most suitable time is at dusk, although people are always afraid that spectres may be prowling around at that hour. If sufficient presents are not given

to a ghost, he informs a shaman of the fact and the latter notifies the relatives of the deceased. If no shaman is convenient, the shade does not hesitate to help himself. Invisible, and armed with a barbed hook, he approaches a person who is eating and pulls away a crumb which falls to the earth. Should the eater stoop to pick this up, the ghost, robbed of his booty, beats the offender with his hook, causing toothache or sometimes a sharp pain in the head or stomach. Other ailments are caused by the ghosts hitting with invisible stones those who have offended them. Consequently, no one picks up a crumb which has fallen, since it is impossible to know whether it has been an accident or a seizure. Another indication of a ghost's hunger is loss of a tooth. The loser should throw it on a fire with an invitation to the dead to accept his offering.

The barrier between ghosts and human beings is considered to be little more than a wall of smoke, just too dense for ordinary eyes to penetrate. In early times intercommunication between the denizens of the two worlds was so easy that a dying mother was once allowed to send her dead child on earth. Unfortunately, the woman's mother one day insisted on holding her grandchild, unaware that he was a ghost. Shocked at his appearance, the old woman dropped the child, much to the anger of the dead people.* Ever since that time it has been impossible for human beings to see and talk with their deceased kinsmen. Like so many Bella Coola stories, it is doubtful whether this one is regarded as more than an item of ancient history; it is considered to be a fact, but it is not one that enters into the daily thoughts of the people.

Ghosts frequently come to their old homes at night where dogs can see them. If one of these animals begins to bark and gazes fixedly at a spot where nothing is to be seen, it is because a wraith is standing there and the dog's owner hopes that it will remain invisible. It is true that some individuals have received shamanistic power from a ghost, but more often a visitation is disastrous and to be avoided. A dead person often

*This story is recorded in detail here (I, p. 99).

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[175] dred yards away, rapidly drew near the hunter along the trail. He raised his musket and stepped aside, but though the sound went past him down the path, he could see nothing. Terrified, he realized that he had been near two ghosts, and rushed back [154] to the village. A shaman was called who informed him that he had met his dead father's sister and another relative, both of whom were hungry. The hunter, too weak from fright to help himself, watched the shaman light a fire and throw on it [155] a considerable amount of food and goods. Finally, he ripped the hunter's shirt from his back and threw it into the flames. Consequently, no harm resulted from this experience.

Ghosts, like all other supernatural beings, can, of course, control their powers so that their appearance does not injure a beholder. A few years before 1922 a certain *Ienlāu-i*, whose ancestral name was *Lo-gwa-i*, was encamped at *Tsēkwanats* on the Lebouchere Channel side of King Island. At dusk a woman came to his fire and proceeded to warm her [illegible]. He recognized from her green face that she must be a [illegible] and boldly asked her what she wanted.

"I have been searching for months," she replied, "but without success."

In an instant she vanished and [illegible] experienced neither good nor evil from this apparition. The Bella Coola say [176] that this being may not have been a ghost as I had thought, but was perhaps one of the under-sea dwellers to have somewhat the same appearance.

Since ghosts, like other supernatural beings, are believed to possess both wisdom and power, it might be thought that they would be invoked frequently. Instead, death has altered their character to such an extent that they are avoided and [177] kept at a distance. The only time that an appeal is made to [178] a ghost is when a young person dies without apparent reason and the survivors wish to leave the house. The body is buried [179] with a long cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark projecting from its mouth and stretching [180] to the surface. The relative desiring information summons to his house several shamans whose powers have been obtained

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from ghosts, and for four days feeds them lavishly. On the fifth morning they proceed to the grave, accompanied by kinsmen of the deceased, and pound on the ground with sticks, asking the dead person whether or not he had been murdered, and if so, the name of the murderer. It is said that in former times the voice of the deceased could always be plainly heard giving the desired information. This ceremony has not been carried out for many years, and exact details are not known by any of the living Bella Coola. It seems clear that ventriloquism must have been employed, requiring active deception on the part of the shamans. 756 775 787 [198]

It was difficult to ascertain to what extent shamans believed in their own powers to understand the speech of ghosts. There is no doubt that the Bella Coola are easily influenced by suggestion, and if an individual is told that he has received help from a ghost, it is not difficult for him to believe that such has been the case. Further, his fellows are convinced of his powers, a circumstance which does not fail to affect him. It may be stated definitely that in many cases shamans have some confidence in their own powers, although they do not hesitate to use deception to increase their prestige. This point will be considered in greater detail in the following chapter.

ACCOUNTS OF EXPERIENCES WITH GHOSTS

Much of the information concerning ghosts is contained in stories which have been handed down for generations and which are regarded as historical records. Some of these must be deferred to the chapters on folk-lore and shamanism, but the following are sufficient to explain the source of many Bella Coola beliefs on this subject.[*] 539 775

A Rescue from Ghosts

Long, long ago, there lived a little girl who used to cry incessantly. One evening when she was disturbing the whole household by weeping, her father said angrily to her:

[*] These stories have been included at this point as specific illustrations of the type of legend upon which generalized beliefs depend.

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though they may be to the white man. It is hoped that the preceding illustrations, drawn from recent times, will explain the mental attitude of the Bella Coola better than incidents from folk-lore of the distant past. 787 *

Disregarding thoughts which, since they are caused by the spiritual elements of the human body, are ever present, relations with the supernatural may be divided into the following categories: [828] [774]

(1) Appearance of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. Strictly speaking, every fleeting sight of a supernatural being belongs to this category, but it will be convenient to describe only experiences of a peculiar kind, such as the Bella Coola call *qaw-ahklemadjulaic*. Usually manifestations of the supernatural have certain effects; consequently, there are relatively few incidents of this kind recorded.

(2) Supernatural aid vouchsafed to a man or a woman in distress. There are many tales illustrating this, which are told and retold to the children. In most cases the assistance is given to one who has undeservedly, according to Bella Coola concepts, fallen into misfortune.

(3) Supernatural good luck. This may be obtained by anyone, and consists of the acquisition of a supernatural object to attract, not only fish and animals, as if it were a potent bait, but money and goods as well. [777] [224] [222]

(4) Acquisition of *ahlkanaiaic* power, with or without the ability to cure the sick. This may be received from one of two sources: [756]

(a) *Thinkplilts a* or some other supernatural being.

(b) Ghosts, which are likewise supernatural. [775]

(5) Obtaining prophetic powers direct from the supreme god. There are few instances of this, and none that is ascribed to a remote period. It is possible that all examples of this kind can be attributed to indirect Christian influence. [777]

(6) Obtaining power from a supernatural being localized in a particular spot. This usually takes the form of succour when [756]

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sick, and gives the person securing it ability to treat the same disease in others.

(7) Dreams, especially those in which supernatural apparitions visit the sleeper.

Sterile Apparitions[§]

The most common sterile apparitions are those of a stone giving birth to a smaller stone, a tree falling almost to earth, then righting itself, or the sight of some enormous monster. Such an experience may come to anyone, and no one can tell what it may portend. The following examples will illustrate this kind of phenomenon. In accordance with Bella Coola usage, these are recorded as if actual facts.

Between 1890 and 1900 a number of men were paddling home to Bella Coola one fine October day when, as they were passing beneath some precipitous rocks to the west of Kwatna Inlet, they saw a giant, as big as a medium-sized tree, come leaping down into the sea. They could not see his face, which was turned in the opposite direction, but as he sprang they noticed that his hands were shaking like a dancer's. He struck the water with a tremendous splash, hurling the spray a distance of a hundred yards, and nearly swamping the canoe. They realized that the being must be a *cwaxy*, since it is well known that these creatures migrate to the mountain lakes for the summer and return to the ocean in the autumn.

Since there is a tendency for supernatural apparitions to appear in close succession, the paddlers were little surprised next day, as they passed near some flat rocks where seals were wont to sun themselves, to see a number of these animals come hurtling down from among the trees on the slope of a near-by mountain. The last to appear was as big as a grizzly bear. Undoubtedly the creatures were supernatural beasts that had assumed the form of seals. It had been a fine, clear day, but as soon as they had taken to the water such a severe storm arose that the canoe was almost engulfed.

§ [i.e. - appearances of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. - See cat. #6, p. 517 - Analyst]

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in a kind of a cave. He here unties the rope, dives into the water and out through a narrow passage to the open fiord where he is picked up by a waiting canoe. 778 755

If he is to recover, he feels as he dives the scraping of some rough-skinned animal against his side. No one knows what this is, perhaps a fish about seventy yards in length which was seen near the place about 1905. If a person is too ill to make the dive unaided, a stick is forced through the entrance from the fiord, with a rope attached. The patient, who has been lowered to the ledge from the upper air, is then tied firmly to the stick and hauled out. Before leaving, shreds of his clothing are always left at the mouth of the cave in payment to its supernatural occupant for his assistance. [787]

The method of curing at the spot, *Ellxwas*, differs from those previously described since it is only the man whose repository (II, p. 8) is there who is able to exercise the power. Patients whose flesh has become rotten are carried to the place and he scrubs their bodies, in the water, with various prickly bushes. This man is not a shaman, his power rests solely on the fact that this curing place is his repository. [756]

At *xepdum* the virulent skin disease *Ilokly* can be cured.* This is caused by a morsel of cohoe salmon or fern root passing from the mouth up into the head, instead of down into the stomach. The Bella Coola have only slight knowledge of anatomy, and by "head" probably mean the passage connecting mouth and nose. In this spot the food becomes a frog egg, hatches into a tadpole, and finally transforms into a frog. If a shaman is called on immediately, he can remove the frog by thrusting his finger up the nasal passage and hanging down on the patient's head, but if he delays, the ears and nose become clogged, the hair falls, and the flesh on arms and body wastes away until the skin is shrivelled. Then the only hope is to visit *xepdum*. [753] [754] [753] [756]

Friends of the sufferer carry him to the spot and place him in an ice cavern, roofed by the glacier itself, and then retire to

*In its earlier stages it can be treated elsewhere.

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the rock shelter half a mile away. Here he must lie alone, without food, for four days. If he is in a pure condition from the observance of chastity, he then feels the earth shake and hears a sound like a mighty landslide, though it is inaudible to those waiting in the cave. If the patient is frightened and tries to flee, he will die, but if he lies still he will be able to spit out the dead frog, or it will become so soft that it can drip from his nose. He then washes in the stream that flows through the ice-cavern, thus completing the cure. The malady will return unless chastity is practised for one year.

Finally, in dreams a man is sometimes carried away to one or other of these curing places, or to several of them, and is there made a shaman. It will be noted that this method of acquiring the ability differs from those previously described, but his functions are the same as those whose power has been obtained in one of the usual ways.

Dreams

The last type of contact with the supernatural is by means of dreams. Psychologically, these are akin to visions; indeed, it is often impossible to learn whether the experiences described in an ancient story occurred during sleep or when awake. The Bella Coola believe that dreams are caused by the spirit of the individual; they are, therefore, supernatural and worthy of attention, but in spite of this, it was difficult to obtain detailed accounts. The reason seems to lie in the intangibility of the experiences themselves. Unless one is sufficiently striking, it passes into oblivion as a fruitless manifestation of the workings of the spirit. Many of the visions seen in ancient times by those who had fasted or otherwise reached an emotional state, *must have been dreams*, but they have ceased to be recognized as such in the course of generations. The Bella Coola of today state emphatically that they receive warning of future events during sleep, but the only individual from whom it was possible to obtain coherent descriptions was the elderly man previously described as X (I, p. 515).

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ling X, the monster carried away the girl. X watched and knew that it must have taken her life; so it transpired, for in the morning she was found dead. The black being did not reappear the following night.

X soon became fat and well, to the surprise of all, and many of the chiefs asked him to give a shaman's dance. He declined, not having received name, instructions, song, or tangible object from the white, supernatural being who had befriended him. He did not even know his benefactor's name.

At intervals during his life-time, X has seen the white supernatural being and, more rarely, the black one in his dreams. The most vivid occasion was when he heard a sound in the attic of his house and climbed up outside to investigate. The ladder broke, precipitating him through an unglazed window into the loft with a broken leg. All night he lay there in agony, and it was not until the next day that his friends were able to lower him in a sling and take him to *Kimsquit* en route to the hospital at Bella Bella. Their departure was delayed by a storm and as X lay suffering he told his wife that it would have been better if he had broken his neck instead of his leg. That night, while half-asleep, the world again became open to him and he saw the black creature come bounding along the trail towards him; it entered the house, jumped around him, and finally leapt into his body. He called to his wife to burn dried salmon beneath his bed to expel the evil monster; this had the desired effect though he did not see its actual departure. The next night the white apparition came to him, telling him that he had erred seriously in wishing for death, that one should accept what was in store for one and not oppose *Ałqanem*'s wishes. The being went on to say that it was wicked to prepare too far in advance, and intimated that X's misfortune was the result of having made ready tools for clearing an unnecessary tract of land.[19]

The white being has even appeared during his waking hours. On one occasion he felt it coming when he was in the mission-house, where the missionary was writing a letter for him. Although still invisible, X knew what was approaching and tried to close the door but he was helpless. In came the apparition, at sight of whom X swayed so violently that the missionary asked what was the matter. It went away again in a moment, leaving X shaken and bathed in perspiration.

The experiences just described lie on the border-line between dream and vision. X has frequently seen the apparition

[19] This occurred during the first war, and X remembered having heard that the Germans had laid up stores of munitions. He concluded that this must be evil and that they would fall accordingly. He repeated this statement on many occasions and claims to have foretold the result of the war from his vision.

and that his mother stated that all her ancestors had done likewise.

Another instance of advice conveyed in this manner was told by a Kimsquit man who related that a number of years ago a pregnant woman had dreamed that *Alquaxiw* appeared to her and told her not to destroy what she would presently bear. In due course she was delivered, but the infant was a repulsive cripple, blind and deformed. Remembering the admonition, the mother refused to slay her child as many of her friends advised. Soon it was apparent that he was supernaturally endowed; as proof of this he repeated comments which had been made to his mother within a few minutes of his birth. As he grew older he developed shamanistic powers so that he was able to converse with the dead, the only instance known of this ability being granted from birth. He also had wonderful talent as a singer and, though he must have died about 1850, the Bella Coola still recount his skill in this respect. He would unquestionably have been killed but for his mother's warning.

Instead of imparting verbal information, dreams frequently foretell the future by means of images of events about to happen. For example, if a man dreams of owning large numbers of pelts, it signifies that he will have success in hunting, and he starts for his trap-line without delay. So, too, warnings are conveyed. A number of years ago a slave woman of *Sowl*, who was not a member of the *Sacial* society, dreamt that she saw herself bitten in many places and lying covered with blood. Within a few days she met a Cannibal dancer (II, p. 71), who was supposed to have vanished into the land shore; he killed her and lacerated her body, as she had seen. A Kimsquit man told of a similar instance that happened to a member of the party with which he had been hunting a number of years previously. One night he was wakened by one of his companions, *Tsilin*, calling out that he was afraid because he had dreamt that one side of their canoe was shattered. The hunters were impressed, because they knew he had long ob-

Libellus Dorsalis E-3 (1911-1914)1968
NEA Bellicosis NEA

several commercial chantry and was, therefore, in a good position to receive premonitions of this kind. The next day, as they were paddling down the river, they came upon some treacherous ice. Forewarned, they hastily abandoned their canoe, one side of which was soon broken in the way *Tattle-tale* described; if they had continued their journey they would certainly have been drowned.

The dreams thus far recorded have all been capable of simple explanation; in fact, their meaning is obvious, either visually or audibly. In addition, there are a number of types considered to be symbolic by the Bella Coola. There are no professional interpreters, but it is believed that in ancient times shamans learnt the significance of certain images and this knowledge has since been transmitted from generation to generation.

One type indicates a coming birth. If a woman dreams that she travels to some distant spot, under the ocean or into the mountains, and there takes something in her hand, it signifies that she will soon bear a male child; on the other hand, if she picks up some small object when gathering berries, a daughter will be born. A Kimsquit informant stated that before his birth, his mother dreamt that she had gone far under the mouth of the Dean River to the vicinity of Kimsquit's house, where she had taken up a child. From this she knew she was pregnant and he was born in due course. If the scene of the dream is in the mountains, it means that the child will be a good hunter; if under water, that he will be a successful fisherman, as is proved in this case. There is a vague belief that death takes place either near the spot where the mother received indication of conception, or that the life and spirit of the deceased visit the place before setting out on their journey back from generation to generation. The old man from whom this information was obtained expects to meet death by drowning, though he is himself uncertain whether his premonition is due to his mother's dream or to the fact that there has been a tendency for this to occur in his family.

a bull has been drowned in spite of efforts to rescue him, means that a beaver has been caught.

To dream of seeing a Sacred dancer in full costume means that a fisher, lynx, wolverine, mountain goat, wolf, or black bear has been caught.

To dream of fighting people, especially if arrows are used, means that a grizzly bear has been caught.

To dream of playing children means that deer will be seen the following day.

To dream of swimming means that an otter has been caught.

To dream of fondling a woman and playing with her breasts means that a marten has been caught.

Obscene dreams mean that squirrels or pack rats have been caught.

To dream of a woman with whom the hunter has held illicit intercourse means that absolutely nothing has been caught.

Until recent years these interpretations were believed without question and no hunter hesitated to examine his conscience for had received such indications of success. A hunter's wife likewise shared information of her husband's fortune in dreams.

All dreams cannot be considered. One man, for example, stated that in his sleep he had often seen a supernatural being enter his house, turn to the left, pick up one of the heavy floor boards and carry it around the fire as if it had been a tray. The apparition always told him to do likewise, but though he has tried repeatedly in his dreams, he has always found it too heavy. Such an image might serve a shaman as theme for a dramatic performance, though, of course, the element of carrying the slab would be lacking. Another dream experienced several times by the same man when ill is that of being carried with the speed of light to a flat land somewhat similar to this, but located on the top of a range of lofty mountains. It contains numerous grassy meadows studded with trees of which the

CHAPTER XI

MEDICINE, MAGIC, TABOO

Introductory — Concrete Medicine — Preventive and Curative Medicine — Incantations — Taboos — Ritual Acts — Miscellaneous Beliefs

INTRODUCTORY

THE beliefs described in the last chapter are essentially religious since they display an attitude of respect and often of propitiation to supernatural powers having greater strength than human beings. This is self-evident in the earlier sections and, though less noticeable, is present also in those concerning diseases since these now have themselves acquired utility placing them on a plane slightly removed from that of their fellows. Theoretically, it seems as if a clear division might be drawn between the concepts just recorded, and others of a magical nature in which, although the element of contact with the supernatural is present, yet the end desired is obtained by the mere performance of an action. To the Bella Coola there is a slight overlap between the two types. For example, the acquisition of an object from which supernatural good fortune may be secured is religious, but its use is virtually magical since once obtained, neither supplication nor further favours are necessary. Nevertheless, it is possible to separate most magical beliefs from most religious ones, though it must be emphasized that the cleavage is less distinct in the native than it appears to the white man.

If it is difficult to find a clear dividing line between religion and magic, it is impossible to draw one between the latter and

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1:McDowell E-5 (1922-1924)968
NEA Bellevoole NEA

that the proximity of such intensely human articles is enough to counteract and render powerless anything of a superhuman nature. Likewise, when a certain woman came in contact with the War-Party of the Tides and began to exhibit symptoms of insanity, she was cured by drinking water in which other women had squeezed out their menstrual pads. Another defence is the burning of dried salmon, fumigation from which is particularly effective for one who suffers from nightmares. Other remedies already mentioned are to cut the right leg and smear a bullet with the resultant blood in order to kill a *cuscus*, and to lacerate the inside of the mouth and spit to withstand a capsizing mountain.

The medicine most commonly taken is false hellebore, the use of which was learnt by some ancient shaman. At dusk a hunter should eat a small twig of it, raw; it drews from his stomach everything injurious, particularly women's hair, which are abhorred by animals, and ensures him success on the morrow. If he takes too much of it, he becomes ill and must swallow the accidens, mountain goat grease or marrow. He should also carry twigs of the plant with him, ready either to swallow or throw in the direction of any dreaded supernatural being whom he may encounter. Eagle down and dried salmon roe are sometimes similarly used.

The powers of a person who has obtained supernatural ability, whether or not he is a shaman, can be destroyed by similar means. For example, a lad trained so that he understands the speech of ravens, will lose his ability if he eats food cooked or prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has lost her husband within the last year, or if he passes through the hole in the floor used by an adolescent girl. The last Bella Coola with this skill was deadened to the meaning of the birds' croaking by lying near his sister one night for warmth, since her mere proximity was enough to nullify his power. This aspect of medicine merges with taboos. So, too, the power of an object can be destroyed by washing; an instance of this is

755 of water in which had been boiled eight splinters from a coffin. She would have obtained two from each side, and two from each end, in each case inserting the point of a crooked knife to pry loose a fragment of the wood, and then pulling it off in the same direction as the sun travels. It would have been immaterial from which aspect the first had been taken, but T would have been careful to move around the coffin from east to south to west to north, corresponding to the course of the sun.

It is believed that no one has now the ability to use this cure.

Sorcerer

756 Among the curative medicines of which knowledge has
[424] been handed down in various families for generations are secret
means of killing. Every sorcerer must have such a possession,
but he is not so bounded within he begins to exercise his powers
for anti-social purposes. For example, if it be known that a
[575] certain individual is able to cause death, the members of the
Raven society are eager to admit him to their group, so that his
ability will be at their disposal to punish anyone who breaks
their regulations. Likewise, if a chief decides that a certain
[422] man should die, the power of his thoughts may suffice to cause
the death, but the desired end will be effected more certainly
by requesting aid from the owner of a means of killing. Such
[754] an individual is frequently a shaman who is only too glad of
an opportunity to exhibit his powers. The following methods
of execution are said to have been employed socially, that is,
with the connivance or at the request of chiefs or the members
of the Raven society:

(a) The executioner scratches for four successive nights on the door of the victim's house. If the latter suspects what is to take place, he may endeavour to escape by removing evidence which renders the scratching powerless. It is said that no one has been able to remain sleepless for more than three nights which gives the killer his opportunity.

Inhalt Gewerbl. E-5 (1952-1964)1948
NEA Bellmonte NEA

by their owners for safety. Judas, an old Bulla Cooin believed to be a sorcerer, has been seen to scrape up the moist earth where a man has urinated; in former times anyone doing such a suspicious act would have been killed. The article obtained is hidden and kept for future use, and if the practitioner wishes to inflict pain or death, he places it in contact with some potent medicine. Human bones are frequently employed for this purpose, although the most powerful is said to be grease obtained by boiling flesh cut from the inner side of the thigh of a recently buried corpse. To obtain either of these, graves must be robbed, another reason for having sorcerers.

Secrecy is essential, as a sorcerer is usually assisted by his children, and in this way he has a better chance of obtaining articles belonging to different people without arousing suspicion. The necessary knowledge can accordingly be transmitted from generation to generation, sometimes without the slightest inkling of it becoming known. Even if a man is found out, he may be able to hide his discovery to others.

Sometimes two from different tribes work in partnership to lessen the danger of practicing their sins near the village of a victim. For example, a Bulla Cooin sorcerer may send an article to an accomplice in Bulla Bulla for placing in contact with strong medicine; this causes the victim to languish and die while the person responsible continues his usual routine of life around the village, suspected by no one. The commencement of such a partnership is a matter of great difficulty, since anyone who admits his crimes places himself in the power of his confidant. Sometimes, however, rumours that a certain individual is practicing malevolent magic reach a foreign sorcerer who needs an accomplice. If he considers that the information is authentic, he may admit his own powers and suggest that they work together. Such an arrangement is profitable to both parties, and a partnership so formed may continue for generations.

Sorcerers display considerable ingenuity in arranging that their skill shall bring them pecuniary benefits as well as the

gratification of killing their enemies. To achieve this end, a member of the family claims to be a shaman and his relatives loudly acclaim him. It is not difficult for a man with skill in conjuring to perform some simple domestic act, probably one carried out by an ancient shaman, which he announces has been shown to him by a supernatural being who has given him power to cure the sick. Then the sorcerer selects a suitable victim and causes him to become ill by placing something taken from him in contact with his malicious. If the malefactor is forewarned, the victim will consult the "shaman" who will effect a cure and be paid for it, ignorant of the fact that his recovery has been due to the removal of the article by the practitioner's accomplice. This deception is especially difficult to expose if the sorcerer has a box containing genuine belief from human bodies, since the sickness increases or diminishes accordingly as the depth to which the article is sunk. This is one of the ways in which some shamans have built up great reputations as curers.

The psychology of sorcery is similar to that of other kinds of magic. It is not possible for the malefactor to tell his victim that he has stolen a nail paring, for example, and that he will die because it has been placed in a decoction of human grease. But if the attending shaman is an accomplice, he can inform the sufferer that his malady has been caused by a sorcerer and this belief profoundly affects him. He feels that he will die unless a remedy be found, and if the shaman assures him that he has rendered the evil influence impotent, his chances of recovery are increased accordingly. So, likewise, the members of families who possess revenge against the activities of sorcerers often work in conjunction with one. It is therefore not surprising that the Bella Coola should firmly believe in their machinations and affirm that they have killed many thousands of people in the course of generations. The belief in magic would itself be sufficient to explain this, but it is strengthened by the social and economic aspects of a sorcerer's vocation. The sorcerer in which the power inherent in magic

[illegible]
[illegible]

everyone sympathized with the heroine on account of her many bereavements. The only survivor was a woman who, like herself, had lost all her kinsmen. The food provided was hardly fit for dogs, but the heroine survived that every relative of the sorceress should receive a portion dipped in poison instead. They all started to eat at the same time, and all fell dead simultaneously without a word.

Instantly cold confusion broke out and the queen exclaimed that they were being served poison. Unperturbed, the woman explained everything, how she had first become suspicious, how she had followed the four brothers, and all that had resulted. A party set out at once under her guidance and found that everything she had said was true. In this way perished all the relatives of the sorceress except one man who happened to be absent at the time. One of his descendants is now living in Bulu Cuda and is regarded with a certain amount of suspicion, although there is no evidence that he or any of his relatives have practised sorcery for generations.

A BOILED CHIEF CONFESSES

Since the introduction of medicine, there death in the lower Bulu Cuda valley is absent. Sharpshooters do by sorcery, he was a regular practitioner, able both to heal the sick or to cause death. When using his power beneficially, he drank a cattle concoction a well-crystal, but when he was requested to kill, he used one that appeared to be identical but contained human teeth and nail tongs. In some unknown manner these were lost, which prevented him from obeying a man who requested his the death of his village. One April day he mentioned his difficulty casually to a certain Tribe who surprised him by replying:

"I can supply you with teeth and you will have greater power than ever."

The two men sham on the time and Tribe, having admitted that he was a sorcerer, suggested that they form a partnership. He must have felt confident that Sharpshooters did would agree, as indeed he did gladly. Tribe explained that the sorcerer's knowledge had been handed down in his family for generations, but that he had only recently begun to use it to avenge a slight on a friend of mine.

That morning Tribe guided Sharpshooters up the mountain on the north side of the narrow head of Pipeh Bunkah Gun, just west of the Bukkumanang River. Sharpshooters frequently ranged over this area, but no one had ever seen a sorcerer's lair there. Tribe led the way to a small rock shelter beneath which was concealed a chest about eight feet long. He hacked a few times with his left foot, and called out four times:

"Wake up!"

U.MI:Gerstlik B-9 (1969-1974)1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

"Someone is calling your name." 827

If a man stumbles without due cause, it is said: 481

"Someone has food ready for you."

When a man partly closes his hand, if a wrinkle-like fold runs straight across the palm it indicates that he is a good carpenter. 777 322

If a woman nibbles even a single smoked salmon, the whole basket is thrown away immediately in case dung has been dropped within. It is believed that inadvertent chewing of this is responsible for wearing down the teeth. 825 [826]

If a man throws a stone at a pregnant snake, the young ones may rush forth and enter the thrower's stomach. They remain invisible, and no one knows how they enter, but death always results. Snakes are regarded with scorn and aversion, and the only men who dare to handle them are shamans. [761] [752]

When a milk tooth is lost, anyone who happens to be present should pick it up, pass it four times around the child's head, murmur, and throw it away. No explanation of this custom is known.[a] 852 827

[a] This is not the only custom pertinent to the loss of a tooth, cf. vol. I, p. 356.

Ethnologwith R-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bulletin NEA

and their subterfuges, it sometimes happens that an uninitiated person sees or hears something which he should not know. The simplest way to deal with this situation is to kill the observer. It is said that as late as 1900 a young man, impelled by curiosity, wandered up a valley into which he had been warned not to penetrate, and met a Cannibal whom he believed had vanished into the upper realms. Almost dumbfounded, he accepted the latter's invitation to sit down, and was slain by him. More often, and especially if the observer is the child of a *katsina*, he is initiated into the ranks of the society. If this happens at any time of year except the actual ceremonial season, he cannot perform immediately, but he is taken to the secret meeting place of the village chiefs, and there the mysteries of the organization are explained to him. The uninitiated are told that the observer has had a shaman's experience. With the aid of the elder *katsina* he then performs a dance and conjuring feat of the type already described (I, p. 56n), and is secluded until the next autumn, meanwhile wearing the distinctive collar of a shaman. In the songs used on this occasion no mention is made of a wash-basin, as of course the kid only performs ceremonially. When winter comes he is formally initiated into the society.

It is somewhat difficult to understand and explain the sentiments which lead a young man to obey rigidly the decrees of the senior *katsina* in deceiving his former friends. If it becomes known that a youth has seen something which should have been concealed, the senior *katsina* of his village meet in their ceremonial spot and decide that he must be put through the shaman's rite. Some relative of the youth is always ready to provide the necessary *katsina* paraphernalia, otherwise he would have to be killed. Two or three members are then sent to catch the young man. On some pretext they lure him into the woods and then carry him away, struggling in fear, to the kiva of Kokko, the place which he had been told to avoid since he would die if he penetrated to it. There he finds all the seniors of his village, armed with grave expressions to

[The Cannibal Dance]

789
* 795 way since no female can witness a Cannibal's first meal.
* 796 Three *hakaciut* are dispatched to ask for food, as if they were begging on behalf of X. Oolachan grease, dried salmon, dried meat, and other luxuries are always given to them, and the uninitiated women are excited at witnessing this collection of food. Sometimes a request is made during the day, and the messengers are entitled to call upon any individual by name to provide grease or some other delicacy.
[262]
[262]

• [792] The actual feeding is done by a shaman who is also a *hakaciut*. He first dips his hands in the grease, warms them at the fire and rubs them over X's face as the struggling Cannibal is held by six or eight *hakaciut*. Members of the society keep calling out *hoip* to soothe X, who is supposed to be like a wild animal, and to have lost all desire for ordinary food. Like a marmot he snaps at the shaman's fingers, while the *hakaciut* cry out and the uninitiated watch with fear and amusement. After rubbing the Cannibal's cheeks four times, the shaman shouts out that he is almost ready to eat. The heralds echo his words, and go through the village to inform all of what has taken place. The shaman now puts a few morsels of food in a spoon and tries to feed X, who struggles and tries to bite pieces out of the usual staff. Undaunted, he puts small pieces of food actually into X's mouth, handfuls of the snapping jaws, and at last persuades him to swallow a little.

"He has eaten," the shaman calls out joyfully, and the heralds repeat the good tidings.

An effort is now made to force him to drink, but X only bites the vessel, and the fingers of the shaman, and succeeds in drenching himself with the liquid. But at last he swallows a few mouthfuls.

"He has drunk," calls the shaman, and as before the heralds repeat his words.

The shaman now tells the uninitiated that X will be all right, but that it will be safer for them to depart, as they have willingly. Heralds keep everyone in the village informed of the events.

[The Bleeding Dance]

X begins to move his fingers in a feeble way and to sing a shaman's song of which *Snitsmalo a* is the only intelligible word. Of course the singers have previously taught him as much as is necessary of this type of composition, but the assumption is that he has just learned it from *Snitsmalo a* who has restored him to life. At this juncture two shamans often approach X and appear to project some power into him whereby he is able to rise and slowly circle the fire, supported by them. He shakes his hands and sings in a weak voice, then stands behind the fire, still supported by the two shamans. This concludes the night's ceremony and the marshals tell the uninitiated to leave. The initiates now follow, except carpenters, singers, and any other influential members of the society who desire to wait to discuss the performance.

As in the Stomach-Cutting dance, four days more of ceremonial follow the severing of X's head, with ritual corresponding to that of an ordinary feasting performance. Ceremonies cease on the night after the decapitation. The initiates gather in good time to learn a song, the theme of which is X's power, the supernatural being *Sinaitlamalala Mamaxa*, who has his head pulled off during dances in the land sleeve. Mention is always made of *Snitsmalo a* as well. No further description is required of the ceremonial on the eighth of *nuxmalidaq* and *galem*.

On *nuhemem* the first spectacle is a representation of what takes place in the land sleeve. A mask has been prepared similar to the one worn by X, so that it can be pulled entirely from his body. This decapitation is performed by masked figures while the heralds and marshals explain that this is what is done shell. The upper mask is hidden and the performer, who wears one identical with that which has been pulled from him, stands up to show the uninitiated that his head has been restored to him. Since the performers are supposed to be supernatural beings, it is possible for the beheaded one to be restored much rapidly than was possible when X, a mortal, suffered the same fate. After this decapitation there follows a

[Mr. Mystery Dance]

what are to be the correct answers? The mandals decide on them, but their judgment really depends on the four women-lessons who are able to tell whether any of the replies they suggest have already been given. When *Saiyaale* performed, the answers chosen were:

Atwadan, "The Coming of Foul Weather." This word is said to be in the language of the supernatural men. The implication is that this phenomenon of nature is a manifestation of the will of the supreme deity.

Nagwaale Swanishkin, "The Eagle Down *Swanishkin*." This has the significance of "The Peace Giving *Swanishkin*" since eagle down is a symbol of peace.

Kitkwanimaw, "The Towering Chasm." This is the mysterious crevasse which opens before a foolish man when he tries to gain success. In cases where a white man would attribute misfortune to lack of ability or to sheer bad luck, the Bella Coola say that this supernatural chasm has opened before him. It is especially applied to failure in the giving of potlatches.

Scarcely less important than the choice of answers is the second consideration, who is to give them. The uninitiated have been taught that X cannot live unless his riddles are answered, and also that whatever succeeds in solving them can do so only through supernatural assistance. As in the case of a person who finds a repository, so must the one who solves the problem be made a *Sacrier*. This is an opportunity for an influential man with a son of suitable age and character to have him initiated into the society, and an eager person can always be found. He is told the proper answers, and instructed to whisper them to his son the following evening. It is impressed upon the father that this must be done only at the last minute, and that every precaution must be taken to prevent the young man from telling his friends that he has been prompted.

Other matters are arranged at the same time. A shaman must be in readiness at sunrise to bind the future member of the society to secrecy, and every detail is worked out with care.

same previously described. To the Sahu Cosin philosopher, apparently no explanation is needed of the manner in which Sahu was allowed to use his experience as the basis of a dancer dance. The assumption is that he was a dancer at the time of his experience, although this is not clearly stated. The last to use the same dance about 1915, such Sahu having had the prerogative of giving the Thunder dance.

575* 796* 534 424 [777] [551]

THE GHOST DANCE[1]

Among the numerous patterns of dancer dances is Ghosts. The term, *ichandar*, applied to a dance whose power is derived from a ghost, is also applied to dancer with one-a pattern, but the two fun-makers must not be confused. Is a fairly common prerogative and there are Ghost dances in every village, their right depending in every case on some experience of an encounter with a ghost. The following is an account of the manner in which Ogaw of Tsamai performed in ritual; it may be regarded as typical of all, and the dancer can be referred to as X.

575* 796* [775] [750] [424]

At any time during the ceremonial season X consults with the mandals to decide upon a suitable time for his performance. On the evening preceding, normally the gate of some other dancer, the mandals state that his call is imminent; X makes his final arrangements and asks the assistance of a number of his fellows.

When the relevant rites of the following evening are been completed and the ceremonial have returned to their own homes, they are startled to hear whistling from the front near at hand. It is not the inconsiderably prolonged noted that accompanies the coming of a call, but random whistling with the mouth, everyone knows that this is the language of ghosts. A departure from them is by no means unknown, ad always dreaded, so at once there is excitement and everyone covers in the bedrooms. Presently hostile go through to village

575* 796* 787 [795]

[1] We necessarily is replied with the dance of the men-men using bodies of other others men.

[171]

(a) Recorded as song VIII D 10, National Museum of Canada; sources, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and successors, assisted by Tal'a Charlie and descendant dances. 599*

(b) In many of Pamlet's ancestors had hallucinated that he considered such a line to be an inheritable tendency and sensified accordingly. This song was composed for a memorial potlatch held after the drowning of three of his sons. [761] [827] [195]

(c) *Line* means, literally, the successive rising of the sun from day to day; in fact therefore, the significance of. The span of life is shortening.

(d) This and explains the usual overflow chorus.

(e) Raven. This is one of his sonly and chief's names.

(f) The reference is to an incident centred about Raven in the beginning of time. He wooed, and gave life to a son who was his chief joy and delight. *Raven* wondered what the creature might be and sent down one of his sons (the supernatural birds to seize him. Raven, ignorant of the reason for his son's loss and with no idea that he was being carefully guarded, was absolutely disconsolate. The myth is recorded in vol. I, p. 81. [775]

Shaman Songs

In contrast to the carefully prepared and logically worded mourning songs, many of those used by shamans are extremely incoherent. This is natural in view of the belief, already described, that the words and tune are given to a sick person at the time that he is cured. Those who recover from an illness are convinced that they must have received a supernatural visitation, and at once begin to ponder on the song brought to them at that time. A person of imaginative temperament easily persuades himself that the words which begin to form in his mind were actually brought by an agent, and, having thus deluded himself, it is easy for him to convince others. The coherence of the text thus depends upon the ability of the patient, a factor which explains the extreme lack of skill in many compositions. The examples here given are, perhaps, unusually complete. 599* 756 [759]

Song Used by Nuxlamalaxtsi, a Kwagiutl Shaman

A Wawalaxtsamanuxs	*alaxtsitsamalaxs*
In the beginning(a)	the life-giving power(b) was made,
yas ilal xiyalaxs	*alaxalalaxsalaxs*
that is what we have given	within them(c).

(translation continued (d))

*533
756

9 [illegible] They(g) sang	[illegible] over my wash-basin(h),	[illegible] they all watched over

[illegible]
my shaman's power(i).

[illegible]

0 [illegible] Power upon	[illegible] the place of shaman's power(j),	[illegible] there I am

[illegible]
[illegible]

(a) This man received his name and his ability to cure the sick from [illegible] (about 1890). He was very ill, apparently on the point of death, at the time of his visitation.

(b) Recorded as song VII (I) 45a, National Museum of Canada; singer, [illegible].

(c) The first part is worded as if supernatural beings were speaking.

(d) The reference is to the healing ability granted to shamans who have themselves been cured when seriously ill.

[753] (e) That is: Human beings. It is believed that a person can be cured only if [illegible] or some other supernatural being implant within the patient's body some of the healing power.

[774] (f) The two shamans of this song have different names, as usual herein.

(g) Referring to supernatural beings, this part of the song is worded as if [illegible] were speaking, and describing the case he was made a shaman.

(h) Reference to the wash-basin shows that [illegible] had the ability to cure the sick.

(i) The shaman is worded as if supernatural beings had washed and bounded over the power which they ultimately gave down.

(j) The reference is to [illegible], which, as the home of supernatural beings, is consequently the place from which comes a shaman's power. When [illegible] was on the point of death, it seemed to him that the sky opened above him so that he was able to gaze upon those resident there. He watched the supernatural men numbering about his own line, and gazed with joy on the departure of [illegible] to rescue him.

[351]

Song Used by [illegible], a Bella Coola Woman(a)

[195]

0 [illegible] It moved up and down.	[illegible] Sang[illegible](c)	[illegible] when they(d) sang	[illegible] of [illegible].

[illegible]

0 [illegible] They(f) placed right down.	[illegible] within the wash-basin(g)	[illegible] where I was(h).

[illegible]
he(i) pulled me forth.

[illegible]

[illegible] I gained upon	*[illegible]* when gave me power as a shaman(*)	*[illegible]* when is wind up	533* 756

[illegible]
in the centre of a place of purified power(*).

(a) This was the woman's factor designation; her shaman's name has been forgotten. [551]
(b) Recorded as song VII D 16, National Museum of Canada; sources, Bradley Johnson, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and translator, assisted by Pat'a Charlie and Sumkalum Peter.
(c) Then to: The sky moved up and down. Grandiloquent phrases of this kind are frequent in songs used by shamans. [195]
(d) Salute to the supernatural beings.
(e) *[illegible]* is said to be the word for salmon in the language of the supernatural beings; it is used by mortals in the rites following the taking of the first spring salmon. The shaman has received some of her power from a fish. [198] [224]
(f) Salute to the supernatural beings.
(g) Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.
(h) The meaning is obscure. Apparently the shaman had been carried away by *Pitsqalilm-a* and treated by immersion in a basin in which eagle down was deposited.
(i) This refers to the supernatural being, *[illegible]*, who appears to his mortals killed by the receipt of too much power from *Pitsqalilm-a*. It is clear that this has killed the shaman. [776]
(j) The woman is said to have received power from several sources, salmon, ghosts, and *Pitsqalilm-a* herself. It is impossible to state which of her supernatural patrons is referred to in this subdivision.
(k) The woman must have been taken to one of the spots where cures could be effected by the power of a supernatural being purified there. [155]

[551]
[776]

Song Used by *[illegible]*, a *[illegible]* Mortal(*)

[illegible] Look at the morning supernatural beings above(*), see one is my equal(*).	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]* when used(*)

[remainder removed]

[illegible] The most wonderful voices or sights to mortals are when I am bringing your mortal(*).	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]* when used

[remainder removed]

[illegible] The most wonderful are your wash-basin(*).	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]* when used

[remainder removed]

583
754
551
776

(a) "The One Who Dances Near the Fire." This is one of *Tlnxpalitw-a's* designations and, therefore, one of the names she gives to those she owns.

(b) Recorded on song VII D 20a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(c) As is often the case, the chorus is worded as if *Tlnxpalitw-a* were speaking.

(d) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions.

(e) Referring to *Nanaic-mulkanic*, each self-praise is a common device in songs used by shamans.

(f) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions. Reference to the mouth is in connection with the way a shaman accompanies his song by furious clashing together of his teeth. *Tlnxpalitw-a* herself does this.

(g) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions. Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

Song Used by Xnamamalain, a Kimsquit Woman(a)

A *Xqaqamal-ulkanik*	*mulkalmulkanamal*	*mayalplkhamamak*
NIQA have given me	the power of a shaman,	give me mental strength

mayamaxlal
the good supernatural beings.

[musicaux omitted]

B *Nagaiplmulkalu*	*alyaalmayo-ay*[*] *mulal*	*alamamayamu-ulkamulak*
They opened	*Sang*[*];	they saw me

mayalkjulaw-ulkamulak(c)
as they passed down.

[musicaux omitted]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten(d).

(a) Recorded on song VII D 21a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It was used when the women first danced as a shaman.

(b) This refers to supernatural beings in general. The song is worded as if the shaman herself were speaking.

(c) When a second was being made of this song, the singer forgot this subdivision and substituted for it the final one of the first part.

(d) It is said that there was no mention of a wash-basin in the third part and that, accordingly, the shaman had no power to heal the sick.

551

Song Used by Nanamamalaxal(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A *Yaa alamamalaxa*	*alamalmalaxa*	*yaa-ilamamalk*	*alamalmalja*
Hail! Mortals,	*Xi(i) mamalk(c)*;	I give life,	I am a learned man.

[musicaux omitted]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

B *[illegible]*(*c*) They measure when(*f*) | *[illegible]* will be visible | *skuxiutdemydai* my window,

[illegible] my ability as a shaman(*g*).

593*
756

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten; it is said that in it there was reference to a wash-basin, showing that the shaman was able to treat the sick.

(*a*) "The One of Whom All Sick People Think," a name received from *Tlitcp-lilitcw-a*. [551]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 32b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) Referring to *Tlitcplilitcw-a*; this part of the song is worded as if she were speaking.

(*d*) That is: I do as I have done before.

(*e*) When this song was being recorded on the phonograph, the singer erred and replaced this subdivision with the first of the first part.

(*f*) That is: They decide upon the time when.

(*g*) The reference is to the dramatic performance which marks his status as shaman; this part of the song is worded as if the shaman himself were speaking.

Song Used by Tsimulpleiq(a), a Bella-Coola Woman(b) [551]

A *[illegible]* It is ready | *[illegible]* my wash-basin(*c*), | *diptcmcmtsp* I will use it

[illegible] when you(*d*) come for treatment.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C*. The rest of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) "The Sleep-Giver," a name received from *Tlitcplilitcw-a*. [551]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 27b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie. In 1922 he was about seventy years of age and the song was used by his step-mother.

(*c*) This reference shows that the shaman had power to treat the sick.

(*d*) Referring to human beings in general.

Fragment of a Song Used by Nusatmumkwem, a Bella Coola Man(a)

[illegible] Held me in his cupped hands | *yas dikuiutsdai* the learned one(*b*), | *skumxtcmkwinitsdai* when he bore me

[illegible] to the place of treatment.

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

Z: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

*533
756

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 42b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) That is: The supernatural one held me in his carefully cupped hands. The theme is worded as if the shaman were speaking and describing the way he was carried away to some far-off spot for treatment.

Fragment of a Song Used by Ăkuciyaxum, a Bella Coola Woman(a)

Ăxuxlĕomahuldek: Laughed	*ciyumaxyx-ay^{w}ulc* *Sway^{w}*(*b*)	*dexuqnicinulin* when they(*c*)wanted	*dĕkuciulai* my rite as shaman(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

Kaitutulas
See how wretched I am(*e*).

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 42a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

(*b*) That is: The sky laughed. Shamans often use grandiloquent expressions such as this.

(*c*) Refers to supernatural beings in general.

(*d*) It is not known how this woman received her power except that it was from a salmon.

(*e*) The singer entered fully into the spirit of this song, and ended his singing by calling out these words and chattering his teeth as shamans are wont to do.

Fragment of a Song Used by Kusiyat, a Bella Coola Woman(a)

Sunxĕkila The sun(*b*),	*Sunxĕkila* the sun,	*dimănlulai* is our father	*xuxi* (*c*)!

The rest of this song has been forgotten(*d*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 34a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[821]
[776]
[788]

(*b*) This is the sun's name as chief.

(*c*) The meaning of this word is unknown. When the song was sung, the people used to follow the shaman to the river and throw water over themselves four times, accompanied by the crying out of this word.

(*d*) It seems highly probable that incoherent songs such as this were commonly used by shamans. *Kusiyat* herself is supposed to have derived her power from *Thlcaplilăx-a*, but no explanation could be learnt for the rite of washing.

The most fragmentary of all shaman songs are those used by *snăxom.*. Although the last survivor of this type of visionary died many years ago, all the older Bella Coola state

2:16:Dewalth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

emphatically that the songs which they used were little more than series of meaningless phrases, often in languages unknown to the hearers. It was possible to collect the two following examples of this type: 533* 756

Siyus siyusi(a).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 33b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

It is believed that this song was composed by Raven, but no one has any knowledge of when, or for what purpose, it was made. A *sxúyem* used it in Bella Coola many years ago, and the words and tune have since been remembered. *Siyu* is said to be the word for *raven* in a language spoken on the west side of Vancouver Island, so it is assumed that the visionary must have come from that region.

The second example consists of a single word:

Aiyalisa(a).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 33c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

Aiyalisa is in a language unintelligible to any of the Bella Coola. This word and tune are supposed to be even more ancient than the first example.

Kusiut Songs

Kusiut rites are the only ones now carried out by the Bella Coola with even approximate completeness, and many of the songs used at them are still remembered by all. A number of dances took place during the period of investigation and the texts of all the songs used were collected, as well as the music of the majority. This explains the full versions of the examples in this section as compared to the preceding ones. Moreover, it is probable that *kusiut* songs, composed with care by the singers, have always been more logical than those employed by shamans in which the fiction of supernatural instruction has been preserved. In former times, *kusiut* songs were always 533* 575* 796* [126] [756]

Ala: young village.
Alacuil, "Die of the Tied-up Penis": Name given to a lad whose sex was fastened in infancy.
[426] *ahamaxulis*: Refusal to heed to or consider a family prerogative such as the employment of marriage dancers.
[374] *ahaqulcuam*: Ritual served when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an commencement of his coming potlatch.
Ahaxiyaqum: House of a female shaman.
Ahem, "The Opening of the Sky":
1—One of the first men to settle at *Kimsquit* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Ilum* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of a female chief.
Ahlachalcin: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.
Ahlamachinis: One of the first men to settle at *Ahlatal* in the beginning of time.
[575] *ahlamaxum*: Award having the ability to enter the back-room and treat initiating neophytes there. The function probably antedates the employment of bat rhythm.
Ahlaxlat: Hidden, supernatural beings who restrain supernatural Cannibals.
[508] *ahlaxum*: Personal hearing of stories.
Ahmamum: Wife of Tsalalik, the supernatural hunter.
Ahmachilum: Supernatural cannibalical esquire.
Ahnaqlichlis: Husband of *Ahlachalcin*, he is known only in *Kimsquit*.
[575] *ahnaxlaxis*: Earlier dance of mystery.
[574] *ahnaxmamum*: Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning community.
ahnaxmamuqu: Call used by hostile when announcing to a mourning community.
[425] *ahnaxulis*: The "Dragging Across" of a room, crest, or other intangible property from wife to husband either at marriage or later or a repurchasing of the wife.
[574] *ahnum*: To drag a heavy burden.
[842] *ahnuhu ac*: Cranberries mixed with chicken grease.
[821] *ahnuxlac*: Visit to his repository by a dead relative.
Ahnuxlhual, "Facing Bella Wope": Second moon after the winter solstice.
Ahqamamq, "The Arrivalous Time": Hushed assemblage of the Ashaxlat after departure of a Cannibal.
[597] *ahqulchalis*: Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.
Ahqulchalis: 1—Supernatural being who revives mortals.
2—Name received by a shaman from this being.
Ahs: Food.
[425] *ahsamum*, "Food Supplier": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage.
Ahsalcal, "Stockaded": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[756] *ahsinis*: Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in chevron strands.
[882] *ahsnuik*: Guarded, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.
[825] *Ahsqulyac*: Supernatural name of chickens, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
Ahsqul'qlat, "A Gleam Downwards": Name given to an *Ahsalcal* man in the beginning of time.

#102 *Bakwaiwa*, "Left Foot": Once repository sacred from part of a supernatural creature.
Bakwaiwa: Kinnapik horses living in the last century.
[323] *Bakwaiwa*: Dandelion-shell.
Bakwaiwa, "Not Finished": Said concerning a hunter who has between initiation and his first complete dance.
[202] *Bakwaiwa*: Shell cup of grass and dandelion shells worn by adolescent girls during initiation.
[881] *Bakwaiwa*: Crack, especially from ship, to a hunter dance.
Bakwaiwa: 1—Supernatural hunter.
2—Assemblage of the people for consumption of different kinds, especially shamans' dances and gambling competitions in connection with the Women's dance.
3—Kinnapik wave for the first night of a hunter dance.
Bakwaiwa, "A Scrapping": Said of cases where a wife's relatives have given more presents to the husband's than their have received in return.
[574] *Bakwaiwa*: Place of consummation of a Women's dance's power.
[601] *Bakwaiwa*: Old people, especially persons due to a public wave for indirect address.
Bakwaiwa: Rightful location, especially the subdued position of a chief to a house.
[415] *Bakwaiwa*: Dishes served with ceremonial crest.
Bakwaiwa: 1—Mouse.
2—Daughter of the first settlers at Stella.
[323] *Bakwaiwa*: Spring salmon.
Bakwaiwa: Spring salmon house.
Bakwaiwa: Professional name of a hunter needed.
Bakwaiwa: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of the Bella Coola River.
Bakwaiwa: 1—The allotment of work to laborer in the manufacture of masks and other requirements.
2—Dance, the time when such tasks are assigned, the second evening of a hunter dance.
Bakwaiwakwakwakwa, "The Rainbow Maker": Name given to the daughter of the first settlers at Stella.
[575] *Bakwaiwala*: Thin which serves as pattern, picture, or model for a hunter crest.
Bakwaiwal: Second night of a potlatch.
[226] *Bakwaiwalal*: Artificial, man-like structure built into a river for use in hunter fishing.
Bakwaiwala, "Where People Go": A salmon pool owned by Kwaw at Kinnapik.
Bakwaiwala: Cove near Dean Channel.
Bakwaiwalaqa, "The Dancer Whose Only Noise-Making Instrument Is His Body": One of Tlesquillaw's names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Bakwaiwalaqa: Supernatural woman who guards repository.
Bakwaiwalaqa: 1—"The Open Mouthed" (in the sense of open to such forth sickness). One of Tlesquillaw's names and hence a designation given to shamans.
[756] 2—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.
[329] *Bakwaiwalaqa*: Bath running water.
Bakwaiwalaqa: 1—Rocks of ordinary individuals, this term is used to distinguish those who are being initiated into the secret society.
2—Something supernatural seen when awake.

[illegible]: Village near mouth of the Dean River.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible] with "Lakeside": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Name obtained by an Eagle-side man in the beginning of time.
[illegible] "Spreading Its and Its": One of Sisaqalla's canoes and bears a designating given in dancing.
[illegible]: Rarer name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: 1—Rarer name of a Bella Coola woman.
2—"Left Hand": Once equivalent seated from party of a supernatural ancestor.

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]: Term applied to the giving of a copper, indicating that 100 per cent interest is expected in return.
[illegible]: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
[illegible]: Rarer profanity, or Kwagiutl only, of throwing canoe on the fire.

[illegible]

[illegible], "The Moving House": One of the names of the supreme gull dwelling.
[illegible]: 1—Owner of a copper-[illegible].
2—Invented for distinguishing [illegible].
[illegible]: Supernatural being who take inductor of their daughter on the Mountain [illegible].
[illegible]: 1—Name assumed for himself by one of the four workers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Bella chief.
[illegible]: Kwakiutl.
[illegible], "The Dirty One": Name taken by a chief for himself in honor of the [illegible] made about his habits.
[illegible]: Rarer name of a Kwagiutl man.

[illegible]

[illegible]: Morning star.
[illegible]: Commonest.
[illegible]: Type of sea-going canoe.
[illegible]: Harbinger dish.

[illegible]

[illegible], "The Common Rose": Name used by humans in Eagle.
[illegible], "Concave Rock": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Canoes lashed together.
[illegible]: Locality on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head, including the area beneath the surface of the water.

[illegible]

[illegible]: 1—Second eldest sibling.
2—Second part of song.

[illegible]

[illegible]: 1—"Dirt Who Have Become Supernatural": Title conferred by ghosts.
2—Women living in the room.
[illegible]: Inhabitants of the village of [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]: Person with good memory commissioned to remember family genealogies.
[illegible], "At the Head": Village southwest of the head of South Bentinck Arm.
[illegible]: Totem-pole, literally, "Outside Post."
[illegible]: Shaman with power derived from ghosts.
[illegible]: Commonest building at dawn.
[illegible]: Rarer name of a Bella Coola woman.
[illegible]: Rarer name of a Bella Coola man.

2: McDowell B-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEN Bellacoola NEN

#182
[824] *ánt'ulp*: Tree, probably birch.
Kalaxúlu: One of the first men to settle at *Ówyat* in the beginning of time.
Kalúlus: One of the first men to settle at *Ówalt* in the beginning of time.
Kalhun: Bella Bella woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Kalnal: Kitamaat man.
[222] *Kálpum*: *Kaxlat* name of a Bella Coola man.
[262] *kálsum*: The gathering of here root for food.
Kályumtlum: Stone conferred on their owner by the first settlers at *Ówa* in the beginning of time.
Ka'lów-a: Kitamaat man mentioned in an ancient story.
[585] *kalsúlhmtin*: Public ceremony, previous to marriage, of the bride's ancestral myths in order to cause children to be born.
[842] *kalpum*: Ritual on the day before a marriage, including the review of myths by the bride's relatives, the choosing of ceremonies, and the singing of songs of all kinds.
[976] *Kamaúx*: 1—Mysterious supernatural woman.
2—"Phew," or "Thank You," a word implying laughter.
Kamélmay[m]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ówalmus* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuqúla'* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of the first sky that fell in the beginning of time.
Kamalúlt: Lazy supernatural beings who accompanied *Nuqúlyum*.
Kamalyum: Man mentioned in an origin myth of *Ówalmus*.
Kamúlulu: *Kaxlat* name of a Kitamaat man.
Kamúmay[m]: House brought to earth by first settlers at *Nuqúla'* in the beginning of time.
[824] *kanal*: Kelp.
[227] *kanala*: Cod hook.
kanas: Termination.
[824] *kanata*: 1—Shell fungus.
2—*Kaxlat* dance in which a shell fungus is used.
Kanélhu: One of the first women to settle at *Ówa* in the beginning of time.
kan-imat: Ceremonial crow.
Kanusin: Herald of a *Tal'a* chief in the beginning of time.
kanka: Trap.
Kanuslalum: 1—Daughter of the first settlers at *Xalúla* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of *Ójamat*, one of the first settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[264] *kanlítsa*: Assemblage of the people for a meal of any kind.
Kanqulúlmun: One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
Kanulhnjíte-a: Supernatural berry-picker resident in the land of ghosts.
[825] *kápai*: 1—Hump-back salmon.
2—Convex transverse beam near front and rear of house.
3—Mountain on the Dean River.
Kapsin: *Kaxlat* name of a Kitamaat man.
Kasna: Man mentioned in an ancient story of Raven.
[752] *kasiut*: The seeking for shaman's power by a lad.
[825] *kasnúx*: Golden eagle.
katun: Top, toy.
[524]

APPENDIX D

Gaxsa: Tail.
Gaxshl: Sun.
Gix: Black bowlders.
Gaxa-i: Earlier name of a Kitsumpsh man.
Gaxshlaa: Ancestral name of the wife of *Sualq* who was changed to *Gaxsa* in the beginning of time.
Gwalil: Raven.
Gwanahlar: Gitlaks chief living in the beginning of time.
Hayalq: 1—Marriage, properly arranged and legalized.
2—The actual wedding day.
Hawalaa-i: Earlier name of a Kitsumpsh woman.[1]
Ielar: Bark basket for holding liquids.
Iskwalaqlar: The seeking of assistance from a man who owns a curing repository.
Iskwalaqsaa: Investment property, i.e., one for which a return is expected.
Iskaxsa: Bark room in which sweat initiates and others are concealed.
Isklaa: Woman during menstruation.
Isklaa, "What Was Seen Down": Intangible possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
Isnaqsaa: Wooden wedge such as are used for lifting box stones.
Iskwalaqlar ala hawalqsa: Existence rite in which the performer appears to be drowned.
Ixl-aa ne ixl-ial, "The Guiser": One who has been initiated as a member of the *Ixalal* society but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through unauthorized knowledge or through successful participation in either a *Ixalaa* or a *Mystery* dance.
Ixlala, "Rendered Incapable of Returning": Said of an uninitiated person who is alleged to have stumbled on a repository.
Kalaqa: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Kalaqa: The dancer waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one visitation, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability.
Kija, ancestor, Kijaaa: Grandmother.
Kikalaxwa-i: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
Ki'laxlal: Name given to their canoes by the first settlers at *Ilaxa* in the beginning of time.
Kilalaxwaxa, "The Wise One": One of Raven's canoes as chief.
Kimilkaa: One of the first women to settle at *Hagalaa* in the beginning of time.
Kina'a-i: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Kinaxa: 1—Crab.
2—Enormous crab-like creature, alleged to be found far in the forest.
Kinalaa: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts.
Kilk: Red elderberry.
Kilk: Wooden tweezers used in the pounding of cedar-bark.
Kis: Unidentified plant.
Kistaa: To roast dried salmon.
Kisiwanalar: Supported, in the sense of held in place by physical assistance.
Kisiqwal: Locality on Dean Channel, west of *Ixwalk*.
Ki'ssa: Place on south side of Nutch Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

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[1] This name appears to be an entirely different word from *Kalaa-i*.

#182 **Kitamaxmax**: The dance that keeps a foolish man from success as a chief; the concept is anti-anthropomorphistic.
Kitsilas: Free ceremonial discharge.
Kitlaxa: Lekeny village.
Kitsu: Supernatural creature dwelling in the woods.
[954] **Kitsilanuxt**: Shamans who received power from ghosts.
Kwalmamkaxax: Bella Coola hunter.
#[1172] **Kwaytlan**, "Canyon": Bella Bella designation for the Dean River, whence the sophisticated Kwaqwt has been derived.
Kwaxlat: Dean River.
Kwakwat: Kwaqwt man mentioned in an ancient story.
[845] **Lam**: 1—Whale.
2—Ancestral name of a Tsi'ts woman; this is said to be an exclusively feminine designation.
Lat'xmax: 1—Name acquired by a Bella Bella man in the beginning of time.
2—Influential Kwaqwt chief, who died about 1900.
[824] **Ma'ma'**: Muskrat.
[824] **Mi**: Wait ye (?).
Nanu'i: Dancing.
Nanulut: Perception of being unwell.
Nauu: Dried salmon.
Nauuulut: Synonym for *skulla*: one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of resolved representations of the deceased. The word is derived from *nauu*.
[825] **Nalalkim**: Porpoise.
[845] **Nalalkum**: Supernatural being who believes in an erotic woman.
Na'la: Twin whose birth is attributed to salmon.
[824] **Na'lamax**: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Nalalum: Unidentified bird (swallow?).
Nalum: Supernatural female shaman who guided P'ioxtin.
Nal'ayulay: Easter name of a Bella Coola Comchat.
Nalta'lum, "Earthy Oun": Ghosts.
Nalulay: Land, region, earth.
[539] **Nalulu**: First part of song.
Nanal': Tsulum mountain about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.
[825] **Nanamaxmalkin**, "The One Who Makes Us Fat": Supernatural name of coho salmon.
[765] **Napatum**: Goods distributed to validate songs used at a mourning ceremony when no representation of the deceased has been employed.
[578] **Napaxum**: Insult offered to foreigners at potlatches concerning their manners or food.
[60] **Nauakaxu** or **Nauakaxum**: Synonym for *Nalualaxum*, invariably present.
[42] **Nauxumalaxum**: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Nalpi, **nanalu**, **Nalpai**: Grandfather.
[601] **Nalualaxum**: Easter ceremonial at which foreigners are present.
Nalu: The construction of salmon-weirs.

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[1] This was the pronunciation of the word by the individual with an idiosyncratic *r* sound.

APPENDIX B

[illegible]

Gaiwanu: Kwakiutl term for presents given to a house bridegroom by the father of the house bride.

Gaishdaiwaiqlas: Supernatural being whose monarch is sun in the land above.

Gamey: Qualicum.

Gamlamkilaxu, "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being *Winnipeg*.

Gamsaxu: Designation for a series of difficult and unusually barbed dances.

Gamsxsu: Said to be identical with *ulaxkanda*, the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor.

Gaxtu: *gitsul, kulkulat, nesalin, tsimsem, nesalin, gitsul, kulkulat.*

1—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season.

2—Member of the society.

3—"The Lowest One": Designation commonly applied to a supernatural being, especially a cannibal one, or to a person having power to cure the sick.

Gaxtsa: Kwakiutl female shaman living in the last century.

Gedim: Natural son, especially a child, this is the reputive form of the word.

Gedzum: Clothes.

Gesil'ala'yakay: Woman dwelling on Fort Rupert in the beginning of time.

Gewaqla: South Islet.

Gwakwaka'wu: Supernatural name of Cormorant.

Gwa'nawu: Wrapper.

Gwalwamalal: Wrapper name acquired by the first ancestor at *Nimpkish*.

Gwalwas: Unidentified bird of which the note is an omen of death.

Gwalaxi: Bella Coola name of a Bella Coola man.

Gwalalmas: Bella Coola name of a Bella Coola man.

Gwalaxwamat: Bella Coola name of a male Green Bay Cannibal.

Gwal'a'ii: Smooth pyramidal "pebbles," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands.

Gwalu: Evergreen bough.

Gwalwal: Famous Bella Coola warrior.

Gwapwa: One of the sculpins.

Gwawa: Bella Coola name of a Kimsquit man.

Gwa'wa'ka, "The Big One": Lawful male supernatural being.

Gwaxwalin: Man who came to earth near *Dzawadi* in the beginning of time.

Gwa'xwa: Kimsquit woman.

Gwikin: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Gwilwa: One of the first men to settle at *Tsibassa* Point in the beginning of time.

Gwinam: Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

Gwilwakula, "One Who Has Without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Gwala: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Naqlala* chief, the word is a synonym for *Wiwaxa* chiefs.

Gwilkin Hankempa: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

Gwawilkilan-ala: Lullaby.

gwal-gala: Archaic expression used in a string figure.

Gwalu: 1—Pen or trap in the ocean for salmon.

2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

APPENDIX B

Adhiman: One of the first men to settle on the upper Kinnaqui River in the beginning of time.

Adhanti: Unidentified name on the water cream mentioned in a Dwa story of the beginning of time.

Adhiniwadhan: Name acquired by one of the first settlers on Shalid in the beginning of time.

Adhiniwhiro: Gheenet's son in the beginning of time.

Aiko: Small parasitic crime.

Ahiwa: Direction of a spirit.

Ainoman: 1—"The Upper Sun."
2—"Sun," in the language of Dun.

Ainoman[illegible]: Intensive outlook carried out by moonshine.

Ashwa: Bulu Bulu Cannibal living in the beginning of time.

Ashwaniwa, "The Sentence of Eagle Down": Name created by Gheenet for his son in the beginning of time.

Atay: To hate.

Aushiddhin: Bulu Bulu supernatural being who brings food.

Ayoniwan: Power of physical disposition.

Ayuhu: Bulu-mouse.

Ab: To swim; ab, the word for pedatch, fish, is supposedly derived from this.

Ab, Pedatch.

Abdadd: The landing down of a Cannibal with man.

Ahmadin: Unidentified autumn moon, probably the fourth after the summer solstice.

Ahmadi di Dyuhiwa, "The Pedatch of the moonlamp": Second moon after winter solstice.

Ahmadin, "Year of Ad": One of the first men to settle on Shalid in the beginning of time.

Ahwaqiyu: Shaman's ritual cream, such as the curing of one who is unmentionably unclean.

Ahwaldidin: Minimum moon-pole such as is used in mourning ceremony.

Ainoman: Partnership of a pure man with a chief about begins a pedatch, so that the former may repay debts, for which his poverty required no compensation, and then work himself on the path towards greatness.

Aminuhiyu: The turning over of a mountain.

Ai'yu: Professional name of a female horse-puller.

Ajamidin: Stick decorated with upper heights used in mourning rites by one of the first settlers on Dwyat in the beginning of time.

Ajiu: The painting of the face as a sign of mourning.

Ahwadinan: Cannibal footer name used by the first settlers on Ashin in the beginning of time.

Akiyawin: Earlier name of a Bulu Cindu male furnisher.

Akiliu: Assassin.

Ashwin: 1—Earlier name of a Tumed man.
2—Shamanistic power.

Ashdhiwan: Visitation from the life of a recently dead friend, notification of which is conveyed by a scary or other feeling of disquietude.

Ashjawa: Earlier name of a Kinnaqui man. The first to use this designation was a relative of the earliest settlers in the beginning of time.

Ashdhadhdhin, "The Giver of Shamanistic Power": One of the names of Pinaqdhiwa, and hence a designation given to shamans.

192*

[415]

[763]

[825]

[195]

[756]

[764]

[772]

Pacate-ewa, "The Wrestler": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago. [192*]
ewawaxa: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige. [378]
Pace: 1—Barren district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, adverse.
Pacqaiku: Tyl'a-kwil human.
Pacqawala: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tyl'a* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alaskiut* in the beginning of time. [772]
3—Ball of the universe which, when broken, released the sun.
Pacqawanaxa: Daughter of the first settlers at *Alaskiut* in the beginning of time.
Pacoqa: 1—(Probable) "The Place of Sorcerous", Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
ewat'qwa: Expository, archaic term.
ewawaxa or *ewawa*: The assumption of a name upon earth. [431]
ewawalaqaka, "Things to Sweep the Floor With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage. [586]
ewawa-gwa: Wooden dish used for washing an infant.
ewawilawaxa: Alertness from sets of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine. [415] [785]
ewlaxlaw: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient. [756]
Ewlaxlaw: Name of a celebrated shaman.
Ewlaxa: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
Ewlel, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
ewlaxqawa: Alteration of a dance from *yaxat* to *kaxlat*. [825]
ewlaxlaxa: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck.
ewlaxlaxawaxa, "A Drying-Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband. [516]
ewlaxlawaxa: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion. [431]
Ewlaxa, "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Ewlaqala: Totem-pole of the first settlers at *Naqlaqlai* in the beginning of time.
ewlawala: Parents of twins. [845]
ewlaqawa: Wolf. [825]
Ewlaxlawala: Mythical house in the sky.
Ewlaqawala: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
ewtalawa: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Tsaqalica* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *ewlaxlaw*. [756]
ewlaqawa: A creation of new *kaxlat* names, each as is necessitated by a dance, or at the will of a mighty chief. [553]
ewlaxaxlaw: *Kaxlaxa* rite in which the performer pretends to swallow hot stones.
ewlaxawaxa: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to heralds by a person splashed in Otter dance. [431]
2—Presents given by guests at a potlatch to their host and his associates.
ewlaqoa, "The Face Maker": Name given to a woman who points upon the head-apex used to produce cranial deformation in an infant. [856]
Ewlaqwalt, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kimsquit village.
Ewlaxlaxa: *Kaxlat* name of a *Tsimsal* man.

eat for the raven to eat. This was done four times, and if a raven ate it, the patient recovered, according to Captain Schooner's belief. As the call of the raven sounds somewhat like a person affected with phlegm in the throat, this may be a case of sympathetic magic, at any rate it is one of witchcraft. 755 815 [illegible]

To make the river erode at a certain place in order to break a log jam, a beaver's foot was buried in each of several spots in the place. 757 815

A continuous rain would cease, and the sun would come out, it was said, if the people set fire to a wood-rat's house.

When it rained too much the Bellacoola Indians poked down an ant hill and said, "Give us warm weather." They believed this would bring results, but now that Joshua is a Christian he says he does not believe it and says it is useless play talk.

Bad boys or girls, but not adults, would take a dead mouse, warm it over a fire, and rub the warmed mouse on the hands of a baby. This made the baby steal when it grew up. The so-called stealing habits of the mouse were supposed to be transferred to the child. 754 816 815

The still warm body of a freshly killed wood-rat was used in the same way to make a baby, boy or girl, "crazy," and grow up to be a constant thief. The notorious habits of the wood-rat, as well as those of the mouse, were evidently well recognized by the Bellacoola.

To make people crazy, the red squirrel had to be properly used by a shaman and then it possessed strong power. One woman who had been made crazy in this way died in 1887. She did not like the shaman and he did not like her. He stole her apron. She was sorry. He took it into the forest and performed witchcraft because he wanted to spoil her life by making her crazy. He caught a red squirrel alive, possibly in a little basket. He had a box called a "bad box," in which he kept his things of evil power. He put some of the fringe of her apron around the red squirrel and let it run far away. The woman then became crazy and sometimes fell down, but part of the time she seemed well. My Indian informant, Joshua, had seen her. This example of sympathetic 754 756 815

759 magic probably originated from observing the many very sensitive and apparently purposeless movements of the red squirrel.

759 When one wished to cause the child of one's enemy to grow up to be a quarrelsome person, a yellow jacket's nest was burned and the ashes were rubbed on the face, hands, and arms of the child. When the child grew up, it was believed, he or she would fight with everyone. The yellow jacket's natural defense of its nest is interpreted as quarrelsome, even by white people.

759 The toad was a powerful medicine for the bad box used in witchcraft.

To make a man or woman die of weakness, one of the hairs of the person's head was put in the body cavity of a disembowelled toad.

To make a person's face swell and separate until death came, the little pieces of unbleached red cotton back used to clean the person's face were put in the body cavity of a disembowelled toad. The idea underlying this was probably the reproduction of the warts of the toad on the face of the person.

To make a person die, a piece of the young shoot of a thimble berry, lost by that person while eating, was put in the mouth of a toad. Death was supposed to take place in half an hour.

759 One very old man, Judas by name, boasts of having killed seven people by means of his bad box used in witchcraft, especially of having caused the death of Mr. John Clayton, who was the first white man to remain long in this area, having kept the Hudson's Bay store at Bella Coola, and later a store of his own, but who died far away from Bella Coola in 1909.

Mrs. Samuel King who died in 1921 was said to have been poisoned by Willie Mack. Her father, Captain Schooner, was said to have stated that Willie would die in July on the anniversary of her death. Willie Mack died in the summer of 1915. Captain Schooner died a few days later. He was said to understand malevolent witchcraft thoroughly. It was said that people often cut off the collars of Willie Mack's shirts. Willie Mack's father was too great a chief so that people were ashamed, and consequently killed Willie by means of witchcraft with something in a bad box.

[illegible] 575

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

what cause this Sunspeak is for. Mythology and ritual are so closely connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Bilqula is Sun, the sun-god (compare sing. sun). The days of the sun are his symbolism. What people to be is called Tsal'ut. In praying the Bilqula both hunters and chieftains obtained the following formulae: chiefs say, Tsal'ut, look on us where we are sitting, Tsal'ut,' and Tsal'ut, exclaimed loudly, 'Take care of us, Tsal'ut.' Sun is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and dances interfere with his actions and thoughts of man. There are gives of Mamamala'niq. According to the tradition of the Bilqula, before the liberation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is nowadays, four deities lived on the earth: Mamamala'niq, Tsal'ut, Skalqal'ugus, and Itl'itla'lak. The raven wished to obtain the sun, but he was unable to liberate it. Then he went to these deities and asked their help. They ascended to the sky, and tore the curtain, which up to that time had been expanded between heaven and earth, hiding the heavenly orbs. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The raven ascended to heaven through the rift made by Mamamala'niq, and found there a beautiful pavilion occupied by which all the birds lived. Mamamala'niq and his brothers painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his arts. The raven was so content with the sun, and resolved to try and find a better one. He flew to the house of a great chief, who kept the sunp'ula (so-daughter of, sp'ma the day is dawning). The sunp'ula was a small round receptacle closed all around like an egg. The chief guarded it jealously and kept it suspended from one of the rafters of his house. The raven knew that he could not obtain it by sheer force, and resorted to a ruse. He assumed the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and let himself drop into the pond from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pond, swallowed the leaf, and thus became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the raven himself. The old chief loved the boy dearly, and allowed him to play with the sunp'ula. This was what he desired. He ran out of the house, broke it, and flew away in the shape of a raven.

After the sun had thus been obtained Mamamala'niq said: 'Let us make man.' He made the image of a man out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Skalqal'ugusk and Itl'itla'lak tried likewise to carve human figures and to give them life, but they failed. Finally, Tsal'ut carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in each country, and they became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Mamamala'niq gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to catch salmon, to build houses. He made rivers everywhere, that man should have water to drink, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by man.

The Bilqula believe that Mamamala'niq and his brothers still continue to give new ideas to man. They say that any new design of painting or carving, or any other new invention made by a member of their tribe, has been given to him by Mamamala'niq.

The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been referred to above.

The soul is believed to dwell in the nape. It is similar in shape to a bird inclosed in an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies away its owner must die. Shamans are able to see and to recover souls.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)892
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By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swooms it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and enclose it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy.

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Raq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Raq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself.

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: 'When an Awik'enox wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Ma'kem) who will initiate him. No Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way.'

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ch'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 612), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called anuk. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms.

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die.

I add here a few current beliefs:—

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry.

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die.

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky.

WARS.

When a war party was organised the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their

have to put the firewood. This opening is called K'ooe'ooeen, that is, "mouth kept open by means of a wedge." Mamenkil'ela spoke: "The sky shall not burst again. This wedge shall keep its mouth open." The following ka'ioat song refers to these abilities: — 776 821

[531]

(" My child pointed the the sky when it broke
Go to Tlaxoilt one of the sky, my child!
Children my heart, my child!
My dress in the mouth of the sky, my child! ")

Our world is called A'nkel'in, or Qonk'ln, that is, "the land below." It is an island swimming in the boundless ocean. In the far east a giant is sitting with legs apart, who is called Ahsp'ilocoanie'. He holds a long stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar by means of two stone ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake; and the Bella Coola say, "Sneeh'qoinh'tsoinx," that is, "he takes hold of our world." When he moves our earth westward, we have epidemics. When he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears. 772 776 823 [131] [153]

In the ocean lives a being called Sisaoa, who twice every day swallows the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the ka'ioat ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various levels of the sea.

The world below us is the country of the ghosts (kwik'ula'mes). It is called Aiaat'aoan. Descriptions of the ghosts' country are principally obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the sandy banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with sharp stones. When it is summer here, it is winter there. When it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their heads. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls, on reaching the lower world, receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform 772 775 [756] [787]

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776 There is a special deity who initiates the shamans. His name is LEM-IS'E, or SEM'COMX (Plate XI, Fig. 9). He lives in the woods. He carries a wooden wand wound with red cedar-bark, which he swings in his hands, producing a singing noise. Around his neck he wears a large ring made of strips of bear-skin and red cedar-bark. He sometimes plays in ponds which are believed to be in certain mountains. When he jumps into the water, it boils. When a woman meets him, she begins to menstruate; when a man meets him, his nose begins to bleed. When initiating a person, he touches the chest of the latter with his wand, and paints his face with the design of the rainbow. Then he swings his wand, the noise of which causes the person who hears it to faint. He creates sexual desire in men and animals. A shaman who was initiated by this being told me that he very often sees LEMIS'E, who tells him who will die and who will fall sick. Sometimes he sees that the body of a person is black. Others he sees dancing on their heads. These are signs that they will die at an early date. I obtained from this man the description of the visit to the country of the ghosts, quoted before (p. 38). He told me that when reaching the country of the dead, he saw the ghosts of his deceased relatives sitting in the house. When they saw him, they began to weep, and said, "Don't come here. We don't want to see you so soon." While they were speaking to him, the chief's sister entered the house, and called all the people to come to the dancing-house of the ghosts. One of the ghosts painted his face black and white, and tied long strips of white and red cedar-bark in his hair. The people were called four times. Then they started to go to the dancing-house. The entrance to the door was over a narrow plank. When he had just stepped on the plank, he suddenly met LEMIS'E, with his large neck-ring made of red cedar-bark and strips of black bear-skin, who took hold of him, turned him round, and told him to return to his own country, because, if he should once enter the dancing-house, he would not be able to return. Then he revived; and from that time on, LEMIS'E was his supernatural helper.

A. Jacobsen describes this spirit as follows:[1] —

776 756 "The most prominent among the spirits of the shamans is Kle-khsi-o'il [LEMIS'E]. He lives in the woods, where the youth who intends to be initiated sets ut'ked him. When the spirit meets him, the youth faints. When he recovers, he begins to sing a song, the tune and words of which have been given to him by the spirit. Now he has become a shaman, who uses this song in all his incantations; but he does not retain it throughout life, because he meets his guardian spirit almost every year, and then he receives new songs. The Indians believe that Kle-khsi-o'il has human shape, but he is clothed in cedar-bark, and wears a great many rings of cedar-bark.

[1] Volkerdenkmäler der Nordwest-Ausstellung der Anthropologen, Edinburgh und Dublin, 1894, p. 100.

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Some of these he gives to the shaman. . . . A third spirit is the Skaia [Sxal'tsmx], which is believed to live in rivers, and to have the shape of a salmon. When a shaman who is inspired by this spirit makes an incantation in a house, singing and dancing, as all the shamans do, whoever approaches the house and hears the song turns back. They believe that whoever passes the house during the incantation will be punished with death by the spirit Skaia." 776 756

I believe this spirit is identical with LEMSIS, who, as stated before, has the second name SNALTSMX. According to Jacobsen, some shamans are initiated by the ghosts. He says that the ghosts are believed to have bald heads and blue faces. I am under the impression, however, that the people initiated by them are not shamans, but ki'sint dancers (see Chap. VI). [718] [575]

Another being who initiates shamans is described in the following tradition: — 539 756 776

Once upon a time there was a man and a woman, who had four sons. The three older ones died. Then the father and mother, and the youngest brother were very unhappy, and the old people cried for grief until they died. The young man was now left all alone. He left his village, intending to go away and never to return. He pulled his blanket over his head and walked on. Sometimes he would stop to pray. He lived on the meat of mountain-goats which he shot. He built a small hut high up on the mountains, and dried the meat. He was crying and praying all the time. He prayed to the Sun to give him a gift which would restore his happiness. One day early in the morning he ascended the mountain. He addressed the rising Sun, saying, "Look at me, how unhappy I am." After he had gone a short distance he came to a ravine. The bed of the ravine was filled with pretty pebbles. There he met a beautiful man, who was no other than the Sun, who had descended from the sky. He had crossed the water of the creek that runs through the ravine to disappear. When the young man saw the stranger from a distance, he thought, "He seems to be looking for me." He went nearer; and when they met, the Sun said, "I am the one to whom you are praying all the time, and I come to help you. Now be happy. When you open your mouth and speak to me, I know your thoughts at once. I help those who address themselves to me. Take this." With these words he handed the young man a switch curved in the shape of a man. The Sun was carrying it under his arm, the point of the switch directed downward. "Fold your arms and hold this switch to your chest, and then return to the village. When you approach any one, hide the switch under your arm. You will find a person who wears a nose-ornament of beautiful green color. Then you must try to hit the ornament with this switch, and throw it to your right side."

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539 He walked on, and after a while he noticed a man sitting at a distance.
756 Then he hid the switch under his arm. When he came near, he saw that
776 the man were a large green moss-ring. He hit it with his switch, and threw it to the right-hand side. Then the man said, "You have attained me as your supernatural helper. Your name shall be S'a'tcems [from 'a'tcems,' 'dead']. Many people have seen me, but nobody has done what you did. If you had not struck my moss-ornament, you would have died on seeing me. You shall have the power to heal the sick by the touch of your hands. Whenever a person dies and is put into a box, after the box has been placed in the burial-ground, go there. You will find me sitting on the coffin. If then you knock the moss-ring from out of my mouth, I shall leave, and the dead will revive. He will break the box, and will arise."

Then the young man felt very glad. He returned to the village, and by following the instructions of the spirit he resuscitated the dead. He was given many blankets, and the men whom he had resuscitated gave him their daughters in marriage.

756 Other shamans are initiated by c.'ent'qéts.ana. The same man who
776 gave me the record of his supposed visit to the country of the ghosts (see p. 58) told me that at another time he saw c.'ent'qéts.ana flying in the air outside of his house. She wore a ring of red cedar-bark around her neck. She was turning round all the time. Songs were coming from all parts of her body. Although she did not open her mouth, it sounded as though a great many people were singing. She gave him a song, or, as the narrator expressed it, "she threw a song into his body." At that time he was sick, suffering from a wound in his leg inflicted by an axe. He said four days after meeting the spirit he was able to walk, and since that time she has assisted him in curing diseases.

The sí'ám, is another helper of the shaman, and the means of curing diseases (see p. 58). It appears that it obtains its supernatural power from the fact that it lives in the water in which the supreme deity washes her face. Where a person sees a sí'ám, he should throw sand on it, by which means he will be able to catch it. Its skin is so hard that it cannot be pierced with a spear or knife. The person who catches it should not try to cut it with his knife, but should scratch his hand backward, and then he will find the leaf of a lady, which is the only thing that can cut its skin. He should not touch the sí'ám, with his hands, but hold it with hemlock twigs. He should wrap it in white cedar-bark and tie it up in his blanket. If it is not thus tied up, it will disappear. It must not be taken into the house, but should be placed in a small box and hidden under stones, or buried in a hole under the root of a tree. It is a most potent means of curing diseases. Sick people will buy small pieces of the s'ám, for which
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7/Boas B-5 (BBA-ca. 1892)000 NBS Bellacoola NBA

they pay high prices. The piece is thrown into water, in which it is kept for four days. Then the water is used for washing the body. If a healthy person uses this water, he will live to an old age. Sick persons chew the white cedar-bark in which it is wrapped up, in order to regain health. They must not swallow the cedar-bark, but only the saliva that gathers in their mouths. A person who has chewed the cedar-bark becomes invulnerable. The eye of the s'ûsu, is described as about a foot in diameter, and as transparent as rock crystal. 756 776 [755]

Tsû'lsu,'ŭ is the spirit who protects the mountain-goat hunter. He himself is invisible; but great hunters sometimes see his hat, his moccasins, or his mountain staff moving about. The following tradition describes some of his characteristics:— 776 539

The Raven and the Lynx lived in one house, each occupying one side. Early in the morning the Raven went out to catch salmon with the harpoon. He was very successful, and carried the fish home. Tsû'lsu,'ŭ watched the Raven, who, when he arrived at the house, roasted his salmon. The children of the Lynx were sitting near by, and looking at the Raven while he was roasting the fish. They wished to participate in the meal, but he did not give them anything. Then the children were very sad. Now the Lynx made up his mind to make arrows and to go hunting mountain-goat. He went out and cut some wood for his arrows; then he told his wife to make a quiver, which he called Ts'i'lapalu. She did so, and wove a quiver of cedar-bark. The Lynx was quite impatient for the sun to rise, so eager was he to start hunting. Early in the morning he arose and ascended the mountain. When he reached the limit of the trees, he sat down on a flat rock and looked for goats. Then he saw the staff of a man who was coming down the mountain. He did not see the person himself. He thought, "Who is that? Who may be hunting here?" The stick approached him; and when it came near, he saw Tsû'lsu,'ŭ, who wore a large hat. His hat was named Q'pin (that means a "heaven mountain-cap"). Tsû'lsu,'ŭ reached the Lynx, and sat down opposite him. Neither spoke a word. After a while Tsû'lsu,'ŭ arose, took the arrows of the Lynx, and said, "How beautiful these arrows are!" He took up one after another until he had looked at all the four arrows of the Lynx. Then he asked, "Who made these arrows?" The Lynx did not reply. Tsû'lsu,'ŭ asked again, "Who made these arrows?" Then Lynx replied, "Tsû'lsu,'ŭ made my arrows." Then Tsû'lsu,'ŭ was very much pleased, and said, "Is he the one who made your arrows?"—"Certainly!" replied Lynx. Then Tsû'lsu,'ŭ took his arrows and threw one after another down the mountain, and said to the Lynx, "Now go down the mountain and look at your arrows. If you spoke the truth, every

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
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to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the ELAXŌ'LA dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark. Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the S'Ā'LPSTA (fig. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that of HaxbakuālanuXsi'wae of the Kwakiutl. Some ELAXŌ'LA do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The ELAXŌ'LA has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

Fig. 200.
MASK OF THE S'Ā'LPSTA.
Bellacoola.
Cat. No. 18808, U. S. N. M.
Collected by F. Boas.

The Ō'LEX (the laugher) and the dā'tia (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The Ō'LEX "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The dā'tia carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The Ō'LEX and the dā'tia, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

If a person transgresses the laws of the kū'siut, for instance, when the ELAXŌ'LA gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the substitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around

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the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender, he will fall sick. Blood is believed to collect in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the kū'siut are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklace of red cedar bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others, the thunder bird and his servant, ALxulā'tEnum (who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and carries a staff with red and blue spiral lines), appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Xē'mtsioa and his brothers and his sisters; Masmasalā'nix and his fellows, the raven and the nusxē'mta, and many others.[1]

Fig. 201.
HEADDRESS OF ÔLALA'.
Haida.
Cat. No. [illegible], U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

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THE TSIMSHIAN, NISQA', HAIDA, AND TLINGIT.

The tribes of this group learned the ceremonial avowedly from the Hē'iltsuq. Although I have not witnessed any part of their ceremonials, the descriptions which I received bring out with sufficient clearness its similarities to the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl. The ceremonials seem to be almost identical among all these tribes. It is most complete amor g the southwestern Tsimshian tribes, particularly the G-itxē'LA, but has been adopted by all the tribes of the coast. It is said that it reached the Haida not more than a hundred years ago.

I will tell here what I learned from the Nisqa'. They have six societies, which rank in the following order: The sEmhalai't, mēiLa', lōLE'm, ôlala', nanōstā't, hōnana'L, the last being the highest. The sEmhalai't is really not confined to the winter ceremonial, but is obtained when a person acquires the first guardian spirit of his clan and performs the ceremony belonging to this event. The tradition of the origin of these ceremonies localizes the events at Bellabella, and it

[1] See "Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas," page 241, by F. Boas.

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wrapped up in a specific object it follows that the luck is transmissible; in fact, one of the chief advantages to the man who owns some valuable object is the wealth which he derives from selling a small portion of it. 777 787 * [432]

The Bella Coola term for supernatural good luck is *siye*, meaning, "What is Good." This can come from any being though it is most frequently obtained either from a *mātsqus* or a *sisiutl*. The former resembles a toad of enormous size, with a blazing fire-like glow in its throat; the latter is a double-headed salmon or snake that can travel on land. The person who succeeds in killing one of these creatures can use the carcass as a lure to wealth, if he knows the proper means. The portion must be wrapped in an article that has been in close contact with the slayer, such as a piece of his soiled clothing. This must be kept carefully hidden for one year in a cranny to which no rain can penetrate, and after that it can be used as bait. There is equal potency in a stick or other object which has come in contact with the beast. Great danger is attached to the sight of a *mātsqus* or a *sisiutl*, since death usually follows any incorrect attempt to gain wealth from either. The person who sees one of these creatures feels no ill effects until he draws near a fire, when his stomach bursts. All the Bella Coola agree that if a man has been close to one he can be saved by the use of certain medicines, but the following stories show that there is no clear-cut opinion as to which are the best. In fact, most families have knowledge of a specific cure which they regard as the most efficacious. [776] [776] [761] [757]

The opportunity to obtain supernatural good luck does not come solely to unfortunate individuals; indeed the Bella Coola state that it is fortuitous. It appears, however, that usually the person who is thus favoured is one who has practised ceremonial chastity, or is, through some other means, in a state of cleanliness pleasing to the supernatural. At any rate the danger of seeing such creatures is less to a man who is in a pure condition than to any other. Further, in most cases they are apt to appear to a person whose ancestors have seen one. [785]

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These become lilica (of the species known as *lälkänelp* or *walilikwätsälätsälätsäl

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CHAPTER XI

MEDICINE, MAGIC, TABOO[1]

Introductory — Causative Medicines — Preventive and Curative Medicines — Sorcerers — Taboos — Ritual Acts — Miscellaneous Beliefs

Introductory

THE beliefs described in the last chapter are essentially religious since they display an attitude of respect and often of propitiation to supernatural powers having greater strength than human beings. This is self-evident in the earlier sections and, though less noticeable, is present also in ideas concerning shamans since these men have themselves acquired ability placing them on a plane slightly removed from that of their fellows. Theoretically, it seems as if a clear division might be drawn between the concepts just recorded, and others of a magical nature in which, although the element of contact with the supernatural is present, yet the end desired is obtained by the mere performance of an action. To the Bella Coola there is a slight overlap between the two types. For example, the acquisition of an object from which supernatural good fortune may be secured is religious, but its use is virtually magical since once obtained, neither supplication nor further favours are necessary. Nevertheless, it is possible to separate most magical beliefs from most religious ones, though it must be emphasized that the cleavage is less distinct to the native than it appears to the white man.

If it is difficult to find a clear dividing-line between religion and magic, it is impossible to draw one between the latter and

[1] The late Harlan I. Smith has dealt with certain aspects of the subjects treated in this chapter in two articles: "Sympathetic Magic and Witchcraft among the Bella-coola" (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 27, no. 1, Jan.-March, 1925, pp. 116-121) and "Materia Medica of the Bella Coola and Neighbouring Tribes of British Columbia" (National Museum of Canada, Annual Report for 1927, Bulletin 56, pp. 47-68).

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757 the science of medicine. The Bella Coola are familiar with
789 many acts which cause definite results. To place a new-born girl in contact with the representation of a beautiful woman
[856] so that she may grow up to be like her, seems false science,
[752] magic, to the white man; whereas the application of splints and gum to a fractured limb is a medical treatment, crude perhaps, but definitely scientific. The two are identical to the Bella Coola. They do not ask *why* or *how* a result follows, they merely know that it *does*. Such lore has been handed down from time immemorial; it is steeped in the sanctity of antiquity and hallowed by the knowledge that their ancestors have done the same for generations. All such acts may be described as "medicines," for so they appear to those who practise them. To separate them into magical and scientific categories would misrepresent the native point of view; the only division that can be made is between those that cause, and those that prevent or cure. Even in this there is some overlap. A medicine that cures a child from crying likewise causes him to be placid and amiable; so, too, medicines of a preventive nature comprise elements of both types. The principle governing most of these is sympathetic magic, a concept which, if put in words to the Bella Coola, would be regarded as logical and scientific. The second important class of medi-
[755] cines consists of objects, either herbal or derived from the human body, which are believed to have such abundant power that they are effective against ailments of supernatural origin, or against supernatural beings themselves. Some of these have already been mentioned in connection with the attitude of the Bella Coola towards these beings of the earth, sky, and water.

754 Most curative medicines are used by the practitioner on himself; most causative, on someone else. The latter are either
755 social or anti-social, depending upon whether the result is
789 benevolent or malevolent. Shamans frequently use magical means in curing the sick and are highly regarded by the community, but medicines of the same kind may be used to kill

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has gone contrary to something about which there has been universal agreement for generations. 771 754

To understand Bella Coola medicines it is, therefore, necessary to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practise them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to those effecting death, but is equally true with regard to all medicines, whether curative or causative. 828 [784] [755]

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of medicines. Knowledge of most remedies has been handed down for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type can be practised by any member of the group to which it belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment, but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction that only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship of some medicines, but these are indicated whenever possible. 424 755 757 [614] [465] [614] [425]

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842 *To Cause Birth of a Child of the Desired Sex*
789 If a boy is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her a miniature bow and arrows on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

If a girl is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her miniature tools used for beating cedar-bark on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

843 *To Cause Easy Delivery* (two means)
789 (1) The pregnant woman must boil stalks of stonecrop in water and drink freely of the decoction.

(2) A variant of the medicine already described can be applied during pregnancy. Strike the back of the woman with one or more porcupine embryos. The thrower must remain in concealment and the woman to be benefited must be unaware of what is about to be done.

853 *To Cause Increased Flow of Milk*
757 Heat pods of *Sedum Spathulifolium* (Hook) and apply them as a poultice to the breasts of the nursing mother.

MISCELLANEOUS MEDICINES USED BY ADULTS

461 *To Cause Energy*
789 Take the paw of a freshly killed beaver in one hand and pat it with the other, saying:
825 "Please, may I be like you."

This ensures that the man or woman will always work hard, like a beaver.

789 *To Cause Long Life*
Pick up a toad, spit on it four times, saying:
825 "May I be strong like you," and put it down carefully.
886 The basis of this medicine is the belief that toads are capable of resisting greater pressure than other animals. For example, if one is caught in an olachen net, it survives the crushing weight of fish and water and is alive when the net is emptied, though all other living animals so ensnared are killed.

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gles, bites him between the eyes or at the back of the neck so that a little blood flows. 865 861

"If you don't keep quiet," he says to the screaming child, "I shall bite you all over your head."

This medicine acts in two ways: (1) The offender is so frightened that he is likely to reform; (2) Contact with a man of good disposition imparts the same to him. A tuft of mountain goat wool is inserted into the wound to make it heal properly.

To Cure Disobedience and Laziness 461

Parents whose child exhibits these bad qualities also ask help of a man of good character. If he accepts the task, he provides himself with a bone needle and waits until he hears the child refuse to perform some simple task. Then, with a rush, he throws the offender on his stomach and supposits the needle until the blood flows freely. He then releases the frightened child who usually slinks away to bed for the rest of the day. When the bleeding has ceased, the quiet person cuts chips from the canoe of an energetic man and rubs them on the wound, saying: 865 861

"Please, may you be like the canoe, always active and doing whatever is expected of you."

An old Kimsquit man recalled vividly the application of this medicine to him when he refused to fetch water for his mother. He was about eleven years of age at the time and asserted that it had greatly improved his behaviour.

MEDICINES FOR ORDINARY DISEASES

For Sprains and Bruises 752

Pound stalks of false hellebore, mix with hemlock gum, and bind on the injured spot as a poultice.

For Swollen Neck

Cut off small pieces of a thoroughly smoked bear's heart, pound in water, and drink the mixture. 757

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757 *For Head-ache*

Tie around the forehead a piece of dyed cedar-bark, unsyed cedar-bark, or other similar material. No herbal remedy is known.

For Eye Trouble

Moisten the finger with saliva and rub the eyes with it.

For Baldness (two means)

(1) Boil cottonwood buds in water, causing the gum to exude. Skim this from the surface, mix with fresh olachen grease or oil obtained from sockeye salmon, and rub on the scalp.

(2) Rub on the scalp oil from olachen, dog-fish, or any kind of salmon. The best is grease from the liver (?) of a dog-fish, obtained by hanging the organ before a fire and collecting the drops which exude.

For Skin Irritation

Rub dog-fish liver oil on the rash or itching part.

755 828 *For Excessive Dreaming and Nightmares* (two means)

(1) Burn dried salmon beneath the bed of the person afflicted.

(2) Lie in a canoe which has been chiselled out to the right thickness but has not been widened and hardened by smoke. A mat is laid across for this purpose and the smoke directed beneath, thoroughly fumigating anyone lying within. An informant was so treated as a young man when he was greatly troubled by nightmares in which he used to see a huge head which so terrified him that he would leave his bed to rush around the house shrieking and tearing his hair. This medicine cured his trouble.

757 *For Canker*

Pound up a snail and rub on the sore spot within the mouth.

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For Cold 757

Snuff dried urine such as is found around the rims of unemptied chamber pots. *Kāmai·ts* taught the ancestors of the Bella Coola that this was good for colds. [773]

For Sore Throat

Boil cottonwood buds in dog-fish oil and drink about a teaspoonful of the decoction at intervals until cured. Dog-fish oil, being a necessary ingredient in many medicines, is always kept on hand for emergencies.

For Coughing

Boil roots of false hellebore in water and drink the decoction freely. It is so poisonous that the patient usually falls to the ground, spitting blood. Coughing is one of the many ailments cured by this plant.

Another remedy is used for a person whose cough causes him to spit frequently. A friend collects some of the fresh expectoration, mixes it with salmon roe, and places it where ravens are accustomed to feed. This is done four times and the patient is cured if the birds devour the mixture. 755

For Whooping-Cough

Boil cottonwood buds in water with the fat of any animal and drink frequently. 757

For Sores and Boils

Warm dried urine and rub on the part affected. Like the remedy for colds, it was *Kāmai·ts* who taught this to the ancestors of the Bella Coola. Gum or tobacco is sometimes added to the urine, and applied like a poultice. [773]

For Boils (two means)

(1) Heat human excrement thoroughly and apply to the boil, tying it in position with cloth. At intervals, add more, without removing the bottom layer and leave in position for

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757 about one week. This causes the skin to turn white and draws out the matter.

752 [177] (2) The usual remedy for boils and similar sores is cutting. There are no professional surgeons so that a patient merely requests a friend in whom he has confidence to perform the operation which is now carried out with a metal knife instead of an obsidian blade. A man frequently performs on himself and it is not uncommon to see a Bella Coola sitting nonchalantly with the blood streaming down his leg into a receptacle filled with water. Even when a boil is on the buttocks, it may be cut by sitting down on a knife, but in this case a friend is always present to state when the position is correct.

752 759 *For Ulcers and Abscesses*

A few individuals, at present two at Bella Coola and one at Kimsquit, have the necessary skill to locate and operate on ulcers of the stomach. They have no inherited prerogative, their ability is due solely to practice and good sense. If a person suffers from internal pains and believes them to be caused by an ulcer, he requests one of these men to help him. The practitioner kneads and handles the patient to locate the growth, and suggests operating if he thinks it necessary. He measures off on the blade of a knife the depth required for the incision and asks consent to make such a cut. If the sufferer considers it too deep, he may indicate a shorter distance on the knife, or he may desire a still deeper one. As soon as patient and surgeon have agreed upon the depth of the wound, the latter inserts the knife to the proper distance, twists it around, and draws it out. If he has diagnosed correctly, pus comes pouring out; the wound is drained by the insertion of an eagle quill, and in many cases the patient recovers. Several instances are remembered of too deep cutting, resulting in penetration of the intestines and death. A surgeon is always suitably rewarded for his work.

It is believed that such operations were performed before the introduction of metal knives. Whether or not this be true,

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it is certain that ones of this type took place about 1870. No information could be obtained about other surgical practices. The Bella Coola are unacquainted with either trephining or cupping, and it is most unlikely that they performed more than cutting and the setting of broken limbs. Though incisions are primarily for boils and abscesses, one may be made in case of any obstinate pain, in the belief that some foreign matter has entered the body and must be extracted. 752 [759]

For Stomach-Ache (two means) 757

(1) Peel the outer surface of red elderberry roots and chew a section until all the juice has been squeezed forth and swallowed; then spit out the tasteless bark and take a second piece. This must be continued for some time. It is dangerous to allow the liquid to remain within the stomach, so warm water must be taken as an emetic.

(2) Take five roots of the plant *ma'xwal·i*, each about one-tenth of an inch in diameter and one inch in length, grind them to powder and pour on water. Warm the mixture to body heat and drink in large quantities. This acts as an emetic and the patient feels hungry after vomiting. If cooked for a longer time, the roots provide a valuable food. [262]

This medicine is not sufficiently potent for serious attacks.

For Stomach-Ache, and also for Other Internal Pains (two means)

(1) Strip the bark from a *kāk'telp* (birch?) branch a few inches in diameter and about three feet in length, and boil for an hour in a small amount of water. Care must be taken not to boil the decoction too long or it will become poisonous. Drink about four cupfuls of the mixture. It causes the stomach to heave violently, followed by vomiting. Then drink warm water, which also acts as an emetic. Take a further potion of the medicine, then more water, and continue with alternate doses until the vomit is clear. This medicine is so powerful that a patient usually recovers by the following day.

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757 (2) Place on the surface of the skin nearest the pain hemlock gum and a human bone taken from that part of the skeleton adjacent to the seat of the discomfort.

[424] This medicine is the property of several ancestral families and can be used only by members of them.

For Stomach Trouble and Rheumatism

Scrape in the earth a hole about six inches deep and six feet in length. In the bottom deposit a large number of hot stones and cover them with a thin layer of river sand mixed with fine gravel. On these place as many herbal medicines as possible; such as nettles, devil's club bark, western dock, cottonwood leaves, green moss-like growths from water-covered stones, bark from spruce saplings, and the debris from cones eaten by squirrels. The actual ingredients vary according to season; in winter, for example, only one or two may be available. Mats are thrown over the plants for the patient to lie upon, covered by additional ones. A helper is always present to sprinkle him with water when the heat becomes too great and to rub away the sweat which pours off with a sponge of undyed cedar-bark. Instances are remembered of patients going to sleep in this type of sweat-house and being severely burnt.

For a person who is very ill, the hole is dug within the house, near the central fire, otherwise it is located at any convenient spot in the woods. This remedy is known to, and can be used by, everyone.

For Stomach Trouble and Water in the Blood

Dig a hole about three feet deep and with the same diameter. Throw hot stones in the bottom and place a rack of crossed and tied sticks across the excavation below the level of the ground. On this place medicinal herbs as described in the last remedy. The patient squats over the hole, enclosed in a tent-like shelter of mats or cedar-bark. Water is thrown on the stones and the enclosure prevents the resultant steam from escaping.

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

This type of smoke-house, which can be used by anyone, is usually built in the forest. The Bella Coola have great confidence in the use of one as a means of curing all types of internal ailments, especially from the bad effects of water which is believed to have entered the blood. In former years many patients were blinded by the steam affecting their eyes, so that a recent improvement has been the construction of a door-like opening through which the head projects. Many stories are told of people being cured in this way after a white doctor had abandoned hope. 757

No Bella Coola had heard of a smoke-house large enough to contain more than a single individual, and a question whether they were ever used as meeting-places was regarded as highly humorous and absurd. [343]

For Ailments of the Heart

The patient must eat some of his own excrement mixed with certain herbs, of which it was impossible to learn the species. This remedy can be used only by the members of certain ancestral families. [424]

For the Blood

The following medicine is the property of certain families; consequently, anyone else who wishes to use it must obtain the services of an owner to apply it, and must recompense him for so doing. [424]

The man who is to apply the remedy locates a pond where water-lilies are growing and then searches for four spruce saplings growing in line, approximately east to west. He cuts four branches from the east side of each tree and lays these beside the pond with a small space between each bunch. Then he pulls up some lily roots, lays them in the three gaps between the boughs, and wraps the whole into a bundle with a cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark which he winds around, clock-wise. On returning home, the practitioner must not carry his burden through the door but

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-4924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

757 throw it in through the smoke-vent. He cuts the roots into thin slices which are boiled in water for four days. The patient drinks several cupfuls of the decoction which never fail to benefit him.

[776] [773] The basis of this medicine is the belief, already described, that when a *nsiuti* swims through a pond it frequently sheds some of its scales which become water-lilies. They are, therefore, potent in themselves and are of greatest benefit to one who has practised ceremonial chastity. The patient must observe several taboos for forty days after treatment: He must hold no sexual intercourse; must eat neither salmon nor meat that has not been smoked; must eat nothing cooked either by a menstruating woman or by one who has lost her husband within a year; and must not approach a girl during the year following puberty. The breaking of one of these taboos causes [761] his death, and the man who has administered the medicine watches the conduct of his patient with great care.

755 *For Debility* (two means)

(1) Drink strong, stale urine, mixed with red rock-paint ground fine.

Knowledge of this medicine has been handed down for [424] generations in certain familes. It is said to be most unpleasant to take.

(2) The following medicine, said to be the most potent known to the Bella Coola, is used for a person who has long been feeble, especially if he has been spitting blood. It is the [424] property of several ancestral families, and must be administered by an elderly male member of one of them.

The owner of the remedy obtains a dry, clean skull, places within it a little water which he brings to a boil with hot pebbles and adds a small quantity of mountain goat marrow. The patient is given a dry stick, about three feet in length, from which the pith has been extracted to make a tube. With this he sucks four times, swallowing a little of the decoction, while the practitioner says to the skull:

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

"Please remedy the invalid." 755

This is virtually a prayer, addressed to the deceased owner of the skull, and accordingly verges on appeal to the dead. None the less, there is no concept of active supplication to any individual ghost, but rather of acquiring aid by the use of a supernatural object.

For one year after this treatment, sexual intercourse is forbidden to both practitioner and patient. The latter, though not the former, dies if either fails to observe this taboo. The use of an old man to apply the medicine is to lessen danger from this source. The owner of this remedy is always liberally rewarded and some old men carefully preserve a skull under a rock-ledge in order to be ready if called upon. [785] [761]

For Smallpox

Pick up a toad, and tear off its head with the teeth, swallowing some of the blood. 757

This is an ancient remedy for some other ailment which was tried as a last resort during the smallpox epidemic. One man who succeeded in practising it on four successive days was cured of the dread disease.

For Consumption

Boil leaves and stems of a certain fleshy plant (not identified) in water and drink the decoction. The potency of the medicine increases accordingly to the number of plants used.

This medicine was a Nootka Indian's hereditary cure for a cough which was found to be effective for consumption as well. The malady was so prevalent on the coast in the last century that it seemed as if the inhabitants were doomed; this remedy was allegedly discovered at that time and knowledge of it spread rapidly from tribe to tribe, saving the lives of hundreds. The Bella Coola recognize that this was a private medicine, but have ceased to regard it as such and have no hesitation in applying it whenever required. [177] [164]

Schultzwalth E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
NEA Bellacoola NEA

755 *For Insanity*

177 The Bella Coola have no medicine for this disease, although they are familiar with one used by the Kwakiutl, which was applied not long ago to a Rivers Inlet youth by two old women, one from Newitte and the other from *Djoldänux*. They exhumed a recently buried corpse, took a small piece of skin from the left side of the base of the neck, left this for twenty-four hours in a small stream, and then allowed it to steep for another twenty-four hours in a cup filled with water. This liquid was drunk by the patient who immediately recovered his sanity. He was next given water in which had been boiled needles from the yellow cedar; this strengthened him and prevented a relapse. The patient, now cured, observed continence for a year; failure to obey this injunction would have caused his death.

[785] [761]

The Bella Coola assume that this remedy is the property of Kwakiutl ancestral families who alone are entitled to use it. The practitioners are always suitably recompensed and do not undertake the treatment except at the request of one of the patient's relatives. Kwakjutl experts have been brought to Bella Coola several times within recent years to cure cases of insanity, but great secrecy is maintained concerning the methods employed. They are considered to be effective, in proof of which the attention of the writer was directed to two sane men who were said to have been raving lunatics before undergoing a Kwakiutl treatment. It is probable that the individuals had been subject to periodic fits of insanity and that a temporary improvement was regarded as a definite cure.

757 *For Venereal Disease* (four means)

(1) Boil scrapings of false hellebore roots in water for a long time and drink the decoction. If it is too strong, add more water.

(2) Pound *sha'tcalx*, a kind of fungus, in water and drink the brew.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1918
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(3) Pound bark and wood of the black hawthorn in water and drink the brew. 757

(4) The following medicine must be prepared by the patient himself. It is not generally known, but the woman from whom the information was obtained claimed that it had been used with success by her brother.

Obtain a human bone, or a piece of a coffin, and burn it secretly in the forest at some distance from the village. Mix the ashes with dog-fish oil. After preparing the medicine the patient must remain alone in the woods for four days. He can then return home and rub the mixture on his genital organs to reduce the swelling. The sufferer must remain continent for one year or the disease will return with increased malignancy.

It was impossible to learn which types of venereal disease are believed to be curable by these medicines. Nor could definite information be obtained concerning the length of time that the Bella Coola have suffered from these maladies. Most of the old people affirmed that they were unknown before the coming of the white man, although one elderly woman was emphatic in stating that they had experienced them for many generations. 164

For Difficult Delivery (three means) 757

(1) The usual remedy, which has been described already, is to apply hot ashes to the woman's feet as soon as the pangs of delivery are felt. 845

(2) If delivery has been delayed beyond the usual time, it can be accelerated by giving the woman a morsel of the testicle of a beaver mixed with water. This causes the infant to be born at once.

(3) In case of extremely protracted delivery, a husband can help his wife by urinating upon her head.

For Breast Trouble 757

The cure for a pain in a woman's breast is to make a deep incision so that the blood flows freely.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Cannibal Dance]

each house in succession, borrowing filled chamber vessels. 575* Five or six men are waiting for X with these, and as he enters 796* his house, they pour urine over him. Thus restored to partial sanity, he cries out in a different tone of voice, and at once visits every house. The *kukusiut* are still with him, but need not guard him as closely since he is now less liable to frenzy. The uninitiated are greatly relieved at this removal of peril from among them. Later in the day *kukusiut* go to the different houses, asking for choice salmon-grease with which the Cannibal will later be fed. The giving of the first food to X, the later sending aloft of his call, and the restrictions which he observes for the rest of the winter do not differ from those described for other Cannibals.

Snuuq's patron is a *snuuq* of the Mountain which became [776] petrified in the beginning of time. At his repository there is a [778] spring beneath a large boulder. Uninitiated persons passing the spot are often terrified by hearing the growling of a Cannibal from beneath the stone. It is in this place that persons [757] suffering from virulent skin disease are washed by X, as described in a previous chapter.

Few particulars could be learnt of the rite as carried out by *Qolliaohmx*, though it is said to resemble the one just described [424] in every respect. The prerogative was obtained in a vision of [787] one of the Cannibal's early ancestors, who located the reposi- [778] tory of the name beneath a large, flat stone, directly in the old trail up the valley. When anyone treads on it, reverberation is heard. The writer was a spectator when the present 575* *Qolliaohmx* gave his dance in January, 1924, but the rite was 796* performed in such a perfunctory manner that little could be 178 learnt from it. The Cannibal wore two bands of dyed cedar-bark on his left forearm, under one of which was a container of red paint. Uttering his cry of *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, and looking around with a wild air, he frequently buried his face in his arm, between the bands. The red paint made a realistic representation of blood, especially as it dropped with red smudges on the floor. On this occasion, the dancer appeared

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Scratch Dance]

his call, and when this has been settled, he informs those *kukusiut* whom he plans to honour by scratching. Since each will have to be recompensed for allowing X to display his prerogative, their number depends on X's wealth. Early in the morning of the day chosen, which is always immediately after the *nebusam* of some other *kusiut*, the call comes, and X gives a low hoot. At once he starts wildly rushing around and scratching, so that the uninitiated are only too willing to flee from his terrifying presence. Throughout the day X is escorted by a number of *kukusiut* to every house, where he rages around the fire, throwing his arms to and fro in an infuriated manner, sometimes scratching one of his fellows, but more often merely acting as if he desired to do so. The uninitiated hide within the bedrooms, greatly impressed by what they see if they dare to look forth. 575* 796* [424]

Towards evening the *kukusiut* are summoned to X's house, where a dramatic representation, into which the members fully enter, is made of binding him as if he were a wild animal or a lunatic. A rope is stretched around the fire, held by the *kukusiut*, with X inside. He pretends to be trying to escape, while the rope-holders bend down and move around to hold him within their bonds. Meanwhile a shaman, or some senior *kusiut*, leads a frenzied beating of sticks which is four times repeated, to cure the madness. A *kusiut* then grasps the Scratcher's face and moves his mouth four times, to make sure that his jaws can move properly; the meaning of this is unknown. X now takes one of the beating-sticks and sits down among the singers as if about to teach them both tune and words of a song describing his knowledge of the land above, derived from his call. For a few moments he beats sanely, and appears to speak in a rational manner, but soon he goes off in a wild frenzy of senseless pounding. *Hoip, hoip*, cry the *kukusiut* to soothe him. After this has been several times repeated, the singers announce that they have learnt X's song, though of course, they have composed one themselves in readiness for the occasion. They now sing it; the audience listens, [757] ● [533]

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

of these data refer to insects, and may be of interest to entomologists, although my spelling of Indian words is very problematical, because some of the sounds I can neither hear nor make, and I am unable to record adequately many of those that I can hear. The data here given are preliminary to a complete working over of my notes, but are believed to be nearly complete.

Insects apparently were not so well observed by the Bellacoola as were useful mammals and plants, the stinger of the bumble-bee, for instance, being supposed to be in its mouth. Few insects had names, that is, mainly those which were used or which troubled the Indians. Insects were not used for food, and honey was unknown until after the coming of the white man. The head of the gad-fly was used as a pattern in painting designs, the nest of the yellow-jacket in sympathetic magic or witchcraft, and "fly spit" was said to be good for sores. They had a story about the bumble-bee.

Among the Ulkatcho also observation of insects was weaker than that of mammals and plants, and they apparently had names for only a few insects, those which troubled them. Ant lyon pits and its method of taking prey were known. Insects were of no use to the Ulkatcho whatever. An instance was observed of an Indian amusing himself with a buzzing fly held in his mouth. They employed smudges, fish oil, gum of the cottonwood, and blossoms of cow parsnip with oil to protect themselves from mosquitoes, black flies and no-see-ums, and smoke to protect foods from flies.

The Ant lyon, among the Ulkatcho, is called Kinnelkats. It is said to be numerous at Ulkatcho, but that it was useless and that there was no story about it. My informant voluntarily showed me the pits made by the larvae of this insect and, catching ants for the purpose, demonstrated its well-known method of taking its prey.

The grasshopper (*Orthoptera*), that makes a noise by rubbing its wings together when it flies, was called Telcus, among the Ulkatcho.

"Fly spit," that is the material surrounding a nymph of a spittle insect, also known as a frog hopper (*Cercopidae*), is said

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

B 825 757 by some old Bellacoola men to be good for sores, but my informant did not believe it.

C 825 Among the Ulkatcho it is numerous, but was not used, not even as a medicine.

B 825 A bumble-bee, identified as *Bombus appositus* Cresson, by Dr. H. J. Franklin, among the Bellacoola, was called Tikquanats or the large Skotl, Skotl being the name of three kinds of insects, a bumble-bee, a yellow jacket, and a hornet. It was not taken nor used, and was said to do no harm to people. My informant did not know whether it had a house or not. Neither did he know that it made honey until told so by white men. They say the bee took one of the prickers of the swamp gooseberry for a stinger, but my informant said he did not believe this. He thought it had a sting in its mouth, not in its tail, until I showed him. The Bellacoola have a story that a being considered by a little girl to be a man, but by an elder sister to be a bumble-bee, was once seen coming from the noonday sun. The little girl became blind, B [773] but her eyes appeared to be all right. Many thought she was made blind by too much sunlight when she looked at the man who was a bumble-bee.

C 825 226 Among the Ulkatcho, this bumble-bee was called Whultocho, *Whulto* being the name of a yellow jacket, and *cho* meaning large. *Whus* or *Whis* means pricker. The bumble-bee was not used as fish bait.

B 825 An insect, probably the hornet, is called Slow lowstl, by the Bellacoola, who say it has a little white on the tail and makes a small nest in a tree in July.

The yellow jacket among the Bellacoola was called Quolalaits (Clolaclaylaits) (Clolaclaylaits skotl) while all three kinds of insects, the bumble-bee, the yellow jacket and the hornet, were called Skotl. The yellow jacket was known to make a nest. The nest was used in sympathetic magic or witchcraft as follows: When one wished to cause the child of one's enemy to grow up to B be a quarrelsome person, the nest of the yellow-jacket was burned [754] and the ashes rubbed on the child. When the child grew up he or she would fight with everyone.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

MATERIA MEDICA OF THE BELLA COOLA AND NEIGHBOURING TRIBES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

By Harlan I. Smith

INTRODUCTION

This paper describes the materia medica of four tribes of British Columbia, the Bella Coola of Bella Coola valley, the Gitksan of Skeena river, the Carrier who live in the territory behind both of these tribes, and the Sikani of the headwaters of Peace river. Among the Bella Coola the medicines are largely family possessions known to a few individuals only, so that two families may have different remedies for the same specific complaint; but this is not the case among the other tribes. Everywhere magical practices enter largely into the treatment of disease, but are not touched upon in this report. It was impossible for the Indians to diagnose many of their maladies, so that the identifications given here are in many cases problematical.

Most of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1920-22, by Joshua Moody, apparently a full-blood Bella Coola Indian, born about 1868. As he did not speak English he gave the data in Chinook jargon, which has been interpreted and arranged in logical order. Joshua is an Indian scientist with great knowledge of the local plants and animals. He remembers when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in Bella Coola valley, and when the inhabitants saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently he can recall the old Bella Coola material culture before it was much affected by European ideas.

Some of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in 1922-23 by the late Captain Schooner, also, apparently, a full-blood, born about 1848, who used the Chinook jargon. Alec Davis, Alexander Clelaman, Louie Hall, and other Bella Coola Indians likewise gave information and corroboration.

Most of the information relating to the Southern Carrier Indians of Ulkatcho was secured during 1920-1922 from Charlie West, alias Pretty Charlie or Handsome Charlie, a native of that place, born about 1871. Charlie used the peculiar form of broken or pidgeon English commonly employed for communication between the whites and the Carrier and Chilcotin Indians of this region.

The information about the Sikani and the Northern Carriers of Hagwelget is from stray field notes kindly supplied by Mr. D. Jenness.

The information relating to the Gitksan was secured in 1925-26 from the late John Fowler and Abraham Fowler of Kitwanga, Luke Fowler and Bob Robinson of Hazelton, with additions and corroboration from a few others, all old Gitksan Indians, apparently full-blood. The information was secured mainly in English, although Abraham Fowler used also the Chinook jargon.

The method the writer employed was to submit specimens of the plants to his informants and question them concerning all their uses. Of the information thus obtained only the medicinal portion has been presented here. The plants were later identified by Mr. M. O. Malte, of the National Museum, Ottawa.

B 121 757 [101] [131] B [429] B 115 [191] C 115 C [198] S [127] T 115 T [191] B C T S 124 126

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE 15

B
C

POLYPODIACEAE, FERN FAMILY

137
757

Polypodium vulgare L., POLYPODY, PARASITIC SWORD FERN

Bella Coola: Roots—sometimes mixed with leaves of the red cedar (*Thuja plicata* Donn) or with other medicinal roots which the informant had forgotten—boiled, and the warm decoction taken internally for pains in the stomach, but not for vomiting or diarrhoea. Neither an emetic nor a purgative.

Roots chewed for swollen sore throat.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Asplenium cyclosorum Rupr., LADY FERN

Bella Coola: Little roots cleaned off, from five to ten centres, mixed at times with roots or branches of the currant (*Ribes laxiflorum* Pursh. var.), boiled strongly, but for a short time only, and the decoction used as a wash for sore eyes.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

B
[752]
[262]

Aspidium spinulosum Sw., SHIELD FERN

Bella Coola: Root eaten raw to neutralise poisoning from eating several kinds of shell-fish in the early part of the summer.

C
137
757

Fern, species uncertain

Northern Carrier: Root boiled and the decoction taken internally for worms.

Gitksan: The large, round, green root-stock, but not the rootlets, mashed with bark of balsam fir (*Abies grandis* Lindl.) and devil's club (*Fatsia horrida* Sm. B. and H.), a little gum of scrub pine (*Pinus contorta* Dougl.) or tideland spruce (*Picea sitchensis* Carr), and root of skunk cabbage (*Lysichiton kamtschatcense* Schott), warmed a little, and applied to a boil or ulcer, which it brought to a head. Also used for rheumatism, and as a plaster on the chest for hemorrhage of the lungs.

C

LYCOPODIACEAE, CLUB MOSS FAMILY

137
757

Lycopodium clavatum L., COMMON CLUB MOSS

Southern Carrier: Inserted in the nose to cause bleeding and cure headache.

TAXACEAE, YEW FAMILY

B
137
757

Taxus brevifolia Nutt., YEW

Bella Coola: Branches with leaves boiled, and the decoction taken internally for the lungs. Neither a purgative nor an emetic.

S: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

CONIFERAE, PINE FAMILY

Juniperus communis L., JUNIPER

B
C
137
757

Bella Coola: Roots, leaves, branches, and bark boiled, and the decoction taken internally as often as desired for many ailments, including a cough from the lungs, and pain in the stomach. Neither a purgative nor an emetic.

Southern Carrier: Branches boiled, and the vapour inhaled for headache and pain in the chest.

Northern Carrier: Tips boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative, also for a cough.

Juniperus sp.

B
J
137
757

Gitksan: Entire plant, including roots and berries, boiled for a day, and the decoction, when cool, taken internally for many ailments, including hemorrhage and kidney trouble. A purgative and diuretic.

Thuja plicata Donn, RED CEDAR

Bella Coola: Very soft bark used to bind up wounds, and to cover poultices of false bugbane (*Trautvetteria grandis* Nutt.) and of tall buttercup (*Ranunculus acris* L.).

Leaves, sometimes with the gum-coated cones, boiled, and the hot decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach. Neither an emetic nor a purgative.

Leaves powdered by pounding, mixed with a little cold water and taken internally for pain in the stomach, also externally for coughs and internal pains, as heart trouble, rheumatism, swollen neck, and pain in the stomach. *See also* Polypody, page 48.

Gitksan: Not used.

Chamaecyparis nootkatensis (Lamb) Spach, YELLOW CYPRESS, YELLOW CEDAR

B
137
757

Bella Coola: A little soft bark used to cover poultices of false bugbane (*Trautvetteria grandis* Nutt.) and of tall buttercup (*Ranunculus acris* L.).

Pinus contorta Dougl., SCRUB PINE, JACK PINE

B
[752]

Bella Coola: Gum applied to cuts.

Gum chewed and applied to broken skin.

B
[164]

Gum at the ends of branches, collected in November, December, and January, boiled and the decoction taken internally for "consumption."

Gum—like that of tideland spruce (page 51) and western hemlock (page 51)—mixed with the baked stems and leaves, or the dried and pulverized bulb, of false hellebore (page 53), and applied as a poultice (sometimes spread on red cedar bark) to the chest for heart trouble, and to the arms for rheumatism. Burned the skin within two or three days, but was sometimes left on as long as two weeks.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14
Chilcotin NE8

Ca
T
5
137
757

Southern Carrier: New shoots boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach. Resembled the decoction made from the bark of the aspen (page 54), or from the new shoots and bark of the tideland spruce (page 51), but the last-mentioned considered most efficacious.

Northern Carrier: Needle tips mixed with large needle tips of the "British Columbia pine" (*Pinus* sp.?), the inside bark of the wild gooseberry (*Ribes* sp.?), bark of the red-osier dogwood (*Cornus stolonifera* Michx.), the inside pulp of raspberry canes (*Rubus* sp.), stems of the "bearberry" (?black twin-berry, *Lonicera involucrata* Banks?), and the inner bark of the wild rose (*Rosa* sp.), placed in a vessel holding four gallons of water, boiled down to a thick decoction, strained, and bottled. About two tablespoonfuls taken, at sunrise and sunset, for constitutional weakness or paralysis, or if the body were covered with sores.

Gum obtained by heating a green piece of pine (sp.?) painted on the eye to remove white scum and to cure snow-blindness.

T

Sikani: Pitch chewed and the saliva swallowed for a cough.

[912]
[362]

Gitksan: Inner bark (scraped from the trunk with a bone scraper after the outer bark had been removed) eaten both for food and as a blood purifier. Purged the body in from half an hour to an hour.

T
[164]

Shavings of the yellow resinous timber found after removal of the bark boiled, the decoction placed in oil, and taken internally as a purgative and diuretic for many serious ailments, including gonorrhoea. Said to produce beneficial results in "consumption."

Young needles plucked in June and eaten as a purgative and diuretic.

For use with a fern, *see* page 48.

B
Ca

Abies grandis Lindl., White Fir, Balsam Fir

137
757
[164]

Bella Coola: Bark of root or of stem boiled, and the decoction taken internally every day for tuberculosis and stomach trouble. Said to have cured many cases of tuberculosis.

Gum from bark blisters found on young trees warmed, mixed with mountain goat tallow, and taken internally for sore throat; also drawn on a hair across sore eyes.

Young, green leaves baked, mixed with fruit of skunk cabbage (*Lysichiton kamtschatcense* Schott.) gathered in October, or the buds gathered in April, split, dried on top of the house, roasted, mixed with a small quantity of slightly roasted roots of the cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.), one or two cupfuls of the gummy buds of the black cottonwood (*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.), and four or five cupfuls of fresh eulachon oil, allowed to stand one day, then boiled and kept in a box for a hair perfume. Kitimat Indians said to be more expert in its preparation.

B
[302]
[171]

Cn
[757]

Southern Carrier: Tree used for medicine, but details not obtained.
Chilcotin: Not used.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

Abies sp.

Northern Carrier: Bark boiled in water and the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

Gum used as an ointment on wounds, and especially on burns.

Sikani: Gum applied to wounds.

Gitksan: Juicy inner bark, scraped from the trunk of the tree, after removal of the outer bark, taken internally for constipation.

Gum from the bark blisters taken internally as a purgative and diuretic for "consumption," gonorrhoea, and many other serious ailments. Applied externally to cuts and sores, especially the sores of gonorrhoea.

The young cones, obtainable in August, sliced across, mashed, and used for the same purposes as the gum from the bark blisters.

See also fern, page 48.

C T S 137 757 S [152] T [164]

Pseudotsuga taxifolia Britt., Douglas Fir

Bella Coola: Gum boiled and taken internally, while warm, as a diuretic for gonorrhoea.

Gum, spread on red cedar bark, applied to cuts. (One informant said that although gum of scrub pine (*see* page 49), hemlock (*see* page 51), and tideland spruce (*see* page 51) were good, Douglas fir gum made cuts worse.)

Gum mixed with dogfish (shark) oil or, if that were not available, eulachon oil, taken, two spoonfuls at a time, with warm water, as an emetic and purgative for colds, rheumatism, gonorrhoea, constipation, intestinal pains, and diarrhoea.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

B C T 137 757 B [164] [152] B [237]

Tsuga heterophylla (Raf.) Sarg., Western Hemlock, and **Tsuga Mertensiana** Carr, Mountain Hemlock

Bella Coola: Leaves chewed and applied to burns.
See also scrub pine (page 49).

Gum warmed and applied to cuts. Not boiled for a diuretic for gonorrhoea.

Burning twigs applied to the skin for various internal ailments.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

B [152]

Picea sitchensis Carr., Tideland Spruce

Bella Coola: Tips of small, but not of large, spruces mixed with blue currant (*Ribes bracteosum* Dougl.), young juneberry (*Amelanchier florida* Lindl.), and crushed branches (leaves and stems) of garden snowberry (*Symphoricarpus racemosa* Michx.), boiled and taken internally for gonorrhoea.

Sap from the peeled trunk taken in doses of from half a cup to a cupful as a laxative from May to August.

B 137 757

B
137
757

Ripe cones boiled, and the decoction taken internally for a pain. Neither an emetic nor a laxative. A bed consisting of a sack of ripe cones, placed on top of hot stones, used by rheumatics. Cones also burned to fumigate rheumatics.

A piece of the bark 5 feet long by 2 feet wide used as a mat in a hot bath for rheumatism. Many stones were heated, a little sand strewn over them, the bark spread above with the inside uppermost, and the patient, naked, lay on the bark, covering himself with one or more blankets. A similar bed, but with the bark covered with a few leaves of devil's club (*Fatsia horrida* Sm. B. and H.), used for chronic backache.

B
[752]

Gum applied to small cuts, broken skin, and suppurating sores.

Branches used to whip a burned arm or leg until the blood came.

Gum boiled and taken internally while hot as a diuretic for gonorrhoea.

See also scrub pine (page 49).

For use with fern. *See* page 48.

C
T
137
757

The buds or new shoots, with the gum sometimes found around the outside when they are about half an inch long, boiled in water, and the decoction taken internally for tuberculosis.

Southern Carrier: New shoots and bark of small branches boiled for about two hours, and the decoction taken internally, one or two cupfuls at a time, for pain in the stomach, but not for vomiting, diarrhoea, or constipation. Said to effect a cure in one day, and preferred to the decoction made of scrub pine (page 49) or aspen (page 54).

Gum from new shoots and small branches, scraped out with a little stick, placed in the eyes for snow-blindness.

S
[757]

Sikani: Inside bark scraped and chewed for a cough.

Needles chewed, and the saliva applied to external sores.

Gum, obtained by splitting the tops, applied with a stick to white spots on the eye.

The "flower" boiled and the decoction taken internally for pain in the chest.

T
[237]
[164]

Gitksan: Gum extracted from the wood by boiling in water, added to eulachon oil, salmon oil, bear grease, ground-hog fat, lard, etc., and taken internally before meals for consumption.

Twigs bearing both leaves and bark boiled with entire roots of soapolallie (*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.); one cupful of the strong decoction taken internally three times a day for rheumatism.

ARACEAE, ARUM FAMILY

B
T

Lysichiton kamtschatcense Schott., Skunk Cabbage, Yellow Arum

137
757

Bella Coola: Roots used with oil as a hair tonic.

Roots boiled, and the sweet decoction taken internally for stomach trouble.

B
[302]

See also white fir (page 50).

Gitksan: Root well mashed with water and applied externally for blood poison and boils. Said to bring boils to a head. For use with a fern (see page 48).

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
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Smoke from the burning roots inhaled for bad dreams, influenza, and rheumatism (a remedy avoided by medicine men, lest it destroy their magical power). Roots themselves considered poisonous. T 137 757 [828]

Leaves used to sit or lie on when taking a sweat bath for rheumatism; also spread over the afflicted parts. [756]

Calla palustris L., WATER ARUM

Gitksan: Roots well boiled and the decoction taken internally for cleaning the eyes of the blind, for hemorrhage, for short breath, and influenza. B & T 137 757

LILIACEAE, LILY FAMILY

Clintonia uniflora Kunth., QUEENS CUP

Bella Coola: Boiled and used to wash the body. One leaf toasted and applied as a poultice to eyes or wounds.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Smilacina racemosa L., FALSE SOLOMON'S SEAL

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Roots boiled and decoction taken internally as a very strong medicine for rheumatism, sore back, and kidney trouble. A purgative. Bark and leaves useless. Roots mashed and bound on cuts. T [752]

Veratrum viride Ait., FALSE HELLEBORE

Bella Coola: Small bulbs or scrapings of large bulbs, boiled, and one cupful or less of the decoction, according to the strength of the patient, taken internally for chronic cough, gonorrhoea, constipation, pain in the stomach, and many illnesses. Two or three cupfuls acted as an emetic. Said to be poisonous if eaten raw. B & T 137 757

Small pieces of the raw root swallowed with a little cold water as an emetic for pains in the stomach. More water taken if all the pieces not vomited. Overdose considered fatal.

See also scrub pine (page 48).

Southern Carrier: Entire roots dried in the sun, and powdered by rubbing on a stone. About a dessertspoonful of the powder taken in hot water as an emetic for sickness. Too strong a decoction considered fatal.[1]

SALICACEAE, WILLOW FAMILY

Salix lasiandra Benth., WILLOW

Bella Coola: Six sticks about a foot long charred, and pulverized on a stone. A teaspoonful of the powder taken in a cupful of cold water for diarrhoea. Said to effect a cure in two or three hours. B & T 137 757

A piece of the inner bark folded once and the folded edge inserted into a knife cut; other edges then separated and flattened down, and the wound covered with eagle down. Thought to make the pus come out. Same process used to heal incisions in the abdomen made by those who tried to cure pain in the stomach. B [237] B [752]

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used. B [771]

[1] The late Dr. C. F. Newcombe informed the writer that this plant seems to be used by every tribe in whose territory it grows.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

T
S
B
C

137 **Salix Scouleriana** Hook., WILLOW
757 *Bella Coola:* Folded inner bark used like that of *Salix lasiandra* Benth. for cuts; but charcoal from the stick not used for diarrhoea.
B [752] *Southern Carrier:* Not used.
Gitksan: Not used.

Salix sp., WILLOW
Sikani: Young willow chewed and the saliva applied to external sores.
White powdery tops chewed for a cough.

Populus tremuloides Michx., ASPEN, TREMBLING POPLAR
Bella Coola: A quantity of bark from the roots boiled, and the decoction taken internally from seven to ten times a day for gonorrhoea with hemorrhage from the urethra. A very bitter decoction, said to be a good remedy that stopped the hemorrhage.
Southern Carrier: Bark used instead of tideland spruce bark (page 51) to make a decoction for pain in the stomach. Considered inferior to the spruce bark.
Sikani: Bark pulverized by pounding, moistened with water, and applied as a paste to wounds.
Bark scraped, scrapings steeped in hot water, and the decoction taken internally for worms. Caused a stool immediately.
Gitksan: Bark of roots chewed or mashed and put on cuts.
Bark alone boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative. Not an emetic.

B
C
Populus trichocarpa T. and G., BLACK COTTONWOOD
137 *Bella Coola:* Leaves, ten to fifteen years old, from the lower layers
757 lying rotting on the ground, boiled, and the decoction used as a bath, the patient sitting in it up to his neck for about two hours to cure pain in the body, not rheumatism. A hot stone added from time to time,
B and the bath repeated the next day.
[302] The buds with their resin boiled and the decoction used as a hair wash. *See also* white fir (page 50).
Half a cupful of buds, picked some time between December and March, mixed with two roots of cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.), a half cupful of buds of mountain alder (*Alnus tenuifolia* Nutt.), and a little water, mashed, and applied warm, but uncooked, as a poultice for pains in the lungs or hips like rheumatism. Said to effect a cure in two days, but harmful if left on longer.
See also western dock (page 56).
Southern Carrier: Buds with their resin boiled for one or two hours, and the decoction taken internally for coughs and lung affections.
C
[302] Resin from the buds applied to the face as a cosmetic, or, with the
[825] addition of oil, to repel mosquitoes, black flies, and gadflies.
Roots and bark not used; buds not boiled to make a hair wash.
C *Northern Carrier:* Green roots chewed to a pulp and applied to
[752] wounds to stop bleeding.
Inside bark boiled and the decoction used as an eye-wash.
T *Gitksan:* Gummy buds boiled and the resin mixed with bear
[302] grease for a hair perfume.
I Roots, leaves, and seeds not used.
[757]

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

MYRICACAE

Myrica Gale L., SWEET GALE

Bella Coola: Branches, secured at any time of the year, pounded with their bark, boiled, and the decoction taken internally for gonorrhoea. A diuretic. The decoction, which was kept in a box made of red cedar wood with a little cover to keep out the dust, soured in two or three days and became useless.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

B C 137 757 B [415]

BETULACEAE, BIRCH FAMILY

Alnus sitchensis (Reg.) Sarg., GREEN ALDER

Bella Coola: Cones used as a remedy for some unspecified complaint.

Alnus tenuifolia Nutt., MOUNTAIN ALDER

Bella Coola: Cones used as a remedy for some unspecified complaint.

See also black cottonwood (page 54).

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Pistillate catkins crushed, and the mass eaten raw as a laxative.

Pistillate catkins and shavings eaten raw, or else boiled in water and the decoction taken internally three times a day, as a diuretic for gonorrhoea. Said to effect a cure in one week.[1]

B C T 137 757

Alnus rubra Bong., RED ALDER

Bella Coola: Bark boiled, and a cupful of the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

Southern Carrier: Sap applied to cuts. Not used for a medicinal decoction.

Northern Carrier: Inside bark ground, steeped in water, and injected with a syringe made from the crop of a bird, for biliousness.

Gitksan: Bark and roots boiled for about six hours and the decoction drunk in the morning for a cough.

Bark from the stem, but not from the roots, scraped, mixed with water, and the infusion taken internally, as an emetic and purgative, for headache and many other maladies.

C [752] C [825]

URTICACEAE, NETTLE FAMILY

Urtica Lyallii Wats., WESTERN NETTLE

Bella Coola: Used for a form of paralysis where the patient had been unable to walk for a long time. Limbs stung daily, causing sores and gradual revival of sensation. In one case said to have effected a cure in ten days.

See also western dock (page 56).

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Entire plant boiled, and the decoction taken internally for many illnesses, including hemorrhage and bladder troubles.

Stinging not used.

T [752]

[1] A Gitksan informant stated that the Tsimshian of the coast made a decoction of this tree which acted as an emetic, purgative, and diuretic, and was used for poisoning caused by eating ess-uwkim.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
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ARISTOLOCIHACEAE, BIRTHWORT FAMILY

B
C
137
75

Asarum caudatum Lindl., Wild Ginger

Bella Coola: Boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting.

Boiled, and applied externally for headache, intestinal pains, and pain in the knees.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

POLYGONACEAE, BUCKWHEAT FAMILY

Rumex occidentalis Wats., Western Dock

Bella Coola: Roots roasted for a short time in a hole in the earth among the ashes of a fire, covered with earth, mashed, and applied in quantity as a poultice for boils. Both leaves and roots used, according to another informant, and the poultice applied to wounds as well as boils.

Leaves used for a sweat bath for pains similar to rheumatism all over the body. Stones were heated, a little cold sand spread over them, and leaves spread on the sand; or else the leaves were spread on hot ashes. The patient sat or lay naked directly on the leaves, and was covered with blankets. Western Nettles (*Urtica Lyallii* Wats.), small branches of black cottonwood (*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.) with the leaves on them, or the small kelp found on rocks were sometimes used when leaves of the western dock could not be obtained.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

LORANTHACEAE, MISTLETOE FAMILY

Arceuthobium americanum Nutt., Small Mistletoe

Bella Coola: Boiled, and decoction taken as a potent medicine for hemorrhage of the lungs.

C
[164]

Southern Carrier: Boiled, and decoction taken freely for hemorrhage from the mouth, tuberculosis of the lungs, and emaciation.

NYMPHACEAE, WATER-LILY FAMILY

B
137
75
[155]

Nymphaea polysepala (Engelm.) Greene, Yellow Pond-Lily

Bella Coola, old custom: Used in a magical way for pain in all parts of the body. A root in many cases as large as a man's leg was cut free from the bed of a pool with a hemlock pole sharpened like a shovel. A hollow was made in it, water placed in the receptacle, and hot stones added. The stones were changed four times, after which the patient drank one or two cupfuls of the water. He repeated the dose each day for four days. To be effective the root had to be thrown back into the water, not on the ground.

B
[164]

Present custom: Root boiled twelve hours, and decoction taken internally for pain in any part of the body, such as "consumption", rheumatism, heart disease, and gonorrhoea. Considered good for the blood. Not used as a diuretic, or for diarrhoea, constipation, or vomiting.

T
75
[842]

Gitksan: Infusion of scrapings of toasted root (or according to another informant, heart of root, boiled) taken internally for hemorrhage of the lungs and as a contraceptive.

5; Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
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RANUNCULACEAE, BUTTERCUP FAMILY

B C T 137 757

Anemone globosa Nutt. (A. **multifida** Poir.), WIND-FLOWER

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Plant, except roots, boiled and decoction taken internally for any sickness. Aroma of crushed leaves inhaled for cold in the head or lungs; for this purpose leaves sometimes placed in water and heated.

Gitksan: Handfuls eaten in sweat bath for rheumatism. A decoction of the plant sometimes used for the same purpose.

B T 137 757

Trautvetteria grandis Nutt., FALSE BUGBANE

Bella Coola: Roots pounded in a little water, and the resulting mass, covered with a little soft bark of the red or yellow cedar, applied as a poultice to boils and left on for half a day or a day. Said to promote suppuration and opening of the boil, but to cause such intense burning that it could not be applied to children. Considered less strong than the tall buttercup (page 57), but, like it, preferred to the cow parsnip (page 61), which was used in the same way.

Thalictrum occidentale Gray, MEADOW RUE

Gitksan: A small piece of the root chewed, and some of the juice swallowed, for headache, eye trouble, and sore legs. Loosened phlegm and possibly accelerated the circulation of the blood.

Ranunculus arcis L., TALL BUTTERCUP

Bella Coola: Roots used as a poultice for boils in the same way as those of the false bugbane (page 57), but considered stronger and better.

CRUCIFERAE, MUSTARD FAMILY

T [752]

Sisymbrium incisum Eng., A HEDGE MUSTARD

Gitksan: Mashed and applied to bad cuts.

CRASSULACEAE, ORPINE FAMILY

B [853]

Sedum spathulifolium Hook., STONECROP

Bella Coola: Leaves of the plant before it blossomed eaten to start the flow of milk. Said to take effect in one day. Leaves warmed and applied externally for the same purpose.

SAXIFRAGACEAE, SAXIFRAGE FAMILY

B 137 757

Ribes bracteosum Dougl., BLUE CURRANT

Bella Coola: *See* tideland spruce, page 51.

Ribes laxiflorum Pursh. var., CURRANT

Bella Coola: Roots boiled in a very small box with hot stones and the weak decoction used each day for washing the eyes when filled with matter.

See also lady fern (page 48).

C [757]

Southern Carrier: Not used.

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Ribes lacustre Poir., SWAMP GOOSEBERRY

Bella Coola: Roots boiled and the decoction taken internally many times a day to cure constipation.

Leaves chewed and cud tied on sores caused by the prickers of the plant; if leaves unobtainable the bark substituted after singeing off the prickers.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Bark boiled and used as a remedy for some unspecified malady.

BC 137 757

Ribes divaricatum Dougl., COMMON GOOSEBERRY

Bella Coola: Bark or roots, sometimes mixed with those of the wild crab apple (*Pyrus diversifolia* Bong.), boiled, and the decoction used as an eye-wash three times a day for soreness and approaching blindness.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Ribes sp., GOOSEBERRY

Northern Carrier: *See* scrub pine, page 49.

Saxifraga Bongardi Prest., SAXIFRAGE

Bella Coola: Roots and leaves gathered in the autumn, placed in a very small box with a very little water, and boiled. Decoction taken cold, or preferably hot, in quantity to cure strangulation of the bladder. Said to effect a cure in one day.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

ROSACEAE, ROSE FAMILY

BCT 137 757

Prunus emarginata Dougl., WILD CHERRY

Bella Coola: Roots and inside bark boiled with much water and the decoction taken in quantity daily for heart trouble.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Rubus spectabilis Pursh., SALMON BERRY

Bella Coola: Bark of roots boiled and taken internally for certain stomach troubles, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Rubus sp., RASPBERRY

Northern Carrier: *See* scrub pine, page 49.

Fragaria bracteata Heller., STRAWBERRY

Bella Coola: Not used, but said to be used by Haida of Queen Charlotte islands to cure vomiting.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE5
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Sekani NE14

B
T
S
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757

Rosa sp., WILD ROSE

Bella Coola: Roots and branches boiled, and the decoction taken internally, even ten cupfuls a day if desired, as a purgative for pain in the stomach.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Northern Carrier: *See* scrub pine, page 49.

Sikani: Roots crushed, steeped in water, and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

Gitksan: Not used.

B
C

Physocarpus opulifolius (L.), Maxim., NINE-BARK

137
757

Bella Coola: Inner bark boiled for two hours, and two to four cupfuls of the decoction at blood heat taken internally as an emetic for persons dizzy with pain. Four or five cupfuls of lukewarm water then taken as a cleansing emetic and repeated about five times.

B
[164]

Inner bark boiled a long time (when it ceased to have emetic properties), one cupful of the hot decoction taken internally, and thereafter applied externally as a wash twice a day for gonorrhoea and scrofulous glands in the neck. Said to be a laxative that caused the glands to break, discharge fully, and heal. A cupful taken internally daily in advanced cases.

Southern Carrier: Bark (gathered near the coast) boiled for two hours, and two cupfuls of the decoction taken as an emetic, or one cupful as a purgative. Said to act in half an hour, and to be an excellent remedy, but fatal in too large a dose.

Aruncus sylvester Kost., GOAT'S BEARD

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and one or two cupfuls of the decoction (or as much as desired) taken internally for pain in the stomach and gonorrhoea. A diuretic, but neither a laxative nor an emetic.

Roots boiled in grease of mountain goat (*Oreamnos montanus* Ord.) for a day and the decoction taken internally for smallpox.

T
[757]

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Geum macrophyllum Willd., LARGE-LEAVED YELLOW AVENS

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea, or vomiting. Leaves, usually chewed but sometimes bruised, applied to boils.

Southern Carrier: Leaves boiled and the decoction taken internally for any sickness.

Leaves boiled and applied to bruises.

B
T

Pyrus sitchensis (Roem.) Piper., MOUNTAIN ASH

137
757

Bella Coola: Bark of the roots, and sometimes the inner bark of the stem, collected at any time of the year, boiled for an hour, and the hot decoction, weak or strong, preferably the latter, taken internally for the stomach or rheumatism. Said to effect a cure in from one to seven days. Not taken for diarrhoea, or vomiting; and for rheumatism sometimes poured into a large box and used as a bath. Used also as an eye-wash.

Southern Carrier: Bark chewed for colds.

Gitksan: Fresh fruit crushed and eaten raw as a strong purgative.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15

P
137
757

Pyrus diversifolia Bong., CRAB APPLE

Bella Coola: See common gooseberry (page 56).

Gitksen: Juice, scraped from peeled trunk, used as an eye medicine.

Trunk and branches, or scrapings from inside of bark, boiled until thick, and the decoction taken internally over a period of from four to six months for "consumption" and rheumatism. Said to be a fattening medicine, both laxative and diuretic.

Amelanchier florida Lindl., JUNEBERRY, SASKATOON

Bella Coola: See tideland spruce (page 51).

EMPETRACEAE, CROWBERRY FAMILY

Empetrum nigrum L., CROWBERRY

Bella Coola: Green leaves, with or without berries, boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

P
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VIOLACEAE, VIOLET FAMILY

Viola adunca Sm. var. **glabra** Brain., VIOLET

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Entire plant boiled and one or many cupfuls of the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting.

Gitksen: Not used.

ELAEAGNACEAE, OLEASTER FAMILY

Shepherdia canadensis Nutt., SOAPBERRIES

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Northern Carrier: Root boiled in water and the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

[T]

Gitksen: Roots, stem, and branches boiled, and the decoction used as a wash for gonorrhoea.

Bark, branches, and leaves without roots boiled, and the decoction taken internally for chronic cough.

See also tideland spruce (page 51).

ONAGRACEAE, EVENING PRIMROSE FAMILY

Epilobium angustifolium L., FIRE WEED

Bella Coola: Root roasted in ashes, mashed between hands or stones, and applied to boils.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksen: Not used.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE5
Carrier NE7
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UMBELLIFERAE, PARSLEY FAMILY

Osmorrhiza sp., Sweet Cicely

Bella Coola: Ten to fifteen little pieces of root, as large as the end joint of the thumb, ground by rubbing on a stone; two cupfuls placed in water warmed to blood heat, and two cupfuls of the decoction (according to the strength of the patient) taken internally as an emetic. Decoction acted (sometimes as a purgative instead of an emetic) within five or ten minutes, but lost its power if heated too much. Warm water taken afterwards until the patient vomited four or five times and the stomach was entirely cleared. Used also for pneumonia.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Heracleum lanatum Michx., Cow Parsnip

Bella Coola: Roots crushed, baked (or boiled in a box with hot stones), and applied as a poultice for boils. If too hot a poultice injured the skin.

Root, uncrushed root inserted in an opened boil and left from half a day to a day. Pus said to come away with the root.

See also white fir (page 56), balsam fir (page 56), black cottonwood (page 54), and false hellebore (page 57).

Southern Carrier: Blossoms steeped in eulachon or other oil and the mixture rubbed on the body to keep off flies and mosquitoes.

Northern Carrier: Roots applied to swellings and bruises.

Sekani: Roots crushed and applied to swellings of neuralgia or rheumatism.

Gitksan: Roots crushed and applied to boils, rheumatic and other swellings.

Angelica genuflexa Nutt.

Bella Coola: Roots boiled and decoction taken internally as a purgative. Not an emetic. Sometimes used raw, but never roasted.

Gitksan: Roots well boiled with twigs of squashberry (*Viburnum pauciflorum* Rafi.) from which the bark had not been removed, and decoction taken internally for headache and weak eyes.

Ligusticum apiifolium L., Lovage

Bella Coola: Leaves spread over a hot stone or stones and used as a medicinal bed for the sick.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Cicuta Douglasii (DC.) C. and R., Water Hemlock, Poison Parsnip

Bella Coola: Roots used as a purgative.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

ARALIACEAE, GINSENG FAMILY

Aralia nudicaulis L., Sarsaparilla

Bella Coola: Roots boiled in a box with hot stones, and decoction taken internally as often as desired for pain in the stomach, or merely as a beverage. Nowadays sweetened with a little sugar. Stem, or its bark, not used.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

B
139
757

Fatsia horrida Sm. (B. and H.), Devil's Club

Bella Coola: Bark of roots chewed, and juice swallowed with a little water as a powerful purgative.

Bark of roots and stems boiled, and three or four cupfuls of the decoction taken internally as a purgative; or one cupful, three times a day for a week or two, to cure rheumatism.

C
[844]

Southern Carrier: Bark boiled, and one or two cupfuls of the decoction taken internally before and after childbirth as a purgative.

Northern Carrier: Inside layer of the inner bark rolled into pills and swallowed for cramps in the stomach and bowels, especially after a purgative. Acted also as a purgative, especially if much hot water taken with it.

T
[755]

Gitksan: A decoction used as a purgative in the treatment of gonorrhoea. Believed to assist the knitting of broken bones if taken continually.

Boiled, together with entire plant of squashberry (*Viburnum pauciflorum* Raf.), and the decoction taken internally as a diuretic and purgative, for strangury or any sickness. Used continuously for rupture.

For use with a fern (See page 48).

CORNACEAE, DOGWOOD FAMILY

Cornus canadensis L., Bunchberry, Dogwood, Dwarf Cornel, Partridgeberry

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Whole plant, without berries, boiled, and the strong decoction used as an eye-wash.

Northern Carrier: Used as a medicine for some unspecified malady.

Gitksan: Not used.

Cornus stolonifera Michx., Red-Osier Dogwood, Red Willow

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Northern Carrier: See scrub pine, page 48.

Gitksan: Not used.

ERICACEAE, HEATH FAMILY

B
C
139
757

Pyrola secunda L., Wintergreen

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Roots, gathered at any time of the year, boiled, and the strong decoction used as an eye-wash.

Pyrola bracteata Hook., Wintergreen

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Leaves boiled, and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

B
139
757

Pyrola uniflora Michx., Wintergreen

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Leaves and roots, gathered at any time of the year, boiled for about two hours, and the warm decoction used as an eye-wash.

Gitksan: Not used.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
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Ledum groenlandicum Oeder, LABRADOR TEA
Bella Coola: Leaves boiled, and the decoction used as a simple beverage, or for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting. Neither an emetic nor a purgative.
Southern Carrier: Not used formerly, now as a beverage only.
Gitksan: Leaves boiled, and the decoction used as a diuretic, or merely as a beverage.

B C T 137 757 [272] T [272]

Gaultheria shallon Pursh, SALAL
Bella Coola: Leaves toasted, pulverized by rubbing, and applied to cuts.
Southern Carrier: Not used.

B C 137 757

LABIATAE, MINT FAMILY

Prunella vulgaris L., HEAL-ALL
Bella Coola: Roots, leaves, and blossoms washed, boiled, and a cupful of the weak decoction taken internally for the heart. Not used for diarrhoea or vomiting.
Southern Carrier: Not used.
Gitksan: Not used.

B C T 137 757

Mentha canadensis L., MINT
Bella Coola: Entire plant boiled, and the decoction taken internally, as often as desired, for pain in the stomach. Not used for vomiting, constipation, or diarrhoea.
Southern Carrier: Entire plant boiled, and a cupful of the decoction taken internally for the stomach, colds, lung affections, and various ailments.
Gitksan: Not used.

SCROPHULARIACEAE, FIGWORT FAMILY

Castilleja miniata Dougl., PAINT-BRUSH
Bella Coola: Not used.
Southern Carrier: Not used.
Gitksan: Entire plant boiled, and the decoction taken internally for bleeding, stiff lungs, sore eyes, and lame back, possibly caused by kidney trouble. A purgative and diuretic.
Seeds boiled and the decoction taken internally for coughs.

CAPRIFOLIACEAE, HONEYSUCKLE FAMILY

Lonicera involucrata Banks., BLACK TWIN-BERRY
Bella Coola: Leaves chewed and cud applied for itch.
Leaves chewed and applied to boils, after they were cut open, to draw out the poison.
Leaves crushed and applied to burns and sores of gonorrhoea.
Bark toasted, pulverized, and applied to sores of gonorrhoea.
Bark boiled and decoction taken internally for cough.
Southern Carrier: Bark boiled for five hours, and the decoction used daily as an eye-wash. Roots, leaves, and berries not used.
Northern Carrier: See scrub pine (page 49).
Gitksan: Fresh juice of berries used in sore eyes. Inner bark (when berries not available) soaked in water, and the milky solution used in the eyes.

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B [164]

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7
Tsimshian NE15
Sekani NE14

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Symphoricarpus racemosa Michx., GARDEN SNOWBERRY

Bella Coola: Branches, large and small, with the bark left on, boiled, and the decoction taken internally daily as the best cure for gonorrhoea. A diuretic. Roots, blossoms, and berries not used for medicine, unless, as one informant stated, the berries were used with the branches.

See also tideland spruce (page 51).

Southern Carrier: Juice of ripe berries used in sore eyes.

Gitksan: Not used.

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Sambucus racemosa L., RED-FRUITED ELDER

Bella Coola: Bark of the roots placed in water, a few hot stones added until water reached blood heat, and decoction used as a powerful emetic and purgative for pain in the stomach.

Bark of the roots peeled with the teeth, chewed, preferably with a little cool water, and juice swallowed as an emetic and purgative. Said to act within half an hour.

Southern Carrier: Roots boiled, and two cupfuls of the warm decoction taken internally twice a day as a purgative.

Northern Carrier: Roots brewed, the first water discarded and the second taken internally as a purgative.

Sikani: Bark boiled, and the decoction taken internally as a purgative.

Gitksan: Bark of roots scraped off, water added to the bark, and the infusion taken internally as an emetic and purgative.

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Viburnum pauciflorum Raf., SQUASHBERRY

Bella Coola: Bark chewed, and the juice swallowed for whooping cough and cold on the lungs.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Northern Carrier: Inside bark crushed, steeped in cold water until the water turned green, and one cupful of the infusion taken internally as a purgative and for dysentery.

Gitksan: Bark and twigs boiled, and one cupful of the decoction taken internally in the morning for coughs and "consumption". Said to be always taken in conjunction with devil's club (page 62). *See also Angelica genuflexa* Nutt., page 61.

VALERIANACEAE, VALERIAN FAMILY

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Valeriana septentrionalis Rydb., VALERIAN

Bella Coola: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Roots, mixed with grease, used for perfume.

Northern Carrier: Valerian? blossoms crushed, and the oil, often mixed with fat from a black bear hide, applied as a hair tonic. Believed to make the hair smooth and shiny, to help its growth, and to give it a fragrance.

Gitksan: Entire plant steeped in bear grease and the grease applied to hair and face as a perfume.

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[300]

Valeriana sitchensis Bong., VALERIAN

Southern Carrier: Leaves mixed with grease used as a perfume for the hair.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
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Tsimshian NE15

COMPOSITAE, COMPOSITE FAMILY

Achillea Millefolium L., YARROW

Bella Coola: Leaves chewed and applied to burns.

Southern Carrier: Entire plant, except the roots, boiled, and the decoction taken internally at frequent intervals for colds.

Leaves chewed and applied to sprains and swellings.

Gitksan: The young plant, except the roots, gathered between June 1 and July 15, boiled, and the decoction gargled for sore throat. Roots, marked by the dead stalks, dug out at other seasons and used instead.

Artemisia discolor Dougl., SAGEBRUSH, GREEN WORMWOOD

Bella Coola: Used for medicine.

Southern Carrier: Chewed and applied to sprains and swellings.

Northern Carrier: Sagebrush (sp. ?) steeped in water and the hot decoction taken internally for headache.

Antennaria Howellii Greene, EVERLASTING

Bella Coola: Leaves boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pains in the body, but not for pains in the limbs. Not used for colds.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Taraxacum officinale Weber., COMMON DANDELION introduced

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and the decoction taken internally for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea or vomiting. Remedy said to have been learned from white men.

Gitksan: Not used.

Lactuca spicata (Lam.) Hitchc., TALL LETTUCE

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, and many cups of the decoction taken internally for heart trouble, hemorrhage, pains in the body (but not in the limbs), for vomiting, or for diarrhoea. Neither an emetic nor a purgative. Milky juice not used.

Gitksan: Not used.

Prenanthes alata (Hook.) Gray, RATTLESNAKE ROOT

Bella Coola: Roots boiled, two or three cupfuls of the decoction taken internally daily for colds. For a baby only a small spoonful given three or four times a day.

Bella Coola: Chewed, and applied to burns or to any painful part of the body.

Boiled, and two or three cupfuls of the decoction taken internally daily.

Mnium affine Bland, MOSS

Southern Carrier: Entire plant, except the "roots", boiled, and two or three cupfuls of the decoction used to bathe a swollen face.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

B C 137 757 **Fomes Laricis** (Jacq.), more generally known as **Polyporus officinalis** Fries, A SHELF FUNGUS

Bella Coola: This (?) fungus ground, steeped in water, and the decoction taken internally for gonorrhoea.

Southern Carrier: If found on the Douglas fir tree, dried, powdered, a handful steeped in boiling water and the hot decoction taken internally as an emetic and purgative. Said to act within an hour. Not used if found on any other tree.

B C [171] (According to Dr. John Dearness, this is a medical polypore, perhaps the only fungus used by pharmacists. Park, Davis, and Company make a fluid extract and a triturate which is prescribed for the relief of night sweats in tuberculosis. The fungus is a cathartic in large doses. Its medicinal virtues have long been known in the old world.)

B 137 757 **Bovista pila** B. and C., PUFF BALL

Bella Coola: Spores dusted on wounds, sores of gonorrhoea, and suppurating sores other than boils.

LICHEN

Bella Coola: A certain long, white lichen, if found on the red alder tree, warmed, and applied to a broken boil or suppurating sore.

Sticta sp., LICHEN

Bella Coola: Entire plant, if from red-osier dogwood (*Cornus stolonifera* Michx.) or crab apple (*Pryus diversifolia* Bong.), but not from willow (*Salix* sp.), boiled, and five cupfuls of the hot decoction taken internally daily for pain in the stomach, but not for diarrhoea, constipation, or vomiting. Neither a purgative nor an astringent.

C [757] Entire plant boiled and the decoction used as an eye-wash.

Entire plant pulverized and applied to skin.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

KELP

B 757 *Bella Coola:* A small kelp found on the rocks sometimes used for a sweat bath. *See* western dock, page 56.

WOOD SAP

Bella Coola: The sap that oozes from any kind of wood when burning considered a good remedy for sores.

MOUNTAIN GOAT

B 136 757 **Oreamnos Montanus**, Ord., MOUNTAIN GOAT

Bella Coola: Mountain goat fat boiled with droppings of geese that had fed on roots, and the mixture given to babies once or twice a day for colds.

Goat meat with droppings of the bushy-tailed woodrat, commonly called packrat (*Neotoma cinerea*), taken internally with water as a remedy for nursing babies when they had colds.

5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923)1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
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Tsimshian NE15

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SKUNK

Spilogale, Spotted Skunk, or **Mephitis,** Striped Skunk

Bella Coola: Oil not used as a remedy.

Southern Carrier: Oil warmed, and a cupful taken as a purgative for worms.

HARE

Lepus americanus columbiensis Rhoads, The British Columbia Varying Hare

Northern Carrier: Hare opened, ruminating stomach containing something like the white of an egg removed, and the liquid applied to a foot blistered by frost-bite. Considered a sure cure.

C
[752]

RED SQUIRREL

Sciurus hudsonicus Erxleben

Bella Coola: Opened along the under side and applied as a remedy to badly broken chancres in the groin.

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GIANT SLUG

Bella Coola: Slug made to crawl into a baby's mouth to cure loss of skin on the inside of its mouth.

Slug opened, and bound tightly over large cut.

B
[752]

SEA CUCUMBER

Bella Coola: Decoction of the water in which the sea cucumber was boiled, taken internally as a specific against heartburn. Not a purgative.

SPITTLE INSECT

Cercopidae, Spittle Insect, Frog Hopper

Bella Coola: "Fly spit," *i.e.*, the material surrounding a nymph of a spittle insect, applied to sores.

Southern Carrier: Not used.

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WOODWORMS

Gitksan: Pulverized and applied to cuts.

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COPPER

Bella Coola: Fine particles scraped from clean copper (but not from a weathered green surface) placed in sore eyes.

Gitksan: Copper ground, poured into a vessel of cold water, first water poured off, and second water taken internally as a harmless contraceptive.

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CHARCOAL

Northern Carrier: Charcoal daubed under the eyes to prevent snow-blindness.

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5: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1929 NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE9
Tsimshian NE15

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FIRE

Bella Coola: Burning twigs of very dry hemlock used to sear the skin for all kinds of internal ailments.

Northern Carrier: Hot coals used as a blister for a bad pain in the leg before applying an ointment.

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757

CAUTERY

Gitksan: Fungus taken from a birch (or sometimes a hemlock), set alight, and used to sear a rheumatic person.

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STEAM

Northern Carrier: Red hot stones placed in a dish of cold water, the head covered with a cloth and the throat steamed for a bad cough.

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[752]

ICE-COLD WATER

Northern Carrier: A hole made in the ice and the feet soaked in the ice-cold water when they were frozen.

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SEA WATER

Bella Coola: Sea water used as an emetic.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

They resolved to make an attempt to burn it and to break open the door. 648
On the following day they came up to the village, but the guard on the 726
towers used their guns to such good effect that the enemy had to retreat with severe losses. They made still another attempt, but with no better success. They had lost many men, while only two old men of the Talio'mH, TumHā'akyas and A'lk'ias by name, and one woman had been hurt. The latter had been killed. When the Kwakiutl turned back a messenger was at once sent up to the lake to call the young men, who then went to Nuqa'lkH to ask for help. The Kwakiutl passed close to Nusk'ēlu'sta's father's canoe, but they were so terrified by the losses they had sustained that they passed by without so much as noticing it. Two of their number were so ashamed of their defeat that they would rather remain in the enemy's country than return with their friends, and they stayed ashore. Meanwhile the Talio'mH and the Bilqula were pursuing the fugitives. They had reached the outlet of Bentinck Arm without overtaking them. Then their chiefs resolved to return, as they believed that their enemies had a long start upon them. Later on they learnt that the Kwakiutl were at that moment only a few miles from them, about to continue their homeward journey, after having encamped at the outlet of the channel. Afterwards the Talio'mH found the two men who had remained ashore. They called them and promised to send them back to their friends, saying that the war had ended, and that they had no grudge against them. The men were, however, too much afraid, and finally starved to death.

Later on the Talio'mH and Bilqula organised an expedition against the Kwakiutl to take revenge for the unprovoked attack. A chief named Koanī'la, whose father was a Talio'mH, while his mother was a Kwakiutl, was their leader. They intended to attack the Lō'kwiltok' and the Kwē'k'sōt'ēnoq. When they approached the village of the latter they sent a canoe ahead to search for the village, and to report the number of houses. For two days they were unable to find the village, which lies in a labyrinth of islands; but finally they found it, and saw that it consisted of sixteen houses. On the next morning they attacked it. The tribe was wholly taken by surprise and almost all of them were killed. Koanī'la's mother lived at this place, and when she heard the Bilqula coming she asked at once for her son, and was taken care of by him. Only five men and four women escaped. The Bilqula allowed these to run away, as they had killed as many as they desired. Anuknī'tsem, a chief of the Sanqtlx'mh, was the only man of the Bilqula who was wounded. He died on the way home. They returned, but in the country of the Nā'koartok' they were overtaken by four Kwakiutl canoes which pursued them. The Bilqula were victorious, but Koanī'la induced them to desist. During the fight two of the women, whom they had taken as slaves, and one boy jumped overboard, and were rescued by the Kwakiutl.

Medicine.

Boils are treated by cauterisation with dry bark or with gunpowder. 752
Sometimes a series of parallel cuts is made over swellings or boils. Fractured bones are set, and fastened between splints of cedar-bark.

Enemata of shark oil or olachen oil are given by means of a kelp tube, 757
with a mouthpiece made of the wing-bone of an eagle. Snake poison is [237]
collected and used as a poison. Women wear tight anklets to prevent 650

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

757 about one week. This causes the skin to turn white and draws out the matter.

752 [177] (2) The usual remedy for boils and similar sores is cutting. There are no professional surgeons so that a patient merely requests a friend in whom he has confidence to perform the operation which is now carried out with a metal knife instead of an obsidian blade. A man frequently performs on himself and it is not uncommon to see a Bella Coola sitting nonchalantly with the blood streaming down his leg into a receptacle filled with water. Even when a boil is on the buttocks, it may be cut by sitting down on a knife, but in this case a friend is always present to state when the position is correct.

752 759 *For Ulcers and Abscesses*

A few individuals, at present two at Bella Coola and one at Kimsquit, have the necessary skill to locate and operate on ulcers of the stomach. They have no inherited prerogative, their ability is due solely to practice and good sense. If a person suffers from internal pains and believes them to be caused by an ulcer, he requests one of these men to help him. The practitioner kneads and handles the patient to locate the growth, and suggests operating if he thinks it necessary. He measures off on the blade of a knife the depth required for the incision and asks consent to make such a cut. If the sufferer considers it too deep, he may indicate a shorter distance on the knife, or he may desire a still deeper one. As soon as patient and surgeon have agreed upon the depth of the wound, the latter inserts the knife to the proper distance, twists it around, and draws it out. If he has diagnosed correctly, pus comes pouring out; the wound is drained by the insertion of an eagle quill, and in many cases the patient recovers. Several instances are remembered of too deep cutting, resulting in penetration of the intestines and death. A surgeon is always suitably rewarded for his work.

It is believed that such operations were performed before the introduction of metal knives. Whether or not this be true,

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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it is certain that ones of this type took place about 1870. No information could be obtained about other surgical practices. The Bella Coola are unacquainted with either trephining or cupping, and it is most unlikely that they performed more than cutting and the setting of broken limbs. Though incisions are primarily for boils and abscesses, one may be made in case of any obstinate pain, in the belief that some foreign matter has entered the body and must be extracted. 752 [759]

For Stomach-Ache (two means) 757

(1) Peel the outer surface of red elderberry roots and chew a section until all the juice has been squeezed forth and swallowed; then spit out the tasteless bark and take a second piece. This must be continued for some time. It is dangerous to allow the liquid to remain within the stomach, so warm water must be taken as an emetic.

(2) Take five roots of the plant *ma'xwal·i*, each about one-tenth of an inch in diameter and one inch in length, grind them to powder and pour on water. Warm the mixture to body heat and drink in large quantities. This acts as an emetic and the patient feels hungry after vomiting. If cooked for a longer time, the roots provide a valuable food. [262]

This medicine is not sufficiently potent for serious attacks.

For Stomach-Ache, and also for Other Internal Pains (two means)

(1) Strip the bark from a *käk'telp* (birch?) branch a few inches in diameter and about three feet in length, and boil for an hour in a small amount of water. Care must be taken not to boil the decoction too long or it will become poisonous. Drink about four cupfuls of the mixture. It causes the stomach to heave violently, followed by vomiting. Then drink warm water, which also acts as an emetic. Take a further potion of the medicine, then more water, and continue with alternate doses until the vomit is clear. This medicine is so powerful that a patient usually recovers by the following day.

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CHAPTER VIII

DEATH

Death Rites—Memorial Rites—Fate of the Dead

Death Rites

DEATH is marked by even more complicated and prolonged rites than marriage. Like so many primitive peoples, the Bella Coola not only carry out elaborate rituals soon after the actual decease, but hold lengthy commemorative and mourning ceremonials in later years. As these require the co-operation of a large number of people, the death of an individual affects a wider circle than his own relatives, and the celebrations have, therefore, an important social as well as religious significance. 76 796 [182]

OMENS OF DEATH

It is not surprising that the Bella Coola, believing in the omnipresence of the supernatural, should consider various peculiar occurrences to be omens of death. One of the simplest of these is to hear the falling of a tree when there is neither wind nor other reason to account for it. Such a fall is audible only to the person whom it warns of approaching death, either to himself or to one of his relatives. A number of men may be in the forest together, when one of them hears the crash of a tree and notices that his companions are unaware of it; he realizes that this is an omen and protects himself by calling out: 763

"Let this evil react against whoever has been plotting evil against me."

The basis of this custom is the belief that someone has been practising black magic against the hearer, who, by this answer, is able to cause the sorcery to recoil upon the malefactor. Even more dangerous than to hear a falling tree, is to have one crash [754] [824]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

over, he is aware that by certain means he may have good expectations of beseeching, cajoling, deceiving, or rendering powerless any supernatural beings whom he may meet. This attitude is typical; the Bella Coola by no means move in constant dread of the mysterious denizens of the forests, nor do they eagerly hope for their appearance; they have their likes and dislikes, their moments of weakness and of strength, their times of greatness and of pettiness, all to be considered with care and forethought. 781 776 *

One of the beings for whom the older people have a profound respect is *Ṫłitcäplilän·a*, a supernatural woman whose home is in *Nusmät·a*, but who frequently visits this earth. She can be recognized by her snout-like mouth and long, pendant breasts, but even when beyond the range of vision her proximity can be detected by her singing. *Ṫłitcäplilän·a* often takes pity on a person who is dangerously ill and visits him, not only curing the malady but bringing the sufferer a name and song. In many cases he is thus made a shaman with power to cure. At other times *Ṫłitcäplilän·a* bestows her favours on a person in good health, so that wise Bella Coola are always hoping to meet her. Such an experience is not without its dangers, for she is so powerful that nearness to her may be enough to cause death. The exploits of those who have come in contact with *Ṫłitcäplilän·a* belong to shamanism and will be reserved for vol. I, chap. IX. 776 * 787 [756]

Ṫłitcäplilän·a, though her great power inspires fear, usually behaves in a kindly manner to mortals, who accordingly welcome her. But it is quite otherwise with *Sxaiaxwax*, whose coming almost invariably brings death.[11] He is a black-faced being of repulsive appearance and sensual nature, whose chief function is to seduce women. For this purpose he often skulks near a village at night, and assumes the voice and appearance of a girl's lover to lure her into the forest. Fearlessly she goes with him, but if she allows his approaches, a hemorrhage results and she soon dies. There is said to be no limit to the number 776 * 761

[11] Cf. Boas, p. 42.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

of his disguises. For example, he once appeared at New Westminster in the form of a handsome white man; a Bella Coola girl yielded to his pleadings, but as soon as he had left her, she began to bleed and died.[12] He is so evil that shamans can rarely cure anyone visited by him. *Sxaiaxwax* usually carries a stick which he need only to point at a woman to cause her death.

Nor are men exempt from *Sxaiaxwax's* visitations. Sometimes he sneaks up behind a man and seizes his arms, so that he cannot see who has gripped him. He is soon released but no matter how quickly he turns around can never see his captor. Presently he begins to bleed from mouth and nose and death follows. *Sxaiaxwax* may become visible under such conditions. One old man stated that his son had once been playing outside the village at Kimsquit when he rushed into the house weeping and saying that he had been seized by a black-faced man. In a few minutes his nose began to bleed so that his father knew it was *Sxaiaxwax* who had visited him. Nothing was of any avail and the lad died. His approach is usually heralded by a series of grunting, explosive puffs, like those of a big bear rising sulkily. If, warned by the sound, the hearer turn sharply, he can escape danger. An informant described how, when camped on Labouchere Channel, he had once gone to the river for water with two companions, a man and a woman. They all heard these gasping puffs and turned, but he alone had jumped from the path quickly enough. The other two began to pant like *Sxaiaxwax* himself; blood gushed from their mouths and genital organs and they soon died.

Like other supernatural beings, *Sxaiaxwax* has his limitations. Though he comes to this earth he can travel only on fixed paths, invisible to mortals. If either a man or a woman is unfortunate enough to fall asleep on one of these tracks, it is

[12] A curious blending of aboriginal and white man's beliefs was recorded in connection with this incident. It is said that as the girl's seducer left her, carrying his hat in his hand, she saw two horns rising from his forehead and realized that her lover had been *Sxaiaxwax*.

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easy for *Sxaiaxwax* to gain control over them, and the sleeper wakes to find that he has been bleeding profusely and death is inevitable. This occurred to a man whose experiences are described in vol. I, chap. IX.

Although *Sxaiaxwax* is usually a curse to mortals, he can also do good. Occasionally he makes a man a shaman, and in many cases he helps a woman in childbirth. Such beneficent acts are not sufficient to counterbalance his evil deeds, and he remains one of the most dreaded of Bella Coola supernatural beings, a monster whose machinations make camping in a strange place a dangerous undertaking, and who is as likely to strike down rich or poor, young or old.

Less feared than *Sxaiaxwax*, because he appears less frequently, is *Allät·iaitl*. The Bella Coola speak of this being with trepidation, but little definite information could be obtained concerning him. He has human form and sometimes comes at dusk to cause death by carrying away a man's spirit.[11] The home of this creature appears to be beneath the earth rather than in *Nusmät·a*.

A third dreaded being who, like the two preceding, usually lives on this earth and only visits in *Nusmät·a*, is *Sä·lma*, "The Death Dealer." He, too, appears in human form and can be distinguished by the nose-ring which he always wears. Sudden death in the forest is always attributed to "The Death Dealer." If a man is engulfed by a slide, or killed by a falling tree, it is because this malevolent being has entered the slide or tree. Some Bella Coola say that he is responsible for animals who kill hunters. He rarely carries out his designs with the aid of sickness, nor is death by drowning often attributed to him, but for all other fatal disasters he must take the blame. While a corpse is resting in a coffin awaiting burial, *Sä·lma* invariably sits on the cover, though none can see him. Instances are known in which even this monster has acted in a kindly manner.

The supernatural beings thus far described are usually

[11]See vol. I, pp. 94-7.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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the rescue of *Łxwumxwumlaix* they saw him being carried downstream to a salmon-weir about three hundred yards below. The trap was raised at once, but it was too late; the rash fisherman was dead. No one could give a name to the supernatural being who had caused his death; it was merely one of those dwelling under the river. [539] [761]

Whales, too, are sometimes observed in the rivers, but though they appear to resemble those of the ocean they are really their supernatural prototypes. [825]

These human-like dwellers beneath the water can, as in this case, cause death, but they are usually regarded as uncanny rather than dangerous. [761] But there is one undersea being whom the Bella Coola regard with unmixed awe; he is *Łomoqwa* (see Plate 10), lord of the supernatural ones beneath the ocean, as *Ałquntām* is lord of those dwelling above. He lives in an enormous house under the sea wherein the fish, the sea-mammals, and the sea-plants have their home. The Bella Coola believe that these beings can take human form at will,[18] and assume that their behaviour in *Łomoqwa*'s dwelling corresponds to that of human beings in the house of an earthly chief. In the beginning of time, when men were more powerful than in recent years, this house sometimes rose to the surface of the water and adventurous Bella Coola entered it on various occasions, leaving to their descendants tales of the wonders it contained. These accounts have become family myths and are described with others of similar type in Chap. VI, vol. I. Records of this kind vary greatly in detail; in fact, few agree more than in broad outline. Sometimes it is stated that denizens of the sea appear in *Łomoqwa*'s house in the flesh; other myths describe paintings of sea creatures around the walls and the manner in which these are brought to life by *Łomoqwa*. Irrespective of the exact details, it is clear that he is chief of the undersea beings who serve him and hunt for him, the blackfish being especially proficient in this respect. *Łomoqwa* resents any slight to his protégés and punishes any mortal who is unkind to them.

773 776* [424] [184]

[18] Bella Coola concepts concerning the transformability of men and animals will be described in the next section of this chapter.

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*776 Although *Ḷomoqwa* has often been seen by mortals, no one has ever been able to describe his countenance. He always wears a huge hat, beneath which his blackened face, covered with eagle down, is barely visible, since he constantly keeps turning it away from the observer. Occasionally he comes to the surface and has been known even to walk on it. Like other supernatural beings, he is able to ascend to *Nusmāt·a*, though it is not his home. The dread with which the Bella Coola regard *Ḷomoqwa* is due to his ability to suck canoes down to his home at the bottom of the ocean as if in a whirlpool. He is usually hungry, and nothing pleases him more than human flesh. None the less, he does not destroy life without cause. It angers him to hear his name spoken, so no Bella Coola utters [502] it when on the ocean, for fear that he may be engulfed. When- [761] ever a person is drowned at sea it is believed that the cannibalistic *Ḷomoqwa* has drawn him down for a meal.

539 To insert the many stories describing *Ḷomoqwa* at this point *776 would unduly break the continuity of this account, so the following simple example must suffice.

Not many years ago four Bella Bella fishermen were trying to anchor near China Hat. Owing to the action of the supernatural beings dwelling below, the bottom of the ocean rose and lowered abruptly so that their anchor would not hold as the rope was in many cases too short. They were much annoyed by this and, as they strove to fasten their craft, they were exasperated at a lard-fish which kept swimming closely around the canoe. At last one of the fishermen reached out, seized it with his hands, and tore it to pieces, throwing these back on the water. Presently their anchor held and the four went to sleep. But *Ḷomoqwa* had seen the insult shown to the lard-fish and, as they slept, he sucked down their canoe until, on awakening, they found themselves in the huge house of the lord of the undersea world. There was no water in it, but they recognized where they must be from the fact that the walls were decorated with paintings of marine beings and with ancient tools from canoes lost at sea. An old woman who lives in *Ḷomoqwa*'s house called the four to her fire in the corner and asked them whether they had any false hellebore with them. If they had, they would escape, but otherwise nothing could save them from *Ḷomoqwa*, who at that very moment was calling his friends for a feast of human flesh. Presently *Ḷomoqwa* entered, followed in succession by a number of undersea chiefs,

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773 subject. He does not often appear to mankind, though every
* 776 Bella Coola knows of his existence.

[579] Another supernatural craft is that of *Wiwuina*.* It, too, brings salmon and berries from their home in the extreme west. Knowledge of this canoe is limited to certain families who own stories connected with it, and it likewise serves as patron for *kusiut* dancers. Although both *Noákgnom* and *Wiwuina* can
[761] easily destroy human beings, they usually pay no attention to them, and have even been known to bestow supernatural power. *Wiwuina* will be described in greater detail in connection with *kusiut* dances.

The third canoe is termed *Winâs di Sâ-ldjo-ts*, "The War-Party of the Tide," or *Winâs di Ṡale*, "The War-Party of the Ocean." Its home is among small islands in the ocean. It is a large canoe, manned by invisible submarine beings, who are able to drive it at tremendous speed wherever they wish. The members of the crew are not in themselves dangerous, but the craft is greatly feared because it always transports *Ṡale-xf'*. This supernatural creature is about the size of a seal, brown in colour, and of jelly-like substance; it lies in the boat immediately aft of the place from which water is bailed and constantly rolls to and fro, like an animated mass of repulsive jelly. Poison is constantly spreading from *Ṡale-xf'*, and anyone placed in the canoe soon becomes weak, begins to shake like *Ṡale-xf'*, and presently dies. This canoe is a source of danger to those with whom it may come in contact, and an even greater peril indirectly. The poison emanating from
773 *Ṡale-xf'* kills clams and mussels in the vicinity and renders
* 776 them unfit for food. In some cases they die at once, with
825 open shells, and anyone finding them knows what has hap-
761 pened and does not eat them, but in other cases they live for a considerable period though saturated with the venom. If
[756] anyone eats these shellfish, he becomes flabby and jelly-like, and soon dies, unless a powerful shaman can conquer the
* 776 poison. Sometimes when a party is encamped on the shore
789

*Cf. Boas, p. 38.

775 walk backwards, or on their heads. Mortals sometimes see
[761] ghosts, but the apparition seals their lips so that they cannot
[750] recount their experiences. Death invariably follows. Shamans
and other mortals endowed with great powers have been able
to penetrate to the realm below, and the knowledge of condi-
tions there has been derived from their accounts. Food is
scarce in that land and ghosts are often driven up to earth to
264 search for it. Even a small morsel is enough to satisfy their
775 hunger, so that mortals throw fragments on the fire for the
benefit of their dead relatives. If a person drop a crumb it is
because a ghost has hooked it away from his hand; no wise
Bella Coola ever picks up such a morsel, knowing that to do
so would offend the hungry spectre. Deceased beings are
775 generally relatives, although instances are known in which they
have shown kindness, particularly to their relatives. Like so
[575] many supernatural beings, they figure most prominently as
patrons of *kaxlat* dancers (see vol. II, chap. i). Further infor-
mation concerning them is contained in the description of life
after death.

776 Not even a complete list of beings would exhaust the
177 beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural, since
any unexpected visitation is attributed by them to this source.
For example, when Mackenzie appeared, the first white man
with whom the Bella Coola had come in contact, they thought
that he must be from another world. Some thought him a
dead man returned to life, and others considered him a super-
natural visitor from above who had fallen down to earth, as
did their first ancestors. The latter view prevailed, and it was
ultimately decided that he must be *ḡwexus*, a supernatural
being resident aloft of whom little was known. This name was
applied to him, and it has since been given to all white men.[14]

[14] Although it was in 1793 that Mackenzie passed down the Bella Coola valley, a number of stories of that event were still remembered in 1922. When news happened the Bella Coola was his ability to make fire quickly. One man, now living, stated that he had heard from his mother that her father had spoken with him. Traditions of this type are valuable as reflecting the interests of a people, but their historical accuracy may well be doubted. One Kimsquit man, for example,

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A 776 [778] and gaping holes in the earth. In such regions no fire can be lit. The last known area of this kind is up the river behind Green Bay, about four miles from the sea. So far as could be learnt, *Ikhnd'* have never assisted Bella Coola in any way nor played any part in the social life of the community. They are feared on account of their supernatural power, but appear so seldom that they are practically disregarded.

More common than the last, and accordingly more important, is the *kaukas*. It is an enormous bird with bony wings and long, flexible beak. As it flies, the wings rattle violently, and its note, an oft repeated "*Hax, hax, hax,*" can be heard for miles. These birds are said to have been numerous in former years, and are well known to all Bella Coola. Masked figures representing them are often used at *kwiat* dances. The *kaukas* is feared for its practice of inserting its long beak into the rectum of anyone sleeping carelessly in the forest and drawing forth his entrails. This can be prevented by standing upright a staff, such as all hunters carry, before going to sleep.

[535] [975] ● 961 A 776 [779] [536]

A popular story states that once, not many years ago, a number of men camped on the edge of a canyon near their home, without taking this precaution. One of them was awakened by a slight movement of one of his companions and, looking up, he saw the long neck and beak of a *kaukas* projecting over the rim of the canyon and sucking his partner's entrails. The convulsive shiver of the stricken man had awakened him. With his bow he shot an arrow into the bird's neck, causing it to disappear over the brink. Presently the long beak reappeared and he discharged another arrow with the same result. Again and again this happened until the attack ceased at dawn. The hunter assumed that a single bird had been repeatedly attacking, but when he looked over the edge of the cliff, he saw below a number of carcasses, each with an arrow in its throat. The canyon must have been a roosting place for the birds. His companions seemed still asleep, but when he investigated he found that all were dead; only the slightly enlarged orifice showed how they had been killed.

A 776 [779] No *kaukas* has been seen within recent years, but one informant and her husband heard them on the south side of the Bella Coola River about two miles from the sea. They would have

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been frightened at any time but nightfall increased their fears. 776 *
Their dogs heard the sound and howled in dread. The woman 789
threw on their fire several soiled blankets, her only pair of
shoes, and some dry salmon, which all supernatural beings [825]
abhor. Then she and her husband fled home, waving lanterns
to and fro and firing musket shots in all directions. The birds
did not follow them, but they considered themselves fortunate
to reach Bella Coola unmolested.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural 776 *
animals just described are fairly exact; they know their ap-
pearance, what to expect, and what to do if one is encountered.
In addition to these, they assume the existence of monsters of
indefinite form which they term *swaq*. Any supernatural
creature, a Atkinl' for example, is spoken of as a swaq in
general, not specific, classification. Consequently, what one [184]
Bella Coola may describe as a *swaq* is given a distinctive name
by someone else with wider knowledge. As far as could be
learnt, there is no designation other than *swaq* for creatures
which move from the ocean in April to clear the way for salmon [825]
and spend the summer in the lakes of the interior, or beneath
the ice of glaciers. They can assume various forms, sometimes
even human, though they usually appear as giant, hairless,
bear-like creatures with short legs and brown skin. Their eyes
are large, round, and glass-like. In whatever form these cre- 761
atures may appear, they are almost certain to bring disaster to 776 *
the beholder. One of the haunts of *swaq* is beneath the glacier
on Mount *Ōpwa-i*, behind the small mountain which rises [778]
behind *Kimsqu-ti*, on the south side of the Bella Coola River
about half a mile from the sea. It is said that only a few
years ago a white man, having heard of these creatures, went
to that place with a number of Bella Coola. All the latter were
able to hear the roaring of the beasts, louder than the whistle
of a steamer, but the white man seemed deaf to it, though the
power of the *swaq* had affected him, for he died on the way
back to the village.

Other *swaq* are said to live near Kimsquit. The father of [778]

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a woman now in middle age is said to have guided a white man to the spot. Through a telescope he saw an enormous animal, and passed the instrument to a Kimsquit Indian in the party. He, too, saw it, but the effect was so powerful that he soon died. Theoretically, a man may receive supernatural aid from one of these monsters, but practically they are regarded as entirely evil and to be avoided.

The creature to which the term *snaxy* is most often applied is one that lives in lakes; it has a huge mouth and can suck with incredible force. More specifically, this animal is termed a *sḥâmtsk*. One is said to have lived not long ago at Winter Bay, about six miles from Bella Coola, and a small one is said to be living even now in Ootsa Lake. The Bella Coola tell a number of stories concerning the *sḥâmtsk*; the following is a typical account, and others will be given with folk-tales in a later chapter.

Within the life-time of an informant, two youths, a chief's son and a poor man's son, went to swim in one of the small lakes near Ootsa Lake. The chief's son who was ready first, swam out, wearing a fancy belt, leaving his companion on the shore. When the latter was on the point of diving in he heard a dreadful sucking noise, combined with an ominous crackling. He called to the swimmer asking him if he, too, heard it.

"Yes," came the answer, "But it is nothing," and the youth continued his swim.

As the noise grew louder the boy on the bank cried out: "Come back, come back, there is something bad there that we do not understand."

His friend in the water again answered: "Oh! There is nothing wrong."

The noise increased; sticks and stones were sucked from the bank and flew out towards the centre of the lake. The suction eventually grew so great that the youth on land was forced to clutch a tree-trunk with his arms, while his legs fluttered out towards the lake like pennants in a strong wind. The strain on his arms was so terrific that he was almost forced to relinquish his grip before the suction subsided. When he looked at the lake the swimmer had vanished.

The survivor returned to the village and reported what had happened. No one believed his story; instead, he was made a prisoner, accused of having killed the chief's son. For a week the people questioned him daily without being able to shake his story; then they resolved to

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539 seized and carried to the shore. He had thought that it would
* 996 be easy to free himself, but he found it impossible and was carried under the sea. He bit frantically at the enfolding arms, until he succeeded in freeing his own, with which he pushed up the beak of the octopus, thus killing it. He rose to the surface and returned home none the worse.

[825] The Bella Coola do not profess to know all the animals of the world; and if they see a strange one, they assume it to be one known to their ancestors though unfamiliar to them. 539 Since any unknown animal is considered to have supernatural
● 961 power, due care must be exercised when one is seen. The fol-
* 996 lowing incident illustrates this point.

825 The mother's brother of an informant worked for some thirty years for a white man in Victoria. His employer once sent him to see a turtle which was confined in a pool in a basement preparatory to being killed for a banquet. As soon as he saw it, he said:

"My parents in Bella Coola told me of such a creature."

A few days before Christmas the turtle was cut up and displayed on four platters in the window of the store; the Bella Coola saw it, and thus learned that it had been killed. The same night a sore appeared on his wrist, and by the next day it was large and running. He said to his employer:

"In a few days I will be dead. Do not grieve for me. The sight of such supernatural creatures is too powerful for Indians; I survived one experience, but twice has been too much for me and I will die."

His employer wisely sent him to a white doctor who cured him, although the scar remained. Years later the man returned to Bella Coola where he displayed the mark as proof of his story. A few weeks later he died, and the Bella Coola are firmly convinced that his death was due to his having seen the turtle many years before.

* 996 Although the forests of British Columbia abound with
989 supernatural animals of enormous power, the attitude of the
[981] Bella Coola hunter who penetrates into lonely places is not one of constant fear. It is true that he may meet danger at any turn, but danger is part and parcel of human life, and he is by no means defenceless. He dreads the powers possessed by creatures of another plane, but they for their part dread certain human objects. Clothing which has been worn for so long that it has become steeped with the emanations of its

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The most spectacular of Raven's exploits was the theft of the sun in order to provide light for the world (I, p. 298). In this case, a valuable object was acquired for mankind, but often Raven interfered with the kindly aims of *Ālquntām*, a point illustrated in the following account of the origin of death:[28]

539 776* 761 [821]

In the beginning of time, before people had really become human, Raven made a boy from his own body, gave him life, and called him *O·mietlmai*. His creation was Raven's chief joy. The youth was beautiful; his feet and hands were especially small and light-coloured, and Raven gloried in what he had been able to do without the assistance of his friend *Yulātimut*, the Carpenter. All went well until *O·mietlmai* was about fifteen years of age when *Ālquntām* wanted to find out about this being which Raven had created. Accordingly, he sent to earth one of his *Snulsdktāls* to carry off *O·mietlmai*. At that time there were four *Snulsdktāls* in *Nusmāt·a*, huge, eagle-like, supernatural birds under the especial care of *Ālquntām* himself. Down swooped one of these creatures and carried the youth aloft to *Nusmāt·a*, where he was treated as a guest by *Ālquntām*.

Raven, ignorant of the reason for his loss, was heart-broken. He pulled out his hair and for four days sat and pondered. Then he decided to wage war on the *Snulsdktāls*, not knowing that the latter had been acting by command of *Ālquntām*. Raven went to *Yulātimut* and asked him to make a huge whale. The carpenter was surprised and enquired about the purpose, whereupon Raven told him of the loss of *O·mietlmai*, and how he hoped that the *Snulsdktāls* would be lured into swooping down to fight the dummy and would be vanquished. *Yulātimut* agreed to help him and worked for four days on a gigantic cedar, chiselling it out like a canoe, but in the shape of an enormous whale. Then for four days he gathered gum and covered the wooden monster with a layer about an inch thick; finally he painted the outer surface to resemble a whale. It was a very fine piece of work. That night Raven asked *Yulātimut* to launch it. The stomach had been weighted so that it could either sink or float and there was room for a man inside to steer it. The whale acted according to specification, diving and rising easily, moving to right or left according to the wishes of the helmsman. Raven was delighted.

Early next morning *Yulātimut* again launched the craft at Raven's request, and it wallowed around near the shore like a real whale. *Ālquntām*

[28]Related by Jim Pollard.

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saw it, and despatched one of his *Snulsilktäls* to fetch it. He chose *Nunusmaouk*, "He Who Carries One," the *Snulsilktäls* able to lift one of anything. Down swooped *Nunusmaouk*, and seized the dummy in his talons, but, as he flapped his wings in an effort to rise, they became stuck in the gum so that he could neither lift his quarry nor escape. When the whale dived he was drowned. Many people on the shore watched the struggle. Then *Älquntäm* despatched another *Snulsilktäls*, *Nunulnusek*, "He Who Carries Two," who is able to carry two of anything. *Nunulnusek* likewise gripped the whale with his claws and succeeded in raising it slightly before his wings stuck in the gum and he, too, fell back and was drowned. Then *Älquntäm* sent down *Nunuäsmusek*, "He Who Carries Three," the *Snulsilktäls* able to lift three of anything. *Nunuäsmusek* gripped the whale as his predecessors had done, and lifted it about ten feet in the air before his wings became stuck like those of the others, and he, too, fell back and was drowned. *Älquntäm*, much worried, called to him *Nunumu·sek*, "He Who Carries Four," the *Snulsilktäls* able to carry four of anything, and despatched him after telling him how his three brothers had been overcome in their efforts to carry the monster away. *Nunumu·sek* swooped down with a powerful rush, gripped the whale firmly at the back of its neck, and carried it far aloft into the sky. Gradually the gum interfered with his wing-beats; they became more rapid and strained, until slowly he began to fall, still struggling. All the while his wings were being more and more hampered, till finally he, too, was powerless, and with a resounding splash fell with the whale into the water where he, likewise, was drowned. When no more *Snulsilktäls* appeared, the helmsman inside guided his strange craft back to the beach, where he exhibited his prey to the spectators. The story does not record how he was able to disengage them from the gum and take them into his whale. All the people were amazed at the dead *Snulsilktäls*, for their huge bony wings resembled nothing ever seen before.

Raven was not satisfied with his success, because, though he had slain the *Snulsilktäls*, he had not recovered *O·mistlmai*. He went to his house still weeping at the loss of his child. *Älquntäm* and *O·mistlmai* had seen Raven's sorrow, and the former sent the boy back. When *O·mistlmai* entered the house he said to Raven:

"Don't cry. Here I am. I saw your grief and have returned."

Raven looked at the speaker and replied: "No. You are not my son. He had beautiful flowing locks."

O·mistlmai had indeed appeared without any hair on his head, but he explained his loss by saying:

"Truly I am your son, *O·mistlmai*. I have been up in *Nusmät·a* where there was such a gale that my hair was blown away."

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Raven, blinded by his grief, did not believe him, and responded angrily:

"No, youare not my son. Why do you lie to me? Get out of this house."

Disgusted at this reception, *O·mistlmai* obeyed. Just as he was passing through the doorway, Raven noticed the tattoo marks on his legs, and realized that, in spite of the change in his appearance, the visitor was really his son. He called on him to return, but *O·mistlmai* paid no attention to his father's entreaties and sped far away. Raven's grief was beyond expression, but he could do nothing to repair the damage he had done. If it had not been for Raven's mistake, all mortals would return to life four days after death. [304]

771 761 776*

The above myth is widely known among the Bella Coola, and is supposed to be historically accurate. At the same time, few people allow it to influence their thoughts with regard to death or its causes. It is a fact, but one that belongs to the realm of ancient history rather than to everyday experience. When a Bella Coola dies, his relatives, though they know that his death is due to the folly of Raven, tacitly overlook this, and do not feel bitterly towards Raven. Bella Coola beliefs and theology are not systematized, hence it is quite possible for a person to realize a certain fact, such as the cause of death, and yet disregard it entirely. Considering that absolute contradictions can be believed simultaneously, it is not difficult to picture the mental attitude of people who believe, and at the same time disregard their belief.

539 825

One of Raven's spectacular, and at the same time, beneficial exploits was the bringing of sockeye salmon to the Bella Coola River.[87]

In the beginning of time, no sockeye salmon inhabited the rivers, and Raven determined to supply them. First he tried making wooden fish and throwing them into the water, but though he could animate them, they always died after jumping a few times. The reason for his failure, though he did not know it, was because he had omitted the small bone [774]

[87]This is an example of conflicting beliefs. In addition to assuming that salmon were sent down by *Alquntam* to furnish food for mankind, and that Raven supplied them in the beginning of time, the Bella Coola also believe that they are brought each year both by *Nedkynem* and *Winwina*. [771]

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years ago a chief, when hunting, sat down to rest. While he 774
sat a slide plunged down the mountain-side and swept away the ground where he would have been if he had not stopped. The Bella Coola know that such a fortunate escape is no accident, as foolish white men believe, but is the result of an active spirit. Sometimes it can convey only symbolic hints of what is to happen. An old Kimsquit man told how his lower eyelids once became sore and his stomach began to heave. This [827] occurs with sobbing, so he knew that ill-fortune was before [787] him and was not surprised at the death of his son. A thoughtful person pays great attention to indications such as these, knowing that his spirit is always striving to pierce the future and obtain information for him, however indefinite. The importance of the supernatural to the Bella Coola can be judged from the fact that they attribute every action and thought to an element of this nature.

Mentality, *silk*, though caused by the spirit, is somewhat 774
vaguely regarded as a separate entity. It comprises two parts, 828
one constantly urging to good deeds, particularly to activity in ritual matters, the other to evil. No one knows the appearance, if any, of human mentality. Some of the thoughtful older men hazard the opinion that every tree has mentality, whereas others say that it has a spirit. In former times especially, as one was falling, the cutters could occasionally see a dark object somewhat resembling an otter flash away and disappear. Not until then was the tree actually dead. Even the old people do not profess to know anything definite about mentality, which is important only as an attribute of the spirit. In indefinite 774
association with it, too, is breath, *sininits*, provided by *Alquntäm* [761] for everyone at birth. The word signifies more than [827] the material act of breathing, it denotes the actual physical state of being alive, a condition "lent" by *Alquntäm* to mortals. The connection of these two elements with the spirit is unequivocal, though their exact relationship is indefinite.

If the spirit moves far from its proper position at the back [753] of the neck, the owner falls ill; if it leaves him, his condition [755]

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774 becomes critical. Only a shaman (I, p. 539) can return one, and
755 if he fails death always results. In some cases a spirit leaves
[753] its owner without apparent reason; he becomes insane, tries
to eat dirt, and his relatives realize at once what is the matter.
[756] They summon a shaman who takes off his cape, hangs it like a pouch on his stick, and points it in all directions as he sings his shaman's song. Finally he locates what is missing, and traps it in his cloak, which he places around the sick man. This restores the element and the sufferer recovers immediately. Another method is for the shaman to press the back of the patient's neck, and by blowing and spitting cause the wandering spirit to return. Either cure must be performed by a shaman because of the supernatural power required.

774 Spirits can be extracted in various ways. Shamans can draw one forth by sucking at the back of the neck between their cupped hands; in former times, some were so powerful that they could extract them by their mere presence. During
774 *kusiut* dances (II, chap. 1), the uninitiated are told that if they
575 enter the house where a ceremony is taking place, or even pass
[535] on the sidewalk outside the door, their spirits will be drawn from them by the power within and attracted to the dancer or to the sacred platform on which he is concealed. Many
[178] stories are told of this, which were firmly believed by the uninitiated until the last few years. Members of the society claim that their great power acts as a magnet to the spirits of all but their associates, except children in arms; the latter can be taken by their mothers into the house, because their supernatural elements have not developed sufficient strength to
774 leave their bodies. A person may also lose his spirit through a sudden shock. If two people meet unexpectedly in the forest and one of them shouts loudly at the other, even if only in fun, the spasmodic contraction of the muscles is enough to expel it.
[761] The person to whom this happens falls down as if dead, and
[756] though he soon recovers, his spirit has left him, and if it is not brought back by a shaman he dies a lingering death.

775 At death, the spirit permanently leaves the body. In some

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cases it tarries near the corpse for four days, or it may start at once on its travels. Distance means nothing to it, nor does time; once disembodied it goes back on the path of its late owner's ancestors from generation to generation, until it reaches the spot where his first forefather came to this earth. Here it assumes the bird or animal form used on that occasion and goes up to *Nusmät·a*. It is uncertain whether or not the spirit can take on, simultaneously, the different shapes used by various ancestors of the deceased. Its existence in the land above is similar to that on earth, but in an advanced degree. A good carpenter, for example, is a better carpenter after death; a chief is a greater chief; and one of the explanations for death is that *Älquntäm* has called a man to continue his work in another sphere. *Nusmät·a* is so huge that it is never crowded, though the spirits are immortal. They can see what is taking place on earth and sometimes return in bird or animal form to visit and comfort their grieving relatives. Powerful chiefs delight to display this, by means of a masked figure, as the central feature of a potlatch. Apart from this ceremonial usage, disembodied spirits play no part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They take no interest in human beings and accordingly are neither supplicated nor feared. 775

THE LIFE

Closely associated with the spirit is the *sxuxmänoäs lkt'*, life.[38] As in the previous case, *Älquntäm* provides every human being and every animal with this at birth. It is an ethereal substance, having the form of the body which it animates; without it there can be neither strength nor growth; without life the body is an inert mass of flesh. As a person becomes older, so does this element grow, always taking the exact shape and form of the body. Alone, it can neither move nor think, its motive power being the spirit. It is the life that suffers 761 [774]

[38]Interpretations have been employed whenever possible to lessen the use of confusing native terms. *Life* is not an accurate translation of this Bella Coola word, but it is hoped that the reader will grasp its real significance from the description in this section. [114]

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It is the life that suffers
761 whenever the skin is broken. Any wound may prove dan-
[752] gerous, but particularly one that cuts either of the invisible
lines along which vitality flows from the little finger to the
[827] little toe. An injury to one of these channels spreads rapidly
and is in many cases fatal.

761 It is generally considered that a person dies if his life leaves
his body. In contradiction to this, though the discrepancy
774 seems of slight importance to the Bella Coola, is the belief that
it ascends at the winter solstice to the gathering of the super-
natural beings in *Nusmät·a* to greet *Älquntäm*. It is common
knowledge that some part of the human body does this, but
there is diversity of opinion regarding which it may be. Some
say it is the spirit, but the consensus of opinion is that it is the
life. If it is successful and receives presents in the land above,
its owner will prosper on earth; if it is unfortunate, he will be
the same; if it falls in the crush as the guests hurry forth to
escape the heat of *Älquntäm*'s entry, he will die. By dreams
761 a man learns the fortune of his supernatural representative,
787 and from them he can judge what is in store for him during the
coming year and receive intimations concerning birth and
death, secret society matters and, in fact, every phase of
human activity, since all are decided at the meeting of *Älquntäm*
and his associates. Dreams are considered to be especially
important at this season of the year (I, p. 608) and information
obtained from them may, perhaps, be the origin of the present
firm conviction that some portion of the body actually ascends.
[182] Bella Coola beliefs have so broken down in recent years that
lack of unanimity concerning the specific part is not surprising,
nor does it alter the importance of this conviction. No attempt
is made to explain how an individual can remain alive during
the annual absence of his life.

761 Although the life is so ethereal, it really consists of four
intangible elements which unite to form the immaterial whole.
One of these parts, including the voice, is located in the throat,
another in the trunk, a third in the legs, and a fourth in the
feet; the body is thus divided into four quarters. The con-

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nection of these with one another and with the spirit, the mental director of the life, is a matter of advanced Bella Coola theology on which opinions differ. Only men of philosophical temperament even hazard an opinion on such matters, which are beyond the realm of daily routine. 761

When a man dies, his life leaves his body and the useless flesh begins to decay. At the same time the life is freed to travel as an intangible wraith, having the form and appearance of its dead owner. It visits all the places where he had been in the habit of going during life, irrespective of their distance from the scene of death. Sometimes it journeys to the locality where, in a dream, the mother of the deceased received her first intimation of pregnancy (I, p. 615). It wants to see former friends and sometimes makes its presence known to them by whistling. A person who hears this sound is saddened by the realization that one of his associates has passed away in some distant place. At other times, a man merely senses its presence and feels frightened without hearing or seeing anything to account for it. Very rarely, a dead person's life speaks to a dearly loved friend to inform him of his loss. During the existence of the body, spirit and life are closely associated, and the former sometimes accompanies the latter on its round of farewell visits before ascending to *Nusmät·a*. 761 775 [774]

After four days the life descends to the land below where it lives forever as a ghost. Some believe that it is the shadow which assumes this form, but the seeming contradiction is relatively unimportant since the life is essentially shadow-like. Ghosts have already been described in connection with supernatural bodies, and further information will be found in vol. I, chap. VIII.

At death, when the life as a whole becomes a ghost, its constituent parts likewise undergo transformation. The one situated in the feet remains with the corpse and disintegrates; that located in the legs enters a wolf and nothing more is known of its fate; no one knows what happens to the one situated in the body. The part in the throat, including the voice, enters [827] [825] [539]

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761 an owl, possibly one of those which normally roost on the tree
775 behind *Nusmät-a*. This element of a dead person occasionally
825 communicates with a living relative, as evidenced by the following story.

[539]
[827]

A number of years ago a party of men and women camped for the night beside one of the rivers flowing into South Bentinck Arm. After supper, as they were resting by their fire, an owl kept hooting from a neighbouring tree. One of the men turned to a friend who had been making obscene remarks and, half in jest, warned him to be careful in case one of his relatives was listening. The foolish fellow looked at the owl and asked:

"Are you a relative of mine?"

There was no answer, but when he had repeated the question four times, the owl spoke:

"I am so-and-so," he said, naming the deceased grandfather of his questioner.

Consequent upon the belief that the voice of a dead person enters an owl, the bird is treated with considerable respect. It is improper to make fun of one, or to ask who it was when alive. Should a person do so, the owl answers with the interrogator's own name and he soon dies.

761 On the whole, the life does not affect the daily existence of the Bella Coola as profoundly as does the spirit. When they stop to ponder on the reason for some event, they readily admit the importance of the life with its constituent elements, but they are not always considering its activities and seeking to strengthen it. It is essentially a religious attribute, of greater moment to a man of imaginative and suggestible temperament than to one who carries on the daily routine without asking *why* and *wherefore*.

THE TALLY POST

773 In the beginning of time, when *Ăkquntäm* sent the first
777 people down to earth, he erected in *Nusmät-a* posts emblazoned with the bird or animal crest taken by each to serve as a memorial, or reminder, to him of the number of individuals existing

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701 difficult to estimate the former influence of such warriors. The belief of all in their ability must have given them some prestige, although the requirements of practical qualifications in fighting must often have prevented them from functioning as military leaders. In other words, a man may be, socially, a warrior, even though he lacks ability as a fighting man.

701 The functions of warriors are not limited to fighting with
693 enemies of other tribes. Each has the power to kill and must exercise it when requested. If a mistake is made in a cere-
[688] monial *kusiut* dance, the offender must be killed, and one way
[575] in which this is accomplished is by the senior members of the society requesting a professional warrior to act as executioner.
[428] One of these men, who lived at *Ăsăn·ăn·i*, always used a stone
[411] club which had been handed down from generation to generation, becoming the property of each new incumbent of the
[754] name and prerogative. In other cases, the killing is said to have been done with the aid of magic. The power of the *Ăsăn·ăn·i* warrior had been confirmed with so much goods that he was the most powerful professional killer known to the Bella Coola. He acted on instructions from the senior members of the *kusiut* society or when called upon by anyone. If,
[684] for example, a man found that his wife had been faithless and wished to kill her lover, it was only necessary to tell the professional warrior, who was bound to act in accordance with his prerogative. He received no pay, since he was merely
[682] exercising his right. The relatives of the murdered person never took revenge on the slayer, realizing that he was powerless in the matter, though they frequently requested him to slay the person who had asked him to kill the first victim. He could never refuse to do so, even if the victim were his own brother, or if he knew that the person he was to kill was guiltless. The underlying principle was that this man's power had
[761] been increased to such a pitch by the distribution of presents that if he failed to exercise it on demand, it would react upon himself and cause his own death. This *Ăsăn·ăn·i* warrior began in time to have an aversion for his vocation, since he

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the front-door facing the river, but has to leave the house 784
through the trap beneath the enclosure where she sleeps. The 881
Bella Coola consider it unthinkable for a girl to disregard these prohibitions, but if this should happen, she would be chased home by her parents, by the Guardian of the River, or, in fact, by any elderly member of the community. The strongest [761]
reason for respecting these regulations is the belief that disobedience brings death; no one knows how it is inflicted, but a careless girl soon dies. During this period[4] she cannot eat [262]
fresh salmon, though she is allowed them if they have been smoked for four or five days. Her scanty meals are brought to her in the enclosure where she is virtually a prisoner. It is true [783]
that she can leave it and wander in the woods, but her comrades avoid her as being in an unclean condition of which they are afraid, and she is barred from taking part in all activities by the river which constitute so large a part of the life of the Bella Coola. A girl cannot pick berries during this time, as no [222]
more would grow in the valley which she had thus defiled; she must not touch anyone, nor allow anyone to touch her; she must not pass in front of a man; she must go to bed before [513]
everyone else in the house, and be the last to arise. The danger of breaking some taboo is so great that it is safer for a girl to [867]
remain within her enclosure where her mother, and other old women, gather to tell her the many things which it is fitting for an adult woman to know. This seclusion is not pleasant, but it unquestionably serves to emphasize the importance of married life to which it is a prelude. The writer remembers an occasion when a Bella Coola family was eating tasty fresh salmon while one of the daughters, who had recently reached adolescence, watched enviously. Her grandfather rose and gave the child an orange, remarking that in his youth little girls did not receive such dainties to ameliorate their lot.

Adolescent girls wear certain distinctive articles of clothing 881
and ornaments. The most noticeable is a skull-cap bound [292]
with grass; this is the only time in a woman's life that a hat is [301]
worn. She also wears ear-rings, each consisting of a neat [439]

1 [ie - one year after puberty - ANALYST]

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CAUSES OF DEATH

761 The Bella Coola know that sickness, accident, wilful murder, old age, and a host of other factors may at any time terminate a man's life, but they consider that any one of these direct causes is possible only in conjunction with an indirect reason of a religious or supernatural nature; in the last analysis they attribute death to supernatural, not to natural causes. [773] As described in a previous chapter, an ancient myth attributes the origin of death to the stupidity of Raven, but this belief, even if its historical accuracy is accepted, belongs to the realm of philosophy and ancient history rather than to everyday life. 761 When a canoe is capsized on the ocean and its occupants are drowned,—the Bella Coola do not consider a drowning a mere 776 accident—it is because *Q̓omoqwa* was hungry and desired human flesh. This indirect reason is quite as important as the direct one. So, too, the death of a man beneath a falling tree or a land-slide is no accident; *Sä·lma* caused the tree to crash to earth or the slide to roll downwards. Most individuals believe that this supernatural being is responsible when an animal kills a hunter. He delights in death and always sits on [756] a coffin before it is taken to the grave, although none but shamans can see him. Any supernatural being can cause death, but it must not be imagined that the Bella Coola go through life in a state of constant fear; death may vanquish them in the forests, but the probabilities are against it. Nor does 753 sickness appear to them as a natural phenomenon. Its cause is either the intrusion of some foreign object into the body, or the weakness of one of the patient's supernatural elements. The only remedy in the latter case is an appeal to the super- [755] natural, sometimes through the medium of a shaman, whereas a foreign object in the body can often be extracted by a skilled [754] practitioner. A disease of this type is often brought on by the machinations of a sorcerer, and if death results it is attributed 761 to the potency of his charms, not to a natural ailment. Even [775] ghosts are able to cause death. In war, one man may be able [726]

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to kill an enemy, but his success is accredited to his supernatural possessions which have given him skill as a warrior rather than to his own ability. 761 726

It is felt that no ordinary explanation is sufficient to account for the death of a great chief. No matter what may have been the actual cause, it is always said that the supernatural Carpenters, who in the beginning of time created mankind, came down and "seized" or "called back" the deceased, thinking him too good for this world. It is believed that these beings are keen hunters, and that *Ālquntām* allows them to pursue influential people. This sentiment is always expressed in mourning songs for a dead chief, but although accepted as a matter of fact, it is little more than a formalized belief which serves to comfort the mourners. The infraction of a taboo is another reason frequently given for a chief's death. It is said that there was a loud crash and the earth shook before the death of *Potlas*; he became ill immediately, and his stomach began to swell. The stricken chief said that *Sonx̄* itself had fallen upon him, but the common belief was that he had erred in some ritual act. At any rate, he died within a few hours. 761 622 [773] [555]

RITES FOLLOWING DEATH

News of a critical illness spreads rapidly through the village and the house in which the sufferer is lying becomes a rendezvous for friends asking about his condition. Failure to do so would be considered ungracious, with the result that there is such a constant coming and going that rest is denied the sick person. Shamans are called upon to practise their powers in a noisy manner, and female relatives weep and wail. The din is indescribable. 763 [756]

When the patient shows no further indication of life, the shamans cease, but the women redouble their cries. Relatives, friends, and sympathizers all crowd into the house and begin to weep, often adding verbal lamentations. The progress of the news from house to house can be traced by the wailings. Mean- 764

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764 friends of the deceased, pick up the coffin and carry it through
[766] the hole. In former times it was frequently difficult to obtain
[784] pall-bearers for a slave or friendless person on account of the
[761] taboos to which a person performing this service was subject. If a dead person should be taken through a doorway, others using it would soon follow the corpse to the next world. For the same reason, a body must never be moved across the central line of a house; the passage is, therefore, made from the side where it happens to be lying. As soon as the corpse has been taken through, the removed planks are quickly replaced. Mourners and guests stream out through the doorway and follow the coffin, some of them carrying the bundles containing part of the goods of the deceased. Meanwhile the pall-bearers follow the woman with the torch to the cemetery, taking care to carry their burden so that it faces the direction
[761] in which they are going; if a dead person is allowed to look backwards, he will beckon some relative to accompany him and the one so summoned will soon die.

There is a cemetery near every village, usually fifty to a hundred yards behind the row of houses in a place from which the heavy timber has been cleared. On arrival, the pall-bearers set down their burden close to the spot where the guide has placed her flaming bark on the ground. The personal possessions of the deceased are likewise deposited near the fire, which is kept alight by female relatives throwing on it small quantities of the dead person's clothing and utensils. The near kinsmen of the deceased choose the exact site of the grave, which must never be dug before the bringing of the corpse.
[423] There is no ownership of plots within the cemetery, so that the hole can be made wherever desired. A favourite location is close to the grave of a mother, father, or other near relative, but this is optional; bones are sometimes uncovered when digging, and in that case earth is thrown in once more and a new site selected. There are no professional grave-diggers,
[767] nor are arrangements made in advance for men to perform this duty, but friends, especially strong young men, are willing to

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Indeed, a grave is never
765 disturbed except, rarely, when it is necessary to obtain a
[789] portion of a skeleton for magical purposes. In such a case,
the coffin lid must be lifted up on the side away from the
[761] opener, so that he looks within over its upturned edge. A
person failing to obey this injunction will soon die.

768 Burning or deposition near the grave is not restricted to the actual utensils and artifacts of the deceased. There, too, must be laid dried salmon which a man has smoked for winter use, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready
[264] by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person seems indescribably indecent. In recent years, the crop, if a man dies after tilling and sowing a field, is allowed to ripen, and then rot unharvested. So, too, the canoe in which a body has been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Coola are not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is
[761] apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of
[784] death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or that has been in contact with a corpse.

764 The rituals described above may be considered as religious in nature; almost equally important are the social require-
431 ments of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This
556 indebtedness falls on the near relatives, though all members of the ancestral family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite
[614] manner. If a canoe has been destroyed that did not belong to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents must be given to the pall-bearers, to the woman who bore the flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way. Failure to do so brands the relatives as misers with little respect for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the outlook and minds of chiefs. Consequently, even poor people try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death

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place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death. 764 783

The above rite protects widower or widow, but does not alter the fact that for one year they are ceremonially "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the ocean. The one near Kimsquit is called *Sqlaw'ii*, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of which the bottoms are bent upwards; should this be omitted, when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will soon die. 765 [783] [125] [262] [484] [292] [761]

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should cut their hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; if this rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and [621] [302] [134] [587] [735]

775 accustomed to do when alive; but the workmanship is shadowy and unsubstantial, sometimes even transparent. Ghosts do not act like human beings, but usually walk backwards, sometimes even on their hands, and spend much of their time playing a game resembling football with large, globular objects made of some light substance. They communicate with one another both by whistling and in a language which resembles the strangest or speech made by a tongueless person. Some 775 individuals believe that there is a supreme chief in the land of 776 ghosts, *Mitlenaitl*, sent down like Pluto to preside over the shades. His figures in certain stories describing descents to the lower world; but many Bella Coola know nothing of his existence below, although it furnishes a plausible explanation for his coming by night to molest human beings. Like *Sasquatch* he causes blood to rush forth from the mouth and genitalia of anyone whom he seizes; death follows, and a new victim has been acquired for his kingdom. The more common belief is 775 that the villages of ghosts have chiefs like those of human beings. It is thought, indefinitely, that after a long period of time the ghosts die, and some of them may then return to this world as infants. A child born with dimples in its ears, which are regarded as indications of previous boring for rings, is welcomed as the reincarnation of some unknown ancestor.

At death, the ghost does not immediately appear in the land below, but remains for four days within the back room of a house corresponding in style to an ordinary Bella Coola dwelling. It is believed that one of these large houses is beneath every village* and that the dead pass straight down through the earth into it. Meanwhile the goods, burnt at the grave during the funeral, as well as those deposited beside it, have fallen through the ground and notified the ghosts that a newcomer has arrived. The wealth assembles from all directions and fight over the articles, some of which are obtained by the one who owned them during life. On the fourth

*There may be one large house, extending beneath the entire like Pluto's shown, it was impossible to obtain definite information on this point.

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wise to speak to living relatives, but his whistling language is unintelligible and frightens the hearer. Ghosts dislike urine, and the only means known to keep them away from a house is to sprinkle this liquid outside the door, a common Bella Coola custom. There is no actual danger in hearing a ghost, and little even in seeing one, provided the observer does not relate his experience, but should he try to do so, something happens to his mouth as if an invisible hand had been clamped over it to prevent his words issuing forth. He can neither eat nor drink and soon dies.* It is possible that other beings are responsible for this same affliction, but no sufferer has ever been able to explain the cause of his silence, so one knows. The most dangerous ghost is that of a person who, buried without a wear-ring, is unable to disintegrate into his elements. The sight of such an apparition causes almost immediate death through contraction and closing of the mouth.

An emphatic habit of ghosts is the throwing of stones at the living. This is done partly from a love of mischief, and partly to remind their relatives of their needs. An old Kwakiutl man described how, when encamped on King Island, he had almost been struck by a stone which seemed to fall from a tree. He realized that it must have been thrown by a ghost, and his opinion was confirmed when he found he could not speak. He instantly built a fire and cast on it both food and clothing as offerings to the dead, which had the effect of loosening his mouth. Pondering on the reason, he remembered that one of his relatives had died not far away, and that he had failed to give him any crumbs for a long time. In this case, as in many others, the stone was visible, though the thrower remained invisible.

Even near approach to ghosts is sometimes dangerous. The same man related how, when hunting, he heard what he thought was the noise of a water canal, and passed by heedlessly. In a few minutes he thought he heard the rattling of geese, but the sound, instead of continuing to come from a pool a few hun-

*The disease attributed to the actions of ghosts may be tetanus.

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wrapped up in a specific object it follows that the luck is transmissible; in fact, one of the chief advantages to the man who owns some valuable object is the wealth which he derives from selling a small portion of it. 777 787 [432]

The Bella Coola term for supernatural good luck is *ejo*, meaning, "What is Good." This can come from any being though it is most frequently obtained either from a *mitqoo* or a *sutsuf*. The former resembles a toad of enormous size, with a blazing fire-like glow in its throat; the latter is a double-headed salmon or snake that can travel on land. The person who succeeds in killing one of these creatures can use the carcass as a lure to wealth, if he knows the proper means. The portion must be wrapped in an article that has been in close contact with the slayer, such as a piece of his soiled clothing. This must be kept carefully hidden for one year in a country to which no rain can penetrate, and after that it can be used as bait. There is equal potency in a stick or other object which has come in contact with the beast. Great danger is attached to the sight of a *mitqoo* or a *sutsuf*, since death usually follows any incorrect attempt to gain wealth from either. The person who sees one of these creatures feels no ill effects until he draws near a fire, when his stomach burns. All the Bella Coola agree that if a man has been close to one he can be saved by the use of certain medicines, but the following stories show that there is no clear-cut opinion as to which are the best. In fact, most families have knowledge of a specific cure which they regard as the most efficacious. [776] [776] [761] [757]

The opportunity to obtain supernatural good luck does not come solely to unfortunate individuals; indeed the Bella Coola state that it is fortuitous. It appears, however, that usually the person who is thus favoured is one who has practised ceremonial chastity, or is, through some other means, in a state of cheerfulness pleasing to the supernatural. At any rate the danger of seeing such creatures is less to a man who is in a pure condition than to any other. Further, in most cases they are apt to appear to a person whose ancestors have seen one. [185]

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777 224 elapsed, he fetched his musket from its hiding-place and again began to use it. Thenceforth he never missed his aim; every shot brought down an animal.

Before the days of muskets good fortune could likewise be obtained by the discovery of the nest of a mitqac. Each contains small particles of the skin of all animals, including human beings, plucked from them in their sleep by humming birds and moths. The finder must touch the nest with his stick, such as is always carried by hunters, then break it and throw it away, saying as he does so:

"May I see you at . . . tomorrow." This means next year.

He names his favourite hunting-ground. The finder must not say anything to anyone about his discovery, and for one [765] year he must observe continence. If he then goes to the locality mentioned, he will there find his stick, the one which he broke when he touched the nest, though it will be invisible to anyone else. Adhering to it and will be four hairs of the mitqac. These he must hide for a year, wrapped in some of his own clothing, taking care that it is an article which he has long worn and which is accordingly saturated with his essence. [735] During this period, too, he must observe continence. Two years after finding the nest, he will be able to hunt with phenomenal success. The knowledge of this proper procedure has [424] been handed down in an ancestral family for many generations.

On the occasion when the two men had seen the nest they 777 continued their journey, each chiding the other for his failure * 787 to take advantage of the opportunity put in his path. Before long they saw a footprint where no man had been and knew [772] that it must be that of Tsaskiti, the supernatural hunter of mountain goats. In spite of remonstrances, the comrade scooped up a little dirt from the track into his handkerchief. In this he did wrong, especially as he had failed to take advantage of the opportunity presented to him by the nest of the mountain goat. That night as the two were encamped a slide came thundering down beside them, and they barely escaped with their lives. Not long afterwards the erring man died, [76]

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insane, a calamity unquestionably due to his recklessness in handling the earth where a supernatural one had trod. 777 787*

This point illustrates the danger of near approach to a *mātsqus*, a theme well exemplified in the stories in the next chapter. Such perils must be counteracted in diverse ways according to the traditions of different ancestral families. One common method is to seek a lonely spot in the woods and there hollow out a shelter beneath an overhanging rock or fallen tree-trunk where the person who has been exposed to danger must remain for four days, eating nothing and at intervals scrubbing his body with branches of devil's club, spruce, and other rough plants. These protect him from the evil effects of the monster. [761] 783 [824]

Similar in function to the *mātsqus*, and equally dangerous to the unwary, is the *sisiutl*. The latter is supposed to have been created on this earth, at Bella Bella, in the beginning of time by Yālmīmut. It was at first the canoe made by this carpenter, and then turned loose by him to range the mountains and floods, as it has ever since, equally at home on land and in water, and in various forms. The following is a typical description of the manner in which a *sisiutl* appeared in the past. 777 787* [773] [776] 539

Long ago a man was hunting in the mountains when he saw a salmon, which changed in an instant to a fish-like monstrosity with two heads but no tail. He hunged at it with his stick, and in so doing started a slide which carried the salmon down the mountain. As this was taking place, the latter said: 777 787*

"Go down the mountain, salmon; I will get you at the bottom."

When he reached the foot of the new slide he saw the fish lying clear on the ocean. He cut it up and slung it on a cedar-bark rope. Now this salmon was a *sisiutl*, the first that had ever been seen, and the hunter obtained supernatural good luck from his experience. He also took the name of *Sisiutl*, a designation which has been handed down until recently.

After this adventure many people hunted for the *sisiutl*, and with fair success in early days, but now it cannot be found, 777 787*

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These become lilies (of the species known as *lälkänelp* or *walilikwätsälätsälats*, "The most potent of the pond") from the roots of which a tonic can be brewed. They can be collected by anyone, and the places where they grow are well known, but certain rules must be followed. Before reaching the pond the gatherer must find four spruce saplings, cut from each a bough projecting eastward, and lay these two by two, beside the water, with a space between. After plucking the lily roots he must place them on the ground between the spruce branches and tie the whole into a bundle with strips of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. He must be careful to wind these wrappings clockwise. On arriving at the house where the tonic is to be prepared, the bundle must be thrown in through the smoke-vent, never carried through the door. After these precautions the medicine can be prepared with safety. The roots are cut into thin slices and boiled for four days; a sick person then drinks several cupsful of the brew, which is particularly good for the blood. This remedy is especially effective if the patient is observing ceremonial chastity. The person administering the potion sees to it that the one being treated conforms to certain regulations for forty days. He must not eat fresh meat, fresh salmon, or any food prepared by a widow or a catamenial woman; he must not approach too closely a girl who is secluded following puberty, and he must observe absolute continence, not even sleeping with his wife. Death follows the breaking of any of these taboos.

Although supernatural good fortune is most frequently obtained from either a *mätsqas* or a *tsiatl*, it can be derived from other supernatural beings. In such cases the acquisition is seldom dangerous. The following tale describes the *qekäu-i*.

Long before the coming of the white man, but very long after the first people came to this earth, a certain Kimsquit man, *Wilwaxwat*, who was also called *O'mätl*, was snaring mountain goats on Mount *Tsapinätl* when he heard on the upper slopes a peculiar cry which he recognized, from descriptions given him by the old people, as the note of a *qekäu-i*.

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His Body." A shaman with this name does not use a rattle when curing.

Anuxelnumut, "Quivering To and Fro." This refers to the movements of a shaman when he dances for curative purposes.

Qpänpänliktnumlaix, "The Revolver." This is derived from *qpänliktnum*, to revolve sunwise, and as this is done for curative purposes, the name really signifies, "The One Who Restores to Strength."

It is believed that *Ťlitcäplilän-a* often uses her own discretion about visiting the sick, but that sometimes a number of the supernatural beings confer as to whether an ailing person should be helped, and if so request her to visit him. Sometimes the patient is so sick that an enormous amount of power must be inserted to help him, and he dies from its receipt. In such cases he is revived by *Anunitsektnum*, a male being whose sole function is to restore those whom *Ťlitcäplilän-a* has slain. This return to life has frequently occurred when relatives have been mourning the death of the patient, who is presently able to recount all that he has seen. Sometimes *Ťlitcäplilän-a*, instead of herself bestowing power upon a sick person, carries him[9] away to a locality in which a supernatural being was petrified in the beginning of time.

Although it is *Ťlitcäplilän-a* who most frequently cures a sick person, there are many instances of other supernatural beings having done so. Little seems to be known of these, except that they have been recorded as appearing to give a patient their name and to cure him of his malady. So far as could be ascertained, they are thought of only in connection with apparitions to the sick and, since in function they exactly resemble *Ťlitcäplilän-a*, and as it is she who is most commonly spoken of, it is possible, or even probable, that these are actually the same being under other names. The following beings are of this type.

[9] The Bella Coola do not theorize as to the part of the person thus transported; if questioned, they conclude that it must be the spirit.

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them renders it more likely that they will grant his requests. Therefore, a shaman is usually called upon to perform the following rites: 756* 782

(1) Washing the mouth of a person who has died without voiding from his body the first salmon or olachen of the season (I, p. 436). [764]

(2) Asking assistance for the complicated rites of the potlatch (I, p. 192). [556]

(3) Request for assistance before starting on a journey, by puffing eagle down into the air (I, p. 106). [484]

(4) Request for aid by means of placing food on the water and blowing eagle down into the air at Mesatche Nose and Kwatna (I, p. 109).

In fact a supplication to any supernatural being can be made with greater prospect of success by a shaman than by any other person.

The Power of Shamans

As has been said, a shaman actually has power within himself, and this is so strong that it may be a source of danger to others. If a man should pass behind one so endowed when the latter is eating, his spirit would be drawn from his body into the shaman's mouth, which would close with a click, crushing the spirit and killing the man. This is quite involuntary on the part of the shaman. It happened more than once among the early inhabitants, and since that time people have been very careful not to pass behind an eating shaman; this taboo was still in force until about 1885. A shaman, too, is said to be able to recall a spirit which has left its body, and thus caused illness. It is believed by some that shamans can see the position of a person's tally post, and so judge the length of his life. These examples show the varying beliefs of different Bella Coola concerning the powers of shamans. 756* [761] [264] [178] [755]

But the force within the shaman is really more dangerous to its possessor than to others. As certain "unclean" objects are able to subdue supernatural beings, so do these same ob- 756* 783 841

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*756 783 841 jects have power over shamans. A shaman must never sleep beside his wife during her menses, must never eat food prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has recently washed a new-born infant, by a girl during the period of seclusion following puberty, or by a widow or widower during the year that follows the death of his partner. If a shaman's nose bleeds when he is dancing it is because a menstruating woman is present in the house; he at once asks the offender to withdraw, after which the bleeding stops. Moreover, he must [755] never cure a woman during her periods. A wise shaman prac- [785] tises ceremonial chastity frequently. In view of the lack of cleanliness ascribed to menstrual blood, it is perhaps surprising that a woman can become a shaman while still of child-bearing age. This is rare, and only occurs when a woman is the last survivor of a family. The Bella Coola themselves consider it to be peculiar, only explicable on the ground that anything is possible to the supernatural beings, even the disregarding of feminine "uncleanness." Usually, female shamans are past the age of child-bearing; if not, they observe absolute chastity.

*756 761 Even inadvertent breaking of one of these rules causes death. This is not regarded as a punishment inflicted by *Tlitsplilin-a*; it is merely the inevitable consequence of the supernatural power within the shaman having come in contact with what is not clean. As a shaman is considered to be immune against all ordinary ailments, his death is always attributed to the breaking of a taboo. Frequently the death of a shaman is accompanied by some convulsion of nature. One female shaman, for example, told the people of her village to keep their children within doors, since a supernatural being was coming for her. Soon it became dark; there were four loud claps of thunder, at the fourth of which she fell dead.

539 The following was related as an instance of the danger to *756 a shaman of coming in contact with an unclean woman.

[789] The son of the first man to come to earth at *Nalkuz* was, like his [841] father, named *Dudzeeq*". One April he and his wife went upstream to [787] *Tsqumlu*, a place in the country of the Carriers where milk-weed is plen-

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tiful, of which they planned to collect a supply. In the course of their journey *Dudzsong*" saw a man who, when he drew near, turned into a piece of hanging moss. A little later he again saw a figure, but on approaching it became a tree. *Dudzsong*" and his wife walked on and presently the former once more beheld a man; this time the apparition changed to a fir tree. It was évident to *Dudzsong*" that a supernatural being had manifested itself to him, and he told his wife that they must return. On reaching home he related his experience and gave a shaman's dance. 539 756* 787

From this experience he had received the power of curing. He could see disease when it was invisible to all others, and could summon it to himself, where it was harmless, thus restoring the patient to health. He made for himself a rattle, shaped like a bird; this had the ability of dancing of its own accord, and would catch people's hair in its opening and closing beak. The sick were brought to *Dudzsong*" from all over the valley. One day he travelled by canoe down to *Snxl* where he found many of the villagers seriously ill. His arrival was quite fortuitous, for he was unaware of the epidemic that was raging. The inhabitants sought his help, so he landed and cured them. He entered the house of a woman who claimed to be ill, and took the sickness upon himself, but no sooner had he left than he fell down stricken. He demanded to be taken home in his canoe, but he only lived two days after his return. The woman had been in pain from her menses; it was this that he had taken upon himself and caused his death. 539 756* [761] [783] [841]

In consequence of the danger attached to the vocation, many people try to avoid becoming shamans, though if *Thiwápilin-a* should appear to a man when ill, he cannot escape the power. The usual method of prevention is for a man to hold intercourse with his wife from blow, so that her flesh, impure through its liability to menses, can form a barrier to the coming of supernatural power. One who wishes to escape always sleeps on the left of his wife, whereas if he is seeking shaman's power he sleeps on the right. Another method of avoidance is to use the hole in the floor which serves as exit and entrance to the house of a girl secluded following adolescence. 756* [787] [833] [513]

Since the power of a shaman is obtained by a personal experience, and lacks both form and substance, it cannot be transmitted and disappears at the owner's death. As has been

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778 could not distinguish any actual words. This ceased, to be
755 followed by the hissing sound of escaping steam; the water
became so unbearably hot that, crippled though he was, he
539 managed to crawl out. His courage soon revived, so, wrapping
* 787 his head in his blanket, he returned to the spring. The water
was still unpleasantly hot on his body and legs, but the covering protected his head. The same phenomenon occurred on the two following days. Four days later he was well enough to walk and was brought home. During his treatment he saw supernatural beings, and is still hoping for a further revelation that will make him a shaman. He believes that this would have been granted to him if his friends had allowed him to remain in the spring overnight.

755 During the four days of his immersion he ate nothing, and his only nourishment was a little mountain goat grease which he did not swallow but kept in the right side of his mouth. After each bath he scrubbed himself with hemlock boughs. As in all
[785] such cases, for one year he observed continence and refrained
[761] from eating unsmoked salmon. Failure to observe these taboos would have caused his death.[14]

755 According to another account the creature that visits a patient lying in the Hot Springs is a *bähnk'*. As already de-
776 scribed, it is a hairless animal, about as large as a small moose, with legs so short that its belly almost scrapes the ground, no tail, and a large head with glass-like eyes. The whole appearance suggests an enormous walking snake. This animal approaches the sick person, as he lies on a flat stone[15] in the spring, and takes a bite from wherever the sickness is situated. No wound can afterwards be seen, but the ailment is carried away with the biting. If the patient should lack courage and endeavour to escape he would soon die.

776 Others of these animals of the same or similar variety have been observed about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.

[14] See vol. I, p. 609 for further results of this treatment.
[15] There are two of these, one used by men and one by women.

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served ceremonial chastity and was, therefore, in a good position to receive premonitions of this kind. The next day, as they were paddling down the river, they came upon some treacherous ice. Forewarned, they hastily abandoned their canoe, one side of which was soon broken in the way *Ṫsälits* had described; if they had continued their journey they would certainly have been drowned. 787*

The dreams thus far recorded have all been capable of simple explanation; in fact, their meaning is obvious, either visually or audibly. In addition, there are a number of types considered to be symbolic by the Bella Coola. There are no professional interpreters, but it is believed that in ancient times shamans learnt the significance of certain images and this knowledge has since been transmitted from generation to generation. [791] [756]

One type indicates a coming birth. If a woman dreams that she travels to some distant spot, under the ocean or into the mountains, and there takes something in her hand, it signifies that she will soon bear a male child; on the other hand, if she picks up some small object when gathering berries, a daughter will be born. A Kimsquit informant stated that before his birth, his mother dreamt that she had gone far under the mouth of the Dean River to the vicinity of *Ḷomoqwa*'s house, where she had taken up a child. From this she knew she was pregnant and he was born in due course. If the scene of the dream is in the mountains, it means that the child will be a good hunter; if under water, that he will be a successful fisherman, as it proved in this case. There is a vague belief that death takes place either near the spot where the mother received indication of conception, or that the life and spirit of the deceased visit the place before setting out on their journey back from generation to generation. The old man from whom this information was obtained expects to meet death by drowning, though he is himself uncertain whether his premonition is due to his mother's dream or to the fact that there has been a tendency for this to occur in his family. 787* 843 787* [761] [775]

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* 787 843 If a woman dreams that she has caught two salmon, two small birds, or is holding two infants, the birth of twins is foretold. This type of explanation is obvious; in fact, these examples lie on the border-line between direct and symbolic interpretations.

* 787 843 775 Another indication of approaching pregnancy is for a woman to dream of a dead relative; this means that the latter will soon be re-born. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that some fifty years earlier his mother dreamt that her dead mother came to her, saying that she was lonesome and wished to return. Soon afterwards she conceived, and the daughter born was considered to be the reincarnation of her own grand- [553] mother whose names she was promptly given. At the present time, this informant addresses his sister as sister, though he states that as a child he was taught to call her grandmother. As already mentioned, if a new-born infant is a reincarnation, the fact can often be recognized by holes or dimples in the ears, relics of previous borings for rings. Unless such a birth has been foretold in a dream, it is impossible to learn whom the child re-embodies.

* 787 A dream of frequent occurrence in Bella Coola is the return of the sleeper to the scenes and activities of his childhood. [761] This always signifies a long life. Strangely enough, to dream of being nailed in one's coffin and carried to the grave is translated conversely, and likewise indicates a long life. It is re- [731] membered that there were many dreams of fire before the outbreak of the smallpox epidemic, so it has since been assumed that such presage an outbreak of this disease.

* 787 224 The only dreams of which the interpretations are wholly symbolic are those experienced by hunters. The Bella Coola explain this by saying that hunters always observe ceremonial [785] chastity and their spirits are, therefore, in a receptive condition to supernatural impressions. When a man has set his traps, he is able to tell from his dreams whether or not any animals have been caught:

To dream that a canoe has been upset in the river and that

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* 539 tune, remembering what the latter had told him the previous evening.
* 756 He feared to follow his friend's track, and, as night came on, closed the
* 787 tent and went to sleep, with the dog beside him. When it was quite dark he was wakened by the sound of footsteps and the tapping of a stick, and concluded that his partner was returning. The tent-flap was untied, as if by a person entering, but *Alyimlaix* could see nothing, so he kicked the dog to waken it and the animal began to bark furiously. At length he heard the steps withdraw and grow fainter as they climbed the mountain. Then *Alyimlaix* realized that his friend was dead, and that it was his life, [775] flashing round to visit his companions, which had come to him. Terrified, he lay awake all night with a blazing fire, and fled the next morning.

Alyimlaix chanced to meet several canoes soon after he had quitted his camp, and when he had told his story, their occupants turned back to hunt for *Nuuazwmalst*. About eighteen men searched all that day unsuccessfully, but a few days later another party found the corpse of the missing hunter. Presumably he had fired at the goat, though whether he struck it or not was not known, and the animal had charged. A wound in *Nuuazwmalst*'s groin showed where one of the horns had pierced him, and the two had rolled together to death over a precipice, the bodies becoming slightly separated in the fall.

Even if *Nuuazwmalst* had struck the goat it would not have availed him, since he was doomed to death. Not only had he taken great risks in hunting within one year of his previous experience, but his wife had been careless during his absence. He had long practised continence, and [785] thereby was in a clean condition such as is approved by animals, and other supernatural beings, but this very condition rendered him peculiarly [761] susceptible to any breaking of taboos by his wife. She had so far forgotten herself as to indulge in swinging when he was on the mountain, so that his death was inevitable. *Nuuazwmalst*'s relatives were very angry and prophesied that she would soon die. They were right, though whether her death was caused by a sorcerer, or by the accumulative power of their thoughts, is a matter no one can determine.

THE *Tlāqmā-ks*

In the beginning of time, when *Alquntin* sent down *Kāldāx* to this earth, he used his own initiative and travelled to the east for abalone-shell and to the west for copper. On returning to his settlement, he determined to try to have to it a supernatural being, of whose existence he was aware from his previous life in the land above. Accordingly, he fashioned some of the copper into jingling bangles, which he fastened to the ropes of his infant's cradle. Before the introduction of white man's [177] cradles, the Bella Coola were accustomed to tie a child in a cloth and [854]

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men had vanished. It is possible that in this particular case there was a belief that *Alquntăm* granted the wish when convinced that all had the same desire, but this element is often entirely lacking.

Belief in the power of thought is a concept which the investigator constantly meets in Bella Coola at the present day. For example, in 1921 a government official working in the valley, purchased a representation of a merganser which had been used in a ceremonial.[1] Although this should have been destroyed after use, no difficulty would have been raised if the transaction had remained a secret. Unfortunately, the buyer allowed the object to be seen by several Bella Coola and by some Carriers. This caused indignation throughout the community and news of it reached the Bella Bella, who concluded that the vendor would suffer disaster for allowing a secret object to be seen by the despised Indians of the interior. Within a year, his wife died. The Bella Bella believed that his sin had brought its own punishment, but the Bella Coola, who knew the details of the sale and did not consider the exposure of the article to have been the fault of the seller, attributed it to the power of the thoughts of the Bella Bella. They all expected that he would be punished; therefore he was punished; the expectation was sufficient to effect its own fulfilment. This incident was too fresh in the minds of several men to allow them to sell ceremonial objects to the writer.

The most common form taken by this conviction is with regard to death; if it is believed that a man will die, he is almost certain to do so. In June, 1921, a woman died in Bella Coola and her father claimed that she had been murdered by a certain man either with material poison or by magical means. He took no direct steps in revenge but stated emphatically that the man whom he suspected would die within a year. The threatened man knew of this, and more than once said that he

[1] The article, now in the National Museum of Canada, consists of a cloth and wood representation of a merganser duck such as was used by Raskin in the beginning of Gass.

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754 would probably fall a victim. He became ill in May, 1923,
761 and, though treated by a white doctor, grew steadily worse
789 until he died in the latter part of June, three weeks after the
828 year had elapsed. All the Bella Coola firmly believe that this
[622] was due to the power of thought. The father of the woman was a powerful chief whose thoughts were accordingly potent, and some consider that his concentrated desires and expectations were enough to kill the accused, while others believe that his expressed statements convinced others of the result, and that it was their combined thought that caused the death. It usually requires the thoughts of more than one individual to lead to this effect. The doctor who attended this man stated that his patient had shown symptoms of melancholy and resignation during his last sickness; it seems clear that the expectation of death must have lessened his chance of recovery.

771 A prominent theme in Bella Coola folk-lore is the belief
754 that a person cannot long survive who has made himself un-
828 popular. It is sometimes stated that a magical means was
[538] employed to remove him, and this was no doubt often the case; a person who learns that a "medicine" had been employed to kill him is in no fit mental condition to counteract the power of suggestion, particularly if he knows that others are aware of what has been done. His death is regarded as proof of the efficacy of the means employed and the belief of others grows stronger. As already stated, this conviction still survives. When this ethnological investigation was being conducted, a
[648] point under discussion was whether or not the Kimsquit people should be allowed to live in Bella Coola. One chief took the lead in objecting and everyone expected that, having thus roused the ire of would-be immigrants, he would die. He did so soon afterwards, and it is universally believed that it was caused by the concentration of the hostile thoughts of the Kimsquit. Similarly, the potency of taboos is increased by the fact that since
[784] time immemorial the thoughts of everyone have been opposed to any infraction. Consequently, an offender is liable to punishment both for breaking an injunction and because he

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Preventive and Curative Medicines

MEDICINES OF INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

789 *To Counteract Dangers Incurred During Pregnancy* (two means)

774 (1) As already described (I, p. 96), there is always danger of
843 a person losing his spirit through a sudden start, causing invol-
825 untary contraction of the muscles, but pregnant women are especially liable to peril of this kind. Moreover, the unexpected appearance of a toad, rat, or mouse, though insufficient to harm an expectant mother, may suffice to startle the unborn child, or even to destroy his spirit. A woman carefully remembers all experiences of this kind and treats the injury while her infant is crying immediately after birth. If a toad has caused it, she catches one, decorates it with dyed cedar-bark, and places it on the child's stomach, then guides it so that it jumps up the chest to the neck. This is repeated four times. She then sets it down, unharmed on the ground, saying:

"You are the cause of the trouble, please go."

The same rite is carried out for all small mammals, reptiles, and even with birds which have startled a mother by their peculiar behaviour. In some families it is customary to post-
[846] pone the application of this medicine until four days after birth. There is considerable difference of opinion concerning the specific injury; some allege that the spirit of the creature enters the body and, if not counteracted, causes the child to be born sick and feeble.

843 (2) During his wife's pregnancy, a husband must preserve
825 a small portion of the skin of every animal killed. Four days
789 after birth, as the infant lies in its cradle, a small fire is built
[846] beneath and the pieces thrown thereon so that the child is steeped in the smoke. If this is neglected, the boy or girl will
[961] die during infancy, though the means by which the slain ani-
[774] mals accomplish this is not fully understood. Possibly, as in the last instance, their spirits have entered the body. Some hunters preserve an eye from every carcass instead of a piece

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of fur. Even at the present time, the death of a new-born child is usually attributed to omission of this precaution. 843 825

A Kimsquit man mentioned that he had once shot a marten during his wife's pregnancy, and had failed to preserve a piece of the skin. The bullet had passed through the head, making a hole in the cheek-bone beneath the eye. He thought no more of the incident until after the birth of a daughter with a blemish on her cheek in the same place as the wound on the marten's. The spot grew bigger, and the flesh began to mortify until the infant died a few weeks later. Her face resembled that of the animal and he is convinced that his loss was caused, in some way, by the marten. 789 [761]

To Cure Indigestion

Kill a raven, cut out a morsel of flesh from beneath its left wing, and then remove the heart. Place both in the infant's mouth and leave them there until wet with saliva. Replace them in the bird's body and tie a strip of dyed cedar-bark around its neck. Carry the carcass to some lonely spot in the mountains and hide it beneath a jutting rock where no water can penetrate. This cures the child. If, however, anyone should find the raven's body before the flesh has decayed, the patient would die. 755 [761]

This remedy, widely employed for small children, was used with success by an informant for his young daughter. It is not sufficiently potent for adults.

To Cure Crying

The Bella Coola consider that crying is not only unpleasant, but actively displeasing to the supernatural beings who permit it at death alone. Consequently, the persistent wailing of a child is likely to cause the death of a relative in order that the tears shed may have justification. Many stories illustrate this theme; in fact, to cry for no real reason is practically taboo. A mother quiets a fretting child by saying: 827 865 761 [784] [861]

"Do you want your father and me to die?"

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861 827 865 [761]

If the father dies, she beats her son or daughter, adding: "Cry now. See what you did."

Henceforth the child restrains himself, but usually drastic steps are taken to reform an infant before his weeping causes any such misfortune. The parents of a petulant child request aid from a man of even temperament to cure him. The person undertaking the task prepares a large basket, watches until he notices the youngster crying and displaying bad temper, then seizes the offender, thrusts him into the basket and hangs it in the doorway, free to move with every stir of the child shut within.

"Cry as much as you like now," he says. "If you become hoarse like a heron you will turn into one of those birds."

This threat is based on an ancient story describing how a child to whom this was done changed into a heron and flapped away in bird form. Sometimes the man says that the same will happen to the child, or simply that he will be able to fly like a heron. All day he is left suspended, no one heeding his sobbing and howling, but in the evening he is taken down, petted, and told not to be naughty again. This medicine always cures a petulant child who can thenceforth be held to ridicule by being reminded that he is "A Basket Boy." The same remedy is often employed for a quarrelsome brother and sister who are shut up together.

865 861

To Cure Disobedience and Rudeness

If a child is persistently rude and disobedient to his parents, they request the assistance of a man of even temperament to cure him. The person selected must be one who is never angry, and who attends to his own business in a placid, quiet manner. The mother and father discuss who is best fitted by character to help their erring child and then ask his aid, promising a suitable recompense. If the man accepts the task, he waits till he notices the child crying peevishly. Running to him, he holds the youngster firmly and, in spite of this strug-

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757 throw it in through the smoke-vent. He cuts the roots into thin slices which are boiled in water for four days. The patient drinks several cupfuls of the decoction which never fail to benefit him.

[776] [773] The basis of this medicine is the belief, already described, that when a *nsiatl* swims through a pond it frequently sheds some of its scales which become water-lilies. They are, therefore, potent in themselves and are of greatest benefit to one who has practised ceremonial chastity. The patient must observe several taboos for forty days after treatment: He must hold no sexual intercourse; must eat neither salmon nor meat that has not been smoked; must eat nothing cooked either by a menstruating woman or by one who has lost her husband within a year; and must not approach a girl during the year following puberty. The breaking of one of these taboos causes [761] his death, and the man who has administered the medicine watches the conduct of his patient with great care.

755 *For Debility* (two means)

(1) Drink strong, stale urine, mixed with red rock-paint ground fine.

[424] Knowledge of this medicine has been handed down for generations in certain familes. It is said to be most unpleasant to take.

(2) The following medicine, said to be the most potent known to the Bella Coola, is used for a person who has long been feeble, especially if he has been spitting blood. It is the [424] property of several ancestral families, and must be administered by an elderly male member of one of them.

The owner of the remedy obtains a dry, clean skull, places within it a little water which he brings to a boil with hot pebbles and adds a small quantity of mountain goat marrow. The patient is given a dry stick, about three feet in length, from which the pith has been extracted to make a tube. With this he sucks four times, swallowing a little of the decoction, while the practitioner says to the skull:

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"Please remedy the invalid." 755

This is virtually a prayer, addressed to the deceased owner of the skull, and accordingly verges on appeal to the dead. None the less, there is no concept of active supplication to any individual ghost, but rather of acquiring aid by the use of a supernatural object.

For one year after this treatment, sexual intercourse is forbidden to both practitioner and patient. The latter, though not the former, dies if either fails to observe this taboo. The use of an old man to apply the medicine is to lessen danger from this source. The owner of this remedy is always liberally rewarded and some old men carefully preserve a skull under a rock-ledge in order to be ready if called upon. [785] [761]

For Smallpox

Pick up a toad, and tear off its head with the teeth, swallowing some of the blood. 757

This is an ancient remedy for some other ailment which was tried as a last resort during the smallpox epidemic. One man who succeeded in practising it on four successive days was cured of the dread disease.

For Consumption

Boil leaves and stems of a certain fleshy plant (not identified) in water and drink the decoction. The potency of the medicine increases accordingly to the number of plants used.

This medicine was a Nootka Indian's hereditary cure for a cough which was found to be effective for consumption as well. The malady was so prevalent on the coast in the last century that it seemed as if the inhabitants were doomed; this remedy was allegedly discovered at that time and knowledge of it spread rapidly from tribe to tribe, saving the lives of hundreds. The Bella Coola recognize that this was a private medicine, but have ceased to regard it as such and have no hesitation in applying it whenever required. [177] [164]

755 *For Insanity*

177 The Bella Coola have no medicine for this disease, although they are familiar with one used by the Kwakiutl, which was applied not long ago to a Rivers Inlet youth by two old women, one from Newitty and the other from *Dzelkanus*. They exhumed a recently buried corpse, took a small piece of skin from the left side of the base of the neck, left this for twenty-four hours in a small stream, and then allowed it to stamp for another twenty-four hours in a cup filled with water. This liquid was drunk by the patient who immediately recovered his sanity. He was first given water in which had been boiled candles from the yellow cedar; this strengthened him and prevented a relapse. The patient, now cured, observed continence for a year; failure to obey this injunction would have caused his death.

[185] [761] The Bella Coola assume that this remedy is the property of Kwakiutl ancestral families who alone are entitled to use it. The practitioners are always suitably recompensed and do not undertake the treatment except at the request of one of the patient's relatives. Kwakiutl experts have been brought to Bella Coola several times within recent years to cure cases of insanity, but great secrecy is maintained concerning the methods employed. They are considered to be effective, in proof of which the aversion of the writer was directed to two aged men who were said to have been raving lunatics before undergoing a Kwakiutl treatment. It is probable that the individuals had been subject to periodic fits of insanity and that a temporary improvement was regarded as a definite cure.

757 *For Venereal Disease* (four cures)

(1) Boil scrapings of false hellebore roots in water for a long time and drink the decoction. If it is too strong, add more water.

(2) Pound *cha'tsuls*, a kind of fungus, in water and drink the brew.

[illegible]

"Someone is calling your name." [illegible]

If a man stumbles without due cause, it is said: [illegible]

"Someone has food ready for you."

When a man partly closes his hand, if a wrinkle like the [illegible] rule straight across the palm is indicative that he is a good carpenter. [illegible]

If a woman nibbles even a single smoked salmon, the whole hamlet is thrown very immediately in case dung has been dropped within. It is believed that inadvertent chewing of this is responsible for wearing down the teeth. [illegible] [illegible]

If a man throws a stone at a pregnant snake, the young ones may rush forth and enter the thrower's stomach. They remain invisible, and no one knows how they enter, but death always results. Snakes are regarded with scorn and aversion, and the only men who dare to handle them are shamans. [illegible] [illegible]

When a milk tooth is lost, anyone who happens to be present should pick it up, pass it four times around the child's head, spit on it, and throw it away. No explanation of this custom is known.[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] is not the only custom practised in the loss of a tooth, cf. vol. [illegible], p. [illegible]

[illegible] 572*
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] 572*
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] 572*
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

the hair from his head. After various rites which prove that the Conchal actually possesses peculiar power, he is calmed and songs are sung describing what he saw shift, and the dangers from which he escaped. The uninitiated alone are, particularly, moved at his return, and participate with actual feelings the time when they are may be privileged to have similar experiences. Or they may witness the killing of one of their fellow-villagers by disembowelling, and his resurrection to life. They know the victim, under ordinary circumstances he could not endure death, hence the claim that his strength is due to the aid given him by his power is accepted as an obvious fact. The uninitiated never suspect that they are victims of an elaborate deception. At all times the Indians are eager to make known their own perils, and if it happens that a member of the society dies while in concealment, his corpse is buried secretly. The explanation given is that he has succumbed to some of the dangers to which Indians are exposed, a fiction readily believed in view of the absence of the usual funeral rites.

Though it is common knowledge that the ability of a Jaxtal to perform any extraordinary feat has its source in the performance of the same feat by his supernatural patron, yet it is equally well known that his specific power has been brought to this earth and is located in one particular spot. Its ancestor must in some way have come in contact with the patron, and at that time his Jaxtal came, carrying with it the prerogatives of supernatural parentage and of dancing on this earth, was deposited for safekeeping in a repository, *mukkiqaiu* (also called *mant'ghal*), by the supernatural woman *Jaxt'Ilmakuin*. Each repository is thought of as a cave, or hollow, beneath a large tree, a rock, or other distinctive natural object; to obtain his power a Jaxtal initiate must go there, actual contact with his patron being unnecessary. Every Jaxtal prerogative has its repository and in each of them is *Jaxt'Ilmakuin*; she is one, yet capable of being simultaneously in many hundred spots, corresponding to the many hundred Jaxtal prerogatives. The

[illegible] Wrath E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[illegible] of the last century it has become customary to explain the disappearance of a mask as due to a sudden call to the beaver.

Another means by which the *hakaciut* protect themselves from doubting non-members is by the use of spies. The marshals ([illegible] p. 18) of the society select some intelligent youth and, with the consent of his father, or other guardian, to make him a spy. If this is granted, the youth is lured into the woods and carried forcibly to the sacred meeting-place, where he finds the entire *hakaciut* of his village seated, an awe-inspiring band. They explain to him the dances used, show him the whistles and other apparatus, and instruct him that it is his duty to inform them if he hears any uninitiated person casting doubts on the power of the society. Proud of his trust, and fearful of what would happen should he fail to carry out his duties, the spy begins his work. Ignorant of his knowledge, the uninitiated have no hesitation in talking with him and if he hears one of them expressing doubts as to the powers of the society, or telling that he has seen the sacred meeting-place or some of the regalia, he at once notifies one of the marshals. The over-confident person is then initiated. Thus the *hakaciut* are constantly recruiting their strength from the most intelligent uninitiated, thereby adding to the influence of their society and lessening the dangers from non-members.

Sometimes a man is forced to undertake the task on account of a great knowledge of *hakaciut* matters. The following incident, related by a spy, is worth recording as a concrete example of this point:

Between 1870 and 1880, a Rivers Inlet Cannibal performed the Cannibal dance in Bella Coola, presumably being entitled to do so by a Bella Coola name and prerogative. During his period of seclusion he died from a sudden hemorrhage, and the uninitiated were told that he had been carried away to the mysterious regions of the sky, the customary explanation in such circumstances. Some afterwards came Bella Coola returned from Victoria, and an old woman told them the news, ignorant of the fact that an uninitiated lad of fifteen had entered the house and was listening eagerly. A random movement betrayed his presence to the initiated *hakaciut* and the boy fled, terrified at the turn of events.

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*595 *Ax̄'ikwulaix.* They may be termed marshals of the society. Each must have an ancestral prerogative for this, duly validated by presents to the *ḥaḥaciut*, in addition to a *ḥaciut* prerogative of some kind. In each village there are four or five of these men. Whenever food is being served at a *ḥaciut* dance, the marshals receive theirs first and then one or other of them addresses the audience in slow and impressive style, beating on the floor with a stick to add emphasis to his words. He admonishes his fellows to safeguard the ancient rites of the society, to be bold, to be secretive, and he pays honour to the member who has given the dance. It is they who take the leading part if a youth is dragged away to the meeting-place for initiation, and it is they who arrange matters when a spy reports that a non-member is over-inquisitive. If any member of the society should break one of its laws at a time when no uninitiated are present, the marshal is expected to seize a burning stick from the fire and strike the offender with it. If death should result, revenge is unthinkable, since the criminal had broken the law. The same fate is unhesitatingly meted out to any *ḥaciut* who should dare to betray any of the mysteries to the uninitiated. Moreover, it is the marshals who decide whether any improper act lowers the dignity of a dance, and punish accordingly. Not many years ago a *ḥaciut* woman gave birth to a child while a dance was taking place and the infant was slain by one of the marshals. The usual explanation made to the uninitiated for a death within the dance-house is that a supernatural being wound the roof to fall and kill the victim.

*595 Each marshal has, in connection with his prerogative of this vocation, a professional name, used only within the house where a *ḥaciut* dance is taking place and carefully concealed from the uninitiated. Some designations were obtained from *ḥaḥaciut* by an ancestor of the possessor, others were created on this earth with reference to some specific event, and duly made valid by presents to the *ḥaḥaciut* alone. Some of these names are:

Xwalakwis, "The Destroyer," so given on account of an

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Frequently the marshals and associated *kukwiat* depute others to act as their executioners. Sometimes a shaman who is also a *kwiat* is asked to slay the offender, or a *kwiat* in whose ancestral family a knowledge of means for secret murder has been handed down for generations may be called upon. The executioner is told that if he fails he will himself be killed. Although no Bella Coola would admit that a person so charged had committed murder by other than magical means, it appears highly probable that such was the case. It is believed that long ago the *kukwiat* were able to kill an offending uninitiated person by drawing forth his spirit, wrapping it in hundred cedar-bark and casting it into the fire. The victim would die within a short time.

[761]
[762]

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The desire to carry out *kwiat* ceremonials with proper dignity and ritual not only acts as a strong bond of union among members of the society in a single village, but between those in different towns and even in different tribes. When a marshal has struck a *kwiat*, the ceremony, wherever it may be, is at once stopped. Two *kukwiat* are sent off to bear the tidings to the nearest village up the valley, and two more to the one below. The messengers go beneath the house in which a dance is taking place and knock on the floor of the back-room. Someone presently hears them and a *kwiat* goes out to investigate. When the envoys have told their tale he returns, whispers to the singers, and the ceremony concludes for that night. As soon as the uninitiated, if any are present, have been ejected, the messengers enter with blankets almost covering their faces and seat themselves between the fire and the back-room where the senior members crowd around to listen. From this village two more *kukwiat* are despatched with the news which is thus transmitted with remarkable speed from end to end of the valley. When next the marshals are admonishing the *kukwiat* of their respective villages, they do not fail to draw attention to the way in which the law has been upheld. Conversely, if a marshal hears indirectly that there has been a flaw in the ritual of a neighbouring village,

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who have gone adrift and never returned,* and of course increasing the fear of the uninitiated. They then go back to X's home where a marshal speaks, asking all to keep silence so that they will be able to hear X when he returns from the land above. No noise is permitted during his absence, even the discharge of muskets being forbidden. The man who carries the rope from which X escaped always receives a call on this night, because the supernatural beings have seen the important part he has played in the rite, and his person recognizes it in this way. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated and, accordingly, the rope-holder is some doctor who wishes to have a call. After the usual curing,* one song is composed for the rope-holder, and sung very softly, since the night's ceremony is termed *Mahpowmay*, "The Accordion Night," or *Nuxwtmat*, "The Silent Night." The uninitiated believe that the *hahaetsa* are filled with woe and foreboding at the fate before X. It is early morning before they dispersa.

The next day, *nastalitsap* for the rope-holder, the usual ritual is omitted since the presence of grief and fear must still be preserved. Thus the ceremony usual for the rope-holder's snake is not already. The collar and rope from which X escaped are hung on the wall of his house, and when a herald announces the *hahaetsa* during the evening, he bids them assemble to watch over these objects. Although a second song, composed during the day, is practised for the rope-holder, it is done so softly that the uninitiated from neighbouring houses imagine that the *hahaetsa* are really brooding over their loss. The only sound that reaches them is an occasional *hoip*, accompanying their fear. After the customary distribution of work and food the *hahaetsa* dispersa.

On the morrow, the rope-holder's guilm, the uninitiated are summoned, because it is assumed that members of the

*If a Comshut dies during his period of consciousness he is buried secretly. The uninitiated are told that his power enabled him to cross a crossing chasm to the land above, but that it failed him, so that he was unable to return to his friends.

*The contents of the Comshut hunting of whales, repeated four times.

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telling them of his adventures, and presently they begin to sing the song, as if they had just learnt the chorus from X. Frequently the deception is increased by X first learning the song and repeating it to the singers in a voice sufficiently loud for the uninitiated to hear. The chorus of this, and every other song used for Cannibals, is of the land above and the dangers which X has survived. The singers add new facts and interjections to vary the monotony, but the subjects usually described are:

The flat land above with its many trails and the river that flows through it.

The gale constantly raging there which has blown the hair from X's head and the dirt from his body.

The cold across a yawning chasm over which his supernatural strength enabled him to leap. If a Cannibal dies when in consciousness, the *bakwise* bury the corpse secretly and tell the uninitiated that his power failed him on the other side of the chasm so that he was unable to return.

Ayaxtlas under his various names.

How his power helped him to escape the *Atlum*, "Tree of the Huge Jaws," evil beings who tried to kill X by sucking him into their gaping mouths.

The side-fires which are found on the edge of the flat land above.

The kindly being *Gonnakhlilas*, who gave him the necessary power to traverse the chasm. The uninitiated believe that unless a Cannibal meets this being he will be unable to return.

No one song for any Cannibal contains reference to all these beings and events, but it is on these that the singers draw for their themes, always altering and adding to produce a fine effect.

On this occasion X does not dance,* and the uninitiated are soon satisfied. As the *bakwise* are acting, one member chat another presses X for what he has done, and gives the most solemn warnings to all as to the necessity of complying

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*There is difference of opinion on this point.

[illegible] R-1 ([illegible]) 1968
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(a) Recorded as song 910 (D 17), National Museum of Canada quartet, Reuben Robertson, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and summoner, sung by *Tal'ia* Charlie and Jonathan Frank. 533*

(b) In essence of Tsqalica's ancestors had been drowned; this is considered such a loss as to be an inheritable tendency and received accordingly. This song was composed by a mythical patrick held after the drowning of one of his sons. [761] [827] [195]

(c) *Ilem* means, literally, the successive rising of the sun from day to day; in his duration, the significance of. The span of life is shortening.

(d) This will explain the usual wordless chorus.

(e) *Sacum.* This is one of his uncle and chief's names.

(f) The reference is to an incident visited about Sacum in the beginning of time. He made, and gave life to a man who was the chief pot and slight. *Alqantum* wondered what the creature might be and sent down one of is eagle-like supernatural birds to spear him. Sacum, ignorant of the cause, knew nor's loss and with no idea that he was being carefully guarded, was shortly discovered. The myth is recorded in vol. 1, p. 41. [773]

Secular Songs

In contrast to the carefully prepared and logically worded 533*
mourning songs, many of those used by shamanists extremely 756
tendentious. This is natural in view of the belief, already
described, that the words and tune are given to sick person at
the time that he is cured. Those who recover from an illness [759]
are convinced that they must have received supernatural
instruction, and so soon begin to ponder on the song brought
to them at that time. A person of imaginative temperament
easily persuades himself that the words which begin to form
in his mind were actually brought by an agent and, having
thus deluded himself, it is easy for him to convince others. The
coherence of the song then depends upon the fidity of the
patient, a factor which explains the extreme lack of skill in
many compositions. The examples here given are, perhaps,
unusually complete.

Song *Tsal'ia* Wuxwuxsalmi(a), a Kwagut Shaq(b)

I [illegible]	[illegible]
In the beginning(c)	the life-giving power(d) was made,
you that squatted	[illegible]
that is what we have given	within them(e).

[illegible]

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 192*

nemas, nemtin, nemsim: Member of same sex and same exogamic family as speaker. [601]

Nemkilem: Supernatural being who comes with *Nankynem* to bring a call to the latter's protégé. [614]

Nemkilemut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

nemit: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract. [826]
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.

nemnemkin: Toilet-hole.

nemlutmen: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony. [465]

nemnlimmen: Exchange marriage. [589]

nempalitmen: Passenger.

Ne-nei: Place near *Nulkus*.

Nemnemkin: *Kwakiutl* name created by *cayayayat* at *Kimsquit* in the beginning of time.

nemmat di mimen: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

nemmat ni mimen: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

Nemnemlas, "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Nemnlemenk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nemnlipnem: Supernatural being who created supernatural in the beginning of time.

Nemlemenk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nemlipnem: Name occupied by the first settlers at *Hainsmuk* in the beginning of time.

nemo'l'emut: The use of potent medicines after seeing a ghost twice.

nemlmentmen or nemlmentmut: 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dyed cedar-bark to *Pinnipedia*. [712]
2—The making of offerings to ghosts by the casting of food on a fire. [773]

Nemnu-ah: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nemnulelkulem: Male supernatural being who travels with *Nankynem*, takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes denies happily.

Nemnulu: Mother House.

nemqa: Fishermen with inherited right to use of a salmon weir or of a place for catching shellfish. [424]

nemqamenk, "A Calling Back", or "A Seizing": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural artisans having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [334] [761]

Nemqlemit, "Where Water Emerged": House of one of the four groups of settlers at *Kimsquit* in the beginning of time.

Nemqmelelelem: *Kwakiutl* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nemqmelelelqem: Professional name of a female dancer.

Nemqulemem: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the *Cayayayat*.

Nemselkmut: *Kwakiutl* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nemsemenk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nemsemenlik: *Kwakiutl* hunter mentioned in an origin story.

Nemslimmem, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the River": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [825]

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Saiaiá: Thunder, anthropomorphized. [192]
Saiyuna: Kwakiutl name of a Kitamaat man. [121]
saklás: Historical account; the term does not include secondary myths or other personal property. [173]
sa-ñáimum: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a feast dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food. [431]
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal.
sa-ñum: Consolidate; tamber. [25]
sa-ñúmum: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day. [585]
sáhlhalaiwat: Profession of feasts conventions. [431]
sáhlhamlin: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him. [463]
saul: Inclose relatives. [125]
Sawalwatsála Alqanaxw: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sawalwatsála: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of searching in the land above.
Sawalkin or *Sawalkinaxw*: One of the names of Mount *Nadgále* as chief.
Sawanaxwa, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a Haus man.
3—A subdivision Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sáwa; *sawáta*, *sáwá*; *sawáta* plural, *sáwawa*: *Sawáta*, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
sa-ska: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Sáskia: Village on point between North and South Bentinck Arm.
Sáskiamuta: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Sa-Sau: Death, anthropomorphized. [761]
sáskin: Whatever, anyhow.
Sa-sal: 1—Kimsquit River. [412]
2—Village near the mouth of the river.
Sa-sáwaw: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley. [101]
sasíwalin: Bath.
Sa-Sausaxa: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
saw: Pillow.
sawalan, "Pillowed": Secret ceremonial at which an oil is present.
saxl, *saxalas*, *saxlum*: Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family. [601]
Saxlum: Proper name of a younger brother mentioned in an orphan story.
sáskum: Brother.
sásamum: Tide flats.
sáskiala: Shore.
Sáskalaiwa: That part of *Sawq*" which did not fall to the earth at the beginning of time.
Sawalali: Village on Kitlope Inlet.
Sawalaiwa: Part of a peculiar ceremony.
sawqualáiwa, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steel-head salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
sa'wata, "Hunting Place": Limits of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this. [105]
sawlanáiwa: Leader of ceremonies. [121]

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[illegible]: Spring figure.
[illegible]: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[illegible]: Mythic hero-like creature which can be raised as a salmon-[illegible].
[illegible]: 1—Supernatural herring women, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carver murderer living in the last century.
[illegible]: Rock around sand in factor initiation rites.
[illegible]: Rivers'ian for salmon.
[illegible]: Exile.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
[illegible], "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of Disappointer's women, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[illegible]: Ancestral name assumed on earth by a Raven's man.
[illegible], "When Marriage Spoon": Third name after the winter solstice.
[illegible]: One of the river sculpins, the mythical sea fish.
[illegible], "The Coming of [illegible]": Fourth name after the summer solstice.
[illegible]: Sarcastic, the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[illegible], "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second name after the summer solstice.
[illegible], "The Time for Eating Coho Salmon": Third name after the summer solstice.
[illegible]: Powers, given unconventionally, at the time when a proposal of marriage is formulated.
[illegible], "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as desired for children by the ceremony of their mother from their father.
[illegible], "Sea Dance": Name of the winter solstice.
[illegible], "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Name of the summer solstice.
[illegible], "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the River": First name after the summer solstice.
[illegible], "Our who Cured": Functionary who protects sentinel or factor and sound [illegible].
[illegible]: Evil supernatural being who sets up consciousness for his followers in the land above.
[illegible], "Time for Shifting Salmon Weir": Fourth name after the winter solstice.
[illegible]: Factor name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: Assumed name of a Raven man.
[illegible]: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
[illegible]: Celebrated sorcerer.
[illegible]: Salmon-dish.
[illegible]: Avoid head-dress.
[illegible]: Breath, or power of being alive, or element in the human body.
[illegible]: Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
[illegible]: Man led secret to a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[illegible], "Time for the Use of Clacker Dance Pole": Fifth name after the winter solstice.
[illegible], "Place to Spake": Dancer near mouth of the Kwatna River, accepted to give warning in times of danger.
[illegible]: Benign supernatural being who rescues Cuscilula to return from the land above.

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4:Boas E-5 (1884-ca. 1890)292
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what cause this Everyone is due. Mythology and religion are so closely connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Bilqula is Sun, the sun-god (compare ang. sun). The eyes of the sun are his symbolism. What general is to be called Tsal'ex. In praying the Bilqula look heavenward. I obtained the following formulae: Alkum ulu'ang, Tsal'ex, 'Look on us where we are sparing, Tsal'ex,' and Tsal'ex, ulu'ulumaxlilq, 'Take care of us, Tsal'ex.' He is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and does not interfere with the actions and thoughts of men. These are given by Skamsamlilq according to the tradition of the Bilqula, before the Creation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is nowadays, four deities lived on the earth: Skamsamlilq, Tsal'ex'ex, Skelqa'qa'ex, and Ta'ula'ex. The sun wished to create the sun, but he was unable to change it. Then he went to these deities and asked their help. They assisted in the sky, and here the certain, which up to that time had been separated between heaven and earth, killing the heavenly orbs. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The sun attempted to heaven through the rift made by Skamsamlilq, and found there a beautiful place known to which all the birds lived. Skamsamlilq and his brothers painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his cry. The sun was not content with the sun, and resolved to try and find a better sun. He live in the house of a great chief, who kept the conjuring (no-conjuring of, conjuring [illegible] in dancing). The conjuring was a small round receptacle (hand of wood) like an egg. The chief provided in patients and kept it in a partition from one of the rafters of his house. The sun knew that he could not shine in by close form, and resolved to a sun. He assumed the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and he himself drop into the pool from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pool, swallowed the leaf and then became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the sun-to-[illegible]. The old chief loved the boy dearly and allowed him to play with the conjuring. This was what he desired. He ran out of the house, broke it, and flew away in the shape of a sun.

When the sun had thus been obtained Skamsamlilq said: 'Let us make man.' He made the image of a man out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Skelqa'qa'ex and Ta'ula'ex said: [illegible] Finally, Tsal'ex'ex carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in each country and thus became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Skamsamlilq gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to catch animals, to build houses. He made them ceremonies, that man should have order in dress, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by men.

The Bilqula believe that Skamsamlilq and his brothers still continue to give new ideas to men. They say that they are designs of painting or carving, or any other new invention made by a member of their tribe, has been given to him by Skamsamlilq.

The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been referred to above.

The soul is believed to dwell in the eyes. It is similar in shape to a bird [illegible] to an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies away the person must die. Diseases are also to be ascribed to souls.

[76] having charge of the birth of all animal beings. While she is rocking the
[342] cradle, she sings, —

[69]

"[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]"

Another deity living in the House of Myths is the mother of flowers, called Sneel'mqs (Plate X, Figs. 7 and 9), the daughter of Sxekpel'mlm. It seems that this last name means "going to the right." This evidently refers to the fact that the sun is believed to move on his path towards the west,
[342] face forward, and consequently during the spring months towards the sky moving towards the right; so that Sxekpel'mlm, moving to the right, means at the same time the springtime, when the sun is moving up the sky. This is the time when flowers begin to sprout. Every spring Sneel'mqs gives birth to all the plants in the order in which they begin to appear. A shaman is called to her aid by two old women who assist her (Plate X, Figs. 8 and 11).

Every year, at the time of the winter solstice, the deities determine who shall die during the coming year. Two beings called Kekemal'ts, the tsnel'mem are placed on the ends of a long plank, which is supported at its
[761] center, and swings like a seesaw. Then all the men and all the animals are called to stand near the ends of the plank. When one of the swinging beings falls down from the plank, the person standing near it will die sooner than the one standing at the opposite end. The deities have a messenger called Sneetkel'ulks (that means "long ear"), who carries all the news from our earth up to the House of Myths. Ack'uml'ts has two children, — the deer, who is called Sneel'kcoxlm Ack'uml'ts, that is, "the deities son of Ack'uml'ts" (Plate VII, Fig. 6), and cinnamon Ack'uml'ts. I have not been able to learn any thing in regard to the functions of these two beings.

While Sneel and Ack'uml'ts are principally concerned with the fate of mankind, they do not personally interfere with the doings of men. Their daughters are carried out by four brothers, who are called collectively Sla-
[772] [illegible] in Cook's language (Plate VIII, Figs. 1-4). These brothers are Sla-qal'lmulk ("the one who finishes his work by chopping wood"), Tsel'-tlmek ("the one who finishes his work by rubbing wood"), Sla-lqal'xcmlk ("the one who finishes his work by cutting wood"), and S-ka'lak. They have a house called c-Ulqamlks. There four brothers live in an elevated room in the rear of the House of Myths. They are engaged in carving and painting. It is said that they gave man his arts. They taught him to build canoes, to make boxes, to build houses, and to carve in wood and to

1:McDowalth E-5 (1922-1924)948
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that the animal had not spoken, a sure intimation of insanity and death unless it is killed immediately. 996* 787 825

A few years ago a dog gave warning to its master by placing its paws on his shoulders as he sat on the ground, and howling over his head. Such unusual behaviour should have convinced him of the necessity of killing his pet to avert some calamity, but he paid no attention to it. A few days later, it seemed to him that he saw the face of a friend appear at an uncurtained upper window where no human being could be. The next morning he found an axe, which he had long lost and supposed stolen, imbedded far up in a tree near his house. These three incidents all presaged disaster, and a few days later he shot and killed himself when crazed by drink. [962]

The actions of wild animals are considered even more important. Not many years ago a famous Kitsequit hunter saw a bear and attempted to shoot it. He raised his musket and took careful aim, but was prevented from pulling the trigger. This should have warned him of the potency of the animal, and of the wisdom of avoiding the spot in future. The bear moved away without molesting him, but exactly one year later he was killed by a mountain goat at precisely the same place. No one knows which supernatural being had chosen to assume two forms in that locality.

The Bella Coola believe that animals, being supernatural, have powers and abilities which they conceal from the white man. Wolves do not kill their prey with their fangs, but with bird arrows which shamans alone can see; beaver do not cut with their teeth, but with crook-handled adzes. Even more striking is the virility of yearling mountain goats. An old Bella Coola described how he and another man were once hunting goats. His partner killed a fat yearling, which they laid on its back and skinned. The killer was about to dismember it, when the animal began to kick. First it shook one hind leg, then the other, then in succession each fore-leg, and lastly its head. Then the goat stood up and gave itself a shake, which caused the skin to return to its proper position, 996* 825

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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thrown on it. One rather philosophic old man suggested that in this way the soul could easily return to *Nacmit-a*. It is possible that this means of disposal was carried out in former times, but no informant had actually seen it practised. The Bella Coola state that cremation is carried out by the Kitlobe* and the Carriers. On the morning after a burning, young men of the former tribe rush to the spot and smear their faces with the semi-charred bones, amid much shouting. The Carriers are said to stand with their bodies inclined over the burning corpse and to smear on their faces any grease exuded from it. The accuracy of these statements is very doubtful, and can have no bearing on the reputed practice of cremation among the Bella Coola. 764 829

The bodies of rich or poor, chiefs, commoners, or slaves, all are buried in a similar manner though with differences in the complexity of ritual. Nor is any different method practised for criminals, murdered people, or those committing suicide. It is believed that in case of self-destruction the body cannot separate into its elements and reach *Nacmit-a*; that part which becomes the ghost is able to go to the land below, but neither spirit nor life can ascend. According to one man, who may, however, have been affected by Christian influence, this is because *Alyanim* decrees the length of life and any wilful shortening is insulting to him. Suicide is rare among the Bella Coola and four cases only were heard of. One woman killed herself in shame at having accidentally set fire to a village, another because her husband was unduly jealous, and two men through bladder stricture. 766 762 [775]

On the whole, Bella Coola methods for disposal of the dead have altered but little since the coming of the white man. The change from sub-aerial exposure to interment was probably not due to foreign influence although the introduction of metal shovels has facilitated the digging of graves and probably hastened the movement. A change in posture has, however, taken place. In former times, a corpse was always buried 777 764

*Not at present, at least within the memory of elderly people.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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539 to commemorate the killing of the eagle. The text of his song described
[424] how he had come to this earth and how he had slain the bird which had
[535] been his own cloak. This dance was duly validated by presents of salmon, and has since been carried out by the descendants of *Smanaw*. It is assumed that the concept of such a dance was given to him by *Alquntim* before he left *Nacmir-a*, but he used his own discretion on this earth as to the actual reason for it.

At this gathering of people, virtually a potlatch, *Smanaw* took for himself the name *Awaqilaia*, "What Fills People." He chose this name with reference to the countless salmon caught in his weir.

Smanaw next travelled to Bella Bella seeking a wife. His fame and wealth were so well known that he was able to wed *Tlitlawait*, the daughter of a powerful chief. She had the valued prerogative of wailing, a right which had been duly validated by presents. Her father told her that when she was going with *Smanaw* to Kimsquit she would pass *Yayalmgi*, a man who had been turned to stone on the skyline above the western side of Dean Channel, about five miles from its head, and that unless she wailed as she passed him her children would be unable to enjoy this prerogative. The reason for this injunction is not now understood; it is merely recognized that as *Yayalmgi* became petrified near *Smanaw*'s home he became, in some manner, a crest. As the canoe bearing *Tlitlawait* passed *Yayalmgi* she began to wail and weep, nor could her husband soothe her. He, for his part, told the herald, *Nacilliag*, who had come with him from above, to call out as follows:

"Hello! Crest, our chief has married a Bella Bella woman; as you are his crest, so are you here."

[484] When *Nacilliag* had called this a second time the stone man answered.
[763] Ever since, passers-by have addressed *Yayalmgi*, and a failure on his part to reply is considered an omen of death.

Tlitlawait brought her husband several valuable prerogatives, a *nanak* dance with the large cone-shaped whistles, several *kaelar* dance rights, as well as some dyed cedar-bark. According to one of *Smanaw*'s descendants, this is how the *nanak* ritual reached Kimsquit. Among the Bella Bella, whales can only be eaten by chiefs, and *Smanaw* received this right from his father-in-law. The latter also gave his son-in-law a dead whale, which was towed behind the canoe towards Kimsquit. *Smanaw* knew that his people would object to it being brought into the river, since there was a firm belief that a whale would drive away the salmon. Accordingly, he beached the carcass in the fiord and there dried the meat in smoke.

Smanaw now determined to give an elaborate potlatch at which he planned to portray his prerogative with regard to the whale. He decided to build his new house of the semi-subterranean type; when it was finished

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CHAPTER VIII

DEATH

Death Rites—Memorial Rites—Fate of the Dead

Death Rites

DEATH is marked by even more complicated and prolonged rites than marriage. Like so many primitive peoples, the Bella Coola not only carry out elaborate rituals soon after the actual decease, but hold lengthy commemorative and mourning ceremonials in later years. As these require the co-operation of a large number of people, the death of an individual affects a wider circle than his own relatives, and the celebrations have, therefore, an important social as well as religious significance. 196 [182]

CAUSES OF DEATH

It is not surprising that the Bella Coola, believing in the omnipresence of the supernatural, should consider various peculiar occurrences to be causes of death. One of the simplest of these is to hear the falling of a tree when there is neither wind nor other reason to account for it. Such a fall is audible only to the person whose it warns of approaching death, either to himself or to one of his relatives. A number of men may be in the forest together, when one of them hears the crash of a tree and notices that his companions are unaware of it; he realizes that this is an omen and protects himself by calling out: 263

"Let this evil recoil against whoever has been plotting evil against me."

The basis of this customs is the belief that someone has been practising black magic against the hearer, who, by this answer, is able to cause the sorcery to recoil upon the malefactor. Even more dangerous than to hear a falling tree, is to have one crash [154] [124]

to earth close by. In the winter of [illegible] three Bella Coola were almost crushed in this manner; within a year the deaths took place of the wife of one, the mother of the second, and the daughter of the third. This was considered definite confirmation of their belief.

When a chief dies, a supernatural woman, *Nemalk-ik-i*, "The Weeper," comes to earth to lament the loss. Crying piteously, she walks to and fro in the woods near the village where the death has taken place, but can be heard or seen only by a person in whose family there will soon be a bereaving. This can be counteracted by going boldly to her and collecting some of the clotted mucus that drips from her nose as she weeps. If this is wrapped in the finder's clothing and stored for a year, it brings him good fortune and probably defeats the impending death, but to see "The Weeper" without knowledge of the proper procedure is to court disaster. A prominent Bella Coola woman died in June, [illegible], and her son believed that he heard the lamentation of the supernatural visitor about six the next morning in the woods behind the missionary's house. He rushed forth to find her, but was unsuccessful. Within a few days, one of his sisters died, as was to be expected.

A comparatively common bird in Bella Coola is the *Tsnilmc*, which is about the size of a robin and dark, greenish brown.* Its whistle is frequently heard and no significance is attached to it, but it is an omen of death if a *Tsnilmc* comes close to a house and chirps out, "*Ts-i-i*." On the night of February [illegible], [illegible], one called beneath the window of a man who was about to start on a journey in his motor-boat. Next morning, although the bird lay dead beside his house, he insisted on starting. He camped at Resurrection Bay where he was awakened by a voice calling his name, but could see no one. This was probably an owl, a bird which often foretells disaster by calling the name of the person to whom it will occur. Even this did not deter him and within twenty-four hours his

* The bird could not be identified, although it belongs to fact, an [illegible].

heart caught fire, his goods were destroyed, and he, himself, barely escaped. The Bulu Cools regard coincidences of this kind as confirmation of their beliefs.

As to the last instance, death does not always follow the hearing or seeing of an omen; it may simply presage some calamity. It is dangerous for a person to be addressed by a dog, although it is well known that dogs understand human speech and can talk if they desire. At the time of the writer's visit, it was a matter of general knowledge that a dog had spoken to a middle-aged Bulu Cools woman a few years earlier. The animal was shot immediately, and the woman never revealed what it had said, but in spite of these precautions she became insane and has never fully recovered.

The same man, Fiyoubengi, near Kimaguli, who figures so prominently in Bulu Cools mythology, is another death omen. In early times, all who passed his station used to call out to him, and it was thought that those whom he failed to answer would die within a year. In that case, the voice was welcome, but the speech of an owl is still regarded with dread. If one of these birds utters the name of a dead person, the individual hearing it will soon die.

Besides these well-recognized omens, the Bulu Cools believe that any peculiar visitation or hallucination is a probable precursor of disaster. In many cases these fears are unjustified, but there are always sufficient accidents and misfortunes to corroborate their belief. An old Kimaguli man told of the manner in which his son had once come rushing into the house saying that he had seen a strange, black-faced creature. His father feared that it might have been Gedemane.

"Perhaps it was," continued the old man, "for my boy soon died."

Irrespective of the actual cause of death, about which the father is uncertain, he is convinced that he knew of its coming by his son's omen-apparition.

to kill an enemy, but his success is accredited to his supernatural possessions which have given him skill as a warrior rather than to his own ability.

It is felt that no ordinary explanation is sufficient to account for the death of a great chief. No matter what may have been the actual cause, it is always said that the supernatural Carpenters, who in the beginning of time created mankind, came down and "seized" or "killed back" the deceased, thinking him too good for this world. It is believed that these beings are from heaven, and that Alguanim allows them to possess influential people. This sentiment is always expressed in mourning songs for a dead chief, but although accepted as a matter of fact, it is little more than a formulated belief which serves to comfort the mourners. The infraction of a taboo is another reason frequently given for a chief's death. It is said that there was a heat wave and the earth shook before the death of Pedro; he became ill immediately, and his stomach began to swell. The witches chief said that Dang-a had had fallen upon him, but the common belief was that he had erred in some ritual act. In any case, he died within a few hours.

[illegible]

Word of a critical illness spreads rapidly through the village and the house in which the sufferer is lying becomes a rendezvous for friends asking about his condition. Failure to do so would be considered ungracious, with the result that there is such a constant coming and going that one is denied the sick person. Shamans are called upon to practise their powers in a noisy manner, and female relatives weep and wail. The din is indescribable.

When the patient shows no further indication of life, the shamans cease, but the mourners redouble their cries. Relatives, friends, and sympathizers all crowd into the house and begin to weep, often adding verbal lamentations. The progress of the news from house to house can be traced by the wailings. When-

[illegible]
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this rite is neglected no more salmon will come to the river. No 764
precautions are necessary after the food has been digested. [725]

Many men prepare their coffins before death. If this has [769]
not been done, a large, wooden box is provided by a kinsman [402]
of the deceased. The body is dressed in good clothing and
bound into a squatting position, head between knees, hands
clasped around shins, and the knuckles just above the level of
the soles of the feet. In this posture it is thrust into the coffin.
Particularly if the corpse has been brought from some distance
and rigor mortis has set in, it may be necessary to break the
back-bone and even to crush the skull before the box can be
closed. A comb is placed on the back of the neck, within the [775]
coffin, to prevent the ghost from returning to haunt the survivors. A little choice food is placed beside the body of a
dearly loved child for nourishment during the journey to the
over world.

From this point onwards, the funeral rites differ according 875
to the rank of the deceased. On the death of an influential 766
chief, the senior members of that society meet as soon as
possible to arrange the dramatization of the coming of *Malido*.
A cousin, son, brother, or other near relative is always
present even if he has little importance in the affairs of the
society. If the death has taken place during the night, the
conference is held the following morning and the rites begin at
noon. There may be delay until all have gathered, but about
the middle of the first possible day two cousins are seen up one
of the mountains behind the village. They carry large, cone-
shaped whistles which they blow twice. The sound is plainly
audible in the village and all, whether or not members of the
cousin society, recognize that a supernatural being is drawing
near. After a short interval, another whistle is blown by a
cousin concealed on the roof of the house in which the corpse
is lying, and after another pause the same sound comes from
within, beside the body itself. Most of the uninitiated know
that this is the voice of *Malido* (also called *Sisiutlpenem*), [776]

ning of time. The following speech was made by an elderly Bella Coola chief at the funeral of his great-granddaughter in June, 1900:

"Granddaughter!* Go with your grandmother* to the mountain above *Tsimsil* where my first [peerless] ancestor came to earth. Go to the mountain across the river where *Kelt* descended; go to the north where your ancestor found a copper house with a raven inside; go to the Skeena where another of your early ancestors found a whale; go to all the places where your forefathers experienced the incidents recorded in our myths; go and be happy.* I do not wear these ever-recurring deaths in my family, but I am helpless. I hope that *Sisiutlaxwa* will come hunting us."

Turning to the Carrier Indians who were present, the old man continued: "Thank you for coming twice within two days to share our grief."

Turning back towards the grave, he went on:

"I have made ready the road for you.* Your grandfather* and I are grieved; our families became united when your parents married, and the bond was cemented by your birth. Now it is lost. When you were born, I rejoiced; now I am sorry. You are all right; you cannot fall because you are supported* by the names and fame of your father and mother, your grandfather and grandmother, your uncles and aunts, and your other ancestors who have passed away here to Sunset. You run with them in your own village where is located your power from the experiences of your forefathers.

*The term, above, was used, although the child was really a great-granddaughter of the grandmother that had buried her three previously.

*One of the first people to reach this earth.

*The places and people mentioned were all described in the myths of the dead child's ancestral family.

*A reference to goods distributed by the speaker at a ceremony held a few days previously when it was certain that the child would soon die.

*The child's mother's father.

*Apparently, incidentally, a word having the sense of physical support. The implication is that the deceased relatives are doing to such a deep circle that the presence of their bodies is enough to prevent any one of them, including the dead child, from falling.

accompanied such kindly sentiments towards him that he would be glad to have his friend receive it.

In recent years the number of inconsolable objects has increased enormously with the introduction of metal wreaths, gramophones, and other things obtained from white traders. Although these are considered to be of use to the ghost, and must be carefully placed near the grave, they can be publicly exchanged for others by a relative. The sentiments expressed on such occasions are that the ghost, though aware of what is taking place, does not remove an open wreath; and that it is unnecessary to deposit the equivalent of what has been removed. There is undoubtedly a vague idea that the ghost uses, not the actual object, but its essence, which is received by the deposition. It must be emphasized that this feeling has not become crystallized to such a state that it is customary to replace goods laid on the grave with others. Such an exchange is a rare event and would cause animosity if carried out by anyone except a near relative.

Sometimes a dying person requests that a house be erected over his grave, a common Bulu Bulu custom. This is built immediately after the funeral and articles that cannot be burnt are placed within it instead of being piled on the ground. The surviving relatives may choose to erect a picket fence around the spot, but no other mark for the grave is put up until a memorial pollarch several years after death. House or fence soon falls into decay and rarely an effort is made to repair either. Nor is the grave itself disturbed. Cow-parsnips, which are much used for food, grow frequently in cemeteries, but no one would gather the shoots that rise above a grave; they are food belonging to the dead person. The white men has taught the Bulu Cuda how to plant apple-trees and these are often set out in graveyards, though the fruit is allowed to fall to the ground for the benefit of those interred beneath. The Bulu Bulu are said formerly to have replaced or renewed the coffin containing a dead person, but this seems never to have been a Bulu Cuda practice. Indeed, a grave is never

occupants of the canoe, heard a roaring noise and saw a fish-eye, similar to those used by the Bella Coola, crossing across Burke Channel, which is about a mile and a half wide at this point. They were close to the beach and a brave man cut a passage through the obstacle. A similar egg was once seen crossing across South Bentinck Arm.

An unusual apparition may be regarded as an omen of death. For example, not many years ago a young half-breed saw a motor-boat moored to the bank of North Bentinck Arm with an eagle moored to the stern. He ran his own motor-boat towards it, but as he approached the eagle became a man. Then as he drew still nearer, never taking his eyes off the other boat, it, with its occupant, sank beneath the water, without leaving as much as a ripple. On relating the incident to his father, the latter recognized it as an omen of death. Six months later the half-breed's sister died, thus confirming her father's prognostication.

Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate

Experiences such as have been cited in the last section are regarded as of possible, and not infrequent occurrence at the present time. On the other hand, supernatural aid granted to those in misfortune, though it is the theme of many stories, is not considered as likely to happen now. The Bella Coola believe the narratives to be chronicles of actual events, and base their conceptions of many supernatural beings on their characteristics as therein described. There is no ceremonial significance attached to any of these stories, they may be, and are told by anyone, frequently for entertainment. Frequently, there is a feeling that the moral brought out in such tales is of value in educating the young people, though this point is never emphasized.

Supernatural aid granted to an unfortunate person is usually substantial. Power or charmed magic is conferred by the recipient, although memory of the experience is

"It seems as if you attracted the others like a magnet," said the father to his son.

The latter did not answer immediately, but later he said:

"You were right," and he told him what had happened.

"You have obtained supernatural good luck," the old man replied simply.

Following his son's instructions the father prepared seven and twenty [illegible] to bring back the luck of the Mother of Bodies. They collected every scrap of it, which they powdered very carefully, and said small portions [illegible] to their sons with such success that they became wealthy.

Another supernatural being from whom supernatural good fortune may be obtained is Ohsumb-ma, "The Female Whatever." When a chief dies she comes to wail, wandering through the woods near the village, where sometimes she can be seen in the form of a weeping woman. As she cries, she wipes away from her eyes, which exhibit her a glass-like substance about a foot in length. Anyone who sees her should take the transparent stones, and wrap it in some article of his own clothing; it will bring him good fortune. Hence [illegible] of Jan 11, 1911, the infant daughter of a Bulu Cuale died, and about seven o'clock on the following morning, the wailing was heard in the woods behind the missionary's house. The brother of the dead child's father rushed off as fast as he could the weeping one. Luckily for did not succeed, because he did not know about collecting the stones, and trouble would have come to him had he seen the supernatural being without knowing how to deal with it, in fact, even to have Ohsumb-ma is considered an omen of death.

It will be seen from the foregoing specific instances that supernatural good luck is usually obtained by the sharing of some powerful creature. But, since every living creature is endowed with supernatural power, it follows that any object obtained from a bird or an animal that has acted in a peculiar way may be the cause of supernatural good fortune if it be kept for one year in the manner previously described. Some

[illegible]

they have? In this case, for example, a reliable woman asserted that she had heard one, though she had since forgotten them as they had no social significance. Bella Coola shamans usage [illegible] of a simple type, with few words, and with cases of no great difficulty, all clearly akin to our [illegible]. Hence they could easily be invented by anyone. A person who recovers from a severe illness is expected, both by others and by himself, to have had such an experience, consequently it is easy for him to interpret the confused thoughts of a sickness as a visitation from a supernatural being. Thus it seems probable that a shaman deludes himself as well as others with regard to the songs.

A certain man had a similar experience, when he too heard *Tlesqulitlin a* without actually seeing her. He was in a canoe on the river, near the point between North Bentinck Arm and Labouchère Channel, and distinctly heard her whistle, accompanied by four beats on a drum. This may have been an omen, as he died soon after wards. Occasionally, *Tlesqulitlin a* appears to dreamers and gives information, as she did to this man's mother, instructing her to brush her body with spruce boughs to avoid smallpox. She followed this advice and both she and her husband escaped unscathed from the epidemic.

A shaman who died about 1900 received his power in the following manner.

He had been spearing salmon salmon in the Bella Coola River one summer when one of the fish stumbled to skin in his hands as he removed it from the water. From this event some mysterious malady covered his body, no one could cure him, and by December he had wasted away to a walking skeleton. Then, one morning, he heard whistling which he was sure must be the voice of *Tlesqulitlin a*. He hardly said nothing about this, nor was it heard by anyone else. The same sound was repeated on the next two mornings, and on the fourth she appeared.

[illegible] with one or the [illegible] a [illegible] which is repeated on [illegible]. Examples of these songs are given here [illegible].

575 They dispute in this manner concerning the capture of
746 every kind of salmon and even about the berries. *Ant'lkan-lada* keeps up a running stream of comments to the uninitiated.

"Listen to the stupid *Kwakiutl*. That is what they did when they were with *Wiwaxia*. They spent most of their time sleeping, and the rest of it arguing. Don't you be such silly fools as they are. Watch what you are doing, and you may be fortunate enough to see me in the woods and become a dancer."

As soon as the uninitiated have watched these beings for a time, they are expelled and the ritual ends in the usual manner.

768 In conclusion, a word may be said regarding the attitude
776 of the Bella Coola to *Wiwaxia* and his canoe. Like all other supernatural manifestations it is capable of bringing good or evil to the beholder. An encounter of every *Wiwaxia* dancer must have seen it and observed it in person, but it is a dangerous visitor now the less. Sometimes, at night, a hunter encamped on one of the fiords hears a grunting sound accompanied by short paddle strokes. If he calls out "*yaw!*" loudly, no harm will come to him, but if he omits to do so he will soon die. One informant affirmed that within his lifetime a party of *Kwaguis* hunters were waiting for high tide when they heard the grunting. They failed to hail the craft and presently a sound reached them as if a number of paddles had been placed in the water to check the course of a canoe; in fact, the ripples splashed on the shore at their feet. In a few years they were all dead.

THE DANCE OF REVITALIZATION

575 One of the most interesting of the Bella Coola dances is
746 that portraying *Nawacha*, who is virtually Mother-Nature,
824 giving birth to the flowers and trees in the spring. The following account is of the manner in which *Kalla-i*, a *Kwaguis* man, performed the rite. The ritual appears to be identical
[184] in Bella Coola, as only one account need be given, and the
[776] performer may be spoken of as X.

This dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial

[The Dance of the Stone Man]

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

APPENDIX D

[illegible]

Ballinger. Gaelic name for pressure given to a house bridegroom by the father of the house bride.
Bobbleheadlin. Supernatural being whose omnomb is not to the land above.
Bonny: Gaelic.
Bumbumbiddy, "Wee Bingo Dee Feed". Synonym for the supernatural being Wiseman.
Bunnies. Designation for a series of difficult and impossible Gaelic words.
Bushrum. Said to be blessed with abilities, the mythic object obtained by a shaman from the supernatural bumbumbiddy.
Bunker, plural: bunkers, mythic, bunkers, mythic plural: bunkyman.
1.—Bunkers comprising those entitled to perform shamanic labours during the annual ceremonial season.
2.—Shamans of the bunkers.
3.—"The Longest Day". Designation sometimes applied to a supernatural being, especially a specified one, or to a person having power to cast the death.
Burgoo. Triangular Gaelic dancer living in the late century.
Bullet. Beloved son, especially a child, born in the creative time of the world.
Bullbrook. Gaelic.
Bunbiddy. Wiseman dwelling on Fire Dragon in the beginning of time.
Bunyan. Gaelic name.
Bunbiddy. Supernatural name of Cormorant.
Bun-Yanny. Wiseman.
Bunbunnybiddy. Wiseman name required for the two spirits of time.
Burbiddy. Unidentified bird of which the note is an omen of death.
Bunbiddy. Proper name of a Bella Coola man.
Bunbiddy. Proper name of a Bella Coola man.
Bunbiddy-cousin. Proper name of a male Dreamer Bay Cannibal.
Burbiddy. Sacred generation, "galaxy," said to be found on the Queen Charlotte Islands.
Bunbiddy. Dragonfly bangle.
Bunbiddy. Famous Bella Coola member.
Burgoo. One of the workers.
Bunny. Proper name of a Dragon man.
Bun-bun-ny. "The Big One". Leader with supernatural being.
Bunbiddy. Man who came to earth one days to the beginning of time.
Bun-bun. Dragon member.
Bunbun. Dragon man transformed to an ancient story.
Bunbun. One of the two men to earth a Kitsumat Fire in the beginning of time.
Bunbun. Gaelic dwelling in the late century.
Bunbunny, "One Who Has Gotten Right". Name given by a wife to a companion of eighty received from her husband's relatives.
Bunbiddy. Influential Gaelic woman expressed in the beginning of time by a Dragon chief, the word is a synonym for Wiseman-chief.
Bunbiddy Bunbunny. One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Bunyanbun-yan. Lullaby.
Burbunny. Gaelic expression used in a sitting figure.
Bunbiddy. 1.—Fire or map in the moon the galaxy.
2.—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, one far from to land.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] THE WELLA CHELA INDIANS

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

APPENDIX D

Ezulu: Kibiko River.
Ubhudu: Eagle that perched on top of a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time.
Umu: Animal's outside.
Ufu: Sign of the heathen, foretelling death.
Umuzi: Commerce, in Bulu Bulu language.
Umkhwenu: Gentle voice to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him.
Umkhi: Resurrection Day.
Umlu, hold-ungi: 1—Village in the lower Bulu Cindu valley.
2—Hold-ungi.
3—Name assumed for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimpoti in the beginning of time.
Ung: Station, either buried or absent.
Umkhwen ne Kumkhi: Free night of a buried dance.
umkhukhuku: 1—Heavy supper in Kumpoti's house.
2—Name obtained from them by a Zulu man in the beginning of time.
Umkhwen: Eminent rite to which the performer's head appears to be pulled off.
Ulu: Clearly secret leader of sprain rents.
Umpumulo: Any act of an endless nature which prevents a supernatural being from seeing the appearance.
Ulu: Protects distributed when a sacrificial initiate dances. They are provided by the dance "To Shield Our Eyes" from the spectrum and serve to incorporate the companions and others who have assisted in the rite.
Umu: Hole.
Umu: Hands.
Umuhlulu: Woman resident in the far north in the beginning of time.
Umuzi: The giving of presents to the servants and associates of the dance of a goatskin to secure for being served with food to a male woman.
Umuti: Small woodpecker, species unidentified.
Umuzu: Winter wren.
umuti: Spreading medicine salmon.
Umhlu: Intangible hunter prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the genitalia.
Umhlu: Pomegrate.
Umuhlulu: One of the first women to settle at Umuhlu in the beginning of time.
Umuhlulu: One of the first men to settle at Umuzi in the beginning of time.
Umuzulu: Unidentified tree of which the bark was smoked.
umkhwenu: To group freely with both hands, sculpture.
umugwe: Trees, plural.
umu'ni ukuti: Ceremony resembling a goatskin given by a chief for the benefit of his fellow-villagers, especially during the year preceding the main rite.
umuzu, "When In Good": Synonym for abomination, the separation of a wife from her husband.
Umuzi ne: Synonym for Pseudohumulus: Supernatural being who disembodiedly hangs head from his fellows.
umuhlulu: 1—Shadowed figure, usually in some form, which appears to avoid and shift invisible.
2—the appearance, that is, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.
Umuhlu: Supernatural human of mountain giant.

Kilbuna E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)[852]
NEA Bellacoola NEA

By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swooms it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking the shell. The shaman bears its hunting wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking the shell the owner becomes crazy. 774 756 [844] [753] [824]

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Dog. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Dog will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself. 954 [776]

When asked more closely about the certain difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: "When an Ayeka'i'ing wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Mt. Saint) who will initiate him. So Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way." [771]

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ch'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 112), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soiled by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called ceck. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms. 753 755 759 [826]

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or spear, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die. 682 759 [828]

I will have a few current beliefs:—

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about me. 827

Slight singing of the ears indicates rain, loud singing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eye indicates that one will cry. [777]

If a dog chases and bards in the sheep its owner will die. 825

The breaking of a bow without an apparent cause is unlucky. 763

777

Wars.

When a war party was expected the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and covered their 726 729

1:bb:Swanton E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

211 in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at
*556 the front door of the house with an opening at its base through
998 which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be sided
582 and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice in
[184] either case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ancestral chiaks by means of paintings on the front wall of his house, or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, if such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief entitled to display a totem-pole may choose to use only paintings. If he validates these by presents, they give him the same dignity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cannot validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola poles are only about fifteen to twenty feet in height, and though
[171] it is possible that a few families had prerogatives entitling them to construct lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is unlikely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand before the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even none at
[964] all. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 461). Otherwise it remains standing until some other occupant of the house wishes to erect another in its place, when the first is pulled down and neglected.

Coppers

*556 The Bella Coola use coppers for only two purposes: casting
[964] on the ground upon which the representation of a deceased relative had trodden, or throwing into the fire when the figure has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make home for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when a copper is employed is so important that to obtain one and increase its value is a vital consideration for every chief.

[177 434] Most of the coppers now used by the Bella Coola are made

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

435 immediately before, or during the early stages of a potlatch, in
*556 order to receive goods immediately, but with the proviso that
it shall be returned to him for throwing into the fire. This
[432] method has the advantage of providing the chief with goods
[426] when required, and doubles the worth of the copper.

Coppers are not always rescued from the ashes and given to poor men. If one is still lying in the fire after several days,
[364] the donor of the potlatch removes it and fastens it to the memorial-post over the grave of his deceased relative. It may be left there, or another chief wanting a copper may buy it from the donor and increase its value in the usual manner. Only a small price is paid in such circumstances, since the copper, having served its purpose, is practically valueless.

177 The Bella Coola state that in ancient times coppers were
435 worth less than at present, and that the change in sentiment
regarding them is due to Kwakiutl influence. All agree that
*556 the value placed upon them at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay is greater than elsewhere on the coast. The Bella Coola believe that the Kwakiutl distribute presents in respect to their coppers and that their values mount to enormous sums when the gifts are returned. It is clear that the importance of coppers, like the potlatch and other elements of culture, has increased in recent years through the influence of the coastal tribes.

*556 It is almost impossible to define coppers in the nomenclature of economic theory. They are not mere articles of barter, since they have no practical use outside the ceremonies of chiefs. Nor are they standardized units of trade or cur-
[436] rency, since each differs not only from all other coppers, but also at different periods. In a sense they serve as tokens of
[211] what has been expended; representations of them may be carved and painted on totem-poles where they serve as marks
[532] of the goods which the chief has given away, but this is only a minor consideration. A copper can perhaps best be described
[426] as an investment which can be applied only to one purpose,
[435] "the making of bone for a deceased" person. It grows more valuable at every transmission in accordance with the goods ex-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

those just described. The giving of these at this time is not 583
obligatory, nor does it affect the validity of the coming marriage. It is merely a mark of friendly feeling between the two groups of relatives, and, by adding to the importance of the event, increases the potential strength of the unborn children.

If either X or Y should die during the period of engagement, 584
the presents, or their equivalent, must be returned to the [583]
donors. No formal methods are employed to ensure this, [626]
but the force of public opinion suffices to compel a man to do that which is proper; in fact, he is anxious to do so. If Y should die, an effort is made to replace her with a sister, cousin, or other near relative, so that the friendly relations entered upon by the two families may not be lost. The gifts mutually given by the two families may be returned and re-donated or the substitute simply takes Y's place without further arrangement. Sometimes, in spite of the wishes of their parents and the [154]
elaborate rites carried out, either X or Y breaks the engage- [583]
ment by going to live with somebody else. It is then a mark of pride for the family of the offender to return the gifts they have received, and almost equally a mark of honour for the aggrieved party to give back what has been bestowed upon them, in order to demonstrate how little value they place on the possession of goods.

Though a lengthy engagement is desirable, it may be curtailed. If, for example, one of X's relatives should die before the usual period has elapsed, Y's father may suggest an immediate wedding. He knows that X's family will have heavy [764]
expenses in connection with the burial and mourning rites, hence it is courteous to offer a quick marriage with the financial advantages accruing to them at the ceremony. In this case, X either does not work at all for Y's family, or for only a short time. Moreover, if Y reaches marriageable age without her father receiving suitable proposals, he can himself take the initiative by consulting the parents of an eligible young man. If the suggestion is agreeable, the engagement is announced in the manner already described, and the marriage takes place

1:Mc:Dwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NES Bellacoola NES

carried out, her relatives are expected to return to her husband's family the goods received during the engagement and at the wedding. The matter is then settled. If the deceased has a younger sister, cousin, or other near relative, an effort is usually made to have this individual replace the dead wife.* No further goods are given, except perhaps a few to add dignity to the transference; the new wife merely replaces her dead sister and the bond between the two families continues unbroken. If the husband should die, his wife's relatives are considered honorable and endowed with the minds of chiefs if they restore to his relatives the presents which they have received. But if the wife can be remarried to one of his relatives, there is no need for this and the two families continue to enjoy the mutual strength acquired by the long period of engagement and exchange of benefits and presents.

If death takes place after the repurchasing of the wife, there is no need to return presents, since the rebuying has cancelled the expenditure by the husband. If children have been born and the woman has long become practically a member of her husband's family, she is buried by them as a matter of course, but should she die soon after marriage, her own family usually performs the obsequies.

With the passing of many years of married life, the repurchasing several times of the woman, and the birth of children, she becomes so much a member of her husband's family that his death seldom ends the arrangement. The widow is by no means a slave and usually is master of her own destiny, especially if she has children and has reached a position of eminence in the community. Since the desirability of preserving the bond between the two families is fully realized, it is accordingly customary for a widow to wed her husband's brother, or a husband his deceased wife's sister. But in each case the ritual of marriage and exchange of presents must be

*The native term emphasizes the fact that the new wife is virtually inherited by her husband.

to kill an enemy, but his success is accredited to his supernatural possessions which have given him skill as a warrior rather than to his own ability. 961 926

It is felt that no ordinary explanation is sufficient to account for the death of a great chief. No matter what may have been the actual cause, it is always said that the supernatural Carpenters, who in the beginning of time created mankind, came down and "seized" or "called back" the deceased, thinking him too good for this world. It is believed that these beings are keen hunters, and that *Ilyunim* allows them to pursue influential people. This sentiment is always expressed in mourning songs for a dead chief, but although accepted as a matter of fact, it is little more than a formalized belief which serves to comfort the mourners. The infraction of a taboo is another reason frequently given for a chief's death. It is said that there was a loud crash and the earth shook before the death of *Pathe*; he became ill immediately, and his stomach began to swell. The stricken chief said that *Sang*" itself had fallen upon him, but the common belief was that he had erred in some ritual act. At any rate, he died within a few hours. 961 622 [775] [538]

RITES FOLLOWING DEATH

News of a critical illness spreads rapidly through the village and the house in which the sufferer is lying becomes a rendezvous for friends asking about his condition. Failure to do so would be considered ungracious, with the result that there is such a constant coming and going that rest is denied the sick person. Shamans are called upon to practise their powers in a noisy manner, and female relatives weep and wail. The din is indescribable. 963 [956]

When the patient shows no further indication of life, the shamans cease, but the women redouble their cries. Relatives, friends, and sympathizers all crowd into the house and begin to weep, often adding verbal lamentations. The progress of the news from house to house can be traced by the wailings. Mean- 964

764 while the relatives are preparing the body for disposal. For a child, these services are performed by the parents; for a married man whose parents are dead, by his brothers and other kindred; for a married woman, by her husband or the members of her own family. If she has borne no children, it is customary for her relatives to carry out the funeral rites, especially if she has been many times rebought from her husband. If such repayment has not been made, it is considered correct for a husband to bury his wife, although it is a point of honour for her relatives to reimburse him later for his expenditure. On the other hand, when children have been born and financial assistance mutually given and received several times, it is proper for the husband to perform the funeral rites, although he may receive assistance from his wife's kinsmen. There is no rigid ruling on the point, but bickerings seldom occur in connection with disposal of the dead. Members of the ancestral family are ready to assist in every case, both on account [614] of the disgrace that would follow a niggardly funeral, and also [556] as a means of displaying their wealth.

The first essential is to wash the body, a rite performed by men for a man, by women for a woman. It is immaterial who does this though some of the relatives usually volunteer. Neither husband nor wife touches a dead consort, though it [134] is said that long ago a man would hold intercourse with a deceased wife to indicate his extensive grief. The most influential member of the immediate family takes the lead in the various necessary acts, although there is always endless discussion and advice from members of the ancestral family and others interested. A nose-ring is placed in the septum [301] of the corpse; if this is omitted, the body will not be able [175] to dissolve into its elements but will range the earth as a walking phantom, causing injury to anyone who observes it. If the deceased has just eaten some of the first run of spring [525] salmon or olachen, a shaman washes out his mouth with a sponge of undyed cedar-bark which he throws into the river. The essence of the salmon is thus extracted from the body; if

this rite is neglected no more witches will come to the river. No precautions are necessary after the final has been signaled.

Many men prepare their coffins before death. If this has not been done, a large, wooden box is provided by a kinsman of the deceased. The body is dressed in good clothing and bound into a squatting position, head between knees, hands clasped around shins, and the knuckles just above the level of the soles of the feet. In this posture it is thrust into the coffin. Particularly if the corpse has been brought from some distance and rigor mortis has set in, it may be necessary to break the back-bone and even to crush the skull before the box can be closed. A stone is placed on the back of the neck, within the coffin, to prevent the ghost from returning to haunt the survivors. A little cheap food is placed beside the body of a dearly loved child for nourishment during the journey to the next world.

From this point onwards, the funeral rites differ according to the rank of the deceased. On the death of an influential *nzond*, the senior members of that society meet as soon as possible to arrange the dramatization of the coming of *Malektile*. A *nzond* son, brother, or other near relative is always present even if he has little importance in the affairs of the society. If the death has taken place during the night, the conference is held the following morning and the rites begin at noon. There may be delay until all have gathered, but about the middle of the first possible day two *nzond* are sent up one of the mountains behind the village. They carry large, cone-shaped whistles which they blow twice. The sound is plainly audible in the village and all, whether or not members of the *nzond* society, recognize that a supernatural being is drawing near. After a short interval, another whistle is blown by a *nzond* concealed on the roof of the house in which the corpse is lying, and after another pause the same sound comes from within, beside the body itself. Most of the uninitiated know that this is the voice of *Malektile* (also called *Sizzisqawam*),

[illegible] E-5 ([illegible])[illegible]

[illegible] Dellacorvia [illegible]

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Permission to [illegible] National Archives [illegible]

Personal possession held on a [illegible]

[illegible]

PLATE [illegible]

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S32

Memorial figure and personal possessions on a grave

[p 442 (B)]

PLATE [illegible]

Photograph by [illegible], National Museum of Canada

Memorial posts showing crests of the deceased

[#442 (c)]

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[Figure (3)]

Pleiopsis to 1 : 1000. Normal division of nuclei.

Ornamental figures of ethals and fous

Proceedings of the Royal Society, B, Vol. 127, Pl. 40
Mrs. Dorothy Wyatt del.
Cambridge University Press

PLATE II

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Totem-pole serving as a memorial post

[p 142 (E)]

[P 442(e)]

Photograph by A. J. Smith, Forest Officer (C)Chada

Memorial post with wooden representations of coppers given away by the deceased

THE NORTHWESTERN TRIBES
BRITISH COLUMBIA AND YUKON

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.724
S32
4/71

Photo: Ch. 1 Kim, Korea Green Cross

Mimosid pen with model cows and figures representing dairy

[p 442 (b)]

Lib. McDermott E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

body became eagle down and was wafted upwards is psychologically of the type which might serve as basis for a rite of this kind. If the descendants of the person to whom this had happened had dramatized the incident at subsequent deaths, a custom analogous to the one here described would have arisen. 575 766 424 [779]

DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When possible, it takes place on the day following death, but as many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the performance of the rite just described. Another reason for postponement is the absence of near relatives; if they can be summoned within four or five days, the funeral may be delayed until their arrival. There is always endless discussion concerning the exact details; all relatives and members of the ancestral family take part, though the wishes of a son, brother, or other near kinsman are usually followed. In this, as in so many points of Bella Coola ritual, an influential chief often overrules the desires even of those who are more closely related to the deceased. 764 [796] [554]

Heralds announce the hour chosen,[6] usually about noon, and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even strangers being welcome. Women wail dolorously, and another indication of the occasion is the bundles containing clothing, cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once, with a stone; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed and a hole made in one of the front corners of the house, through which the man throws out the stone. The women redouble their lamentations as an old woman, previously asked to do so, lights a bundle of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and climbs through the opening carrying this. No request has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong men, especially [203] [609]

[6] This is done at present, even after the carrying away of the "body." In former times it was omitted when the corpse was secretly buried by the *xusek*. [178]

[964] friends of the deceased, pick up the coffin and carry it through
[762] the hole. In former times it was frequently difficult to obtain
[984] pall-bearers for a slave or friendless person on account of the
[961] taboos to which a person performing this service was subject. If a dead person should be taken through a doorway, others using it would soon follow the corpse to the next world. For the same reason, a body must never be moved across the central line of a house; the passage is, therefore, made from the side where it happens to be lying. As soon as the corpse has been taken through, the removed planks are quickly replaced. Mourners and guests stream out through the doorway and follow the coffin, some of them carrying the bundles containing part of the goods of the deceased. Meanwhile the pall-bearers follow the woman with the torch to the cemetery, taking care to carry their burden so that it faces the direction
[761] in which they are going; if a dead person is allowed to look backwards, he will beckon some relative to accompany him and the one so summoned will soon die.

There is a cemetery near every village, usually fifty to a hundred yards behind the row of houses in a place from which the heavy timber has been cleared. On arrival, the pall-bearers set down their burden close to the spot where the guide has placed her flaming bark on the ground. The personal possessions of the deceased are likewise deposited near the fire, which is kept alight by female relatives throwing on it small quantities of the dead person's clothing and utensils. The near kinsmen of the deceased choose the exact site of the grave, which must never be dug before the bringing of the corpse.
[423] There is no ownership of plots within the cemetery, so that the hole can be made wherever desired. A favourite location is close to the grave of a mother, father, or other near relative, but this is optional; bones are sometimes uncovered when digging, and in that case earth is thrown in once more and a new site selected. There are no professional grave-diggers,
[767] nor are arrangements made in advance for men to perform this duty, but friends, especially strong young men, are willing to

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

undertake the task and bring with them tools for the purpose. When the location has been chosen, they start their work without further instructions, taking care that the corpse shall face east. It is said that this is done because the sun rises in that quarter, a statement that is probably a mere rationalization. Graves are usually about five feet deep, so that the digging requires some little time, especially in winter when the ground is frozen. All the young men are willing to help and relieve one another at intervals. Meanwhile the women are squatting on the ground near the coffin, some of them throwing objects on the fire, and all wailing intermittently in a high-pitched, tuneless sob into which a mourner sometimes inserts words as if her agony had overcome her. [764] [767]

"Please return whence you came," moans one woman, while another sobs out:

"Perhaps you were unhappy with us and wanted something we could not give you on earth."

The sun sent down the people of *Sneel* and *Sneilk-il*, who accordingly regard that being as their crest. Mourners of those villages, as well as other individuals to whom the sun stands in the same relationship, are accustomed to address him, saying: [773]

"Please increase your light to guide the way. Our child returns to you."

One woman, whose relatives had been killed by jealous rivals owing to their success in giving potlatches, prayed:

"Come no more. Those for whom you gave light have gone; henceforth shine only whither they have departed."

In some cases such doleful lamentations are mere lip service, but they often express very real grief at the loss of a friend or relative. It is also felt that such sympathy affords comfort to the mourning kindred.

As the grave grows deeper, the relatives keep measuring it and the coffin to insure a close fit and avoid unnecessary digging. As soon as it is ready, an elderly man who has been requested to perform the rite, steps to the north side of the

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964 grave carrying a spruce bough in his hand. He touches with it the edge where he is standing, then, in sunwise order, the east, south, and west margins. This circuit is repeated four times and the branch tossed away to westward. This essential [794] ceremony is based on a belief that the lives, or perhaps the spirits, of the grave-diggers have been drawn from them into the grave and are in danger of being pressed down by the coffin. Should this occur, they would have short lives. The spruce branch enables the supernatural elements to leave the cavity and return to their owners who suffer no ill effects. Anyone, other than a grave-digger, can perform this rite.

The coffin is now lifted into the grave, care being taken that the corpse faces east. As already described, it is in a squatting position with haunches almost on the ground. Boards have been prepared in advance, and with these the grave-diggers make a roof-like covering, placing at each corner [775] a stone weighing from ten to fifteen pounds, to prevent the ghost from returning to trouble the survivors. Earth is thrown in on top of the boards, and as it falls the wailing breaks out dolorously in a final crescendo of mourning. [760] If a chief has been buried, his fellows sometimes sing a *xe-tla* [533] song. At this time it is proper for one or more chiefs to rise and speak. No one is required to do so, nor is there any rule 537 as to the order in which they make their remarks. The first 964 speaker is usually a prominent man related to the survivors, though seldom a son, brother, or other near relative of the deceased. A speech is generally addressed in part to the spirit of the dead person, telling it where to go; in part, to the mourners. For a dead child, emphasis is laid on the fact that although he did not live long enough to be incorporated into his ancestral myths on earth, this will be done for him in his future home. In conclusion, an appeal is often made to *Hqumtlw*, under the name of *Smaialala*, to take pains that [775] the spirit of the dead is given its rightful place in *Nuxmáit-a*, in [773] the section where its first forbears were created, and whither the spirits of its dead ancestors have returned since the beginning of time.

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ning of time. The following speech was made by an elderly Bella Coola chief at the funeral of his great-granddaughter in June, 1922: 764 537

"Granddaughter![7] Go with your grandmother[8] to the mountain above *Tcmoti* where my first [patrilineal] ancestor came to earth. Go to the mountain across the river where *Qsil*[9] descended; go to the north where your ancestor found a copper house with a raven inside; go to the Skeena where another of your early ancestors found a whale; go to all the places where your forefathers experienced the incidents recorded in our myths; go and be happy.[10] I do not want these ever-recurring deaths in my family, but I am helpless. I hope that *Sixsinqutsam* will cease hunting us." [773]

Turning to the Carrier Indians who were present, the old man continued: "Thank you for coming twice within two days to share our grief." [648]

Turning back towards the grave, he went on:

"I have made ready the road for you.[11] Your grandfather[12] and I are grieved; our families became united when your parents married, and the bond was cemented by your birth. Now it is lost. When you were born, I rejoiced; now I am sorry. You are all right; you cannot fall because you are supported[13] by the names and fame of your father and mother, your grandfather and grandmother, your uncles and aunts, and your other ancestors who have passed away here in *Xumqo-ts*. You rest with them in your own village where is located your power from the experiences of your forefathers.

[7]The term, *ahmis*, was used, although the child was really a great-granddaughter.
[8]The grandmother had been buried two days previously.
[9]One of the first people to reach this earth.
[10]The places and people mentioned were all described in the myths of the dead child's ancestral family.
[11]A reference to goods distributed by the speaker at a ceremony held a few days previously when it was certain that the child would soon die. [963]
[12]The child's mother's father. [431]
[13]Supported, *Ahkumulis*, a word having the sense of physical support. The implication is that the deceased relatives are sitting in such a close circle that the pressure of their bodies is enough to prevent any one of them, including the dead child, from falling. [195]

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They will look after you and, being chiefs, they will be able to do so properly. You will be strong indeed. I am heavy with grief. My grandchildren alone serve to anchor me to *Sqmqo·ts*; otherwise I would go to *Tsmaal*.[25] Now that you have gone I may become light-headed and depart. No. I have other grandchildren and great-grandchildren. I will bear up and be a man, and show myself the chief that I am by right."

During this speech the mourners remained seated on the ground, many of the women wailing at intervals and the men listening with more or less attention except those who were filling in the grave. Once or twice the speaker hesitated for a suitable word and suggestions were called out to him.

As the old man finished speaking and sat down, another chief arose.[26]

"Children," he said, addressing the parents of the dead child, "You have indeed suffered misfortunes. A few days ago, your mother[27] died; today, your daughter. Perhaps it is all for the best. Remember how many ancestors who have gone before will be waiting to receive the child; she will be well cared for. Death passes no one, chief or commoner, but do not despair even at this double visitation. Your mother[27] never did an evil action to anyone, never said a harsh word to anyone; try to imitate her. See! I have neither father nor mother. They are both dead; we all go the same way."

In conclusion he urged the step-father of the grieving father, husband of the woman who had died a few days previously, to bear up.

As the second speaker finished, a third arose and spoke briefly.

"I am sorry," he said, "for Joe[28] in his grief today. We have

[25] The home of the speaker's ancestral family.

[26] No arrangements had been made in advance concerning who should speak or the order in which each should address the mourners.

[27] The mother of the child's father had died a few days previously.

[28] Referring to the mother of the child's father.

[29] The dead child's mother's father; he was addressed by his ancestral name on this occasion.

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put his granddaughter into the ground beside her grandmother but it may all be for the best."[1] 764 537

There is no doubt that condolences of this nature assist the mourning relatives to bear up under their grief. This fact was emphasized by several Bella Coola, and in addition the writer was able to observe it on several occasions. They readily respond to suggestions of any kind and undoubtedly derive comfort from the laudatory comments of influential chiefs.

Speeches of this general nature are always delivered as the grave is being filled in. Sometimes this work is finished before all who wish to do so have expressed themselves, sometimes the remarks are so short that they are ended before all the earth has been thrown back. When the hole has been filled to ground level, it is stamped down and the surplus earth scattered out of sight among the bushes, no mound being thrown up. 764

Great care is always taken to prevent the return of the ghost. In addition to the weighting with stones already described, other methods are used before the funeral party leaves the cemetery. Heavy boards are usually laid flat over the grave and rocks piled on these bar the way up from below. A further precaution is the setting upright of four stakes, one at each corner of the hole, and fastening ropes of cedar-bark between them along the east and west sides of the grave. The significance of this is not fully understood, except that the ghost cannot pass the strands. Four spruce saplings are cut and placed either between the grave and the village, or one on each side of the hole; their sharp needles form an effective barrier. 764 775 [824]

While these precautions are being taken, any clothing and utensils brought to the grave and not already consumed are thrown on the fire and allowed to blaze brightly. The ashes 764

[1] It was impossible to record these speeches *verbatim* at the time of their delivery. The writer was able to make notes, which were amplified by each speaker later telling him what he had said. Although lacking literal accuracy, the above may be considered essentially correct. [126]

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764 are never disturbed, being considered, in some vague way, "bad." The tools used for digging the grave are left standing upright in the loose earth, an action for which no explanation can be given by the Bella Coola. When these various rites have been performed, the funeral party returns to the village and disperses.

766 845 At present, interment is the customary method for disposing of the bodies of all except twins, whose bodies are placed in trees. Formerly, other means were sometimes employed, as 764 they still are occasionally. Instead of inhumation, a coffin 178 was frequently placed on a scaffold close behind the deceased's house. Whenever another relative died, planks were laid across, above the first box, and the new one deposited on these, so that in time the scaffold grew to resemble a house-like structure with many compartments. In the last century a certain shaman, *Áskankots* by name, is said to have pointed out that corpses were frequently carried off by wolves, *snuuq*, and other animals. For this reason he persuaded the people to inter their dead.

764 Somewhat similar to this practice was the placing of corpses in trees. Until the last few years this was sometimes done with poor children; formerly, it was not unknown even for chiefs. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that the coffin containing the body of his grandfather, a chief, was placed in the crotch of a tree where no rain could penetrate. This means of disposal was probably never habitual. Even at the present time, the corpse of a dearly loved child is occasionally placed above, instead of under the ground. If the parents desire to do this, they erect in the cemetery a carved figure of one of their crests and deposit the coffin on top of it. This is, of course, a graphic representation of the deceased's origin myth and symbolizes the way in which the dead person has become associated with it.

According to several of the older men, cremation was practised by the Bella Coola for some time after the first settlement of the earth. A fire was built outside the house and the body

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thrown on it. One rather philosophic old man suggested that in this way the soul could easily return to *Nusmāt-a*. It is possible that this means of disposal was carried out in former times, but no informant had actually seen it practised. The Bella Coola state that cremation is carried out by the Kitlobe[29] and the Carriers. On the morning after a burning, young men of the former tribe rush to the spot and smear their faces with the semi-charred bones, amid much shouting. The Carriers are said to stand with their bodies inclined over the burning corpse and to smear on their faces any grease exuded from it. The accuracy of these statements is very doubtful, and can have no bearing on the reputed practice of cremation among the Bella Coola. 764 764 829

The bodies of rich or poor, chiefs, commoners, or slaves, all are buried in a similar manner though with differences in the complexity of ritual. Nor is any different method practised for criminals, murdered people, or those committing suicide. It is believed that in case of self-destruction the body cannot separate into its elements and reach *Nusmāt-a*; that part which becomes the ghost is able to go to the land below, but neither spirit nor life can ascend. According to one man, who may, however, have been affected by Christian influence, this is because *Ālquntām* decrees the length of life and any wilful shortening is insulting to him. Suicide is rare among the Bella Coola and four cases only were heard of. One woman killed herself in shame at having accidentally set fire to a village, another because her husband was unduly jealous, and two men through bladder stricture. 766 762 [775]

On the whole, Bella Coola methods for disposal of the dead have altered but little since the coming of the white man. The change from sub-aerial exposure to interment was probably not due to foreign influence although the introduction of metal shovels has facilitated the digging of graves and probably hastened the movement. A change in posture has, however, taken place. In former times, a corpse was always buried 177 764

[29] If not at present, at least within the memory of elderly people.

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177 squatting, now it is customary to use the extended position.
764 It is impossible to state whether this is the direct result of white teaching, or whether the ease with which large boxes can now be made has led to interment at full length.

RITES FOLLOWING DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

768 Interment of the corpse does not end the ceremonial necessitated by a death in the community. As already described, some of the clothing and utensils of the dead person are burned during the funeral, but all are not destroyed at that time. The proportion kept for future treatment is immaterial, nor is there any established usage concerning the type of object reserved. During the days following the funeral, relatives of the deceased carefully gather his clothing, cooking utensils, rifles, and all other articles which have been his personal property or used exclusively by him. On the fourth day, these are taken to the cemetery by his immediate family, accompanied by as many of their friends as wish to show their sympathy. A fire is kindled near the grave and on it is deposited whatever can be burnt; other objects are either cast into the flames or piled near at hand (see Plate 17). It is most important that every article belonging to the deceased should be disposed of in this way. There are two reasons for this. First, it is considered indecent to use the possessions of a dead person; they would have the effect of poison on anyone doing so. Secondly, the ghost of the de-
[775] ceased receives goods that are burnt or deposited on the grave
[753] four days after the funeral. If deprived of what belongs to him, a ghost punishes the offenders by causing sickness.
178 Occasionally a new rifle, or some other treasured possession,
768 is kept by a relative or friend; this is contrary to the established custom, but is justified by considering the article to be a gift from the deceased or a memento of him. No one would accept such a legacy unless he felt sure that the dead man

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entertained such kindly sentiments towards him that he would be glad to have his friend receive it.

In recent years the number of incombustible objects has increased enormously with the introduction of metal utensils, gramophones, and other things obtained from white traders. Although these are considered to be of use to the ghost, and must be carefully placed near the grave, they can be publicly exchanged for others by a relative. The sentiments expressed on such occasions are that the ghost, though aware of what is taking place, does not resent an open transfer; and that it is unnecessary to deposit the equivalent of what has been removed. There is undoubtedly a vague idea that the ghost uses, not the actual object, but its essence, which is received by the deposition. It must be emphasized that this feeling has not become crystallized to such a state that it is customary to replace goods laid on the grave with others. Such an exchange is a rare event and would cause animosity if carried out by anyone except a near relative.

Sometimes a dying person requests that a house be erected over his grave, a common Bella Bella custom. This is built immediately after the funeral and articles that cannot be burnt are placed within it instead of being piled on the ground. The sorrowing relatives may choose to erect a picket fence around the spot, but no other mark for the grave is put up until a memorial potlatch several years after death. House or fence soon falls into decay and rarely an effort is made to repair either. Nor is the grave itself disturbed. Cow-paranips, which are much used for food, grow frequently in cemeteries, but no one would gather the shoots that rise above a grave; they are food belonging to the dead person. The white man has taught the Bella Coola how to plant apple-trees and these are often set out in graveyards, though the fruit is allowed to fall to the ground for the benefit of those interred beneath. The Bella Bella are said formerly to have replaced at intervals the coffin containing a dead person, but this seems never to have been a Bella Coola practice. Indeed, a grave is never

Indeed, a grave is never
965 disturbed except, rarely, when it is necessary to obtain a
[789] portion of a skeleton for magical purposes. In such a case,
the coffin lid must be lifted up on the side away from the
[961] opener, so that he looks within over its upturned edge. A
person failing to obey this injunction will soon die.

968 Burning or deposition near the grave is not restricted to the actual utensils and artifacts of the deceased. There, too, must be laid dried salmon which a man has smoked for winter use, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready
[964] by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person seems indescribably indecent. In recent years, the crop, if a man dies after tilling and sowing a field, is allowed to ripen, and then rot unharvested. So, too, the canoe in which a body has been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Coola are not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is
[961] apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of
[984] death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or that has been in contact with a corpse.

The rituals described above may be considered as religious
964 in nature; almost equally important are the social require-
431 ments of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This
556 indebtedness falls on the near relatives, though all members
[614] of the ancestral family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite manner. If a canoe has been destroyed that did not belong to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents must be given to the pall-bearers, to the woman who bore the flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way. Failure to do so brands the relatives as misers with little respect for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the outlook and minds of chiefs. Consequently, even poor people try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death

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and recompense to funeral assistants is usually deferred until 764
that time. Such was often true even in former years, although 431
poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the
express purpose of publicly rewarding those who had helped 556
to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony
of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and
was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any con- [575]
venient ceremony, such as a non-sacred *sisaok* dance. As [796]
repeatedly mentioned, when the people have been called together for a ceremony, advantage is often taken of the gathering to settle debts or to perform rites of an entirely different nature. It is probable that the summoning of guests solely to witness the payment of helpers was always unusual; at present it never occurs. On those occasions when a body was buried in secret
after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the crest, the [766]
goods of the deceased were deposited as usual in the cemetery. Those who carried them were the ones who had performed the secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the gifts as reward for the hidden rite without exposing the subterfuge.

Another type of ceremonial taking place after a funeral is 764
the cleansing from the contamination of death of near relatives
of the deceased, and of those who have handled the corpse. If 783
spring salmon or olachen are running, pall-bearers must not go
near the river for ten days, or twenty according to some infor- [825]
mants, after taking a body to the grave. They have become tainted with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the river bank, would poison the salmon. Unwillingness to become affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly, friendless slave being carried out to the cemetery by some old women who covered him with boards. The taint on grave-diggers cannot be removed, but automatically lapses after ten days.

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife
whose consort has passed away. It is believed that *Sā-lma* [776]

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764 783 [776] comes and sits on the coffin during every funeral, seeking further victims. Death has so contaminated a widow or widower that she or he will fall an easy prey unless ceremonially purified. No special acts are carried out between interment and the burning of goods four days later, but the following four days must be spent in a small shelter of branches behind the village, hidden from sight in the forest. Within this the man or woman lies on the ground with legs close together and bent [841] at the knees, in the same position as a girl during the four days after her first menstruation. A male friend accompanies a widower; a female, a widow. This companion keeps a fire burning and administers to the comfort of the patient, for such a bereaved person is considered to be. Every evening the two return home and leave again the following morning. On one of these days, the companion scours the woods east of the village to find four spruce saplings growing within sight of each other in an east to west direction. To this place he leads the survivor on the morning after the fourth day of concealment[11] in the shelter. He bends down the top of the western sapling and ties it into a loop with a rope composed of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. The widower, or widow, crawls through this opening to the east and then makes a circle, sunwise, around the sapling. Passing to the next one, the same procedure is repeated, and so in succession for the third and fourth, each being left tied into a loop. There are at least two variations in this rite: Instead of passing through four saplings, some individuals choose to crawl four times through a single one, with a sunwise circuit intervening in every case. If the survivor be a member of a family in which it is customary to use four saplings, and if the friend cannot find four in proper alignment, he cuts a number of spruce branches and sets them upright, butts in the ground, leaving a small hole between them. Four sets of these are arranged, as substitutes for four saplings, and the crawling through takes

[11] There is variation in the exact time for this rite. Some individuals practise it on the fifth day after death and omit the waiting in the shelter.

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place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death. 764 783

The above rite protects widower or widow, but does not alter the fact that for one year they are ceremonially "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the ocean. The one near Kimsquit is called *Sqlan'li*, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of which the bottoms are bent upwards; should this be omitted, when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will soon die. 765 [783] [825] [262] [484] [292] [761]

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should cut their hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; if this rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and [626] [302] [834] [587] [735]

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prerogatives connected with the ceremony. The actual re- 556*
counting of the myths may be done by a fluent speaker on 769
behalf of the bereaved man, and when he has finished speaking, [533]
it is proper for several of his peers to make complimentary [537]
speeches, lauding the future donor for his intentions. Food is
then served and the gathering breaks up.

The preliminaries of a memorial potlatch do not differ from those of an ordinary one. There is the same counting and recounting of goods, the same giving and receiving of presents, the same lending and borrowing. When at last the donor is ready, the heralds call his fellow-villagers to his house for announcement of the arrangements and allotment of the work. As at a potlatch, food is provided on a lavish scale, and there is the same sham-fight with a battering-ram ending in the destruction of part of the house. Then the carpenters receive their instructions; some to make different sections of the new structure, some to paint ancestral designs on the front and back walls, and some to make the various objects required.

The first difference between a memorial and an ordinary 211
potlatch is apparent at this allotment of work. Instead of a 556*
totem-pole to record the glories of the donor's ancestry,[11] car- 764
penters are requested to make memorial-posts for the dead 769
relative who is being commemorated. These are erected in
the cemetery near the grave and are of three kinds, although it is unusual for all three to be set up for a single chief.

The first consists of a wooden post carved with the design of one or more of the deceased's crests (see Plates 19 and 20). [532]
These figures are usually representations of the bird or animal cloaks used by his first ancestors; it is customary to portray the one traced through the father on the right, that traced through the mother on the left. Instead of a cloak, the figure may portray the post down which swarmed his first ancestor in the beginning of time, or Mount *Nusdalst* in human form, wearing a broad-rimmed hat as he did before he turned to

[11] Even the construction of a new house and the painting of new designs is often omitted.

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211 stone and served as landing-place for some of the first settlers.
556 In fact, any of the dead person's crests may be used according
to the wishes of the chief giving the memorial potlatch. A
764 figure displayed in this way cannot be used as the guise in
769 which the dead relative returns, but as every individual has several crests, inability to use one does not make it difficult to carry out the rite. According to one well-informed old man, when a design has once been used in a cemetery it cannot again be shown by members of the ancestral family, having itself become "dead." Other informants flatly contradicted this statement, and it seems clear that the above is true only with regard to the use of the figure in connection with the return of the deceased. The erection of the figure serves to remind all beholders, especially foreign guests summoned to the memorial potlatch, of the ancestral myth of the deceased. It is, there-
[778] fore, equivalent to a totem-pole erected during a man's lifetime, in fact, one of these is sometimes moved to the cemetery to serve as a memorial-post (see Plate 21). Instead of placing a representation of the crest in the cemetery, one is sometimes painted on broad boards and placed on some conspicuous promontory where all who pass by will see it and think of the person commemorated.

The second type of memorial consists of plain poles set upright in the cemetery, one for each major ceremony given by the deceased. Potlatches, memorial potlatches, and *kukusiatel*
[609] (II, p. 29) are alone indicated in this way, these being the only ones to which foreign guests are invited. These poles suggest, in a general way, the greatness of the deceased.

The third type of memorial-post comprises representations of the goods given away by the deceased. These are usually
[532] painted on boards attached to a post set up near the grave. On this are pictures of canoes, coppers, slaves, and other valuables distributed at potlatches or memorial potlatches (see Plate 22). Alternatively, there may be a series of small poles, each surmounted by a model canoe manned by miniature human figures, symbolic of a canoe and slaves given away

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(see Plate 23). So, too, wooden representations of coppers are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are commemorated in this way, a father often places over his daughter's grave pictures of the goods used to rebuy her from her husband; wooden plaques representing coppers are commonly used for this purpose.[24] Such symbols are usually cut down after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for them to remain standing too long. The function of this type of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person as judged by the riches given away by him, or on his behalf, during his life-time. With the introduction of writing, the Bella Coola have been quick to recognize it as an easy means for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In consequence, signs are often painted and erected, giving in figures a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent introduction has been the tombstone. One of these is often set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate his memory, and a representation of his crest to record his ancestral history. Such a memorial combines the functions of the first and third types.

As the carpenters labour at the memorials, other arrangements for the ceremony proceed apace. As at a potlatch, the fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited repeatedly to his house for the performance of *susaok* dances, but this feature is often omitted, especially if there are no neophytes to be initiated. The mask to be worn by the deceased relative must be prepared in secret; or if several are to be commemorated at the single ceremony, one must be made ready for each. As the time draws near, envoys are dispatched to invite foreign guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This has been customary for many years, but during the period when no features of the potlatch were allowed at a memorial potlatch, the latter was sometimes carried out in the presence of the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the

[24]The National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, has specimens of these wooden coppers.

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* 556 departed. A few days later the same ritual was carried out
769 again, with a similar lavish distribution of food. This was often done at intervals of two or three days for several weeks, depending on how much food the donor was prepared to use. The amount required was so great that the rite was considered, in some ways, more difficult than a potlatch.

[178] As already mentioned, however, it became customary in the last century to incorporate features of the ordinary potlatch into one of a memorial nature. In such cases the first
[533] singing of the mourning songs with display of marks by the professional mourners is as just recorded, but there is no recalling of the guests merely to listen once more to the songs. Instead, the ritual differs but slightly from that of an ordinary potlatch as already described (I, p. 182). An occasion is found to conduct the guests to the memorial-posts erected, and to in-
[178] form them of the significance of the designs depicted. This same practice has been continued since the introduction of tombstones, and the meaning of the writing upon them is interpreted. The entry of the deceased in the form of his crest, and the subsequent use of a copper, is the same as already recorded. This is frequently followed by the singing of a *susook* mourning
[533] song if one of the near relatives owns this prerogative of foreign origin. If so, he walks slowly around the fire in a wide circle, shaking his rattle, and singing, unaccompanied. Most, if not all
[177] of these songs, are in the Bella Bella language and the right to
[425] use one has in every case been obtained through intermarriage with a member of that tribe. At intervals, heralds call out:

"Listen to the chief's lament."[27]

When presents are distributed to validate the whole ceremony, mention is always made of the different features for which they are given. As at a potlatch, the most important is the return of the dead, but at a memorial potlatch another
[211] essential is the display of the memorial-posts. These have been
[764] carved, painted, and set up, but are worthless unless validated

[27] There is no reason why this should not take place at a potlatch, but no instance of its performance was noted.

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by presents, and the greater the number of these, the greater the value of the memorial. Nothing need be added concerning this point, or other rites, to the detailed description given in vol. I, chap. IV. 556* 769 [211] [764]

Psychologically, the memorial potlatch is of tremendous importance. There may be a vague feeling that the ritual is of actual assistance to the deceased since grease burnt at it reaches him, and is of service to him, but such a belief is no more than an intangible sentiment of no weight in the lives of the people. Quite otherwise is its effect on the survivors, especially on the donor. A memorial potlatch is considered the fitting tribute of respect to a chief, and if none of his near relatives should hold one, they would brand themselves as unmindful of the fame of their dead kinsman. In recent years the white man's law has prohibited the potlatch, but chiefs have often preferred to go to jail rather than to forgo this form of memorial. The reason for this cannot be explained better than in the words of an old man whose only daughter, a "Chieftainess," died in 1922. He determined to hold a memorial potlatch and expressed himself to the writer, as follows: [648]

"If I should fail to do what is right under the circumstances, to do what my ancestors would have done, my heart would be dead, dead as my daughter. But if I call the people, if we sing mourning songs for my child, I will be able to bear my grief. I shall have done what is right, and will be able to hold up my head with anyone, knowing that the rites have been performed for my child which are due her as a chief. If I allow her to be neglected, I would be ashamed and miserable. Jim [another "chief"] warned me when I first told him of my intention that the law forbade such ceremonies. I cannot help that. If I am sent to jail, to jail shall I go. I would rather have that happen than that my daughter should not receive fitting treatment as a chief."

In this case, though only abbreviated rites were carried out, their performance unquestionably lessened the father's grief, a fact observed on several occasions. Not only does it comfort

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556 769 a man and assuage his sorrow to know that he has shown fitting respect to the dead, there is also a gain in social prestige. As the whole community respects, admires, and sometimes envies a man for having carried out a memorial potlatch, there is no doubt that he is pleased and gratified to such an extent that his grief is dulled. These two factors must constantly be kept in mind; memorial potlatches serve to commemorate the dead, but in so doing they add to the social importance of the donors. The two combine to bring considerable comfort to the chief who has lost a dear relative. In some cases the social prestige is the real motive, the grief assumed and unimportant; but in others the latter is the only factor that matters, and a chief is entirely oblivious to any increase in his own status. In most memorial potlatches, both feelings are present in the mind of the donor, and both are gratified.

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF A FUNERAL

764 114 In the preceding pages, an attempt has been made to describe the traditional death rites of the Bella Coola. The following section comprises a detailed account of funeral ceremonies witnessed in 1922. The contrast between these and the ones already recorded, will indicate some of the changes [178] in custom which are of such importance in studies of cultural [182] growth or decline. The following description will also serve [571] to demonstrate a point repeatedly mentioned, the manner in which business transactions and arrangements of all kinds take place whenever the people have been called together.

[123] On June 27, 1922, the death occurred in Bella Coola of Jessie, Mrs. Samuel King, daughter of Captain Schooner. The latter, now deceased, was one of the writer's most trusted friends, and as a result of this friendship it was possible not only to attend the actual rites, but to ascertain much of the feeling underlying them. This advantage had its drawbacks, since it was manifestly impossible to question either the father or the husband of the woman too closely. The details will be de-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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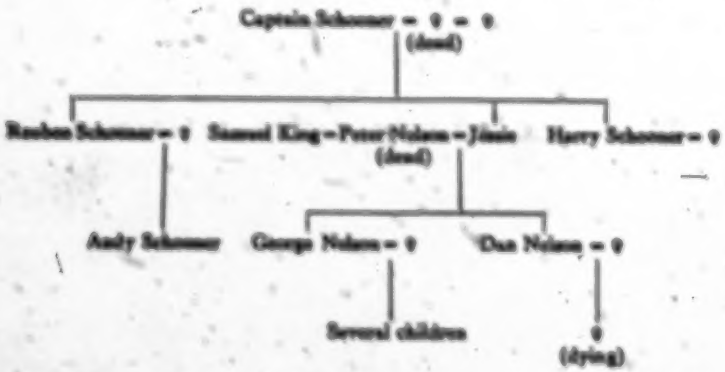
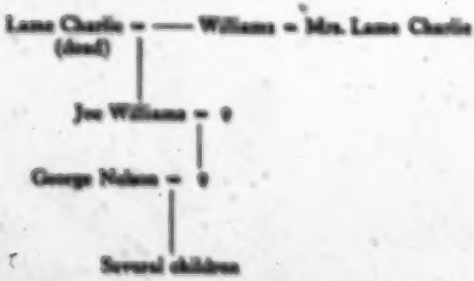
scribed, in spite of some repetition entailed thereby, both to record customs surviving the decay of Bella Coola ritual, and as a means of illustrating the sentiments of the participants. To avoid native terminology, white man's names will be used throughout. It will be necessary to understand the relationships of those taking part in the ceremony, as shown in the following pedigree:* 764 [114] 601 764

PEDIGREE I*



PEDIGREE II



Samuel King was a widower with one daughter at the time of his marriage to Jessie, by whom he had no children. His 764 159

*No attempt has been made to record the complete pedigree; only those who took part in the ceremony are indicated.

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764 stepson, George Nelson, had not been living with his wife for about one year.
159

Early in the afternoon of June 27, Captain Schooner was notified by telephone of the serious illness of his daughter at the cannery where she was working. He set out immediately, but found her dead on his arrival. Without waiting to consult Samuel King, he called together the chiefs who happened to be [622] in the vicinity, Willie Mack, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Bobby Nebby, and Alexander Clallaman.* He informed them that 764 he did not propose to let his daughter be thrown carelessly into 769 the ground like a dog, but that he was going to hold a memorial potlatch immediately after the funeral. Schooner, being a *556 *numitl* chief as well as father of the dead woman, was able to 159 do as he liked, and no one objected to this plan, although in [178] former times such a ceremony neither took place at once, nor in summer. If Samuel had been present, he would have been consulted as a matter of course. It was quite fitting for Jessie to be buried by her father, since she had borne her husband no children, and had been rebought several times. Moreover, Samuel lacked the determination and prestige of his father-in-law. Having settled this main point, Captain Schooner intimated that as Jessie's granddaughter, Dan Nelson's infant, was at the point of death, it would be well to combine the mourning for both at the single ceremony. No mention was made of the amount to be used for the rite. Schooner himself had $200 to expend for the purpose which would have been sufficient, and his attitude was that he neither knew nor cared whether his relatives would assist him. Soon after the other chiefs had left, Reuben Schooner arrived from the logging-camp from which he had been summoned. Father and son discussed arrangements not only for the actual interment, a simple matter, but for the memorial potlatch. It was decided that the dead woman should return as a composite figure consisting

*None of them was closely related to the Schooner family.

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of Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, three of her crests of which the masks were available. They agreed that Timothy Snow[11] was the best carpenter available and that he should be commissioned to put them in shape and arrange their use. Reuben wanted to sing a *sisaak* mourning song, to which he had a prerogative derived from his Bella Bella mother, and it was also decided that the band[12] should play. Reuben informed his father that he would contribute $60 towards the expenditure.

764 769 556* 159 [553]

Meanwhile Jessie had been washed by female friends, clad in her best clothing, and laid in her coffin. This was a rough box, contributed by the manager of the cannery and shaped like a white man's coffin. At intervals, women came near and wailed dolorously without heeding others similarly engaged. The news was carried to all the Bella Coola, those men who owned gasoline launches taking the word to the logging-camps without being requested to do so. A Carrier Indian who happened to be returning from the cannery spread the word through the village, where each woman who received the message hurried off to some friend, with whom she began to wail.

764 159 [203]

Early on the following morning, Captain Schooner returned home with his wife, Jessie's stepmother. He had been crying and was sad, but seemed willing to talk. He spoke of the proposed memorial potlatch, and expressed the sentiments recorded on vol. I, p. 473. He was grave and dignified, absolutely determined to perform what he considered to be the necessary ritual, oblivious of consequences, and heedless of what he held to be an unjust law. During that summer, Captain Schooner had been a rather heavy drinker, but on this occasion he abstained from wine, and said that he hoped no one would show disrespect to his daughter by appearing in a drunken condition either at the funeral or the subsequent rites. It is

[769] [273]

[11] He was not closely related to the Schooners.

[12] Most of the younger Bella Coola were members of the band, performing white man's music on white man's instruments. Andy Schooner was bandmaster, but it is unlikely that this influenced the decision, since the performance of the band was customary at funerals when the writer was in Bella Coola.

[178]

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764 worthy of record that his wishes were scrupulously obeyed.
159 During the morning he was visited by the singers and other chiefs to discuss details of the coming ceremonial.

Meanwhile Samuel King had been summoned from his
764 logging-camp. He wished to show his own grief, and also his
159 sorrow that the union between his family and the Schooners,
584 forged by his marriage to Jessie, should be terminated. No children had been born to cement the bond. He consulted his brother and sister, who agreed with him that a marriage between his daughter, by a former wife, and George Nelson would be desirable. The girl was consulted and raised no objections.
[769] Samuel then addressed Captain Schooner who was favourably disposed, so it was decided that this ceremony should take
*[556] place in connection with the memorial potlatch. It would be a real, not a fictitious marriage, as the girl had reached adolescence several years previously.

764 Another visitor to Captain Schooner that morning was
159 Joe Williams. Several years earlier, when he had given a ceremony in honour of two of his children who had died, Captain Schooner had contributed $100 as "A Blanket for George Nelson's Wife." This was really part of the marriage
[583] transaction, although deferred for a number of years after the actual time of the wedding. This sum had been divided as follows: $20 to Joe Williams; $20 to Mrs. Joe Williams; $10 to Mrs. George Nelson; $10 to her brother; $20 to Lame Charlie; and $20 to Mrs. Lame Charlie. Joe consulted the recipients and found that all were willing to repay their indebtedness at this time. Captain Schooner did not ask for it, but Joe was glad of the opportunity to do the proper thing at the right time and thus rise in popular estimation. He and his relatives decided to return $150, a sum which he mentioned to Captain Schooner that morning.

[583] Joe Williams, his wife, and Mrs. George Nelson also decided to take advantage of the gathering to rebuy the last named from her husband. The fact that they had been separated for at least a year and that the woman had been living an immoral

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life did not alter the necessity of rebuying her "to make good the path" of her children. For this purpose they decided to give a copper and a sum of money; it was impossible to learn the exact amount. Joe told Captain Schooner of their intention. 764 159 [583]

About noon the body was brought in a canoe from the cannery in its closed coffin and lifted ashore at a convenient spot near the cemetery. Those manning the canoe were young men who happened to be at the cannery, irrespective of whether or not they were related to Jessie. The coffin was laid on a grassy place and Captain Schooner seated himself beside it. People were passing and repassing, some sat down for a time, then moved off to dinner. Occasionally, a woman would sit and wail, the most constant being Reuben's married daughter; Captain Schooner moved around talking to his friends amidst the eerie wailing. About 1.30 P.M. everyone in the village had assembled, including a number of Carrier Indians, anxious to see the sight. Captain Schooner withdrew to his house after asking Bobby Nebby to summon the chiefs to meet him there. The messenger, who thus acted as herald, went around the gathering whispering to each; in addition to those notified at the cannery the preceding evening he called all the older and most influential Bella Coola, Albert King, Samuel King, Joe Williams, Joshua Moody, Alec Davis, Lame Charlie, Judas, and Nebuchadnezzar. Captain Schooner requested the last named, an important chief, to take charge of the ceremony. At this time Samuel King told Nebuchadnezzar, who informed the others, what had been arranged for his daughter and they agreed that it was good. It was tacitly assumed that George Nelson would be delighted; probably he had been on friendly terms with the girl for some time. Joe Williams also told Nebuchadnezzar the two business propositions that he intended to carry out, the return of the money to Captain Schooner, and the rebuying of his daughter. Nebuchadnezzar informed the people concerned. At this meeting it was decided that various chiefs should speak after the Christian service at the grave. [203] [584] [537]

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●764 159 Meanwhile the rest of the population was sitting near the coffin. They wore no special dress or other mark of grief. Samuel King and some of his relatives had brought bundles containing Jessie's clothing, pots, pans, and other personal possessions, which they set down near the coffin. About two [533] [177] o'clock the band gathered and began to play, the favourite selection being "Annie Laurie." This went on for some time after the return of the chiefs from Captain Schooner's house. They had decided that *Täl·io* Jenny, one of Captain Schooner's distant relatives, should carry the fire in front of the body. When all was ready she lit a bundle of rags, placed it in a pot, and set off for the cemetery, followed by all in a straggling and orderless procession. Some strong young men bore the coffin, for Jessie must have weighed over two hundred pounds; some brought tools for digging the grave; others took the bundles of clothing. There was no fixed allotment of tasks; a man or woman carried anything or nothing according to his or her wish.

The cemetery is situated about fifty yards behind the old village of *Ḷomqo·ts*. The heavy timber has all been cut away and second growth has sprung up everywhere except around the newer graves. Captain Schooner had decided that his daughter should be buried near several of her relatives, and it was to this spot that Jenny led the procession. She set the pot down near the site of the grave, and the coffin likewise was placed on the ground nearby. Captain Schooner, Jim Pollard, and a few of the other old men chose the exact situation and a number of the young men began to dig. Jenny, and other women, added pieces of Jessie's clothing to the fire so that a constant small blaze was kept up. As the grave was being dug [533] the band performed at intervals, while the women sat wailing near the fire. Other men and women were seated on the ground or walking around idly near the grave, talking but seldom laughing, while the Carriers were a little farther away. [852] Children were playing around. The grave was dug about five feet deep, in shape corresponding to the coffin, but orientation

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was not carefully observed. Those wishing to dig took turns with the tools; there was no supervision, and no orders given. When the grave was ready, Jim Pollard asked Judas to perform the rite with the spruce bough, which he did with a branch brought by one of the youths. The young men lowered the coffin into the grave while the band continued to play. The missionary then read the Christian burial service, after which he withdrew. Some of the young men brought planks from old houses near-by, sawed them to the size of the grave and laid them over the coffin as a cover. At this juncture Judas, one of the oldest and most conservative of the Bella Coola, rose to speak. First he offered consolation to the mourning relatives by pointing out that all must travel the same road. Then he spoke to Jessie, telling her not to linger, but to travel back the path of her ancestors from generation to generation until she reached the place where they first came down from above, and thence to ascend to *Nusmät·a*. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of the speech, which was punctuated by calls of "*Ye*·" from the male Bella Coola. The next speaker was Jim Pollard, the most influential Kimsquit and a personal friend, though not a relative, of Captain Schooner's.

764 159 [533] [797] 764 159 537

"Go," he said to the dead woman, "Go to the localities from which came your first forefathers in the beginning of time. There you will find your most valuable ancestral possessions. Go at once, do not linger and lose yourself on the road from generation to generation."

Turning to George Nelson, he went on, "Do not be downhearted, all of us must travel the same road. It was made by no man, it is the work of *Älquntäm*."

Looking back once more to the grave, he said, "In *Qomqo·ts* are buried many illustrious relatives of yours. You will be among friends, whereas we are left to lament your departure."

It was impossible to write down the words at the time and the above record is not literally correct, although it expresses the gist of the speech. [126]

Captain Schooner whispered to Robert Hood, another of the

764 159 203 769 556*

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764 older Bella Coola, asking him to announce that he, Schooner,
159 with Dan and George, was going to hold a memorial potlatch
that evening to which all were invited. Robert is not a herald
[203] but undertook this duty owing to the absence of qualified
769 heralds. Meanwhile the grave had been filled in and the
*[556] people began to drift away as it rose to ground level. Their
attitude throughout had resembled that of white people at a
funeral, and the hilariousness that characterizes so many
[852] Bella Coola gatherings was entirely absent except among the
playing children. By 4.30 P.M. all had left the scene.

769 In view of the large number of guests expected it had been
decided to hold the memorial potlatch, not in one of the old-
*556 fashioned houses, but in the village hall, built according to the
[344] white man's style of architecture and illuminated with swinging
[354] gasoline lamps. This is a large, rectangular building, undivided
by partitions, with a stage at one end and a door at the other.
[533] About 6.30 P.M. the singers, Nebuchadnezzar, Jim Pollard,
Billy Pollard, Alec Davis, Kimsquit Alec, and Robert Hood,
gathered at the hall and seated themselves below the stage.
Billy Pollard had prepared a mourning song during the day,
Kimsquit Alec another, and it was decided to use two others
that were well known to all. The singers sat and practised
these four for some time, while at intervals various Bella Coola
strolled in, listened for a few minutes, then walked out again.
Anyone was allowed to do so, but few availed themselves of
the opportunity. Meanwhile Captain Schooner had brought
264 $10 worth of rice, raisins, and condensed milk which he placed
769 beside a huge iron cauldron outside the front door. Jim To-
*556 Morrow, a Bella Coola of no great intelligence, volunteered to
act as cook and soon had a fire blazing and the food boiling.

About 8.00 P.M. the people began to assemble, bringing their own plates and other utensils. After considerable delay and chatter, the guests took their places in the hall, seating themselves regardless of rank on benches ranged along the two side walls and massed at the rear. By mutual consent a portion of the single row of benches along the left wall was reserved

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769 these various amounts making $864 when added to the previous $410.[41]

* 556 It was first decided to give a present to everyone as "Eagle Down Shaken Off by the Dead Woman." Captain Schooner and his assistants thought first of the bottom house in the village, remembered who lived in it, then, after a little more discussion, agreed upon the amount each should receive. This was whispered to Nebuchadnezzar, who held up a bill and called out, for example:

"$10 for so-and-so."

A number of young men had volunteered as messengers and one of them took the money to the designated recipient. After giving to all in the bottom house, they passed to the next above it, and so in succession for the whole village. Absentees were remembered and their presents received by friends or relatives. *Kusiut* names were used because Nebuchadnezzar was unfamiliar with the little-used ancestral designations. Contrary to ancient usage, the amounts varied; some chiefs received as much as $20, a child, $1, or 50 cents. Each recipient accepted his gift without showing whether it was more or less than he had expected. There was not sufficient change, so that five persons were often named together and a $5 bill given to the first mentioned for sharing with the other four, a transaction always carried out honestly. Many of the Carriers [609] were strangers, so they could not be rewarded in accordance with their rank, but $50 was given to one of their chiefs to share as he thought fit.

465 Not all the money was distributed in this way. Payments 769 had to be made to those who had assisted at the funeral. Gifts were bestowed upon the women who had washed and dressed * 556 the corpse; to the men who had helped to make the coffin; to the canoe-men who had brought the body to Bella Coola; to ● 764 the pall-bearers; to the grave-diggers; to the woman who had carried the fire; to the singers, especially to those who had

[41] The exact sums contributed by Samuel King and George Nelson could not be learnt.

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composed the tunes used; to the carpenter who had prepared 465
and used the masked figure; to the members of the band, 769
including a payment for their services whenever Dan Nelson's
child should die; to a carpenter to erect a fence around the 556*
grave; to another to cut the representation of an eagle on a 764
stone to be erected over the grave; to the speakers at the
funeral; to the speakers at the rite then taking place; to those
who delivered the money; to the youth who, with pencil and
paper, assisted in keeping accounts; to the cook, and to all
others who had assisted in any manner. In every case the
amount was announced, the bill held up, the name of the recipient stated, the reason for his reward, and the money was
then taken to him by a messenger. Captain Schooner really
decided how much each should receive, he being in the best
position to judge what was suitable, and there being no fixed
scale of charges to help him. Work paid for in advance, such
as the erection of the fence, was carefully carried out.

A little money had been kept to validate the assumption 769
of ancestral names by several children of the Schooner family. 556*
Everyone received a small amount, a child sometimes as
trifling a sum as 25 cents. Captain Schooner had virtually 553
chosen who was to receive which designation, although he 425
received advice from all his relatives. Harry Schooner's infant
was given the name, *Pätcätcus*, a reference to the manner in
which the first beams of the morning sun strike the lofty
summit of Mount *Nusqalst*. Reuben's son was called *eltmäls*,
a *Snulle·tl* designation connected with the crash when the first
Song fell. The myths in which these names were embodied
were not expounded; in fact, they had been almost forgotten,
even by Captain Schooner. *Täl·io* Jenny wished to transmit
one of her names to Andy Schooner's infant; this was announced in the same way as the others and validated with
them by the gifts to all. Jenny had not contributed to the
common stock, but some of it was used with the understanding
that she would later repay. Nebuchadnezzar announced the

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"She was my daughter, I have a right to do as I like." 768

Samuel King and the others accepted the exchange as a matter of course and made no comments. Captain Schooner took no part in the burning of his daughter's goods, this being the task of those with whom she had been living, and who accordingly knew which were hers. The fire was kindled by a married daughter of Reuben Schooner, though it could have been done equally well by any woman. On the following 783
morning, July 1, Samuel King went with a friend to the forest 764
and passed four times through a small spruce sapling bent into an arch. This was the last incident in the funeral rites.

Fate of the Dead

LIFE OF THE DEAD

Little need be added to the account given in vol. I, chap. 775
II of the fate of those parts of a man which go at death to *Nusmät·a*. The spirit and the life travel back the path of the deceased's ancestors from generation to generation until they reach the place where his first forefather came to earth and where his cloak, if he had worn one, floated back after his alteration to human form. When the spirit and the life of a descendant reach the spot, they change into a being having the form of the cloak, and so return to *Nusmät·a*. The spirit and the life of one who is a member of several ancestral families visit the localities where the transformations to human shape of all his ancestors occurred. The Bella Coola believe that these two elements can assume many crest forms, but they do not know whether this entails the simultaneous assumption of many shapes to comprise a composite figure; or whether the spirit and the life, which become a single entity in the case of a member of one ancestral family, become multiple for one who is a member of several. When lamenting a dead person, mention is always made of the various scenes which he will have visited, and the forms he will have assumed. At a memorial potlatch, the deceased may return as a hybrid, or as

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tries to speak to living relatives, but his whistling anguage is 775
unintelligible and frightens the hearer. Ghosts dislike urine,
and the only means known to keep them away fron a house is [789]
to sprinkle this liquid outside the door, a common Bella Coola
custom. There is no actual danger in hearing a ghost, and 761
little even in seeing one, provided the observer doe not relate
his experience, but should he try to do so, somethig happens 775
to his mouth as if an invisible hand had been clamped over it 753
to prevent his words issuing forth. He can neitler eat nor
drink and soon dies.[48] It is possible that other beings are
responsible for this same affliction, but as no suffer has ever
been able to explain the cause of his ailment, no one knows.
The most dangerous ghost is that of a person who, buried [764]
without a nose-ring, is unable to disintegrate into his elements.
The sight of such an apparition causes almost immeliate death
through contraction and closing of the mouth.

An unpleasant habit of ghosts is the throwing of stones at 775
the living. This is done partly from a love of mischief, and
partly to remind their relatives of their needs. An old Kimsquit man described how, when encamped on King Island, he
had almost been struck by a stone which seemed to fall from
a tree. He realized that it must have been thrown by a ghost, [753]
and his opinion was confirmed when he found he could not [755]
speak. He instantly built a fire and cast on it both food and
clothing as offerings to the dead, which had the effect of loosening his mouth. Pondering on the reason, he remembered that
one of his relatives had died not far away, and that he had
failed to give him any crumbs for a long time. In this case,
as in many others, the stone was visible, though the thrower
remained invisible.

Even near approach to ghosts is sometimes dangerous. The
same man related how, when hunting, he heard what he thought
was the note of a water ouzel, and passed by heedlessly. In a
few minutes he thought he heard the cackling of geese, but the
sound, instead of continuing to come from a pond a few hun-

[48]The disease attributed to the actions of ghosts may be lock-jaw. [164]

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them renders it more likely that they will grant his requests. Therefore, a shaman is usually called upon to perform the following rites: 756* 782

(1) Washing the mouth of a person who has died without voiding from his body the first salmon or olachen of the season (I, p. 436). [764]

(2) Asking assistance for the complicated rites of the potlatch (I, p. 192). [556]

(3) Request for assistance before starting on a journey, by puffing eagle down into the air (I, p. 106). [484]

(4) Request for aid by means of placing food on the water and blowing eagle down into the air at Mesatche Nose and Kwatna (I, p. 109).

In fact a supplication to any supernatural being can be made with greater prospect of success by a shaman than by any other person.

The Power of Shamans

As has been said, a shaman actually has power within himself, and this is so strong that it may be a source of danger to others. If a man should pass behind one so endowed when the latter is eating, his spirit would be drawn from his body into the shaman's mouth, which would close with a click, crushing the spirit and killing the man. This is quite involuntary on the part of the shaman. It happened more than once among the early inhabitants, and since that time people have been very careful not to pass behind an eating shaman; this taboo was still in force until about 1885. A shaman, too, is said to be able to recall a spirit which has left its body, and thus caused illness. It is believed by some that shamans can see the position of a person's tally post, and so judge the length of his life. These examples show the varying beliefs of different Bella Coola concerning the powers of shamans. 756* [761] [264] [178] [755]

But the force within the shaman is really more dangerous to its possessor than to others. As certain "unclean" objects are able to subdue supernatural beings, so do these same ob- 756* 783 841

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doings, and offered to make them members of the *kusiut* society in return for their silence. Though uninitiated persons, even this tempting bribe was refused by the two youths. Next, each of the malefactors offered a daughter as wife to each of the partners, and they accepted this bargain. For their part, the sorcerers were glad to escape at any cost, since they had been caught red-handed; they knew that henceforth they would have to assist their captors, but this was preferable to exposure. 539 754

The two groups parted company; the boys continued their journey to the upper village and the sorcerers went on their way to some cave in the mountains. Within a few weeks, each youth married the daughter of one of the malefactors, with whose assistance they were able to give potlatches and become influential personages.

A FAMILY OF KWATNA SORCERERS

Near the village of Kwatna there used to be two cemeteries. One was on a small point of ground at the mouth of the river which became an island at high tide; here were interred the bodies of chiefs alone, a custom said to be without parallel on the coast. It is not known why there should have been this special burial-ground, but the place was always spoken of as "The Chiefs' Island." Instead of being buried, coffins containing commoners were laid on ledges of rock at the base of a cliff behind the village; this custom, though unusual, is known elsewhere on the coast, at Kimsquit and Port Simpson, for example. [764 171]

Many generations ago, there was a time when the corpses of commoners frequently disappeared from the ledges on which they had been placed, and although it was believed that a sorcerer was responsible, no one knew whom to blame. One old woman had lost nearly all her numerous relatives when she realized that, though there had been many deaths in the village and some families had been almost wiped out, no members of one group had been taken. This roused her suspicions; she soon noticed that whenever anyone was sick, four brothers of the family in question always made some plausible excuse to leave the village and proceed up the other arm of the inlet. She concluded that this could be no mere coincidence, the four must be sorcerers. Within a short while, another of her relatives fell ill and died in spite of all that could be done; this reduced her family to herself and her infant. On the day after the funeral, the four brothers said that they wanted to gather hemlock boughs and set off in a canoe up the other arm of the inlet for the purpose. They did not come back at night and the villagers assumed that they had been delayed and had camped. The bereaved woman, however, who had hidden herself below the village, saw the brothers paddle back around the

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ālqim: Something long sought-for on account of its especial desirability, such as well-grained wood.
ālqim was mnas: Child whose parents were long engaged and who is accordingly regarded as being well prepared for. [554]
ālqlus: Susook initiate concealed within the back-room.
Ālqnulis: One of the first men to settle in Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
ālqo: Guests at a potlatch.
Alqoxunkam, "The Shelterer": Name assumed by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
ālłpmātmis, "What Has Been Shaken Off": Term applied to presents distributed when a corpse has been carried through the roof. The implication is that they are dust shaken from the fingers of the deceased. [431] [764]
Ālquntām: 1—The supreme god.
2—One of the first men to settle on the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
4—Tail of a *Stunx* repository.
Alquntāmaāks: 1—Mountain on the north side of the lower Bella Coola.
2—Name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Snuhli* in the beginning of time.
ālłwallaixelx: Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for direct address. [601]
Ālłwathintutl: Supernatural artisans who made mankind in the beginning of time. [576]
ālq"il: Presents given to validate the initiation of a *kusiut.*
Alqwutimut: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [431]
ālāmnuskwanāhmx: Professional mourner.
ālāmnuyaiyetl: Professional droner at marriages. [463]
ālāmyaanx: Professional hunter.
ālāmyelit: Professional warrior.
Ālukan·i: Kimsquit fisherman living in the last century.
ālē'xu: Olachen net.
Ālisiāx: Celebrated hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
ālłskt ol di łwalum: Second oldest sibling. [601]
Ālissmos: Repository of a Kimsquit Cannibal where cures are effected.
ālutuemlk: Professional warrior. [463]
ālutuxaiāxum: Professional river guard.
Ālwolsqāmus: Mountain near mouth of the Kimsquit River.
ālukwala: Shaman.
ālulixwstmm: 1—Meeting of those who have given potlatches. [753]
2—Unidentified disease said to attack only chiefs.
ālultimut: Marriage associates, i.e. those who, not being relatives, wish to associate themselves with the bride's family in the financial transactions of a marriage.
Ālunłkāmtmm: Name applied to the supernatural artisans with reference to their construction of everything used by mankind.
Āluskinwaxam, "Cloud-Covered": Name applied to the supernatural being *Noākxnm* with reference to his frequent invisibility.
Āluskman·aix, "The Highest of All Chiefs' Sons:" Name of *Smaoan*'s son in the beginning of time.
Ālus·limāu, "Falling Star-Fish": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.
Alusqox, "The Roof-Maker": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.
ālvālāk: One who has received a commission for carpentry work in preparation for a potlatch. [465]

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mixmixqulp: Leaf of salalberry.
mla·madjut: 1—Omen of misfortune, such as preceded the outbreak of smallpox, hence, [824]
2—Smallpox. [787]
mlka: Type of sea-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.
mna, vocative, mnao: Child. [601]
Mnakais: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.
mnk': Excreta.
mnmnts, vocative, mnmnnicän·i: Ancestral family, practically equivalent to *children* when used by an old person. [614]
mnskänmaxts: The commemoration of a chief's potlatches and other major ceremonies by means of plain posts erected near his grave. [211]
Mnilato·smm, Tide-Measurer: A supernatural being. [764]
Mstelos: Man mentioned in a song.
Mtlakila: Supernatural being who gives potency to *sisaok* rites.
mtletsts: Grandiloquent expression used by the *kukusiut* with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives. [776]*
mtlälosäm: 1—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living. [775]
2—To visit, term used with reference to the coming of a masked representation of a dead person; the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.
mok': Pounded, dyed cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.
mokwaks: Head-ring of cedar-bark worn by *kusiut* initiates in the upper Bella Coola valley.
moqla: Lice.
moqwila: Adolescent youth. [825]
moxmoxk': Blue grouse.
moxmoulolkänds: Dentalium-shell ear-rings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion. [301]
mu: Hand net for catching olachen. [227]
mudcämhekstn: Yellow cedar stave decorated with swan feathers such as is carried by a Mystery dancer.
mustomax: Wrestling.
Mutan·a: Rivers Inlet man living in the last century.

N

Nain'akwas: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Nä'mu: Bella Bella village; the Anglicized form is Namu.
nän·: Grizzly bear.
Nänäntlis: Name received from Grizzly Bear by a Kimsquit man in the beginning of time. [825]
Nänätl: *Kusiut* name of a *Nusqalst* man.
Nänätskwi: One of the first men to settle at *Stmx* in the beginning of time.
Nänäskwitl: One of the names of Mount *Nusqalst* as chief.
nän·imnt: Non-ceremonial weeping, usually individual, and always with real feeling. [827]
Naas: Indeterminate locality in the distant east. [15.2]

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nusefa: The visit to every house in the village by a Mystery dancer on receipt of his call.
nusiemi, plural, nunusiemi: Singer.
nusikwkta: Quiver for carrying arrows. [415]
Nusimusta: Mountain near *Astu·an·i.*
nusiutāls or *nusiutālsap:* Second day of a *kusiut* dance.
Nusixilaixaikm: Synonym for *Tutwai·es:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.
nuskasiutsta: Repository.
nuskoli: Any unusual occurrence, regarded as an omen of death. [763]
Nuskolālnumsta, "Whence Things Came Down": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nusfelusta: Wash-basin, especially the supernatural one that remains in the land above.
Nuskiayk: 1—Supernatural being presiding over the Land of Ashes.
2—Locality on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, not far from the head.
Nuskmāta: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tsnisi* in the beginning of time.
Nuskumidjusta: Axe carried in the beginning of time by the man who was later turned to stone as Mount *Nusfalst.* 2
Nuskumnāt: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tsnisi* in the beginning of time.
Nu·skokhnmg: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
nuskotla: Wasps' nest. [825]
Nuskwalnkānda: One of the first women to settle at *Snuisli* in the beginning of time.
nuskwanātsta: House in which a memorial potlatch is being held.
Nu·lāum: Mountain on south side of lower Bella Coola.
Nuslexwgmawdum, "The Cherished One": Designation applied to one of the sons of *Alquntām.*
nushusta: House in which a potlatch is taking place.
nushmg: One who has gone to give potlatches in a new sphere; this rhetorical expression is commonly used when referring to a dead chief. [195]
nustkāksta: Wash-basin used by a shaman when curing.
Nustkakstāmidjut, "He Whose Wash-Basin Is in His Own Body": One of *Tlitcaplilāu·a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans. [756]
nustkumaksta: Enclosure behind fire in which *kusiut* dancers are secluded. [764]
nustkwutsa: Cleansing rites in connection with death.
Nustukwaltmg: Tlsiyākum name acquired by a Kimsquit man as a result of a supernatural experience.
Nusmālermai: 1—Eagle that perched on a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time.
2—Name, derived from that of the eagle, of one of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Nusmāt·a: 1—"Place of Stories": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nusfalst* in the beginning of time.
Nusmāt·aiau·a, "Woman of *Nusmāt·a*": Probably wife of *Alquntām.*
Nus·mālleix: Mountain on north side of lower Bella Coola.
Nusmālliumsix: Subterranean chamber in which rivers were confined in the beginning of time. [772]

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sḷxqalikw': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
Stcā·tsxom: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
stcuq": That part of a house on either side of the central fire. [513]
Stcitoma: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being.
2—Sleep, intangible *kusiut* prerogative.
stciusnām: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [585]
Ṣtcqwastlustkwi, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]
ste·ptl: Shadow.
stetqumas: Hammer, *archaic*. [412]
stekao: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law.
sḷiatmālxs: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other. [601]
stihua: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
stiṗ: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
shikx: 1—Caribou hide.
2—Thong made of caribou hide. [825]
shxom: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
sḷiaxkt: Caribou.
sihms: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
Sihmsila: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
sihmstā or *sihmstānālos:* Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
sihmstaliktsta: Body.
sihmstānālosām: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Sihwaxwakniman·a: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Sihwaxwekanam: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
sihka: Mountain goat grease.
sḷskālaya: Castor. [824]
Sḷskiut, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Slskla: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
sismas: Octopus. [825]
Sisoakulxs: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
sisqwasma: Red rock paint. [386]
sisla: Singer's baton.
ṣlsulk: Text.
sliła·qaxs: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones. [823]
stuin: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased.
Stuxx: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley. [764]
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story. [262]
stutum: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
stutusilks: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
Sly', "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
sukulil: Black raspberry. [824]
sulatu: Ocean.

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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died *the corpse is washed, the face painted red,* the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be. 764 [301] [823] [766] [567] [775]

The bed of a mourner must be protected againt the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they cleave four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, cleaving new trees every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones. 765 783 [775] 765 [302]

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or olachen. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person. [262] [828] [822]

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was 'the same as giving away the bones of the deceased.' 765 556

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to 773 171

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/For information on the details of the memorial potlatch ceremonies for the dead, see category 769./

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*556 578 Island chief was felt by the Bella Coola to be quite natural; one of their own chiefs might have resented the insult in the same manner. This account may have no historical basis, but it is a clear example of Bella Coola sentiment.

*556 648 558 [765] Further examples may help to clarify this point. A few years ago a number of Kwakiutl Indians visited Bella Coola to perform a mourning ceremony in honour of a deceased Bella Coola who had a Kwakiutl name from his grandfather, a member of that tribe. All the natives were invited to a large house, where the visitors gave a dance according to their own ancestral myths; the songs which were used recounted the history of the Kwakiutl name of the dead man. After thus displaying their prerogatives, they felt themselves obliged, and proud, as hosts, to give presents as validation. The sum of $546 was distributed among the guests. Realizing that it would be impossible to return such a sum by holding ceremonials in Fort Rupert, the home of the Kwakiutl, the leading Bella Coola decided to return the compliment immediately. The amount to be given was discussed at great length. Appreciating the courtesy of the foreigners in thus coming to pay honour to the deceased, it was not wished to insult them by giving a larger present, which would have had the effect of intimating that the recipients considered the $546 a trifling amount. Accordingly it was finally agreed to give the visitors about $300, which was done as validation of a Bella Coola ceremony at which the strangers were present. Thus the hosts allowed themselves to be shamed as a mark of courtesy. Not to be outdone in politeness, the Kwakiutl chief made a speech, expressing his willingness to allow the Bella Coola to drive him (this occurred in the days of horses and carts) to the wharf to take the steamer. In other words, he allowed the Bella Coola to put him in their debt, as they had allowed him and his party to do with respect to the distribution of money. The visit terminated with friendly relations maintained on both sides.

123 533 *556 424 The need of validating every ceremonial act by presents can be further illustrated by the following instance. When

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a man, *ư-wnaisa*, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience 424
to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it 463
has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this function. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the validation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary 551 693
ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but [793]
non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name *ư-wnaisa* has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been en- 784
forced concerning the river: No refuse may be thrown in, 825
otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe 226
lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them [515]
from seeing the route. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes 841
is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the [562]
fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can [502]
be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose [765]
husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are considered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the 688
salmon and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the 693
offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringements, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river. The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

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entertained such kindly sentiments towards him that he would be glad to have his friend receive it.

In recent years the number of incombustible objects has increased enormously with the introduction of metal utensils, gramophones, and other things obtained from white traders. Although these are considered to be of use to the ghost, and must be carefully placed near the grave, they can be publicly exchanged for others by a relative. The sentiments expressed on such occasions are that the ghost, though aware of what is taking place, does not resent an open transfer; and that it is unnecessary to deposit the equivalent of what has been removed. There is undoubtedly a vague idea that the ghost uses, not the actual object, but its essence, which is received by the deposition. It must be emphasized that this feeling has not become crystallized to such a state that it is customary to replace goods laid on the grave with others. Such an exchange is a rare event and would cause animosity if carried out by anyone except a near relative.

Sometimes a dying person requests that a house be erected over his grave, a common Bella Bella custom. This is built immediately after the funeral and articles that cannot be burnt are placed within it instead of being piled on the ground. The sorrowing relatives may choose to erect a picket fence around the spot, but no other mark for the grave is put up until a memorial potlatch several years after death. House or fence soon falls into decay and rarely an effort is made to repair either. Nor is the grave itself disturbed. Cow-parsnips, which are much used for food, grow frequently in cemeteries, but no one would gather the shoots that rise above a grave; they are food belonging to the dead person. The white man has taught the Bella Coola how to plant apple-trees and these are often set out in graveyards, though the fruit is allowed to fall to the ground for the benefit of those interred beneath. The Bella Bella are said formerly to have replaced at intervals the coffin containing a dead person, but this seems never to have been a Bella Coola practice. Indeed, a grave is never

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Indeed, a grave is never
765 disturbed except, rarely, when it is necessary to obtain a
[789] portion of a skeleton for magical purposes. In such a case,
the coffin lid must be lifted up on the side away from the
[761] opener, so that he looks within over its upturned edge. A
person failing to obey this injunction will soon die.

768 Burning or deposition near the grave is not restricted to the actual utensils and artifacts of the deceased. There, too, must be laid dried salmon which a man has smoked for winter use, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready
[764] by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person seems indescribably indecent. In recent years, the crop, if a man dies after tilling and sowing a field, is allowed to ripen, and then rot unharvested. So, too, the canoe in which a body has been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Coola are not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is
[761] apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of
death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or that
[784] has been in contact with a corpse.

The rituals described above may be considered as religious
764 in nature; almost equally important are the social require-
431 ments of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This
556 indebtedness falls on the near relatives, though all members
of the ancestral family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite
[614] manner. If a canoe has been destroyed that did not belong to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents must be given to the pall-bearers, to the woman who bore the flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way. Failure to do so brands the relatives as misers with little respect for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the outlook and minds of chiefs. Consequently, even poor people try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death

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place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death. 764 783

The above rite protects widower or widow, but does not alter the fact that for one year they are ceremonially "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the ocean. The one near Kimsquit is called *Sqlan'li*, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of which the bottoms are bent upwards; should this be omitted, when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will soon die. 765 [783] [825] [262] [484] [292] [761]

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should cut their hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; if this rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and [626] [302] [834] [587] [735]

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765 religious rites affecting the whole community. In spite of the prohibitions enforced, it is said that a widow or widower usually becomes fat after the death of a partner. This observation agrees with several instances known to the writer, but whether it is of universal application is doubtful, although the Bella Coola emphatically state that this is the case.

Memorial Rites

THE MEMORIAL POTLATCH

177 556 769 [622] The most important, as well as the most complicated, mourning rite is the memorial potlatch, *skwanät*, for which so much wealth is required that it can be carried out by chiefs alone. This ceremony, being associated with *sisaok* rites, has altered enormously in form within recent years. Before the introduction of cone-shaped whistles and other foreign elements, it was almost indistinguishable from an ordinary potlatch and the two were occasionally combined, having as central feature the return of the deceased in the form of his crest. Among the tribes of the outer coast, especially the Bella Bella, the two types of ceremonial were apparently distinct, and as the Bella Coola adopted more and more of their neighbours' *sisaok* ritual, they followed their custom in this respect as well. It is said that a certain *Noäkila*, uncle of a man about sixty years of age in 1922, was the last to combine both. The Bella Bella felt that he had thereby committed a ritual error for which he would be punished; within a few years he died, and the Bella Coola assumed that this was due to the unanimous expectation of his death on the part of the Bella Bella. From that time onwards, the Bella Coola were careful to separate features belonging to potlatches from those of memorial potlatches.

After a comparatively few years, the white man's domin- [648] ation had increased so enormously on the central coast that the potlatch, including both types, was prohibited by law. Owing to the consequent difficulty of performing complicated

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*556 messengers may be marked with the same ritual as at a pot-
769 latch, but there is always curtailment of *susaok* features if rites of that nature are to be omitted.

Meanwhile other preparations have not been neglected.
424 Among the prerogatives embodied in many origin myths, is that of the presence of professional mourners at memorial
*556 potlatches. If mention of these is made in the ancient tradi-
769 tion of the donor's ancestral family, it is a matter of pride for
[767] him to do as was done by his ancestors in the distant past. For example, it may be recorded that at the memorial potlatch of some ancient chief, a number of his younger relatives appeared with red paint smeared upon their faces, with finely chopped undyed cedar-bark in the hair, or with bands of the
[765] same material across their heads. *Ałquntäm* had decreed that they should thus exhibit their grief, and the descendants of the chief have since had the privilege of doing likewise. Such signs of mourning may not, however, be worn without proper validation. It is only the members of the ancestral family who are entitled to don these marks, and among them, only those whose right has been confirmed by the distribution of presents. This is a masculine professional prerogative, known
[562] by the same name as the feminine one of uttering a droning cry to which it is closely akin. The right is ratified at memorial potlatches, and the donor of one is glad to do so as a means of displaying his own wealth as well as of making plain the glory of his ancestors to whom the one being commemorated has
[767] returned. There is no mention of professional mourners in
[171] the myths of many families, nor are they ever as important in Bella Coola as among the Bella Bella and other tribes of the outer coast. If such belong to the family of the donor, he notifies the incumbents and asks them to be ready, although, eager to act, they seldom wait for such an invitation.

533 The most difficult task is the preparation of mourning songs
*556 at which the singers toil for several weeks. The donor first invites them to his house and recounts the myths from which
769 they must be composed. These may include several traditions

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wax·munmuisumnimotnu	*si·xwotldimutnudja*	*xwas·iāsqiliqsoals*	
you are the prey of misfortune,	you unmarried mother;	you are *sqili*(*d*), you women	
xwas'lālye·ya·lusals	*Ānāna*	*Yumtcaia*	*somtcaia*
who pretend to be virtuous(*e*).	Alas(*f*)!	I am ashamed,	I am *Som*(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Qānmaxwulxs·alotskidax*	*dāsboitldtsālotskidsaix*	*yao oldistānābsul·ux*ʷ	
Exactly similar	is the little boy's nose	to that of the round-headed	
aiyaoyaqolosdidai	*Ānāna*	*Yumtcaia*	*somtcaia*
Qolosti(*h*).	Alas!	I am ashamed,	I am *Som*.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(*a*) This differs from most *Hāiyākum* songs in that *Som* was an unmarried mother, not a faithless wife. She was held up to scorn by the men of Kimsquit and this song composed for her by a certain *Blo·qwas*. [848]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 38a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*c*) It is said that women, even of slave blood, used to endeavour to increase their importance in the eyes of their children by boasting, falsely, of ancestral history. [554]

(*d*) A term of opprobrium, difficult to translate. It is said to imply slave ancestry, but is more probably a mere epithet, referring to the female organs. [195]

(*e*) This is addressed to women in general.

(*f*) An expression of pain or sorrow, used under all circumstances. [192]

(*g*) The theme is here changed as if it were *Som* herself speaking. This is a common device in all kinds of songs.

(*h*) *Qolosti* was supposed to be the father of *Som*'s child.

Mourning Songs

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Mourning songs excel all other Bella Coola compositions in length, complexity, and wealth of detail. Especially those composed for mighty chiefs contain numerous references to the ancestral history of the deceased and mention incidents referred to in origin myths, a source of pride to the survivors and of envy to those who listen. [765] [766]

Song Used for Qowi when Mourning his Son, Qwinas(*a*)

A *Sūmalma*	*waxlākdatoms*	*Hālinaywao*	*sānābsulhpai*
Why has my son done so(*b*)?		Come, ye who are residents of foreign lands(*c*)	

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(*h*) That is: I incorporate myself into.

(*i*) The reference is to another of *Sinuxut*'s myths dealing with the coming to earth of *Hamcat* near Kimsquit. *Nunuḡsmāls* was the name of his house. 533*

(*j*) Referring to Goose Island once more.

(*k*) That is: Goose Island where our relatives, the Bella Bella, get their food, had just emerged and become visible. It was impossible to obtain a separate translation of these two subdivisions.

(*l*) Referring again to Goose Island. This small piece of land is shaped like a whale, and, as already described, it was originally one. *Ālqunṭām* bade the animal come to the surface to be changed to stone; then *Wāāku* settled there as soon as the water had dried from what had been its back. [773] [823]

(*m*) The literal translation of each subsection may be inaccurate.

Song Used for Yeālos of Kimsquit(*a*)

A Yenaoisandax	*wakwalundal*	*sābxwaixisundai*	*disonx̄ʷsudai*
It is good(*b*);	our(*c*)?	has lifted	the sky(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Q̄āqwaxqwisandai(*e*)	*disiutsudai*	*skāaiyaldumdai*
He was Raven(*f*),	the supernatural one	when he descended

dinulunikāsdai
the post(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Snuqwla·xlisundai	*distālhmxdai*	*yeyālosdai*	*sāliplisdai*
He is bright(*h*),	the chief	*Yeālos*;	he carries

siāsxwilāklaixi	*dilāliās·udai*
a unique	copper(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 47a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been composed over one hundred years ago and since used repeatedly.

(*b*) With the significance of: It is highly satisfactory.

(*c*) The meaning of this word is obscure. It refers to the crest of *Yeālos* with the added implication of a memorial. It applies to the memorial rite being given. [765] [152]

(*d*) When a chief dies, it is said that the people in their grief feel as if the sky were pressing them down. A memorial rite lessens their sorrow and lifts the burden.

(*e*) When this word was being sung for the phonograph, the singer erred and replaced it by part of the first word of the third part.

(*f*) That is: He was in the form of a raven. The reference is to one of the first ancestors of *Yeālos*.

(*g*) Meaning one of the posts which stretched between earth and sky in the beginning of time. [773]

(*h*) This refers to *Yeālos*. He was formerly weighed down with grief, but by giving a memorial rite he is like the sun as it shines out brilliantly from behind the clouds.

(*i*) A reference to a special kind of copper mentioned in the chief's origin myth.

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C *Wasiḳwiltsamälsnkja* I fear the coming	*äldiḳwatlnusamdai* figure(*g*),	*yao disno'oyulxultäs* hail *Sno'olxults*

yao Älquntaiämsudai
Älquntäm(*h*).

(*a*) This song was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of an infant into the society. The full ritual was not performed on that occasion, and it was impossible to learn the proper procedure. The neophyte's patron is *Sno'olxults Älquntäm*, whose protégés are usually Scratch or Breaker dancers, but *Änudukänuts* has neither of these prerogatives. [776]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 49, National Museum of Canada; trio, Reuben Schooner, *Täl-io* Charlie, and Jim Pollard, the last-named acting as announcer. This song was composed by Reuben Schooner.

(*c*) The theme is worded as if the neophyte were speaking to the uninitiated whose ranks he has just left.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions.

(*e*) This refers either to supernatural power or to some object imbued with it.

(*f*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions. The meaning of the whole is obscure, although the implication is that the dancer now knows everything having, figuratively, forced open the repository.

(*g*) More accurately, the memorial figure; the meaning is obscure.

(*h*) The dancer's patron.

Kusiut MOURNING SONGS

533*
765 ●
575 ×

Several prominent *kukusiut* died during the spring and summer of 1923. Memorial rites of the usual nature were held, but in addition several *kusiut* mourning songs were composed and used in their honour during the next ceremonial season. When a relative was initiated, his song contained numerous references and words of the type normally restricted to mourning songs. Such a combination may occasionally have taken place in former times, but the present comparatively common usage is due to the difficulty of holding regular potlatches. In each case the *kusiut* rites were abbreviated, and no description of the proper ceremonial was obtained. The following are examples of combined *kusiut* and mourning songs:

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*192 *Kitlmintämem:* The chasm that keeps a foolish man from success as a chief; the concept is semi-anthropomorphized.

kitsän: First catamenial discharge.

Kilde·t: ustämx village.

kixta: Supernatural creature dwelling in the ocean.

[756] *Kiyekdmut:* Shaman who received power from ghosts.

Kumsixwalaxtsta: Bella Coola hunter.

*[103] *Kumxkwt,* "Canyon": Bella Bella designation for the Dean River, whence the anglicized *Kimsquit* has been derived.

Kindust: Nass River.

Kinlkinl: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

[825] *kints:* 1—Whale.
2—Ancestral name of a *Tal·io* woman; this is said to be an exclusively feminine designation.

Klak"amot: 1—Name acquired by a Bella Bella man in the beginning of time.
2—Influential *Qomqo·ts* chief, who died about 1910.

[825] *k'lax"u:* Muskrat.

klp: White fir (?).

[824] *kman·i:* Herring.

kmxdjut: Prerogative of biting oneself.

knum: Dried salmon.

knumdjut: Synonym for *ähukla:* one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of masked representations of the deceased. The word is derived from *knum.*

[825] *kokolikum:* Porpoise.

Kokostxum: Supernatural being who behaves in an erratic manner.

[845] *ko'la:* Twin whose birth is attributed to salmon.

[824] *Ko'laints:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.

koluloxo: Unidentified berry (strawberry?).

Kolxeta: Supernatural female shaman who guided *Winwina.*

Kol·iaiyuhmx: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.

kolku"hmx, "Earthy Ones": Ghosts.

koluhmx: Land, region, earth.

[533] *kolulo·s:* First part of song.

Kotink': Treeless mountain about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.

[825] *Kpapstustusailaix,* "The One Who Makes Us Fat": Supernatural name of cohoe salmon.

[765] *kpustmm:* Goods distributed to validate songs used at a mourning ceremony when no representation of the deceased has been employed.

[578] *kqosnäm:* Insult offered to foreigners at potlatches concerning their manners or food.

[609] *krämkusaix* or *krämkusnäm:* Synonym for *kslämkusnäm,* investment-present.[1]

[426] *Ksmnimmdmut:* Woman mentioned in an ancient story.

[601] *kukpi, vocative, kukpai:* Grandfather.

kukusiutak: Kusiut ceremonial at which foreigners are present.

kuhx: The construction of salmon-weirs.

[1]This was the pronunciation of the word by the individual with an idiosyncratic *r* sound.

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Łäläxsa: One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Łähaml: Unidentified town on the outer coast mentioned in a *Stunx* story of the beginning of time.
Łälläläämdimut: Name acquired by one of the first settlers at *Snuiłli* in the beginning of time.
Łäläxmän·a: Smooan's son in the beginning of time.
łäläs·i: Small portable canoe.
łälstam: Desertion of a spouse. [586]
Łäxsmai: 1—"The Copper One."
2—"Snow," in the language of Deer.
łahmtmakgwao: Imitation potlatch carried out by *nusäxkämy.*
Łäknus: Bella Bella Cannibal living in the beginning of time.
Łilixwnimut, "The Scatterer of Eagle Down": Name created by *Smooan* for his son in the beginning of time.
lima: To loot.
Łixlixkikka: Bella Bella supernatural being who brings food.
łixwnimut: Person of placid disposition.
łdłła: Bull-roarer.
łdł: To excise rot; the word for potlatch, *łm,* is supposedly derived from this. [556]
łm: Potlatch.
łmkmitł: The binding down of a Cannibal with rope.
Łmołim: Unidentified autumn moon, probably the fourth after the summer solstice. [821]
Łmołis di Nusäxkämy, "The Potlatch of the *nusäxkämy*": Second moon after winter solstice. [805]
Łhamkila, "First of All": One of the first men to settle at *Nukiłs* in the beginning of time.
łkełuwädjut: Shaman's ritual error, such as the curing of one who is ceremonially unclean. [756]
łkumkeksta: Miniature totem-pole such as is used in mourning ceremony.
łmänkmm: Partnership of a poor man with a chief about to give a potlatch, so that the former may repay debts, for which his poverty required no compensation, and thus start himself on the path towards greatness. [556]
łmänsimtim: The turning over of a mountain.
Łe'ys: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
łqomksksta: Stick decorated with copper bangles used in mourning rites by one of the first settlers at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time. [765]
łqła: The painting of the face as a sign of mourning. [302]
'Łämdimut: Cannibal *kusiut* name used by the first settlers at *Sałłia* in the beginning of time.
Łłiqwam: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola male Scratcher.
łuklai: Aversion.
Łukwala: 1—*Kusiut* name of a *Tsmołł* man.
2—Shamanistic power.
łułłułłmut: Visitation from the life of a recently dead friend, notification of which is conveyed by a start or other feeling of discomfort. [775] [787]
Łulqwan·i: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man. The first to use this designation was a relative of the earliest settlers in the beginning of time.
Łułukwahntmm, "The Giver of Shamanistic Power": One of the names of *Łłłcäpllän·a,* and hence a designation given to shamans.

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skalk': Devil's-club.
skalnānxdits: To lament ceremonially, the term used to describe the reason for a memorial potlatch. [824]
Skāmi, "Ashes": Ancestral name created for a *Snuiłli* chief about 1910. [765]
skāmtsk: Supernatural creature dwelling in water.
skāx: Anus.
skānm: Splinters projecting upwards from the bole of a broken tree-trunk. [824]
Skamolsqmān·a: One of the first women to settle at *Snuiłli* in the beginning of time.
Skatpts: Chief of the spring salmon.
skatsāmkm: Narrow strips of goat skin with wool attached, distributed at marriage. [585]
skelixts: Merganser. [825]
skekwadjut, "The Opening": Ceremony when the first public presents are given to the family of a future wife, following the announcement of betrothal. [584]
ski: To cure, especially with the aid of a frenzied beating of sticks. [431]
Skimutcitl: Stuax man mentioned in an ancient story.
skinap, "Cure Ye!": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the upper Bella Coola valley.
skinwas: Cloud. [825]
skma: Thick hide, either of moose or caribou. [412]
skma: Semi-circular knife used by women for cutting salmon.
skmaix, skmanl, or *skmdjut:* 1—Frenzied beating of sticks for curing purposes, especially when the patient is a member of a secret society. [755]
2—Final *kusiut* rite at end of the ceremonial season.
skmim: To cure by means of the frenzied pounding of sticks.
Skml, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log": *a'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
Skmnānl: House used by a group of first settlers near *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Skmnulān·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Nusłalst* in the beginning of time.
sks'tcalx: Fungus. [824]
sklsmaixts: 1—Box made of strands of cedar-bark. [415]
2—Ancient name of *susok* head-dress.
skq: Ceremonial designs executed on the exterior front wall of a house.
skokk': Rose.
Skolikwan·a: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.
skotl: Wasp. [825]
Skolsemmusta: Rock on shore of North Bentinck Arm where war trophies were washed. [727]
Skqwāhtl: Name of house brought down by first settlers at *Słskistl* in the beginning of time; the term was also applied by them to one of their female relatives.
sksi, socatiw, sksai: Parent-in-law or child-in-law. [601]
sklāq: Suitable place in the river for setting olachen nets.
sklsa: Game played with throwing stones.
skusiut: Synonym for *yeaxmax,* the tangible or intangible prerogative possessed by some *kukusiut* in addition to a dance rite. [424]
skwakwa: River sculpin. [825]

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[765] *skwanät:* 1—Memorial potlatch.
2—Mourning song.
3—The wailing of mourners at a grave.

[763] *Skwanät·ăn·ä*, "The Weeper": Female supernatural being whose appearance indicates the death of a chief.

skwanätänkusaix: Professional *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to sing of *Snitsmän·a* during *kusiotem* dances.

skwatsta: Name.

Skwo·ts: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

Sla·kl: Whitewater River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola.

[824] *sloos:* Long grass suitable for pasturage.

slăqk'i: Smoked spring salmon with the bone removed.

[252] *slaxkt:* Many, *adjective*.

[554] *slaxmidjut*, "The One with Many Descendants": Term used to describe an elderly man with many children and grandchildren.

Sla·: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[601] *sleli:* Game, resembling a tug-of-war, played with wooden loops and spears.

[578] *slemts, vocative, slemtsakais:* Grandchild; the vocative indicates endearment.

slexwxnix: The deposition of eagle down on the heads of those quarrelling to pacify them.

slĭ·s: Gall bladder.

sloptsta: 1—Breathing.
2—Sound of a *susook* whistle, referred to as the breathing of *Mislakila*.

sluk': Olachen grease.

Slexlekwailq: 1—Ancient village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[778] 2—Place of petrified power at site of ancient village.
3—Semi-anthropomorphized being responsible for power in this locality.

Sliłm: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of every river.

slkumsta: The voice.

[824] *slkuml:* Dried elderberries.

slukwala: 1—Shaman-like power, as brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
[821] 2—Bella Coola woman.

slulqm: Eclipse.

slwosamlikw': 1—One who keeps in touch with a concealed Cannibal.
[424] 2—One who has the inherited right to assist *kusiut* or *susook* dancers; this prerogative occurs in Kimsquit only.

Smaiaikila: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaialoila: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaien·a: 1—Synonym for *Slexlekwailq*, q.v.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

[424] *smaiusta:* A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first people in the beginning of time.

smämätshnalp: Debris from cones eaten by squirrels.

Smaoan, "The First": One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Smaourak: Man mentioned in an origin myth of a southern locality.

smär·amy, vocative, smär·amy: Friends.

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Snuqā·ɣ': Affluent of the middle Bella Coola.
Snuqwaix: Kimsquit woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Snuqwaxwāls: 1—Copper Raven that perched on house of first settlers at *Älqälāxl* in the beginning of time.
2—Name given to the Raven design used by the first settlers at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
snusaiks: Skeleton. The word is obviously a derivative of *saiks*.
Snusilkāls: 1—"The Wise One": One of the more important supernatural beings.
2—Ancestral name of a *Tsmotl* man.
Snusmkāls: Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Älqälāxl*, probably a supernatural designation.
Snusmilkānk': Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Älqälāxl*, probably a supernatural designation.
[374] *Snuskeluts*, Cold: A supernatural being.
Snuslaxwai, "The Mystery of *Älqunäm*": The place where the supreme god puts what he wishes to conceal, such as the correct solution of the Mystery dance. The concept is semi-anthropomorphized.
snusɣ: Generic name for several supernatural animals.
snusɣindjän·a: Right front corner of a house on entering.
Snuhari: Pronunciation of *Snuhli* by a man with idiosyncratic *r* usage.
Snuhli, "Place of Dog Salmon": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
●[765] *snutlänkn*, "A Shoring Up": Term used to describe the functions of mourning songs.
Snulkänäls, "Box": 1—One of the first women to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—Box in *Qomoqwa*'s house.
3—Name of a *Täl·io* man derived from the last.
Snulle·tl, "Place of Nq Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Snuthmɣ: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Snutqomikaista: Point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
[821] *snutsälätst:* Race of dwarfs, presumably mythical.
Snulsiaxwanem: Whirlwind, anthropomorphized.
[778] *Snulsiktäls:* Generic term for four supernatural, eagle-like creatures.
Snuwals: Place on South Bentinck Arm where curative power is localized.
snuyaxlämut, "Bring Light": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the lower Bella Coola valley.
snuyax·iäk: One who seeks embers.
Snuxmuthmän·a: One of the first women to settle at *Täl·io* in the beginning of time.
Snuxwuläls: Name of first settlers at *Älqälāxl* in the beginning of time.
Snuyaxlikwan·a: Rivers Inlet name used by a Bella Coola *kusiut* woman.
[484] *solits:* Food carried for consumption on a journey; the term is also applied to the provender brought from above by the first people in the beginning of time.
sol'okun: Hunting-ground owned by an ancestral family.
Som: Woman mentioned in a song.
sonɣ^w': see dä sonɣ^w' dä.
Sonxwoäks: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nulkax* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Sonxwan·a: One of the first women to settle at *Nulkax* in the beginning of time.
[431] *sonxwadjut:* Synonym for *sywomaɣs*, the preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch.

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Ṫwalosdimut: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

twihmdimut, "A Coming up from Below into Plain Sight": Term used with reference to the obtaining of a call through the medium of Dark-Shade.

[424] *tpāmūl*, "Whence We Came": A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[103] *Tpałsik:* Old village near the head of Dean Channel, at the site of the present cannery on the opposite side of the fiord from Manitou Cannery.

Tpnpx·iaqim: Tree, inhabited by owls, behind the supreme god's house.

kwunikwalotl: Space in a house between central fire and row of chiefs seated behind it.

U

U·sḟāxus, "What Is Wanted Is Lacking": Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Alqałāxl* in the beginning of time.

W

Wałkus: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ḫwiyai* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuhli* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwlst* in the beginning of time.
4—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
5—Name of the Kimsquit River as chief.
6—*Sisook* name of a Kimsquit man.

[825] *wai·s:* 1—Cohoe salmon.
2—Name acquired by a man from cohoe salmon.

Waiuxnm: Man who descended to the Clearwater River in the beginning of time.

Wakitmai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stnx* in the beginning of time.
2—Fraser River.

Wakwus: Village at Kwatna Inlet. This word is in the Bella Bella language.

Wałąkitmai: One of the first men to settle at *Stnx* in the beginning of time.

[825] *wal·āsgia:* Lynx.

walikw': Woman who has deserted her husband.

[586] *wakmptnm:* To express a desire concerning the disposal of one's goods after death.

wakcinu: "I go."

[824] *wałilikwatsałłtsałats*, "The Most Potent of the Pond": Water-lily.

Wanqł: Name of *Smaxan*'s grandchild in the beginning of time.

Wanuq: 1—Rivers Inlet.
2—Collective term for the villages on its shores.

Waoxqalaix: Nusaxkāmq name of a Kimsquit man.

Waowal·is: Celebrated shaman, central figure in an ancient tale.

Waoyal·a: Tribal name of one of the Bella Bella-speaking groups.

Wa·pat: Mountain near *Stnx*.

Wasila: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

waskusiutaix: Death in the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place.

[533] *was·nāx·imutsts:* Mourning songs regarded as expressions of real, not ceremonial, grief.

[765] *wasonq'' wawitłłoqstil:* Synonym for *sonq''*: The sky.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be. 764 [301] [823] [766] [567] [775]

The bed of a mourner must be protected againt the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they cleave four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, cleaving new trees every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones. 765 783 [775] 765 [302]

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or olachen. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person. [262] [828] [822]

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was 'the same as giving away the bones of the deceased.' 765 556

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to 773 171

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554 it to the digestive tract. After a man has given four potlatches
* 556 he feels superior to those who have been unable to do likewise.
622 His name is "bright," "clean," "heavy," "firm," or "upright"
[578] in Bella Coola terms, and so, likewise, his seat. He feels independent and proud. Such a chief will fearlessly enter the back-room where ceremonial rites are taking place, even if not entitled to do so.

"He is so strong, he can go where he will," say the Bella Coola.

The advice of such a man is taken because of his ability and prestige, especially by the members of his own family. A few years ago, for example, when a certain Bella Coola died, his brother wished a *kusiut* name-prerogative of the deceased to pass to the dead man's daughter. The girl's mother's father, a *numiti* chief, objected, and his desires were followed, although the name in question was not connected in any way with his family. In small matters, too, people gladly carry out the
[592] wishes of a chief. Work around the house is done for him without thought of disobedience. An old man was asked whether, when he was young, chiefs gave many orders and acted as masters in their households.

"You bet," the old man answered emphatically with a dry chuckle.

231 It is difficult now to form an accurate estimate, from obser-
552 vation, of the influence of chiefs solely through virtue of the
622 goods they have expended. But the following is a concrete example. In November, 1923, the writer, while walking through the Bella Coola village, was bitten by a dog. He was told that the animal belonged to a certain old woman. When next he saw the owner he asked her whether she knew that her dog attacked passers-by.

"Yes," she answered, in a matter-of-fact tone, "He is a chief and can do what he likes."

Further questioning elicited the information that the old
• [766] woman and her husband, the childless last survivors of an ancestral family, had transmitted some of their ancestral

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names to their dog, and had distributed presents to validate the bestowal. Consequently, the animal is a chief (see Plate 11)[1] and can do as he likes. When it dies it will be mourned as a chief. Moreover, a number of people have returned the presents which they received at the time the dog was made a chief, and this money is kept by the woman and her husband, to be used when they perform the rite of mourning for the dog at death. 231 552 622 766

When this is possible, in the present degenerate days, it is not difficult to understand how, formerly, a great chief felt himself above the restraints that hindered lesser men. The last great Bella Coola chief was *Potlas*, who died between 1870 and 1880. His influence and power were so great that he was a virtual ruler, daring anything. If he requested a young man to take his food box home and the youth was slow to obey, *Potlas* had no hesitation in killing him on the spot. Such great power, though unusual, is intelligible to the Bella Coola, since *Potlas* gave far more potlatches than any of his contemporaries. Other chiefs have been known to attempt a similar arbitrary use of power, but have failed, since their prestige was not great enough to justify it. The fame of a mighty chief spreads up and down the coast, and protects him and the members of his family from being ambushed and slain in any sporadic foray. During an actual fight, however, a chief had to take his chances with the rest, but the comparative immunity was a great advantage. 556* 622 [156] [628] [726]

The Bella Coola recognize the fundamental differences between their own concepts about chieftainship and those of other coastal tribes with whom they come in contact. This point was mentioned in the course of conversation by several men. The most powerful chief known to them was *Tsilsa*, who, they say, was virtual monarch of the Kitkatla. None of his subjects could go hunting without his permission, and he had rights to a certain share of their booty. At any ceremony presents had first to be given to him, and if he were slighted in this respect, he would kill the offender. It is be- 171 556* 622 829

[1] [Sec. cat. 116, P 186 (c) - ANALYST]

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present, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried farther afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in attendance. Every individual duly secluded and given a *sisaok* name feels himself ceremonially allied to others who have had a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be termed the *sisaok* secret society. 553 556* 575

The close connection between this society and chiefs is obvious from the presence of names of each type in the same ancestral myths. None the less, every chief, that is a person with duly validated ancestral name and seat, is not a *sisaok*, unless he has validated a *sisaok* name for himself and undergone the period of seclusion. Conversely, a man may be a duly authorized member of the *sisaok* although lacking a seat and the other marks of chieftainship. The relationship is, however, so close that the Bella Coola think of the *sisaok* society as a society of chiefs. *Sisaok* dances take place at potlatches and funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance. Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use some of his goods for the acquisition of a *sisaok* name. Such a case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in the summer of 1923. Theoretically, he was ignorant of *sisaok* rites, but after much discussion these were used on account of his importance as a *numitl* chief, an instance of the manner in which a man's personal importance over-rules ceremonial dictates. 575 622 [553] [535] [766] [183]

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *sisaok* name-prerogatives came to this earth at the beginning of time with their first ancestors, and that many more have been acquired later by supernatural experiences. These were especially common among their forbears as they ranged over this earth seeking places to settle in the beginning of time. No *sisaok* name can be assumed casually; each must have had a specific origin. There are few *sisaok* origin myths, though theoretically there should be one to account for every name. The explanation appears to lie in the undoubted fact that many *sisaok* prerogatives have been acquired comparatively recently 424 551 575 773 [177]

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* 556 622 the time the earth was settled, ought to be chief of that village. If he has been able to give the necessary potlatches to weight his possession of that name, the fact that he is the legal descendant of the first chief will add a certain amount to his prestige, but unless he has been able to do this his influence will be slight.

* 556 622 766 [775] Thirdly, potlatches smooth the way for the giver after death. Before the corpse of a chief is removed from the house where he has died, a speaker always announces the number of potlatches he has given and the total value of goods distributed at them. These gifts in a vague way are felt to make easy the deceased's path in the next world as they have done in the present. The feature of the potlatch, though firmly believed by some of the older people, plays a less important part in the life of the Bella Coola than might be expected.

* 556 What are the requisites for giving a potlatch?

[424] (1) Possession of an ancient myth, containing a name or names. Probably every Bella Coola has this requirement. A man's family may not be the proud owners of one of the ancestral myths dealing with the first settlement of this earth, but they will at least own some ancient myth which they can elevate by giving a potlatch. As has been said, the owner of one of the most ancient names in many cases chooses to elevate one of lesser antiquity, a course which must, perforce, be done by one who lacks an origin myth. The slight feeling of defer-
[554] ence with which those are regarded who hold the names of the first inhabitants of the earth, the mighty chiefs of old, is subordinate to the very real feeling of respect in which is held the successful giver of potlatches. The descendant of one of the first people has the potential right to chieftainship, but unless he can give potlatches he will fail to gain that eminence.

* 556 769 (2) An occasion for giving a potlatch is never lacking. It consists of a number of closely associated rites, any one of which will serve as a reason for the ceremony. The most important feature, the return of a dead ancestor or ancestors to visit the living, is available to anyone at any time. The Bella

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Bellabella NES

BC
* 539

air. As they did so the feathers began to move, gradually rising in the air until some passed through the roof. It was as if a miniature whirlwind of gentle power were agitating them. As the three continued to use the sticks, the corpse itself began to move, finally disintegrating into the down and passing through the roof. As it did so the three said:

"Go back whence we came. Ty.....,"

Since that time the people of *Owikl* have disposed of their dead in this manner.

The first *Ikhistic* brought with him from above not only the right to a *nawl* dance, but also a Cannibal *hamat* dance (II, p. 71) with the Bella Bella name *Lebeac*. He had, moreover, the rare privilege of performing *hamat* and *nawl* rites on alternate nights.

BC
[766]
[177]
[324]

This myth is important since it embodies an account of the disappearance of a corpse through a roof, a method of removal of the dead now practised by the Bella Coola in the case of chiefs. This means is recognized by the Bella Coola to have been a recent introduction from either Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet to *Tal'ia*, and thence to Bella Coola. Judging from this account, it would appear that such a method of removal of a corpse must be considered as originally a prerogative embodied in a myth, although it has ceased to be regarded as such in Bella Coola. The man from whom this tradition was obtained said it was only one of the type current in Bella Coola, though such are common in Bella Bella. It was obtained by the marriage of one of his ancestors to a woman of *Owikl*, and was used as theme for a mourning-ceremony at the death of his sister.

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513

AN EARLY BELLA BELLA MYTH TRANSMITTED BY MARRIAGE TO BELLA COOLA*

BB
539
BC
* 539

In the beginning of time, when the population of the earth consisted only of the few people who had come down from above, *Tuklimar* were in the Bella Bella town, *Kqayal*, where, as was common at that period, people had no houses but were sheltered under huge trees which *Ahousaht* had placed there for that purpose. *Tuklimar* was in the form of a man at the time and fell in love with a girl of the village. Her father, *Ma-ni*, agreed to the match and the two were married. The husband never slept with his wife; when he wished children, he willed that they

*Obtained by Andrew Moody.

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before their birth. When the mother of the twin described in the last paragraph was awaiting delivery in a temporary shelter in the woods, its roof fell, cutting her head. The old woman who mentioned this occurrence stated that both her grandmother, the Sockeye Salmon, and her sister, a Spring Salmon, though still unborn, were aware of the accident and remembered the comments of the midwife. 845

On account of their uncanny power, twins are considered weaklings and usually die young in spite of the care lavished upon them and the taboos observed by their parents.[1] A dead twin, instead of being buried, is put in a box which is placed in a tree far away from the village. Every year the river changes its course, eating into its banks in order to reach the tree containing the body, and this continues until it reaches its goal and sweeps away tree and coffin. 966 [928]

Childhood Instruction

When working in the field, an anthropologist almost inevitably concentrates upon ceremonials and other epochs in an individual's life, to the detriment of the daily routine which in Bella Coola, as everywhere else, is fundamentally important although it defies description on account of its intangibility. A child grows up in a large house, occupied by several families, in which there is little privacy. The parents provide food and clothing, but more distant relatives take a greater share of responsibility for this than do white people. When food is being given out, a child soon learns that he will be given some of it, and that he will have his portion in any distribution of presents. Furniture, bedding, and other necessities are reduced to a minimum, but a boy or girl is welcome to sleep with relatives should his own parents wish to go hunting or fishing. The sense of power possessed by a Bella Coola with many relatives is largely intangible, but it has practical applications as 114 855 [967] [967]

[1] It is probable that the arduous life led by a twin and its parents during the first year after birth lessens its chances of survival. Therefore to say, this explanation does not find favour with the Bella Coola.

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this rite is neglected no more salmon will come to the river. No 764
precautions are necessary after the food has been digested. [825]

Many men prepare their coffins before death. If this has [763]
not been done, a large, wooden box is provided by a kinsman [602]
of the deceased. The body is dressed in good clothing and
bound into a squatting position, head between knees, hands
clasped around shins, and the haunches just above the level of
the soles of the feet. In this posture it is thrust into the coffin.
Particularly if the corpse has been brought from some distance
and *rigor mortis* has set in, it may be necessary to break the
back-bone and even to crush the skull before the box can be
closed. A stone is placed on the back of the neck, within the [795]
coffin, to prevent the ghost from returning to haunt the survivors. A little choice food is placed beside the body of a
dearly loved child for nourishment during the journey to the
next world.

From this point onwards, the funeral rites differ according 575
to the rank of the deceased. On the death of an influential 766
nuxalk, the senior members of that society meet as soon as
possible to arrange the dramatization of the coming of *Mulaxtile*. A *nuxalk* son, brother, or other near relative is always
present even if he has little importance in the affairs of the
society. If the death has taken place during the night, the
conference is held the following morning and the rites begin at
noon. There may be delay until all have gathered, but about
the middle of the first possible day two *nuxalk* are sent up one
of the mountains behind the village. They carry large, cone-
shaped whistles which they blow twice. The sound is plainly
audible in the village and all, whether or not members of the
nuxalk society, recognize that a supernatural being is drawing
near. After a short interval, another whistle is blown by a
nuxalk concealed on the roof of the house in which the corpse
is lying, and after another pause the same sound comes from
within, beside the body itself. Most of the uninitiated know
that this is the voice of *Mulaxtile* (also called *Sisiutlpatwam*), [796]

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but even if unaware of the fact, they realize that some supernatural, invisible visitor has arrived.

Heralds go from house to house, and sometimes to adjacent villages as well,[8] inviting the people to pay a farewell visit to the dead man who will soon leave them; in this invitation the *sisaak* name of the deceased is used. The guests assemble at once, irrespective of their rank or membership in the *sisaak* society. To mark their grief, female relatives pull out tufts of their hair, and both men and women of the immediate family cut their hair short. The body, either in its coffin or covered with blankets, is placed between the central fire and the back-room, immediately behind the place where the singers take their stations. When all are present, a son or other near relative who is also a fluent speaker, stands up and expounds how the Chief, meaning *Mutlakila*, has come to visit the dead man, and how all should try to understand the song he has brought.[9] A hidden *sisaak* has been blowing a whistle intermittently, and the singers pretend to be able to understand words of a song in its notes. In reality they have prepared in advance the new one which they now beat out, accompanied by their voices. The theme either describes the coming of the supernatural visitor, or recounts the number of potlatches given by the deceased, and the manner in which these will make smooth the path whither he is going in the same way that distributed goods validate a chief's seat in this world. This song is practised and improved upon amid the booming of the whistle as if the singers were constantly gaining new ideas and embellishments from the words of the supernatural visitor. Sometimes a few incidents are added from the *sisaak* myth. After several repetitions, a relative of the dead man asks the singers to beat out the latter's *sisaak* songs, as many of them as are remembered from the time he was first initiated into the so-

[8] The Bella Bella are said to invite foreign guests to this ceremony.

[9] Sometimes the people are present when the coming of *Mutlakila*, heralded by whistling and a thump on the roof, takes place. There are variations in this, as in all other *sisaak* rites.

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ciety. These are given several times, serving to recall the ceremonies in which the chief took part during his life. At intervals, the new song is repeated and *ssaok* members of the audience join in as they become familiar with the words. Frequently one or more relatives of the deceased dance in his stead during the singing. The details of this rite, especially of the songs used at it, differ considerably according to the actions of the person during life; if a mighty chief, the donor of many potlatches, this fact is described in the song, whereas only an incident from the ancestral myth can be used for a young *ssaok*. If some of his female relatives are professional wailers, they function during the ceremony. In all circumstances, the rite aims to comfort the grieving kinsmen, an end which it usually achieves. 533 575 766 [535] [767]

As already described, *ssaok* ceremonial was in a state of transition at the time of the coming of the white man. Previous to that date, a spectacular funeral prerogative had been adopted from Rivers Inlet,[4] which has since been claimed by a number of *ssaok*. All the Bella Coola know of this ceremony, and most of them desire to perform it at the death of a dearly loved relative; at the present time this is possible owing to the slight regard paid to prerogatives, but it is certain that a few years ago it would have been forbidden to most people, and that it was never a universal Bella Coola rite. 575 766 177 424 [178]

When this rite is performed, the corpse is allowed to remain in its coffin for at least one night after the day on which *Mulakila* came and the *ssaok* songs were sung. Meanwhile the carpenters have prepared an imitation body, usually of rags on a light framework, and a wooden representation of the deceased's crest. Since this figure is to come through the roof and carry aloft the corpse, stout hooks are attached to its feet. In theory, the bird or animal disguise used by the first ancestor 575 766 532

[4] One old Bella Coola stated that this prerogative was obtained during his own lifetime from a Rivers Inlet chief who moved to *Tal-ia*. It is impossible to state accurately when this ritual was adopted by the Bella Coola, though it is unquestionably of recent origin.

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575 of the deceased, traced patrilineally, should come for the body,
766 but this is difficult to arrange in case of whale, bear, and other
[532] marine or land mammals. Consequently, it has been customary to use only raven or eagle for this purpose, and it is assumed that at least one of these birds is present in the ancestral history of every individual as a result of the marriage of some of his forbears with a woman possessing one of these crests.[5] It is a common practice for an influential *sisaok* to prepare a figure of this kind during his life-time and tell a son or other trusted relative where it has been hidden; if this has been done, it obviates the necessity of carpenters manufacturing one at short notice.

Several days are often required to complete these arrangements, but on the first evening possible, which may be two or three days after the death, the people are summoned to the dead man's house. The singers take their usual positions behind the fire and beat out the song used at the mourning ceremony already described; then, as on that occasion, they follow it with a number of the deceased's *sisaok* songs. Once more they strike up the one newly composed and, as it is proceeding, whistling is heard, accompanied by the screaming of an eagle or the croaking of a raven. Those who are not members of the *sisaok* society do not understand that these sounds are produced by hidden members blowing whistles on the roof. There is a crash on the planking and, through a space opened by the removal of several boards, the face of the bird crest can be seen peering in. It is a dramatic spectacle and the audience gasps appreciatively, especially those who see in it a manifestation of the supernatural, testifying to the importance of the deceased. If the stage management has been accurate, the figure appears at the termination of the song, but if it has arrived during the actual singing, the singers beat time slowly and cease to use their voices. The eagle, or raven, keeps squealing repeatedly and gradually comes through

[178] [5]The use of only raven or eagle is probably a degeneration due to recent decay of custom.

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the hole in the roof, ponderously and slowly, until its talons grip the "b[illegible]." In the same gradual fashion it carries this upwards until, just before the burden disappears through the roof, one of the principal singers leads his fellows and the audience in calling out: 575 766

"*Ye*··," which has the significance of, "May you have a safe passage whence you came and whither you are going."

As soon as the bird has disappeared, its notes are heard from above, growing gradually fainter as the actors blow their whistles less violently. An eloquent *sisaok* stands up and expounds how the deceased's crest has come down from above to carry away his body, and often mentions incidents in the ancestral myth to explain why this bird had appeared. A young man is sent up to replace the roof boards and the hidden accomplices rejoin the audience unostentatiously. The corpse itself remains hidden in some back corner of the house where it was concealed at the time the dummy was seized, so that nothing indicates what has taken place.

The relatives must give presents to all who have witnessed this ceremonial prerogative. These are now distributed without regard to the rank of the recipient; such gifts are not returnable and are said to be, "What Has Been Shaken Off," like dust from the departing body. A meal, likewise provided by the kinsmen of the deceased, is next served, and as the people are eating, it is customary for senior *sisaok* to make laudatory speeches, extolling the dead chief and comforting the survivors by reminding them of the way in which he will be looked after in virtue of his ancestral traditions. This procedure may continue for several hours, and it is only when no one else wishes to speak that the people disperse. [556] [537]

It is not easy to comprehend the attitude of the Bella Coola to this rite. Some influential *sisaok* state emphatically that in former days it was possible to carry it out so realistically that the uninitiated were deceived, and never suspected that the actual corpse was later on buried in secret by the singers, carpenters, and *sisaok*. On the other hand, those who do not 575 766 781

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575 wish to emphasize the importance of this society, state that
766 the deception was always apparent, and that even the hooks
781 and ropes by which the figure was manipulated could be seen. Still others regard the ceremony as a symbolic means of portraying the manner in which a man's crest comes to carry away his spirit and life. It seems clear that different interpretations must always have been accepted by different members of the community. A young and ingenuous uninitiated, steeped in the atmosphere of the supernatural, may well have believed that he was gazing upon an actual supernatural being, as the senior *sisaok* desired him to do; others must have recognized that a deception of some kind was being practised, but dramatization is such an important factor in Bella Coola life that individuals often disregard the difference between semblance and reality, and it is contrary to custom for a person to cast aspersions upon the prerogative of another. It is easy for such an one to accept the drama as a symbol or representation of the manner in which the crest carries off the intangible elements of the dead. This is certainly the attitude of the Bella Coola at the present time. Everyone realizes that the crest is of human manufacture and that the corpse itself is not carried away, but the rite is still performed and gratifies the survivors by giving them an opportunity to display their prerogative and the cloak of the deceased's ancestor.

[184]

575 Perhaps because of its relatively recent introduction, de-
766 tails of the performance of this rite are not fully standardized In some cases, the crest is made to appear at the same time as *Mulakila*, instead of at a subsequent ceremony. It is assumed that the origin of the rite is in some ancient myth in which the body was actually taken above by the crest, an act copied, with the aid of carpenters, by the descendants of the person to whom this occurred. There are no myths of this nature current in Bella Coola, although it is thought that such must have been common among the peoples of the outer coast to explain the prevalence of the practice in that area. One old man mentioned that an *Owiki* myth in which a

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[424]

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body became eagle down and was wafted upwards is psychologically of the type which might serve as basis for a rite of this kind. If the descendants of the person to whom this had happened had dramatized the incident at subsequent deaths, a custom analogous to the one here described would have arisen. 575 766 424 [773]

DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When possible, it takes place on the day following death, but as many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the performance of the rite just described. Another reason for postponement is the absence of near relatives; if they can be summoned within four or five days, the funeral may be delayed until their arrival. There is always endless discussion concerning the exact details; all relatives and members of the ancestral family take part, though the wishes of a son, brother, or other near kinsman are usually followed. In this, as in so many points of Bella Coola ritual, an influential chief often overrules the desires even of those who are more closely related to the deceased. 764 [796] [554]

Heralds announce the hour chosen,[8] usually about noon, and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even strangers being welcome. Women wail dolorously, and another indication of the occasion is the bundles containing clothing, cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once, with a stone; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed and a hole made in one of the front corners of the house, through which the man throws out the stone. The women redouble their lamentations as an old woman, previously asked to do so, lights a bundle of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and climbs through the opening carrying this. No request has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong men, especially [203] [609]

[8]This is done at present, even after the carrying away of the "body." In former times it was omitted when the corpse was secretly buried by the *sisaek*. [178]

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764 friends of the deceased, pick up the coffin and carry it through the hole. In former times it was frequently difficult to obtain [766] pall-bearers for a slave or friendless person on account of the [784] taboos to which a person performing this service was subject. [761] If a dead person should be taken through a doorway, others using it would soon follow the corpse to the next world. For the same reason, a body must never be moved across the central line of a house; the passage is, therefore, made from the side where it happens to be lying. As soon as the corpse has been taken through, the removed planks are quickly replaced. Mourners and guests stream out through the doorway and follow the coffin, some of them carrying the bundles containing part of the goods of the deceased. Meanwhile the pall-bearers follow the woman with the torch to the cemetery, taking care to carry their burden so that it faces the direction [761] in which they are going; if a dead person is allowed to look backwards, he will beckon some relative to accompany him and the one so summoned will soon die.

There is a cemetery near every village, usually fifty to a hundred yards behind the row of houses in a place from which the heavy timber has been cleared. On arrival, the pall-bearers set down their burden close to the spot where the guide has placed her flaming bark on the ground. The personal possessions of the deceased are likewise deposited near the fire, which is kept alight by female relatives throwing on it small quantities of the dead person's clothing and utensils. The near kinsmen of the deceased choose the exact site of the grave, which must never be dug before the bringing of the corpse. [423] There is no ownership of plots within the cemetery, so that the hole can be made wherever desired. A favourite location is close to the grave of a mother, father, or other near relative, but this is optional; bones are sometimes uncovered when digging, and in that case earth is thrown in once more and a new site selected. There are no professional grave-diggers, [767] nor are arrangements made in advance for men to perform this duty, but friends, especially strong young men, are willing to

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764 grave carrying a spruce bough in his hand. He touches with it the edge where he is standing, then, in sunwise order, the east, south, and west margins. This circuit is repeated four times and the branch tossed away to westward. This essential [774] ceremony is based on a belief that the lives, or perhaps the spirits, of the grave-diggers have been drawn from them into the grave and are in danger of being pressed down by the coffin. Should this occur, they would have short lives. The spruce branch enables the supernatural elements to leave the cavity and return to their owners who suffer no ill effects. Anyone, other than a grave-digger, can perform this rite.

The coffin is now lifted into the grave, care being taken that the corpse faces east. As already described, it is in a squatting position with haunches almost on the ground. Boards have been prepared in advance, and with these the grave-diggers make a roof-like covering, placing at each corner [775] a stone weighing from ten to fifteen pounds, to prevent the ghost from returning to trouble the survivors. Earth is thrown in on top of the boards, and as it falls the wailing breaks out dolorously in a final crescendo of mourning. [766] If a chief has been buried, his fellows sometimes sing a *xe·tla* [533] song. At this time it is proper for one or more chiefs to rise and speak. No one is required to do so, nor is there any rule 537 as to the order in which they make their remarks. The first 764 speaker is usually a prominent man related to the survivors, though seldom a son, brother, or other near relative of the deceased. A speech is generally addressed in part to the spirit of the dead person, telling it where to go; in part, to the mourners. For a dead child, emphasis is laid on the fact that although he did not live long enough to be incorporated into his ancestral myths on earth, this will be done for him in his future home. In conclusion, an appeal is often made to [775] *Alquntäm*, under the name of *Smaialotla*, to take pains that [773] the spirit of the dead is given its rightful place in *Nusmät·a*, in the section where its first forbears were created, and whither the spirits of its dead ancestors have returned since the beginning of time.

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764 are never disturbed, being considered, in some vague way, "bad." The tools used for digging the grave are left standing upright in the loose earth, an action for which no explanation can be given by the Bella Coola. When these various rites have been performed, the funeral party returns to the village and disperses.

766 845 At present, interment is the customary method for disposing of the bodies of all except twins, whose bodies are placed in trees. Formerly, other means were sometimes employed, as 764 they still are occasionally. Instead of inhumation, a coffin 178 was frequently placed on a scaffold close behind the deceased's house. Whenever another relative died, planks were laid across, above the first box, and the new one deposited on these, so that in time the scaffold grew to resemble a house-like structure with many compartments. In the last century a certain shaman, *Ǎskankots* by name, is said to have pointed out that corpses were frequently carried off by wolves, *snuuq*, and other animals. For this reason he persuaded the people to inter their dead.

764 Somewhat similar to this practice was the placing of corpses in trees. Until the last few years this was sometimes done with poor children; formerly, it was not unknown even for chiefs. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that the coffin containing the body of his grandfather, a chief, was placed in the crotch of a tree where no rain could penetrate. This means of disposal was probably never habitual. Even at the present time, the corpse of a dearly loved child is occasionally placed above, instead of under the ground. If the parents desire to do this, they erect in the cemetery a carved figure of one of their crests and deposit the coffin on top of it. This is, of course, a graphic representation of the deceased's origin myth and symbolizes the way in which the dead person has become associated with it.

According to several of the older men, cremation was practised by the Bella Coola for some time after the first settlement of the earth. A fire was built outside the house and the body

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thrown on it. One rather philosophic old man suggested that in this way the soul could easily return to *Nusmät·a*. It is possible that this means of disposal was carried out in former times, but no informant had actually seen it practised. The Bella Coola state that cremation is carried out by the Kitlobe[28] and the Carriers. On the morning after a burning, young men of the former tribe rush to the spot and smear their faces with the semi-charred bones, amid much shouting. The Carriers are said to stand with their bodies inclined over the burning corpse and to smear on their faces any grease exuded from it. The accuracy of these statements is very doubtful, and can have no bearing on the reputed practice of cremation among the Bella Coola. 764 764 829

The bodies of rich or poor, chiefs, commoners, or slaves, all are buried in a similar manner though with differences in the complexity of ritual. Nor is any different method practised for criminals, murdered people, or those committing suicide. It is believed that in case of self-destruction the body cannot separate into its elements and reach *Nusmät·a*; that part which becomes the ghost is able to go to the land below, but neither spirit nor life can ascend. According to one man, who may, however, have been affected by Christian influence, this is because *Ālquntäm* decrees the length of life and any wilful shortening is insulting to him. Suicide is rare among the Bella Coola and four cases only were heard of. One woman killed herself in shame at having accidentally set fire to a village, another because her husband was unduly jealous, and two men through bladder stricture. 766 762 [775]

On the whole, Bella Coola methods for disposal of the dead have altered but little since the coming of the white man. The change from sub-aerial exposure to interment was probably not due to foreign influence although the introduction of metal shovels has facilitated the digging of graves and probably hastened the movement. A change in posture has, however, taken place. In former times, a corpse was always buried 177 764

[28] If not at present, at least within the memory of elderly people.

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and recompense to funeral assistants is usually deferred until 764
that time. Such was often true even in former years, although 431
poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the 556
express purpose of publicly rewarding those who had helped
to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony
of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and
was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any con- [575]
venient ceremony, such as a non-sacred *sisaok* dance. As [796]
repeatedly mentioned, when the people have been called to-
gether for a ceremony, advantage is often taken of the gathering
to settle debts or to perform rites of an entirely different nature.
It is probable that the summoning of guests solely to witness
the payment of helpers was always unusual; at present it never
occurs. On those occasions when a body was buried in secret [766]
after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the crest, the
goods of the deceased were deposited as usual in the cemetery.
Those who carried them were the ones who had performed the
secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking
articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the
gifts as reward for the hidden rite without exposing the
subterfuge.

Another type of ceremonial taking place after a funeral is 764
the cleansing from the contamination of death of near relatives 783
of the deceased, and of those who have handled the corpse. If
spring salmon or olachen are running, pall-bearers must not go
near the river for ten days, or twenty according to some infor- [825]
mants, after taking a body to the grave. They have become
tainted with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the
river bank, would poison the salmon. Unwillingness to become
affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly,
friendless slave being carried out to the cemetery by some old
women who covered him with boards. The taint on grave-
diggers cannot be removed, but automatically lapses after ten
days.

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife
whose consort has passed away. It is believed that *Sā-lma* [776]

775 dred yards away, rapidly drew near the hunter along the trail. He raised his musket and stepped aside, but though the sound went past him down the path, he could see nothing. Terrified, he realized that he had been near two ghosts, and rushed back [756] to the village. A shaman was called who informed him that he had met his dead father's sister and another relative, both of whom were hungry. The hunter, too weak from fright to help himself, watched the shaman light a fire and throw on it [755] a considerable amount of food and goods. Finally, he ripped the hunter's shirt from his back and threw it into the flames. Consequently, no harm resulted from this experience.

Ghosts, like all other supernatural beings, can, of course, control their powers so that their appearance does not injure a beholder. A few years before 1922 a certain *Qaxolān·i*, whose ancestral name was *Lo·qwa·t*, was encamped at *Saskwanuts* on the Labouchere Channel side of King Island. At dusk a woman came to his fire and proceeded to warm her cape. He recognized from her green face that she must be a ghost and boldly asked her what she wanted.

"I have been searching for mussels," she replied, "but without success."

In an instant she vanished and *Qaxolān·i* experienced neither good nor evil from this apparition. The Bella Coola say that this being may not have been a ghost as he had thought, [776] but was perhaps one of the under-sea dwellers who have somewhat the same appearance.

Since ghosts, like other supernatural beings, are believed to possess both wisdom and power, it might be thought that they would be invoked frequently. Instead, death has altered their character to such an extent that they are avoided and 756 kept at a distance. The only time that an appeal is made to 775 a ghost is when a young person dies without apparent reason and the survivors wish to learn the cause. The body is buried 787 with a long cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and [766] undyed cedar-bark projecting from its mouth and stretching to the surface. The relative desiring information summons to his house several shamans whose powers have been obtained

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754 in a skirmish by the Carriers, one of their women mutilated a body by poking out the eyes. The corpses were rescued and [727] a Bella Coola with secret knowledge dropped into the eye sockets some potent medicine. As the corpses rotted, the murderers began to suffer pains, and the woman who had poked out the eyes lost her sight. As a blind, old woman, she had been seen by several men with whom the matter was discussed.

To Cause the Death of a Murderer (three means)

(1) Two women were murdered at Kimsquit in 1915. 754 Before they were buried, an elderly Bella Coola put a secret 682 medicine on the back of the neck of each so that the murderer [766] would die from a disease located there. Within eight months, a Rivers Inlet man succumbed to a deep sore at the back of the neck, and it was assumed that he must have visited Kimsquit unseen and perpetrated the double murder.

Medicines like this and the preceding are widely known, but it is sorcerers who specialize in using them.

(2) When a man dies suddenly and murder is suspected, [766] although the perpetrator is unknown, place the corpse within an old, hollow spruce log. As it rots, needles and dirt enter the flesh and at the same time the body of the murderer becomes lacerated and full of sores. This method was employed [695] during the lifetime of an informant and caused the death of the suspected murderer, whose guilt was thereby accepted as proved.

(3) Bury the victim's body with a toad in its mouth and [766] the murderer will soon die.[4]

To Kill 754

Lift a corpse from the ground and point it at one or more individuals. This causes their death in the near future.

[4]This information was obtained from one informant only; details were unavailable, and confirmation from others could not be secured.

*575 the hair from his head. After various rites which prove that
796 the Cannibal actually possesses peculiar power, he is calmed
781 and songs are sung describing what he saw aloft, and the
[787] dangers from which he escaped. The uninitiated shiver sympathetically, marvel at his valour, and anticipate with mixed feelings the time when they too may be privileged to have similar experiences. Or they may witness the killing of one of their fellow-villagers by disembowelling, and his restoration to life. They know the victim; under ordinary circumstances he could not endure death, hence the claim that his strength is due to the call given him by his patron is accepted as an obvious fact. The uninitiated never suspect that they are victims of an elaborate deception. At all times the *kukusiut* are eager to
[766] make known their own perils, and if it happens that a member
[761] of the society dies while in concealment, his corpse is buried secretly. The explanation given is that he has succumbed to some of the dangers to which *kukusiut* are exposed, a fiction readily believed in view of the absence of the usual funeral rites.

*575 Though it is common knowledge that the ability of a *kusiut*
778 to perform any extraordinary feat has its source in the per-
787 formance of the same feat by his supernatural patron, yet it is equally well known that his specific power has been brought
424 to this earth and is located in one particular spot. An ancestor must in some way have come in contact with the patron, and at that time his *kusiut* name, carrying with it the prerogatives of supernatural patronage and of dancing on this earth, was deposited for safe-keeping in a repository, *nuskāsiutsta* (also called *nusxi'ipsta*), by the supernatural woman *Ano'likwolsaix*. Each repository is thought of as a cave, or hollow, beneath a large tree, a rock, or other distinctive natural object; to obtain his power a *kusiut* initiate must go there, actual contact with his patron being unnecessary. Every *kusiut* prerogative has its
[776] repository and in each of these is *Ano'likwolsaix*; she is one, yet capable of being simultaneously in many hundred spots, corresponding to the many hundred *kusiut* prerogatives. Her

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 781 796 a woman about sixty years of age, vividly recalled her fears when she, a young woman, gave her first performance. It was the Dance of *Winwina* (II, p. 187), in which she had to call out loudly when a large number of uninitiated persons, including Carrier Indians, were present. One of the marshals was her great-uncle and he had carefully taught her what she was to say. A few minutes before the time for her announcement he came to where she lay hidden in an enclosure behind the fire:

"Do you see your relatives here?" he said. "Look at your father, your mother, and your uncles. If you fail to say what you are expected to say, they will all die in a few weeks, and so will you. Be bold!"

The woman asserted that it was the most terrifying experience in her whole life because, though she knew there was [688] deception in the rites, she also knew the power of the society and that the threat of death in case of error was no idle one. She was so frightened that she forgot the carefully learnt words and it required the prompting of the hidden marshal to get her through the ordeal.

But once the first rite has been successfully negotiated, it is a proud day for the novice. He feels himself a real *kusiut* and glories in his superiority over his former associates. For the rest of the season he, like everyone else who has performed a dance, must attend every rite. Energetic novices sometimes give their dances on two, or even three, successive years, though usually a man allows five or six to elapse between displays.

*575 ● 766 [533] If X should die during the year's interval between his initiation and his first dance, he is secretly buried by his fellow *kukusiut* without the customary mourning rites, and with no uninitiated persons present at the grave. His song, if one has been composed for him, is sung softly, and he is interred adorned with his collar of dyed cedar-bark. During the next ceremonial season, that at which he should have danced, it is necessary for a brother, or other near relative, to receive a call since it is felt that a dance once begun must be completed,

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and the patron shifts his protection to the substitute. Non-members are told that the death was due to one of the many dangers connected with the society. 575* 766

It is said that, in former times, the *kukusiut* sometimes held a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discontinued. In 1922, however, memorial songs were sung for dead *kukusiut*, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to prohibition of the potlatch. 575* 769 533 177

The Ritual of Specific Dances

General Observations about the Dances

A detailed description of various *kusiut* dances can now be given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference between them that each will require a separate account, although considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning in connection with the first dance those features common to all. The initial performer is always he who has the prerogative of seeing the supernatural canoe which comes from the Land of the Salmon to visit *Nusqulxwaista*. Several *kukusiut* have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so. Thenceforth there is no order for different dances; the marshals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does so without conflicting with another. The first dance described is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *kusiut* season. 575* 796* [424] [776]

The Dance of *Noākynim*[11]

The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the September moon is full there starts from the Land of the Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *Noākynim*, commanded by a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly 773 824 825

[11]Cf. Boas, p. 60.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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who have gone aloft and never returned,[11] and of course increasing the fear of the uninitiated. They then go back to X's home where a marshal speaks, asking all to keep silence so that they will be able to hear X when he returns from the land above. No noise is permitted during his absence, even the discharge of muskets being forbidden. The man who carries the rope from which X escaped always receives a call on this night, because the supernatural beings have seen the important part he has played in the rite, and his patron recognizes it in this way. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated and, accordingly, the rope-holder is some *kusiut* who wishes to have a call. After the usual curing,[12] one song is composed for the rope-holder, and sung very softly, since the night's ceremony is termed *Alolipsumy*, "The Actionless Night," or *Nuxstimut*, "The Silent Night." The uninitiated believe that the *kukusiut* are filled with woe and foreboding at the fate before X. It is early morning before they disperse. 575* 796* 787 [184]

The next day, *nusiutälsap* for the rope-holder, the usual ritual is omitted since the pretence of grief and fear must still be preserved. Thus the necessary wood for the rope-holder's masks is cut silently. The collar and rope from which X escaped are hung on the wall of his house, and when a herald summons the *kukusiut* during the evening, he bids them assemble to watch over these objects. Although a second song, composed during the day, is practised for the rope-holder, it is done so softly that the uninitiated from neighbouring houses imagine that the *kukusiut* are really brooding over their loss. The only sound that reaches them is an occasional *koip*, accentuating their fear. After the customary distribution of work and food the *kukusiut* disperse. 575* 796*

On the morrow, the rope-holder's *gotlas*, the uninitiated are summoned, because it is assumed that members of the [787]

[11] If a Cannibal dies during his period of concealment he is buried secretly. The uninitiated are told that his power enabled him to cross a yawning chasm in the land above, but then it failed him, so that he was unable to return to his friends. [766] [772]

[12] This consists of the frenzied beating of sticks, repeated four times. [761]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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telling them of his adventures, and presently they begin to sing the song, as if they had just learnt the theme from X. Frequently the deception is increased by X first learning the song and repeating it to the singers in a voice sufficiently loud for the uninitiated to hear. The theme of this, and every other song used for Cannibals, is of the land above and the dangers which X has survived. The singers add new facts and information to vary the monotony, but the subjects usually described are:

The flat land above with its many trails and the river that flows through it.

The gale constantly raging there which has blown the hair from X's head and the dirt from his body.

The trail across a yawning chasm over which his supernatural strength enabled him to leap. If a Cannibal dies when in concealment, the *kukusiut* bury the corpse secretly and tell the uninitiated that his power failed him on the other side of the abyss so that he was unable to return.

Alquntäm under his various names.

How his patron helped him to escape the *Alskam*, "They of the Huge Jaws," evil beings who tried to kill X by sucking him into their gaping mouths.

The tide-flats which are found at the edge of the flat land above.

The kindly being *Sinawukälälum*, who gave him the necessary power to recross the chasm. The uninitiated believe that unless a Cannibal meets this being he will be unable to return.

No one song for any Cannibal contains references to all these beings and events, but it is on these that the singers draw for their themes, always altering and adding to produce a fine effect.

On this occasion X does not dance,[*] and the uninitiated are soon expelled. As the *kukusiut* are eating, one marshal after another praises X for what he has done, and gives the most solemn warnings to all as to the necessity of completing

[*]There is difference of opinion on this point.

J: McDowell E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEB

424 *sunly he begins to grunt, and calls the name of either a man*
*575 *or a woman. The person so designated must take the per-*
*796 *former's hands, thus assimilating his power, and in his turn*
begins to shake and grunt, amid the laughter of all. Presently
787 *the "gift" is returned, and later passed to another recipient.*
Sometimes a modest woman shakes her head instead of her
831 *hips, to the intense amusement of the audience. After some*
522 *time the owner draws his power to himself and the main cere-*
[796] *mony of the evening proceeds. It is said that the supernatural*
beings above perform circuits.

The Death of a *Kwiat*

*575 *A detailed description of kwiat dances and ritual has now*
●766 *been given, but certain special features still remain. One of*
*796 *these is the method of disposal of the body of a dead member*
987 *of the society. In dances which are completed in four days,*
there is little likelihood of the performer's death, but this is
by no means uncommon during the long seclusion of a Cas-
cibal for example. In this case there is no wailing, and the
death is concealed from the uninitiated, sometimes even a wife
being kept in ignorance of her husband's decease. A mask
representing the person of the dead man is hung in the house
behind the fire as a constant reminder of what must be done.
From the ceremonial point of view, the serious aspect lies in
the fact that a call has come which has not been sent back, and
which cannot be sent back by the receiver. The moieties
discuss the matter and agree that it must pass to some kwiat,
a near relative of the deceased, who is informed of the decision
and does not dare refuse, even if he should wish to do so. After
a delay of two or three days, the body is taken secretly to the
grave and buried, while the kwiatsir sing the dead person's
song. This causes the call to shift to the chosen relative who
completes the ceremony in due course. In the case of a
Cascibal, for example, a considerable amount of time is al-
lowed to elapse, and meanwhile the uninitiated are told that
the kwiatsir are still waiting and watching for his return.

Schoolcraft E-9 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

When all hope has been abandoned, they are summoned and the relatives complete the ceremony, doing only that part of it left undone by the original recipient of the call. The principle is the same as that described when a novice dies, that someone must finish the rite. This aspect of the *hactsa* ceremonial is still preserved unconsciously as the winter found to his cost. It was proposed that he be formally initiated into the society, but this was not allowed on the ground that he would not be present the following winter to complete the rites necessitated by the coming of the call.

575* 796* 766 787 [23]

The Final Rite

The commencement of the *hactsa* season is regulated by the coming of *Nuskymas*, but its conclusion is a matter of arrangement. By February the number of *hakaxtsa* wishing to dance has become negligible and the marshals decide to terminate the ceremonial season. It must be remembered that an enclosure has been built in every house where an important *hactsa* dance has taken place, and that as long as these are in existence the uninitiated have not been allowed to live in these houses. The social life of the community has accordingly been profoundly disturbed. Of course several dances may have taken place in a single dwelling, but even allowing for that, the fact remains that the uninitiated have been forced to dwell temporarily in perhaps only one or two houses. The most obvious mark of the end of the ceremonial season is the destruction of these enclosures.

575* 796* 791 784

A few nights after the last *nakawas*, the herald summons the *hakaxtsa* to the house in which it took place. They sit down but the usual drumming is omitted. Presently sticks are distributed and one of the singers takes his place to lead in the customary funeral keening. But before he raises his horn, one of the marshals, or another *hactsa* with ability in that respect, steps to the centre of the house and spits vocally in all directions, his aim being to deluge the house and spectators with a spray of saliva. Then the singer leads the keening of

575* 796* 787 784

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] 599*
you are the pay of mothers, | you commited mother, | you are spilt(d), you women 576

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] 578
who pretend to be virtuous(s). | Alas(!)! | I am ashamed, | contrite I am free(s).

[illegible]

B [illegible] | [illegible] | you [illegible]*
Exactly similar | to the little boy's nose | so that of the round headed

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
([illegible]). | Alas! | I am ashamed, | contrite I am free.

[illegible]

C The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(a) This differs from most Bella Coola songs in that Gon was an unmarried mother, not a faithless wife. She was held up to scorn by the men of Kitamgaris and this song composed for her by a certain Bilqanu. [841]

(b) Recorded on song VII D 30a, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pelkey.

(c) It is said that women, even of slave blood, used to endeavour to increase their importance in the eyes of their children by boasting, falsely, of ancestral history. [554]

(d) A term of opprobrium, difficult to translate. It is said to imply slave ancestry, but is more probably a mere epithet, referring to the female organs. [195]

(e) This is addressed to women in general.

(f) An expression of pain or scorn, used under all circumstances. [192]

(g) The chorus is here changed as if it were Gon herself speaking. This is a common device in all kinds of songs.

(h) Qalcat was supposed to be the father of Gon's child.

Mourning Songs

Mourning songs excel all other Bella Coola compositions in length, complexity, and wealth of detail. Especially those composed for mighty chiefs contain numerous references to the ancestral history of the deceased and mention incidents referred to in origin myths, a source of pride to the survivors and of envy to those who listen. 599* [765] [764]

Song Used for Qaat when Mourning Mr. Gon, Qatsmalit

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Why has my son done evil? (Gon, ye who are residents of foreign lands!)

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEb Bellacoola NEb

C *Wa-ciplalhwa-ciplalya* I fear the coming	*ala-ciplalhwa-nuxalai* figure(s),	*yun ilcwa'cyaxalalai* hail *Ina'alala*	533*

yun Ilgwanlaxwalai
Ilgwanlaxw(?).

(a) This song was used during the *Ixcitat* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of an infant into the society. The full ritual was not performed on that occasion, and it was impossible to learn the proper procedure. The neophyte's person is *Ina'alala Ilgwanlaxw*, whose prerogatives are usually Scratch or Breaker dances, but *Anakalamatx* has neither of these prerogatives. [176]

(b) Recorded as song VII D 49, National Museum of Canada, trio, Reuben Schooner, Pete Charlie, and Jim Pollard, the last-named acting as conductor. This song was composed by Reuben Schooner.

(c) The chorus is worded as if the neophyte were speaking to the unnatural whose cooks he has just left.

(d) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions.

(e) This refers either to supernatural power or to some object infused with it.

(f) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions. The meaning of the whole is obscure, although the implication is that the dancer now knows everything having, figuratively, found upon the supernatural.

(g) More accurately, the memorial figure; the meaning is obscure.

(h) The dancer's person.

Ixcitat MOURNING SONGS

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575*
[166]

Several prominent *Ixcitat* died during the spring and summer of 1923. Memorial rites of the usual nature were held, but in addition several *Ixcitat* mourning songs were composed and used in their honour during the next ceremonial season. When a relative was initiated, his song contained numerous references and words of the type normally restricted to mourning songs. Such a combination may occasionally have taken place in former times, but the present comparatively common usage is due to the difficulty of holding regular potlatches. In such case the *Ixcitat* rites were abbreviated, and no description of the proper ceremonial was obtained. The following are examples of combined *Ixcitat* and mourning songs: [177] 533*

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The ashes of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the column. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be. 764 [301] [823] [766] [567] [775]

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they choose themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they cleave four small trees and sway through the clubs, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, choosing new trees every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones. 765 783 [775] 765 [302]

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or oolachen. Widow and widower choose themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their children are considered outcasts, and must not fall on any person. [262] [828] [822]

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relatives invite the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this could the mourning, and that it was "the same as giving away the house of the deceased." 765 556

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to 773 171

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without hesitation.

THE PROFESSION OF UTTERING A DRONING CRY

At the appearance of masked figures representing supernatural beings, whether in *susaok* or *kusiut* dances, many of the women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents. Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women were given by *Alqutām*, or acquired in other ways, the right to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously described, many of the first women possessed this privilege, which is accordingly common at the present time. A name of this type is usually confirmed in girlhood, sometimes even in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One of these names is *Nunuqwelelslaiyen-a*, which has reference to the blue-green sheen of some abalone-shell brought from the east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incumbent to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of time, *Smaoua* of Kimsquit married *Tlālwaitl*, the daughter of a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kimsquit.

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quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type.

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly validated before she can function. One of these is *Stlxwaxwak-nimän·a*, another is *Łə'yə*. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditized. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to ripen the berries.

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[551]
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[532]
[789]

"Get ready to pick red elderberries [or whatever species is ripe] tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. As far as could be learnt, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker; obedience seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared.

[688]
[183]

THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring validation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors confirmed as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal on them of professional names. At the present time, it is

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ciety. These are given several times, serving to recall the 533
ceremonies in which the chief took part during his life. At 575
intervals, the new song is repeated and *sisaok* members of the 766
audience join in as they become familiar with the words. Frequently one or more relatives of the deceased dance in his [535]
stead during the singing. The details of this rite, especially of the songs used at it, differ considerably according to the actions of the person during life; if a mighty chief, the donor of many potlatches, this fact is described in the song, whereas only an incident from the ancestral myth can be used for a young *sisaok*. If some of his female relatives are professional [767]
wailers, they function during the ceremony. In all circumstances, the rite aims to comfort the grieving kinsmen, an end which it usually achieves.

As already described, *sisaok* ceremonial was in a state of 575
transition at the time of the coming of the white man. Pre- 766
vious to that date, a spectacular funeral prerogative had been 177
adopted from Rivers Inlet,[4] which has since been claimed by a 424
number of *sisaok*. All the Bella Coola know of this ceremony, [178]
and most of them desire to perform it at the death of a dearly loved relative; at the present time this is possible owing to the slight regard paid to prerogatives, but it is certain that a few years ago it would have been forbidden to most people, and that it was never a universal Bella Coola rite.

When this rite is performed, the corpse is allowed to remain 575
in its coffin for at least one night after the day on which 766
Mutakila came and the *sisaok* songs were sung. Meanwhile 532
the carpenters have prepared an imitation body, usually of rags on a light framework, and a wooden representation of the deceased's crest. Since this figure is to come through the roof and carry aloft the corpse, stout hooks are attached to its feet. In theory, the bird or animal disguise used by the first ancestor

[4] One old Bella Coola stated that this prerogative was obtained during his own lifetime from a Rivers Inlet chief who moved to Tal'ds. It is impossible to state accurately when this ritual was adopted by the Bella Coola, though it is unquestionably of recent origin.

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764 friends of the deceased, pick up the coffin and carry it through
the hole. In former times it was frequently difficult to obtain
[766] pall-bearers for a slave or friendless person on account of the
[784] taboos to which a person performing this service was subject.
[761] If a dead person should be taken through a doorway, others
using it would soon follow the corpse to the next world. For
the same reason, a body must never be moved across the
central line of a house; the passage is, therefore, made from
the side where it happens to be lying. As soon as the corpse
has been taken through, the removed panks are quickly
replaced. Mourners and guests stream out through the door-
way and follow the coffin, some of them carrying the bundles
containing part of the goods of the deceased. Meanwhile the
pall-bearers follow the woman with the torch to the cemetery,
taking care to carry their burden so that it faces the direction
[761] in which they are going; if a dead person is allowed to look
backwards, he will beckon some relative to accompany him
and the one so summoned will soon die.

There is a cemetery near every village, usually fifty to a hundred yards behind the row of houses in a place from which the heavy timber has been cleared. On arrival, the pall-bearers set down their burden close to the spot where the guide has placed her flaming bark on the ground. The personal possessions of the deceased are likewise deposited near the fire, which is kept alight by female relatives throwing on it small quantities of the dead person's clothing and utensils. The near kinsmen of the deceased choose the exact site of the grave, which must never be dug before the bringing of the corpse.
[423] There is no ownership of plots within the cemetery, so that the hole can be made wherever desired. A favourite location is close to the grave of a mother, father, or other near relative, but this is optional; bones are sometimes uncovered when digging, and in that case earth is thrown in once more and a new site selected. There are no professional grave-diggers,
[761] nor are arrangements made in advance for men to perform this duty, but friends, especially strong young men, are willing to

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undertake the task and bring with them tools for the purpose. 764 When the location has been chosen, they start their work [767] without further instructions, taking care that the corpse shall face east. It is said that this is done because the sun rises in that quarter, a statement that is probably a mere rationalization. Graves are usually about five feet deep, so that the digging requires some little time, especially in winter when the ground is frozen. All the young men are willing to help and relieve one another at intervals. Meanwhile the women are squatting on the ground near the coffin, some of them throwing objects on the fire, and all wailing intermittently in a high-pitched, tuneless sob into which a mourner sometimes inserts words as if her agony had overcome her.

"Please return whence you came," moans one woman, while another sobs out:

"Perhaps you were unhappy with us and wanted something we could not give you on earth."

The sun sent down the people of *Sinxl* and *Snulk·tl*, who [773] accordingly regard that being as their crest. Mourners of those villages, as well as other individuals to whom the sun stands in the same relationship, are accustomed to address him, saying:

"Please increase your light to guide the way. Our child returns to you."

One woman, whose relatives had been killed by jealous rivals owing to their success in giving potlatches, prayed:

"Come no more. Those for whom you gave light have gone; henceforth shine only whither they have departed."

In some cases such doleful lamentations are mere lip service, but they often express very real grief at the loss of a friend or relative. It is also felt that such sympathy affords comfort to the mourning kindred.

As the grave grows deeper, the relatives keep measuring it and the coffin to insure a close fit and avoid unnecessary digging. As soon as it is ready, an elderly man who has been requested to perform the rite, steps to the north side of the

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*556 messengers may be marked with the same ritual as at a pot-
769 latch, but there is always curtailment of *sisaok* features if rites of that nature are to be omitted.

Meanwhile other preparations have not been neglected.
424 Among the prerogatives embodied in many origin myths, is that of the presence of professional mourners at memorial
*556 potlatches. If mention of these is made in the ancient tradi-
769 tion of the donor's ancestral family, it is a matter of pride for
[767] him to do as was done by his ancestors in the distant past. For example, it may be recorded that at the memorial potlatch of some ancient chief, a number of his younger relatives appeared with red paint smeared upon their faces, with finely chopped undyed cedar-bark in the hair, or with bands of the
[765] same material across their heads. *Ālquntām* had decreed that they should thus exhibit their grief, and the descendants of the chief have since had the privilege of doing likewise. Such signs of mourning may not, however, be worn without proper validation. It is only the members of the ancestral family who are entitled to don these marks, and among them, only those whose right has been confirmed by the distribution of presents. This is a masculine professional prerogative, known
[562] by the same name as the feminine one of uttering a droning cry to which it is closely akin. The right is ratified at memorial potlatches, and the donor of one is glad to do so as a means of displaying his own wealth as well as of making plain the glory of his ancestors to whom the one being commemorated has
[767] returned. There is no mention of professional mourners in
[171] the myths of many families, nor are they ever as important in Bella Coola as among the Bella Bella and other tribes of the outer coast. If such belong to the family of the donor, he notifies the incumbents and asks them to be ready, although, eager to act, they seldom wait for such an invitation.

533 The most difficult task is the preparation of mourning songs
*556 at which the singers toil for several weeks. The donor first
769 invites them to his house and recounts the myths from which they must be composed. These may include several traditions

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This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail in vol. I, chap. VII, but mention of it here has been necessary to explain the composition of the ancestral family. 582 [614]

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to marry foreign women in order that they, or their children, might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a trend towards exogamy has arisen from the same reason which is supposed to have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said that this practice was initiated by a certain *Potlas*, father of a man about sixty years old in 1923. White influence probably had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its wide adoption has been made more easy by the establishment of peaceful conditions on the coast. [554] [177]

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestry, it is unlikely that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These are of two kinds: names and land. 614 554

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bella Coola nomenclature is that each name must have originated in connection with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable to apply a casual designation to a child. At a person's death his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were all given designations by *Alquntam*; these have been carefully handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying 551 [768] [553] [773] [428]

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597 736 Ignorant of his ancestral names, and lacking the means to validate them even if someone should tell them to him, owing no hunting-grounds, the unfortunate infant is little better than a slave. This is almost unthinkable except in the extremely rare contingency of a child being left without relatives.

Although public opinion does not impel kindly treatment to orphans left without kindred, yet many Bella Coola have charitable dispositions and it is not unknown for a family to adopt and tend an infant without reason or hope of reward. One old man mentioned how his mother and a Chilkotin child had been born on the same day when a party of the latter had been encamped near *Nuxqalst*. A few days later they left for the interior, abandoning the infant. The grandfather of the old man chanced to pass their camp while the ashes of their fire were still warm and found the baby, whom he brought back, to be a brother to his own daughter. His wife suckled the two, giving each a breast, and treating the foundling as her own. When the boy grew into manhood, he went back to his own people, but never forgot his adopted parents. Forty years later he visited Bella Coola, bringing with him his own wife and family. The old man who related this incident recalled the manner in which the Chilkotin had instructed his children to regard him as their brother.

597 [768] Children are not the only persons to be adopted. On the death of an adult his relatives may "adopt to replace" someone who has a striking facial resemblance to the deceased. Thus, some time after the death of his sister, a certain man was in Bella Bella and saw a Bella Bella woman who closely resembled her. He desired to adopt her, and since he was a man of importance, his wish was granted. To legalize the transaction [431] he distributed valuable presents among the Bella Bella. A person so adopted does not usually change his abode, nor does [401] he lose membership in his own family; instead, he becomes a [835] member of two, with full rights to names and prerogatives in both, is addressed with the same kinship terms as if related by blood, and is likewise considered a member of the family as far as incest rules are concerned

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556 A man who is giving a ceremony of any kind can offer few greater
583 insults to his wife's relatives than omission to ask their assistance. The
578 following is a good instance of such an insult:
602 About 1900 a man and woman were married and had three children. Then the mother died, before being repurchased from her husband. In addition, the husband had assisted his wife's father when one of his younger children had died; so that it was most fitting that the wife's relatives should contribute to any ceremony given by the husband. Four years later the husband proposed to marry once more, and to have the wedding occur at a potlatch. But on the day of *xlāxtwm*, he insulted the relatives of his dead wife by failing to invite them. The cause of the feud was not disclosed, but the husband increased it by again failing to invite her family when, during the potlatch, they should have rebought her for the benefit of his young relatives about to be initiated into the ranks of the *tsāsk*. The father of the dead woman came forward uninvited with a large present for each, saying in effect:

"I, too, have a right to contribute to add prestige to my daughter and her children."

In this way he defeated the wiles of his son-in-law who had hoped to shame his father-in-law by the failure of the latter to contribute to his potlatch. The son-in-law endeavoured to excuse himself by saying that his late wife's relatives had not assisted for so long that he thought they would not wish to do so. This retort further incensed the father of the dead woman so that next day he and his wife publicly gave the donor of the potlatch $300 "to make clean where we sit."

This somewhat lengthy description has been necessary to explain the important part which the repurchase of wives plays in the lives of the Bella Coola; it is one of the fundamentals of society and is, therefore, worthy of attention.

DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

● 768 Either death or divorce can terminate marriage. The de-
[586] cease of a wife is an unfortunate affair, quite apart from the grief which it may cause her husband. Two families have been brought into peculiarly close relations through her, and now the bond itself has snapped; delicate financial arrangements have been undertaken, and it is not easy to settle these without ill-feeling, particularly if the alliance was a return marriage. If no child has been born, and no repurchasing of the wife

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carried out, her relatives are expected to return to her husband's family the goods received during the engagement and at the wedding. The matter is then settled. If the deceased has a younger sister, cousin, or other near relative, an effort is usually made to have this individual replace the dead wife.* No further goods are given, except perhaps a few to add dignity to the transference; the new wife merely replaces her dead sister and the bond between the two families continues unbroken. If the husband should die, his wife's relatives are considered honourable and endowed with the minds of chiefs if they restore to his relatives the presents which they have received. But if the wife can be remarried to one of his relatives, there is no need for this and the two families continue to enjoy the mutual strength acquired by the long period of engagement and exchange of benefits and presents.

If death takes place after the repurchasing of the wife, there is no need to return presents, since the rebuying has cancelled the expenditure by the husband. If children have been born and the woman has long become practically a member of her husband's family, she is buried by them as a matter of course, but should she die soon after marriage, her own family usually performs the obsequies.

With the passing of many years of married life, the repurchasing several times of the woman, and the birth of children, she becomes so much a member of her husband's family that his death seldom ends the arrangement. The widow is by no means a slave and usually is master of her own destiny, especially if she has children and has reached a position of eminence in the community. Since the desirability of preserving the bond between the two families is fully realized, it is accordingly customary for a widow to wed her husband's brother, or a husband his deceased wife's sister. But in each case the ritual of marriage and exchange of presents must be

*The native term emphasizes the fact that the new wife is virtually inherited by her husband.

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177 squatting, now it is customary to use the extended position.
764 It is impossible to state whether this is the direct result of white teaching, or whether the ease with which large boxes can now be made has led to interment at full length.

RITES FOLLOWING DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

968 Interment of the corpse does not end the ceremonial necessitated by a death in the community. As already described, some of the clothing and utensils of the dead person are burned during the funeral, but all are not destroyed at that time. The proportion kept for future treatment is immaterial, nor is there any established usage concerning the type of object reserved. During the days following the funeral, relatives of the deceased carefully gather his clothing, cooking utensils, rifles, and all other articles which have been his personal property or used exclusively by him. On the fourth day, these are taken to the cemetery by his immediate family, accompanied by as many of their friends as wish to show their sympathy. A fire is kindled near the grave and on it is deposited whatever can be burnt; other objects are either cast into the flames or piled near at hand (see Plate 17). It is most important that every article belonging to the deceased should be disposed of in this way. There are two reasons for this. First, it is considered indecent to use the possessions of a dead person; they would have the effect of poison on anyone doing so. Secondly, the ghost of the de-
[795] ceased receives goods that are burnt or deposited on the grave
[753] four days after the funeral. If deprived of what belongs to him, a ghost punishes the offenders by causing sickness.
178 Occasionally a new rifle, or some other treasured possession,
768 is kept by a relative or friend; this is contrary to the established custom, but is justified by considering the article to be a gift from the deceased or a memento of him. No one would accept such a legacy unless he felt sure that the dead man

entertained such kindly sentiments towards him that he would be glad to have his friend receive it.

In recent years the number of incombustible objects has increased enormously with the introduction of metal utensils, gramophones, and other things obtained from white traders. Although these are considered to be of use to the ghost, and must be carefully placed near the grave, they can be publicly exchanged for others by a relative. The sentiments expressed on such occasions are that the ghost, though aware of what is taking place, does not resent an open transfer; and that it is unnecessary to deposit the equivalent of what has been removed. There is undoubtedly a vague idea that the ghost uses, not the actual object, but its essence, which is received by the deposition. It must be emphasized that this feeling has not become crystallized to such a state that it is customary to replace goods laid on the grave with others. Such an exchange is a rare event and would cause animosity if carried out by anyone except a near relative.

Sometimes a dying person requests that a house be erected over his grave, a common Bella Bella custom. This is built immediately after the funeral and articles that cannot be burnt are placed within it instead of being piled on the ground. The sorrowing relatives may choose to erect a picket fence around the spot, but no other mark for the grave is put up until a memorial potlatch several years after death. House or fence soon falls into decay and rarely an effort is made to repair either. Nor is the grave itself disturbed. Cow-parsnips, which are much used for food, grow frequently in cemeteries, but no one would gather the shoots that rise above a grave; they are food belonging to the dead person. The white man has taught the Bella Coola how to plant apple-trees and these are often set out in graveyards, though the fruit is allowed to fall to the ground for the benefit of those interred beneath. The Bella Bella are said formerly to have replaced at intervals the coffin containing a dead person, but this seems never to have been a Bella Coola practice. Indeed, a grave is never

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Indeed, a grave is never
965 disturbed except, rarely, when it is necessary to obtain a
[789] portion of a skeleton for magical purposes. In such a case,
the coffin lid must be lifted up on the side away from the
[961] opener, so that he looks within over its upturned edge. A
person failing to obey this injunction will soon die.

968 Burning or deposition near the grave is not restricted to
the actual utensils and artifacts of the deceased. There, too,
must be laid dried salmon which a man has smoked for winter
use, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready
[964] by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person seems
indescribably indecent. In recent years, the crop, if a man
dies after tilling and sowing a field, is allowed to ripen, and
then rot unharvested. So, too, the canoe in which a body has
been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Coola are
not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is
[961] apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of
[789] death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or that
has been in contact with a corpse.

964 The rituals described above may be considered as religious
in nature; almost equally important are the social require-
431 ments of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This
556 indebtedness falls on the near relatives, though all members
of the ancestral family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite
[614] manner. If a canoe has been destroyed that did not belong
to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents
must be given to the pall-bearers, to the woman who bore the
flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered
laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way.
Failure to do so brands the relatives as misers with little respect
for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the
outlook and minds of chiefs. Consequently, even poor people
try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own
sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately,
it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which
this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has
made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death

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769 sum being used for each name, and the bills were displayed
*556 before messengers carried them to the recipients.

553 Finally, Jim Pollard took the opportunity to bestow on
425 Captain Schooner the name, *Swanhali*. This designation
[614] was the property of the donor's ancestral family and should
[622] not have been transmitted without the consent of all its members. Jim had probably informed several of them of his intention, but no objections would have been raised if he had overlooked this courtesy, since he is the only *nemit* chief among them, and the only one with determination and prestige. It was not an outright gift, since it was announced that it must be returned to the donor's family on Captain Schooner's death. Jim Pollard acted as his own announcer for this transaction, explaining that he gave the name in gratitude for the help which Captain Schooner had rendered at the death of his, Jim's, father about twenty years before. He promised that at the earliest opportunity he would give presents to validate the transmission.

769 During the lengthy distribution of money, the audience had
*556 shown unmistakable signs of weariness. It was now between 2.00 and 3.00 A.M., and as soon as Jim had finished speaking the guests dispersed quietly, though many of them gathered in groups in one another's houses to discuss what had taken place.

Captain Schooner slept late after the lengthy ceremony, but was proud and contented when interviewed about noon. He felt that what was fitting for his daughter had been performed, and was willing to take the consequences of having broken the law.

●968 Little else of note occurred in connection with Jessie's funeral. Samuel King deposited near her grave a sewing-machine which his wife had used for only a short time and Captain Schooner decided to replace this with an older one belonging to his wife. He made this exchange on the afternoon of June 30, when Samuel, in company with a number of women, was burning the rest of Jessie's clothing and possessions. Captain Schooner explained his act by saying:

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"She was my daughter, I have a right to do as I like." 761

Samuel King and the others accepted the exchange as a matter of course and made no comments. Captain Schooner took no part in the burning of his daughter's goods, this being the task of those with whom she had been living, and who accordingly knew which were hers. The fire was kindled by a married daughter of Reuben Schooner, though it could have been done equally well by any woman. On the following morning, July 1, Samuel King went with a friend to the forest and passed four times through a small spruce sapling bent into an arch. This was the last incident in the funeral rites. 763 764

Fate of the Dead

LIFE OF THE DEAD

Little need be added to the account given in vol. I, chap. 11 of the fate of those parts of a man which go at death to *Nuxalk-a*. The spirit and the life travel back the path of the deceased's ancestors from generation to generation until they reach the place where his first forefather came to earth and where his cloak, if he had worn one, floated back after his alteration to human form. When the spirit and the life of a descendant reach the spot, they change into a being having the form of the cloak, and so return to *Nuxalk-a*. The spirit and the life of one who is a member of several ancestral families visit the localities where the transformations to human shape of all his ancestors occurred. The Bella Coola believe that these two elements can assume many great forms, but they do not know whether this entails the simultaneous assumption of many shapes to comprise a composite figure, or whether the spirit and the life, which become a single entity in the case of a member of one ancestral family, become multiple for one who is a member of several. When lamenting a dead person, mention is always made of the various scenes which he will have visited, and the forms he will have assumed. At a memorial potlatch, the deceased may return as a hybrid, or as 765

accustomed to do when alive; but the workmanship is shabby and unsubstantial, sometimes even comparative. Ghosts do not act like human beings, but usually walk backwards, sometimes even on their hands, and spend much of their time playing a game resembling football with large, globular objects made of some light substance. They communicate with one another both by whistling and in a language which resembles the strangest of speech made by a temporal person. Some individuals believe that there is a supreme chief in the land of ghosts, *Mitt-istat*, who dwells like Pluto to preside over the shades. He figures in certain stories describing descents to the lower world; but many Bella Coola know nothing of his existence below, although it furnishes a plausible explanation for his coming by right to molest human beings. Like Swainson he causes blood to rush forth from the mouth and genitals of anyone whom he seizes; death follows, and a new victim has been acquired for his kingdom. The more common belief is that the villages of ghosts have chiefs like those of human beings. It is thought, indefinitely, that after a long period of time the ghosts die, and some of them may then return to this world as infants. A child born with dimples in its cheeks, which are regarded as indications of previous beatings for rings, is believed to be the reincarnation of some unknown ancestor.

At death, the ghost does not immediately appear in the land below, but remains for four days within the back room of a house corresponding in style to an ordinary Bella Coola dwelling. It is believed that one of these large houses is beneath every village* and that the dead pass straight down through the earth into it. Meanwhile the goods, burnt at the grave during the funeral, as well as those deposited beside it, have fallen through the ground and notified the ghosts that a newcomer has arrived. The wealths assemble from all directions and fight over the articles, some of which are obtained by the one who owned them during life. On the fourth

*There may be one large house, extending beneath the world like Pluto's abode; it was impossible to obtain definite information on this point.

day after the funeral, the relatives of the dead person have the remainder of his property, which passes through the earth to the ghost for whom it is intended. Clown-singers have taken their places and begin to have our music, and presently the recently deceased appears, stepping backwards from the back-room in time to the beating of sticks. He is at once surrounded by his fellows, each anxious to learn the latest news of relatives still alive. This dance is really to welcome the new arrival, and takes place irrespective of his rank. After it has been held, it is hopeless to attempt to rouse a dead person, although that has been done several times during the four days immediately succeeding death.

Only shamans are able to pass down into the land of the dead, though stories are told of inadvertent visits to it in relatively recent times. Human beings are prevented from visiting their dead relatives, but the latter, being supernatural, can come to the earth at will. They are always dreaded, and anyone who hears their whistling or their tongueless chatter returns to his house, and hopes they will pass by. Shamans can understand their speech and to them the dead explain their mission. If the relatives of a dead person have failed to have all his personal possessions, he returns to earth to inform them, through a shaman, of the omission. The house is searched for anything left out and it is burnt so once now the ghosts, though no one knows how a ghost would punish failure to give him his property. Thoughtful people, remembering the scarcity of food in the land below, frequently give presents to their dead relatives by casting small morsels of food on the side of the central fire nearest the front door, beneath which is a passage to the lower regions. The food becomes magnified as it falls down this, so that even small fragments are sufficient to feed many hungry ghosts. Since the introduction of metal stoves, it has become customary to throw food into a fire kindled for the purpose in the cemetery; the most suitable time is at dusk, although people are always afraid that spectres may be prowling around at that hour. If sufficient presents are not given

If the war had not been of long duration in which economic [727]
losses failings had been around, captives were often ran-
somed by their relatives, who came unwelcomed for the purpose
when the loss of lands had subsided. Failing this, prisoners re-
mained as slaves, the children especially growing up virtually [726]
as members of their owner's family as far as food and clothing
were concerned, though never sharing in the prestige of his
ancestral family. Torture or killing of prisoners seems to have
been a rare practice. One extremely old Kitsegukla woman
related that in her childhood she had seen a captive crucified
out on the bare rocks at the side of the room, burned there,
his corpse crucified with arrows, and allowed to die. No other
similar conditions could be obtained and it seems probable that
this must have been an unusual case. It is true that hostilities
have long ceased, but the Bella Coola have clear recollections
of other long-abandoned customs, and it is unlikely that torture
was ever a common occurrence. It is, of course, one about
which silence is to be expected, but information would have
been obtainable if the custom had been common or if it had
been one which played an important part in the lives of the
Bella Coola.

Scalps were hung on a cord and dried like salmon, then [722]
suspended as valuable trophies in the taker's house. When [721]
setting out on a war expedition, he would often cover his head
with one, holding it in position by weaving it into his hair. [721]
At a man's death, they were either inherited by his heirs or
were taken, burnt with his other possessions. It is said that
the Fort Rupert people used to tie scalps to handles to
their canoes. When the Bella Coola went to war to avenge [721]
for a murder, instead of scalping a victim, they sometimes [721]
brought back his whole head and impaled it on a stake over [721]
the grave of the person avenged. [721]

At this late period it is virtually impossible to form any [721]
opinion as to the amount of bloodshed in wars waged by the
Bella Coola. Several of the older people spoke in glowing
terms of the slaughter accomplished by their ancestors, but all

1:McIlwraith K-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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614 778 A man may claim descent from as many as eight of these groups, that is, he may be a member of eight ancestral families. Some restrictive means must have been employed to limit the choice of marriage partners, otherwise a man's membership in ancestral families would have been far greater than it is. The explanation lies in the high regard with which the members of an ancestral family esteem the prerogatives they have received from their forbears. With the marriage of the first women, their brothers were called upon to share their rights, both practical in regard to hunting territory, and ceremonial with regard to dance prerogatives, with their sisters' children. Bella Coola mythology contains no references to unwillingness on the part of the first men to do this; in fact, their own children benefited equally from the marriages of their fathers with other women. But, say the Bella Coola, after these first marriages, necessarily exogamic, men realized that it would be foolish to allow their children to marry far afield and so diffuse valuable prerogatives. It was far wiser for a man to seek as future son-in-law a youth belonging to the same ancestral family as himself or his wife. Then any resultant children would come into this world provided by both parents with common relatives, so that the child would be, as they express it, "Held close and supported by a close circle of ancestors."

582 614 [778] Bella Coola logic does not explain how marriages could have been arranged in the early generations without violating the laws of incest. The endogamic principle displayed at that time, however, has been carried out until the present day, so that a man endeavours to arrange marriages for his children with members of the same ancestral family. One of the strongest Bella Coola desires is to "make good the path" for his offspring, and this can best be done when they are born amply provided with relatives of common ancestry. There is [614] no belief in the active participation of distant ancestors in the affairs of men, yet, though incapable of clear expression, the Bella Coola feel strongly that a child is born into the companionship of its deceased relatives back to the beginning of time.

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Although guests from different tribes are sometimes invited to other ceremonials, it is at potlatches that they are essential. Since the validity of such transactions as marriages, divorces, or the assumption of professional prerogatives depends on the presence of witnesses, and since the importance of such a rite depends on the number of witnesses, a man is always eager to carry out any public performance at a potlatch when he is sure of the attention of foreigners, and the consequent wider diffusion of knowledge of what he has done. The man who has invited guests is usually willing to allow others to perform at his potlatch, since it increases the complexity and importance of the affair. It follows that no two potlatches are alike; one will contain features entirely lacking in another. Moreover, the wealth of the donor determines how many rites he himself will cause to be performed. The fundamental concept of the potlatch is the inviting of guests from abroad to witness rites in connection with an ancestral myth, especially the return of a recently deceased relative of the donor to visit the living.

At any important potlatch the following rites are carried out, and in the account of the ritual it will be assumed that these alone are taking place. If the reader bears this summary in mind, he is less likely to be confused by the complication of rites.

(1) The return of a dead ancestor to visit the living.

(2) The initiation of young men or women into the *cusad* society. This includes the validation of a *cusad* name for each, and a period of seclusion in the back-room. The initiates may either be relatives of the donor of the potlatch, or young persons whose relatives are taking the opportunity to carry out the rite in the presence of foreigners. Some of the initiates may already be members of the society, undergoing a further period of seclusion in order to increase their status by a further distribution of presents.

(3) The payment by the wife of the donor and her family of goods to "release" her from her husband. This is a legal fiction, though necessary to maintain the status of the children.

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532 622 the time the earth was settled, ought to be chief of that village. If he has been able to give the necessary potlatches to weight his possession of that name, the fact that he is the legal descendant of the first chief will add a certain amount to his prestige, but unless he has been able to do this his influence will be slight.

532 622 946 [775] Thirdly, potlatches smooth the way for the giver after death. Before the corpse of a chief is removed from the house where he has died, a speaker always announces the number of potlatches he has given and the total value of goods distributed at them. These gifts in a vague way are felt to make easy the deceased's path in the next world as they have done in the present. The feature of the potlatch, though firmly believed by some of the older people, plays a less important part in the life of the Bella Coola than might be expected.

What are the requisites for giving a potlatch?

556 [424] (1) Possession of an ancient myth, containing a name or names. Probably every Bella Coola has this requirement. A man's family may not be the proud owners of one of the ancient myths dealing with the first settlement of this earth, but they will at least own some ancient myth which they can showm by giving a potlatch. As has been said, the owner of one of the most ancient names in many cases chooses to showm one of lesser antiquity, a course which must, perforce, be done by one who lacks an origin myth. The slight feeling of deference with which these are regarded who hold the names of the first inhabitants of the earth, the mighty chiefs of old, is subordinate to the very real feeling of respect in which is held the successful giver of potlatches. The descendant of one of the first people has the potential right to chieftainship, but unless he can give potlatches he will fail to gain that eminence.

532 [554] (2) An occasion for giving a potlatch is never lacking. It consists of a number of closely associated rites, any one of which will serve as a reason for the ceremony. The most important feature, the return of a dead ancestor or ancestors to visit the living, is available to anyone at any time. The Bella

Coola say that the return of the dead "washes away grief," and unquestionably it has a comforting effect on the mind of the donor of the potlatch.

(3) Wealth. Unless a man has the necessary goods with which to make presents he cannot invite guests, no matter how important may be his ancestral myths and names. Some of this wealth he may be able to amass by his own labours, but unless he is assisted by his wife's family it is virtually impossible for him to succeed. The Bella Coola believes that a man cannot become a chief except through large payments made by a woman's family when they "rebuy" her from her husband. In other words, no man can succeed without the support of his wife. In choosing a mate a man is guided almost entirely by the ability of her family to give him financial support. In some cases an elderly couple assist a married son to give a potlatch; this custom, though considered quite proper, is not common.

(4) Supernatural assistance. To the Bella Coola this is quite as important as the preceding. One man may work very hard but his efforts are never crowned with success, whereas another man will prosper in every venture. This is due to the supernatural attributes given by the supreme god to the latter. By prayer, ceremonial cleaning, and other means, a man may increase the powers granted to him, but if these are entirely lacking, he can never hope to rise to the position of chief.

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In describing the potlatch, it will be convenient to refer to the donor as X, and assume him to be a middle-aged member of the noble society, whose name and name, though duly verified, lack importance through his previous failure to give large presents.

For a number of years X has prospered. He has amassed quantities of skins, blankets, tools, copper ornaments, clothing, canoes, baskets, dentalium shell, slaves, and other valuables.

adopted, probably as a prerogative obtained through marriage, from the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people. The diversity in ritual supports this view. There was not sufficient time for the procedure to become stabilized between the introduction of the concept and the dissolution of Bella Coola social life through the influence of the white man. It is also possible that the *tatsinam* was added to *nusk* rites from the older *a'ulk* society (I, p. 975).

Whatever may have been the history of the *tatsinam*, it provides Y with a mask, or with two, if two figures have appeared. He guards them jealously, though secretly, throughout his life and uses them only on ceremonial occasions. It is one of these masks which will be brought out if one of his family gives a dramatic representation of his return after death. A mask of this type is sometimes wild, but the legatee alters the design before using it.

A short pause follows the singing of the second, or third, song, during which some chief or chiefs may make a laudatory speech concerning Y's family history. Then the singers again sing the first song, and *nusk* members of the audience join in. Similarly, the second song is practised. These two are sung, time after time, until the *nusk* have thoroughly mastered them. When the singers consider that this has been accomplished, they call X, who communicates with the *nusk* man outside who has the whistle, and again its eerie notes are heard. Some of the uninitiated, believing that the supernatural being who gives potency to the ritual is at hand, hurriedly leave in fear. At the same time some of the *nusk* conduct to the back-room the second initiate whose acquire to be sung that night. The procedure in his case is identical with that described for Y. Usually it is considered sufficient to include two on one night, though there may be exceptions. When the songs of the last have been sung, food is distributed and the people disperse.

A few nights later the same ritual is repeated for two more initiates, who join their predecessors in the back-room. Here they spend their time in silence, the only essential being the

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556 184 ings to reward carpenters and others who had helped X prepare for his potlatch, but in Bella Coola this was usually done the following night.

556 769 535 575 [533] New comes what the Bella Coola regard as the most important feature of the potlatch.** The singers strike up one of the songs of a senior *xaxa*, perhaps a *sisi* chosen for his skill in acting. As he dances, clad in his ceremonial costume and head-dress, whistling is heard without the house. A number of *xaxa* are making the noise and they modulate it so that it appears to draw nearer and nearer. This is effected either with whistles of different sizes or by blowing harder. The dancer rushes out of the house. The whistling continues in a series of short bursts, as if a conversation were being carried on in that language. The *xaxa* or *sisi* returns, and the audience, silenced by the mystery of the affair, listens to his explanation:

"It is so-and-so," he announces, using the ancestral name of one of X's deceased relatives. "The crest has come to pay his son [or whatever relation X may be to him] a visit. I will bring him in."

While he speaks, continuous whistling is heard from without, but when he leaves the house it once more takes on the form of a dialogue. Presently he returns, followed by a masked figure in the centre of a group of members of the *xaxa* society. If the deceased's first ancestor had been an eagle, in that guise [532] the figure will appear—an eagle mask on his head, and his whole body, except perhaps the feet, covered by a large blanket thickly covered with eagle down and furnished with painted wooden wings. The dancer is usually entirely blinded by this costume, but he is guided by a number of the *xaxa* whose presence is attributed to the necessity for guarding and paying honour to the supernatural visitor. Among those who accompany him there is always a man with a whistle, the note of [533] which simulates the cry of an eagle, and this is sounded at intervals. The actor bends in imitation of a bird and shakes [532] himself, lifting his head and opening the movable beak by

**Although publication can be held without this feature.

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means of a hidden string, while the whistle sounds. Then he 556*
stoops down and hops a few steps eagle fashion. Slowly, with 769
pauses and turnings around, the figure circles the fire and
retires through the front door, always attended by a number 595
of masks. The actor displays considerable dramatic ability, 575
and the performance is strikingly effective in the large, plank-
built house, illumined only by a smoky central fire which [592]
casts flickering shadows over the intently watching audience.
The dogs, alone uninpressed by the solemnity of the occasion,
skulk to and fro.

If a whale is represented, a large wooden frame-work is [592]
carried by several men who walk inside of it. Raven, bear, or
other animals may also be used, according to the ancestral
myth of the deceased. Some of the first people came to this
earth as men, but there have always been a sufficient number
of intermarriages to permit everyone to portray some bird or
beast, obtained from the family into which an ancestor mar-
ried. A supernatural object claimed to have been seen by a
forefather can also be used on these occasions. In some cases
a composite figure is used. Such may have the head of an
eagle, a killer whale projecting from the back, and a raven on [592]
its chest. In such a case these three creatures have been
connected with the ancestry of the deceased, and his spirit is
believed to have assumed these forms. Great individual choice [184]
is allowed in such matters.

If several of X's deceased relatives are being commem-
orated, the sound of whistling is again heard from without, a
short time after the departure of the first masked figure. A
senior mask goes out, and the same ritual is repeated. This
time the masked actor represents some other bird or animal.
Three, or in some cases four, dead people are thus shown,
though, as a rule, [illegible]. The actual management of
the figures is left to the direction of the carpenters who have
made them. Often a foreign workman is employed, as a mark
of respect for his skill. In spite of all precautions there are
often delays about the final preparations, especially with regard

[556] [769] [575] [535] to a complicated figure such as a whale, and in that case an expert dancer among the guests is called upon to perform. It is announced that this is, "to make clean the road for the dead."

After each masked figure has disappeared, the sound of whistling from without grows gradually weaker, as the apparition returns whence it came. In solemn silence X takes a copper* which he has had in readiness, breaks it across his knee,* and throws it either into the fire or down on the ground in the track that the figure has taken. Then the announcer calls out loudly:

"It is for his crest.* It has 'made bone for the dead.'* Then he continues, speaking for X and using the first person:

"My heart is glad at seeing my father.* At death he returned back on the path of my family's ancestors and donned our ancient crest. He now lives in *Nuxwáit-a*, whence he came to visit us and whither he has now gone back."

[771] The significance of the throwing down of a copper is entirely unknown to the modern Bella Coola, although they still perform the ritual. In some vague way it is felt that "bone," which may imply *stability*, has been provided for the deceased. The act thus appears in the light of an offering to the dead, but this sentiment is not clearly appreciated by the participants in the rite; the present has been made *for*, rather than *to*, the one being mourned.

The copper, now valueless, is picked up by any chief and given to a poor man.

After a short interval a number of youths begin to distribute presents, provided by X, which have been placed in readiness. Gifts of equal value are given to all foreign male guests; [564] [481] [325] [436] while the women receive even less valuable. These presents

*One of the glaucous of native copper, such as were formerly beaten out and used as tokens of value by the coast tribes of British Columbia. Their employment by the Bella Coola will be described later in greater detail (I, p. 102).

*The breaking is symbolical ritual.

*That is: "For the dead man, now in form of his crest."

*Or whatever relative the deceased may have been.

are strictly non-returnable, being regarded as "eagle down,"* and having, therefore, a ceremonial significance. They validate and mark the importance of the representation just displayed. They are spoken of as having been shaken off by the dancers as he departed to return to his home above. 556* [769] [45]

If there are many *sunsi* initiates concealed within the back-room, some of them may now be called upon to dance, but usually this is reserved for the following night. Unless some of those included are going to dance, food is distributed and all disperse. [575] [535]

THE POTLATCH: THIRD DAY

This is the day when presents are given and, with the previous, is the most important of the whole ceremonial. The following are its features.

During the Day

(c) Distribution of much food, and sometimes of insults to the guests by excessive presents, or by the destruction of valuables. [577]

During the Evening and Night

(a) Dramatic representation of some object connected with X's ancestral myth.

(b) Distribution of presents by X to recompense the craftsmen who have assisted in the potlatch.

(c) Repayments by X of gifts received at previous potlatches.

(d) Giving of presents by X to some of his guests.

(e) Distribution of presents to strengthen X's name.

(f) Distribution of presents to strengthen, or establish, name for a number of young men.

(g) Dancing of the *sunsi* initiates. 556* [769] [45] 575

(h) Distribution of presents to recompense those who have [illegible]

(i) Distribution of presents to recompense those who have assisted the *sunsi* dancers.

(ee) Distribution of presents to validate the *sunsi* dances and the names thereby acquired by the initiates.

*The Bella Coola state that the Eagle down was for this is one or gone.

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in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected o the front door of the house with an opening at its base throug which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be set and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice i either case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestr myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ancest tral claims by means of paintings on the front wall of his house or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief w ished to display a totem-pole may choose to use only painting If he validates these by potlatches, they give him the same di nity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cann validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coo poles are only about 10 feet to twenty feet in height, and thoug it is possible that a few families had prerogatives entitling the to construct lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is m likely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his hou gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second po beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand beh the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even more tal. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery wh it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 46). Otherwise it remai standing until some other occupant of the house wishes, erect another in its place, when the first is pulled down or neglected.

Copper

The Bella Coola use copper for only two purposes: rarely on the ground upon which the representation of a deceas [illegible] relatives had troubles, or throwing into the fire when the figu has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make hot for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when copper is employed is so important that to obtain one of increase in value is a vital consideration for every chief.

Most of the coppers now used by the Bella Coola are non

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of their occurrence in most ancestral myths.[9] There seems to be no mythological explanation for the casting of a copper into the fire after the passing of the representation of a deceased relative, but the desire of chiefs to use them at potlatches is the result of their use under similar circumstances by their ancestors. Some ancestral myths lack reference to coppers, but their use is common to all, whether or not embodied in such. It is said to be easier for a chief to acquire coppers if they had been used by his ancestors, but this is not essential.

556* 773 [769]

When arranging for the appearance of a dead relative, the donor of a potlatch is careful either to possess a copper, or to be able to borrow one at the right moment. As soon as the masked figure has disappeared, the donor stands up, breaks or bends his copper, and throws it into the fire "to make bone for the deceased." No matter how valuable a copper may have been, it is now worthless; its value has been expended on the purpose for which it has just been employed. It lies unheeded in the flames, a valueless article belonging to no one.

556* 769

At some convenient time, either hours or days later, any chief may remove the copper and give it to a poor man, only taking care to choose an individual who has not recently received one. It is said that the gift is "to patch his canoe." It is now the poor man's property, but it has no value, since no goods have been expended for it. The new owner straightens and repairs it, if necessary by riveting on the broken pieces, thus making it ready for further use. The poor man may keep the copper for years, or it may be only a few weeks before some chief, preparing for a potlatch, offers, perhaps, $10, for it. In the old days, values were computed in slaves, canoes, salmon, and other commodities, but now in dollars. If two chiefs should happen to want it, the poor man may haggle about the price, though in such a case the two rivals would probably agree amicably rather than lower their dignity by seeming to be interested in a matter of money. It is to the advantage of a

556* [735] [325] 495 556* 437

[237]

[9] Wooden shells and copperplates are mentioned for the same reason; the former are mentioned in several origin myths, the latter in two at least.

1:McIlwraith K-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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765 religious rites affecting the whole community. In spite of the prohibitions enforced, it is said that a widow or widower usually becomes fat after the death of a partner. This observation agrees with several instances known to the writer, but whether it is of universal application is doubtful, although the Bella Coola emphatically state that this is the case.

Memorial Rites

THE MEMORIAL POTLATCH

177 The most important, as well as the most complicated, 55 mourning rite is the memorial potlatch, *ckwanit*, for which so 769 much wealth is required that it can be carried out by chiefs 622 alone. This ceremony, being associated with *cusuk* rites, has altered enormously in form within recent years. Before the introduction of cone-shaped whistles and other foreign elements, it was almost indistinguishable from an ordinary potlatch and the two were occasionally combined, having as central feature the return of the deceased in the form of his crest. Among the tribes of the outer coast, especially the Bella Bella, the two types of ceremonial were apparently distinct, and as the Bella Coola adopted more and more of their neighbours' *cusuk* ritual, they followed their custom in this respect as well. It is said that a certain *Nuklis*, uncle of a man about sixty years of age in 1922, was the last to combine both. The Bella Bella felt that he had thereby committed a ritual error for which he would be punished; within a few years he died, and the Bella Coola assumed that this was due to the unanimous expectation of his death on the part of the Bella Bella. From that time onwards, the Bella Coola were careful to separate features belonging to potlatches from those of memorial potlatches.

After a comparatively few years, the white man's domin- 648 ation had increased so enormously on the central coast that the potlatch, including both types, was prohibited by law. Owing to the consequent difficulty of performing complicated

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rites, the Bella Coola were again led to carry out at a single gathering features which properly belonged to several. To combine the memorial potlatch with the potlatch, being a return to an earlier custom, presented no serious difficulties and was consequently widely adopted. The Kimsquit people, moreover, seem never to have adopted the clear Bella Bella differentiation, and as the rapid decrease in population threw them in ever closer contact with the Bella Coola, their influence tended to lessen differences between the two ceremonials. 177 556* 969

At the present time, a memorial potlatch is almost identical with an ordinary potlatch in practice. The same rites are often carried out at both; each varies considerably, and when the distinctive elements are omitted the two become indistinguishable. None the less, they are never confused in the minds of the participants. The house where a potlatch, *ómu*, is taking place is called a *wadmots*, that where a memorial potlatch, *ótwadi*, is occurring, a *wadwanditsa*. In giving invitations and making comments, heralds are careful not to refer to the ritual under the wrong name; in fact, it may be said that the chief difference between the two is in the minds of the donor and his guests. Sociologically, both are considered to be on a par. Equal wealth is required, and each can be performed only by a chief, both on account of the expenditure involved and owing to the difficulties in procedure which are thought to be too great for a lesser man to surmount. 556* 969 [203] [222]

Difference in the donor's motives is usually sufficient to separate a memorial potlatch from an ordinary one. The latter is given by a chief desirous of increasing his prestige by lavish expenditure, for which one of the excuses is the validation of the appearance of a dead relative. Although this is the central feature, so many other rites are performed that it is sometimes obscured or may, indeed, be omitted entirely. On the other hand, a memorial potlatch occurs as soon as possible after the death of a father, mother, or other dearly loved kinsman, and it is clear to all that the donor's reasons for the rite are to commemorate the deceased, and to console himself and his [222]

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*556 diate family. Confusion is probable only when a chief is
•769 bereaved after he has stored up goods and made preliminary preparations for a potlatch; he may then carry out the rites intended, but designate the ceremony a memorial potlatch.
[575] More often, however, the affair is limited to rites associated with the decease. Consequently, there is omission of the initiation of neophytes into the *nusa* and *a'alt* societies,* there is no establishment of new seats for young relatives of the donor, and no strengthening of his own. It must be empha-
[184] sized once more that there is no unalterable sequence of prescribed rituals at either potlatch or memorial potlatch; the omissions just mentioned are customary, not universal, and when present the ritual of the two ceremonies is identical. Except on those rare occasions when omitted at a potlatch, the return of a dead relative is the central feature of both.

In recent years, the great increase in wealth has made it
[771] possible for a chief to perform a memorial potlatch soon after the death of an esteemed relative. This was rarely the case in former times, but as there was no other reason for which valuables were so ardently desired, every expedient was used to obtain the necessary goods. Occasionally, a chief happened to have the needful goods stored up so that he could give a memorial potlatch almost immediately. To such a fortunate individual the term, *yanla*, was applied, a word difficult to translate but combining the significances of *rich*, *ready*, *fortunate*, and *reserved*.

[796] Memorial potlatches, like those of the ordinary kind, are usually held in the early autumn, though occasionally one may be postponed until after the *kwiat* season. When an intending donor has decided that he owns sufficient goods, he first calls in his fellow-chiefs and makes known his intentions, at the same time expounding in considerable detail the myths which
[533] he proposes to use as themes for mourning songs, and for other

*Performance of such rites at a memorial potlatch would be considered sinful by the Bella Bella and were always omitted during the period when their influence was important.

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prerogatives connected with the ceremony. The actual re- 556*
counting of the myths may be done by a fluent speaker on 769
behalf of the bereaved man, and when he has finished speaking, [533]
it is proper for several of his peers to make complimentary
speeches, lauding the future donor for his intentions. Food is [537]
then served and the gathering breaks up.

The preliminaries of a memorial potlatch do not differ from those of an ordinary one. There is the same counting and recounting of goods, the same giving and receiving of presents, the same lending and borrowing. When at last the donor is ready, the heralds call his fellow-villagers to his house for announcement of the arrangements and allotment of the work. As at a potlatch, food is provided on a lavish scale, and there is the same sham-fight with a battering-ram ending in the destruction of part of the house. Then the carpenters receive their instructions; some to make different sections of the new structure, some to paint ancestral designs on the front and back walls, and some to make the various objects required.

The first difference between a memorial and an ordinary 211
potlatch is apparent at this allotment of work. Instead of a 556*
totem-pole to record the glories of the donor's ancestry,[30] car- 764
penters are requested to make memorial-posts for the dead 769
relative who is being commemorated. These are erected in the cemetery near the grave and are of three kinds, although it is unusual for all three to be set up for a single chief.

The first consists of a wooden post carved with the design of one or more of the deceased's crests (see Plates 19 and 20). [532]
These figures are usually representations of the bird or animal cloaks used by his first ancestors; it is customary to portray the one traced through the father on the right, that traced through the mother on the left. Instead of a cloak, the figure may portray the post down which swarmed his first ancestor in the beginning of time, or Mount *Nusfalst* in human form, wearing a broad-rimmed hat as he did before he turned to

[30] From the construction of a new house and the painting of new designs is often omitted.

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211 stone and served as landing-place for some of the first settlers.
*556 In fact, any of the dead person's crests may be used according
764 to the wishes of the chief giving the memorial potlatch. A
769 figure displayed in this way cannot be used as the guise in which the dead relative returns, but as every individual has several crests, inability to use one does not make it difficult to carry out the rite. According to one well-informed old man, when a design has once been used in a cemetery it cannot again be shown by members of the ancestral family, having itself become "dead." Other informants flatly contradicted this statement, and it seems clear that the above is true only with regard to the use of the figure in connection with the return of the deceased. The erection of the figure serves to remind all beholders, especially foreign guests summoned to the memorial potlatch, of the ancestral myth of the deceased. It is, there-
[778] fore, equivalent to a totem-pole erected during a man's lifetime, in fact, one of these is sometimes moved to the cemetery to serve as a memorial-post (see Plate 21). Instead of placing a representation of the crest in the cemetery, one is sometimes painted on broad boards and placed on some conspicuous promontory where all who pass by will see it and think of the person commemorated.

The second type of memorial consists of plain poles set upright in the cemetery, one for each major ceremony given by the deceased. Potlatches, memorial potlatches, and *kukuxiutsk* (II, p. 29) are alone indicated in this way, these being the only
[609] ones to which foreign guests are invited. These poles suggest, in a general way, the greatness of the deceased.

The third type of memorial-post comprises representations of the goods given away by the deceased. These are usually
[532] painted on boards attached to a post set up near the grave. On this are pictures of canoes, coppers, slaves, and other valuables distributed at potlatches or memorial potlatches (see Plate 22). Alternatively, there may be a series of small poles, each surmounted by a model canoe manned by miniature human figures, symbolic of a canoe and slaves given away

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(see Plate 25). So, too, wooden representations of coppers are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are commemorated in this way, a father often places over his daughter's grave pictures of the goods used to relieve her from her husband; wooden plaques representing coppers are commonly used for this purpose.* Such symbols are usually cut down after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for them to remain standing too long. The function of this type of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person as judged by the riches given away by him, or on his behalf, during his life-time. With the introduction of writing, the Bella Coola have been quick to recognize it as an easy means for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In consequence, signs are often painted and erected, giving in figures a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent introduction has been the tombstone. One of these is often set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate his memory, and a representation of his crest to record his ancestral history. Such a memorial combines the functions of the first and third types.

As the carpenters labour at the memorials, other arrangements for the ceremony proceed apace. As at a potlatch, the fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited separately to his house for the performance of sacred dances, but this feature is often omitted, especially if there are no neophytes to be initiated. The mask to be worn by the deceased relative must be prepared in secret; or if several are to be commemorated at the single ceremony, one must be made ready for each. As the time draws near, envoys are dispatched to invite foreign guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This has been customary for many years, but during the period when no features of the potlatch were allowed at a memorial potlatch, the latter was sometimes carried out in the presence of the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the

*The National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, has specimens of these wooden coppers.

mourners may be marked with the same ritual as at a potlatch, but there is always curtailment of usual features if rites of that nature are to be omitted.

Meanwhile other preparations have not been neglected. Among the prerogatives embodied in many origin myths, is that of the presence of professional mourners at memorial potlatches. If mention of these is made in the ancient traditions of the donor's ancestral family, it is a matter of pride for him to do as was done by his ancestors in the distant past. For example, it may be recorded that at the memorial potlatch of some ancient chief, a number of his younger relatives appeared with red paint smeared upon their faces, with freshly chopped undyed cedar-bark in the hair, or with bands of the same material across their heads. *Ayamtim* had decreed that they should thus exhibit their grief, and the descendants of the chief have since had the privilege of doing likewise. Such signs of mourning may not, however, be worn without proper validation. It is only the members of the ancestral family who are entitled to don these marks, and among them, only those whose right has been confirmed by the distribution of presents. This is a masculine professional prerogative, known by the same name as the feminine one of wearing a drawing cry to which it is closely akin. The right is verified at memorial potlatches, and the donor of one is glad to do so as a means of displaying his ever wealth as well as of making plain the glory of his ancestors to whom the one being commemorated has returned. There is no mention of professional mourners in the myths of many families, nor are they ever so important in Bella Coola as among the Bella Bella and other tribes of the outer coast. If such belong to the family of the donor, he notifies the members and asks them to be ready, although, eager to act, they seldom wait for such an invitation.

The most difficult task is the preparation of mourning songs at which the singers toil for several weeks. The donor first invites them to his house and recounts the myths from which they must be composed. These may include several traditions

of different ancestral families to which the deceased belonged, irrespective of whether or not he had said a name from one, being a member of the group, its songs can legally be used in his honor. Elements from different myths are often combined into one composition, corresponding to the different localities and characters which the dead person has visited in travelling back the path of his multiple ancestors to the beginning of time. If one person only is being commemorated, four songs are prepared; if several, two are used for each. Those for any individual is unlucky. Two types, *chanant* and *dualcadal*, are in common usage, and the singers, after consultation with the donor of the ceremony, decide which shall be employed. The former describes in some detail features from one or more of the deceased's ancestral myths, mentions the journey which he has taken to visit the individuals and scenes referred to, and calls on him to assume the form of his first forefather. A common theme is to state the origin of his name, and how he loved it so greatly that he left the earth to follow it back through time and space. The following is an abbreviated version of such a song, based on the origin myth of *Kitlaho*:

"We have been unable to actually see him. Go whither *Kitlaho* came, and become a raven. Go to the east and get abalone-shell; go to the west and get copper. They will actually see."

Another chanant of the same type is:

"Your first ancestor circled the world with the aid of an abalone-shell paddle. Do you likewise. They will greatly see as nothing on earth could do."

On the other hand, an *dualcadal* seldom refers to the ancestral history of the deceased, but to his actions during life. It records the number of slaves, canoes, and other valuables given away as potlatches,* and alludes to other praiseworthy actions. This type of mourning song, though usually used

*The analogous method of making known a man's distribution of wealth is by a totem sign over the door (see Plate 34).

only for a child, can be employed for a dead child. In this case, the theme describes the efforts of the parents to incorporate the deceased in the traditions of their ancestors, and the number of times he had been ceremonially married. The text of one used a few years ago is:

"We said, Dad! Annabelle (the child's name was the last when she was born. What more could we have done? Why did she leave us?"

The text may refer to the prerogative of employing mourners, as in the following:

"Come ye professional mourners, help me to give voice to my lamentations."

The tunes of mourning songs are usually remembered from year to year, and the singers may merely alter words to make an old song applicable. In some cases, such compositions are changed so slightly that they become virtually possessions of an ancestral family, and may then be preserved for generations until even the history of the names embodied is forgotten. Occasionally, ancient relationship between two such groups can be deduced from the occurrence of the same names in their mourning songs, although all traditions of intermarriage have been forgotten. There is considerable difference between the tunes of chanted and deadhouse, in fact, this distinction may be more important than the themes, since the latter do not invariably conform to the types just described. A few tunes of ancestral history may be incorporated into a song dealing primarily with the actions of the deceased and ex-wives. Sometimes four of one type are used, sometimes two of each. Much thought is devoted to the compositions, the singers meeting every day to try over and improve one another's efforts. The more long and complicated, require much practice, since any error would be an admission of great inefficiency. These daily rehearsals take place in the dove's house and he is required to provide food for the singers. It is not uncommon to see a song of Bula Bula origin, since the Bula Gula admit that members of their tribe excel in compositions of this type.

such an adoption occurs only when the deceased was the owner of a Sulu Sulu cyth and the song in question had been used to mourn a real / fictitious relative. It is contrary to custom to use the name words of a song not composed for a member of the deceased's ancestral family.

The actual delivery of invitations by the mourner to the distant guests does not differ from the manner already described, except that they are said "to come to visit the sick [dead]." The significance is, of course, that the mourner's condition is that of a patient. To indicate the reason of their visit, guests or a substitute patient always wear a little dyed cedar-bark around their heads.

On arrival, the property of foreign guests is conducted to the donor's house, where they make themselves comfortable in the section allotted to them by the heralds. An elderly Sulu Cuda chief who a famous orator has been asked by the donor to speak, so he rises to do so as soon as his fellow-villagers have assembled and taken their places. No set phrases are used, but the speaker usually begins by reminding all present of the way in which their ancestors were created in Wawadi, and how almost extinct children. It is an occasion on which eloquence countrical, and the speaker delights in using as many archaic words and rhetorical expressions as possible, with constant reference to religious beliefs and ancient history as recorded in orthology. Then he speaks of the death which is the occasion / the ceremony. If the deceased were an old man, he is referred to by a special term not in common usage, ended sin, which implies wisdom and respect as well as extreme age. The man states that he has fallen, using the term *ayuin*, normally applied to the thunderous crash of some mighty tree. He spoke of a young chief as *ca'Ilimdin*, short-lived, a person who has been burned down by the supernatural Carpenters. He concludes by describing the worth of the deceased, the number of potlatches he gave and the manner in which his name was known to many tribes. Finally he tells of the donor's grief, of how this "sickness" has been alle-

537 viewed by the presence of welcome guests. Mention is fre-
& 556 quently made of the journey taken by the dead man to the
769 scene of his ancestral myths. In addition to being an orator,
[illegible] the speaker must also be a *nuxalk* chief, since it is felt that
[illegible] none other can have the necessary assurance and poise to refer
to these most sacred and important subjects. During the
speech, sunbeams blow eagle down over the heads of all
present.

Food has been prepared in advance, and as soon as the
speaker has finished, the heredits call the guests to partake of
it. The first course is then distributed, smoked salmon mixed
[264] with chicken grease. Speeches are sometimes delivered during
this part of the meal, as well as at the second course, cranberries
with more chicken grease. If the guests have arrived during
the afternoon, there is no delay between the feast and the ritual
that follows, but if they have come during the morning, there
is a gap until the evening. Visitors usually time their arrival
for the early part of the afternoon.

537 The next event is a speech from one of the foreign chiefs,
& 556 phrased in grandiloquent terms similar to those used by the
769 Bella Coola orator. He speaks of the manner in which the
609 supernatural Carpenters have hunted the deceased, but reminds
533 his hearers that this is because *Alquntin* has decreed it, there-
fore all must be for the best. He refers to the dead man's crest,
and to the manner in which this guise will be available to him.
During the day, the singers have been careful to learn the tune
of a mourning song sung by the ancestral family of each foreign
chief likely to speak. This day now been due, often assisted
by some of the guests, and always accompanied by their sing-
ing. No one dances to accompany the song; it is merely a
verbal mark of sympathy, implying that the speaker himself
knows the grief occasioned by death, and, also, that he was is
sufficiently important to be able to use a mourning song. If,
as is usually the case, there is more than one influential chief
in the party, a second rises to speak, expressing in different
terms the sentiments expressed by his predecessor. Another

[illegible] R-1 [illegible]
[illegible] Bellewelle [illegible]

mourning song is sung for him in the same way. Sometimes so many as five or six speeches are made, each followed by a song of the same type. In such circumstances it is impossible for the Bella Coola musicians to learn all the tunes, but if five or six chiefs are present, it implies the presence of a large delegation among whom are always a number of singers. It is they who really learn our the tunes, assisted by their Bella Coola employer. When the last song has been sung, the guests present their hosts with gifts brought for the purpose. The donor himself receives the most valuable, but all the Bella Coola are remembered, chiefs to a greater extent than commoners. Such gifts are not to be returned; in fact, to do so specifically, especially soon after the receipt, would be insulting. After the distribution the evening concludes with the usual meal.

This meal is repeated at the arrival of every group of guests. It is uncertain whether or not all the mourning songs are again learned out after the song of the final speaker of the last group. This seems to have been done occasionally, and the distribution of presents by the guests likewise postponed. Just before the gathering breaks up, the hostess call out: "*Hoolamamamap.*"

This serves as intimation that the Bella Coola rites will take place the following morning, and the guests prepare accordingly. Occasionally, when a man is poor, a memorial potlatch is held without the presence of foreign guests.* In such cases the preliminaries just described are, of course, omitted and the above call marks the commencement of the ceremony.

The next day the guests gather in the donor's house, clad in their best. The mourners are in attendance, each conspicuous with the proper mask. In many cases several of these carry miniature totem-poles, carved to represent bird or animal chiefs assumed by the donor's ancestors, and which

*This was probably quite common during the period when all potlatch feasts were memorial.

will now be the forms of the one who has recently died. As soon as all have taken their places, an eloquent chief whom aid has been requested for the purpose stands up and recounts the dancer's ancestral myth in some detail, mentioning the source and meaning of the mourners' masks and the designs of the totem poles. There is continuous to the effect that the chief will "cry" by relating the history of his ancestors, which is also the history of the journey taken by his kinsmen, and that this recital will shame him up. The word used for this, *nuxlimkim*, is the one commonly employed for raising a heavy burden with the aid of a lever. Then the singers begin to lead out the first of the mourning songs, accompanying it with their voices and assisted by as many of the audience as are familiar with words and tune. Every effort is made to make the singing as impressive as possible to add dignity to the recital of the journey taken by the person who is being commemorated. The poems have attractively and are suitably impressed by the ancestral history of the dancer and his family. All the songs that have been prepared are sung in succession to the same strange. The lack of dancing distinguishes this type of ceremony from all others and adds somewhat to its impressiveness.

When the last song is the proper time for validating young relatives of the dancer as mourners. One of the numerous totem poles, which are light enough to be carried in the hands, is brought from the back room and given to the boy on whom this prerogative is being conferred. An eloquent speaker explains the meanings of the designs as displayed and enough of the family's ancestral history to make clear whence, and how, they were obtained. The singers begin to beat time slowly, and the youth endeavors to keep time with his feet, while he continues to hold the pole.

Meanwhile the dancer and his immediate relatives have been arranging the piles of presents with the inevitable counting and re-counting. As at a potlatch, a fluent speaker is commissioned to hold up the objects, once whence they have been obtained,

[illegible]

to whom they are going, and for what purpose. He says, for example:

"Fifty skins become nothing on the path of Kalulu."

Everyone knows that the name the expenditure of the amount for the singing of a mourning song in connection with the myth in which Kalulu appears. Gifts must be given for each song, and it is the desire of the donor that they be of living value. So, too, is the validation of professional mourners concerned. The goods having thus been displayed, a free dance, further, called "Tuse" with reference to the donor's grief, is made, each guest receiving a gift of the same worth. It is not remarkable, being the legislation of the ceremony be too just-oriented. This is followed by donations to the carpenters, the singers, the professional mourners, and all others who have rendered assistance; to women, these are pay, though they are always referred to as free-will gifts made in gratitude for services rendered. Like the law, they are not remarkable. Finally, any goods remaining from the store that has been brought out are given to chiefs and other influential members of the community. Though not clearly stated, the recipients have that these are really investment-presents; when they reciprocate, they mention that they are repaying a gift made at a memorial potlatch. A plentiful meal is now served, during which several chiefs make complimentary speeches, and the gathering breaks up.

In former times, when features of the ordinary potlatch were borrowed from a memorial potlatch, the ceremony just described was the central point of the proceedings. It was the public conclusion of the journey taken by his deceased relative which allowed the donor's sorrow and filial love with pride. A few days after, in the late afternoon, the hostess called back the guests and the songs were sung and re-sung. Whatever cross-gifts were not used, nor were professional mourners in evidence; the sole function of the gathering was to provide opportunity for hearing the songs. They were repeated until far into the night, when a large meal was served and the guests

departed. A few days later the memorial was carried out again, with a similar lavish distribution of food. This was often done at intervals of two or three days for several weeks, depending on how much food the donor was prepared to use. The amount required was so great that a rice was considered, in some ways, more difficult than a potlatch.

As already mentioned, however, it became customary in the last century to incorporate forms of the ordinary potlatch into one of a memorial variety. In such cases the first singing of the mourning songs with display of masks by the performers occurred in the past record, but there is no recalling of the guests merely to listen to more to the songs. Instead, the ritual differs but slightly from that of an ordinary potlatch as already described (I, p. [illegible]). An occasion is found to summon the guests to the memorial[illegible] received, and to inform them of the significance of the regalia displayed. This same practice has been continued via the introduction of [illegible], and the wearing of the wing upon them is incorporated. The story of the deceased in a form of his crest, and the subsequent use of a [illegible], is the rule as already recorded. This is frequently followed by the singing of a sacred mourning song if one of the more selective ones in perspective of foreign origin. If so, he walks slowly around in fire in a wide circle, shaking his rattle, and singing unaccompanied. Most, if not all of these songs, are in the Bella Bella language and the right to use one has in every case been obtained through intermarriage with a member of that tribe. At intervals, he will call out:

"Listen to the chief's honour."[illegible]

When presents are distributed to visitors the whole ceremony, mention is always made of 3 different features for which they are given. As at a potlatch, the most important is the return of the dead, but at a memorial potlatch another reference is the display of the memorial[illegible]. These have been carved, painted, and set up, but are without crests validated

[illegible] There is no mention of the dances as at a potlatch, for as honoured of the performers are noted.

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by presents, and the greater the number of these, the greater the value of the memorial. Nothing need be added concerning this point, or other rites, to the detailed description given in vol. I, chap. iv.

Psychologically, the memorial potlatch is of tremendous importance. There may be a vague feeling that the ritual is of actual assistance to the deceased since grease burns so it reaches him, and is of service to him, but such a belief is no more than an intangible sentiment of no weight in the lives of the people. Quite otherwise is its effect on the survivors, especially on the donor. A memorial potlatch is considered the fitting tribute of respect to a chief, and if none of his near relatives should hold one, they would brand themselves as unmindful of the fame of their dead kinsman. In recent years the white man's law has prohibited the potlatch, but chiefs have often preferred to go to jail rather than to forego this form of memorial. The reason for this cannot be explained better than in the words of an old man whose only daughter, a "Chiefswoman," died in 1910. He determined to hold a memorial potlatch and expressed himself to the writer, as follows:

"If I should fail to do what is right under the circumstances, to do what my ancestors would have done, my heart would be dead, dead as my daughter. But if I call the people, if we sing mourning songs for my child, I will be able to ease my grief. I shall have done what is right, and will be able to hold up my head with anyone, knowing that the rites have been performed for my child which are due her as a chief. If I allow her to be neglected, I would be ashamed and miserable. Jim [another "chief"] warned me when I first told him of my intention that the law forbade such ceremonies. I cannot help that. If I am sent to jail, to jail shall I go. I would rather have that happen than that my daughter should not receive fitting treatment as a chief."

In this case, though only abbreviated rites were carried out, their performance unquestionably lessened the father's grief, a fact observed on several occasions. Not only does it comfort

a man and manage his sorrow to know that he has shown fitting respect to the dead, there is also a gain in social prestige. As the whole community respects, admires, and sometimes envies a man for having carried out a memorial potlatch, there is no doubt that he is pleased and gratified to such an extent that his grief is dulled. These two factors must constantly be kept in mind; memorial potlatches serve to commemorate the dead, but in so doing they add to the social importance of the donors. The two combine to bring considerable comfort to the chief who has lost a dear relative. In some cases the social prestige is the real motive, the grief assumed and unimportant; but in others the latter is the only factor that matters, and a chief is entirely oblivious to any increase in his own status. In most memorial potlatches, both feelings are present in the mind of the donor, and both are gratified.

SPECIMEN ACCOUNT OF A FUNERAL

In the preceding pages, an attempt has been made to describe the traditional death rites of the Bella Coola. The following section comprises a detailed account of funeral ceremonies witnessed in 1922. The contrast between these and the ones already recorded, will indicate some of the changes in custom which are of such importance in studies of cultural growth or decline. The following description will also serve to demonstrate a point repeatedly mentioned, the manner in which business transactions and arrangements of all kinds take place whenever the people have been called together.

On June 25, 1922, the death occurred in Bella Coola of Jessie, Mrs. Samuel King, daughter of Captain Schooner. The latter, now deceased, was one of the writer's most trusted friends, and as a result of this friendship it was possible not only to attend the actual rites, but to ascertain much of the feeling underlying them. This advantage had its drawbacks, since it was manifestly impossible to question either the father or the husband of the women too closely. The details will be de-

[1948] 1949 1950 1951 1952 1953 1954 1955 1956 1957 1958 1959 1960 1961 1962 1963 1964 1965 1966 1967 1968 1969 1970 1971 1972 1973 1974 1975 1976 1977 1978 1979 1980 1981 1982 1983 1984 1985 1986 1987 1988

of Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, three of her cousins of which the results were available. They agreed that Timothy Snow* was the best carpenter available and that he should be commissioned to put them in shape and arrange their use. Rachel wanted to sing a sacred mourning song, to which he had a prerogative derived from his Bella Bella mother, and it was also decided that the band* should play. Rachel informed her father that he would contribute his towards the expenditure.

Wanderbilt Jessie had been scalded by female friends, shot in her best clothing, and laid in her coffin. This was a rough law, contributed by the manager of the cannery and despised like a white man's coffin. At intervals, women came near and wailed dolefully without heeding others similarly engaged. The news was carried to all the Bella Coola, those men who owned gasoline launches taking the word to the logging camps without being requested to do so. A Cowichan Indian who happened to be returning from the cannery spread the word through the village, where each woman who received the message hurried off to some friend, with whom she began to wail.

Early on the following morning, Captain Schooner returned home with his wife, Jessie's stepmother. He had been crying and was sad, but seemed willing to talk. He spoke of the proposed memorial potlatch, and expressed the sentiments recorded on vol. 3, p. 470. He was grave and dignified, obviously determined to perform what he considered to be the necessary rituals, deliverer of consolations, and handler of what he held to be an unjust law. During this summer, Captain Schooner had been a rather heavy drinker, but on this occasion he abstained from wine, and said that he hoped no one would show disrespect to his daughter by appearing in a drunken condition either at the funeral or the subsequent rites. It is

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*He was an elastic object in the Schooners.

*Members of the younger Bella Coola were members of the band, performing white man's music on white man's instruments. Only Schooner and Sundancer, he is to believe, that this influenced the decision, since the performance of the band was necessary to furnish what the whites was in Bella Coola.

worthy of record that his widow were scrupulously closed. During the morning he was visited by the singers and other chiefs to discuss details of the coming ceremonial.

Wauneka Samuel King had been summoned from his logging camp. He wished to show his own grief, and also his sorrow that the union between his family and the Schooners, forged by his marriage to Jessie, should be terminated. Six children had been born to cement the bond. He consulted his brother and sisters, who agreed with him that a marriage between his daughter, by a former wife, and George Nelson would be desirable. The girl was consulted and raised no objections. Samuel then addressed Captain Schooner who was favorably disposed, so it was decided that this ceremony should take place in connection with the memorial potlatch. It would be a real, not a fictitious marriage, as the girl had reached adolescence several years previously.

Another visitor to Captain Schooner that morning was Joe Williams. Several years earlier, when he had given a ceremony in honour of two of his children who had died, Captain Schooner had contributed $100 as "A Blanket for George Nelson's Wife." This was really part of the marriage transaction, although delivered for a number of years after the actual date of the wedding. This sum had been divided as follows: $20 to Joe Williams, $20 to Mrs. Joe Williams, $10 to Mrs. George Nelson, $10 to her brother, $20 to Lame Charlie, and $20 to Mrs. Lame Charlie. Joe consulted the recipients and found that all were willing to repay their indebtedness at this time. Captain Schooner did not ask for it, but Joe was glad of the opportunity to do the proper thing at the right time and thus rise in popular estimation. He and his relatives decided to return $150, a sum which he mentioned to Captain Schooner that morning.

Joe Williams, his wife, and Mrs. George Nelson also decided to take advantage of the gathering to relieve the last mental from her husband. The fact that they had been separated for at least a year and that the woman had been living as married

1:36 Dorsith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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was not carefully observed. Those wishing to dig took turns with the tools; there was no supervision, and no orders given. When the grave was ready, Jim Pollard asked Judas to perform the rite with the spruce bough, which he did with a brush brought by one of the youths. The young men lowered the coffin into the grave while the band continued to play. The missionary then read the Christian burial service, after which he withdrew. Some of the young men brought planks from old houses near-by, sawed them to the size of the grave and laid them over the coffin as a cover. At this juncture Judas, one of the oldest and most conservative of the Bella Coola, rose to speak. First he offered consolation to the mourning relatives by pointing out that all must travel the same road. Then he spoke to Jessie, telling her not to linger, but to travel back the path of her ancestors from generation to generation until she reached the place where they first came down from above, and dance to second to *Nacwaiw*. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of the speech, which was punctuated by calls of "Ho!" from the male Bella Coola. The next speaker was Jim Pollard, the most influential Kimsquit and a personal friend, though not a relative, of Captain Schooner's.

"Go," he said to the dead woman, "Go to the localities from which came your first forefathers in the beginning of time. There you will find your most valuable ancestral possessions. Go at once, do not linger and lose yourself on the road from generation to generation."

Turning to George Nelson, he went on, "Do not be down-hearted, all of us must travel the same road. It was made by no man, it is the work of *Alquanim*."

Looking back once more to the grave, he said, "In *Gonqu* is are buried many illustrious relatives of yours. You will be among friends, whereas we are left to lament your departure."

It was impossible to write down the words at the time and the above record is not literally correct, although it expresses the gist of the speech.

Captain Schooner whispered to Robert Hood, another of the

764 older Bella Coola, asking him to announce that he, Schooner,
159 with Dan and George, was going to hold a memorial potlatch
[209] that evening to which all were invited. Robert is not a herald
764 but undertook this duty owing to the absence of qualified
[554] heralds. Meanwhile the grave had been filled in and the
[159] people began to drift away as it rose to ground level. Their
attitude throughout had resembled that of white people at a
funeral, and the hilariousness that characterizes so many
Bella Coola gatherings was entirely absent except among the
playing children. By 4.30 p.m. all had left the scene.

764 In view of the large number of guests expected it had been
[554] decided to hold the memorial potlatch, not in one of the old-
[344] fashioned houses, but in the village hall, built according to the
[354] white man's style of architecture and illuminated with swinging
[338] gasoline lamps. This is a large, rectangular building, undivided
by partitions, with a stage at one end and a door at the other.
About 6.30 p.m. the singers, Nelsonhadzenaz, Jim Pollard,
Billy Pollard, Alec Davis, Kimsquit Alec, and Robert Hood,
gathered at the hall and seated themselves below the stage.
Billy Pollard had prepared a mourning song during the day,
Kimsquit Alec another, and it was decided to use two others
that were well known to all. The singers sat and practised
these four for some time, while at intervals various Bella Coola
strolled in, listened for a few minutes, then walked out again.
Anyone was allowed to do so, but few availed themselves of
the opportunity. Meanwhile Captain Schooner had brought
264 $10 worth of rice, raisins, and condensed milk which he placed
764 beside a large iron cauldron outside the front door. Jim To-
[554] Morrow, a Bella Coola of no great intelligence, volunteered to
act as cook and soon had a fire blazing and the food boiling.

About 8.00 p.m. the people began to assemble, bringing
their own plates and other utensils. After considerable delay
and chatter, the guests took their places in the hall, seating
themselves regardless of rank on benches ranged along the two
side walls and massed at the rear. By mutual consent a por-
tion of the single row of benches along the left wall was reserved

Schl McDowell B-5 (1922-1924)1948
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for the Carriers and other foreigners. The cook began to ladle the rice into basins provided by Captain Schooner; these were taken by some of the younger men who poured helpings into the dishes of the guests. Spoons had been forgotten, and there was delay until these were provided by slivers split from a block of wood for the purpose. Contrary to ancient usage, no attempt was made to serve food to the guests in order of their rank. Men, women, and children were sitting everywhere, the infants kept moving around and crying continually throughout the performance, but no one seemed to be disturbed thereby. 769 556* 264 [178] [352]

When everyone had eaten, Nebuchadnezzar, who had been sitting facing the other singers, beat on the floor to attract attention and then rose to speak. He asked the help of all to make the ceremony a success, and thus assuage the grief of the bereaved relatives. 769 556*

Joe Williams and his daughter had taken their places on the right-hand side of the hall and had requested Willie Mack, a fluent speaker and influential chief, to assist them in arranging the financial transactions. They spread a blanket on the floor on which the bills were counted, and beside this Willie knelt. Joe gave him a sum of money, which was counted and re-counted; Willie then held it up in the vain hope that it could be seen by everyone in the hall. He announced the amount, also that it was to relieve (the divorced) Mrs. George Nelson from her late husband, and that it would "make clean the place where she sat." A young man delivered the money to George who added it to the general stock for later distribution. Next a copper was produced, held up, and presented to him for the same purpose. Meanwhile Joe, assisted by his mother and other relatives, had been counting the money which they proposed to give to Captain Schooner in settlement of the previously contracted debt. One hundred and fifty dollars were produced and handed to Willie Mack, who held them up and announced that it was in return for the $100 given by Captain Schooner on a previous occasion to Joe Williams, his wife, his son, his daughter, his mother, and his stepfather. The bills 769 556* 583 [537]

1:56:Dewalth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

969 were taken by one of the younger men to Captain Schooner,
556 who accepted them without showing either gratitude or the reverse; this return was a matter that concerned the Williams family, not the Schooners. After a short delay, Billy Pollard moved over to the group and spoke to Joe and Willie Mack,
[584] to whom he gave $10. The latter stated that this sum, which he held up, and a horse, which was not produced, were being given to George Nelson to rebuy his (divorced) wife. Billy is not related to the woman, but had long been friendly and wished to share in making good the path for her children. This matter had not been previously broached. The choice of
[537] Willie Mack as announcer was made merely because he was a fluent speaker and, as a chief, had the necessary self-confidence to act fittingly.

969 After these preliminaries, the main rite was begun. Jim
556 Pollard, an eloquent chief unrelated to any of the principals,
537 spoke at some length describing the journey taken by Jessie to visit the scenes of her ancestral myths. He was followed by a Bella Bella chief who happened to be in Bella Coola at the time. In the Chinook jargon he first expressed his sympathy and respect for Captain Schooner because he was carrying out the fitting rites, then asked leave to speak in Bella Bella because he found it difficult to express himself in Chinook. He described the journey which the deceased had taken owing to her membership in the ancestral family of her mother, a Bella Bella woman. No one paid much attention to the speeches; in fact, it was impossible at the back of the hall to hear what was said owing to the chattering and crying of children.

969 After considerable delay, the singers decided it was time to
556 sing the first mourning song. It had never before been used,
533 although the composer, Billy Pollard, had prepared it several years earlier and had merely altered the words during the morning after consulting Captain Schooner about his ancestral myths. The singers had learnt text and tune during the rehearsal a few hours before. It was impossible to record it in detail; in outline, it consisted of the words:

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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"Child, you are an eagle now. You are like *Xemcua*.[11] He will provide an eagle cloak for you." 769 ●

The theme was continued throughout as if Captain Schooner were speaking and lamenting his daughter. At intervals the phrase was repeated, "My child has fled home." The leader of the singers, Jim Pollard in this case, kept calling out to the audience to cry and sing, and as many of them joined in as had come in earlier to listen to the words. The whole effect was strikingly dignified and impressive. 556* 533

Captain Schooner joined the singers for the second mourning song, since he alone was familiar with the details of the ancestral myth which formed the theme. In former times a bereaved parent would never have been obliged to assist in this way. Kimsquit Alec had composed the tune during the day and Billy Pollard called out the words, line by line, inviting the guests to join in. The theme consisted of instructions to Jessie: [178]

"Go," it ran, "To the mountain whither *Sril*[12] came. Thence travel to the Skeena where you will assume the form of a whale and be able to spout like one.[13] Go then to the far north where you will enter the copper house within which dwells a copper raven and where the salmon are *taitaimy*."[14]

This song was sung in the manner already described.

The third mourning song was one composed for a *Tāl-io* chief, *Smaouxt*, who had lost his daughter during the smallpox epidemic. Its use was justifiable, as *Smaouxt* was Jessie's mother's mother's mother's brother. It had a double significance since the dead woman's mother had allowed it to be used when lamenting the death of a brother of Samuel King, a member of the same ancestral family. Captain Schooner had altered the words to make them applicable to the present situation. The theme was:

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[11] One of the first settlers of the earth, an ancestor of Jessie.

[12] Another of her first ancestors.

[13] One of Jessie's first ancestors had landed up the Skeena and there assumed the form and characteristics of a whale.

[14] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

●769 "Please stop crying. We have made good your memory.
+556 You are a light to your brother. Go to *Smaoasx* where he
533 stands among the abalone-shells far to the south.[50] Thence go overland to Rivers Inlet where a *sḫāmtsk* will serve as canoe for you.[51] You will see the long house where your ancestor obtained shaman's power."[52]

Meanwhile Reuben Schooner had been out of sight behind the curtain of the stage. After a short interval, he emerged
[292] wearing a blue blanket decorated with mother-of-pearl buttons sewn on in raven design. He was followed by two other influential members of the *sisask* society, Alexander Clallaman and Nebuchadnezzar, similarly attired. Reuben began to sing in a low, sad, penetrating voice of considerable musical power and, followed by the other two, walked slowly in a sunwise circle around the hall, all the time shaking his right hand, held projecting outwards at right angles from his elbow. The song was in Bella Bella, and even the singer did not fully understand the meaning, and few of the audience had any idea of its significance. When the three had almost completed the first circuit, someone brought Reuben a rattle, which he clutched in his right hand as he continued his way. The reason of the shaking at once became evident; he should have had a rattle through-
[178] out but few of these were left in Bella Coola at the time and it had not been possible to borrow one before beginning his song. Again the three slowly circled the hall, Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar calling out at intervals:

"Listen to the mourning song of the chief."

After the second circuit of the hall, Reuben paused near the singers and spoke to Alec Davis, a *sisask siki*. The latter
[424] rose and stated how the prerogative of *siki*, including the right to sing, unaccompanied, a mourning song on occasions such as this had been transmitted both to Reuben and his brother Harry from *Ao·sti*, a Bella Bella chief to whom they were

[50] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[51] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[52] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.

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related through their mother. After a little further discussion, Harry took the rattle from his brother and began to sing as he walked around the hall, followed by Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar. Harry was less familiar than his brother with the proper words, but supplied this deficiency by humming. He was also less at ease, and he lacked the musical ability which had made his brother's singing so impressive. After a single circuit, he restored the rattle to Reuben, who continued to go around the hall as he sang. This time he paused at intervals, and kept glancing towards the door, his whole attitude betraying that something was interfering with the previously arranged plans. The purpose of the singing was to summon the dead woman in the form of her crest, but she did not appear. In early times those who were not *nuaat* were told that the words and music penetrated to the upper regions, reminding the deceased of the grief of his relatives and persuading him to return. This belief had passed away at the time of the ceremony here described, but the fiction was continued, and it had been planned that the representation of the deceased should enter when the song was finished. It later transpired that the delay was due to a number of white people who, having gathered at the doorway, made the performer unwilling to put on his masks and disguise. Reuben continued to sing half-heartedly, and finally cried out:

"Perhaps I have lost my power, it does not come."

Alec Davis, who had previously left the hall, came rushing in and called out in a loud voice:

"*Somatle* [Jessie's ancestral name and the one in connection with which she had been made a chief] is coming. She has been to the scenes of her ancestral myths. Her crests have taken her. She comes as Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, bearing her grandchild."[11]

The speaker is a morose, rather surly individual, usually undignified and often drunk, but on this occasion his manner had changed in a remarkable degree. His eyes were bright, his

[11]Although not yet dead, all hope had been abandoned for the child's recovery.

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expression animated, and, except for his dirty European clothing, he looked and acted like a religious dignitary taking part in an important ceremony, as was indeed the case. While he was speaking there came from without eerie notes of the large, cone-shaped whistles, combined with the yelping scream of an eagle. The effect, even on an audience which knew that these sounds were of human origin, was tremendous. Men and women stiffened in their seats and craned their necks to see what was taking place near the door. A number of the younger men had slipped away during Reuben's singing to help the masked dancer with his disguise. As some of these assistants continued to blow their whistles, others held up blankets to conceal the necessarily clumsy entrance of the performer through the narrow doorway.

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These were dropped after a moment, and out into the centre of the open hall bounded a figure covered with a large white sheet so that only his bare feet were visible. On his head was an eagle mask, from the upper part of his back projected a blackfish, while the head of a raven peered forth from his chest. The dancer, Timothy Snow, who had been chosen for his skill in such matters, leapt forward in a crouching attitude and took a few short, mincing steps as if he were a gigantic eagle hopping on the ground. At once the older Bella Coola women began to drone out, "*i* . . . . . ," and continued as long as the performer remained in the hall. He bent down and turned slowly, sunwise, with arms pressed close to his body and neck contracted, then straightened, and took a few more mincing steps, followed by another turn. In this way he moved in a wide, sunwise circle around the hall, avoiding the middle where there would have been a fire in one of the old-fashioned houses. At intervals he raised himself on his toes and slightly spread his arms beneath the sheet, at the same time looking up so that it appeared as if the eagle were rising to gaze at an object in the distance as a sitting bird does so frequently. This brought the raven mask into plain sight. After a survey of this kind, he bent down and ran a few yards more. Alec Davis and two other *masked* fol-

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lowed the scene, blowing eagle down over him repeatedly. After one circuit of the hall, the performer passed out through the front door, from the vicinity of which was heard once more the large whistle and the screaming of the eagle, both growing less distinct as if the bird were flying away.

The wearer of the mask displayed considerable dramatic talent and succeeded in giving a realistic display in spite of the glaring lights which exposed his bare feet and betrayed the human handiwork of the mask in a manner impossible in the native type of house with a single, central fire as the sole illumination. The Carriers had watched the performance with interest, probably singed with contempt, but to the Bella Coola it was no mere spectacle, it was a religious rite of the highest importance. All the spectators realized that the figure was human, but this caused inconsequential as they gazed upon the representation of the dead woman in the form of her crests, to which they believed she had been transformed by death. Even the children were silent, and the only sound during the passage was the wailing of a sleepy infant. The eagle crest belonged to Jessie by virtue of membership in the ancestral family descended from her father's first ancestor, crated peculiarly, who had come to earth at *Tsmaat* in the form of this bird. The blackfish was a crest acquired through her mother; the raven represented a copper raven belonging to an ancestral myth of the dying grandchild. In former times, carpenters would have worked for weeks preparing an elaborate composite figure, but Captain Schooner wished no delay in the ceremony for fear of police interference, so that it was necessary to use what masks happened to be in existence and to place them in conjunction by means of the crude white sheet. Jessie had not been initiated into the *nuxalk* society, but no opposition was raised to the use of *nuxalk* whistles both on account of her status as chief, and owing to the influence of her father who, a *nuxalk* chief, feared no restrictions and heeded no conventions. Besides, both her brothers were initi-

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ceremonial assault. In former times it is certain that objections would have been raised to this breach of ceremonial privilege.

There was a pause for several minutes after the withdrawal of the figure. Then Reuben threw a copper on the floor to the track taken by the actor "to make home for the dead woman." A number of chiefs went forward to join the singers and discuss whether or not the copper should be redeemed. No one wished to do so, so Captain Schooner said he would have it fastened to a post over Jessie's grave, a proposition to which all agreed.

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After inconclusive discussion in which Captain Schooner, Nelsonhadnoone, Reuben Schooner, Jim Pollard, and Alec Davis took the principal parts, it was decided to sing the fourth mourning song at this point. There was no reason why this should not have been done at the customary time, after the other three, but wide latitude in detail was allowed in this ceremony; in fact, exact ritual never flourished in Bella Coola and has become increasingly rare in recent years. This song had been composed a number of years previously when Captain Schooner had called in the Bella Bella to a memorial potlatch, and great care had been expended on its composition owing to the skill of the guests in songs of this type. The words, altered to fit the circumstances, were phrased as if George and Dan were lamenting the loss of their mother and other relatives.

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"I, we," they run, "are thinking of our mother, our brothers, our sisters, our mother's brothers, our mother's sisters, our father's brothers, our father's sisters, of all our dead relatives. Please, ye chiefs from abroad, turn your heads, listen to our wail. You revered great ones, let us all cry together. It is we who have called you hither; look upon us."

This song was sung in the manner already described, except that more of the Bella Coola were familiar with the words and tune and could accordingly join in.

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Meanwhile Captain Schooner, with his sons Reuben and Harry and his grandsons George Nelson and Andy Schooner, had been crouching in a corner of the hall, poring over the money which was to be distributed to validate the ceremony,

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and deciding how to divide it. Harry Schooner is neither dominant nor capable, and lady acted only as clerk, so the actual decision rested with Captain Schooner, Reuben, and George. Daniel Nelson would normally have played a prominent part, but he was absent owing to the illness of his infant daughter. Samuel King joined the group, bringing with him two coppers, two rifles, and a sum of money, and whispered the purpose of this contribution. 769 556* 769 556* 583

After the usual pause George Nelson and Captain Schooner, the latter substituting for the absent Dan Nelson, stood up and walked around the hall carrying three coppers and two rifles. Then they returned to their places.

Nihuchalumoor had been asked by Captain Schooner to act as announcer on account of his good voice and self-confidence. He joined the group in the corner to call out whatever they whispered to him. First he stated that one of the coppers just displayed had been given to George Nelson to redeem from him his wife, Joe Williams' daughter. He explained that the other two, as well as the rifles, were presents from Samuel King, assisted by his brother, Albert, and his sister, Mrs. Alexander Chalmers, to George Nelson in consequence of the latter's marriage to Samuel King's daughter. This arrangement having been initiated by the relatives of the girl, it was fitting that they should give the first presents. [537]

Captain Schooner had first planned to expend $200 to celebrate the return of his dead daughter. His wife gave him $20 for the purpose, and when Joe Williams returned $150, he decided to use only $100 of his savings, making $270 in all. To this Reuben added $80, Harry $40, and Dan Nelson $40, increasing the total to $430. George contributed what he had received from Joe Williams for the repurchase of the latter's daughter, as well as what Samuel King had just given him. Samuel added to the pile some money belonging to Jessie,** 769 556*

**The writer could not learn why this money had not been destroyed with her other possessions. The reason may have been that the Bella Coola knew that, though a potlatch was illegal, the goods of a dead person could be distributed and by doing this at a community they hoped for no interference from the law.

969 these various amounts making $[illegible], when added to the previous $[illegible].

$ 556 It was first decided to give a present to everyone as "Eagle Down Shaken Off by the Dead Woman." Captain Schooner and his assistants thought first of the bottom house in the village, remembered who lived in it, then, after a little more discussion, agreed upon the amount each should receive. This was whispered to Nebuchadnezzar, who held up a bill and called out, for example:

"$10 for so-and-so."

A number of young men had volunteered as messengers and one of them took the money to the designated recipient. After giving to all in the bottom house, they passed to the next above it, and so in succession for the whole village. Absentees were remembered and their presents received by friends or relatives. *Kaviar* names were used because Nebuchadnezzar was unfamiliar with the little-used ancestral designations. Contrary to ancient usage, the amounts varied; some chiefs received as much as $10, a child, $1, or 50 cents. Each recipient accepted his gift without showing whether it was more or less than he had expected. There was not sufficient change, so that five persons were often named together and a $5 bill given to the first mentioned for sharing with the other four, a transaction always carried out honestly. Many of the Carriers [609] were strangers, so they could not be rewarded in accordance with their rank, but $50 was given to one of their chiefs to share as he thought fit.

465 Not all the money was distributed in this way. Payments
969 had to be made to those who had assisted at the funeral. Gifts
$ 556 were bestowed upon the women who had washed and dressed
964 the corpse; to the men who had helped to make the coffin; to the canoe-men who had brought the body to Bella Coola; to the pall-bearers; to the grave-diggers; to the woman who had carried the fire; to the singers, especially to those who had

*The exact sums contributed by Samuel King and George Nelson could not be known.

compound the same sand; to the carpenter who had prepared and sawed the masked figure; to the members of the band, including a provision for their services whenever Dan Nelson's child should die; to a carpenter to erect a fence around the grave; to another to cut the representation of an eagle on a stone to be erected over the grave; to the speakers at the funeral; to the speakers at the rite then taking place; to those who delivered the money; to the youth who, with pencil and paper, assisted in keeping accounts; to the cook, and to all others who had assisted in any manner. In every case the amount was announced, the bill held up, the name of the recipient stated, the reason for his reward, and the money was then taken to him by a messenger. Captain Schooner really decided how much each should receive, he being in the best position to judge what was suitable, and there being no fixed scale of charges to help him. Work paid for in advance, such as the erection of the fence, was carefully carried out.

A little money had been kept to validate the assumption of ancestral names by several children of the Schooner family. Everyone received a small amount, a child sometimes as trifling a sum as 25 cents. Captain Schooner had virtually chosen who was to receive which designation, although he received advice from all his relatives. Harry Schooner's infant was given the name, *Päträtsaz*, a reference to the manner in which the first beams of the morning sun strike the lofty summit of Mount *Nazpaltz*. Reuben's son was called *ałwäłz*, a *Snake-ał* designation connected with the crash when the first *Sanyᵉ* fell. The myths in which these names were embodied were not expounded; in fact, they had been almost forgotten, even by Captain Schooner. *Tał-ła* Jenny wished to transmit one of her names to Andy Schooner's infant; this was announced in the same way as the others and validated with them by the gifts to all. Jenny had not contributed to the common stock, but some of it was used with the understanding that she would later repay. Nebuchadnezzar announced the

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ours being used for such names, and the bills were displayed before messengers carried them to the recipients.

Finally, Jim Pollard took the opportunity to bestow on Captain Schooner the name, *Snaxalit*. This designation was the property of the donor's ancestral family and should not have been transmitted without the consent of all its members. Jim had probably informed several of them of his intention, but no objections would have been raised if he had overlooked this courtesy, since he is the only *wanalit chief* among them, and the only one with determination and prestige. It was not an outright gift, since it was announced that it must be returned to the donor's family on Captain Schooner's death. Jim Pollard acted as his own announcer for this transaction, explaining that he gave the name in gratitude for the help which Captain Schooner had rendered at the death of his, Jim's, father about twenty years before. He promised that at the earliest opportunity he would give presents to validate the transmission.

969 *556 During the lengthy distribution of money, the audience had shown unmistakable signs of weariness. It was now between 2.00 and 3.00 A.M., and as soon as Jim had finished speaking the guests dispersed quietly, though many of them gathered in groups in one another's houses to discuss what had taken place.

Captain Schooner slept late after the lengthy ceremony, but was proud and contented when interviewed about noon. He felt that what was fitting for his daughter had been performed, and was willing to take the consequences of having broken the law.

968 Little else of note occurred in connection with Jessie's funeral. Samuel King deposited near her grave a sewing-machine which his wife had used for only a short time and Captain Schooner decided to replace this with an older one belonging to his wife. He made this exchange on the afternoon of June 30, when Samuel, in company with a number of women, was burning the rest of Jessie's clothing and possessions. Captain Schooner explained his act by saying:

995 one of the several causes which, it is believed, he has become. The point does not appear important to the Bella Coola, corresponding to their indefinite ideas concerning whether the spirit and the life have become a single being, or several.

Knowledge of the life had in *Nuxmalo* by the deceased, now in the form of his crest,* is most indefinite. In a general way it is felt that the actions of this being are similar to those carried on during life, but to a more advanced degree. A skilled carpenter is a better carpenter in the land above, a chief who has given many potlatches below can give more in *Nuxmalo*. This [399] belief finds expression in mourning songs which frequently state how *Alquantlen* has called a good carpenter to work above, or how a chief has gone to exhibit his generosity in a new sphere. It is doubtful whether this sentiment plays any real part in Bella Coola thought. The spirit and the life of a dead person have gone too far away to affect the living; what little is known of their actions has been handed down from the distant past and is mainly a matter of history. The only time that these 995 two merged elements come to this world is at a memorial pot- 969 latch, and formerly the uninitiated undoubtedly believed that 556 they were witnessing such a visit. Though the spectators were shown as a matter of course that the spirit and the life had become bird or animal, emphasis was laid on the fact that they had become the *particular* bird or animal crest of the donor's ancestral family. The effect of the memorial potlatch in former times, as at present, was, therefore, social rather than religious. Besides, the two parts portrayed have never been known 995 to affect a human being; they expect no offerings, grant no assistance, cause no injury, and are accordingly neglected.

In comparison with the above vague beliefs, Bella Coola information concerning ghosts is clear and exact. As already

[993] *It is accepted that men were created as human beings, and only assumed bird or animal shapes in order to reach the earth, but there is no corresponding belief that the spirit and the life change back from crest to human form on arrival above. Of course, the performance of human activities by anthropomorphic creatures presents no difficulties to Bella Coola thought.

and the person shifts his promotion to the selection. Non-members are told that the death was due to one of the many dangers connected with the society.

It is said that, in former times, the Bella Coola sometimes held a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discontinued. In spirit, however, memorial songs were sung for dead Bella Coola, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to prohibition of the potlatch.

The Revival of Ancient Dances

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE DANCES

A detailed description of various Bella Coola dances can now be given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference between them that each will require a separate account, although considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning in connection with the first dance those features common to all. The initial performer is always he who has the prerogative of seeing the supernatural canoe which comes from the Land of the Salmon to visit Nuxalkmcilla. Several *kukusiut* have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so. Thereafterth there is no order for different dances; the marshals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does so without conflicting with another. The first dance described is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *kusiut* season.

THE DANCE OF *Nuklpum*[11]

The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the September moon is full there starts from the Land of the Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *Nuklpum*, commanded by a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly

[11] Cf. Boas, p. 40.

177 fathers. Inherited beliefs are too deep-rooted to pass away
771 entirely within a few generations. Even those who claim to
[181] have adopted the new faith remain convinced of the potency of magic, and of the existence of those supernatural creatures which do not actively conflict with the white man's creed. Such lack of consistency is a world-wide trait, particularly intelligible among the Bella Coola whose philosophy abounds in contradictions, dependent upon statements handed down in the origin myths of different families.

626 The Bella Coola are constrained not only by the omni-
[181] presence of supernatural beings; they are constantly subjected to the influence of their fellows. They are far less individualistic than white people. A chief may boast that he can do as
[622] he pleases, that he can disregard the restrictions of lesser men; he often does so, but only because public opinion recognizes that he has reached a position of eminence by giving many potlatches. The duly validated warrior is brave because he
[703] feels that everyone is aware of his valour. The man who per-
[769] forms some ceremony in accordance with an ancestral myth incorporates himself with his forbears, and is strengthened by the conviction that he has gained their support and approbation. In every phase of life, a person is profoundly affected
177 by the approval or disapproval of his neighbours. At present
626 the construction of small houses, each occupied by a single
342 family, makes it possible for a man to hide himself, or to do work unknown to the rest of the community. This lessens the force of public opinion, although it is even now more potent than conscience in checking anti-social acts. Formerly, in communal houses, every action was fully known, making individual freedom of thought and act virtually impossible. A man
[602] is chiefly influenced by his relatives who take a great share in what the white man would consider purely family affairs. The effect of the group upon the individual must not be overlooked, nor can it be over-stressed in a study of these people.

177 The education and conversion of the younger men have
626 enormously lessened their reliance upon their fellows. In former
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561

192*

[illegible]: Sonnglish *hactsa* gesticulative consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract. [824]

Nuk: Eagle; supernatural dancer; in his exercises he is a yearling mountain goat.

[illegible]: Fire complete dance given by a *hactsa* initiate.

[illegible]: Mammal, any kind. [825]

Nanamuxit: One of the names of Green Blue Heron as chief.

Nankila: 1—One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.

2—One of the first men to settle at *Inaklil* in the beginning of time.

Nanlayum: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Nanamuxit: Name given to his grandson by one of the first settlers at *Ninkul* in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: *Hactsa* gesticulative as a Bonsher; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.

[illegible]: Sloping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kitamaat, *hactsa* masks are hung.

[illegible]: The working end of a hand [illegible] for chicken.

Nanaijamaxa: 1—"The Adviser"; One of the names of the supreme god. [622]

2—Chiefs of a village, collectively; usually, "The Sages."

na'mistim: 1—Ceremony at which scandal names are validated in the eyes of the fellow-villagers. [553]

2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed. [796]

na'mulgat: Assemblage of the *hakamat* to practise difficult [illegible].

Na-ganu, "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": Pacyahaw name given to a deserting wife.

Nanaklila: One of the names of Raven as chief.

nanakhlaka: Sentence of death passed by the *hakamat* on one of their fellows as punishment for an error. [618]

nanjam: A loan, especially of an ancestral right. [422]

Nankilyum: Synonym for *Nanlayum*, the supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Na'nes, "Inkomparable": Name taken by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

nanjinda: Toilet-hole.

nanda: Birth.

Nankipa: Anthropomorphized evil cold wind. [821]

nankl-ne: Rhetorical term of respect for aged dead. [769]

nankl-ne da ikamin: 1—High tide. [823]

2—Long life.

nanjiguin: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold chicken-net post steady while being driven.

Na'qamiq, "Place of Foul Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Nasl": 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.

2—River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.

Nasklaklaik: Synonym for *Intsaxtsuk*, an immoral supernatural woman.

nalpi: The achievement of success against supernatural odds; the term is used with reference to the solutions of the riddles of the Mystery dance.

nalumkwaxum: Any non-sacred dance held at the conclusion of the *hactsa* season. [535]

Nakwaxa: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

[619] [197] [575] [604] tribes. This differentiated them clearly from all neighbouring tribes.

B. Ceremonies. A member of a secret society in any of the above towns was accepted as a member in any other one. A person of another tribe, even if known to belong to a comparable society, was treated as an uninitiated person.

C. Origin and Religion. The people of Bella Coola, Talio, and Kimsquit felt themselves to be akin through acceptance of the fact that their ancestors had been created together in the beginning of time. This marked them off with [971] great clearness from all other tribes, especially from the Carriers of the interior. This belief formed a sentimental and religious bond of great strength.

Neighbouring Tribes

648 It is desirable to describe, briefly, the tribes with which the Bella Coola came in contact.

The Carriers

East of Bella Coola, amid the mountains of the interior, roved the Carriers. In summer they often came down to the river valley to fish or trade for salmon, and in winter they were sometimes forced by cold and starvation again to visit the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, or Rivers Inlet people. There was a [563] good deal of intermarriage between them and the inhabitants of the upper valley, so that the wanderers were able to spend the cold months with relatives. None the less, the Bella Coola [180] [578] considered these people utterly foreign in habits and beliefs, and to call a man a "Carrier" was, and still is, a deadly insult. The Carriers lacked the rich ceremonial life of the coastal peoples who, therefore, regarded them with scorn and contempt. [794] The presence of a few of the much-despised Carriers was, however, almost necessary to the correct performance of the winter dances since they were uninitiated spectators whom it was necessary to impress and delude.

"The Coming of *Sacrificeholm*."[1]

Fifth moon after the summer solstice: *cuwiyal*, "The Time for Racial Dances,"[2] or *Sipachmain di Sint*, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings."

Sixth moon after the summer solstice: *Sinat*, "Sun Down," that is, when the sun reaches the solstice.

First moon after the winter solstice: *Swanhaqwum*, "What Sweeps Away Food," or *Sulili*, "Angry Moon."

Second moon after the winter solstice: *Sheweilwat*, "Facing in Both Directions," that is, half the month belongs to winter and half to summer, or *Lamalo di Nanichkiag*, "The Podatch of the *Nanichkiag*" (I, p. 18).

Third moon after the winter solstice: *Sinjum*, "When Herrings Spawn." These fish are said to have arrived on the same day of this moon as the winter solstice in the December sun.

Fourth moon after the winter solstice: *Siljuly*, "Time for Making Salmon Weirs."

Fifth moon after the winter solstice: *Sinawwal*, "Time for Making Hand-Nets for Ulachon."

Sixth moon after the winter solstice: *Sinitwl*, "Time for Eating Spring Salmon." It is in this month that the summer solstice occurs.

The chief difficulty experienced by the Bella Coola in computing time rests on the fact that each month is judged by the moon, whereas the main periods of the year depend upon the solstices. One old man, from whom much of this information was obtained, stated that trouble always came at the winter solstice when the month was divided into two sections. The above list is obviously incomplete and incoherent, but it was the best available.

Supernatural Beings

In any primitive community the social, religious, political, and economic aspects of life are so interwoven that they

[1] See vol. II, p. 8 for a description of this mythical being.
[2] See vol. II, chap. i, for a description of these dances.

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cannot be considered as distinct subjects; not only does this present difficulties to the investigator in the field, but it also makes it no easy task to describe the facts so obtained. With many tribes it is possible to deal first with the social life, and later with religion, shamanism, and other associated topics. Such a form of presentation has many advantages and would, if possible, have been followed. Unfortunately, the social organization and rank of the Bella Coola largely depend upon their religious beliefs as expressed in their mythology, and an understanding of at least the main features of these is essential. In this chapter a summary of these has been made, leaving for later description personal relations with the supernatural world and other points which do not profoundly influence the beliefs and practices of the whole community.

Like other peoples, the Bella Coola differ considerably in the fervour of their religious beliefs. But even allowing for individual variation, religious experiences and beliefs are matters of frequent occurrence and profound importance to the great majority of the tribe. The supernatural world is close around them; a sudden thought is caused by the intervention of a supernatural being; the peculiar action of an animal is an occurrence fraught with grave meaning; an unexplained sound always receives a supernatural explanation. The old beliefs survive even among members of the community who are nominal Christians, and those who hold to their ancient religion live in an atmosphere of the supernatural. The white man, whose scientific training and logic lead him to find a natural explanation for an incident, is puzzled and somewhat amused at what he often calls the childish beliefs of the Indian. The Bella Coola, on the other hand, seeing the hand of the supernatural in every untoward event, considers the attitude of the white man in seeking a natural explanation to be almost irreverent. The mental attitude of the Bella Coola to the supernatural does not differ vitally from that of the white man under like conditions; but whereas to white men religious experiences are most unusual, they are common occurrences to

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the Indian. A native convert, for example, finds no difficulty in understanding the Old Testament, for the frequent manifestations of the supernatural are like those to which he has been accustomed. One intelligent Indian went so far as to say that he was a better Christian than any white man because he believed every word in the Old Testament, while he had heard that white men doubted the historical accuracy of some of the stories there recorded.

The following incident illustrates rather clearly the attitude of the Bella Coola towards the supernatural. A few years ago a party, consisting of a number of Indians and one white man, was proceeding by canoe up Dean Channel. On the shore, some distance ahead of them, they saw what seemed to be a grizzly bear with its pelt showing the white sheen so much desired by hunters. Hoping for a shot at the animal, they paddled in behind a long point which offered a hidden means of approach. But as the canoe cautiously rounded the tip, within easy rifle range, all that could be seen was a white water-washed stump, somewhat resembling a bear in shape. To the white man it was obvious that they had all been deceived by this resemblance in the distance, but to the Bella Coola it was equally obvious that the bear had changed into a stump. A bear had been there, they had seen it, now there was a stump: "The bear must have changed itself," they said.

If the reader grasps the mental attitude which explains an optical illusion as a manifestation of the supernatural, he will be able to comprehend the important part played by supernatural beings in the lives of the Bella Coola. Creatures of this type, some anthropomorphic and others zoomorphic, range not only the mountains and forests of British Columbia, but also the waters beneath and the sky above. Their true home is on the flat country above the sky; most of them are merely visitors to this world. Supernatural beings of all kinds are termed *sisut*. The attitude of Indians towards them, and their concepts concerning them, can best be understood by the stories in vol. I, chap. x, and vol. II, chap. v. Bella Coola beliefs are

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not systematized; if a man is asked about the powers or functions of a certain supernatural being, he will usually answer by recounting a story in which that being appears. What is known respecting many of the lesser supernatural beings depends upon information contained in stories, and as many of these are personal possessions, it follows that there is tremendous variation in individual knowledge. Psychologically, this is of little importance; there are enough supernatural beings for everyone to know some of them, and to expect to meet or hear them in the forests. To insert many of the stories contained in later chapters would break the sequence of description; all that is here attempted is to give a general summary, in a way foreign to Bella Coola thought.

Supernatural beings are by no means all-powerful. It is true that they have miraculous powers and can work weal or woe to human beings who chance to come in contact with them, but likewise they may sometimes be overwhelmed by mortals armed with objects steeped in human essence, such as a blanket which has been worn until it is impregnated not only with the smell, but the physical being of its owner. In particular, shamans or other mortals of great strength have been able to conquer the supernatural ones. Consequently, it may be said that although supernatural beings live on a plane different from that of mortals, they are not omnipotent. Long, long ago, man was able to come in contact with them more frequently, but that golden age when the semi-mythical ancestors of the Bella Coola were living has long since passed away, though it is only within the last few years that such beings, particularly supernatural animals, have become comparatively rare. The Bella Coola give three main reasons for this:

(1) Supernatural animals do not like the sound of muskets and have moved far away.

(2) With increasing dependence on the canning industry, fewer hunters penetrate into their haunts in the distant parts of the mountains.

(3) The younger Bella Coola no longer take pains to purify themselves as a means of placating supernatural beings.

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rate most of them, are carefully used in accordance with the 776*
functions of this supreme deity. As a Bella Coola has many [551]
names, corresponding to his membership in various societies, his professional prerogatives, his ancestral myths, and mere nicknames, so has *Ālqantām*, who is a superman, many names, according to his special functions. It would be unthinkable [782]
for a Bella Coola to pray to *Ālqantām*, yet it is common for him to pray to *Mīnakais* or *Tātā*, other names for the same being. The multiplicity of functions and designations approaches the point of obscuring the unity of *Ālqantām*, which in fact, some Bella Coola even deny. They state that *Snuxālstla*, *Mīnakais*, *Smaialstla*, and *Nuxkmālsaix* are one, but that *Ālqantām*, *Snuxlkāls*, and *Nenedjenostem* are three distinct supernatural beings. This seeming confusion presents [424]
no difficulties to the Indian, since each family has its own [184]
myths in which such facts are recorded. He believes these, [771]
without questioning those of his neighbour, and it is even possible for an individual to believe two contradictory statements, if he happens to become the owner of two contradictory myths. Evidence collected in the field does not make clear whether the beliefs of the Bella Coola illustrate an incomplete transformation of a single deity into a number of minor ones, or whether they represent the almost complete fusion of a number of beings into one. Following the practice of the great majority of the Bella Coola, the supreme deity will be referred to as *Ālqantām*.

The most obvious attribute of *Ālqantām* is connected with 776*
the sun. He can enter it and use it as if it were his canoe. In 821
form he resembles a man, and when he takes charge of the sun it appears as if the latter were a large, self-propelling, radiant boat with windows through which he looks forth. It is said that long ago he allowed mink to take charge of the sun, but the malicious animal ran it so close to earth that the intense heat killed almost all living creatures. When *Ālqantām* enters [825]
the sun he wears a cloak, on the lining of which are salmon; reversing this causes the rivers on earth to teem with salmon.

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The religious concepts of the Bella Coola are not limited to explanations of strange apparitions, nor to knowledge of a wide range of supernatural beings, anthropomorphic or zoomorphic. Many in whom they believe are invisible and intangible, though none the less potent. Almost every incident of life is attributed to the help or hindrance of a supernatural agency. If a fisherman constructs a salmon-weir, with a considerable amount of work, the Bella Coola ascribe his success to the assistance of some supernatural being or supernormal power; mere labour would never have sufficed. If a man has phenomenal success in hunting, it is because the supernatural has helped him in some way. It is not necessary that an anthropomorphic being should appear; they seldom do, but none deny that in some form or another supernatural ones have aided the enterprise.

This attitude is clearly evident in Bella Coola beliefs concerning the construction of canoes. Many professions depend upon prerogatives without which a person cannot hope to succeed. This is not true of canoe-makers, although it is a great advantage to one of them if *Y'alätimut*, the Master Carpenter, appeared to his ancestors in the beginning of time. Even without this in many cases a man can succeed in making a canoe if he is aided by a supernatural teacher, or Model Maker. No one knows much about this being, nor even whether there is more than one of them, but it is through his kindly intervention that a man is able to complete his complicated task. If carpenters who have left a half-finished canoe in the woods, hear adze beats, as they are returning to it, they remain away from the spot, knowing that their work is being done with superhuman efficiency by a supernatural artisan. Under such circumstances even a solitary man can construct one of the large, ocean-going canoes. About 1880 an expert carpenter, named *Yalaha*, was making

stated definitely that his mother had told him Mackenzie came down the Dean River when her uncle was a young man. As if to confirm this statement he added the inconsequential detail that Mackenzie, in dire straits for food, killed and ate a dog, and that he was given a marmot-skin blanket.

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Raven, blinded by his grief, did not believe him, and responded angrily:

"No, youare not my son. Why do you lie to me? Get out of this house."

Disgusted at this reception, *O'mistwai* obeyed. Just as he was passing through the doorway, Raven noticed the tattoo marks on his legs, and realized that, in spite of the change in his appearance, the visitor was really his son. He called on him to return, but *O'mistwai* paid no attention to his father's entreaties and sped far away. Raven's grief was beyond expression, but he could do nothing to repair the damage he had done. If it had not been for Raven's mistake, all mortals would return to life four days after death. [B04]

The above myth is widely known among the Bella Coola, and is supposed to be historically accurate. At the same time, few people allow it to influence their thoughts with regard to death or its causes. It is a fact, but one that belongs to the realm of ancient history rather than to everyday experience. When a Bella Coola dies, his relatives, though they know that his death is due to the folly of Raven, tacitly overlook this, and do not feel bitterly towards Raven. Bella Coola beliefs and theology are not systematized, hence it is quite possible for a person to realize a certain fact, such as the cause of death, and yet disregard it entirely. Considering that absolute contradictions can be believed simultaneously, it is not difficult to picture the mental attitude of people who believe, and at the same time disregard their belief. 771 961 996*

One of Raven's spectacular, and at the same time, beneficial exploits was the bringing of sockeye salmon to the Bella Coola River.[1] 539 825

In the beginning of time, no sockeye salmon inhabited the rivers, and Raven determined to supply them. First he tried making wooden fish and throwing them into the water, but though he could animate them, they always died after jumping a few times. The reason for his failure, though he did not know it, was because he had omitted the small bone [774]

[1] This is an example of conflicting beliefs. In addition to assuming that salmon were sent down by *Alquantun* to furnish food for mankind, and that Raven supplied them in the beginning of time, the Bella Coola also believe that they are brought each year both by *Nuhlymm* and *Wiwelm*. [771]

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CHAPTER XI

MEDICINE, MAGIC, TABOO[1]

Introductory — Causative Medicines — Preventive and Curative Medicines — Sorcerers — Taboos — Ritual Acts — Miscellaneous Beliefs

INTRODUCTORY

THE beliefs described in the last chapter are essentially religious since they display an attitude of respect and often of propitiation to supernatural powers having greater strength than human beings. This is self-evident in the earlier sections and, though less noticeable, is present also in ideas concerning shamans since these men have themselves acquired ability placing them on a plane slightly removed from that of their fellows. Theoretically, it seems as if a clear division might be drawn between the concepts just recorded, and others of a magical nature in which, although the element of contact with the supernatural is present, yet the end desired is obtained by the mere performance of an action. To the Bella Coola there is a slight overlap between the two types. For example, the acquisition of an object from which supernatural good fortune may be secured is religious, but its use is virtually magical since once obtained, neither supplication nor further favours are necessary. Nevertheless, it is possible to separate most magical beliefs from most religious ones, though it must be emphasized that the cleavage is less distinct to the native than it appears to the white man.

If it is difficult to find a clear dividing-line between religion and magic, it is impossible to draw one between the latter and

[1] The late Harlan I. Smith has dealt with certain aspects of the subjects treated in this chapter in two articles: "Sympathetic Magic and Witchcraft among the Bellacoola" (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 27, no. 1, Jan.-March, 1925, pp. 116-121) and "Materia Medica of the Bella Coola and Neighbouring Tribes of British Columbia" (National Museum of Canada, Annual Report for 1927, Bulletin 56, pp. 47-68).

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and those who have knowledge of them are sorcerers. Even 754
a man of this kind is not outside the pale of society unless he [755]
practises indiscriminately; members of the *kusiut* society, for 789
example, frequently employ one to kill an individual who has [575]
offended against their regulations (I, p. 740). A man is regarded as a sorcerer not on account of his knowledge but on account of the ends to which he applies it.

Closely related to, if not identical with, the belief that 784
certain consequences follow certain acts, is the conviction that the infraction of ritual prohibitions brings disaster. There are many such taboos, for so they may be called. Though most important at the critical periods of life, puberty, pregnancy, while observing ceremonial chastity, and so forth, there are many which must be obeyed at all times.

Restrictions pertaining to the river and regulations at birth and death have already been described. Like magical acts, these often verge on the religious owing to the belief that disregard offends supernatural beings. On the whole, however, it seems as if most infractions bring their own punishment without intervention of higher powers, a concept which throws [789]
taboos into the category of magic rather than of religion, with the ever-present proviso that the two cannot be separated entirely from one another. With them may be associated a [788]
number of ritual acts connected with fishing and hunting in which, though the element of propitiation is not absent, it is satisfied by the performance of definite rites. Finally, there have been included in this chapter a number of unimportant beliefs, the psychology of which cannot be analysed.

What is the basis of these rites defined as Medicine, Magic, 154
and Taboo? As already described, the Bella Coola either do 771
not explain their origin and function, or merely state that 789
Ālquntām is responsible, as he is for every activity of life. This is unsatisfactory because many which, viewed scientifically, have neither curative nor causative power, produce the desired end. A child who has been "made" a carpenter during infancy, usually grows up to be proficient in that profession; the person

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154 who has been "cured" of an illness, recovers; the man whose
•771 death has been "caused" by magic, dies. An average white
789 man would consider such statements to be erroneous, but they not only figure in stories and beliefs, but some of them have been actually observed by the writer. The explanation lies in the susceptibility of the Bella Coola to suggestion. The conviction that he is to die so weakens a man that death often results; belief that he is to recover, aids a sick person to throw off the malady. This sentiment, intelligible in case of disease, is equally applicable in other matters. The child who has been
[868] endowed with carpentry skill grows up with the conviction to assist his labours. Moreover, his relatives and friends are also aware of it, and he receives every opportunity to practise, so that the outcome desired is often the consequence of the act.
789 Though the Bella Coola do not appreciate that psychological
828 and sociological factors may be the real cause of the result, they realize the importance of the power of thought. For
[771] example, if a group of people is unanimous in wishing some end, or expects some event to happen, it is believed that their thoughts are strong enough to bring about its occurrence. The following examples illustrate this point:

It is said that when the white man first came to British Columbia, a tribe of Indians was living in a secluded valley, far to the south. As more and more settlers arrived, the occupants were driven from their homes and forced into the barren
[787] mountains. One night, *Ałquntām* came in a vision to one of the natives, saying:

"I see what you desire; you want the white men to withdraw. You, yourself, are helpless. But if all your fellows wish the same, the white men will depart."

The man told all his friends and they agreed to concentrate the next night on their wish to expel the white man. A few failed to do so, and nothing happened. The second night there was the same lack of unanimity. The desire to drive away the intruders grew stronger in course of time, until one night this was the centre of the thoughts of all; next morning the white

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754 would probably fall a victim. He became ill in May, 1923,
961 and, though treated by a white doctor, grew steadily worse
789 until he died in the latter part of June, three weeks after the
828 year had elapsed. All the Bella Coola firmly believe that this
[622] was due to the power of thought. The father of the woman was a powerful chief whose thoughts were accordingly potent, and some consider that his concentrated desires and expectations were enough to kill the accused, while others believe that his expressed statements convinced others of the result, and that it was their combined thought that caused the death. It usually requires the thoughts of more than one individual to lead to this effect. The doctor who attended this man stated that his patient had shown symptoms of melancholy and resignation during his last sickness; it seems clear that the expectation of death must have lessened his chance of recovery.

771 A prominent theme in Bella Coola folk-lore is the belief
954 that a person cannot long survive who has made himself un-
828 popular. It is sometimes stated that a magical means was
[538] employed to remove him, and this was no doubt often the case; a person who learns that a "medicine" had been employed to kill him is in no fit mental condition to counteract the power of suggestion, particularly if he knows that others are aware of what has been done. His death is regarded as proof of the efficacy of the means employed and the belief of others grows stronger. As already stated, this conviction still survives. When this ethnological investigation was being conducted, a
[648] point under discussion was whether or not the Kimsquit people should be allowed to live in Bella Coola. One chief took the lead in objecting and everyone expected that, having thus roused the ire of would-be immigrants, he would die. He did so soon afterwards, and it is universally believed that it was caused by the concentration of the hostile thoughts of the Kimsquit. Similarly, the potency of taboos is increased by the fact that since
[784] time immemorial the thoughts of everyone have been opposed to any infraction. Consequently, an offender is liable to punishment both for breaking an injunction and because he

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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has gone contrary to something about which there has been universal agreement for generations. 771 754

To understand Bella Coola medicines it is, therefore, necessary to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practise them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to those effecting death, but is equally true with regard to all medicines, whether curative or causative. 828 [784] [755]

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of medicines. Knowledge of most remedies has been handed down for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type can be practised by any member of the group to which it belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment, but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction that only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship of some medicines, but these are indicated whenever possible. 424 755 757 [614] [465] [614] [425]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1941
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789 ceremonial dances without making mistakes. The Bella Bella
856 paint a representation of a wolf's bladder for the same purpose.
[532] The basis of this medicine is the belief that it is the gall-
[826] bladder which causes wildness and intelligent fear, and hence
that anyone so treated will be careful not to make mistakes.
[825] A bird with a large bladder is thought to be difficult to approach, whereas a deer, which has a small one, or none at all, is often stupidly brave. This medicine is known only to the mem-
[424] bers of certain families and is used for the children of chiefs
[622] alone, since errors on the part of others is a matter of little importance.

MEDICINES OF CHILDHOOD

789 Some of the instruction given to boys and girls, and the
856 acts which they are enjoined to perform, are virtually religious,
and have accordingly been described in earlier chapters. For
771 example, when a lad washes in the river before daybreak, scours himself with a smooth stone and prays to *Ālquntäm*, he is carrying out what might with justice be called a religious act. If, however, he believes that mere wishing is enough to compel some desire or end, it is magical. Different Bella Coola have different sentiments concerning the exact means by which this method causes the desired effect. To some it is unquestionably a true prayer, but in other families it is customary for a father to take his son, when he has reached about eight years of age, and wash him four times, to the accompaniment of the usual prayer. It is believed that this causes the lad to grow up powerful and active, constantly striving for success. This type of washing may be called magical.

789 In the following there is no element of uncertainty; they
856 belong unquestionably to the category described in the preceding section.

To Cause Agility

The following medicine is frequently employed by fathers when their sons are first able to walk:

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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been displayed in their customs and beliefs, their habits, practices, and folk-lore, their outlook both towards the supernatural world and towards their fellows. /181

The following additional observations are the result of personal knowledge, and recorded after considerable thought.

When a white man begins to understand the Bella Coola, /181 he cannot fail to be impressed by their deep belief in the supernatural. /771 To them religion is no mental abstraction, but a living reality. They feel the presence of strange creatures around them, and they recognize non-human powers in every manifestation of their own minds; in fact, every incident, good or bad, is attributed to supernatural intervention. This does not mean that they regard life with stoic indifference, content to murmur *Kismet* at whatever fate befalls them. They realize that supernatural powers have endowed them with brains, with physical strength, and with the ability to win favour and gain help from active superhuman beings, and consequently they strive in a world teeming with potent forces. The individual toils as does a white man in the struggle of life, but he attributes his fortune, not to luck or to his unaided exertions, but to the assistance of non-human agents. If he is fortunate, it is because his spirit has been active; if unfortunate, because it has been too inert to protect him.

Contact with white men, particularly with missionaries, has /177 raised tremendous problems for the Bella Coola. The older /771 people have been but little affected; they may state that they are Christians, believing in the white man's god, but this often means only the knowledge of one more supernatural being whom they add to the already rich pantheon. It is quite otherwise with the younger people, particularly with those who have been away at school. Some adopt the new faith with fervour, continuing to see the same visions and to experience the same mental exaltations, but attributing them to Christianity. To [181] others, however, loss of belief in their own faith has caused a general scepticism; though they may accept the new religion, it does not become the vital force which the old was to their

177 fathers. Inherited beliefs are too deep-rooted to pass away
771 entirely within a few generations. Even those who claim to
[181] have adopted the new faith remain convinced of the potency of magic, and of the existence of those supernatural creatures which do not actively conflict with the white man's creed. Such lack of consistency is a world-wide trait, particularly intelligible among the Bella Coola whose philosophy abounds in contradictions, dependent upon statements handed down in the origin myths of different families.

626 The Bella Coola are constrained not only by the omni-
[181] presence of supernatural beings; they are constantly subjected to the influence of their fellows. They are far less individual-
[622] istic than white people. A chief may boast that he can do as he pleases, that he can disregard the restrictions of lesser men; he often does so, but only because public opinion recognizes that he has reached a position of eminence by giving many potlatches. The duly validated warrior is brave because he
[703] feels that everyone is aware of his valour. The man who per-
[769] forms some ceremony in accordance with an ancestral myth incorporates himself with his forbears, and is strengthened by the conviction that he has gained their support and approbation. In every phase of life, a person is profoundly affected
177 by the approval or disapproval of his neighbours. At present
626 the construction of small houses, each occupied by a single
342 family, makes it possible for a man to hide himself, or to do work unknown to the rest of the community. This lessens the force of public opinion, although it is even now more potent than conscience in checking anti-social acts. Formerly, in communal houses, every action was fully known, making individual freedom of thought and act virtually impossible. A man
[602] is chiefly influenced by his relatives who take a great share in what the white man would consider purely family affairs. The effect of the group upon the individual must not be overlooked, nor can it be over-stressed in a study of these people.

177 The education and conversion of the younger men have
626 enormously lessened their reliance upon their fellows. In former
182
561

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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577 edly until complete confidence was established, simplifying
[124] work in the field to an enormous extent. Equal trust could be placed on these men in other respects; articles of value were repeatedly left in their houses with the absolute certainty that they would be guarded with care. Some few individuals there were, however, who were neither honest nor trustworthy.
[777] Bella Coola religion is not concerned with ethics, but public
626 opinion demands honour in dealing with relatives or friends.
577 In former times, for example, debts incurred by an individual were considered a liability by his relations. If a man died after
[426] buying goods on credit for a potlatch, his family were disgraced
[602] if they failed to pay his bills; now, unfortunately, nothing con-
[177] strains the younger people, many of whom try to avoid settling even their own debts, much less those of dead relatives. Individual conscience has not replaced the tribal and, more specifically, family influence. Dishonesty in small matters is not
[648] uncommon, particularly in dealing with white people who,
[177] according to the Bella Coola, were the first to transgress. The older people bitterly lament the lack of morality of the younger and state, probably with entire justification, that they would have been prevented by the open life which prevailed when several families shared a single house. On the whole, however, the average Bella Coola is probably no less honest than the average white man.

153 Individuals vary enormously in mental ability. In making
124 this investigation, it was necessary to interview all the older people of the tribe. Disregarding those unwilling to provide information, it was found that some absolutely lacked the ability to explain matters with which they were familiar; some did not have sufficient patience to be good teachers; some were so forgetful that they would omit necessary points in a story or account; some were downright stupid, whereas others displayed mental ability of no mean order. In reading ethnological literature, one is apt to think of the troubles experienced by the author, and to overlook the fact that natives have as

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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to their forefathers. Profound as these material changes have been, those of a psychological nature have been even more important. New worlds have been thrown open to them, stimulating ideas have been brought to their attention, and they have realized for the first time that the world is infinitely larger than they had imagined. Hand in hand with this extension of knowledge has gone disbelief in their own ancient lore. The white man, whose superiority and mechanical skill they admit, positively denies the actuality of their mythology, and laughs at the dramatic performances which were wont to fill the winter with engrossing interest. Such rites can flourish only in an attitude of profound belief: this has been so shaken that the dances continue listlessly, a mere shadow of a once living art. The young people were the first to embrace a scepticism that has rapidly grown into disbelief of the faith of their ancestors, and a half-concealed scorn for their elders, the upholders of the old customs. Worst of all, prohibition of the potlatch has made it impossible for a man to reach a position of social eminence. Moreover, since the holding of any type of ceremonial requires a distribution of gifts, formal gatherings of all kinds have become virtually impossible; even marriages have no longer the social support that formerly made them so lasting.

These cumulative blows would be enough to shake any civilization, and that of the Bella Coola has been entirely unable to adjust itself to the new conditions. The young people, having lost respect for their elders, are deprived of the advice and support essential to the continuity of culture. They ape the white man's dress; they want his mechanical devices, but have failed to assimilate them. For example, a gramophone in a Bella Coola house is an anachronism, while several similar articles spoil the old picture but do not provide a new one. Seeking to copy the new ways thrown open to them, they have achieved the outward show but not the substance, and in so doing have destroyed their own culture. In the old days they were ambitious to hold potlatches and willing to work steadily towards that goal; now, new desires have not kept pace with

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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751 Women wear tight anklets 'to prevent the calves of their legs from slipping down.' During their monthly
481 periods women place soft cedar-bark in the vagina. The bark is afterwards
824 burnt in the woods. The smoke of this fire is believed to be poisonous.

It is evident that the culture of the Bilqula is very greatly influenced
177 by that of the Kwakiutl. The secret societies and the potlatch ceremonies
551 are almost a copy of those of the Hôitsenk'. This influence has been so
556 deep that names of even deities and of the mythical ancestors of certain
575 gentes are purely Kwakiutl words, or have at least Kwakiutl endings. Thus
776 the name Aiamk'ilkya (see p. 413) is purely Kwakiutl, meaning 'good all
771 over the world.' K'emk'emk'ilkya is also a Kwakiutl word, meaning 'the rich one of the world.' The chief's name, Ma'lakyilatl (see p. 409) belongs to the same class of Kwakiutl names. On the other hand, the religious ideas of the Bilqula are very curiously developed, and apparently but slightly influenced by their neighbours. The whole Mamaxala'niq tradition is peculiar to them, but has been partly adopted by the Awiky'-ô'nuq, with whom the Bilqula have intermarried.

[pp. 425-449 not processed]

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CHAPTER II

RELIGION

The Universe—Supernatural Beings—Supernatural Elements in Human Beings—Means of Propitiation

The Universe

ONE of the subjects about which Bella Coola philosophers pondered in former times, and about which definite information has come down to the present generation, is the universe. The young people, who have absorbed a certain amount of education from the white man, are scornful of the beliefs of their fathers, but it was possible to obtain the following information from a few of the older men and women. 772 [177]

They say that the earth is circular and flat, like an island. What it rests upon is problematical, though the assumption is that it is water. The world is kept from capsizing by the supernatural being, *Sninia*, who lives amid the ice in the far north; he grasps a rope to which the earth is fastened, and he keeps it steady by maintaining a tension on the rope to hold the world against his feet. Long, long ago *Sninia* was seen by human beings, but in later years no one has penetrated to his distant home and the Bella Coola have little regard for him. It was in the distant past, also, that human beings discovered the earth to be round, after certain semi-supernatural men had made a circuit of it. The four corners of space have not the same importance to the Bella Coola as they have, for example, to the Indians of the Plains. It is only through questioning that the investigator learns that the East is regarded as the top of the world, the South is the sun at its zenith, the West is the bottom, and the North is nothing, merely the opposite to the south. These beliefs play little part in the lives of the people. [776] [823]

Above our earth stretches an inverted dome, its edges resting on those of the world. This dome, the sky, is called

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772 *sonx̌*. If the Bella Coola were strictly logical, one should expect them to conceive the upper surface of *sonx̌* as being convex. Instead, it is considered a flat surface, very similar to the earth, and no explanation is given of what fills in the spaces between the dome, concave as viewed from this world, and the upper plane which could rest only on the peak of the dome. But logical accuracy is not a Bella Coola characteristic. This flat land is called *dāsonx̌dā* or *wasonx̌ wawtk-lloqosil*. It is illumined by a second sun, shining on it as the sun does on the earth. Far in the east of this upper region are extensive tide-flats. This land above is the home of many supernatural beings, who will be described in due course. The relative position of the sun to this upper world is ill-defined. According to some accounts, it travels by clearly marked trails on the surface, and a transparent dome is postulated to explain how its light reaches this earth. Others state that it moves like a bird or flying canoe through the space between the world and the dome-sky above. On many of these points there is a striking difference of opinion, which the Bella Coola explain by saying that their information is derived from ancient stories, which are personal possessions, and that no one knows the beliefs of his fellows. A co-ordinated theology, as Boas points out, has not evolved among the Bella Coola.

The sky, as it may be called if the reader will bear in mind that it is the underside of a flat land, was not always in its present condition. The Bella Coola say that long ago the supreme god instructed his Carpenters (I, p. 39) to make a sky. They started from the eastern extremity of the earth, but after a considerable part of the dome had been erected, it fell with a thunderous crash, because no supporting posts had been set up. The part that escaped this calamity is called *Salwalasam*. Undiscouraged, the Carpenters continued their work with the assistance of posts and so built the sky as it is seen today. Then the supports were taken away.

As already stated, a sun shines on the land above. As that seen by mortals is attached to the land above, so is this upper

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sun attached to another land above the one of which our sky is the underside. Boas (p. 28) has described this upper land in some detail. A number of Bella Coola were questioned on this subject, but for some time no one could be found with knowledge of its existence. At length one of the older people remembered that a man who had died some thirty years ago had a personal story connected with it, and later a Kimsquit man was able to furnish definite information. He explained that in his family there was a myth dealing with this matter; others might have heard this myth, but since it was not their property, of course they would not be able to impart the facts contained in it, nor would they necessarily believe it. Consequently, an upper land, superimposed above that which is immediately over the earth, cannot be described as a Bella Coola belief; it is shared, so far as could be ascertained, by only two families.

The chief feature of this uppermost world is its distance and unapproachableness. To the supernatural beings living in the intermediate land it is a far-off place; in fact, their attitude towards it corresponds to that with which mortals regard the land above their own. The supernatural ones can, when they wish, visit this upper world, which is called *Nuqulilli*. A sun shines there, but it is a different kind of sun from that known to mortals. On the whole it appears that this upper sky-land does not differ materially from either the earth or the land immediately above. No human being has ever reached this distant land, so what little is known about it was brought down in the beginning of time by the first people.

In addition to these two upper worlds, the Bella Coola know of one, or perhaps two, below. One of these is inhabited by ghosts.[1] It somewhat resembles the earth, but is unsubstantial and ethereal. It is considered to be immediately

[1]At the present time the Bella Coola are in a state of transition between the old beliefs and the new. This concept is held only by the older people, so it might be more accurate to describe it as one which they, the tribe as a whole, used to know. It has been thought advisable to use the present tense throughout in recording customs and beliefs which are now rapidly passing away.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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beneath the Bella Coola valley, and the land of the living forms a dome over it corresponding to that of the sky over this world. But everything is reversed. A river flows in the land of ghosts, but it rises in the west instead of the east; when it is warm on this earth it is cold in the land below; when it is sunrise here, it is sunset there. Shamans are believed to have penetrated frequently to this land, and on information from them the Bella Coola base their beliefs.

There is another land beneath the ocean. In this live the fish and sea mammals in human form, as well as other beings to be described in the next section of this chapter. Like all other worlds it has a sun above it,[1] and conditions are said to be similar to those existing on this earth. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether this undersea world is at the same level as the land of ghosts, and whether or not it extends beneath the rivers.

Although Bella Coola concepts regarding the sun and other heavenly bodies will require further consideration, it will be convenient at this point to describe them in outline. The sun is regarded as a heat-radiating ball of such intensity that a human being cannot approach it. Its path, as it crosses the land above, varies from day to day until it reaches its limits at the solstices. As it travels, it is accompanied by the droning of two *Ałiłłxa*, supernatural feminine beings who remain continually, one in the east and one in the west. According to most informants, the ends of the sun's course, though fixed and invariable from year to year, are not marked by any visible means. Others state that at each limit there is the mouth of a *snang*, a mythological animal of enormous size.

The moon is thought likewise to travel[2] each day but is said to be very cold. Few stories are current concerning it, although the Bella Coola say that long ago a man tried to reach it, only to be driven back by the intense cold. A shaman who died not many years ago claimed to have received power

[1] One informant stated that our sun served that purpose.
[2] The *Ałiłłxa* drone as it travels, as they do for the sun.

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* 776 *Ālqantām* is occasionally, but inaccurately, called *Sunx*, the [821] Sun.

Though *Ālqantām* often sojourns in the sun, his home is ●772 in the flat land above the sky, a huge house which figures *776 prominently both in Bella Coola mythology and present-day thought. The name of the house is *Nusmāt-a*. It resembles those constructed on this earth, but is boundless in size. Like [552] the houses of human beings, its name is changed according to what is taking place within. Every autumn the supernatural beings gather there to await the coming of *Ālqantām* at the winter solstice; while waiting they pass the time by performing the equivalent of the earthly *kusiut* dances (II, chap. 1). This assemblage is termed *qulxwaix*, and the house, during this period, *Nusqulxwaista*.

The following names of the house, with meanings, were obtained:

Nusmāt-a, "The Place of Myths."

Nusqwatlnaista, "Where Everything Was Begun."

Nuskslālnumsta, "The Place Whence Came the Falling Down."

Nusklhmnānumsta, "The Place Where Mankind was Made."

Nusālqantāmsta, "The Place Where *Ālqantām* Speaks."

Nusqulxwaista, "The Place of the *Qulxwaix*."

Nusīskunsta, "The Place of Meeting," or "The Council House."

Nulsaymāls. The meaning of this word is unknown.

Ānuxwolsukmāls, "The Moving House." The significance of this last name rests on an ancient myth in which the house is described as travelling from place to place.

773 To grasp the significance of these designations it is neces- * 776 sary to understand the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the creation. Their mythology contains no account of the origin or birth of *Ālqantām* himself, nor of the making of this world; in the beginning of time no living creature, either animal or vegetable, existed with the exception of *Ālqantām*. He, therefore, decided to alter and populate the world and

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vidual's ancestors; it enters into his own future as well. When a Bella Coola dies, his spirit (I, p. 94) travels back on the path of his ancestors from generation to generation until it reaches the spot where the first one came to earth; there it assumes the bird or animal cloak used on that occasion and floats aloft to *Nusmăt·a* to live forever. Small wonder, therefore, that this house figures prominently in the thoughts of the Bella Coola, and that they cling tenaciously to a belief in it. 177 773 775

Knowledge of *Nusmăt·a* has been inherited almost entirely from the first ancestors of the Bella Coola, and only a few items of information could be gleaned concerning it. Most men think of it as an enormous replica of their own houses, but one individual, of philosophic temperament, expressed the opinion that it was without any inner partitions. His belief was based on the following incident: 772

Some years ago a young man died without apparent reason. His sorrowing father kept wondering: 772 787

"Why has my son died? Can he have committed some crime or made some mistake?"

Despondent and grief-stricken, for a whole year the man did not wash, ate little, and slept on the floor. At last he wandered away, alone, into the mountains. Night overtook him and he lay down to sleep without food. His son came to him in a dream, telling him not to lament, that he was in a better place than this world, for *Ăłquntăm* had recalled him to *Nusmăt·a* to use his voice, which was unusually powerful, as a means of conveying his wishes to the other occupants of the house. Thus comforted, the father returned home in the morning, washed, and again behaved normally. My informant suggested that cross walls would be a bar to the strongest voice, and that *Nusmăt·a* must consequently be partitionless.

Nusmăt·a contains not only the spirits of all deceased Bella Coola, it is also the home of most of the supernatural beings. These frequently descend to visit the earth, but always return to the house above. So far as could be learnt, the only being irremovably located there is an old woman, *Sumqulpăls*. The most prominent article of furniture in *Nusmăt·a* is *Ăłquntăm*'s seat, in the central position behind the fire. Over it is laid 772 776 * [775]

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what is probably a moosehide, with salmon painted on it, symbolic of his guardianship of fish for the benefit of mankind. In other respects *Nusmāt·a* has no peculiarities. Behind the house is an enormous tree, *Tsunsin·iaqim*, in the branches of which live innumerable owls.

After this description of *Nusmāt·a*, it is logical to return to its master, *Ālquntām*. Guiding the sun is his most spectacular occupation, but he also governs the movements of moon and tides. Powerful though he is, he continues to take an interest in the doings of mankind whom he created. Prayers are commonly addressed to him, and a certain type of shaman is believed to receive power direct from him. Other supernatural beings may work weal or woe to a Bella Coola, but he feels it is done with the sanction of *Ālquntām*. At every winter solstice he enters *Nusmāt·a*, where supernatural beings from all parts of the universe have gathered to greet him. This assembly is called *qulxwaix*, and *Nusmāt·a* is termed *Nusqulxwaista*[1] for its duration. While waiting, the guests perform *kusiut* dances, similar to those carried out by members of the *kusiut* society on earth (see vol. II, chap. 1). At *Ālquntām*'s entry the heat becomes so intense that the occupants rush forth precipitately, some falling and being trampled upon in the crush. Only three[2] advisers, including *Sexsexālaix* (I, p. 41), remain to confer with him. They arrange the fate of human beings during the coming year; who shall be made a *kusiut*, who shall be born, who shall die. In each case the decision rests with *Ālquntām*, though he is influenced by his counsellors. Human beings can often learn in dreams what is being decided for them.

Ālquntām, in spite of his strength, shares the limitations of any other chief, and is not invariably successful. The Bella Coola delight in telling stories of how supernatural beings, especially the Raven, outwitted and defeated him. Even

[1] Often pronounced *Nusqualwaista*.
[2] The exact number is uncertain.

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* 776 the top. He concluded that this must be the home of the woman. Before the door of her house, wherever it may be, there are miniature totem-poles which open their painted mouths and speak in the voice of the animal or bird portrayed. The writer did not hear that her home was in the land above [114] *Nusmät·a*, as Boas (p. 28) states. At the present time knowledge of *Kämai·ts* is so scanty that failure to confirm the previous observation is not surprising.

One or two passing remarks of elderly informants imply that *Kämai·ts* may once have been more important to Bella Coola belief than she is now. One old man, already in his [775] dotage, stated that long ago the dead used to dwell in her house. Another declared that long ago prayers were addressed [782] to her, which is never done now. The word *kämai·ts* is commonly used by the Bella Coola in a manner difficult to trans- [192] late. It serves as equivalent for "please" or "thank you," but has an underlying significance of a supernatural benisón or appeal. It is not a word to be used in casual conversation; it is reserved for important occasions or times of emotional stress. The comparative unimportance of *Kämai·ts* probably rests on the fact that she belongs merely to the realm of ancient history and has no sociological significance, even as the patron of a *kusiut* dancer.

• 772 Another supernatural being so far removed from this world that he enters but little into the lives of the Bella Coola, is * 776 *Sninia*. He is the male being whom *Älquntäm* sent down from above in the beginning of time to hold the earth in position, and who has since performed this duty. He lives among the ice of the far north, and has not been seen by mortals for many generations. He holds a rope fastened to the earth; when he is afraid that it has slipped slightly he takes a new grip and pulls the rope taut, pressing the world against the soles of his feet as he sits with legs extended, as a man would do to hold tight a kicking salmon. It is the tightening of the rope which [823] causes an earthquake. If *Sninia* should lose his grip entirely 575 the earth would capsize. He is patron for several *kusiut* * 776 dancers.

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* 776 encountered on land, but the sea likewise is the home of anthropomorphic creatures. Far beneath the surface is a land much [772] like the earth, inhabited by people resembling humans who sometimes assist a drowning person. The mysteries of this undersea world are known to the Bella Coola chiefly through accounts handed down from generation to generation, though its inhabitants have often appeared at the surface. Their hair is long and somewhat reddish, their bodies are hairless, and their faces are in many cases stained with black. One man stated that about three years before a Japanese, fishing near Namu, had caught in his net one of these people, a girl about two years old. He drew her into his boat, where she squatted on the bottom, docile and submissive. After a time the fisherman became frightened and threw his captive overboard. The [648] Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella, greater seafarers than [186] themselves, have more extensive knowledge of these undersea dwellers.

539 Similar, if not identical, beings live beneath rivers and lakes; they have often been seen on the surface, and occa- * 776 sionally, long, long ago, certain fortunate individuals saw their houses. Accounts of such are embodied in Bella Coola mythology and will be described later. The following can be considered an example of a simple type:

About three hundred years ago, *Łxwumxwumlaix*, a Kimsquit fisherman, built a pier-like framework, projecting into the Dean River, on which to stand while fishing for salmon with a long-handled[14] scoop-net. One August day he was using his net when, after a number of successful sweeps, it became very heavy. As the net came to the surface he found, to his amazement, that a small boy was hanging on the rim. A number of people who had been watching from the shore, called to him to throw away his net with its uncanny haul. Heedless of this advice, *Łxwumxwumlaix* tried to lift his net and, on finding it too heavy, began to draw it through the water so as to drag it out on the shore. All went well for the first few yards, till suddenly the boy shoved against the net, pushing the fisherman into the water on the other side of the pier. Immediately the supernatural one vanished from sight. As the bystanders rushed to

[14]The handles of nets of this type are said to have been about thirty feet in length.

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the Bella Coola. No one knows the name of the fire devourer, and it may be that he lacks form. Though ignorant of the law of conservation of matter, the Bella Coola realize that the wood must have gone somewhere, and postulate a land far across the western sea where burnt wood lies in shadowy heaps, each billet retaining its original form though it lacks material substance. This region is presided over by an evil being with a desire for human flesh (II, p. 468). 372 776* [772]

The above list by no means exhausts the anthropomorphic beings resident either in *Nusmät·a* or in this world. Those described are the most important, and suffice to make clear the religious attitude of the Bella Coola to beings of this type. Others appear in connection with *kusiut* dances only, and a consideration of them can be deferred until vol. II, chap. I, whereas some belong essentially to shamanism and allied subjects treated in vol. I, chap. IX. 776*

ZOOMORPHIC BEINGS

The attitude of mingled hope and fear with which the Bella Coola regard their supernatural anthropomorphic beings is typical of their thoughts and actions concerning zoomorphic creatures as well. In the supernatural world the dividing line between human and animal beings is not clearly defined; fabulous monsters have the mentality of supermen, and can be appeased, besought, or cajoled precisely as are anthropomorphic beings. Like those of human form, supernatural animals can bestow good or evil on human beings with whom they come in contact. The division shown in this chapter must, therefore, be regarded as merely for convenience; it does not correspond to a distinction in the minds of the Bella Coola. [781] [128]

One of the most dreaded animals known to the Bella Coola is the *snunq*, a monster about the size of a large grizzly bear, with long, silky, beautiful hair, blue-grey in colour. It walks almost upright on short hind legs, so that its long fore-legs touch the ground at intervals; these are provided with sharp

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ancient history and fame of his family. It is a matter connected with the past, a matter of the mind, a source of pride to him to have such a possession, but a matter that does not affect his daily life. 211 424 773

So far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola crests consist of the following birds and animals: raven, bald eagle, grizzly bear, black bear, wolf, whale, blackfish, merganser, loon, *skämtsk*, possibly deer, and the mythical double-headed snake, *susiutl*. To these must be added the sun, because some of the original people came to earth in human form by sliding down his eye-lashes, the sun-beams; and *nultnikta*, the posts which stretched from earth to the land above, down which a number of the first ancestors of mankind swarmed in human form. The Bella Coola believe that these posts are particularly common memorials among the tribes of the outer coast. According to some accounts it was these posts which supported the first sky until it fell. 825 [776] * [772] ● [829] [772]

A crest is connected almost exclusively with the distant past. A Bella Coola whose ancestor came to earth as a raven pays no attention to the ravens of the present time. The matter was approached from every possible angle and not the slightest sign of respect toward living specimens of a man's crest could be noticed. A query as to whether or not a man refrained from eating his crest was regarded as highly humorous. Nor is there any trace of fellowship between unrelated families even if they happen to have the same crest. The subject was broached repeatedly, until at last one informant smiled broadly and said: 424 779 825

"I know now what you want to find out, I can tell you all about it."

He recounted how the Kitkatla are, in his opinion, stupid enough to regard as brothers all those who have the same animal story even if they are members of different tribes. He said that when he was a young man at Victoria, where Indians from all parts of the coast used to meet, a Kitkatla had once asked him what was his animal. He was puzzled, but as the [648]

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at the back of the neck; this is called *nulkālxita* by the Bella Coola and it is thought to be especially important since the spirit (I, p. 94) is located there. Somewhat discouraged by his lack of success, Raven sat holding his head in his hands, pondering. Finally, he decided that he would have to visit *Miāltama*, the land of the salmon far beyond the western ocean.

His self-propelling canoe, *Tohunkl*, was soon made ready and Raven invited Mouse, a young woman, to accompany him. The two travelled without incident till they came to the flat land where the salmon had their homes. On the beach were myriads of canoes, each in reality the skin of a sockeye salmon. Raven had instructed Mouse to remain in his canoe, so when the sockeye salmon chief invited the two to his house only Raven accepted, though Mouse was urged most courteously to accompany him. Raven was conducted to the house, where his host threw his own daughter into the river. She changed into a sockeye salmon and swam to the beach; some of her father's servants cut her up and brought her to the house where she was cooked. The meal was set before the guest whom the chief instructed not to eat any of the bones. As he ate, Raven examined the salmon very carefully to see what had been lacking in his model, and soon discovered it to be the thin bone, shaped like a maple leaf, at the back of the neck. Seizing an opportunity when no one was looking, Raven secreted this bone against the palate of his mouth. When the meal was over and the guest had tied what was left of the food into a mat, someone collected all the bones and threw them into the river. Forthwith they became a sockeye salmon, which swam towards the shore. But after an instant, the fish began to behave peculiarly, swimming around madly in circles, and jumping in an aimless manner. Everyone agreed that a bone must have been lost, and they searched the house for it without success. They also examined Raven. Finally, one man thought of investigating the guest's mouth where they found the missing bone.

"Oh," said Raven, lying: "I did not know it was there."

As soon as the bone was thrown into the river the sockeye salmon became normal and swam quietly to the beach where it changed into the chief's daughter once more.

When the time came to leave, Raven asked the chief to tell his daughter to take his bundle of food to his canoe for him. Meanwhile Mouse had carried out Raven's instructions, which were to gnaw a hole in each of the sockeye salmon canoes. Raven entered *Tohunkl* before taking the parcel from the girl, and as he stepped in, the canoe was forced a little distance from the land so that she waded into the water to hand it to him. As she did so, he backed his canoe further out until

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she had to follow him into water up to her waist. Then Raven suddenly grasped her under the arms, hauled her into his craft, and fled. The sockeye salmon men cried out in anger and leapt into their canoes for pursuit, but one by one they sank; Mouse had done her work well. For a time the chase was close; in fact, the sockeye salmon nearly caught *Tobunkl* in North Bentinck Arm, but as danger threatened, Raven seized a pole and delivered several vigorous thrusts which sent the canoe beyond the reach of the already sinking pursuers. The gashes made in the rocks by his shoves are still visible near the site of the Bella Coola Cannery, as well as the pole which he threw ashore when he had finished with it; it became petrified and can still be seen immediately behind the manager's house. At the south of the Bella Coola River, Raven threw the chief's daughter into the water. Her descendants are the sockeye salmon which visit that stream; and it is due to his failure to capture more than one, that so few sockeyes come to this river. 539 825 [778]

Another version of this myth was collected from a Kimsquit man.

It describes how Raven went alone in *Tobunkl* to the land of the salmon, in the guise of an old man. He was courteously received at the home of *Skatpts*, chief of the salmon, who gave him a meal of that fish. Raven carefully watched to ascertain what he had omitted from his wooden model, and when he found out that it was the bone at the back of the neck, he secreted one in the palate of his mouth. Presently one of the salmon women became ill, and *Skatpts* said:

"Old man, you have hidden a bone."

The salmon searched Raven, but failed to find what he had hidden, and he was able to return to Kimsquit with it. He added this bone to one of his models, and it was at once able to swim strongly; in fact, it became a real salmon.

This fish was the ancestor of all steel-head salmon, which are still called *Samsamlkdimut di Qwax*, "The Salmon-like Fish of Raven." They are not considered as valuable for food as other salmon. [262]

Another exploit accredited to Raven in the beginning of time was the bringing of herring to Kimsquit.

None of these fish then inhabited the rivers, and Raven determined to bring them to increase the food supplies of his people. A gull happened to catch a single herring far from shore and brought it to Raven, who smeared *Tobunkl* with its scales. Then he set out for the land of the herring beyond the western ocean. On arriving, Raven went to the home [772]

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had followed my instructions this trouble would not have come upon you."

Meanwhile *Ḷomoqwa* had been questioning *Ailsamka*: "Why did you not obey Raven's instructions about cutting up Black Cod? You have been committing a very serious offence, but I shall return you to your parents tomorrow and you can tell them to be more careful in future about teaching people."

The land in which the little girl found herself was much like this earth, containing a river, with the ocean in place of the sky over it. An old woman, *Snulqulẓäls di Ḷomoqwa*, who was living in *Ḷomoqwa*'s house, told *Ailsamka* not to eat any unfamiliar food which her captor-host might offer her, or she would be unable to return; whereas she would be all right if she maintained her customary diet. Presently someone asked her what she would like to eat; she named several of her favourite dishes and they were brought to her without demur. Next morning, it was really next year but she did not know that,[1] *Ḷomoqwa* prepared to send her back. From the doorway of his house she could see the cod lines hanging down through the water, and *Ḷomoqwa* asked her is she could see her father's.

"No," she replied, "he is not there."

In what seemed a few minutes, but in reality was several months, because *Ḷä·pxsok* did not begin his fishing until March, she saw his canoe approaching.

She said to *Ḷomoqwa*, "That is he. I recognize his paddle."

Ḷä·pxsok dropped his line, and as he did so began to cry, thinking of his dead daughter. Acting on *Ḷomoqwa*'s instructions, *Ailsamka* grasped the lowest hook, while *Ḷomoqwa* sent a black cod to each of the others. After a while *Ḷä·pxsok* recovered from his spasm of grief and hauled up his line, assisted by his two sons who were with him in the canoe. So great was their amazement at seeing *Ailsamka* on the line that they refused to believe their eyes and wanted to throw the line back, but she quickly called out:

"I am your daughter."

The father thankfully drew her into the boat, exclaiming at her long absence; this was the first she knew that she had been away for more than a single night.

Her two brothers called out, "*Ḷä·pxsok*'s daughter has returned, haul in your lines."

The news was passed from canoe to canoe, the fishermen drew up their lines and hurried ashore to *Ḷä·pxsok*'s house, eager to hear what had happened. Fresh sand was spread on the floor, as is always done when

[1] One day in the land of supernatural beings is equivalent to a year for mortals.

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described, at death the shadow, the body, and a portion of the life, descend to the land below where existence is continued as a ghost. These wraiths are usually termed, *Kołkw"lmx*, "The Earthy Ones," though they prefer the name *Asiutänem*, "They Who Have Become Supernatural." They enter into the lives and actions of the Bella Coola in a way entirely different from that of the elements which go aloft at death. 775

The land of ghosts, immediately beneath the earth, is similar to it. There are trees and bushes, stones, grass, everything as on the surface of the world. There is a river, too, but it rises in the west and flows eastward, contrary to the course of the Bella Coola. The sun that shines below is green and unnatural, giving an ethereal light like that of the moon which, indeed, it is sometimes said to be. The seasons are the reverse of those on earth; when mortals are in midsummer, it is wintertime for ghosts. The fluff which human beings see falling from cottonwood trees reaches the land of ghosts as snow. All earthly springs rise from the river in the land below; they never freeze in winter because they come from a warm region, and the coldness of spring water in summer is the result of coming from a land where it is winter. With the exception of the peculiar light, the only essential difference between the land of ghosts and this world is that food is very scarce in the former; berries grow below, and it is supposed that there must be fish and animals there, but it is common knowledge that residents there are always hungry. 772 775 [823]

The life led by ghosts is similar to that of human beings. They occupy the same type of house as before death, dwell in the same kind of villages on the river bank, wear similar clothes, have similar likes and dislikes, require similar food, and even enjoy the same kind of dances. One old Bella Coola even stated that the ghosts are able to summon supernatural beings from *Nusmät·a* to their *kusiut* rites. It is generally believed that no work is done below, although several of the older people denied this. According to these individuals, a ghost can perform more rapidly and easily whatever tasks he had been 775

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775 accustomed to do when alive; but the workmanship is shadowy and unsubstantial, sometimes even transparent. Ghosts do not act like human beings, but usually walk backwards, sometimes even on their heads, and spend much of their time playing a game resembling football with large, globular objects made of some light substance. They communicate with one another both by whistling and in a language which resembles the attempts at speech made by a tongueless person. Some 775 individuals believe that there is a supreme chief in the land of 776 ghosts, *Allal·iaiul*, sent down like Pluto to preside over the shades. He figures in certain stories describing descents to the lower world; but many Bella Coola know nothing of his existence below, although it furnishes a plausible explanation for his coming by night to molest human beings. Like *Sxaiawax* [761] he causes blood to rush forth from the mouth and genitalia of anyone whom he seizes; death follows, and a new victim has been acquired for his kingdom. The more common belief is 775 that the villages of ghosts have chiefs like those of human beings. It is thought, indefinitely, that after a long period of time the ghosts die, and some of them may then return to [845] this world as infants. A child born with dimples in its ears, which are regarded as indications of previous borings for rings, is welcomed as the reincarnation of some unknown ancestor.

At death, the ghost does not immediately appear in the land below, but remains for four days within the back-room of a house corresponding in style to an ordinary Bella Coola [772] dwelling. It is believed that one of these large houses is beneath every village[43] and that the dead pass straight down through the earth into it. Meanwhile the goods, burnt at the grave during the funeral, as well as those deposited beside it, have fallen through the ground and notified the ghosts that a newcomer has arrived. The wraiths assemble from all directions and fight over the articles, none of which are obtained [768] by the one who owned them during life. On the fourth

[43]There may be one huge house, extending beneath the world like *Nusmai·a* above; it was impossible to obtain definite information on this point.

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day after the funeral, the relatives of the dead person burn the 775
remainder of his property, which passes through the earth to
the ghost for whom it is intended. Ghost-singers have taken [768]
their places and begin to beat out music, and presently the
recently deceased appears, stepping backwards from the back-
room in time to the beating of sticks. He is at once surrounded
by his fellows, each anxious to learn the latest news of relatives
still alive. This dance is really to welcome the new arrival,
and takes place irrespective of his rank. After it has been
held, it is hopeless to attempt to rescue a dead person, although
that has been done several times during the four days imme-
diately succeeding death.

Only shamans are able to peer down into the land of the [756]
dead, though stories are told of inadvertent visits to it in
relatively recent times. Human beings are prevented from
visiting their dead relatives, but the latter, being supernatural,
can come to the earth at will. They are always dreaded, and
anyone who hears their whistling or their tongueless chatter
cowers in his house, and hopes they will pass by. Shamans [756]
can understand their speech and to them the dead explain their
mission. If the relations of a dead person have failed to burn [768]
all his personal possessions, he returns to earth to inform them,
through a shaman, of the omission. The house is scoured for
anything left and it is burnt at once near the grave, though no
one knows how a ghost would punish failure to give him his
property. Thoughtful people, remembering the scarcity of [264]
food in the land below, frequently give presents to their dead
relatives by casting small morsels of food on the side of the [772]
central fire nearest the front door, beneath which is a passage
to the lower regions. The food becomes magnified as it falls
down this, so that even small fragments are sufficient to feed
many hungry ghosts. Since the introduction of metal stoves, [177]
it has become customary to throw food into a fire kindled for
the purpose in the cemetery; the most suitable time is at dusk,
although people are always afraid that spectres may be prowl-
ing around at that hour. If sufficient presents are not given [756]

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[The Cannibal Dance]

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Towards dawn, a herald goes through the village crying loudly:

"Get up, you young men! Get up all ye people! Something strange has come upon the young man."

The uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house where he is acting as if demented, biting any of his associates except other Cannibals, Scratchers, Breakers, or those whose patrons are ghosts. Meanwhile those who are not members of the society cower in their own houses, and are told that if they dare to look out, X, scenting them, will bite them to death. At intervals during the morning, X goes around to the other houses, naked and savage, snapping at everyone he sees. The uninitiated hide in the bedrooms, but peek out occasionally and hear his growlings and the shrieks of mock terror with which his associates greet his bites and threats. The *kukusiut* tell non-members when it is safe for them to leave their hiding-places for necessary purposes, but at all other times they remain in concealment, listening with fear to the dangerous maniac.

About midday X returns to his house where a large number of *kukusiut* have assembled. The uninitiated certainly, and perhaps some of the *kukusiut* as well, believe that Cannibals are carried away to the land above where they are exposed to great dangers, and to prevent this an effort is always made to bind the dancer. The marshals and X's relatives have made the necessary preparations, consisting of the manufacture of a long rope, in addition to the usual dyed cedar-bark collar and a bear-skin. The *kukusiut* enter whole-heartedly into the dramatic spirit of the rite, and the robe is thrust over X in spite of his furious struggles. Then the collar is forced over his head, while the women drone and the whistles sound eerily, to the wonder of the uninitiated listening from adjacent houses. The thick, cable-like rope is doubled and a circle of *kukusiut* form around the seemingly demented dancer, each man holding a section. X rushes against one part of the circle after another, as if to force his way out; sometimes he bends down, and those

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who have gone aloft and never returned,[44] and of course increasing the fear of the uninitiated. They then go back to X's home where a marshal speaks, asking all to keep silence so that they will be able to hear X when he returns from the land above. No noise is permitted during his absence, even the discharge of muskets being forbidden. The man who carries the rope from which X escaped always receives a call on this night, because the supernatural beings have seen the important part he has played in the rite, and his patron recognizes it in this way. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated and, accordingly, the rope-holder is some *kusiut* who wishes to have a call. After the usual curing,[45] one song is composed for the rope-holder, and sung very softly, since the night's ceremony is termed *Ałoliqosnıms̱*, "The Actionless Night," or *Nuxstimut*, "The Silent Night." The uninitiated believe that the *kukusiut* are filled with woe and foreboding at the fate before X. It is early morning before they disperse. 575* 796* 787 [184]

The next day, *nusiutälsap* for the rope-holder, the usual ritual is omitted since the pretence of grief and fear must still be preserved. Thus the necessary wood for the rope-holder's masks is cut silently. The collar and rope from which X escaped are hung on the wall of his house, and when a herald summons the *kukusiut* during the evening, he bids them assemble to watch over these objects. Although a second song, composed during the day, is practised for the rope-holder, it is done so softly that the uninitiated from neighbouring houses imagine that the *kukusiut* are really brooding over their loss. The only sound that reaches them is an occasional *hoip*, accentuating their fear. After the customary distribution of work and food the *kukusiut* disperse. 575* 796*

On the morrow, the rope-holder's *qothm*, the uninitiated are summoned, because it is assumed that members of the [787]

[44] If a Cannibal dies during his period of concealment he is buried secretly. The uninitiated are told that his power enabled him to cross a yawning chasm in the land above, but then it failed him, so that he was unable to return to his friends. [766] [772]

[45] This consists of the frenzied beating of sticks, repeated four times. [761]

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[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 society have recovered from the shock of X's disappearance.
*796 Thenceforth the *kusiut* dances continue night after night, but
787 the Cannibal remains hidden. Sometimes he is carried to a dance, concealed within a drum; more often he remains within the back-room of his own house or hides in some lonely part of the mountains. Throughout this period he eats little or nothing, and formerly used to devour a brew of roots that produced emaciation. The length of concealment depends entirely on X. If he desires to impress the uninitiated with the dangers which he has survived, he remains hidden for a long time; consequently, the period varies from a week to two months or even more. On every occasion that a marshal addresses the *kukusiut* he warns them to watch for X's return, and garbled accounts of this reach the uninitiated.

When X's relatives and the marshals have decided that the Cannibal has been long enough absent, they make arrangements for him to reappear. The time selected is always the night of a *nebusam*, and after the departure of the uninitiated on the preceding evening the marshals discuss arrangements with the *kukusiut* and allot tasks to various individuals. Sev-
[302] eral *kukusiut* shave X's head, except a small patch above the
[772] forehead, to support the story which he will tell of the high winds prevailing in the land above, which blew the hair from his head.[46]

After the dismissal of the uninitiated on the following night of *nebusam*, the *kukusiut* make their final arrangements. When
[805] they judge from the passage of the stars or the state of the tide that dawn is at hand, several members of the society climb to the roof of the previously selected house. First they sound a whistle, then thump on the roof with their feet, and call out:

Xwa·, xwa·, xwa·: this is a cry used by Cannibals returned from above which is supposed to indicate a longing for meat.

The *kukusiut* sleeping within, knowing that their house has been selected, are ready as soon as they are awakened. The

[46] One old man mentioned that in his youth this was done with a sharpened piece of iron; he was unable to state what was used in earlier times.

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telling them of his adventures, and presently they begin to sing the song, as if they had just learnt the theme from X. Frequently the deception is increased by X first learning the song and repeating it to the singers in a voice sufficiently loud for the uninitiated to hear. The theme of this, and every other song used for Cannibals, is of the land above and the dangers which X has survived. The singers add new facts and information to vary the monotony, but the subjects usually described are:

The flat land above with its many trails and the river that flows through it.

The gale constantly raging there which has blown the hair from X's head and the dirt from his body.

The trail across a yawning chasm over which his supernatural strength enabled him to leap. If a Cannibal dies when in concealment, the *kukusiut* bury the corpse secretly and tell the uninitiated that his power failed him on the other side of the abyss so that he was unable to return.

Älquntäm under his various names.

How his patron helped him to escape the *Älskam*, "They of the Huge Jaws," evil beings who tried to kill X by sucking him into their gaping mouths.

The tide-flats which are found at the edge of the flat land above.

The kindly being *Sinunukälälum*, who gave him the necessary power to recross the chasm. The uninitiated believe that unless a Cannibal meets this being he will be unable to return.

No one song for any Cannibal contains references to all these beings and events, but it is on these that the singers draw for their themes, always altering and adding to produce a fine effect.

On this occasion X does not dance,[48] and the uninitiated are soon expelled. As the *kukusiut* are eating, one marshal after another praises X for what he has done, and gives the most solemn warnings to all as to the necessity of completing

[48] There is difference of opinion on this point.

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

one is permitted to leave, and the uninitiated gaze in amazement as the seemingly endless rope continues to be drawn up through the roof, although the rattle itself can no longer be heard as if X had passed beyond earshot. They do not know that he has merely stepped from the ladder to the roof of the house, and thence to the ground, taking care to loop the cord over a projection so that he can continue drawing it out steadily. He has carefully practised rattling so that he can gradually lessen the intensity as if he were passing beyond ear-shot. One of the marshals describes the dangers to which X is exposed on his journey aloft, and calls on the *kukusiut* to sing his two songs to aid him. They are sung several times, but no others are used during the long night, nor are puppet-patrons employed as in *kusiotem* rites. The rope is being drawn from a large coil on the floor near the fire, and when the carpenters notice that it is nearly exhausted one of their number slips out to tell X to stop his climb. Presently, one or two yards of rope are quickly pulled through the hole in the roof and then all movement stops. 575* 796*

"He has jumped," cry the *kukusiut*.

A fluent *kusiut* explains to the uninitiated that the roof of the land above has opened before X's ever-lengthening ladder, that he has leapt from it to the ground above and tied his rope to something. On one occasion, a malicious rival cut the cable hoping that no one would notice the break, but luckily one of the watchful carpenters noticed it in time to knot the two ends. The *kukusiut* always explain that the rope is X's point of contact with the lower world, and that if it is severed, he cannot return. Accordingly, if the broken end had been drawn up through the roof, X could never have come back, and only his secret death would have served to maintain the reputation of the society. [772] 575* 796* 578 688

The rope remains stationary for some time, and then is seen to be coming back through the aperture. 575*

"X is returning," whisper the *kukusiut* to one another and the excitement becomes intense. 796*

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

*575 *796 Slowly and steadily the rope is lowered to the carpenters who coil it in a heap near the foot of the ladder. It seems an endless climb, as this part of the ceremony is expected to take quite as long as X's ascent, and must not be finished until just before dawn. At last the faint sound of the rattle is heard and presently the ladder itself begins to shake. Two or more senior members of the society climb up through the roof and return, amid the droning of the *kukusiut* women, with the traveller. The uninitiated gaze at him with fear and awe:

"He is indeed wonderful," they say to one another.

[302] [772] X's face was painted black and white when he started his climb, but it is now clean and the uninitiated hardly need to be reminded by the *kusiut* orator that the strong wind in *Sonx*ʷ has blown all paint from his skin. He sits down beside an eloquent *kusiut* to whom he talks at length and who excites the curiosity of the audience by telling them that they will soon hear all about it. When the tale is finished, the orator stands up and tells what the traveller has seen in the land above. He states that X found a certain number of tally posts leaning and straightened them, but he never mentions whose lives have thus been preserved. The uninitiated assume without question that X has just given the orator these details, though in point of fact he has done nothing of the kind, his apparent confidant having been chosen for his skill in inventing interesting items. As soon as the story is over, the uninitiated are told to leave. While the usual meal is being prepared the carpenters haul down the ladder and cast it into the fire without ceremony. The *kukusiut* listen to the usual admonitions of the marshals as they eat, and then disperse in the early dawn, wearied from the all-night session.

Most of the village sleeps through the day, but in the late afternoon the heralds summon the *kukusiut* to X's house. The dance of the Tally Posts resembles a *kusiotem* to the extent that four days of ceremonial follow the four days just described. The evening following X's ascent is *lnxtāmem*, the

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[492] *Ăxyat:* Locality near *Stuax* where berries are plentiful.
Ăyauk: Chief living at *Tăl-ip* in the beginning of time.

A

am'hl-a: One of the *a'alt* dances.
am: I, first person singular.
[262] *'ar:* Herring eggs when brought into house ready for preparation as food.[1]

B

bakuk': Supernatural animal.
Balak^{w}*:* One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
ba-pka: To guess, as done by the uninitiated at a Mystery dance.
Baskaqumaine or *Baskaqumaskoine:* Kwakiutl supernatural being.
[825] *bikk':* Lamprey.
Biltmu: *Kusiut* name of a *Satlia* man.
bluzu-i: Abalone-shell.
Bilwaukk: Influential Kwatna woman who died about 1870.
[292] *bqaut:* Ball-topped hat worn by chiefs.
[622] *Bla-qwas:* A Kimsquit composer.
Ba'aiaum: *Stuax* man mentioned in an ancient story.
bajs: Supernatural, man-like creature.

D

[821] [772] *di sang*^{w}*da* or *sang*^{w}*:* The sky, regarded as the lower side of a land inhabited by supernatural beings.
Dakdak-aleis: 1—"The Comer," synonym for *Nuskymm.*
2—The *kusiut* prerogative of seeing *Nuskymm.*
Dakdakan, "The Ever-Comer": Synonym for *Nuskymm.*
Dakdakamem: Supernatural being who awaits *Nuskymm.*
Dakdakanus: Supernatural dog salmon resident in the land above.
[601] *di kuimuts di emts:* Niece's husband.
di kuimuts ti nakum: Aunt's husband.
Dipem'nal: One of the first men to settle at *Alpăkul* in the beginning of time.
dritis: Archaic term for *kusiut* Breaker.[2]
[824] *dudik:* Frayed cedar-wood, as used for tinder.
[372] *djatlakti,* plural, *djaldjakkum:* Son; term used in direct address for an adult.
[601] *Djakp:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Dji Sinaait, "The Slave Owner": Designation of the supernatural woman *Kamai-ti.*
[101] *Djaldimus:* Collective term applied to the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples of the mainland.
Djaudja-as: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Dukseng^{w}*:* Chief of abalone-shell people on the lower Fraser in the beginning of time.
Dukseng^{w}*:* One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Dukspus: One of the first women to settle at *Tăl-ip* in the beginning of time.

[1] This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.
[2] This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.

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Nuuuuyymum: Woman endowed supernaturally by *Ana'likwalsaix* and serving as patron (?) to a *kusiut* dancer.

[787] *nuuulitsi:* Omen of death.

Nuuutmumkmum, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Tlitsplitsa-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nuuuumlaix: 1—Man dwelling in *Xemoynu*'s house.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.

nuuupim: The cry of *hi, hi,* uttered by Cannibals.

Nuu'uuuuy: *Kusiut* name assumed by a *Stuuc* woman in the beginning of time.

[424] *nu'uyuuum:* *Kusiut* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and *qaiatum* is obscure.

Nu'uuuttumuuix, "The Widener": One of Raven's names as chief.

[585] *nuqtaxilai'um:* Synonym for *ptsutum:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

Nuqtaxlikta, "Heedlessly Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[302] *nuqu-uta:* The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.

nuqtaltu-i: Medicine brewed in a skull.

Nuqtymats, "Place of Much *Xaymats*": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nuqtymis: *Nuxmal* name of a Kimsquit man.

Nuqilaqulu-a: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[805] *nuqmuuu-ti uu xuy"uls:* One year.

[828] *nuqum:* Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.

nuqpik, "Empty House": House in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place.

nuqsiut: The throwing of grease on a fire to heat, both literally and figuratively, a rival.

[821] *Nuqsly":* 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.

[827] *nuqsiltsu:* Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

nuqusuu: Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *kusiutum* and other important *kusiut* rites.

[777] *nuq"uuuikim:* Unexpected stroke of good fortune.

Nuquhumlaix: *Suuuk* name of a Kimsquit man.

[772] *Nuqualiax:* Site of an ancient town on Schooner Pass.

Nuqulaia: The upper heaven.

nuqumu: Woman with thick pubic hair.

Nuquuulqlaa-i: A *Stuuc* repository.

Nuxlqumtumuix, "Where *Alqumtum* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[824] *nuxmymu-uuy:* Cottonwood buds.

Nuxtqmis'ata, "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Smuuu* in the beginning of time.

nuxtlumy: Canoe-maker.

Nuxlum: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Nuqulsi.*

[535] [869] *nuxtulamp:* Children's dance which serves as training for *kusiut* rites and to provide entertainment.

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nuxsa: The visit to every house in the village by a Mystery dancer on receipt of his call.

nuxiqul, plural, nuxxiqul: Singer.

nuxikuxta: Quiver for carrying arrows. [415]

Nuxinuxta: Mountain near *Asw-ax-i.*

nuxiuxtli or *nuxiuxtlnap:* Second day of a *huxiut* dance.

Nuxixilxixulhm: Synonym for *Tutwal-ax:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.

nuxhxixtxta: Repository.

nuxkli: Any unusual occurrence, regarded as an omen of death. [763]

Nuxkxlxlnuxta, "Whence Things Came Down": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

nuxlukxta: Wash-basin, especially the supernatural one that remains in the land above.

Nuxkiapuk: 1—Supernatural being presiding over the Land of Ashes.
2—Locality on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, not far from the head.

Nuxhmxta: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tsuxixi* in the beginning of time.

Nuxhmxtjuxta: Axe carried in the beginning of time by the man who was later turned to stone as Mount *Nuxkulx.*

Nuxhmxtxi: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tsuxixi* in the beginning of time.

Nu-xinkhxmq: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

nuxkuta: Wasps' nest. [825]

Nuxkuxlxkunda: One of the first women to settle at *Tsuxixi* in the beginning of time.

nuxkumxtxta: House in which a memorial potlatch is being held.

Nuz-kinum: Mountain on south side of lower Bella Coola.

Nuxkuqumxulhm, "The Cherished One": Designation applied to one of the sons of *Alqumtim.*

nuxkuxta: House in which a potlatch is taking place.

nuxkuq: One who has gone to give potlatches in a new sphere; this rhetorical expression is commonly used when referring to a dead chief. [195]

nuxlikxta: Wash-basin used by a shaman when curing. [756]

Nuxlikxtxmidjut, "He Whose Wash-Basin Is in His Own Body": One of *Tlinxqu-Sisa-a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.

nuxlkumxuxkxta: Enclosure behind fire in which *huxiut* dancers are secluded. [764]

nuxlkuxtuc: Cleansing rites in connection with death.

Nuxkuxulxuq: *Tsuiyxhum* name acquired by a Kimsquit man as a result of a supernatural experience.

Nuxmiuxuxi: 1—Eagle that perched on a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time.
2—Name, derived from that of the eagle, of one of the first men to settle at *Ilnuz* in the beginning of time.

Nuxmx-a: 1—"Place of Stories": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxkulx* in the beginning of time.

Nuxmx-aiu-a, "Women of *Nuxmx-a*": Probably wife of *Alqumtim.*

Nuz-nuxlinix: Mountain on north side of lower Bella Coola.

Nuxnuxlinuxta: Subterranean chamber in which rivers were confined in the beginning of time. [772]

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Nuxwiwaay, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago. 192*
nuxwiwaay: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige. [578]
Nuxu: 1—Bersen district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, *adjective*.
Nuxpalqa: *Tal'ia* bird hunter.
Nuxpemda: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tal'ia* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqaklad* in the beginning of time.
3—Bell of the universe which, when broken, released the sun. [772]
Nuxpemsiiwa: Daughter of the first settlers at *Alqaklad* in the beginning of time.
Nuxsup: 1—(Probably) "The Place of Berrensum": Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
nuxu'ipata: Repository, archaic term.
nuxwu'a'nuxwu: The assumption of a name upon earth. [431]
nuxwuxmqalu, "Things to Sweep the Floor With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage. [585]
nuxwu'pata: Wooden dish used for washing an infant.
nuxwuhtamum: Abstinence from acts of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine. [415]
nuxwlim: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient. [785]
Nuxwlnaw': Name of a celebrated shaman. [756]
Nuxwu: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
Nuxwl, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
nuxwqamu: Alteration of a dance from *nuxwl* to *hactiel*.
nuxlaxlu: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck. [825]
nuxlaxlumum, "A Drying-Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband. [586]
nuxlaxlumu: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion. [431]
Nuxlaxu, "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Nuxlaqal: Totem-pole of the first settlers at *Nuxpalq* in the beginning of time.
nuxlawalq: Parents of twins. [845]
nuxqamu: Well. [825]
Nuxlatmalu: Mythical house in the sky.
Nuxqamalu: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nuxlalaw: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Thaqqilaw'a* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *nuxlim*. [756]
nuxlaqamu: A creation of new *hactiel* names, such as is occasioned by a disaster, or at the will of a mighty chief. [553]
nuxlaxalu: *Kwakiutl* rite in which the performer pretends to swallow hot stones.
nuxlaxamu: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to heralds by a person splashed in Otter dance. [431]
2—Presents given by guests at a potlatch to their host and his associates.
nuxqaxu, "The Face Maker": Name given to a woman who points upon the head-apes used to produce cranial deformation in an infant. [856]
Nuxqmalt, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kimsquit village.
Nuhlmalu: *Kwakiutl* name of a *Tsawatenok* man.

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lished some remarks on the religious life of the Bella Coola in 1886,[1] which, however, contain so many misconceptions that they cannot be used to advantage. At the same time I published a brief description of the tribe, based on information received from a small group of members of the tribe who were travelling in Germany. In this description also there are a number of misconceptions. The Indians were shown a collection of masks from Vancouver Island with which they were not familiar. They gave, however, explanations of these masks, judging by the similarity to masks of their own tribe; consequently the explanations given there are not correct.[2] In 1890 I fell in with a number of Bella Coola who were fishing for salmon in Fraser River. The information obtained from them was published in the reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1891.[3] A. Jacobsen published a description of their ceremonies in 1891.[4] Philip Jacobsen described some of their traditions and customs in 1894 and 1895.[5] I published a collection of traditions in 1894 and 1895.[6] 114

III.

All the collections which have been made heretofore do not bring out clearly the principal characteristic of the mythology of the Bella Coola. The tribes of the North Pacific coast consider the Sun as the most important deity, but at the same time they believe in a great many beings of supernatural power. For this reason their whole mythology is very unsystematic. The Bella Coola, on the other hand, have developed a peculiar mythology, in which a number of supernatural beings have been co-ordinated. A system has been evolved which justifies our terming the supernatural beings "deities." The general features of this system are as follows:— 114 773 776

The Bella Coola believe that there are five worlds, one above another. The middle one is our own world, the earth. Above it are spanned two heavens, while below it there are two underworlds. In the upper heaven resides the supreme deity, a woman who interferes comparatively little with the fates of mankind. In the centre of the lower heaven, that is in the zenith, stands the house of the gods, in which reside the Sun and all the other deities. Our own earth is an island swimming in the ocean. The underworld is inhabited by the ghosts, who are at liberty to return to heaven, whence they may be sent down again to our earth. The ghosts 772 [775] [175]

[1] Original Mittheilungen aus dem ethnologischen Museum der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, 1886, pp. 179-186.
[2] Ibid., pp. 187-189.
[3] Seventh Report of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, pp. 2-11; Report of the 60th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Leeds, 1890, pp. 493-495.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, pp. 383-391.
[5] Globus, Illustrirte Wochenschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde, 1894, pp. 173-176; 1895, pp. 7-12.
[6] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, pp. 281-291; 1895, pp. 182-193.

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772 who die a second death sink to the lowest world, from which there is no
[775] return.

The upper heaven is called Atsá'xxl., or Sautx'lek·'a'la ti Sónx· t'aix·, or
[776] Sónxaxl. Omq'ó'mkilik·a. The deity ruling there is a woman who is called Qamá'its, or Tsi sienaxti. ("our woman"), or Ek·!yak·imtóls'ti. ("afraid of nothing").

772 This heaven is described as a prairie without any trees. It is said that
776 in order to reach it one must go up the river from the house of the gods in the lower heaven. In another tradition it is said that in travelling from the lower heaven to the upper heaven one has to pass the rent in the sky which is called Tsi.ns'lótas ti Sónx· t'aix·. The house of the supreme deity stands in the far east, and a gale is continually blowing over the open country, driving every thing towards the entrance of her house. Near the house, however, it is calm. In front of the house stands a post in the shape of a large winged monster, and its mouth is the entrance to the house. In front of the house-door there is gravel of three colors,—blue, black, and white. Behind the house is a salt-water pond in which the goddess bathes. In this pond lives the st'siut, or xtsaltsalo'xem. This being sometimes descends to our world. Wherever it moves, the rocks burst, and slide down the sides of the mountains. It is described as a snake or a fish (see pp. 44, 66).

773 In the beginning of the world the mountains were of great height.
823 They were human beings who made the world uninhabitable. Qamá'its made war upon the mountains. She vanquished them, and made them smaller than they used to be. During this fight she broke off the nose of the mountain Yelyuls'mt., which is situated near Nut.!a'l. Its face may be recognized even now; and the Indians say that when its name is called, it answers. There are two mountains near the head-waters of Bella Coola River. The one is called Sl.ex·!ékosi't.; the other one, Na'xxl. The former had a fire, called Sautal'k·atmsta, burning in his house. This fire warned him of the approach of enemies. When Qamá'its made war upon the mountains, the fire warned its master. Qamá'its was coming down the river in her canoe, which is named "T!kun." When she approached, he broke her canoe, and she returned to heaven. The canoe has been transformed into stone, and may be seen to this day at the foot of the mountain Sl.ex·!ékosi't.. It is said that Qamá'its visits the earth every now and then. Her visits cause sickness and death. She is described as a great warrior.

772 In the centre of the lower heaven, which is called Sónx·, stands the
776 house of the gods. This house is named Nuamx'ts (the House of Myths), or Nuak!ostmal'xyts ("where man was created"), or Nuak·!.s.ns'mata ("the house from which people come down"), or Nuqulxmal'xyts ("the house to which people go"). In front of the house stands a post called Nu.tmt'xts. It is painted with representations of all kinds of birds. A

white crane (?), Qō'xōx, is sitting on top of the post. The master of the house is Sunx, the Sun. He is also called Ta'ata ("our father"), or Smai'yakila ("the sacred one"), or Smayalō'ɔt.la. It seems that he is the only deity to whom the Bella Coola pray. They do not pray to Qamā'its, the deity of the supreme heaven. I have not found any prayers directed to the other deities of the lower heaven. I recorded a number of such prayers directed to the Sun. They are as follows:— 772 776 776 782 539

Atk'ī'xīlō'ɔmx Tātau'! ("Look on us where we are going, Father!")

Tātau'! atk'alīxwmdō'ɔx! ("Take care of us, Father!")

Tātau'! ɔk'alīxumtō'ɔx ala mentaiā'a'ts! Tātau' atēp'alōāɔlīōāx! ("Father! take care of our road! Take care of us!")

After a long-continued rain, they pray:—

Tupōn'mx Tātau'! hōt.'ē'īxutimō'ɔx, Tātau'! ("Wipe your face, Father! that it may be fair weather.")

The mountain-goat hunter prays:—

Ōnqa yōōtātāax, Tātau', ta mexmx'ōtmō, Smāyalōt.lau'! ("Let your children look at me, Smayalōt.la, Father!")

A person pursued by misfortune prays:—

Nūqlamēk'ī'mtex Tātau'! ōmōqomak'ma tō ti q!āyanxmtnxmt'ai'x. ("Make me happy, Father! You have given me too much misfortune.")

A sick person prays:—

Nūqlamēk'ī'mtex Tātau'! ak'a nūq'ōalōmtō'mx Tātau'! ("Let my life be long, Father!")

The successful hunter, or the woman who has found a plentiful supply of berries, prays:—

Nūnūqlamē'k'ōts ti mānāt'aix ak'a nūqlamēk'ōmts ak'a pōōtus ānōai'k'mēts'ats ak'āmk'ō ti aqlaiōt'aix. ("Father! You make me happy. You give me what I desire. Thus I find what I wished for.")

The Bella Coola also make offerings to the Sun. Hunters throw four small slices of seal-meat, of mountain-goat tallow, etc., into the fire as an offering to the Sun, in order to obtain success in hunting. Sick people burn parts of their clothing, which they decorate with red cedar-bark, as an offering to regain health. 776 782

The second deity, who is called Atk'untā'm, seems to be of equal importance. Sunx and Atk'untā'm stay in the rear of the House of Myths. Near the fire stays Sōōt.k'alxā'la. He is an old man who formerly ruled over 776 [772]

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776 the House of Myths, but who has given up his place in favor of Senx and
Alk'unta'm. These two might be called the rulers of mankind. In most
traditions they are described as trying to destroy man, notwithstanding the
fact that they are considered the creators of mankind. This peculiar charac-
773 teristic of these deities is clearly brought out in the traditions recorded on
776 pp. 78 ff. In one legend which I collected in 1890, Alk'unta'm's mother,
Nanusômik·eeqonx'm, is described as a Cannibal, who inserts her long
snout in the ears of man, and sucks out his brain. Eventually she was
transformed into the mosquito.[1] I did not hear her mentioned as one of the
deities residing in the House of Myths. According to the same tradition,
the salmon were obtained by a man who gambled with Alk'unta'm, the
stake being the salmon. Alk'unta'm lost, and the man took the salmon down
[825] from heaven. Another legend of the origin of the salmon is recorded on p. 38,
where it is told how the birds obtained the salmon. According to still another
tradition (p. 94), the Raven obtained the salmon by marrying a salmon girl.
In the tradition quoted above, Alk'unta'm also gives to man the power to cure
[755] disease by means of the water of life, which the shaman sprinkles on the
sick person.

776 A number of inferior deities live in the House of Myths. They might
be called the assistants of the principal deities. In order to understand their
[772] functions, it is necessary to state that the deities residing in the House
of Myths have particular charge of the religious winter ceremonial of the
[196] Bella Coola which is called kû'siut, and which corresponds to the ts'ètsâ'eqa
of the Kwakiutl. I have described this ceremonial, and its importance in
[575] the social life of the Kwakiutl, in another paper.[2] The kû'siut is of equal
importance to an understanding of the social life and mythology of the
Bella Coola. It is sufficient to say at this place that the ceremonials per-
formed during the kû'siut are mostly dramatic representations of myths
[532] referring to the various deities, particularly to those of the House of Myths:
therefore masks representing these deities are used in the ceremonials.
Plates VII to XII[3] show a series of these masks. Figs. 1, 2, and 4 (Plate VII)
are Senx, Alk'unta'm, and Snûlk'ulx·a'ls. The functions of many of the
575 inferior deities seem to refer solely to the kû'siut. These deities and their
776 functions are as follows: Six·sek·lai'x· (Plate VII, Fig. 6) ordains the death
of man and animals. According to one statement that I received, there are
four deities of this name in the House of Myths. It is his particular duty
to kill those who transgress the laws of the kû'siut. This deity is men-
tioned by Jacobsen, who calls him Sek-seik Kallai.[4] Nusne'neq'als (Plate
VII, Fig. 7), or the Snene'lq of the House of Myths, sits by himself in one

[113]

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 945.
[2] Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, pp. 311-738.
[3] Drawings by Mr. Rudolph Weber.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 588.

776 [842] having charge of the birth of all animal beings. While she is rocking the cradle, she sings, —

[639] "xoēxxoēsmaix·nimōta nēkō'k·s LA nōēx·L!L'malsaix· au au au au.
Azyotsētsk'ōx·'ats six·'ixōtayā'mk·tēts'ats snsmnxmk·'ā'howsōats ayawa
sōyōnxsōats au au au au."

Another deity living in the House of Myths is the mother of flowers, called Nonō'osqa (Plate X, Figs. 7 and 9), the daughter of Snukpa'nLlts. It seems that this last name means "going to the right." This evidently refers to the fact that the Sun is believed to move on his path towards the west, face forward, and consequently during the spring months ascends the sky [821] moving towards the right; so that Snukpa'nLlts, moving to the right, means at the same time the springtime, when the sun is moving up the sky. This is the time when flowers begin to sprout. Every spring Nonō'osqa gives birth to all the plants in the order in which they begin to appear. A shaman is called to her aid by two old women who assist her (Plate X, Figs. 8 and 11).

Every year, at the time of the winter solstice, the deities determine who shall die during the ensuing year. Two beings called Kakēstsai'ōt. ōla xmā'noas are placed on the ends of a long plank, which is supported at its centre, and swings like a seesaw. Then all the men and all the animals [761] are called to stand near the ends of the plank. When one of the swinging beings falls down from the plank, the person standing near it will die sooner than the one standing at the opposite end. The deities have a messenger called Nutsēkoa'lsika (that means "long ear"), who carries all the news from our earth up to the House of Myths. ALk'unta'm has two children, — the deer, who is called Snoō'lēxēlts ALk'unta'm, that is, "the foolish son of ALk'unta'm" (Plate VII, Fig. 8), and LēXxonix·is ALk'unta'm. I have not been able to learn any thing in regard to the functions of these two beings.

While SēēX and ALk'unta'm are principally concerned with the fates of mankind, they do not personally interfere with the doings of man. Their thoughts are carried out by four brothers, who are called collectively Masmasala'nix or Ontsk·ē'mtēnēm (Plate VIII, Figs. 1–4). These brothers are MaLapā'litsēk· ("the one who finishes his work by chopping once"), Yula'timot ("the one who finishes his work by rubbing once"), MaL'apē'exōēk· ("the one who finishes his work by cutting once"), and IL'iLu'lak·. They [772] have a sister called L'a'qumēlks. These four brothers live in an elevated room in the rear of the House of Myths. They are engaged in carving and painting. It is said that they gave man his arts. They taught him to build canoes, to make boxes, to build houses, and to carve in wood and to

776 sign of the salmon-berry blossom: A'ī'mākᵉ has the shape of a kingfisher: and L'ētsā'aplēLana is painted with the design of a sea-lion bladder filled
532 with grease. She wears rings of red and white cedar-bark. The carving representing the kingfisher has the wings attached to the sides of the head, while the tail rises over the forehead. Xēmxēmalā'oLla is said to carry a small woman in his arms. Her name is Nuspō'xta. When the brothers and their sister threaten to do harm to man, she entreats them to desist. In some traditions these deities are described as the children of ALk'untā'm.[1]

776 In one tradition L'ētsā'aplēLanaᵉ is described as visiting houses and stealing provisions. She is then pursued by the person whom she has
773 wronged, and returns to the House of Myths. The deities are unable to cure her; but the person who wounded her is called in, and withdraws his arrow, whereupon she recovers.[1] Formerly I had the impression that these
[114] ten deities were particularly concerned with the sisau'kᵉ ceremonial,[2] but this
[575] impression has not been substantiated by the information I received during the past year. The ten deities appear much rather as deities of the kō'siut.

575 In the rear of the House of Myths there is a room named LlŌ'sta, in
773 which the son of the deities lives. His name is Ba'EXōLla or Snupaaxola'lt. When SEnx and ALk'untā'm desire to destroy their visitors, they send them
776 past the door of Ba'EXōL'la's room. The latter then rushes out of his room
[772] and devours the visitors. He also initiates the Cannibal. According to the tradition of the tribe SE'nxLEmxᵉ, they acquired membership in the Cannibal Society in the following manner: Ba'EXōLla came down to the mountain SqtsL, where he met with the son of SEnxalō'LEla, the first of the tribe. He conducted him up to the House of Myths. He took him into his room, and gave him the name Q'oalaiu'tstimot. He put a snake into his body, which enabled him to pass through the water. When the youth applied his mouth to the body of a person, the snake tore pieces of flesh from the body, and devoured it. Then Ba'EXōLla took the youth to the upper heaven, past the rent in the sky, and to the house of the supreme deity, Qama'its. The two approached the house, being blown towards it by the strong gale prevailing in the open country of the upper heaven. They found Qama'its sitting in front of her house; and she said to Ba'EXōLla, "Why don't you come in? You wish that your friend should obtain great supernatural power. Bring him to my house, and I will give him what you desire. Stay for a short while where you are, and I will show you what I am doing. Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." After a little while the post closed its eyes. It grew dark at once, and the two visitors fainted, but soon they recovered. When the post opened its eyes again, it grew light. The visitors remained sitting on the ground, and

[113]

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 194.
[2] Seventh Report on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, p. 6.

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suddenly a strong wind began to blow, which rolled them over the prairie until they reached the door of the house. Then suddenly the wind calmed down. They remained sitting on the ground near the doorway; and Qama'its said, "Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." They were sitting opposite each other, watching the post; and when it closed its eyes, they were transformed into two stones, but they soon regained human shape. Then Qama'its asked them to enter. Now the woman took the youth's blanket, and gave him another one made of bear-skin set with fringes of red cedar-bark. She told him that this blanket was to keep him warm, and that it would direct his course. Next she fetched some water from the salt-water pond behind her house. She sprinkled it over the faces of her visitors, and told the youth to sing about his experiences in the upper heaven when performing the Cannibal dance. If she had not sprinkled the faces of her visitors with water, they would have died. She said to the youth, "Your country is not far away. Do not be afraid of the dangerous road that you have to pass. Later on there shall be many Cannibals like you. Do not be afraid to touch the food that another Cannibal may offer to you. You are strong because you have seen me." Then Qama'its sent him back to the lower sky. Here the gods placed him on the back of a bird (Sq'xsen), which carried him down to the sea. As soon as the bird reached the water, it uttered its cry, and at the same time the young man uttered the cry of the Cannibal. The people heard it, and said to one another, "That must be the boy whom we lost some time ago." They connected many canoes by means of planks, and paddled out to the place where the bird was swimming about. They covered the canoes with red cedar-bark and eagle-down, and tried to capture the youth; but when they approached, the bird swam towards the village. They surrounded it with their canoes; but the bird flew up, and disappeared in the sky, and at the same time the youth flew towards the village. When the people landed, he attacked them, taking hold of their arms; and the snake, which was still in his body, tore pieces of flesh out of their arms. The people sang and beat time in order to appease him. 575 773 776

In a second room in the rear of the House of Myths, next to that of the Cannibal, lives Kokō'slxem, another son of the deities. His room is called Nus'ō'lxsta. He initiates the Olx-dancer (see Chap. VI). 776 575

The path of the Sun is guarded by a number of deities. At sunrise is stationed the Bear of Heaven, Snanō's ti Sōnx t'aix (Plate X, Fig. 1). He is described as a fierce warrior, who protects the Sun against the attacks of his enemies, and he is the cause of the warlike spirit of man. His hair is tied up in a knot on top of his head. His mask is used in the sisau'k [772] [821]

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have to put the firewood. This opening is called K'awa'umsta, that is, "mouth kept open by means of a wedge." Masmasala'nix spoke: "The sky shall not burst again. This wedge shall keep its mouth open." The following kū'siut song refers to these deities: — 776 821 [539]

Ai'mats tā mnatsai' tāsxts ti sō'nx'tsgi t'aix.
Aiēlx tā mnatsai' ōl ti S'alwalō'sems ti Sōnx' t'aix.
Sk'a ya'lx'tox ti si'lxnō tā mnatsai'.
Sk'a anōg'a wa exemē'x ti K'awa'umstask' ti Sōnx' t'aix' tā mnatsai.

("My child perished like the sky when it broke.
Go to S'alwalō'sem of the sky, my child!
Gladden my heart, my child!
Sit down in the mouth of the sky, my child!")

Our world is called A'nēkō'ōl, or Qenk'i'lst, that is, "the land below." It is an island swimming in the boundless ocean. In the far east a giant is sitting with legs apart, who is called Alēp!alaxtnaix'. He holds a long stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar by means of two stone ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake; and the Bella Coola say, "Snēnik"pstak'imtōls," that is, "he takes hold of our world." When he moves our earth westward, we have epidemics. When he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears. 772 776 823 [731] [753]

In the ocean lives a being called Sēlsāts, who twice every day swallows the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the kū'siut ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various levels of the sea.

The world below us is the country of the ghosts (kōlk"lōlē'mx'). It is called Asiuta'nem. Descriptions of the ghosts' country are principally obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the sandy banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with sharp stones. When it is summer here, it is winter there. When it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their heads. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls, on reaching the lower world, receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform 772 775 [756] [787]

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772 775 their kō'siut. It is just below the burial-place of each village. The dancing-house is very large and long. It has four fires. The women stay on the floor of the house, while the men sit on an elevated platform. The houses have doors, but the ghosts who first reach the lower world enter the house through the smoke-hole. A rope ladder placed in the smoke-hole facilitates their entrance. Two men stand at the foot of the ladder. They are called Anôet.'axsalai'x'. For a person who has once entered the dancing-house there is no return to our earth. The souls are at liberty to return to the lower heaven, which they reach by ascending the rope ladder. Those who return to the lower heaven are sent back to our earth by the deities, to be born as children in the same family to which they belonged. Those who enjoy life in the country of the ghosts, and who do not return to heaven, die a second death, and then sink to the second lower world, from which there is no return.

I received another description from an old man. He stated that he reached the country in his canoe. He saw two trails,—one the trail of the living, one that of the dead. He followed the trail of the dead, and reached a village in which there was a dancing-house. The language of the ghosts differed from that of the living (see p. 42).

773 825 [823] The Bella Coola believe that in the far west is situated the land of the salmon, which is called Mta'lton. The salmon leave this country early in the spring every year, and ascend the rivers. They are believed to return to their own country in the fall. The following tradition is of importance, explaining the manner in which the salmon were first brought from their country to the rivers of our world:—

Once upon a time a man named Winwt'na lived at Q'o'mqotis. One day he was sitting in front of his house, looking at the river. He thought, "I wish fish would ascend this river." At that time not a single salmon visited Bella Coola River. Winwt'na entered his house and lay down, thinking about the salmon. One night while he was asleep he dreamt that with the help of all the animals he had made war upon the salmon, that he had vanquished them, and that since that time the salmon had ascended Bella Coola River. When he awoke he invited all the animals to his house, and told them about his dream. They all came, and when they had entered he shut the door. Then he spoke: "My brothers, I have invited you to my house that you may hear what I wish to do. You shall help me to obtain what I desire." The Mink asked him in what they were to assist him; and he replied, "I want to go to Mta'lton. There is not a single fish in our river, and I dreamt that with your help I vanquished the fish. Let us make war upon them. I shall certainly take some slaves, and we will place them in this river." Mink retorted, "I am glad that you are speaking,

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772 *sonx̣ʷ*. If the Bella Coola were strictly logical, one should expect them to conceive the upper surface of *sonx̣ʷ* as being convex. Instead, it is considered a flat surface, very similar to the earth, and no explanation is given of what fills in the spaces between the dome, concave as viewed from this world, and the upper plane which could rest only on the peak of the dome. But logical accuracy is not a Bella Coola characteristic. This flat land is called *dāsonx̣ʷdā* or *wasonx̣ʷ wawtkłłoqosił*. It is illumined by a second sun, shining on it as the sun does on the earth. Far in the east of this upper region are extensive tide-flats. This land above is the home of many supernatural beings, who will be described in due course. The relative position of the sun to this upper world is ill-defined. According to some accounts, it travels by clearly marked trails on the surface, and a transparent dome is postulated to explain how its light reaches this earth. Others state that it moves like a bird or flying canoe through the space between the world and the dome-sky above. On many of these points there is a striking difference of opinion, which the Bella Coola explain by saying that their information is derived from ancient stories, which are personal possessions, and that no one knows the beliefs of his fellows. A co-ordinated theology, as Boas points out, has not evolved among the Bella Coola.

[811] [821] [538] [424]

772 773 [776] The sky, as it may be called if the reader will bear in mind that it is the underside of a flat land, was not always in its present condition. The Bella Coola say that long ago the supreme god instructed his Carpenters (I, p. 39) to make a sky. They started from the eastern extremity of the earth, but after a considerable part of the dome had been erected, it fell with a thunderous crash, because no supporting posts had been set up. The part that escaped this calamity is called *Salwalosam*. Undiscouraged, the Carpenters continued their work with the assistance of posts and so built the sky as it is seen today. Then the supports were taken away.

772 821 As already stated, a sun shines on the land above. As that seen by mortals is attached to the land above, so is this upper

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sun attached to another land above the one of which our sky is the underside. Boas (p. 28) has described this upper land in some detail. A number of Bella Coola were questioned on this subject, but for some time no one could be found with knowledge of its existence. At length one of the older people remembered that a man who had died some thirty years ago had a personal story connected with it, and later a Kimsquit man was able to furnish definite information. He explained that in his family there was a myth dealing with this matter; others might have heard this myth, but since it was not their property, of course they would not be able to impart the facts contained in it, nor would they necessarily believe it. Consequently, an upper land, superimposed above that which is immediately over the earth, cannot be described as a Bella Coola belief; it is shared, so far as could be ascertained, by only two families.

The chief feature of this uppermost world is its distance and unapproachableness. To the supernatural beings living in the intermediate land it is a far-off place; in fact, their attitude towards it corresponds to that with which mortals regard the land above their own. The supernatural ones can, when they wish, visit this upper world, which is called *Nuqwliäls*. A sun shines there, but it is a different kind of sun from that known to mortals. On the whole it appears that this upper sky-land does not differ materially from either the earth or the land immediately above. No human being has ever reached this distant land, so what little is known about it was brought down in the beginning of time by the first people.

In addition to these two upper worlds, the Bella Coola know of one, or perhaps two, below. One of these is inhabited by ghosts.[1] It somewhat resembles the earth, but is unsubstantial and ethereal. It is considered to be immediately

[1]At the present time the Bella Coola are in a state of transition between the old beliefs and the new. This concept is held only by the older people, so it might be more accurate to describe it as one which they, the tribe as a whole, used to know. It has been thought advisable to use the present tense throughout in recording customs and beliefs which are now rapidly passing away.

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from the moon and stated that there were mountains and snow on it. It is commonly stated that the marks on the moon represent a man carrying a bucket. 821 [756]

The stars figure but slightly either in Bella Coola mythology or thought; it is not even known who made them. Two in the Great Bear constellation are called respectively *Tpiksta* and *X̱inx̱ines*, "Little Girls." A lone star in the same part of the sky, named *A'lox*, is said to be following the girls to the forest for illicit intercourse. [773]

Moon, stars, and above all the sun, were, and still are to a certain extent, used by the Bella Coola in computing the passage of time. There are no individuals with the definite prerogative of keeping count of time, but formerly wise old men used to do so.[4] Differences of opinion were the rule rather than the exception, a condition which often led to bitter disputes concerning the proper date for starting the winter ceremonials. Boas (p. 41) has recorded the Bella Coola calendar in greater detail than the present writer has been able to do. The making of calendrical observations is a lost art, and the following list of the months was all that could be learnt. It will be noted that these agree with Boas in regard to the months in the early part of the year, but not in those between the summer and winter solstices; no explanation is offered for this disparity. 805 821 [554] 578 [796] [114] [178] [114]

First moon after the summer solstice: *Sikālamtak*, which has the significance, "The Time for Sockeye Salmon to Ascend the River."

Second moon after the summer solstice: *Si'islalitl*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon."

Third moon after the summer solstice: *Si'iswai·stl*, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon."

Fourth moon after the summer solstice: *Siqālx̱am*, "The Time for Gathering Fern Root," or *Sidakaos di Ānoᵊlikwolsaix*,

[4] A Kimsquit informant stated that there were professional calendrical experts in his home when he was a young lad although members of the *kusiut* society (II, chap. 1) sometimes attended to this matter. [575] [463]

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not systematized; if a man is asked about the powers or functions of a certain supernatural being, he will usually answer by recounting a story in which that being appears. What is known respecting many of the lesser supernatural beings depends upon information contained in stories, and as many of these are personal possessions, it follows that there is tremendous variation in individual knowledge. Psychologically, this is of little importance; there are enough supernatural beings for everyone to know some of them, and to expect to meet or hear them in the forests. To insert many of the stories contained in later chapters would break the sequence of description; all that is here attempted is to give a general summary, in a way foreign to Bella Coola thought. 771 776* [424] [184]

Supernatural beings are by no means all-powerful. It is true that they have miraculous powers and can work weal or woe to human beings who chance to come in contact with them, but likewise they may sometimes be overwhelmed by mortals armed with objects steeped in human essence, such as a blanket which has been worn until it is impregnated not only with the smell, but the physical being of its owner. In particular, shamans or other mortals of great strength have been able to conquer the supernatural ones. Consequently, it may be said that although supernatural beings live on a plane different from that of mortals, they are not omnipotent. Long, long ago, man was able to come in contact with them more frequently, but that golden age when the semi-mythical ancestors of the Bella Coola were living has long since passed away, though it is only within the last few years that such beings, particularly supernatural animals, have become comparatively rare. The Bella Coola give three main reasons for this: 776* [756] [773] 776* 178

(1) Supernatural animals do not like the sound of muskets and have moved far away.

(2) With increasing dependence on the canning industry, fewer hunters penetrate into their haunts in the distant parts of the mountains.

(3) The younger Bella Coola no longer take pains to purify themselves as a means of placating supernatural beings.

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*776 *Ałquntäm* is occasionally, but inaccurately, called *Sınx*, the [821] Sun.

Though *Ałquntäm* often sojourns in the sun, his home is 772 in the flat land above the sky, a huge house which figures *776 prominently both in Bella Coola mythology and present-day thought. The name of the house is *Nusmät·a*. It resembles those constructed on this earth, but is boundless in size. Like [552] the houses of human beings, its name is changed according to what is taking place within. Every autumn the supernatural beings gather there to await the coming of *Ałquntäm* at the winter solstice; while waiting they pass the time by performing the equivalent of the earthly *kusiut* dances (II, chap. 1). This assemblage is termed *qulxwaix*, and the house, during this period, *Nusqulxwaista*.

The following names of the house, with meanings, were obtained:

Nusmät·a, "The Place of Myths."

Nusqwatlnaista, "Where Everything Was Begun."

Nuskəlälnımsta, "The Place Whence Came the Falling Down."

Nuslımnänımsta, "The Place Where Mankind was Made."

Nusälquntämsta, "The Place Where *Ałquntäm* Speaks."

Nusqulxwaista, "The Place of the *Qulxwaix*."

Nusp̓skunsta, "The Place of Meeting," or "The Council House."

Nulsaxmäls. The meaning of this word is unknown.

Änuxwolsekmäls, "The Moving House." The significance of this last name rests on an ancient myth in which the house is described as travelling from place to place.

●773 To grasp the significance of these designations it is neces- *776 sary to understand the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the creation. Their mythology contains no account of the origin or birth of *Ałquntäm* himself, nor of the making of this world; in the beginning of time no living creature, either animal or vegetable, existed with the exception of *Ałquntäm*. He, therefore, decided to alter and populate the world and

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accordingly created four supernatural Carpenters. They in turn made a number of workers, *ällqwatlıntutl nunuqomaxmlx*. These beings, endowed with enormous power by *Ällquntäm*, chiselled from wood a number of human beings, the forefathers of mankind. Some men state that this was done by the four Carpenters, but the consensus of opinion seems to be that they were merely supervisors. No explanation is given of the means used by *Ällquntäm* to give life to the beings thus created. The workers made not only human bodies, but constructed their mentality, including the speech. *Nusmät·a* contains a large number of rooms, in each of which a different set of Indians, with a different language, was manufactured; thus is explained the diversity of tongues among the people of British Columbia. The Carpenters did not confine their attention to men and women. Supernatural beings, animals, birds, trees, flowers, fish, mountains, rivers, perhaps even moon and stars, all were created almost simultaneously by them under the direction of *Ällquntäm* in *Nusmät·a*. The sun alone was not made in this way. *Ällquntäm* chose the proper plumage or fur for each bird and animal, which the Carpenters painted and carved according to his instructions. As they provided men with different languages, so they furnished the birds and beasts with their speech, which men can no longer understand. Each was given the necessary tools for existence on the earth below; sharp incisors to beaver, strong talons to eagle, a penetrating eye to heron, and so on. The Bella Coola do not regard birds and animals as being of a lower order than themselves, for all were created by the same power, at the same time; in many respects they consider that they belong to a higher plane than human beings. It would be too great a digression to include at this point a number of myths describing the creation, but these will be found in vol. I, chap. VI.

Mythology does not record in detail the sending down to this earth of trees and plants or of the forefathers of all other Indian tribes; but the manner in which the first Bella Coola arrived is clearly stated. Around the walls of *Nusmät·a* were

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773 hanging a number of bird and animal cloaks, representing ravens, eagles, whales, grizzly bears, black bears, and a few others. *Alquntăm* asked each individual which of these cloaks he preferred to wear. One selected a raven, another an eagle, and so on. Each donned his choice from the wall and immediately became the bird or animal chosen. *Alquntăm* gave each man or woman one or more names, and some food in compressed form; then sent him down in avian or mammal form. Even the animals could travel through the air like birds, and each landed on the peak of a mountain in the Bella Coola country, took off his cloak, and reassumed human form. The discarded coverings floated back up to *Nusmăt-a*. A few individuals, instead of coming to earth in animal form, swarmed down posts which stretched between the worlds.

177 773 This myth is fervently believed by the Bella Coola. Even Christian Indians, though they readily admit the biblical creation as applied to the white race, remain convinced of the manner in which their own ancestors came into being. At the present time, though most ancient beliefs are rapidly passing away, few, if any, Bella Coola doubt this account of the creation of their forefathers. Their conviction rests not only on the religious aspect of their life, but on the sociological. A man's [551] [424] most treasured possessions are the name brought down from above by his ancestor in the beginning of time, the knowledge of the form taken by that ancestor, and information about the place where he landed. A collection of myths of this kind is given in vol. I, chap. VI. Lacking knowledge of his first ancestor's form, a Bella Coola has slight chance of becoming a [622] [554] [567] chief; such lore is the birthright of every descendant of one of these first people, and those without it are almost certain to be the offspring of slaves. The social aspects of creation myths will be described later; at this point a broad outline must suffice. *Nusmăt-a*, "The House of Myths," is the place in which these myths were made, and are now stored, two reasons for its importance in the eyes of the Bella Coola.

[775] *Nusmăt-a* is not only connected with the history of an indi-

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vidual's ancestors; it enters into his own future as well. When a Bella Coola dies, his spirit (I, p. 94) travels back on the path of his ancestors from generation to generation until it reaches the spot where the first one came to earth; there it assumes the bird or animal cloak used on that occasion and floats aloft to *Nusmāt·a* to live forever. Small wonder, therefore, that this house figures prominently in the thoughts of the Bella Coola, and that they cling tenaciously to a belief in it. 177 773 775

Knowledge of *Nusmāt·a* has been inherited almost entirely from the first ancestors of the Bella Coola, and only a few items of information could be gleaned concerning it. Most men think of it as an enormous replica of their own houses, but one individual, of philosophic temperament, expressed the opinion that it was without any inner partitions. His belief was based on the following incident: 772

Some years ago a young man died without apparent reason. His sorrowing father kept wondering: 772 987

"Why has my son died? Can he have committed some crime or made some mistake?"

Despondent and grief-stricken, for a whole year the man did not wash, ate little, and slept on the floor. At last he wandered away, alone, into the mountains. Night overtook him and he lay down to sleep without food. His son came to him in a dream, telling him not to lament, that he was in a better place than this world, for *Ālqunātm* had recalled him to *Nusmāt·a* to use his voice, which was unusually powerful, as a means of conveying his wishes to the other occupants of the house. Thus comforted, the father returned home in the morning, washed, and again behaved normally. My informant suggested that cross walls would be a bar to the strongest voice, and that *Nusmāt·a* must consequently be partitionless.

Nusmāt·a contains not only the spirits of all deceased Bella Coola, it is also the home of most of the supernatural beings. These frequently descend to visit the earth, but always return to the house above. So far as could be learnt, the only being irremovably located there is an old woman, *Snuiqulpāls*. The most prominent article of furniture in *Nusmāt·a* is *Ālqunātm*'s seat, in the central position behind the fire. Over it is laid 772 776 * [775]

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dancers. *Sninia* differs from most supernatural beings in having his residence in this world instead of in the land above. 776*

Among the beings dwelling in the upper region are a number of *Xemxemtnum*, whose function it is to ask the sun to appear every day. It travels without their assistance, but if they neglected to arouse it, darkness would prevail all day. The only knowledge of these beings is derived from information given by the first people; they have not been seen by mortals since early days and do not act as patrons for *kusiut* dancers. [821]

Heat and Cold are regarded by the Bella Coola as anthropomorphic beings, but their beliefs concerning them have not become crystallized, perhaps because of their non-appearance as patrons of *kusiut* dancers. The following story is told of the annual meeting of Heat and Cold. 776* 821 539

Every spring Cold, *Snuskulut*, meets Heat, *Squiltlus*, in some undefined locality and says:

"You will not be welcome in the place to which you are going [the earth]. I have just come from there. People like to get up on cool mornings to start work, they won't pay any attention to you."

But *Squiltlus* replies: "No. They will welcome me. Everyone prefers to spend a few extra minutes in bed in the mornings. It is pleasant to do so when it is warm, hence I shall be welcome in spite of the eagerness of mankind for work."

In spite of its apparent definiteness, this account is regarded merely as a story, and it is doubtful if any historical accuracy is attached to it. The Bella Coola laugh when it is told, and the irony of the conversation is not lost on them.

S'pi', the Cold Wind, is another anthropomorphized being belonging to the realm of stories rather than to that of everyday life and profound belief. His wife is *Alala*, and their child is Ice. On a cold morning, if a Bella Coola finds ice on liquid left in a bucket or other container, he warms it at a fire until he can lift off the sheet, and throws it out of the door, saying as he does so: "*Alalas*--,[a] your child has become cold." 776* 821

Both the North Wind and his wife, *uxumun-i*, whose home [773]

[a] The vocative form of this word.

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* 776 is in the upper Bella Coola valley near Firvale, cause cold
● 773 breezes by blowing them through their anuses. *utarwan-i* es-
[821] pecially is a prominent figure in mythology (I, p. 670), but she has not appeared for many generations and her actions belong to legend rather than to either religion or social practices. It is said that she has four sons who once wanted to break a large number of grass stalks. Finding it difficult to do so on account of their toughness, they asked their mother to freeze them; she did this and destroyed every other plant at the same time.

* 776 Another anthropomorphic being is *Sxē'lāil*, the super-
821 natural South Wind of winter who brings storm and snow.
177 The Carriers affirm that every icicle which grows down until its end is in the snow in his walking-stick, and that to break
[731] one causes famine. Some Bella Coola have adopted this belief and carefully refrain from destroying such icicles.

* 776 Supernatural beings experience the same difficulty as mortals in reckoning the passage of time. A number of calendrical experts live in the land above, whose duty it is to record both months and years. They are called *Ālmunskālluaiyais* or
[575] *Ālmunskitlum*. They have been seen occasionally, and are shown, as masked figures, at *nsaak* (I, p. 180), but not at *kusiut* dances. Two of these beings always appear, and they argue about their observations after the fashion of humans.

Another denizen of *Nuxmāt-a* of slight importance in the social life of the Bella Coola is *Xemxemālstis*, a friend and
[575] associate of *Ālquntām*. He acts as patron of *kusiut* dancers, and in this manner is brought to the notice of mortals. In the land above his function is to cherish *Tlāqmā-ks*, a being resembling a diminutive man, created by *Ālquntām* as a child to all supernatural beings. *Xemxemālstis* is its guardian or nurse; and for safety he usually keeps his charge in the far distant upper land above *Nuxmāt-a*, where *Ālquntām* frequently visits
[777] the two. In some mysterious manner, *Tlāqmā-ks* has been known to reach this earth, giving good fortune to the lucky finder. He is in many cases spoken of as "The Cherished

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the rescue of *Lewumewumiale* they saw him being carried downstream to a salmon-weir about three hundred yards below. The trap was raised at once, but it was too late; the rash fisherman was dead. No one could give a name to the supernatural being who had caused his death; it was merely one of those dwelling under the river. [539] [761]

Whales, too, are sometimes observed in the rivers, but though they appear to resemble those of the ocean they are really their supernatural prototypes. [825]

These human-like dwellers beneath the water can, as in this case, cause death, but they are usually regarded as uncanny rather than dangerous. But there is one undersea being whom the Bella Coola regard with unmixed awe; he is *Ẉmaqme* (see Plate 10), lord of the supernatural ones beneath the ocean, as *Alqantém* is lord of those dwelling above. He lives in an enormous house under the sea wherein the fish, the sea-mammals, and the sea-plants have their home. The Bella Coola believe that these beings can take human form at will,* and assume that their behaviour in *Ẉmaqme*'s dwelling corresponds to that of human beings in the house of an earthly chief. In the beginning of time, when men were more powerful than in recent years, this house sometimes rose to the surface of the water and adventurous Bella Coola entered it on various occasions, leaving to their descendants tales of the wonders it contained. These accounts have become family myths and are described with others of similar type in Chap. vi, vol. I. Records of this kind vary greatly in detail; in fact, few agree more than in broad outline. Sometimes it is stated that denizens of the sea appear in *Ẉmaqme*'s house in the flesh; other myths describe paintings of sea creatures around the walls and the manner in which these are brought to life by *Ẉmaqme*. Irrespective of the exact details, it is clear that he is chief of the undersea beings who serve him and hunt for him, the black-fish being especially proficient in this respect. *Ẉmaqme* resents any slight to his protégés and punishes any mortal who is unkind to them.

773 776* [24] [184]

*Bella Coola concepts concerning the transformability of men and animals will be described in the next section of this chapter.

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including the dreaded point, Meestche Nose, in human form. As each came in, water swirled in and the canoe was tossed as if in a whirlpool; if it had capsized the occupants would have been devoured, but on each occasion one of the hunters threw a morsel of false hellebore on the surface, which stilled the waves. At last Sqmoqwe and his friends admitted defeat, granted the four fishermen the powers of shamans, and gave them certain prerogatives. 539 776 *

Though Sqmoqwe is usually unkind to mortals, and is correspondingly feared, instances are known in which he has bestowed shamanistic powers for no apparent reason. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella know more about Sqmoqwe than they do, since he is essentially an ocean-being and the Bella Bella are ocean people. It is possible that the Bella Coola concepts of this supernatural personage are entirely of Bella Bella origin. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that Sqmoqwe seldom appears in connection with the *kwiatl* society, but frequently with the *nuxalk* society, many of the rites of which came from Bella Bella. [756] 177 776 * [575]

Since human beings can travel on the sea only by means of canoes, it is not surprising that the Bella Coola think of supernatural beings as doing likewise. Their beliefs include at least three huge canoes, manned by supernatural beings. The most important is that of *Nuklymm*,* the name of its captain, whose crew consists of a number of supernatural birds and the hermaphrodite. Every year they come from the lands of the salmon and the berries, in the far west beyond the sea, and bear these to the coast of British Columbia. This belief, which runs counter to the conviction that *Alquntám* caused the animals and plants to grow, is merely one of the many inconsistencies of Bella Coola theology. *Nuklymm* comes every autumn on his way to attend the gathering of the supernatural beings in the land above, and his arrival in the Bella Coola River marks the commencement of the *kwiatl* dances. He is one of the most important of *kwiatl* patrons and his powers and functions are described in the chapter devoted to that 773 ● 776 * [575]

*Cf. Boas, p. 66.

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subject. He does not often appear to mankind, though every Bella Coola knows of his existence.

Another supernatural craft is that of *Winwina*.[17] It, too, brings salmon and berries from their home in the extreme west. Knowledge of this canoe is limited to certain families who own stories connected with it, and it likewise serves as patron for *kusiut* dancers. Although both *Noākynum* and *Winwina* can easily destroy human beings, they usually pay no attention to them, and have even been known to bestow supernatural power. *Winwina* will be described in greater detail in connection with *kusiut* dances.

The third canoe is termed *Winās di Sā-lldjo-ts*, "The War-Party of the Tide," or *Winās di Ṡala*, "The War-Party of the Ocean." Its home is among small islands in the ocean. It is a large canoe, manned by invisible submarine beings, who are able to drive it at tremendous speed wherever they wish. The members of the crew are not in themselves dangerous, but the craft is greatly feared because it always transports *Sxle-xf'*. This supernatural creature is about the size of a seal, brown in colour, and of jelly-like substance; it lies in the boat immediately aft of the place from which water is bailed and constantly rolls to and fro, like an animated mass of repulsive jelly. Poison is constantly spreading from *Sxle-xf'*, and anyone placed in the canoe soon becomes weak, begins to shake like *Sxle-xf'*, and presently dies. This canoe is a source of danger to those with whom it may come in contact, and an even greater peril indirectly. The poison emanating from *Sxle-xf'* kills clams and mussels in the vicinity and renders them unfit for food. In some cases they die at once, with open shells, and anyone finding them knows what has happened and does not eat them, but in other cases they live for a considerable period though saturated with the venom. If anyone eats these shellfish, he becomes flabby and jelly-like, and soon dies, unless a powerful shaman can conquer the poison. Sometimes when a party is encamped on the shore

[17] Cf. Boas, p. 38.

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human wearer belongs to a sphere differing from that of supernatural animals and is dangerous to them. Consequently, if worn clothing be thrown on a fire it repels unpleasant visitors. Other powerful protections are false hellebore, and smoked salmon roe. A wise hunter always carries these and if he sees a dangerous creature such as a *snuuq*, he chews the two together and spits them towards the peril. Needless to say, if a kindly animal is seen, the hunter does not drive it away by these methods. Why false hellebore should be so effective is a matter of wonder to the Bella Coola themselves, for as a rule it is the human essence attached to objects which gives them their strength over the supernatural. Thus the most powerful of all charms are pads that have been used by women during their menses. If a woman travels on the ocean she is careful to carry some of them with her ready to repel any danger from the supernatural water beings.[10]

776* 789 [824] [824] [841]

The manner in which the Bella Coola regard mythical animals and other evidences of the supernatural is illustrated by the following practice. Hunters always want to know the direction of the wind, and when the breeze is too slight to be discernible they blow upwards a small amount of eagle down, which is so light that the faintest breath of air will bear it down wind. What the logical white man considers a natural phenomenon, appears to the Bella Coola as miraculous; eagle down, stripped from the dead bird by human hands and stored for some time within a house, has become so humanized that it can conquer supernatural powers to indicate the direction of the wind.

776* 789 821 [224]

The mythical monsters already described are not the only animals regarded as supernatural by the Bella Coola. They believe that in the beginning *Alquntam* created men and beasts at the same time and in the same place, giving the former the greater share of power, but not exiling the latter to a different plane of existence. In those early days, the semi-supernatural

776* 825 773

[10] This matter will be described more fully in connection with Magic; see vol. I, chap. xx.

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* 776 forefathers of the Bella Coola had the ability to talk with
825 animals and birds. The men of today, who realize that such
[773] intercourse is not now possible, assume that they have degenerated from the golden age of their first ancestors. On the other hand, they see no reason to believe that beasts have undergone a similar change, and take it for granted that they have continued in the supernatural, or semi-supernatural state in which they were created by *Ăłquntăm*. It is true that man is stronger than most animals, but that does not affect the attitude with which the latter are regarded, for supernatural and powerful are not synonymous terms. *Ăłquntăm* decreed that they should serve as food for mankind, and they have since obeyed his command, but the Bella Coola do not consider themselves undisputed lords of creation. They fear *snusx*, *snuuq*, and other creatures of great power, but they know how to avoid them; similarly, deer and mountain goats fear men, but they are not entirely defenceless, because their speed and agility give them advantages corresponding to those of men in combat with beasts stronger than themselves. All living creatures use the weapons with which they are equipped. For example, when a mountain goat eludes a hunter by scaling a precipice too steep for its pursuer, the latter considers it has escaped through supernatural climbing ability; whereas the goat has merely used the power granted by *Ăłquntăm*. Like-
[789] wise, when a *snusx* or a *snuuq* is outwitted by the use of soiled clothing or smoked salmon roe, the means, unnatural to it, are natural to the human being employing them. Men and animals alike regard each other's weapons as supernatural.

In consequence of these beliefs, the attitude of the Bella Coola towards animals is fundamentally different from that of white men. They regard them as possessing human mentality, and even the ability to assume human form if they so desire. In fact, they believe that animals merely appear to them in the shape of beasts, but can change to human, or other form and behave accordingly whenever they wish to do
[756] so. The degeneration of mankind has made it impossible for

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men to see these transformed beings habitually, but even now, 776*
or at any rate until a few years ago, shamans were able to lift 825
the intervening veil. From accounts given by those who have
had such experience, the Bella Coola believe that *Ałquntäm* [756]
gave to birds and animals, as well as to humans, the boon of [773]
fire, and it is only the unworthiness of men that makes them
unable to see the smoke rising from the houses of different
creatures. In former times, fortunate hunters were able to
do so, and consequently had phenomenal success. The smoke
that ascends from the fires of different animals corresponds in
colour to that of its owner; a mountain goat's is white, a
beaver's, black, a squirrel's, red, a wolf's, gray, and so on.
When a goat stamps the earth on a mountain, it rings hollow, [823]
as indeed it is to those animals, for their home is within; and
when a hunter loses his quarry entirely, it is because the latter
has entered its house. Shamans are sometimes able to hear [756]
the gatherings of animals under the peaks. Like human beings,
they dance to the accompaniment of music, and in all respects
behave like them. They have their times of joy and sorrow,
of success and failure. When ill they are cured by their own
shamans, grizzly bear, *sminq*, and wolverine; these three also
dance to welcome the dead. All animals and birds are like
brothers, able to converse with each other and living harmon-
iously together in that other part of their life which only
shamans have seen. Porcupine is the oldest, and a hunter [224]
always tries to kill one before passing to more important prey.
The animals know about the actions of human beings and [784]
show their aversion to certain habits by refusing to allow
themselves to be seen by anyone practising them. For example,
they do not like people to drink water in which dog salmon [224]
have been soaked, and no hunter would dream of partaking of
that food. Bella Coola mythology is full of accounts of human [773]
beings who, with supernatural aid, were able to penetrate to [538]
the homes of animals. Tales of this type would be unintellig-
ible without understanding the attitude of the people to the
animal and bird kingdoms.

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000 Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

424 Before leaving the subject of supernatural animals, a word must be said concerning the attitude of the Bella Coola to 773 those in whose forms their first ancestors came to earth. If, 825 for example, a man's first ancestor descended as a raven, this knowledge is a valuable possession of himself and his family. [556] Indeed, the most treasured possessions of a Bella Coola are not the material objects collected by him through life, but the intangible rights wrapped up in his ancestral history. These are referred to under four names:

(1) *Smaiusta*, "Preserved Story"; the myth describing the coming to earth of a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(2) *Kəlelta*, "What Was Sent Down"; the names and other possessions given by *Ālquntām* to a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(3) *Tsāmātl*, "Whence We Came"; the place to which a man's first ancestors came in the beginning of time, and the one from which they have since spread.

(4) *Q̓watlunta*.

Various *smaiusta* are recorded in vol. I, chap. VI, and the second and third terms are really part of the first, although to the Bella Coola they are psychologically distinct. *Q̓watlunta* is the word used for both the birds or animals chosen as cloaks by the first settlers, and also for creatures with which the early people came in contact. The nearest interpretation appears to be, "Crest." When a Bella Coola whose first an- 424 cestor came to earth as a raven portrays that bird, it serves as 773 a visible mark of his intangible possession. In former days, 825 if a man carved on stone so that his work and his name would never be forgotten, it was a *q̓watlnekam*, a constant reminder 211 of his greatness to generations then unborn. A *q̓watlunta*, therefore, combines the concept of *memorial* with that of *crest*, so that Bella Coola speak of the white man's memorials as *q̓watlunta*. In brief, a man regards the form assumed by his ancestor when coming to this earth as an emblem of the

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ancient history and fame of his family. It is a matter connected with the past, a matter of the mind, a source of pride to him to have such a possession, but a matter that does not affect his daily life. 211 424 773

So far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola crests consist of the following birds and animals: raven, bald eagle, grizzly bear, black bear, wolf, whale, blackfish, merganser, loon, *skāmtsk*, possibly deer, and the mythical double-headed snake, *susiutl*. To these must be added the sun, because some of the original people came to earth in human form by sliding down his eye-lashes, the sun-beams; and *nultnikta*, the posts which stretched from earth to the land above, down which a number of the first ancestors of mankind swarmed in human form. The Bella Coola believe that these posts are particularly common memorials among the tribes of the outer coast. According to some accounts it was these posts which supported the first sky until it fell. 825 [776] * [772] [829] [772]

A crest is connected almost exclusively with the distant past. A Bella Coola whose ancestor came to earth as a raven pays no attention to the ravens of the present time. The matter was approached from every possible angle and not the slightest sign of respect toward living specimens of a man's crest could be noticed. A query as to whether or not a man refrained from eating his crest was regarded as highly humorous. Nor is there any trace of fellowship between unrelated families even if they happen to have the same crest. The subject was broached repeatedly, until at last one informant smiled broadly and said: 424 779 825

"I know now what you want to find out, I can tell you all about it."

He recounted how the Kitkatla are, in his opinion, stupid enough to regard as brothers all those who have the same animal story even if they are members of different tribes. He said that when he was a young man at Victoria, where Indians from all parts of the coast used to meet, a Kitkatla had once asked him what was his animal. He was puzzled, but as the [648]

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424 nearest answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the
779 Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the
825 narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience, and added that though he was quite willing to accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not
[582] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of exogamy.

211 Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet
424 they have some importance in the realm of social life. The
● 773 portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy
825 chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a
[532] design is impressed with the glories of the family history of
[556] the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of
[304] the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delineation is a memento of family history. For that reason a man is often tattooed[22] with his crest, that derived from his father's first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow. After the death of a chief a memorial-post is erected near his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his
000 family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

[22] It is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal
[171] tribes but also the Carriers. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated them-
[184] selves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with potlatches; in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the back-room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material; the second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath
[386] the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were baked for a long time and then ground into a powder. This keeps indefinitely and can be made ready for use by mixing with water. As far as could be learnt, any skilled craftsman might perform the operation.

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It is said, half
jocularly, that a man grows to resemble his ancestral cloak; 424
if, for example, one man's is the eagle, his hair turns white 773
early, whereas that of another with raven crest long preserves
its blackness. More definite, is the use as a signal for attack, of 825
a whistle imitating the cry of the leader's bird or animal. [726]
Finally, when a man whose crest is the raven hears one of these
birds calling, he cries out:

"Hello, *q̣watlłntao* [the vocative form], it is as you say."

This custom is probably due to a belief in the ability of ravens to bear news.

On the whole the attitude of the Bella Coola towards living examples of their crests does not differ from that of mingled respect and superiority with which they regard other birds and animals.

THE RAVEN

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning Raven differ so 773
fundamentally from those respecting other birds and animals, 776*
that the subject must be treated separately. In the beginning 825
of time, when *Ałquntām* sent down the ancestors of the Bella Coola to this earth, he despatched Raven to be their guide and teacher. For this purpose Raven was given greater power than that granted to any other animal. He came to earth in avian form, then changed to a man, but his cloak did not float back to the land above as did those of the other first-comers. Instead, it remained in the world below where he could resume it at will. *Ałquntām* had instructed him to travel to all parts of the world, meaning the coast of British Columbia, in order to study the arts and crafts of the inhabitants and bring back to Bella Coola those which seemed desirable. On these explorations he used to assume raven form and set off in his canoe, *Tobuxł*, which travelled without visible motive power at phenomenal speed. Owing to the power that *Ałquntām* had given him, he could talk to the trees and the mountains, the birds, the animals, and the insects, as well as to the human beings he encountered on the coast.

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● 773 Raven, perhaps made conceited by this power, did not
* 776 always use it for good purposes. He learnt many new inven-
825 tions which he taught to the Bella Coola, but sometimes he
[538] indulged in adventures of an obscene nature. In fact, he was often too "smart." The Bella Coola relate many tales concerning his exploits. These are all mere stories, such as can be told by anyone, and they fall into two classes. One comprises humorous anecdotes, describing how Raven tried to show off, to outwit other birds and animals, and his consequent discomfiture. These belong to the realm of mythology and are recorded in vol. II, chap. v. In addition, there are stories describing the inventions and boons obtained by Raven; these are given in detail here as the only satisfactory means of illustrating the attitude of the Bella Coola towards Raven.

The first Raven, to whom *Ałquntām* granted such power, is not regarded as a bird, but essentially as a superman, with the kindly characteristics of a human being, and the weakness of a conceited individual who is always trying to display his prowess. The ordinary word used for a raven is *qwax*, but
[552] this first Raven is properly referred to by his titles as chief, *Nowakila*; *Sānuximāxots*, "The Light-Bringer"; *Kitałxamxwis*, "The Wise One"; *Nu'oxwałłamnaix*, "The Widener";[24] *Qunqwinum uldidā sxem*, "The Unlooser of Light";[25] *Qax·āxwsila*, *Qwai·lils*, and *Qpwi*. The Bella Coola do not explain what happened to this first *Nowakila*; he appears to have dropped out of existence, and his power has not been transmitted to his descendants, the ravens of today. They are regarded as birds, with but the slightest trace of their ancestor's greatness. The
[829] Bella Coola know of the beliefs of the Kitkatla concerning Raven, and say that in the north he is esteemed only a little less than the supreme deity himself. But in Bella Coola the exploits of Raven are always considered to be due to the power given him by *Ałquntām*, whose assistant he was, although he delighted to show his own prowess by outwitting his maker.

[24] Because he is supposed to have widened rivers for several of the first settlers.
[25] Owing to the manner in which Raven is supposed to have unveiled the sun.

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539 of a woman, *Sekakmān·a*, who dwelt with her mother, a Gull. After a
825 meal, Raven lied to his hostess by telling her of the countless herring that lived at Kimsquit, and how happy he could make some of her relatives by taking them home with him. *Sekakmān·a* doubted the story and told one of her brothers to investigate Raven's canoe because, if the fish were plentiful at his home, some of the scales would certainly be in his craft. The herring youth looked inside the canoe, and was deceived by Raven's subterfuge. On receiving a favourable report, *Sekakmān·a* willingly gave Raven a large box filled with herring. Elated at his victory, Raven set out for home and threw his spoil into the water as he neared the beach at Kimsquit. The Kimsquit people knew of Raven's search for herring, and did not at first believe him when he reported his success, but the fish increased so rapidly that his claim was vindicated.

The herring so obtained were the progenitors of all that now live in the waters adjacent to Kimsquit.

262 One of the foods regarded by the Bella Coola as a luxury
824 is a foam-like whip prepared by beating up dried buffalo berries
539 in water. Raven is given the credit for introducing this to Bella Coola.

Long, long ago, *Sluxlekwaily*, a mountain in the Carrier country above Burnt Ridge, was a chief, possessing human characteristics. Buffalo berries flourished on his slopes, and he wanted to keep these for food for his guests. On one occasion he invited all the animals and birds, including Raven, to a feast and dance. His house was the interior of the mountain, and when all had assembled he carefully closed every opening so that none of the berries could escape. Raven determined to obtain some of this food for the Bella Coola, and accordingly used his power to force one of the guests to go outside. As soon as a door was opened to let him out, Raven seized some of the whip and flew away, scattering drops of it in his flight. Berries grew wherever the drops fell, and since that time everybody has been able to make this luxury. *Sluxlekwaily* was very angry, but could do nothing.

●773 Though *Alquntām* created the world, he did not make it perfect nor equip it with many of the conveniences possessed by men of the present generation. Raven, endowed both with imagination and tremendous power, was always seeking ways of improving conditions. In the beginning of time there were no mirrors, and if a man wanted to paint his face, or decorate
[778] himself for a dance, he was forced to rely on the assistance of
[823]

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a friend. Raven determined to supply this want for the benefit of the Kimsquit people. Accordingly he used a natural stone depression near the village as his chamber-pot, and the liquid reflected faces clearly. Ever since, any liquid, even rain-water, placed in that depression acts as a reflector. The place is called *Ânilxsaix*, "Where People Go," and it has been used as a mirror by the Kimsquit people and their guests for many generations. In this way, the renown of Raven spread to foreigners visiting Kimsquit. Another survival of this construction is the name *Nusqalät·a*, "Chamber-Pot," commonly applied as a nickname to the small daughters of Kimsquit chiefs. 773 778 823 [551]

One of Raven's inventions was the making of nettle-fibre olachen nets, an art which he taught spiders as well as men. In the beginning of time, Raven told two men to make a net according to a pattern which he showed them, and gave them some fibre. It was not sufficient, and when the workers asked for more, Raven told them to draw it from their own intestines. This they did, and ever since spiders have had the same ability. Another story describes how Raven saw an olachen net being made in one of the distant villages which he visited during his travels, learnt the details of its manufacture, and taught the Bella Coola on his return home. 773 [227] [825]

Many of Raven's exploits are well known, although not embodied in elaborate myths. For example, it is believed that in the beginning of time the ocean was to the east of Bella Coola and the land to the west. Drownings were frequent, so Raven altered the relative positions of land and sea. Most ocean dwellers followed the sea to its new home, but a number of mussels remained near their human friends. They are still to be found in the upper valley of Bella Coola River. These shell-fish, which are probably freshwater mussels, are said to be identical with those of the ocean, and are called by the same name. This is always mentioned as proof of the former presence of salt water in the upper Bella Coola valley. The occurrence of the shell-fish may be the origin of this theory. It might also be mentioned that the Bella Coola believe that a few years 773 823 [825]

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773 ago the tide came further up the rivers than at present and did
823 not recede so far. This statement was made by an intelligent old man who said that the change had taken place during his own life-time.

773 One of Raven's most important alterations to *Ālquntām*'s
833 intentions was with regard to the sexual act.

> In the beginning of time, the organs of women were on the forehead, those of men on the palm of the hand, and intercourse was effected by a man rubbing his hand across a woman's brow. Raven feared that children would not result from this practice and accordingly altered the organs of both sexes to their present positions. In order to teach mankind the sexual act he then chose a woman and held intercourse with her, telling her that if the practice were carried out secretly and vigorously a child would be born. And nine months later the woman gave birth to an infant. Raven told the first inhabitants of the world that he wished them to have issue; they consequently held intercourse frequently and begat many children until their descendants filled the Bella Coola valley.

The attitude of the Bella Coola towards this story is identical with their beliefs concerning Raven as the cause of death.

"Yes," they say, as they repeat the above story in answer to a question, "Raven taught our ancestors how to have children."

773 One side of their nature implicitly believes any story handed
[183] down from the distant past, but few today are sufficiently naïve actually to credit it. The more sophisticated frankly disbelieve, or pretend to do so. Doubt also exists with regard to
[829] Raven as originator of linguistic differences. The Bella Coola state that *Ālquntām* intended only one language for the whole world, but Raven thought that this would lead to trouble and used his power to teach the ancestors of every tribe their special speech.

Many inventions and beliefs are attributed to Raven without any accompanying myth. It is said that almost all geo-
[103] graphical names are those bestowed by him on places reached in his travels. It was Raven who taught men how to bait
[226] hooks on long lines to catch black cod; it was Raven who first

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instructed people about the significance of death omens; it was Raven who showed them the use of slings; and it was Raven who constructed secluded caves and ledges to serve as meeting-places for chiefs. 773 [622] [823]

In brief, the Bella Coola regard Raven as an explorer, teacher, and inventor, whose power, obtained from *Ałquntām*, enabled him to construct and outwit his maker, but not to create. Much of his work was for the good of mankind, but much was evil and malicious, an aspect which belongs to mythology. Essentially human, Raven could have been included among anthropomorphic, as well as among zoomorphic beings. He differs from most of the supernatural ones in belonging entirely to the past, as his descendants have none of the first Raven's power. It is doubtful whether he still exists, but in any case he has long since ceased to take any interest in the affairs of the Bella Coola, who consider him only as a figure of mythology and ancient history. 773 776 [825]

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS OF THE VEGETABLE AND MINERAL KINGDOMS

Bella Coola beliefs concerning anthropomorphic and zoomorphic beings are relatively clear and exact; their appearance is known, their powers and functions recognized. The supernatural attributes of trees and plants are less definite. *Ałquntām* created the former in the beginning of time, and they were consequently able to talk and act like human beings at that distant period. Owing to the degeneration of man, mortals are no longer able to converse with trees, although the latter can still understand our remarks. In a vague way, the Bella Coola continue to think of trees as having human personalities, but so little is known of their powers, and they enter so seldom into contact or conflict with mortals, that they are practically ignored. 776 824

In an equally vague manner, Nature is regarded as a Mother, giving birth to the trees and plants. One of the *kusiut* dances portrays this birth of the flowers every spring (II, p. 196). [535] [575]

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761 an owl, possibly one of those which normally roost on the tree
775 behind *Nusmät·a*. This element of a dead person occasionally
825 communicates with a living relative, as evidenced by the fol-
[539] lowing story.
[827]

A number of years ago a party of men and women camped for the night beside one of the rivers flowing into South Bentinck Arm. After supper, as they were resting by their fire, an owl kept hooting from a neighbouring tree. One of the men turned to a friend who had been making obscene remarks and, half in jest, warned him to be careful in case one of his relatives was listening. The foolish fellow looked at the owl and asked:

"Are you a relative of mine?"

There was no answer, but when he had repeated the question four times, the owl spoke:

"I am so-and-so," he said, naming the deceased grandfather of his questioner.

Consequent upon the belief that the voice of a dead person enters an owl, the bird is treated with considerable respect. It is improper to make fun of one, or to ask who it was when alive. Should a person do so, the owl answers with the interrogator's own name and he soon dies.

761 On the whole, the life does not affect the daily existence of the Bella Coola as profoundly as does the spirit. When they stop to ponder on the reason for some event, they readily admit the importance of the life with its constituent elements, but they are not always considering its activities and seeking to strengthen it. It is essentially a religious attribute, of greater moment to a man of imaginative and suggestible temperament than to one who carries on the daily routine without asking *why* and *wherefore*.

THE TALLY POST

●773 In the beginning of time, when *Älquntäm* sent the first
777 people down to earth, he erected in *Nusmät·a* posts emblazoned with the bird or animal crest taken by each to serve as a memorial, or reminder, to him of the number of individuals existing

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below. These are termed tally posts.[11] Each remained upright as long as the individual to whom it referred was alive, but fell at his death. Since that time, whenever *Alquntăm* lends to a mortal *sininits*, the undefined power that causes life, his supernatural artisans erect in the land above a tally post for the new-born infant, marked with the bird or animal used by an ancestor. As long as this remains upright and straight, firmly fixed to the ground, its owner continues to be strong and prosperous, and has success in all his undertakings; if it becomes loose, or is crooked, he ceases to succeed. Prosperity does not depend upon the activities of an individual, but upon his supernatural possessions, spirit, tally post, and a third to be described later. If the tally post tilts far from the perpendicular, its owner becomes ill, and can be cured only by straightening it. In some cases *Alquntăm* is kind enough to do this if placated by prayer and ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), and in olden days, shamans were occasionally able to penetrate to the land above for this purpose. Even when a post was reached, they were sometimes unable to set it upright, though they could always estimate the length of a man's life from its angle of inclination. In one of the *kusiut* dances, the performer pretends to have the ability to go aloft and the uninitiated are deceived by the erection of a tall ladder up which he climbs and disappears (II, p. 202). On his return, he reports the condition of the tally posts of various people. This performance serves to remind both members of the society and uninitiated of the existence of these supernatural elements, and of the dependence of individuals on them for success in life. In spite of this ritual, actual knowledge of the powers and functions of tally posts has been derived only from the first Bella Coola who, created in the land above, were acquainted with the mysteries of life and transmitted such lore to their descendants. One old man expressed the opinion

[11] [illegible]. One of the names of *Nusmq'a*, *Nusqmalnalsts*, refers to these, meaning, "The Place of the Tally Posts." [illegible] and [illegible] are closely associated; sometimes the latter is pronounced [illegible], although this may be an error in recording.

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773 that tally posts have mentality, and suggested that it might
777 be these which attend the gathering of the supernatural beings at the winter solstice instead of an element from the human body itself.

One elderly Bella Coola, of philosophical temperament, described *q̓watlnusta* in terms far removed from the accounts of tally posts. According to him, every individual receives this supernatural possession at birth, and it remains with him, in close association with his body, throughout life. It stays in front of his face, invisible, yet having substance, and con-
[431] stantly shaking from side to side. If a man fails to receive a present at a potlatch, it is because his *q̓watlnusta* has ceased
[828] to move. When stationary it is not transparent, and not only hides its owner from the donor's sight, but acts as a barrier to
[756] his thoughts. The same man stated that this element can leave the body, can be seen by shamans, and that it is the one
[775] which ascends at the winter solstice to *Nusmät-a*. At death it is believed to accompany the spirit and the life to the land above.

177 There seems no reason to doubt that the concept of tally
773 posts is an ancient belief. Nor does the application of the term *q̓watlnusta* to another immaterial possession of quite
777 another type destroy this probability. It must be remembered that within the last eighty years the Bella Coola have suffered not only from the tremendous upheaval caused by the coming of the white man, but have been reduced to a mere fraction of their former numerical strength by various epidemics. These factors have led to the partial forgetting of ancient beliefs, with consequent confusion. It is probable that the use of the same term for the tally post, intimately connected with an individual's life although situated in the land above, and for an invisible and intangible possession which goes in front of him, is due to this recent decay of ancient convictions. If this be true, it merely means that in former times the Bella Coola had yet another supernatural element to govern and influence their lives.

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THE WASH-BASIN

A third supernatural element which must be in good condition if a Bella Coola is to prosper in life, is a *nuxlusta*, wash-basin. In the land above, *Alqantăm* has a large one filled with water which, having been constructed by himself, is replete with power. When a child is born, a small part of this receptacle, with its contents, is reserved for him; the supernatural artisans choose the actual section, but it is *Alqantăm* who gives them the ability to do so. A fortunate man, whose ventures are successful and to whom goods are attracted, is said to have a good wash-basin; whereas the ill-luck of an unfortunate person is attributed, among other reasons, to the small size of his supernatural vessel. The Bella Coola have no clear ideas about the connection between an individual and his wash-basin. Some state that it remains in the land above; others believe that its intangible essence comes to a child at birth and grows up with him, always near his body, as if it were the offspring of the basin in the land above. As long as it remains in motion the owner continues in good health and prosperity, but if it becomes sluggish he falls ill. Long ago, shamans knew how to reanimate a wash-basin, but since the time of the first people, when supernatural ability was common, this has been a lost art. Senile decay is attributed to listlessness of this possession.

River water, being a creation of *Alqantăm*, is akin to the water in his basin above. Boys are always advised to bathe in the river at dawn; the act is termed *ăxlusam*, a word connected with *nuxlusta*. A prayer is uttered while washing. The combination of verbal appeal and the application of water strengthens the petitioner's wash-basin and so increases his chances for prosperity. Until a few years ago, this practice was almost universal. Water is always considered a strange substance, obviously a supernatural creation, and believed to be the chief means of sustenance for a child after being weaned.[a]

[a] This may be a mere rationalization.

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773 Shamans achieve much of their success through their ability
777 to put their wash-basins, both tangible (I, p. 560) and imma-
823 terial, in tune with *Ālqantăm*'s in the land above. One method
956 of treating a patient is by washing, with the idea that the water
[955] and vessel used have potency through association with those in the upper world. It is believed that in the distant past, shamans were even able to carry their patients to the land above and wash them in *Ālqantăm*'s own basin. Such feats
[551] are perpetuated in certain shamans' names, such as *Ālpālqe-lestaix*.

773 It may be said in conclusion that although the Bella Coola
777 have indefinite ideas concerning the exact form and functions of this last element, there is a firm belief that an individual's fortune in life depends upon the activity of spirit, tally post, and wash-basin. With regard to supernatural elements as a whole, it is clear that in spite of somewhat conflicting beliefs concerning the precise functions of each, they play an important part in the life of every Bella Coola.

Means of Propitiation

782 Some of the methods employed by the Bella Coola to gain the favour of the supernatural have already been mentioned, but the subject is sufficiently important to warrant a separate section. In view of the omnipresence of supernatural beings and powers, and their influence on the lives of mortals, it is not surprising that the propitiation of them is a vital factor in human life. The chief means are prayer, sacrifice, and the observance of ceremonial chastity.

PRAYER

[776] Prayers are regularly addressed to *Ālqantăm* who, in this connection, is known as *Mănakaiz* or *Tăiă*, both meaning, "Father." A wise man or woman desiring success in hunting, in love affairs, in the acquisition of wealth, or in any activity whatsoever, is accustomed to ask *Mănakaiz* to grant his desire. No ritual is required. The petitioner merely seeks a lonely

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the point between Labouchere Channel and Bentinck Arm, there is danger from treacherous currents, so, when a shaman passes either of these places, he lays some food on the water and puffs eagle down into the air as he asks for help. If no shaman is in the canoe, this is done by the captain. 782 [193] 502 756

The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is *Thtcăplilăn-a*, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and gives power to shamans. Whenever a hunter kills an edible animal in the forest, he cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws them into his fire to gain her goodwill. Long, long ago, *Thtcăplilăn-a* appeared to a hunter, seized some of his quarry, and told him of her wishes with regard to presents; these have since been obeyed by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of a man absent in the mountains or at sea throw scraps of food on the fire and ask the protection of *Thtcăplilăn-a* for the one in danger. In this case, it is clear that objects thrown into flames are received and appreciated by *Thtcăplilăn-a*. 796 [224] [773]

Mnakais, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accompanies his words by blowing up into the air small particles of eagle down. Prayers in connection with the departure of war or hunting expeditions have already been mentioned, but before starting on any journey by canoe, the captain is careful to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and four of yellow cedar-bark. The blowing upwards of eagle down is a common accompaniment to all kinds of prayers, but, if none is available, cedar-bark can be used equally satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water, otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and considered valuable by *Mnakais*, but they emphasize and accompany the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's sincerity. 776 [484] [824] [825]

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on presents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw 775 782

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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *kwiar* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Hyaxwiw* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the more force engendered in a man's body by lengthy absti-

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831 once was enough to kill an enemy, as if his spirit had been
785 driven from his body by a sudden start. Even in recent times
it is said that individuals who have observed ceremonial chas-
[993] tity have been able to perform miraculous feats. A few years
[984] ago a Bella Bella man lost two sons and was trying to get
enough money to buy a tombstone for them. With this in
view, he observed chastity for almost a year. Then he went
seal hunting, and had killed a large number of the animals
when, standing up in his boat, the sail blew against him so
that he was thrown overboard. But he was so strong that he
simply walked on the surface of the water and re-entered his
[984] boat, none the worse for his mishap. The men who cited this
instance stated that a number of Bella Bella had seen the
occurrence and could vouch for it.

Ceremonial chastity is not a matter about which the Bella
[124] Coola are willing to talk. It concerns both their religious and
family life, in neither of which are strangers welcome. But
when an investigator becomes on friendly terms, and gains
some understanding of the inner lives of the people, he begins
to realize its importance. Ceremonial chastity is not only
[985] potent in itself, but it is also the favourite means by which a
man can cleanse himself of the impurities of human existence
so that he finds favour with the supernatural.

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CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Ancestral Family—The Village Community—The Family—Kinship Terms—Slaves

As in other communities, the social, religious, and economic aspects of Bella Coola life are interdependent, but there is an added complexity in the influence of mythological concepts. This not only complicates investigation in the field, but it also renders a logical description of their customs difficult. Some reference to practices recorded in detail in later chapters is unavoidable. 128 112

In many communities, ethnologists have been able to begin with the social organization of the people. Among the Bella Coola, this is impossible, since their religious beliefs colour every aspect of their life, and these must be understood by anyone who wishes to comprehend their culture as a whole. In this chapter, too, it is necessary to commence with a description of that aspect of mythology which serves as the cohesive bond to one of the social units, the ancestral family.

Ancestral Family

As recorded in the last chapter, it is believed that in the beginning of time *Alquntám* created the first men and women to be created in his house above and sent them down to populate the earth. They came in groups of two, three, four, or more, brothers and sisters, or more rarely men and wife, to different parts of the Bella Coola valley. They brought with them tools, houses, clothing, even sustenance in the shape of fish and animals. More important, from the point of view of social organization, they brought with them names and ceremonial prerogatives. In fact, the Bella Coola believe that their culture was created by *Alquntám* in the distant past, and has not been the result of slow growth. It is true that there 995 [124]

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773 829 have been many changes. Raven, the culture hero, taught the early settlers many useful arts, and they were themselves so powerful that they were able to create ceremonial and other prerogatives in a manner impossible to their descendants. Moreover, the people realize that they have been influenced by neighbouring tribes since that time, but in spite of these additions, they believe that their life is patterned on that of their earliest forbears.

[181] As a group, the Bella Coola are philosophers. They demand a reason for everything, though once a reason has been given, and accepted, they think no more about the matter. The elaboration of Bella Coola mythology may be due in part to their desire to explain their social organization; but without question these myths, now accepted as facts, have had a great influence on the lives of the people. In fact the social structure of the tribe has tended to conform to the myths.

621 773 It is believed that each group of first people formed a village community, and pre-empted hunting-grounds in the vicinity. These usually consisted of small valleys opening from the main [361] Bella Coola River, tracts which could thus be easily defined. [226] Each group also took possession of a suitable part of the river for a salmon-weir, or, if located on the coast, a convenient place for an ocean fish-trap. In course of time the first people married, of necessity with members of other villages. According [541] to mythology, and equally according to modern practice, the women usually moved to the villages of their husbands. When 773 a child was born, it naturally grew up to share in the hunting-grounds of its father's village. Moreover, the father was able to bestow on his child various ceremonial dances; the concepts of some he had brought with him from above, others he had formulated on this earth. It is assumed that all the first people were mighty chiefs, able to initiate rites in a way that few modern men have been able to equal. But the mothers of these children, the first born on this earth, did not surrender the privileges of their own villages at marriage. Consequently, their children were of almost as much interest to the brothers

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and other relatives of their mothers as to their fathers. It was taken as a matter of course that a child had full rights in the village of his mother, and from her, as from her relatives, he likewise received various prerogatives. Thus each child was a member of a bilateral social group. From actual residence in his father's village he tended to be more intimately associated with him and his brothers than with his mother's relatives, but this did not prevent him from visiting at the home of the latter, where he was received as a member of that village. Through the bestowal of prerogatives by his mother and the members of her family, his relationship with them was further emphasized. Such a child was, in fact, a full member of two groups. 773

When the members of the second generation married and begot children, each of these could have been a member of four groups; that of his father's father, father's mother, mother's father, and mother's mother. The Bella Coola believe that there were approximately forty-five groups of first settlers, corresponding to the forty-five towns, and it is obvious that if the system of intermarriage had continued for a few generations, a man would have been a member of each of these first groups. They assume that their first ancestors came to this earth far more than a few generations ago, and yet at the present time no one claims to be a descendant of more than eight of these first groups, and most claim descent from only two or three. In part this can be explained by forgetfulness, though a Bella Coola would regard this statement as heresy. The residence of a man in the village of his father has tended to emphasize relationship with the ancestral group that first populated that village, and there is no doubt that actual relationship, through the mother, with the members of other groups must in many cases have been forgotten in the course of generations. The term *ancestral family*, *mumuuts*, is used in this monograph to designate those individuals who believe themselves to be descended from one of the first groups that populated this earth. [614] [611] [614] [104]

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614 773 A man may claim descent from as many as eight of these groups, that is, he may be a member of eight ancestral families. Some restrictive means must have been employed to limit the choice of marriage partners, otherwise a man's membership in ancestral families would have been far greater than it is. The explanation lies in the high regard with which the members of an ancestral family esteem the prerogatives they have received from their forbears. With the marriage of the first women, their brothers were called upon to share their rights, both practical in regard to hunting territory, and ceremonial with regard to dance prerogatives, with their sisters' children. Bella Coola mythology contains no references to unwillingness on the part of the first men to do this; in fact, their own children benefited equally from the marriages of their fathers with other women. But, say the Bella Coola, after these first marriages, necessarily exogamic, men realized that it would be foolish to allow their children to marry far afield and so diffuse valuable prerogatives. It was far wiser for a man to seek as future son-in-law a youth belonging to the same ancestral family as himself or his wife. Then any resultant children would come into this world provided by both parents with common relatives, so that the child would be, as they express it, "Held close and supported by a close circle of ancestors."

582 614 [773] Bella Coola logic does not explain how marriages could have been arranged in the early generations without violating the laws of incest. The endogamic principle displayed at that time, however, has been carried out until the present day, so that a man endeavours to arrange marriages for his children with members of the same ancestral family. One of the strongest Bella Coola desires is to "make good the path" for his offspring, and this can best be done when they are born amply provided with relatives of common ancestry. There is [769] no belief in the active participation of distant ancestors in the affairs of men, yet, though incapable of clear expression, the Bella Coola feel strongly that a child is born into the companionship of its deceased relatives back to the beginning of time.

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This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail in vol. I, chap. VII, but mention of it here has been necessary to explain the composition of the ancestral family. 582 [614]

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to marry foreign women in order that they, or their children, might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a trend towards exogamy has arisen from the same reason which is supposed to have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said that this practice was initiated by a certain *Potles*, father of a man about sixty years old in 1923. White influence probably had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its wide adoption has been made more easy by the establishment of peaceful conditions on the coast. [554] [177]

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestry, it is unlikely that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These are of two kinds: names and land. 614 554

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bella Coola nomenclature is that each name must have originated in connection with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable to apply a casual designation to a child. At a person's death his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were all given designations by *Alquntăm*; these have been carefully handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying 551 [768] [553] [773] [428]

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551 with it some definite prerogative of a dance or other function,
428 but all are transmissible, and at the owner's death these may fall to different relatives. A name may pass from man to woman, or *vice versa*, in some cases with a minor alteration. [756] The only non-inheritable appellations are those obtained by shamans as a result of their supernatural experiences.

551 Not only did each group of first settlers bring with them a
773 number of designations from above, but they also created a number on this earth and bestowed them on their children,
553 and on the children of their sisters or brothers, in whom they felt an almost parental interest. To mark the dignity of the names, all present at the ceremony of bestowal received gifts from the creator of the name, the person who called them together for the rite. The importance of the individual depended largely upon the value of the goods distributed with respect to his name, a concept which will be elaborated in the following chapter. The descendants of these first people likewise created new designations and established their dignity by distributing presents, a practice which still continues. It follows that any complete origin myth should include a large number of names, those brought down from the land above[1] and also those created by the powerful first people on this earth itself.[2] Both types of cognomen will be referred to henceforth as "ancestral names," no distinction being made between those actually brought from above and those made on earth. This is in accordance with Bella Coola usage.

553 Soon after the birth of a child his father, uncle, or other near relative,[3] either on the paternal or maternal side, calls the members of the village together to bestow a name on the infant. The one selected must be embodied in the origin myth of one or other of the parents, and must be one not then in use by any other member of the ancestral family. A relative may give the

[1] Such a name is a *xnaxlic xlnaxlic*, or "Petrified Name."
[2] Such a name is a *xnamit-a xlnaxlic*, or "Earth-Made Name."
[3] The most careful investigation failed to show that it was incumbent on any particular relative.

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614 553 [773] *The ancestral family may, therefore, be defined as those whose ätsqtutl names are embodied in the same origin myth.*

What is the stability of this group?

In consequence of the large number of names theoretically embodied in every myth, and of the necessity for validating the bestowal of any one of these by means of presents, it follows that there is always a large number of dormant names. The Bella Coola describe these as being, "In the burial ground." They are, in fact, dead. Any one of these may be resurrected by any member of the ancestral family. If a woman marries into a foreign tribe her relatives occasionally give her husband, outright, an ancestral name. In such a case that name is permanently alienated from the family to which it formerly belonged; this should happen only when the group is reduced to a few individuals, all of whom agree to the transaction. [583] But more often a woman takes as a wedding gift to her husband a name which it is understood cannot be transmitted to one of his relatives unless he has children. On the death of the childless husband, this designation reverts to his widow's ancestral family. If there are children, they cement the bond of friendship between the two families. The brother of a woman so married also bestows names on her children, as further mark of their incorporation into her ancestral family. [583] It is customary and proper, however, for the ancestral family into which a woman is married and bears children to reciprocate the compliment a few generations later, and by the marriage of one of their women to restore such names to the ancestral family to which they originally belonged. According to the Bella Coola, this practice of "return-marriage" has been the rule since the first exogamic marriages of the first people, with the result that names usually return to the patrilineal descendants of the first people to use them.

611 614 If a woman marries outside her ancestral family, her children will belong to at least two distinct ancestral groups. It is difficult to say how long an individual remembers the dif-

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614 The converse of this process of loss is the assimilation to
553 an origin myth of names originally brought into the ancestral
178 family by a woman from abroad. Unless intercourse and
773 friendly relations were maintained by "return marriages," in a few generations no tradition would be remembered to account for the name, and this, if used at all, would be interwoven into the well-known ancestral myth. Hence a myth is not static with regard to the names embodied in it. These change from generation to generation; it is probable that elements of the story itself suffer like additions and alterations, even though the people do not consider this to be the case.

611 The Bella Coola regard the ancestral family as a social unit,
614 not only in terms of the present, but as stretching back to the first settlement of the earth. Viewed from this angle, it is in fact, though not admitted to be so by the Bella Coola, a unilateral grouping with patrilineal descent, which may, in both the most recent and most ancient generations, be marked by matrilineal descent instead. A man frequently uses prerogatives obtained through his mother, her mother, or even her mother's mother, but it is tacitly assumed that for many previous generations such rights passed in the patrilineal line. Sometimes this succession extended back to the beginning of time; in other cases, prerogatives were transmitted matrilineally for a considerable period after the settlement of the earth, before gradually becoming patrilineal.

614 It has been thus far assumed that the only prerogative
424 wrapped up in an ancestral name is a knowledge of the myth
551 in which it is embodied. But there are others. For example, several of the first inhabitants of the world are said to have erected totem-poles, each of which was displayed by its owner at the gathering when he took or himself a name. Thenceforth, the only person entitled to use that particular totem-
[532] pole design was the person with the legal right to the name in
[535] question. The same principle governs all dance names; each entitles its owner to perform a certain ceremonial. Thus it is possible to enlarge the previous definition by saying that:

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614 extinct, are unusual; normally, the group is largely centred in one village, but with members scattered in other localities.
621. There is no central organization. It is generally recognized that such a unit belongs in the village where its first ancestors settled, and the leading chief of that village is, therefore, an important person in the family, though without status of [622] "head" of it. His advice may be appealed to in cases of dis-[553] putes concerning names, but he lacks judicial authority. Theoretically, the descendants of the elder of two first people are considered as "elder brothers and elder sisters" of those descended from a younger brother or sister; but this is nothing more than an accepted fact; it plays no part in the social life of the community.

552 In addition to human names, the origin myths include those
614 applied to dogs. The first ancestral group had dogs, and these animals had names, or were given them by their powerful
773 masters. Ever since that time their descendants can apply these designations to their own dogs. It is unnecessary to validate such names, but no two canines can be given the same one at the same time, according to the rule which governs the bestowal of human names. This matter was not investigated in detail, and the only dog's name collected was one for which [539] the origin myth is as follows:

> When *Tāl·ie* was first settled in the beginning of time, the houses were built in parallel rows, one above the other, up the side of a steep knoll. At the very top was a toilet-house, built over such a steep incline [514] that excrement rolled down the hillside. In consequence, one of the early chiefs living there gave to his dog the name, *Nulīqumuil di munk'*, "Rolling excrement," which has since been preserved in the ancestral family of his descendants.

LAND

124 Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining information
423 about land tenure. The Bella Coola resent keenly the way in which their land has been occupied by white settlers without,
177 according to their standpoint, proper compensation. Ques-

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tions on this subject always excited them, but every effort was made to verify the following statements.

As with names, the easiest way to understand the rights of the ancestral family in land is by first considering the mythological explanation, which mirrors conditions as they existed at the coming of white men. On reaching this earth the first people are believed to have prospected for suitable settlement sites, places where salmon and olachen could be caught, and if possible, near side valleys where berries were abundant. Here they released the animals and plants which they had brought with them, on which they thenceforth subsisted, in accordance with the supreme deity's instructions. The members of the group pre-empted these areas for themselves. Waste land, far from any village was, and still is, free to anyone. A few years after the first settlements had been made, according to the myths, the supreme god sent down to Kimsquit a certain *Ałquntām* who allotted and marked the territory which was the property of each community; at that time a village consisted merely of a group of the first settlers. No similar myth was recounted for either Bella Coola or *Tāl·io*, although their concepts with regard to land are identical with those of the Kimsquit. This really gave a sacred sanction to the possession of land, an important matter to a people so religiously inclined as the Bella Coola.

The system of land tenure follows the same somewhat abstruse principles that govern the possession of names in an ancestral family. Hunting and collecting grounds appropriated by the first people, or by their immediate descendants, are the property of their offspring, the ancestral family. The Bella Coola term for such an area is *sol'loam*, also called, *sxsnimsta*, which means "Food Supply."

It will thus be seen that a hunting-area is not the property of any single individual, but belongs to a group of persons, most of whom live in a single town. The relatives of a man who intends to give a potlatch usually give him, temporarily, exclusive rights to the hunting-ground. As with names, there

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exactly what right the Bella Bella chief had to dispose of the land. The informant assumed that he must have been powerful enough to dictate to his followers, an unknown possibility in Bella Coola. However, the informant regards the case as typical of what would likely happen should a Bella Coola try to give away land. Out of generosity or gratitude old men have sometimes done so, but always they have forgotten someone, perhaps a mere infant, who on growing up lays claim to the *sol'olam*.

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Hunting-grounds are not the only valuable parts of the country. Even more important are stretches of river suitable for salmon-weirs. Of the same type are good places for olachen-nets, and rocks from which these fish can be caught with scoop-nets. Like hunting-grounds, these are said to have been pre-empted by the first people[1] and have passed into the ownership of the ancestral families descended from them. It is needless to repeat the gradual lapsing of rights to property of this kind in distant areas, since the principle is the same as that already described for land.

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In one respect, salmon-weirs differ from hunting-areas, since the latter can be used by any number of individuals, whereas the number of salmon-traps possible at any one weir is limited. Again the mythological origin must be given to explain the customary usage. If, for example, a salmon-weir supposedly built by one of the first groups of people was fully manned in the third generation by ten individuals, it is as-

[1]Several Bella Coola myths describe how the first-comers brought with them from above stone hammers for the construction of fish-dams, and how others were provided with miniature dams which grew larger when placed in position. Mr. H. I. Smith kindly gave the writer the following account, received from an elderly Bella Coola:

Long, long ago a certain *Tamakus* lived with his father, the Sun, who decided to send his child to earth. He came down to *Staxa*, carrying a stone beneath his arm-pit, and accompanied by a Wolf. *Tamakus* made the stone into a pile-driver with a face sculptured upon it, and with this tool drove piles to make a fish-weir. After a while a number of human beings came paddling up the Bella Coola River. In course of time the Wolf returned above, but *Tamakus* remained on earth catching salmon, and teaching the people the method which was in use until the last few years.

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423 sumed that ten is the largest number of traps possible at that
614 weir. Those who have the right to that weir are the members
of the ancestral family with the names of those first users. At
[773] this point the logic of the Bella Coola fails to uphold the mytho-
[226] logical pattern. No salmon-weir has remained in existence
since the beginning of time; when one broke, owners were
sometimes infants, and those who repaired the break became
regarded as the rightful possessors. The system of ownership
prevailing at the time of abandoning the weirs, was that *indi-*
[428] *viduals*, not groups, had rights to certain sections of the weir
which were willable like other personal property. In most
[431] cases this right was transmitted with a name, marking the
section of weir, which had to be duly validated by presents.
[428] In other cases, the intangible ownership was willed without
any mark whatever.[1] Unless bequeathed in this way, disputes
were frequent. Rights of this kind were never sold although
[427] an owner often leased his section for a night, or longer period,
receiving goods in return, and not forfeiting his ownership
[431] thereby. This was particularly common when the renter was
planning to give a potlatch. No case was heard of in which
the right to a certain section of salmon-weir was given to a
non-member of the ancestral family. Theoretically, this was
possible, but practically it would be so inconvenient that it is
most unlikely ever to have occurred, since the Bella Coola is
[671] never such a slave to legal privileges that he fails to be guided
by common sense.

226 Although individual ownership is thus recognised with
[423] regard to sections of salmon-weirs and suitable places for
olachen-nets, the owner is bound to share his haul. When he
[577] catches a large number of fish, anyone, whether related to him
[626] or not, can demand some. He cannot refuse, since to do so
would brand him as selfish. The effective check on this system

[128] [1]Great difficulty was experienced in learning about the distribution of rights to sections of salmon-weirs. The evidence is conflicting, and though every effort was made to verify and check the above, there may be further regulations which were not learnt.

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614 621 is a more obvious social grouping than the ancestral family, though it is of the latter that a man is most proud. The member of a small, unimportant village often describes himself as a native of a neighbouring, larger one when at a distance from his home, simply as a matter of convenience.

Even before the coming of the white man, village sites were abandoned and people took up their residence with friends or relatives elsewhere. In fact, mythology contains instances of [973] such migrations at the very beginning of time. In cases of this [361] kind, memory of the earlier home has been preserved for many generations, and may perhaps be the explanation of the many villages which are described as two, and which have two names. In the early days immigrants seem always to have been welcome; they added to the numerical strength of the village, and the original inhabitants enjoyed boasting to the newcomers of their descent from the first settlers. Since any group forced to abandon their own homes naturally moved to those of relatives, there is no difficulty in understanding the process by [582] which they continued to intermarry with their new neighbours. Thus two, or even more ancestral families, inhabiting one village tended to form a closely inter-related stock. In rare instances, two unrelated ancestral families may have become inhabitants of the same village, which would unquestionably lead to intermarriage.

In most cases the endogamic tendencies already described cause the village community to be largely members of one ancestral family. In addition there are always other occu- [563] pants; strangers who have fled from their homes and sought [567] refuge among the Bella Coola; the offspring of illicit intercourse [554] with slaves; guests; foreigners, especially Carriers temporarily resident in Bella Coola; and finally slaves, without status in the community. The real inhabitants, those whose power is firmly planted in the village, are the reputed descendants of the first group of settlers, and accordingly a relative coming to [553] dwell in a village usually endeavours to obtain a name from the origin myth of the ancestral family occupying it, and thus

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601 Coola social organization, and of the absence of standardized obligations based upon specific relationships.

Slaves

567 Since a slave was[11] without status in the Bella Coola community, it is perhaps incorrect to include a description of [554] slavery in a chapter on social organization; but as slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages, it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was 162 impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of their number in 567 Bella Coola; slavery has been so long abandoned that the present natives could only hazard vague guesses. Judging from conversational remarks by elderly men, it seems probable that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as thirty to forty per cent of the total population.

567 When a party raided a village most of the inhabitants were 727 slain, but some, especially children, young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. As far as could be learned, once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief [422] or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

567 Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold. 437 The Bella Coola were usually so well provided with salmon that they were able to exchange these fish with the members [622] of other tribes for slaves. Lack of strong chieftainship among 726 the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of [431] their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category belong those obtained as presents at potlatches. If, however, 773 a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was

[648] [11] One of the first effects of the white man's establishment in British Columbia was the freeing of all slaves. Consequently the past tense is used in this section.

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given as a slave to a Bella Coola, he was treated as a guest." 567
Slaves were bartered between Bella Coola individuals as a [437]
matter of course. Their value depended on sex, ability, and [435]
industriousness, as well as on supply and demand. When there
was an over-supply, the value of a slave fell to twenty or thirty [437]
salmon, but whenever an owner found that someone wished
to purchase a particular slave he endeavoured to raise the price.
If a foreigner borrowed goods in Bella Coola he usually had to [426]
leave a relative as pledge. Thus, not many years ago, a *Xɑ́ɑsis*
Indian, from near Ootsa Lake, borrowed goods from a Kim-
squit man and left his son as pledge. The goods were not re-
turned, so the son was sold as a slave to the people of Kitimat.

It was not uncommon for a Bella Coola to lose his freedom 525
by gambling. At *lekɑ́l* especially, a player who had exhausted 567
his goods not infrequently wagered his children, or in extreme
cases, himself. If he lost, his children, or himself, became the
property of the winner. Unless speedily repurchased by some
relative, such slaves were usually sold or given away at the
first opportunity to a member of a foreign tribe, since it was
considered improper for a man to hold a member of his own 567
tribe in servitude. The same course of action was taken on [628]
those rare occasions when one Bella Coola village fought [727]
against its neighbour and prisoners were taken.

To the Bella Coola, who still consider a man's "power" in
the land as dependent to a considerable extent on his ancestral [554]
myth, a slave's greatest misfortune lay in the fact that he had [773]
no ancestral home, and hence no rights.

"No slaves came to earth with the first people," they say.

A slave was a stranger in a strange land, unsupported by a
chain of ancestors reaching back to the beginning of time. On
the whole, captives taken in war were better treated than other [727]
slaves since it was felt that such a misfortune might occur to
anyone at any time. They were frequently ransomed by their

[773]

*This is said to be an ancient proverbial, due to the fact that several of the foundations of the Bella Coola came to earth in that region and were on friendly terms with the inhabitants. It is conceivable that this tradition may have reference to the breaking away of the Bella Coola from the main Salish stock.

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CHAPTER IV

RANK

Chieftainship—Sisaok Society—The Potlatch

Chieftainship

IN the previous chapter have been described the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the origin of names, and the attitude of pride with which they regard those embodied in ancestral myths, which carry with them prized prerogatives. But the unsystematic method by which ancestral names are inherited is sufficient to show that their possession, though valued for sentimental reasons, is not enough to make the owner a chief. On what, then, is Bella Coola chieftainship based? Expressed briefly, it depends on the number and value of presents distributed at any kind of ceremonial. To the Bella Coola, every rite, whether it be a marriage, the bestowal of a name, a dance, a type of funeral, or admission into a secret society, is a prerogative intimately associated with the myth by which the performance is authorized. Accordingly, the host is really displaying the glories of his ancestors before the eyes of guests present at the ceremony. To the Bella Coola it is unthinkable for such to be performed without the giving of presents to all; failure to do so would destroy the value of the prerogative. The potlatch is the ceremonial at which the most lavish generosity is displayed, but the principle of the acquisition of prestige by the giving of presents is the same for all other rites; the only difference is that at a potlatch a man is able to display his generosity to a larger number of recipients. In consequence, the aim of every ambitious man is to hold potlatches, since his status in the community virtually rests on his ability in this respect. The ritual of a potlatch will be given in detail in the latter part of this chapter, but its complications will be intelligible only after a description of the

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the writer was in Bella Coola, a non-ceremonial entertainment was given one evening at which several men sang and performed. The writer was asked to sing a Bella Coola song, which he did in the belief that it was not one that was incorporated in the ancestral myth of anyone. Unfortunately, his teacher had erred, and as soon as the song was completed an old woman arose and stated that it belonged to her ancestral family. She avoided the difficulty of its singing by immediately announcing that the singer was her "son." Thus the writer was adopted into a Bella Coola family, a circumstance which aided him considerably in collecting information. This did not alter the fact that a ceremonial song had been sung. Accordingly, the woman gave presents to the guests, thereby legalizing the adoption, and saving herself from the disgrace of having one of her songs used as if it were a matter of no consequence, free to anyone. 123 533 556* 424 [597]

SEATING

Presents are also a means of obtaining seats. Every Bella Coola has at least one name embodied in an ancient myth. A man who wishes to become a chief can do so only by giving lavish presents to make his designation "strong," "firm," or "bright," to use Bella Coola expressions. Such gifts increase the importance of the owner's name, and they obtain for him the right to a seat, more or less definitely located, in the house. Since all Bella Coola habitations are built on similar lines, a man can occupy his wonted position when summoned to a ceremony in any house. The validating of ancestral names and the acquisition of seats are among the important features which occur at potlatches. 554 556* [625] [424] [553]

In the beginning of time, when the first people were sent down to populate the earth, it is assumed that each who established a village, consisting of a single house, seated himself in the best spot within the dwelling, namely the central position behind the fire; his younger relatives ranged either beside him [773]

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554 or sat in two rows, facing one another, on opposite sides of the
556 central fire, parallel to the side walls of the house. When these
first ancestors died, the name of each was passed on to some
[773] descendant. The Bella Coola feel that he who bears the name
of the first settler in a village should have his ancestor's seat.
[551] Comparison with the practices of other coastal tribes suggests
[171] that formerly the Bella Coola must have had a definite series
of seats in their houses, either according to the rank of the
occupant, or according to the rank of the ancestor whose name
he bore. The most careful investigation, however, failed to
show such a system of ranked seating. The only indications
that such may once have been customary, are found in the
feeling today that the bearer of the first chief's name ought to
occupy the central seat behind the fire, and in the expression,
"He seats himself where his ancestor sat," when a youth is
given his place in the house.

[551] A seat can be claimed and an ancestral name assumed at
any age. Goods must be given away which are said to be
"covering" for the young man, to have "flowed away," or to
have "become nothing" for the name. These validate the
official assumption of the designation. With it is given a place
in the house. A seat is chosen at the side of the fire, and the
goods mark that spot as his in conjunction with the name.
[424] The seat itself is not material, though the general location on
which a person shall sit is indicated. His "seat" is the goods
that have been expended. Several men may have positions at
practically the same spot, but when all are seated they merely
move slightly so that all have room. There is no thought of
one person infringing on the location of another. A parent
who gives ample wealth at successive potlatches may seek for
his son a seat behind the fire. Such is entirely his own affair
and if sufficient goods are distributed the son may seat himself
in that place, but if the gifts are of little value the occupant is
secretly held in derision, as having a seat that is unsound, or
unfirm. In later years the man may expend large sums in
strengthening his seat; by so doing he wins recognition from

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present, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried farther afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in attendance. Every individual duly secluded and given a *sisaak* name feels himself ceremonially allied to others who have had a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be termed the *sisaak* secret society. 553 556 575

The close connection between this society and chiefs is obvious from the presence of names of each type in the same ancestral myths. None the less, every chief, that is a person with duly validated ancestral name and seat, is not a *sisaak*, unless he has validated a *sisaak* name for himself and undergone the period of seclusion. Conversely, a man may be a duly authorized member of the *sisaak* although lacking a seat and the other marks of chieftainship. The relationship is, however, so close that the Bella Coola think of the *sisaak* society as a society of chiefs. *Sisaak* dances take place at potlatches and funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance. Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use some of his goods for the acquisition of a *sisaak* name. Such a case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in the summer of 1923. Theoretically, he was ignorant of *sisaak* rites, but after much discussion these were used on account of his importance as a *sumitl* chief, an instance of the manner in which a man's personal importance over-rules ceremonial dictates. 575 622 [553] [535] [766] [183]

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *sisaak* name-prerogatives came to this earth at the beginning of time with their first ancestors, and that many more have been acquired later by supernatural experiences. These were especially common among their forbears as they ranged over this earth seeking places to settle in the beginning of time. No *sisaak* name can be assumed casually; each must have had a specific origin. There are few *sisaak* origin myths, though theoretically there should be one to account for every name. The explanation appears to lie in the undoubted fact that many *sisaak* prerogatives have been acquired comparatively recently 424 551 575 773 [177]

177 from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not difficult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking, even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time of the coming of the white man. There has since been general decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situation is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the investigator.

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Acmil names are willed and inherited in the manner already described for other prerogatives. The type of dance, and the time of use, will be described in the following section of this chapter.

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The Potlatch

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It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a number of features which, logically, should have been postponed until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has been made to insure reference to non-ritualistic features by the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chieftainship and the *acmil* society. Other ideas will require rather lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems preferable to the use of many foot-notes, its only alternative.

General Observations

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In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "potlatch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents, and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella Coola, such distribution of gifts is necessary at every ceremonial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most important of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach, the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

monograph the term "potlatch" will be limited to this, the *lem*.

Every Bella Coola is, or should be, able to recount how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god, *Alyemim*, caused his ancestors to be created in his house in the land above, whence they were sent down to populate the earth. A creation legend of this type is a man's most treasured possession.[1] Most myths describe the adventures of these first people, how they prospered in the Bella Coola country until they were able to invite to their homes guests from far and near, to whom they showed what they had achieved, through the assistance of *Alyemim*, or of some other supernatural being. In so doing they were carrying out *Alyemim*'s wishes. He told some of these first people that if they accumulated much wealth, in those days chiefly food, there was danger that the provisions for moral would rot, hence they should cut away the bottom of the pile and present it to other men and women. The Bella Coola term for "to cut out that which is rotten" is *lêl*, hence the origin, according to their belief, of the word *lem*, which thus has the significance of "a giving away of long accumulated goods which otherwise might rot."

By the splendour of his gifts each of the first people able to give a potlatch (*lem*), spread the knowledge of his name and fame to the towns whence his guests had assembled. Further, those who had received decorum from *Alyemim* were able to demonstrate them. In course of time those who had first given potlatches died, but on taking their fathers' names, the sons, or other descendants, endeavoured to uphold the parental tradition by inviting guests from afar and giving them valuable presents. At such a ceremony the family history, or family myth, was recounted, so that the donor of a potlatch not only increased his own prestige, he incorporated therewith the traditions of his parents. This is the essence of the potlatch as carried out today.[2]

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[1] Examples of these are given in vol. 1, chap. vi.

[2] We have found occasions to use the present tense throughout, although the potlatch is not now carried out to the extent.

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of one in his ancestral myth, he will do so; if not, it will suffice to decorate the old house; but in either case the tales connected with the construction must be altered. X gives to one man the work of making new houses; to another, the two front upright posts; to a third, the two rear upright posts; to another, the planks along one side of the house; to a skilled carpenter, the totem-pole bearing whatever design X has decided upon; to a painter, one of the designs for the back wall of the house; to another painter, another design near it; to still another, part of the painting of the front of the house; to another, more of the same; and so on until he has allotted work for every part of the edifice. In some cases there are peculiarities of house construction dependent upon their occurrence in the builder's ancestral myth, which are jealously guarded prerogatives. One man, for instance, enjoys the right to build five peaks above the front of his house. These represent the five peaks of Mount *Nagaiate* where his first ancestor received myth (see Plate 13). Another has a series of speak-or dish-like indentations in his upright posts (see Plate 14) to support the beams, a prerogative established by his ancestor *Kyd* in the beginning of time. Another chief's posts are carved to represent a mythical creature. Still another prerogative is that of building a sloping board, resembling a gang-plank, from the door of the house to the ground, with a representation of a mythological sea monster at the bottom. In that case the dance of the grandiloquent potlatch song is how chiefs are conducted to X's house, as canoes are invariably drawn to the sea monster.

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Each of the above-mentioned prerogatives belongs to one family alone, whereas several have the right to build ceremonial houses. The ceremony concerns a rectangular hole, about six feet deep, equal in size to the central part of the dwelling. A platform is then erected round the sides of this, about three feet from the bottom. The walls of the house itself are raised sufficiently far back from the central pit to allow an unencumbered passageway, off which the bedrooms

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capped by the mask. If the *tuwinum* represents Wasp* or Grizzly Bear, he does not make a circuit and a fierce sound explains that to do so would be unsafe owing to the ferocity of these animals. When the song is ended, the figure passes into the back-room. After a short interval it reappears, recrosses the house, and leaves by the front door, to the accompaniment of increased whistling.

A few myths unitedly *two tuwinum*. In this case, a second figure promptly enters and the same ritual is repeated for a second song. This usually differs, musically, from the first, being in three parts and with even more rapid time. More often, the second song is merely hummed out by the singers without the appearance of a *tuwinum* to supply an obvious source.

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This is the normal, but not the only practice with regard to a *tuwinum*. In some cases the figure does not appear until after the singing of the first song, and the uninitiated are told that it has been attracted by the music. In this case it passes into the back-room, later to reappear and leave by the front door. An announcement is made that it has brought a strange power, that Y has become peculiar, and that his name is now, for example, *Sunpuwcile*. A herald bears this news through the village. A second song is then sung in due course.

The *tuwinum* is difficult to classify among Bella Coola supernatural beings. It appears in the form of an animal, but the sound do not seem to have taught the uninitiated to regard it as Y's actual familiar. It remains as a supernatural embodiment of his name, a materialisation of an element of family history, and a motive for the use by Y of a mask representing the apparition. The uninitiated do not ask further; they have seen a wonderful sight and are content.

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*Some of the first people came to earth as Wasps, but several received so much help from their hosts that they are regarded as sons by the descendants of those whom they assisted.

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in such a way that the contents dribble over the recipient; sometimes, though able to catch the dish, a herald may deliberately allow the sticky pulp to cover him. The humour of this is increased by the fact that guests at potlatches always receive their food in a ceremonious manner.

Though one of a herald's duties is to act as buffoon, his position is only very slightly derogatory. In the beginning of time, Raven himself did not hesitate to act in this capacity on many occasions. Ever since, the post has usually been occupied by relatives of chiefs, especially by those who are unable to give potlatches. In some cases the position is sought by ambitious young men, willing to endure the slight loss of dignity for the emoluments. Since the basic principle of every Bella Coola ceremony is that the donor must recompense those who have assisted him, heralds are always lavishly rewarded. At potlatches especially, chiefs remember their dependence upon the heralds, and shower presents upon them. One who has allowed himself to be spattered with liquid food to amuse the guests, is suitably compensated, but in any case he receives presents for summoning and seating the guests and for interrupting the speeches. The same principle holds good in all other ceremonies. An elderly informant related that once in his younger days he had been dancing a *naxnox* dance, when two heralds remarked that the ground on which he was dancing was dirty, meaning, that it had not been made clean by the distribution of sufficient presents to justify his dance. His mother once gave the heralds two muskets, valuable articles in those days, to clear her son's path. These belonged to the informant, who knew nothing about the transaction until it had been completed, but he accepted as a matter of course the necessity of giving presents to heralds. If the seat on which a chief is sitting should break, presents must be given to heralds, and if a *tsaxiat* should fall when a herald is watching, the latter receives gifts. At the marriage of a chief's son, a herald can claim and remove any of the clothing of the bridegroom or his associates. Above all other occasions, when a young chief is

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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first established on his seat, he must reward the heralds lavishly for their remarks. 203 556 *

As with so many elements of culture, the Bella Coola ascribe the origin of heralds to the wish of *Alquntăm* as expressed to the first people in the beginning of time. Some groups of these early settlers brought with them heralds whose games had been created by the supreme deity himself in his house in the land above. Such a one was *Ẋẋqâ'li* who was a member of *Xemcus*'s (I, p. 326) party at Kimsquit, another was *Olḑimat* who came with *uyuyuyut* (I, p. 329). These heralds functioned in the manner of their descendants of today; others of the first chiefs appointed certain of their relatives to perform this service, and by means of the power with which they were endowed, created names with respect to their functions. Besides his ordinary name every herald must have an ancestral appellation of some kind, as well as the probability of possessing *kaoiut* ones in addition to those of a professional nature. Either by bringing with them from above, or by creation on this earth, each group of first settlers became provided with a herald, whose name is embodied in the ancestral myth describing their experiences. As each of the first heralds died, his name was passed to a successor, and this practice has been carried out from generation to generation until the present. The Bella Coola state that no new names for heralds have been created since the time of the first people, and it is certain that none has been made for many years. Consequently, the number of heralds is strictly limited in accordance with mythological beliefs, and every man who owns one of the ancient designations embodied in an origin myth knows the name of the herald associated with his first namesake. 203 773 551 [428]

At the death of a herald his name becomes dormant. Since heralds function at all ceremonies, whether or not the donor belongs to the same ancestral family as themselves, the members of the group sustaining the loss are not deprived of their 203 553 556 * 614 424

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Totem-Poles

A feature embodied in many ancestral myths is a description of the totem-pole[1] erected by a group of the first people, either according to a design given them by *Alqunŭm*, or in consequence of their experiences on this earth. It is the privilege of a chief descended from that group to erect such a pole, under the same restrictions as apply to the portrayal and use of other features belonging, not to him individually, but to the ancestral family as a whole. Totem-poles are also frequently erected to depict incidents connected with the ancestors of a chief, even if there is no mention of one in his ancestral myth. In either case, the setting-up is a source of pride to the chief, especially as it emphasizes the importance of his ancestors, and its display must be duly validated. Theoretically, this may be done at a gathering of less importance than a potlatch, but in practice it occurs at no other ceremony, since a chief wealthy enough to erect a pole naturally desires it to be seen by as many persons as possible.

Poverty limits the number of totem-poles, but is not sufficient to account for their relative rarity. It is a matter of pride for a chief in whose ancestral myth there is mention of a pole to erect one, but all myths do not include totem-poles. Consequently the absence of one before the door of the chief's house is not proof of the owner's poverty or lack of importance. This matter was investigated with great care, and all the older people reiterated that the number and size of their poles were never as great as among the northern tribes.

When a chief is preparing for a potlatch, he allots, among other carpentry tasks, the construction of a totem-pole, if he is sufficiently wealthy to reward the artisan and to validate the erection in the customary manner. If a special design is embodied in the ancestral myth containing the name which he is about to assume, or to make strong, he indicates that design to the carpenter. In the story of *Ałtwi* (I, p. 312), for

[1] Alkonst, "Outside Post."

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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211 example, there is a description of his totem-pole with a ball
556 at the top, and beneath it an eagle's nest containing two fledg-
798 lings towards which a grizzly bear is endeavouring to climb.
532 This is the only known instance of a pole on which the different figures stand in definite relationship to one another. No explanation is offered beyond the statement that this was the form used by *Alkai* in the beginning of time. Another ancient pole, used by one of the ancestral families of *Sneel*, consists of [178] a simple shaft surmounted by a sphere; this represents a mountain which enters into their ancestral myth as supporting the sky.

As with all features embodied in ancestral myths, a chief can use his own discretion in cases where he has a choice of design. A totem-pole with specific figures is a common pre-
[431] sent from a chief to his son-in-law, and it is a mark of respect
[522] for the latter to use and validate this at the first opportunity,
[606] in preference to one belonging to his own ancestral family. Since the pole erected at a potlatch may have no association with the ancestral name and myth of the donor, the underlying principle in all cases is that the value of the pole depends upon the quantity of gifts distributed to validate its erection. One man mentioned an instance in which he had become confused with regard to the proper design for the totem-pole connected with his ancestral myth, and had used one belonging to a second myth in association with a name from the first. Both were his property, the transaction was duly validated, and the matter passed off without question. It is possible that the [188] decay of custom which has followed the coming of the white man may have been partly responsible for this error, which was regarded as a somewhat stupid, though not improper mistake; yet it is clear that even when designs are remembered as portions of ancestral myths, they can be alienated from them and validated as isolated objects in the same manner as names and all other features of ancestral myths.

More often, the exact details of a pole are not included in the ancestral myth and a chief wishing to have one erected can

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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use his own discretion as to the design. At the top he always places the bird or animal cloak in which his first ancestor, traced patrilineally, came to this earth. Beneath this is the cloak of his mother's first ancestor if it differs from his father's. There are no fixed rules for other representations. Sometimes a man wishes to display the cloaks of the first ancestors of his wife, or wives; more often, the designs are of creatures with which his own ancestors came in contact after reaching this earth.[1] One of the first settlers, *Smaoow* (I, p. 331), married a Bella Bella woman from whom he obtained a ceremony connected with a whale, an animal which has often been used on the totem-poles of his descendants. The lower figures on totem-poles often represent creatures from which a recent ancestor of the chief obtained supernatural assistance. Consequently, the number of designs which may be used is legion, and the order of portrayal is immaterial. Moreover, Bella Coola art is not sufficiently realistic for designs to be easily recognized, nor is there standard conventionalization of little used animals; so it follows that the designs on totem-poles are often unidentifiable.[2] This is of little consequence, since their value rests neither upon the artistic skill exhibited, nor even upon their significance in connection with the owner's ancestral myth, but upon the goods expended to validate the display.

All Bella Coola totem-poles are carved from the trunks of large cedars, with the wood cut away so that the designs stand out in high relief. The carvers are allowed great latitude both in choice of form and colouring, hence there is wide variation

[1] Characteristic is the term applied to animals with which ancestors came in contact, other than their cloaks.

[2] This statement represents the layman's point of view, that is, of the Bella Coola who was not himself a competent sculptor. It is probable that an expert would have greater facility in recognizing the conventionalized forms used by his ancestors, although the whole pattern of Bella Coola culture was opposed to extreme conventionalization. Unfortunately, wood-carving, in fact art work of every kind, had degenerated to such an extent that only one man with any recognized skill in that respect was still living when this study was made. He was both speculative and uncooperative, so that it was impossible even to collect examples of his work, still less to record his interpretations of the designs of masks or other objects carved by his predecessors.

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of metal obtained from the white man, if not actually machine-made for trading purposes. They resemble the familiar shape found in all parts of the British Columbia coast and vary in length from about six inches to as much as three feet. There is considerable difference in thickness; some of the newer ones are thin plates, others are heavy and appear to be old. The early white traders realized the value placed by the Indians on their coppers and these were soon imitated and became important articles of barter. The Bella Coola state that many of the early Hudson's Bay Company's coppers were made of drawn wire, but this type seems to have passed out of existence, since all the specimens seen in Bella Coola consisted of flat metal plaques. 556* 177 439

The Bella Coola maintain that their ancestors have, ever since the beginning of time, used two kinds of coppers. One variety, known as *ilila*, resembled the plaques produced by white men. This is the term in common usage for all kinds of coppers at the present time. The other variety, *taitaimy*, is said to have been thicker and heavier and was made by heating the metal in a fire, beating it into the required shape. Long, long ago, coppers of this kind were sometimes found in the forest by hunters who were then rewarded for observance of ceremonial chastity, but most were obtained in trade from the northern tribes. One of these is said to be preserved at Kitamaat, but none is said to have been owned by a Bella Coola within the last few years. 556* [325] [439]

The Bella Coola believe that mimicry can only be manufactured in one district, far to the north, at the mouth of an unknown river. There, it is said, the chiefs range themselves along the river bank, each armed with a spear, and each with a number of slaves behind him. When the tide is highest, salmon of some peculiar kind appear on the surface of the water. If one salmon within reach of a spearman, he lunges at it, but invariably misses; then the chief drops his spear, seizes one of his slaves and kills him by cutting his throat. A small piece of 552* 773

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556 flesh cut from the body is fastened to the point of the spear,
773 making it so potent that when next the chief lunges at a salmon he transfixes it and brings it ashore. He warms the fish at a fire and then pounds it on a stone until it becomes a copper.

No Bella Coola has visited this distant river for many generations and the belief concerning the manufacture of *taitaimy* appears to have been handed down from dim antiquity. Coppers of this kind are said to have been considered much more valuable than the usual *łália*, but were always uncommon. In addition to their ordinary uses, they had a certain curative value. If the owner of one was ill, he used to clean it
[755] with a rough stone and water; then he would drink four cupfuls of the liquid which contained minute fragments of metal. In almost every case a speedy recovery followed. In all other respects *łália* or *taitaimy* could be used indiscriminately.

Łália are likewise said to have a supernatural origin. When found in the forest, they are due to the supernatural salmon-
[776] like being, *xsiatl*, having changed itself into one. None has been found in recent years because the *xsiatl* have moved away owing to their dislike of the smell of human footsteps and the taint of smoke.

These stories serve to emphasize the complete ignorance of
[325] the Bella Coola concerning the methods of manufacturing coppers. It is possible that long ago they were able to make their own by pounding the native metal, but if so it is surprising that some traditions to this effect were not preserved. On the other hand, there is little reason to doubt their use of
[177] coppers, obtained from the northern tribes, antedating the coming of the whites. All informants agreed on this point, and the frequent references to coppers in mythology likewise point to considerable age. In many of the ancestral myths there are accounts of the obtaining of coppers by some of the
[551] first people, and many ancestral names, both of men and women, are derived from them.

[237] The Bella Coola attribute the value of coppers to the fact

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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of their occurrence in most ancestral myths.* There seems to be no mythological explanation for the casting of a copper into the fire after the passing of the representation of a deceased relative, but the desire of chiefs to use them at potlatches is the result of their use under similar circumstances by their ancestors. Some ancestral myths lack reference to coppers, but their use is common to all, whether or not embodied in such. It is said to be easier for a chief to acquire coppers if they had been used by his ancestors, but this is not essential. 556* 773 [769]

When arranging for the appearance of a dead relative, the donor of a potlatch is careful either to possess a copper, or to be able to borrow one at the right moment. As soon as the masked figure has disappeared, the donor stands up, breaks or bends his copper, and throws it into the fire "to make bone for the deceased." No matter how valuable a copper may have been, it is now worthless; its value has been expended on the purpose for which it has just been employed. It lies unheeded in the flames, a valueless article belonging to no one. 556* 969

At some convenient time, either hours or days later, any chief may remove the copper and give it to a poor man, only taking care to choose an individual who has not recently received one. It is said that the gift is "to patch his canoe." It is now the poor man's property, but it has no value, since no goods have been expended for it. The new owner straightens and repairs it, if necessary by riveting on the broken piece, thus making it ready for further use. The poor man may keep the copper for years, or it may be only a few weeks before some chief, preparing for a potlatch, offers, perhaps, $20, for it. In the old days, values were computed in slaves, canoes, salmon, and other commodities, but now in dollars. If two chiefs should happen to want it, the poor man may haggle about the price, [illegible] amicably rather than lower their dignity by seeming to be interested in a matter of money. It is to the advantage of a 556* [735] [825] 435 556* 437

* Whatever shells and nonprecious are treasured for the same reason, the former are mentioned in several origin myths, the latter in one or two. [237]

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424 as possible, a potlatch is the most suitable occasion. Goods
463 distributed for this purpose are not returnable; they have
* 556 "become nothing" in the acquisition. The value of presents so
bestowed differs enormously; a man who is proud of his pre-
rogative validates it lavishly until he is strong in his vocation,
whereas another establishes himself on a lesser scale. The origin
[773] of professional rights, like so many of other kinds, is lost in
antiquity and ascribed to the wishes of *Ilquaxiów* as expressed
to the first people. Some of the early settlers came to earth
[551] with definite duties and vocations, each indicated by a special
name; others, lacking these, created them through their own
enormous power. At the death of one of these incumbents,
424 his name passed to one of his relatives who acted in the same
463 manner as his predecessor after duly validating the name in
553 question. Ever since that time, the owner of a confirmed pro-
* 556 fessional name has been able to perform the functions of the
prerogative. This is never a man's sole designation, but merely
[351] an addition to those of ancestral, *tsaiat*, *nuxuk*, and other
types. Like them, professional names are usually willed by
their owners, though if this is neglected, one can be revived by
any member of the deceased's ancestral family. In such a case,
the older people usually decide on a suitable incumbent and
suggest the matter to him; if he does not accept, the oppor-
tunity is given to another. If a member of the group is eager
to validate the name, it is unlikely that anyone would try to
[784] forestall him. Ability in certain respects can also be obtained
by magical means (I, p. 301), and a member of the ancestral
family so endowed is the natural choice for the prerogative in
question.

Prerogatives of this kind can be grouped according to the types of vocation included.

THE PROFESSION OF RIVER GUARDIAN

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In the beginning of time, *Ilquaxiów* is said to have come down with *Qoil*, who landed on the mountain behind *Qwaqa-o*,

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a man, *ut-nuaica*, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this function. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the validation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name *ut-nuaica* has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been enforced concerning the river: No refuse may be thrown in, otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them from seeing the route. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical period of the salmon run. Thus no freshly hewn planks can be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are considered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the salmon lord; it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight shortcomings, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river. The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

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his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of he
spearing of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing rubbish
into the river, particularly during the summer, and until he
coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without
hesitation.

THE PROFESSION OF UTTERING A DRAMATIC CRY

As the appearance of masked figures representing supernatural beings, whether in sacred or secular dances, many of the women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, drawing cry which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of powers. Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women were given by *Alqanaxim*, or acquired in other ways, the right to dance, and mention is made of the name used by each with respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously described, many of the first women possessed this privilege, which is accordingly common at the present time. A time of this type is usually confirmed in girlhood, sometimes even in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance can be validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One of these names is *Nawaqmhlaiqas*, which has relation to the blue-green shawl of some shadow-shell brought from the east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this prerogative, and women lacking it have even been kept to dance in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion or to increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

There is another similar prerogative, enabling the members to dance at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of time, *Swanas* of *Kimsquit* married *Tlitsmalit*, the daughter of a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kimsquit.

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THE PROFESSION OF CARPENTER

As with singers, there are many carpenters who ply their trade without the advantage of an ancestral prerogative. They, also, may be expert and receive credit for their skill, but they can never achieve quite the distinction that comes to a man who has been made a carpenter by the distribution of presents. The latter may be so clumsy with tools that no one would ever trust him to make a canoe, or even a mask; but he is, socially, a carpenter, whereas a skilled artisan lacking a prerogative is admired for his ability but has no foundation of social esteem. In transmitting a professional carpenter's name, however, an effort is always made to give it to a youth with a bent in that direction.

The most esteemed carpenters are those who can make canoes, a trade which requires no special prerogative. In the beginning of time, *Yaláimat* was the canoe-maker *par excellence;* he assisted many of the first people, and no one can have a professional prerogative as carpenter unless this supernatural being appears in his ancestral myth. The Bella Coola ascribe the skill of the Bella Bella in carpentry to the fact that *Yaláimat* married a Bella Bella woman in the early period of the world and that many of that tribe are his descendants. In the old days, before the coming of the white men, carpenters were always respected as esteemed members of the community. Chiefs always cared for them, and they received abundant food at every ceremonial. None the less, they were not wealthy, and only in recent years, since the Bella Coola have realized the value put upon good craftsmanship by the white men, has it become customary to give valuable presents to carpenters. Ceremonially, they have considerable influence, since the carpenter who makes a mask usually decides who shall wear it and takes charge of the fitting and adjustment. He is also held responsible for any accident such as its falling when in use or for mechanical defects.

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177 of the *a'alt* came to an end when it was already waning in
535 importance. It was impossible to obtain as much detailed
575 information about the latter as was desired, and it is even
128 possible that some of the facts recorded in connection with *nuxuk* ceremonial really belong to *a'alt* rites.

The right to perform an *a'alt* dance depends upon a duly
424 validated ancestral prerogative of which the obvious mark is
535 an *a'alt* name. Some of the first people brought down such
575 designations and dances with them from above in the beginning of time, a few were acquired on this earth as gifts from super-
[773] natural beings. Those who have rights of this kind form a loose organization which may be termed the *a'alt* society. This is closely associated both with the *nuxuk* society and with chiefs, owing to the occurrence of these three types of names in the same ancestral myths. One member of an ancestral
[554] family may use his goods to validate his ancestral name, another to make himself a *nuxuk*, a third to become an *a'alt*, and an important chief, endowed with ability and wealth, may be able to do all three.

A'alt dances are less spectacular than those of either the *nuxuk* or *kwalat* societies, nor are rattles or whistles used. The prerogatives of a member are limited to his name, the right to perform a certain dance, and the use of a song which commonly describes some feature of his ancestral myth. Four types of dances are considered to be *a'alt*; the methods of acquiring and using any one of these are similar, so it is unnecessary to describe the differences before the actual account of the performance of each.

554 If there is a dormant *a'alt* prerogative in the ancestral
575 family of the donor of a potlatch, he usually chooses to validate this as one of the features of his ceremony. He first consults his wife and other relatives to ensure that sufficient goods will be forthcoming, and if this matter can be arranged satisfactorily, he chooses some young relative as the recipient of the dormant right. It would be most unusual for the youth selected to decline the honour. Or some man, other than the

575 574 535 [533] [525] [524] [178]

presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds. These conclude the chief features of the *a'alk* dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *nuxuá*, they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

A'alk origin myths

551 575 773

Theoretically, every Bella Coola *a'alk* should be able to record the myth in which his name is embodied, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both ancestral and *a'alk* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *a'alk* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *a'alk* can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kimsquit *waupul* for his name *Sosáiteie* which came to earth with *Smaxan* (I, p. 331) in the beginning of time. Another Kimsquit *a'alk*, *Thelyáhum*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sinupel* (I, p. 316), who assumed the designation of *Thelyáhum* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *W'ináiae*.

539

The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once,[1] long, long ago, *Sqamáin* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *Smaxan*, and a mortal; so he

[115] [171]

[1] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

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CHAPTER VI

ORIGIN MYTHS

Introductory—Bella Coola Origin Myths—Origin Myths of Other Tribes—Early Traditions Having the Ceremonial Significance of Origin Myths—Sacred Origin Myths

Introductory

●973 128 EXAMPLES will be given here of the origin myths, which are believed to authorize so much of the ritual already described, and to which repeated reference has been made. [114] In 1898 Professor Boas published such an admirable collection of traditions of this type (pp. 50 ff.) that the present writer paid little attention to the subject. The Bella Coola, however, are so intensely proud of the deeds of their first forefathers [124] that several insisted on recounting them before they were willing to do other work; in consequence, a fair number of myths was collected through necessity. Since tales of this type were recounted almost entirely at potlatches, their significance has declined since the prohibition of this rite. Consequently, many legends are only remembered in part; the abbreviated and often pointless series of anecdotes here recorded can be no more than a small part of the rich field which must once have existed among the Bella Coola.[1]

424 773 As Professor Boas has clearly shown, origin myths relate how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god sent down to earth the first ancestors of the Bella Coola people, each usually

[1] On writing up this field material, it was my original intention to place all legends together in a separate section, or appendix, following a common anthropological practice. This, however, would have been contrary to Bella Coola thought since origin myths, for example, are regarded as entirely different from either more sacred, or from incidents connected with shamans,—to name two other groups of what are usually described as "legends." I recognize that the insertion of this chapter of origin myths interrupts the sequence of presenting Bella Coola culture, but I believe that it is the way which the Bella Coola themselves would regard as logical, and that it brings out the essential interactions of this type of myth upon their whole life.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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provided with means of sustenance, a house, and certain supernatural powers. The right to the names of these people, as well as to the type of ceremonial objects used by them, has been the privilege of their descendants. But these early Bella Coola, like their modern descendants, had several designations, each carrying with it a definite prerogative. In a single myth there may be embodied a dozen or more names and incidents which are quoted at the present day to authorize such different phases of culture as dances, rights to hunting-grounds, professions, names of dogs, or *kusiut* prerogatives.[1] Any myth which gives the initial use of a name, a dance, or any other prerogative, is termed a *smaiusta*. Each of these is, or was in the old days, remembered with great care and never recounted in full detail except to the members of the ancestral family whose names are embodied in it. Even at potlatches the full details of the myth are not laid bare. Indeed, if a young man is of a flighty, garrulous disposition, unlikely to preserve the dignity of his ancestral fame, the details are concealed from him. Even at the present time there is much resentment at any unauthorized use of a *smaiusta*, and in the old days this would inevitably have led to bloodshed.

Boas (p. 116) states that the terms *smaiusta* and *sumsma* are synonymous. The writer feels certain that this is an error. It was discussed repeatedly with various Bella Coola, all of whom agreed that a *sumsma* is a mere story which can be told by anyone, whereas a *smaiusta* is a myth possessed by the individual, or individuals, whose prerogatives are derived from it. To the Bella Coola the two are utterly different.

None the less, there is no doubt that records of the past change from one category to the other. A wealthy chief, eager to give a potlatch, but lacking the mythical authorization, must frequently have used a *sumsma*, claiming the hero as an ancestor. There would be veiled amusement at him for doing so, but the prestige of one who can give potlatches is so great that in time his claim would probably be accepted. The two

[1] The details of these will be described later.

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178 versions of the myth given (vol. I, pp. 313-19) is a case in point. The first was told as a *smaiusta* by a woman who claimed to
● 773 be a descendant of the people figuring in it; the second, as a story, *sumsma*, by a man. In view of the reliability of both informants, it seems highly probable that this is a story, partly converted to a myth. In other examples there are incidents resembling the supernatural tales given in vol. I, chap. IX, and here too it appears probable that *sumsma* have been assimilated into *smaiusta*. It is complimentary to the truthfulness
[577] of the Bella Coola, and to the respect they show for intangible
[424] property, that none of the myths recorded were *smaiusta* owned by others. Repeatedly an informant would say that he knew one, but would not tell it since it belonged to some other family.

128 After collecting a few myths, in each of which it was stated
773 that the first settlers at village X were A, B, and C, with their sisters, P and Q, it seemed as if it would have been possible, before the culture of the Bella Coola had fallen into its present decay, to make a census of those whom they believe to have been first settlers of this earth, and that such a list would have had few contradictions. This was soon found to be false. Two myths may give different people as the first occupants of a certain village, nor does such contradiction trouble the Bella Coola. Each man, convinced of the authenticity of his own family account, is quite willing to believe that the one belonging
[811] to someone else is equally correct. This characteristic lack of logical consistency has already been mentioned in other connections. Boas (p. 61) likewise gives an instance of uncertainty as to the first occupants of a village, though, on the whole, he found Bella Coola mythology to be more codified than the present writer has done. In view of their lack of systematization in other matters, it would have been surprising if they had evolved a census of their first ancestors, accepted by all as accurate.

Another matter to be considered at this point is the simi-
[178] larity of detail in many myths. In part this can be explained

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by the assumption that *sinsma* have been elevated into *cmaiasta*; in this case it would not be impossible for the same story to have been used by two or more families. A more common explanation is the splitting of myths. Although, theoretically, one can never be altered, and portions in the possession of other individuals are remembered as such, there must have been many cases in which the owner of a section told the whole as his own property. This would not be difficult in cases where he moved away from the other members of his family. In course of time, with the assimilation of elements in themselves not strictly mythological, two myths would evolve having a few incidents in common. If asked concerning this, the Bella Coola explain that the first people were quite as capable of doing the same things as two modern men. The occurrence of the same name, or names, in different myths does not, according to them, prove a connection, since many of the first people had the same names.

Finally, there have been included a number of myths dealing with the coming to earth of people in other localities. Probably these are, in origin, those of other tribes, more or less assimilated to the Bella Coola pattern. Each was said to have been obtained by the marriage of one of the descendants of the people described therein with a Bella Coola.

No further explanation is needed for the following myths which are arranged, as far as possible, according to the list already given of Bella Coola towns.

Bella Coola Origin Myths

Origin myth of *Nuxalkin*[1]

In the beginning of time, *Sqamaitin*, in his form of Sun, the Sun, sent down a man, *Tqwalt'tsaut*, to Mount *Nuxmalkin* (also called *Sqamaitin*, *Sqamaitin*, and *Alkhamalkin*), a mountain on the north side of the Bella Coola River about two miles from the sea, near the upper end of the Indian reserve. With him came *Tsaxnaxnaxa*, the Hummingbird,

[1] Related by Mrs. Walkem.

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Other people had come down to earth at the same time as Kimtsa, and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of Gas Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, so frightened, and laughed heartily to find her made of cotton wool. They looked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they seated themselves in her place, worked diligently at the blanket and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and left themselves.

Soon Kimtsa returned. He embraced the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that she had burnt her hand, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. At this the two girls who were hiding burst out laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to Kimtsa that he choose one of them for his wife. He agreed, selected the older and married her. He built a house on a hillcap where they lived and to which he called people from far and near when he gave a potlatch.

Sacred Origin Myths

As already stated, many sacred names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the sacred origin myth is the same as the secularized myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or taken it from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were obtained which deal solely with the acquisition of a sacred prerogative. No doubt this is chiefly to be explained by the fact that most sacred rites have been derived from the Bella Bella.

THE ORIGIN OF THE *Sacred* NAME, *Spearpoint-swallower*[*]

About 1840, a party of *Kwakiutl* Indians[*] spent the winter in Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg on

[*] Related by Jackson Sheets.

[*] We were impossible to identify this tribe. According to the Bella Coola they are alike to the Cowichan, but have adopted the use of totem-poles, further distant

CHAPTER VII

BIRTH, ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE

Birth—Childhood Instruction—Puberty Rites—Marriage

Birth

It was impossible to obtain definite data on the fertility of Bafia Cocin women, or on the period elapsing between marriage and the birth of the first child. Sterility is rare, though by no means unknown; on the other hand, there are several families with as many as eight or nine children. The changed conditions which have followed the advent of the white man seem to have had little influence on the high birth-rate, although infant mortality has increased enormously. Within the last few years this has diminished, so that the Bafia Cocin are now holding their own. Children are always desired, and although methods of abortion and infanticide have been known for many years, neither practice seems to have been sufficiently common to have produced an appreciable effect on the population.

Pregnancy usually occurs during the year following marriage. Though its actual dependence upon coition is fully realized, yet the Bafia Cocin, religiously minded in this as in all other aspects of life, ascribe the conditions to the first Mamaculiliwe acting on the behalf of *Mpambu*. It is believed that the Carpenters carve out the child who is to be born in the same way that a human craftsman manufactures some complicated object. These individuals do not theorize to any extent upon the course of biological development, but are content to assume that *Mpambu* has made the coming birth possible.

During pregnancy the expectant mother must observe certain restrictions. If she chews gum, she will have a difficult delivery; if she eats salmon tails, the face of the infant will appear before the head, and although skilled midwives can usually rectify a child, this is a painful process which should be avoided.

the most famous of all talismans, and, therefore, a powerful protection against supernatural beings. It is valuable as a defense against evil omens, but it is equally deadly to demons and other human beings with supernatural powers. In the distant past, Raven taught mankind that to sleep with a menstruating woman would so blind a man that he would be unsuccessful in hunting. The belief is that animals, knowing everything that takes place, avoid one who is so unclean. One old man mentioned that he had failed to obey this injunction and considered his loss of virility as a punishment, overlooking the fact that he was over seventy years of age.

The coming of adolescence in a boy is recognized by change in voice and the other usual indications. He is neither taboo nor unclean, and consequently does not have to undergo any restrictions on his actions. There is no ceremony to mark the entry of a youth into adult membership of the tribe; instead, this comes gradually and puberty is no more than an indication of increasing age and strength.

Marriage

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola regard the married state as the normal condition of man. Anyone unwilling to wed is considered unnatural. Since the number of the sexes is approximately equal, the only persons found as free agents are elderly widows and widowers, and those crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are looked upon as unfortunate; in fact, they have failed to use of the most fundamental of life's struggles. Men provide fish and game, build houses and canoes, while women collect berries, make baskets, cooks, and perform the multitudinous small household tasks.

"Is it not to the benefit of each to marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is not a mere economic arrangement, nor is its sole function to regulate relations between the sexes. Its most important feature is that it governs the status of the child.

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of the term is very different from its use among the northern tribes. 582 171

Having eliminated those girls who are too closely related, or who are unwanted on account of the poverty of their parents, the father and mother can concentrate on others of about the same age as their own. The most desirable is a member of the unrelated family of one of the parents. This obviates the dangers and difficulties of marriage with a stranger, and any children will be born into the close-knit circle of related ancestors stretching back to the beginning of time. They consider that such a child is fortunate, as if he were held close in the spiritual embrace of his powerful forefathers of antiquity. Each unrelated family is jealously proud of its ancient traditions and prerogatives, and as none of these are transmitted in marriage, it follows that a mating within its ranks is desirable from a business standpoint. Moreover, it is recognized that the husband obtains more presents than the wife on the wedding and that her relatives are more likely to be generous when their son-in-law is one to whom they are related. Indeed, some unrelated families are so "stingy," (to use the Bella Coola expression), that for generations they have habitually married endogamously. In such cases it is not unknown for the children of two cousins to marry, though this is usually regarded as not quite proper. The most common marriages are between the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of first cousins, or between the child and grandchild of a first cousin either of suitable age. According to mythology, unions have sometimes taken place between brother and sister in order to preserve the traditions within the family, and it appears highly probable that marriages have occasionally occurred between first cousins, although no specific instances of this could be learned. So long as the laws against incest are observed, any girl of appropriate age who is addressed as woman (I, p. 153) is a fit partner. Since unrelated families have usually become localized in certain villages, there is a strong leaning to local endogamy, though this is not compulsory. The restrictions

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[584] preliminary agreement may have been made while they were only seven or eight years old, though marriage seldom occurs before the age of seventeen or eighteen. More often the agreement is made when X and Y have passed the age of puberty, and they wait for about two years before marrying.

[583] Throughout this period, X's relatives are expected to give at
[425] least one feast at which Y's relatives are the guests of honour,
[533] and always receive presents. At one of these times X's father,
[534] with the concurrence of his relatives, may mark his approval of the coming event by bestowing on Y's father, or one of her other relatives, an ancestral name from his family myth. This does not become the absolute property of Y's family, since the myth in which it is embodied does not belong to them, unless, of course, they are members of the same ancestral family. It is fitting that a name of this kind be bestowed by the recipient on one of Y's children, or returned to X's family a few generations later by a return marriage. If this is not done, in course of time the designation is apt to be regarded by Y's family as their own. If there are no children, Y's relatives should give back the name to X's
[227] family, but there are many instances of feuds caused by failure
[773] to do so. According to mythology, prerogatives may sometimes be given outright, without thought of their use by the resultant children, or of their being restored by return marriages. It is claimed that the people of the Kimsquit River
[541] have, through such a present, the inalienable title to use a certain spot in the Kitlope River for their sockeye weir, and likewise the Kitlope people have an irrevocable right to the Kimsquit name *Sidhway*. These two prerogatives were transferred at the beginning of time. At present, anyone bestowing outright his family prerogatives would be considered weak-
[371] minded and the other members of the ancestral family would unanimously object. Considerations of this sort make it desirable to seek a wife within the ranks of the ancestral family.

During the period of engagement, Y's family may present a name, or names, to X's father, with the same conditions as those just described.

551 [553] with respect to their appearance or actions on this earth. As far as could be learned, the procedure of bestowal is identical with that just described. The following examples illustrate designations of this type:

Ăsĕkĕdĕmĕlaic, "The Resident Maker." In the beginning of time the wife of *Tsĕsĕwala* had twins so often that the village rapidly increased in population. Accordingly she took this name for herself when she relaughed herself from her husband. It was transmitted for generations in the ancestral family of *Tsĕsĕwala*'s descendants until here about one hundred years ago. The recipients claimed it as their own and passed it to a certain *Omqawĕlĕla*, recently deceased, who gave it to her brother's daughter at the time of her marriage. Since this woman's husband has not yet given a potlatch the name is accordingly in a dormant condition at the present time (1915).

551 578 606 *Ĕlĕqaiye*, "I Am the Worthless One." The mother-in-law of this woman had been in the habit of insulting her daughter-in-law by saying, even when strangers were present:

"We have a worthless daughter-in-law."

On relaughing herself the woman adventured the rudeness of her husband's mother by throwing her words back in her teeth.

Nĕlĕlĕlĕla, "I Am the One Whose Eyes Are Hungry." The mother-in-law of this woman used to eat without offering food to her son's wife.

Nĕlĕlĕwĕnĕqĕla, "The One Whose Haunches Are Dusty." The mother-in-law did not give her a place to sit in the house so that she was forced to stay close to the fire in the ashes.

Ĕwĕlĕlĕla, "The One Who Sits Where There Is No Space." The mother-in-law objected to this woman sitting near her husband when he took his ceremonial seat, and insulted her with the above remark.

551 578 *Nawaaw'ic*, "The Stingy One." It was said that this woman restrained her husband's generosity until he gained an unpleasant reputation for penuriousness. She publicly shamed

boat caught fire, his goods were destroyed, and he, himself, barely escaped. The Bella Coola report coincidences of this kind as confirmation of their beliefs. 963 825

As in the last instance, death does not always follow the hearing or seeing of an omen; it may simply presage some calamity. It is dangerous for a person to be addressed by a dog, although it is well known that dogs understand human speech and can talk if they desire. At the time of the writer's visit, it was a matter of general knowledge that a dog had spoken to a middle-aged Bella Coola woman a few years earlier. The animal was shot immediately, and the woman never revealed what it had said, but in spite of these precautions she became insane and has never fully recovered. [858]

The crow man, Tsyulmqi, near Kimsquit, who figures so prominently in Bella Coola mythology, is another death omen. In early times, all who passed his station used to call out to him, and it was thought that those whom he failed to answer would die within a year. In due case, the voice was welcome, but the speech of an owl is still regarded with dread. If one of these birds utters the name of a dead person, the individual hearing it will soon die. 963 [775] [825]

Besides these well-recognized omens, the Bella Coola believe that any peculiar visitation or hallucination is a probable precursor of disaster. In many cases these fears are unjustified, but there are always sufficient accidents and misfortunes to corroborate their belief. An old Kimsquit man told of the manner in which his son had once come rushing into the house saying that he had seen a strange, black-faced creature. His father feared that it might have been Dsalaman. 963 828

"Perhaps it was," continued the old man, "for my boy soon died."

Irrespective of the actual cause of death, about which the father is uncertain, he is convinced that he knew of its coming by his son's omen-apparition.

CAUSES OF DEATH

The Bella Coola know that sickness, accident, wilful murder, old age, and a host of other factors may at any time terminate a man's life, but they consider that any one of these direct causes is possible only in conjunction with an indirect cause of a religious or supernatural nature; in the last analysis they attribute death to supernatural, not to natural causes. As described in a previous chapter, an ancient myth attributes the origin of death to the stupidity of Raven, but this belief, even if its historical accuracy is accepted, belongs to the realm of philosophy and ancient history rather than to everyday life. When a canoe is capsized on the ocean and its occupants are drowned, — the Bella Coola do not consider a drowning a mere accident — it is because Sasquatsa was hungry and desired human flesh. This indirect cause is quite as important as the direct one. So, too, the death of a man beneath a falling tree or a land-slide is no accident; *Sisiutl* caused the tree to crash to earth or the slide to roll downwards. Many individuals believe that this supernatural being is responsible when an animal kills a hunter. He delights in death and always sits on a coffin before it is taken to the grave, although none but shamans can see him. Any supernatural being can cause death, but it must not be imagined that the Bella Coola go through life in a state of constant fear; death may vanquish them in the forests, but the probabilities are against it. Nor does sickness appear to them as a natural phenomenon. Its cause is either the intrusion of some foreign object into the body, or the weakness of one of the patient's supernatural elements. The only remedy in the latter case is an appeal to the supernatural, sometimes through the medium of a shaman, whereas a foreign object in the body can often be extracted by a skilled practitioner. A disease of this type is often brought on by the machinations of a sorcerer, and if death results it is attributed to the potency of his charms, not to a natural illness. Even illness are able to cause death. In war, one man may be able

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to kill an enemy, but his success is accredited to his super- 761
natural possessions which have given him skill as a warrior 726
rather than to his own ability.

It is felt that no ordinary explanation is sufficient to ac- 761
count for the death of a great chief. No matter what may have 622
been the actual cause, it is always said that the supernatural
Carpenter, who in the beginning of time created mankind, [775]
came down and "seized" or "called back" the deceased, think-
ing him too good for this world. It is believed that these beings
are bone harpoons, and that *Hamatsa* allows them to pursue
influential people. This sentiment is always expressed in [535]
mourning songs for a dead chief, but although accepted as a
matter of fact, it is little more than a formalized belief
which serves to comfort the mourners. The infraction of a
taboo is another reason frequently given for a chief's death.
It is said that there was a loud crash and the earth shook before
the death of *Pielac*; he became ill immediately, and his stomach
began to swell. The stricken chief said that *Sway'* itself had
fallen upon him, but the common belief was that he had erred
in some ritual act. At any rate, he died within a few hours.

[illegible]

News of a critical illness spreads rapidly through the village 963
and the house in which the sufferer is lying becomes a rendez-
vous for friends asking about his condition. Failure to do so
would be considered suspicious, with the result that there is
such a constant coming and going that rest is denied the sick
person. Shamans are called upon to practise their powers in [956]
a noisy manner, and female relatives weep and wail. The
din is indescribable.

When the patient shows no further indication of life, the
shamans cease, but the women redouble their cries. Relatives,
friends, and sympathizers all crowd into the house and begin
to weep, often adding verbal lamentations. The progress of the
news from house to house can be traced by the wailings. Mour- 964

575 766 981 wish to emphasize the importance of this society, state that the deception was always apparent, and that even the hooks and ropes by which the figure was manipulated could be seen. Still others regard the ceremony as a symbolic means of portraying the manner in which a man's crest comes to carry away his spirit and life. It seems clear that different interpretations must always have been accepted by different members of the community. A young and ingenuous uninitiated, steeped in the atmosphere of the supernatural, may well have believed that he was gazing upon an actual supernatural being, as the senior *xaxaid* desired him to do; others must have recognized that a deception of some kind was being practised, but dramatization is such an important factor in Bella Coola life that individuals often disregard the difference between semblance and reality, and it is contrary to custom for a person to cast aspersions upon the prerogative of another. It is easy for such an one to accept the drama as a symbol or representation of the manner in which the crest carries off the intangible elements of the dead. This is certainly the attitude of the Bella Coola at the present time. Everyone realizes that the crest is of human manufacture and that the corpse itself is not carried away, but the rite is still performed and practised the survivors by giving them an opportunity to display their prerogative and the clock of the deceased's ancestor.

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575 766 Perhaps because of its relatively recent introduction, details of the performance of this rite are not fully standardized. In some cases, the crest is made to appear at the same time as *Mulukila*, instead of at a subsequent ceremony. It is assumed that the origin of the rite is in some ancient myth in which the body was actually taken above by the crest, as not copied, with the aid of carpenters, by the descendants of the person to whom this occurred. There are no myths of this nature current in Bella Coola, although it is thought that such must have been common among the peoples of the outer coast to explain the prevalence of the practice in that area. One old man mentioned that an Owikl myth in which a

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body became eagle down and was wafted upwards in psychologically of the type which might serve as basis for a rite of this kind. If the descendants of the person to whom this had happened had dramatized the incident at subsequent deaths, a custom analogous to the one here described would have arisen.

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DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When possible, it takes place on the day following death, but as many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the performance of the rite just described. Another reason for postponement is the absence of some relatives; if they can be summoned within four or five days, the funeral may be delayed until their arrival. There is always endless discussion concerning the exact details; all relatives and members of the ancestral family take part, though the wishes of a son, brother, or other near kinsman are usually followed. In this, as in so many points of Bella Coola ritual, an influential chief often overrules the desires even of those who are more closely related to the deceased.

[764]

Shortly after the hour chosen,[1] usually about noon, and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even strangers being welcome. Women wail dolefully, and another indication of the occasion is the bundles containing clothing, cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once, with a stone; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed and a hole made in one of the front corners of the house, through which the men throw out the stone. The women embellish their lamentations as an old woman, previously asked to do so, lights a bundle of dried and undried cedar-bark and climbs through the opening carrying this. No request has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong man, especially

[794]
[354]
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[1] This is done at present, even after the carrying away of the "body." In former times it was customary when the corpse was actually buried by the coast.

[770]

undertake the task and bring with them tools for the purpose. When the location has been chosen, they start their work without further instructions, taking care that the corpse shall face east. It is said that this is done because the sun rises in that quarter, a statement that is probably a mere rationalization. Graves are usually about five feet deep, so that the digging requires some little time, especially in winter when the ground is frozen. All the young men are willing to help and relieve one another at intervals. Meanwhile the women are squatting on the ground near the coffin, some of them throwing objects on the fire, and all wailing intermittently in a high-pitched, tuneless sob into which a mourner sometimes inserts words as if her agony had overcome her.

"Please return whence you came," moans one woman, while another sobs out:

"Perhaps you were unhappy with us and wanted something we could not give you on earth."

The sun sets down the people of *Kaul* and *Gudi-ri*, who accordingly report that being to their cost. Mourners of these villages, as well as other individuals to whom the sun stands in the same relationship, are accustomed to address him, saying:

"Please increase your light to guide the way. Our child returns to you."

One woman, whose relatives had been killed by jealous rivals owing to their success in giving potlatches, prayed:

"Come no more. Those for whom you gave light have gone; henceforth shine only whither they have departed."

In some cases such doleful lamentations are more lip service, but they often express very real grief at the loss of a friend or relative. It is also felt that such sympathy affords comfort to the mourning kindred.

As the grave grows deeper, the relatives keep measuring it and the coffin to insure a close fit and avoid unnecessary digging. As soon as it is ready, an elderly man who has been requested to perform the rite, steps to the north side of the

grave carrying a spruce bough in his hand. He touches with it the edge where he is standing, then, in succession, the east, south, and west margins. This circuit is repeated four times and the branch tossed away to westward. This essential ceremony is based on a belief that the lives, or perhaps the spirits, of the grave-diggers have been drawn from their lives the grave and are in danger of being pressed down by the coffin. Should this occur, they would have short lives. The spruce branch enables the supernatural elements to leave the cavity and return to their owners who suffer no ill effects. Anyone, other than a grave-digger, can perform this rite.

The coffin is now lifted into the grave, care being taken that the corpse faces east. As already described, it is in a squatting position with knees almost on the ground. Boards have been prepared in advance, and with these the grave-diggers make a roof-like covering, placing at each corner a stone weighing from ten to fifteen pounds, to prevent the ghost from returning to trouble the survivors. Earth is thrown in on top of the boards, and as it falls the wailing breaks out dolorously in a final crescendo of mourning. If a child has been buried, his fellows sometimes sing a so-ko song. At this time it is proper for one or more chiefs to rise and speak. No one is required to do so, nor is there any rule as to the order in which they make their remarks. The first speaker is usually a prominent man related to the survivors, though neither a son, brother, or other near relative of the deceased. A speech is generally addressed in part to the spirit of the dead person, telling it where to go; in part, to the mourners. For a dead child, emphasis is laid on the fact that although he did not live long enough to be incorporated into his ancestral myths on earth, this will be done for him in his future home. In conclusion, an appeal is often made to Qlemintin, under the name of Paxalakla, to take pains that the spirit of the dead is given its rightful place in Paxalakla, in the section where its first forbears were created, and whither the spirits of its dead ancestors have returned since the beginning of time.

ring of time. The following speech was made by an elderly Bella Coola chief at the funeral of his great-granddaughter in June, 1900:

"Granddaughter!* Go with your grandmother* to the mountain above Tsimsit where my first [previous] ancestor came to earth. Go to the mountain across the river where [illegible]* descended; go to the north where your ancestor found a copper house with a raven inside; go to the Skeena where another of your early ancestors found a whale; go to all the places where your forefathers experienced the incidents recorded in our myths; go and be happy.* I do not wave them over mourning deaths in my family, but I am helpless. I hope that Sisiutlmaus will come hunting us."

Turning to the Coast Indians who were present, the old man continued: "Thank you for coming twice within two days to share our grief."

Turning back towards the grave, he went on:

"I have made ready the road for you.* Your grandfather* and I are grieved; our families became united when your parents married, and the bond was cemented by your birth. Now it is lost. When you were born, I rejoiced; now I am sorry. You are all right; you cannot fall because you are supported* by the names and fame of your father and mother, your grandfather and grandmother, your uncles and aunts, and your other ancestors who have passed away here to Sisiutlmaus. You can with them in your own village where to hand your power from the experiences of your forefathers.

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* The term, chief, was used, although the child was only a great-granddaughter, the grandfather had been buried two days previously.

* One of the first people to reach the world.

* The place and people mentioned were all described in the myths of the dead which accompanied burials.

* A reference to grave furniture by the speaker is a commonly held a few days previously when it was certain that the child would soon die.

* The dead's mother's father.

* Apparently, figuratively, a word having the sense of physical support. The implication is that the deceased relatives are willing to aid a child with their influence if their bodies is enough to prevent any one of them, including the dead baby, from falling.

1:McDowalk E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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775 one of the several crests which it is believed he has become. The point does not appear important to the Bella Coola, corresponding to their indefinite ideas concerning whether the spirit and the life have become a single being, or several.

Knowledge of the life led in *Nuxwái·a* by the deceased, now in the form of his crest,* is most indefinite. In a general way it is felt that the actions of this being are similar to those carried on during life, but in a more advanced degree. A skilled carpenter is a better carpenter in the land above, a chief who has given many potlatches below can give more in *Nuxwái·a*. This [599] belief finds expression in mourning songs which frequently state how *Alqaxáxw* has called a good carpenter to work above, or how a chief has gone to exhibit his generosity in a new sphere. It is doubtful whether this sentiment plays any real part in Bella Coola thought. The spirit and the life of a dead person have gone too far away to affect the living; what little is known of their actions has been handed down from the distant past and is merely a matter of history. The only time that these 775 two merged elements come to this world is at a memorial pot- 769 latch, and formerly the uninitiated undoubtedly believed that 556 they were witnessing such a visit. Though the spectators were shown as a matter of course that the spirit and the life had become bird or animal, emphasis was laid on the fact that they had become the *particular* bird or animal crest of the donor's ancestral family. The effect of the memorial potlatch in former times, as at present, was, therefore, social rather than religious. Besides, the two parts portrayed have never been known 775 to affect a human being; they expect no offerings, grant no assistance, cause no injury, and are accordingly neglected.

In comparison with the above vague beliefs, Bella Coola information concerning ghosts is clear and exact. As already

[775] *It is accepted that man was created as human beings, and only assumed bird or animal shapes in order to reach the earth, but there is no corresponding belief that the spirit and the life change back from man to human form on arrival above. Of course the performance of human activities by anthropomorphic creatures presents no difficulties in Bella Coola thought.

777 A visitation is not regarded as an inheritable right, but as a
• 787 tendency; for generations no member of a family may see one
of these beasts, but the tradition is preserved, and when one
[824] is seen it is recalled that such have been observed by ancestors
of the fortunate one. Instances have occurred in which a
person has obtained good luck without the tradition of this
being in his family, but they are rare. On the other hand, a
man may lose the advantage of his possession, even if he owns
[785] a portion of a *mitsqas* or a *sisiutl*, through failure to observe
communal charity.

776 Some of the Bella Coola believe that the *mitsqas* and the
sisiutl are the same animal, which can assume these two forms;
others that the two are distinct supernatural creatures. In any
case the powers and characteristics ascribed to them are the
same. Most families have a tradition regarding the appear-
[773] ance of the one or the other to their ancestors, and the infor-
[784] mation to be derived from them is always about that particular
creature. Hence the details here described are probably not
all known to any one individual.

• 787 The different types of appearances, and the different types
811 of taboos called forth, should be noted. These are due to
182 failure on the part of the Bella Coola to rationalize the man-
ual of their concepts. Each man recounts what he believes
to have happened to one of his ancestors or friends, irrespec-
tive of whether or not the methods used may be in direct
contradiction to those employed by someone else on another
occasion. A man who has heard of the *mitsqas*, for example,
from his father and mother, may describe contradictory modes
of dealing with the creature, and in each case may affirm that
disaster would have followed if the method described had not
been carried out. Such lack of co-ordination is typical of the
Bella Coola.

According to an elderly Kimsquit man, the *mitsqas* was
777 brought down in the beginning of time by one of his own
• 787 ancestors, Gwgumhlike. It is to this fact that he attributes
[773] his own near approach to one on two occasions. As it is fre-

1:56:Swanth E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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issues, a calamity unquestionably due to his recklessness in handling the earth where a supernatural one had trod.

This point illustrates the danger of near approach to a *mitsyac*, a theme well exemplified in the stories in the next chapter. Such perils must be counteracted in diverse ways according to the traditions of different ancestral families. One common method is to seek a lonely spot in the woods and there hollow out a shelter beneath an overhanging rock or fallen tree-trunk where the person who has been exposed to danger must remain for four days, eating nothing and at intervals scrubbing his body with branches of devil's club, spruce, and other rough plants. These protect him from the evil effects of the monster.

Similar in function to the *mitsyac*, and equally dangerous to the unwary, is the *sciatl*. The latter is supposed to have been created on this earth, at Bella Bella, in the beginning of time by *Yalitimat*. It was at first the canoe made by this carpenter, and then turned loose by him to range the mountains and fords, as it has ever since, equally at home on land and in water, and in various forms. The following is a typical description of the manner in which a *sciatl* appeared in the past.

Long ago a man was hunting in the mountains when he saw a salmon, which changed in an instant to a fish-like monstrosity with two hands but no tail. He hanged at it with his stick, and in so doing moved a slide which carried the salmon down the mountain. As this was taking place, the hunter said:

"Go down the mountain, salmon; I will get you at the bottom."

When he reached the foot of the new slide he saw the fish lying there on the stones. He cut it up and slung it on a snake-back rope. Now this salmon was a *sciatl*, the first that had ever been seen, and the hunter obtained unprecedented good luck from his experience. He also took the name of *Sciatl*, a designation which has been handed down until recently.

After this adventure many people hunted for the *sciatl*, and with fair success in early days, but now it cannot be found,

1:36:Dewalth E-5 (1922-1924)948
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ever object was desired, and then set in a window of his house so that the sun could fall on one uncovered end. The owner firmly believes that this stone has brought him money on various occasions, and will do so again, though whether he expects the coins to be found inside of the wrapping, or merely to come to him in the course of trade is questionable. According to Bella Coola belief, they ought to appear beside the stone, but as this man attributes any good fortune to it, he never has any difficulty in proving its powers. 777 823

This stone is also used as a means of increasing the efficacy of prayer. When its owner washes ceremonially in the river before eating in the morning, he rubs it over his body as if it were soap and requests it to make him strong, make him well, grant him his desires, and so forth. [515] [789]

Shamanism

More important to the Bella Coola than any other manifestation of the supernatural is that power which makes an individual either an *ástwula* or an *ástanlut*. The former is a person who, owing to ability granted him by a supernatural being, is able to perform miraculous feats, especially in curing the sick; the latter is one with similar powers obtained from a ghost.[1] It is impossible to translate either of these terms accurately; the designation "shaman" is accordingly used in this monograph to describe both types of supernaturally endowed individuals. The most common and most important method of obtaining such power is from a living supernatural being; a person receiving the boon in this manner will be termed "shaman," and one empowered by a ghost will be known as "shaman from the dead." 104 756 * [787] * [788]

The Bella Coola believe that long ago men were so much more powerful than at present, and so close to the supernatural, that all were virtually shamans. The prowess and adventures 756 * 773 538

[1] Shamans are, of course, supernatural, but as the Bella Coola distinguish between shamans whose powers are derived from these two sources, it is necessary to follow their example.

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* 756 of these demi-gods of antiquity are favourite themes for stories.
538 The powers of the later shamans have been far less than those
of their forefathers, and their exploits have been of a somewhat
[173] different character. Hence it is possible to divide the subject
into three sections:

(1) Shamanism in the distant past.
(2) Modern shamanism.
(3) Shamans from the dead.

SHAMANISM IN THE DISTANT PAST

Information on this phase is contained in stories and a few anecdotes which describe the achievements of ancient demi-gods, endowed with miraculous powers of various kinds. The tales are similar in type to those dealing with the granting of supernatural aid to the unfortunate, so that it is in many cases difficult to differentiate them. As might be expected these narratives are not exact. Frequently the teller does not know from what being the ancient shaman received his power, nor can he explain the abilities described, which are different from, and superior to, those with which he is familiar. In fact it is customary to describe any mythical hero as a shaman.

[424] Tales of this kind can be related by any one; they are not the personal property of a specific family. Many of them, that of *Wanuel-i*, for example, are well known and are told and retold constantly.

In addition to information obtained from stories, a few isolated facts are remembered regarding ancient shamans. It
* 756 is thought that various taboos connected with hunting were
223 learnt by them in the distant past. Such restrictions and in-
[224] junctions were firmly believed in and strictly adhered to until a few years ago, and many of them are still observed. The usual method of hunting harlequin ducks is, or was until recently, from a canoe, with a sapling set up in the bow to hide the hunter, crouched with bow and arrow in readiness; several shamans, however, were able to kill the birds by merely
[262] waving the butt-end of a paddle towards them. Such power

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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* 756 a boy who was dearly loved by his father. The latter, thinking that
* 787 *Kasiyat* was responsible for his son's death, killed her and was slain in
539 revenge. Because of the doubts thrown by the Bella Coola on *Kasiyat*'s power and revelation her fame did not spread widely.

Power Localized in Certain Spots

778 To the Bella Coola every supernatural being is, or should
[776] be, able to move, in fact many of them can travel with phe-
[773] nomenal rapidity. But, in the beginning of time, when *Ałquntăm* was populating the earth, he sent down certain creatures which were later turned to stone, thereby localizing their power. The term for a place where this happened is *smā·tl*, which can be translated with accuracy as, "A Locality Where Power has Become Petrified." It follows that anyone desirous of coming in contact with supernatural power of this type can do so by visiting the spot where it is situated. There
[773] are not many of these places, nor do they figure prominently in Bella Coola mythology, and, as usual, there are many contradictions in the accounts. Apparently there is a tendency to ascribe the occurrence of peculiar experiences to localities where power is petrified. The following are the more important spots of this type, with a short account of the specific attributes of each.

773 (1) *Smaiu·a*, also called *Sluxlukwaily:* At the head of the
778 Clearwater, one of the sources of the Bella Coola River, and
539 the place from which comes the warm east wind.

Concerning the origin of the power in this spot the following tale, which is regarded as very ancient, was obtained.

Long, long ago, the ocean spread far to the east, covering the whole Bella Coola valley.[14] The shoreline of the ocean was at the village *Sluxlukwaily*, so called from a chief of that name living there. Mount *Xłikwals*, which is now several miles inland, was then a point around which surged dangerous

[14] It is assumed that the world was unpopulated at that time, though mention is made of people who were living there. This does not strike the Bella Coola as a contradiction; the accuracy of an ancient story is never questioned; hence it is taken for granted that "people" in the modern sense, were not then in existence.

5:Mc:Dowalth E-5 (1922-1924)948
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currents, and where there was always much wind, making it 773
feared by mariners in those distant days. Tradition does not 778
state what being drove back the ocean to its present position; 539
it may have been Raven who made the Bella Coola valley habitable.

Once a war party from the north swooped down to attack *Skutkwaily*'s town. Although the chief's herald, who was stationed a mile below the settlement, called out a warning, the raiders were successful and carried off a number of slaves. *Skutkwaily* could not bear to think of his people as captives and accordingly exerted his miraculous power to turn the whole place to stone. Houses, raiders, captives, canoes with their carvings, and paddles can still be seen there, all petrified. They have become *snd al*.

According to another account, *Skutkwaily* exerted his powers to petrify the canoes and the bodies of his enemies before they reached his village. He asked the paddlers whither they were bound, and when they told him he, or the mountain which he later became, for there is a confusion between the two, invited them to land. On so doing they were changed to stone, and in this form can still be seen, complete even to the paddles, a proof that the ocean once extended far to the east of its present limit. Many Bella Coola have heard of these canoes, and they are said to have been seen recently.

Since that time the power animating the place has frequently become visible in the form of an enormous snake. 778
There, too, are to be found countless smaller ones, a constant 539
menace to the unwary. The following incidents describe the [787]
adventures of people passing near this spot:

The trail to the interior makes a detour to avoid *Skutkwaily*, but sometimes one of the reptiles, many of which are enormous, will be found lying across the track. If the traveller is bold and jumps over it, no harm will come to him, but if he should try to avoid it by going around, the single snake will increase to a multitude. Not only material objects, but the

159 in his sleep, and hopes that it will grant him specific supernatural power. He realizes that he could increase the prob-
987 ability of obtaining this by ceremonial chastity, and believes
[985] that it would come to him if he went alone to the woods and
[997] lay fasting for some time. Another course would be to concentrate his thoughts upon the desired end, but X is too good a Christian to do so; he is in the unhappy position of knowing too much of two religions to be able to practise either conscientiously. Such experiences are not likely to occur to any but a man of high-strung, imaginative temperament, to whom dreams and mental excitements appear especially vivid. X is intensely religious, so that it is easy for him to interpret every phenomenon in terms of the supernatural. It will be noted that most of the dreams just described took place when he was sick, precisely the time when hallucinations are to be expected. They were more coherent than those of most Bella Coola, though the difference is one of degree rather than of kind.

987 Most dreams are comparatively simple, and the information received in them is intelligible. They come to all, irrespective of rank or prerogative. Nevertheless, it is believed
[828] that an inheritable tendency runs in some families; this does not mean that all members of such a group dream constantly,
[821] but they are more likely to do so than others. Those occurring at the winter solstice are more carefully observed than at other
773 times, since it is then that the supernatural beings decide events
[777] for the coming year and a man's spirit may be able to inform him of what has been decided. Consequently, as soon as
[785] *Alqantém* enters *Nuxmát-a*, wise men separate from their wives and concentrate on dreaming, hoping to learn what is in store for them. For instance, if a man sees himself seated before a large pile of goods, he knows that he will have the good fortune to do this during the coming year; on the other hand, if he foresees ill luck, it means that he will be unfortunate. Another
[821] time when dreams are especially desired is before the summer
[224] solstice when hunters in particular observe ceremonial chas-
[785] tity. This purification not only increases the likelihood of such

For Cold

Snuff dried urine such as is found around the rims of unemptied chamber pots. *Kimai-ts* taught the economists of the Bella Coola that this was good for colds.

For Sore Throat

Boil cottonwood buds in dog-fish oil and drink about a teaspoonful of the decoction at intervals until cured. Dog-fish oil, being a necessary ingredient in many medicines, is always kept on hand for emergencies.

For Coughing

Boil roots of false hellebore in water and drink the decoction freely. It is so poisonous that the patient usually falls to the ground, spitting blood. Coughing is one of the many ailments cured by this plant.

Another remedy is used for a person whose cough causes him to spit frequently. A friend collects some of the fresh expectoration, mixes it with salmon roe, and places it where ravens are accustomed to feed. This is done four times and the patient is cured if the birds devour the mixture.

For Whooping-Cough

Boil cottonwood buds in water with the fat of any animal and drink frequently.

For Sores and Boils

Warm dried urine and rub on the part affected. Like the remedy for colds, it was *Kimai-ts* who taught this to the ancestors of the Bella Coola. Gum or tobacco is sometimes added to the urine, and applied like a poultice.

For Boils (two means)

(1) Heat human excrement thoroughly and apply to the boil, tying it in position with cloth. At intervals, add more, without removing the bottom layer and leave in position for

757 dense is to through the smoke-room. He cuts the roots into thin slices which are boiled in water for four days. The patient drinks several cupfuls of the decoction which never fail to benefit him.

[774] [775] The basis of this medicine is the belief, already described, that when a *wind* swims through a pond it frequently sheds some of its scales which become water-lilies. They are, therefore, potent in themselves and are of greatest benefit to one who has practised ceremonial chastity. The patient must observe several taboos for forty days after treatment: He must hold no sexual intercourse; must eat neither salmon nor meat that has not been smoked; must eat nothing cooked either by a menstruating woman or by one who has lost her husband within a year; and must not approach a girl during the year following puberty. The breaking of one of these taboos causes [761] his death, and the man who has administered the medicine watches the conduct of his patient with great care.

755 *For Debility* (two means)

(1) Drink strong, stale urine, mixed with red rock-paint ground fine.

[424] Knowledge of this medicine has been handed down for generations in certain families. It is said to be most unpleasant to take.

(2) The following medicine, said to be the most potent known to the Bella Coola, is used for a person who has long been feeble, especially if he has been spitting blood. It is the [424] property of several ancestral families, and must be administered by an elderly male member of one of them.

The owner of the remedy obtains a dry, clean skull, places within it a little water which he brings to a boil with hot pebbles and adds a small quantity of mountain goat marrow. The patient is given a dry stick, about three feet in length, from which the pith has been extracted to make a tube. With this he sucks four times, swallowing a little of the decoction, while the practitioner says to the skull:

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203, 192, 211, 773, 776

/For a Bella Coola-English vocabulary which includes place names, personal names, and names of spirits, gods, mythological characters and places, see category 114, pp. 573-630./

*575 [778] [425] [786] [778] [776] *575 [778] [776] *575 [728] [773] [178] [688]

corresponding word with the significance of "One who has suffered loss through faulty concealment [of his repository]." Some of these vaults are said to be dangerous to the uninitiated who avoid them and in this way the sanctity of some chiefs' meeting-places is guarded.

According to Kimsquit belief, *Ănĕ'ĭkwalaxa* has a husband, *Mănăqhaitĭlla*, who dwells with her in every repository. If an uninitiated person should chance to find a vault, he falls dead before the power emanating from *Ănĕ'ĭkwalaxa*. Her husband then restores the dead by blowing violently on the back of the victim's neck, accompanying this with cries of *hoip*. When a person is initiated into the *hamat* society, the uninitiated hear the songs used, in many of which are references to the experiences of the novice with this supernatural pair.

Turning now to the manner in which the *hamatsa* regard their own society, it is evident that the most important duty of each member is to aid in impressing and deceiving the uninitiated. The prestige of the organization depends upon the ability of its members to inspire awe, hence any weakness in fulfilling this obligation is an anti-social act. For this purpose the society acts as a whole. Many *hamatsa* have, for example, Cannibal prerogatives, and on occasion the Cannibals, having the same functions, work together, but they do not form a separate organization of their own.[1] Many of the means employed to deceive and impress the uninitiated have already been described. Mythology records, and it appears to be a fact, that long ago the secondary of the *hamatsa* was often challenged by the *a'alt* and other uninitiated, but when the white man came the society had reached a position of such eminence that the powers of its members were unquestioned. Moreover, the combined strength of virtually all the seniors of the tribe was so great that an uninitiated person could not assert himself even if he was suspicious.

Although members of the society exert every effort to con-

[1] The Bella Coola state that such sub-societies are found among the Kwakiutl.

§ [i.e. a repository of supernatural power— ANALYST]

though the cost of exhibiting such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may be dormant for generations. Like other lowest prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently given every a *hactsa* cano-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *hactsa* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor.

(2) *A Patron, omitsis.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his prodigi performs on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *hahamsis* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Ana'Ilwalaxis.* An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each.

Although the *hahamsis* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

*575 this unfortunately leads them to believe in the powers which
424 they claim. Each *tsaxiat* prerogative has had one of these
*775 origins:
778 (a) It was brought down by the first people. Before
[778] coming to this earth each of them saw in the land above his
parent, who instructed him in a type of dance, and told him
where his repository on this world would be. It is assumed
that the earliest man were in contact with all the supernatural
beings before coming to this earth, but it is believed that each
was "blind" to the patrons of his fellows, and thus had only
one.

[779] (b) It was derived from an experience with one of the
supernatural beings of this world. In this case the repository
was either at a spot indicated by the apparition, or at the
actual scene of the vision.

(c) A powerful chief sometimes allowed an ancestral to a
tsaxiat name. It is believed that this occurred comparatively
frequently in ancient times when chiefs had semi-supernatural
power. In such cases such followed his own inclination in the
choice of a patron,[1] and usually made his own repository within
his house, giving strength to it by killing and burying a slave
there. Although several Bella Coola informants described
[184] this, Kimsquit Indians denied that it could ever have taken
place. They say that all repositories were long ago dug by
Nanaqiyum, a male supernatural being sent down by *Al-*
qanim at the beginning of time to prepare the habitations of
Ewi'kiwalnis and her husband. After doing this, he re-
turned to the land above where he has since resided.

It will thus be seen that the prerogative of a *tsaxiat* is always
derived from some experience of an ancestor. In carrying out
*575 the rite, the dancer feels that he is continuing the works of his
778 forbears, a factor which increases his desire that neither over
nor carelessness on his part shall dim the prestige of the society
before the uninitiated. And, further, a man who has spent

[1] The Bella Coola cite such actions as proof of the amazing abilities of their ancestors.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

[illegible] is that something strange has happened to the "mental." He intervals throughout the day he repeats this announcement, and towards nightfall goes around calling:

Hiwaq, hiwaq, kukusiut, "Cure, cure, ye members of the *kusiut* society, power has come to the son of the chief (or to the mental)."

The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house, taking their places around the fire; the uninitiated crowd near the doorway. X is seated among his relatives and some of the senior members of the society behind the fire. A herald calls out:

"I want a *siki* to help X."

In every village there are at least two *kukusiut* who have, embodied with their *kusiut* names, the professional prerogative of acting as healer to every novice; it is believed that the ancestor of each obtained a name and this right through a revelation from some supernatural healer. Since that time the owner of the name has been able to insert some of his own ever-present power into a neophyte to enable him to sustain the dangers of admission to the society. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated. The profession of *siki* can be transmitted by willing like any other prerogative and it occasionally happens that the same individual is *siki* for both *kusiut* and *nanit*. In answer to the herald's call, the two *siki* come forward and crouch behind the fire, one on either side of it. Their faces are blackened with soot, and each wears a blanket, decorated with dyed cedar-bark, thrown loosely over his shoulders, leaving the chest and stomach bare except for an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Meanwhile beating sticks are distributed among most of the *kukusiut* who strike furiously on the floor with them, without any attempt to keep time; the sole object is to produce the greatest din possible.

One of the *siki* contorts himself in an amazing manner, presses his hands against his stomach as if to force something from it, and rolls from side to side on his haunches, until at length he produces, as if from his body, a rock crystal (see Plate 3). He waves this to and fro in his hands, then goes

[See category 116, p 84(c?)- ANALYST]

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and the person shifts his protection to the substitute. Non-members are told that the death was due to one of the many dangers connected with the society. 575* 766

It is said that, in former times, the *kukuxiut* sometimes held a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discontinued. In 1922, however, memorial songs were sung for dead *kukuxiut*, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to prohibition of the potlatch. 575* 769 533 177

The Ritual of Specific Dances

General Observations about the Dances

A detailed description of various *kuxiut* dances can now be given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference between them that each will require a separate account, although considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning in connection with the first dance those features common to all. The initial performer is always he who has the prerogative of seeing the supernatural canoe which comes from the Land of the Salmon to visit *Nuxqulwaista*. Several *kukuxiut* have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so. Thenceforth there is no order for different dances; the marshals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does so without conflicting with another. The first dance described is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *kuxiut* season. 575* 796* [424] [776]

The Dance of *Noákqwim*[14]

The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the September moon is full there starts from the Land of the Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *Noákqwim*, commanded by a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly 773 824 825

[14] Cf. Boas, p. 40.

[The Dance of Nooksimm]

[715] approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
[824] the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
[825] *Smaiem-a*, whence its captain hops to *Nooqulemaiste* to await the coming of *Alqaaim*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the eight of *nakaam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Nookkymm* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[715] times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
[831] eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[797] that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that
[626] this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[776] patron was *Nookkymm*, but that the marshals requested him not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Nookkymm* is patron for several *kukuxint*, who are believed by the uninitiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
[575] the *kuxint* dances begin.
[796]

[184] It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village,
[424] as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
[551] slight variations, if any. In *Tsmoil* the *kuxint* who has the prerogative of seeing *Nookkymm* is a certain *Qwaldn-i*,[*] in Kimsquit, *Hauskinmaxam*,[*] and in *Sikhiul*, *Xemtsam*. Although,

[115] [*]Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qwaldn-i*, who intimated
[426] that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman
[578] referred to the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

[*]Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kuxint* names have significances of this type.

[The Dance of Naakaiyo]

Although 575* 424 773

theoretically, every *hataal* should know the origin myth of his prerogative, these are rarely remembered, a state of affairs differing entirely from that with respect to ceremonial origin myths. An ancestor of *Hashkeyneeni* is supposed to have seen *Naakaiyoo*, decorated with the tails of two eagles stuck in his hair. The following myth was obtained of the origin of *Xoomoon's* prerogative: [534]

In the beginning there came down to Mount *Nee-dooni*, a small mountain on the south side of the Bella Coola River about three-quarters of a mile from the sea, *Hillnewhitsain*, his younger brother *Gaqaashkida*, and their sister. *Ayooloo* had given them a medal house, so small that it was portable, but which could enlarge to any size at their wish. It was called *Hqaaiiaal*, a name they bestowed also on their sister. They brought the sacred designation, *Xoomoonin*, with the right to perform a dance. The party, including Raven, who was like a son to *Hillnewhitsain*, came down from their mountain top looking for a place to settle. As people were already living at *Qoogo-o* and *Hqaaiiaal*, they chose *Hokiat* as their home.

From this place the three could hear the beating of drums, as the people of the adjacent villages performed their *hataal* dances and Raven determined that his companions should not lack the privileges which others enjoyed. Accordingly he flew down the fiord where he saw *Naakaiyoo*, whom he obtained as patron for *Hillnewhitsain*. This prerogative was embodied in the name *Xoomoon*, which is still in use."

The prerogative of seeing *Naakaiyoo* is known as *dakdah-dlaie*, "The Comer," or "The Ever-Comer." It will be convenient to refer to the person who has this power as X. As already described, if he had been initiated during the preceding ceremonial season, he is now obliged to dance. In later years, if he wishes to do so, he first consults the marshals, and if they consent he begins his preparations during the summer. Among other matters, X informs the singers of his intentions and they begin to compose songs. Occasionally they re-use one from a previous year, but to do this is to admit lack of creative ability. The usual practice is to compose new tunes and to adapt to them words bearing on the proper theme, sometimes including

575* 746* [424] [533]

*It will be noted that this myth is of the typical origin type, and furnishes an instance of the manner in which *hataal* prerogatives come in such. [534]

[The Dance of Nuakmim]

*575 *796 [533] [177] scratches from old songs. The Bella Bella are said to use the same compositions from year to year, and recently some of them, both tunes and foreign words, have been adopted by the Bella Coola. Long ago the marshals would have prohibited this custom even if the user had legitimately obtained the foreign prerogative by marriage.

[205] As the time drows near for *Nuákymem* to start his voyage, X anxiously consults any of the older *ḥaḥuiat* who may be calendrical experts as to the exact date. The system of reckoning time is not sufficiently exact to avoid errors, but the day ultimately arrives on which, after much discussion, it is agreed that *Nuákymem* is leaving. Word is passed around to the singers, who sleep that night in X's house, ready for their duties on the morrow.

Early in the morning X stands up, gazes fondly towards the west, and calls out:

[187] "Once more I see what I saw last year," or some other more or less specific claim to a vision.

It is believed that *Nuákymem* must round four points before [175] reaching Bella Coola; in fact, his journey beneath the sea is similar to that of a canoe pushing up one of the long fiords.

[203] Some of the marshals are always in readiness and one of them tells a herald to go to every house, repeating what X has said. This serves both to impress the uninitiated, and to notify the *ḥaḥuiat* of what is about to take place. The messenger does so, and when all have gathered, the singers, seated *575 *796 behind the fire, begin to beat out one of the songs composed 533 during the summer months. The theme is of X's phenomenal eye-sight, due to his patron having sent to him the super-[176] natural being, *Nuákymem*, at the moment of his departure. This being does not seem to possess corporeal form, but is rather a sight-producing medium. In the song he is often likened to a swift-flying bird; when the uninitiated hear of this they are suitably impressed with the remarkable ability of X at having such a creature sent to him. X, who has donned a [292] head-dress consisting of the white tails of two eagles, dances

[illegible] salmon are properly looked after, in fact, he is practically the supernatural archetype of the River Guardian. *Swimsmais*, "The Mouse," is a supernatural child who crays with the Resident, and whose sole function appears to be the mooring of *Nuikymm*'s craft. *Dakdakdimum* is sent by *Smaisa*, who in this connection appears to have human intelligence, to greet *Nuikymm*, and with him come *Smaisa*'s son, *Alalimdum*,[illegible] to assist *Nuikymm* in poling his craft up the river. All these beings are patrons for different *kakaciut*. The Resident is also known as *Smaisis*.

The *kakaciut* assemble in X's house as on the previous occasions; according to some informants two songs are used on this day, others say only one. The people proceed in the usual manner to the lowest house, and make their way upstream. When about half through the village, however, X shrieks out that *Nawaitlaw* has brought a call to him. The woman and the heralds cry out loudly, X hastily returns to his own house, from which the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the *kacia* whistles sound from within. *Nawaitlaw* is one of the supernatural beings who has travelled with *Nuikymm* for the sole purpose of bringing a call to X. If the calendrical experts have been successful in their reckonings, the November moon will first be visible on the night of this day. Several of the older men admitted that errors were common, and that sometimes four days more had to elapse, in which it was said that *Nuikymm* was poling up the river. As he passes, his dancers in the different villages receive their calls on successive nights. It is assumed that he can go by several adjacent settlements on the same night, but the *kacia* season is two or three days shorter in *Smaisa* and the upper villages than in *Sumpa-a*. Exact information on this point was unavailable. As already described, *Nuikymm* travels to *Smaisa-a*, whence he leaps to *Nuqulwaiste* and places his pole within the house. All the supernatural beings crowd in after him to wait for *Alqunitim*, but as soon as the latter enters, *Nuikymm* seizes his

[illegible] Some informants state that there are four of these beings.

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pole and starts his journey downstream. 575*

Now that X has received his call, the ceremonial continues 796*
for four days more, in a manner typical of *kuxiut* dances. Only
variations from the pattern about to be described will be given [773]
in later dance rituals.

X spends the rest of this day on which the call has come 575*
to him, the twenty-fourth of the whole rite, within his house.
In the evening a herald summons the *kukusiut*, this being the 796*
night of *instémem*. In *Stuie* the call used is: 184

Shinap Stuieas, "Cure, ye *Stuie* people," because it is 203
believed that a call almost kills a *Stuie* person. This is probably true for the people of the other villages of the upper valley, but elsewhere this cry is used only when a novice receives his first call. In the lower valley and at Kimsquit the cry is:

Snuperaldimut kukusiut, "Bring light, ye *kukusiut*."

Care is always taken to use the right expression with refer- 575*
ence to the locality of the dancer's repository, irrespective of
where he may happen to be living. 796*

All the *kukusiut* are expected to attend, in fact, they are 533
glad to do so, but attendance is compulsory for novices only.
When all have assembled, one of the leading singers takes
command. The coming of his call is supposed to have made [787]
X light-headed, and he must be cured by a frenzied beating of
sticks four times repeated. During this X himself remains
quiescent. The singers now group themselves into a close
circle to compose a song describing the supernatural beings
seen by X during the day. As a rule, each man has one or
more tunes in his mind which he hums to his associates as he
softly beats time. Then another does the same, and this is
repeated until unanimity of opinion is reached concerning the
most suitable. The leader of the choir fits the proper words
to this, assisted by his comrades and perhaps by X himself, or
someone well acquainted with his prerogative.[31] As soon as
the singers have finished their work they widen their circle and
sing the song loudly so that it can be heard and learnt by all,

[31]This song, like the ones used earlier, is sometimes prepared in advance.

Boas/Swanton B-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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attend every *kusiut* dance. Usually all *kukusiut* do so in any case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been blackened, it must be kept so during this period. At every *qutlem* he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an uninitiated person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes to another housemate. Failure to obey this injunction was formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules apply to every dancer.

575* 796* [302] 292 774 [834] [688]

Alqunsiów enters *Nuxqulwuistu* at the winter solstice, and at that time calls come to those *kukusiut* of whom he is patron. It is uncertain whether or not this entails the regular ceremony of four nights' duration. On the entry of the supreme being, *Noákynum* seizes his paddle (or pole?), returns to *Smaiów-a*, and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers compose a ninth song for him. The words describe how the departing *Noákynum* empties a large number of olachen into the river.[10] X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after calls have come to other *kukusiut*.

575* 796* 787 773 825

It sometimes happens that no *kusiut* of whom *Noákynum* is patron has enough food to give the lengthy dance just described, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper prerogative is asked by the marshals to see *Noákynum* when at the mouth of the river; then, when he passes upstream four days later, a call can come to any *kusiut*. This abbreviated ceremony, termed *Imálundjutqulsun*, is carried out in the manner described above, except that it is completed in four days with only two songs.

575* 796* 787

[10] *Noákynum* is accordingly often called *Nutlulmum*.

[776]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*575 *796 431 424 [773]

tive. Hence compensation must be given. Payment for wounds inflicted is really parallel to payments to witnesses of any other prerogative; without their assistance X would not have been able to display his right. Long ago Cannibals are said to have had teeth of such sharpness that they were able to take pieces from the bodies of their victims with ease and quickness. In more recent years, it has been customary for a person about to be bitten to cut himself with a knife so that, when the Cannibal seizes him, a simple sucking at the chosen part will bring forth blood. In view of the honour attached to being bitten, no person to whom such a proposal is made would think of refusing. As previously mentioned, Cannibals do not bite other Cannibals, Scratchers, Breakers, or those whose patrons are ghosts, otherwise their victims may comprise any *kukusiut*.[11] Presents received by those bitten are called "Bandages." At the time of such payment gifts are usually given to all *kukusiut*, with additional compensation for the sufferers.

*575 *796

Now that X has eaten ordinary food it is supposed that he is again normal, although special precautions must be taken for the rest of the winter since he is subject to returning fits of frenzy. Consequently, he is never allowed to be alone, but is always followed by a number of *kukusiut* whose function appears to the uninitiated to be to guard them from the Cannibal. The sight of strangers suffices to rouse him, so that when a canoe from *Tāl-ja* or Kimsquit approaches, a herald bids the uninitiated conceal themselves. On their arrival X rushes to the beach, apparently in spite of his guardians' restraint, and honours several of the strangers by biting them, as he did before he was able to eat ordinary food. On such occasions he then visits every house, attended by his escort, before returning to his own. Inside each dwelling he growls, cries out *xwa-*, *xwa-*, *xwa-*, and sometimes shakes or tears off the

[752]

[11] Every effort is made to convince the uninitiated of the severity of the wounds inflicted. For example, if a *kusiut* woman is suffering from some malady of the breast which requires an operation, a Cannibal bites her there and non-members are told that the incisions, made about the same time, was caused by his teeth.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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described for Kimsquit are the lack of the cannibalistic incubus and the presence of the *sqiels*. It must be emphasized that these are differences of individual prerogative alone; many Kimsquit Cannibals perform with *sqiels*, many Bella Coola with incubus. 575* 796* 787 184 424

Although every effort was used to obtain not only the general principles of the rite, but also confirmation of details, it must be remembered that many of these were omitted at the performances observed, so that reliance had to be placed upon the accounts of participants. It is probable that errors of omission have been committed in consequence; these may account for some of the discrepancies, but the most potent factors are undoubtedly lack of uniformity in individual prerogatives, and failure to enforce absolute rigidity in ritual. The two accounts just given by no means illustrate all the variations possible in this dance; others will become evident in descriptions of the rites of Cannibals other than those who can bite the living.

The following is an account of the ritual of a Dog-eating Cannibal, *Olxăn·i*, of *Sunxl*. Long, long ago one of the ancestors of this man saw a pack of wolves devouring some dogs. In some mysterious way, which even the Bella Coola do not profess to be able to understand, the power of a wolf entered the beholder so that he was impelled to eat dogs. He was then carried away to the mysterious land above where he saw and was assisted by several supernatural beings. The first *Olxăn·i* was able to transmit to one of his relatives his ability to eat dogs, and the prerogative has since been carried out by his descendants. Should the holder of the name fail to tell his destined heir the details of the experiences which are to be embodied in his songs, his successor can obtain these from the singers who, of course, are familiar with the themes used on previous occasions. The repository of the name, *Olxăn·i*, is beneath a huge boulder not far from some carved rocks behind the village of *Sunxl* (see Plate 6).[3] It is said that many years ago some reckless uninitiated placed poles as levers beneath 575* 796* 787 773 [424] 575* 796* [778]

[3] [see category 116; p 84(F) - ANALYST]

575 type of rivalry can be carried out only during the ceremonial season.

[567] After killing and eating a human being, a Cannibal must [578] conceal himself for a considerable period, sometimes as long as four years. The uninitiated are told that the great power within him has taken him so far into the upper regions that one or more years must elapse before his return. During this time he can be seen only by *kukusiut*. The writer was told of one unfortunate corpse-eating Cannibal, *Xekalus*, who was virtually secluded for eight years, since a stone was cast at his feet every time he reappeared, thus forcing him to kill and eat. [123] This name had been dormant for a number of years until conferred on the writer, who failed to uphold the prerogative.

575 One other type of Cannibal prerogative remains to be described, namely, that of biting oneself. This is even less common than that of corpse-eating, being enjoyed only by two individuals, *Qelliaohmq* of *Stmx* and *Smmq* of the Kimsquit River. The following account of the origin of the latter's prerogative was obtained:

> Many years ago, soon after the first people came to this world, the ritual of the *kusiut* dances was much more exacting than it is at present. At that time the inhabitants of the earth were still endowed with such semi-supernatural powers that they were able to perform rites that people of the present day can represent only with the aid of carpenters' devices. There was then living in one of the villages on the Kimsquit River a certain *Smmq* who had the prerogative of biting himself. He once went hunting on one of the mountains, and when he failed to return the people were convinced that he had eaten so heartily of his own flesh that he had died. Although search was made for his body, it was not until the following year that a professional hunter found the skeleton. From the position of the bones it was judged that their conclusion was correct: he had killed himself by eating too much of his own flesh. The chiefs and other influential *kukusiut* held a meeting at which it was decided that henceforth *kusiut* dances would only be acted, not carried out in reality. The following winter the name and prerogative were transmitted to the son of the dead man, who bit himself, but not sufficiently deeply to cause serious injury.

[The Breaker Dance]

*575 strate their own superiority; they had paid those who had wit-
*796 nessed their prerogative, whereas the Bella Bella Breaker had
648 merely cast a stone without solemnity. Speeches were made,
688 and it was decided that henceforth instead of waging true war
[921] in case of an error in ritual, it would be sufficient if the Breakers exacted punishment by destroying property. That is the explanation offered by this man as to why foreign war-parties have not more frequently upheld the law by raiding. As before stated, the writer is uncertain whether such beliefs are generally held by the Bella Coola and of course the historical accuracy of the information is still more doubtful.

THE *Kusiotem* DANCES

*575 More awe-inspiring, though less terrifying, than the Can-
*796 nibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances, are the *kusiotem* dances.
424 In these the dancer undergoes mutilation and death, but his
[975] supernatural power enables him to return to life—at least so it appears to the credulous non-members. The five dances known as *kusiotem* are:

The Stomach-Cutting Dance;
The Beheading Dance;
The Drowning Dance;
The Burning Dance; and
The Swallowing of Hot Stones Dance.

Each of these comprises a distinct ceremonial of great complexity, but only one prerogative is required. That is, a man who has the *kusiotem* right may allow his stomach to be cut one year, and when he next performs will choose to display his ability to swallow hot stones. In this respect, it differs from all other *kusiut* ceremonies. Although a *kusiotem* dancer is entitled to exercise his privilege as often as he wishes, provided his marshals consent, the rite is so difficult that it is rarely carried out.

[973] As far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola of today have no

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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elaborate myths dealing with the origin of the *kusiotem* dances. They believe that they are performed by the supernatural beings in the land above, and that long, long ago *Älquntäm* and his associates held a meeting at which it was decided to send them down to mortals. They chose as recipient a certain *Owirwaltcua* of Kimsquit, and the prerogative of giving *kusiotem* dances has since been possessed by the owner of that name.* The following accounts are of the dances performed by a certain *Owirwaltcua* whom it will be convenient to call X. He has six repositories, one for each section of his dance.

As with all other *kusiut* prerogatives, the impetus to dance can come only on receipt of a call from a supernatural patron, the being *Kulsläkmidjut* in the case of all *kusiotem* dancers. The uninitiated are told that a call "falls" on the recipient, and moreover that for *kusiotem* dances it can take place only when the supernatural beings are rushing out of the house above on the entry of the sun at the winter solstice. Thus *kusiotem* dances should take place after the winter solstice, although this requirement has not been enforced in recent years.

The Stomach-Cutting Dance

In the early summer X decides to exercise his prerogative the following winter. He informs one of the marshals of his wish, and the latter summons his associates to the secret meeting-place where the matter is debated at length. Danger of exposure of details to the uninitiated is so great that the marshals refuse permission for the performance unless the would-be dancer is a man of proved reliability. Once this consent has been obtained, X quietly proceeds with his preparations, laying in supplies of food and asking his *kusiut* friends for their assistance. When the dances begin, X attends as do all other *kukusiut*, though his secret mental excitement increases as the time draws near for him to perform. The exact time of starting is discussed with the marshals, and a prelimi-

*There are other *kusiotem* dancers in Bella Coola.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 land of the salmon early in January, and it is owing to his
*796 successful raid that there is a plentiful supply of fish the fol-
776 lowing year. The fact that the Bella Coola attribute the same
825 function to *Noäkynum* provides no difficulties to native philo-
184 sophers.

824 "Different individuals have different stories," they say, and the fact that the two are contradictory is a matter of no consequence.

●773 The incidents described in the following myth are always
824 spoken of as having taken place long ago, and yet the coming
825 of *Winwina* is an annual event, a confusion disconcerting to
539 the investigator though not to the Bella Coola themselves.

Winwina[a] once led a raiding party against the salmon, whose home is far to the west, and against the berries who live in a flat and warm country beyond even the land of salmon. His crew consisted of birds who are spoken of in the myth by unusual designations, said to be either their supernatural or their *kusiut* names. One informant spoke of these beings as individuals, and only added that they were birds as an afterthought, while another emphasized their avian rather than their human characteristics. This is not surprising, considering that the story belongs to the distant past when birds and human beings were not as clearly differentiated as they now are. *Winwina*'s crew consisted of:

The Bald Eagle, *Tcäkwak*;

The Hawk (?) species, *Änukiqaksaix*;

The Raven, *'Łuxwagsälaix*, "He Who Talks at Dawn and Wakens Everyone";

The Water Ouzel, *Ťlikmaxotälika*, "The Walking One";

The Great Blue Heron, *Masaxilian*, "Long Neck";

The Hermaphrodite, *Ala'yao*;

The Cormorant, *Kwakwäk'la*, who joined the expedition at Bella Bella as a passenger;

Four lazy supernatural beings, *Kämälälkl*.

The expedition was under the especial protection of *Kolxeta*, a female supernatural shaman, who guided the canoe in which the raiders travelled by the force of her intellect as if it had been a compass. After a lengthy journey, the party reached the land of the salmon where the clouds obligingly drifted low in the heavens so that the fish could not see their

[192] [a] A word etymologically connected with *wina*, the Bella Coola term for *raid*.

[The Dance of Winwina]

foes. Each of the crew captured a different kind of salmon which, in the myth, are referred to by their supernatural names. 773

The Bald Eagle captured the spring salmon, *Ollolldimut*, "The One that Changes Itself," a reference to the two forms in which this fish appears before and after spawning. 824 825

The Hawk captured the sockeye salmon, *Nunutskentinim*, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers." 539

The Raven captured the hump-back salmon, *Ănukpimaix*, "The One that Fills the Rivers."

The Water Ouzel captured the dog salmon, *Sgaieltwa*, "The Maker of Good Weather," a reference to the calm weather in August when this fish spawns.

The Great Blue Heron captured the cohoe salmon, *Kpapstustusailaix*, "The One that Makes Us Fat."

The Cormorant captured a variety of dog salmon, *Osipax*, for the Bella Bella.

The Hermaphrodite was also successful and filled the enormous basket which he had brought for the purpose with a large number of berry captives.

As soon as the raiders had achieved their purpose they returned to Bella Coola and released their booty; since that time there has been an abundance of salmon in the river and of berries on the hills. The Cormorant left the canoe at Bella Bella and released the dog salmon there; that is why this variety of fish has since been plentiful at Bella Bella.

Several Bella Coola *kukusiut* have a dance prerogative of which the above is origin myth. The details vary slightly, and some informants stated frankly that they had forgotten the names of the bird crew. The reasons given for the use of *Winwina* as patron likewise vary. According to one account, in the beginning of time *Ălquntăm* placed the name *Nunuskumai* in a repository near the summit of the lofty Mount *Qo*, near *Stuix*. He had two reasons for so doing: he did not wish it to be defiled by passersby brushing dust into it with their feet, and he wished the owner of the name to be the first to see the return of *Winwina*. The repository is a small pond, which can move from place to place, but, being itself supernatural, is visible only to those who have purified themselves. Since that time whoever has had the name *Nunuskumai* has had the *kusiut* prerogative of seeing *Winwina*. 424 773 778 [776]

[The Dance of Winwina]

424 Another *kusiut* derived the prerogative of having *Winwina*
●773 as patron from a myth previously cited (II, p. 43). After
776 Raven had seen *Noākynum* and obtained him for *Āllikmnā-losaix*, he flew down the fiord once more, observed *Winwina*, and made him patron for *Omqomkilika*.

*575 The ritual of the dance of *Winwina* does not vary, irre-
*796 spective of its origin; accordingly one account will suffice and the performer can be referred to as X.

[778] This dance occurs also at Kimsquit where the repository
[424] is actually in the ocean a few yards from shore.

Winwina is supposed to return to Bella Coola when the
[184] January moon is full;[97] accordingly X consults the marshals and makes his preparations slightly before that date. Four days before the full moon, the uninitiated are excluded from the house and a raised enclosure is built between the fire and the back-room. This rite differs from most *kusiut* dances in that the call does not come at this time. Irrespective of whether or not the *kukusiut* happen to be present on the evening of this day, X mounts to the enclosure and sits there, looking westward for the return of *Winwina*. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. X
[292] wears a collar of dyed cedar-bark and a head-dress of eagle tail feathers, but his face is not blackened.

For three nights and three days X remains in the enclosure, gazing to the west, and meanwhile no uninitiated dare even to pass outside of his house. As the fourth night is falling, messengers summon the *kukusiut* who enter and sit in silence as if waiting for something; the heralds inform non-members that X's vigil will soon be over. After an interval they are likewise called in, and eagerly take their places near the door, where they receive a share of the food being served. Suddenly X jumps down from the enclosure and cries out loudly:

"The supernatural young man has left his child with strangers while he has been on a journey. Now he is returning,

[805] [97]Owing to faulty calendrical observations the exact date is seldom found.

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* 575 *kukusiut* send back X's call in the usual manner. Then, two
* 796 by two, the masks are cast on to the fire and the ceremonial is over.

THE DANCE OF THE TALLY POSTS

[773] As previously described, a tally post is erected in the land
[777] above for every Bella Coola at birth. As long as this memorial
[753] is upright and firm, the individual to whom it refers enjoys health and prosperity, but if it becomes crooked he falls ill.
[424] The uninitiated believe that several *kukusiut* have the prerogative of climbing to the land above during the ceremonial season and straightening leaning tally posts. This is such a
[178] useful ability that it must have exercised great influence on the uninitiated in early days, but the rite has not been properly
[164] carried out since the smallpox epidemic in the last century. The following account was obtained from two old men
[115] who remembered the manner in which a certain *Onikoil* of *Tsmoil* performed a year or two before "The Great Sickness." Neither of the informants was a *kusiut* at the time, but they were able to supplement their recollections of the dance with what they afterwards learnt when initiated, so the following account is probably accurate in outline though deficient in detail. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X, and describe the ceremony in the present tense. It was also performed at Kimsquit many years ago.

The rite resembles *kusiotem* dances in many respects. X must obtain the consent of the marshals during the preceding summer, and their permission is refused unless the prospective dancer is a man of proved discretion. If they agree, X asks a
[283] number of *kukusiut* women to help him by making a very long and strong rope of nettle fibre. At intervals the work-women gather for the purpose in the back-room of X's house, taking
[688] care that no uninitiated see what they are doing. Every effort is made to ensure that there is no flaw in the rope as a break would be a serious matter, punishable by death.

Near the winter solstice the marshals choose a suitable time

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*575 natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is
*796 usually added that the animal in question is the one resident
776 in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary
825 river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to
follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded
[773] to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his
house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he
objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the
stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed
[821] his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that
[226] time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. As
far as could be learnt, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who is patron for a certain *kusiut* is the head of a female herring. Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to
[532] doubt. For the *nebusam* of her protégé, a number of masks representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are prepared. When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dakdakänus*, the supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *kusiut* but the ritual of the dance, known as *esnäxmunaix*, was not obtained. The similarity between *Dakdakänus* and *Dakdakänmem*, those who await *Nedkynim*, appears merely to be an accidental re-
[192] semblance in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning "to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

THE DANCE OF *Almoqltaikila*

*575
*796
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[755]

In Kimsquit it is believed that *Ano'likwolsaix* has a husband, *Almoqltaikila*, who is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to

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(*c*) An incident in the dancer's ancestral myth; one of his forefathers succeeded in shaming a rival chief. 533*

(*d*) Many origin myths describe houses, provided by *Ālquntām* for the first settlers, which expanded of their own accord to accommodate guests at potlatches. The reference is to one of these, although it was impossible to record the myth itself. [773]

Song Used for Qowi of Kimsquit(a)

A *Pālxsollaix* Rouse yourselves for it,	*stā'ābsaolt* ye residents!	*Skikiyukipdai* See which is my supernatural being(*b*).	*aiyadisiyutalis*

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Nexliwakxtuksdax* At the bottom(*c*)	*dukläliyimsdax* the first-comer(*d*)	*skānuamstāxis* seated himself	*was·walxtāmilais* of our provided food(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 8b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. *Qowi* was his mother's brother.
(*b*) The dancer's associates are invited to gather to witness his performance.
(*c*) That is: The mouth.
(*d*) Referring to one of the dancer's earliest ancestors.
(*e*) The reference is to the Kimsquit River which teems with salmon; the dancer describes the fish as the fare provided for his ancestral family by *Ālquntām*.

Song Used for Qowi of Kimsquit (a)

A or *B(b)* *Litwāmaxollaix* Go out and see,	*ye·stā'ābsaolt* ye residents!	*Tutwinamisandai* It is apparent(*c*)	
diyālxolsai what travels everywhere(*d*);	*diqwnutsituts·a* what brings our food(*e*)	*dunultsāmāthmlo* from its home(*f*).	

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Diymaqolsn* That is	*distālimsdax* the chief	*Łixlixkilko(g)* *Łixlixkilkka*;	*ditsqwaqwakmis* he carries a heavy burden(*h*)	[776] [424]
wānupāsdai in his canoe	*lonoltsāmāthmlo* from his land.			

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 8a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) Only two of the three parts are remembered.
(*c*) The actual meaning of *tutwinam* is: What is Apparent. Its use in this case is, therefore, an untranslatable pun.

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*533 (d) A somewhat boastful reference to the power of the dancer's *tutwinam*.
[776] (e) Another arrogant reference to the *tutwinam*.
(f) In Bella Bella.
[424] (g) This is a Bella Bella being of whom little is known by the Bella Coola. The right to use him as *tutwinam* came from a remote ancestor.
(h) Presumably, the dancer's right to perform.

Fragment of a Song Used for Ḳaqaix, a Kimsquit Man(a)

A Alḳusmaswin	*wastixwnimunp*	*Sâkxnnsnâmâsu*
Protect your faces,	you quiet people!	Is always shooting arrows

kwalhntaiyadslaix
my crest(b).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

Aqtwainu	*kâsḳlmaxwamdinitl*
Don't do that,	they will cover us with valuables(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 29b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to be an extremely ancient one, used by some of the earliest settlers; the tune is said to be entirely different from any recent *nusak* compositions.

[424] (b) The dancer's crest was the wasp, an insect which is believed to sting by the discharge of invisible, minute arrows. This admonition to the guests to hide their
[825] faces was, of course, a boasting reference to the goods which would be distributed at the approaching potlatch. None of the first settlers was sent down to earth
[773] as a wasp, but several, including *Nedkila*, were guided and assisted by those insects to such an extent that they have been regarded as crests.

[558] (c) It is customary, when quoting this song, to add this final remark. It is related that, many years ago, a Kimsquit man used his wasp prerogative, but was shamed
[424] at the potlatch by being inundated with goods from a rival. Since that time, none of his descendants has dared to use the right and the admonition against doing so has become almost proverbial.

Fragment of a Song Used for Nuqwihmlaix of Kimsquit(a)

A Qaxsdjilkwas	*skalḳolmildai*	*Diḳwpalydusdai*	*wastupâsâls*
We all go	to see(b).	He(c) informs us	of what he carries.

B and *C* No more of this song is remembered, though it was used at a potlatch about 1910.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 59b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
(b) Meaning: To gaze upon something supernatural.
(c) An unnamed supernatural being.

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ḳmusmālixmenuyet	*aiyuwasoyo·nxwals*	
he circled and returned	*Sonyᵂ*.	

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 39a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) A sign of victory, eagerly watched for when a war-party is returning. [727]
(*c*) A reference to *Wiwat*, one of *Sinuyetl*'s first ancestors in the beginning of time. He made a journey to the Skeena, returning from there with canoe and paddles decorated with sun designs. The exploits of his descendant are compared with those of his pattern, that is, his first forbear. Such references to family history are sources of pride to the chief being honoured. [773]
(*d*) That is: From whom I am descended.

Fragment of a Xe·tla Song(a) Used by Qwoyusditxas of Kimsquit(b)

A *Kaiyumsāmālian*	*di stāhaiāmydai*	*kaiiḳainuxits*	
Presently he will be ashamed	that chief	if I get	

aiyadilāliālsdai
my copper.

(*a*) Both tune and theme are said to be of Kwakiutl origin. [177]
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 34b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

Fragment of a Xe·tla Song Used by Sinuyetl of Kimsquit(a)

A Sānusiḳqomosīsundai	*yao (b) diḳxetcaiyailtumdai*	*Oldiḳaxlāmitlīsundai*
They are smiling,	greetings to the out-stretched glass!	They drink

sewas qemcuadja
the food of white men(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 41b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) Literally: *Hello!*
(*c*) This song was used at a potlatch where the fare provided was whisky. The tune is said to be very ancient although new words were composed for the occasion. [556] [279]

A'alk Songs

A'alk songs somewhat resemble *sisaok* ones and, like them, are difficult to collect completely. Parts of many are remem- [575] [796]

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*533 bered, but the rites in which they were used have been practically discontinued for several years so that unabridged versions are almost impossible to obtain. *A'alk* themes vary according to the ceremonies in which they are used. For potlatches, they consist of incidents from ancestral myths; whereas for non-ceremonial occasions following the *kusiut* season, they deal with current events. The following examples are divided into these two classes.

[575]
[790]

THEMES DRAWN FROM ANCESTRAL MYTHS

Qi'aqa Song Used for Nuximastlaix, a Man of Kimsquit(a)

A Yeyutsamatstolaix	*dislimilsudai*	*dusqwunlaixdsuldai*
They give valuable counsel,	my goods(*b*);	they formulate their own opinion

oldiqemastsdulsdai | *aiyaskst-aiamkilsdai* | *oldiamtsinutilsdai*
concerning to whom of those seated in my house I shall give presents(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Ka'alaiyusdjmalsandja	*skakilqimodjmils*	*Wastlwinmodjdumant'*
I speak loftily	of everything(*d*).	Through them(*e*)

silqualstlimodsnals	*ithmsteamdidslls*	*aiyanamanskstalsals*
I become elevated,	my power to give potlatches (is)	my male relatives(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Kanunukanmidzmals	*dusnut'qanals-kidax*	*dununulqanmtskidax*
Presently I shall stand	within the box	at the corner door(*g*),

sualsaldimutdamkis	*dusnushmnals-kidax*	*lmalasdimutsudax*
where flowed to all(*h*)	the moose-skins(*i*)	of *Twalasdimut*(*j*)(*k*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 31a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) That is: The goods which I am about to distribute advise me. This statement is not to be taken literally.

(*c*) It was impossible to obtain a translation of each subdivision.

(*d*) Refers to the dancer's many prerogatives.

(*e*) Refers to his male relatives.

[424] (*f*) The dancer had obtained several prerogatives from ancestors, traced patrilineally.

[773] (*g*) A reference to the dancer's origin myth (I, p. 329). The house of his first forefather, *uyuyayut*, had its door in a back corner instead of the centre front.

(*h*) That is: Whence were distributed at potlatches.

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*533 B *Yayuinmuiqudukidux* — He agreed | *xhālālimdux* — to being dropped(c), | *ninilitsqududux* — he spoke the eagle language cheerfully.

Aiyaxmcuxudux
Xemcus(d).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The last part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 32a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) That is: Which my forefathers displayed.
(c) It is said that some of the first settlers were unwilling to be sent down to earth.
[773] (d) *Xemcus*, one of the dancer's first ancestors, came to earth in eagle form and accordingly spoke the language of these birds.

Fragment of a Tlaiyakam Song Used for Sinuqal of Kimsquit

Nuxlimaktuksing — It is ready; | *dak'lalimdux* — his . . . . . .(a) that was sent down | *xhanuamai'xis* — has taken its stand | *nanuxl* — at Dean River(b).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

[424] (a) The term signifies any object, whether tangible or intangible, sent down from above in the beginning of time. In this case it refers to the dancer's *Hatyakam* prerogative.
(b) A reference to the coming to earth of *Smaum*. See vol. I, p. 332.

THEMES DRAWN FROM CURRENT EVENTS

Nuxqual Song Used for Nuqaqémis, a Kimsquit Man(a)

A *Tcālyaxhmdux* — Let us stop | *xhālixwilituxip* — elevating(b) him(c); | *nmkāxtualālis* — he uses without authority

xwixwaistadimuxs
a chief's name(d).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Qastirwakdukhm* — Is feeble | *yao dilāmnuyāmlals* — the dancer(e); | *squlipump* — let him accept from me | *ali'alim-idals* — what he likes(f).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Alaisdudux* — He was likewise(g) | *dizisālaxlāmts* — my first forefather(h); | *squlalikudals* — I summon guests

alyamaiwamalals
for what I am about to display(i).

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*533 (a) Recorded as song VII D 9c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
[776] (b) Presumably a reference to *Neäkṡmm*, the dancer's *kusiut* patron(?).
[192] (c) The meaning of this word is not known; it is considered to be quite distinct from the identical term in Chinook jargon for "deer."
(d) The meaning of the whole song is extremely obscure.

Marriage Songs

*533 As marriage songs, two distinct classes may be considered:
585 A. Those used at weddings;
[586] B. Shaming songs used in connection with divorce rites.
[578] The former are said to have been handed down from the distant past and consist of a few almost meaningless words. The latter are composed whenever required, and consist of foul allusions to the person being ridiculed.

WEDDING SONGS

Stuux Marriage Song(a)

Nunuṡqwäldimutqwanitl	*yao ixläqwlaiyulao*	*ältusaḳwnainuqis*
Danced for joy	*Qwlaiyu(b)*	when they brought
al'ailminanaodax	*yao dutqasyr-msudax*	
the girl	from the place of light(c).	

(a) Recorded as song VII D 3b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

[773] (b) *Qwlaiyu* came down with *uyuyuyut* in the beginning of time, and brought,
[424] as a gift from *Alquntäm*, the prerogative of dancing at weddings. He landed at Kimsquit, and no explanation is given by the Bella Coola for the use of this song by the people of *Stuux*.

[773] (c) A reference to a marriage among the first people on earth. One of *Qwlaiyu*'s associates married a woman whose relatives had brought light with them from above.

Kimsquit Marriage Song(a)

Sä'lälälimqwsudukt	*yao daxomtnlalaoals*	*wastäqel'ynasdomdax*
They sent down	*Xomtsla(b)*	with his relative
yao ixläqwläyulaoals		
Qwlaiyu (c)(d).		

(a) Recorded as song VII D 2b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

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(*b*) *Xemtsla* came down from above with *uyuyuyut* in the beginning of time; he had the prerogative of dancing at weddings. 533*

(*c*) *Qulaiyu* likewise came down with *uyuyuyut*, bringing the same prerogative as *Xemtsla*. 585

(*d*) The rest of this song has been forgotten. [773] [424]

Fragmentary and short as are these songs, they are more elaborate than many used at weddings. These frequently contain no words, merely an ancient tune accompanied by humming and meaningless choral interjections.[4]

SHAMING SONGS

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[585]

Songs of this type are sung by the singers while the principal performer dances; in this respect, they resemble *susaok* compositions and differ entirely from the abbreviated and individualistic wedding songs. Though used primarily to shame a runaway husband or wife, one is sometimes employed on other occasions.

Song Used for Nełwma(a), a Kimsquit Woman(b)

A Yelakeig	*dalima*	*Mustlos*	*sālnaixtus*	*dāmnalicaiya'a*
Has too much	looted	*Mustlos(c)*	further,	he has taken with her

tcakwadkustumal	*dāmnālicaiya'a*
my child, *Tcakwadkus(d)*,	he has taken with her(*e*).

[103]

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sānołłoldimut	*sawāstāhmmtsalis*	*ikāt-ākānutsaixts*
Be brave,	mothers(*f*),	when I speak of your ugliness(*g*);

olāshdjāstlimanep	*wanusłwdsātsahmyalis*
you have had much trouble,	your breasts have become long and pendant.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) This word means "The one (feminine) with the very hairy pudenda." The woman in question had run away from her husband and the nickname was conferred at this shaming *Hlaiyākam* rite. [551] [553]

[4] Two examples of such wordless songs were collected. They are song VII D 2a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard, and song VII D 3a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

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sisłiyuktemisandax	*Tłaowika'lis*	*Tinłqlnmainandax*
all, everywhere, know of	*Tłaowika'lis*(*e*).	They(*f*) crossed repeatedly

yao oldutcawutsudax
to *Tcawat*(*ff*).

(*a*) The first four parts of this song were recorded as song VII D 7a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said to have been composed about 1870 for a chief whose son had been drowned. It was later used for a nephew of *Łowi*, and will henceforth be employed only by members of that family. [424]

(*b*) That is: Why has my son died?

(*c*) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.

(*d*) Referring to the dead son.

(*e*) That is: The supernatural being, the chief, has taken him. The reference is to the deceased's crest animal, a common rhetorical device in songs.

(*f*) An ancestor of the deceased and one of the first settlers of the world. He came down to Rivers Inlet.

(*g*) *Tłakwakila* is said to have widened, or even to have made, the principal river at Rivers Inlet. [773]

(*h*) *Tłakwakila* came in the form of a raven.

(*i*) Referring to *Łwinas*.

(*j*) It was impossible to obtain translations of these two subdivisions. *Łwinas*, now dead, will be irremovably connected with the scenes of his first ancestor.

(*k*) Meaning Raven.

(*l*) The mother of *Łwinas* who had died several years earlier.

(*m*) The theme now changes as if *Łowi* were addressing *Łwinas*.

(*n*) Referring to *Łwinas*.

(*o*) Refers to the supernatural beings who rouse the sun and moon and thus cause their light to shine on earth. Mention is made of these in *Łwinas*'s origin myth. [776]

(*p*) The theme changes again from direct address to *Łwinas* to a description of what he will be doing owing to his ancestral history. [821]

(*q*) That is: He will be in the form of one of the guardians of light when his life descends, at a memorial potlatch, to Rivers Inlet.

(*r*) That is: That was what *Wałku* brought. *Wałku*, another of *Łwinas*'s first ancestors, could not find a suitable place to settle in the beginning of time. After fruitless wandering, a whale emerged, vomited violently, and was changed to stone. The animal thus became Goose Island, and its vomit the rugged rocks at one end. *Wałku* settled on that island. [773] [823]

(*s*) This song has three third parts.

(*t*) That is: The first people, with their shaman-like power, had just appeared.

(*u*) Referring to *ur-wałaisa*, another of *Łwinas*'s first ancestors, who also came to earth at Rivers Inlet.

(*v*) At that time the routes between different settlements had not been discovered.

(*w*) More specifically, the coarse, long breast feathers.

(*x*) *ur-wałaisa* used a supernatural canoe which frequently changed to eagle feathers. [773]

(*y*) Refers to Sea-lion Island where he and his descendants used to hunt.

(*z*) Refers to the Bella Bella; several of *Łwinas*'s relatives had married members of that tribe.

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(*h*) That is: I incorporate myself into.

(*i*) The reference is to another of *Sinaqut*'s myths dealing with the coming to earth of *Hamat* near Kimsquit. *Nunuḡmals* was the name of his house. 533*

(*j*) Referring to Goose Island once more.

(*k*) That is: Goose Island where our relatives, the Bella Bella, get their food, had just emerged and become visible. It was impossible to obtain a separate translation of these two subdivisions.

(*l*) Referring again to Goose Island. This small piece of land is shaped like a whale, and, as already described, it was originally one. *Alqanstam* bade the animal come to the surface to be changed to stone; then *Wałks* settled there as soon as the water had dried from what had been its back. [773] [823]

(*m*) The literal translation of each subsection may be inaccurate.

Song Used for Yełałs of Kimsquit(a)

A Yenaqłandax	*uałnałndał*	*sałnaixlnndai*	*disenq"udai*
It is good(*b*);	our(*c*)!	has lifted	the sky(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Qaqmaxqwłsandai(e)	*disiałsdai*	*sałaiyałdumdai*
He was Raven(*f*),	the supernatural one	when he descended

dinałnaiktłsdai
the post(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Snuqułaxłnndai	*disłłhmydai*	*yeyłłesdai*	*sałiłłisdai*
He is bright(*h*),	the chief	*Yełałs*;	he carries

sałsrułłłklaixs	*dałałłłsudai*
a unique	copper(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 47a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been composed over one hundred years ago and since used repeatedly.

(*b*) With the significance of: It is highly satisfactory.

(*c*) The meaning of this word is obscure. It refers to the crest of *Yełałs* with the added implication of a memorial. It applies to the memorial rite being given. [765]

(*d*) When a chief dies, it is said that the people in their grief feel as if the sky were pressing them down. A memorial rite lessens their sorrow and lifts the burden. [152]

(*e*) When this word was being sung for the phonograph, the singer erred and replaced it by part of the first word of the third part.

(*f*) That is: He was in the form of a raven. The reference is to one of the first ancestors of *Yełałs*.

(*g*) Meaning one of the posts which stretched between earth and sky in the beginning of time. [773]

(*h*) This refers to *Yełałs*. He was formerly weighed down with grief, but by giving a memorial rite he is like the sun as it shines out brilliantly from behind the clouds.

(*i*) A reference to a special kind of copper mentioned in the chief's origin myth.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 55, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tsi-is* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. 533*

(*b*) So many of *Yaaka*'s ancestors had been drowned that he considered such a fate to be an inheritable tendency and mourned accordingly. This song was composed for a memorial potlatch held after the drowning of three of his sons. [761] [827]

(*c*) *Xem* means, literally, the successive rising of the sun from day to day; it has therefore, the significance of: The span of life is shortening. [195]

(*d*) This wail replaces the usual wordless chorus.

(*e*) Raven. This is one of his rarely used chief's names.

(*f*) The reference is to an incident retated about Raven in the beginning of time. He made, and gave life to a son who was his chief joy and delight. *Alquntam* wondered what the creature might be and sent down one of his eagle-like supernatural birds to seize him. Raven, ignorant of the reason for his son's loss and with no idea that he was being carefully guarded, was absolutely disconsolate. The myth is recorded in vol. I, p. 83. [773]

Shaman Songs

In contrast to the carefully prepared and logically worded mourning songs, many of those used by shamans are extremely incoherent. This is natural in view of the belief, already described, that the words and tune are given to a sick person at the time that he is cured. Those who recover from an illness are convinced that they must have received a supernatural visitation, and at once begin to ponder on the song brought to them at that time. A person of imaginative temperament easily persuades himself that the words which begin to form in his mind were actually brought by an agent, and, having thus deluded himself, it is easy for him to convince others. The coherence of the text thus depends upon the ability of the patient, a factor which explains the extreme lack of skill in many compositions. The examples here given are, perhaps, unusually complete. 533* 756 [753]

Song Used by Nisitsamlaix(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A Wax-ulwalhsmqmda	*ahtsinisitsamlaixs*
In the beginning(c)	the life-giving power(d) was made;
yao dial'a'yaitsal	*ahtsalsimsadai*
that is what we have given	within them(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (f)

*533 (i) A reference to the leading supernatural beings.
(j) That is: Unable to participate in the meeting at which it was decided to send the dance down to *Smnkhā'hs*.

Third Song Used for Smnkhā'hs, a Bella Coola Fungus Dancer(a)

A Satlamhdjuā'ldumilmlu	*djiisiqsustamqulcuāl;*	*sinukuhcmāl;*
All(b) have failed,	they(c) have decided	to send it(d) down

sumuklumstantlamlı
to mortals(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Wasmisthlum-alnkdai	*dalāl-skumdai*	*yao dislqumlaichmdai*
No one soils	what we see(f);	it warms us(g),

alamastlatlo
hail, *Sumstlatlo*(h)!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Smmqsinmmalitsdai	*yao dimisiljmaltumdai*	*dihallpsdjudimtmhalidai*
I heard the growling of a *smmq*(i)		as they(j) were preparing matters(k),

smusaik-alsinmqwal;
the skeleton(l) was as a bed to it(m).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 24a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song, composed by Kimsquit Alec, was used during the *hamatsa* season of 1923-4.
(b) Referring to the supernatural beings.
(c) Referring to the supernatural beings.
(d) Referring to the Fungus dance.
(e) The significance is that the supernatural beings, having failed to raise the Fungus, have sent it down for human beings to try. The words used imply that it has been sent as a patient to a doctor. This boastful phrasing is to impress the uninitiated.
(f) That is: What we see, the Fungus, is bright, shining, and unsullied.
(g) The meaning is obscure, perhaps that the sight of the supernatural object strengthens the beholders.
(h) No reason could be learnt for this reference to *Sumstlatlo*.
(i) The composer assumed that the dancer's patron was a *smmq*. It was impossible to obtain an individual translation of these two subdivisions.
(j) Referring to the supernatural beings.
(k) That is: As they were discussing the sending down of the Fungus.
[773] (l) This refers to a skeleton, belonging to *Alpuntsin*, which remains in the rear part of *Nuxmalkin*. It is frequently mentioned in song but no detailed information about it could be obtained.
(m) That is: The Fungus was resting upon the skeleton. Such references, not fully understood even by the *hamatsa*, increase the awe and wonder of the uninitiated.

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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(*d*) This is addressed to the uninitiated, one of whom has guessed correctly. 533*
(*e*) The assumption is that this has been done with the aid of *Anuqwatnikmas*.
(*f*) Referring to the supernatural beings above.
(*g*) That is: To utter her supernatural droning cry.
(*h*) The reference is to *Sne'olnlt: Alqunism*, the dancer's patron. The meaning of the whole passage is obscure but seems to be as follows: *Sne'olnlt: Alqunism* was perturbed at the coming of the call to his protégé and, to help their fellow, the other supernatural beings called upon *Snitmaw-a* to drone. This sound has a healing effect and would, therefore, enable human beings to solve the mystery. The phraseology is intentionally obscure. [776]

Song Used for Willie Johnston(a), a Bella Coola Thunder Dancer(b)

A Skumalnstwinmatnals	*didundukw-ildai*	*sipiyaxtam-allmandai*
I have just heard	it(c) coming down;	it changes its voice

alnalalilals
above our heads(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Stirwutsamlimililika	*dikuxistitsnasnals*	*yas skaskimanldisdai*
They asked plainly	the *kusiut*(*e*)	to lead the frenzied beating of sticks(*f*)

sewaqalwailals
at the gathering of the supernatural beings in the land above.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Saalikmanlumililika	*wakalalwalalimats*	*dizwuilit'limisandai*
Too many to be seen	are those called(*g*);	when they increased

diwuiyumalidimaldumdai
the water(*h*).

(*a*) The Bella Coola name of the dancer was unfortunately omitted.
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 57, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, announcer and prompter, assisted by *Tal-io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.
(*c*) Referring to the call.
(*d*) It is doubtful whether this statement is more than a rhetorical device to impress the uninitiated.
(*e*) Referring to Thunder.
(*f*) Thunder, one of the most powerful of the supernatural *kukusiut*, has the prerogative of leading the orchestra of stick beaters to "cure" a fellow-dancer. The song states that his fellows requested him to perform this function. [776]
(*g*) That is: So many are in attendance that they cannot be recognized. The reference is to Thunder's dance in the lead above, for which the supernatural *kukusiut* assemble from all directions. [773]
(*h*) The allusion is to the rain which follows Thunder's dance. [821]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Song Used for Xelitmai, Combined with Mourning for Yäkotlas(a)

*533 A *Alsiyalsilulsla* | *wasilliyulsm-idjutalis* | *sinisayenilisiandja*
I kept talking to myself as if I were crazy when I was near(b)

alnuskäsiutsta
the repository(c).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Yao ka'änänuskkisqudax* | *tsiayäkotlaiyas-udax* | *lostäxälämamtomdax*
Presently, now, | *Yäkotlas(d)* | will do as

yao tatitilitskidax
the eagle-voiced one(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Qänimbalimqulandax* | *yao xwäskimsitäm-is-kidax* | *yao alisksolitstomdax*
They(f) give him | the covering(g); | hail to the provided food

aiaxemcuasudax | *däsialkiqalocimdax* | *yao tätutwinmix^{w}dax*
of *Xemcua*(h); | the smoking(i) | is visible(j).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 18a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The exact relationship between *Xelitmai* and *Yäkotlas* could not be learnt.

(b) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

(c) This first part of the song follows the usual *kusiut* pattern; the words are arranged as if the neophyte were addressing the uninitiated.

(d) The dead man who is being mourned. The theme is now of the usual mourning type.

[773] (e) A reference to *Xemcua*, one of the first settlers of the earth and an ancestor of *Yäkotlas*. As described (I, p. 326), *Xemcua* came to earth in eagle form and remained calling for food. This is an onomatopoeic word.

(f) Presumably referring to the supernatural beings.

(g) That is: The form of an eagle. The theme continues as a mourning song, describing the fate of the deceased.

(h) That is: The food brought down by *Xemcua* as a gift from *Älqustäm*. Olachen was the provender supplied to him.

(i) A reference to Mount *Swaky*, from which flames are said to have burst forth within the last century and a half.

(j) *Swaky*, being the road of *Xemcua*, is delighted to welcome one of his descendants and shows his pleasure by blazing merrily.

Song Used for Älokänam, Combined with Mourning for Yäkotlas(a)

A *Älmat-ällimaqo* | *yao nuskäsiutsta* | *skänuyälrwolstumlandai*
They(b) measure | the repository; | it is opened

allomälämthoali
to its extreme bottom(c).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

533*

B Istewixwenukuäls | *wałwatlłuntsialaoals* | *sawa'aminälosdisdax*
It is so(*d*); | the two(*e*) crests | had seated himself between

yeakotlaiosudax | *dänuxtmmdimutlsndax* | *äldiskwatstsiämlidals*
Yäkotlas(*f*); | he binds them together(*g*) | and the name likewise(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Was·amłwatlłmmqwdudai | *umätakstłominilsdai* | *diälisaiyäk'limdai* |
Älquntäm was the first creator in the beginning of time; we still profit from

dislquntämaotskials | *Dinmłwatlłnosamdai* | *disuxsuxłälaixgaoals*
his works(*i*). | As my memorial (?) is | *Suxsuxłälaix*(*j*).

(*a*) The exact relationship between *Älokänam* and *Yäkotlas* could not be ascertained. The first twelve subdivisions of this song were recorded as song VII D 52, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Täl·io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie.

(*b*) Presumably referring to the supernatural beings.

(*c*) This part of the song is worded as if the neophyte were addressing the uninitiated; the meaning is intentionally obscure, though obviously boastful.

(*d*) That is: It is true.

(*e*) Referring to two crests owned by the deceased; the song has changed to a mourning theme.

(*f*) That is: *Yäkotlas* has seated himself midway between the two crests.

(*g*) By incorporating himself into both.

(*h*) The whole song was extremely difficult to translate and this reference to a name was absolutely unintelligible.

(*i*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions; in fact, even the free translation may be inaccurate.

(*j*) *Suxsuxłälaix* appears in the dancer's ancestral myth, but no real explanation could be obtained for mentioning him at this point.

Song Used for Łulul'nimut, Combined with Mourning for Yäkotlas(*a*)

A Skalł'makxomälitsdax | *dänusumsmaiyudjalisdja* | *oldotlnänulitsdax*
He(*b*) meets a supernatural being who gives him the words of a mourning song

skulnkänmutsmilsdax | *ciälämänäkänalts* | *oldälkawamsmisdax*
for his father; then he proceeds to the land above(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Solipahmalsndax | *yaiyakotlaiosudax* | *skanuamtsialhisdax*
Wants the best | *Yäkotlas*(*d*); | he sits down within

dutäkwähilleodax | *dukwalxwalulitdax* | *kämätseyo·ngwskidax*
he expansible house(*e*); | they lengthen | *Kämätseyo*[w](*f*).

[773]

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*593 C *Ka'asqwmälosqwinndax* | *Ťlakwakilasudax* | *ałałäliasudax*
Is like a fire | *Ťlakwakila*(g) | the copper of(h);

ski·kpältomqwinndax | *ydukukpiyasudax* | *aiałnukiadjidax*
has carried him round(i) | his grandfather | *Nukiadji*(j).

(a) Recorded as songs VII D 5 and VII D 6a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. VII D 5 is a two-minute record, and as the song was too long, the last part of it was concluded on VII D 6. This resembles an ordinary mourning song, and is said to have been used formerly as one at Kimsquit. During the season of 1923-4, however, it was used at a *kusiut* dance given by *Łułul'nimut*, son of the deceased *Yäkotles*.

(b) Referring to the dead *Yäkotles*.

(c) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these six subdivisions, and even the free interpretation may be inaccurate.

(d) That is: *Yäkotles* wants the best. The meaning is that the dead man is seeking out the finest elements in his ancestral myths.

[773] (e) Referring to a house at *Nusqałst* used by his first forefathers; it had the power of expanding so as to provide room for all who came to potlatches.

(f) The name of the house.

[551] (g) A Bella Bella name owned by *Yäkotles*.

(h) That is: The copper of *Yäkotles* is bright and gleaming like a fire. The reference is to a copper mentioned in the deceased's ancestral myth; the article furbished itself in delight at the sight of one of its first owner's ancestors. Such boasting remarks are frequent in mourning songs.

(i) In the sense of: Around the places where his first forefathers ranged.

(j) That is: His grandfather, *Nukiadji*, carried him around the scenes of the experiences of his first forefathers. *Nukiadji* was a Kwakiutl chief.

Song Used for Siyman·a, Combined with Mourning for Yäkotles(a)

A *Sumqqwmidjutailaitsłłuł* | *a'liqayawidjuthłi* | *dasälpälolqłts*
I was careful, I watched myself, when I felt strange(b); I rose above the ground(c) when I reached(d)

ałnuskäiutsła
the repository(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

[551] B *Skämälqukainuhmqw'* | *yesänuximäxotsdax* | *yeixwuhdimuhłnandax*
As soon as he saw | *Sänuximäxots*(f), | the lordly mountain(g)

yao dialkpälosximdax
illuminated itself(h).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Nuyälpkimmqwłnanitł* | *aiałn·xłm'nuitł* | *xudutsu·łmisłiki*
Rejoiced | *Qakms*(i); | she welcomed him(j)

łutstcäkwałotłskilax
to the expansible house(k).

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 19a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4; the exact relationship of *Sigman·a* to *Yākotles* could not be learnt. 533*

(*b*) *Sigman·a* was being initiated into the *kusiut* society and this part of the song describes, for the benefit of those who were not members, her experiences when she discovered her repository. The theme states that she felt peculiar when she reached its neighbourhood.

(*c*) An expression inserted to impress the uninitiated.

(*d*) Individual translations for these three subdivisions could not be obtained.

(*e*) When this song was being recorded on the phonograph, the performer erred and substituted for this subdivision the following:

ālāmuntaiasuals
where I went.

(*f*) One of the names of *Yākotles*. The theme here changes to the usual mourning type, describing the experiences of the deceased. [551]

(*g*) Referring to Mount *Swakg* near Kimsquit.

(*h*) This mountain is said to have been an active volcano within the last century and a half. The first ancestors of *Yākotles* landed upon its slopes, hence the mountain became wrapped up with their fortunes and showed its delight at welcoming one of their descendants.

(*i*) That is: *Ḷāxmɔ* rejoiced. She was one of his first ancestresses.

(*j*) That is: *Ḷāxmɔ* welcomed *Yākotles*.

(*k*) A house which figures in the origin myth of *Yākotles*. It had the ability of expanding to accommodate as many guests as assembled. [773]

Song Used for . . . . . (a), Combined with Mourning for Ḷomānakwala(b)

A Tlā'anslāmaadja | *ālāslainulitsdai* | *diqsultimutlsandai*
I(*c*) was in trouble, I was in fear, when I saw illuminate itself(*d*)

dismātlakilasudai
the place of petrified power(*e*). [773]

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Kānulnustimutqwlsandai | *Ḷomānakwalasudax* | *ikān·exliwan·uxim*
Is now established(*f*) | *Ḷomānakwala*(*g*) | at the place of

aldiskwatstaāmlisdax
his established name(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (*i*)

C Kanuyālrikimmqwlsandax | *yes·ānuximāxotsdāx* | *skāi·kpātltoyuqwlsandax*
Welcomed him(*j*) | *Sānuximāxots*(*k*) | and guided him around

ālāpwalhuntalāmlisdax
the places of his crests(*l*).

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*533 (*a*) A female infant whose name was not known by the singers from whom this song was obtained.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 53, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tāl·io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song, composed by *Tāl·io* Charlie, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of an infant great-granddaughter of *Ḷomānakwala*.

(*c*) Referring to the neophyte. This part of the song is worded for the benefit of the uninitiated.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

[773] (*e*) This might apply to any mountain where a group of the first settlers landed, but is said to refer to *Nūsḳalst*, the home of the dead man's ancestral family. The implication of the theme is that the mountain erupted; Mount *Nusḳalst* is not regarded as a volcano, and it is possible that the composer confused the origin myth of the dead man with that recorded in the preceding four songs in which there are references to the illumination of Mount *Swaḳz* at Kimsquit. Such a mistake would not be impossible in view of the decadence of Bella Coola culture.

(*f*) In the sense of: Has rejoined his ancestral crest.

(*g*) That is: *Ḷomānakwala* has rejoined his ancestral crest.

(*h*) That is: At the place where the first to possess his name came to earth.

(*i*) An unusually long wordless chorus separates the second from the third part.

(*j*) That is: *Ḷomānakwala*.

(*k*) That is: *Sānuximāxets* welcomed *Ḷomānakwala*. The former was one of the latter's first ancestors.

(*l*) A reference to the localities where his first forefathers came to earth.

[776] *Song Used for Lilitwumlaix(a), Combined with Mourning for Ḷomānakwala(b)*

A Aiyailaixdimutkisandai | *tapuxpuxqumlaixḳodax* | *sawasālnimuhmistax* |
All is ready, proceed | thou "Opener"(*c*) | who brings what puts

yao ditcaitcaiyutslaixao
an end to all our grief(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Ālticiakumlimilnka | *dastālkmqayakesldax*
He(*e*) is waiting with outstretched hand | for the chief(*f*);

skānuilum·ilxwisdax | *yutcākwaākaiyustudai*
now he stands upon | *Tcākwaākis*(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

[773] *C Skānuamtalālsisqwdax* | *sawaicākwālal·dadax* | *skāsnunlkals·minqwisandax*
Sits down within | the expansible house(*h*) | *Snunlkals*(*i*)

xusānulkmdimutsudai
on *Sānulkmdimut*(*j*).

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(*a*) "The Beautifier." This is one of the appellations of the infant's patron, the otter, so-called because people adorn themselves whenever an Otter dance is given. 533*

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 16a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of *Lilitwumlaix*, a female infant distantly related to *Ḷomānakwala*. [776]

(*c*) A reference to Otter, the neophyte's patron. The significance is that chiefs have an opportunity to display, "open," their generosity by lavish giving at every Otter dance. [556]

(*d*) The elaborate ritual of an Otter dance dispels grief. It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions.

(*e*) Referring to one of the dead man's ancestors. The theme changes, and is henceforth of the usual mourning pattern.

(*f*) Referring to the dead *Ḷomānakwala*.

(*g*) "The Loftiest." This is one of the many designations for *Nusḍalst*, one of the dead man's crests.

(*h*) A reference to the expanding house described in the dead man's origin myth. [773]

(*i*) One of *Ḷomānakwala*'s names.

(*j*) This is another name for *Nusḍalst*. The meaning of the whole part is: *Ḷomānakwala* sits down within the expansible house on Mount *Nusḍalst*. There is the added implication that he seats himself as does his supernatural namesake in the land above.

Non-Ceremonial Songs

The Bella Coola are not an intensely musical people. Singing in unison is an essential feature of every ceremonial rite, but, when alone, an individual seldom bursts into melody from sheer *joie de vivre*. They have, however, a certain number of non-ceremonial songs, shorter and more diverse in theme than any of those previously recorded. The people themselves do not attempt to classify them, though they can conveniently be grouped in accordance with their themes. Some deal with love, others are sung jocularly at sight of certain birds or mammals, while a third class can only be described as miscellaneous. Still others accompany stories and games; these are included in vol. II, chap. V, and appendix B. [796]* [825]

Love Songs

Men sometimes compose songs which they sing, unaccompanied, to their lady loves. Occasionally, too, the maker of a popular one will teach it to his friends who will serenade the 533* 832 424

[See cat. 116, pp. 543 to 567 - ANALYST]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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524 Pass left middle finger distal to radial ring finger string and take up radial little finger string from proximal side.

Pass left index finger distal to radial middle finger string and take up radial ring finger string from proximal side.

With left thumb take up radial index finger string and radial middle finger string from proximal side, keeping the former distal.

With left index finger take up distal radial thumb string from proximal side.

Pass left middle finger distal to distal ulnar index finger string and take up proximal radial thumb string from proximal side.

Pass left ring finger distal to distal ulnar middle finger string and take up distal ulnar index finger string from proximal side.

Pass left little finger distal to distal ulnar ring finger string and take up distal ulnar middle finger string from proximal side.

Release thumb, at the same time pulling with the right hand and the figure disappears. There appears to be no story attached to this figure.

II. THE FASTENINGS OF RAVEN'S PLUMAGE[11]

Place string as a simple loop over left thumb with long, pendant loops hanging down on palmar aspect of left hand.

Pass right thumb and index finger from distal side into left thumb loop, at the same time hooking down the two pendant strings with right middle, ring, and little fingers.

Separate right thumb and index finger; turn right hand upwards, and clockwise, without releasing strings hooked down by right fingers. The left radial thumb string should now run straight across to ulnar side of right thumb, and thence across its dorsal aspect to radial side of thumb, from where it is hooked down by the three fingers of the right hand. The left ulnar thumb string should run straight across to ulnar side of right index finger, from where it is hooked down by the three fingers of the right hand. The distance between the hands should be about three inches; this must be maintained throughout the figure by allowing more string to pass through the hooked-down fingers of the right hand, as required.

[773] [825] [11]As already described, in the beginning of time many of the first-comers to earth floated down from above as ravens. It is assumed that the plumage of these birds must have been attached to the wearers in some way, the "fastenings" illustrated in this figure. On reaching earth, these coverings were taken off without difficulty, an action represented in this design by the facile loosening of the complicated meshwork of strings. This figure was collected from a man whose first ancestor came to earth as a raven; his descendant consequently stated that the pattern represented the specific fastenings of his own forefather's plumage.

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B 825 757 by some old Bellacoola men to be good for sores, but my informant did not believe it.

C 825 Among the Ulkatcho it is numerous, but was not used, not even as a medicine.

B 825 A bumble-bee, identified as *Bombus appositus* Cresson, by Dr. H. J. Franklin, among the Bellacoola, was called Tikquanats or the large Skotl, Skotl being the name of three kinds of insects, a bumble-bee, a yellow jacket, and a hornet. It was not taken nor used, and was said to do no harm to people. My informant did not know whether it had a house or not. Neither did he know that it made honey until told so by white men. They say the bee took one of the prickers of the swamp gooseberry for a stinger, but my informant said he did not believe this. He thought it had a sting in its mouth, not in its tail, until I showed him. The Bellacoola have a story that a being considered by a little girl to be a man, but by an elder sister to be a bumble-bee, was once seen coming from the noonday sun. The little girl became blind, B [773] but her eyes appeared to be all right. Many thought she was made blind by too much sunlight when she looked at the man who was a bumble-bee.

C 825 226 Among the Ulkatcho, this bumble-bee was called Whultocho, *Whulto* being the name of a yellow jacket, and *cho* meaning large. *Whus* or *Whis* means pricker. The bumble-bee was not used as fish bait.

B 825 An insect, probably the hornet, is called Slow lowstl, by the Bellacoola, who say it has a little white on the tail and makes a small nest in a tree in July.

The yellow jacket among the Bellacoola was called Quolalaits (Clolaclaylaits) (Clolaclaylaits skotl) while all three kinds of insects, the bumble-bee, the yellow jacket and the hornet, were called Skotl. The yellow jacket was known to make a nest. The nest was used in sympathetic magic or witchcraft as follows: When one wished to cause the child of one's enemy to grow up to B be a quarrelsome person, the nest of the yellow-jacket was burned [754] and the ashes rubbed on the child. When the child grew up he or she would fight with everyone.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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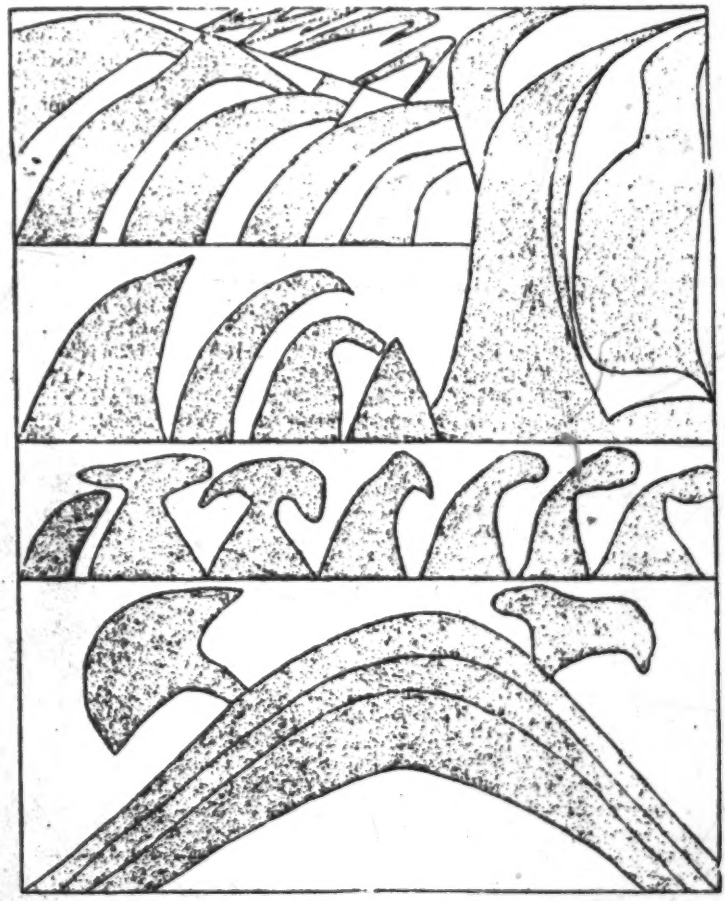
tribes. The crest is represented in paintings on the house-front and on dancing implements. 614

The gens Tōk·oā'is has a killer-whale (*Delphinus orca*) painted on the house-front (fig. 1). The tradition says that the ancestor of this gens 614 532 342 773

FIG. 3.—Crest of the gens Smō'EN, showing the mountain SuwĀ'KHH, with two clouds near its summit; above a mackerel sky.



one day, when hunting in the mountains, found a house on which a killer was painted. The chief who lived in the house invited him and presented him with his crest for himself and for his descendants. The crest consists of the killer-whale, eagle, swan, and heron.

The crests of all gentes were obtained in like manner.

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614 The gens Spatsā'tlt have breakers painted on the house-front, and use
532 in dances the mask of a large kind of whale (*k·'ents*), of the crow, and of the black bear.

342 The gens Tumqoā'akyas use the mask of Ōnestsitō'ma (=the sleeper) and the eagle.

The gens Tl'ak·aumō'ot of the Nusk·'ē'lstemh use the moon (fig. 2).

The gens Ialo'stimōt of the Tālio'mh use the raven, robin (*aiin'a'qonē*), eagle, whale, the bird *t'ēntlala* (genus?), and *s'atlsā'ots*, the flood-tide. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the *nusqē'mta* suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. 420).

The highest gens of Nūtl'e'l has the name Smō'en (=the north wind). He has the mountain Suwā'khh surmounted by a mackerel sky, and with clouds on its sides, painted on his house-front (fig. 3). Another object belonging to his crest represents waves.

614 The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the deci-
851 sion being left to the choice of the parents.

Secret Societies and the Potlatch.

171 The social organisation, festivals, and secret societies of the Bilqula
575 are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the Sisau'kh, and the Kū'siūt. The Sisau'kh corresponds to the Tlōola'qa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the Kū'siūt to the Ts'ētsā'ēk·a. The
556 Bilqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine
● 773 brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Qē'mtslōa, to whose care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful

776 Fig. 4.—Mask representing Qē'mtslōa.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Qēmqēmalā'otla.

[532]
[575]

house in the far east, and cries ō! ō! every morning when the sun rises. He has to take care that the sun rises properly. The first six of these deities

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the Kū'siūt these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks which I have copied. Qē'mtsīoa and Qēmqēmalā'otla wear the design of the full moon, indicated in the mask Qē'mtsīoa (fig. 4) by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Qēmqēmalā'otla has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin (fig. 5). Aiumkī'likya (fig. 6) and Aiumalā'otla (fig. 7) wear the design of the crescent, drawn

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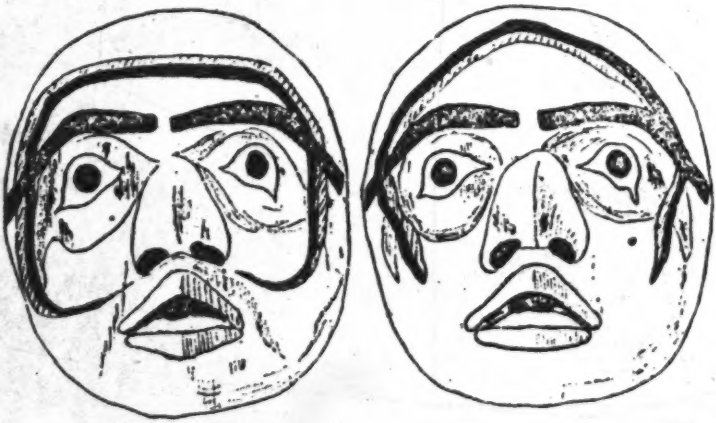
FIG. 6.—Mask representing Aiumkī'likya.

FIG. 7.—Mask representing Aiumalā'otla.



in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second. The fifth, K'ōmk'ōmkī'likya, and K'ō'mtsīoa have designs representing stars (fig. 8), both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is K'ula'qawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmonberry bush (fig. 9). The next in order, Kulē'lias (=who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue (fig. 10). The ninth, At'amā'k wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a birdskin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called Tl'ōtsā'aplētlāna (=the eater), the sister of all the others. Her face is painted with a bladder filled with grease (fig. 11). She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

The Sisau'kH, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of gentes, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had gone out hunting met the Sisau'kH, and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned he asked the people to clean their houses, and to strew them with clean sand, before he consented to enter. Then he danced the Sisau'kH, and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with

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6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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575 trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on,
773 returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Sisau'kH.
776 Besides this it is stated that the Raven gave each gens its secrets.
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FIG. 8.—Mask representing K'ōmk'ōmkl'likya.

FIG. 9.—Mask representing K'ula'qawa.

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614 Each gens has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the Sisau'kH
532 only, and are otherwise kept a deep secret, *i.e.*, they are the sacred posses-
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FIG. 10.—Mask representing Kulē'lias.

FIG. 11.—Mask representing Tl'ētsā'aplētlāna.

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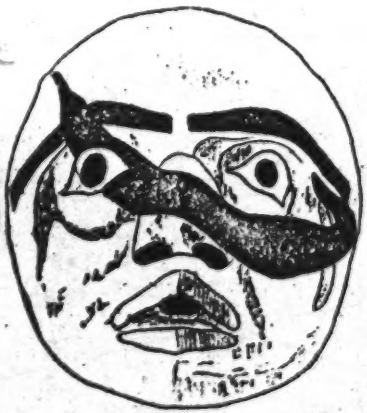

534 sions of each gens. All gentes, however, wear the beautiful carved
292 headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent.

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represent. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become Sisau'kH. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'E-lu'sta, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is a member of the gens Ialo'stimôt of the Talio'mH, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a Kû'siût name, which remains the same throughout life; and a Qē'mtsloa name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'slu'sta'a (which is his Kû'siût name) present Qē'mtsloa name is Atl'itlEmnE'lus'aiH, but at his next potlatch he intends to take the name of Kaliä'kis. These names are also the property of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Kû'siût names of the ancestors. In two cases only the Qē'mtsloa names have been ascertained (see p. 409). When a man possesses several Sisau'kH secrets he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their Sisau'kH secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisau'kH secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the Sisau'kH carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Kû'siût is presided over by a female spirit, called Ansûlikûtsai'H. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Ansûlikûtsai'H invited her into her cave and taught

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575 her the secrets of the Kû'siût. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kû'siût. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kû'siût.'

575 Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kû'siût. When a man has
776 seen Anaûlikûtsai'ʜ sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a Kû'siût. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Kû'siût lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kû'siût are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the Sisau'kʜ dances (see above), but belong to the
424 members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
[426] by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Kû'siût is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kû'siût name, which
[551] he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kû'siût names,
[428] which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pô'pô until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Tl'akô'otl. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[556] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisau'kʜ, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kû'siût have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] ʟlaqô'tla (the Hâ'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ô'lɛq (the Nû'tlmatl of the Kwakiutl), and the Dâ'tia (the Nô'ntsistatl of the Hê'iltsuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Kû'siût novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the ʟlaqô'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun,
785 and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[266] killed, in order to serve as food for the ʟlaqô'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the ʟlaqô'tla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be. 764 [301] [823] [766] [567] [775]

The bed of a mourner must be protected againt the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they cleave four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, cleaving new trees every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones. 765 783 [775] 765 [302]

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or olachen. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person. [262] [828] [822]

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was 'the same as giving away the bones of the deceased.' 765 556

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to 773 171

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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773 what cause this divergence is due. Mythology and religion are so closely
[171] connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Bilqula is Snq, the sun-god (compare *sōnq*, sun).
773 The rays of the sun are his eyelashes. When prayed to he is called Tāat'au. In praying the Bilqula look heavenward. I obtained the fol-
776 lowing formulas: *Atlkuu itlō'tlsuq, Tāat'au*, 'Look on us where we are
[782] going, Tāat'au;' and *Tāat'au, atlkualtnomdō'tlq*, 'Take care of us, Tāat'au.'
[539] Snq is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and does not interfere with the actions and thoughts of men. These are given by Masmasalā'niq. According to the tradition of the Bilqula, before the liberation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is nowadays, four deities lived on the earth: Masmasalā'niq, Yula'timot, Matlapē'eqoek, and Itl'itlu'lak. The raven wished to obtain the sun, but he was unable to liberate it. Then he went to these deities and asked their help. They ascended to the sky, and tore the curtain, which up to that time had been expanded between heaven and earth, hiding the heavenly orbs. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The raven ascended to heaven through the rift made by Masmasalā'niq, and found there a beautiful prairie country in which all the birds lived. Masmasalā'niq and his brothers painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his arts. The raven was not content with the sun, and resolved to try and find a better one. He flew to the house of a great chief, who kept the *nusqē'mta* (*nu-ta*=place of, *sqēm*=the day is dawning). The *nusqē'mta* was a small round receptacle closed all around like an egg. The chief guarded it jealously, and kept it suspended from one of the rafters of his house. The raven knew that he could not obtain it by sheer force, and resorted to a ruse. He assumed the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and let himself drop into the pond from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pond, swallowed the leaf, and thus became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the raven himself. The old chief loved the boy dearly, and allowed him to play with the *nusqē'mta*. This was what he desired. He ran out of the house, broke it, and flew away in the shape of a raven.

After the sun had thus been obtained Masmasalā'niq said: 'Let us make man.' He made the image of a man out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Matlapē'eqoek and Itl'itlu'lak tried likewise to carve human figures and to give them life, but they failed. Finally, Yula'timot carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in each country, and they became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Masmasalā'niq gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to catch salmon, to build houses. He made rivers everywhere, that man should have water to drink, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by man.

The Bilqula believe that Masmasalā'niq and his brothers still continue
[176] to give new ideas to man. They say that any new design of painting or carving, or any other new invention made by a member of their tribe, has been given to him by Masmasalā'niq.

The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been referred to above.

774 The soul is believed to dwell in the nape. It is similar in shape to a
[826] bird inclosed in an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies
[761] away its owner must die. Shamans are able to see and to recover souls.
[756]

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lished some remarks on the religious life of the Bella Coola in 1886,[1] which, however, contain so many misconceptions that they cannot be used to advantage. At the same time I published a brief description of the tribe, based on information received from a small group of members of the tribe who were travelling in Germany. In this description also there are a number of misconceptions. The Indians were shown a collection of masks from Vancouver Island with which they were not familiar. They gave, however, explanations of these masks, judging by the similarity to masks of their own tribe; consequently the explanations given there are not correct.[2] In 1890 I fell in with a number of Bella Coola who were fishing for salmon in Fraser River. The information obtained from them was published in the reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1891.[3] A. Jacobsen published a description of their ceremonies in 1891.[4] Fillip Jacobsen described some of their traditions and customs in 1894 and 1895.[5] I published a collection of traditions in 1894 and 1895.[6] 114

III.

All the collections which have been made heretofore do not bring out clearly the principal characteristic of the mythology of the Bella Coola. The tribes of the North Pacific coast consider the Sun as the most important deity, but at the same time they believe in a great many beings of supernatural power. For this reason their whole mythology is very unsystematic. The Bella Coola, on the other hand, have developed a peculiar mythology, in which a number of supernatural beings have been co-ordinated. A system has been evolved which justifies our terming the supernatural beings "deities." The general features of this system are as follows:— 114 773 776

The Bella Coola believe that there are five worlds, one above another. The middle one is our own world, the earth. Above it are spanned two heavens, while below it there are two underworlds. In the upper heaven resides the supreme deity, a woman who interferes comparatively little with the fates of mankind. In the centre of the lower heaven, that is in the zenith, stands the house of the gods, in which reside the Sun and all the other deities. Our own earth is an island swimming in the ocean. The underworld is inhabited by the ghosts, who are at liberty to return to heaven, whence they may be sent down again to our earth. The ghosts 772 [776] [775]

[1] Original-Mittheilungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, 1886, pp. 183-186.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 177-182.
[3] Seventh Report of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, pp. 2-12; Report of the 61st Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Cardiff, 1891, pp. 405-440.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, pp. 383-391.
[5] Ymer, Tidskrift utgifven af Svenska Sällskapet för Antropologi och Geografi, 1894, pp. 187-202; 1895, pp. 1-13.
[6] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, pp. 291-300; 1895, pp. 189-195. [113]

772 who die a second death sink to the lowest world, from which there is no
[775] return.

The upper heaven is called Atsa'axl, or Snutx·lok·'a'ls ti Sönx· t'aix·, or Sönxaut. Omq'o'mkilik·a. The deity ruling there is a woman who is called
[774] Qama'its, or Tsi sisnaaxti. ("our woman"), or Ek·!yak·tmtöla'ti. ("afraid of nothing").

772 This heaven is described as a prairie without any trees. It is said that
776 in order to reach it one must go up the river from the house of the gods in the lower heaven. In another tradition it is said that in travelling from the lower heaven to the upper heaven one has to pass the rent in the sky which is called Tsi.na'lotas ti Sönx· t'aix·. The house of the supreme deity stands in the far east, and a gale is continually blowing over the open country, driving every thing towards the entrance of her house. Near the house, however, it is calm. In front of the house stands a post in the shape of a large winged monster, and its mouth is the entrance to the house. In front of the house-door there is gravel of three colors,—blue, black, and white. Behind the house is a salt-water pond in which the goddess bathes. In this pond lives the si'siut. or xtsaltsalö'xem. This being sometimes descends to our world. Wherever it moves, the rocks burst, and slide down the sides of the mountains. It is described as a snake or a fish (see pp. 44, 66).

773 In the beginning of the world the mountains were of great height.
823 They were human beings who made the world uninhabitable. Qama'its made war upon the mountains. She vanquished them, and made them smaller than they used to be. During this fight she broke off the nose of the mountain Yalyula'mt., which is situated near Nul!a'l. Its face may be recognized even now; and the Indians say that when its name is called, it answers. There are two mountains near the head-waters of Bella Coola River. The one is called Slex·lêkoai'l.; the other one, Na'axl. The former had a fire, called Snutai'k·nmsta, burning in his house. This fire warned him of the approach of enemies. When Qama'its made war upon the mountains, the fire warned its master. Qama'its was coming down the river in her canoe, which is named "T!kun." When she approached, he broke her canoe, and she returned to heaven. The canoe has been transformed into stone, and may be seen to this day at the foot of the mountain Slex·lêkoai'l. It is said that Qama'its visits the earth every now and then. Her visits cause sickness and death. She is described as a great warrior.

772 In the centre of the lower heaven, which is called Sönx·, stands the
776 house of the gods. This house is named Nusmn'ta (the House of Myths), or Nusk!oalinai'x·sta ("where man was created"), or Nusk·lalsa'mata ("the house from which people come down"), or Nusqilxoai'x·sta ("the house to which people go"). In front of the house stands a post called Nultnê'k·ta. It is painted with representations of all kinds of birds. A

776 the House of Myths, but who has given up his place in favor of SEEX and ALK'UNTA'M. These two might be called the rulers of mankind. In most traditions they are described as trying to destroy man, notwithstanding the fact that they are considered the creators of mankind. This peculiar charac-
773 teristic of these deities is clearly brought out in the traditions recorded on
776 pp. 78 ff. In one legend which I collected in 1890, ALK'UNTA'M's mother, NAUMTOMIK-EEQMNE'M, is described as a Cannibal, who inserts her long snout in the ears of man, and sucks out his brain. Eventually she was transformed into the mosquito.[1] I did not hear her mentioned as one of the deities residing in the House of Myths. According to the same tradition, the salmon were obtained by a man who gambled with ALK'UNTA'M, the stake being the salmon. ALK'UNTA'M lost, and the man took the salmon down
[528] from heaven. Another legend of the origin of the salmon is recorded on p. 38, where it is told how the birds obtained the salmon. According to still another tradition (p. 94), the Raven obtained the salmon by marrying a salmon girl. In the tradition quoted above, ALK'UNTA'M also gives to man the power to cure
[755] disease by means of the water of life, which the shaman sprinkles on the sick person.

A number of inferior deities live in the House of Myths. They might
776 be called the assistants of the principal deities. In order to understand their
[774] functions, it is necessary to state that the deities residing in the House of Myths have particular charge of the religious winter ceremonial of the
[516] Bella Coola which is called KO'SIUT, and which corresponds to the TS'ETSA'EQA
[515] of the Kwakiutl. I have described this ceremonial, and its importance in the social life of the Kwakiutl, in another paper.[2] The KO'SIUT is of equal importance to an understanding of the social life and mythology of the Bella Coola. It is sufficient to say at this place that the ceremonials performed during the KO'SIUT are mostly dramatic representations of myths
[532] referring to the various deities, particularly to those of the House of Myths: therefore masks representing these deities are used in the ceremonials. Plates VII to XII[3] show a series of these masks. Figs. 1, 2, and 4 (Plate VII) are SEEX, ALK'UNTA'M, and SNOLK'ALX-A'LA. The functions of many of the
575 inferior deities seem to refer solely to the KO'SIUT. These deities and their
776 functions are as follows: SIX-SEK-TLAI'X (Plate VII, Fig. 6) ordains the death of man and animals. According to one statement that I received, there are four deities of this name in the House of Myths. It is his particular duty to kill those who transgress the laws of the KO'SIUT. This deity is mentioned by Jacobsen, who calls him SEK-SEIK KALLAI.[4] NUMT'EEQ'ALS (Plate VII, Fig. 7), or the SNEMT'EQ of the House of Myths, sits by himself in one

[113]

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1892, p. 793.
[2] Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, pp. 311-738.
[3] Drawings by Mr. Rudolph Weber.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1892, p. 788.

paint. They taught him the methods of hunting, and, according to some, they made the fish. The Bella Coola say, when carving a design, that Mas- 776
massalá'nix gives them the idea which they are working out.

Sunx has a daughter named Sp'ax-p'ik-nx'm, who invented the art of working cedar-bark. Her figure is also used in the kā'sint ceremonial, in [575]
which the invention of the preparation of cedar-bark is represented. This deity has an assistant called Omatónć'k', who supports the stick over the edge of which she is breaking the bark. When first breaking bark, she shouts, "Alétx sitya'lxau ti Omatónć'k'stix" ("Bring to me Omatónć'k'"). [539]
After he has been given to her, she shouts, "Alétx sitya'lxau ta tqunk'ula" ("Bring me the board on which to break the bark"). After receiving this, she demands the cedar-bark breaker, saying, "Alétx sunkpanlai'ts ti sp'e'k'tats." Finally she asks for cedar-bark, saying, "Alétx k'lolilizmx'laix ti sp'e'k'etstex'." Then she begins to work, singing,—

[539]

"Ełxa ałk'a'oowe'i ła.'ełnał.'i'mata la łna'a
Ełxa sisunć'ła tai Sp'ax-p'ik-nx'm ałxa Sunxałi'ołła."

("Behold me, ye who are not initiated!
I am the Cedar-bark Breaker of Sunxałi'ołła.")

It seems that most of the Bella Coola maintain that the Raven also 776
lives in the House of Myths, but this point of their mythology is somewhat obscure and contradictory. According to the tradition of a number of families, the Raven was one of the beings sent down by Sunx to our world to become the ancestor of man, but at the same time it is told that he invented certain arts. It is stated that he made the first salmon-trap (ałk'a'l), which is used in connection with the salmon-weir.

It is also said that Massanałá'nix attempted to make the whistles for the winter ceremonial, that he was unsuccessful, and that the Raven succeeded in making them; also that the Raven came down to give the world its present shape. He instituted the festivals of the Bella Coola, and then returned to the House of Myths.

Besides all these deities, there are nine brothers and their sister particu- 776
larly concerned with the observations of the kā'sint ceremonial (Plate IX, Figs. 1–9). The names of the brothers are, Xémxémałá'ołła, Xá'mtsiwa, Omq'ómkt'lik'a, Q'ó'mtsiwa, Aimałá'ołła, Al'umki'lik'a, K'ic'lias, Q'ałaxá'wa, A'i'mak'; and of their sister, L'ełxá'aplełłana. These deities are painted with 776
certain designs. Xémxémałá'ołła and Xá'mtsiwa are painted with the de- 532
signs of the full moon (the former carries a staff wound with red and white cedar-bark); Omq'ómkt'lik'a and Q'ó'mtsiwa, with the design of the half-moon; Aimałá'ołła and Al'umki'lik'a, with the design representing the stars; K'ic'lias, with the design of the rainbow; Q'ałaxá'wa, with the de-

776 532 ciga of the salmon-berry blossom; A'Y'mik' has the shape of a kingfisher; and L'tsa'qelc.tsa is painted with the design of a sea-lion bladder filled with grease. She wears rings of red and white cedar-bark. The carving representing the kingfisher has the wings attached to the sides of the head, while the tail rises over the forehead. Xemsemala'o.La is said to carry a small woman in his arms. Her name is Nuspe'sta. When the brothers and their sister threaten to do harm to man, she entreats them to desist. In some traditions these deities are described as the children of Ala'usta'm.[1]

776 773 In one tradition L'tsa'qelc.tsa[2] is described as visiting houses and stealing provisions. She is then pursued by the person whom she has wronged, and returns to the House of Myths. The deities are unable to cure her; but the person who wounded her is called in, and withdraws his arrow, whereupon she recovers.[1] Formerly I had the impression that these ten deities were particularly concerned with the sisau'k' ceremonial,[2] but this [114] [575] impression has not been substantiated by the information I received during the past year. The ten deities appear much rather as deities of the ka'siat.

575 773 776 [772] In the rear of the House of Myths there is a room named L.lo'sta, in which the son of the deities lives. His name is Ba'xxo.La or Sonpaxxo.a'k. When Sonx and Ala'usta'm desire to destroy their visitors, they send them past the door of Ba'xxo.la's room. The latter then rushes out of his room and devours the visitors. He also initiates the Cannibal. According to the tradition of the tribe Sa'xxLemx, they acquired membership in the Cannibal Society in the following manner: Ba'xxo.La came down to the mountain Sqsu., where he met with the son of Sonxalo'L.ela, the first of the tribe. He conducted him up to the House of Myths. He took him into his room, and gave him the name Qualaio'tsimut. He put a snake into his body, which enabled him to pass through the water. When the youth applied his mouth to the body of a person, the snake tore pieces of flesh from the body, and devoured it. Then Ba'xxo.La took the youth to the upper heaven, past the rest in the sky, and to the house of the supreme deity, Qoma'ts. The two approached the house, being blown towards it by the strong gale prevailing in the open country of the upper heaven. They found Qoma'ts sitting in front of her house; and she said to Ba'xxo.La, "Why don't you come in? You wish that your friend should obtain great supernatural power. Bring him to my house, and I will give him what you desire. Stay for a short while where you are, and I will show you what I am doing. Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." After a little while the post closed its eyes. It grew dark at once, and the two visitors fainted, but soon they recovered. When the post opened its eyes again, it grew light. The visitors remained sitting on the ground, and

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 765.
[2] Seventh Report on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, p. 8.

suddenly a strong wind began to blow, which rolled them over the prairie until they reached the door of the house. Then suddenly the wind calmed down. They remained sitting on the ground near the doorway; and Qama'its said, "Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." They were sitting opposite each other, watching the post; and when it closed its eyes, they were transformed into two stones, but they soon regained human shape. Then Qama'its asked them to enter. Now the woman took the youth's blanket, and gave him another one made of bear-skin set with fringes of red cedar-bark. She told him that this blanket was to keep him warm, and that it would direct his course. Next she fetched some water from the salt-water pond behind her house. She sprinkled it over the faces of her visitors, and told the youth to sing about his experiences in the upper heaven when performing the Cannibal dance. If she had not sprinkled the faces of her visitors with water, they would have died. She said to the youth, "Your country is not far away. Do not be afraid of the dangerous road that you have to pass. Later on there shall be many Cannibals like you. Do not be afraid to touch the food that another Cannibal may offer to you. You are strong because you have seen me." Then Qama'its sent him back to the lower sky. Here the gods placed him on the back of a bird (Sq'aaxn), which carried him down to the sea. As soon as the bird reached the water, it uttered its cry, and at the same time the young man uttered the cry of the Cannibal. The people heard it, and said to one another, "That must be the boy whom we lost some time ago." They connected many canoes by means of planks, and paddled out to the place where the bird was swimming about. They covered the canoes with red cedar-bark and eagle-down, and tried to capture the youth; but when they approached, the bird swam towards the village. They surrounded it with their canoes; but the bird flew up, and disappeared in the sky, and at the same time the youth flew towards the village. When the people landed, he attacked them, taking hold of their arms; and the snake, which was still in his body, tore pieces of flesh out of their arms. The people sang and beat time in order to appease him.

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In a second room in the rear of the House of Myths, next to that of the Cannibal, lives Koko'ulaxm, another son of the deities. His room is called Nus'o'lxnx. He initiates the Ots-dancer (see Chap. VI).

776 575

The path of the Sun is guarded by a number of deities. At sunrise is stationed the Bear of Heaven, Snaxi's ti Snax t'aix (Plate X, Fig. 1). He is described as a fierce warrior, who protects the Sun against the attacks of his enemies, and he is the cause of the warlike spirit of man. His hair is tied up in a knot on top of his head. His mask is used in the sinax'a

[772] [821]

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772 their kū'siut. It is just below the burial-place of each village. The dancing-
775 house is very large and long. It has four fires. The women stay on the floor of the house, while the men sit on an elevated platform. The houses have doors, but the ghosts who first reach the lower world enter the house through the smoke-hole. A rope ladder placed in the smoke-hole facilitates their entrance. Two men stand at the foot of the ladder. They are called Anōet.'axoat.ai'x'. For a person who has once entered the dancing-house there is no return to our earth. The souls are at liberty to return to the lower heaven, which they reach by ascending the rope ladder. Those who return to the lower heaven are sent back to our earth by the deities, to be born as children in the same family to which they belonged. Those who enjoy life in the country of the ghosts, and who do not return to heaven, die a second death, and then sink to the second lower world, from which there is no return.

I received another description from an old man. He stated that he reached the country in his canoe. He saw two trails,—one the trail of the living, one that of the dead. He followed the trail of the dead, and reached a village in which there was a dancing-house. The language of the ghosts differed from that of the living (see p. 42).

773 The Bella Coola believe that in the far west is situated the land of the
825 salmon, which is called Mia'lma. The salmon leave this country early in the spring every year, and ascend the rivers. They are believed to return
[828] to their own country in the fall. The following tradition is of importance, explaining the manner in which the salmon were first brought from their country to the rivers of our world:—

Once upon a time a man named Winwī'na lived at Q'ō'mqōtis. One day he was sitting in front of his house, looking at the river. He thought, "I wish fish would ascend this river." At that time not a single salmon visited Bella Coola River. Winwī'na entered his house and lay down, thinking about the salmon. One night while he was asleep he dreamt that with the help of all the animals he had made war upon the salmon, that he had vanquished them, and that since that time the salmon had ascended Bella Coola River. When he awoke he invited all the animals to his house, and told them about his dream. They all came, and when they had entered he shut the door. Then he spoke: "My brothers, I have invited you to my house that you may hear what I wish to do. You shall help me to obtain what I desire." The Mink asked him in what they were to assist him; and he replied, "I want to go to Mia'lma. There is not a single fish in our river, and I dreamt that with your help I vanquished the fish. Let us make war upon them. I shall certainly take some slaves, and we will place them in this river." Mink retorted, "I am glad that you are speaking,

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in regard to this matter. I asked my father the Sun (see Chap. V) to give us salmon, and I think he gave you the dream which you told us."

All the birds agreed, and they resolved to start as soon as possible. Then Winwī'na asked Masmasala'nix to build a canoe. The latter complied with his request, and made a self-moving canoe, to which he gave the names "Winaiōtstuī.s" and "Kunkunu'qōstuī.s." In the third moon after the winter solstice the canoe was completed, and Winwī'na started, accompanied by the clouds, the birds, and by all the animals. The Hermaphrodite was sitting in the stern of the canoe. They went down the fiord; and when they passed the village of Bella Bella, they saw the Cormorant sitting on the beach, who asked to be taken along as a passenger. They travelled westward for a long time, and finally they reached the country of the Salmon. They saw that there were no trees. The country was a vast prairie. A large sun was shining in the sky. Soon they descried the village of the Salmon. They sent out the Raven as a spy. When he returned, he told them that in the evening the Salmon were in the habit of playing on the beach. Mink suggested that this would be the best time for carrying some of them away. Then the Crane (according to another version, the Hawk) said, "I shall carry away the Sockeye Salmon." The Wren said, "I shall carry away the Humpback Salmon." The Kingfisher (according to another version, the Crane) said, "I shall carry away the Dog Salmon." The Raven said, "I shall carry away the Silver Salmon." The Fish-Hawk said, "I shall carry away the Olachen and the Salmon Trout." The Cloud said, "I shall carry away the Spring Salmon." Finally the Cormorant said, "I am only a passenger, and I will take whatever I can get." The Mink remarked, "I will not say what I am going to carry away: I only want to tell you that you must each take one male and one female. Now start. You are invisible to the Salmon. When you approach them, they will not be able to see you, just as we cannot see the ghosts, even when they are walking by our side." They left Winwī'na to guard the canoe. Then all the birds and the Mink took each one male and one female child of the various kinds of fish. When they carried them off, the children fainted, as though their souls had been taken away. Their bodies remained at the place where they had been playing. The Salmon did not see their captors, and did not know why the children were fainting. The birds returned to the canoe, carrying the fish. Then Winwī'na said, "Let us go on and see what is beyond the country of the Salmon." Soon they arrived at a place called Qualc'nia (this name is not quite certain), in which vast numbers of berries were growing. Here the Hermaphrodite went ashore, and picked all kinds of berries, which she carried into the canoe. Then they returned home. For seven months they had staid in the country of the Salmon. They reached the coast shortly after the winter solstice (?). When they passed Bella Bella, the Cormorant

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773 825 said, "This is my home. I will go ashore here." He went, and took along the Salmon which he had captured. Ever since that time there are salmon at Bella Bella. The others travelled on, and came to the mouth of Bella Coola River. Then they threw all the various kinds of fish into the water. The Salmon jumped, and began to ascend the river. Then Winwi'na arose in his canoe and told each at what season he was to arrive. He scattered the berries over the mountains and through the valleys, and told them at what season to ripen. After he had done so, he invited his companions into his house, and gave them a feast.

773 825 192 In this tradition the birds and animals are not called by their ordinary names, but by mythical names. These names are as follows:—

ENGLISH.	ORDINARY NAME.	MYTHICAL NAME.
Spring salmon	ɔmɪ.	t'ôh'ô'lx·timôt
Sockeye salmon	sâmɪ.	nanɪtak·anêɛxɪtɛna'm ("very long")
Humpback salmon	k·ap'al'	anuk'pɛmai'x'.
Dog salmon	tlli	siaia'ltoa ("fair weather.")
Silver salmon	wa'ls	k'ɪpstôstôsa'hlv ("making himself beautiful")
Salmon (sp.?)	——	ô'sip'âq
Cloud	sk·l'ê'noas	tsa'koak· ("long hand")
Hawk (?)	stsix·ta'ɛx	anuk·'h·iqtsaix· ("looking down into water")
Wren	mozat'a'laqa	t.'lk·ma'lstaix· ("jumper")
Crane	xɔq'â'ns	masaxê'lɛn
Raven	qoo'x	t.xoa'xoaqtai'laix· ("rising early")
Cormorant	t.'ô'pana	k'oɔ k'oog·ila
Hermaphrodite	sx·ints	st.a'ya'ô

773 According to the belief of the Bella Coola, Winwi'na's canoe arrives from the country of the Salmon every year. It stays in the country of the Bella Coola for nine months, and then returns to the country of the Salmon. At the moment when it leaves, another canoe, which is named "No'ak·nɛm" or "Nunuk·au'tanɛm," which brings the kô'siut ceremonial, arrives from the country S'anôk'pia'ltua. The canoe reaches a distant point of land before the departure of the canoe of the Salmon. After four days it reaches a nearer point of land. Four days more, and it is seen at the point of land nearest to the mouth of Bella Coola River. Another four days, and it reaches the mouth of the river. The Indians believe that there is a house named Snô'amɪ.ɪxnank· at this place. A post is standing in the water in front of the house. It is called Snutexoalaaxtstɛna'nk·. In the house live three men who are named Naapsɪ.laaxai'x', A'mɪ.tag·ilis, and Tix·ti·k·'a'nɛmem. The canoe is tied up in front of this house. As soon as it arrives, the kô'siut ceremonial begins. At the head-waters of Bella Coola River, forming the watershed between Bute Inlet and Bentinck Arm, is a mountain called

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Smaya'na, that is considered a human being. It is said that his children make the canoe go up Bella Coola River with the rising tide, A'nxumk·ila. The canoe travels the distance from the mouth of the river to the mountain Smaya'na in a single tide. The canoe "Nó'ak·nem" stays for four months. Then the canoe "Kunkunu'qtstuls" returns from the country of the Salmon, while "Nó'ak·nem" leaves again. It is said that all the gods of the House of Myths come to the villages of the Bella Coola in the canoe "Nó'ak·nem." 773 [776]

The arrival and the departure of these canoes are strictly regulated according to the calendar of the Bella Coola, which for this reason should be explained in connection with their beliefs. The Bella Coola divide the year into two parts, which are separated by the winter and summer solstices. The solstices are periods of indefinite length, between which five months are counted. Each solstice is reckoned, therefore, as approximately six weeks. The names of the months are as follows:— 773 805 821

Sex'mt (*winter solstice*)	Sex'mt (*summer solstice*)
Sxólr mx·nem	Si·lxum
A'nxumkmá	Sexexé'mnt
Siaq'u'm	Sinulá'lsemtnem
Sipió'ls·	Tsi sitak'á'ns tsem Anaólikuts'ai'x·
Sinó'moak·	lemulé'm

The canoe "Nó'ak·nem" arrives, and "Kunkunu'qtstuls" leaves, in the month Sinulá'lsemtnem. The canoe "Nó'ak·nem" leaves, and "Kunkunu'qtstuls" returns, in the month Sxólr'mx·nem.

At the moment when the canoe "Nó'ak·nem" arrives, a deity called Anaólikuts'ai'x· (Plate XII, Figs. 1 and 2), who is believed to live in a cave, opens the door of her abode. There is one deity of this name to each village. Her cave is called Nuskésin'tsta. It is said that one Anaólikuts'ai'x· lives on the mountain Sqtsi. Her house is described as a large hollow bowlder suspended from the top of the mountain by means of a rope. Each Anaólikuts'ai'x· has an older sister who is called Nutsé'xenem. When the canoe "Nó'ak·nem" appears, and she opens her door, she steps outside and stands in front of her house, dancing, with trembling hands. When a person sees her, he faints. His soul is taken into her house, and is initiated into the secrets of the ka'siut. 773 776 [575]

A particular Nuskésin'tsta is believed to be at the foot of the creek Anó'nk·, on the northern side of North Bentinck Arm, near the mouth of Bella Coola River. A woman called Nustsxoaxlo'stxut. lives there. She is described as emaciated, of black skin, and as wearing a black blanket. A certain chief who lived long ago was the first to see her. He was initiated by her, and after his return he performed a dance, and told what he had seen. Then he died.

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They had hit a stone, and their points were broken. He staid there some time, and when it was nearly dark he returned home. Before he reached his house, he cut his own belly and took out some of the fat from his intestines. He cut it in five pieces, and replaced his intestines. He put the fat into his quiver. When he reached his house, he hung the quiver up outside, and entered. He imitated everything the Lynx had done. When it grew dark, he told his wife to fetch his quiver. She brought it, and he told her to open it and to feed his children. She took the fat out, placed it on a stick, and put it near the fire; and as soon as it grew warm, the Raven cried, "Tttt! Don't put it so near the fire. I feel sick when you do so." He jumped up, took hold of the fat, and put it back in his belly. The Lynx said, "Formerly I fed your children, but you were the first not to treat me properly. You did not give any food to my children." Then the Lynx took some fat, and flung one piece to each of the Raven's children. He cut some meat and gave it to them also. Then the Raven said, "I will give you one of my children, that it may grow up in company with yours." 539 776

It is said that the former spirit Toa'lal'it was killed at one time by an Indian who took his place. This tale is recorded in Chap. IV. It belongs to the tribe of the village Nuxe'q!. A similar tradition is told of Astas,[1] by which name the Carriers call the Raven, their principal culture hero. Many traditions referring to Astas are common to the Carriers, the Bella Coola, and the Awi'k'enox of Rivers Inlet. 773 776 [171]

The Bella Coola believe that a being called K"tsos is the father of all mountain-goats. When a hunter meets him, he thinks he sees a kid. Then he should close his eyes and open them again. If the animal is K"tsos, it will appear in its real shape as a buck of enormous size. The hunter should then ascend the mountain. If he should descend, he would fall and die. 776 825

The thunder-storm is produced by the Thunder-bird, who lives on the mountains, in the company of a number of spirits, who are considered his particular friends. The Thunder-bird himself is represented by a black mask with red nostrils. The nose is strongly curved, the forehead bulges forward, and the chin protrudes almost as far forward as the nose (Plate XI, Fig. 1). His herald is called ALxula'tEnum (Plate XI, Fig. 2). His face is painted with orange and blue stripes, and he carries a speaker's staff, which is painted with spirals of the same color. He watches the door of the Thunder-bird's house. In his house live the Rabbit (Plate XI, Fig. 3); the Owl, who is considered the rival of the Thunder-bird (Plate XI, Fig. 4); the Mountain, LE'qats (Plate XI, Fig. 5); the Raindrop (Plate XI, Fig. 6). 776 [821] [532] [575]

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 390.

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776 The Thunder-bird and his companions appear in the kn'siut ceremonial.
575 When they enter the house, a dancer appears who carries an instrument in
the shape of a bird-rattle (Plate XI, Fig. 7), which is provided with holes
[534] in its lower side, and has a loose back. This implement is filled with
cedar-bark and eagle-down, and is shaken by the dancer. The eagle-down
is thus made to fly about in the house, symbolizing the wealth and power
of the Thunder-bird.

IV.

184 In the preceding pages I have summarized the principal features of
773 Bella Coola mythology, which are characteristic of the traditions of the
whole tribe. Besides these, there are other groups of traditions which are
very conflicting. One reason for the existence of numerous contradictory
traditions must be looked for in the peculiar social organization of the Bella
Coola. In former times, when the tribe was populous, the Bella Coola
inhabited a great many villages. The inhabitants of each village are considered the descendants of a number of mythical ancestors who were sent down by SEMX. Each of these village communities has traditions of its own, which are its property, and which are not well known to the rest of the tribe. Many of these traditions refer to the origin of our world, and for this reason a number of the most important myths differ in various villages. Indications of such conflicting ideas may be found in the traditions recorded in the preceding pages. To make this subject clear, it is necessary to describe somewhat fully the traditions belonging to a number of village communities. Before recording these traditions I shall enumerate the villages of the tribe.
103 The following list is the result of repeated inquiries. In it the names and
361 locations of the villages are given in consecutive order from the mouth of
Bentinck Arm upward along Bella Coola River, and the names of the
773 mythical ancestors of the village communities have been added where these
have been ascertained.

VILLAGE.	LOCATION.	ANCESTORS.
1. Q'oa'LAA	At the bay of this name.	
2. Sx'LIA	At the entrance of South Bentinck Arm.	Tôtoô'nx.
3. Nusxê'q!	On North Bentinck Arm.	Sxmsiutâ'k'as, Nusqoa'-xlanê, Sx'ints, and their sister E'nL'alana.
4. Pu'lxzla	At the entrance of the valley opening on the north side of the mouth of Bella Coola River.	Sxâ'homx, Yuyô'lk", Mxntai't, Sisiô'L.
5. ALqla'xL	The present division at the north side of Bella Coola River, near its mouth.	Isyô'yôL, Xêmxê'mix-nxm, Souxnala'ls, and their sister Lugal'tsta.

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Village.	Location.	Ancestors.
6. Ōmax mik'ē'tp	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 5.	
7. Tx'e'ix tskunē	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 6.	
8. Selkn'ta	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 7.	
9. Sa'qta	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 8.	
10. Stsk'ē'it.	South side, near mouth of Bella Coola River.	Q'ē'ē'l.
11. Q'ō'mqōtls	South side, near mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 10.	Xe'mlaix, O'mq'ōmkilik a, and their sister Sxemā'na.
	(Nos. 4-11 jointly are called Nuxa'lk'!.)	
12. Sēnxi.	About one mile above Nuxa'lk'!.	Yuyō'lkumai, Anuxe'mlaix, Sōnxōb'ōtla, and their sister Nuskī'mnat.
13. Tsomō'ōt.	On Bella Coola River, above No. 12.	Nō'akila, Tsxēmimmakai'x, and their sister Soutk'ana'ls.
14. Sōū't'xle	On Bella Coola River, above No. 13.	Lūk lai's'.
15. Nūk'ī'ts	On Bella Coola River, above No. 14.	Lxumōme'ōn.
16. Nusā'tsxm	At junction of Nusā'tsxm and Bella Coola Rivers.	Qxōxuk ma'nē.
17. Asx'nanē	On Bella Coola River, above No. 15.	E'mask in or Atq'ēexa'.
18. Nuqā'axmats	On Bella Coola River, above No. 17.	Anutapak ōmalai'x, Iōyā'yot, one more man, and their sister.
19. Tsxōaxqā'nē	On Bella Coola River, above No. 18.	
20. Nōsq!x'lōt	On Bella Coola River, at foot of Mount Nōsq!x'lst, above No. 19.	Totō'sk'ma.
21. Nullē'ix	On Bella Coola River, above No. 20.	Sxumxomlai'x, Sō'nxmai, Sinoxī'at, and their sister Qanāatsla'qs.
22. Stū'ix'	28 miles above mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 21.	Atlix'inōt sis li Sōnx Uaix', Sexē'm, Xe'mtsion Anuxe'm, Kēsmi'n, Nutscqō'ax, and their sister Kēmiowa'ma.
23. Sōū't'xlat.	On Bella Coola River, above No. 22.	
24. Slā'axt.	On Bella Coola River, above No. 23.	
25. Q'nā'qx	At head of South Bentinck Arm.	
26. Nā'ik.	" " " "	
27. Asē'ix	" " " "	
	(Nos. 25-27. jointly are called Tā'lio.)	
28. Sōāsi.	At mouth of Salmon River, Dean Inlet.	
29. Sāteq	Dean Inlet.	

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361 773 It is very remarkable, that, besides the ancestors of the villages enumerated here, the Bella Coola state that the Sun created a number of men whom he sent down to a mountain on Skeena River, and that they became the ancestors of a part of the Tsimshian. Another group of men was sent down to Bute Inlet, and later on migrated to Bella Coola River. The names of these villages and men are as follows: —

[103]

Village.	Ancestors.
Nusqa'pts (Skeena River)	Teqo'mnôt, A'usê, Sxô'ya, and their sister K'imlqd'n.
Na'as (Bute Inlet)	Nanatskuit, Anoxêma'axôts, Spâ'napatthaix, O'mezik'as.

The full traditions referring to them will be found at the end of this chapter. Each of these ancestors, when sent down to our world, received a salmon-weir, which was placed across the river at the locality where they built their village. I shall now relate a number of traditions of the various villages.

Tradition of Se'lia.

600 In the beginning our world was dark. At that time Tôtosô'nx descended from heaven, and reached our world on a mountain near the river Wa'kitemqi (Fraser River). Here he built a house, in which he lived in the company of the Raven. The latter had a black canoe which was called "Raven." The two resolved to travel in order to find people. They descended the river until they came to the sea. After some time they reached a house which was covered inside and outside with abelone shells. The totem-post of the house was also covered with shells. It shone like the sun. They saw a canoe on the beach, and this too was completely covered with abelone shells. A chief, whose name was Pqlxanê'mx· ("abelone man"), invited them to enter his house. As soon as Tôtosô'nx reached this place, the sun rose. If he had not found the place of the abelone chief, there would be no sun. Tôtosô'nx did not wish to stay. He looked at the house, and saw something turning about on top of it. When they came nearer, he saw that it was a Mink, which was running about on the roof. Many people were inside the house. When Tôtosô'nx approached and saw the beautiful canoe, he wished to have it. He offered the chief their canoe in exchange. This offer was accepted, and Tôtosô'nx travelled on with the abelone canoe. The Raven staid with the abelone chief. Tôtosô'nx continued his travels, following the course of the sun. First he travelled southward, and came to the post which stands in the west of our world. From here he travelled on, and reached the copper country, which is situated

[pp. 51-113 not processed]

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follow either father or mother, but that it had not the right to use the property of both parents. It seems to my mind that the former method was more likely to develop under the existing social conditions, and that to this reason we must ascribe the development of an endogamic system among the Bella Coola. The occurrence of endogamic marriage among this tribe is quite isolated on the Pacific coast. All the other tribes have exogamic institutions, and by this means preserve their property rights. It is interesting to note that the southern Kwakiutl, who originally seem to have been organized in village communities, have adopted exogamic institutions; but there is a notable difference, in the organization of the village community, between the Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl. Among the Bella Coola we generally find four ancestors to each village,—usually three men and one woman. It is true that these are generally called brothers and sister, but they were created independently by SEnx, and are therefore not necessarily considered as blood relations. Among the Kwakiutl the village community are considered the descendants of one single being; consequently, among the latter tribe they are all relatives, who are forbidden to intermarry; while among the Bella Coola they are not relatives, and may intermarry.

My inference is, therefore, that the curious social system of the Bella Coola developed through the influence of the customs of the Coast tribes upon the loose social unit of the Salish village community. The possession of clan traditions was felt as a great advantage, and consequently the desire developed to possess clan traditions. These were acquired partly by intermarriage with the Coast tribes, as is shown by the fact that many of these traditions are borrowed from these tribes, partly by independent invention. The desire to guard the traditions which were once acquired led to the development of endogamic institutions, in order to prevent the spread of the traditions over the whole tribe.

The jealousy with which the traditions are guarded has had the effect of making each family try to prevent other families from knowing its own clan tradition. For this reason the clan traditions of the whole tribe are remarkably inconsistent. We find, for instance, that the well-known raven legend of the northern Coast tribes has been utilized by many families as a family tradition. But while one family uses one part of the tradition, other families use other parts of the same tradition. Thus it happens that among the Bella Coola we find the most contradictory myths in regard to important events in the world's history. Some families maintain that the Raven liberated the sun, while, according to another one, the Mink was essential in bringing about the present state of affairs. Still others say that Tsonoʼnx, during his travels, caused the sun to appear. The discrepancies in the traditions referring to the visit of the Mink and Wasp to their father, the Sun, are also very remarkable. Although a considerable amount of

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174 contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast,
424 they nowhere reach such a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I presume
614 the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts for this curious condition.

171 The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to SEnx or Ta'ata bear a
782 remarkable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Laxha, the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face it will be clear weather, and man will be happy; consequently the prayer to
[821] the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from
177 the Coast tribes is the kn'siut ceremonial, with which are connected the various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism.
575 The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the
773 Kwakiutl are practically identical. I told above (p. 34) the legend explaining the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another
796 tradition is told to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsl'waē, who lives in the forest, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by three distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the
174 development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious incon-
773 sistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the word and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not co-ordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 660 ff.

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Our analysis shows that this system cannot be considered as an importation, but that it probably developed among the Bella Coola themselves. After they removed to their new home, a mass of foreign ideas had come into their possession through contact with their new neighbors. While these new ideas were being remodelled and assimilated, they stimulated the minds of the people, or of a few members of the tribe, who were thus led to the formation of an elaborate concept of the world. The concept which they have developed agrees in all its main features with those created by men of other zones and of other races. The mind of the Bella Coola philosopher, operating with the class of knowledge common to the earlier strata of culture, has reached conclusions similar to those that have been formed by man the world over, when operating with the same class of knowledge. On the other hand, the Bella Coola has also adopted ready-made the thoughts of his neighbors, and has adapted them to his environment. These two results of our inquiry emphasize the close relation between the comparative and the historic methods of ethnology, which are so often held to be antagonistic. Each is a check upon rash conclusions that might be attained by the application of one alone. It is just as uncritical to see, in an analogy of a single trait of culture that occurs in two distinct regions, undoubted proof of early historical connection as to reject the possibility of such connection, because sometimes the same ideas develop independently in the human mind. Ethnology is rapidly outgrowing the tendency to accept imperfect evidence as proof of historical connection; but the comparative ethnologist is hardly beginning to see that he has no right to scoff at the historical method. Our inquiry shows that safe conclusions can be derived only by a careful analysis of the whole culture. The growth of the myths of the Bella Coola can be understood only when we consider the culture of the tribe as a whole. And so it is with other phenomena. All traits of culture can be fully understood only in connection with the whole culture of a tribe. When we confine ourselves to comparing isolated traits of culture, we open the door to misinterpretations without number.

If, then, the demand is made for a more critical method in the comparative study of ethnology than it has generally been accorded, it does not imply a deprecation of the results of the method. When the human mind evolves an idea, or when it borrows the same idea, we may assume that it has been evolved or accepted because it conforms with the organization of the human mind; else it would not be evolved or accepted. The wider the distribution of an idea, original or borrowed, the closer must be its conformity with the laws governing the activities of the human mind. Historical analysis will furnish the data referring to the growth of ideas among different people; and comparisons of the processes of their growth will give us knowledge of the laws which govern the evolution and selection of ideas.

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One of them must wash his body, one must wash his head, and the two others hold him. In return they receive one or two blankets each. During this ceremony the quqq'ē'lEñ, who are described as wild men, dance around the novice. They have ropes tied around their waists, and are held by other members of the society by these ropes. Then the xEnxanī'tEl lead the novice into the woods, where he remains for a long time, until he meets the spirit that initiates him. It seems that during this time he is secretly led to the house in which the xEnxanī'tEl continue to celebrate festivals at the expense of the novice's father, and there he is taught the secrets of the society. During this time, until the return of the novice from the woods, the house is tabooed. A watchman is stationed at the entrance, who keeps out uninitiated persons. During the absence of the novice, his mother prepares cedar bark ornaments and weaves mountain goat blankets for his use. One afternoon he returns, and then his father gives a feast to let the people know that his child has returned. The latter performs his first dance, in which he uses masks and cedar bark ornaments. This dance is called nuxnEē'mEñ. On this day the father must distribute a great number of blankets among the xEnxanī'tEl. The initiated are permitted to take part in the feast, and sit on one side of the house. The new member spends all his nights in the woods, where he bathes. In the spring the new member, if a man, is thrown into the sea, and after that is free from all regulations attending the initiation. One of the principal regulations regarding novices of the xEnxanī'tEl is that they must return from the woods in the direction in which the sun is moving, starting so that the sun is at their backs. Therefore they must sometimes go in roundabout ways. They must go backward through doors, which are sLā'lEqam (supernatural) against them. Frequently the siō'ua (a female shaman) is called to bespeak the door in their behalf before they pass through it. Before their dance the siō'ua must also address the earth, as it is supposed that else it might open and swallow up the dancer. It is also sLā'lEqam against the novice. The expression used is that the earth would "open its eyes" (k'u'nalaaEn); that means, swallow the novice. In order to avert this danger, the siō'ua must "give a name to the earth," and strew red paint and feathers over the place where the novice is to dance.

THE BI'LXULA.

The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Bi'lxula are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the sisau'k·, and the kū'siut. The sisau'k· corresponds to the Laō'laxa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the kū'siut to the ta'ē'ta'aōqa. The Bi'lxula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Xē'mtaioa, to whose care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful house in the far east, and cries "ō, ō,"

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every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the kū'siut these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks. Xē'mtsioa and Xēmxēmalâ'oLa wear the design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xē'mtsioa by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xēmxēmalâ'oLa has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin. Aiumkī'lik·a and Aiumalâ'oLa wear the design of the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second masks. The fifth Q'ōmq'ōmkī'lik·a and Q'ō'mtsioa have designs representing stars, both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is Qula'xawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kulē'lias (who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue. The ninth, Aē'amâ'k, wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called L'ōtsā'aplēLāna (the eater), the sister of the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

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The sisau'k·, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had gone out hunting met the sisau'k· and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to enter. Then he danced the sisau'k· and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bī'lxula dance the sisau'k·. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the sisau'k· only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, can not become sisau'k·. A person can not take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'ēlu'sta, the Indian, to whom I

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424 owe my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the
532 gens Ialô'stimôt of the Taliô'mx·, stated that he had received the raven
614 when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received
[115] the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his
[556] next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new
424 secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a kû'siut
551 name, which remains through life, and a Xô'mtsioa name, which is
556 changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'ɛlu'sta's (which is his kû'siut
575 name) Xô'mtsioa name was AL'ILEMNE'lus'aix·, but at his next pot-
614 latch he intended to take the name of Kaliâ'kis. These names are also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names. When a man possesses several sisan'k· secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisan'k· secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisan'k· secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more.
[426] The crest and the sisau'k· carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular clan.

426 The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl.
556 The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going to pay the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

575 The kû'siut is presided over by a female spirit, called Anañlikuta'-
● 773 al'x·. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from
776 February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to
535 have been the first to find her. Anañlikuta'al'x· invited her into her cave and taught her the secrets of the kû'siut. She wore ornaments of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

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woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the kū'siut. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the kū'siut." 575 773 776 535

Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the kū'siut. When a man has seen Anaūlikuts'ai'x· sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a kū'siut. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each kū'siut lasts three days. 575 776 535

The various dances performed by members of the kū'siut are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisau'k· dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the kū'siut is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kū'siut name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of L'akō'oL. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the sisau'k·, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kū'siut have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the ELaxō'LA (the hā'mata'a of the Kwakiutl), the ō'lEx (the nū'LmaL of the Kwakiutl), and the dā'tia (the nō'ntsistalaL of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kū'siut novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation. 535 575 [426] [551] [428] [556] [171] [554]

When the ELaxō'LA is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the ELaxō'LA. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the ELaxō'LA order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears 575 785 787 [266]

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easy for *Sxaiaxwax* to gain control over them, and the sleeper wakes to find that he has been bleeding profusely and death is inevitable. This occurred to a man whose experiences are described in vol. I, chap. IX. 776* [761]

Although *Sxaiaxwax* is usually a curse to mortals, he can also do good. Occasionally he makes a man a shaman, and in many cases he helps a woman in childbirth. Such beneficent acts are not sufficient to counterbalance his evil deeds, and he remains one of the most dreaded of Bella Coola supernatural beings, a monster whose machinations make camping in a strange place a dangerous undertaking, and who is as likely to strike down rich or poor, young or old. [756] [844] [484]

Less feared than *Sxaiaxwax*, because he appears less frequently, is *Allät·iaitl*. The Bella Coola speak of this being with trepidation, but little definite information could be obtained concerning him. He has human form and sometimes comes at dusk to cause death by carrying away a man's spirit.[11] The home of this creature appears to be beneath the earth rather than in *Nusmät·a*. [761] [774]

A third dreaded being who, like the two preceding, usually lives on this earth and only visits in *Nusmät·a*, is *Sä·lma*, "The Death Dealer." He, too, appears in human form and can be distinguished by the nose-ring which he always wears. Sudden death in the forest is always attributed to "The Death Dealer." If a man is engulfed by a slide, or killed by a falling tree, it is because this malevolent being has entered the slide or tree. Some Bella Coola say that he is responsible for animals who kill hunters. He rarely carries out his designs with the aid of sickness, nor is death by drowning often attributed to him, but for all other fatal disasters he must take the blame. While a corpse is resting in a coffin awaiting burial, *Sä·lma* invariably sits on the cover, though none can see him. Instances are known in which even this monster has acted in a kindly manner. 776* 761

The supernatural beings thus far described are usually 776*

[11] See vol. I, pp. 96-7.

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and leapt away apparently uninjured. The Bella Coola say that yearling goats have very strong spirits (I, p. 94) which make possible such actions.

Though generally callous with regard to the sufferings of animals, the Bella Coola are usually careful not to kill more than they need; and knowledge of the supernatural power possessed by animals sometimes leads men to treat them with great consideration. For example, if a bull-head is caught in an olachen net in the river, the fisherman throws it back into the water, saying:

"I have saved you; please do the same for me."

The following incident, believed without question by the Bella Coola, shows the manner in which bull-heads help those who have often befriended them. About 1880 a Kimsquit fisherman, *Ăltakān·i*, fell into a rapids where he was in great danger of drowning. A bull-head, seeing his plight and mindful of former help, increased his size and shoved *Ăltakān·i* ashore with its nose.

"I have saved you, mortal," said the bull-head, as he did so.

The ability to increase in size is not restricted to fish, but is shared by small mammals and reptiles. Lizards, for instance, four feet in length, are said to live permanently in a pond about seven miles below Kimsquit; they are termed *qwalās*.

Toads, too, can aid mortals. If a man see a snake devouring one of them he will, if he is wise, kill the snake and say to the toad:

"Please help me when I am in difficulties."

A toad never forgets its obligations and if that man should fall into a river when the toad is near, the latter will grow large enough to drag him forth.

Snakes are regarded with aversion and disgust. This may be in part due to the belief that they cook for *Ăltăt·iaiał* (I, p. 49), but more because these reptiles enter the stomachs of human beings. The Bella Coola believe that snakes are the offspring of a supernatural Mother of Snakes, a mythical being of dread powers. The following story illustrates their beliefs

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concerning the danger of near approach to this creature: 539

Ḱwilais was a man of mixed lineage, Kimsquit and *Pes*, near Newitte. With several companions he was gathering berries when he stepped into a hole and felt numerous tiny creatures crawling over his legs. Looking down, he saw that they were small snakes, that had just been hatched from a Mother of Snakes. He fled, terrified, pursued by the reptiles, which he managed to keep off to some extent by brushing behind him a branch of spiny swamp gooseberry, a known deterrent. When he had out-distanced the snakes he called his companions, told them of his adventure, and returned home. There he repeated the tale. Though *Ḱwilais* did not know it, many of the snakes had succeeded in entering his stomach. Presently he began to swell; his body became larger and larger until he was in danger of bursting. The reptiles within were breeding rapidly. Luckily, one of his fellow villagers knew the proper remedy. A raised bed was made for the sufferer about five feet from the ground where *Ḱwilais* stretched himself on a number of thorny branches, while his friends built a fire of devil's club and swamp gooseberry twigs so that he was fumigated in the smoke. Then, to give greater potency, they cast on the flames soiled clothing and pounded cedar-bark pads stained with menstrual blood; even this was of no avail, so finally a woman squeezed out into a vessel some of her menstrual blood which *Ḱwilais* drank. This killed the snakes. The patient began to vomit, emitting a mass of wriggling serpents, and at once began to grow thinner, soon regaining his normal condition. Had he not been able to eject the reptiles, he would have died. 776 * 825 755 [789] [753] [841]

Ḱwilais was not the only one to have this unpleasant experience. Many others have suffered in the same way, but in no case has anyone been able to feel the snakes at the actual place or time of entry.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the power possessed by animals are clearly shown by their attitude with regard to killing them. Man is immortal, so are animals. *Ałqantłm* decreed that beasts and birds should serve as food for mankind, but it is only their clothing, their worthless "blanket of flesh," as the Bella Coola express it, which they give to hunters. In the autumn leaves appear to die, but every spring they are reborn. Similarly, when an animal is slain, it merely discards its visible self while its spirit[a] ascends 825 775 224 [774]

[a] *Kamstamx*, see vol. I, p. 94.

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[775] to the land above whence, in course of time, it comes down to
[774] earth again to reanimate a new body.* Consequently, the
success of a hunter does not indicate his mastery over an
[785] animal so much as the latter's good-will in allowing itself to
be slain by one who has pleased him by ceremonial chastity
(I, p. 110), or by one who has been endowed with skill by
some other supernatural being. Men are accordingly careful
to obey the wishes of their quarry. Long ago, a mountain
goat told a shaman that he and his friends liked soot, so a
hunter who has killed one always smears two bands of ashes
across its face from the right eye to the left side of the
mouth. Another shaman was told by a bear never to use
[411] owl-feathered arrows since none of his fellows killed with such
would return. Plumes of other birds have since been used,
preferably those of mallard ducks. Sometimes the wishes of
an animal require considerable ritual. For example, when a
bear is killed, the carcass is stretched upon neatly arranged
evergreen boughs and skinned. The hunter reverses the pelt
so that the tail lies near the neck, with the whole hanging loosely
over the body. He pats it four times, as if pressing the skin
back into place, and says:

[789] "Please don't linger. Go home and return," or,

"Please come to me tomorrow. Tell your brothers, your sisters, your uncles, your aunts and your other relations to come to me."

Should this be omitted, the animal is likely to stand up, skinless, shake itself, causing the pelt to return to its place, and run away. Yearling mountain goats are especially prone to do this, as already mentioned. Even if an animal does not show its resentment by escaping in this way, it often refuses to return to earth unless the proper rites have been performed over its carcass.

[262] Bears have another aversion: they do not like to be eaten
by men. So the hunter leaves the skinned body for wolves

[185] *There are doubters in Bella Coola as in every other community, and several of the older men express disbelief in the immortality of animals.

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Raven, blinded by his grief, did not believe him, and responded angrily: 539 796*

"No, youare not my son. Why do you lie to me? Get out of this house." 761

Disgusted at this reception, *O-mistimai* obeyed. Just as he was passing through the doorway, Raven noticed the tattoo marks on his legs, and realized that, in spite of the change in his appearance, the visitor was really his son. He called on him to return, but *O-mistimai* paid no attention to his father's entreaties and sped far away. Raven's grief was beyond expression, but he could do nothing to repair the damage he had done. If it had not been for Raven's mistake, all mortals would return to life four days after death. [304]

The above myth is widely known among the Bella Coola, and is supposed to be historically accurate. At the same time, few people allow it to influence their thoughts with regard to death or its causes. It is a fact, but one that belongs to the realm of ancient history rather than to everyday experience. When a Bella Coola dies, his relatives, though they know that his death is due to the folly of Raven, tacitly overlook this, and do not feel bitterly towards Raven. Bella Coola beliefs and theology are not systematized, hence it is quite possible for a person to realize a certain fact, such as the cause of death, and yet disregard it entirely. Considering that absolute contradictions can be believed simultaneously, it is not difficult to picture the mental attitude of people who believe, and at the same time disregard their belief. 771 761 796*

One of Raven's spectacular, and at the same time, beneficial exploits was the bringing of sockeye salmon to the Bella Coola River." 539 825

In the beginning of time, no sockeye salmon inhabited the rivers, and Raven determined to supply them. First he tried making wooden fish and throwing them into the water, but though he could animate them, they always died after jumping a few times. The reason for his failure, though he did not know it, was because he had omitted the small bone [774]

"This is an example of conflicting beliefs. In addition to assuming that salmon were sent down by *Alquantam* to furnish food for mankind, and that Raven supplied them in the beginning of time, the Bella Coola also believe that they are brought each year back by *Nuhlymoo* and *Wiwaiwa*. [771]

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at the back of the neck; this is called *sulkhlnie* by the Bella Coola and it is thought to be especially important since the spirit (I, p. 94) is located there. Somewhat discouraged by his lack of success, Raven sat holding his head in his hands, pondering. Finally, he decided that he would have to visit *Mlkhlwa*, the land of the salmon far beyond the western ocean.

His self-propelling canoe, *Tahahl*, was soon made ready and Raven invited Mouse, a young woman, to accompany him. The two travelled without incident till they came to the flat land where the salmon had their homes. On the beach were myriads of canoes, each in reality the skin of a sockeye salmon. Raven had instructed Mouse to remain in his canoe, so when the sockeye salmon chief invited the two to his house only Raven accepted, though Mouse was urged most courteously to accompany him. Raven was conducted to the house, where his host threw his own daughter into the river. She changed into a sockeye salmon and swam to the beach; some of her father's servants cut her up and brought her to the house where she was cooked. The meal was set before the guest whom the chief instructed not to eat any of the bones. As he ate, Raven examined the salmon very carefully to see what had been lacking in his model, and soon discovered it to be the thin bone, shaped like a maple leaf, at the back of the neck. Seizing an opportunity when no one was looking, Raven secreted this bone against the palate of his mouth. When the meal was over and the guest had tied what was left of the food into a mat, someone collected all the bones and threw them into the river. Forthwith they became a sockeye salmon, which swam towards the shore. But after an instant, the fish began to behave peculiarly, swimming around madly in circles, and jumping in an aimless manner. Everyone agreed that a bone must have been lost, and they searched the house for it without success. They also examined Raven. Finally, one man thought of investigating the guest's mouth where they found the missing bone.

"Oh," said Raven, lying: "I did not know it was there."

As soon as the bone was thrown into the river the sockeye salmon became normal and swam quietly to the beach where it changed into the chief's daughter once more.

When the time came to leave, Raven asked the chief to tell his daughter to take his bundle of food to his canoe for him. Meanwhile Mouse had carried out Raven's instructions, which were to gnaw a hole in each of the sockeye salmon canoes. Raven entered *Tahahl* before taking the parcel from the girl, and as he stepped in, the canoe was forced a little distance from the land so that she waded into the water to hand it to him. As she did so, he backed his canoe further out until

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his left cheek until the blood flows, takes also a mouthful of his own urine, and spits out the mixture. 776 823

The following instance of this belief was recorded. [789]

A Bella Coola chief and a number of followers were once at Kwatna where they had been gambling for stakes of mountain goat grease. Two of the men had lost their supply, so they went into the mountains between Kwatna and Restoration Bay to replenish it. They saw two goats, killed them, and at once two more appeared in the same place; these they also slew. When a fifth and sixth goat appeared and were likewise dispatched, one of the hunters tried to restrain his comrade, saying that such phenomenal success must be due to supernatural power which they should not abuse. They stopped firing, cut the grease from their quarry, and started on the return journey. Presently the mountain began to tilt upwards before their feet. They had no ropes, and almost in despair concealed themselves in a small rock shelter. Their dogs too felt the movement and barked in terror. Fortunately, the mountain did not rise more than a few feet and soon subsided, so that the men escaped. [525]

The attitude of the Bella Coola to supernatural powers of all kinds may be termed a doctrine of Opportunism. Supernatural beings abound and constantly play a part in the affairs of mortals. An alert and bold man can take advantage of these opportunities and obtain assistance, but he who hesitates is indeed lost. Certain types of assistance are most commonly granted to orphans and other unfortunates; accounts of these belong to the realm of mythology and will be described in a later chapter. On the whole the supernatural ones do not show discrimination in conferring boons, and the man who is quick to take advantage of them is the one to whom success comes. 776 [736]

Supernatural Elements in Human Beings

The Bella Coola believe that in the human body itself there are certain supernatural elements. Neither sticks nor stones can move, because they lack these attributes possessed by men and animals. Considering the firm belief of the Bella Coola in the omnipresence of the supernatural, it is not surprising that they should ascribe the phenomena of health and sickness, 774

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774 of thought, of success and failure and of life itself, to powers of another sphere. Their ideas are not clearly crystallized on this subject, but in the following section an attempt has been made to give a fair picture, gleaned from many informants, of the supernatural parts of the human body.

THE SPIRIT

The most important part of the human body is the *xixmänoäs*, spirit. This is small, but of great power, since it belongs to the world of the supernatural; in fact, the spirit of a man is not mortal, but *siut*. Everyone, man or woman, rich or poor, chief or slave, has one; without it, life would be impossible. When a child is born, his parents supply him with food and care, and *Älquntäm* provides the even more necessary invisible elements, including the spirit. It resides in the back of the neck and resembles a thin bone shaped like a maple-leaf. Salmon have similar ones, but with them the bone is visible, [756] whereas only shamans can see it in human beings. The spirit in a new-born infant is weak and powerless, but it increases in strength with the body. If a man prospers in his ventures and has success in life, it is due, not to his own efforts, but to the activity of his spirit. When a man acquires wealth with little [556] labour, he knows that his spirit has been constantly trembling at the back of his neck; when he is unfortunate, that it has [787] become inert or sluggish. It is the cause of dreams, which are desired as means of foretelling the future. Some Bella Coola believe that in sleep it leaves the body and travels, unrestrained by any barrier, to the scene of the dreams; others, that it causes the images to appear. During waking hours the spirit [828] formulates every thought, no matter how trifling. When a man remembers that he left his fire with insufficient fuel and hurries home to rectify the omission, it is this element which has brought the need to his mind; when he thinks of a distant place, his spirit is responsible for the thought and some men even believe that it has travelled there. Sometimes an active one can give warning, as in the following instance. A few

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years ago a chief, when hunting, sat down to rest. While he 774
sat a slide plunged down the mountain-side and swept away the ground where he would have been if he had not stopped. The Bella Coola know that such a fortunate escape is no accident, as foolish white men believe, but is the result of an active spirit. Sometimes it can convey only symbolic hints of what is to happen. An old Kimsquit man told how his lower eyelids once became sore and his stomach began to heave. This [827] occurs with sobbing, so he knew that ill-fortune was before [787] him and was not surprised at the death of his son. A thoughtful person pays great attention to indications such as these, knowing that his spirit is always striving to pierce the future and obtain information for him, however indefinite. The importance of the supernatural to the Bella Coola can be judged from the fact that they attribute every action and thought to an element of this nature.

Mentality, *sulk*, though caused by the spirit, is somewhat 774
vaguely regarded as a separate entity. It comprises two parts, 828
one constantly urging to good deeds, particularly to activity in ritual matters, the other to evil. No one knows the appearance, if any, of human mentality. Some of the thoughtful older men hazard the opinion that every tree has mentality, whereas others say that it has a spirit. In former times especially, as one was falling, the cutters could occasionally see a dark object somewhat resembling an otter flash away and disappear. Not until then was the tree actually dead. Even the old people do not profess to know anything definite about mentality, which is important only as an attribute of the spirit. In indefinite 774
association with it, too, is breath, *sininits*, provided by *Ałquntäm* [761] for everyone at birth. The word signifies more than [827] the material act of breathing, it denotes the actual physical state of being alive, a condition "lent" by *Ałquntäm* to mortals. The connection of these two elements with the spirit is unequivocal, though their exact relationship is indefinite.

If the spirit moves far from its proper position at the back [753] of the neck, the owner falls ill; if it leaves him, his condition [755]

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774 becomes critical. Only a shaman (I, p. 539) can return one, and
755 if he fails death always results. In some cases a spirit leaves
[753] its owner without apparent reason; he becomes insane, tries
to eat dirt, and his relatives realize at once what is the matter.
[756] They summon a shaman who takes off his cape, hangs it like a pouch on his stick, and points it in all directions as he sings his shaman's song. Finally he locates what is missing, and traps it in his cloak, which he places around the sick man. This restores the element and the sufferer recovers immediately. Another method is for the shaman to press the back of the patient's neck, and by blowing and spitting cause the wandering spirit to return. Either cure must be performed by a shaman because of the supernatural power required.

774 Spirits can be extracted in various ways. Shamans can draw one forth by sucking at the back of the neck between their cupped hands; in former times, some were so powerful that they could extract them by their mere presence. During
774 *kusiut* dances (II, chap. 1), the uninitiated are told that if they
575 enter the house where a ceremony is taking place, or even pass
[535] on the sidewalk outside the door, their spirits will be drawn from them by the power within and attracted to the dancer or to the sacred platform on which he is concealed. Many
[178] stories are told of this, which were firmly believed by the uninitiated until the last few years. Members of the society claim that their great power acts as a magnet to the spirits of all but their associates, except children in arms; the latter can be taken by their mothers into the house, because their supernatural elements have not developed sufficient strength to
774 leave their bodies. A person may also lose his spirit through a sudden shock. If two people meet unexpectedly in the forest and one of them shouts loudly at the other, even if only in fun, the spasmodic contraction of the muscles is enough to expel it.
[761] The person to whom this happens falls down as if dead, and
[756] though he soon recovers, his spirit has left him, and if it is not brought back by a shaman he dies a lingering death.

775 At death, the spirit permanently leaves the body. In some

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cases it tarries near the corpse for four days, or it may start at once on its travels. Distance means nothing to it, nor does time; once disembodied it goes back on the path of its late owner's ancestors from generation to generation, until it reaches the spot where his first forefather came to this earth. Here it assumes the bird or animal form used on that occasion and goes up to *Nusmät·a*. It is uncertain whether or not the spirit can take on, simultaneously, the different shapes used by various ancestors of the deceased. Its existence in the land above is similar to that on earth, but in an advanced degree. A good carpenter, for example, is a better carpenter after death; a chief is a greater chief; and one of the explanations for death is that *Älquntäm* has called a man to continue his work in another sphere. *Nusmät·a* is so huge that it is never crowded, though the spirits are immortal. They can see what is taking place on earth and sometimes return in bird or animal form to visit and comfort their grieving relatives. Powerful chiefs delight to display this, by means of a masked figure, as the central feature of a potlatch. Apart from this ceremonial usage, disembodied spirits play no part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They take no interest in human beings and accordingly are neither supplicated nor feared. 775

THE LIFE

Closely associated with the spirit is the *sxuxmänoäs lkt'*, life.[20] As in the previous case, *Älquntäm* provides every human being and every animal with this at birth. It is an ethereal substance, having the form of the body which it animates; without it there can be neither strength nor growth; without life the body is an inert mass of flesh. As a person becomes older, so does this element grow, always taking the exact shape and form of the body. Alone, it can neither move nor think, its motive power being the spirit. It is the life that suffers 761 [774]

[20]Interpretations have been employed whenever possible to lessen the use of confusing native terms. *Life* is not an accurate translation of this Bella Coola word, but it is hoped that the reader will grasp its real significance from the description in this section. [114]

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It is the life that suffers
761 whenever the skin is broken. Any wound may prove dan-
[752] gerous, but particularly one that cuts either of the invisible
[827] lines along which vitality flows from the little finger to the little toe. An injury to one of these channels spreads rapidly and is in many cases fatal.

761 It is generally considered that a person dies if his life leaves
774 his body. In contradiction to this, though the discrepancy seems of slight importance to the Bella Coola, is the belief that it ascends at the winter solstice to the gathering of the supernatural beings in *Nusmät·a* to greet *Ałquntäm*. It is common knowledge that some part of the human body does this, but there is diversity of opinion regarding which it may be. Some say it is the spirit, but the consensus of opinion is that it is the life. If it is successful and receives presents in the land above, its owner will prosper on earth; if it is unfortunate, he will be the same; if it falls in the crush as the guests hurry forth to escape the heat of *Ałquntäm*'s entry, he will die. By dreams
761 a man learns the fortune of his supernatural representative,
787 and from them he can judge what is in store for him during the coming year and receive intimations concerning birth and death, secret society matters and, in fact, every phase of human activity, since all are decided at the meeting of *Ałquntäm* and his associates. Dreams are considered to be especially important at this season of the year (I, p. 608) and information obtained from them may, perhaps, be the origin of the present firm conviction that some portion of the body actually ascends.
[182] Bella Coola beliefs have so broken down in recent years that lack of unanimity concerning the specific part is not surprising, nor does it alter the importance of this conviction. No attempt is made to explain how an individual can remain alive during the annual absence of his life.

761 Although the life is so ethereal, it really consists of four intangible elements which unite to form the immaterial whole. One of these parts, including the voice, is located in the throat, another in the trunk, a third in the legs, and a fourth in the feet; the body is thus divided into four quarters. The con-

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nection of these with one another and with the spirit, the mental director of the life, is a matter of advanced Bella Coola theology on which opinions differ. Only men of philosophical temperament even hazard an opinion on such matters, which are beyond the realm of daily routine. 761

When a man dies, his life leaves his body and the useless flesh begins to decay. At the same time the life is freed to travel as an intangible wraith, having the form and appearance of its dead owner. It visits all the places where he had been in the habit of going during life, irrespective of their distance from the scene of death. Sometimes it journeys to the locality where, in a dream, the mother of the deceased received her first intimation of pregnancy (I, p. 615). It wants to see former friends and sometimes makes its presence known to them by whistling. A person who hears this sound is saddened by the realization that one of his associates has passed away in some distant place. At other times, a man merely senses its presence and feels frightened without hearing or seeing anything to account for it. Very rarely, a dead person's life speaks to a dearly loved friend to inform him of his loss. During the existence of the body, spirit and life are closely associated, and the former sometimes accompanies the latter on its round of farewell visits before ascending to *Nusmät·a*. 761 775 [774]

After four days the life descends to the land below where it lives forever as a ghost. Some believe that it is the shadow which assumes this form, but the seeming contradiction is relatively unimportant since the life is essentially shadow-like. Ghosts have already been described in connection with supernatural bodies, and further information will be found in vol. I, chap. VIII.

At death, when the life as a whole becomes a ghost, its constituent parts likewise undergo transformation. The one situated in the feet remains with the corpse and disintegrates; that located in the legs enters a wolf and nothing more is known of its fate; no one knows what happens to the one situated in the body. The part in the throat, including the voice, enters [827] [825] [539]

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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *kusiut* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Älquntärn* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy abstin-

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843 be avoided. If she walks on a beaver dam, or dips her head
825 into a pool made by this animal, the birth of her infant will be blocked in the same way that the dam restrains a stream. This difficulty can be obviated, however, by dipping up the water with her hands instead of bending her head to the surface to drink. As far as possible, she must avoid being startled by
[774] small animals or reptiles; even if the excitement so caused is too slight to expel her own spirit, it may be sufficient to damage that of the foetus. Such dangers can be countered by means of magical rites (I, p. 720). Her husband is also subject to certain injunctions and prohibitions. If he eats beaver meat his wife's delivery will be difficult. He must preserve a small piece of the skin or an eye of every animal that he kills; a few
[846] days after birth the child is steeped in the smoke of a fire on which these articles have been thrown. This prevents injury from the father's quarry.[1]

A pregnant woman continues to reside in her own house, where her condition is a source of interest to her friends and relatives. There are no midwives with inheritable professional
844 prerogatives, but as the time for delivery draws near, arrange-
[424] ments are made for the mother or some other experienced female relative to be in attendance. It is quite proper for the husband to attend to this point, though it is customary for elderly female relations to do so, sometimes those of the wife, sometimes those of her husband. A woman who, having herself borne children, has assisted at many births with success, is often requested to be present, and it is taken as a matter of course that she will be rewarded for her services.

When the pains of labour begin, the patient leaves the house with her assistant or assistants. In summer the party goes to some lonely spot in the woods where a rude wind-break may have been erected; in winter, to a sheltered spot beneath a
[171] house. No man can be present, a point in which the Bella Coola state that their culture differs from that of the Kwakiutl. The midwife manipulates the infant so that the birth is made

[1] This rite is described in detail later (I, p. 720).

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764 grave carrying a spruce bough in his hand. He touches with it the edge where he is standing, then, in sunwise order, the east, south, and west margins. This circuit is repeated four times and the branch tossed away to westward. This essential [774] ceremony is based on a belief that the lives, or perhaps the spirits, of the grave-diggers have been drawn from them into the grave and are in danger of being pressed down by the coffin. Should this occur, they would have short lives. The spruce branch enables the supernatural elements to leave the cavity and return to their owners who suffer no ill effects. Anyone, other than a grave-digger, can perform this rite.

The coffin is now lifted into the grave, care being taken that the corpse faces east. As already described, it is in a squatting position with haunches almost on the ground. Boards have been prepared in advance, and with these the grave-diggers make a roof-like covering, placing at each corner [775] a stone weighing from ten to fifteen pounds, to prevent the ghost from returning to trouble the survivors. Earth is thrown in on top of the boards, and as it falls the wailing breaks out dolorously in a final crescendo of mourning. [766] If a chief has been buried, his fellows sometimes sing a *xe·tla* [533] song. At this time it is proper for one or more chiefs to rise and speak. No one is required to do so, nor is there any rule 537 as to the order in which they make their remarks. The first 764 speaker is usually a prominent man related to the survivors, though seldom a son, brother, or other near relative of the deceased. A speech is generally addressed in part to the spirit of the dead person, telling it where to go; in part, to the mourners. For a dead child, emphasis is laid on the fact that although he did not live long enough to be incorporated into his ancestral myths on earth, this will be done for him in his future home. In conclusion, an appeal is often made to [775] *Alquntäm*, under the name of *Smaialotla*, to take pains that [773] the spirit of the dead is given its rightful place in *Nusmät·a*, in the section where its first forbears were created, and whither the spirits of its dead ancestors have returned since the beginning of time.

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The explanation of these manifestations of the supernormal, 787*
for such they are considered to be, lies in the conviction that 811
every activity of the mind is due to supernatural causation, [828]
the functioning of the spirit. In the round of daily life there [774]
are always good and bad incidents; the person who wakes
expecting to meet one or other before nightfall recognizes the
fulfilment of his premonition in some small occurrence, and
narrates it to his fellows as proof of what he had told them in
the morning. In case of some major event, such as death or
disaster, the Bella Coola assume that some previous indication
must have been given. Looking back after the event, a man
easily persuades himself that he "felt" a warning, and is more [774]
than ever convinced that his spirit, the cause of his thoughts,
has supernatural ability.

Conviction in the near presence of the supernatural has had 177
somewhat surprising results with regard to Christian Bella 787*
Coola. A man converted in middle life carries all the fervour
and realism of the old religion with him to the new, and feels 781
thoroughly familiar with the atmosphere of the Old Testament. 797
Visitations, such as therein described, are similar to those
experienced by his fathers and himself, and he scorns the white
man who questions their literal accuracy. He continues to
hear the voices of supernatural beings, and to interpret mental [828]
pictures as visions, but he ascribes them to the beings of the
white man's religion. The following is a rather striking illustration of this point:

A number of years ago a devout Christian, who may be 159
designated X, was a patient in the hospital at Bella Bella. In 177
the same ward was a young Bella Bella lad whose sickness
refused to yield to treatment. X, becoming interested in his 787*
neighbour, began to ponder about his condition, until presently 781
he felt convinced that the sufferer would be better by seven
o'clock the following morning, and told him so. A marked 797
improvement was noticeable by the time predicted, but the
white doctor foolishly (according to X) gave his patient some

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though they may be to the white man. It is hoped that the preceding illustrations, drawn from recent times, will explain the mental attitude of the Bella Coola better than incidents from folk-lore of the distant past. 787 *

Disregarding thoughts which, since they are caused by the spiritual elements of the human body, are ever present, relations with the supernatural may be divided into the following categories: [828] [774]

(1) Appearance of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. Strictly speaking, every fleeting sight of a supernatural being belongs to this category, but it will be convenient to describe only experiences of a peculiar kind, such as the Bella Coola call *ułn-abālawadjutlaix*. Usually manifestations of the supernatural have certain effects; consequently, there are relatively few incidents of this kind recorded.

(2) Supernatural aid vouchsafed to a man or a woman in distress. There are many tales illustrating this, which are told and retold to the children. In most cases the assistance is given to one who has undeservedly, according to Bella Coola concepts, fallen into misfortune.

(3) Supernatural good luck. This may be obtained by anyone, and consists of the acquisition of a supernatural object to attract, not only fish and animals, as if it were a potent bait, but money and goods as well. [777] [224] [226]

(4) Acquisition of shamanistic power, with or without the ability to cure the sick. This may be received from one of two sources: [756]

(*a*) *Ṫlitcāplilān-a* or some other supernatural being.

(*b*) Ghosts, which are likewise supernatural. [775]

(5) Obtaining prophetic powers direct from the supreme god. There are few instances of this, and none that is ascribed to a remote period. It is possible that all examples of this kind can be attributed to indirect Christian influence. [177]

(6) Obtaining power from a supernatural being localized in a particular spot. This usually takes the form of succour when [756]

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778 the rock shelter half a mile away. Here he must lie alone, without food, for four days. If he is in a pure condition from 755 the observance of chastity, he then feels the earth shake and * [787] hears a sound like a mighty landslide, though it is inaudible to those waiting in the cave. If the patient is frightened and tries to flee, he will die, but if he lies still he will be able to spit out the dead frog, or it will become so soft that it can drip from his nose. He then washes in the stream that flows through the ice-cavern, thus completing the cure. The malady [785] will return unless chastity is practised for one year.

756 Finally, in dreams a man is sometimes carried away to one or other of these curing places, or to several of them, and is * 787 there made a shaman. It will be noted that this method of acquiring the ability differs from those previously described, but his functions are the same as those whose power has been obtained in one of the usual ways.

Dreams

* 787 The last type of contact with the supernatural is by means of dreams. Psychologically, these are akin to visions; indeed, it is often impossible to learn whether the experiences described in an ancient story occurred during sleep or when awake. The [774] Bella Coola believe that dreams are caused by the spirit of the individual; they are, therefore, supernatural and worthy of attention, but in spite of this, it was difficult to obtain detailed accounts. The reason seems to lie in the intangibility of the experiences themselves. Unless one is sufficiently striking, it passes into oblivion as a fruitless manifestation of the workings of the spirit. Many of the visions seen in ancient times by those who had fasted or otherwise reached an emotional state, must have been dreams, but they have ceased to be recognized as such in the course of generations. The Bella Coola of today [159] state emphatically that they receive warning of future events during sleep, but the only individual from whom it was possible to obtain coherent descriptions was the elderly man previously described as X (I, p. 515).

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Kill a squirrel, clean it, wash the entrails carefully and leave them hanging in the sun to dry for four days, then tie them around the child's stomach for four days more. It is important that the infant should not break the string. On the fourth day, remove them and hang them in the doorway of the house. On this same day, another squirrel must be killed, treated as before, and its viscera allowed to dry for four days. The child wears these in the same way for four days, when they too are hung in the doorway. A third squirrel, and finally a fourth, is killed and made use of in precisely the same manner. When the final set of entrails has been hung up, the four are left suspended for four days, till the twenty-eighth after the killing of the first animal, when the father takes them to the forest and deposits them beneath some projecting rock where no water can penetrate and where they will dry and keep indefinitely. 825 789 856

This causes the child to grow up endowed, like the squirrel, with agility so that he can scale even precipitous mountains. This medicine is frequently used in conjunction with one for hunting ability.

To Cause Easy Delivery [843]

Place the foetus of a porcupine against the back of a girl's neck and allow it to drop to the ground. Pick it up, replace it, and let it fall again. This is repeated four times while the person says:

"Please, may she be like you and have no trouble in giving birth."

This medicine can be used at any time before puberty.

To Cause Bravery (four means)

(1) When a grizzly bear has been shot, a lad who wishes to make himself brave approaches it and thrusts his arm down the dying animal's throat. This kills it by choking. Then he rubs his hand over his heart and the back of his neck, the seat [774]

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825 of the spirit, which imparts to himself the courage and strength
789 of the animal he has just slain.

856 (2) When a grizzly bear has been killed and skinned, the
[774] bloody pelt is wrapped around a lad whose parents wish him to be brave. He is lashed in securely and the bundle, attached to a long rope, is thrown into the rapids. After a few minutes, it is drawn ashore, but immediately thrown in again. This is repeated four times. This medicine causes the child to have the courage of a grizzly bear. It is said that the first youth to whom this was applied rescued his mother from slavery among the Tsimshian.

This treatment is usually applied to boys of from three to five years of age.

(3) When a grizzly bear has been killed and skinned, two lads, whose parents wish them to be brave, are called. They are told to crouch on their hands and knees and while in this position the pelt is thrown over their backs. They crawl to and fro for a few minutes while dogs are encouraged to bark and growl at the "animal." The skin is then removed and the two sent to wash in the river. They are called back and the whole rite repeated a second time, followed by a third and a fourth application, with washing in every case. This gives them the bravery of grizzly bears.

This medicine can be used at any time before the holding of sexual intercourse.

(4) When an octopus has been killed, a lad is placed within the freshly removed skin. Those present say:

"Please, may he be like you, afraid of nothing."

The skin is removed and the lad sent to wash in the river. The rite is repeated four times which gives him the bravery of an octopus. Like the last, this medicine is not potent for one who has held sexual intercourse.

To Cause Ability in River Work

Fasten a boy in the freshly removed skin of a beaver and throw the bundle into the river. Lift it out when it has gone

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Preventive and Curative Medicines

Medicines of Infancy and Childhood

789 *To Counteract Dangers Incurred During Pregnancy* (two means)

774 (1) As already described (I, p. 96), there is always danger of a person losing his spirit through a sudden start, causing involuntary contraction of the muscles, but pregnant women are especially liable to peril of this kind. Moreover, the unexpected appearance of a toad, rat, or mouse, though insufficient to harm an expectant mother, may suffice to startle the unborn child, or even to destroy his spirit. A woman carefully remembers all experiences of this kind and treats the injury while her infant is crying immediately after birth. If a toad has caused it, she catches one, decorates it with dyed cedar-bark, and places it on the child's stomach, then guides it so that it jumps up the chest to the neck. This is repeated four times. She then sets it down, unharmed on the ground, saying:

843 825

"You are the cause of the trouble, please go."

The same rite is carried out for all small mammals, reptiles, and even with birds which have startled a mother by their peculiar behaviour. In some families it is customary to postpone the application of this medicine until four days after birth. There is considerable difference of opinion concerning the specific injury; some allege that the spirit of the creature enters the body and, if not counteracted, causes the child to be born sick and feeble.

[846]

843 (2) During his wife's pregnancy, a husband must preserve a small portion of the skin of every animal killed. Four days after birth, as the infant lies in its cradle, a small fire is built beneath and the pieces thrown thereon so that the child is steeped in the smoke. If this is neglected, the boy or girl will die during infancy, though the means by which the slain animals accomplish this is not fully understood. Possibly, as in the last instance, their spirits have entered the body. Some hunters preserve an eye from every carcass instead of a piece

825 789 [846] [761] [774]

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539 754 except an infant daughter. She grew up, married, and was the mother of the old Bella Coola, about seventy years of age in 1923, who is so loathed as a sorcerer. It is he who has the collection of spittle, and it is believed that, like his grandfather, he is the owner of a skinned and stuffed left hand with which he can kill a man as surely as with a rifle.

THE DISCOVERY OF TWO SORCERERS

Many years ago there lived at *Stuk* two young men who were constant companions; they always hunted and travelled together, and were determined to share each other's fortune, no matter what it might be. One day they agreed to go up the valley to visit some friends, but decided to postpone their departure until dusk. One of the two went out for a short walk and failed to return by the time appointed; his comrade sought him everywhere and finally hurried off up the trail, thinking that his friend must have started before him. He soon heard sounds of laboured breathing as if people were carrying a heavy burden, and could just distinguish two men carrying a coffin on poles between them. He realized that they must be sorcerers and that their inability to turn around would give him an advantage. Stealing up behind them, he pushed the rear man, not only causing him to stumble, but the one in front as well, since their burden was resting between them. Neither could turn around to see who had discovered them, and they became more and more terrified as the brave youth first pushed, and then pulled the one in the rear. [774] Suddenly he called out, *wa-*, so loudly in their ears that the sudden start expelled their spirits and they fell to earth as if dead. The lad watched their gradual recovery, feeling confident that his partner must be within ear-shot and would come hurrying back to his assistance if necessary. As soon as the sorcerers had revived, one of them said angrily to the boy:

"You will die presently."

"No," he answered. "It is you who are in grave peril."

At this point he called loudly for his companion who was so far ahead that he could barely hear the other's voice; he answered the shout and began to run back. The sorcerers, trying to make the best of a bad situation, mocked him by advising him to call again and to bring more helpers if he wanted to escape death. When his friend had come so close that he could see what was taking place, the youth called out to him:

"Partner! They say that I am in danger."

"No," the other answered. "It is they who will die."

When he joined the group the four began to discuss what was to be done. The sorcerers begged their discoverers not to expose their mis-

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tense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a number of young men and women ignorant of the significance of the rites. Formerly, the *kukusiut* often had difficulty in impressing the uninitiated with their prowess, and feuds with the *a'alk* were common.

Although membership in the *kusiut* society depends on an ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution. A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *kusiut* prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great importance within the ranks of the society. Nor are the prerogatives considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that slaves are often admitted as *kukusiut* by their masters. An important *kusiut* is not esteemed by the community in the same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, membership in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *kusiut* organization can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without special invitation, he dares enter the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non-

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It is believed that if a non-
*575 initiate pass between the central fire and the raised platform
774 behind it, where the dancer is usually concealed, his spirit will
755 be attracted to this material object. Even though the performer is in another house at the time, he at once senses what
[784 has happened and asks who has lost his spirit. The guilty
62] person, believing that he will die unless it is returned to him, always admits what he has done. The dancer, accompanied by several attendant *tukuciut*, proceeds to the raised platform, presses his cupped hands four times against it, and by sucking with his mouth pretends to draw forth the spirit. But since the dancer has a direct call (II, p. 6) from his supernatural patron (II, p. 6), he cannot come in contact with the uninitiated without danger to the latter, so he transfers the supernatural element to the leg of another *tuciut*, who is not dancing at the time, by pressing four times. This assistant then returns it to the owner by kneading it four times into the back of his neck.
[62] The reckless uninitiated person suffers no harm, but is more careful in future.

[784 Another belief is that if a non-member even walks close to
62] the doorway of the house during the four days, or more, that a dance is taking place, his spirit is attracted to the dancer, wherever he may be at the moment. Consequently the uninitiated use the beach path instead of the sidewalk. Accounts
[998] differ as to what results from the transgression. According to one, the dancer falls down as if dead, due to the contact between something non-sacred and the power with which he is imbued. It is at once recognized what has happened and any *tuciut* can draw forth the spirit by placing his two hands, shaped like a cup, against the dancer and sucking violently. While so doing he calls *hoip* loudly and any *tukuciut* present beat time furiously. As soon as the alien spirit has been removed, the dancer recovers. Still holding his hands cupped together, the extractor now proceeds to the house of the non-member and returns the latter's spirit by kneading it into the back of his neck. If this were not done, the loser would soon
[784 become mad, try to eat dirt, and die. According to another

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informant, the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not inconvenience the dancer, although he senses its presence, and asks who will pay for its return. Unless the owner at once steps forward to claim his property and promises to pay, his spirit is thrown into the fire and he dies. The *kukuxiut* sometimes tell an uninitiated person that his spirit has been attracted from him, thereby terrifying him so greatly that he appeals to a shaman to recover it for him. The expert greases his hands, warms them at a fire, and pretends to pluck something from the *kuxiut* which he inserts into the loser's neck. 575* 774 755 [784]

In view of the firm conviction that the spirit is essential to an individual's welfare, it is not surprising that this belief should awe the uninitiated and fill them with profound respect for the *kukuxiut*. The diversity in the details of procedure proves that the practice has not become standardized; those who are not members of the society believe and do not test the claims. 575* 774 626

Another source of strength claimed by the *kukuxiut* is ability to witness and imitate the dances of the supernatural beings held in *Nuxmalit-a* prior to the entry of *Alquanim*. As already described, it is believed that a supernatural element from every living creature upon earth ascends at this time but, in a way that is not fully understood, only those belonging to *kukuxiut* can take part in the ceremonies. Is it strange, therefore, that members of the society are regarded with awe by their less fortunate fellows? Presents are given after every dance in *Nuxmalit-a* and the supernatural elements receive their due share. When, however, *Alquanim* enters, he is so big and so hot that almost all who have assembled rush forth furiously, and in the crush at the narrow doorway disaster overtakes many of the visiting human representatives. Some drop their gifts, and their owners will be unfortunate; others fall, and their owners cannot survive until the next ceremonial season. This same fate may befall even those who are not members of the *kuxiut* society, but they do not have the ability to appreciate what has happened. 575* 787 776 796 777 761

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

through the motion of throwing it to his partner; the crystal disappears! It has been palmed out of sight at the instant of throwing, but the presumption is that it has entered the other *siki* who falls to the floor as if stricken down by the powerful object given to him. Now one of the *kakaxiut*, who has been primed for the duty, strikes the recumbent man on the back, restoring him to consciousness. Slowly he pulls himself together, rising at intervals as if crushed beneath a heavy weight, and writhes until he finally produces a rock crystal from his stomach, as if it had been thrown to him. In reality it is his own which he has carried concealed from the beginning of the ceremony. He pretends to throw this to X, often so realistically that the novice blinks, expecting some object to strike him. All this time a *kaxiut*, it does not matter who, has been drinking water at intervals and spitting it out over the face of X, "to strengthen him." When X has received the stone, the beating on the floor-boards, stilled during the transference of the crystal, breaks out again with full din. After a short interval the first *siki* stops the noise, goes through the same contortions and produces, apparently from his stomach, another rock crystal, which as before he throws across to his partner who falls down, and later passes it to X. Again the beating on the floor is started. The same ritual is carried out until four, or sometimes only two, rock crystals have been given to X. Then the procedure is reversed. The second *siki* goes to the novice and after much contortion draws from his stomach one of the crystals, which he pretends to throw back to his partner. As the latter makes the motion of catching it, he produces his own crystal which he, so it seems, forces into his own body. This is done for all the crystals (see Plate 4). At this juncture the uninitiated are told to leave.

One of the *siki* now knowds the back of X's neck and goes through the motions of pulling something from it. The frightened youth realizes that his spirit is being drawn from him and his terror, great in any case, is not lessened by the *siki* taking it in his cupped hands to the fire where he scoops up

[see category 116, p84(b) - ANALYST]

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 991 796 [774] [781] some ashes which he puts into his mouth and chews. Of course he masticates only the ashes but X, unaware of this, is concerned for the fate of his spirit. At last it is restored to him and he is told that the *siki* has altered it from that of an uninitiated person to that of a *kusiut*.* The psychological effect of this act on the mind of a young man who has not had time to adjust himself to his new knowledge and who is firmly convinced of the powers of the *siki* is tremendous.

The first *siki* now instructs two *kukusiut* sitting on either side of X to lie down to serve as a seat for him. They do so, irrespective of who they may be. If the novice is still ignorant of the full mysteries of the society, the *siki* announces that he is going to get a call for X. He walks around the house, peering here and there as if seeking something, and then pounces as if he had caught an object between his hands. A whistle [534] is heard, such as the novice knows accompanies the coming of every call; but he does not know that the noise is made by compressing a goat or bear bladder-whistle between two sticks held beneath the armpit. This is the "mystery" of the strange noises.

*575 991 796 "Do you know what makes that noise?" ask the two *kukusiut* on whom X is sitting.

If X denies all knowledge, the mystery is explained to him, [488] and he is warned that he will be killed if he communicates the information to uninitiated persons. If he answers that he knows the cause, he is asked who has told him. Perhaps some lad has been peeking and has told X of what he has seen; in that case the over-inquisitive youth is at once initiated to prevent further leakage of information. As soon as X has learnt the great secret he moves to one side and the singers take their positions behind the fire. His father, or whoever it [425] may be from whom he is to obtain his name, then stands up [553] and unfolds its origin, telling which supernatural being is his patron, and the locality of his repository. X sometimes re-

[178] *This part of the rite has been omitted for so many years that many of the middle-aged *kukusiut* have forgotten it.

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attend every *kusiut* dance. Usually all *kukusiut* do so in any case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been blackened, it must be kept so during this period. At every *qotlim* he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an uninitiated person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes to another housemate. Failure to obey this injunction was formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules apply to every dancer. 575* 796* [302] [292] [774] [834] [688]

Alqantäm enters *Nusqulxwaista* at the winter solstice, and at that time calls come to those *kukusiut* of whom he is patron. It is uncertain whether or not this entails the regular ceremony of four nights' duration. On the entry of the supreme being, *Noäkxnim* seizes his paddle (or pole?), returns to *Smaien·a*, and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers compose a ninth song for him. The words describe how the departing *Noäkxnim* empties a large number of olachen into the river.[*] X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after calls have come to other *kukusiut*. 575* 796* 787 773 825

It sometimes happens that no *kusiut* of whom *Noäkxnim* is patron has enough food to give the lengthy dance just described, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper prerogative is asked by the marshals to see *Noäkxnim* when at the mouth of the river; then, when he passes upstream four days later, a call can come to any *kusiut*. This abbreviated ceremony, termed *[mältindjutqwlsan*, is carried out in the manner described above, except that it is completed in four days with only two songs. 575* 796* 787

[*]Noäkxnim is accordingly often called *Nathlimm*.

[776]

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he cannot catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the ʒlaqō'tla dances clothed in a bear-skin and wearing a large headring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red and white cedar-bark. Some ʒlaqō'tla do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon, or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also eat corpses. The ʒlaqō'tla has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house. 575 [774] [756] [292] [301]

The Ō'lɛq (= the laugher) and the Dā'tia (= the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The Ō'lɛq 'makes fun of everything' and scratches people with his nails. The Dā'tia carries stones and sticks, and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day he pays for it at night when he dances. The Ōlɛq and the Dā'tia must stay for one month, after they have danced, in their houses. [785]

If a person transgresses the laws of the Kū'siūt, for instance when the ʒlaqō'tla gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offence has been proved he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing, and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared, and the substitute is killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is entrusted to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him, or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger-nail, around the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender he will fall sick. Blood collects in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any farther. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the Kū'siūt are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklet of red cedar-bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others the thunder-bird and his servant Atlqulā'tɛnum, who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and a staff with red and blue spiral lines, appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Qō'mtsica and his brothers and his sister (see p. 412), Masmasalā'niq and his fellows, the raven and the Nusqā'mta, and many others. 575 688 575 532 796 [776]

Customs regarding Birth, Puberty, Marriage, and Death.

When the time of delivery approaches, the woman leaves the house and resorts to a small hut built for the purpose. She is assisted by pro- 844

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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773 what cause this divergence is due. Mythology and religion are so closely
[171] connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Bilqula is Snq, the sun-god (compare *sōnq*, sun).
773 The rays of the sun are his eyelashes. When prayed to he is called Tāat'au. In praying the Bilqula look heavenward. I obtained the fol-
776 lowing formulas: *Atlkun ŭtlŏ'tlsuq, Tāat'au*, 'Look on us where we are
[782] going, Tāat'au;' and *Tāat'au, atlkualinomdŏ'tlq*, 'Take care of us, Tāat'au.'
[539] Snq is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and does not interfere with the actions and thoughts of men. These are given by Masmasalā'niq. According to the tradition of the Bilqula, before the liberation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is nowadays, four deities lived on the earth: Masmasalā'niq, Yula'timot, Matlapē'eqoek, and Itl'itlu'lak. The raven wished to obtain the sun, but he was unable to liberate it. Then he went to these deities and asked their help. They ascended to the sky, and tore the curtain, which up to that time had been expanded between heaven and earth, hiding the heavenly orbs. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The raven ascended to heaven through the rift made by Masmasalā'niq, and found there a beautiful prairie country in which all the birds lived. Masmasalā'niq and his brothers painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his arts. The raven was not content with the sun, and resolved to try and find a better one. He flew to the house of a great chief, who kept the *nusqē'mta* (*nu-ta*=place of, *sqēm*=the day is dawning). The *nusqē'mta* was a small round receptacle closed all around like an egg. The chief guarded it jealously, and kept it suspended from one of the rafters of his house. The raven knew that he could not obtain it by sheer force, and resorted to a ruse. He assumed the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and let himself drop into the pond from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pond, swallowed the leaf, and thus became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the raven himself. The old chief loved the boy dearly, and allowed him to play with the *nusqē'mta*. This was what he desired. He ran out of the house, broke it, and flew away in the shape of a raven.

After the sun had thus been obtained Masmasalā'niq said: 'Let us make man.' He made the image of a man out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Matlapē'eqoek and Itl'itlu'lak tried likewise to carve human figures and to give them life, but they failed. Finally, Yula'timot carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in each country, and they became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Masmasalā'niq gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to catch salmon, to build houses. He made rivers everywhere, that man should have water to drink, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by man.

The Bilqula believe that Masmasalā'niq and his brothers still continue
[176] to give new ideas to man. They say that any new design of painting or carving, or any other new invention made by a member of their tribe, has been given to him by Masmasalā'niq.

The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been referred to above.

774 The soul is believed to dwell in the nape. It is similar in shape to a
[826] bird inclosed in an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies away its owner must die. Shamans are able to see and to recover souls.
[761]
[756]

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By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy. 774 756 [828] [753] [828]

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Snq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Snq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself. 756 [776]

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: 'When an Awiky'ö'noq wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Ma'tom) who will initiate him. No Bilquła can obtain the art in such a way.' [171]

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 612), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called *snak*. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms. 753 755 754 [825]

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die. 682 754 [825]

I add here a few current beliefs:— 827

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry. [777]

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die. 825

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky. 763 777

WARS.

When a war party was organised the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their 726 714

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575 to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one
[785] morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all
[787] his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze
[152] blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone
[774] whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his
[756] own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the
[292] body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try
[301] for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the ELAXŌ'LA dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark. Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the S'Ā'LPSTA (fig. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that
[532] of BaxbakuālanuXsī'wasē of the Kwakiutl. Some ELAXŌ'LA do not
[171] bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and
[266] devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The ELAXŌ'LA has to observe a number of regulations.
[525] For four years after his initiation he must not
[834] gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

Fig. 200.
MASK OF THE S'Ā'LPSTA.
Bilxula.
Col. No. 19828, U. S. N. M.
Collected by F. Boas.

The Ō'LEX (the laugher) and the DĀ'TIA (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The Ō'LEX "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The DĀ'TIA carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The Ō'LEX and the DĀ'TIA, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

575 If a person transgresses the laws of the KŌ'SIUT, for instance, when
688 the ELAXŌ'LA gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a
[692] mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty
575 of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing
688 to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the substitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted
754 to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing dis-
756 ease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around

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sun attached to another land above the one of which our sky 772
is the underside. Boas (p. 28) has described this upper land [821]
in some detail. A number of Bella Coola were questioned on 772
this subject, but for some time no one could be found with
knowledge of its existence. At length one of the older people 184
remembered that a man who had died some thirty years ago
had a personal story connected with it, and later a Kimsquit
man was able to furnish definite information. He explained
that in his family there was a myth dealing with this matter; [424]
others might have heard this myth, but since it was not their
property, of course they would not be able to impart the facts
contained in it, nor would they necessarily believe it. Consequently, an upper land, superimposed above that which is
immediately over the earth, cannot be described as a Bella
Coola belief; it is shared, so far as could be ascertained, by
only two families.

The chief feature of this uppermost world is its distance 772
and unapproachableness. To the supernatural beings living
in the intermediate land it is a far-off place; in fact, their
attitude towards it corresponds to that with which mortals
regard the land above their own. The supernatural ones can,
when they wish, visit this upper world, which is called *Nuqwliāls*. A sun shines there, but it is a different kind of sun from [821]
that known to mortals. On the whole it appears that this
upper sky-land does not differ materially from either the earth
or the land immediately above. No human being has ever [773]
reached this distant land, so what little is known about it was
brought down in the beginning of time by the first people.

In addition to these two upper worlds, the Bella Coola
know of one, or perhaps two, below. One of these is inhabited [775]
by ghosts.[1] It somewhat resembles the earth, but is unsubstantial and ethereal. It is considered to be immediately

[1]At the present time the Bella Coola are in a state of transition between the old beliefs and the new. This concept is held only by the older people, so it might be more accurate to describe it as one which they, the tribe as a whole, used to know. It has been thought advisable to use the present tense throughout in recording customs and beliefs which are now rapidly passing away. [178]

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beneath the Bella Coola valley, and the land of the living forms a dome over it corresponding to that of the sky over this world. But everything is reversed. A river flows in the land of ghosts, but it rises in the west instead of the east; when it is warm on this earth it is cold in the land below; when it is sunrise here, it is sunset there. Shamans are believed to have penetrated frequently to this land, and on information from them the Bella Coola base their beliefs.

There is another land beneath the ocean. In this live the fish and sea mammals in human form, as well as other beings to be described in the next section of this chapter. Like all other worlds it has a sun above it,[2] and conditions are said to be similar to those existing on this earth. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether this undersea world is at the same level as the land of ghosts, and whether or not it extends beneath the rivers.

Although Bella Coola concepts regarding the sun and other heavenly bodies will require further consideration, it will be convenient at this point to describe them in outline. The sun is regarded as a heat-radiating ball of such intensity that a human being cannot approach it. Its path, as it crosses the land above, varies from day to day until it reaches its limits at the solstices. As it travels, it is accompanied by the droning of two *Aiiilāxa*, supernatural feminine beings who remain continually, one in the east and one in the west. According to most informants, the ends of the sun's course, though fixed and invariable from year to year, are not marked by any visible means. Others state that at each limit there is the mouth of a *snmq*, a mythological animal of enormous size.

The moon is thought likewise to travel[1] each day but is said to be very cold. Few stories are current concerning it, although the Bella Coola say that long ago a man tried to reach it, only to be driven back by the intense cold. A shaman who died not many years ago claimed to have received power

[1]One informant stated that our sun served that purpose.
[2]The *Aiiilāxa* drone as it travels, as they do for the sun.

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773 hanging a number of bird and animal cloaks, representing ravens, eagles, whales, grizzly bears, black bears, and a few others. *Ālquntäm* asked each individual which of these cloaks he preferred to wear. One selected a raven, another an eagle, and so on. Each donned his choice from the wall and immediately became the bird or animal chosen. *Ālquntäm* gave each man or woman one or more names, and some food in compressed form; then sent him down in avian or mammal form. Even the animals could travel through the air like birds, and each landed on the peak of a mountain in the Bella Coola country, took off his cloak, and reassumed human form. The discarded coverings floated back up to *Nusmät·a*. A few individuals, instead of coming to earth in animal form, swarmed down posts which stretched between the worlds.

177 773 This myth is fervently believed by the Bella Coola. Even Christian Indians, though they readily admit the biblical creation as applied to the white race, remain convinced of the manner in which their own ancestors came into being. At the present time, though most ancient beliefs are rapidly passing away, few, if any, Bella Coola doubt this account of the creation of their forefathers. Their conviction rests not only on the religious aspect of their life, but on the sociological. A man's [551 424] most treasured possessions are the name brought down from above by his ancestor in the beginning of time, the knowledge of the form taken by that ancestor, and information about the place where he landed. A collection of myths of this kind is given in vol. I, chap. VI. Lacking knowledge of his first an- [622] cestor's form, a Bella Coola has slight chance of becoming a [554 567] chief; such lore is the birthright of every descendant of one of these first people, and those without it are almost certain to be the offspring of slaves. The social aspects of creation myths will be described later; at this point a broad outline must suffice. *Nusmät·a*, "The House of Myths," is the place in which these myths were made, and are now stored, two reasons for its importance in the eyes of the Bella Coola.

[775] *Nusmät·a* is not only connected with the history of an indi-

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vidual's ancestors; it enters into his own future as well. When a Bella Coola dies, his spirit (I, p. 94) travels back on the path of his ancestors from generation to generation until it reaches the spot where the first one came to earth; there it assumes the bird or animal cloak used on that occasion and floats aloft to *Nusmät·a* to live forever. Small wonder, therefore, that this house figures prominently in the thoughts of the Bella Coola, and that they cling tenaciously to a belief in it. 177 773 775

Knowledge of *Nusmät·a* has been inherited almost entirely from the first ancestors of the Bella Coola, and only a few items of information could be gleaned concerning it. Most men think of it as an enormous replica of their own houses, but one individual, of philosophic temperament, expressed the opinion that it was without any inner partitions. His belief was based on the following incident: 772

Some years ago a young man died without apparent reason. His sorrowing father kept wondering: 772 787

"Why has my son died? Can he have committed some crime or made some mistake?"

Despondent and grief-stricken, for a whole year the man did not wash, ate little, and slept on the floor. At last he wandered away, alone, into the mountains. Night overtook him and he lay down to sleep without food. His son came to him in a dream, telling him not to lament, that he was in a better place than this world, for *Äłqunïdm* had recalled him to *Nusmät·a* to use his voice, which was unusually powerful, as a means of conveying his wishes to the other occupants of the house. Thus comforted, the father returned home in the morning, washed, and again behaved normally. My informant suggested that cross walls would be a bar to the strongest voice, and that *Nusmät·a* must consequently be partitionless.

Nusmät·a contains not only the spirits of all deceased Bella Coola, it is also the home of most of the supernatural beings. These frequently descend to visit the earth, but always return to the house above. So far as could be learnt, the only being irremovably located there is an old woman, *Snuiqulqäls*. The most prominent article of furniture in *Nusmät·a* is *Äłqunïdm*'s seat, in the central position behind the fire. Over it is laid 772 776 * [775]

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* 776 the top. He concluded that this must be the home of the woman. Before the door of her house, wherever it may be, there are miniature totem-poles which open their painted mouths and speak in the voice of the animal or bird portrayed. The writer did not hear that her home was in the land above [114] *Nusmāt·a*, as Boas (p. 28) states. At the present time knowledge of *Kāmai·ts* is so scanty that failure to confirm the previous observation is not surprising.

One or two passing remarks of elderly informants imply that *Kāmai·ts* may once have been more important to Bella Coola belief than she is now. One old man, already in his ● [775] dotage, stated that long ago the dead used to dwell in her house. Another declared that long ago prayers were addressed [782] to her, which is never done now. The word *kāmai·ts* is commonly used by the Bella Coola in a manner difficult to trans- [192] late. It serves as equivalent for "please" or "thank you," but has an underlying significance of a supernatural benison or appeal. It is not a word to be used in casual conversation; it is reserved for important occasions or times of emotional stress. The comparative unimportance of *Kāmai·ts* probably rests on the fact that she belongs merely to the realm of ancient history and has no sociological significance, even as the patron of a *kusiut* dancer.

772 Another supernatural being so far removed from this world that he enters but little into the lives of the Bella Coola is * 776 *Sninia*. He is the male being whom *Ālqantām* sent down from above in the beginning of time to hold the earth in position, and who has since performed this duty. He lives among the ice of the far north, and has not been seen by mortals for many generations. He holds a rope fastened to the earth; when he is afraid that it has slipped slightly he takes a new grip and pulls the rope taut, pressing the world against the soles of his feet as he sits with legs extended, as a man would do to hold tight a kicking salmon. It is the tightening of the rope which [823] causes an earthquake. If *Sninia* should lose his grip entirely 575 the earth would capsize. He is patron for several *kusiut* * 776 dancers.

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of the ocean, one of the members is awakened by the rhythmical beat of the paddles of the War-Party of the Tide. If he is wise he at once calls out, "*Hi*...." This serves to keep the War-Party at a distance, and to waken the rest of the party who hastily throw on the fire objects which have been in contact with the human body. 776* 789

Many stories are told by the Bella Coola of the appearance of the War-Party of the Tide. The following can be regarded as typical. 539 776*

A few years ago, a hunter named *Onikotl*, and his wife, *Ànuqwiàls*, were encamped on Labouchere Channel at the point known as *Nusqwl*, near the Hot Springs. They were discussing a private matter when, to the amazement of both, their dog, who was with them, joined in the conversation. This unnatural behaviour should have warned them of approaching danger and they ought to have killed the animal, as indeed the woman desired to do. But *Onikotl* foolishly refused and presently they lay down to sleep. In some mysterious manner the dog was able to summon the War-Party of the Tide, which carried the two away. When they awoke they were in the dread canoe, and the poison from *Sxlo·xl'* was spreading over them. They were powerless and could only lie still as the canoe travelled up South Bentinck Arm, circled the island near *Tàl·io* at its head, and three other islands on the return journey. The two were put ashore at their camp, apparently unharmed, but they knew the danger to which they had been exposed and fled next day to Kimsquit. The woman told a shaman what had happened and accepted his somewhat drastic treatments. Consequently, though she showed signs of insanity, she was cured. The headstrong *Onikotl*, on the other hand, refused to pay attention to the danger; within a few weeks he became crazy, and then died.

Quite another category of Bella Coola supernatural beings consists of ghosts. These beings, once human, have passed by death into the ranks of the supernatural. Their home is the land below the earth, where they live like mortals except that everything is strange and ethereal. In form they resemble human beings, but their faces are green and weird. They can visit the land of the living at will, and make their presence known by whistling, which is their language. Their actions are the reverse of those of humans; for example, they often 775 ●

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775 walk backwards, or on their heads. Mortals sometimes see ghosts, but the apparition seals their lips so that they cannot [761] recount their experiences. Death invariably follows. Shamans [756] and other mortals endowed with great powers have been able to penetrate to the realm below, and the knowledge of conditions there has been derived from their accounts. Food is scarce in that land and ghosts are often driven up to earth to 264 search for it. Even a small morsel is enough to satisfy their hunger, so that mortals throw fragments on the fire for the 775 benefit of their dead relatives. If a person drop a crumb it is because a ghost has hooked it away from his hand; no wise Bella Coola ever picks up such a morsel, knowing that to do so would offend the hungry spectre. Deceased beings are 775 generally feared, although instances are known in which they have shown kindness, particularly to their relatives. Like so [575] many supernatural beings, they figure most prominently as patrons of *kusiut* dancers (see vol. II, chap. 1). Further information concerning them is contained in the description of life after death.

* 776 Not even a complete list of beings would exhaust the 177 beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural, since any unexpected visitation is attributed by them to this source. For example, when Mackenzie appeared, the first white man with whom the Bella Coola had come in contact, they thought that he must be from another world. Some thought him a dead man returned to life, and others considered him a supernatural visitor from above who had fallen down to earth, as did their first ancestors. The latter view prevailed, and it was ultimately decided that he must be *Qomcus*, a supernatural being resident aloft of whom little was known. This name was applied to him, and it has since been given to all white men.[18]

[18]Although it was in 1793 that Mackenzie passed down the Bella Coola valley, a number of stories of that event were still remembered in 1922. What most impressed the Bella Coola was his ability to make fire quickly. One man, now living, stated that he had heard from his mother that her father had spoken with him. Traditions of this type are valuable as reflecting the interests of a people, but their historical accuracy may well be doubted. One Kimsquit man, for example,

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concerning the danger of near approach to this creature: 539

Ḱwilais was a man of mixed lineage, Kimsquit and *Pas*, near Newitte. With several companions he was gathering berries when he stepped into a hole and felt numerous tiny creatures crawling over his legs. Looking down, he saw that they were small snakes, that had just been hatched from a Mother of Snakes. He fled, terrified, pursued by the reptiles, which he managed to keep off to some extent by brushing behind him a branch of spiny swamp gooseberry, a known deterrent. When he had out-distanced the snakes he called his companions, told them of his adventure, and returned home. There he repeated the tale. Though *Ḱwilais* did not know it, many of the snakes had succeeded in entering his stomach. Presently he began to swell; his body became larger and larger until he was in danger of bursting. The reptiles within were breeding rapidly. Luckily, one of his fellow villagers knew the proper remedy. A raised bed was made for the sufferer about five feet from the ground where *Ḱwilais* stretched himself on a number of thorny branches, while his friends built a fire of devil's club and swamp gooseberry twigs so that he was fumigated in the smoke. Then, to give greater potency, they cast on the flames soiled clothing and pounded cedar-bark pads stained with menstrual blood; even this was of no avail, so finally a woman squeezed out into a vessel some of her menstrual blood which *Ḱwilais* drank. This killed the snakes. The patient began to vomit, emitting a mass of wriggling serpents, and at once began to grow thinner, soon regaining his normal condition. Had he not been able to eject the reptiles, he would have died.

776 * 825 755 [789] [753] [841]

Ḱwilais was not the only one to have this unpleasant experience. Many others have suffered in the same way, but in no case has anyone been able to feel the snakes at the actual place or time of entry.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the power possessed by animals are clearly shown by their attitude with regard to killing them. Man is immortal, so are animals. *Alquntám* decreed that beasts and birds should serve as food for mankind, but it is only their clothing, their worthless "blanket of flesh," as the Bella Coola express it, which they give to hunters. In the autumn leaves appear to die, but every spring they are reborn. Similarly, when an animal is slain, it merely discards its visible self while its spirit[a] ascends

825 775 224 [774]

[a] *Tsumkwanlo*, see vol. I, p. 94.

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[775] [774] to the land above whence, in course of time, it comes down to earth again to reanimate a new body.* Consequently, the success of a hunter does not indicate his mastery over an animal so much as the latter's good-will in allowing itself to [785] be slain by one who has pleased him by ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), or by one who has been endowed with skill by some other supernatural being. Men are accordingly careful to obey the wishes of their quarry. Long ago, a mountain goat told a shaman that he and his friends liked soot, so a hunter who has killed one always smears two bands of ashes across its face from the right eye to the left side of the mouth. Another shaman was told by a bear never to use [411] owl-feathered arrows since none of his fellows killed with such would return. Plumes of other birds have since been used, preferably those of mallard ducks. Sometimes the wishes of an animal require considerable ritual. For example, when a bear is killed, the carcass is stretched upon neatly arranged evergreen boughs and skinned. The hunter reverses the pelt so that the tail lies near the neck, with the whole hanging loosely over the body. He pats it four times, as if pressing the skin back into place, and says:

[789] "Please don't linger. Go home and return," or,

"Please come to me tomorrow. Tell your brothers, your sisters, your uncles, your aunts and your other relations to come to me."

Should this be omitted, the animal is likely to stand up, skinless, shake itself, causing the pelt to return to its place, and run away. Yearling mountain goats are especially prone to do this, as already mentioned. Even if an animal does not show its resentment by escaping in this way, it often refuses to return to earth unless the proper rites have been performed over its carcass.

[262] Bears have another aversion: they do not like to be eaten by men. So the hunter leaves the skinned body for wolves

[185] *There are doubters in Bella Coola as in every other community, and several of the older men express disbelief in the immortality of animals.

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and eagles whom he invites to devour it. In so doing, he does not address them by their usual names, but calls Wolf, *Ālkn-i-gasnum*, "The Devourer of Meat Which He Does Not Kill," that is, "The Biting Scavenger"; and Eagle, *Asaikaiyuts-maxnum*, "The Constant Eater," that is, "The One Who Eats before He Is Hungry." Next morning the flesh has been devoured and the hunter believes his guests have eaten it. Animals and birds, being supernatural, can hear the words of mortals and read their thoughts. The significance of these actions is that animals have the power to conceal themselves, so a hunter must gain their favour before he can hope to succeed. Belief in the efficacy of such customs as these is rapidly falling into decay and bear meat is now often eaten, but the skull is carefully placed in an evergreen tree near where the animal is slain, so that it may come back to life.

Fish, likewise, are immortal. In autumn the streams are choked with dead and dying salmon, but the Bella Coola know that they are not really dead, they have merely shed their worthless blankets in accordance with *Ālqustēm*'s decrees. At that season of the year he causes the rivers to rise so that they will sweep away these useless and outworn cloaks.

Although the salmon, from the kindness of their hearts, allow human beings to feast on their blankets, yet they have certain likes and dislikes which are carefully observed. From the time the first spring salmon appear (I, pp. 759-762) until the rising of the July moon, women are not allowed to eat them or to go near the river. Men may eat the flesh, but instead of throwing the bones to dogs, they carefully return them to the river saying:

"Please come back tomorrow."

If this is inconvenient, bones can be thrown into the woods with impunity.

Salmon, like men and animals, live a human-like existence in their homes far beneath the surface of the ocean. They lack and desire earthly objects, especially pounded cedar-bark (see Appendix A) to use as sponges for their children, so the Bella Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

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774 becomes critical. Only a shaman (I, p. 539) can return one, and
755 if he fails death always results. In some cases a spirit leaves
[753] its owner without apparent reason; he becomes insane, tries
to eat dirt, and his relatives realize at once what is the matter.
[756] They summon a shaman who takes off his cape, hangs it like a pouch on his stick, and points it in all directions as he sings his shaman's song. Finally he locates what is missing, and traps it in his cloak, which he places around the sick man. This restores the element and the sufferer recovers immediately. Another method is for the shaman to press the back of the patient's neck, and by blowing and spitting cause the wandering spirit to return. Either cure must be performed by a shaman because of the supernatural power required.

774 Spirits can be extracted in various ways. Shamans can draw one forth by sucking at the back of the neck between their cupped hands; in former times, some were so powerful that they could extract them by their mere presence. During
774 *kwisut* dances (II, chap. 1), the uninitiated are told that if they
575 enter the house where a ceremony is taking place, or even pass
[535] on the sidewalk outside the door, their spirits will be drawn from them by the power within and attracted to the dancer or to the sacred platform on which he is concealed. Many
[178] stories are told of this, which were firmly believed by the uninitiated until the last few years. Members of the society claim that their great power acts as a magnet to the spirits of all but their associates, except children in arms; the latter can be taken by their mothers into the house, because their supernatural elements have not developed sufficient strength to
774 leave their bodies. A person may also lose his spirit through a sudden shock. If two people meet unexpectedly in the forest and one of them shouts loudly at the other, even if only in fun, the spasmodic contraction of the muscles is enough to expel it.
[761] The person to whom this happens falls down as if dead, and
[756] though he soon recovers, his spirit has left him, and if it is not brought back by a shaman he dies a lingering death.

775 At death, the spirit permanently leaves the body. In some

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cause it turns near the corpse for four days, or it may start at once on its travels. Distance means nothing to it, nor does time; once disembodied it goes back on the path of its late owner's ancestors from generation to generation, until it reaches the spot where his first forefather came to this earth. Here it assumes the bird or animal form used on that occasion and goes up to *Nuxmit-a*. It is uncertain whether or not the spirit can take on, simultaneously, the different shapes used by various ancestors of the deceased. Its existence in the land above is similar to that on earth, but in an advanced degree. A good carpenter, for example, is a better carpenter after death; a chief is a greater chief; and one of the explanations for death is that *Alquntam* has called a man to continue his work in another sphere. *Nuxmit-a* is so huge that it is never crowded, though the spirits are immortal. They can see what is taking place on earth and sometimes return in bird or animal form to visit and comfort their grieving relatives. Powerful chiefs delight to display this, by means of a masked figure, as the central feature of a potlatch. Apart from this ceremonial usage, disembodied spirits play no part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They take no interest in human beings and accordingly are neither supplicated nor feared. 975

THE LIFE

Closely associated with the spirit is the *xnumkmk* "life." As in the previous case, *Alquntam* provides every human being and every animal with this at birth. It is an ethereal substance, having the form of the body which it animates; without it there can be neither strength nor growth; without life the body is an inert mass of flesh. As a person becomes older, so does this element grow, always taking the exact shape and form of the body. Alone, it can neither move nor think, its motive power being the spirit. It is the life that suffers 961 [774]

[114]

[illegible] have been employed whenever possible to lessen the use of [illegible] terms. *Life* is still an unsatisfactory translation of this Bella Coola word, but it is hoped that the reader will grasp the real significance from the discussion in this section.

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union of these with one another and with the spirit, the mental director of the life, is a matter of advanced Bella Coola theology on which opinions differ. Only men of philosophical temperament even hazard an opinion on such matters, which are beyond the realm of daily routine. 961

When a man dies, his life leaves his body and the useless flesh begins to decay. At the same time the life is freed to travel as an intangible wraith, having the form and appearance of its dead owner. It visits all the places where he had been in the habit of going during life, irrespective of their distance from the scene of death. Sometimes it journeys to the locality where, in a dream, the mother of the deceased received her first intimation of pregnancy (I, p. 615). It wants to see former friends and sometimes makes its presence known to them by whistling. A person who hears this sound is saddened by the realization that one of his associates has passed away in some distant place. At other times, a man merely senses its presence and feels frightened without hearing or seeing anything to account for it. Very rarely, a dead person's life speaks to a dearly loved friend to inform him of his loss. During the existence of the body, spirit and life are closely associated, and the former sometimes accompanies the latter on its round of farewell visits before ascending to *Nacudi-a*. 961 1915 [974]

After four days the life descends to the land below where it lives forever as a ghost. Some believe that it is the shadow which assumes this form, but the seeming contradiction is relatively unimportant since the life is essentially shadow-like. Ghosts have already been described in connection with supernatural bodies, and further information will be found in vol. I, chap. VIII.

At death, when the life as a whole becomes a ghost, its constituent parts likewise undergo transformation. The one situated in the feet remains with the corpse and disintegrates; that located in the legs assumes a wolf and nothing more is known of its fate; no one knows what happens to the one situated in the body. The part in the throat, including the voice, assumes 526 [526] [530]

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961 an owl, possibly one of those which normally roost on the tree
● 775 behind *Nacmidi-a*. This element of a dead person occasionally
135 communicates with a living relative, as evidenced by the fol-
[539] lowing story.
[127]

A number of years ago a party of men and women camped for the night beside one of the rivers flowing into South Bentinck Arm. After supper, as they were resting by their fire, an owl kept hooting from a neighbouring tree. One of the men turned to a friend who had been making obscene remarks and, half in jest, warned him to be careful in case one of his relatives was listening. The foolish fellow looked at the owl and asked:

"Are you a relative of mine?"

There was no answer, but when he had repeated the question four times, the owl spoke:

"I am *m-ami-m*," he said, naming the deceased grandfather of his questioner.

Consequent upon the belief that the voice of a dead person enters an owl, the bird is treated with considerable respect. It is improper to make fun of one, or to ask who it was when alive. Should a person do so, the owl answers with the interrogator's own name and he soon dies.

961 On the whole, the life does not affect the daily existence of the Bella Coola as profoundly as does the spirit. When they stop to ponder on the reason for some event, they readily admit the importance of the life with its constituent elements, but they are not always considering its activities and seeking to strengthen it. It is essentially a religious attribute, of greater moment to a man of imaginative and suggestible temperament than to one who carries on the daily routine without asking why and wherefore.

THE TALLY POST

773 In the beginning of time, when *Sqamtsin* sent the first
777 people down to earth, he erected in *Nacmidi-a* posts embellished with the bird or animal crest taken by each to serve as a memorial, or reminder, to him of the number of individuals existing

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that tally posts have mentality, and suggested that it might be those which attend the gathering of the supernatural beings at the winter solstice instead of an element from the human body itself.

One elderly Bella Coola, of philosophical temperament, described *qualtwacta* in terms far removed from the accounts of tally posts. According to him, every individual receives this supernatural possession at birth, and it remains with him, in close association with his body, throughout life. It stays in front of his face, invisible, yet having substance, and constantly shaking from side to side. If a man fails to receive a present at a potlatch, it is because his *qualtwacta* has ceased to move. When stationary it is not transparent, and not only hides its owner from the donor's sight, but acts as a barrier to his thoughts. The same man stated that this element can leave the body, can be seen by shamans, and that it is the one which ascends at the winter solstice to *Nacmaitx*. At death it is believed to accompany the spirit and the life to the land above.

There seems no reason to doubt that the concept of tally posts is an ancient belief. Nor does the application of the term *qualtwacta* to another immaterial possession of quite another type destroy this probability. It must be remembered that within the last eighty years the Bella Coola have suffered not only from the tremendous upheaval caused by the coming of the white man, but have been reduced to a mere fraction of their former numerical strength by various epidemics. These factors have led to the partial forgetting of ancient beliefs, with consequent confusion. It is probable that the use of the same term for the tally post, intimately connected with an individual's life although situated in the land above, and for an invisible and intangible possession which goes in front of him, is due to this recent decay of ancient convictions. If this be true, it merely means that in former times the Bella Coola had yet another supernatural element to govern and influence their lives.

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the point between Labouchere Channel and Bentinck Arm, 782
there is danger from treacherous currents, so, when a shaman [133]
passes either of these places, he lays some food on the water [502]
and puffs eagle down into the air as he asks for help. If no [756]
shaman is in the canoe, this is done by the captain.

The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is [776]
Tlitcāplilān-a, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and
gives power to shamans. Whenever a hunter kills an edible [224]
animal in the forest, he cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws
them into his fire to gain her goodwill. Long, long ago, [773]
Tlitcāplilān-a appeared to a hunter, seized some of his quarry,
and told him of her wishes with regard to presents; these have
since been obeyed by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of
a man absent in the mountains or at sea throw scraps of food
on the fire and ask the protection of *Tlitcāplilān-a* for the one
in danger. In this case, it is clear that objects thrown into
flames are received and appreciated by *Tlitcāplilān-a*.

Mesakais, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also [776]
given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accom-
panies his words by blowing up into the air small particles of
eagle down. Prayer in connection with the departure of war
or hunting expeditions have already been mentioned, but
before starting on a journey by canoe, the captain is careful [484]
to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and [824]
four of yellow cedar-bark. The blowing upwards of eagle [825]
down is a common accompaniment to all kinds of prayers,
but, if none is available, cedar-bark can be used equally
satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water,
otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella
Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and
considered valuable by *Alqantēn*, but they emphasize and
accompany the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's
sincerity.

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on pre- 795
sents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the 782
land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw

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775 small particles of food on a fire; these become large when they
782 reach the land below and nourish the ghosts. An individual making an offering of this kind says:

"*Anuklldimat kuskas*," "This is to make straight your road, beloved one."

[756] The needs and desires of ghosts have been made known to mortals through visits paid by shamans to the land below, and by the coming of ghosts to this world. It is, therefore, realized that food placed on the ground does not reach the [372] land below, but that morsels thrown on a fire sink through into the abode of ghosts. Offerings to the dead are not made [753] with the hope of receiving favours from them, but rather to provide beloved relatives with necessary food and to prevent them from showing displeasure by causing stomach-aches and other ailments.

782 Other instances, both of prayer and of sacrifice, will be recorded in connection with various myths. The salient feature is that the Bella Coola are able to gain, by such means, the favour of supernatural beings, a factor which plays an important part in their daily life. In addition, they have a [919] large number of practices based on sympathetic magic. No absolutely rigid boundary line can be drawn between the latter and religion proper, but there is a fairly clear division between rites such as those just described, in which propitiation is the important element, and others in which the desired end follows the mere performance of a certain act. Customs of this last type will be reserved for later consideration (vol. I, chap. xi).

THE OBSERVANCE OF CEREMONIAL CHASTITY

921, In addition to prayer and sacrifice, the Bella Coola have
785 yet another means of obtaining the goodwill of supernatural beings, and at the same time of strengthening their own supernatural attributes so that good fortune is likely to occur. This is by the practice of *xxxxte*, ceremonial chastity, of which the basis is that a man must not hold intercourse except after certain periods of continence. To understand this, it is neces-

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
601 Mother's sister's husband.....	Same as father's sister's husband.	
Brother's son's wife...	Same as son's wife.	Same as son's wife, or *tsi gnaz di ennis*, "Wife of my *ennis*."
or Sister's son's wife.....	" "	
Brother's daughter's husband.....	Same as daughter's husband.	Same as daughter's husband, or *di tsuamnis di ennis*, "Husband of my *ennis*."
or Sister's daughter's husband.....	" " "	

[597] In case of adoption, the same kinship terms are used as if the adopted person were a member of the family by birth. A more complicated situation arises when a child who is regarded as the reincarnation (I, p. 616) of a recently deceased elderly relative, is given the latter's name. In such a case the child is addressed by the kinship terms applicable to his namesake. In recent years, at any rate, this application is without social significance, and, as far as could be learned, this has always been the case. Bella Coola sentiment is that it is fitting for a child to receive the name of one of its ancestors. When a parent sees the child, and thinks of his name, he thinks of the late deceased, hence it is natural to use kinship terms accordingly. This is more obvious when the child is regarded as a reincarnation, though even in such a case he does not receive any of the marks of respect paid to his namesake; the reincarnation is physical, not social. In course of time this is forgotten and the child takes his place among others of his own generation, though it may be remembered in rhetorical speeches on ceremonial occasions.

601 553 775

The kinship terminology of the Bella Coola combines features of the family and classificatory systems. The reciprocal terms for parents- and children-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law, lack of sex differentiation for brothers and sisters, and the importance of age in the designations applied to persons of the same generation, are all features of the classificatory system. On the other hand, bilateralism, failure to

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* 556 622 the time the earth was settled, ought to be chief of that village. If he has been able to give the necessary potlatches to weight his possession of that name, the fact that he is the legal descendant of the first chief will add a certain amount to his prestige, but unless he has been able to do this his influence will be slight.

* 556 622 766 [795] Thirdly, potlatches smooth the way for the giver after death. Before the corpse of a chief is removed from the house where he has died, a speaker always announces the number of potlatches he has given and the total value of goods distributed at them. These gifts in a vague way are felt to make easy the deceased's path in the next world as they have done in the present. The feature of the potlatch, though firmly believed by some of the older people, plays a less important part in the life of the Bella Coola than might be expected.

* 556 What are the requisites for giving a potlatch?

[424] (1) Possession of an ancient myth, containing a name or names. Probably every Bella Coola has this requirement. A man's family may not be the proud owners of one of the ancestral myths dealing with the first settlement of this earth, but they will at least own some ancient myth which they can elevate by giving a potlatch. As has been said, the owner of one of the most ancient names in many cases chooses to elevate one of lesser antiquity, a course which must, perforce, be done by one who lacks an origin myth. The slight feeling of defer-
[554] ence with which those are regarded who hold the names of the first inhabitants of the earth, the mighty chiefs of old, is subordinate to the very real feeling of respect in which is held the successful giver of potlatches. The descendant of one of the first people has the potential right to chieftainship, but unless he can give potlatches he will fail to gain that eminence.

* 556 769 (2) An occasion for giving a potlatch is never lacking. It consists of a number of closely associated rites, any one of which will serve as a reason for the ceremony. The most important feature, the return of a dead ancestor or ancestors to visit the living, is available to anyone at any time. The Bella

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CAUSES OF DEATH

961 The Bella Coola know that sickness, accident, wilful murder, old age, and a host of other factors may at any time terminate a man's life, but they consider that any one of these direct causes is possible only in conjunction with an indirect reason of a religious or supernatural nature; in the last analysis they attribute death to supernatural, not to natural causes. [773] As described in a previous chapter, an ancient myth attributes the origin of death to the stupidity of Raven, but this belief, even if its historical accuracy is accepted, belongs to the realm of philosophy and ancient history rather than to everyday life. 961 When a canoe is capsized on the ocean and its occupants are drowned, —the Bella Coola do not consider a drowning a mere 776 accident—it is because Xmoqwa was hungry and desired human flesh. This indirect reason is quite as important as the direct one. So, too, the death of a man beneath a falling tree or a land-slide is no accident; *Sâ ôma* caused the tree to crush to earth or the slide to roll downwards. Most individuals believe that this supernatural being is responsible when an animal kills a hunter. He delights in death and always sits on [756] a coffin before it is taken to the grave, although none but shamans ever see him. Any supernatural being can cause death, but it must not be imagined that the Bella Coola go through life in a state of constant fear; death may vanquish them in the forests, but the probabilities are against it. Nor does 753 sickness appear to them as a natural phenomenon. Its cause is either the intrusion of some foreign object into the body, or the weakness of one of the patient's supernatural elements. The only remedy in the latter case is an appeal to the super- [755] natural, sometimes through the medium of a shaman, whereas a foreign object in the body can often be extracted by a skilled [754] practitioner. A disease of this type is often brought on by the machinations of a sorcerer, and if death results it is attributed 761 to the potency of his charms, not to a natural ailment. Even [775] ghosts are able to cause death. In war, one man may be able [776]

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764 while the relatives are preparing he body for disposal. For a child, these services are perfomed by the parents; for a married man whose parents are ded, by his brothers and other kindred; for a married woman, by ier husband or the members of her own family. If she has borne no children, it is customary for her relatives to carry out the fneral rites, especially if she has been many times rebought fron her husband. If such repayment has not been made, it is considered correct for a husband to bury his wife, although it is a point of honour for her relatives to reimburse him later for his expenditure. On the other hand, when children have been born and financial assistance mutually given and rceived several times, it is proper for the husband to perform the funeral rites, although he may receive assistance from hs wife's kinsmen. There is no rigid ruling on the point, butbickerings seldom occur in connection with disposal of the ded. Members of the ancestral family are ready to assist in every case, both on account [614] [556] of the disgrace that would follow niggardly funeral, and also as a means of displaying their weith.

The first essential is to wash tle body, a rite performed by men for a man, by women for a wman. It is immaterial who does this though some of the elatives usually volunteer. Neither husband nor wife touche a dead consort, though it [159] is said that long ago a man would hold intercourse with a deceased wife to indicate his xcessive grief. The most influential member of the immediite family takes the lead in the various necessary acts, although there is always endless discussion and advice from members of the ancestral family and others interested. A nose-ring is placed in the septum [301] [175] of the corpse; if this is omitted, the body will not be able to dissolve into its elements but will range the earth as a walking phantom, causing injury to anyone who observes it. [525] If the deceased has just eaten some of the first run of spring salmon or olachen, a shaman washes out his mouth with a sponge of undyed cedar-bark which he throws into the river. The essence of the salmon is thus extracted from the body; if

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this rite is neglected no more salmon will come to the river. No precautions are necessary after the food has been digested. 764 [825]

Many men prepare their coffins before death. If this has not been done, a large, wooden box is provided by a kinsman of the deceased. The body is dressed in good clothing and bound into a squatting position, head between knees, hands clasped around shins, and the haunches just above the level of the soles of the feet. In this posture it is thrust into the coffin. Particularly if the corpse has been brought from some distance and *rigor mortis* has set in, it may be necessary to break the back-bone and even to crush the skull before the box can be closed. A stone is placed on the back of the neck, within the coffin, to prevent the ghost from returning to haunt the survivors. A little choice food is placed beside the body of a dearly loved child for nourishment during the journey to the next world. [763] [602] [775]

From this point onwards, the funeral rites differ according to the rank of the deceased. On the death of an influential *ssaak*, the senior members of that society meet as soon as possible to arrange the dramatization of the coming of *Mulakila*. A *ssaak* son, brother, or other near relative is always present even if he has little importance in the affairs of the society. If the death has taken place during the night, the conference is held the following morning and the rites begin at noon. There may be delay until all have gathered, but about the middle of the first possible day two *ssaak* are sent up one of the mountains behind the village. They carry large, cone-shaped whistles which they blow twice. The sound is plainly audible in the village and all, whether or not members of the *ssaak* society, recognize that a supernatural being is drawing near. After a short interval, another whistle is blown by a *ssaak* concealed on the roof of the house in which the corpse is lying, and after another pause the same sound comes from within, beside the body itself. Most of the uninitiated know that this is the voice of *Mulakila* (also called *Sixsisputsam*), 575 766 [776]

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764 grave carrying a spruce bough in his hand. He touches with it the edge where he is standing, then, in sunwise order, the east, south, and west margins. This circuit is repeated four times and the branch tossed away to westward. This essential [774] ceremony is based on a belief that the lives, or perhaps the spirits, of the grave-diggers have been drawn from them into the grave and are in danger of being pressed down by the coffin. Should this occur, they would have short lives. The spruce branch enables the supernatural elements to leave the cavity and return to their owners who suffer no ill effects. Anyone, other than a grave-digger, can perform this rite.

The coffin is now lifted into the grave, care being taken that the corpse faces east. As already described, it is in a squatting position with haunches almost on the ground. Boards have been prepared in advance, and with these the grave-diggers make a roof-like covering, placing at each corner [775] a stone weighing from ten to fifteen pounds, to prevent the ghost from returning to trouble the survivors. Earth is thrown in on top of the boards, and as it falls the wailing breaks out dolorously in a final crescendo of mourning. [766] If a chief has been buried, his fellows sometimes sing a *ne-ala* [533] song. At this time it is proper for one or more chiefs to rise and speak. No one is required to do so, nor is there any rule 537 as to the order in which they make their remarks. The first 764 speaker is usually a prominent man related to the survivors, though seldom a son, brother, or other near relative of the deceased. A speech is generally addressed in part to the spirit of the dead person, telling it where to go; in part, to the mourners. For a dead child, emphasis is laid on the fact that although he did not live long enough to be incorporated into his ancestral myths on earth, this will be done for him in his future home. In conclusion, an appeal is often made to [775] *Alqwastim*, under the name of *Smaiahsla*, to take pains that [773] the spirit of the dead is given its rightful place in *Nuxalk-a*, in the section where its first forbears were created, and whither the spirits of its dead ancestors have returned since the beginning of time.

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put his granddaughter into the ground beside her grandmother but it may all be for the best."[14] 764 537

There is no doubt that condolences of this nature assist the mourning relatives to bear up under their grief. This fact was emphasized by several Bella Coola, and in addition the writer was able to observe it on several occasions. They readily respond to suggestions of any kind and undoubtedly derive comfort from the laudatory comments of influential chiefs.

Speeches of this general nature are always delivered as the grave is being filled in. Sometimes this work is finished before all who wish to do so have expressed themselves, sometimes the remarks are so short that they are ended before all the earth has been thrown back. When the hole has been filled to ground level, it is stamped down and the surplus earth scattered out of sight among the bushes, no mound being thrown up. 764

Great care is always taken to prevent the return of the ghost. In addition to the weighting with stones already described, other methods are used before the funeral party leaves the cemetery. Heavy boards are usually laid flat over the grave and rocks piled on these bar the way up from below. A further precaution is the setting upright of four stakes, one at each corner of the hole, and fastening ropes of cedar-bark between them along the east and west sides of the grave. The significance of this is not fully understood, except that the ghost cannot pass the strands. Four spruce saplings are cut and placed either between the grave and the village, or one on each side of the hole; their sharp needles form an effective barrier. 764 995 [524]

While these precautions are being taken, any clothing and utensils brought to the grave and not already consumed are thrown on the fire and allowed to blaze brightly. The ashes 764

[14] It was impossible to record these speeches verbatim at the time of their delivery. The writer was able to make notes, which were amplified by each speaker later telling him what he had said. Although lacking literal accuracy, the above may be considered essentially correct. [26]

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thrown on it. One rather philosophic old man suggested that in this way the soul could easily return to *Nuxmāt-a*. It is possible that this means of disposal was carried out in former times, but no informant had actually seen it practised. The Bella Coola state that cremation is carried out by the Kitlobe* and the Carriers. On the morning after a burning, young men of the former tribe rush to the spot and smear their faces with the semi-charred bones, amid much shouting. The Carriers are said to stand with their bodies inclined over the burning corpse and to smear on their faces any grease exuded from it. The accuracy of these statements is very doubtful, and can have no bearing on the reputed practice of cremation among the Bella Coola. 764 764 829

The bodies of rich or poor, chiefs, commoners, or slaves, all are buried in a similar manner though with differences in the complexity of ritual. Nor is any different method practised for criminals, murdered people, or those committing suicide. It is believed that in case of self-destruction the body cannot separate into its elements and reach *Nuxmāt-a*; that part which becomes the ghost is able to go to the land below, but neither spirit nor life can ascend. According to one man, who may, however, have been affected by Christian influence, this is because *Alqunūm* decrees the length of life and any willful shortening is insulting to him. Suicide is rare among the Bella Coola and four cases only were heard of. One woman killed herself in shame at having accidentally set fire to a village, another because her husband was unduly jealous, and two men through bladder stricture. 766 762 [775]

On the whole, Bella Coola methods for disposal of the dead have altered but little since the coming of the white man. The change from sub-aerial exposure to interment was probably not due to foreign influence although the introduction of metal shovels has facilitated the digging of graves and probably hastened the movement. A change in posture has, however, taken place. In former times, a corpse was always buried 777 764

*Not as present, at least within the memory of elderly people.

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177 964 squatting, now it is customary to use the extended position. It is impossible to state whether this is the direct result of white teaching, or whether the ease with which large boxes can now be made has led to interment at full length.

RITES FOLLOWING DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

968 Interment of the corpse does not end the ceremonial necessitated by a death in the community. As already described, some of the clothing and utensils of the dead person are burned during the funeral, but all are not destroyed at that time. The proportion kept for future treatment is immaterial, nor is there any established usage concerning the type of object reserved. During the days following the funeral, relatives of the deceased carefully gather his clothing, cooking utensils, rifles, and all other articles which have been his personal property or used exclusively by him. On the fourth day, these are taken to the cemetery by his immediate family, accompanied by as many of their friends as wish to show their sympathy. A fire is kindled near the grave and on it is deposited whatever can be burnt; other objects are either cast into the flames or piled near at hand (see Plate 17). It is most important that every article belonging to the deceased should be disposed of in this way. There are two reasons for this. First, it is considered indecent to use the possessions of a dead person; they would have the effect of poison on anyone doing so. Secondly, the ghost of the deceased receives goods that are burnt or deposited on the grave four days after the funeral. If deprived of what belongs to him, a ghost punishes the offenders by causing sickness. Occasionally a new rifle, or some other treasured possession, is kept by a relative or friend; this is contrary to the established custom, but is justified by considering the article to be a gift from the deceased or a memento of him. No one would accept such a legacy unless he felt sure that the dead man

[995] [753] 178 968

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entertained such kindly sentiments towards him that he would be glad to have his friend receive it.

In recent years the number of incombustible objects has increased enormously with the introduction of metal utensils, gramophones, and other things obtained from white traders. Although these are considered to be of use to the ghost, and must be carefully placed near the grave, they can be publicly exchanged for others by a relative. The sentiments expressed on such occasions are that the ghost, though aware of what is taking place, does not resent an open transfer; and that it is unnecessary to deposit the equivalent of what has been removed. There is undoubtedly a vague idea that the ghost uses, not the actual object, but its essence, which is received by the deposition. It must be emphasized that this feeling has not become crystallized to such a state that it is customary to replace goods laid on the grave with others. Such an exchange is a rare event and would cause animosity if carried out by anyone except a near relative.

Sometimes a dying person requests that a house be erected over his grave, a common Bella Bella custom. This is built immediately after the funeral and articles that cannot be burnt are placed within it instead of being piled on the ground. The sorrowing relatives may choose to erect a picket fence around the spot, but no other mark for the grave is put up until a memorial potlatch several years after death. House or fence soon falls into decay and rarely an effort is made to repair either. Nor is the grave itself disturbed. Cow-parsnips, which are much used for food, grow frequently in cemeteries, but no one would gather the shoots that rise above a grave; they are food belonging to the dead person. The white man has taught the Bella Coola how to plant apple-trees and these are often set out in graveyards, though the fruit is allowed to fall to the ground for the benefit of those interred beneath. The Bella Bella are said formerly to have replaced at intervals the coffin containing a dead person, but this seems never to have been a Bella Coola practice. Indeed, a grave is never

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"She was my daughter, I have a right to do as I like." 968

Samuel King and the others accepted the exchange as a matter of course and made no comments. Captain Schooner took no part in the burning of his daughter's goods, this being the task of those with whom she had been living, and who accordingly knew which were hers. The fire was kindled by a married daughter of Reuben Schooner, though it could have been done equally well by any woman. On the following 783
morning, July 1, Samuel King went with a friend to the forest 964
and passed four times through a small spruce sapling bent into an arch. This was the last incident in the funeral rites.

Fate of the Dead

Life of the Dead

Little need be added to the account given in vol. I, chap. 975
11 of the fate of those parts of a man which go at death to *Nuxmit-a*. The spirit and the life travel back the path of the deceased's ancestors from generation to generation until they reach the place where his first forefather came to earth and where his cloak, if he had worn one, floated back after his alteration to human form. When the spirit and the life of a descendant reach the spot, they change into a being having the form of the cloak, and so return to *Nuxmit-a*. The spirit and the life of one who is a member of several ancestral families visit the localities where the transformations to human shape of all his ancestors occurred. The Bella Coola believe that these two elements can assume many crest forms, but they do not know whether this entails the simultaneous assumption of many shapes to comprise a composite figure; or whether the spirit and the life, which become a single entity in the case of a member of one ancestral family, become multiple for one who is a member of several. When lamenting a dead person, mention is always made of the various scenes which he will have visited, and the forms he will have assumed. At a memorial potlatch, the deceased may return as a hybrid, or as

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995 one of the several crests which it is believed he has become. The point does not appear important to the Bella Coola, corresponding to their indefinite ideas concerning whether the spirit and the life have become a single being, or several.

Knowledge of the life led in *Nuxmáit-a* by the deceased, now in the form of his crest,* is most indefinite. In a general way it is felt that the actions of this being are similar to those carried on during life, but in a more advanced degree. A skilled carpenter is a better carpenter in the land above, a chief who has given many potlatches below can give more in *Nuxmáit-a*. This [593] belief finds expression in mourning songs which frequently state how *Alquntáw* has called a good carpenter to work above, or how a chief has gone to exhibit his generosity in a new sphere. It is doubtful whether this sentiment plays any real part in Bella Coola thought. The spirit and the life of a dead person have gone too far away to affect the living; what little is known of their actions has been handed down from the distant past and is merely a matter of history. The only time that these 995 two merged elements come to this world is at a memorial pot- 969 latch, and formerly the uninitiated undoubtedly believed that 556 they were witnessing such a visit. Though the spectators were shown as a matter of course that the spirit and the life had become bird or animal, emphasis was laid on the fact that they had become the *particular* bird or animal crest of the donor's ancestral family. The effect of the memorial potlatch in former times, as at present, was, therefore, social rather than religious. Besides, the two parts portrayed have never been known 995 to affect a human being; they expect no offerings, grant no assistance, cause no injury, and are accordingly neglected.

In comparison with the above vague beliefs, Bella Coola information concerning ghosts is clear and exact. As already

[993] *It is accepted that men were created as human beings, and only assumed bird or animal shapes in order to watch the earth, but there is no corresponding belief that the spirit and the life change back from crest to human form on arrival above. Of course the performance of human activities by anthropomorphic creatures presents no difficulties to Bella Coola thought.

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described, at death the shadow, the body, and a portion of the life, descend to the land below where existence is continued as a ghost. These wraiths are usually termed, *Kulu'lmq*, "The Earthy Ones," though they prefer the name *Ainuinem*, "They Who Have Become Supernatural." They enter into the lives and actions of the Bella Coola in a way entirely different from that of the elements which go aloft at death. 775

The land of ghosts, immediately beneath the earth, is similar to it. There are trees and bushes, stones, grass, everything as on the surface of the world. There is a river, too, but it rises in the west and flows eastward, contrary to the course of the Bella Coola. The sun that shines below is green and unnatural, giving an ethereal light like that of the moon which, indeed, it is sometimes said to be. The seasons are the reverse of those on earth; when mortals are in midsummer, it is wintertime for ghosts. The fluff which human beings see falling from cottonwood trees reaches the land of ghosts as snow. All earthly springs rise from the river in the land below; they never freeze in winter because they come from a warm region, and the coldness of spring water in summer is the result of coming from a land where it is winter. With the exception of the peculiar light, the only essential difference between the land of ghosts and this world is that food is very scarce in the former; berries grow below, and it is supposed that there must be fish and animals there, but it is common knowledge that residents there are always hungry. 772 775 [525]

The life led by ghosts is similar to that of human beings. They occupy the same type of house as before death, dwell in the same kind of villages on the river bank, wear similar clothes, have similar likes and dislikes, require similar food, and even enjoy the same kind of dances. One old Bella Coola even stated that the ghosts are able to summon supernatural beings from *Nanaitia* to their *Ituiat* rites. It is generally believed that no work is done below, although several of the older people denied this. According to these individuals, a ghost can perform more rapidly and easily whatever tasks he had been 775

accustomed to do when alive; but the workmanship is shadowy and unsubstantial, sometimes even transparent. Ghosts do not act like human beings, but usually walk backwards, sometimes even on their heads, and spend much of their time playing a game resembling football with large, globular objects made of some light substance. They communicate with one another both by whistling and in a language which resembles the attempts at speech made by a tongueless person. Some individuals believe that there is a supreme chief in the land of ghosts, *Ałłăt-iaiał*, sent down like Pluto to preside over the shades. He figures in certain stories describing descents to the lower world; but many Bella Coola know nothing of his existence below, although it furnishes a plausible explanation for his coming by night to molest human beings. Like *Sxaiamax* he causes blood to rush forth from the mouth and genitalia of anyone whom he seizes; death follows, and a new victim has been acquired for his kingdom. The more common belief is that the villages of ghosts have chiefs like those of human beings. It is thought, indefinitely, that after a long period of time the ghosts die, and some of them may then return to this world as infants. A child born with dimples in its ears, which are regarded as indications of previous borings for rings, is welcomed as the reincarnation of some unknown ancestor.

At death, the ghost does not immediately appear in the land below, but remains for four days within the back-room of a house corresponding in style to an ordinary Bella Coola dwelling. It is believed that one of these large houses is beneath every village* and that the dead pass straight down through the earth into it. Meanwhile the goods, burnt at the grave during the funeral, as well as those deposited beside it, have fallen through the ground and notified the ghosts that a newcomer has arrived. The wraiths assemble from all directions and fight over the articles, none of which are obtained by the one who owned them during life. On the fourth

*There may be one huge house, extending beneath the world like *Nałmăł-a* above; it was impossible to obtain definite information on this point.

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day after the funeral, the relatives of the dead person burn the 775
remainder of his property, which passes through the earth to
the ghost for whom it is intended. Ghost-singers have taken [768]
their places and begin to beat out music, and presently the
recently deceased appears, stepping backwards from the back-
room in time to the beating of sticks. He is at once surrounded
by his fellows, each anxious to learn the latest news of relatives
still alive. This dance is really to welcome the new arrival,
and takes place irrespective of his rank. After it has been
held, it is hopeless to attempt to rescue a dead person, although
that has been done several times during the four days imme-
diately succeeding death.

Only shamans are able to peer down into the land of the [756]
dead, though stories are told of inadvertent visits to it in
relatively recent times. Human beings are prevented from
visiting their dead relatives, but the latter, being supernatural,
can come to the earth at will. They are always dreaded, and
anyone who hears their whistling or their tongueless chatter
cowers in his house, and hopes they will pass by. Shamans [756]
can understand their speech and to them the dead explain their
mission. If the relations of a dead person have failed to burn [768]
all his personal possessions, he returns to earth to inform them,
through a shaman, of the omission. The house is scoured for
anything left and it is burnt at once near the grave, though no
one knows how a ghost would punish failure to give him his
property. Thoughtful people, remembering the scarcity of [264]
food in the land below, frequently give presents to their dead
relatives by casting small morsels of food on the side of the [772]
central fire nearest the front door, beneath which is a passage
to the lower regions. The food becomes magnified as it falls
down this, so that even small fragments are sufficient to feed
many hungry ghosts. Since the introduction of metal stoves,
it has become customary to throw food into a fire kindled for [177]
the purpose in the cemetery; the most suitable time is at dusk,
although people are always afraid that spectres may be prowl-
ing around at that hour. If sufficient presents are not given [756]

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775 to a ghost, he informs a shaman of the fact and the latter
[754] notifies the relatives of the deceased. If no shaman is convenient, the shade does not hesitate to help himself. Invisible,
264 and armed with a barbed hook, he approaches a person who is
775 eating and pulls away a crumb which falls to the earth. Should the eater stoop to pick this up, the ghost, robbed of his booty,
753 beats the offender with his hook, causing toothache or sometimes a sharp pain in the head or stomach. Other ailments are caused by the ghosts hitting with invisible stones those who have offended them. Consequently, no one picks up a crumb which has fallen, since it is impossible to know whether it has
[827] been an accident or a seizure. Another indication of a ghost's
[782] hunger is loss of a tooth. The loser should throw it on a fire with an invitation to the dead to accept his offering.

775 The barrier between ghosts and human beings is considered to be little more than a wall of smoke, just too dense for ordinary eyes to penetrate. In early times intercommunication between the denizens of the two worlds was so easy that a doting mother was once allowed to send her dead child on earth. Unfortunately, the woman's mother one day insisted on holding her grandchild, unaware that he was a ghost. Shocked at his appearance, the old woman dropped the child, much to the anger of the dead people.* Ever since that time it has been impossible for human beings to see and talk with
[538] their deceased kinsmen. Like so many Bella Coola stories, it is doubtful whether this one is regarded as more than an item of ancient history; it is considered to be a fact, but it is not one that enters into the daily thoughts of the people.

[125] Ghosts frequently come to their old homes at night where dogs can see them. If one of these animals begins to bark and gazes fixedly at a spot where nothing is to be seen, it is because a wraith is standing there and the dog's owner hopes that it will remain invisible. It is true that some individuals have
[754] received shamanistic power from a ghost, but more often a visitation is disastrous and to be avoided. A dead person often

*This story is recorded in detail later (I, p. 373).

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tries to speak to living relatives, but his whistling language is unintelligible and frightens the hearer. Ghosts dislike urine, and the only means known to keep them away from a house is to sprinkle this liquid outside the door, a common Belle Coole custom. There is no actual danger in hearing a ghost, and little even in seeing one, provided the observer does not relain his equanimity, but should he try to do so, something happens to his mouth as if an invisible hand had been clamped over it to prevent his words issuing forth. He can neither eat nor drink and soon dies.* It is possible that other beings are responsible for this same affliction, but as no sufferer has ever been able to explain the cause of his ailment, no one knows. The most dangerous ghost is that of a person who, buried without a mourning, is unable to disintegrate into his elements. The sight of such an apparition causes almost immediate death through contraction and closing of the mouth.

An unpleasant habit of ghosts is the throwing of stones at the living. This is done partly from a love of mischief, and partly to remind their relatives of their needs. An old Kitsequit man described how, when encamped on King Island, he had almost been struck by a stone which seemed to fall from a tree. He realized that it must have been thrown by a ghost, and his opinion was confirmed when he found he could not speak. He instantly built a fire and cast on it both food and clothing as offerings to the dead, which had the effect of loosening his mouth. Pondering on the reason, he remembered that one of his relatives had died not far away, and that he had failed to give him any crumbs for a long time. In this case, as in many others, the stone was visible, though the thrower remained invisible.

Even near approach to ghosts is sometimes dangerous. The same man related how, when hunting, he heard what he thought was the noise of a water ouzel, and passed by heedlessly. In a few minutes he thought he heard the cackling of geese, but the sound, instead of continuing to come from a pond a few hun-

*The disease attributed to the actions of ghosts may be hiccough.

dead yards away, rapidly drew near the hunter along the trail. He raised his musket and stepped aside, but though the sound went past him down the path, he could see nothing. Terrified, he realized that he had been near two ghosts, and rushed back to the village. A shaman was called who informed him that he had met his dead father's sister and another relative, both of whom were hungry. The hunter, too weak from fright to help himself, watched the shaman light a fire and throw on it a considerable amount of food and goods. Finally, he ripped the hunter's skin from his back and threw it into the flames. Consequently, no harm resulted from this experience.

Ghosts, like all other supernatural beings, can, of course, control their powers so that their appearance does not injure a beholder. A few years before 1922 a certain *Qwalin-i*, whose ancestral name was *Ze-qme-i*, was encamped at *Sachmamen* on the Labouchere Channel side of King Island. At dusk a woman came to his fire and proceeded to warm her caps. He recognized from her green face that she must be a ghost and boldly asked her what she wanted.

"I have been searching for mussels," she replied, "but without success."

In an instant she vanished and *Qwalin-i* experienced neither good nor evil from this apparition. The Bella Coola say that this being may not have been a ghost as he had thought, but was perhaps one of the under-sea dwellers who have somewhat the same appearance.

Since ghosts, like other supernatural beings, are believed to possess both wisdom and power, it might be thought that they would be invoked frequently. Instead, death has altered their character to such an extent that they are avoided and kept at a distance. The only time that an appeal is made to a ghost is when a young person dies without apparent reason and the survivors wish to leave the house. The body is buried with a long cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark projecting from its mouth and stretching to the surface. The relative desiring information summons to his house several shamans whose powers have been obtained

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from ghosts, and for four days feels then lovably. On the 5th morning they proceed to the grave, accompanied by kinsmen of the deceased, and pound on the ground with sticks, asking the dead person whether or not he had been murdered, and if so, the name of the murderer. It is said that in former times the voice of the deceased could always be plainly heard giving the desired information. This ceremony has not been carried out for many years, and exact details are not known by any of the living Bella Coola. It seems clear that ventriloquism must have been employed, requiring active deception on the part of the shamans. [98]

It was difficult to ascertain to what extent shamans believed in their own powers to understand the speech of ghosts. There is no doubt that the Bella Coola are easily influenced by suggestion, and if an individual is told that he has received help from a ghost, it is not difficult for him to believe that such has been the case. Further, his fellows are convinced of his powers, a circumstance which does not fail to affect him. It may be stated definitely that in many cases shamans have some confidence in their own powers, although they do not hesitate to use deception to increase their prestige. This point will be considered in greater detail in the following chapter.

SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE WITH GHOSTS

Much of the information concerning ghosts is contained in stories which have been handed down for generations and which are regarded as historical records. Some of these must be deferred to the chapters on folk-lore and shamanism, but the following are sufficient to explain the source of many Bella Coola beliefs on this subject.*

A Scene from Home

Long, long ago, there lived a little girl who used to cry incessantly. One evening when she was disturbing the whole household by weeping, her father said angrily to her:

*These stories have been included at this point as specific illustrations of the type of legend upon which generalized beliefs depend.

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"Keep quiet or the ghosts will come and carry you off."

Even this threat did not silence her; later on, all her companions went to bed, leaving her alone, crying, in the central part of the house. After a time her father carried the child's sobs had grown fainter, though she seemed to be weeping in the same manner as before. He went out to investigate, found her place vacant, and, listening intently, realized that the sound came from below; the ghosts had come for her. He roused the household and called in all the men of the village to dig for the girl with sharpened spruce branches. Her crying was still audible and the diggers were directed by it; sometimes they seemed to be on the point of overtaking her, but always her ghost-captor eluded his pursuers by moving sideways through the ground instead of continuing his direct descent. At length the men gave up their task in despair, leaving the mourning father and mother to lament the former's rash remark which had brought the ghosts.

The parents of the girl consulted all the village shamans, one of whom formulated a scheme to rescue the victim. He told her relatives to remove shamanic boards from the roof of the house, and to place on each remaining one a vessel filled with urine. He stationed a helper beside each vessel, ready to upset it when he gave the signal, and requested everyone else to leave the house. When these arrangements had been carried out, the shaman went alone to the cemetery, passed through the earth to the land of ghosts, and invited the wraiths to assemble in the house for a feast. They gladly accepted, and the hidden assistants watched them enter, one or two at a time, as if they had been human beings hidden to a ceremony. At last all had arrived except the principal chief, who was to sit in the central seat behind the fire. The feast could not proceed without him, so the ghosts sent a special messenger down below to summon him. It was this chief who had stolen the child, and the excitement of the watchers became intense as he entered, carrying concealed beneath his cloak the girl whose cries betrayed her presence to the hidden relatives. When all had taken their places, the shaman gave the previously arranged signal and his accomplices tipped the urine over the hidden heads. Wild confusion followed. The ghosts dashed to and fro, showing their anger and resentment by furious whistling and inconsequent gurgling. At last they rushed from the house, abandoning the child. They could still be heard in the vicinity of the village, so the shaman directed the people to scatter urine all around the house, which drove away the unwelcome visitors. The use of this deterrent was first learned on this occasion.

The parents of the stolen child were overjoyed at her rescue, but it was soon apparent that their daughter had changed. She would not eat;

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in fact, she acted as if she could not see food placed before her. The next morning she rose early and was seen to eat the ashes of fish that had been burnt as torches; this proved conclusively that she was really dead. Thereafterwards, instead of being given food in the usual way, her meals were thrown into the fire, from the ashes of which she received her nourishment. Ever since that time, the Bella Coola have recognized that food for the dead must be thrown on a fire.

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An Attempt to Rescue a Dead Wife

Two or three hundred years after the first settlement of the earth, a brave Kimsquit man, *Ne-chakkoway*, set out with his three sons to hunt seals. His wife was in an advanced state of pregnancy at the time, but her delivery was not expected for several weeks and her husband had no hesitation in leaving her. The hunters were absent for three full days and nights, and returned home soon after dusk on the fourth day, having had great success. When they landed at the beach they were surprised to see no lights in any of the houses except their own. Leaving two of his sons in the canoe, *Ne-chakkoway* and the other lad cautiously approached the dwelling. As they drew near, they realized that the light which shone forth was green and unearthly, and that the smoke, too, was greenish instead of white. Looking through the door, *Ne-chakkoway* saw his wife standing with bowed head dangling an infant in a cradle suspended from a cord. This is a common method of soothing a child, but *Ne-chakkoway* was horrified to see that the cradle had been fastened to the cord upside down so that the infant was hanging head downwards, with no visible fastening to prevent it from falling to the floor.

"Look out! The child will fall and be killed," *Ne-chakkoway* called to his wife, but she did not seem to hear him.

The husband entered the house and touched her, but she crumbled to bones as he did so. The watching son cried out in fear and horror. *Ne-chakkoway* hastily left the house and the two returned to the canoe, after ascertaining that no living people were in the village.

The four hunters slept that night in their canoe, and next morning *Ne-chakkoway* prowled around until he found the villagers hiding in the forest not far away. They explained that, two days after his departure, his wife had given birth to a child, but the after-birth had not come away and she had died. It was the first time that this had ever happened and the people had fled from the village in fear.

Ne-chakkoway knew that the ghosts would dance to welcome his wife on the fourth day after her death, and he determined to attempt to rescue her at that time. On the evening of the second day, the fourth after her death, he and his three sons hurled in the vicinity of their house. Pre-

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sently they heard the sound of drums, which they knew must herald the approach of ghosts, so they hid themselves on the roof of their own house in such positions that they could peer down within. In some unknown way the four had been granted the power to see ghosts, for they observed the entry of what looked like ordinary human beings, though in reality they were wraiths. These took their places like spectators at a ceremony, while several with hunting sticks seated themselves behind the fire as singers. As they struck their batons on the floor, one of the ghosts began to dance in time to the music, and *Sk-ukkiowy*'s wife came to life and watched. Two ghosts who were directing the ceremony called out, "U.....e.....i.....e....," which are words in the language of the dead and serve to invite some supernatural being from above to one of their ceremonies. In answer to the call, there came a thump on the roof, marking the descent of the visitor. This gave the dead woman power to move and she began to dance around the fire. She had completed one circuit and was on her second when one of the ghosts called out:

"Take care! I feel as if living people were watching us."

Some of the ghosts at once left the house and searched the bushes near it.

"No," they said on their return, "We are in vain."

Sk-ukkiowy's wife continued her dance, and as she was circling the fire for the third time, her husband whispered to his sons:

"As she goes round the fourth time we must jump down, catch her, and fly to our canoe."

When the woman was midway in her fourth circuit, the four leaped into the house and *Sk-ukkiowy* clutched his wife in his arms, but she crumbled to bones at his touch and the ghosts rushed away, whistling angrily, leaving the four alone, *Sk-ukkiowy* holding the skeleton of his wife. Then they went and joined the other inhabitants of the village in their hiding-place. Everyone was anxious to hear the outcome of the attempt, though some did not believe the story. *Sk-ukkiowy* made no further effort to rescue his wife, knowing that it would be hopeless after the fourth day when the ghosts had welcomed her as one of themselves.

An Inadvertent Visit to the Land of Ghosts

A few years after the first settlement of the earth, four Kimsquit men went into the mountains to hunt game. The first night of their absence, before they had killed any game, they lay down to sleep in a cave. Nothing disturbed their rest, but when they awoke in the morning they were amazed to find themselves in a strange country. They were near a wooded valley through which flowed a river resembling the Dean, but instead of

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the sun, there was shining in the sky a sphere that gave forth a green, sickly light. Unknown to them, the cave in which they had been sleeping had turned over on itself and projected them into the land of ghosts. The four brothers descended into the valley and walked up the bank of the river until they saw a large village on the other bank. It seemed to contain countless inhabitants who were amusing themselves by rolling to and fro with their feet a large, round object like a football. This led the four travellers to think they must be in the land of ghosts, though they were puzzled to know how they had reached it. They called across to the players, but though the river was narrow and though they shouted loudly and repeatedly, they received no answer. The reason for this, as they have discovered, was that the language of ghosts differs from that of human beings, and neither can hear the speech of the other. After a considerable interval, the third brother, who was sleepy, happened to yawn noisily; all the ghosts heard this sound and stopped their play to see whence it had come. They saw the four at once and called to them that they would send a canoe to bring them across the river. Two of the ghosts manned a large, dark canoe and poled it across, but as the bow touched the bank where they were standing, the elder brother pointed out to his fellows that it was transparent. They all looked down into it and could see sticks and stones on the bottom of the river through the floor of the craft. They were somewhat nervous about trusting themselves in such a canoe, but the elder shut his eyes and jumped aboard without wishing, followed by the other three. They were landed on the bank in front of the village, but before any one of the four could set foot on the ground the ghosts who had come crowding around picked them up in their arms. Each was passed by his bearer to another further inland, and in this way they were quickly thrown from hand to hand until deposited within the house of the chief, without using their feet and without a single ghost having had to move from the spot where he had been standing.

The four human beings found themselves in a large house crowded with what seemed to be people, but when they looked more be ghosts. At that distant period, men were wiser than they are today, and the brothers realized that the chief must be Allah-tala-himself. Ghost-females brought food to the four strangers, but they concealed it beneath their tapa instead of eating it, remembering what they had heard at Kumapit that a person who sets the food of the dead can never leave their home. The chief was kind to them and somewhat facetiously told them that they would come to harm if they stayed in a country where the people played as much as they did in life. He added that they could return to earth by the same route by which they had come, and advised them to

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534 heavy luck. After so short a visit as they thought polite, they asked to
775 be ferried back across the river and returned their steps to the cave where they had slept the previous night. It was dark by this time and they lay down to sleep. During the night the cave returned on itself once more, and in the morning they were delighted to find themselves in the mountains above the Dean River.

This was the first time that anyone had penetrated to the land of ghosts, and the friends of the four brothers were intensely interested in the account of their experiences. It was October at the time, but they explained that it was late winter in the land below. No one knows why or how the four brothers had received the power to pass into the land of ghosts, although it is assumed that *Sqamtin* must have granted them the boon.

A Kitlala Story of a Descent to the Land of Ghosts

177 The following story was related by an elderly man who had
534 heard it about ten years previously from three Christian
775 Kitlala who had been his fellow-passengers on a steamship between Vancouver and Bella Coola. It is not a Bella Coola story, although it has been circulated among members of the tribe as an interesting tale. The facts recorded in it do not agree entirely with their beliefs, but that is a matter of no
[128] consequence to the Bella Coola who, having their own knowledge, consider it quite natural that the other tribes should have other concepts.

534 About ten years before the story was told, a Kitlala woman had died,
775 leaving her husband and one grown-up daughter to mourn her. The husband refused to be comforted, and used to fall into a paroxysm of weeping whenever he saw any of his wife's clothing or goods. About a week after her funeral he took her clothing to the cemetery intending to burn it, but instead sat down on the ground to weep. Presently he noticed a passage beside him, down which he crawled until he came to a fine, rich land more prosperous than this world, where he wandered along aimlessly till he heard the sound of singing and hid himself behind a clump of bushes. There seemed to be five or six groups of people in different sections of the country, and the song was taken up in succession by each group. When he had wandered in his hiding-place for some time, two people in new, white clothes passed so close to him that he could hear the rustling of their garments. He recognized one of the

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pin were for an his wife, and the other an a fellow villager who had died some time previously. Somewhat perturbed at finding his wife apparently on friendly terms with a male ghost, the husband decided to return home and ponder before taking any rash steps.

He crawled back along the passage to the cemetery and at once heard his wife's clothing. When he reached home his daughter, who had been worried at his long absence, saw that her father had been weeping and tried to console him. He told her mother promptly set to arranging, and, while eating, recounted what he had seen that day, ending his determination to return to the morning and bring back his dead wife. His daughter begged him not to do so, reminding him that her mother had died of her own volition and that it would be dangerous to bring her back to earth, but the grieving father put no attention to her appeal.

Next morning the men went again to the cemetery where he found the passage still open. He went down, hid in the same thicket, and heard the same singing taken up by group after group. As on the previous day, after a considerable period of waiting, his wife passed by in company with the same male ghost. The husband rushed forth, seized her and showed every her companion, who vanished disappointed. The woman offered no resistance, and her husband wished that he was going to take her back home again. The two returned to the passage, the men guided his dead wife through it to the cemetery and thence they set out for their home.

Meanwhile the daughter, dreading what might happen, had remained within. As her father opened the door, she crawled at the side of the house and saw that his hand was held out as if he were leading someone, though only one figure was visible to her. Her fear increased when she heard lighter footsteps accompanying his, as the rustling of clothing. She heard her father call his wife, which is addressed by name, then he would leave her in the main part of the house for a moment while he arranged the bedroom, he set about this, as though the daughter eagerly looked for her mother, she was invisible. When the father returned, he led his wife to the bedroom, her elder daughter it seemed as if he had put out his arm to guide nothing was visible than air. The frightened girl could hear her father utter questions and giving answers as if in conversation, but her mother's voice was inaudible. The daughter heard her father call his wife here she like the head below and, judging from his tone, concluded that she had said it was preferable to the land of the living except for the search of food. The mother must have added that the this same ghosts via the houses of

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534 human beings, knock crumbs to the ground with minute hooks, and
● 995 punish by beating with the same barbs anyone who offends them by picking up such morsels. The girl heard her father say that in future he would be more careful to throw fragments of food on the fire, since he now knew that these were not only desired by the dead, but were necessary to them. Her mother must have asked whether they had eaten all the dried salmon, for her father answered:

"No. We have been so grief-stricken at your death that we have eaten hardly anything."

After a pause the girl heard her father say "All right," and judged that her mother had said she would go to get some. In a moment the door opened, though no one appeared, and the thoroughly awed girl heard the sound of light footsteps. She saw the rope with which the box was bound unfastened without visible agency, and the salmon piled in a neat heap on the floor, then the bundle seemed to rise of its own accord and pass out through the front-door without human aid. After an interval the father appeared and asked his daughter where her mother had gone. The frightened girl told what she had seen, and both were amazed and puzzled. At last it dawned on the grieving husband that his wife must have ended the food for the benefit of her friends below and had returned to her new home.

The husband, now twice bereaved, was filled with woe as this second loss, which was unexpected as his wife had said nothing of her intention of leaving. After deliberating for several days, he descended again to the land of ghosts, heedless of his daughter's appeals. He concealed himself in the same spot as before, and soon heard singing; but this time the words and tune were different and he listened intently. To his horror, the theme was of the ingenuity of a dead woman who had revisited her home, deceived her husband, and brought away a supply of dried salmon for the use of the ghosts. He recognized that the song went refer to his own wife and, grieved and humiliated, he returned home forthwith. He warned his daughter to say nothing of what had occurred and she obeyed his instructions, not wishing their shame to become known. A few days later, however, a number of friends gathered to console the husband; he became intoxicated, told the guests his adventure, and taught them the songs used by the dead.

A Carrier Story of an Ascent to the Land of the Dead

177 The following, like the last, is not a Bella Coola story. It
534 is one known to a number of Kitwancool and deserves inclusion

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among Bella Coola tales if only for the reason that stories of foreign origin, when told sufficiently often, tend to be considered indigenous and the facts recorded in them accepted and incorporated into Bella Coola belief. This factor is undoubtedly responsible for many conflicting elements in their theology. The following story has every indication of Christian influence but is not less interesting on that account, as illustrating the process of assimilating new ideas into mythology.

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About 1870, *Mimmiye*,* a *Tsimsi* Indian from Gosse Lake, and his brother were trapping beaver in one of the lakes of the interior. They were both good hunters and every morning killed at least one of the animals. *Mimmiye* was a strong, apparently healthy man, but one morning he fell dead. His grief-stricken brother was puzzled to know what to do with the body. It was winter, and the heavy snow and frozen earth made interment impossible, while lack of fire-wood made cremation out of the question, so he merely tied up the corpse to await better weather. Meanwhile *Mimmiye* had gone aloft, where he saw a large house containing many rooms. He went to the door of these, where a man was sitting with a huge book before him.

"What do you want?" asked the man.

Mimmiye did not answer and his questioner continued:

"Your name is not here. Why did you come?"

This happened in one room after another, for *Mimmiye* tried them all. Finally, at the end of the house, he came to the seat of the chief, who said to him:

"You have made a mistake. The time for you has not yet come. If you want to stay, you can do so by drinking this."

He showed *Mimmiye* a glass containing a green liquid.

"If not," continued the chief, "you must drink this," and he showed him another glass filled with a white liquid.

Throughout this speech *Mimmiye* had heard a strange rumbling and wondered what could be its cause. Happening to glance out through a window at the rear of the house, he saw a huge, metal ball, constantly revolving and giving forth the rumbling sound as it did so. From within

*This story was related by Jim Pelkmit, an elderly Kimsquit, who stated that as a young man he had known *Mimmiye*, who was about fifty years older than he. This tale is interesting as showing the manner in which a miraculous account can become accepted as fact within a short space of time. *Mimmiye* must have been a man of imaginative temperament who was mentioned that he had experienced hallucinations told to him by some white men.

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cause wailing voices and at intervals an agonized face appeared at one of the many small openings in the surface of the sphere. The supreme being, for the chief was none other, told him that those within the ball were evil persons, those who had committed theft or murder during life. *Mimaniye*, though innocent of these crimes, decided that he would be safer on earth and asked for the glass with the white liquid, which he hastily drained. The supreme deity inquired what present he would like as token of the visit, and he requested a beaver-arm, that is, one with a crooked handle such as beaver use.*

At the moment when *Mimaniye* drank the white liquid, his brother saw his body move very slightly. He hastily warmed some mountain goat grease and with this rubbed his face and mouth. At first he was unable to speak, owing to his muscles having become rigid from the cold, but they loosened gradually so that he was able to recount his experiences. *Mimaniye's* arm, being of supernatural origin, was invisible to all human beings, but this did not affect its potency, and from that time onwards the owner could catch beaver as easily as other men could catch salmon.

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The information contained in this story does not correspond at all with Bella Coola beliefs concerning the fate of the dead. They tell it, and assume that such experiences are normal for dead *Kwain*, though unknown to their own people.

[826]

*The Bella Coola know that beaver must have some of this kind to accomplish their work, although white people, deceived by the invisibility of them, believe the animals use their teeth. *Mimaniye* received as one of this type.

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though they may be to the white man. It is hoped that the preceding illustrations, drawn from recent times, will explain the natural attitude of the Bella Coola better than instances from folk-lore of the distant past.

Disregarding thoughts which, since they are caused by the spiritual elements of the human body, are ever present, relations with the supernatural may be divided into the following categories:

(a) Appearance of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. Strictly speaking, every fleeting sight of a supernatural being belongs to this category, but it will be convenient to describe only experiences of a peculiar kind, such as the Bella Coola call *qoo-ahlowaqhalsis*. Usually manifestations of the supernatural have certain effects; consequently, there are relatively few incidents of this kind recorded.

(b) Supernatural aid vouchsafed to a man or a woman in distress. There are many tales illustrating this, which are told and retold to the children. In most cases the assistance is given to one who has unknowingly, according to Bella Coola concepts, fallen into misfortune.

(c) Supernatural good luck. This may be obtained by anyone, and consists of the acquisition of a supernatural object to attract, not only fish and animals, as if it were a potent lure, but money and goods as well.

(d) Acquisition of shamanistic power, with or without the ability to cure the sick. This may be received from one of two sources:

(a) *Tlesqelitse-a* or some other supernatural being.

(b) Ghosts, which are likewise supernatural.

(e) Obtaining prophetic powers direct from the supernatural. There are few instances of this, and none that is ascribed to a remote period. It is possible that all examples of this kind can be attributed to indirect Christian influence.

(f) Obtaining power from a supernatural being localized in a particular spot. This usually takes the form of succour when

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bitterly regretted his own conversion, for the wonderful cures stopped, whereas, had he accepted the supernatural gases, he would have been able to perform them.

SHAMANS VIEW THE DEAD

There remain to be described shamans from the dead, whose abilities and prerogatives are almost identical with those already described. They obtain their power either from the visitation of a ghost in this world, or by a journey to the land of shades below. The following incident explains why shamans alone can hold converse with ghosts.

Once, long ago, the lover of a young girl died. She was so heart-broken that in her agony, four days after his burial, she lay down on his grave to weep. The dead man was able to visit her and to due time she gave birth to a child, who, like its father, was a ghost, with drawn face and glaring eyes. The perturbed woman sended it to the forest, her love overcoming a feeling of repulsion, and when she returned to her home she endeavoured to persuade her own mother handling the infant, knowing that she would be horrified. The grandmother insisted, but as soon as she saw the ghostly appearance of the child she dropped it to leave, and the infant vanished.

Since then there has been a barrier, resembling a wall of smoke, between mortals and the dead. If the old woman had not dropped her grandchild, the living would still be able to converse with their deceased friends and relatives.

Nowadays, shamans alone are able to lift the barrier and discourse with the ghosts of those who have departed. These are quite common visitors to the land of the living, but only a shaman can understand their languages, of which one is a series of whistles, and the other resembles the strangest speech made by a tongueless individual. Shamans can learn what the dead require and so transmit the knowledge to the relatives of the deceased. So, long ago, shamans whose powers were derived from animals were able to teach mortals the proper methods of hunting, and the taboos enjoined, as a

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shaman from the dead once visited the land of ghosts and learnt their needs. They informed him that food and clothing thrown on the ground did not reach them, and that in order to do so it must be cast on the fire. Instead of journeying to the land of the dead some shamans receive their powers from ghosts who ascend to this earth, as the following account describes.

Within the lifetime of an elderly Bella Coola informant, a certain woman, *Sîtsalwâsîs* by name, left her house one evening for a few minutes. When she came back she was crazy. Her face was green, her mouth and face distorted and twisted, she could only whistle when she tried to talk, and kept endeavouring to walk on her hands. Taking her blankets, she went through the motions of washing them, but instead of using water, she dragged them to and fro through the ashes of the central fire, until, utterly exhausted, she lay down. By these symptoms it was recognized that a ghost had stricken her with madness, and several shamans of the dead were called upon for help. For a long time their efforts were fruitless. Then one of them obtained some stained cedar-wood pads. While another conducted the frenetic beating of sticks, the leading practitioner waved one of the pads through the smoke of the central fire and laid it, with hemlock bark and dyed cedar-bark, on the patient's face. After having it there a few moments, he took it off and, while the beating of sticks was stilled, threw it out the door. When this had been done four times the woman was restored to sanity. Later on she said she had seen the ghost of a certain *Tsîtsmal*, a man recently deceased. Emerging from her trance she found herself in her house surrounded by numerous people and the shamans working over her. If he had not been able to cure her, she would have died; in fact, it was impossible to discover whether the Bella Coola regarded this woman as having been cured of an illness, or as having been restored from the dead.

Sîtsalwâsîs called for the singers to whom she sang four songs, relating what she had seen. They described how she stood by a fire in the land below, where the sun travelled from west to east, and where everything differed from this earth, though reminiscent of it. The singers learnt the songs, and it was to their music that the woman danced on later occasions. She was able ever afterwards not only to cure maladies caused by ghosts but to talk with them. For this purpose she was in the habit of lying down at night in the graveyard, looking down into the land of the dead which was open to her, and conversing with the inhabitants in a strange whistling language which the living could hear, but could not

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understand. She was also able to pass downwards at the edge of the central fire nearest to the door. 756*

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Awuttikkwatz, an old shaman from the dead who died not long ago, obtained his power by chancing to visit their land. The themes of his songs were of the land of the dead where, he said, there were many people; where those who had been rich on earth were rich, but where those who had been poor were still poor; where those who had been blind could see, and those who had been maimed were whole. He told of *Palwitl*, a legless creature who lives in the land below, but can travel with amazing speed. In fact this shaman stated that it was he who was sent when the ghosts wished to communicate with the living, a statement contradicted by others. He told further of *Kawwitudzin-a*, a supernatural woman resident there, who is able to pick berries with phenomenal rapidity. But this talent avails her little, since her basket is full of the teeth of dead men who devour the fruit as fast as she picks them. It was *Awuttikkwatz* who described how in the land below there were only two enormous trees of the kind known to the Bella Coola as *kiji*, under the shade of which the ghosts played a game resembling football with huge, light balls. [787] [534] [776] [776]

A dead person usually chooses one of his own relatives as the proper person on whom to bestow the power of a shaman, but their actions in this respect can neither be coerced nor cajoled. Ceremonial chastity is of assistance, and power can usually be obtained by anyone who lies four days and four nights, face downwards, on a new grave. Nor does every sight of a deceased person bring with it this faculty; in fact, ghosts are greatly dreaded since they usually cause harm to the beholder. On one occasion the mother of an elderly Bella Coola woman left the house one evening, to return shortly with her face screwed up into a ghastly smile, green in colour, and with saliva dribbling from her mouth. She was quite mad. A shaman from the dead succeeded in curing her, or it may have been in restoring her to life, and she was able to tell how she had seen what she took to be a man with face averted. She 756* 775 787

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* 756 called out to him, and then remembered no more. It was
● 775 obvious that she had seen a ghost.

[187] It is over diseases caused by ghosts that a shaman from the
753 dead has power. If a person picks up and eats any morsels
* 756 which he has dropped he will usually suffer, because, though
775 he thinks the crumbs have fallen, they have really been pulled
[264] from his hands by a hungry ghost, who thus showed his desire for food. By picking up and eating the fragments, the man thwarts a dead person who retaliates by forcing some sickness into him. Ghosts may visit this land of the living and ask their relatives for food or clothing, but mortals, unable to hear the speech of the dead, are unaware of the requests of their deceased relatives, and so do not answer them. The irritated ghosts respond by causing sickness. In such cases a shaman
755 from the dead is able to seek out the cause of the ill, and some-
* 752 times to display it as a bone, twig, or other small object and at the same time to tell the sufferer what it was that his relatives desired. Like ordinary shamans, a shaman from the dead uses his own discretion whether or not to employ the violent beating of sticks, and like his fellow-practitioner re-
[465] ceives payment from those whom he has helped. There are no fixed charges, but a successful shaman is always wealthy.

* 756 The intimate contact of ghosts with shamans has already
787 been mentioned in connection with the ability of the latter to
694 learn from the ghost of a murdered person whom he believes to be his slayer.

There is one method of sacrificial curing practised by
755 shamans from the dead alone. If the sickness refuses to yield
* 756 to ordinary methods, the practitioner makes ten cedar-bark
782 vessels, fills these with grease and places them near the fire, one between it and the door, one on the inner side, and four on either side of it, parallel to the side walls of the house. By each vessel are placed two small wooden figures, roughly carved to represent men, and decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark. After endeavouring to seek forth the disease, with or without the assistance of the frenzied beating of sticks, the

b)McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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shaman pours the grease on the central fire, and throws on it also the figures and some dried salmon. Thus propitiated, it is believed that the dead will be more likely to allow the sickness to be sucked forth.

Shamans from the dead perform conjuring feats and dramatic performances of the same type as ordinary shamans. Until he gives his first dance a newly created shaman is known as a *ina*, the same word that is used for a *kaxiut* initiate, and during this period he wears the shaman's collar of intertwined dyed and undyed cedar-bark. If he is wealthy and influential, a shaman will repeat his dance every fourth year. Such a performance can be held at any season, although the usual time is after the *kaxiut* ceremonies. The dramatic representations are of scenes witnessed in the land below, though sometimes they are done in a reverse manner, following the practice of the dead in doing things strangely. Thus one shaman reported that the ghosts wore very long blankets, but when he danced he wore one that came only to his hips. The method of singing is the same as that employed by ordinary shamans, but one whose power is derived from the dead dances with head bent downwards, his free hand pointing to the ground with first finger extended. Also his cry of "*swai, swai, swai,*" uttered at intervals with a deep cadence, differs from that used by ordinary shamans. A dance always terminates with the distribution of food to validate the ceremony.

Like ordinary shamans, those from the dead cannot transmit their power. At death their songs too are lost, unless they choose to give them to a friend who is also a shaman from the dead. This is obviously contrary to the theoretical belief that all songs have been obtained during revelations, but is not at all contrary to the Bella Coola practice of having the singers assist the visionaries in "remembering" their visions.

The following tale, although drawn from the distant past, is a typical illustration of one of the many ways in which shamanistic power is received from the dead.[6]

[6] Few stories of similar type have been included in vol. I, chap. vm to explain the life of the dead, and others are grouped together in the next chapter.

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The Lads Who Visited the Home of the Dead

Long ago there was a Bella Coola man who had two sons. His wife died, and presently he remarried, becoming in time the father of an infant daughter. The second wife abused her step-sons, their father neglected them, and the two were poor and miserable, their best friend a faithful dog. When the people were invited to a feast, the lads were frequently overlooked as being of no importance, and their step-mother used to upbraid them for lacking the spirit to resent this insult. They could not answer, but merely bided their time. The two used to sleep on a raised platform behind the fire in hope of receiving supernatural assistance, and always left the house by a hole in the floor rather than through the door, thus observing one of the essentials for those who wish to obtain aid.

One day the two set out on an expedition into the mountains, carrying skin with which to make moccasins. As they were sitting at this work, the dog, which had followed its masters as usual, rushed off barking furiously. The brothers hurriedly finished the shoes and followed the animal in time to see it disappear into an opening after a porcupine. The elder leading, the two entered the cave which grew wider; on and on they went until finally they could see light in the distance. Guided by the barking of the dog ahead of them, they finally emerged into daylight, to find themselves in a new world, a land in which there was a large river and a sky resembling that above the earth, but different. The dog was waiting for them and had stopped barking.

The brothers set off up the river bank and presently saw on the other side a large town in which many people were moving about. The younger brother could see it plainly, but to the elder it was vague and indistinct. They called out to the people:

"Hi! Please send a canoe for us."

Though they called repeatedly, no one paid the slightest attention; the people seemed to be deaf, unaware of their presence. The two brothers remained all day opposite the village, calling out at intervals without result, and all the time becoming more hungry and disgusted. Towards dusk one of them yawned noisily. To their surprise there was a commotion in the town; the yawn had been heard although their cries had not. They could hear the people on the other side of the river discussing the noise.

"Let us send a canoe to fetch whoever may be over there" was the gist of their remarks.

Presently a canoe was poled out from the farther shore, and held in position by the ferryman beneath the bank on which the brothers stood, necessitating a jump of two or three feet to reach it. As the elder prepared to leap into it, he glanced down and saw that the stones on the

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river floor were visible through the canoe as if it had no bottom at all. He drew back in fear. Though he knew it not, they had come to the land of the dead, where bottomless canoes and other phenomena were to be expected. The younger brother, to whom the village had been plainly visible, had no fear, but leapt down bravely, and was poled across to the farther shore, where he soon disappeared from his brother's sight among the throng of villagers.

The elder youth, left alone with the dog, sat down and wept, thinking that he had indeed lost his brother. After a time he continued his journey up the river-bank where presently he saw a bridge. He eagerly went over, intending to turn back towards the village where his brother had gone, but as soon as he had crossed he lost all thought of his original purpose and continued his journey upstream instead. Presently he heard the sound of adze strokes, and drew near, cautiously, until he could see the man who was using the tool.

"Why have you come here?" the woodcutter asked.

"Oh, for no special reason," the boy replied. "I should like to see your chief."

The woodcutter guided him to the house and when near called out, "The stranger wants to see our chief."

People came rushing out of the houses and the lad realized that he had come to the land of the wolves. His guide directed him to the chief's house which he entered through a doorway cut in a totem-pole. Within, the chief greeted him in a kindly fashion, saying:

"Please sit down for a little while until I can bring some friends to play with you."

He went outside, but presently returned and led him through the door to some moose-skins which he had spread on the ground under the totem-pole. Then he called the friends, who were four wolves. They came leaping out of the house and devoured the young man; but though his body was in four pieces inside the stomachs of the four animals, he was still conscious. After eating him, the beasts devoured the dog. Presently the wolves vomited into a dish, whereupon the chief re-formed what had been voided into a human being, and the lad was as before he had been eaten. Then the same was done to his dog.

The chief now beat once upon a drum as a signal for the people to adorn themselves for a dance; again he beat, and they assembled. Apparently all was ready, but the boy realized that the leader of the orchestra was absent. Again and again the chief beat on the drum, until at last the missing man drew near. He entered singing:

"A lad went out with his younger brother and his dog. A porcupine caused the mountains to open for him."

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As he sang, smoke could be seen rising from behind the house; the youth could see that it came from Porcupine's fire, but the song explained that it was eagle down for their mortal guest. The singer repeated his song; more smoke ascended from another place, which the lad saw was Mountain Goat's fire. The song was sung again and again, and at each repetition new smoke could be seen, from the fires of Deer, Black Bear, Whistler, Marten, Beaver, Wolverine, in fact from all animals except Grizzly Bear. The chief explained to his guest that whenever he wanted meat he could go hunting and would be able to see the smoke rising from the fires of various animals.[1]

"Tomorrow you will return home," he continued. "Your brothers (meaning the four wolves that had eaten him) will go with you to carry some presents."

Next morning [it was really a year later] the wolves tied up gifts of smoked meat in blankets woven of goat wool and sewn blankets of whistler, black bear, and marten. The meat, though a large quantity, was reduced to so small a compass that the four animals carried it without difficulty. The five travelled back to the spot where the two brothers had sat down to make their moccasins, and at that point the wolves returned to their home.

Now for the first time the lad remembered his brother, and began to weep bitterly, thinking that he must be dead. But presently he heard the sound of footsteps inside the cave through which the porcupine had guided him; they grew nearer, until the younger boy emerged. The elder was overjoyed, but his delight was turned to dismay when he saw that his brother's face was green and haggard, with a strange expression; that he had lost all the flesh from his body, and that his clothes, the same that he had worn when they parted company, were torn to tatters. His brother's appearance affected him so much that he fell down dead. The younger lad, however, had been made a shaman by the dead, so he quickly restored his brother. They exchanged experiences; the younger saying that the dead had given him the name *Kipdzz*. His appearance was vastly improved when he clad himself in a black bear blanket and two whistler cloaks brought by the other from the village of the wolves. The two returned home, entering the house secretly and lying down at once

[825] [224]

[1] To understand this the reader must remember the firm Bella Coola belief that all animals can assume different forms. To the ordinary person they appear as beasts, but in reality they lead lives resembling those of humans, having houses, fires, blankets, and other comforts. An individual who is able to see the smoke of their fires will have no difficulty in finding the homes of the animals and hence will have great success in hunting. The only one, this lad was to avoid was Grizzly Bear, who was so fierce that pursuing him would be dangerous.

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on their old bed on the raised platform behind the fire. No one knew of their arrival.

Although neither the father nor the step-mother of the lads had shown them any affection when they were at home, as soon as they were lost both had been overwhelmed with grief. They lost all energy and, sunk in misery and self-recrimination, would sometimes lie for days on opposite sides of the house, not even keeping a fire alight. The other inhabitants of the village considered them beneath contempt, and often at night they would relieve themselves in the house of the sorrowing couple. The only person with any energy in the household was their daughter, now a child about five years old. On the day of her half-brothers' return she happened to throw some rubbish on the fire and, as it flared up, she saw long hair hanging down from the raised bed. She called out to her mother:

"Perhaps my brothers have come home. I see the hair hanging down."

But the mother answered: "Be quiet. Your brothers have been away for a year, we do not even know how they died."

The little girl was not satisfied. She threw more rubbish on the fire and again she saw the long pendent hair. When she told her mother the woman cried out angrily:

"Be quiet, you little liar!"

The two brothers had been listening to this dialogue, and the elder now took a mountain goat bladder filled with grease which he lowered so that it swung to and fro beneath the platform. When the little girl again threw rubbish on the fire her eye was attracted by the swinging object which she took and carried to her mother with the remark:

"My brothers must certainly have come home, see what they have brought."

Now the woman believed, and carried the bladder to her husband on the other side of the house, telling him the glad news. Together they went to the raised platform where the elder brother greeted them, but lied, saying:

"I am alone, I do not know what has happened to my younger brother."

In his delight at the return of one of his sons the father became sufficiently energetic to cut some firewood, such an unusual undertaking that some of his neighbours came to ascertain the meaning of it. He told them the news, which was passed around until the whole village knew, and all assembled in the house except those who, having polluted it, were now frightened to appear. The two brothers did not come down, and only the elder spoke to those gathered below. One malicious person tried

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to injure him by throwing on to the roof not far from his head a pail stained with menstrual blood, but *Ełpulu*, by means of his magical power, knew that it was there, and whispered to his brother, who passed the information to his father, so that the old man was able to remove the pail before either of his sons was injured. The elder brother told the people where he had left large supplies of meat. This they brought in with great rejoicing the next day.

Although the two brothers remained constantly crowded, rumours began to circulate that the elder was not alone. After a time it became generally known that the supposition was correct, and that the younger brother had received a shaman's power from the dead. A malicious chief made the statement that he did not believe this and cast insinuations as to why a shaman should succeed himself. *Ełpulu* used his power to inject sickness into the man and after a few days he died, though no one knew the cause.

Then the elder lad said, "My younger brother has told me that you should not bury the dead man too quickly. Let him try to restore him."

Some of the deceased's relatives were willing, others were not, but at last they agreed to give *Ełpulu* an opportunity to show his skill, and he revived the dead man without any difficulty. In his gratitude the chief gave the restorer his daughter as a wife. Not long after, another chief expressed his disbelief and again the shaman caused him to become sick. This time the people at once appealed to *Ełpulu* for help; this was refused, but when the man died he restored him, as he had done on the previous occasion. As before, he received a wife as a mark of gratitude. The reputation of *Ełpulu* was now established; many dead persons were brought to him to be restored and through the presents given to him he was able to give potlatches. Nor did he forget his elder brother, but obtained wives for him too. Meanwhile the latter was having great success in hunting and brought in so much meat that he was able to give a potlatch at which his younger brother danced and was given a name.

One evening,* not long after this time, a little girl about six years old kept crying and crying; nothing would pacify her. The parents tried to soothe her but at last the mother said:

"Let's go away and leave her, the dead will take her."

So all in the household withdrew to the bedrooms, leaving the girl weeping beside the central fire. Presently her cries grew fainter, and the mother ranked out, but her daughter had vanished. The sobs were coming from beneath the ground, and they realized that it was indeed the dead who had taken the mother at her word and had seized the child. It sounded as if the girl were just beneath the surface of the ground, so the

*Cf. a similar story (I, p. 93).

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people threw ransoms sticks on the fire and followed to the graveyard, where the corse had been. They took sticks and dug furiously, but could not catch up to her, for the sticks grew heavy and heavy as the child was carried below.

In their despair the parents called *Ejinko*.

"All right," he replied, "I will try to bring her back. Please have me alone in my house and I will revive the dead in a hour."

He collected all the rounds with wine in them from the village and gave one to each of a number of assistants whom he stationed around the walls of his house hidden beneath the roof. Then he revived the dead, who succeeded with the exception of the woman who was taking care of the little girl. After repeated invitations she too came, and took her place on the chief's seat behind the fire, with the weeping child in her arms. *Ejinko* gave the signal and his assistants emptied the rounds. As soon the dead people became impotent and sank as heaps of bones to the floor, leaving the little girl apparently unharmed. The parents picked her up eagerly and the bones were swept out to the graveyard.

The child kept crying out for salmon berries, which were unpurchasable, as it was winter. So the parents appealed again to *Ejinko*, who understood that what she wanted were snowberries, which are as salmon berries to the dead, in whose land she must have eaten them. She would not nothing else and, as they are not nourishing, she were dead, nor could she again be restored to life.

A similar version omits any mention of a step-mother as the reason for the boys leaving home, and simply begins with their following the dog into a shift of the mountains. The dead, after receiving the younger boy as in the preceding tale, try to make him eat "snowberries," which are to resemble the eyes of corpses. Meanwhile, the elder youth encounters the widow, but in this case is given instructions about entering their house, whereby he escapes being eaten and is granted cordially and granted a home before leaving. This is the ability to gain a desire by merely wishing for it. It is by exercising this power that he saves his long-lost brother. In this account the younger boy's name received from the dead is *Kihakdawn*, and Death, *Sedna*, gives him a stick with which to lift him from his position on the lid of a coffin. In the end *Sedna*, his patron, recalls the young shaman to himself. This version, which is the more abbreviated of the two, makes no allusion to the attempted rescue of a child from the land of ghosts.

787 *

usual commercial activity and was, therefore, in a good position to receive premonitions of this kind. The next day, as they were paddling down the river, they came upon some treacherous ice. Forewarned, they hastily abandoned their canoe, one side of which was soon broken in the way *Tsális* had described; if they had continued their journey they would certainly have been drowned.

The dreams thus far recorded have all been capable of simple explanation; in fact, their meaning is obvious, either visually or audibly. In addition, there are a number of types considered to be symbolic by the Bella Coola. There are no professional interpreters, but it is believed that in ancient times shamans learnt the significance of certain images and this knowledge has since been transmitted from generation to generation. [791] [956]

One type indicates a coming birth. If a woman dreams that she travels to some distant spot, under the ocean or into the mountains, and there takes something in her hand, it signifies that she will soon bear a male child; on the other hand, if she picks up some small object when gathering berries, a daughter will be born. A Kimsquit informant stated that before his birth, his mother dreamt that she had gone far under the mouth of the Dean River to the vicinity of *Lemaqua*'s house, where she had taken up a child. From this she knew she was pregnant and he was born in due course. If the scene of the dream is in the mountains, it means that the child will be a good hunter; if under water, that he will be a successful fisherman, as it proved in this case. There is a vague belief that death takes place either near the spot where the mother received indication of conception, or that the life and spirit of the deceased visit the place before setting out on their journey back from generation to generation. The old man from whom this information was obtained expects to meet death by drowning, though he is himself uncertain whether his premonition is due to his mother's dream or to the fact that there has been a tendency for this to occur in his family.

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* 787 843 If a woman dreams that she has caught two salmon, two small birds, or is holding two infants, the birth of twins is foretold. This type of explanation is obvious; in fact, these examples lie on the border-line between direct and symbolic interpretations.

* 787 843 775 Another indication of approaching pregnancy is for a woman to dream of a dead relative; this means that the latter will soon be re-born. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that some fifty years earlier his mother dreamt that her dead mother came to her, saying that she was lonesome and wished to return. Soon afterwards she conceived, and the daughter born was considered to be the reincarnation of her own grand-[553] mother whose names she was promptly given. At the present time, this informant addresses his sister as sister, though he states that as a child he was taught to call her grandmother. As already mentioned, if a new-born infant is a reincarnation, the fact can often be recognized by holes or dimples in the ears, relics of previous borings for rings. Unless such a birth has been foretold in a dream, it is impossible to learn whom the child re-embodies.

* 787 [761] A dream of frequent occurrence in Bella Coola is the return of the sleeper to the scenes and activities of his childhood. This always signifies a long life. Strangely enough, to dream of being nailed in one's coffin and carried to the grave is translated conversely, and likewise indicates a long life. It is re-[731] membered that there were many dreams of fire before the outbreak of the smallpox epidemic, so it has since been assumed that such presage an outbreak of this disease.

* 787 224 [785] The only dreams of which the interpretations are wholly symbolic are those experienced by hunters. The Bella Coola explain this by saying that hunters always observe ceremonial chastity and their spirits are, therefore, in a receptive condition to supernatural impressions. When a man has set his traps, he is able to tell from his dreams whether or not any animals have been caught:

To dream that a canoe has been upset in the river and that

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* 534 * 756 * 787 cues, remembering what the latter had told him the previous evening. He feared to follow his friend's track, and, as night came on, climed the tree and went to sleep, with the dog beside him. When it was quite dark he was wakened by the sound of footsteps and the tapping of a stick, and concluded that his partner was returning. The tree-flap was opened, as if by a person entering, but *Mytelaic* could see nothing, so he kicked the dog to waken it and the animal began to bark furiously. At length he heard the steps withdraw and grow fainter as they climbed the mountain. Then *Mytelaic* realized that his friend was dead, and that it was his life, [776] flashing round to visit his companions, which had come to him. Troubled, he lay awake all night with a blazing fire, and find the next morning.

Mytelaic chanced to meet several canoes soon after he had quitted his camp, and when he had told his story, their occupants turned back to hunt for *Nuxacowmakl*. About eighteen men searched all that day unsuccessfully, but a few days later another party found the corpse of the missing hunter. Presumably he had fired at the goat, though whether he struck it or not was not known, and the animal had charged. A wound in *Nuxacowmakl*'s groin showed where one of the horns had pierced him, and the two had rolled together to death over a precipice, the bodies becoming slightly separated in the fall.

Even if *Nuxacowmakl* had struck the goat it would not have availed him, since he was doomed to death. Not only had he taken great risks in hunting within one year of his previous experience, but his wife had been careless during his absence. He had long practised continence, and [785] thereby was in a clean condition such as is approved by animals, and [961] other supernatural beings, but this very condition rendered him peculiarly susceptible to any breaking of taboos by his wife. She had so far forgotten herself as to indulge in swinging when he was on the mountain, so that his death was inevitable. *Nuxacowmakl*'s relatives were very angry and prophesied that she would soon die. They were right, though whether her death was caused by a sorcerer, or by the accumulative power of their thoughts, is a matter no one can determine.

THE *Tlāqmā·k*

In the beginning of time, when *Alquntim* sent down *Kālāds* to this earth, he used his own initiative and travelled to the east for abalone-shell and to the west for copper. On returning to his settlement, he determined to try to lure to it a supernatural being, of whose existence he was aware from his previous life in the land above. Accordingly, he fashioned some of the copper into jingling bangles, which he fastened to the ropes of his infant's cradle. Before the introduction of white men's [177] [854] cradles, the Bella Coola were accustomed to tie a child in a cloth and

789 equal to two figurines prepared to cause love has been described.

755 In addition to these non-specialized medicines, the Bella Coola are acquainted with remedies for several specific ailments caused by supernatural beings. One of these, to cure a person in whose head a toad was formed, has already been described.

To Prevent Blindness

[759] Loss of sight is caused by a bat flying into a man's face, or
[625] by a raven's dropping falling upon him as he looks upward. After either accident, rub a feather from any bird in a raven's liver and draw it across the eyes. The person practising this
[715] cure must remain continent for one year or blindness will result.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Leg

If a man puts his foot in a hole so that he stumbles and falls, he will lose the use of that leg unless he counteracts the danger by placing a small stick upright in the cavity. In the summer of 1911 the writer noticed an old Bella Coola, with whom he was walking in the woods, break off a branch about two feet in length and place it in a hole where he had stumbled. He could give no explanation for his act, except that failure would cause him to lose the use of that leg.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Foot

If a person should happen to set his bare feet upon a dead wolf, he will lose the use of his lower limbs. The antidote to this has been forgotten within recent years, and patients are merely treated by shamans.

755 *To Prevent the Revenge of a Ghost*

775 The ghost of a murdered person usually tries to avenge himself on his killer, who can protect himself by obtaining a small piece from the body or clothing of his victim, a tuft of hair, a shred of cloth, or even a piece of earth from above his

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grave. When, presently, he feels sick and believes that the ghost has caused the malady, he throws the object he has obtained on a fire and allows the smoke to drift over his body. It is not known how this destroys the power of the dead victim. 755 775

At present (1922), in case of unexpected death in which murder is suspected, the relatives keep the body under lock and key and watch carefully to see whether anyone tries to gain access to it. To endeavour to do so would be considered proof of guilt. For the same reason, they may place boards over the grave and watch it for several weeks. As already described, a middle-aged woman died unexpectedly in 1922. Her father, believing that she had been murdered, expressed the opinion that a certain man was the criminal and that he would die within a year. He outlived this period by three weeks and it was generally agreed that the power of thought had been sufficient to cause the death. Apparently, the father shared this view and expected the ghost of the alleged murderer to be hostile, for he made two efforts to cover the shed where the body was lying, but the relatives of the deceased foiled him by locking all doors and windows. When he himself died a few weeks later, it was taken for granted that the ghost had exacted vengeance. [145]

To Cure a Malady Caused by a Sorcerer

The most complicated medicine about which information was obtained was one employed by an elderly Bella Coola who had incurred the enmity of a sorcerer. The latter had succeeded in breaking a triangular bone in the man's chest which would have caused his death if his mother had not consulted an old woman who knew the proper remedy for such an ailment. This knowledge had been handed down in her family for generations and she was rewarded lavishly for her services. It will be convenient to refer to the patient as X and the old woman who treated him as Y. 755 [124]

X's mother requested the services of Y who agreed to assist and called upon her husband to help her. They secured the

[The Breaker Dance]

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* 575 number of puppets is always made. Certain *kukwist*, known
* 796 as *dzayur*, have in connection with their dance prerogative, the
582 ability to summon and display supernatural objects in the
[424] form of small puppets. These are sometimes patrons, more often
not, and include not only beings having human form, but
[787] snakes, hummingbirds, and other creatures. By calling his
being, an *dzayur* receives strength which can be transmitted
to someone else—so the uninitiated believe—by passing it into
the recipient's body. Non-members are told that X suffers
[775] death from which he is resurrected by his own powers, rein-
[787] forced by those passed into him by other members of the
society through the transference of their puppets. The most
potent "patron-puppet" is the giant toad. It is difficult for a
[781] white man to understand how intelligent people, as are many
of the uninitiated, can be deluded into believing that the some-
what rudely carved wooden figures which they see moving
before them are supernatural beings. Emphasis must again
be laid on the awe, mystery, and power of the ceremonies in
the eyes of those who do not understand them, and the very
great skill shown by the carpenters in making use of hidden
strings, trap-doors, and other devices to increase the dramatic
effect. Puppets are guarded very carefully by their owners
and are usually hidden in some cleft of the mountains. A well-
constructed one is used when necessary for many years.

* 575 Other preparations must be made for the stomach-cutting.
As in all other *kukwist* dances, deception is practised and X is
* 796 not really disembowelled. Instead, a wooden, or copper, frame
is made to shield his stomach; over this is arranged the skin of
a deer or a dog, cut to cover him from chest to thighs, with even
the navel imitated. This camouflage is held in place by his
breech-cloth and by a strap passing around his chest. He wears
a blanket which conceals most of the fastenings so that the
artifice is not noticeable in the dim light of the house. The
chief difficulty is to find a dog with skin the same colour as X's.
[281] Many animals are killed, and the fur removed by immersion
in boiling water, but sometimes half the dogs of a village must

tume previously described. To the Bella Coola philosopher, apparently no explanation is needed of the manner in which *Saulc* was allowed to use his experience as the basis of a *kusiut* dance. The assumption is that he was a *kusiut* at the time of his experience, although this is not clearly stated. The last to use the name died about 1910, each *Saulc* having had the prerogative of giving the Thunder dance.

575* 796* 534 424 [777] [551]

THE GHOST DANCE[*]

Among the numerous patrons of *kusiut* dancers are Ghosts. The term, *ksnaskuts*, applied to a shaman whose power is derived from a ghost, is also applied to *kusiut* with one as patron, but the two functionaries must not be confused. It is a fairly common prerogative and there are Ghost dancers in every village, their right depending in every case on some experience of an ancestor with a ghost. The following is an account of the manner in which *Sapias* of *Tsumsil* performed his ritual; it may be regarded as typical of all, and the dancer can be referred to as X.

575* 796* [775] [756] [424]

At any time during the ceremonial season X consults with the marshals to decide upon a suitable time for his performance. On the evening preceding, normally the *qulum* of some other *kusiut*, the marshals state that his call is imminent; X makes his final arrangements and asks the assistance of a number of his fellows.

When the *nalusam* rites of the following evening have been completed and the uninitiated have returned to their own houses, they are startled to hear whistling from the forest near at hand. It is not the instrumentally produced sound that accompanies the coming of a call, but tuneless whistling with the mouth; everyone knows that this is the language of ghosts. A visitation from them is by no means unknown, and always dreaded, so at once there is excitement and everyone cowers in the bedrooms. Presently heralds go through the village

575* 796* 787 [775]

[*]No relationship is implied with the dance of the same name among Indians of other culture areas. [171]

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[The Ghost Dance]

they sit in silence, awaiting his arrival. Presently word is sent 575*
to him, for he is always hiding near, and he comes through the 996*
door and sits near the fire. But he does not resemble the man [78]
who left the village. His face and body have been stained
green with crushed leaves, in imitation of the colour of the [302]
dead; in his hand he carries a bone, said to be part of the leg
of a dead man, though in reality it is from a deer. After him
the ghosts enter one by one. They are a number of *kukusiut*
who have been painted black and green to give them an un- [302]
earthly appearance; there is no fixed pattern, each following
his own, or the carpenter's ideas of the uncanny, though the
body colour on which the other tints are smeared is usually
white. Each dead man has a special name and each acts
accordingly in an eccentric way. One enters walking back-
wards, another hops on one leg, and a third walks on his
hands—because ghosts always act in the opposite manner to [175]
mortals. Each trills in a peculiar way and performs something
like a dance, waving his arms to and fro, up and down, con-
stantly pointing with one finger, before lying down close to the
central fire. With them enters a woman with painted face,
clad in a blanket and carrying a basket on her back; she is [176]
Alsuslag, who gathers berries in the land of the dead. She
begins to go around picking up any small articles that she sees
and depositing them in her basket, from which anyone picks
them out at will and returns them to the places whence they
had been taken. One of the first actors to appear carries a
stick for time beating, and acts as leader of the ghost singers.
Whenever a spark from the fire lights on one of the dead,
causing the latter to jump, the leader pounds violently with
his stick. When all are present, the leader beats time and they
prepare to leave. Ghosts are feckless, however; consequently, [175]
instead of going straight to the door, some go in one direction,
some in another, but all are at length shepherded outside. X
and his visitors, with a large number of *kukusiut*, go to every
house in the village repeating the same procedure, in silence,
except for the trill of the dead men. The uninitiated do not

[The Ghost Dance]

595 leave their bedrooms, but peer curiously and fearfully around
796 the edge of the boards. Finally the party returns to X's house, whence the uninitiated hear the sound of sticks being beaten in a frenzied manner, but without the usual rhythmic conclusion. Each *dancer* beats as he likes, because it is an affair of the dead with whom all things are queer and unnatural.

[775]

595 The ghosts wash and take their places in X's house where
796 the singers are working on a new song. The words, as if spoken
775 by the dancer, describe the land of the dead; how everything
533 is green there; how the river flows from west to east so that the sun travels upstream; how the chiefs wished to make him a chief, and deceived him by not giving proper presents; how he visited the various towns scattered along the river, finding the bone in one of the houses; and finally how the dead told him of any mistakes in ritual that had been committed in the Bella Coola villages, in Kimsquit, or in *Tâl·ès*. This last is, of course, common knowledge, but the Ghost dance is the only *ḱuḱaxiat* ceremonial in which such information is used in the text of a song. Details are given, but the wording is so ambiguous that when the uninitiated later hear the song they do not comprehend its meaning. Since the *ḱuḱaxiat* have concealed the error referred to, the necessity for veiled allusions is apparent. Everything connected with the Ghost dance is carried out in the reverse order; thus, the reference of X to presents which he did not receive is merely an intimation that he will presently bestow gifts on the singers and the other *ḱuḱaxiat* who have assisted him. The wordless chorus of the tune consists of

[171]

'aiye'arwaia, a phrase said to be the same for Ghost dances among all the coastal tribes. The singers practise this song while the audience listens attentively; then it is sung vigour-
595 ously by all, while X dances. His style differs from that of all
796 other *ḱuḱaxiat*; first one arm and then the other is kept ex-
535 tended, downwards, at an angle in front of the body with the
424 forefinger pointing to the ground. This method of dancing is the prerogative of all Ghost dancers and provides a variation to the somewhat monotonous performances on different

gotlm.

the one that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make good the path" of the patient. It would formerly have been a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with death by the marshals. One informant vividly recalled his fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his conversion to Christianity, and mentioned that he had been in deadly peril from the marshals in spite of the white man's law. 575* 796* 821 688 777

THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron to *kaxiat* dancers, the Moon also has many human protégés. Among them is *Nahwinde*, "The Moon When It Is Unobscured," of *Tremid*, from whom the following account of the Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as X. 776 55 424

The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to X's wishes and the consent of the marshals. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *kaxiat* presently assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

Aiiaidawa:** A woman who lives in the moon and who can be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of water. 575* 796*

The two *Aipuaiant*: These two beings are able periodically to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse. 821 776

The two *Swimde-a*:** These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who come to earth to assist stricken *kaxiat*.

The song also describes how no supernatural being dares to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition similar to that obeyed by uninitiated with regard to passing outside a house where a *kaxiat* ceremony is taking place. 784

*Aiiaidawa is the usual term for ghost; no reason was given for the application of the same designation to the woman living in the moon. 775 192

**There is difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not there is more than one of these beings.

J: McIlwraith E-S (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

[588] (aa) Referring to a spot outside Smith Inlet.
[776] (bb) That is: *Tlalaki'lał* had just stilled the rough sea. She was another of Qwatsa's first ancestors, the most powerful of a group of four consisting of her brothers, *Nais'abwas*, *Tlawsita'lis*, and *Tlalaklis*, and of herself.
(cc) Qwatsa's house, a reference to an incident in Qwatsa's ancestral myth.
(dd) The house contained whistles and other valuables which they obtained.
[551] (ee) That is: All people, everywhere, know of *Nais'abwas* and *Tlawsita'lis*. Each name, though singular, has a plural significance since the other brothers are likewise implied.
(ff) Referring again to the band of first settlers.
(gg) A place on the mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island.

Song Used for Sinupsil(a)

A Yas ła'ksmaisdimpsdas	*dasałłdaitmł'łdił*	*yas łałłkdaimadas*
They(b) will presently inform(c)	my dead relatives(d)	when they reach
yas alałłsmuiqałsas	*dafuhdjadjimałtsidas*	*dałałałpsmałłmdas*
the outer places(e);	they(f) see(g)	where they first came down.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Kas ambahs itsmains	*aiyasmaisałsłał*	*dłusałłsinasłidas*
I clothe myself with(h)	my ancestral myth,	as it was
dasałutiye mskidas	*gdamasufsmas ałstsidas*	*aiyałtmtsał'alsadas*
in the time	of the *Nanafmałł*(i)	house.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Skamałsubamnnsimk'	*dasqwutsmstłnasłsadas*	*stsmiłfwłtsił*
Had just emerged(j)	the place where our relatives get their food(k).	
Aiyadsmłtsytsas	*łstłhlsikimut skidas*	*aiyamałksadas*
Thither went	when it became dry(l)	*Wałks*.
Siałkiyałdinłsadas	*dano'asqan amhłdał*	*aiyastman ałdił*
That is why	all people, everywhere, know	of my ancestors(m).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 37, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. Both words and tune were composed by him about 1907.
(b) Referring to *Wałks* and his band, (I, p. 350). *Sinupsil* was descended from this group of first people.
[192] (c) The significance of this word is stronger than *inform*. It means that *Wałks* will relate to the deceased their ancestral myth.
(d) The chief for whom this song was composed had lost several relatives.
(e) Referring to Goose Island, *Yał-ałsaix*, where *Wałks* landed.
(f) Referring again to the deceased.
[192] [775] (g) The significance of this word is stronger than *see*. It means that those recently dead will gaze with rapture on the places which belong to them owing to their ancestral myth.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEb Bellacoola NEb

Then she sat down to the meal with her husband, the routine being exactly as she had described it to her victim. After they had finished eating, *Stuix*'s wife told him of the day's happenings, how a woman, giving her name, had visited the camp and had asked a great many questions about him, including whether or not he observed ceremonial chastity, and other personal matters. 539*

"What did you tell her?" *Stuix* asked his wife.

"Oh, I answered her truthfully," she replied.

"You should never have done that!" *Stuix* burst out in anger. "It was none of her business. Don't you know that you should never discuss a hunter's observance of ceremonial chastity? You have behaved very badly." [715 / 151]

Stuix had reason for his wrath, because no wife should ever discuss this matter, as in so doing she weakens or destroys her husband's power.

A few days afterward the evil woman again visited *Stuix*'s camp, carrying concealed beneath her blanket a wooden club used for killing salmon. *Stuix*'s wife did not see the approach of her hypocritical friend, who struck her on the head with the weapon and killed her. The murderess dragged her victim's body a short distance from the camp; with her copper knife she removed the skin and drew it over her own body, endeavouring in every way to make it fit. But the wife of *Stuix* had been larger than the bad woman, who tried to remedy the difference in size by tying the excess in wrinkles around her hips. The greatest difficulty was about the eyes, where the skin hung in folds which the impostor sewed neatly to make less noticeable. When all was done the murderess scraped a hole in the soft ground and buried the body of her victim.

While awaiting the return of *Stuix* the impostor busied herself in carrying out all the small household occupations, just as she had been told about them. Towards dusk *Stuix* came back. He noticed that his wife looked peculiar and uneasy, but said nothing about it; they sat down together to the meal but the woman kept her eyes lowered, lest the loose skin about them might betray her. *Stuix* wondered at that and also at her voice, which did not sound normal. At night the masquerader went first to bed, as a wife always does when her husband is observing ceremonial chastity. *Stuix* followed shortly. In a few minutes an owl hooted:

"*Stuix*'s wife has tied up a fold of skin round her hips."

Neither man nor woman spoke. Even at that distant period it was well known that the voice of a dead person passes into an owl, though only rarely can one communicate with the living. It was, in fact, the slain wife speaking from above the spot where her body lay. The murderess feared that *Stuix* would put his arm around her waist, but she was saved because his observance of ceremonial chastity prevented him from doing so. [775 / 825]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Anuhlo: Village near mouth of the Dean River.
Anulaklem: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Anutqwa-yat, "Lobsetted": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Anuwulaic: Name obtained by an *Alpalad* man in the beginning of time.
Anuqulumut, "Quivering To and Fro": One of *Tlitcqilize-a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Anuximlis: *Kuziut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Anuximlis-a: 1—*Kuziut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
2—"Left Hand": *Stuax* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
[431] [426] *anuqsp':* Term applied to the giving of a copper, indicating that 100 per cent interest is expected in return.
Anuxlumdmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
[463] *anuxwinhm-aic:* *Kuziut* profanism, at Kimsquit only, of throwing masks on the fire.
Anuxwinkmals, "The Moving House": One of the names of the supreme god's dwelling.
anuyas: 1—Owner of a puppet-patron.
2—Synonym for *ahamdmamtum*, q.v.
Anuyalkailais: Supernatural being who rules *kukuiut* of their thoughts at the Mystery dance.
Ao-ati: 1—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Alpalad* in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Bella chief.
aqa: Excreta.
Aqatl-a, "The Privy One": Name taken by a chief for himself in virtue of the remarks made about his habits.
Aqulais: *Zuzuk* name of a Kimsquit man.
[825] *aqum:* Herring eggs.
[824] *aqwuuqs:* Cottonwood.
aqwa: Type of sea-going canoe.
[825] *aqwu:* Harlequin duck.
Aqulaiyatemamum, "The Greatest Eater": Term used by hunters to Eagle.
Asaw-ta-i, "Concave Town": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
as-awuuqs: Canoes lashed together.
As-ac: Locality on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head, including the area beneath the surface of the water.
[601] *as-ilas-ti:* 1—Second oldest sibling.
2—Second part of song.
[775] *asiustmum:* 1—"They Who Have Become Supernatural": Title preferred by ghosts.
2—Woman living in the moon.
As-iumuqs: Inhabitants of the village of *Ava*".
[424] *as-umumaiac:* Person with good memory commissioned to remember family prerogatives.
Ava", "At the Head": Village southwest of the head of South Bentinck Arm.
ashaisit: Totem-pole, *literally*, "Outside Post."
[752] *ashaskas:* Shaman with power derived from ghosts.
ashlamm: Ceremonial bathing at dawn.
[515] *Ashlaculiais:* *Kuziut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
Ashmlik: *Kuziut* name of a Bella Coola man.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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Ináiazu: One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Ináwal: Unidentified town on the outer coast mentioned in a *Ilmo* story of the beginning of time.

Ináhkémdimut: Name acquired by one of the first settlers at *Ínalili* in the beginning of time.

Ináhmúx-a: *Smoun's* son in the beginning of time.

Ináx-i: Small portable canoe.

Ináxum: Desertion of a spouse. [586]

Ináxmai: 1—"The Copper One."
2—"Snow," in the language of Deer.

Ináxmakywas: Imitation potlatch carried out by *nuxnakamp.*

Ináwu: Bella Bella Cannibal living in the beginning of time.

Ináiwuimut, "The Scatterer of Eagle Down": Name created by *Smoun* for his son in the beginning of time.

Ináu: To lace.

Ináiléikiks: Bella Bella supernatural being who brings food.

Ináwúmut: Person of placid disposition.

Ináiu: Bull-roarer.

Ináh: To excise rot; the word for potlatch, *Ána,* is supposedly derived from this. [556]

Ána: Potlatch.

Ánkmit: The binding down of a Cannibal with rope.

Ánuéin: Unidentified autumn moon, probably the fourth after the summer solstice. [821]

Ánulli di Nuxnakamp, "The Potlatch of the *nuxnakamp*": Second moon after winter solstice. [805]

Ánuxtáis, "First of All": One of the first men to settle at *Nakúi* in the beginning of time.

Ináwuxéjat: Shaman's ritual error, such as the curing of one who is ceremonially unclean. [756]

Ináwúkuts: Miniature totem-pole such as is used in mourning ceremony.

Ináxúnum: Partnership of a poor man with a chief about to give a potlatch, so that the former may repay debts, for which his poverty required no compensation, and thus start himself on the path towards greatness. [556]

Ináxúnúnin: The turning over of a mountain.

Ináyu: Professional name of a female berry-picker.

Ináwúkuts: Stick decorated with copper bangles used in mourning rites by one of the first settlers at *Kwiyai* in the beginning of time. [765]

Ináu: The painting of the face as a sign of mourning. [302]

'Ínamdimut: Cannibal *kwiut* name used by the first settlers at *Ináiu* in the beginning of time.

Ináiyum: *Kwiut* name of a Bella Coola male Scratcher.

Ináiai: Aversion.

Ináwuis: 1—*Kwiut* name of a *Tsimsit* man.
2—Shamanistic power.

Ináhúmut: Visitation from the life of a recently dead friend, notification of which is conveyed by a start or other feeling of discomfort. [775] [787]

Ináyum-i: *Kwiut* name of a Kimsquit man. The first to use this designation was a relative of the earliest settlers in the beginning of time.

Ináhúmúnum, "The Giver of Shamanistic Power": One of the names of *Tsimsháwa,* and hence a designation given to shamans.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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mimimpalp: Leaf of salalberry.
mis-mulpa: 1—Omen of misfortune, such as preceded the outbreak of smallpox, hence, [824]
2—Smallpox. [787]
mitha: Type of sea-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.
mmo, mmim, mmu: Child. [601]
Mmokulo: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.
mmt': Excreta.
mnmum, mmim, mmmmtsin-i: Ancestral family, practically equivalent to children when used by an old person. [614]
mnkhmmsin: The commemoration of a chief's potlatches and other major ceremonies by means of plain posts erected near his grave. [211]
Mnskin-ram, Tide-Measurer: A supernatural being. [764]
Mtmlu: Man mentioned in a song.
Mtlelkin: Supernatural being who gives potency to *mmsi* rites.
mtlstin: Grandiloquent expression used by the *kukuiat* with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives. [776]
mtlkhmin: 1—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living. [775]
2—To visit, term used with reference to the coming of a masked representation of a dead person; the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.
mul': Pounded, dyed cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.
mulmuk: Head-ring of cedar-bark worn by *kuciut* initiates in the upper Bella Coola valley.
mulu: Lice.
mupsin: Adolescent youth. [825]
mumuch': Blue grouse.
mumuhlkhlmlu: Dentalium-shell ear-rings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion. [301]
mu: Hand net for catching eulachon. [227]
mulchmlulu: Yellow cedar stave decorated with swan feathers such as is carried by a Mystery dancer.
mumman: Wrestling.
Mutsu-a: Rivers Inlet man living in the last century.

N

Nala'ulmu: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Na'mu: Bella Bella village; the Anglicized form is Namu.
nim: Grizzly bear.
Nimmulu: Name received from Grizzly Bear by a Kimsquit man in the beginning of time. [825]
Nimmlt: *Kuciut* name of a *Nuxalkt* man.
Nimtlchai: One of the first men to settle at *Snuc* in the beginning of time.
Nmlklkmlt: One of the names of Mount *Nuxalkt* as chief.
nin-imut: Non-ceremonial weeping, usually individual, and always with real feeling. [827]
Nmu: Indeterminate locality in the distant east. [152]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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nemn, nematin, nemanim: Member of same sex and same maternal family as speaker. [601]

Nemkilum: Supernatural being who comes with *Nuktpum* to bring a call to the latter's protégé. [614]

Nemulkanut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

nemil: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract. [826]
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.

nemnemskin: Toilet-hole.

nemlstmam: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony. [465]

nemsalimtmam: Exchange marriage. [583]

nempishlhum: Passage.

Ne-mit: Place near *Nulkua*.

Nemtemkinis: *Kwiat* name created by *xnyayat* at Kitsaquit in the beginning of time.

nemmi di mtum: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

nemmi ni atmm: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

Nemnes'ax, "The Inkapitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Nemkimmul: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nemdjipum: Supernatural being who created repositories in the beginning of time.

Nemlkmk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nemdptum: House occupied by the first settlers at *Nutqmak* in the beginning of time.

nem'l'atmut: The use of potent medicines after seeing a giant toad.

nemlmmitmm or *nemlmmitmut*: 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dyed cedar-bark to *Nimqalitse-a*. [782]
2—The making of offerings to ghosts by the casting of food on a fire. [775]

Nemmu-ak: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nemmisiklilmut: Male supernatural being who travels with *Nuktpum*, takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.

Nemnetlu: Mother Nature.

nemyp: Fisherman with inherited right to use of a salmon-weir or of a place for catching sturgeon. [424]

nemqumnmmly, "A Calling Back", or "A Seizing": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural ermines having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [221] [761]

Nemqlmnik, "Where Water Entered": House of one of the first groups of settlers at Kitsaquit in the beginning of time.

Nemqmkinis: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nemqmkhlmyes-a: Professional name of a female dancer.

Nemqmlstmm: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.

Nemshmat: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nemtmmuk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nemzwmulk: Kitsaquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Nemtlhmmm, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [825]

6:Boas E-3 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be. 764 [301] [823] [766] [567] [775]

The bed of a mourner must be protected againt the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they cleave four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, cleaving new trees every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones. 765 783 [775] 765 [302]

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or olachen. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person. [262] [828] [822]

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was 'the same as giving away the bones of the deceased.' 765 556

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to 773 171

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

lished some remarks on the religious life of the Bella Coola in 1886,[1] which, however, contain so many misconceptions that they cannot be used to advantage. At the same time I published a brief description of the tribe, based on information received from a small group of members of the tribe who were travelling in Germany. In this description also there are a number of misconceptions. The Indians were shown a collection of masks from Vancouver Island with which they were not familiar. They gave, however, explanations of these masks, judging by the similarity to masks of their own tribe; consequently the explanations given there are not correct.[2] In 1890 I fell in with a number of Bella Coola who were fishing for salmon in Fraser River. The information obtained from them was published in the reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1891.[3] A. Jacobsen published a description of their ceremonies in 1891.[4] Fillip Jacobsen described some of their traditions and customs in 1894 and 1895.[5] I published a collection of traditions in 1894 and 1895.[6] 114

III.

All the collections which have been made heretofore do not bring out clearly the principal characteristic of the mythology of the Bella Coola. The tribes of the North Pacific coast consider the Sun as the most important deity, but at the same time they believe in a great many beings of supernatural power. For this reason their whole mythology is very unsystematic. The Bella Coola, on the other hand, have developed a peculiar mythology, in which a number of supernatural beings have been co-ordinated. A system has been evolved which justifies our terming the supernatural beings "deities." The general features of this system are as follows:— 114 773 776

The Bella Coola believe that there are five worlds, one above another. The middle one is our own world, the earth. Above it are spanned two heavens, while below it there are two underworlds. In the upper heaven resides the supreme deity, a woman who interferes comparatively little with the fates of mankind. In the centre of the lower heaven, that is in the zenith, stands the house of the gods, in which reside the Sun and all the other deities. Our own earth is an island swimming in the ocean. The underworld is inhabited by the ghosts, who are at liberty to return to heaven, whence they may be sent down again to our earth. The ghosts 772 [776] [775]

[1] Original-Mittheilungen aus dem ethnologischen Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, 1886, pp. 123-130.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 177-182.
[3] Seventh Report of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, pp. 2-18; Report of the 61st Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Cardiff, 1891, pp. 493-499.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, pp. 383-391.
[5] Ymer, Tjoldrtt utgifven af Svenska Sällskapet for Antropologi och Geografi, 1894, pp. 177-208; 1895, pp. 1-23.
[6] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, pp. 201-206; 1895, pp. 189-195. [113]

772 who die a second death sink to the lowest world, from which there is no
[775] return.

The upper heaven is called Atsâ'xxl., or Snutx·lek·'a'la ti Sônx· t'aix·, or
[774] Sônxxul· Omq'ô'mkilik·a. The deity ruling there is a woman who is called Qamâ'its, or Tsi sisnâxxl. ("our woman"), or Ek·!yuk·imôola'l. ("afraid of nothing").

772 This heaven is described as a prairie without any trees. It is said that
776 in order to reach it one must go up the river from the house of the gods in the lower heaven. In another tradition it is said that in travelling from the lower heaven to the upper heaven one has to pass the rent in the sky which is called Tsl.na'lôtas ti Sônx· t'aix·. The house of the supreme deity stands in the far east, and a gale is continually blowing over the open country, driving every thing towards the entrance of her house. Near the house, however, it is calm. In front of the house stands a post in the shape of a large winged monster, and its mouth is the entrance to the house. In front of the house-door there is gravel of three colors,—blue, black, and white. Behind the house is a salt-water pond in which the goddess bathes. In this pond lives the st'siul. or xtsaltsaló'xem. This being sometimes descends to our world. Wherever it moves, the rocks burst, and slide down the sides of the mountains. It is described as a snake or a fish (see pp. 44, 66).

773 In the beginning of the world the mountains were of great height.
823 They were human beings who made the world uninhabitable. Qamâ'its made war upon the mountains. She vanquished them, and made them smaller than they used to be. During this fight she broke off the nose of the mountain Yôlyulx'mi., which is situated near Nul.!x'l. Its face may be recognized even now; and the Indians say that when its name is called, it answers. There are two mountains near the head-waters of Bella Coola River. The one is called Slex·lékoal'l.; the other one, Na'xxl. The former had a fire, called Snutsi'k·ntmsta, burning in his house. This fire warned him of the approach of enemies. When Qamâ'its made war upon the mountains, the fire warned its master. Qamâ'its was coming down the river in her canoe, which is named "T!kun." When she approached, he broke her canoe, and she returned to heaven. The canoe has been transformed into stone, and may be seen to this day at the foot of the mountain Slex·lékoal'l. It is said that Qamâ'its visits the earth every now and then. Her visits cause sickness and death. She is described as a great warrior.

772 In the centre of the lower heaven, which is called Sônx·, stands the
776 house of the gods. This house is named Nuama'ts (the House of Myths), or Nusk!oalinal'x·ats ("where man was created"), or Nusk·lalna'mats ("the house from which people come down"), or Nusqilxoal'x·ats ("the house to which people go"). In front of the house stands a post called Nulsnl'k·ts. It is painted with representations of all kinds of birds. A

have to put the firewood. This opening is called K'awa'mnts, that is, "mouth kept open by means of a wedge." Mamamalt'nix spoke: "The sky shall not burst again. This wedge shall keep its mouth open." The following ka'nist song refers to these deities:— 776 821 [539]

> Ai'mots ti mamal' tlemts ti ai'ts'ugi t'ais
> Aiits ti mamal' ts. ti S'ameltsem ti Sisa' t'ais.
> Sis'a yelwas ti ai'tsus ti mamal'.
> Sis ensiqs ey tsimd'a ti K'awa'mnts ti Sisa' t'ais ti mamal.
>
> ("My child perished like the sky when it broke.
> Go to S'ameltsem of the sky, my child!
> Gladden my heart, my child!
> Sit down in the mouth of the sky, my child!")

Our world is called A'ntki'ut, or Qaak'ut, that is, "the land below." It is an island swimming in the boundless ocean. In the far east a giant is sitting with legs apart, who is called Aiep'alaxtnaix'. He holds a long stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar by means of two stone ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake; and the Bella Coola say, "Snenik'petak'intsela," that is, "he takes hold of our world." When he moves our earth westward, we have epidemics. When he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears. 772 776 823 [131] [753]

In the ocean lives a being called Sclaxis, who twice every day swallows the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the ka'nist ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various levels of the sea.

The world below us is the country of the ghosts (kolk'lolk'mx). It is called Asistk'axm. Descriptions of the ghosts' country are principally obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the sandy banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with sharp stones. When it is summer here, it is winter there. When it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their heads. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls, on reaching the lower world, receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform 772 775 [756] [787]

7:Boas E-5 (1884-ca.1890)1900 NEb Bellacoola NEb

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their kā'sint. It is just below the burial-place of each village. The dancing-house is very large and long. It has four fires. The women stay on the floor of the house, while the men sit on an elevated platform. The houses have doors, but the ghosts who first reach the lower world enter the house through the smoke-hole. A rope ladder placed in the smoke-hole facilitates their entrance. Two men stand at the foot of the ladder. They are called Anset.'axsatal'x. For a person who has once entered the dancing-house there is no return to our earth. The souls are at liberty to return to the lower heaven, which they reach by ascending the rope ladder. Those who return to the lower heaven are sent back to our earth by the deities, to be born as children in the same family to which they belonged. Those who enjoy life in the country of the ghosts, and who do not return to heaven, die a second death, and then sink to the second lower world, from which there is no return.

I received another description from an old man. He stated that he reached the country in his canoe. He saw two trails,—one the trail of the living, one that of the dead. He followed the trail of the dead, and reached a village in which there was a dancing-house. The language of the ghosts differed from that of the living (see p. 41).

773
825
[824]

The Bella Coola believe that in the far west is situated the land of the salmon, which is called Mta'ltsn. The salmon leave this country early in the spring every year, and ascend the rivers. They are believed to return to their own country in the fall. The following tradition is of importance, explaining the manner in which the salmon were first brought from their country to the rivers of our world:—

Once upon a time a man named Wiswī'ns lived at Qō'mqōtō. One day he was sitting in front of his house, looking at the river. He thought, "I wish fish would ascend this river." At that time not a single salmon visited Bella Coola River. Wiswī'ns entered his house and lay down, thinking about the salmon. One night while he was asleep he dreamt that with the help of all the animals he had made war upon the salmon, that he had vanquished them, and that since that time the salmon had ascended Bella Coola River. When he awoke he invited all the animals to his house, and told them about his dream. They all came, and when they had entered he shut the door. Then he spoke: "My brothers, I have invited you to my house that you may hear what I wish to do. You shall help me to obtain what I desire." The Mink asked him in what they were to assist him; and he replied, "I want to go to Mta'ltsn. There is not a single fish in our river, and I dreamt that with your help I vanquished the fish. Let us make war upon them. I shall certainly take some slaves, and we will place them in this river." Mink retorted, "I am glad that you are speaking,

7;Boas E-5 (1884-ca. 1890)900 ‡E6 Bellacoola NE6

Some of these he gives to the shaman. . . . A third spirit is the Skaia [Sxai'cxmx], which is believed to live in rivers and to have the shape of a salmon. When a shaman who is inspired by his spirit makes an incantation in a house, singing and dancing, as all the shamans do, whoever approaches the house and hears the song turns back. They believe that whoever passes the house during the incantation will be punished with death by the spirit Skaia." 776 756

I believe this spirit is identical with LAGA it., who, as stated before, has the second name Sxai'cxmx. According to Jacobsen, some shamans are initiated by the ghosts. He says that the ghosts are believed to have bald heads and blue faces. I am under the impression, however, that the people initiated by them are not shamans, but kisiut dancers (see Chap. VI). [779] [575]

Another being who initiates shamans is described in the following tradition: — 539

Once upon a time there was a man and a woman who had four sons. The three elder ones died. Then the father and mother and the youngest brother were very unhappy, and the old people cried for grief until they died. The young man was now left all alone. He left his village, intending to go away and never to return. He pulled his blanket over his head and walked on. Sometimes he would stop to pray. He lived on the meat of mountain-goats which he shot. He built a small hut high up on the mountains, and dried the meat. He was crying and praying all the time. He prayed to the Sun to give him a gift which would restore his happiness. One day early in the morning he ascended the mountain. He addressed the rising Sun, saying, "Look at me how unhappy I am." After he had gone a short distance he came to a ravine. The bed of the ravine was filled with pretty pebbles. There he met a beautiful man who was no other than the Sun, who had descended from the sky. He had caused the water of the creek that runs through the ravine to disappear. When the young man saw the stranger from a distance, he thought, "He seems to be looking for me." He went nearer; and when they met, the Sun said, "I am the one to whom you are praying all the time, and I came to help you. Now be happy. When you open your mouth and speak to me, I know your thoughts at once. I help those who address themselves to me. Take this." With these words he handed the young man a switch carved in the shape of a man. The Sun was carrying it under his arm, the point of the switch directed downward. "Fold your arms and hold this switch to your chest, and then return to the village. When you approach any one, hide the switch under your arm. You will find a person who wears a nose-ornament of beautiful green color. Then you must try to hit the ornament with this switch, and throw it to your right side." 756 776

1: McIlwraith NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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/For information on supernatural beings see category 116, pp. 30-85./

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824 their houses. Dishes, benches, cooking-boxes, cradles, totem-
[322] poles, canoes, all were carved from this wood. The bark was
[285] woven into baskets, and when dyed formed the most common
[531] ceremonial decoration.

Even within the forty miles of the river valley formerly
132 occupied by the Bella Coola there are considerable variations in climate. At the mouth of the river the typical Pacific coast type is found, without great extremes of temperature and with much rain, especially in winter time. During winter, the moisture is precipitated as snow a few hundred feet above the valley, and the limit of the snow can be watched on the mountain slopes, rising or falling a few feet from day to day. Farther up the valley, the winters are colder and in many cases snow lies for weeks on the ground, and in the upper part of the Bella Coola area the winters are severe, although much more moderate than on the upper regions immediately to the east.

173 What has been the history of the inhabitants of this land?
[776] They believe that long, long ago, *Alquntăm*, the supreme god, caused their first ancestors to be created in his house, *Nusmăt·a*, in the land above, and sent them down to populate the Bella Coola valley. These first people came in groups of two or three, brothers and sisters, or occasionally man and wife, each group descending, in many cases in animal form, to a certain mountain and then making their home at its foot. They brought with them animals and fish, tools and houses, also the knowledge of ceremonial dances. In fact, they differed from the Bella Coola of the recent past only in having greater supernatural power. These first people increased with extraordinary rapidity, until each group grew into a village, bound together by a knowledge of their first ancestor. In
173 course of time the occupants of certain villages combined, as
361 some increased more rapidly than others, but on the whole each settlement maintained its character of being the descendants of one group of the first settlers of this world.

[175] This mythological belief is a fair picture of Bella Coola life as it was when the first white man visited the valley. Mac-

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CHAPTER II

RELIGION

The Universe—Supernatural Beings—Supernatural Elements in Human Beings—Means of Propitiation

The Universe

ONE of the subjects about which Bella Coola philosophers pondered in former times, and about which definite information has come down to the present generation, is the universe. The young people, who have absorbed a certain amount of education from the white man, are scornful of the beliefs of their fathers, but it was possible to obtain the following information from a few of the older men and women. 772 [177]

They say that the earth is circular and flat, like an island. What it rests upon is problematical, though the assumption is that it is water. The world is kept from capsizing by the supernatural being, *Sninia*, who lives amid the ice in the far north; he grasps a rope to which the earth is fastened, and he keeps it steady by maintaining a tension on the rope to hold the world against his feet. Long, long ago *Sninia* was seen by human beings, but in later years no one has penetrated to his distant home and the Bella Coola have little regard for him. It was in the distant past, also, that human beings discovered the earth to be round, after certain semi-supernatural men had made a circuit of it. The four corners of space have not the same importance to the Bella Coola as they have, for example, to the Indians of the Plains. It is only through questioning that the investigator learns that the East is regarded as the top of the world, the South is the sun at its zenith, the West is the bottom, and the North is nothing, merely the opposite to the south. These beliefs play little part in the lives of the people. [776] [823]

Above our earth stretches an inverted dome, its edges resting on those of the world. This dome, the sky, is called

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772 *sonx̣ʷ*. If the Bella Coola were strictly logical, one should expect them to conceive the upper surface of *sonx̣ʷ* as being convex. Instead, it is considered a flat surface, very similar to the earth, and no explanation is given of what fills in the spaces between the dome, concave as viewed from this world, and the upper plane which could rest only on the peak of the dome. But logical accuracy is not a Bella Coola character-
[811] istic. This flat land is called *dāsonx̣ʷdā* or *wasonx̣ʷ wawik-ḥoqosil*. It is illumined by a second sun, shining on it as the sun does on the earth. Far in the east of this upper region are extensive tide-flats. This land above is the home of many supernatural beings, who will be described in due course. The
[821] relative position of the sun to this upper world is ill-defined. According to some accounts, it travels by clearly marked trails on the surface, and a transparent dome is postulated to explain how its light reaches this earth. Others state that it moves like a bird or flying canoe through the space between the world and the dome-sky above. On many of these points there is a
[538] striking difference of opinion, which the Bella Coola explain
[424] by saying that their information is derived from ancient stories, which are personal possessions, and that no one knows the beliefs of his fellows. A co-ordinated theology, as Boas points out, has not evolved among the Bella Coola.

772 The sky, as it may be called if the reader will bear in mind
773 that it is the underside of a flat land, was not always in its present condition. The Bella Coola say that long ago the
[776] supreme god instructed his Carpenters (I, p. 39) to make a sky. They started from the eastern extremity of the earth, but after a considerable part of the dome had been erected, it fell with a thunderous crash, because no supporting posts had been set up. The part that escaped this calamity is called *Salwalosam*. Undiscouraged, the Carpenters continued their work with the assistance of posts and so built the sky as it is seen today. Then the supports were taken away.

772 As already stated, a sun shines on the land above. As that
821 seen by mortals is attached to the land above, so is this upper

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772 beneath the Bella Coola valley, and the land of the living
775 forms a dome over it corresponding to that of the sky over this world. But everything is reversed. A river flows in the land of ghosts, but it rises in the west instead of the east; when it is warm on this earth it is cold in the land below; when it is sunrise here, it is sunset there. Shamans are be-
[756] lieved to have penetrated frequently to this land, and on information from them the Bella Coola base their beliefs.

772 There is another land beneath the ocean. In this live the fish and sea mammals in human form, as well as other beings to be described in the next section of this chapter. Like all
[821] other worlds it has a sun above it,[1] and conditions are said to be similar to those existing on this earth. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether this undersea world is at the same level as the land of ghosts, and whether or not it extends beneath the rivers.

821 Although Bella Coola concepts regarding the sun and other heavenly bodies will require further consideration, it will be convenient at this point to describe them in outline. The sun is regarded as a heat-radiating ball of such intensity that a human being cannot approach it. Its path, as it crosses the land above, varies from day to day until it reaches its limits at the solstices. As it travels, it is accompanied by the droning
[776] of two *Aiislāxa*, supernatural feminine beings who remain continually, one in the east and one in the west. According to most informants, the ends of the sun's course, though fixed and invariable from year to year, are not marked by any vis-
[776] ible means. Others state that at each limit there is the mouth of a *smmq*, a mythological animal of enormous size.

The moon is thought likewise to travel[2] each day but is said to be very cold. Few stories are current concerning it, although the Bella Coola say that long ago a man tried to reach it, only to be driven back by the intense cold. A shaman
[756] who died not many years ago claimed to have received power

[776] [1]One informant stated that our sun served that purpose.
[2]The *Aiislāxa* drone as it travels, as they do for the sun.

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instructed people about the significance of death omens; it was Raven who showed them the use of slings; and it was Raven who constructed secluded caves and ledges to serve as meeting-places for chiefs. 773 [622] [823]

In brief, the Bella Coola regard Raven as an explorer, teacher, and inventor, whose power, obtained from *Alquntăm*, enabled him to construct and outwit his maker, but not to create. Much of his work was for the good of mankind, but much was evil and malicious, an aspect which belongs to mythology. Essentially human, Raven could have been included among anthropomorphic, as well as among zoomorphic beings. He differs from most of the supernatural ones in belonging entirely to the past, as his descendants have none of the first Raven's power. It is doubtful whether he still exists, but in any case he has long since ceased to take any interest in the affairs of the Bella Coola, who consider him only as a figure of mythology and ancient history. 773 776 [825]

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS OF THE VEGETABLE AND MINERAL KINGDOMS

Bella Coola beliefs concerning anthropomorphic and zoomorphic beings are relatively clear and exact; their appearance is known, their powers and functions recognized. The supernatural attributes of trees and plants are less definite. *Alquntăm* created the former in the beginning of time, and they were consequently able to talk and act like human beings at that distant period. Owing to the degeneration of man, mortals are no longer able to converse with trees, although the latter can still understand our remarks. In a vague way, the Bella Coola continue to think of trees as having human personalities, but so little is known of their powers, and they enter so seldom into contact or conflict with mortals, that they are practically ignored. 776 824

In an equally vague manner, Nature is regarded as a Mother, giving birth to the trees and plants. One of the *kusiut* dances portrays this birth of the flowers every spring (II, p. 96). [535] [575]

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776 824 (II, p. 196). In this way the belief is kept before the eyes of the Bella Coola, but it is not a matter of prime importance in their lives. Rather contradictory is the concept that though each plant lack individual life, there is a supernatural mother of each species, corresponding in general terms to the Mother of Snakes described in the last section. As one informant expressed it:

"If there is no mother, how can a plant grow?"

These mothers are assumed to live beneath the ground. Occasionally, one of them has been discovered. Not many years ago, a number of women were collecting bracken roots when one which had been gathered began to turn into a snake. The women were alarmed and puzzled at this strange phenomenon. As they stood watching, the ground in front of them fell away as if there had been an earthquake, and they realized that the snake-root had been the mother of the plant. Without further fear they cooked and ate it.

776 823 Stones, too, and mountains were made by *Alqantlm*; consequently they have supernatural abilities and can understand the words and actions of mortals. When a wise man passes close beneath a precipitous mountain he always says to it:

"Please make yourself firm."

Most mountains, when requested politely, refrain from sliding and killing those passing beneath.

539 776 823 In former days mountains in many cases rose to meet hunters, and sometimes turned completely over. The Bella Coola are not sure whether this was caused by the mountain itself, or by a *snung* within. Wise hunters carry ropes with them when they penetrate into deep valleys, and when they feel the first tipping of a mountain they leap for a convenient tree, grasp it with their legs, heads downwards, and tie themselves in that position. Slowly the mountain rises and turns over, but, if the ropes do not break, the hunters suffer no ill effects. After a varying interval the mountain returns to its [789] normal position. This reversal can be hastened if a man bites

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his left cheek until the blood flows, takes also a mouthful of his own urine, and spits out the mixture.

The following instance of this belief was recorded.

A Bella Coola chief and a number of followers were once at Kwatna where they had been gambling for stakes of mountain goat grease. Two of the men had lost their supply, so they went into the mountains between Kwatna and Restoration Bay to replenish it. They saw two goats, killed them, and at once two more appeared in the same place; these they also slew. When a fifth and sixth goat appeared and were likewise dispatched, one of the hunters tried to restrain his comrade, saying that such phenomenal success must be due to supernatural power which they should not abuse. They stopped firing, cut the grease from their quarry, and started on the return journey. Presently the mountain began to till upwards before their feet. They had no ropes, and almost in despair concealed themselves in a small rock shelter. Their dogs too felt the movement and barked in terror. Fortunately, the mountain did not rise more than a few feet and soon subsided, so that the men escaped.

The attitude of the Bella Coola to supernatural powers of all kinds may be termed a doctrine of Opportunism. Supernatural beings abound and constantly play a part in the affairs of mortals. An alert and bold man can take advantage of these opportunities and obtain assistance, but he who hesitates is indeed lost. Certain types of assistance are most commonly granted to orphans and other unfortunates; accounts of these belong to the realm of mythology and will be described in a later chapter. On the whole the supernatural ones do not show discrimination in conferring boons, and the man who is quick to take advantage of them is the one to whom success comes.

Supernatural Elements in Human Beings

The Bella Coola believe that in the human body itself there are certain supernatural elements. Neither sticks nor stones can move, because they lack these attributes possessed by men and animals. Considering the firm belief of the Bella Coola in the omnipresence of the supernatural, it is not surprising that they should ascribe the phenomena of health and sickness,

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773 Shamans achieve much of their success through their ability
777 to put their wash-basins, both tangible (I, p. 560) and imma-
823 terial, in tune with *Alquntăm*'s in the land above. One method
756 of treating a patient is by washing, with the idea that the water
[755] and vessel used have potency through association with those in the upper world. It is believed that in the distant past, shamans were even able to carry their patients to the land above and wash them in *Alquntăm*'s own basin. Such feats
[551] are perpetuated in certain shamans' names, such as *Alpălyeleslaix*.

773 It may be said in conclusion that although the Bella Coola
777 have indefinite ideas concerning the exact form and functions of this last element, there is a firm belief that an individual's fortune in life depends upon the activity of spirit, tally post, and wash-basin. With regard to supernatural elements as a whole, it is clear that in spite of somewhat conflicting beliefs concerning the precise functions of each, they play an important part in the life of every Bella Coola.

Means of Propitiation

782 Some of the methods employed by the Bella Coola to gain the favour of the supernatural have already been mentioned, but the subject is sufficiently important to warrant a separate section. In view of the omnipresence of supernatural beings and powers, and their influence on the lives of mortals, it is not surprising that the propitiation of them is a vital factor in human life. The chief means are prayer, sacrifice, and the observance of ceremonial chastity.

Prayer

[776] Prayers are regularly addressed to *Alquntăm* who, in this connection, is known as *Mnakais* or *Tăll*, both meaning, "Father." A wise man or woman desiring success in hunting, in love affairs, in the acquisition of wealth, or in any activity whatsoever, is accustomed to ask *Mnakais* to grant his desire. No ritual is required. The petitioner merely seeks a lonely

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782 party. Canoes always start soon after dawn, and each mem-
224 ber of the expedition is careful to pray before leaving, and also
726 to avoid eating in case food should in any way interfere
[785] with the success of the venture. Before reaching their destin-
ation, a chief in each canoe draws from a pouch some eagle down brought for the purpose, holds it before his mouth, and blows a little towards each of the four cardinal points, at the same time asking *Minakais* to smile on the enterprise and grant a safe return. This does not guarantee success, but it is felt that any disaster which may occur would have been more serious if assistance had not been thus requested.

782 Although *Alquntäm*, under the name of *Minakais*, is the
776 one to whom prayers are most often addressed, petitions are sometimes made to other beings. In the beginning of time, when Raven had superabundant power, mortals frequently sought his assistance. At the present time, he is sometimes asked for aid, in the belief that he may still have some shreds of his former power, or be in a better position than men to intercede with *Minakais*. If ravens croak when it is raining,
782 people may ask them to request the supreme being to stop the
776 rain; in such cases, a petitioner is careful to address a raven
825 as *Nowakila*, his title as chief, rather than as *Qmax*. In cold
821 winter weather, a raven is sometimes caught alive, its head smeared with grease, and as it is released, the captor says:

"Please end the cold wind, *Nowakila*."

782 Prayers are also said half humorously, half seriously, on
[291] many occasions. When, for example, clothing has become too ragged for further use, it is thrown on a fire with the remark:

"Please come to me again, new."

The thrower does not actually believe that in so doing he is asking help from his clothing, but it gives him a certain sense of satisfaction thus to have expressed his desires.

782 The prayers above described can be said by anyone, at any
424 time; they are means of propitiation known to the whole
821 community. In addition, information was obtained about two prayers, each of which is the jealously guarded prerogative

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of a single family. Either is considered an almost certain means of stopping rain, but no one, even though aware of the method, can practise it with success unless he is a member of the family to which the method belongs. 782 424 821

One of these prayers, the property of a Kimsquit family, is addressed to *Xemxemälotla*. If the petitioner wishes to stop heavy rain, he goes to a quiet place in the woods and calls in a loud voice:

Aiya Xemxemälotlaš,[a]	*nuqwikdit*	*llok*	*di sonqʷnudx*
Hail, *Xemxemälotla,*	open	the loftiest	of your heaven
skäyusamdu	*dji sileuwnignu*		*tcim nänudjix.*
so that may look down	the cherished one		your child.

That is, "Expose the upper heaven so that your cherished child may look down."

It will be remembered that *Xemxemälotla* is the being who takes care of *Tläqmä·ks* in the upper skyland. It is said that this prayer was learnt by the ancestors of an informant in the beginning of time and that a repetition of the exact words is enough to drive away the rain clouds between earth and the upper heaven. For many generations care was taken to teach some intelligent member of the family the correct formula, and the person so entrusted was expected to use his knowledge for the benefit of any of his relatives desiring fine weather. [776]

Another prayer prerogative of similar type was recorded from an old man who related what he had seen his grandfather do many years before. The two were once hunting when heavy rain threatened their success and drove them to the shelter of a projecting ledge. The grandfather, not having any cedar-bark with him, cut and dried some evergreen boughs which he gave to his grandson, telling him to light them and wave them over his, the grandfather's, head. When this had been done, the old man rushed out into the rain and in a loud voice asked some supernatural being, whose name was forgotten, to throw his eyes upon the rain clouds in order to dispel them. That night the petitioner neither drank water nor urinated, and the [824] [785]

[a] The vocative form.

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the point between Labouchere Channel and Bentinck Arm, there is danger from treacherous currents, so, when a shaman passes either of these places, he lays some food on the water and puffs eagle down into the air as he asks for help. If no shaman is in the canoe, this is done by the captain. 782 [133] [502] [756]

The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is *Ṫlitcāplilān·a*, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and gives power to shamans. Whenever a hunter kills an edible animal in the forest, he cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws them into his fire to gain her goodwill. Long, long ago, *Ṫlitcāplilān·a* appeared to a hunter, seized some of his quarry, and told him of her wishes with regard to presents; these have since been obeyed by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of a man absent in the mountains or at sea throw scraps of food on the fire and ask the protection of *Ṫlitcāplilān·a* for the one in danger. In this case, it is clear that objects thrown into flames are received and appreciated by *Ṫlitcāplilān·a*. [776] [224] [773]

Mīnakais, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accompanies his words by blowing up into the air small particles of eagle down. Prayers in connection with the departure of war or hunting expeditions have already been mentioned, but before starting on any journey by canoe, the captain is careful to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and four of yellow cedar-bark. The blowing upwards of eagle down is a common accompaniment to all kinds of prayers, but, if none is available, cedar-bark can be used equally satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water, otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and considered valuable by *Ālquntām*, but they emphasize and accompany the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's sincerity. [776] [484] [824] [825]

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on presents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw 775 782

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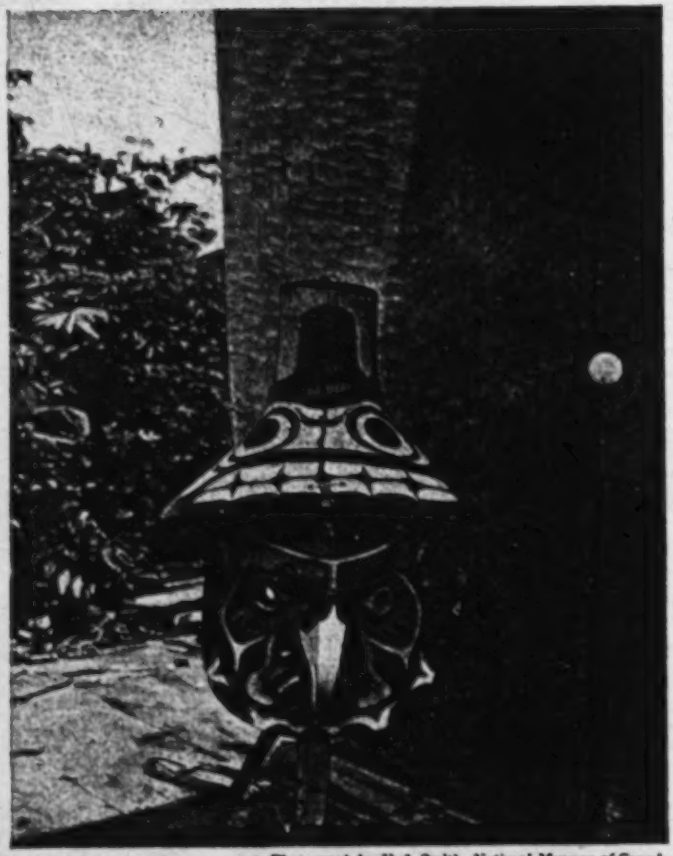
PLATE 10



Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Mask of *Qomoqua* showing his huge hat. Notice the adze marks on the planks in the background.

[4 186 (B)]

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with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *sisaok* ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from these, and sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy being had landed there. At once there is great excitement within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove them to be at hand. No one is allowed to leave except a *sisaok siki*[9] who is skilled in dealing with *Mulakila*,[10] also called *Sixsixqwtnam*, the supernatural being closely connected with the *sisaok* ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *siki* raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance.

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

[9]The accounts of all informants agree that much of the *sisaok* ritual was newly imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements, *Putlas*, a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella wife, also one from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with them as dower certain *sisaok* prerogatives. It is said that previous to that time the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the youths secluded in the back-room, nor to dispel the beings at the conclusion of the rites. On the other hand, some Bella Coola claim that their first ancestors brought the whistles with them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural beings is a recent addition to the potlatch, which accounts for the contradictory accounts, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It appears certain that the prerogative of *siki* has recently been obtained from the Bella Bella. *Siki* means "the one who cures," and the name is given to the man whose prerogative it is to tend the *kusiut* initiates in whom supernatural powers are located. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for *sisaok* matters, known as a *hai-alakila*. Through intermarriage several Bella Coola have recently obtained this prerogative; in each case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to these, so favoured, the term *siki*, as they do for the *kusiut* "curer," though the Bella Bella name, *hai-alakila*, is used with equal frequency. The present *siki* have endeavoured to claim for themselves certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by any *sisaok*. In this account of a potlatch it is assumed that a *siki* is functioning on all occasions, but in many cases any senior *sisaok* is considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *sisaok* was regarded as capable of doing so.

[10]Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a certain *Smaoan* of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time.

533 This is presently heard. Y may be in his own house, but at
* 556 once any number of *susaok* rush in and conduct him, concealed
in their midst, to the back-room of X's dwelling. All the *susaok*
575 of the village begin to gather there; those who are not members of the society are also free to enter the main part of the house, though they cannot take any part in the proceedings.
[781] They lurk near the door, watching with interest mixed with fear, and ready to flee if the danger from supernatural beings seems too acute.

After some delay, a whistle is heard at intervals, gradually becoming louder as if the supernatural being, of which it is the voice, were coming nearer. Presently it sounds immediately outside the door, and a *siki* rushes forth. He returns in a moment, followed, amid the breathless excitement of the uninitiated, by a figure masked as a bird or animal. The design [532] represents Y's crest, or some creature with which one of his ancestors came in contact, and which is therefore regarded as having the same sociological importance. A member of the society has carved the mask, another wears it, but this the uninitiated do not know.

[776] "It is a *tutwinam*,"[12] they gasp.

The figure crosses the house and bends down beside the singers to whom it appears to be whispering. Presently they begin, softly, to tap out a song in rapid time as if the supernatural visitor had just taught it to them. It is divided into two or three parts and the theme is taken from Y's ancestral myth.[13] After two or three rehearsals, the singers beat out the time more loudly and accompany it with their voices, while [535] the masked figure dances. A number of older *susaok* accompany the performer as he whirls around the house; it is pretended that this is necessary to shield the spectators, though the real function is to guide the dancer whose sight is handi-

[12]Meaning, "What is displayed," or, "A materialization."

[13]If the neophyte is a son or other near relative of the chief who is giving the potlatch, the theme may consist of boasting references to the goods about to be distributed. This is customary for X himself if he performs as a *susaok* at the actual ceremony.

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capped by the mask. If the *tutwinam* represents Wasp[14] or Grizzly Bear, he does not make a circuit and a fluent *sisaok* explains that to do so would be unsafe owing to the ferocity of these animals. When the song is ended, the figure passes into the back-room. After a short interval it reappears, recrosses the house, and leaves by the front door, to the accompaniment of increased whistling.

A few myths embody two *tutwinam*. In this case, a second figure presently enters and the same ritual is repeated for a second song. This usually differs, musically, from the first, being in three parts and with even more rapid time. More often, the second song is merely beaten out by the singers without the appearance of a *tutwinam* to supply an obvious source.

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This is the normal, but not the only practice with regard to a *tutwinam*. In some cases the figure does not appear until after the singing of the first song, and the uninitiated are told that it has been attracted by the music. In this case it passes into the back-room, later to reappear and leave by the front door. An announcement is made that it has brought a strange power, that Y has become peculiar, and that his name is now, for example, *Qwaqwasila*. A herald bears this news through the village. A second song is then sung in due course.

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The *tutwinam* is difficult to classify among Bella Coola supernatural beings. It appears in the form of an ancestral crest, but the *sisaok* do not seem to have taught the uninitiated to regard it as Y's actual forefather. It remains as a supernatural embodiment of his crest, a materialization of an element of family history, and a motive for the use by Y of a mask representing the apparition. The uninitiated do not seek further; they have seen a wonderful sight and are content.

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Several of the older *sisaok* stated that the *tutwinam* concept was not indigenous to Bella Coola; it had been recently

[14] None of the first people came to earth as Wasps, but several received so much help from these insects that they are regarded as crests by the descendants of those whom they assisted.

adopted, probably as a prerogative obtained through marriage, from the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people. The diversity in ritual supports this view. There was not sufficient time for the procedure to become stabilized between the introduction of the concept and the dislocation of Bella Coola social life through the influence of the white man. It is also possible that the *tutwinam* was added to *sisaok* rites from the older *a'alk* society (I, p. 273).

Whatever may have been the history of the *tutwinam*, it provides Y with a mask, or with two, if two figures have appeared. He guards them jealously, though secretly, throughout his life and uses them only on rare ceremonial occasions. It is one of these masks which will be brought out if one of his family gives a dramatic representation of his return after death. A mask of this type is sometimes willed, but the legatee alters the design before using it.

A short pause follows the singing of the second, or third, song, during which some chief or chiefs may make a laudatory speech concerning Y's family history. Then the singers again sing the first song, and *sisaok* members of the audience join in. Similarly, the second song is practised. These two are sung, time after time, until the *sisaok* have thoroughly mastered them. When the singers consider that this has been accomplished, they tell X, who communicates with the *sisaok* man outside who has the whistle, and again its eerie notes are heard. Some of the uninitiated, believing that the supernatural being who gives potency to the ritual is at hand, hurriedly leave in fear. At the same time some of the *sisaok* conduct to the back-room the second initiate whose songs are to be sung that night. The procedure in his case is identical with that described for Y. Usually it is considered sufficient to seclude two on one night, though three may be attempted. When the songs of the last have been sung, food is distributed and the people disperse.

A few nights later the same ritual is repeated for two more initiates, who join their predecessors in the back-room. Here they spend their time in idleness, the only essential being the

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426 hence repayment or non-repayment does not affect the stand-
ing of the debtor in the community. The giver expects no
*556 return, but should he come to financial straits he would have
[558] no hesitation in asking aid from the Bella Bella chief. He
expects, moreover, that the latter will contribute to the ex-
penses of his funeral. This would be optional, as repayment
of a non-ceremonial present concerns the donor and recipient
alone, without effect on the status of either in the community.
In this instance, if the old man had died soon after his son, his
debts would not have been paid, since there were surviving no
immediate relatives. Sons or other near kinsmen always settle
the debts of dead parents out of family pride, but it is con-
[558] sidered most improper for the creditors to think about re-
payment. By giving they have shown their power, the ques-
tion of return is the concern of the family of the deceased
recipient.

Very rarely does the donor of a potlatch fail to return his
investment presents except through oversight. In spite of
every precaution, errors occur, and these are said to be caused
either by a supernatural being, itself invisible, rising between
[776] the donor and his guest, hiding the latter, or by *Snuqwalnu-*
kaista stealing away his thoughts. Unless the donor wishes
[578] to insult a guest, he will give him presents later on, and that
ends the matter. But if he does not do so, the slighted man
426 may return the insult, and thus feuds are often generated that
*556 may lead to war between tribes. About 1860 it is said
648 that a conflict between the people of Bella Bella and Rivers
Inlet was caused in that way. In the autumn of 1921, a Bella
Coola chief insisted on dancing at a Bella Bella potlatch, al-
though it was commonly known he did not have the necessary
goods for distribution to validate his dance. The hosts waxed
sarcastic, taunts were answered by taunts, and only the pre-
sence of some white men prevented bloodshed. Relations
between the two tribes are still strained as a result of this
[828] incident. The Bella Coola chief was subject to spells of
insanity, and danced during one of these. According to the

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*556 773 flesh cut from the body is fastened to the point of the spear, making it so potent that when next the chief lunges at a salmon he transfixes it and brings it ashore. He warms the fish at a fire and then pounds it on a stone until it becomes a copper.

No Bella Coola has visited this distant river for many generations and the belief concerning the manufacture of *taitaimx* appears to have been handed down from dim antiquity. Coppers of this kind are said to have been considered much more valuable than the usual *łälia*, but were always uncommon. In addition to their ordinary uses, they had a certain curative value. If the owner of one was ill, he used to clean it [755] with a rough stone and water; then he would drink four cupfuls of the liquid which contained minute fragments of metal. In almost every case a speedy recovery followed. In all other respects *łälia* or *taitaimx* could be used indiscriminately.

Łälia are likewise said to have a supernatural origin. When found in the forest, they are due to the supernatural salmon-[776] like being, *sisiutl*, having changed itself into one. None has been found in recent years because the *sisiutl* have moved away owing to their dislike of the smell of human footsteps and the taint of smoke.

These stories serve to emphasize the complete ignorance of [325] the Bella Coola concerning the methods of manufacturing coppers. It is possible that long ago they were able to make their own by pounding the native metal, but if so it is surprising that some traditions to this effect were not preserved. On the other hand, there is little reason to doubt their use of [177] coppers, obtained from the northern tribes, antedating the coming of the whites. All informants agreed on this point, and the frequent references to coppers in mythology likewise point to considerable age. In many of the ancestral myths there are accounts of the obtaining of coppers by some of the [551] first people, and many ancestral names, both of men and women, are derived from them.

[237] The Bella Coola attribute the value of coppers to the fact

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society and decline of the *a'alk*, concealment has become limited to initiates of the former organization.

No more *a'alk* dances take place during the potlatch preliminaries, but with the coming of the first group of foreign guests, the host displays as many types of dance as he is entitled to, including *a'alk* if he has the necessary prerogative. On this occasion other *a'alk*, especially relatives of the donor, give their dances, the only time that such are used at potlatches except by novices receiving names. This is repeated on the arrival of every party of guests.

Meanwhile the novice, or novices, has been practising the proper steps for his appearance, which always occurs immediately before the entry of the masked figure representing the donor's dead relative. As already mentioned, there are four kinds of *a'alk* dances, known as *nusqwal*,[8] *łłaiyäkam*, *qi'aqa*, and *am'lel·a*. A similar song is used for a dancer of any one of these four; the text describes some small incident of the ancestral myth in which the name occurs, such as the bringing down of the prerogative by the first incumbent in the beginning of time. At the proper moment, the singers beat this out and the audience joins them in singing it. Then the singers begin to strike rapidly on the floor with double beats, assisted by the guests who clap their hands in rapid couplets. Out comes the dancer, resplendent in his head-dress decorated with weasel skins, and women with the required prerogative begin to drone. If his prerogative is as a *łłaiyäkam* or *qi'aqa*, he proceeds to a place beside the fire and begins to run around it, sunwise, in short mincing steps, revolving at the same time on himself. He clasps his hands behind his back and bends down, then stands upright with palms extended upwards, never ceasing to move his feet in rapid steps. This type of dance is far more violent than a *susaok* one, and the amount of energy expended by a dancer in his rapid circuits of the fire is tremendous. Never, even for a moment, are his feet quiet, while his body twists and bends in an amazing fashion. After two

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[8]Among the supernatural beings, the *nusqwal* is a yearling mountain goat. [776]

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551 dropped. *Kwai'hila'yokwɔ* is held by a Fort Rupert chief. Several *kusiut* names, with dances, were obtained from *Tcäkwälotl* where the travellers saw them being performed; among them were *Änudakänuts* and *Duduspux*, which are now used by two Bella Coola women. *Ailsamka* is now a Cannibal (II, p. 71) name. At *Täl·io Äl·imdsaix* gave a *kusiut* dance, and with his own power made there a repository as if he had brought it with him from *Tcäkwalotl*. This was only possible because of his supernatural power as one of the first people, strengthened by his becoming a shaman through seeing *Tcäkwalotl*.

SECOND ORIGIN MYTH OF *Täl·io*[34]

*539 In the beginning, there came down to the Skeena River,[35] *Nusqäps*, *Nusxemda*, *Wiaqaii*, and their younger sister *Nulixwemankta*; they brought from *Älquntäm* some of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *sisaok* ceremonials.[36] The three travelled all over the coast seeking a place in which to settle, and always the whistles kept calling out of their own accord, giving advice. Finally they decided to locate at *Täl·io*, the head of South Bentinck Arm.

When they had lived there for some time, the neighbours objected to the din of the whistles, which drove away olachen and herring, so *Nusxemda* built a high, narrow mound of refuse, on the tip of which he constructed his house. The building was peculiar; its door opened horizontally and used to close with a crash when anyone entered. On either side of the hill there lived a *sminq*, whose keen ears could hear the wailing of an infant at any distance. In those ancient days, these beasts were like dogs and did not annoy mortals; they were servants to *Nusxemda*. [776] One day he learnt that a raiding-party was approaching, but instead of being afraid he instructed the *sminq* to use their power when it drew near. When the hostile canoes came in sight the two creatures reversed their eyeballs, causing a blinding flash which stunned the occupants of the canoes. After a little they recovered consciousness and again came on, but again the *sminq* reversed their eyeballs with a like result. When this had happened several times the raiders withdrew discouraged.

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[34]Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

[35]It is not uncommon for the Skeena to figure as the place where some of the first people came to earth; but few descended nearer to Bella Coola than that region.

[36]This prerogative is less common among the Bella Coola than the Bella Bella.

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leaving *Nusmät·a*, *Hamcıt* had asked *Älquntäm* what they should do for a place to live and the deity had promised to provide them with one. The first night the brothers slept in the open, but the next morning they found a house completed for them on the shore of the fiord; it was of the semi-subterranean type with a central pit for the fire, surrounded by stagings. *Älquntäm* had made it peculiar in several respects. When the tide rose, water was forced up through passages in the rock so that it burst within the dwelling in miniature waterspouts. The upright posts were carved in representations of Thunder, and the paintings on the back-wall were of *Snınıq*. Echo was there, invisible as usual, but repeating everyone's speech, while around the floor ran countless mice. The name of the house was *Nunuḑsmäls*, "Where Water Enters." 539* [776]

After a time, when the people had increased on the earth, *Hamcıt* invited the chiefs, there were none other then, for a potlatch. The guests saw the wonders of the house and marvelled.

Three times *Hamcıt* did this, but when he, or a descendant, attempted to do so for the fourth time, the supernatural power which had been present at the first potlatch had vanished; so carpenters were called upon to reproduce the original features. The painting of *Snınıq* and the carving of Thunder presented no difficulties, though the latter was transferred from the house to the totem-pole without. Masks were made to represent the spouting water and manufactured mice ran on the floor by means of hidden strings. Whenever one of *Hamcıt*'s descendants gives a potlatch the carpenters are called upon to make realistic replicas, a form of dramatization responsible for features of potlatches not only among the Bella Coola but also, it is said, of the Bella Bella, Kitlobe, and the Tsimshian peoples. [532] [171]

ORIGIN MYTH OF AN UNIDENTIFIED TOWN[57]

In the beginning of time the supreme god sent down two brothers, *Wıdkıs* and *Kwatlnuslıa*, to Mount *Wa·put*, some thirty miles up the Bella Coola River not far from *Stuıx*. They looked around, not knowing which way to go or what to do. Glancing down they saw smoke arising; it was from *Älkwi*'s fire, but this they did not know, because there were few people in the land, and no one knew anything about his neighbours. *Kwatlnuslıa* travelled a short distance upstream until he heard the sound of beating, which puzzled him, so he advanced slowly until he saw a house, to the roof of which he cautiously climbed and looked down inside. Many people had assembled there; they were land-otters giving a dance,

[57]Related by Judas, an old man suffering from senile decay. It is unquestionably a fragment of a longer myth.

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CHAPTER VII

BIRTH, ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE

Birth—Childhood Instruction—Puberty Rites—Marriage

Birth

It was impossible to obtain definite data on the fertility of Bella Coola women, or on the period elapsing between marriage and the birth of the first child. Sterility is rare, though by no means unknown; on the other hand, there are several families with as many as eight or nine children. The changed conditions which have followed the advent of the white man seem to have had little influence on the high birth-rate, although infant mortality has increased enormously. Within the last few years this has diminished, so that the Bella Coola are now holding their own. Children are always desired, and although methods of abortion and infanticide have been known for many years, neither practice seems to have been sufficiently common to have produced an appreciable effect on the population.

Pregnancy usually occurs during the year following marriage. Though its actual dependence upon coition is fully realized, yet the Bella Coola, religiously minded in this as in all other aspects of life, ascribe the condition to the four *Mesmesälänux* acting on the behest of *Ałquntäm*. It is believed that the Carpenters carve out the child who is to be born in the same way that a human craftsman manufactures some complicated object. Most individuals do not theorize to any extent upon the course of biological development, but are content to assume that *Ałquntäm* has made the coming birth possible.

During pregnancy the expectant mother must observe certain restrictions. If she chews gum, she will have a difficult delivery; if she eats salmon tails, the feet of the infant will appear before the head, and although skilled assistants can usually rotate a child, this is a painful process which should be avoided.

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as easy as possible. Women seldom experience difficulty and 844
suffer, on the whole, less than do white mothers. It is believed
that *Sxaiaxwax*, though invisible, is present on every occasion; [776]
the rendering of assistance at childbirth is his one kindly act.

The umbilical cord was formerly cut with a mussel shell, [177]
but for many years the use of a metal knife has been customary.
The after-birth usually comes away easily, but if there is delay, [845]
hot ashes are placed around the feet and at the back of the
woman to accelerate its expulsion. It is immediately buried
or placed beneath a large tree in the forest; if burnt, the infant
will always be weakly. While one of the assistants disposes of
it, another washes the new-born child. The cloths and dishes
used for this purpose are burnt; failure to do so is believed to [826]
cause the child to become blind through a white film forming
over the eyeballs. Then the mother and midwives return to
the house with the infant, who is a source of tremendous in-
terest to the community. It is proper for the father to recom-
pense the attendants at once, in accordance with their skill
and his generosity. A woman who has had several children
often assists the daughter of a friend, then, as she gains more
experience, her reputation grows and her help is more com-
monly sought. At the time of this study, 1922, the sum of [465]
$2.50 was considered suitable recompense for a fairly pro-
ficient midwife.

A new-born child takes the breast readily and a mother 853
would be considered harsh indeed if she failed to suckle her
infant whenever it cried, since scientific hours for feeding are
not known. A child is wrapped in a shawl or a blanket and 854
carried by the mother wherever she goes; when in the house
it sprawls contentedly on the floor, unhampered by clothing.
When the umbilical cord falls, it is preserved by the mother. [846]
Soon after birth, the parents make provision for their child's
welfare by magical means (I, p. 700). The heavy infantile
death-rate of the Bella Coola cannot be attributed to lack of [165]
love or care on the part of parents, but the attention lavished is
commonly not of the kind that assists a weakly child to survive
the perils of infancy.

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763 to earth close by. In the winter of 1921-2 three Bella Coola
[824] were almost crushed in this manner; within a year the deaths took place of the wife of one, the mother of the second, and the daughter of the third. This was considered definite confirmation of their belief.

763 When a chief dies, a supernatural woman, *Skwanät·än·ā*, "The Weeper," comes to earth to lament the loss. Crying
● 776 piteously, she walks to and fro in the woods near the village where the death has taken place, but can be heard or seen only by a person in whose family there will soon be a fatality. This
[789] can be counteracted by going boldly to her and collecting some of the clotted mucus that drips from her nose as she weeps. If this is wrapped in the finder's clothing and stored for a year, it brings him good fortune and probably deflects the impending death, but to see "The Weeper" without knowledge of the proper procedure is to court disaster. A prominent Bella Coola woman died in June, 1922, and her son believed that he heard the lamentation of the supernatural visitor about six the next morning in the woods behind the missionary's house. He rushed forth to find her, but was unsuccessful. Within a few days, one of his nieces died, as was to be expected.

763 A comparatively common bird in Bella Coola is the
825 *kwakwas*, which is about the size of a robin and dark, greenish brown.[1] Its whistle is frequently heard and no significance is attached to it, but it is an omen of death if a *kwakwas* comes close to a house and chirps out, "*lsi·t*." On the night of February 20, 1924, one called beneath the window of a man who was about to start on a journey in his motor-boat. Next morning, although the bird lay dead beside his house, he insisted on starting. He camped at Restoration Bay where he was awakened by a voice calling his name, but could see no one. This was probably an owl, a bird which often foretells disaster by calling the name of the person to whom it will occur. Even this did not deter him and within twenty-four hours his

[1]The bird could not be identified, although it belongs to fact, not mythology.

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CAUSES OF DEATH

761 The Bella Coola know that sickness, accident, wilful murder, old age, and a host of other factors may at any time terminate a man's life, but they consider that any one of these direct causes is possible only in conjunction with an indirect reason of a religious or supernatural nature; in the last analysis they attribute death to supernatural, not to natural causes. [773] As described in a previous chapter, an ancient myth attributes the origin of death to the stupidity of Raven, but this belief, even if its historical accuracy is accepted, belongs to the realm of philosophy and ancient history rather than to everyday life. 761 When a canoe is capsized on the ocean and its occupants are drowned,—the Bella Coola do not consider a drowning a mere 776 accident—it is because *Q̓omoqwa* was hungry and desired human flesh. This indirect reason is quite as important as the direct one. So, too, the death of a man beneath a falling tree or a land-slide is no accident; *Sä·lma* caused the tree to crash to earth or the slide to roll downwards. Most individuals believe that this supernatural being is responsible when an animal kills a hunter. He delights in death and always sits on [756] a coffin before it is taken to the grave, although none but shamans can see him. Any supernatural being can cause death, but it must not be imagined that the Bella Coola go through life in a state of constant fear; death may vanquish them in the forests, but the probabilities are against it. Nor does 753 sickness appear to them as a natural phenomenon. Its cause is either the intrusion of some foreign object into the body, or the weakness of one of the patient's supernatural elements. The only remedy in the latter case is an appeal to the super- [755] natural, sometimes through the medium of a shaman, whereas a foreign object in the body can often be extracted by a skilled [754] practitioner. A disease of this type is often brought on by the machinations of a sorcerer, and if death results it is attributed 761 to the potency of his charms, not to a natural ailment. Even [775] ghosts are able to cause death. In war, one man may be able [726]

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766 575 but even if unaware of the fact, they realize that some supernatural, invisible visitor has arrived. [776]

Heralds go from house to house, and sometimes to adjacent villages as well,[1] inviting the people to pay a farewell visit to the dead man who will soon leave them; in this invitation the *susook* name of the deceased is used. The guests assemble at once, irrespective of their rank or membership in the *susook* society. To mark their grief, female relatives pull out tufts of their hair, and both men and women of the immediate family cut their hair short. The body, either in its coffin or covered with blankets, is placed between the central fire and the back-room, immediately behind the place where the singers take their stations. When all are present, a son or other near relative who is also a fluent speaker, stands up and expounds how the Chief, meaning *Mulakila*, has come to visit the dead man, and how all should try to understand the song he has brought.[2] A hidden *susook* has been blowing a whistle intermittently, and the singers pretend to be able to understand words of a song in its notes. In reality they have prepared in advance the new one which they now beat out, accompanied by their voices. The theme either describes the coming of the supernatural visitor, or recounts the number of potlatches given by the deceased, and the manner in which these will make smooth the path whither he is going in the same way that distributed goods validate a chief's seat in this world. This song is practised and improved upon amid the booming of the whistle as if the singers were constantly gaining new ideas and embellishments from the words of the supernatural visitor. Sometimes a few incidents are added from the *susook* myth. After several repetitions, a relative of the dead man asks the singers to beat out the latter's *susook* songs, as many of them as are remembered from the time he was first initiated into the so-

[203] [628] [302] [537] 533 575 766

[1]The Bella Bella are said to invite foreign guests to this ceremony.

[2]Sometimes the people are present when the coming of *Mulakila*, heralded by whistling and a thump on the roof, takes place. There are variations in this, as in all other *susook* rites. [184]

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this rite is neglected no more salmon will come to the river. No precautions are necessary after the food has been digested. 764 [825]

Many men prepare their coffins before death. If this has not been done, a large, wooden box is provided by a kinsman of the deceased. The body is dressed in good clothing and bound into a squatting position, head between knees, hands clasped around shins, and the haunches just above the level of the soles of the feet. In this posture it is thrust into the coffin. Particularly if the corpse has been brought from some distance and *rigor mortis* has set in, it may be necessary to break the back-bone and even to crush the skull before the box can be closed. A stone is placed on the back of the neck, within the coffin, to prevent the ghost from returning to haunt the survivors. A little choice food is placed beside the body of a dearly loved child for nourishment during the journey to the next world. [763] [602] [775]

From this point onwards, the funeral rites differ according to the rank of the deceased. On the death of an influential *ɬɩɩɑɑk*, the senior members of that society meet as soon as possible to arrange the dramatization of the coming of *Mɩlakila*. A *ɬɩɩɑɑk* son, brother, or other near relative is always present even if he has little importance in the affairs of the society. If the death has taken place during the night, the conference is held the following morning and the rites begin at noon. There may be delay until all have gathered, but about the middle of the first possible day two *ɬɩɩɑɑk* are sent up one of the mountains behind the village. They carry large, cone-shaped whistles which they blow twice. The sound is plainly audible in the village and all, whether or not members of the *ɬɩɩɑɑk* society, recognize that a supernatural being is drawing near. After a short interval, another whistle is blown by a *ɬɩɩɑɑk* concealed on the roof of the house in which the corpse is lying, and after another pause the same sound comes from within, beside the body itself. Most of the uninitiated know that this is the voice of *Mɩlakila* (also called *Sixsiɬɩwɩm*), 575 766 [776]

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and recompense to funeral assistants is usually deferred until 764
that time. Such was often true even in former years, although 431
poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the 556
express purpose of publicly rewarding those who had helped to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any con- [575]
venient ceremony, such as a non-sacred *nsaok* dance. As [796]
repeatedly mentioned, when the people have been called together for a ceremony, advantage is often taken of the gathering to settle debts or to perform rites of an entirely different nature. It is probable that the summoning of guests solely to witness the payment of helpers was always unusual; at present it never occurs. On those occasions when a body was buried in secret [766]
after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the crest, the goods of the deceased were deposited as usual in the cemetery. Those who carried them were the ones who had performed the secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the gifts as reward for the hidden rite without exposing the subterfuge.

Another type of ceremonial taking place after a funeral is 764
the cleansing from the contamination of death of near relatives 783
of the deceased, and of those who have handled the corpse. If spring salmon or olachen are running, pall-bearers must not go near the river for ten days, or twenty according to some infor- [825]
mants, after taking a body to the grave. They have become tainted with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the river bank, would poison the salmon. Unwillingness to become affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly, friendless slave being carried out to the cemetery by some old women who covered him with boards. The taint on grave-diggers cannot be removed, but automatically lapses after ten days.

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife whose consort has passed away. It is believed that *Sā-lma* [776]

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764 comes and sits on the coffin during every funeral, seeking further victims. Death has so contaminated a widow or widower
783 that she or he will fall an easy prey unless ceremonially purified. No special acts are carried out between interment and
[776] the burning of goods four days later, but the following four days must be spent in a small shelter of branches behind the village, hidden from sight in the forest. Within this the man or woman lies on the ground with legs close together and bent
[841] at the knees, in the same position as a girl during the four days after her first menstruation. A male friend accompanies a widower; a female, a widow. This companion keeps a fire burning and administers to the comfort of the patient, for such a bereaved person is considered to be. Every evening the two return home and leave again the following morning. On one of these days, the companion scours the woods east of the village to find four spruce saplings growing within sight of each other in an east to west direction. To this place he leads the survivor on the morning after the fourth day of concealment[a] in the shelter. He bends down the top of the western sapling and ties it into a loop with a rope composed of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. The widower, or widow, crawls through this opening to the east and then makes a circle, sunwise, around the sapling. Passing to the next one, the same procedure is repeated, and so in succession for the third and fourth, each being left tied into a loop. There are at least two variations in this rite: Instead of passing through four saplings, some individuals choose to crawl four times through a single one, with a sunwise circuit intervening in every case. If the survivor be a member of a family in which it is customary to use four saplings, and if the friend cannot find four in proper alignment, he cuts a number of spruce branches and sets them upright, butts in the ground, leaving a small hole between them. Four sets of these are arranged, as substitutes for four saplings, and the crawling through takes

[a] There is variation in the exact time for this rite. Some individuals practise it on the fifth day after death and omit the waiting in the shelter.

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775 accustomed to do when alive; but the workmanship is shadowy and unsubstantial, sometimes even transparent. Ghosts do not act like human beings, but usually walk backwards, sometimes even on their heads, and spend much of their time playing a game resembling football with large, globular objects made of some light substance. They communicate with one another both by whistling and in a language which resembles the attempts at speech made by a tongueless person. Some 775 individuals believe that there is a supreme chief in the land of ghosts, *Allät-laist*, sent down like Pluto to preside over the 776 shades. He figures in certain stories describing descents to the lower world; but many Bella Coola know nothing of his existence below, although it furnishes a plausible explanation for his coming by night to molest human beings. Like *Sasiemar* [761] he causes blood to rush forth from the mouth and genitalia of anyone whom he seizes; death follows, and a new victim has been acquired for his kingdom. The more common belief is 775 that the villages of ghosts have chiefs like those of human beings. It is thought, indefinitely, that after a long period of time the ghosts die, and some of them may then return to [845] this world as infants. A child born with dimples in its ears, which are regarded as indications of previous borings for rings, is welcomed as the reincarnation of some unknown ancestor.

At death, the ghost does not immediately appear in the land below, but remains for four days within the back-room of a house corresponding in style to an ordinary Bella Coola [772] dwelling. It is believed that one of these large houses is beneath every village* and that the dead pass straight down through the earth into it. Meanwhile the goods, burnt at the grave during the funeral, as well as those deposited beside it, have fallen through the ground and notified the ghosts that a newcomer has arrived. The wraiths assemble from all directions and fight over the articles, none of which are obtained [768] by the one who owned them during life. On the fourth

*There may be one large house, extending beneath the world like *Nusmis*'s above; it was impossible to obtain definite information on this point.

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dred yards away, rapidly drew near the hunter along the trail. He raised his musket and stepped aside, but though the sound went past him down the path, he could see nothing. Terrified, he realized that he had been near two ghosts, and rushed back to the village. A shaman was called who informed him that he had met his dead father's sister and another relative, both of whom were hungry. The hunter, too weak from fright to help himself, watched the shaman light a fire and throw on it a considerable amount of food and goods. Finally, he ripped the hunter's shirt from his back and threw it into the flames. Consequently, no harm resulted from this experience.

Ghosts, like all other supernatural beings, can, of course, control their powers so that their appearance does not injure a beholder. A few years before 1922 a certain *Qaxlûn-i*, whose ancestral name was *Lo-qua-i*, was encamped at *Sazkwanat* on the Labouchere Channel side of King Island. At dusk a woman came to his fire and proceeded to warm her cape. He recognized from her green face that she must be a ghost and boldly asked her what she wanted.

"I have been searching for mussels," she replied, "but without success."

In an instant she vanished and *Qaxlûn-i* experienced neither good nor evil from this apparition. The Bella Coola say that this being may not have been a ghost as he had thought, but was perhaps one of the under-sea dwellers who have somewhat the same appearance.

Since ghosts, like other supernatural beings, are believed to possess both wisdom and power, it might be thought that they would be invoked frequently. Instead, death has altered their character to such an extent that they are avoided and kept at a distance. The only time that an appeal is made to a ghost is when a young person dies without apparent reason and the survivors wish to learn the cause. The body is buried with a long cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark projecting from its mouth and stretching to the surface. The relative desiring information summons to his house several shamans whose powers have been obtained

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CHAPTER IX

RELATIONS WITH THE SUPERNATURAL

Introductory—Sterile Apparitions—Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate—Supernatural Good Luck—Shamanism—Direct Revelations from the Supreme God—Power Localized in Certain Spots—Dreams

INTRODUCTORY

THE aspects of Bella Coola life thus far described have been principally of a nature which might be experienced by any member of the community. On the other hand, contact with supernatural beings is a privilege granted to individuals without respect to rank; even arduous appeal cannot assure it. The few to whom signal favours are granted acquire a position of importance totally different from that of chiefs. The Bella Coola are firmly convinced that supernatural beings abound in the mountains and forests of British Columbia, and that every activity of human life is governed by them. Not only do these creatures include monsters of the imagination, but birds, animals, and fish; even the activities of the human mind are considered to be beyond the scope of normal life. Ancient stories describing the actions of strange creatures and conversations between man and animals are accepted as truthful accounts, so that it seems obvious to the Bella Coola that his ancestors were more powerful than he is today. Never considering the possibility of errors in his stories, he accepts the alternative hypothesis that mankind has sadly degenerated from the golden age. Nevertheless, he assumes that the beings have not altered, and consequently hopes to encounter them on every occasion. Moreover, this firm background of belief makes it easy for him to recognize supernatural influence in events which a white man would consider to be natural. It is impossible to over-emphasize this concept.

787 * [554] 787 * 776 ● [828] [538] 981

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* 787 sick, and gives the person securing it ability to treat the same disease in others.

[756] (7) Dreams, especially those in which supernatural apparitions visit the sleeper.

Sterile Apparitions [1]

539 The most common sterile apparitions are those of a stone
* 787 giving birth to a smaller stone, a tree falling almost to earth, then righting itself, or the sight of some enormous monster. Such an experience may come to anyone, and no one can tell what it may portend. The following examples will illustrate this kind of phenomenon. In accordance with Bella Coola usage, these are recorded as if actual facts.

Between 1890 and 1900 a number of men were paddling home to Bella Coola one fine October day when, as they were passing beneath some precipitous rocks to the west of Kwatna Inlet, they saw a giant, as big as a medium-sized tree, come leaping down into the sea. They could not see his face, which was turned in the opposite direction, but as he sprang they noticed that his hands were shaking like a dancer's. He struck the water with a tremendous splash, hurling the spray a distance of a hundred yards, and nearly swamping the canoe. They realized that the being must be a *snaux*, since it is well
• [776] known that these creatures migrate to the mountain lakes for the summer and return to the ocean in the autumn.

Since there is a tendency for supernatural apparitions to appear in close succession, the paddlers were little surprised next day, as they passed near some flat rocks where seals were wont to sun themselves, to see a number of these animals come hurtling down from among the trees on the slope of a near-by mountain. The last to appear was as big as a grizzly bear. Undoubtedly the creatures were supernatural beasts that had assumed the form of seals. It had been a fine, clear day, but as soon as they had taken to the water such a severe storm arose that the canoe was almost engulfed.

[1 [i.e. - appearances of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. - See cat. N6, p 517- ANALYST]

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* 787 thus manifested itself. A white man's explanation would be that the "apparition" consisted of two water-spouts.

539 On another occasion several Bella Coola were encamped on the shore of one of the bays of King Island opening from Labouchere Channel. As they lay dozing by the fire they became aware that a woman dressed in black was sitting near them, but closer to the flames than a mortal could have sat. She explained that she had been gathering mussels and was warming herself; then, rising, she walked into the sea and disappeared. She was one of the ocean dwellers of whom little is now known though formerly they were more often visible. Another time one of the same folk was plainly seen sitting on a rock, but as her observers blinked their eyes she vanished.

[776] Dwellers in the underwater world are to be found beneath the lakes of the interior as well as under the ocean. Not many years ago, when some men were carrying goat meat down from their hunting ground, they stopped beside the small lake which lies at the head of the creek *Snuqā·x̣'*, which enters the Bella Coola River about eight miles from the sea.

"I wonder what lives in that lake," one man said idly to a companion.

"Nothing," the other replied, but the first responded:

"You are wrong. Something evil lives there."

He had barely finished speaking when there rose from the lake a man with long hair, who stood, swaying back and forth, with the water around his thighs.

"There you are," said the first speaker to his doubting comrade, "I knew something lived yonder."

After a few minutes the man sank back under the water. Forthwith a strong wind began to blow, and snow not only fell from the heavens but rose from the lake. The hunters, who were not clothed for wintry weather, had great difficulty in getting back to the valley.

Occasionally the works of underwater people have been seen. The father of a man born about 1860 was paddling to Kwatna Inlet one night when he, as well as the other

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wrapped up in a specific object it follows that the luck is transmissible; in fact, one of the chief advantages to the man who owns some valuable object is the wealth which he derives from selling a small portion of it. 777 787 * [432]

The Bella Coola term for supernatural good luck is *siye*, meaning, "What is Good." This can come from any being though it is most frequently obtained either from a *mätsqus* or a *sisiutl*. The former resembles a toad of enormous size, with a blazing fire-like glow in its throat; the latter is a double-headed salmon or snake that can travel on land. The person who succeeds in killing one of these creatures can use the carcass as a lure to wealth, if he knows the proper means. The portion must be wrapped in an article that has been in close contact with the slayer, such as a piece of his soiled clothing. This must be kept carefully hidden for one year in a cranny to which no rain can penetrate, and after that it can be used as bait. There is equal potency in a stick or other object which has come in contact with the beast. Great danger is attached to the sight of a *mätsqus* or a *sisiutl*, since death usually follows any incorrect attempt to gain wealth from either. The person who sees one of these creatures feels no ill effects until he draws near a fire, when his stomach bursts. All the Bella Coola agree that if a man has been close to one he can be saved by the use of certain medicines, but the following stories show that there is no clear-cut opinion as to which are the best. In fact, most families have knowledge of a specific cure which they regard as the most efficacious. [776] [776] [761] [757]

The opportunity to obtain supernatural good luck does not come solely to unfortunate individuals; indeed the Bella Coola state that it is fortuitous. It appears, however, that usually the person who is thus favoured is one who has practised ceremonial chastity, or is, through some other means, in a state of cleanliness pleasing to the supernatural. At any rate the danger of seeing such creatures is less to a man who is in a pure condition than to any other. Further, in most cases they are apt to appear to a person whose ancestors have seen one. [785]

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777 A visitation is not regarded as an inheritable right, but as a
* 787 tendency; for generations no member of a family may see one
of these beasts, but the tradition is preserved, and when one
[424] is seen it is recalled that such have been observed by ancestors
of the fortunate one. Instances have occurred in which a
person has obtained good luck without the tradition of this
being in his family, but they are rare. On the other hand, a
man may lose the advantage of his possession, even if he own
[785] a portion of a *mätsqus* or a *sisiutl*, through failure to observe
ceremonial chastity.

776 Some of the Bella Coola believe that the *mätsqus* and the
sisiutl are the same animal, which can assume these two forms;
others that the two are distinct supernatural creatures. In any
case the powers and characteristics ascribed to them are the
same. Most families have a tradition regarding the appear-
[173] ance of the one or the other to their ancestors, and the infor-
[184] mation to be derived from them is always about that particular
creature. Hence the details here described are probably not
all known to any one individual.

* 787 The different types of appearances, and the different types
811 of taboos called forth, should be noted. These are due to
182 failure on the part of the Bella Coola to rationalize the sum
total of their concepts. Each man recounts what he believes
to have happened to one of his ancestors or friends, irrespec-
tive of whether or not the methods used may be in direct
contradiction to those employed by someone else on another
occasion. A man who has heard of the *mätsqus*, for example,
from his father and mother, may describe contradictory means
of dealing with the creature, and in each case may affirm that
disaster would have followed if the method described had not
been carried out. Such lack of co-ordination is typical of the
Bella Coola.

777 According to an elderly Kimsquit man, the *mätsqus* was
brought down in the beginning of time by one of his own
* 787 ancestors, *Omqomkilka*. It is to this fact that he attributes
[773] his own near approach to one on two occasions. As it is fre-

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777 elapsed, he fetched his musket from its hiding-place and again
224 began to use it. Thenceforth he never missed his aim; every shot brought down an animal.

Before the days of muskets good fortune could likewise be obtained by the discoverer of the nest of a *mätsqus*. Each contains small particles of the skin of all animals, including human beings, plucked from them in their sleep by humming birds and toads. The finder must touch the nest with his stick, such as is always carried by hunters, then break it and throw it away, saying as he does so:

"May I see you at . . . tomorrow." This means next year.

He names his favourite hunting-ground. The finder must
[785] not say anything to anyone about his discovery, and for one year he must observe continence. If he then goes to the locality mentioned, he will there find his stick, the one which he broke when he touched the nest, though it will be invisible to anyone else. Adhering to its end will be four hairs of the *mätsqus*. These he must hide for a year, wrapped in some of his own clothing, taking care that it is an article which he has long
[785] worn and which is accordingly saturated with his essence. During this period, too, he must observe continence. Two years after finding the nest, he will be able to hunt with phen-
[424] omenal success. The knowledge of this proper procedure has been handed down in an ancestral family for many generations.

On the occasion when the two men had seen the nest they
777 continued their journey, each chiding the other for his failure
* 787 to take advantage of the opportunity put in his path. Before
● [776] long they saw a footprint where no man had been and knew that it must be that of *Twalälkit*, the supernatural hunter of mountain goats. In spite of remonstrances, the comrade scraped up a little dirt from the track into his handkerchief. In this he did wrong, especially as he had failed to take advantage of the opportunity presented to him by the nest of the monster toad. That night as the two were encamped a slide came thundering down beside them, and they barely escaped
[761] with their lives. Not long afterwards the erring man died,

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insane, a calamity unquestionably due to his recklessness in handling the earth where a supernatural one had trod. 777 787*

This point illustrates the danger of near approach to a *mätsqus*, a theme well exemplified in the stories in the next chapter. Such perils must be counteracted in diverse ways according to the traditions of different ancestral families. One common method is to seek a lonely spot in the woods and there hollow out a shelter beneath an overhanging rock or fallen tree-trunk where the person who has been exposed to danger must remain for four days, eating nothing and at intervals scrubbing his body with branches of devil's club, spruce, and other rough plants. These protect him from the evil effects of the monster. [761] 783 [824]

Similar in function to the *mätsqus*, and equally dangerous to the unwary, is the *sisiutl*. The latter is supposed to have been created on this earth, at Bella Bella, in the beginning of time by *Yulätimut*. It was at first the canoe made by this carpenter, and then turned loose by him to range the mountains and fiords, as it has ever since, equally at home on land and in water, and in various forms. The following is a typical description of the manner in which a *sisiutl* appeared in the past. 777 787* [773] [776] 539 777 787*

Long ago a man was hunting in the mountains when he saw a salmon, which changed in an instant to a fish-like monstrosity with two heads but no tail. He lunged at it with his stick, and in so doing started a slide which carried the salmon down the mountain. As this was taking place, the hunter said:

"Go down the mountain, salmon; I will get you at the bottom."

When he reached the foot of the new slide he saw the fish lying clear on the stones. He cut it up and slung it on a cedar-bark rope. Now this salmon was a *sisiutl*, the first that had ever been seen, and the hunter obtained supernatural good luck from his experience. He also took the name of *Sisiutl*, a designation which has been handed down until recently.

After this adventure many people hunted for the *sisiutl*, and with fair success in early days, but now it cannot be found, 777 787*

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777 owing to the failure of hunters to observe ceremonial chastity.
* 787 When obtained, a *sisiutl* was cut into small pieces, one of which
[789] worn upon the person would make the flesh so hard that an arrow could not penetrate.

Sometimes the *sisiutl* assumes the form of either a spring
● [776] or a cohoe salmon. Not long ago a Bella Bella man, travelling in a canoe, ate one of these. Once devoured, it reformed itself, made its way out by consuming the man's lower jaw, then jumped overboard and was lost.

The mere appearance of a *sisiutl* does not necessarily bring misfortune to the beholder, even if he has not the necessary knowledge, or courage, to take advantage of it. The following is an instance.

On one occasion the father's father of a middle-aged Bella Coola was going upstream at the time the salmon were jumping, when, unknown to him, one leaped into the canoe behind him. His first knowledge of anything untoward came to him when the bow rose out of the water, and, looking around, he saw that this was caused by the weight of a grease-covered stone lying in the bottom of his canoe; the salmon had vanished. The man threw overboard his floor-board with the stone on it. When he told his friends afterwards of his experience, they informed him that he had missed an opportunity for obtaining supernatural good fortune, as the "salmon" must have been a *sisiutl*.

789 The *sisiutl* can also be used as a charm. If a man, while in
[776] a pure condition through the observance of ceremonial chastity, eats a small portion of the flesh, it renders him proof against bullet or arrow. An intelligent Bella Coola stated that his father's brother had done so on one occasion, with the result that a bullet, fired by his wife's mother's father, fell harmless at his feet after striking him.

278 Medicine can also be obtained indirectly from a *sisiutl*.
776 When one of these fish-like creatures swims through a pond,
824 wriggling as it goes, it frequently sheds some of its scales.

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These become lilies (of the species known as *lälkänełp* or *wałilikwätsälätsäläts*, "The most potent of the pond") from the roots of which a tonic can be brewed. They can be collected by anyone, and the places where they grow are well known, but certain rules must be followed. Before reaching the pond the gatherer must find four spruce saplings, cut from each a bough projecting eastward, and lay these two by two, beside the water, with a space between. After plucking the lily roots he must place them on the ground between the spruce branches and tie the whole into a bundle with strips of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. He must be careful to wind these wrappings clockwise. On arriving at the house where the tonic is to be prepared, the bundle must be thrown in through the smoke-vent, never carried through the door. After these precautions the medicine can be prepared with safety. The roots are cut into thin slices and boiled for four days; a sick person then drinks several cupsful of the brew, which is particularly good for the blood. This remedy is especially effective if the patient is observing ceremonial chastity. The person administering the potion sees to it that the one being treated conforms to certain regulations for forty days. He must not eat fresh meat, fresh salmon, or any food prepared by a widow or a catamenial woman; he must not approach too closely a girl who is secluded following puberty, and he must observe absolute continence, not even sleeping with his wife. Death follows the breaking of any of these taboos.

Although supernatural good fortune is most frequently obtained from either a *mätsqus* or a *sisiutl*, it can be derived from other supernatural beings. In such cases the acquisition is seldom dangerous. The following tale describes the *qokän·i*.

Long before the coming of the white man, but very long after the first people came to this earth, a certain Kimsquit man, *Wikwanutl*, who was also called *O'miätl*, was snaring mountain goats on Mount *Teopinätl* when he heard on the upper slopes a peculiar cry which he recognized, from descriptions given him by the old people, as the note of a *qokän·i*.

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* 787
[776]

This is a supernatural bird about the size of a crow, with a broad hooked beak and blue-black iridescent plumage. Its note resembles that of a swan. The peculiarity of the bird is that its flesh and bones are of mountain goat grease; even its droppings are of this valuable substance, and it is these which are specially prized. Long ago *ǫokān·i* were comparatively common, but all have now fled beyond the range of the white man's rifle.

Wikwanutl knew what to do, so he crept stealthily up the mountain armed only with his hunting stick. Presently he saw a *ǫokān·i* feeding on a mountain goat which had been caught in one of his snares. It answered to the descriptions *Wikwanutl* had heard, and he could see that its droppings were like solidified mountain goat grease. The hunter crawled near, and took advantage of the instant when the bird was within the goat's stomach to leap forward and club it as it looked up. *Wikwanutl* twisted the neck until the head separated from the body and flung the former behind him, to the right, without noting where it went. This enables the bird to return since, like all other living creatures, when it seems to die it does no more than shed its cloak of flesh. Then the hunter cut the body into halves, threw the right portion in the same direction as the head, and carefully tied the left half in his cape of cedar-bark. Next he collected the droppings and wrapped them in evergreen boughs. Carefully carrying his treasures, he went down the mountain, and hid them in a niche cut in the trunk of a cedar tree, before he went home.

Next day, *Wikwanutl* did not hunt but returned to the place, drew out the piece of the bird's body, and dried it over a fire, as if he were toasting salmon for winter use. At night he went home, still refraining from telling anyone what he had done. For four days he cured the meat, then carefully closed the niche and went away.

For one year *Wikwanutl* did not hunt. Then he reopened the recess and saw that the meat was fresh and juicy, as if newly prepared. He left it in place, but drew forth the droppings and carried them off in a small bag. Fortune followed him. By using a small piece of the solidified grease on his traps he had wonderful success. At length *Wikwanutl* told his fellow-villagers what he had obtained and they were envious of his good luck. He continued to prosper, and at last sold the droppings for a large amount of goods, though he carefully preserved the section of the body itself. When an old man, he showed his son where it was concealed and the latter likewise prospered throughout his life, owing to this possession. When he became old, he in turn told his son about it, so that the young man had the same good fortune as his father and grand-

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father. But the great-grandson was too lazy to take the trouble of going with his father to the place where the section of the bird was hidden, so the treasure was lost. 777 787 *

A fourth giver of supernatural good fortune is one of the mythical creatures termed *snusx̣*. This variety lives in the ocean, or rarely in rivers, and can occasionally be seen resting on the surface with its long, golden tresses floating on the water. The hair appears always to be flecked with eagle down, but in reality it is a mass of barnacles, the equivalent of this substance to this under-sea dweller. If the observer is brave, he will paddle cautiously near until he can twist a lock of the hair around his paddle and break it off. He must not touch it with his hands, but must dangle it outside the canoe, still wrapped about his paddle, until he reaches the shore, when he must conceal it in some lonely place for one year. After that period he can use a single hair, or piece of one, as bait; it will be enough to attract animals to his traps or salmon to his weir, exactly as with the mountain goat grease excrement of a *qokän·i* or a stick that has come in contact with a giant toad. If the person who has jerked off the hair with his paddle should be foolish or ignorant enough to bring his spoil into his canoe, he, and all with him, are rendered incapable of movement and the craft with its occupants sinks beneath the sea. [539] [224] [776] [224] [226]

The father's cousin of an informant once saw one of these animals when paddling in company with several companions to Kimsquit. The sea was smooth as glass when their attention was attracted by a number of small ripples, spreading in a half-moon shape from what they realized was the head of a *snusx̣*. The hair crossed the ripples, but did not rise or fall with them. The back of the animal's head was nearest the canoe so the opportunity seemed favourable for obtaining some of its hair. Cautiously the men paddled nearer, but at the last moment the steersman feared to drive the canoe in among the golden tresses, so veered off and the craft passed along one side of the mass of hair. The animal had shown no sign of being aware of their presence, but it now began to turn away,

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777 so that its floating locks remained between them and its head.
* 787 As it turned, the hair moved with it, so that, although the impression remained of a floating mat, there must have been some motive power to cause it to remain streaming out straight behind. Each strand moved through the ripples without being affected. Though the paddlers strained to the utmost to see the animal's face it thwarted their efforts by this continuous slow turning, until at last they went on their way, disappointed.

539 Yet another creature from which supernatural good fortune
777 has been obtained is the Mother of Snakes, a creature described in the following story.

* 787 A family living at *Nulleax* was reduced to the point of starvation
226 through the failure of their salmon-weir. It seemed as if the fish avoided it. One day a son of one of the owners, who had been in trouble with a
[776] woman in the lower valley, went off into the woods not far from his village, where he saw what he thought was a black bear. When it came nearer he realized that its chest was tipped with silver and that its tongue kept shooting far beyond its jaws; hence that it must be the Mother of Snakes. This creature combines the qualities of bear and snake; it is about the size of the former, and it appears to have a serpent wrapped around its chest. It always pursues mortals and slays them, unless they
[784] know the proper means of escape. Luckily, the youth's father had long ago warned him what to do if chased by one, so he at once dashed off. First he ran downhill, but the animal gained on him; then he ran uphill, but still the monster drew nearer. The only way the fugitive could increase his lead was by ascending or descending in zigzags, since the brute's heavy legs then kept slipping. All day the pursuit continued, until towards dusk, when the youth was almost exhausted, he saw at last what he was looking for, a stump with splinters, projecting upwards. Pushing these apart with his hands, he leapt through the opening thus made, then circled the tree once sunwise, and pulled away one of the jagged spikes. Now the Mother of Snakes must always follow directly in the tracks of its quarry, and as it jumped through the passage the youth struck it across the back with the splinter which he had pulled out. Down fell the monster dead.

With his knife the lad cut off some of the animal's meat which he carried home, saying nothing to his father. Early the next morning the old man went to look at his salmon-weir, but as usual it was empty. As soon, however, as his son drew near, the river became packed with salmon, all heading towards the trap which was soon filled.

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"It seems as if you attracted the salmon like a magnet," said the father to his son. 777

The latter did not answer immediately, but later he said: 787 *

"You were right," and he told him what had happened. [539]

"You have obtained supernatural good luck," the old man replied simply. [226]

Following his son's instructions the father prepared canoes and boxes to bring back the flesh of the Mother of Snakes. They collected every scrap of it, which they preserved very carefully, and used small portions as bait to attract salmon to their weir with such success that they became wealthy.

Another supernatural being from whom supernatural good fortune may be obtained is *Skwanät·än·a*, "The Female Mourner." When a chief dies she comes to wail, wandering through the woods near the village, where sometimes she can be seen in the form of a weeping woman. As she cries, she ejects mucus from her nose, which solidifies into a glass-like substance about a foot in length. Anyone who sees her should take the transformed mucus, and wrap it in some article of his own clothing; it will bring him good fortune. About midnight of June 21, 1922, the infant daughter of a Bella Coola died, and about seven o'clock on the following morning the wailing was heard[1] in the woods behind the missionary's house. The brother of the dead child's father rushed off to try to find the weeping one. Luckily he did not succeed, because he did not know about collecting the mucus, and trouble would have come to him had he seen the supernatural being without knowing how to deal with it; in fact, even to hear *Skwanät·än·a* is considered an omen of death. [776] [776] [763]

It will be seen from the foregoing specific instances that supernatural good luck is usually obtained by the slaying of some powerful creature. But, since every living creature is endowed with superhuman power, it follows that any object obtained from a bird or an animal that has acted in a peculiar way may be the cause of supernatural good fortune if it be kept for one year in the manner previously described. Some- [825] [224]

[1] Since the Bella Coola believe that it was heard, the incident is recorded as a fact.

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MODERN SHAMANISM

Although the powers ascribed to modern shamans are less than those attributed to their fellows of old, yet a shaman is a person endowed with mysterious ability and wonderful knowledge, due to personal contact with supernatural beings. Hence, he is regarded as somewhat uncanny and, though respected, is likewise feared. The power is not inheritable. There is a tendency for the descendants of a shaman to have like favours granted to them, but this is nothing more than a tendency on the part of the supernatural beings to confer their boons in this manner; it is not a right. Thus anyone, man or woman, rich or poor, young or old, slave or member of an ancient family, may become a shaman.

756 * 787 * [428]

The Obtaining of Shamanistic Power

A shaman obtains his power from a supernatural visitant, usually the mythical woman *Ṫłitcäplilän·a* (also called *Łulukwalntnm*) bringing him a name, four songs, and sometimes the ability to cure a specific disease. No methods are sure to attract her, but by means of magical rites a man may so purify himself that she will be likely to visit him. A second, and the most usual manner of becoming a shaman, is to receive a visit from *Ṫłitcäplilän·a* when grievously ill. In either case a shaman is often termed a *kusiut*, "A Learned One." [776]

In the first case, the wooing of shamanistic powers by magical means, it is often a matter of years before a man becomes a shaman. Sometimes the parents of a mere boy will notice that he is fond of lying around the house with a far-away look in his eyes, and appears unwilling to take part in the games of the other lads. Especially if the father is a shaman, or if one of his ancestors has had the ability, the parents watch carefully to see whether or not this is merely a passing mood. If it continues, they realize that their son may become a shaman. Although there are dangers attached to the profession, they will usually assist their child in every possible way. They may know how one of their ancestors obtained

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*756 783 *787 (3) Choosing a place where two small hemlocks are growing on each side of a small stream, the seeker after power bends down the four saplings so that their branches reach the water, and with these scours his body, the spines frequently rasping his skin. When finished, he releases the saplings, which fly back to their original position.

(4) Another method is to devour four small sections, each [278] rather larger than a match, of false hellebore root. These are drunk with cold water and cause vomiting. The use of this plant is not limited to dawn, nor is it necessary to repeat it every fourth day. Apparently, the usual prayer is not said with it.

[785] Any, or all, of these methods, especially if combined with the observance of ceremonial chastity, may purify the performer so that he will be able to see what is not vouchsafed to most persons. *Ťłitcāplilān·a*, or one of the other supernatural beings, may grant him a revelation with shaman's power. This does not always happen, as the above means of purification are not omnipotent, but in many myths where the hero obtained supernatural power it was due to his having tried one of the above, or a similar ritual.

*756 *787 The most common method of becoming a shaman is through the appearance of *Ťłitcāplilān·a* when a person is ill. [776] This woman, who always wears a blanket-like cape decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark, is able to travel anywhere at phenomenal speed. She, or some other supernatural being, may appear to a sick person irrespective of sex, whether or not ceremonial chastity has been observed. It seems as if she took pity on the sufferer and came to bring relief. The following are typical examples:

A woman had long been crippled with rheumatism. She was so helpless and weak that she spent most of her time curled in a heap on the floor, heedless of the ashes and dirt with which she was covered. Her friends barely attended to her wants. [776] One day she heard a thump on the roof, though no one else could hear it, nor could they hear the whistle with which

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Ṭlitcāplilān-a always announces her approach. The supernatural woman appeared, clad in her usual costume, and struck the old woman over the heart with her stick. The other occupants of the house realized that something strange had happened to the sick person. She crawled four times around the fire, sunwise, shaking her hands as well as her infirmity would permit, and endeavoured to dance in time to the songs that she could hear *Ṭlitcāplilān-a* singing. Her friends did not interfere with her, seeing that something peculiar had come over her, and that in one so ill, any change must be for the better. The patient later described how *Ṭlitcāplilān-a* seized and shook her as one shakes a dusty blanket, and how she heard the sound of small particles falling from her—it was the sickness. With that *Ṭlitcāplilān-a* vanished and the rheumatic patient stood up, cured.

756 * 787 * [776] ●

Another old woman had been so ill for four years with rheumatism, that she could barely move from her sleeping place, when a supernatural being came to her. She heard a voice saying:

"Get up! Mortal."

An invisible hand grasped her hair and led her four times around in a circle, sunwise. As usual, a tune and songs were vouchsafed to this woman, though these have now been forgotten.

One informant, a woman now past middle age, was once returning to Bella Coola from Rivers Inlet when she was taken violently ill with a stomach-ache. That night as she slept uneasily on the shore she heard a voice singing. Listening attentively, she learnt the words and tunes of two songs, and heard the voice say:

"Your name is *Ālpālqulslaix*."

Unquestionably the visitor was *Ṭlitcāplilān-a*, and if she had appeared, the woman would have become a shaman. Unfortunately for her, this boon was not granted; she received nothing more than the name, "Power to Use."

What is the explanation of the songs which shamans believe

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"I am *Anolxumdimut*," she said. "Everyone calls on me to visit the sick, and henceforth they will likewise seek you and your basin." 756 P 787 P

Something entered his stomach, causing it to heave violently, and he felt that the sickness had left him. He sent for the singers and repeated to them the words that *Tlitcăplilăn-a* had chanted; these formed the text of the shaman's song which he used on future occasions. While giving them to the singers, he endeavoured to dance, but was too feeble to do more than weakly shake his hands. From that time on, *Anolxumdimut* was able to cure the sick.

This last account is typical. *Tlitcăplilăn-a* appears, inserts something into the body of the patient to cure him, sings one or more songs, gives the sufferer a name, and then vanishes. [553] The curing power thus bestowed remains within the person benefited; it is this that enables him to heal others if *Tlitcăplilăn-a* has so decided. In such cases, there is mention of a "basin" in the song, and the one who has just recovered will be able to treat others, especially those suffering from the same malady as himself. [755] The reference to a basin is because such utensils are used during treatments. To the Bella Coola a shaman is one who has had such an experience and has publicly claimed it, whether or not he can cure the sick.

Tlitcăplilăn-a is known by many names, in accordance with her ability to treat many diseases, and the designation she bestows depends upon the malady cured. [796] [553] The following are some of the names received from her by shamans.

Sxxunqwalqulaxlaix, "The Strengthener of the Breath." [551] This name was given to a person who was cured when he found breathing very difficult. The text of his song was:

"*Tlitcăplilăn-a* gave me (the name) *Sxxunqwalqulaxlaix* with a small object to aid the breathing of the very sick." [553]

Tămămalo-pata. This has the same significance as the last.

Nuxăn-mălaxaix, "The Dancer Near the Fire." [551]

Anolxumdimut, "The Dancer Who Makes Noise Only with

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His Body." A shaman with this name does not use a rattle when curing.

Anupinmat, "Quivering To and Fro." This refers to the movements of a shaman when he dances for curative purposes.

Łpānpānliktnumlaix, "The Revolver." This is derived from *łpānliktnum*, to revolve sunwise, and as this is done for curative purposes, the name really signifies, "The One Who Restores to Strength."

It is believed that *Thitāplilān-a* often uses her own discretion about visiting the sick, but that sometimes a number of the supernatural beings confer as to whether an ailing person should be helped, and if so request her to visit him. Sometimes the patient is so sick that an enormous amount of power must be inserted to help him, and he dies from its receipt. In such cases he is revived by *Anunitsiktnum*, a male being whose sole function is to restore those whom *Thitāplilān-a* has slain. This return to life has frequently occurred when relatives have been mourning the death of the patient, who is presently able to recount all that he has seen. Sometimes *Thitāplilān-a*, instead of herself bestowing power upon a sick person, carries him[1] away to a locality in which a supernatural being was petrified in the beginning of time.

Although it is *Thitāplilān-a* who most frequently cures a sick person, there are many instances of other supernatural beings having done so. Little seems to be known of these, except that they have been recorded as appearing to give a patient their name and to cure him of his malady. So far as could be ascertained, they are thought of only in connection with apparitions to the sick and, since in function they exactly resemble *Thitāplilān-a*, and as it is she who is most commonly spoken of, it is possible, or even probable, that these are actually the same being under other names. The following beings are of this type.

[1] The Bella Coola do not theorize as to the part of the person thus transported; if questioned, they conclude that it must be the spirit.

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Ninitsamlaix, "The Restorer." He is able to cure the sick even when at the point of death. 756*

Ănuskieknum, "The Saviour." He can rescue persons who have been injured by other supernatural beings. 776 787*

Nunutsnumkmem, "The One Who is Thought Of." Having powerful curing abilities, people think of him when ill.

Ănotăbăkmots, "The Open-Mouthed One." His mouth is always open to suck forth sickness.

Nuslkăkstămidjut, "He Whose Basin Is in His Own Body." A person who receives the ability to cure from this being does not use the customary basin.

Susiutl. It is said that many Rivers Inlet shamans have received their powers from this creature, which is accordingly well known to the Bella Coola in this connection, although few of their own people are said to have been benefited by it. 756* 787*

Since all animals are supernatural, it follows that any of them can cure the sick. Instances are remembered of this, in which the patient received a name differing slightly from that of his animal benefactor. Salmon, especially cohoes and early spring salmon, are extremely potent curers and many sick people have received aid from them. It is recognized that the former are uncanny since they have the ability to hide themselves in insignificant streams. One man was cured by a tree which gave him a yodel-like shaman's song, imitating the creaking and waving of its branches. More often, however, a supernatural animal merely speaks to a man without making him a shaman. [825] [533]

Two courses are open to the patient who has been cured by such a visitation. He may at once proclaim his powers, or he may say nothing about them in the hope of obtaining further revelations and further names. From a single experience he has received a certain amount of power, but the more he has, the greater this will be. If he decides not to wait, he at once calls the singers and repeats to them the words and tunes of the songs he has received. When later on he gives presents to validate his shamanistic name, it becomes publicly recognized [553] [554]

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he got up and was working at the fire when his nose began to bleed. The people tried the usual remedies, but they were without effect, and the nose continued to bleed for several days. Shaman after shaman was called in, but none could do anything for him; and the bleeding continued until his face became so swollen that he could not see without lifting the puffy flesh, while his body wasted away and he became weaker and weaker, at last sinking into unconsciousness. His friends assembled in the house thinking he was on the point of death; in fact, one burnt his nose to ascertain whether or not he was still alive; the scar is still visible. Then he recovered slightly, his eyes roved around, and he saw the people as in a dream, and wondered why they had gathered. Next he heard his mother weeping, realized what was the cause, and asked her to stop. The watchers, noting his eyes and returning consciousness when he had been at the point of death, understood that a supernatural being had come to him in his hour of need and that he would become a shaman. He told those who were working over him to cease their efforts to cure him, as they were powerless.

That night as he lay feeble in his house, he began to vomit, and succeeded in ridding his stomach of a large mass of coagulated blood. He and his mother examined it, and both thought he would die from its loss. In this they erred, for if he had not succeeded in getting rid of it he would have died. The night that he slept in the forest, he had lain in the path of *Tsaiarmar* who can travel only on fixed tracks and that malicious being had inserted the blood in him, the last of which he had just vomited.

The sufferer gradually grew stronger, but suffered whenever sunlight fell on him; accordingly his parents blocked all chinks in the walls so that he lay in darkness. A few days later he had a relapse, and was again at the point of death, when he heard, inside his head, a buzzing sound like that made by a bee; it was the tune, and also the words of a shaman's song which *Thisdpilite-a* was bringing to him. He could see her faintly

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* 752 789 sealed cord succeeded in drawing feathers, previously placed on the surface, around in the direction in which she was dancing. It was impossible to learn the details of the method employed in this trick. The subterfuge was long ago practised by a shaman.

A simple but effective trick was the substitution of a baton made of light maple wood for one of the heavy type used by the singers. The real stick had been passed around the audience and apparently returned to one of the singers, though in reality the false one had been given to him. As he beat time the hollow sound that emanated was a source of surprise to the uninitiated spectators, nor was their wonder lessened when a real baton was again handed around, as if it were the one that had been in use.

[778] According to an informant, the last time that a supernatural being helped the person on whom it had conferred shamanistic power to perform a rite of this kind was about 1870. A man who had fallen from his canoe into the ocean was rescued, but for a long time was ill as a result of exposure. [776] [787] River Measurer, the supernatural being who governs the height of tides in the river, appeared and made him a shaman with the ability to cure through the use of a wash-basin. As this shaman danced, he had a large box filled with water. Presently he called on one of the uninitiated to examine the height of the water and point out to his fellows how high it was. A little later he called a second man who likewise indicated on the outside of the box the height of the liquid within. It had fallen, though its disappearance seemed inexplicable.

781 789 The above furnishes a good example of the attitude of the uninitiated. The informant, a very intelligent Bella Coola, gave a number of instances of the conjuring methods employed, some of which he had helped to carry out. Unquestionably, this was of the same nature, yet, because he was deceived at the time of its performance, he readily believed that the rite was supernatural; since then he had never thought of doubting

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understand. She was also able to gaze downwards at the edge of the central fire nearest to the door. 756* 775

Anstähätmots, an old shaman from the dead who died not long ago, obtained his power by chancing to visit their land. The themes of his songs were of the land of the dead where, he said, there were many people; where those who had been rich on earth were rich, but where those who had been poor were still poor; where those who had been blind could see, and those who had been maimed were whole. He told of *Pälsäil*, a legless creature who lives in the land below, but can travel with amazing speed. In fact this shaman stated that it was he who was sent when the ghosts wished to communicate with the living, a statement contradicted by others. He told further of *Kawäkudjäu-a*, a supernatural woman resident there, who is able to pick berries with phenomenal rapidity. But this talent avails her little, since her basket is full of the teeth of dead men who devour the fruit as fast as she picks them. It was *Anstähätmots* who described how in the land below there were only two enormous trees of the kind known to the Bella Coola as *läp*, under the shade of which the ghosts played a game resembling football with huge, light balls. [787] [539] [776] [776]

A dead person usually chooses one of his own relatives as the proper person on whom to bestow the power of a shaman, but their actions in this respect can neither be coerced nor cajoled. Ceremonial chastity is of assistance, and power can usually be obtained by anyone who lies four days and four nights, face downwards, on a new grave. Nor does every sight of a deceased person bring with it this faculty; in fact, ghosts are greatly dreaded since they usually cause harm to the beholder. On one occasion the mother of an elderly Bella Coola woman left the house one evening, to return shortly with her face screwed up into a ghastly smile, green in colour, and with saliva dribbling from her mouth. She was quite mad. A shaman from the dead succeeded in curing her, or it may have been in restoring her to life, and she was able to tell how she had seen what she took to be a man with face averted. She 756* 775 787

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956 a boy who was dearly loved by his father. The latter, thinking that
787 *Kaziyat* was responsible for his son's death, killed her and was slain in
539 revenge. Because of the doubts thrown by the Bella Coola on *Kaziyat's* power and revelation her fame did not spread widely.

Power Localized in Certain Spots

778 To the Bella Coola every supernatural being is, or should
[776] be, able to move, in fact many of them can travel with phe-
[778] nomenal rapidity. But, in the beginning of time, when *Sîqunîdm* was populating the earth, he sent down certain creatures which were later turned to stone, thereby localizing their power. The term for a place where this happened is *smâ-ti*, which can be translated with accuracy as, "A Locality Where Power has Become Petrified." It follows that anyone desirous of coming in contact with supernatural power of this type can do so by visiting the spot where it is situated. There
[773] are not many of these places, nor do they figure prominently in Bella Coola mythology, and, as usual, there are many contradictions in the accounts. Apparently there is a tendency to ascribe the occurrence of peculiar experiences to localities where power is petrified. The following are the more important spots of this type, with a short account of the specific attributes of each.

773 (1) *Smaiw-a*, also called *Skaskwaily*: At the head of the
778 Clearwater, one of the sources of the Bella Coola River, and
539 the place from which comes the warm east wind.

Concerning the origin of the power in this spot the following tale, which is regarded as very ancient, was obtained.

Long, long ago, the ocean spread far to the east, covering the whole Bella Coola valley.[14] The shoreline of the ocean was at the village *Skaskwaily*, so called from a chief of that name living there. Mount *Xîtwals*, which is now several miles inland, was then a point around which surged dangerous

[14] It is mentioned that the world was unpeopled at that time, though mention is made of people who were living there. This does not strike the Bella Coola as a contradiction; the accuracy of an ancient story is never questioned; hence it is taken for granted that "people" in the modern sense, were not there in existence.

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The place is still allegedly characterized by these reptiles; a recent visitor found the branches of the trees like snakes, and the very roots were in the form of them. The rocks in the vicinity are full of grooves like those made by snakes crawling through soft clay, and the whole neighbourhood reeks with their odour. 778 539

(2) *Pe·ɬɬ*, Mesatche Nose: The point between North Bentinck Arm and Labouchere Channel. 778

Here is found a *snusɣ*, one of the most powerful localized beings, a creature comprising only a head and an arm with a mouth in the palm. The head can be seen in rock on the point not far above the waterline, but the giant arm rests far beneath the surface. At times the *snusɣ* bends its elbow so that the fist can support the head, as if the creature were pondering. On such occasions the upper part of the arm remains concealed below the water, while there is a gap about twenty-five yards in width between the upraised lower part and the rocky shore beneath the animal's head. A canoe can pass in safety through this, narrow though the channel is; but if it should take a course on the outer side of the arm the latter will crash down on the helpless craft, crushing it to splinters and driving these far beneath the surface. There has never been a survivor from such a catastrophe. The last time the arm was raised was about seventy years ago when a war party was returning to the north after raiding *Tāl·io*. They knew the necessity of taking the inner channel, so escaped unharmed, though they actually handled the mighty upraised limb. The Bella Coola firmly believe that the *snusɣ* will some day lift its arm again, and will crush the steamer that carries mail and passengers up the coast. 776

It was only a few hundred years ago that a certain Bella Bella learnt of the respect with which the other supernatural beings regard the *snusɣ* of Mesatche Nose. The canoe in which this man was travelling was sucked down beneath the ocean, but *Qomaqus* admitted him as a guest to his house. The chief had invited all the underwater supernatural beings to a pot- 778 539

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obtained two wives, the name of one being *Ṭlisla*. He returned to Bella Coola with them. 778 530

Nänalskwitl knew that presently he was fated to become immobile, a seat of petrified power. Since he was able to select where this was to be, he chose the site of Mount *Nusqalst*, midway in the Bella Coola valley, as a convenient place to overlook the doings of men. Before he transformed himself into this mountain, he determined that he would have people visit him; accordingly he changed his axe, *Nuskumidjusta*, which he carried concealed beneath his blanket, into *sqalst*, a stone much used for axes and adzes. Until the introduction of white man's tools his wish was gratified; people came from far and near to obtain the necessary material. 823 103 [316]

The human origin of the mountain is still remembered, since it is often spoken of by its chiefly names, *Nänalskwitl* and *Ṭlisla*, relics of its existence as a man. This story is regarded as an origin myth, and as such might have been included in vol. I, chap. VI.

This mountain is regarded with awe by the Bella Coola on account of its great height, but it seems to lack most of the characteristics ascribed to other places where power has been petrified.

(10) On one of the mountains above Cascade Inlet there used to be a stone eagle with outstretched wings which came to this earth with the first people, but was petrified one day when drying its wings after fishing. About 1860 part of its beak fell away. A change in the condition of any of these places had long been regarded as an omen of misfortune, so the epidemic of smallpox that soon after ravaged the coast was not unexpected. 778 [164] [787] *

(11) *Ällssmos*: An unidentified spot where a *sminq* of the mountain was petrified. At this place there is a small pool which is the repository (II, p. 8) of a certain *kusiut* dancer.

(12) *ułxekam*, "The Walker," the name both of a supernatural being and the spot where it is localized. This is not far from the glacier that lies near the junction of the trails from *Snuhli* and *Täl·io*; it is the largest one in the vicinity of Bella Coola and is said to move its position. The being is in some way connected with it, hence the name. [776]

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dance again in eight years. Four years later, one of his fellow- 778
villagers offered him five skins for the one which he had used, 539
and, when this was declined, the number was raised to ten, then to fifteen, and finally to twenty new bear-skins. As there was no particular value in the mantle itself, the owner became suspicious and asked advice from his mother who admonished him not to sell, in view of the time when he would want it. Accordingly, he did not accept the offer, but when it was increased to twenty-five skins he did so. He did not know that [754]
the purchaser's desire for it was to enable him to injure the seller by magic through the acquisition of this personal possession.

The sale took place in April, and the following December 778
the former owner became crippled with a disease which so 755
weakened his back that he could hardly raise himself from the ground. When the sickness had lasted for one year, his 539
friends carried him away to the Hot Springs on Labouchere 787 *
Channel.

It was known that if a patient were left night and day in the spring, scrubbing himself with hemlock boughs, he often was given such power by a supernatural being that, like a shaman of old, he could kill or cure by means of a stick. Many of this man's relatives had been killed by rivals envious of their success in giving potlatches, so it was feared that he might wish to retaliate if he gained too much power. To prevent this, he was removed from the spring at night. On the first day as he lay on a mat in the warm water, there appeared on a flat stone a diminutive man, about two feet tall, resembling a Bella Coola except for a short tail. It was probably a *tlāqmā·ks*, [776]
such as his first ancestor had obtained (I, p. 688). The little creature ran around the stone; when it returned to the starting point it stopped and was joined by a second one of the same kind. The two circled the stone three times, on each occasion stopping at the starting point; they then vanished. The next day while the patient lay in the stream he heard from within the mountain four beats of a drum and a sound as if a large number of people were talking and calling together, though he

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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778 could not distinguish any actual words. This ceased, to be
755 followed by the hissing sound of escaping steam; the water
became so unbearably hot that, crippled though he was, he
539 managed to crawl out. His courage soon revived, so, wrapping
* 787 his head in his blanket, he returned to the spring. The water
was still unpleasantly hot on his body and legs, but the covering protected his head. The same phenomenon occurred on the two following days. Four days later he was well enough to walk and was brought home. During his treatment he saw supernatural beings, and is still hoping for a further revelation that will make him a shaman. He believes that this would have been granted to him if his friends had allowed him to remain in the spring overnight.

755 During the four days of his immersion he ate nothing, and his only nourishment was a little mountain goat grease which he did not swallow but kept in the right side of his mouth. After each bath he scrubbed himself with hemlock boughs. As in all
[785] such cases, for one year he observed continence and refrained
[761] from eating unsmoked salmon. Failure to observe these taboos would have caused his death.[15]

755 According to another account the creature that visits a patient lying in the Hot Springs is a *bäbink'*. As already de-
● 776 scribed, it is a hairless animal, about as large as a small moose, with legs so short that its belly almost scrapes the ground, no tail, and a large head with glass-like eyes. The whole appearance suggests an enormous walking snake. This animal approaches the sick person, as he lies on a flat stone[16] in the spring, and takes a bite from wherever the sickness is situated. No wound can afterwards be seen, but the ailment is carried away with the biting. If the patient should lack courage and endeavour to escape he would soon die.

776 Others of these animals of the same or similar variety have been observed about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.

[15]See vol. I, p. 609 for further results of this treatment.
[16]There are two of these, one used by men and one by women.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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Between 1890 and 1900 two more were seen near Double Mountain. The last Bella Coola to see these animals left *Stuix* one morning armed with a light shot-gun. He followed the trail to the interior and was crossing the bare mountain, *Kotsnk'*, about forty-eight miles from the sea, when he decided to turn aside to shoot some of the ducks which breed in great quantities on the small lakes near the top of the mountain. As he stalked through the grass he heard a rustling, and crawled so that he could get a better view of the place whence it came. He saw two *ksksnk'* which were catching ducks with their long tongues by shooting them out from their mouths. After watching them for some time the man returned to the camp without disturbing them. This man has only recently died. In former times they were more common, but one was seen not many years ago by a Carrier Indian. 776 787 * 539

According to other informants, no one knows what supernatural visitor comes to the spring, since it always appears at night, and any one who is rash enough to look at it dies immediately. A bold patient lies still, with eyes closed, while he is massaged back to health. 778 [755]

Another man, while fishing for one of the canneries, had been in the habit of landing at the Hot Springs to get hot water for his tea. He drew it from a small trickle which emerged from a rock near at hand. On one occasion the flow stopped when he put his pot beneath, but recommenced on his withdrawing it. Thinking this a mere accident, he reinserted the vessel only to have the water cease again. When this had happened four times, he realized that the cessation had been intended by some supernatural power. 778 539

"Hail! Powerful One," he called out. "I understand you now."

He knew that it must be some creature within the rock that had stopped the flow, not wishing it to be so used, and since then he has obtained his water elsewhere.

Leaving these tales of the past, which stress the supernatural, and passing from the experiences of men of sensitive, imaginative disposition, it is possible to describe the methods commonly employed by the Bella Coola when wishing to take advantage of the curative properties of these localities. In cases of serious illness it is common for a sufferer to make the rounds of all five places located on the ocean. This was done, for example, by the father of an informant who had seen what he took to be a spring salmon in an inland stream where no ocean salmon should have been. He was foolish enough to leap in to catch the fish, which was really a *ssiutl*, and as it 778 755 787 * [539]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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suspend the bundle by ropes from a stick which projected horizontally from the wall. It was to these ropes that *Käliäkıs* tied the bangles, so that they jingled with every movement of the child. 539* 756* 787*

Äłqumäm heard this peculiar noise from his house in the land above and sent a *łłäqmä·ks*, a diminutive supernatural being of human form, which lives on air, to investigate. The creature perched on the cradle rope where *Käliäkıs* saw it. Owing to his former life in the land above he knew what it was, and how to deal with it, so he quickly threw over it a blanket which he had frequently used.[11] This brought him supernatural good fortune. He concealed the *łłäqmä·ks* for safety in an old chequer-work root sack, and left it lying on the floor. [177] [854] [776] [777]

Wealth flowed in upon him so that he was able to give a potlatch every year. At one of them he gave his infant daughter, the occupant of the cradle, the name *Ťłäqmä·ks*, which has been handed down from generation to generation, and has recently been given to a Bella Bella child. *Käliäkıs*'s prosperity roused the jealousy of his fellows so that they murdered him, but his children still had the *łłäqmä·ks* and they continued to prosper. At last their enemies slew them too, sparing only one small boy. [551]

This orphan led a precarious existence. He was refused admission to what had been his father's house and was forced to live in the space between the floor and the ground below, while his food was taken from the refuse heaps. In time he grew to young manhood, frequently brooding on the fate of his relatives and hoping for revenge. One day he crossed the river, ascended a mountain, and found there a large cave, where he lay down to sleep, wrapped in a bear-skin. A supernatural being came to him.

"I have watched your woes," said the stranger, "and I will help you if you are brave. You must accompany me to my land. The road is dangerous, and if you should lose me it would be disastrous to you, so keep close."

They took a difficult path down through the earth to the land of the dead below.

"I will keep you here for a night and teach you," said the supernatural one as he gave the boy a stick in which was power.

"You must take this," he said, "and go at night to your father's house. Throw the stick at one of those who killed your father. It will rebound to you, after leaving your enemy dead without a mark on his body. Do this every night, killing only one man at a time, until you have slain all the murderers, but be careful not to harm anyone else."

Although he had not at first revealed himself, the being from whom

[11] A new one would have been useless.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

757 throw it in through the smoke-vent. He cuts the roots into thin slices which are boiled in water for four days. The patient drinks several cupfuls of the decoction which never fail to benefit him.

[776] The basis of this medicine is the belief, already described, [773] that when a *sisiutl* swims through a pond it frequently sheds some of its scales which become water-lilies. They are, therefore, potent in themselves and are of greatest benefit to one who has practised ceremonial chastity. The patient must observe several taboos for forty days after treatment: He must hold no sexual intercourse; must eat neither salmon nor meat that has not been smoked; must eat nothing cooked either by a menstruating woman or by one who has lost her husband within a year; and must not approach a girl during the year following puberty. The breaking of one of these taboos causes [761] his death, and the man who has administered the medicine watches the conduct of his patient with great care.

755 *For Debility* (two means)

(1) Drink strong, stale urine, mixed with red rock-paint ground fine.

Knowledge of this medicine has been handed down for [424] generations in certain familes. It is said to be most unpleasant to take.

(2) The following medicine, said to be the most potent known to the Bella Coola, is used for a person who has long been feeble, especially if he has been spitting blood. It is the property of several ancestral families, and must be admin- [424] istered by an elderly male member of one of them.

The owner of the remedy obtains a dry, clean skull, places within it a little water which he brings to a boil with hot pebbles and adds a small quantity of mountain goat marrow. The patient is given a dry stick, about three feet in length, from which the pith has been extracted to make a tube. With this he sucks four times, swallowing a little of the decoction, while the practitioner says to the skull:

2: McIlwraith NE6 Bellacoola NE6
103, 192, 551, 773, 776

/For a Bella Coola-English vocabulary which includes place names, personal names, and names of spirits, gods, mythological characters and places, see category 116, pp. 573-630./

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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CHAPTER I

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

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General Observations on the Kusiut Society — Powers and Functions of the Society — Initiation — The Ritual of Specific Dances — Various Origin Myths — Kusiut Prerogatives Other than Dances — The Death of a Kusiut — The Final Rite — Concluding Observations and History.

General Observations on the *Kusiut* Society

IN view of the importance of the *kusiut* society in the lives 575*
of the Bella Coola, it would seem logical to have described it in an earlier part of this monograph. Though an integral part of the complicated structure of social organization, it is a secret, semi-religious grouping which can best be treated separately. The word *kusiut* is connected etymologically, according 575*
to native belief, with *siut*, the term for a supernatural being. 192
Thus the meaning of the society's designation is "The Super- [776]
natural," or "The Learned," for *siut* has both these significations. A member of the society is likewise called a *kusiut*, plural, *kukusiut*.

The investigator soon learns of the existence of the society. 551
If he asks a man his name, and then inquires further what type 575*
of designation it is, the answer is always that it is his *kusiut* [124]
name, that is, the one by which he is known as a member of the society. Ancestral names are used only at potlatches or other ceremonial occasions, whereas an individual's *kusiut* appellation is the one which he uses commonly. Moreover, for 535
about three months of every year the Bella Coola live in an 575*
atmosphere of *kusiut* dances with a performance, or its pre- 796
liminaries, taking place almost every night. Preparations for this ceremonial season, for so it may be termed, begin four days after the September moon is full, while the actual dances commence early in November and are continued until March. During this period the *kukusiut* are believed to be in intimate [787]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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informant, the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not inconvenience the dancer, although he senses its presence, and asks who will pay for its return. Unless the owner at once steps forward to claim his property and promises to pay, his spirit is thrown into the fire and he dies. The *kukusiut* sometimes tell an uninitiated person that his spirit has been attracted from him, thereby terrifying him so greatly that he appeals to a shaman to recover it for him. The expert greases his hands, warms them at a fire, and pretends to pluck something from the *kusiut* which he inserts into the loser's neck. 575* 774 755 [784]

In view of the firm conviction that the spirit is essential to an individual's welfare, it is not surprising that this belief should awe the uninitiated and fill them with profound respect for the *kukusiut*. The diversity in the details of procedure proves that the practice has not become standardized; those who are not members of the society believe and do not test the claims. 575* 774 626

Another source of strength claimed by the *kukusiut* is ability to witness and imitate the dances of the supernatural beings held in *Nusmät·a* prior to the entry of *Älquntäm*. As already described, it is believed that a supernatural element from every living creature upon earth ascends at this time but, in a way that is not fully understood, only those belonging to *kukusiut* can take part in the ceremonies. Is it strange, therefore, that members of the society are regarded with awe by their less fortunate fellows? Presents are given after every dance in *Nusmät·a* and the supernatural elements receive their due share. When, however, *Älquntäm* enters, he is so big and so hot that almost all who have assembled rush forth furiously, and in the crush at the narrow doorway disaster overtakes many of the visiting human representatives. Some drop their gifts, and their owners will be unfortunate; others fall, and their owners cannot survive until the next ceremonial season. This same fate may befall even those who are not members of the *kusiut* society, but they do not have the ability to appreciate what has happened. 575* 787 776 796 777 761

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 787 776 796 *Älquntäm* enters and confers on *kusiut* matters with *Sexsexkälaix*, his assistant in affairs connected with his functions as leader of the supernatural *kukusiut*.[1] This being acts as announcer and intermediary with *Älquntäm*, but himself lacks the power of initiating matters. The two discuss whether or not it is advisable to allow mortal *kukusiut* to perform certain dances of the type known as *kusiotem* (II, p.128), and if so, they transmit the necessary power to the earthly dancer who has the proper prerogative, thus enabling him to give a graphic representation of what is done in the upper land.

*575 796 787 776 535 This is the essence of the *kusiut* dances. Each portrays a performance given by one of the supernatural beings in the house above, or some other aspect of his activities. Each earthly dancer has as patron a supernatural being, usually the one who carries out the dance of which his own is a model, and between patron and protégé there exists a relationship by means of which the latter receives the power necessary to perform. To do so, the uninitiated believe that he must receive a *yeux*, which can be translated as "call," from his associate above. Moreover, not only is each patron a supernatural being, but each is guided by *Älquntäm* in the performance of the *kusiut* rites in the land above, which indirectly increases the prestige of the protégé.

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*575 787 776 796 184 [1]The differences of belief of individual Bella Coola, dependent upon family traditions, is nowhere shown with greater clearness than in this meeting of the leaders of the supernatural dancers. It is clear that the Bella Coola have no uniformity of belief, even in what might be regarded as fundamental concepts. One informant, well versed in *kusiut* matters, asserted that there are five supernatural leaders, *Älquntäm* and his assistants, *Smaisikila*, *Sexsexkälaix*, *Snunlkäls*, and *Sunälotla*. Others were equally emphatic that *Älquntäm* is the *kusiut* name of the supreme deity, and that *Sunälotla*, *Smaisikila*, and *Snunlkäls*, are merely other designations for the same deity with regard to different functions. This belief has been followed during the monograph, by designating the supreme deity as *Älquntäm*, the name by which he is termed with respect to his *kusiut* powers. These two opinions are not as basically different as appears at first sight. A man [828] is considered as having two, or more, personalities with respect to different rites at which he is called by different names. Since the supreme deity is regarded as a superman, who functions in diverse manners, it is not difficult to understand how these are sometimes ascribed to different individuals, and sometimes to the one under different names.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 the hair from his head. After various rites which prove that
796 the Cannibal actually possesses peculiar power, he is calmed
781 and songs are sung describing what he saw aloft, and the
[787] dangers from which he escaped. The uninitiated shiver sympathetically, marvel at his valour, and anticipate with mixed feelings the time when they too may be privileged to have similar experiences. Or they may witness the killing of one of their fellow-villagers by disembowelling, and his restoration to life. They know the victim; under ordinary circumstances he could not endure death, hence the claim that his strength is due to the call given him by his patron is accepted as an obvious fact. The uninitiated never suspect that they are victims of an elaborate deception. At all times the *kukusiut* are eager to
[766] make known their own perils, and if it happens that a member
[761] of the society dies while in concealment, his corpse is buried secretly. The explanation given is that he has succumbed to some of the dangers to which *kukusiut* are exposed, a fiction readily believed in view of the absence of the usual funeral rites.

*575 Though it is common knowledge that the ability of a *kusiut*
778 to perform any extraordinary feat has its source in the per-
787 formance of the same feat by his supernatural patron, yet it is
424 equally well known that his specific power has been brought to this earth and is located in one particular spot. An ancestor must in some way have come in contact with the patron, and at that time his *kusiut* name, carrying with it the prerogatives of supernatural patronage and of dancing on this earth, was deposited for safe-keeping in a repository, *nuskāsiutsta* (also called *nusxi'ipsta*), by the supernatural woman *Ano'likwolsalx*. Each repository is thought of as a cave, or hollow, beneath a large tree, a rock, or other distinctive natural object; to obtain his power a *kusiut* initiate must go there, actual contact with his patron being unnecessary. Every *kusiut* prerogative has its
[776] repository and in each of these is *Ano'likwolsaix*; she is one, yet capable of being simultaneously in many hundred spots, corresponding to the many hundred *kusiut* prerogatives. Her

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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functions are to guard the names, and to keep in touch with the patrons. Every uninitiated person believes that if he could only have the good fortune to find a repository, he would obtain the *kusiut* prerogative there localized. *Ăna'likwolsaix* travels only during the ceremonial season when she is present at every *kusiut* dance in the form of a woman with a long, thin face and pointed chin (see Plate 13),[1] who "explains" the significance of the figures to the uninitiated in a peculiar high-pitched voice. She is well able to do so since as guardian of repositories she knows the prerogative of each member of the society. Frequently she mocks the uninitiated: 575* 789 424 [778] [776]

"Ha! Ha! Ha!" she jeers. "You [naming some ambitious youth], you who think yourself so smart, you nearly fell over me that time you walked up in the woods behind the village looking for grouse. If I had been a bear I could have felled you with a blow of my paw. How can you ever hope to become a *kusiut* like your father and grandfather if you are so blind."

His fellows are inclined to join in the laughter at the one singled out for *Ăna'likwolsaix*'s scorn, but she flays them all in turn. "She" is, of course, a *kusiut* chosen for fluency and ability to make biting remarks. Parents tell their children that in the autumn, pleased at the sight of falling leaves, *Ăna'likwolsaix* bares the roof of her house and sits shaking her fingers like a dancer. [776]

"Go to the woods and look for her," they say. "If she sees you she will say '*tcu*' and beckon to you. Then you will become a *kusiut*."

To further this deception, *kukusiut* are accustomed to disguise themselves as *Ăna'lkwolsaix* and move around in the autumn forest, taking care that no uninitiated comes too near for safety. An individual may have several *kusiut* prerogatives, and if he wishes to tranafer one of these to an associate, the report is circulated that the recipient has stumbled upon the repository of the donor. The latter then acts as if he were crazy, and the uninitiated are told that he is a *nuhaxm*, an 575* 778 425

[1] [See category 116, p. 84 (A) - ANALYST]
(Apparently Plate 1 is meant)

untranslatable word with the significance of "One who has suffered loss through faulty concealment [of his repository].[1] Some of these vaults are said to be dangerous to the uninitiated who avoid them and in this way the sanctity of some chiefs' meeting-places is guarded.

According to Kimsquit belief, *Ana'lîkwulaie* has a husband, *Almosphaikûla*, who dwells with her in every repository. If an uninitiated person should chance to find a vault, he falls dead before the power emanating from *Ana'lîkwulaie*. Her husband then restores the dead by blowing violently on the back of the victim's neck, accompanying this with cries of *hoip*. When a person is initiated into the *kuxiut* society, the uninitiated hear the songs used, in many of which are references to the experiences of the novice with this supernatural pair.

Turning now to the manner in which the *kukuxiut* regard their own society, it is evident that the most important duty of each member is to aid in impressing and deceiving the uninitiated. The prestige of the organization depends upon the ability of its members to inspire awe, hence any weakness in fulfilling this obligation is an anti-social act. For this purpose the society acts as a whole. Many *kukuxiut* have, for example, Cannibal prerogatives, and on occasion the Cannibals, having the same functions, work together, but they do not form a separate organization of their own.[1] Many of the means employed to deceive and impress the uninitiated have already been described. Mythology records, and it appears to be a fact, that long ago the ascendancy of the *kukuxiut* was often challenged by the *a'alk* and other uninitiated, but when the white man came the society had reached a position of such eminence that the powers of its members were unquestioned. Moreover, the combined strength of virtually all the seniors of the tribe was so great that an uninitiated person could not assert himself even if he was suspicious.

Although members of the society exert every effort to con-

[1] The Bella Coola state that such sub-societies are found among the Kwakiutl.

[i.e. a repository of supernatural power - ANALYST]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Not knowing where to go nor what to do, he hid himself on a small island within sight of the village whence he could see and hear the people seeking him. At times some of his *hahuxiat* friends came close, calling his name; but not till he was driven to do so by hunger did he reveal his hiding-place. Then he answered the shouts of two men who at first pretended they were merely seeking him because of the worry his prolonged disappearance was causing his parents. Once the lad was within their group they carried him swiftly to the house of one of the chiefs, where he found himself seated among the most influential men of his village with the door barred behind him. The fear which any youth would feel in like circumstances was increased greatly by the awe with which he, as an uninitiated person, regarded the *hahuxiat*, especially on this occasion when he knew that he had wounded their wages. 575* [781]

"What did you hear?" asked one of the marshals. The lad was too terrified to lie, so he blurted out all the gossip he had overheard, including the news of the death of the Rivers Inlet Cannibal.

"You have heard too much, you must join us," continued his questioner.

The same man then asked one of his relatives whether he would "buy" the lad from them, that is, whether they would provide the necessary goods to have him initiated. It was understood that through his improper knowledge he had come under the jurisdiction of the *hahuxiat* and that, unless made one of them, they would kill him. The lad was the protégé of his uncle who at the time was initiating him into the *naxnox* ceremonial, and who accordingly was most unwilling to have his nephew made a *hahuxiat*. [688]

"Let him be a spy," said the uncle.

After much discussion this proposition was agreed to; the decision was facilitated by the fact that one of the lad's ancestors had been a spy. All night he was kept sitting in the centre of a group of elders who revealed to him the mysteries of the organization and showed him the whistles and other regalia. For twenty years this man remained a spy, dutifully informing upon any over-inquisitive, uninitiated person.

The informant was more than sixty years of age when he related this incident, but the passage of time had not caused him to forget the utter terror and feeling of inferiority experienced when he was taken into the presence of the senior *hahuxiat*. [781]

Although every *hahuxiat* assists in preserving the dignity and awe of the society, this duty is especially the function of those members who are regarded as the earthly representatives of 575* 424 776

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 [424] [776] *Ano'likwolsaix.* They may be termed marshals of the society. Each must have an ancestral prerogative for this, duly validated by presents to the *kukusiut*, in addition to a *kusiut* prerogative of some kind. In each village there are four or five of these men. Whenever food is being served at a *kusiut* dance, the marshals receive theirs first and then one or other of them addresses the audience in slow and impressive style, beating on the floor with a stick to add emphasis to his words. He admonishes his fellows to safeguard the ancient rites of the society, to be bold, to be secretive, and he pays honour to the member who has given the dance. It is they who take the leading part if a youth is dragged away to the meeting-place for initiation, and it is they who arrange matters when a spy reports that a non-member is over-inquisitive. *575 688 If any member of the society should break one of its laws at a time when no uninitiated are present, the marshal is expected to seize a burning stick from the fire and strike the offender with it. If death should result, revenge is unthinkable, since the criminal had broken the law. The same fate is unhesitatingly meted out to any *kusiut* who should dare to betray any of the mysteries to the uninitiated. Moreover, it is the marshals who decide whether any improper act lowers the dignity of a dance, and punish accordingly. Not many years ago a *kusiut* woman gave birth to a child while a dance was taking place and the infant was slain by one of the marshals. [761] The usual explanation made to the uninitiated for a death within the dance-house is that a supernatural being caused the roof to fall and kill the victim.

*575 551 [424] Each marshal has, in connection with his prerogative of this vocation, a professional name, used only within the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place and carefully concealed from the uninitiated. Some designations were obtained from *Ano'likwolsaix* by an ancestor of the possessor, others were created on this earth with reference to some specific event, and [553] duly made valid by presents to the *kukusiut* alone. Some of these names are:

Xwolxkmis, "The Destroyer," so given on account of an

2:36:Swanton E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kaciat* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kaciat* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the dancer.

575* 424 425 553 556 578 424

(2) *A Patron, omiats.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kaciat* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

575* 424 776 533 535 578

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Ana'kimulnis*. An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each.

575* 424 778

Although the *kaciat* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

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uninitiated are expelled, with the exception of the *ciwut* to whom, as guests, a meal is served. Then they too leave and the *kakaciwi* eat together. Finally, the singers strike up one of the dancer's songs, and he dances to it to end the evening's rites.

The fourth day is *nakacum*, "That Which Is Opened." During the day the carpenters work to complete the masks, and towards dusk the house is again put in order. The *kakaciwi* are summoned again to practise the songs, if necessary, and always to arrange who shall wear the masks, a matter left to the marshals and the carpenters. Then the uninitiated are called in to see the masked figures and watch any dramatic representation. After their exclusion, the masks are burnt. Then the *kakaciwi* gather outside the dancer's house where his song is sung once more to send his call back above. Frequently another *kaciwi* now receives a call, so that the *nakacum* of one dancer is likewise the *kuutimow* for another. The *kakaciwi* assemble in the latter's house, but the uninitiated are not allowed to return to that from which they have been ejected until the platform-enclosure has been destroyed at the end of the season.

A word might be said about *kaciwi* paraphernalia, although much of this will have to be described in detail for special dances. Ross gives illustrations of a large number of *kaciwi* masks and gives such an admirable description of them that little need be added. They are carved from the solid wood, the larger of bassh, the smaller of alder, and each carpenter endeavours to make a striking effigy of the being portrayed. *Aw'ilwakwin* is present at every dance and has become so well standardized that she can always be recognized. This is true, also, for Thunder, Echo, the *kachin*, the Laughter, the Hermaphrodite, and a few other supernatural beings, but so much variation occurs in others that even a *kaciwi* of much experience cannot always tell what being is represented. The masks are painted, and sometimes the designs indicate the being, even though the carving fails to do so; variamilitude is

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 567 struggling in fear, to the secret meeting-place. Here the marshals discuss what shall be done with him; some suggest that he be killed, others a lesser fate, and finally someone advises his initiation. After apparently due deliberation, this is decided upon; the slave is told the mysteries of the society and is warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells the uninitiated of his knowledge. The actual ceremonial rites of *575 996 admission do not vary according to the preliminaries used.

Initiation can take place at any time during the *kusiut* season. After consulting with the marshals in order to choose an evening when no other dance is to take place, the relatives of the neophyte, whom it will be convenient to term X, invite the *kusiut* to their house. Sometimes songs are sung by way of rehearsal, at other times food is distributed at once. As the people are eating, one of the marshals stands up to address them, saying that X's relatives propose to take him to the repository of the name ———, so that he may become a *kusiut*. X, to whom this may be the first intimation, is called from his house and taken from the village by several of his kinsmen, with one or more of the marshals. The *kusiut* disperse and tell the uninitiated in the other houses that X has gone to meet *Ts'ilkwalaxis*. His companions hear the news with mingled envy and thankfulness that they are not to have this dangerous privilege.

[178] In ancient times X and his guides may actually have proceeded to his repository, but for several generations at least it has been customary for the party merely to go to some lonely spot in the woods for the night. Those accompanying X tell him as much of the ritual of the society as they think fit, not forgetting to emphasize the trust put upon him, and the fate which will befall him if he should communicate his knowledge. [177] [64] He is expected to report that he went to the repository where, lying face downwards on the ground, he saw *Ts'ilkwalaxis*; in Kimsquit he is supposed also to see her husband.*

* According to one old Bella Coola a slave of *Ts'ilkwalaxis* also resides in every repository.

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and the patron shifts his protection to the substitute. Non-members are told that the death was due to one of the many dangers connected with the society.

It is said that, in former times, the *hakaiat* sometimes held a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discontinued. In 1922, however, memorial songs were sung for dead *hakaiat*, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to prohibition of the potlatch.

The Ritual of Specific Dances

General Observations about the Dances

A detailed description of various *hakaiat* dances can now be given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference between them that each will require a separate account, although considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning in connection with the first dance those features common to all. The initial performer is always he who has the prerogative of using the supernatural canoe which comes from the Land of the Salmon to visit Nuxalkmaxte. Several *hakaiat* have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so. Thenceforth there is no order for different dances; the marshals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does so without conflicting with another. The first dance described is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *hakaiat* season.

The Dance of *Nuklymx*[*]

The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the September moon is full there starts from the Land of the Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *Nuklymx*, commanded by a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly

[*] G. Boas, p. 60.

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[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

973 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 *Smaiem-a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nusqulxmaista* to await the coming of *Alquntăm*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nekusam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noăkynum* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[715 times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
[131 eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[167 that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that
[624 this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[776 patron was *Noăkynum*, but that the marshals requested him not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noăkynum*
[575 is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the unini-
[796 tiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
[184 the *kusiut* dances begin.

It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village, as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
[424 slight variations, if any. In *Tsmoil* the *kusiut* who has the
[551 prerogative of seeing *Noăkynum* is a certain *Qaxalăn-i*,[16] in *Kimsquit*, *Ahskinmasam*,[17] and in *Sisksiul*, *Xemtnum*. Although,

[115 [16]Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qaxalăn-i*, who intimated
[424 that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman
[578 informed us the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present
[578 owner had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

[17]Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significances of this type.

[The Dance of Nōakxnim]

*575 snatches from old songs. The Bella Bella are said to use the
*796 same compositions from year to year, and recently some of
[533] these, both tunes and foreign words, have been adopted by
[177] the Bella Coola. Long ago the marshals would have prohibited this custom even if the user had legitimately obtained the foreign prerogative by marriage.

As the time draws near for *Noākynim* to start his voyage,
[805] X anxiously consults any of the elder *kukusiut* who may be calendrical experts as to the exact date. The system of reckoning time is not sufficiently exact to avoid errors, but the day ultimately arrives on which, after much discussion, it is agreed that *Noākynim* is leaving. Word is passed around to the singers, who sleep that night in X's house, ready for their duties on the morrow.

Early in the morning X stands up, gazes fixedly towards the west, and calls out:

[987] "Once more I see what I saw last year," or some other more or less specific claim to a vision.

It is believed that *Noākynim* must round four points before
[773] reaching Bella Coola; in fact, his journey beneath the sea is similar to that of a canoe pushing up one of the long fiords.

Some of the marshals are always in readiness and one of
*[203] them tells a herald to go to every house, repeating what X has said. This serves both to impress the uninitiated, and to
*575 notify the *kukusiut* of what is about to take place. The mes-
*796 senger does so, and when all have gathered, the singers, seated
533 behind the fire, begin to beat out one of the songs composed during the summer months. The theme is of X's phenomenal eye-sight, due to his patron having sent to him the super-
[776] natural being, *Nuālsumtnam*, at the moment of his departure. This being does not seem to possess corporeal form, but is rather a sight-producing medium. In the song he is often likened to a swift-flying bird; when the uninitiated hear of this they are suitably impressed with the remarkable ability of X at having such a creature sent to him. X, who has donned a
[292] head-dress consisting of the white tails of two eagles, dances

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

every abode. The song on this occasion, the third for X, describes what *Noākxnim* is doing on his journey, as if X were relating what he saw. The *kukusiut* return to X's house for another meal and the admonishments of a marshal. 575* 796* 787 533

For four days more X retires from sight. On the morning of the fifth day he once more calls:

Yupālx.

Exactly the same procedure is carried out, the theme of this fourth song being of how *Noākxnim* can be seen rounding a third promontory.

X remains in concealment for four days more, then cries out again. This time the song describes how *Noākxnim* has rounded the fourth and last promontory and how the supernatural beings above have sighted him. This is the fifth song used for X. As on the previous occasions, he conceals himself on the platform after making a tour of the village.

On the morning of the fifth day later, X cries out that *Noākxnim* is at the mouth of the river where he has tied his craft to the stakes of a salmon-trap. The belief of the Bella Coola is that he approaches up an underwater fiord, into which flows an underwater river provided with a salmon-trap; X alone can see these phenomena. The herald goes from house to house repeating the announcement. The *kukusiut*, too, visit each, singing the song while X dances. He and the singers always decide beforehand on his actual statement, so that the words of the song will be in agreement, as if the singers had composed it on the spot. Once again X retires from sight. [203]*

Five days later he arouses the household with his loud shouting:

"*Noākxnim* is in the river itself. He has reached the home of the Resident; *Imimāitnaix* is mooring his craft. *Dakdakānmem* and *Ālālmktnum* are greeting him." [776]

The herald repeats this news throughout the village. The uninitiated know in general terms who these supernatural beings are. The Resident lives under the water at the mouth of the river; his function is to see that the stream and the 575* 796* 776 [203]

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* 575 salmon are properly looked after, in fact, he is practically the
* 796 supernatural archetype of the River Guardian. *Imimätlnaix*,
"The Moorer," is a supernatural child who stays with the
• 776 Resident, and whose sole function appears to be the mooring
of *Noäkynm*'s craft. *Dakdakänmem* is sent by *Smaien-a*, who
in this connection appears to have human intelligence, to greet
Noäkynm, and with him come *Smaien-a*'s son, *Älälhmktmm*,[*]
to assist *Noäkynm* in poling his craft up the river. All these
beings are patrons for different *kukusiut*. The Resident is also
known as *Ämtäklis*.

* 575 The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house as on the previous
occasions; according to some informants two songs are used
* 796 on this day, others say only one. The people proceed in the
787 usual manner to the lowest house, and make their way up-
[533] stream. When about half through the village, however, X
shrieks out that *Numätlam* has brought a call to him. The
woman and the heralds cry out loudly, X hastily returns to
his own house, from which the uninitiated are at once expelled,
and the *kusiut* whistles sound from within. *Numätlam* is one
of the supernatural beings who has travelled with *Noäkynm*
for the sole purpose of bringing a call to X. If the calendrical
[805] experts have been successful in their reckonings, the November
[821] moon will first be visible on the night of this day. Several of
the older men admitted that errors were common, and that
sometimes four days more had to elapse, in which it was said
that *Noäkynm* was poling up the river. As he passes, his
dancers in the different villages receive their calls on successive
nights. It is assumed that he can go by several adjacent
[184] settlements on the same night, but the *kusiut* season is two or
three days shorter in *Stuax* and the upper villages than in
Kymqo-ts. Exact information on this point was unavailable.
* 575 As already described, *Noäkynm* travels to *Smaien-a*, whence
* 796 he leaps to *Nuxqulxwaists* and places his pole within the house.
All the supernatural beings crowd in after him to wait for
773 *Alqantäm*, but as soon as the latter enters, *Noäkynm* seizes his

[*] Some informants state that there are four of these beings.

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has been in contact. Their attitude of uncertainty as to whether they are gazing upon real supernatural beings or on representations of them has already been described, but the uninitiated do not theorize on the point—they are seeing strange sights about which X and the *kukusiat* know, that is enough for them. 575* 796*

Behind the fire they see a canoe-shaped erection, a model of *Noükynum*'s craft, with six or eight masked heads, his passengers, appearing over the sides. Near this are four more disguised figures, three standing and one sitting. *Ano'likwolsaix* ranges in the vicinity, while X himself stands behind, at intervals sweeping one arm over the heads of the strange beings and uttering a droning cry. *Ano'likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that the figures have come from afar, that they are powerful, but not to be afraid, since X's drone gives protection to them from the supernatural ones. She points to one of the figures whose mask is painted with the design of a salmon.[1] 575* 796* 532 776

"See!" she says, "There is *Noükynum*; unless he brings the salmon they cannot come to our river."

Another of the standing figures is described as *Dakdakänmem*, and the other as *Alälkmätnum*. In each case she states briefly the functions of the being. The seated figure, who wears a large hat and rests on a mat, is the Resident. Great is the mystification of the uninitiated at seeing these supernatural beings[2] normally visible only to X. How they envy him! Another frequent display is of a group of masked figures playing *sleli* (II, p. 382). If this has been done, *Ano'likwolsaix* explains that this game is of interest to the salmon and that it is therefore played in *Noükynum*'s canoe. [781]

[1] There is no doubt that in former times the Bella Coola attached greater importance to the designs painted on masks than they do at present. Except for a few vague notes it was impossible to obtain information on this subject; in fact, in 1922 there was only one Bella Coola alive who understood the symbols used. This man was drunk so often that he proved an impossible informant. It is fortunate that Professor Boas recorded a considerable number of designs (op. cit.), to which the reader is referred. [177]

[2] As already described, the uninitiated undoubtedly believe that they are actually gazing upon supernatural beings.

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attend every *kusiut* dance. Usually all *kukusiut* do so in any case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been blackened, it must be kept so during this period. At every *qotlim* he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an uninitiated person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes to another housemate. Failure to obey this injunction was formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules apply to every dancer.

575* 796* [302] [292] [774] [834] [688]

Alquntäm enters *Nusqulxwaista* at the winter solstice, and at that time calls come to those *kukusiut* of whom he is patron. It is uncertain whether or not this entails the regular ceremony of four nights' duration. On the entry of the supreme being, *Noäkynum* seizes his paddle (or pole?), returns to *Smaien·a*, and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers compose a ninth song for him. The words describe how the departing *Noäkynum* empties a large number of olachen into the river.* X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after calls have come to other *kukusiut*.

575* 796* 787 773 825

It sometimes happens that no *kusiut* of whom *Noäkynum* is patron has enough food to give the lengthy dance just described, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper prerogative is asked by the marshals to see *Noäkynum* when at the mouth of the river; then, when he passes upstream four days later, a call can come to any *kusiut*. This abbreviated ceremony, termed *Imäläuqulxwäs*, is carried out in the manner described above, except that it is completed in four days with only two songs.

575* 796* 787

*Nusqulxwaista is accordingly often called *Nusläuxwm*.

[776]

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THE DANCE OF *Wł·a*

*575 *796 556 Although potlatches and *kusiut* dances cannot take place simultaneously in the same house, and although the former are supposedly completed before the beginning of the ceremonial season, they often overlap the lengthy preliminaries of the *Noäkẓnum* dance. In such cases, when visiting the houses of the village, the *kukusiut* are careful to pass by the one in which the potlatch is going on. It often happens that foreign guests are still present when *Noäkẓnum* ascends the river and their host wishes to provide entertainment for them in the shape of a spectacular *kusiut* display. This is possible if a *kusiut* with a *wł·a* prerogative is willing to have a call come to him. It [424] is probable that in every village there is at least one *kusiut* with this prerogative; in *Tcumotl* the owner is a certain *Łukwala*,[30] in Kimsquit a woman named *Nunuxemlaix*. An ancestor of the former received his designation at the direct wish of *Älquntäm* as leader of the supernatural *kukusiut*. It is unnecessary to describe the ritual in detail in both places, although certain differences must be mentioned. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X. He has ten patrons, the nine brothers [776] *Xemxemälotla*, *Xemcua*, *Omqomkilka*, *Äimälotla*, *Äiamkilka*, *Qomcua*, *Qwlaxwoa*, *Kwlilias Nuskämpta*, *Älmäk*ᵐ, and their sister *Łłitcäplilän·a*.[31] These supernatural beings remain in *Nusmät·a* except when summoned below by X, or when *Łłitcäplilän·a* appears for her own purposes as already described.

If X accedes to the request of the donor of the potlatch and is willing to summon his patrons from above, one or other of them interviews the marshals, and if these acquiesce, the rite can proceed. In Bella Coola X asks the help of four *kukusiut* *575 who are termed his "Path Clearers"; no special prerogative is *796 required to perform this service. For four days X lies on the floor of his house, near the door to the back-room, while his

[30] The rite has not been carried out in Bella Coola since the death of the former owner about 1912; the name has passed to his brother's son's son.

[31] Boas (p. 33) gives the same list of beings although in slightly different order.

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[The Dance of Wi'a]

*575 *796 782 The last to seat himself is *Kwlilias Nuskämpta*, an obstreperous individual, who always wants more presents than anyone else. When X announces that the beings above have taken their places, a carpenter brings forward the object covered with cedar-bark and painted with a design of *Xemxemälotla*,[28] holds it above X's head, and then gives it to a herald who casts it into the fire. At the same time X throws on the flames some dyed cedar-bark, some undyed cedar-bark, a little eagle down, and some olachen grease, saying:

"Please *Xemxemälotla*,[28] accept this offering and be present," and throws his hands up in the air as if casting some object upwards.

Still dancing, X calls out *hoip* several times.

The painted representation and the cedar-bark are objects which *Xemxemälotla* likes to receive; the olachen grease supplies the flame on which they ascend to him. The same procedure is repeated for the eight other brothers, with slight variations in the words addressed to each. To *Omqomkihka*, for example, X says:

[539] *Asiqual-atwllulma* Woodpecker-coloured[27] *lomqomkihkaals Omqomkihka*.[29] | *dinnnuslxwumäxtanas* is the place where he sits, | *axqustemsuals* the recipient,[28]

When the time comes to invite the hungry *Thitäplilän-a*, an offering of food instead of bark is cast upon the flames. X continues to dance after the final gift, and presently a thud *575 *796 is heard on the roof while some *kusiut*, chosen beforehand for the purpose, compresses a hidden bladder-whistle which the 787 uninitiated know is the voice of the call. Whether they be-

[184] [776]

[126]

[28] In Kimsquit the offerings are made by a *kusiut* who has this prerogative in connection with the game *Skulkwan-a*.

[28] His other name is *Orqsem*, "The Recipient of Many Gifts."

[27] *Squal* also is one of the larger woodpeckers, the species could not be identified.

[29] This designation, properly applied only to *Xemxemälotla*, is often used for his brothers as well.

[29] These words are virtually sung, each vertical line marking the end of each subdivision. A record was made of the music for the National Museum of Canada; record VII D 6a; singer, Jim Pollard.

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[The Dance of Wil·a]

*575 *796 *I*..., and *ao*...,[1] revolving sunwise at the same time. *Ano°likwolsaix* does not fail to point out to the uninitiated: "That is the way he sings up above. Look at him! That is what he does in his own home."

*575 *796 556 If foreigners, guests for the potlatch, are in attendance, *Ano°likwolsaix* adds that the supernatural beings are disappointed at having been called too late for it. Then the uninitiated are expelled, the masks burnt, and the *kukusiut* disperse.

A few further notes are necessary on this dance. If a potlatch is to be given after the *kusiut* season, the calling of these supernatural beings is sometimes reserved as the last *kusiut* dance, and any foreigners present, as uninitiated guests, are told that the beings have come for the ceremony. There is [776] thus a superficial appearance of confusion between these *kusiut* patrons and *nusak* deities. It is nothing more than a resemblance, since the nine brothers do not appear at the potlatch, and nothing is said to explain their absence; it is merely a subterfuge to increase the interest of the rite. Nor is any [787] connection necessary; in fact, X usually obtains his call like any other *kusiut*, without the spectacular throwing of presents on the fire. In this case X and the marshals consult and select the proper day for the beginning of the ceremony. On the *575 night preceding that chosen, the *kukusiut* are called to X's *796 house and one of the marshals announces that he can hear X's 787 call wanting to come to him. He answers simply:

"I am afraid."

The uninitiated are not expelled from X's house, so that they learn what is to take place. No ritual occurs on that evening, but one of X's friends remains constantly with him, as if to assist in any emergency. *Kukusiut* are often sent up the slopes of the neighbouring mountains with whistles which the uninitiated hear, and which lead them to believe that supernatural beings are in the vicinity.

[126] [1] A phonographic record was made of this; National Museum of Canada, record VII D 6b; singer, Jim Pollard.

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[The Dance of Wil·a]

About dusk on the following day X, who is in his own house, suddenly stands up and cries out: 575* 796*

"Yes. It has come. I am afraid. Yes! I will do as you bid me." 787

The *kukusiut* women begin to drone and the uninitiated are expelled. Heralds announce that a *kusiut* has been pressed to earth, and presently they go to every house inviting the *kukusiut* to gather in X's. From this point on, the rite of *Iuxtämem* continues in the manner already described.

The ability of X to summon these nine brothers from above is a special prerogative; other *kukusiut* have one or other of them as patron, but lack the power to call the whole number to earth. One *kusiut* has exclusive knowledge of the mat which is spread for *Omqomkilka* when the other supernatural beings summon him to a ceremony; another of the place where the brethren obtain their eagle down. Detailed information was not obtained about these ceremonies. [424]

THE CANNIBAL DANCE

Of all *kusiut* dances, the one of which the uninitiated are most afraid, and which is, therefore, the strongest, is the Cannibal dance. It is believed that the performer is exposed to greater dangers than in any other rite, and observers have the most spectacular ocular demonstrations of his powers. The patrons of most Cannibals are *Alqunäm*, *Sxexqäleiy*, or *Kämai·ts*, who implant in their protégés a wolf, bear, or eagle, causing them to devour strange foods. The Bella Coola consider that a man is equally a Cannibal whether he has the prerogative of eating corpses, biting the living, eating dogs or raw salmon, or biting himself. The most common of these is the right to bite the living, and few of the older people are not scarred thereby. Fear of Cannibals is one of the strongest causes for the respect with which the uninitiated regard the *kusiut* society, but though the holders of prerogatives of this type are regarded with awe on account of their powers, they are not considered as chiefs, as the Bella Coola say is the case

575* 796* 424 [981] [776] [787] [781] [171] [622]

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[The Cannibal Dance]

among the Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and Rivers Inlet people. Indeed, in Bella Coola a poor man may be the most dreaded Cannibal of all, if he has been able duly to validate and perform his right in this respect. Nor is the dance carried out with the same rigour in Bella Coola as among the tribes of the outer coast.

The ritual of different prerogatives varies to such an extent that several accounts must be given, in spite of the repetitions that this form of presentation entails. On account of the length of time necessary, a Cannibal dance usually begins early in the season. The following describes the manner in which *Kāmātslak* of Kimsquit, who can bite the living, carried out his rite; it was obtained from his brother, who is thoroughly conversant with the details. It will be convenient to refer to *Kāmātslak* as X, and to use the present tense throughout.

A meeting is held at which the marshals and others choose, in agreement with X and his relatives, a day suitable for him to commence his performance. Under normal circumstances it is on some *qulhw* that a marshal announces that he can hear X's call, and on the following evening, when the ritual has been completed, the uninitiated are startled to hear continuous whistling from the slopes of the mountains near the village. The instruments used are of the usual bladder type, but the long-drawn-out sound, termed *Ālālāxa*, is said to be the voice of the kindly supernatural woman, *Ēsimāla*.*

*The sole function of this being seems to be the restoring to life of those who appear to have been killed in the performance of *hamat'sa*. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether or not she is identical with *Tlaxpālāla*. The noise which heralds her coming is produced by the whistles of four *hahamat'sa* who throughout the night range the forests and mountains within earshot of the village. By bending their heads up and down, they are able to increase the volume and apparent distinctness of the sound. The four travel in single file, the leader blows, and when his breath is nearly exhausted he passes the hand of the second man, who starts whistling forthwith, while the original leader drops to the rear. As the second becomes weary, he signals in the same way to the third, and so on; in this way the whistling is continuous, and the uninitiated are convinced that it cannot be caused by mortals, even if such an idea should occur to them. If a non-member should meet the four, they would at once kill him or make him a prisoner, keeping him out of sight until he could be initiated into the society.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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telling them of his adventures, and presently they begin to sing the song, as if they had just learnt the theme from X. Frequently the deception is increased by X first learning the song and repeating it to the singers in a voice sufficiently loud for the uninitiated to hear. The theme of this, and every other song used for Cannibals, is of the land above and the dangers which X has survived. The singers add new facts and information to vary the monotony, but the subjects usually described are:

The flat land above with its many trails and the river that flows through it.

The gale constantly raging there which has blown the hair from X's head and the dirt from his body.

The trail across a yawning chasm over which his supernatural strength enabled him to leap. If a Cannibal dies when in concealment, the *kukusiut* bury the corpse secretly and tell the uninitiated that his power failed him on the other side of the abyss so that he was unable to return.

Ālquntām under his various names.

How his patron helped him to escape the *Ālskam*, "They of the Huge Jaws," evil beings who tried to kill X by sucking him into their gaping mouths.

The tide-flats which are found at the edge of the flat land above.

The kindly being *Sinunukālāhm*, who gave him the necessary power to recross the chasm. The uninitiated believe that unless a Cannibal meets this being he will be unable to return.

No one song for any Cannibal contains references to all these beings and events, but it is on these that the singers draw for their themes, always altering and adding to produce a fine effect.

On this occasion X does not dance,[16] and the uninitiated are soon expelled. As the *kukusiut* are eating, one marshal after another praises X for what he has done, and gives the most solemn warnings to all as to the necessity of completing

[16] There is difference of opinion on this point.

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*575
532
776

PLATE 1

Photograph by H. I. Smith,
National Museum of Canada

Mask representing *Kwa'kiwulpaix*

[p. 84 (A)]

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[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 to the woods he is always accompanied by a number of *kukuxiut*
*796 to drive the uninitiated from his path. If it were necessary
556 to perform the full rite just described, it would, in effect, limit this dance to wealthy individuals. One reason why it is possible for a poor Bella Coola to become a Cannibal is that on his second, or subsequent, ceremonial, he can give an abbreviated rite, known as *ilistem*. The essence of this is
*575 that a kindly supernatural being has visited X on earth, saving
*796 him from the perils of going aloft. In this case the ritual
787 closely follows that of a normal *kuxiut* dance and is concluded in four days.

After the *nakaxam* rites of some other *kuxiut* have been concluded, the call comes to X, who responds by growling and biting a few people. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house. Thanks to the friendly intervention of the supernatural being, usually *Alpuxiów*, X's mental powers are unimpaired so that he does not become infuriated and bites only a few individuals. As with ordinary *kuxiut* rites, the singers
[533] beat out a song composed for the occasion, describing the beneficent being who came down to X, and the *kukuxiut* practise and learn it. No other songs are rehearsed on this night, owing to the extreme solemnity of the occasion; it is a Cannibal rite and nothing can take place at the same time.

The next day is *nacistélap*; a second song is composed and a number of the *kukuxiut* are sent to collect wood for
[532] masks. Six of these must be constructed representing the fol-
[776] lowing supernatural beings:

Alpuxiów, who has benignly interfered to save X from risking the dangers of a trip aloft.

Alpuxiów, a supernatural man-eater from whom the call has come impelling X to eat flesh.

Three *Alkpaiów*, "Holders," who restrain *Alpuxiów*. In the land above their function corresponds to that of the *kukuxiut* who guard a Cannibal.

Ax'Ilmuhuix.

In the evening, after the work has been allotted, X's two

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[The Cannibal Dance]

each house in succession, borrowing filled chamber vessels. 575*
Five or six men are waiting for X with these, and as he enters 796*
his house, they pour urine over him. Thus restored to partial sanity, he cries out in a different tone of voice, and at once visits every house. The *kakaciut* are still with him, but need not guard him as closely since he is now less liable to frenzy. The uninitiated are greatly relieved at this removal of peril from among them. Later in the day *kakaciut* go to the different houses, asking for choice salmon-grease with which the Cannibal will later be fed. The giving of the first food to X, the latter sending aloft of his call, and the restrictions which he observes for the rest of the winter do not differ from those described for other Cannibals.

Snung's patron is a *snung* of the Mountain which became [796]
petrified in the beginning of time. At his repository there is a [798]
spring beneath a large boulder. Uninitiated persons passing the spot are often terrified by hearing the growling of a Cannibal from beneath the stone. It is in this place that persons [157]
suffering from virulent skin disease are washed by X, as described in a previous chapter.

Few particulars could be learnt of the rite as carried out by *Sqilaukmy*, though it is said to resemble the one just described
in every respect. The prerogative was obtained in a vision of [424]
one of the Cannibal's early ancestors, who located the repos- [787]
itory of the name beneath a large, flat stone, directly in the [798]
old trail up the valley. When anyone treads on it, reverberation is heard. The winter was a spectator when the present 575*
Sqilaukmy gave his dance in January, 1914, but the rite was 796*
performed in such a perfunctory manner that little could be 798
learnt from it. The Cannibal wore two bands of dyed cedar-bark on his left forearm, under one of which was a container of red paint. Uttering his cry of *ewe*, *ewe*, *ewe*, and looking around with a wild air, he frequently buried his face in his arm, between the bands. The red paint made a realistic representation of blood, especially as it dropped with red smudges on the floor. On this occasion, the dancer appeared

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Several Bella Coola were questioned concerning the Cannibal spirit which Boas has described for the Kwakiutl. Some had never heard of such a creature, others had vague knowledge concerning it, and two men were able to give it a name. The one called it *Bàxbàqwanàlcìwa*, the other *Bàxbàqwaìwa*. All informants agreed that this creature was not a part of the Cannibal rites of Bella Coola and one man suggested that the cannibalistic incubus rendered it unnecessary. The Bella Coola believe that this Cannibal spirit is used in Bella Bella. During 1923 there came to Bella Coola an old Kimsquit Indian who had left his home many years ago and had since been living at Smith Inlet(?). With him came his son, a grown man, who had inherited from his mother a Kwakiutl Cannibal prerogative which he displayed in the winter of 1923-4. After the dancer had, theoretically, returned from the regions above, a large masked figure representing *Bàxbàqwaìwa* entered through the front-door. As the singers beat time, it hopped to and fro, up and down, with snapping beak. The Bella Coola were intensely interested, and one had only to listen to their remarks when wondering what it might be, to be convinced that the Cannibal spirit is a strange concept to them. The most frequent hypothesis was that it was a *Aaskàs*, since the masked figure did resemble this supernatural bird. The Bella Coola greatly admired the dance, and were by no means ashamed to confess their inferiority as dancers to the Kwakiutl. After the disappearance of the masked figure, the singers sang the Cannibal's song and he danced in normal fashion, which was commented upon as another difference in custom.

575* 796* 776● [171] [171] [428] [424] [186] [171]

THE SCRATCH DANCE

Only less awe-inspiring than the Cannibal dance is the Scratch dance. Those *kukuiat* who have this prerogative are able to scratch the bodies of their fellows, so that long, bloody weals result. The privileges and restrictions of Scratchers are closely akin to those of Cannibals, as the following points show:

575* 424 [996]*

[The Scratch Dance]

*575 They do not blacken their faces on receipt of a call as do
424 most *kukusiut*.

[302] The theme of their songs is of the land above, instead solely
[787] of their patrons.

[533] On visiting a house where a *qatlim* or *nuluxam* is taking place they sit with the Cannibals in one of the back corners; this group is given food before any of the other guests.

They do not exercise their prerogative on fellow-Scratchers, Cannibals, or Breakers.

[787] They are liable to frenzy both when the call is upon them and after its departure. In such cases they run forth, apparently guarded and restrained by other *kukusiut*, and rush into every house to frighten the uninitiated.

They must recompense those whom they have scratched.

[578] They act as peace-makers among the *kukusiut*, since the necessity of accompanying a Scratcher who pretends to be frenzied overrules all petty causes of strife.

[554] Though any definite concept of graded rank in the *kusiut* society is quite foreign to the Bella Coola, it is generally felt that Scratchers and Breakers are only slightly less important than Cannibals. The patron of every Scratcher is *Sus'elsulx*
[776] *Alquntām*, one of the sons of *Alquntām*; this supernatural being scratches the supernatural ones in the land above, and his father alone can restrain him. The prerogative is fairly common, and it is probable that in early days there was at least one Scratcher in every village.

*575 The following account of the ritual was obtained from one
*796 of the Bella Coola marshals and describes the manner in which
[424] the dance should have been performed by the Scratcher, *Alusknaix*, his daughter's daughter's son, who had recently obtained the prerogative formerly possessed by his deceased mother's father. It will be convenient to refer to *Alusknaix* as X and use the present tense in recording the proper ritual, though it was largely omitted on the last occasion the dance was given.

X arranges a suitable day with the marshals for receiving

1 [i.e. - the Scratchers - ANALYST]

[The Breaker Dance]

above; of sitting in one of the back corners and receiving the first food at ritual meals; of paying those on whom they exercise their prerogative, and of liability to frenzy on arrival of strangers. This last prerogative, if it may be so termed, lasts for the ceremonial season, and in the case of a novice, for the following summer as well. Moreover, Breakers do not destroy the goods of fellow-Breakers, Sorcerers, or Cannibals.

In view of the similarity of this rite to those already described, no effort was made to collect full details. Different Breakers have minor variations in ritual, similar to those already illustrated. The following is an account of the manner in which the Breaker, *Ispû of Swalû*, performed the rite a number of years ago. As on previous occasions, it will be convenient to use the present tense, and to refer to the dancer as X. *Ispû* gave the following account of the origin of his prerogative.

Long, long ago, soon after the first people had come to this earth, a marriage was about to take place in the village of *Swalû'ai*. At that distant period the people were so powerful that they could dismember visitors *Sacrificial fashion*, and the bridegroom determined to do so in honour of the event. He chose to imitate the actions of *Smoïlqumûkûlû Alqaoïsm*, one of *Alqaoïsm's* sons, whom he remembered having seen throwing stones in his father's house before he, the bridegroom, was sent down to this world.* When goods were piled up ready for distribution as marriage presents, the man began to hurl stones around; one of them disembarked from a bow, struck his bride and killed her. This unfortunate accident solved the question of his name, as by universal consent it was decided that he should be called, *Ispû*, "He of the Fowling Arm."

Since that time a law has been enforced that no Breaker may throw a rock except ceremonially during his dance, and the marshals punish one who disobeys this injunction. If a Breaker is in the forest with a number of *Sakaiai*, it does not matter if he fails to uphold this tradition; the essential is that the uninitiated do not see him cast a stone, even at a pulping dog, the usual reason for doing so in Bella Coola.

When X wishes to dance he must first obtain the consent of the marshals in the usual manner. He also arranges with *Sakaiai* to have beam and other wooden objects placed within

*This being is also called *Nuskumamûkûlû*, "The Cherished One."

[The Breaker Dance]

the house to serve as targets, and stones as ammunition. As 575*
soon as the call comes, X cries out, begins to throw stones at 746*
these objects, and the uninitiated are at once expelled. X is
usually tied, closely guarded, so every house where he cuts [181]
more rocks, and may break a number of utensils. Since it is
well known that, under normal circumstances, he must never
throw a stone, the uninitiated are convinced that he must
indeed be animated by a strange power. This being *bandmen*,
the *bakwlar* gather in X's house during the evening to learn 575*
and practise one, or sometimes two, songs for him. If X is a 746*
wawa, the theme is of his ancestor and the accident which 533
originated the dance; on later occasions it is of his person and
the land above. All Breakers do not have *Sisiutlenuxlala*
Alpawiku as patron; some have *Sisakhadi*, a supernatural
being who causes wealth to rail up and come to him. The
chorus is the same as for Screechers, the meaningless words,
'ai, 'ai. It is said that this same refrain is used by the Breakers
of all central tribes, so that their songs can be distinguished
from those of Screechers only by the words. With the food, 575*
presents are given to recompense those on whom X has dis- 746*
played his prerogative, that is, those whose utensils have been
broken. Sometimes canoes and other valuable objects are [431]
destroyed by Breakers, depending entirely on their desire to [434]
exhibit their right.

Next morning, *naturally*, X again becomes frenzied and
rushes from house to house, destroying property. Of course
this is later paid for, but the uninitiated have no idea that
arrangements had been made for the houses and other objects
to be placed in suitable spots. During the day a number of 575*
bakwlar are sent to collect wood for nine masks. When mem- 746*
bers of the society gather in the evening the songs are prac- 532
tised, and the making of the masks allowed. One of these is 434
of *Sisiutlenuxlala Alpawiku*, four are of Breakers in the land 776
above,* four of supernatural beings who sing there for the
supernatural Breakers, and one of the inevitable *Ax'ilkwa*. [1440]

*The relation of these Breakers to the person is not clear.

Sukwtaka myths dealing with the origin of the *Sukwtaka* dances. They believe that they are performed by the supernatural beings in the land above, and that long, long ago *Alyoniche* and his associates held a meeting at which it was decided to send them down to mortals. They chose as recipient a certain *Ochwadiwa* of *Kinagwin*, and the prerogative of giving *Sukwtaka* dances has since been possessed by the owner of that name.* The following account are of the dances performed by a certain *Ochwadiwa* whom it will be convenient to call X. He has six repertories, one for each section of his dance.

As with all other *Sukwtaka* prerogatives, the impulse to dance can come only on receipt of a call from a supernatural person, the being *Katchhimodjin* in the case of all *Sukwtaka* dances. The uninitiated are told that a call "falls" on the recipient, and moreover that for *Sukwtaka* dances it can take place only when the supernatural beings are coming out of the house above on the entry of the sun at the winter solstice. Thus *Sukwtaka* dances should take place after the winter solstice, although this requirement has not been enforced in recent years.

The Dance-Giving Dance

In the early summer X decides to exercise his prerogative the following winter. He informs one of the marshals of his wish, and the latter summons his associates to the secret meeting-place where the matter is debated at length. Danger of exposure of details to the uninitiated is so great that the marshals refuse permission for the performance unless the would-be dancer is a man of proved reliability. Once this consent has been obtained, X quietly proceeds with his preparations, laying in supplies of food and asking his *Sukwtaka* friends for their assistance. When the dances begin, X attends as do all other *Sukwtaka*, though his secret mental excitement increases as the time draws near for him to perform. The exact time of starting is discussed with the marshals, and a preliminary

*There are other *Sukwtaka* dances in Sahu Gwin.

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

very announcement made to the *Sekaiar* on the night of some
gathering in the following manner:

As the *Sekaiar* are eating, one of the marshals rises, saying:

"I hear a supernatural one close at hand; some powerful being is drawing near."

The other marshals agree that they too hear its approach and the *Sekaiar*, always eager for dances, impatiently await further information. After further suspense, one of the marshals announces that it is coming for X. No mention is made of which dance is to be performed, and the information is wrapped in that veil of secrecy so essential to the *Sekaiar* society that they practice it even among themselves until it becomes habitual. During the night four young *Sekaiar* are sent out to the mountains near the village carrying small whistles. The uninitiated, hearing their weird sound, realize that a supernatural being is in the vicinity. This whistling is repeated twice during the night.

Sometimes the actual call comes to X on the following afternoon, but more often after the subsequent in the evening. When the display, whatever it may be, has taken place, whistling is heard from the mountain slopes. The uninitiated are so once expelled, ignorant, of course, of the fact that the noise is made by *Sekaiar* dispatched for the purpose. As they hurry out they are told that the noise is the drawing cry of a supernatural being, equivalent to the drawing dance by *Sekaiar* women whenever they are present at a manifestation of the supernatural. X, who appears to be listening, calls out:

"Please say what you want, I will do it."

Then he utters a low hum-like whistle and sits down, while the women dance. When several minutes have elapsed, X moves, unseen, to another part of the house and repeats his answer to the whistling which is still continuing. This is done a second and third time, but on the fourth, the call is supposed to have entered X, who covers as if something had struck him, while the women dance more loudly than before. Then sticks are beaten vaguely four times and a herald goes to every house

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After a short interval, she is answered by the singer in the 575*
lower, western rear corner of the house as follows: 796*

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] 533
Can there come to earth	the voice of *Sxiimde-a*	to revive 539
[illegible]		

the one who to so injured himself.

The general meaning of this song is obvious, although there are several obscure expressions which serve to increase the wonder and fear of the uninitiated. Silence follows the singing, 575*
then whistling is heard and a herald announces that one of the 796*
puppet-patrons inserted into X has left him and gone to the 797
region above. Similar whistling announces the departure of others at intervals. When several have done so, it is time for the first to return. A thud, made by a hidden accomplice, is heard on the roof and whistling breaks out afresh. Sometimes the puppet-patron returns to X, but more often to its invalid, and his transference previously enacted is repeated over the body of the dancer who continues to lie as if lifeless. Now and then the uninitiated are invited forward to look at him and they notice that the gaping wound is slowly closing, as may occur to arrange in the dim light of the house. At intervals the puppet-patrons go and return from the land above, and its proceedings are sometimes delivered by the owners talking herald, who in turn informs the audience, what the puppet-patron saw on its journey aloft. Usually each goes and returns for times in the course of the night. Each of the [533]
women selected to sing the mourning songs performs once, standing in corner of the house and waving a wand wound with strips of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. So the 575*
long night goes. Towards dawn continuous whistling is 796*
heard. This, made by several men with a whistle apiece, each begins to blow as soon as the breath of his partner is [996]
nearly exhausted. It is known to be the voice of *Sxiimde-a*. In Kitamaat, but not in Bella Coola, this is the signal for the [184]
entry of the last road. Carpenters have made a wooden [532]
figure of the ophibian and by means of concealed strings it is

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to discuss the event and lay plans for the future, but as it is now daylight they too soon retire to sleep. 575* 796*

The *kwiatem* ceremony resembles a double *kwiat* rite since it comprises two sets of four days and nights. The one on which X's stomach was cut is considered to be *kwiatem*. Accordingly, the heralds call the *kukwiat* to X's house early on the afternoon following and the regular ritual of *nuxiatilap* takes place. Some of the younger men are at once sent to the forest for wood to be made into more masks but, with the love of drama typical of the *kukwiat*, it is assumed that X himself is too feeble to accompany them. Accordingly his power is transferred to a substitute by means of the frenzied beating of sticks and repeated cries of *kuip*. On the return of the wood collectors, who carry their burdens as usual on tump-lines and set them down carefully, this power is restored to X in the same manner. The work of making the masks is now allowed. For *kwiatem*, and several other *kwiat* rites hereafter to be described, the dancer is entitled to show as many of the beings in the Bella Coola pantheon as he desires. Consequently if X is wealthy and wishes to have a spectacular *nukwam*, he orders many masks. Then the *kukwiat* practise a number of songs composed by the singers. One, or sometimes two, prepared for X is coached as if he himself were telling what he had seen in the upper regions. They describe *Alquntám*, his messenger *Opalkic Alquntám*, and, especially *Kulelkátmidjat*, the supernatural being whose stomach is periodically cut in the land above. It is he who has entered X and impelled him to suffer the same mutilation from the effects of which *Snúwala* has restored him. X himself usually remains concealed behind the matting in the rear part of the house, but sometimes, if he wishes to practise what he will perform the next night, he comes forward for a rehearsal. He still pretends to be very ill, and instead of dancing in the usual violent manner, totters around the fire, supported by several assistants, while he feebly shakes his hands. The women drone, and the uninitiated in the other houses realize that more exciting events are impending. [482] [424] [556] [792] [787]

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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

supposed to have taught them, he appears, supported by two *kukwiut*, and attempts to dance, but is too feeble to do more than be assisted around the fire, feebly shaking his hands. He retires, but comes forth once more as the singers beat out the song of regular *kwiut* type composed for him and which his fellows have practised. If two have been composed, he appears a third time. After X has finally withdrawn, the ritual proceeds in the usual manner, by the dancing of every *kwiut* who has had a call in time to his two songs. It is late before all have danced; then the uninitiated are given a little food and sent away. The *kukwiut* eat more leisurely, and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. On account of the solemnity of the occasion, their words of wisdom are even more grandiloquent than usual. The following may be regarded as a typical address: 575* 796* [574] 575* 796* 537

"You have done well, ye *kukwiut*, in thus carrying out the ceremony so admirably. I thank you. You have done well X, you have done as our fathers did. None of you must ever forget the precepts and example of our fathers who have handed down this rite from dim antiquity. Perhaps when we marshals are dead some of you will become careless and want to alter the ceremonial. Do not dream of anything so foolish. The proper method is that which you have just seen. Try no other."

When the marshals have finished, X dances once again, and the weary *kukwiut* at length disperse.

The next day, or rather later in the same day, for it is long after midnight before the ceremony is completed, is unknown. Many of the *kukwiut* assemble in X's house about four o'clock in the afternoon to try on the masks and attend to the innumerable details. A representation of *Ana'kimalaxa* is always prepared, as well as those of *Alpaxoim*, *Sacwalaxa*, and *Swanalik*. The last-named is the "Wise One," "He of Whom Questions are Asked," the supernatural being who decides points of ritual in the dances in the land above. No paint is used on his mask, but a coloured effect is obtained by means 575* 796* 532 [576]

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of the darker hue of the inner part of the wood. His nose and forehead are wrinkled as if in deep thought. Masks of many other supernatural beings and animals have been made, including two which are reserved for *hamatsa* dances alone. The first of these is X's patron, *Kaldkâwidjat*, who is capable of having his stomach cut. A face mask is made for him of the usual human type, and in addition a wooden stomach with a slit which can be moved by strings to display entrails painted on a frame beneath. The second distinctive mask is that of *Opalitz Alpanzim*, the herald of *Alpanzim*. Above his mask is fastened a bird, made of wood, the wings of which can be made to flap by pulling on a cord which runs down under the wearer's blanket. He carries a staff, decorated with alternate spiral bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with another wooden bird likewise provided with flapping wings. By the time the masks have been adjusted it is quite dark.

The uninitiated, listening from their houses, hear first the frenzic, but measured, beating of sticks that always accompanies a curing ceremony. Then *Opalitz* leaves X's house, followed by all the *hamatsa* who have danced the same year and accordingly wear dyed cedar-bark collars, and many others as well. The party goes to the bottom house of the village where *Opalitz* pounds on the floor with his staff and cries out:

Xwa ....

The *hamatsa* chosen to wear this mask is one who has powerful lungs. The heralds, always in attendance, echo his words and explain to the wondering uninitiated who their supernatural visitor is, and that this is the way he summons the supernatural beings to the dances in the land above. *Opalitz* causes the wings of his birds to flap, the party moves to the next house, and thence in succession to every one in the village before returning to X's. After a short delay the uninitiated hear another crash of the frenzied beating of sticks, and again *Opalitz* parades to every house in the village. On this, his second round, his announcement is:

"I act as herald; prepare to come."

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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

A third frenzied bearing is followed by a third round of the village with the announcement: 595* 796*

"The fire is ready."

For the fourth time the *tokaxiw* in X's house leap time furiously, and again Qaalitc collies forth.

"Everything is almost ready," he says in each house.

By this time any lagging *tokaxiw* have taken their places in X's house, and when everything is in order one of the heralds calls out to the uninitiated that they may come. In they rush, and sit quietly in the corners near the front-door. Qaalitc, his work accomplished, stands at one side of the space behind the fire, while the invisible *Ax'Ilwulaic* moves to and fro, keeping up a constant flow of conversation. Sometimes *Kulakkwaqlac* stands behind the fire; on other occasions he has been known to walk through the house, accompanied by two assistants blowing eagle down over him. He moves his face as if in pain, and then lies down behind the fire, where the uninitiated can see his stomach contracting and expanding as if it had been ripped to expose the entrails. At the distance from which they view the spectacle it is easy to carry out the deception. Qaalitc sits down behind the fire and another supernatural being comes from one of the enclosures. As far as could be learned, the order of their appearance on the occasion when X performed was as follows, though there is no ceremonial significance attached thereto: 595* 796* 796*

Qaalitc.

Alqawim. He always wears a huge mask and the actor must have a powerful voice for at intervals he bellows out:

"Marvels! See me, I am *Alqawim*," while the heralds and *Ax'Ilwulaic* echo and confirm his remarks. He walks from one of the enclosures to the central position behind the fire, where he remains standing.

Sacaqlili appears and stands near *Alqawim*, his nose and forehead wrinkled in deep thought.

Sacaqlilaic join the group. These three supernatural ones remain standing for some little time, then they pass into

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575 the enclosure in the opposite corner to that from which they had emerged.

786 *Awunnuxtum.* Three or four masked figures appear together to portray these beings. Their function is to remind *Alpanism* of those whom he should invite to his ceremonials above.

Snung. As this dreaded monster appears, the uninitiated cower convulsively and the *kukuist* women drone. Several masked figures accompany the *Snung* around the fire, blowing eagle down over the creature, ed *Ano'likwulsaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is to protect them from the monster. The heralds as usual echo his remarks. After one circuit of the fire, the *Snung* disappears into one of the enclosures behind the fire.

Hawkan. This supernatural mythological denizen of the mountains, is in the form of an enormous bird with long beak and bony wings. The mask worn with the disguise is usually about three feet in length, in the shape of a bird's head with long beak. A stick passes from its butt down the wearer's back and is held in place by his lip, thus balancing the heavy, projecting bill (see Plate 6) ¶ It is hinged so that the performer can make the mandibles snap together by pulling a cord concealed under his blanket. A good actor, and such is always chosen to represent this creature, bends forward and downwards so that the swaying beak almost brushes the floor; then he rises and pauses like a bird when listening and half startled. Now he runs a few steps, in a mincing manner, thus slowly circling the fire, and ultimately passes from sight into the enclosure other than that from which he has emerged. Several *kukuist* accompany the actor, blowing eagle down over him, the women drone on. *Ano'likwulsaix* keeps up a string of comments. After a short pause a second *hawkan* appears and circles the fire with its attendant *kukuist*. The same procedure is repeated for a third and fourth.

Alwuntlum. This is the supernatural herald for Thunder, the leading *hawkan* among supernatural beings. He wears

¶ [see category 116, p 164 (B) - ANALYST]

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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

a mask representing a man and carries a stick with which he 575*
beats on the floor as he cries out: 796*

"Come, ye supernatural ones. The most famous *kuxiut* of 776
all [Thunder] is about to dance." 532

Thunder. The mask representing this creature is large and of fearsome appearance with hooked beak and overhanging forehead; it is always carried by a man of powerful physique (see Plate 9).[1] A box has been placed beside the enclosure so 575*
that, when Thunder first appears, standing upon it, his ap- 796*
parent size is increased. He bends to and fro, and up and 776
down, in an amazing fashion, blowing through his clenched
teeth, while *Ana'kiwulaix* informs the uninitiated who he is, 535
and expatiates on his powers. After twisting and turning for several minutes, Thunder leaps to the floor of the house, and as he does so there sounds a peal of thunder. The uninitiated do not know that this is caused by a number of *kukuxiut* rolling stones to and fro in large wooden boxes within the enclosures at the back. Then he starts to dance sunwise around the fire, bending down and up, shaking himself and stamping violently, his amazing gyrations being constantly accompanied by the reverberation of rolling stones. Escorted by several *kukuxiut* he circles the fire, and after a final stamping and twisting, disappears into the enclosure. In a few minutes he appears again, and repeats his dance. Since no one man is strong enough to carry out this athletic performance twice in succession, the mask has been transferred to another *kuxiut* within the enclosure, but of course the uninitiated are unaware of this. Thunder always comes out four times in all, on each occasion dancing once around the fire. Sometimes four different men perform; sometimes the one who danced first has recovered sufficiently to be able to repeat on the fourth round. The usual explanations by *Ana'kiwulaix* add zest to the rite. On this occasion the customary dance of Thunder with a fire rattle was omitted.

Spagwudez. Twelve of these beings appear together, dis- 575*
guised behind masks representing young girls. They are the 796*
[1] [see category 116, p 164 (c) - AMETYST] 776
[532]

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*575 pre-adolescent children of various supernatural beings in the
*796 land above who play together outside *Nuxmit-a* and refuse to
•776 allow any man to approach them. As they circle the fire they sing a song of which the theme is their refusal to have anything to do with a man.

[532] *The Hermaphrodite.* This being wears a mask representing a cast of countenance midway between a "man and a woman," and speaks in a nasal tone difficult to describe. He circles the fire immediately behind the twelve *Sqwaxaxa.*

As the young girls are about to disappear into their enclosure, the figure of *Sxaiaxwaa* bursts forth from the other and at once the *Sqwaxaxa* hurry from sight, shepherded by the Hermaphrodite. *Sxaiaxwaa* wears a mask representing an
[532] ugly and licentious man and carries beneath his bear-skin robe a partly concealed stick. He rushes around the fire as if in pursuit of his quarry, then likewise disappears.

*575 As before stated, the number of supernatural beings shown
*796 depends on the wishes of X. On the occasion now being described, the informants agreed that more had been used, but which they were had been forgotten. Sometimes the number is so great that all cannot appear on one night, so the uninitiated are expelled when the marshals think fit and the rite continued on the following evening, making two *sakaam.* In either case, after the withdrawal of non-members, the *Sakaiat* bare the masks in the manner already described.

For the rest of the ceremonial season X behaves as if he were recovering from a severe illness. He attends the *potlas* of every *Sacial* but, like Cannibals, Scratchers, and Breakers, does not blacken his face, sits with them in the rear corners where they are served with food before the other dancers. X is called upon to perform rather late on *potlas* nights and does so in a feeble manner. Towards the end of the ceremonial season, however, he has regained sufficient strength to move around freely, though he still maintains the mien of one who has suffered a terrifying experience. During the following summer he must likewise remain in comparative concealment,

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PLATE 6

Photograph by the author

Masked figure representing a dancer

[p. 164 (B)]

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PLATE 9

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Photograph by G. I. Smith, Forestry Branch of Canada

Thunder dance. Notice the cedar-bark collar with pendant tassels and the framework of twigs decorated with eagle down.

[p. 164 (c)]

PLATE 11

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776●
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Photograph by McIlwraith

Thunder carving die Bellacoola

[p. 164 (E)]

[The Fungus Dance]

*575 from a distance. When one of the participants has speared
*796 the object, it is drawn to shore and carried into the house.
[424] The uninitiated are then called in and enter, often covering their heads with blankets to prevent their spirits being drawn from them. None of the Bella Coola appears to know what governed, in the old days, the choice between these two performances.

*575 The Fungus dance differs considerably from typical *Iwaiar*
*796 rituals already described. In part this is certainly due to
178 decay of custom. When the writer witnessed the dance in the winter of 1923-4 it was carried out very crudely by *Snundd'ku*, who, unwilling to admit this, was secretive about the proper ritual. Consequently, the performance of the dance was more of a hindrance than a help to the investigator. But even when full weight is given to this circumstance, it is clear that the Fungus dance is peculiar, particularly in the omission of masked figures on *nukwum*.

*575 The ritual on that occasion was further complicated by the
*796 fact that *Snundd'ku* has also the prerogative of dancing at
821 an eclipse of either the sun or the moon, and insisted on this fact being brought out in connection with her songs. Four of
[424] these were composed instead of the usual two, and the super-
[583] natural beings described in them were:

Alpanidm: under the name of *Snundd'ku*.

[774] The Moon.

Smaiar-a: This was introduced on account of being the
[582] place from which the Salmon-Bringer leaps to the sun. A mask representing this place of petrified power is always painted with salmon designs and the blanket of the wearer is decorated in the same way.

The *Snumq* muscles that act as posts at the ends of the sun's course.

Sillim: A supernatural being dwelling under the river who is able to use a fungus in a dance held there. Detailed information about this creature could not be obtained.

[583] At any eclipse, no matter what the season of the year or

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time of day, X must sing. The heralds call everyone to his house where the singers at once compose a new song, describing sun or moon as the case may be. They then sing it while X dances. Other *kukuxiut* have the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of the sun, and still others at an eclipse of the moon, but X claims to be the only one entitled to dance at both.

575 * 796 * 821 [333] [424]

THE MYSTERY DANCE

Mystery is the key-note of all *kuxiut* dances, but in the one termed *Ałwatcłmł* that element is brought home so forcibly to the uninitiated that it may aptly be called the Dance of Mystery. The Bella Coola explain that the word *Ałwatcłmł* means *ałqum*, "What Is Hidden." The essence of the rite, as explained to non-members, is that the supernatural power which has come to the dancer is embodied in three supernatural beings or in manifestations of them. Unless someone guesses its locations, the performer will die. The Mystery dance is one of the most lengthy Bella Coola rituals and necessitates such a lavish expenditure of food that only a rich man can undertake it.

575 * 796 * [556]

Accounts were obtained of the ritual as carried out by *Sqoałin i* of *Tsimsił* and *Saiqnłc* of Kimsquit, both of whom have the necessary prerogative. The details differ so slightly in the two localities that only one description need be given, and the dancer can be spoken of as X. The patron of most Mystery dancers is *Sinałłqomałłc Ałqumłm*, but that of *Saiqnłc* is *Kukułcum*, a supernatural being remarkable for his wild and erratic behaviour.

[424] [179]

When X has stored up as much food as he thinks necessary, he calls the marshals together to tell them of his desire to dance. In case of consent, they admonish him not to hurry matters but to perform the rite slowly and properly. Preliminary arrangements include the choosing of four *kukuxiut* gifted with good memories to store up in their minds the gestures made by the uninitiated. If many *kukuxiut* are anxious to dance, X usually asks permission on the night of a

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[The Mystery Dance]

what are to be the correct answers? The marshals decide on these, but their judgment really depends on the four remembrancers who are able to tell whether any of the replies they suggest have already been given. When *Sniqnde* performed, the answers chosen were: 575* 796*

Simalus, "The Coming of Foul Weather." This word is said to be in the language of the supernatural man. The implication is that this phenomenon of nature is a manifestation of the will of the supreme deity. [221] [796]

Nuxpaxte Sneiaikile, "The Eagle Down *Sneiaikile*." This has the significance of "The Peace Giving *Sneiaikile*" since eagle down is a symbol of peace. [225]

Kilmaximum, "The Yawning Chasm." This is the mysterious crevasse which opens before a foolish man when he tries to gain success. In cases where a white man would attribute misfortune to lack of ability or to sheer bad luck, the Bella Coola say that this supernatural chasm has opened before him. It is especially applied to failure in the giving of potlatches. [177]

Scarcely less important than the choice of answers is the second consideration, who is to give them. The uninitiated have been taught that X cannot live unless his riddles are answered, and also that whoever succeeds in solving them can do so only through supernatural assistance. As in the case of a person who finds a repository, so must the one who solves the problem be made a *Sneiai*. This is an opportunity for an influential man with a son of suitable age and character to have him initiated into the society, and an eager parent can always be found. He is told the proper answers, and instructed to whisper them to his son the following evening. It is impressed upon the father that this must be done only at the last minute, and that every precaution must be taken to prevent the young man from telling his friends that he has been prompted.

Other matters are arranged at the same time. A shaman must be in readiness to assist in binding the future member of the society to secrecy, and every detail is worked out with care. [756]

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who has had a call during the season. Nothing further need be said concerning the ritual of *gotlow* which follows the pattern already described. 575 * 796 *

During the following day a screen of yellow cedar mats is raised in one of the corners behind the fire; it must be large enough to conceal those who are to wear the numerous masks and give them space to fit them on in comfort. The *kokaciut* begin to gather late in the afternoon and the usual long discussion takes place as the carpenters decide who shall wear which mask, while the marshals move to and fro. There is no stage-manager to settle disputes, but ultimately order evolves from chaos, and when dusk has fallen the heralds are dispatched to invite any *kokaciut* who have not appeared. When all is in readiness, a shout is raised for the eager uninitiated, who come crowding in to sit near the door. *Ana'kkwalaic* moves to and fro, in and out of the enclosure, talking all the time, and telling the uninitiated that presently they will see very powerful supernatural beings. The following account is of the masked figures used when *Spanlin i* last performed the dance; it must again be emphasized that their actual choice depends on the wishes of the dancer and his family, and that the order in which they appear is immaterial. His performance was probably the typical *nakaum* of a Mystery dancer. 575 * 796 * 532 776

The first to appear are *Swackwai* and the three hiding-places of X's power. Since they are always uncommon, it follows that no fixed designs are possible, and the carpenters rely upon their own inventive abilities to paint and carve human-like beings. *Ana'kkwalaic* gives eloquent explanations as the *Jawi* walk around the fire and disappear from sight. It would have been equally proper if they had appeared singly.

Next comes *Ainalkwalaly Alpanlin*, wearing a small mask, barely covering his face; above it, in his hair, is dyed cedar-bark puffed out to resemble a wig. He carries a stick with a band of the same material around the middle, and a tuft at either end concealing a nail with sharp, projecting point. Around the fire he dances frantically, leaping into the

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air, throwing his arms around as if demented, and at times hurling his rod to the floor where the nail prevents it from falling, much to the amazement of the uninitiated. He stoops to pick it up, reverses it, again throws it to the ground, and again lifts it up, all the time gyrating on himself. Finally, with a rush and a leap, he disappears behind the screen whence he came. One of the senior *ɬuɬuziut*, selected for the purpose on account of his knowledge and intelligence, is stationed near the enclosure, and as soon as the supernatural being disappears he explains to non-members who was the visitor. The ever-talkative *ɬwa'ɬkuulsis* confirms and supplements his remarks.

The next to appear is a *mätqas*, a wooden figure about two and a half feet in length with proportions equal to those of a toad. It emerges from the matting at one side of the house, and by means of concealed ropes is made to hop across the floor and return. Behind it there appears a masked male figure carrying a huge wooden hammer; the *ɬuɬuziut* shriek, "Kill! Kill!" and the man strikes at the toad-like creature. It has been made in two sections which can be pulled apart by a skilful manipulation of the ropes; this is done as the hammer descends so that it strikes a bladder filled with red dye in the interior. The colouring spatters in all directions like blood, but after a short interval the animal is pulled together and hops off to the enclosure. The *ɬuziut* announcer tells the uninitiated:

"That is a toad from the land above, a *mätqas*, which came to visit X. It will soon return to its own home."

After a short pause to let the effect of the last apparition sink in upon non-members, the *ɬuɬuziut* raise the cry:

"Look up there."

A porcupine emerges from a small hole in the matting and crawls down a plank, then turns and goes back, pulled by ropes invisible in the semi-gloom. The figure consists of a real skin carefully stripped off and stretched over a wooden framework. The announcer declares:

"It is a porcupine from above, come to visit X."

[522] Two clowns now appear together. Each wears a mask,

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representing a man whose mouth is open and whose face is wrinkled in a grin spreading from ear to ear. They go around the fire laughing and playing, rolling on the floor and indulging in all kinds of antics, with constant fits of laughter, so deep that it seems to come from their stomachs. Only one or two men in the community can make the hoarse sound required, and they are always asked to appear as comedians. They are entitled to make witticisms, often of an obscene nature, at the expense of any of the spectators, and the *kukusiut* always join in laughter at the victim. Sometimes the singers beat out a short tune and the performers dance clumsily, to the amusement of all. When they have withdrawn, the announcer explains that these two spend their time in the land above playing and jesting. If the preliminaries are long delayed, the clowns may be sent out to keep the audience amused while waiting for the more important beings.

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The Hermaphrodite next emerges. As previously described, he dances around the fire, singing in a peculiar nasal twang, intermediate between the voice of a man and a woman. Few men can do this satisfactorily. When the Hermaphrodite has disappeared, the announcer explains that he always remains outside the house in the land above where he plays with a number of women who stay there, and over whom he is lord. His face is that of a woman, his voice that of a woman, but he has masculine characteristics as well.

Then comes *Sxaiaxwax*, clad in a blanket of evergreen boughs and wearing as ugly a mask as the maker can devise. The pattern varies according to the skill and originality of the carpenter; a common design is that of a snout-like mouth, somewhat resembling a pig with eyes askew. *Sxaiaxwax* cannot speak, but he dances around the fire spitting, blowing, and making inarticulate sounds in his throat. When he has gone, the announcer explains that *Sxaiaxwax* is a very evil being who spends all his time trying to seduce girls, especially those who play with the Hermaphrodite outside *Nuqulkwaista*. With them he never succeeds, but sometimes he comes to this earth

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575 796 with fatal results to his victims. The uninitiated listen and are impressed as *Ano'kiwudzaic* confirms and supplements what has just been told them.

582 796 After a short pause, the announcer cries, O——, which serves as an invocation and precedes the appearance of every supernatural being. *Snang* emerges, a man clad in a bear-skin blanket covered with evergreen cedar, and wearing a mask of which the eyes can be made to swing open or shut by the pulling of concealed cords. The monster does not speak; merely circles the fire, terrifying the beholders by his ferocious expression. When the figure has withdrawn, the announcer explains the significance.

The next to appear is a Deer, *Sno'ulodz Alpuxtaw*, "The Foolish Son of *Alpuxtaw*." The skin and antlers of a real deer are worn by two men with sticks thrust down the legs to make the representation appear life-like. Two more performers with human masks follow, trying to catch the creature which frisks around the fire and avoids them by escaping back into the enclosure. The announcer informs the audience that this is no ordinary animal, it is a deer from the land above, the son of *Alpuxtaw*. This mischievous creature is said frequently to [578] destroy the back-room in his father's house, hence it is a mild term of reproach to call a person *Sno'ulodz Alpuxtaw*.

After the usual delay comes the Varied Thrush, an actor with mask representing a bird. This is considered to be the [825] finest bird songster; the Bella Coola say that all animals, including even mountain goats and halibut, gather to listen to its melody. The performer sings, then withdraws, and the announcer and *Ano'kiwudzaic* explain who has just disappeared.

Next is Wolf, a man wearing a tail and the stuffed head of one of these animals. He circles the fire, howling like a wolf, the performer having been chosen for his ability to imitate that sound. The announcer tells the uninitiated that they have just seen a wolf from *Nuxpalwuxtin*, and have listened to it howling for *Alpuxtaw*; as usual, *Ano'kiwudzaic* confirms his

[The Mystery Dance]

ceremonies. Non-members recognize that Dog, Varied Thrush, and Wolf are really persons, but they have no idea who or what they are, while their whole training, combined with the atmosphere with which the whole ceremony is surrounded, makes it easy for them to believe that they are seeing supernaturally endowed animals. If an uninitiated person should voice his doubts, he would be reported at once to the marshals by a spy and forthwith made a *heyoei*. 575* 746* 592 776 [181]

The next to come forth is a figure wearing a mask representing a man, and carrying a long stick to the end of which is tied a bundle of burning rags. The actor must be able to run rapidly, and, as he dashes at full speed around the fire, the strips of cloth are drawn out into a flaming stream behind him, producing a spectacular effect in the semi-gloom. *Ant'lilendaie* explains that this is Shooting Star, a supernatural being who behaves peculiarly and who has, therefore, passed rapidly and without the drawing instruction that accompanies the passage of the other visitors. When *Spoolee i* gave this dance, the rags were dipped in coal-oil to make them burn brightly, and one informant thought that this particular supernatural one was, perhaps, not shown in the old days. It must be remembered that details of the ceremony are constantly changing according to the skill and inventive ability of the carpenters. [178]

To the accompaniment of O····· from the announcer and the drawing of the women, there next emerge four masked figures representing the four Carpenters. In whatever ceremonial they appear, their masks are the same because they, as master-artisans, are supposed to have fashioned them for themselves. They dance around the fire without singing and disappear behind the enclosure. *Ant'lilendaie* explains that these are *Mamaeldinu*, the Carpenters of *Nespelemim*.

Now Opelikie Alpanim comes forth. He is the herald of *Alpanim* who summons the supernatural ones to *Nespelemim* for the winter ceremonial. He wears a man's mask, surmounted by a wooden bird which can be made to flap its wings by means of a hidden cord, and he carries a staff on top

of which is a similar bird that disappears within the veil by the pulling of a cord. This being is power of other *Sakaciut*, but this does not deter X from displaying him as his commonest *Qaqlaxc Ayaxsiut* goes around the fire, moving his head in a jerky fashion over his shoulder as if motioning towards something, and *Sa'Ulmakaix* explains that he was issuing an invitation on behalf of *Ayaxsiut*.

Then the meeting is drawn aside to expose the figures of *Xmaxmakilala*, *Xmaxus*, *Gwgwakilala*, *Kwakilala*, *Kwakilala*, *Sgwaxus*, *Sgwaxus*, *Ya'ailas*, *Ahadit* [illegible], and *Tlcagalilas* [illegible], each wearing a mask with his distinctive painting on it. *Xmaxmakilala* stands in the centre as chief of the party; he calls out impressively, but without using words, then, as he changes his tune, all the figures turn around sunwise, dancing as they do so. After this has been repeated four times, the meeting is restored to place. During this, *Ya'ailas* and *Ahadit* [illegible] do not remain stationary like the others. The former, wearing good blankets and a mask painted with red to give the appearance of an angry man, moves constantly to and fro among the other beings as if trying to obtain protection from them, while *Ahadit* [illegible], the Kingfisher, hops around in imitation of the jerky motions of that bird, continually poking his head forward and pulling it back. When they have vanished, *Sa'Ulmakaix* tells the uninitiated who were the figures they have just seen, and how fortunate they are to be visited by such powerful beings.

After the usual pause, there appears Thunder's herald, *Kwakiutaxus*, wearing a mask in human form and carrying a staff in his hand. He leaps violently on the floor with his veil and cries out:

"Come all ye supernatural ones to the dance of Thunder."

At once Thunder either rushes forth or sticks his head over the meeting and bellows forth:

"Hu! Hu! Dzu's come."

After *Kwakiutaxus* has circled the fire and retired to the enclosure he can still be heard violently pounding on the floor and inviting the people to Thunder's dance.

Pagaz follows, wearing a huge mask, and goes around the fire, incessantly saying to all:

"No. No. Don't come."

When he has withdrawn from sight he continues to convey the Shield's protection. *Bel'Ilmalkain* explains that *Alwaddaman* is hailed to the mighty Thunder, while *Pagaz* is a jealous-minded individual who does his best to ruin all ceremonials. He adds that he will not succeed on this occasion, and that Thunder will presently appear.

As evidence of Thunder's near approach there now emerges *Ralwaqan*, a masked figure who dances closely around the fire, raising and lowering his outstretched arms. *Bel'Ilmalkain* hurriedly gives the name of the visitor, then the ceremonie cries out as loudly as possible: "Thunder the mighty, the leading factor of all the supernatural ones is coming; he will condescend to speak to the ceremonial."

The women drum and the *Salaria* beat violently with sticks on the floor, then the meeting is drawn back to disclose Thunder himself, crouching on a raised box. He wears a huge mask, with hooked nose and bulbous forehead, which is so heavy that the wearer must have pads of soft cloth to ease the weight against his skin. The upper part of his body is entirely covered with dried and unfolded cedar-bark, his wrists and ankles are similarly adorned, around his stomach is a dance-apron, and in either hand he carries a stick embellished with more bark. Sometimes for a considerable period he does not move from his stand, but remains alone, throwing his arms back and forth towards the corners of the house where a number of men are carrying heavy stones in boxes to imitate the reverberations of thunder; this extension of the arms serves to concentrate in himself his power which is manifest in the sound. When he has sufficiently impressed the audience, he turns around and leaps down; the drums beat, the sticks rattle, the men working the boxes with stones shake them violently, and Thunder shrieks out, all of which, added to the crash with which he has landed upon the floor, makes a colossal din. He dances around the

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fire, while the women dance out an accompaniment. The mask bears one opening for eyes and nose, blinding the performer, so that he has to be guided by X, and two other *Indaxiat*, though the necessity for their services is not apparent to the uninitiated. The faces of these conductors are blackened and they wear collars of dyed cedar-bark, but no masks; one of them carries some eagle down which he keeps blowing over Thunder's head. To the ignorant spectators it appears as if these guides were really *Indaxiat* attendants.[illegible] When the mighty supernatural one has almost completed a circuit of the fire he caps, holds out his shaking arms over it and absorbs power into the smoke; then ensconces the box behind the curtainpoles which he first jumped. One of the *Indaxiat* shakes in his hand a perforated rattle containing smoldering cedar-bark. Carrying this (see Plate 11) Thunder again leaps down and dances around the fire, guarded as before by X and the assistants, but this time shaking out burning sparks from the rattle. Now, instead of the drumming of the women alone, there is a prodigious racket as he goes around; the drums are beaten, the sticks are rattled, a man concealed on the roof crashes sal clamers on the boards, another pounds on loose planks with a heavy stone, while Thunder himself keeps calling at in a booming voice. Again he pauses to absorb power into the fire before retiring behind the curtains, which is then seen. The announcer cries out:

"Thder *Indaxiat* of the supernatural ones has been with us; his fire was wonderful for us."

[illegible] Sometimes and there appears a masked figure of *Sipalaxalis*. This bag dances around the fire, without speaking, but at intervals drenching the audience with water from a dish which he carries. When he has completed his circuit and withdrawn, *Sisi'Hulaxis* discourses upon Thunder, informing the uninitiated that his fire-rattle is the bird of the lightning, a mysterious creature about which little is known. She adds that

[illegible] Such guide-attendants often accompany other supernatural beings.

[See category 116, p 164(E) "Analysis"]

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Sipakonów is the rain that accompanies a thunder-storm, hence the water with which the audience was soaked. 575*

There next comes forth an actor wearing a man's mask and carrying in his hands a sounding-board and beating-sticks, as if he were a singer, ready to perform at a ceremony. He arranges these in place, constantly glancing back over his shoulder towards the enclosure, then calls, and out jumps *Ninjo*, wearing a mask which makes his face appear long and very narrow. He shuffles his feet, moves his head from side to side, sways his body to and fro as if he were starting a spectacular dance, finally gyrates wildly for a very short period, without accompaniment from the man who preceded him, and then goes back to the enclosure instead of circling the fire. The apparent singer picks up his equipment and follows his principal out of sight. *Ave'likmakwis* explains that *Ninjo* is a most spectacular supernatural dancer, who was unwilling to give an exhibition of his full skill on this occasion. 946* 776* 776 [532]

Meanwhile preparations have been made for the second appearance of Thunder. The large mask is so heavy and covers the breath to such an extent that very few men are strong enough to bear it for more than two dances around the fire. The first wearer has now transformed his disguise to a second man of about the same build, and when the meeting is again drawn aside, it is to disclose Thunder standing on his raised box as before. Often a few variations are introduced; instead of extending his arms to attract his power, he may simply revolve with waving arms and turning head. When ready, he signals to those with drums and beating-sticks, then jumps down with a crash which is echoed by all the noise-making contrivances in the house. Thunder dances around the fire much as upon his first appearance, and inhales strength from the smoke of the central fire before returning to the raised box. He receives the cattle containing sanctifying herb, and runs more circles the house; after that he withdraws and the meeting is pulled into place. *Sipakonów* comes forth and drenches the audience with water, but *Ave'likmakwis* does not [532]

2: McDowell R-1 (1922-1924) 1948
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speak on this occasion as the explanation has already been given.

After a short pause the announcer calls impressively:

"Take care! The *hamats* are coming."

From within the enclosure there is heard the clacking of beaks, and presently a *hamats* backs out. The mask, about three feet in length, is that of a long-beaked bird, of which the lower mandible can be made to strike against the upper to cause the snapping noise. The wearer has little clothing but much dyed cedar-bark which conceals the stick that runs from the mask down his back to counterbalance the weight of the projecting beak. Another *hamats* likewise comes out backwards, then a third and a fourth. The four dance around the fire, snapping their beaks and uttering their cry, *Hau, hau, hau*, in unison to the stamp of their feet on the floor. X, with three assistants, accompanies them, apparently out of respect to the supernatural visitors and to guard the uninitiated from them in case they should become frenzied, but in reality to direct the steps of the actors whose cumbersome masks prevent them from seeing where they are going. A touch from one of the guides, or even the sound of his voice, is enough to tell the gyrating performer in which direction to move. When the *hamats* have disappeared, *Ax'ilwulmain* explains who the visitors were.

Next appears a Seal. The mask used is human in form, and the painting may or may not indicate the being represented. The wearer proceeds very slowly around the fire, turning neither to right nor to left, and withdraws. *Ax'ilwulmain* explains that this is a Seal from *Nuquelmain* which has come to visit X.

Another man-like figure now comes forth, his mask painted to represent a fish. Like the Seal he circles the fire without any special type of dance and withdraws. This is the Red Rock Cod, a fact which *Ax'ilwulmain* makes clear to the uninitiated.

Finally, the time comes when the last supernatural visitor

has retired from sight. *Ani'Ilmaiaiais* gives her customary dance, her head bent as if she constantly wished to rest it on someone's shoulder, and her opposite arm waving violently. After one circuit of the fire she withdrews from sight behind the curtain. Then the mandals call the uninitiated to withdraw, and the growling Cumiltsais hurry down forth. The evening's ceremonials conclude in the usual way, except that the masks are not burnt.

The length of time required for the figures to appear and perform is so great that *sahaawa* can seldom be completed on a single night. When the mandals decide that it is too late for further dances, they can call a postponement at any time; the uninitiated are told to withdraw and the *kakaxtas* disperse shortly afterwards. The following evening they are recalled and the ritual is carried on from the point where the break was made. In this manner it has been assumed that it is possible to complete the display without postponement.

Four nights have everyone is called back once again. The *kakaxtas* first take their places, and then the uninitiated are summoned. The ritual on this occasion is identical with that just described for *sahaawa* with the same pronouncements of supernatural beings and the same explanations by *Ani'Ilmaiaiais*. After the uninitiated depart the masks are burnt, one at a time, in the manner previously described, this being the last event in the Mystery Dance.

THE DANCE OF *W'ooxina*

Nadagwan is not, according to Bella Coola mythology, the only bringer of salmon to the river, nor is he the only one whose action has been dramatized in a *kaxtas* dance. A similar purveyor of fish is *W'ooxina*[1] who comes every year to Bella Coola. Boas (p. 38) has recorded the origin myth connected with the rite, and states that the movements of this being influence the duration of the *kaxtas* season; this observation was not confirmed. *W'ooxina* is supposed to return from the

[1] Also called Kwakwaqlanu, "Place Bringer-for-Food."

land of the salmon early in January, and it is owing to his successful raid that there is a plentiful supply of fish the following year. The fact that the Bella Coola attribute the same function to *Nadlqnem* provides no difficulties to native philosophers.

"Different individuals have different stories," they say, and the fact that the two are contradictory is a matter of no consequence.

The incidents described in the following myth are always spoken of as having taken place long ago, and yet the coming of *Wiseius* is an annual event, a contagion discovering to the investigator though not to the Bella Coola themselves.

Wiseius[1] was led a raiding party against the salmon, whose home is far in the west, and against the herring who live in a far and more remote beyond even the land of salmon. His own companions were all birds who are spoken of in the myth by unusual designations, and to be either their supernatural or their human names. The salmonoes spoke of these beings as individuals, and only added that they were birds as we also thought, while another emphasized their avian rather than their human characteristics. This is not surprising considering that the myth belongs to the distant past when birds and human beings were not as clearly differentiated as they now are. *Wiseius*'s own companions were:

The Bald Eagle, *Tsilmaqk*;
The Hawk (?) species, *Sculqulqulq*;
The Raven, *Tsemqulaxm*, "He Who Talks in Dawn and Makes Dawn";
The Water Ouzel, *Nilmamalqlm*, "The Walking Owl";
The Great Blue Heron, *Mesmilkm*, "Long Neck";
The Hummingbird, *Sklqmx*;
The Cormorant, *Tsemlmlk'a*, who joined the expedition as Bella Bella as a passenger;
Four less supernatural beings, *Tsemlkk*.

The expedition was under the special protection of *Kulsem*, a female supernatural shaman, who guided the canoe to which the raiders travelled by the force of her medicine as if it had been a compass. After a lengthy journey, the party reached the land of the salmon where the chiefs delegate defied her to the heavens so that the fish could see their

[1] As seen etymologically connected with *wise*, the Bella Coola term for rain.

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[The Dance of Winning]

fish. Each of the crew represent a different kind of salmon which, in the myth, are referred to by their supernatural names. 993

The Bald Eagle represent the spring salmon, *Ohoddimas*, "The One that Changes Itself," a reference to the two forms in which this fish appears before and after spawning. 824 825

The Hawk represent the sockeye salmon, *Nanakkamum*, "The One that Preserves in the Head of the River." 539

The Raven represent the hump-back salmon, *Anadjumain*, "The One that Fills the River."

The Water Owl represent the dog salmon, *Ipsalmas*, "The Maker of Good Weather," a reference to the rainy weather in August when this fish spawns.

The Great Blue Heron represent the coho salmon, *Kwaqumamalain*, "The One that Makes Us Fat."

The Cormorant represent a variety of log salmon, *Gaipas*, for the Bella Bella.

The Hummingbird—the successful—filled the enormous basket which he had brought for the purpose with a large number of berry caterpillars.

As soon as the eagles had achieved this purpose they returned to Bella Coola and released their boys, whereby since there has been an abundance of salmon in the river and of berries on the hills. The Cormorant left the canoe at Bella Bella and caused the dog salmon there; due to why this variety of fish has since been plentiful at Bella Bella.

Several Bella Coola Indians have a dance prerogative of which the above is origin myth. The details vary slightly, and some informants stated frankly that they had forgotten the names of the bird crew. The reason given for the use of *Winning* as person likewise vary. According to one account, in the beginning of time *Alquanim* gave the name *Nanakamum* to a repository near the summit of the lofty Mount Ba, near Dean. He had two reasons for a doing: he did not wish to be defiled by passersby breathing dust into it with their feet, and he wished the owner of the crew to be the first to see the return of *Winning*. The repository is a small pond, which can move from place to place, but, being itself supernatural, is visible only to those who have pacified themselves. Since that time whoever has had the name *Nanakamum* has had the dance prerogative of seeing *Winning*. 424 993 998 [996]

[The Dance of Winaxina]

424 Another *kwaiat* derived the prerogative of having *Wiwaxina* as patron from a myth previously cited (II, p. 43). After Raven had seen *Nuskymx* and obtained him for *Alilawaikaix*, he flew down the food once more, observed *Wiwaxina*, and made him patron for *Ompaikilda*.

575 The ritual of the dance of *Wiwaxina* does not vary, irrespective of its origin; accordingly one account will suffice and the performer can be referred to as X.

[778] This dance occurs also at Kimsquit where the repository is actually in the ocean a few yards from shore.

[424] *Wiwaxina* is supposed to return to Bella Coola when the January moon is full,[*] accordingly X consults the marshals and makes his preparations slightly before that date. Four days before the full moon, the uninitiated are excluded from the house and a raised enclosure is built between the fire and the back-room. This rite differs from most *kwaiat* dances in that the call does not come at this time. Irrespective of whether or not the *kwaiat* happen to be present on the evening of this day, X moves to the enclosure and sits there, looking westward for the return of *Wiwaxina*. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. X wears a collar of dyed cedar-bark and a head-dress of eagle tail feathers, but his face is not blackened.

[995] For three nights and three days X remains in the enclosure, gazing to the west, and meanwhile no uninitiated dare even to pass outside of his house. As the fourth night is falling, messengers summon the *kwaiat* who enter and sit in silence as if waiting for something; the heralds inform non-members that X's vigil will soon be over. After an interval they are likewise called in, and eagerly take their places near the door, where they receive a share of the food being served. Suddenly X jumps down from the enclosure and cries out loudly:

"The supernatural young man has left his child with strangers while he has been on a journey. Now he is returning,

[805] [*] Saying as lunar calendrical observations the exact date is seldom found.

They dispute in this manner concerning the capture of every kind of salmon and even about the herring. *Kwélitsa-lisis* keeps up a running stream of comments to the uninitiated.

"Listen to the stupid *Kwaiáitl*. That is what they did when they went with *Wiwaiáa*. They spent most of their time sleeping, and the rest of it arguing. Don't you be such silly fools as they are. Watch what you are doing, and you may be fortunate enough to see me in the woods and become a *Sacred*."

As soon as the uninitiated have watched these beings for a time, they are expelled and the ritual ends in the usual manner.

In conclusion, a word may be said regarding the attitude of the Bella Coola to *Wiwaiáa* and his canoe. Like all other supernatural manifestations it is capable of bringing good or evil to the beholder. An encounter of every *Wiwaiáa* dancer must have seen it and obtained it as patron, but it is a dangerous visitor onto the land. Sometimes, at night, a hunter encamped on one of the lands hears a growing sound accompanied by short paddle strokes; if he calls out "*yaa!*" loudly, no harm will come to him, but if he omits to do so he will soon die. One informant affirmed that within his lifetime a party of Kimsquit hunters were waiting for high tide when they heard the growing. They failed to hail the craft and presently a sound reached them as if a number of paddles had been placed in the water to check the course of a canoe; in fact, the ripples splashed on the shore at their feet. In a few years they were all dead.

THE DANCE OF MOTHER-NATURE

One of the most interesting of the Bella Coola dances is that portraying *Nanaxóla*, who is virtually Mother-Nature, giving birth to the flowers and trees in the spring. The following account is of the manner in which *Kalitc-i*, a Kimsquit man, performed the rite. The ritual appears to be identical in Bella Coola, so only one account need be given, and the performer may be spoken of as X.

This dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

sound of the whole performance. The ritual is of the regular type with the composition and practising of a song. 575* 996*

During the evening of the *next day*, *morrow*, the usual carpentry tasks are allowed. Only three masks are required, one of *Bu'lkwalaxa* and two of supernatural beings named *Mulaxa*, as if they had the power to lengthen or curtail the lives of human beings. The ritual on *yellow* warrants no special description. Late in the afternoon of *tahwaw* the *Sahaxa* assemble in X's house and the uninitiated are presently invited to see them all rush forth with these masked figures in their midst. Assuming, of course, that these are supernatural visions, the frightened non-members retreat to their houses where they peer forth at the figures as they parade up and down the show beside the river. They can easily recognize *Bu'lkwalaxa*, but not her two companions whose faces are painted black and white, and who have projecting, snout-like mouths. After this pantomime and a certain amount of dancing, the party return to X's house whither the uninitiated are presently summoned. The two *Mulaxa* dance around the fire while *Bu'lkwalaxa* explains their power over the lives of mortals. The *Sahaxa* now ask the uninitiated to withdraw and the ceremony ends in the customary manner. [532] [532]

X must perform this full ritual at least once after obtaining his *Sacial* name with respect to it, but on later occasions he can, if he so desires, limit himself to the second part of the ceremony with the appearance on earth of the *Mulaxa*. [424]

THE DANCE OF THUNDER

According to Bella Coola belief, the supernatural ones in the upper land resemble human beings in performing *Sacial* dances. Like mortals, some of these above are more powerful and more famed than others, but the senior *Sacial* among them is Thunder. Corresponding to the prowess of his person, the dance of his human prestige is one of the most important *Sacial* rituals. The essential feature of it is that Thunder calls all supernatural beings to witness his dance, and in consequence 575* 996* 424 996*

*575 his followers on earth can do the same. The ritual of subdues
*776 of a Thunder dance is accordingly identical with that of a
424 Mystery dance. In the field an effort was made to obtain
[77] accounts of what had actually occurred at dances rather than of what should have happened; at the dance of Mystery, previously described, several of the usual features were omitted, and these were accordingly left out of the account. They will now be mentioned in connection with the dance of Thunder, but the fact must be emphasized that they belong equally to all *Sacrar* rites in which the dancer has the prerogative of showing all supernatural beings, including Thunder.

[55] In Kimsquit the name of the *Sacrar* having the prerogative of singing of Thunder signifies, "The Raven," with reference to his person. The native term could not be known. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X.

*575 The Thunder dance is of the normal *Sacrar* type in every
*776 respect, so no account need be given of the ceremonial of the
776 first three days. Many masks are ordered on the night of *sacrificing* and these are really only in rehearsal. During these days the supernatural uninitiated are excited to see the masked figure of *Bal'lilwaulaus* emerge from X's house, accompanied by a throng of *Sakarsir* who chase all but members of the society back to their homes. Following them comes Thunder's herald, *Alwaulaus*, calling on all to prepare to come to the dance of Thunder, the leading *Sacrar* of the supernatural beings. This messenger circles four[4] to summon the supernatural ones to Thunder's dance, the reason that all can be shown at X's ceremonial. Immediately behind *Alwaulaus* comes *Tlapit*, the Dancer, proclaiming that Thunder's dance is not worth attending since he, and he alone, is the senior *Sacrar* of the supernatural ones. *Bal'lilwaulaus* adds his usual comments to the remarks of the two masked figures. This series of invitations and counter-invitations is repeated four times during the day, to the wonder of the uninitiated who pass out through chinks in the houses and around corners of the buildings. Sometimes *Alwaulaus* and *Tlapit* pass from

[The Dance of Thunder]

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rated to physical exponents, and one occasion is remembered when the latter was shoved from a canoe into the river.

In the evening the dancers are first called in, to be followed by the uninitiated in due course. Thunder dances in the manner already described, though, if possible, with one more vigour and abandon than when he was only one of the performers in the Mystery dance. As recorded in that dance he performs twice, on the second occasion carrying a vessel containing burning shreds of cedar-bark. After each circuit of the central fire, Rainmaker appears and drenches the assembly, as rain accompanies a thunder-storm. The dancer's skill displayed is always impressive, and a touch of comedy is added by the interested remarks of Finger who does his utmost to bedevil Thunder. [522]

The time-keeper for the super-dancer, Night, appears after Rainmaker. When the ceremonial is carried out with care, he wears a skull mask to show that he is a ghost who has come from the land below to assume in the call of *Mountainous*. He has been seen to sings a wordless song of the dark. The skill of Night as a dancer is due to the fact that he is a practised mountain goat among supernatural beings. The uninitiated look forward with eagerness to witnessing a remarkable dance but after a few violent convulsions the performer withdraws followed by the musicians. [532] [533]

It would be needless repetition to enumerate all the supernatural beings who follow, so mention will be made only of those who are considered especially appropriate to the Thunder dance and who are accordingly shown on almost all occasions. Water Worm is a masked figure which begins about to an upward manner similar to that of the bird on the earth, and Bullfrog likewise imitates the movements of an earthly rabbit. *Bullfrog* endeavoring explains to the uninitiated that Thunder would like to [532] [825]
wear the flesh of animals but that he is too big and too hot to approach them, so sends Mosquito as his messenger. The masked figure representing that insect carries a stick about six feet in length beneath his blanket, and runs around the house

[The Dance of Thunder]

575 796 776 [123] [981] with short, mincing steps. At intervals he pulls forth his stinger and rushes at one of the spectators, poking the weapon at him and humming fiercely. The writer took the part of a supernatural mosquito at one of the dances held in the winter of 1922-3 and remembers the expression of fear on the face of a younger member of the audience when about to be "stung." The victim was certainly afraid on that occasion, and if that feeling could survive the break-down of belief, it is not to be wondered at that fear was universal in the days when the *Indaxiai* were thought to be possessors of supernatural powers. Another being who often appears at a dance of Thunder is Rainwater-Dripping-from-the-Roof. The masked figure walks slowly around the fire and *Ant'kwalaxis* explains that this is the water which drops from a hole in the planking. The Clowns [522] are never omitted, and always cause amusement amid the gravity of the rite. One after another, the supernatural beings appear from the enclosure, circle the fire, and withdraw, accompanied by the sage remarks of *Ant'kwalaxis*. Finally there is a long pause, broken when a masked figure slowly toddles forth. It is Snail, who started at the same time as the other supernatural beings but arrived too late to be present at the dance of Thunder. Snail circles the fire and disappears. At this point the uninitiated are expelled and the rite concludes as usual.

575 796 [424] [821] Dances whose patrons are Thunder, Earthquake, Sun, or Moon do not confine their dances to the ceremonial season, but perform whenever a manifestation of their patron occurs. If Thunder is heard, no matter what the time of day or season of year, X stands up and cries out:

"It [he does not refer to Thunder by name] is dancing too hastily up aloft. *Xwa* ...."

[789] The call of *xwa* — is thought to have a quieting effect on Thunder. Any *Indaxiai* women present at once dance, then, accompanied by a number of his associates, X proceeds to the lowest house of the village where the same ritual is repeated. This is done in every dwelling, after which X returns home and

[The Ghost Dance]

they sit in silence, awaiting his arrival. Presently word is sent 575*
to him, for he is always hiding near, and he comes through the 946*
door and sits near the fire. But he does not resemble the man
who left the village. His face and body have been painted [787]
green with crushed leaves, in imitation of the colour of the
dead; in his hand he carries a horn, said to be part of the leg [302]
of a dead man, though in reality it is from a deer. After him
the ghosts enter one by one. They are a number of *kukwiat*
who have been painted black and green to give them an un- [302]
earthly appearance; there is no fixed pattern, each following
his own, or the carpenter's ideas of the unearthly, though the
body colour on which the other tints are smeared is usually
white. Each dead man has a special name and each acts
accordingly in an eccentric way. One enters walking back-
wards, another hops on one leg, and a third walks on his
hands—because ghosts always act in the opposite manner to [775]
mortals. Each trills in a peculiar way and performs something
like a dance, waving his arms to and fro, up and down, con-
stantly pointing with one finger, before lying down close to the
central fire. With them enters a woman with painted face,
clad in a blanket and carrying a basket on her back; she is [776]
Alpaulac, who gathers berries in the land of the dead. She
begins to go around picking up any small articles that she sees
and depositing them in her basket, from which anyone picks
them out at will and returns them to the places whence they
had been taken. One of the first actors to appear carries a
stick for time beating, and acts as leader of the ghost singers.
Whenever a spark from the fire lights on one of the dead,
causing the latter to jump, the leader pounds violently with
his stick. When all are present, the leader beats time and they
prepare to leave. Ghosts are fickles, however; consequently, [775]
instead of going straight to the door, some go in one direction,
some in another, but all are at length shepherded outside. X
and his visitors, with a large number of *kukwiat*, go to every
house in the village repeating the same procedure, in silence,
except for the trill of the dead man. The uninitiated do not

[The Ghost Dance]

*575 X's, where he is soothed by the four times repeated frenzied
*996 beating of sticks and his call returned whence it came.
[777]

During the rest of the ceremonial season X becomes mad at intervals and displays his insanity by rushing to every house and throwing dirt and sand. His *hakaiat* escort is always with him, and the procedure is identical with that already
[424] recorded. X makes no recompense for the damage inflicted, so it is probable that his fellows do not regard his dance as an unmitigated pleasure, but nothing can be done to deter him from exercising his prerogative.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CHARMER

*575 Although the Bella Coola are probably as moral as members
*996 of any other tribe, they enjoy humour of an obscene nature,
●996 and a dance which never fails to provide amusement is that of
[522] the Supernatural Charmer. The patron of this is *Sainsainmdi*,
[881] a beautiful, unmarried, feminine being who is also named *Alipuin i* and *Nuxkwalkaic*. She is thought to disregard the efforts of her supernatural relatives to restrain her, and comes to this earth where she bestows her favours not only on human beings, but on animals. Her prestige at Kimsquit is a young
[587] man, *Kilaiuic*, at Bella Coola, a young woman, *Kwalkmu*;
[562] like all other *hakiat* names these can be used either by men or
[424] women. It is said that *Kilaiuic*'s prerogative is derived from the experience of an ancestor in past ages, whereas that of *Kwalkmu* was initiated three generations ago by a very powerful chief. The ritual in each case is identical, so the dancer
[536] can be referred to as X. Each has the prerogative of singing
[532] not only of *Sainsainmdi*, but also of the being known as *Wiwinimmd*. Many masks are required at the rehearsal of either of these beings, so it is customary for X to perform with respect to *Sainsainmdi* one year, and to *Wiwinimmd* at the next or a subsequent ceremonial season, though the actual songs always refer to both persons.

*996 When X wishes to dance he consults the marshals, obtains
*575 their consent, and then makes final arrangements as, normally,

the *gulon* of another dancer. Next night the call comes to him in the ordinary manner, and the heralds go through the village announcing what has taken place. The uninitiated are expelled at once from X's house and the *kokoiar* presently assemble to listen to the song being composed by the singers. The theme is of *Iximcimdi*; how she came down from above and travelled all over the world shamelessly luring men and animals; how various supernatural beings tried to restrain her without success; how she went to the house of *Spil* and was trying to induce several young men living there when *Wiwaiwawat* appeared and endeavoured to make her behave herself, but without avail. The song then describes *Wiwaiwawat* who seems to be a warm wind, engaged in a never-ending duel with the cold winds.* No detailed description is required for the ritual of *wacimiliay*, where a second song with the same theme is composed, or of *gulon*, since these follow the typical *kociar* pattern.

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During the afternoon of *wakawa*, the *kokoiar* gather in X's house to try on the completed masks and make the final arrangements. Whistles sound so continuously that the uninitiated remain either within their own homes or near them, ready to hide in the bedrooms if necessary. Within X's house the carpenters are supervising the choice of masks; a fluent man able to speak like a woman is, as usual, chosen to represent *Ko'likmdwir*; another with similar qualifications is selected for *Iximcimdi*, while the other masks can be worn by almost anyone. Presently a strange procession leaves X's home and enters the lowest house of the village where the uninitiated hasten into the inner rooms, but watch proceedings through cracks between the boards. First comes X himself, his face blackened and wearing the usual collar. He remains standing near the door and watches as *Iximcimdi* enters and slowly proceeds around the central fire; she wears a mask representing a young and beautiful woman. Behind her come her lovers,

[592]

*Definite information concerning the identification of *Wiwaiwawat* could not be obtained.

2:16:Howaith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of the Supernatural Lover]

her house while the singers compose a new song. The theme is of her patron, the young male being, *Kwat ixal-a*, "The Big One." It describes how he came from above and went far and near over the earth in lustful pursuit of women, how each victim fell in love with her seducer so that she followed him in all his wanderings, how Loon befriended him, and how he exchanged his blanket for a covering of abalone-shells. 575* 796* [533] [796]

On *nacintálap* when the *kukusiut* as usual go to the forest, they bring back not only wood for masks but also the trunk of a large cedar tree, at which the carpenters work during the two succeeding days. On *nakusaw* a parade occurs of the supernatural beings similar to that in the dance of the Supernatural Charmer, but the masked figures represent women, not men, of the different coastal tribes. *Kwat ixal-a* leads the procession and pays no more attention to his mistresses than did *Sximsximdt* to her would-be lovers. There is the same licence for lewd remarks, of which *Kwat ixal-a* takes full advantage when he calls the attention of the young men to his following, and asks them how many mistresses each has had. [532] [831] [522]

In the evening the uninitiated are called to X's house where the first object they see is the tree-trunk, converted by the carpenters into an enormous bird. Wooden wings and a loon's head have been provided and the whole is painted in imitation of a loon's plumage. *Kwat ixal-a* is in evidence, wearing a bird disguise. Presently a matting enclosure in one of the rear corners of the house is thrown open, and the uninitiated see the throng of his mistresses who rush forth, almost coming to blows in their eagerness to reach their seducer. *Awhkwalsaix* stands on one side and explains the significance. After the mock combat has lasted for a few minutes, a Cannibal begins to growl and the uninitiated hurry out. The ceremonial then concludes in the usual manner. [532]

This dance differs from all other *kusiut* rites in one respect, since the call can come to X several times during a single ceremonial season. Of course there is no compulsion; she uses her own discretion as to whether she dance more than once, [424]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 *796 but a proud and energetic dancer sometimes repeats a ceremony three or four times. [424]

THE SUN DANCE[54]

[776] [821] One of the forms in which *Ałquntäm* appears is that of the Sun, and in that case he is referred to as *Sinxälotla*. Considering the importance of this deity, it is rather surprising that the *kusiut* dance of which he is patron is not more impressive. Efforts were made to obtain full details of the ceremonial from several informants, but only a number of incidents and a bare [124] outline could be obtained. In part this was due to the fact that none of the informants[55] were themselves protégés of *Ałquntäm*, but this is not in itself sufficient to explain the comparative unimportance of the dance, since full accounts were obtained of other rituals from those who did not own them.

Nothing was learnt of the origin of any of the Sun dance [424] prerogatives, except that ancestors of the owners obtained them from *Ałquntäm*. It is a common right, and *kukusiut* having [551] *Ałquntäm* as patron are found in every village, among them being *Qpxolän·i* of *Tcmotl*, and *Nexnexliwalaix* of *Nusqalst*. As far as could be ascertained, the ritual of various Sun dance performances is identical, so one account will suffice and the dancer can be termed X.

Like other *kusiut* dancers, X can perform at any time during the ceremonial season, subject to the approval of the marshals. The call comes to him in the normal manner, the uninitiated are expelled, and the *kukusiut* gather in his house to practise the songs which the singers have just composed. The theme [533] is of *Ałquntäm*, describing his manifold functions, and particu- [776] larly that of guiding the Sun. The following day a second song with similar theme is composed, and in the evening the tasks are allotted for the manufacture of masks. Four are re- [532] quired; a large one representing *Ałquntäm* himself, one of [171]

[54] Needless to say, no connection or similarity is implied with the dance of the same name in other areas.

[55] Except one man who had forgotten all details since his conversion to Christianity many years before.

2: McIlwraith E-6 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Sun Dance]

*575 dance of *Nuákmum* is omitted owing to the large expenditure
*796 required, X must sing, without a call, in conjunction with the *Wi.a* dancer. In this case also the details are lacking.

[824] Likewise at the winter solstice, when the tarrying *Alquacow*
[821] at last enters *Nuspulwaiste* to greet the waiting supernatural *kukusiut*, it is incumbent on his protégé to perform in his honour below. The singers are always ready with a new song for the occasion, and in the evening his fellows assemble in his house to learn it. X wears the usual ceremonial collar, but he lacks the awe-inspiring qualities of a *kusiut* who has had a call. When the song has been sufficiently practised, the uninitiated are brought in to listen to it and to watch the dancing of X. At the conclusion of the performance they are given a little food, provided by X, which they carry away while the *kukusiut* remain to eat at their ease and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. It is probable that the ritual carried out at the beginning of the ceremonial season is identical with the above.
[821] One old man stated that long ago it was customary to dance in the same manner at the summer solstice; this might be expected, but confirmation was unobtainable.

*575 Like the protégé of Thunder, X is sometimes called upon
*796 to perform during the non-ceremonial season. But whereas a
821 Thunder dancer acts when his patron is apparent by peals of sound, X must do so when his patron is invisible through an eclipse.[*] The ritual is almost identical with that already described for a Thunder dancer so nothing but additional details need be inserted. X visits every house shaking a rattle, which is not the case with Thunder dancers. After his circuit of the village, the *kukusiut* gather in his house where the singers are
[533] composing a new song describing the phenomenon. The words explain that Eclipse, the supernatural being *Nuqtsly*[*], has blocked or destroyed the path of the Sun, and add how disastrous it would be if the Sun could not recover its way. Later on, the uninitiated are called in to watch X's dance which, like

[776] [192] [*] The Bella Coola term both for "eclipse" and the being responsible is *Nuqtsly*[*] which also means "A Fire That Has Died Out."

McDougall E-9 (1922-1924) 1965
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the one that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make good the path" of the person. It would formerly have been a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with death by the marshals. One informant vividly recalled his fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his conversion to Christianity, and reiterated that he had been in deadly peril from the marshals in spite of the white man's law.

575* 796* 821 688 177

THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron to *kusiut* dancers, the Moon also has many human protégés. Among them is *Nakuimāx*, "The Moon When It Is Unobscured," of *Tsmoil*, from whom the following account of the Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as X.

776 55 424

The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to X's wishes and the consent of the marshals. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *kukusiut* presently assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

Aiuiānum:[11] A woman who lives in the moon and who can be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of water.

575* 796*

The two *Aipuainst:* These two beings are able periodically to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse.

821 776

The two *Switmāwa:*[12] These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who come to earth to assist stricken *kukusiut*.

The song also describes how no supernatural being dares to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition similar to that obeyed by uninitiated with regard to passing outside a house where a *kusiut* ceremony is taking place.

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[11] *Aiuiānum* is the usual term for *ghost*; no reason was given for the application of the same designation to the woman living in the moon.

[12] There is difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not there is more than one of these beings.

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[K. Octopus Dance]

*575 Cawalhal begins to growl and soon the *kukuxiut* are left alone
*796 in the house. The singers have not a new song for X and the ritual continues like that of any other *kuniuxw*. No description is needed for the ceremonial that occurs on *nacoxalisp* and *qulen*.

On the evening of *sakcum* the uninitiated are summoned in due course. The exact number of masked figures shown would not be known, but among them is always an octopus.
[532] The rite concludes in the usual manner.

The presents given in connection with the Octopus dance
[431] are more valuable than those bestowed at most *kuniut* rituals, accordingly none but wealthy people are able to carry it out.
[532] The heralds especially are always beneficiaries.

THE DANCE OF THE DARK-SHADE

*575 One of the most peculiar and irregular of *kuniut* dances is
*796 that performed by a certain *Kalqum*, whom it will be convenient to call X. His patron is the supernatural woman *Sinqumlentwi*, Dark-Shade, whose home is beneath the thick ever-
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•[770] greens of the river valleys, thus explaining the darkness and shadows found in such places. X's repository is beneath some
[778] large cedars near the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, a few hundred yards above the end of the ford; it is probable that other dancers with the same patron have repositories in other dark and gloomy spots.

When X wishes to dance he must as usual obtain consent from the marshals who insist that he delay his performance until after the solstice at earliest. The reason is because his
[776] patron, Dark-Shade, alone of all supernatural beings, has the power to open every repository; X brings her to the village and
[787] in consequence calls come to many *kuniut*,[100] which would be undesirable during the first few weeks of the season. On
*575 the evening of the day selected for the beginning of the dance,
*796 X steals away from the village with three or four *kuniut*,

[100] The implication in this case is that calls come from repositories, not from the land above, the customary source.

source of awe to the uninitiated, who marvel that a man can still appear like an ordinary mortal when he has just brought a supernatural visitor home. According to one informant who, however, is not well versed on *Sacrist* matters, there is neither *qulam* nor *sulaxam*, and Dark-Shade is merely seen every other four days. This may be the case, but the dance has not been carried out for many years, and the man frankly admitted that he did not know the details. It seems more likely that there is some kind of ceremony, since a song would not be composed unless for a definite purpose.

The coming of Dark-Shade complicates the *Sacrist* ceremonial since a number of dancers receive their calls simultaneously. In this case the ritual is carried out in unison which requires, for example, the composition of one song for each performer on *Sacrisnow*. Calls never come in this way to dancers with important or complicated prerogatives, but it is a useful means of dealing with those whose right is merely to sing of their patrons. On *sulaxam* the patrons of all are displayed, a method which has the advantage of producing a dramatic effect which would be lacking if only one were in evidence. The coming of a call by means of Dark-Shade is called *xulendiwat*, "Emerging from Below to Plain Sight." Another time when several calls may come simultaneously to different *Sacrist* is at the winter solstice when, on the entry of *Hiqamlem*, the supernatural beings rush forth and some of them fall, causing calls to come to their human protégés.

THE DANCE OF THE STONE MAN

Yayulmpl, the man who was petrified with his Ocean Lake wife and four children at the beginning of time, is patron for a Kimsquit *Sacrist* man named *Kwaste*. His repository is just above high-water mark on the east side of Dean Channel, about five miles from its head, and about one hundred and fifty feet north of the legal fishing boundary. This is almost immediately opposite *Yayulmpl*'s station. The repository is beneath the ground, and its doorway is a beaver which became

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but as *kukuiat* all understand that later performances by them with the same name are only possible with the assistance of carpenters. This dance has not been carried out for so many years that the details have been forgotten.

THE DANCE OF THE BIRDS

The Bella Coola notice that in autumn many of the birds disappear, to be seen no more until spring. Ignorant of a warmer climate to the south and of the causes of migration, they explain the phenomenon by saying that *Alquntim* collects the birds in some mysterious place for the winter and releases them in the spring. It is believed that he does the same with supernatural birds in the land above. The setting free of the birds which is in effect a scattering, is known as *nuxwukut* and is personified; he is the patron of a *kusiut* named *Ğuxta*. For the *nuhuam* of this man's dance a huge circular cage containing wooden birds is constructed. By means of a regular mass of hidden strings they are made to "fly," to the extreme amusement of the uninitiated. This is one of the most complicated *kusiut* rites. Contrary to the usual practice, no eagle down is used for fear that it might settle on the strings and betray their existence to the spectators.

THE DANCE OF DARKNESS AND SLEEP

The patron of this dance is a being who has the power of bringing nightfall, and later, sleep. In accordance with his double function, a dual personality is attributed to him. In fact, he is almost two beings; as *Sinqlominit*, "Darkness," he causes night to come once every twenty-four hours, whereupon as *Sicitoma*, he brings sleep. His *kusiut* protégé displays on *nuhuam* figures with black painted masks, representing both phases of his patron.

THE DANCE OF THE WHIRLWIND

Whirlwinds, though of rare occurrence in British Columbia, are known to the Bella Coola who believe that they are caused by the being *Snulsiaxwanem*. Like all supernatural creatures,

Whirlwind usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits this earth. He is patron for a *kusiut* who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary. 575 746 776 [821] [532]

THE DANCE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the grasp of *Sniwin*. This being is patron for certain *kusiut* and whenever a tremor occurs, his protégés call their associates and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is identical with that described for dancers whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The theme of the song is of the manner in which *Sniwin* performs his function of holding the world. A call from *Sniwin* may also come in the normal manner to one of his protégés during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, *Sniwin* is patron to a *kusiut* named *Ałłhałłałain*. [823] [533] [551]

THE DANCE OF TIDE-MEASURER

The height to which the tides shall rise is decided by a male supernatural being, *Mułłałałałsum*, "Tide-Measurer." He is patron of a *kusiut* named *Tsał*, whose repository is near *Sałłia*. One of *Tsał*'s ancestors brought the rite with him from above in the beginning of time. The songs used at the dance describe how Tide-Measurer uses a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of *nakusam* the uninitiated are told to go to their houses but, by peering round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the ocean, and thrust down to the bottom a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day. [823] [551] [778] [533]

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BULL-HEAD

Since any supernatural being can act as patron to *kusiut* dancers, and since all mammals and birds are, in a sense, super- [825]

*575 natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is
*796 usually added that the animal in question is the one resident
● 776 in the land above. One person of this type is the ordinary
825 river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to
[779] follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded
to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his
house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he
objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the
[821] stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed
[224] his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that
time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. As
far as could be learnt, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who
is patron for a certain *kusiut* is the head of a female herring.
Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to
[532] doubt. For the *sukuam* of her protégé, a number of masks
representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are pre-
pared. When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised
figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the
fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dakdakānus*, the
supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *kusiut* but the
ritual of the dance, known as *ownāwanais*, was not obtained.
The similarity between *Dakdakānus* and *Dakdakānmem*, those
who await *Nadkynm*, appears merely to be an accidental re-
[192] semblance in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning
"to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection
with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

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THE DANCE OF *Almoqlaikila*

In Kimsquit it is believed that *Ana'likwelsaix* has a hus-
band, *Almoqlaikila*, who is patron for several *kusiut* dancers.
His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to

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mumble upon a repository and are smitten down by his wife. Like a shaman, he does this by blowing violently upon the back of the victim's neck and calling out, *hoh*. From constant repetition his mouth has become large and round. When displayed on *sabaxam*, the mask representing *Atmaqhaitsila* is painted black and has bulging, blown-out cheeks, and a round protruding mouth as if in the act of blowing. Neither the dance nor belief in this figure appear to occur in Bella Coola itself.

THE DANCE OF THE OUTSIDE-OF-THE-HOUSE SAME-BEING

In the land above there lives a supernatural woman who spends all her time in pounding cedar-bark such as is used, either dyed or undyed, for ceremonial objects of different kinds. Her name is *Ipsiqhtsum di Xemsitsila* and she is patron for various *hakuxint*. On the *sabaxam* of her Kimsquit protégée, she appears as a masked figure engaged in her usual occupation and makes a circuit of the house while a salmon is displayed. The relationship between this being and the salmon is problematical, and it is uncertain whether or not the same rite is practised in Bella Coola.

[532]

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL AWAKENER

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Every morning in *Nuxqulmaitsa* the woman *Ipsiqhsymmâ-a* goes around waking up the supernatural beings. She is patron for several *hamat* dancers. On the *sabaxam* of her protégé, a masked figure representing the Awakener goes to every house in the village and pounds on the doors, but does not enter, to the relief of the uninitiated who have sought refuge within the bed-rooms.

THE DANCE OF DAWN

[821]

Not only must the supernatural beings be aroused in the morning, but every day the Sun himself must be requested to appear; this is done by the beings known as *Xemsemtsum*, who are patrons for several *hakuxint*. On *sabaxam* they appear and *Ana'lkwulsaix* explains to the uninitiated who they are and

[The Dance of Dancing]

[575] [746] [776] [333] what they do. With them comes the being *Ow'ixtemas*, "The Sleeper," wearing a mask to represent a drowsy man who constantly yawns and rubs his eyes. It is explained that this being delights in sleep and does not care if the sun never rises.

THE DANCE OF THE GRIZZLY ONE

Nanulkwaikum, also called *Tatwat-ai*, is a grizzly cinnamon who spends his time going from one supernatural being to another in the land above, always begging for food. He is patron for several *kukwiat* and on the *nalaxam* of one of his protégés a masked figure representing the Grizzly One visits every house in the village asking for food. The uninitiated [532] retreat to the bedrooms, but the *kukwiat* comply with his request. In consequence the dancer's house is filled with food [481] which is given away to the *kukwiat* guests.

THE DANCE OF THE REPOSITORY MAKER

[778] Some repositories were constructed in the beginning of time by the supernatural being, *Nanodjipum*, who is patron for several *kukwiat*. On the *nalaxam* of one of his protégés a [532] figure, masked to represent a male being, appears and *Awi'ilkwalaxic* explains that this is the maker of repositories. It is [184] uncertain whether this being is found in Bella Coola or only in Kimsquit.

THE DANCE OF *Alquntám*'S SLAVE

In the land above there lives a slave of *Alquntám* who spends his time providing fuel for the fires in *Nuxqulwaxite*. He is patron for a Bella Coola *kuxiat*, though the details of his dance were not obtained.

THE DANCE OF *Alquntám*'S HERALD

Ojulikts Alquntám is patron for several *kukwiat*. During the *nalaxam* of one of his protégés a masked figure representing him visits every house in the village, bidding the *kukwiat*

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unable to witness the dance of *Ilpuntsin*. This is his function in the land above, as it is natural for him to do the same in this world.

THE DANCE OF *Ilpuntsin*'S FISHERMAN

Ilpuntsin in the land above has a servant who uses a hand-net, *sem*, in fishing for his master. He is accordingly known as *Ilpuntsin*'s *Tsemsim*, "Fisherman," and is patron for a *Sacrist*.

THE DANCE OF THE TOP

The playful *Sawilpumkilt Ilpuntsin* has a favourite toy consisting of a stick which can be made to spin between the hands. This top, if it may so be named, is patron for some *Sacrist*. The writer was unable to learn how it is displayed on ceremony.

THE DANCE OF THE POINTED HAMMER

The patron of one *Sacrist* is a hammer which in some way was changed to stone in the beginning of time when the Bella Coola River first flowed to the sea.

THE DANCE OF THE GRIZZLY BEAR

A *Sacrist* named *Sulwai* has, as patron, a grizzly bear resident in *Ilpuntsin*'s house.

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Various Origin Myths

In most cases *Sacrist* dances have been preserved until the present day, although the myths on which they depend have long since been forgotten, but the reverse is sometimes the case. The following myths, were recorded with few, or no details of the associated dances. In several cases, one of the same type has already been recorded, so that the significance will be apparent.

A COMPOSITE ORIGIN MYTH[161]

Long ago there lived in *Sinse* a man and his wife who were powerful, prosperous, and able to give their children many good names. This

[161] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

[115]

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directions. Then the joyful owner was able to draw back her crystal and the sick woman at once recovered. 424 575 *

Another prerogative of the same nature is *lodzilla*. As the *kukusiut* are gathering and before the main ceremonial of the evening, the man or woman with this prerogative can display it if he so desires. He stands up, stamps, then bends down and begins to beat with a stick on the floor; the singers, who know what is to take place, quickly join in. This serves to concentrate the performer's power, consisting of the ability to scratch the external genital organs. The sticks continue to sound as the performer moves about the house, acting in accordance with his right, and at the same time rolling his eyes and licking his lips. Choosing either man or woman as he desires, he calls out his name, and the person addressed must come forward to take his hands. The power is thus transmitted and the one so chosen begins to scratch, with the same accompaniment of rolling eyes and licking lips. 796 * 787

"It is sweet," he cries.

The power is then returned to the owner, who later passes it to another victim, until the marshals decide it is time to proceed to the main rites of the evening. The use of this prerogative is a source of never-ending amusement to the *kukusiut*. The only explanation given of this somewhat peculiar ability is that it is practised by the supernatural beings in the land above. Like every other *kusiut* rite, it can be performed only by a person who owns a name in which it is embodied. [522] [776]

Sie'mste, the third of these prerogatives, is to imitate the action of holding sexual intercourse. Like the last, its use is limited to the house in which a dance is taking place, and can be carried out only while the audience is waiting for the main ceremony. The performer, man or woman, stands up with a rope pressed close across his stomach, held with hands clenched at the hips. It is said that in this position nothing can pass behind him. The singers and other *kukusiut* begin to beat time to concentrate the actor's power as he stamps around in a crouching posture, crying *hoip* and shaking his hips. Pre- 424 575 * 796 * 787 831 522

424 usually he begins to grunt, and calls the name of either a man
*575 or a woman. The person so designated must take the per-
*796 former's hands, thus assimilating his power, and in his turn
787 begins to shake and grunt, amid the laughter of all. Presently
851 the "gift" is returned, and later passed to another recipient.
522 Sometimes a modest woman shakes her head instead of her
[776] hips, to the intense amusement of the audience. After some
time the owner draws his power to himself and the main cere-
mony of the evening proceeds. It is said that the supernatural
beings above perform *sisemia*.

The Death of a *Kusiut*

*575 A detailed description of *kusiut* dances and ritual has now
766 been given, but certain special features still remain. One of
*796 these is the method of disposal of the body of a dead member
787 of the society. In dances which are completed in four days,
there is little likelihood of the performer's death, but this is
by no means uncommon during the long seclusion of a Can-
nibal for example. In this case there is no wailing, and the
death is concealed from the uninitiated, sometimes even a wife
being kept in ignorance of her husband's decease. A mask
representing the patron of the dead man is hung in the house
behind the fire as a constant reminder of what must be done.
From the ceremonial point of view, the serious aspect lies in
the fact that a call has come which has not been sent back, and
which cannot be sent back by the receiver. The marshals
discuss the matter and agree that it must pass to some *kusiut*,
a near relative of the deceased, who is informed of the decision
and does not dare refuse, even if he should wish to do so. After
a delay of two or three days, the body is taken secretly to the
grave and buried, while the *kukusiut* sing the dead person's
song. This causes the call to shift to the chosen relative who
completes the ceremony in due course. In the case of a
Cannibal, for example, a considerable amount of time is al-
lowed to elapse, and meanwhile the uninitiated are told that
the *kukusiut* are still waiting and watching for his return.

533*
[115]

(a) Recorded on song VII D 36, National Museum of Canada; singer, Reuben Robinson, leader, Jim Pollard, grandpa; and commentary, recorded by Pat in Charles and Sometimes Pearle.

(b) Meanings: On to shown on display on ancient rights, this song was used at a potlatch.

(c) That is: Eagle is pleased. This supernatural being was used as entertainer.

(d) Eagle is said to display a proud and arrogantly disposition by trying to [776] ●
[illegible] the voices of others.

(e) That is: Human beings.

(f) Eagle.

(g) That is: In his guise he is trying to imitate the voice of a goose chief.

Song of Tsawalak of Kitsumkalum

A [illegible]
I am angry,

[illegible]
I shall generously display

[illegible]
the water that was brought down

[illegible]
by him(c) who came down(d).

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (e)

B [illegible]
Were ready for

[illegible]
Ałkamałkamis(f)

[illegible]
his dishes(g).

[illegible]
It was sometimes as large as a pond(h).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 43a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) A figurative expression for slachan geese.

(c) Referring to one of the dancer's ancestors, a chief who descended to Kitsumqalt in the beginning of time.

(d) This song was used at a potlatch and is accordingly phrased grandiloquently.

(e) The wordless chorus consists of an oft-repeated name which is said to be the name of the pigeon. The singer was unaware of its application.

(f) *Ałkamałkamis* was a chief who, in the beginning of time, came down midway between Kitsumqalt and Kitsilas.

(g) That is: Dishes, carved in form of his crest, were awaiting *Ałkamałkamis* on his arrival.

(h) A reference to the great abundance of slachan geese.

Song Used for [illegible] of Kitsumqalt(a)

A *Kaidimsimsimqlt*[illegible]
They(b) will come to receive

Ałqamitsudai
my valuable goods(c)

Dzalqałkałdai
which *Łqamłk*(d)

Ałłkamałsudai
brought down.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

(c) As further to the dancer's ceremonial myth, one of his forefathers succeeded in obtaining a vivid ghost. 593*

(d) Many origin myths describe houses, provided by *Hiyaxsa* for the high spirits, which expanded of their own accord to accommodate guests or patronches. The reference is to one of these, although it was impossible to record the myth itself. [775]

Song Used for Quest of Kwaquilla

A Pitsaqulaxa Know yourselves for is,	*ná'ldzamk* ye residents!	*Ólólqulqulaxa* You which is our supernatural beings(a).	*ayaxdzqaxdzi*

[WOMAN'S SONG]

B Sholtsamlaxdzaxa As the lumens(b)	*dzilldzyindza* the four corners(b)	*dzinxwmaxa* sacred bounds!	*ma'nalaxdzaxa* of our provided food(c).

[WOMAN'S SONG]

C The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded on song VII D 6b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. Quest was his mother's brother.
(b) The dancer's ancestors are invited to gather to witness his performance.
(c) Thus is: The mouth.
(d) Referring to one of the dancer's earliest ancestors.
(e) The reference is to the Kwaquin River which teems with salmon; the dancer describes the fish as the fare provided for his ceremonial family by *Hiyaxsa*.

Song Used for Quest of Kwaquil (a)

A or B(?) *Limmamalaxa* Go out and see,	*ye ná'ldzamk* ye residents!	*Yaxsimaxlaxdzi* It is apparent(c)	
dzyitsdzai what travels everywhere(d),	*dzyaxsdzilaxa* what brings our food(c)	*dzmdzyaxsdzmdzi* from its home(f).	

[WOMAN'S SONG]

C Dzyaxqulaxa That is	*dzitdzaqulaxa* the chief	*Lislislilda(g)* *Lislislilda;*	*dzyaxqaxdzmdzi* he carries a heavy burden(h)	[776 424]
mdzyaxqulaxdzi in his canoe	*lamdzyaxsdzmdzi* from his land.			

(a) Recorded on song VII D 6c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Only two of the three parts are remembered.
(c) The actual meaning of *laxsimaxa* is: What is Apparent. Its use in this case is, therefore, an untranslatable pun.

[633]
[772]
[424]

(c) A somewhat beautiful reference to the power of the dancer's talisman.
(d) Another arrogant reference to the talisman.
(e) *Ts Bella Bella.*
(f) This is a Bella Bella being of whom little is known by the Bella Coola. The right to use him as a talisman came from a neighbor community.
(g) Presumably, the dancer's right to perform.

Fragment of a Song Used for Exam, a Kimsquit Ism(a)

A *Hiyaumsnis*	*mathumsimskap*	*Tahumsimsnis*
Present your faces,	you quiet people!	In always shooting arrows

Sachumsqualhum
my wealth.

[musician comment]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

[musician comment]

Sytsuiim	*Sachilhumsmalhill*
Don't do that,	they will cover us with valuables(b).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 29b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to be an extremely ancient one, used by some of the earliest settlers; the tune is said to be entirely different from any recent *nuxalk* compositions.

[424]
[825]
[775]

(b) The dancer's crest was the wasp, an insect which is believed to sting by the discharge of invisible, minute arrows. This admonition to the guests to hide their faces was, of course, a boasting reference to the goods which would be distributed at the approaching potlatch. Some of the first settlers were sent down to earth as a wasp, but several, including *Nankilla*, were guided and assisted by those insects to such an extent that they have been regarded as crests.

[558]
[424]

(c) It is customary, when quoting this song, to add this final remark. It is related that, many years ago, a Kimsquit man used his wasp prerogative, but was shamed at the potlatch by being inundated with goods from a rival. Since that time, none of his descendants has dared to use the right and the admonition against doing so has become almost proverbial.

Fragment of a Song Used for Nuyuikmainis of Kimsquit(a)

A *Sparaqlitsum*	*chalipalmilhal*	*Dilipalpilhalal*	*matinupasals*
We all go	to see(b).	He(c) informs us	of what he carries.

B and *C* No more of this song is remembered, though it was used at a potlatch about 1900.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 29b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
(b) Meaning: To gaze upon something supernatural.
(c) An unnamed supernatural being.

J. McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEh Bellacoola NEh

Nuxŭkámy Songs

The texts of *nuxŭkámy* songs are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. The rites in which they were used have long been discontinued and, since they were never ceremonially important, there was nothing to impress either tunes or words on the minds of the singers. In addition, it is probable that the songs were always less carefully constructed than those of other types. 533* [794]

Song Used for Ḳalnal(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

Ḳiscaxwinaiye	*ałkwaxałałcinaiye*	*xiwinawłondai*
Be happy,	ye people,	it is about to come,
dzifułnayamdai	*dzqałałnaxaiye*	
that hidden one(c),	Beaver.	

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

Ḳalnal'i	*Ḳalnal'i*	*ne nai yai*
Beaver(d)!	Beaver!	*ne nai yai*(e).

(a) This word means "Beaver." It is most unlikely that it was the dancer's own designation, more probably a nickname used in connection with the *nuxŭkámy* rite. [551]

(b) Recorded as song VII D 9b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.

(c) This signifies a person who is hidden ceremonially, such as a *hamat* dancer who has gone to the land above. The dancer expected to be a Cannibal and the rite in which this song was used served as a kind of rehearsal. [796] [575]

(d) This refrain replaces a second and third part of the song itself.

(e) A meaningless series of choral ejaculations.

Song Used for a Kimsquit Woman(a)

Axnaqdimqudzk:	*ḥapimacudax*	*tuxwimaschidax*	*ałwmałtchidax*
They heard	of Fawn(b),	when they were playing	long ago(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 9d, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) The theme being of a fawn, the dancer wore a deer-skin. [595]

(c) As in many *nuxŭkámy* songs, the words refer to an ancient story, probably one describing the adventures of deer and wolves; see vol. II, p. 425.

Song Used for Wasaqilaix, a Kimsquit Man(a)

Lilirwmastnimy	*waowmnsqstn-ai*	*waiytiki*	*sqalanopt*
Run in all directions,	ye dogs,	for the first time	it is there
nuwaqalmm	*atuitkyanam*	*maoic*	*maoic*
he brings much food(b),	go below the house	ʔ(c)	ʔ(d).

[776] [192]

2: McDowell: E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

*583 (a) Recorded as song VII D 9b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louis Hall.
[776] (b) Presumably a reference to *Sisiłyum*, the dancer's *hactsi* garment(?).
[192] (c) The meaning of this word is not known; it is considered to be quite distinct from the identical term in Chinook jargon for "then."
(d) The meaning of the whole song is extremely obscure.

Marriage Songs

*633 As marriage songs, two distinct classes may be considered:
585 A. Those used at weddings;
[582] B. Shaming songs used in connection with divorce rites.
[578] The former are said to have been handed down from the distant past and consist of a few almost meaningless words. The latter are composed whenever required, and consist of foul allusions to the person being ridiculed.

WEDDING SONGS

Stuxx Marriage Song(a)

'Nuxuqwtldimqwuxuit!	*yas isłqwlaiyulas*	*ałuxufuxułuqis*
Danced for joy	*Łwlaiyu*(b)	when they brought
al'ałłuxuxuxułux	*yas łutqaqsp uxułłux*	
the girl	from the place of light(c).	

(a) Recorded as song VII D 3b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

[773] (b) *Łwlaiyu* came down with *uyuyayut* in the beginning of time, and brought,
[424] as a gift from *Alqantem*, the prerogative of dancing at weddings. He landed at Kimsquit, and no explanation is given by the Bella Coola for the use of this song
[773] by the people of *Stuxx*.

(c) A reference to a marriage among the first people on earth. One of *Łwlaiyu*'s associates married a woman whose relatives had brought light with them from above.

Kimsquit Marriage Song(a)

Sak'łalalimqwuxułux	*yas łuxumtłalaxułs*	*uastłqulyułxułumłux*
They sent down	*Xumtsla*(b)	with his relative
yas isłqwlaiyulaxułs		
Łwlaiyu (c)(d).		

(a) Recorded as song VII D 2b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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sisłiyuktminandas	*Tłowsiks'łis*	*Tinłpinmainandas*
all, everywhere, know of	*Tłowsiks'łis(or).*	They(*f*) crossed repeatedly

yas ełułowsitnandas
to *Tłowsis*(*gg*).

(*a*) The first four parts of this song were recorded as song VII D 7a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said to have been composed about 1870 for a chief whose son had been drowned. It was later used for a nephew of *Łewi*, and will henceforth be employed only by members of that family. [424]

(*b*) That is: Why has my son died?

(*c*) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.

(*d*) Referring to the dead son.

(*e*) That is: The supernatural being, the chief, has taken him. The reference is to the deceased's crest animal, a common rhetorical device in songs.

(*f*) An ancestor of the deceased and one of the first settlers of the world. He came down to Rivers Inlet.

(*g*) *Tłakwakila* is said to have widened, or even to have made, the principal river at Rivers Inlet. [773]

(*h*) *Tłakwakila* came in the form of a raven.

(*i*) Referring to *Łwinas*.

(*j*) It was impossible to obtain translations of these two subdivisions. *Łwinas*, now dead, will be irremovably connected with the scenes of his first ancestor.

(*k*) Meaning Raven.

(*l*) The mother of *Łwinas* who had died several years earlier.

(*m*) The theme now changes as if *Łewi* were addressing *Łwinas*.

(*n*) Referring to *Łwinas*.

(*o*) Refers to the supernatural beings who rouse the sun and moon and thus cause their light to shine on earth. Mention is made of these in *Łwinas*'s origin myth. [776] [821]

(*p*) The theme changes again from direct address to *Łwinas* to a description of what he will be doing owing to his ancestral history.

(*q*) That is: He will be in the form of one of the guardians of light when his life descends, at a memorial potlatch, to Rivers Inlet.

(*r*) That is: That was what *Wałks* brought. *Wałks*, another of *Łwinas*'s first ancestors, could not find a suitable place to settle in the beginning of time. After fruitless wandering, a whale emerged, vomited violently, and was changed to stone. The animal thus became Gosse Island, and its vomit the rugged rocks at one end. *Wałks* settled on that island. [773] [823]

(*s*) This song has three third parts.

(*t*) That is: The first people, with their shaman-like power, had just appeared.

(*u*) Referring to *ts'wanaka*, another of *Łwinas*'s first ancestors, who also came to earth at Rivers Inlet.

(*v*) At that time the routes between different settlements had not been discovered.

(*w*) More specifically, the crows, long breast feathers.

(*x*) *ts'wanaka* used a supernatural canoe which frequently changed to eagle feathers. [773]

(*y*) Refers to Sea-lion Island where he and his descendants used to hunt.

(*z*) Refers to the Bella Bella; several of *Łwinas*'s relatives had married members of that tribe.

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*533 (*aa*) Referring to a spot outside Smith Inlet.

[976] (*bb*) That is: *Tlelinki'lak'* had just stilled the rough sea. She was another of *Qwinso*'s first ancestors, the most powerful of a group of four consisting of her brothers, *Nain'akwas*, *Tlaowika'lis*, and *Tlaliatlis*, and of herself.

(*cc*) *Qemoqwa*'s house, a reference to an incident in *Qwinso*'s ancestral myth.

(*dd*) The house contained whistles and other valuables which they obtained.

[551] (*ee*) That is: All people, everywhere, know of *Nain'akwas* and *Tlaowika'lis*. Each name, though singular, has a plural significance since the other brothers are likewise implied.

(*ff*) Referring again to the band of first settlers.

(*gg*) A place on the mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island.

Song Used for Sinapsil(a)

A Yas ká'ásmaiusdimqudax	*dinulóldsiásmá'ldil:*	*yas ká'ldsdudimodaax*
They(*b*) will presently inform(*c*)	my dead relatives(*d*)	when they reach
yas ólóttsuwuiqudstax	*dufukdjudjimultsidax*	*dualultpámtthmdax*
the outer places(*e*);	they(*f*) see(*g*)	where they first came down.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Kas-ambdum-ásmáinx	*aiyanasmaiumálmdi*	*ólusdáinasdidax*
I clothe myself with(*h*)	my ancestral myth,	as it was
dzudutiyo-mskidax	*ydanaxufunm-ástskidax*	*aiyulámtsel'aiudax*
in the time	of the *Nanufmáli*(*i*)	house.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Skámalualumuwimt'	*dásqwutamásmaálandax*	*ástmindjultsiál*
Had just emerged(*j*)	the place where our relatives get their food(*k*).	
Aiyadsemtátystax	*ástlhkidimut-skidax*	*aiyawátki-adax*
Thither went	when it became dry(*l*)	*W'atki*.
Ástkiyukldinlandax	*dáno'asptu-ámhlkál*	*aiyattmtu-ukdil*
That is why	all people, everywhere, know	of my ancestors(*m*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 37, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. Both words and tune were composed by him about 1907.

(*b*) Referring to *W'atki* and his band, (I, p. 350). *Sinapsil* was descended from this group of first people.

[192] (*c*) The significance of this word is stronger than *inform*. It means that *W'atki* will relate to the deceased their ancestral myth.

(*d*) The chief for whom this song was composed had lost several relatives.

(*e*) Referring to Goose Island, *Ya'ástsin*, where *W'atki* landed.

(*f*) Referring again to the deceased.

[192 775] (*g*) The significance of this word is stronger than *see*. It means that those recently dead will gaze with rapture on the places which belong to them owing to their ancestral myth.

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B *Nuyumhulimlint* They(g) sang | *dinuxlhklilinlidai* over my wash-basin(h); | *dilqtlqum-ishli* they all watched over *yululxwulumm* my shaman's power(i).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Ăuxwithumlint* Became open | *uxuxlulxwulitsda* the place of shaman's power(j); | *dmmdqumilsis* there I saw *Tlinqplitsu-alsis* *Tlinqplitsu-a.*

(a) This man received his name and his ability to cure the sick from *Tlinqplitsu-a* about 1850. He was very ill, apparently on the point of death, at the time of his visitation.

(b) Recorded as song VII D 45a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(c) The first part is worded as if supernatural beings were speaking.

(d) The reference is to the healing ability granted to shamans who have themselves been cured when seriously ill.

[753] (e) That is: Human beings. It is believed that a person can be cured only if *Tlinqplitsu-a* or some other supernatural being implant within the patient's body some of the healing power.

[776] (f) The two choruses of this song have different tunes, an unusual feature.

(g) Referring to supernatural beings; this part of the song is worded as if *Nisitamlsis* were speaking, and describing the time he was made a shaman.

(h) Reference to the wash-basin shows that *Nisitamlsis* had the ability to cure the sick.

(i) The theme is worded as if supernatural beings had tended and brooded over the power which they ultimately sent down.

(j) The reference is to *Nuxwăt-a* which, as the home of supernatural beings, is consequently the place from which comes a shaman's power. When *Nisitamlsis* was at the point of death, it seemed to him that the sky opened above him so that he was able to gaze upon those resident there. He watched the supernatural ones conferring about his own fate, and gazed with joy at the departure of *Tlinqplitsu-a* to rescue him.

[551]

Song Used by Sikwulxulks(a), a Bella Coola Woman(b)

[195]

A *Wikulxinlkumy* It waved up and down | *ciyumsis-sy^{w}alx* *Sony^{w}*(c) | *dinuxtsuhmalim* when they(d) sang | *ciyalqmumsilis* of salmon(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sinuxpunlimint* They(f) placed eagle down | *dinuxlhklilinlidai* within the wash-basin(g) | *ilhmsim-ilhmdai* where I was(h); *dinuk'ishum-tmqalidai* he(i) pulled me forth.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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NE5 Bellacoola NE5

C *Wa'ell-ts'ma'nuxlh* | *yas ts'ts'ts'ma'nuxlh'ndal* | *ts'ts'ts'ma'nuxlh'ndal* 599
I gazed upon | what gave me power as a shaman(*f*) | when it stood up 756

xawlx-amaw-a-ts'-ualx
in the centre of a place of petrified power(*h*).

(*a*) This was the woman's *Sacial* designation; her shaman's name has been forgotten. [551]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 56, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tal'a* Charlie and Steamboat Annie.

(*c*) That is: The sky moved up and down. Grandiloquent phrases of this kind are frequent in songs used by shamans. [195]

(*d*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*e*) *Sinaxmile* is said to be the word for *salmon* in the language of the supernatural beings; it is used by mortals in the rites following the taking of the first spring salmon. The shaman has received some of her power from a fish. [198] [226]

(*f*) Refers to the supernatural beings.

(*g*) Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

(*h*) The meaning is obscure. Apparently the shaman had been carried away by *Thi'xpilite'-a* and treated by immersion in a basin in which eagle down was deposited.

(*i*) This refers to the supernatural being, *Ts'ax'nuxlmen*, who restores to life mortals killed by the receipt of too much power from *Thi'xpilite'-a*. It is clear that this fate befell the shaman. [776]

(*j*) The woman is said to have received power from several sources, salmon, ghosts, and *Thi'xpilite'-a* herself. It is impossible to state which of her supernatural patrons is referred to in this subdivision.

(*k*) The woman must have been taken to one of the spots where cures could be effected by the power of a supernatural being petrified there. [755]

[551] [776]

Song Used by Nuxnar'malaxin(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A *Ts'ts'ts'ma'nuxlh* | *wax'ts'ts'ts'ma'nuxlh* | *aiakaxiaat*
Look at the teeming supernatural beings above(*c*), not one is my equal(*d*), | wine one(*e*)!

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Sna'ts'ts'ts

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(a) "The One Who Dances Near the Fire." This is one of *Ṫlitcāplilān·a*'s designations and, therefore, one of the names she gives to those she cures.

(b) Recorded as song VII D 20a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(c) As is often the case, the theme is worded as if *Ṫlitcāplilān·a* were speaking.

(d) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions.

(e) Referring to *Nuxmīx·mālsaix*; such self-praise is a common device in songs used by shamans.

(f) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions. Reference to the mouth is in connection with the way a shaman accompanies his song by furious clashing together of his teeth. *Ṫlitcāplilān·a* herself does this.

(g) It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each of these subdivisions. Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.

Song Used by Xmxmmslaix, a Kimsquit Woman(a)

A Sqapaxal'ālumāl	*walukwalāltumānī*	*nuyālyiklumānuāl:*
All(b) have given me	the power of a shaman;	give me mental strength

naiyawaiw!
the good supernatural beings.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Nuqwāqlmālāla	*aiyadiseyₑnyʷsudai*	*dimnīnaqwnam·ālīsandal:*
They opened	*Sonyʷ*;	they saw me

naqwālqālam·ālālsudal(c)
as they passed down.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten(*d*).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 21a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It was used when the woman first danced as a shaman.

(b) This refers to supernatural beings in general. The song is worded as if the shaman herself were speaking.

(c) When a record was being made of this song, the singer forgot this subdivision and substituted for it the final one of the first part.

(d) It is said that there was no mention of a wash-basin in the third part and that, accordingly, the shaman had no power to heal the sick.

[551]

Song Used by Nunutsmmkmem(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A Yaa ālumānālāmī	*ālluminulsan*	*gtān·litsamnuxilī*	*skusiutalsdja*
Hail! Mortals,	I(c) repeat(d);	I give life,	I am a learned one.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 42b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) That is: The supernatural one held me in his carefully cupped hands. The theme is worded as if the shaman were speaking and describing the way he was carried away to some far-off spot for treatment.

Fragment of a Song Used by Ăłkusiyuxtem, a Bella Coola Woman(a)

Ănusukłomałtualduks	*aiyawaseyo·ny^{w}ałs*	*dasosqwisinuhim*	*dikusiudai*
Laughed	*Song^{w}(b)*	when they(c)started	my rite as shaman(d).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

Ḱaistukwlao
See how wretched I am(e).

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 42a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

(*b*) That is: The sky laughed. Shamans often use grandiloquent expressions such as this.

(*c*) Refers to supernatural beings in general.

(*d*) It is not known how this woman received her power except that it was from a salmon.

(*e*) The singer entered fully into the spirit of this song, and ended his singing by calling out these words and chattering his teeth as shamans are wont to do.

Fragment of a Song Used by Kusiyot, a Bella Coola Woman(a)

Sunwăkila	*Sunnăkila*	*dimănsiudai*	*xuosi*
The sun(b),	the sun,	is our father	(c)?

The rest of this song has been forgotten(d).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 34a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[821]
[776]
[788]

(*b*) This is the sun's name as chief.

(*c*) The meaning of this word is unknown. When the song was sung, the people used to follow the shaman to the river and throw water over themselves four times, accompanied by the crying out of this word.

(*d*) It seems highly probable that incoherent songs such as this were commonly used by shamans. *Kusiyot* herself is supposed to have derived her power from *Tłitcăplilăn·a*, but no explanation could be learnt for the rite of washing.

The most fragmentary of all shaman songs are those used by *snăxom.*. Although the last survivor of this type of visionary died many years ago, all the older Bella Coola state

* 2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*533 (*i*) The exact interpretation of this word may be inaccurate; the reference is to the masked figures which will presently appear.

(*j*) Plural.

(*k*) *Bàxbàxqwaiya* is a Kwakiutl supernatural being. The Bella Coola do not profess to understand this allusion which, they say, is quite contrary to their own usage. The implication is that the *hamats* actually exist within *Bàxbàxqwaiya*.

Song Used for Ełsiqwam, a Bella Coola Scratch Dancer(a)

A Wawkkàtwawulitsàls Was like a hurricane	*aiyawasyowq^{w}sàls* *Sonq^{w}*(*b*)	*àhàzskàioltomdàx* | when his(*c*) face projected

dàwsàkàmmwàlàlàdàx
and made me cry out(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sàwàqàmmlàixdàmq'dàx *Sàwàqàmmlàix*(*e*)	*dàqàwàtàwàsàlàwàpàlàdàx* has taught me(*f*).	*Dàzàlààmàlàlààmàlàdàls* | My parents are preparing to

wàwàwàqàwàtàmàmàls
distribute goods(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Wàsàlàlàcàmwàlàts I was close to	*yàa wàxàsàtàtàs* the repository	*wàsàpàlàpàmàmàwàtàtàdàm* when it opened and taught me

àdàlààlàl-àtàmàlàsàà
what I should presently do.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 13a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song, composed by Reuben Schooner, was used during the *hàxàt* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) That is: *Sonq^{w}* was like a hurricane.

(*c*) Referring to the dancer's patron.

(*d*) That is: Made me cry out in the manner of Scratch dancers. It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these two subdivisions.

[776] (*e*) A supernatural being who scratches in the land above.

(*f*) This song was used at the dancer's initiation and is accordingly worded as if he were speaking and describing his experiences.

(*g*) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions.

Song Used for Àlàmàlàwàlàix, a Bella Coola Scratch Dancer(a)

A Sàwàsàlàxàmàlàànàdàà It was long ago	*wàsàànààlàànàwàtàlààmàdàà* that they(*b*) made ready,	*dàààyàànààlàànàpààlàààà* that they changed,

dàwàsàkàmmàpàààdàà
my scratcher's cry(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

533*

B Sàlexamètnamlimdai | *yas nazhàsiutsta* | *yas ghàlkpamstuladjas*
He(*d*) sat down above | the repository; | that is whence came(*e*)

dàlkpamstàlimazàdjaix
my inspiration(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Shàmàlgulàxaiyaiplàdai | *aiatimaiyas-adai* | *dàxyàlàkaiadim*
The face had just become angry | of his father(*g*); | it was too much(*h*)

yas di-tsàlàstamàdai | *alàx-ishàxakaiyas* | *aldilixanimatàdai*
when he scratched; | he went away to a | man of placid temperament(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 14a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) Referring to the supernatural beings above.
(*c*) A reference to the peculiar cry used by all Scratch dancers. The phraseology is intentionally obscure.
(*d*) The dancer's patron.
(*e*) That is: It was he who taught.
(*f*) In the sense of: What enabled me to perform.
(*g*) That is: His father's face had just become angry on account of the excessive scratching. *His father* refers to *Alquntàm*, father of *Sno'alnkà Alquntàm*, the patron of Scratch dancers. The theme declares that *Alquntàm* was annoyed at the superabundant zeal of his son. [776]
(*h*) In the sense of: It was more than he could bear.
(*i*) The meaning of these two subdivisions is problematical.

Song Used for 'Nàx-ànàx-a(a) a Bella Coola Scratch Dancer(b) [424]

A Nazikmàhtumilnka | *omàtatamalimlaix*
There is violent talking above where(*c*) | the patrons are meeting;

dàlpàlaiyaiualimlaix | *disisiskàhamlaix*
they give too much(*d*) | to the one that is hidden(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Patr-àchamilnka | *danashayamàkitsdai* | *dàxualipaiualimdai*
Is increasing | the crying(*f*); | return to him

dàxmal'kam-itsdai
his cedar-bark ornaments(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Dipàrpankaiualàtanà | *sualanamàmàtàl*
He(*h*) rushes around too much(*i*) | those left are troubled(*j*)

dàx-gàhàkaiualimlaix | *àltàxarimàhàmal*
when too much | is the talking above(*k*).

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Fourth Song Used for Snuwhe'hs, a Bella Coola Fungus Dancer(a) 533*

A Stamālupsteiqsimuts	*yas tsīhastislisi*	*ahtpsmhsirnulīnsh*
Has now recovered	the *hasiat* woman(*b*),	after they(*c*) exposed

mnsīhamlsīhsh
the heavy burden(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Ximiqs tsīdumīlstu	*dimsīnsh smalsundas*	*dālhsfstsmrmqndai*
There is light at the edge(*e*),	looks down	the much revered

smlsīhsīhlsundai
Moon(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Wastīnlsīd aiqsīstais	*dīhastistsnsscunsh*	*dashstsmhsnsw-alīsdai*
They(*g*) become frightened	of that *hasiat*(*h*)	whenever he displays

disqqolimqsīsīs
his blackened face(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 50, National Museum of Canada; trio, *Tal'is* Charlie, Reuben Schooner, and Steamboat Annie. This song, composed by Nebuchadnezzar, was used during the *hasiat* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) That is: The *hasiat* woman, the dancer, has now recovered. The implication is that she was grievously stricken when the power first came, before she knew what was required of her.

(*c*) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(*d*) Referring to the Fungus.

(*e*) Referring to the edge of *Sony*".

(*f*) That is: The much revered Moon looks down. The Moon is one of the dancer's patrons and the song asserts that he looked down on her when he heard that she was in trouble. "Much revered" refers to the attitude with which she regards her patron. [776]

(*g*) Referring to all *hahsiat*, human as well as supernatural.

(*h*) Referring to Moon.

(*i*) That is: Whenever he blackens his face. At an eclipse the face of the moon is said to become blackened, and the song implies that this is done deliberately by Moon in order to perform a *hasiat* dance. [776] [821]

Song Used for Salqnis, a Kimsquit Mystery(a) Dancer(b)

A Sāsāhmstsowit	*yasīhmstsīsīsm*	*ahtsp-frustsup'*
Stand firm and be brave,	mortals(*c*),	when you guess(*d*)

dīhsīsh'msīdai
its place of concealment(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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B *Ximtiyulwulin* | *ulqlhuntsnumals*
Observe(*f*) the supernatural being | where my thoughts are centred;

ulkumulwilindai | *ximtitlwuinlidai*
becomes hidden | my place of power(*g*).

[WOODLAND CHORUS]

C *Wuhulinul ulumuk;* | *ilkinnuskritidai*
No one can contradict the words of | my pattern(*h*);

ilnuulkwuyululnin | *ilnuudjunumdai*
it is the unutterable mystery | of *ilquuxim*(*i*).

(*a*) That is: *Ilnuutumk.*
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 41a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*c*) The words are addressed to the uninitiated whom the dancer pretends to regard in the same light as supernatural beings regard mortals.
(*d*) This song was used on one of the occasions when people were called upon to guess the hiding place of the dancer's power.
(*e*) That is: The place where my power is hidden.
(*f*) An invitation not to be taken literally.
(*g*) That is: My place of power becomes hidden. The implication is that the supernatural beings have carefully concealed it among themselves.
(*h*) The being from whom the dancer has obtained his inspiration.
(*i*) *Nuudjunum* is another designation for *Ilquuxim.*

[776]

Song Used for Ilnuhlnuis, a Kimsquit Mystery(*a*) *Dancer*(*b*)

A *Intutuinuhulilip* | *qlitsuqlunutlwumlidai* | *yao qlitihlulxumlip*
I am grateful to | *Ilnuqlunutlum*(*c*); | you(*d*) have succeeded in guessing(*e*)

ximtitlwuinlidai
the hiding-place of my power.

[WOODLAND CHORUS]

B *Sqaqul ulmilulu* | *yao tsimlumu-unumli* | *ikaultwunum-alidai*
They(*f*) called upon | *Imumu-a* | to drone(*g*)

ulnuhlwultlumli
for the shaman-like one(*h*).

[WOODLAND CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) That is: *Ilnuutumk.*
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 40a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was used about 1910 at Kimsquit.
(*c*) A supernatural being who gives inspiration.

[776]

(*d*) This is addressed to the uninitiated, one of whom has guessed correctly. 533*
(*e*) The assumption is that this has been done with the aid of *Anuqwnnikmm*.
(*f*) Referring to the supernatural beings above.
(*g*) That is: To utter her supernatural droning cry.
(*h*) The reference is to *Sno'olxlts Alquntäm*, the dancer's patron. The meaning of the whole passage is obscure but seems to be as follows: *Sno'olxlts Alquntäm* was perturbed at the coming of the call to his protégé and, to help their fellow, the other supernatural beings called upon *Snitsmän·a* to drone. This sound has a healing effect and would, therefore, enable human beings to solve the mystery. The phraseology is intentionally obscure. [776]

Song Used for Willie Johnston(a), a Bella Coola Thunder Dancer(b)

A Skämälnutwinmutsals	*didaxdakän·äldai*	*sipäyaotcum·äliandai*
I have just heard	it(*c*) coming down;	it changes its voice

äläolsäläldilsäls
above our heads(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Stirwotsamlimilliks	*dikusiutstnaoosuals*	*yao skäoskimänldisdai*
They asked plainly	the *kusiut*(*e*)	to lead the frenzied beating of sticks(*f*)

sawaqulxwailals
at the gathering of the supernatural beings in the land above.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Sealkimaxlamilsiks	*wakälälxwoläätimats*	*däsnustkit'limlsandai*
Too many to be seen	are those called(*g*);	when they increased

dinutsgmälsdimutldumdai
the water(*h*).

(*a*) The Bella Coola name of the dancer was unfortunately omitted.
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 57, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, announcer and prompter, assisted by *Tä·io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.
(*c*) Referring to the call.
(*d*) It is doubtful whether this statement is more than a rhetorical device to impress the uninitiated.
(*e*) Referring to Thunder.
(*f*) Thunder, one of the most powerful of the supernatural *kukusiut*, has the prerogative of leading the orchestra of stick beaters to "cure" a fellow-dancer. The song states that his fellows requested him to perform this function. [776]
(*g*) That is: So many are in attendance that they cannot be recognized. The reference is to Thunder's dance in the land above, for which the supernatural *kukusiut* assemble from all directions. [773]
(*h*) The allusion is to the rain which follows Thunder's dance. [821]

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Song Used for Ämamtci, a Bella Coola Thunder(a) Dancer(b)

*533 *A Istäxkilkämäkalutsduks | yas täsixwin·imut·alsdax | ältasiḵnuwaxamlals ältxwaltumal·itsals*

I cannot tell whence comes what(c) I hear, I cannot tell where it is; there is nothing but fog above, I am in trouble(d).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Äiqualxwekmem·akudai | sä·lanḵämdimutdasdai | dinunuqumlaixdusdai yaiyulätimutsudai

The hands of everyone helped *Yulätimut*(e) in the wonderful works he was doing for himself; all wanted him to do the same for them(f).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Sononstkäxk·imälimqudai | *diyaiyandimutdasdai* | *diälḵikmelosdusdai*
Is moving again | the fire-holder(g), | it is being shaken by

saiutlaikilasudai
Thunder (h).

[776] [575] [796] (a) *Ämamtci* has two patrons, Thunder and *Yulätimut*. During the winter of 1923-4 he was initiated into the *kusiut* society as a Thunder dancer; in the following song, reference is made to both his patrons, but he would have to be introduced once more, with a second name, before he could dance with respect to *Yulätimut*.

(b) Recorded as song VII D 51, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, announcer and prompter, assisted by *Tal·io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song, composed by *Tal·io* Charlie, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(c) Referring to the call.

(d) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions.

(e) One of the dancer's patrons.

(f) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions.

[776] [821] (g) That is: The fire-holder is moving again. The reference is to the article shaken by Thunder which causes lightning. In dances, this is shown as a hollow rattle containing smouldering cedar-bark of which fragments are scattered in all directions.

*[575] *[796] (h) The dancer's second patron.

Fragment of a Song Used for Nuxnäx·mälosaix, a Bella Coola Ghost Dancer(a)

A Qis·kwaistätimotilox | *Aiyawastwinutsmim*
Why is there no name(b)? | Each(c) speaks proudly of himself(d);

dinulḵwtamilsandai | *sticiqualiayasudai*
they use as house posts(e) | their shin-bones.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

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(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 11b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This was incorrectly announced on the record as a shaman's song.
(*b*) The meaning of this is problematical. Ghost dancers habitually deride the dead and this is certainly a veiled allusion of a derogatory nature.
(*c*) Referring to ghosts.
(*d*) That is: Each uses the kind of grandiloquent language employed by chiefs. [195]
(*e*) More specifically, the two uprights nearest the front-door.

Song Used for Qomcua, a Bella Coola Sun Dancer(a)

A Sewāshāmaiutsiaoals | *waaiyalilaxastai* | *stsoolwostl-amalit* |
The two | *Aiislāxa(b)* | drone in unison when

yao dinuxliwatemdai
he(*c*) enters(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Ālkāpāksmem-āqodai | *diponponllamatemdai* | *lalitnexliwatemdai* |
All(*e*) watch as he draws near at the time they called him(*f*); is waiting(*g*)

dāt-amamlkānildasdai
his salmon blanket(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Shāmālamtainulim | *yao dilqwalst'liwallxandai(i)* | *oldiskānikstāsdai*
They invite the lofty one to place himself(*j*) | on his seat;

aianxālotladai
hail, *Sinxālotla(k)*.

(*a*) This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4. The patron of the dancer, a woman, is *Sinxālotla*, the name of *Ālqunām* as Sun. [776]
(*b*) Referring to the two *Aiislāxa* who drone daily as sun and moon travel.
(*c*) Referring to *Sinxālotla*.
(*d*) That is: When he enters *Nusmāt-a* at the winter solstice to join the gathering of the supernatural beings. It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for these two subdivisions.
(*e*) Referring to the supernatural beings.
(*f*) A reference to the gathering of the supernatural beings before the winter solstice.
(*g*) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for these three subdivisions.
(*h*) That is: His salmon blanket is waiting. The reference is to *Ālqunām*'s blanket with salmon on its lining. [776]
(*i*) When the song was first used, this subdivision consisted of a repetition of the second subsection of the second part. This was considered poor technique and the phrasing was altered for later occasions.
(*j*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations of these two subdivisions.
(*k*) The dancer's patron.

Song Used for Snuyaxlikuax-a(a), a Female Bella Coola Sun(b) Dancer(c)

*533 *A Ānuximnulitsduks* | *ma'alusklāx-itsnīs* | *sa-nāmhukm-alimdai*
disilpapsteilaixpas

There was light above me when they(*d*) opened the very powerful thing for me(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Łakwalsdutnamlimilnks | *dispayawa-kqulimdai*
Loud voices(*f*) are discussing his(*g*) multitudinous works(*h*);

dasnulpanlanamldumdai | *disnuslkakstinilsandai*
when he stirred sunwise | the water in the shaman's wash-basin(*i*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Wa's-umkwalmmqudu | *sha'alpalpaluslaixas* | *dalqualsas-um-itlqnals*
yalsmayaitilasuals

Smaisikila(*j*) and his associates are immortal; they guard life. In the beginning of time they created *Alpalpaluslaix*(*k*).

[551] [424] (*a*) This is a Rivers Inlet name, inherited by the present owner as a result of the marriage of one of her ancestors with a Rivers Inlet woman.

(*b*) According to a strict definition, *Snuyaxlikuax-a* is not a Sun dancer. Her [776] patron is *Alqustm*, but she does not refer to him as *Sunsalalla*, Sun, but as *Smaisikila*.

(*c*) This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*d*) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(*e*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions.

(*f*) Referring to those of the supernatural beings.

(*g*) Referring to *Smaisikila*.

(*h*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations of these two subdivisions.

(*i*) The reference is obscure. Allusions to wash-basins are usually found only [424] in songs used by shamans; it is said that the dancer had a prerogative of that nature in Rivers Inlet, and insisted on it being mentioned in her *kusiut* song. This is contrary to Bella Coola custom.

(*j*) The dancer's patron.

(*k*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions. [776] *Alpalpaluslaix* is a supernatural being with the ability to revive mortals; little is known of him and he may be a Rivers Inlet being.

Song Used for Aiqualsamlaix, a Bella Coola Moon Dancer(a)

A Yao isstsqemnupālsduks | *dislulutsdimutlīsandai* | *yao ala'amastlaals*
I was surprised at what was told to me; it was too much, it described(*b*)

sumastlustuals
the descending supernatural being(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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B Aiakstpstmalsnd'a I was not good enough(*d*)	*ahidát-tnaldai* when came to me	*dikilmomstutsldai* my patron;

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sumlmstpsumallsndai
I told him so.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Wazpalwulst-tiamalsks No one passed outside his house(*e*)	*amstudr-umalimdai* within sight	*dipatlpatlimdai* when blackened his face

enlatalkilasudai
Moon(*f*).

(*a*) This song, composed by Reuben Schooner, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

(*c*) The reference is to the call. The meaning of this whole first part is highly problematical; the references are intentionally obscure to impress the uninitiated.

(*d*) That is: I did not have sufficient goods to distribute for a ceremony.

(*e*) The theme here changes from a description of the dancer's experience to an account of his patron's actions in the land above.

(*f*) That is: When Moon, the dancer's patron, blackened his face, no one passed even within sight of his house. As uninitiated are forbidden to pass in front of a dwelling in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place, so supernatural beings avoid the vicinity of Moon's house when he is performing. The blackening of the face refers to an eclipse, but has an added significance since it is an intimation of a dance. [776] [784] [821]

As already described (II, p. 229), the Otter dance differs from most *kusiut* rites and the songs are likewise peculiar. They do not vary from year to year and the following example, used during the season of 1923-4, contains many points of an unusual nature, not even understood by the participants themselves. It has only two parts, each with a different tune, and the performer carried out her rite by dancing in two distinct ways. In the first part, she raised and lowered her fore-arms as is customary, but followed this with a smoothing motion, as if she were levelling upturned earth. The significance of this seems to have been forgotten entirely.

533* [575]* [796]* [535]

Song Used for Kuxulkw-i, a Female Kimsquit Otter Dancer(a)

A Alaiaxlaqadsx It has always been so,	*yas dalqyumyumdsx* it(*b*) has no shame(*c*);	*sawátkpalstmamsdsx* all see it

*533 *yao daasiutldax*
when the supernatural one comes down(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (*e*)

B Waskexäs·ämäqodax | *was·iqayawak'mitsdax* | *däs·taboseinulidsdai*
He(*f*) is pleased at what I have been doing, I have exposed to him the thing of

daintqamisqodai | *diälukxailailduidai* | *yao Älquntaiämsudai*
great worth(*g*); in like fashion calls his people(*h*) | *Älquntäm*(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 27a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.
(*b*) Referring to the otter.
(*c*) That is: It is blameless. The meaning is obscure.
(*d*) A reference to the catching, by the dancer, of the figure of an otter, a spectacle watched by all.
(*e*) The wordless chorus is unusually long.
(*f*) Referring to the otter.
(*g*) Presumably referring to the rite in which the figure of an otter is used; the whole part is practically unintelligible.
(*h*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these five subdivisions.
(*i*) That is: *Älquntäm* summons his followers just as I have called you. The unusual lengthening of this part, combined with an apparently illogical mention of *Älquntäm*, suggests that the last two subdivisions may be relics of a former third part.

Song Used for Anuximälos, a Bella Coola Bark-Beater(*a*) *Dancer*(*b*)

A Iqaätstcqälsundja | *yao skänusqänmikldats* | *däkak·imolätimutlsandai*
dinuälätcimälsldulsdai
The one(*c*) who was talking so vociferously to us was so excessively happy that I almost curbed his mirth(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Was·älgyuts·im·älimk^{w} | *aiadisiutas* | *was·nuno·yonlim*
They(*e*) alone heard | the song | they practised

äläqulxwaixdilals
at the gathering of the supernatural beings(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Smnlätaqs·imälim | *sawa'omomätuts* | *tcisßixßixkimmäas* | *aiasinxälotla*
Counts his work(*g*) | the patron(*h*), | the Bark-Beater | of *Sinxälotla*(*i*)

[776] (*a*) The dancer's patron was the supernatural Bark-Beater.
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 11a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been composed about 1900 and has since been used repeatedly. It was employed during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

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(*c*) Refers to a supernatural being.
(*d*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations of these four subdivisions. The meaning of the whole part is obscure.
(*e*) Refers to the supernatural beings.
(*f*) The translation is accurate for the part as a whole, though the interpretations of the first and third subdivisions may possibly have been transposed. The significance of the words in relation to the dance is obscure.
(*g*) That is: Keeps count of how much he has done.
(*h*) That is: The patron counts his work.
(*i*) The supernatural Bark-Beater was the dancer's patron.

Song Used for Anuximān·a, a Female Bella Coola Carpenters'(a) Dancer(b)

A Istaiastam·ilsika | *wa·anzdjakum·idsudals* | *wasxwgl·ähm·alisandja*
When I was bold and head-strong(*c*), I nearly killed myself, I went to the place of(*d*)

alapaxtlamaqoals
dreaded power.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Sähuzjpmänltominils | *ǵdinunuqwiutmmldai* | *xdisiaslakäles·aiyas*
Nunuqwiutmm(*e*) placed eagle down upon my head; for that reason the carpenters(*f*)

ǵdisnupuxkstimut·aoals
made light(*g*) for me(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Samonjkämdimutqududai | *yeyulätimutstudai* | *xidjinqwdxwinäm·ämkidals*
Long ago(*i*) | *Yulätimut* | made this rite unaided,

alatcim·u·änaoals
the child(*j*).

[776]

(*a*) Her patrons were the four supernatural carpenters.
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 26a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.
(*c*) This song was used at the dancer's initiation; the text describes her experiences for the benefit of the uninitiated.
(*d*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.
(*e*) A supernatural being about whom nothing could be learnt.
(*f*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.
(*g*) In the sense of: Provided illumination.
(*h*) That is: The carpenters showed me the way to power.
(*i*) In the beginning of time.
(*j*) A reference to the figure of a child which is made to walk as a puppet at this dance. No further information could be obtained.

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Song Used for Sinuximätl, a Female Bella Coola Kusiut Dancer(a)

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A Ixilkxumnulitsdux | sa·uam·intsiystwuli | yao skäitsumaqulm dikäsiutsinulili

My path was both crooked and erratic when I searched for a supernatural being(b), when I finally succeeded(c).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Änuqaotymaqo | *yao nuskäsiutsta* | *disiuxstqumnulitsdai*
I was stationed firmly above | the repository; | at times it was hidden,

dikitlmntsiämlitsdai
there was no road(d).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Skämälkumkmmlnndai | *dinunuqwiutsmmldai* | *ye sqwiqotsainulisdux*
Pounded with his stick | *Nunuqwiutsmm*(e); | he succeeded in opening it(f),

disiälqumlsiyaoali
and light appeared.

(a) There are so many *kusiut* dances that it was manifestly impossible to obtain details of them all. This song, composed by Nebuchadnezzar, was used at the initiation of *Sinuximätl* during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4. The neophyte, a mere infant, did not dance and no information was obtained concerning the proper conduct of the rite. Her patron was the supernatural being, *Nunuqwiutsmm*.

●[776] (b) This being an initiation song, those who are not members of the society are regaled with an account of the alleged experiences of the neophyte.

(c) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions.

(d) These assertions are not to be taken literally; they are all for the benefit of the uninitiated.

(e) That is: *Nunuqwiutsmm* pounded with his stick. He is the dancer's patron.

(f) Referring to the repository.

Song Used for Änudskänuts, a Bella Coola Kusiut(a) Dancer(b)

A Yao uxsäs·tcälqotdji | sikilkäu·ildilali | ma'alaimaqoali yao äänu'likwolsaix

When I was an uninitiated person(c), I used to wonder what *Änu'likwolsaix* was like, but I was entirely wrong(d).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Änulkamix^w maqo | *yao nuskäsiutsta* | *sikpäkdimäläoali* |
It(e) is hanging beneath the roof of | the repository; | everything is open to

nanunukwiutsnamlali
me, my limbs have opened it(f).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

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C *Wastquitsamtinkya* I fear the coming	*aldlquatnuxamdai* figure(g),	*yas dimo'cyulnqas* haij *Sno'oluls*	533*

yas Alquntsitmxudai
Alquntsim(h).

(a) [redacted] song was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of a[redacted]t into the society. The full ritual was not performed on that occasion, and it was impossible to learn the proper procedure. The neophyte's patron is *Sno'oluls Alquntsim*, whose protégés are usually Scratch or Breaker dancers, but *Anudakinuts* has neither of these prerogatives. [776]

(b) Recorded as song VII D 49, National Museum of Canada; trio, Reuben Schooner, *Talio* Charlie, and Jim Pollard, the last-named acting as announcer. This song was composed by Reuben Schooner.

(c) The theme is worded as if the neophyte were speaking to the uninitiated whose ranks he has just left.

(d) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions.

(e) This refers either to supernatural power or to some object imbued with it.

(f) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions. The meaning of the whole is obscure, although the implication is that the dancer now knows everything having, figuratively, forced open the repository.

(g) More accurately, the memorial figure; the meaning is obscure.

(h) The dancer's patron.

Kusiut MOURNING SONGS

533*
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575*

Several prominent *kukusiut* died during the spring and summer of 1923. Memorial rites of the usual nature were held, but in addition several *kusiut* mourning songs were composed and used in their honour during the next ceremonial season. When a relative was initiated, his song contained numerous references and words of the type normally restricted to mourning songs. Such a combination may occasionally have taken place in former times, but the present comparatively common usage is due to the difficulty of holding regular potlatches. In each case the *kusiut* rites were abbreviated, and no description of the proper ceremonial was obtained. The following are examples of combined *kusiut* and mourning songs: [766] [777] 533*

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*533 (a) A female infant whose name was not known by the singers from whom this song was obtained.

(b) Recorded as song VII D 53, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tal-io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song, composed by *Tal-io* Charlie, was used during the *kuxiut* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of an infant great-granddaughter of *Xemtsalwala*.

(c) Referring to the neophyte. This part of the song is worded for the benefit of the uninitiated.

(d) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

[773] (e) This might apply to any mountain where a group of the first settlers landed, but is said to refer to *Nuxalit*, the home of the dead man's ancestral family. The implication of the theme is that the mountain erupted; Mount *Nuxalit* is not regarded as a volcano, and it is possible that the composer confused the origin myth of the dead man with that recorded in the preceding four songs in which there are references to the illumination of Mount *Swaly* at Kimsquit. Such a mistake would not be impossible in view of the decadence of Bella Coola culture.

(f) In the sense of: Has rejoined his ancestral crest.

(g) That is: *Xemtsalwala* has rejoined his ancestral crest.

(h) That is: At the place where the first to possess his name came to earth.

(i) An unusually long wordless chorus separates the second from the third part.

(j) That is: *Xemtsalwala*.

(k) That is: *Stsaxinuxat* welcomed *Xemtsalwala*. The former was one of the latter's first ancestors.

(l) A reference to the localities where his first forefathers came to earth.

● [776] *Song Used for Lilxwamlaix(a), Combined with Mourning for Xemtsalwala(b)*

A Ayailxidimathlxudai | *xlpaxlxapmlxipdax* | *xwastlxinulxlxax* |
All is ready, proceed | thou "Opener"(c) | who brings what puts

yaa dixwixayatxleipa
an end to all our grief(d).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Xixlxulxwindx | *dxatthmpayakxldax*
He(e) is waiting with outstretched hand | for the chief(f);

xkauxlxw dwixdax | *yatxlmathayaudai*
now he stands upon | *Tsalmathi*(g).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

[773] *C Stsaxuxalxlxipdax* | *xwastlwalat dadax* | *stsaxuxlxlxi mlxqulxudax*
Sits down within | the expansible house(h) | *Suxulxlxi*(i)

xwaxlxmdlxwatudai
on *Xixlxmdlxwat*(j).

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(*a*) "The Beautifier." This is one of the appellations of the infant's patron, the otter, so-called because people adorn themselves whenever an Otter dance is given. 533*

(*b*) Recorded as song *VII D 16a*, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of *Lilitwumlaix*, a female infant distantly related to *Ḷomānakwala*. [776]

(*c*) A reference to Otter, the neophyte's patron. The significance is that chiefs have an opportunity to display, "open," their generosity by lavish giving at every Otter dance. [556]

(*d*) The elaborate ritual of an Otter dance dispels grief. It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions.

(*e*) Referring to one of the dead man's ancestors. The theme changes, and is henceforth of the usual mourning pattern.

(*f*) Referring to the dead *Ḷomānakwala*.

(*g*) "The Loftiest." This is one of the many designations for *Nusḵalst*, one of the dead man's crests.

(*h*) A reference to the expanding house described in the dead man's origin myth. [773]

(*i*) One of *Ḷomānakwala*'s names.

(*j*) This is another name for *Nusḵalst*. The meaning of the whole part is: *Ḷomānakwala* sits down within the expansible house on Mount *Nusḵalst*. There is the added implication that he seats himself as does his supernatural namesake in the land above.

Non-Ceremonial Songs

The Bella Coola are not an intensely musical people. Singing in unison is an essential feature of every ceremonial rite, but, when alone, an individual seldom bursts into melody from sheer *joie de vivre*. They have, however, a certain number of non-ceremonial songs, shorter and more diverse in theme than any of those previously recorded. The people themselves do not attempt to classify them, though they can conveniently be grouped in accordance with their themes. Some deal with love, others are sung jocularly at sight of certain birds or mammals, while a third class can only be described as miscellaneous. Still others accompany stories and games; these are included in vol. II, chap. V, and appendix B. [796]* [825] [1]

Love Songs

Men sometimes compose songs which they sing, unaccompanied, to their lady loves. Occasionally, too, the maker of a popular one will teach it to his friends who will serenade the 533* 832 424

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 543 to 567 - ANALYST]

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A Song in Mixed Carrier(a)–Bella Coola(b)

uhawaw·i	*uhawaw·i*	*xwátxalʼje*	*xwawaw·i*
uhawaw·i(c),	*uhawaw·i,*	*l(d)*	*l*

ahaitlhahe	*ahaitlhahe*	*ahaitlhahe*
l	*l*	*l*

nafawa	*uhawaw·i*
the very hairy pudenda	*uhawaw·i(e).*

(a) It is uncertain whether this song was derived from the Carrier or the Chilkotin.

(b) Recorded as song VII D 10b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pelland.

(c) The anthropomorphized supernatural cold wind, resident in the upper Bella Coola. The old trail from the interior passed through the valley and the word must have been familiar to the Indians of the interior.

[776 821]

(d) The words marked with queries are all in Carrier (or Chilkotin).

(e) This third part of the song is called forth loudly, not sung, and always gives rise to laughter. It means: *uhawaw·i* has hairy pudenda, a reference to the luxuriant growth of bushes and grass in the valley where she is localized.

A Carrier Song(a)

This song is said to have been used at some ceremonial at Ulkatcho, in the Carrier country. The rite is spoken of as a potlatch, although the Bella Coola state that it differed entirely from one of their own potlatches, and that every guest brought his own song. The words are:

ulli	*tsawala*
Knife,	none at all.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 10c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pelland.

The Bella Coola have no idea of the meaning of this song.

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721 to attack. It is said that the Fort Rupert people once raided
648 it, but their hair became entangled in the thorns growing near the tide-flats and they were easily slain while struggling to free themselves. Two warriors escaped and hid in the branches
[727] of a huge spruce tree. They used to slip down at night and steal food, thus supporting themselves for several weeks, but
[628] were at last discovered and enslaved. On such occasions the villages of the lower and central valley usually rallied to the help of *Q̓omqo·ts*, the most exposed one, although there was no mechanism to enforce such assistance. The inhabitants of
[776] this town attributed their protection to *Ālquntäm*, and used to claim that he had decreed that they should be immune
[361] owing to their close association with him. Though Bella Coola itself was comparatively free from molestation, Kimsquit and
[162] *Täl·io*, with smaller populations and less strategic positions, were subject to frequent attacks. At least one of the villages at
712 the head of South Bentinck Arm was defended with a stockade of cedar trunks, set upright in a double row and entered by a water-gate with a drop-door.[1] This water-gate protected the
[648] residents on many occasions, and it is remembered that one
[726] Fort Rupert raiding-party was annihilated while endeavouring to batter down the door with a huge ram. The defenders, armed with muskets, picked off the attackers as they struggled in the open.

721 All the older men were emphatic in stating that most of their raids were in revenge for such attacks. Although such statements were partisan, they were confirmed in every way
[642] and were probably tolerably correct. Lack of a strong government was a serious handicap to the Bella Coola. After being
[623] assailed, the members of the town would discuss retaliation,
[622] and if unanimity of opinion was reached, that course was decided upon. Public opinion alone selected the leader, usually
[701] a man who had given a number of potlatches, especially one whose position had been made stronger by previous validation

[1] It is said that such stockades surrounded other villages, but definite information on this point was unavailable.

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spit upon his own hands and rubbed them over the patient's head, his arms, his trunk, his legs, and finally his feet, as if massaging him. *Xnutli*'s strength began to return at the first touch of Thunder's hands, and, when the treatment was finished, he felt entirely rejuvenated. Thunder told him to overtake his friends and to massage them in the same way and they would be revived. He explained that they had been travelling in circles of ever-decreasing radius which was the reason that they had neither reached their destination nor recrossed their own tracks. He added that they must think constantly of their first objective, Ulkatcho, *Nukätco* in the Bella Coola language, and that at night *Xnutli* must sleep on the side of the five nearest that goal. 727 787

Soon afterwards the four wanderers were surprised to see a stalwart man swinging along the trail behind them, and their amazement was intense when they realized that it was *Xnutli* whom they had left at the point of death. He bade three of his comrades hide, and massaged the fourth as Thunder had done to him; this restored his strength exactly as in his own case. The one so cured then concealed himself, while *Xnutli* treated another of his comrades, and finally the third and fourth. This was not the end of the assistance so obtained. Within a few minutes of their recovery, they found the trail they had so long been seeking and reached Ulkatcho before night, though under normal circumstances the same distance would have required four days of travel. There were several Bella Coola at the settlement who were overjoyed at the safety of those for whom all hope had long been abandoned. They rested for four days, then set out for home. *Xnutli* told his comrades to fix their minds upon their objective, and as a result they were able to make the journey with phenemonal rapidity. 727

Thunder had granted *Xnutli* the boon of *uxlokwaladjut* on this occasion, and had promised that he would come to his help whenever called upon. *Xnutli* was a sorcerer, a profession which had been practised for generations in his family, and he now performed more openly than ever, assured that Thunder would be able to protect him. The malefactor killed more and more people, until he became an object of universal hatred and fear. At last the principal chief of the village, confident in the power which the giving of many potlatches had bestowed upon him, ordered an expert shot to slay *Xnutli*. The man so deputed had himself lost several relatives and gladly watched an opportunity. This came when the sorcerer was paddling across the Bella Coola near the old Hudson's Bay Company's post; he took careful aim from ambush, fired, and the evil man fell dead. A medicine can be made from the corpse of a murdered person, which, when used by the relatives, causes the killer's death. To prevent this, the executioner called his friends and they took 754 [776] [685]

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the body to his own house, preparatory to burying it. It was April, but as they were waiting, a violent thunderstorm blew up from the east, the only time that such had ever occurred at that season. Thunder had promised to come to *Xnutli*'s aid, but the latter had died too suddenly to make any appeal; the supernatural one had just learnt of his protégé's death and had come rushing to his assistance. Realizing the danger, the executioner and his friends hastily buried the corpse, throwing over it a number of blood-stained cloths, and finally stamping down the earth. There was a furious hurricane; trees were uprooted, houses shook, the earth over the grave seethed as if in a whirlpool and chunks of it were carried up into the air. Only the potency of the blood on the cloths prevented the return to life of *Xnutli*.[8]

This second unsuccessful attack on the Kitkatla so disheartened the Bella Coola that they made no more raids on their northern foemen who, flushed with victory, became even bolder than before. As usual, the Kimsquit and *Tāl·io* people suffered more than the inhabitants of the main valley. On one of these forays, about 1855, the Kitkatla killed *Ḷoixwelioth*, a brother of *Potlas*, the leading chief of the Bella Coola at the time. This was contrary to all the rules of warfare since he was a member of one of the leading families and the donor of many potlatches, a man whose name was as well known as that of *Potlas*, *Nukāpinkam* of Fort Rupert, or *Tcibua* himself. The fame of such chiefs was enough to protect them except during the actual heat of conflict, and the Bella Coola were justly angry.

A few years later a single canoe came paddling up North Bentinck Arm and was beached about half a mile from the head. Scouts investigated, and returned to *Ḷomqo·ts* with news that the occupants were Kitkatla, and that *Tcibua* himself was among them. At once there was heated discussion among the people of the lower valley. Many who had lost relatives in the protracted struggle wished to wipe out the party; others, to see what they wanted. A few daring individuals skulked through the forest and fired on the visitors at long range; they were answered, not with bullets, but by the four times holding aloft of a moose-skin, a sign of friendly intentions. If the strangers had fired on the scouts, a fight would have ensued, but this peaceful reception disarmed suspicion.

[8] This tale is a curious illustration of the manner in which supernatural elements become woven into accounts which have an historical basis. It is to be assumed that the wanderers were in a suggestible state owing to privation, and readily believed that supernatural powers must have assisted them. *Xnutli* was feared as a sorcerer, and probably boasted of a visitation from Thunder during his wanderings. This was accepted and the incorporation of impossible incidents followed in due course.

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538 certain that his account is the only accurate one, and ridicules his rival, but as no social importance is attached to the tales, an error in narration is a matter of small moment. Probably there have been instances in which an individual possessing [556] much wealth has transformed a story into a family myth, but it was impossible to obtain a concrete illustration of this; it is thought that this may have been done in former years, though of course such would be absolutely contrary to custom.

Stories can be conveniently divided into two types:

[825] I. Those in which the principal character is a mammal or bird endowed with human intelligence.

II. Those in which the principal character is a human being.

[825] Many of the first type describe the adventures and misadventures of Raven. It must be remembered that the Bella [776] Coola regard these stories as accurate statements of fact, and base their characterizations of many supernatural beings on their actions as recorded therein.

Raven Stories

*539

HOW RAVEN BECAME BLACK

When Raven was being prepared for his descent to earth, *Ăłquntăm* told *Mătłăbălitcak* to make him the prettiest of all the birds. When finished, he was adorned with many colours and was very handsome. But the vain Raven looked at himself and was not satisfied. First he asked that one arm might be changed, and when this was done as he desired, he asked for an alteration in one of his legs; and so on with nearly every part of his body. Finally, *Ăłquntăm* became angry, and told some of his assistants to throw ashes all over him. This made Raven a uniform black, in which guise he was sent down to earth.

RAVEN AND WATER OUZEL[3]

As he was able to assume any form, Raven, once upon a time, took that of a herald and went to the home of Water Ouzel, who, having spread a fine cedar-mat for his guest, proceeded to prepare a meal. He brought

[3]For another version of this story see Boas, p. 93.

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and cold to destroy the reckless creatures who had dared to oppose him. 539* While he was climbing down, the attackers called out, attracting his 821 attention, so that Halibut was able to wriggle, unobserved, to a place at the bottom of the ladder. As Cold Wind trod upon him, Halibut moved, and his antagonist fell to the ground. He was seized by his enemies before he could rise to release more cold.

"What have you against me?" he asked them. "I visit you only twelve months in the year."

"That is too often," his captors replied, as they stretched him out on the ground to kill him.

"If you spare me I will visit you for nine months only," Cold Wind made offer.

Again he was told that was too much, and he must be killed. Cold Wind, terrified, proposed coming for shorter and shorter periods, six months, four months, two months, and finally for a single month, but each offer was refused, and followed by threats of instant death. At length the captors accepted his agreement to come only in the early morning.

That is why, to this day, the cold wind comes only in the early morning.

Snnuq Stories

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Of the supernatural animals which the Bella Coola believe inhabit the wild glens and mountains of British Columbia, that which figures most prominently in their mythology is the *snnuq*. There are four slightly different varieties of this monster. The most common is regarded as being about the size of a large grizzly bear, but with long front legs and short hind ones, on which it can run in upright position when it so desires. Its legs terminate in large talons resembling those of an eagle, with the thumb set opposite to the fingers; its pelt, long and fleecy, is of a grayish-blue colour. The monster is able to roll its eye-balls completely over, and, when the reverse side is exposed, there shoot forth dazzling beams of light which strike senseless anyone on whom they fall. It uses its eyes for hunting. The most peculiar feature of the *snnuq*, however, is that it carries on its back a basket provided with spikes inclined inwards and downwards at such an angle that any living creature thrust within is unable to escape. The basket

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538 can be removed at will, and the Bella Coola relate how, long
776 ago, the inhabitants of a village captured one of these. Cruelly, they placed it at the top of a lofty tree, then carefully smoothed off the bark to make climbing virtually impossible. The unfortunate *snınıq* tried repeatedly to scale the tree, amid the mockings of its human tormentors; at last it succeeded in doing so, whereupon it dashed off, happily, with its basket.

Less dangerous than the *snınıq* is the creature known as *po·qwais*, differing only from the true *snınıq* in having a band of white through its eyes. A third variety, *snınıqos wa sımdäs*, the mountain *snınıq*, remains perpetually above the line of vegetation. Little is known of it.

The most dangerous is a true *snınıq* with the genital organs of a woman on its forehead. This creature is able to reverse the course of streams, to cause light snow to fall, and even to raise up mountains when pursued. A hunter meeting one of these monsters is in deadly danger unless he calls it by its name, *splıx*, female genitalia. So doing will cause the animal to lose its power and grovel and writhe impotently on the ground.

Like all other supernatural animals, the *snınıq* is believed to have only recently quitted the vicinity of Bella Coola, on account, so it is said, of the noise made by the rifles of the white man. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of the animals, though several state that they have heard them not many years ago. It is assumed that the *snınıq* has migrated to some less populated area, probably to the region north of Dean Channel and east of Frederick Island.

The following stories, which are among the most popular in Bella Coola, illustrate the characteristics of the *snınıq*.

*539

THE GRAVE ROBBER[44]

Long, long ago, there was a large Bella Coola town[45] on the White-

[44]For another version of this story see Boas, p. 86.
[45]Other informants stated that the village was *Stınıx*.

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524 Release index fingers; the index finger loop is now held on the hooks of the middle fingers.

Lift distal thumb loop from thumbs; this loop is now held on hooks of middle fingers.

Pass index fingers into the three loops hooked down on middle fingers from proximal side.

Pass index fingers distal to radial thumb string, and middle fingers proximal to radial thumb string, clutching this string between tips of fingers; bend fingers upwards and away from manipulator, taking up this string on tips of index fingers.

FIG. 22. "The *Sniniq*."

Release middle fingers.

Release thumbs.

Gently extend.

This shows the *sniniq*; with thumbs gently depress the two pendant loops in the centre and the eyes become evident (Figure 22).

The manipulator sings:[11]

Nutpilqals·ksamg	*xätskaitl*	*nupaxotla yelsäjnu.*
Reverse your eyeballs,[12]	it is too dangerous,	O, dreaded and powerful one!

Pass thumbs from distal side into the loops hooked down on ring and little fingers.

Bend index fingers downwards and away from manipulator, and upwards towards manipulator through the loop hooked down on ring and little fingers, and tip to tip with thumbs, releasing thumbs when complete.

FIG. 23. "Raven's Hammer."

Pass thumbs into distal index finger loops from proximal side and transfer each loop to its respective thumb.

Release index fingers.

This shows the *sniniq* with eyeballs reversed, appearing as a hammer (Figure 23).[13]

As the figure appears the manipulator sings:

Stsiqumaq	*Qmax*	*alta sma·ntma·als.*
The hammer of	Raven	long, long ago.

[11]The song accompanying the whole figure was recorded as song VII D 25b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[12]This refers to the belief that the *sniniq* projects death-dealing rays from its eyes.

[13]No explanation is offered for the association between a *sniniq* and Raven's hammer.

[126]
[776]

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614 The gens Spatsā'tlt have breakers painted on the house-front, and use
532 in dances the mask of a large kind of whale (*k·'ɛnts*), of the crow, and of the black bear.

342 The gens Tumqoā'akyas use the mask of Ōnɛstaitō'ma (=the sleeper) and the eagle.

The gens Tl'ak·aumō'ot of the Nusk·'ɛ'lstɛmh use the moon (fig. 2).

The gens Ialo'stimōt of the Tālio'mh use the raven, robin (*aiit'a'qonē*), eagle, whale, the bird *t'ēutlala* (genus?), and *s'atlsā'ots*, the flood-tide. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the *usqē'mta* suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. 420).

The highest gens of Nūtl'ɛ'l has the name Smō'ɛn (=the north wind). He has the mountain Suwā'kɛh surmounted by a mackerel sky, and with clouds on its sides, painted on his house-front (fig. 3). Another object belonging to his crest represents waves.

614 The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the deci-
851 sion being left to the choice of the parents.

Secret Societies and the Potlatch.

171 The social organisation, festivals, and secret societies of the Bilqula
575 are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the Sisau'kh, and the Kū'siūt. The Sisau'kh corresponds to the Tlōola'qa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the Kū'siūt to the Ts'ētsā'ēk·a. The Bilqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine
556 brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Qē'mtsiōa, to whose
773 care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful

776 Fig. 4.—Mask representing Qē'mtsiōa.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Qēmqēmalā'otla.

[532 575]

house in the far east, and cries ō! ō! every morning when the sun rises. He has to take care that the sun rises properly. The first six of these deities

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are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the Kû'siût these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks which I have copied. Qē'mtsloa and Qēmqēmalâ'otla wear the design of the full moon, indicated in the mask Qē'mtsloa (fig. 4) by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Qēmqēmalâ'otla has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin (fig. 5). Aiumkî'likya (fig. 6) and Aiumalâ'otla (fig. 7) wear the design of the crescent drawn

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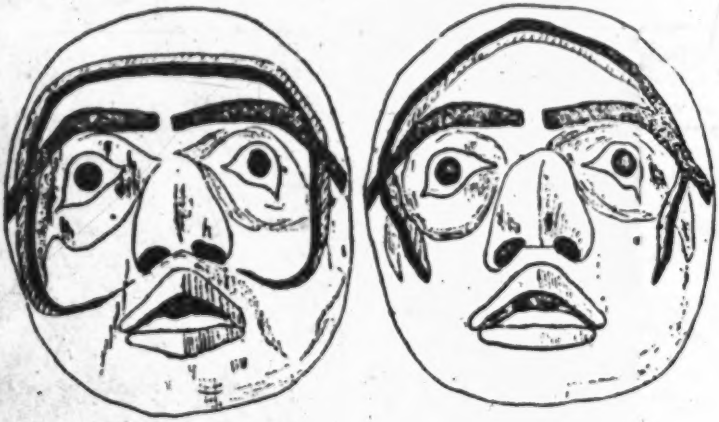
FIG. 6.—Mask representing Aiumkî'likya.

FIG. 7.—Mask representing Aiumalâ'otla.



in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second. The fifth, K·'ömk·'ömkî'likya, and K·'ö'mtsloa have designs representing stars (fig. 8), both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is K·ula'qawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmonberry bush (fig. 9). The next in order, Kulē'lias (=who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue (fig. 10). The ninth, At'amâ'k wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a birdskin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called Tl'ōtsâ'aplētlâna (=the eater), the sister of all the others. Her face is painted with a bladder filled with grease (fig. 11). She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

The Sisan'kH, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of gentes, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had gone out hunting met the Sisan'kH, and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned he asked the people to clean their houses, and to strew them with clean sand, before he consented to enter. Then he danced the Sisan'kH, and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with

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575 trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on,
773 returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Sisau'kH.
776 Besides this it is stated that the Raven gave each gens its secrets.
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FIG. 8.—Mask representing K·'ömk·'ömkt'lika.

FIG. 9.—Mask representing K·ula'qawa.

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614 Each gens has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the Sisau'kH
532 only, and are otherwise kept a deep secret, i.e., they are the sacred posses-
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FIG. 10.—Mask representing Kulê'lias.

FIG. 11.—Mask representing Ti'êtsâ'aplêtlâna.

[575]
[776]

[534] sions of each gens. All gentes, however, wear the beautiful carved
[292] headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they
represent.

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represent. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become Sisau'kH. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'E-lu'sta, to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is a member of the gens Ialo'stimôt of the Talio'mH, stated that he had received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a Kû'siût name, which remains the same throughout life; and a Qē'mtsloa name, which is changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'Elu'sta's (which is his Kû'siût name) present Qē'mtsloa name is Atl'itlEmnE'lus'aiH, but at his next potlatch he intends to take the name of Kaliä'kis. These names are also the property of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Kû'siût names of the ancestors. In two cases only the Qē'mtsloa names have been ascertained (see p. 409). When a man possesses several Sisau'kH secrets he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their Sisau'kH secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisau'kH secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more. The crest and the Sisau'kH carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Kē'siût is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaûlikûtsai'H. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been the first to find her. Anaûlikûtsai'H invited her into her cave and taught

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575 her the secrets of the Kû'siût. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kû'siût. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kû'siût.'

575 Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kû'siût. When a man has
776 seen Anaûlikûtsai'ʜ sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a Kû'siût. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Kû'siût lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kû'siût are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband,
424 as is the case with the Sisau'kʜ dances (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
[426] by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Kû'siût is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kû'siût name, which
[551] he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kû'siût names,
[428] which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pô'pô until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Tl'akô'otl. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[556] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisau'kʜ, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kû'siût have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] ʟlaqô'tla (the Hä'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ô'lɛq (the Nû'tlmatl of the Kwakiutl), and the Dä'tia (the Nô'ntsistatl of the Hê'iltsuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Kû'siût novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the ʟlaqô'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
785 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[266] killed, in order to serve as food for the ʟlaqô'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the ʟlaqô'tla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

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out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he cannot catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the ɛlaqō'tla dances clothed in a bear-skin and wearing a large headring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red and white cedar-bark. Some ɛlaqō'tla do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon, or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also eat corpses. The ɛlaqō'tla has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house. 575 [774] [756] [292] [301]

The Ō'lɛq (= the laugher) and the Dā'tia (= the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The Ō'lɛq 'makes fun of everything' and scratches people with his nails. The Dā'tia carries stones and sticks, and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day he pays for it at night when he dances. The Ōlɛq and the Dā'tia must stay for one month, after they have danced, in their houses. [785]

If a person transgresses the laws of the Kū'siūt, for instance when the ɛlaqō'tla gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offence has been proved he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing, and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared, and the substitute is killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is entrusted to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him, or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger-nail, around the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender he will fall sick. Blood collects in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the Kū'siūt are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklet of red cedar-bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others the thunder-bird and his servant Atlqulā'tɛnum, who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and a staff with red and blue spiral lines, appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Qē'mtsioa and his brothers and his sister (see p. 412), Masmasalā'niq and his fellows, the raven and the Nusqē'mta, and many others. 575 688 575 532 796 [776]

Customs regarding Birth, Puberty, Marriage, and Death.

When the time of delivery approaches, the woman leaves the house and resorts to a small hut built for the purpose. She is assisted by pro- 844

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773 what cause this divergence is due. Mythology and religion are so closely
[171] connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Bilqula is Snq, the sun-god (compare *sūnq*, sun).
773 The rays of the sun are his eyelashes. When prayed to he is called Tāat'au. In praying the Bilqula look heavenward. I obtained the fol-
776 lowing formulas: *Atlkun itlō'tlsuq, Tāat'au*, 'Look on us where we are
[782] going, Tāat'au;' and *Tāat'au, atlkualtnomdō'tlq*, 'Take care of us, Tāat'au.'
[539] Snq is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and does not interfere with the actions and thoughts of men. These are given by Masmasalā'niq. According to the tradition of the Bilqula, before the liberation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is nowadays, four deities lived on the earth: Masmasalā'niq, Yula'timot, Matlapē'eqoek, and Itl'itlu'lak. The raven wished to obtain the sun, but he was unable to liberate it. Then he went to these deities and asked their help. They ascended to the sky, and tore the curtain, which up to that time had been expanded between heaven and earth, hiding the heavenly orbs. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The raven ascended to heaven through the rift made by Masmasalā'niq, and found there a beautiful prairie country in which all the birds lived. Masmasalā'niq and his brothers painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his arts. The raven was not content with the sun, and resolved to try and find a better one. He flew to the house of a great chief, who kept the *nusqē'mta* (*nu-ta*=place of, *sqēm*=the day is dawning). The *nusqē'mta* was a small round receptacle closed all around like an egg. The chief guarded it jealously, and kept it suspended from one of the rafters of his house. The raven knew that he could not obtain it by sheer force, and resorted to a ruse. He assumed the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and let himself drop into the pond from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pond, swallowed the leaf, and thus became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the raven himself. The old chief loved the boy dearly, and allowed him to play with the *nusqē'mta*. This was what he desired. He ran out of the house, broke it, and flew away in the shape of a raven.

After the sun had thus been obtained Masmasalā'niq said: 'Let us make man.' He made the image of a man out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Matlapē'eqoek and Itl'itlu'lak tried likewise to carve human figures and to give them life, but they failed. Finally, Yula'timot carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in each country, and they became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Masmasalā'niq gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to catch salmon, to build houses. He made rivers everywhere, that man should have water to drink, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by man.

The Bilqula believe that Masmasalā'niq and his brothers still continue
[176] to give new ideas to man. They say that any new design of painting or carving, or any other new invention made by a member of their tribe, has been given to him by Masmasalā'niq.

The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been referred to above.

774 The soul is believed to dwell in the nape. It is similar in shape to a
[826] bird inclosed in an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies
761 away its owner must die. Shamans are able to see and to recover souls.
756

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By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy. 774 756 [828] [753] [828]

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Snq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Snq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself. 756 [776]

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: 'When an Awiky'ē'noq wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Mā'tom) who will initiate him. No Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way.' [171]

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 612), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called *snak*. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms. 753 755 754 [825]

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strown in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die. 682 754 [825]

I add here a few current beliefs:— 827

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry. [777]

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die. 825

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky. 763

777

Wars.

When a war party was organised the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their 726 714

751 Women wear tight anklets 'to prevent
the calves of their legs from slipping down.' During their monthly
441 periods women place soft cedar-bark in the vagina. The bark is afterwards
824 burnt in the woods. The smoke of this fire is believed to be poisonous.

It is evident that the culture of the Bilqula is very greatly influenced
177 by that of the Kwakiutl. The secret societies and the potlatch ceremonies
551 are almost a copy of those of the Hëiltsuk'. This influence has been so
556 deep that names of even deities and of the mythical ancestors of certain
575 gentes are purely Kwakiutl words, or have at least Kwakiutl endings. Thus
776 the name Aiumkt'likya (see p. 413) is purely Kwakiutl, meaning 'good all
over the world.' K'ömk'omkt'likya is also a Kwakiutl word, meaning
771 'the rich one of the world.' The chief's name, Ma'lakyilatl (see p. 409)
belongs to the same class of Kwakiutl names. On the other hand, the
religious ideas of the Bilqula are very curiously developed, and apparently
but slightly influenced by their neighbours. The whole Masmasala'niq
tradition is peculiar to them, but has been partly adopted by the Awiky'-
ö'noq, with whom the Bilqula have intermarried.

[pp. 425-449 not processed]

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lished some remarks on the religious life of the Bella Coola in 1886,[1] which, however, contain so many misconceptions that they cannot be used to advantage. At the same time I published a brief description of the tribe, based on information received from a small group of members of the tribe who were travelling in Germany. In this description also there are a number of misconceptions. The Indians were shown a collection of masks from Vancouver Island with which they were not familiar. They gave, however, explanations of these masks, judging by the similarity to masks of their own tribe; consequently the explanations given there are not correct.[2] In 1890 I fell in with a number of Bella Coola who were fishing for salmon in Fraser River. The information obtained from them was published in the reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1891.[3] A. Jacobsen published a description of their ceremonies in 1891.[4] Fillip Jacobsen described some of their traditions and customs in 1894 and 1895.[5] I published a collection of traditions in 1894 and 1895.[6] 114

III.

All the collections which have been made heretofore do not bring out clearly the principal characteristic of the mythology of the Bella Coola. The tribes of the North Pacific coast consider the Sun as the most important deity, but at the same time they believe in a great many beings of supernatural power. For this reason their whole mythology is very unsystematic. The Bella Coola, on the other hand, have developed a peculiar mythology, in which a number of supernatural beings have been co-ordinated. A system has been evolved which justifies our terming the supernatural beings "deities." The general features of this system are as follows:— 114 773 776

The Bella Coola believe that there are five worlds, one above another. The middle one is our own world, the earth. Above it are spanned two heavens, while below it there are two underworlds. In the upper heaven resides the supreme deity, a woman who interferes comparatively little with the fates of mankind. In the centre of the lower heaven, that is in the zenith, stands the house of the gods, in which reside the Sun and all the other deities. Our own earth is an island swimming in the ocean. The underworld is inhabited by the ghosts, who are at liberty to return to heaven, whence they may be sent down again to our earth. The ghosts 772 [776] [775]

[1] Original-Mittheilungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, 1886, pp. 183-186.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 177-182.
[3] Seventh Report of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, pp. 2-18; Report of the 61st Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Cardiff, 1891, pp. 493-494. [113]
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, pp. 383-391.
[5] Ymer, Tidskrift utgifven af Svenska Sällskapet för Antropologi och Geografi, 1894, pp. 157-210; 1895, pp. 1-23.
[6] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, pp. 281-306; 1895, pp. 189-195.

772 who die a second death sink to the lowest world, from which there is no
[775] return.

The upper heaven is called Atsa'axl, or Snutx·lok·'a'ls ti Sônx· t'aix·, or Sônxaul. Omq'o'mkilik·a. The deity ruling there is a woman who is called
[776] Qama'its, or Tsi sisnâaxil. ("our woman"), or Ek·lyak·imtola'li. ("afraid of nothing").

772 This heaven is described as a prairie without any trees. It is said that
776 in order to reach it one must go up the river from the house of the gods in the lower heaven. In another tradition it is said that in travelling from the lower heaven to the upper heaven one has to pass the rent in the sky which is called Tsi.na'lôtas ti Sônx· t'aix·. The house of the supreme deity stands in the far east, and a gale is continually blowing over the open country, driving every thing towards the entrance of her house. Near the house, however, it is calm. In front of the house stands a post in the shape of a large winged monster, and its mouth is the entrance to the house. In front of the house-door there is gravel of three colors,—blue, black, and white. Behind the house is a salt-water pond in which the goddess bathes. In this pond lives the st'siul or xtsaltsaló'sem. This being sometimes descends to our world. Wherever it moves, the rocks burst, and slide down the sides of the mountains. It is described as a snake or a fish (see pp. 44, 66).

773 In the beginning of the world the mountains were of great height.
823 They were human beings who made the world uninhabitable. Qamá'its made war upon the mountains. She vanquished them, and made them smaller than they used to be. During this fight she broke off the nose of the mountain Yólyulz'mt, which is situated near Nul.!a'l. Its face may be recognized even now; and the Indians say that when its name is called, it answers. There are two mountains near the head-waters of Bella Coola River. The one is called Slex·lékoai'l; the other one, Na'axl. The former had a fire, called Snutai'k·nimsta, burning in his house. This fire warned him of the approach of enemies. When Qamá'its made war upon the mountains, the fire warned its master. Qamá'its was coming down the river in her canoe, which is named "T!kun." When she approached, he broke her canoe, and she returned to heaven. The canoe has been transformed into stone, and may be seen to this day at the foot of the mountain Slex·lékoai'l. It is said that Qamá'its visits the earth every now and then. Her visits cause sickness and death. She is described as a great warrior.

772 In the centre of the lower heaven, which is called Sônx·, stands the
776 house of the gods. This house is named Nusmz'ts (the House of Myths), or Nusklosltnal'x·sta ("where man was created"), or Nusk·lalnz'msta ("the house from which people come down"), or Nusqilxoal'x·sta ("the house to which people go"). In front of the house stands a post called Nulsnê'k·ts. It is painted with representations of all kinds of birds. A

white crane (?), Qā'xōx, is sitting on top of the post. The master of the house is Sanx, the Sun. He is also called Ta'ata ("our father"), or Smai'yakila ("the sacred one"), or Smayalō'ōt.la. It seems that he is the only deity to whom the Bella Coola pray. They do not pray to Qamā'its, the deity of the supreme heaven. I have not found any prayers directed to the other deities of the lower heaven. I recorded a number of such prayers directed to the Sun. They are as follows:— 772 776 776 782 539

Atk'ā'ōōlaxx Tātaa'! ("Look on us where we are going, Father!")

Tātaa'! ak'ūlx'ondō'ła! ("Take care of us, Father!")

Tātaa'! ak'ūlxonō'ła ala mōnāsā'ā'ī! Tātaa' ōōp'ālōōnāōła! ("Father! take care of our road! Take care of us!")

After a long-continued rain, they pray:—

Tupōōx'ōx Tātaa'! ōōk'ū'łxōōnōō'ła, Tātaa'! ("Wipe your face, Father! that it may be fair weather.")

The mountain-goat hunter prays:—

Ōōqa yōōōōōx, Tātaa', ta mōōōx'ōōnō, Smāyalō'ōt.la'! ("Let your children look at me, Smayalō'ōt.la, Father!")

A person pursued by misfortune prays:—

Nōqlamōk'ōōōx Tātaa'! ōōōqomāk'ōōō ū qā'yōōōōōōōōō'ōō'ā'ōx. ("Make me happy, Father! You have given me too much misfortune.")

A sick person prays:—

Nōqlamōk'ōōōx Tātaa'! ōk'a ōōōqōōlōōō'ōōx Tātaa'! ("Let my life be long, Father!")

The successful hunter, or the woman who has found a plentiful supply of berries, prays:—

Nōōōqlamōk'ōōō ū mōōōā'āōx ōk'a nōqlamōk'ōōō ōk'a pōōōō ōōōā'k'ōōō'ōōō ōk'ōōk'ō ū qā'ōōō'āōx. ("Father! You make me happy. You give me what I desire. Then I find what I wished for.")

The Bella Coola also make offerings to the Sun. Hunters throw four small slices of seal-meat, of mountain-goat tallow, etc., into the fire as an offering to the Sun, in order to obtain success in hunting. Sick people burn parts of their clothing, which they decorate with red cedar-bark, as an offering to regain health. 776 782

The second deity, who is called Atk'untā'm, seems to be of equal importance. Sanx and Atk'untā'm stay in the rear of the House of Myths. Near the fire stays Sōōtk'ulx'a'ła. He is an old man who formerly ruled over 776 [775]

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776 the House of Myths, but who has given up his place in favor of Sunx and A'L'k'untz'm. These two might be called the rulers of mankind. In most traditions they are described as trying to destroy man, notwithstanding the fact that they are considered the creators of mankind. This peculiar chara-
773 teristic of these deities is clearly brought out in the traditions recorded on
776 pp. 78 ff. In one legend which I collected in 1890, A'L'k'untz'm's mother, Nanustmik-tequnx'm, is described as a Cannibal, who inserts her long snout in the ears of man, and sucks out his brain. Eventually she was transformed into the mosquito.[1] I did not hear her mentioned as one of the deities residing in the House of Myths. According to the same tradition, the salmon were obtained by a man who gambled with A'L'k'untz'm, the stake being the salmon. A'L'k'untz'm lost, and the man took the salmon down
[228] from heaven. Another legend of the origin of the salmon is recorded on p. 38, where it is told how the birds obtained the salmon. According to still another tradition (p. 94), the Raven obtained the salmon by marrying a salmon girl. In the tradition quoted above, A'L'k'untz'm also gives to man the power to cure
[755] disease by means of the water of life, which the shaman sprinkles on the sick person.

776 A number of inferior deities live in the House of Myths. They might be called the assistants of the principal deities. In order to understand their
[174] functions, it is necessary to state that the deities residing in the House of Myths have particular charge of the religious winter ceremonial of the
[196] Bella Coola which is called kt'sint, and which corresponds to the ts'tsut'ega
[319] of the Kwakiutl. I have described this ceremonial, and its importance in the social life of the Kwakiutl, in another paper.[2] The kt'sint is of equal importance to an understanding of the social life and mythology of the Bella Coola. It is sufficient to say at this place that the ceremonials performed during the kt'sint are mostly dramatic representations of myths
[532] referring to the various deities, particularly to those of the House of Myths: therefore masks representing these deities are used in the ceremonials. Plates VII to XII[3] show a series of these masks. Figs. 1, 2, and 4 (Plate VII) are Sunx, A'L'k'untz'm, and Sntsk'alx-t'a. The functions of many of the
575 inferior deities seem to refer solely to the kt'sint. These deities and their
776 functions are as follows: Sts-tsk'tlal'x (Plate VII, Fig. 6) ordains the death of man and animals. According to one statement that I received, there are four deities of this name in the House of Myths. It is his particular duty to kill those who transgress the laws of the kt'sint. This deity is mis-
[113] taken by Jacobsen, who calls him Sek-selk Kallal.[4] Nanat'aq'ala (Plate VII, Fig. 7), or the Sanat'aq of the House of Myths, sits by himself in one

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1892, p. 129.
[2] Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, pp. 311-338.
[3] Drawings by Mr. Rudolph Weber.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1892, p. 300.

7:Boas E-5 (1894-ca. 1898)1900 NEh Bellacoola NEh

corner of the house. He prevents those who are not initiated in the secrets of the ka'ulat from approaching the house. The Sisem'aq is a fabulous monster, the peculiarities of which are described in a number of traditions (see pp. 83 ff.). S'ants.a'mus.a'lt (Plate VII, Figs. 12 and 13) is a boy who performs ka'ulat dances all the time. When the deities resolve to send a new dance down to our world, it is conveyed by S'ants.a'mus.a'lt. It is the office of another deity to sing, accompanying the ka'ulat dances of the gods (Plate VII, Fig. 3). Acaqat'n'tsam is a deity in regard to whose functions I have not been able to obtain detailed information. It is said that he intervenes on behalf of man when Sisa and Ala'ustl'n threaten to punish him. There are two goddesses in the house who also intervene in favor of man when the principal deities threaten him with death and sickness. Their names are Sustema'ns (Plate VII, Fig. 9) and Alas.ila'sas (Plate VII, Figs. 10 and 11). They wake man after sleep. Without their help, nobody could wake from sleep. Alas.ila'sas is at the same time the guardian of the moon. Every month she restores the moon to her full size, and she cleans her face after an eclipse. The moon is called A'ns.'ts.gila (Plate X, Fig. 10). The eclipse is produced by several deities called Aiq'ns'yumsam, which means "painting the face black" (Plate X, Figs. 4-6). It is believed that at this time the moon performs one of the most sacred ceremonies of the ka'ulat, which are thought to be very dangerous to the performer. The black paint with which her face is covered is supposed to be a protection against these dangers. Alas.ila'sas cleans off the paint after the dance has been completed. According to Jacobsen,[1] the Indians say that during an eclipse the moon (Ewkla-ho'-killa) paints her face black. The same deities are believed to paint and to clean the faces of human ka'ulat dancers. Sustema'ns and Alas.ila'sas also resuscitate those who are killed by the dangerous performances of the ka'ulat.

While the functions of the beings enumerated here are mostly concerned with the ka'ulat, others are more immediately concerned with the affairs of the world. Important among these is K'ustsk'ns'm (Plate VII, Fig. 1). Sisa is the creator of man, but his work is supplemented by that of the god K'ustsk'ns'm. When Sisa creates a new-born child, K'ustsk'ns'm gives the child its individual features. Before children are born, the goddess named Nats'qamalas'a or Sisustemg'ilaus Sisaxid'ns.ala places them in a cradle and rocks them. After she ceases rocking them, the children are sent down to our world. She also rocks the young of all animals; and when she stops, Sisa sends them down to our world to be born. At the same time he ordains that their skins and their flesh shall serve for clothing and food for man. Nats'qamalas'a might therefore be called the deity

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1899, p. 102.

575 776 575 776 821 776 842 [113]

?:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NEó Bellacoola NEó

[776] having charge of the birth of all animal beings. While she is rocking the
[342] cradle, she sings, —

[639] "[illegible] ts'ēmēts'ī'mēnēts' ēē ēē ēē ēē.
Ayōōōōk'ēē'ēē ēē ēē'ēēē

paint. They taught him the methods of hunting, and, according to some, they made the fish. The Bella Coola say, when carving a design, that Mas-masala'nix gives them the idea which they are working out. 776

Sanx has a daughter named Sp'ix-p'ik-na'm, who invented the art of working cedar-bark. Her figure is also used in the ka'siut ceremonial, in which the invention of the preparation of cedar-bark is represented. This deity has an assistant called Omatosé'k', who supports the stick over the edge of which she is breaking the bark. When first breaking bark, she shouts, "Aléex siiya'ltxau ti Omatosé'k-stix" ("Bring to me Omatosé'k'"). After he has been given to her, she shouts, "Aléex siiya'ltxau ta tqenk'-lis" ("Bring me the board on which to break the bark"). After receiving this, she demands the cedar-bark breaker, saying, "Aléex snukpánt.ai'ts ti sp'é'k-tats." Finally she asks for cedar-bark, saying, "Aléex k'-i.oh.ldamx-laix ti sp'é'k-ennex'." Then she begins to work, singing,— [575] [539] [539]

"E-ias ak'-a-ooo'i de.'ynu.'i-mata la lau'a
E-ias sisand'ta tal Sp'ix-p'ik-na'mtas Sisaali'ma.la."

("Behold me, ye who are not initiated!
I am the Cedar-bark Breaker of Sisaali'ma.la.")

It seems that most of the Bella Coola maintain that the Raven also lives in the House of Myths, but this point of their mythology is somewhat obscure and contradictory. According to the tradition of a number of families, the Raven was one of the beings sent down by Sanx to our world to become the ancestor of man, but at the same time it is told that he invented certain arts. It is stated that he made the first salmon-trap (a.i.k'u'l), which is used in connection with the salmon-weir. 776 773

It is also said that Masmasala'nix attempted to make the whistles for the winter ceremonial, that he was unsuccessful, and that the Raven succeeded in making them; also that the Raven came down to give the world its present shape. He instituted the festivals of the Bella Coola, and then returned to the House of Myths.

Besides all these deities, there are nine brothers and their sister particularly concerned with the observations of the ka'siut ceremonial (Plate IX, Figs. 1–9). The names of the brothers are, Xemxemala'ni.la, Xe'mtsiwa, Omq'emk'ilk'a, Q'e'mtsiwa, Almala'ni.nla, Al'emki'lk'a, K'-le'lias, Q'ulaxa'wa, A'i'mak'; and of their sister, i.'ttsa'spite.ana. These deities are painted with certain designs. Xemxemala'ni.la and Xe'mtsiwa are painted with the designs of the full moon (the former carries a staff wound with red and white cedar-bark); Omq'emk'ilk'a and Q'e'mtsiwa, with the design of the half-moon; Almala'ni.nla and Al'emki'lk'a, with the design representing the stars; K'-le'lias, with the design of the rainbow; Q'ulaxa'wa, with the de- 776 776 532

776 sign of the salmon-berry blossom; A'i'mâk' has the shape of a kingfisher; 532 and L'ëtsa'aplëLana is painted with the design of a sea-lion bladder filled with grease. She wears rings of red and white cedar-bark. The carving representing the kingfisher has the wings attached to the sides of the head, while the tail rises over the forehead. Xëmxëmala'oLla is said to carry a small woman in his arms. Her name is Nuspo'xta. When the brothers and their sister threaten to do harm to man, she entreats them to desist. In some traditions these deities are described as the children of ALk'unta'm.[1]

776 In one tradition L'ëtsa'aplëLana' is described as visiting houses and 773 stealing provisions. She is then pursued by the person whom she has wronged, and returns to the House of Myths. The deities are unable to cure her; but the person who wounded her is called in, and withdraws his arrow, whereupon she recovers.[1] Formerly I had the impression that these [114] ten deities were particularly concerned with the sisau'k' ceremonial,[2] but this [575] impression has not been substantiated by the information I received during the past year. The ten deities appear much rather as deities of the ku'siut.

575 In the rear of the House of Myths there is a room named L'lo'sta, in 773 which the son of the deities lives. His name is Ba'EXôLla or Snupaaxola'lt. 776 When SEnx and ALk'unta'm desire to destroy their visitors, they send them past the door of Ba'EXôLla's room. The latter then rushes out of his room [772] and devours the visitors. He also initiates the Cannibal. According to the tradition of the tribe SE'nxLEmx', they acquired membership in the Cannibal Society in the following manner: Ba'EXôLla came down to the mountain SqtsL, where he met with the son of SEnxalo'LEla, the first of the tribe. He conducted him up to the House of Myths. He took him into his room, and gave him the name Q'oalaiu'tstimot. He put a snake into his body, which enabled him to pass through the water. When the youth applied his mouth to the body of a person, the snake tore pieces of flesh from the body, and devoured it. Then Ba'EXôLla took the youth to the upper heaven, past the rent in the sky, and to the house of the supreme deity, Qamaits. The two approached the house, being blown towards it by the strong gale prevailing in the open country of the upper heaven. They found Qamaits sitting in front of her house; and she said to Ba'EXôLla, "Why don't you come in? You wish that your friend should obtain great supernatural power. Bring him to my house, and I will give him what you desire. Stay for a short while where you are, and I will show you what I am doing. Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." After a little while the post closed its eyes. It grew dark at once, and the two visitors fainted, but soon they recovered. When the post opened its eyes again, it grew light. The visitors remained sitting on the ground, and

[113]

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 954.
[2] Seventh Report on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, p. 8.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

suddenly a strong wind began to blow, which rolled them over the prairie until they reached the door of the house. Then suddenly the wind calmed down. They remained sitting on the ground near the doorway; and Qamá'its said, "Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." They were sitting opposite each other, watching the post; and when it closed its eyes, they were transformed into two stones, but they soon regained human shape. Then Qamá'its asked them to enter. Now the woman took the youth's blanket, and gave him another one made of bear-skin set with fringes of red cedar-bark. She told him that this blanket was to keep him warm, and that it would direct his course. Next she fetched some water from the salt-water pond behind her house. She sprinkled it over the faces of her visitors, and told the youth to sing about his experiences in the upper heaven when performing the Cannibal dance. If she had not sprinkled the faces of her visitors with water, they would have died. She said to the youth, "Your country is not far away. Do not be afraid of the dangerous road that you have to pass. Later on there shall be many Cannibals like you. Do not be afraid to touch the food that another Cannibal may offer to you. You are strong because you have seen me." Then Qamá'its sent him back to the lower sky. Here the gods placed him on the back of a bird (Sq'xsxn), which carried him down to the sea. As soon as the bird reached the water, it uttered its cry, and at the same time the young man uttered the cry of the Cannibal. The people heard it, and said to one another, "That must be the boy whom we lost some time ago." They connected many canoes by means of planks, and paddled out to the place where the bird was swimming about. They covered the canoes with red cedar-bark and eagle-down, and tried to capture the youth; but when they approached, the bird swam towards the village. They surrounded it with their canoes; but the bird flew up, and disappeared in the sky, and at the same time the youth flew towards the village. When the people landed, he attacked them, taking hold of their arms; and the snake, which was still in his body, tore pieces of flesh out of their arms. The people sang and beat time in order to appease him. 575 773 776

In a second room in the rear of the House of Myths, next to that of the Cannibal, lives Koko'sLxsm, another son of the deities. His room is called Nus'o'lxsta. He initiates the Olx-dancer (see Chap. VI). 776 575

The path of the Sun is guarded by a number of deities. At sunrise is stationed the Bear of Heaven, Snanó's ti Sônx t'aix (Plate X, Fig. 2). He is described as a fierce warrior, who protects the Sun against the attacks of his enemies, and he is the cause of the warlike spirit of man. His hair is tied up in a knot on top of his head. His mask is used in the sisau'k [772] [821]

776 ceremonial, and sometimes in the kū'siut. The following song belongs to
575 his mask and dance :—

[539] Nanemō'tstxnît ti q'ōyaki'mtat'aix·. Nō'noq'awēxum ts'ɛn t'ayōɬxlat'aix· ayati snanō's ti sōnx· t'aix·, wā, nān, ai!

("Cry now, as though you had left me! I shall tie up my hair, warriors, like the Bear of Heaven.")

776 At sunset stands an enormous post which is called Nutēexoa'axtatas ti
821 Sōnx· t'aix·. It supports the sky, and prevents the Sun from falling down into the lower world. The trail of the Sun is described as a bridge which was built by Masmasala'nix. The bridge is as broad as the distance between the winter solstice and the summer solstice. The Sun walks, his face turned towards the west. In summer he walks on the right-hand side of the bridge, in winter on the left-hand side of the bridge, which explains the varying heights of the sun in the course of the year. The extreme right and extreme left of the bridge are called Sē'ɛmt ("the place where he sits down," that is, the solstices). At each of these points a being is placed who is called Aɬk·x·ē'ɬnɛm (Plate X, Fig. 3). It is their duty to see that the Sun does not tarry too long at the solstice. If in summer or winter he should be inclined to stay too long or to return too soon, they regulate his course. When the Sun tarries too long at the winter solstice, the people say, "ex tsēs pa'nia" ("salmon will be dried late this year"). If he leaves it without tarrying, they say, "ek·!x· tsēs pa'nia" ("soon we shall dry salmon"). Three guardians named Naqumiqa'otsaix (Plate X, Fig. 1) accompany the Sun on his course, dancing around him all the time. The halo is called Itwu'xtsia ti Mānɬ t'nix· ("the cape of our father"). A sun-
[731] dog that appears westward from the Sun is called Aɬqōɬ ti Mānɬ t'aix· ("the
[753] painted face of our father"). The Bella Coola believe that when it drops down to our earth, it causes epidemics. During an eclipse the Sun is believed to lose his torch. The rays of the Sun are his eyelashes.

There are twenty-four guardians appointed to take care of the sky. They are called Nexolak·ai'x·. According to tradition, the sky must be continually fed with firewood. Once upon a time they put too much firewood into the sky and made it burst. All the pieces except one, called S'aɬ-walō'sɛm, fell down to our earth. The fragments hit the faces of the twenty-four guardians, and distorted them. They tried to mend the sky, but did not know how to do it. They went down the river, and came to Masmasala'nix, whose assistance they asked. Masmasala'nix gathered up the broken pieces, and glued them together. Up to that time the Sun had staid in the east, but now he began to go on his daily course. At that time Masmasala'nix built the bridge over which the Sun travels every day. He placed a wedge in the opening of the sky, into which the Nexolak·ai'x·

have to put the firewood. This opening is called K·awa'umsta, that is, "mouth kept open by means of a wedge." Masmasalá'nix spoke: "The sky shall not burst again. This wedge shall keep its mouth open." The following kū'siut song refers to these deities: — 776 821

[539]

Ái'mats tā mnatsai' tūsxts ti sō'nx·tsgi t'aix.
Aiēlx tā mnatsai' ōt. ti S'ałwalō·sgms ti Sōnx· t'aix.
Sk·a ya'lx·tux ti sī'lxnō tā mnatsai'.
Sk·a anōga wa rxemē'x ti K·awa'umstask· ti Sōnx· t'aix· tā mnatsai.

("My child perished like the sky when it broke.
Go to S'ałwalō·sgm of the sky, my child!
Gladden my heart, my child!
Sit down in the mouth of the sky, my child!")

Our world is called A'nēkō'ōt, or Qenk·i'lst, that is, "the land below." It is an island swimming in the boundless ocean. In the far east a giant is sitting with legs apart, who is called Ałēp!alaxtnaix·. He holds a long stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar by means of two stone ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake; and the Bella Coola say, "Snēnikᵘpstak·imtōłs," that is, "he takes hold of our world." When he moves our earth westward, we have epidemics. When he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears. 772 776 823 [731] [753]

In the ocean lives a being called Sēłsāts, who twice every day swallows the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the kū'siut ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various levels of the sea.

The world below us is the country of the ghosts (kōłkᵘłōłe'mx·). It is called Asiutá'nem. Descriptions of the ghosts' country are principally obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the sandy banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with sharp stones. When it is summer here, it is winter there. When it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their heads. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls, on reaching the lower world, receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform 772 775 [756] [787]

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Smaya'na, that is considered a human being. It is said that his children make the canoe go up Bella Coola River with the rising tide, A'nxumk·ila. The canoe travels the distance from the mouth of the river to the mountain Smaya'na in a single tide. The canoe "No'ak·nem" stays for four months. Then the canoe "Kunkunu'qtstuls" returns from the country of the Salmon, while "No'ak·nem" leaves again. It is said that all the gods of the House of Myths come to the villages of the Bella Coola in the canoe "No'ak·nem." 773 [776]

The arrival and the departure of these canoes are strictly regulated according to the calendar of the Bella Coola, which for this reason should be explained in connection with their beliefs. The Bella Coola divide the year into two parts, which are separated by the winter and summer solstices. The solstices are periods of indefinite length, between which five months are counted. Each solstice is reckoned, therefore, as approximately six weeks. The names of the months are as follows:— 773 805 821

Sêr'mt (*winter solstice*)	Sêr'mt (*summer solstice*)
Sxôlr·mx·erem	Sî·lxem
A'nxônsumk	Sevexe'mat
Siaq'u·m	Sinulla'lsemtenem
Siqiô'lx·	Tsi·sitak·a'ns tsem Anaûlikuts'ai·x·
Sinô·moak·	Lemulê'm

The canoe "No'ak·nem" arrives, and "Kunkunu'qtstuls" leaves, in the month Sinulla'lsemtenem. The canoe "No'ak·nem" leaves, and "Kunkunu'qtstuls" returns, in the month Sxôle'mx·erem.

At the moment when the canoe "No'ak·nem" arrives, a deity called Anaûlikuts'ai'x· (Plate XII, Figs. 1 and 2), who is believed to live in a cave, opens the door of her abode. There is one deity of this name to each village. Her cave is called Nuskêsiô'tsta. It is said that one Anaûlikuts'ai'x· lives on the mountain Sqtsl. Her house is described as a large hollow bowlder suspended from the top of the mountain by means of a rope. Each Anaûlikuts'ai'x· has an older sister who is called Nutsê'xenem. When the canoe "No'ak·nem" appears, and she opens her door, she steps outside and stands in front of her house, dancing, with trembling hands. When a person sees her, he faints. His soul is taken into her house, and is initiated into the secrets of the ka'siut. 773 776 [575]

A particular Nuskêsiô'tsta is believed to be at the foot of the creek Anô'nk·, on the northern side of North Bentinck Arm, near the mouth of Bella Coola River. A woman called Nustsxoaxlô'stxult. lives there. She is described as emaciated, of black skin, and as wearing a black blanket. A certain chief who lived long ago was the first to see her. He was initiated by her, and after his return he performed a dance, and told what he had seen. Then he died.

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776 There is a special deity who initiates the shamans. His name is LALA-
[756] ia'IL or Sxai'exoax (Plate XI, Fig. 9). He lives in the woods. He carries a wooden wand wound with red cedar-bark, which he swings in his hands, producing a singing noise. Around his neck he wears a large ring made of strips of bear-skin and red cedar-bark. He sometimes plays in ponds which are believed to be in certain mountains. When he jumps into the water, it boils. When a woman meets him, she begins to menstruate: when a man meets him, his nose begins to bleed. When initiating a person, he touches the chest of the latter with his wand, and paints his face with the design of the rainbow. Then he swings his wand, the noise of which causes the person who hears it to faint. He creates sexual desire in man
[787] and animals. A shaman who was initiated by this being told me that he very often sees LALAIA'IL, who tells him who will die and who will fall sick. Sometimes he sees that the body of a person is black. Others he sees dancing on their heads. These are signs that they will die at an early date. I obtained from this man the description of the visit to the country of the ghosts, quoted before (p. 38). He told me that when reaching the country of the dead, he saw the ghosts of his deceased relatives sitting in the house. When they saw him, they began to weep, and said, "Don't come here. We don't want to see you so soon." While they were speaking to him, the chief's speaker entered the house, and called all the people to come to the dancing-house of the ghosts. One of the ghosts painted his face black and white, and tied long strips of white and red cedar-bark in his hair. The people were called four times. Then they started to go to the dancing-house. The entrance to the door was over a narrow plank. When he had just stepped on the plank, he suddenly saw LALAIA'IL, with his large neck-ring made of red cedar-bark and strips of black bear-skin, who took hold of him, turned him round, and told him to return to his own country, because, if he should once enter the dancing-house, he would not be able to return. Then he revived; and from that time on, LALAIA'IL was his supernatural helper.

A. Jacobsen describes this spirit as follows:[1] —

776 "The most prominent among the spirits of the shamans is Kle-klati-e'il
756 [LALAIA'IL]. He lives in the woods, where the youth who intends to be initiated tries to find him. When the spirit meets him, the youth faints. When he recovers, he begins to sing a song, the tune and words of which have been given to him by the spirit. Now he has become a shaman, who uses this song in all his incantations; but he does not retain it throughout life, because he meets his guardian spirit almost every year, and then he receives new songs. The Indians believe that Kle-klati-e'il has human shape, but he is clothed in cedar-bark, and wears a great many rings of cedar-bark.

[113] [1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 104.

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Some of these he gives to the shaman. . . . A third spirit is the Skaia [Sxai'êxoax], which is believed to live in rivers, and to have the shape of a salmon. When a shaman who is inspired by this spirit makes an incantation in a house, singing and dancing, as all the shamans do, whoever approaches the house and hears the song turns back. They believe that whoever passes the house during the incantation will be punished with death by the spirit Skaia." 776 756

I believe this spirit is identical with LALAIA II., who, as stated before, has the second name Sxai'êxoax. According to Jacobsen, some shamans are initiated by the ghosts. He says that the ghosts are believed to have bald heads and blue faces. I am under the impression, however, that the people initiated by them are not shamans, but ka'siut dancers (see Chap. VI). [775] [575]

Another being who initiates shamans is described in the following tradition: — 539

Once upon a time there was a man and a woman who had four sons. The three elder ones died. Then the father and mother and the youngest brother were very unhappy, and the old people cried for grief until they died. The young man was now left all alone. He left his village, intending to go away and never to return. He pulled his blanket over his head and walked on. Sometimes he would stop to pray. He lived on the meat of mountain-goats which he shot. He built a small hut high up on the mountains, and dried the meat. He was crying and praying all the time. He prayed to the Sun to give him a gift which would restore his happiness. One day early in the morning he ascended the mountain. He addressed the rising Sun, saying, "Look at me, how unhappy I am." After he had gone a short distance he came to a ravine. The bed of the ravine was filled with pretty pebbles. There he met a beautiful man, who was no other than the Sun, who had descended from the sky. He had caused the water of the creek that runs through the ravine to disappear. When the young man saw the stranger from a distance, he thought, "He seems to be looking for me." He went nearer; and when they met, the Sun said, "I am the one to whom you are praying all the time, and I came to help you. Now be happy. When you open your mouth and speak to me, I know your thoughts at once. I help those who address themselves to me. Take this." With these words he handed the young man a switch carved in the shape of a man. The Sun was carrying it under his arm, the point of the switch directed downward. "Fold your arms and hold this switch to your chest, and then return to the village. When you approach any one, hide the switch under your arm. You will find a person who wears a nose-ornament of beautiful green color. Then you must try to hit the ornament with this switch, and throw it to your right side." 756 776

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539 He walked on, and after a while he noticed a man sitting at a distance.
756 Then he hid the switch under his arm. When he came near, he saw that
776 the man wore a large green nose-ring. He hit it with his switch, and threw it to the right-hand side. Then the man said, "You have attained me as your supernatural helper. Your name shall be S'a'tema [from 'a'tema,' 'dead']. Many people have seen me, but nobody has done what you did. If you had not struck my nose-ornament, you would have died on seeing me. You shall have the power to heal the sick by the touch of your hands. Whenever a person dies and is put into a box, after the box has been placed in the burial-ground, go there. You will find me sitting on the coffin. If then you knock the nose-ring from out of my nose, I shall leave, and the dead will revive. He will break the box, and will arise."

Then the young man felt very glad. He returned to the village, and by following the instructions of the spirit he resuscitated the dead. He was given many blankets, and the men whom he had resuscitated gave him their daughters in marriage.

756 Other shamans are initiated by L'ètsa'aplèLana. The same man who
776 gave me the record of his supposed visit to the country of the ghosts (see p. 38) told me that at another time he saw L'ètsa'aplèLana flying in the air outside of his house. She wore a ring of red cedar-bark around her neck. She was turning round all the time. Songs were coming from all parts of her body. Although she did not open her mouth, it sounded as though a great many people were singing. She gave him a song, or, as the narrator expressed it, "she threw a song into his body." At that time he was sick, suffering from a wound in his leg inflicted by an axe. He said four days after meeting the spirit he was able to walk, and since that time she has assisted him in curing diseases.

The sl'siuL is another helper of the shaman, and the means of curing disease (see p. 28). It appears that it obtains its supernatural power from the fact that it lives in the water in which the supreme deity washes her face. When a person sees a sl'siuL, he should throw sand on it, by which means he will be able to catch it. Its skin is so hard that it cannot be pierced with a spear or knife. The person who catches it should not try to cut it with his knife, but should stretch his hand backward, and thus he will find the leaf of a holly, which is the only thing that can cut its skin. He should not touch the sl'siuL with his hands, but hold it with hemlock twigs. He should wrap it in white cedar-bark and tie it up in his blanket. If it is not thus tied up, it will disappear. It must not be taken into the
[755] house, but should be placed in a small box and hidden under stones, or buried in a hole under the root of a tree. It is a most potent means of curing disease. Sick people will buy small pieces of the s'siuL, for which

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they pay high prices. The piece is thrown into water, in which it is kept for four days. Then the water is used for washing the body. If a healthy person uses this water, he will live to an old age. Sick persons chew the white cedar-bark in which it is wrapped up, in order to regain health. They must not swallow the cedar-bark, but only the saliva that gathers in their mouths. A person who has chewed the cedar-bark becomes invulnerable. The eye of the st'siuł is described as about a foot in diameter, and as transparent as rock crystal. 756 776 [755]

Toa'łał'it is the spirit who protects the mountain-goat hunter. He himself is invisible; but great hunters sometimes see his hat, his moccasins, or his mountain staff moving about. The following tradition describes some of his characteristics: — 776 539

The Raven and the Lynx lived in one house, each occupying one side. Early in the morning the Raven went out to catch salmon with the harpoon. He was very successful, and carried the fish home. Toa'łał'it watched the Raven, who, when he arrived at the house, roasted his salmon. The children of the Lynx were sitting near by, and looking at the Raven while he was roasting the fish. They wished to participate in the meal, but he did not give them anything. Then the children were very sad. Now the Lynx made up his mind to make arrows and to go hunting mountain-goat. He went out and cut some wood for his arrows; then he told his wife to make a quiver, which he called Ts'ō'łapeła. She did so, and wove a quiver of cedar-bark. The Lynx was quite impatient for the sun to rise, so eager was he to start hunting. Early in the morning he arose and ascended the mountain. When he reached the limit of the trees, he sat down on a flat rock and looked for goats. Then he saw the staff of a man who was coming down the mountain. He did not see the person himself. He thought, "Who is that? Who may be hunting here?" The stick approached him; and when it came near, he saw Toa'łał'it, who wore a large hat. His hat was named Q!pōł (that means a "barren mountain-top"). Toa'łał'it reached the Lynx, and sat down opposite him. Neither spoke a word. After a while Toa'łał'it arose, took the arrows of the Lynx, and said, "How beautiful these arrows are!" He took up one after another until he had looked at all the four arrows of the Lynx. Then he asked, "Who made these arrows?" The Lynx did not reply. Toa'łał'it asked again, "Who made these arrows?" Then Lynx replied, "Toa'łał'it made my arrows." Then Toa'łał'it was very much pleased, and said, "Is he the one who made your arrows?" — "Certainly," replied Lynx. Then Toa'łał'it took his arrows and threw one after another down the mountain, and said to the Lynx, "Now go down the mountain and look at your arrows. If you spoke the truth, every

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539 776 one of them will have killed a large mountain-goat." The Lynx descended the mountain, and saw that every one of his arrows had killed a goat. Then he was glad, because now he had food for his children. He jumped and danced for joy. And Toa'lat.'it said, "I am Toa'lat.'it. I am so called because I am the mountain-goat hunter. Now return to your village. From now on, I am your supernatural protector. The next time you go hunting, and you do not find any mountain-goats, sit down and throw your arrows down the mountain. Every one will kill a goat. But do not lose those arrows. If you should lose them, you would never kill another mountain-goat." The mountain-goats were so large, that Lynx took only their fat, which he put into his quiver and climbed down the mountain. He arrived at his house in the afternoon. He left his quiver outside, and the Raven saw him coming in. The Lynx sat down by the side of his wife. He did not say a word. His wife and his children also received him in silence. In the evening, when it was dark, he said to his wife, "Go and fetch my quiver. It is hanging outside on a stick." She went there and tried to lift it, but it was too heavy. She returned to her husband and told him that she was not strong enough to lift it, and asked him to fetch it himself. He said, "It is not heavy." He went out himself and brought it in. He opened it and took out the fat; and he gave some of it to his children, but he did not give any to the Raven's children. Then the Raven was very sad. After a little while, the Raven's children began to cry, because they wanted some of the fat.

Early the next morning the Lynx went to fetch the meat of the mountain-goat. The Raven watched him, and saw where he went. When he saw that the Lynx had killed mountain-goats, he made up his mind to go hunting too. He told his wife to make him a quiver while he went out to cut wood for his arrows. In the evening the quiver and the arrows were done. In the afternoon the Lynx came home, bringing the meat of the mountain-goats. Early the next morning the Raven started, following the tracks of the Lynx. He reached the place where the Lynx had sat down. He sat there, and placed his arrows by his side. He looked around for mountain-goats. After some time he saw a staff moving along in the distance. It approached, and soon he saw a man coming down the mountain. It was Toa'lat.'it. He reached him, and sat down opposite the Raven. They did not speak a word. After a while Toa'lat.'it arose, took up the arrows, and said, "Man, your arrows are beautiful. Who made them?" The Raven did not reply. Then Toa'lat.'it said again, "Tell me who made your arrows." Then the Raven answered, "The name of the man who makes my arrows is Raven." Then Toa'lat.'it took the arrows, threw them down the mountain, and said to the Raven, "You are bad!" And he turned back, and ascended the mountain. The Raven went down the mountain, trying to find his arrows.

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They had hit a stone, and their points were broken. He staid there some time, and when it was nearly dark he returned home. Before he reached his house, he cut his own belly and took out some of the fat from his intestines. He cut it in five pieces, and replaced his intestines. He put the fat into his quiver. When he reached his house, he hung the quiver up outside, and entered. He imitated everything the Lynx had done. When it grew dark, he told his wife to fetch his quiver. She brought it, and he told her to open it and to feed his children. She took the fat out, placed it on a stick, and put it near the fire; and as soon as it grew warm, the Raven cried, "Tttt! Don't put it so near the fire. I feel sick when you do so." He jumped up, took hold of the fat, and put it back in his belly. The Lynx said, "Formerly I fed your children, but you were the first not to treat me properly. You did not give any food to my children." Then the Lynx took some fat, and flung one piece to each of the Raven's children. He cut some meat and gave it to them also. Then the Raven said, "I will give you one of my children, that it may grow up in company with yours." 539 776

It is said that the former spirit Toa'laL'it was killed at one time by an Indian who took his place. This tale is recorded in Chap. IV. It belongs to the tribe of the village Nusxe'q!. A similar tradition is told of Astás,[1] by which name the Carriers call the Raven, their principal culture hero. Many traditions referring to Astas are common to the Carriers, the Bella Coola, and the Awt'k'ênôx of Rivers Inlet. 773 776 [171]

The Bella Coola believe that a being called K^{u}tsôs is the father of all mountain-goats. When a hunter meets him, he thinks he sees a kid. Then he should close his eyes and open them again. If the animal is K^{u}tsôs, it will appear in its real shape as a buck of enormous size. The hunter should then ascend the mountain. If he should descend, he would fall and die. 776 825

The thunder-storm is produced by the Thunder-bird, who lives on the mountains, in the company of a number of spirits, who are considered his particular friends. The Thunder-bird himself is represented by a black mask with red nostrils. The nose is strongly curved, the forehead bulges forward, and the chin protrudes almost as far forward as the nose (Plate XI. Fig. 1). His herald is called ALxula'tEnum (Plate XI. Fig. 2). His face is painted with orange and blue stripes, and he carries a speaker's staff, which is painted with spirals of the same color. He watches the door of the Thunder-bird's house. In his house live the Rabbit (Plate XI. Fig. 3); the Owl, who is considered the rival of the Thunder-bird (Plate XI. Fig. 4); the Mountain, LE'qots (Plate XI. Fig. 5); the Raindrop (Plate XI. Fig. 6). 776 [821] [532] [575]

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 90.

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776 575 [534] The Thunder-bird and his companions appear in the kū'siut ceremonial. When they enter the house, a dancer appears who carries an instrument in the shape of a bird-rattle (Plate XI, Fig. 7), which is provided with holes in its lower side, and has a loose back. This implement is filled with cedar-bark and eagle-down, and is shaken by the dancer. The eagle-down is thus made to fly about in the house, symbolizing the wealth and power of the Thunder-bird.

IV.

184 773 In the preceding pages I have summarized the principal features of Bella Coola mythology, which are characteristic of the traditions of the whole tribe. Besides these, there are other groups of traditions which are very conflicting. One reason for the existence of numerous contradictory traditions must be looked for in the peculiar social organization of the Bella Coola. In former times, when the tribe was populous, the Bella Coola inhabited a great many villages. The inhabitants of each village are considered the descendants of a number of mythical ancestors who were sent down by SEMX. Each of these village communities has traditions of its own, which are its property, and which are not well known to the rest of the tribe. Many of these traditions refer to the origin of our world, and for this reason a number of the most important myths differ in various villages. Indications of such conflicting ideas may be found in the traditions recorded in the preceding pages. To make this subject clear, it is necessary to describe somewhat fully the traditions belonging to a number of village communities. Before recording these traditions I shall enumerate the villages of the tribe. 103 361 773 The following list is the result of repeated inquiries. In it the names and locations of the villages are given in consecutive order from the mouth of Bentinck Arm upward along Bella Coola River, and the names of the mythical ancestors of the village communities have been added where these have been ascertained.

Village.	Location.	Ancestors.
1. Q'oa'ła	At the bay of this name.	
2. Sr'tia	At the entrance of South Bentinck Arm.	Tōtoxō'nx.
3. Nuxxé'q!	On North Bentinck Arm.	Szmsiutā'k'as, Nuxqoa'xłaxé, Sxinta, and their sister E'nx'alana.
4. Pé'iszla	At the entrance of the valley opening on the north side of the mouth of Bella Coola River.	Stā'homx Yuyo'łk", Mxtsi't, Sisia'ł.
5. Alqla'xł.	The present division at the north side of Bella Coola River, near its mouth.	Isyē'yōt, Xēmxē'mtxnem, Snuxnala'ła, and their sister Loqai'nta.

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the middle of the water, the barnacles and worms bit her. She jumped up, and the canoe capsized. The birds swam ashore. After a short time the barnacles and sea-worms came ashore too. They looked very stout, because they had eaten the bear. Then the youth said to the girl, "There are two trails here,—one leading to the left, the other to the right. You follow the one, I will follow the other. If the trails meet, we will marry; if they do not, we here separate forever. They started, and after a while met each other. Then the youth married the girl. (Mask of the Bear, Plate X, Fig. 12.)[1]

VI.

It is necessary to make a few remarks on the relation of the ceremonials of the Bella Coola Indians to their mythology. I have not seen any of their ceremonials, and my descriptions are based on inquiries, and upon the accounts published by Fillip and Adrian Jacobsen.

The Bella Coola have two ceremonials,—the sisau'k· and the kn'siut, which correspond to the LAõ'laxa and the ts'ètsa'eqa of the Kwakiutl. I have described these ceremonials fully in another paper.[2] The sisau'k· ceremonials are mostly dramatic representations illustrating the clan legends, some of which have been recorded in Chap. IV, while the kn'siut ceremonials are dramatic representations of the initiation of members of various clans into certain secret societies. Among these, the Cannibal Society, the Society of the Laughers, and the Society of the Throwers, are the most important. These are called by the Bella Coola the ELaxõ'LELa, Olx, and Da'tia. I described on pp. 34, 35, the spirits presiding over the two first-named societies. The information which I obtained on these points is perfectly clear and consistent. I cannot quite reconcile the explanations given by A. and F. Jacobsen to the accounts which I received. It seems that their accounts do not clearly distinguish between the opinions held by various tribes. In the article above referred to, I described fully the opinions held by the Kwakiutl in regard to the origin of their Cannibal Society. They believe that a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsi'wae initiates the Cannibals. He is represented as having an enormous black head with dilated nostrils and large mouth. I have made frequent inquiries among the Bella Coola, but received the uniform answer that this being does not initiate their Cannibals. It is not impossible that a few families may have adopted this tradition from the Kwakiutl tribes, but I have not been able to find it among the Bella Coola. Jacobsen maintains that Baxbakualanuxsi'wae is the particular spirit of the Cannibal among the Bella Coola, and brings forward the well-known

[1] Additional legends of the Bella Coola have been published in the publications quoted on pp. 26, 27.
[2] Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 311-738.

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tradition of the Awī'k·'enôx as an explanation of the ceremonial. The only modification which I note in this tradition is that the Cannibal's wife is described as sucking out through their ears the brains of children,—an incident which I heard related of the mother of At.k'untā'm.[8] He calls him "Beck-Beck-Kvalanit, and in the Bella Coola dialect, Pāh-Pāh Kualanusiva." This word is decidedly of Kwakiutl origin, meaning "the one who eats human flesh at the mouth of the river (or at the north end of the world)." Neither have I been able to find any mask representing this being among the Bella Coola tribe. The masks which they use in connection with the Cannibal ceremony are of quite a different character (Plate XII, Figs. 1-8). I am the more inclined to think that Mr. Jacobsen did not clearly distinguish between the customs and traditions of various tribes, since he introduces "Ganikilla Ko" (Qa'nig·ilak·) in the traditions of the Bella Coola, while it is distinctively a legend of the Kwakiutl tribes of the extreme northwest of Vancouver Island. Jacobsen does not distinguish clearly between the sisau'k· and the kū'siut, stating that the kū'siut dances are performed during the sisau'k· in the same way as, among the Kwakiutl, a LAō'laxa may be celebrated during the ts'ē'ts'aēqa. This may be, but theoretically the two ceremonials must be considered entirely distinct. According to the information which I received, sisau'k· dances may be held in summer, in which case the kū'siut could not possibly form part of the sisau'k· ceremonial. When, on the other hand, the sisau'k· takes place during the kū'siut period, it would naturally be accompanied by kū'siut dances. 114 575 776 796

As stated before, the sisau'k· is a ceremonial in which the legend of the clan is illustrated by means of dramatic performances. At the same time valuable presents are distributed among the guests who are invited to witness the ceremonial. The value of the gifts amounts often to several thousand dollars. At this time the family legend is told in general outlines, but the details of the legend are kept a secret, and are transmitted only to those who are initiated in the sisau'k· of the clan. It seems that we must consider the transmission of the sisau'k· legend in the following manner: At any given time it is the property of the chief of the family, who, at the time of the celebration, transfers his rights to his successor, generally to his son. The full tradition is kept secret by the owner. It seems that there is a close analogy between the conditions prevailing in the northwest and those found among the southwestern Indians, among whom certain priests are guardians of traditions. Among the tribes of the northwest coast the chief of a family is the guardian and owner of the family tradition, while among the southwestern tribes the priest is the guardian of the tradition belonging to a clan or to a fraternity. My impression is, however, that among the northwestern 575 424 [431]

[8] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 316.
[9] *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 298.

[113]

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424 Indians the tradition is considered much more clearly the property of the
575 person who has it in charge than it is among the southwestern Indians. A description of the sisau'k· ceremonial has been given by Jacobsen in the paper above referred to.[1]

614 A clan legend which is illustrated in the sisau'k· ceremonial is called by the Bella Coola "Semsma" or "Sma'yusta." These traditions are the
424 exclusive property of each clan. The laws according to which they descend from generation to generation differ from the laws prevailing among the other
[621] Coast tribes. The inhabitants of each Bella Coola village are not subdivided into clans, gentes, or septs; but each village community forms a unit, and possesses the same tradition. In order to keep the tradition in the tribe, the
614 law requires that no person shall marry outside of his own village community. Thus the clan tradition is kept the exclusive property of the village com-
424 munity by means of endogamy. I have made very careful inquiries in regard
582 to this point, and all the old men make substantially the same statement. Even marriages among near relatives are permitted:[2] and although marriages of people who are distantly related, or not related at all, are preferred, it even happens that cousins marry, or that an uncle marries his niece, in order to keep the clan tradition from being acquired by another village community. It seems, however, that, owing to the influence of the Coast tribes, the endogamic system has begun to give way to an exogamic system. Powerful
[622] and wealthy chiefs marry outside of their own village community, in order to secure an additional clan legend through marriage. This new system agrees with the one prevalent among the Kwakiutl tribes.

575 The kū'siut, as stated before, is a religious ceremony in which all the
614 deities of heaven are personified. The members of various clans are initiated according to their clan traditions; but the same societies and the same deities
796 appear in the traditions of all the various clans. From what little I have been able to learn, it seems that there is an elaborate opening of the whole ceremonial, corresponding to the opening of the ceremonial among the Kwakiutl.[3] I received the following description of the opening ceremony:—

575 The person who invites to the kū'siut, that is to say, the man whose
796 son is to be initiated into one of the secret societies according to the tradition of his clan, requests a person who is called E'xêm to invite the nine brothers and their sister, who reside in the House of Myths, and in whose charge the
[776] kū'siut is placed. The names of the brothers are Xêmxêmalá'oɪ.la, Xe'mtsiwa, Ômq'ômkī'lik·a, Q'ô'mtsiwa, Aimàlá'oɪ.la, Aī'umkī'lik·a, K·le'lias, Q'ulaxa'wa, Ā'mâk·; and that of their sister, L'ètsa'aplèɪ.ana (see p. 33). In the rear of the house an elevated room is prepared for E'xêm, in which he lies down. He is covered with rings made of red cedar-bark. For four days he stays

[1] Ibid., 1895, pp. 1-23.
[2] I have described this fully in the Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 310 ff.

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mythologies to those of the interior. It is unnecessary to revert to this subject here. The similarity of the Bella Coola legends to those of the other Coast tribes on the one hand, and to the traditions of the Athapascan tribes on the other, is evident. 114 177

It is, however, important to compare their social organization with that of the neighboring tribes, in order to gain a clearer understanding of the origin of their peculiar organization. As stated before, the Bella Coola are divided into village communities, which are organized on an endogamic basis. Each village community has its tradition, which is represented in certain ceremonies. The supernatural beings which play a part in these traditions are personified by certain dancers. Other Coast tribes have a much more complex organization. The Tlingit and Haida are divided into two clans, each of which is subdivided into a great many families, which, as it would seem, were originally village communities. This opinion is based on the fact that the names of many of the families must be translated as "inhabitants of such and such a place." The two clans are present in all the villages of the tribe, each family belonging to either one clan or the other. The Tsimshian have the same system, except that the number of clans is four instead of two. Each tribe is divided into families, which embrace the inhabitants of a certain region; but all the families of the whole tribe are classified according to the four clans. Among the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian, descent is purely maternal; among the northern Kwakiutl tribes, conditions are somewhat different, according to observations made by Dr. Livingston Farrand. Here we have village communities which are subdivided according to four clans in the same way as those of the Tsimshian, but descent is not purely maternal. There is a strong preponderance of the latter form of descent, but parents are at liberty to place their children in either the paternal or maternal clan. The preponderance of maternal descent is, however, so strong, that from my previous occasional inquiries I drew the inference that descent was purely maternal. 621 171 [796] [776]

Among the southern Kwakiutl tribes the families constituting a village community are subdivided into a number of clans, but each clan is confined to one village. We do not find a limited number of clans pervading the whole tribe, as we do among the northern tribes. An analysis of the social organization of this tribe has shown that the present organization has evidently developed from a previous simpler state, in which the tribe was divided into single village communities. The present more complex organization resulted from the amalgamation of various villages. Owing to the influence of the totemism of the northern tribes, each village community adopted a crest, which in course of time became the totem of the clan.[1] The Kwakiutl have a peculiar organization, which may be considered a transitional stage between

[1] "Sagas Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians" (Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, p. 310). [113]

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inhabited by Salish tribes refer to the early separation of the Bella Coola tribe from the related tribes of the Gulf of Georgia, and that in their traditions they have retained the memory of the emigration of part of the tribe from the southern territory. It seems also probable that the allusion to the origin of one family of the tribe on Skeena River refers to a mixture with the tribes inhabiting northern British Columbia.

The traditions of the tribes also describe the style of house used by the ancestors of certain village communities; and it is interesting to note that some of these houses correspond to the subterranean lodges that were in use among the Chilcotin, while others correspond to the tents that were in use among the Carriers. It is said that the ancestor of the Nuxalk'ix used the subterranean lodge which is called tsi'pa (see p. 87), while the ancestor of the Nusq!a'lst used the skin lodge which is called sk·ma (see p. 64).

Since the Bella Coola retain the fundamental traits of the social organization of their congeners in the south, and since their traditions bear evidence of an emigration from that region, and since, furthermore, the linguistic evidence proves that the Bella Coola and the Coast Salish at one time inhabited contiguous areas on the coast, we are justified in assuming that the general culture of the Bella Coola at the time of their emigration must have resembled that of the Coast Salish. The question then arises, How did the peculiar endogamic system and the remarkable mythology of the Bella Coola originate from the much simpler forms that we find among the Coast Salish?

One of the most remarkable features in the inner life of the tribes of the northern coast of British Columbia is the great importance of the clan legend, which is considered one of the most valuable properties of each clan or family. It is carefully guarded in the same way as material property, and an attempt on the part of a person not a member of the clan to tell the tradition as his own is considered one of the gravest offences against property rights. The possession of a clan tradition is felt by the Indian to be one of his most important prerogatives. When, therefore, the Bella Coola settled on Bella Coola River, and were thrown into contact with the northern Coast tribes, the lack of a well-developed clan tradition must have been felt as a serious drawback. The physical appearance of the Bella Coola proves that at one time they must have intermarried to a great extent with the Bella Bella. Through these marriages the peculiar customs of the Coast tribes were first introduced among them. This is shown by the fact that a great many of the mythological names can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin, of which stock the Bella Bella are a branch. Thus the name for their supreme deity, Smal'yakila, is a Kwakiutl word meaning "the one who must be worshipped." The name Ô'mq'omkillk·a is also of Kwakiutl origin, and may be translated as "the wealthiest one." The great frequency of

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174 words of Kwakiutl derivation will become clear by a glance at the following
177 list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin :—

776

[195]

a'Lokoala = shaman.
Alk* = speaker.
E'mak'la (p. 49) (Kwakiutl, Hē'mak'la) = the greatest chief.
Hau'kau (p. 100) = a fabulous bird.
L'E'qoag'ila = the copper maker.
L'E'qumilks = sister of Mamamitt'ala (the ending, ilx, designates "woman" in Kwakiutl).
L'ōqumalt' = mythological name of deer.
Ma'lak'ilas.
Mentul't (p. 48).
Mia'lina = the country of the salmon (p. 38) (Kwakiutl, mē) = salmon.
Na'akila (pp. 49, 66).
O'mentk'ao (p. 70) = the real O'mek.
O'mentmal (p. 70).
Oma'mak'Ma'a (p. 33) (Kwakiutl, Q'ō'ma'ma-kilā a) = the weakest one.
Pa'Lan.
Qamlaala'qa (p. 49).
Q'ōmā'qoa (p. 32) = the wealthy one.
Q'ō'mapilo (p. 49) = rich at opposite side of river.
Q'ō'mainwa (p. 33) = wealthy at mouth of river.
Sanal'yakila (p. 29) = the one who must be worshipped.
s'ōiet = a fabulous fish or snake (pp. 18, 44, 48).
Sancyala'ala (p. 29).
T'ō'pawa (p. 97) = the fawn.
Wawel'ao (p. 38) = war.
Ya'k'ienai (p. 30) = the greatest river.

174 With these names and customs the clan traditions must have found their
177 way to the Bella Coola, but their social organization differed fundamentally
424 from that of the Bella Bella branch of the Kwakiutl. While the latter,
614 owing to intimate contact with the northern tribes, had adopted the four-clan
[621] system with prevalent maternal descent, the Bella Coola were still distinctly divided into village communities that were not exogamic. It seems very likely that the jealousy with which the ownership of a clan tradition was guarded by the Coast tribes was very early introduced among the Bella Coola. Two means were available for preventing outsiders from acquiring the traditions. Among the Coast tribes with prevailing maternal institutions, among whom a limited number of clans existed, the ordinary law of inheritance was sufficient to retain the tradition inside of the clan. Not so among the Bella Coola. If their organization at an early time was similar to that of the Coast Salish,
174 it is likely that the child was counted as well a member of the father's as
182 of the mother's family, although the young woman generally moved to the
424 village occupied by her husband. If the child belonged to the families of
614 both parents, it had the right to use the tradition of either family; and consequently in the course of a few generations, the traditions acquired by
[591] each family would have spread practically over the whole tribe. There were only two methods possible to avoid this result. The one was to prevent
[85] marriages outside the village community; and this method would seem to have been most natural for a tribe organized in village communities, members
[621] of which were allowed to intermarry. The other method would have been to regulate the laws of inheritance in such a way that the child had to

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VII.

Characteristic indicator Mask: vertical hachure, red; horizontal, blue; diagonal, green; dots, orange; white, natural color of mask.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Sasa (front and profile). Natural color, nostrils red, eyebrows black. Height, 19 inches. Cat. No. 1189.

Fig. 2.—Mask representing Ala'xsak'ia (front and profile). Natural color, nostrils red, eyebrows black. Height, 30 inches. Cat. No. 1188.

Fig. 3.—Mask representing the Dragon of the Waters of Myths. Blue, red, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. 1185.

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Sedek'ala'k'la (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. 1184.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing K'ala'k'ala'ia (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. 1186.

Fig. 6.—Mask representing Sla'ak'lai'a (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 31 inches. Cat. No. 1187.

Fig. 7.—Double mask representing Nuxal'aaq'ala (opened, closed, and profile of inner mask). Inner face, red, blue, and black; inner side of wings, black and red; outer face, black, red, blue. Height, 14 inches. Cat. No. 1183.

Fig. 8.—Mask representing Sneel'kaxlin Ala'xsak'ia (the deer). Nostrils and mouth, red; forehead and eye region, blue; eyebrows, eyes, nose, black; rest, natural color. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. 1180.

Fig. 9.—Mask representing Sulmaa'ua. Natural color, black, spots blue, lines red. Height, 28 inches. Cat. No. 1181.

Fig. 10.—Mask representing Ainsilk'aaa (front and profile). Black, blue, red. Height, 22½ inches. Cat. No. 1182.

Fig. 11.—Mask representing Ainsilk'aaa (front and profile). Red, green, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1187.

Fig. 12.—Mask representing S'ooka'waaa'k. Natural color, black, orange. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. 1179.

Fig. 13.—Mask representing S'ooka'waaa'k. Blue, black, red, natural color. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1179.

[Facing End Plate VII]

[End Plates I-VI not processed]

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[Enid Plate VII]

7;Bons E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VIII.

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∴ Cross-hatchings indicate black; vertical hatchings, red; horizontal, blue; white, natural color of wood.

Fig. 1.—Mask representing Mas.apa'lenk (profile and front). Black, red, blue. Height, 18 inches. Cat. No. 1117.

Fig. 2.—Mask representing Yala'lenk, and details of ornaments attached to head-ring. Black, red, blue. Height, 31 inches. Cat. No. 1117.

Fig. 3.—Mask representing Mas'apa'cenk. Black, red, blue. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. 1117.

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Ts'ts.a'lak. Black, red, blue. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. 1117.

[Facing End Plate VIII]

7:Boas E-5 (1884-ca. 1890)1900 NEA Bellacoola NEA

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Masks of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate VIII]

7:Boas E-5 (188b-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

EXPLANATION OF PLATE IX.

,, Cross-hatchure indicates black; vertical hachure, red; white, natural color of wood.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Xēmxēmalā'oLla (front and profile). Design: full moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, 13½ inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{3}$.

Fig. 2.—Mask representing Xē'mtsiwa (front and profile). Design: full moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 3.—Mask representing Ōmq'ōmkī'lik'a (front and profile). Design: half-moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{3}$.

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Q'ō'mtsiwa (front and profile). Design: half-moon. Natural color, black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{3}$.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Aī'umkī'lik a (front and profile). Design: stars. Natural color, black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{3}$.

Fig. 6.—Mask representing K"lē'lias, wearing a ring of red cedar-bark (front and profile). Design: rainbow. Natural color, black, red. Height, 14 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{3}$.

Fig. 7.—Mask representing Q'ulaxā'wa (front and profile). Design: salmon-berry blossom. Natural color, black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{7}$.

Fig. 8.—Mask representing Ā't'māk" (the kingfisher). Wings at sides of head, tail over the forehead. Natural color, black. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{3}$.

Fig. 9.—Mask representing L'ētsā'aplēLīna, wearing a ring of red and white cedar-bark (front and profile). Design: grease-bladder. Natural color, black, red. Height, 14½ inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{3}$.

[facing End Plate IX]

7;Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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Masks of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate IX]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

EXPLANATION OF PLATE X.

*** Cross-hachure indicates black; vertical hachure, red; diagonal, green; white, natural color of wood, except in cases where the whole mask is black.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Naqumiqa'otsaix. Black, red; ornamented with red cedar-bark. Height, 16 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 2.—Mask representing the Bear of Heaven. Green, black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{2}$.

Fig. 3.—Mask representing Alk'x'ê'lnem (front and profile). Natural color, red, black, green. Height, 8 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{7}$.

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Aiq'oa'yosnem (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Aiq'oa'yosnem (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{6}$.

Fig. 6.—Mask representing Aiq'oa'yosnem (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9½ inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{7}$.

Fig. 7.—Mask representing Nonô'osqa, before the birth of the flowers (front and profile). Greenish with faint reddish spots, black. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{7}$.

Fig. 8.—Mask representing the shaman of Nonô'osqa (front and profile). Black, white streaks under eyes. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{7}$.

Fig. 9.—Mask representing Nonô'osqa, after the birth of the flowers (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{8}$.

Fig. 10.—Mask representing A'nl'ält'ila (the moon). Natural color, black. Height, 16 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 11.—Mask representing attendant of Nonô'osqa (front and profile). Natural color, red, black. Height, 11½ inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{9}$.

Fig. 12.—Mask representing the Black Bear. Natural color, green, red, black. Length, 15 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{7}$.

[facing End Plate X]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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Masks of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate X]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XI.

*** Cross-hachure indicates black; vertical hachure, red; horizontal, blue; dots, orange; white, natural color of wood, except in cases where the whole mask is black.

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Fig. 1.—Mask *representing the thunder-bird (front and profile).* Black, red. Height, 11½ inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{3}$.

Fig. 2.—Mask representing ALXULÄ'TENUM (front and profile). Ornamented with red cedar-bark. Orange, blue. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{7}$.

Fig. 3.—Mask representing the rabbit. Set with mountain-goat skin. Natural color, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{2}$.

Fig. 4.—Mask representing the owl. Black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{3}$.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing LO'qots (the mountain). Natural color, black. Height, 19½ inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{4}$.

Fig. 6.—Mask representing the raindrop. On top of the mask is a long switch set with feathers, only the lower part of which is shown. Natural color, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{5}$.

[796] Fig. 7.—Bird-shaped implement worn by a companion of the thunder-bird. It is filled with eagle-down. During the dance it is shaken, and the down flies out of the holes in the lower part of the implement and from the back. Length, 18 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{7}$.

Fig. 8.—Mask representing the sea-monster K'l'lx'ta. Red, blue, black. Height, 19 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{8}$.

Fig. 9.—Mask representing the spirit LALAIÄ'IL. Black, orange, set with bear-skin. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{9}$.

Fig. 10.—Mask representing the hermaphrodite (front and profile). Natural color, red, black. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{0}$.

[facing End Plate XI]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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Masks and Carving of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate XI]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XII.

*** Cross-hachure indicates black; vertical hachure, red; horizontal, blue; white, natural color of wood.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing Anaūlikuts'ai'x· (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 2.—Mask representing Anaūlikuts'ai'x· (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 3.—Mask worn by the Cannibal dancer (front and profile). Natural color, black, red. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 4.—Mask worn by the assistant of the Cannibal dancer. Blue, red, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 5.—Mask worn by the assistant of the Cannibal dancer (front and profile). Blue, red, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 6.—Carving representing the S'ā'ʟpsta in the shape of an eagle. Red. Length, 11 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 7.—Carving representing the S'ā'ʟpsta in the shape of a wolf. Red, black. Length, 12 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 8.—Mask worn by the assistant of the S'ā'ʟpsta (front and profile). Natural color, black. Height, 8 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 9.—Mask worn by the Ōlx (front and profile). Red, blue, black. Height, 14½ inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 10.—Club carried by the Ōlx. Red, blue, black. Length of head, 7 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

[facing End Plate XII]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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Masks and Carvings of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate XII]

[End Plates XIII - XXVI not processed]

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

One of them must wash his body, one must wash his head, and the two others hold him. In return they receive one or two blankets each. During this ceremony the quqq'ō'lEñ, who are described as wild men, dance around the novice. They have ropes tied around their waists, and are held by other members of the society by these ropes. Then the xEnxanī'tEl lead the novice into the woods, where he remains for a long time, until he meets the spirit that initiates him. It seems that during this time he is secretly led to the house in which the xEnxanī'tEl continue to celebrate festivals at the expense of the novice's father, and there he is taught the secrets of the society. During this time, until the return of the novice from the woods, the house is tabooed. A watchman is stationed at the entrance, who keeps out uninitiated persons. During the absence of the novice, his mother prepares cedar bark ornaments and weaves mountain goat blankets for his use. One afternoon he returns, and then his father gives a feast to let the people know that his child has returned. The latter performs his first dance, in which he uses masks and cedar bark ornaments. This dance is called nuxnEä'mEñ. On this day the father must distribute a great number of blankets among the xEnxanī'tEl. The initiated are permitted to take part in the feast, and sit on one side of the house. The new member spends all his nights in the woods, where he bathes. In the spring the new member, if a man, is thrown into the sea, and after that is free from all regulations attending the initiation. One of the principal regulations regarding novices of the xEnxanī'tEl is that they must return from the woods in the direction in which the sun is moving, starting so that the sun is at their backs. Therefore they must sometimes go in roundabout ways. They must go backward through doors, which are sLä'lEqam (supernatural) against them. Frequently the siō'ua (a female shaman) is called to bespeak the door in their behalf before they pass through it. Before their dance the siō'ua must also address the earth, as it is supposed that else it might open and swallow up the dancer. It is also sLä'lEqam against the novice. The expression used is that the earth would "open its eyes" (k'u'nalasEn); that means, swallow the novice. In order to avert this danger, the siō'ua must "give a name to the earth," and strew red paint and feathers over the place where the novice is to dance.

THE BI'LXULA.

121 171 The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Bi'lxula are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the sisau'k·, and the kū'siut. The sisau'k· corresponds to the Lsō'laxa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the kū'siut to the ta'ō'ta'sāqa. The Bi'lxula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Xē'mtsica, to whose care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful house in the far east, and cries "ō, ō,"

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8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
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every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the kū'siut these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks. Xē'mtsioa and Xēmxēmalâ'oLa wear the design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xē'mtsioa by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xēmxēmalâ'oLa has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin. Aiumkī'lik·a and Aiumalâ'oLa wear the design of the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second masks. The fifth Q'ōmq'ōmkī'lik·a and Q'ō'mtsioa have designs representing stars, both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is Qula'xawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kulē'lias (who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue. The ninth, Ac'amā'k, wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called L'ētsā'aplēLāna (the eater), the sister of the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

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The sisau'k·, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had gone out hunting met the sisau'k· and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to enter. Then he danced the sisau'k· and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bī'lxula dance the sisau'k·. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the sisau'k· only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, can not become sisau'k·. A person can not take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'Elu'sta, the Indian, to whom I

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woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the kû'siut. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the kû'siut." 575 773 776 535

Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the kû'siut. When a man has seen Anaûlikuts'ai'x· sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a kû'siut. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each kû'siut lasts three days. 575 776 535

The various dances performed by members of the kû'siut are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisau'k· dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the kû'siut is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kû'siut name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of L'akō'oL. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the sisau'k·, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kû'siut have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the ELaxō'LA (the hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the ō'lEx (the nū'LmaL of the Kwakiutl), and the dā'tia (the nō'ntsistalaL of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kû'siut novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation. 535 575 [426] [551] [428] [556] [171] [554]

When the ELaxō'LA is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the ELaxō'LA. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the ELaxō'LA order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears 575 785 787 [266]

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
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424 owe my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the
532 gens Ialô'stimōt of the Taliô'mx·, stated that he had received the raven
614 when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received
[115] the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his
[556] next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new
424 secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a kū'siut
551 name, which remains through life, and a Xē'mtsioa name, which is
556 changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'ELu'sta's (which is his kū'siut
575 name) Xē'mtsioa name was AL'ILEmnE'lus'aix·, but at his next pot-
614 latch he intended to take the name of Kaliā'kis. These names are also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names. When a man possesses several sisau'k· secrets, he will distribute them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisau'k· secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan. When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisau'k· secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more.
[426] The crest and the sisau'k· carvings must not be loaned to others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the property of any particular clan.

426 The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl.
556 The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going to pay the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

575 The kū'siut is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaālikuts'-
773 ai'x·. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from
● 776 February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to
535 have been the first to find her. Anaālikuts'ai'x· invited her into her cave and taught her the secrets of the kū'siut. She wore ornaments of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

* 776 is in the upper Bella Coola valley near Firvale, cause cold
773 breezes by blowing them through their anuses. *uxlaxwan·i* es-
[821] pecially is a prominent figure in mythology (I, p. 670), but she has not appeared for many generations and her actions belong to legend rather than to either religion or social practices. It is said that she has four sons who once wanted to break a large number of grass stalks. Finding it difficult to do so on account of their toughness, they asked their mother to freeze them; she did this and destroyed every other plant at the same time.

* 776 Another anthropomorphic being is *Sxk'lätl*, the super-
821 natural South Wind of winter who brings storm and snow.
177 The Carriers affirm that every icicle which grows down until
[731] its end is in the snow is his walking-stick, and that to break one causes famine. Some Bella Coola have adopted this belief and carefully refrain from destroying such icicles.

* 776 Supernatural beings experience the same difficulty as mortals in reckoning the passage of time. A number of calendrical experts live in the land above, whose duty it is to record both months and years. They are called *Älmınskällwaiyaix* or
[575] *Älmınskitlnum*. They have been seen occasionally, and are shown, as masked figures, at *ıısaok* (I, p. 180), but not at *kusiut* dances. Two of these beings always appear, and they argue about their observations after the fashion of humans.

Another denizen of *Nusmät·a* of slight importance in the social life of the Bella Coola is *Xemxemälotla*, a friend and
[575] associate of *Älquntäm*. He acts as patron of *kusiut* dancers, and in this manner is brought to the notice of mortals. In the land above his function is to cherish *Tläqmä·ks*, a being resembling a diminutive man, created by *Älquntäm* as a child to all supernatural beings. *Xemxemälotla* is its guardian or nurse; and for safety he usually keeps his charge in the far distant upper land above *Nusmät·a*, where *Älquntäm* frequently visits the two. In some mysterious manner, *Tläqmä·ks* has been
• [777] known to reach this earth, giving good fortune to the lucky finder. He is in many cases spoken of as "The Cherished

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761 an owl, possibly one of those which normally roost on the tree
775 behind *Nusmăt-a*. This element of a dead person occasionally
825 communicates with a living relative, as evidenced by the following story.

[539]
[827]

A number of years ago a party of men and women camped for the night beside one of the rivers flowing into South Bentinck Arm. After supper, as they were resting by their fire, an owl kept hooting from a neighbouring tree. One of the men turned to a friend who had been making obscene remarks and, half in jest, warned him to be careful in case one of his relatives was listening. The foolish fellow looked at the owl and asked:

"Are you a relative of mine?"

There was no answer, but when he had repeated the question four times, the owl spoke:

"I am so-and-so," he said, naming the deceased grandfather of his questioner.

Consequent upon the belief that the voice of a dead person enters an owl, the bird is treated with considerable respect. It is improper to make fun of one, or to ask who it was when alive. Should a person do so, the owl answers with the interrogator's own name and he soon dies.

761 On the whole, the life does not affect the daily existence of the Bella Coola as profoundly as does the spirit. When they stop to ponder on the reason for some event, they readily admit the importance of the life with its constituent elements, but they are not always considering its activities and seeking to strengthen it. It is essentially a religious attribute, of greater moment to a man of imaginative and suggestible temperament than to one who carries on the daily routine without asking *why* and *wherefore*.

THE TALLY POST

773 In the beginning of time, when *Ăkuntăm* sent the first
777 people down to earth, he erected in *Nusmăt-a* posts emblazoned with the bird or animal crest taken by each to serve as a memorial, or reminder, to him of the number of individuals existing

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below. These are termed tally posts.[11] Each remained upright as long as the individual to whom it referred was alive, but fell at his death. Since that time, whenever *Ālquntām* lends to a mortal *sininits*, the undefined power that causes life, his supernatural artisans erect in the land above a tally post for the new-born infant, marked with the bird or animal used by an ancestor. As long as this remains upright and straight, firmly fixed to the ground, its owner continues to be strong and prosperous, and has success in all his undertakings; if it becomes loose, or is crooked, he ceases to succeed. Prosperity does not depend upon the abilities or activities of the individual, but upon his supernatural possessions, spirit, tally post, and a third to be described later. If the tally post tilts far from the perpendicular, its owner becomes ill, and can be cured only by straightening it. In some cases *Ālquntām* is kind enough to do this if placated by prayer and ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), and in olden days, shamans were occasionally able to penetrate to the land above for this purpose. Even when a post was reached, they were sometimes unable to set it upright, though they could always estimate the length of a man's life from its angle of inclination. In one of the *kusiut* dances, the performer pretends to have the ability to go aloft and the uninitiated are deceived by the erection of a tall ladder up which he climbs and disappears (II, p. 202). On his return, he reports the condition of the tally posts of various people. This performance serves to remind both members of the society and uninitiated of the existence of these supernatural elements, and of the dependence of individuals on them for success in life. In spite of this ritual, actual knowledge of the powers and functions of tally posts has been derived only from the first Bella Coola who, created in the land above, were acquainted with the mysteries of life and transmitted such lore to their descendants. One old man expressed the opinion

[11] *Ēqunēuēuēts*. One of the names of *Nuxmālīs*, *Nuxēuēuēuēts*, refers to these, meaning, "The Place of the Tally Posts." *Ēqunēuēuēts* and *ēuēuēuēts* are closely associated; sometimes the latter is pronounced *ēuēuēts*, although this may be an error in recording.

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773 that tally posts have mentality, and suggested that it might
777 be these which attend the gathering of the supernatural beings at the winter solstice instead of an element from the human body itself.

One elderly Bella Coola, of philosophical temperament, described *q̓watlnusta* in terms far removed from the accounts of tally posts. According to him, every individual receives this supernatural possession at birth, and it remains with him, in close association with his body, throughout life. It stays in front of his face, invisible, yet having substance, and con-
[431] stantly shaking from side to side. If a man fails to receive a present at a potlatch, it is because his *q̓watlnusta* has ceased
[828] to move. When stationary it is not transparent, and not only hides its owner from the donor's sight, but acts as a barrier to his thoughts. The same man stated that this element can
[756] leave the body, can be seen by shamans, and that it is the one
[775] which ascends at the winter solstice to *Nasmāl-a*. At death it is believed to accompany the spirit and the life to the land above.

177 There seems no reason to doubt that the concept of tally
773 posts is an ancient belief. Nor does the application of the term *q̓watlnusta* to another immaterial possession of quite
777 another type destroy this probability. It must be remembered that within the last eighty years the Bella Coola have suffered not only from the tremendous upheaval caused by the coming of the white man, but have been reduced to a mere fraction of their former numerical strength by various epidemics. These factors have led to the partial forgetting of ancient beliefs, with consequent confusion. It is probable that the use of the same term for the tally post, intimately connected with an individual's life although situated in the land above, and for an invisible and intangible possession which goes in front of him, is due to this recent decay of ancient convictions. If this be true, it merely means that in former times the Bella Coola had yet another supernatural element to govern and influence their lives.

THE WASH-BASIN

A third supernatural element which must be in good condition if a Bella Coola is to prosper in life, is a *nuxlakuta*, wash-basin. In the land above, *Alquntám* has a large one filled with water which, having been constructed by himself, is replete with power. When a child is born, a small part of this receptacle, with its contents, is reserved for him; the supernatural artisans choose the actual section, but it is *Alquntám* who gives them the ability to do so. A fortunate man, whose ventures are successful and to whom goods are attracted, is said to have a good wash-basin; whereas the ill-luck of an unfortunate person is attributed, among other reasons, to the small size of his supernatural vessel. The Bella Coola have no clear ideas about the connection between an individual and his wash-basin. Some state that it remains in the land above; others believe that its intangible essence comes to a child at birth and grows up with him, always near his body, as if it were the offspring of the basin in the land above. As long as it remains in motion the owner continues in good health and prosperity, but if it becomes sluggish he falls ill. Long ago, shamans knew how to reanimate a wash-basin, but since the time of the first people, when supernatural ability was common, this has been a lost art. Senile decay is attributed to listlessness of this possession.

River water, being a creation of *Alquntám*, is akin to the water in his basin above. Boys are always advised to bathe in the river at dawn; the act is termed *dzlulcum*, a word connected with *nuxlakuta*. A prayer is uttered while washing. The combination of verbal appeal and the application of water strengthens the petitioner's wash-basin and so increases his chances for prosperity. Until a few years ago, this practice was almost universal. Water is always considered a strange substance, obviously a supernatural creation, and believed to be the chief means of sustenance for a child after being weaned.*

*This may be a more recent elaboration.

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Shamans achieve much of their success through their ability to put their wash-basins, both tangible (I, p. 360) and immaterial, in tune with *Alpontów*'s in the land above. One method of treating a patient is by washing, with the idea that the water and vessel used have potency through association with those in the upper world. It is believed that in the distant past, shamans were even able to carry their patients to the land above and wash them in *Alpontów*'s own basin. Such feats are perpetuated in certain shamans' names, such as *Alpalpelelem*.

It may be said in conclusion that although the Bella Coola have indefinite ideas concerning the exact form and functions of this last element, there is a firm belief that an individual's fortune in life depends upon the activity of spirit, tally post, and wash-basin. With regard to supernatural elements as a whole, it is clear that in spite of somewhat conflicting beliefs concerning the precise functions of each, they play an important part in the life of every Bella Coola.

Means of Propitiation

Some of the methods employed by the Bella Coola to gain the favour of the supernatural have already been mentioned, but the subject is sufficiently important to warrant a separate section. In view of the omnipresence of supernatural beings and powers, and their influence on the lives of mortals, it is not surprising that the propitiation of them is a vital factor in human life. The chief means are prayer, sacrifice, and the observance of ceremonial chastity.

PRAYER

Prayers are regularly addressed to *Alpontów* who, in this connection, is known as *Mouskaic* or *Tóté*, both meaning, "Father." A wise man or woman desiring success in hunting, in love affairs, in the acquisition of wealth, or in any activity whatsoever, is accustomed to ask *Mouskaic* to grant his desire. No ritual is required. The petitioner merely seeks a lonely

1:bb:Dewalth E-5 (1922-1924)548
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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *Kwiat* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Alquaiáw* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the more force engendered in a man's body by lengthy absti-

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though they may be to the white man. It is hoped that the preceding illustrations, drawn from recent times, will explain the mental attitude of the Bella Coola better than incidents from folk-lore of the distant past. 787

Disregarding thoughts which, since they are caused by the spiritual elements of the human body, are ever present, relations with the supernatural may be divided into the following categories: [828] [774]

(1) Appearance of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. Strictly speaking, every fleeting sight of a supernatural being belongs to this category, but it will be convenient to describe only experiences of a peculiar kind, such as the Bella Coola call *qoo-ahlawudjulsis*. Usually manifestations of the supernatural have certain effects; consequently, there are relatively few incidents of this kind recorded.

(2) Supernatural aid vouchsafed to a man or a woman in distress. There are many tales illustrating this, which are told and retold to the children. In most cases the assistance is given to one who has undeservedly, according to Bella Coola concepts, fallen into misfortune.

(3) Supernatural good luck. This may be obtained by anyone, and consists of the acquisition of a supernatural object to attract, not only fish and animals, as if it were a potent bait, but money and goods as well. [777] [226] [226]

(4) Acquisition of shamanistic power, with or without the ability to cure the sick. This may be received from one of two sources: [756]

(a) *Thinkpilila-a* or some other supernatural being.

(b) Ghosts, which are likewise supernatural. [775]

(5) Obtaining prophetic powers direct from the supreme god. There are few instances of this, and none that is ascribed to a remote period. It is possible that all examples of this kind can be attributed to indirect Christian influence. [777]

(6) Obtaining power from a supernatural being localized in a particular spot. This usually takes the form of succour when [756]

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539 She assumed it to be a forest fire, but, when she idly went near to investigate, her amazement was past all bounds at seeing a fine house filled
* 787 with valuables. Nor was her surprise lessened when she discovered that *'Yetsdji* was lord of it all. He welcomed her gladly, gave her a hearty meal, and sent back with her some seal meat for her child, only adding that it was to be eaten secretly as he did not wish his father to know of his good fortune.

"But," he added, "I don't mind if you send me any of the people except my father, especially any who were good to me long ago."

The slave woman thankfully carried the meat home to her child. But he, long deprived of proper food, ate so ravenously that night that a lump stuck in his throat and his coughing awoke *Qemo'sala*. The chief pounded the youngster's back until he vomited what was obviously a piece of seal. The slave woman, remembering *'Yetsdji*'s order, tried to evade her master's questions as to where her son had obtained it, but at last she blurted out the truth, how the abandoned youth had become prosperous.

The slave woman and her friends moved to *Qwiyai*, where *'Yetsdji* used his power of thought to obtain for them houses filled with everything they could desire. But *Qemo'sala* and those left with him were starving, so that they too were driven to seek his aid, gladly marrying their daughters to him in return for his protection. He rapidly rose to a position of importance, being the husband of both real and fictitious wives, and was even able to provide his elder brothers with mates. Some of the women married to him became almost his slaves, as their families were unable to ransom them.

Supernatural Good Luck

•779 A third manner in which the Bella Coola can come into
* 787 contact with powers of another plane is through supernatural good luck. This consists in obtaining something from a super-
[224] natural being, usually a portion of its slain body, which acts
[226] as a bait to fish, mammals, and even to such inanimate articles as blankets or skins. Even a tiny morsel placed on a weir will attract numerous salmon, or if set on a trap will prove an infallible lure to animals. Then put in the owner's box, valuables will be attracted to it as steel to a magnet. Thus the fortunate possessor will be able to give many potlatches and to reach a
[412] high position in the community. Since this good fortune is

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wrapped up in a specific object it follows that the luck is transmissible; in fact, one of the chief advantages to the man who owns some valuable object is the wealth which he derives from selling a small portion of it. 777● 787 * [432]

The Bella Coola term for supernatural good luck is *siye*, meaning, "What is Good." This can come from any being though it is most frequently obtained either from a *mätsqus* or a *ssiutl*. The former resembles a toad of enormous size, with a blazing fire-like glow in its throat; the latter is a double-headed salmon or snake that can travel on land. The person who succeeds in killing one of these creatures can use the carcass as a lure to wealth, if he knows the proper means. The portion must be wrapped in an article that has been in close contact with the slayer, such as a piece of his soiled clothing. This must be kept carefully hidden for one year in a cranny to which no rain can penetrate, and after that it can be used as bait. There is equal potency in a stick or other object which has come in contact with the beast. Great danger is attached to the sight of a *mätsqus* or a *ssiutl*, since death usually follows any incorrect attempt to gain wealth from either. The person who sees one of these creatures feels no ill effects until he draws near a fire, when his stomach bursts. All the Bella Coola agree that if a man has been close to one he can be saved by the use of certain medicines, but the following stories show that there is no clear-cut opinion as to which are the best. In fact, most families have knowledge of a specific cure which they regard as the most efficacious. [776] [776] [761] [757]

The opportunity to obtain supernatural good luck does not come solely to unfortunate individuals; indeed the Bella Coola state that it is fortuitous. It appears, however, that usually the person who is thus favoured is one who has practised ceremonial chastity, or is, through some other means, in a state of cleanliness pleasing to the supernatural. At any rate the danger of seeing such creatures is less to a man who is in a pure condition than to any other. Further, in most cases they are apt to appear to a person whose ancestors have seen one. [785]

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777 A visitation is not regarded as an inheritable right, but as a
* 787 tendency; for generations no member of a family may see one
of these beasts, but the tradition is preserved, and when one
[424] is seen it is recalled that such have been observed by ancestors
of the fortunate one. Instances have occurred in which a
person has obtained good luck without the tradition of this
being in his family, but they are rare. On the other hand, a
man may lose the advantage of his possession, even if he own
[785] a portion of a *mātsqus* or a *sisiutl*, through failure to observe
ceremonial chastity.

776 Some of the Bella Coola believe that the *mātsqus* and the
sisiutl are the same animal, which can assume these two forms;
others that the two are distinct supernatural creatures. In any
case the powers and characteristics ascribed to them are the
same. Most families have a tradition regarding the appear-
[173] ance of the one or the other to their ancestors, and the infor-
[184] mation to be derived from them is always about that particular
creature. Hence the details here described are probably not
all known to any one individual.

* 787 The different types of appearances, and the different types
811 of taboos called forth, should be noted. These are due to
182 failure on the part of the Bella Coola to rationalize the sum
total of their concepts. Each man recounts what he believes
to have happened to one of his ancestors or friends, irrespec-
tive of whether or not the methods used may be in direct
contradiction to those employed by someone else on another
occasion. A man who has heard of the *mātsqus*, for example,
from his father and mother, may describe contradictory means
of dealing with the creature, and in each case may affirm that
disaster would have followed if the method described had not
been carried out. Such lack of co-ordination is typical of the
Bella Coola.

777 According to an elderly Kimsquit man, the *mātsqus* was
brought down in the beginning of time by one of his own
* 787 ancestors, *Omqemkikka*. It is to this fact that he attributes
[773] his own near approach to one on two occasions. As it is fre-

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quently not until the fourth appearance that a person obtains supernatural good luck, he is still hoping for two more visitations, the second of which he expects to be fruitful. 777 ● 787 *

One day as he was poling up the Kimsquit River he heard a sound resembling thunder proceeding from a log-jam. From descriptions given him by his father, he knew that this must be the voice of a *mätsqus*, but, not having observed ceremonial chastity, he was afraid to investigate, although the sound seemed to follow his canoe for a considerable distance; it only stopped when another canoe approached. From the fact that he alone heard the voice, he knew that it was for him that the creature had come and only the arrival of other people had deterred it from appearing.

On another occasion the same man was close to the nest of a *mätsqus*. He and another hunter were together in the forest above the Dean River and both saw the stone nest behind a waterfall, but for some time each refrained from pointing it out to the other. Towards dusk the first man's attention was called to it by his companion, and they debated on a course of action. Each was desirous of obtaining the benefits to be derived from a successful use of the nest, but each was afraid of the evil consequences should he fail. The friend had observed continence for some time so it was decided that in the morning he should be the one to make the approach; the other man, well versed in these matters, instructed him very carefully what to do. That night both men were too excited to sleep.

Next morning the nest was still in the same place, but the friend hesitated about going up to it, and as they delayed, talking, it vanished in the twinkling of an eye and the opportunity passed.

The nest itself is sufficiently potent to bring good fortune without the *mätsqus*. Not many years ago a man saw one containing a large green egg which he touched with one end of his musket. Then he carefully hid his weapon for one year in a cleft of the rocks where no water could reach it, nor did he mention what he had seen to anyone. When the time had 777 224

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●777 elapsed, he fetched his musket from its hiding-place and again
224 began to use it. Thenceforth he never missed his aim; every shot brought down an animal.

Before the days of muskets good fortune could likewise be obtained by the discoverer of the nest of a *mātsqus*. Each contains small particles of the skin of all animals, including human beings, plucked from them in their sleep by humming birds and toads. The finder must touch the nest with his stick, such as is always carried by hunters, then break it and throw it away, saying as he does so:

"May I see you at . . . tomorrow." This means next year.

He names his favourite hunting-ground. The finder must
[785] not say anything to anyone about his discovery, and for one year he must observe continence. If he then goes to the locality mentioned, he will there find his stick, the one which he broke when he touched the nest, though it will be invisible to anyone else. Adhering to its end will be four hairs of the *mātsqus*. These he must hide for a year, wrapped in some of his own clothing, taking care that it is an article which he has long
[785] worn and which is accordingly saturated with his essence. During this period, too, he must observe continence. Two years after finding the nest, he will be able to hunt with phen-
[424] omenal success. The knowledge of this proper procedure has been handed down in an ancestral family for many generations.

On the occasion when the two men had seen the nest they
777 continued their journey, each chiding the other for his failure
* 787 to take advantage of the opportunity put in his path. Before
[776] long they saw a footprint where no man had been and knew that it must be that of *Twalālīt*, the supernatural hunter of mountain goats. In spite of remonstrances, the comrade scraped up a little dirt from the track into his handkerchief. In this he did wrong, especially as he had failed to take advantage of the opportunity presented to him by the nest of the monster toad. That night as the two were encamped a slide came thundering down beside them, and they barely escaped
[761] with their lives. Not long afterwards the erring man died,

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insane, a calamity unquestionably due to his recklessness in handling the earth where a supernatural one had trod. 777 787*

This point illustrates the danger of near approach to a *mätsqus*, a theme well exemplified in the stories in the next chapter. Such perils must be counteracted in diverse ways according to the traditions of different ancestral families. One common method is to seek a lonely spot in the woods and there hollow out a shelter beneath an overhanging rock or fallen tree-trunk where the person who has been exposed to danger must remain for four days, eating nothing and at intervals scrubbing his body with branches of devil's club, spruce, and other rough plants. These protect him from the evil effects of the monster. [761] 783 [824]

Similar in function to the *mätsqus*, and equally dangerous to the unwary, is the *ssiutl*. The latter is supposed to have been created on this earth, at Bella Bella, in the beginning of time by *Yulätimut*. It was at first the canoe made by this carpenter, and then turned loose by him to range the mountains and fiords, as it has ever since, equally at home on land and in water, and in various forms. The following is a typical description of the manner in which a *ssiutl* appeared in the past. 777 787* [773] [776] 539 777 787*

Long ago a man was hunting in the mountains when he saw a salmon, which changed in an instant to a fish-like monstrosity with two heads but no tail. He lunged at it with his stick, and in so doing started a slide which carried the salmon down the mountain. As this was taking place, the hunter said:

"Go down the mountain, salmon; I will get you at the bottom."

When he reached the foot of the new slide he saw the fish lying clear on the stones. He cut it up and slung it on a cedar-bark rope. Now this salmon was a *ssiutl*, the first that had ever been seen, and the hunter obtained supernatural good luck from his experience. He also took the name of *Ssiutl*, a designation which has been handed down until recently.

After this adventure many people hunted for the *ssiutl*, and with fair success in early days, but now it cannot be found, 777 787*

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● 777 owing to the failure of hunters to observe ceremonial chastity.
* 787 When obtained, a *sisiutl* was cut into small pieces, one of which
[789] worn upon the person would make the flesh so hard that an arrow could not penetrate.

[776] Sometimes the *sisiutl* assumes the form of either a spring or a cohoe salmon. Not long ago a Bella Bella man, travelling in a canoe, ate one of these. Once devoured, it reformed itself, made its way out by consuming the man's lower jaw, then jumped overboard and was lost.

The mere appearance of a *sisiutl* does not necessarily bring misfortune to the beholder, even if he has not the necessary knowledge, or courage, to take advantage of it. The following is an instance.

On one occasion the father's father of a middle-aged Bella Coola was going upstream at the time the salmon were jumping, when, unknown to him, one leaped into the canoe behind him. His first knowledge of anything untoward came to him when the bow rose out of the water, and, looking around, he saw that this was caused by the weight of a grease-covered stone lying in the bottom of his canoe; the salmon had vanished. The man threw overboard his floor-board with the stone on it. When he told his friends afterwards of his experience, they informed him that he had missed an opportunity for obtaining supernatural good fortune, as the "salmon" must have been a *sisiutl*.

789 The *sisiutl* can also be used as a charm. If a man, while in
[776] a pure condition through the observance of ceremonial chastity, eats a small portion of the flesh, it renders him proof against bullet or arrow. An intelligent Bella Coola stated that his father's brother had done so on one occasion, with the result that a bullet, fired by his wife's mother's father, fell harmless at his feet after striking him.

278 Medicine can also be obtained indirectly from a *sisiutl*.
776 When one of these fish-like creatures swims through a pond,
824 wriggling as it goes, it frequently sheds some of its scales.

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These become lilies (of the species known as *lälkänelp* or *walilikwätsälätsäläts*, "The most potent of the pond") from the roots of which a tonic can be brewed. They can be collected by anyone, and the places where they grow are well known, but certain rules must be followed. Before reaching the pond the gatherer must find four spruce saplings, cut from each a bough projecting eastward, and lay these two by two, beside the water, with a space between. After plucking the lily roots he must place them on the ground between the spruce branches and tie the whole into a bundle with strips of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. He must be careful to wind these wrappings clockwise. On arriving at the house where the tonic is to be prepared, the bundle must be thrown in through the smoke-vent, never carried through the door. After these precautions the medicine can be prepared with safety. The roots are cut into thin slices and boiled for four days; a sick person then drinks several cupsful of the brew, which is particularly good for the blood. This remedy is especially effective if the patient is observing ceremonial chastity. The person administering the potion sees to it that the one being treated conforms to certain regulations for forty days. He must not eat fresh meat, fresh salmon, or any food prepared by a widow or a catamenial woman; he must not approach too closely a girl who is secluded following puberty, and he must observe absolute continence, not even sleeping with his wife. Death follows the breaking of any of these taboos.

Although supernatural good fortune is most frequently obtained from either a *mätsqus* or a *sisiutl*, it can be derived from other supernatural beings. In such cases the acquisition is seldom dangerous. The following tale describes the *qokän-i*.

Long before the coming of the white man, but very long after the first people came to this earth, a certain Kimsquit man, *Wikwanutl*, who was also called *O'mätl*, was snaring mountain goats on Mount *Tcopinätl* when he heard on the upper slopes a peculiar cry which he recognized, from descriptions given him by the old people, as the note of a *qokän-i*.

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[776]

This is a supernatural bird about the size of a crow, with a broad hooked beak and blue-black iridescent plumage. Its note resembles that of a swan. The peculiarity of the bird is that its flesh and bones are of mountain goat grease; even its droppings are of this valuable substance, and it is these which are specially prized. Long ago *ɋokān·i* were comparatively common, but all have now fled beyond the range of the white man's rifle.

Wikwanuil knew what to do, so he crept stealthily up the mountain armed only with his hunting stick. Presently he saw a *ɋokān·i* feeding on a mountain goat which had been caught in one of his snares. It answered to the descriptions *Wikwanuil* had heard, and he could see that its droppings were like solidified mountain goat grease. The hunter crawled near, and took advantage of the instant when the bird was within the goat's stomach to leap forward and club it as it looked up. *Wikwanuil* twisted the neck until the head separated from the body and flung the former behind him, to the right, without noting where it went. This enables the bird to return since, like all other living creatures, when it seems to die it does no more than shed its cloak of flesh. Then the hunter cut the body into halves, threw the right portion in the same direction as the head, and carefully tied the left half in his cape of cedar-bark. Next he collected the droppings and wrapped them in evergreen boughs. Carefully carrying his treasures, he went down the mountain, and hid them in a niche cut in the trunk of a cedar tree, before he went home.

Next day, *Wikwanuil* did not hunt but returned to the place, drew out the piece of the bird's body, and dried it over a fire, as if he were toasting salmon for winter use. At night he went home, still refraining from telling anyone what he had done. For four days he cured the meat, then carefully closed the niche and went away.

For one year *Wikwanuil* did not hunt. Then he reopened the recess and saw that the meat was fresh and juicy, as if newly prepared. He left it in place, but drew forth the droppings and carried them off in a small bag. Fortune followed him. By using a small piece of the solidified grease on his traps he had wonderful success. At length *Wikwanuil* told his fellow-villagers what he had obtained and they were envious of his good luck. He continued to prosper, and at last sold the droppings for a large amount of goods, though he carefully preserved the section of the body itself. When an old man, he showed his son where it was concealed and the latter likewise prospered throughout his life, owing to this possession. When he became old, he in turn told his son about it, so that the young man had the same good fortune as his father and grand-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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father. But the great-grandson was too lazy to take the trouble of going with his father to the place where the section of the bird was hidden, so the treasure was lost. 777● 787*

A fourth giver of supernatural good fortune is one of the mythical creatures termed *snusx*. This variety lives in the ocean, or rarely in rivers, and can occasionally be seen resting on the surface with its long, golden tresses floating on the water. The hair appears always to be flecked with eagle down, but in reality it is a mass of barnacles, the equivalent of this substance to this under-sea dweller. If the observer is brave, he will paddle cautiously near until he can twist a lock of the hair around his paddle and break it off. He must not touch it with his hands, but must dangle it outside the canoe, still wrapped about his paddle, until he reaches the shore, when he must conceal it in some lonely place for one year. After that period he can use a single hair, or piece of one, as bait; it will be enough to attract animals to his traps or salmon to his weir, exactly as with the mountain goat grease excrement of a *qoḱăv-i* or a stick that has come in contact with a giant toad. If the person who has jerked off the hair with his paddle should be foolish or ignorant enough to bring his spoil into his canoe, he, and all with him, are rendered incapable of movement and the craft with its occupants sinks beneath the sea. [539] [224] [776] [224] [226]

The father's cousin of an informant once saw one of these animals when paddling in company with several companions to Kimsquit. The sea was smooth as glass when their attention was attracted by a number of small ripples, spreading in a half-moon shape from what they realized was the head of a *snusx*. The hair crossed the ripples, but did not rise or fall with them. The back of the animal's head was nearest the canoe so the opportunity seemed favourable for obtaining some of its hair. Cautiously the men paddled nearer, but at the last moment the steersman feared to drive the canoe in among the golden tresses, so veered off and the craft passed along one side of the mass of hair. The animal had shown no sign of being aware of their presence, but it now began to turn away,

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● 777 so that its floating locks remained between them and its head.
* 787 As it turned, the hair moved with it, so that, although the impression remained of a floating mat, there must have been some motive power to cause it to remain streaming out straight behind. Each strand moved through the ripples without being affected. Though the paddlers strained to the utmost to see the animal's face it thwarted their efforts by this continuous slow turning, until at last they went on their way, disappointed.

539 Yet another creature from which supernatural good fortune
777 has been obtained is the Mother of Snakes, a creature described in the following story.

* 787 A family living at *Nalirax* was reduced to the point of starvation through the failure of their salmon-weir. It seemed as if the fish avoided
226 it. One day a son of one of the owners, who had been in trouble with a
[776] woman in the lower valley, went off into the woods not far from his village, where he saw what he thought was a black bear. When it came nearer he realized that its chest was tipped with silver and that its tongue kept shooting far beyond its jaws; hence that it must be the Mother of Snakes. This creature combines the qualities of bear and snake; it is about the size of the former, and it appears to have a serpent wrapped around its chest. It always pursues mortals and slays them, unless they
[784] know the proper means of escape. Luckily, the youth's father had long ago warned him what to do if chased by one, so he at once dashed off. First he ran downhill, but the animal gained on him; then he ran uphill, but still the monster drew nearer. The only way the fugitive could increase his lead was by ascending or descending in zigzags, since the brute's heavy legs then kept slipping. All day the pursuit continued, until towards dusk, when the youth was almost exhausted, he saw at last what he was looking for, a stump with splinters, projecting upwards. Pushing these apart with his hands, he leapt through the opening thus made, then circled the tree once sunwise, and pulled away one of the jagged spikes. Now the Mother of Snakes must always follow directly in the tracks of its quarry, and as it jumped through the passage the youth struck it across the back with the splinter which he had pulled out. Down fell the monster dead.

With his knife the lad cut off some of the animal's meat which he carried home, saying nothing to his father. Early the next morning the old man went to look at his salmon-weir, but as usual it was empty. As soon, however, as his son drew near, the river became packed with salmon, all heading towards the trap which was soon filled.

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"It seems as if you attracted the salmon like a magnet," said the father to his son. 777 ●

The latter did not answer immediately, but later he said: 787 *

"You were right," and he told him what had happened. [539]

"You have obtained supernatural good luck," the old man replied simply. [226]

Following his son's instructions the father prepared canoes and boxes to bring back the flesh of the Mother of Snakes. They collected every scrap of it, which they preserved very carefully, and used small portions as bait to attract salmon to their weir with such success that they became wealthy.

Another supernatural being from whom supernatural good fortune may be obtained is *Skwanät·än·a*, "The Female Mourner." When a chief dies she comes to wail, wandering through the woods near the village, where sometimes she can be seen in the form of a weeping woman. As she cries, she ejects mucus from her nose, which solidifies into a glass-like substance about a foot in length. Anyone who sees her should take the transformed mucus, and wrap it in some article of his own clothing; it will bring him good fortune. About midnight of June 21, 1922, the infant daughter of a Bella Coola died, and about seven o'clock on the following morning the wailing was heard[1] in the woods behind the missionary's house. The brother of the dead child's father rushed off to try to find the weeping one. Luckily he did not succeed, because he did not know about collecting the mucus, and trouble would have come to him had he seen the supernatural being without knowing how to deal with it; in fact, even to hear *Skwanät·än·a* is considered an omen of death. [776] [776] [763]

It will be seen from the foregoing specific instances that supernatural good luck is usually obtained by the slaying of some powerful creature. But, since every living creature is endowed with superhuman power, it follows that any object obtained from a bird or an animal that has acted in a peculiar way may be the cause of supernatural good fortune if it be kept for one year in the manner previously described. Some- [825] [224]

[1]Since the Bella Coola believe that it was heard, the incident is recorded as a fact.

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777 times a man finds a piece of the thick bark of the fir in one of
* 787 his traps; if he throw it away nothing happens, but if he conceal
it in a hidden cranny for one year and then use it for bait he
[224] will have supernatural good luck. Another bringer of good
fortune is a giant crab, about two feet in diameter, sometimes found far in the forest. There is no danger attached to the appearance of either of these manifestations of the supernatural, which have merely the potential ability to bestow good fortune if the person seeing them knows and practises the proper ritual.

777 Sometimes, long ago, when a number of seals were seen
* 787 approaching the shore a man would notice that they were
peculiar. One would disappear beneath the surface, to emerge
224 as a beaver, the beaver would vanish beneath the waves only to come up as a bear, a mountain goat, a deer, or some other animal. If a hunter wished to have phenomenal success at goat hunting, for example, he would wait until one of the seals appeared as a goat and then kill it. The carcass would drift ashore, as a seal, but on being cut open a stone shaped like a mountain goat would always be found in the stomach. To obtain success the hunter would wrap this in a piece of worn clothing, and hide it away beneath an overhanging ledge in some lonely spot in the woods. If left there for one year the stone became a magnet, and its owner, carrying it with him on his hunting expeditions, had amazing success. He had obtained supernatural good fortune, for one particular object. If, after cutting open the seal-mountain goat, the hunter failed to wrap up the stone in some of his clothing it vanished of its own accord.

The last Bella Coola to have supernatural good luck from this source was *Winás*, who died about 1910. His extraordinary success as a hunter was derived from a number of stones which his father had obtained from the stomachs of seals in the form of land animals. His prosperity ended when he sold his collection of stones to a Bella Bella man who still uses them with great effect.

1;McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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Supernatural good fortune has also been obtained from the "Mothers" of certain plants. 777

Among the roots that are sought for when a man intends to give a potlatch are those of clover and of *okál*, a grass which grows on flats near the sea. Once the aunt of an elderly (in 1923) Bella Coola woman dug up the Mother of *Okál*, a root, thick as her thumb, but shaped like a woman. Perhaps the reason that she found it was because she was digging in the darkness, after the setting of the sun. The woman, ignorant of the proper procedure, did nothing, with the result that her hands became painfully swollen. If she had wrapped the root in a portion of her used clothing and kept it hidden for one year, without saying anything about her find, it would have brought her supernatural good luck. 824 [556] [153]

Another woman found an elderberry as large as a baseball, and shaped like the mask worn above the forehead by a member of the *nusk* society. Her father, an old man skilled in such matters, wrapped the berry in his daughter's soiled clothing and kept it carefully hidden in her box. It brought her supernatural good luck because, no matter how much or how often she gave away presents, goods always came to her.

SUPERNATURAL GOOD LUCK FROM STONES

Stones are among the objects from which supernatural good luck can be obtained. A person who has long observed ceremonial chastity may be fortunate enough to hear what seems to be the weeping of a new-born infant, as he passes in his canoe beneath some steep ocean cliff. Then, if he watches, he will see a stone being born from a larger one at the level of the sea. If the observer takes the infant-stone, wraps it in his soiled clothing and stores it among his possessions, it will act as other bringers of supernatural good fortune by luring all kinds of valuables to the owner. In fact, such a stone is said to be so potent that if left in an empty box for some time, it will attract enough skins to fill the receptacle. 777 787* 823 [785]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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The last appearance of such a stone was in Dean Channel, to the father of an elderly Bella Coola, who was too amazed to take advantage of it. As far as could be ascertained, in 1922 there was only one stone which was regarded by the owner as having brought him good fortune. It had been obtained by one of his elderly relatives who died about 1906. This man had been walking beside the Bella Coola River one spring day when he happened to notice a woodpecker perched on one of the posts supporting an olachen net. Without taking his eyes from it, he idly stooped down and threw a pebble at the bird which flew to the bank, lit on a pile of stones, and became one of them. Realizing that here might be the means of obtaining supernatural good fortune, if properly handled, the man watched for some time, then went forward, picked up the stone, covered it with evergreen boughs and wrapped the whole in a strip torn from the white-man's shirt he was wearing. With the axe he was carrying he cut a recess in a tree, put the object in it and covered the hiding place with the original bark. He said nothing about it, but the stone brought him such good luck that he obtained large quantities of everything desirable.

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In later years the man, after replacing the stone in the hole of the tree, went away to Victoria; when he returned, years later, it was still there. By placing it in his box he again prospered in all his ventures. When an old man the owner presented the stone to a relative who still treasures it. It is red, about a foot in length, shaped somewhat like a human figure without arms or legs, but with a prominent navel opening. See Fig. 2. The owner has kept it for years, hiding it even from his wife and allowing no white man to see it. He had been perfectly willing to have photographs taken of most of his ceremonial objects, but declined to permit this to be done with his valued stone, and carefully hid it in a box after showing it. When he wished to use the transformed bird, it was wrapped in his old shirt, together with a small amount of money or what-

[23]

Fig. 2
Lucky Stone

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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ever object was desired, and then set in a window of his house so that the sun could fall on one uncovered end. The owner firmly believes that this stone has brought him money on various occasions, and will do so again, though whether he expects the coins to be found inside of the wrapping, or merely to come to him in the course of trade is questionable. According to Bella Coola belief, they ought to appear beside the stone, but as this man attributes any good fortune to it, he never has any difficulty in proving its powers. 777● 823

This stone is also used as a means of increasing the efficacy of prayer. When its owner washes ceremonially in the river before eating in the morning, he rubs it over his body as if it were soap and requests it to make him strong, make him well, grant him his desires, and so forth. [515] [789]

Shamanism

More important to the Bella Coola than any other manifestation of the supernatural is that power which makes an individual either an *dłakwala* or an *dzłanłots*. The former is a person who, owing to ability granted him by a supernatural being, is able to perform miraculous feats, especially in curing the sick; the latter is one with similar powers obtained from a ghost.[1] It is impossible to translate either of these terms accurately; the designation "shaman" is accordingly used in this monograph to describe both types of supernaturally endowed individuals. The most common and most important method of obtaining such power is from a living supernatural being; a person receiving the boon in this manner will be termed "shaman," and one empowered by a ghost will be known as "shaman from the dead." 104 756* [787]* [788]

The Bella Coola believe that long ago men were so much more powerful than at present, and so close to the supernatural, that all were virtually shamans. The prowess and adventures 756* 773 538

[1] Ghosts are, of course, supernatural, but as the Bella Coola distinguish between shamans whose powers are derived from these two sources, it is accurate to follow their example.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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159 in his sleep, and hopes that it will grant him specific super-
* 787 natural power. He realizes that he could increase the prob-
[785] ability of obtaining this by ceremonial chastity, and believes
[797] that it would come to him if he went alone to the woods and lay fasting for some time. Another means would be to concentrate his thoughts upon the desired end, but X is too good a Christian to do so; he is in the unhappy position of knowing too much of two religions to be able to practise either unreservedly. Such experiences are not likely to occur to any but a man of high-strung, imaginative temperament, to whom dreams and mental excitements appear especially vivid. X is intensely religious, so that it is easy for him to interpret every phenomenon in terms of the supernatural. It will be noted that most of the dreams just described took place when he was sick, precisely the time when hallucinations are to be expected. They were more coherent than those of most Bella Coola, though the difference is one of degree rather than of kind.

* 787 Most dreams are comparatively simple, and the information received in them is intelligible. They come to all, irrespective of rank or prerogative. Nevertheless, it is believed
[828] that an inheritable tendency runs in some families; this does not mean that all members of such a group dream constantly,
[821] but they are more likely to do so than others. Those occurring at the winter solstice are more carefully observed than at other
[773] times, since it is then that the supernatural beings decide events for the coming year and a man's spirit may be able to inform
[777] him of what has been decided. Consequently, as soon as *Alquntăm* enters *Nusmăt-a*, wise men separate from their wives
[785] and concentrate on dreaming, hoping to learn what is in store for them. For instance, if a man sees himself seated before a large pile of goods, he knows that he will have the good fortune to do this during the coming year; on the other hand, if he foresees ill luck, it means that he will be unfortunate. Another
[821] time when dreams are especially desired is before the summer
[224] solstice when hunters in particular observe ceremonial chas-
[785] tity. This purification not only increases the likelihood of such

1:Mc:Dwratch E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEB

the people of his own village but those of two neighbouring towns. All accepted, as is customary, irrespective of the amount of food. The carcass was cut up and the guests received such minute portions that they became wildly hilarious over the meagre fare provided and flung many insulting remarks at their host. This was what the lad had planned. Confident of his ability to establish his good name, he desired to make his emergence more striking by first emphasizing his degradation.

Next day the father and son again went hunting, and this time the lad killed a seal of slightly larger size. Once more he called in his neighbours and again they made sarcastic remarks about his poverty. The succeeding day he killed one large seal, and summoned the people. Next day he slew two seals; the next, four; then eight, sixteen, and thirty-two on successive days. Each evening a feast was held and the heavy distributed. By this time contempt and scorn had been replaced by respectful wonder, and when the hunter returned with his canoe filled with seals everyone was able to eat to repletion. There was a surfeit of the highly esteemed flesh.

The next day the lad brought back his canoe filled with seals, and the same night the people gathered for the usual feast. Now was the time for which the youth had been waiting. When the carcasses had been cut up and cooked, ready for distribution, he made a speech, reminding those present of the manner in which his parents had been "divined," by food thrown at them during feasts, and how they had never actively resented it. Then he intimated that he was about to retaliate. Starting with the chiefs at the upper end of the house, he threw pieces of cooked seal at his guests, nor did he desist until the faces and shoulders of all had been well spattered with the grease. The people, realizing that it was their own rudeness which was being returned to them, could not defend themselves.

The successful seeker had had a second quantity of seal meat cooked in readiness, which he now distributed to his reviled guests in a gracious manner. In this way he was able to refurbish the prestige of his family. By his lavish donations of seal meat on many occasions, he gained a reputation for generosity which was envied by all.*

Stories Illustrating Supernatural Good Luck

THE *Mikinak*

Not many years ago two men were canoeing up the Kimsquit River. As one of them paddled down with his pole he saw that it had grazed a

* It is not clear whether or not this story should, strictly speaking, be included in this category? Such a sudden stroke of fortune is natural a coincidence. It seemed as if the male themselves had given their lives to this lad in his misfortune.

[illegible] 1948
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salmon lying on the stones at the bottom of the river. Realizing his danger, he swiftly hooked the pole on to the shore beneath a huge cedar where no rain could penetrate. There it remained for twenty or thirty years until it had become covered with moss.

One day two sisters chanced to pass that way and the younger wished to gather some of the moss, but the elder, who apparently surmised with what the pole had been in contact, was afraid and tried to dissuade her. The heedless girl picked some of the moss, and threw it towards her elder sister, saying:

"Pshaw! It is nothing."

The moss struck her, and the elder girl, now thoroughly frightened, was determined that if any ill results were to follow, her younger sister should likewise suffer from them. So she, too, gathered some of the moss and threw it on the first picker. Nothing happened until they had gone home and down near to the fire when both began to swell. They told what had befallen them, but it was too late to apply any remedy and both continued to expand until their stomachs burst and they died."

THE *Mikapu* THAT WAS CAUGHT IN A NET

Between 1860 and 1870, a young man, related to the Bella Coola from whom this account was obtained, was setting salmon near Tweedsmuir. He had caught all that he needed but decided to make one more haul. As he did so, he saw in the water a giant toad with enormous shining eyes and white feet. It was a *mikapu*. The beast entered the net which sank under its weight. The terrified fisherman plucked up enough courage to haul in his net, and found that the toad had turned to a stone, the surface of which was covered with grass. He placed it on top of his salmon and went home to summon the people of his own and neighbouring villages to view the wonder. There were ancient traditions about such beasts having been caught in nets, but this was the first time that such a marvel [illegible] A very old man, well-informed in such matters, now appeared and warned the people to keep away from the space between the stone and the river. No sooner had they cleared than the whole back curved in, carrying into the water, canoes, the pile of freshly landed salmon, and the mysterious stone. The old man had heard of a similar occurrence, and his knowledge saved the lives of the onlookers.

[752/755]

*The usual explanation given for the bursting of the stomach is that some of the fire from the scorpion has entered the victim's body, and then increased on cooking them to a blaze. A remedy in the early stages of swelling is said to be the eating of an unsalted walleye fish.

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The fisherman did not obtain supernatural good fortune as a result of his capture, because he neither removed the object nor kept silent about what he had seen.

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THE MAN WHO SUPERNATURAL KILLED A *Mikipat*

In the village of *Tulik* there lived an old man and an old woman with four grown-up sons. Early one morning the oldest of these saw a mergenser below the door in the village and decided to spear it. Armed with a new, sharp-pointed caribou pole he had crept out on the fish-rack, when, not far from it, he saw a toad about the size of a beaver sitting upon the water. He had heard of the power of such beasts, but was ignorant of the proper procedure for obtaining it, so thought he would try the effect of striking the end of his pole across its back. But when he threw it you with this intention, the staff jumped from his hand and pierced the toad's body, so that it died. This power of attracting objects to itself was one of the animal's attributes of which the man was not aware. He pulled it ashore with a stick and toured his household, crying:

"Get up! Get up! But when I have slain. I did not intend to kill it but the pole sprang away from me."

Everyone rushed to the hitch, and when they saw what was there they exclaimed:

"Why did you do such a thing when there was no one near to advise you?"

One man recommended him to go to an old man named *Ila* who lived in the village of *Inuitsiqaqdy*. It was said that this man understood how to deal with such matters.

This seemed good advice, so the four brothers went off to consult *Ila*, saying to him:

"We have come on very important business."

Ila cut short their speech by replying:

"I know all about it. You have had power come to you. Have you four walrus?"

"Yes, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]"

"I have one on this side of the river, and two on the opposite shore. Unless we can fix this up satisfactorily you will die, but if we succeed in doing it correctly you will become wealthy."

The brothers accompanied *Ila* up the slope of a mountain where he had two staff heads concealed in a box. They took these and went with him to another box concealed on a mountain on the other side of the river where there were two more. *Ila* took the four heads and escorted the brothers back to their village, stopping only to gather some wild green berry branches. On these he laid the mikipat, for, of course, it was no

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road, with its head to the sun, and told all the spectators to stand in front of it, while he seated himself to the westward. Apparently, He intended to dismember the creature, and the people wondered how he would do it, because they saw no cutting tool. However, when ready he reached behind him and took a knife with sharp edges. It was a solid knife which seemed to have come there for his purpose. With this he cut the octopus into four longitudinal sections, starting each from the mouth. He measured these pieces and instructed a carpenter to make immediately four boxes to fit the sections, with a small hole in one of the lower corners of each. When these were ready, he placed in each one of the strips of flesh and one of the wolf heads. He then told the brothers to put two of the boxes on a seacoast to the right of the river, the other two on one to the left, placing each so that the corner with the hole in it should be at the south-west, where no water could come. Then He went home.

This ceremony brought wealth to the brothers. First the eldest began to prosper, and within a year gave four potlatches. After that he began to have pains in his side; his skin turn crazy and he died. This was because water had penetrated the box designed on his.

Then wealth began to flow to upon the second brother without effort on his part. He too gave four potlatches within a single year, but the water penetrated his box and he also died, after suffering similar pains in his side. The third and the fourth brothers experienced precisely the same fate; each became wealthy after his senior's death, and each died when, after giving four potlatches, the water entered his box.

THE MAN WHO WOOED A MERMAID

Within the lifetime of an old Bella Coola, Snaw, a Tsi'ai man, and Pipalla, a Bella Coola who had a reputation for making evil medicines, were out fishing together for halibut. Pipalla hooked something which he tried to haul in, but it was so heavy that he was making slow progress when suddenly a wave of water rushed from his body, by which sign he knew that it was a mermaid. He continued to haul in his line until the creature came in sight. It resembled a seal, but was large as a bear and had in its throat a burning fire. Such beasts had been found before on several occasions, and in their stomachs had always been valuable stones.

As the mermaid came over the surface the canoe began to spin round as if caught in a whirlpool. Pipalla, terrified, let out his line, not daring to try to haul in the animal, but presently the hooked mermaid rose reluctantly to the surface and Snaw said to his companion:

"Don't drop your line; it has come for me."

"All right, take it," Pipalla replied.

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He passed his line to the *snaker* without ever glancing behind him. The two men paddled slowly; the shore, towing the *mêtqas* astern, its goggle eyes blinking, but whether reached the beach it jumped violently above the water and fell backwith a splash that drenched *Sisaxt*. The boat pulled out and the *mêtqas* escaped.

Pipatla understood what just be done under the circumstances. He went home but without young there walked on into the forest, taking care not to look back. When he came to a rotten log he dug under it until he had unburied and ate four white slugs with black and white faces. He covered up the hole he had made, then continued his journey till he came to another log too which he likewise dug four and devoured them. He concealed the scene of his digging and went on to a third, thence to a fourth, in each eating four slugs and covering the hole. Had he not thus concealed his work, his eyes would have rotted away.

Pipatla remained for fourdays in the woods, constantly using his magical leaves, and in this unescaped evil effects. But the unfortunate *Sisaxt* went to his home, told his neighbours about what he had seen, and sat down beside the fire. Presently his stomach burst and he fell dead. When four days had passed, *Pipatla* returned to the village, carefully avoiding the road; if he had travelled on that he would have died. Everybody told him the death of his companion, which he explained by saying that that must have been ignorant of the proper method of dealing with a *mêtqas*. If he had known that, he, *Pipatla*, would never have passed the *mêtqas* to his friend, whom he imagined would not have asked for it had he be aware of how to deal with the beast.

THE TRAPPING OF A *Mêtqas*

About 1880 a widowed *Sisaxtlala* set his traps for beaver in Lake Kuch. He had hardly left them when, to his surprise, because it was daylight, he heard a splash and a struggle and turned back to find a beaver caught in his trap. Unlatched the animal, skinned it, and again set out for home. He had gone scarcely twenty yards when he again heard a scuffle, and returned to find another beaver in his trap. This one he also unlatched and skinned, and again left the place. A third time a beaver entered his trap as soon as he left it, and he dealt with this in the same fashion, as well as with a fourth which appeared. By this time he realized that there was something uncanny about the occurrences, and, therefore, declined to turn back for a fifth which he heard splashing in his trap as soon as he had moved away after skinning the fourth. That night *Sisaxtlala* and his children ate the game.

Next morning when he returned to the lake wherein his traps were set he found it to be a torrent. Waves were raging on it as if it were the

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ocean, although there was no wind. He was thirsty and bent down to scoop up a little water in his hands, which he drank. Then he made a small raft on which to go out to the trap where he had caught the four beaver the preceding day. In it he saw a *mitsyaz*, like a toad but big as a bear, and with a throat that glowed with fire. *Sneatlatis* made all speed back to the bank, but fell in a faint as he reached it, with his head barely out of the water. He lay there all day, but towards dusk recovered sufficiently to stagger away. He rocked and reeled as if he were drunk, but kept in mind what he had been told by the old people about avoiding the trail. Near home he shouted for *Nelendaow'*, an old man well versed in such matters, and when the latter came to him *Sneatlatis* said:

"I have seen what you told me about."

Nelendaow' took hammer and wedges and led the way to a pine sapling which he split vertically, so that *Sneatlatis* could pass through it. The sufferer followed the old man to three other trees which he wedged apart in like fashion, and through which *Sneatlatis* passed. Then *Nelendaow'* bade him build a small shelter with a platform where *Sneatlatis* stayed for four days, while *Nelendaow'* fumigated him in the smoke of a fire made of four thorny medicinal plants.

For two whole years *Sneatlatis* remained in this rude shelter, unable to move more than a few steps on account of the sickness which had entered his body with the water he had drunk. At the end of that time he was able to move around with a stick, and ultimately he recovered.

Sneatlatis failed to derive any benefit from the sight of a *mitsyaz*, because he had been afraid to take advantage of it. A brave man, strengthened by the observance of ceremonial chastity, would have touched the creature's back with the end of his pole, would have hidden this carefully, and in one year he would have begun to show remarkable success as a hunter. *Sneatlatis* escaped from death because he had avoided walking along a road traversed by unclean women; if he had done so while he had within him some of the mysterious power of the great toad, imbibed in drinking from the lake, he would have perished. The cure practised in this case was peculiar, since usually the approach of a patient to a fire causes his stomach to burst.

THE MAN WHO ATE A *SLIAUT*

Four brothers were hunting mountain goats when they came to a place, *Nimilitsak*, where the animals congregated for mating. At one edge of a level stretch the ground fell away, sheer as a precipice, and the eldest brother conceived the brilliant idea of spreading over the brink of this deep a number of slippery, outside planks of cedar. These they laid with the rounded side on the ground, so that they would tip when a goat stepped

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on them and throw the animal to the ground far below. They covered the planks with moss, to disguise the trap, and then awaited results. It was mating time and when a she-goat slipped and fell over, all the males, thinking she had jumped down to elude them, leapt off in pursuit and were killed also. This method of hunting proved so successful that with the valuable wool obtained the four brothers were able to give many potlatches and became chiefs. During the summer they carefully concealed the slippery boards, fearing that someone might see them and copy the ruse.

Not long after they had thus become wealthy the four brothers chanced to be hunting on the distant side of the mountain, where there were a number of small streams flowing into a lake with no outlet to the sea. The eldest was some distance from the others when they saw some spring salmon in one of the rivulets. The second brother touched one of these fish on the neck with his hunting stick, and at once it jumped on the land and flopped about, shedding its scales. In spite of the unusual behaviour of the salmon, combined with its presence in an inland stream, the three hunters were not suspicious, so they killed and cooked it. As the fish was roasting before the fire the eldest brother returned and, noticing that its flesh was still quivering, burst out in wrath:

"What do you mean by killing a salmon in a place like this? Where could the fish have come from? Don't you remember what our father has told us so often? It must be a *xwiwi* which you have killed and soon you will die."

"You are always afraid of something," said the second brother, laughing. "It is just an ordinary spring salmon, and as I am hungry I am going to eat it."

The third brother agreed with the second and the two devoured the fish, but the youngest heeded the advice of the eldest and would not touch it. Soon after eating, the stomachs of the two rash men split. As they lay dying the eldest said to them:

"It is your own fault. I warned you, but you have always been too hot-headed."

The erring men agreed before they died. The eldest and youngest brothers went home, where their father was grief-stricken when they told him of the deaths of his other two sons.

Such deaths resulting from the eating of a *xwiwi* are not uncommon. A man will sometimes find in the forest dried skins of sockeye salmon, or the heads of spring salmon, which are in reality *xwiwi* that have assumed this form, and if the finder eats them he will die. A few years ago a

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Bella Bella man was fishing when a salmon jumped into his canoe and died at once, without the usual flopping and struggling. The fisherman took it home and ate it, though his wife refused to touch it, as being uncanny. Presently the man's lower jaw became diseased and he lost his teeth. The salmon must have been a *sutaif*.[10]

The mere sight of a *sutaif* does not bring the misfortune which follows the killing of one by faulty means. On the other hand, if slain in the proper manner great good fortune will result. One method is to put a stick near it in the water, whereupon the fish will jump ashore and flop around, shedding its scales. The hunter should then kill it and, crouching down, say:

"I wish I had a salalberry leaf, or a piece of dead alder."

Both of these have sharp-cutting edges. If he then puts his right hand behind him, whichever he has asked for will be there, though no one knows how it comes. Then he must cut the fish lengthwise into two parts, throw away the right half and the head, wrap the left in his cape,[11] and run from the spot, taking care to go neither up nor down hill. Soon a landslide will take place, sweeping away the ground on which he has stood, even though it be level. He must hide the half *sutaif* in a hole in a cedar tree for one year without saying anything about his treasure. During this period he must not hunt or embark on any other important enterprise.

When the year has elapsed he may tell the people of his experience and sell tiny fragments of the *sutaif* for large sums. The purchasers wrap these fragments in cedar-bark and with them decoy fish-weirs and traps, thus attracting animals and fish. A man obtaining a *sutaif* in this way can show his children where it is concealed, and so transmit his power to them.

THE CAPTURE OF A *SUTAIF*

Not many years ago, a certain *Oulaite'i* constructed an open salmon-trap below Kimsquit. One moonlight night he saw in it a white, gleaming salmon and at once jumped to the conclusion that it was a *sutaif*. Being a wild, reckless fellow, he determined to try to obtain supernatural good fortune from his prey, though he was ignorant of the proper procedure. Waiting until the receding tide had almost laid bare the floor of his pen, he kept down from the weir and clubbed the salmon to death, heedless of the scales which it was shedding in all directions. Then *Oulaite'i* cut it

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[10] It appears that the fisherman was a victim of witchcraft, in consequence of which his teeth were extracted by a doctor, but the patient is convinced that his misfortunes are due to the salmon which entered his canoe.

[11] The left of anything is said to be more valuable than the right because when a man dances it is the left side which is nearer the sun.

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into strips, using his ordinary knife, and returned home, where he sat down near some women and close to the fire. Before long he began to feel ill; his stomach grew larger and larger, and finally split in various places so that the raw flesh could be seen. No shamans could help him and within a year he was dead.

Stories Illustrating Shamanism

THE FORTUNES OF Xpaw-a

Xpaw-a was a blind man about thirty years old who lived with his wife at the head of Rivers Inlet. Before he had lost his sight he had been a successful hunter, but now he could no longer provide for her and they were often on the verge of starvation. One autumn the two had gone some little distance from the village to a small creek in which the women were fishing with a gaff for the dying salmon that had spawned and were too feeble to escape. As Xpaw-a sat beside her, his wife saw a large black bear on the other side of the creek, coming down to the water to fish. She told her husband, who bade her fetch his bow and arrow. When she had brought them, wondering what he intended to do, he told her to point the arrow at the bear; he was going to shoot. She obeyed; as Xpaw-a felt the taut bow-string beneath his fingers he almost forgot that he was blind; the art of the hunter had returned to him. He heard the arrow; it struck the bear, killing it instantly, without a sound, but his wife lied, telling him that he had missed it, and mocking him for his failure, with the intention of securing all the meat for herself. As soon as an opportunity presented itself she slipped away, skinned the animal, and soon had the flesh cooking before the fire.

Xpaw-a smelt the cooking.

"I could have killed more," he said.

"You dare," his wife replied. "What are you talking about? You can't shoot."

When the women again turned away to superintend her cooking, a supernatural being, who had seen Xpaw-a's misfortunes, took pity on him and rubbed his hands over his eyes, restoring their sight. As he gazed around, amazed at his good fortune, he saw his wife bending over a box in which bear meat was boiling, greedily eating the grease which she skimmed from the surface of the water. He was so angry at her monstrous deed that he crept up behind her, unnoticed, and thrust her head down into the boiling liquid where he held her until she ceased to struggle. She was dead. Then Xpaw-a tore her clothing, her flesh, even her bones, into small fragments which he scattered to the winds in all directions.

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suspend the bundle by ropes from a stick which projected horizontally from the wall. It was to these ropes that *Kalakw* tied the bangles, so that they jingled with every movement of the child.

Sqaqwim heard this peculiar noise from his house in the land above and sent a *Sîqwat-ás*, a diminutive supernatural being of human form, which flew on air, to investigate. The creature perched in the cradle rope where *Kalakw* saw it. Owing to his former life in the land above he knew what it was, and how to deal with it, so he quickly threw over it a blanket which he had frequently used.* This brought him supernatural good fortune. He concealed the *Sîqwat-ás* for safety in an old chequer-work rush mat, and left it lying on the floor.

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Wealth flowed in upon him so that he was able to give a potlatch every year. At one of them he gave his infant daughter, the occupant of the cradle, the name *Sîqwat-ás*, which has been handed down from generation to generation, and has recently been given to a Bella Bella child. *Kalakw*'s prosperity roused the jealousy of his fellows so that they murdered him, but his children still had the *Sîqwats* and they continued to prosper. At last their enemies slew them too, sparing only one small boy.

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This orphan had a precarious existence. He was refused admission to what had been his father's house and was forced to live in the space between the floor and the ground below, while his food was taken from the refuse heaps. In time he grew to young manhood, frequently brooding on the fate of his relatives and hoping for revenge. One day he crossed the river, ascended a mountain, and found there a large cave, where he lay down to sleep, wrapped in a bear-skin. A supernatural being came to him.

"I have watched your woes," said the stranger, "and I will help you if you are brave. You must accompany me to my land. The road is dangerous, and if you should lose me it would be disastrous to you, so keep close."

They took a difficult path down through the earth to the land of the dead below.

"I will keep you here for a night and teach you," said the supernatural one as he gave the boy a stick in which was power.

"You must take this," he said, "and go at night to your father's house. Throw the stick at one of those who killed your father. It will rebound to you, after leaving your enemy dead without a mark on his body. Do this every night, killing only one man at a time, until you have slain all the murderers, but be careful not to harm anyone else."

Although he had not as first revealed himself, the being from whom

* At any one would have been useless.

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CHAPTER XI

MEDICINE, MAGIC, TABOO[1]

Introductory — Causative Medicines — Preventive and Curative Medicines — Sorcerers — Taboos — Ritual Acts — Miscellaneous Beliefs

Introductory

THE beliefs described in the last chapter are essentially religious since they display an attitude of respect and often of propitiation to supernatural powers having greater strength than human beings. This is self-evident in the earlier sections and, though less noticeable, is present also in ideas concerning shamans since these men have themselves acquired ability placing them on a plane slightly removed from that of their fellows. Theoretically, it seems as if a clear division might be drawn between the concepts just recorded, and others of a magical nature in which, although the element of contact with the supernatural is present, yet the end desired is obtained by the mere performance of an action. To the Bella Coola there is a slight overlap between the two types. For example, the acquisition of an object from which supernatural good fortune may be secured is religious, but its use is virtually magical since once obtained, neither supplication nor further favours are necessary. Nevertheless, it is possible to separate most magical beliefs from most religious ones, though it must be emphasised that the cleavage is less distinct to the native than it appears to the white man.

If it is difficult to find a clear dividing-line between religion and magic, it is impossible to draw one between the latter and

[1] The late Harlan I. Smith has dealt with certain aspects of the subjects treated in this chapter in two articles: "Sympathetic Magic and Witchcraft among the Bella Coola" (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 27, no. 1, Jan.-March, 1925, pp. 116-121) and "Materia Medica of the Bella Coola and Neighbouring Tribes of British Columbia" (National Museum of Canada, Annual Report for 1917, Bulletin 34, pp. 47-48).

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informant, the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not inconvenience the dancer, although he senses its presence, and asks who will pay for its return. Unless the owner at once steps forward to claim his property and promises to pay, his spirit is thrown into the fire and he dies. The *kukusiut* sometimes tell an uninitiated person that his spirit has been attracted from him, thereby terrifying him so greatly that he appeals to a shaman to recover it for him. The expert greases his hands, warms them at a fire, and pretends to pluck something from the *kusiut* which he inserts into the loser's neck. 575* 774 755 [784]

In view of the firm conviction that the spirit is essential to an individual's welfare, it is not surprising that this belief should awe the uninitiated and fill them with profound respect for the *kukusiut*. The diversity in the details of procedure proves that the practice has not become standardized; those who are not members of the society believe and do not test the claims. 575* 774 626

Another source of strength claimed by the *kukusiut* is ability to witness and imitate the dances of the supernatural beings held in *Nuxmit-a* prior to the entry of *Alpuxtim*. As already described, it is believed that a supernatural element from every living creature upon earth ascends at this time but, in a way that is not fully understood, only those belonging to *kukusiut* can take part in the ceremonies. Is it strange, therefore, that members of the society are regarded with awe by their less fortunate fellows? Presents are given after every dance in *Nuxmit-a* and the supernatural elements receive their due share. When, however, *Alpuxtim* enters, he is so big and so hot that almost all who have assembled rush forth furiously, and in the crush at the narrow doorway disaster overtakes many of the visiting human representatives. Some drop their gifts, and their owners will be unfortunate; others fall, and their owners cannot survive until the next ceremonial season. This same fate may befall even those who are not members of the *kusiut* society, but they do not have the ability to appreciate what has happened. 575* 787 776 996 777 761

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[The Mystery Dance]

what are to be the correct answers? The marshals decide on these, but their judgment really depends on the four remembrancers who are able to tell whether any of the replies they suggest have already been given. When *Saiyuk:* performed, the answers chosen were: 575* 796*

Aimalus, "The Coming of Foul Weather." This word is said to be in the language of the supernatural ones. The implication is that this phenomenon of nature is a manifestation of the will of the supreme deity. [821] [796]

Nuxpuste Smaisitsis, "The Eagle Down *Smaisitsis*." This has the significance of "The Peace Giving *Smaisitsis*" since eagle down is a symbol of peace. [825]

Kitimuxtimem, "The Yawning Chasm." This is the mysterious crevasse which opens before a foolish man when he tries to gain success. In cases where a white man would attribute misfortune to lack of ability or to sheer bad luck, the Bella Coola say that this supernatural chasm has opened before him. It is especially applied to failure in the giving of potlatches. [777]

Scarcely less important than the choice of answers is the second consideration, who is to give them. The uninitiated have been taught that X cannot live unless his riddles are answered, and also that whoever succeeds in solving them can do so only through supernatural assistance. As in the case of a person who finds a repository, so must the one who solves the problem be made a *Sacist*. This is an opportunity for an influential man with a son of suitable age and character to have him initiated into the society, and an eager parent can always be found. He is told the proper answers, and instructed to whisper them to his son the following evening. It is impressed upon the father that this must be done only at the last minute, and that every precaution must be taken to prevent the young man from telling his friends that he has been prompted.

Other matters are arranged at the same time. A shaman must be in readiness to assist in binding the future member of the society to secrecy, and every detail is worked out with care. [756]

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575 *kukuxiut* send back X's call in the usual manner. Then, two
996 by two, the masks are cast on to the fire and the ceremonial is over.

THE DANCE OF THE TALLY POSTS

[973] As previously described, a tally post is erected in the land above for every Bella Coola at birth. As long as this memorial
[777] is upright and firm, the individual to whom it refers enjoys
[753] health and prosperity, but if it becomes crooked he falls ill.
[424] The uninitiated believe that several *kukuxiut* have the prerogative of climbing to the land above during the ceremonial season and straightening leaning tally posts. This is such a
[178] useful ability that it must have exercised great influence on
[64] the uninitiated in early days, but the rite has not been properly carried out since the smallpox epidemic in the last century.
[115] The following account was obtained from two old men who remembered the manner in which a certain *Ooikuif of Tsowait* performed a year or two before "The Great Sickness." Neither of the informants was a *kuxiut* at the time, but they were able to supplement their recollections of the dance with what they afterwards learnt when initiated, so the following account is probably accurate in outline though deficient in detail. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X, and describe the ceremony in the present tense. It was also performed at Kimsquit many years ago.

The rite resembles *kuxiutsa* dances in many respects. X must obtain the consent of the marshals during the preceding summer, and their permission is refused unless the prospective dancer is a man of proved discretion. If they agree, X asks a
[288] number of *kukuxiut* women to help him by making a very long and strong rope of nettle fibre. At intervals the work-women gather for the purpose in the back-room of X's house, taking
[418] care that no uninitiated see what they are doing. Every effort is made to ensure that there is no flaw in the rope as a break would be a serious matter, punishable by death.

Near the winter solstice the marshals choose a suitable time

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the guests were plentiful, fat, and unsuspicious, so that before nightfall they had killed four. Well satisfied, they lay down in a cave to sleep for the night. At that time no one knew what supernatural being caused thunder; the earliest inhabitants of the world had possessed that knowledge but it had been forgotten in the intervening generations. Towards midnight the hunters were awakened by a loud boom and wondered what could have caused it. Presently they saw approaching a figure resembling a man, with a weird nonhuman face, who carried in each hand a huge rock crystal.* He raised and lowered his arms as if pounding; at each movement the crystals struck each other, producing the booming sound and also emitting a flash of light. The oldest brother, *Sulik*, told the others to cover their faces with their blankets and to keep their eyes closed, because some evil and powerful creature was drawing near. But the second brother, who had caught a glimpse of the two crystals and greatly desired them, watched cautiously, hoping for an opportunity to steal them. Thunder, for it was none other, ranged around, at intervals he passed across to the other side of the intervening valley on a sidewalk which grew before his feet to form a bridge for him, and on it, too, he was able to remove his steps. Several times Thunder crossed and recrossed, accompanied by simultaneous peals. He came near the four brothers and danced; then lay down while fire emerged from his mouth. The second brother began to feel scorched, gradually the heat increased, but he was powerless to move; before dawn, when Thunder vanished, he had been roasted to death.

The three survivors buried the dead man in a hastily made grave in the floor of the cave and went home, abandoning the monstrous game which they had killed. *Sulik*, though grieved at the loss of his brother, felt that the latter's death was his own fault for peeking when he had been warned not to do so. Not long afterwards the two younger brothers died. Then the sole survivor told a carpenter to make him a mask secretly, according to a design which he would describe. In this way the face of Thunder was portrayed in wood. When the mask was ready, *Sulik* wore it and gave an imitation of the actions of his parents; no one had ever seen anything like it and the people were amazed.

No great antiquity is ascribed to this myth and it gives no explanation of questions which at once arise in the investigator's mind. The type is fairly common in Bella Coola; in fact, the only unusual part of it is that the visionary received a *Sulik* prerogative rather than one of the forms of good for-

*This is said to have been equivalent to the bracelets of a Thunder dancer.

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tune previously described. To the Bella Coola philosopher, apparently no explanation is needed of the manner in which *Saiks* was allowed to use his experience as the basis of a *kusiut* dance. The assumption is that he was a *kusiut* at the time of his experience, although this is not clearly stated. The last to use the name died about 1910, each *Saiks* having had the prerogative of giving the Thunder dance.

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THE GHOST DANCE[*]

Among the numerous patrons of *kusiut* dancers are Ghosts. The term, *Lskunkott*, applied to a shaman whose power is derived from a ghost, is also applied to *kusiut* with one as patron, but the two functionaries must not be confused. It is a fairly common prerogative and there are Ghost dancers in every village, their right depending in every case on some experience of an ancestor with a ghost. The following is an account of the manner in which *Sapus of Tcumsil* performed his ritual; it may be regarded as typical of all, and the dancer can be referred to as X.

575* 796* [775] [756] [424]

At any time during the ceremonial season X consults with the marshals to decide upon a suitable time for his performance. On the evening preceding, normally the *potlow* of some other *kusiut*, the marshals state that his call is imminent; X makes his final arrangements and asks the assistance of a number of his fellows.

When the *nalusam* rites of the following evening have been completed and the uninitiated have returned to their own houses, they are startled to hear whistling from the forest near at hand. It is not the instrumentally produced sound that accompanies the coming of a call, but tuneless whistling with the mouth; everyone knows that this is the language of ghosts. A visitation from them is by no means unknown, and always dreaded, so at once there is excitement and everyone cowers in the bedrooms. Presently heralds go through the village

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[*] This relationship is implied with the dance of the same name among Indians of other culture areas. [171]

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seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject. 721 575 622

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Ituna* and *Alpáiat* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe. 648 685 628 556 688 628 727 777

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Talio*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack. 642 648 193 161

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Nuwatqymem: Women endowed supernaturally by *Ana'Ulmalnis* and serving as patron (?) to a *hamat* dancer.

[919] nuwalliste: Omen of death.

Nuwitnumkmem, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Tlenqulitsa*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nuwumlaie: 1—Man dwelling in *Kemsquat*'s house.
2—*Hamat* name of a *Kimsquit* woman.

nuwqim: The cry of *hi, hi*, uttered by Cannibals.

Nuwumway: *Hamat* name assumed by a *Sisaa* woman in the beginning of time.

[424] nuwyumem: *Hamat* with right to display a pepper-patron. The difference, if any, between this and pulmem is obscure.

Nu'uwuhkumnis, "The Widower": One of Raven's names as chief.

[575] nuqkwiclal'em: Synonym for *hamatsa*: Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

Nuqlumkilem, "Handicapped Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[302] nuqwnuie: The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.

nuqulilm c: Medicine brewed in a shell.

Nuqtymain, "Place of Much Quartz": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nuqwatnis: *Hamat* name of a *Kimsquit* man.

Nuqulqulim c: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[105] nuqwumem of ne ung"ula: One year.

[928] nuqum: Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.

nuqwil, "Empty House": House in which a *hamat* dance is taking place.

nuqulqur: The throwing of grease on a fire to burn, both literally and figuratively, a rival.

[821] Nuqwly": 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.

[827] nuqulitsin: Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

nuqumnis: Hum-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *hamatsa* and other important *hamat* rites.

[777] nuq"nuiclitsa: Unexpected stroke of good fortune.

Nuqwlumkulis: *Hamat* name of a *Kimsquit* man.

[772] Nuqwulim: Site of an ancient town on Johnstone Pass.

Nuqwulnis: The upper heaven.

nuqhum: Women with thick pubic hair.

Nuqumnuqhulim c: A *Sisaa* ancestress.

Nuqlipumlmis, "Where *Nuqumim* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[828] nuqlupim nuqy: Contracted body.

Nuqlqulel'em, "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.

nuqlqmy: Canoe-maker.

Nuqlulem: River entering the Bella Coola from the north near *Nuqlqlil*.

[535] nuqlulnmp: Children's dance which serves as training for *hamat* rites and to provide entertainment.

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qaxtlamly: The dancing, by several of his associates, to "help" a *hachet* performer.
Qawaal: Unidentified locality in the Bella Bella area.
Qc: Mountain above *Dean*.
qakuc: Supernatural bird, bringer of good luck.
Qakstal: Locality near the head of Dean Channel.
qalm: 1—Raven.
2—Nuxalkmay name of a Kimsquit man.
Qakut: Man mentioned in a song.
Qallaskay: *Kaxtar* name of a *Dean* man with prerogative of biting himself.
qalsiil: The location in a house taken by a wife when ceremonially seated behind her husband.
Qalwalilal: Influential *Heiqaitc* chief who died about 1910.
Qamchwala: Ancestral name of a *Dean* chief; the designation may be of Kwakiutl origin.
Qamcum: 1—One of the nine supernatural beings.
2—White person.
3—*Kaxtar* name of a Kimsquit woman.
qamcqlqum: Clean, dry shell.
qamqlum c: Stump, in the language of Raven.
Qamqum: 1—Supernatural being, lord of the under-sea world.
2—Ancestral name of a *Qamqum* man.
Qamu'nala: Man living in Bella Bella in early times.
Qamulis: Ancestral name of a *Tsimsil* woman.
qanc c: Large, cone-shaped whistle used in round dive.
Qanqa c, "Sally?": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
qalsi: To drift down, of smoke.
Qalsqalsa c: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Dean* in the beginning of time.
qaqsta: Framework of split sticks for roasting salmon.
qaqsi: Drum.
Qaqtsaci: One of the first men to settle at *Heiqaitc* in the beginning of time.
Qaqsuil: Bella Bella village.
qaxa: Kwakiutl term for "eagle down" prerogative.
qaxlan: Third day of a *hachet* dance.
Qaxlaklas: Harbour on Labouchere Channel.
Qaxlaskis: Settlement in the Carrier country.
qaxlaskas, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud.
qaxlil: Wolverine.
qaxlilsis dawas, "A Washing to Free from Taint": Term applied to a ceremony to clear the path of the children when a husband has married a slave wife or sister.
Qaxs: 1—One of the names of Raven as child.
2—Platyshum name of a Kimsquit man.
3—*Kaxtar* name of a Kimsquit man.
Qaxlamas: Supernatural woman from whom the Carpenters are said to have derived their skill in the beginning of time.
Qaxlaxa c: 1—*Kaxtar* name of a *Tsimsil* man.
2—*Kaxtar* name of a Kimsquit man.
qaxsa: White swan.

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ḳwaiḳwaxa: 1—Taffy post, one of the supernatural elements possessed by all human beings.
2—Invisible supernatural element which constantly moves before the face.

ḳwaiḳwaxa; nuxalin, ḳwaiḳwaxa, (rarely, ḳwaiḳaxa): Crest.

ḳwax: Raven.

ḳwax: Big old male mountain goat.

ḳwaxila: Kwakiutl man living in the last century.

ḳwaylaḳla: Celebrated Kwakiutl chief.

ḳwayqwac-nuxun: Name of a shaman who received his power from Raven.

ḳwaxwaxi: One of the first men to settle at *Ḳnaa* in the beginning of time.

ḳwaxwaxi: Fourth oldest, or youngest, brother or sister.

qwa'nukla: Steller's jay.

ḳwaḳiḳ: Kitamaat woman.

ḳwaxa: Woman's pubic hair.

ḳwaxa: Sea-lion rub.

ḳwaxa: Those who are present and receive gifts when an announcement of a marriage is first made.

ḳwaxa: *Kwakiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

ḳwaxa'ɛxw: A revelation, such as the sight of a supernatural being or object usually concealed.

ḳwaxaxi: Yearling seal.

ḳwaxaq: Word used in inviting to a marriage announcement.

ḳwaxaxa: Kitamaat man mentioned in an ancient story.

ḳwaxwaxwa: Kwakiutl supernatural being, said to be identical with *Ḳ̓ɛqwaxa*.

ḳwaxlaḳlaḳ*: *Nuxpual* name of a Kitamaat man.

ḳwayai: Bella Bella village west of Namu.

ḳwai: Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.

ḳwaiya: Professional female marriage dresser who came down to Kitamaat in the beginning of time.

ḳwaxwaxa: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

ḳwlaxi, "Place of Herbage": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.

ḳwata: Inspiration, in the sense of the source of a *kwakiut* dancer's power of thought.

ḳwaxalt: Village west of Kwatna, settled in the beginning of time.

ḳwaḳwaxi: Actual goods used for the repurchase of a wife.

ḳwayaxlaxa: Ancestral name of a Kitamaat chief.

ḳwaxi: Cradle.

ḳwa'xiḳ: *Kwakiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

ḳwayu: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

ḳ*ulu: The noble and rightful sentiments engendered in both families by an elaborate marriage, either real or fictitious. The word embodies the concepts of financial interdependence and of consequent mutual strength.

ḳwaxlin: The transference of activities to a new sphere; the term is used, rhetorically, when referring to the death of a skilled craftsman.

S

sala: 1—Skeleton.
2—Kitamaat man mentioned in an ancient story.

Salmaxa-nuxu: *Kwakiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

sal-nis ḳlaḳa: The constant blinking of the eyes.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy. 774 756 [828] [753] [828]

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Snq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Snq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself. 756 [776]

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: 'When an Awiky'ê'noq wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Mâ'tem) who will initiate him. No Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way.' [171]

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 612), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called *anuk*. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms. 753 755 754 [825]

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die. 682 754 [825]

I add here a few current beliefs:— 827

Snapping indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry. [777]

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die. 825

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky. 763 777

WARS.

When a war party was organised the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their 726 714

(i) *Awatqmo xoil*, "Lakeroad": the eastern continuation of the last mentioned.[1] The name is explained as follows: 361

One of the people who came to the earth in the beginning of time, *Taiatsmis* by name, travelled to the Skeena River, and there saw women wearing labrets. On his return to Bella Coola he settled at *Awatqmo xoil* and carved on his totem-pole[2] the figure of a woman with an abalone-shell labret as a memorial of his voyage. Visitors coming to his potlatches named the town from this figure. [173]

This was one of the largest towns in the valley.

*(k) *Alind ts*: a small town to the north of the last, not far from the *Pe ech*. It is assumed that it was founded by a descendant of *Taiatsmis* named *Alind ts*. The consensus of opinion is that it has not been occupied for many years, but one informant recently dug up a clay pipe on the alleged site. [172]

*(l) *Skitsol*, "What Has Been Divided": on the south shore of the Bella Coola River about a quarter of a mile from the sea. This village was founded by a certain *Sqil*.

*(m) *Sqmqo ts*, meaning doubtful, perhaps "Salty": this, the most populous village of the valley in the recent past, is still inhabited by one or two families. The inhabitants of other towns explain its large population by marriages with slaves. This is the upper, or eastern, continuation of the preceding, and the two in combination formed a row of houses stretching for three-quarters of a mile (see Plate 9). [162] [58] [56]

(n) *Gwatqmoq*, "The Treeless Place": on the north side of the Bella Coola, apparently about half a mile above *Alind ts*. This village was long ago deserted.

(o) *Tsnkwumalqa ts*, "Where There Is Much *tsnkwumalq*," a kind of hollow-armored plant: some distance from

[1] Several towns, each consisting of a single row of houses, are regarded as forming one village. In such cases there is no visible boundary mark.

[2] The Bella Coola believe that their early ancestors used totem-poles, supported inclusive by [illegible] will be made, even though the work of Indians and others on the coast origin of totem-poles on the North-West Coast indicates that the Bella Coola example are not historically genuine. [171]

the north bank of the Bella Coola,* near the lower slope of the mountain, and about three miles from the sea. It is probable that there was a town at this spot very long ago, according to the statement of one old man, and the numerous superstitions (II, p.8) in the vicinity support this view.

*(11) *Sunut*, "Sunny," or "Fallen Sun": on the north side of the Bella Coola opposite the preceding. It was deserted about 1907. This was a fairly large town, though never as big as *Semqo'ts*. The name is derived from Sun, *sunt*, and there are two explanations given for it. One informant states that the name came from the many residences of the Sun to the first people there; another that the first chief, said to have been named *Sulthwa*, erected a large totem-pole, decorated with the figure of a sun. This blew down, in consequence of which the people called their town *Sunut*, "Fallen Sun."

*(12) *Sqemulk*: on the north side of the Bella Coola about three miles from the sea, and a short distance below the end of the present bridge. The meaning of the name is unknown.

*(13) *Tsemsil*, "Where the River Is Sufficiently Deep to Cover the Stones, but Shallow Enough for Rapids": the upper continuation of the last-named. It was deserted during the smallpox epidemic. The name of the chief who came there at the beginning of time was given as *Tsemsilak*.

(14) *Ins'ensqmik*, "On the Point": on a curving promontory on the south bank of the river about four miles from the sea. It was long ago swept away when the river changed its course.

(15) *Ts'ayemik*, "The Place of Foul Water": on the north bank of the Bella Coola a little above the preceding, at a place where there were a number of stagnant pools between the river and the mountains. No one knows how long ago this town was abandoned, but as the names of people living there figure in stories which are said to be of no great antiquity, it

*The river frequently changes its course, so that villages that were at a considerable distance from it many years have been on its banks.

Bulu have been heard as recently as 1914 according to popular belief. In January of that year a number of young Bulu Coolu were returning home in a motor-boat from Ocean Falls. They camped for the night on Burke Channel, and were alarmed to hear a crashing of bushes and a heaving on cow-marks. Thoroughly frightened, they directed the beams of several electric torches in the direction of the sounds without avail and at last started the engine of their motor-boat, the noise of which frightened the *bulu* away.

An animal somewhat similar to the *bulu* is the *dilbeit*. The Bulu Coolu were then long, long ago, there lived on human beings near Port John on Evans Arm, King Island. They were a strange people, with peculiar rites including the worship of fire. Their neighbours, the Bulu Bulu, from whom they differed entirely, determined to destroy the *dilbeit*. A massacre took place, and only a few survivors escaped to an island in one of the lakes in the interior of King Island. There, in course of generations, they grew hairy and lost their human characteristics; it is said that a few paintings made by them are still visible there. Not many years ago some Bulu Coolu are when may have been the last surviving *dilbeit*. Two hairy creatures were observed falling from a skin boat on Burke Channel. As soon as they realized that they were observed they doubled adrift, broke up the framework of their canoe, and plunged into the forest carrying its skin covering. Nothing more seems to be known concerning them, nor do they appear ever to have ventured supernatural assistance to anyone.

Another supernatural creature is the *kilkeil*. It somewhat resembles a cow, although its legs are shorter and its body, which is white and hairless, is heavier. In spite of its awkward build, this animal can move as rapidly as to catch birds and animals with its tongue, which can be shot forth to a seven-foot length. Various incidents are related concerning *kilkeil*. One of its characteristics is that it causes pains. The country where one lives is invariably denuded of underbrush and even pebbles, everything movable is blown away, leaving only rear-

G.McIlwraith R-9 (1922-1924) 1945
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and gaping holes in the earth. In such regions no fire can be lit. The last known area of this kind is up the river behind Green Bay, about four miles from the sea. So far as could be learned, *Sisiutl'* have never assisted Bella Coola in any way nor played any part in the social life of the community. They are feared on account of their supernatural power, but appear so seldom that they are practically disregarded.

More common than the last, and accordingly more important, is the *hankus*. It is an enormous bird with hairy wings and long, flexible beak. As it flies, the wings rattle violently, and its note, an oft repeated "*Hau, hau, hau,*" can be heard for miles. These birds are said to have been numerous in former years, and are well known to all Bella Coola. Masked figures representing them are often used at *hamat* dances. The *hankus* is feared for its practice of inserting its long beak into the rectum of anyone sleeping carelessly in the forest and drawing forth his entrails. This can be prevented by standing upright a staff, such as all hunters carry, before going to sleep.

A popular story runs that once, not many years ago, a number of men camped in the edge of a canyon near their home, without taking this precaution. One of them was awakened by a slight movement of one of his companions and, looking up, he saw the long neck and beak of a *hankus* projecting over the rim of the canyon and sucking his partner's entrails. The surviving slayer of the stricken man had awakened him. With his face he dare to arrow into the bird's neck, causing it to disappear over the brink. Presently the long beak reappeared and he discharged another arrow with the same result. Again and again this happened until the attack ceased at dawn. The hunter assumed that a single bird had been repeatedly attacking, but when he looked over the edge of the cliff he saw below a number of carcasses, each with an arrow in its throat. The canyon must have been a roosting place for the birds. His companion seemed still asleep, but when he investigated he found that all were dead, save the slightly enlarged orifice showed how they had been killed.

The *hankus* has been seen within recent years, but one informant said he frequently heard them on the south side of the Bella Coola River about two miles from the sea. They would have

1:36:Dorsith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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been frightened at any time but nightfall increased their fears. Their dogs heard the sound and howled in dread. The women threw on their few several soiled blankets, her only pair of shoes, and some dry salmon, which all supernatural beings abhor. Then she and her husband fled home, waving lanterns to and fro and firing musket shots in all directions. The birds did not follow them, but they considered themselves fortunate to reach Bella Coola unmolested. 776* 789 [125]

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural animals just described are fairly exact; they know their appearance, what to expect, and what to do if one is encountered. In addition to these, they assume the existence of monsters of indefinite form which they term *cwacq*. Any supernatural creature, a *kikmil* for example, is spoken of as a *cwacq* in general, not specific, classification. Consequently, what one Bella Coola may describe as a *cwacq* is given a distinctive name by someone else with wider knowledge. As far as could be learned, there is no designation other than *cwacq* for creatures which move from the ocean in April to clear the way for salmon, and spend the summer in the lakes of the interior, or beneath the ice of glaciers. They can assume various forms, sometimes even human, though they usually appear as giant, hairless, bear-like creatures with short legs and brown skin. Their eyes are large, round, and glass-like. In whatever form these creatures may appear, they are almost certain to bring disaster to the beholder. One of the haunts of *cwacq* is beneath the glacier on Mount Ozmoo-i, behind the small mountain which rises behind *Kwaqo-ts*, on the south side of the Bella Coola River about half a mile from the sea. It is said that only a few years ago a white man, having heard of these creatures, went to that place with a number of Bella Coola. All the latter were able to hear the roaring of the beasts, louder than the whistle of a steamer, but the white man seemed deaf to it, though the power of the *cwacq* had affected him, for he died on the way back to the village. [184] 776* [125] 761 776* [778]

Other *cwacq* are said to live near Kimsquit. The father of [778]

a woman now in middle age is said to have guided a white man to the spot. Through a telescope he saw an enormous animal, and passed the instrument to a Kwakiutl Indian in the party. He, too, saw it, but the effect was so powerful that he soon died. Theoretically, a man may receive supernatural aid from one of these monsters, but practically they are regarded as entirely evil and to be avoided.

The creature to which the term *cheep* is most often applied is one that lives in lakes; it has a huge mouth and can suck with incredible force. More specifically, this animal is termed a *sdimiik*. One is said to have lived not long ago at Wilson Bay, about six miles from Bella Coola, and a small one is said to be living even now in Owen Lake. The Bella Coola tell a number of stories concerning the *sdimiik*; the following is a typical account, and others will be given with folk-tales in a later chapter.

Within the life-time of an informant, two youths, a chief's son and a great man's son, went to swim in one of the small lakes near Owen Lake. The chief's son, who was really first, swam out, wearing a fancy belt, leaving his companion on the shore. When the latter was on the point of diving in he heard a beautiful cooing noise, combined with an unknown croaking. He called to the swimmer asking him if he, too, heard it.

"Yes," came the answer, "But it is nothing," and the youth continued his swim.

As the noise grew louder the boy on the bank cried out: "Come back, come back, there is something bad there that we do not understand."

His friend in the water again answered: "Oh! There is nothing wrong."

The noise increased, whistle and croaks were mingled from the bank and flew out towards the centre of the lake. The motion eventually grew so great that the youth on land was forced to clench a tree-trunk with his arms, while his legs fluttered out towards the lake like pennants in a strong wind. The strain on his arms was so terrific that he was almost forced to relinquish his grip before the motion subsided. When he looked at the lake the swimmer had vanished.

The survivor returned to the village and reported what had happened. He was believed his story; instead, he was made a prisoner, accused of having killed the chief's son. For a week the people questioned him daily without being able to shake his story; then they resolved to

1:Mr.Gerrath E-5 (512-1524)948
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she had to follow him into water up to her waist. Then Raven suddenly grasped her under the arms, hauled her into his craft, and fled. The sockeye salmon were cried out to anger and leapt into their canoes for pursuit, but one by one they sank; Mouse had done her work well. For a time the chase was close; in fact, the sockeye salmon nearly caught Tahsiil in North Bentinck Arm, but as danger threatened, Raven seized a pole and delivered several vigorous thrusts which sent the canoe beyond the reach of the already sinking pursuers. The gashes made in the canoe by his thrusts are still visible near the site of the Bella Coola Cannery, as well as the pole which he threw ashore when he had finished with it; it becomes petrified and can still be seen immediately behind the manager's house. At the mouth of the Bella Coola River, Raven threw the chief's daughter into the water. Her descendants are the sockeye salmon which visit that stream; and it is due to his failure to capture more than one, that so few sockeyes come to this river.

Another version of this myth was collected from a Kitsequit man.

It describes how Raven went down to Tahsiil to the land of the salmon, in the guise of an old man. He was courteously received at the house of Dzagas, chief of the salmon, who gave him a meal of dried fish. Raven carefully watched to ascertain where he had carried from his wooden model, and when he found out that it was the bone at the back of the neck, he secreted one in the palm of his mouth. Presently one of the salmon women became ill, and Dzagas said:

"Old man, you have hidden a bone."

The salmon searched Raven, but failed to find where he had hidden, and he was able to return to Kitsequit with it. He added this bone to one of his models, and it was at once able to swim strongly; in fact, it became a real salmon.

This fish was the ancestor of all small-headed salmon, which are still called *Sumsuhlhiwat di Ilnas*, "The Salmon-like Fish of Raven." They are not considered as valuable for food as other salmon.

Another exploit ascribed to Raven in the beginning of time was the bringing of herring to Kitsequit.

Some of these fish then inhabited the ocean, and Raven determined to bring them to increase the food supplies of his people. A girl happened to catch a single herring for her share and brought it to Raven, who entered Tahsiil with its scales. Then he set out for the land of the herring beyond the western ocean. On arriving, Raven went to the house

of a woman, *Ahdahmin-a*, who dwelt with her mother, a Gull. After a meal, Raven led to his lodge by telling her of the countless herring that lived at *Kimsquit*, and how happy he could make some of her relatives by taking them home with him. *Ahdahmin-a* doubted the story and told one of her brothers to investigate Raven's canoe because, if the fish were plentiful in his home, some of the scales would certainly be in his craft. The herring youth hoiled inside the canoe, and was deceived by Raven's subterfuge. On receiving a favourable report, *Ahdahmin-a* willingly gave Raven a large box filled with herring. Elated at his victory, Raven set out for home and there he spoil into the water so he neared the beach at *Kimsquit*. The *Kimsquit* people knew of Raven's search for herring, and did not at first believe him when he reported his success, but the fish increased so rapidly that his claim was vindicated.

The herring so obtained were the progenitors of all that now live in the waters adjacent to *Kimsquit*.

One of the foods reported by the Bella Coola as a luxury is a foam-like whip prepared by beating up dried buffalo berries in water. Raven is given the credit for introducing this to Bella Coola.

Long, long ago, *Shuhlhmulk*, a mountain in the Carrier country above Dean Ridge, was a chief, possessing human characteristics. Buffalo berries flourished on his slopes, and he moved to keep them for God for his guests. On one occasion he invited all the animals and birds, including Raven, to a feast and dance. His house was the interior of the mountain, and when all had assembled he carefully closed every opening so that none of the berries could escape. Raven determined to obtain some of this food for the Bella Coola, and accordingly used his power to force one of the guests to go outside. As soon as a door was opened to let him out, Raven seized some of the whip and flew away, scattering drops of it in his flight. Berries grew wherever the drops fell, and since that time everybody has been able to make this luxury. *Shuhlhmulk* was very angry, but could do nothing.

Though *Hqamtsin* created the world, he did not make it perfect nor equip it with many of the conveniences possessed by men of the present generation. Raven, endowed both with imagination and transcendent power, was always making ways of improving conditions. In the beginning of time there were no mirrors, and if a man wanted to paint his face, or decorate himself for a dance, he was forced to rely on the assistance of

a friend. Raven determined to supply this want for the benefit of the Kimsquit people. Accordingly he used a natural stone depression near the village as his chamber-pot, and the liquid collected from clearly. Ever since, any liquid, even rain-water, placed in that depression acts as a collector. The jars is called *Sudkwain*, "Where People Go," and is has been used as a mirror by the Kimsquit people and their guests for many generations. In this way, the renown of Raven spread to foreigners visiting Kimsquit. Another survival of this construction the name *Pacquilt-a*, "Chamber-Pot," commonly applied as nickname to the small daughters of Kimsquit chiefs.

One of Raven's inventions was the making a nettle-fibre clothes were, as are which he taught spinner as well as men. In the beginning of time, Raven told two men remake a net according to a pattern which he showed them, and gave them some fibre. It was not sufficient, and when the workers asked for more, Raven told them to draw it from their own intestines. This they did, and ever since spinners have had the same ability. Another story describes how Raven saw clothes not being made in one of the distant villages which he visited during his travels, learnt the details of its manufacture, and taught the Bella Coola on his return home.

Many of Raven's exploits are well known, although not embodied in elaborate myths. For example, it is believed that in the beginning of time the ocean was to the east of Bella Coola and the land to the west. Disregarding manifestation, as Raven altered the relative positions of land and sea. Most ocean dwellers followed the sea to its new home, but a number of animals remained near their human friends. They are still to be found in the upper valley of Bella Coola River. These shell-fish, which are probably freshwater mussels are said to be identical with those of the ocean, and are called by the same name. This is always mentioned as proof of Raven's presence of salt water in the upper Bella Coola valley. The occurrence of the shell-fish may be the origin of this theory. It might also be mentioned that the Bella Coola believe that a few years

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in dances. In front of most houses rises a short totem-pole,* either pierced for the doorway, or standing on the opposite side of the sidewalk.

The Family

It is probably no exaggeration to say that in every part of the world the most important social unit is the family. It certainly is among the Bella Coola, yet its lack of definite social obligations makes it difficult to define. Reduced to minimum size, the family consists of a man, his wife, or wives, and his children. Such a unit occupies one of the bedrooms of a large house, and it is to such a family that an infant automatically belongs at birth. Disregarding for the moment ceremonial obligations, which are shared by others, it is the father and mother who are responsible largely for the upbringing of the child. Such education as he receives comes from them, with the assistance of members of the ancestral family. This is chiefly imitative; a boy, as he increases in strength, follows his father on hunting expeditions or fishing. The mother teaches her daughters how to make baskets, and they follow her when she gathers berries, or when she cooks and performs household duties. The Bella Coola are fond of children, in many cases to the extent of over-indulging them, and they grow up amid the open life of the large houses, absorbing information of all kinds without being aware of so doing.

Only two kinds of functional training need be mentioned. A wise father carefully trains his sons to remember their debts (I, p. 384), and the method of teaching ancient myths has already been described; otherwise there is little direct instruction. On the other hand, parents devote great care to furnishing their children with every possible means of strengthening their supernatural elements on which success depends. These can

* Where the Bella Coola believe their totem-poles were used by their ancestors in early times, they are included in this description of a village, without reference to their development in post-European times. This member is compiled from descriptions given by elderly informants; it is inevitable, therefore, that changes due to European contact may be included.

b:McDowell R-5 (1922-1924)948
NBS Bellecosia NBS

as a man by the duly validated ownership of a chief's name in 262
her own right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat 574
seal, unless he had been the slayer. If many seals are killed, 622
chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs
seat themselves according to their proper positions and are [562]
first served with the blood-stained grease that floats to the top
of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is [567]
cut into strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths, [628]
according to the number of guests. The cuts run down each
fore-flipper, so that each receives a narrow strip including one
of the toes. The head is always given to the herald. [209]

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary
meals even when no seal or deer has been killed. On these
occasions, as at seal feasts, the guests are designated by their [551]
ancestral names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also summoned to meet for the discussion of 575
matters connected with the winter ceremonial; at such occa- 622
sions their number may be augmented by men of influence in
the secret society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a 628
meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated
into the *hosiut* society. If there is difference of opinion the
influence of even a *nawiff* chief is outweighed by a man of
importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all
present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is
difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible
without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the
views of some individual must be accepted. The writer was
present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in
which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a
consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those
who had proposed a contrary course.

Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such [118]
meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but

[114]

Every effort was made to secure the accuracy of this account, but seven men
have sought to an account of the length of time which has elapsed since the ceremony
was carried out to full detail.

b McDowell E-5 (522-524) 1948
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622 there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by
623 members of the *hector* society that none would dare go there.
998 If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formally have
been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-
[575] place of the *Sisaqa* chiefs is on a ledge of rock jutting out
over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village.
The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side,
screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a caul-
dron, so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can enter. The
ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the
most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of
other villages lack such natural settings, though all are on the
bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some
171 of them are decorated with rude carvings, pecked into the
582 stone. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of
998 the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago,
by chiefs when they were composing songs; they pecked out
the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others
[211] were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an
important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure,
perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with
the clan, to recall the occasion. No carvings have been made
within the life-time of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that
they had further significance, now unknown.

622 When a chief wishes to summon his fellows for a meeting
623 he visits each and notifies him by a simple pressure of the face,
in many cases unobserved even by those sitting near. The
201 person so called slips away, unostentatiously, to the meeting-
place.

577 The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the
622 old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who
623 succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows
became an object of envy. Their mythology contains many
[162] examples of the murder of some powerful chief by rivals of his
own village, and informants of today state that these records
are true. One intelligent man asserted that his father had

There now remains only the necessity of removing from the house itself the supernatural power with which it is firmly believed to have been impregnated throughout the many weeks of the ceremony. Should this not be done, it would be so strong that only *wood* could thenceforth live in it, and no further rite could be performed therein. One of the senior chiefs, acting on X's behalf, requests as many *ciki* as are present to go to the back-room. At the same time a drum is beaten slowly. The *ciki* call out loudly, in unison, *hoip* four times. The whistles sound from the back-room with ever-increasing intensity, as if the supernatural being, whose voice they are, were going away. It is said that this practice has been comparatively recently adopted from Rivers Inlet; there used to be nothing of the kind. The *ciki* re-emerge, and one of them stands behind the fire with his stick which he leaves on the floor and calls on the audience to dance with him, "*hi* ...." This is done four times. It serves to purify the house from the supernatural power with which it has been saturated. The people then disperse, without food.

Goods from the general store are reserved to pay those men for their services, and also for cleansing the initiates from the powers with which they have been imbued, a rite that takes place the following morning in the presence of several *ciki* alone. The initiates are brought from the back-room and seated in a close circle between the door and the fire.* A foreign *ciki* is chosen by X to perform the actual cleansing rite. He has been asked beforehand and has come provided with a long pole and some soiled clothing. It is immaterial whose this is, provided that it has been in contact with a human body; the most potent articles are commercial cedar-bark pads.

The *ciki* covers the young man with a large cedar-bark mat. Then he fastens the clothing or pads to his pole and holds the end in the fire until they are smouldering. Then he swings it four times over the heads of the initiates and throws the stick

*Based on the recording in some informants.

Totem-Poles

A feature embodied in many ancestral myths is a description of the totem-pole[1] erected by a group of the first people, either according to a design given them by *Raven*, or in consequence of their experiences on this earth. It is the privilege of a chief descended from that group to erect such a pole, under the same restrictions as apply to the perpetual use of other features belonging, not to him individually, but to the ancestral family as a whole. Totem-poles are also frequently erected to depict incidents connected with the ancestors of a chief, even if there is no mention of one in his ancestral myth. In either case, the setting-up is a source of pride to the chief, especially as it emphasizes the importance of his ancestors, and its display must be duly celebrated. Theoretically, this may be done at a gathering of less importance than a potlatch, but in practice it occurs at no other ceremony, since a chief wealthy enough to erect a pole naturally desires it to be seen by as many persons as possible.

Poverty limits the number of totem-poles, but is not sufficient to account for their relative rarity. It is a source of pride for a chief in whose ancestral myth there is mention of a pole to erect one, but all myths do not include totem-poles. Consequently the absence of one before the door of the chief's house is not proof of the owner's poverty or lack of importance. This matter was investigated with great care, and all the older people interviewed that the number and size of their poles were never as great as among the northern tribes.

When a chief is preparing for a potlatch, he allows, among other carpentry tasks, the construction of a totem-pole, if he is sufficiently wealthy to reward the artisan and to validate the erection in the customary manner. If a special design is embodied in the ancestral myth concerning the totem whereby he is about to mention, or to make strong, he indicates that design to the carpenter. In the story of *Aldet* (I, p. 310), he

[1] [illegible], "Totem-Pole."

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

211 example, there is a description of his totem-pole with a ball
556 at the top, and beneath it an eagle's nest containing two fledg-
798 lings towards which a grizzly bear is endeavouring to climb.
532 This is the only known instance of a pole on which the different figures stand in definite relationship to one another. No explanation is offered beyond the statement that this was the form used by *Alkwi* in the beginning of time. Another ancient
[778] pole, used by one of the ancestral families of *Xwod*, consists of a simple shaft surmounted by a sphere; this represents a mountain which enters into their ancestral myth as supporting the sky.

As with all features embodied in ancestral myths, a chief can use his own discretion in cases where he has a choice of
[431] design. A totem-pole with specific figures is a common pre-
[622] sent from a chief to his son-in-law, and it is a mark of respect
[606] for the latter to use and validate this at the first opportunity, in preference to one belonging to his own ancestral family. Since the pole erected at a potlatch may have no association with the ancestral name and myth of the donor, the underlying principle in all cases is that the value of the pole depends upon the quantity of gifts distributed to validate its erection. One man mentioned an instance in which he had become confused with regard to the proper design for the totem-pole connected with his ancestral myth, and had used one belonging to a second myth in association with a name from the first. Both were his property, the transaction was duly validated, and the matter passed off without question. It is possible that the
[183] decay of custom which has followed the coming of the white man may have been partly responsible for this error, which was regarded as a somewhat stupid, though not improper mistake; yet it is clear that even when designs are remembered as portions of ancestral myths, they can be alienated from them and validated as isolated objects in the same manner as names and all other features of ancestral myths.

More often, the exact details of a pole are not included in the ancestral myth and a chief wishing to have one erected can

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use his own discretion as to the design. At the top he always places the bird or animal cloak in which his first ancestor, traced patrilineally, came to this earth. Beneath this is the cloak of his mother's first ancestor if it differs from his father's. There are no fixed rules for other representations. Sometimes a man wishes to display the cloaks of the first ancestors of his wife, or wives; more often, the designs are of creatures with which his own ancestors came in contact after reaching this earth.[1] One of the first settlers, *Swanow* (I, p. 331), married a Bella Bella woman from whom he obtained a ceremony connected with a whale, an animal which has often been used on the totem-poles of his descendants. The lower figures on totem-poles often represent creatures from which a recent ancestor of the chief obtained supernatural assistance. Consequently, the number of designs which may be used is legion, and the order of portrayal is immaterial. Moreover, Bella Coola art is not sufficiently realistic for designs to be easily recognized, nor is there standard conventionalization of little used animals; so it follows that the designs on totem-poles are often unidentifiable.[2] This is of little consequence, since their value rests neither upon the artistic skill exhibited, nor even upon their significance in connection with the owner's ancestral myth, but upon the goods expended to validate the display.

All Bella Coola totem-poles are carved from the trunks of huge cedars, with the wood cut away so that the designs stand out in high relief. The carvers are allowed great latitude both in choice of form and colouring, hence there is wide variation

[824]
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[1] Ghiamalaits is the term applied to animals with which ancestors came in contact, other than their cloaks.

[2] This statement represents the learner's point of view, that is, of the Bella Coola who was not himself a competent sculptor. It is probable that an expert would have greater facility in recognizing the conventionalized forms used by his ancestors, although the whole pattern of Bella Coola culture was opposed to extreme standardization. Unfortunately, wood-carving, in fact art work of every kind, had degenerated to such an extent that only one man with any recognized skill in their respect was still living when this study was made. He was both unreliable and uncooperative, so that it was impossible even to collect examples of his work, still less to record the interpretations of the designs of masks or other objects carved by his predecessors.

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NEB Bellacoola NEB

211 in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at
*556 the front door of the house with an opening at its base through
which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be erected
• 998 and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice in
582 either case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral
[184] myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ancestral crests by means of paintings on the front wall of his house, or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, if such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief entitled to display a totem-pole may choose to use only paintings. If he validates these by presents, they give him the same dignity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cannot validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola poles are only about fifteen to twenty feet in height, and though
[171] it is possible that a few families had prerogatives entitling them to construct lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is unlikely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand before the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even none at
[164] all. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 461). Otherwise it remains standing until some other occupant of the house wishes to erect another in its place, when the first is pulled down and neglected.

Coppers

*556 The Bella Coola use coppers for only two purposes: casting
[164] on the ground upon which the representation of a deceased relative had resided, or throwing into the fire when the figure has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make home for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when a copper is employed is so important that to obtain one and increase its value is a vital consideration for every chief.

[177 454] Most of the coppers now used by the Bella Coola are made

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make a salmon-weir. In accordance with *Ilpuntin's* instruction, *Imanus* planned to make a circuit of the world seeking a suitable place to settle. He started northward, in eagle form, scattering eagle down, wherefore this material has ever since been highly regarded and is used as a symbol of peace. Owing, moreover, to the eagle down scattered on the mountains, there has always been much snow in that region.* [534] [978] [821]

Sometimes as he travelled he assumed the form of the sun, for he was so powerful that nothing was impossible to him. For in the north *Imanus* obtained an enormous copper, which he carried back to Kimsquit without completing his original plan of circling the earth. He perched on a tree near his brother's almost completed salmon-weir.

"Why don't you change yourself to a human being?" *Omqwskilda* inquired.

"I am waiting until our food is more plentiful," *Imanus* replied. "Besides I have been to the far north where I obtained an enormous copper."

When the weir was completed and *Omqwskilda* was catching many salmon, his brother at last decided to become a man. But instead of sending his cloak back above he animated it, as an eagle. *Imanus* now became an ardent fisherman and was much annoyed by the thefts made by the bird, though he himself was responsible for it not having returned to *Nuxmit'a*. After about a year he suggested to *Omqwskilda* that they should kill it, but the latter demurred, since it was the gift which *Ilpuntin* had given *Imanus*. The latter said nothing, but the next time he saw the eagle stealing his fish he killed the bird, without consulting his brother. No sooner had he done this than he felt sorry, but it was too late; he could not restore the eagle to life.

Owing to the salmon given them by *Ilpuntin* the two brothers were now very prosperous, and *Imanus* began to think of marriage. One day he noticed some chips floating down the Dean River, so he judged that people must be living on that stream. He set out to investigate, met *Yaldin*, and married his sister *Sotsému*, as has been described in a Dean River myth. To celebrate this event the two brothers prepared to invite people from far and near. First they lengthened their house to accommodate a large number; it was of the type known as *mitmalat*, though it could not expand without human agency. Then they painted their spoons with designs of the *mitqan*, since they had brought that creature with them from above. Now everything was ready and they commenced their guests. When all had assembled, *Imanus* gave a *Sisyútlem* dance [424] [535]

*The cloud which first over Kimsquit before a west wind are still called "Imanus's clouds," in memory of his journey. The myth fails to explain how *Imanus* was responsible for these phenomena.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

845 alone, and when she leaves it, it dries up immediately. When a year has elapsed, the parents return home with their children and the father resumes the ordinary routine of life. For three years more the mother must remain in the house, leaving it only at night through a hole in the floor. Above all else, she must keep away from the river; she cannot draw water from it, nor can she cut salmon on its bank. One instance is remem-
[953] bered in which the parents of twins failed to observe these restrictions; their legs became swollen and they soon died. In addition to punishment of the offenders in cases such as
[825] this, there is danger that if they fail to obey the customary taboos the salmon will be insulted and avoid the Bella Coola River.

[978] After four years a mother of twins resumes her normal life,
[987] but she is henceforth endowed with special powers. If she wishes to see anyone who is absent, she has only to think of the person, and in her dreams she will be able to see him. She must never try to start up a dying fire by blowing upon it, since to do so would cause a gale. When a person sets out on any kind of an expedition from the house in which a mother of twins is living, the latter must chew a little food and spit it out towards the departing guest, otherwise he will fail in his venture.

845 Twins themselves, being akin to salmon, have miraculous
825 ability to see their fish-kinsmen and read their thoughts. Bella Coola mythology contains many stories of the way in which twins could talk with, and change into, salmon. Such knowledge is not limited to tales of the distant past. An elderly Bella Coola described the manner in which her grandmother, a twin related to Sockeye Salmon, was consulted by a man who had been unlucky with his weir. Gazing down into the water, this woman saw that the fish were avoiding his dam because of the charred uprights used in its construction; when these were changed he was successful in his fishing.

845 Twins are believed to possess remarkable ability from earliest childhood, and even to remember incidents occurring

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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PLATE 21

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Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Totem-pole serving as a memorial post

[p 442 (E)]

McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

211 stone and served as landing-place for some of the first settlers.
556 In fact, any of the dead person's crests may be used according
764 to the wishes of the chief giving the memorial potlatch. A
769 figure displayed in this way cannot be used as the guise in which the dead relative returns, but as every individual has several crests, inability to use one does not make it difficult to carry out the rite. According to one well-informed old man, when a design has once been used in a cemetery it cannot again be shown by members of the ancestral family, having itself become "dead." Other informants flatly contradicted this statement, and it seems clear that the above is true only with regard to the use of the figure in connection with the return of the deceased. The erection of the figure serves to remind all beholders, especially foreign guests summoned to the memorial potlatch, of the ancestral myth of the deceased. It is, therefore, equivalent to a totem-pole erected during a man's lifetime, in fact, one of these is sometimes moved to the cemetery to serve as a memorial-post (see Plate 21). Instead of placing a representation of the crest in the cemetery, one is sometimes painted on broad boards and placed on some conspicuous promontory where all who pass by will see it and think of the person commemorated.

[778]

The second type of memorial consists of plain poles set upright in the cemetery, one for each major ceremony given by the deceased. Potlatches, memorial potlatches, and *kukusiatsk* (II, p. 29) are alone indicated in this way, these being the only ones to which foreign guests are invited. These poles suggest, in a general way, the greatness of the deceased.

[609]

The third type of memorial-post comprises representations of the goods given away by the deceased. These are usually painted on boards attached to a post set up near the grave. On this are pictures of canoes, coppers, slaves, and other valuables distributed at potlatches or memorial potlatches (see Plate 22). Alternatively, there may be a series of small poles, each surmounted by a model canoe manned by miniature human figures, symbolic of a canoe and slaves given away

[532]

a boy who was dearly loved by his father. The latter, thinking that *Kactqut* was responsible for his son's death, killed her and was slain in revenge. Because of the doubts thrown by the Bella Coola on *Kactqut's* power and revelation her fame did not spread widely.

Powers Localized in Certain Spots

To the Bella Coola every supernatural being is, or should be, able to move, in fact many of them can travel with phenomenal rapidity. But, in the beginning of time, when *Alqantcin* was populating the earth, he sent down certain creatures which were later turned to stone, thereby localizing their power. The term for a place where this happened is *sma-a*, which can be translated with accuracy as, "A Locality Where Power has Become Petrified." It follows that anyone desirous of coming in contact with supernatural power of this type can do so by visiting the spot where it is situated. There are not many of these places, nor do they figure prominently in Bella Coola mythology, and, as usual, there are many contradictions in the accounts. Apparently there is a tendency to ascribe the occurrence of peculiar experiences to localities where power is petrified. The following are the more important spots of this type, with a short account of the specific attributes of each.

(1) *Smaiw-a*, also called *Sharkhwaily*: At the head of the Clearwater, one of the sources of the Bella Coola River, and the place from which comes the warm east wind.

Concerning the origin of the power in this spot the following tale, which is regarded as very ancient, was obtained.

Long, long ago, the ocean spread far to the east, covering the whole Bella Coola valley.[14] The shoreline of the ocean was at the village *Sharkhwaily*, so called from a chief of that name living there. Mount *Xhkwals*, which is now several miles inland, was then a point around which surged dangerous

[14] It is assumed that the world was unpeopled at that time, though mention is made of people who were living there. This does not strike the Bella Coola as a contradiction; the accuracy of an ancient story is never questioned; hence it is taken for granted that "people" in the modern sense, were not then in existence.

currents, and where there was always much wind, making it 773
feared by mariners in those distant days. Tradition does not 778
state what being drove back the ocean to its present position; 534
it may have been Raven who made the Bella Coola valley habitable.

Once a war party from the north swooped down to attack *Skaldwanily's* town. Although the chief's herald, who was stationed a mile below the settlement, called out a warning, the raiders were successful and carried off a number of slaves. *Skaldwanily* could not bear to think of his people as captives and accordingly exerted his miraculous power to turn the whole place to stone. Houses, raiders, captives, canoes with their carvings, and paddles can still be seen there, all petrified. They have become *sna'a'*.

According to another account, *Skaldwanily* exerted his powers to petrify the canoes and the bodies of his enemies before they reached his village. He asked the paddlers whither they were bound, and when they told him he, or the mountain which he later became, for there is a confusion between the two, invited them to land. On so doing they were changed to stone, and in this form can still be seen, complete even to the paddles, a proof that the ocean once extended far to the east of its present limit. Many Bella Coola have heard of these canoes, and they are said to have been seen recently.

Since that time the power animating the place has fre- 778
quently become visible in the form of an enormous snake. 539
There, too, are to be found countless smaller ones, a constant [787]
menace to the unwary. The following incidents describe the adventures of people passing near this spot:

The trail to the interior makes a detour to avoid *Skaldwanily*, but sometimes one of the reptiles, many of which are enormous, will be found lying across the track. If the traveller is bold and jumps over it, no harm will come to him, but if he should try to avoid it by going around, the single snake will increase to a multitude. Not only material objects, but the

intelligence of *Skaldwanily* has become petrified there and remains any slights.

Four men were once passing the spot on their way to the interior when one of them, in bravado, pushed with his stick against the stones which once had been the houses of the village, saying as he did so:

"*Skaldwanily*, petrify us if you can, we are not afraid of you."

When he drew up his stick it was covered with small snakes; more appeared from everywhere and swarmed over the four like ants. They started to run, but three of them were crushed beneath the swarming creatures and nothing was ever seen of them. The fourth man drew his knife and with it slit his clothing, thus dislodging most of the snakes, and, naked, he was able to run away. He succeeded in reaching some people to whom he told the fate of his companions, but soon his stomach began to swell and he died. Snakes had entered his body and his case had been hopeless from the start.

On another occasion four girls had just climbed a steep and difficult trail behind the *end of* to avoid passing through the place itself. On reaching the level land above, one of them called out:

"*Skaldwanily*, I am glad to be safely past you."

But the jealous *Skaldwanily* heard her. He sent a gale, the ground cracked, trees were torn and broken, and three of the girls were swept away to their death. One only escaped by wrapping herself around the base of a tree.

Another time four Carriers on their way to the coast passed a boulder on the shore of a pool which is at *Skaldwanily*. Although aware of the power petrified there, they derided it by thrusting poles below the rock and asking it why it did not show its strength by taking revenge for the insults they offered it. When they pulled out the sticks they were covered with snakes, and more appeared from the trees and roots in the vicinity. The Carriers fled, pursued by them, and after running all day, managed to make their escape at dusk.

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The place is still allegedly characterized by these reptiles; a recent visitor found the branches of the trees like snakes, and the very moss were in the form of them. The rocks in the vicinity are full of grooves like those made by snakes crawling through soft clay, and the whole neighbourhood reeks with their odour. 778 539

(2) *Pe-kth*, Mesatche Nose: The point between North Bentinck Arm and Labouchere Channel. 778

There is found a *swazy*, one of the most powerful localized beings, a creature comprising only a head and an arm with a mouth in the palm. The head can be seen in rock on the point not far above the waterline, but the giant arm rests far beneath the surface. At times the *swazy* bends its elbow so that the fist can support the head, as if the creature were pondering. On such occasions the upper part of the arm remains concealed below the water, while there is a gap about twenty-five yards in width between the upraised lower part and the rocky shore beneath the animal's head. A canoe can pass in safety through this, narrow though the channel is; but if it should take a course on the outer side of the arm the latter will crush down on the helpless craft, crushing it to splinters and driving them far beneath the surface. There has never been a survivor from such a catastrophe. The last time the arm was raised was about seventy years ago when a war party was returning to the north after raiding *Tăl-ie*. They knew the necessity of taking the inner channel, so escaped unharmed, though they actually handled the mighty upraised fist. The Bella Coola firmly believe that the *swazy* will some day lift its arm again, and will crush the steamer that carries mail and passengers up the coast. 776

It was only a few hundred years ago that a certain Bella Bella learnt of the respect with which the other supernatural beings regard the *swazy* of Mesatche Nose. The canoe in which this man was travelling was sucked down beneath the ocean, but *Qomqoa* admitted him as a guest to his house. The chief had invited all the underwater supernatural beings to a pot- 778 539

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NEB Bellacoola NEB

998 539 lench, and the only vacant spot was the central seat behind the fire. Retainer after retainer was sent after someone, until finally the wondering human heard a steady thump, thump, approaching. It was the Mesaxche Nose *swap*, travelling on his single arm, like a looper caterpillar, his head balanced precariously on top while the thump came every time that he brought his fist to the floor. On his entry, the paintings of fish and marine animals, with which the walls and boxes were covered, came to life and cavorted around as if mad, but when the chief took his seat behind the fire they returned to their pictorial form. From this experience the Bella Bella man obtained a *nawak* name and myth.

778 (3) The Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel where the mysterious power is that of a snake.

(4) A ledge of rock projecting over the water at a point on the west side of Dean Channel about nine miles below Kimsquit.

(5) *Ẓhaẓulx*: On the south side of Burke Channel, a few miles above Kwatna Inlet.

(6) *Swawalx*: On South Bentinck Arm, at a spot where the water penetrates far under a ledge of rock.

(7) *Nuklilā-ata*: On the east side of South Bentinck Arm, where an enormous spider has been changed to stone. The many colours of its body can be plainly seen amid the numerous holes in the vicinity.

(8) The Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.

778 539 823 103 (9) Mount *Nusẓulx*, the highest mountain in the Bella Coola valley, belongs to the same category, since in the beginning of time it was a man.

He, *Nānalxwitl*, (which means "Too Heavy" in the sense of "so important") came to earth from above at Cape Mudge and decided to visit Bella Coola. He stalked through the land to the site of the present Mount *Nusẓulx*, wearing a high hat around which crawled two snakes whose heads often crossed. From where he stood, he saw the lofty mountain *X̌ẓlx* in the Carrier country, and resolved to visit it. At that distant period this peak was a human being and from him *Nānalxwitl*

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obtained two wives, the name of one being *Tlóin*. He returned to Bella Coola with them.

Nímalchaitl knew that presently he was fated to become immobile, a mass of petrified power. Since he was able to select where this was to be, he chose the site of Mount *Nuxalci*, midway in the Bella Coola valley, as a convenient place to overlook the doings of men. Before he transformed himself into this mountain, he determined that he would have people visit him; accordingly he changed his son, *Nímalmitjaxa*, which he carried concealed beneath his blanket, into *sqalc*, a stone much used for men and adzes. Until the introduction of white man's tools his wish was gratified; people came from far and near to obtain the necessary material.

The human origin of the mountain is still remembered, since it is often spoken of by its chiefly names, *Nímalchaitl* and *Tlóin*, relics of its existence as a man. This story is regarded as an origin myth, and as such might have been included in vol. I, chap. vi.

This mountain is regarded with awe by the Bella Coola on account of its great height, but it seems to lack most of the characteristics ascribed to other places where power has been petrified.

(10) On one of the mountains above Cascade Inlet there used to be a stone eagle with outstretched wings which came to this earth with the first people, but was petrified one day when drying its wings after fishing. About 1860 part of its beak fell away. A change in the condition of any of these places had long been regarded as an omen of misfortune, so the epidemic of smallpox that soon after ravaged the coast was not unexpected.

(11) *Ilísmas*: An unidentified spot where a *snung* of the mountain was petrified. At this place there is a small pool which is the repository (II, p. 8) of a certain *kusiut* dancer.

(12) *Lepalam*, "The Walker," the name both of a supernatural being and the spot where it is localized. This is not far from the glacier that lies near the junction of the trails from *Snaalí* and *Tál-ío*; it is the largest one in the vicinity of Bella Coola and is said to move its position. The being is in some way connected with it, hence the name.

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•777
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[25]

About half a mile from the glacier there is a large rock shelter where mountain goat hunters are wont to smoke their meat. They are always careful to take with them dyed and undyed cedar-bark and eagle down, knowing that they may encounter the supernatural. Sometimes they hear the voice of *xpulem*, a deep, long drawn-out hum, *m*..... If this sound is repeated four times it is a happy augury, but if heard only once it presages ill fortune. In either case some member of the party, one who is ceremonially clean and is brave, blackens his face, puts on a collar of dyed cedar-bark, covered with eagle down, steps outside, and says in effect:

"Hail! Petrified One. In the beginning you came down from *Alquanim*, from all that was wonderful and powerful. You have not changed, hence we mortals can still hear your voice. Please, may it be well with us. There is none other like you."

If the supplicant is ceremonially clean the mountain will answer *hi*....., four times, and there will be heard what sounds like a great landslide. Then the petitioner takes some small portions of meat, some dyed and some undyed cedar-bark, and eagle down and throws them on the fire.

"Please accept, Oh *Kasiaat*" (Powerful One), he says.

Thus propitiated, *xpulem* grants them success in hunting.

778 (13) *Spipishuts i*: On the south side of the Dean River about one mile from its mouth. Here, in the beginning of time, Raven cast his war-knife, *xpis*, which was turned to stone and can still be seen. Its power has likewise become localized at this point.

(14) In the beginning of time Mount *Swaly*, near the Dean River, was a man who was turned to stone. Across the river is his wife, *Ailulwaitl*, whose ancestral name is *Kamilkin*, likewise petrified.

[755] [785] In most of these places[1] a sick person can receive assistance, if he is willing to risk the consequent dangers. The first essential is that he be in a "clean" condition by the observance of

[1] [i.e. – certain spots where power is localized – see cat. 116, pp 594-600 for their location – ANALYST]

ceremonial chastity. This vows is pleasing to supernatural beings, who otherwise are likely to punish one composing on their heaven. The Bella Coola have not closely formulated their beliefs with regard to these places, consequently the experiences of one individual are usually quite different from those of another, a circumstance regarded as quite natural on the assumption that the supernatural beings are able to manifest themselves in many ways.

Skaldmanly and the Hot Springs on Lekoochass Channel are the places that figure most commonly in mythology. As the former is *Skaldmanly's* chamber-vessel, a pool always full of clear water though not fed by any spring. If a person suffering from the virulent skin disease known as *Ikduly* swims in it, drinks some of the water, and then vomits, he will recover.

Not only the pool itself, but the whole neighbourhood, is the seat of mysterious power, as the following tale describes.

Near the western end of the pool there is a rock from which long ago three men dived and failed to return. A sick man decided to do the same and leaped in, feet first, wearing around his chest some dyed cedar-bark. He plunged through the water and found that he was standing on the *roof* of a house; he walked around it, then returned to the surface, and back to his starting point. He dived three times more, and when he emerged for the fourth time his sickness had left him. He returned to Bella Coola and told of his experience. Since that time sick people have been carried to the pool, and have dived in from the same rock, always feet first, and always wearing dyed cedar-bark. All are able to feel the *roof* of the house, and are cured by the immersion.

The trail used by the Carrier Indians when raiding the coastal tribes passed by this lake, and on one occasion the Bella Coola, bent on retaliation, used the same path and paused to rest on the shore. They all bathed in the pool and asked help from the power there localized, then as they lay on the grass drying their long hair in the sunshine, a house emerged. Slowly it floated upwards, filling the whole area formerly occu-

gined by the water, and came to rest when it had risen to the usual height of a house. As each of the spectators gazed upon it he saw within that on which his own mind was centred. As it were in perspective he visualized his whole life, both past and future. One man saw the slaying of an enemy, another a potlatch with himself in the role of donor, another his children, and a second individual saw a man and woman in the sexual act. To each it appeared that the house contained only one image. Then slowly the house sank into the depths. The party went on and had great success, killing their enemies, who were powerless before them, without the loss of a single Bella Coola. It was this house which the sick people felt with their feet; the sight of it had given the warriors phenomenal ability.

Another seat of power is near the western end of the lake where the trail passes between two piles of dark red rocks that rise to a height of three or four feet. Each is roughly squared like a brick with dimensions of approximately 8 by 6 by 6 inches. The heaps are not regular, and yet form a distinct cairn. If a passer-by wishes to ascertain the length of his life, he takes a stick and shoves out one of the stones, which rolls far down the hillside; if he can do so without disturbing the rest, he will have long life, but should fate decree for him a short one, the whole pile falls in disorder. Another sign of long life is when the moss sways back and forth, emitting a squeaking sound like the leather in a new shoe, as he endeavours to poke out one of the rocks of which it is composed. On the traveller's return from the interior the heap has always assumed its original shape, though no one has ever seen one of the stones being picked up by human agency.

Sick people also derive benefit from immersion in the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel. The following account was obtained from a man who himself underwent treatment there.

When a young man he had been initiated into the *kasint* society as a Breaker (II, p. 123) and as such wore a bear-skin cloak. His relatives were wealthy and advised him to keep his robe, saying that they would make it possible for him to

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dance again in eight years. Four years later, one of his fellow- villagers offered him five skins for the one which he had used, and, when this was declined, the number was raised to ten, then to fifteen, and finally to twenty new bear-skins. As there was no particular value in the mantle itself, the owner became suspicious and asked advice from his mother who admonished him not to sell, in view of the time when he would want it. Accordingly, he did not accept the offer, but when it was increased to twenty-five skins he did so. He did not know that the purchaser's desire for it was to enable him to injure the seller by magic through the acquisition of this personal possession. 778 534 [754]

The sale took place in April, and the following December the former owner became crippled with a disease which so weakened his back that he could hardly raise himself from the ground. When the sickness had lasted for one year, his friends carried him away to the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel. 778 755 534 787

It was known that if a patient were left night and day in the spring, scrubbing himself with hemlock boughs, he often was given such power by a supernatural being that, like a shaman of old, he could kill or cure by means of a stick. Many of this man's relatives had been killed by rivals envious of their success in giving potlatches, so it was feared that he might wish to retaliate if he gained too much power. To prevent this, he was removed from the spring at night. On the first day as he lay on a mat in the warm water, there appeared on a flat stone a diminutive man, about two feet tall, resembling a Bella Coola except for a short tail. It was probably a *tlāqmā·ki*, such as his first ancestor had obtained (I, p. 688). The little creature ran around the stone; when it returned to the starting point it stopped and was joined by a second one of the same kind. The two circled the stone three times, on each occasion stopping at the starting point; they then vanished. The next day while the patient lay in the stream he heard from within the mountain four beats of a drum and a sound as if a large number of people were talking and calling together, though he [776]

could not distinguish any actual words. This ceased, to be followed by the hissing sound of escaping steam; the water became so unbearably hot that, crippled though he was, he managed to crawl out. His courage soon revived, so, wrapping his head in his blanket, he returned to the spring. The water was still unpleasantly hot on his body and legs, but the covering protected his head. The same phenomenon occurred on the two following days. Four days later he was well enough to walk and was brought home. During his treatment he saw supernatural beings, and is still hoping for a further revelation that will make him a shaman. He believes that this would have been granted to him if his friends had allowed him to remain in the spring overnight.

During the four days of his immersion he ate nothing, and his only nourishment was a little mountain goat grease which he did not swallow but kept in the right side of his mouth. After each bath he scrubbed himself with hemlock boughs. As in all such cases, for one year he observed continence and refrained from eating unsmoked salmon. Failure to observe these taboos would have caused his death.[16]

According to another account the creature that visits a patient lying in the Hot Springs is a *ÁÁkuł'*. As already described, it is a hairless animal, about as large as a small moose, with legs so short that its belly almost scrapes the ground, no tail, and a large head with glass-like eyes. The whole appearance suggests an enormous walking snake. This animal approaches the sick person, as he lies on a flat stone[17] in the spring, and takes a bite from wherever the sickness is situated. No wound can afterwards be seen, but the ailment is carried away with the biting. If the patient should lack courage and endeavour to escape he would soon die.

Others of these animals of the same or similar variety have been observed about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.

[16]See vol. I, p. 607 for further results of this treatment.
[17]There are two of these, one used by men and one by women.

Between 1890 and 1900 two more were seen near Double Mountain. The last Bella Coola to see them actually left *Sisal* one morning armed with a light shot-gun. He followed the trail to the interior and was crossing the bare mountain, *Kamal*, about forty-eight miles from the sea, when he decided to turn aside to shoot some of the ducks which breed in great quantities on the small lakes near the top of the mountain. As he walked through the grass he heard a rustling, and crawled so that he could get a better view of the place whence it came. He saw two *hahaut* which were catching ducks with their long tongues by shooting them out from their mouths. After watching them for some time the man returned to the camp without disturbing them. This man has only recently died. In former times they were more common, but one was seen not many years ago by a Carrier Indian.

According to other informants, no one knows what supernatural winter comes to the spring, since it always appears at night, and any one who is rash enough to look at it dies immediately. A bold person lies still, with eyes closed, while he is massaged back to health.

Another man, while fishing for one of the centerins, had been in the habit of landing at the Hot Springs to get hot water for his tea. He drew it from a small trickle which emerged from a rock near at hand. On one occasion the flow stopped when he put his pot beneath, but recommenced on his withdrawing it. Thinking this a mere accident, he reinserted the vessel only to have the water cease again. When this had happened four times, he realized that the cessation had been intended by some supernatural power.

"Hail! Powerful One," he called out. "I understand you now."

He knew that it must be some creature within the rock that had stopped the flow, not wishing it to be so used, and since then he has obtained his water elsewhere.

Leaving these tales of the past, which stress the supernatural, and passing from the experiences of men of sensitive, imaginative disposition, it is possible to describe the methods commonly employed by the Bella Coola when wishing to take advantage of the curative properties of these localities. In cases of serious illness it is common for a sufferer to make the rounds of all five places located on the ocean. This was done, for example, by the father of an informant who had seen what he took to be a spring salmon in an inland stream where no ocean salmon should have been. He was foolish enough to leap in to catch the fish, which was really a *nsiaut*, and as it

[778] [958] [787] rushed past him it bruised his legs. From its malign touch they became as if tied together at the knees, so that he could hardly walk. When all other cures failed he bathed in all the healing places on the coast, and was cured by the time he had returned to Bella Coola.

[115] Before embarking on such an expedition, a sufferer must observe continence for at least three months, and continue this after his return, otherwise he will die. It is wise to start at *Iwanuk*, on South Bentinck Arm, proceeding from there down South Bentinck Arm, across Labouchere Channel, and towards Kimsquit, since in this way the patient travels eastwise, increasing the potency of his efforts.

At *Iwanuk* there is a ledge of rock that projects out over the water; the sick person dives through a hole into the flood. From this point he proceeds to *Nakilé-ata*, on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about half a mile above the Hot Springs. This is the place of the giant, many-coloured spider, turned to stone. Among its legs there are numerous holes in which the patient lays a stick and pieces of his clothing, taken from the part of the body affected, saying as he does so:

"Please, Powerful One, help me to return to strength."

The third place of curing is the Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm, *Iojo-xum*. Here the patient lies in the hot water and leaves portions of his worn clothing as some sort of vague offering to the being there. The Bella Coola have no clear conception as to why the scraps should be left; apparently they have never considered whether it was actually of service to the being. At the present time it appears to be only a ritual handed down from great antiquity.

Leaving South Bentinck Arm the patient proceeds to the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel, the characteristics of which have already been described. The final place visited is *Anaiwum*, on the west side of Dean Channel about nine miles below Kimsquit, where the ocean penetrates far under a ledge of rock. The sufferer is lowered through a vent about six feet in diameter until he stands on a boulder at the edge of the sea

in a kind of a cave. He here swims the rope, dives into the water and out through a narrow passage to the open flood where he is picked up by a waiting canoe. [774] [755]

If he is to recover, he feels as he dives the scraping of some rough-skinned animal against his side. No one knows what this is, perhaps a fish almost seventy yards in length which was seen near the place about 1905. If a person is too ill to make the dive unaided, a stick is forced through the entrance from the flood, with a rope attached. The patient, who has been lowered to the ledge from the upper air, is then tied firmly to the stick and hauled out. Before leaving, shreds of his clothing are always left at the mouth of the cave in payment to its supernatural occupant for his assistance. [757]

The method of curing at the spot, *Alkumac*, differs from those previously described since it is only the man whose repository (II, p. 9) is there who is able to exercise the power. Patients whose flesh has become rotten are carried to the place and he scrubs their bodies, in the water, with various prickly bushes. This man is not a shaman, his power rests solely on the fact that this curing place is his repository. [756]

At *cupdum* the virulent skin disease *Sisbuly* can be cured.* This is caused by a morsel of coho salmon or fern root passing from the mouth up into the head, instead of down into the stomach. The Bella Coola have only slight knowledge of anatomy, and by "head" probably mean the passage connecting mouth and nose. In this spot the food becomes a frog egg, hatches into a tadpole, and finally transforms into a frog. If a shaman is called on immediately, he can remove the frog by thrusting his finger up the nasal passage and banging down on the patient's head, but if he delays, the ears and nose become clogged, the hair falls, and the flesh on arms and body wastes away until the skin is shrivelled. Then the only hope is to visit *cupdum*. [753] [756]

Friends of the sufferer carry him to the spot and place him in an ice cavern, roofed by the glacier itself, and then retire to

*In its earlier stages it can be treated elsewhere.

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the rock shelter half a mile away. Here he must lie alone, without food, for four days. If he is in a pure condition from the observance of chastity, he then feels the earth shake and hears a sound like a mighty landslide, though it is inaudible to those waiting in the cave. If the patient is frightened and tries to flee, he will die, but if he lies still he will be able to spit out the dead frog, or it will become so soft that it can drip from his nose. He then washes in the stream that flows through the ice-cavern, thus completing the cure. The malady will return unless chastity is practised for one year.

Finally, in dreams a man is sometimes carried away to one or other of these curing places, or to several of them, and is there made a shaman. It will be noted that this method of acquiring the ability differs from those previously described, but his functions are the same as those whose power has been obtained in one of the usual ways.

Dreams

The last type of contact with the supernatural is by means of dreams. Psychologically, these are akin to visions; indeed, it is often impossible to learn whether the experiences described in an ancient story occurred during sleep or when awake. The Bella Coola believe that dreams are caused by the spirit of the individual; they are, therefore, supernatural and worthy of attention, but in spite of this, it was difficult to obtain detailed accounts. The reason seems to lie in the intangibility of the experiences themselves. Unless one is sufficiently striking, it passes into oblivion as a fruitless manifestation of the workings of the spirit. Many of the visions seen in ancient times by those who had fasted or otherwise reached an emotional state, must have been dreams, but they have ceased to be recognized as such in the course of generations. The Bella Coola of today state emphatically that they receive warning of future events during sleep, but the only individual from whom it was possible to obtain coherent descriptions was the elderly man previously described as X (I, p. 515).

It is believed that if a non-
*575 initiate pass between the central fire and the raised platform
774 behind it, where the dancer is usually concealed, his spirit will
755 be attracted to this material object. Even though the per-
former is in another house at the time, he at once senses what
[784] has happened and asks who has lost his spirit. The guilty
[626] person, believing that he will die unless it is returned to him, always admits what he has done. The dancer, accompanied by several attendant *kukusiut*, proceeds to the raised platform, presses his cupped hands four times against it, and by sucking with his mouth pretends to draw forth the spirit. But since the dancer has a direct call (II, p. 6) from his supernatural patron (II, p. 6), he cannot come in contact with the uninitiated without danger to the latter, so he transfers the supernatural element to the leg of another *kusiut*, who is not dancing at the time, by pressing four times. This assistant then returns it to the owner by kneading it four times into the back of his neck.
[626] The reckless uninitiated person suffers no harm, but is more careful in future.

[784] Another belief is that if a non-member even walks close to
[626] the doorway of the house during the four days, or more, that a dance is taking place, his spirit is attracted to the dancer, wherever he may be at the moment. Consequently the uninitiated use the beach path instead of the sidewalk. Accounts differ as to what results from the transgression. According to
[778] one, the dancer falls down as if dead, due to the contact between something non-sacred and the power with which he is imbued. It is at once recognized what has happened and any *kusiut* can draw forth the spirit by placing his two hands, shaped like a cup, against the dancer and sucking violently. While so doing he calls *hoip* loudly and any *kukusiut* present beat time furiously. As soon as the alien spirit has been removed, the dancer recovers. Still holding his hands cupped together, the extractor now proceeds to the house of the non-member and returns the latter's spirit by kneading it into the back of his neck. If this were not done, the loser would soon
[784] become mad, try to eat dirt, and die. According to another

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*575 the hair from his head. After various rites which prove that
796 the Cannibal actually possesses peculiar power, he is calmed
and songs are sung describing what he saw aloft, and the
781 dangers from which he escaped. The uninitiated shiver sym-
[787] pathetically, marvel at his valour, and anticipate with mixed
feelings the time when they too may be privileged to have
similar experiences. Or they may witness the killing of one of
their fellow-villagers by disembowelling, and his restoration to
life. They know the victim; under ordinary circumstances he
could not endure death, hence the claim that his strength is
due to the call given him by his patron is accepted as an obvious
fact. The uninitiated never suspect that they are victims of
an elaborate deception. At all times the *kukusiut* are eager to
[766] make known their own perils, and if it happens that a member
[761] of the society dies while in concealment, his corpse is buried
secretly. The explanation given is that he has succumbed to
some of the dangers to which *kukusiut* are exposed, a fiction
readily believed in view of the absence of the usual funeral
rites.

*575 Though it is common knowledge that the ability of a *kusiut*
778 to perform any extraordinary feat has its source in the per-
formance of the same feat by his supernatural patron, yet it is
787 equally well known that his specific power has been brought
424 to this earth and is located in one particular spot. An ancestor
must in some way have come in contact with the patron, and
at that time his *kusiut* name, carrying with it the prerogatives
of supernatural patronage and of dancing on this earth, was
deposited for safe-keeping in a repository, *nuskāsiutsta* (also
called *nuxu'ifsta*), by the supernatural woman *Ano'likwulxaix*.
Each repository is thought of as a cave, or hollow, beneath a
large tree, a rock, or other distinctive natural object; to obtain
his power a *kusiut* initiate must go there, actual contact with
his patron being unnecessary. Every *kusiut* prerogative has its
[776] repository and in each of these is *Ano'likwulxaix*; she is one,
yet capable of being simultaneously in many hundred spots,
corresponding to the many hundred *kusiut* prerogatives. Her

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functions are to guard the names, and to keep in touch with the patrons. Every uninitiated person believes that if he could only have the good fortune to find a repository, he would obtain the *kusiut* prerogative there localized. *Ano'likwolsaix* travels only during the ceremonial season when she is present at every *kusiut* dance in the form of a woman with a long, thin face and pointed chin (see Plate 13),[4] who "explains" the significance of the figures to the uninitiated in a peculiar high-pitched voice. She is well able to do so since as guardian of repositories she knows the prerogative of each member of the society. Frequently she mocks the uninitiated:

575* 787 424 [778] [776]

"Ha! Ha! Ha!" she jeers. "You [naming some ambitious youth], you who think yourself so smart, you nearly fell over me that time you walked up in the woods behind the village looking for grouse. If I had been a bear I could have felled you with a blow of my paw. How can you ever hope to become a *kusiut* like your father and grandfather if you are so blind."

His fellows are inclined to join in the laughter at the one singled out for *Ano'likwolsaix*'s scorn, but she flays them all in turn. "She" is, of course, a *kusiut* chosen for fluency and ability to make biting remarks. Parents tell their children that in the autumn, pleased at the sight of falling leaves, *Ano'likwolsaix* bares the roof of her house and sits shaking her fingers like a dancer.

[776]

"Go to the woods and look for her," they say. "If she sees you she will say '*tcu*' and beckon to you. Then you will become a *kusiut*."

To further this deception, *kukusiut* are accustomed to disguise themselves as *Ano'likwolsaix* and move around in the autumn forest, taking care that no uninitiated comes too near for safety. An individual may have several *kusiut* prerogatives, and if he wishes to transfer one of these to an associate, the report is circulated that the recipient has stumbled upon the repository of the donor. The latter then acts as if he were crazy, and the uninitiated are told that he is a *nuxaxem*, an

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4 [See category 116, p. 84(A) - ANALYST]
4 (Apparently Plate 1 is meant)

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*575 untranslatable word with the significance of "One who has
● 778 suffered loss through faulty concealment [of his repository]."
425 Some of these vaults are said to be dangerous to the uninitiated who avoid them and in this way the sanctity of some
[784] chiefs' meeting-places is guarded.

*575 According to Kimsquit belief, *Ano'likwelsaix* has a husband, *Almoqhaikila*, who dwells with her in every repository.
778 If an uninitiated person should chance to find a vault, he falls
776 dead before the power emanating from *Ano'likwelsaix*. Her husband then restores the dead by blowing violently on the back of the victim's neck, accompanying this with cries of *hoip*. When a person is initiated into the *kusiut* society, the uninitiated hear the songs used, in many of which are references to the experiences of the novice with this supernatural pair.

*575 Turning now to the manner in which the *kukusiut* regard their own society, it is evident that the most important duty of each member is to aid in impressing and deceiving the uninitiated. The prestige of the organization depends upon the ability of its members to inspire awe, hence any weakness in fulfilling this obligation is an anti-social act. For this purpose the society acts as a whole. Many *kukusiut* have, for example,
[424] Cannibal prerogatives, and on occasion the Cannibals, having the same functions, work together, but they do not form a separate organization of their own.[1] Many of the means employed to deceive and impress the uninitiated have already been described. Mythology records, and it appears to be a
[773] fact, that long ago the ascendancy of the *kukusiut* was often
[178] challenged by the *a'alk* and other uninitiated, but when the white man came the society had reached a position of such eminence that the powers of its members were unquestioned. Moreover, the combined strength of virtually all the seniors of the tribe was so great that an uninitiated person could not assert himself even if he was suspicious.

[688] Although members of the society exert every effort to con-

[1] The Bella Coola state that such sub-societies are found among the Kwakiutl.

[i.e. - a repository of supernatural power - ANALYST]

though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kusiut* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kusiut* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor.

575* 424 425 553 [556] [578] [426]

(2) *A Patron, emätuts.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

575* 424 776 [533] [535] [578]

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Ans'likwelsaix.* An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each.

575* 424 778

Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

[773] [781]

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this undoubtedly leads them to believe in the powers which they claim. Each *kusiut* prerogative has had one of three origins:

(a) It was brought down by the first people. Before coming to this earth each of them saw in the land above his patron, who instructed him in a type of dance, and told him where his repository on this world would be. It is assumed that the earliest men were in contact with all the supernatural beings before coming to this earth, but it is believed that each was "blind" to the patrons of his fellows, and thus had only one.

(b) It was derived from an experience with one of the supernatural beings of this world. In this case the repository was either at a spot indicated by the apparition, or at the actual scene of the vision.

(c) A powerful chief sometimes altered an ancestral to a *kusiut* name. It is believed that this occurred comparatively frequently in ancient times when chiefs had semi-supernatural power. In such cases each followed his own inclination in the choice of a patron,[4] and usually made his own repository within his house, giving strength to it by killing and burying a slave there. Although several Bella Coola informants described this, Kimsquit Indians denied that it could ever have taken place. They say that all repositories were long ago dug by *Nanudjinum*, a male supernatural being sent down by *Alqantlm* at the beginning of time to prepare the habitations of *Ano'lkwelbaix* and her husband. After doing this, he returned to the land above where he has since resided.

It will thus be seen that the prerogative of a *kusiut* is always derived from some experience of an ancestor. In carrying out the rite, the dancer feels that he is continuing the works of his forbears, a factor which increases his desire that neither error nor carelessness on his part shall dim the prestige of the society before the uninitiated. And, further, a man who has spent

[4] The Bella Coola cite such actions as proof of the amazing abilities of their ancestors.

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years in deceiving, undoubtedly begins to convince himself that he is different from lesser mortals.

575* 796

Before describing in detail initiation into the *kusiut* society, and then the ritual of various dances, it will be convenient to outline the type of ceremonial, although emphasizing the fact that each differs so much from every other that lengthy descriptions will be necessary later on. When a person has been initiated, either in the proper manner during the ceremonial season or as a "shaman" during the summer, he is known as a *lsw*, a novice, until the *kusiut* dances of the next winter. During this period he wears certain distinctive cedar-bark ornaments and is expected to keep himself somewhat apart from the uninitiated. He is always required to give his ceremonial during the first dance season after initiation; by so doing he ceases to be a novice. In later years a *kusiut* can suit himself whether or not to perform. Having once done so, he is a fully qualified member of the society, nor does he increase his rank in direct proportion to the number of his ceremonies. It is true that one who often dances hears himself praised by the marshals, and gains a certain amount of fame among his fellow *kukusiut*. But no matter how often he may perform, he cannot become a chief, with prestige spread far and wide among neighbouring tribes, nor can he increase the fame of his ancestors by adding lustre to his ancestral names. Thus the benefits are not sufficient to urge a man to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials in preference to potlatches. The society is essentially one in which a relatively poor man can display his semi-religious prerogative equally with a chief. Usually, a man performs a complicated ritual, such as that of a Cannibal dance, three or four times during his lifetime; less onerous ones in which no dramatic theme is presented may be more often given.

[301]

575* 796 556

575* 796 424

A man who proposes to give a dance must always notify one of the marshals of his village, who summons his fellows, some of the senior members of the society, and chiefs who are also *kukusiut* to discuss the intention. If it entails one of the

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*575 quarry into a converging "v" of hunters, or someone may lie
*796 down as bait to attract the Cannibal so that the other lurking
787 pursuers can secure him. No effort is spared to make the man-hunt realistic. Then they carry the captive, struggling and biting, to the canoes and set out for the village. The preliminaries are lengthened or curtailed until the tide is favourable for the navigation of the craft; about two hours is the usual time consumed. When in mid-stream, the cry, *ye* ··, is again raised; the supposed Cannibal has once more escaped! All this time X himself has been hiding in or near the village, and he now appears. Instantly the *kukusiut* left in the neighbourhood set off in pursuit, those returning on the canoes hurry their passage and join the chase. After a struggle they succeed in capturing X and bringing him to the village.

The Cannibal acts like a demoniac animal, struggling, kicking, and biting as if his adventures had entirely destroyed his reason. He drags his captors, a number of strong *kukusiut*, to the various houses, and they are barely able to restrain him within the doorways and to force him out, biting and raving at them. A skilful actor is able to impress the uninitiated to a considerable extent, and of course he is supported by his associates. When every house has been visited, X is carried back to his own and a herald summons all the *kukusiut* to cure him. The uninitiated are allowed to crowd near the door to watch.

The assumption is that X has had the nature and instincts of an animal enter into him; if this cannibalistic incubus[11] can be driven out by beating time, he will be restored to sanity. Two long, thin sounding-boards have been prepared previously,
[534] as well as a number of birch sticks with which the *kukusiut* beat time. One man stands up to lead the drummers, and the sticks rise and fall in unison with his movements, in the manner previously described. At first X prowls around the house,

[778] [11]This expression will be used henceforth as an interpretation of *si-ḥpaa*, the
[104] power in form of an animal which, having entered a man, compels him to eat strange foods.

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*796
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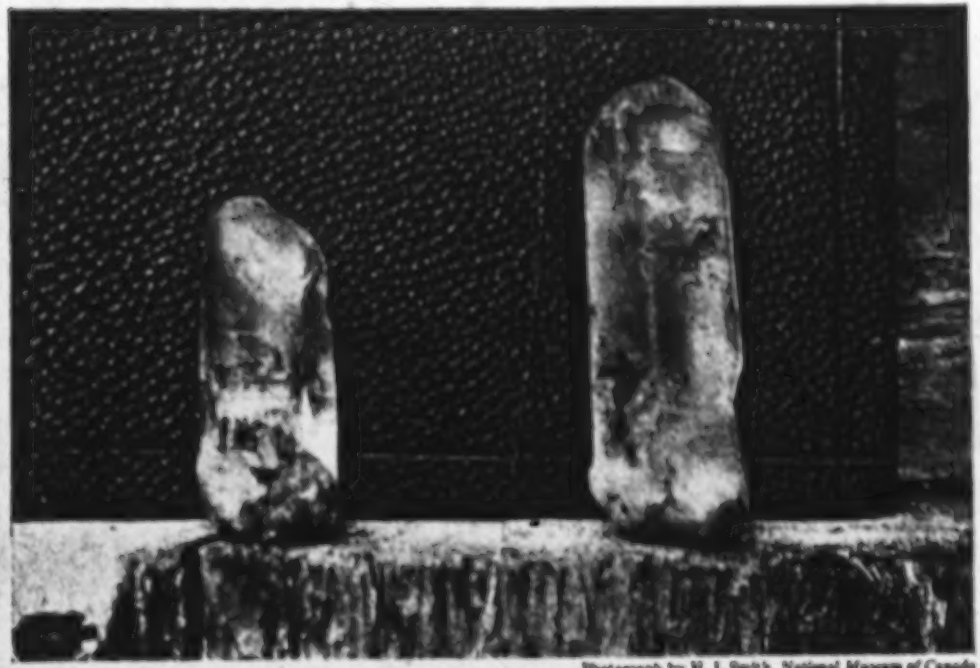
PLATE 4



Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Crystals used in initiation ceremonies

[p.84 (D)]

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*575
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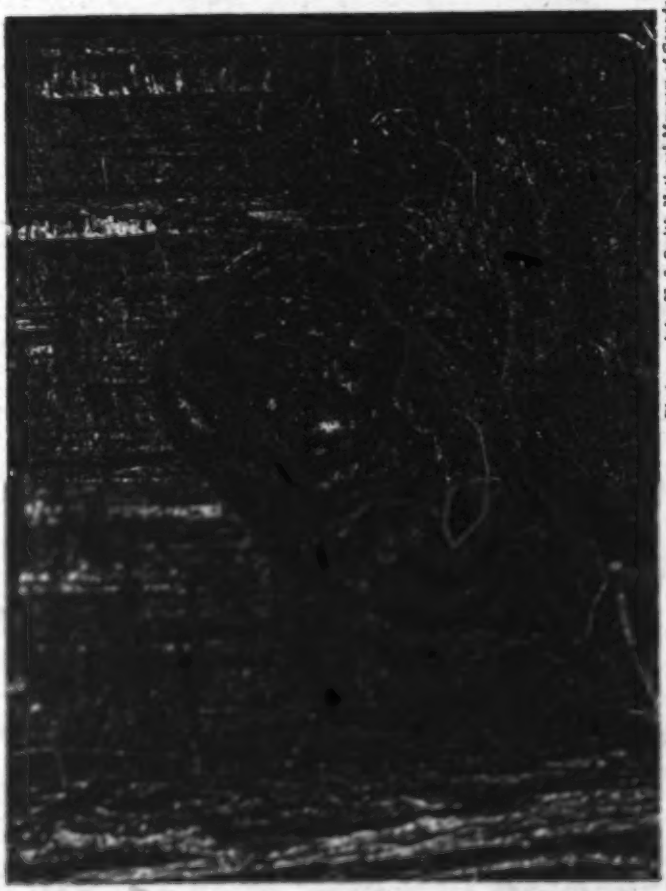
PLATE 6



Photograph by H. I. Smith *National Museum of Canada*

Repository of a dog-eating cannibal

[p. 84 (F)]

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described for Kimsquit are the lack of the cannibalistic incubus and the presence of the *sqiols*. It must be emphasized that these are differences of individual prerogative alone; many Kimsquit Cannibals perform with *sqiols*, many Bella Coola with incubus. 575* 796* 787 184

Although every effort was used to obtain not only the general principles of the rite, but also confirmation of details, it must be remembered that many of these were omitted at the performances observed, so that reliance had to be placed upon the accounts of participants. It is probable that errors of omission have been committed in consequence; these may account for some of the discrepancies, but the most potent factors are undoubtedly lack of uniformity in individual prerogatives, and failure to enforce absolute rigidity in ritual. The two accounts just given by no means illustrate all the variations possible in this dance; others will become evident in descriptions of the rites of Cannibals other than those who can bite the living. 424

The following is an account of the ritual of a Dog-eating Cannibal, *Olxän·i*, of *Sunxl*. Long, long ago one of the ancestors of this man saw a pack of wolves devouring some dogs. In some mysterious way, which even the Bella Coola do not profess to be able to understand, the power of a wolf entered the beholder so that he was impelled to eat dogs. He was then carried away to the mysterious land above where he saw and was assisted by several supernatural beings. The first *Olxän·i* was able to transmit to one of his relatives his ability to eat dogs, and the prerogative has since been carried out by his descendants. Should the holder of the name fail to tell his destined heir the details of the experiences which are to be embodied in his songs, his successor can obtain these from the singers who, of course, are familiar with the themes used on previous occasions. The repository of the name, *Olxän·i*, is beneath a huge boulder not far from some carved rocks behind the village of *Sunxl* (see Plate 6).[1] It is said that many years ago some reckless uninitiated placed poles as levers beneath 575* 796* 787 773 [424] 575* 796* [778]

[1] [see category 116; p. 84 (F) - ANALYST]

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[The Cannibal Dance]

each house in succession, borrowing filled chamber vessels. 575* Five or six men are waiting for X with these, and as he enters 796* his house, they pour urine over him. Thus restored to partial sanity, he cries out in a different tone of voice, and at once visits every house. The *kukusiut* are still with him, but need not guard him as closely since he is now less liable to frenzy. The uninitiated are greatly relieved at this removal of peril from among them. Later in the day *kukusiut* go to the different houses, asking for choice salmon-grease with which the Cannibal will later be fed. The giving of the first food to X, the later sending aloft of his call, and the restrictions which he observes for the rest of the winter do not differ from those described for other Cannibals.

Snuuq's patron is a *snuuq* of the Mountain which became [776] petrified in the beginning of time. At his repository there is a [778] spring beneath a large boulder. Uninitiated persons passing the spot are often terrified by hearing the growling of a Cannibal from beneath the stone. It is in this place that persons [757] suffering from virulent skin disease are washed by X, as described in a previous chapter.

Few particulars could be learnt of the rite as carried out by *Qolliaohmx*, though it is said to resemble the one just described [424] in every respect. The prerogative was obtained in a vision of [787] one of the Cannibal's early ancestors, who located the repository of the name beneath a large, flat stone, directly in the [778] old trail up the valley. When anyone treads on it, reverberation is heard. The writer was a spectator when the present 575* *Qolliaohmx* gave his dance in January, 1924, but the rite was 796* performed in such a perfunctory manner that little could be 178 learnt from it. The Cannibal wore two bands of dyed cedar-bark on his left forearm, under one of which was a container of red paint. Uttering his cry of *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, and looking around with a wild air, he frequently buried his face in his arm, between the bands. The red paint made a realistic representation of blood, especially as it dropped with red smudges on the floor. On this occasion, the dancer appeared

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*575 *796 424 539 him as guide. Both heard the beating, and soon saw a pack of supernatural wolves eating dog-flesh. The men were able to steal away without being observed and *Hai·alakila* told *Ḡālsmus* to say nothing about what they had seen. A little later he gave a dance in which he wore a wolf's mask and pretended to eat dog-flesh. His neighbours, ignorant of the vision by which this dance had been inspired, were tremendously impressed.

Another exploit of *Hai·alakila* and *Ḡālsmus* may here be recorded, although it is unconnected with the Cannibal dance.

One night when they were spearing fish, a forest suddenly arose before them. *Ḡālsmus*, startled and terrified, began to cry, but *Hai·alakila* quieted him.

"I am master here," he said. "We are in this adventure together and your task is to keep quiet."

Then a house appeared before them from the depths of the ocean. It was really a *sḡāmtik*, with its ferocious mouth as doorway, and though *Hai·alakila* naturally feared to enter, he climbed to the roof, so that he could gaze within through what corresponded to a smoke-vent. The house was filled with valuables of all kinds, guarded only by gulls. *Hai·alakila* reached inside with his pole, hooked forth one object after another and swung each across to his slave on the mainland to hide in a tree. Unfortunately, a canoe happened to draw near, whereupon the house slowly sank back into the depths.

*575 ●778 551 Mention might here be made of a *Stuux* repository, said to be unique in Bella Coola, that contains five Cannibal names. It is in the form of a human being with a tail, kneeling and bent forward so that hands and head touch the ground. A repository is at each point of contact. The names are:

Ḡitlia, the head of the creature; *Ānuximān·a*, the left hand; *Sinuximātl*, the right hand; *Ālximān·a*, the left foot; *Xuximān·a*, the right foot; *Ālquntām*, the tail.

In this repository there lives a *mātsqus* with a copper lining to its mouth.

*575 *796 424 539 It will be seen that these myths help but little to explain the *kusiut* society, or even the origin of the Cannibal dances; they appear to be only rationalizations attempting to account for established customs. For this reason they have been inserted after a description of the Cannibal dance.

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elaborate myths dealing with the origin of the *kusiotem* dances. They believe that they are performed by the supernatural beings in the land above, and that long, long ago *Alqunäm* and his associates held a meeting at which it was decided to send them down to mortals. They chose as recipient a certain *Onixwaltcua* of Kimsquit, and the prerogative of giving *kusiotem* dances has since been possessed by the owner of that name.[44] The following accounts are of the dances performed by a certain *Onixwaltcua* whom it will be convenient to call X. He has six repositories, one for each section of his dance.

As with all other *kusiut* prerogatives, the impetus to dance can come only on receipt of a call from a supernatural patron, the being *Kulslkäkmidjut* in the case of all *kusiotem* dancers. The uninitiated are told that a call "falls" on the recipient, and moreover that for *kusiotem* dances it can take place only when the supernatural beings are rushing out of the house above on the entry of the sun at the winter solstice. Thus *kusiotem* dances should take place after the winter solstice, although this requirement has not been enforced in recent years.

The Stomach-Cutting Dance

In the early summer X decides to exercise his prerogative the following winter. He informs one of the marshals of his wish, and the latter summons his associates to the secret meeting-place where the matter is debated at length. Danger of exposure of details to the uninitiated is so great that the marshals refuse permission for the performance unless the would-be dancer is a man of proved reliability. Once this consent has been obtained, X quietly proceeds with his preparations, laying in supplies of food and asking his *kusiut* friends for their assistance. When the dances begin, X attends as do all other *kukusiut*, though his secret mental excitement increases as the time draws near for him to perform. The exact time of starting is discussed with the marshals, and a prelimi-

[44] There are other *kusiotem* dancers in Bella Coola.

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beating of sticks. The plating over his stomach is not apparent 575*
in the dim light, especially as much of it is hidden by his collar 796*
of dyed cedar-bark and a broad dance-apron. Sometimes the disguise is improved by fastening the skin of a dog, mountain goat, or deer, over the outer surface. X takes up his position, standing, behind the fire. One of the heralds inserts tongs into the flames and draws forth a stone, taking care that the uninitiated can see that it is red hot. X pretends to swallow this, though actually it drops inside his collar to the receptacle between the plates of copper. The clashing can often be heard as it strikes against the metal, and smoke pours forth from the "navel." X groans and jabbers, *i*....., while he shakes his fingers violently. After about five minutes the stone is seen to fall to the floor. Sometimes a number of pebbles are used, though one is often considered sufficient. When the last has fallen, non-members are expelled and the *kukusiut* eat and listen to the admonitions of the marshals.

As with other *kusiotem* rites, the ritual of this dance is continued for four more days. Masks are prepared and on the fourth evening the uninitiated are summoned. A masked figure, wearing a copper stomach, appears and swallows a stone which later falls out through the navel. This is done four times, while *Ano'likwolsaix* explains that the guest from above is repeating his actions at home. Following this performance, a procession of supernatural beings appears, in the manner already described.

Although X is not killed by this dance, as are other *kusiotem* dancers, he is required to undergo the same restrictions.

THE FUNGUS DANCE

Another of the more important *kusiut* ceremonials is the [424]
Fungus dance, now the prerogative of a woman, *Snunkka'ks*.
The name was formerly held by her brother, who had inherited
it from his mother's brother. The first *Snunkka'ks* came to
earth in the beginning of time at *Stuux* and made his repository [778]

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[The Dance of Winwina]

foes. Each of the crew captured a different kind of salmon which, in the myth, are referred to by their supernatural names. 773

The Bald Eagle captured the spring salmon, *Ottoldimut*, "The One that Changes Itself," a reference to the two forms in which this fish appears before and after spawning. 824 825

The Hawk captured the sockeye salmon, *Nunutkentum*, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers." 539

The Raven captured the hump-back salmon, *Ănukpumaix*, "The One that Fills the Rivers."

The Water Ouzel captured the dog salmon, *Sgaistwa*, "The Maker of Good Weather," a reference to the calm weather in August when this fish spawns.

The Great Blue Heron captured the cohoe salmon, *Kpapstustusailaix*, "The One that Makes Us Fat."

The Cormorant captured a variety of dog salmon, *Osipax*, for the Bella Bella.

The Hermaphrodite was also successful and filled the enormous basket which he had brought for the purpose with a large number of berry captives.

As soon as the raiders had achieved their purpose they returned to Bella Coola and released their booty; since that time there has been an abundance of salmon in the river and of berries on the hills. The Cormorant left the canoe at Bella Bella and released the dog salmon there; that is why this variety of fish has since been plentiful at Bella Bella.

Several Bella Coola *kukusiut* have a dance prerogative of which the above is origin myth. The details vary slightly, and some informants stated frankly that they had forgotten the names of the bird crew. The reasons given for the use of *Winwina* as patron likewise vary. According to one account, in the beginning of time *Ălquntăm* placed the name *Nunuskumai* in a repository near the summit of the lofty Mount *Qo*, near *Stuix*. He had two reasons for so doing: he did not wish it to be defiled by passersby brushing dust into it with their feet, and he wished the owner of the name to be the first to see the return of *Winwina*. The repository is a small pond, which can move from place to place, but, being itself supernatural, is visible only to those who have purified themselves. Since that time whoever has had the name *Nunuskumai* has had the *kusiut* prerogative of seeing *Winwina*. 424 773 778 [776]

[The Dance of Winwina].

424 Another *kusiut* derived the prerogative of having *Winwina*
773 as patron from a myth previously cited (II, p. 43). After
776 Raven had seen *Noäkxnim* and obtained him for *Ällilmnälosaix*, he flew down the fiord once more, observed *Winwina*, and made him patron for *Omqomkilka*.

*575 The ritual of the dance of *Winwina* does not vary, irre-
*796 spective of its origin; accordingly one account will suffice and the performer can be referred to as X.

[778] This dance occurs also at Kimsquit where the repository
[424] is actually in the ocean a few yards from shore.

[184] *Winwina* is supposed to return to Bella Coola when the January moon is full;[87] accordingly X consults the marshals and makes his preparations slightly before that date. Four days before the full moon, the uninitiated are excluded from the house and a raised enclosure is built between the fire and the back-room. This rite differs from most *kusiut* dances in that the call does not come at this time. Irrespective of whether or not the *kukusiut* happen to be present on the evening of this day, X mounts to the enclosure and sits there, looking westward for the return of *Winwina*. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. X wears a collar of dyed cedar-bark and a head-dress of eagle tail
[292] feathers, but his face is not blackened.

For three nights and three days X remains in the enclosure, gazing to the west, and meanwhile no uninitiated dare even to pass outside of his house. As the fourth night is falling, messengers summon the *kukusiut* who enter and sit in silence as if waiting for something; the heralds inform non-members that X's vigil will soon be over. After an interval they are likewise called in, and eagerly take their places near the door, where they receive a share of the food being served. Suddenly X jumps down from the enclosure and cries out loudly:

"The supernatural young man has left his child with strangers while he has been on a journey. Now he is returning,

[805] [87]Owing to faulty calendrical observations the exact date is seldom found.

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[The Moon Dance]

*575 *796 821 [532] No detailed description is needed for the ceremonial on either *nusintälsap* or *qothm*. On the evening of the former day the masks are ordered; one for *Asiutänem*, who appears to be confused with the Moon itself, one for each *Aiqwaiust*, one for each *Snitsmän·a*, and one for *Ano'likwolsaix*.

Late in the afternoon the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to see that everything is in good shape. A large mat has been spread across the back wall of the house and on it a disk representing the Moon, with a human face in the middle. After the usual discussion the uninitiated are called in. Each *Snitsmän·a* remains standing alone in the two back corners of the house, while the two *Aiqwaiust* are in the central space behind the fire, constantly waving their arms to and fro. Suddenly the Moon itself appears against the matting. A carpenter, concealed behind the screen, directs its course so that it moves in a short arc across the background and disappears; *Ano'likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is the track of the new Moon, low down on the horizon. A second time it "rises," and moves across in a longer and higher curve, which *Ano'likwolsaix* says is the longer orbit of the waxing Moon. On its third course it is still higher, and on its fourth appearance it moves across the full width of the house near the roof, which *Ano'likwolsaix* describes as the course of the full Moon, far above the mountains. She also explains that we are indebted to *Snitsmän·a* for cleaning the Moon's face after the *Aiqwaiust* have blackened it, as otherwise no light would be visible. This ends the spectacle; the uninitiated are sent away, and the ceremonial concludes in the manner already described.

This constitutes the Moon dance as practised during the ceremonial season, but in addition X is required to dance whenever his patron is hidden by an eclipse. On such occasions the ritual is identical with that described for an eclipse of the Sun.

*575 *796 539 424 ●778 551

THE DANCE OF THE MURDERED SLAVE

One of the chieftains who came to earth in the beginning of time was *Alinmotusais*, whose wealth was so great that he was able to invite his associates from far and near to potlatches, and thus acquire many *nuseä*

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names for his only son. Becoming surfeited with this form of greatness, he decided to initiate a *kuxiut* ceremonial for his child. At that time chiefs were so powerful that they could create their own repositories, and *Alixmotuxeix* resolved to make his son's in his own house. To give strength to it, he dug a hole and buried alive in it a female slave with her small infant. The unfortunate woman was a member of the tribe known to the Bella Coola as *Tsaxhl*, probably a branch of the Haida; like all other northern tribeswomen she wore in her lower lip a plug of abalone-shell. *Alixmotuxeix* also buried in the hole a large number of the wasps which abounded in his house. The uninitiated were told that the woman had chanced to stumble upon a repository and had become *kelals*, "rendered incapable of returning"; from this circumstance she was henceforth known as *Anukelalslaix*. The *kukuxiut* also informed non-members that the woman had been made immortal, and was forever to remain as a slave in the repository. *Alixmotuxeix* chose the name *Xepâtus*, "Sharp-Nosed," for his son, a reference to the sharp beaks of the numerous ravens shown on every object in his house. This designation has since been transmitted in the usual manner; every owner has had the right to perform a dance with the buried woman as patron.

575* 796*

In describing the ritual it will be convenient to refer to *Xepâtus* as X.

When X wishes to dance he obtains permission from the marshals and makes his preliminary plans in the customary way. A suitable date for the coming of the call is chosen, and, on the night preceding, the weeping of *Anukelalslaix* is heard in the forest behind the village. The weeper is one of X's associates, but no uninitiated would be reckless enough to venture near. She moves down the valley, as if coming from the repository near the village of *Sinx*. The next evening X receives his call and the uninitiated are expelled from his house. The dancer blackens his face, puts on a ceremonial collar, and goes out alone to find the slave woman; presently he returns, leading *Anukelalslaix* by the hand. She is disguised as an old, old woman, clad in rags and carrying on her back a bundle made to represent a small infant; over her face is a mask with a plug of abalone-shell in the lower lip (see Plate 12).* She slowly circles the fire, weeping bitterly, while the *kukuxiut*

[532]

* [See category 116, p 164 (F)- ANALYST]

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[The Dance of the Otter]

*575 below a rapids. Care is taken that the uninitiated do not ob-
*796 serve these arrangements. About noon on *nabusam* the heralds go to every house with a cry:

"Come to watch the *kusiut* catch the supernatural one in the river."

The uninitiated are wise enough to remain within their houses as the *kukusiut* troop down to the bank of the river. Presently X appears, clad in the usual ceremonial costume. In he dives, as if in pursuit of the dark shape which can be seen swirling to and fro in the water. Non-members, watching from the background, are amazed to see what appears to be a struggle, followed by the emergence of X clutching an otter in his arms. They are too far away to perceive that it is merely a dummy, nor do they know that a *kusiut* has assisted the performer by cutting the rope at the proper time. As X reaches shore with his burden the *kukusiut* women drone. Forcing his way through the throng of his associates, the performer goes to his house where the uninitiated presently hear the frenzied beating of sticks repeated four times. The dummy is carefully concealed in the back-room so that it can be used if necessary on a later occasion.

As X comes ashore, water is splashed in all directions from
[556] the dummy and often dampens several of the *kukusiut*. Anyone to whom this happens is expected to give his clothes to a herald, and a man of chief-like disposition never hesitates to do so; in fact, he welcomes this opportunity of displaying his generous nature.

It is probable that a number of masked figures appear on the evening of *nabusam*, but detailed information is lacking. It might be added that a question as to whether the catching of this otter had any influence on the ability of X as an otter hunter was regarded by the informant as highly humorous.

THE OCTOPUS DANCE

*575
*796 In the beginning of time *Sinaxti* of Kimsquit married a
424 Bella Bella woman who brought as part of her dowry a *kusiut*
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dance with Octopus as patron. This was first used by *Łałqwan-i*, a relative of *Sinuqutl*, and has since been the prerogative of the owner of the name, whom it will be convenient to term X. Being of foreign origin, there is no repository at Kimsquit; in fact, there is none even in Bella Bella itself where the *kusiut* society is believed to lack both localized power and ancestral authority.[11] The Octopus dance is thus the only one without a repository; as far as could be learnt it is not performed in Bella Coola. In Bella Bella the original rite was connected both with the *nsaok* and *kusiut* organizations, but in Kimsquit with the latter alone.

When X wishes to dance, which may be at any time during the ceremonial season, he consults the marshals and picks a suitable date. As this draws near, the carpenters are requested to make an octopus, sometimes using a real skin as basis. On the day that the call comes, the dummy is placed in the water of the fiord, close to shore. Suddenly the heralds raise the cry that a supernatural being is coming to X; the startled uninitiated flee from his house and the *kukusiut* assemble. Presently the dancer rushes forth, followed by a band of his fellows, and plunges into the water. Fom a distance nonmembers can see arms and legs flying to and fro, blood flows as the *kukusiut* struggling in the shallows strike each other's noses, and they have no hesitation in believing the heralds who report that a fight is taking place with a writhing octopus. X at last bears his booty ashore, amid the droning of the women.

That night the uninitiated are called to X's house where the dummy octopus, guarded by the dancer and several other *kukusiut*, is placed behind the fire. Hidden strings have been fastened to its arms so that it moves and seems to be alive. One of the singers takes a baton and beats time, stops, and all the *kukusiut* call out *i*····. This is repeated four times, accompanied, on the last repetition, by the return of the octopus whence it came. This is done by palming the body from sight, but of course the uninitiated do not know this. A

[11] This is, of course, a Bella Coola version.

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[The Octopus Dance]

*575 Cannibal begins to growl and soon the *kukusiut* are left alone
*796 in the house. The singers beat out a new song for X and the ritual continues like that of any other *lsxtämem*. No description is needed for the ceremonial that occurs on *nusiutälsap* and *qothm*.

On the evening of *nebusam* the uninitiated are summoned in due course. The exact number of masked figures shown could not be learnt, but among them is always an octopus.
[532] The rite concludes in the usual manner.

The presents given in connection with the Octopus dance
[431] are more valuable than those bestowed at most *kusiut* rituals, accordingly none but wealthy people are able to carry it out.
[556] The heralds especially are always beneficiaries.

THE DANCE OF THE DARK-SHADE

*575 One of the most peculiar and irregular of *kusiut* dances is
*796 that performed by a certain *Kälqam*, whom it will be convenient to call X. His patron is the supernatural woman *Stcqwastlustkwi*, Dark-Shade, whose home is beneath the thick ever-
424 [776] greens of the river valleys, thus explaining the darkness and shadows found in such places. X's repository is beneath some
[778] large cedars near the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, a few hundred yards above the end of the fiord; it is probable that other dancers with the same patron have repositories in other dark and gloomy spots.

When X wishes to dance he must as usual obtain consent from the marshals who insist that he delay his performance until after the solstice at earliest. The reason is because his
[776] patron, Dark-Shade, alone of all supernatural beings, has the power to open every repository; X brings her to the village and
[787] in consequence calls come to many *kukusiut*,[166] which would be undesirable during the first few weeks of the season. On
*575 the evening of the day selected for the beginning of the dance,
*796 X steals away from the village with three or four *kukusiut*,

[166] The implication in this case is that calls come from repositories, not from the land above, the customary source.

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* 575 source of awe to the uninitiated, who marvel that a man can
* 796 still appear like an ordinary mortal when he has just brought a supernatural visitor home. According to one informant who, however, is not well posted on *kusiut* matters, there is neither *qothm* nor *nebusam*, and Dark-Shade is merely sent away after four days. This may be the case, but the dance has not been carried out for many years, and the man frankly admitted that he did not know the details. It seems more likely that there
[533] is some kind of ceremony, since a song would not be composed unless for a definite purpose.

* 575 The coming of Dark-Shade complicates the *kusiut* cere-
* 796 monial since a number of dancers receive their calls simul-
787 taneously. In this case the ritual is carried out in unison
424 which requires, for example, the composition of one song for each performer on *lsuxtämem*. Calls never come in this way to dancers with important or complicated prerogatives, but it is a useful means of dealing with those whose right is merely to sing of their patrons. On *nebusam* the patrons of all are displayed, a method which has the advantage of producing a dramatic effect which would be lacking if only one were in evidence. The coming of a call by means of Dark-Shade is called *twilmdimut*, "Emerging from Below to Plain Sight." Another time when several calls may come simultaneously to different *kukusiut* is at the winter solstice when, on the entry of *Ałquntäm*, the supernatural beings rush forth and some of them fall, causing calls to come to their human protégés.

THE DANCE OF THE STONE MAN

* 575 *Yuyuhmgl*, the man who was petrified with his Ootsa Lake
* 796 wife and four children at the beginning of time, is patron for a
[776] Kimsquit *kusiut* man named *Kwasta*. His repository is just
424 above high-water mark on the east side of Dean Channel, about
551 five miles from its head, and about one hundred and fifty feet
[778] north of the legal fishing boundary. This is almost imme-
diately opposite *Yuyuhmgl*'s station. The repository is beneath the ground, and its doorway is a beaver which became

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[The Dance of the Stone Man]

575*
796*

petrified and which can still be seen, with its head facing the water. [778]

The preliminaries of *Kwasta*'s dance do not differ from those already described, although it is uncertain whence comes the actual call. A large number of masks are constructed, as well as a huge wooden figure of the Stone Man himself, and [532] smaller ones of his wife and four children. When the uninitiated are called in on the night of *nebusam* they see the Stone Man and his family standing behind the fire, while the body of the house is filled with a number of masked figures. The latter keep shouting to the Stone Man and he answers them, as he does mortals who pass his station on Dean Channel. The marshals always arrange that he does not reply to one of the masked figures, whereupon the others gibe at this unfortunate and tell him that he will die within a year. It is common [763] knowledge that if the Stone Man does not answer the hail of a passer-by, the latter will soon die. The uninitiated are impressed to find that supernatural beings share this belief.

THE FIRE DANCE

This dance is the prerogative of a *kusiut* named *Wai·s*, [424] "Cohoe Salmon." Its origin is attributed to the experience of [551] an ancestor of the dancer who was helped by, and received his name from, one of these fish. Only a fragment of the ritual could be learnt, enough to show that it has many points of resemblance with *kusiotem* rites. When *Wai·s* performs, the central fire is raked apart and he appears to lie down on the ashes between the two flaming sections; evergreen boughs and sand are thrown over him, and the fire drawn together over his body. After an hour or more, when the uninitiated imagine he must be baked, his singing is heard, and *Wai·s* walks in through the front door. Deception is practised probably by means of a dummy fastened with deer tendons which contract with the heat so that it seems as if the body itself were writhing. It is said that the first *Wai·s* was actually able to perform this feat by means of the power given him by the salmon,

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Whirlwind usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits this earth. He is patron for a *kusiut* who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary. 575* 796* 776 [821] [532]

THE DANCE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the grasp of *Sninia*. This being is patron for certain *kukusiut* and whenever a tremor occurs, his protégés call their associates and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is identical with that described for dancers whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The theme of the song is of the manner in which *Sninia* performs his function of holding the world. A call from *Sninia* may also come in the normal manner to one of his protégés during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, *Sninia* is patron to a *kusiut* named *Ällibaläxlaix*. [823] [533] [551]

THE DANCE OF TIDE-MEASURER

The height to which the tides shall rise is decided by a male supernatural being, *Mintlato·snum*, "Tide-Measurer." He is patron of a *kusiut* named *Ṫsäl*, whose repository is near *Sätlia*. One of *Ṫsäl*'s ancestors brought the rite with him from above in the beginning of time. The songs used at the dance describe how Tide-Measurer uses a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of *nebusam* the uninitiated are told to go to their houses but, by peering round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the ocean, and thrust down to the bottom a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day. [823] [551] [778] [533]

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BULL-HEAD

Since any supernatural being can act as patron to *kusiut* dancers, and since all mammals and birds are, in a sense, super- [825]

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[The Dance of Dawn]

* 575 what they do. With them comes the being *Onstcitoma*, "The
* 796 Sleeper," wearing a mask to represent a drowsy man who con-
776 stantly yawns and rubs his eyes. It is explained that this
[532] being delights in sleep and does not care if the sun never rises.

THE DANCE OF THE GREEDY ONE

Nusixilxixaikum, also called *Tutwai·os*, is a greedy creature who spends his time going from one supernatural being to another in the land above, always begging for food. He is patron for several *kukusiut* and on the *nebusam* of one of his
[532] protégés a masked figure representing the Greedy One visits every house in the village asking for food. The uninitiated retreat to the bed-rooms, but the *kukusiut* comply with his
[431] request. In consequence the dancer's house is filled with food which is given away to the *kukusiut* guests.

THE DANCE OF THE REPOSITORY MAKER

[778] Some repositories were constructed in the beginning of time by the supernatural being, *Nunudjixnum*, who is patron for
[532] several *kukusiut*. On the *nebusam* of one of his protégés a figure, masked to represent a male being, appears and *Ano°lik-wolsaix* explains that this is the maker of repositories. It is
[184] uncertain whether this being is found in Bella Coola or only in Kimsquit.

THE DANCE OF *Ałquntäm*'S SLAVE

In the land above there lives a slave of *Ałquntäm* who spends his time providing fuel for the fires in *Nusqulxwaista*. He is patron for a Bella Coola *kusiut*, though the details of his dance were not obtained.

THE DANCE OF *Ałquntäm*'S HERALD

Oqolikts Ałquntäm is patron for several *kukusiut*. During the *nebusam* of one of his protégés a masked figure representing him visits every house in the village, bidding the *kukusiut*

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 424 575* 796* 539 [778]

you choose. You will be more powerful than any of your brothers and it will be you who will retaliate on the murderers of your parents, because you will be a shaman."

The man, a supernatural being, of course, told the six that their repository would be the blue pool on the shores of which they had met him; it was oval in shape, about twenty-five feet long and twenty wide. He added that its name was *Nuqwxulioqlsän·i*. Having given his instructions, the strange visitor vanished.

The six orphans returned in a somewhat bewildered condition to *Stuix*. They went into the house where they were staying and *ixwal·a*, who was about eight years old, disturbed a cross old woman with his harmless play. In unreasonable anger she spanked him severely, and his older brothers told their sister to try her newly acquired power. She passed behind the old woman; by so doing she attracted to herself the latter's spirit without making even the motion of taking anything, and without the victim being aware of her loss. *Qwaixosän·i* stuck the supernatural element on a stick, as one spits a potato, and threw it on the heap of excrement piled up behind the house. Presently, when the woman wished to use the convenience, she took a stick with the intention of breaking it for sanitary use. She went to the platform for the purpose but it broke beneath her and she fell; the stick she was carrying pierced her heart and she died. The accident was, of course, due to the loss of her spirit. The five brothers were delighted with the realization that their sister was really as powerful as the supernatural one had said she would be.

The boys next told their sister to slay the principal chief, who had instructed a sorcerer to kill their parents. *Qwaixosän·i* went behind him and attracted his spirit to herself; she broke it between her hands and presently the owner fell dead. Though secretly delighted, the brothers thought it wise to appear grieved, and accordingly sent *ixwal·a* to weep. As he was doing so, a kindly old woman patted him on the head, saying:

"Don't distress yourself, little boy. It is the man who killed your parents who is now himself dead."

But she had no idea that it was one of the orphans who had caused his death. Within a few days *Qwaixosän·i* captured and destroyed the spirits of two other chiefs who had had a part in the slaying of her parents; in each case the man died within a few hours of his loss. These four deaths so worried the people of *Stuix* that all the chiefs determined to leave, since the malady, whatever it was, seemed to kill only those of importance. They took down the cedar boards forming the walls of the houses, piled them on canoes and made ready for departure, taking no heed for the poor people, including the six orphans, who were left shelterless.

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424 mortal watched until the unfortunate *Nunulcuxnam* had almost vanished
*575 from sight. Then a sound betrayed her to *Änoºlikwolsaix*.
*796 "If you are a mortal," she said, "come in."
539 The woman did so, and *Änoºlikwolsaix* continued:

"I am *Änoºlikwolsaix*. You have found me, hence I give you a *kusiut* dance prerogative. You will have *Nunulcuxnam* as patron."

The woman returned to her home, where she performed a *kusiut* rite in which she portrayed the sinking of *Nunulcuxnam* into the earth.

ORIGIN MYTH OF A PECULIAR REPOSITORY

In the beginning of time there came down to *Xmaxots*, a point a little distance below Mount *Nusqalst*, a woman whose name was *Spuxpuxhailaix*. *Älquntäm* had given her a *kusiut* prerogative with a peculiar
[778] repository in four parts, as if two were in either hand. Their names were *Sxelxädjutän·a*, *Sxa·ltutsmän·a*, *Siutan·i*, and *Samsiutän·i*. When she
[532] danced she wore a wooden head-dress representing Woodpecker, and the masks used (her patrons?) were the sun when it is red, and an eagle. This dance has since been carried out from generation to generation by the owners of the name *Spuxpuxhailaix*.

Kusiut Prerogatives Other Than Dances

424 The most valuable possession of a *kusiut* is the dance which
*575 he has the right to perform, but each member of the society has,
*796 in addition, a somewhat peculiar object, sometimes material and sometimes intangible, known as a *skusiut* or *yeaxmax*. The meaning of these two terms will become evident in the description of their uses, meanwhile they can be termed "prerogatives." With every call, this possession of the dancer's comes
[787] automatically to him, though it can also be attracted to him by other means and without a call. There is no connection between the patron and the prerogative; for example, one *kusiut* who has one of the sons of *Älquntäm* as the former has, as the latter, the Hummingbird. Another may have Fog, Sleep, a Snake, or one of many other objects, animate or inanimate. The "patron-puppets" described in *kusiotem* rites belong to this class.

In almost every case the origin is lost in antiquity, and the owner knows only that it belongs with his dance.

CHAPTER III

WARFARE[1]

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

721 PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was con-
648 siderable warfare among the coastal tribes of British Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermination of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks. These were never as continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless,
[796] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were
[556] even received as guests at some dances. At potlatches they might be subjected to insult, later to be avenged in the same manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and
726 friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who
825 bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests them-
778 selves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever
[486] another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter
[578] to veer over to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was
[627] considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads.
721 In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was
[575] at all common. Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were
[622] not entirely forgotten; no *kusiut* novice went to war and

[1]Warfare having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

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Ănudakănuts: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
ănukăldimut, "This Is to Make Straight Your Road": Said when a call is returned, or food thrown upon a fire for the dead.
Ănukoo·lst, "Place of Big Stones in the River": Village at Kwatna.
Ănukululsiaix: Woman immolated in a repository and hence become supernatural.
ănukiilk's: Rainbow-coloured nose-ring worn by Death.
Ănukiqaksaix: Supernatural name of Hawk. [825]
ănukitnk': Short cord by which the fungus is held during the *kănăn·i* dance.
Ănukkălnam: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ănukpamaix, "The One that Fills the Rivers": Supernatural name of hump-back salmon.
ănukest: Nose-ring. [301]
ănuhnănk: Mourning song composed for a chief and, apparently, the singing of one. [533]
Ănulxwam: Place on the north-west side of Dean Channel, about nine miles from its head, where curative power is petrified. [778]
Ănumnisknm: Supernatural beings who remind the supreme god of his *kusiut* duties.
Ănunitsektnm: Supernatural being who restores those killed by the receipt of too much power from *Ťlitcăplităn·a*.
ănunuqun: Meeting of chiefs, *archaic*.
ănuonai: Person who catches early olachen in a hand-net. [226]
ănupospam: Buoyant stones such as are found in a lake near the headwaters of the Bella Coola. [823]
Ănuputsadilk: Supernatural being who regulates the height of tides in rivers.
ănuḑpatlnam: To await, especially a supernatural being.
Ănuḑpamlaix: Son of the first settlers at *Sătlia*.
Ănuḑpilaix, "What Fills People": Name created by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time with reference to his stores of salmon.
ănuqunusam: Silent waiting in darkness before a *kusiotem* dance.
Ănuḑuntnikmm: Supernatural being who gives inspiration.
Ănusaikaiutslaix: 1—Supernatural name of *sisiutl*.
2—Method of killing practised by *sisiutl*.
Ănusaiksaixsăix·ăls: Name of a Bella Coola shaman.
Ănu·shuxăthnm: Name of a Kimsquit woman.
ănunka'ălxăkms: The rare prerogative of changing from *kusiut* to *sisook* rites on alternate nights. [424]
Ănuskiekmm, "The Saviour": One of *Ťlitcăplităn·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Ănuskumathm: One of the first men to settle at *Tăl·io* in the beginning of time.
ănuskămnuy: Peculiar cry uttered by a *kusiut* scratcher.
Ănuspunm·aix: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Ănusy: Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.
ănuspaixetsaix, "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts: Identical with *sxlaxink*, q.v. [198]
Ănuzyaix: One of the first women to settle at *Sĭskiutl* in the beginning of time.
Ănuterklămdimut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
ănutsu: 1—Excavated house furnished with stepped platforms for guests.
2—Village at Kwatna. [342]

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Nukāpunkam: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

Nukātco: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.

nuqaxem: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a *kusiut* who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an uninitiated person.

nukolomskī: Grease extracted from sockeye salmon heads.

[825] *Nukiadji:* Ancestral name of a *Stuax* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.

[778] *nukila·xta:* 1—Spider.
2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where cures are effected; the power is derived from a spider petrified there.

Nukiis, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nukokwixodjax, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[552] *Nuliqwmutl di'mnk',* "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.

Nulālsumnam: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Noākxmm's* departure to warn *kukusiut* to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.

[356] 2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.

Nulalulaks, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[431] *nulexum:* Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.

Nuliliqolānk, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.

Nulixwemankta: One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.

nulumkmānkdās: Fastenings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.

Nulkitl: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.

nulkmākdas: Bonds used to fasten a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nulumkmānkdās.*

[428] *nulmāxtmax:* Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.

nulostunik·osta, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *sisook* head-dress.

nulq: Landslide, such as is caused by *Twalālit* or *sisiutl.*

Nulqānlaix: Name given to their sister by the first settlers at *Nutsqwalt* in the beginning of time.

nulqunta, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a poultice which is thrown away after serving its purpose.

nulqwtātas: House-posts nearest to front door.

nultunikta: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[426] *nulismānmtmm,* "Belt Goods": Goods borrowed during a potlatch by a donor who finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to fasten up his clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.

[556] *nulxodjim:* Cry uttered by a *sisook* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *sisook* novices.

[342] *nulxisqailaix:* The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *sisook* novice.

nulxwālkāls: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.

numālkāls: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.

Numām·us, "Place of Flies": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

APPENDIX D

qexta, "Bed Covering": Term applied to the presents given as such to the party of a bridegroom when they enter the bride's house on a wedding day. [585]

ḳpämdjut, "A Shaking of the Fingers": Rhetorical allusion to presents regarded as "Dust." [431]

ḳpänliktmm: To revolve sunwise. [195]

Ḳpänpänliktmmlaix, "The One Who Revolves Sunwise to Give Strength": One of *Tlitcäplilän·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Ḳpaḳlxs: Place of petrified power near Kwatna. [778]

Ḳsxwan: Village on the Skeena River.

ḳtaisetl: Supernatural creature resembling a diminutive human being. [825]

ḳubetl: Salmon liver.

ḳuks: Co-wife in a polygynous household. [595]

ḳuluas, *vocative*, *ḳuluais:* Wife's brother, or sister's husband, man speaking.

ḳulxwaix: Gathering of the supernatural beings for the performance of dances in the land above. [601]

ḳuma: Unidentified salt water fish, said to be called "Lard-fish" by white men. [825]

Ḳunqwmm ul di dä Sxem, "The Unlooser of Light": One of Raven's names as chief.

ḳupstäxm: 1—The ability of a chief to sit down ceremonially in virtue of the goods distributed for his seat, the ground over which he walks, and other requirements.
2—The initial establishment of a youth as chief.

ḳuputsälets: Stone axe.

ḳus: Period of engagement. [412]

Ḳwahila: Ḳomqo·ts man.

Ḳwai·lils: 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Ḳwaiutsamlaix: Stuax man mentioned in an ancient story.

Ḳwaixosän·i: Shaman's name of a *Stuax* woman.

Ḳwaixwos, "Begrimed": Name of a copper often cast into fire.

ḳwaläs: Unidentified (and probably mythical) type of lizard, allegedly about four feet long, found near Dean Channel. [825]

ḳwalm, *vocative*, *ḳwaläm*; *plural*, *äl̓ḳwaläm:* Eldest brother or sister. [601]

Ḳwa'lems: Name, in the Bella Bella language, given to a wooden woman made by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

ḳwalik: Gull. [825]

ḳwal'ma'hs, "Eldest": Term of respectful address to Porcupine as senior of all animals.

Ḳwalxwalolim, "The Mover": Name given to their house by one of the first groups of settlers at *Täl·io* in the beginning of time.

Ḳwalna: Term from which the Anglicized "Kwatna" is derived: Generic name for the villages at Kwatna Harbour, Burke Channel. [103]*

Ḳwamaxa'hs: Chief living on the upper *Tcawat* in the beginning of time.

ḳwanä·xsta: Large box used for boiling olachen. [415]

Ḳwapx: Village south-west of the head of South Bentinck Arm.

Ḳwaqmai: Place on Schooner Pass.

Ḳwaqwasila: Susook name of a Bella Coola man.

ḳwatlnelum: Marks made to commemorate an event, such as carvings at chiefs' meeting-place, virtually a *memorial*. [211]

ḳwatlnusam: Figure representing crest.

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Sinuxtl: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Sinuximätl: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Stuax* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sio°msta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative of imitating coitus. [424]

siplxälosuts: Song sung by a *kusiotem* dancer on recovery from apparent death. [861]

siplkim: Regular beatings given to a male child.

Slqälxam, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

Siqalusnäm: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Siqulxwaix di Siut, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

siqwaldjut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]

siqwsek: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage.

sisasts: Departure to a new locality. [425]

sisi, vocative, sisai: Father's brother or mother's brother.

sisut: Paddle. [601]

sisutsta: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

Siltlmsta: One of the names of the supreme god.

Sitliuq': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [778]

siut, vocative, siaot: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being, "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qomo·ts*, the large *ssaok* whistle.
4—Killer whale. [825]
5—Song.
6—*Kusiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Siutan·i: Part of a peculiar repository.

Siutamkila: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

siutnälos: Wordless chorus. [533]

Siwal·os, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Siwid: Celebrated *Djoldäunx* chief living in the last century.

sixliktam: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a despondent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]

Sixman·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sixsän·imutsta: Place where healing power is petrified.

Sixsixlutnam: Synonym for *Mstlakila*, the supernatural being connected with *ssaok* rites.

sixwismaq: *Kusiut* dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, *änänuskx*, for the user's protégé on earth.

sixwplätkmak: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage. [584]

sixwotl: Unmarried mother. [848]

siyeutla: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *sieutla* may be connected with this.

[765] *skwanät:* 1—Memorial potlatch.
2—Mourning song.
3—The wailing of mourners at a grave.

[763] *Skwanät·ăn·ä*, "The Weeper": Female supernatural being whose appearance indicates the death of a chief.

skwanätänkusaix: Professional *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to sing of *Snitsmän·a* during *kusiotem* dances.

skwatsta: Name.

Skwo·ts: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

[824] *Sla·kl:* Whitewater River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola.

sleos: Long grass suitable for pasturage.

[252] *slăqq'i:* Smoked spring salmon with the bone removed.

slăxkt: Many, *adjective*.

[554] *slăxmidjut*, "The One with Many Descendants": Term used to describe an elderly man with many children and grandchildren.

Sla·: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[601] *sleli:* Game, resembling a tug-of-war, played with wooden loops and spears.

slemts, vocative, slemtsakais: Grandchild; the vocative indicates endearment.

[578] *slexwxniz:* The deposition of eagle down on the heads of those quarrelling to pacify them.

sli·s: Gall bladder.

sloptsta: 1—Breathing.
2—Sound of a *ssaok* whistle, referred to as the breathing of *Mitlakila*.

sluk': Olachen grease.

[778] *Sluxlekwailq:* 1—Ancient village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
2—Place of petrified power at site of ancient village.
3—Semi-anthropomorphized being responsible for power in this locality.

Sliłm: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of every river.

slkmsta: The voice.

[824] *slkuml:* Dried elderberries.

slukwala: 1—Shaman-like power, as brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Coola woman.

[821] *slulqm:* Eclipse.

slwosamliku': 1—One who keeps in touch with a concealed Cannibal.

[424] 2—One who has the inherited right to assist *kusiut* or *ssaok* dancers; this prerogative occurs in Kimsquit only.

Smaisiklla: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaialotla: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaien·a: 1—Synonym for *Sluxlekwailq*, q.v.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

[424] *smaiusta:* A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first people in the beginning of time.

smämätsknelp: Debris from cones eaten by squirrels.

Smaoan, "The First": One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Smaourk: Man mentioned in an origin myth of a southern locality.

smät·amy, vocative, smät·ämy: Friends.

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smä·tl: A place of petrified power, i.e., a locality where a supernatural being has been rendered incapable of moving. [778]

smätl äs skwatsta, "Petrified Name": Designation brought from above in the beginning of time.

sm·ks: 1—Mussel. [825]
2—Freshwater mussel.

smxmxuxls: One of the thrushes.

smuqämäts: An animal, especially a bear, showing a kindly disposition towards man.

Snäkelt: Äsän·an·i man mentioned in an ancient story.

snänik': 1—Gum.
2—Name of son made by Raven in the beginning of time.

snäx: Slave.

Snaghäkila: One of the first men to settle at *Sätlia* in the beginning of time.

snäxom: Visionary receiving power direct from the supreme god.

sniändcuqs: Worm or larva living under the ocean.

Sniaxlikwan·a: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.

Sninia: Supernatural being who holds earth in position.

Snitsmän·a: Supernatural woman who restores those who suffer misfortune in the performance of *kusiut* rites.

Snmkha'kas: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola woman; it was obtained at *Täl·io* in the beginning of time.

smmq: 1—Mythical monster.
2—Man living at Kimsquit in early times.

smmqos di sonx^w'dai: Posts of the sun, the barriers which cause it to retrace its course at the solstices. [821]

smmqos wa smdäs: Variety of *smmq* living above tree line.

Smtqwalmkaista: Stealer of thoughts, an invisible barrier within the door which prevents a man from carrying out a potlatch by robbing him of his good intentions. The concept is anthropomorphized as a supernatural being. [828]

Sno·ähädäx: Island south-west of Bella Bella.

Sno'olxäts Älquntäm: Deer son of the supreme god.

Sno'oniqwlx, "On the Point": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Snoqolaqs: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

snu'aiyewa: Ceremonial collar of hemlock-bark, dyed cedar-bark, and undyed cedar-bark such as is given to *Ttitcäplilän·a*. The word may refer to the throwing of this on the fire.

snudaxt'eq: Unidentified berry. [824]

snukälmäls: Top used by one of the sons of the supreme god.

Snukilmäls: Supernatural being resident above who has the power of causing things to curl up and come to him.

snukimäx: Part of house behind fire. [824]

snukllaik: Unidentified plant.

snulikumi: Piece of wood, rolled hard and smooth in a landslide.

Snulexwnimutik: Chief of supernatural singers who accompany *Neäkxnim*.

snulnunlil: Twin.

Snulqulqäls: 1—Cannibalistic supernatural woman, formerly resident in the supreme god's house.
2—Old woman resident in *Lemoqwa*'s house.

Snunua·lma: Locality containing repository of name received from Death.

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Snuqā·ɣ': Affluent of the middle Bella Coola.
Snuqwaix: Kimsquit woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Snuqwaxwāls: 1—Copper Raven that perched on house of first settlers at *Älqālaxl* in the beginning of time.
2—Name given to the Raven design used by the first settlers at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
snusaiks: Skeleton. The word is obviously a derivative of *saiks*.
Snusälkāls: 1—"The Wise One": One of the more important supernatural beings.
2—Ancestral name of a *Tsimotl* man.
Snusmkāls: Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Älqālaxl*, probably a supernatural designation.
Snusmikänk': Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Älqālaxl*, probably a supernatural designation.
[374] ***Snuskluts,*** Cold: A supernatural being.
Snuslaxwai, "The Mystery of *Älquntäm*": The place where the supreme god puts what he wishes to conceal, such as the correct solution of the Mystery dance. The concept is semi-anthropomorphized.
snusɣ: Generic name for several supernatural animals.
snusɣundjän·a: Right front corner of a house on entering.
Snuhari: Pronunciation of *Snulili* by a man with idiosyncratic *r* usage.
Snulili, "Place of Dog Salmon": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
[765] ***snutlänkin,*** "A Shoring Up": Term used to describe the functions of mourning songs.
Snulkänäls, "Box": 1—One of the first women to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—Box in *Ẓomoqwa*'s house.
3—Name of a *Tälʼio* man derived from the last.
Snulle·tl, "Place of Nq Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Snutlmɣ: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Snutqomikaista: Point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
[821] ***snutsälätst:*** Race of dwarfs, presumably mythical.
Snutsiaxwanem: Whirlwind, anthropomorphized.
[778] ***Snutsulktäls:*** Generic term for four supernatural, eagle-like creatures.
Snuwals: Place on South Bentinck Arm where curative power is localized.
snuɣxelkmut, "Bring Light": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the lower Bella Coola valley.
snuɣex·isk: One who seeks embers.
Snuxmethmän·a: One of the first women to settle at *Tälʼio* in the beginning of time.
Snuxwnulāls: Name of first settlers at *Älqālaxl* in the beginning of time.
Snuyaxlikwan·a: Rivers Inlet name used by a Bella Coola *kusiut* woman.
[484] ***solits:*** Food carried for consumption on a journey; the term is also applied to the provender brought from above by the first people in the beginning of time.
solʼokm: Hunting-ground owned by an ancestral family.
Som: Woman mentioned in a song.
sonɣʷ: see da sonɣʷ da.
Sonxwäkis: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nulkax* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Sonxwan·a: One of the first women to settle at *Nulkax* in the beginning of time.
[431] ***sonxwadjut:*** Synonym for *sɣwomads*, the preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch.

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Sonɣʷmai: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuax* man.
Soptos: *Kusiut* name of a *Tsmotl* man.
soqoleäxum: Scalp.
soqwalätʼ: Gnarled projection of wood from a birch knot. [824]
Spaixpaxgmmän·a: Supernatural being who wakens his fellows in the morning.
Spänbätlnaix: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
späniesta: Temporary camping-place.
Spätcahlt, "The First Born": Name brought from Kitlobe to Kimsquit by a marriage in the beginning of time.
späki: Star.
spekm, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud. [581]
spepandouts: The forcing upwards of water at high tide, through openings in the rocks at sea-level. [823]
spikpikmm: Person who pounds cedar-bark.
spikta: Tools for pounding cedar-bark, specifically the upper beater.
Spipiznän·i: Region on the east side of Dean Channel, about one mile from its head, where supernatural power is localized. [778]
Spiʼxnunsta: Island west of Namu.
spkx: 1—Pudenda.
2—Variety of *smnq* with female organs. [824]
spoxälicua: Unidentified berry. [821]
Sʼps', Cold Wind: A supernatural being.
Spskunsta: Meeting place of chiefs on rock ledge behind *Qomqo·ts*; the term is probably applied to any meeting place of chiefs.
spla: War-knife used by Raven in the beginning of time.
sputs: Olachen. [825]
spux: Eagle down.
spuxdjut, "Eagle Down-ness": Rhetorical reference to a present for which no return is expected. [431]
spuxpux: Long, delicate feathers on an eagle's breast. [825]
Spuxpuxhailaix: *Kusiut* name of a woman sent down near *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
Spuxpuxsäʼmpdimut: *Sisook* name of *Xuxais* origin.
Spuxspuxta: *Sisook* name of a Kimsquit woman.
sqäl·a: Unidentified berry. [824]
sqoolt: Alder wood, dead and dried. [825]
sqäpts: Spring salmon which have spawned.
sqali: Hunting ability. The term usually refers to the ability of the supernatural artisans to hunt, i.e., to kill, human beings.
sqalst or *sqalstutl:* Stone, suitable for axes, found on Mount *Nusqalst.* The name of the mountain is said to be derived from this. [316] [103]*
sqama: 1—Chest.
2—Smoke cure for diseases of the chest.
Sqaml: Land of Ashes. [584]
sqasusts: First proposal of marriage if made by relatives of the man.
sqals: River sand mixed with small pebbles. [823]
Sqatsuk: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola River.
sqonm: Flood.

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ancient history and fame of his family. It is a matter con- 211
nected with the past, a matter of the mind, a source of pride 424
to him to have such a possession, but a matter that does not 773
affect his daily life.

So far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola crests consist of 825
the following birds and animals: raven, bald eagle, grizzly bear, black bear, wolf, whale, blackfish, merganser, loon, *skämtsk*, possibly deer, and the mythical double-headed snake, [776] *
susiutl. To these must be added the sun, because some of the original people came to earth in human form by sliding down his eye-lashes, the sun-beams; and *nulunikta*, the posts which [772]
stretched from earth to the land above, down which a number of the first ancestors of mankind swarmed in human form. The Bella Coola believe that these posts are particularly [829]
common memorials among the tribes of the outer coast. Ac- [772]
cording to some accounts it was these posts which supported the first sky until it fell.

A crest is connected almost exclusively with the distant 424
past. A Bella Coola whose ancestor came to earth as a raven 779
pays no attention to the ravens of the present time. The 825
matter was approached from every possible angle and not the slightest sign of respect toward living specimens of a man's crest could be noticed. A query as to whether or not a man refrained from eating his crest was regarded as highly humorous. Nor is there any trace of fellowship between unrelated families even if they happen to have the same crest. The subject was broached repeatedly, until at last one informant smiled broadly and said:

"I know now what you want to find out, I can tell you all about it."

He recounted how the Kitkatla are, in his opinion, stupid enough to regard as brothers all those who have the same animal story even if they are members of different tribes. He said that when he was a young man at Victoria, where Indians [648]
from all parts of the coast used to meet, a Kitkatla had once asked him what was his animal. He was puzzled, but as the

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424 nearest answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the
779 Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the
825 narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience, and added that though he was quite willing to accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not
[582] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of exogamy.

211 Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet
424 they have some importance in the realm of social life. The
773 portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy
825 chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a
[532] design is impressed with the glories of the family history of
[556] the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of
[304] the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delineation is a memento of family history. For that reason a man is often tattooed* with his crest, that derived from his father's first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow. After the death of a chief a memorial-post is erected near his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his
000 family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

[171] [184] *It is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal tribes but also the Carriers. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated themselves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with potlatches; in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the back-room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material; the second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were baked for a long time [386] and then ground into a powder. This keeps indefinitely and can be made ready for use by mixing with water. As far as could be learnt, any skilled craftsman might perform the operation.

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838 woman who dressed as a man and used to hunt successfully,
[171] though she was married. Such practices are said to have been not uncommon among the Haida. The women were considered bold and independent, but the Bella Coola of today know little
*[776] about them, and are not even certain that *Spuxt* is responsible for a female assuming the actions of a male. It will be readily understood that he is not regarded with much awe, nor does he influence their daily lives.

*776 Another supernatural being, uninfluential though resident
[822] upon earth, is Echo, *Sxwalāsl*, "The Voice Repeater." The Bella Coola regard him as a male being, in human form, and recognize his presence whenever sounds reverberate. He figures in mythology, occasionally appears as a masked figure at
[575] *kwiut* or *xwaxt* dances, but has neither helped nor harmed human beings for so many generations that he is accordingly neglected.

*776 A supernatural being from whom many Bella Coola have
787 had unpleasant visitations is *Sīkmsīla*, the cause of nightmares.
828 He is a man-like creature with black face and an enormous head which he constantly scratches. His home is in *Nuxmāt-a*, but he frequently descends to this world and frightens sleepers. If a person scratches his head while asleep it is because he has just seen *Sīkmsīla* doing so, and if he walks in his sleep it is to escape this supernatural visitor. A sleep-walker is usually aroused by having a bucket of water thrown over him. A
[751] person frequently troubled by *Sīkmsīla* can avoid him by painting a black circle around each eye before going to sleep.

*776 With the exception of *Alqantēm*, the supernatural beings thus far described play little part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They believe in their existence, but do not expect to meet them, and do not believe that they exercise much influence on the course of their daily life. Supernatural beings of this ineffective
● 781 type are exceptional. A man goes into remote parts of the
*776 mountains, or even into little frequented areas around his village, with mingled fear lest he encounter an actively malicious being, and hope that he may meet a benevolent one. More-

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over, he is aware that by certain means he may have good expectations of beseeching, cajoling, deceiving, or rendering powerless any supernatural beings whom he may meet. This attitude is typical; the Bella Coola by no means move in constant dread of the mysterious denizens of the forests, nor do they eagerly hope for their appearance; they have their likes and dislikes, their moments of weakness and of strength, their times of greatness and of pettiness, all to be considered with care and forethought. 781 776 *

One of the beings for whom the older people have a profound respect is *Ṫlitcäplilän-a*, a supernatural woman whose home is in *Nuxmät-a*, but who frequently visits this earth. She can be recognized by her snout-like mouth and long, pendant breasts, but even when beyond the range of vision her proximity can be detected by her singing. *Ṫlitcäplilän-a* often takes pity on a person who is dangerously ill and visits him, not only curing the malady but bringing the sufferer a name and song. In many cases he is thus made a shaman with power to cure. At other times *Ṫlitcäplilän-a* bestows her favours on a person in good health, so that wise Bella Coola are always hoping to meet her. Such an experience is not without its dangers, for she is so powerful that nearness to her may be enough to cause death. The exploits of those who have come in contact with *Ṫlitcäplilän-a* belong to shamanism and will be reserved for vol. I, chap. IX. 776 * 787 [756]

Ṫlitcäplilän-a, though her great power inspires fear, usually behaves in a kindly manner to mortals, who accordingly welcome her. But it is quite otherwise with *Sxalarwax*, whose coming almost invariably brings death.[11] He is a black-faced being of repulsive appearance and sensual nature, whose chief function is to seduce women. For this purpose he often skulks near a village at night, and assumes the voice and appearance of a girl's lover to lure her into the forest. Fearlessly she goes with him, but if she allows his approaches, a hemorrhage results and she soon dies. There is said to be no limit to the number 776 * 761

[11] Cf. Boas, p. 42.

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the Bella Coola. No one knows the name of the fire devourer, and it may be that he lacks form. Though ignorant of the law of conservation of matter, the Bella Coola realize that the wood must have gone somewhere, and postulate a land far across the western sea where burnt wood lies in shadowy heaps, each billet retaining its original form though it lacks material substance. This region is presided over by an evil being with a desire for human flesh (II, p. 468). 372 776* [772]

The above list by no means exhausts the anthropomorphic beings resident either in *Nusmăt-a* or in this world. Those described are the most important, and suffice to make clear the religious attitude of the Bella Coola to beings of this type. Others appear in connection with *kusiut* dances only, and a consideration of them can be deferred until vol. II, chap. I, whereas some belong essentially to shamanism and allied subjects treated in vol. I, chap. IX. 776*

ZOOMORPHIC BEINGS

The attitude of mingled hope and fear with which the Bella Coola regard their supernatural anthropomorphic beings is typical of their thoughts and actions concerning zoomorphic creatures as well. In the supernatural world the dividing line between human and animal beings is not clearly defined; fabulous monsters have the mentality of supermen, and can be appeased, besought, or cajoled precisely as are anthropomorphic beings. Like those of human form, supernatural animals can bestow good or evil on human beings with whom they come in contact. The division shown in this chapter must, therefore, be regarded as merely for convenience; it does not correspond to a distinction in the minds of the Bella Coola. [781] [128]

One of the most dreaded animals known to the Bella Coola is the *snaxq*, a monster about the size of a large grizzly bear, with long, silky, beautiful hair, blue-grey in colour. It walks almost upright on short hind legs, so that its long fore-legs touch the ground at intervals; these are provided with sharp

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539 seized and carried to the shore. He had thought that it would
* 776 be easy to free himself, but he found it impossible and was carried under the sea. He bit frantically at the enfolding arms, until he succeeded in freeing his own, with which he pushed up the beak of the octopus, thus killing it. He rose to the surface and returned home none the worse.

[825] The Bella Coola do not profess to know all the animals of the world; and if they see a strange one, they assume it to be one known to their ancestors though unfamiliar to them.
539 Since any unknown animal is considered to have supernatural
761 power, due care must be exercised when one is seen. The fol-
* 776 lowing incident illustrates this point.

825 The mother's brother of an informant worked for some thirty years for a white man in Victoria. His employer once sent him to see a turtle which was confined in a pool in a basement preparatory to being killed for a banquet. As soon as he saw it, he said:

"My parents in Bella Coola told me of such a creature."

A few days before Christmas the turtle was cut up and displayed on four platters in the window of the store; the Bella Coola saw it, and thus learned that it had been killed. The same night a sore appeared on his wrist, and by the next day it was large and running. He said to his employer:

"In a few days I will be dead. Do not grieve for me. The sight of such supernatural creatures is too powerful for Indians; I survived one experience, but twice has been too much for me and I will die."

His employer wisely sent him to a white doctor who cured him, although the scar remained. Years later the man returned to Bella Coola where he displayed the mark as proof of his story. A few weeks later he died, and the Bella Coola are firmly convinced that his death was due to his having seen the turtle many years before.

* 776 Although the forests of British Columbia abound with
989 supernatural animals of enormous power, the attitude of the Bella Coola hunter who penetrates into lonely places is not
● [781] one of constant fear. It is true that he may meet danger at any turn, but danger is part and parcel of human life, and he is by no means defenceless. He dreads the powers possessed by creatures of another plane, but they for their part dread certain human objects. Clothing which has been worn for so long that it has become steeped with the emanations of its

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with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *sisaok* ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from these, and sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy being had landed there. At once there is great excitement within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove them to be at hand. No one is allowed to leave except a *sisaok siki*[9] who is skilled in dealing with *Mulakila*,[10] also called *Sixsixqwtnam*, the supernatural being closely connected with the *sisaok* ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *siki* raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance.

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

[9]The accounts of all informants agree that much of the *sisaok* ritual was newly imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements, *Pulus*, a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella wife, also one from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with them as dower certain *sisaok* prerogatives. It is said that previous to that time the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the youths secluded in the back-room, nor to dispel the beings at the conclusion of the rites. On the other hand, some Bella Coola claim that their first ancestors brought the whistles with them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural beings is a recent addition to the potlatch, which accounts for the contradictory accounts, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It appears certain that the prerogative of *siki* has recently been obtained from the Bella Bella. *Siki* means "the one who cures," and the name is given to the man whose prerogative it is to tend the *kusiut* initiates in whom supernatural powers are located. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for *sisaok* matters, known as a *hai-alakila*. Through intermarriage several Bella Coola have recently obtained this prerogative; in each case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to these, so favoured, the term *siki*, as they do for the *kusiut* "curer," though the Bella Bella name, *hai-alakila*, is used with equal frequency. The present *siki* have endeavoured to claim for themselves certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by any *sisaok*. In this account of a potlatch it is assumed that a *siki* is functioning on all occasions, but in many cases any senior *sisaok* is considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *sisaok* was regarded as capable of doing so.

[10]Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a certain *Smaaax* of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time.

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* 556 The *siki* returns to the house and tells the guests that [575] *Mulakila* has indeed been near and has promised to return later on. Those who are not *susaok*, being steeped in the belief [781] concerning the omnipresence of supernatural beings and ignorant of the carefully concealed whistles, readily credit the tale that they have heard the voice of a denizen of the land above, whose language is intelligible to the *siki*. Thus is the supernatural element of the potlatch first called forth.

After a final distribution of food, the guests return to their homes.

THE INITIATION OF *Susaok* NEOPHYTES

* 556 At a potlatch valuable presents are given to the foreign 575 guests, but it is unthinkable for the donor to give to his fellow- [609] villagers. Accordingly, if X desires to display his generosity towards them, he does so at a preliminary ceremony, when he begins the initiation, or re-initiation, into the *susaok* society of any number of young people. After elaborate counting and re-counting of his goods, both those actually stored in his house and those promised,[11] X decides that he has sufficient to initiate, for example, seven neophytes. His first choice will be his own children, failing those, the sons and daughters of a brother or sister, or of his wife's relatives, or, if none of these are available, those of a friend. X does not gain any pecuniary advantage from such a transaction, in fact he loses, but the prestige attached outweighs this consideration.

"Is it not the privilege of a chief to be generous?" say the Bella Coola.

He approaches the parents of those whom he has selected, always members of old-established families. As it is to the [553] social advantage of a young person to be a *susaok*, a father usually tells X a *susaok* name, dormant in his family, which he wishes to have conferred on his son, and how much he is willing to contribute for the purpose. In many cases, a man will

[426] [11] In spite of the care exercised, mistakes are frequent, giving rise to hurried borrowings from friends to make up the necessary amount.

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533 This is presently heard. Y may be in his own house, but at
* 556 once any number of *susaok* rush in and conduct him, concealed
575 in their midst, to the back-room of X's dwelling. All the *susaok* of the village begin to gather there; those who are not members of the society are also free to enter the main part of the house, though they cannot take any part in the proceedings. They lurk near the door, watching with interest mixed with
[781] fear, and ready to flee if the danger from supernatural beings seems too acute.

After some delay, a whistle is heard at intervals, gradually becoming louder as if the supernatural being, of which it is the voice, were coming nearer. Presently it sounds immediately outside the door, and a *siki* rushes forth. He returns in a moment, followed, amid the breathless excitement of the uninitiated, by a figure masked as a bird or animal. The design
[532] represents Y's crest, or some creature with which one of his ancestors came in contact, and which is therefore regarded as having the same sociological importance. A member of the society has carved the mask, another wears it, but this the uninitiated do not know.

[776] "It is a *tutwinam*,"[13] they gasp.

The figure crosses the house and bends down beside the singers to whom it appears to be whispering. Presently they begin, softly, to tap out a song in rapid time as if the supernatural visitor had just taught it to them. It is divided into two or three parts and the theme is taken from Y's ancestral myth.[14] After two or three rehearsals, the singers beat out the time more loudly and accompany it with their voices, while
[535] the masked figure dances. A number of older *susaok* accompany the performer as he whirls around the house; it is pretended that this is necessary to shield the spectators, though the real function is to guide the dancer whose sight is handi-

[13]Meaning, "What is displayed," or, "A materialization."

[14]If the neophyte is a son or other near relative of the chief who is giving the potlatch, the theme may consist of boasting references to the goods about to be distributed. This is customary for X himself if he performs as a *susok* at the actual ceremony.

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* 556 adopted, probably as a prerogative obtained through mar-
575 riage, from the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people. The diver-
177 sity in ritual supports this view. There was not sufficient
[776] time for the procedure to become stabilized between the introduction of the concept and the dislocation of Bella Coola social life through the influence of the white man. It is also possible that the *tutwinam* was added to *sisaok* rites from the older *a'alk* society (I, p. 273).

532 Whatever may have been the history of the *tutwinam*, it
* 556 provides Y with a mask, or with two, if two figures have ap-
575 peared. He guards them jealously, though secretly, throughout his life and uses them only on rare ceremonial occasions.
[769] It is one of these masks which will be brought out if one of his family gives a dramatic representation of his return after death.
[428] A mask of this type is sometimes willed, but the legatee alters the design before using it.

* 556 A short pause follows the singing of the second, or third,
575 song, during which some chief or chiefs may make a laudatory speech concerning Y's family history. Then the singers again
[537] sing the first song, and *sisaok* members of the audience join in.
[533] Similarly, the second song is practised. These two are sung, time after time, until the *sisaok* have thoroughly mastered them. When the singers consider that this has been accomplished, they tell X, who communicates with the *sisaok* man outside who has the whistle, and again its eerie notes are heard.
• [781] Some of the uninitiated, believing that the supernatural being who gives potency to the ritual is at hand, hurriedly leave in fear. At the same time some of the *sisaok* conduct to the back-room the second initiate whose songs are to be sung that night. The procedure in his case is identical with that described for Y. Usually it is considered sufficient to seclude two on one night, though three may be attempted. When the songs of the last have been sung, food is distributed and the people disperse.

A few nights later the same ritual is repeated for two more initiates, who join their predecessors in the back-room. Here they spend their time in idleness, the only essential being the

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turns, clad in his ceremonial costume, including a long cape with pockets. With him come the four or five young men who have just finished dancing. The singers beat time furiously with their sticks, and the *siki* whirls round and round, working himself into a frenzy with twists and gyrations. Gradually, he approaches one of the initiates, and pretends to pluck something from his body. As he opens his hands the spectators see that there is something in them, what exactly, they cannot distinguish. Only those who are *susook* understand that, whatever it is, it has been palmed from one of his cape pockets. He pretends to throw this object upwards, at the same time slipping it back into his cape. As the article is, theoretically, thrown aloft the sound of whistling is heard, which grows weaker and weaker till it finally ceases. Meanwhile the heralds discourse loudly with one another about how the "eagle" or whatever it is, has been extracted, and is now returning above. The same procedure is repeated for the other initiates. This concludes the night's ceremony. Food is distributed and the people disperse. 556* 575 789

The employment of a foreign *siki* to expel the power from the initiates is necessary since this particular prerogative is not native to Bella Coola. Formerly the expulsion was done in the back-room without any elaborate ceremony. This rite marks the admission of initiates into the *susook* society although they cannot yet leave the back-room. It must be understood, however, that a youth may be initiated several times, on each occasion receiving new songs and perhaps a different mask. In this way his prestige as a *susook* is increased, and the son of a powerful chief will often be initiated ten or more times. A mask so acquired is preserved in concealment as the personal property of the owner who may use it at potlatches on future occasions. It will be the guise in which a dead person returns to visit the living. After being used for this purpose, a mask may be burnt, or willed to a near relative of the deceased, who slightly alters the painting before using it himself. [424] [177] 556* 575 [422] [532] [428]

It is somewhat difficult to understand the attitude of those [781]

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*556 575 781 watching either the masked dancer or a representation of the deceased. Usually, the feet are plainly visible, and the spectators cannot fail to realize they are looking, not at an eagle or other supernatural creature, but at a man. Yet no one ever expresses this doubt. It must be remembered that all are firmly convinced of the close relationship existing between denizens of the land above and members of the *sisaok* society. To the uninitiated this is proved by the whistling. They regard the figures as supernaturally endowed representations of those beings with whom the participants are able to come in contact. A sophisticated Bella Coola likened their attitude to that of a man praying before images of the saints, fully realizing that these are only inanimate statues, yet mentally experiencing a feeling of close contact with the saints themselves. Another expressed it thus:

"The uninitiated are trained to believe what they see. It would be most improper for them to voice any doubts, in fact they do not have any, so firm is their belief in the supernatural power of the members of the *sisaok* society."

This last appears to be the real explanation. Everyone must have his or her doubts, but each is afraid to express them, realizing that so doing would not only offend the chiefs, as individuals, but the supernatural powers with whom they are in touch, which is obvious from the whistling that accompanies the ceremony. It appears that the uninitiated have no idea how this is produced.

CONCLUDING CEREMONIES AND OBSERVATIONS

*556 575 The number of *sisaok* initiates is usually too great to allow all to dance on one night. If possible, this is done; but if not, on the following evening more of the initiates perform in the manner already described. The distribution of presents and the expulsion of power from the young *sisaok* also follow the same lines. If many of them are secluded, three, or even four, nights may be required until the last one has danced, and the last cleansing has been performed.

[789]

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the hole in the roof, ponderously and slowly, until its talons grip the "body." In the same gradual fashion it carries this upwards until, just before the burden disappears through the roof, one of the principal singers leads his fellows and the audience in calling out: 575 766

"*Ye*..," which has the significance of, "May you have a safe passage whence you came and whither you are going."

As soon as the bird has disappeared, its notes are heard from above, growing gradually fainter as the actors blow their whistles less violently. An eloquent *sisaok* stands up and expounds how the deceased's crest has come down from above to carry away his body, and often mentions incidents in the ancestral myth to explain why this bird had appeared. A young man is sent up to replace the roof boards and the hidden accomplices rejoin the audience unostentatiously. The corpse itself remains hidden in some back corner of the house where it was concealed at the time the dummy was seized, so that nothing indicates what has taken place.

The relatives must give presents to all who have witnessed this ceremonial prerogative. These are now distributed without regard to the rank of the recipient; such gifts are not returnable and are said to be, "What Has Been Shaken Off," like dust from the departing body. A meal, likewise provided by the kinsmen of the deceased, is next served, and as the people are eating, it is customary for senior *sisaok* to make laudatory speeches, extolling the dead chief and comforting the survivors by reminding them of the way in which he will be looked after in virtue of his ancestral traditions. This procedure may continue for several hours, and it is only when no one else wishes to speak that the people disperse. [556] [537]

It is not easy to comprehend the attitude of the Bella Coola to this rite. Some influential *sisaok* state emphatically that in former days it was possible to carry it out so realistically that the uninitiated were deceived, and never suspected that the actual corpse was later on buried in secret by the singers, carpenters, and *sisaok*. On the other hand, those who do not 575 766 781

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575 766 781 wish to emphasize the importance of this society, state that the deception was always apparent, and that even the hooks and ropes by which the figure was manipulated could be seen. Still others regard the ceremony as a symbolic means of portraying the manner in which a man's crest comes to carry away his spirit and life. It seems clear that different interpretations must always have been accepted by different [184] members of the community. A young and ingenuous uninitiated, steeped in the atmosphere of the supernatural, may well have believed that he was gazing upon an actual supernatural being, as the senior *susaok* desired him to do; others must have recognized that a deception of some kind was being practised, but dramatization is such an important factor in Bella Coola life that individuals often disregard the difference between semblance and reality, and it is contrary to custom for a person to cast aspersions upon the prerogative of another. It is easy for such an one to accept the drama as a symbol or representation of the manner in which the crest carries off the intangible elements of the dead. This is certainly the attitude of the Bella Coola at the present time. Everyone realizes that the crest is of human manufacture and that the corpse itself is not carried away, but the rite is still performed and gratifies the survivors by giving them an opportunity to display their prerogative and the cloak of the deceased's ancestor.

575 766 Perhaps because of its relatively recent introduction, details of the performance of this rite are not fully standardized In some cases, the crest is made to appear at the same time as *Mulakila*, instead of at a subsequent ceremony. It is [424] assumed that the origin of the rite is in some ancient myth in which the body was actually taken above by the crest, an act copied, with the aid of carpenters, by the descendants [773] of the person to whom this occurred. There are no myths of this nature current in Bella Coola, although it is thought that such must have been common among the peoples of the outer coast to explain the prevalence of the practice in that area. [424] One old man mentioned that an *Owiki* myth in which a

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CHAPTER IX

RELATIONS WITH THE SUPERNATURAL

Introductory—Sterile Apparitions—Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate—Supernatural Good Luck—Shamanism—Direct Revelations from the Supreme God—Power Localized in Certain Spots—Dreams

INTRODUCTORY

THE aspects of Bella Coola life thus far described have been principally of a nature which might be experienced by any member of the community. On the other hand, contact with supernatural beings is a privilege granted to individuals without respect to rank; even arduous appeal cannot assure it. The few to whom signal favours are granted acquire a position of importance totally different from that of chiefs. The Bella Coola are firmly convinced that supernatural beings abound in the mountains and forests of British Columbia, and that every activity of human life is governed by them. Not only do these creatures include monsters of the imagination, but birds, animals, and fish; even the activities of the human mind are considered to be beyond the scope of normal life. Ancient stories describing the actions of strange creatures and conversations between man and animals are accepted as truthful accounts, so that it seems obvious to the Bella Coola that his ancestors were more powerful than he is today. Never considering the possibility of errors in his stories, he accepts the alternative hypothesis that mankind has sadly degenerated from the golden age. Nevertheless, he assumes that the beings have not altered, and consequently hopes to encounter them on every occasion. Moreover, this firm background of belief makes it easy for him to recognize supernatural influence in events which a white man would consider to be natural. It is impossible to over-emphasize this concept.

787 * [554] 787 * 776 [828] [538] 781 ●

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*787 Dances portraying supernatural beings, carried out with [535] full vigour until a few years ago, further fostered belief in [781] them among participants and uninitiated alike. Consequently, many of the young and middle-aged men claim to have seen visions similar to those of their elders. The incident already described (I, p. 30) of the stump which was thought to be a grizzly bear is a case in point. On another occasion a young man mentioned casually that a few evenings before he had seen a headless man walking along the road and that, wishing to view the monstrosity more clearly, he had tried unsuccessfully to strike a match. The reason was obvious to him; the power of the supernatural visitor prevented the match from lighting. The man, who was undoubtedly convinced of the apparition, may have seen something, perhaps a whorl of fog, somewhat resembling a headless body. A white man would have con- [154] sidered such a sight impossible and absurd, whereas the Bella Coola felt little surprise at the appearance of such a creature and promptly accepted it for what it seemed to be.

[828] Mental activities as well as optical illusions are likewise ascribed to supernatural agency. These include profound agitations of the mind, and even what a white man would consider a passing thought. For instance, one morning when about to start work, a certain man stated that he would have good fortune during the day, that a dream had foretold it. At the time he was moving to a new house and needed help to shift a heavy stove. During the course of the day a number of white men happened to pass by and stopped to speak to him; the stove was mentioned, they offered to move it for him, and did so easily and quickly.

"There you are," said the man, "I told you I was going to have good fortune today."

On another occasion the same man claimed to have felt that misfortune had happened to him and soon learnt that one of his sons had been arrested on a charge of drunkenness and disorderly conduct. The man affirmed that he had this premonition before being aware of its cause.

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The explanation of these manifestations of the supernormal, 787*
for such they are considered to be, lies in the conviction that 811
every activity of the mind is due to supernatural causation, 828
the functioning of the spirit. In the round of daily life there 774
are always good and bad incidents; the person who wakes
expecting to meet one or other before nightfall recognizes the
fulfilment of his premonition in some small occurrence, and
narrates it to his fellows as proof of what he had told them in
the morning. In case of some major event, such as death or
disaster, the Bella Coola assume that some previous indication
must have been given. Looking back after the event, a man
easily persuades himself that he "felt" a warning, and is more
than ever convinced that his spirit, the cause of his thoughts, 774
has supernatural ability.

Conviction in the near presence of the supernatural has had 177
somewhat surprising results with regard to Christian Bella 787*
Coola. A man converted in middle life carries all the fervour
and realism of the old religion with him to the new, and feels 781 ●
thoroughly familiar with the atmosphere of the Old Testament. 797
Visitations, such as therein described, are similar to those
experienced by his fathers and himself, and he scorns the white
man who questions their literal accuracy. He continues to
hear the voices of supernatural beings, and to interpret mental 828
pictures as visions, but he ascribes them to the beings of the
white man's religion. The following is a rather striking illustration of this point:

A number of years ago a devout Christian, who may be 159
designated X, was a patient in the hospital at Bella Bella. In 177
the same ward was a young Bella Bella lad whose sickness
refused to yield to treatment. X, becoming interested in his 787*
neighbour, began to ponder about his condition, until presently 781
he felt convinced that the sufferer would be better by seven
o'clock the following morning, and told him so. A marked 797
improvement was noticeable by the time predicted, but the
white doctor foolishly (according to X) gave his patient some

159
177 more medicine and he became worse. The same thing happened
* 787 on the following day. The sick boy grew steadily worse until,
nine days later, he felt that he was dying and asked X to help
● 781 him.
797 "No," replied X, "I am no doctor. But you will be all right. I see Holy Ghost, Holy Spirit, Baptism, and Believe-it [Faith?] by your bed. Repent and you will be saved."

X added that the Bella Bella saw and repented before his death so that he has undoubtedly been saved.

X is a friend of the writer's and a man with whom he worked for a number of months and whom he feels that he knows intimately. He is almost invariably truthful, and any falsehoods he uses are clumsy and easily detected. In this case there is no doubt but that he believes he saw these four figures as four white human beings. He was in an emotional condition at the time, hoping and expecting to see something of the kind. In earlier days he would have seen supernatural beings of the Bella Coola pantheon with equal conviction. On quite another occasion, when he was preaching, the same man felt what seemed to be a heavy drop of water fall on his head. He was in the open at the time and, looking up, was surprised to find nothing from which it could have fallen. He realized that it must have been power which had come to him, and forthwith he began to preach as he had never preached before. He expected supernatural assistance, and the belief that it had been granted to him undoubtedly strengthened his efforts.

* 787 All Bella Coola are not equally liable to visions and mental
781 visitations. Some, such as X, are constantly experiencing
them, whereas others of more stolid disposition do not feel the
159 presence of the supernatural to the same extent. None the less,
beings of the other world are constantly around them and, before the introduction of Christianity, it is unlikely that any individual passed through life without coming in contact with some manifestation of the supernatural. Consequently, stories
* 787 descriptive of this are intelligible to the Bella Coola, bizarre

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* 756 789 cealed cord succeeded in drawing feathers, previously placed on the surface, around in the direction in which she was dancing. It was impossible to learn the details of the method employed in this trick. The subterfuge was long ago practised by a shaman.

A simple but effective trick was the substitution of a baton made of light maple wood for one of the heavy type used by the singers. The real stick had been passed around the audience and apparently returned to one of the singers, though in reality the false one had been given to him. As he beat time the hollow sound that emanated was a source of surprise to the uninitiated spectators, nor was their wonder lessened when a real baton was again handed around, as if it were the one that had been in use.

[178] According to an informant, the last time that a supernatural being helped the person on whom it had conferred shamanistic power to perform a rite of this kind was about 1870. A man who had fallen from his canoe into the ocean was rescued, but for a long time was ill as a result of exposure. [776] [787] River Measurer, the supernatural being who governs the height of tides in the river, appeared and made him a shaman with the ability to cure through the use of a wash-basin. As this shaman danced, he had a large box filled with water. Presently he called on one of the uninitiated to examine the height of the water and point out to his fellows how high it was. A little later he called a second man who likewise indicated on the outside of the box the height of the liquid within. It had fallen, though its disappearance seemed inexplicable.

• 781 789 The above furnishes a good example of the attitude of the uninitiated. The informant, a very intelligent Bella Coola, gave a number of instances of the conjuring methods employed, some of which he had helped to carry out. Unquestionably, this was of the same nature, yet, because he was deceived at the time of its performance, he readily believed that the rite was supernatural; since then he had never thought of doubting

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it. The uninitiated are so steeped in the atmosphere of belief that any simple conjuring trick is sufficient to delude them. 781 789

Finally, the following account is here inserted, though the details of the performance could not be learnt.

The father of an elderly Bella Coola was once so sick that no one could help him. He had coughed up blood, eagle down had been heaped on his body, and hope had been abandoned. Then a *sisiutl* came to him, restoring his health and making him a very powerful shaman. His supernatural visitor had told him to employ his power beneficially, and had further instructed him in the use of a rod wherein it lay. Whenever this man danced, a stick, decorated with bands of cedar-bark wound spirally, was hung horizontally from the roof of his house. He carried one similarly embellished, but smaller, about two and a half feet long and three inches in diameter, having at one end a tuft of bark. During his dance, in which he sang of *sisiutl*, he went under the suspended stick, held the small one in his hand, blew on one end of it, then threw it up so that it struck the large hanging one. This was presumably done by the tuft of bark folding over and catching in some way. Again he danced and, when underneath where the two sticks were suspended, he jumped up, and caught the lower end of the smaller with his hands. This supported his weight, and he swung back and forth on it until he voluntarily released his grip and dropped. When next he danced at the same spot he held out one hand with palm uppermost beneath the smaller stick; the other was held in front of his mouth pointing towards the suspended one. He blew on the latter as if blowing dust from his hand to the point of contact of the two sticks, and the smaller dropped into his outstretched hand. 756* 789

By means of this stick the shaman could cure diseases. When told in what part of the body the pain was situated he pressed on that part with one end of his stick. Then he carried it to the fire and held in the smoke the end that had been in contact with the sickness. He puffed twice at it with his 755 756*

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Furthermore, throughout the ceremonial season, the uninitiated have ocular demonstrations of the powers with which the *kukusiut* are associated. At frequent intervals they are invited to the house of the dancer where, with wonder, fear, and awe, they see strange creatures. Although they may recognize that some of these are only their fellow-tribesmen in strange form, they have no idea how such transformations are produced, and ascribe them to supernatural assistance. They accept the strange designs of the figures as proof that the *kukusiut* have been in contact with unfamiliar beings. It seems clear that the uninitiated do not realize that the representations are produced by means of masks, the work of human hands; instead, they believe that the figures displayed are really those of supernatural patrons who have come to earth to assist their protégés. It must be remembered that these dances take place within large houses, only partially illuminated by a flickering central fire, which facilitates deception and conjuring tricks, quite apart from the credulity of the observers. 575* 796 781 [354]

The uninitiated may sometimes suspect that the performers are not real supernatural beings, but there is no question of their firm conviction concerning the changes which come over the *kukusiut* at this time. One member of the society, for example, may begin to act in a peculiar manner and at once the uninitiated are ejected from the house. From without they listen with mixed fear and excitement to the strange noises which they do not know are made by whistles, and presently the *kusiut* rushes forth in a frenzied state, biting those he meets. The uninitiated know that he is a Cannibal, doing as his patron above is doing, and that a call from the latter has caused him to become mad. When the *kukusiut* have subdued him and taken him back to his house, the non-membersh ear more strange and inexplicable sounds, which appear to go upwards, and presently the news is circulated that the Cannibal has been carried away to the land above. He is seen no more for several weeks, and when next he appears he is thin, wan, and bald, because the high winds of the land above have blown 575* 781 787 796

*575 the hair from his head. After various rites which prove that
796 the Cannibal actually possesses peculiar power, he is calmed
and songs are sung describing what he saw aloft, and the
●781 dangers from which he escaped. The uninitiated shiver sym-
[787] pathetically, marvel at his valour, and anticipate with mixed
feelings the time when they too may be privileged to have
similar experiences. Or they may witness the killing of one of
their fellow-villagers by disembowelling, and his restoration to
life. They know the victim; under ordinary circumstances he
could not endure death, hence the claim that his strength is
due to the call given him by his patron is accepted as an obvious
fact. The uninitiated never suspect that they are victims of
an elaborate deception. At all times the *kukusiut* are eager to
[766] make known their own perils, and if it happens that a member
[761] of the society dies while in concealment, his corpse is buried
secretly. The explanation given is that he has succumbed to
some of the dangers to which *kukusiut* are exposed, a fiction
readily believed in view of the absence of the usual funeral
rites.

*575 Though it is common knowledge that the ability of a *kusiut*
778 to perform any extraordinary feat has its source in the per-
formance of the same feat by his supernatural patron, yet it is
787 equally well known that his specific power has been brought
to this earth and is located in one particular spot. An ancestor
424 must in some way have come in contact with the patron, and
at that time his *kusiut* name, carrying with it the prerogatives
of supernatural patronage and of dancing on this earth, was
deposited for safe-keeping in a repository, *nuskāsiutsta* (also
called *nuxi'ipsta*), by the supernatural woman *Ăno'likwolsaix*.
Each repository is thought of as a cave, or hollow, beneath a
large tree, a rock, or other distinctive natural object; to obtain
his power a *kusiut* initiate must go there, actual contact with
his patron being unnecessary. Every *kusiut* prerogative has its
[776] repository and in each of these is *Ăno'likwolsaix*; she is one,
yet capable of being simultaneously in many hundred spots,
corresponding to the many hundred *kusiut* prerogatives. Her

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ceal their subterfuges, it sometimes happens that an uninitiated person sees or hears something which he should not know. The simplest way to deal with this situation is to kill the observer. It is said that as late as 1900 a young man, impelled by curiosity, wandered up a valley into which he had been warned not to penetrate, and met a Cannibal whom he believed had vanished into the upper realms. Almost dumbfounded, he accepted the latter's invitation to sit down, and was slain by him. More often, and especially if the observer is the child of a *kusiut*, he is initiated into the ranks of the society. If this happens at any time of year except the actual ceremonial season, he cannot perform immediately, but he is taken to the secret meeting place of the village chiefs, and there the mysteries of the organization are explained to him. The uninitiated are told that the observer has had a shaman's experience. With the aid of the older *kukusiut* he then performs a dance and conjuring feat of the type already described (I, p. 564), and is secluded until the next autumn, meanwhile wearing the distinctive collar of a shaman. In the songs used on this occasion no mention is made of a wash-basin, so of course the lad only performs ceremonially. When winter comes he is formally initiated into the society.

It is somewhat difficult to understand and explain the sentiments which lead a young man to obey rigidly the dictates of the senior *kukusiut* in deceiving his former friends. If it becomes known that a youth has seen something which should have been concealed, the senior *kukusiut* of his village meet in their ceremonial spot and decide that he must be put through the shaman's rite. Some relative of the youth is always ready to provide the necessary *kusiut* prerogative; otherwise he would have to be killed. Two or three members are then sent to catch the young man. On some pretext they lure him into the woods and then carry him away, struggling in fear, to the holy of holies, the place which he had been told to avoid since he would die if he penetrated to it. Here he finds all the seniors of his village, seated with grave expressions on

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*575 their faces. In spite of what he may have seen, the lad cannot
781 rid himself of the supernatural fears with which he has been
626 inculcated from childhood, and the experience is terrifying to a degree. It may be that he has seen some of the whistles, and thereby learnt that the strange sounds are made by men, not by supernatural beings. In this case he is shown their mechanism in detail, and warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells others of his knowledge. Fear impels him to silence, and at the same time he realizes that what he has discovered has placed him in a superior position to that of his former associates. He feels, too, that he has been admitted into the ranks of the society in which his father, grandfather, and ancestors have distinguished themselves, and that it would be execration to make light of what they have held sacred. Finally, an initiate does not at first grasp the fact that all the rites are deceptions, and by the time that this is apparent to him he has become so thoroughly a part of the organization that he has no thought of betraying his associates, upsetting a vital part in the complicated fabric of Bella Coola life, and exposing himself to ruin and death. A logical white man might think these considerations insufficient, but the existence of the society proves that the varied motives operate so strongly that a young man does keep silence. Some informants state that hypnotism was formerly used to ensure obedience.

[828]

*575 The *kukuriat* are always ready to deal with an emergency
176 such as sometimes occurs in spite of every precaution. It is
781 remembered that about one hundred and fifty years ago during
424 a dance at the village of *Naqāmāit*, a figure, representing one of the supernatural beings, had the misfortune to drop his mask, the strings by which it was tied having worn through. The house was crowded with uninitiated to whom the deception at once became apparent. For a moment there was wild confusion; but the senior *kukuriat* rose to the occasion and closed the door, allowing no uninitiated person to leave. Then a *kuriat* was sent out with a whistle which he sounded as if the supernatural being of which it was the voice was growing

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nearer and nearer, till finally a thump was heard on the roof. 575*
O....., cried out the *kukuriat*, "it is my patron." 176

The uninitiated were told that in consequence of the disaster, the supernatural beings had sent calls to this earth for all within the house. Even small children were admitted on this occasion. Those *kukuriat* in whose families were dormant prerogatives at once explained to their relatives that the call was from the patron of one of these, and that henceforth the person addressed was a protégé of that being. But even with the assistance of all the *kukuriat*, there were not sufficient privileges for all who had seen the accident. The explanation hastily agreed upon for those who could not otherwise be provided with prerogatives, was that a supernatural being mentioned in the myth from which the uninitiated had derived his ancestral name had come as patron. Repositories were stated to exist in various places near the village for the designations thus created, and order had been restored before morning. This event was described by so many informants that its historical accuracy can hardly be challenged. Those so initiated were said to have become "*kukuriat* under easy circumstances"; as prerogatives they had merely the right of singing about their respective patrons, not of performing any particular dramatic dance, but they were, none the less, fully qualified members of the society. The prestige and influence of this organization can be estimated by the fact that it was thus able to carry through a wholesale initiation without its secrets becoming known in adjacent villages. Those admitted, though realizing that deception was being practised, were so overawed by the other members of the society that they accepted what was told them without question, entirely failing to use their common sense. Thus, this incident, which had at first threatened disaster, ultimately reacted to the advantage of the *kukuriat*. It is true that their prestige was somewhat diminished by the admission of young people, but in compensation they claimed many new patrons, including several regarded with veneration owing to their occurrence in ancestral myths. Since the latter 575*
176

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Not knowing where to go nor what to do, he hid himself on a small island within sight of the village whence he could see and hear the people seeking him. At times some of his *hahaiat* friends came close, calling his name; but not till he was driven to do so by hunger did he reveal his hiding-place. Then he answered the shouts of two men who at first pretended they were merely seeking him because of the worry his prolonged disappearance was causing his parents. Once the lad was within their group they carried him swiftly to the house of one of the chiefs, where he found himself seated among the most influential men of his village with the door barred behind him. The fear which any youth would feel in like circumstances was increased greatly by the awe with which he, as an uninitiated person, regarded the *hahaiat*, especially on this occasion when he knew that he had roused their anger. 575* [781]

"What did you hear?" asked one of the marshals. The lad was too terrified to lie, so he blurted out all the gossip he had overheard, including the news of the death of the Rivers Inlet Cannibal.

"You have heard too much, you must join us," continued his questioner.

The same man then asked one of his relatives whether he would "buy" the lad from them, that is, whether they would provide the necessary goods to have him initiated. It was understood that through his improper knowledge he had come under the jurisdiction of the *hahaiat* and that, unless made one of them, they would kill him. The lad was the protégé of his uncle who at the time was initiating him into the *naxnox* ceremonial, and who accordingly was most unwilling to have his nephew made a *hahaiat*. [688]

"Let him be a spy," said the uncle.

After much discussion this proposition was agreed to; the decision was facilitated by the fact that one of the lad's ancestors had been a spy. All night he was kept sitting in the centre of a group of elders who revealed to him the mysteries of the organization and showed him the whistles and other regalia. For twenty years this man remained a spy, dutifully informing upon any over-inquisitive, uninitiated person.

The informant was more than sixty years of age when he related this incident, but the passage of time had not caused him to forget the utter terror and feeling of inferiority experienced when he was taken into the presence of the senior *hahaiat*. [781]

Although every *hahaiat* assists in preserving the dignity and awe of the society, this duty is especially the function of those members who are regarded as the earthly representatives of 575* 424 776

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though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails considerable expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a *kuxiut* name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new *kuxiut* prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person who resembles a deceased relative of the donor. 575* 424 425 553 [556] [578] [426]

(2) *A Patron, emātus.* Little need be said on this point. The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé perform on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power. Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kukuxiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform. 575* 424 776 [533] [535] [578]

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name remains, guarded by *Ăsu'lkuxlaix.* An individual with several prerogatives has a repository for each. 575* 424 778

Although the *kukuxiut* are aware that much of their ritual is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time [773] [781]

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*575 424 773 778 [781] this undoubtedly leads them to believe in the powers which they claim. Each *kusiut* prerogative has had one of three origins:

(a) It was brought down by the first people. Before coming to this earth each of them saw in the land above his patron, who instructed him in a type of dance, and told him where his repository on this world would be. It is assumed that the earliest men were in contact with all the supernatural beings before coming to this earth, but it is believed that each was "blind" to the patrons of his fellows, and thus had only one.

[787] (b) It was derived from an experience with one of the supernatural beings of this world. In this case the repository was either at a spot indicated by the apparition, or at the actual scene of the vision.

(c) A powerful chief sometimes altered an ancestral to a *kusiut* name. It is believed that this occurred comparatively frequently in ancient times when chiefs had semi-supernatural power. In such cases each followed his own inclination in the choice of a patron,[1] and usually made his own repository within his house, giving strength to it by killing and burying a slave there. Although several Bella Coola informants described [184] this, Kimsquit Indians denied that it could ever have taken place. They say that all repositories were long ago dug by *Nuwadjignum*, a male supernatural being sent down by *Alquntlem* at the beginning of time to prepare the habitations of *Ano'kiwelsaix* and her husband. After doing this, he returned to the land above where he has since resided.

It will thus be seen that the prerogative of a *kusiut* is always derived from some experience of an ancestor. In carrying out *575 the rite, the dancer feels that he is continuing the works of his 778 forbears, a factor which increases his desire that neither error nor carelessness on his part shall dim the prestige of the society before the uninitiated. And, further, a man who has spent

[1] The Bella Coola cite such actions as proof of the amazing abilities of their ancestors.

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

through the motion of throwing it to his partner; the crystal disappears! It has been palmed out of sight at the instant of throwing, but the presumption is that it has entered the other *siki* who falls to the floor as if stricken down by the powerful object given to him. Now one of the *kukusiut*, who has been primed for the duty, strikes the recumbent man on the back, restoring him to consciousness. Slowly he pulls himself together, rising at intervals as if crushed beneath a heavy weight, and writhes until he finally produces a rock crystal from his stomach, as if it had been thrown to him. In reality it is his own which he has carried concealed from the beginning of the ceremony. He pretends to throw this to X, often so realistically that the novice blinks, expecting some object to strike him. All this time a *kusiut*, it does not matter who, has been drinking water at intervals and spitting it out over the face of X, "to strengthen him." When X has received the stone, the beating on the floor-boards, stilled during the transference of the crystal, breaks out again with full din. After a short interval the first *siki* stops the noise, goes through the same contortions and produces, apparently from his stomach, another rock crystal, which as before he throws across to his partner who falls down, and later passes it to X. Again the beating on the floor is started. The same ritual is carried out until four, or sometimes only two, rock crystals have been given to X. Then the procedure is reversed. The second *siki* goes to the novice and after much contortion draws from his stomach one of the crystals, which he pretends to throw back to his partner. As the latter makes the motion of catching it, he produces his own crystal which he, so it seems, forces into his own body. This is done for all the crystals (see Plate 4).[1] At this juncture the uninitiated are told to leave.

575* 791 796

One of the *siki* now kneads the back of X's neck and goes through the motions of pulling something from it. The frightened youth realizes that his spirit is being drawn from him and his terror, great in any case, is not lessened by the *siki* taking it in his cupped hands to the fire where he scoops up

[774] [781]

[1] [see category 116, p84(b) – ANALYST]

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*575 791 796 [774] [781] some ashes which he puts into his mouth and chews. Of course he masticates only the ashes but X, unaware of this, is concerned for the fate of his spirit. At last it is restored to him and he is told that the *siki* has altered it from that of an uninitiated person to that of a *kusiut*.[11] The psychological effect of this act on the mind of a young man who has not had time to adjust himself to his new knowledge and who is firmly convinced of the powers of the *siki* is tremendous.

The first *siki* now instructs two *kukusiut* sitting on either side of X to lie down to serve as a seat for him. They do so, irrespective of who they may be. If the novice is still ignorant of the full mysteries of the society, the *siki* announces that he is going to get a call for X. He walks around the house, peering here and there as if seeking something, and then pounces as if he had caught an object between his hands. A whistle [534] is heard, such as the novice knows accompanies the coming of every call; but he does not know that the noise is made by compressing a goat or bear bladder-whistle between two sticks held beneath the armpit. This is the "mystery" of the strange noises.

*575 796 "Do you know what makes that noise?" ask the two *kukusiut* on whom X is sitting.

If X denies all knowledge, the mystery is explained to him, [688] and he is warned that he will be killed if he communicates the information to uninitiated persons. If he answers that he knows the cause, he is asked who has told him. Perhaps some lad has been peeking and has told X of what he has seen; in that case the over-inquisitive youth is at once initiated to prevent further leakage of information. As soon as X has learnt the great secret he moves to one side and the singers take their positions behind the fire. His father, or whoever it [425] may be from whom he is to obtain his name, then stands up [553] and unfolds its origin, telling which supernatural being is his patron, and the locality of his repository. X sometimes re-

[178] [11]This part of the rite has been omitted for so many years that many of the middle-aged *kukusiut* have forgotten it.

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

prohibitions that last not for one year, but for four. X is not subject to any other restraints. If he wishes to go hunting he can remove his cedar-bark collar and hang it for convenience in the forest near his village, redonning it on his return. The *kukusiut* show considerable interest in their new member, not only by warning him what he must not do, but by teaching him how to dance and to growl or make other of the necessary, but unusual, noises. During the remainder of the ceremonial season X is required to attend every *kusiut* dance, thereby learning much of the ceremonial, and during the following summer his relatives, especially if food is plentiful, frequently invite the *kukusiut* to their house. The singers beat out well-known tunes, or practise those which will be required for the following winter; if a song has been composed for X he dances in time to it, in the style proper to his prerogative. Formerly, when there were many novices, dances of this type took place frequently and were useful in giving constant practice to singers and neophytes alike. As no calls from supernatural patrons can come at this time of year, it follows that all such dances are of a non-sacred nature, although the uninitiated are excluded. During his period as a novitiate, X has one privilege; he can take food from anyone at any type of ceremony. It is remembered that one novice was even bold enough to take food which had been placed as an offering for the dead.

575* 784 [524] [525] 575* 533 535 575* 264

When the next *kusiut* season opens, X attends every performance. This is probably the most thrilling and nerve-racking period in his life. He does not know exactly when he will be allowed to give his dance, since that is a matter of arrangement between his relatives and the marshals, but he knows that the time will soon be at hand. When the great day, or rather night, actually comes, X is usually in a state of abject terror. The rite itself does not differ from those about to be described except that the first song relates the manner in which X found the repository. But the mental attitude of X differs greatly from that of an old performer. One informant,

575* 781● 796

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 a woman about sixty years of age, vividly recalled her fears
781 when she, a young woman, gave her first performance. It was
796 the Dance of *Winwina* (II, p. 187), in which she had to call out loudly when a large number of uninitiated persons, including Carrier Indians, were present. One of the marshals was her great-uncle and he had carefully taught her what she was to say. A few minutes before the time for her announcement he came to where she lay hidden in an enclosure behind the fire:

"Do you see your relatives here?" he said. "Look at your father, your mother, and your uncles. If you fail to say what you are expected to say, they will all die in a few weeks, and so will you. Be bold!"

The woman asserted that it was the most terrifying experience in her whole life because, though she knew there was
[688] deception in the rites, she also knew the power of the society and that the threat of death in case of error was no idle one. She was so frightened that she forgot the carefully learnt words and it required the prompting of the hidden marshal to get her through the ordeal.

But once the first rite has been successfully negotiated, it is a proud day for the novice. He feels himself a real *kusiut* and glories in his superiority over his former associates. For the rest of the season he, like everyone else who has performed a dance, must attend every rite. Energetic novices sometimes give their dances on two, or even three, successive years, though usually a man allows five or six to elapse between displays.

*575 If X should die during the year's interval between his ini-
766 tiation and his first dance, he is secretly buried by his fellow *kukusiut* without the customary mourning rites, and with no
[533] uninitiated persons present at the grave. His song, if one has been composed for him, is sung softly, and he is interred adorned with his collar of dyed cedar-bark. During the next ceremonial season, that at which he should have danced, it is necessary for a brother, or other near relative, to receive a call since it is felt that a dance once begun must be completed,

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 *796 the affair, and so many differences of opinion are voiced that it is often difficult to understand how the ritual can be carried out as smoothly as it is. The masks are tried on, adjustments in the rope fastenings made, and final selection of the wearers approved. In fact, the summoning of the *kukusiut* is regarded by them as an invitation to try on the masks and it is said that *[203] [195] the herald sometimes calls them with a cryptic:

"Measure your heads, *kukusiaot*," the significance of which the uninitiated fail to grasp.

At last those who are to wear the masks are chosen. They conceal themselves in one of the two matting shelters, while the other is full of those *kukusiut* who have prerogatives as Cannibals, Scratchers, or Breakers. It is these who are most feared by the uninitiated, and if a slight accident should take [781] place they rush forth suddenly, frightening the non-members to such an extent that they fail to notice a mistake which would otherwise expose the mystery of the rites.

Meanwhile *Ăno°likwolsaix* at intervals sticks her head around the corner of the door to mock the uninitiated.

"You stupid ones!" she gibes. "You and you [naming two uninitiated] almost found my repository. You came so close to me that I put out my stick and tripped you up. [A safe statement since everyone stumbles over half-buried roots some time or another.] You were so blind that you did not see me. Look where you are going, keep your eyes open, and then you will become a *kusiut*, instead of remaining a nonentity."

The uninitiated, sick at heart over the missed opportunity, resolve to be more alert in future. Difficult though it is for [781] the white man to understand such credulity, yet different elderly informants repeatedly recalled the chagrin with which they had listened to such remarks when young. Childhood impressions of respect and fear are too deeply ingrained for doubt to enter.

At last all is ready and one of the marshals tells a *kusiut* to open the door and call the non-members. In they rush, to stand near the door and gaze upon the marvels with which X

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has been in contact. Their attitude of uncertainty as to whether they are gazing upon real supernatural beings or on representations of them has already been described, but the uninitiated do not theorize on the point—they are seeing strange sights about which X and the *kukusiut* know, that is enough for them. 575* 796*

Behind the fire they see a canoe-shaped erection, a model of *Noäkxnum*'s craft, with six or eight masked heads, his passengers, appearing over the sides. Near this are four more disguised figures, three standing and one sitting. *Ano°likwolsaix* ranges in the vicinity, while X himself stands behind, at intervals sweeping one arm over the heads of the strange beings and uttering a droning cry. *Ano°likwolsaix* explains to the uninitiated that the figures have come from afar, that they are powerful, but not to be afraid, since X's drone gives protection to them from the supernatural ones. She points to one of the figures whose mask is painted with the design of a salmon.[24] 575* 796* 532 776

"See!" she says, "There is *Noäkxnum*; unless he brings the salmon they cannot come to our river."

Another of the standing figures is described as *Dakdakänmem*, and the other as *Älätlumktnum*. In each case she states briefly the functions of the being. The seated figure, who wears a large hat and rests on a mat, is the Resident. Great is the mystification of the uninitiated at seeing these supernatural beings[25] normally visible only to X. How they envy him! Another frequent display is of a group of masked figures playing *sleli* (II, p. 382). If this has been done, *Ano°likwolsaix* explains that this game is of interest to the salmon and that it is therefore played in *Noäkxnum*'s canoe. [781]

[24]There is no doubt that in former times the Bella Coola attached greater importance to the designs painted on masks than they do at present. Except for a few vague notes it was impossible to obtain information on this subject; in fact, in 1922 there was only one Bella Coola alive who understood the symbols used. This man was drunk so often that he proved an impossible informant. It is fortunate that Professor Boas recorded a considerable number of designs (*op. cit.*), to which the reader is referred. [177]

[25]As already described, the uninitiated undoubtedly believe that they are actually gazing upon supernatural beings.

[The Dance of Wil·a]

About dusk on the following day X, who is in his own house, suddenly stands up and cries out: 575* 796*

"Yes. It has come. I am afraid. Yes! I will do as you bid me." 787

The *kukusiut* women begin to drone and the uninitiated are expelled. Heralds announce that a *kusiut* has been pressed to earth, and presently they go to every house inviting the *kukusiut* to gather in X's. From this point on, the rite of *łsuxtämem* continues in the manner already described.

The ability of X to summon these nine brothers from above is a special prerogative; other *kukusiut* have one or other of them as patron, but lack the power to call the whole number to earth. One *kusiut* has exclusive knowledge of the mat which is spread for *Omqomkilska* when the other supernatural beings summon him to a ceremony; another of the place where the brethren obtain their eagle down. Detailed information was not obtained about these ceremonies. [424]

THE CANNIBAL DANCE

Of all *kusiut* dances, the one of which the uninitiated are most afraid, and which is, therefore, the strongest, is the Cannibal dance. It is believed that the performer is exposed to greater dangers than in any other rite, and observers have the most spectacular ocular demonstrations of his powers. The patrons of most Cannibals are *Älquntäm*, *Sexsexkälaix*, or *Kämai·ts*, who implant in their protégés a wolf, bear, or eagle, causing them to devour strange foods. The Bella Coola consider that a man is equally a Cannibal whether he has the prerogative of eating corpses, biting the living, eating dogs or raw salmon, or biting himself. The most common of these is the right to bite the living, and few of the older people are not scarred thereby. Fear of Cannibals is one of the strongest causes for the respect with which the uninitiated regard the *kusiut* society, but though the holders of prerogatives of this type are regarded with awe on account of their powers, they are not considered as chiefs, as the Bella Coola say is the case

575* 796* 424 [981] [776] [787] [781] [171] [622]

*575 *796 tion and those quarrelling follow him as he goes to every house growling and crying *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*. By the time he returns home their anger has cooled. It is then necessary to quiet X by means of the elaborate beating of sticks. This is repeated four times, while a *kusiut* spits violently over him.

Before leaving his own home to attend a *kusiut* dance, a little food is always given to X in case he should become hungry and start biting people. On *qothm* he always dances after the donor of the ceremony,[44] and when the *kukusiut* eat together he always receives his portion immediately after that of the marshals. Fear of all Cannibals is one of the most potent [626] [781] deterrents to the uninitiated, but the most dreaded are those, like X, who have just returned from the land above and may at any moment break forth into an orgy of biting. Several elderly informants recalled vividly the terror with which they regarded such a Cannibal when they were young.

The *kukusiut* take full advantage of the fear which X inspires in the uninitiated. On *qothm* nights when the time arrives for the latter to depart, they are often chased forth by the frenzy of X, or one of his fellow-Cannibals who has likewise been to the land above. X starts to call out, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, and rises to his feet; the singers at once begin to beat out one of his songs and the uninitiated hurriedly flee, while the Cannibal's guardians press close around him as he dances as if to prevent him running amuck among the frightened people crowding out of the door. As he dances and hears his song, he becomes more and more excited; he growls and only the repeated *hoip* of his guardians and their pressure upon the back of his neck appear to restrain him. Non-members [781] and even those *kukusiut* who do not understand the full mysteries of the Cannibal dance cannot fail to be impressed. The raising of the arms is supposed to inflame a Cannibal, so if it is desired still more to impress the uninitiated, one of the *kukusiut* lifts his arms, and is bitten by X. The heralds at once go

[44] If several Cannibals have performed in a single year, the order in which they dance is subject to arrangement.

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[The Cannibal Dance]

through the village announcing what has taken place. Meanwhile X, maddened by the taste of blood, dashes from the house, closely guarded by a number of *kukusiut*. Growling, he enters the lowest house of the village and, to the uninitiated there, it appears as if the restraint of his guardians is all that prevents the biting demon from breaking loose among them. This is repeated at every house in the village, and then X returns to that in which *qotlim* is taking place, where he is guided to his usual corner and a *kusiut* throws cold water over him. Any senior *kusiut*, often one who is also a shaman, calls on those present to beat time, and the frenzied orchestra of sticks sounds forth. X remains quiet and more water is thrown over him. This pounding of sticks is four times repeated, and after each more water is thrown over the Cannibal, until at last his temporary fit of frenzy is stilled. Then the *kukusiut* eat in comfort and leave. It must be remembered that the uninitiated hear the beating of sticks from adjacent houses, and their awe is perhaps increased by the fact that they cannot actually see what is taking place. 575* 796* [781]

This liability to madness lasts throughout the ceremonial season, effectively suppressing any venturesome uninitiated, and at the same time serving as a bond of union among the *kukusiut* themselves, who must sink individual differences of opinion in face of the absolute necessity of upholding X's prestige. A Cannibal novice can likewise become frenzied at any time during the summer following his initiation. [626]

The Cannibal dance entails a considerable amount of physical and mental effort, while if X bites many individuals, as he likes to do as a means of demonstrating his prerogative, he is forced to expend a considerable amount of goods as "Bandages." These two factors often deter a man from performing this dance. A Cannibal who has just been initiated as a *kusiut* at once begins to bite, and is carried away to the upper regions. He is required, moreover, to give his ceremony the following winter, like any other novice. During the summer he generally remains hidden within his house, and when he goes 575* 796* 556 [431] [424]

[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 *796 ●781 [626] initiated, who have seen or heard of X's leanness, readily believe the fiction that he has returned for a meal, and has once more gone aloft. One informant stated most emphatically that this was his belief when a young man; he had been warned by his father of the seriousness of the ceremonial and told that if he should dare to speak or think disrespectfully of it, a *kusiut* would "grip him by the ankle causing the flesh to become rotten." During a Cannibal's absence the uninitiated remain in a state of terror, fearing that, on returning, he may chance to light beside them and devour them. In consequence, they seek refuge in their bedrooms, or at any rate in the immediate vicinity of their houses.

*575 *796 After an absence of *thirty or forty days it is decided that* X shall return at a certain time. During the night preceding, he washes and shaves his head to further the belief that he has been to a land where the great wind has blown away his hair as well as the dirt from his body. Several accomplices are sent out, to a mountain above the village, to a house in the valley below, and to an island in the vicinity. In the early dawn the man up the mountain drones and growls, usually four times, according to the arrangement made. The people listen expectantly. After a short pause, the man in the valley makes the same noise; no mortal could cover the distance between the two places in the time that has elapsed, but all things are possible to a Cannibal. A herald goes through the village, crying out:

"We are left behind, we are left behind."

The *kukusiut* dash off upstream towards the place from which the sound is still coming, but as they draw near it is stilled, only to break forth presently from the island behind them. The herald goes through the village informing everybody that:

"He has gone away."

Presently X dashes out into a clearing on the island, naked and with arms reddened; he runs around madly while an accomplice in concealment uses a whistle. The *kukusiut* pursue

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* 575 placing their hands against his mouth and neck and pressing downwards to the chest as if forcing some object from his
* 796 throat, constantly uttering the cry of *hoip*. When the ob-
787 stacle has been driven down, X is offered his first food, choice morsels of dried salmon. He eats some of this but bites a small piece from the spoon, and does the same with the dish in which water is held to his lips. The assistance of a shaman is often required to feed the Cannibal.

The powers of, and restrictions upon, X for the remainder of the ceremonial season are identical with those already described. At the end of the period, however, the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to rid him of his *sqiols* which, it will be remembered, had been forced from his mouth down into his chest. By means of a violent repetition of *hoip* and pressing with the hands, this is extracted and cast into another *kusiut*. As soon as the latter has received it, he acts as if he had become a Cannibal. Dashing out, he enters each house in turn, growling and calling out *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, and at intervals ripping up the planking from the floor or pulling off boards from the wall. Then the substitute re-enters X's house, where the power is returned to X himself, who, this done, rushes to every dwelling and repeats the growling and destruction. Though the uninitiated realize that two different indi-
● [781] viduals have appeared as Cannibals, they are too awe-stricken to feel anything but wonder. When he gets back to his own house, X is surrounded by the *kukusiut* who call out *hoip*, in unison four times, while as many of them as can find places press upwards with their hands against his neck and throat to expel the *sqiols*. This succeeds in sending back X's power to the mysterious regions above whence it came. While most of the *kukusiut* beat time vigorously, a number of them pull down the platform and cast it into the fire. They then have a meal, while a marshal gives weighty advice about the care that must be exercised during the coming year in guarding their sacred secrets from the uninitiated; whereupon they all disperse.

[184 424] The chief contrasts between this rite and the one previously

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[The Scratch Dance]

obey one prohibition; he must not sleep with his wife for four days. 575* 796*

Like a Cannibal, X is liable to frenzy for the rest of the ceremonial season. During this period he remains secluded within his house, and the uninitiated willingly avoid him, believing him to be mentally deranged. He attends every *kusiut* dance, where his latent madness helps to frighten the uninitiated. If strangers from Kimsquit or *Täl·io* visit Bella Coola, he at once becomes frenzied, rushes to the beach and scratches them, precisely as a Cannibal would do; in this case he must be pacified in the same manner. A Scratcher always saves goods to recompense scratched foreigners. If it is the first time that X has danced, he must remain secluded for the following summer, and give his ceremony the next winter. During the warm months he remains within the back-room of his house, and though some of the uninitiated know of his presence, still believing him mad they do not intrude upon his privacy. The coming of foreigners during this period excites him to frenzy and he scratches them, irrespective of the time of year. [834] [828]

It might be mentioned that some Scratcher names are indicative of the dancer's function, and others, such as "The Cause of Fear," have reference to his prowess. [551]

THE BREAKER DANCE

When a Bella Coola speaks of the fear which *kusiut* dances cause the uninitiated, he almost invariably cites in order the Cannibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances. *Kukusiut* with these three prerogatives have no more privileges than other members of the society, nor are they considered superior in rank, but similarity in their functions leads to an almost automatic association. If questioned further, a Bella Coola will usually say that he regards the Cannibal dance to be first, with the Scratch and Breaker equal, but less important. Breakers share with Cannibals and Scratchers the prerogatives of not blackening their faces; of having as theme for their songs the land 575* 796* 424 [781] [554] [302] [533] [264]

[The Breaker Dance]

*575 *796 [424] *Isaix*. X is one of the few *kukusiut* having the prerogative of using supernatural singers. The evening's ceremony concludes in the usual fashion.

Until the departure of his call, X is liable to fits of frenzy so that on both *qotlum* and *nebusam* he often visits every house and breaks utensils, though his guardians appear to be making every effort to restrain him. Breakers, irrespective of their [424] exact prerogative, are enabled to act in any unusual manner they desire, and strive to excel in peculiar behaviour. A favourite trick is to smear themselves with excrement, either real or imitation. It is difficult to over-estimate the enormous [554] prestige which such actions call forth in the eyes of the unini- [787] tiated, to whom it appears that the coming of a call entirely [828] alters the mentality of the recipient, a belief which the *kukusiut* make every effort to maintain. Nothing further need be said of either *qotlum* or the preliminaries of *nebusam*, both of which follow the usual pattern.

*575 *796 781 When the uninitiated are admitted to X's house on *nebusam* evening, they are filled with wonder at the sight of the masked singers, of *Sänoltxumulelts Ałquntäm*, and of the four supernatural Breakers who move wildly to and fro as the songs are sung, as if only the eagle down which the *kukusiut* blow upon them restrains them from destroying property. The fluent *Änoºlikwolsaix* makes the most of her opportunity to describe the wonders which are before their eyes. Then the uninitiated are told that it will be safer for them to withdraw, and hurry out. Presently they are startled to hear the sound of people moving, and the four supernatural Breakers, followed by all the *kukusiut*, leave the house and proceed to the lowest one in the village. Around the fire go the masked four, picking up stones and hurling them at any destructible property. Most [252] houses contain a number of stones which have been used in [578] boiling liquids, so that there is no lack of missiles. *Kukusiut* [685] who are wise take care to hide or remove valuable property before this inroad begins, since the wearers of the masks take advantage of the opportunity to destroy the goods of those

[The Breaker Dance]

they do not like. No compensation can be claimed, on the theory that supernatural beings do not have to pay for any damage they may do. Although the property of some *kukusiut* is destroyed, the chief sufferers are the uninitiated; this serves to increase their fear and respect for the society with which such all-powerful beings are in league. After visiting every house in the village, the party returns to X's, where the masks are burnt, the call sent back, and the proceedings conclude in the usual manner. 575* 796* 781● [578] [685]

A certain amount of information concerning the history of the Breaker dance was obtained from *Syek*, the owner of the prerogative just described. He is a well-informed man, but the writer had no opportunity of comparing his beliefs with those of his associates, so the following must be regarded as unsubstantiated evidence. This man stated that the Breaker dance is the most important of all in Bella Bella, and that many Bella Coola prerogatives have been obtained from this source, although some of their first ancestors likewise enjoyed it. He further stated that the term, *noltcista*, by which the Bella Coola always designate a Breaker, is of Bella Bella origin, and that the ancient Bella Coola term was *dirtia*.[44] *Syek* also told of an occasion when a number of Bella Bella, present on the *qothm* night of a Bella Coola ceremony, were disturbed when eating by the thud of a stone thrown, from outside, against the wall of the back-room. Out rushed a number of *kukusiut*, incensed at the disrespect shown to their gathering. They caught the offender, but released him when he was found to be a Bella Bella Breaker, foolishly demonstrating his prowess. The marshals decided to retaliate and arranged with two Bella Coola Breakers to exercise their rights and destroy the canoes and food-boxes of their guests. They did so, and later paid for the damage. The Bella Coola were thus able to demon- 575* 796* [115] [171] [177] 575* 796* 648 688

[44] *Syek* and several of his children are the only Bella Coola known to the writer who habitually use the sound "r." For example, he says "*Swaleri*," instead of "*Swaleli*." He says that he is himself unable to distinguish any peculiarity in his own pronunciation, although other Bella Coola are aware of it. [197]

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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

in the village announcing that a call has come to X. Meanwhile forty or fifty *kukusiut* have surrounded X and accompany him as he leaves his home and proceeds to the end of the village furthest downstream. He enters the lowest house, followed by his escort, and stops before the central fire to call out: 575* 796* 787

"Please say what you want; I will do it."

He circles the fire, sunwise, repeats his call a second time and leaves. The same procedure is repeated in every house in the village, in order from bottom to top, before he returns to his own home. The uninitiated are told that some power has come upon him, but that it is so strange that even he cannot comprehend it. After a short pause, X again sallies forth, accompanied as before, and calls twice in every house of the village. The same ritual is repeated a third time, but on the fourth round, which soon follows, he carries a knife in his hand. Thus it becomes plain to all that X has received power enabling him to have his stomach cut, and the *kukusiut* show signs of grief at the danger to which their fellow is about to be exposed. Needless to say, the delay in interpreting the call adds to the mystification of the uninitiated, and their wonder at X's power. The heralds do their part by repeating his words with their own comments. [781]

When X finally returns to his own house the heralds summon all the *kukusiut* to it and the customary ritual of *lsuxtämem* takes place. The singers beat out and practise a song composed by one of their members for X, the audience listens attentively and then practises it until all are proficient. The theme of every *kusiotem* song is of the land above and the supernatural beings resident there. The wordless chorus consists of *wai'aiye'in*, which the Bella Coola state is the refrain of all *kusiotem* dances up and down the coast. 575* 796* 533

The second day, *nusiutälsap*, a second song is composed and a party sent to the forest to bring in wood suitable for masks. In the evening part of the work is allotted[11] and the songs practised. For *kusiotem* dances, in addition to masks, a 575* 796* 532 [533]

[11] Some is kept for a later distribution.

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*575 number of puppets is always made. Certain *kuhuiut*, known
*796 as *ăuayar*, have in connection with their dance prerogative, the
532 ability to summon and display supernatural objects in the
[424] form of small puppets. These are sometimes patrons, more often
[787] not, and include not only beings having human form, but snakes, hummingbirds, and other creatures. By calling his being, an *ăuayar* receives strength which can be transmitted to someone else—so the uninitiated believe—by passing it into the recipient's body. Non-members are told that X suffers
[775] death from which he is resurrected by his own powers, rein-
[787] forced by those passed into him by other members of the society through the transference of their puppets. The most potent "patron-puppet" is the giant toad. It is difficult for a
[781] white man to understand how intelligent people, as are many of the uninitiated, can be deluded into believing that the somewhat rudely carved wooden figures which they see moving before them are supernatural beings. Emphasis must again be laid on the awe, mystery, and power of the ceremonies in the eyes of those who do not understand them, and the very great skill shown by the carpenters in making use of hidden strings, trap-doors, and other devices to increase the dramatic effect. Puppets are guarded very carefully by their owners and are usually hidden in some cleft of the mountains. A well-constructed one is used when necessary for many years.

*575 Other preparations must be made for the stomach-cutting.
*796 As in all other *kuhuiut* dances, deception is practised and X is not really disembowelled. Instead, a wooden, or copper, frame is made to shield his stomach; over this is arranged the skin of a deer or a dog, cut to cover him from chest to thighs, with even the navel imitated. This camouflage is held in place by his breech-cloth and by a strap passing around his chest. He wears a blanket which conceals most of the fastenings so that the artifice is not noticeable in the dim light of the house. The chief difficulty is to find a dog with skin the same colour as X's.
[281] Many animals are killed, and the fur removed by immersion in boiling water, but sometimes half the dogs of a village must

2:McIlwraith B-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

be slaughtered before one is found with skin to mouth.[a] The marshals carefully supervise all these arrangements, but of course on this night the work alone is allowed. The entrails of several dogs are kept and worn by X between his false stomach and the wooden frame. 575* 796* [281]

After the allotment of tasks in connection with the mechanical work required, the marshals ask four women to come forward. These selected are usually old people with good voices who, from long experience at the dances, have mastered the two[b] songs used at each Kwakiutl dance. The theme of these never varies and is believed to have been handed down from the distant past. No prerogative is attached; the marshals and singers merely choose four women whom they think will be good performers. The songs resemble those sung at mourning ceremonies; in fact, they are used with that significance when X has been "killed" by disembowelling. The singers, the women chosen, the marshals, and any other *Indian* who feel competent to do so, discuss in an animated manner the exact wording and tunes of the songs. Then the musicians beat out the time and the women sing one after another, while the audience drums. In view of the solemnity of the occasion, it often happens that senior singers from adjacent villages are invited to be present to render assistance. The necessity for practising X's songs, apportioning the carpentry, and rehearsing the mourning songs has taken up more time than is usual on a *nuxalklaxp* night, and it is late before all is completed. Then, after the usual meal and admonishments, the people disperse. 575* 796* 599

Early the following morning the carpenters and those to whom work has been allotted gather early in X's house. A band, about two feet long, composed of alternate strands of *dyed* and undyed cedar-bark is prepared and placed on the 575* 796* 211

[a] Informants offered no explanation as to why this wholesale slaughter of dogs failed to arouse curiosity and suspicion in the uninitiated. [281]

[b] In fact, there was difference of opinion among Bella Coola informants on this point.

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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

* 575 The singers have also composed a song for each of the *dwayas*
* 786 and these too must be practised, while the men dance or remain
533 still as they think fit. Since no uninitiated are present the affair is purely a rehearsal. The words of each of these songs is of the manner in which the person helped X to survive his ordeal. By this time it is late and the *kekwiat* disperse after the usual meal and admonitions of the marshals.

* 575 The next day, *qulem*, the carpenters assemble early in the
* 786 morning to start work. Since X is entitled to portray any of
532 the supernatural beings who are companions of his patron in the land above, it follows that there is wide variation in his choice of masks to be manufactured. The principal supernatural beings are always shown, and any animals, since all are supernatural, can likewise be displayed. As usual, a few *kekwiat* are invited at midday to share the meal provided for the carpenters. The number of masks to be provided is often so great that two days or more are necessary for their completion, in which case no ceremony takes place on the night which would normally be *qulem*; the *kekwiat* merely gather
[533] and again practise their songs.

* 575 But the day after is *qulem*. At dusk the *kekwiat* are called
* 786 in for a final rehearsal of the songs, and then a summons is sent
[515] to the uninitiated, who have been washing and beautifying themselves in eager anticipation. In Kitasoo it is customary
[533] to hang some of the masks on a sloping pole behind the fire and
[184] the sight of these amazes the non-members. First the singers
● [781] beat out the song of one of the women mourners and the dancers
[535] in time to it, while the heralds near the door keep up a steady
[534] stream of remarks, encouraging the woman to perform yet more strenuously and to have no modesty about shaking her breasts. Then another of the women dancers, followed in succession by the third and fourth if that is the number who sang the mourning songs. Next the *dwayas* perform, each in succession accompanying the song composed for him. Now comes the central feature of the evening, the performance of X himself. As the singers strike up the *shaman's* song which he is

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[The Mystery Dance]

ornaments. Non-members recognize that Deer, Varied Thrush, and Wolf are really persons, but they have no idea who or what they are, while their whole training, combined with the atmosphere with which the whole ceremony is surrounded, makes it easy for them to believe that they are seeing supernaturally endowed animals. If an uninitiated person should voice his doubts, he would be reported at once to the marshals by a spy and forthwith made a *Sacrist*. 575* 796* 532 776 [181]

The next to come forth is a figure wearing a mask representing a man, and carrying a long stick to the end of which is tied a bundle of burning rags. The actor must be able to run swiftly, and, as he dashes at full speed around the fire, the strips of cloth are drawn out into a flaming stream behind him, producing a spectacular effect in the semi-gloom. *Ax̌'ítsmlaxis* explains that this is Shooting Star, a supernatural being who behaves peculiarly and who has, therefore, passed rapidly and without the drawing invitation that accompanies the passage of the other visitors. When *Sqoalim i* gave this dance, the rags were dipped in coal-oil to make them burn brightly, and one informant thought that this particular supernatural one was, perhaps, not shown in the old days. It must be remembered that details of the ceremony are constantly changing according to the skill and inventive ability of the carpenters. [178]

To the accompaniment of O····· from the announcer and the drawing of the women, there next emerge four masked figures representing the four Carpenters. In whatever ceremonial they appear, their masks are the same because they, as master-artisans, are supposed to have fashioned them for themselves. They dance around the fire without singing and disappear behind the enclosure. *Ax̌'ítsmlaxis* explains that these are *Mlemxilíkus*, the Carpenters of *Nuxpelmaxis*.

Now Opaldis *Mpanáw* comes forth. He is the herald of *Mpanáw* who summons the supernatural ones to *Nuxpelmaxis* for the winter ceremonial. He wears a man's mask, surmounted by a wooden bird which can be made to flap its wings by means of a hidden cord, and he carries a staff on top

[The Dance of Thunder]

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[981]

with short, mincing steps. At intervals he pulls forth his stinger and rushes at one of the spectators, poking the weapon at him and humming fiercely. The writer took the part of a supernatural mosquito at one of the dances held in the winter of 1922-3 and remembers the expression of fear on the face of a younger member of the audience when about to be "stung." The victim was certainly afraid on that occasion, and if that feeling could survive the break-down of belief, it is not to be wondered at that fear was universal in the days when the *kukwiat* were thought to be possessors of supernatural powers. Another being who often appears at a dance of Thunder is Rainwater-Dripping-from-the-Roof. The masked figure walks slowly around the fire and *Ant'lkwulnaic* explains that this is the water which drops from a hole in the planking. The Clowns are never omitted, and always cause amusement amid the gravity of the rite. One after another, the supernatural beings appear from the enclosure, circle the fire, and withdraw, accompanied by the usge remarks of *Ant'lkwulnaic*. Finally there is a long pause, broken when a masked figure slowly toddles forth. It is Snail, who started at the same time as the other supernatural beings but arrived too late to be present at the dance of Thunder. Snail circles the fire and disappears. At this point the uninitiated are expelled and the rite concludes as usual.

[522]

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[221]

Dances whose patrons are Thunder, Earthquake, Sun, or Moon do not confine their dances to the ceremonial season, but perform whenever a manifestation of their patrons occurs. If Thunder is heard, no matter what the time of day or season of year, X stands up and cries out:

"It [he does not refer to Thunder by name] is dancing too hastily up aloft. *Ano* . . ."

[199]

The call of *ano* . . . is thought to have a quieting effect on Thunder. *Any kukwiat* women present at once dress, then, accompanied by a number of his associates, X proceeds to the lowest house of the village where the same ritual is repeated. This is done in every dwelling, after which X returns home and

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cases though an infant in arms, though uninitiated, can be brought to dances by its mother; distinctions between rich and poor, slave and freeman, become of slight importance; all that really matters is whether a person is or is not a *kusiut*. Membership in the society seems to the uninitiated the most desirable thing in life, although their fears are always so strong that they never cease to dread actual admission. The feeling of class consciousness which exists in a somewhat mild form at other seasons of the year, gives place to a powerful sentiment of superiority on the part of members of the society over those who are not so fortunate. Even the respect normally shown to chiefs is submerged since they, too, are subject to the rule of the marshals.

575 * 796 * 182 571 [781]

Apart entirely from this attitude of superiority and inferiority, is the bond of fellowship engendered among members of the society by the rites. Whatever happens, the uninitiated must be deceived. Moreover, the psychological effect of gathering nightly in a body for a specific purpose is tremendous. Night after night they eat together; night after night they listen to the words of the marshals, who impress on them the need for co-operation and secrecy, who hold before them the good example set by their fellows who have carried out rites successfully, who emphasize the fact that they are doing as their fathers did. The ceremonial import is of greatest consequence at all these gatherings, but when the uninitiated have withdrawn the dancers relax somewhat and enjoy themselves. The food itself is always of the best and some of the usual restrictions are removed. It is, for example, the only time that women are allowed to eat the flesh of seals. If this delicacy is provided the marshals enjoy the tidbits, but after Cannibals, seniors, and others have received preferential treatment, the remainder is distributed to all and sundry.

[262] [562] [264]

It has been stated by some writers, especially those unfamiliar with the significance of native ceremonial life, that the dances of the central tribes are orgies of immorality. This point was investigated with care and it may be stated posi-

575* 796* 577 293 834

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by a marshal with a billet of firewood; such a blow was never repeated and might or might not cause death. The woman with whom the member had misdemeaned himself was either initiated at once or killed if her relatives could not provide a name and prerogative. 575* 796* 577 834

Restrictions between members of the society were less severe. Particularly during the long nights of *lsxtämem* and *nusiutälsap*, when only *kukusiut* were present and when men and women, often scantily clad, were closely associated, there seems to have been a certain amount of immorality. It was by no means a time of licence, nor was laxity encouraged by the marshals; intercourse between members of the society did not conflict with *kusiut* regulations, and was accordingly a matter that concerned the individuals alone. [688]

Relations between the actual dancers and members of the other sex were formerly governed by strict rules, rigidly enforced by the marshals. After the coming of a call, a man could hold intercourse with a *kusiut*, provided that he did so in his own home, but in no other. But after *nebusam*, when he left his house, continence was demanded until the end of the season and the burning of the enclosure-platform. The only exception to this rule was that if a second dancer received a call in the same house, the restrictions placed on the first were raised while the call was actually upon the second; that is, between *lsxtämem* and *nebusam*. After that both were subject to strict continence, unless a third call came to the same dwelling. The Bella Coola of today offer no explanation for this law, save that disregard of it was displeasing to the supernatural beings. An offender in this case was likewise punished by being struck once by a marshal. [688]

The religious aspects of the dances, as exemplified by the attitude of the Bella Coola to the masked figures and other phenomena, was described in the early part of this chapter, but additional observations may now be made. The writer realizes that the reader must find it difficult to understand how the uninitiated can be deluded into thinking that masked 575* 796* 781

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*575 *796 781 figures are really beings from another world. The explanation lies in the profound belief of all Bella Coola in the near presence of the supernatural; consequently, a supernatural explanation is the one normally given for all unusual incidents. The dances themselves are filled with strange manifestations, particularly the weird whistling concerning the origin of which the uninitiated have no idea. Once convinced by this means of the presence of unknown powers, it is easy for them to believe that the masked figures are visitors from the other world. Nor was their belief in former days shaken by certain representations which were palpably false, such as that of the sun. No one could believe that the disk which moved across the back of the house was the sun itself; but on the other hand it seemed marvellous to the uninitiated, ignorant of the means used to portray it. To the white man there seems a fundamental difference between a supernatural being and the representation of a strange object made to move by unseen means, but to the Bella Coola both belong to another realm, and are accordingly akin. Moreover, there were occasions when the uninitiated must have seen the shifting or actual falling of a mask, for example, during the fight with wasps. But here again the deep belief of the non-members came to the help of the *kukusiut*, who told their guests that this was caused by the coming of a call to the actor, and what might easily have become doubt and suspicion was thus changed to respect.

The writer laboured under two tremendous difficulties in [178] collecting information about *kusiut* matters; the present dances are mere shadows of what they formerly were, and there are [123] no more uninitiated. His presence and quest for information served to stimulate interest and led to a partial revival of the old rites, but the bulk of his material was obtained from infor- [114] mants rather than from actual observation. It is a universal characteristic of mankind to idealize accounts of former practices, so it is not only possible, but probable, that the foregoing descriptions are more perfect than many of the rites to which

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they refer. Even when full allowance is made for this, the fact still remains that the *kukusiut* were able to carry out dances in which they deceived the uninitiated. Above all, it is clear that those who were not members of the society had the greatest respect for the powers of those who were, and although doubt may have existed concerning the identity of the supernatural visitors, there was not the slightest concerning the ability of the *kukusiut* to have, for example, their stomachs ripped open. The writer discussed this point with too many old men and women to have the slightest uncertainty on this point, and he feels confident that anyone who could have listened to the account of a reliable old man concerning his fears when he had "killed" a *kusiut* in this manner, would have shared his conviction.

575* 796* 781 114

It would be fascinating to discuss at some length the probable history of the *kusiut* society, but this would entail a comparison with the rites of other coastal tribes and belongs to the realm of comparative ethnology. This monograph deals only with Bella Coola practices as the writer saw them or heard them described, so that the history of the society can only be treated from this angle. It appears certain that the rites have increased in secrecy. One old marshal with whom the matter was discussed remembered having heard that long ago masks were constructed in the presence of the uninitiated. Considered as an isolated statement this would have little value, but in conjunction with information derived from Kimsquit it becomes of importance. It is true that in Kimsquit the masks are made in secret, but they are shown to the uninitiated as masks, and the writer was told of one instance in which *Tlequt*, during his round of the village, fell into the water and remained there all day, to the amusement of non-members who recognized that he was merely a disguised human being. It is even said that long ago the manufacture of masks was entrusted to influential uninitiated. It is clear that there has been a tremendous increase in secrecy even at Kimsquit, and a great deal more at Bella Coola. The writer believes that

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*575 long ago the *kusiut* society was composed of individuals re-
*796 garded as having supernatural endowments, and who perhaps
178 believed this themselves. In course of time their influence
184 increased to such an extent that they were able to convince
[532] non-members of the supernatural origin of objects used in their ceremonial.

[115] Unfortunately, information from Kimsquit was obtained almost exclusively from one old man, who, though a marshal well informed in *kusiut* matters and in many ways an almost ideal informant, had long since realized that the dances could be nothing more than representations, and it is possible that his remarks were coloured by this knowledge. Though he tended to minimize the attitude of belief with which the un-
[781] initiated regarded masked figures, yet he fully agreed with every statement made by the Bella Coola themselves with regard to the firm belief of non-members concerning the supernatural powers of the dancers. He also confirmed statements
[688] respecting punishment if an error should occur, and mentioned the shooting of a Bella Bella dancer who had allowed his mask to fall during a *nuask* dance. As far as actual ritual is concerned, the differences in procedure between Bella Coola and Kimsquit are unimportant, and differences in belief are less than they appear at first sight. The Bella Coola *kukusiut* seem to have perfected their organization and to have been
[781] able to impress the uninitiated to a greater extent than their Kimsquit fellows, but the fundamentals of the society are identical.

*575 Traditions concerning the early history of the society are
*796 probably of little value historically, but they are important as
173 indicating the mental attitude of the Bella Coola. Considering the importance of the society there are relatively few accounts of what took place long ago; the Bella Coola know that it exists, believe that the rites are identical with those carried out by their ancestors for generations, and theorize no further. It was only in the beginning of time that things were radically different; it is believed that then all the people were endowed

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*776 According to the general Bella Coola belief the supernatural ones may be classified as anthropomorphic beings, zoomorphic beings, and supernatural members of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC BEINGS

The Bella Coola agree that the most important of their supernatural beings is *Älquntäm*, the supreme deity, maker of men and animals. He is most commonly known by this name but he has other appellations with reference to his various functions. The word *Älquntäm* is said to be derived from *uxquntäm*, "foreman," or "chief." He is chief of the supernatural beings. Other names by which he is known are as follows:

Sunxälotla, a word derived from *sunx*, the Sun. This term is used almost as commonly as *Älquntäm*.

*776 538 *Smaiaikila*, "The Story Man," because *Älquntäm* created the ancestral myths at the same time that he created mankind. The supreme deity is called *Smaiaikila* with reference to his membership in the *kusiut* society of the supernatural beings.

Smaialotla, "From Whom Come, and To Whom Belong, All Myths." As creator of the highly valued myths, the supreme deity is owner of them.

*776 *Snusälkäls*, "The Wise One," "The Thoughtful," or "The One with Great Mental Ability."

[601] *Mänakais*, a word supposedly derived from *män*, "Father," with the suffix *kais* as a term of endearment. This is used in praying to *Älquntäm*.

[601] [782] *Täiä*, "Father," the term for father used by a child; this, like the last, is used in prayer.

Ixälqotläm.

Nenodjenostem, "The Adviser."

Sälhmsta.

Nuyukmältsaix, "The Light Giver."

O-lok di Stälhmy, "The Moon Chief."

These names are not meaningless synonyms; all, or at any

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rate most of them, are carefully used in accordance with the 776*
functions of this supreme deity. As a Bella Coola has many
names, corresponding to his membership in various societies, [551]
his professional prerogatives, his ancestral myths, and mere
nicknames, so has *Ālquntām*, who is a superman, many names,
according to his special functions. It would be unthinkable [782]
for a Bella Coola to pray to *Ālquntām*, yet it is common for
him to pray to *Mınakais* or *Tätä*, other names for the same
being. The multiplicity of functions and designations approaches the point of obscuring the unity of *Ālquntām*, which in fact, some Bella Coola even deny. They state that *Sınxälotla*, *Mınakais*, *Smaialotla*, and *Nuxekmälsaix* are one, but that *Ālquntām*, *Snusılkäls*, and *Nonodjonostem* are three distinct supernatural beings. This seeming confusion presents
no difficulties to the Indian, since each family has its own [424]
myths in which such facts are recorded. He believes these, [184]
without questioning those of his neighbour, and it is even possible for an individual to believe two contradictory statements, [771]
if he happens to become the owner of two contradictory myths. Evidence collected in the field does not make clear whether the beliefs of the Bella Coola illustrate an incomplete transformation of a single deity into a number of minor ones, or whether they represent the almost complete fusion of a number of beings into one. Following the practice of the great majority of the Bella Coola, the supreme deity will be referred to as *Ālquntām*.

The most obvious attribute of *Ālquntām* is connected with 776*
the sun. He can enter it and use it as if it were his canoe. In 821
form he resembles a man, and when he takes charge of the sun it appears as if the latter were a large, self-propelling, radiant boat with windows through which he looks forth. It is said that long ago he allowed mink to take charge of the sun, but the malicious animal ran it so close to earth that the intense heat killed almost all living creatures. When *Ālquntām* enters [825]
the sun he wears a cloak, on the lining of which are salmon; reversing this causes the rivers on earth to teem with salmon.

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what is probably a moosehide, with salmon painted on it, symbolic of his guardianship of fish for the benefit of mankind. In other respects *Nusmät·a* has no peculiarities. Behind the house is an enormous tree, *Tsxnsin·iaqim*, in the branches of which live innumerable owls.

After this description of *Nusmät·a*, it is logical to return to its master, *Älquntäm*. Guiding the sun is his most spectacular occupation, but he also governs the movements of moon and tides. Powerful though he is, he continues to take an interest in the doings of mankind whom he created. Prayers are commonly addressed to him, and a certain type of shaman is believed to receive power direct from him. Other supernatural beings may work weal or woe to a Bella Coola, but he feels it is done with the sanction of *Älquntäm*. At every winter solstice he enters *Nusmät·a*, where supernatural beings from all parts of the universe have gathered to greet him. This assembly is called *qulxwaix*, and *Nusmät·a* is termed *Nusqulxwaista*[7] for its duration. While waiting, the guests perform *kusiut* dances, similar to those carried out by members of the *kusiut* society on earth (see vol. II, chap. 1). At *Älquntäm*'s entry the heat becomes so intense that the occupants rush forth precipitately, some falling and being trampled upon in the crush. Only three[8] advisers, including *Sxsxsälaix* (I, p. 41), remain to confer with him. They arrange the fate of human beings during the coming year; who shall be made a *kusiut*, who shall be born, who shall die. In each case the decision rests with *Älquntäm*, though he is influenced by his counsellors. Human beings can often learn in dreams what is being decided for them.

Älquntäm, in spite of his strength, shares the limitations of any other chief, and is not invariably successful. The Bella Coola delight in telling stories of how supernatural beings, especially the Raven, outwitted and defeated him. Even

[7]Often pronounced *Nuqsulwaista*.
[8]The exact number is uncertain.

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* 776 the top. He concluded that this must be the home of the woman. Before the door of her house, wherever it may be, there are miniature totem-poles which open their painted mouths and speak in the voice of the animal or bird portrayed. The writer did not hear that her home was in the land above [114] *Nusmāt·a*, as Boas (p. 28) states. At the present time knowledge of *Kāmai·ts* is so scanty that failure to confirm the previous observation is not surprising.

One or two passing remarks of elderly informants imply that *Kāmai·ts* may once have been more important to Bella Coola belief than she is now. One old man, already in his [775] dotage, stated that long ago the dead used to dwell in her house. Another declared that long ago prayers were addressed [782] to her, which is never done now. The word *kāmai·ts* is commonly used by the Bella Coola in a manner difficult to translate. [192] It serves as equivalent for "please" or "thank you," but has an underlying significance of a supernatural benison or appeal. It is not a word to be used in casual conversation; it is reserved for important occasions or times of emotional stress. The comparative unimportance of *Kāmai·ts* probably rests on the fact that she belongs merely to the realm of ancient history and has no sociological significance, even as the patron of a *kusiut* dancer.

772 Another supernatural being so far removed from this world
* 776 that he enters but little into the lives of the Bella Coola, is *Sninia*. He is the male being whom *Ālqustēm* sent down from above in the beginning of time to hold the earth in position, and who has since performed this duty. He lives among the ice of the far north, and has not been seen by mortals for many generations. He holds a rope fastened to the earth; when he is afraid that it has slipped slightly he takes a new grip and pulls the rope taut, pressing the world against the soles of his feet as he sits with legs extended, as a man would do to hold tight a kicking salmon. It is the tightening of the rope which [823] causes an earthquake. If *Sninia* should lose his grip entirely 575 the earth would capsize. He is patron for several *kusiut*
* 776 dancers.

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below. These are termed tally posts.* Each remained upright as long as the individual to whom it referred was alive, but fell at his death. Since that time, whenever *Ałquntăm* lends to a mortal *sininits*, the undefined power that causes life, his supernatural artisans erect in the land above a tally post for the new-born infant, marked with the bird or animal used by an ancestor. As long as this remains upright and straight, firmly fixed to the ground, its owner continues to be strong and prosperous, and has success in all his undertakings; if it becomes loose, or is crooked, he ceases to succeed. Prosperity does not depend upon the activities of an individual, but upon his supernatural possessions, spirit, tally post, and a third to be described later. If the tally post tilts far from the perpendicular, its owner becomes ill, and can be cured only by straightening it. In some cases *Ałquntăm* is kind enough to do this if placated by prayer and ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), and in olden days, shamans were occasionally able to penetrate to the land above for this purpose. Even when a post was reached, they were sometimes unable to set it upright, though they could always estimate the length of a man's life from its angle of inclination. In one of the *kasiut* dances, the performer pretends to have the ability to go aloft and the uninitiated are deceived by the erection of a tall ladder up which he climbs and disappears (II, p. 202). On his return, he reports the condition of the tally posts of various people. This performance serves to remind both members of the society and uninitiated of the existence of these supernatural elements, and of the dependence of individuals on them for success in life. In spite of this ritual, actual knowledge of the powers and functions of tally posts has been derived only from the first Bella Coola who, created in the land above, were acquainted with the mysteries of life and transmitted such lore to their descendants. One old man expressed the opinion

*[illegible]. One of the names of *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, refers to them, meaning, "The Place of the Tally Posts." *[illegible]* and *[illegible]* are closely associated; sometimes the latter is pronounced *[illegible]*, although this may be an error in recording.

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THE WASH-BASIN

A third supernatural element which must be in good condition if a Bella Coola is to prosper in life, is a *nuskelusta*, wash-basin. In the land above, *Ālquntām* has a large one filled with water which, having been constructed by himself, is replete with power. When a child is born, a small part of this receptacle, with its contents, is reserved for him; the supernatural artisans choose the actual section, but it is *Ālquntām* who gives them the ability to do so. A fortunate man, whose ventures are successful and to whom goods are attracted, is said to have a good wash-basin; whereas the ill-luck of an unfortunate person is attributed, among other reasons, to the small size of his supernatural vessel. The Bella Coola have no clear ideas about the connection between an individual and his wash-basin. Some state that it remains in the land above; others believe that its intangible essence comes to a child at birth and grows up with him, always near his body, as if it were the offspring of the basin in the land above. As long as it remains in motion the owner continues in good health and prosperity, but if it becomes sluggish he falls ill. Long ago, shamans knew how to reanimate a wash-basin, but since the time of the first people, when supernatural ability was common, this has been a lost art. Senile decay is attributed to listlessness of this possession.

River water, being a creation of *Ālquntām*, is akin to the water in his basin above. Boys are always advised to bathe in the river at dawn; the act is termed *āskelusam*, a word connected with *nuskelusta*. A prayer is uttered while washing. The combination of verbal appeal and the application of water strengthens the petitioner's wash-basin and so increases his chances for prosperity. Until a few years ago, this practice was almost universal. Water is always considered a strange substance, obviously a supernatural creation, and believed to be the chief means of sustenance for a child after being weaned.[20]

[20] This may be a mere rationalization.

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773 Shamans achieve much of their success through their ability
777 to put their wash-basins, both tangible (I, p. 560) and imma-
823 terial, in tune with *Ālquntām*'s in the land above. One method
756 of treating a patient is by washing, with the idea that the water
[755] and vessel used have potency through association with those in the upper world. It is believed that in the distant past, shamans were even able to carry their patients to the land above and wash them in *Ālquntām*'s own basin. Such feats
[551] are perpetuated in certain shamans' names, such as *Ālpālye-leslaix*.

773 It may be said in conclusion that although the Bella Coola
777 have indefinite ideas concerning the exact form and functions of this last element, there is a firm belief that an individual's fortune in life depends upon the activity of spirit, tally post, and wash-basin. With regard to supernatural elements as a whole, it is clear that in spite of somewhat conflicting beliefs concerning the precise functions of each, they play an important part in the life of every Bella Coola.

Means of Propitiation

782 Some of the methods employed by the Bella Coola to gain the favour of the supernatural have already been mentioned, but the subject is sufficiently important to warrant a separate section. In view of the omnipresence of supernatural beings and powers, and their influence on the lives of mortals, it is not surprising that the propitiation of them is a vital factor in human life. The chief means are prayer, sacrifice, and the observance of ceremonial chastity.

PRAYER

[776] Prayers are regularly addressed to *Ālquntām* who, in this connection, is known as *Mnakais* or *Tāti*, both meaning, "Father." A wise man or woman desiring success in hunting, in love affairs, in the acquisition of wealth, or in any activity whatsoever, is accustomed to ask *Mnakais* to grant his desire. No ritual is required. The petitioner merely seeks a lonely

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place where he is not likely to be disturbed, and addresses the supreme god in a loud tone of voice, requesting his assistance. 782

Although prayers can be said at any time of the day, or at any season of the year, there are occasions when they are more potent than at other times. At dawn, for example, a wise young man is accustomed to go alone to the river to wash and pray. He enters the icy water, blows mucus over his hands, and rubs his body vigorously[11] either with a smooth pebble, or, if it can be obtained, with a stone taken from the stomach of a sea-lion.[12] As he scours himself, he asks *Minakais* to grant him long life, power, success, and strength. On coming from the water, he repeats his request, and then washes himself again. This process is repeated four times, making eight prayers in all. A young man who does this habitually, and in other ways placates the supreme deity, is likely to have success, and may even be given supernatural assistance by one of the many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. The underlying belief is that *Alqantlm* actually hears the words spoken and, pleased thereby, aids the petitioner either directly, or by strengthening the supernatural elements in his body. [783]

Minakais has power over both rain and dry weather, and is petitioned for whichever is desired. When the sun is obscured by rain clouds, the Bella Coola pray: [821]

"Please clean your face, *Minakais*," or,

"Please show us your face, we need you."

Before a man starts on a journey, either by canoe or on foot, he always asks help for his undertaking. [484]

"*Minakais*," he prays, "Be with me," or "Go before me," or, "Give me what I want."

Corresponding to the importance of the occasion, prayers are always made before the departure of a hunting or war [224] [226] [785]

[11] Urine was formerly used for washing both the body and clothing. It was followed by the application of clean water, and undoubtedly had a religious significance; indeed, washing purely for cleanliness was not habitual until recently. [515]

[12] The Bella Coola state that stones are often found in the stomachs of sea-lions. One specimen, considered of great value, was seen; it was indistinguishable from a water-smoothed river pebble. [296] [823] [825]

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782 party. Canoes always start soon after dawn, and each mem-
224 ber of the expedition is careful to pray before leaving, and also
726 to avoid eating in case food should in any way interfere
[785] with the success of the venture. Before reaching their destin-
ation, a chief in each canoe draws from a pouch some eagle down brought for the purpose, holds it before his mouth, and blows a little towards each of the four cardinal points, at the same time asking *Minakais* to smile on the enterprise and grant a safe return. This does not guarantee success, but it is felt that any disaster which may occur would have been more serious if assistance had not been thus requested.

782 Although *Ałqwstém*, under the name of *Minakais*, is the
776 one to whom prayers are most often addressed, petitions are sometimes made to other beings. In the beginning of time, when Raven had superabundant power, mortals frequently sought his assistance. At the present time, he is sometimes asked for aid, in the belief that he may still have some shreds of his former power, or be in a better position than men to intercede with *Minakais*. If ravens croak when it is raining,
782 people may ask them to request the supreme being to stop the
776 rain; in such cases, a petitioner is careful to address a raven
825 as *Newakila*, his title as chief, rather than as *Qwax*. In cold
821 winter weather, a raven is sometimes caught alive, its head smeared with grease, and as it is released, the captor says:

"Please end the cold wind, *Newakila*."

782 Prayers are also said half humorously, half seriously, on
[291] many occasions. When, for example, clothing has become too ragged for further use, it is thrown on a fire with the remark:

"Please come to me again, new."

The thrower does not actually believe that in so doing he is asking help from his clothing, but it gives him a certain sense of satisfaction thus to have expressed his desires.

782 The prayers above described can be said by anyone, at any
424 time; they are means of propitiation known to the whole
821 community. In addition, information was obtained about two prayers, each of which is the jealously guarded prerogative

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of a single family. Either is considered an almost certain means of stopping rain, but no one, even though aware of the method, can practise it with success unless he is a member of the family to which the method belongs. 782 424 821

One of these prayers, the property of a Kimsquit family, is addressed to *Xemxemälotla*. If the petitioner wishes to stop heavy rain, he goes to a quiet place in the woods and calls in a loud voice:

Ałye Xemxemälotla,[a]	*nuqwikdit*	*lhk*	*di xoy"nudx*
Hail, *Xemxemälotla,*	open	the loftiest	of your heaven
sk̓ayuxamdu	*dji sinxwuiqwu*		*xim nunudjx.*
so that may look down	the cherished one		your child.

That is, "Expose the upper heaven so that your cherished child may look down."

It will be remembered that *Xemxemälotla* is the being who takes care of *Tłäqmä·ks* in the upper skyland. It is said that this prayer was learnt by the ancestors of an informant in the beginning of time and that a repetition of the exact words is enough to drive away the rain clouds between earth and the upper heaven. For many generations care was taken to teach some intelligent member of the family the correct formula, and the person so entrusted was expected to use his knowledge for the benefit of any of his relatives desiring fine weather. [776]

Another prayer prerogative of similar type was recorded from an old man who related what he had seen his grandfather do many years before. The two were once hunting when heavy rain threatened their success and drove them to the shelter of a projecting ledge. The grandfather, not having any cedar-bark with him, cut and dried some evergreen boughs which he gave to his grandson, telling him to light them and wave them over his, the grandfather's, head. When this had been done, the old man rushed out into the rain and in a loud voice asked some supernatural being, whose name was forgotten, to throw his eyes upon the rain clouds in order to dispel them. That night the petitioner neither drank water nor urinated, and the [824] [785]

[a] The vocative form.

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782 next day the weather was fine. This particular method of
424 praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the begin-
821 ning of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family.
[785] With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of
[177] customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grand-father of the man from whom the information was obtained.

SACRIFICE

782 It might be expected that a clear division should be made between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears
[824] dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any
[824] supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts
[825] of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether
[261] or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire titbits of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*Wai, wai, wai,*" "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural
[502] powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Menatche Nose,
[133]
[756]

the point between Lekwakum Channel and Bentinck Arm, there is danger from treacherous currents, so, when a shaman passes either of these places, he lays some food on the water and puffs eagle down into the air as he asks for help. If no shaman is in the canoe, this is done by the captain.

The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is *Tlitsqlilits-a*, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and gives power to shamans. Whenever a hunter kills an edible animal in the forest, he cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws them into his fire to gain her goodwill. Long, long ago, *Tlitsqlilits-a* appeared to a hunter, seized some of his quarry, and told him of her wishes with regard to presents; these have since been obeyed by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of a man absent in the mountains or at sea throw scraps of food on the fire and ask the protection of *Tlitsqlilits-a* for the one in danger. In this case, it is clear that objects thrown into flames are received and appreciated by *Tlitsqlilits-a*.

Mesakais, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accompanies his words by blowing up into the air small particles of eagle down. Prayers in connection with the departure of war or hunting expeditions have already been mentioned, but before starting on any journey by canoe, the captain is careful to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and four of yellow cedar-bark. The blowing upwards of eagle down is a common accompaniment to all kinds of prayers, but, if none is available, cedar-bark can be used equally satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water, otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and considered valuable by *Mesakais*, but they emphasize and accompany the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's sincerity.

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on presents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw

[975] small particles of food on a fire; these become large when they
[972] reach the land below and nourish the ghosts. An individual making an offering of this kind says:

"*Ìmskilìmset ìmskim,*" "This is to make weight your road, beloved one."

The needs and desires of ghosts have been made known to mortals through visits paid by shamans to the land below, and by the coming of ghosts to this world. It is, therefore, realized that food placed on the ground does not reach the [974] land below, but that morsels thrown on a fire sink through into the abode of ghosts. Offerings to the dead are not made [959] with the hope of receiving favours from them, but rather to provide beloved relatives with necessary food and to prevent them from showing displeasure by causing stomach aches and other ailments.

[972] Other instances, both of prayer and of sacrifice, will be recorded in connection with various myths. The salient fact is that the Bella Coola are able to gain, by such means, the favour of supernatural beings, a factor which plays an important part in their daily life. In addition, they have a [974] large number of practices based on sympathetic magic. No absolutely rigid boundary line can be drawn between the latter and religious prayer, but there is a fairly clear division between rites such as those just described, in which propitiation is the important element, and others in which the desired end follows the mere performance of a certain act. Customs of this last type will be reserved for later consideration (vol. I, chap. xv).

THE PRACTICE OF CONTINENCE (SHÌMIT)

[921] In addition to prayer and sacrifice, the *Bella Coola* have [915] yet another means of obtaining the goodwill of supernatural beings, and at the same time of strengthening their own supernatural attributes so that good fortune is likely to come. This is by the practice of *continence*, ceremonial chastity, of which the basis is that a man must not hold intercourse except after certain periods of continence. To understand this, it is neces-

A man may receive as many prerogatives with regard to house painting that he has to continue the designs on the sides of his dwelling, or he may receive as many figures for a totem-pole that he can erect one of composite pattern. X may acquire prerogatives not only from his father-in-law, but from his mother-in-law, and if he is the husband of several wives, the family of each may contribute something. If, for some inexplicable reason, X is not given any prerogative from the family of his wife, he uses one of his own numerous myths with the names belonging thereto. A man who gives many potlatches can choose to validate numerous family names for himself, or to concentrate on one alone, elevating it to a position of great importance. But any names he validates must belong to his family; it is contrary to custom for a Bella Coola to steal a name to which he has no right.

At this, or some other suitable time, X prays for assistance in the complicated rites that are to follow. Taking four pieces of pounded and dyed cedar-bark, and four pieces of unused bark, he places on each a small quantity of food and throws the eight into the fire. Likewise he may throw in four small pieces of any kind of goods. As he does so he appeals to the supreme god:

"Please strengthen my spirit for the many duties which are before me."

Instead of praying himself, X may ask a chanter to do so for him, in the belief that the latter's supplication will be more efficacious.

The necessity for supernatural assistance lies in the fact that any serious error or disaster in the performance of potlatch rites calls for summary punishment, since X has allowed supernatural sacred knowledge to reach the uninitiated. In such a case the duty of meting out a penalty falls upon the members of a foreign tribe. Nothing is said at the time, but the departing guests take away with them information of what has happened. Great latitude is allowed as to who shall be the chastisers. The guests may be related to X and the members

or a ghost, he informs a shaman of the fact and the latter notifies the relatives of the deceased. If no shaman is convenient, the shade does not hesitate to help himself. Invisible, and armed with a barbed hook, he approaches a person who is eating and pulls every a crumb which falls to the earth. Should the eater stoop to pick this up, the ghost, rattled of his booty, hears the offender with his hook, causing toothache or sometimes a sharp pain in the head or stomach. Other ailments are caused by the ghosts biting with invisible crows those who have offended them. Consequently, no one picks up a crumb which has fallen, since it is impossible to know whether it has been an accident or a sinner. Another indication of a ghost's hunger is loss of a tooth. The loss should throw it on a fire with an invitation to the dead to accept his offering.

The barrier between ghosts and human beings is considered to be little more than a wall of smoke, just too dense for ordinary eyes to penetrate. In early times intercommunication between the divisions of the two worlds was so easy that a dying mother was once allowed to send her dead child on earth. Unfortunately, the woman's mother one day insisted on holding her grandchild, unaware that he was a ghost. Startled at his appearance, the old woman dropped the child, much to the anger of the dead people.* Ever since that time it has been impossible for human beings to see and talk with their deceased kinsmen. Like so many Bella Coola stories, it is doubtful whether this one is regarded as more than an item of ancient history; it is considered to be a fact, but it is not one that occupies too the daily thoughts of the people.

Ghosts frequently come to their old homes at night where dogs can see them. If one of these animals begins to howl and growl fiercely at a spot where nothing is to be seen, it is because a wraith is standing there and the dog's owner hopes that it will remain invisible. It is true that some individuals have received shamanistic power from a ghost, but more often a relation is dangerous and to be avoided. A dead person often

*The story is recorded in detail here (p. 97).

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power in this way, but their type can be judged by the shamanistic performances hereafter described, many of which are believed to have been derived from them.

The members of different families have remembered various means of making a person "clean" so that a supernatural being is likely to visit him. Almost every family knows one or more of them, and an individual who shows signs of becoming a shaman will be taught how to use his family method. In connection with this, the seeker after power will further purify himself by abstaining from sexual intercourse, by frequent washing in hot springs, by eating small portions of the tails of snakes and the heads of owls, and by avoiding food prepared by a widow or by a girl secluded after puberty. In this way he hopes that his dreams will be fruitful, and that a vision may be granted him as he lies on the forest on his evergreen couch.

The following are some of the methods to be practised at dawn every fourth day.

(a) The seeker after power locates a small stream on either side of which there are growing two shoots of devil's club. At dawn he breaks off the four stems and strips from them the bark, which he uses to wash himself in the cold water. As he does so he says:

"Please give me power that I may see what I wish to see."

This is addressed to he plant itself, not to the supreme god. It is a request to it able to see some one of the many supernatural beings that roam the forests, but which are invisible, to appear only to animals, to all but shamans. The words are not a fixed formula, and similar ones are said in connection with each method. After washing, the seeker for power throws the bark and peeled stemmes the water.

(b) Again selecting a secluded stream, the would-be shaman picks up a smooth, water-worn pebble from one side of it, and with this rubs his body, then carefully replaces it in the same position from which he took it. He repeats the process with a second stone, crosses the stream and does likewise with two stones from the further margin.

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755 offender. A shaman is able to diagnose the malady, and when
756 he has pulled it forth in the manner previously described, he
[825] ties it up in a bundle of four pieces of dyed, and four of undyed, cedar-bark, sprinkles eagle down over the whole, and throws it into the river. This not only causes the sickness to return whence it has come, but placates the salmon who are glad to receive the beautiful cedar-bark.

755 (6) Another method is by making a present to *Tlitdp-*
756 *lilde-a*. The shaman prepares four collars of hemlock twigs,
782 wrapped around with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, and with numerous cross-pieces of dyed cedar-bark. When these are ready, all assemble to witness the curing, and to assist the practitioner by beating sticks. He first sets four basins, one at each corner of the fire, and then proceeds to pull it apart, leaving a glowing expanse of embers in the centre. The shaman throws on this bed pieces of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, as well as eagle down, and
[789] walks through, between the two halves of the separated fire. Several men stated that they had seen this done, but none could give any information as to the method. If actually carried out, the way in which the fire was prevented from burning the shaman and the highly inflammable bark and eagle down has been lost.

The shaman himself now guides the beating of sticks. When the tumult has reached its height he goes to the patient and places over his head one of the collars, passing it right down over his body, breaking the cross strings of dyed cedar-bark as he does so. The patient rises and the shaman picks up the collar from beneath his feet; his body has thus passed entirely through it. The sick man then revolves once, sunwise, while the shaman carries the collar once, sunwise, around the fire. He then stills the beating of sticks, which has been going on throughout, and casts the circlet on the fire. The same procedure is repeated with the three remaining collars. It is believed that these offerings reach *Tlitdplilde-a* who, pleased to

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receive such pretty objects, restores the sick, though she does not herself come to do so.

The shaman now sends a young man out to fill his curing basin. When this is done, he carries it around the fire, once, sunwise, and sets it down beside the patient. The practitioner drinks from it, and casts some eagle down on the surface. If it revolves sunwise, it signifies that the patient will soon recover, and the shaman proceeds to wash him with the water; if it remains stationary or revolves in the opposite direction, it is an unfavourable sign, and he throws the water out of the door. More is then brought, and the procedure repeated until it revolves sunwise. Although no Bella Coola can state definitely how this is performed, the concensus of opinion is that it is done by twisting the box slightly.

Shamans are not the only ones who make offerings to *Tlitsdplitsa*. It is generally known that she likes to receive things, so a sick person often throws on the fire a little grease, some of his own clothing, or other objects of small value. By so doing he hopes that she may appear, or that the sickness will vanish as the object is consumed in the flames. A person in good health sometimes makes like offerings, either on the central house fire or on one built behind the house, at the same time asking *Tlitsdplitsa* to help guard him.

(v) In recent years some shamans have been in the habit of displaying the sickness in visible form; this is said to have been a practice adopted from the Bella Bella. After throwing himself on top of the patient the shaman sucks violently, and produces such an object as a toad, a snail, or a stick of wood, which he claims to have been the cause of the malady. This has, of course, been concealed throughout in his mouth. This belief is fostered by the undoubted skill of some shamans in extracting such foreign substances as a salmon bone, wedged in a patient's throat, or a sliver. In such cases he first works with his fingers to force the object onto the surface. It is believed that some shamans are so powerful they can draw forth foreign substances by the mere application of their stick

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* 956 955 mouth, and the malady departed. It had been absorbed into the stick, and later driven from it by the shaman's breath.

* 956 789 This man made a great reputation for himself with his ability to hang from his small stick. On one occasion, after fishing on the lower Fraser River, he was encamped on the ocean beach near Seattle, where he had gone to pick hops. Four white men who had heard of his powers came to his tent for a demonstration. He put on his robes, took his small stick from his box, and used the ridge pole of his tent as the heavier horizontal one. The white men examined the small stick and found nothing peculiar about it. The man performed his dance, in the course of it throwing the small stick up against the ridge pole, where it remained suspended with the actor hanging from it. After releasing his hold, he struck the smaller stick a slight blow with his hand and it at once came away from the ridge pole.

* 956 789 As already mentioned, it is extremely difficult to obtain accounts of dreams which have served as sources for shamanistic performances. They are unconsciously embellished by the performer to such an extent that the ritual displayed has probably slight resemblance to the vision on which it is based.

The following, however, is an example of the type that could have served as claims. A man once dreamed that he saw Mount *Nuxpale* with its rocks adorned with handsome pictures. The other mountains of the valley were also discovered, but none of them was so fine. If he had had the desire and the necessary wealth he could have arranged with the carpenters to have the designs that he saw in his dream painted, and could have displayed them as a shaman's vision.

* 956 ● 782 A shaman, particularly one who has received a vision from *Tlexlyilite-a*, and who has had marked success both in curing the sick and in giving conjuring exhibitions, is considered to be in peculiarly close association with supernatural beings. Accordingly, he is regarded as a fit person to ask their assistance, not that he has any means of gaining help that are not open to others, but merely that his greater acquaintance with

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them renders it more likely that they will grant his requests. Therefore, a shaman is usually called upon to perform the following rites: 756* 782

(1) Washing the mouth of a person who has died without voiding from his body the first salmon or eulachon of the season (I, p. 436). [764]

(2) Asking assistance for the complicated rites of the potlatch (I, p. 191). [556]

(3) Request for assistance before starting on a journey, by pulling eagle down into the air (I, p. 106). [784]

(4) Request for aid by means of placing food on the water and blowing eagle down into the air at Measachie Nose and Kwatna (I, p. 109).

In fact a supplication to any supernatural being can be made with greater prospect of success by a shaman than by any other person.

The Power of Shamans

As has been said, a shaman actually has power within himself, and this is so strong that it may be a source of danger to others. If a man should pass behind one so endowed when the latter is eating, his spirit would be drawn from his body into the shaman's mouth, which would close with a click, crushing the spirit and killing the man. This is quite involuntary on the part of the shaman. It happened more than once among the early inhabitants, and since that time people have been very careful not to pass behind an eating shaman; this taboo was still in force until about 1885. A shaman, too, is said to be able to recall a spirit which has left its body, and thus cause illness. It is believed by some that shamans can see the position of a person's tally pole, and so judge the length of his life. These examples show the varying beliefs of different Bella Coola concerning the powers of shamans. 756* [761] [264] [178] [755]

But the force within the shaman is really more dangerous to its possessor than to others. As certain "unclean" objects are able to subdue supernatural beings, so do these same ob- 756* 783 841

called out to him, and then remember no more. It was obvious that she had seen a ghost.

It is over diseases caused by ghosts this shaman from the dead has power. If a person picks up and eats any morsels which he has dropped he will usually suffer, because, though he thinks the crumbs have fallen, they have really been pulled from his hands by a hungry ghost, who thus showed his desire for food. By picking up and eating the fragments, the man thwarts a dead person who retaliates by forcing some sickness into him. Ghosts may visit this land of the living and ask their relatives for food or clothing, but metals, unable to hear the speech of the dead, are unaware of the requests of their deceased relatives, and so do not answer them. The irritated ghosts respond by causing sickness. In such cases a shaman from the dead is able to seek out the cause of the ill, and sometimes to display it as a bone, twig, or other small object and at the same time to tell the sufferer what was that his relatives desired. Like ordinary shamans, shaman from the dead uses his own discretion whether or not to employ the violent beating of sticks, and like his fellow-practitioner receives payment from those whom he has helped. There are no fixed charges, but a successful shaman is always wealthy.

The intimate contact of ghosts with shamans has already been mentioned in connection with the ability of the latter to learn from the ghost of a murdered person whom he believes to be his slayer.

There is one method of sacrificial healing practised by shamans from the dead alone. If the patient refuses to yield to ordinary methods, the practitioner takes ten cedar-bark rounds, fills them with grease and placethem near the fire, one between it and the door, one on the outer side, and four on either side of it, parallel to the side wall of the house. By each round are placed two small wooden figures, roughly carved to represent men, and decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark. After endeavouring to seek forthe disease, with or without the assistance of the frenzied beating of sticks, the

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shaman pours the grease on the central fire, and throws on it 755
also the figures and some dried salmon. Thus propitiated, it 782 ●
is believed that the dead will be more likely to allow the sickness to be sucked forth.

Shamans from the dead perform conjuring feats and 756 *
dramatic performances of the same type as ordinary shamans. 556
Until he gives his first dance a newly created shaman is known [575]
as a *lsin*, the same word that is used for a *kusiut* initiate, and during this period he wears the shaman's collar of intertwined dyed and undyed cedar-bark. If he is wealthy and influential, a shaman will repeat his dance every fourth year. Such a performance can be held at any season, although the usual time is [796]
after the *kusiut* ceremonies. The dramatic representations are of scenes witnessed in the land below, though sometimes they are done in a reverse manner, following the practice of the dead in doing things strangely. Thus one shaman reported that the ghosts wore very long blankets, but when he danced he wore one that came only to his hips. The method of singing is the same as that employed by ordinary shamans, but one whose [535]
power is derived from the dead dances with head bent downwards, his free hand pointing to the ground with first finger extended. Also his cry of "*swai, swai, swai,*" uttered at intervals with a deep cadence, differs from that used by ordinary shamans. A dance always terminates with the distribution of food to validate the ceremony.

Like ordinary shamans, those from the dead cannot transmit their power. At death their songs too are lost, unless they 756 *
choose to give them to a friend who is also a shaman from the 533
dead. This is obviously contrary to the theoretical belief that [928]
all songs have been obtained during revelations, but is not at all contrary to the Bella Coola practice of having the singers assist the visionaries in "remembering" their visions.

The following tale, although drawn from the distant past, 538
is a typical illustration of one of the many ways in which 756 *
shamanistic power is received from the dead.[6] 775

[6] A few stories of similar type have been included in vol. I, chap. xxx to explain the life of the dead, and others are grouped together in the next chapter.

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About half a mile from the glacier there is a large rock shelter where mountain goat hunters are wont to smoke their meat. They are always careful to take with them dyed and undyed cedar-bark and eagle down, knowing that they may encounter the supernatural. Sometimes they hear the voice of *ʌxpełʌm*, a deep, long drawn-out hum, *m*——. If this sound is repeated four times it is a happy augury, but if heard only once it presages ill fortune. In either case some member of the party, one who is ceremonially clean and is brave, blackens his face, puts on a collar of dyed cedar-bark, covered with eagle down, steps outside, and says in effect:

"Hail! Petrified One. In the beginning you came down from *Alqantʌ́w*, from all that was wonderful and powerful. You have not changed, hence we mortals can still hear your voice. Please, may it be well with us. There is none other like you."

If the supplicant is ceremonially clean the mountain will answer *hi*——, four times, and there will be heard what sounds like a great landslide. Then the petitioner takes some small portions of meat, some dyed and some undyed cedar-bark, and eagle down and throws them on the fire.

"Please accept, Oh *Kuciaw*" (Powerful One), he says.

Thus propitiated, *ʌxpełʌm* grants them success in hunting.

778 (13) *Ełpiełnde i*: On the south side of the Dean River about one mile from its mouth. Here, in the beginning of time, Raven cast his war-knife, *ełde*, which was turned to stone and can still be seen. Its power has likewise become localized at this point.

(14) In the beginning of time Mount *Ewaky*, near the Dean River, was a man who was turned to stone. Across the river is his wife, *Ałkuhwełł*, whose ancestral name is *Kamilkde*, likewise petrified.

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In most of these places a sick person can receive assistance, if he is willing to risk the consequent dangers. The first essential is that he be in a "clean" condition by the observance of

[i.e. - certain spots where power is localized - see cat. 116, pp 599-600 for their location - Anncy57]

[The Dance of Wi'.a]

* 575 * 946 782 The last to seat himself is *Kwikhs Nuxkémpts*, an obstreperous individual, who always wants more presents than anyone else. When X announces that the beings above have taken their places, a carpenter brings forward the object covered with cedar-bark and painted with a design of *Xowsowálists*,* holds it above X's head, and then gives it to a herald who casts it into the fire. At the same time X throws on the flames some dyed cedar-bark, some undyed cedar-bark, a little eagle down, and some olachen grease, saying:

"Please *Xowsowálists*,* accept this offering and be present," and throws his hands up in the air as if casting some object upwards.

Still dancing, X calls out *hoip* several times.

The painted representation and the cedar-bark are objects which *Xowsowálists* likes to receive; the olachen grease supplies the flame on which they ascend to him. The same procedure is repeated for the eight other brothers, with slight variations in the words addressed to each. To *Omgowálida*, for example, X says:

[534] *Ardpmé'ssnhéme* | *dwowsówsowdsowsow* | *xwpowsowsuh*
Wunéqwhsu-xdowsowé" | *is the place where he sits,* | *the recipient,*"
hompwhlikmh
Omgowálida,"

When the time comes to invite the hungry *Tlitcqélida*, an offering of food instead of bark is cast upon the flames. X continues to dance after the final gift, and presently a thud is heard on the roof while some *hwiat*, chosen beforehand for the purpose, compresses a hidden bladder-whistle which the uninitiated know is the voice of the owl. Whether they be-

* 575 * 946 787

[184] [772] *In Kimsquit the offerings are made by a doctor who has this prerogative in connection with the power *Hiaiklaqwa*.

*The other name is *Ts'ipwem*, "The Recipient of Many Gifts."

*Dyed skin is one of the larger woodpeckers, the species could not be identified.

*This designation, properly applied only to *Xowsowálists*, is often used for his brothers as well.

*These words are ritually sung, each version has marking the end of each subdivision. A record was made of the music for the National Museum of Canada; record VII D 8a, singer, Jim Pollard.

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nemm, nemim, nemmim: Member of same sex and same maternal family as speaker.
Nemkilem: Supernatural being who comes with *Nankynem* to bring a call to the latter's protégé.
Nemkilemut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
nemil: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract.
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.
nemmemkim: Toilet-hole.
nemkimem: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony.
nemnelmimem: Exchange marriage.
nempakimem: Passages.
Ne-nem: Place near *Nalimo*.
Nemnemkim: Racial name created by *nyuyuyut* at Kitsequit in the beginning of time.
nemmel ki mimm: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker.
nemmel ni mimm: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.
Nemnemkn, "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
Nemnemmil: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.
Nemnilipmem: Supernatural being who created repetitions in the beginning of time.
Nemnimmil: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.
Nemnkimem: House occupied by the four sisters at *Nempamil* in the beginning of time.
nem-l'ximem: The use of potent medicines after seeing a giant toad.
nemnmemmem or *nemnmemmimem*: 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dried cedar-bark to *Pinnipilim*.
2—The cooking of offerings to ghosts by the roasting of food on a fire.
Nemnu-nil: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.
Nemnuimkilimem: Male supernatural being who travels with *Nankynem*, takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.
Nemnuiki: Mother Heron.
nemqu: Fishermen with inherited right to use of a salmon weir or of a place for catching shellfish.
nemqumemmik, "A Calling Back", or "A Setting": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural artisans having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation.
Nemqumil, "Where Water Entered": House of one of the four groups of workers at Kitsequit in the beginning of time.
Nemqumkimem: Racial name of a Bella Coola man.
Nemqumkilimem: Professional name of a female dancer.
Nemqumimem: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.
Nemsilkimi: Another name of a Bella Coola man.
Nemsimmil: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.
Nemsimmilmil: Kitsequit human mentioned in an ancient story.
Nemsilkimem, "The One that Penetrates to the Shell of the Rivers": Supernatural name of anthrops salmon.

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773 what cause this divergence is due. Mythology and religion are so closely
[771] connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Bilqula is Sun, the sun-god (compare sing. sun). The eyes of the sun are his symbolism. When prayed to he is called Tsal'ne. In praying the Bilqula look heavenward. I obtained the following formulæ: *Ailaxe ulilang*, Tsal'ne, 'Look on us when we are
774 dancing, Tsal'ne;' and Tsal'ne, *ulilaxtsamil'ilg*, 'Take care of us, Tsal'ne.'
[772] Sun is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and does not interfere with
[773] the actions and thoughts of men. Thus we given by Mamamalt'aq. According to the tradition of the Bilqula, before the liberation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is nowadays, four deities lived on the earth: Mamamalt'aq, Tsla'tsmut, Sialqal'eputh, and Ial'ala'lak. The raven wished to obtain the sun, but he was unable to liberate it. Then he went to these deities and asked their help. They ascended to the sky, and tore the curtain, which up to that time had been suspended between heaven and earth, hiding the heavenly orbs. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The raven ascended to heaven through the rift made by Mamamalt'aq, and found there a beautiful prairie country in which all the birds lived. Mamamalt'aq and his brethren painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his wife. The raven was not content with the sun, and resolved to try and find a better one. He flew to the house of a great chief, who kept the *sang'ula* (co-daughter of, sp'ewalm day to dawning). The *sang'ula* was a small round receptacle closed all around like an egg. The chief guarded it jealously, and kept it suspended from one of the rafters of his house. The raven knew that he could not obtain it by sheer force, and resorted to a ruse. He assumed the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and let himself drop into the pool from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pool, swallowed the leaf, and thus became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the raven himself. The old chief loved the boy dearly, and allowed him to play with the *sang'ula*. This was what he desired. He ran out of the house, broke it, and flew away in the shape of a raven.

After the sun had thus been obtained Mamamalt'aq said: "Let us make sun." He made the image of a sun out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Sialqal'eputh and Ial'ala'lak tried therein to carve human figures and to give them life, but they failed. Finally, Tsla'tsmut carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in each country, and they became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Mamamalt'aq gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to catch salmon, to build houses. He made rivers everywhere, that men should have water to drink, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by men.

The Bilqula believe that Mamamalt'aq and his brethren still continue to give new ideas to men. They say that any new designs of painting or carving, or any other new inventions made by a member of their tribe, has been given to him by Mamamalt'aq.

[782]

The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been referred to above.

774 The soul is believed to dwell in the eyes. It is similar in shape to a
[775] bird inclosed in an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies
[776] away the owner must die. Diseases are able to see and to recognize souls.
[777]
[778]
[779]

white crane (?). Qq'ots, is sitting on top of the post. The master of the house is Sisa, the Sun. He is also called Ts'ata ("our father"), or Sisaq'ala (776 "the sacred one"), or Smayalit'ca.la. It seems that he is the only deity to whom the Bella Coola pray. They do not pray to Qsmit'ts, the deity of the supreme heaven. I have not found any prayers directed to the other deities of the lower heaven. I recorded a number of such prayers directed to the Sun. They are as follows:—

Ash'ts'ala'ces Tsisa! ("Look on us where we are going, Father!")

Tsisa! ash'ala'cmalt'ca! ("Take care of us, Father!")

Tsisa! ch'ala'cmalt'ca ala'ncmat'ts'ts! Tsisa! ccqq'alancmalca! ("Father! take care of our road! Take care of us!")

After a long-continued rain, they pray:—

Tsqala'ces Tsisa! ists'ts'ncmalt'ts, Tsisa! ("Wipe your face, Father! that it may be fair weather.")

The mountain-goat hunter prays:—

Ccqq yalanlaces, Tsisa', ts'ncmes'ncmal, Smayalit'ca! ("Let your children look at me, Smayalit'ca, Father!")

A person pursued by misfortune prays:—

Sisqlamalt'ces Tsisa! smayamalt'ncmal a qlqqcmancmal'a'c. ("Make me happy, Father! You have given me too much misfortune.")

A sick person prays:—

Sisqlamalt'ces Tsisa! ch'a sccqlacmal'ces Tsisa! ("Let my life be long, Father!")

The successful hunter, or the woman who has found a plentiful supply of berries, prays:—

Sisqqlamal'ces a sdmal'ala ch'a sisqlamalt'ces ch'a qlalces ccsa'k'ncmal'ces ch'ala'ts'a a sqlalal'ces. ("Father! You make me happy. You give me what I desire. Thus I find what I wished for.")

The Bella Coola also make offerings to the Sun. Hunters throw four small slices of seal-meat, of mountain-goat tallow, etc., into the fire as an offering to the Sun, in order to obtain success in hunting. Sick people burn parts of their clothing, which they decorate with red cedar-bark, as an offering to regain health.

The second deity, who is called Ash'ancal'ts, seems to be of equal importance. Sisa and Ash'ancal'ts stay in the rear of the House of Mythology. Near the fire stays Sisaq'ala'ts'a. He is an old man who formerly ruled over

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contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast, they nowhere reach such a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I presume the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts for this curious condition.

The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to Sun or Ts'ists bear a remarkable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Lasha, the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face it will be clear weather, and men will be happy; consequently the prayer to the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from the Coast tribes is the ki'ixat ceremonial, with which are connected the various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism. The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the Kwakiutl are practically identical. I told above (p. 34) the legend explaining the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another tradition is told to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsi'wae, who lives in the forest, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by these distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious inconsistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the world and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not coordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 566 ff.

1:36:Uwrath E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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place where he is not likely to be disturbed, and addresses the supreme god in a loud tone of voice, requesting his assistance. 782

Although prayers can be said at any time of the day, or at any season of the year, there are occasions when they are more potent than at other times. At dawn, for example, a wise young man is accustomed to go alone to the river to wash and pray. He enters the icy water, blows mucus over his hands, and rubs his body vigorously* either with a smooth pebble, or, if it can be obtained, with a stone taken from the stomach of a sea-lion.* As he scours himself, he asks *Mouakaiz* to grant him long life, power, success, and strength. On coming from the water, he repeats his request, and then washes himself again. This process is repeated four times, making eight prayers in all. A young man who does this habitually, and in other ways placates the supreme deity, is likely to have success, and may even be given supernatural assistance by one of the many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. The underlying belief is that *Alpuxtów* actually hears the words spoken and, pleased thereby, aids the petitioner either directly, or by strengthening the supernatural elements in his body. [783]

Mouakaiz has power over both rain and dry weather, and is petitioned for whichever is desired. When the sun is obscured by rain clouds, the Bella Coola pray: [821]

"Please clean your face, *Mouakaiz*," or,

"Please show us your face, we need you."

Before a man starts on a journey, either by canoe or on foot, he always asks help for his undertaking. [484]

"*Mouakaiz*," he prays, "Be with me," or "Go before me," or, "Give me what I want."

Corresponding to the importance of the occasion, prayers are always made before the departure of a hunting or war [824] [825] [515] [296] [823] [825]

*Urine was formerly used for washing both the body and clothing. It was [illegible] for other purposes, such as washing the head in [illegible] [illegible] Indeed, washing purely for cleanliness was not habitual until recently.

*The Bella Coola state that stones are often found in the stomachs of sea-lions. One specimen, considered of great value, was seen; it was indistinguishable from a water-scoured river pebble.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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539 who, in turn, would pass on the request so that it might reach each
891 member of the party. Not only is it contrary to custom for a commoner
785 to hold intercourse with a chief's wife, but it is unknown for a man to
ask another to sleep with his wife, so the youth was surprised and rather
[837] frightened. However, he acceded to the request, passed on the instructions, and washed. As he was bathing, a seal appeared in the surf beside
[622] him, and he was able to kill it easily. Each in turn behaved in the same manner, washed, and then killed a seal. Next morning, when the chief returned he was delighted that all had turned out in accordance with his hopes. At the same time the wind dropped so that the party was able to return home.

891 The power which had brought the seals within reach of the
785 men had been engendered in their own bodies by these ritual acts after a rather lengthy period of continence. The Bella Coola believe that such a procedure always increases their strength and ability, therefore giving them a better chance to gain favour from supernatural beings, and to take advantage of opportunities offered. Hunters in particular are careful with
[224] regard to their marital life since animals know their acts and
[825] thoughts, and hide from one who has not made himself "clean"
[785] by continence, its termination, and bathing. *Sxetsta* consists of these three elements, but since continence is the most prominent feature, the term may be translated as "ceremonial chastity."

In its simplest form this comprises merely the three elements already mentioned. The longer the continence, the greater the power engendered by its termination. A man who has practised abstinence for a year has such strength within himself that almost any good fortune may occur, and cases are known in which it has been carried out for even longer periods. More often, an individual practises ceremonial chas-
[184] tity in accordance with a family tradition. One old man gave the following recipe and was most emphatic that it always
224 brought success in hunting and fishing; he added that on the
785 two occasions he had tried it, he had brought back a phenomenal number of skins.

A person planning to set out on an expedition for any pur-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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pose should remain continent for several nights to increase his generative powers. He then selects a time for beginning the rite and on the second and fourth nights from that date sleeps with his wife, holding intercourse repeatedly and vigorously until he is utterly exhausted. Before dawn on the third and fifth days he must wash in the river or in some quiet stream. Then follow four nights of restraint, a further intercourse, and washing before dawn. The period is next increased to eight nights, then twelve, and finally sixteen, each with a similar contact and bathing. The nights of abstinence are thus forty in all, a lucky number. An unmarried man can obtain power in the same manner with the assistance of a female friend; it is the act itself that is vital, not the union of husband and wife.

At the present time, only two Bella Coola are said to know this particular type of ceremonial chastity, which they conceal carefully, even refusing offers to buy their knowledge. It is potent at any time, but especially if the periods of continence have been so arranged that they terminate at one of the solstices. Then, indeed, can a hunter set off with every prospect of success, knowing that the human taint disliked by animals has been removed, and been replaced by a ceremonial cleanliness pleasing to them. If the time terminates at the winter solstice, the hunter should set out immediately; if it ends in June, he must remain away from women after his final intercourse. In September or October, when ready to leave for the hunt, he must sleep beside his wife for the last four nights; each night he must place his leg between hers, and each morning the two must wash together. The best fortune of all is obtained by a man who observes this forty-night period for four successive years.

Another, and more common, count[26] is to observe continence for four nights, followed by intercourse. Immediately afterwards, the man should eat as much devil's club[27] as poe-

[26]The record of nights is kept by notches cut in a stick or by knots on a cord.

[27]Or false hellebore. This latter plant is thought to be so poisonous that the tasting of even a twig an inch in length is fatal; a very small amount, however, all that is ever taken, acts as a powerful emetic.

1:36:Swanton E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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224 785 able, selecting small twigs from which the bark and spines have been rubbed off. This acts as an emetic, so that before washing in the morning he has vomited from his stomach all [824] 278 [789] polluting matter, especially any human hair which animals consider particularly unclean. Before dawn he goes to the river and remains beneath the surface as long as possible, irrespective of the coldness of the water. Then he returns slowly to his house. Four nights later the same acts are repeated. These eight nights of continence are followed by two further periods, each of four nights, making a total of sixteen. Thus fortified, a hunter anticipates great success.

985 A person practising ceremonial chastity is in a condition peculiarly susceptible to disaster, and must observe certain restrictions. If, for example, anyone sees him as he returns from washing in the morning, the power which he has been accumulating so laboriously is lost. Owing to this belief, it is customary for a man to wash long before dawn and to come creeping into his house through a hole in the floor. He must always be the last to retire at night, the first to rise in the morning; and he must say nothing about what he is doing. Intercourse is, of course, absolutely forbidden except on the proper nights, and at other times he must not even put his arm around his wife. Failure to obey these restrictions destroys any advantage from [837] ceremonial chastity, while actual disaster follows should a man's wife misconduct herself with anyone else when he is using her for this purpose. If she is unfaithful, her husband is certain to be slain by an animal when hunting, or to slip and be killed on a mountain trail. Animals know all that human beings do [825] or think, and they punish anyone who is unable to perform ceremonial chastity fittingly. Behind these restrictions there 851 is undoubtedly the sentiment that intercourse, held duly and 785 properly at the right time, is not a mere desire of the flesh, but a ceremonial act. Indeed, when the Bella Coola speak of it in [833] connection with ceremonial chastity, they do not use the [195] common term, *o-m*, which has a coarse implication, but *sulqlat* which has a polite and almost sacred implication.

Schlichter, R.S. (1922-1924)[1941]
MES Bellacoola MSS

Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper eighth before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *kactar* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaving of his tally post, but, if he scrupulously and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Alquantin* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy abstin-

[831] [785] [1073] [1104] once was enough to kill an enemy, as if his spirit had been driven from his body by a sudden start. Even in recent times it is said that individuals who have observed ceremonial chastity have been able to perform miraculous feats. A few years ago a Bella Bella man lost two sons and was trying to get enough money to buy a tombstone for them. With this in view, he observed chastity for almost a year. Then he went out hunting, and had killed a large number of the animals when, standing up in his boat, the sail blew against him so that he was thrown overboard. But he was so strong that he simply walked on the surface of the water and re-entered his boat, none the worse for his mishap. The man who cited this instance stated that a number of Bella Bella had seen the occurrence and could vouch for it.

[1104] Ceremonial chastity is not a matter about which the Bella Coola are willing to talk. It concerns both their religious and family life, in neither of which are strangers welcome. But when an investigator becomes on friendly terms, and gains some understanding of the inner lives of the people, he begins to realize its importance. Ceremonial chastity is not only potent in itself, but it is also the favorite means by which a man can discern himself of the impurities of human existence so that he feels keeper with the supernatural.

[1124]

[1125]

[327] friends, a further cause for their preferential treatment. A
[328] Bella Coola who had been ordered and consented had to
[329] undergo a cleansing ceremony to remove the taint of slavery
before he could take part in the ceremonies of the community.
It was impossible to learn the details of this rite.

[330] A master had complete power over a slave, unaffected by
the force of public opinion, since the affairs of a slave, being
without relatives, were of no consequence to anyone. Accord-
ingly, the lot of a slave depended on the character of his
master, and on his own ability and industry. An industrious
slave was valued; such an one would not be traded or sold
except through dire necessity, and in course of years he be-
comes, so far as actual treatment was concerned, one of the
[331] family. Many masters gave their slaves facial* dance pre-
[332] rogatives, expending large sums for the purpose. In such a
case the slave might become an influential member of the
community, though the fact that he was not free was never
forgotten. On the other hand, a master had not the slightest
compunction about beating a lazy slave, and could kill him if
he so desired. None of the present Bella Coola has heard of
such a case; it was considered more sensible to sell or give
away an unsatisfactory slave. It was accepted as a matter of
course that a master should provide his slaves with food and
clothing, since anything produced or obtained by one belonged
to him. A slave-owner had full rights to his female slaves,
[333] and unquestionably exercised them. The only restraints were
the jealousy of his own wife, or wives, and the feeling that it
was undignified for a free man to demean himself. It was im-
possible to learn with even approximate accuracy to what
extent intercourse took place between masters and slaves.
Probably not a great deal, though there was considerable
freedom of relations between slave women and the young men
of the community, unrestrained by the pride of chieftainship.
When a slave had been faithful for a number of years and had
[334] become almost a member of the family, his master would say

*Cf. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

There now remains only the necessity of removing from the house itself the supernatural power with which it is firmly believed to have been impregnated throughout the many weeks of the ceremony. Should this not be done, it would be so strong that only *xamit* could thereafterth live in it, and no *hamat* rite could be performed therein. One of the senior chiefs, acting on X's behalf, requests as many *xiki* as are present to go to the back-room. At the same time a drum is beaten slowly. The *xiki* call out loudly, in unison, *hoip* four times. The whistles sound from the back-room with ever-increasing intensity, as if the supernatural being, whose voice they are, were going away. It is said that this practice has been comparatively recently adopted from Rivers Inlet: there used to be nothing of the kind. The *xiki* re-emerge, and one of them stands behind the fire with his stick which he beats on the floor and calls on the audience to shout with him, "hi ...." This is done four times. It serves to purify the house from the supernatural power with which it has been saturated. The people then disperse, without food.

Goods from the ground-store are reserved to pay these men for their services, and also for cleansing the initiates from the powers with which they have been imbued, a rite that takes place the following morning in the presence of several *xiki* chiefs. The initiates are brought from the back-room and seated in a close circle between the door and the fire.* A foreign *xiki* is chosen by X to perform the actual cleansing rite. He has been asked beforehand and has come provided with a long pole and some soiled clothing. It is immaterial whose this is, provided that it has been in contact with a human body, the most potent articles are ceremonial cedar-bark pads.

The *xiki* covers the young man with a large cedar-bark mat. Then he fastens the clothing or pads to his pole and holds the end to the fire until they are smouldering. Then he swings it four times over the heads of the initiates and throws the stick

*Behind the fire according to one informant.

with the objects back on the fire. In some cases four sets of clothes are used. This rite, which is regarded as very important, frees the lads from the supernatural powers with which they have been endowed, and permits them finally to leave the back-room and return to normal life, just as their earlier cleansing freed them from the *sutsiwan*. During their period of seclusion no initiate can perform a *facial* ceremony of any kind. The supernatural beings of the two societies, though closely akin, are yet independent, and it would be unthinkable for a man to come into contact with the two at the same time, unless he should be the owner of a rare prerogative enabling him to do so. Only a few men have the right, which undoubtedly was derived either from the Bella Bella or the people of Rivers Inlet.

X pays the functioning *sila* with new clothing. This completes the whole ceremony. The guests either return home or adjourn to some other house where a potlatch is taking place, but no rites mark their departure.

Such, then, are the principal features of the Bella Coola potlatch. Without making a careful comparison of its features with those of neighbouring tribes, the following points stand out with great clearness:

(1) The basic concepts of the potlatch in Bella Coola are the same as those of the rite practised elsewhere on the coast.

(2) A potlatch has not the same importance at Bella Coola as it has on other parts of the coast, especially among the Kwakiutl. All informants stated repeatedly that they did not carry their potlatches to the same lengths as did the "foolish" Kwakiutl, nor were they as keen financiers. A Bella Coola would never entirely impoverish himself by foolish giving.

(3) The potlatch, though fundamentally the same as it is elsewhere on the coast, has certain rites characteristic of the locality. The central Bella Coola feature, the return of a dead ancestor, is not equally important elsewhere. It would be interesting to be able to trace the history of this. The most

further consumption by wriggling her body on her knuckles immediately after the delivery of a child. 842

To the Bella Coola religious concepts of birth are as important as the physiological aspects. The blood discharged at birth, and the mother from whom it has come, is *ouiu*, a word difficult to translate. It is applied to a person or thing which is taboo, and combines the significance of "uncanny," "abhorred," "to be avoided," "feared"; perhaps "unclean," in the biblical sense, is the best synonym. Essentially human, this blood is not only potent against supernatural beings, but is dangerous to man as well. For this reason a mother must never be delivered within a house. The smell of the unclean blood might kill all resident within, or at least prevent them receiving presents of any kind. Supernatural beings and inferior supernatural powers are alike repelled by it. 826 844 783

A recent mother is taboo and must exercise due precautions to prevent her baneful influence from affecting her associates, but this power is most strongly present in one who has borne twins. Even younger people, sophisticated in most matters, shudder when speaking of twins; fortunately, double births are not common. They are attributed to the entry of a salmon into the body, so that a twin is half salmon, half human. Occasionally a woman who is pregnant with twins discovers her condition in a dream and avoids the perils of a multiple birth by calling upon a shaman to remove the spirit from one fetus so that the infant will be born dead and deformed. If this is not done, the two infants arrive in due course, to the horror and grief of parents and relatives. Though abhorred, no case is known of the killing of a twin at birth. 845 [825] [817] [756] [847]

Instead of the two children being brought back to the village, word is sent to the father who must join his wife in the temporary shelter in the woods where delivery took place. For one year, they must not return home, and during this period must not eat salmon. Four times during the year they must shift from one shelter to another, each built on the bank of a small creek. The mother can drink water from this stream

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the front door facing the river, but has to leave the house through the trap beneath the enclosure where she sleeps. The Bella Coola consider it unthinkable for a girl to disregard these prohibitions, but if this should happen, she would be chased home by her parents, by the Guardian of the River, or, in fact, by any elderly member of the community. The strongest reason for respecting these regulations is the belief that disobedience brings death; no one knows how it is inflicted, but a careless girl soon dies. During this period she cannot eat fresh salmon, though she is allowed them if they have been smoked for four or five days. The scanty meals are brought to her in the enclosure where she is virtually a prisoner. It is true that she can leave it and wander in the woods, but her companions avoid her as being in an unclean condition of which they are afraid, and she is barred from taking part in all activities by the river which constitute so large a part of the life of the Bella Coola. A girl cannot visit herself during this time, so no more would grow in the valley which she had thus defiled; she must not touch anyone, nor allow anyone to touch her; she must not pass in front of a man; she must go to bed before everyone else in the house, and be the last to arise. The danger of breaking some taboo is so great that it is safer for a girl to remain within her enclosure where her mother, and other old women, gather to tell her the many things which it is fitting for an adult woman to know. This seclusion is not phenomenal, but it unquestionably serves to emphasize the importance of maternal life to which it is a prelude. The writer remembers on occasion when a Bella Coola family was eating very fresh salmon while one of the daughters, who had recently reached adolescence, watched anxiously. The grandfather ran out and gave the child an orange, something that in his youth little girls did not receive such detention to enclosures their lot.

Adolescent girls wear certain distinctive articles of clothing and ornaments. The most noticeable is a skull-cap bound with grass; this is the only time in a woman's life that a hat is worn. She also wears earrings, each consisting of a wooden

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and recompense to funeral mourners is usually delayed until that time. Such was often true even in former years, although poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the express purpose of publicly rewarding those who had helped to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any convenient ceremony, such as a non-sacred social dance. As repeatedly mentioned, when the people have been called together for a ceremony, advantage is often taken of the gathering to settle debts or to perform rites of an entirely different nature. It is probable that the summoning of guests solely to witness the payment of helpers was always unusual, or perhaps is never secure. On those occasions when a body was buried in secret after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the coast, the goods of the deceased were deposited as usual in the cemetery. Those who carried them were the men who had performed the secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the gifts as reward for the hidden rite without exposing the subterfuge.

Another type of ceremonial taking place after a funeral is the cleansing from the contamination of death of near relatives of the deceased, and of those who have handled the corpse. If spring salmon or steelhead are running, pall-bearers must not go near the river for ten days, or venture according to some informants, after taking a body to the grave. They have become tainted with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the river bank, would poison the salmon. Unwillingness to become affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly friendless slave being carried out to the cemetery by some old women who covered him with boards. The rules on grave-diggers cannot be removed, but ceremonially lapse after ten days.

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife whose consort has passed away. It is believed that death

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comes and sits on the coffin during every funeral, seeking further victims. Death has no conventional widow or widower that she or he will fall on easy prey unsuccessfully pursued. No special acts are carried out between interment and the burning of goods four days later, but the following four days must be spent in a small shelter of trees behind the village, hidden from sight to the house. Within this the man or woman lies on the ground with legs close together and bent to the knees, in the same position as a girl lying the four days after her first menstruation. A male friend accompanies a widower; a female, a widow. This companion keeps a fire burning and administers to the comfort of the patient, for such a bereaved person is considered to be. Every evening the two return home and leave again the following morning. On one of these days, the companion enters the woods east of the village to find four spruce saplings growing within sight of each other in an east to west direction. To this place he leads the survivor on the morning after the fourth day of concealment* in the shelter. He bends down the top of the western sapling and ties it into a loop with a rope composed of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cotton cloth. The widower, or widow, crawls through this opening to the east and then makes a circle, eastwise, around the sapling. Passing to the next one, the same procedure is repeated, and so in succession for the third and fourth, each being left tied into loop. There are at least two variations to this rite. Instead of passing through four saplings, some individuals choose a crawl four times through a single one, with a eastwise circuit intervening in every case. If the survivor be a member of a family in which it is customary to use four saplings, and if the friend cannot find four in proper alignment, he cuts a number of spruce branches and sets them upright, butts to the ground, leaving a small hole between them. Four are allowed are arranged, as substitutes for four saplings, and the crawling through takes

*There is variation in the exact time for this rite. Some individuals practice it on the fifth day after death and seek the morning in a shelter.

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place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death. 764 783

The above rite protects widower or widow, but does not alter the fact that for one year they are ceremonially "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the ocean. The one near Kinnaquit is called *Sqiwi'ti*, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of which the bottoms are bent upwards; should this be omitted, when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will soon die. 765 [783] [825] [262] [484] [292] [761]

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should cut their hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; if this rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and [620] [302] [734] [587] [736]

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"She was my daughter, I have a right to do as I like." 768

Samuel King and the others accepted the exchange as a matter of course and made no comments. Captain Schooner took no part in the burning of his daughter's goods, this being the task of those with whom she had been living, and who accordingly knew which were hers. The fire was kindled by a married daughter of Reuben Schooner, though it could have been done equally well by any woman. On the following 783
morning, July 1, Samuel King went with a friend to the forest 764
and passed four times through a small spruce sapling bent into an arch. This was the last incident in the funeral rites.

Fate of the Dead

LIFE OF THE DEAD

Little need be added to the account given in vol. I, chap. 775
11 of the fate of those parts of a man which go at death to *Nicwaiu*. The spirit and the life travel back the path of the deceased's ancestors from generation to generation until they reach the place where his first forefather came to earth and where his cloak, if he had worn one, floated back after his alteration to human form. When the spirit and the life of a descendant reach the spot, they change into a being having the form of the cloak, and so return to *Nicwaiu*. The spirit and the life of one who is a member of several ancestral families visit the localities where the transformations to human shape of all his ancestors occurred. The Bella Coola believe that these two elements can assume many cloak forms, but they do not know whether this entails the simultaneous assumption of many shapes to comprise a composite figure, or whether the spirit and the life, which become a single entity in the case of a member of one ancestral family, become multiple for one who is a member of several. When lamenting a dead person, mention is always made of the various scenes which he will have visited, and the forms he will have assumed. At a memorial potlatch, the deceased may return as a hybrid, or as

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[illegible], a calamity unquestionably due to his recklessness in handling the earth where a supernatural one had died.

This point illustrates the danger of near approach to a *mitqac*, a theme well exemplified in the stories in the next chapter. Such perils must be counteracted in diverse ways according to the traditions of different ancestral families. One common method is to seek a lonely spot in the woods and there hollow out a shelter beneath an overhanging rock or fallen tree-trunk where the person who has been exposed to danger must remain for four days, eating nothing and at intervals scrubbing his body with branches of devil's club, spruce, and other rough plants. These protect him from the evil effects of the monster.

Similar in function to the *mitqac*, and equally dangerous to the unwary, is the *sciaat*. The latter is supposed to have been created on this earth, at Bella Bella, in the beginning of time by Yalmiwat. It was at first the cause made by this carpenter, and then turned loose by him to range the mountains and forests, as it has ever since, equally at home on land and in water, and in various forms. The following is a typical description of the manner in which a *sciaat* appeared in the past.

Long ago a man was hunting in the mountains when he saw a seal-[illegible], which changed in an instant to a fish-like monstrosity with two heads but no tail. He hunted on to with his stick, and in so doing started a slide which carried the sciaat down the mountain. As this was taking place, the hunter said:

"Go down the mountain, sciaat, I will get you to the bottom."

When he reached the foot of the new slide he saw the fish lying there on the ocean. He ran to up and slung it on a cedar-bark rope. Now this sciaat was a sciaat, the first that had ever been seen, and the hunter obtained supernatural good luck from his experience. He also took the name of *Sciaat*, a designation which has been handed down until recently.

After this adventure many people hunted for the *sciaat*, and with fair success in early days, but now it cannot be found.

power in this way, but their type can be judged by the shamanistic performances hereafter described, many of which are believed to have been derived from them.

The members of different families have conventional various means of making a person "clear" so that a supernatural being is likely to visit him. Since every family knows one or more of them, and an individual who shows signs of becoming a shaman will be taught how to use his family method. In connection with this, the seeker after power will further purify himself by abstaining from sexual intercourse, by frequent washing in hot springs, by eating small portions of the nuts of snakes and the heads of toads, and by avoiding food prepared by a widow or by a girl unlinked after puberty. In this way he hopes that his dreams will be fruitful, and that a vision may be granted him so he lies in the forest on his evergreen couch.

The following are some of the methods to be practised on dawn every fourth day.

(a) The seeker after power locates a small stream on either side of which there are growing two shoots of devil's club. He draws he breaks off the four stems and strips from them the bark, which he uses to scrub himself in the cold water. As he does so he says:

"These give me power that I may see what I wish to see."

This is addressed to the plant itself, not to the supreme god. It is a request to be able to see some one of the many supernatural beings that roam the forests, but which are invisible, to appear only as animals, to all but shamans. The words are not a fixed formula, and similar ones are said in connection with each method. After washing, the seeker for power throws the bark and peeled stem into the water.

(b) Again selecting a unlinked stream, the would-be shaman picks up a smooth, water-worn pebble from one side of it, and with this rubs his body, then carefully replaces it in the exact position from which he took it. He repeats the process with a second stream, crosses the stream and does likewise with two stones from the further margin.

(c) Choosing a place where two small hemlocks are growing on each side of a small stream, the seeker after power bends down the four saplings so that their branches reach the water, and with these scours his body, the spines frequently cutting his skin. When finished, he releases the saplings, which fly back to their original position.

(d) Another method is to devour four small sections, each twelve inches long and a span, of false hellebore root. These are drunk with cold water and cause vomiting. The use of this plant is not limited to dawn, nor is it necessary to repeat it every fourth day. Apparently, the usual prayer is not said with it.

Any, or all, of these methods, especially if combined with the observance of ceremonial chastity, may justify the performer so that he will be able to see what is not vouchsafed to most persons. *Tlexpiklim-a*, or one of the other supernatural beings, may grant him a revelation with shaman's power. This does not always happen, so the above means of purification are not omnipotent, but to many myths where the hero obtained supernatural power it was due to his having tried one of the above, or a similar ritual.

The most common method of becoming a shaman is through the appearance of *Tlexpiklim-a* when a person is ill. This woman, who always wears a blanket-like cape decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark, is able to travel anywhere at phenomenal speed. She, or some other supernatural being, may appear to a sick person irrespective of sex, whether or not ceremonial chastity has been observed. It seems as if she took pity on the sufferer and came to bring relief. The following are typical examples.

A woman had long been crippled with rheumatism. She was so helpless and weak that she spent most of her time curled in a heap on the floor, heedless of the odors and dirt with which she was covered. Her friends barely attended to her wants. One day she heard a thump on the roof, though no one she could hear it, nor could they hear the whistle with which

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them renders it more likely that they will grant his requests. Therefore, a shaman is usually called upon to perform the following rites:

(1) Washing the mouth of a person who has died without voiding from his body the first salmon or eulachon of the season (I, p. 436).

(2) Asking assistance for the complicated rites of the potlatch (I, p. 191).

(3) Request for assistance before starting on a journey, by pulling eagle down into the air (I, p. 106).

(4) Request for aid by means of placing food on the water and blowing eagle down into the air at Masset and Kwatna (I, p. 109).

In fact a supplication to any supernatural being can be made with greater prospect of success by a shaman than by any other person.

The Power of Shamans

As has been said, a shaman actually has power within himself, and this is so strong that it may be a source of danger to others. If a man should pass behind one so endowed when the latter is eating, his spirit would be drawn from his body into the shaman's mouth, which would close with a click, crushing the spirit and killing the man. This is quite involuntary on the part of the shaman. It happened more than once among the early inhabitants, and since that time people have been very careful not to pass behind an eating shaman; this taboo was still in force until about 1885. A shaman, too, is said to be able to recall a spirit which has left its body, and thus cured illness. It is believed by some that shamans can see the position of a person's tally post, and so judge the length of his life. These examples show the varying beliefs of different Bella Coola concerning the powers of shamans.

But the force within the shaman is really more dangerous to its possessor than to others. As certain "unclean" objects are able to subdue supernatural beings, so do these same ob-

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* 756 jurts have power over shamans. A shaman must never sleep
● 789 beside his wife during her menses, must never eat food pre-
841 pared by a menstruating woman, by one who has recently washed a new-born infant, by a girl during the period of seclusion following puberty, or by a widow or widower during the year that follows the death of his partner. If a shaman's nose bleeds when he is dancing it is because a menstruating woman is present in the house; he at once asks the offender to withdraw, after which the bleeding stops. Moreover, he must
[755 never cure a woman during her periods. A wise shaman prac-
785] tises ceremonial chastity frequently. In view of the lack of chastitiness ascribed to menstrual blood, it is perhaps surprising that a woman can become a shaman while still of child-bearing age. This is rare, and only occurs when a woman is the last survivor of a family. The Bella Coola themselves consider it to be peculiar, only explicable on the ground that anything is possible to the supernatural beings, even the disregarding of feminine "uncleanness." Usually, female shamans are past the age of child-bearing; if not, they observe absolute chastity.

* 956 Even inadvertent breaking of one of these rules causes
961 death. This is not regarded as a punishment inflicted by *Tlúxpálás-a*; it is merely the inevitable consequence of the supernatural power within the shaman having come in contact with what is not clean. As a shaman is considered to be immune against all ordinary ailments, his death is always attributed to the breaking of a taboo. Frequently the death of a shaman is accompanied by some convulsion of nature. One female shaman, for example, told the people of her village to keep their children within doors, since a supernatural being was coming for her. Soon it became dark; there were four loud claps of thunder, at the fourth of which she fell dead.

584 The following was related as an instance of the danger to
* 956 a shaman of coming in contact with an unclean woman.

[789 The son of the first man to come to earth at *Nuhlmo* was, like his
841 father, named *Dadzoxoq*". One April he and his wife went upstream to
787] *Tsuxmlo*, a place in the country of the Carriers where milk-weed is plen-

1:36:Dorsith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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child, of which they planned to collect a supply. In the course of their journey *Dudzeuq*" saw a man who, when he drew near, turned into a piece of hanging moss. A little later he again saw a figure, but on approaching it became a tree. *Dudzeuq*" and his wife walked on and presently the former once more beheld a man; this time the apparition changed to a fir tree. It was evident to *Dudzeuq*" that a supernatural being had manifested itself to him, and he told his wife that they must return. On reaching home he related his experience and gave a shaman's dance. 534 756* 787

From this experience he had received the power of curing. He could see disease when it was invisible to all others, and could summon it to himself, where it was harmless, thus restoring the patient to health. He made for himself a rattle, shaped like a bird; this had the ability of dancing of its own accord, and would catch people's hair in its opening and closing beak. The sick were brought to *Dudzeuq*" from all over the valley. One day he travelled by canoe down to *Ititsil* where he found many of the villagers seriously ill. His arrival was quite fortuitous, for he was unaware of the epidemic that was raging. The inhabitants sought his help, so he landed and cured them. He entered the house of a woman who claimed to be ill, and took the sickness upon himself, but no sooner had he left than he fell down stricken. He demanded to be taken home to his canoe, but he only lived two days after his return. The woman had been in pain from her menses; it was this that he had taken upon himself and caused his death. 534 756* [761] [783] [841]

In consequence of the danger attached to the vocation, many people try to avoid becoming shamans, though if *Tlindzilitsa* should appear to a man when ill, he cannot escape the power. The usual method of prevention is for a man to hold intercourse with his wife from below, so that her flesh, impure through its liability to menses, can form a barrier to the coming of supernatural power. One who wishes to escape always sleeps on the left of his wife, whereas if he is seeking shaman's power he sleeps on the right. Another method of avoidance is to use the hole in the floor which serves as exit and entrance to the house of a girl secluded following adolescence. 756* [787] [883] [519]

Since the power of a shaman is obtained by a personal experience, and lacks both form and substance, it cannot be transmitted and disappears at the owner's death. As has been

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952 *For Fractures*

An effort is made to straighten the limb and to place the ends of the broken bone together in their proper position. If there is considerable swelling, an incision is made to let blood escape. Hemlock gum is applied freely to the whole region to soften the wound and hold the splints in position. This penetrates the cut, if one has been made, and is believed to facilitate the knitting process. Any small sticks are used for splints.

REMEDIES FOR AILMENTS CAUSED BY SUPERNATURAL OR HUMAN BEINGS

● 783 953 Persons suffering from diseases or accidents of the types described in the previous section are not the only ones whom the Bella Coola consider to be sick. A girl at puberty, a mother who has just given birth, a man or woman whose consort has just died, has been placed in a peculiar relation to the supernatural and is in a condition identical to that of one suffering from a disease. The ritual acts prescribed at these crises of life are medicines, just as truly as an herbal potion or a curative treatment. In fact, anyone who has been in close touch with the supernatural is in a critical condition and must act circumspectly, the reason for the taboos observed by shamans.

919 [Fo] Hunters particularly, and others who are likely to come in contact with supernatural beings, employ a number of medicines to protect themselves or to alleviate the dangers to which they have been exposed. As already described, the most potent of these are articles which have been rendered essentially human by contact with the body. For example, an evil supernatural being such as the War-Party of the Tides can be kept at a distance by casting soiled clothing upon a fire. Even more powerful are stained cedar-bark sanitary napkins. It is remembered that when a Bella Bella lad was treated with a gull so that he could see beneath the ocean, his friends became so alarmed at his tremendous ability that they destroyed it by throwing pads of this kind on a fire built beneath the bed on which he was sleeping. The basis of this medicine is the belief

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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539 one used by some of *Tsilla's* ancestors. It was brought to the ocean and
754 thrown in.

Taboos

784 The Bella Coola regard as taboos those injunctions that are observed in the belief that their neglect would cause automatic punishment. The mechanism of enforcement is frequently not understood; it is enough to know that an unpleasant result would follow disobedience. Some taboos are in force at all times, others only during certain seasons of the year, and still others at critical periods of life. Since the psychology of such [789] beliefs is essentially magical rather than religious, they could justifiably be grouped at this point. Unfortunately, to do so would destroy the continuity of accounts of birth, adolescence, death, ceremonial chastity, and many other aspects of Bella Coola life subject to taboo. The injunctions enforced by the River Guardian, the restrictions observed by a girl after puberty, the continence required after different medicines, all are taboos, disregard of which brings certain punishment. These and many others have already been described in connection with the activities to which they pertain. It is doubtful whether the Bella Coola have a single word to describe taboos [785] in general, though they are all regarded as *xnaiâx*, that is, as something which is ceremonially unclean.

Scarcely to be distinguished from taboos are ceremonial errors, *yun-imut* or *kân-imut*. Failure to give presents to heralds when a seat breaks beneath a chief or a dancer stumbles, or unnecessary activity during the year's waiting for the fruition of supernatural good fortune are ritual mistakes of this type. Neglect of such regulations brings punishment, though of a lesser kind than the breaking of taboos. If the [688] error has been in connection with a ceremony, the offence can [205] be wiped out by presents to heralds, and the terms *yun-imut* and *kân-imut* are likewise applied to some of their prerogatives such as the ability to claim clothing during the marriage of a chief's child.

Most taboos and errors can best be described with other

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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515 sionally, in a half-hearted manner, but it is not unusual for a man to allow the basin of water in which he makes his ablutions to remain standing for two or three weeks. Not many [177] years ago the Carriers taught their neighbours to make a kind [296] of soap from the ashes of burnt cottonwood sticks thrown into [388] water; with this clothes are washed irregularly and in most cases from sheer necessity only. In former times bathing was [789] a semi-sacred rite, but this fell into disuse with the passing of [177] the old religion, and the use of soap and water merely for the [291] sake of cleanliness has not become a daily habit. The women have more vanity; the younger girls especially like to have new clothes, though they wear them carelessly, heedless of fit. [196] An effort is often made to clean up for ceremonial dances, but it entails little more than the removal of the more obvious dirt and the putting on, over unchanged undergarments, of a sweater. Pride in personal appearance, love of tidiness, delight in a clean house, are all quite foreign to the Bella Coola.

356 Probably the reason for lack of comforts in the houses is simply that the people do not feel the need for them. They [264] consider it no hardship to sit on a rickety chair, scoop up food [231] from a common dish and, if they think of it, throw morsels [152] down to the dog or the cat. The smell, the flies, the dirt, the chaos do not concern them. Capable of undergoing privations, hardships, and even sufferings, they think neither of the com-231 fort of themselves nor of others. Their domestic animals are often treated abominably, not through lack of affection or cruelty, but from callousness. More than once the writer has seen a favourite dog steal a piece of food from the table. Its master, after a furious blow or kick at it, would suddenly, as if by inspiration, throw a choice bit to the animal, saying:

"Why, he must have been hungry!"

Though the Bella Coola feel a kinship with animals unknown to the white man, it is not combined with any recognition of their feelings as living creatures. There are, of course, many exceptions, but on the whole public opinion demands [577] generosity and kindness only towards human members of the group. The moral code is not concerned with animals.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The ornaments of the deceased is put into his mouth; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned outward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are buried. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, headdresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed on the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by an empty human figure on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be. 764 [302] [323] [364] [567] [775]

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they chewe four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, chewing new trees every day. Meanwhile they cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is buried. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones. 765 783 [775] 765 [302]

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or oolachen. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person. [262] [328] [322]

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was 'the same as giving away the bones of the deceased.' 765 556

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to 773 171

[illegible] B-1 ([illegible])
NRS Bellacoola NRS

men to see these transformed beings habitually, but even now, or at any rate until a few years ago, shamans were able to lift the intervening veil. From accounts given by those who have had such experiences, the Bella Coola believe that *Alquntam* gave to birds and animals, as well as to humans, the boon of fire, and it is only the unworthiness of men that makes them unable to see the smoke rising from the houses of different creatures. In former times, fortunate hunters were able to do so, and consequently had phenomenal success. The smoke that ascends from the fires of different animals corresponds in colour to that of its owner; a mountain goat's is white, a beaver's, black, a squirrel's, red, a wolf's, grey, and so on. When a goat stamps the earth on a mountain, it rings hollow, as indeed it is to those animals, for their home is within; and when a hunter hears his quarry entirely, it is because the hunter has entered its house. Shamans are sometimes able to hear the gatherings of animals under the peaks. Like human beings, they dance to the accompaniment of music, and in all respects behave like them. They have their times of joy and sorrow, of success and failure. When ill they are cured by their own shamans, grizzly bear, *owang*, and wolverine; these throw also dance to welcome the dead. All animals and birds are like brothers, able to converse with each other and living harmoniously together in that other part of their life which only shamans have seen. Porcupine is the oldest, and a hunter always tries to kill one before passing to more important prey. The animals know about the actions of human beings and show their aversion to certain habits by refusing to allow themselves to be seen by anyone practising them. For example, they do not like people to drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked, and no hunter would dream of partaking of that food. Bella Coola mythology is full of accounts of human beings who, with supernatural aid, were able to penetrate to the homes of animals. Tales of this type would be unintelligible without understanding the attitude of the people to the animal and bird kingdoms.

and eagles whom he invites to dinner is. In so doing, he does not address them by their usual names, but calls Wolf, *Ilkus-i-gamen*, "The Devourer of Meat Which He Does Not Kill," that is, "The Biting Scavenger"; and Eagle, *Kwakwaxwa-mamen*, "The Constant Eater," that is, "The One Who Eats before He Is Hungry." Next morning the fish has been devoured and the hunter believes his guests have eaten it. Animals and birds, being supernatural, can hear the words of mortals and read their thoughts. The significance of these actions is that animals have the power to conceal themselves, so a hunter must gain their favour before he can hope to succeed. Belief in the efficacy of such customs as these is rapidly falling into decay and bear meat is now often eaten, but the skull is carefully placed in an evergreen tree near where the animal is slain, so that it may come back to life.

Fish, likewise, are immortal. In autumn the streams are choked with dead and dying salmon, but the Bella Coola know that they are not really dead, they have merely shed their worthless blankets in accordance with *Alpentlin's* decree. At that season of the year he causes the rivers to rise so that they will sweep away these useless and eyesore cloaks.

Although the salmon, from the kindness of their hearts, allow human beings to feast on their blankets, yet they have certain likes and dislikes which are carefully observed. From the time the first spring salmon appear (I, pp. 759-761) until the rising of the July moon, women are not allowed to eat them or to go near the river. Men may eat the fish, but instead of throwing the bones to dogs, they carefully return them to the river saying:

"These come back tomorrow."

If this is inconvenient, bones can be thrown into the woods with impunity.

Salmon, like men and animals, live a human-like existence in their homes far beneath the surface of the ocean. They lack and desire earthly objects, especially pounded cedar-bark (see Appendix A) to use as sponges for their children, so the Bella Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

NEA Reflex-mode NEA

a man, or woman, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience 424
to river salmon. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it 463
has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this func- 551
tion. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the valid- 693
ation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary
ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but [793]
non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required
by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name or woman
has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been en- 784
forced concerning the river. No refuse may be thrown in, 825
otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the 226
same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe
lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them [515]
from entering the river. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes 841
is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the [562]
fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the
beach, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to
drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can be set adrift, and even a canoe which has just been completed [502]
must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at [765]
the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are considered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the 688
salmon and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the 693
offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringements, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river. The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

829 initiation performs, but he cannot himself carry out a cere-
556 mony until he has reached manhood.

Puberty Rites

881 The change from childhood to adult age is, of course, more obvious with girls than with boys, and the former alone must observe strict taboos. Menstrual blood, like that which follows delivery, is unclean, especially that emitted at the first discharge. A woman who has just given birth is a *cuaiic*; an [764] adolescent girl, a *ayawai*, that is, "A Person Not Fully Tabooed"; the attitude with which the former is regarded is held, in a lesser extent, for the latter.

At the first indication, the girl asks a woman to inform her mother of her condition, and goes home immediately if she happens to be away at the time. Her parents at once make a small enclosure or bedroom of planks or matting in either of the front corners of the house, providing it with a trap-door and ladder by which she can leave without passing through the front door. There the girl must lie for four days, with legs close together and bent at the knees, never stretched out straight. She is not allowed to drink anything, and must eat sparingly; if she should consume much food, she would be greedy when an adult. When necessary for her to leave the enclosure, a woman must always accompany her. Her mother, or some other female relative, provides her with the usual soft cedar-bark pads. On the fifth day, she leaves her shelter early in the morning with one feminine friend and goes to a secluded pool back in the forest, where she washes for the first time. Then she runs rapidly through the woods, which has the effect of making her a strong woman. Should a girl fail to do this, [753] she would be afflicted with an illness caused by the salmon, become blind, and die young.

784 For one year an adolescent girl is subject to many restrictions. Her near approach to the river would offend the salmon
881 and cause them to avoid Bella Coola, so she is not allowed to [825] draw water, or even to appear on the bank. She may not use

the front-door facing the river, but has to leave the house through the trap beneath the enclosure where she sleeps. The Bella Coola consider it unthinkable for a girl to disregard these prohibitions, but if this should happen, she would be chased home by her parents, by the Guardian of the River, or, in fact, by any elderly member of the community. The strongest reason for respecting these regulations is the belief that disobedience brings death; no one knows how it is inflicted, but a careless girl soon dies. During this period she cannot eat fresh salmon, though she is allowed them if they have been smoked for four or five days. Her scanty meals are brought to her in the enclosure where she is virtually a prisoner. It is true that she can leave it and wander in the woods, but her comrades avoid her as being in an unclean condition of which they are afraid, and she is barred from taking part in all activities by the river which constitute so large a part of the life of the Bella Coola. A girl cannot pick berries during this time, as no more would grow in the valley which she had thus defiled; she must not touch anyone, nor allow anyone to touch her; she must not pass in front of a man; she must go to bed before everyone else in the house, and be the last to arise. The danger of breaking some taboo is so great that it is safer for a girl to remain within her enclosure where her mother, and other old women, gather to tell her the many things which it is fitting for an adult woman to know. This seclusion is not pleasant, but it unquestionably serves to emphasize the importance of married life to which it is a prelude. The writer remembers an occasion when a Bella Coola family was eating tasty fresh salmon while one of the daughters, who had recently reached adolescence, watched enviously. Her grandfather rose and gave the child an orange, remarking that in his youth little girls did not receive such dainties to ameliorate their lot.

Adolescent girls wear certain distinctive articles of clothing and ornaments. The most noticeable is a skull-cap bound with grass; this is the only time in a woman's life that a hat is worn. She also wears ear-rings, each consisting of a neat

1 [i.e. - one year after puberty - ANALYST]

[76] friends of the deceased, pick up the coffin and carry it through
[76] the hole. In former times it was frequently difficult to obtain
[76] pall-bearers for a slave or friendless person on account of the
[76] taboos to which a person performing this service was subject.
[76] If a dead person should be taken through a doorway, others using it would soon follow the corpse to the next world. For the same reason, a body must never be moved across the central line of a house; the passage is, therefore, made from the side where it happens to be lying. As soon as the corpse has been taken through, the removed planks are quickly replaced. Mourners and guests stream out through the doorway and follow the coffin, some of them carrying the bundles containing part of the goods of the deceased. Meanwhile the pall-bearers follow the women with the torch to the cemetery, taking care to carry their burden so that it faces the direction
[76] in which they are going. If a dead person is allowed to look backwards, he will beckon some relative to accompany him and the one so summoned will soon die.

There is a cemetery near every village, usually fifty to a hundred yards behind the row of houses in a place from which the heavy timber has been cleared. On arrival, the pall-bearers set down their burden close to the spot where the guide has placed her flaming bark on the ground. The personal possessions of the deceased are likewise deposited near the fire, which is kept alight by female relatives throwing on it small quantities of the dead person's clothing and utensils. The near kinsmen of the deceased choose the exact site of the grave, which must never be dug before the bringing of the corpse.
[428] There is no ownership of plots within the cemetery, so that the hole can be made wherever desired. A favourite location is close to the grave of a mother, father, or other near relative, but this is optional; bones are sometimes uncovered when digging, and in that case earth is thrown in once more and a new site selected. There are no professional grave-diggers,
[767] nor are arrangements made in advance for men to perform this duty, but friends, especially strong young men, are willing to

disturbed except, rarely, when it is necessary to obtain a portion of a skeleton for magical purposes. In such a case, the coffin lid must be lifted up on the side away from the corpse, so that he looks within over its upturned edge. A person failing to obey this injunction will soon die.

Burning or deposition near the grave is not restricted to the actual utensils and artifacts of the deceased. There, too, must be best dried salmon which a man has smoked for winter use, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person seems indescribably indecent. In recent years, the crop, if a man dies after tilling and sowing a field, is allowed to ripen, and then not harvested. So, too, the canoe in which a body has been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Coola are not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or that has been in contact with a corpse.

The rituals described above may be considered as religious in nature; almost equally important are the social requirements of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This indebtedness falls on the near relatives, though all members of the ancestral family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite manner. If a canoe has been destroyed that did not belong to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents must be given to the pall-bearers, to the women who bore the flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way. Failure to do so brands the relatives as miners with little respect for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the outlook and minds of chiefs. Consequently, even poor people try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death

[illegible] as that his flowing locks remained between them and its head. As it turned, the hair moved with it, so that, although the impression remained of a flowing mane, there must have been some motive power to cause it to remain streaming out straight behind. Each strand moved through the ripples without being affected. Though the paddlers strained to the utmost to see the animal's face it thwarted their efforts by the continuous slow turning, until at last they were on their way, disappointed.

[illegible] Yet another creature from which supernatural good fortune has been obtained is the Mother of Snakes, a creature described in the following story.

A family living on Dalmas was reduced to the pain of starvation through the failure of their salmon-weir. It seemed as if the fish avoided it. One day a son of one of the owners, who had been in trouble with a woman in the lower valley, went off into the woods not far from his village, where he saw what he thought was a black bear. When it came nearer he realized that its chest was ripped with silver and but its tongue kept showing far beyond its jaws, hence that it must be the Mother of Snakes. This creature combines the qualities of bear and snake; it is about the size of the former, and it appears to have a serpent wrapped around its chest. It always pursues mortals and slays them, unless they know the proper means of escape. Luckily, the youth's father had long ago warned him what to do if chased by one, so he at once dashed off. First he ran downhill, but the animal gained on him, then he ran uphill, but still the monster drew nearer. The only way the fugitive could increase his lead was by ascending or descending in zigzags, since the bear's heavy legs then kept slipping. All day the pursuit continued, until towards dusk, when the youth was almost exhausted, he saw at last what he was looking for, a stump with splinters, projecting upwards. Pushing these apart with his hands, he leapt through the opening thus made, then climbed the tree once more, and pulled every one of the jagged splinters. Now the Mother of Snakes must always follow directly in the tracks of its quarry, and so it jumped through the passage the youth struck it across the back with the splinter which he had pulled out. Down fell the monster dead.

With his knife the lad cut off some of the animal's meat which he carried home, saying nothing to his father. Early the next morning the old man went to look at his salmon-weir, but as usual it was empty. As soon, however, as his son drew near, the river became packed with salmon, all heading towards the trap which was soon filled.

and those who have knowledge of them are sorcerers. Even a man of this kind is not outside the pale of society unless he practises indiscriminately; members of the *Kwaxa* society, for example, frequently employ one to kill an individual who has offended against their regulations (I, p. 740). A man is regarded as a sorcerer not on account of his knowledge but on account of the ends to which he applies it.

Closely related to, if not identical with, the belief that certain consequences follow certain acts, is the conviction that the infraction of ritual prohibitions brings disaster. There are many such taboos, for so they may be called. Though most important at the critical periods of life, puberty, pregnancy, while observing ceremonial chastity, and so forth, there are many which must be obeyed at all times.

Restrictions pertaining to the river and regulations at birth and death have already been described. Like magical acts, these often verge on the religious owing to the belief that disregard offends supernatural beings. On the whole, however, it seems as if most infractions bring their own punishment without intervention of higher powers, a concept which throws taboos into the category of magic rather than of religion, with the ever-present proviso that the two cannot be separated entirely from one another. With them may be associated a number of ritual acts connected with fishing and hunting in which, though the element of propitiation is not absent, it is satisfied by the performance of definite rites. Finally, there have been included in this chapter a number of unimportant beliefs, the psychology of which cannot be analysed.

What is the basis of these rites defined as Medicine, Magic, and Taboo? As already described, the Bella Coola either do not explain their origin and function, or merely state that *Alquntam* is responsible, as he is for every activity of life. This is unsatisfactory because many which, viewed scientifically, have neither curative nor causative power, produce the desired end. A child who has been "made" a carpenter during infancy, usually grows up to be proficient in that profession; the person

would probably fall a victim. He became ill in May, 1923, and, though treated by a white doctor, grew steadily worse until he died in the latter part of June, three weeks after the year had elapsed. All the Bella Coola firmly believe that this was due to the power of thought. The father of the woman was a powerful chief whose thoughts were accordingly potent, and some consider that his concentrated desires and expectations were enough to kill the accused, while others believe that his expressed statements convinced others of the result, and that it was their combined thought that caused the death. It usually requires the thoughts of more than one individual to lead to this effect. The doctor who attended this man stated that his patient had shown symptoms of melancholy and resignation during his last sickness; it seems clear that the expectation of death must have lessened his chance of recovery.

A prominent theme in Bella Coola folk-lore is the belief that a person cannot long survive who has made himself unpopular. It is sometimes stated that a magical means was employed to remove him, and this was no doubt often the case; a person who learns that a "medicine" had been employed to kill him is in no fit mental condition to counteract the power of suggestion, particularly if he knows that others are aware of what has been done. His death is regarded as proof of the efficacy of the means employed and the belief of others grows stronger. As already stated, this conviction still survives. When this ethnological investigation was being conducted, a point under discussion was whether or not the Kimsquit people should be allowed to live in Bella Coola. One chief took the lead in objecting and everyone expected that, having thus roused the ire of would-be immigrants, he would die. He did so soon afterwards, and it is universally believed that it was caused by the concentration of the hostile thoughts of the Kimsquit. Similarly, the potency of taboos is increased by the fact that since time immemorial the thoughts of everyone have been opposed to any infraction. Consequently, an offender is liable to punishment both for breaking an injunction and because he

has grown contrary to something about which there has been universal agreement for generations.

To understand Bella Coola medicines is to, therefore, necessary to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practice them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to those affecting death, but is equally true with regard to all medicines, whether curative or remedies.

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of medicines. Knowledge of most remedies has been handed down for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type can be practised by any member of the group to which it belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment, but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction that only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship of some medicines, but these are indicated whenever possible.

of fur. Even at the present time, the death of a new-born child is usually attributed to omission of this precaution. 943

A Kitanqui man mentioned that he had once shot a marten during his wife's pregnancy, and had failed to preserve a piece of the skin. The bullet had passed through the head, making a hole in the cheek-bone beneath the eye. He thought no more of the incident until after the birth of a daughter with a blemish on her cheek in the same place as the wound on the marten's. The spot grew bigger, and the flesh began to mortify until the infant died a few weeks later. Her face resembled that of the animal and he is convinced that his loss was caused, in some way, by the marten. 925 984 [961]

To Cure Indigestion

Kill a raven, cut out a morsel of flesh from beneath its left wing, and then remove the heart. Place both in the infant's mouth and leave them there until wet with saliva. Replace them in the bird's body and tie a strip of dyed cedar-bark around its neck. Carry the carcass to some lonely spot in the mountains and hide it beneath a jutting rock where no water can penetrate. This cures the child. If, however, anyone should find the raven's body before the flesh has decayed, the patient would die. 955 [961]

This remedy, widely employed for small children, was used with success by an informant for his young daughter. It is not sufficiently potent for adults.

To Cure Crying

The Bella Coola consider that crying is not only unpleasant, but actively displeasing to the supernatural beings who permit it at death alone. Consequently, the persistent wailing of a child is likely to cause the death of a relative in order that the tears shed may have justification. Many stories illustrate this theme; in fact, to cry for no real reason is practically taboo. A mother quiets a fretting child by saying: 827 865 761 [984] [861]

"Do you want your father and me to die?"

[illegible] was used by some of Fidler's successors. It was brought to the house and thrown in.

Taboos

[illegible] The Bella Coola regard as taboos those injunctions that are observed in the belief that their neglect would cause automatic punishment. The mechanism of enforcement is frequently not understood; it is enough to know that an unpleasant result would follow disobedience. Some taboos are in force at all times, others only during certain seasons of the year, and still others at critical periods of life. Since the psychology of such beliefs is essentially magical rather than religious, they could justifiably be grouped at this point. Unfortunately, to do so would destroy the continuity of accounts of birth, adolescence, death, ceremonial chastity, and many other aspects of Bella Coola life subject to taboo. The injunctions enforced by the River Guardian, the restrictions observed by a girl after puberty, the continence required after different sensations, all are taboos, disregard of which brings certain punishment. These and many others have already been described in connection with the activities to which they pertain. It is doubtful whether the Bella Coola have a single word to describe taboos in general, though they are all regarded as *cmide*, that is, as something which is ceremonially unclean.

Scarcely to be distinguished from taboos are ceremonial errors, *yun ówat* or *kás ówat*. Failure to give presents to heralds when a seat breaks beneath a chief or a dancer stumbles, or unnecessary activity during the year's waiting for the fruition of supernatural good fortune are ritual mistakes of this type. Neglect of such regulations brings punishment, though of a lesser kind than the breaking of taboos. If the error has been in connection with a ceremony, the offence can be wiped out by presents to heralds, and the terms *yun ówat* and *kás ówat* are likewise applied to some of their prerogatives such as the ability to claim clothing during the marriage of a chief's child.

Most taboos and errors can best be described with other

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phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe. 784

FOOD TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would derange the catamenia and cause profuse growth of hair. 262 562

Woman of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do so would cause a difficult delivery. [841] [826]

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat toasted salmon until the sticks have been removed which held it in front of the fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded. [844] [845]

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when nearing the hunting or fishing-ground. 224 [326] [264]

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola. [171]

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness. [825] [753]

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the men remove only an eye, place it in a notched stick and set this under an over- [732]

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575*
tense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a 178
number of young men and women ignorant of the significance 746
of the rites. Formerly, the *kukusiut* often had difficulty in im- 128
pressing the uninitiated with their prowess, and feuds with the 578
a'alt were common.

Although membership in the *kusiut* society depends on an 554
ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution. 556
A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *kusiut* 575*
prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a
potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great impor-
tance within the ranks of the society. Nor are the preroga- 527
tives considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that
slaves are often admitted as *kukusiut* by their masters. An
important *kusiut* is not esteemed by the community in the
same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, member-
ship in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious
advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a 575*
member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *kusiut* organ- 869
ization can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an
uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents
impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut*
and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is
perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They
then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the
good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief
of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes
what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without spe- 784
cial invitation, he dares enter the house where a *kusiut* dance 774
is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that 626
it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient
to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely
enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching
with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non- 000

It is believed that if a non-
*575 initiate pass between the central fire and the raised platform
774 behind it, where the dancer is usually concealed, his spirit will
755 be attracted to this material object. Even though the performer is in another house at the time, he at once senses what
[784] has happened and asks who has lost his spirit. The guilty
[626] person, believing that he will die unless it is returned to him, always admits what he has done. The dancer, accompanied by several attendant *kukusiut*, proceeds to the raised platform, presses his cupped hands four times against it, and by sucking with his mouth pretends to draw forth the spirit. But since the dancer has a direct call (II, p. 6) from his supernatural patron (II, p. 6), he cannot come in contact with the uninitiated without danger to the latter, so he transfers the supernatural element to the leg of another *kusiut*, who is not dancing at the time, by pressing four times. This assistant then returns it to the owner by kneading it four times into the back of his neck.
[626] The reckless uninitiated person suffers no harm, but is more careful in future.

[784] Another belief is that if a non-member even walks close to
[626] the doorway of the house during the four days, or more, that a dance is taking place, his spirit is attracted to the dancer, wherever he may be at the moment. Consequently the uninitiated use the beach path instead of the sidewalk. Accounts
[778] differ as to what results from the transgression. According to one, the dancer falls down as if dead, due to the contact between something non-sacred and the power with which he is imbued. It is at once recognized what has happened and any *kusiut* can draw forth the spirit by placing his two hands, shaped like a cup, against the dancer and sucking violently. While so doing he calls *hoip* loudly and any *kukusiut* present beat time furiously. As soon as the alien spirit has been removed, the dancer recovers. Still holding his hands cupped together, the extractor now proceeds to the house of the non-member and returns the latter's spirit by kneading it into the back of his neck. If this were not done, the loser would soon
[784] become mad, try to eat dirt, and die. According to another

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informant, the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not inconvenience the dancer, although he senses its presence, and asks who will pay for its return. Unless the owner at once steps forward to claim his property and promises to pay, his spirit is thrown into the fire and he dies. The *kukusiut* sometimes tell an uninitiated person that his spirit has been attracted from him, thereby terrifying him so greatly that he appeals to a shaman to recover it for him. The expert greases his hands, warms them at a fire, and pretends to pluck something from the *kusiut* which he inserts into the loser's neck. 575* 774 755 [784]

In view of the firm conviction that the spirit is essential to an individual's welfare, it is not surprising that this belief should awe the uninitiated and fill them with profound respect for the *kukusiut*. The diversity in the details of procedure proves that the practice has not become standardized; those who are not members of the society believe and do not test the claims. 575* 774 626

Another source of strength claimed by the *kukusiut* is ability to witness and imitate the dances of the supernatural beings held in *Nusmāt-a* prior to the entry of *Ālqunīām*. As already described, it is believed that a supernatural element from every living creature upon earth ascends at this time but, in a way that is not fully understood, only those belonging to *kukusiut* can take part in the ceremonies. Is it strange, therefore, that members of the society are regarded with awe by their less fortunate fellows? Presents are given after every dance in *Nusmāt-a* and the supernatural elements receive their due share. When, however, *Ālqunīām* enters, he is so big and so hot that almost all who have assembled rush forth furiously, and in the crush at the narrow doorway disaster overtakes many of the visiting human representatives. Some drop their gifts, and their owners will be unfortunate; others fall, and their owners cannot survive until the next ceremonial season. This same fate may befall even those who are not members of the *kusiut* society, but they do not have the ability to appreciate what has happened. 575* 787 776 796 777 761

*575 untranslatable word with the significance of "One who has
778 suffered loss through faulty concealment [of his repository]."
425 Some of these vaults[1] are said to be dangerous to the uninitiated who avoid them and in this way the sanctity of some
[784] chiefs' meeting-places is guarded.

*575 According to Kimsquit belief, *Ano'likwolsaix* has a hus-
778 band, *Almoqhaikila*, who dwells with her in every repository.
776 If an uninitiated person should chance to find a vault, he falls dead before the power emanating from *Ano'likwolsaix*. Her husband then restores the dead by blowing violently on the back of the victim's neck, accompanying this with cries of *hoip*. When a person is initiated into the *kusiut* society, the uninitiated hear the songs used, in many of which are references to the experiences of the novice with this supernatural pair.

*575 *Turning now to the manner in which the *kukusiut* regard their own society, it is evident that the most important duty of each member is to aid in impressing and deceiving the uninitiated. The prestige of the organization depends upon the ability of its members to inspire awe, hence any weakness in fulfilling this obligation is an anti-social act. For this purpose the society acts as a whole. Many *kukusiut* have, for example,
[424] Cannibal prerogatives, and on occasion the Cannibals, having the same functions, work together, but they do not form a separate organization of their own.[1] Many of the means employed to deceive and impress the uninitiated have already been described. Mythology records, and it appears to be a
[773] fact, that long ago the ascendancy of the *kukusiut* was often
[178] challenged by the *a'alk* and other uninitiated, but when the white man came the society had reached a position of such eminence that the powers of its members were unquestioned. Moreover, the combined strength of virtually all the seniors of the tribe was so great that an uninitiated person could not assert himself even if he was suspicious.

[688] Although members of the society exert every effort to con-

[1] The Bella Coola state that such sub-societies are found among the Kwakiutl.

[1] [i.e. - a repository of supernatural power - ANALYST]

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 individual, other than an indefinite recollection of the amount
796 of goods used for his dyed cedar-bark. People always have
556 sufficient goods to validate *kusiut* prerogatives; in fact, if a proud person gives too lavishly to confirm the initiation of a relative, the marshals sometimes burn the goods, giving no explanation other than that the uninitiated must not be led to believe that a *kusiut* ceremony is an affair of wealth like a potlatch. Formerly, goods were given only at initiation ceremonies, but between 1880 and 1890 a chief gave presents, instead of food, at a dance. His example was followed, since none was willing to be outdone, although such gifts are still called "food." The name of the donor is always announced, whether he is the dancer himself or one of his relatives.

*575 X, though now a member of the *kusiut* society, is still a
●184 novice and cannot give a dance[11] until the next ceremonial
[796] season, that is, until one year has elapsed. The marshals instruct him about his costume, and about the manner in which he must deport himself during this period, matters which depend to a considerable extent upon his prerogative. If he
[262] is a Cannibal, Scratch, or Breaker dancer he must not eat unsmoked salmon, nor must he enter a house in which either a potlatch or a memorial potlatch is taking place.[12] Failure to obey this injunction would warrant punishment from a foreign
[302] tribe. Unless his prerogative is to give one of these, or the Ghost dance, he must keep his face constantly blackened.
[292] Every novice must wear a collar of dyed cedar-bark. The marshals warn him to be circumspect in dealing with uninitiated persons; he can talk to them, but it is most improper for him to engage in any familiarity or frivolous play. Above
[524] all, he must neither gamble nor take part in non-athletic games,
[525]

[11] A Cannibal novice, however, begins to exercise his prerogative immediately, although he must also perform a complete dance the following year.

[12] This prohibition was once broken at *Kwupa-ts*. A skilled leader was required to arrange the texts at a memorial potlatch and the only man fit for the purpose, a resident of *Ikmil*, was a Cannibal novice. After much deliberation he was called upon, but great care was taken to hide his identity and it was years before the infraction became known.

[Kusiut - Society Initiation]

prohibitions that last not for one year, but for four. X is not 575*
subject to any other restraints. If he wishes to go hunting 784
he can remove his cedar-bark collar and hang it for convenience in the forest near his village, redonning it on his return. [524] [525]
The *kukusiut* show considerable interest in their new member, not only by warning him what he must not do, but by teaching him how to lance and to growl or make other of the necessary, but unusual, noises. During the remainder of the ceremonial 575*
season X is required to attend every *kusiut* dance, thereby 533
learning much of the ceremonial, and during the following 535
summer his relatives, especially if food is plentiful, frequently invite the *kukusiut* to their house. The singers beat out well-known tunes, or practise those which will be required for the following winter; if a song has been composed for X he dances in time to it in the style proper to his prerogative. Formerly, when there were many novices, dances of this type took place frequently and were useful in giving constant practice to singers and neophytes alike. As no calls from supernatural patrons can come at this time of year, it follows that all such dances are of a non-sacred nature, although the uninitiated are excluded. During his period as a novitiate, X has one 575*
privilege; he can take food from anyone at any type of cere- 264
mony. It is remembered that one novice was even bold enough to take food which had been placed as an offering for the dead.

When the next *kusiut* season opens, X attends every per- 575*
formance. This is probably the most thrilling and nerve- 781
racking period in his life. He does not know exactly when he 796
will be allowed to give his dance, since that is a matter of arrangement between his relatives and the marshals, but he knows that the time will soon be at hand. When the great day, or rather night, actually comes, X is usually in a state of abject terror. The rite itself does not differ from those about to be described except that the first song relates the manner in which X found the repository. But the mental attitude of X differs greatly from that of an old performer. One informant,

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 while X dances to and fro behind the fire. In succession the
*796 six songs previously composed are resung and X dances to
533 each. The singers would be disgraced should they forget either a tune or a text, so they take advantage of *lsuxtämem* to practise them all. Later in the season, when numerous *kukusiut* have received calls, the singers beat out the time and words for each and the owner dances. The general effect is remarkably impressive in the dim light of one of the large wooden houses, nor is the music displeasing to the ear. After the singing of X's seventh song, there is a pause while food is distributed amid the admonitions of the marshals. Once more the singers take up their sticks and beat out the song most recently composed for X; the audience joins in softly and he dances. The *kukusiut* now disperse with the exception of the novices who sleep in X's house. He himself does not withdraw to his platform. The ritual of X's *lsuxtämem* differs from that of most *kukusiut* since his comrades have already learnt six songs for him. On most occasions they hear and practise one only, to which he dances in the manner described.

*575 The next day is *nusiutälsap*. About eleven o'clock in the
*796 morning the heralds go to every house calling out:
532 *Tłpänap, łłpänap, kukusiaot*, "Cut, cut, ye *kukusiut*."
*[203] The uninitiated do not realize that this is an invitation to gather to cut wood for masks. X, or his relatives, always provides a meal which is eaten before the main work is attended to. Then the singers group themselves and compose still
[533] another song[11] for X, with the same theme, but different words, as the one composed the previous evening. When ready, they chant it loudly so that all can hear and learn, and then sing it with the audience joining in, while X dances. After a short pause, X asks as many of his comrades as he desires to go with
[784] him to the forest to cut wood. Some member of the party carries a whistle which he sounds at intervals, thus warning

[176] [11]This would normally be a dancer's second song, the large number practised for X before the coming of his call being unusual. Not many years ago a powerful chief created the innovation of having one song only instead of two. Some *kukusiut* follow his example whereas others still use two.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

any uninitiated from their path. The *kukusiut* also call *hoip* repeatedly, a further deterrent to the inquisitive. Alder and birch trees are selected and the hewers start to work. Whenever a tree falls, one of the party calls out:

Xwu....

This meaningless ejaculation, spoken as if by X, has the virtue of causing the tree to fall gently. The logs are cut into sections and as many provided as will be needed, since it is contrary to *kusiut* custom for more than one trip to be made for wood. Towards dusk the cutters return, each carrying a burden by means of a tump-line across the forehead. The wood is laid softly on the floor, for it would be a gross insult to throw it down roughly. Meanwhile heralds are summoning the *kukusiut* with a call of:

Nusiutälsap kukusiaot.

X has long since consulted his relatives on the one hand and the marshals on the other, concerning the number of masks to be used, and the beings to be portrayed. A mask of *Ano'likwolsaix* is prepared for every *kusiut* dance, but with this exception there is no uniformity in the representations. A man always shows his patron, as well as any beings intimately connected with him. Thus X must have a mask of *Noäkynim*, many of his passengers, and the supernatural beings who meet him at the mouth of the river. A present must be given to the carver of every mask, hence their actual number depends upon the expenditure X and his relatives are willing to make.

At dusk the *kukusiut* are summoned by the heralds. X is with the marshals behind the fire and he heeds their advice as to the best carpenter for any special mask. When all have assembled X holds up one of the blocks of wood, calls on one of the *kukusiut* by name and says:

"For *Noäkynim*," or whatever may be the figure required.

As the carpenter comes forward to take the billet the heralds call out:

"Pay attention to him," and as the carpenter takes the wood, X calls out at the top of his voice, *xwu*....

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the one that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make good the path" of the patron. It would formerly have been a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with death by the marshals. One informant vividly recalled his fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his conversion to Christianity, and reiterated that he had been in deadly peril from the marshals in spite of the white man's law.

575* 796* 821 [688] [177]

THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron to *kusiut* dancers, the Moon also has many human protégés. Among them is *Nulwimäx*, "The Moon When It Is Unobscured," of *Tcmotl*, from whom the following account of the Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as X.

[776] [551] [424]

The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to X's wishes and the consent of the marshals. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *kukusiut* presently assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

Asiutänem:[97] A woman who lives in the moon and who can be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of water.

575* 796*

The two *Aiqwaiust:* These two beings are able periodically to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse.

821 776

The two *Snitsmän·a:*[98] These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who come to earth to assist stricken *kukusiut*.

The song also describes how no supernatural being dares to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition similar to that obeyed by uninitiated with regard to passing outside a house where a *kusiut* ceremony is taking place.

[784]

[97] *Asiutänem* is the usual term for *ghost*; no reason was given for the application of the same designation to the woman living in the moon.

[98] There is difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not there is more than one of these beings.

[775] [192]

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When all hope has been abandoned, they are summoned and the relative completes the ceremony, doing only that part of it left undone by the original recipient of the call. The principle is the same as that described when a novice dies, that someone must finish the rite. This aspect of the *kusiut* ceremonial is still preserved tenaciously as the writer found to his cost. It was proposed that he be formally initiated into the society, but this was not allowed on the ground that he would not be present the following winter to complete the rites necessitated by the coming of the call.

575* 796* 766 787 [123]

The Final Rite

The commencement of the *kusiut* season is regulated by the coming of *Neăkynm*, but its conclusion is a matter of arrangement. By February the number of *kukusiut* wishing to dance has become negligible and the marshals decide to terminate the ceremonial season. It must be remembered that an enclosure has been built in every house where an important *kusiut* dance has taken place, and that as long as these are in existence the uninitiated have not been allowed to live in those houses. The social life of the community has accordingly been profoundly disturbed. Of course several dances may have taken place in a single dwelling, but even allowing for that, the fact remains that the uninitiated have been forced to dwell temporarily in perhaps only one or two houses. The most obvious mark of the end of the ceremonial season is the destruction of these enclosures.

575* 796* 591 784

A few nights after the last *nĕusam*, the heralds summon the *kukusiut* to the house in which it took place. They sit down but the usual droning is omitted. Presently sticks are distributed and one of the singers takes his place to lead in the customary frenzied beating. But before he raises his baton, one of the marshals, or another *kusiut* with ability in that respect, steps to the centre of the house and spits noisily in all directions, his aim being to deluge the house and spectators with a spray of saliva. Then the singer leads the beating of

575* 796* 787 784

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784 575 796 [787]

sticks, while everyone calls out, *hoip*. This is repeated four times. The sticks continue to sound irregularly as the younger men pull the enclosure to pieces and throw it on the central fire. By these means the *kukusiut* have been freed from their contact with the supernatural and, perhaps even more important, the repositories have been "tied up," to use the native term, for another year. Those members of the society whose dances have taken place in the house now wash the black from their faces and all share a light meal. The marshals take this last opportunity of addressing their fellows, impressing on them the necessity of maintaining the secrecy of the rites during the summer season. Above all, they warn them to hide the whistles and other paraphernalia most carefully. This concludes the season's ceremony in the house in question; some of the *kukusiut* withdraw, others remain, and the uninitiated are free to enter and take up the old threads of family life, as it was before the coming of the first call.

If it is not too late at night the party may move to a second house and remove the taboo from it in the same way. More often this is done on the following night, when a second body of *kukusiut* are allowed to wash. Another house is visited on the next evening, and so on in succession till all the enclosures are burnt and the only visible mark of what has happened is the collar of dyed cedar-bark worn by each novice.

[424] There may be certain prerogatives connected with this finale which could not be learnt owing to its discontinuance for many years. In fact, one old woman claimed to have a definite right to sing at the destruction of the enclosures, but it was unfortunately impossible to investigate the matter.

575 796 182 571

Concluding Observations and History

It is virtually impossible to overestimate the importance of the sociological aspects of the society. During the ceremonial season the whole fabric of social life is altered; families are divided, parents and children being separated in many

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B Aiakāsiptsmālelandja I was not good enough(*d*)	*ältidāk·ānatldai* when came to me	*dikilomomātutsldai* my patron;

533*

umḵumstqwosamellandai
I told him so.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Wasqoānuilets·ltiamālnks No one passed outside his house(*e*)	*āmātaḵs·amālimdai* within sight	*diqotlqoālimḵodai* when blackened his face

enllatlaikilasudai
Moon(*f*).

(*a*) This song, composed by Reuben Schooner, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(*b*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

(*c*) The reference is to the call. The meaning of this whole first part is highly problematical; the references are intentionally obscure to impress the uninitiated.

(*d*) That is: I did not have sufficient goods to distribute for a ceremony.

(*e*) The theme here changes from a description of the dancer's experience to an account of his patron's actions in the land above.

(*f*) That is: When Moon, the dancer's patron, blackened his face, no one passed even within sight of his house. As uninitiated are forbidden to pass in front of a dwelling in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place, so supernatural beings avoid the vicinity of Moon's house when he is performing. The blackening of the face refers to an eclipse, but has an added significance since it is an intimation of a dance. [776] [784] [821]

As already described (II, p. 229), the Otter dance differs from most *kusiut* rites and the songs are likewise peculiar. They do not vary from year to year and the following example, used during the season of 1923-4, contains many points of an unusual nature, not even understood by the participants themselves. It has only two parts, each with a different tune, and the performer carried out her rite by dancing in two distinct ways. In the first part, she raised and lowered her fore-arms as is customary, but followed this with a smoothing motion, as if she were levelling upturned earth. The significance of this seems to have been forgotten entirely.

533* [575]* [796]* [535]

Song Used for Kuxwlān·i, a Female Kimsquit Otter Dancer(a)

A Aiaiāzuloqodux It has always been so,	*yoo daḵisyumyumdux* it(*b*) has no shame(*c*);	*sawāsikpāḵstnamsdux* all see it

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he took a sip of water, followed by another piece of dried fish, 726
chewed it four times, and washed it down as before. This was 789
four times repeated so that the provender consumed consisted of four morsels of salmon, each chewed four times, and four sips of water; it was most important that no more should be taken into the mouth than could be swallowed at a single gulp. Having eaten, the bow-man passed the food which he had taken from the store to the paddler behind him who ate and drank in the same manner, except that he chewed with the other side of his mouth, corresponding to the fact that he paddled on the other side of the canoe from the man in the bow. So the food and drink was passed down to the captain. If possible, he was required to eat whatever was left, though if there was too much, he threw the remains over his shoulder into the water. He was also expected to swallow whatever water was passed to him, but if there was too much he would lie back, his head projecting over the stern, and pour it out over his face so that it fell into the ocean. As the food and drink were completely consumed, so it was believed the enemy would be annihilated. If the bow-man had failed to take out enough salmon and water, the captain received none of it, since no second portion could be served.

Each captain took with him a supply of dyed and undyed 726
cedar-bark which was stored in the bow of the canoe. During 714
the course of the day, the party would land and the chief decide upon some decoration made by combining strands of the two 824
colours of bark to serve as a distinguishing mark for members of the same canoe. He took out as much bark as he thought would suffice, and the bow-man was the first to don the symbol. The second paddler followed, and each in turn did the same in order of his position in the canoe. If too much had been taken, the captain had to wear collars of whatever was left over; if too little, he had to do without. Having thus arrayed them- 726
selves, the party continued until nightfall when a secluded spot was chosen for camping. Wood was collected and fires laid, 784
but no light was ever struck and the warriors lay around the 722

726 cold sticks to sleep. Meanwhile, their wives at home were
784 required to be very careful, since a woman's heedless playing
722 would cause injury to her husband, and faithlessness, his death. These restrictions were obligatory during the absence of the expedition.

726 As the party neared the enemy's country, they would conceal the craft under projecting trees by day and travel only at night. When within striking distance, a scouting canoe was sent forward to learn the hostile dispositions, the best means of approach, and so forth. This was usually done at dusk, and when the scouts had returned, the party would steal quietly through the forest and hide behind the unsuspecting village. At dawn the leader would give the signal, and the attackers would rush forward with a fierce shout, killing all the men and
[727] seizing women and children as slaves. When captives were
[422] taken by slave members of the expedition, they belonged to the latter's masters. The victors would cut off the heads of
[567] their victims, seize what loot they could, set fire to the village and rush home before support could arrive from neighbouring towns. At first, the slaughter was usually a somewhat unpleasant task, but as the warriors became inflamed with the heat of battle, they began to delight in killing, and even women and children frequently suffered.

727 The exulting victors sped homewards, rejoicing at their success but somewhat fearful that they might be cut off by overwhelming reinforcements. During the journey, each warrior who had taken a head removed the scalp by cutting the skin around the cranium close above the eyebrows and ears. These trophies were washed at the rock *Skolsexumusta* on the fiord below Bella Coola. When within sight of home, the
[533] captain stood up in the canoe and sang again his *xe-tla* song, a symbol of victory as the bloody scalps were held aloft. Women and children would rush forth to greet the conquerors who landed amid scenes of wild enthusiasm and rejoicing.

[422] Prisoners of war became the property of those who had
[567] taken them, with the exception of those captured by slaves.

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Carrier NE7

B
C
648
726

The other agreed, so they paddled in and landed at the bottom of the village, heedless of the fact that it was full of Carriers. The *Nuxalk* people seem to have remained passive, but the angry Carriers came rushing forth and *Ołmikmq* spoke proudly to them:

"You would be dead as your chief if we had not lost our weapons."

The two brothers walked slowly up the long sidewalk of the village, while the Carriers skulked around, uttering threats, casting stones and shooting arrows. Some of the latter stuck in their backs, but long previously both *Tsā·kmai* and *Ołmikmq* had eaten part of a *tsisiutl* which had rendered their bodies impervious to such wounds. Arrived at the upper end of the village, they stopped and waited, making no attempt to defend themselves, until they were killed. At intervals throughout the day the Carriers treated the two bodies with ignominy, now thrusting spears into them, now beating them, and all this time not a single Bella Coola dared even to peep[a], so much were they filled with fear of the Carriers who, when roused as they then were, fight like mad dogs. In the late afternoon one of the women thrust a knife into the eyes of the fallen warriors. Even this insult did not rouse the *Nuxalk* people themselves, but *Winās*, one of their slaves, felt called upon to take action. Before being captured, he had been a person of importance in his own home and the Bella Coola had allowed him to become a leading member of the *kusiut* society; in the course of time he had become entirely reconciled to his fate, and even thought as a Bella Coola which gave him the necessary assurance to address the Carriers.

B
C
648
727
B
[567]

"*Wa, wa,*" he said. "See the breadth of the sky." I have never seen, nor have I even heard of such a thing as you have done today. Truly you have wiped your feet on all that is sacred and powerful."

This speech for the first time brought the enormity of their offence home to the Carriers. The actual taking of life did not affright them, but in their excitement they had overlooked what was to *Winās* the most obvious sin: they had passed and repassed on the sidewalk outside a house where a *kusiut* dance was taking place. Thus reminded of the danger to which they had exposed themselves, the Carriers withdrew.

B
[688]

Next day the *Nuxalk* people buried the four victims. *Qāmālwem* had been a mighty chief and, being distantly related, they would normally have given him an elaborate funeral, but now they acted as if dazed and unaware of his prowess. A man who owned a powerful medicine put some of it in the eyes of the two who had been mutilated by the Carrier woman; as the bodies began to decompose, those who had killed them began to suffer from eye-trouble, and the woman became blind. Believing that their sin had caused their misfortunes, the Carriers fled home.

B
[754]

[a] To call attention in this way to the breadth of the universe carries with it the implication that it will fall to crush those who have broken a sacred law.

B
[784
195]

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*192 *ni'ple*: Miniature copper ornament worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.
[301] *Nu-ni*: Bella Bella man living in the beginning of time.
nnum: To dance.
[825] *nnumnla*: Those who dance at marriages.
nnuo: Mallard duck.
[824] *nnumnum*: Night of potlatch on which *nuxul* initiates appear for a short dance.
nnuth: Berries of Canadian buffalo berry.
[415] *nuhinkin*: Thimble-like wooden dish.
'nuhlunkain: Ceremonial seating of chiefs according to their validated places in a house.
Nunuxin: Name acquired by a Rivers Inlet man from sea-lions in the beginning of time.
Nunulim: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
'Nu-unu-a: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Scratcher; the designation was derived from Rivers Inlet.
Nu-uh-a: Celebrated Kitkatla chief.
Nu-unuhai: Influential Bella Coola chief.
*[776] *Nuhulkhain*, "The Resident": Supernatural being dwelling under rivers who punishes infractions of taboos concerning them.
[784] *nuhunum*: 1—Fourth day of a *kusiut* dance, on the evening of which masked figures appear.
2—Something exposed to view.
Nupup: Old woman resident in Sea-lion's house in the beginning of time.
nunul, "Little Dance": Term of grandiose humility.
nunuum: Gathering of the people for a non-sacred dance after the *kusiut* season.
Nunuu-nuhusin: 1—"The Dancer Near the Fire": One of *Thitcaplilan-a*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Nunuvinulain: *Kusiut* name of a *Nuxalk* man.
nlumlumum: One who has preserved a marriage song.
nlumulmuh: The intangible strengthening that comes to a bridegroom as a result
[585] of the creation of his ancestral myths and the giving of presents to the bride's
[431] relatives when they first come to his house on the wedding day.
Nuhulkin: Daughter of the first people who came down to Mount *Tunisi* in the
[524] beginning of time.
nuly'cut: Wooden ring used in a game.
Nuhinch: Place on Dean Channel, about three miles from the head, where the deer
[825] formed a colony soon after the beginning of time.
nukpaya': Otter.
Nuulinch: Name of a certain spot where mountain goats are wont to congregate for mating.
Nuinumlain: 1—"The Restorer": One of *Thitcaplilan-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—One of the first men to settle in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[556] *nunup*, "Brought to Life": Term applied to a cipper brought back from a cemetery and renamed.
Nuinulimut: Shaman's name derived from *Thitcaplilan-a*.
nutumlin: "I have saved you."

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omätuslaix: Goods obtained by a man's own exertions and forming the nucleus of his wealth for a potlatch. [556]
omätuts, plural, alomätuts: *Kusiut* patron.
O'miatl: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
O'mielkus: One of the first women to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
O'mielmai: Son of Raven in the beginning of time.
Omqomkilka: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Siskiutl* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Tsmotl* woman who died about 1915.
'Omilom: *ustämq* village.
Omqut: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola *kusiotem* dancer.
Onikotl: 1—Ancestral name of a *Snuhli* man.
2—Celebrated Kimsquit hunter.
'onikwatl: Any non-sacred rite, especially an *a'alk* dance held subsequent to the *kusiut* season.
Onixwalicus: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit *kusiotem* dancer.
Omqwak: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
onosälpstumm: The taking of food to another tribe for ceremonious bestowal.
Onstcitoma: Supernatural being who sleeps perpetually, literally, "The Sleepy One."
Oqmikumq: 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.
o'qok: Skunk cabbage. [824]
Oqolikts: Supernatural being, herald of *Älquntäm.*
oqpä: The steeping of *nsaok* novices in smoke, this being the final rite of initiation.
Oqsmai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Siskiutl* in the beginning of time.
oqla: Temporary fish-dam of interlocked branches. [226]
Oqwan·i: Small mountain on south side of the Bella Coola valley behind *Qomqo·ts.*
O·qwi·: Place near *Stuix.*
'Oqwolikdmut: One of the first men to settle at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.
oqxälemsk': The leading across of a bride to a groom during a wedding. [585]
osälontäm: Hereditary tendency.
osdakän: One made sick by salmon, especially a woman who suffers from this cause through disregard of adolescence taboos. [827]
osipax: Variety of dog salmon found at Bella Bella. [784]
o·sntdiqiuwaix: Conferring of ancestral names at a potlatch. [825]
osnäxmunaix: The performance of a *kusiut* dance with supernatural dog salmon as patron.
Ososykpumq, "Treeless Place": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
ospälam: Distribution of strips of mountain goat skin at marriage. [585]
ostämnuks: "Where are you going?"
Ostcälikq", "Lake-Swallower": A mythical monster.
oswallaix: First night of a potlatch. [601]
oltik: Third eldest brother or sister.
Oltuyu: Name of Mink as chief.
O·lok di Stähmq: One of the names of the supreme god.
Owwa: Celebrated *Wäoyä·a* warrior.

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Ṭsi-dis: Kitlobe River.
Ṭsiwalaks: Eagle that perched on top of a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time. [825]
Isima: Animal's entrails. [763]
Isi-t: Note of the *kwakwas*, foretelling death.
Isitaowi: Cormorant, in Bella Bella language.
Inklusnam: Goods taken to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him. [586]
Ṭakwi: Restoration Bay. [431]
Ṭalki, bald eagle: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley. [825]
2—Bald eagle.
3—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Iux: Novice, either *kusiut* or shaman.
Ixattmem or *Ixattalaix:* First night of a *kusiut* dance.
Iskankdmut: 1—Heavy coppers in *Łemoqwa's* house.
2—Name obtained from these by a *Sattia* man in the beginning of time.
Iski-kdimut: Kusiutem rite in which the performer's head appears to be pulled off. [415]
Isla: Closely woven basket of spruce roots.
Islaqwaix: Any act of an unclean nature which prevents a supernatural being from seeing the perpetrator. [784]
Islla: Presents distributed when a *nasak* initiate dances. They are provided by the donor "To Shield Our Eyes" from the *tutwinam* and serve to recompense the carpenters and others who have assisted in the rite. [431]
Isma: Belt. [465]
Isna: Nettle. [824]
Ṭsemlaks: Woman resident in the far north in the beginning of time.
Ispadjut: The giving of presents to the servants and associates of the donor of a potlatch in return for being served with food in a rude manner. [431]
Ispeit: Small woodpecker, species unidentified.
Ispatka: Winter wren. [824]
Ispuelt: Spawning sockeye salmon. [825]
Isubilia: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the genitalia. [424]
Isulkm: Prompter.
Ṭsumlaks: One of the first women to settle at *Snulali* in the beginning of time.
Ṭsuatlink: One of the first men to settle at *Tsmosl* in the beginning of time. [824]
Isuwaslp: Unidentified tree of which the bark was smoked. [825]
tutukuqs: To grasp firmly with both hands, *archaic.*
tutupta-i: Trout, *plural.*
tutus'ats'thauk: Ceremony resembling a potlatch given by a chief for the benefit of his fellow-villagers, especially during the year preceding his main rite.
tutuya, "What Is Good": Synonym for *dsamamtnam*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]
Tutuel-as: Synonym for *Nutsilleisalkm:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.
tutwinam: 1—Masked figure, usually in crest form, which appears to *nasak* and *a'alk* initiates.
2—An appearance, that is, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.
Tualalit: Supernatural hunter of mountain goats.

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[775] [774] to the land above whence, in course of time, it comes down to earth again to reanimate a new body."* Consequently, the success of a hunter does not indicate his mastery over an animal so much as the latter's good-will in allowing itself to [785] be slain by one who has pleased him by ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), or by one who has been endowed with skill by some other supernatural being. Men are accordingly careful to obey the wishes of their quarry. Long ago, a mountain goat told a shaman that he and his friends liked soot, so a hunter who has killed one always smears two bands of ashes across its face from the right eye to the left side of the mouth. Another shaman was told by a bear never to use [411] owl-feathered arrows since none of his fellows killed with such would return. Plumes of other birds have since been used, preferably those of mallard ducks. Sometimes the wishes of an animal require considerable ritual. For example, when a bear is killed, the carcass is stretched upon neatly arranged evergreen boughs and skinned. The hunter reverses the pelt so that the tail lies near the neck, with the whole hanging loosely over the body. He pats it four times, as if pressing the skin back into place, and says:

[789] "Please don't linger. Go home and return," or,

"Please come to me tomorrow. Tell your brothers, your sisters, your uncles, your aunts and your other relations to come to me."

Should this be omitted, the animal is likely to stand up, skinless, shake itself, causing the pelt to return to its place, and run away. Yearling mountain goats are especially prone to do this, as already mentioned. Even if an animal does not show its resentment by escaping in this way, it often refuses to return to earth unless the proper rites have been performed over its carcass.

[262] Bears have another aversion: they do not like to be eaten by men. So the hunter leaves the skinned body for wolves

[183] *There are doubters in Bella Coola as in every other community, and several of the older men express disbelief in the immortality of animals.

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place where he is not likely to be disturbed, and addresses the supreme god in a loud tone of voice, requesting his assistance. 782

Although prayers can be said at any time of the day, or at any season of the year, there are occasions when they are more potent than at other times. At dawn, for example, a wise young man is accustomed to go alone to the river to wash and pray. He enters the icy water, blows mucus over his hands, and rubs his body vigorously[11] either with a smooth pebble, or, if it can be obtained, with a stone taken from the stomach of a sea-lion.[12] As he scours himself, he asks *Mnakais* to grant him long life, power, success, and strength. On coming from the water, he repeats his request, and then washes himself again. This process is repeated four times, making eight prayers in all. A young man who does this habitually, and in other ways placates the supreme deity, is likely to have success, and may even be given supernatural assistance by one of the many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. The underlying belief is that *Alquntăm* actually hears the words spoken and, pleased thereby, aids the petitioner either directly, or by strengthening the supernatural elements in his body. [783]

Mnakais has power over both rain and dry weather, and is petitioned for whichever is desired. When the sun is obscured by rain clouds, the Bella Coola pray: [821]

"Please clean your face, *Mnakais*," or,

"Please show us your face, we need you."

Before a man starts on a journey, either by canoe or on foot, he always asks help for his undertaking. [484]

"*Mnakais*," he prays, "Be with me," or "Go before me," or, "Give me what I want."

Corresponding to the importance of the occasion, prayers are always made before the departure of a hunting or war [224] [926] [985]

[11] Urine was formerly used for washing both the body and clothing. It was followed by the application of clean water, and undoubtedly had a religious significance; indeed, washing purely for cleanliness was not habitual until recently. [515]

[12] The Bella Coola state that stones are often found in the stomachs of sea-lions. One specimen, considered of great value, was seen; it was indistinguishable from a water-smoothed river pebble. [296] [823] [825]

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782 party. Canoes always start soon after dawn, and each mem-
224 ber of the expedition is careful to pray before leaving, and also
726 to avoid eating in case food should in any way interfere
[785] with the success of the venture. Before reaching their destin-
ation, a chief in each canoe draws from a pouch some eagle down brought for the purpose, holds it before his mouth, and blows a little towards each of the four cardinal points, at the same time asking *Minakais* to smile on the enterprise and grant a safe return. This does not guarantee success, but it is felt that any disaster which may occur would have been more serious if assistance had not been thus requested.

782 Although *Alquntäm*, under the name of *Minakais*, is the
776 one to whom prayers are most often addressed, petitions are sometimes made to other beings. In the beginning of time, when Raven had superabundant power, mortals frequently sought his assistance. At the present time, he is sometimes asked for aid, in the belief that he may still have some shreds of his former power, or be in a better position than men to intercede with *Minakais*. If ravens croak when it is raining,
782 people may ask them to request the supreme being to stop the
776 rain; in such cases, a petitioner is careful to address a raven
825 as *Nowakila*, his title as chief, rather than as Qnax. In cold
821 winter weather, a raven is sometimes caught alive, its head smeared with grease, and as it is released, the captor says:

"Please end the cold wind, *Nowakila*."

782 Prayers are also said half humorously, half seriously, on
[291] many occasions. When, for example, clothing has become too ragged for further use, it is thrown on a fire with the remark:

"Please come to me again, new."

The thrower does not actually believe that in so doing he is asking help from his clothing, but it gives him a certain sense of satisfaction thus to have expressed his desires.

782 The prayers above described can be said by anyone, at any
424 time; they are means of propitiation known to the whole
821 community. In addition, information was obtained about two prayers, each of which is the jealously guarded prerogative

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of a single family. Either is considered an almost certain means of stopping rain, but no one, even though aware of the method, can practise it with success unless he is a member of the family to which the method belongs. 782 424 821

One of these prayers, the property of a Kimsquit family, is addressed to *Xemxemālotla*. If the petitioner wishes to stop heavy rain, he goes to a quiet place in the woods and calls in a loud voice:

Ałya Xemxemālotlas,"	*nuqwihdit*	*łłok*	*di sony"nudx*
Hail, *Xemxemālotla,*	open	the loftiest	of your heaven
słāxyuxumdu	*dji sīxwuiqnu*		*tcim nānudjix.*
so that may look down	the cherished one		your child.

That is, "Expose the upper heaven so that your cherished child may look down."

It will be remembered that *Xemxemālotla* is the being who takes care of *Tłāqmā-ks* in the upper skyland. It is said that [776] this prayer was learnt by the ancestors of an informant in the beginning of time and that a repetition of the exact words is enough to drive away the rain clouds between earth and the upper heaven. For many generations care was taken to teach some intelligent member of the family the correct formula, and the person so entrusted was expected to use his knowledge for the benefit of any of his relatives desiring fine weather.

Another prayer prerogative of similar type was recorded from an old man who related what he had seen his grandfather do many years before. The two were once hunting when heavy rain threatened their success and drove them to the shelter of a projecting ledge. The grandfather, not having any cedar-bark with him, cut and dried some evergreen boughs which he [824] gave to his grandson, telling him to light them and wave them over his, the grandfather's, head. When this had been done, the old man rushed out into the rain and in a loud voice asked some supernatural being, whose name was forgotten, to throw his eyes upon the rain clouds in order to dispel them. That night the petitioner neither drank water nor urinated, and the [785]

"The vocative form.

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782 next day the weather was fine. This particular method of
424 praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the begin-
821 ning of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family.
[785] With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of
[177] customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grand-father of the man from whom the information was obtained.

SACRIFICE

782 It might be expected that a clear division should be made between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears
[824] dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any
[824] supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts
[825] of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether
[261] or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire titbits of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*W'ai, wai, wai,*" "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural
[502] powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Mesatche Nose,
[133]
[756]

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775 small particles of food on a fire; these become large when they
782 reach the land below and nourish the ghosts. An individual making an offering of this kind says:

"*Ānukāldimut kuskao,*" "This is to make straight your road, beloved one."

[756] The needs and desires of ghosts have been made known to mortals through visits paid by shamans to the land below, and by the coming of ghosts to this world. It is, therefore, realized that food placed on the ground does not reach the [372] land below, but that morsels thrown on a fire sink through into the abode of ghosts. Offerings to the dead are not made [753] with the hope of receiving favours from them, but rather to provide beloved relatives with necessary food and to prevent them from showing displeasure by causing stomach-aches and other ailments.

782 Other instances, both of prayer and of sacrifice, will be recorded in connection with various myths. The salient feature is that the Bella Coola are able to gain, by such means, the favour of supernatural beings, a factor which plays an important part in their daily life. In addition, they have a [889] large number of practices based on sympathetic magic. No absolutely rigid boundary line can be drawn between the latter and religion proper, but there is a fairly clear division between rites such as those just described, in which propitiation is the important element, and others in which the desired end follows the mere performance of a certain act. Customs of this last type will be reserved for later consideration (vol. I, chap. XI).

THE OBSERVANCE OF CEREMONIAL CHASTITY

831 In addition to prayer and sacrifice, the Bella Coola have
785 yet another means of obtaining the goodwill of supernatural beings, and at the same time of strengthening their own supernatural attributes so that good fortune is likely to occur. This is by the practice of *sxetsta*, ceremonial chastity, of which the basis is that a man must not hold intercourse except after certain periods of continence. To understand this, it is neces-

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sary to understand the attitude of the Bella Coola to the sexual act itself. Although it is a normal part of life (for no one would voluntarily abstain from all contact) yet the union of man and woman does not lack import, since its very humanness distinguishes those who practise it in the eyes of supernatural beings, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic. Those who indulge excessively become so over-charged with this characteristic that their undertakings are certain to fail, whereas those who remain continent for a considerable period are so freed from the contagion of mankind that they become almost supernatural themselves and always succeed in their ventures. If, after a period of restraint, a man holds intercourse, this essentially human act adds typical human strength to that accumulated by chastity. Chastity alone gives power; but chastity consummated by intercourse at the proper period increases that power enormously. This somewhat complicated belief is accepted without question by every Bella Coola, playing an important part in their lives, even in their present degraded condition. The following story illustrates the point rather clearly:

831 785 [184] 539 831 785

A party of Kingcome Inlet people had been present at a ceremonial at Smith Inlet. While returning home, one canoe, containing a chief, his wife, and eighteen or twenty commoners, was caught by an unexpected south wind and driven on the rocky islet, *Sno-ahddx*, where the lighthouse now stands. The occupants managed to reach shore and to save their canoe. The islet was barren, but they made a rude shelter of boughs in which they lived while the storm continued. Every day the chief sent out the young men to hunt seals, and every day they returned empty-handed. The little food they had with them on landing was now exhausted and they were starving. One night, when they were almost famished, the chief said to his wife:

"The youths have done their best. Now that death is before us I want to create a kindly feeling. I am going out, probably to die during the night, and I want you to allow each young man to sleep with you. It is a strange request but our condition is unusual, and the story of your shame will never be known, because we shall soon all be dead."

[837]

The wife acquiesced. The chief then told one of the young commoners to lie with her, and afterwards to tell a comrade to do likewise,

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539 who, in turn, would pass on the request so that it might reach each
831 member of the party. Not only is it contrary to custom for a commoner
785 to hold intercourse with a chief's wife, but it is unknown for a man to ask another to sleep with his wife, so the youth was surprised and rather
[837] frightened. However, he acceded to the request, passed on the instructions, and washed. As he was bathing, a seal appeared in the surf beside
[622] him, and he was able to kill it easily. Each in turn behaved in the same manner, washed, and then killed a seal. Next morning, when the chief returned he was delighted that all had turned out in accordance with his hopes. At the same time the wind dropped so that the party was able to return home.

831 The power which had brought the seals within reach of the
785 men had been engendered in their own bodies by these ritual acts after a rather lengthy period of continence. The Bella Coola believe that such a procedure always increases their strength and ability, therefore giving them a better chance to gain favour from supernatural beings, and to take advantage of opportunities offered. Hunters in particular are careful with
[224] regard to their marital life since animals know their acts and
825 thoughts, and hide from one who has not made himself "clean"
[783] by continence, its termination, and bathing. *Sxetsta* consists of these three elements, but since continence is the most prominent feature, the term may be translated as "ceremonial chastity."

In its simplest form this comprises merely the three elements already mentioned. The longer the continence, the greater the power engendered by its termination. A man who has practised abstinence for a year has such strength within himself that almost any good fortune may occur, and cases are known in which it has been carried out for even longer periods. More often, an individual practises ceremonial chas-
[184] tity in accordance with a family tradition. One old man gave the following recipe and was most emphatic that it always
224 brought success in hunting and fishing; he added that on the
785 two occasions he had tried it, he had brought back a phenomenal number of skins.

A person planning to set out on an expedition for any pur-

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pose should remain continent for several nights to increase his 224
generative powers. He then selects a time for beginning the 785
rite and on the second and fourth nights from that date sleeps with his wife, holding intercourse repeatedly and vigorously until he is utterly exhausted. Before dawn on the third and fifth days he must wash in the river or in some quiet stream. Then follow four nights of restraint, a further intercourse, and washing before dawn. The period is next increased to eight nights, then twelve, and finally sixteen, each with a similar contact and bathing. The nights of abstinence are thus forty [801] in all, a lucky number. An unmarried man can obtain power [836] in the same manner with the assistance of a female friend; it is the act itself that is vital, not the union of husband and wife.

At the present time, only two Bella Coola are said to know [184] this particular type of ceremonial chastity, which they conceal carefully, even refusing offers to buy their knowledge. It is potent at any time, but especially if the periods of continence have been so arranged that they terminate at one of the solstices. Then, indeed, can a hunter set off with every prospect [825] of success, knowing that the human taint disliked by animals [785] has been removed, and been replaced by a ceremonial cleanliness pleasing to them. If the time terminates at the winter solstice, the hunter should set out immediately; if it ends in June, he must remain away from women after his final intercourse. In September or October, when ready to leave for the hunt, he must sleep beside his wife for the last four nights; each night he must place his leg between hers, and each morning the two must wash together. The best fortune of all is obtained by a man who observes this forty-night period for four successive years.

Another, and more common, count[34] is to observe contin- [824]
ence for four nights, followed by intercourse. Immediately [278]
afterwards, the man should eat as much devil's club[35] as pos- [211]

[34]The record of nights is kept by notches cut in a stick or by knots on a cord.
[35]Or false hellebore. This latter plant is thought to be so poisonous that the eating of even a twig an inch in length is fatal; a very small amount, however, all that is ever taken, acts as a powerful emetic.

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224 sible, selecting small twigs from which the bark and spines
785 have been rubbed off. This acts as an emetic, so that before
[824] washing in the morning he has vomited from his stomach all
[278] polluting matter, especially any human hair which animals
[783] consider particularly unclean. Before dawn he goes to the river and remains beneath the surface as long as possible, irrespective of the coldness of the water. Then he returns slowly to his house. Four nights later the same acts are repeated. These eight nights of continence are followed by two further periods, each of four nights, making a total of sixteen. Thus fortified, a hunter anticipates great success.

785 A person practising ceremonial chastity is in a condition peculiarly susceptible to disaster, and must observe certain restrictions. If, for example, anyone sees him as he returns from washing in the morning, the power which he has been accumulating so laboriously is lost. Owing to this belief, it is customary for a man to wash long before dawn and to come creeping into his house through a hole in the floor. He must always be the last to retire at night, the first to rise in the morning; and he must say nothing about what he is doing. Intercourse is, of course, absolutely forbidden except on the proper nights, and at other times he must not even put his arm around his wife. Failure to obey these restrictions destroys any advantage from
[837] ceremonial chastity, while actual disaster follows should a man's wife misconduct herself with anyone else when he is using her for this purpose. If she is unfaithful, her husband is certain to be slain by an animal when hunting, or to slip and be killed on a mountain trail. Animals know all that human beings do
[825] or think, and they punish anyone who is unable to perform ceremonial chastity fittingly. Behind these restrictions there
831 is undoubtedly the sentiment that intercourse, held duly and
785 properly at the right time, is not a mere desire of the flesh, but a ceremonial act. Indeed, when the Bella Coola speak of it in
[833] connection with ceremonial chastity, they do not use the
[195] common term, *e·m*, which has a coarse implication, but *xoldjut* which has a polite and almost sacred implication.

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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *kusiut* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Ālquntärı* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy abstin-

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831 ence was enough to kill an enemy, as if his spirit had been
785 driven from his body by a sudden start. Even in recent times
[773] it is said that individuals who have observed ceremonial chas-
tity have been able to perform miraculous feats. A few years
[789] ago a Bella Bella man lost two sons and was trying to get
enough money to buy a tombstone for them. With this in
view, he observed chastity for almost a year. Then he went
seal hunting, and had killed a large number of the animals
when, standing up in his boat, the sail blew against him so
that he was thrown overboard. But he was so strong that he
simply walked on the surface of the water and re-entered his
[789] boat, none the worse for his mishap. The men who cited this
instance stated that a number of Bella Bella had seen the
occurrence and could vouch for it.

Ceremonial chastity is not a matter about which the Bella
[124] Coola are willing to talk. It concerns both their religious and
family life, in neither of which are strangers welcome. But
when an investigator becomes on friendly terms, and gains
some understanding of the inner lives of the people, he begins
to realize its importance. Ceremonial chastity is not only
[783] potent in itself, but it is also the favourite means by which a
man can cleanse himself of the impurities of human existence
so that he finds favour with the supernatural.

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this practice had been handed down with the name from the 223
beginning of time; another man stated that it was no pre- [424]
rogative and could be used by anyone. The best time for
hunting was at the equinoxes, and *Nusxalxiq* always observed [785]
ceremonial chastity in such a way that it terminated at that
date. Before setting out, the hunter prepared a net of the shape shown in the accompanying sketch (Fig. 1). The net was stretched over a wooden framework, about ten feet long and four feet wide; counterbalanced by a long and heavy handle. The whole affair was called, "The House-like Thing." Choosing a still night, the hunter used to set out in his canoe paddled by a number of assistants. *Nusxalxiq* would place himself in the bow with his net, and in the middle of the craft a small fire was kept burning with [372]
resinous sticks piled beside it so that it could be kindled into bright flames at a moment's notice. As the canoe was slowly paddled along the shore, the geese were half attracted, half repelled by the light. Unwilling to take to flight, they used to swim around at the edge of the illumination and so were guided into some narrow opening of the shore. Then *Nusxalxiq* would throw his net so that the end farthest from the handle first touched the water and as the latter came crashing down it imprisoned a number of birds. Others, bewildered by the light and the falling net, tried to fly outwards and were knocked down by the paddlers. These were retrieved at once and the necks of those caught in the net were wrung at leisure. It is said that this method of hunting was almost always successful.

FIG. 1
Goose Net

Another *Tāl·io* hunting device which, however, was not 225
transmitted and may have been merely an individual stroke
of genius, not an inherited prerogative, was employed to kill [424]
seals. The last to use this method was the father's father of
an elderly Bella Coola. This man used to go out at night in a

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old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language. 602 476

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *kusiut*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *susaok* names can never be transferred in this manner. 606 431 425 [785] [575] [553] [575]

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a 593 [602] [627] [567] [432] [648]

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occasionally preserved as the theme of a *sisaok* dance. The term is also somewhat loosely applied to any instance of supernatural help. The reason for the receipt of power is often attributed to the strong supernatural elements of the favoured one, or to his having made himself agreeable to supernatural beings by the observance of ceremonial chastity or other propitiatory means. A few individuals assert that there is a tendency for supernatural aid to follow certain ancestral families, but such a belief is not general.

The following story is typical of the kind of assistance granted although no clear picture can be presented except through the native medium—a number of different tales, such as are given in the following chapter.

THE GOOD FORTUNE OF *'Yeäxdji*

Not long after the earth was first populated there were living at *Ḳwiyai*, near Namu, two Bella Bella men, *Ḳomo'sala* and *Ḳälkum*, with their wives, relatives, and slaves. *Ḳomo'sala*'s son, *'Yeäxdji*, fell a victim to the virulent disease, *llokulg*, which causes the face of the sufferer to swell and his flesh to rot. When the case appeared hopeless, his father called his herald to tell the people to abandon *Ḳwiyai*, and to leave the dying youth alone. Accordingly they removed the planks from the houses, packed them on canoes with all the food and clothing from the village and went away, leaving the unfortunate *'Yeäxdji* alone in his misery. Only an old slave woman took pity on him; before she left she hid some glowing embers with frayed cedar-bark in a large clam-shell and told him where to find them.

'Yeäxdji wept bitterly when his relatives departed, but presently he dried his tears and set about making the best of his position. He unearthed the clam-shell and blew the embers into a fire. Next he made a hammer with which he built a rude shelter. A diet of clams at first satisfied him, but before long he made a hook in hopes of catching some trout. He went up the river to a suitable spot, dropped in his baited hook and almost immediately felt a bite. He hauled up his line eagerly, but it was only a worthless bull-head. Angrily he pulled out the hook and threw the fish back into the water. Almost immediately there was a bite, again he drew up his line only to find as before that it was a bull-head, which he hurled back into the river. This happened twice more, until, discouraged at landing only four useless fish, he wrapped his head

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wrapped up in a specific object it follows that the luck is transmissible; in fact, one of the chief advantages to the man who owns some valuable object is the wealth which he derives from selling a small portion of it. 777 787 * [432]

The Bella Coola term for supernatural good luck is *siye*, meaning, "What is Good." This can come from any being though it is most frequently obtained either from a *mätsqus* or a *sisiutl*. The former resembles a toad of enormous size, with a blazing fire-like glow in its throat; the latter is a double-headed salmon or snake that can travel on land. The person who succeeds in killing one of these creatures can use the carcass as a lure to wealth, if he knows the proper means. The portion must be wrapped in an article that has been in close contact with the slayer, such as a piece of his soiled clothing. This must be kept carefully hidden for one year in a cranny to which no rain can penetrate, and after that it can be used as bait. There is equal potency in a stick or other object which has come in contact with the beast. Great danger is attached to the sight of a *mätsqus* or a *sisiutl*, since death usually follows any incorrect attempt to gain wealth from either. The person who sees one of these creatures feels no ill effects until he draws near a fire, when his stomach bursts. All the Bella Coola agree that if a man has been close to one he can be saved by the use of certain medicines, but the following stories show that there is no clear-cut opinion as to which are the best. In fact, most families have knowledge of a specific cure which they regard as the most efficacious. [776] [776] [761] [757]

The opportunity to obtain supernatural good luck does not come solely to unfortunate individuals; indeed the Bella Coola state that it is fortuitous. It appears, however, that usually the person who is thus favoured is one who has practised ceremonial chastity, or is, through some other means, in a state of cleanliness pleasing to the supernatural. At any rate the danger of seeing such creatures is less to a man who is in a pure condition than to any other. Further, in most cases they are apt to appear to a person whose ancestors have seen one. [785]

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777 A visitation is not regarded as an inheritable right, but as a
* 787 tendency; for generations no member of a family may see one
of these beasts, but the tradition is preserved, and when one
[424] is seen it is recalled that such have been observed by ancestors
of the fortunate one. Instances have occurred in which a
person has obtained good luck without the tradition of this
being in his family, but they are rare. On the other hand, a
man may lose the advantage of his possession, even if he own
● [785] a portion of a *mätsqus* or a *sisiutl*, through failure to observe
ceremonial chastity.

776 Some of the Bella Coola believe that the *mätsqus* and the
sisiutl are the same animal, which can assume these two forms;
others that the two are distinct supernatural creatures. In any
case the powers and characteristics ascribed to them are the
same. Most families have a tradition regarding the appear-
[173] ance of the one or the other to their ancestors, and the infor-
[184] mation to be derived from them is always about that particular
creature. Hence the details here described are probably not
all known to any one individual.

* 787 The different types of appearances, and the different types
of taboos called forth, should be noted. These are due to
811 failure on the part of the Bella Coola to rationalize the sum
182 total of their concepts. Each man recounts what he believes
to have happened to one of his ancestors or friends, irrespec-
tive of whether or not the methods used may be in direct
contradiction to those employed by someone else on another
occasion. A man who has heard of the *mätsqus*, for example,
from his father and mother, may describe contradictory means
of dealing with the creature, and in each case may affirm that
disaster would have followed if the method described had not
been carried out. Such lack of co-ordination is typical of the
Bella Coola.

777 According to an elderly Kimsquit man, the *mätsqus* was
brought down in the beginning of time by one of his own
* 787 ancestors, *Omqomkilka*. It is to this fact that he attributes
[773] his own near approach to one on two occasions. As it is fre-

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777 elapsed, he fetched his musket from its hiding-place and again
224 began to use it. Thenceforth he never missed his aim; every shot brought down an animal.

Before the days of muskets good fortune could likewise be obtained by the discoverer of the nest of a *mätsqus*. Each contains small particles of the skin of all animals, including human beings, plucked from them in their sleep by humming birds and toads. The finder must touch the nest with his stick, such as is always carried by hunters, then break it and throw it away, saying as he does so:

"May I see you at . . . tomorrow." This means next year.

He names his favourite hunting-ground. The finder must not say anything to anyone about his discovery, and for one
[785] year he must observe continence. If he then goes to the locality mentioned, he will there find his stick, the one which he broke when he touched the nest, though it will be invisible to anyone else. Adhering to its end will be four hairs of the *mätsqus*. These he must hide for a year, wrapped in some of his own clothing, taking care that it is an article which he has long worn and which is accordingly saturated with his essence.
[785] During this period, too, he must observe continence. Two years after finding the nest, he will be able to hunt with phenomenal success. The knowledge of this proper procedure has
[424] been handed down in an ancestral family for many generations.

On the occasion when the two men had seen the nest they
777 continued their journey, each chiding the other for his failure
* 787 to take advantage of the opportunity put in his path. Before
[776] long they saw a footprint where no man had been and knew that it must be that of *Twalällit*, the supernatural hunter of mountain goats. In spite of remonstrances, the comrade scraped up a little dirt from the track into his handkerchief. In this he did wrong, especially as he had failed to take advantage of the opportunity presented to him by the nest of the monster toad. That night as the two were encamped a slide came thundering down beside them, and they barely escaped
[761] with their lives. Not long afterwards the erring man died,

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Supernatural good fortune has also been obtained from the "Mothers" of certain plants. 777

Among the roots that are sought for when a man intends to give a potlatch are those of clover and of *okäl*, a grass which grows on flats near the sea. Once the aunt of an elderly (in 1923) Bella Coola woman dug up the Mother of *Okäl*, a root, thick as her thumb, but shaped like a woman. Perhaps the reason that she found it was because she was digging in the darkness, after the setting of the sun. The woman, ignorant of the proper procedure, did nothing, with the result that her hands became painfully swollen. If she had wrapped the root in a portion of her used clothing and kept it hidden for one year, without saying anything about her find, it would have brought her supernatural good luck. 824 [556] [753]

Another woman found an elderberry as large as a baseball, and shaped like the mask worn above the forehead by a member of the *sisaok* society. Her father, an old man skilled in such matters, wrapped the berry in his daughter's soiled clothing and kept it carefully hidden in her box. It brought her supernatural good luck because, no matter how much or how often she gave away presents, goods always came to her.

SUPERNATURAL GOOD LUCK FROM STONES

Stones are among the objects from which supernatural good luck can be obtained. A person who has long observed ceremonial chastity may be fortunate enough to hear what seems to be the weeping of a new-born infant, as he passes in his canoe beneath some steep ocean cliff. Then, if he watches, he will see a stone being born from a larger one at the level of the sea. If the observer takes the infant-stone, wraps it in his soiled clothing and stores it among his possessions, it will act as other bringers of supernatural good fortune by luring all kinds of valuables to the owner. In fact, such a stone is said to be so potent that if left in an empty box for some time, it will attract enough skins to fill the receptacle. 777 787* 823 [785]

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* 756 like power, and will tell their son to try the same method. In
* 787 this way a descendant of shamans has a better chance to become one than anybody else. Another indication that a person is likely to become a shaman is to be wakened from sleep by a mouse. As he sits up, hastily, thinking that someone has called
[825] him, all that he sees is the disappearing rodent. Mice have a rather peculiar position in the eyes of the Bella Coola, since they believe that these animals regard themselves as superior to mankind.

"The food of mortals is our food," say the mice.

His parents now tell the boy that he is likely to become a shaman, and that he must accordingly take great care of him-
[785] self. If he is an adult, he will begin to observe ceremonial chastity, and in any case will spend much time alone, avoiding the trivialities of life in the village, and will think little about mundane matters. At intervals he goes alone to the forest, especially to some spot beside a waterfall, the kind of place that supernatural beings frequent. Here he lies down, sometimes for several days, with evergreen boughs spread beneath and above him. These are clean and nullify the mortal odour so objectionable to supernatural beings, so that his chance of obtaining a visitation is increased. He does not know what may appear to him, but he carefully remembers his dreams[9] which, as his thoughts are centred on lofty subjects, are likewise about matters of importance. If his dream is sufficiently clear to warrant the term vision, the recipient should remain, fasting, for four days on the spot where it occurred, and should say nothing about it when he returns home. His strength increases with every vision, until at last, sometimes after a period of thirty years or more, he will obtain a real one and the power to cure a disease. Sometimes dreams come to him in the village, but they are more likely to occur in a secluded spot in the
[178] forest. It is impossible to obtain examples of these dreams since, for a long time, no one has been brave enough to seek

[828] [9]The Bella Coola do not differentiate between mental images that appear in sleep and visions seen during waking hours.

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power in this way, but their type can be judged by the shamanistic performances hereafter described, many of which are believed to have been derived from them. 756 * 787 * [178]

The members of different families have remembered various means of making a person "clean" so that a supernatural being is likely to visit him. Almost every family knows one or more of these, and an individual who shows signs of becoming a shaman will be taught how to use his family method. In conjunction with this, the seeker after power will further purify himself by abstaining from sexual intercourse, by frequent washing in hot springs, by eating small portions of the tails of snakes and the heads of toads, and by avoiding food prepared by a widow or by a girl secluded after puberty. In this way he hopes that his dreams will be fruitful, and that a vision may be granted him as he lies in the forest on his evergreen couch. 756 * 783 787 * [785]

The following are some of the methods to be practised at dawn every fourth day.

(1) The seeker after power locates a small stream on either side of which there are growing two shoots of devil's club. At dawn he breaks off the four stems and strips from them the bark, which he uses to scrub himself in the cold water. As he does so he says:

"Please give me power that I may see what I wish to see."

This is addressed to the plant itself, not to the supreme god. It is a request to be able to see some one of the many supernatural beings that roam the forests, but which are invisible, or appear only as animals, to all but shamans. The words are not a fixed formula, and similar ones are said in connection with each method. After washing, the seeker for power throws the bark and peeled stem into the water. [782]

(2) Again selecting a secluded stream, the would-be shaman picks up a smooth, water-worn pebble from one side of it, and with this rubs his body, then carefully replaces it in the exact position from which he took it. He repeats the process with a second stone, crosses the stream and does likewise with two stones from the farther margin.

*756 (3) Choosing a place where two small hemlocks are growing on each side of a small stream, the seeker after power
783 bends down the four saplings so that their branches reach the
*787 water, and with these scours his body, the spines frequently rasping his skin. When finished, he releases the saplings, which fly back to their original position.

(4) Another method is to devour four small sections, each
[278] rather larger than a match, of false hellebore root. These are drunk with cold water and cause vomiting. The use of this plant is not limited to dawn, nor is it necessary to repeat it every fourth day. Apparently, the usual prayer is not said with it.

[785] Any, or all, of these methods, especially if combined with the observance of ceremonial chastity, may purify the performer so that he will be able to see what is not vouchsafed to most persons. *Thtcăplilăn-a*, or one of the other supernatural beings, may grant him a revelation with shaman's power. This does not always happen, as the above means of purification are not omnipotent, but in many myths where the hero obtained supernatural power it was due to his having tried one of the above, or a similar ritual.

*756 The most common method of becoming a shaman is
*787 through the appearance of *Thtcăplilăn-a* when a person is ill.
[796] This woman, who always wears a blanket-like cape decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark, is able to travel anywhere at phenomenal speed. She, or some other supernatural being, may appear to a sick person irrespective of sex, whether or not ceremonial chastity has been observed. It seems as if she took pity on the sufferer and came to bring relief. The following are typical examples:

A woman had long been crippled with rheumatism. She was so helpless and weak that she spent most of her time curled in a heap on the floor, heedless of the ashes and dirt with which she was covered. Her friends barely attended to her wants.
[796] One day she heard a thump on the roof, though no one else could hear it, nor could they hear the whistle with which

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*756 jects have power over shamans. A shaman must never sleep
783 beside his wife during her menses, must never eat food pre-
841 pared by a menstruating woman, by one who has recently washed a new-born infant, by a girl during the period of seclusion following puberty, or by a widow or widower during the year that follows the death of his partner. If a shaman's nose bleeds when he is dancing it is because a menstruating woman is present in the house; he at once asks the offender to withdraw, after which the bleeding stops. Moreover, he must
[755] never cure a woman during her periods. A wise shaman prac-
[785] tises ceremonial chastity frequently. In view of the lack of cleanliness ascribed to menstrual blood, it is perhaps surprising that a woman can become a shaman while still of child-bearing age. This is rare, and only occurs when a woman is the last survivor of a family. The Bella Coola themselves consider it to be peculiar, only explicable on the ground that anything is possible to the supernatural beings, even the disregarding of feminine "uncleanness." Usually, female shamans are past the age of child-bearing; if not, they observe absolute chastity.

*756 Even inadvertent breaking of one of these rules causes
761 death. This is not regarded as a punishment inflicted by *Thitcăplilăn-a*; it is merely the inevitable consequence of the supernatural power within the shaman having come in contact with what is not clean. As a shaman is considered to be immune against all ordinary ailments, his death is always attributed to the breaking of a taboo. Frequently the death of a shaman is accompanied by some convulsion of nature. One female shaman, for example, told the people of her village to keep their children within doors, since a supernatural being was coming for her. Soon it became dark; there were four loud claps of thunder, at the fourth of which she fell dead.

539 The following was related as an instance of the danger to
*756 a shaman of coming in contact with an unclean woman.

[783] The son of the first man to come to earth at *Nulleax* was, like his
[841] father, named *Dudzeny*". One April he and his wife went upstream to
[787] *Xwunis*, a place in the country of the Carriers where milk-weed is plen-

782
778
* 787
[251]

About half a mile from the glacier there is a large rock shelter where mountain goat hunters are wont to smoke their meat. They are always careful to take with them dyed and undyed cedar-bark and eagle down, knowing that they may encounter the supernatural. Sometimes they hear the voice of *uxuḱaw*, a deep, long drawn-out hum, *m*·····. If this sound is repeated four times it is a happy augury, but if heard only once it presages ill fortune. In either case some member of the party, one who is ceremonially clean and is brave, blackens his face, puts on a collar of dyed cedar-bark, covered with eagle down, steps outside, and says in effect:

"Hail! Petrified One. In the beginning you came down from *Alpuntăw*, from all that was wonderful and powerful. You have not changed, hence we mortals can still hear your voice. Please, may it be well with us. There is none other like you."

If the supplicant is ceremonially clean the mountain will answer *hi*·····, four times, and there will be heard what sounds like a great landslide. Then the petitioner takes some small portions of meat, some dyed and some undyed cedar-bark, and eagle down and throws them on the fire.

"Please accept, Oh *Kasiaot*" (Powerful One), he says.

Thus propitiated, *uxuḱaw* grants them success in hunting.

778 (13) *Spipighăn-i*: On the south side of the Dean River about one mile from its mouth. Here, in the beginning of time, Raven cast his war-knife, *sple*, which was turned to stone and can still be seen. Its power has likewise become localized at this point.

(14) In the beginning of time Mount *Swaly*, near the Dean River, was a man who was turned to stone. Across the river is his wife, *Astrahwahl*, whose ancestral name is *Kamilkăn*, likewise petrified.

[255]
[785]

In most of these places[1] a sick person can receive assistance, if he is willing to risk the consequent dangers. The first essential is that he be in a "clean" condition by the observance of

[1] [i.e. - certain spots where power is localized - see cat. 116, pp 594-600 for their location - ANALYST]

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ceremonial chastity. This state is pleasing to supernatural beings, who otherwise are likely to punish one trespassing on their haunts. The Bella Coola have not clearly formulated their beliefs with regard to these places, consequently the experiences of one individual are usually quite different from those of another, a circumstance regarded as quite natural on the assumption that the supernatural beings are able to manifest themselves in many ways. 755 778 [785]

Shulekwaily and the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel are the places that figure most commonly in mythology. At the former is *Shulekwaily*'s chamber-vessel, a pool always full of clear water though not fed by any spring. If a person suffering from the virulent skin disease known as *lishily* swims in it, drinks some of the water, and then vomits, he will recover.

Not only the pond itself, but the whole neighbourhood, is the seat of mysterious power, as the following tale describes. 755

Near the western end of the pool there is a rock from which long ago three men dived and failed to return. A sick man decided to do the same and leapt in, feet first, wearing around his chest some dyed-cedar-bark. He plunged through the water and found that he was standing on the roof of a house; he walked around it, then returned to the surface, and back to his starting point. He dived three times more, and when he emerged for the fourth time his sickness had left him. He returned to Bella Coola and told of his experience. Since that time sick people have been carried to the pool, and have dived in from the same rock, always feet first, and always wearing dyed cedar-bark. All are able to feel the roof of the house, and are cured by the immersion. 778 539

The trail used by the Carrier Indians when raiding the coastal tribes passed by this lake, and on one occasion the Bella Coola, bent on retaliation, used the same path and paused to rest on the shore. They all bathed in the pool and asked help from the power there localized, then as they lay on the grass drying their long hair in the sunshine, a house emerged. Slowly it floated upwards, filling the whole area formerly occu- 778 787* 539

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778 could not distinguish any actual words. This ceased, to be
755 followed by the hissing sound of escaping steam; the water
became so unbearably hot that, crippled though he was, he
539 managed to crawl out. His courage soon revived, so, wrapping
* 787 his head in his blanket, he returned to the spring. The water
was still unpleasantly hot on his body and legs, but the covering protected his head. The same phenomenon occurred on the two following days. Four days later he was well enough to walk and was brought home. During his treatment he saw supernatural beings, and is still hoping for a further revelation that will make him a shaman. He believes that this would have been granted to him if his friends had allowed him to remain in the spring overnight.

755 During the four days of his immersion he ate nothing, and his only nourishment was a little mountain goat grease which he did not swallow but kept in the right side of his mouth. After each bath he scrubbed himself with hemlock boughs. As in all
• [785] such cases, for one year he observed continence and refrained
[761] from eating unsmoked salmon. Failure to observe these taboos would have caused his death.[14]

755 According to another account the creature that visits a patient lying in the Hot Springs is a *ššk'*. As already de-
776 scribed, it is a hairless animal, about as large as a small moose, with legs so short that its belly almost scrapes the ground, no tail, and a large head with glass-like eyes. The whole appearance suggests an enormous walking snake. This animal approaches the sick person, as he lies on a flat stone[15] in the spring, and takes a bite from wherever the sickness is situated. No wound can afterwards be seen, but the ailment is carried away with the biting. If the patient should lack courage and endeavour to escape he would soon die.

776 Others of these animals of the same or similar variety have been observed about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.

[14] See vol. I, p. 629 for further results of this treatment.
[15] There are two of these, one used by men and one by women.

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778 rushed past him it brushed his legs. From its malign touch
755 they became as if tied together at the knees, so that he could hardly walk. When all other cures failed he bathed in all the
* [787] healing places on the coast, and was cured by the time he had returned to Bella Coola.

[785] Before embarking on such an expedition, a sufferer must observe continence for at least three months, and continue this after his return, otherwise he will die. It is wise to start at *Snuwals*, on South Bentinck Arm, proceeding from there down South Bentinck Arm, across Labouchere Channel, and towards Kimsquit, since in this way the patient travels sunwise, increasing the potency of his efforts.

At *Snuwals* there is a ledge of rock that projects out over the water; the sick person dives through a hole into the fiord. From this point he proceeds to *Nukilā·xta*, on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about half a mile above the Hot Springs. This is the place of the giant, many-coloured spider, turned to stone. Among its legs there are numerous holes in which the patient lays a stick and pieces of his clothing, taken from the part of the body affected, saying as he does so:

"Please, Powerful One, help me to return to strength."

The third place of curing is the Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm, *Ixpe·xam*. Here the patient lies in the hot water and leaves portions of his worn clothing as some sort of vague offering to the being there. The Bella Coola have no clear conception as to why the scraps should be left; apparently they have never considered whether it was actually of service to the being. At the present time it appears to be only a ritual handed down from great antiquity.

Leaving South Bentinck Arm the patient proceeds to the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel, the characteristics of which have already been described. The final place visited is *Awaḱwam*, on the west side of Dean Channel about nine miles below Kimsquit, where the ocean penetrates far under a ledge of rock. The sufferer is lowered through a vent about six feet in diameter until he stands on a boulder at the edge of the sea

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778 the rock shelter half a mile away. Here he must lie alone,
755 without food, for four days. If he is in a pure condition from the observance of chastity, he then feels the earth shake and
* [787] hears a sound like a mighty landslide, though it is inaudible to those waiting in the cave. If the patient is frightened and tries to flee, he will die, but if he lies still he will be able to spit out the dead frog, or it will become so soft that it can drip from his nose. He then washes in the stream that flows through the ice-cavern, thus completing the cure. The malady
● [785] will return unless chastity is practised for one year.

756 Finally, in dreams a man is sometimes carried away to one or other of these curing places, or to several of them, and is
* 787 there made a shaman. It will be noted that this method of acquiring the ability differs from those previously described, but his functions are the same as those whose power has been obtained in one of the usual ways.

Dreams

* 787 The last type of contact with the supernatural is by means of dreams. Psychologically, these are akin to visions; indeed, it is often impossible to learn whether the experiences described in an ancient story occurred during sleep or when awake. The
[774] Bella Coola believe that dreams are caused by the spirit of the individual; they are, therefore, supernatural and worthy of attention, but in spite of this, it was difficult to obtain detailed accounts. The reason seems to lie in the intangibility of the experiences themselves. Unless one is sufficiently striking, it passes into oblivion as a fruitless manifestation of the workings of the spirit. Many of the visions seen in ancient times by those who had fasted or otherwise reached an emotional state, must have been dreams, but they have ceased to be recognized as such in the course of generations. The Bella Coola of today
[159] state emphatically that they receive warning of future events during sleep, but the only individual from whom it was possible to obtain coherent descriptions was the elderly man previously described as X (I, p. 515).

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159 in his sleep, and hopes that it will grant him specific super-
* 787 natural power. He realizes that he could increase the prob-
ability of obtaining this by ceremonial chastity, and believes
[785] that it would come to him if he went alone to the woods and
lay fasting for some time. Another means would be to con-
[797] centrate his thoughts upon the desired end, but X is too good
a Christian to do so; he is in the unhappy position of knowing
too much of two religions to be able to practise either unre-
servedly. Such experiences are not likely to occur to any but
a man of high-strung, imaginative temperament, to whom
dreams and mental excitements appear especially vivid. X is
intensely religious, so that it is easy for him to interpret every
phenomenon in terms of the supernatural. It will be noted
that most of the dreams just described took place when he was
sick, precisely the time when hallucinations are to be expected.
They were more coherent than those of most Bella Coola,
though the difference is one of degree rather than of kind.

* 787 Most dreams are comparatively simple, and the informa-
tion received in them is intelligible. They come to all, irre-
spective of rank or prerogative. Nevertheless, it is believed
[828] that an inheritable tendency runs in some families; this does
not mean that all members of such a group dream constantly,
[821] but they are more likely to do so than others. Those occurring
at the winter solstice are more carefully observed than at other
[773] times, since it is then that the supernatural beings decide events
for the coming year and a man's spirit may be able to inform
[777] him of what has been decided. Consequently, as soon as
Ālquntäm enters *Nusmät·a*, wise men separate from their wives
[785] and concentrate on dreaming, hoping to learn what is in store
for them. For instance, if a man sees himself seated before a
large pile of goods, he knows that he will have the good fortune
to do this during the coming year; on the other hand, if he
foresees ill luck, it means that he will be unfortunate. Another
[821] time when dreams are especially desired is before the summer
solstice when hunters in particular observe ceremonial chas-
[224] tity. This purification not only increases the likelihood of such
[785]

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experiences, but adds to the reliability of their prognostications. At that season, if a hunter dreams that he will not be successful, he remains at home knowing that it will be useless for him to seek game.

Though dreams are considered and remembered most carefully at the solstices, it must not be imagined that they are disregarded at other seasons. Often there is neither mental picture nor apparition, merely a voice, the sound of which indicates that the hearer will be fortunate the following day. Instead of a voice without body, a dream may consist of a speechless apparition which indicates by gestures the fate in store for the dreamer. One elderly Bella Coola who keeps a small shop states that he can usually tell in this way whether or not he will sell much goods during the coming day. Many years ago, after frequent visits from a being of this kind, the man became the leading fisherman for one of the canneries; he attributed his success to his nameless benefactor, for whose benefit he threw a number of small pieces of food into the fire. Occasionally, specific information or advice is received. On one occasion, when this same man was ill, he dreamt that a supernatural being appeared and told him to wash in the river, that it was breath to all human beings; he did so regularly, and was soon restored to health. Sometimes the information is with regard to the future. On the night of January 15, 1924, he dreamt that two naked Carriers were standing beside his bed. He asked them what they wanted, and why they were without clothing.

"We always appear as an omen of trouble in the land," they answered.

Next day there was a heavy fall of snow which he regarded as fulfilling the prophecy. The dreamer was X, the man of imaginative temperament who had beheld the white and black supernatural beings. These instances illustrate the manner in which the same individual has repeated experiences of similar type. X claims that he began to dream when a small child,

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* 787 843 If a woman dreams that she has caught two salmon, two small birds, or is holding two infants, the birth of twins is foretold. This type of explanation is obvious; in fact, these examples lie on the border-line between direct and symbolic interpretations.

* 787 843 775 Another indication of approaching pregnancy is for a woman to dream of a dead relative; this means that the latter will soon be re-born. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that some fifty years earlier his mother dreamt that her dead mother came to her, saying that she was lonesome and wished to return. Soon afterwards she conceived, and the daughter born was considered to be the reincarnation of her own grand- [553] mother whose names she was promptly given. At the present time, this informant addresses his sister as sister, though he states that as a child he was taught to call her grandmother. As already mentioned, if a new-born infant is a reincarnation, the fact can often be recognized by holes or dimples in the ears, relics of previous borings for rings. Unless such a birth has been foretold in a dream, it is impossible to learn whom the child re-embodies.

* 787 [761] A dream of frequent occurrence in Bella Coola is the return of the sleeper to the scenes and activities of his childhood. This always signifies a long life. Strangely enough, to dream of being nailed in one's coffin and carried to the grave is translated conversely, and likewise indicates a long life. It is re- [731] membered that there were many dreams of fire before the outbreak of the smallpox epidemic, so it has since been assumed that such presage an outbreak of this disease.

* 787 224 [785] The only dreams of which the interpretations are wholly symbolic are those experienced by hunters. The Bella Coola explain this by saying that hunters always observe ceremonial chastity and their spirits are, therefore, in a receptive condition to supernatural impressions. When a man has set his traps, he is able to tell from his dreams whether or not any animals have been caught:

To dream that a canoe has been upset in the river and that

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* 539 tune, remembering what the latter had told him the previous evening.
* 756 He feared to follow his friend's track, and, as night came on, closed the
* 787 tent and went to sleep, with the dog beside him. When it was quite dark he was wakened by the sound of footsteps and the tapping of a stick, and concluded that his partner was returning. The tent-flap was untied, as if by a person entering, but *Ālximlaix* could see nothing, so he kicked the dog to waken it and the animal began to bark furiously. At length he heard the steps withdraw and grow fainter as they climbed the mountain. Then *Ālximlaix* realized that his friend was dead, and that it was his life, [775] flashing round to visit his companions, which had come to him. Terrified, he lay awake all night with a blazing fire, and fled the next morning.

Ālximlaix chanced to meet several canoes soon after he had quitted his camp, and when he had told his story, their occupants turned back to hunt for *Nunusxwmolek*. About eighteen men searched all that day unsuccessfully, but a few days later another party found the corpse of the missing hunter. Presumably he had fired at the goat, though whether he struck it or not was not known, and the animal had charged. A wound in *Nunusxwmolek*'s groin showed where one of the horns had pierced him, and the two had rolled together to death over a precipice, the bodies becoming slightly separated in the fall.

Even if *Nunusxwmolek* had struck the goat it would not have availed him, since he was doomed to death. Not only had he taken great risks in hunting within one year of his previous experience, but his wife had been careless during his absence. He had long practised continence, and [785] thereby was in a clean condition such as is approved by animals, and other supernatural beings, but this very condition rendered him peculiarly [761] susceptible to any breaking of taboos by his wife. She had so far forgotten herself as to indulge in swinging when he was on the mountain, so that his death was inevitable. *Nunusxwmolek*'s relatives were very angry and prophesied that she would soon die. They were right, though whether her death was caused by a sorcerer, or by the accumulative power of their thoughts, is a matter no one can determine.

THE *Ťläqmä·ks*

In the beginning of time, when *Ālquntäm* sent down *Kāliäkus* to this earth, he used his own initiative and travelled to the east for abalone-shell and to the west for copper. On returning to his settlement, he determined to try to lure to it a supernatural being, of whose existence he was aware from his previous life in the land above. Accordingly, he fashioned some of the copper into jingling bangles, which he fastened to the ropes of his infant's cradle. Before the introduction of white men's [177] [854] cradles, the Bella Coola were accustomed to tie a child in a cloth and

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To Cause Ability in Understanding the Speech of Ravens 825

It is well known that when ravens croak, they are really 856
speaking, but their language is unintelligible except to one who 789
has learnt it by means of a medicine. One of these is the following:

Catch a raven alive and cut a small piece of flesh from its body, beneath the left wing, taking care not to kill the bird. Release it, after having fed the morsel to the child. An infant so treated will grow up able to learn from ravens of the approach of raiding parties, storms, visitors, and all other news which they constantly circulate in their loud calling. It is said that the last person so endowed was the father of a Kimsquit man about forty years of age in 1922. His ability lasted throughout childhood but he lost it through infraction of a taboo.

The following medicines are used between the ages of one and two: 304

To Cause Long Life 789

One year after birth, holes are pierced through the lobes of 856
the ears and the nasal septum. In the beginning of time, 886
Älquntäm told the forefathers of the Bella Coola that if this were not done, the boy or girl would die young.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

When the umbilical cord of a female infant falls, her father 846
places it within the knot-hole of a tree, where it is protected 856
from rain but where it rots and is forgotten. A boy's is pre- 789
served with care. The parents wrap it in soft goat's wool and [858]
place it in the box where the father keeps his most cherished possessions; this causes the child to be careful, and to grow up with a tendency to treasure his acquisitions rather than to dispose heedlessly of them. As the first anniversary of his [785]
son's birth approaches, his father begins to observe ceremonial chastity, endeavouring to estimate the time so that its culmin-

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846 ating point shall be one year after the birth. Early on the
856 morning of this day, he takes the umbilical cord and goes far
789 into the mountains until he finds a place where the grass is matted and the earth packed, showing that a mountain goat
[785] has slept there. He digs a hole, inserts the cord in it, and covers it with stones, praying as he does so:

"Please, father! May my son be skilful, may he be successful in hunting mountain goats."

This has the effect of showing the child where these animals are to be found. The father then returns home.

Four days later he goes back to the same spot, digs up the umbilical cord, brings it home and hangs it in the doorway of the house. Should this be omitted, the child would have an intense longing to hunt in the mountains and would leave home at the first opportunity, but would be unable to return. The cord is left suspended for four days, then taken to the forest and deposited under an overhanging rock where no water can penetrate. It dries in course of time but no further attention is paid to it.

[868] A child so treated begins to hunt birds and squirrels when he is eight or ten years of age, and later follows mountain goats with obsidian-pointed arrows. This medicine has been handed
[424] down in certain families for generations. If a parent, not possessing the prerogative, wishes to have it applied to his child, he requests one who is entitled to use it to perform with his son's umbilical cord in the manner just described. He is later paid for his assistance.

A similar, though simpler medicine is for the father to take the fallen umbilical cord to the mountains immediately and bury it beneath stones where a mountain goat has been lying. Four days later he returns to the spot, digs up the cord, and brings it home, thus ensuring that the child will have no fear of the mountains and will be a successful hunter of mountain goats. In such cases it is customary for the mother to preserve her son's cord during his childhood so that he will not become careless.

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"Please remedy the invalid." 755

This is virtually a prayer, addressed to the deceased owner of the skull, and accordingly verges on appeal to the dead. None the less, there is no concept of active supplication to any individual ghost, but rather of acquiring aid by the use of a supernatural object.

For one year after this treatment, sexual intercourse is forbidden to both practitioner and patient. The latter, though not the former, dies if either fails to observe this taboo. The use of an old man to apply the medicine is to lessen danger from this source. The owner of this remedy is always liberally rewarded and some old men carefully preserve a skull under a rock-ledge in order to be ready if called upon. [785] [761]

For Smallpox

Pick up a toad, and tear off its head with the teeth, swallowing some of the blood. 757

This is an ancient remedy for some other ailment which was tried as a last resort during the smallpox epidemic. One man who succeeded in practising it on four successive days was cured of the dread disease.

For Consumption

Boil leaves and stems of a certain fleshy plant (not identified) in water and drink the decoction. The potency of the medicine increases accordingly to the number of plants used.

This medicine was a Nootka Indian's hereditary cure for a cough which was found to be effective for consumption as well. The malady was so prevalent on the coast in the last century that it seemed as if the inhabitants were doomed; this remedy was allegedly discovered at that time and knowledge of it spread rapidly from tribe to tribe, saving the lives of hundreds. The Bella Coola recognize that this was a private medicine, but have ceased to regard it as such and have no hesitation in applying it whenever required. [177] [164]

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755 *For Insanity*

177 The Bella Coola have no medicine for this disease, although they are familiar with one used by the Kwakiutl, which was applied not long ago to a Rivers Inlet youth by two old women, one from Newitte and the other from *Djoldänux*. They exhumed a recently buried corpse, took a small piece of skin from the left side of the base of the neck, left this for twenty-four hours in a small stream, and then allowed it to steep for another twenty-four hours in a cup filled with water. This liquid was drunk by the patient who immediately recovered his sanity. He was next given water in which had been boiled needles from the yellow cedar; this strengthened him and prevented a relapse. The patient, now cured, observed continence for a year; failure to obey this injunction would have caused his death.

[785] [761]

The Bella Coola assume that this remedy is the property of Kwakiutl ancestral families who alone are entitled to use it. The practitioners are always suitably recompensed and do not undertake the treatment except at the request of one of the patient's relatives. Kwakjutl experts have been brought to Bella Coola several times within recent years to cure cases of insanity, but great secrecy is maintained concerning the methods employed. They are considered to be effective, in proof of which the attention of the writer was directed to two sane men who were said to have been raving lunatics before undergoing a Kwakiutl treatment. It is probable that the individuals had been subject to periodic fits of insanity and that a temporary improvement was regarded as a definite cure.

757 *For Venereal Disease* (four means)

(1) Boil scrapings of false hellebore roots in water for a long time and drink the decoction. If it is too strong, add more water.

(2) Pound *skıs'tcalx*, a kind of fungus, in water and drink the brew.

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789 regard to two figurines prepared to cause love has been described.

755 In addition to these non-specialized medicines, the Bella Coola are acquainted with remedies for several specific ailments caused by supernatural beings. One of these, to cure a person in whose head a toad was formed, has already been described.

To Prevent Blindness

Loss of sight is caused by a bat flying into a man's face, or [753] by a raven's dropping falling upon him as he looks upward. [825] After either accident, rub a feather from any bird in a raven's liver and draw it across the eyes. The person practising this [785] cure must remain continent for one year or blindness will result.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Leg

If a man puts his foot in a hole so that he stumbles and falls, he will lose the use of that leg unless he counteracts the danger by placing a small stick upright in the cavity. In the summer of 1922 the writer noticed an old Bella Coola, with whom he was walking in the woods, break off a branch about two feet in length and place it in a hole where he had stumbled. He could give no explanation for his act, except that failure would cause him to lose the use of that leg.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Feet

If a person should happen to set his bare feet upon a dead wolf, he will lose the use of his lower limbs. The antidote to this has been forgotten within recent years, and patients are merely treated by shamans.

755 *To Prevent the Revenge of a Ghost*

775 The ghost of a murdered person usually tries to avenge himself on his killer, who can protect himself by obtaining a small piece from the body or clothing of his victim, a tuft of hair, a shred of cloth, or even a piece of earth from above his

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[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

773 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 *Smaien·a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nusqulxwaista* to await the coming of *Ālquntām*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nebusam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noākxnum* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[785] times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
[831] eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[787] that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that
[626] this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[776] patron was *Noākxnum*, but that the marshals requested him not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noākxnum*
* 575 is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the uninitiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
* [796] the *kusiut* dances begin.
[184]

It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village,
[424] as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
[551] slight variations, if any. In *Tcimotl* the *kusiut* who has the prerogative of seeing *Noākxnum* is a certain *Qoxolān·i*,[15] in Kimsquit, *Ālusḱinwasam*,[16] and in *Sīskiutl*, *Xemtnum*. Although,

[115]
[426]
[578]

[15]Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qoxolān·i*, who intimated that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman referred to the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

[16]Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significances of this type.

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in former times. *Sklsa* might almost be called the Bella Coola national game, although it is now (1923) seldom played. 526 [172]

A game with somewhat similar rules is *sqwlaiăk*, played with small wooden spears tipped with bone. When a number of men or boys decide to play, they choose two captains who in turn select their teams; any number can take part, provided that the sides are equal, but five each is usual. There is a special name for each player according to his position, and he bets against the corresponding member of the other team. A mark is set up, and one of the captains throws his spear, so that it will stick upright in the ground as near the target as possible. The rival leader endeavours to beat this, and if he fails, his second man throws, and each in succession until one comes closer to the goal than the rival captain. Then the latter's number two tries to beat the last thrower, followed by those on his own side until one succeeds or till all have thrown. The game thus ends when all of one side have thrown unsuccessfully. The winning side is, of course, the one to which belongs the player whose throw is nearest the target. Each member of the losing team pays his wager to his adversary and a second round is begun. 526 525

The sport is now rarely indulged in, but in former times games used to continue all day, and valuables were lost in the gambling which was considered to be a necessary part of it. Men used to observe ceremonial chastity to increase their chances of success and the expert was regarded with admiration by younger lads. The crack team of a village often used to visit other towns to compete against their representatives, and the games were contested amid frenzied excitement on the part of the supporters. This occasionally led to serious fighting. [785] [554] [628] [578]

Another sport of a similar type is archery; a mark is set up and each competitor tries to lodge his arrow as close to it as possible. This game has now entirely lost favour, the young men preferring a type of football played without strict attention to rules, but with great energy. 526

Bella Coola children, too, have their games and recreations, many of them of an imitative nature. Little boys enjoy nothing 857

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Then she sat down to the meal with her husband, the routine being exactly as she had described it to her visitor. After they had finished eating, *Stuix*'s wife told him of the day's happenings, how a woman, giving her name, had visited the camp and had asked a great many questions about him, including whether or not he observed ceremonial chastity, and other personal matters. 539*

"What did you tell her?" *Stuix* asked his wife.

"Oh, I answered her truthfully," she replied.

"You should never have done that!" *Stuix* burst out in anger. "It was none of her business. Don't you know that you should never discuss a hunter's observance of ceremonial chastity? You have behaved very badly." [785 831]

Stuix had reason for his wrath, because no wife should ever discuss this matter, as in so doing she weakens or destroys her husband's power.

A few days afterward the evil woman again visited *Stuix*'s camp, carrying concealed beneath her blanket a wooden club used for killing salmon. *Stuix*'s wife did not see the approach of her hypocritical friend, who struck her on the head with the weapon and killed her. The murderess dragged her victim's body a short distance from the camp; with her copper knife she removed the skin and drew it over her own body, endeavouring in every way to make it fit. But the wife of *Stuix* had been larger than the bad woman, who tried to remedy the difference in size by tying the excess in wrinkles around her hips. The greatest difficulty was about the eyes, where the skin hung in folds which the impostor sewed neatly to make less noticeable. When all was done the murderess scraped a hole in the soft ground and buried the body of her victim.

While awaiting the return of *Stuix* the impostor busied herself in carrying out all the small household occupations, just as she had been told about them. Towards dusk *Stuix* came back. He noticed that his wife looked peculiar and uneasy, but said nothing about it; they sat down together to the meal but the woman kept her eyes lowered, lest the loose skin about them might betray her. *Stuix* wondered at that and also at her voice, which did not sound normal. At night the masquerader went first to bed, as a wife always does when her husband is observing ceremonial chastity. *Stuix* followed shortly. In a few minutes an owl hooted:

"*Stuix*'s wife has tied up a fold of skin round her hips."

Neither man nor woman spoke. Even at that distant period it was well known that the voice of a dead person passes into an owl, though only rarely can one communicate with the living. It was, in fact, the slain wife speaking from above the spot where her body lay. The murderess feared that *Stuix* would put his arm around her waist, but she was saved because his observance of ceremonial chastity prevented him from doing so. [775 825]

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Nuswin·amq, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.
nuswinásta: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige. [578]
Nuxx: 1—Barren district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, *adjective*.
Nuxpalqiq: *Tal·io* bird hunter.
Nuxyemda: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tal·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqalxel* in the beginning of time.
3—Ball of the universe which, when broken, released the sun. [772]
Nuxyemtaän·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Alqalxel* in the beginning of time.
Nuxxeq: 1—(Probably) "The Place of Barrenness": Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
nuxxi·ipsta: Repository, archaic term. [431]
nuxwan·ál·nutnam: The assumption of a name upon earth. [585]
nuxwohmgulta, "Things to Sweep the Floor With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage.
nuxwu·qista: Wooden dish used for washing an infant. [415]
nuxwullámtom: Abstinence from acts of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine. [985]
nuleikim: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient. [756]
Nuleodaxw': Name of a celebrated shaman.
Nulam: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
Nulol, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
nulsxymm: Alteration of a dance from *nisook* to *kusiut*. [825]
nulkálxita: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck.
nultalzumnam, "A Drying-Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband. [586]
nultalzimam: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion. [431]
Nulltax, "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Nuthaqed: Totem-pole of the first settlers at *Nuxpalit* in the beginning of time.
nuthunlt: Parents of twins. [845]
nutsaqmax: Wolf. [825]
Nulsálmais: Mythical house in the sky.
Nulsaymáls: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nutsiakem: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Thitsaplúx·a* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *nuleikim*. [756]
nulsiaymam: A creation of new *kusiut* names, such as is necessitated by a disaster, or at the will of a mighty chief. [553]
nulsinázlm: *Kusiutem* rite in which the performer pretends to swallow hot stones.
nulskwnam: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to heralds by a person splashed in Otter dance. [431]
2—Presents given by guests at a potlatch to their host and his associates.
nulsqoza, "The Face Maker": Name given to a woman who points upon the bandages used to produce cranial deformation in an infant. [856]
Nutzqualt, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kimsquit village.
Nulwimtz: *Kusiut* name of a *Tsmsil* man.

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[825] *Sulekd:* Mountain on west side of the Kimsquit River.
sutsi-d'tsinu-ina: One of the river sculpins.
sutshmis: To gather cedar-bark.
Szimána: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning
Szisi: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Sulkuta, "Winter Trail": Locality, perhaps village, on the upper Kimsquit River.
[101] *Sutokmp:* Generic name of the inhabitants of the Dean valley.
Surwult: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
Swaóla: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Swalq: Mountain at Kimsquit which was in human form in the beginning of time.
swalxmodimut: Meeting of the senior supernatural beings to discuss ceremonial matters at the winter solstice.
swalete: Provender provided by the supreme god for the first settlers in the beginning of time.
swa'swa: Maid.
swalóa: Person or object which is taboo.
Szaiarwas: Evil supernatural being.
Szaindwa, "Maker of Good Weather": Supernatural name of dog salmon.
szakmow pdi mána: Term of opprobrium applied to a child whose father drove away his mother.
szakóta: Sorcerer's box.
Szu-ituomóa-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
szán: Female lover, especially a paramour.
szánu: Male lover.
Szqlo-ó: One of the first women to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
szum: The bursting forth of light.
[785] *sautata:* Ceremonial chastity.
[831] *sautatadjat:* The state of practising ceremonial chastity.
sautatmai: Power engendered by ceremonial chastity.
sqak: 1—Sorcerer.
2—*Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.
Szqlqdjuóa-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
szim: Cedar-bark cord.
Szimána: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Szimaxímuk: Immoral supernatural woman.
sxlá': Afterbirth.
Szlyuóa-a: Chief of the dogs in the beginning of time.
[838] *Szuóa:* 1—Hermaphrodite, a supernatural being.
2—Man who performs woman's work.
[761] *smumtauk ká':* Life, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
[821] *Sutl'ind,* South Wind: A supernatural being.
Sulkil, "Angry Moon": First moon after the winter solstice.
[805] *sulu-ul':* Poisonous supernatural creature that travels with the War-Party of the Tides.
sulumuk: "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts. The word has two meanings:
[532] 1—Carved human figure set up by a shaman near the vessel of grease which is thrown on a fire.
2—Nickname bestowed on a man.

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Xemlaix: One of the first men to settle at *Xemqo-o* in the beginning of time.
Xemtsum: *Kaxiat* name of a *Sisk'ait* man.
Xemxemlalla: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Xemxemlaix: Juneau name brought from above in the beginning of time.
Xemxemtsum: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqaklat* in the beginning of time.
[533] *xe-ha:* Beautiful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.
Xelilkoa: One of the first men to settle at *Xelhulc* in the beginning of time.
Xelkoa: *Kaxiat* name of a Kitsaquit woman. The designation is of Bella Bella origin.
[825] *'xepa:* Marten.
[412] *xila:* Stone axe.
xilad: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
[203] *Xmqelmut:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xmxmaxlaix: *A'alk* man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xmxmxelaix: Celebrated female shaman.
xnqmstc-i, plural, xnqmstcelci: Little girl.
[821] *Xnqmx:* 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
[517] 2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.
Xoxsis: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
Xsimte-a, "Right Foot": *Sisaa* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
Xqsis: Mountain in the Carrier country.
xsmtsum: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
xtistum: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
xtisl: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
[586] *Xtlqmsk:* Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
xtoko-imut: The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
[825] *Xwaxsis:* Locality below *Nuxalk.*
xwaxsisl: Minnows.
[601] *xwa:* Woman, or wife in indirect address (*hi' xwalaix:* My wife).
[614] *xwaxlaix:* Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
xwaxlaix or *xwqwaxlaix:* The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.
[423] *Xwaxli:* Bella Coola ancestor living in the last century.
xwlsit: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
Xsilxwmcaw: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[985] *xsilyat:* Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[891] *Xsmtsla:* Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Xsmxmqa: Ancestral name of a *Sisaa* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
Xsqaxlaix: Supernatural scamp-net fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
Xqaxlis: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

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575 her the secrets of the Kû'siût. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
713 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
716 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kû'siût. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kû'siût.'

Ever since that time the Bîlqula dance the Kû'siût. When a man has
575 seen Anahlîktsai'n sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a
716 Kû'siût. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Kû'siût lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kû'siût are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband,
424 as is the case with the Sisau'ku dances (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
[424] by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Kû'siût is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kû'siût name, which
[551] he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kû'siût names,
[428] which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pô'pô until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Ti'akô'ôtl.

I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[554] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisau'ku, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kû'siût have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] tlaqô'tla (the Hâ'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ô'lsq (the Nû'tlmatl of the Kwakiutl), and the Dâ'tia (the Nô'ntsistatl of the Hâ'iltsuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Kû'siût novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the tlaqô'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
785 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[246] killed, in order to serve as food for the tlaqô'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the tlaqô'tla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

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out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he cannot catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the xlaqō'tla dances clothed in a bear-skin and wearing a large headring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red and white cedar-bark. Some xlaqō'tla do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon, or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also eat corpses. The xlaqō'tla has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house. 575 [774] [756] [242] [301]

The Ō'lxq (= the laugher) and the Dā'tla (= the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The Ō'lxq 'makes fun of everything' and scratches people with his nails. The Dā'tla carries stones and sticks, and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day he pays for it at night when he dances. The Ōlxq and the Dā'tla must stay for one month, after they have danced, in their houses. [785]

If a person transgresses the laws of the Kā'sōit, for instance when the xlaqō'tla gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offence has been proved he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing, and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared, and the substitute is killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is entrusted to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him, or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger-nail, around the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender he will fall sick. Blood collects in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the Kā'sōit are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklet of red cedar-bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others the thunder-bird and his servant Atlqulā'tsnxm, who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and a staff with red and blue spiral lines, appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Qō'mistim and his brethers and his sister (see p. 412), Mamamlā'niq and his fellows, the raven and the Nusqō'mta, and many others. 575 688 575 532 796 [776]

Customs regarding Birth, Puberty, Marriage, and Death.

When the time of delivery approaches, the woman leaves the house and resorts to a small hut built for the purpose. She is assisted by pro- 844

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575 773 776 535

women to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the kō'sint. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the kō'sint."

575 776 535

Ever since that time the Bī'xala dance the kō'sint. When a man has seen Anaklkstē'sī'ē sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a kō'sint. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each kō'sint lasts three days.

535 575 614

The various dances performed by members of the kō'sint are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisam'ā dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the kō'sint is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kō'sint name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of L'lakō'ut. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the sisam'ā, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kō'sint have to pass through a religious ceremony of more importance. The highest degrees are the xlaō'ī'a (the hō'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the ō'ēx (the nō'tsmat. of the Kwakiutl), and the dō'ēa (the nō'ntsistalat. of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kō'sint novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 785 787 [244]

When the xlaō'ī'a is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the xlaō'ī'a. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the xlaō'ī'a order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears

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575 to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one
[785] morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all
[787] his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze
blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone
[155] whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his
own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the
[774] body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try
[792] for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recov-
ered it the NIMIO'LA dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large
[297] head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark.
[301] Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the Ts'i'peta (fig. 200),
the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that
[532] of Bastokuniane Xet'wut of the Kwakiutl. Some NIMIO'LA do not
[171] bite people, but merely
devour raw salmon or
[366] tear dogs to pieces and
devour them. Those who
bite people will also
devour corpses. The
[525] NIMIO'LA has to observe
[834] a number of regulations.
For four years after his
initiation he must not
gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one
year, but this period is being reduced to one month.
For two or three months he must not leave his house.

Fig. 201.
MASK OF TSI'I'PETA.
Bella Coola.
Cat. No. 153001, U. S. N. M.
Collected by F. Boas.

The O'EX (the laugher) and the DÂ'LIX (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The O'EX "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The DÂ'LIX carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The O'EX and the DÂ'LIX, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

575 If a person transgresses the laws of the KÛ'WIL, for instance, when
638 the NIMIO'LA gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he
has no right, also when a person decides the ceremonies or makes a
mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in
[792] council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense
has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty
of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing
575 to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the sub-
638 stitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted
to the shamans, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing dis-
794 eases into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way.
796 The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around

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●787

/For information on visions, quests for visions, dreams and omens, see category 116, pp. 513-539, pp. 547-558, pp. 588-595 and pp. 599-692./

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vidual's ancestors; it enters into his own future as well. When a Bella Coola dies, his spirit (I, p. 94) travels back on the path of his ancestors from generation to generation until it reaches the spot where the first one came to earth; there it assumes the bird or animal cloak used on that occasion and floats aloft to *Nusmät·a* to live forever. Small wonder, therefore, that this house figures prominently in the thoughts of the Bella Coola, and that they cling tenaciously to a belief in it. 177 773 775

Knowledge of *Nusmät·a* has been inherited almost entirely from the first ancestors of the Bella Coola, and only a few items of information could be gleaned concerning it. Most men think of it as an enormous replica of their own houses, but one individual, of philosophic temperament, expressed the opinion that it was without any inner partitions. His belief was based on the following incident: 772

Some years ago a young man died without apparent reason. His sorrowing father kept wondering: 772 787

"Why has my son died? Can he have committed some crime or made some mistake?"

Despondent and grief-stricken, for a whole year the man did not wash, ate little, and slept on the floor. At last he wandered away, alone, into the mountains. Night overtook him and he lay down to sleep without food. His son came to him in a dream, telling him not to lament, that he was in a better place than this world, for *Älquntäm* had recalled him to *Nusmät·a* to use his voice, which was unusually powerful, as a means of conveying his wishes to the other occupants of the house. Thus comforted, the father returned home in the morning, washed, and again behaved normally. My informant suggested that cross walls would be a bar to the strongest voice, and that *Nusmät·a* must consequently be partitionless.

Nusmät·a contains not only the spirits of all deceased Bella Coola, it is also the home of most of the supernatural beings. These frequently descend to visit the earth, but always return to the house above. So far as could be learnt, the only being irremovably located there is an old woman, *Snuiquiqäls*. The most prominent article of furniture in *Nusmät·a* is *Älquntäm*'s seat, in the central position behind the fire. Over it is laid 772 776 * [775]

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what is probably a moosehide, with salmon painted on it, symbolic of his guardianship of fish for the benefit of mankind. In other respects *Nusmāt·a* has no peculiarities. Behind the house is an enormous tree, *Tɣınɣın·iaqim*, in the branches of which live innumerable owls.

After this description of *Nusmāt·a*, it is logical to return to its master, *Ālquntām*. Guiding the sun is his most spectacular occupation, but he also governs the movements of moon and tides. Powerful though he is, he continues to take an interest in the doings of mankind whom he created. Prayers are commonly addressed to him, and a certain type of shaman is believed to receive power direct from him. Other supernatural beings may work weal or woe to a Bella Coola, but he feels it is done with the sanction of *Ālquntām*. At every winter solstice he enters *Nusmāt·a*, where supernatural beings from all parts of the universe have gathered to greet him. This assembly is called *qulxwaix*, and *Nusmāt·a* is termed *Nusqulxwaista*[7] for its duration. While waiting, the guests perform *kusiut* dances, similar to those carried out by members of the *kusiut* society on earth (see vol. II, chap. 1). At *Ālquntām*'s entry the heat becomes so intense that the occupants rush forth precipitately, some falling and being trampled upon in the crush. Only three[8] advisers, including *Sexsexālaix* (I, p. 41), remain to confer with him. They arrange the fate of human beings during the coming year; who shall be made a *kusiut*, who shall be born, who shall die. In each case the decision rests with *Ālquntām*, though he is influenced by his counsellors. Human beings can often learn in dreams what is being decided for them.

Ālquntām, in spite of his strength, shares the limitations of any other chief, and is not invariably successful. The Bella Coola delight in telling stories of how supernatural beings, especially the Raven, outwitted and defeated him. Even

[7]Often pronounced *Nusqualwaista*.
[8]The exact number is uncertain.

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838 woman who dressed as a man and used to hunt successfully,
[171] though she was married. Such practices are said to have been not uncommon among the Haida. The women were considered bold and independent, but the Bella Coola of today know little
*[776] about them, and are not even certain that *Sxunts* is responsible for a female assuming the actions of a male. It will be readily understood that he is not regarded with much awe, nor does he influence their daily lives.

*776 Another supernatural being, uninfluential though resident
[822] upon earth, is Echo, *Setsaläni*, "The Voice Repeater." The Bella Coola regard him as a male being, in human form, and recognize his presence whenever sounds reverberate. He figures in mythology, occasionally appears as a masked figure at
[575] *kusiut* or *susaok* dances, but has neither helped nor harmed human beings for so many generations that he is accordingly neglected.

*776 A supernatural being from whom many Bella Coola have
●787 had unpleasant visitations is *Slhmsila*, the cause of nightmares.
828 He is a man-like creature with black face and an enormous head which he constantly scratches. His home is in *Nusmät·a*, but he frequently descends to this world and frightens sleepers. If a person scratches his head while asleep it is because he has just seen *Slhmsila* doing so, and if he walks in his sleep it is to escape this supernatural visitor. A sleep-walker is usually aroused by having a bucket of water thrown over him. A
[751] person frequently troubled by *Slhmsila* can avoid him by painting a black circle around each eye before going to sleep.

*776 With the exception of *Älquntäm*, the supernatural beings thus far described play little part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They believe in their existence, but do not expect to meet them, and do not believe that they exercise much influence on the course of their daily life. Supernatural beings of this ineffective
781 type are exceptional. A man goes into remote parts of the mountains, or even into little frequented areas around his
*776 village, with mingled fear lest he encounter an actively malicious being, and hope that he may meet a benevolent one. More-

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over, he is aware that by certain means he may have good 781
expectations of beseeching, cajoling, deceiving, or rendering 776 *
powerless any supernatural beings whom he may meet. This attitude is typical; the Bella Coola by no means move in constant dread of the mysterious denizens of the forests, nor do they eagerly hope for their appearance; they have their likes and dislikes, their moments of weakness and of strength, their times of greatness and of pettiness, all to be considered with care and forethought.

One of the beings for whom the older people have a pro- 776 *
found respect is *Ṫlitcāplilān·a*, a supernatural woman whose 787 ●
home is in *Nusmāt·a*, but who frequently visits this earth. She can be recognized by her snout-like mouth and long, pendant breasts, but even when beyond the range of vision her proximity can be detected by her singing. *Ṫlitcāplilān·a* often takes pity on a person who is dangerously ill and visits him, not only curing the malady but bringing the sufferer a name and song. In many cases he is thus made a shaman with [756] power to cure. At other times *Ṫlitcāplilān·a* bestows her favours on a person in good health, so that wise Bella Coola are always hoping to meet her. Such an experience is not without its dangers, for she is so powerful that nearness to her may be enough to cause death. The exploits of those who have come in contact with *Ṫlitcāplilān·a* belong to shamanism and will be reserved for vol. I, chap. IX.

Ṫlitcāplilān·a, though her great power inspires fear, usually 776 *
behaves in a kindly manner to mortals, who accordingly wel- 761
come her. But it is quite otherwise with *Sxaiaxwax*, whose coming almost invariably brings death.[11] He is a black-faced being of repulsive appearance and sensual nature, whose chief function is to seduce women. For this purpose he often skulks near a village at night, and assumes the voice and appearance of a girl's lover to lure her into the forest. Fearlessly she goes with him, but if she allows his approaches, a hemorrhage results and she soon dies. There is said to be no limit to the number

[11] Cf. Boas, p. 42.

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* 776 825 845 Fish, too, are regarded in the same light. Indeed, there is a particularly close affinity between men and salmon, for twins are born through the instrumentality of the latter. Just how this occurs no Bella Coola knows, but a twin and salmon are regarded almost as brothers. In days when men were more powerful than now, a twin was especially liked by animals. Through his connection with salmon, a *ko'la* (the term applied to a twin associated with a salmon) could understand the speech of birds, animals, and fish. In many instances he could also assume salmon form at will.

* 776 787 825 In view of beliefs of this kind it is not surprising that the Bella Coola attribute great powers even to beasts well known to them. In the story recorded in vol. I, p. 55, the War-Party of the Tides was summoned by the speaking of a dog. A belief persists that danger is always present when a dog acts in an unusual way, though this can be avoided by killing it at once. In July, 1922, a visit was made to an elderly Bella Coola early one morning. The man was in a state of absolute terror. The preceding night he had locked his pet dog outside his house to give warning if anyone approached, but when he awoke in the morning, it was curled up asleep as usual at the foot of his bed. There was no possible hole through which it could have entered, so it seemed to the owner that his dog must have transformed itself into some minute animal and made its way beneath the door. The only other explanation was that its master, hearing in his sleep the whimpering of his pet, had got out of bed to let it in, without remembering that he had done so. To the writer this seemed the probable explanation, especially when the old man admitted that he had been in the habit of walking in his sleep in his younger days, but the Bella Coola was not satisfied. He could not decide whether or not to kill the dog, a great favourite, but finally decided not to do so. The incident was mentioned to another informant, who was greatly worried and assumed it to be an omen of death to the dog's master. His only comfort lay in the fact

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that the animal had not spoken, a sure intimation of insanity and death unless it is killed immediately. 776* 787 825

A few years ago a dog gave warning to its master by placing its paws on his shoulders as he sat on the ground, and howling over his head. Such unusual behaviour should have convinced him of the necessity of killing his pet to avert some calamity, but he paid no attention to it. A few days later, it seemed to him that he saw the face of a friend appear at an uncurtained upper window where no human being could be. The next morning he found an axe, which he had long lost and supposed stolen, imbedded far up in a tree near his house. These three incidents all presaged disaster, and a few days later he shot and killed himself when crazed by drink. [762]

The actions of wild animals are considered even more important. Not many years ago a famous Kimsquit hunter saw a bear and attempted to shoot it. He raised his musket and took careful aim, but was prevented from pulling the trigger. This should have warned him of the potency of the animal, and of the wisdom of avoiding the spot in future. The bear moved away without molesting him, but exactly one year later he was killed by a mountain goat at precisely the same place. No one knows which supernatural being had chosen to assume two forms in that locality.

The Bella Coola believe that animals, being supernatural, have powers and abilities which they conceal from the white man. Wolves do not kill their prey with their fangs, but with bird arrows which shamans alone can see; beaver do not cut with their teeth, but with crook-handled adzes. Even more striking is the virility of yearling mountain goats. An old Bella Coola described how he and another man were once hunting goats. His partner killed a fat yearling, which they laid on its back and skinned. The killer was about to dismember it, when the animal began to kick. First it shook one hind leg, then the other, then in succession each fore-leg, and lastly its head. Then the goat stood up and gave itself a shake, which caused the skin to return to its proper position, 776* 825

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774 of thought, of success and failure and of life itself, to powers of another sphere. Their ideas are not clearly crystallized on this subject, but in the following section an attempt has been made to give a fair picture, gleaned from many informants, of the supernatural parts of the human body.

THE SPIRIT

The most important part of the human body is the *xuxmänoäs*, spirit. This is small, but of great power, since it belongs to the world of the supernatural; in fact, the spirit of a man is not mortal, but *siut*. Everyone, man or woman, rich or poor, chief or slave, has one; without it, life would be impossible. When a child is born, his parents supply him with food and care, and *Älquntäm* provides the even more necessary invisible elements, including the spirit. It resides in the back of the neck and resembles a thin bone shaped like a maple-leaf. Salmon have similar ones, but with them the bone is visible, [756] whereas only shamans can see it in human beings. The spirit in a new-born infant is weak and powerless, but it increases in strength with the body. If a man prospers in his ventures and has success in life, it is due, not to his own efforts, but to the activity of his spirit. When a man acquires wealth with little [556] labour, he knows that his spirit has been constantly trembling at the back of his neck; when he is unfortunate, that it has [787] become inert or sluggish. It is the cause of dreams, which are desired as means of foretelling the future. Some Bella Coola believe that in sleep it leaves the body and travels, unrestrained by any barrier, to the scene of the dreams; others, that it causes the images to appear. During waking hours the spirit [828] formulates every thought, no matter how trifling. When a man remembers that he left his fire with insufficient fuel and hurries home to rectify the omission, it is this element which has brought the need to his mind; when he thinks of a distant place, his spirit is responsible for the thought and some men even believe that it has travelled there. Sometimes an active one can give warning, as in the following instance. A few

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years ago a chief, when hunting, sat down to rest. While he 774
sat a slide plunged down the mountain-side and swept away the ground where he would have been if he had not stopped. The Bella Coola know that such a fortunate escape is no accident, as foolish white men believe, but is the result of an active spirit. Sometimes it can convey only symbolic hints of what is to happen. An old Kimsquit man told how his lower eyelids once became sore and his stomach began to heave. This [827] occurs with sobbing, so he knew that ill-fortune was before [787] him and was not surprised at the death of his son. A thoughtful person pays great attention to indications such as these, knowing that his spirit is always striving to pierce the future and obtain information for him, however indefinite. The importance of the supernatural to the Bella Coola can be judged from the fact that they attribute every action and thought to an element of this nature.

Mentality, *sulk*, though caused by the spirit, is somewhat 774
vaguely regarded as a separate entity. It comprises two parts, 828
one constantly urging to good deeds, particularly to activity in ritual matters, the other to evil. No one knows the appearance, if any, of human mentality. Some of the thoughtful older men hazard the opinion that every tree has mentality, whereas others say that it has a spirit. In former times especially, as one was falling, the cutters could occasionally see a dark object somewhat resembling an otter flash away and disappear. Not until then was the tree actually dead. Even the old people do not profess to know anything definite about mentality, which is important only as an attribute of the spirit. In indefinite 774
association with it, too, is breath, *sininits*, provided by *Ält-* [761]
quntäm for everyone at birth. The word signifies more than [827]
the material act of breathing, it denotes the actual physical state of being alive, a condition "lent" by *Ält-quntäm* to mortals. The connection of these two elements with the spirit is unequivocal, though their exact relationship is indefinite.

If the spirit moves far from its proper position at the back [753]
of the neck, the owner falls ill; if it leaves him, his condition [755]

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It is the life that suffers
761 whenever the skin is broken. Any wound may prove dan-
[752] gerous, but particularly one that cuts either of the invisible
lines along which vitality flows from the little finger to the
[827] little toe. An injury to one of these channels spreads rapidly
and is in many cases fatal.

761 It is generally considered that a person dies if his life leaves
his body. In contradiction to this, though the discrepancy
774 seems of slight importance to the Bella Coola, is the belief that
it ascends at the winter solstice to the gathering of the super-
natural beings in *Nusmāt·a* to greet *Ałquntām*. It is common
knowledge that some part of the human body does this, but
there is diversity of opinion regarding which it may be. Some
say it is the spirit, but the consensus of opinion is that it is the
life. If it is successful and receives presents in the land above,
its owner will prosper on earth; if it is unfortunate, he will be
the same; if it falls in the crush as the guests hurry forth to
escape the heat of *Ałquntām*'s entry, he will die. By dreams
761 a man learns the fortune of his supernatural representative,
● 787 and from them he can judge what is in store for him during the
coming year and receive intimations concerning birth and
death, secret society matters and, in fact, every phase of
human activity, since all are decided at the meeting of *Ałquntām*
and his associates. Dreams are considered to be especially
important at this season of the year (I, p. 608) and information
obtained from them may, perhaps, be the origin of the present
firm conviction that some portion of the body actually ascends.
[182] Bella Coola beliefs have so broken down in recent years that
lack of unanimity concerning the specific part is not surprising,
nor does it alter the importance of this conviction. No attempt
is made to explain how an individual can remain alive during
the annual absence of his life.

761 Although the life is so ethereal, it really consists of four
intangible elements which unite to form the immaterial whole.
One of these parts, including the voice, is located in the throat,
another in the trunk, a third in the legs, and a fourth in the
feet; the body is thus divided into four quarters. The con-

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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *kusiut* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Alquntärı* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy abstin-

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Coola say that the return of the dead "washes away grief," 556* and unquestionably it has a comforting effect on the mind of 769 the donor of the potlatch.

(3) Wealth. Unless a man has the necessary goods with 476 which to make presents he cannot invite guests, no matter how 556* important may be his ancestral myths and names. Some of 602 this wealth he may be able to amass by his own labours, but unless he is assisted by his wife's family it is virtually impossible for him to succeed. The Bella Coola believe that a man [583] cannot become a chief except through large payments made [622] by a woman's family when they "rebuy" her from her husband. In other words, no man can succeed without the support of his wife. In choosing a mate a man is guided almost entirely by [581] the ability of her family to give him financial support. In some cases an elderly couple assist a married son to give a potlatch; this custom, though considered quite proper, is not common.

(4) Supernatural assistance. To the Bella Coola this is 556* quite as important as the preceding. One man may work very 787 hard but his efforts are never crowned with success, whereas another man will prosper in every venture. This is due to the supernatural attributes given by the supreme god to the latter. By prayer, ceremonial chastity, and other means, a man may increase the powers granted to him, but if these are entirely lacking, he can never hope to rise to the position of chief.

PRELIMINARIES

In describing the potlatch, it will be convenient to refer to 556* the donor as X, and assume him to be a middle-aged member of the *nsaok* society, whose seat and name, though duly ratified, lack importance through his previous failure to give large presents.

For a number of years X has prospered. He has amassed quantities of skins, blankets, tools, copper ornaments, clothing, canoes, baskets, dentalium shell, slaves, and other valuables.

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Other people had come down to earth at the same time as *Kásēw·a*, and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of Gas Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, so entered, and laughed heartily to find her made of rotten wood. They kicked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they seated themselves in her place, worked diligently at the blanket and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and hid themselves.

BB 539 BC 539 *

Soon *Kásēw·a* entered. He embraced the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that she had burnt her head, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. At this the two girls who were hiding burst out laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to *Kásēw·a* that he choose one of them for his wife; he agreed, selected the elder and married her. He built a house on a hilltop where they lived and to which he called people from far and near when he gave a potlatch.

Sisaok Origin Myths

As already stated, many *sisaok* names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the *sisaok* origin myth is the same as the ancestral myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or takes it from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were obtained which deal solely with the acquisition of a *sisaok* prerogative. No doubt this is chiefly to be explained by the fact that most *sisaok* rites have been derived from the Bella Bella.

BC 773 551 575 [787] [556] [177]

THE ORIGIN OF THE *Sisaok* NAME, *Spuxpuxxā·mpdimut*[80]

BC 539 * 609 424

About 1840, a party of *Xixais* Indians[81] spent the winter in Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg so

BC [829]

[80]Related by Joshua Moody.

[81]It was impossible to identify this tribe. According to the Bella Coola they are akin to the Carriers, but have adopted the use of totem-poles, *kusiut* dances

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further conceptions by wriggling her body on her haunches immediately after the delivery of a child. 842

To the Bella Coola religious concepts of birth are as important as the physiological aspects. The blood discharged at birth, and the mother from whom it has come, is *xnaiix*, a word difficult to translate. It is applied to a person or thing which is taboo, and combines the significance of "uncanny," "abhorred," "to be avoided," "feared"; perhaps "unclean," in the biblical sense, is the best synonym. Essentially human, this blood is not only potent against supernatural beings, but is dangerous to man as well. For this reason a mother must never be delivered within a house. The smell of the unclean blood might kill all resident within, or at least prevent them receiving presents of any kind. Supernatural beings and inherent supernatural powers are alike repelled by it. 826 844 789

A recent mother is taboo and must observe due precautions to prevent her baneful influence from affecting her associates, but this power is most strongly present in one who has borne twins. Even younger people, sophisticated in most matters, shudder when speaking of twins; fortunately, double births are not common. They are attributed to the entry of a salmon into the body, so that a twin is half-salmon, half-human. Occasionally a woman who is pregnant with twins discovers her condition in a dream and avoids the perils of a multiple birth by calling upon a shaman to remove the spirit from one foetus so that the infant will be born dead and deformed. If this is not done, the two infants arrive in due course, to the horror and grief of parents and relatives. Though abhorred, no case is known of the killing of a twin at birth. 845 [825] [787] [756] [847]

Instead of the two children being brought back to the village, word is sent to the father who must join his wife in the temporary shelter in the woods where delivery took place. For one year, they must not return home, and during this period must eat no salmon. Four times during the year they must shift from one shelter to another, each built on the bank of a small creek. The mother can draw water from this stream

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845 alone, and when she leaves it, it dries up immediately. When a year has elapsed, the parents return home with their children and the father resumes the ordinary routine of life. For three years more the mother must remain in the house, leaving it only at night through a hole in the floor. Above all else, she must keep away from the river; she cannot draw water from it, nor can she cut salmon on its bank. One instance is remem-
[753] bered in which the parents of twins failed to observe these restrictions; their legs became swollen and they soon died. In addition to punishment of the offenders in cases such as
[825] this, there is danger that if they fail to obey the customary taboos the salmon will be insulted and avoid the Bella Coola River.

[770] After four years a mother of twins resumes her normal life,
[787] but she is henceforth endowed with special powers. If she wishes to see anyone who is absent, she has only to think of the person, and in her dreams she will be able to see him. She must never try to start up a dying fire by blowing upon it, since to do so would cause a gale. When a person sets out on any kind of an expedition from the house in which a mother of twins is living, the latter must chew a little food and spit it out towards the departing guest, otherwise he will fail in his venture.

845 Twins themselves, being akin to salmon, have miraculous
825 ability to see their fish-kinsmen and read their thoughts. Bella Coola mythology contains many stories of the way in which twins could talk with, and change into, salmon. Such knowledge is not limited to tales of the distant past. An elderly Bella Coola described the manner in which her grandmother, a twin related to Sockeye Salmon, was consulted by a man who had been unlucky with his weir. Gazing down into the water, this woman saw that the fish were avoiding his dam because of the charred uprights used in its construction; when these were changed he was successful in his fishing.

845 Twins are believed to possess remarkable ability from earliest childhood, and even to remember incidents occurring

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dred yards away, rapidly drew near the hunter along the trail. He raised his musket and stepped aside, but though the sound went past him down the path, he could see nothing. Terrified, he realized that he had been near two ghosts, and rushed back to the village. A shaman was called who informed him that he had met his dead father's sister and another relative, both of whom were hungry. The hunter, too weak from fright to help himself, watched the shaman light a fire and throw on it a considerable amount of food and goods. Finally, he ripped the hunter's shirt from his back and threw it into the flames. Consequently, no harm resulted from this experience.

Ghosts, like all other supernatural beings, can, of course, control their powers so that their appearance does not injure a beholder. A few years before 1922 a certain *Qaxolān-i*, whose ancestral name was *Lo-qus-i*, was encamped at *Saskwanuts* on the Labouchere Channel side of King Island. At dusk a woman came to his fire and proceeded to warm her cape. He recognized from her green face that she must be a ghost and boldly asked her what she wanted.

"I have been searching for mussels," she replied, "but without success."

In an instant she vanished and *Qaxolān-i* experienced neither good nor evil from this apparition. The Bella Coola say that this being may not have been a ghost as he had thought, but was perhaps one of the under-sea dwellers who have somewhat the same appearance.

Since ghosts, like other supernatural beings, are believed to possess both wisdom and power, it might be thought that they would be invoked frequently. Instead, death has altered their character to such an extent that they are avoided and kept at a distance. The only time that an appeal is made to a ghost is when a young person dies without apparent reason and the survivors wish to learn the cause. The body is buried with a long cord consisting of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark projecting from its mouth and stretching to the surface. The relative desiring information summons to his house several shamans whose powers have been obtained

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from ghosts, and for four days feeds them lavishly. On the fifth morning they proceed to the grave, accompanied by kinsmen of the deceased, and pound on the ground with sticks, asking the dead person whether or not he had been murdered, and if so, the name of the murderer. It is said that in former times the voice of the deceased could always be plainly heard giving the desired information. This ceremony has not been carried out for many years, and exact details are not known by any of the living Bella Coola. It seems clear that ventriloquism must have been employed, requiring active deception on the part of the shamans.

It was difficult to ascertain to what extent shamans believed in their own powers to understand the speech of ghosts. There is no doubt that the Bella Coola are easily influenced by suggestion, and if an individual is told that he has received help from a ghost, it is not difficult for him to believe that such has been the case. Further, his fellows are convinced of his powers, a circumstance which does not fail to affect him. It may be stated definitely that in many cases shamans have some confidence in their own powers, although they do not hesitate to use deception to increase their prestige. This point will be considered in greater detail in the following chapter.

ACCOUNTS OF EXPERIENCES WITH GHOSTS

Much of the information concerning ghosts is contained in stories which have been handed down for generations and which are regarded as historical records. Some of these must be deferred to the chapters on folk-lore and shamanism, but the following are sufficient to explain the source of many Bella Coola beliefs on this subject.[48]

A Reason from Ghosts

Long, long ago, there lived a little girl who used to cry incessantly. One evening when she was disturbing the whole household by weeping, her father said angrily to her:

[48] These stories have been included at this point as specific illustrations of the type of legend upon which generalized beliefs depend.

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receive such pretty objects, restores the sick, though she does not herself come to do so.

The shaman now sends a young man out to fill his curing basin. When this is done, he carries it around the fire, once, sunwise, and sets it down beside the patient. The practitioner drinks from it, and casts some eagle down on the surface. If it revolves sunwise, it signifies that the patient will soon recover, and the shaman proceeds to wash him with the water; if it remains stationary or revolves in the opposite direction, it is an unfavourable sign, and he throws the water out of the door. More is then brought, and the procedure repeated until it revolves sunwise. Although no Bella Coola can state definitely how this is performed, the consensus of opinion is that it is done by twisting the hair slightly.

Shamans are not the only ones who make offerings to *Tlúxpálitte-a*. It is generally known that she likes to receive things, so a sick person often throws on the fire a little grease, some of his own clothing, or other objects of small value. By so doing he hopes that she may appear, or that the sickness will vanish as the object is consumed in the flames. A person in good health sometimes makes like offerings, either on the central house fire or on one built behind the house, at the same time asking *Tlúxpálitte-a* to help guard him.

(v) In recent years some shamans have been in the habit of displaying the sickness in visible form; this is said to have been a practice adopted from the Bella Bella. After throwing himself on top of the patient the shaman sucks violently, and produces such an object as a toad, a snail, or a stick of wood, which he claims to have been the cause of the malady. This has, of course, been concealed throughout in his mouth. This belief is fostered by the undoubted skill of some shamans in extracting such foreign substances as a salmon bone, wedged in a patient's throat, or a sliver. In such cases he first works with his fingers to force the object near the surface. It is believed that some shamans are so powerful they can draw forth foreign substances by the mere application of their sticks

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755 to the part affected. In such a case the object, a toad for
* 756 example, becomes visible at the end of the staff. Conjuring is employed to do this, and often a tuft of dyed cedar-bark is used, which makes the deception still easier. Shamans are very expert in such matters. It is said that when two rival shamans once disputed about their prowess, one of them cast his stick on the ground and it became a snake, whereupon the other did likewise; and his became a toad which hopped after the snake. The Bella Coola find biblical parallels for such [177] revelations of power in the transformation of Aaron's rod, and the appearance of fire on Mount Carmel.

Shamanistic Ceremonies

554 In addition to his professional abilities, a shaman has also
* 756 certain social prerogatives. As has been mentioned, many
● 787 shamans lack the power to cure, but they may have seen some feat during a dream, or during a visitation from *Tlindpilila-a*. It enhances a man's social prestige if he can graphically display whatever he has observed. It follows that the rites about to be described are often, perhaps usually, performed by a person unable to cure the sick, but it must be remembered that to the Bella Coola there is no social difference between a shaman who can cure with the aid of a basin, and one who lacks this power. Each has merely received a different gift from his supernatural benefactor. There seems little doubt that a man of imagina-
* 756 tive temperament frequently invents a feat of this type, or
787 rather that he ponders over one until he either dreams of it, or imagines himself to have done so. Certainly, after he has performed such a rite, he deludes himself into believing that he has had supernatural authorization for it. Conjuring feats performed long ago by shamans, feats practised by the members of other tribes, personal inventions, either actually or theoretically dreamed of, all these are among the sources from which shamanistic dances are derived. It follows that almost
* 756 anyone who has the necessary skill is able to perform, provided
556 that he has sufficient food to validate the ceremony. Thus this

b McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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782 789 cealed cord succeeded in drawing feathers, previously placed on the surface, around in the direction in which she was dancing. It was impossible to learn the details of the method employed in this trick. The subterfuge was long ago practised by a shaman.

A simple but effective trick was the substitution of a baton made of light maple wood for one of the heavy type used by the singers. The real stick had been passed around the audience and apparently returned to one of the singers, though in reality the false one had been given to him. As he beat time the hollow sound that emanated was a source of surprise to the uninitiated spectators, nor was their wonder lessened when a real baton was again handed around, as if it were the one that had been in use.

[778] According to an informant, the last time that a supernatural being helped the person on whom it had conferred shamanistic power to perform a rite of this kind was about 1870. A man who had fallen from his canoe into the ocean was rescued, but for a long time was ill as a result of exposure. [774] [787] River Measurer, the supernatural being who governs the height of tides in the river, appeared and made him a shaman with the ability to cure through the use of a wash-basin. As this shaman danced, he had a large box filled with water. Presently he called on one of the uninitiated to examine the height of the water and point out to his fellows how high it was. A little later he called a second man who likewise indicated on the outside of the box the height of the liquid within. It had fallen, though its disappearance seemed inexplicable.

781 789 The above furnishes a good example of the attitude of the uninitiated. The informant, a very intelligent Bella Coola, gave a number of instances of the conjuring methods employed, some of which he had helped to carry out. Unquestionably, this was of the same nature, yet, because he was deceived at the time of its performance, he readily believed that the rite was supernatural, since then he had never thought of doubting

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952 955 mouth, and the malady departed. It had been absorbed into the stick, and later driven from it by the shaman's breath.

956 789 This man made a great reputation for himself with his ability to hang from his small stick. On one occasion, after fishing on the lower Fraser River, he was encamped on the ocean beach near Seattle, where he had gone to pick hops. Four white men who had heard of his powers came to his tent for a demonstration. He put on his robes, took his small stick from his box, and used the ridge pole of his tent as the heavier horizontal one. The white men examined the small stick and found nothing peculiar about it. The man performed his dance, in the course of it throwing the small stick up against the ridge pole, where it remained suspended with the actor hanging from it. After releasing his hold, he struck the smaller stick a slight blow with his hand and it at once came away from the ridge pole.

956 787 As already mentioned, it is extremely difficult to obtain accounts of dreams which have served as sources for shamanistic performances. They are unconsciously embellished by the performer to such an extent that the ritual displayed has probably slight resemblance to the vision on which it is based.

The following, however, is an example of the type that could have served as theme. A man once dreamed that he saw Mount *Nuxpale* with its rocks adorned with handsome pictures. The other mountains of the valley were also decorated, but none of them was so fine. If he had had the desire and the necessary wealth he could have arranged with the carpenters to have the designs that he saw in his dream painted, and could have displayed them as a shaman's vision.

956 782 A shaman, particularly one who has received a vision from *Tlitqulitlite-a*, and who has had marked success both in curing the sick and in giving conjuring exhibitions, is considered to be in peculiarly close association with supernatural beings. Accordingly, he is regarded as a fit person to ask their assistance, not that he has any means of gaining help that are not open to others, but merely that his greater acquaintance with

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756 783 841 jects have power over shamans. A shaman must never sleep beside his wife during her menses, must never eat food prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has recently washed a new-born infant, by a girl during the period of seclusion following puberty, or by a widow or widower during the year that follows the death of his partner. If a shaman's nose bleeds when he is dancing it is because a menstruating woman is present in the house; he at once asks the offender to withdraw, after which the bleeding stops. Moreover, he must [755] never cure a woman during her periods. A wise shaman prac- [785] tises ceremonial chastity frequently. In view of the lack of cleanliness ascribed to menstrual blood, it is perhaps surprising that a woman can become a shaman while still of child-bearing age. This is rare, and only occurs when a woman is the last survivor of a family. The Bella Coola themselves consider it to be peculiar, only explicable on the ground that anything is possible to the supernatural beings, even the disregarding of feminine "uncleanness." Usually, female shamans are past the age of child-bearing; if not, they observe absolute chastity.

756 761 Even inadvertent breaking of one of these rules causes death. This is not regarded as a punishment inflicted by *Thitcāplilān-a*; it is merely the inevitable consequence of the supernatural power within the shaman having come in contact with what is not clean. As a shaman is considered to be immune against all ordinary ailments, his death is always attributed to the breaking of a taboo. Frequently the death of a shaman is accompanied by some convulsion of nature. One female shaman, for example, told the people of her village to keep their children within doors, since a supernatural being was coming for her. Soon it became dark; there were four loud claps of thunder, at the fourth of which she fell dead.

539 756 The following was related as an instance of the danger to a shaman of coming in contact with an unclean woman.

[783] [841] [787] The son of the first man to come to earth at *Nalleax* was, like his father, named *Dudzzong*". One April he and his wife went upstream to *Ywanda*, a place in the country of the Carriers where milk-weed is ph n-

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tiful, of which they planned to collect a supply. In the course of their journey *Dudusonx̌'* saw a man who, when he drew near, turned into a piece of hanging moss. A little later he again saw a figure, but on approaching it became a tree. *Dudusonx̌'* and his wife walked on and presently the former once more beheld a man; this time the apparition changed to a fir tree. It was evident to *Dudusonx̌'* that a supernatural being had manifested itself to him, and he told his wife that they must return. On reaching home he related his experience and gave a shaman's dance. 539 756* 787

From this experience he had received the power of curing. He could see disease when it was invisible to all others, and could summon it to himself, where it was harmless, thus restoring the patient to health. He made for himself a rattle, shaped like a bird; this had the ability of dancing of its own accord, and would catch people's hair in its opening and closing beak. The sick were brought to *Dudusonx̌'* from all over the valley. One day he travelled by canoe down to *Sunxl* where he found many of the villagers seriously ill. His arrival was quite fortuitous, for he was unaware of the epidemic that was raging. The inhabitants sought his help, so he landed and cured them. He entered the house of a woman who claimed to be ill, and took the sickness upon himself, but no sooner had he left than he fell down stricken. He demanded to be taken home in his canoe, but he only lived two days after his return. The woman had been in pain from her menses; it was this that he had taken upon himself and caused his death. 539 756* [761] [783] [841]

In consequence of the danger attached to the vocation, many people try to avoid becoming shamans, though if *Ťłitcāplilän-a* should appear to a man when ill, he cannot escape the power. The usual method of prevention is for a man to hold intercourse with his wife from below, so that her flesh, impure through its liability to menses, can form a barrier to the coming of supernatural power. One who wishes to escape always sleeps on the left of his wife, whereas if he is seeking shaman's power he sleeps on the right. Another method of avoidance is to use the hole in the floor which serves as exit and entrance to the house of a girl secluded following adolescence. 756* [787] [833] [513]

Since the power of a shaman is obtained by a personal experience, and lacks both form and substance, it cannot be transmitted and disappears at the owner's death. As has been

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* 756 stated, there is a tendency for such ability to be granted to the descendants of shamans, but this is not necessarily the case. A shaman can instruct his child and so increase the latter's chances of a vision, but the parent can do no more. A single exception to this concept was noted but the following incident was regarded as absolutely inexplicable, a thing beyond expectation or comprehension.

* 756 ● 787 A certain Kimsquit shaman had the supernatural being from whom he had derived his power actually resident in his body. At the time he obtained the gift, his benefactor had spoken to him.

"Henceforth," it said, "I will live in your right arm, my head located near your wrist, my tail near your elbow. When you cure a sick person place your arm against whatever part of his body is affected and I will draw forth the sickness with my mouth."

Thanks to this assistance, the shaman was able to perform marvellous cures, as the being never failed to suck out the disease. Though aware of his supernatural guest, the shaman himself never saw it except when he summoned it to cure a patient; then it came forth from his arm, though no one else could see it. When he had blown away the sickness, in the usual manner of shamans, the supernatural one returned within his arm, out of sight.

When the shaman grew old he called a friend to him and asked him to receive his power, telling him where, and how, it was localized. The man consented. The shaman then began [198] to talk in the language of supernatural beings, as shamans often do, and presently the supernatural one came forth and became visible to the friend as a small lizard-like creature sitting on the palm of the shaman's hand. This frightened the friend and he declined the creature on the ground that he lacked ceremonial purity, hence his body was not a fitting receptacle. The shaman urged him to receive the creature, but when he continued to refuse, allowed it to return to his own arm. When the shaman died a few years later the friend

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bitterly regretted his own cowardice, for the wonderful cures stopped, whereas, had he accepted the supernatural guest, he would have been able to perform them. 756* 787●

SHAMANS FROM THE DEAD

There remain to be described shamans from the dead, whose abilities and prerogatives are almost identical with those already described. They obtain their power either from the visitation of a ghost in this world, or by a journey to the land of shades below. The following incident explains why shamans alone can hold converse with ghosts. 756* 775 787

Once, long ago, the lover of a young girl died. She was so heart-broken that in her agony, four days after his burial, she lay down on his grave to weep. The dead man was able to visit her and in due time she gave birth to a child, who, like its father, was a ghost, with drawn face and glaring eyes. The perturbed woman tended it in the forest, her love overcoming a feeling of repulsion, and when she returned to her home she endeavoured to prevent her own mother handling the infant, knowing that she would be horrified. The grandmother insisted, but as soon as she saw the ghastly appearance of the child she dropped it in horror, and the infant vanished. [539]

Since then there has been a barrier, resembling a wall of smoke, between mortals and the dead. If the old woman had not dropped her grandchild, the living would still be able to converse with their deceased friends and relatives.

Nowadays, shamans alone are able to lift the barrier and discourse with the ghosts of those who have departed. These are quite common visitors to the land of the living, but only a shaman can understand their languages, of which one is a series of whistles, and the other resembles the attempts at speech made by a tongueless individual. Shamans can learn what the dead require and so transmit the knowledge to the relatives of the deceased. As, long ago, shamans whose powers were derived from animals were able to teach mortals the proper methods of hunting, and the taboos enjoined, so a [198]

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* 756 shaman from the dead once visited the land of ghosts and
775 learnt their needs. They informed him that food and clothing
thrown on the ground did not reach them, and that in order
787 to do so it must be cast on the fire. Instead of journeying to
the land of the dead some shamans receive their powers from
ghosts who ascend to this earth, as the following account
describes.

539 Within the lifetime of an elderly Bella Coola informant, a certain
* 756 woman, *Sikwalwalx* by name, left her house one evening for a few
775 minutes. When she came back she was crazy. Her face was green, her
787 mouth and face distorted and twisted, she could only whistle when she
tried to talk, and kept endeavouring to walk on her hands. Taking her
[828] blankets, she went through the motions of washing them, but instead of
using water, she dragged them to and fro through the ashes of the central
fire, until, utterly exhausted, she lay down. By these symptoms it was
recognised that a ghost had stricken her with madness, and several
[755] shamans of the dead were called upon for help. For a long time their
efforts were fruitless. Then one of them obtained some stained menstrual pads. While another conducted the frantic beating of sticks, the leading practitioner waved one of the pads through the smoke of the central fire and laid it, with hemlock bark and dyed cedar-bark, on the patient's face. After leaving it there a few moments, he took it off and, while the beating of sticks was stilled, threw it out the door. When this had been done four times the woman was restored to sanity. Later on she said she had seen the ghost of a certain *Triwust*, a man recently deceased. Emerging from her trance she found herself in her house surrounded by numerous people and the shaman working over her. If he had not been able to cure her, she would have died; in fact, it was impossible to discover whether the Bella Coola regarded this woman as having been cured of an illness, or as having been restored from the dead.

Sikwalwalx called for the singers to whom she sang four songs, relating what she had seen. They described how she stood by a fire in the land below, where the sun travelled from west to east, and where everything differed from this earth, though reminiscent of it. The singers learnt the songs, and it was to their music that the woman danced on later occasions. She was able ever afterwards not only to cure maladies caused by ghosts but to talk with them. For this purpose she was in the habit of lying down at night in the graveyard, looking down into the land of the dead which was open to her, and conversing with the inhabitants in a strange whistling language which the living could hear, but could not

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understand. She was also able to gaze downwards at the edge of the central fire nearest to the door. 756* 775

Anotäkmots, an old shaman from the dead who died not long ago, obtained his power by chancing to visit their land. [787] [539] The themes of his songs were of the land of the dead where, he said, there were many people; where those who had been rich on earth were rich, but where those who had been poor were still poor; where those who had been blind could see, and those who had been maimed were whole. He told of *Päluätl*, a legless creature who lives in the land below, but can travel with amazing speed. [776] In fact this shaman stated that it was he who was sent when the ghosts wished to communicate with the living, a statement contradicted by others. He told further of *Kawikudjän-a*, a supernatural woman resident there, who is able to pick berries with phenomenal rapidity. [776] But this talent avails her little, since her basket is full of the teeth of dead men who devour the fruit as fast as she picks them. It was *Anotäkmots* who described how in the land below there were only two enormous trees of the kind known to the Bella Coola as *kip*, under the shade of which the ghosts played a game resembling football with huge, light balls.

A dead person usually chooses one of his own relatives as the proper person on whom to bestow the power of a shaman, but their actions in this respect can neither be coerced nor cajoled. Ceremonial chastity is of assistance, and power can usually be obtained by anyone who lies four days and four nights, face downwards, on a new grave. Nor does every sight of a deceased person bring with it this faculty; in fact, ghosts are greatly dreaded since they usually cause harm to the beholder. On one occasion the mother of an elderly Bella Coola woman left the house one evening, to return shortly with her face screwed up into a ghastly smile, green in colour, and with saliva dribbling from her mouth. She was quite mad. A shaman from the dead succeeded in curing her, or it may have been in restoring her to life, and she was able to tell how she had seen what she took to be a man with face averted. She 756* 775 787

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* 756 called out to him, and then remembered no more. It was
775 obvious that she had seen a ghost.

[787] It is over diseases caused by ghosts that a shaman from the dead has power. If a person picks up and eats any morsels
753 which he has dropped he will usually suffer, because, though
* 756 he thinks the crumbs have fallen, they have really been pulled
775 from his hands by a hungry ghost, who thus showed his desire for food. By picking up and eating the fragments, the man
[264] thwarts a dead person who retaliates by forcing some sickness into him. Ghosts may visit this land of the living and ask their relatives for food or clothing, but mortals, unable to hear the speech of the dead, are unaware of the requests of their deceased relatives, and so do not answer them. The irritated ghosts respond by causing sickness. In such cases a shaman
755 from the dead is able to suck out the cause of the ill, and some-
* 756 times to display it as a bone, twig, or other small object and at the same time to tell the sufferer what it was that his relatives desired. Like ordinary shamans, a shaman from the dead uses his own discretion whether or not to employ the violent beating of sticks, and like his fellow-practitioner re-
[465] ceives payment from those whom he has helped. There are no fixed charges, but a successful shaman is always wealthy.

* 756 The intimate contact of ghosts with shamans has already
787 been mentioned in connection with the ability of the latter to
694 learn from the ghost of a murdered person whom he believes to be his slayer.

There is one method of sacrificial curing practised by
755 shamans from the dead alone. If the sickness refuses to yield
* 756 to ordinary methods, the practitioner makes ten cedar-bark
782 vessels, fills these with grease and places them near the fire, one between it and the door, one on the inner side, and four on either side of it, parallel to the side walls of the house. By each vessel are placed two small wooden figures, roughly carved to represent men, and decorated with dyed and undyed cedar-bark. After endeavouring to suck forth the disease, with or without the assistance of the frenzied beating of sticks, the

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154 who has been "cured" of an illness, recovers; the man whose
771 death has been "caused" by magic, dies. An average white
789 man would consider such statements to be erroneous, but they not only figure in stories and beliefs, but some of them have been actually observed by the writer. The explanation lies in the susceptibility of the Bella Coola to suggestion. The conviction that he is to die so weakens a man that death often results; belief that he is to recover, aids a sick person to throw off the malady. This sentiment, intelligible in case of disease, is equally applicable in other matters. The child who has been
[868] endowed with carpentry skill grows up with the conviction to assist his labours. Moreover, his relatives and friends are also aware of it, and he receives every opportunity to practise, so that the outcome desired is often the consequence of the act.
789 Though the Bella Coola do not appreciate that psychological
828 and sociological factors may be the real cause of the result, they realize the importance of the power of thought. For
[771] example, if a group of people is unanimous in wishing some end, or expects some event to happen, it is believed that their thoughts are strong enough to bring about its occurrence. The following examples illustrate this point:

It is said that when the white man first came to British Columbia, a tribe of Indians was living in a secluded valley, far to the south. As more and more settlers arrived, the occupants were driven from their homes and forced into the barren
[787] mountains. One night, *Alquntäm* came in a vision to one of the natives, saying:

"I see what you desire; you want the white men to withdraw. You, yourself, are helpless. But if all your fellows wish the same, the white men will depart."

The man told all his friends and they agreed to concentrate the next night on their wish to expel the white man. A few failed to do so, and nothing happened. The second night there was the same lack of unanimity. The desire to drive away the intruders grew stronger in course of time, until one night this was the centre of the thoughts of all; next morning the white

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"Someone is calling your name." 827

If a man stumbles without due cause, it is said: 481

"Someone has food ready for you."

When a man partly closes his hand, if a wrinkle-like fold 787
runs straight across the palm it indicates that he is a good 322
carpenter.

If a mouse nibbles even a single smoked salmon, the whole 825
boxful is thrown away immediately in case dung has been
dropped within. It is believed that inadvertent chewing of [826]
this is responsible for wearing down the teeth.

If a man throws a stone at a pregnant snake, the young ones
may rush forth and enter the thrower's stomach. They remain [761]
invisible, and no one knows how they enter, but death always
results. Snakes are regarded with scorn and aversion, and the [756]
only men who dare to handle them are shamans.

When a milk tooth is lost, anyone who happens to be pre- 856
sent should pick it up, pass it four times around the child's 827
head, sunwise, and throw it away. No explanation of this
custom is known.[10]

[10]This is not the only custom practised at the loss of a tooth, cf. vol. I, p. 500.

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CHAPTER I

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

000

General Observations on the Kusiut Society — Powers and Functions of the Society — Initiation — The Ritual of Specific Dances — Various Origin Myths — Kusiut Prerogatives Other than Dances — The Death of a Kusiut — The Final Rite — Concluding Observations and History.

General Observations on the *Kusiut* Society

IN view of the importance of the *kusiut* society in the lives of the Bella Coola, it would seem logical to have described it in an earlier part of this monograph. Though an integral part of the complicated structure of social organization, it is a secret, semi-religious grouping which can best be treated separately. The word *kusiut* is connected etymologically, according to native belief, with *siut*, the term for a supernatural being. Thus the meaning of the society's designation is "The Supernatural," or "The Learned," for *siut* has both these significations. A member of the society is likewise called a *kusiut*, plural, *kukusiut*.

575* 575* 192 [176]

The investigator soon learns of the existence of the society. If he asks a man his name, and then inquires further what type of designation it is, the answer is always that it is his *kusiut* name, that is, the one by which he is known as a member of the society. Ancestral names are used only at potlatches or other ceremonial occasions, whereas an individual's *kusiut* appellation is the one which he uses commonly. Moreover, for about three months of every year the Bella Coola live in an atmosphere of *kusiut* dances with a performance, or its preliminaries, taking place almost every night. Preparations for this ceremonial season, for so it may be termed, begin four days after the September moon is full, while the actual dances commence early in November and are continued until March. During this period the *kukusiut* are believed to be in intimate

551 575* [124] 535 575* 796 [787]

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535 contact with supernatural beings, so that it is a time for grave
*575 thoughts and decorous behaviour. Even by day the members
996 pass from house to house with dignified mien, not loitering
[787] around the sidewalks nor indulging in frivolity. Every effort is made to prevent quarrels between members who are expected to show by their appearance and actions the gravity of the rites in which they are engaged. Night after night they assemble at the house wherein the dance is taking place; those who have performed, and are therefore most closely in touch with the supernatural, even sleep there, not returning to their own houses until March. A dance usually lasts four nights, and during that time the performer's house, in which it takes place, is termed a *nuqpik*, "An Empty House." The significance of this designation is unknown.

178 Membership in the society depends on a duly validated
*575 ancestral prerogative to perform one of the many *kusiut* dances.
[424] At the present time every Bella Coola is a *kusiu*, even babes in arms being initiated, but formerly no one was admitted until he or she had reached an age of discretion. Some informants went so far as to say that the hair of an initiate must have begun to turn grey, and all agreed that no one was ever admitted until at least twenty, or more often, twenty-five years of age. Initiates were frequently still older; one woman, for example, stated that her mother was past the age of child-bearing before admission. Since only a member of the society
[551] could be called by a *kusiut* name, the uninitiated continued to be known by the ancestral names conferred on them at infancy until they received *kusiut* designations. The importance of the
178 society depends on the belief of the uninitiated in the super-
*575 natural powers of its members, and as there are now none to
996 impress, the rites carried out today are little more than pic-
128 tures of what took place years ago. It is the sin of the Bella Coola to carry out the dances as if uninitiated persons were in attendance, and since most of the following information was obtained from men who well remembered their sensations when not members of the society, it is justifiable to use the present

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informant, the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not 575*
inconvenience the dancer, although he senses its presence, and 774
asks who will pay for its return. Unless the owner at once steps 755
forward to claim his property and promises to pay, his spirit is [784]
thrown into the fire and he dies. The *kukusiut* sometimes tell an uninitiated person that his spirit has been attracted from him, thereby terrifying him so greatly that he appeals to a shaman to recover it for him. The expert greases his hands, warms them at a fire, and pretends to pluck something from the *kusiut* which he inserts into the loser's neck.

In view of the firm conviction that the spirit is essential to 575*
an individual's welfare, it is not surprising that this belief 774
should awe the uninitiated and fill them with profound respect 626
for the *kukusiut*. The diversity in the details of procedure proves that the practice has not become standardized; those who are not members of the society believe and do not test the claims.

Another source of strength claimed by the *kukusiut* is 575*
ability to witness and imitate the dances of the supernatural 787
beings held in *Nusmät-a* prior to the entry of *Äłqunt̄ăm*. As 776
already described, it is believed that a supernatural element 996
from every living creature upon earth ascends at this time 777
but, in a way that is not fully understood, only those belonging 761
to *kukusiut* can take part in the ceremonies. Is it strange, therefore, that members of the society are regarded with awe by their less fortunate fellows? Presents are given after every dance in *Nusmät-a* and the supernatural elements receive their due share. When, however, *Äłqunt̄ăm* enters, he is so big and so hot that almost all who have assembled rush forth furiously, and in the crush at the narrow doorway disaster overtakes many of the visiting human representatives. Some drop their gifts, and their owners will be unfortunate; others fall, and their owners cannot survive until the next ceremonial season. This same fate may befall even those who are not members of the *kusiut* society, but they do not have the ability to appreciate what has happened.

*575 *Ałquntām* enters and confers on *kusiut* matters with
●787 *Sexsexḱālaix*, his assistant in affairs connected with his func-
776 tions as leader of the supernatural *kukusiut*.[1] This being acts
796 as announcer and intermediary with *Ałquntām*, but himself lacks the power of initiating matters. The two discuss whether or not it is advisable to allow mortal *kukusiut* to perform certain dances of the type known as *kusiotum* (II, p.128), and if so, they transmit the necessary power to the earthly dancer who has the proper prerogative, thus enabling him to give a graphic representation of what is done in the upper land.

*575 This is the essence of the *kusiut* dances. Each portrays a
796 performance given by one of the supernatural beings in the house above, or some other aspect of his activities. Each
787 earthly dancer has as patron a supernatural being, usually the
776 one who carries out the dance of which his own is a model, and between patron and protégé there exists a relationship by
535 means of which the latter receives the power necessary to perform. To do so, the uninitiated believe that he must receive a *yax*, which can be translated as "call," from his associate above. Moreover, not only is each patron a supernatural being, but each is guided by *Ałquntām* in the performance of the *kusiut* rites in the land above, which indirectly increases the prestige of the protégé.

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*575 [1] The differences of belief of individual Bella Coola, dependent upon family
787 traditions, is nowhere shown with greater clearness than in this meeting of the leaders of the supernatural dancers. It is clear that the Bella Coola have no
776 uniformity of belief, even in what might be regarded as fundamental concepts. One informant, well versed in *kusiut* matters, asserted that there are five supernatural leaders, *Ałquntām* and his assistants, *Smaistāla*, *Sxwaxpālaix*, *Sxwalāla*,
796 and *Sxwalāla*. Others were equally emphatic that *Ałquntām* is the *kusiut* name of the supreme deity, and that *Sxwalāla*, *Smaistāla*, and *Sxwalāla*, are
184 merely other designations for the same deity with regard to different functions. This belief has been followed during the monograph, by designating the supreme deity as *Ałquntām*, the name by which he is termed with respect to his *kusiut* powers. These two opinions are not so basically different as appears at first sight. A man
[828] is considered as having two, or more, personalities with respect to different rites at which he is called by different names. Since the supreme deity is regarded as a supreme, who functions in diverse manners, it is not difficult to understand how these are sometimes ascribed to different individuals, and sometimes to the one under different names.

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Furthermore, throughout the ceremonial season, the uninitiated have ocular demonstrations of the powers with which the *kukuxiut* are associated. At frequent intervals they are invited to the house of the dancer where, with wonder, fear, and awe, they see strange creatures. Although they may recognize that some of these are only their fellow-tribesmen in strange form, they have no idea how such transformations are produced, and ascribe them to supernatural assistance. They accept the strange designs of the figures as proof that the *kukuxiut* have been in contact with unfamiliar beings. It seems clear that the uninitiated do not realize that the representations are produced by means of masks, the work of human hands; instead, they believe that the figures displayed are really those of supernatural patrons who have come to earth to assist their protégés. It must be remembered that these dances take place within large houses, only partially illuminated by a flickering central fire, which facilitates deception and conjuring tricks, quite apart from the credulity of the observers. 575* 796 781 [354]

The uninitiated may sometimes suspect that the performers are not real supernatural beings, but there is no question of their firm conviction concerning the changes which come over the *kukuxiut* at this time. One member of the society, for example, may begin to act in a peculiar manner and at once the uninitiated are ejected from the house. From without they listen with mixed fear and excitement to the strange noises which they do not know are made by whistles, and presently the *kuxiut* rushes forth in a frenzied state, biting those he meets. The uninitiated know that he is a Cannibal, doing as his patron above is doing, and that a call from the latter has caused him to become mad. When the *kukuxiut* have subdued him and taken him back to his house, the non-membersh ear more strange and inexplicable sounds, which appear to go upwards, and presently the news is circulated that the Cannibal has been carried away to the land above. He is seen no more for several weeks, and when next he appears he is thin, wan, and bald, because the high winds of the land above have blown 575* 781 787 796

*575 the hair from his head. After various rites which prove that
796 the Cannibal actually possesses peculiar power, he is calmed
and songs are sung describing what he saw aloft, and the
781 dangers from which he escaped. The uninitiated shiver sym-
[787] pathetically, marvel at his valour, and anticipate with mixed
feelings the time when they too may be privileged to have
similar experiences. Or they may witness the killing of one of
their fellow-villagers by disembowelling, and his restoration to
life. They know the victim; under ordinary circumstances he
could not endure death, hence the claim that his strength is
due to the call given him by his patron is accepted as an obvious
fact. The uninitiated never suspect that they are victims of
an elaborate deception. At all times the *ɬaɬaxiat* are eager to
[766] make known their own perils, and if it happens that a member
[761] of the society dies while in concealment, his corpse is buried
secretly. The explanation given is that he has succumbed to
some of the dangers to which *ɬaɬaxiat* are exposed, a fiction
readily believed in view of the absence of the usual funeral
rites.

*575 Though it is common knowledge that the ability of a *ɬaxiat*
798 to perform any extraordinary feat has its source in the per-
formance of the same feat by his supernatural patron, yet it is
787 equally well known that his specific power has been brought
to this earth and is located in one particular spot. An ancestor
424 must in some way have come in contact with the patron, and
at that time his *ɬaxiat* name, carrying with it the prerogatives
of supernatural patronage and of dancing on this earth, was
deposited for safe-keeping in a repository, *xaɬɬxiatxte* (also
called *xaxe'tpate*), by the supernatural woman *ɬxe'ɬkwalxaic*.
Each repository is thought of as a cave, or hollow, beneath a
large tree, a rock, or other distinctive natural object; to obtain
his power a *ɬaxiat* initiate must go there, actual contact with
his patron being unnecessary. Every *ɬaxiat* prerogative has its
[776] repository and in each of these is *ɬxe'ɬkwalxaic*; she is one,
yet capable of being simultaneously in many hundred spots,
corresponding to the many hundred *ɬaxiat* prerogatives. Her

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functions are to guard the names, and to keep in touch with the patrons. Every uninitiated person believes that if he could only have the good fortune to find a repository, he would obtain the *kuxiut* prerogative there localized. *Ana'likwolxaix* travels only during the ceremonial season when she is present at every *kuxiut* dance in the form of a woman with a long, thin face and pointed chin (see Plate 13),[1] who "explains" the significance of the figures to the uninitiated in a peculiar high-pitched voice. She is well able to do so since as guardian of repositories she knows the prerogative of each member of the society. Frequently she mocks the uninitiated: 575* 787 424 [778] [776]

"Ha! Ha! Ha!" she jeers. "You [naming some ambitious youth], you who think yourself so smart, you nearly fell over me that time you walked up in the woods behind the village looking for grouse. If I had been a bear I could have felled you with a blow of my paw. How can you ever hope to become a *kuxiut* like your father and grandfather if you are so blind."

His fellows are inclined to join in the laughter at the one singled out for *Ana'likwolxaix*'s scorn, but she flays them all in turn. "She" is, of course, a *kuxiut* chosen for fluency and ability to make biting remarks. Parents tell their children that in the autumn, pleased at the sight of falling leaves, *Ana'likwolxaix* bares the roof of her house and sits shaking her fingers like a dancer. [776]

"Go to the woods and look for her," they say. "If she sees you she will say '*ou*' and beckon to you. Then you will become a *kuxiut*."

To further this deception, *kukuxiut* are accustomed to disguise themselves as *Ana'likwolxaix* and move around in the autumn forest, taking care that no uninitiated comes too near for safety. An individual may have several *kuxiut* prerogatives, and if he wishes to transfer one of these to an associate, the report is circulated that the recipient has stumbled upon the repository of the donor. The latter then acts as if he were crazy, and the uninitiated are told that he is a *nuhaxem*, an 575* 778 425

[1] [See category 116, p. 84(A) - ANALYST]
[2] (Apparently Plate 1 is meant)

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*575 this undoubtedly leads them to believe in the powers which
424 they claim. Each *kusiut* prerogative has had one of three
773 origins:

778 (a) It was brought down by the first people. Before
coming to this earth each of them saw in the land above his
[781] patron, who instructed him in a type of dance, and told him
where his repository on this world would be. It is assumed
that the earliest men were in contact with all the supernatural
beings before coming to this earth, but it is believed that each
was "blind" to the patrons of his fellows, and thus had only
one.

[787] (b) It was derived from an experience with one of the
supernatural beings of this world. In this case the repository
was either at a spot indicated by the apparition, or at the
actual scene of the vision.

(c) A powerful chief sometimes altered an ancestral to a
kusiut name. It is believed that this occurred comparatively
frequently in ancient times when chiefs had semi-supernatural
power. In such cases each followed his own inclination in the
choice of a patron,[1] and usually made his own repository within
his house, giving strength to it by killing and burying a slave
there. Although several Bella Coola informants described
[184] this, Kimsquit Indians denied that it could ever have taken
place. They say that all repositories were long ago dug by
Nanudjignim, a male supernatural being sent down by *Ałqantłm* at the beginning of time to prepare the habitations of *Ano'likwelsais* and her husband. After doing this, he returned to the land above where he has since resided.

It will thus be seen that the prerogative of a *kusiut* is always
derived from some experience of an ancestor. In carrying out
*575 the rite, the dancer feels that he is continuing the works of his
778 forbears, a factor which increases his desire that neither error
nor carelessness on his part shall dim the prestige of the society
before the uninitiated. And, further, a man who has spent

[1] The Bella Coola cite such actions as proof of the amazing abilities of their ancestors.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 567 struggling in fear, to the secret meeting-place. Here the marshals discuss what shall be done with him; some suggest that he be killed, others a lesser fate, and finally someone advises his initiation. After apparently due deliberation, this is decided upon; the slave is told the mysteries of the society and is warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells the uninitiated of his knowledge. The actual ceremonial rites of admission do not vary according to the preliminaries used.

*575 796 Initiation can take place at any time during the *kusiut* season. After consulting with the marshals in order to choose an evening when no other dance is to take place, the relatives of the neophyte, whom it will be convenient to term X, invite the *kulusiut* to their house. Sometimes songs are sung by way of rehearsal, at other times food is distributed at once. As the people are eating, one of the marshals stands up to address them, saying that X's relatives propose to take him to the repository of the name ———, so that he may become a *kusiut*. X, to whom this may be the first intimation, is called from his house and taken from the village by several of his kinsmen, with one or more of the marshals. The *kulusiut* disperse and tell the uninitiated in the other houses that X has gone to meet *Ant'lkwalaxis*. His companions hear the news with mingled envy and thankfulness that they are not to have this dangerous privilege.

[178] In ancient times X and his guides may actually have proceeded to his repository, but for several generations at least it has been customary for the party merely to go to some lonely spot in the woods for the night. These accompanying X tell him as much of the ritual of the society as they think fit, not forgetting to emphasize the trust put upon him, and the fate which will befall him if he should communicate his knowledge.

[187] [184] He is expected to report that he went to the repository where, lying face downwards on the ground, he saw *Ant'lkwalaxis*; in Kimsquit he is supposed also to see her husband.*

[176] *According to one old Bella Coola a score of *Ant'lkwalaxis* also reside in every repository.

[The Dance of Nuakamin]

[703] approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
[824] the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
[825] *Smaim-a*, whence its captain hops to *Nuquimaxin* to await
the coming of *Alpaxoim*. The crew consists of a number of
supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with
the ceremonial on the night of *nakamim*. This canoe, which
brings the salmon and herring to Bella Coola, has four oars
but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine,
Nuklipaxm lowers first one side and then the other of his craft
so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a
time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[783] times when people were purified by ceremonial cleanliness, several
[83] succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[787] that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels
without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are
sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the
bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that
the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsiderate,
but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that
[630] this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[779] person was *Nuklipaxm*, but that the mandals requested him
not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Nuklipaxm*
is patron for several *kulaxiut*, who are believed by the uninitiated
to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
the *kulaxiut* dances begin.

It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village,
[184] as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
[924] slight variations, if any. In *Tsimsil* the *kulaxiut* who has the
[55] prerogative of seeing *Nuklipaxm* is a certain *Kwaklo-i*,* in
Kimsquit, *Hackwemaxm*,* and in *Skidegat*, *Lowemem*. Although,

[115] *Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Kwaklo-i*, who informed
[436] that the canoe was a family possession. Several months later an old woman
[578] informed us the leading of this designation by her father and said that the present
was but lately in return to. Minor listings are often created by disputes of this
kind.

*Meaning "Chief Crescent," a reference to the invisibility of his person, as
if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many further canoe have significances of this
type.

[The Dance of Nialkoorim]

scratches from old songs. The Bella Bella are said to use the same compositions from year to year, and recently some of them, both native and foreign words, have been adopted by the Bella Coola. Long ago the medicals would have prohibited this custom even if the user had legitimately obtained the foreign prerogative by marriage.

As the time drawn near for Nialkoorim to start his voyage, X anxiously consults any of the older *Indactar* who may be calendrical experts as to the exact date. The system of reckoning time is not sufficiently exact to avoid errors, but the day ultimately arrives on which, after much discussion, it is agreed that Nialkoorim is leaving. Word is passed around to the singers, who sleep that night in X's house, ready for their duties on the morrow.

Early in the morning X stands up, gazes fondly towards the west, and calls out:

"Once more I see what I saw last year," or some other more or less specific claim to a vision.

It is believed that Nialkoorim must round four points before reaching Bella Coola; in fact, his journey beneath the sea is similar to that of a canoe pushing up one of the long fiords.

Some of the medicals are always in readiness and one of them sets a herald to go to every house, repeating what X has said. This serves both to impress the uninitiated, and to notify the *Indactar* of what is about to take place. The messenger does so, and when all have gathered, the singers, seated behind the fire, begin to beat out one of the songs composed during the summer months. The theme is of X's phenomenal eye-sight, due to his person having sent to him the supernatural being, Nialkoorim, at the moment of his departure. This being does not seem to possess corporeal form, but is rather a sight-producing medium. In the song he is often likened to a swift-flying bird; when the uninitiated hear of this they are suitably impressed with the remarkable ability of X at having such a creature sent to him. X, who has donned a head-dress consisting of the white tails of two eagles, dances

[The Dance of Nutkyum]

X is supposed to be gazing constantly to the west, watching for another sight of Nutkyum. With the aid of a friend, X arranges his eagle tail head-dress on a box so that it projects above the wall of the platform as if he were sitting within. The uninitiated understand that X is watching, and the novitiates further confirm their belief. Meanwhile X remains hidden in the back room, never leaving the house except when necessary, and then only under cover of night.

On the fourth day after his first vision, X stands up and cries out:

Tqáxlè, "The Point."

The significance is that X sees Nutkyum as he appears around the first point. A herald is at once sent out. First he repeats loudly the exact words said, then departs to call the initiates to X's house. When they have taken their places the singers hent out a new song previously composed, the second for X. The dance describes how Nutkyum is rounding the first promontory, in his craft which is often likened to a cloud or a flock of birds. This they practice, before carrying sounding-boards and drums to the lowest house in the village, where the singers and a number of initiates take up their stations. When all is ready X enters, the women avert their drooping eye, and, to the accompaniment of the beating of time and the singing of his new song, he dances around the fire. This same procedure is carried out in every house of the village, working from the lowest upwards. Finally all return to X's house where they receive food and the usual admonitions from a member. Then they dispersa. This is about 11 a.m.

X again climbs to the platform where his head-dress is arranged as if he were sitting constantly gazing towards the approaching Nutkyum. For four days he remains hidden, and on the morning of the fifth he again cries out:

Tqáxlè.

This time it signifies that the supernatural one has rounded a second promontory. The same ritual is repeated, the calling by the herald, the meeting in X's house, and the procession to

[The Dance of Nookxnim]

every abode. The song on this occasion, the third for X, describes what *Nuákynuw* is doing on his journey, as if X were relating what he saw. The *kukuziut* return to X's house for another meal and the admonishments of a marshal. 575* 796* 787 533

For four days more X retires from sight. On the morning of the fifth day he once more calls:

Tuíkik.

Exactly the same procedure is carried out, the theme of this fourth song being of how *Nuákynuw* can be seen rounding a third promontory.

X remains in concealment for four days more, then cries out again. This time the song describes how *Nuákynuw* has rounded the fourth and last promontory and how the supernatural beings above have sighted him. This is the fifth song used for X. As on the previous occasions, he conceals himself on the platform after making a tour of the village.

On the morning of the fifth day later, X cries out that *Nuákynuw* is at the mouth of the river where he has tied his craft to the stakes of a salmon-trap. The belief of the Bella Coola is that he approaches up an underwater fiord, into which flows an underwater river provided with a salmon-trap; X alone can see these phenomena. The herald goes from house to house repeating the announcement. The *kukuziut*, too, visit each, singing the song while X dances. He and the singers always decide beforehand on his actual statement, so that the words of the song will be in agreement, as if the singers had composed it on the spot. Once again X retires from sight. [203]

Five days later he arouses the household with his loud shouting:

"*Nuákynuw* is in the river itself. He has reached the home of the Resident; *Iwinuíttinuis* is mooring his craft. *Dukkukkumuw* and *Náklumkinuw* are greeting him." [776]

The herald repeats this news throughout the village. The uninitiated know in general terms who these supernatural beings are. The Resident lives under the water at the mouth of the river; his function is to see that the stream and the 575* 796* 776 [203]

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4 575 salmon are properly looked after, in fact, he is practically the
4 796 supernatural archetype of the River Guardian. *Imimátnais*,
776 "The Mourer," is a supernatural child who stays with the Resident, and whose sole function appears to be the mooring of *Nuákynum*'s craft. *Dakdakémem* is sent by *Smaien-a*, who in this connection appears to have human intelligence, to greet *Nuákynum*, and with him come *Smaien-a*'s son, *Alálkmtnum*,* to assist *Nuákynum* in poling his craft up the river. All these beings are patrons for different *kukuiat*. The Resident is also known as *Amitáli*.

6 575 The *kukuiat* assemble in X's house as on the previous
x 796 occasions; according to some informants two songs are used
● 787 on this day, others say only one. The people proceed in the
[583] usual manner to the lowest house, and make their way upstream. When about half through the village, however, X shrieks out that *Nemátlem* has brought a call to him. The woman and the heralds cry out loudly, X hastily returns to his own house, from which the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the *kuciat* whistles sound from within. *Nemátlem* is one of the supernatural beings who has travelled with *Nuákynum* for the sole purpose of bringing a call to X. If the calendrical
[805] experts have been successful in their reckonings, the November
[82] moon will first be visible on the night of this day. Several of the older men admitted that errors were common, and that sometimes four days more had to elapse, in which it was said that *Nuákynum* was poling up the river. As he passes, his dancers in the different villages receive their calls on successive nights. It is assumed that he can go by several adjacent
[84] settlements on the same night, but the *kuciat* season is two or three days shorter in *Sisaa* and the upper villages than in *Kynqo-ti*. Exact information on this point was unavailable.
5 575 As already described, *Nuákynum* travels to *Smaien-a*, whence
4 796 he leaps to *Nuqudewaite* and places his pole within the house.
773 All the supernatural beings crowd in after him to wait for *Hyuwám*, but as soon as the latter enters, *Nuákynum* seizes his

*These informants state that there are four of these beings.

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pole and starts his journey downstream. 575*

Now that X has received his call, the ceremonial continues 796*
for four days more, in a manner typical of *kuciut* dances. Only
variations from the pattern about to be described will be given [773]
in later dance rituals.

X spends the rest of this day on which the call has come 575*
to him, the twenty-fourth of the whole rite, within his house. 796*
In the evening a herald summons the *kukuciut*, this being the 184
night of *tsaxémem*. In *Stuax* the call used is: 203

Shiwap Stuaxo, "Cure, ye *Stuax* people," because it is
believed that a call almost kills a *Stuax* person. This is prob-
ably true for the people of the other villages of the upper
valley, but elsewhere this cry is used only when a novice receives
his first call. In the lower valley and at Kimsquit the cry is:

Swapuddimut kukuciut, "Bring light, ye *kukuciut*."

Care is always taken to use the right expression with refer- 575*
ence to the locality of the dancer's repository, irrespective of 796*
where he may happen to be living.

All the *kukuciut* are expected to attend, in fact, they are 533
glad to do so, but attendance is compulsory for novices only.
When all have assembled, one of the leading singers takes
command. The coming of his call is supposed to have made
X light-headed, and he must be cured by a frenzied beating of [787]
sticks four times repeated. During this X himself remains
quiescent. The singers now group themselves into a close
circle to compose a song describing the supernatural beings
seen by X during the day. As a rule, each man has one or
more tunes in his mind which he hums to his associates as he
softly beats time. Then another does the same, and this is
repeated until unanimity of opinion is reached concerning the
most suitable. The leader of the choir fits the proper words
to this, assisted by his comrades and perhaps by X himself, or
someone well acquainted with his prerogative.* As soon as
the singers have finished their work they widen their circle and
sing the song loudly so that it can be heard and learnt by all.

*This song, like the one used earlier, is sometimes prepared in advance.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

since a certain *hwiat* has the definite prerogative of throwing them on the fire. As each is tossed into the flames he calls out:

"Please return directly to the supernatural ones."

The only exception is for the mask of *Ana'kwalnais* for which his cry is:

"Please return directly to your repository."

Before X can again take his normal place in the community it is necessary to remove from him the call, which is conceived as being something physical that has entered his body. This is the belief taught to the uninitiated so emphatically that the *hakaciat* themselves appear to believe it; at any rate, whatever their inward thoughts, they act as if the call had substance. As soon as the masks have been burnt one of the *hakaciat* suggests that it is time to expel the call. All the *hakaciat* in the house crowd around X, as many as can reach his body pressing against his stomach with their hands, always in an upward direction. Higher and higher they go, from stomach to chest, from chest to neck, as if managing some object. At last it is thought to have been expelled, and X brings his hands together, as if holding something with great care. Suddenly he throws them up in the air, opening them as he does so, and calling out:

Ana'kkilimat ala dmitnayas, "Go back to your ancient home."

These ritual words have been handed down from ancient times and are used by every *hwiat* to dismiss his call. Whither it is sent is problematical. Some say to X's repository, others to *Nacpalwaxlas*; the Bella Coola do not know. Often one of his songs has been sung on the sidewalk outside X's house; the call may be returned from there.

This rite ends the ceremony and the hakaciat disperse. It is obvious that every nakcam must vary according to the picture of the dancer, but the above is typical of the ritual. A call can now come to any hwiat, and one often descends at this time, so that X's nakcam is finished for another dancer.

For the rest of the ceremonial season X has to observe certain rules. He must wear his collar of cedar-bark and

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attend every *kwiat* dance. Usually all *kwiatat* do so in any case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been blackened, it must be kept so during this period. At every potlatch he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an uninitiated person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes to another housemate. Failure to obey this injunction was formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules apply to every dancer.

Alpanim enters *Nanqulcmaxte* at the winter solstice, and at that time calls come to those *kwiatat* of whom he is patron. It is uncertain whether or not this entails the regular ceremony of four nights' duration. On the entry of the supreme being, *Nuikpum* enters his paddle (or pole?), returns to *Imaiso-a*, and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers compose a ninth song for him. The words describe how the departing *Nuikpum* empties a large number of clachas into the river.* X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after calls have come to other *kwiatat*.

It sometimes happens that no *kwiat* of whom *Nuikpum* is patron has enough food to give the lengthy dance just described, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper prerogative is asked by the marshals to see *Nuikpum* when at the mouth of the river; then, when he passes upstream four days later, a call can come to any *kwiat*. This abbreviated ceremony, *nemut Imaiskwiqumiut*, is carried out in the manner described above, except that it is completed in four days with only two songs.

*Nuikpum is accordingly also called *Nuikshum*.

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[The Dance of Wila]

"Path Clearers" see to it that no one passes between him and the fire. The uninitiated are soon expelled from the house and their curiosity is aroused. Meanwhile the singers prepare songs for X, describing his supernatural patrons, and some *kukusiut* carpenters are instructed to make in secret ten small pieces of wood, about one foot in length and six inches wide, sometimes half-moon shaped. They cover these with dyed cedar-bark on which they paint the designs appropriate to each being.[11] On the morning of the fourth day, X blackens his face with soot or charcoal, obtained by pouring water on a fire, and dons the usual *kusiut* costume. A herald then invites the *kukusiut* to assemble in X's house. Presently they proceed to the lowest house of the village, where the singers beat out the tunes of the "Path Clearers," remembered from a previous year. They dance, while X stands, shifting is feet and moving his apron as if he also wished to perform but was too weary to do so. This is repeated at every house of the village, except that in which the potlatch was held; most of the *kukusiut* follow the procession, as do some of the uninitiated. Finally, with X last of all, they enter the potlatch house, where foreign guests and many uninitiated have assembled.

In Kimsquit the preliminary four days of watching are omitted, but from this point on the rites of the two areas are practically identical.[12] As X enters, all the *kukusiut* who have pounding sticks begin to beat on the floor and the women dance. Without delay, and without attention to the timeless changing, X begins to dance sunwise, around the fire, at intervals casting on it particles of eagle down which have the effect of making the supernatural ones above take their places. He calls out intermittently that he can see the beings above arising down, and a herald repeats his remarks loudly. In Bella Coola the four "Path Clearers" walk close behind X.

575* 796* [532] [302] [535] [789] [787] [184] [424]

[11] The distinctive designs are given by Boas, to whom the reader is referred.

[12] It is probable that X never lies in dress when *Nuhymas's* dancer reports that the name is on the mouth of the river.

[13] It is uncertain whether the differences in detail are typical of Bella Coola and Kimsquit, or merely represent variations in individual perspective.

[The Dance of Wi'a]

*575 The last to seat himself is *Kwiliaz Nuxkāmpts*, an obstreperous
*796 individual, who always wants more presents than anyone else.
782 When X announces that the beings above have taken their places, a carpenter brings forward the object covered with cedar-bark and painted with a design of *Xemxemālstels*,* holds it above X's head, and then gives it to a herald who casts it into the fire. At the same time X throws on the flames some dyed cedar-bark, some undyed cedar-bark, a little eagle down, and some olachen grease, saying:

"Please *Xemxemālstels*,* accept this offering and be present," and throws his hands up in the air as if casting some object upwards.

Still dancing, X calls out *hoip* several times.

The painted representation and the cedar-bark are objects which *Xemxemālstels* likes to receive; the olachen grease supplies the flame on which they ascend to him. The same procedure is repeated for the eight other brothers, with slight variations in the words addressed to each. To *Omqemēlkds*, for example, X says:

[534] *Ā-ōqwā-ōmēlkēmx* | *dīxwnxālxwnxālxwnxnxnxnxnxnx* | *ōxqōxōxwxnxālx*
Woodpecker-coloured* | is the place where he sits, | the recipient,*
hōmqemēlkēmxālx
*Omqemēlkds.**

When the time comes to invite the hungry *Tlōxqēlēlēx-a*, an offering of food instead of bark is cast upon the flames. X
*575 continues to dance after the final gift, and presently a thud
*796 is heard on the roof while some *hoxiut*, chosen beforehand for
● 787 the purpose, compresses a hidden bladder-whistle which the uninitiated know is the voice of the call. Whether they be-

[184] *In Kimsquit the offerings are made by a *hoxiut* who has this prerogative in connection with the name *Hēlēlēxa*.

[776] *His other name is Ōqōxwa, "The Recipient of Many Gifts."

*Ā-ōqwā-ōmēlkēmx is one of the larger woodpeckers, the species could not be identified.

*This designation, properly applied only to *Xemxemālstels*, is often used for his brothers as well.

[126] *These words are virtually sung, each vocional line marking the end of each subdivision. A record was made of the music for the National Museum of Canada; record VII D 6a; singer, Jim Pollard.

[The Dance of Wil·a]

lieve the thud on the *roof*, which is made by an accomplice, is the call itself, or a being bringing it to X, is problematical. All non-members are expelled immediately, including guests other than Kimsquit or *Tâl·is kukuciut*. One is tempted to conjecture whether or not the donor of the potlatch does not use this rite as a means of getting rid of his guests if they show a disposition to linger too long. 575* 796* [787] [556]

The call having come to X, this is the day of *kustômem*. In the early evening a herald goes up and down the platform outside the houses, calling out in effect:

"He has been pressed to earth beneath the weight."

No mention is made of who "he" may be, although the uninitiated are well aware. The herald then enters each house in order, starting at the bottom, to invite the *kukuciut* to assemble in X's. After he has been aided by the beating of sticks, four times repeated, the singers seat themselves behind the fire, where X joins them. The fiction is always carried out that the call has brought him a song, which he pretends to sing or recite to the singers who appear to be listening intently. Usually he says nothing, or talks about something else, though sometimes the deception is furthered by X first learning the words from the musicians and repeating them as if teaching. 575* 796* 593 [787]

The theme is always of the supernatural patrons and how the offering attracts them. Since only *kukuciut* are present and since they all understand the methods, this part of the ceremony may be slighted.* The singers beat out and sing the song a number of times, softly, as if practicing, then more loudly for the benefit of the audience, and finally at full strength while X dances. Later in the season when many *kukuciut* have performed, and there is danger of the songs being forgotten, it is customary to sing them over on the night of *kustômem* while the owner of each song dances. Throughout, the whistle sounds, to the awe of the uninitiated in the other 575* 796*

*Even when no uninitiated are present, the *kukuciut* always surround their ceremonials with an air of mystery which ultimately affects themselves.

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[The Dance of Wi·a]

*575 *796 *I..., and so...," revolving sunwise at the same time.

*Awi'kwulnis does not fail to point out to the uninitiated: "That is the way he sings up above. Look at him! That is what he does in his own home."

*575 *796 552 If foreigners, guests for the potlatch, are in attendance, *Awi'kwulnis* adds that the supernatural beings are disappointed at having been called too late for it. Then the uninitiated are expelled, the masks burnt, and the *kukwiat* disperse.

A few further notes are necessary on this dance. If a potlatch is to be given after the *kwiat* season, the calling of these supernatural beings is sometimes reserved as the last *kwiat* dance, and any foreigners present, as uninitiated guests, are told that the beings have come for the ceremony. There is [776] thus a superficial appearance of confusion between these *kwiat* patrons and *nusut* deities. It is nothing more than a resemblance, since the nine brothers do not appear at the potlatch, and nothing is said to explain their absence; it is merely a subterfuge to increase the interest of the rite. Nor is any connection necessary; in fact, X usually obtains his call like [778] any other *kwiat*, without the spectacular throwing of presents on the fire. In this case X and the marshals consult and select the proper day for the beginning of the ceremony. On the *575 night preceding that chosen, the *kukwiat* are called to X's *796 house and one of the marshals announces that he can hear X's 787 call wawing to come to him. He answers simply:

"I am afraid."

The uninitiated are not expelled from X's house, so that they learn what is to take place. No ritual occurs on that evening, but one of X's friends remains constantly with him, as if to assist in any emergency. *Kukwiat* are often seen up the slopes of the neighbouring mountains with whistles which the uninitiated hear, and which lead them to believe that supernatural beings are in the vicinity.

[124] A phonographic record was made of this; National Museum of Canada, record VII D 4b, singer, Jim Pollard.

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[The Dance of Wil·a]

About dusk on the following day X, who is in his own house, suddenly stands up and cries out: 575* 796*

"Yes. It has come. I am afraid. Yes! I will do as you bid me." 787

The *ḥaḥaiat* women begin to drone and the uninitiated are expelled. Heralds announce that a *ḥaiat* has been pressed to earth, and presently they go to every house inviting the *ḥaḥaiat* to gather in X's. From this point on, the rite of *ḥaaimow* continues in the manner already described.

The ability of X to summon these nine brothers from above is a special prerogative; other *ḥaḥaiat* have one or other of them as patron, but lack the power to call the whole number to earth. One *ḥaiat* has exclusive knowledge of the mat which is spread for *Omponkilda* when the other supernatural beings summon him to a ceremony; another of the place where the brethren obtain their eagle down. Detailed information was not obtained about these ceremonies. [424]

THE CANNIBAL DANCE

Of all *ḥaiat* dances, the one of which the uninitiated are most afraid, and which is, therefore, the strongest, is the Cannibal dance. It is believed that the performer is exposed to greater dangers than in any other rite, and observers have the most spectacular ocular demonstrations of his powers. The patrons of most Cannibals are *Alpanim*, *Sawanḥaiaiq*, or *Kimai·ix*, who implant in their protégés a wolf, bear, or eagle, causing them to devour strange foods. The Bella Coola consider that a man is equally a Cannibal whether he has the prerogative of eating corpses, biting the living, eating dogs or raw salmon, or biting himself. The most common of these is the right to bite the living, and few of the older people are not scarred thereby. Fear of Cannibals is one of the strongest causes for the respect with which the uninitiated regard the *ḥaiat* society, but though the holders of prerogatives of this type are regarded with awe on account of their powers, they are not considered as chiefs, as the Bella Coola say is the case

575* 796* 424 [781] [796] [787] [781] [171] [222]

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[Re Cannibal Dance]

among the Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and Rivers Inlet people. Indeed, in Bella Coola a poor man may be the most dreaded Cannibal of all, if he has been able duly to validate and perform his right in this respect. Nor is the dance carried out with the same rigour in Bella Coola as amongthe tribes of the outer coast.

The ritual of different perspectives varies to such an extent that several accounts must be given, in spite of the repetitions that this form of presentation entails. On account of the length of time necessary, a Cannibal dance usually begins early in the season. The following describes the manner in which *Kwakiutlu* of Kimsquit, who can hardly the living, carried out his rite; it was obtained from his brother, who is thoroughly conversant with the details. It will be convenient to refer to *Kwakiutlu* as X, and to use the present tense throughout.

A meeting is held at which the mandolin and others choose, in agreement with X and his relatives, a day suitable for him to commence his performance. Under normal circumstances it is on some pretext that a mandolin announces that he can hear X's call, and on the following evening, when the ritual has been completed, the uninitiated are startled to hear continuous whistling from the slopes of the mountains near the village. The instruments used are of the usual binder type, but the long-drawn-out sound, termed *Hoolum*, is said to be the voice of the kindly supernatural woman, *Sisiutlu*.*

*The sole function of this being seems to be the restoring to life of those who appear to have been killed in the performance of Sacred Rite. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether or not she is identical with Hamatsa. The noise which Sisiutlu has returning is produced by the whistles of those Initiates who throughout the night range the forests and mountains within one mile of the village. By bending their heads up and down, they are able to increase the volume and apparent distance of the sound. The free travel to night this, the [illegible] and apparent the branch is nearly exhausted he presses the hand of the [illegible] blows, and when whistling forthwith, while the original leader drops to the [illegible] man, who starts hoolum-ing, he signals to the same way to the third, [illegible]. As the second the whistling is continuous, and the uninitiated are [illegible] so way in this way [illegible] that it cannot be [illegible] If a non-member [illegible] prisoner, keeping

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Cannibal Dance]

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Towards dawn, a herald goes through the village crying loudly:

"Get up, you young men! Get up all ye people! Something strange has come upon the young man."

The uninitiated are expelled and the *ḱukuxiat* assemble in X's house where he is acting as if demented, biting any of his associates except other Cannibals, Scratchers, Breakers, or those whose patrons are ghosts. Meanwhile those who are not members of the society cower in their own houses, and are told that if they dare to look out, X, scenting them, will bite them to death. At intervals during the morning, X goes around to the other houses, naked and savage, snapping at everyone he sees. The uninitiated hide in the bedrooms, but peek out occasionally and hear his growlings and the shrieks of mock terror with which his associates greet his bites and threats. The *ḱukuxiat* tell non-members when it is safe for them to leave their hiding-places for necessary purposes, but at all other times they remain in concealment, listening with fear to the dangerous maniac.

About midday X returns to his house where a large number of *ḱukuxiat* have assembled. The uninitiated certainly, and perhaps some of the *ḱukuxiat* as well, believe that Cannibals are carried away to the land above where they are exposed to great dangers, and to prevent this an effort is always made to bind the dancer. The marshals and X's relatives have made the necessary preparations, consisting of the manufacture of a long rope, in addition to the usual dyed cedar-bark collar and a bear-skin. The *ḱukuxiat* enter whole-heartedly into the dramatic spirit of the rite, and the robe is thrust over X in spite of his furious struggles. Then the collar is forced over his head, while the women drone and the whistles sound eerily, to the wonder of the uninitiated listening from adjacent houses. The thick, cable-like rope is doubled and a circle of *ḱukuxiat* form around the seemingly demented dancer, each man holding a section. X rushes against one part of the circle after another, as if to force his way out; sometimes he bends down, and those

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2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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restraining him hand too, throwing him back into the centre of the circle with the aid of the rope and their bodies. Meanwhile the women are drumming, and some of them pound on the floor with sticks; intermittent calls of *hoip* and the sound of the whistle add to the weird confusion. The circle of *hahaciat* often revolves around X, each man jumping in time to his neighbours, so that the din is increased. After about ten minutes, the circle gradually contracts to a double line, and the rope is slipped over X's head, as if tying up a dangerous beast. One end is given to a *haciat* willing to have a call, and he goes around leading X as if he were a captive animal. The heralds go to every house to report what has taken place.*

Towards dusk two young *hahaciat* are sent up the mountains. Soon after the sun has set, members of the society gather on the sidewalk outside X's house, to which X is led. He is still struggling, and the *hahaciat* press close around him, as if to restrain him; thereby effectually concealing everything from the uninitiated watching from the doorways of their houses. At a signal from one of the senior *hahaciat*, all the members of the society shriek out *yo* – at the top of their voices. At the same time X, aided by his fellows, slips from his rope and hides himself within a bow-drum, which is then carried back to his house. Warned by the cry, the two lads up the mountains forthwith begin to growl. This furnishes clear proof to the uninitiated that X has been able, owing to the power within him, to slip away from the closest bonds of his fellows and travel aloft. In answer to the growls from above, a *haciat* with a powerful voice calls out:

"Go aloft on the right road. Your power will enable you to escape the dangers. But do not stray from the narrow trail."

[194] In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, the *hahaciat* then go to every house, crying and wailing, thinking of the Cannibals

*It is not clear whether or not the uninitiated are sometimes present at the crying.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

who have gone aloft and never returned,* and of course increasing the fear of the uninitiated. They then go back to X's home where a marshal speaks, asking all to keep silence so that they will be able to hear X when he returns from the land above. No noise is permitted during his absence, even the discharge of muskets being forbidden. The man who carries the rope from which X escaped always receives a call on this night, because the supernatural beings have seen the important part he has played in the rite, and his patron recognizes it in this way. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated and, accordingly, the rope-holder is some *kwakiut* who wishes to have a call. After the usual curing,* one song is composed for the rope-holder, and sung very softly, since the night's ceremony is termed *Mulipaxmag*, "The Actionless Night," or *Nuxwinwat*, "The Silent Night." The uninitiated believe that the *kwakiut* are filled with woe and foreboding at the fate before X. It is early morning before they disperse.

The next day, *wacinilap* for the rope-holder, the usual ritual is omitted since the presence of grief and fear must still be preserved. Thus the necessary wood for the rope-holder's masks is cut silently. The collar and rope from which X escaped are hung on the wall of his house, and when a herald summons the *kwakiut* during the evening, he bids them assemble to watch over these objects. Although a second song, composed during the day, is practised for the rope-holder, it is done so softly that the uninitiated from neighbouring houses imagine that the *kwakiut* are really brooding over their loss. The only sound that reaches them is an occasional *hoip*, accentuating their fear. After the customary distribution of *work and food the kwakiut disperse.*

On the morrow, the rope-holder's *gulam*, the uninitiated are summoned, because it is assumed that members of the

*If a Cannibal dies during his period of disembodiment he is buried secretly. The uninitiated are told that his power enabled him to cross a yawning chasm in the land above, but then it failed him, so that he was unable to return to his friends.
*This ceremony of the frenzied hearing of sticks, repeated four times.

2: McDowalth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

[The Cannibal Dance]

society have recovered from the shock of X's disappearance. Thereafter the *ducia* dances continue night after night, but the Cannibal remains hidden. Sometimes he is carried to a dance, concealed within a drum; more often he remains within the back-room of his own house or hides in some lonely part of the mountains. Throughout this period he eats little or nothing, and formerly used to devour a brew of roots that produced emaciation. The length of concealment depends entirely on X. If he desires to impress the uninitiated with the dangers which he has survived, he remains hidden for a long time; consequently, the period varies from a week to two months or even more. On every occasion that a marshal addresses the *ducia* he warns them to watch for X's return, and garbled accounts of this reach the uninitiated.

When X's relatives and the marshals have decided that the Cannibal has been long enough absent, they make arrangements for him to reappear. The time selected is always the night of a *sukwum*, and after the departure of the uninitiated on the preceding evening the marshals discuss arrangements with the *ducia* and allot tasks to various individuals. Several *ducia* shave X's head, except a small patch above the forehead, to support the story which he will tell of the high winds prevailing in the land above, which blew the hair from his head.*

After the dismissal of the uninitiated on the following night of *sukwum*, the *ducia* make their final arrangements. When they judge from the passage of the stars or the state of the tide that dawn is at hand, several members of the society climb to the roof of the previously selected house. First they sound a whistle, then thump on the roof with their feet, and call out:

Xwe, xwe, xwe: this is a cry used by Cannibals returned from above which is supposed to indicate a longing for meat.

The *ducia* sleeping within, knowing that their house has been selected, are ready as soon as they are awakened. The

*One old man mentioned that in his youth this was done with a sharpened piece of bone; he was unable to state what was used in earlier times.

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women drone, while the men rush out to capture the returning X. The uninitiated hear the sounds of feet rushing over the roof, as if a furious chase were taking place, and presently a loud *ye* comes to their ears. Having been told on previous occasions that this assists a Cannibal who is compelled to travel through space, they realize that he has escaped his would-be captors and returned above.

Then the herald goes around the village calling:

"Young boys! Get up, see, the Cannibal is at hand!"

In the early dawn, whistling is heard from the upper slopes of a near-by mountain and the uninitiated, watching eagerly and fearfully, behold a man clad in a bear-skin, who moves around, running fast across slides, and finally dashes down one and disappears into the forest, when the whistling ceases. They assume that this is the returning Cannibal; in reality, it is a *ḵwaxat* who has been sent out to perform this deception. Two go together, one to lie hidden and use the whistle, his companion to appear; the latter must be a strong man, able to run easily over rough slopes because it would lessen the Cannibal's prestige were the uninitiated to see him fall. After about five minutes' silence, the whistling is heard on the river bank at a point over a mile from where the supposed Cannibal vanished into the forest, and as before a bear-skin clad figure appears. The non-members assume that it is the figure previously seen, and that he has been able to penetrate the dense forest in some mysterious manner; in reality it is another pair of helpers, one of whom shows himself while the other uses the whistle. Meanwhile other *ḵwaxat* go to X's house where they paint themselves black and don cedar-bark ornaments. When ready, they set out to catch the Cannibal, travelling on two canoes across which planks have been laid, but not tied, and steered by a skilful waterman at bow and stern. They land at the place where the Cannibal was last seen, and pretend to hunt him. For the benefit of the uninitiated, watching from the village, they spend a considerable time at this, failing at first, but at length succeeding. Sometimes they drive their

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*575 quarry into a converging "v" of hunters, or someone may lie
*796 down as bait to attract the Cannibal so that the other lurking
787 pursuers can secure him. No effort is spared to make the man-hunt realistic. Then they carry the captive, struggling and biting, to the canoes and set out for the village. The preliminaries are lengthened or curtailed until the tide is favourable for the navigation of the craft; about two hours is the usual time consumed. When in mid-stream, the cry, *ye* ··, is again raised; the supposed Cannibal has once more escaped! All this time X himself has been hiding in or near the village, and he now appears. Instantly the *kukusiut* left in the neighbourhood set off in pursuit, those returning on the canoes hurry their passage and join the chase. After a struggle they succeed in capturing X and bringing him to the village.

The Cannibal acts like a demoniac animal, struggling, kicking, and biting as if his adventures had entirely destroyed his reason. He drags his captors, a number of strong *kukusiut*, to the various houses, and they are barely able to restrain him within the doorways and to force him out, biting and raving at them. A skilful actor is able to impress the uninitiated to a considerable extent, and of course he is supported by his associates. When every house has been visited, X is carried back to his own and a herald summons all the *kukusiut* to cure him. The uninitiated are allowed to crowd near the door to watch.

The assumption is that X has had the nature and instincts of an animal enter into him; if this cannibalistic incubus[1] can be driven out by beating time, he will be restored to sanity. Two long, thin sounding-boards have been prepared previously,
[534] as well as a number of birch sticks with which the *kukusiut* beat time. One man stands up to lead the drummers, and the sticks rise and fall in unison with his movements, in the manner previously described. At first X prowls around the house,

[1] This expression will be used henceforth as an interpretation of *ts'ēnx*, the power in form of an animal which, having entered a man, compels him to eat strange foods.

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2:McDougall E-5 (1922-1924) 1942
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closely guarded by his attendants, but as the noise continues, he gradually becomes quieter and at last consents to sit down in a certain spot with other *hakaiat* ranged on either hand. After four rounds of beating, there suddenly appears beside X the head of an eagle, wolf, or bear, according to his prerogative. This is his cannibalistic incubus, driven from him by the successful beating of time. The head, usually a real one, has been carefully fixed by the carpenters, so that it can open its mouth, move its eyes, and give other signs of life. If it is a wolf, assistants concealed behind the row of *hakaiat* flanking X wave to and fro a gigantic wolf tail, lending further realism to the performance. The incubus vomits pieces of meat, presumably the pieces of human flesh which X has devoured; in reality they are morsels passed into the back of the head by carpenters, concealed behind the row of *hakaiat*. The uninitiated see the flesh fall into a box placed before X's feet and watch steam arising from it, but they do not know that hot stones have previously been laid within to cause this. As the meat passes out through the creature's mouth, X bends down and bites at it like an animal (see Plate 5) while all the *hakaiat* present stand up and call out *yo* four times. After the fourth shout the animal's head is concealed, though the uninitiated believe that it has returned to the land above whence it came to enter X. The Cannibal is now taken by some; his guardians no longer press so closely around him and non-members and many of the *hakaiat* leave the house.

Another subterfuge to impress the uninitiated is sometimes employed. Instead of permitting the departure of the incubus at once, another Cannibal is chosen to receive it from X. While two guardians hold X firmly, other *hakaiat* seize the prospective recipient so that the two are standing face to face, each held motionless. The second Cannibal stretches his head forward and pretends to draw something from X. At once he begins to growl and throws himself to and fro as if in frenzy, while the uninitiated are told to leave, lest they come to harm. They need no second invitation, especially as the new recipient

[See category 116, p.84 (E) - ANALYST]

[The Cannibal Dance]

is writhing so violently that it appears as if it would be only a few moments before he breaks loose and runs amuck. Closely guarded by a band of *hakaxiat*, the second Cannibal is now taken to every house of the village. He seems to be striving to escape, and to be restrained by the *hakaxiat*. All the time he growls and calls out:

ł .....

The call of *ooo* can be used only by a Cannibal who has returned from the realms above. X meanwhile remains in his own house, to which the adventure is finally brought and the cannibalistic *mamen* returned by the call of *yo* .... four times repeated.

It was impossible to learn the details of a rite that occurs during the afternoon of this day. The singers have composed two songs for X, one describing his adventures in the land above, and the other the return of the *mamen* which made him a flesh-eating beast. It appears probable that during the afternoon the *hakaxiat* assemble in X's house to learn these songs. It might be added that the ritual of a Cannibal dance differs widely from that of most *hamatsa* ceremonies, since there is no pathos and no sadness; the uninitiated believe that the whole affair is so serious that they are not surprised at sensational occurrences.

In the evening the *hakaxiat* are first summoned to X's house, and hear the uninitiated. X is sitting close to the singers, with a number of *hakaxiat* grouped around him in case he should become frenzied. The singers first sing over the song describing the return of the Cannibal power, with the *hakaxiat* joining in softly. The chorus of every Cannibal song consists of the words:

Hámdmai, hámdmai, hám', hám'.

It is said that this same refrain is used in all Cannibal songs by the Bella Bella and Fort Rupert people; the Bella Coola, ignorant of the meaning of the words, affirm that they have none.

X now talks in a low tone of voice to the singers, as if

telling them of his adventures, and presently they begin to sing the song, as if they had just learnt the theme from X. Frequently the deception is increased by X first learning the song and repeating it to the singers in a voice sufficiently loud for the uninitiated to hear. The theme of this, and every other song used for Cannibals, is of the land shown and the dangers which X has survived. The singers add new facts and information to vary the monotony, but the subjects usually described are:

The flat land shown with its many trails and the river that flows through it.

The gale constantly raging there which has blown the hair from X's head and the dirt from his body.

The trail across a yawning chasm over which his supernatural strength enabled him to leap. If a Cannibal has where is unconscious, the *Initiates* bury the corpse secretly and tell the uninitiated that his power failed him on the other side of the abyss so that he was unable to return.

Hyaenas under his various names.

How his power helped him to escape the *Bikam*, "Thing of the Huge Jaws," evil beings who tried to kill X by sucking him into their gaping mouths.

The side-flats which are found at the edge of the flat land shown.

The kindly being *Hemmakidishin*, who gave him the necessary power to traverse the chasm. The uninitiated believe that unless a Cannibal meets this being he will be unable to return.

No one sang for any Cannibal concerns reference to all these beings and events, but it is on these that the singers draw for their themes, always altering and adding to produce a fine effect.

On this occasion X does not dance,* and the uninitiated are soon expelled. As the *Initiates* are eating, one member after another praises X for what he has done, and gives the most solemn warnings to all as to the necessity of complying

*There is a difference of opinion on this point.

the view satisfactorily. Towards midnight the gathering breaks up.

Many of the younger and more athletic dancers sleep in X's house, ready to assist him in the "Running Song." About an hour and a half before dawn the uninitiated are awakened by confused shouting and growling from X's house, above the din rises X's plaintiff, cries, cries, cries.

The shouting and noise lead to a spot in the rear of the village, whither X has gone with the musicians and about twenty dancers. Presently the singers begin to chant forth a new song, X's third, of which the theme is again the Cat-child's adventures in the land above; the uninitiated readily believe that he has caught the singers these words, though they had been unable to hear them from within the house. There is more shouting as X runs to a second place behind the village, where the same song is used once more. When this has been repeated four times, X is led back to his house.

For four days the uninitiated remain in a constant state of terror. Although the population of the neighbouring villages has resolved to remove X's entity, he is still wild, unable either to eat or sleep. Twice every night the medicine companions bite, and he dashes from his house, barely surrounded by his faithful dancing attendants. Eager for the flesh of human beings, he rushes on the doors, knocks them down if they should be closed, growling furiously, but his guardians always succeed in dragging him out before he does any real damage. This is repeated at every house of the village. Since the uninitiated are too frightened to look out, it often happens that a substitute takes the place of X at these semi-nightly excursions. During the day he remains within his own house, concealed, on a platform built for him between the fire and the back-room.

On the fourth evening, the 8th after his return from above, the dancing are summoned to his house to awake him as they to will be down on this platform and rain. The uninitiated, listening eagerly but fearfully, hear once more the sound of the frenzied witch-dancing. The hamlet believes then that X

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is now sufficiently turned so that he can lie down and rest, and thenceforth the nocturnal raids on the village are discontinued.

X remains concealed on the platform, supposedly without eating, for four days. On the fourth day occurs the ceremony of washing. Early in the morning a herald goes to every house in the village asking for urine and grease extracted from the heads of sockeye salmon. The *kakaxiat* gather in X's house, to which full chamber-vessels and pots of grease have been taken. No uninitiated are allowed to be present, but from adjacent houses they hear sounds of furious struggling, combined with growling. Presently they see a number of *kakaxiat* carrying X, smeared with liquid, to the river. Some informants state that he is actually covered with urine and fish-oil, others that these are merely emptied within the house and water poured over X, that their collection is merely to deceive the uninitiated. At any rate he is taken to the river, where, in spite of his shrieks, kicks, and struggles, he is four times dipped by his guardians. Often he seizes stones from the bed of the stream and hurls them at his captors, sometimes bruising them severely. This washing assists in the restoration of X to sanity. He is taken four times to every house in the village, no longer growling and struggling, and a herald announces that he will dance that evening.

Soon after dusk the *kakaxiat* are summoned and they practise the four songs composed for X. Then the uninitiated are called in. As his songs are sung, X dances in the usual *kakaxiat* style, but more violently than usual, and growling at intervals. The women dance and his four guardians stand close by, spinning into his ears to soothe him.* This is done by calling [227] [illegible] close to his head, so that a spray of fine saliva is sprayed over him. After dancing, X sits down once more and a member calls out that food is to be given to him; he is supposed to have eaten nothing but morsels of human flesh since his departure for the upper world. The women are now [242]

* Spinning the ears frequently in connection with curing by means of the [illegible] of water.

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[The Cannibal Dance]

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[56.2]
[56.2]

away since no female can witness a Cannibal's first meal. Three *Sekwiat* are dispatched to ask for food, as if they were begging on behalf of X. Oolachon grease, dried salmon, dried meat, and other luxuries are always given to them, and the uninitiated women are excited at witnessing this collection of food. Sometimes a request is made during the day, and the messengers are entitled to call upon any individual by name to provide grease or some other delicacy.

[192] The actual feeding is done by a shaman who is also a *Sekwiat*. He first dips his hands in the grease, warms them at the fire and rubs them over X's face as the struggling Cannibal is held by six or eight *Sekwiat*. Members of the society keep calling out *hoip* to soothe X, who is supposed to be like a wild animal, and to have lost all desire for ordinary food. Like a maniac he snaps at the shaman's fingers, while the *Sekwiat* are out and the uninitiated watch with fear and amazement. After rubbing the Cannibal's cheeks four times, the shaman shouts out that he is almost ready to eat. The heralds echo his words, and go through the village to inform all of what has taken place. The shaman now puts a few morsels of food in a spoon and tries to feed X, who struggles and tries to bite pieces out of the utensil itself. Undiscouraged, he puts small pieces of food actually into X's mouth, heedless of the snapping jaws, and at last persuades him to swallow a little.

"He has eaten," the shaman calls out joyfully, and the heralds repeat the good tidings.

An effort is next made to force him to drink, but X only bites the vessel, and the fingers of the shaman, and succeeds in drenching himself with the liquid. But at last he swallows a few mouthfuls.

"He has drunk," calls the shaman, and as before the heralds repeat his words.

The shaman now tells the uninitiated that X will be all right, but that it will be safer for them to depart, as they leave willingly. Heralds keep everyone in the village informed of the events.

PLATE I

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Photograph No. 8 x 1 Kodak. Normal developed [illegible]

Cemented with leather in form of a book

[p. 44 (8)]

[The Cannibal Dance]

X, now almost nude, rushes around the house, shouting *ewe*, *ewe*, *ewe*, while his call sounds loudly, as the whistle is pressed firmly beneath his armpit or against his stomach, and under a hole. Often the *kakaxtat* slip a rope over his shoulders to prevent him escaping again. Finally, he rushes from the house and all the *kakaxtat* crowd close about him on the sidewalk without. As many as possible press upwards against his body with their hands, while they shout, *ye* . . . , trying to expel the call upwards. On the fourth repetition it is supposed to have been driven forth, and in answer to the tumultuous shout of the *kakaxtat*, there is heard the sound of a whistle from above. The uninitiated do not know that a *dancer* has been dispatched with one to a mountain peak for this purpose.

The *kakaxtat* now return to X's house for a meal. The first dish of food is placed before X himself, while one of the marshals addresses him and the audience in the following words:

> *Nanaqilmen, ninem-ta! Ikuts ti pinnit!*
> Greetings, cannibal! Hail to the dreaded one (the Cannibal)!*
> *Ki, pinnit!* Dance. *Naqilmenkuhum.*
> Now, dreaded one, dance.* Eat to satiation.

There is no ritual significance attached to any particular words; marshals use their own discretion as to what they say, but the above may be considered a few examples of the kind of remarks addressed to a Cannibal at his first meal. After X has started eating, the other *kakaxtat* commence and the marshals deliver their usual admonitions, pointing X for what he has done and urging others to emulate his example. These personals are distributed to those who have been bitten. It is considered that a Cannibal complimentes a man by taking a piece of his flesh, and that he is under obligations to the one bitten for the latter having allowed him to exercise his prerogatives.

*Marshals mean "The Dreaded One" or "The Fearless One." It is an added compliment of the concerto marshalsmen tendon that has when possession of this.
*This is the concerto form of the word.
*Marshals use the name of the performing Cannibal on the occasion that this speech was recorded.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[The Cannibal Dance]

as the woods he is always accompanied by a number of *hakaiat* to drive the uninitiated from his path. If it were necessary to perform the full circuit described, it would, in effect, limit this dance to wealthy individuals. One reason why it is possible for a poor Bella Coola to become a Cannibal is that on his second, or subsequent, ceremonial, he can give an abbreviated rite, known as *Alistom*. The essence of this is that a friendly supernatural being has visited X on earth, saving him from the perils of going adrift. In this case the ritual closely follows that of external *hacaiat* dance and is concluded in four days.

After the elaborate rites of some other *hacaiat* have been concluded, the call comes to X, who responds by growling and biting a few people. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house. Thanks to the friendly intervention of the supernatural being, usually *Sparaiim*, X's mental powers are unimpaired so that he does not become infuriated and bites only a few individuals. As with ordinary *hacaiat* rites, the singers have not a song composed for the occasion, describing the benefactor being who came down to X, and the *hakaiat* practice and learn it. No other songs are rehearsed on this night, owing to the extreme intensity of the occasion; it is a Cannibal rite and nothing else takes place at the same time.

The next day is uneventful; a second song is composed and a number of the *hakaiat* are sent to collect wood for smoke. Six of these must be constructed representing the following supernatural beings:

Sparaiim, who has benignly interfered to save X from risking the dangers of crip adrift.

Sparaiim, a supernatural man-eater from whom the call has come impelling X to cannibalism.

Three *Sparaiim*, "Shakers," who restrain *Sparaiim*. In the land where their function corresponds to that of the *hakaiat* who guard a Cannibal.

Sparaiim.

In the evening, after the work has been allotted, X's two

J:Mc'Dowell, E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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songs are sung, all that are needed when a Cannibal does not go to the land above.

On the following day, *qulem*, the masks are manufactured and the ritual proceeds in the normal manner. In the evening the uninitiated are invited to watch the dances, at which X is the first to perform, lengthening his face and protruding his lips to their greatest extent in order to frighten his beholders.

The ritual of the next evening, *sakscaw*, corresponds to the usual pattern. Before the entry of the uninitiated, X has concealed himself so that nothing can detract from their awe at sight of the masked figure. *Alqumiw* stands in state behind the fire, sometimes announcing his own name, while *Ka'ilk-mulmis* moves to and fro, adding to the solemnity of the occasion with her explanations, echoed by the heralds. *Alqumiw*, represented with blood-stained lips, moves around the fire, escorted by the three Holders, and the audience is told that this is how they act in the land above. When the guests have gazed sufficiently on these marvels they are sent away, and the masks are burnt in the usual manner, accompanied by the gentle singing of one of X's songs. Late at night a number of *kakaxiw* go with X to the sidewalk outside his house, where they expel his call by pressing upwards with their hands against his stomach and calling *hoip*.

For the rest of the winter X conducts himself in the manner of any *kaxiw* who has danced.

Although similar in outlines, the prerogatives enjoyed by Cannibals differ so considerably that no clear picture of the cult can be obtained without detailed descriptions of several. The following is an account of a dance carried out by *Lakalimas*, a living Cannibal of *Waqalis*. It was obtained from one of the *mamlmis* who, of course, understand the details of every performance. The origin of the name is unknown, although the informant believed that it had been created in this world by the chiefs in consequence of the manner in which a shaman member of the dancer had been in the habit of biting people

2:36-Dewalt R-5 (1922-1924) 1968
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Towards evening he summons the *hahaiat* to the Cannibal's house. As before, X starts to beat time, but swiftly goes into a wild frenzy of pounding from which he is awoken by repeated cries of *hoip*. Then the singers take the stick from him and sing over a new song which they have composed for him; this being the fourth time that the *hahaiat* have assembled, it is X's fourth song, with the usual Cannibal chorus. At dusk food is given, the mandals admonish their neophytes and the gathering breaks up.

Presently, as night is falling, the *hahaiat* return. When they have taken their places, they call the uninitiated, who enter, but remain standing near the door. X passes to and fro around the fire, not completing the circuit, but stopping and retracing his steps when he has passed as far as the upper, eastward, side of it. He assumes a threatening appearance, holding his arms stretched out to their full length, his fists clenched, while, as if to prevent him running amuck among the non-members, two *hahaiat* go constantly with him, one on either side, uttering the cry of *hoip* at intervals. At times these two guardians simulate an attempt to drive him into the back-room, but he always eludes them and continues around the fire. Meanwhile the singers, with the *hahaiat*, sing over X's songs; as each is finished the Cannibal's frenzy appears to rise within him so that he growls, and his guardians call out *hoip* at the back of his neck, accompanied by the emission of considerable saliva. This is repeated four times, after each of the songs. When these are finished the uninitiated are sent out and the *hahaiat* eat together while a medical functions; then they too depart.

A number of *hahaiat* always remain with X to act as guardians; they replace one another at intervals without specific order, and there is no compulsion upon anyone to assume the task. When the *hahaiat* have departed, one of these attendants takes the leading part in forcing downwards from X his spirit, the mania-like power which binds his mouth against ordinary food. All the guardians crowd around X,

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placing their hands against his mouth and neck and pressing downwards to the chest as if forcing some object from his throat, constantly uttering the cry of *hoip*. When the circuit has been driven down, X is offered his first food, choice morsels of dried salmon. He eats some of this but bites a small piece from the spoon, and does the same with the dish in which water is held to his lips. The assistance of a shaman is often required to find the Cannibal.

The powers of, and restrictions upon, X for the remainder of the ceremonial season are identical with those already described. At the end of the period, however, the *kulaxtai* assemble in X's house to rid him of his spirit which, it will be remembered, had been forced from his mouth down into his chest. By means of a violent repetition of *hoip* and pressing with the hands, this is extracted and cast into another dancer. As soon as the latter has received it, he acts as if he had become a Cannibal. Dashing out, he enters each house in turn, growling and calling out *ooo*, *ooo*, *ooo*, and at intervals ripping up the planking from the floor or pulling off boards from the wall. Then the *kulaxtai* re-enters X's house, where the power is returned to X himself, who, this done, rushes to every dwelling and repeats the growling and destruction. Though the uninitiated realize that two different individuals have appeared as Cannibals, they are too awe-stricken to feel anything but wonder. When he goes back to his own house, X is surrounded by the *kulaxtai* who call out *hoip*, in unison four times, while as many of them as can find places press upwards with their hands against his neck and throat to expel the spirit. This ceremony is sending back X's power to the mysterious regions whence it came. While most of the *kulaxtai* have time vigorously, a number of them pull down the planking and cast it into the fire. They then have a meal, while a member gives weighty advice about the care that must be exercised during the coming year in guarding their sacred secrets from the uninitiated, whereupon they all disperse.

[illegible]

[illegible]

The chief ceremony between this one and the one previously

described for Kwagiutl are the lack of the coonilhaitsi involves and the presence of the *opsis*. It must be emphasized that there are differences of individual prerogative alone; many Kwagiutl Cannibals perform with *opsis*, many Bella Coola with involves.

Although every effort was used to obtain not only the general principles of the rite, but also confirmation of details, it must be remembered that many of these were omitted at the performances observed, so that reliance had to be placed upon the accounts of participants. It is probable that errors of omission have been committed in consequence; these may account for some of the discrepancies, but the most potent factors are undoubtedly lack of uniformity in individual prerogatives, and failure to enforce absolute rigidity in ritual. The two accounts just given by no means illustrate all the variations possible in this dance; others will become evident in descriptions of the rites of Cannibals other than those who can bite the living.

The following is an account of the ritual of a Dog-eating Cannibal, *Gbalo-i*, of *Ilaxil*. Long, long ago one of the ancestors of this man saw a pack of wolves devouring some dogs. In some mysterious way, which even the Bella Coola do not profess to be able to understand, the power of a wolf entered the behalter so that he was impelled to eat dogs. He was then carried away to the mysterious land above where he saw and was endowed by several supernatural beings. The first *Gbalo-i* was able to transmit to one of his relatives his ability to eat dogs, and the prerogative has since been carried out by his descendants. Should the holder of the name fail to call his dancing hat the details of the experiences which are to be embodied in his songs, his successors can obtain them from the singers who, of course, are familiar with the themes used on previous occasions. The repository of the name, *Gbalo-i*, is beneath a huge boulder not far from some carved poles behind the village of *Ilaxil* (see Plate 6). It is said that many years ago some soldiers unauthorized placed poles so lower beneath

[See subpoena 116, p. 84 (2) - Anonymous]

the rock and endeavoured to pry it over, but we
to hear by the sound of the smelling of wolves
from beneath. It will be convenient to refer

After the customary consultation with the
decided that the call shall come to X on the
substance of some other factor. Soon after day
grown and stands up naked, the call has come
as if dazed, tries to talk, but the words seem
mouth. The uninitiated are expelled from
herald goes out, crying through the village:

"X has been entrust with the power of
One is killed and handed to X. He pun
actually gives the body to an assistant who
some hidden spot. As X takes the animal,
"X has eaten a dog."

During the day he leaves his house at intervals
through the village, accompanied by a crowd
arms are held dilated as if holding a burden
to be a dog. As he does so, the herald goes
house crying:

"The Cannibal has eaten a dog," and "The
eaten another dog."

Late in the afternoon the initiates are call
to enter to be him up and to prevent his escape
above. A bear-skin robe is thrown over his
bound about him and weighted with stones, he
and disappears from sight while members of the
high four times and an accomplice situated
pitch from a near-by mountain.* The uninitiated
from adjacent houses, are filled with awe and

The initiates gather once more in X's house
from which he has escaped is hung on the wall.
mended responses on from the solemnity of the

driven away
h came forth
Made i as X.
nevhals, it is
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he begins to
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house and a

g dog."
to eat, but
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orald shouts:

and parades
behavior; his
is supposed
ous house to
Cannibal has

to X's house
to the land
y, a rope is
from himself
society about
ith varying
ed, listening
order.

ave the rope
Anthal after
ression and

* The bear has consists of the Cannibal horse, which [illegible] are anchors. It is unnecessary, for example, to repeat the [illegible] from the bonds and the free-minded [illegible]

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the dangers to which X is exposed, while some of his female relatives weep to further the deception. It is late at night before they finally disperse.

Like other Cannibals, X is now concealed for an indeterminate period of time, during which the uninitiated believe him to be in the land above. It is needless to repeat the details of this part of the rite, our allude to the shaving of X when about to return. Sometimes the mystery is increased by sending a young *hocior* to the mountains with a whistle which he sounds at dawn to prove that X is far aloft. When the time comes for his return, the process of catching him is identical with that already described, except that a dog is used for bait instead of a human being. After the capture, the *hokaciut* drag X, struggling violently, to his house, where a dead dog has been left near the doorway. The Cannibal seizes it and pretends to eat, while a herald announces to every house what he is doing. Accompanied by a *tipsiker of hokaciut*, X goes through the village carrying the carcass in his arms, and carefully shielding his eyes to further the belief, circulated among the uninitiated, that if he should open them, anyone on whom his gaze fell would die. After some of the houses have been visited, the dog is passed to an assistant who conceals it, but those who are not members of the society, having seen him tear chunks from the body and apparently put them in his mouth, naturally assume that the Cannibal has devoured it. This procedure is repeated at intervals throughout the day, and always the herald announces how many dogs X has eaten. The bodies of the animals are weighed with crows and sent in the scales at night.

About 4 P.M. X is given a black bear-skin to which the carpenters have attached the head of his cannibalistic incubus, well, in such a way that it hangs beneath his left arm-pit. Considerable ingenuity is displayed in the manufacture of this. The skin of the head is carefully removed, the bones are cleaned, replaced, and gummed together, and a hidden string enables the wearer to make the animal's jaws clash. With his

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usual escort, X goes to every house in the village; with one hand he shields his eyes, with the other he pulls away pieces of dog flesh, some of which he pretends to eat, while others he thrusts into the wolf's jaws. As he enters, his associates shriek and the women drone. The Cannibal does not circle the fire in each house, merely steps within the doorway and then withdraws, making the round of the village four times. Curiosity impels the uninitiated to peer forth from their bedrooms, and the bloody spectacle increases their fear.

X then returns to his own house where an elaborate structure of rising tiers of steps has been built between the fire and the back-room. The *kakaxiut* take their places on this, while X stands immediately in front, on the left* side. A *kaxiut* brings from the back-room a cedar box with an upright row of eagle feathers around the upper edge; immediately below there is a ribbon-like girdle of dyed cedar-bark, and below that a similar band of undyed bark. He carries the receptacle around the fire, revolving sunwise on himself four times, and sets it down before X. The box contains hot stones and alder dye, but the uninitiated, who have been allowed to crowd within the doorway, do not know this, nor are they aware that a carpenter is concealed behind X to manipulate the head. This accomplice thrusts pieces of meat through the wolf's mouth from the rear so that they fall into the box, as if the animal were vomiting. At the same time he causes the tongue, that of one of the slaughtered dogs, to go in and out, and X pulls the cord so that the jaws clash together. Steam rises from the box as the meat strikes the heated stones as if it were food warm from the stomach; and clever management makes the scene strikingly realistic. The belief is that the dog flesh eaten by X has passed into the wolf and is now being ejected. When enough has been vomited to give countenance to an assumption that all the animals devoured have been voided, the carpenter pulls the head from sight, as if it had suddenly vanished. The *kakaxiut* cry out four times, and someone throws eagle

*The east hence towards.

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down on the fire; these two actions have the effect of "Making smooth the path of the wolf to the place whence it came."

X, now freed from the malignant influence, rushes out, and a number of *dukaciut* accompany him to every house, calling out in effect:

"I have lost my power."

When X returns, he takes a stick and pretends to endeavour to beat out the time of his own song describing his experiences in the land above. Madness overcomes him, however, and he begins to pound rapidly and aimlessly, requiring to be soothed by cries of *hoip*. The singers ultimately chant forth a song supposedly taught them by the Cannibal, but the details of this subterfuge have already been described. Crystals are sometimes thrust into him at this juncture, or the rite may be delayed until the following night. When thus weighted, X retires to his raised platform behind the fire.

The Cannibal remains on this for four days. If necessary for him to leave the house, an accomplice first clears away all uninitiated persons from the vicinity. If, however, X hears the snarling or barking of dogs, he becomes excited and rushes forth. Consequently, the *dukaciut* at intervals bring several animals near to his house and beat them until they yowl. The Cannibal becomes excited, howls like a wolf, rushes out, and, with a few *dukaciut* in attendance, dashes into the lowest house of the village. But the crystals have made him heavy; he can only sit on his heels near the door and gnaw his fingers. The *dukaciut hoip* at him repeatedly, until he is sufficiently pacified to rise and walk out. Then he howls again and runs into the next house, where the same procedure is repeated; every dwelling in the village is visited in this way, X finally returning to the platform in his home. During the four days he repeats this performance whenever he hears the yelping of dogs, whether natural or instigated by his fellows.

On the fifth morning, two *dukaciut* gather chamber-vessels. Later in the day the crystals are extracted and water thrown

* 575 over him,[20] followed by the usual immersion in the river. X
* 796 goes to every house, then returns to his own where another
* 787 song, describing his experiences aloft, is rehearsed. In the
evening the *kukuciut* assemble once more and tie on X a long, tail-like appendage of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. Then a shaman gives him food, and at once he runs to the lowest house in the village. He enters the doorway and calls out:

"I can smell."

This announcement is repeated in every house, signifying that the Cannibal can again appreciate ordinary food.

X spends four more days on his platform, leaving it only when infuriated by the howling of dogs. On the fourth evening the *kukuciut* assemble once more to learn a song of the usual Cannibal type, and to listen to admonitions from the marshals.

For four days longer X is secluded on his platform. In the evening the *kukuciut* gather to practise another song, but this time X dances, while the uninitiated watch with fear and wonder from the doorway. After their departure, X's *spirit* is
[424] extracted. In this particular dance, its removal is the prerogative of a certain *kuciut* who presses his hands along the Cannibal's collar-bone, forcing the malignant muscle-like power upward and outward. Sometimes his first meal is delayed until this has been done.

* 575 This concludes X's dance, though he must obey the same
* 796 restrictions as other Cannibals for the rest of the ceremonial season and, if he is a novice, for the following summer as well.

[424] Other Cannibals have the prerogative of eating raw salmon. Since these are unobtainable during the winter, carpenters construct imitations consisting of skins of trout stretched over wooden frames filled with the flesh of deer, dogs, or trout. The resemblance is increased by a mechanical device which wiggles the tail. The Cannibal rips these apart with his teeth so that the uninitiated see the meat inside, and readily assume that they are real salmon, while their wonder is increased in view of the difficulty, or impossibility, of obtaining fresh fish in mid-winter.

[20] This expels his evil.

[The Cannibal Dance]

The most feared of all Cannibals are those who have the unusual prerogative of eating corpses. At present (1922), there is only one man with this right, whereas at least seven can bite the living. His prerogative was recently obtained from the people of Rivers' Inlet, although the ritualistic devouring of corpses was well known to the Bella Coola in former days. All informants agreed, however, that the actual eating of a body was practically unknown.* Even when one was provided and the Cannibal dragged it from house to house, accompanied by an escort of *kukuxiut*, though he sank his teeth into the flesh and pulled forth morsels of the carcass, he invariably disposed of them as soon as he was out of sight of the uninitiated, as in the case of the dog. Of course, blood and small pieces of flesh must have been swallowed inadvertently, but the rite was always essentially ritualistic, not real. More often, the "corpse" consisted of a wooden frame-work, shaped like a human body, and covered with the scraped skins of deer or dogs. The interior was filled with the flesh of an animal, and the whole buried in the graveyard until the meat had become foul. The uninitiated, from a distance, watched the exhuming of this object and concluded that it really was a long-buried body. Fear prevented them from making a close inspection, so that the defects of the imitation were not apparent. The frames were kept hidden from year to year; an inquisitive non-member who chanced to stumble upon one would have to be initiated or die. 575* 796* [424] [177] [688]

On account of the long time that has elapsed since a complete corpse-eating Cannibal dance was carried out, it was found impossible to obtain a detailed account of the ritual. This deficiency is unimportant since all informants agreed that it closely resembled other Cannibal dances.

Like other Cannibals, one who has the prerogative of eating dead human flesh can perform as often as he desires, subject only to the approval of the marshals, who have no hesitation [424] [787]

*Apart from this ceremonial eating, no trace of cannibalism was found among the Bella Coola. [266]

[The Cannibal Dance]

787 *575 *796 in banning the rite if they do not think the dancer will be able to carry it out properly. When the call comes, the uninitiated are at once expelled from the Cannibal's house; later he rushes [424] to the graveyard and exhumes one of the meat-filled frames previously buried. Non-members watch with horror as he sinks his teeth in the "flesh." Closely guarded, he is then taken to every house where, if they are bold, the uninitiated peer forth from their bedrooms and watch his performance. He carries part of the corpse in his arms and periodically sinks his teeth in the repulsive mass. As usual, apparent attempts are made to tie him to this earth, but in spite of them he escapes to the upper regions where he remains for an unusually long period. Great efforts are made to reduce him to a state of [824] emaciation, for which purpose he drinks large amounts of water in which cedar-wood has been boiled. When the Cannibal ultimately returns to earth, the cannibalistic incubus is expelled and he at length becomes normal. When dancing, a [535] corpse-eater constantly bends both hands towards the floor in front of him and upwards, as though raising some heavy object towards his face. Then his head sinks towards this, only to be thrown quickly upwards and to one side, with a wild expression in his eyes. The uninitiated are told that this represents the manner in which he lifts a corpse towards his mouth and bites, only to be revolted by its putrescence. He has, they hear, no actual liking for human flesh, but his incubus fills him with an irresistible craving for it. Frequently he wears on his blanket wooden representations of skulls (see [532] Plate 7), symbolic of the corpses devoured.

*575 *796 Rarely, a corpse-eating Cannibal kills a slave and pretends to devour his body as a means of impressing the uninitiated,[66] but usually this is done only under the driving force of revenge 567 or jealousy. If a man hears that a near relative, slave of a 648 foreign tribe, has been killed, he often determines to wipe out blood with blood. He consults a corpse-eating Cannibal, and

[66] Eating of corpses has long ceased among the Bella Coola; the present tense is used merely for consistency.

[see category 116, p 164(A)- ANALYST]

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In the course of generations, *Snung* has combined with his self-anthropophagic prerogative that of eating dogs. As already mentioned, such a merging of rights, obtained from different ancestors, is by no means uncommon. The following account of the manner in which he carries out (or carried out, for the dance has not been performed for a number of years) his rite was obtained from one of the Kimsquit marshals. Many details are omitted which have been fully described in former Cannibal dances. It will be convenient to refer to *Snung* as X.

As with other Cannibals, when the call comes to X he begins to cry out and the uninitiated are expelled from his house, but not before they have seen him sink his teeth into his own arm, and apparently inflict a serious wound. In reality the Cannibal usually cuts himself in anticipation, so that the application of his teeth merely serves to reopen the incision and cause the blood to flow freely. Dogs are given to X, as to other dog-eating Cannibals, and he is escorted to every house, so that the uninitiated may stare with awe upon his blood-stained body and dripping jaws. Later, when he and the *ẖukusiut* have returned to the Cannibal's home, a herald goes to every house, announcing that his fellows are going to fasten X. The rope used in this particular rite is long and thin, with a small loop in the centre for his neck. It is forced upon X with the usual struggling, and again the herald makes his round, announcing:

"We are measuring his arms for cords of dyed and undyed cedar-bark."

These too are placed upon him, and the *ẖukusiut* march X, pinioned, to every house, while he growls and gives every indication of being half mad with anger at his bonds. He is taken back to his own house and at intervals throughout the day a herald informs all in the village of the number of dogs he has eaten, and of the number of wounds he has inflicted upon himself.

That night X eludes his captors and is carried away to the

[The Cannibal Dance]

each house in succession, borrowing filled chamber vessels. 575*
Five or six men are waiting for X with these, and as he enters 796*
his house, they pour urine over him. Thus restored to partial sanity, he cries out in a different tone of voice, and at once visits every house. The *kekwaist* are still with him, but need not guard him as closely since he is now less liable to frenzy. The uninitiated are greatly relieved at this removal of peril from among them. Later in the day *kekwaist* go to the different houses, asking for choice salmon-grease with which the Cannibal will later be fed. The giving of the first food to X, the later sending aloft of his call, and the restrictions which he observes for the rest of the winter do not differ from those described for other Cannibals.

Snung's patron is a *snung* of the Mountain which became [796]
petrified in the beginning of time. At his repository there is a [798]
spring beneath a large boulder. Uninitiated persons passing the spot are often terrified by hearing the growling of a Cannibal from beneath the stone. It is in this place that persons [957]
suffering from virulent skin disease are washed by X, as described in a previous chapter.

Few particulars could be learnt of the rite as carried out by *Sqilianlemy*, though it is said to resemble the one just described in every respect. The prerogative was obtained in a vision of [424]
one of the Cannibal's early ancestors, who located the repos- [787]
itory of the name beneath a large, flat stone, directly in the [778]
old trail up the valley. When anyone treads on it, reverberation is heard. The writer was a spectator when the present 575*
Sqilianlemy gave his dance in January, 1924, but the rite was 796*
performed in such a perfunctory manner that little could be 178
learnt from it. The Cannibal wore two bands of dyed cedar-bark on his left forearm, under one of which was a container of red paint. Uttering his cry of *xwa*, *xwa*, *xwa*, and looking around with a wild air, he frequently buried his face in his arm, between the bands. The red paint made a realistic representation of blood, especially as it dropped with red smudges on the floor. On this occasion, the dancer appeared

[The Scratch Dance]

[375] They do not blacken their faces on receipt of a call as do most *Sudaxiai*.

[424] The theme of their songs is of the land above, instead solely of their patrons.

[787] On visiting a house where a potlatch or redbeach is taking place they sit with the Cannibals in one of the back corners; this group is given food before any of the other guests.

[533] They do not exercise their prerogative on fellow-Scratchers, Cannibals, or Breakers.

They are liable to frenzy both when the call is upon them and after its departure. In such cases they run forth, apparently guarded and restrained by other *Sudaxiai*, and rush into every house to frighten the uninitiated.

They must recompense those whom they have scratched.

[378] They act as peace-makers among the *Sudaxiai*, since the necessity of accompanying a Scratcher who pretends to be frenzied overrules all petty causes of strife.

[584] Though any definite concept of graded rank in the *Sudaxiai* society is quite foreign to the Bella Coola, it is generally felt that Scratchers and Breakers are only slightly less important than Cannibals. The patron of every Scratcher is *Sisi'alodzi Alpuxnim*, one of the sons of *Alpuxnim*; this supernatural being scratches the supernatural cross in the land above, and his father alone can restrain him. The prerogative is fairly common, and it is probable that in early days there was at least one Scratcher in every village.

[796] The following account of the ritual was obtained from one of the Bella Coola marshals and describes the manner in which the dance should have been performed by the Scratcher, [424] *Alaxkwaix*, his daughter's daughter's son, who had recently obtained the prerogative formerly possessed by his deceased mother's father. It will be convenient to refer to *Alaxkwaix* as X and use the present tense in recording the proper ritual, though it was largely omitted on the last occasion the dance was given.

X arranges a suitable day with the marshals for receiving

[i.e. - the Scratchers - ANALYST]

the house to serve as targets, and stones as ammunition. As soon as the call comes, X rises out, begins to throw stones at these objects, and the uninitiated are at once impelled. X is usually led, closely guarded, to every house where he casts more sticks, and may break a number of utensils. Since it is well known that, under normal circumstances, he must never throw a stone, the uninitiated are convinced that he must indeed be animated by a strange power. This being continues, the *Iadacrist* gather in X's house during the evening to leave and practise one, or sometimes two, songs for him. If X is a novice, the theme is of his ancestor and the accident which originated the dance; on later occasions it is of his person and the land above. All Breakers do not have *Ainadjiwadahi Ajiwenim* as patron; some have *Iwadibadi*, a supernatural being who causes wealth to rise up and come to him. The chorus is the same as for Screechers, the meaningless words, 'ani, 'ani. It is said that this same refrain is used by the Breakers of all central tribes, so that their songs can be distinguished from those of Screechers only by the words. With the food, presents are given to recompense those on whom X has displayed his prerogative, that is, those whose utensils have been broken. Sometimes canoes and other valuable objects are destroyed by Breakers, depending entirely on their desire to exhibit their right.

Next morning, *naturalibus*, X again becomes frenzied and rushes from house to house, destroying property. Of course this is later paid for, but the uninitiated have no idea that arrangements had been made for the boxes and other objects to be placed in suitable spots. During the day a number of *Iadacrist* are sent to collect wood for nine masks. When members of the society gather in the evening the songs are practised, and the making of the masks allowed. One of these is of *Ainadjiwadahi Ajiwenim*, four are of Breakers in the land above,* four of supernatural beings who sing there for the supernatural Breakers, and one of the inevitable *Ani'kibas*.

*The relation of these Breakers to the patron is not clear.

[The Breaker Dance]

575 *lenis*. X is one of the few *kukusiut* having the prerogative of
796 using supernatural singers. The evening's ceremony concludes
[424] in the usual fashion.

Until the departure of his call, X is liable to fits of frenzy so that on both *gulow* and *nakacaw* he often visits every house and breaks utensils, though his guardians appear to be making every effort to restrain him. Breakers, irrespective of their
[424] exact prerogative, are enabled to act in any unusual manner they desire, and strive to excel in peculiar behaviour. A favourite trick is to smear themselves with excrement, either real or imitation. It is difficult to over-estimate the enormous
[554] prestige which such actions call forth in the eyes of the unini-
787 tiated, to whom it appears that the coming of a call entirely
[828] alters the mentality of the recipient, a belief which the *kukusiut* make every effort to maintain. Nothing further need be said of either *gulow* or the preliminaries of *nakacaw*, both of which follow the usual pattern.

575 When the uninitiated are admitted to X's house on *nakacaw*
796 evening, they are filled with wonder at the sight of the masked
781 singers, of *Sâwâlyumalsi Alqantâm*, and of the four supernatural Breakers who move wildly to and fro as the songs are sung, as if only the eagle down which the *kukusiut* blow upon them restrains them from destroying property. The fluent *Ana'kîtwalsais* makes the most of her opportunity to describe the wonders which are before their eyes. Then the uninitiated are told that it will be safer for them to withdraw, and hurry out. Presently they are startled to hear the sound of people moving, and the four supernatural Breakers, followed by all the *kukusiut*, leave the house and proceed to the lowest one in the village. Around the fire go the masked four, picking up stones and hurling them at any destructible property. Most
[252] houses contain a number of stones which have been used in
[578] boiling liquids, so that there is no lack of missiles. *Kukusiut*
[685] who are wise take care to hide or remove valuable property before this inroad begins, since the wearers of the masks take advantage of the opportunity to destroy the goods of those

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

575 every announcement made to the *kukwisut* on the night of some
996 gathering in the following manner:

As the *kukwisut* are eating, one of the marshals rises, saying:

"I hear a supernatural one close at hand; some powerful being is drawing near."

The other marshals agree that they too hear its approach and the *kukwisut*, always eager for dances, impatiently await further information. After further suspense, one of the marshals announces that it is coming for X. No mention is made of which dance is to be performed, and the information is wrapped in that veil of secrecy so essential to the *kwisut* society that they practise it even among themselves until it becomes habitual. During the night four young *kukwisut* are sent out to the mountains near the village carrying small whistles. The [776] uninitiated, hearing their weird sound, realize that a supernatural being is in the vicinity. This whistling is repeated twice during the night.

575 Sometimes the actual call comes to X on the following
996 afternoon, but more often after the *kukwisut* in the evening.
● 989 When the display, whatever it may be, has taken place, whistling is heard from the mountain slopes. The uninitiated are at once expelled, ignorant, of course, of the fact that the noise is made by *kukwisut* dispatched for the purpose. As they [776] hurry out they are told that the noise is the droning cry of a supernatural being, equivalent to the droning done by *kwisut* women whenever they are present at a manifestation of the supernatural. X, who appears to be listening, calls out:

"Please say what you want, I will do it."

Then he utters a low hoot-like whistle and sits down, while the women drone. When several minutes have elapsed, X moves, sunwise, to another part of the house and repeats his answer to the whistling which is still continuing. This is done a second and third time, but on the fourth, the call is supposed to have entered X, who cowers as if something had struck him, while the women drone more loudly than before. Then sticks are beaten madly four times and a herald goes to every house

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

in the village announcing that a call has come to X. Meanwhile forty or fifty *kukwakas* have surrounded X and accompany him as he leaves his home and proceeds to the end of the village furthest downstream. He enters the lowest house, followed by his escort, and stops before the central fire to call out:

"Please say what you want; I will do it."

He circles the fire, anewise, repeats his call a second time and leaves. The same procedure is repeated in every house in the village, in order from lowest to top, before he returns to his own home. The uninitiated are told that some power has come upon him, but that it is so strange that even he cannot comprehend it. After a short pause, X again sallies forth, accompanied as before, and calls twice in every house of the village. The same ritual is repeated a third time, but on the fourth round, which soon follows, he carries a knife in his hand. Thus it becomes plain to all that X has received power enabling him to have his stomach cut, and the *kukwakas* show signs of grief at the danger to which their fellow is about to be exposed. Needless to say, the delay in interpreting the call adds to the mystification of the uninitiated, and their wonder at X's power. The heralds do their part by repeating his words with their own comments.

When X finally returns to his own house the heralds summon all the *kukwakas* to it and the customary ritual of *kusiutem* takes place. The singers beat out and practice a song composed by one of their members for X, the audience listens attentively and then practices it until all are proficient. The theme of every *kusiutem* song is of the land above and the supernatural beings resident there. The wordless chorus consists of *wai'eyu'ia*, which the Bella Coola state is the refrain of all *kusiutem* dances up and down the coast.

The second day, *wuiuitilap*, a second song is composed and a party sent to the forest to bring in wood suitable for masks. In the evening part of the work is allotted* and the songs practised. For *kusiutem* dances, in addition to masks, a

*Some is kept for a later distribution.

number of puppets is always made. Certain *Sukwiat*, known as *dancer*, have in connection with their dance prerogative, the ability to summon and display supernatural objects in the form of small puppets. These are sometimes person-, more-often-eye, and include not only beings having human form, but snakes, hummingbirds, and other creatures. By calling his being, as *dancer* receives strength which can be transferred to someone else—as the uninitiated believe—by passing it into the recipient's body. Non-members are told that X suffers death from which he is resurrected by his own powers, sustained by those passed into him by other members of the society through the transference of their puppets. The most potent "person-puppet" is the giant toad. It is difficult for a white man to understand how intelligent people, as are many of the uninitiated, can be deluded into believing that the somewhat rudely carved wooden figures which they see moving before them are supernatural beings. Emphasis must again be laid on the awe, mystery, and power of the ceremonies in the eyes of those who do not understand them, and the very great skill shown by the carpenters in making use of hidden strings, trap-doors, and other devices to increase the dramatic effect. Puppets are guarded very carefully by their owners and are usually hidden in some cleft of the mountains. A well-constructed one is used when necessary for many years.

Other preparations must be made for the stomach-cutting. As in all other *Sukwiat* dances, deception is practised and X is not really disembowelled. Instead, a wooden, or copper, frame is made to shield his stomach; over this is arranged the skin of a deer or a dog, cut to cover him from chest to thighs, with even the navel imitated. This camouflage is held in place by his breech-cloth and by a strap passing around his chest. He wears a blanket which conceals most of the fastenings so that the artifice is not noticeable in the dim light of the house. The chief difficulty is to find a dog with skin the same colour as X's. Many animals are killed, and the fur removed by immersion in boiling water, but sometimes half the dogs of a village must

"I will get my puppet-person."

A whistle sounds, the *kulaxiai* women dance and the uninitiated see one of the puppet figures move across the back of the house, though they do not see the concealed cords by which this is managed. The figure disappears as if it had entered its owner who goes to X and makes the motion of passing something into him. The other puppets do likewise. Sometimes the dramatic effect is increased by sending a *kulaxiai* to the roof to strike one of the boards as if the puppet had landed from above with a thump; or the owner may come in from the back-room, walking backwards and drawing his puppet after him by means of a string matching the floor in colour and fastened to his foot. Another device is to have the puppets suspended from the roof by means of similar cords, invisible in the darkness. The owner of one of these takes it in his arms and swallows outwards on himself as he moves to X, and at the same time conceals the figurine beneath his blanket. The last puppet is always the giant cord, the most potent of all.

When X has thus been strengthened for the perils which he is to undergo, a number of the uninitiated are invited to come forward to see him. As they step forth, one of the senior *kulaxiai* kneads with his fingers against the back of the neck of each to strengthen his spirit so that it will not be drawn from him with fatal results. The uninitiated come forward, see X, without realizing that they are really gazing on two individuals, and shudder at a knife which is lying near. This was always of copper or obsidian in the old days.

The actual cutter is one of the uninitiated, though efforts are made to have as operator a son or other near relative of a prominent *kulaxiai* so that he may easily be initiated into the society if anything should go amiss. One informant, who was called upon to act when about fifteen years of age, vividly recalled the experience in the following manner:

He was sitting with ten or twelve lads of his own age, each of whom was asked by a marshal:

After a short interval, she is answered by the singer in the house, women, near corner of the house as follows: 575* 796*

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Lo! there come to earth	the voice of *Snitsmên-a*	to revive
[illegible]		
the one who has an injured breast		

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The general meaning of dancing is obvious, although there are several obscure expressions which serve to increase the wonder and fear of the uninitiated. Silence follows the singing, then whistling is heard and a herald announces that one of the puppet-persons inserted into X has left him and gone to the region above. Similar whistling announces the departure of others at intervals. When several have done so, it is time for the first to return. A thud, made by a hidden accomplice, is heard on the roof and whistling breaks out afresh. Sometimes the puppet-person returns to X, but more often to its mother, and the ceremonies previously enacted is repeated over the body of the dancer who continues to lie as if lifeless. Now and then the uninitiated are invited forward to look at him and they notice that the gaping wound is slowly closing, an easy matter to arrange in the dim light of the house. At intervals the puppet-persons go and return from the land above, and the proceedings are sometimes enlivened by the owners telling a herald, who in turn informs the audience, what the puppet-persons are on its journey aloft. Usually each goes and returns four times in the course of the night. Each of the women selected to sing the mourning songs performs once, standing in a corner of the house and waving a wand wound with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. So the long night passes. Towards dawn continuous whistling is heard. This is made by several men with a whistle apiece; each begins to blow as soon as the breath of his partner is nearly exhausted. It is known to be the voice of *Snitsmên-a*. In Kimsquit, but not in Bella Coola, this is the signal for the entry of the giant toad. Carpenters have made a wooden figure of the amphibian and by means of concealed strings it is

575* 796* 987

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G: McDougall E-1 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 made to hop towards X and bend four times over him. The
*796 wound gradually comes together, and the excitement grows
[593] ever greater. Those near X cry out that his little toes are moving, as indeed they are, then in succession his fourth, middle, first, and big toes begin to twitch convulsively. It is often difficult to find an assistant capable of moving his toes in the proper order.

"He is alive again," call the heralds, and some of the uninitiated come forward to watch the marvel of the dead man's toes moving.

*575 X grows gradually stronger and begins to shake his hands
*796 as if he were trying to dance. Then, in a feeble voice, he begins
593 to sing, though the only word which comes clearly is *Sxitcmdw-a*, the name of the supernatural woman through whose kindly mediation he has been restored to life. This song has actually been composed by the singers and taught by them to X preparatory to the rite. It resembles a shaman's, since it is assumed that X has practically been made a shaman by the intervention of *Sxitcmdw-a*. The singers pretend to be listening intently, and then chant it over, as if they had just learnt it, while X shakes his hands as if dancing. The wailing and weeping of the *kukusiut* women has given place to joy, and those who had been singing mourning songs dance in time to the music. One after the other the *dwayar* who had cast their
*575 patrons into X now go to him to recall them. Each bends over
*796 him and pretends to extract something by pressure with cupped
●787 hands, at the same time crying out *keip*, *keip*.

Each *dwayar* then goes through the motions of casting something up into the air with cries of the same nature; this serves to return his patron to the mysterious region whence it had
*575 come. The uninitiated are now expelled and the *kukusiut* soon
*796 follow, without receiving a meal.[n] Those who have taken a leading part in the ceremony usually linger with the marshals

[n]According to one informant, the youth who cut X's stomach was formerly detained and initiated into the ranks of the *kukusiut*.

to discuss the owner and lay plans for the future, but as it is now daylight they too soon retire to sleep.

The *kaxiam* ceremony resembles a double *kaxiar* rite since it comprises two sets of four days and nights. The one on which X's stomach was cut is considered to be *kaxiamem*. Accordingly, the lowlifs call the *kakaxiar* to X's house early on the afternoon following and the regular ritual of *nacinaxiliq* takes place. Some of the younger men are at once sent to the forest for wood to be made into more masks but, with the love of drama typical of the *kakaxiar*, it is assumed that X himself is too feeble to accompany them. Accordingly his power is transferred to a substitute by means of the frenzied beating of sticks and repeated cries of *kaiji*. On the return of the wood collectors, who carry their burdens as usual on tump-lines and set them down carefully, this power is restored to X in the same manner. The work of making the masks is now allotted. For *kaxiam*, and several other *kaxiar* rites hereafter to be described, the dancer is entitled to show as many of the beings in the Bella Coola pantheon as he desires. Consequently if X is wealthy and wishes to have a spectacular *nakaxiam*, he orders many masks. Then the *kakaxiar* practise a number of songs composed by the singers. One, or sometimes two, prepared for X is coached as if he himself were telling what he had seen in the upper regions. They describe *Alqwstém*, his messenger *Opaliki Alqwstém*, and, especially *Kulelkáwidjut*, the supernatural being whose stomach is periodically cut in the land above. It is he who has entered X and impelled him to suffer the same mutilation from the effects of which *Snitzmém-s* has restored him. X himself usually remains concealed behind the matting in the rear part of the house, but sometimes, if he wishes to practise what he will perform the next night, he comes forward for a rehearsal. He still pretends to be very ill, and instead of dancing in the usual violent manner, totters around the fire, supported by several assistants, while he feebly shakes his hands. The women drone, and the uninitiated in the other houses realize that more exciting events are impending.

* 576 at [illegible], near that village, where it has remained ever since.
* 746 It will be convenient to term *Sundakʼlar* X.

If X wishes to perform, he informs the *ma-thala* of his desire and a suitable time is arranged. On the night of rehearsal for some other *Sacrat*, the call comes to X who indicates that it has taken possession of him by uttering a low vocal whistle and pacing around as if dazed. *Kakacist* accompliers sound whistles from without the house, the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the women dance monotonously. After a few minutes, X walks to the side of the fire nearest the door and again gives his low whistle, still looking around in a puzzled manner. This is repeated a third time at the side of the fire, and a fourth, behind it. Thus the call comes upon him. Hereafter inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. The *Sakacist* begin to assemble in X's house, and assist him by the four times repeated dancing beating of sticks. Next the singers beat out the words of a song already composed for the occasion; the theme for all songs used by Fungus dancers is the land above. The ritual on this night of *Sundmow* is identical with that already described in the earlier *Sacrat* dances.

[187]

* 575 On the day following, *[illegible]*, there is not the cus-
* 746 tomary collecting of wood from the forest. X merely remains
532 quietly within the back-room, visited only by senior *Sacrat* officials and a skilful carpenter. The latter brings a fungus which he has found in the woods; it must be a good specimen of the common semi-circular shelf variety with a clear white surface unspoiled by decay. On this he paints a face, showing eye-brows, eyes, nose, and mouth, and fastens beneath a miniature body made of dyed cedar-bark with grotesque waving legs, terminating in eagle claws (see Plate 10).[1] The total length of the figure is about nine inches. The fungus, with pendant attachment, is fastened near the end of a stout rope of plaited cedar-bark about eight feet in length, so that when this end of the rope is held uppermost, the head of the fungus hangs in a normal upright position. The carpenter starts his work on

[1] [see category 116, p. 164 (D)- ANALYST]

the usual ceremony to drawing forth the fungus and the spectators comment:

"She must be a good girl for the supernatural beings to show their approval." 575* 796*

At intervals X lifts up the fungus, and his strength is shown especially when the cord has been pulled so far down that he can grip only the very end with one finger. The four *kukwiut* hidden below sometimes become weary of their work and tie a billet crosswise to the rope so that no one can lift it, but of course this must be removed when X demonstrates his prowess again. Towards dawn the concealed helpers cut the rope and X lifts the fungus, holding it in front of his body while the *kukwiut* women dance. With four assistants pressing closely around him, X turns and makes the motion of throwing the fungus up into the air with a cry of *hoip*. It vanishes, and the uninitiated do not realize that it has been palmed to one of the accomplices for concealment beneath his blanket. Then one of the marshals explains to non-members that in the land above the supernatural beings once endeavoured to lift up a fungus, but that X alone, referring to that part of him which visits the dances in the land above, could do so. Accordingly it was sent down for mortals to try, and now that they too have failed it has been sent back. He enlarges on the fact that X, through lying quiet for four days communing with the supernatural beings, has really become one, as is indeed the case with all *kukwiut* who ascend to the land above or experience other peculiar incidents in the course of their performances. This concludes the ceremony; the uninitiated are expelled and the *kukwiut* soon follow. [187]

Instead of a *nakwam* of the type just described, X has the prerogative of performing in an entirely different manner of which only the outlines could be obtained. The fungus is tied to a long rope and thrown into the rapids. One end of the cord is held by a *kwiut* on the bank with the result that the fungus whirls to and fro erratically. The *kukwiut* assemble on the bank and hurl harpoons at it while non-members watch 575* 796* 424

[The Mystery Dance]

OF THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

[195] [196] [184] [188] [124]

action, and it is agreed that the call shall come to him on the following evening.

X's first task is to prepare, or to have made for him, a stick which he will use throughout the ceremony. It is of yellow cedar, about five feet in length; its Kimmpsis is adorned with four bands of swan feathers, its Bella Coola with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark.

The following evening the call comes to X. He utters a low whistle, mumbling a hum, goes towards the ground slowly swoons on himself. The *hakusiut* women present begin to dance and the uninitiated are expelled. Constantly turning on himself, X slowly moves sunwise around the flames, repeating his hum three times, once at each side of the fire. He stands behind it and calls out loudly:

"Please say exactly what you want; whatever it is, I will do it."

After the customary frenzied howling, he withdraws to the back-room. Heralds go to all the houses, reporting what has taken place and summoning the *hakusiut*. When all have gathered, X appears and asks for the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a dance-apron. These are provided, put on him and his face is blackened. Under the guidance of a marshal or singer, the *hakusiut* men beat furiously on the floor, without time or rhythm, until the leader motions them to conclude with four thunderous beats. In the stillness that follows X begins to chatter loudly, without using exact words, and everyone realizes that this is an invitation to guess who are the three supernatural beings in whom his power is localized. Sometimes the meaning is made still more evident by his carrying the stick previously mentioned, which is the prerogative of Mystery dancers alone. The guests enter into the spirit of the dance and call out their guesses, naming little known supernatural beings, parts of beings, or manifestations of the supernatural; sometimes three or four answer at the same time. The four remembrancers have placed themselves near X and it is their duty to recollect the replies. When *hakusiut* alone

2:McIlwraith R-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

[The Dance of Thunder]

the uninitiated are expelled. If several *kukusiut* in the same village are protégés of Thunder, each makes a circuit independently, but they agree to meet afterwards in the house of one of their number. Here all members of the society assemble for a meal provided hurriedly by X, or to a number of meals if several have Thunder as patron; in this case there is no pooling of food. The marshals take the opportunity of giving their customary admonitions, as if it were midwinter. Next the singers combine their ideas and beat out a new song of which the theme is Thunder who never rests; it is worded as if X were speaking and describing what his patron is doing. This song is sung and resung until all present have learnt both tune and words. If there are several *kukusiut* with Thunder as patron, a song is made for each and practised in the same manner. 575* 796* [533] [533]

When all is ready, one of the heralds calls in the uninitiated. Each song is sung to the accompaniment of beating sticks while a dancer performs. Instead of X, this is an old man or woman who has not had a call for many years. Often the *kusiut* selected is so old that he or she can dance only with the support of a stick; no reason could be learnt for this surprising deviation from the usual practice. If several songs have been composed, a new dancer performs to each. After the last dance the uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* soon follow. Since no call has come, it follows that it is of a ceremonial, though not of a sacred nature, and does not take the regular course of winter dances. It is said to "make good the path of Thunder," the term employed being identical with that used for the dance on *nakusam* after the burning of the masks. [787]

Nothing more need be said about the Thunder dance, except to give the following origin myth: 575* 796*

Long ago, long before the white man came to this land, but still longer after its first settlement, four brothers left Kimsquit to hunt mountain goats on Mount *Tcaqsekx'*, near the Kimsquit River.[10] It was September; 539 821

[10] This mountain is also known as Hump-back Salmon Mountain; its shape resembles the fish in question and it is said that long ago, in the very beginning of time, a salmon became petrified there. [103]

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cure previously described. To the Bella Coola philosopher, apparently no explanation is needed of the manner in which *Saiks* was allowed to use his experience as the basis of a *kusiut* dance. The assumption is that he was a *kusiut* at the time of his experience, although this is not clearly stated. The last to use the name died about 1910, each *Saiks* having had the prerogative of giving the Thunder dance.

THE GHOST DANCE[a]

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796*
[775]
[750]
[424]

Among the numerous patrons of *kusiut* dancers are Ghosts. The term, *ástanhots*, applied to a shaman whose power is derived from a ghost, is also applied to *kusiut* with one as patron, but the two functionaries must not be confused. It is a fairly common prerogative and there are Ghost dancers in every village, their right depending in every case on some experience of an ancestor with a ghost. The following is an account of the manner in which *Septes* of *Tsomsil* performed his ritual; it may be regarded as typical of all, and the dancer can be referred to as X.

At any time during the ceremonial season X consults with the marshals to decide upon a suitable time for his performance. On the evening preceding, normally the *qothw* of some other *kusiut*, the marshals state that his call is imminent; X makes his final arrangements and asks the assistance of a number of his fellows.

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When the *nalusam* rites of the following evening have been completed and the uninitiated have returned to their own houses, they are startled to hear whistling from the forest near at hand. It is not the instrumentally produced sound that accompanies the coming of a call, but tuneless whistling with the mouth; everyone knows that this is the language of ghosts. A visitation from them is by no means unknown, and always dreaded, so at once there is excitement and everyone cowers in the bedrooms. Presently heralds go through the village

[171]

[a] No relationship is implied with the dance of the same name among Indians of other culture areas.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Ghost Dance]

*575 *996 ●787 [302] announcing that the dead have come with a call for X. Meanwhile a number of *kukusiut* assemble in the dancer's house where he strips off his clothing and covers himself with dirt and ashes. In all other *kusiut* dances the performer endeavours to beautify himself, or at least to blacken or paint his face according to some definite pattern, but X's aim is to imitate the appearance of the dead who are notoriously untidy.

After some delay, X rushes forth in the midst of his escort and enters the lowest house of the village. The frightened uninitiated are hiding in their bedrooms, but they peer through cracks and watch X as he bends to the floor, picks up handfuls of dirt and throws them wildly in all directions, heedless of what damage he may do. It is obvious that he is frenzied and mad, like Cannibals who have received their calls. His *kukusiut* associates pretend to restrain him, but he always outwits their efforts and continues to hurl dirt. At last he withdraws, moves to the next house and there repeats the performance. This is done in every dwelling in the village. Most of the uninitiated in X's own house leave it as soon as the *kukusiut* began to assemble, and by this time all others have fled, so that when the party returns there are only members of the society present. The frightened non-members hear the frenzied beating of sticks as efforts are made to cure X of his madness, but without avail. Soon a sound of wailing is heard, and the heralds come around announcing that X has vanished—the dead have taken him. The *kukusiut* spend the rest of the night in his house, silently listening to speeches from the marshals, and disperse about dawn.

X's sojourn in the land of the dead is of varying length. Occasionally he returns on the night of his disappearance, having been absent only a few hours, or he may remain in hiding for several weeks. The usual time for his reappearance is the night after his departure, and with him always come a number of ghosts. The ritual on his return is always the same, irrespective of the duration of his absence.

At dusk the heralds call the *kukusiut* to X's house where

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Ghost Dance]

they sit in silence, awaiting his arrival. Presently word is sent 575*
to him, for he is always hiding near, and he comes through the 796*
door and sits near the fire. But he does not resemble the man
who left the village. His face and body have been stained [787]
green with crushed leaves, in imitation of the colour of the [302]
dead; in his hand he carries a bone, said to be part of the leg
of a dead man, though in reality it is from a deer. After him
the ghosts enter one by one. They are a number of *kukusiut*
who have been painted black and green to give them an un- [302]
earthly appearance; there is no fixed pattern, each following
his own, or the carpenter's ideas of the uncanny, though the
body colour on which the other tints are smeared is usually
white. Each dead man has a special name and each acts
accordingly in an eccentric way. One enters walking back-
wards, another hops on one leg, and a third walks on his
hands—because ghosts always act in the opposite manner to [775]
mortals. Each trills in a peculiar way and performs something
like a dance, waving his arms to and fro, up and down, con-
stantly pointing with one finger, before lying down close to the
central fire. With them enters a woman with painted face,
clad in a blanket and carrying a basket on her back; she is [776]
Alfwulus, who gathers berries in the land of the dead. She
begins to go around picking up any small articles that she sees
and depositing them in her basket, from which anyone picks
them out at will and returns them to the places whence they
had been taken. One of the first actors to appear carries a
stick for time beating, and acts as leader of the ghost singers.
Whenever a spark from the fire lights on one of the dead,
causing the latter to jump, the leader pounds violently with
his stick. When all are present, the leader beats time and they
prepare to leave. Ghosts are feckless, however; consequently, [775]
instead of going straight to the door, some go in one direction,
some in another, but all are at length shepherded outside. X
and his visitors, with a large number of *kukusiut*, go to every
house in the village repeating the same procedure, in silence,
except for the trill of the dead men. The uninitiated do not

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Ghost Dance]

qothm. When the dance has ended, X gives presents; first to each spectator, and then to those who have assisted him, starting with the singers. This is the last event of the evening and the *kukusiut* disperse. 575* 796* [431]

The factor of doing things in the reverse order appears not only in actions, but in the order of the ceremonies. Those just described, although at the beginning of the rite, resemble a *nakusam* in many respects. Consequently, it is not surprising that the next night is *qothm*. The singers are the first to assemble and they compose a second song for X, with the same theme but different words and tune to that already prepared. [533] Meanwhile the *kukusiut* are gathering and when they have learnt the new song, the uninitiated are summoned. No enclosure has been built, and X is much in evidence. His body has been painted green with a preparation of grass rubbed in [302] water, he wears the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a kind of head-dress with a triangular projection over his forehead. [292] His two songs are sung, and X dances vigorously to each in the manner just described. This is followed by the customary *qothm* ritual, *kusiut* after *kusiut* dancing as the singers beat out his two songs. Finally a Cannibal begins to growl fiercely in one of the rear corners and the uninitiated flee hurriedly. The *kukusiut* eat together, listening to the admonitions and remarks of the marshals, and then X dances once more. Among the peculiarities of the Ghost dance is the fact that the call may be returned at this point, or X may again become mad, according to the wishes of the marshals. If they desire a further display of his insanity, he rushes out as soon as he has finished dancing and proceeds to the lowest house of the village. A number of *kukusiut* follow him and appear to be trying to prevent him from picking up handfuls of dirt from the floor and throwing them in all directions in an aimless manner. As a matter of fact his guardians take care that X hurls approximately the same amount in each house, as none of them is willing to have more damage done in his own house than in others. After a visit to each dwelling, the party returns to 575* 796* 787

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[The Ghost Dance]

*575 *796 [787] X's, where he is soothed by the four times repeated frenzied beating of sticks and his call returned whence it came.

During the rest of the ceremonial season X becomes mad at intervals and displays his insanity by rushing to every house and throwing dirt and sand. His *kukusiut* escort is always with him, and the procedure is identical with that already [424] recorded. X makes no recompense for the damage inflicted, so it is probable that his fellows do not regard his dance as an unmitigated pleasure, but nothing can be done to deter him from exercising his prerogative.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CHARMER

*575 *796 776 Although the Bella Coola are probably as moral as members of any other tribe, they enjoy humour of an obscene nature, and a dance which never fails to provide amusement is that of the Supernatural Charmer. The patron of this is *Sximsximdł*, [522] [831] a beautiful, unmarried, feminine being who is also termed *Ałiqmân i* and *Nuxkmâlsaix*. She is thought to disregard the efforts of her supernatural relatives to restrain her, and comes to this earth where she bestows her favours not only on human beings, but on animals. Her protégé at Kimsquit is a young [551] man, *Ełâlaiuks*, at Bella Coola, a young woman, *Kwałâkmus*; [562] like all other *kusiut* names these can be used either by men or [424] women. It is said that *Ełâlaiuks*'s prerogative is derived from the experience of an ancestor in past ages, whereas that of *Kwałâkmus* was initiated three generations ago by a very powerful chief. The ritual in each case is identical, so the dancer [533] can be referred to as X. Each has the prerogative of singing [532] not only of *Sximsximdł*, but also of the being known as *Winwinsmał*. Many masks are required at the *nałusam* of either of these beings, so it is customary for X to perform with respect to *Sximsximdł* one year, and to *Winwinsmał* at the next or a subsequent ceremonial season, though the actual songs always refer to both patrons.

*796 *575 When X wishes to dance he consults the marshals, obtains their consent, and then makes final arrangements on, normally,

[The Octopus Dance]

*575 Cannibal begins to growl and soon the *kukusiut* are left alone
*796 in the house. The singers beat out a new song for X and the ritual continues like that of any other *lsuxtämem*. No description is needed for the ceremonial that occurs on *nusiuṭälsap* and *qothm*.

On the evening of *nebusam* the uninitiated are summoned in due course. The exact number of masked figures shown could not be learnt, but among them is always an octopus. [532] The rite concludes in the usual manner.

The presents given in connection with the Octopus dance [431] are more valuable than those bestowed at most *kusiut* rituals, accordingly none but wealthy people are able to carry it out. [556] The heralds especially are always beneficiaries.

THE DANCE OF THE DARK-SHADE

*575 One of the most peculiar and irregular of *kusiut* dances is
*796 that performed by a certain *Kälqam*, whom it will be convenient to call X. His patron is the supernatural woman *Stcqwastlustwi*, Dark-Shade, whose home is beneath the thick ever- [770] greens of the river valleys, thus explaining the darkness and shadows found in such places. X's repository is beneath some [778] large cedars near the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, a few hundred yards above the end of the fiord; it is probable that other dancers with the same patron have repositories in other dark and gloomy spots.

When X wishes to dance he must as usual obtain consent from the marshals who insist that he delay his performance until after the solstice at earliest. The reason is because his [796] patron, Dark-Shade, alone of all supernatural beings, has the power to open every repository; X brings her to the village and [787] in consequence calls come to many *kukusiut*,[188] which would be undesirable during the first few weeks of the season. On *575 the evening of the day selected for the beginning of the dance,
*796 X steals away from the village with three or four *kukusiut*,

[188] The implication in this case is that calls come from repositories, not from the land above, the customary source.

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[The Dance of the Dark-Shade]

preferably skilled carpenters. Heralds visit every house in the village informing all that X has gone to meet, or to wait for, Dark-Shade. 575* 796*

Meanwhile X and his companions are utilizing the last hours of daylight in collecting a large quantity of gum. They build a fire, and by its flickering light the dancer is coated with gum so carefully that even his teeth and nails are invisible; in this disguise he represents Dark-Shade. Early the following morning the singers and those *kukusiut* who have already danced during the current season set off on lashed canoes to meet X and his party whom they take on board. Waiting till the tide is favourable, the canoes are slowly poled up the river. As they come in sight of the village, the singers strike up some well-known tune, and in time to it everyone on the platform between the canoes begins to dance, each using the style proper to his prerogative. It is an animated scene. The uninitiated watch the approach, and gaze with wonder upon the strange dark figure; it is all so uncanny that they need little urging from the *kukusiut* to withdraw to their houses, where they peer curiously through chinks in the walls. Members of the society line the river bank and, as Dark-Shade draws near, one after another cries out that a call has come to him. The marshals have previously decided who shall dance at this time and informed those selected; sometimes it is a *kusiut* who has already performed once during the season, or it may be a person who has not performed for many years. [535] [424] 575* 796* 787

All the *kukusiut* accompany Dark-Shade and her escort to X's house from which all uninitiated have long been expelled. The singers compose a new song of which the words are arranged as if Dark-Shade, not X, were speaking. The theme of one, used a number of years ago, is: 575* 796* [533]

"Let X fetch me to visit mortals."

Unfortunately, the details of X's dance were unavailable. Dark-Shade herself remains for four days hidden within X's house, though he attends the ceremonies of other *kukusiut* and his presence there on the nights of *qothm* and *nebusam* is a

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*575 *796 source of awe to the uninitiated, who marvel that a man can still appear like an ordinary mortal when he has just brought a supernatural visitor home. According to one informant who, however, is not well posted on *kusiut* matters, there is neither *qothm* nor *nebusam*, and Dark-Shade is merely sent away after four days. This may be the case, but the dance has not been carried out for many years, and the man frankly admitted that he did not know the details. It seems more likely that there [533] is some kind of ceremony, since a song would not be composed unless for a definite purpose.

*575 *796 ●787 424 The coming of Dark-Shade complicates the *kusiut* ceremonial since a number of dancers receive their calls simultaneously. In this case the ritual is carried out in unison which requires, for example, the composition of one song for each performer on *Isxtämem*. Calls never come in this way to dancers with important or complicated prerogatives, but it is a useful means of dealing with those whose right is merely to sing of their patrons. On *nebusam* the patrons of all are displayed, a method which has the advantage of producing a dramatic effect which would be lacking if only one were in evidence. The coming of a call by means of Dark-Shade is called *twilmdimut*, "Emerging from Below to Plain Sight." Another time when several calls may come simultaneously to different *kukusiut* is at the winter solstice when, on the entry of *Älquntäm*, the supernatural beings rush forth and some of them fall, causing calls to come to their human protégés.

THE DANCE OF THE STONE MAN

*575 *796 *Yuyulmgl*, the man who was petrified with his Ootsa Lake wife and four children at the beginning of time, is patron for a [776] Kimsquit *kusiut* man named *Kwasta*. His repository is just [424] above high-water mark on the east side of Dean Channel, about [551] five miles from its head, and about one hundred and fifty feet [778] north of the legal fishing boundary. This is almost immediately opposite *Yuyulmgl*'s station. The repository is beneath the ground, and its doorway is a beaver which became

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424 mortal watched until the unfortunate *Nuxuicuxnam* had almost vanished
* 575 from sight. Then a sound betrayed her to *Ăxe'likwelxaix*.
* 796 "If you are a mortal," she said, "come in."
The woman did so, and *Ăxe'likwelxaix* continued:
539 "I am *Ăxe'likwelxaix*. You have found me, hence I give you a *kusiut* dance prerogative. You will have *Nuxuicuxnam* as patron."

The woman returned to her home, where she performed a *kusiut* rite in which she portrayed the sinking of *Nuxuicuxnam* into the earth.

ORIGIN MYTH OF A PECULIAR REPOSITORY

In the beginning of time there came down to *Xmaxets*, a point a little distance below Mount *Nuxqalst*, a woman whose name was *Spuxpuxhailaix*. *Ălquntăm* had given her a *kusiut* prerogative with a peculiar
[778] repository in four parts, as if two were in either hand. Their names were *Spelyădjutăn-a*, *Sxa-lutsmăn-a*, *Sinlan-i*, and *Samsiutăn-i*. When she
[532] danced she wore a wooden head-dress representing Woodpecker, and the masks used (her patrons?) were the sun when it is red, and an eagle. This dance has since been carried out from generation to generation by the owners of the name *Spuxpuxhailaix*.

Kusiut Prerogatives Other Than Dances

424 The most valuable possession of a *kusiut* is the dance which
* 575 he has the right to perform, but each member of the society has,
* 796 in addition, a somewhat peculiar object, sometimes material and sometimes intangible, known as a *skusiut* or *yeaxmax*. The meaning of these two terms will become evident in the description of their uses, meanwhile they can be termed "prerogatives." With every call, this possession of the dancer's comes
• [787] automatically to him, though it can also be attracted to him by other means and without a call. There is no connection between the patron and the prerogative; for example, one *kusiut* who has one of the sons of *Ălquntăm* as the former has, as the latter, the Hummingbird. Another may have Fog, Sleep, a Snake, or one of many other objects, animate or inanimate. The "patron-puppets" described in *kusiotem* rites belong to this class.

In almost every case the origin is lost in antiquity, and the owner knows only that it belongs with his dance.

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Few prerogatives are used when the uninitiated are present; they are essentially secret, but provide considerable amusement and are a welcome interlude in the serious rites. When the prerogative is made visible, carpenters must be employed to make it, and be paid for their work; hence this part of the ceremonial is often omitted. When no handicraft is required, it is more frequently called into play, but even in such cases its employment is not universal. Not being an essential part of the *kusiut* rites, the use or omission of a prerogative is a matter which concerns the dancer alone, and he acts strictly in accordance with his own wishes, whether or not he desires the ceremony to be aco mpanied by every possible show. It is impossible to estimate with accuracy the relative frequency of employment, but it is probable that prerogatives of the type under consideration are used in about one-third of the *kusiut* ceremonials.

424 575* 796* 183 [532]

If a dancer decides to display a material prerogative, he consults with a carpenter before the coming of his call and asks him to make, for example, a wooden Hummingbird. On the night of *'nuxtāmem*, when all the *kukusiut* are present, the bird is seen to move across the back-wall of the house, pulled by concealed strings. The dancer rushes to it and appears to catch it, in reality hiding it beneath his clothing. The women drone and the heralds announce to the uninitiated in the neighbouring houses what has taken place. Carefully holding his hands cupped, as if clutching something of great value, the dancer moves to the centre of the house and returns the bird to the land above by throwing his hands upwards while the *kukusiut* call out *hoip*. This is the usual procedure when the prerogative is a bird, a small mammal, or a reptile. The same ceremonial is often repeated on the night of *nusiutālap*, particularly if the ritual proper to the occasion does not suffice to occupy the requisite time. If the prerogative is immaterial, the ritual differs. For example, when it is Fog, the dancer stretches his hands upwards, as if receiving something from above, and then makes the motion of throwing this "some-

424 575* 796* 787 [532]

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424 thing" into one of his companions. The recipient acts as if
* 575 blinded, staggering around the house and colliding with articles
* 796 of furniture or his fellows. One after another receives the
787 same present, until perhaps half the company are acting as if moving in a dense mist. Sometimes they reel from the house, falling into bushes and walking into the walls of other houses, as if deprived not only of sight but also of all sense of direction. The prerogative of Fog was given to *Ninitsamlaix* (II, p. 244), but many other *kukusiut* enjoy the same right from other sources. After a short interval, the dancer goes to the victim and makes the motion of drawing something from him, thus restoring his sight and sanity. Fog is then returned aloft in the manner described for a Hummingbird.

When first told of this custom, difficulty was experienced in visualizing the attitude of the *kukusiut* to what they realize is a mere dramatization, lacking the presence of the uninitiated to give it zest and purpose. When several performances of this type had been witnessed, the difficulty vanished. The *kukusiut* enter whole-heartedly into the spirit of the affair, regarding it as a game, and yet as a game in which they must acquit themselves creditably. Each recipient endeavours to
[522] excel his fellows in the realism of his performance, and his blind staggers never fail to cause merriment. The Bella Coola delight in acting, and this is an occasion on which they can indulge their tastes to the utmost, without fear of disaster if an error should occur, such as hampers them in the presence of the uninitiated. Moreover, each strives to assist the performer, and these two reasons combine to make the whole a success.

Although these prerogatives are often used on the nights of *lxustämem* and *nusiustälsap*, the time most suitable for their appearance is during the ritual of *sawadjut*, which may be translated as, "The Restful Ceremony." The Bella Coola say that the word is derived from *sawa*, a pillow, and that the meaning of *sawadjut* is a ceremony of "Pillowness," that is, resting, combined with pleasant relaxation. In spite of the number

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of prerogatives, it sometimes happens that a week or more elapses without a *kusiut* wishing to perform. In such a case the marshals instruct the heralds to summon the *kukusiut* for the Restful Ceremony to a house from which the uninitiated have been expelled. When all have assembled, the singers beat out the song of any *kusiut* and the audience joins in, although the owner does not dance. Song after song is repeated, the singers choosing particularly those which they fear may be forgotten. The uninitiated, who hear the singing from the adjacent houses, wonder what it may signify. The marshals arrange with a *kusiut* willing to receive his prerogative, and soon after midnight this person puts on a ceremonial collar, even though no call has come to him, and is ready to play his part. Sticks are distributed and one of the singers leads the audience in frenzied beating. This suffices to bring the intangible prerogative to the willing *kusiut*, who makes the motions of catching something in his upstretched hands while the women drone. Amid the continued pounding of sticks, the dancer circles the house and presently throws what he has received to one of his fellows. The actions of the recipient of Fog have already been described, but there are intangible prerogatives of other kinds. One of these is Rabbit; the owner hops in imitation of the animal to any *kusiut*, presses his cupped hands against the other's chest, and the latter likewise begins to hop. He in turn passes it to a third, he to a fourth, until finally the owner withdraws his prerogative and returns it above. The *kukusiut* become so interested that they often forget to continue the beating of sticks, a matter of no importance since no uninitiated are present. No one offered the prerogative from the owner ever declines; to do so would expose him to ridicule and a refusal is unthinkable according to an elderly Bella Coola. Another prerogative of the same type is an Adze, in which case the possessor pretends to be using that tool. When finally withdrawn by the rightful owner, he often makes the motion of throwing it on a rafter instead of sending it back above; in this case it can be used

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424 again later in the season without being brought from above.
* 575 A Bat prerogative impels the owner, and likewise the tem-
* 796 porary possessor, to move lightly to and fro like a bat; it can
787 be thrown from one side of the house to the other, and is "caught" with arms stretched far above the head. Sleep, like Fog, can be projected into a number of individuals simultaneously, and causes all to slumber; while Anger causes everyone to fight with his neighbour. Still another prerogative of the same class is Ants. Some dancers have Bull-roarers, as is also true for some *sisaok* dancers. Details of their use were unobtainable.

Although these prerogatives always amuse and please the *kukusiut*, they also have two serious aspects. The insertion of one strengthens a *kusiut*, and in the case of a Cannibal, Scratcher, or Breaker causes him to become frenzied. Whenever this happens he rushes forth to all the houses, frightening the uninitiated, always attended by a band of *kukusiut*. Moreover, the injection of a prerogative so stimulates a *kusiut* that he is more liable to receive a call. As many as fifty *kukusiut* may have prerogatives of this type thrust into them during a single "Restful Ceremony." Of course not all of them receive calls, but one or more of them is likely to do so. The writer endeavoured to investigate the attitude of the Bella Coola on this point. Only *kukusiut* are concerned, since they alone can have this power inserted into them. They realize the deceptions practised by the society, and no individual interviewed claimed to have been so strengthened that he received a call, yet all stated that this had been the case with others. There is no doubt that the projection of a prerogative directs the recipient's attention to *kusiut* matters, and may often lead him to the point of giving his dance. In any event, the "Restful Ceremony" gives the marshals an opportunity to stimulate the interest of the members of the society, and to impress on them the desirability of dancing. The uses of "patron-puppets" have already been described.

In addition to these prerogatives, which normally remain

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in the land above and come to their owners only on special occasions, there are four of similar type considered to remain constantly within the possessor's body from the time of his admission, with respect to the name with which the right is associated. One of these, the use of crystals for initiation purposes, has already been described. The others are *nixobäxta*, *lsubilta*, and *sio°msta*, all untranslatable terms.

One use to which the first of these prerogatives is put is to encourage the *kukusiut* to hasten to the house in which a ceremony is taking place. Delay is part and parcel of all dances, but particularly on *lsuxtämem* and *nusiutälsap* the *kukusiut* are often very slow in arriving. In such a case the dancer himself, one of his friends, or a marshal, may ask the owner of a *nixobäxta* prerogative to perform. It will be convenient to refer to this *kusiut*, who may be man or woman, as X.

The uninitiated have been told that X carries in his right knee a rock crystal which he can thrust into anyone through the anus. The *kukusiut* do not share the belief, but they have acted for so long as if they did, that it is probable that they almost place credence in it themselves. When X performs, he leaves the dancer's home and goes in a crouching attitude, yelling fiercely, to the lowest house of the village. As he enters, the uninitiated flee to the bed-rooms, but peer curiously and fearfully through the cracks. X rushes to and fro, still crouching, while the *kukusiut* appear to be trying to avoid him, but at last he seizes either a man or a woman. In spite of his victim's well-simulated struggles, X makes the motion of thrusting something into him, whereupon the person cries out as if in pain and pretends to be nauseated. Away rushes X, enters the next dwelling, and does the same. This is repeated in every house in the village. As they go to the house in which the ceremony is taking place, the victims pretend to be suffering from a stomach-ache, caused by the foreign substance within them, and this pretence is maintained after their arrival. After some delay, X takes a stick and beats furiously four or five times with it, while the singers accompany

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424 him with sticks and drums. Following another pause, he does
* 575 this once more, causing the return to him of the crystals. The
* 796 heralds visit the different houses to report what has taken
place and the regular ritual of the evening continues in due
● 787 course.

Occasionally the *nixobäta* ritual is elaborated to impress the uninitiated. Within this century a woman received a crystal in this manner and, so non-members were told, it became stuck so that the owner could not recall it. In this case two *kukusiut* were in grief; the woman who had lost her crystal, and the one who had it within her body. The former went from house to house for several days, weeping and asking that the *kukusiut* insert their prerogatives into the possessor's body to drive out the crystal, while the sufferer maintained a crouched attitude as if in intense agony. Her home was in *Qomqo·ts*, but she went even to *Sinxl* to see whether the *kukusiut* there could not help her. Meanwhile the uninitiated were both amazed and impressed. After several days the marshals of the two villages decided to try in unison to force out the crystal. It was day-time, and they gathered around the stricken woman in an open spot between the two villages, while the uninitiated peered with interest from the background. One *kusiut* after another called his intangible prerogative to himself and passed it into the sufferer, and after each insertion the owner of the crystal tried to withdraw it, but without avail. After each failure, the one who had used his possession recalled it to himself by pressing with cupped hands and calls of *hoip*, then sent it back above. Throughout the ceremony, a man with a loud voice kept informing non-members which prerogative was being tried. At the insertion of Ants, and again of Anger, the sufferer reeled, but the owner of the crystal could not bring it forth. It had been decided that a Bird-Arrow was to be the successful prerogative, and when this was inserted by its owner, the woman staggered, fell, and rolled wildly on the ground, her arms and legs flying apart in all

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directions. Then the joyful owner was able to draw back her crystal and the sick woman at once recovered. 424 575 *

Another prerogative of the same nature is *Isubilla*. As the *kukusiut* are gathering and before the main ceremonial of the evening, the man or woman with this prerogative can display it if he so desires. He stands up, stamps, then bends down and begins to beat with a stick on the floor; the singers, who know what is to take place, quickly join in. This serves to concentrate the performer's power, consisting of the ability to scratch the external genital organs. The sticks continue to sound as the performer moves about the house, acting in accordance with his right, and at the same time rolling his eyes and licking his lips. Choosing either man or woman as he desires, he calls out his name, and the person addressed must come forward to take his hands. The power is thus transmitted and the one so chosen begins to scratch, with the same accompaniment of rolling eyes and licking lips. 796 * 787

"It is sweet," he cries.

The power is then returned to the owner, who later passes it to another victim, until the marshals decide it is time to proceed to the main rites of the evening. The use of this prerogative is a source of never-ending amusement to the *kukusiut*. The only explanation given of this somewhat peculiar ability is that it is practised by the supernatural beings in the land above. Like every other *kusiut* rite, it can be performed only by a person who owns a name in which it is embodied. [522] [776]

Sio'mstu, the third of these prerogatives, is to imitate the action of holding sexual intercourse. Like the last, its use is limited to the house in which a dance is taking place, and can be carried out only while the audience is waiting for the main ceremony. The performer, man or woman, stands up with a rope pressed close across his stomach, held with hands clenched at the hips. It is said that in this position nothing can pass behind him. The singers and other *kukusiut* begin to beat time to concentrate the actor's power as he stamps around in a crouching posture, crying *hoip* and shaking his hips. Pre- 424 575 * 796 * 787 831 522

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424 sently he begins to grunt, and calls the name of either a man
*575 or a woman. The person so designated must take the per-
*796 former's hands, thus assimilating his power, and in his turn
787 begins to shake and grunt, amid the laughter of all. Presently
831 the "gift" is returned, and later passed to another recipient.
522 Sometimes a modest woman shakes her head instead of her
[776] hips, to the intense amusement of the audience. After some
time the owner draws his power to himself and the main cere-
mony of the evening proceeds. It is said that the supernatural
beings above perform *sio°msta*.

The Death of a *Kusiut*

*575 A detailed description of *kusiut* dances and ritual has now
766 been given, but certain special features still remain. One of
*796 these is the method of disposal of the body of a dead member
787 of the society. In dances which are completed in four days,
there is little likelihood of the performer's death, but this is
by no means uncommon during the long seclusion of a Can-
nibal for example. In this case there is no wailing, and the
death is concealed from the uninitiated, sometimes even a wife
being kept in ignorance of her husband's decease. A mask
representing the patron of the dead man is hung in the house
behind the fire as a constant reminder of what must be done.
From the ceremonial point of view, the serious aspect lies in
the fact that a call has come which has not been sent back, and
which cannot be sent back by the receiver. The marshals
discuss the matter and agree that it must pass to some *kusiut*,
a near relative of the deceased, who is informed of the decision
and does not dare refuse, even if he should wish to do so. After
a delay of two or three days, the body is taken secretly to the
grave and buried, while the *kukusiut* sing the dead person's
song. This causes the call to shift to the chosen relative who
completes the ceremony in due course. In the case of a
Cannibal, for example, a considerable amount of time is al-
lowed to elapse, and meanwhile the uninitiated are told that
the *kukusiut* are still waiting and watching for his return.

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When all hope has been abandoned, they are summoned and the relative completes the ceremony, doing only that part of it left undone by the original recipient of the call. The principle is the same as that described when a novice dies, that someone must finish the rite. This aspect of the *kusiut* ceremonial is still preserved tenaciously as the writer found to his cost. It was proposed that he be formally initiated into the society, but this was not allowed on the ground that he would not be present the following winter to complete the rites necessitated by the coming of the call. 575* 796* 766 787 [123]

The Final Rite

The commencement of the *kusiut* season is regulated by the coming of *Noäkxnum*, but its conclusion is a matter of arrangement. By February the number of *kukusiut* wishing to dance has become negligible and the marshals decide to terminate the ceremonial season. It must be remembered that an enclosure has been built in every house where an important *kusiut* dance has taken place, and that as long as these are in existence the uninitiated have not been allowed to live in those houses. The social life of the community has accordingly been profoundly disturbed. Of course several dances may have taken place in a single dwelling, but even allowing for that, the fact remains that the uninitiated have been forced to dwell temporarily in perhaps only one or two houses. The most obvious mark of the end of the ceremonial season is the destruction of these enclosures. 575* 796* 591 784

A few nights after the last *nebusam*, the heralds summon the *kukusiut* to the house in which it took place. They sit down but the usual droning is omitted. Presently sticks are distributed and one of the singers takes his place to lead in the customary frenzied beating. But before he raises his baton, one of the marshals, or another *kusiut* with ability in that respect, steps to the centre of the house and spits noisily in all directions, his aim being to deluge the house and spectators with a spray of saliva. Then the singer leads the beating of 575* 796* 787 784

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784 * 575 * 796 [787] sticks, while everyone calls out, *hoip*. This is repeated four times. The sticks continue to sound irregularly as the younger men pull the enclosure to pieces and throw it on the central fire. By these means the *kukusiut* have been freed from their contact with the supernatural and, perhaps even more important, the repositories have been "tied up," to use the native term, for another year. Those members of the society whose dances have taken place in the house now wash the black from their faces and all share a light meal. The marshals take this last opportunity of addressing their fellows, impressing on them the necessity of maintaining the secrecy of the rites during the summer season. Above all, they warn them to hide the whistles and other paraphernalia most carefully. This concludes the season's ceremony in the house in question; some of the *kukusiut* withdraw, others remain, and the uninitiated are free to enter and take up the old threads of family life, as it was before the coming of the first call.

If it is not too late at night the party may move to a second house and remove the taboo from it in the same way. More often this is done on the following night, when a second body of *kukusiut* are allowed to wash. Another house is visited on the next evening, and so on in succession till all the enclosures are burnt and the only visible mark of what has happened is the collar of dyed cedar-bark worn by each novice.

[424] There may be certain prerogatives connected with this finale which could not be learnt owing to its discontinuance for many years. In fact, one old woman claimed to have a definite right to sing at the destruction of the enclosures, but it was unfortunately impossible to investigate the matter.

Concluding Observations and History

* 575 * 796 182 571 It is virtually impossible to overestimate the importance of the sociological aspects of the society. During the ceremonial season the whole fabric of social life is altered; families are divided, parents and children being separated in many

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*533 C *Ilplxtmaxdumilnlu* | *yao ttilxmtmuxlu* | *hmalkaxulaixhlxhx* | *Ilulxyandaxhx*
There was a big cloak for him(*f*) forefather; two men held him in it(*g*).

Yao sxxxxkalaixxuhx
Hail, *Sxxxxkalaix*(*h*)!

(*a*) This song was composed and used during the *hamat* season of 1923-4.
(*b*) Referring to the call. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of these two subdivisions.
(*c*) Presumably referring to the supernatural beings in the land above.
(*d*) The dancer's cannibalistic incubus was the eagle. The slightly vague expressions are necessary to deceive the uninitiated.
(*e*) It was impossible to obtain a translation of each subdivision.
(*f*) Referring to the dancer.
(*g*) The meaning of this is obscure. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of each subdivision.
(*h*) The dancer's patron.

Song Used for Kel-iaiyakmy, a Bella Coola Cannibal Dancer(*a*)

A Sawaxpelkmailaixmalnlx | *a'lhhlkalxwulnlx* | *daxumaxkaixulhlm*
No one spoke | at the meeting(*b*) | when he counted

sxxxxlkxmahlmal)
how many should be eaten(*c*).

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

B Sawaxmmmmalxxlaix | *waxxxlx(xxdjalaix* | *ahxxxlxhxxxdjilhl)*
Alternately, two men | kept giving him food(*d*) | in his house(*e*);

yao dahxhx idjadx
there is incessant growling(*f*).

[WOODLESS CHORUS]

C *Wawxxxxxlxlmlxxmdai* | *aiaxxxwx ia'lilxhx* | *Yao ds'alxpanlilxhxxhx*
The wood shivered(*g*) | as he walked(*h*). | Hail to the shaking off(*i*)!

Yao xxxxkalaixxuhx
Hail to *Sxxxxkalaix*(*j*)!

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 10a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed and used during the *hamat* season of 1923-4.
(*b*) The uninitiated assume this to be a reference to the meeting in the land above at which it was decided to send down a call to the dancer. [787]
(*c*) That is: He, the dancer's patron, decided how many human beings should be eaten. The reference is slightly peculiar since *Kel-iaiyakmy* has the prerogative of biting himself.
(*d*) The uninitiated assume that this refers to human flesh.
(*e*) Referring to his repository. The exact meaning is intentionally obscure.
(*f*) A reference to the growling of the Cannibal by which the uninitiated are frightened.

(c) The theme is worded as if the dancer were listening to the supernatural beings discussing the call which they proposed to send down. The uninitiated are led to believe that she actually has this ability. 533* [787]

(d) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(e) The implication is that the power of the dancer is so great, and the rite so dangerous, that even the supernatural beings themselves are afraid.

(f) The discussion is so animated and on such an important subject that the faces of the participants take on strained expressions.

(g) When a Bella Coola meeting is being held, those who hold similar views usually group themselves together. [623]

(h) A man of forceful character has expressed himself and the others concur.

Second Song Used for Smaníkʼhs, a Bella Coola Fungus Dancer(a)

A *xnáiqnxáiqhqs* | *xnlaxnmxmayumhalʼ* | *xhá·hímqnxinuxnis*
It is true what my mother | recounted to me(b); | has opened to me

xiyumanqs-ayʼmals
Sangʼ(c).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Yuu hnqnixumhiʼqalnsis* | *ahxinlunumʼlimlnsis*
He(d) told me to raise my head to see what he was holding(e),

hxinlwinmhlumals | *xmnqnlrmnisis*
the model(f) | of the gathering above(g).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Iqmahalirumalumals* | *dmhlnudimutalals* | *yuu dixlrumalsdjalʼlus*
Bent their heads together(h) | all the chiefs(i); | those of lesser prestige

dmqnisinhumals;
fled away in fear, unable to participate(j).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 21a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song, composed by Peter Nelson, was used during the *hamat* season of 1923-4.

(b) This was the second song used when *Smaníkʼhs* danced, and the theme follows, to a certain extent, the first one. The uninitiated are led to believe that the dancer was able to see what her mother had described to her in previous years.

(c) That is: *Sangʼ* has opened to me.

(d) Referring to a supernatural being, probably the dancer's patron.

(e) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions. The implication is that the dancer was sitting with head bowed on her chest when the supernatural one bade her look upward to see what he was holding out to her in his hand. [787]

(f) *Model* is a poor translation. The reference is to the rim above on which the dancer patterned her performance.

(g) A reference to the gathering of the supernatural beings.

(h) As if in secret and animated discussion.

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727 overland to Kimsquit, and from there to Bella Coola. The crew of another craft lost their way among the islands and fiords and wandered around for days until their food was exhausted. They were then near China Hat where they could have landed in safety but, thinking that they were still in hostile territory, they feared to camp and hunt. At last, spurred by hunger, they determined to catch some eagles, the only living creatures in sight. A rude shelter was built on the shore, a bark tray placed before it, and one of the party gashed the fleshy part of his back until the blood ran sufficiently freely to fill the vessel and serve as bait. A companion hid himself and clubbed the eagles as they swooped down to the fresh blood. Though the food was coarse and had to be eaten raw, it enabled the refugees to continue their journey home.

727 Another canoe was surprised at the entrance to Douglas Channel by a party of Kitimat who slew all the crew except a certain *Yē·k"arwarwa* 648 who succeeded in escaping into the woods. Thinking that the survivor would be driven down to the beach by hunger, the Kitimat patrolled the shore for days, but he eluded them by travelling overland, though his only food was uncooked plants and a single goat, killed by a stone. *Yē·k"arwarwa* was a Kimsquit man whose wife was from Kitlobe; her relatives, hearing of his plight, watched the shore of Gardners Canal, hoping that he might be able to reach that refuge. He managed to do so, though at the last gasp, and was taken to Kitlobe whence he returned to Kimsquit. This was the first time that anyone had travelled overland from Douglas Channel to Gardner Canal.

Still another canoe actually landed at Kitimat where the crew was butchered except for five men who fled to the forest. One of them, *Xnuth*, uncle of a man about seventy years old in 1923, had made several trading expeditions into the interior and was familiar with part of the route. He acted as guide, but soon lost his way and the five wandered for months through the trackless interior, often in dire straits for food, and becoming more and more weary. Their journey began in May, and 727 by October they were all enfeebled through hardship and lack of food. ● 787 *Xnuth* himself was the first to give up the struggle, saying that he could go no further. He asked his comrades to make him as comfortable as possible, and then to leave him; regretfully they laid him on some evergreen boughs, and tottered off, expecting their own death within a few days. Soon after their departure, there was a violent thunderstorm and, at the moment of a tremendous clap, Thunder, himself, appeared to the dying wanderer. The supernatural one went to a near-by rivulet and dipped up water which he brought *Xnuth* to drink; when he had done this four times, the man felt as if he had had a hearty meal. Thunder then told *Xnuth* to close his eyes. He did so; then the supernatural one

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spit upon his own hands and rubbed them over the patient's head, his 727
arms, his trunk, his legs, and finally his feet, as if massaging him. *Xnatli*'s 787
strength began to return at the first touch of Thunder's hands, and, when the treatment was finished, he felt entirely rejuvenated. Thunder told him to overtake his friends and to massage them in the same way and they would be revived. He explained that they had been travelling in circles of ever-decreasing radius which was the reason that they had neither reached their destination nor recrossed their own tracks. He added that they must think constantly of their first objective, Ulkatcho, *Nuktsto* in the Bella Coola language, and that at night *Xnatli* must sleep on the side of the five nearest that goal.

Soon afterwards the four wanderers were surprised to see a stalwart 727
man swinging along the trail behind them, and their amazement was intense when they realized that it was *Xnatli* whom they had left at the point of death. He bade three of his comrades hide, and massaged the fourth as Thunder had done to him; this restored his strength exactly as in his own case. The one so cured then concealed himself, while *Xnatli* treated another of his comrades, and finally the third and fourth. This was not the end of the assistance so obtained. Within a few minutes of their recovery, they found the trail they had so long been seeking and reached Ulkatcho before night, though under normal circumstances the same distance would have required four days of travel. There were several Bella Coola at the settlement who were overjoyed at the safety of those for whom all hope had long been abandoned. They rested for four days, then set out for home. *Xnatli* told his comrades to fix their minds upon their objective, and as a result they were able to make the journey with phenemonal rapidity.

Thunder had granted *Xnatli* the boon of *utokwaladjut* on this occa- 754
sion, and had promised that he would come to his help whenever called [776]
upon. *Xnatli* was a sorcerer, a profession which had been practised for generations in his family, and he now performed more openly than ever, assured that Thunder would be able to protect him. The malefactor killed more and more people, until he became an object of universal hatred and fear. At last the principal chief of the village, confident in [685]
the power which the giving of many potlatches had bestowed upon him, ordered an expert shot to slay *Xnatli*. The man so deputed had himself lost several relatives and gladly watched an opportunity. This came when the sorcerer was paddling across the Bella Coola near the old Hudson's Bay Company's post; he took careful aim from ambush, fired, and the evil man fell dead. A medicine can be made from the corpse of a murdered person, which, when used by the relatives, causes the killer's death. To prevent this, the executioner called his friends and they took

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B 754 the body to his own house, preparatory to burying it. It was April, but
[776] as they were waiting, a violent thunderstorm blew up from the east, the only time that such had ever occurred at that season. Thunder had promised to come to *Xnutli*'s aid, but the latter had died too suddenly to make any appeal; the supernatural one had just learnt of his pro-
B [789] tégé's death and had come rushing to his assistance. Realizing the danger, the executioner and his friends hastily buried the corpse, throwing over it a number of blood-stained cloths, and finally stamping down the earth. There was a furious hurricane; trees were uprooted, houses shook, the earth over the grave seethed as if in a whirlpool and chunks of it
B [789] were carried up into the air. Only the potency of the blood on the cloths prevented the return to life of *Xnutli*.[8]

This second unsuccessful attack on the Kitkatla so disheartened the
B T 648 Bella Coola that they made no more raids on their northern foemen who, flushed with victory, became even bolder than before. As usual, the Kimsquit and *Tāl·is* people suffered more than the inhabitants of the
[721] main valley. On one of these forays, about 1855, the Kitkatla killed *Ḵoḵwelistl*, a brother of *Potlus*, the leading chief of the Bella Coola at the
[726] time. This was contrary to all the rules of warfare since he was a member
[622] of one of the leading families and the donor of many potlatches, a man whose name was as well known as that of *Potlus*, *Nukāpunkam* of Fort Rupert, or *Tcukua* himself. The fame of such chiefs was enough to protect them except during the actual heat of conflict, and the Bella Coola were justly angry.

A few years later a single canoe came paddling up North Bentinck
B T Arm and was beached about half a mile from the head. Scouts investi-
648 gated, and returned to *Ḵomq·ts* with news that the occupants were Kitkatla, and that *Tcukua* himself was among them. At once there was
728 heated discussion among the people of the lower valley. Many who had lost relatives in the protracted struggle wished to wipe out the party;
B T others, to see what they wanted. A few daring individuals skulked through the forest and fired on the visitors at long range; they were
[726] answered, not with bullets, but by the four times holding aloft of a moose-skin, a sign of friendly intentions. If the strangers had fired on the scouts, a fight would have ensued, but this peaceful reception disarmed suspicion.

B [787] [8]This tale is a curious illustration of the manner in which supernatural elements become woven into accounts which have an historical basis. It is to be assumed that the wanderers were in a suggestible state owing to privation, and readily believed that supernatural powers must have assisted them. *Xnutli* was feared as a sorcerer, and probably boasted of a visitation from Thunder during his wanderings. This was accepted and the incorporation of impossible incidents followed in due course.

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Coola the important men of *Sunxl*, *Temotl*, and *Ăłqăläxl* met at *Ḑomqo·ts* and discussed the matter stormily. *Potles* was the leading Bella Coola chief at the time, but he alone did not attend the meeting at which all the others were present, though he sent a man to search a storehouse owned by the murdered woman on the south side of the mouth of Bella Coola River, near the former Hudson's Bay Company's post. *Bilxwalaks* had a large amount of ammunition stored within, and this was brought to the house of *Potles*. Next morning, the chief himself appeared, his face smeared with ashes and his hair tied in a top-knot with a weasel-skin. This is done by anyone who has killed a man, and it was a clear intimation that *Potles* had decided on war. He seated himself in the doorway of his house, a cocked musket in either hand, and intimated that he would shoot anyone who passed on the sidewalk before him. For four days he sat there, neither speaking nor eating: he was *numitl*, so no one disregarded his wishes and the inmates even of his own house used the refuse holes for egress during that period. No other case is known of such an action, but *Potles* could do as he liked, and he manifested his grief and determination in this spectacular manner. On the fifth day, he ordered drums to be beaten, and the inhabitants of the adjacent villages gathered; *Potles* wasted no words:

"*Bilxwalaks* has been murdered," he said. "She was a chief and my relative.[12] I am going to war. We shall use her own powder and shot."

The ammunition was distributed and the Bella Coola prepared for the expedition.

Owing to the prestige of *Potles*, volunteers came swarming in, not only from Bella Coola itself, but from Kimsquit and *Tăl·io* as well. No one was thoroughly acquainted with the geography of the Kwakiutl territory except a slave named, like the Kwakiutl warrior chief, *Siwid*, though not, however, related to him. This man had lived among the Bella Coola for so long that he was thought reliable; he readily agreed to act as guide, only asking that his old mother be spared, a request which was granted.

After the usual delays, the expedition set out and spent the first night at Kwatna. Next morning, *Kwalsänl*, one of the leading warriors, tied his hair into a top-knot and smeared his face with ashes. He was a man whose bravery had been firmly established by the distribution of valuable presents. To show his valour, he stood up on the beach within easy musket range and called out:

"Please fire at my top-knot. If you hit it and make it fall, so will we lay low our foes."

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[12] It is doubtful whether she was a kinswoman, but *Potles* used the term figuratively in speaking of one who, like himself, was a person of importance.

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For some time no one was willing to take the risk of hitting a comrade, but *Kwalsänl* continued his request until a good shot took careful aim and fired. The bullet cut the knot and the warrior's scanty locks fell streaming over his face; he was partially bald so that his top-knot was thin and collapsed easily. Everyone was pleased at this incident as foretelling victory. Those whose courage had been established either by magical means or by the distribution of wealth, often deliberately took public risks of this kind to show their bravery.

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Then the expedition continued, travelling only by night after leaving friendly waters. It was decided to attack the people of Kingcome Inlet, though it is unknown whether that objective had been decided upon before leaving Bella Coola or *en route*. When close to their goal, a scouting canoe was sent forward, guided by the slave. He led the party into one cove, then into another, without seeming to arrive anywhere; the scouts feared that he was deceiving them, so they landed, and while two or three lay in hiding, the others took *Siwid* back to the main party. One Bella Coola had a slight knowledge of the route, so he was sent forward to join the hidden scouts; their canoe was cautiously paddled forward in the darkness till the crew was able to land unobserved about a quarter of a mile from the objective. Kingcome Inlet is famous for its olachen, which attract fishermen from all parts of the coast; on the day previous a canoe from the north had arrived for the spring run and reported the departure of the Bella Coola expedition. From the time which had elapsed, the Kingcome Inlet people knew that this must now be in the vicinity. Two canoes filled with men were sent out from the threatened village; they scoured the neighbouring coasts, but although one of the crews almost stumbled over the hidden scouts, they found no trace of them, and returned, reporting that no enemy was near. Having avoided those who were looking for them, the Bella Coola scouts returned to the main party and preparations were made to attack at dawn.

The warriors gained positions in ambush behind the village without being discovered, and just before daybreak the assault was launched. The *Djoldänux*, taken unaware, could offer no real resistance; many of them were killed or captured although *Siwid*, the chief, himself escaped. The Bella Coola suffered only one casualty, the captain of one of the canoes. During the journey, the bow-man of his craft had misjudged the amounts of food and cedar-bark required, so that his leader, in the stern, had received neither and was in no fit condition for fighting. Some of his friends advised him to remain with the canoes and promised to bring him prisoners to guard; the captain refused this offer, rushed into the fight and was slain. It was generally felt that lack of war decorations was responsible.

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Ashla: Village at Salmon House, on the upper Dean River.
ashma: Position between two fires.
as·lail: 1—Raised bed behind the fire used by a person seeking power, or by one who has been in contact with the supernatural.
2—Waterfall.[1] [823]
as·maias: To teach.
as·maiasamkit': Hereditary lore handed down secretly in a family. [424]
Asqāmks: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
asqwawa: *Sisaak* song in slow time. [533]
astakan: 1—Box, *archaic*; hence, seat.
2—One of the nights of a potlatch, probably that on which a representation of the deceased appears.
astas: Rocky Mountain jay. [825]
asuxwatl: Carved house post.
Asualnexkl: Wife of *Swaks*; both were changed to stone in the beginning of time.
asutcānnk: That part of a house between fire and doorway.
Aswinwinaiats: Expedition of the supernatural being *Winwina* against berries and fish.
Ăs·gānam: *Smoean's* fish-dam in the beginning of time; the name has since been used by his descendants,
asymsaxta: Only sister in a family of several brothers. [601]
ats": Seals. [825]
atxwaltom: Steeping in medicinal smoke as a curative measure.
ātāqulp: Fir. [755]
Ātāt·iaitl: Evil male supernatural being. [824]
ā·lma: 1—Death, not anthropomorphized.
2—Dead. [825]
ālmak": Kingfisher.
ālsi: Fish-hook. [227]
Ālsham, "They of the Huge Jaws": Supernatural beings resident in the land above.
ālskmas: *Kusiut* spy.
atsfutl: *plural, anatsftutl; vocative plural, anatsftaatl:*
1—Person who has not given a potlatch, a commoner.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Ālsk: *ustāmg* village.
Ātā: *Stuix* man mentioned in an ancient story.
ate·hendjut, "He Urinates Over Himself." The implication is that this is an indication of misfortune, hence the word really means *omen.* It is the Kimsquit variant of *ā·wendjut.* [787]
ā·wendjut: Omen of death.
Ātut·i, "Occupied Mound": 1—Village at Kwatna.
2—Artificial mound at *Tāl·ia.*
3—Village on the Kimsquit River.
4—Island near Ocean Falls.
Ātut·i nas Wawalnuks, "Place of Dogs": Locality near Ocean Falls where the dogs came to earth in the beginning of time.
aguaw·i: Varied thrush. [825]

[1]The latter is a favourite place for obtaining power, the probable reason for the identity of the two terms.

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uxsiut, "The Time for *Kusiut* Rites": Fifth moon after the summer solstice.
uyuyuyut: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ālqālxl* in the beginning of time. [805]
2—One of the first men to settle on the lower Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Suaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
ulululāk: One of the supernatural carpenters.
ulsämämmtmm: The repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]
uxaiāk': Synonym for *spuxdjut*, a present for which a return is not expected. [431]
uxāxsmxdjut: Hereditary tendency.
uxem: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuax* man. [827]
uxiax: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *ilakwik* is problematical.
uxlqolam: One of the first men to settle at *Qomqo·ts* in the beginning of time. [825]
uxlliwatem'xiamut·ālāt': The entrusting of a woman to a husband's care. This phrase is used by a wife's relatives when about to rebuy her as expressing their somewhat boastful sentiments concerning the relations entered into at marriage. [583]
uyu·abālawadjutlaix: Sterile supernatural visitation. [787]
uxkukuta: 1—To strengthen, or to shore up.
2—Goods provided by a wife to strengthen her husband's position. [556]
uxlathmhq, "Different from All Others": Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
uxlexwan·i: Wife of North Wind, a supernatural being resident in a side valley of the upper Bella Coola.
uxlokwaladjut: Supernatural aid granted to the unfortunate.
uxlqotlamsqwaxdjinas: Son of Raven and one of the first settlers at *Tāl·ie* in the beginning of time.
uxnukwmlsaix, "The Track of the Sun": *A'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
uxnutlxāmlaix: Supernatural name of *uxiutl*.
uxquntām, "Commander":1—Said to be the word from which *Ālquntām* is derived.
2—One of the names of the supreme god.
uxlikmosaix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
uxwappätsdjut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
uxwal·a: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuax* man.
uxwinxala: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
ux·wnaisa: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Qomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
uxyälyotsaix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
uxyukam, "The Walker": Supernatural being resident in a glacier near the overland trail between *Snulali* and *Tāl·ie*.

K

kai: 1—Snow. [821]
2—Unidentified berry. [824]
Kaiusdias: Name obtained from a supernatural being by a Bella Bella man.
Kakamit: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
kakas: Crow. [825]
Kakohn: Locality in the Bella Coola valley mentioned in an ancient story.

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Łäliaxsa: One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Łähaml: Unidentified town on the outer coast mentioned in a *Stuix* story of the beginning of time.
Łälläliämdimut: Name acquired by one of the first settlers at *Snuiłli* in the beginning of time.
Łäloxmän·a: *Smaoan*'s son in the beginning of time.
łälas·i: Small portable canoe.
łälsum: Desertion of a spouse. [586]
Łäxsmai: 1—"The Copper One."
2—"Snow," in the language of Deer.
łahmmakgwas: Imitation potlatch carried out by *nusäxkämy.*
Łäknus: Bella Bella Cannibal living in the beginning of time.
Łilixwnimut, "The Scatterer of Eagle Down": Name created by *Smaoan* for his son in the beginning of time.
łima: To loot.
Łixlixkihka: Bella Bella supernatural being who brings food.
łixwnimut: Person of placid disposition.
łdłła: Bull-roarer.
łdł: To excise rot; the word for potlatch, *łm,* is supposedly derived from this. [556]
łm: Potlatch.
łmkmitł: The binding down of a Cannibal with rope.
Łmołim: Unidentified autumn moon, probably the fourth after the summer solstice. [821]
Łmołis di Nusäxkämy, "The Potlatch of the *nusäxkämy*": Second moon after winter solstice. [805]
Łhamkila, "First of All": One of the first men to settle at *Nukiłs* in the beginning of time.
łkłwädjut: Shaman's ritual error, such as the curing of one who is ceremonially unclean. [756]
łkumkskta: Miniature totem-pole such as is used in mourning ceremony.
łmänkmm: Partnership of a poor man with a chief about to give a potlatch, so that the former may repay debts, for which his poverty required no compensation, and thus start himself on the path towards greatness. [556]
łmänsimtim: The turning over of a mountain.
Łe'ya: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
łqomkskta: Stick decorated with copper bangles used in mourning rites by one of the first settlers at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time. [765]
łqia: The painting of the face as a sign of mourning. [302]
'Łsmdimut: Cannibal *kusiut* name used by the first settlers at *Sałłia* in the beginning of time.
Łsiqwam: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola male Scratcher.
łuklai: Aversion.
Łukwala: 1—*Kusiut* name of a *Tsmołł* man.
2—Shamanistic power.
łułułmut: Visitation from the life of a recently dead friend, notification of which is conveyed by a start or other feeling of discomfort. [775] [787]
Łulqwa·i: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man. The first to use this designation was a relative of the earliest settlers in the beginning of time.
Łułukwahntmm, "The Giver of Shamanistic Power": One of the names of *Thłcap-łław·a,* and hence a designation given to shamans.

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mixmixłulp: Leaf of salalberry.
mla·wadjut: 1—Omen of misfortune, such as preceded the outbreak of smallpox, hence, [824]
2—Smallpox. [787]
mlka: Type of sea-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.
mna, vocative, mnao: Child. [601]
Mnakais: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.
mnk': Excreta.
mnmnts, vocative, mnmnntcän·i: Ancestral family, practically equivalent to *children* when used by an old person. [614]
mnskänmaxta: The commemoration of a chief's potlatches and other major ceremonies by means of plain posts erected near his grave. [211]
Mntlato·smm, Tide-Measurer: A supernatural being. [764]
Mstelos: Man mentioned in a song.
Mtlakila: Supernatural being who gives potency to *sisook* rites.
mtlststa: Grandiloquent expression used by the *kukusiut* with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives. [776]*
mtlalosäm: 1—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living. [775]
2—To visit, term used with reference to the coming of a masked representation of a dead person; the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.
mok': Pounded, dyed cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.
mokwaks: Head-ring of cedar-bark worn by *kusiut* initiates in the upper Bella Coola valley.
moqla: Lice. [825]
moqwila: Adolescent youth.
moxmoxk': Blue grouse.
moxmostlolkända: Dentalium-shell ear-rings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion. [301]
mu: Hand net for catching olachen. [227]
mudcämbaksta: Yellow cedar stave decorated with swan feathers such as is carried by a Mystery dancer.
mustomax: Wrestling.
Mutan·a: Rivers Inlet man living in the last century.

N

Nain'akwas: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Nä'mu: Bella Bella village; the Anglicized form is Namu.
nän·: Grizzly bear. [825]
Nänäntlis: Name received from Grizzly Bear by a Kimsquit man in the beginning of time.
Nänätl: Kusiut name of a *Nusłalst* man.
Nänätskwi: One of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
Nänalskwitl: One of the names of Mount *Nusłalst* as chief.
nän·imnt: Non-ceremonial weeping, usually individual, and always with real feeling. [827]
Naos: Indeterminate locality in the distant east. [15.2]

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Nunutcuxnam: Woman endowed supernaturally by *Ano°likwolsaix* and serving as patron (?) to a *kusiut* dancer.

[787] *nunulliuts:* Omen of death.

Nunutsmmkmem, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Ṫlitcāplilān·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nunuxemlaix: 1—Man dwelling in *Ḷomoqwa*'s house.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.

nunuxim: The cry of *hi, hi,* uttered by Cannibals.

Nunuxmeux: Kusiut name assumed by a *Stuax* woman in the beginning of time.

[424] *nunuyaxum: Kusiut* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and *qālāxm* is obscure.

Nu'exwalamnaix, "The Widener": One of Raven's names as chief.

[585] *nuṗāxsikel·um:* Synonym for *ṗāsutum:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

Nupltānlsikān, "Heedlessly Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[302] *nuḷoo·exta:* The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.

nuqāxlām·i: Medicine brewed in a skull.

Nuqāxmāts, "Place of Much *Qāxmāts*": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nuqeqāmis: Nusqual name of a Kimsquit man.

Nuqiliagailn·a: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[805] *nuḷmuime·tl wa sonq°als:* One year.

[828] *nuqom:* Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.

nuḷpik, "Empty House": House in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place.

nuḷsdjut: The throwing of grease on a fire to heat, both literally and figuratively, a rival.

[821] *Nuḷsilq°:* 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.

[827] *nuqslitsta:* Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

nuqwaxots: Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *kusiutem* and other important *kusiut* rites.

[777] *nuq°antnikim:* Unexpected stroke of good fortune.

Nuqwikumlaix: Stuaok name of a Kimsquit man.

[772] *Nuqwilax:* Site of an ancient town on Schooner Pass.

Nuqwials: The upper heaven.

nuḷuna: Woman with thick pubic hair.

Nuqwxulioḷisān·i: A *Stuax* repository.

Nusālqantāmsta, "Where *Alqantām* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[824] *nusāmgwa·nay:* Cottonwood buds.

Nusāpānia'sta, "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Smaaan* in the beginning of time.

nusālkamx: Canoe-maker.

Nusālnm: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Nusḷalst.*

[535] [869] *nusāxkāmx:* Children's dance which serves as training for *kusiut* rites and to provide entertainment.

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qālikw: Omen of death, generic term.
qālka: One of the berries, probably raspberry. [787]
qāmā, vocative, qāmao: Mother, term used by child.
Qāmālxem: Celebrated Carrier chief. [824]
Qāmelx: 1—Village on west bank of the Necleetsconnay, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. [601]
2—Mountain behind the village.
Qāmspoxtāmem: *am'hl-a* name of a Kimsquit man.
qāmxāmila, vocative, qāmxāmilao: 1—Term used for spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish. [825]
2—Term used by *smnq* to human beings, who are like salmon to them.
3—Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings. [198]
qaouxta, "Rope Fastenings," i.e., something binding: The function of the "Bed Covering" and other presents given with a wife which bind her to her husband. [585]
qao·ltaks: Unidentified species of duck. [431]
Qaominoaka: Kwakiutl term for "The Weeper," a female supernatural being.
Qapātus: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man. [825]
Qā·pxaok: *ustāmx* chief living soon after the beginning of time.
Qāqāt^a li: Herald who came with the first settlers to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Qāqos: Carrier pronunciation of *Tcaqos,* one of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
qālāxm: *Kusiut* with ability to produce a puppet-patron, cf. *nunuyaxum.*
qātitsta: Sweat-bath. [515]
Qālmus: Slave mentioned in an ancient story.
qātsx': Star-fish. [825]
qāx: Rabbit.
qā·x: Salmon-berry. [824]
Qāxlawāls: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
qāxmāts: Unidentified plant.
qahm: Black cod. [825]
qam, "A Wiping of the Feet upon the Ground of Chiefs": Term applied to a deadly insult offered to persons of importance. [578]
qamta: Wooden armour. [714]
Qankilst: 1—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Island off Rivers Inlet.
3—Island.
Qax·axwsila: One of the names of Raven as chief.
Qril: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Siskiut* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
qe·ko: Unidentified migratory bird, black in colour. [825]
Qeldjut: Scratch River, near Bella Bella.
qi'aqa: One of the *a'alk* dances.
Qitlia, "Head": *Stuix* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
qskqālqālxostlaixqnam: A verbal exposure of what should have remained concealed, such as comments upon the slave ancestry of a person whose blot in this respect has been covered over by lavish giving. [578] [431]
qkolulitsta: Presents distributed by a wife to strengthen her husband's seat, and thus prevent him from "wobbling." [556]

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575 her the secrets of the Kū'siût. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kū'siût. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kū'siût.'

Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kū'siût. When a man has
575 seen Anaūlikūtsai'ʜ sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a
776 Kū'siût. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Kū'siût lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kū'siût are also the
575 property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
614 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the Sisau'kʜ dances (see above), but belong to the
424 members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
[426] by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Kū'siût is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kū'siût name, which
[551] he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kū'siût names,
[428] which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Tl'akō'otl. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[556] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisau'kʜ, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kū'siût have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] ʟlaqō'tla (the Hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ō'lɛq (the Nū'tlmatl of the Kwakiutl), and the Dā'tia (the Nō'ntsistatl of the Hē'iltsuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Kū'siût novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the ʟlaqō'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
785 encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[266] killed, in order to serve as food for the ʟlaqō'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the ʟlaqō'tla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

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have to put the firewood. This opening is called K·awa'umsta, that is, "mouth kept open by means of a wedge." Masmasala'nix spoke: "The sky shall not burst again. This wedge shall keep its mouth open." The following kû'siut song refers to these deities: — 776 821

[539]

Ai'mats tā mnatsai' tāsxts ti sō'nx·tsgī t'aix.
Aiēlx tā mnatsai' ōL ti S'ałwalō'szms ti Sōnx· t'aix.
Sk·ī ya'lx·tux ti sī'lxnō tā mnatsai'.
Sk·a anōg·a wa exemē'x ti K·awa'umtask· ti Sōnx· t'aix· tā mnatsai.

("My child perished like the sky when it broke.
Go to S'ałwalō'szm of the sky, my child!
Gladden my heart, my child!
Sit down in the mouth of the sky, my child!")

Our world is called A'nēkō'ōL or Qenk·ī'lst, that is, "the land below." It is an island swimming in the boundless ocean. In the far east a giant is sitting with legs apart, who is called AłēP!ālaxtnaix·. He holds a long stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar by means of two stone ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake; and the Bella Coola say, "Snēnik"pstak·imtōLs," that is, "he takes hold of our world." When he moves our earth westward, we have epidemics. When he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears. 772 776 823 [731] [753]

In the ocean lives a being called SēLsāts, who twice every day swallows the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the kû'siut ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various levels of the sea.

The world below us is the country of the ghosts (kōLk"LōLē'mx·). It is called Asiutā'nem. Descriptions of the ghosts' country are principally obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the sandy banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with sharp stones. When it is summer here, it is winter there. When it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their heads. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls, on reaching the lower world, receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform 772 775 [756] [787]

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776 There is a special deity who initiates the shamans. His name is LALA-
[756] IA'IL or Sxai'exoax (Plate XI, Fig. 9). He lives in the woods. He carries a wooden wand wound with red cedar-bark, which he swings in his hands, producing a singing noise. Around his neck he wears a large ring made of strips of bear-skin and red cedar-bark. He sometimes plays in ponds which are believed to be in certain mountains. When he jumps into the water, it boils. When a woman meets him, she begins to menstruate; when a man meets him, his nose begins to bleed. When initiating a person, he touches the chest of the latter with his wand, and paints his face with the design of the rainbow. Then he swings his wand, the noise of which causes the person who hears it to faint. He creates sexual desire in man
[787] and animals. A shaman who was initiated by this being told me that he very often sees LALAIA'IL, who tells him who will die and who will fall sick. Sometimes he sees that the body of a person is black. Others he sees dancing on their heads. These are signs that they will die at an early date. I obtained from this man the description of the visit to the country of the ghosts, quoted before (p. 38). He told me that when reaching the country of the dead, he saw the ghosts of his deceased relatives sitting in the house. When they saw him, they began to weep, and said, "Don't come here. We don't want to see you so soon." While they were speaking to him, the chief's speaker entered the house, and called all the people to come to the dancing-house of the ghosts. One of the ghosts painted his face black and white, and tied long strips of white and red cedar-bark in his hair. The people were called four times. Then they started to go to the dancing-house. The entrance to the door was over a narrow plank. When he had just stepped on the plank, he suddenly saw LALAIA'IL, with his large neck-ring made of red cedar-bark and strips of black bear-skin, who took hold of him, turned him round, and told him to return to his own country, because, if he should once enter the dancing-house, he would not be able to return. Then he revived; and from that time on, LALAIA'IL was his supernatural helper.

A. Jacobsen describes this spirit as follows:[1] —

776 "The most prominent among the spirits of the shamans is Kle-klati-e'il
756 [LALAIA'IL]. He lives in the woods, where the youth who intends to be initiated tries to find him. When the spirit meets him, the youth faints. When he recovers, he begins to sing a song, the tune and words of which have been given to him by the spirit. Now he has become a shaman, who uses this song in all his incantations; but he does not retain it throughout life, because he meets his guardian spirit almost every year, and then he receives new songs. The Indians believe that Kle-klati-e'il has human shape, but he is clothed in cedar-bark, and wears a great many rings of cedar-bark.

[113] [1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 104.

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woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees me, your people shall dance the kū'siut. If you do not do so, I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the kū'siut." 575 773 776 535

Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the kū'siut. When a man has seen Anaūlikuts'ai'x· sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the people to a kū'siut. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire from the taboo house. Each kū'siut lasts three days. 575 776 535

The various dances performed by members of the kū'siut are also property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisau'k· dances, but belong to the members of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the kū'siut is obtained through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kū'siut name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name of L'akō'oL. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the sisau'k·, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kū'siut have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the ƛaxō'La (the hā'mata'a of the Kwakiutl), the ō'lEx (the nū'LmaL of the Kwakiutl), and the dā'tia (the nō'ntsistalaL of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kū'siut novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation. 535 575 614 575 [426] [551] [428] [556] [171] [554]

When the ƛaxō'La is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the ƛaxō'La. The offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the ƛaxō'La order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears 575 785 787 [266]

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575 to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one
[785] morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all
[787] his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone
[152] whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the
[774] body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try
[756] for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the ELAXŌ'LA dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large
[292] head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark.
[301] Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the S'ā'LPsta (fig. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that
[532] of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē of the Kwakiutl. Some ELAXŌ'LA do not
[171] bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and
[266] devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The ELAXŌ'LA has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his
[525] initiation he must not
[834] gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

Fig. 200.
MASK OF THE S'Ā'LPSTA.
Bi'ixula.
Cat. No. 19[illegible], U. S. N. M.
Collected by F. Boas.

The ō'LEX (the laugher) and the dā'tia (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The ō'LEX "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The dā'tia carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The ō'LEX and the dā'tia, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

575 If a person transgresses the laws of the kū'siut, for instance, when
688 the ELAXŌ'LA gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in
[692] council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing
575 to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the sub-
688 stitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted
754 to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing dis-
756 ease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around

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go to the homes of their friends in the village; it is a matter of convenience, not of ritual. 556* [574]

In the evening, there may be no rite of any kind, but X often invites everyone to his house for the performance of non-ceremonial dances. The singers strike up one of his *susaok* or *a'alk* (I, p. 273) tunes and he dances to it. Then a tune belonging to one of his relatives is beaten out, and he too dances. After several have thus performed, a meal is served and all disperse. No supernatural beings are in attendance, hence there is no solemnity to the occasion; the evening's rites merely serve to show the guests the dances owned by their host and his family. 535 556*

As each party of guests arrives the same procedure is repeated. X provides food for those who have assembled from day to day, so he anxiously awaits the last-comers. When at last they come the guests from all other towns are in their allotted sections of X's house, and are free to make gibes at the tardiness of those latest in appearing. Occasionally, hard feelings are engendered in this way, although it is an established custom to mock at the last to arrive. They seat themselves and a small amount of food is given them. 556* 574 [628]

RITUAL CARRIED OUT BY THE GUESTS

Two youths, chosen by X for the purpose, sprinkle eagle down over the heads of all those present, as far as possible blowing it first over the chiefs. It serves as a token of good-will, and marks also the ceremonial nature of the occasion. Then a leading *susaok*, perhaps a *siki*, stands up and says in effect: 556* [788] [237] [575]

"Thank you for coming. You are welcome. We thank you for coming to witness what X has done. He is delighted to have you here, because he has lost many of his relatives and wishes to perpetuate their memory. They would be grieved if he did not do so."

An elaborate meal is now served by a number of young men. [264]

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ever object was desired, and then set in a window of his house so that the sun could fall on one uncovered end. The owner firmly believes that this stone has brought him money on various occasions, and will do so again, though whether he expects the coins to be found inside of the wrapping, or merely to come to him in the course of trade is questionable. According to Bella Coola belief, they ought to appear beside the stone, but as this man attributes any good fortune to it, he never has any difficulty in proving its powers. 777 823

This stone is also used as a means of increasing the efficacy of prayer. When its owner washes ceremonially in the river before eating in the morning, he rubs it over his body as if it were soap and requests it to make him strong, make him well, grant him his desires, and so forth. [515] [789]

Shamanism

More important to the Bella Coola than any other manifestation of the supernatural is that power which makes an individual either an *ālukwala* or an *āskankots*. The former is a person who, owing to ability granted him by a supernatural being, is able to perform miraculous feats, especially in curing the sick; the latter is one with similar powers obtained from a ghost.[3] It is impossible to translate either of these terms accurately; the designation "shaman" is accordingly used in this monograph to describe both types of supernaturally endowed individuals. The most common and most important method of obtaining such power is from a living supernatural being; a person receiving the boon in this manner will be termed "shaman," and one empowered by a ghost will be known as "shaman from the dead." 104 756* [787]* [788] ●

The Bella Coola believe that long ago men were so much more powerful than at present, and so close to the supernatural, that all were virtually shamans. The prowess and adventures 756* 773 538

[3]Ghosts are, of course, supernatural, but as the Bella Coola distinguish between shamans whose powers are derived from these two sources, it is accurate to follow their example.

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and those who have knowledge of them are sorcerers. Even 754
a man of this kind is not outside the pale of society unless he [755]
practises indiscriminately; members of the *kusiut* society, for [789]
example, frequently employ one to kill an individual who has [575]
offended against their regulations (I, p. 740). A man is regarded as a sorcerer not on account of his knowledge but on account of the ends to which he applies it.

Closely related to, if not identical with, the belief that 784
certain consequences follow certain acts, is the conviction that the infraction of ritual prohibitions brings disaster. There are many such taboos, for so they may be called. Though most important at the critical periods of life, puberty, pregnancy, while observing ceremonial chastity, and so forth, there are many which must be obeyed at all times.

Restrictions pertaining to the river and regulations at birth and death have already been described. Like magical acts, these often verge on the religious owing to the belief that disregard offends supernatural beings. On the whole, however, it seems as if most infractions bring their own punishment without intervention of higher powers, a concept which throws [789]
taboos into the category of magic rather than of religion, with the ever-present proviso that the two cannot be separated entirely from one another. With them may be associated a [788]
number of ritual acts connected with fishing and hunting in which, though the element of propitiation is not absent, it is satisfied by the performance of definite rites. Finally, there have been included in this chapter a number of unimportant beliefs, the psychology of which cannot be analysed.

What is the basis of these rites defined as Medicine, Magic, 154
and Taboo? As already described, the Bella Coola either do 771
not explain their origin and function, or merely state that 789
Alquntam is responsible, as he is for every activity of life. This is unsatisfactory because many which, viewed scientifically, have neither curative nor causative power, produce the desired end. A child who has been "made" a carpenter during infancy, usually grows up to be proficient in that profession; the person

4: McIlwraith E-5 (1944-1949) 1948
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*533
756

(a) Recorded as song VII D 42b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) That is: The supernatural one held me in his carefully cupped hands. The theme is worded as if the shaman were speaking and describing the way he was carried away to some far-off spot for treatment.

Fragment of a Song Used by Ālkuziyastem, a Bella Coola Woman(a)

Ānuxkhomalhuddlxlx	*eiyumaxeyo·ay^{w}alx*	*dawaqmiaiaulim*	*dāhuziadai*
Laughed	*Song^{w}*(b)	when they(c)started	my rite as shaman(d).

[WOMAN'S CHANT]

Kalxuxlulas
See how wretched I am(e).

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 42a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lazue Charlie.

(b) That is: The sky laughed. Shamans often use grandiloquent expressions such as this.

(c) Refers to supernatural beings in general.

(d) It is not known how this woman received her power except that it was from a salmon.

(e) The singer entered fully into the spirit of this song, and ended his singing by calling out these words and chattering his teeth as shamans are wont to do.

Fragment of a Song Used by Kasiyat, a Bella Coola Woman(a)

Sanxtkila	*Sanxtkila*	*dimānxtudai*	*xaxi*
The sun(b),	the sun,	is our father	(c)!

The rest of this song has been forgotten(d).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 34a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[821] (b) That is the sun's name as chief.

[796] (c) The meaning of this word is unknown. When the song was sung, the people used to follow the shaman to the river and throw water over themselves four times, accompanied by the crying out of this word.

[788] (d) It seems highly probable that incoherent songs such as this were commonly used by shamans. *Kasiyat* herself is supposed to have derived her power from *Tlīnxpilāx-a*, but no explanation could be learnt for the rite of washing.

The most fragmentary of all shaman songs are those used by *snāxem*. Although the last survivor of this type of visionary died many years ago, all the older Bella Coola state

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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773 subject. He does not often appear to mankind, though every
* 776 Bella Coola knows of his existence.

Another supernatural craft is that of *Winwina*.[17] It, too,
[579] brings salmon and berries from their home in the extreme west. Knowledge of this canoe is limited to certain families who own stories connected with it, and it likewise serves as patron for *kusiut* dancers. Although both *Noākynum* and *Winwina* can
[761] easily destroy human beings, they usually pay no attention to them, and have even been known to bestow supernatural power. *Winwina* will be described in greater detail in connection with *kusiut* dances.

The third canoe is termed *Wināt di Sā-ldjo-ts*, "The War-Party of the Tide," or *Wināt di Qala*, "The War-Party of the Ocean." Its home is among small islands in the ocean. It is a large canoe, manned by invisible submarine beings, who are able to drive it at tremendous speed wherever they wish. The members of the crew are not in themselves dangerous, but the craft is greatly feared because it always transports *Sxlo-xf'*. This supernatural creature is about the size of a seal, brown in colour, and of jelly-like substance; it lies in the boat immediately aft of the place from which water is bailed and constantly rolls to and fro, like an animated mass of repulsive jelly. Poison is constantly spreading from *Sxlo-xf'*, and anyone placed in the canoe soon becomes weak, begins to shake like *Sxlo-xf'*, and presently dies. This canoe is a source of danger to those with whom it may come in contact, and an even greater peril indirectly. The poison emanating from
773 *Sxlo-xf'* kills clams and mussels in the vicinity and renders
* 776 them unfit for food. In some cases they die at once, with
825 open shells, and anyone finding them knows what has hap-
761 pened and does not eat them, but in other cases they live for a considerable period though saturated with the venom. If
[756] anyone eats these shellfish, he becomes flabby and jelly-like, and soon dies, unless a powerful shaman can conquer the
* 776 poison. Sometimes when a party is encamped on the shore
● 789

[17] Cf. Boas, p. 38.

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of the ocean, one of the members is awakened by the rhythmical beat of the paddles of the War-Party of the Tide. If he is wise he at once calls out, "*Hi* . . . ." This serves to keep the War-Party at a distance, and to waken the rest of the party who hastily throw on the fire objects which have been in contact with the human body. 776* 789

Many stories are told by the Bella Coola of the appearance of the War-Party of the Tide. The following can be regarded as typical. 539 776*

A few years ago, a hunter named *Ouikstl*, and his wife, *Ăuqwiăls*, were encamped on Labouchere Channel at the point known as *Nuxqul*, near the Hot Springs. They were discussing a private matter when, to the amazement of both, their dog, who was with them, joined in the conversation. This unnatural behaviour should have warned them of approaching danger and they ought to have killed the animal, as indeed the woman desired to do. But *Ouikstl* foolishly refused and presently they lay down to sleep. In some mysterious manner the dog was able to summon the War-Party of the Tide, which carried the two away. When they awoke they were in the dread canoe, and the poison from *Xalo-al'* was spreading over them. They were powerless and could only lie still as the canoe travelled up South Bentinck Arm, circled the island near *Tăl-ia* at its head, and three other islands on the return journey. The two were put ashore at their camp, apparently unharmed, but they knew the danger to which they had been exposed and fled next day to Kimsquit. The woman told a shaman what had happened and accepted his somewhat drastic treatments. Consequently, though she showed signs of insanity, she was cured. The headstrong *Ouikstl*, on the other hand, refused to pay attention to the danger; within a few weeks he became crazy, and then died.

Quite another category of Bella Coola supernatural beings consists of ghosts. These beings, once human, have passed by death into the ranks of the supernatural. Their home is the land below the earth, where they live like mortals except that everything is strange and ethereal. In form they resemble human beings, but their faces are green and weird. They can visit the land of the living at will, and make their presence known by whistling, which is their language. Their actions are the reverse of those of humans; for example, they often 775

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776 talons resembling, but larger than, those of an eagle. It has no tail. The great strength of these animals rests in the fact that their eyes revolve in their sockets, so that, when reversed, piercing beams shoot forth which strike senseless anyone on whom they fall. Having thus stunned its victim, the *sminiq* picks him up and stuffs him into a broad-mouthed basket, carried on the back. It is provided with spikes inclined inwards and downwards so that a person thrust within cannot climb out. Human beings are carried in this way to the beast's lair, a cave in the mountains, where they are devoured [825] at leisure. Wolves always accompany *sminiq*; in fact, they may almost be termed attendants upon them (see vol. II, chap. v). Like other supernatural creatures, *sminiq* are impervious [789] to most mortal weapons, but there is one method of overcoming them. If a hunter cut himself on the under side of his right leg so that the blood flows freely, and smears a bullet with this, it can kill a *sminiq*. Similar success is gained by biting the tongue and coating the bullet with blood so obtained.

Another animal which is rendered powerless by the same charm is the *hoqs*. This beast somewhat resembles a man, its hands especially, and the region around the eyes being distinctly human. It walks on its hind legs, in a stooping posture, its long arms swinging below the knees; in height it is rather less than the average man. The entire body, except the face, is covered with long hair, the growth being most profuse on the chest which is large, corresponding to the great strength of the animal. The most peculiar feature of the animal is its penis, which is so long that it must be rolled up and carried in the arms when the creature is walking; it terrifies its enemies by striking tree-trunks and breaking branches with its uncoiled organ. It is said that a woman was once drawing water 539 776 at the edge of a stream when a *hoqs*, concealed on the other shore, extended its penis under the water to the further bank and held intercourse with her. The contact rendered her powerless, as if turned to stone; she could neither flee nor remove the organ. Her companions tried unsuccessfully to

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* 776 and gaping holes in the earth. In such regions no fire can be
[778] lit. The last known area of this kind is up the river behind Green Bay, about four miles from the sea. So far as could be learnt, *kähink'* have never assisted Bella Coola in any way nor played any part in the social life of the community. They are feared on account of their supernatural power, but appear so seldom that they are practically disregarded.

More common than the last, and accordingly more important, is the *haohao*. It is an enormous bird with bony wings and long, flexible beak. As it flies, the wings rattle violently, and its note, an oft repeated "*Hao, hao, hao,*" can be heard for miles. These birds are said to have been numerous in former
[535] years, and are well known to all Bella Coola. Masked figures
[575] representing them are often used at *kusiut* dances. The *haohao*
761 is feared for its practice of inserting its long beak into the rectum of anyone sleeping carelessly in the forest and drawing
* 776 forth his entrails. This can be prevented by standing upright
[789] a staff, such as all hunters carry, before going to sleep.
[539]

A popular story states that once, not many years ago, a number of men camped at the edge of a canyon near their home, without taking this precaution. One of them was awakened by a slight movement of one of his companions and, looking up, he saw the long neck and beak of a *haohao* projecting over the rim of the canyon and sucking his partner's entrails. The convulsive shiver of the stricken man had awakened him. With his bow he shot an arrow into the bird's neck, causing it to disappear over the brink. Presently the long beak reappeared and he discharged another arrow with the same result. Again and again this happened until the attack ceased at dawn. The hunter assumed that a single bird had been repeatedly attacking, but when he looked over the edge of the cliff, he saw below a number of carcasses, each with an arrow in its throat. The canyon must have been a roosting place for the birds. His companions seemed still asleep, but when he investigated he found that all were dead; only the slightly enlarged orifice showed how they had been killed.

* 776 No *haohao* has been seen within recent years, but one infor-
789 mant and her husband heard them on the south side of the Bella Coola River about two miles from the sea. They would have

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been frightened at any time but nightfall increased their fears. 776 *
Their dogs heard the sound and howled in dread. The woman 789 ●
threw on their fire several soiled blankets, her only pair of
shoes, and some dry salmon, which all supernatural beings [825]
abhor. Then she and her husband fled home, waving lanterns
to and fro and firing musket shots in all directions. The birds
did not follow them, but they considered themselves fortunate
to reach Bella Coola unmolested.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural 776 *
animals just described are fairly exact; they know their ap-
pearance, what to expect, and what to do if one is encountered.
In addition to these, they assume the existence of monsters of
indefinite form which they term *snusx*. Any supernatural
creature, a *bäbınk'* for example, is spoken of as a *snusx* in [184]
general, not specific, classification. Consequently, what one
Bella Coola may describe as a *snusx* is given a distinctive name
by someone else with wider knowledge. As far as could be
learnt, there is no designation other than *snusx* for creatures [825]
which move from the ocean in April to clear the way for salmon
and spend the summer in the lakes of the interior, or beneath
the ice of glaciers. They can assume various forms, sometimes
even human, though they usually appear as giant, hairless,
bear-like creatures with short legs and brown skin. Their eyes
are large, round, and glass-like. In whatever form these crea- 761
tures may appear, they are almost certain to bring disaster to 776 *
the beholder. One of the haunts of *snusx* is beneath the glacier
on Mount *Oqwan·i*, behind the small mountain which rises [778]
behind *Qomqo·ts*, on the south side of the Bella Coola River
about half a mile from the sea. It is said that only a few
years ago a white man, having heard of these creatures, went
to that place with a number of Bella Coola. All the latter were
able to hear the roaring of the beasts, louder than the whistle
of a steamer, but the white man seemed deaf to it, though the
power of the *snusx* had affected him, for he died on the way
back to the village.

Other *snusx* are said to live near Kimsquit. The father of [778]

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539 seized and carried to the shore. He had thought that it would
* 776 be easy to free himself, but he found it impossible and was carried under the sea. He bit frantically at the enfolding arms, until he succeeded in freeing his own, with which he pushed up the beak of the octopus, thus killing it. He rose to the surface and returned home none the worse.

[825] The Bella Coola do not profess to know all the animals of the world; and if they see a strange one, they assume it to be one known to their ancestors though unfamiliar to them.
539 Since any unknown animal is considered to have supernatural
761 power, due care must be exercised when one is seen. The fol-
* 776 lowing incident illustrates this point.

825 The mother's brother of an informant worked for some thirty years for a white man in Victoria. His employer once sent him to see a turtle which was confined in a pool in a basement preparatory to being killed for a banquet. As soon as he saw it, he said:

"My parents in Bella Coola told me of such a creature."

A few days before Christmas the turtle was cut up and displayed on four platters in the window of the store; the Bella Coola saw it, and thus learned that it had been killed. The same night a sore appeared on his wrist, and by the next day it was large and running. He said to his employer:

"In a few days I will be dead. Do not grieve for me. The sight of such supernatural creatures is too powerful for Indians; I survived one experience, but twice has been too much for me and I will die."

His employer wisely sent him to a white doctor who cured him, although the scar remained. Years later the man returned to Bella Coola where he displayed the mark as proof of his story. A few weeks later he died, and the Bella Coola are firmly convinced that his death was due to his having seen the turtle many years before.

* 776 Although the forests of British Columbia abound with
● 789 supernatural animals of enormous power, the attitude of the
[781] Bella Coola hunter who penetrates into lonely places is not one of constant fear. It is true that he may meet danger at any turn, but danger is part and parcel of human life, and he is by no means defenceless. He dreads the powers possessed by creatures of another plane, but they for their part dread certain human objects. Clothing which has been worn for so long that it has become steeped with the emanations of its

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human wearer belongs to a sphere differing from that of supernatural animals and is dangerous to them. Consequently, if worn clothing be thrown on a fire it repels unpleasant visitors. Other powerful protections are false hellebore, and smoked salmon roe. A wise hunter always carries these and if he sees a dangerous creature such as a *sninq*, he chews the two together and spits them towards the peril. Needless to say, if a kindly animal is seen, the hunter does not drive it away by these methods. Why false hellebore should be so effective is a matter of wonder to the Bella Coola themselves, for as a rule it is the human essence attached to objects which gives them their strength over the supernatural. Thus the most powerful of all charms are pads that have been used by women during their menses. If a woman travels on the ocean she is careful to carry some of them with her ready to repel any danger from the supernatural water beings.[29]

776* 789 [824] [824] [841]

The manner in which the Bella Coola regard mythical animals and other evidences of the supernatural is illustrated by the following practice. Hunters always want to know the direction of the wind, and when the breeze is too slight to be discernible they blow upwards a small amount of eagle down, which is so light that the faintest breath of air will bear it down wind. What the logical white man considers a natural phenomenon, appears to the Bella Coola as miraculous; eagle down, stripped from the dead bird by human hands and stored for some time within a house, has become so humanized that it can conquer supernatural powers to indicate the direction of the wind.

776* 789 821 [224]

The mythical monsters already described are not the only animals regarded as supernatural by the Bella Coola. They believe that in the beginning *Ālquntām* created men and beasts at the same time and in the same place, giving the former the greater share of power, but not exiling the latter to a different plane of existence. In those early days, the semi-supernatural

776* 825 773

[29] This matter will be described more fully in connection with Magic; see vol. I, chap. xi.

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* 776 forefathers of the Bella Coola had the ability to talk with
825 animals and birds. The men of today, who realize that such
[773] intercourse is not now possible, assume that they have degenerated from the golden age of their first ancestors. On the other hand, they see no reason to believe that beasts have undergone a similar change, and take it for granted that they have continued in the supernatural, or semi-supernatural state in which they were created by *Ałquntäm*. It is true that man is stronger than most animals, but that does not affect the attitude with which the latter are regarded, for supernatural and powerful are not synonymous terms. *Ałquntäm* decreed that they should serve as food for mankind, and they have since obeyed his command, but the Bella Coola do not consider themselves undisputed lords of creation. They fear *snusx*, *snunq*, and other creatures of great power, but they know how to avoid them; similarly, deer and mountain goats fear men, but they are not entirely defenceless, because their speed and agility give them advantages corresponding to those of men in combat with beasts stronger than themselves. All living creatures use the weapons with which they are equipped. For example, when a mountain goat eludes a hunter by scaling a precipice too steep for its pursuer, the latter considers it has escaped through supernatural climbing ability; whereas the goat has merely used the power granted by *Ałquntäm*. Like-
• [789] wise, when a *snusx* or a *snunq* is outwitted by the use of soiled clothing or smoked salmon roe, the means, unnatural to it, are natural to the human being employing them. Men and animals alike regard each other's weapons as supernatural.

In consequence of these beliefs, the attitude of the Bella Coola towards animals is fundamentally different from that of white men. They regard them as possessing human mentality, and even the ability to assume human form if they so desire. In fact, they believe that animals merely appear to them in the shape of beasts, but can change to human, or other form and behave accordingly whenever they wish to do
[756] so. The degeneration of mankind has made it impossible for

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concerning the danger of near approach to this creature: 539

Ḱwilais was a man of mixed lineage, Kimsquit and *Ṗa·s*, near Newitte. With several companions he was gathering berries when he stepped into a hole and felt numerous tiny creatures crawling over his legs. Looking down, he saw that they were small snakes, that had just been hatched from a Mother of Snakes. He fled, terrified, pursued by the reptiles, which he managed to keep off to some extent by brushing behind him a branch of spiny swamp gooseberry, a known deterrent. When he had out-distanced the snakes he called his companions, told them of his adventure, and returned home. There he repeated the tale. Though *Ḱwilais* did not know it, many of the snakes had succeeded in entering his stomach. Presently he began to swell; his body became larger and larger until he was in danger of bursting. The reptiles within were breeding rapidly. Luckily, one of his fellow villagers knew the proper remedy. A raised bed was made for the sufferer about five feet from the ground where *Ḱwilais* stretched himself on a number of thorny branches, while his friends built a fire of devil's club and swamp gooseberry twigs so that he was fumigated in the smoke. Then, to give greater potency, they cast on the flames soiled clothing and pounded cedar-bark pads stained with menstrual blood; even this was of no avail, so finally a woman squeezed out into a vessel some of her menstrual blood which *Ḱwilais* drank. This killed the snakes. The patient began to vomit, emitting a mass of wriggling serpents, and at once began to grow thinner, soon regaining his normal condition. Had he not been able to eject the reptiles, he would have died.

776 * 825 755 [789] [753] [841]

Ḱwilais was not the only one to have this unpleasant experience. Many others have suffered in the same way, but in no case has anyone been able to feel the snakes at the actual place or time of entry.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the power possessed by animals are clearly shown by their attitude with regard to killing them. Man is immortal, so are animals. *Ałquntäm* decreed that beasts and birds should serve as food for mankind, but it is only their clothing, their worthless "blanket of flesh," as the Bella Coola express it, which they give to hunters. In the autumn leaves appear to die, but every spring they are reborn. Similarly, when an animal is slain, it merely discards its visible self while its spirit[21] ascends

825 775 224 [774]

[21] *Xumdnods*, see vol. I, p. 94.

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[775] to the land above whence, in course of time, it comes down to
[774] earth again to reanimate a new body.[22] Consequently, the success of a hunter does not indicate his mastery over an
[785] animal so much as the latter's good-will in allowing itself to be slain by one who has pleased him by ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), or by one who has been endowed with skill by some other supernatural being. Men are accordingly careful to obey the wishes of their quarry. Long ago, a mountain goat told a shaman that he and his friends liked soot, so a hunter who has killed one always smears two bands of ashes across its face from the right eye to the left side of the mouth. Another shaman was told by a bear never to use
[411] owl-feathered arrows since none of his fellows killed with such would return. Plumes of other birds have since been used, preferably those of mallard ducks. Sometimes the wishes of an animal require considerable ritual. For example, when a bear is killed, the carcass is stretched upon neatly arranged evergreen boughs and skinned. The hunter reverses the pelt so that the tail lies near the neck, with the whole hanging loosely over the body. He pats it four times, as if pressing the skin back into place, and says:

[789] "Please don't linger. Go home and return," or,

"Please come to me tomorrow. Tell your brothers, your sisters, your uncles, your aunts and your other relations to come to me."

Should this be omitted, the animal is likely to stand up, skinless, shake itself, causing the pelt to return to its place, and run away. Yearling mountain goats are especially prone to do this, as already mentioned. Even if an animal does not show its resentment by escaping in this way, it often refuses to return to earth unless the proper rites have been performed over its carcass.

[262] Bears have another aversion: they do not like to be eaten by men. So the hunter leaves the skinned body for wolves

[183] [22]There are doubters in Bella Coola as in every other community, and several of the older men express disbelief in the immortality of animals.

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776 824 (II, p. 196). In this way the belief is kept before the eyes of the Bella Coola, but it is not a matter of prime importance in their lives. Rather contradictory is the concept that though each plant lack individual life, there is a supernatural mother of each species, corresponding in general terms to the Mother of Snakes described in the last section. As one informant expressed it:

"If there is no mother, how can a plant grow?"

These mothers are assumed to live beneath the ground. Occasionally, one of them has been discovered. Not many years ago, a number of women were collecting bracken roots when one which had been gathered began to turn into a snake. The women were alarmed and puzzled at this strange phenomenon. As they stood watching, the ground in front of them fell away as if there had been an earthquake, and they realized that the snake-root had been the mother of the plant. Without further fear they cooked and ate it.

776 823 Stones, too, and mountains were made by *Ăłquntăm*; consequently they have supernatural abilities and can understand the words and actions of mortals. When a wise man passes close beneath a precipitous mountain he always says to it:

"Please make yourself firm."

Most mountains, when requested politely, refrain from sliding and killing those passing beneath.

539 776 823 In former days mountains in many cases rose to meet hunters, and sometimes turned completely over. The Bella Coola are not sure whether this was caused by the mountain itself, or by a *snuuq* within. Wise hunters carry ropes with them when they penetrate into deep valleys, and when they feel the first tipping of a mountain they leap for a convenient tree, grasp it with their legs, heads downwards, and tie themselves in that position. Slowly the mountain rises and turns over, but, if the ropes do not break, the hunters suffer no ill effects. After a varying interval the mountain returns to its [789] normal position. This reversal can be hastened if a man bites

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 539 776 823

his left cheek until the blood flows, takes also a mouthful of his own urine, and spits out the mixture.

The following instance of this belief was recorded. [789]

A Bella Coola chief and a number of followers were once at Kwatna where they had been gambling for stakes of mountain goat grease. Two of the men had lost their supply, so they went into the mountains between Kwatna and Restoration Bay to replenish it. They saw two goats, killed them, and at once two more appeared in the same place; these they also slew. When a fifth and sixth goat appeared and were likewise dispatched, one of the hunters tried to restrain his comrade, saying that such phenomenal success must be due to supernatural power which they should not abuse. They stopped firing, cut the grease from their quarry, and started on the return journey. Presently the mountain began to tilt upwards before their feet. They had no ropes, and almost in despair concealed themselves in a small rock shelter. Their dogs too felt the movement and barked in terror. Fortunately, the mountain did not rise more than a few feet and soon subsided, so that the men escaped. [525]

The attitude of the Bella Coola to supernatural powers of all kinds may be termed a doctrine of Opportunism. Supernatural beings abound and constantly play a part in the affairs of mortals. An alert and bold man can take advantage of these opportunities and obtain assistance, but he who hesitates is indeed lost. Certain types of assistance are most commonly granted to orphans and other unfortunates; accounts of these belong to the realm of mythology and will be described in a later chapter. On the whole the supernatural ones do not show discrimination in conferring boons, and the man who is quick to take advantage of them is the one to whom success comes. 776 [736]

Supernatural Elements in Human Beings

The Bella Coola believe that in the human body itself there are certain supernatural elements. Neither sticks nor stones can move, because they lack these attributes possessed by men and animals. Considering the firm belief of the Bella Coola in the omnipresence of the supernatural, it is not surprising that they should ascribe the phenomena of health and sickness, 774

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775 small particles of food on a fire; these become large when they
782 reach the land below and nourish the ghosts. An individual making an offering of this kind says:

"*Ānukäldimut kuskao*," "This is to make straight your road, beloved one."

[756] The needs and desires of ghosts have been made known to mortals through visits paid by shamans to the land below, and by the coming of ghosts to this world. It is, therefore, realized that food placed on the ground does not reach the [372] land below, but that morsels thrown on a fire sink through into the abode of ghosts. Offerings to the dead are not made [753] with the hope of receiving favours from them, but rather to provide beloved relatives with necessary food and to prevent them from showing displeasure by causing stomach-aches and other ailments.

782 Other instances, both of prayer and of sacrifice, will be recorded in connection with various myths. The salient feature is that the Bella Coola are able to gain, by such means, the favour of supernatural beings, a factor which plays an important part in their daily life. In addition, they have a [789] large number of practices based on sympathetic magic. No absolutely rigid boundary line can be drawn between the latter and religion proper, but there is a fairly clear division between rites such as those just described, in which propitiation is the important element, and others in which the desired end follows the mere performance of a certain act. Customs of this last type will be reserved for later consideration (vol. I, chap. XI).

THE OBSERVANCE OF CEREMONIAL CHASTITY

831 In addition to prayer and sacrifice, the Bella Coola have
785 yet another means of obtaining the goodwill of supernatural beings, and at the same time of strengthening their own supernatural attributes so that good fortune is likely to occur. This is by the practice of *sxetsta*, ceremonial chastity, of which the basis is that a man must not hold intercourse except after certain periods of continence. To understand this, it is neces-

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831 785 ence was enough to kill an enemy, as if his spirit had been driven from his body by a sudden start. Even in recent times it is said that individuals who have observed ceremonial chas- [773] tity have been able to perform miraculous feats. A few years [789] ago a Bella Bella man lost two sons and was trying to get enough money to buy a tombstone for them. With this in view, he observed chastity for almost a year. Then he went seal hunting, and had killed a large number of the animals when, standing up in his boat, the sail blew against him so that he was thrown overboard. But he was so strong that he simply walked on the surface of the water and re-entered his [789] boat, none the worse for his mishap. The men who cited this instance stated that a number of Bella Bella had seen the occurrence and could vouch for it.

Ceremonial chastity is not a matter about which the Bella [124] Coola are willing to talk. It concerns both their religious and family life, in neither of which are strangers welcome. But when an investigator becomes on friendly terms, and gains some understanding of the inner lives of the people, he begins to realize its importance. Ceremonial chastity is not only [783] potent in itself, but it is also the favourite means by which a man can cleanse himself of the impurities of human existence so that he finds favour with the supernatural.

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428 influence of a chief is usually sufficient to settle claims as to
553 which of his brothers shall receive which name. Even if none
[578] of them is a chief, some one of them is certain to have greater influence than the others. If a dead man has no sons, his daughters can assume his names, which they may transmit to their children. Failing both sons and daughters, a man's brothers and sisters are his heirs, as usual, the one of influence being the one who really arranges matters.[6] None the less, it
[614] must be emphasized that if the members of the immediate family are slow to validate a dead man's names, they may be taken by any member of the ancestral family.

463 In former days it was customary to create a "remem-
869 brancer" to preserve the ancestral myth. The older and more influential members of the ancestral family would choose an
[614] intelligent young relative to whom to relate the myth in great detail. One informant described how her mother, the last official "remembrancer," had been instructed by her grandfather. The old man had been accustomed to take his granddaughter, a girl about twelve years of age, to bed with him, and whisper to her the myth, with his hand pressed over her anus to prevent escape of his words. At the conclusion of the recitation
[789] he always spat in her ears to make the words stick. The members of the ancestral family, recognizing that the "remembrancer" was the person best acquainted with the myth, were wont to consult him or her about it, and, of course, about the
[553] names embodied in it. A "remembrancer" had no authority to decree who should receive names, but appeals were often made to him, and a tactful individual was frequently able to settle disputes.

578 Considering the extreme fluidity of the whole system it is
428 surprising that quarrels are not more common. These are limited by the system of wills, through which a man bequeaths
614 his most valuable personal property, especially his intangible
553 property in *kusiut* name-prerogatives (II, p. 2). Ancestral

[6]At the present time the same principle governs the disposal of houses and gardens on the reserve.

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* 556 assistant blows a whistle, sounding like an eagle. When the
575 figure has disappeared into the back-room, the heralds discuss
with one another in a loud tone of voice how that was the form
[535] in which the initiate's ancestor appeared long ago. At the
present time there is uncertainty concerning the proper ritual
connected with the appearance of the *tutwinam* at this juncture.

A senior *susaok* then calls on X to bring forward goods, "to shield our eyes from the supernatural being." These articles, part of which may have been provided by relatives of the initiate, are piled beside those brought forward by X's wife, which may also have come from the same source.

[535] The singers strike up the second song of the initiate; again he appears and dances to it, then vanishes into the rear room.

The two assortments of goods are now distributed. First, those provided by X are presented to the singers who composed
[465] the songs for the initiates, to the carpenters who made the masks, the heralds, and announcers, and any others who have assisted; if any remain they are presented to the stranger-guests. Then the goods which are "mats for the dancer's feet" are distributed, entirely to the guests, and are said to have "become nothing" or to have "flowed away" in the transaction. Neither set of goods is returnable. These presents validate in the eyes of the guests, the right of the initiate to membership in the *susaok* society.

Then a second, third, or fourth neophyte is called out, one at a time, and the same procedure is repeated.[31] In distributing the goods, efforts are made to remember those guests who received nothing at the first distribution.

Toward dawn, one of the important chiefs, it is immaterial which one, calls out:

"I want a *siki*."

[789] It is understood that for this part of the ceremony a foreign expert is required, and one such comes forward according to previous arrangement. He retires to the back-room and re-

[31] Though desirable, it is seldom possible for all the initiates to dance on the same night.

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turns, clad in his ceremonial costume, including a long cape with pockets. With him come the four or five young men who have just finished dancing. The singers beat time furiously with their sticks, and the *siki* whirls round and round, working himself into a frenzy with twists and gyrations. Gradually, he approaches one of the initiates, and pretends to pluck something from his body. As he opens his hands the spectators see that there is something in them, what exactly, they cannot distinguish. Only those who are *susaok* understand that, whatever it is, it has been palmed from one of his cape pockets. He pretends to throw this object upwards, at the same time slipping it back into his cape. As the article is, theoretically, thrown aloft the sound of whistling is heard, which grows weaker and weaker till it finally ceases. Meanwhile the heralds discourse loudly with one another about how the "eagle" or whatever it is, has been extracted, and is now returning above. The same procedure is repeated for the other initiates. This concludes the night's ceremony. Food is distributed and the people disperse. 556* 575 789

The employment of a foreign *siki* to expel the power from the initiates is necessary since this particular prerogative is not native to Bella Coola. Formerly the expulsion was done in the back-room without any elaborate ceremony. This rite marks the admission of initiates into the *susaok* society although they cannot yet leave the back-room. It must be understood, however, that a youth may be initiated several times, on each occasion receiving new songs and perhaps a different mask. In this way his prestige as a *susaok* is increased, and the son of a powerful chief will often be initiated ten or more times. A mask so acquired is preserved in concealment as the personal property of the owner who may use it at potlatches on future occasions. It will be the guise in which a dead person returns to visit the living. After being used for this purpose, a mask may be burnt, or willed to a near relative of the deceased, who slightly alters the painting before using it himself. [424] [177] 556* 575 [422] [532] [428]

It is somewhat difficult to understand the attitude of those [781]

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*556 watching either the masked dancer or a representation of the
575 deceased. Usually, the feet are plainly visible, and the spec-
781 tators cannot fail to realize they are looking, not at an eagle or other supernatural creature, but at a man. Yet no one ever expresses this doubt. It must be remembered that all are firmly convinced of the close relationship existing between denizens of the land above and members of the *ɬsaok* society. To the uninitiated this is proved by the whistling. They regard the figures as supernaturally endowed representations of those beings with whom the participants are able to come in contact. A sophisticated Bella Coola likened their attitude to that of a man praying before images of the saints, fully realizing that these are only inanimate statues, yet mentally experiencing a feeling of close contact with the saints themselves. Another expressed it thus:

"The uninitiated are trained to believe what they see. It would be most improper for them to voice any doubts, in fact they do not have any, so firm is their belief in the supernatural power of the members of the *ɬsaok* society."

This last appears to be the real explanation. Everyone must have his or her doubts, but each is afraid to express them, realizing that so doing would not only offend the chiefs, as individuals, but the supernatural powers with whom they are in touch, which is obvious from the whistling that accompanies the ceremony. It appears that the uninitiated have no idea how this is produced.

CONCLUDING CEREMONIES AND OBSERVATIONS

*556 The number of *ɬsaok* initiates is usually too great to allow
575 all to dance on one night. If possible, this is done; but if not, on the following evening more of the initiates perform in the manner already described. The distribution of presents and the expulsion of power from the young *ɬsaok* also follow the
[789] same lines. If many of them are secluded, three, or even four, nights may be required until the last one has danced, and the last cleansing has been performed.

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There now remains only the necessity of removing from the house itself the supernatural power with which it is firmly believed to have been impregnated throughout the many weeks of the ceremony. Should this not be done, it would be so strong that only *sisaok* could thenceforth live in it, and no *kusiut* rite could be performed therein. One of the senior chiefs, acting on X's behalf, requests as many *siki* as are present to go to the back-room. At the same time a drum is beaten slowly. The *siki* call out loudly, in unison, *hoip* four times. The whistles sound from the back-room with ever-lessening intensity, as if the supernatural being, whose voice they are, were going away. It is said that this practice has been comparatively recently adopted from Rivers Inlet: there used to be nothing of the kind. The *siki* re-emerge, and one of them stands behind the fire with his stick which he beats on the floor and calls on the audience to shout with him, "*hi* . . ." This is done four times. It serves to purify the house from the supernatural power with which it has been saturated. The people then disperse, without food.

Goods from the general store are reserved to pay these men for their services, and also for cleansing the initiates from the powers with which they have been imbued, a rite that takes place the following morning in the presence of several *siki* alone. The initiates are brought from the back-room and seated in a close circle between the door and the fire.* A foreign *siki* is chosen by X to perform the actual cleansing rite. He has been asked beforehand and has come provided with a long pole and some soiled clothing. It is immaterial whose this is, provided that it has been in contact with a human body; the most potent articles are catamenial cedar-bark pads.

The *siki* covers the young men with a large cedar-bark mat. Then he fastens the clothing or pads to his pole and holds the end in the fire until they are smouldering. Then he swings it four times over the heads of the initiates and throws the stick

*Behind the fire according to some informants.

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with the objects back on the fire. In some cases four sets of cloths are used. This rite, which is regarded as very important, frees the lads from the supernatural powers with which they have been endowed, and permits them finally to leave the back-room and return to normal life, just as their earlier cleansing freed them from the *tutwinam*. During their period of seclusion no initiate can perform a *kusiut* ceremony of any kind. The supernatural beings of the two societies, though closely akin, are yet independent, and it would be unthinkable for a man to enter into contact with the two at the same time, unless he should be the owner of a rare prerogative enabling him to do so. Only a few men have the right, which undoubtedly was derived either from the Bella Bella or the people of Rivers Inlet.

X pays the functioning *siki* with new clothing. This completes the whole ceremony. The guests either return home or adjourn to some other house where a potlatch is taking place, but no rites mark their departure.

Such, then, are the principal features of the Bella Coola potlatch. Without making a careful comparison of its features with those of neighbouring tribes, the following points stand out with great clearness:

(1) The basic concepts of the potlatch in Bella Coola are the same as those of the rite practised elsewhere on the coast.

(2) A potlatch has not the same importance at Bella Coola as it has on other parts of the coast, especially among the Kwakiutl. All informants stated repeatedly that they did not carry their potlatches to the same lengths as did the "foolish" Kwakiutl, nor were they as keen financiers. A Bella Coola would never entirely impoverish himself by lavish giving.

(3) The potlatch, though fundamentally the same as it is elsewhere on the coast, has certain rites characteristic of the locality. The central Bella Coola feature, the return of a dead ancestor, is not equally important elsewhere. It would be interesting to be able to trace the history of this. The most

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424 as possible, a potlatch is the most suitable occasion. Goods
463 distributed for this purpose are not returnable; they have
"become nothing" in the acquisition. The value of presents so
*556 bestowed differs enormously; a man who is proud of his pre-
rogative validates it lavishly until he is strong in his vocation,
whereas another establishes himself on a lesser scale. The origin
[773] of professional rights, like so many of other kinds, is lost in
antiquity and ascribed to the wishes of *Alqantăm* as expressed
to the first people. Some of the early settlers came to earth
[551] with definite duties and vocations, each indicated by a special
name; others, lacking these, created them through their own
enormous power. At the death of one of these incumbents,
424 his name passed to one of his relatives who acted in the same
463 manner as his predecessor after duly validating the name in
553 question. Ever since that time, the owner of a confirmed pro-
fessional name has been able to perform the functions of the
*556 prerogative. This is never a man's sole designation, but merely
[551] an addition to those of ancestral, *kusiut*, *nsask*, and other
types. Like them, professional names are usually willed by
their owners, though if this is neglected, one can be revived by
any member of the deceased's ancestral family. In such a case,
the older people usually decide on a suitable incumbent and
suggest the matter to him; if he does not accept, the oppor-
tunity is given to another. If a member of the group is eager
to validate the name, it is unlikely that anyone would try to
[789] forestall him. Ability in certain respects can also be obtained
by magical means (I, p. 701), and a member of the ancestral
family so endowed is the natural choice for the prerogative in
question.

Prerogatives of this kind can be grouped according to the types of vocation included.

THE PROFESSION OF RIVER GUARDIAN

424 In the beginning of time, *Alqantăm* is said to have sent
463 down with *Ḳril*, who landed on the mountain behind *Ḳmqa·ti*,
551
693
773

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quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type.

THE PROFESSION OF FIRST BERRY PICKER

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly validated before she can function. One of these is *Sîlwawuk-nimûn-a*, another is *Ła'ya*. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditized. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to ripen the berries.

"Get ready to pick red elderberries [or whatever species is ripe] tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. As far as could be learnt, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker; obedience seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared.

THE PROFESSION OF WARRIOR

The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring validation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors confirmed as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal on them of professional names. At the present time, it is

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881 bundle of four macaroni-shaped shells, probably *Dentalium*,
[301] which are said to have been imported from the north in early
434 times. These marks serve to indicate the position of the girl,
who is both feared and respected, possessed of supernatural
[989] power, and yet baneful. Many Bella Coola stories describe
[538] how adolescent girls have been able to vanquish supernatural beings; perhaps the most striking of these is the manner in which they once saved mankind when the sun came too close to the earth. At the end of a year, or eleven months according to one old woman, the seclusion is terminated, and the girl resumes her normal activities. The first time she goes to the river she must throw on the water four pieces of dyed, and four pieces of undyed cedar-bark. This is especially important if the salmon are running at the time, although no explanation of this ritual is given.

582 The resumption of her freedom indicates that a girl has
556 reached marriageable age. Chiefs sometimes confine their
882 daughters for even longer than a year, and usually delay their marriages for several years to demonstrate their importance; but this is not necessary, nor is it practised by other than wealthy individuals. It is not uncommon for a girl to wed before her year is out; in that case her restrictions automatically
[554] lapse. Chiefs never allow such a curtailment for their daughters; to do so would diminish the prestige of the latter, and be detrimental to the status of their children when they marry
886 and have families. Illicit intercourse with a secluded adoles-
883 cent is considered not only illegal but disgusting as well. Be-
[881] tween the period of confinement and marriage, intercourse is prohibited and guarded against by the parents of a girl, but is not considered filthy and seems to have been fairly common in former times with the daughters of poor people and slaves. This sometimes took place before the first menstruation in spite of the disapproval with which this was regarded.

826 Although the menstrual blood which appears at the first
841 discharge is considered more baneful than that emitted on later
789 occasions, it is always regarded as uncanny or unclean. It is

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the most *kaman* of all substances, and, therefore, a potent protection against supernatural beings. It is valuable as a defence against evil monsters, but it is equally deadly to shamans and other human beings with supernatural powers. In the distant past, Raven taught mankind that to sleep with a menstruating woman would so blind a man that he would be unsuccessful in hunting. The belief is that animals, knowing everything that takes place, avoid one who is so unclean. One old man mentioned that he had failed to obey this injunction and considered his loss of virility as a punishment, overlooking the fact that he was over seventy years of age.

The coming of adolescence in a boy is recognized by change in voice and the other usual indications. He is neither taboo nor unclean, and consequently does not have to undergo any restrictions on his actions. There is no ceremony to mark the entry of a youth into adult membership of the tribe; instead, this comes gradually and puberty is no more than an indication of increasing age and strength.

Marriage

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola regard the married state as the normal condition of man. Anyone unwilling to wed is considered unnatural. Since the number of the sexes is approximately equal, the only persons forced to live alone are elderly widows and widowers, and those crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are looked upon as unfortunate; in fact, they have failed in one of the most fundamental of life's struggles. Man provides fish and game, builds houses and canoes, while woman collects berries, makes baskets, cooks, and performs the multitudinous small household tasks.

"Is it not to the benefit of each to marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is not a mere economic arrangement, nor is its sole function to regulate relations between the sexes. Its most important feature is that it governs the status of the child.

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763 to earth close by. In the winter of 1921-2 three Bella Coola
[824] were almost crushed in this manner; within a year the deaths took place of the wife of one, the mother of the second, and the daughter of the third. This was considered definite confirmation of their belief.

963 When a chief dies, a supernatural woman, *Skwanăt-ăn-ă*, "The Weeper," comes to earth to lament the loss. Crying
776 piteously, she walks to and fro in the woods near the village where the death has taken place, but can be heard or seen only by a person in whose family there will soon be a fatality. This
[789] can be counteracted by going boldly to her and collecting some of the clotted mucus that drips from her nose as she weeps. If this is wrapped in the finder's clothing and stored for a year, it brings him good fortune and probably deflects the impending death, but to see "The Weeper" without knowledge of the proper procedure is to court disaster. A prominent Bella Coola woman died in June, 1922, and her son believed that he heard the lamentation of the supernatural visitor about six the next morning in the woods behind the missionary's house. He rushed forth to find her, but was unsuccessful. Within a few days, one of his nieces died, as was to be expected.

763 A comparatively common bird in Bella Coola is the
825 *kwakwas*, which is about the size of a robin and dark, greenish brown.[1] Its whistle is frequently heard and no significance is attached to it, but it is an omen of death if a *kwakwas* comes close to a house and chirps out, "*Isi-s*." On the night of February 20, 1924, one called beneath the window of a man who was about to start on a journey in his motor-boat. Next morning, although the bird lay dead beside his house, he insisted on starting. He camped at Restoration Bay where he was awakened by a voice calling his name, but could see no one. This was probably an owl, a bird which often foretells disaster by calling the name of the person to whom it will occur. Even this did not deter him and within twenty-four hours his

[1] The bird could not be identified, although it belongs to fact, not mythology.

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Indeed, a grave is never
765 disturbed except, rarely, when it is necessary to obtain a
[789] portion of a skeleton for magical purposes. In such a case,
the coffin lid must be lifted up on the side away from the
[761] opener, so that he looks within over its upturned edge. A
person failing to obey this injunction will soon die.

768 Burning or deposition near the grave is not restricted to the actual utensils and artifacts of the deceased. There, too, must be laid dried salmon which a man has smoked for winter use, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready
[764] by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person seems indescribably indecent. In recent years, the crop, if a man dies after tilling and sowing a field, is allowed to ripen, and then rot unharvested. So, too, the canoe in which a body has been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Coola are not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is
[761] apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of
[784] death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or that has been in contact with a corpse.

764 The rituals described above may be considered as religious in nature; almost equally important are the social require-
431 ments of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This
556 indebtedness falls on the near relatives, though all members of the ancestral family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite
[614] manner. If a canoe has been destroyed that did not belong to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents must be given to the pall-bearers, to the woman who bore the flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way. Failure to do so brands the relatives as misers with little respect for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the outlook and minds of chiefs. Consequently, even poor people try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death

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tries to speak to living relatives, but his whistling language is unintelligible and frightens the hearer. Ghosts dislike urine, and the only means known to keep them away from a house is to sprinkle this liquid outside the door, a common Bella Coola custom. There is no actual danger in hearing a ghost, and little even in seeing one, provided the observer does not relate his experience, but should he try to do so, something happens to his mouth as if an invisible hand had been clamped over it to prevent his words issuing forth. He can neither eat nor drink and soon dies.[45] It is possible that other beings are responsible for this same affliction, but as no sufferer has ever been able to explain the cause of his ailment, no one knows. The most dangerous ghost is that of a person who, buried without a nose-ring, is unable to disintegrate into his elements. The sight of such an apparition causes almost immediate death through contraction and closing of the mouth.

An unpleasant habit of ghosts is the throwing of stones at the living. This is done partly from a love of mischief, and partly to remind their relatives of their needs. An old Kimsquit man described how, when encamped on King Island, he had almost been struck by a stone which seemed to fall from a tree. He realized that it must have been thrown by a ghost, and his opinion was confirmed when he found he could not speak. He instantly built a fire and cast on it both food and clothing as offerings to the dead, which had the effect of loosening his mouth. Pondering on the reason, he remembered that one of his relatives had died not far away, and that he had failed to give him any crumbs for a long time. In this case, as in many others, the stone was visible, though the thrower remained invisible.

Even near approach to ghosts is sometimes dangerous. The same man related how, when hunting, he heard what he thought was the note of a water ouzel, and passed by heedlessly. In a few minutes he thought he heard the cackling of geese, but the sound, instead of continuing to come from a pond a few hun-

[45] The disease attributed to the actions of ghosts may be lock-jaw.

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777 owing to the failure of hunters to observe ceremonial chastity.
* 787 When obtained, a *susiutl* was cut into small pieces, one of which
[789] worn upon the person would make the flesh so hard that an arrow could not penetrate.

[776] Sometimes the *susiutl* assumes the form of either a spring or a cohoe salmon. Not long ago a Bella Bella man, travelling in a canoe, ate one of these. Once devoured, it reformed itself, made its way out by consuming the man's lower jaw, then jumped overboard and was lost.

The mere appearance of a *susiutl* does not necessarily bring misfortune to the beholder, even if he has not the necessary knowledge, or courage, to take advantage of it. The following is an instance.

On one occasion the father's father of a middle-aged Bella Coola was going upstream at the time the salmon were jumping, when, unknown to him, one leaped into the canoe behind him. His first knowledge of anything untoward came to him when the bow rose out of the water, and, looking around, he saw that this was caused by the weight of a grease-covered stone lying in the bottom of his canoe; the salmon had vanished. The man threw overboard his floor-board with the stone on it. When he told his friends afterwards of his experience, they informed him that he had missed an opportunity for obtaining supernatural good fortune, as the "salmon" must have been a *susiutl*.

789 The *susiutl* can also be used as a charm. If a man, while in
[776] a pure condition through the observance of ceremonial chastity, eats a small portion of the flesh, it renders him proof against bullet or arrow. An intelligent Bella Coola stated that his father's brother had done so on one occasion, with the result that a bullet, fired by his wife's mother's father, fell harmless at his feet after striking him.

278 Medicine can also be obtained indirectly from a *susiutl*.
776 When one of these fish-like creatures swims through a pond,
824 wriggling as it goes, it frequently sheds some of its scales.

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ever object was desired, and then set in a window of his house so that the sun could fall on one uncovered end. The owner firmly believes that this stone has brought him money on various occasions, and will do so again, though whether he expects the coins to be found inside of the wrapping, or merely to come to him in the course of trade is questionable. According to Bella Coola belief, they ought to appear beside the stone, but as this man attributes any good fortune to it, he never has any difficulty in proving its powers. 777 823

This stone is also used as a means of increasing the efficacy of prayer. When its owner washes ceremonially in the river before eating in the morning, he rubs it over his body as if it were soap and requests it to make him strong, make him well, grant him his desires, and so forth. [515] [789]

Shamanism

More important to the Bella Coola than any other manifestation of the supernatural is that power which makes an individual either an *ālukwala* or an *āskankots*. The former is a person who, owing to ability granted him by a supernatural being, is able to perform miraculous feats, especially in curing the sick; the latter is one with similar powers obtained from a ghost.[2] It is impossible to translate either of these terms accurately; the designation "shaman" is accordingly used in this monograph to describe both types of supernaturally endowed individuals. The most common and most important method of obtaining such power is from a living supernatural being; a person receiving the boon in this manner will be termed "shaman," and one empowered by a ghost will be known as "shaman from the dead." 104 756* [787]* [788]

The Bella Coola believe that long ago men were so much more powerful than at present, and so close to the supernatural, that all were virtually shamans. The prowess and adventures 756* 773 538

[2]Ghosts are, of course, supernatural, but as the Bella Coola distinguish between shamans whose powers are derived from these two sources, it is accurate to follow their example.

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755 offender. A shaman is able to diagnose the malady, and when
* 756 he has pulled it forth in the manner previously described, he
[825] ties it up in a bundle of four pieces of dyed, and four of undyed, cedar-bark, sprinkles eagle down over the whole, and throws it into the river. This not only causes the sickness to return whence it has come, but placates the salmon who are glad to receive the beautiful cedar-bark.

755 (6) Another method is by making a present to *Ṫhitcăp-*
* 756 *lilăn·a*. The shaman prepares four collars of hemlock twigs,
782 wrapped around with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, and with numerous cross-pieces of dyed cedar-bark. When these are ready, all assemble to witness the curing, and to assist the practitioner by beating sticks. He first sets four basins, one at each corner of the fire, and then proceeds to pull it apart, leaving a glowing expanse of embers in the centre. The shaman throws on this bed pieces of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, as well as eagle down, and
● [789] walks through, between the two halves of the separated fire. Several men stated that they had seen this done, but none could give any information as to the method. If actually carried out, the way in which the fire was prevented from burning the shaman and the highly inflammable bark and eagle down has been lost.

The shaman himself now guides the beating of sticks. When the tumult has reached its height he goes to the patient and places over his head one of the collars, passing it right down over his body, breaking the cross strings of dyed cedar-bark as he does so. The patient rises and the shaman picks up the collar from beneath his feet; his body has thus passed entirely through it. The sick man then revolves once, sunwise, while the shaman carries the collar once, sunwise, around the fire. He then stills the beating of sticks, which has been going on throughout, and casts the circlet on the fire. The same procedure is repeated with the three remaining collars. It is believed that these offerings reach *Ṫhitcăplilăn·a* who, pleased to

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such a ceremony, that is, if he is validating his name, the gifts must be valuable. On later occasions, irrespective of whether it is the same trick or another that is performed, the presents will be of small value. Goods so given are not returnable. After dancing, a shaman wears his collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark all summer, in fact until he rids himself of his supernatural endowment by the performance of a *kusiut* rite the following winter. 756* 556 [292]

Thus there is close inter-dependence of shaman and *kusiut* dances. On any later occasion, at a ceremony when songs of all types are being sung, if the singers beat out the tunes of those used at the ritual just described, the shaman dances to them. This is said to "cure" him, as if the power within him was a source of danger. [575] [533] [535]

The following are examples of the conjuring tricks performed, most of them done by the shaman *Ninitsamlaix*, a relative of an informant, who was able to learn the methods employed. 756* 789●

On one occasion *Ninitsamlaix* prepared two boxes, apparently the ordinary wooden sort used for cooking; across each he arranged a diagonal cross-piece so that the receptacle contained two watertight compartments. Previous to the performance, *Ninitsamlaix* poured water, dyed red with the bark of the alder, into one section of one of the boxes, and put eagle down in one of the compartments of the other. When the time came to carry out the rite he asked an accomplice, another shaman, to bring some water and pour it into his box. This was done, the assistant taking care to put it into the empty half, not into that which contained the dyed water. *Ninitsamlaix* shook the box and poured out some of the liquid to prove that it really was water, and then drank. The spectators, unaware of the cross-piece, did not notice that he did so from the corner opposite to that from which he had poured the water. He had, of course, drunk the dyed fluid. *Ninitsamlaix* cried out that what he had swallowed was paining him, and proceeded to vomit the red water, much to the surprise of the

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* 756
789

uninitiated, who readily believed his claim that what he had drunk had changed to blood. Again the performer asked his assistant to bring in some water which he poured into the empty section of the other box, of which the other half contained eagle down. *Ninitsamlaix* moved to and fro, shaking the box to spill some of the liquid, and then announced that there was so much he could not drink it all, but would pour some on the fire. As before, he tilted the opposite side of the box, so that, instead of water, the eagle down came floating forth. The uninitiated, firmly convinced that the performer was endowed with supernatural power, never suspected that they were being deceived.

For her performance a female shaman once split a long, green stick, and gouged out the centre, so that it formed a narrow tube-like receptacle in which she laid a piece of undyed cedar-bark covered with eagle down. With wooden pegs she fastened the stick together so that it appeared to be an ordinary branch. When ready to perform, the woman asked some people to pile more wood on the fire, and, among others, an accomplice threw on the prepared stick with its butt protruding at the edge of the flames. As the fire blazed fiercely the female shaman danced; then the assistant announced that she wished to draw something from the flames, whereupon the woman seized the end of the cedar-bark from its enclosure in the projecting butt of the stick, and drew it forth. The uninitiated, ignorant of the prepared stick, were greatly impressed and puzzled as to how such inflammable material could have been in a fire without being consumed.

Ninitsamlaix used his skill as a carpenter to carry out elaborate tricks. On one occasion he sawed the boards surrounding the smoke vent of his house, and fixed them with skin hinges so that they could be raised by ropes from outside the building. To show his supernatural power he threw several large baskets up towards the roof. As he did so his assistants outside pulled the ropes so that the opening was enlarged and allowed the baskets to pass through. In the gloom of the house

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the spectators could not see the manner in which the hole was increased in size. It had been too small to permit the passage of the baskets at the time they were thrown, and it was still the same size after the feat was accomplished; hence supernatural means must have been employed to force them through the roof. Thus ran the logic of the uninitiated. 756* 789●

An informant, when acting as a *kusiut* spy (II, p. 14), once assisted four accomplices of a shaman who had obtained a stone from one of the lakes above *Nułłeax*. Many landslides fall into this, bringing down stones which are full of holes and float in water. Unless closely examined, the riddling is not evident, so that an ordinary river stone of the same size and colour can easily be confused with it.

Previous to dancing, the shaman had placed a few embers in the recesses of his stone, covered them with pounded cedar-bark, and concealed the object near the fire. When all was ready, he asked the informant, whom the uninitiated did not know to be an accomplice, to fetch him a stone. This he did, bringing one previously chosen as closely resembling the prepared one from the lake. This ordinary stone was passed around among the spectators and then given to the shaman who, unobserved, palmed it off for the other as he began to dance. At intervals he blew on the stone until the embers ignited the dry bark; first smoke appeared, then sparks, and finally a mass of flame. The shaman dropped it as if it had become too hot, choosing the spot where lay the river pebble; and again passed the latter from hand to hand through the audience, who could not understand how flames had been made to appear from an ordinary river stone. The words used for the songs on this occasion did not refer to the feat about to be performed, but to the alleged power given to the performer by *Ťłitcäplilän-a*.

On another occasion a woman who was a shaman produced an eagle's tail and said that she could make it revolve in a bucket of water, following her steps. She hid the tail, while appearing to cast it into the water, and by means of a con-

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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* 756 cealed cord succeeded in drawing feathers, previously placed
789 on the surface, around in the direction in which she was dancing. It was impossible to learn the details of the method employed in this trick. The subterfuge was long ago practised by a shaman.

A simple but effective trick was the substitution of a baton made of light maple wood for one of the heavy type used by the singers. The real stick had been passed around the audience and apparently returned to one of the singers, though in reality the false one had been given to him. As he beat time the hollow sound that emanated was a source of surprise to the uninitiated spectators, nor was their wonder lessened when a real baton was again handed around, as if it were the one that had been in use.

[178] According to an informant, the last time that a supernatural being helped the person on whom it had conferred shamanistic power to perform a rite of this kind was about 1870. A man who had fallen from his canoe into the ocean was rescued, but for a long time was ill as a result of exposure.
[776] River Measurer, the supernatural being who governs the
[787] height of tides in the river, appeared and made him a shaman with the ability to cure through the use of a wash-basin. As this shaman danced, he had a large box filled with water. Presently he called on one of the uninitiated to examine the height of the water and point out to his fellows how high it was. A little later he called a second man who likewise indicated on the outside of the box the height of the liquid within. It had fallen, though its disappearance seemed inexplicable.

781 The above furnishes a good example of the attitude of the
789 uninitiated. The informant, a very intelligent Bella Coola, gave a number of instances of the conjuring methods employed, some of which he had helped to carry out. Unquestionably, this was of the same nature, yet, because he was deceived at the time of its performance, he readily believed that the rite was supernatural; since then he had never thought of doubting

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it. The uninitiated are so steeped in the atmosphere of belief that any simple conjuring trick is sufficient to delude them. 781 789

Finally, the following account is here inserted, though the details of the performance could not be learnt.

The father of an elderly Bella Coola was once so sick that no one could help him. He had coughed up blood, eagle down had been heaped on his body, and hope had been abandoned. Then a *sisiutl* came to him, restoring his health and making him a very powerful shaman. His supernatural visitor had told him to employ his power beneficially, and had further instructed him in the use of a rod wherein it lay. Whenever this man danced, a stick, decorated with bands of cedar-bark wound spirally, was hung horizontally from the roof of his house. He carried one similarly embellished, but smaller, about two and a half feet long and three inches in diameter, having at one end a tuft of bark. During his dance, in which he sang of *sisiutl*, he went under the suspended stick, held the small one in his hand, blew on one end of it, then threw it up so that it struck the large hanging one. This was presumably done by the tuft of bark folding over and catching in some way. Again he danced and, when underneath where the two sticks were suspended, he jumped up, and caught the lower end of the smaller with his hands. This supported his weight, and he swung back and forth on it until he voluntarily released his grip and dropped. When next he danced at the same spot he held out one hand with palm uppermost beneath the smaller stick; the other was held in front of his mouth pointing towards the suspended one. He blew on the latter as if blowing dust from his hand to the point of contact of the two sticks, and the smaller dropped into his outstretched hand. 756* 789

By means of this stick the shaman could cure diseases. When told in what part of the body the pain was situated he pressed on that part with one end of his stick. Then he carried it to the fire and held in the smoke the end that had been in contact with the sickness. He puffed twice at it with his 755 756*

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* 756 755 mouth, and the malady departed. It had been absorbed into the stick, and later driven from it by the shaman's breath.

* 756 789 This man made a great reputation for himself with his ability to hang from his small stick. On one occasion, after fishing on the lower Fraser River, he was encamped on the ocean beach near Seattle, where he had gone to pick hops. Four white men who had heard of his powers came to his tent for a demonstration. He put on his robes, took his small stick from his box, and used the ridge pole of his tent as the heavier horizontal one. The white men examined the small stick and found nothing peculiar about it. The man performed his dance, in the course of it throwing the small stick up against the ridge pole, where it remained suspended with the actor hanging from it. After releasing his hold, he struck the smaller stick a slight blow with his hand and it at once came away from the ridge pole.

* 756 787 As already mentioned, it is extremely difficult to obtain accounts of dreams which have served as sources for shamanistic performances. They are unconsciously embellished by the performer to such an extent that the ritual displayed has probably slight resemblance to the vision on which it is based.

The following, however, is an example of the type that could have served as theme. A man once dreamed that he saw Mount *Nusqalst* with its rocks adorned with handsome pictures. The other mountains of the valley were also decorated, but none of them was so fine. If he had had the desire and the necessary wealth he could have arranged with the carpenters to have the designs that he saw in his dream painted, and could have displayed them as a shaman's vision.

* 756 782 A shaman, particularly one who has received a vision from *Tlicāplilān-a*, and who has had marked success both in curing the sick and in giving conjuring exhibitions, is considered to be in peculiarly close association with supernatural beings. Accordingly, he is regarded as a fit person to ask their assistance, not that he has any means of gaining help that are not open to others, but merely that his greater acquaintance with

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CHAPTER XI

MEDICINE, MAGIC, TABOO[1]

Introductory — Causative Medicines — Preventive and Curative Medicines — Sorcerers — Taboos — Ritual Acts — Miscellaneous Beliefs

INTRODUCTORY

THE beliefs described in the last chapter are essentially 771
religious since they display an attitude of respect and 789
often of propitiation to supernatural powers having greater
strength than human beings. This is self-evident in the earlier [756]
sections and, though less noticeable, is present also in ideas
concerning shamans since these men have themselves acquired ability placing them on a plane slightly removed from that of their fellows. Theoretically, it seems as if a clear division might be drawn between the concepts just recorded, and others of a magical nature in which, although the element of contact with the supernatural is present, yet the end desired is obtained by the mere performance of an action. To the Bella Coola there is a slight overlap between the two types. For example, [777]
the acquisition of an object from which supernatural good fortune may be secured is religious, but its use is virtually magical since once obtained, neither supplication nor further favours are necessary. Nevertheless, it is possible to separate most magical beliefs from most religious ones, though it must be emphasized that the cleavage is less distinct to the native than it appears to the white man.

If it is difficult to find a clear dividing-line between religion 757
and magic, it is impossible to draw one between the latter and 789

[1]The late Harlan I. Smith has dealt with certain aspects of the subjects treated in this chapter in two articles: "Sympathetic Magic and Witchcraft among the Bella-coola" (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 27, no. 1, Jan.-March, 1925, pp. 116-121) and "Materia Medica of the Bella Coola and Neighbouring Tribes of British Columbia" National Museum of Canada, Annual Report for 1927, Bulletin 56, pp. 47-68). [113]

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757 the science of medicine. The Bella Coola are familiar with
789 many acts which cause definite results. To place a new-born girl in contact with the representation of a beautiful woman
[856] so that she may grow up to be like her, seems false science,
[752] magic, to the white man; whereas the application of splints and gum to a fractured limb is a medical treatment, crude perhaps, but definitely scientific. The two are identical to the Bella Coola. They do not ask *why* or *how* a result follows, they merely know that it *does*. Such lore has been handed down from time immemorial; it is steeped in the sanctity of antiquity and hallowed by the knowledge that their ancestors have done the same for generations. All such acts may be described as "medicines," for so they appear to those who practise them. To separate them into magical and scientific categories would misrepresent the native point of view; the only division that can be made is between those that cause, and those that prevent or cure. Even in this there is some overlap. A medicine that cures a child from crying likewise causes him to be placid and amiable; so, too, medicines of a preventive nature comprise elements of both types. The principle governing most of these is sympathetic magic, a concept which, if put in words to the Bella Coola, would be regarded as logical and scientific. The second important class of medi-
[755] cines consists of objects, either herbal or derived from the human body, which are believed to have such abundant power that they are effective against ailments of supernatural origin, or against supernatural beings themselves. Some of these have already been mentioned in connection with the attitude of the Bella Coola towards these beings of the earth, sky, and water.

754 Most curative medicines are used by the practitioner on himself; most causative, on someone else. The latter are either
755 social or anti-social, depending upon whether the result is
789 benevolent or malevolent. Shamans frequently use magical means in curing the sick and are highly regarded by the community, but medicines of the same kind may be used to kill

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and those who have knowledge of them are sorcerers. Even 754
a man of this kind is not outside the pale of society unless he [755]
practises indiscriminately; members of the *kusiut* society, for [789]
example, frequently employ one to kill an individual who has [575]
offended against their regulations (I, p. 740). A man is regarded as a sorcerer not on account of his knowledge but on account of the ends to which he applies it.

Closely related to, if not identical with, the belief that 784
certain consequences follow certain acts, is the conviction that the infraction of ritual prohibitions brings disaster. There are many such taboos, for so they may be called. Though most important at the critical periods of life, puberty, pregnancy, while observing ceremonial chastity, and so forth, there are many which must be obeyed at all times.

Restrictions pertaining to the river and regulations at birth and death have already been described. Like magical acts, these often verge on the religious owing to the belief that disregard offends supernatural beings. On the whole, however, it seems as if most infractions bring their own punishment without intervention of higher powers, a concept which throws [789]
taboos into the category of magic rather than of religion, with the ever-present proviso that the two cannot be separated entirely from one another. With them may be associated a [788]
number of ritual acts connected with fishing and hunting in which, though the element of propitiation is not absent, it is satisfied by the performance of definite rites. Finally, there have been included in this chapter a number of unimportant beliefs, the psychology of which cannot be analysed.

What is the basis of these rites defined as Medicine, Magic, 154
and Taboo? As already described, the Bella Coola either do 771
not explain their origin and function, or merely state that 789
Alqunsăm is responsible, as he is for every activity of life. This is unsatisfactory because many which, viewed scientifically, have neither curative nor causative power, produce the desired end. A child who has been "made" a carpenter during infancy, usually grows up to be proficient in that profession; the person

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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154 who has been "cured" of an illness, recovers; the man whose
771 death has been "caused" by magic, dies. An average white
789 man would consider such statements to be erroneous, but they not only figure in stories and beliefs, but some of them have been actually observed by the writer. The explanation lies in the susceptibility of the Bella Coola to suggestion. The conviction that he is to die so weakens a man that death often results; belief that he is to recover, aids a sick person to throw off the malady. This sentiment, intelligible in case of disease, is equally applicable in other matters. The child who has been [818] endowed with carpentry skill grows up with the conviction to assist his labours. Moreover, his relatives and friends are also aware of it, and he receives every opportunity to practise, so that the outcome desired is often the consequence of the act.
789 Though the Bella Coola do not appreciate that psychological
828 and sociological factors may be the real cause of the result, they realize the importance of the power of thought. For [771] example, if a group of people is unanimous in wishing some end, or expects some event to happen, it is believed that their thoughts are strong enough to bring about its occurrence. The following examples illustrate this point:

It is said that when the white man first came to British Columbia, a tribe of Indians was living in a secluded valley, far to the south. As more and more settlers arrived, the occupants were driven from their homes and forced into the barren [787] mountains. One night, *Alqantäm* came in a vision to one of the natives, saying:

"I see what you desire; you want the white men to withdraw. You, yourself, are helpless. But if all your fellows wish the same, the white men will depart."

The man told all his friends and they agreed to concentrate the next night on their wish to expel the white man. A few failed to do so, and nothing happened. The second night there was the same lack of unanimity. The desire to drive away the intruders grew stronger in course of time, until one night this was the centre of the thoughts of all; next morning the white

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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men had vanished. It is possible that in this particular case there was a belief that *Alqwstâm* granted the wish when convinced that all had the same desire, but this element is often entirely lacking.

Belief in the power of thought is a concept which the investigator constantly meets in Bella Coola at the present day. For example, in 1921 a government official working in the valley, purchased a representation of a merganser which had been used in a ceremonial.[1] Although this should have been destroyed after use, no difficulty would have been raised if the transaction had remained a secret. Unfortunately, the buyer allowed the object to be seen by several Bella Coola and by some Carriers. This caused indignation throughout the community and news of it reached the Bella Bella, who concluded that the vendor would suffer disaster for allowing a secret object to be seen by the despised Indians of the interior. Within a year, his wife died. The Bella Bella believed that his sin had brought its own punishment, but the Bella Coola, who knew the details of the sale and did not consider the exposure of the article to have been the fault of the seller, attributed it to the power of the thoughts of the Bella Bella. They all expected that he would be punished; therefore he was punished; the expectation was sufficient to effect its own fulfilment. This incident was too fresh in the minds of several men to allow them to sell ceremonial objects to the writer.

The most common form taken by this conviction is with regard to death; if it is believed that a man will die, he is almost certain to do so. In June, 1922, a woman died in Bella Coola and her father claimed that she had been murdered by a certain man either with material poison or by magical means. He took no direct steps in revenge but stated emphatically that the man whom he suspected would die within a year. The threatened man knew of this, and more than once said that he

[1] The article, now in the National Museum of Canada, consists of a cloth and wood representation of a merganser canoe such as was used by *Nuxtsis* in the beginning of time.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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754 would probably fall a victim. He became ill in May, 1923,
761 and, though treated by a white doctor, grew steadily worse
789 until he died in the latter part of June, three weeks after the
828 year had elapsed. All the Bella Coola firmly believe that this
[622] was due to the power of thought. The father of the woman was a powerful chief whose thoughts were accordingly potent, and some consider that his concentrated desires and expectations were enough to kill the accused, while others believe that his expressed statements convinced others of the result, and that it was their combined thought that caused the death. It usually requires the thoughts of more than one individual to lead to this effect. The doctor who attended this man stated that his patient had shown symptoms of melancholy and resignation during his last sickness; it seems clear that the expectation of death must have lessened his chance of recovery.

771 A prominent theme in Bella Coola folk-lore is the belief
954 that a person cannot long survive who has made himself un-
828 popular. It is sometimes stated that a magical means was
[538] employed to remove him, and this was no doubt often the case; a person who learns that a "medicine" had been employed to kill him is in no fit mental condition to counteract the power of suggestion, particularly if he knows that others are aware of what has been done. His death is regarded as proof of the efficacy of the means employed and the belief of others grows stronger. As already stated, this conviction still survives. When this ethnological investigation was being conducted, a
[648] point under discussion was whether or not the Kimsquit people should be allowed to live in Bella Coola. One chief took the lead in objecting and everyone expected that, having thus roused the ire of would-be immigrants, he would die. He did so soon afterwards, and it is universally believed that it was caused by the concentration of the hostile thoughts of the Kimsquit. Similarly, the potency of taboos is increased by the fact that since
[784] time immemorial the thoughts of everyone have been opposed to any infraction. Consequently, an offender is liable to punishment both for breaking an injunction and because he

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Causative Medicines

Medicines of Infancy

●789 *To Cause Tallness*

856 As soon as the umbilical cord is cut, blow upon it and pull it out; the infant will grow up to be tall and big.

The following medicines are applied four days after birth:

The infant is washed, formerly in a circular cedar or cottonwood basin, and the remedy pressed against its body while drying. Some families prefer to wait until the child is able to crawl.

To Cause Strength (three means)

[824] [825] (1) Collect four pieces of bark, each from a different tree where a grizzly bear has scratched. Place them in the infant's wash-bowl, then warm them at a fire and rub over his body. This ensures him the strength of a grizzly bear.

(2) Collect four water-smoothed, green stones from the river. Place them in the infant's wash-bowl, then warm them at a fire and rub over the body. After four days, return the stones to the river.

[825] (3) Warm the body of an octopus, beaver, or wolverine in the smoke of a fire and gently press the carcass against an infant's body, saying:

"Friend, may he be like you."

This provides the child with the strength of the animal used.

To Cause Long Life

[826] [824] Collect four pieces of wood which have been rolled hard and smooth in a landslide. Boil them in the infant's wash-bowl, cool, then re-warm them at a fire and rub them over the body. This makes him strong and healthy, able to endure all dangers and weaknesses even those caused by a sorcerer. The principle is that the child will be as hardy as the wood pressed

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itself to be by withstanding the crushing weight of stone and earth. An old Kimsquit man expressed the firm conviction that his great age was the result of this treatment soon after birth.

To Cause Impervious to Cold

Kill a water ouzel, warm it at a fire, then press it against every part of the infant's body. This makes him as hardiness of cold water as the bird. A mosquito may be used in the same way, or the foot of one be placed in the child's hand and pressed as his fingers clutch it.

To Cause a Quarrelsome Disposition

Burn the nest of wasps and rub the ashes on the infant's face. He will become as bellicose and quick to resent injury as the insects. One old man who habitually beats his wife explains that this is involuntary, since he was treated in this way when a child. Fighting is no longer allowed, so the only person on whom he can exercise his martial ardour is his wife. The woman regards this treatment as a matter of course and the reason is accepted as valid by her associates.

To Cause Success in Thieving

Kill a pack-rat, warm it at a fire, and rub the carcass lightly over the infant's body. This will make him as successful a thief as the animal. Other methods are to cut off a foot and put this as the infant clutches it in his fingers, or to rub its hands with the ashes of a burnt rat.

To Cause Success in Singing

Catch a live robin or *omamomsuh* (probably one of the thrushes), warm it at a fire, and rub it lightly against the infant's throat, saying:

"May he be a singer like you."

Then release the bird, and the child will grow up a songster. The following story is told of the power of the *omamomsuh*'s song:

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538 In the beginning of time is used to sing.

789 "I shall use a spoon and eat when the Bella Coola River has been its bounds on account of the running salmon in it."

125 The people used to laugh as it repeated this song year after year,

856 until the bird changed its song:

[534] "I shall use a spoon and eat when all is cold and clear. Then there will be Death instead of salmon in Bella Coola."

The next year the streams were so clear that no fish could be caught and the starving people asked the bird to return to its first song. When it did so, the water became murky so that it was possible to catch salmon once more.

The Bella Bella, not the Bella Coola, use the body of a blue jay to cause an infant to grow up with the ability to master difficult tunes in the same way that the bird has a variety of notes. The method of applying this medicine could not be learnt.

789 Most of the above medicines are well known and can be applied by any parent. If, however, a man has employed one

856 of them successfully on a number of occasions, he is often requested to use his ability for others. In such a case, the father of the benefited child is expected to reimburse his friend.

[184] The application or non-application of such medicines is purely the concern of the child's family; they can use as many as they like, or none at all, according to their discretion.

The following medicines are used during the first year of life:

304 *To Cause Beauty*

789 Bandages of the softest undyed cedar-bark are prepared for

856 infants of both sexes soon after birth. A woman who is a good

532 artist is requested to draw with charcoal two pictures on one of the pieces of bark—of handsome men if the child is a boy, or of lovely women if a girl. An unmarked wrapping is fastened round the infant's head, then the painted one so arranged that one picture is over the forehead, the other over the occiput, and finally other plain bandages to cover the whole. These

[124] are left in place for about one year. They flatten the forehead

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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and back of the head, preventing a bulging appearance which is considered ugly, while the paintings ensure beauty of countenance. Cranial deformation has no supernatural sanction, though it is believed to have been carried out for generations. 304 789 156 [532] [126]

To Cause Leanness

Place pieces of caribou skin on an infant's wrists and ankles and leave them in position for several months. He will grow up lean and wiry, like the animal. 789 156 [125]

To Cause Left-handedness

Shake the left hand of an infant while lying in the cradle and he will be left-handed throughout life. To do this is considered a malevolent action.

To Cause the Hair to Grow (two means)

(1) Rub the infant's scalp with the eye of a *ilakmult* (red cod?), freshly removed from the fish's head. [125]

(2) Boil stems of the swamp gooseberry in water and rub the mixture over the infant's scalp. [124]

Wise mothers always apply one or other of these remedies to their children.

To Cause Ability in Singing (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good singer to impart to him ability similar to his own. He takes his beating-stick, spits on it, and rubs it over the child's heart, saying: 533 789 156

"Thou be a singer."

This is done only for male children. [124]

(2) Boil together herbs and a bear's bladder and smear the decoction on the infant's back. He must thereafterwith wear around his neck for several months a small sack containing four blue grouse gall-bladders (possibly stones from the crop were meant). This gives the child the singing ability of the bird, but the significance of the bear bladder is unknown. [125]

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856 *To Cause Ability in Carpentry* (two means)

789 (1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good carpenter to impart to him ability similar to his own. He spits on his tools and rubs these over the child's heart, saying:

868

"Please be a carpenter."

This is done only for male children.

(2) Cut splinters from the tools of an expert carpenter, burn them, and rub the ashes over the child's hands. This is most efficacious when performed by the carpenter himself who says as he rubs:

"Please be a carpenter."

To Cause Ability in Thieving

Indians from the vicinity of Sitka are said to fasten a live mouse in an infant's clothing or tie one in the cradle. This causes the child to amass riches easily, but when practised by a Sitka man and woman who were slaves of the Bella Coola it was so potent that their son grew up to be an inveterate thief.

895 *To Cause Ability to See Beneath the Water*

856 When the infant is in the cradle, kill a gull, cut out its tongue, and rub this around inside the child's mouth. Strip the feathers and lay them so that the infant sleeps upon them. This gives him the same ability as the bird to see beneath the ocean and tell where fish are to be found. This was done not many years ago to a Bella Bella child whose ability was consequently so great that it frightened his friends.

789

To Cause Ability in Hunting

The Kitlebe achieve this by making a child sleep upon dog hair. No instance is remembered of this having actually been practised by the Bella Coola, although, being well known, there is no reason why it should not be used.

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To Cause Ability in Understanding the Speech of Ravens 825

It is well known that when ravens croak, they are really 856
speaking, but their language is unintelligible except to one who 789
has learnt it by means of a medicine. One of these is the following:

Catch a raven alive and cut a small piece of flesh from its body, beneath the left wing, taking care not to kill the bird. Release it, after having fed the morsel to the child. An infant so treated will grow up able to learn from ravens of the approach of raiding parties, storms, visitors, and all other news which they constantly circulate in their loud calling. It is said that the last person so endowed was the father of a Kimsquit man about forty years of age in 1922. His ability lasted throughout childhood but he lost it through infraction of a taboo.

The following medicines are used between the ages of one and two: 304

To Cause Long Life 789

One year after birth, holes are pierced through the lobes of 856
the ears and the nasal septum. In the beginning of time, 886
Alquntăm told the forefathers of the Bella Coola that if this were not done, the boy or girl would die young.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

When the umbilical cord of a female infant falls, her father 846
places it within the knot-hole of a tree, where it is protected 856
from rain but where it rots and is forgotten. A boy's is pre- 789
served with care. The parents wrap it in soft goat's wool and [858]
place it in the box where the father keeps his most cherished possessions; this causes the child to be careful, and to grow up with a tendency to treasure his acquisitions rather than to dispose heedlessly of them. As the first anniversary of his [785]
son's birth approaches, his father begins to observe ceremonial chastity, endeavouring to estimate the time so that its culmin-

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846 ating point shall be one year after the birth. Early on the
856 morning of this day, he takes the umbilical cord and goes far
into the mountains until he finds a place where the grass is
789 matted and the earth packed, showing that a mountain goat
[785] has slept there. He digs a hole, inserts the cord in it, and covers it with stones, praying as he does so:

"Please, father! May my son be skilful, may he be successful in hunting mountain goats."

This has the effect of showing the child where these animals are to be found. The father then returns home.

Four days later he goes back to the same spot, digs up the umbilical cord, brings it home and hangs it in the doorway of the house. Should this be omitted, the child would have an intense longing to hunt in the mountains and would leave home at the first opportunity, but would be unable to return. The cord is left suspended for four days, then taken to the forest and deposited under an overhanging rock where no water can penetrate. It dries in course of time but no further attention is paid to it.

[168] A child so treated begins to hunt birds and squirrels when he is eight or ten years of age, and later follows mountain goats with obsidian-pointed arrows. This medicine has been handed
[424] down in certain families for generations. If a parent, not possessing the prerogative, wishes to have it applied to his child, he requests one who is entitled to use it to perform with his son's umbilical cord in the manner just described. He is later paid for his assistance.

A similar, though simpler medicine is for the father to take the fallen umbilical cord to the mountains immediately and bury it beneath stones where a mountain goat has been lying. Four days later he returns to the spot, digs up the cord, and brings it home, thus ensuring that the child will have no fear of the mountains and will be a successful hunter of mountain goats. In such cases it is customary for the mother to preserve her son's cord during his childhood so that he will not become careless.

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To Cause Strength

Place pieces of octopus flesh in the infant's bowl and wash him with these. This causes him to grow up with the strength of the animal. 825 856 789

To Cause Understanding of the Speech of Ravens

When a child is able to toddle, but has not learnt to talk, shut him in a box and turn this upside down. Leave him alone for four days and four nights, passing in what food is necessary during darkness.

Knowledge of this medicine was learnt from *ilkas*, a female slave born near New Westminster who was owned by the maternal grandfather of the wife of the elderly Kimsquit man from whom this information was obtained. The slave's father had treated her in this way when an infant; while so confined she had not only learnt the language of ravens, but Cowichan, her own speech, as well. *ilkas* used to tell the Kimsquit people of her ability, but few believed her, though she asserted that this was a well-known Cowichan method, and her captors had their own means of imparting the same ability to their children, as well as an ancient tradition of the practice she described. One day she informed her master that the ravens had told her of the near approach of a raiding-party. He summoned the chiefs, but they laughed at the warning and disregarded it. *ilkas* received the same intimation for four days, and on the fourth the raiders appeared and she was vindicated.

The inversion of the box is due to the belief that ravens, when bringing news, turn over upon themselves like tumbler pigeons. The Bella Coola do not know whether the box must be so tight as to hold the child upside down.

To Cause Ceremonial Intelligence

When a child is one or two years of age, paint on its back the picture of a black bear's gall-bladder. Leave this in position for four days, then wash it off secretly in a mountain stream. A child so treated will grow up with ability to perform 856 789 532

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789 ceremonial dances without making mistakes. The Bella Bella
856 paint a representation of a wolf's bladder for the same purpose.
[532] The basis of this medicine is the belief that it is the gall-
[826] bladder which causes wildness and intelligent fear, and hence
that anyone so treated will be careful not to make mistakes.
[825] A bird with a large bladder is thought to be difficult to approach, whereas a deer, which has a small one, or none at all, is often stupidly brave. This medicine is known only to the mem-
[424] bers of certain families and is used for the children of chiefs
[622] alone, since errors on the part of others is a matter of little importance.

MEDICINES OF CHILDHOOD

789 Some of the instruction given to boys and girls, and the
856 acts which they are enjoined to perform, are virtually religious,
and have accordingly been described in earlier chapters. For
771 example, when a lad washes in the river before daybreak, scours himself with a smooth stone and prays to *Alquntăm*, he is carrying out what might with justice be called a religious act. If, however, he believes that mere washing is enough to compel some desire or end, it is magical. Different Bella Coola have different sentiments concerning the exact means by which this method causes the desired effect. To some it is unquestionably a true prayer, but in other families it is customary for a father to take his son, when he has reached about eight years of age, and wash him four times, to the accompaniment of the usual prayer. It is believed that this causes the lad to grow up powerful and active, constantly striving for success. This type of washing may be called magical.

789 In the following there is no element of uncertainty; they
856 belong unquestionably to the category described in the preceding section.

To Cause Agility

The following medicine is frequently employed by fathers when their sons are first able to walk:

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Kill a squirrel, clean it, wash the entrails carefully and leave them hanging in the sun to dry for four days, then tie them around the child's stomach for four days more. It is important that the infant should not break thestring. On the fourth day, remove them and hang them in the doorway of the house. On this same day, another squirre must be killed, treated as before, and its viscera allowed to dry for four days. The child wears these in the same way for four days, when they too are hung in the doorway. A third squirrel, and finally a fourth, is killed and made use of in precisely the same manner. When the final set of entrails has been hung up, the four are left suspended for four days, till the twenty-eighth after the killing of the first animal, when the father takes them to the forest and deposits them beneath some projecting rock where no water can penetrate and where they will dry and keep indefinitely. 825 789 856

This causes the child to grow up endowed, like the squirrel, with agility so that he can scale even precipitous mountains. This medicine is frequently used in conjunction with one for hunting ability.

To Cause Easy Delivery [843]

Place the foetus of a porcupine against theback of a girl's neck and allow it to drop to the ground. Pick it up, replace it, and let it fall again. This is repeated four times while the person says:

"Please, may she be like you and have no trouble in giving birth."

This medicine can be used at any time before puberty.

To Cause Bravery (four means)

(1) When a grizzly bear has been shot, a lad who wishes to make himself brave approaches it and thrusts his arm down the dying animal's throat. This kills it by choking. Then he rubs his hand over his heart and the back of his neck, the seat [774]

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825 of the spirit, which imparts to himself the courage and strength
789 of the animal he has just slain.
856 (2) When a grizzly bear has been killed and skinned, the
[774] bloody pelt is wrapped around a lad whose parents wish him to be brave. He is lashed in securely and the bundle, attached to a long rope, is thrown into the rapids. After a few minutes, it is drawn ashore, but immediately thrown in again. This is repeated four times. This medicine causes the child to have the courage of a grizzly bear. It is said that the first youth to whom this was applied rescued his mother from slavery among the Tsimshian.

This treatment is usually applied to boys of from three to five years of age.

(3) When a grizzly bear has been killed and skinned, two lads, whose parents wish them to be brave, are called. They are told to crouch on their hands and knees and while in this position the pelt is thrown over their backs. They crawl to and fro for a few minutes while dogs are encouraged to bark and growl at the "animal." The skin is then removed and the two sent to wash in the river. They are called back and the whole rite repeated a second time, followed by a third and a fourth application, with washing in every case. This gives them the bravery of grizzly bears.

This medicine can be used at any time before the holding of sexual intercourse.

(4) When an octópus has been killed, a lad is placed within the freshly removed skin. Those present say:

"Please, may he be like you, afraid of nothing."

The skin is removed and the lad sent to wash in the river. The rite is repeated four times which gives him the bravery of an octopus. Like the last, this medicine is not potent for one who has held sexual intercourse.

To Cause Ability in River Work

Fasten a boy in the freshly removed skin of a beaver and throw the bundle into the river. Lift it out when it has gone

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beneath the surface, and throw it in a second time. Repeat this four times. If the wrapping has been carefully fastened, little water leaks in and the child suffers no discomfort. This causes him to grow up confident and brave with regard to canoeing and every kind of activity on the river. Like the last medicine, this is not potent for one who has held sexual intercourse. It cannot be applied to a girl since beaver are unfavourable to women who must observe many taboos concerning them. 825 789 856

To Cause Modesty and Respect for One's Elders

When a boy is about six or eight years of age, his father beats him lightly, four times, with a rope-end. This is done in the early morning, then he takes his son to wash immediately. Four days later the beating and washing are repeated. From this time on, a parent should whip his son four times every fourth morning until he is old enough to marry. The force of the chastisements increases as the lad grows older, so that when he is about fourteen years of age, he is beaten with the full force of his parent's arm. It is a point of honour for a lad to endure his whippings without whimpering; one who shows the pain he is suffering is laughed at by his fellows and not allowed to wash with them. This medicine makes a child strong, manly, respectful to his elders, and, generally, the type of individual to whom supernatural beings are likely to show favour. 789 856 [152]

This practice has long been discontinued and it was impossible to learn whether or not it had ever been carried out with full vigour. Several of the older men stated that in their childhood they had been beaten periodically by their fathers, but none had had this last over a period of years. It was claimed that such had been the case in earlier times, but it seems almost certain that this type of chastisement could never have been carried out regularly. During the winter, for example, when *kusiut* dances were taking place, the whole community used to sleep late and it is improbable that a father rose every fourth [178]

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789 morning to whip his son. It is clear, however, that such was
856 regarded as proper by anyone practising this medicine, even though few did so regularly.

MEDICINES APPLIED TO YOUNG DOGS

789 *To Cause Ability in Hunting*
231 When a bear has been killed and the first incision made for skinning it, take a puppy, force its head inside the opening, and rub it to and fro. Throw the animal into the river and when it has swum ashore, repeat the rite. If this act is repeated four times, the dog will grow up to be a good hunter.

To Cause Ability in Hunting Beaver

Wrap the puppy in the freshly removed skin of a beaver and throw it into the river to the accompaniment of hand-clapping from as many as happen to be present. After submersion for a few moments, remove the bundle and throw it in again. Repeat this twice more. This makes the dog grow up unafraid of water and, accordingly, useful in hunting beaver.

To Cause Disregard of Musket Shots

Lay some black powder at the nose of a sleeping puppy and ignite it. The dog will grow up without fear of musket shots.

To Cause Keen Scent

Slit any kind of salmon so that the liver is exposed and hold the puppy with its nose immediately over this. Make an incision in the tip so that the blood flows freely on to the organ of the salmon. Hold the animal until flies have gathered from all directions to feast upon the fish and fresh blood.

The dog will grow up with the ability to locate game in any direction, just as flies gather wherever there is blood. He will also have their ability to travel without requiring a path. One
[424] old man stated that this medicine was the property of an ancestral family, and should be used when a puppy is one month old.

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To Cause Ability in Hunting Mountain Goats 789 281

Steep the freshly removed head of a fisher, wolf, or wolverine in smoke for four days. Break a hole in the top of the skull and hold the puppy's head over this; then slit its nose so that the blood drips down into the interior of the cranium. Release the dog, take the head to the mountains and bury it in the ground beneath a spot where mountain goats have been sleeping. Dig it up four days later and conceal it under a shelving rock where it is protected from the rain.

This medicine causes the dog to grow up with knowledge of the haunts of mountain goats as well as with the bravery of whichever animal was used. This means can be practised only by members of the ancestral families to which it belongs. [424]

To Cause Ability in Hunting Otters or Seals

Obtain the head of whichever is desired, and proceed as described for mountain goats. Instead of burying, place the skull under shelter near a creek much frequented by land otters, or near the ocean where seals are plentiful. It need not be taken up after four days.

To Cause General Ability

This medicine can be applied only by a successful hunter, who expects compensation for his assistance. It is employed when a puppy is about one month old.

Early in the morning the hunter seats himself on a box within the house of the dog's master, his legs stretched out before him. He seizes the puppy firmly and passes it, sunwise, around and under his legs four times, frequently spitting on its nose and kneading it with his hands to make that organ slender. This causes the animal to grow up with good tracking ability, while the passing makes it faithful to its master. Next the hunter seizes the dog by the hind legs and swings it four times, sunwise, over and through the smoke of the fire. This prevents it from being dizzy and afraid of precipitous mountains, but if it yelps as it travels through the air, it will be a poor dog. Finally, the hunter carries it to the river and throws

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789 it in. He seizes as it swims ashore and throws it back once more. This is repeated four times and causes the animal to 231 have no fear of water.

In former times great attention was paid to the training of young dogs.

MEDICINES PERTAINING TO LOVE, MARRIAGE, AND CHILDBIRTH

832 *To Cause Love*

This medicine is applied by women to men, and by men to women.

Obtain a hair of the person whose love is sought, place with it one of the wooer's, and tie the two in a strip of birch-bark together with a morsel of octopus skin. This causes intense desire between the two. This medicine is usually personally applied by amorous youths.

A similar usage is to wear the two hairs next the stomach, hidden by a belt. Men, especially, do this to cause love on the part of girls whom they admire. An old Bella Coola mentioned that he had once had occasion to investigate the box of a Kimsquit man within which he found the tip of a land otter's tail, split, and containing two small tufts of hair, one the owner's, the other, his wife's. This ensured lasting devotion between the two.

To Cause Love for Oneself

A few years ago a certain *Kâlsl* of Kimsquit used the following medicine to attract two sisters:

He made two figures, one representing a male, and the other a female. To each he tied birch-bark, octopus-skin, a few of his own hairs, and some obtained from the girls. Each figure was provided with sexual organs, and he placed them in position for sexual intercourse. This caused the two girls to desire *Kâlsl* so madly that they almost became demented in their infatuation. Their mother, *Kwa-tsas*, suspected that *Kâlsl* had been using something of the kind and searched his

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box during his absence. As soon as she had found the figures, she called in all the people, showed them her discovery, and suggested throwing them into the fire. Some objected, pointing out that if *Kälotl* had been using them, their destruction would cause his death. It was decided to test him, so no one told the lover that he had been found out, and he suspected nothing on his return. When he went into another house, *Kwa·tsua* placed the figures near the fire; immediately, *Kälotl* tried to lie down at the edge of the one near him, and was restrained only by some of the bystanders. This proved his guilt conclusively. *Kwa·tsua* washed the figures to destroy their power, which caused *Kälotl* to lose his desire to enter a fire, and at the same time destroyed the love of the two girls for him. 832

This medicine can be made only by a skilful carpenter; its real potency lies in the ingredients though the figures cause it to work more speedily.

To Strengthen Virility

This medicine is used by old men. 833

Catch a porcupine alive and cut out a quill from near its tail so that the blood flows freely. Prick the penis with the quill until the human blood mingles with the animal's. Potency follows at once. 886 825

To Cause Conception

A medicine was formerly known to cause a first conception, but it has been forgotten. A mother, however, who has just lost an infant, can ensure the birth of another by bringing a stone from the cemetery four days after her bereavement. If she leaves this beneath her bed for four nights, and then throws it away carelessly, anywhere, she will soon be pregnant. 842 789

To Prevent Conception

A medicine with this effect was formerly known but has been forgotten.

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842 *To Cause Birth of a Child of the Desired Sex*

789 If a boy is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her a miniature bow and arrows on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

If a girl is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her miniature tools used for beating cedar-bark on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

843 *To Cause Easy Delivery* (two means)

789 (1) The pregnant woman must boil stalks of stonecrop in water and drink freely of the decoction.

(2) A variant of the medicine already described can be applied during pregnancy. Strike the back of the woman with one or more porcupine embryos. The thrower must remain in concealment and the woman to be benefited must be unaware of what is about to be done.

853 *To Cause Increased Flow of Milk*

757 Heat pods of *Sedum Spathulifolium* (Hook) and apply them as a poultice to the breasts of the nursing mother.

MISCELLANEOUS MEDICINES USED BY ADULTS

461 *To Cause Energy*

789 Take the paw of a freshly killed beaver in one hand and pat it with the other, saying:

825 "Please, may I be like you."

This ensures that the man or woman will always work hard, like a beaver.

789 *To Cause Long Life*

Pick up a toad, spit on it four times, saying:

825 "May I be strong like you," and put it down carefully.

886 The basis of this medicine is the belief that toads are capable of resisting greater pressure than other animals. For example, if one is caught in an olachen net, it survives the crushing weight of fish and water and is alive when the net is emptied, though all other living animals so ensnared are killed.

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It is said that one man accidentally sucked when spitting on a toad, and swallowed the creature. It lived within his stomach for fifty years, causing no discomfort though its master could feel it moving, and its singing could be heard at intervals. This brought him no supernatural power, although he was enabled by it to live to a great age. When at last he died, the toad came hopping out of his throat and was carried respectfully to the river by his friends who covered the creature with eagle down and dyed and undyed cedar-bark. 789 825 886

Some of the rites already described with regard to animals and fish are similar in nature to this medicine.

To Cause Obesity 789

A medicine was formerly used by chiefs to make them fat and important-looking, but details of it have been forgotten. 826 622

To Cause Ability in Singing

Catch an *squaw-i* (varied thrush?) alive and put it four times against the throat of the woman to whom it is desired to impart the art, saying: 583 789

"May she be a singer like you." 825

Release the bird and the woman will become a good singer.

This bird is considered by the Bella Coola to be the finest songster among British Columbia birds, and they say that many animals and fish, including even the halibut, gather to hear its singing.

To Cause Ability in Hunting 224

There is a poisonous plant which, when eaten, almost kills the eater. If he recovers, he is henceforth endowed with great ability as a hunter. The species could not be ascertained. 789 824

To Cause Change in Weather

If a cold wind is desired: Heat the penis of a mountain goat or beaver at a fire. 789 821

If rain is desired: Wash the penis of a large buck and throw it into the ocean or a river, saying: 825

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789 "Please, may it be as it was when you held intercourse."

821 The basis of these medicines is that mountain goats and
825 beaver mate in November when it is cold, and deer in October when it is rainy.

An old Kimsquit man mentioned that one winter he had been driven ashore by continuous cold winds and was on the verge of starving. He slew a buck and by using the medicine just described was able to bring rain with consequent lessening of wind so that he could continue his journey.

MALEVOLENT MEDICINES

754 *To Destroy the Benefits of Another's Ceremonial Chastity*

825 Place pieces of flesh from any recently skinned animal within a coffin from which the skeleton of an enemy has been removed, uttering at the same time the name of the person to be injured. This destroys the "cleanness" acquired by the observance of ceremonial chastity.[9]

To Cause Insanity in a Woman

Catch a squirrel alive and tie one of the woman's hairs around its stomach; then release the animal. As it runs violently through the forest, sometimes head upwards, sometimes head downwards, so will the brain of the person whose hair it is carrying begin to churn violently till madness ensues.

To Cause Ferocity in Grizzly Bears

Throw the body of a recently killed muskrat against a man's back. The next grizzly bear he encounters will be ferocious, and may kill him. Knowledge of this medicine was learnt by noticing that a number of men who had been struck in play with muskrats, were killed by grizzly bears. The potency of the act has since been recognized.

754 *To Cause Disease in a Malefactor*

727 A number of years ago, when three Bella Coola were killed

[9]This medicine was learnt from a rather unsatisfactory informant and was not confirmed by others.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Preventive and Curative Medicines

Medicines of Infancy and Childhood

989 *To Counteract Dangers Incurred During Pregnancy* (two means)

974 (1) As already described (*I*, p. 96), there is always danger of a person losing his spirit through a sudden start, causing involuntary contraction of the muscles, but pregnant women are especially liable to peril of this kind. Moreover, the unexpected appearance of a toad, rat, or mouse, though insufficient to harm an expectant mother, may suffice to startle the unborn child, or even to destroy his spirit. A woman carefully remembers all experiences of this kind and treats the injury while her infant is crying immediately after birth. If a toad has caused it, she catches one, decorates it with dyed cedar-bark, and places it on the child's stomach, then guides it so that it jumps up the chest to the neck. This is repeated four times. She then sets it down, unharmed on the ground, saying:

843 825

"You are the cause of the trouble, please go."

The same rite is carried out for all small mammals, reptiles, and even with birds which have startled a mother by their peculiar behaviour. In some families it is customary to postpone the application of this medicine until four days after birth. There is considerable difference of opinion concerning the specific injury; some allege that the spirit of the creature enters the body and, if not counteracted, causes the child to be born sick and feeble.

[846]

843 (2) During his wife's pregnancy, a husband must preserve a small portion of the skin of every animal killed. Four days after birth, as the infant lies in its cradle, a small fire is built beneath and the pieces thrown thereon so that the child is steeped in the smoke. If this is neglected, the boy or girl will die during infancy, though the means by which the slain animals accomplish this is not fully understood. Possibly, as in the last instance, their spirits have entered the body. Some hunters preserve an eye from every carcass instead of a piece

825 989 [846] [961] [974]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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of fur. Even at the present time, the death of a new-born child is usually attributed to omission of this precaution. 843 825

A Kimsquit man mentioned that he had once shot a marten during his wife's pregnancy, and had failed to preserve a piece of the skin. The bullet had passed through the head, making a hole in the cheek-bone beneath the eye. He thought no more of the incident until after the birth of a daughter with a blemish on her cheek in the same place as the wound on the marten's. The spot grew bigger, and the flesh began to mortify until the infant died a few weeks later. Her face resembled that of the animal and he is convinced that his loss was caused, in some way, by the marten. 789 [961]

To Cure Indigestion

Kill a raven, cut out a morsel of flesh from beneath its left wing, and then remove the heart. Place both in the infant's mouth and leave them there until wet with saliva. Replace them in the bird's body and tie a strip of dyed cedar-bark around its neck. Carry the carcass to some lonely spot in the mountains and hide it beneath a jutting rock where no water can penetrate. This cures the child. If, however, anyone should find the raven's body before the flesh has decayed, the patient would die. 955 [961]

This remedy, widely employed for small children, was used with success by an informant for his young daughter. It is not sufficiently potent for adults.

To Cure Crying

The Bella Coola consider that crying is not only unpleasant, but actively displeasing to the supernatural beings who permit it at death alone. Consequently, the persistent wailing of a child is likely to cause the death of a relative in order that the tears shed may have justification. Many stories illustrate this theme; in fact, to cry for no real reason is practically taboo. A mother quiets a fretting child by saying: 827 865 761 [784] [861]

"Do you want your father and me to die?"

Lib. McDermott E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

752 *For Fractures*

An effort is made to straighten the limb and to place the ends of the broken bone together in their proper position. If there is considerable swelling, an incision is made, to let blood escape. Hemlock gum is applied freely to the whole region to soften the wound and hold the splints in position. This penetrates the cut, if one has been made, and is believed to facilitate the knitting process. Any small sticks are used for splints.

REMEDIES FOR AILMENTS CAUSED BY SUPERNATURAL OR HUMAN BEINGS

753 Persons suffering from diseases or accidents of the types described in the previous section are not the only ones whom the Bella Coola consider to be sick. A girl at puberty, a mother who has just given birth, a man or woman whose consort has just died, has been placed in a peculiar relation to the supernatural and is in a condition identical to that of one suffering from a disease. The ritual acts prescribed at these crises of life are medicines, just as truly as an herbal potion or a curative treatment. In fact, anyone who has been in close touch with the supernatural is in a critical condition and must act circumspectly, the reason for the taboos observed by shamans.

754 Hunters particularly, and others who are likely to come in contact with supernatural beings, employ a number of medicines to protect themselves or to alleviate the dangers to which they have been exposed. As already described, the most potent of these are articles which have been rendered essentially human by contact with the body. For example, an evil supernatural being such as the Wee-Pawy of the Tides can be kept at a distance by casting soiled clothing upon a fire. Even more powerful are stained cedar-bark sanitary napkins. It is remembered that when a Bella Bella lad was treated with a gall so that he could see beneath the ocean, his friends became so alarmed at his tremendous ability that they destroyed it by throwing pads of this kind on a fire built beneath the bed on which he was sleeping. The basis of this medicine is the belief

Lib.Decrotik E-1 (1911-1914)161
NEA Reference NEA

that the proximity of such intensely human articles is enough to counteract and render powerless anything of a superhuman nature. Likewise, when a certain woman came to contact with the Wer-Fury of the Tides and began to exhibit symptoms of insanity, she was cured by drinking water in which other women had squeezed out their menstrual pads. Another defence is the burning of dried salmon, fumigation from which is particularly effective for one who suffers from nightmares. Other remedies already mentioned are to cut the right leg and smear a bullet with the resultant blood in order to kill a *swing*, and to lacerate the inside of the mouth and spit to withstand a capsizing mountain.

The medicine most commonly taken is false bellebore, the use of which was learnt by some ancient shamans. At dusk a hunter should eat a small twig of it, raw; it drives from his stomach everything injurious, particularly women's hair, which are abhorred by animals, and ensures him success on the morrow. If he takes too much of it, he becomes ill and must swallow the antidote, mountain goat grease or marrow. He should also carry twigs of the plant with him, ready either to swallow or throw in the direction of any dreaded supernatural being whom he may encounter. Eagle down and dried salmon roe are sometimes similarly used.

The powers of a person who has obtained supernatural ability, whether or not he is a shaman, can be destroyed by similar means. For example, a bad control so that he understands the speech of ravens, will lose his ability if he eats food cooked or prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has lost her husband within the last year, or if he passes through the hole in the floor used by an adolescent girl. The last Bella Coola with the skill was deadened to the cooing of the birds' croaking by lying near his sister one night for warmth, since her mere proximity was enough to nullify his power. This aspect of medicine merges with taboo. So, too, the power of an object can be destroyed by washing; an instance of this is

● 784 regard to two figurines prepared to cause love has been described.

785 In addition to these non-specialized medicines, the Bella Coola are acquainted with remedies for several specific ailments caused by supernatural beings. One of these, to cure a person in whose head a toad was formed, has already been described.

To Prevent Blindness

[783] [784] Loss of sight is caused by a bee flying into a man's face, or by a raven's dropping falling upon him so he looks upward. After either accident, rub a feather from any bird in a raven's liver and draw it across the eyes. The person practising this [785] cure must remain continent for one year or blindness will result.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Leg

If a man puts his foot in a hole so that he crumbles and falls, he without the use of that leg unless he overcomes the danger by placing a small stick upright in the cavity. In the summer of 1922 the writer noticed an old Bella Coola, with whom he was walking in the woods, break off a branch about one foot in length and place it in a hole where he had crumbled. He could give no explanation for his act, except that failure would cause him to lose the use of that leg.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Feet

If a person should happen to set his bare feet upon a dead wolf, he will lose the use of his lower limbs. The ancient to this has been forgotten within recent years, and patients are usually cured by shamans.

786 775 *To Prevent the Revenge of a Ghost*

The ghost of a murdered person usually rises to avenge himself on his killer, who can protect himself by obtaining a small piece from the body or clothing of his victim, a tuft of hair, a shred of cloth, or even a piece of earth from above his

[734] was used by some of Pelle's ancestors. It was brought to the house and thrown in.

[735]

Taboos

[736] The Bella Coola regard as taboos those injunctions that are observed in the belief that their neglect would cause automatic punishment. The mechanism of enforcement is frequently not understood; it is enough to know that an unpleasant result would follow disobedience. Some taboos are in force at all times, others only during certain seasons of the year, and still others at critical periods of life. Since the psychology of such beliefs is essentially magical rather than religious, they could justifiably be grouped at this point. Unfortunately, to do so would destroy the continuity of accounts of birth, adolescence, death, ceremonial chastity, and many other aspects of Bella Coola life subject to taboo. The injunctions enforced by the River Guardian, the restrictions observed by a girl after puberty, the continence required after different medicines, all are taboos, disregard of which brings certain punishment. These and many others have already been described in connection with the activities to which they pertain. It is doubtful whether the Bella Coola have a single word to describe taboos in general, though they are all regarded as *ramin*, that is, as something which is ceremonially unclean.

[737] Scarcely to be distinguished from taboos are ceremonial errors, *yas tsesa* or *ists tsesa*. Failure to give presents to hereditk when a man breaks beneath a chief or a dance crumbles, or unnecessary activity during the year's waiting for the fruition of supernatural good fortune are ritual mistakes of this type. Neglect of such regulations brings punishment, though of a lesser kind than the breaking of taboos. If the error has been in connection with a ceremony, the offence can be wiped out by presents to hereditk, and the terms *yas tsesa* and *ists tsesa* are likewise applied to some of their prerogatives such as the ability to claim clothing during the marriage of a chief's child.

[738] Most taboos and errors can best be described with other

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hanging rock where no rain can penetrate. Long ago, some hunter failed to do this and became blind in consequence, hence the rite has since been carried out.

When a hunter is in the field, his wife must not swing. To do this causes him to go up into lofty and dangerous places as she rises on the swing, and also destroys the power laboriously accumulated by ceremonial chastity.

Ritual Acts

Ceremonialism is an extremely important aspect of Bella Coola life, but most of their rites are social or religious rather than magical, so that descriptions of them belong to other chapters. In connection with the taking of the first olachen and salmon, however, a number of ritual acts are performed to bring about desired ends; the element of propitiation is not entirely absent, but on the whole they may be considered as magical.

Rites connected with the first olachen

In the height of the olachen run, the fish are so abundant that they can be taken profitably in large purse-nets. They do not, however, come simultaneously, and eager fishermen keep watching for their arrival and catching the straggling forerunners in hand-dip-nets. These fish must not be eaten immediately. Each fisherman arranges a box in the front part of his house in which he deposits them as taken; if several men are doing this in a single dwelling, one box for each will be arranged near the front-door. Whenever a dance is held, eagle down is blown over the receptacle to placate the olachen and prevent them from being disturbed by the noise. As soon as a man has caught enough for a feast, he invites all his fellows to his house and the fish are distributed. It is taboo for any woman to share this meal, and it is most improper for a man to summon his neighbours until he has enough olachen to allow each guest to carry home a plentiful supply for his family. In former times, there used to be a number of meals of this kind,

[The Dance of Noakenim]

any uninitiated from their path. The *kukuxiut* also call *hoip* repeatedly, a further deterrent to the inquisitive. Alder and birch trees are selected and the hewers start to work. Whenever a tree falls, one of the party calls out: 575* 796X 532

Xuw...

This meaningless ejaculation, spoken as if by X, has the virtue of causing the tree to fall gently. The logs are cut into sections and as many provided as will be needed, since it is contrary to *kuxiut* custom for more than one trip to be made for wood. Towards dusk the cutters return, each carrying a burden by means of a tump-line across the forehead. The wood is laid softly on the floor, for it would be a gross insult to throw it down roughly. Meanwhile heralds are summoning the *kukuxiut* with a call of: 784 313 789 682 203

Nuxiutilap kukuxiut.

X has long since consulted his relatives on the one hand and the marshals on the other, concerning the number of masks to be used, and the beings to be portrayed. A mask of *Ax'ilkwulaic* is prepared for every *kuxiut* dance, but with this exception there is no uniformity in the representations. A man always shows his patron, as well as any beings intimately connected with him. Thus X must have a mask of *Nuikpum*, many of his passengers, and the supernatural beings who meet him at the mouth of the river. A present must be given to the carver of every mask, hence their actual number depends upon the expenditure X and his relatives are willing to make. 431 465

At dusk the *kukuxiut* are summoned by the heralds. X is with the marshals behind the fire and he heeds their advice as to the best carpenter for any special mask. When all have assembled X holds up one of the blocks of wood, calls on one of the *kukuxiut* by name and says: 203

"For *Nuikpum*," or whatever may be the figure required.

As the carpenter comes forward to take the billet the heralds call out: 203

"Pay attention to him," and as the carpenter takes the wood, X calls out at the top of his voice, *xuw*... 789

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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This ejaculation is supposed to make the work of manufacture less difficult. The same procedure is repeated with every mask ordered, except that if the being to be represented is a woman, X's ejaculation is *i* ....., Any *kwiat* can make a mask, but the preference is always given to a man who has shown ability in previous tasks. The carpenters endeavour to follow well-recognized designs for many representations, but a great deal of latitude is allowed, and a workman receives greater praise and fame for turning out a fine and distinctive piece of new design, than for rigid adherence to a former type. This, combined with the burning of masks and consequent loss of permanent patterns, is responsible for the variability in Bella Coola forms, and the difficulty which they themselves experience in recognizing portrayed beings.

As soon as all the carpentry has been allotted, the singers strike up one of X's eight songs. Whether or not he dances to them is a matter about which there is a difference of opinion among informants. In any case the re-singing on *nuxwiddlap* is purely for rehearsal, made necessary by the large number of songs. Later on in the *kwiat* season, the songs of other dancers may be practised on this night, and if the owners wish to practice their steps, it is quite proper for them to do so. Finally, a meal is distributed, while the marshals discourse in the usual way. Feasts are features of all *kwiat* dances, and the food distributed is regarded as a free-will gift, without thought of repayment. After eating, the *kwiatist* disperse; X must sleep within his own house, but no longer remains within his platform-enclosure.

The next day, the twenty-sixth of the ceremony, is quiet. Early in the morning a herald summons to X's house, where the blocks have been left, all those to whom work has been assigned. All morning they carve diligently. The speed with which masks are completed is surprising, although this has undoubtedly increased since the introduction of metal tools. In the middle of the day a few *kwiatist* men, no women, are invited to share "the carpenters' meal," as the food provided

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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pelled; a Cannibal (II, p. 71) begins to growl and those who are not members of the society leave hastily. 575* 996*

The next event is the burning of the masks. The wearers remove them and lay them on the floor in front of the back-room at the point marked O in the accompanying sketch. Then X asks a friend to help him. The person chosen picks up any two of the masks and carries them around the fire, eastward, through B, where X is standing, to the point marked A (see Fig. 1). The helper throws one mask on the fire, and as he does so X lifts his arms, as if throwing up some heavy weight, at the same time uttering *hoip*, which has a beneficial effect in returning the mask whence it came. [989]

FIG. 1.
Diagram showing positions of participants during mask-burning.

As one informant put it: "May you have a safe journey."

The assistant throws the second mask on the fire, and again X throws up his arms and cries *hoip*. He crosses to A where he twice repeats the same cry, then returns to B. The assistant picks up two more masks and throws them on the fire at the same place and in the same manner as the two preceding, X also doing as he did before. The masks are taken two at a time until all have been burnt. The explanation given is to avoid the danger of the uninitiated seeing them, but whether or not this is a mere rationalization is doubtful. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella do not burn their masks. Next the singers strike up the first of X's songs and he dances, while musicians and audience joi' in; this is repeated for each of his songs. If it is desired to hasten the ritual, the lengthy singing and dancing is replaced by X giving only a short dance, unaccompanied by music. The Bella Coola do not appear to understand why they dance at this time, although it is said that it makes easy the departure of the masks. [322] [971]

In Kitamaat the ritual of mask-burning is slightly different. [114]

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[The Dance of Wita]

"Path Cleaners" see to it that no one passes between him and the fire. The uninitiated are not expelled from the house and their curiosity is aroused. Meanwhile the singers prepare songs for X, describing his supernatural patrons, and some *kekaxiat* carpenters are instructed to make in secret ten small pieces of wood, about one foot in length and six inches wide, sometimes half-moon shaped. They cover these with dyed cedar-bark on which they paint the designs appropriate to each being.* On the morning of the fourth day,* X blackens his face with soot or charcoal, obtained by pouring water on a fire, and does the usual *kaxiat* customs. A herald then invites the *kekaxiat* to assemble in X's house. Presently they proceed to the lowest house of the village, where the singers beat out the tunes of the "Path Cleaners," remembered from a previous year. They dance, while X stands, shifting his feet and moving his arms as if he also wished to perform but was too weary to do so. This is repeated at every house of the village, except that in which the potlatch was held; most of the *kekaxiat* follow the procession, as do some of the uninitiated. Finally, with X last of all, they enter the potlatch house, where foreign guests and many uninitiated have assembled.

In Kimsquit the preliminary four days of watching are omitted, but from this point on, the rites of the two areas are practically identical.* As X enters, all the *kekaxiat* who have pounding sticks begin to beat on the floor and the women drum. Without delay, and without attention to the tinsmen drumming, X begins to dance, surveyor, around the fire, at intervals casting on it particles of eagle down which have the effect of making the supernatural ones above take their places. He calls out incoherently that he can see the beings above sitting down, and a herald repeats his remarks loudly. In Bella Coola the four "Path Cleaners" walk close behind X.

*The distinctive designs are given by Boas, to whom the reader is referred.

*It is probable that X must fast in doing what Hodgson's dancer reports that the tunes is at the mouth of the river.

*It is uncertain whether the differences in ritual are typical of Bella Coola and Kimsquit, or merely represent variations in individual prerogatives.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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575 the enclosure in the opposite corner to that from which they had emerged.

Awmuxtekum. Three or four masked figures appear together to portray these beings. Their function is to remind *Alpenaw* of those whom he should invite to his ceremonials above.

Snung. As this dreaded monster appears, the uninitiated cower convulsively and the *kulaxiat* women drone. Several masked figures accompany the *Snung* around the fire, blowing eagle down over the creature, and *Ax'itsalxait* explains to the uninitiated that this is to protect them from the monster. The heralds as usual echo his remarks. After one circuit of the fire, the *Snung* disappears into one of the enclosures behind the fire.

Hauhau. This supernatural, mythological denizen of the mountains, is in the form of an enormous bird with long beak and bony wings. The mask worn with *tsdinguine* is usually almost three feet in length, in the shape of a bird's head with long beak. A cloth passes from its bill down the wearer's back and is held in place by his belt, thus balancing the heavy, projecting bill (see Plate 6).[1] It is hinged so that the performer can make the mandible snap together by pulling a cord concealed under his blanket. A gesticulator, and such is always chosen to represent this creature, ends forward and downwards so that the snapping beak almost brushes the floor; then he rises and passes like a bird whooltstening and half crouched. Next he runs a few steps, in a circling manner, thus slowly circling the fire, and ultimately pass from sight into the enclosure other than that from which he has emerged. Several *kulaxiat* accompany the actor, blowing eagle down over him, the women drone and *Ax'itsalxait* keeps up a string of comments. After a short pause a second *hauhau* appears and circles the fire with its attendant *kulaxiat*. The same procedure is repeated for a third and fourth.

Alpenaw. This is the supernatural herald for Thunder, the leading *kulaxiat* among supernatural kings. He wears

[1] [see category 116, p 164 (1) – Analyst]

[The Dance of Thunder]

575 796 776 [123] [981] with short, mincing steps. At intervals he pulls forth his stinger and rushes at one of the spectators, poking the weapon at him and humming fiercely. The writer took the part of a supernatural mosquito at one of the dances held in the winter of 1922-3 and remembers the expression of fear on the face of a younger member of the audience when about to be "stung." The victim was certainly afraid on that occasion, and if that feeling could survive the break-down of belief, it is not to be wondered at that fear was universal in the days when the *kukusiut* were thought to be possessors of supernatural powers. Another being who often appears at a dance of Thunder is Rainwater-Dripping-from-the-Roof. The masked figure walks slowly around the fire and *Ant'lkwulnaie* explains that this is the water which drops from a hole in the planking. The Clowns [522] are never omitted, and always cause amusement amid the gravity of the rite. One after another, the supernatural beings appear from the enclosure, circle the fire, and withdraw, accompanied by the sage remarks of *Ant'lkwulnaie*. Finally there is a long pause, broken when a masked figure slowly toddles forth. It is Snail, who started at the same time as the other supernatural beings but arrived too late to be present at the dance of Thunder. Snail circles the fire and disappears. At this point the uninitiated are expelled and the rite concludes as usual.

575 796 Dancers whose patrons are Thunder, Earthquake, Sun, or Moon do not confine their dances to the ceremonial season, but perform whenever a manifestation of their patron occurs. If [424] [821] Thunder is heard, no matter what the time of day or season of year, X stands up and cries out:

"It [he does not refer to Thunder by name] is dancing too lustily up aloft. *Xuo* ...."

[989] The call of *xuo* ... is thought to have a quieting effect on Thunder. Any *kukusiut* women present at once drum, then, accompanied by a number of his associates, X proceeds to the lowest house of the village where the same ritual is repeated. This is done in every dwelling, after which X returns home and

714 and one was held up by the bow paddler as the craft neared the
726 shore to protect him and those behind from arrows and stones cast by slings. When not in use, shields were laid away in boxes with some white substance resembling flour.[1] On the
[103] shore of the fiord below Bella Coola, opposite Winter Bay, there are some boulders of the same white tint; even now these are often spoken of as "The Shields of the Bella Coola." It is said that hostile raiders, seeing them, used to remark that they had reached the outposts of Bella Coola.

726 The same lack of leadership shown during preparations for
901 a war was evident during hostilities. The so-called leader had
703 little authority over his men, who could desert and return home at any time. Lack of martial ability among their own chiefs
[648] sometimes led the Bella Coola to place themselves under the
[642] authority of a Bella Bella in a way which would be impossible for a war-like people. Frequently such divided leadership led to disaster, and is the surest proof that the Bella Coola were not as aggressive or bellicose as other coastal tribes.

726 Except when attacking the Carriers, all raiding parties
[589] embarked in canoes and followed a definite order of procedure
[703] handed down from the past. In the stern of each craft sat the captain, a chief, who, as the craft was leaving, began to sing his *ec-tle* song, keeping time to it with the beats of his paddle; the recounting of the glories of their ancestors was supposed to encourage the warriors. Instead of leaving simultaneously, a rendezvous was often chosen down the fiord, and the expedition finally moved off from there when all the canoes had arrived. While still in friendly territory, a flotilla proceeded
726 openly. A small amount of dried salmon and water was car-
● 789 ried by a war party and morsels of the former were eaten at intervals. The bow-man took as much food and drink as he thought could be consumed at one sitting, put a fragment of dried salmon in his mouth, chewed it four times on the same side of his mouth as he was paddling, and swallowed it. Then

[1] Some understanding informants said to have had protective or preservative qualities.

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he took a sip of water, followed by another piece of dried fish, 926
chewed it four times, and washed it down as before. This was 789
four times repeated so that the provender consumed consisted of four morsels of salmon, each chewed four times, and four sips of water; it was most important that no more should be taken into the mouth than could be swallowed at a single gulp. Having eaten, the bow-man passed the food which he had taken from the store to the paddler behind him who ate and drank in the same manner, except that he chewed with the other side of his mouth, corresponding to the fact that he paddled on the other side of the canoe from the man in the bow. So the food and drink was passed down to the captain. If possible, he was required to eat whatever was left, though if there was too much, he threw the remains over his shoulder into the water. He was also expected to swallow whatever water was passed to him, but if there was too much he would lie back, his head projecting over the stern, and pour it out over his face so that it fell into the ocean. As the food and drink were completely consumed, so it was believed the enemy would be annihilated. If the bow-man had failed to take out enough salmon and water, the captain received none of it, since no second portion could be served.

Each captain took with him a supply of dyed and undyed 926
cedar-bark which was stowed in the bow of the canoe. During 914
the course of the day, the party would land and the chief decide 824
upon some decoration made by combining strands of the two colours of bark to serve as a distinguishing mark for members of the same canoe. He took out as much bark as he thought would suffice, and the bow-man was the first to don the symbol. The second paddler followed, and each in turn did the same in order of his position in the canoe. If too much had been taken, the captain had to wear collars of whatever was left over; if too little, he had to do without. Having thus arrayed themselves, the party continued until nightfall when a secluded spot 926
was chosen for camping. Wood was collected and fires laid, 784
but no light was ever struck and the warriors lay around the 922

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Tsimshian NE15

the body to his own house, preparatory to burying it. It was April, but as they were waiting, a violent thunderstorm blew up from the east, the only time that such had ever occurred at that season. Thunder had promised to come to *Tsesti*'s aid, but the latter had died too suddenly to make any appeal; the supernatural one had just learnt of his protégé's death and had come rushing to his assistance. Realizing the danger, the executioner and his friends hastily buried the corpse, throwing over it a number of blood-stained cloths, and finally stamping down the earth. There was a furious hurricane; trees were uprooted, houses shook, the earth over the grave swirled as if in a whirlpool and chunks of it were carried up into the air. Only the potency of the blood on the cloths prevented the corpse to life of *Tsesti*.[1]

This second unsuccessful attack on the Kitkatla so disheartened the Bella Coola that they made no more raids on their northern foemen who, flushed with victory, became ever bolder than before. As usual, the *Kimsquit* and *Tsi'o* people suffered more than the inhabitants of the main valley. On one of these forays, about 1835, the Kitkatla killed *Sakwaxlaxl*, a brother of *Parka*, the leading chief of the Bella Coola at the time. This was contrary to all the rules of warfare since he was a member of one of the leading families and the donor of many potlatches, a man whose name was as well known as that of *Parka*, *Nakinkelem* of Fort Rupert, or *Tsakwa* himself. The loss of such chiefs was enough to prevent them except during the actual heat of conflict, and the Bella Coola were justly angry.

A few years later a single canoe came paddling up North Bentinck Arm and was hailed about half a mile from the head. Scouts investigated, and returned to *Kimsquit* with news that the newcomers were Kitkatla, and that *Tsakwa* himself was among them. At once there was heated discussion among the people of the lower valley. Many who had had relatives in the previous struggle wished to wipe out the party, others, to see what they wanted. A few daring individuals skulked through the forest and fired on the visitors at long range; they were answered, not with bullets, but by the four crews holding aloft of a mountain-skin, a sign of friendly intentions. If the avengers had fired on the strangers, a fight would have ensued, but this peaceful reception disarmed suspicion.

[1] This tale is a curious illustration of the manner in which supernatural elements become more less accurate which have no historical basis. It is to be assumed that the murderers were in a suggestible state owing to privation, and readily believed that supernatural powers must have assisted them. *Tsesti* was found as a corpse, and probably boasted of a visitation from Thunder during his wanderings. This was accepted and the interposition of impossible incidents followed in due course.

Jv Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NEA Bellacoola NEA

SYMPATHETIC MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE BELLACOOLA

By HARLAN I. SMITH

MANY OF the Bellacoola Indians today believe in sympathetic magic and witchcraft, after over a hundred years of contact with white men. Most of them live within hearing of the bells of the mission church, and the government school. Not a few of the men take logging contracts; some of them build and operate motor boats; many of them join the fishing fleets at the salmon canneries; most of the women work in the canneries; and all deal at the white men's stores.

The Bellacoola lived at the heads of the long inlets half way up the Pacific Coast of Canada and in the tributary Bella Coola valley. Now, numbering perhaps two hundred and fifty, they, with the exception of a few families, are concentrated at one reservation at the mouth of the Bella Coola river. The Bella Coola valley has been called the Norway of Canada. This was where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada overland, reached the sea.

Aboriginally, the Bellacoola were of the North Pacific Coast culture of America, which is characterized by the extensive use of red cedar and its products, particularly salmon, the making of graceful, sea-going canoes, each hewn from a single cedar, the erection of large rectangular houses made of cedar planks, with carved house posts and totem poles, lack of pottery, and expertness in carpenter work, carving, and painting. This culture belongs to the hundred arts, but the Bellacoola were secondary to a certain extent. The art of the area was first best known from the paintings and carvings of the totem poles, largely of conventionalized animal forms. The life centered around a very highly developed social organization, an extensive and powerful financial system, and property rights to names, rituals and houses. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. They

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

are apparently more recent comers to the coast than their neighbors and have not fully adopted this coast culture.

The following examples of sympathetic magic and witchcraft, collected during 1920 to 1923 among the Bellacoola, illustrate the extent of their belief in this direction.

Most of this information was given me by the late Captain Schooner, born about 1848, and Joshua Moody, born about 1868, both apparently full-blood Bellacoola Indians. Neither of them spoke English and both gave me the data in Chinook jargon, which I have endeavored to interpret and arrange in logical order, but have tried to render in as nearly as possible the Indian mode of thought, feeling and expression. Schooner was a pagan gentleman. Joshua has great knowledge of plants and animals, and is a Bellacoola scientist, but his great ambition and jealousy, combined with his disloyalty in giving up his own people's customs and adopting a very thin veneer of Christianity, color his statements relating to beliefs, although his plant and animal data have always withstood cross examination and comparison with the data supplied by other Indians. Alec Davis and Mrs. Willie Mack told of the toad. They do not talk English and spoke to me in Chinook jargon. Only the accounts about the grizzly bear skin and the bracelet of beaver skin, which were given me by Mrs. Stonsiger, were told in English.

The material was not given as accounts of magic or witchcraft, but rather as part of the data regarding the properties of plants and animals of which I was endeavoring to collect as complete information as possible.

Joshua, who is even younger than Captain Schooner, remembers the time when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in the Bella Coola valley, and when they saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently these men remember the old Bellacoola beliefs before they were much, if at all, affected by European ideas.

It will be noticed that magic among the Bellacoola is considered of use both for beneficial and injurious purposes, and that the materials giving effect to it are of both plant and animal origin.

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

759 The beneficial purposes include: making a child grow up to
● 789 be a good dancer, industrious, a swift berry picker, or a strong
856 man; curing lung trouble; making the river crude where wanted;
and two ways of stopping rain. The injurious purposes include:
two ways of making a person grow up to be a thief; the causing
of cruiness and quarrelsomeness and the three ways of causing
death.

759 The materials and actions used include: ashes of aspen leaves;
789 a dead toad, used with hair, with a red cedar bark face wiper,
824 and with lost pieces of thimble berry shoots which were acciden-
825 tally dropped while being eaten; ashes of a yellow jacket's nest;
a living raven with phlegm; beaver paws, in two instances; a skin
bracelet from a beaver's foreleg; a dead wood-rat; a dead mouse;
a grizzly bear's skin; a living red squirrel with a bit of spruce
fringe; setting fire to a wood-rat's house; and poking an ant hill.

789 To make a person a good dancer the ashes of the burned leaves
856 of the aspen or trembling poplar were said to be useful, but
824 Jenkins said this may have been a joke. The Bellacoola Indians
836 say the leaves dance. They never say that they tremble. When
a baby was born, if the parents talked about it and the father
desired that the baby grow up to be a good dancer, the mother
or father got the leaves, burned them and put the ashes on the
baby's hands, knees and elbows. When telling of this Jenkins
held his hands with the finger tips up and moved them as the
Bellacoola do in dancing. Both rich and poor men danced.

789 A baby girl would grow up to be industrious, it was believed,
825 if the warm flesh of a recently dead beaver were applied to her.
824 The Bellacoola apparently observed the great industry of the
beaver.

To make a baby girl grow up to be a fast berry-picking woman, the ring of skin from between two ribs around a beaver's foreleg was put on her wrist and was left on until it were off.

To make a boy grow up to be a strong man, a skin of the grizzly bear, was thrown over him, generally by his father.

755 For phlegm on the lungs, more permanent than a simple cold,
825 the patient expectorated in something and some one secretly
mixed the fresh phlegm with salmon eggs and put the mixture

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NES Bellecoola NES

eat for the ravens to eat. This was done four times, and if a raven ate it, the patient recovered, according to Captain Schooner's belief. As the call of the raven sounds somewhat like a person affected with phlegm in the throat, this may be a case of sympathetic magic, at any rate it is one of witchcraft. 755 835 [754]

To make the river erode at a certain place in order to break a log jam, a beaver's foot was buried in each of several spots in the place. 757 835

A continuous rain would cease, and the sun would come out, it was said, if the people set fire to a wood-rat's house.

When it rained too much the Bellacoola Indians poked down an ant hill and said, "Give us warm sunshine." They believed this would bring results, but now that Joshua is a Christian he says he does not believe it and says it is useless play talk.

Bad boys or girls, but not adults, would take a dead mouse, warm it over a fire, and rub the warmed mouse on the hands of a baby. This made the baby steal when it grew up. The so-called stealing habits of the mouse were supposed to be transferred to the child. 754 836 835

The still warm body of a freshly killed wood-rat was used in the same way to make a baby, boy or girl, "crazy," and grow up to be a constant thief. The notorious habits of the wood-rat, as well as those of the mouse, were evidently well recognized by the Bellacoola.

To make people crazy, the red squirrel had to be properly used by a shaman and then it possessed strong power. One woman who had been made crazy in this way died in 1897. She did not like the shaman and he did not like her. He stole her apron. She was sorry. He took it into the forest and performed witchcraft because he wanted to spoil her life by making her crazy. He caught a red squirrel alive, possibly in a little basket. He had a box called a "bad box," in which he kept his things of evil power. He put some of the fringe of her apron around the red squirrel and let it run far away. The woman then became crazy and sometimes fell down, but part of the time she seemed well. My Indian informant, Joshua, had seen her. This example of sympathetic 754 756 835

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[04]

of these data refer to insects, and may be of interest to entomologists, although my spelling of Indian words is very problematical, because some of the sounds I can neither hear nor make, and I am unable to record adequately many of those that I can hear. The data here given are preliminary to a complete working over of my notes, but are believed to be nearly complete.

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Insects apparently were not so well observed by the Bellacoola as were useful mammals and plants, the stinger of the bumble-bee, for instance, being supposed to be in its mouth. Few insects had names, that is, mainly those which were used or which troubled the Indians. Insects were not used for food, and honey was unknown until after the coming of the white man. The head of the gad-fly was used as a pattern in painting designs, the nest of the yellow-jacket in sympathetic magic or witchcraft, and "fly spit" was said to be good for sores. They had a story about the bumble-bee.

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[532]
[757]
[789]

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Among the Ulkatcho also observation of insects was weaker than that of mammals and plants, and they apparently had names for only a few insects, those which troubled them. Ant lyon pits and its method of taking prey were known. Insects were of no use to the Ulkatcho whatever. An instance was observed of an Indian smoking himself with a bumble fly held in his mouth. They employed smudges, fish oil, gum of the cottonwood, and blossoms of cow parsnip with oil to protect themselves from mosquitoes, black flies and no-see-ums, and smoke to protect foods from flies.

C
[75]

The Ant lyon, among the Ulkatcho, is called Kimulkets. It is said to be numerous at Ulkatcho, but that it was unknown and that there was no story about it. My informant voluntarily showed me the pits made by the larvae of this insect and, catching ants for the purpose, demonstrated its well-known method of taking its prey.

The grasshopper (Orthoptera), that makes a noise by rubbing its wings together when it flies, was called Tokus, among the Ulkatcho.

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"Fly spit," that is the material surrounding a nymph of a spittle insect, also known as a frog hopper (Cercopidae), is said

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *sisaok* ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from these, and sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy being had landed there. At once there is great excitement within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove them to be at hand. No one is allowed to leave except a *sisaok siki*[9] who is skilled in dealing with *Mulakila*,[10] also called *Sixsixqwtnam*, the supernatural being closely connected with the *sisaok* ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *siki* raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance.

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

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[9]The accounts of all informants agree that much of the *sisaok* ritual was newly imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements, *Pudas*, a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella wife, also one from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with them as dower certain *sisaok* prerogatives. It is said that previous to that time the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the youths secluded in the back-room, nor to dispel the beings at the conclusion of the rites. On the other hand, some Bella Coola claim that their first ancestors brought the whistles with them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural beings is a recent addition to the potlatch, which accounts for the contradictory accounts, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It appears certain that the prerogatives of *siki* has recently been obtained from the Bella Bella. *Siki* means "the one who cures," and the name is given to the man whose prerogative it is to tend the *hasiat* initiates in whom supernatural powers are located. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for *sisaok* matters, known as a *hai-alakila*. Through intermarriage several Bella Coola have recently obtained this prerogative; in each case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to these, as favoured, the term *siki*, as they do for the *hasiat* "cures," though the Bella Bella name, *hai-alakila*, is used with equal frequency. The present *siki* have endeavoured to claim for themselves certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by any *sisaok*. In this account of a potlatch it is assumed that a *siki* is functioning on all occasions, but in many cases any senior *sisaok* is considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *sisaok* was regarded as capable of doing so.

[10]Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a certain *Smoqu* of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NES Bellacoola NES

served ceremonial chastity and was, therefore, in a good position to receive premonitions of this kind. The next day, as they were paddling down the river, they came upon some treacherous ice. Forewarned, they hastily abandoned their canoe, one side of which was soon broken in the way *Tsálin* had described; if they had continued their journey they would certainly have been drowned. 787 *

The dreams thus far recorded have all been capable of simple explanation; in fact, their meaning is obvious, either visually or audibly. In addition, there are a number of types considered to be symbolic by the Bella Coola. There are no professional interpreters, but it is believed that in ancient times shamans learnt the significance of certain images and this knowledge has since been transmitted from generation to generation. [791] [956]

One type indicates a coming birth. If a woman dreams that she travels to some distant spot, under the ocean or into the mountains, and there takes something in her hand, it signifies that she will soon bear a male child; on the other hand, if she picks up some small object when gathering berries, a daughter will be born. A Kimsquit informant stated that before his birth, his mother dreamt that she had gone far under the mouth of the Dean River to the vicinity of *Ḡwaqme'*s house, where she had taken up a child. From this she knew she was pregnant and he was born in due course. If the scene of the dream is in the mountains, it means that the child will be a good hunter; if under water, that he will be a successful fisherman, as it proved in this case. There is a vague belief that death takes place either near the spot where the mother received indication of conception, or that the life and spirit of the deceased visit the place before setting out on their journey back from generation to generation. The old man from whom this information was obtained expects to meet death by drowning, though he is himself uncertain whether his premonition is due to his mother's dream or to the fact that there has been a tendency for this to occur in his family. 787 * 843

787 * [961] [996]

[Kusiok Society Initiation]

* 575 all is that something strange has happened to the "mural." 203 At intervals throughout the day he repeats this announcement, 796 and towards nightfall goes around calling:

Shrap, shrap, Sakaciani, "Care, care, ye members of the *Sacriar* society, power has come to the son of the chief (or to the mural)."

The *Sakaciar* assemble in X's house, taking their places around the fire; the uninitiated crowd near the doorway. X is seated among his relatives and some of the senior members of the society behind the fire. A herald calls out:

"I want a *ciki* to help X."

* 575 In every village there are at least two *Sakaciar* who have, 791 embedded with their *Sacriar* names, the professional prerogative 796 of acting as leader to every novice; it is believed that the ancestor of each obtained a name and this right through a [428] revelation from some supernatural leader. Since that time the [773] owner of the name has been able to insert some of his own supernatural power into a talisman to enable him to sustain the dangers of admission to the society. This is the fetish taught to the uninitiated. The profession of *ciki* can be trans- [428] mitted by willing like any other prerogative and it occasionally happens that the same individual is *ciki* for both *Sacriar* and *Kusiok*. In answer to the herald's call, the two *ciki* come forward and crouch behind the fire, one on either side of it. [302] Their faces are blackened with soot, and each wears a blanket, [202] decorated with dyed cedar-bark, thrown loosely over his [257] shoulders, leaving the chest and stomach bare except for an apron of deer hoofs or puffin beaks. Meanwhile bearing sticks are distributed among most of the *Sakaciar* who strike furiously on the floor with them, without any attempt to keep time; the sole object is to produce the greatest din possible.

One of the *ciki* contorts himself in an amazing manner, presses his hands against his stomach as if to force something from it, and rolls from side to side on his haunches, until at length he produces, as if from his body, a small crystal (see Plate 5). He waves this to and fro in his hands, then gives

[See category 116, p 84(2) - Analysis]

[Rosicrucian Society Initiation]

through the motion of throwing it to his partner, the crystal disappears! It has been pulled out of sight at the instant of throwing, but the presumption is that it has entered the other side who falls to the floor as if stricken down by the powerful object given to him. Now one of the *Initiates*, who has been primed for the duty, strikes the recumbent man on the back, causing him to consciousness. Slowly he pulls himself together, rising at intervals as if crushed beneath a heavy weight, and writhes until he finally produces a rock crystal from his stomach, as if it had been thrown to him. In reality it is his own which he has carried concealed from the beginning of the ceremony. He pretends to throw this to X, often so violentally that the novice blinks, expecting some object to strike him. All this time a *Tactor*, it does not matter who, has been drinking water at intervals and spitting it out over the face of X, "to strengthen him." When X has received the stone, the bearing on the floor-boards, willed during the transference of the crystal, breaks out again with full din. After a short interval the first *side* stops the noise, goes through the same contortions and produces, apparently from his stomach, another rock crystal, which as before he throws across to his partner who falls down, and later passes it to X. Again the bearing on the floor is renewed. The same ritual is carried out until four, or sometimes only two, rock crystals have been given to X. Then the procedure is reversed. The second *side* goes to the novice and after much contortion draws from his stomach one of the crystals, which he pretends to throw back to his partner. As the latter makes the motion of catching it, he produces his own crystal which he, as it seems, forces into his own body. This is done for all the crystals (see Plate [illegible]). At this juncture the uninitiated are told to leave.

One of the *side* now kneels the back of X's neck and goes through the motions of pulling something from it. The Grand Master realizes that his spirit is being drawn from him and his nerves, great in any case, is not lessened by the *side* taking it in his cupped hands to the fire where he snaps up

[See Glossary 116, pp 60-63) - Author]

[Secret Society Initiation]

some saliva which he puts into his mouth and chews. Of course he mentioned only the saliva but X, unaware of this, is convinced for the love of his spirit. So fast is to succeed to him and he is told that the rite has altered it from that of an uninitiated person to that of a Saint.[1] The psychological effect of this act on the mind of a young man who has not had time to adjust himself to his new knowledge and who is firmly convinced of the powers of the rite is tremendous.

The four rite now instructs two Initiated sitting on either side of X to lie down to serve as a seat for him. They do so, irrespective of who they may be. If the novice is still ignorant of the full mysteries of the society, the rite announces that he is going to get a call for X. He walks around the house, pausing here and there as if seeking something, and then pounces as if he had caught an object between his hands. A whistle is heard, such as the novice knows accompanies the coming of every call, but he does not know that the noise is made by compressing a grain or bean Shellfish-whistle between two sticks held beneath the armpit. This is the "mystery" of the strange noises.

"Do you know what makes that noise?" ask the two Initiated on whom X is sitting.

If X denies all knowledge, the mystery is explained to him, and he is warned that he will be killed if he communicates the information to uninitiated persons. If he answers that he knows the cause, he is asked who has told him. Perhaps some lad has been peeking and has told X of what he has seen; in that case the over-inquisitive youth is at once initiated to prevent further leakage of information. As soon as X has learnt the great secret he moves to one side and the singers take their positions behind the line. His father, or whoever is may be from whom he is to obtain his name, then stands up and exhibits his origin, telling which supernatural being is his patron, and the locality of his repository. X sometimes an-

[1] This part of the rite has been carried to so much more that some of the middle-aged Initiated have forgotten it.

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PLATE 3

Photograph by R. J. Smith, Natural History of Canada

Old grubbing a crystal from his stomach

[p. 84 (c)]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[The Cannibal Dance]

* 575
* 796

his song, which they now proceed to sing as though they had obtained it from X in his vestige; they have, of course, composed it themselves in advance. The words describe the experiences of X in the region aloft. When the song has been practised, food, and later presents as "bandages" for the wounds, are distributed. Other gifts are often given to everyone, irrespective of whether or not the recipient has been bitten. A marshal functions as usual; then the people disperse.

[491]

Presently as night falls and the people are preparing for sleep, X goes outside with a number of *kokaxiut* followers. On the sidewalk the singers, a number of *kokaxiut* women, and men with drums have assembled. X begins his high pitched call of *ewe*, *ewe*, *ewe*, as if longing for meat; the whistle sounds at intervals and the singers begin their song with the women joining in. When the melody has ended, the party moves to a position outside another house where the same ceremony is repeated. X suddenly becomes frenzied, rushes madly from place to place, his *ewe*, *ewe*, *ewe* resounds, and he dashes into a dwelling, growling ferociously. The musicians pay no attention to his actions, but complete their singing of the same song outside every house. When this has been finished, the *kokaxiut* gather in X's home to make him sufficiently heavy so that he can lie down. This is done by calling upon those individuals who have the prerogative of using the crystals at initiation. They come forward and, with wild gyrations, extract them from their stomachs and insert them into X's body through his nose, thus partially deadening him so that he can relax. The people disperse when this has been accomplished. As usual, the heralds have informed those living in the other houses of what has been taking place.

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The next morning the *kokaxiut* construct a strong platform behind the fire on which X is supposed to rest for the next four days. In practice he can do almost anything he likes, provided that he is not seen by the uninitiated. The crystals present into his nose dashes him to small noises, but if he hears people talking loudly together, he at once becomes excited and rushes

1:Mc:Dwratth NEA Bellacoola NEA

431, 796

/For information on the potlatch as a means of gaining prestige and a description of the ceremonies, see category 556./

● 796
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/For information on the details of the memorial potlatch ceremonies for the dead, see category 765./

124 where I was working. Before I left, this medley contained so much Bella Coola that it was unintelligible to white people who knew Chinook alone.

Activities in the camp would have interfered seriously with my work during the summer of 1922 if two men had not been confined to the village, Captain Schooner owing to an injured wrist, and Jim Pollard by the illness of his wife. These two men were willing to work half a day spare without jealousy. Each was intensely proud of the traditions of his people and, realizing that their culture was passing away, was glad to assist in making it permanent in writing. An intimacy sprang up between Captain Schooner (see Plate 3) and myself culminating in my adoption, a circumstance which established and improved my position in the community. In this way I was enabled to collect a large amount of material before July when it was necessary for me to leave for the east.

In September, 1923, when I returned to Bella Coola, I found that Captain Schooner had died a few months before, regretted alike by white men and Indians. With the aid of others with whom I had made contact it was possible to obtain much new information, as well as to clear up many obscure points. The previous summer I had been so overwhelmed with material that I had no time to collate it in the field and the gaps only become apparent after a year's study. The men were so busy hunting and laying in stocks of fire-wood, however, that I found it difficult to arrange regular hours of work, but this was a little compared with the initial difficulties of my first trip. In October, when the Bella Coola began to prepare for the winter dances, they had to appoint a successor to Captain Schooner, who had played a leading part in their productions. Having been adopted by him, it was suggested that I take his place, a proposition which I readily accepted. This admitted me to the circle of the old men, and I imagine that my interest encouraged them to hold more ceremonials than they had done for several years. In former times, a number of the older men used to devote much time and thought to the composing, re-

[illegible]

membering, and ordering of songs; in 1913 it was found that Jim Pollard (see Plate 2) alone had a sufficiently accurate memory to act as announcer. As more and more rites wished to perform, he found himself unable to keep the town in order, and asked me to join the chair as prompter. I held this position for the rest of the winter, taking a full part in every ceremony. Although the old customs had broken down enormously, this actual participation enabled me to understand the winter dances in a manner impossible from mere description. Later on, phonographic records were made of many of the songs and, thus preserving specimens of the fast disappearing music.

My intimate association with the Bella Coola enabled me to collect the material here preserved which, having been verified and reverified, I have every reason to believe is correct. Nevertheless, it has one serious defect owing to the lack of assistance of my own. I found it almost impossible to differentiate certain sounds; in fact, I sometimes recorded the same word with different spellings. Consequently, I cannot guarantee the accuracy of the native terms used in this monograph. Moreover, I was entirely unable to analyze proper names, which would have been of great value in understanding the attributes of supernatural beings.

When writing up field notes, the realization of my own inefficiency in the recording of sounds tempted me to rely upon the spelling of Boas whenever possible. After considerable hesitation, I rejected this course for the following reason. Ethnological work falls into two categories, descriptive and comparative. This monograph is of the former type, based on actual work in the field and the inclusion of any material from another source would destroy its originality. I believe that a descriptive work should consist exclusively of the author's own research, and I have adhered to this principle in spite of the advantages which would have followed the use of Boas' linguistic terms. For the same reason no attempt has been made to compare the customs and beliefs of the Bella Coola with those of other tribes, although this would undoubtedly have shed

from *Swalik*. My informant's grandchildren signed themselves as *Swalik* boys, and their names are embedded in myths of their village, although their fathers have not lived there for five generations. There is no reason to suppose this case exceptional. Other instances were obtained of movements of people from one village to another at earlier times, and there seems no cause to doubt the general accuracy of them. Names embedded in the origin myths of different towns are used as patronymics and have been potent factors in keeping their memory alive. Unconscious and inconscious there must be in the foregoing list, but on the whole it appears to be fairly reliable, since few contradictions were received from different informants.

Instances obtained of the same connection from the descendants of people of different villages were found in most cases to be identical. There were a few differences in custom between the people of *Dean* and those of the other upper valley towns on the one hand, and the inhabitants of the lower valley on the other. These will be mentioned when necessary, but on the whole the inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley can be considered as a tribal entity.

Boas (p. 28) gives a list of Bella Coola towns which agrees fairly well with the above. Among his villages are included *Pe-ech* (no. 4), *Pelqaqelmax* (no. 7), and *Pacelkum* (no. 16).* All the other people agreed that these are the names of towns, though settlements located on them may have been known by the same designations. Names of the five villages recorded by Boas, nos. 4, 5, 9, 14, and 14, were not known by several old men questioned on the subject.

The villages of the Bella Coola valley did not form a political unit; each was independent. A common language was spoken throughout and the inhabitants of the different towns recognized that their origin and customs were similar. This was also recognized to be the case with regard to the people living on South Bentinck Arm, and on the head of Dean Channel.

* Spelling is such as in the spelling of his ethnography.

others. This differentiated them clearly from all neighbouring tribes.

B. Consanguinity. A member of a secret society in any of the above towns was accepted as a member in any other one. A person of another tribe, even if known to belong to a compatible society, was treated as an uninitiated person.

C. Gnomes and Ancestors. The people of Bella Coola, Dean, and Kimsquit felt themselves to be akin through acquaintance of the fact that their ancestors had been created together in the beginning of time. This marked them off with great clearness from all other tribes, especially from the Carriers of the interior. This belief formed a sentimental and religious bond of great strength.

Neighbouring Tribes

It is desirable to describe, briefly, the tribes with which the Bella Coola came in contact.

THE CARRIERS

East of Bella Coola, until the mountains of the interior, dwelt the Carriers. In summer they often came down to the river valley to fish or trade for salmon, and in winter they were sometimes forced by cold and starvation again to visit the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, or Rivers Inlet people. There was a good deal of intermarriage between them and the inhabitants of the upper valley, so that the wanderers were able to spend the cold months with relatives. Since the law, the Bella Coola considered these people utterly foreign in habits and beliefs, and to call a man a "Carrier" was, and still is, a deadly insult. The Carriers lacked the rich ceremonial life of the coastal peoples who, therefore, regarded them with scorn and contempt. The presence of a few of the much-despised Carriers was, however, almost necessary to the correct performance of the winter dances since they were established spectators whom it was necessary to impress and delude.

1:McDowalth E-5 (1922-1924)948
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from the moon and stated that there were mountains and snow on it. It is commonly stated that the marks on the moon represent a man carrying a basket.

The stars figure but slightly either in Bella Coola mythology or thought; it is not even known who made them. Two in the Great Bear constellation are called respectively *Tpikste* and *Xwqwaw*, "Little Girls." A lone star in the same part of the sky, named *A'lox*, is said to be following the girls to the forest for illicit intercourse.

Moon, stars, and shows all the sun, were, and still are to a certain extent, used by the Bella Coola in computing the passage of time. There are no individuals with the definite prerogative of keeping count of time, but formerly wise old men used to do so.[9] Differences of opinion were thought rather than the exception, a condition which often led to bitter disputes concerning the proper date for starting the winter ceremonials. Boas (p. 41) has recorded the Bella Coola calendar in greater detail than the present writer has been able to do. The making of calendrical observations is a lost art, and the following list of the months was all that could be learned. It will be noted that these agree with Boas in regard to the months in the early part of the year, but not in those between the summer and winter solstices; no explanation is offered for this disparity.

First moon after the summer solstice: *Sk̓ālamstat*, which has the significance, "The Time for Sockeye Salmon to Ascend the River."

Second moon after the summer solstice: *Sl̓ēlalil*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon."

Third moon after the summer solstice: *Sl̓ēmsi ot*, "The Time for Eating Coho Salmon."

Fourth moon after the summer solstice: *Sqēlqum*, "The Time for Gathering Fern Root," or *Sēlalmx̌ Xwl̓ēmkstsin*,

9. Khwapilt informant stated that there were professional calendrical experts in the being when he was a young lad although members of the leader society (Sk̓ēmp. 1) sometimes attended to this matter.

1:Mc:Dermith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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621 establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This
is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole 614
organization. 553

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another 628
settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong 619
inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem 575
to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or 627
considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and 628
often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the outer coast, about to attack *Ilaxul*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Qoqqa·ts* without its inhabitants even warning their downstream neighbours.

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch 622
system (vol. I, chap. iv), he is "chief" of the village, and his 554
advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. 536
In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village 621
are summoned to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat- 623
585
796

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621 628 [535] [196] 361 [184] [342] [171] [417] [164] [433] 342 [354] [572] [623] [261] [353] [535]

sers, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact this ceremonial unity is its most important function.

With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space. Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the sidewalls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the different families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and anyone present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall. A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important in dances.

McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Although guests from different tribes are sometimes invited to other ceremonials, it is at potlatches that they are essential. Since the validity of such transactions as marriages, divorces, or the assumption of professional prerogatives depends on the presence of witnesses, and since the importance of such a rite depends on the number of witnesses, a man is always eager to carry out any public performance at a potlatch when he is sure of the attention of foreigners, and the consequent wider diffusion of knowledge of what he has done. The man who has invited guests is usually willing to allow others to perform at his potlatch, since it increases the complexity and importance of the affair. It follows that no two potlatches are alike; one will contain features entirely lacking in another. Moreover, the wealth of the donor determines how many rites he himself will cause to be performed. The fundamental concept of the potlatch is the inviting of guests from abroad to witness rites in connection with an ancestral myth, especially the return of a recently deceased relative of the donor to visit the living.

At any important potlatch the following rites are carried out, and in the account of the ritual it will be assumed that these alone are taking place. If the reader bears this summary in mind, he is less likely to be confused by the complication of rites.

(1) The return of a dead ancestor to visit the living.

(2) The initiation of young men or women into the *nuxnt* society. This includes the validation of a *nuxnt* name for each, and a period of seclusion in the back-room. The initiates may either be relatives of the donor of the potlatch, or young persons whose relatives are taking the opportunity to carry out the rite in the presence of foreigners. Some of the initiates may already be members of the society, undergoing a further period of seclusion in order to increase their status by a further distribution of presents.

(3) The payment by the wife of the donor and her family of goods to "rebuy" her from her husband. This is a legal fiction, though necessary to maintain the status of the children.

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(4) The strengthening of the donor's seat. 556*

(5) The strengthening, or initial establishment, of seats for a number of young relatives of the donor who may, or may not, be those who are being initiated into the *nuaxk* society. Other youths may also be established on seats by their relatives. 796

The duration of a potlatch varies with the number of rites being performed. The preliminaries, including the beginning of seclusion for *nuaxk* initiates, requires at least several weeks, in some cases months. There is further delay of a week or more after the arrival of the first guests, as only when the last party has arrived can the actual potlatch begin. This can then be completed in three days and nights, although if many initiates are performing their *nuaxk* dances, a longer time is required.

What are the consequences of giving a potlatch?

In the first place the donor spreads the fame of his name far and wide, also the myth with which it is incorporated. Thus he increases the renown of his ancestors, a source of intense pride and gratification. 556*

More important even than this, it elevates the donor himself. With the proper carrying out of the complicated ritual and the knowledge that his name is now known among different tribes, a man experiences a feeling of mental superiority which enables him to take a leading part in the affairs of his community. In Bella Coola a chief (*stâhmq*) is a person whose influence is paramount owing to his success in giving potlatches.* If several chiefs in one village have given potlatches, he who has given most is generally of greatest importance, although often a man of forceful character who has held, for example, five potlatches will be regarded with greater respect than one of lesser weight, even if he has given six. The whole system is exceedingly fluid, as might be expected where chieftainship depends on individual prowess. In theory, the man who holds the name of the first person to occupy a village, at [156] 556* 622 [554] [182]

*Particularly if he has given four potlatches and can accordingly be described as a *nuxwâl chief* (I, p. 172). In *nuxwâl* songs the archaic word *stâhmq* is also sometimes employed for "chief."

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

ability are always seeking to lend goods to those who are planning potlatches or other rites, knowing that the investment is safe and lucrative. 556 [426]

X uses his own discretion as to how much wealth is necessary. He knows how much he owes for presents received on previous occasions, and would not dream of giving a potlatch until able to repay these. Failure to do so would hold him up to the derision of the whole countryside. But he acts upon his own judgment with regard to interest. If he continues to hoard goods until he is able to repay with great increase, he gains prestige from his generous returns, but meanwhile he does not enjoy the distinction which would have followed a smaller affair at an earlier period. Further, there is the uncertainty about how much his wife's family will contribute, though that can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy; in Bella Coola every transaction is made publicly, so each man knows the wealth of his neighbour. The favourite month for a potlatch is October, before the *kusiut* dances, when there is abundance of food. At this season there is plenty of salmon roe, berries, and crabapples, all of which might be ruined by frost. Occasionally, a potlatch takes place after the *kusiut* period, but in that case the only foods available are olachen grease, smoked meat, smoked fish, dried hemlock-bark, and dried berries. If several men in one village decide to give potlatches in the same year there may be rivalry and dispute as to which shall be first. There is no satisfactory method of settling this point. [626] [796] [262] [578]

When all is ready X tells a herald (I, p. 244) to summon his fellow villagers to his house the following day for *xläxtnim*. It is customary for all to accept, but no social obligation is broken should a man or woman fail to do so. [203]

The next morning no one eats in his own house, knowing that free food will be distributed. While his expected guests are adorning themselves by washing and painting, X, aided by his family and others, prepares large quantities of food, borrows boxes, and makes other necessary arrangements. Pre- [302] [426]

292 whiskers over which is scattered eagle down. From the back
535 of the head-dress hang weasel skins. In Bella Bella it is said to
* 556 be customary for a skin to be added on every occasion when a
575 *sisaek* is confined to the back-room. This may happen as many as fifteen times to the child of wealthy parents, and a few Bella
[237] Coola have adopted the practice of marking each with a skin. Usually, some six or nine are hung in two tiers, without consideration of the number of times the wearer has been in seclusion. The central figure of the forehead mask is a head with
[532] a hooked nose, the recurved hook being joined to the face itself. This figure does not vary with the wearer's ancestral myth, and no one knows what it represents. This design is
[177] said to have been introduced to Bella Coola from the north a
[237] few generations ago; before that time the head-dress consisted
[824] of a circular band of dyed cedar-bark, decorated with the tail feathers of one of the large woodpeckers. The Bella Coola call it simply, "forehead mask." Each initiate carries a hollow
[532] rattle, carved in the shape of a bird, which he holds in his right
[534] hand, belly uppermost. Long, long ago, when a dancer failed to do so, the rattle became alive and the bird flew away; hence, this rule has been obeyed ever since.

535 Each initiate takes up his station in some part of the house
* 556 behind the fire and dances to the beating of the sticks. The
575 left hand of each is clasped behind his back and in his right he holds the rattle and keeps it in constant motion by shaking his wrist. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a good dancer. Keeping the body stiff and the legs close together, he rises with slight jumps, barely altering his position on the floor. Sometimes he slowly turns around sunwise[11] in his series of jumps, at other times he does not alter his position. The head is bent from side to side and downwards at each jump, causing the eagle down to fly in all directions. *Sisaek* assistants blow more of the material on to the head-dress at intervals (see Plate 16).[1]

[821] [11] The Bella Coola believe that the sun moves from east to south to west to
[796] north. Many ceremonial movements follow this direction, which will henceforth be described as sunwise.

[1] [See cat 116, facing p 219 - ANALYST]

203 survives. None the less, one of their primal prerogatives, the
553 visible embodiment of an element in their ancestral myth, is
*556 no longer present. In such circumstances, no member of an
614 ancestral family would give a potlatch unless able to revive at
[424] it the dormant name in a new herald. The intending donor
usually consults with the senior members of the ancestral family
as to a suitable incumbent, or especially if he is an influential
chief, he may simply use his own discretion. In either case,
some relatively young member of the ancestral family is offered
the post. If he accepts, the matter is settled; if not, another
is invited in his stead. The new herald cannot function until
his name and appointment have been validated by the distri-
bution of presents at the potlatch. Such gifts are not returna-
ble, since they are held to "have become nothing" for the
name. Relatively lavish expenditure for this purpose is one
of the many ways in which a chief is able to show his prowess
and generosity. Thus established, a herald can carry out his
duties thenceforth. He functions at every ceremonial, but
especially at potlatches given by members of his own ancestral
family, in whose origin myth his own name is embodied. From
[627] constant participation in all kinds of ceremonials, a herald
*[196] becomes conversant with every type, and is appealed to as
arbiter in difficult points of ritual, thus adding to his repu-
tation.

203 Although acceptance of the post of herald somewhat cur-
*556 tails a man's activities in other respects, instances are known
of energetic ones using the gifts received to establish them-
selves as chiefs, passing on their herald names at the same time
to other incumbents. More often, a herald uses his wealth for
the benefit of a son or other relative, being satisfied with his
own status in the community. He takes a prominent part in
every ceremony and is a person of some standing, yet is spared
the responsibility of actually giving rites himself, a position
which offers many attractions to a man lacking great ambition
and initiative.

[illegible]

ponded, so that it serves as a visible and tangible memorandum of the chief-like generosity of its owner. By means of these media, debts are passed from one individual to another without actual liquidation in goods; in fact, it is unlikely that the Bella Coola possess sufficient money to meet the sums represented by their coppers.

556* [illegible] [illegible]

Prerogatives, Professions

The importance of prerogatives in the lives of the Bella Coola has already been noted in many connections. A man's name is his only because his ancestral family has the prerogative of using that designation; a *kwiste* dance can be performed only by an individual with the necessary prerogative; specific totem-pole designs, the portrayal of bird or animal on spoons, seats, house-posts, and other objects is a right dependent upon an ancestral prerogative; so is also the area on which a man can hunt or fish. The concept colours all Bella Coola life. Not only is a man's ceremonial life based on this principle, but on it depend his actions as chief, and the economic sources of his food-supply. No prerogative, even though it be the property of a man, is effective until validated by the distribution of presents. Much of a man's energy throughout life is expended on the validation and display of his prerogatives; most Bella Coola feuds are caused by the infringement of one individual on another's rights.

424 556* [532] [796] [431] [627] [578]

In addition to the various types already mentioned, there are a number of professional prerogatives on which depend a man's vocation. That of herald approximates this class, although the Bella Coola consider it rather as a right operative only during ceremonials. Professional prerogatives rest on the belief that a man's ability as a hunter, wood-worker, and so forth does not rest in his innate skill, but upon an inherited right which must be confirmed and validated by the distribution of presents. These can be given at any convenient time when the people have been called together, but, as it is to the man's advantage to have his right made known as widely

424 463 556*

expenditure though he must forgo the prestige enjoyed by a man who has been able to shower his professional favors in a lavish manner. Selection is a common factor in the social life of a Bulu Cocin; the man who uses all his wealth to acquire a few *ntoe* cannot be "strong" in *ntoe* matters; the man who desires to specialize in *bassor* affairs cannot afford to display an elaborate *ntoe-pole*. Amid these conflicting desires, it often happens that a man somewhat neglects his professional prerogatives, especially those of which the dignity has been slightly lessened through superior skill shown by individuals endowed with no more than native ability. Upstarts of this kind have always infringed upon professional dignity, and the coming of the white man has added a new factor which has almost destroyed vocational prerogatives.

A'ali Dances

The most important, as well as the most spectacular, dances that occur at pollachos are those given by members of the *ntoe* society. In addition to these, a feature of many pollachos is the performance of *a'ali* dances.* As already mentioned, from 1870 onwards there have been many changes in *ntoe* ritual; new elements have been acquired by the marriages of Bulu Cocin to members of the coastal tribes, with the result that details of procedure vary at every ceremony according to the prerogatives of the dance. Since 1910, the influence of white civilization has increased to such an extent that *ntoe* ceremonials have virtually been abandoned. This took place at a time when the ritual was in transition, a state of affairs which rendered difficult the collection of coherent information. *A'ali* dances are associated with *ntoe*, but the addition of new features to the latter was accompanied by a decay of the former. Both societies have now almost ceased to exist, but whereas the *ntoe* organization was abandoned during a period of change and accretion, that

*Called *e'ajoe* in Kimapin.

[574] [575] [576] [577] as these sounds he retires utterly exhausted. The time beaten out for a *nuxpuel* or *um'hl-a* dancer is the same. He too comes near the fire and at first dances in the same manner until the singers in unison bellow out, *W'ai-*, "More." With a run that ends in a crashing leap that seems to shake the floor, the performer takes his position between the fire and one of the side walls and begins to revolve furiously upon himself. His body is bent forward until it seems as if all that prevents him from falling to the floor is his hands clutched together as far as possible behind his back; while his feet move so rapidly that the short mincing steps run into each other. Gradually the beating becomes less violent, only to be followed by another cry of *W'ai-*, and another rush and jump that lands the dancer behind the fire. Here he revolves once more in the same furious fashion; the same is repeated on the side of the fire opposite to the place where he first performed, and finally between the fire and the door. *Nuxpuel* and *um'hl-a* are the most strenuous of all Bella Coola dances and the performer is glad to retire. He afterwards joins the audience. This dance entails no taboo or restrictions on the dancer.

This terminates the performance of this type of dance at a potlatch, but among the goods distributed are some to validate the name acquired by the dancer, and others to legalize his actual display.

[578] [579] [580] The occasion on which importance and solemnity are attached to *a'alk* dances is during potlatches, but they are also given at other times. Most Bella Coola performances are so steeped in the presence of the supernatural that the element of enjoyment is secondary, but in the spring, after the end of the *tsaxiut* season and before the salmon come to the rivers, dances for pleasure are of common occurrence. A *nuxuil* can call his fellows to his house and the singers beat out *nuxuil* songs to which the owners dance, but the most common hours are *a'alk*. Of course an individual may be a member of both societies, but the heralds invite the guests in his *a'alk* name. Those summoned include both members of the society

533 of each song dances to it. Anyone who has enough food to
535 provide a meal for all is glad to invite his neighbours to such
574 an affair, but the singers and heralds can force a stingy man to act as host. Everyone knows his neighbour's resources and the singers have no hesitation in going to the house of a man with an ample supply of food and beginning to bout out songs
[208] there. The heralds are quick to see what is happening and
[62] call the people, with the result that the involuntary host is compelled to provide a meal in order not to be thought mean and churlish. Without waiting for the singers to take the
[203] initiative, heralds likewise often invite people to the house of a man whom they know to be well provided with food.

During the summer, the necessity of laying in supplies of
[221] salmon makes it impossible to hold many dances, although one
[796] of the non-sacred type just described takes place whenever there is a lull in the fishing. In the early autumn, when ber-
556 ries, fish, and game are abundant, the thoughts of chiefs turn
796 to potlatches and the lengthy preliminaries are begun. At this season, too, a chief who lacks sufficient wealth to invite foreign
[221] guests, calls in his neighbours for a *nuxnê* dance and initiates
[575] some of his young relatives into that society. The ritual,
[535] described in the last chapter, resembles that of a potlatch except that no new house is constructed, there is no return of a dead relative, and the ceremonial connected with the coming of foreigners is necessarily omitted. In some cases a chief performs this type of rite a year before he proposes to hold a potlatch, and explains that he is doing so because he will be unable to give presents to the inhabitants of his own village
[426] at the later affair. Gifts so distributed are returnable with interest, though it is not obligatory for recipients to do this in time for the donor to make use of their repayment at his potlatch.

Ceremonials of this nature occupy the Bella Coola during
[575] the early autumn, while in winter *tsaiut* dances take place
[535] almost nightly. When they are over, it is time for the non-sacred variety of *a'alt* performances, and for another type of
rite, nusāxkāmx.

ciz, sandáang. This can be described here, since, although not closely associated with the potlatch, it serves to teach children the principles of present-giving and indifferentism. February is the proper month for *sandáang*, although preliminary arrangements are made early in the winter. A chief who has a son or daughter about ten or twelve years of age may decide to use some of his food, and a small part of his wealth, for the benefit of the child. With the assistance of his relatives, the father begins making large numbers of toy canoes, miniature bows and arrows, small baskets, and models of all other types of articles commonly given away at potlatches. The manufacture of these requires several months, but towards the end of January they are nearly ready.

A name must then be chosen for the child. Since a *sandáang* dance is a humorous, non-sacred affair, a *sandáang* name is not embodied in a myth, but is drawn from some story. Occasionally, parents decide on a new one, but more often the designation selected is one used for the same purpose by a grandparent of the child. There is no rivalry with regard to names of this type, and one of them can be re-used without asking consent of the last incumbent, although permission would never be refused. There must be a song with each name and the grandparents and other elderly relatives teach this to a number of boys who are to act as singers. The words may have been remembered from a previous occasion; if not, a simple theme is composed by one of the old people having some reference to the name about to be conferred. For example, one appellation of this type is *Tsplmar*, Fawn, and the accompanying words are:

"We hear that Deer has borne a child."

Another name is *Xplm*, Beaver, and the song: "Be of good cheer, the Beaver is coming."

A third song is, "Go outside under the house like a dog."

Occasionally a small incident in an ancestral myth is used. The teaching of the song to the juvenile singers is a source of constant merriment; the parents and grandparents are the

[532] principal instructors, aided by the professional musicians.
[547] Boys are always willing to act as singers for the practice they
[533] receive, and the gifts they will acquire. Other lads are chosen
to act as heralds, an effort being made in each case to pick
those likely to pursue these professions.

[546] The day finally selected for the ceremony is in February,
on a date when nothing of importance is taking place. The
juvenile heralds summon the child guests, who have been
invited in accordance with the rules governing a potlatch,
special care being taken to omit none to whom the child donor
is indebted. His father carefully instructs him in this matter,
thus impressing on his son's mind one of the fundamental
points of Bella Coola life. In the late afternoon, when all have
[535] assembled, the boy singers beat out the donor's song and he
dances to it. It may be in the nature of a *round*, *o'wit*, or
kwiat dance, according to the wishes of his parents. In many
cases, one of the grandparents or some other old relative like-
wise dances to the song, using whatever style he chooses.
There is no ceremonial significance to the ceremony and all
enjoy themselves immensely, especially the adult guests. After
[553] the dancing, the new name is announced and presents are given
to the guests. The father of the young donor carefully in-
structs him as to the scale of his gifts, emphasizing the neces-
sity of rewarding the singers and heralds, and of repaying with
interest those children from whom he has received favours. In
this way, the ceremony serves as a practical example of how to
conduct a potlatch. The parents of the donor always provide
some tasty food for the occasion, and this is distributed after
[554] the gifts have been handed round. The necessity for food and
presents makes it impossible for any but the children of chiefs
to enjoy this training.

After the ceremony, the children parade up and down the sidewalk in front of the houses, singing boisterously. The performance has been for their benefit and they wish to "show off." One night completes the affair, but the following afternoon another child may summon his comrades to a similar

ceremony. The child sings first but not the song of the present donor, then that of his predecessor, to which the latter dances once again. If food is plentiful, wedding ceremonies may be carried out every day for several weeks, or a year or two may elapse without one. A child's song is remembered from year to year and he dances whenever it is heard sung. The name acquired in this way is used semi-jocularly by a lad's comrades. After marriage, it is considered unfitting for a youth to be concerned with wedding and he normally becomes an e'ak.

Ceremonies of this kind have been discontinued for many years and it was impossible to obtain detailed accounts. The main features are clear: they served to instruct children in the methods of present-giving. According to one informant, there were two types of wedding ceremonial; one of the burn-cross pattern above described in which, however, food alone was given away, and another in which miniature presents were distributed. This man believed that the latter was only possible for the children of wealthy chiefs, and that on such occasions the themes consisted of small incidents in the family myth. In either case, the importance of ceremonial can be judged from the manner in which it was impressed upon mere children.

ceremony, they can part at discretion without anyone being offended. 586

When a wife runs away and seeks refuge with another man, her husband sometimes tries to kill his rival, but frequently both families endeavour to heal the breach amicably. Some of her relatives, particularly those who played an influential part in the marriage, first ask the husband whether or not he is willing to take her back. If the answer is in the affirative, they next try to persuade her to return. Every argument is used, in many cases combined with threats against her relatives, and the reconciliation often succeeds. But she must never go back without presents, "so dry with fire she never has entered the marriage." The husband invites all his fellow-villagers to his house to a ceremony which is said "to uproot the house [of trouble]." The singers are in attendance and sing in succession many funeral songs, followed by *ocad* songs, and to which the owner of the song dances, but since the supernatural beings are not present, the affair is of a non-sacred nature. The goods received from the family of the erring wife are distributed and the matter is at an end. Those who persuaded the wife to return are especially rewarded. 837 [796] [431]

If the faithless wife should refuse to return, or if she should bear a child to her lover, reconciliation is not possible. Then it is incumbent on the woman's relatives to return to the husband as much goods as he has expended, with additions if they wish to uphold their own reputation. If the husband is clearly to blame, or if he is the deserting partner, his wife's family are not required to return the gifts they have received. There is no judicial tribunal of any kind, the force of public opinion alone impels restitution if the offender wishes to maintain his reputation in the community. Acting on this principle, the relatives of a deserted wife sometimes restore to her husband's family the presents they have received, thereby demonstrating their nobility and at the same time shaming the offender. 586 837 [626]

Formerly there was an elaborate ceremony to shame the [796] [626]

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husband or wife who destroyed a marriage by deserting his, or her, partner for a lover. One informant, aged about seventy, twice took part in this rite when a young man, but probably did not know the full details of it. He stated that it followed a divorce of two persons who had been married with full ceremony, whereas another, slightly younger informant, who remembered having seen the ceremony once when a mere lad, believed that it was only in the families of commoners. It appears certain that the rite has not been practised since about 1880, consequently there is an element of doubt as to the actual details, and even as to whether it was an affair of chiefs or commoners. It is probable that it was among the former.

When a woman deserted her husband one of the leading chiefs would take this opportunity of giving a ceremony of the type known as *lleiyakam*.[10] After consulting with his fellows to ensure that no one had any objections, and rarely including the deserted husband, he summoned the singers to his house. He would tell them his plans, and they would prepare the songs for the occasion. Five or six were always composed, with an effort to include as many foul remarks and allusions as possible, particularly with regard to the organs of the woman and her lover.

The singers spent about a week composing the songs, and meanwhile the chief who was giving the ceremony prepared food and made other necessary arrangements. When these were ready, the donor invited to his house all the members of the *sisaok* and *kusiut* societies for a rehearsal. The singers sang over the airs for the instruction of the guests. They were always worded as if it were the deserted husband speaking in foul terms of his ex-wife. The theme of one was:

"My wife has pudenda like those of a black bear."

The guests joined in the singing and also supplied foul themes by calling out observations about the organs of women in general, and of the deserting wife in particular. The singers

[10] The relation of this to the *a'alt* dance of the same name is obscure, cf. I, p. 279.

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used to incorporate as many of these as possible, so that the rite soon became a chorus of obscenities. The songs were sung and resung until all present were familiar with them, then the donor of the rite distributed food and all dispersed.

The following afternoon everyone, including those uninitiated into either society, were invited to the donor's house. Probably the only absentees from the village were the deserting wife and her lover, while guests from neighbouring settlements were often in attendance. On this occasion, for the first time, the deserted husband used to take the leading part. When the singers struck up the tune of the first song, he used to appear, supported by four or five assistants. His face was blackened with soot, he wore a lynx-skin belt, and above his head was fashioned some insulting object, usually a representation of the female organs made of wood, cedar-bark and berries, as realistic as possible. As the singers sang, aided by those who had learnt the songs on the previous day, the husband danced, moving his body so that the ornament on top of his head was shaken suggestively. Meanwhile the spectators kept calling out filthy epithets of any kind on his ex-wife and her lover. Sometimes the dancer was able to insert some obscene remarks into the display. On one occasion, for example, he pulled some lynx fur from his belt and threw it in the face of a *Tâl-ie* man who happened to be present, and who had once seduced a married woman and accordingly been the butt of a similar rite, with the remark:

[302]
[392]

"All *Tâl-ie* women have hairy pudenda like that."

The guests were invited to suggest foul nick-names for the man with whom the dancer's wife had eloped. One of these was adopted by general agreement of opinion, and the man was commonly called by it henceforth. Two names so created were:

[551]

Skulsos, "The One Whose Face is Wrinkled like a Woman's Organs," and,

Emolsaik, "The One Who Cohabited Publicly."

One very old man is still, 1923, commonly called by this last designation, much to his annoyance.

When the songs had been sung, each accompanied by the dancing of the deserted husband, the donor of the ceremony distributed food and the guests departed. The only advantage to the giver of the rite was that it enabled him to show his wealth in an apparently disinterested fashion by gifts of food. Usually he was a friend of the aggrieved husband.

When a husband deserted his wife, the other women of the village used to perform an exactly similar ceremony. The same type of songs were composed, and during their singing the deserted wife used to dance, wearing above her head representations of a penis and testicles. By means of hidden strings she was able to cause the former to become erect.

On other occasions the ceremony was varied by an announcer asking the offended party about the appearance of the deserter. There followed a minute and highly coloured description about the unpleasantness of his genital organs, a description which was swiftly incorporated into the songs.

It can be taken as a matter of course that the above description is little more than an outline of the Bella Coola ceremony of shaming. In spite of its deficiencies, it is important, as evidence of the former sentiment with regard to divorce. Obscene though the ceremony must have been, both in acting and in the free use of personalities, it must have been a powerful deterrent to divorce.[11] Indeed it would be difficult to imagine a stronger one in a community where a man's position is judged by public opinion and where his greatest aversion is to public ridicule. It is unfortunate that we shall probably never know whether the rite was associated with chiefs or commoners.

CEREMONIAL MARRIAGE

Since marriage gains much of its importance from the complicated business transactions between the two families, with

[11] A similar rite was occasionally carried out for unmarried mothers.

[illegible]

DEATH

Death Rites—Memorial Rites—Fate of the Dead

Death Rites

DEATH is marked by even more complicated and prolonged rites than marriage. Like so many primitive peoples, the Bella Coola not only carry out elaborate rituals soon after the actual decease, but hold lengthy commemorative and mourning ceremonials in later years. As these require the co-operation of a large number of people, the death of an individual affects a wider circle than his own relatives, and the celebrations have, therefore, an important social as well as religious significance. 196 [182]

[illegible]

It is not surprising that the Bella Coola, believing in the omnipresence of the supernatural, should consider various peculiar occurrences to be omens of death. One of the simplest of these is to hear the falling of a tree when there is neither wind nor other reason to account for it. Such a fall is audible only to the person whom it warns of approaching death, either to himself or to one of his relatives. A number of men may be in the forest together, when one of them hears the crash of a tree and notices that his companions are unaware of it; he realises that this is an omen and protects himself by calling out: 763

"Let this evil recoil against whoever has been plotting evil against me."

The basis of this custom is the belief that someone has been practising black magic against the hearer, who, by this answer, is able to cause the sorcery to recoil upon the malefactor. Even more dangerous than to hear a falling tree, is to have one crash [954] [824]

body became angle down and was walled upwards in psycho-logically of the type which might serve as basis for a rite of this kind. If the descendants of the person to whom this had happened had dramatized the incident as subsequent death, a custom analogous to the one here described would have arisen.

BURIAL OF THE DEAD

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When possible, it takes place on the day following death, but as many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the performance of the rite just described. Another reason for postponement in the absence of near relatives, if they can be summoned within four or five days, the funeral may be delayed until their arrival. There is always endless discussion concerning the exact details; all relatives and members of the ancestral family take part, though the wishes of a son, brother, or other near kinsman are usually followed. In this, as in so many points of Bella Coola ritual, an influential chief often overrules the desires even of those who are more closely related to the deceased.

Herolds announce the hour chosen,* usually about noon, and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even strangers being welcome. Women wail dolorously, and another indication of the occasion is the bundles containing clothing, cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once, with a stone; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed and a hole made in one of the front corners of the house, through which the man throws out the stone. The women redouble their lamentations as an old woman, previously asked to do so, lights a bundle of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and climbs through the opening carrying this. No request has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong men, especially

*This is done at present, even after the carrying away of the "body." In former times it was omitted when the corpse was merely buried by the *ramak*.

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and recompense to funeral assistants is usually deferred until that time. Such was often true even in former years, although poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the express purpose of publicly rewarding those who had helped to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any convenient ceremony, such as a non-sacred *nusk* dance. As repeatedly mentioned, when the people have been called together for a ceremony, advantage is often taken of the gathering to settle debts or to perform rites of an entirely different nature. It is probable that the summoning of guests solely to witness the payment of helpers was always unusual; at present it never occurs. On those occasions when a body was buried in secret after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the crest, the goods of the deceased were deposited as usual in the cemetery. Those who carried them were the ones who had performed the secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the gifts as reward for the hidden rite without exposing the subterfuge. 764 431 556 [375] [796] [766]

Another type of ceremonial taking place after a funeral is the cleansing from the contamination of death of near relatives of the deceased, and of those who have handled the corpse. If spring salmon or olachen are running, pall-bearers must not go near the river for ten days, or twenty according to some informants, after taking a body to the grave. They have become tainted with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the river bank, would poison the salmon. Unwillingness to become affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly, friendless slave being carried out to the cemetery by some old women who covered him with boards. The taint on grave-diggers cannot be removed, but automatically lapses after ten days. 764 783 [825]

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife whose consort has passed away. It is believed that *Sā-lma* [776]

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556 769 diate family. Confusion is probable only when a chief is bereaved after he has stored up goods and made preliminary preparations for a potlatch; he may then carry out the rites intended, but designate the ceremony a memorial potlatch. [975] More often, however, the affair is limited to rites associated with the deceased. Consequently, there is omission of the initiation of neophytes into the *nusaá* and *a'alá* societies,[*] there is no establishment of new seats for young relatives of the donor, and no strengthening of his own. It must be emphasized once more that there is no unalterable sequence of prescribed rituals at either potlatch or memorial potlatch; the omissions just mentioned are customary, not universal, and when present the ritual of the two ceremonies is identical. Except on those rare occasions when omitted at a potlatch, the return of a dead relative is the central feature of both.

[184]

In recent years, the great increase in wealth has made it [178] possible for a chief to perform a memorial potlatch soon after the death of an esteemed relative. This was rarely the case in former times, but as there was no other reason for which valuables were so ardently desired, every expedient was used to obtain the necessary goods. Occasionally, a chief happened to have the needful goods stored up so that he could give a memorial potlatch almost immediately. To such a fortunate individual the term, *yestla*, was applied, a word difficult to translate but combining the significances of *rich*, *ready*, *fortunate*, and *revered*.

[796] Memorial potlatches, like those of the ordinary kind, are usually held in the early autumn, though occasionally one may be postponed until after the *kasiut* season. When an intending donor has decided that he owns sufficient goods, he first calls in his fellow-chiefs and makes known his intentions, at the same time expounding in considerable detail the myths which [533] he proposes to use as themes for mourning songs, and for other

[*] Performance of such rites at a memorial potlatch would be considered sinful by the Bella Bella and were always omitted during the period when their influence was important.

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type of dance differs from all other Bella Coola ones, since no inherited prerogative is required. Years ago such exhibitions were common, although curing shamans were rare. 756* 556

The usual time for a shaman's performance is at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season, though one is sometimes held prior to that period if the would-be performer fears that the food which he has stored up for the event is likely to be frozen. [796]

When he decides to give a dance, the shaman first summons the singers to his house and teaches them a song of his own composition. Theoretically both text and tune should have been received from his supernatural benefactor, but many performers undoubtedly employ songs used by shaman ancestors which they have chanced to remember. Another device is to describe a supernatural being seen in a dream. In some cases there is deliberate deception, but in most the performer persuades himself that he has received supernatural authorization. The texts are full of obscure allusions, a river, for example, is spoken of as swift running water. Often a man will treasure a song for years, before collecting the wealth necessary to use it publicly, with the social prestige attached. A shaman always obtains a name from his supernatural benefactor, but if a man merely uses a feat observed in a dream, this is impossible, so he adopts the designation of some deceased shaman, soon convincing himself that it was uttered by the apparition. Others will probably remember this name, hence suspicions may easily be aroused concerning the authenticity of the performance, but it is not customary to voice these. The singers repeat the song which they have just heard, and continue doing so until they have mastered it. Sometimes they compose further songs themselves for the performer. During the practising, those who are not *kukusiut* are expelled from the house. A shaman is a person who has come in contact with the supernatural; hence he is akin to the members of the society who, therefore, support him during his rite.[1] A herald is sent out

533 756* 556 [195] [553] [183] 756* 556 [575] [203]

[1] Theoretically, a shaman need not be a *kusiut*, but visitations usually come only to those of religious and imaginative temperaments, who are in the majority of cases already members of the society.

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shaman pours the grease on the central fire, and throws on it 755
also the figures and some dried salmon. Thus propitiated, it 782
is believed that the dead will be more likely to allow the sickness to be sucked forth.

Shamans from the dead perform conjuring feats and 756 *
dramatic performances of the same type as ordinary shamans. 556
Until he gives his first dance a newly created shaman is known [575]
as a *lsux*, the same word that is used for a *kusiut* initiate, and during this period he wears the shaman's collar of intertwined dyed and undyed cedar-bark. If he is wealthy and influential, a shaman will repeat his dance every fourth year. Such a performance can be held at any season, although the usual time is [796] after the *kusiut* ceremonies. The dramatic representations are of scenes witnessed in the land below, though sometimes they are done in a reverse manner, following the practice of the dead in doing things strangely. Thus one shaman reported that the ghosts wore very long blankets, but when he danced he wore one that came only to his hips. The method of singing is the same as that employed by ordinary shamans, but one whose [535] power is derived from the dead dances with head bent downwards, his free hand pointing to the ground with first finger extended. Also his cry of "*xwai, xwai, xwai*," uttered at intervals with a deep cadence, differs from that used by ordinary shamans. A dance always terminates with the distribution of food to validate the ceremony.

Like ordinary shamans, those from the dead cannot trans- 756 *
mit their power. At death their songs too are lost, unless they 533
choose to give them to a friend who is also a shaman from the [428]
dead. This is obviously contrary to the theoretical belief that all songs have been obtained during revelations, but is not at all contrary to the Bella Coola practice of having the singers assist the visionaries in "remembering" their visions.

The following tale, although drawn from the distant past, 539
is a typical illustration of one of the many ways in which 756 *
shamanistic power is received from the dead.[1] 775

[1] A few stories of similar type have been included in vol. I, chap. VIII to explain the life of the dead, and others are grouped together in the next chapter.

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224 hanging rock where no rain can penetrate. Long ago, some
[732] hunter failed to do this and became blind in consequence, hence the rite has since been carried out.

When a hunter is in the field, his wife must not swing. To do this causes him to go up into lofty and dangerous places as she rises on the swing, and also destroys the power laboriously accumulated by ceremonial chastity.

Ritual Acts

796 Ceremonialism is an extremely important aspect of Bella
226 Coola life, but most of their rites are social or religious rather than magical, so that descriptions of them belong to other
789 chapters. In connection with the taking of the first olachen and salmon, however, a number of ritual acts are performed to bring about desired ends; the element of propitiation is not entirely absent, but on the whole they may be considered as magical.

Rites connected with the first olachen

226 At the height of the olachen run, the fish are so abundant
796 that they can be taken profitably in large purse-nets. They
574 do not, however, come simultaneously, and eager fishermen keep watching for their arrival and catching the straggling forerunners in hand dip-nets. These fish must not be eaten immediately. Each fisherman arranges a box in the front part of his house in which he deposits them as taken; if several men are doing this in a single dwelling, one box for each will be arranged near the front-door. Whenever a dance is held, eagle down is blown over the receptacle to placate the olachen and prevent them from being disturbed by the noise. As soon as a man has caught enough for a feast, he invites all his fellows to his house and the fish are distributed. It is taboo for any woman to share this meal, and it is most improper for a man to summon his neighbours until he has enough olachen to allow each guest to carry home a plentiful supply for his family. In former times, there used to be a number of meals of this kind,

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since each fisherman provided one when his box was filled. 226

No one is allowed to drink water immediately after eating the first olachen of the spring, since to do so would cause a flood. It is considered most improper for a child to cry soon after partaking of this food; if he does so, he is quieted by having nettles stuffed into his mouth. As already described, if a person dies before the first fish have passed through his bowels, a shaman must wipe his lips with cedar-bark. 796 574 [865]

After the first meal of olachen, stakes for the nets can be driven, and the restrictions become less exacting. Women are not allowed to assist in fishing, but the men devote their full time to the task, working with zest and energy.[1] An abundant supply of olachen is a source of joy, and all listen eagerly for the singing of the thrush, *smxmxaxts*, which signifies that the nets are full to bursting. Half jocularly, people invite the bird to come and eat, but his melody is interpreted as: 226 [562] [825]

"I shall eat when the river is full."

RITES CONNECTED WITH THE FIRST SPRING SALMON[2]

Salmon is the most important article of Bella Coola diet and the rites which accompany the earliest taking of the fish are relatively complicated. 226 796 [262]

When the first spring salmon have been caught, they are laid in the canoe with their heads all pointing eastward, upstream. The fisherman poles to shore, but instead of landing his catch, he fastens the salmon to a stake driven at the edge of the bank so that they remain in the water. A number of posts are usually placed in readiness, each decorated with alternate spirals of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with an eagle's tail. Each day one or two more fish may be caught, but all are left in the water until the first have become soft, thus giving sufficient time for the necessary preparations on shore. It is the duty of every owner of a salmon-weir to build near its end a so-called Spring Salmon House, a shed-like [343]

[1] For a description of olachen fishing, see Appendix A.
[2] Cf. Boas, p. 78.

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[343]

structure with a roof but without side walls. To this the successful fisherman brings long strings of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, eagle down, and spoons made of maple-bark; in this task he is assisted by his relatives as well as by anyone else willing to help.

When all has been prepared, the fisherman asks the men of the village to gather on the bank to assist him. No one is compelled to do so, but in actual fact everyone is glad to be present unless prevented by some valid reason. A friend takes a canoe pole and points at the head of the first salmon, while all call in unison, *xak'loi·*, a word for which no meaning is known, and which is said to have been used unintelligibly for many generations. If he is standing on the south bank of the stream, the fisherman passes his left hand outside his right, seizes the fish behind the neck with the former, and by the tail with the latter; then he turns around sunwise, uncrossing his arms, so that his catch is still pointing upstream. If the village is on the north side of the river, the position of the hands is reversed. He carries the salmon to the Spring Salmon House and places it on a layer of fresh cottonwood and willow leaves spread over the ground. A young assistant, who is decorated with bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, lifts from his left arm one of a number of two-foot strips of the same material carried there and lays it over the salmon's head so that part of the string is within its mouth. As he does this he says:

Ipāxollai, qāmxāmilso,[1] "Accept, O Salmon."

Qāmxāmila is not the usual word for salmon, but signifies rather, "Food"; it is the designation used by supernatural beings for these fish and is hence applied by *snmq* to their prey, human beings.

After this has been done, eagle down is blown over the fish. A second salmon is likewise taken from the river, with the same cry of *xak'loi·*, laid with its head on its predecessor's tail, and the same rite carried out. This is repeated till all are arranged in line, with their heads pointing upstream. The

[1] The vocative form of the word.

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women listening from the village are able to tell how many have been caught from the number of times the cry *xak'loi·s* raised. 226 796

Then the salmon are cut up (only shell knives may be used for the purpose) and cooked. Everything must be used, heads, bones, and entrails, the only refuse being the blood which is scraped from the leaves and carried into the woods. The leaves themselves, and the strings of dyed and undyed cedar-bark are thrown into the river in accordance with a desire expressed by *Noākxnum* long ago. When everything is ready for a meal, the men take their places in two rows, facing each other across a coarse bark mat. Bark spoons have been provided, and when the heralds call for food, the fisherman brings the heads of the salmon and the guests make the motions of eating, though in reality these parts are dried and kept for winter. Boxes containing a liberal portion of the choice meat are next served and all eat freely. Each guest puts on one side what he has not consumed as if to carry it away, as is the custom at an ordinary feast, though his share is really left in the shelter until the following day. Finally, a third course is provided, the back of the fish cooked with the bone in position. Like the last, the guests eat as much as they desire and pack up the residue as if to take away. Then they leave the Spring Salmon House. [412] 226 796 574 [251]

All the fish are not cooked on the one occasion. The following day the fisherman again calls back the men of his village. The same type of meal is served, but this time the guests carry away what they do not eat for the benefit of their families. This portion may be eaten by the women without affronting the salmon. [562]

This rite has not been performed in full detail in Bella Coola for many years, and it was impossible to collect information on some points. It is uncertain, for example, whether this ceremony was carried out by every fisherman or whether there used to be certain individuals with the prerogative of dealing with the first catch. The latter appears to be the most logical 226 796 424

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226 manner, and was definitely stated to be the case by one well-
796 informed old man. It is clear, however, that every spring
[424] salmon was landed with the cry of *xak'loi·*, taken to the Spring
[574] Salmon House, and cut up by the men until the time when
[251] women were allowed near the river. Another old man stated
[562] that the feast took place at night and that only the heads and refuse of the first catch were eaten, the remainder being dried for the winter. Women of child-bearing age were not allowed on the river bank, and were rigorously excluded from the Spring Salmon House until the time when the sun's shadow reached a diagonal scar on the slope of one of the mountains on the north side of North Bentinck Arm. This occurs about August. From that time onwards, there was no calling of *xak'loi·*, and women, except those who were taboo, could cut salmon freely on the bank. It was even stated that refuse of salmon could be thrown into the river after that time. No one knows the origin of this seasonal prohibition, or why it should end when the sun reaches a certain point, but it was faithfully observed in former times.

In Kimsquit similar rites were carried out, the chief variation being that the bodies of four swans were placed in the Spring Salmon House and the fish laid with these at intervals in the line. Moreover, the youth used to bite the back of each salmon as he presented it with the cedar-bark streamer. The same regulations with regard to drinking water, and crying after eating, were enforced for spring salmon as for olachen.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

372 The following miscellaneous beliefs and customs cannot be assigned to any special aspect of Bella Coola life:

If a spark from a fire jumps out and lights on a person's hand, it is said:

"The fire wants to give you [the person on whom the brand has fallen] food."

827 If a man sneezes repeatedly, it is said:

2: McIlwraith NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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/For a description of the ritual of specific dances of the kusiut society see category 116, pp. 41-271./

2: McIlwraith NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575, 796 ●

/For texts and comments on songs used in kusiut rites see category 116, pp. 305-331./

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CHAPTER I

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

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General Observations on the Kusiut Society — Powers and Functions of the Society — Initiation — The Ritual of Specific Dances — Various Origin Myths — Kusiut Prerogatives Other than Dances — The Death of a Kusiut — The Final Rite — Concluding Observations and History.

General Observations on the *Kusiut* Society

IN view of the importance of the *kusiut* society in the lives of the Bella Coola, it would seem logical to have described it in an earlier part of this monograph. Though an integral part of the complicated structure of social organization, it is a secret, semi-religious grouping which can best be treated separately. The word *kusiut* is connected etymologically, according to native belief, with *siut*, the term for a supernatural being. Thus the meaning of the society's designation is "The Supernatural," or "The Learned," for *siut* has both these significations. A member of the society is likewise called a *kusiut*, plural, *kukusiut*.

575* 575* 192 [776]

The investigator soon learns of the existence of the society. If he asks a man his name, and then inquires further what type of designation it is, the answer is always that it is his *kusiut* name, that is, the one by which he is known as a member of the society. Ancestral names are used only at potlatches or other ceremonial occasions, whereas an individual's *kusiut* appellation is the one which he uses commonly. Moreover, for about three months of every year the Bella Coola live in an atmosphere of *kusiut* dances with a performance, or its preliminaries, taking place almost every night. Preparations for this ceremonial season, for so it may be termed, begin four days after the September moon is full, while the actual dances commence early in November and are continued until March. During this period the *kukusiut* are believed to be in intimate

551 575* [124] 535 575* 796 [787]

535 contact with supernatural beings, so that it is a time for grave
*575 thoughts and decorous behaviour. Even by day the members
● 796 pass from house to house with dignified mien, not loitering
[787] around the sidewalks nor indulging in frivolity. Every effort is made to prevent quarrels between members who are expected to show by their appearance and actions the gravity of the rites in which they are engaged. Night after night they assemble at the house wherein the dance is taking place; those who have performed, and are therefore most closely in touch with the supernatural, even sleep there, not returning to their own houses until March. A dance usually lasts four nights, and during that time the performer's house, in which it takes place, is termed a *nuqpik*, "An Empty House." The significance of this designation is unknown.

178 Membership in the society depends on a duly validated
*575 ancestral prerogative to perform one of the many *kusiut* dances.
[424] At the present time every Bella Coola is a *kusiut*, even babes in arms being initiated, but formerly no one was admitted until he or she had reached an age of discretion. Some informants went so far as to say that the hair of an initiate must have begun to turn grey, and all agreed that no one was ever admitted until at least twenty, or more often, twenty-five years of age. Initiates were frequently still older; one woman, for example, stated that her mother was past the age of child-
[551] bearing before admission. Since only a member of the society could be called by a *kusiut* name, the uninitiated continued to be known by the ancestral names conferred on them at infancy until they received *kusiut* designations. The importance of the
178 society depends on the belief of the uninitiated in the super-
*575 natural powers of its members, and as there are now none to
796 impress, the rites carried out today are little more than pic-
128 tures of what took place years ago. It is the aim of the Bella Coola to carry out the dances as if uninitiated persons were in attendance, and since most of the following information was obtained from men who well remembered their sensations when not members of the society, it is justifiable to use the present

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tense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a number of young men and women ignorant of the significance of the rites. Formerly, the *kukusiut* often had difficulty in impressing the uninitiated with their prowess, and feuds with the *a'alk* were common.

Although membership in the *kusiut* society depends on an ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution. A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *kusiut* prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great importance within the ranks of the society. Nor are the prerogatives considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that slaves are often admitted as *kukusiut* by their masters. An important *kusiut* is not esteemed by the community in the same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, membership in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *kusiut* organization can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without special invitation, he dares enter the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non-

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informant, the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not inconvenience the dancer, although he senses its presence, and asks who will pay for its return. Unless the owner at once steps forward to claim his property and promises to pay, his spirit is thrown into the fire and he dies. The *kukusiut* sometimes tell an uninitiated person that his spirit has been attracted from him, thereby terrifying him so greatly that he appeals to a shaman to recover it for him. The expert greases his hands, warms them at a fire, and pretends to pluck something from the *kusiut* which he inserts into the loser's neck. 575* 774 755 [784]

In view of the firm conviction that the spirit is essential to an individual's welfare, it is not surprising that this belief should awe the uninitiated and fill them with profound respect for the *kukusiut*. The diversity in the details of procedure proves that the practice has not become standardized; those who are not members of the society believe and do not test the claims. 575* 774 626

Another source of strength claimed by the *kukusiut* is ability to witness and imitate the dances of the supernatural beings held in *Nusmät·a* prior to the entry of *Äłquntäm*. As already described, it is believed that a supernatural element from every living creature upon earth ascends at this time but, in a way that is not fully understood, only those belonging to *kukusiut* can take part in the ceremonies. Is it strange, therefore, that members of the society are regarded with awe by their less fortunate fellows? Presents are given after every dance in *Nusmät·a* and the supernatural elements receive their due share. When, however, *Äłquntäm* enters, he is so big and so hot that almost all who have assembled rush forth furiously, and in the crush at the narrow doorway disaster overtakes many of the visiting human representatives. Some drop their gifts, and their owners will be unfortunate; others fall, and their owners cannot survive until the next ceremonial season. This same fate may befall even those who are not members of the *kusiut* society, but they do not have the ability to appreciate what has happened. 575* 787 776 796 777 761

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*575 787 776 796 *Ałquntäm* enters and confers on *kusiut* matters with *Sexsexkälaix*, his assistant in affairs connected with his functions as leader of the supernatural *kukusiut*.[1] This being acts as announcer and intermediary with *Ałquntäm*, but himself lacks the power of initiating matters. The two discuss whether or not it is advisable to allow mortal *kukusiut* to perform certain dances of the type known as *kusiotem* (II, p.128), and if so, they transmit the necessary power to the earthly dancer who has the proper prerogative, thus enabling him to give a graphic representation of what is done in the upper land.

*575 796 787 776 535 This is the essence of the *kusiut* dances. Each portrays a performance given by one of the supernatural beings in the house above, or some other aspect of his activities. Each earthly dancer has as patron a supernatural being, usually the one who carries out the dance of which his own is a model, and between patron and protégé there exists a relationship by means of which the latter receives the power necessary to perform. To do so, the uninitiated believe that he must receive a *yeix*, which can be translated as "call," from his associate above. Moreover, not only is each patron a supernatural being, but each is guided by *Ałquntäm* in the performance of the *kusiut* rites in the land above, which indirectly increases the prestige of the protégé.

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*575 787 776 796 184 [1]The differences of belief of individual Bella Coola, dependent upon family traditions, is nowhere shown with greater clearness than in this meeting of the leaders of the supernatural dancers. It is clear that the Bella Coola have no uniformity of belief, even in what might be regarded as fundamental concepts. One informant, well versed in *kusiut* matters, asserted that there are five supernatural leaders, *Ałquntäm* and his assistants, *Smaisikila*, *Sexsexkälaix*, *Snunlhäls*, and *Sunnälotla*. Others were equally emphatic that *Ałquntäm* is the *kusiut* name of the supreme deity, and that *Sunnälotla*, *Smaisikila*, and *Snunlhäls*, are merely other designations for the same deity with regard to different functions. This belief has been followed during the monograph, by designating the supreme deity as *Ałquntäm*, the name by which he is termed with respect to his *kusiut* powers. These two opinions are not as basically different as appears at first sight. A man [828] is considered as having two, or more, personalities with respect to different rites at which he is called by different names. Since the supreme deity is regarded as a superman, who functions in diverse manners, it is not difficult to understand how these are sometimes ascribed to different individuals, and sometimes to the one under different names.

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Furthermore, throughout the ceremonial season, the uninitiated have ocular demonstrations of the powers with which the *kukusiut* are associated. At frequent intervals they are invited to the house of the dancer where, with wonder, fear, and awe, they see strange creatures. Although they may recognize that some of these are only their fellow-tribesmen in strange form, they have no idea how such transformations are produced, and ascribe them to supernatural assistance. They accept the strange designs of the figures as proof that the *kukusiut* have been in contact with unfamiliar beings. It seems clear that the uninitiated do not realize that the representations are produced by means of masks, the work of human hands; instead, they believe that the figures displayed are really those of supernatural patrons who have come to earth to assist their protégés. It must be remembered that these dances take place within large houses, only partially illuminated by a flickering central fire, which facilitates deception and conjuring tricks, quite apart from the credulity of the observers. 575* 796 781 [354]

The uninitiated may sometimes suspect that the performers are not real supernatural beings, but there is no question of their firm conviction concerning the changes which come over the *kukusiut* at this time. One member of the society, for example, may begin to act in a peculiar manner and at once the uninitiated are ejected from the house. From without they listen with mixed fear and excitement to the strange noises which they do not know are made by whistles, and presently the *kusiut* rushes forth in a frenzied state, biting those he meets. The uninitiated know that he is a Cannibal, doing as his patron above is doing, and that a call from the latter has caused him to become mad. When the *kukusiut* have subdued him and taken him back to his house, the non-membersh ear more strange and inexplicable sounds, which appear to go upwards, and presently the news is circulated that the Cannibal has been carried away to the land above. He is seen no more for several weeks, and when next he appears he is thin, wan, and bald, because the high winds of the land above have blown 575* 781 787 796

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*575 the hair from his head. After various rites which prove that
796 the Cannibal actually possesses peculiar power, he is calmed
781 and songs are sung describing what he saw aloft, and the
[787] dangers from which he escaped. The uninitiated shiver sympathetically, marvel at his valour, and anticipate with mixed feelings the time when they too may be privileged to have similar experiences. Or they may witness the killing of one of their fellow-villagers by disembowelling, and his restoration to life. They know the victim; under ordinary circumstances he could not endure death, hence the claim that his strength is due to the call given him by his patron is accepted as an obvious fact. The uninitiated never suspect that they are victims of an elaborate deception. At all times the *kukusiut* are eager to
[766] make known their own perils, and if it happens that a member
[761] of the society dies while in concealment, his corpse is buried secretly. The explanation given is that he has succumbed to some of the dangers to which *kukusiut* are exposed, a fiction readily believed in view of the absence of the usual funeral rites.

*575 Though it is common knowledge that the ability of a *kusiut*
778 to perform any extraordinary feat has its source in the per-
787 formance of the same feat by his supernatural patron, yet it is equally well known that his specific power has been brought
424 to this earth and is located in one particular spot. An ancestor must in some way have come in contact with the patron, and at that time his *kusiut* name, carrying with it the prerogatives of supernatural patronage and of dancing on this earth, was deposited for safe-keeping in a repository, *nuskāsiutsta* (also called *nusxi'ipsta*), by the supernatural woman *Ano'likwolsaix*. Each repository is thought of as a cave, or hollow, beneath a large tree, a rock, or other distinctive natural object; to obtain his power a *kusiut* initiate must go there, actual contact with his patron being unnecessary. Every *kusiut* prerogative has its
[776] repository and in each of these is *Ano'likwolsaix*; she is one, yet capable of being simultaneously in many hundred spots, corresponding to the many hundred *kusiut* prerogatives. Her

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years in deceiving, undoubtedly begins to convince himself that he is different from lesser mortals.

575* 796

Before describing in detail initiation into the *kusiut* society, and then the ritual of various dances, it will be convenient to outline the type of ceremonial, although emphasizing the fact that each differs so much from every other that lengthy descriptions will be necessary later on. When a person has been initiated either in the proper manner during the ceremonial season or as a "shaman" during the summer, he is known as a *lax*, a novice, until the *kusiut* dances of the next winter. During this period he wears certain distinctive cedar-bark ornaments and is expected to keep himself somewhat apart from the uninitiated. He is always required to give his ceremonial during the first dance season after initiation; by so doing he ceases to be a novice. In later years a *kusiut* can suit himself whether or not to perform. Having once done so, he is a fully qualified member of the society, nor does he increase his rank in direct proportion to the number of his ceremonies. It is true that one who often dances hears himself praised by the marshals, and gains a certain amount of fame among his fellow *kukusiut*. But no matter how often he may perform, he cannot become a chief, with prestige spread far and wide among neighbouring tribes, nor can he increase the fame of his ancestors by adding lustre to his ancestral names. Thus the benefits are not sufficient to urge a man to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials in preference to potlatches. The society is essentially one in which a relatively poor man can display his semi-religious prerogative equally with a chief. Usually, a man performs a complicated ritual, such as that of a Cannibal dance, three or four times during his lifetime; less onerous ones in which no dramatic theme is presented may be more often given.

[301] 575* 796 556 575* 796 424

A man who proposes to give a dance must always notify one of the marshals of his village, who summons his fellows, some of the senior members of the society, and chiefs who are also *kukusiut* to discuss the intention. If it entails one of the

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*575 more difficult dramatic rites in which failure would lead to the
796 uninitiated learning the mysteries of the society, the matter is
424 debated at length. The writer was present at one meeting held for this purpose, with regard to a performance which had not been carried out for over thirty years. An air of solemnity was evident throughout, as if each present realized the gravity of the topic. The prospective dancer explained what he wished to do, then anyone was at liberty to comment, and most of those present took advantage of it, the marshals speaking last of all. The influence of each speaker depended in part on the [554] type of *kusiut* dance which he himself had given, and in part on his general status in the community as chief or otherwise, an intangible position dependent on public estimation rather than upon functional rights. In this case, after considerable discussion, it was decided that the dancer could proceed with his arrangements. But if there should be any doubt as to the would-be performer's ability, the marshals have no hesitation in prohibiting his intended rite, and they often do so later if rehearsals show that it is unlikely to be successful.

Refusal of permission to perform occurs only in case of the more difficult dances, which include the Cannibal, Scratch, Breaker, Fungus and *Kusiotem*. Members of the society whose prerogatives are for one of these types are considered as having greater importance than those who can merely sing of some minor deity-patron; yet all are equally members of the *kusiut* society, which is not graded according to the performances of its members.

*575 Many of the more difficult dances require weeks of pre-
796 paration, when it is sometimes said that the dancer has disappeared to the land above. When he returns they usually conclude in four nights, the time taken by those of a simpler [104] type. Each of these nights[1] is known by an untranslatable term, and, as it will be necessary to use these throughout, it may assist the reader to summarize the ritual which takes place on each. It can be assumed that it is a simple dance, that is, one without elaborate preliminaries.

1 [i.e. of a Kusiut dance - ANALYST]

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The first night is *lsuxtälaix* or *lsuxtämem*.[5] This is when the call comes to a prospective dancer. This may be heralded by whistling from above, made by a *kusiut* sent with a whistle to a neighbouring mountain for the purpose, by a thud on the roof, likewise produced by an accomplice, or by no intimation whatever. The dancer utters a low call, sometimes begins to walk in circles with bent head, or to act in some other peculiar manner, while a whistle sounds repeatedly. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house and a herald informs the village that something strange has come upon the dancer. The *kukusiut* gather in his house, and four times help him by the frenzied, but regular, beating of sticks. Then the singers sing a song previously prepared, the words describing either his patron or the land above. After listening closely, the *kukusiut* join in and rehearse it until it is familiar. The dancer may or may not perform; if he is inadept in the steps, he does so for practice. If the hour is not too late, the singers may choose, purely for practice, to beat out a number of the songs of those *kukusiut* who have already performed during the ceremonial season. A meal, provided by the dancer and his family, is then served. The singers next beat out the dancer's song once more and he dances, concluding the evening's performance. Novices and those who have already performed during the season take up their abode in the dancer's house, where they remain for the ensuing four days and nights.

The second day is *nusiutälsap*.[6] Quite early in the morning a herald calls the *kukusiut* to the dancer's house, an invitation accepted by as many as wish to do so. A second song is usually composed and practised in the same manner as on the previous evening. Several *kukusiut* are sent to the forest to cut wood for masks, the number of sections required depending upon the number to be used. In the evening all members of the society assemble to practise the songs.[7] The making of the masks

[5] In Kimsquit called *Alrwolitmm*.

[6] The term *qai·nuqs* is occasionally used for the rites occurring on the day itself.

[7] The rehearsal of the second is sometimes postponed until this time.

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The making of the masks

*575 is allotted to different *kukusiut*, usually in accordance with the
796 dancer's wishes, although a marshal normally gives out the
532 actual tasks. The dancer, or one of his relatives, bestows pre-
[43] sents on each person to whom work is allotted. The evening
[465] of *nusiutälsap* is called *ämläämkim*.

[104] The third day is *qothm*. Those to whom mask making has been entrusted assemble early in the dancer's house to start their work. About noon they are provided with a meal, to which other *kukusiut* may be invited. By late afternoon, when most of the work has been accomplished, the chips are carefully swept up and burnt, and the house tidied, ready for the uninitiated who will be invited during the evening. On either this
*575 day or the one preceding, a platform, with raised sides, is built
796 behind the fire on which the dancer can conceal himself and where he is supposed to remain during the remainder of the four days. About dusk the *kukusiut* are called in; the singers take their places behind the fire, Cannibals, Breakers, and Scratchers are in one of the back corners, where a matting enclosure may have been constructed for them, and the remainder group themselves without distinction around the
[184] walls. In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, one or more of the masks may be displayed, suspended from a sloping pole behind the fire. If the singers think it necessary, they may
[533] practise the dancer's two songs once more. Then the uninitiated are called in, taking their places near the doorway. The singers beat out one of the dancer's songs and he dances in time to it, and the same is repeated for his second song. After some delay, which appears to be one of the requisites of every *kusiut* performance, the singers strike up the songs of either a novice or a *kusiut*, especially one who has already had a call during the ceremonial season, and the one thus summoned dances to his two songs. Late in the season, when many *kukusiut* have performed, only one song may be used, to prevent the ceremony dragging out to an interminable length, and songs of previous years are omitted. In any case, the ritual lasts for most of the night. When all have danced, the

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uninitiated are expelled, with the exception of the *sisaok* to whom, as guests, a meal is served. Then they too leave and the *kukusiut* eat together. Finally, the singers strike up one of the dancer's songs, and he dances to it to end the evening's rites. 575* 796

The fourth day is *nebusam*, "That Which Is Opened." During the day the carpenters work to complete the masks, and towards dusk the house is again put in order. The *kukusiut* are summoned again to practise the songs, if necessary, and always to arrange who shall wear the masks, a matter left to the marshals and the carpenters. Then the uninitiated are called in to see the masked figures and watch any dramatic representation. After their exclusion, the masks are burnt. Then the *kukusiut* gather outside the dancer's house where his song is sung once more to send his call back above. Frequently another *kusiut* now receives a call, so that the *nebusam* of one dancer is likewise the *lsixtämem* for another. The *kukusiut* assemble in the latter's house, but the uninitiated are not allowed to return to that from which they have been ejected until the platform-enclosure has been destroyed at the end of the season. [104] [532] [533] [532]

A word might be said about *kusiut* paraphernalia, although much of this will have to be described in detail for special dances. Boas gives illustrations of a large number of *kusiut* masks and gives such an admirable description of them that little need be added. They are carved from the solid wood, the larger of beech, the smaller of alder, and each carpenter endeavours to make a striking effigy of the being portrayed. *Ano'likwolsaix* is present at every dance and has become so well standardized that she can always be recognized. This is true, also, for Thunder, Echo, the *haohao*, the Laugher, the Hermaphrodite, and a few other supernatural beings, but so much variation occurs in others that even a *kusiut* of much experience cannot always tell what being is represented. The masks are painted, and sometimes the designs indicate the being, even though the carving fails to do so; verisimilitude is 575* 796 532 [114] [824] [776]

*575 not considered necessary. With few exceptions, hereafter to
796 be noted, *kusiut* masks are burnt at the conclusion of each
532 ceremony, a practice which probably originated in order to
[171] avoid the possibility of their being seen by the uninitiated. The Bella Coola state that this is one of the most striking differences between their rites and those of the Bella Bella.

*575 Next in importance to masks are whistles (see Plate 2).[1]
796 The large, cone-shaped form used in *susaok* ceremonial is re-
534 placed in *kusiut* dances by a smaller type consisting of portions of wood glued together, which can be blown with ease from
[237] beneath a concealing blanket. Another type has bellows consisting of a mountain goat bladder, which is held beneath the arm-pit so that it can be worked invisibly. During the summer the whistles are kept by one individual, usually a
[422] marshal. Specific information concerning the ownership of these whistles could not be obtained; it appears that any *kusiut* can make one, or have one made for him by a skilled carpenter, and that their retention by one person during the
[426] summer is merely for convenience. They are freely lent to anyone for use in a ceremony.

*575 In some dances special objects are used in connection with
796 dramatic performances, such as bull-roarers, wooden repre-
532 sentations of animals, birds, or miniature human beings. One old man described a pipe formerly used at *Täl-io*, which had
[534] a carved bowl as large as a tea-cup with three radiating stems.
[824] It was carved from a knotty excrescence on a beech bole. Little could be learnt of its history, except that it was supposed to have been carved by a chief with the design of his patron and displayed through pride.

*575 The usual guests at a performance of the type just sum-
609 marized are the dancer's fellow-villagers and any strangers
796 who happen to be present in the town. Great as is the desire of the *kukusiut* to impress their uninitiated tribesmen, they
[648] are still more eager to impress strangers, hence the presence of Carriers adds piquancy to the rites. The writer believes
[123] that his presence and interest encouraged the Bella Coola to

1 [see category 116, p84(B)- ANALYST]

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perform several ancient rites through a desire to "show off" before someone who was ignorant. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate on *kusiut* ceremonials, and to judge a man's worth by his lavishness in them, but this is only a modern development due to the prohibition of the potlatch. Nevertheless, even in former times some individuals preferred to invite foreign guests to *kusiut* dances and to give them valuable gifts rather than to save these for potlatches; such a ceremony is called a *kukusiutek*. Whenever strangers are present at a *kusiut* dance they receive small pieces of dyed cedar-bark as proof of the friendly intentions of the host. The general consensus of Bella Coola opinion is that it is foolish for a man to concentrate on *kusiut* performances, particularly if he impoverish himself to the detriment of potlatches.

Although foreign guests are seldom invited to *kusiut* rites, a dancer frequently calls in his fellows from adjacent villages. But as the ceremonial season is simultaneous in the different settlements, with almost nightly performances, it is often impossible to avoid conflict in dates. Which invitation shall have preference is decided in the following manner:

During the days of *qotlum* and *nebusam* the dancer sends a herald of powerful physique to invite guests from as many villages as he wishes. Simultaneously, a messenger may be approaching from the opposite direction with a similar invitation. Each envoy watches carefully around each bend in the path for his rival, and whichever can first call out his message is entitled to continue to give his invitation in the village of the outwitted herald. It is considered exceedingly bad taste to decline a summons, so the ceremony to which the defeated herald was bearing an invitation must be postponed. Sometimes the two messengers sight one another simultaneously, and the relative priority of their messages is then decided by a contest of strength. The rivals stand in the path, shoulder to shoulder, arms close to their sides, and shove with all their strength, the winner being the one who can force his opponent to move his feet. This last means of deciding is used exclu-

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*575 sively when the villages in which the dances are taking place
203 are adjacent or separated by such a short distance that envoys cannot meet *en route*.

*575 A word may be said about the attitude of the Bella Coola
177 to the dances of other coastal tribes. They know that the Bella Bella, Rivers Inlet, Kwakiutl, and Kitkatla people have
829 *kusiut* societies, but until recently their members were con-
[648] sidered to be uninitiated, as Bella Coola were when they visited foreign tribes.[8] A few years ago the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, and Rivers Inlet people decided that their rites were sufficiently akin to permit membership in one tribe to carry with it membership in the others:

"We have now one repository," they say.

This development is due to ease of communication and diminution of population in the three tribes. None the less, the Bella Coola recognize differences between their own rites and those of their neighbours. They say that no other tribe
[171] has repositories; also that in the other tribes the *kusiut* society is more intimately connected with the chiefs, in fact, that in Bella Bella and Fort Rupert the Cannibals are the chiefs, whereas in Bella Coola even a poor man, uninfluential in every other respect, can be one.

*575 Theorization is out of place in a descriptive monograph such as this, but the writer gives it as his personal opinion that
177 the Bella Coola have adopted much, if not all, of the *kusiut*
[796] ceremonial from other coastal tribes, though they have profoundly altered it in respect to certain ancient beliefs connected with localized guardian spirits and the patrons of ancestral families. He further believes that it will be found that this Bella Coola technique has in its turn affected the Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet Indians. There seems little doubt that the
[171] Bella Coola are correct in saying that the society is more im-
[796] portant among them than among their neighbours, and the writer feels that dances and rituals of different types have certainly been adapted to the *kusiut* pattern of the Bella Coola.

[8] Except a few individuals who had inherited foreign prerogatives.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 struggling in fear, to the secret meeting-place. Here the marshals discuss what shall be done with him; some suggest that
567 he be killed, others a lesser fate, and finally someone advises his initiation. After apparently due deliberation, this is decided upon; the slave is told the mysteries of the society and is warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells the uninitiated of his knowledge. The actual ceremonial rites of
*575 admission do not vary according to the preliminaries used.

796 Initiation can take place at any time during the *kusiut* season. After consulting with the marshals in order to choose an evening when no other dance is to take place, the relatives of the neophyte, whom it will be convenient to term X, invite the *kukusiut* to their house. Sometimes songs are sung by way of rehearsal, at other times food is distributed at once. As the people are eating, one of the marshals stands up to address them, saying that X's relatives propose to take him to the repository of the name ————, so that he may become a *kusiut*. X, to whom this may be the first intimation, is called from his house and taken from the village by several of his kinsmen, with one or more of the marshals. The *kukusiut* disperse and tell the uninitiated in the other houses that X has gone to meet *Ano°likwolsaix*. His companions hear the news with mingled envy and thankfulness that they are not to have this dangerous privilege.

[178] In ancient times X and his guides may actually have proceeded to his repository, but for several generations at least it has been customary for the party merely to go to some lonely spot in the woods for the night. Those accompanying X tell him as much of the ritual of the society as they think fit, not forgetting to emphasize the trust put upon him, and the fate which will befall him if he should communicate his knowledge.
[787] He is expected to report that he went to the repository where,
[184] lying face downwards on the ground, he saw *Ano°likwolsaix*; in Kimsquit he is supposed also to see her husband.[9]

[776] [9]According to one old Bella Coola a sister of *Ano°likwolsaix* also remains in every repository.

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

The following morning the *kukusiut* alone are invited to X's house. The marshals meanwhile superintend the laying and lashing of planks across two river dug-outs to form a dancing platform. On this the singers take their places, in addition to as many *kukusiut* as can scramble aboard. The craft is slowly poled either up- or downstream, according to the direction of X's repository, and more *kukusiut* accompany it along the bank; the uninitiated watch with keen interest from the background. X and his companions proceed towards the river and on meeting the lashed-together canoes are taken aboard. The singers strike up any well known *kusiut* tune, and in time to it as many *kukusiut* as possible dance on the platform surmounting the craft. Each uses his own style of dancing according to his prerogative, so that the scene is strikingly varied and animated. X himself cowers in the centre, practically concealed from the uninitiated by the dancers. On reaching the village the whole party hurriedly runs to X's house, from which the uninitiated are rigorously barred for the rest of the day. Those *kukusiut* who accompanied the party along the bank of the river have preceded them and, as X enters, the droning cry is raised which always heralds the appearance of one who has been in close contact with supernatural beings.

575* 796 [535] [535] [424] [201]

If X is considered trustworthy, he may be allowed to go alone to his repository, although this is only customary when he takes a second or third prerogative. If this procedure has been followed, X tells those present what he has seen; otherwise his companions do so. The uninitiated listen eagerly from the adjacent houses, wondering anxiously what is taking place. Several *kukusiut* blow, or use bellow-whistles to increase the awe of the hearers. Presently a herald is sent out. He goes first to the lowest house[10] of the village, then in succession to those above, announcing in each that:

575* 203

"Something strange has happened to the son of the chief."

796

X's name is not mentioned; if his father is not a chief the

[10]That is, to the one farthest downstream. By always going to each house in order from bottom to top of the village the herald avoids any danger of omissions.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 call is that something strange has happened to the "mortal." At intervals throughout the day he repeats this announcement, 203 and towards nightfall goes around calling:

796 *Skinap, skinap, kukusiaot,* "Cure, cure, ye members of the *kusiut* society, power has come to the son of the chief [or to the mortal]."

The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house, taking their places around the fire; the uninitiated crowd near the doorway. X is seated among his relatives and some of the senior members of the society behind the fire. A herald calls out:

"I want a *siki* to help X."

*575 In every village there are at least two *kukusiut* who have, embodied with their *kusiut* names, the professional prerogative 791 of acting as healer to every novice; it is believed that the 796 ancestor of each obtained a name and this right through a [424] revelation from some supernatural healer. Since that time the owner of the name has been able to insert some of his own ever- [773] present power into a neophyte to enable him to sustain the dangers of admission to the society. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated. The profession of *siki* can be trans- [425] mitted by willing like any other prerogative and it occasionally happens that the same individual is *siki* for both *kusiut* and *sisaok.* In answer to the herald's call, the two *siki* come forward and crouch behind the fire, one on either side of it. [302] Their faces are blackened with soot, and each wears a blanket, [292] decorated with dyed cedar-bark, thrown loosely over his shoulders, leaving the chest and stomach bare except for an [237] apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Meanwhile beating sticks are distributed among most of the *kukusiut* who strike furiously on the floor with them, without any attempt to keep time; the sole object is to produce the greatest din possible.

One of the *siki* contorts himself in an amazing manner, presses his hands against his stomach as if to force something from it, and rolls from side to side on his haunches, until at length he produces, as if from his body, a rock crystal (see Plate 3).[1] He waves this to and fro in his hands, then goes

[1] [see category 116, p 84(C)- ANALYST]

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

through the motion of throwing it to his partner; the crystal disappears! It has been palmed out of sight at the instant of throwing, but the presumption is that it has entered the other *siki* who falls to the floor as if stricken down by the powerful object given to him. Now one of the *kukusiut*, who has been primed for the duty, strikes the recumbent man on the back, restoring him to consciousness. Slowly he pulls himself together, rising at intervals as if crushed beneath a heavy weight, and writhes until he finally produces a rock crystal from his stomach, as if it had been thrown to him. In reality it is his own which he has carried concealed from the beginning of the ceremony. He pretends to throw this to X, often so realistically that the novice blinks, expecting some object to strike him. All this time a *kusiut*, it does not matter who, has been drinking water at intervals and spitting it out over the face of X, "to strengthen him." When X has received the stone, the beating on the floor-boards, stilled during the transference of the crystal, breaks out again with full din. After a short interval the first *siki* stops the noise, goes through the same contortions and produces, apparently from his stomach, another rock crystal, which as before he throws across to his partner who falls down, and later passes it to X. Again the beating on the floor is started. The same ritual is carried out until four, or sometimes only two, rock crystals have been given to X. Then the procedure is reversed. The second *siki* goes to the novice and after much contortion draws from his stomach one of the crystals, which he pretends to throw back to his partner. As the latter makes the motion of catching it, he produces his own crystal which he, so it seems, forces into his own body. This is done for all the crystals (see Plate 4). 1 At this juncture the uninitiated are told to leave.

575* 791 796

One of the *siki* now kneads the back of X's neck and goes through the motions of pulling something from it. The frightened youth realizes that his spirit is being drawn from him and his terror, great in any case, is not lessened by the *siki* taking it in his cupped hands to the fire where he scoops up

[774] [781]

1 [see category 116, p84(D) - ANALYST]

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*575 791 ●796 [774] [781] some ashes which he puts into his mouth and chews. Of course he masticates only the ashes but X, unaware of this, is concerned for the fate of his spirit. At last it is restored to him and he is told that the *siki* has altered it from that of an uninitiated person to that of a *kusiut*.[11] The psychological effect of this act on the mind of a young man who has not had time to adjust himself to his new knowledge and who is firmly convinced of the powers of the *siki* is tremendous.

The first *siki* now instructs two *kukusiut* sitting on either side of X to lie down to serve as a seat for him. They do so, irrespective of who they may be. If the novice is still ignorant of the full mysteries of the society, the *siki* announces that he is going to get a call for X. He walks around the house, peering here and there as if seeking something, and then pounces as if he had caught an object between his hands. A whistle [534] is heard, such as the novice knows accompanies the coming of every call; but he does not know that the noise is made by compressing a goat or bear bladder-whistle between two sticks held beneath the armpit. This is the "mystery" of the strange noises.

*575 796 "Do you know what makes that noise?" ask the two *kukusiut* on whom X is sitting.

[688] If X denies all knowledge, the mystery is explained to him, and he is warned that he will be killed if he communicates the information to uninitiated persons. If he answers that he knows the cause, he is asked who has told him. Perhaps some lad has been peeking and has told X of what he has seen; in that case the over-inquisitive youth is at once initiated to prevent further leakage of information. As soon as X has learnt the great secret he moves to one side and the singers take their positions behind the fire. His father, or whoever it [425] may be from whom he is to obtain his name, then stands up [553] and unfolds its origin, telling which supernatural being is his patron, and the locality of his repository. X sometimes re-

[178] [11]This part of the rite has been omitted for so many years that many of the middle-aged *kukusiut* have forgotten it.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

X sometimes re-
ceives two prerogatives at his initiation, one from each parent, 575*
or from some other interested relative. In this case both are 796
expounded. The singers listen intently, knowing that they [425]
will later be called upon to compose songs on the theme, or [553]
themes. According to some informants they immediately sing [533]
one, as if they had just created it, though it was really prepared
in advance. The *kukusiut* listen until they have mastered it.

Helpers now distribute the food provided by X's father, 575*
or whoever is responsible for his initiation. At every *kusiut* 796
ceremonial the marshals are the first recipients, then the 556
singers, and finally the others without distinction. As the [264]
guests are eating, X's father gives presents to all, without
deference to rank. An announcer calls out:

"Here are [for example] ten bear-skins from X's mother. They are to obtain for him his cedar-bark bracelets."

These goods are then distributed. Similarly other gifts from various relatives are handed out for his anklets, his blanket, his collar, his head-dress, and all other parts of his clothing. As each item of his ceremonial costume is validated, [425]
X dons the prepared article. A novice's head-dress consists
of a round roll of dyed cedar-bark, covering a grass frame; in [292]
Stuix and the other villages of the upper valley this is decor- [184]
ated with a tuft of swan's down. The *kukusiut* of these villages
also wear a distinctive decoration consisting of a swan's skin [237]
with the feathers attached. In recent years it has been customary to pile all the goods together and distribute them as *ăłq"łł*, which has the significance of "something that has vanished for the novice's dyed cedar-bark." Theoretically, the aim of the donor is to bestow his presents on all equally, but if he finds that he has some remaining, he gives these to the chiefs, or to the relatives of someone whom he expects will soon be a novice. None of the goods used in general distributions are returnable, but a chief who receives an extra gift at the end usually remembers from whom it was received and cancels his indebtedness at the earliest opportunity. There is no close connection between the disbursements and the worth of the

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*575 individual, other than an indefinite recollection of the amount
● 796 of goods used for his dyed cedar-bark. People always have
556 sufficient goods to validate *kusiut* prerogatives; in fact, if a proud person gives too lavishly to confirm the initiation of a relative, the marshals sometimes burn the goods, giving no explanation other than that the uninitiated must not be led to believe that a *kusiut* ceremony is an affair of wealth like a potlatch. Formerly, goods were given only at initiation ceremonies, but between 1880 and 1890 a chief gave presents, instead of food, at a dance. His example was followed, since none was willing to be outdone, although such gifts are still called "food." The name of the donor is always announced, whether he is the dancer himself or one of his relatives.

*575 X, though now a member of the *kusiut* society, is still a
784 novice and cannot give a dance[12] until the next ceremonial
[796] season, that is, until one year has elapsed. The marshals instruct him about his costume, and about the manner in which he must deport himself during this period, matters which depend to a considerable extent upon his prerogative. If he
[262] is a Cannibal, Scratch, or Breaker dancer he must not eat unsmoked salmon, nor must he enter a house in which either a potlatch or a memorial potlatch is taking place.[13] Failure to obey this injunction would warrant punishment from a foreign
[302] tribe. Unless his prerogative is to give one of these, or the Ghost dance, he must keep his face constantly blackened.
[292] Every novice must wear a collar of dyed cedar-bark. The marshals warn him to be circumspect in dealing with uninitiated persons; he can talk to them, but it is most improper for him to engage in any familiarity or frivolous play. Above
[524] all, he must neither gamble nor take part in non-athletic games,
[525]

[12] A Cannibal novice, however, begins to exercise his prerogative immediately, although he must also perform a complete dance the following year.

[13] This prohibition was once broken at *Lomo-ts*. A skilled leader was required to arrange the texts at a memorial potlatch and the only man fit for the purpose, a resident of *Sunul*, was a Cannibal novice. After much deliberation he was called upon, but great care was taken to hide his identity and it was years before the infraction became known.

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prohibitions that last not for one year, but for four. X is not subject to any other restraints. If he wishes to go hunting he can remove his cedar-bark collar and hang it for convenience in the forest near his village, redonning it on his return. The *kukusiut* show considerable interest in their new member, not only by warning him what he must not do, but by teaching him how to dance and to growl or make other of the necessary, but unusual, noises. During the remainder of the ceremonial season X is required to attend every *kusiut* dance, thereby learning much of the ceremonial, and during the following summer his relatives, especially if food is plentiful, frequently invite the *kukusiut* to their house. The singers beat out well-known tunes, or practise those which will be required for the following winter; if a song has been composed for X he dances in time to it, in the style proper to his prerogative. Formerly, when there were many novices, dances of this type took place frequently and were useful in giving constant practice to singers and neophytes alike. As no calls from supernatural patrons can come at this time of year, it follows that all such dances are of a non-sacred nature, although the uninitiated are excluded. During his period as a novitiate, X has one privilege; he can take food from anyone at any type of ceremony. It is remembered that one novice was even bold enough to take food which had been placed as an offering for the dead.

575* 784 [524] [525] 575* 533 535 575* 264

When the next *kusiut* season opens, X attends every performance. This is probably the most thrilling and nerve-racking period in his life. He does not know exactly when he will be allowed to give his dance, since that is a matter of arrangement between his relatives and the marshals, but he knows that the time will soon be at hand. When the great day, or rather night, actually comes, X is usually in a state of abject terror. The rite itself does not differ from those about to be described except that the first song relates the manner in which X found the repository. But the mental attitude of X differs greatly from that of an old performer. One informant,

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*575 781 796 a woman about sixty years of age, vividly recalled her fears when she, a young woman, gave her first performance. It was the Dance of *Winwina* (II, p. 187), in which she had to call out loudly when a large number of uninitiated persons, including Carrier Indians, were present. One of the marshals was her great-uncle and he had carefully taught her what she was to say. A few minutes before the time for her announcement he came to where she lay hidden in an enclosure behind the fire:

"Do you see your relatives here?" he said. "Look at your father, your mother, and your uncles. If you fail to say what you are expected to say, they will all die in a few weeks, and so will you. Be bold!"

The woman asserted that it was the most terrifying experience in her whole life because, though she knew there was [688] deception in the rites, she also knew the power of the society and that the threat of death in case of error was no idle one. She was so frightened that she forgot the carefully learnt words and it required the prompting of the hidden marshal to get her through the ordeal.

But once the first rite has been successfully negotiated, it is a proud day for the novice. He feels himself a real *kusiut* and glories in his superiority over his former associates. For the rest of the season he, like everyone else who has performed a dance, must attend every rite. Energetic novices sometimes give their dances on two, or even three, successive years, though usually a man allows five or six to elapse between displays.

*575 766 If X should die during the year's interval between his initiation and his first dance, he is secretly buried by his fellow *kukusiut* without the customary mourning rites, and with no [533] uninitiated persons present at the grave. His song, if one has been composed for him, is sung softly, and he is interred adorned with his collar of dyed cedar-bark. During the next ceremonial season, that at which he should have danced, it is necessary for a brother, or other near relative, to receive a call since it is felt that a dance once begun must be completed,

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*533 in the following examples. The subdivisions as called out by the announcer are separated by vertical lines and, where possible, a translation of each is given. The sounds of wordless choruses were not recorded. The different types are arranged according to order of mention in this monograph.

Sisaok Songs

*533 575 796 The themes of *sisaok* songs differ according to the purpose for which they have been composed. For instance, when a young person is being initiated into the society, the words usually refer to his crest, the *tutwinam* which brought his song; at potlatches, to the goods which will soon be given away and the phrasing is often grandiloquent; sometimes the two concepts are combined. These differences are clearly shown in the examples which follow. A few *sisaok* songs have been preserved for generations, but most are newly composed for each winter season and the old ones forgotten. Since few rites of this type have been carried out during recent years, it was difficult to obtain complete versions.

*533 *Song Used by Wilnlks (a) of Kimsquit when Initiated into the Society (b)*

A Litwumaxywa·o	*stä'ähsaolt*	*skälpolmipdai(c)*	*didahända*
Go out	ye citizens	to see	the arrival

disiutsäls
of my supernatural being.

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (*d*)

B Diqwisandai	*daklähmdus*	*dikukpilsdai*	*dikästälwalamstems*
That is what	brought down	my grandfather(*e*)	and has left for me(*f*)
Alkälwnildjudax	*mnmmtcanai*	*mnmmtcanai*	*kästiktupqwinndai*
Be careful	my children	my children	it will spear you
dalP'lähmsdai	*dikwalntälsaiyla*		
what has come to me	my crest(*g*).		

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Yexadusdax	*didiqaxdai*	*didiqaxdai*	*Diqäxäxä-mälwala*
Shame him	the unsuccessful one(*h*)	the unsuccessful one.	He desires

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*533 prerogative, he was debarred from seclusion in the back-room and consequent [701] initiation as a *sisaok*. The exact relationship between warriors and members of [575] the *sisaok* society is obscure.

(*b*) *Laxaiyao·k'* is a Kitkatla name from the north. The first owner moved to [424] Kitlobe where he married, and the designation was transmitted to his descendants. One of the latter migrated to Kimsquit, where the name has since been handed [177] down from generation to generation though its original source has not been forgotten.

(*c*) Recorded as song VII D 36, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been used about 1870.

(*d*) Vocative form.

(*e*) That is: I double my importance. This kind of expression is popular among chiefs.

[424] (*f*) *Ło̱wi* is one of the ancestral names of Raven, the dancer's crest. In thus addressing the bird, he called attention to his ancestral history.

(*g*) The home of the first *Laxaiyao·k'* was near a point where dead whales often [262] drifted ashore. The dancer likens himself to a whale on which people will dine.

(*h*) Such repetition is not uncommon. The dancer implies that his wealth will be divided in a manner similar to the cutting up of a whale's carcass.

(*i*) A promontory owned by the first *Laxaiyao·k'*.

(*j*) That is: I summon people [to a feast.]

(*k*) An invitation not to be taken too literally.

Xe·tła Songs

The tunes of *xe·tła* songs are believed to have been handed down, unaltered, for many generations. The words, too, are frequently ancient although the singers sometimes make slight changes so that they will be more suitable for the chief in whose honour they are being sung. Owing to the decline of cere- [796] monials in which they were used, few *xe·tła* songs are now remembered.

Xe·tła Song Used by Sinuxsil of Kimsquit(a)

[727]

A Alinaxwoo	*Ahlxwal'aiḑai*	*Di siałtaiämxdai*	*dänuilumik*
Come!	See!	The chief	a man stands in the bow(*b*)

di yälxotsal'aikdai
of those who travelled everywhere.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Alaiqwalnuxsoists	*da'änänuskxilsdax*	*aiyatätpämätłalsdax*
He did so,	my pattern(*c*),	whence I came(*d*);

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q̣mustmāltxwanuxst	*aiyawasoyo·nxwalx*	
he circled and returned	*Sonx*^{w}.	

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 39a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) A sign of victory, eagerly watched for when a war-party is returning. [727]

(*c*) A reference to *Wixus*, one of *Sinuxstl*'s first ancestors in the beginning of time. He made a journey to the Skeena, returning from there with canoe and paddles decorated with sun designs. The exploits of his descendant are compared with those of his pattern, that is, his first forbear. Such references to family history are sources of pride to the chief being honoured. [773]

(*d*) That is: From whom I am descended.

Fragment of a Xe·tla Song(a) Used by Qwoyusditsas of Kimsquit(b)

A *Kaiyumsāmālsan*	*di stālaiāmxdai*	*kaiiḃainuxits*	
Presently he will be ashamed	that chief	if I get	

aiyadilāliaisdai
my copper.

[177]

(*a*) Both tune and theme are said to be of Kwakiutl origin.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 34b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

Fragment of a Xe·tla Song Used by Sinuxstl of Kimsquit(a)

A Sānusikqomosīsandai	*yao (b) diq̣xstcaiyailtumdai*	*Oldiq̣xlāmitlisandai*
They are smiling,	greetings to the out-stretched glass!	They drink

sewās qomcuadju
the food of white men(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 41b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) Literally: *Hello*!

(*c*) This song was used at a potlatch where the fare provided was whisky. The tune is said to be very ancient although new words were composed for the occasion. [556] [273]

A'alk Songs

A'alk songs somewhat resemble *sisaok* ones and, like them, are difficult to collect completely. Parts of many are remem- [575] [796]

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*533 [575] [796] bered, but the rites in which they were used have been practically discontinued for several years so that unabridged versions are almost impossible to obtain. *A'alk* themes vary according to the ceremonies in which they are used. For potlatches, they consist of incidents from ancestral myths; whereas for non-ceremonial occasions following the *kusiut* season, they deal with current events. The following examples are divided into these two classes.

THEMES DRAWN FROM ANCESTRAL MYTHS

Qi'aqa Song Used for Nuximatllaix, a Man of Kimsquit(*a*)

A Yeyutsämatotolaix	*dialimilsudai*	*dixłwunlaixdsuldai*
They give valuable counsel,	my goods(*b*);	they formulate their own opinion

oldiłomätsdulsdai | *aiyaskäi·aiämkilsdai* | *oldiamtainutilsdai*
concerning to whom of those seated in my house I shall give presents(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Ka'äisiyusdjmaisandja	*skakilłimodjmils*	*Wasältwinmodjdumant'*
I speak loftily	of everything(*d*).	Through them(*e*)

siłłwalstliwada·uals	*ithmstaiämdids·ls*	*aiyawamän·uksalsals*
I become elevated,	my power to give potlatches [is]	my male relatives(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Känunukäwälmidsmals	*dusnut'łänals·kidax*	*dununułłänemtskidax*
Presently I shall stand	within the box	at the corner door(*g*),

sxälxäldimutdämkis	*dusnuskmnals·kidax*	*łwalosdimutsudax*
where flowed to all(*h*)	the moose-skins(*i*)	of *Twalosdimut*(*j*)(*k*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 31a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) That is: The goods which I am about to distribute advise me. This statement is not to be taken literally.

(*c*) It was impossible to obtain a translation of each subdivision.

(*d*) Refers to the dancer's many prerogatives.

(*e*) Refers to his male relatives.

[424] [773] (*f*) The dancer had obtained several prerogatives from ancestors, traced patrilineally.

(*g*) A reference to the dancer's origin myth (I, p. 329). The house of his first forefather, *uyuyuyut*, had its door in a back corner instead of the centre front.

(*h*) That is: Whence were distributed at potlatches.

*533 *B* *Sāostxtxugwsa* | *olāsults* | *skā'alpsdulsdai* | *dismāt·ampdjs*
Go within | my house, | I am giving food | to my friends.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

[614] [424] [685] (*a*) Recorded as song VII D 28b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said that this song has been handed down for generations in an ancestral family; they now regard it as a family possession and would consider its use by others to be stealing.

[609] (*b*) Many years ago a solitary Bella Bella used to paddle to Kimsquit almost every year. He was dressed like a chief and had the mien of one, so that his hosts assumed him to be a person of importance. It was later found that he was a poor man. The mocking of foreigners is a common theme of *a'alk* songs.

am'hl·a Song Used for Xumxumlaix(a)

*533 575 578 *A* *Nulwulukāxānamqualsan* | *sitxwosmaikila*
He has fallen so that his buttocks are uppermost, | Hail(*b*)!

Damunmulsan·imut | *skusiustas*
He has come to hurt, | that *kusiut*(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C*. The second and third parts have been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 3c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) A mockingly deferential salutation used in *a'alk* songs describing the *kukusiut*.

(*c*) *Xumxumlaix* was an *a'alk* who is said to have seen a Cannibal *kusiut* when the latter was supposed to be in the land above. A song was composed about the incident, and the above fragment has been remembered for many years. *Xumxumlaix* was initiated into the *kusiut* society; see vol. II, p. 265.

*533 575 ●796 203 As already described, whenever a dancer is performing, the women utter a peculiar high-pitched drone and the heralds call out remarks suitable to the occasion. A phonograph record[3] was made of the drone, followed by a cry suitable for either *susaok* or *a'alk* dances. The following words are virtually sung:

Yalosāldimut | *stāhmpakais*
Do not err, | chiefs.

[3]Recorded as song VII D 29c, National Museum of Canada.

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Nusäxkämx Songs

The texts of *nusäxkämx* songs are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. The rites in which they were used have long been discontinued and, since they were never ceremonially important; there was nothing to impress either tunes or words on the minds of the singers. In addition, it is probable that the songs were always less carefully constructed than those of other types. 533* [796]

Song Used for Qolon(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

Qixänaowitaiya	*sîhmstänätcistaiya*	*sätwinumlsundai*	
Be happy,	ye people,	it is about to come,	

dässqwluyumdai	*däqolonlaotcaiya*
that hidden one(c),	Beaver.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

Qoloni'i	*Qoloni'i*	*wa·xai·yai*
Beaver(d)!	Beaver!	*wa·xai·yai*(e).

(a) This word means "Beaver." It is most unlikely that it was the dancer's own designation, more probably a nickname used in connection with the *nusäxkämx* rite. [551]
(b) Recorded as song VII D 9b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
(c) This signifies a person who is hidden ceremonially, such as a *kusiut* dancer who has gone to the land above. The dancer expected to be a Cannibal and the rite in which this song was used served as a kind of rehearsal. [796] [575]
(d) This refrain replaces a second and third part of the song itself.
(e) A meaningless series of choral ejaculations.

Song Used for a Kimsquit Woman(a)

Äxnnupdimqwduks	*Ilopiwacsudax*	*tuxwismaoskidax*	*ältusmätskidax*
They heard	of Fawn(b),	when they were playing	long ago(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 9d, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) The theme being of a fawn, the dancer wore a deer-skin. [595]
(c) As in many *nusäxkämx* songs, the words refer to an ancient story, probably one describing the adventures of deer and wolves; see vol. II, p. 425.

Song Used for Waoxiqslaix, a Kimsquit Man(a)

Lilitwmustäninux	*waowunjaqstän·ai*	*waiytski*	*sqolänops*
Run in all directions,	ye dogs,	for the first time	it is there

nunupaolinum	*ensitäyänum*	*maoxlc*	*maoxlc*
he brings much food(b),	go below the house	?(c)	?(d).

[776] [192]

CHAPTER III

WARFARE[1]

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

721 648 PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was considerable warfare among the coastal tribes of British Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermination of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks. These were never as continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless, [796] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were [556] even received as guests at some dances. At potlatches they might be subjected to insult, later to be avenged in the same manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and 726 friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who 825 bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests them- 778 selves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever [486] another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter [578] to veer over to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was [627] considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads. 721 In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was [575] at all common. Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were [622] not entirely forgotten; no *kusiut* novice went to war and

[1]Warfare having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

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515 sionally, in a half-hearted manner, but it is not unusual for a man to allow the basin of water in which he makes his ablutions to remain standing for two or three weeks. Not many [177] years ago the Carriers taught their neighbours to make a kind [296] of soap from the ashes of burnt cottonwood sticks thrown into [388] water; with this clothes are washed irregularly and in most cases from sheer necessity only. In former times bathing was [789] a semi-sacred rite, but this fell into disuse with the passing of [177] the old religion, and the use of soap and water merely for the sake of cleanliness has not become a daily habit. The women [291] have more vanity; the younger girls especially like to have new clothes, though they wear them carelessly, heedless of fit. [796] An effort is often made to clean up for ceremonial dances, but it entails little more than the removal of the more obvious dirt and the putting on, over unchanged undergarments, of a sweater. Pride in personal appearance, love of tidiness, delight in a clean house, are all quite foreign to the Bella Coola.

356 Probably the reason for lack of comforts in the houses is simply that the people do not feel the need for them. They [264] consider it no hardship to sit on a rickety chair, scoop up food [231] from a common dish and, if they think of it, throw morsels down to the dog or the cat. The smell, the flies, the dirt, the [152] chaos do not concern them. Capable of undergoing privations, hardships, and even sufferings, they think neither of the com-231 fort of themselves nor of others. Their domestic animals are often treated abominably, not through lack of affection or cruelty, but from callousness. More than once the writer has seen a favourite dog steal a piece of food from the table. Its master, after a furious blow or kick at it, would suddenly, as if by inspiration, throw a choice bit to the animal, saying:

"Why, he must have been hungry!"

Though the Bella Coola feel a kinship with animals unknown to the white man, it is not combined with any recognition of their feelings as living creatures. There are, of course, many exceptions, but on the whole public opinion demands [577] generosity and kindness only towards human members of the group. The moral code is not concerned with animals.

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to their forefathers. Profound as these material changes have been, those of a psychological nature have been even more important. New worlds have been thrown open to them, stimulating ideas have been brought to their attention, and they have realized for the first time that the world is infinitely larger than they had imagined. Hand in hand with this extension of knowledge has gone disbelief in their own ancient lore. The white man, whose superiority and mechanical skill they admit, positively denies the actuality of their mythology, and laughs at the dramatic performances which were wont to fill the winter with engrossing interest. Such rites can flourish only in an attitude of profound belief: this has been so shaken that the dances continue listlessly, a mere shadow of a once living art. The young people were the first to embrace a scepticism that has rapidly grown into disbelief of the faith of their ancestors, and a half-concealed scorn for their elders, the upholders of the old customs. Worst of all, prohibition of the potlatch has made it impossible for a man to reach a position of social eminence. Moreover, since the holding of any type of ceremonial requires a distribution of gifts, formal gatherings of all kinds have become virtually impossible; even marriages have no longer the social support that formerly made them so lasting.

These cumulative blows would be enough to shake any civilization, and that of the Bella Coola has been entirely unable to adjust itself to the new conditions. The young people, having lost respect for their elders, are deprived of the advice and support essential to the continuity of culture. They ape the white man's dress; they want his mechanical devices, but have failed to assimilate them. For example, a gramophone in a Bella Coola house is an anachronism, while several similar articles spoil the old picture but do not provide a new one. Seeking to copy the new ways thrown open to them, they have achieved the outward show but not the substance, and in so doing have destroyed their own culture. In the old days they were ambitious to hold potlatches and willing to work steadily towards that goal; now, new desires have not kept pace with

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[426] *ahwekam:* Excess of amount returned over that previously received as an investment present.
Aiamkikhs: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Aiislaxk: 1—Supernatural beings who drone as the sun moves.
2—Voice of the supernatural woman, *Snitsman·s*; the term is occasionally applied to the being herself. The sound is produced by *kusiut* whistles.
Aimalaila: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Aimalue: "The Coming of Foul Weather," in the language of supernatural beings: The phenomenon is semi-anthropomorphized.
Aima·ti: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Ancient chief from whom the village is supposedly named.
Aiqnaisamlaix: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
[821] *Aiqwoinst:* Supernatural beings who blacken the face of the moon at eclipses.
Ailsamka: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Tal·ia* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of an *ustamy* chief mentioned in an ancient story.
Aiutla: 1—One of the designations of *Kamai·ti*, the mysterious supernatural woman.
2—Ferocious, awe-inspiring, *adjective*.
[526] *akaxya:* Swing consisting of two long ropes with cross-seat.
[824] *akpadukt(s):* Spruce leaves.
Akmtci: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
alipamam: Lehal.
Alkalahs: 1—One of the first men to settle at Calvert Island in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Naxwlst* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Aima·ti* in the beginning of time.
alkjalas: Stake supporting olachen net.
[796] *alkuxhitmm:* Ritual repeated at intervals between the allotment of tasks for a potlatch, and the coming of a supernatural being to the first *nasek* initiate.
alt", plural, wealt"ats: Herald.
Altamam: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[533] *alus:* Third part of song.
'alus: Pleasure expedition of boys and girls to the forest.
[517] *Ales:* Name of an isolated star.
[821] *Alqatlas:* Supernatural man-eater, patron of Cannibals.
Alqualas: Stick decorated with abalone-shell used by one of the settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
Alqwalas: Supernatural female berry-picker resident in the land of the dead.
alsaia: Announcer.
Alsatalalo·s: Bay of the Thousand Islands near Namu.
Alsalmaix: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
alsatla: Cannibal.
[587] *alsualtm:* Marriage with sister of a deceased wife; the word is undoubtedly connected with the verb, *to bequeath*.
Alstwis: Supernatural creature similar to a human being.
Alsla: Supernatural woman, wife of Cold Wind and mother of Ice.
Alstala: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
[425] *alstlhem:* The transference of a name, during the period of engagement, from the father of the future bridegroom to the father of the future bride.
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nixōōsta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract. [424]

Nixpi: Expert supernatural dancer; to his associates he is a yearling mountain goat.

nmlq or *nmlqhmut:* First complete dance given by a *kusiut* initiate.

mmmmk: Mammal, any kind. [825]

Nniwanaix: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

Noakila: 1—One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuiili* in the beginning of time.

Noakqmm: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Noamtaxait: Name given to his grandson by one of the first settlers at *Siskiut* in the beginning of time.

nolcista: *Kusiut* prerogative as a Breaker; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.

nolyāsta: Sloping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kimsquit, *kusiut* masks are hung.

nomuk: The making and use of hand nets for olachen.

Nomdjamōstem: 1—"The Adviser": One of the names of the supreme god. [622]
2—Chiefs of a village, collectively; virtually, "The Sages."

no'omātlim: 1—Ceremony at which *nsook* names are validated in the eyes of the fellow-villagers. [553]
2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed. [796]

no'omdjut: Assemblage of the *kukusiut* to practise difficult rites.

No-fuma, "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": *Tlaiyakam* name given to a deserting wife.

Nowakila: One of the names of Raven as chief.

nowlrikātum: Sentence of death passed by the *kukusiut* on one of their fellows as punishment for an error. [688]

nsaiyas: A loan, especially of an ancestral right. [426]

Nsālālmm: Synonym for *Noakqmm,* the supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Nu'aas, "Inhospitable": Name taken by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

nuāpsuta: Toilet-hole.

nuaska: Birth. [821]

Nuchāqas: Anthropomorphized evil cold wind. [769]

nudak-an: Rhetorical term of respect for aged dead. [823]

nudak-an du ihmsta: 1—High tide.
2—Long life.

nudjiqasta: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold olachen-net post steady while being driven.

Nu'eymāj, "Place of Foul Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Nuk[w]*:* 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.
2—River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.

Nuskmāhais: Synonym for *Sximsximit,* an immoral supernatural woman.

nuqal: The achievement of success against supernatural odds; the term is used with reference to the solutions of the riddles of the Mystery dance.

nukamlnuāmam: Any non-sacred dance held at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season. [535]

Nukar-sa: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

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are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the Kû'siût these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks which I have copied. Qû'mtsica and Qtsqûmalâ'otla wear the design of the full moon, indicated in the mask Qû'mtsica (fig. 4) by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Qtsqûmalâ'otla has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin (fig. 5). Aiumkî'likya (fig. 6) and Aiumalâ'otla (fig. 7) wear the design of the crescent, drawn

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FIG. 6.—Mask representing Aiumkî'likya.

FIG. 7.—Mask representing Aiumalâ'otla.

in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second. The fifth, K'ômk'ômkî'likya, and K'ô'mtsica have designs representing stars (fig. 8), both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is K'ula'qawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmonberry bush (fig. 9). The next in order, Kulâ'lisa (=who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue (fig. 10). The ninth, Ae'mâ'k wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a birdskin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called Ti'tsâ'qâttlâsa (=the eater), the sister of all the others. Her face is painted with a bladder filled with grease (fig. 11). She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

The Sisna'ka, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of greater, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had gone out hunting met the Sisna'ka, and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned he asked the people to clean their houses, and to strew them with clean sand, before he consented to enter. Then he danced the Sisna'ka, and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with

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575 trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on,
773 returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Sisan'kH.
776 Besides this it is stated that the Raven gave each gens its secrets.
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FIG. 8.—Mask representing K·'ōmk·'ōmkt'likya.

FIG. 9.—Mask representing K·ula'qawa.

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614 Each gens has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the Sisan'kH
532 only, and are otherwise kept a deep secret, *i.e.*, they are the sacred posses-
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FIG. 10.—Mask representing Kulê'lias.

FIG. 11.—Mask representing Tl'ētsa'aplêtlāna.

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[534] sions of each gens. All gentes, however, wear the beautiful carved
[292] headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they
represent.

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out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he cannot catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the ɮlaqō'tla dances clothed in a bear-skin and wearing a large headring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red and white cedar-bark. Some ɮlaqō'tla do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon, or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also eat corpses. The ɮlaqō'tla has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house. 575 [774] [756] [292] [301]

The Ō'lɛq (= the laugher) and the Dā'tia (= the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The Ō'lɛq 'makes fun of everything' and scratches people with his nails. The Dā'tia carries stones and sticks, and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day he pays for it at night when he dances. The Ōlɛq and the Dā'tia must stay for one month, after they have danced, in their houses. [785]

If a person transgresses the laws of the Kū'siūt, for instance when the ɮlaqō'tla gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offence has been proved he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing, and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared, and the substitute is killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is entrusted to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him, or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger-nail, around the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender he will fall sick. Blood collects in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the Kū'siūt are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklet of red cedar-bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others the thunder-bird and his servant Atlqulā'tɛnum, who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and a staff with red and blue spiral lines, appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Qē'mtsiōa and his brothers and his sister (see p. 412), Masmasalā'niq and his fellows, the raven and the Nusqē'mta, and many others. 575 688 575 532 796 [776]

Customs regarding Birth, Puberty, Marriage, and Death.

When the time of delivery approaches, the woman leaves the house and resorts to a small hut built for the purpose. She is assisted by pro- 844

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776 the House of Myths, but who has given up his place in favor of SENX and ALK'unta'm. These two might be called the rulers of mankind. In most traditions they are described as trying to destroy man, notwithstanding the fact that they are considered the creators of mankind. This peculiar charac-
773 teristic of these deities is clearly brought out in the traditions recorded on
776 pp. 78 ff. In one legend which I collected in 1890, ALK'unta'm's mother, Nānusōmik·ēeqonz'm, is described as a Cannibal, who inserts her long snout in the ears of man, and sucks out his brain. Eventually she was transformed into the mosquito.[1] I did not hear her mentioned as one of the deities residing in the House of Myths. According to the same tradition, the salmon were obtained by a man who gambled with ALK'unta'm, the stake being the salmon. ALK'unta'm lost, and the man took the salmon down
[825] from heaven. Another legend of the origin of the salmon is recorded on p. 38, where it is told how the birds obtained the salmon. According to still another tradition (p. 94), the Raven obtained the salmon by marrying a salmon girl. In the tradition quoted above, ALK'unta'm also gives to man the power to cure
[755] disease by means of the water of life, which the shaman sprinkles on the sick person.

776 A number of inferior deities live in the House of Myths. They might be called the assistants of the principal deities. In order to understand their
[772] functions, it is necessary to state that the deities residing in the House of Myths have particular charge of the religious winter ceremonial of the
796 Bella Coola which is called kō'siut, and which corresponds to the ts'ētsa'eqa
[515] of the Kwakiutl. I have described this ceremonial, and its importance in the social life of the Kwakiutl, in another paper.[2] The kō'siut is of equal importance to an understanding of the social life and mythology of the Bella Coola. It is sufficient to say at this place that the ceremonials performed during the kō'siut are mostly dramatic representations of myths
[532] referring to the various deities, particularly to those of the House of Myths: therefore masks representing these deities are used in the ceremonials. Plates VII to XII[3] show a series of these masks. Figs. 1, 2, and 4 (Plate VII) are SENX, ALK'unta'm, and SnōLk'ulx·a'la. The functions of many of the
575 inferior deities seem to refer solely to the kō'siut. These deities and their
776 functions are as follows: Slx·sek·llal'x· (Plate VII, Fig. 6) ordains the death of man and animals. According to one statement that I received, there are four deities of this name in the House of Myths. It is his particular duty to kill those who transgress the laws of the kō'siut. This deity is mentioned by Jacobsen, who calls him Sek-seik Kallai.[4] Nusnē'neq'als (Plate VII, Fig. 7), or the Snēne'lq of the House of Myths, sits by himself in one

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 295.
[2] Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, pp. 311–738.
[3] Drawings by Mr. Rudolph Weber.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 388.

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000 the middle of the water, the barnacles and worms bit her. She jumped up, and the canoe capsized. The birds swam ashore. After a short time the barnacles and sea-worms came ashore too. They looked very stout, because they had eaten the bear. Then the youth said to the girl, "There are two trails here,—one leading to the left, the other to the right. You follow the one, I will follow the other. If the trails meet, we will marry; if they do not, we here separate forever. They started, and after a while met each other. Then the youth married the girl. (Mask of the Bear, Plate X, Fig. 12.)[1]

VI.

121 It is necessary to make a few remarks on the relation of the ceremonials
796 of the Bella Coola Indians to their mythology. I have not seen any of their ceremonials, and my descriptions are based on inquiries, and upon the accounts
[124] published by Fillip and Adrian Jacobsen.

The Bella Coola have two ceremonials,—the sisau'k· and the kō'siut, which
796 correspond to the LAō'laxa and the ts'ētsa'eqa of the Kwakiutl. I have described these ceremonials fully in another paper.[2] The sisau'k· ceremonials
575 are mostly dramatic representations illustrating the clan legends, some of which have been recorded in Chap. IV, while the kō'siut ceremonials are dramatic representations of the initiation of members of various clans into certain secret societies. Among these, the Cannibal Society, the Society of the Laughers, and the Society of the Throwers, are the most important. These are called by the Bella Coola the ƚlaxō'LƚIa, Olx, and Da'tia. I described on pp. 34, 35, the spirits presiding over the two first-named
114 societies. The information which I obtained on these points is perfectly
575 clear and consistent. I cannot quite reconcile the explanations given by A. and F. Jacobsen to the accounts which I received. It seems that their
776 accounts do not clearly distinguish between the opinions held by various tribes. In the article above referred to, I described fully the opinions held
796 by the Kwakiutl in regard to the origin of their Cannibal Society. They believe that a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsi'wae initiates the Cannibals. He is represented as having an enormous black head with dilated nostrils and large mouth. I have made frequent inquiries among the Bella Coola, but received the uniform answer that this being does not initiate their Cannibals. It is not impossible that a few families may have adopted this tradition from the Kwakiutl tribes, but I have not been able to find it among the Bella Coola. Jacobsen maintains that Baxbakualanuxsi'wae is the particular spirit of the Cannibal among the Bella Coola, and brings forward the well-known

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[1] Additional legends of the Bella Coola have been published in the publications quoted on pp. 26, 27.
[2] Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 311–738.

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tradition of the Awī'k·'enôx as an explanation of the ceremonial. The only modification which I note in this tradition is that the Cannibal's wife is described as sucking out through their ears the brains of children,—an incident which I heard related of the mother of ALk'untā'm.[1] He calls him "Beck-Beck-Kvalanit, and in the Bella Coola dialect, Pāh-Pāh Kualanusiva." This word is decidedly of Kwakiutl origin, meaning "the one who eats human flesh at the mouth of the river (or at the north end of the world)." Neither have I been able to find any mask representing this being among the Bella Coola tribe. The masks which they use in connection with the Cannibal ceremony are of quite a different character (Plate XII, Figs. 1-8). I am the more inclined to think that Mr. Jacobsen did not clearly distinguish between the customs and traditions of various tribes, since he introduces "Ganikilla Ko" (Qa'nig·ilak·) in the traditions of the Bella Coola, while it is distinctively a legend of the Kwakiutl tribes of the extreme northwest of Vancouver Island. Jacobsen does not distinguish clearly between the sisau'k· and the kū'siut, stating that the kū'siut dances are performed during the sisau'k· in the same way as, among the Kwakiutl, a LaŌ'laxa may be celebrated during the ts'ē'ts'aēqa. This may be, but theoretically the two ceremonials must be considered entirely distinct. According to the information which I received, sisau'k· dances may be held in summer, in which case the kū'siut could not possibly form part of the sisau'k· ceremonial. When, on the other hand, the sisau'k· takes place during the kū'siut period, it would naturally be accompanied by kū'siut dances.

114 575 776 796

As stated before, the sisau'k· is a ceremonial in which the legend of the clan is illustrated by means of dramatic performances. At the same time valuable presents are distributed among the guests who are invited to witness the ceremonial. The value of the gifts amounts often to several thousand dollars. At this time the family legend is told in general outlines, but the details of the legend are kept a secret, and are transmitted only to those who are initiated in the sisau'k· of the clan. It seems that we must consider the transmission of the sisau'k· legend in the following manner: At any given time it is the property of the chief of the family, who, at the time of the celebration, transfers his rights to his successor, generally to his son. The full tradition is kept secret by the owner. It seems that there is a close analogy between the conditions prevailing in the northwest and those found among the southwestern Indians, among whom certain priests are guardians of traditions. Among the tribes of the northwest coast the chief of a family is the guardian and owner of the family tradition, while among the southwestern tribes the priest is the guardian of the tradition belonging to a clan or to a fraternity. My impression is, however, that among the northwestern

575 424 [431]

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 394.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 890.

[113]

424 Indians the tradition is considered much more clearly the property of the
575 person who has it in charge than it is among the southwestern Indians. A description of the sisau'k· ceremonial has been given by Jacobsen in the paper above referred to.[1]

614 A clan legend which is illustrated in the sisau'k· ceremonial is called
by the Bella Coola "SEMSMA" or "Smā'yusta." These traditions are the
424 exclusive property of each clan. The laws according to which they descend from generation to generation differ from the laws prevailing among the other
[621] Coast tribes. The inhabitants of each Bella Coola village are not subdivided into clans, gentes, or septs; but each village community forms a unit, and possesses the same tradition. In order to keep the tradition in the tribe, the
614 law requires that no person shall marry outside of his own village community.
Thus the clan tradition is kept the exclusive property of the village com-
424 munity by means of endogamy. I have made very careful inquiries in regard
582 to this point, and all the old men make substantially the same statement. Even marriages among near relatives are permitted;[2] and although marriages of people who are distantly related, or not related at all, are preferred, it even happens that cousins marry, or that an uncle marries his niece, in order to keep the clan tradition from being acquired by another village community. It seems, however, that, owing to the influence of the Coast tribes, the endogamic system has begun to give way to an exogamic system. Powerful
[622] and wealthy chiefs marry outside of their own village community, in order to secure an additional clan legend through marriage. This new system agrees with the one prevalent among the Kwakiutl tribes.

575 The kū'siut, as stated before, is a religious ceremony in which all the
614 deities of heaven are personified. The members of various clans are initiated according to their clan traditions; but the same societies and the same deities
796 appear in the traditions of all the various clans. From what little I have been able to learn, it seems that there is an elaborate opening of the whole ceremonial, corresponding to the opening of the ceremonial among the Kwakiutl.[3] I received the following description of the opening ceremony:—

575 The person who invites to the kū'siut, that is to say, the man whose
796 son is to be initiated into one of the secret societies according to the tradition of his clan, requests a person who is called Ē'xēm to invite the nine brothers
[776] and their sister, who reside in the House of Myths, and in whose charge the kū'siut is placed. The names of the brothers are Xēmxēmalā'oLla, Xē'mtsiwa, Ōmq'ōmkī'lik·a, Q'ō'mtsiwa, Aimalā'oLla, Aī'umki'lik·a, K·lē'llas, Q'ulaxa'wa, Āt'mak·; and that of their sister, L'ētsa'apleLana (see p. 33). In the rear of the house an elevated room is prepared for E'xēm, in which he lies down. He is covered with rings made of red cedar-bark. For four days he stays

[1] Vmar, 1895, pp. 1-23.
[2] I have described this fully in the Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 300ff.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

in this room. Then the host sends messengers to invite the people. They take staffs, and tie red cedar-bark round their heads, and go from house to house, singing, "Nayaxdets wa nōnōsp'otstsē' he!" ("I wish to find some one who understands the winter ceremonial.") This they repeat in every house. Then they return to the host's house, who sends them out again, ordering them to sing, "Qōts'ak·im totēts wa nōnōsp'otstsē' he!" ("I wish the dancers would wash their hands.") Again they return to his house. They are sent out once more with the message, "Xoōtsak·umtotēts wa nōnōsp'otstsē' he!" ("I wish the dancers would make their hands tremble.") They return once more to the chief's house, and are sent out again with the message, "Tapamak·tēts wa nōnōsp'otstsē' he!" ("I want the dancers to look at their hands.") Now the dancers are ready, and come to the house. Then Ē'xēm arises and dresses. He puts on a head-dress of birds' skins, ornamented with red cedar-bark. He is accompanied by women. Another man, who is called Nusx·ia'mt., adorns himself with red cedar-bark. He carries in his right hand a small baton covered with red cedar-bark. In his left he carries a larger stick, on which he beats time with the small baton. He sits down, and now all the people enter. First of all, Ē'xēm comes in, accompanied by many women. Nusx·ia'mt. begins to sing and to beat time, and Ē'xēm shouts, "Ooo!" Ē'xēm walks around the fire, keeping it to his left, and shaking his bark. Before he begins the circuit, he gives four jumps near the door. Four times he goes round the fire, and every time he reaches the door he gives four jumps. As soon as he does so, Nusx·ia'mt. beats time slowly. When E'xēm has finished his dance, the people take him to a place near the door, and a woman sings near him. Nusx·ia'mt. and the people join her, then she dances her winter dance. Before she quite finishes, the people make her stop, and another woman begins her dance. Nusx·ia'mt. beats time, and the other people join his song. The people make her stop again. Thus a great many people perform their dances. Now Ē'xēm appears again, crying, "Ooo!" and Nusx·ia'mt. beats time. Again he jumps four times to the right and four times to the left when reaching the door. After this, two more men and two more women perform their dances. After this has been done twice, Ē'xēm stands near the door, looking upward, and says, "They are very near now." By this time the whole house is full of people. He goes around the house three times, dancing. Then he stays near the door, looking upward, saying all the time, "They are near by." When he reaches the door the fourth time, he cries, "They have arrived! Now they are here, dancing on the roof." Ē'xēm continues to dance in the house, in order to induce them to come down. The first to come down is Xēmxēmalā'ot.la, who stops at the rear of the house and sits down. Ē'xēm continues to dance, and the others enter in order. Ē'xēm stands near them and says, "Now I have placed

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575 796 them. Let the chief give them red cedar-bark." The people take small pieces of blankets, and sew red cedar-bark on to them in designs corresponding to the paintings on the faces of these deities, and they give these to the deities in order to appease them. Then they throw grease into the fire. During all this time É'xêm stands in the rear of the house; and when a painting has been finished, the man who offers it to the deity shouts, "Xêmxêmalâ'ôɫla t'aix·tau'!" ("This is Xêmxêmalâ'ôɫla.") And É'xêm sings, "Yayak·lamêts'êk·a wa k'waɫtɛnai'x·aɫ t'aix· tai'ya; aɫt'aɫ'ô'mataxstôs nusk·asiôtstani'x· asɛlkulatôtita'ya." As soon as he has finished his song, a loud noise is heard on the roof, as though a heavy stone were falling down. É'xêm arises and performs a dance, while the noise of whistles is heard proceeding from him.

575 I am not familiar with the details of the ceremonial, and shall proceed to record the principal characteristics of the various societies. The Cannibal is initiated in the House of Myths by Bâ'ɛxôɫla. I recorded above (p. 34) how a young man was initiated by this spirit, and how he was returned to his friends. The return of the Cannibal is accompanied by ceremonies similar [184] to those recorded in this tradition. It seems that the ceremonies of the Cannibals of various families are much alike, each having a tradition of its own referring to the initiation. It is believed that all the Cannibals, during their initiation, go up to the sky. I was told that on this journey they have to take human flesh along for food. It is said that in former times the chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for Bâ'ɛxôɫla. The offer was accepted, and a [266] payment made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the Bâ'ɛxôɫla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods.

The spirit appears to the novice while he is in the woods, and takes him up to the House of Myths, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside of the houses. He has lost all his hair except a little in the median line of the head. It is believed that it has been torn off by the strong wind blowing in the higher regions. Some Cannibals do not devour human flesh, but tear dogs to pieces or devour raw salmon The 575 ceremonial consists in pacifying the Cannibal, and exorcising the spirit that 796 possesses him. This is the object of the kû'siut ceremonial. After a Cannibal has returned, the people try to capture him. When he is first heard to approach, the speaker, whose face is painted black, and who wears a cedar-bark ring, and is covered with eagle-down, shouts, "Tix·ma'ts'ɛn tak·'axta'ɫiɫ tsaɫ'ai'ôts'ai. P'alx·êxtsalatstɛnai' tix·ma'ts'ɛn tasiswalô'ɫiɫ t'aɫ'aiôtst'ai'!" ("Arise, it may be our Cannibal. Awake!") The Cannibal is accompanied by four assistants, who are called Aɫiɫpa, and who from time to time utter

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the cry, "Hoip!" which is intended to pacify the Cannibal. They wear masks (Plate XII, Figs. 4 and 5). The people try to throw a noose over his head; but he throws it off, refusing to be captured. Then the people shout, "Ya'i!" beating time rapidly. The Cannibal tears the ropes that hold him, and disappears. Then the people follow him, and search for him until they find him. As soon as they approach, he attacks them, but gradually he becomes quieter. Then the speaker (Alk°) invites the people to the dancing-house, saying, "Ip'a'nap kukusiau't!" That means, "Dance, dancers!" Now the Cannibal opens the door, accompanied by his assistants. He wears the mask shown in Plate XII, Fig. 3. At once a number of women arise, ready to surround him as soon as he enters the house. They are called ALAL'au'LTEMX°. The speaker, who holds a staff, arises and shouts, "Ō n ya'li-watimōtx Alqōlayak°ai's!" That means, "Act like a real Cannibal." The Cannibal utters his cry, "Hoaaa, hoaaa, hoaaa!" ending with a long deep growl. He stays in the doorway for a long time. Then he steps into the house, turns his left shoulder outward once, bites one man on the right-hand side of the house, and one on the left-hand side, and then performs his circuit of the fire, leaving the fire to his left. In dancing he holds his fists in front of his chest, one on each side. He moves in a stooping position, raising his feet very high. He dances for four nights, during which time the people try to pacify him by means of songs and dances. After he has first been induced to enter the house, he becomes quieter. Then he tells the people what he has seen during his absence, and the song-leader makes a song on the subject. The women do not learn about the events that took place during his absence until they hear the song. After four days the ceremony of exorcising the S'a'LPsta (Plate XII, Figs. 6 and 7), the monster that possesses him, is performed. A large dish is ornamented with red cedar-bark; and the assistant of the S'a'LPsta (Plate XII, Fig. 8), by means of incantations, makes the Cannibal vomit the snake, or the wolf, or the eagle, that possesses him. Then he is seen to carry the head of the animal under his left arm, while the body is seen in the rear, being held by his assistants. Then this animal is seen to vomit flesh and blood into the dish which has been prepared for the purpose. The Cannibal's assistants cover the body of the animal with down; while they cry from time to time, "Hoip!" Then the people beat time very rapidly, and suddenly the S'a'LPsta has disappeared. The people beat time four times, and after this the Cannibal has become like an ordinary man. He walks around the fire, which he keeps to his right, and says, "Now Ba'EXōLla has left me." The contents of the dish are thrown into the water, but the dish itself is burned in the dancing-house. It is supposed that it is thus conveyed to heaven. After the dish has been burned, the Cannibal does not dance any more. Then a bed is prepared for him in the rear of the house, in which he must stay for four days. After this, he is

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allowed to re-enter the houses; but before doing so for the first time, he must stop at the door and shout, "Wa, wa, wa!" Then he jumps over the threshold. Accompanied by many men, he is led, after four days more, to the river for final purification. He is pushed into the water, but struggles to free himself. He tries to duck his companions, and utters his cries. Finally he is led back. Then he weeps, because the spirit has left him entirely. The people beat time while he is going back to the house. Then he is offered a piece of salmon, which is placed on his throat, while the people shout, "Hoip, hoip!" The salmon is taken away again, and after some time he is allowed to take one bite. Then he must lie down. After the dancing season is ended, he is again allowed to eat in the same way as other people do. The piece of salmon that was placed on his throat is eaten by children as a protection against sickness. Finally a ceremony is performed which is called "taking the lip of the S'a't.psta out of the Cannibal's body." While this is being done, the people cry, "Hoip!" Then they throw the lip upon another Cannibal, who at once falls into an ecstasy. Then the shaman takes it back and throws it up towards the sky, where it disappears. The dish and the spoon that the Cannibal used during his ecstasy are destroyed. For four years he must wear a small ring of red cedar-bark, in summer as well as in winter.

The Ölx is also initiated in heaven by the being described before (p. 35). There are different traditions regarding his initiation among different clans. Some Ölx, during their performances, walk ropes which are stretched through the house. When he returns from his initiation, small whistles, called ĕal.l'laxa, which imitate the voices of eagles, are heard outside of the houses. Then the Ölx enters in a state of ecstasy, scratching the people who assemble to hold him, and tearing their blankets. Finally the people succeed in placing a blanket over his head, and he begins to come to his senses. When he enters the house, the people beat time, then he teaches the chorus-leader a song. The mask worn by the Ölx is quite large, and characterized by a large nose (Plate XII, Fig. 9). He carries a dancing-club (Plate XII, Fig. 10), and rings made of red cedar-bark. He is accompanied by two assistants, who also wear masks.

VII.

We will now discuss the probable origin of the mythology described in the preceding pages. In order to do so, it is necessary to make a brief statement in regard to the social organization of the neighboring tribes. In another paper[1] I have fully discussed the considerable amount of borrowing that has taken place among the Coast tribes, and the relation of their

[1] Indianische Sagen von der nord-pazifischen Küste Amerikas, Berlin, 1895, pp. vi + 363.

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mythologies to those of the interior. It is unnecessary to revert to this subject here. The similarity of the Bella Coola legends to those of the other Coast tribes on the one hand, and to the traditions of the Athapascan tribes on the other, is evident. 114 177

It is, however, important to compare their social organization with that of the neighboring tribes, in order to gain a clearer understanding of the origin of their peculiar organization. As stated before, the Bella Coola are divided into village communities, which are organized on an endogamic basis. Each village community has its tradition, which is represented in certain ceremonies. The supernatural beings which play a part in these traditions are personified by certain dancers. Other Coast tribes have a much more complex organization. The Tlingit and Haida are divided into two clans, each of which is subdivided into a great many families, which, as it would seem, were originally village communities. This opinion is based on the fact that the names of many of the families must be translated as "inhabitants of such and such a place." The two clans are present in all the villages of the tribe, each family belonging to either one clan or the other. The Tsimshian have the same system, except that the number of clans is four instead of two. Each tribe is divided into families, which embrace the inhabitants of a certain region; but all the families of the whole tribe are classified according to the four clans. Among the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian, descent is purely maternal; among the northern Kwakiutl tribes, conditions are somewhat different, according to observations made by Dr. Livingston Farrand. Here we have village communities which are subdivided according to four clans in the same way as those of the Tsimshian, but descent is not purely maternal. There is a strong preponderance of the latter form of descent, but parents are at liberty to place their children in either the paternal or maternal clan. The preponderance of maternal descent is, however, so strong, that from my previous occasional inquiries I drew the inference that descent was purely maternal. 621 171 [96] [176]

Among the southern Kwakiutl tribes the families constituting a village community are subdivided into a number of clans, but each clan is confined to one village. We do not find a limited number of clans pervading the whole tribe, as we do among the northern tribes. An analysis of the social organization of this tribe has shown that the present organization has evidently developed from a previous simpler state, in which the tribe was divided into single village communities. The present more complex organization resulted from the amalgamation of various villages. Owing to the influence of the totemism of the northern tribes, each village community adopted a crest, which in course of time became the totem of the clan.[1] The Kwakiutl have a peculiar organization, which may be considered a transitional stage between

[1] "Social Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians" (Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, p. 310). [113]

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174 contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast,
424 they nowhere reach such a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I presume
614 the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts for this curious condition.

The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to Senx or Ta'ata bear a
171 remarkable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Laxha,
782 the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face it will be clear weather, and man will be happy; consequently the prayer to
[821] the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from
177 the Coast tribes is the kn'siut ceremonial, with which are connected the various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism.
575 The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the
773 Kwakiutl are practically identical. I told above (p. 34) the legend explaining the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another
796 tradition is told to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsi'wae, who lives in the forest, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by three distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the
174 development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious incon-
773 sistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the word and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not co-ordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 60 ff.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE XI.

*** Cross-hachure indicates black; vertical hachure, red; horizontal, blue; dots, orange; white, natural color of wood, except in cases where the whole mask is black.

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Fig. 1.—Mask representing the thunder-bird (front and profile). Black, red. Height, 11½ inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 2.—Mask representing ALXULĀ'TENUM (front and profile). Ornamented with red cedar-bark. Orange, blue. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 3.—Mask representing the rabbit. Set with mountain-goat skin. Natural color, black. Height, 13 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 4.—Mask representing the owl. Black, red. Height, 12 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing LŌ'QOIS (the mountain). Natural color, black. Height, 19½ inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 6.—Mask representing the raindrop. On top of the mask is a long switch set with feathers, only the lower part of which is shown. Natural color, black. Height, 10 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

[796] Fig. 7.—Bird-shaped implement worn by a companion of the thunder-bird. It is filled with eagle-down. During the dance it is shaken, and the down flies out of the holes in the lower part of the implement and from the back. Length, 18 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 8.—Mask representing the sea-monster K'Ī'lx'ta. Red, blue, black. Height, 19 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 9.—Mask representing the spirit LATAIĀ'IL. Black, orange, set with bear-skin. Height, 9 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

Fig. 10.—Mask representing the hermaphrodite (front and profile). Natural color, red, black. Height, 11 inches. Cat. No. $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}$.

[facing End Plate XI]

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Masks and Carving of the Bella Coola Indians.

[End Plate XI]

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every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the kū'siut these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks. Xē'mtsioa and Xēmxēmalà'oLa wear the design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xē'mtsioa by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xēmxēmalà'oLa has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin. Aiumkī'lik·a and Aiumalà'oLa wear the design of the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second masks. The fifth Q'ōmq'ōmkī'lik·a and Q'ō'mtsioa have designs representing stars, both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is Qula'xawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kulē'lias (who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue. The ninth, Aī'amā'k, wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called L'ētsā'aplēLāna (the eater), the sister of the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

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The sisau'k·, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had gone out hunting met the sisau'k· and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to enter. Then he danced the sisau'k· and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bī'lxula dance the sisau'k·. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the sisau'k· only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, can not become sisau'k·. A person can not take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'ēlu'sta, the Indian, to whom I

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the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender, he will fall sick. Blood is believed to collect in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the kā'nut are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklace of red cedar bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others, the thunder bird and his servant, ALEXĀ'TSEXUM (who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and carries a staff with red and blue spiral lines), appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Xō'mtsica and his brothers and his sisters; Mamamala'nix and his fellows, the raven and the nuxnō'mta, and many others.[1]

Fig. 301.
MASQUERADER OF GIAGA'.
Haida.
Cat. No. 6000, U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

THE TSIMSHIAN, NĪSQA', HAIDA, AND TLINGIT.

The tribes of this group learned the ceremonial avowedly from the HO'iltsaq. Although I have not witnessed any part of their ceremonials, the descriptions which I received bring out with sufficient clearness its similarities to the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl. The ceremonials seem to be almost identical among all these tribes. It is most complete among the southwestern Tsimshian tribes, particularly the G-itxsā'la, but has been adopted by all the tribes of the coast. It is said that it reached the Haida not more than a hundred years ago.

I will tell here what I learned from the Nisqa'. They have six societies, which rank in the following order: The sumkalai'l, mōila', hēlā'ma, ōiala', nanōtō'l, hēnana'l, the last being the highest. The sumkalai'l is really not confined to the winter ceremonial, but is obtained when a person acquires the first guardian spirit of his clan and performs the ceremony belonging to this event. The tradition of the origin of these ceremonies localizes the events at Bellabella, and it

[1] See "Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas," page 341, by F. Boas.

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was not carefully observed. Those wishing to dig took turns with the tools; there was no supervision, and no orders given. When the grave was ready, Jim Pollard asked Judas to perform the rite with the spruce bough, which he did with a branch brought by one of the youths. The young men lowered the coffin into the grave while the band continued to play. The missionary then read the Christian burial service, after which he withdrew. Some of the young men brought planks from old houses near-by, sawed them to the size of the grave and laid them over the coffin as a cover. At this juncture Judas, one of the oldest and most conservative of the Bella Coola, rose to speak. First he offered consolation to the mourning relatives by pointing out that all must travel the same road. Then he spoke to Jessie, telling her not to linger, but to travel back the path of her ancestors from generation to generation until she reached the place where they first came down from above, and thence to ascend to *Nazmái·a*. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of the speech, which was punctuated by calls of "*Ye·*" from the male Bella Coola. The next speaker was Jim Pollard, the most influential Kimaquit and a personal friend, though not a relative, of Captain Schooner's.

764 159 [533] [747] 764 159 537

"Go," he said to the dead woman, "Go to the localities from which came your first forefathers in the beginning of time. There you will find your most valuable ancestral possessions. Go at once, do not linger and lose yourself on the road from generation to generation."

Turning to George Nelson, he went on, "Do not be downhearted, all of us must travel the same road. It was made by no man, it is the work of *Alqunsim*."

Looking back once more to the grave, he said, "In *Qomqo·ts* are buried many illustrious relatives of yours. You will be among friends, whereas we are left to lament your departure."

It was impossible to write down the words at the time and the above record is not literally correct, although it expresses the gist of the speech. [126]

Captain Schooner whispered to Robert Hood, another of the

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The explanation of these manifestations of the supernormal, 787 *
for such they are considered to be, lies in the conviction that 811
every activity of the mind is due to supernatural causation, [828]
the functioning of the spirit. In the round of daily life there [774]
are always good and bad incidents; the person who wakes
expecting to meet one or other before nightfall recognizes the
fulfilment of his premonition in some small occurrence, and
narrates it to his fellows as proof of what he had told them in
the morning. In case of some major event, such as death or
disaster, the Bella Coola assume that some previous indication
must have been given. Looking back after the event, a man
easily persuades himself that he "felt" a warning, and is more [774]
than ever convinced that his spirit, the cause of his thoughts,
has supernatural ability.

Conviction in the near presence of the supernatural has had 177
somewhat surprising results with regard to Christian Bella 787 *
Coola. A man converted in middle life carries all the fervour 781
and realism of the old religion with him to the new, and feels 797 ●
thoroughly familiar with the atmosphere of the Old Testament.
Visitations, such as therein described, are similar to those
experienced by his fathers and himself, and he scorns the white
man who questions their literal accuracy. He continues to
hear the voices of supernatural beings, and to interpret mental [828]
pictures as visions, but he ascribes them to the beings of the
white man's religion. The following is a rather striking illustration of this point:

A number of years ago a devout Christian, who may be 159
designated X, was a patient in the hospital at Bella Bella. In 177
the same ward was a young Bella Bella lad whose sickness 787 *
refused to yield to treatment. X, becoming interested in his 781
neighbour, began to ponder about his condition, until presently 797
he felt convinced that the sufferer would be better by seven
o'clock the following morning, and told him so. A marked
improvement was noticeable by the time predicted, but the
white doctor foolishly (according to X) gave his patient some

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159
177 more medicine and he became worse. The same thing happened
* 787 on the following day. The sick boy grew steadily worse until,
nine days later, he felt that he was dying and asked X to help
781 him.

● 797 "No," replied X, "I am no doctor. But you will be all right. I see Holy Ghost, Holy Spirit, Baptism, and Believe-it [Faith?] by your bed. Repent and you will be saved."

X added that the Bella Bella saw and repented before his death so that he has undoubtedly been saved.

X is a friend of the writer's and a man with whom he worked for a number of months and whom he feels that he knows intimately. He is almost invariably truthful, and any falsehoods he uses are clumsy and easily detected. In this case there is no doubt but that he believes he saw these four figures as four white human beings. He was in an emotional condition at the time, hoping and expecting to see something of the kind. In earlier days he would have seen supernatural beings of the Bella Coola pantheon with equal conviction. On quite another occasion, when he was preaching, the same man felt what seemed to be a heavy drop of water fall on his head. He was in the open at the time and, looking up, was surprised to find nothing from which it could have fallen. He realized that it must have been power which had come to him, and forthwith he began to preach as he had never preached before. He expected supernatural assistance, and the belief that it had been granted to him undoubtedly strengthened his efforts.

* 787 All Bella Coola are not equally liable to visions and mental
781 visitations. Some, such as X, are constantly experiencing
159 them, whereas others of more stolid disposition do not feel the presence of the supernatural to the same extent. None the less, beings of the other world are constantly around them and, before the introduction of Christianity, it is unlikely that any individual passed through life without coming in contact with some manifestation of the supernatural. Consequently, stories
* 787 descriptive of this are intelligible to the Bella Coola, bizarre

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In his younger days X was somewhat wild, taking his full share in the frivolities of the village, and having a fondness for wine which he brewed himself. On one occasion he prepared a barrel of the mixture, half of which he promptly consumed with the aid of a few friends, then, semi-intoxicated, he fell asleep. He dreamt that there came to him what must have been a male being, although all that was visible was the lower half of his body, which was gleaming white. The apparition seized X by the nape of the neck, lifted him from the floor, and carried him across the house to the barrel of wine, revolving sunwise on himself the while. 159 787* [273]

"You made this fearful stuff," said his supernatural visitor. "It will make your life dirty, as dirty as this."

Still turning sunwise on himself, with these words he carried X to the doorstep and held him suspended, face downwards over it. Everyone who enters must tread there, so that it is recognized as being the dirtiest part of the house, and X had no doubt about the meaning of the apparition's remark. This experience was so vivid and impressive that X asserted he immediately became a Christian and abandoned his evil ways. At the present time he is one of the few Bella Coola not addicted to home-brew. [797] [273]

A few years later the same being came a second time. X had been ill for a number of months with a sickness caused, so he believed, by a sorcerer. His friends had carried him to bathe in the Hot Springs and the treatment helped his condition considerably, but a little later he suffered a relapse, and was so wretched that he told his mother he would die presently. The same night he was visited by his apparition, but this time he could see the whole body; it was a man with large, powerful frame and a face so white that he could not bear to look at it. The figure was clad in undyed cedar-bark, and X immediately realized that he would recover, though he knew he would not be granted the same power as if the clothing had been of dyed cedar-bark such as is worn by supernatural shamans. The dream-man told X that he had come to him because of the clean condition he had attained by washing in the Hot Springs, followed by continence, and warned him that he must continue this for a year from the time of his immersion or he would die, but that if he obeyed this injunction he would recover. His visitor, who was, of course, a supernatural being, took X under one arm and carried him far to the south, where he washed him in a hot spring at the base of a steep mountain. Then he vanished; X arose and prepared to make his way home, but, lo, he was there already. Rationalizing later, X concluded that his body must have remained in his house, and that it was either his spirit or his life that had been carried away. [755]

As X lay asleep the next night, the same being came to him and

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ling X, the monster carried away the girl. X watched and knew that it must have taken her life; so it transpired, for in the morning she was found dead. The black being did not reappear the following night. 159 787 *

X soon became fat and well, to the surprise of all, and many of the chiefs asked him to give a shaman's dance. He declined, not having received name, instructions, song, or tangible object from the white, supernatural being who had befriended him. He did not even know his benefactor's name. [756]

At intervals during his life-time, X has seen the white supernatural being and, more rarely, the black one in his dreams. The most vivid occasion was when he heard a sound in the attic of his house and climbed up outside to investigate. The ladder broke, precipitating him through an unglazed window into the loft with a broken leg. All night he lay there in agony, and it was not until the next day that his friends were able to lower him in a sling and take him to *Ḷomqo·ts* en route to the hospital at Bella Bella. Their departure was delayed by a storm and as X lay suffering he told his wife that it would have been better if he had broken his neck instead of his leg. That night, while half-asleep, the world again became open to him and he saw the black creature come bounding along the trail towards him; it entered the house, jumped around him, and finally leapt into his body. He called to his wife to burn dried salmon beneath his bed to expel the evil monster; this had the desired effect though he did not see its actual departure. The next night the white apparition came to him, telling him that he had erred seriously in wishing for death, that one should accept what was in store for one and not oppose *Ălqunăm*'s wishes. The being went on to say that it was wicked to prepare too far in advance, and intimated that X's misfortune was the result of having made ready tools for clearing an unnecessary tract of land.[19] [755]

The white being has even appeared during his waking hours. On one occasion he felt it coming when he was in the mission-house, where the missionary was writing a letter for him. Although still invisible, X knew what was approaching and tried to close the door but he was helpless. In came the apparition, at sight of whom X swayed so violently that the missionary asked what was the matter. It went away again in a moment, leaving X shaken and bathed in perspiration. [797]

The experiences just described lie on the border-line between dream and vision. X has frequently seen the apparition

[19]This occurred during the first war, and X remembered having heard that the Germans had laid up stores of munitions. He concluded that this must be evil and that they would fail accordingly. He repeated this statement on many occasions and claims to have foretold the result of the war from his vision.

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159 in his sleep, and hopes that it will grant him specific super-
natural power. He realizes that he could increase the prob-
* 787 ability of obtaining this by ceremonial chastity, and believes
[785] that it would come to him if he went alone to the woods and
lay fasting for some time. Another means would be to con-
[797] centrate his thoughts upon the desired end, but X is too good
a Christian to do so; he is in the unhappy position of knowing
too much of two religions to be able to practise either unre-
servedly. Such experiences are not likely to occur to any but
a man of high-strung, imaginative temperament, to whom
dreams and mental excitements appear especially vivid. X is
intensely religious, so that it is easy for him to interpret every
phenomenon in terms of the supernatural. It will be noted
that most of the dreams just described took place when he was
sick, precisely the time when hallucinations are to be expected.
They were more coherent than those of most Bella Coola,
though the difference is one of degree rather than of kind.

Most dreams are comparatively simple, and the informa-
* 787 tion received in them is intelligible. They come to all, irre-
spective of rank or prerogative. Nevertheless, it is believed
[828] that an inheritable tendency runs in some families; this does
not mean that all members of such a group dream constantly,
[821] but they are more likely to do so than others. Those occurring
at the winter solstice are more carefully observed than at other
[773] times, since it is then that the supernatural beings decide events
for the coming year and a man's spirit may be able to inform
[777] him of what has been decided. Consequently, as soon as
Ałquntäm enters *Nusmät-a*, wise men separate from their wives
[785] and concentrate on dreaming, hoping to learn what is in store
for them. For instance, if a man sees himself seated before a
large pile of goods, he knows that he will have the good fortune
to do this during the coming year; on the other hand, if he
foresees ill luck, it means that he will be unfortunate. Another
[821] time when dreams are especially desired is before the summer
solstice when hunters in particular observe ceremonial chas-
[224] tity. This purification not only increases the likelihood of such
[785]

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754 members, and delegated the task to a man who was known to be skilled in such matters. The latter stole some shreds of the offender's clothing, placed them in a human skull which he fastened to a long rope and threw into a swift stretch of the river. As the rapids tossed the skull to and fro, the person whose clothing was within began to feel uneasy; first he experienced a jumping pain in his head, but as the wild movements continued, he became light-headed and finally delirious. At this juncture, it was decided to pull back the skull, but the rope broke and it was carried away downstream. Nothing could save the man and he died within a few hours. This particular incident occurred among the Bella Bella, but it is agreed that it might have happened in Bella Coola.

[554] The mingled fear of, and aversion to, a person who knows some such secret method of killing, fades into insignificance compared to the extreme loathing of every Bella Coola for sorcerers. Their methods of killing may be similar to the ones just described, but they are evil creatures who practise secretly, working entirely to gratify their own personal desires. Not [683] only is the murder of a sorcerer a virtuous act, but the relatives of one should be put to death without mercy. There is no single factor which has caused so much hatred, bitterness, and suspicion as belief in the activities of sorcerers. Conversion to [797] Christianity has scarcely altered it, and men who have been members of the church for ten to twenty years remain fully convinced that some of their associates have loathsome abilities as sorcerers. In many parts of the world, belief in black magic and witchcraft is one of the last native convictions to pass away, and it seems probable that this will be the case in Bella Coola although, of course, it will become increasingly difficult to obtain information about the subject.

The actual methods used by different sorcerers vary, although most of them require an article which has been in contact with their intended victim. Consequently, they seek pieces of soiled clothing, nail parings, hair clippings, spittle, and other objects of the same type which are usually concealed

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SYMPATHETIC MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE BELLACOOLA

By HARLAN I. SMITH

177 754 789 [797] [658] [464] MANY OF the Bellacoola Indians today believe in sympathetic magic and witchcraft, after over a hundred years of contact with white men. Most of them live within hearing of the bells of the mission church, and the government school. Not a few of the men take logging contracts; some of them build and operate motor boats; many of them join the fishing fleets of the salmon canneries; most of the women work in the canneries; and all deal at the white men's stores.

101 131 [161] The Bellacoola lived at the heads of the long inlets half way up the Pacific Coast of Canada and in the tributary Bella Coola valley. Now, numbering perhaps two hundred and fifty, they, with the exception of a few families, are concentrated on one reservation at the mouth of the Bella Coola river. The Bella Coola valley has been called the Norway of Canada. This was where Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the first white man to cross Canada overland, reached the sea.

105 Aboriginally, the Bellacoola were of the North Pacific Coast culture of America, which is characterized by the extensive use of red cedar and sea products, particularly salmon, the making of graceful, sea-going canoes, each hewn from a single cedar, the erection of large rectangular houses made of cedar planks, with carved house posts and totem poles, lack of pottery, and expertness in carpenter work, carving, and painting. This culture belongs to the barefoot area, but the Bellacoolas wore moccasins to a certain extent. The art of the area was that best known from the paintings and carvings of the totem poles, largely of conventionalized animal forms. The life centred around a very highly developed social organization, an extensive and powerful financial system, and property rights to names, rituals and honors. The Bellacoola language is one of the Salish linguistic stock. They

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pose should remain continent for several nights to increase his generative powers. He then selects a time for beginning the rite and on the second and fourth nights from that date sleeps with his wife, holding intercourse repeatedly and vigorously until he is utterly exhausted. Before dawn on the third and fifth days he must wash in the river or in some quiet stream. Then follow four nights of restraint, a further intercourse, and washing before dawn. The period is next increased to eight nights, then twelve, and finally sixteen, each with a similar contact and bathing. The nights of abstinence are thus forty in all, a lucky number. An unmarried man can obtain power in the same manner with the assistance of a female friend; it is the act itself that is vital, not the union of husband and wife.

At the present time, only two Bella Coola are said to know this particular type of ceremonial chastity, which they conceal carefully, even refusing offers to buy their knowledge. It is potent at any time, but especially if the periods of continence have been so arranged that they terminate at one of the solstices. Then, indeed, can a hunter set off with every prospect of success, knowing that the human taint disliked by animals has been removed, and been replaced by a ceremonial cleanliness pleasing to them. If the time terminates at the winter solstice, the hunter should set out immediately; if it ends in June, he must remain away from women after his final intercourse. In September or October, when ready to leave for the hunt, he must sleep beside his wife for the last four nights; each night he must place his leg between hers, and each morning the two must wash together. The best fortune of all is obtained by a man who observes this forty-night period for four successive years.

Another, and more common, count[34] is to observe continence for four nights, followed by intercourse. Immediately afterwards, the man should eat as much devil's club[35] as pos-

[34]The record of nights is kept by notches cut in a stick or by knots on a cord.

[35]Or false hellebore. This latter plant is thought to be so poisonous that the eating of even a twig an inch in length is fatal; a very small amount, however, all that is ever taken, acts as a powerful emetic.

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of different ancestral families to which the deceased belonged, 533
irrespective of whether or not he had used a name from one. 556*
Being a member of the group, its songs can legally be used in 769
his honour. Elements from different myths are often combined into one composition, corresponding to the different localities and characters which the dead person has visited in travelling back the path of his multiple ancestors to the beginning of time. If one person only is being commemorated, four songs are prepared; if several, two are used for each. Three [801]
for any individual is unlucky. Two types, *skwanät* and *änultınänk*, are in common usage, and the singers, after conversation with the donor of the ceremony, decide which shall be employed. The former describes in some detail features from one or more of the deceased's ancestral myths, mentions the journey which he has taken to visit the individuals and scenes referred to, and calls on him to assume the form of his first forefather. A common theme is to state the origin of his name, and how he loved it so greatly that he left the earth to follow it back through time and space. The following is an abbreviated version of such a song, based on the origin myth of *Käliäkıs*:

"We have been unable to satisfy you here. Go whither *Käliäkıs* came, and become a raven. Go to the east and get abalone-shell; go to the west and get copper. They will satisfy you."

Another *skwanät* of the same type is:

"Your first ancestor circled the world with the aid of an abalone-shell paddle. Do you likewise. That will gratify you as nothing on earth could do."

On the other hand, an *änultınänk* seldom refers to the ancestral history of the deceased, but to his actions during life. It records the number of slaves, canoes, and other valuables given away at potlatches,[26] and alludes to other praiseworthy actions. This type of mourning song, though usually used [622]

[26]An analogous method of making known a man's distribution of wealth is by a written sign over his door (see Plate 24).

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553 without special places, X calls upon some eloquent friend to
direct the distribution of the money. This speaker orates how
* 556 X is carrying out the rites incumbent on his noble and exalted
575 station, how all honour him for so doing, and how all should
[537] strive to follow his example. He then says that to give strength
to the name *Qwaqwasila*, for example, X will give away, say
$100. He further announces who have contributed this
amount: perhaps $50 from X, and the other half from various
relatives of Y. If the sum in question be large it is always
mentioned from whom, and how the donor has obtained the
money. Thus every financial transaction becomes publicly
known, and the more prominently a man figures, the greater
is his prestige. Next, the amount to be used for the second
initiate's name is announced, with the same details, and in
like fashion the sums decided upon for each successive initiate.

Then the total amount is distributed among the guests by
the heralds, under X's supervision. He usually gives every-
one the same amount; men sometimes receive more than
[562] women, but in every case members of the same sex receive an
equal sum. The Bella Coola are not expert mathematicians,
• [803] so that faulty division is the rule. If X, for example, decides
to give $1.50 to each person present, it is a time of considerable
anxiety while the stack of bills is being reduced, to watch
whether or not there will be the exact amount. If X finds out
[426] he is short he will hastily borrow some money, as it would be
an insult to omit anyone. If the amount be too great, he will
[578] use the surplus in making presents to the more influential
guests.

With the exception of this possible surplus, the money distributed is regarded as an outright present; "it has flowed away to make good the boys' names" is the Bella Coola expression. A chief will remember how much he has received, and if he wishes to uphold or to increase his own dignity, he will make a point of returning at least an equivalent to X on some future occasion. But though in effect he may make return, such is never said to be the case. "The money has flowed away."

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*539 whom, moreover, he made a shaman. The boys were able to make some return present to *Nuskiaxak*, whose wife had eyed the skin cloak covetously; this they presented to her. In the course of a few days the boys expressed a desire to go home.

"That is easy," said *Nuskiaxak*. "Your land is not far away, just a *mä·łqi*"[59]

Nuskiaxak showed them their home, and indeed it appeared to them as if it were less than an inch away. When he sent them off he warned them not to open their eyes, otherwise the journey would be a long one, but that if they kept their eyes closed they would reach their destination almost immediately. The boys did not know what kind of canoe they were in, and it was not till later that they found they were with *Nodkynim*, the bringer of the salmon. The wanderers sensed the proximity of their own land, and opened their eyes to find themselves in front of their own village. They had been absent a whole year.

THE BOYS WHO DRIFTED TO SEA
(*Second Version*)

Once upon a time, long, long ago, when a number of lads were bathing on the tide-flats at the head of North Bentinck Arm, one of them, a boy of fifteen or sixteen years, swam out to a huge log which was floating a short distance from the shore. He clambered on to it and, finding it comfortable, called out to his companions to join him. Three younger boys did so. It was early in the afternoon of a warm sunny day and the four soon fell asleep, stretched on their stomachs, and lulled by the gentle movement of the water. Late in the afternoon the other bathers went home, without disturbing the four sleepers. The sun had set before the eldest of the boys awoke to find that the log had drifted so far out to sea that not even the peaks of the mountains were in sight. Dismayed, he roused his sleeping companions, who, realizing their plight, cowered together in fear. It began to grow cold. One of the boys discovered that their craft was hollow, with an entrance at the end from which roots had grown. The four crawled inside, where it was warmer, and spent an uncomfortable night with their craft pitching and tossing on the waves of the open sea.

The next morning when the eldest boy, who was the first to awaken, crawled to the entrance of the log he saw, projecting down from above, the tail of a bird which must have been perching on the very end of the shell. With a quick motion he seized the tail, by which he dragged a

[804]

[59] A *mä·łqi* is a measure of distance equal to the width of the thumb and one finger.

*192

Łululimut: *Kusiut* name of a *Nusdalst* man.
Łulul'nimut: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[824] *łuqal:* Inner bark of cedar.
łutsälemsk, "A Stripping Off": The giving, on demand, by a marriage dancer of his clothing to a herald.
'Łuxwoqsälaix: Supernatural name of Raven.
[828] *łxwaix,* "Frenzied": Term applied to Cannibals and other destructive *łukusiut* when in a state of madness.
łqwum: Occasional exclusion of all but the singers from a house where a shaman is performing.
Łxwumxwumlaix: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
Łxwuntnam: *Kusiut* name, probably of Kwakiutl origin.

M

Ma'cilsa: Female dancer mentioned in a Raven story.
Malasiut: *Kusiut* name of a *Łemqo-ts* man.
[601] *mämä, vocative, mämao:* Mother, term used by children.
Mämaiyu: Celebrated *Xixais* hunter.
[825] *mäm-aiyu:* Butterfly.
mäm-äika: Measuring worm.
[824] *mäm-ıc:* Fly, insect.
ma'mnica: Swamp gooseberry.
[601] *män:* 1—Father, common term in indirect address.
2—Occasional designation for the supreme deity.
mändimut: Stepfather.
[614] *mänmänuks:* Elderly male relatives of same ancestral family.
Mäsong^{w}: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuliax* in the beginning of time.
2—Form of the name *Dudusong^{w}* when used by a male child.
Mäsong^{w}an-a: Form of the name *Dudusong^{w}* when used by a female child.
Matlakälitcak: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
Mälapexwak: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[804] *mä-łqi:* Measure of distance equal to the breadth of one thumb plus one finger.
[825] *mä-tsq':* Toad.
mätsqus: Supernatural giant toad.
mälsta: Salmon eggs.
ma-wofu: Old male sea-lion.
[825] *mä-xotäkka:* Water ouzel.
Maqwänts: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[601] *Masaxilian,* "Long Neck": One of the supernatural names of Great Blue Heron.
maxsai-s: Co-husband in a polyandrous household.
[824] *ma'xwal-i:* One of the parsleys.
mefol: Berry, black in colour.
Masmasältmx: Generic term for the four supernatural Carpenters.
mexwihelp: Spruce.
Miał'stila: One of the first men to settle at *Sälia* in the beginning of time.
Miähawa: Land of salmon.
[224] *Mi'als:* Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
mil-a: Stick carried by hunters when penetrating into the mountains.
[824] *milix^{w}:* Red bearberry.

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from the moon and stated that there were mountains and snow on it. It is commonly stated that the marks on the moon represent a man carrying a bucket. 821 [756]

The stars figure but slightly either in Bella Coola mythology or thought; it is not even known who made them. Two in the Great Bear constellation are called respectively *Tpiksta* and *Xinpinas*, "Little Girls." A lone star in the same part of the sky, named *A'lax*, is said to be following the girls to the forest for illicit intercourse. [773]

Moon, stars, and above all the sun, were, and still are to a certain extent, used by the Bella Coola in computing the passage of time. There are no individuals with the definite prerogative of keeping count of time, but formerly wise old men used to do so.[4] Differences of opinion were the rule rather than the exception, a condition which often led to bitter disputes concerning the proper date for starting the winter ceremonials. Boas (p. 41) has recorded the Bella Coola calendar in greater detail than the present writer has been able to do. The making of calendrical observations is a lost art, and the following list of the months was all that could be learnt. It will be noted that these agree with Boas in regard to the months in the early part of the year, but not in those between the summer and winter solstices; no explanation is offered for this disparity. 805 821 [554] [578] [796] [114] [178] [114]

First moon after the summer solstice: *Sikālamtak*, which has the significance, "The Time for Sockeye Salmon to Ascend the River."

Second moon after the summer solstice: *Sī'islilil*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon."

Third moon after the summer solstice: *Sī'iwai·stl*, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon."

Fourth moon after the summer solstice: *Siqālyam*, "The Time for Gathering Fern Root," or *Sidakaas di Ane'lkwulxaix*,

[4] A Kimsquit informant stated that there were professional calendrical experts in his home, when he was a young lad although members of the *hamat* society (II, chap. i) sometimes attended to this matter. [575] [463]

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805 "The Coming of *Anɛ'likwɛlsaix*."[1]

821 Fifth moon after the summer solstice: *ʌxsiol*, "The Time for *Kusiut* Dances,"[2] or *Siqulxwaix di Siut*, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings."

Sixth moon after the summer solstice: *Siust*, "Sits Down," that is, when the sun reaches the solstice.

First moon after the winter solstice: *Sxwelmgwam*, "What Sweeps Away Food," or *Sxlikl*, "Angry Moon."

Second moon after the winter solstice: *Alcanxdimut*, "Facing in Both Directions," that is, half the month belongs to winter and half to summer, or *Łamolis di Nuxăxkămy*, "The Potlatch of the *Nuxăxkămy*" (I, p. 289).

Third moon after the winter solstice: *Siwiyam*, "When Herrings Spawn." These fish are said to have arrived on the same day of this moon as the winter solstice in the December one.

[825]

Fourth moon after the winter solstice: *Siłuly*, "Time for Making Salmon Weirs."

Fifth moon after the winter solstice: *Sinomwak*, "Time for Making Hand-Nets for Olachen."

Sixth moon after the winter solstice: *Sisămł*, "Time for Eating Spring Salmon." It is in this month that the summer solstice occurs.

The chief difficulty experienced by the Bella Coola in computing time rests on the fact that each month is judged by the moon, whereas the main periods of the year depend upon the solstices. One old man, from whom much of this information was obtained, stated that trouble always came at the winter solstice when the month was divided into two sections. The above list is obviously incomplete and incoherent, but it was the best available.

Supernatural Beings

128 771 In any primitive community the social, religious, political, and economic aspects of life are so interwoven that they

[1] See vol. II, p. 1 for a description of this mythical being.
[2] See vol. II, chap. i, for a description of these dances.

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[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 snatches from old songs. The Bella Bella are said to use the
*796 same compositions from year to year, and recently some of
[533] these, both tunes and foreign words, have been adopted by
[177] the Bella Coola. Long ago the marshals would have prohibited this custom even if the user had legitimately obtained the foreign prerogative by marriage.

As the time draws near for *Noākgnim* to start his voyage,
[805] X anxiously consults any of the elder *kukusiut* who may be calendrical experts as to the exact date. The system of reckoning time is not sufficiently exact to avoid errors, but the day ultimately arrives on which, after much discussion, it is agreed that *Noākgnim* is leaving. Word is passed around to the singers, who sleep that night in X's house, ready for their duties on the morrow.

Early in the morning X stands up, gazes fixedly towards the west, and calls out:

[987] "Once more I see what I saw last year," or some other more or less specific claim to a vision.

It is believed that *Noākgnim* must round four points before
[773] reaching Bella Coola; in fact, his journey beneath the sea is similar to that of a canoe pushing up one of the long fiords.

Some of the marshals are always in readiness and one of
*[203] them tells a herald to go to every house, repeating what X has said. This serves both to impress the uninitiated, and to notify the *kukusiut* of what is about to take place. The mes-
*575 senger does so, and when all have gathered, the singers, seated
*796 behind the fire, begin to beat out one of the songs composed
533 during the summer months. The theme is of X's phenomenal eye-sight, due to his patron having sent to him the super-
[776] natural being, *Nuālsmtnam*, at the moment of his departure. This being does not seem to possess corporeal form, but is rather a sight-producing medium. In the song he is often likened to a swift-flying bird; when the uninitiated hear of this they are suitably impressed with the remarkable ability of X at having such a creature sent to him. X, who has donned a
[292] head-dress consisting of the white tails of two eagles, dances

salmon are properly looked after, in fact, he is practically the supernatural archetype of the River Guardian. *Imimáitsais*, "The Mourer," is a supernatural child who stays with the Resident, and whose sole function appears to be the mooring of *Nuákynum*'s craft. *Dukdukinmow* is sent by *Smaiso-a*, who in this connection appears to have human intelligence, to greet *Nuákynum*, and with him come *Smaiso-a*'s son, *Ástilmétsum*,* to assist *Nuákynum* in poling his craft up the river. All these beings are patrons for different *kukuciat*. The Resident is also known as *Amáilli*.

The *kukuciat* assemble in X's house as on the previous occasions; according to some informants two songs are used on this day, others say only one. The people proceed in the usual manner to the lowest house, and make their way upstream. When about half through the village, however, X shrieks out that *Nemáilum* has brought a call to him. The woman and the heralds cry out loudly, X hastily returns to his own house, from which the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the *kuciat* whistles sound from within. *Nemáilum* is one of the supernatural beings who has travelled with *Nuákynum* for the sole purpose of bringing a call to X. If the calendrical experts have been successful in their reckonings, the November moon will first be visible on the night of this day. Several of the older men admitted that errors were common, and that sometimes four days more had to elapse, in which it was said that *Nuákynum* was poling up the river. As he passes, his dancers in the different villages receive their calls on successive nights. It is assumed that he can go by several adjacent settlements on the same night, but the *kuciat* season is two or three days shorter in *Sisaa* and the upper villages than in *Kemp-a*. Exact information on this point was unavailable. As already described, *Nuákynum* travels to *Smaiso-a*, whence he leaps to *Nuapalmaiste* and places his pole within the house. All the supernatural beings crowd in after him to wait for *Ásquatsin*, but as soon as the latter enters, *Nuákynum* seizes his

*Some informants state that there are four of these beings.

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[The Cannibal Dance]

society have recovered from the shock of X's disappearance. Thereafter the *kwiat* dances continue night after night, but the Cannibal remains hidden. Sometimes he is carried to a dance, concealed within a drum; more often he remains within the back-room of his own house or hides in some lonely part of the mountains. Throughout this period he eats little or nothing, and formerly used to devour a brew of roots that produced emaciation. The length of concealment depends entirely on X. If he desires to impress the uninitiated with the dangers which he has survived, he remains hidden for a long time; consequently, the period varies from a week to two months or even more. On every occasion that a marshal addresses the *kakaiat* he warns them to watch for X's return, and garbled accounts of this reach the uninitiated.

When X's relatives and the marshals have decided that the Cannibal has been long enough absent, they make arrangements for him to reappear. The time selected is always the night of a *nakaum*, and after the departure of the uninitiated on the preceding evening the marshals discuss arrangements with the *kakaiat* and elliot tasks to various individuals. Several *kakaiat* shave X's head, except a small patch above the forehead, to support the story which he will tell of the high winds prevailing in the land above, which blew the hair from his head.*

After the dismissal of the uninitiated on the following night of *nakaum*, the *kakaiat* make their final arrangements. When they judge from the passage of the stars or the state of the tide that dawn is at hand, several members of the society climb to the roof of the previously selected house. First they sound a whistle, then thump on the roof with their feet, and call out:

Xwe, xwe, xwe: this is a cry used by Cannibals returned from above which is supposed to indicate a longing for meat.

The *kakaiat* sleeping within, knowing that their house has been selected, are ready as soon as they are awakened. The

*One old man mentioned that in his youth this was done with a decorated piece of wood; he was unable to state what was used in earlier times.

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out that he wants someone to tie up his neck, and, after the usual delay, an uninitiated lad is brought forward for the purpose. The carpenters help him to manipulate the rope, and in reality do the actual tying although they disguise the fact. Then four or five *kukuriat* seize either end and begin to tug; X cries out as if in pain, the whistles sound, and the women drone. It is most impressive. Finally the head is pulled from the body and falls to the floor, while the apparently headless and lifeless body of X sinks down in the direction taken by the head. Blood and raw flesh are in evidence and the weeping of the women readily convinces non-members that they have watched the decapitation of the dancer. Sometimes the uninitiated themselves are allowed to pull the rope.

The ritual throughout the night is identical with that already described for the Stomach-Cutting dance. The spies guard the doors, refusing egress to all, the mourning women sing their songs, the puppets ascend to the land above and are inserted into X on their return. At intervals groups of the uninitiated are told to come forward; they circle the fire sunwise and see that X's head is lying apart from his body, with the blood and flesh and the severed neck visible. Towards dawn[*] hidden strings are fastened to the head and it is drawn slightly towards the body. One of the marshals calls out:

"It moves! It moves! Do you see it?" and a herald answers:

"We see it move."

The slow movement is continued until the uninitiated, who make periodic inspections, are able to say that it has almost rejoined the trunk. As the first glimmer of light appears in the east, one of the carpenters bends over X and takes the opportunity, while he conceals the dancer's body with his own, to hide the false head beneath his blanket; at the same time X stretches his own head up from under his blanket. The subterfuge is not evident to the uninitiated.

[*] The passage of time or night is judged in villages on the coast by the height of the tide, or the movements of stars; the latter is also practised in the inland settlements. If the stars are hidden, an estimate is made by the number of the high hours (through three months).

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[The Dance of Winwina]

424 Another *kwiat* derived the prerogative of having *Wiwuina*
719 as patron from a myth previously cited (II, p. 43). After
776 Raven had seen *Nuákynow* and obtained him for *Ellémuá-*
lasaix, he flew down the fiord once more, observed *Wiwuina*,
and made him patron for *Omqumkilda*.

575 The ritual of the dance of *Wiwuina* does not vary, irre-
796 spective of its origin; accordingly one account will suffice and
the performer can be referred to as X.

[778] This dance occurs also at Kimsquit where the repository
[424] is actually in the ocean a few yards from shore.

[184] *Wiwuina* is supposed to return to Bella Coola when the January moon is full;* accordingly X consults the marshals and makes his preparations slightly before that date. Four days before the full moon, the uninitiated are excluded from the house and a raised enclosure is built between the fire and the back-room. This rite differs from most *kwiat* dances in that the call does not come at this time. Irrespective of whether or not the *kukwiat* happen to be present on the evening of this day, X mounts to the enclosure and sits there, looking westward for the return of *Wiwuina*. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. X
[292] wears a collar of dyed cedar-bark and a head-dress of eagle tail feathers, but his face is not blackened.

For three nights and three days X remains in the enclosure, gazing to the west, and meanwhile no uninitiated dare even to pass outside of his house. As the fourth night is falling, messengers summon the *kukwiat* who enter and sit in silence as if waiting for something; the heralds inform non-members that X's vigil will soon be over. After an interval they are likewise called in, and eagerly take their places near the door, where they receive a share of the food being served. Suddenly X jumps down from the enclosure and cries out loudly:

"The supernatural young man has left his child with strangers while he has been on a journey. Now he is returning,

[205] *Owing to faulty astronomical observations the exact date is seldom found.

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*533 newly composed whenever required, though in recent years
*[575] old ones have occasionally been re-used owing to lack of ability
on the part of the singers. The following songs have been
*[796] arranged in the same order as the descriptions of the *kusiut* dances at which they were employed.

Song *Used for Anuipunm-aix, a Kimsqult Man(a)*

A *Sewuklamsiyālwuals* Everything(*b*)	*wastlqwātsaiyālwas* shook slightly(*c*)	*ālāsqmstkwliwadjudals* when he came(*d*)

ālawālqwqlqwals
to the first point.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Ālawālqālālwals* Have made up their minds	*ālālmnsqālwasiyaiwals* the calendrical experts(*e*);
ālawqlwālwālwālwal they have curtailed	*ānuilyālālusqwals* through their greed(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Nawqlwālqlwaiyālqo* Community rabble	*yao dīnuqalaānhsidai* water(*g*)	*yao diamomālāhas* the dishes

dīnuqlīyamnqalai
which elevate him(*h*).

(a) Recorded on wax VII D 46a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been used about 1870.
(b) This is a reference to *Sonq*[w].
(c) This is a grandiloquent expression, such as are common in *kusiut* songs.
(d) Referring to *Nekymm*, the dancer's patron.
(e) That is: The calendrical experts have come to an agreement.
(f) That is: They have abbreviated the period of waiting owing to their greed. This song was used by the *kukusiut* at one of their gatherings during *Nekymm*'s approach. As Kimsquit no uninitiated were present on such occasions so it was possible to indulge in comments without betraying the secrets of the society. The significance here is that the experts were so greedy to share in the food that they agreed to say that *Nekymm* had arrived before his proper time.
(g) That is: Water constantly re-fills. By *water* is meant food and mountain goat grease.
(h) That is: The dish of which the contents, when distributed, increase his status.

*[805]

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Alalkmktmm: Supernatural being sent by *Smaien·a* to meet *Noakymm.*

alaiqo·xi, "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will certainly give a potlatch to start him on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremoniously at every feast. [556]

Ālhlxān·i: Abalone-shell covered stick used by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

Alhlxān·istliax: One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·is* in the beginning of time.

aldinnkī: Word of uncertain meaning often appended to *Inxtāmem* as complete term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance. [575]

aliknlxmm, "A Dragging Across" (as one does with a heavy log): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being repurchased. [425] [553]

aljkwis: Toasted food of any kind. [262]

Ālilirwumax: Ancestral name of a *Stax* man.

alilq': Perforated, *adjective.* [252]

alilmusnām: Those who perform to assist marriage dancers.

Ālimalwalaix: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Al·imlxaix: One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·is* in the beginning of time. [585]

alipāstits, "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and hers prior to entering her house. [431]

alipoakm: Gifts given in secret, soon after betrothal, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [584]

alipotlam: Marshal.

Ālipmāw·i: Immoral supernatural woman; synonym for *Sximusimdt.*

Alinmstusaix: One of the men who came to earth at Mount *Tenisi* in the beginning of time.

Ālilikul: Totem-pole erected by the first settlers at *Stax* in the beginning of time.

alkkul: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]

ally: Susak song in fast time. [533]

alul: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [535]

Ālul·gmāw·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Sātlis* in the beginning of time.

almpus: Kusiut dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

alnalla: Synonym for *Inumdjut;* one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]

alnalla: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

alq: Come, *imperative singular.*

Ālmxa: 1—One of *Smaeax's* sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at *Nuxalit* in the beginning of time.

ālul·lāis: Central seat behind the fire.

ālldjalos: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-nets. [412]

Ālkhamlakm: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola.

ālkhamtakm: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun. [805]

Ālmx·lgumm, "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf. [825]

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uxzhit, "The Time for *Kusiut* Rites": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]
uyuyuyut: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Alqalxl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle on the lower Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Sisook* name of a Kimsquit man.
uhtlulak: One of the supernatural carpenters.
ulsamamimum: The repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]
uxaiak': Synonym for *xpuxdjut*, a present for which a return is not expected. [431]
uxusmxdjut: Hereditary tendency.
uxem: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man. [827]
uxiax: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *Itakulk* is problematical.
uxlqolam: One of the first men to settle at *Xemqo-ts* in the beginning of time. [825]
uxliwatem'xiamut-al-at': The entrusting of a woman to a husband's care. This phrase is used by a wife's relatives when about to rebuy her as expressing their somewhat boastful sentiments concerning the relations entered into at marriage. [583]
uyu-ahlewadjutlaix: Sterile supernatural visitation. [787]
uxkaxa: 1—To strengthen, or to shore up. [556]
2—Goods provided by a wife to strengthen her husband's position.
uxlathmkq, "Different from All Others": Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
uxlawan-i: Wife of North Wind, a supernatural being resident in a side valley of the upper Bella Coola.
uxlokwaladjut: Supernatural aid granted to the unfortunate.
uxlqotlamqwandjinas: Son of Raven and one of the first settlers at *Tal-is* in the beginning of time.
uxwukwulaix, "The Track of the Sun": *A'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
uxwuthamlaix: Supernatural name of *uxiuk*.
uxqustam, "Commander": 1—Said to be the word from which *Alqustam* is derived.
2—One of the names of the supreme god.
uxlikmoxaix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smaaux* in the beginning of time.
uxuqhatadjut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as thief.
uxwl-a: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man.
uxwimaxix: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
ux-wuxaix: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Xemqo-ts* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
uxyhlqutaix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smaaux* in the beginning of time.
uxyokam, "The Walker": Supernatural being resident in a glacier near the overland trail between *Snuleli* and *Tal-is*.

K

kai: 1—Snow. [821]
2—Unidentified berry. [824]
Kaiwalitx: Name obtained from a supernatural being by a Bella Bella man.
Kakamit: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
kaka: Crow. [825]
Kakaka: Locality in the Bella Coola valley mentioned in an ancient story.

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ł̓ałiaxsa: One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
ł̓ałaml: Unidentified town on the outer coast mentioned in a *Sisux* story of the beginning of time.
ł̓ałłaliamdimut: Name acquired by one of the first settlers at *Snuiłli* in the beginning of time.
ł̓ałoxmēx·a: *Smaxan*'s son in the beginning of time.
łałar·i: Small portable canoe.
łałstam: Desertion of a spouse. [586]
ł̓axsmai: 1—"The Copper One."
2—"Snow," in the language of Deer.
łahmtmakywas: Imitation potlatch carried out by *nuxałkamy*.
ł̓aknus: Bella Bella Cannibal living in the beginning of time.
ł̓ilixwnimut, "The Scatterer of Eagle Down": Name created by *Smaxan* for his son in the beginning of time.
łima: To loot.
ł̓ixłixhka: Bella Bella supernatural being who brings food.
łixwnimut: Person of placid disposition.
łkdła: Bull-roarer.
łłt: To excise rot; the word for potlatch, *łm*, is supposedly derived from this. [556]
łm: Potlatch.
łmkmłł: The binding down of a Cannibal with rope.
łmołim: Unidentified autumn moon, probably the fourth after the summer solstice. [821]
łmołis di Nuxałkamy, "The Potlatch of the *nuxałkamy*": Second moon after winter solstice. [805]
łhamłła, "First of All": One of the first men to settle at *Nułłi* in the beginning of time.
łłałwadjut: Shaman's ritual error, such as the curing of one who is ceremonially unclean. [756]
łłumłłxta: Miniature totem-pole such as is used in mourning ceremony.
łmanłmm: Partnership of a poor man with a chief about to give a potlatch, so that the former may repay debts, for which his poverty required no compensation, and thus start himself on the path towards greatness. [556]
łmaxsimtim: The turning over of a mountain.
łn'ya: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
łpmłłxta: Stick decorated with copper bangles used in mourning rites by one of the first settlers at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time. [765]
łpła: The painting of the face as a sign of mourning. [302]
'łhamdimut: Cannibal *kusiut* name used by the first settlers at *Sułłu* in the beginning of time.
łłqwam: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola apple Scratcher.
łułłał: Aversion.
łułmała: 1—*Kusiut* name of a *Tsimsil* man.
2—Shamanistic power.
łułłhmut: Visitation from the life of a recently dead friend, notification of which is conveyed by a start or other feeling of discomfort. [775] [787]
łułqwar·i: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. The first to use this designation was a relative of the earliest settlers in the beginning of time.
łułłmałłmm, "The Giver of Shamanistic Power": One of the names of *Tłmsp-łłłar·a*, and hence a designation given to shamans.

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Nuxutcqynam: Woman endowed supernaturally by *Ane'liłwolsaix* and serving as patron (?) to a *kusiut* dancer.

[787] *nuxulisiu:* Omen of death.

Nuxutmmlxmem, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Tłitsplitsa-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nuxuxmlaix: 1—Man dwelling in *Łemaqua*'s house.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.

nuxupim: The cry of *hi, hi,* uttered by Cannibals.

Nuxuxmnap: Kusiut name assumed by a *Stuax* woman in the beginning of time.

[424] *nuxuyaxum: Kusiut* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and *qałanm* is obscure.

Na'axuałhmnaix, "The Widener": One of Raven's names as chief.

[585] *nuhazikl-em:* Synonym for *hazatnm:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

Nuphałhikłn, "Heedlessly Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[302] *nuhar-exts:* The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.

nuqałałm-i: Medicine brewed in a skull.

Nuqtymsi, "Place of Much *Ławmsi*": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nuqrqtmis: Nuxmal name of a Kimsquit man.

Nuqilaqałhx-a: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[805] *nuqmxmx-tl ne xmy"als:* One year.

[828] *nuqum:* Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.

nuqpik, "Empty House": House in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place.

nuqsłjut: The throwing of grease on a fire to heat, both literally and figuratively, a rival.

[821] *Nuqwly":* 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.

[827] *nuqsłitsa:* Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

nuqwaxsi: Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *kusiutem* and other important *kusiut* rites.

[777] *nuq"xuxsłkłm:* Unexpected stroke of good fortune.

Nuqwhmlaix: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.

[772] *Nuqwdlax:* Site of an ancient town on Schooner Pass.

Nuqwłkłs: The upper heaven.

nuqxma: Woman with thick pubic hair.

Nuqwxałqłsta-i: A *Stuax* repository.

Nuxłiqwxłmsta, "Where *Łiqwxłw* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[824] *nuxłmqwa-nap:* Cottonwood buds.

Nuxtqwsi'ata, "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Stuaxa* in the beginning of time.

nuxłłmp: Canoe-maker.

Nuxłłam: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Nuqłalit.*

[535] [869] *nuxłxłmp:* Children's dance which serves as training for *kusiut* rites and to provide entertainment.

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Saiuf: Thunder, anthropomorphized. 192*
Saignas: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. [821]
sałaini: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property. [173]
se-ikalamum: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kusiut* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food. [431]
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal.
se-ipste: Cannibalistic incubus. [257]
se-ipstmum: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day. [585]
sełekłdimut: Profession of *kusiut* executioner. [431]
sełelwałs: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him. [463]
semł: Sockeye salmon. [825]
Senałpmałkłs Alpuntum: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Senwaxmałais: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land above.
Senwłhum or *Senwłhmdimut:* One of the names of Mount *Nasłałit* as chief.
Senwimaxs, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Sisaa* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sełx; vocative, *sełił*; vocative plural, *sełxwa-ła:* Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
se-ła: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Sełła: Village at point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Sełłyuxts: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Se-łma: Death, anthropomorphized. [761]
sełułs: Whatcoms, *archais.*
Se-ułł': 1—Kimsquit River. [412]
2—Village near the mouth of the river.
Se-ułsamp: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley. [101]
sełwałs: Raft.
Se-łwanta-i: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
sexm: Pillow. [573]
sexmłjłut, "Pillowcase": *Kusiut* ceremonial at which no call is present.
sexł, vocative, *sexłaxs:* Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family. [601]
Sexłaxs: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story.
sła-kam: Bracken. [824]
sławaxs: Tide flats. [823]
słełjułs: Heart.
Słełałxaxw: That part of *Sway*" which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Słełłułł: Village on Rivers Inlet.
Słełłułła-i: Part of a peculiar repository.
sexwałłłłmut, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steelhead salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
sa'xtum, "Resting Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is [805]
connected with this.
sełwałałxw: Leader of musicians. [821]

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sa·qwa·t: String figure.
Saskwanuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sdjidji'is:* Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sekakmän·a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sekiläxt:* Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
[822] *sekima siälamkek:* River net for salmon.
Setsalänl: Echo.
Sexsexkälaix: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Sexsexqualxlaos'aix, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Ṫlitcaplilän·a's* names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Siälxelätx:* Ancestral name created on earth by a *Qomqo·ts* man.
[825] *Siaqam,* "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[805] *sidäxsu:* One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
Sidakaos di Ano°likwolsaix, "The Coming of *Ano°likwolsaix*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
siexla: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Si'islalitl,* "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Si'iswai·stl, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *si'itlliukek:* Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of marriage is broached.
[431] *si'iqikum,* "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Sisämt,* "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Sisämt,* "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Sisälamtak, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] *siki,* "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *sisaok* rites.
Sikiliktmm: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Siquly,* "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikwalxwlekx: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikwäldjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Siknm: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
[226] *Siliax:* Celebrated composer.
silmaq: Salmon-weir.
[827] *sinaqqma'ax: Sisaok* head-dress.
sinänitx: Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
[761] *si·nipodjexstmax:* Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Simpäcux: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[805] *Sinawuak,* "Time for the Use of Olachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[726] *Sinelkwätl,* "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinawäklätm: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

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Sinuxutl: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Sinuximatl: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Stunx* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sio'msta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative of imitating coitus. [424]

siṗalṗalostuts: Song sung by a *kusiotem* dancer on recovery from apparent death. [861]

siṗkim: Regular beatings given to a male child.

Siqālyam, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

Siqalusnam: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Siqulxmaix di Siut, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

siqwaldjut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]

siqwsk: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage. [425]

sisasts: Departure to a new locality.

sisi, vocative, sisal: Father's brother or mother's brother. [601]

sisut: Paddle.

sisutsta: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

Sillumsta: One of the names of the supreme god.

Sitliuq': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [778]

siut, vocative, siaot: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being, "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qomo-ts*, the large *sisook* whistle.
4—Killer whale. [825]
5—Song.
6—*Kusiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Siutan-i: Part of a peculiar repository.

Siutumkila: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

siutnâlos: Wordless chorus. [533]

Siwal-os, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Siwid: Celebrated *Djeldāmix* chief living in the last century.

sinlikum: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a despondent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]

Siyman-a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

siszan-imutsta: Place where healing power is petrified.

Sisiṗutmam: Synonym for *Mislakila*, the supernatural being connected with *sisook* rites.

siwsimag: *Kusiut* dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, *tsāmusix*, for the user's protégé on earth.

siwuṗkutmak: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage. [584]

siwuti: Unmarried mother. [848]

siyutla: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *siutla* may be connected with this.

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[825] *Sulukst:* Mountain on west side of the Kimsquit River.
sustu-ul'tskuu-kuu: One of the river sculpins.
susuhmis: To gather cedar-bark.
Sximâna: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning
Sustil: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Sulkolo, "Winter Trail": Locality, perhaps village, on the upper Kimsquit River.
[101] *Sutskmg:* Generic name of the inhabitants of the Dean valley.
Suxwalk: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
Swatku: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Swalg: Mountain at Kimsquit which was in human form in the beginning of time.
swaltxumdimut: Meeting of the senior supernatural beings to discuss ceremonial matters at the winter solstice.
swalsta: Provender provided by the supreme god for the first settlers in the beginning of time.
swa'xwa: Mud.
swaläx: Person or object which is taboo.
Sxaiaxwax: Evil supernatural being.
Sxaiskwa, "Maker of Good Weather": Supernatural name of dog salmon.
sxäkmem pdi mänx: Term of opprobrium applied to a child whose father drove away his mother.
sxäksia: Sorcerer's box.
Sxa-hutsmäx-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
sxän: Female lover, especially a paramour.
sxänm: Male lover.
Sxaje-ti: One of the first women to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
sxem: The bursting forth of light.
[785] *sxetsta:* Ceremonial chastity.
[831] *sxetstadjut:* The state of practising ceremonial chastity.
sxetstanai: Power engendered by ceremonial chastity.
sxek: 1—Sorcerer.
2—*Kasiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Sxekädjuttä-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
sxim: Cedar-bark cord.
Sximäna: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Sximsximuk: Immoral supernatural woman.
sx'ä': Afterbirth.
Sxiyuttä-a: Chief of the dogs in the beginning of time.
[838] *Sxnts:* 1—Hermaphrodite, a supernatural being.
[761] 2—Man who performs woman's work.
sxnemänets kit': Life, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
[821] *Sxä'kat,* South Wind: A supernatural being.
Sxäkä, "Angry Moon": First moon after the winter solstice.
[805] *sxlo-ul':* Poisonous supernatural creature that travels with the War-Party of the Tides.
sxlanuk: "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts. The word has two meanings:
[532] 1—Carved human figure set up by a shaman near the vessel of grease which is thrown on a fire.
2—Nickname bestowed on a man.

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Syqymastax: Supernatural children guarded by the hermaphrodite in the land above.
Sysut: Name taken by a *Stuax* man in the beginning of time.
sxtsugmalt: Place in stream or river where a salmon has just jumped.
sxwanti-a: Name created upon earth. [825]
sxwapanit: Deer.
sxwat: Water-tight receptacle made from the internal organs of a mountain goat. [415]
Sxwokmymem, "What Sweeps Away the Food": First moon after the winter solstice. [805]
syuomaqs, "Tears": Preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch. [431]
sxw"lāmkis, "Short-lived": Rhetorical term used with reference to the death of a young chief. [195]
syyawi: An adolescent girl, not yet subject to the full taboos of womanhood.

T

tahāsis: Cave.
lai: 1—Son, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for lada unrelated to the speaker. [601]
2—Masculine suffix.
Taiahwala: 1—One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snaile-ā* in the beginning of time.
taiamtmak: Desertion of husband by his wife. [586]
lain: Dorsal fin of a fish. [825]
taitsing: Heavy kind of copper. [628]
taitsman: Tournament between rival villages. [101]
Tāl-ia: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Generic name applied to all villages on South Bentinck Arm.
Talahāw-a: Nuxqual name embodied in a *Snaleli* origin myth.
Tamtmalp-pas, "The Breather": One of *Thiexplāw-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Tamokaa: Stuax man mentioned in an ancient story.
tapamamum: The issuing abroad of invitations to a memorial potlatch.
lāqāx: Forest consisting of dense underbrush between big trees. [824]
lāqul: Blood-stained cedar-bark pad.
ta-a: 1—Bird arrow.
2—Weapon, invisible to mortals, with which a wolf kills its prey.
Tāt, mostly, Tātas: 1—Designation of supreme god used in prayer. [601]
2—Father, term used by child. [824]
lakāmdp: Water-lily.
Ta-ga-at: Land inhabited by the Kwakiutl.
Tāskwam: Leading chief of *Alpāsta* and reputed founder of the village.
Taypkwam: Bella Coola chief living in the last century.
takas: Type of sea-going canoe with bow and stern identical.
tambal-i: 1—White-fronted goose. [825]
2—Type of sea-going canoe named from the bird. [601]
lamat: Husband (*di tamamtlai:* My husband).
tamow': River.
Tamomtlā: Chief who came to Cape Mudge in the beginning of time and later moved to Bella Coola.

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Smayt'sn, that is considered a human being. It is said that his children make the canoe go up Bella Coola River with the rising tide, A'xxmk'ln. The canoe travels the distance from the mouth of the river to the mountain Smayt'sn in a single tide. The canoe "Ni'ak'xxm" stays for four months. Then the canoe "Kunkunu'qstuLs" returns from the country of the Salmon, while "Ni'ak'xxm" leaves again. It is said that all the gods of the House of Myths come to the villages of the Bella Coola in the canoe "Ni'ak'xxm." 773 [776]

The arrival and the departure of these canoes are strictly regulated according to the calendar of the Bella Coola, which for this reason should be explained in connection with their beliefs. The Bella Coola divide the year into two parts, which are separated by the winter and summer solstices. The solstices are periods of indefinite length, between which five months are counted. Each solstice is reckoned, therefore, as approximately six weeks. The names of the months are as follows:— 773 805 821

[illegible] (winter solstice)	[illegible] (summer solstice)
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Sna'xm	[illegible]
[illegible]	Tsi'sick'ln [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

The canoe "Ni'ak'xxm" arrives, and "Kunkunu'qstuLs" leaves, in the month Sisnx'lt'hcmxxm. The canoe "Ni'ak'xxm" leaves, and "Kunkunu'qstuLs" returns, in the month Sxnle'mx'xxm.

At the moment when the canoe "Ni'ak'xxm" arrives, a deity called Aoxtlkun'a'x (Plate XII, Figs. 1 and 2), who is believed to live in a cave, opens the door of her abode. There is one deity of this name to each village. Her cave is called Nankcoit'nxa. It is said that one Aoxtlkun'a'x lives on the mountain tops. Her house is described as a large hollow boulder suspended from the top of the mountain by means of a rope. Each Aoxtlkun'a'x has an older sister who is called Nanu'xxmm. When the canoe "Ni'ak'xxm" appears, and she opens her door, she steps outside and stands in front of her house, dancing, with trembling hands. When a person sees her, he faints. His soul is taken into her house, and is initiated into the secrets of the ka'xint. 773 776 [575]

A particular Nankcoit'nxa is believed to be at the foot of the creek Aoi'ck', on the northern side of North Bentinck Arm, near the mouth of Bella Coola River. A woman called Nanxmxnlt'xxm, lives there. She is described as emaciated, of black skin, and as wearing a black blanket. A certain chief who lived long ago was the first to see her. He was initiated by her, and after his return he performed a dance, and told what he had seen. Then he died.

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772 *song'*. If the Bella Coola were strictly logical, one should expect them to conceive the upper surface of *song'* as being convex. Instead, it is considered a flat surface, very similar to the earth, and no explanation is given of what fills in the spaces between the dome, concave as viewed from this world, and the upper plane which could rest only on the peak of the dome. But logical accuracy is not a Bella Coola characteristic. This flat land is called *dāsonx'dā* or *masong' mamth-Hoqosil*. It is illumined by a second sun, shining on it as the sun does on the earth. Far in the east of this upper region are extensive tide-flats. This land above is the home of many supernatural beings, who will be described in due course. The relative position of the sun to this upper world is ill-defined. According to some accounts, it travels by clearly marked trails on the surface, and a transparent dome is postulated to explain how its light reaches this earth. Others state that it moves like a bird or flying canoe through the space between the world and the dome-sky above. On many of these points there is a striking difference of opinion, which the Bella Coola explain by saying that their information is derived from ancient stories, which are personal possessions, and that no one knows the beliefs of his fellows. A co-ordinated theology, as Boas points out, has not evolved among the Bella Coola.

[811] [821] [538] [424]

772 773 [776] The sky, as it may be called if the reader will bear in mind that it is the underside of a flat land, was not always in its present condition. The Bella Coola say that long ago the supreme god instructed his Carpenters (I, p. 39) to make a sky. They started from the eastern extremity of the earth, but after a considerable part of the dome had been erected, it fell with a thunderous crash, because no supporting posts had been set up. The part that escaped this calamity is called *Salwalosam*. Undiscouraged, the Carpenters continued their work with the assistance of posts and so built the sky as it is seen today. Then the supports were taken away.

772 821 As already stated, a sun shines on the land above. As that seen by mortals is attached to the land above, so is this upper

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178 versions of the myth given (vol. I, pp. 313-19) is a case in point.
773 The first was told as a *smaiasta* by a woman who claimed to be a descendant of the people figuring in it; the second, as a story, *sumsma*, by a man. In view of the reliability of both informants, it seems highly probable that this is a story, partly converted to a myth. In other examples there are incidents resembling the supernatural tales given in vol. I, chap. IX, and here too it appears probable that *sumsma* have been assimilated into *smaiasta*. It is complimentary to the truthfulness
[577] of the Bella Coola, and to the respect they show for intangible
[424] property, that none of the myths recorded were *smaiasta* owned by others. Repeatedly an informant would say that he knew one, but would not tell it since it belonged to some other family.

128 After collecting a few myths, in each of which it was stated
773 that the first settlers at village X were A, B, and C, with their sisters, P and Q, it seemed as if it would have been possible, before the culture of the Bella Coola had fallen into its present decay, to make a census of those whom they believe to have been first settlers of this earth, and that such a list would have had few contradictions. This was soon found to be false. Two myths may give different people as the first occupants of a certain village, nor does such contradiction trouble the Bella Coola. Each man, convinced of the authenticity of his own family account, is quite willing to believe that the one belonging
[811] to someone else is equally correct. This characteristic lack of logical consistency has already been mentioned in other connections. Boas (p. 61) likewise gives an instance of uncertainty as to the first occupants of a village, though, on the whole, he found Bella Coola mythology to be more codified than the present writer has done. In view of their lack of systematization in other matters, it would have been surprising if they had evolved a census of their first ancestors, accepted by all as accurate.

Another matter to be considered at this point is the simi-
[178] larity of detail in many myths. In part this can be explained

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539 [551] potlatches,* at which he validated names for his children. One of these was *Ts-qinum*, the designation he had applied to his salmon-weir; it has been used by his descendants as a child's name ever since. As time went on, when his children grew into manhood, he obtained for them seats in the house and also procured wives for them. His eldest son, whose mother was *Ximsiu*, had the names *Ikhowste-a*, the meaning of which is unknown, and *Ahcowste-ain*, "The Most Important of All Chiefs' Sons." *Smanu* had arranged marriages for this young man with four women, but *Ikhowste-a* was so ugly that only one of his wives, as ugly as himself, would have anything to do with him. His only real friend was a younger brother, *Ahkua*, aged about twelve years, who was his constant companion.

One day *Ikhowste-a* became so embittered and disgusted at his own ugliness that he went away, determined never to return, and not caring whither he went. As provisions he carried only a goat bladder filled with goat marrow. This prevents hunger and is said never to become exhausted, no matter how long the hunter may be absent. *Ahkua* saw his elder brother depart, and decided to accompany him. *Ikhowste-a* allowed him to come with him for about ten miles, up the valley of the Kimsquit River, where he shot some mergansers which he asked *Ahkua* to take back as a present to his parents. The younger boy was unwilling, nor could he be dissuaded from following, even when *Ikhowste-a* told him he was going off to die.

So the two camped for the night, and next morning continued their journey up the valley of the Kimsquit River, a region then unknown. *Ikhowste-a* was very sad at the thought of the hardships which his younger brother would have to endure, but he could see no way in which to persuade him to return. On and on they passed, camping at night, their only food being the goat marrow which *Ikhowste-a* carried. Far up the river they followed an affluent from the left, and from its valley climbed the bare mountain which, though they knew it not, is the watershed between the Kimsquit and Kitlope rivers. Here, above the treeline, they met a wolf. It lowered its ears, hunched, walked a few paces along a path, stopped, and looked back, as if it wished to guide the two wanderers. They decided to follow the animal which, once assured that

[511] *Although the Bella Coola are sufficiently logical to demand an explanation for everything, once a belief has been formulated they cease to inquire whether it is possible. Thus, in all these accounts of the first people, the reader wonders how there were enough people in the world at one time in sufficient to make population possible. Who were the ancestors? Who formed the bulk of the guests? Such questions do not strike the Bella Coola as obvious; the stories have been handed down as facts, and they believe that anything was possible in those early days before man had lost his supernatural power.

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The explanation of these manifestations of the supernormal, 787 *
for such they are considered to be, lies in the conviction that 811 ●
every activity of the mind is due to supernatural causation, [828]
the functioning of the spirit. In the round of daily life there
are always good and bad incidents; the person who wakes [774]
expecting to meet one or other before nightfall recognizes the
fulfilment of his premonition in some small occurrence, and
narrates it to his fellows as proof of what he had told them in
the morning. In case of some major event, such as death or
disaster, the Bella Coola assume that some previous indication
must have been given. Looking back after the event, a man
easily persuades himself that he "felt" a warning, and is more
than ever convinced that his spirit, the cause of his thoughts, [774]
has supernatural ability.

Conviction in the near presence of the supernatural has had 177
somewhat surprising results with regard to Christian Bella 787 *
Coola. A man converted in middle life carries all the fervour
and realism of the old religion with him to the new, and feels 781
thoroughly familiar with the atmosphere of the Old Testament. 797
Visitations, such as therein described, are similar to those
experienced by his fathers and himself, and he scorns the white
man who questions their literal accuracy. He continues to
hear the voices of supernatural beings, and to interpret mental [828]
pictures as visions, but he ascribes them to the beings of the
white man's religion. The following is a rather striking illustration of this point:

A number of years ago a devout Christian, who may be 159
designated X, was a patient in the hospital at Bella Bella. In 177
the same ward was a young Bella Bella lad whose sickness
refused to yield to treatment. X, becoming interested in his 787 *
neighbour, began to ponder about his condition, until presently 781
he felt convinced that the sufferer would be better by seven 797
o'clock the following morning, and told him so. A marked
improvement was noticeable by the time predicted, but the
white doctor foolishly (according to X) gave his patient some

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occupants of the canoe, heard a roaring noise and saw a fish-weir, similar to those used by the Bella Coola, stretching across Burke Channel, which is about a mile and a half wide at this point. They went close to the beach and a brave man cut a passage through the obstacle. A similar trap was once seen stretching across South Bentinck Arm. 787 * 539

An unusual apparition may be regarded as an omen of death. For example, not many years ago a young half-breed saw a motor-boat moored to the bank of North Bentinck Arm with an eagle seated in the stern. He ran his own motor-boat towards it, but as he approached the eagle became a man. Then as he drew still nearer, never taking his eyes off the other boat, it, with its occupant, sank beneath the water, without leaving so much as a ripple. On relating the incident to his father, the latter recognized it as an omen of death. Six months later the half-breed's sister died, thus confirming her father's prognostication. 787 * 763 [811]

Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate

Experiences such as have been cited in the last section are regarded as of possible, and not infrequent occurrence at the present time. On the other hand, supernatural aid granted to those in misfortune, though it is the theme of many stories, is not considered as likely to happen now. The Bella Coola believe the narratives to be chronicles of actual events, and base their conceptions of many supernatural beings on their characteristics as therein described. There is no ceremonial significance attached to any of these stories; they may be, and are told by anyone, frequently for entertainment. Unquestionably, there is a feeling that the moral brought out in such tales is of value in educating the young people, though this point is never emphasized. 787 * 538 [869]

Supernatural aid granted to an unfortunate person is termed *wlokwaladjut*. Power so obtained cannot be transmitted by the recipient, although memory of the experience is 787 * [575] [535]

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777 A visitation is not regarded as an inheritable right, but as a
* 787 tendency; for generations no member of a family may see one
[124] of these beasts, but the tradition is preserved, and when one is seen it is recalled that such have been observed by ancestors of the fortunate one. Instances have occurred in which a person has obtained good luck without the tradition of this being in his family, but they are rare. On the other hand, a man may lose the advantage of his possession, even if he owns
[785] a portion of a *mitqas* or a *ninel*, through failure to observe ceremonial chastity.

776 Some of the Bella Coola believe that the *mitqas* and the *ninel* are the same animal, which can assume these two forms; others that the two are distinct supernatural creatures. In any case the powers and characteristics ascribed to them are the same. Most families have a tradition regarding the appear-
[173] ance of the one or the other to their ancestors, and the infor-
[184] mation to be derived from them is always about that particular creature. Hence the details here described are probably not all known to any one individual.

* 787 The different types of appearances, and the different types
●811 of taboos called forth, should be noted. These are due to
182 failure on the part of the Bella Coola to rationalize the sum total of their concepts. Each man recounts what he believes to have happened to one of his ancestors or friends, irrespective of whether or not the methods used may be in direct contradiction to those employed by someone else on another occasion. A man who has heard of the *mitqas*, for example, from his father and mother, may describe contradictory modes of dealing with the creature, and in each case may affirm that [illegible] would have followed if the method described had not been carried out. Such lack of co-ordination is typical of the Bella Coola.

777 According to an elderly Kimsquit man, the *mitqas* was
* 787 brought down in the beginning of time by one of his own
[173] ancestors, *Omqemkikla*. It is to this fact that he attributes his own near approach to one on two occasions. As it is fre-

Our analysis shows that this system cannot be considered as an importation, but that it probably developed among the Bella Coola themselves. After they removed to their new home, a store of foreign ideas had come into their possession through contact with their new neighbors. While these new ideas were being consolidated and systematized, they stimulated the minds of the people, so of a few members of the tribe, who were thus led to the formation of an elaborate concept of the world. The concept which they have developed agrees in all its main features with those current in most of other areas and of other races. The mind of the Bella Coola philosopher, operating with the class of knowledge common to the native minds of cultures, has reached conclusions similar to those that have been formed in most the world over, when operating with the same class of knowledge. On the other hand, the Bella Coola has also adopted ready-made the thoughts of his neighbors, and has adapted them to his environment. These two results of our inquiry emphasize the close relation between the comparative and the historic methods of ethnology, which are so often held to be antagonistic. Each is a check upon such conclusions that might be attained by the application of one alone. It is just as unwilled to see, in an analogy of a single trait of culture that occurs in two distinct regions, undoubted proof of early historical connection as to reject the possibility of such connection because sometimes the same ideas develop independently in the human mind. Ethnology is equally conjecturing the evidence to accept superficial evidence as proof of historical connection; but the comparative ethnologist is hardly beginning to see that he has as right to scoff at the historical method. Our inquiry shows that sub conclusions can be derived only by a careful analysis of individuals culture. The growth of the myths of the Bella Coola can be understood only when we consider the culture of the tribe as a whole. And so it is with other phenomena. All traits of culture can be fully understood only in connection with the whole culture of a tribe. Where we confine ourselves to comparing isolated traits of culture, we open the door to misinterpretations without number.

If, then, the demand to make the a more critical method in the comparative study of ethnology than it has generally been accorded, it does not imply a depreciation of the results of the method. Where the human mind evolves an idea, or when it borrows the same idea, we may assume that it has been evolved or accepted because it conforms with the organization of the human mind; that it would not be evolved or accepted. The order the distribution of an idea, original or borrowed, the chief cause lie in conformity with the laws governing the activities of the human mind. Historical methods will furnish the data pertaining to the growth of civilizations among different peoples; and comparison of the phenomena of their growth will give us knowledge of the laws which govern the evolution and selection of ideas.

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*sang*ʷ. If the Bella Coola were strictly logical, one should expect them to conceive the upper surface of *sang*ʷ as being convex. Instead, it is considered a flat surface, very similar to the earth, and no explanation is given of what fills in the space between the dome, concave as viewed from this world, and the upper plane which could rest only on the peak of the dome. But logical accuracy is not a Bella Coola characteristic. This flat land is called *dźxnaʷdź* or *wasangʷ nemźźźqaźźl*. It is illuminated by a second sun, shining on it as the sun does on the earth. Far in the east of this upper region are extensive tide-flats. This land above is the home of many supernatural beings, who will be described in due course. The relative position of the sun to this upper world is ill-defined. According to some accounts, it travels by clearly marked trails on the surface, and a transparent dome is postulated to explain how its light reaches this earth. Others state that it moves like a bird or flying object through the space between the world and the dome-sky above. On many of these points there is a striking difference of opinion, which the Bella Coola explain by saying that their information is derived from ancient stories, which are preserved on occasions, and that no one knows the beliefs of his fellows. A co-ordinated theology, as Boas points out, has not evolved among the Bella Coola.

The sky, as it may be called if the reader will bear in mind that it is the analogue of a flat land, was not always in its present condition. The Bella Coola say that long ago the supreme god instructed his Carpenters (I, p. 39) to make a sky. They started from the eastern extremity of the earth, [illegible] considerable part of the dome had been erected, it fell with a thunderous crash, because no supporting posts had been set up. The part that escaped this calamity is called *Sźźwkwam*. Undiscouraged, the Carpenters continued their work with the assistance of posts and so built the sky as it is seen today. Then the supports were taken away.

As already stated, a sun shines on the land above. As that sun by morning is attached to the land above, so is this upper

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sun attached to another land above the one of which our sky is the underside. Boas (p. 28) has described this upper land in some detail. A number of Bella Coola were questioned on this subject, but for some time no one could be found with knowledge of its existence. At length one of the older people remembered that a man who had died some thirty years ago had a personal story connected with it, and later a Kimsquit man was able to furnish definite information. He explained that in his family there was a myth dealing with this matter; others might have heard this myth, but since it was not their property, of course they would not be able to impart the facts contained in it, nor would they necessarily believe it. Consequently, an upper land, superimposed above that which is immediately over the earth, cannot be described as a Bella Coola belief; it is shared, so far as could be ascertained, by only two families.

The chief feature of this uppermost world is its distance and unapproachableness. To the supernatural beings living in the intermediate land it is a *far-off* place; in fact, their attitude towards it corresponds to that with which mortals regard the land above their own. The supernatural ones can, when they wish, visit this upper world, which is called *Nuqui-ldli*. A sun shines there, but it is a different kind of sun from that known to mortals. On the whole it appears that this upper sky-land does not differ materially from either the earth or the land immediately above. No human being has ever reached this distant land, so what little is known about it was brought down in the beginning of time by the first people.

In addition to these two upper worlds, the Bella Coola know of one, or perhaps two, below. One of these is inhabited by ghosts.[1] It somewhat resembles the earth, but is unsubstantial and ethereal. It is considered to be immediately

[1] At the present time the Bella Coola are in a state of transition between the old beliefs and the new. This concept is held only by the older people, so it might be more accurate to describe it as one which they, the tribe as a whole, used to have. It has been thought advisable to use the present tense throughout in recording customs and beliefs which are now rapidly passing away.

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beneath the Bella Coola valley, and the land of the living forms a dome over it corresponding to that of the sky over this world. But everything is reversed. A river flows in the land of ghosts, but it rises in the west instead of the east; when it is warm on this earth it is cold in the land below; when it is sunrise here, it is sunset there. Shamans are believed to have penetrated frequently to this land, and on information from them the Bella Coola base their beliefs.

There is another land beneath the ocean. In this live the fish and sea mammals in human form, as well as other beings to be described in the next section of this chapter. Like all other worlds it has a sun above it,[9] and conditions are said to be similar to those existing on this earth. The Bella Coola are uncertain whether this undersea world is at the same level as the land of ghosts, and whether or not it extends beneath the rivers.

Although Bella Coola concepts regarding the sun and other heavenly bodies will require further consideration, it will be convenient at this point to describe them in outline. The sun is regarded as a heat-radiating ball of such intensity that a human being cannot approach it. Its path, as it crosses the land above, varies from day to day until it reaches its limits at the solstices. As it travels, it is accompanied by the drones of two *Ahilitsa*, supernatural feminine beings who remain continually, one in the east and one in the west. According to most informants, the ends of the sun's course, though fixed and invariable from year to year, are not marked by any visible means. Others state that at each limit there is the mouth of a *cranq*, a mythological animal of enormous size.

The moon is thought likewise to travel[9] each day but is said to be very cold. Few stories are current concerning it, although the Bella Coola say that long ago a man tried to reach it, only to be driven back by the intense cold. A shaman who died not many years ago claimed to have received power

[9] The informant stated that sun was served that purpose.
[9] The *Ahilitsa* drone as it travels, as they do for the sun.

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from the moon and stated that there were mountains and snow on it. It is commonly stated that the marks on the moon represent a man carrying a bucket.

The stars figure but slightly either in Bella Coola mythology or thought; it is not even known who made them. Two in the Great Bear constellation are called respectively *Tpikste* and *Xwpuwz*, "Little Girls." A lone star in the same part of the sky, named *A'lex*, is said to be following the girls to the forest for illicit intercourse.

Moon, stars, and above all the sun, were, and still are to a certain extent, used by the Bella Coola in computing the passage of time. There are no individuals with the definite prerogative of keeping count of time, but formerly wise old men used to do so.[9] Differences of opinion were the rule rather than the exception, a condition which often led to bitter disputes concerning the proper date for starting the winter ceremonials. Boas (p. 41) has recorded the Bella Coola calendar in greater detail than the present writer has been able to do. The making of calendrical observations is a lost art, and the following list of the months was all that could be learnt. It will be noted that these agree with Boas in regard to the months in the early part of the year, but not in those between the summer and winter solstices; no explanation is offered for this disparity.

First moon after the summer solstice: *Sldlhwtnt*, which has the significance, "The Time for Sockeye Salmon to Ascend the River."

Second moon after the summer solstice: *Sl'ichdlil*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon."

Third moon after the summer solstice: *Sl'iwnt cil*, "The Time for F'ating Coho Salmon."

Fourth moon after the summer solstice: *Sipilpum*, "The Time for Gathering Fern Root," or *Sldahnz Sl Xwr'ilwnlnnis*,

[9] Elsewhere informants stated that there were professional calendrical experts in the honoy, when he was a young lad although members of the feather society did, deep, of consultions attended to this matter.

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"The Coming of *Ăwĕkhwalnis*."[1]

Fifth moon after the summer solstice: *uxwiel*, "The Time for *Kuxiut* Dances,"[2] or *Sipalwaxis di Sist*, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings."

Sixth moon after the summer solstice: *Sisnu*, "Sits Down," that is, when the sun reaches the solstice.

First moon after the winter solstice: *Sowulmpwum*, "What Sweeps Away Food," or *Sulkl*, "Angry Moon."

Second moon after the winter solstice: *Sinsadimut*, "Facing in Both Directions," that is, half the month belongs to winter and half to summer, or *Lowalis di Nuxkkdmp*, "The Potlatch of the *Nuxkkdmp*" (I, p. 182).

Third moon after the winter solstice: *Sisapum*, "When Herrings Spawn." These fish are said to have arrived on the same day of this moon as the winter solstice in the December one.

Fourth moon after the winter solstice: *Sipaly*, "Time for Making Salmon Weirs."

Fifth moon after the winter solstice: *Sinowend*, "Time for Making Hand-Nets for Olachen."

Sixth moon after the winter solstice: *Sisdwel*, "Time for Eating Spring Salmon." It is in this month that the summer solstice occurs.

The chief difficulty experienced by the Bella Coola in comparing time rests on the fact that each month is judged by the moon, whereas the main periods of the year depend upon the solstices. One old man, from whom much of this information was obtained, stated that trouble always came at the winter solstice when the month was divided into two sections. The above list is obviously incomplete and inconsistent, but it was the best available.

Supernatural Beings

In any primitive community the social, religious, political, and economic aspects of life are so interwoven that they

[1] See vol. II, p. 1 for a description of this mythical being.
[2] See vol. II, chap. v, for a description of these dances.

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rate most of them, are carefully used in accordance with the 776*
functions of this supreme deity. As a Bella Coola has many [551]
names, corresponding to his membership in various societies,
his professional prerogatives, his ancestral myths, and mere
nicknames, so has *Hpawáw*, who is a superman, many names,
according to his special functions. It would be unthinkable [782]
for a Bella Coola to pray to *Hpawáw*, yet it is common for
him to pray to *Mesakais* or *Tsiá*, other names for the same
being. The multiplicity of functions and designations ap-
proaches the point of obscuring the unity of *Hpawáw*, which
is fact, some Bella Coola even deny. They state that *Sxnéi-
ítsis*, *Mesakais*, *Sxnaiskáis*, and *Nuqulmáisis* are one, but
that *Hpawáw*, *Sxnaiskáis*, and *Nuqulmáisis* are three dis-
tinct supernatural beings. This seeming confusion presents [424]
no difficulties to the Indian, since each family has its own [184]
myths in which such facts are recorded. He believes these, [771]
without questioning those of his neighbour, and it is even pos-
sible for an individual to believe two contradictory statements,
if he happens to become the owner of two contradictory myths.
Evidence collected in the field does not make clear whether
the beliefs of the Bella Coola illustrate an incomplete trans-
formation of a single deity into a number of minor ones, or
whether they represent the almost complete fusion of a
number of beings into one. Following the practice of the great
majority of the Bella Coola, the supreme deity will hereafter
be referred to as *Hpawáw*.

The most obvious attribute of *Hpawáw* is connected with 776*
the sun. He can move it and use it as if it were his cane. In 821
form he resembles a man, and when he takes charge of the sun
it appears as if the latter were a large, self-propelling radiant
disc with windows through which he looks forth. It is said
that long ago he allowed mink to take charge of the sun, but
the malicious animal ran it so close to earth that the intense
heat killed almost all living creatures. When *Hpawáw* enters [825]
the sun he wears a cloak, on the lining of which are salmon;
reversing this causes the rivers on earth to teem with salmon.

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*776 *Alqantăm* is occasionally, but inaccurately, called *Sunx*, the
[821] Sun.

Though *Alqantăm* often sojourns in the sun, his home is
772 in the flat land above the sky, a huge house which figures
*776 prominently both in Bella Coola mythology and present-day thought. The name of the house is *Nuxmăt·a*. "It resembles those constructed on this earth, but is boundless in size. Like
[552] the houses of human beings, its name is changed according to what is taking place within. Every autumn the supernatural beings gather there to await the coming of *Alqantăm* at the winter solstice; while waiting they pass the time by performing the equivalent of the earthly *kuxiut* dances (II, chap. 1). This assemblage is termed *qulxwaix*, and the house, during this period, *Nuxqulxwaixta*.

The following names of the house, with meanings, were obtained:

Nuxmăt·a, "The Place of Myths."

Nuxqwatnaixta, "Where Everything Was Begun."

Nuxkăläxnuxta, "The Place Whence Came the Falling Down."

Nuxlămnăxnuxta, "The Place Where Mankind was Made."

Nuxăläqantăxnuxta, "The Place Where *Alqantăm* Speaks."

Nuxqulxwaixta, "The Place of the *Qulxwaix*."

Nuxkăxnuxta, "The Place of Meeting," or "The Council House."

Nuhuxmăl. The meaning of this word is unknown.

Ăxuxwulxăxmăl, "The Moving House." The significance of this last name rests on an ancient myth in which the house is described as travelling from place to place.

773 To grasp the significance of these designations it is neces-
*776 sary to understand the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the creation. Their mythology contains no account of the origin or birth of *Alqantăm* himself, nor of the making of this world; in the beginning of time no living creature, either animal or vegetable, existed with the exception of *Alqantăm*. He, therefore, decided to alter and populate the world and

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what is probably a moosehide, with salmon painted on it, symbolic of his guardianship of fish for the benefit of mankind. In other respects *Nuxmāt-a* has no peculiarities. Behind the house is an enormous tree, *Tpuxpu-iapim*, in the branches of which live innumerable owls.

After this description of *Nuxmāt-a*, it is logical to return to its master, *Alqunūm*. Guiding the sun is his most spectacular occupation, but he also governs the movements of moon and tides. Powerful though he is, he continues to take an interest in the doings of mankind whom he created. Prayers are commonly addressed to him, and a certain type of shaman is believed to receive power direct from him. Other supernatural beings may work weal or woe to a Bella Coola, but he feels it is done with the sanction of *Alqunūm*. At every winter solstice he enters *Nuxmāt-a*, where supernatural beings from all parts of the universe have gathered to greet him. This assembly is called *qulemaix*, and *Nuxmāt-a* is termed *Nuxpulxuaixta*[1] for its duration. While waiting, the guests perform *kwiut* dances, similar to those carried out by members of the *kwiut* society on earth (see vol. II, chap. 1). At *Alqunūm's* entry the heat becomes so intense that the occupants rush forth precipitately, some falling and being trampled upon in the crush. Only three[2] advisers, including *Sexuxālaix* (I, p. 41), remain to confer with him. They arrange the fate of human beings during the coming year; who shall be made a *kwiut*, who shall be born, who shall die. In each case the decision rests with *Alqunūm*, though he is influenced by his counsellors. Human beings can often learn in dreams what is being decided for them.

Alqunūm, in spite of his strength, shares the limitations of any other chief, and is not invariably successful. The Bella Coola delight in telling stories of how supernatural beings, especially the Raven, outwitted and defeated him. Even

[1] Often pronounced *Nuxpulxuaixta*.
[2] The exact number is uncertain.

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dancers. *Swinia* differs from most supernatural beings in having his residence in this world instead of in the land above. 776*

Among the beings dwelling in the upper region are a number of *Xemaemtum*, whose function it is to ask the sun to appear every day. It travels without their assistance, but if they neglected to arouse it, darkness would prevail all day. The only knowledge of these beings is derived from information given by the first people; they have not been seen by mortals since early days and do not act as patrons for *kwiat* dancers. [821]

Heat and Cold are regarded by the Bella Coola as anthropomorphic beings, but their beliefs concerning them have not become crystallized, perhaps because of their non-appearance as patrons of *kwiat* dancers. The following story is told of the annual meeting of Heat and Cold. 776* 821 539

Every spring Cold, *Swaskstu*, meets Heat, *Sqwikliua*, in some undefined locality and says:

"You will not be welcome in the place to which you are going [the earth]. I have just come from there. People like to get up on cool mornings to start work, they won't pay any attention to you."

But *Sqwikliua* replies: "No. They will welcome me. Everyone prefers to spend a few extra minutes in bed in the mornings. It is pleasant to do so when it is warm, hence I shall be welcome in spite of the eagerness of mankind for work."

In spite of its apparent definiteness, this account is regarded merely as a story, and it is doubtful if any historical accuracy is attached to it. The Bella Coola laugh when it is told, and the irony of the conversation is not lost on them.

S'pi', the Cold Wind, is another anthropomorphized being belonging to the realm of stories rather than to that of everyday life and profound belief. His wife is *Alkla*, and their child is Ice. On a cold morning, if a Bella Coola finds ice on liquid left in a bucket or other container, he warms it at a fire until he can lift off the sheet, and throws it out of the door, saying as he does so: "*Alkla*-,* your child has become cold." 776* 821

Both the North Wind and his wife, *sakwmu-i*, whose home [773]

*The vocative form of this word.

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is in the upper Bella Coola valley near Firvale, cause cold breezes by blowing them through their noses. *ishmum i* especially is a prominent figure in mythology (I, p. 670), but she has not appeared for many generations and her actions belong to legend rather than to either religion or social practices. It is said that she has four sons who once wanted to break a large number of grass stalks. Finding it difficult to do so on account of their toughness, they asked their mother to freeze them; she did this and destroyed every other plant at the same time.

Another anthropomorphic being is *Ielilist*, the supernatural South Wind of winter who brings storm and snow. The Carriers affirm that every icicle which grows down until its end is in the snow is his walking-stick, and that to break one causes famine. Some Bella Coola have adopted this belief and carefully refrain from destroying such icicles.

Supernatural beings experience the same difficulty as mortals in reckoning the passage of time. A number of calendrical experts live in the land above, whose duty it is to record both months and years. They are called *Almmokilleuqmic* or *Almmokilleum*. They have been seen occasionally, and are shown, as masked figures, at *nusut* (I, p. 181), but not at *tsaiat* dances. Two of these beings always appear, and they argue about their observations after the fashion of humans.

Another daimon of Nuxmit-a of slight importance in the social life of the Bella Coola is *Xowcomdiletic*, a friend and messenger of *Alquntim*. He acts as patron of *tsaiat* dances, and in this manner is brought to the notice of mortals. In the land above his function is to cherish *Tlipmd-ic*, a being resembling a diminutive man, created by *Alquntim* as a child to all supernatural beings. *Xowcomdiletic* is its guardian or nurse; and for safety he usually keeps his charge in the far distant upper land above *Nuxmit-a*, where *Alquntim* frequently visits the two. In some mysterious manner, *Tlipmd-ic* has been known to reach this earth, giving good fortune to the lucky finder. He is in many cases spoken of as "The Cherished

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Bujo have been heard as recently as 1914 according to popular belief. In January of that year a number of young Bella Coola were returning home in a motor-boat from Ocean Falls. They camped for the night on Burke Channel, and were alarmed to hear a crashing of bushes and a beating on tree-trunks. Thoroughly frightened, they directed the beams of several electric torches in the direction of the sounds without avail and at last started the engine of their motor-boat, the noise of which frightened the *bujo* away.

An animal somewhat similar to the *bujo* is the *ddibwis*. The Bella Coola state that long, long ago, there lived as human beings near Port John on Evans Arm, King Island. They were a strange people, with peculiar rites including the worship of fire. Their neighbours, the Bella Bella, from whom they differed entirely, determined to destroy the *ddibwis*. A massacre took place, and only a few survivors escaped to an island in one of the lakes in the interior of King Island. There, in course of generations, they grew hairy and lost their human characteristics; it is said that a few paintings made by them are still visible there. Not many years ago some Bella Coola saw what may have been the last surviving *ddibwis*. Two hairy creatures were observed fishing from a skin boat on Burke Channel. As soon as they realized that they were observed they dashed ashore, broke up the framework of their canoe, and plunged into the forest carrying its skin covering. Nothing more seems to be known concerning them, nor do they appear ever to have granted supernatural assistance to anyone.

Another supernatural creature is the *hilwod*. It somewhat resembles a cow, although its legs are shorter and its body, which is white and bulbous, is heavier. In spite of its awkward build, this animal can move as rapidly as an earth bird and extends with its tongue, which can be shot forth to a tremendous length. Various incidents are related concerning *hilwod*. One of its characteristics is that it causes gales. The country where one lives is invariably denuded of underbrush and even pebbles; everything movable is blown away, leaving only trees

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human wearer belongs to a sphere differing from that of supernatural animals and is dangerous to them. Consequently, if worn clothing be thrown on a fire it repels unpleasant visitors. Other powerful protections are false hellebore, and smoked salmon roe. A wise hunter always carries these and if he sees a dangerous creature such as a *swanp*, he chews the two together and spits them towards the peril. Needless to say, if a kindly animal is seen, the hunter does not drive it away by these methods. Why false hellebore should be so effective is a matter of wonder to the Bella Coola themselves, for as a rule it is the human essence attached to objects which gives them their strength over the supernatural. Thus the most powerful of all charms are pads that have been used by women during their menses. If a woman travels on the ocean she is careful to carry some of them with her ready to repel any danger from the supernatural water beings.* 776* 789 [824] [824] [841]

The manner in which the Bella Coola regard mythical animals and other evidences of the supernatural is illustrated by the following practice. Hunters always want to know the direction of the wind, and when the breeze is too slight to be discernible they blow upwards a small amount of eagle down, which is so light that the faintest breath of air will bear it down wind. What the logical white man considers a natural phenomenon, appears to the Bella Coola as miraculous; eagle down, stripped from the dead bird by human hands and stored for some time within a house, has become so humanized that it can conquer supernatural powers to indicate the direction of the wind. 776* 789 821 [224]

The mythical monsters already described are not the only animals regarded as supernatural by the Bella Coola. They believe that in the beginning *Hiyuwáw* created man and beasts at the same time and in the same place, giving the former the greater share of power, but not exiling the latter to a different plane of existence. In those early days, the semi-supernatural 776* 825 773

*This matter will be described more fully in connexion with Magic; see vol. I, chap. xv.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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The most spectacular of Raven's exploits was the theft of the sun in order to provide light for the world (I, p. 198). In this case, a valuable object was acquired for mankind, but often Raven interfered with the kindly aims of *Alquntám*, a point illustrated in the following account of the origin of death:*

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[821]

In the beginning of time, before people had really become human, Raven made a boy from his own body, gave him life, and called him *Owistémat*. His creation was Raven's chief joy. The youth was beautiful; his feet and hands were especially small and light-coloured, and Raven gloried in what he had been able to do without the assistance of his friend *Tsáltémat*, the Carpenter. All went well until *Owistémat* was about fifteen years of age when *Alquntám* wanted to find out about this being which Raven had created. Accordingly, he sent to earth one of his *Sisúlkstáls* to carry off *Owistémat*. At that time there were four *Sisúlkstáls* in *Nacwátc-a*, huge, eagle-like, supernatural birds under the special care of *Alquntám* himself. Down swooped one of these creatures and carried the youth aloft to *Nacwátc-a*, where he was treated as a guest by *Alquntám*.

Raven, ignorant of the reason for his loss, was heart-broken. He pulled out his hair and for four days sat and pondered. Then he decided to wage war on the *Sisúlkstáls*, not knowing that the latter had been acting by command of *Alquntám*. Raven went to *Tsáltémat* and asked him to make a huge whale. The carpenter was surprised and enquired about the purpose, whereupon Raven told him of the loss of *Owistémat*, and how he hoped that the *Sisúlkstáls* would be lured into swooping down to fight the dummy and would be vanquished. *Tsáltémat* agreed to help him and worked for four days on a gigantic cedar, chiselling it out like a canoe, but in the shape of an enormous whale. Then for four days he gathered gum and covered the wooden monster with a layer about an inch thick; finally he painted the outer surface to resemble a whale. It was a very fine piece of work. That night Raven asked *Tsáltémat* to launch it. The stomach had been weighted so that it could [illegible] "Two whale acted according to specification, diving and rising easily, moving to right or left according to the wishes of the helmsman. Raven was delighted.

Early next morning *Tsáltémat* again launched the craft at Raven's request, and it wallowed around near the shore like a real whale. *Alquntám*

*Submitted by Jim Pollard.

1:McDowalth E-5 (1922-1924)948
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place where he is not likely to be disturbed, and addresses the supreme god in a loud tone of voice, requesting his assistance. 782

Although prayers can be said at any time of the day, or at any season of the year, there are occasions when they are more potent than at other times. At dawn, for example, a wise young man is accustomed to go alone to the river to wash and pray. He enters the icy water, blows mucus over his hands, and rubs his body vigorously* either with a smooth pebble, or, if it can be obtained, with a stone taken from the stomach of a sea-lion.* As he scours himself, he asks *Menakais* to grant him long life, power, success, and strength. On coming from the water, he repeats his request, and then washes himself again. This process is repeated four times, making eight prayers in all. A young man who does this habitually, and in other ways placates the supreme deity, is likely to have success, and may even be given supernatural assistance by one of the many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. The underlying belief is that *Alquntám* actually hears the words spoken and, pleased thereby, aids the petitioner either directly, or by strengthening the supernatural elements in his body. [719]

Menakais has power over both rain and dry weather, and is petitioned for whichever is desired. When the sun is obscured by rain clouds, the Bella Coola pray: [721]

"Please clean your face, *Menakais*," or,

"Please show us your face, we need you."

Before a man starts on a journey, either by canoe or on foot, he always asks help for his undertaking. [484]

"*Menakais*," he prays, "Be with me," or "Go before me," or, "Give me what I want."

Corresponding to the importance of the occasion, prayers were always made before the departure of a hunting or war [824 823 785 515 296 823 825]

*Urine was formerly used for washing both the body and clothing. It was followed by the application of clean water, and undoubtedly had a religious significance. Indeed, washing purely for cleanliness was not habitual until recently.

*The Bella Coola state that stones are often found in the stomachs of sea-lions. One specimen, considered of great value, was seen; it was indistinguishable from a water-smoothed river pebble.

1:McDowalth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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party. Canoes always start soon after dawn, and each member of the expedition is careful to pray before leaving, and also to avoid eating in case food should in any way interfere with the success of the venture. Before reaching their destination, a chief in each canoe draws from a pouch some eagle down brought for the purpose, holds it before his mouth, and blows a little towards each of the four cardinal points, at the same time asking *Mesakais* to smile on the enterprise and grant a safe return. This does not guarantee success, but it is felt that any disaster which may occur would have been more serious if assistance had not been thus requested.

Although *Alquntim*, under the name of *Mesakais*, is the one to whom prayers are most often addressed, petitions are sometimes made to other beings. In the beginning of time, when Raven had superabundant power, mortals frequently sought his assistance. At the present time, he is sometimes asked for aid, in the belief that he may still have some shreds of his former power, or be in a better position than man to intercede with *Mesakais*. If ravens croak when it is raining, people may ask them to request the supreme being to stop the rain; in such cases, a petitioner is careful to address a raven as *Nowakila*, his title as chief, rather than as *Qoas*. In cold winter weather, a raven is sometimes caught alive, its head smeared with grease, and as it is released, the captor says:

"Please end the cold wind, *Nowakila*."

Prayers are also said half humorously, half seriously, on many occasions. When, for example, clothing has become too ragged for further use, it is thrown on a fire with the remark:

"Please come to me again, now."

The thrower does not actually believe that in so doing he is asking help from his clothing, but it gives him a certain sense of satisfaction thus to have expressed his desires.

The prayers above described can be said by anyone, at any time; they are means of propitiation known to the whole community. In addition, information was obtained about two prayers, each of which is the jealously guarded prerogative

1:Mc:Hwatlh E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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of a single family. Either is considered an almost certain means of stopping rain, but no one, even though aware of the method, can practise it with success unless he is a member of the family to which the method belongs. 782 424 821

One of these prayers, the property of a Kimsquit family, is addressed to *Xemxemálstela*. If the petitioner wishes to stop heavy rain, he goes to a quiet place in the woods and calls in a loud voice:

Ásya Xemxemálstela,"	*nuqwikdi*	*ilsk*	*di xuy"nuda*
Hail, *Xemxemálstela,*	upon	the loftiest	of your heaven
ckáyuxuwda	*dji ckuwuiqwu*		*tsim nuwdja.*
so that may look down	the cherished one		your child.

That is, "Expose the upper heaven so that your cherished child may look down."

It will be remembered that *Xemxemálstela* is the being who takes care of *Tlúqmá ás* in the upper skyland. It is said that this prayer was learnt by the ancestors of an informant in the beginning of time and that a repetition of the exact words is enough to drive away the rain clouds between earth and the upper heaven. For many generations care was taken to teach some intelligent member of the family the correct formula, and the person so entrusted was expected to use his knowledge for the benefit of any of his relatives desiring fine weather. [776]

Another prayer prerogative of similar type was recorded from an old man who related what he had seen his grandfather do many years before. The two were once hunting when heavy rain threatened their success and drove them to the shelter of a projecting ledge. The grandfather, not having any cedar-bark with him, cut and dried some evergreen boughs which he gave to his grandson, telling him to light them and wave them over his, the grandfather's, head. When this had been done, the old man rushed out into the rain and in a loud voice asked some supernatural being, whose name was forgotten, to throw his eyes upon the rain clouds in order to dispel them. That night the petitioner neither drank water nor urinated, and the [824] [715]

*The vocative form.

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782 next day the weather was fine. This particular method of
424 praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the begin-
821 ning of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family.
[785] With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of
[177] customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grand-father of the man from whom the information was obtained.

SACRIFICE

782 It might be expected that a clear division should be made between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears
[824] dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any
[824] supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts
[825] of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether
[261] or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire titbits of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*W'ai, wai, wai,*" "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural
[502] powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Mesatche Noos,
[133]
[756]

242 whiskers over which is scattered eagle down. From the back
535 of the head-dress hang weasel skins. In Bella Bella it is said to
be customary for a skin to be added on every occasion when a
* 556 *nusuk* is confined to the back-room. This may happen as many
575 as fifteen times to the child of wealthy parents, and a few Bella
Coola have adopted the practice of marking each with a skin.
[237] Usually, some six or nine are hung in two tiers, without con-
sideration of the number of times the wearer has been in seclu-
sion. The central figure of the forehead mask is a head with
[532] a hooked nose, the recurved hook being joined to the face
itself. This figure does not vary with the wearer's ancestral
myth, and no one knows what it represents. This design is
[177] said to have been introduced to Bella Coola from the north a
few generations ago; before that time the head-dress consisted
[237] of a circular band of dyed cedar-bark, decorated with the tail
[824] feathers of one of the large woodpeckers. The Bella Coola call
it simply, "forehead mask." Each initiate carries a hollow
[532] rattle, carved in the shape of a bird, which he holds in his right
[534] hand, belly uppermost. Long, long ago, when a dancer failed
to do so, the rattle became alive and the bird flew away; hence,
this rule has been obeyed ever since.

535 Each initiate takes up his station in some part of the house
behind the fire and dances to the beating of the sticks. The
* 556 left hand of each is clasped behind his back and in his right he
575 holds the rattle and keeps it in constant motion by shaking his
wrist. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a good dancer.
Keeping the body stiff and the legs close together, he rises with
slight jumps, barely altering his position on the floor. Some-
times he slowly turns around sunwise* in his series of jumps,
at other times he does not alter his position. The head is bent
from side to side and downwards at each jump, causing the
eagle down to fly in all directions. *Nusuk* assistants blow more
of the material on to the head-dress at intervals (see Plate 16).!

[821] *The Bella Coola believe that the sun moves from east to south to west to
[796] north. Many ceremonial movements follow this direction, which will henceforth
be described as sunwise.

! [See cut 116, facing p 219 - ANALYST]

539 to climb up to visit his grandfather. *Ba'ameu* did not discourage him, so his son began the ascent and soon disappeared from sight. In course of time he reached the last shore and made his way to his grandfather, *Ajaxaiha*, who was delighted to see him. He told his visitor that he was weary of constantly carrying the sun's light, and asked him to relieve him of the duty for a time. He mentioned that on previous occasions when his wife had acted as his substitute, she, being a woman, had been shy and had hidden herself behind clouds. The boy was willing to undertake the task and listened to his grandfather's instructions; in the morning he was to use only one fire stick, a little later, two, then three, and, finally, four at midday. In the afternoon he was to decrease the number in a manner corresponding to the morning's increase.[a]

[821] Next day *Ajaxaiha* went away for a holiday after entrusting his grandson with the previous fire sticks. As soon as he was alone, the ambitious youth began to pile one after another on the fire, until people in the world far below were scorched or drawn by the suffocating warmth. *Ba'ameu's* son threw on log after log, each increasing the heat below. The earth began to sizzle, and finally burst into flames, and the water boiled in the rivers and seas. *Ioxuma* a bird realized what must be the matter as soon as she felt the great heat, so she went outside and rubbed her hand over the plants on her house. Thus protected, these within survived, although all other human beings perished. Most of the animals escaped by hiding, though the wound failed to conceal the tip of its tail which was burnt black, a characteristic inherited by all wounds ever since. *Ajaxaiha* felt the heat and hurried home.

[825] "You have done great harm to mortals," he burst out angrily. "Therefore you shall live on earth as a stick."

Ajaxaiha seized his grandson and cast him to earth in this guise.

539 The survivors of the conflagration multiplied until the whole world was repeopled from the single household. Each of them took an *o'ali* stem from the burning, and these have been transmitted from one to
551 another of the descendants of each until this day. One of them, a
575 warped stem, is *Sulipkowa*, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks"; another, a *Sulipkiam*, condemnatory, "The Track of the Sun"; a third, *Skaul*, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log."

539 The following Kimsquit story[b] describes the obtaining of
575 an *o'ali* propagative in the distant past.

[a] For another version of this tale, see Boas, p. 95.
[b] Related by Jim Pelaxit.

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gained brothers and sisters united to get rid of her; she became petrified in the valley which still bears her name, and which still has an evil reputation as the robber place in the vicinity of Bella Coola. Thence came the cold winds.

Ayaxtin instructed his carpenters to construct *Sang*[a]. They set about their work, but failed to use any supporting posts so that when all was completed, except a small section in the east, it fell. When the carpenters recommenced their work, they took care to erect uprights to bear the weight, and thus were able to construct the sky as it is today. When it was finished, the supports were removed. Only those living at *Nalkun* witnessed this disaster, and from it they took their name. *Kwaitang*[a] was the name of the first *Sang*[a] that fell.

According to another informant the first settler at *Nalkun* was *Dakwang*[a], who had also the name *Kwaxalain*. He came to earth in the form of a heron, bringing a salmon-weir as means of obtaining sustenance.

PEOPLE OF AN ORIGIN MYTH AT *Nalkun*[b]

Among the first people who came down to earth at *Tunne* was a crow man, who brought with him a crowl as a present from the supreme deity. As a result of this gift the *Tunne* were constantly practising the art of war, and always ready to seek hostilities; their settlement was a hotbed of conflict. One of these people, *Lilamlik* by name, wearied of constant strife, determined to set out and find a new home for himself. After considerable travelling he reached *Nalkun* where he settled down among the inhabitants of that village. He had brought with him a young boy who in time married a woman from *Ilaila*, and became the father of many children.

ORIGIN MYTH AT *Dzaxi*[b]

In the beginning *Wiaqai* came to earth as a man on Mount *Nayu*, near *Dzaxi*. He seated himself on the mountain top and slid down to the valley, showing a smooth track as he went, which is still here like the peak of a landslide. He was all alone and built for himself a house of evergreen boughs, *Ismit*, to which he gave the name *Kwaxlaxi*. After sojourning there for some time he decided to marry, so he set off up the valley to find out if there were any people living above him. He travelled

[a] Related by *Jakwalin*, a past informant.
[b] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack.

[illegible]
[illegible]

make a salmon-weir. In accordance with *Aguanim's* instruction, *Omaum* planned to make a circuit of the world making a suitable place to settle. He moved northward, in eagle form, scattering eagle down, wherever this material has ever since been highly regarded and is used as a symbol of peace. Owing, moreover, to the eagle down scattered on the mountains, there has always been much snow in that region.*

Sometimes he travelled he assumed the form of the sun, for he was so powerful that nothing was impossible to him. For in the north *Omaum* obtained an enormous copper, which he carried back to *Kitsumpt* without completing his original plan of circling the world. He perched on a tree near his brother's almost completed salmon-weir.

"Why don't you change yourself to a human being?" *Gwagwilkilla* inquired.

"I am waiting until our food is more plentiful," *Omaum* replied. "Besides I have been to the far north where I obtained an enormous copper."

When the weir was completed and *Gwagwilkilla* was catching many salmon, his brother at last decided to become a man. But instead of sending his cloak back where he acquired it, he an eagle. *Omaum* now became an active fisherman and was much annoyed by the darts made by the bird, though he himself was responsible for it not having returned to *Nanaimo*. After about a year he suggested to *Gwagwilkilla* that they should kill it, but the latter demurred, since it was the gulls which *Aguanim* had given *Omaum*. The latter said nothing, but the next time he saw the eagle stealing his fish he killed the bird, without consulting his brother. He meant had he done this then he felt sorry, but it was too late, he could not restore the eagle to life.

Owing to the salmon given them by *Aguanim* the two brothers now were very prosperous, and *Omaum* began to think of marriage. One day he noticed some ships floating down the Dean River, so he judged that people must be living on that stream. He set out to investigate, and Fisher, and married his sister *Ishmiln*, so he has described to a Dean River myth. To celebrate this event the two brothers prepared to invite people from far and near. Then they lengthened their house to accommodate a large number, in one of the type known as *wilmadzi*, though it could not expand without human agency. Then they painted their spaces with designs of the *mihagan*, since they had brought their ancestors with them from above. Now everything was ready and they announced their guests. When all had assembled, *Omaum* gave a feast[illegible]

*The cloak which has over *Omaum* takes a new coat on all which "*Omaum's* cloak," in memory of his journey. The myth fails to explain how *Omaum* was responsible for these phenomena.

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On the following day another adventure befell the same party when they were almost home. Passing the site of the present cannery, on the south side of North Bentinck Arm, about half a mile from its head, they went among some old stumps which at high tide resembled basking seals. When in the midst of them, they all seemed to come to life, crashing into the water in all directions, raising billows which drenched the paddlers with foam and nearly wrecked the canoe. The travellers considered themselves fortunate in reaching Bella Coola alive.

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Apparitions have appeared several times near Mosache Point, the point between South Bentinck Arm and Labouchere Channel, a place noted for storms. On one occasion the father of a Bella Coola, in 1911, sixty years of age, was near there when he suddenly saw lights on two mountains diagonally opposite each other on either side of the fiord, at a distance of about six miles. The lights grew bigger and bigger, approached each other and receded, until finally they merged; it became bright as day, although it was midnight at the time, and there was only a new moon. The lights separated after a little, until each gradually withdrew to its mountain and disappeared.

Near the same spot some travellers once saw an enormous mountain goat walking on the surface of the water. Almost immediately a storm arose which swamped the canoe, and drowned all but one of its occupants. As soon as the craft was submerged, the gale subsided, as is always the case after people have been drowned. [921]

During 1914, while a young Bella Coola was proceeding down South Bentinck Arm in his motor-boat, a storm arose and the waves poured into his boat until it almost foundered. In the midst of the gale he saw two pillars of water shoot up from the surface of the fiord to a great height, then gradually fade away as if they had been smoke. The storm ultimately subsided. No one could tell which supernatural being had

159 in his sleep, and hopes that it will grant him specific supernatural power. He realizes that he could increase the prob-
* 987 ability of obtaining this by ceremonial chastity, and believes
[985] that it would come to him if he went alone to the woods and
[997] lay fasting for some time. Another means would be to concentrate his thoughts upon the desired end, but X is too good a Christian to do so; he is in the unhappy position of knowing too much of two religions to be able to practise either unreservedly. Such experiences are not likely to occur to any but a man of high-strung, imaginative temperament, to whom dreams and mental excitements appear especially vivid. X is intensely religious, so that it is easy for him to interpret every phenomenon in terms of the supernatural. It will be noted that most of the dreams just described took place when he was sick, precisely the time when hallucinations are to be expected. They were more coherent than those of most Bella Coola, though the difference is one of degree rather than of kind.

* 987 Most dreams are comparatively simple, and the information received in them is intelligible. They come to all, irrespective of rank or prerogative. Nevertheless, it is believed
[928] that an inheritable tendency runs in some families; this does not mean that all members of such a group dream constantly,
● [921] but they are more likely to do so than others. Those occurring
[773] at the winter solstice are more carefully observed than at other
[777] times, since it is then that the supernatural beings decide events
[786] for the coming year and a man's spirit may be able to inform him of what has been decided. Consequently, as soon as *Ayaxwim* enters *Nawaki'a*, wise men separate from their wives and concentrate on dreaming, hoping to learn what is in store for them. For instance, if a man sees himself seated before a large pile of goods, he knows that he will have the good fortune to do this during the coming year; on the other hand, if he foresees ill luck, it means that he will be unfortunate. Another
[921] time when dreams are especially desired is before the summer
[224] solstice when hunters in particular observe ceremonial chas-
[786] tity. This purification not only increases the likelihood of such

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#787

by the bear. This happened a third time, but on the fourth attempt the mouse succeeded in cutting the string, whereupon the sun went hooting away.

The orphan walked along a good road until he came to a house from inside which he could hear women's voices and the sound of bark-beating. Peering in, he saw a number of women preparing soft bark coverings for an infant who was lying in a cradle-box; they were the supernatural cedar-bark beaters who live in the land above. When *Djuskp* walked in, they asked him whence he had come; he replied by inquiring why they were making bark cloths, and they answered that they were for a cradle. They told him to lie down in it, saying that it was so comfortable that he would soon fall asleep. Though *Djuskp* suspected that they were plotting against him, he felt so secure in his great power that he did as they asked. As soon as he had lost consciousness, the box crashed so hard that he was projected through the floor itself, down into the region between the upper land and this earth. After falling a short distance, *Djuskp* changed to eagle form and floated back up to the house, where he reappeared to the women in human form once more. They were amazed at seeing him again, but once more he obligingly went to sleep. Again the box crashed so case him down below, and again he became eagle form and floated up. When this had happened four times, *Djuskp* became angry.

"I am a shaman," he said to the women, "and will kill you if you are not careful."

The supernatural bark beaters advised him to go back to his sister, telling him to return by the way he had come. He decided to follow their counsel, found the vine still in position and climbed down, the vine growing shorter as he descended. In this way he reached home in safety.

In a third version, collected from another informant, the hero is named *Tsalkmqs*. He is described as a lad who supported his sister on small game, while dreaming of the time when he would be a real hunter. He decided that a low-crying of public hair was necessary, and obtained the wherewithal to make one from his sister, after refusing to use any other kind of hair. The story relates how he crawl lodged in a tree-top, where he overlooked an elk-lick after it, ultimately reaching the land above. Parallel game tells toward this territory, in one of which he set his bow-string on a stump and in this way scared the sun. After a mouse had released the captive *Tsalkmqs* returned to earth.

[521] The manner some that such parallel tell was the track of the sun

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on a successive day and that after being captured the sun crossed its course. This is said to be the origin of the solstices.

There are many other versions of this tale current in Bulle Conte, in some of which the bore is said to have been a resident of Green Bay.

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[821]

THE BOY WHO WAS REVENGED BY GREEN BEAR

The people of a certain village were very fond of wrestling, spending most of their time in bouts. Proud of their strength, they used to unite to bully one of their fellows, a wealthy youngster quite unable to hold his own among his more vigorous companions; they not only mocked his lack of strength, but, when wrestling, threw him around as if he were a plaything. For a long time the lad remained passive under the taunts and ill-usage of his companions, then determined to seek supernatural aid. Adorning himself with eagle down, dyed cedar-bark and unfolded cedar-bark, he made his way to a small pool up the valley, where he knew that grizzly bears were in the habit of wrestling. For four days he lay down by the water, without sleeping or eating. At last he saw a bear approaching, but, strengthened by his fast, he showed no sign of fear.

"You have come to obtain power from me," said Grizzly Bear.

"Yes," answered the boy.

"Very well."

Grizzly Bear washed the lad in the pool, and as the creature passed his hands over him, the youth felt an increase in strength. There was a large boulder near the edge of the pool, one which the bears used to use yearly when playing.

"Throw me that rock," said the bear, wishing to see how strong the lad had become.

But the bear, though strong enough to throw it, determined to plead weakness with the intention of obtaining greater strength by more washings. In this he succeeded. When he pretended to try to lift the stone, but failed to do so, Grizzly Bear again washed him, and again he felt increasing vigour.

"Try now," said Grizzly Bear.

A second time the boy pretended that it was too heavy for him.

"Pshaw!" said Grizzly Bear. "If you had any natural courage you would be able to throw it as I do."

So he said this he raised the boulder a considerable distance as though it had been a pebble.

Nevertheless he consented to wash the youth a third time and even, when again he failed to lift the stone, a fourth time. Now the lad decided that he had obtained as much strength as he could, so he picked up the

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"I am very glad. I have you to thank, because I understand that you buried my son merely as a thoughtless prank. The place to which you are bound is very bad. No ordinary traveller ever returns from it, but I am going to make you shamans."*

So saying, she took her pump and put it in a sack, which she gave to the four brothers, who continued their journey. Soon they came to a house, *Pawaiu*, though they knew it not. Peering through the cracks they saw within a man, *Ilgamim*, who invited them to enter, saying that he knew they had come because they did not get on well with their father. He *ahamam-i* had warned them, he invited them to sit down in a certain place in the house, while he went out. He came back arrayed in his dance regalia, and as he performed, the house began to move up. He again withdrew, to return with other dance clothing, and as he danced in it the house descended. *Ilgamim* repeated this procedure four times, the house was so stifling that the brothers could hardly breathe, until one of them reached the pump given to them by *ahamam-i*. Almost immediately they felt relief. *Ilgamim* continued his dance, and a great conflict ensue between the wild and the hunt until finally the latter was vanquished. *Ilgamim* was driven by the wild into a corner where he admitted his defeat, saying:

"You are the first that ever overcame me. Take whatever you desire of my goods or of my power."

Freed by their experience, the four brothers returned to Sulu Coda. Owing to the successful conflict with *Ilgamim*, the four and wild of women usually return to vanquish the hunt of summer, which otherwise would destroy all life.

THE MAN WHO BECAMES WOMAN EVERY TIME THE MOON*

Long, long ago a certain man, *Ichamam-a* on black brothers hunting for four days, knowing it would make him susceptible to visitations from the supernatural. He received every night in his father's house to sleep, and on the fourth night he made a small hole in his blanket, so that when he pulled it over his head he was able to see, though he appeared to be asleep. As he watched he saw a woman approaching, and said to it:

"Don't hide. I see you."

The woman then became a woman and carried *Ichamam-a* in a canoe to the house of the Moon, whence she had come. The Moon rubbed his hands over the face of *Ichamam-a*, thus making him a shaman, he then gave his guest a small whistle, which had the power of calling the eagles

*This story was obtained from a man in his image. On was shown various as an Ichamam and the following must be regarded mainly as an outline.

[illegible] B-5 [illegible]
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It is said that one man accidentally swallowed when spitting on a toad, and swallowed the creature. It lived within his stomach for fifty years, causing no discomfort though its source could feel it moving, and its singing could be heard at intervals. This brought him no supernatural power, although he was enabled by it to live to a great age. When at last he died, the toad came hopping out of his throat and was carried respectfully to the river by his friends who covered the creature with eagle down and dried and analyzed entire herb.

Some of the rites already described with regard to animals and fish are similar in nature to this medicine.

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To Cause Obesity

A medicine was formerly used by chiefs to make them fat and important-looking, but details of it have been forgotten.

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To Cause Ability in Singing

Catch an amamai (varied thrush?) alive and put it four times against the throat of the woman to whom it is desired to impart the art, saying:

"Sing like a singer like you."

Release the bird and the woman will become a good singer.

This bird is considered by the Bella Coola to be the finest songster among British Columbia birds, and they say that many animals and fish, including even the halibut, gather to hear its singing.

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To Cause Ability in Hunting

There is a poisonous plant which, when eaten, almost kills the eater. If he recovers, he is henceforth endowed with great ability as a hunter. The species could not be ascertained.

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824

To Cause Change in Weather

If a cold wind is desired: Place the penis of a mountain goat or beaver on a fire.

If rain is desired: Wash the penis of a large buck and throw it into the water or a river, saying:

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1:McIlwraith K-3 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

789 "Please, may it be so it was when you held intercourse."
821 The basis of these medicines is that mountain goats and
825 beaver mate in November when it is cold, and deer in October when it is rainy.

An old Kimsquit man mentioned that one winter he had been driven ashore by continuous cold winds and was on the verge of starving. He slew a buck and by using the medicine just described was able to bring rain with consequent lessening of wind so that he could continue his journey.

MALEVOLENT MEDICINES

754 *To Destroy the Benefits of Another's Ceremonial Charity*
825 Place pieces of flesh from any recently skinned animal within a coffin from which the skeleton of an enemy has been removed, uttering at the same time the name of the person to be injured. This destroys the "cleansing" acquired by the observance of ceremonial chastity.*

To Cause Insanity in a Woman

Catch a squirrel alive and tie one of the woman's hairs around its stomach; then release the animal. As it runs violently through the forest, sometimes head upwards, sometimes head downwards, so will the brain of the person whose hair it is carrying begin to churn violently till madness ensues.

To Cause Ferocity in Grizzly Bears

Throw the body of a recently killed muskrat against a man's back. The next grizzly bear he encounters will be ferocious, and may kill him. Knowledge of this medicine was learnt by noticing that a number of men who had been struck in play with muskrats, were killed by grizzly bears. The potency of the act has since been recognized.

754 *To Cause Disease in a Malefactor*
727 A number of years ago, when three Bella Coola were killed

*This medicine was learnt from a native constitutionally informed and was not confirmed by others.

salmon are properly looked after, in fact, he is practically the supernatural archetype of the River Guardian. *Imimitlmain*, "The Mover," is a supernatural child who crays with the Resident, and whose sole function appears to be the mooring of *Nuklymm's* craft. *Dakdakimum* is sent by *Imaim a*, who in this connection appears to have human intelligence, to greet *Nuklymm*, and with him come *Imaim a's* son, *Mallmkimum*,[20] to assist *Nuklymm* in poling his craft up the river. All these beings are persons for different *kukwiut*. The Resident is also known as *Amitlis*.

The *kukwiut* assemble in X's house as on the previous occasions; according to some informants two songs are used on this day, others say only one. The people proceed in the usual manner to the lowest house, and make their way upstream. When about half through the village, however, X shrieks out that *Nemitlem* has brought a call to him. The women and the heralds cry out loudly, X hastily returns to his own house, from which the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the *kwiut* whistles sound from within. *Nemitlem* is one of the supernatural beings who has travelled with *Nuklymm* for the sole purpose of bringing a call to X. If the calendrical experts have been successful in their reckonings, the November moon will first be visible on the night of this day. Several of the older men admitted that errors were common, and that sometimes four days were had to elapse, in which it was said that *Nuklymm* was poling up the river. As he passes, his dancers in the different villages receive their calls on successive nights. It is assumed that he can go by several adjacent settlements on the same night, but the *kwiut* assent is two or three days shorter in *Imat* and the upper villages than in *Semqa-n*. Exact information on this point was unavailable. As already described, *Nuklymm* travels to *Imaim a*, whence he leaps to *Nuqulmmim* and places his pole within the house. All the supernatural beings crowd in after him to wait for *Sqamtim*, but as soon as the latter enters, *Nuklymm* seizes his

[20] These informants were then shown six four of these beings.

elaborate myths dealing with the origin of the *hamatsa* dances. They believe that they are performed by the supernatural beings in the land above, and that long, long ago *Alpanaw* and his associates held a meeting at which it was decided to send them down to mortals. They chose as recipient a certain Oulewakwa of Kimsquit, and the prerogative of giving *hamatsa* dances has since been possessed by the owner of that name.* The following account are of the dances performed by a certain Oulewakwa whom it will be convenient to call X. He has six repertories, one for each section of his dance.

As with all other *hamatsa* prerogatives, the impetus to dance can come only on receipt of a call from a supernatural person, the being *Kulkulwaqlar* in the case of all *hamatsa* dances. The uninitiated are told that a call "falls" on the recipient, and moreover that for *hamatsa* dances it can take place only when the supernatural beings are rushing out of the house above on the story of the son at the winter solstice. Thus *hamatsa* dances should take place after the winter solstice, although this requirement has not been enforced in recent years.

The Stomach-Cutting Dance

In the early summer X decides to exercise his prerogative the following winter. He informs one of the marshals of his wish, and the latter summons his associates to the secret meeting-place where the matter is debated at length. Danger of exposure of details to the uninitiated is so great that the marshals refuse permission for the performance unless the would-be dancer is a man of proved reliability. Once this consent has been obtained, X quietly proceeds with his preparations, laying in supplies of food and asking his *hamatsa* friends for their assistance. When the dances begin, X attends as do all other *hamatsa*, though his secret mental excitement increases as the time drawn near for him to perform. The exact time of starting is discussed with the marshals, and a preliminary

*There are other *hamatsa* dances in Bella Coola.

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out that he wants someone to tie up his neck, and, after the usual delay, an uninitiated lad is brought forward for the purpose. The carpenters help him to manipulate the rope, and to reality do the actual tying although they disguise the fact. Then four or five *kokwitsi* seize either end and begin to tug; X cries out as if in pain, the whistles sound, and the women drone. It is most impressive. Finally the head is pulled from the body and falls to the floor, while the apparently headless and lifeless body of X sinks down in the direction taken by the head. Blood and raw flesh are in evidence and the weeping of the women readily convinces non-members that they have witched the decapitation of the dancer. Sometimes the uninitiated themselves are allowed to pull the rope.

The ritual throughout the night is identical with that already described for the Beaverch-Cutting dance. The spirit guard the doors, refusing egress to all, the mourning women sing their songs, the puppets second to the head above and are lowered into X on their return. At intervals groups of the uninitiated are told to come forward; they circle the fire sunwise and see that X's head is lying apart from his body, with the blood and flesh and the severed neck visible. Towards dawn[*] hidden strings are fastened to the head and it is drawn slightly towards the body. One of the moccasin calls out:

"Is moving! Is moving! Do you see it?" and a herald answers: "We see it move."

The slow movement is continued until the uninitiated, who make periodic inspections, are able to say that it has almost rejoined the trunk. As the first glimmer of light appears in the east, one of the carpenters bends over X and takes the opportunity, while he conceals the dancer's body with his coat, to hide the false head beneath his blanket, at the same time X stretches his own head up from under his blanket. The substitute is not evident to the uninitiated.

[*] The passage of time at night is judged by changes in the moon by the height of the tide, or the movements of stars; the latter is also practised in the winter ceremonies. If the stars are hidden, an estimate is made by the number of the logs burnt through their season.

[illegible]

[The Fungus Dance]

from a distance. When one of the participants has spotted the object, it is drawn to shore and carried into the house. The unwitnessed are then called in and seven, often covering their heads with blankets to prevent their spirits being drawn from them. None of the Bella Coola appears to know what governed, in the old days, the choice between these two performances.

The Fungus dance differs considerably from typical dance circuits already described. In part this is certainly due to decay of custom. When the writer witnessed the dance in the winter of 1923-4 it was carried out very crudely by *Snuulelk'ko*, who, unwilling to admit this, was sensitive about the proper ritual. Consequently, the performance of the dance was more of a hindrance than a help to the investigator. But even when full weight is given to this circumstance, it is clear that the Fungus dance is peculiar, particularly in the omission of masked figures on reflexum.

The circuit on that occasion was further complicated by the fact that *Snuulelk'ko* has also the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of either the sun or the moon, and instead on this fact being brought out in connection with her songs. Four of these were composed instead of the usual two, and the supernatural beings described in them were:

Sparrow: under the name of *Snuulelk*.

The Moon.

Swan: This was introduced on account of being the place from which the Salmon-Bringer leaps to the sun. A mask representing this place of parallel power is always painted with salmon designs and the blanket of the wearer is decorated in the same way.

The *Swing* mentioned that set so poses at the ends of the sun's course.

Mole: A supernatural being dwelling under the river who is able to see a fungus in a dance held there. Detailed information about this creature could not be obtained.

At any eclipse, no matter what the season of the year or

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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time of day, X must sing. The heralds call everyone to his house where the singers at once compose a new song, describing sun or moon as the case may be. They then sing it while X dances. Other *kukuxiut* have the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of the sun, and still others at an eclipse of the moon, but X claims to be the only one entitled to dance at both.

575* 746* 821 [339] [424]

THE MYSTERY DANCE

Mystery is the key-note of all *kuxiut* dances, but in the one termed *Ałwatxówł* that element is brought home so forcibly to the uninitiated that it may aptly be called the Dance of Mystery. The Bella Coola explain that the word *Ałwatxówł* means *ałqaw*, "What Is Hidden." The essence of the rite, as explained to non-members, is that the supernatural power which has come to the dancer is embodied in three supernatural beings or in manifestations of them. Unless someone guesses its locations, the performer will die. The Mystery dance is one of the most lengthy Bella Coola rituals and necessitates such a lavish expenditure of food that only a rich man can undertake it.

575* 746* [556]

Accounts were obtained of the ritual as carried out by *Sqwalin i* of *Tsmaxt* and *Saiqwás* of Kimsquit, both of whom have the necessary prerogative. The details differ so slightly in the two localities that only one description need be given, and the dancer can be spoken of as X. The patron of most Mystery dancers is *Sánałłqwałałz Ałqawám*, but that of *Saiqwás* is *Kokoxlum*, a supernatural being remarkable for his wild and erratic behaviour.

[424] [579]

When X has stored up as much food as he thinks necessary, he calls the marshals together to tell them of his desire to dance. In case of consent, they admonish him not to hurry matters but to perform the rite slowly and properly. Preliminary arrangements include the choosing of four *kukuxiut* gifted with good memories to store up in their minds the guesses made by the uninitiated. If many *kukuxiut* are anxious to dance, X usually asks permission on the night of a

2:16:Twenth E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[The Mystery Dance]

what are to be the correct answers? The marshals decide on these, but their judgment really depends on the four remembrancers who are able to tell whether any of the replies they suggest have already been given. When *Saipuk* performed, the answers chosen were: 575* 796*

Simalua, "The Coming of Foul Weather." This word is said to be in the language of the supernatural ones. The implication is that this phenomenon of nature is a manifestation of the will of the supreme deity. [821] [796]

Nacpaste Smaintikla, "The Eagle Down *Smaintikla*." This has the significance of "The Peace Giving *Smaintikla*" since eagle down is a symbol of peace. [825]

Kitwanimum, "The Yawning Chasm." This is the mysterious crevasse which opens before a foolish man when he tries to gain success. In cases where a white man would attribute misfortune to lack of ability or to sheer bad luck, the Bella Coola say that this supernatural chasm has opened before him. It is especially applied to failure in the giving of potlatches. [777]

Scarcely less important than the choice of answers is the second consideration, who is to give them. The uninitiated have been taught that X cannot live unless his riddles are answered, and also that whoever succeeds in solving them can do so only through supernatural assistance. As in the case of a person who finds a repository, so must the one who solves the problem be made a *Sanist*. This is an opportunity for an influential man with a son of suitable age and character to have him initiated into the society, and an eager parent can always be found. He is told the proper answers, and instructed to whisper them to his son the following evening. It is impressed upon the father that this must be done only at the last minute, and that every precaution must be taken to prevent the young man from telling his friends that he has been prompted.

Other matters are arranged at the same time. A shaman must be in readiness to assist in binding the future member of the society to secrecy, and every detail is worked out with care. [756]

[The Dance of Thunder]

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with short, mincing steps. At intervals he pulls forth his stinger and rushes at one of the spectators, poking the weapon at him and humming furiously. The writer took the part of a supernatural mosquito at one of the dances held in the winter of 1922-3 and remembers the expression of fear on the face of a younger member of the audience when about to be "stung." The victim was certainly afraid on that occasion, and if that feeling could survive the break-down of belief, it is not to be wondered at that fear was universal in the days when the *kukwiat* were thought to be possessors of supernatural powers. Another being who often appears at a dance of Thunder is Rainwater-Dripping-from-the-Roof. The masked figure walks slowly around the fire and *Ant'ikwulaxis* explains that this is the water which drops from a hole in the planking. The Clowns

[522]

are never omitted, and always cause amusement amid the gravity of the rite. One after another, the supernatural beings appear from the enclosure, circle the fire, and withdraw, accompanied by the sage remarks of *Ant'ikwulaxis*. Finally there is a long pause, broken when a masked figure slowly toddles forth. It is Snail, who started at the same time as the other supernatural beings but arrived too late to be present at the dance of Thunder. Snail circles the fire and disappears. At this point the uninitiated are expelled and the rite concludes as usual.

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Dancers whose patrons are Thunder, Earthquake, Sun, or Moon do not confine their dances to the ceremonial season, but perform whenever a manifestation of their patron occurs. If

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[821]

Thunder is heard, no matter what the time of day or season of year, X stands up and cries out:

"It [he does not refer to Thunder by name] is dancing too hastily up aloft. *Xwo* ...."

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The call of *xwo* ... is thought to have a quieting effect on Thunder. Any *kukwiat* women present at once dress, then, accompanied by a number of his associates, X proceeds to the lowest house of the village where the same ritual is repeated. This is done in every dwelling, after which X returns home and

Z:Mc:Gwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of Thunder]

the uninitiated are expelled. If several *ḱukuciut* in the same village are prestigis of Thunder, each makes a circuit independently, but they agree to meet afterwards in the house of one of their number. Here all members of the society assemble for a meal provided hurriedly by X, or to a number of meals if several have Thunder as patron; in this case there is no pooling of food. The marshals take the opportunity of giving their customary admonitions, as if it were midwinter. Next the singers combine their ideas and beat out a new song of which the theme is Thunder who never rests; it is worded as if X were speaking and describing what his patron is doing. This song is sung and resung until all present have learnt both tune and words. If there are several *ḱukuciut* with Thunder as patron, a song is made for each and practised in the same manner. 575* 796* [533] [533]

When all is ready, one of the heralds calls in the uninitiated. Each song is sung to the accompaniment of beating sticks while a dancer performs. Instead of X, this is an old man or woman who has not had a call for many years. Often the *ḱuciut* selected is so old that he or she can dance only with the support of a stick; no reason could be learnt for this surprising deviation from the usual practice. If several songs have been composed, a new dancer performs to each. After the last dance the uninitiated are expelled and the *ḱukuciut* soon follow. Since no call has come, it follows that it is of a ceremonial, though not of a sacred nature, and does not take the regular course of winter dances. It is said to "make good the path of Thunder," the term employed being identical with that used for the dance on sakcum after the burning of the masks. [787]

Nothing more need be said about the Thunder dance, except to give the following origin myth: 575* 796*

Long ago, long before the white man came to this land, but still longer after its first settlement, four brothers left Kimsquit to hunt mountain goats on Mount Tsuquiko', near the Kimsquit River.* It was September, 539 827

*This mountain is also known as Sheep-back Salmon Mountain, its shape resembles the fish in question and it is said that long ago, in the very beginning of time, a salmon became petrified there. [109]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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the goats were plentiful, fat, and unsuspicious, so that before nightfall they had killed four. Well satisfied, they lay down in a cave to sleep for the night. At that time no one knew what supernatural being caused thunder; the earliest inhabitants of the world had possessed that knowledge but it had been forgotten in the intervening generations. Towards midnight the hunters were awakened by a loud boom and wondered what could have caused it. Presently they saw approaching a figure resembling a man, with a weird non-human face, who carried in each hand a huge rock crystal.* He raised and lowered his arms as if pounding; at each movement the crystals struck each other, producing the booming sound and also emitting a flash of light. The eldest brother, *Saiks*, told the others to cover their faces with their blankets and to keep their eyes closed, because some evil and powerful creature was drawing near. But the second brother, who had caught a glimpse of the two crystals and greatly desired them, watched cautiously, hoping for an opportunity to steal them. Thunder, for it was none other, ranged around; at intervals he passed across to the other side of the intervening valley on a sidewalk which grew before his feet to form a bridge for him, and on it, too, he was able to retrace his steps. Several times Thunder crossed and recrossed, accompanied by reverberating peals. He came near the four brothers and danced; then lay down while fire emerged from his nostrils. The second brother began to feel scorched, gradually the heat increased, but he was powerless to move; before dawn, when Thunder vanished, he had been roasted to death.

The three survivors buried the dead man in a hastily made grave in the floor of the cave and went home, abandoning the mountain goats which they had killed. *Saiks*, though grieved at the loss of his brother, felt that the latter's death was his own fault for peeking when he had been warned not to do so. Not long afterwards the two younger brothers died. Then the sole survivor told a carpenter to make him a mask secretly, according to a design which he would describe. In this way the face of Thunder was portrayed in wood. When the mask was ready, *Saiks* wore it and gave an imitation of the actions of his patron; no one had ever seen anything like it and the people were amazed.

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No great antiquity is ascribed to this myth and it gives no explanation of questions which at once arise in the investigator's mind. The type is fairly common in Bella Coola; in fact, the only unusual part of it is that the visionary received a *tsaiat* prerogative rather than one of the forms of good for-

*This is said to have been equivalent to the fire-cattle of a Thunder dancer.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*575 *796 but a proud and energetic dancer sometimes repeats a cere-
[424] mony three or four times.

THE SUN DANCE[94]

[776] One of the forms in which *Ałquntäm* appears is that of the
[821] Sun, and in that case he is referred to as *Sunxälotla*. Considering the importance of this deity, it is rather surprising that the *kusiut* dance of which he is patron is not more impressive. Efforts were made to obtain full details of the ceremonial from several informants, but only a number of incidents and a bare
[124] outline could be obtained. In part this was due to the fact that none of the informants[95] were themselves protégés of *Ałquntäm*, but this is not in itself sufficient to explain the comparative unimportance of the dance, since full accounts were obtained of other rituals from those who did not own them.

Nothing was learnt of the origin of any of the Sun dance
[424] prerogatives, except that ancestors of the owners obtained them
[551] from *Ałquntäm*. It is a common right, and *kukusiut* having *Ałquntäm* as patron are found in every village, among them being *Qoxolän·i* of *Tcmotl*, and *Nexnextiwalaix* of *Nusqalst*. As far as could be ascertained, the ritual of various Sun dance performances is identical, so one account will suffice and the dancer can be termed X.

Like other *kusiut* dancers, X can perform at any time during the ceremonial season, subject to the approval of the marshals. The call comes to him in the normal manner, the uninitiated are expelled, and the *kukusiut* gather in his house to practise
[533] the songs which the singers have just composed. The theme
[776] is of *Ałquntäm*, describing his manifold functions, and particularly that of guiding the Sun. The following day a second song with similar theme is composed, and in the evening the tasks are allotted for the manufacture of masks. Four are re-
[532] quired; a large one representing *Ałquntäm* himself, one of
[171]

[94]Needless to say, no connection or similarity is implied with the dance of the same name in other areas.

[95]Except one man who had forgotten all details since his conversion to Christianity many years before.

[The Sun Dance]

Ano'likwulsaix, and two of the supernatural Clowns. In addition a white disk, about four feet in diameter, is ordered with a human face in the centre; this represents the Sun with *Alquntäm*. No detailed description is required until the night of *nakusam*. 575* 796* [582]

The *kukusiut* gather in the dusk and summon the uninitiated as soon as all is in readiness. On entering, they see the huge and imposing figure of *Alquntäm* standing in the centre of the space behind the fire, flanked by a number of the most important *kukusiut* as if to pay respect to him. X stands immediately behind, repeatedly throwing one arm over *Alquntäm*'s head and crying *hoip* to soothe the visitor. The two Clowns move to and fro, all over the house, making what remarks they like as if they were spoilt children. *Ano'likwulsaix* stands on one side, explaining the meaning of it all, and giving the names of the supernatural beings represented. Suddenly the white disk appears against the back wall near the roof, slowly passes sunwise across the house, and disappears. The uninitiated recognize that it is not the Sun, but to them it seems miraculous that this body can move as it does, and they easily accept *Ano'likwulsaix*'s explanation that this is the way *Alquntäm* crosses the heavens. They do not know that for the last two days the carpenters have been exercising their ingenuity in arranging cords so that the object can be drawn across smoothly and steadily. Again the sun "rises," and crosses the back wall, only to disappear from sight. This is repeated twice more, making four times in all. It is said that sometimes the Sun is made to spin just before it "sets," but the method could not be learnt. At this juncture the uninitiated are sent home and the proceedings conclude as usual. [522] [821]

In addition to performing in the customary manner, X is required to dance on other definite occasions, without the coming of a call. According to some informants, X must sing of his patron at the beginning of the ceremonial season, coincidently with the protégé of *Nookynum*. This is probably correct but details were unobtainable. In any case, when the [424]

[The Sun Dance]

*575 dance of *Nuitcum* is omitted owing to the large expenditure
*796 required, X must sing, without a call, in conjunction with the
*Wi-a dancer. In this case also the details are lacking.

[824] Likewise at the winter solstice, when the tarrying *Alpomim*
[821] at last enters *Nuapalcumaiste* to greet the waiting supernatural
kulusiut, it is incumbent on his protégé to perform in his
honour below. The singers are always ready with a new song
for the occasion, and in the evening his fellows assemble in his
house to learn it. X wears the usual ceremonial collar, but he
lacks the awe-inspiring qualities of a *kulusiut* who has had a call.
When the song has been sufficiently practised, the uninitiated
are brought in to listen to it and to watch the dancing of X. At
the conclusion of the performance they are given a little food,
provided by X, which they carry away while the *kulusiut*
remain to eat at their ease and listen to the admonitions of the
marshals. It is probable that the ritual carried out at the
beginning of the ceremonial season is identical with the above.
[821] One old man stated that long ago it was customary to dance
in the same manner at the summer solstice; this might be
expected, but confirmation was unobtainable.

*575 Like the protégé of Thunder, X is sometimes called upon
*796 to perform during the non-ceremonial season. But whereas a
821 Thunder dancer acts when his patron is apparent by peals of
sound, X must do so when his patron is invisible through an
eclipse.** The ritual is almost identical with that already de-
scribed for a Thunder dancer so nothing but additional details
need be inserted. X visits every house shaking a rattle, which
is not the case with Thunder dancers. After his circuit of the
village, the *kulusiut* gather in his house where the singers are
[533] composing a new song describing the phenomenon. The words
explain that Eclipse, the supernatural being *Nuqtsly*', has
blocked or destroyed the path of the Sun, and add how disas-
trous it would be if the Sun could not recover its way. Later
on, the uninitiated are called in to watch X's dance which, like

[776] **The Bella Coola term both for "eclipse" and the being responsible is *Nuqtsly*'
[792] which also means "A Fire That Has Died Out."

the one that takes place at a thunder-storm, is said to "make good the path" of the patron. It would formerly have been a very serious offence for a Sun dancer not to perform at an eclipse; his failure would probably have been punished with death by the marshals. One informant vividly recalled his fears when he failed to perform at an eclipse soon after his conversion to Christianity, and reiterated that he had been in deadly peril from the marshals in spite of the white man's law. 575* 796* 821 688 177

THE MOON DANCE

The Sun is not the only heavenly body that acts as patron to *kwiat* dancers, the Moon also has many human protégés. Among them is *Nakwimás*, "The Moon When It Is Uncovered," of *Tsmsil*, from whom the following account of the Moon dance was obtained. As usual, he can be spoken of as X. 776 355 424

The Moon dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial season, subject, of course, to X's wishes and the consent of the marshals. The coming of the call is heralded in the usual manner and the *kwiat* presently assemble to learn the song just composed. It describes the following supernatural beings:

Ásiatáwm:** A woman who lives in the moon and who can be seen in certain of its phases, always carrying a bucket of water. 575* 796*

The two *Ásipuiaat*: These two beings are able periodically to blacken the Moon's face, thus causing an eclipse. 821 776

The two *Sóitmáwat*:** These kindly women clean the Moon's face after it has been blackened. It is these beings who come to earth to assist stricken *kwiat*.

The song also describes how no supernatural being dares to pass the Moon's house during an eclipse, a prohibition similar to that obeyed by uninitiated with regard to passing outside a house where a *kwiat* ceremony is taking place. 784

*Ásiatáwm is the usual term for ghost; no reason was given for the application of the same designation to the women living in the moon. 775 192

**There is difference of opinion among the Bella Coola as to whether or not there is more than one of these beings.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

but the natives all understand that later performances by those with the same name are only possible with the assistance of carpenters. This dance has not been carried out for so many years that the details have been forgotten.

THE DANCE OF THE BIRDS

The Bella Coola notice that in autumn many of the birds disappear, to be seen no more until spring. Ignorant of a warmer climate to the south and of the causes of migration, they explain the phenomenon by saying that *Alquntăm* collects the birds in some mysterious place for the winter and releases them in the spring. It is believed that he does the same with supernatural birds in the land above. The setting free of the birds, which is in effect a scattering, is known as *nuqwekuil* and is personified; he is the patron of a *kusiut* named *Qiete*. For the ceremony of this man's dance a huge circular cage containing wooden birds is constructed. By means of a regular maze of hidden strings they are made to "fly," to the extreme amusement of the uninitiated. This is one of the most complicated *kusiut* rites. Contrary to the usual practice, no eagle down is used for fear that it might settle on the strings and betray their existence to the spectators.

THE DANCE OF DARKNESS AND SLEEP

The patron of this dance is a being who has the power of bringing nightfall, and later, sleep. In accordance with his double function, a dual personality is attributed to him. In fact, he is almost two beings; as *Sunqlominit*, "Darkness," he causes night to come once every twenty-four hours, whereupon as *Sniłoma*, he brings sleep. His *kusiut* protégé displays on ceremonial figures with black painted masks, representing both phases of his patron.

THE DANCE OF THE WHIRLWIND

Whirlwinds, though of rare occurrence in British Columbia, are known to the Bella Coola who believe that they are caused by the being *Swaltiarmanem*. Like all supernatural creatures,

Whirlwind usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits this earth. He is patron for a *kusiut* who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary.

THE DANCE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the group of *Snivia*. This being is patron for certain *kulusiut* and whenever a tremor occurs, his protégés call their associates and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is identical with that described for dancers whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The theme of the song is of the manner in which *Snivia* performs his function of holding the world. A call from *Snivia* may also come in the normal manner to one of his protégés during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, *Snivia* is patron to a *kusiut* named *Allhalkulais*.

THE DANCE OF TIDE-MEASURER

The height to which the tides shall rise is decided by a male supernatural being, *Mustlato sum*, "Tide-Measurer." He is patron of a *kusiut* named *Tsil*, whose repository is near *Sälia*. One of *Tsil*'s ancestors brought the rite with him from above in the beginning of time. The songs used at the dance describe how Tide-Measurer uses a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of *nuluzum* the uninitiated are told to go to their houses but, by peering round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the ocean, and thrust down to the bottom a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BULL-HEAD

Since any supernatural being can act as patron to *kusiut* dancers, and since all mammals and birds are, in a sense, super-

*575 natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is
*796 usually added that the animal in question is the one resident
776 in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary
825 river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to
[778] follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded
to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his
house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he
objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the
[821] stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed
[224] his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that
time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. As
far as could be learnt, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who
is patron for a certain *kusiut* is the head of a female herring.
Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to
[532] doubt. For the *nuhcum* of her protégé, a number of masks
representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are pre-
pared. When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised
figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the
fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dukdukāwas*, the
supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *kusiut* but the
ritual of the dance, known as *ornāwanais*, was not obtained.
The similarity between *Dukdukāwas* and *Dukdukāwsem*, those
who await *Nuākpsum*, appears merely to be an accidental re-
[192] semblance in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning
"to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection
with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

*575
*796
776
184
[755]

THE DANCE OF *Almoqhaikila*

In Kimsquit it is believed that *Ano'likwelsais* has a hus-
776 band, *Almoqhaikila*, who is patron for several *kusiut* dancers.
His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to

575*
776*
776
184
[766]
[532]

mounds upon a repository and are swallow down by his wife. Like a shaman, he does this by blowing violently upon the back of the victim's neck and calling out, *hoip*. From constant repetition his mouth has become large and round. When displayed on *nalaxam*, the mask representing *Atmaqhulala* is painted black and has bulging, blown-out cheeks, and a round protruding mouth as if in the act of blowing. Neither the dance nor belief in this figure appear to occur in Bella Coola itself.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BARK-PEELER

In the land above there lives a supernatural woman who spends all her time in pounding cedar-bark such as is used, either dyed or undyed, for ceremonial objects of different kinds. Her name is *Spiqhtnum di Xwalhala* and she is patron for various *hakaiat*. On the *nalaxam* of her Kimsquit prodigie, she appears as a masked figure engaged in her usual occupation and makes a circuit of the house while a salmon is displayed. The relationship between this being and the salmon is problematical, and it is uncertain whether or not the same rite is practised in Bella Coola.

[532]

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL AWAKENER

575*
776*
776
[532]

Every morning in *Nuxqulwaiste* the woman *Spaiqhaynamde-a* goes around waking up the supernatural beings. She is patron for several *hakiat* dancers. On the *nalaxam* of her prodigi, a masked figure representing the Awakener goes to every house in the village and pounds on the doors, but does not enter, to the relief of the uninitiated who have sought refuge within the bed-rooms.

THE DANCE OF DAWN

Not only must the supernatural beings be aroused in the morning, but every day the Sun himself must be requested to appear; this is done by the beings known as *Xemaxmtnum*, who are patrons for several *hakaiat*. On *nalaxam* they appear and *Ana'Skwalnair* explains to the uninitiated who they are and

[821]

424 Qwaiwaite-i moved to and fro among the chiefs as they were busying themselves in preparations for hunting, and knew so herself the spirit of every one of the party. As they pushed off from the shore, she put them on a board which she set down behind them. It vanished in the free rapids, increasing the various spirits, and presently the canoes were upset and their occupants all drowned. The six orphans continued to live at *Sinaa* where they intermarried with the poor people and in time the village increased in population and fully equalled in old importance.

This myth has many points of resemblance with those described in vol. I, chap. xv. Each of the six orphans, and especially *Qwaiwaite-i*, received the boon of supernatural good fortune, but the powers given to the five took the form of a *tsaxiet* prerogative. The names so received are either in use at the present time or have but recently become dormant. *Nanin* was used by the father's brother of the woman who related the story; *Zong* was belongs to her son, a boy about eight years old; *Nanow* is the property of another youth, related to the family; *nanw* has been lent to a friend, subject to recall at any time, and *Qwaiwaite-i* is used by a girl relative about twenty years of age. Each of these has the prerogative of carrying out the dance given to their ancestor at *Sinaa*, long ago.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CARPENTERS[90]

In the beginning *Alpaxim* went down to a point on the upper reaches of the Clearwater four brothers, *Nimlumbsis*, *Wainaum*, *Alpaxim*, and *Sisi-k-tsis* with several sisters whose names have been forgotten. They thought they were the first to reach this earth but presently, to their sorrow, saw *Tidzumbis*, a man who had preceded them, and the women cried bitterly in their mortification. *Alpaxim* had given *Nimlumbsis* shamanistic power which he now used as he rubbed his hands over his sisters' faces to carry away their tears.

"Become fog," he said, as he held the palms of his tear-stained hands towards the land of the *Ta-ga-al* people.

[221] That is why there are thick fogs in the vicinity of Alert Bay to the present day.

Nimlumbsis and his relatives moved a short distance down the valley

[115] [90]Related by Susanhoot Annie.

533*

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible], everywhere, [illegible] of	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

(a) The first four parts of this song were recorded on song [illegible] in the National Museum of Canada images, Jim Pilbeck. It is said to have been composed [illegible] in a chief whose son had been drowned. It was later sung for a wedding of [illegible], and will henceforth be employed only by members of that family. [424]

(b) Then to: Why has my son died?

(c) It was impossible to obtain translations of such substrings.

(d) Referring to the dead son.

(e) Then to: The supernatural being, the chief, has taken him. The witness to the deceased's close friend, a mimetic [illegible] device is sung.

(f) The ancestor of the deceased said one of the four corners of the world. He came from to Kwam Lake.

(g) Pakanskie is said to have existed, or even to have made, the principal river of Kwam Lake. [778]

(h) Pakanskie came to the form of a raven.

(i) Referring to Qamam.

(j) It was impossible to obtain translations of these two substrings. Qamam, the dead, will be irremovably connected with the woman of his first ancestor.

(k) Meaning Kwam.

(l) The mother of Qamam who had died several years earlier.

(m) The theme now changes as if Qam were addressing Qamam.

(n) Referring to Qamam.

(o) Refers to the supernatural beings who cause the sun and moon and thus create their light to shine on earth. Mention is made of them in Qamam's origin myth. [776] [821]

(p) The theme changes again from direct address to Qamam to a description of what he will be doing owing to his ancestral heritage.

(q) Then to: He will be in the form of one of the guardians of light when his life departs, or a mythical patriarch, in Kwam Lake.

(r) Then to: Then was when Wanko brought. Wanko, another of Qamam's first ancestors, could not find a suitable place to settle in the beginning of [illegible] After fruitless wandering, a whale emerged, vomited violently, and was changed to stone. The animal then became a Green Island, and its vomit the rugged rocks on the coast. Wanko settled on that island. [773] [823]

(s) This song has three chief parts.

(t) Then to: The four people, with their shamans-like powers, had just appeared.

(u) Referring to [illegible], another of Qamam's first ancestors, who also [illegible] to earth on Kwam Lake.

(v) At that time the ocean between different settlements had not been a dis-[illegible].

(w) More specifically, the ocean, long known [illegible].

(x) [illegible] used a supernatural canoe which frequently changed to magic [illegible]. [773]

(y) Refers to Sea-Lion Island where he and his descendants used to hunt.

(z) Refers to the Sulu Rule; several of Qamam's relatives had married members of that tribe.

Z: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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(a) Recorded as song VII D 45b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) That is: The supernatural one held me in his carefully cupped hands. The shaman is recorded as if the shaman were speaking and describing the way he was carried away to some far-off spot for treatment.

Fragment of a Song Used by Ähuriyamm, a Bella Coola Woman(a)

Ähuriyämmähuhlikly Laughed	*sisyamsisyu sqᵂulx Sisqᵂ*(b)	*dimsqwisimulin* when they(c) heard	*dilhaclaulai my rite as shamans*(d).

[remainder omitted]

Kaimyhwin
See how wrinkled I am(e).

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 43a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

(b) That is: The sky laughed. Shamans often use grandiloquent expressions such as this.

(c) Refers to supernatural beings in general.

(d) It is not known how this woman received her power except that it was from a salmon.

(e) The singer entered fully into the spirit of this song, and ended his singing by calling out these words and chattering his teeth as shamans are wont to do.

Fragment of a Song Used by Kuziyat, a Bella Coola Woman(a)

Sunwskila The sun(b),	*Sunwskila* the sun,	*dimänxlwdai* is our father	*ooooi* (c)!

The rest of this song has been forgotten(d).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 34a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

[821]
[776]
[788]

(b) This is the sun's name as chief.

(c) The meaning of this word is unknown. When the song was sung, the people used to follow the shaman to the river and throw water over themselves four times, accompanied by the crying out of this word.

(d) It seems highly probable that incoherent songs such as this were commonly used by shamans. *Kuziyat* herself is supposed to have derived her power from *Thlaplitsw-a*, but no explanation could be learnt for the rite of washing.

The most fragmentary of all shaman songs are those used by *snäxom.*. Although the last survivor of this type of visionary died many years ago, all the older Bella Coola state

Fourth Song Used for Sneldi'ku, a Bella Coola Pungas Dancer(s) 533*

A Dzemkhqumqumqumqum	*yau wihaxtalhai*	*ainqumkuimachiach*
Has now recovered	the *hactat* woman(d),	when they(c) expand

mamilhamichich
the heavy burden(d).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Tlaxiqa xilhamichiche	*dimachiach wmalmalmai*	*dithlqiwmqumqumlai*
There is light on the edge(e),	looks down	the much revered

mihlmhichichai
Moon(f).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C Wachilhalai xqulmaix	*dilhachiwmwmwmch*	*dachqumkuimx ailchai*
They(g) become frightened	of that *hactat*(h)	whenever he displays

dzqqulmqumlaix
his blackened face(i).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 10, National Museum of Canada, 1911, Pat'ic Charlie, Reuben Schooner, and Steamboat Annie. This song, composed by Nelmelmwmqum, was used during the *hactat* season of 1923-4.

(d) That is: The *hactat* woman, the dancer, has now recovered. The implication is that she was grievously stricken when the power first came, before she knew what was expected of her.

(e) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(f) Referring to the Pungas.

(e) Referring to the edge of *Sang'ai*".

(f) That is: The much revered Moon looks down. The Moon is one of the dancer's patrons and the song asserts that he looked down on her when he heard that she was in trouble. "Much revered" refers to the attitude with which she regards her patron. [776]

(g) Referring to all *hahaiai*, human as well as supernatural.

(h) Referring to Moon.

(i) That is: Whenever he blackens his face. At an eclipse the face of the moon is said to become blackened, and the song implies that this is done deliberately by Moon in order to perform a *hactat* dance. [776] [821]

Song Used for Saiyaai, a Kimsquit Mystery(a) Dancer(b)

A Sinichimtsawit	*yaihmtsatalhm*	*alikspelimtsap'*
Stand firm and be brave,	mortals(c),	when you guess(d)

Ilkhalai'mmilai
its place of concealment(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

(a) This is addressed to the ministered, one of whom has passed recently.
(b) The assumption is that this has been done with the aid of *Snaqnaxnaxum*.
(c) Referring to the supernatural beings above.
(d) That is: To arise for supernatural dancing any.
(e) The reference is to *Sisi'ulaxlu Hayamum*, the dancer's power. The meaning of the whole passage is obscure but seems to be as follows: *Sisi'ulaxlu Hayamum* was perturbed at the coming of the call to his protégé and, to help then follow, the other supernatural beings called upon *Sisiwanx* to dance. This sound has a healing effect and would, therefore, enable human beings to arise the sooner. The phraseology is consciously obscure.

Song Used for Willie Jakeman(a), a Bella Coola Thunder Dancer(b)

A [illegible] I have just heard	[illegible] (the) coming down,	[illegible] it changes its voice

[illegible]
above our heads(c).

[illegible]

B [illegible] They sound plainly	[illegible] the *Sisiwanx*(d)	[illegible] to lead the funeral hearing of sicks(f)

[illegible]
at the gathering of the supernatural beings in the lead above.

[illegible]

C [illegible] Too many to be seen	[illegible] are those called(g);	[illegible] when they increased

[illegible]
the water(h).

(a) The Bella Coola name of the dancer was unfortunately omitted.
(b) Recorded as song VII D 57, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, encourager and prompter, assisted by *Tsi'a* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song was composed for, and used during the *Sisiwanx* season of 1923-4.
(c) Referring to the call.
(d) It is doubtful whether this statement is more than a rhetorical device to impress the ministered.
(e) Referring to Thunder.
(f) Thunder, one of the most powerful of the supernatural *Sisiwanx*, has the prerogative of leading the orchestra of sick hosters to "cure" a fellow-dancer. The song states that his fellows requested him to perform this function.
(g) That is: So many are in attendance that they cannot be recognized. The reference is to Thunder's dance in the lead above, for which the supernatural *Sisiwanx* assemble from all directions.
(h) The allusion is to the rain which follows Thunder's dance.

Song Used for [illegible], a Bella Coola Thunder(a) Dancer(b)

*599 *A* [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]

I cannot tell whence comes what(c) I have, I cannot tell where it is, there is nothing but fog above, I am to wonder(d).

[WOMAN'S SONG]

B [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]

The hands of everyone helped Tsilcmas(e) in the wonderful works he was doing for himself; all wanted him to do the same for them(f).

[WOMAN'S SONG]

C [illegible] In moving again | [illegible] the fire-holder(g), | [illegible] it is being shaken by [illegible]

Thunder (h).

[776] (a) *Hamats* has two patrons, Thunder and Tsilcmas. During the winter of 1923-4 he was initiated into the *hamat* society as a Thunder dancer, in the following
*575 song, reference is made to both his patrons, but he would have to be introduced
*796 once more, with a second name, before he could dance with respect to Tsilcmas.

(b) Recorded on song VII D 11, National Museum of Canada; quarter, Reuben Johnson, leader, Jim Pollard, announcer and grunter, assisted by Tal'a Charlie and Sneadquat Acum. This song, composed by Tal'a Charlie, was used during the *hamat* season of 1923-4.

(c) Referring to the call.

(d) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions.

(e) One of the dancer's patrons.

(f) It was impossible to obtain an individual translation for each of these subdivisions.

[776] (g) That is: The fire-holder is moving again. The reference is to the article
● [821] shaken by Thunder which causes lightning. In dances, this is shown as a hollow
*575 cycle containing smouldering cedar-bark of which fragments are scattered in all
*796 directions.

(h) The dancer's second patron.

Fragment of a Song Used for [illegible], a Bella Coola Ghost Dancer(a)

A [illegible] | [illegible]

Why is there no name(b)? | Each(c) speaks proudly of himself(d);

[illegible] they use as house posts(e) | [illegible] their chin-bones.

[WOMAN'S SONG]

The rest of this song has been forgotten.

[illegible]

B [illegible]
I was not good enough(a) | [illegible]
where come to me, | [illegible]
my parents, 593*

[illegible]
I said him so.

[illegible]

C [illegible]
He was passed outside his house(b) | [illegible]
within sight | [illegible]
where blackened his face

[illegible]
Shem(f).

(a) This song, composed by Rosiku Sakonam, was sung during the burial season of 1923-4.

(b) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

(c) The reference is to the soil. The meaning of this whole first part is highly problematical, the references are conventionally obscure to impress the uninitiated.

(d) That is: I did not have sufficient goods to distribute for a ceremony.

(e) The theme here changes from a description of the dancer's experiences to an account of his parent's actions to the land shem.

(f) That is: When Shem, the dancer's parents, blackened his face, we was passed over within sight of his house. As uninitiated are forbidden to pass in front of a dwelling in which a burial dance is taking place, an supernatural beings avoid the vicinity of Shem's house where he is performing. The blackening of the face refers to an eclipse, but has no added significance since it is an introduction of a dance. [996] [784] [821]

As already described (II, p. 119), the Otter dance differs from 593*
most *burial* rites and the songs are likewise peculiar. They do
not vary from year to year and the following example, used [575]
during the season of 1913-4, contains many points of an unusual [796]
nature, not even understood by the participants themselves.
It has only two parts, each with a different tune, and the per- [535]
former carried out her rite by dancing in two distinct ways.
In the first part, she raised and lowered her fore-arms as is
customary, but followed this with a smoothing motion, as if
she were levelling upturned earth. The significance of this
seems to have been forgotten entirely.

Song Used for Kaudaw-i, a Female Kimquit Otter Dancer(a)

A *Shiawahqudu* | *yau dsiiyanyaudu* | *sawitqalitsaudu*
It has always been so, | is(b) has no shame(c), | all see it

2:Mellwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1968
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A Song in Mixed Carrier(a)-Bella Coola(b)

cohawaw-i	*cohawaw-i*	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
cohawaw-i(c),	*cohawaw-i*,	*?(d)*	*?*

[illegible]	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
?	*?*	*?*

nafuna	*cohawaw-i*
the very hairy pudenda	*cohawaw-i(e)*.

(a) It is uncertain whether this song was derived from the Carrier or the Chilkotin.

(b) Recorded as song VII D 10b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(c) The anthropomorphized supernatural cold wind, resident in the upper Bella Coola. The old trail from the interior passed through the valley and the word must have been familiar to the Indians of the interior.

[776
821]

(d) The words marked with queries are all in Carrier (or Chilkotin).

(e) This third part of the song is called forth loudly, not sung, and always gives rise to laughter. It means: *cohawaw-i* has hairy pudenda, a reference to the luxuriant growth of bushes and grass in the valley where she is localized.

A Carrier Song(a)

This song is said to have been used at some ceremonial at Ulkatcho, in the Carrier country. The rite is spoken of as a potlatch, although the Bella Coola state that it differed entirely from one of their own potlatches, and that every guest brought his own song. The words are:

atlt	*tsawala*
Knife,	none at all.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 10c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

The Bella Coola have no idea of the meaning of this song.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

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"Cut him in pieces," she said, "as you would with salmon preparatory to smoking."

Mink was in the canoe and heard her injunction. He willed that the captain should steer a course near the shore, and when the canoe was rounding a point he jumped overboard and succeeded in reaching the land, where he sought refuge. The raiders chased him on shore so hotly that Mink was finally forced to hide in a small hole under the rocks, but on entering it he took with him some shell-fish. One of the pursuers, seeing the hole, thrust his spear down into it, but Mink smeared on this the entrails of the shell-fish. When the raiders saw the gore on the spear they concluded they had killed him and went off.

As soon as his enemies had gone away, Mink sneaked out and grabbed the old woman by the back of the neck, yelling in her ear:

"What did you call out to the raiders?"

"I told them to take good care of you," she replied, "that you were like a son to me."

"Did you indeed?" said Mink, who had heard perfectly what she said.

First he bit off her legs, then chewed to pieces the rest of her body, shredding it into scraps which he threw into the water, telling them to become crabs.

This is the origin of crabs.

THE FIRE

About three generations after the first people had come to this earth, Mink went up to *Nasmāt·a* and asked *Ālqumtsm* to lend him his robe, so that he might take his place as sun. The request was granted, but, once [821] given control of the sun, Mink guided the canoe-like luminary so close to earth that the rivers and oceans boiled, and it was only in the glaciers that the people were able to exist. At Kimsquit a man and his dog were turned to stone; it is said that they can still be seen in this form.[24]

Animals as well as men suffered from Mink's wickedness. Grizzly Bear's coat was singed to its present rusty colour; Weasel tried to hide himself but failed to draw in the end of his tail which was burnt black, a mark still carried by all his descendants; Clam closed his shell for protection and so was blackened only at its orifice; all the other creatures suffered in various ways.

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[171] [24] A similar belief is said to be shared by the Cowichan people of Vancouver Island. About 1900, a considerable amount of charred wood was found four feet beneath the surface of the ground, on the mountain west of the Nechetsconnay River. The Bella Coola consider this to be proof of the disaster.

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replaced it with stones. Finally they put the feet back into their original position and fastened down the lid. Before leaving, they put some morsels of meat on the teeth of Jay, who was lying with his mouth open. 539*

When the fire had died down, Jay awoke and said to his anus:

"Jay, I think the food must be ready. The fire has burnt low."

He went to the pot and grasped one leg, which came away easily; then did the same with several birds.

"Yes," he said, "the legs come away easily; the food must be ready."

But when he lifted the cover he found nothing but stones. Great was his surprise, especially since there was a taste of food in his mouth. Thoughtfully he picked his teeth.

"I must have had a meal after all," he said.

Then he felt his stomach.

"No, I can't have eaten."

Again as he picked his teeth his perplexity increased.

"I must have eaten," he muttered.

But his empty stomach drove him to the conclusion that he had not.

Deciding that his anus must have played a practical joke on him, he determined to punish it severely. He built a blazing fire, then turned his back to it and began to toast his rump. Alas! As the culprit suffered, so did Jay himself.

When he could bear the pain no longer he fled.

HERRING AND OLACHEN

Long ago, Herring had a small dorsal fin near his tail, as do olachen, trout, and salmon at the present time. At that period Olachen had no fin, but on his head a large mass of unruly hair which defied his efforts to brush it. The two agreed to trade, Olachen giving some of his grease for Herring's fin. That is why, today, Herring has no fin on his back, as Olachen has, and why the head alone of the former is greasy.

THE DEFEAT OF COLD WIND

Soon after the first people had come down to this earth, while they were still semi-human, many were killed by Cold Wind, who destroyed all the berries and green things, so that both men and animals were in dire straits for food. A meeting was held at which it was unanimously decided to attack Cold Wind, an enormous black-skinned man, living far to the north. A war-party set out but though some members of it penetrated nearly to his house, they were driven back by the severe cold. 539* 821

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On their return they asked Halibut for his help, and he agreed to join a second expedition. This set off, many thousands strong, all the men and all the animals. Warned by previous experience, they wore heavy clothing, but in spite of it, many of them froze to death as they drew near Cold Wind's house. Those that finally reached it saw their enemy lying on his back and blowing a cold current from his anus. The young and brave men rushed in and pinioned their enemy on his back before he was aware of their approach. Halibut took up his position outside the door.

"What do you mean by killing mortals?" he said. "I am going to kill you for your evil deeds."

Cold Wind suddenly exerted his strength, threw off the puny men who were trying to hold him down, and rushed out of his house. But he did not notice Halibut, who was lying down just outside, and stepped on him, so that, slipping, he fell with a crash. This time everyone seized him so securely that he could not escape.

A general cry was raised, "Kill him quickly!"

"Please don't do that," said Cold Wind. "I will promise to blow for only one month in the year."

"No! No! Let us kill him immediately," cried his captors.

"I'll blow only for twenty days," offered Cold Wind.

"No! He must be killed," said the warriors. "We don't want to talk."

Cold Wind, terrified, offered in succession to blow for only ten days, four days, two days, and one day, but each proposal was greeted with howls for his instant death. At last when Cold Wind offered to blow gently in the mornings of one month, his captors agreed to release him.

That is why *tsinindzwi*, the cold wind of the early morning, blows in March.

THE DEFEAT OF COLD WIND
(*Second Version*)

Long, long ago there was no summer and nothing grew in the land. All living creatures suffered from the perpetual ice, so they decided to attack Cold Wind who was responsible for this state of affairs. A raiding party set out, comprising all the plants, all the mammals, all the fish, all the birds, and all the men. They travelled to the north, where the cold grew so intense that the party suffered severely from it. Near Cold Wind's house, Halibut spoke to his comrades:

"I can deal with him more easily than anyone else. When he comes out of his house, make a noise to distract his attention, while I wriggle on my back towards him, to trip him up."

This plan was agreed upon. When they reached their destination, Cold Wind came running down a ladder from his house to send more frost

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and cold to destroy the reckless creatures who had dared to oppose him. While he was climbing down, the attackers called out, attracting his attention, so that Halibut was able to wriggle, unobserved, to a place at the bottom of the ladder. As Cold Wind trpd upon him, Halibut moved, and his antagonist fell to the ground. He was seized by his enemies before he could rise to release more cold. 539* 821●

"What have you against me?" he asked them. "I visit you only twelve months in the year."

"That is too often," his captors replied, as they stretched him out on the ground to kill him.

"If you spare me I will visit you for nine months only," Cold Wind made offer.

Again he was told that was too much, and he must be killed. Cold Wind, terrified, proposed coming for shorter and shorter periods, six months, four months, two months, and finally for a single month, but each offer was refused, and followed by threats of instant death. At length the captors accepted his agreement to come only in the early morning.

That is why, to this day, the cold wind comes only in the early morning.

Smmq Stories

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Of the supernatural animals which the Bella Coola believe inhabit the wild glens and mountains of British Columbia, that which figures most prominently in their mythology is the *smmq*. There are four slightly different varieties of this monster. The most common is regarded as being about the size of a large grizzly bear, but with long front legs and short hind ones, on which it can run in upright position when it so desires. Its legs terminate in large talons resembling those of an eagle, with the thumb set opposite to the fingers; its pelt, long and fleecy, is of a grayish-blue colour. The monster is able to roll its eye-balls completely over, and, when the reverse side is exposed, there shoot forth dazzling beams of light which strike senseless anyone on whom they fall. It uses its eyes for hunting. The most peculiar feature of the *smmq*, however, is that it carries on its back a basket provided with spikes inclined inwards and downwards at such an angle that any living creature thrust within is unable to escape. The basket

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on her, until, when she was just before him, she threw down the whetstone; it became a massive stone rampart entirely hiding her. 534*

She continued her journey and presently came to a house, through a crack in the wall of which she saw a man. It was *Ăpunstm*, but she was not aware of this. He sensed her presence and greeted the girl:

"I have known for some time that you would come, for you have fled from your home in trouble. I have been waiting for you, you shall be my wife. Don't be afraid; come in."

The girl slowly entered though almost driven back by the great heat. *Ăpunstm* rubbed his hands over her face and at once she ceased to feel it. The two sat down and had supper together very happily. Presently Stump appeared.

"Have you seen my wife?" he roared through the doorway.

"Perhaps this is she," replied *Ăpunstm*. "Come in and see."

Stump's head was so big that he could not get through the door, but, by craning his neck, he could see that it was his lost wife inside, and he called out that she was there. *Ăpunstm* wrapped his blankets around himself and went to the door, then suddenly threw them open, whereupon the heat was so great that Stump's branching head caught fire. He was consumed entirely, not even ashes were left.

The girl lived happily with *Ăpunstm*, soon giving birth to a son. The infant grew with such remarkable speed that when he was the size and had the appearance of a child of three, he had the intelligence of a man. Realizing that his mother was lonely and sometimes wished to see her parents, he told his father of this; *Ăpunstm* was grateful for the suggestion.

"Don't fret," he said to his wife. "Your mother is not far away."

The woman looked down and saw her home as if it were just beneath her feet.

"If you want to visit your mother," continued her husband, "you can do so on my eye-lashes."

By "eye-lashes" he meant the beams of the sun on which the thoughts of mortals penetrate to *Ăpunstm*. [821]

Next morning the woman took her child, descended on *Ăpunstm's* eye-lashes and soon landed at the door of her father's house. Her mother was weeping, as indeed she had done incessantly since the loss of her daughter. The girl did not enter at once, but rapped with a stick on the wall near where her mother was sitting. The woman thought that someone was being mischievous and sent a little girl of six to investigate.

"It is my sister, with a baby," she called out as she came running back.

"Don't lie to me," the mother answered. "It is impossible, your sister has been dead for more than a year."

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*539 into a mist which so utterly blinded and confused Lake-Swallower that he was forced to abandon the pursuit. Without further difficulty the four sisters reached home, where they were received with great rejoicing, especially when their friends heard of the dangers through which they had passed.

THE SUN'S CAPTOR

*539 821 Long, long ago, a woman was sitting on the ground with her back to the sun, who noticed her. He came down and rubbed his hand over her back, causing her to become pregnant, then went back to his station above. The child grew so rapidly that the woman bore a son before the usual period had elapsed. This little boy grew with phenomenal rapidity. One day he asked his mother if he might go up to see his father, and when she consented, he built a long ladder up which he climbed until he reached the land above. When the sun drew near, his son spoke to him, saying that his mother had allowed him to come up to see him, and suggesting that he bring her on a later visit. The father agreed and the boy descended to his mother on earth.

A few days later, when the lad and his mother climbed above, the sun disregarded them entirely, and continued his course without seeming to be aware of their presence. Angry at his father's callousness, the lad asked his mother to give him a pubic hair with which to make a noose to catch the sun.

"Don't be silly," she answered. "The great heat will burn it."

Her son persisted until she finally gave him a single hair from between her legs. This he rolled into a rope with a noose at the end, and hung it from a stick in the course of his father. When the sun came along he was fairly caught in the noose. Thus restrained, he could no longer shine on the earth; the people were filled with wonder, though they were rather thankful, as heretofore there had been perpetual summer.

"It is your son who has caught you," said the boy to his captive father. "You thought yourself too strong. The people down below do not want you to shine all the time; if I release you, you must hide yourself at regular intervals."

The sun agreed to do this. Then the lad untied the noose and the captive went off in his wonted path. To regulate his father's movements, [823] and to ensure his remaining at a safe distance during the winter, the lad raised high mountains at Kimsquit, Ulkatcho, and Leguc, which still limit the sun's course.

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THE SUN'S CHILD

Very long ago there lived at *Stuix* a chief whose daughter, Copper, was a source of perpetual worry to him. The girl was restless and disobedient, always wandering off by herself and being on too friendly terms with men. At last the father, losing his patience, told Copper to go her own way, that he would have nothing more to do with her. She wandered about, aimlessly, from place to place until she came to a road leading up to a large house within which was a man; it was the dwelling of the supreme deity, but the girl did not know this. *Älquntäm* asked her to come in, surprised her by calling her by name, and talked to her about the trouble she had had with her father. In this way Copper discovered the identity of her host. She stayed with him that night, and in the morning he told her to go home.

"How?" she asked.

"On the power of my eye," replied *Älquntäm*.

With that he opened a hole in the side of his house and sent her sliding down to her father's upon one of his eye-lashes, a sunbeam. Though Copper had spent but a single night with *Älquntäm*, it was equivalent to a year upon the earth and in that time she had conceived, passed through the period of pregnancy and given birth to a male child of whom *Älquntäm* was the father. Copper carried the infant with her on returning to her own home, outside of which she waited until a younger sister chanced to see her. The little girl rushed to her mother saying:

"Copper has come back!"

The old woman did not believe her and was angry. When another of Copper's sisters had confirmed the news, the mother believed it and was glad. Copper told them to spread clean sand on the floor for herself and her child, then, removing a board from the roof, she entered the house from above.

As time went on Copper's son throve and grew big enough to play with other little boys. But he had inherited from his father some of the heat-giving power of the sun so that he burnt his playmates who were naturally angry and showed their resentment by calling him a bastard. Mortified at this insult, the child told his mother, who instructed him to prepare a bow and a large number of arrows. When he had done so, she told him to shoot upwards. His first arrow went so high it stuck in the floor of *Song*w' itself. He sent up arrow after arrow and each lodged at the base of its predecessor, until a ladder was formed to the land above. Up this the boy climbed, each arrow falling to the ground as soon as he had transferred his weight to the one immediately above. On reaching the upper regions, the lad proceeded to the house of his father and told

*539 him how unhappy he was, because people on earth called him a bastard.

"Never mind, my son," said *Ālqunitām*. "Presently, I will let you do
●821 my work and then you will be more powerful than anyone on earth."

Next morning the father sent the lad off to act as sun, giving him the usual supply of heat. But the boy was so angry with the people on earth that he increased this supply, hoping to burn up the whole of them. Seeing some children at play, he swooped down to slay them; it became so hot that water boiled in the lakes and rivers and the whole race of mankind was roasted to death. Most of the animals escaped by hiding in bur-
[825] rows, but not the black bear, who at that time had a white coat. It was burnt black and has remained that colour ever since, while the grizzly was scorched to his present rustiness. The deer and the weasel failed to hide their tails, both of which were burnt; that is why each has a black tip to this day.

Ālqunitām, angry at his son for killing everybody, restored all to life,
[825] and broke the malicious child into countless pieces which he threw down to earth in the form of mosquitoes.

Catastrophic Stories

538 Disasters which occurred in the distant past provide themes for stories of a non-ceremonial nature.

THE FAMINE

*539 *Kā'kān·a* was a Kimsquit man who made a practice of watching the sun; from its movements he was able to foretell the solstices and other coming events. One winter, long ago, the sun, instead of stopping at its usual place, continued far beyond its proper course. *Kā'kān·a* was much worried and prophesied strange changes, with famine; he called on the young men to weep, but instead they merely laughed at him. Next summer, when there was plenty of fish, berries, and other foods, the people jeered at the prophet. For four years there was the same plentiful hunting and collecting, but in the fifth came a great change. It failed to become warm in April; the berries flowered, but the constant cold wind prevented their fruit from ripening. Few fish entered the river, and even they could not be caught because the water remained so clear. The same conditions prevailed for four years until the people were starving; their only food was porcupine and mountain goat, with a few trout caught on hook and line. About this time a Kimsquit man, *Tsaislil*, went goat-hunting behind his village, and one night after setting his snares, lay down in a cave. He could not sleep, and presently heard the

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*192 [426] *akwukum:* Excess of amount returned over that previously received as an investment present.

Aiamkikla: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

Aiklano: 1—Supernatural beings who drone as the sun moves.
2—Voice of the supernatural woman, *Snitsmân·a*; the term is occasionally applied to the being herself. The sound is produced by *kusiut* whistles.

Aimâlotla: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

Aimalua: "The Coming of Foul Weather," in the language of supernatural beings: The phenomenon is semi-anthropomorphized.

Aimâ·ti: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Ancient chief from whom the village is supposedly named.

Aiqualamlain: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.

[821] *Aiqwaiust:* Supernatural beings who blacken the face of the moon at eclipses.

Ailamka: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Tal·ia* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of an *ustmq* chief mentioned in an ancient story.

Aiutla: 1—One of the designations of *Kâmai·ti*, the mysterious supernatural woman.
2—Ferocious, awe-inspiring, *adjective.*

[526] *akaixyu:* Swing consisting of two long ropes with cross-seat.

[824] *akpadultsix:* Spruce leaves.

Akumtci: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

alipotnam: Lehal.

Alkalalis: 1—One of the first men to settle at Calvert Island in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwlst* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Aimâ·ti* in the beginning of time.

alodjalos: Stake supporting olachen net.

[796] *alusxpiamm:* Ritual repeated at intervals between the allotment of tasks for a potlatch, and the coming of a supernatural being to the first *nusak* initiate.

alw", plural, walk"ati: Herald.

Alokanam: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[533] *alus:* Third part of song.

'alos: Pleasure expedition of boys and girls to the forest.

[517] *Ælus:* Name of an isolated star.

[821] *Alqotlos:* Supernatural man-eater, patron of Cannibals.

Alqualos: Stick decorated with abalone-shell used by one of the settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.

Ælqwulus: Supernatural female berry-picker resident in the land of the dead.

alpoia: Announcer.

Alukwlaksi·ti: Bay of the Thousand Islands near Namu.

Alushnain: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

alwotla: Cannibal.

[587] *alwualam:* Marriage with sister of a deceased wife; the word is undoubtedly connected with the verb, *to bequeath.*

Ælskwis: Supernatural creature similar to a human being.

Ajala: Supernatural woman, wife of Cold Wind and mother of Ice.

Alalali: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.

[425] [553] [584] *alal·tlem:* The transference of a name, during the period of engagement, from the father of the future bridegroom to the father of the future bride.

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Ālka: [illegible] village.

Ālkwsyā, "He of the Tied-up Penis": Name given to a lad whose sex was disguised in infancy.

[426] *ālkhmandyt:* Refusal to lend to an outsider a family prerogative such as the employment of marriage dancers.

[574] *ālkuqulsnam:* Meal served when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an announcement of his coming potlatch.

Ālkuiyuxum: Name of a female shaman.

Ālkwi, "The Opening of the Sky":
1—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of a *Snuiletet* chief.

Ālkhalāxlsix: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Ālkhmothosix: One of the first men to settle at *Slokāt* in the beginning of time.

[575] *ālimusnam: Sisest* having the ability to enter the back-room and treat initiates concealed there. The function probably antedates the employment of *hai-shkila.*

Ālliqaios: Holders, supernatural beings who restrain supernatural Cannibals.

[583] *ālliexnm:* Frenzied beating of sticks.

Ālmomnom: Wife of *Tualalin*, the supernatural hunter.

Ālmnskitnm: Supernatural calendrical experts.

Ālmoqhaikila: Husband of *Ano'likmelsix*; he is known only in Kimsquit.

[575] *ālmutsāmk: Kusiut* dance of mystery.

[574] *ālnaiwutsnm:* Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning ceremony.

ālnaiwutsmmap: Call used by heralds when summoning to a mourning ceremony.

[425] [583] *ālnāramlsix:* The "Dragging Across" of a name, crest, or other intangible prerogative from wife to husband either at marriage or later at a repurchasing of the wife.

ālnāsnm: To drag a heavy burden.

[262] *ālnexlew-ēn:* Cranberries mixed with olachen grease.

ālnuxsim: Visit to his repository by a *kusiut* initiate.

[821] *Ālnunsdimut*, "Facing Both Ways": Second moon after the winter solstice.

ālolipsnmy, "The Actionless Time": Hushed assemblage of the *kukusiut* after departure of a Cannibal.

[597] *ālonkiokem:* Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.

Ālpalpulsix: 1—Supernatural being who revives mortals.
2—Name received by a shaman from this being.

ālps: Food.

[425] *ālpsnm*, "Food Supplies": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage.

Ālqālsul, "Stockaded": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

[756] *ālqtnēs:* Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in alternate strands.

[882] *ālqusik:* Guarded, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.

[825] *Ālqusiyen-a:* Supernatural name of olachen, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.

Ālqaqē'djut, "A Glance Downwards": Name given to an *Ālqālsul* man in the beginning of time.

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Ăxyaū: Locality near *Stuax* where berries are plentiful.
A'yaoq: Chief living at *Tăl-io* in the beginning of time.

A

am'hl'a: One of the *a'alt* dances.
ana: I, first person singular.
[262] *'ar*: Herring eggs when brought into house ready for preparation as food.[1]

B

bakat': Supernatural animal.
Balăk': One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
ba-pka: To guess, as done by the uninitiated at a Mystery dance.
Băxăxquaiwa or *Băxăxquanăkwa*: Kwakiutl supernatural being.
[825] *bikĕ'*: Lamprey.
Bilkwa: *Kaxiut* name of a *Sălis* man.
bkwa'i: Abalone-shell.
Bkwaaka: Influential Kwatna woman who died about 1870.
[292] *bqat*: Ball-topped hat worn by chiefs.
[622] *Bla-qwa*: A Kimsquit composer.
Ba'astom: *Stuax* man mentioned in an ancient story.
bafa: Supernatural, man-like creature.

D

[821] [772] *dă xang'''da or xang'''*: The sky, regarded as the lower side of a land inhabited by supernatural beings.
Dakdak-alaia: 1—"The Comet," synonym for *Noakymm*.
2—The *kaxiut* prerogative of seeing *Noakymm*.
Dakdakan, "The Ever-Comer": Synonym for *Noakymm*.
Dakdakăxmatm: Supernatural being who awaits *Noakymm*.
Dakdakănwa: Supernatural dog salmon resident in the land above.
[601] *di kakamata di emta*: Niece's husband.
di kakamata tri aakam: Aunt's husband.
Diqam'aat: One of the first men to settle at *Ăłqălaxl* in the beginning of time.
dirtia: Archaic term for *kaxiut* Breaker.[2]
[824] *dadik*: Frayed cedar-wood, as used for tinder.
[372] *djatlakai, plural, djaldjalakam*: Son; term used in direct address for an adult.
Djaka: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[601] *Djĭ Sinăxitl*, "The Slave Owner": Designation of the supernatural woman *Kamai-to*.
[101] *Djaldama*: Collective term applied to the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples of the mainland.
Djadja-sa: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Dadaang''': Chief of abalone-shell people on the lower Fraser in the beginning of time.
Dadaang''': One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Dadaipax: One of the first women to settle at *Tăl-io* in the beginning of time.

[1] This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.
[2] This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.

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*192 *istutmap*, "Come and eat": Invitation to the *kukusiut* to assemble in a performer's house.
isulta: House beams.
isut·sta: Messenger bearing invitation to a potlatch.
[752] *iclikstas:* Massage.
[585] [431] *iiskalemjk:* 1—Presents, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter visit his house on the wedding day.
2—Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's kinsmen prior to her repurchase.
[583] *iixwaxdjut*, "The Throwing Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders": Said of the repayment by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's kinsmen.
itxwoltsta: 1—Battering-ram.
2—The destruction of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.
Ixlıotlam: One of the names of the supreme god.
[201] *iqlhmaxtom:* Notification, by pressure on the foot, to a chief to go to the meeting-place.
[533] *ixlxanm:* The employment of frenzied stick-beating.
Ixpcmam: Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.
ixstcätcpämmus, "The Hearing": Synonym for *släätmam*, q.v.; this is a Kimsquit term only.
i·xtimul: Kusiotem rite in which the performer appears to be burnt to death.
i·gwatmam: The casting of *kusiut* masks on the fire.
Ixwnk, "Far from the River": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
[847] *ixwotl:* Abortion.
i·xwsila, "Disappointed": said of the supernatural beings called by a *ulä* dancer who arrive too late for the potlatch.

ilkas: Slave from the lower Fraser owned in Kimsquit during the last century.
[101] *ilqwlänmy:* Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.
[601] *ilqwlastnälostmax:* Half-brother or half-sister.
imlk: 1—Man.
2—Son; term used by old person in direct address to adult.
3—Husband.
[614] *imlkästa:* Male relative of same ancestral family.
imlklima: Woman who performs man's work.
[601] *imlkyästa:* Single brother in a family with several sisters.
[431] *immlki, plural, immlkoksi:* Small boy, especially son; term used in indirect address.
[584] *iqlalik*", "Working Clothes": Presents given by the relatives of the future bride to the kinsmen of the future bridegroom at the first announcement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.
[821] *iminäxul:* Cold wind of the mornings, semi-anthropomorphized.
istoity: Bella Bella term for the *istämy*.
[563] *istämy:* Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

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uxsist, "The Time for *Kusiut* Rites": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]
uyuyuyut: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ālqālaxl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle on the lower Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
uhululāk: One of the supernatural carpenters.
ulsāmāmmimm: The repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]
uaiak': Synonym for *spuxdjut*, a present for which a return is not expected. [431]
uāxmxdjut: Hereditary tendency.
ugem: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man. [827]
uxiux: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *llakwlk* is problematical.
unlālam: One of the first men to settle at *Lomqo·ts* in the beginning of time. [825]
upliwatem'xiamet·al·at': The entrusting of a woman to a husband's care. This phrase is used by a wife's relatives when about to rebuy her as expressing their somewhat boastful sentiments concerning the relations entered into at marriage. [583]
upu·abālawadjutlaix: Sterile supernatural visitation.
uxkuta: 1—To strengthen, or to shore up. [787]
2—Goods provided by a wife to strengthen her husband's position. [556]
uxāthuhq, "Different from All Others": Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
uxuwan·i: Wife of North Wind, a supernatural being resident in a side valley of the upper Bella Coola.
uxlokwaladjut: Supernatural aid granted to the unfortunate.
uxlqotlamsqwandjinas: Son of Raven and one of the first settlers at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
uxnukwalxaix, "The Track of the Sun": *A'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
uxnutlxāmlaix: Supernatural name of *sisiutl*.
uxqunsām, "Commander": 1—Said to be the word from which *Ālqunsām* is derived.
2—One of the names of the supreme god.
uxlikwasaix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smooan* in the beginning of time.
uxwappāsdjut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
uxwal·a: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man.
uxwimxāla: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
ux·wunaisa: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Lomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
uxyālyotxaix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smooan* in the beginning of time.
uxyokam, "The Walker": Supernatural being resident in a glacier near the overland trail between *Snulxli* and *Tāl·io*.

K

kai: 1—Snow. [821]
2—Unidentified berry. [824]
Kaiusdiās: Name obtained from a supernatural being by a Bella Bella man.
Kakamitl: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
kakās: Crow. [825]
Kakothn: Locality in the Bella Coola valley mentioned in an ancient story.

ł̄aliaxsa: One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
ł̄ahaml: Unidentified town on the outer coast mentioned in a *Stuax* story of the beginning of time.
ł̄allaliamdimut: Name acquired by one of the first settlers at *Smuiali* in the beginning of time.
ł̄aloxmālla: *Smaoan*'s son in the beginning of time.
łalax-i: Small portable canoe.
łalstam: Desertion of a spouse. [586]
ł̄axormai: 1—"The Copper One."
2—"Snow," in the language of Deer.
łahmmakywao: Imitation potlatch carried out by *nusāxkamy*.
ł̄aknus: Bella Bella Cannibal living in the beginning of time.
ł̄ilixwnimut, "The Scatterer of Eagle Down": Name created by *Smaoan* for his son in the beginning of time.
łima: To loot.
ł̄ixłiskłka: Bella Bella supernatural being who brings food.
łixwnimut: Person of placid disposition.
łłłła: Bull-roarer.
łłt: To excise rot; the word for potlatch, *łm*, is supposedly derived from this. [556]
łm: Potlatch.
łmkmitl: The binding down of a Cannibal with rope.
ł̄mołim: Unidentified autumn moon, probably the fourth after the summer solstice. [821]
ł̄mołis di Nusāxkamy, "The Potlatch of the *nusāxkamy*": Second moon after winter solstice. [805]
ł̄hamkila, "First of All": One of the first men to settle at *Nukils* in the beginning of time.
łkłwādjut: Shaman's ritual error, such as the curing of one who is ceremonially unclean. [756]
łkumkstła: Miniature totem-pole such as is used in mourning ceremony.
łmłnkmm: Partnership of a poor man with a chief about to give a potlatch, so that the former may repay debts, for which his poverty required no compensation, and thus start himself on the path towards greatness. [556]
łmanzimtim: The turning over of a mountain.
łe'yo: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
łqomkstła: Stick decorated with copper bangles used in mourning rites by one of the first settlers at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.
łqła: The painting of the face as a sign of mourning. [765]
'łhmdimut: Cannibal *kusiut* name used by the first settlers at *Sałła* in the beginning of time. [302]
łłiqwam: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola male Scratcher.
łuklai: Aversion.
łukwala: 1—*Kusiut* name of a *Tsmoil* man.
2—Shamanistic power.
łullulmut: Visitation from the life of a recently dead friend, notification of which is conveyed by a start or other feeling of discomfort. [775] [787]
łulqwan-i: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. The first to use this designation was a relative of the earliest settlers in the beginning of time.
łulukwahmm, "The Giver of Shamanistic Power": One of the names of *Tłitsaplilax-a,* and hence a designation given to shamans.

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nixokàsta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract. [424]

Nixpi: Expert supernatural dancer; to his associates he is a yearling mountain goat.

nmnly or *nmnlyàmut:* First complete dance given by a *kusiut* initiate.

nmmmk: Mammal, any kind. [825]

Nniwanaix: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

Nsàkila: 1—One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuisli* in the beginning of time.

Nsàkymm: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Nsamàsnaik: Name given to his grandson by one of the first settlers at *Siskiut* in the beginning of time.

nsàkista: *Kusiut* prerogative as a Breaker; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.

nslyàkta: Sloping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kimsquit, *kusiut* masks are hung.

nsmmk: The making and use of hand nets for olachen.

Nsmodjamàsem: 1—"The Adviser": One of the names of the supreme god. [622]
2—Chiefs of a village, collectively; virtually, "The Sages."

ns'ansàlim: 1—Ceremony at which *nsook* names are validated in the eyes of the fellow-villagers. [553]
2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed. [796]

ns'ondjut: Assemblage of the *kukusiut* to practise difficult rites.

Ns'ipma, "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": *Tlsiyàkam* name given to a deserting wife.

Nsnakila: One of the names of Raven as chief.

nsmkilàlam: Sentence of death passed by the *kukusiut* on one of their fellows as punishment for an error. [688]

nsnàyas: A loan, especially of an ancestral right. [426]

Nsàlàsmm: Synonym for *Nsàkymm,* the supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Ns'aos, "Inhospitable": Name taken by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

nsàpàsàla: Toilet-hole.

nsasàs: Birth.

Nsàlcàpas: Anthropomorphized evil cold wind. [821]

nsàsà-as: Rhetorical term of respect for aged dead. [769]

nsàsà-as du àmsta: 1—High tide. [823]
2—Long life.

nsàjàpsta: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold olachen-net post steady while being driven.

Ns'ansàj, "Place of Foul Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Nsàk": 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.
2—River flowing through head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.

Nsàkàmàlsaix: Synonym for *Sximsximàlt,* an immoral supernatural woman.

nsàsàl: The achievement of success against supernatural odds; the term is used with reference to the solutions of the riddles of the Mystery dance.

nsàsàmàlsàxsàm: Any non-sacred dance held at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season. [535]

Nsàsàsa: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

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Nuuuinxpnam: Woman endowed supernaturally by *Ans'lkwulnais* and serving as patron (?) to a *kusiut* dancer.

[787] *nuuulliuts:* Omen of death.

Nuuutnumkmem, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Tlitsqilaia*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nuuuxmlaix: 1—Man dwelling in *Xemsqua*'s house.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.

nuuxpim: The cry of *hi, hi,* uttered by Cannibals.

Nuuxmuxp: *Kusiut* name assumed by a *Sisaa* woman in the beginning of time.

[424] *nuuyaxum:* *Kusiut* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and *qalaxum* is obscure.

Nu'uxwuhumnais, "The Widener": One of Raven's names as chief.

[585] *nuhtsziklem:* Synonym for *hituxum:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

Nuphanlikin, "Heedlessly Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[302] *nuqa-axts:* The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.

nuqtalim-i: Medicine brewed in a skull.

Nuqtymsts, "Place of Much *Qaymsts*": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nuqsqamis: *Nuxwal* name of a Kimsquit man.

Nuqiliqsilw-a: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[805] *nuqmuxm-il ua xsnq"als:* One year.

[828] *nuqem:* Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.

nuqpik, "Empty House": House in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place.

nuqsdjut: The throwing of grease on a fire to heat, both literally and figuratively, a rival.

[821] *Nuqsly":* 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.

[827] *nuqsliqin:* Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

nuqwaxts: Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *kusiutas* and other important *kusiut* rites.

[777] *nuq"antsikim:* Unexpected stroke of good fortune.

Nuqwihmlaix: *Sisaa* name of a Kimsquit man.

[772] *Nuqwilax:* Site of an ancient town on Schooner Pass.

Nuqwilik: The upper heaven.

nuqwna: Woman with thick pubic hair.

Nuqwuliqlstn-i: A *Sisaa* repository.

Nustlqantmsts, "Where *Alqantem* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[824] *nustmqw-nay:* Cottonwood buds.

Nustqmia'sts, "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Smooan* in the beginning of time.

nustlkmp: Canoe-maker.

Nustlum: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Nuqsalt.*

[535] [869] *nustskmp:* Children's dance which serves as training for *kusiut* rites and to provide entertainment.

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Saiutl: Thunder, anthropomorphized. 192*
Saixnäs: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. [821]
sälälsi: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property. [173]
sä·lhälhmm: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kusiut* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food. [431]
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal. [257]
sä·lpsta: Cannibalistic incubus.
sä·lpstmm: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day. [585]
sälliskädimut: Profession of *kusiut* executioner. [431]
sälukwälas: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him. [463]
säml: Sockeye salmon. [825]
Sänoltsmuhlts Älquntäm: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sänunusmmlaix: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land above.
Sänutlkm or *Sänutlkmdimut:* One of the names of Mount *Nusqalst* as chief.
Sänuximäxots, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sätix; *vocative*, *sätki*; *vocative plural*, *sätixwa·ks:* Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
sä·tla: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Sätlia: Village at point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Sätlyenuts: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Sä·lma: Death, anthropomorphized. [761]
sälolts: Whetstone, *archaic*.
Sä·tsk': 1—Kimsquit River. [412]
2—Village near the mouth of the river.
Sä·tskamy: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley. [101]
sätskwal·a: Raft.
Sä·tsmnän·i: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
sewa: Pillow. [573]
sewadjut, "Pillowness": *Kusiut* ceremonial at which no call is present.
sexi, *vocative*, *sexinso:* Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family. [601]
Sexinso: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story.
säxkam: Bracken. [824]
säxwänos: Tide flats. [823]
sakdjulk: Heart.
Sahwalsam: That part of *Sonx*ᵐ which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Samhsil: Village on Rivers Inlet.
Samsiutän·i: Part of a peculiar repository.
samsamlkdimut, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steelhead salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
sa'mista, "Resting Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this. [805]
sankwalsäm: Leader of musicians. [821]

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Sinupetl: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Sinuximätl: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Stuax* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sio'mstä: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative of imitating coitus. [424]

siḥälyälosuts: Song sung by a *kusiotem* dancer on recovery from apparent death.

siḥkim: Regular beatings given to a male child. [861]

Siqälyam, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

Siqalusnäm: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Siqulxwaix di Siut, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

siqwaldjut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]

siqwsek: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage. [425]

sisasts: Departure to a new locality.

sisi, vocative, sisai: Father's brother or mother's brother. [601]

sisut: Paddle.

sisutsta: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

Siłhmsta: One of the names of the supreme god.

Sitliuq': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [778]

siut, vocative, siaot: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being, "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qomo·ts*, the large *ssaok* whistle.
4—Killer whale. [825]
5—Song.
6—*Kusiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Siutan·i: Part of a peculiar repository.

Siutmkila: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

siutnälos: Wordless chorus. [533]

Siwal·os, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Siwid: Celebrated *Djoldäunx* chief living in the last century.

sixdiktam: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a despondent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]

Sigman·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sixsän·imutsta: Place where healing power is petrified.

Sixsixḥutnam: Synonym for *Mulakila*, the supernatural being connected with *ssaok* rites.

sixwismaq: *Kusiut* dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, *änänuskx*, for the user's protégé on earth.

sixwoḥäxkmuk: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage. [584]

sixwoot: Unmarried mother. [848]

siyeutla: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *sieatla* may be connected with this.

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sipa: Supernatural good luck.
[821] *nkuots:* Fog.
[825] *nkn':* Pack-rat.
nlk: Mind or mentality.
[828] *nlqan:* Place of lucky finds, such as a point where whales drift ashore.
nlxstrâltua: Cannibal recently returned from the land above.
Sillslan-i: One of the first women to settle at *Sattis* in the beginning of time.
nmd: Mountain.
[825] *nmlt* or *nmltats:* Salmon, generic form.
nmqmnikdus: (Probably) viscera of an animal, *arcbalc.*
Smstutaâks: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[173] *nmma:* Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be related by anyone.
Smtus: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[822] *Snk'hnam:* Bella Coola chief.
[828] *Snqlominit:* Darkness, anthropomorphized.
nnqus: Anger.
nnx: Sun.
Snxâkila: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at *Alqâlxl* in the beginning of time.
Snxâlotla: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—*A'alk* name of a Kimsquit man.
4—*Susok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Snxan-a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.
[827] *nnxkt:* Mucus.
Snxl, "Sunny": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
nqwlaitk: Game played with miniature spears.
[575] *nsaok:* 1—Society intimately connected with chiefs.
2—Member of the society.
nsiutl: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a double-headed salmon.
Snnxakila: Shaman's name of a *Snxl* woman.
nskiek': Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Thlexâplilan-a* to the one favoured.
[601] *nskam:* Father's sister or mother's sister (in either direct or indirect address).
[583] *nsmmlts:* The ceremonial strength acquired by a child through the repurchase of its mother.
[431] *nsqo-si:* Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] *nspnk':* Western dock (plant).
[824] *nsxwnawalp:* Snowberry.
nxnqaitus: Distribution of carpentry tasks prior to a potlatch.
[825] *nxmmsta,* "Food Supply": Synonym for *sol'alam,* ancestral hunting-ground.
skalk': Porcupine.
[824] *skal-uts:* Black huckleberry.
[821] *skâlutslaix:* Eye-lashes of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

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[765] *skwanat:* 1—Memorial potlatch.
2—Mourning song.
3—The wailing of mourners at a grave.

[763] *Skwanat-ên-a*, "The Weeper": Female supernatural being whose appearance indicates the death of a chief.

skwanattnkaxaix: Professional *kaxiat* prerogative consisting of the right to sing of *Snitmdz-a* during *kaxiatem* dances.

skwatsta: Name.

Skwo-ll: *Kaxiat* name of a Bella Coola woman.

[824] *Sla-hl:* Whitewater River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola.

slaa: Long grass suitable for pasturage.

[252] *slakpl'i:* Smoked spring salmon with the bone removed.

slakt: Many, *adjective.*

[554] *slazmidjut*, "The One with Many Descendants": Term used to describe an elderly man with many children and grandchildren.

Sla-: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[601] *slali:* Game, resembling a tug-of-war, played with wooden loops and spears.

[578] *slamz*, *vocative*, *slamzshais:* Grandchild; the vocative indicates endearment.

slawaxix: The deposition of eagle down on the heads of those quarrelling to pacify them.

sli-x: Gall bladder.

slqstsa: 1—Breathing.
2—Sound of a *nasal* whistle, referred to as the breathing of *Mitlakila.*

slsl': Olachen grease.

Slsalxwaily: 1—Ancient village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[778] 2—Place of petrified power at site of ancient village.
3—Semi-anthropomorphized being responsible for power in this locality.

Slihm: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of every river.

slkmsta: The voice.

[824] *slkuul:* Dried elderberries.

slskwala: 1—Shaman-like power, as brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Coola woman.

[821] *slslym:* Eclipse.

slwaxmlkw': 1—One who keeps in touch with a concealed Cannibal.
[424] 2—One who has the inherited right to assist *kaxiat* or *nasal* dancers; this prerogative occurs in Kimsquit only.

Smaistkila: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaislatla: One of the names of the supreme god.

Smaiss-a: 1—Synonym for *Slsalxwaily*, q.v.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

[424] *smgiusta:* A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first people in the beginning of time.

smamtskauly: Debris from cones eaten by squirrels.

Smaoan, "The First": One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Smaoark: Man mentioned in an origin myth of a southern locality.

smdzung, *vocative*, *smdz-ing:* Friends.

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smt-ti: A place of petrified power, i.e., a locality where a supernatural being has been rendered incapable of moving. [778]

smtl ts stwatsis, "Petrified Name": Designation brought from above in the beginning of time.

sm-ki: 1—Mussel. [825]
2—Freshwater mussel.

smarmanals: One of the thrushes.

smastmatis: An animal, especially a bear, showing a kindly disposition towards man.

Smbhit: *Xstu-tu-i* man mentioned in an ancient story.

smtnil': 1—Gum.
2—Name of son made by Raven in the beginning of time.

smtq: Slave.

Smqhhtlis: One of the first men to settle at *Satlis* in the beginning of time.

smtqom: Visionary receiving power direct from the supreme god.

smtmdmqs: Worm or larva living under the ocean.

Smtsilkwu-a: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.

Smtsis: Supernatural being who holds earth in position.

Smtsmts-a: Supernatural woman who restores those who suffer misfortune in the performance of *kusiut* rites.

Smtsla'lhs: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman; it was obtained at *Tal-is* in the beginning of time.

smtsq: 1—Mythical monster.
2—Man living at Kimsquit in early times.

smtsqas di smq'"dal: Posts of the sun, the barriers which cause it to retrace its course at the solstices. [821]

smtsqas ne smdlis: Variety of *smtsq* living above tree line.

Smtqmlmhsits: Stealer of thoughts, an invisible barrier within the door which prevents a man from carrying out a potlatch by robbing him of his good intentions. The concept is anthropomorphized as a supernatural being. [828]

Sno-ahhlts: Island south-west of Bella Bella.

Sno'ainds: *Ainstow:* Deer son of the supreme god.

Sno'anqmdy, "On the Point": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Snqmhqs: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

sno'aiyous: Ceremonial collar of hemlock-bark, dyed cedar-bark, and undyed cedar-bark such as is given to *Nimqplitsw-a*. The word may refer to the throwing of this on the fire.

snqlsa'ol: Unidentified berry. [824]

snskilmals: Top used by one of the sons of the supreme god.

Snskilmals: Supernatural being resident above who has the power of causing things to curl up and come to him.

snskimtq: Part of house behind fire.

snskhlsis: Unidentified plant. [824]

snsklkumi: Piece of wood, rolled hard and smooth in a landslide.

Snskwmimatik: Chief of supernatural singers who accompany *Nestkymm*.

snskwmlit: Twin.

Snslqulqlis: 1—Cannibalistic supernatural woman, formerly resident in the supreme god's house.
2—Old woman resident in *Kmsqus's* house.

Snsnus-lma: Locality containing repository of name received from Death.

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Snuqā·q': Affluent of the middle Bella Coola.
Snuqualx: Kimsquit woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Snuqnaxnālt: 1—Copper Raven that perched on house of first settlers at *Alqālxl* in the beginning of time.
2—Name given to the Raven design used by the first settlers at *Stax* in the beginning of time.
snusaiks: Skeleton. The word is obviously a derivative of *saiks*.
Snunlkālt: 1—"The Wise One": One of the more important supernatural beings.
2—Ancestral name of a *Tsmoil* man.
Snunmkālt: Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Alqālxl*, probably a supernatural designation.
Snunmlkānk': Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Alqālxl*, probably a supernatural designation.
[374] *Snusikalts,* Cold: A supernatural being.
Snuslaxwal, "The Mystery of *Alquntām*": The place where the supreme god puts what he wishes to conceal, such as the correct solution of the Mystery dance. The concept is semi-anthropomorphized.
snusp: Generic name for several supernatural animals.
snuspindjēn-a: Right front corner of a house on entering.
Snutari: Pronunciation of *Snubli* by a man with idiosyncratic *r* usage.
Snubli, "Place of Dog Salmon": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
[765] *snutālnlin,* "A Shoring Up": Term used to describe the functions of mourning songs.
Snultānāl, "Box": 1—One of the first women to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—Box in *Xmayaw*'s house.
3—Name of a *Tāl-io* man derived from the last.
Snulle·tl, "Place of No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Snuthmx: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Snutqomikaista: Point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
[821] *snutsālatst:* Race of dwarfs, presumably mythical.
Snulxiarwanxm: Whirlwind, anthropomorphized.
[778] *Snulxltāls:* Generic term for four supernatural, eagle-like creatures.
Snumāl: Place on South Bentinck Arm where curative power is localized.
snupaxlāmut, "Bring Light": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the lower Bella Coola valley.
snupar·ātk: One who seeks embers.
Snunmuthmān-a: One of the first women to settle at *Tāl-io* in the beginning of time.
Snurwualāl: Name of first settlers at *Alqālxl* in the beginning of time.
Snuyaulikuan-a: Rivers Inlet name used by a Bella Coola *kusiut* woman.
[484] *sālis:* Food carried for consumption on a journey; the term is also applied to the provender brought from above by the first people in the beginning of time.
sal'ākm: Hunting-ground owned by an ancestral family.
Som: Woman mentioned in a song.
sang'": see dā sonx'" dā.
Sonwaāk: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuātax* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Sonwan-a: One of the first women to settle at *Nuātax* in the beginning of time.
[431] *sonwadjat:* Synonym for *synomāj*, the preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch.

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Sonq'mai: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuie* man.
Sopus: *Kusiut* name of a *Tsimoil* man.
sopoiazum: Scalp.
sopualskt': Gnarled projection of wood from a birch knot. [824]
Spaixpaxumsta: Supernatural being who wakens his fellows in the morning.
Spanhalhsaix: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
spaniusta: Temporary camping-place.
Spatcahlt, "The First Born": Name brought from Kitlobe to Kimsquit by a marriage in the beginning of time.
spalkl: Star.
sphahm, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud. [581]
spepandeuts: The forcing upwards of water at high tide, through openings in the rocks at sea-level. [823]
sphkphkmm: Person who pounds cedar-bark.
sphkta: Tools for pounding cedar-bark, specifically the upper beater.
Sphkplinaw-i: Region on the east side of Dean Channel, about one mile from its head, where supernatural power is localized. [778]
Spl'xnunsta: Island west of Namu.
spka: 1—Pudenda.
2—Variety of *smmq* with female organs. [824]
spsnhkua: Unidentified berry. [821]
S'ks', Cold Wind: A supernatural being.
Spskunsta: Meeting place of chiefs on rock ledge behind *Sempo-ts;* the term is probably applied to any meeting place of chiefs.
sphs: War-knife used by Raven in the beginning of time.
spuqy: Oachen. [825]
spux: Eagle down. [431]
spuxdjut, "Eagle Down-nose": Rhetorical reference to a present for which no return is expected.
spuxpux: Long, delicate feathers on an eagle's breast. [825]
Spuxpunhalsix: *Kusiut* name of a woman sent down near *Nuxpalt* in the beginning of time.
Spuxpuxyd'mpdimut: *Sisaak* name of *Xusais* origin.
Spuxpuxsta: *Sisaak* name of a Kimsquit woman.
sqal-a: Unidentified berry. [824]
squalt: Alder wood, dead and dried. [825]
sqalpts: Spring salmon which have spawned.
sqall: Hunting ability. The term usually refers to the ability of the supernatural artisans to hunt, i.e., to kill, human beings.
sqalst or sqalmut: Stone, suitable for axes, found on Mount *Nuxpalt.* The name of the mountain is said to be derived from this. [316]
sqama: 1—Chest. [103]*
2—Smoke cure for diseases of the chest.
Sqamk: Land of Ashes.
sqmauts: First proposal of marriage if made by relatives of the man. [584]
sqnlz: River sand mixed with small pebbles.
Sqatrch: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola River. [823]
sqoaz: Flood.

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[824] *sqedilp:* Cedar roots.
sqeil: Sling.
[578] *sqeilqelem:* To use a sling.
sqili: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slave ancestry.
[821] *sqimmas:* Fleecy cloud.
sqiola: Muzzle-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary
[412] food.
sqma: Wooden comb.
S'qa's'i: Land of Ashes, alternative term for *Sqami.*
sqo: Umbilical hernia.
[601] *sqolxmas:* Distant relative of female sex, when referred to by man.
sqoltlsdjat: Long phallus.
Sqomall: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sqosa: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
sqosalq: Food distributed for carrying away as *sqosa.*
[415] *sqoli:* Large, flat, soft basket of broad strips of bark.
sqpmexa: Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
[431] *sqtelp:* Maple.
[824] *squm:* Sudden start that expels the spirit.
squpaitl: Outer plank of cedar, convex and bark-covered on one side.
squal: Love song or other non-ceremonial composition.
squakem: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium.*
[533] *squalxwakem:* 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions to the faults of someone present.
2—Singers who use this type of composition.
[825] *squal-ann:* Large, unidentified bird.
Squlakua: Heat: A supernatural being.
[374] *Squli: Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[825] *sqwo'nn:* Loon.
stai-tl: Mountain goat marrow, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of
[262] preventing hunger.
Stalqakum, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks": *Ka'ik* name obtained in the beginning of time.
statkmy; plural, statakmy; vocative plural, statakmy:
1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqalzul* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Sunal* in the beginning of time.
4—Name created by *Smaoan* for a grandson.
5—*Sisook* name of a Kimsquit man.
[601] *stan:* Mother, term commonly used by an adult in indirect address.
[825] *standakiam:* Bat.
standiwat: Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation
[601] older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
stantamants: Elderly female relatives of the same ancestral family as the speaker.
[614] *stauk:* Whetstone.
Staats: Man mentioned in a story.
[412] *Step':* Mountain near *Tal-ia.*
stepam, "What Is Hidden": The correct solution of the Mystery dance.
stamants: Archaic term for chiefs, now used only rhetorically.
[824] *stals:* Cranberry.

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[825] *Sulukzl:* Mountain on west side of the Kimsquit River.
susla-ā'tskwa-kwa: One of the river sculpins.
susuhumls: To gather cedar-bark.
Sximāna: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning
Sutal: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Sulkulta, "Winter Trail": Locality, perhaps village, on the upper Kimsquit River.
[101] *Sutshmy:* Generic name of the inhabitants of the Dean valley.
Suxwlk: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
Swaāks: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Swaky: Mountain at Kimsquit which was in human form in the beginning of time.
swalxumdimut: Meeting of the senior supernatural beings to discuss ceremonial matters at the winter solstice.
swalsta: Provender provided by the supreme god for the first settlers in the beginning of time.
swa'xwa: Mud.
swaiāx: Person or object which is taboo.
Swaiaxwax: Evil supernatural being.
Sgaialxwa, "Maker of Good Weather": Supernatural name of dog salmon.
swāksmem gdi mānx: Term of opprobrium applied to a child whose father drove away his mother.
sgāksta: Sorcerer's box.
Sxa-lutxmān-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
sgān: Female lover, especially a paramour.
sgāxwa: Male lover.
Sgaga-il: One of the first women to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
sgem: The bursting forth of light.
[785] *swetsta:* Ceremonial chastity.
[831] *swetstadjut:* The state of practising ceremonial chastity.
swetstanai: Power engendered by ceremonial chastity.
sgak: 1—Sorcerer.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Sgakādjutān-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
swim: Cedar-bark cord.
Sximāna: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Swimsximuk: Immoral supernatural woman.
gx'ā': Afterbirth.
Sgiyutān-a: Chief of the dogs in the beginning of time.
[838] *Sgants:* 1—Hermaphrodite, a supernatural being.
2—Man who performs woman's work.
[761] *smamānats hāt':* Life, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
[821] *Sak'lāt,* South Wind: A supernatural being.
Sklāl, "Angry Moon": First moon after the winter solstice.
[805] *sula-ā':* Poisonous supernatural creature that travels with the War-Party of the Tides.
salamuk: "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts. The word has two meanings:
[532] 1—Carved human figure set up by a shaman near the vessel of grease which is thrown on a fire.
2—Nickname bestowed on a man.

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Tlaxamymil: Name acquired in the beginning of time by a Rivers Inlet man from a sea-lion.
[825] *tlekundlitil:* Sardine.
Tlikmaxotakka, "The Walking One": Supernatural name of the water ouzel.
tlikmuts: Song sung during Cannibal dance while the performers run from house to house.
[825] *tlima:* Mountain goat sinew.
Ttisla: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
2—Wife of Mount *Nusqalst*, when in human form at the beginning of time.
Ttitcaplilan·a: One of the nine supernatural siblings, a woman who brings aid to those in sickness and is thus the initiator of shamans.
[825] *tixin:* Sea-lion.
Thmstadimut, "Be Like a Person": Instruction given to a stick in the beginning of time. This designation has since been used as an ancestral name.
[821] *tlok':* 1—Moon.
2—The zenith.
[825] *tloklx:* Virulent skin disease.
tlopan·i: Cormorant.
Tlojo·il, "Small Mound": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Tlopets, "Maligner" or "Defamer": A supernatural being.
tlpa: 1—Gaff.
2—To cut wood for masks.
[823] *tlpanap:* "Cut!" Call used on second day of *kusiut* dances.
tlpapalam: Small trickle that flows from rocks near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel. The term is probably applied to other similar rivulets.
[415] *tlulai·:* Water-tight basket.
[824] *tmiax:* Water-washed stump with scoured, radiating roots.
Tniqo: Region on the upper Kitlobe River.
[482] *tnixotl:* Tump-line.
toba: Navel.
[825] *Tokunkl:* Raven's canoe in the beginning of time.
toka: Mink.
tomidjut, "He of the Big Family": Term used to describe a man with many descendants.
[583] *top·a:* Synonym for *tsamamamum*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. This term is perhaps used in Kimsquit alone.
[825] *topiwac:* 1—Fawn.
2—*Nustakamy* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[821] *Tpiksta:* Star in the Great Bear.
tqanq: Lower of the two beaters used in the preparation of cedar-bark.
Tqwantlos, "Facing": Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, synonymous with *Tabio*.
[291] *tsaikotl:* Hat with flat top and broad brim.
tsaix: Stonecrop.
Tsaintitl: Kimsquit shaman mentioned in an ancient story.
Tsa·kmai: Bella Coola warrior living in the last century.
Tsalits: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
Tsal: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Tsaulmem: Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.
tsetl: Green barnacles on water-covered stones.
[825] *tsian:* Large woodpecker, species unidentified.

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Wat·a: *Xixais* woman living in the beginning of time.
wals: Dog. [825]
wawnit: Dog, *archaic.*
wa·xsia: Cape of yellow cedar-bark. [291]
waxwaxtsia: Brother or sister of grandparent.
Wiakai: One of the first women to settle at *Snuloli* in the beginning of time. [601]
Wiaqaii: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Wikwan·ekwla: Synonym for *Kwla*: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nusqalst* chief.
Wikwanutl: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
wina, wcatiw, winao: War-party.
Winās: Slave living at *Nusqalst* several generations ago.
winās di qulx, "War-Party of the Ocean," or *winās di sā·ildjo·ts,* "War-Party of the Tides": Supernatural being.
Winwina: Supernatural being who captured birds and fish for the benefit of mankind.
Winwinamak: Supernatural being, perhaps identified with one of the warm winds.
winxta: Assistance rendered by the inhabitants of a town to a neighbouring settlement being attacked. [628] [726]
Wipitpawakas: Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
Wiumkilak: *Smaoan*'s daughter-in-law in the beginning of time.
Wi'itlao: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Wilulks: *Sisook* name of a Kimsquit man.
Wixat: Man who travelled to the Skeena River in the beginning of time.
Wixon: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
wl·a: *Kusiut* dance in which the nine supernatural siblings are summoned to earth.
Wlq: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Wlx: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
wlq: Cripple.

X

Xaiāqalstl: Ancestral name of a *Tāl·io* man.
Xaiqts: Stream entering the Bella Coola from the north near *Nuiltux.* [821]
Xai·utl: Continuous North Wind, anthropomorphized.
xak'loi·: Cry raised as each of the first spring salmon is brought ashore. [226]
Xalaiya: Step-daughter of Raven in the beginning of time.
xaqants: Great blue heron.
Xāt: Designation of a tribe, probably a branch of the Carriers, dwelling far to the south-east of the Bella Coola. [825]
xawaf': Canada goose.
xal·a: Root of *qāxmāts,* an unidentified plant.
Xekulus: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Xekwatsaw·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xelimai: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
xem: The successive rising of the sun from day to day. This word, which is common in derivatives, appears usually to be pronounced *xem* after *s.* [821]
Xemena: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Snuloli* in the beginning of time.

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Xemlaix: One of the first men to settle at *Ḷomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
Xemtmm: *Kusiut* name of a *Sl̓iskisl* man.
Xemxemälotla: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Xemxemlaix: *Sisaok* name brought from above in the beginning of time.
Xemxemtmm: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqälaxl* in the beginning of time.
[533] *xe·tla:* Boastful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.
Xedilkos: One of the first men to settle at *Qetlnelos* in the beginning of time.
Xelässu: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman. The designation is of Bella Bella origin.
[825] *ǵaxe:* Marten.
[412] *ǵils:* Stone axe.
xlxel: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
[203] *Ximpdimut:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximximlaix: *A'alk* man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximximoslaix: Celebrated female shaman.
[821] *ǵuǵuäs·i, plural, ǵuǵuäsoksi:* Little girl.
[517] *Xiuǵues:* 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.
Xixeis: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
Xiximan·a, "Right Foot": *Stuix* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
Xiǵis: Mountain in the Carrier country.
xxmänoäs: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
xläxtmm: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
xlänl: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
[586] *Xlikwals:* Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
xlokn·imut: The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
[825] *Xmaxots:* Locality below *Nusḵalst.*
ǵmǵmatsl: Minnows.
[601] *ǵnes:* Woman, or wife in indirect address (*Iei ǵneslaix:* My wife).
[614] *ǵnesäxts:* Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
[423] *ǵnesdäm* or *nuǵnesdäm:* The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.
Xnutli: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
xokst: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
Xolaxwosem: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[785] *xoldjut:* Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[831] *Xomtsla:* Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Xomxomqa: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
Xonǵotäm: Supernatural scoop-net fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
Xoqotlis: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

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844 fessional midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
[846] the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[825] near the room for a year (according to Nusk'ɛlu'sta, for ten days), else the salmon would take offence.

553 The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole
[852] tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member
[556] of the Kū'siūt, when it is given its Kū'siūt name. This ceremony takes place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qē'mtsiœ name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[292] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
[821] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[262] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She
[261] must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee, 1889, p. 838).

584 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His
[431] friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has
[527] been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four
[302] women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and
585 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[431] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his Sisau'kɛ secrets as soon as the pair have their first child.
[851] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

586 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

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corner of the house. He prevents those who are not initiated in the secrets of the kn'siut from approaching the house. The Snēnē'iq is a fabulous monster, the peculiarities of which are described in a number of traditions (see pp. 83 ff.). S'anōL.x·muLa'lt (Plate VII, Figs. 12 and 13) is a boy who performs kn'siut dances all the time. When the deities resolve to send a new dance down to our world, it is conveyed by S'anōL.x·muLa'lt. It is the office of another deity to sing, accompanying the kn'siut dances of the gods (Plate VII, Fig. 3). Anuqat'ō'tsEm is a deity in regard to whose functions I have not been able to obtain detailed information. It is said that he intervenes on behalf of man when SEnx and ALk'unta'm threaten to punish him. There are two goddesses in the house who also intervene in favor of man when the principal deities threaten him with death and sickness. Their names are Snitsma'na (Plate VII, Fig. 9) and AiaLila'axa (Plate VII, Figs. 10 and 11). They wake man after sleep. Without their help, nobody could wake from sleep. AiaLila'axa is at the same time the guardian of the moon. Every month she restores the moon to her full size, and she cleans her face after an eclipse. The moon is called A'nL'aLgila (Plate X, Fig. 10). The eclipse is produced by several deities called Aiq'oa'yosnEm, which means "painting the face black" (Plate X, Figs. 4–6). It is believed that at this time the moon performs one of the most sacred ceremonies of the kn'siut, which are thought to be very dangerous to the performer. The black paint with which her face is covered is supposed to be a protection against these dangers. AiaLila'axa cleans off the paint after the dance has been completed. According to Jacobsen,[1] the Indians say that during an eclipse the moon (En-kla-loi'-killa) paints her face black. The same deities are believed to paint and to clean the faces of human kn'siut dancers. Snitsma'na and AiaLila'axa also resuscitate those who are killed by the dangerous performances of the kn'siut. 575 776 575 776 821

While the functions of the beings enumerated here are mostly concerned with the kn'siut, others are more immediately concerned with the affairs of the world. Important among these is K·x·ēx·ēk·nē'm (Plate VII, Fig. 5). SEnx is the creator of man, but his work is supplemented by that of the god K·x·ēx·ēk·nē'm. When SEnx creates a new-born child, K·x·ēx·ēk·nē'm gives the child its individual features. Before children are born, the goddess named Nuēx·qEmalsai'x· or Sēmsēmg'ltstas SEnxalā'oLEla places them in a cradle and rocks them. After she ceases rocking them, the children are sent down to our world. She also rocks the young of all animals; and when she stops, SEnx sends them down to our world to be born. At the same time he ordains that their skins and their flesh shall serve for clothing and food for man. Nuēx·qEmalsai'x· might therefore be called the deity 776 842

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 112.

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[776] [842] having charge of the birth of all animal beings. While she is rocking the cradle, she sings, —

[539]

"xoēxxoēsmaix·nimōła nēkō'k·s ła nōēx·ł!ɛ'malsaix· au au au au.
Asyotsētsk'ōx·'ats six·'ixōłayā'mk'tēts'ats sxxmnxmk·'ā'łowasōats ayawa
sōyōnxsōats au au au au."

Another deity living in the House of Myths is the mother of flowers, called Nonō'osqa (Plate X, Figs. 7 and 9), the daughter of Snukpa'nłłts. It seems that this last name means "going to the right." This evidently refers to the fact that the Sun is believed to move on his path towards the west, face forward, and consequently during the spring months ascends the sky [821] moving towards the right; so that Snukpa'nłłts, moving to the right, means at the same time the springtime, when the sun is moving up the sky. This is the time when flowers begin to sprout. Every spring Nonō'osqa gives birth to all the plants in the order in which they begin to appear. A shaman is called to her aid by two old women who assist her (Plate X, Figs. 8 and 11).

Every year, at the time of the winter solstice, the deities determine who shall die during the ensuing year. Two beings called Kakēstsai'ōł ōła xmā'noas are placed on the ends of a long plank, which is supported at its centre, and swings like a seesaw. Then all the men and all the animals [761] are called to stand near the ends of the plank. When one of the swinging beings falls down from the plank, the person standing near it will die sooner than the one standing at the opposite end. The deities have a messenger called Nutsxkoa'lsika (that means "long ear"), who carries all the news from our earth up to the House of Myths. Ałk'untā'm has two children, — the deer, who is called Snoō'łexxłts Ałk'untā'm, that is, "the foolish son of Ałk'untā'm" (Plate VII, Fig. 8), and łēxxonix·is Ałk'untā'm. I have not been able to learn any thing in regard to the functions of these two beings.

While Sexx and Ałk'untā'm are principally concerned with the fates of mankind, they do not personally interfere with the doings of man. Their thoughts are carried out by four brothers, who are called collectively Masmasala'nix or Ontsk·ē'mtexxm (Plate VIII, Figs. 1–4). These brothers are Małapa'litsēk· ("the one who finishes his work by chopping once"), Yula'-timot ("the one who finishes his work by rubbing once"), Małapē'exoēk· ("the one who finishes his work by cutting once"), and łł'łłu'lak·. They [772] have a sister called ł'a'qumēiks. These four brothers live in an elevated room in the rear of the House of Myths. They are engaged in carving and painting. It is said that they gave man his arts. They taught him to build canoes, to make boxes, to build houses, and to carve in wood and to

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suddenly a strong wind began to blow, which rolled them over the prairie until they reached the door of the house. Then suddenly the wind calmed down. They remained sitting on the ground near the doorway; and Qamá'its said, "Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." They were sitting opposite each other, watching the post; and when it closed its eyes, they were transformed into two stones, but they soon regained human shape. Then Qamá'its asked them to enter. Now the woman took the youth's blanket, and gave him another one made of bear-skin set with fringes of red cedar-bark. She told him that this blanket was to keep him warm, and that it would direct his course. Next she fetched some water from the salt-water pond behind her house. She sprinkled it over the faces of her visitors, and told the youth to sing about his experiences in the upper heaven when performing the Cannibal dance. If she had not sprinkled the faces of her visitors with water, they would have died. She said to the youth, "Your country is not far away. Do not be afraid of the dangerous road that you have to pass. Later on there shall be many Cannibals like you. Do not be afraid to touch the food that another Cannibal may offer to you. You are strong because you have seen me." Then Qamá'its sent him back to the lower sky. Here the gods placed him on the back of a bird (Sqᵃxsɪɴ), which carried him down to the sea. As soon as the bird reached the water, it uttered its cry, and at the same time the young man uttered the cry of the Cannibal. The people heard it, and said to one another, "That must be the boy whom we lost some time ago." They connected many canoes by means of planks, and paddled out to the place where the bird was swimming about. They covered the canoes with red cedar-bark and eagle-down, and tried to capture the youth; but when they approached, the bird swam towards the village. They surrounded it with their canoes; but the bird flew up, and disappeared in the sky, and at the same time the youth flew towards the village. When the people landed, he attacked them, taking hold of their arms; and the snake, which was still in his body, tore pieces of flesh out of their arms. The people sang and beat time in order to appease him. 575 773 776

In a second room in the rear of the House of Myths, next to that of the Cannibal, lives Kōkō'ɪʟxɪɴm, another son of the deities. His room is called Nus'o'lxsta. He initiates the Olx-dancer (see Chap. VI). 776 575

The path of the Sun is guarded by a number of deities. At sunrise is stationed the Bear of Heaven, Snanō's ti Sōnx t'aix (Plate X, Fig. 2). He is described as a fierce warrior, who protects the Sun against the attacks of his enemies, and he is the cause of the warlike spirit of man. His hair is tied up in a knot on top of his head. His mask is used in the sisau'k [772] [821]

776 ceremonial, and sometimes in the kō'siut. The following song belongs to
575 his mask and dance :—

[539] Nancmō'tstxult ti q'ōyaki'mtst'aix·. Nō'noq'ēxum ts'ɛn t'ayōɛlat'aix· ayati
snanō's ti sōnx· t'aix·, wā, nān, ai!

("Cry now, as though you had left me! I shall tie up my hair, warriors, like the Bear of Heaven.")

776 At sunset stands an enormous post which is called Nutēexoa'axtatas ti
821 Sōnx· t'aix·. It supports the sky, and prevents the Sun from falling down into the lower world. The trail of the Sun is described as a bridge which was built by Masmasala'nix. The bridge is as broad as the distance between the winter solstice and the summer solstice. The Sun walks, his face turned towards the west. In summer he walks on the right-hand side of the bridge, in winter on the left-hand side of the bridge, which explains the varying heights of the sun in the course of the year. The extreme right and extreme left of the bridge are called Sē'ɛmt ("the place where he sits down," that is, the solstices). At each of these points a being is placed who is called Atk·x·ē'tɛnɛm (Plate X, Fig. 3). It is their duty to see that the Sun does not tarry too long at the solstice. If in summer or winter he should be inclined to stay too long or to return too soon, they regulate his course. When the Sun tarries too long at the winter solstice, the people say, "ēx tsēs pa'nia" ("salmon will be dried late this year"). If he leaves it without tarrying, they say, "ēk·!x· tsēs pa'nia" ("soon we shall dry salmon"). Three guardians named Naqumiqa'otsaix (Plate X, Fig. 1) accompany the Sun on his course, dancing around him all the time. The halo is called Itwu'xtsia ti Mānt t'aix· ("the cape of our father"). A sun-
[731] dog that appears westward from the Sun is called Atqōt ti Mānt t'aix· ("the
[753] painted face of our father"). The Bella Coola believe that when it drops down to our earth, it causes epidemics. During an eclipse the Sun is believed to lose his torch. The rays of the Sun are his eyelashes.

There are twenty-four guardians appointed to take care of the sky. They are called Nexolak·ai'x·. According to tradition, the sky must be continually fed with firewood. Once upon a time they put too much firewood into the sky and made it burst. All the pieces except one, called S'atwalō'sɛm, fell down to our earth. The fragments hit the faces of the twenty-four guardians, and distorted them. They tried to mend the sky, but did not know how to do it. They went down the river, and came to Masmasala'nix, whose assistance they asked. Masmasala'nix gathered up the broken pieces, and glued them together. Up to that time the Sun had staid in the east, but now he began to go on his daily course. At that time Masmasala'nix built the bridge over which the Sun travels every day. He placed a wedge in the opening of the sky, into which the Nexolak·ai'x·

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have to put the firewood. This opening is called K'awa'umsta, that is, "mouth kept open by means of a wedge." Masmasalá'nix spoke: "The sky shall not burst again. This wedge shall keep its mouth open." The following kū'siut song refers to these deities: — 776 821 [539]

Aï'mats tā mnatsaï' tō·xts ti sō'nx·tsg·i t'aix.
Aiēɪ.x tā mnatsaï' ōɪ. ti S'aɪ.walō·sɛɪns ti Sōnx· t'aix.
Sk·a ya'lx·tox ti sī'lxnō tā mnatsaï.
Sk·a anōg·a wa ɛxɛmē·x ti K'awa'umstask· ti Sōnx· t'aix· tā mnatsaï.

("My child perished like the sky when it broke
Go to S'aɪ.walō·sɛm of the sky, my child!
Gladden my heart, my child!
Sit down in the mouth of the sky, my child!")

Our world is called A'nēkō'ōɪ. or Qɛnk·i'lst, that is, "the land below." It is an island swimming in the boundless ocean. In the far east a giant is sitting with legs apart, who is called Aɪ.ēp!alaxtnaix·. He holds a long stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar by means of two stone ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake; and the Bella Coola say, "Snēnikʷpstak·imtōɪ.s," that is, "he takes hold of our world." When he moves our earth westward, we have epidemics. When he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears. 772 776 823 [731] [753]

In the ocean lives a being called Sēɪ.sāts, who twice every day swallows the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the kū'siut ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various levels of the sea.

The world below us is the country of the ghosts (kōɪ.kʷɪ.ōlɛ'mx·). It is called Asiuta'nɛm. Descriptions of the ghosts' country are principally obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the sandy banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with sharp stones. When it is summer here, it is winter there. When it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their heads. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls, on reaching the lower world, receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform 772 775 [756] [787]

Smaya'na, that is considered a human being. It is said that his children make the canoe go up Bella Coola River with the rising tide, A'nxamk·ila. The canoe travels the distance from the mouth of the river to the mountain Smaya'na in a single tide. The canoe "Nō'ak·nem" stays for four months. Then the canoe "Kunkunu'qtstuls" returns from the country of the Salmon, while "Nō'ak·nem" leaves again. It is said that all the gods of the House of Myths come to the villages of the Bella Coola in the canoe "Nō'ak·nem." 773 [776]

The arrival and the departure of these canoes are strictly regulated according to the calendar of the Bella Coola, which for this reason should be explained in connection with their beliefs. The Bella Coola divide the year into two parts, which are separated by the winter and summer solstices. The solstices are periods of indefinite length, between which five months are counted. Each solstice is reckoned, therefore, as approximately six weeks. The names of the months are as follows: — 773 805 821

Sēr·mt (*winter solstice*)	Sēr·mt (*summer solstice*)
Sxōlē·mx·ēnem	Sī·uxum
[illegible]	Sevevc·mut
Siaq'n·m	Sinulā·lsemtēnem
Siqiō·lx·	Tsi·sitak·ā·ms tsēan Anaōlikuts'ai·x·
Sinō·moak·	lēmulē·m

The canoe "Nō'ak·nem" arrives, and "Kunkunu'qtstuls" leaves, in the month Sinulā'lsemtēnem. The canoe "Nō'ak·nem" leaves, and "Kunkunu'qtstuls" returns, in the month Sxōlē'mx·ēnem.

At the moment when the canoe "Nō'ak·nem" arrives, a deity called Anaōlikuts'ai'x· (Plate XII, Figs. 1 and 2), who is believed to live in a cave, opens the door of her abode. There is one deity of this name to each village. Her cave is called Nuskēsiō'tsta. It is said that one Anaōlikuts'ai'x· lives on the mountain Sqtsi. Her house is described as a large hollow bowlder suspended from the top of the mountain by means of a rope. Each Anaōlikuts'ai'x· has an older sister who is called Nutsē'xēnem. When the canoe "Nō'ak·nem" appears, and she opens her door, she steps outside and stands in front of her house, dancing, with trembling hands. When a person sees her, he faints. His soul is taken into her house, and is initiated into the secrets of the kō'siut. 773 776 [575]

A particular Nuskēsiō'tsta is believed to be at the foot of the creek Anō'nk·, on the northern side of North Bentinck Arm, near the mouth of Bella Coola River. A woman called Nustsxoaxlō'stxnil lives there. She is described as emaciated, of black skin, and as wearing a black blanket. A certain chief who lived long ago was the first to see her. He was initiated by her, and after his return he performed a dance, and told what he had seen. Then he died.

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They had hit a stone, and their points were broken. He staid there some time, and when it was nearly dark he returned home. Before he reached his house, he cut his own belly and took out some of the fat from his intestines. He cut it in five pieces, and replaced his intestines. He put the fat into his quiver. When he reached his house, he hung the quiver up outside, and entered. He imitated everything the Lynx had done. When it grew dark, he told his wife to fetch his quiver. She brought it, and he told her to open it and to feed his children. She took the fat out, placed it on a stick, and put it near the fire; and as soon as it grew warm, the Raven cried, "Tttt! Don't put it so near the fire. I feel sick when you do so." He jumped up, took hold of the fat, and put it back in his belly. The Lynx said, "Formerly I fed your children, but you were the first not to treat me properly. You did not give any food to my children." Then the Lynx took some fat, and flung one piece to each of the Raven's children. He cut some meat and gave it to them also. Then the Raven said, "I will give you one of my children, that it may grow up in company with yours." 539 776

It is said that the former spirit Toa'lai,[1] it was killed at one time by an Indian who took his place. This tale is recorded in Chap. IV. It belongs to the tribe of the village Nusxé'q!. A similar tradition is told of Astas,[1] by which name the Carriers call the Raven, their principal culture hero. Many traditions referring to Astas are common to the Carriers, the Bella Coola, and the Awi'k-'ênôx of Rivers Inlet. 773 776 [171]

The Bella Coola believe that a being called K^{u}tsôs is the father of all mountain-goats. When a hunter meets him, he thinks he sees a kid. Then he should close his eyes and open them again. If the animal is K^{u}tsôs, it will appear in its real shape as a buck of enormous size. The hunter should then ascend the mountain. If he should descend, he would fall and die. 776 825

The thunder-storm is produced by the Thunder-bird, who lives on the mountains, in the company of a number of spirits, who are considered his particular friends. The Thunder-bird himself is represented by a black mask with red nostrils. The nose is strongly curved, the forehead bulges forward, and the chin protrudes almost as far forward as the nose (Plate XI, Fig. 1). His herald is called Ai.xula'tgnum (Plate XI, Fig. 2). His face is painted with orange and blue stripes, and he carries a speaker's staff, which is painted with spirals of the same color. He watches the door of the Thunder-bird's house. In his house live the Rabbit (Plate XI, Fig. 3); the Owl, who is considered the rival of the Thunder-bird (Plate XI, Fig. 4); the Mountain, i.e'qots (Plate XI, Fig. 5); the Raindrop (Plate XI, Fig. 6). 776 [821] [532] [575]

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 301.

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174 contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast,
424 they nowhere reach such a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I presume
614 the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts for this curious condition.

The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to Senx or Ta'sta bear a
171 remarkable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Laxha,
782 the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face it will be clear weather, and man will be happy; consequently the prayer to
[821] the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from
177 the Coast tribes is the kn'siut ceremonial, with which are connected the various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism.
575 The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the
773 Kwakiutl are practically identical. I told above (p. 34) the legend explaining the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another
796 tradition is told to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsi'wae, who lives in the forest, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by three distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the
174 development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious incon-
773 sistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the word and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not co-ordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 560 ff.

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838 woman who dressed as a man and used to hunt successfully,
[171] though she was married. Such practices are said to have been not uncommon among the Haida. The women were considered bold and independent, but the Bella Coola of today know little
*[776] about them, and are not even certain that *Sgwts* is responsible for a female assuming the actions of a male. It will be readily understood that he is not regarded with much awe, nor does he influence their daily lives.

*776 Another supernatural being, uninfluential though resident
● [822] upon earth, is Echo, *Setsaläni*, "The Voice Repeater." The Bella Coola regard him as a male being, in human form, and recognize his presence whenever sounds reverberate. He figures in mythology, occasionally appears as a masked figure at
[575] *kusiut* or *susaok* dances, but has neither helped nor harmed human beings for so many generations that he is accordingly neglected.

*776 A supernatural being from whom many Bella Coola have
787 had unpleasant visitations is *Sltlmsila*, the cause of nightmares.
828 He is a man-like creature with black face and an enormous head which he constantly scratches. His home is in *Nusmät·a*, but he frequently descends to this world and frightens sleepers. If a person scratches his head while asleep it is because he has just seen *Sltlmsila* doing so, and if he walks in his sleep it is to escape this supernatural visitor. A sleep-walker is usually aroused by having a bucket of water thrown over him. A
[751] person frequently troubled by *Sltlmsila* can avoid him by painting a black circle around each eye before going to sleep.

*776 With the exception of *Älquntäm*, the supernatural beings thus far described play little part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They believe in their existence, but do not expect to meet them, and do not believe that they exercise much influence on the course of their daily life. Supernatural beings of this ineffective type are exceptional. A man goes into remote parts of the
781 mountains, or even into little frequented areas around his
*776 village, with mingled fear lest he encounter an actively malicious being, and hope that he may meet a benevolent one. More-

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sa·qwa·t: String figure.
Saskwanuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sdjidji'is:* Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sekakmän·a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sekiläxt:* Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
[822] *sekima siälamkek:* River net for salmon.
Setsaläml: Echo.
Sexsexqälaix: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Sexsexqwalxalaslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Thitcäplilän·a*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Siälxelax:* Ancestral name created on earth by a *Qomqo·ts* man.
Siaqam, "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[825] *sidäxsu:* One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
[805] *Sidäkoos di Ano°likwolsaix,* "The Coming of *Ano°likwolsaix*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
siwala: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Si'iskalitl,* "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Si'iswai·stl, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *si'itlliukek:* Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of marriage is broached.
[431] *si'iqikm,* "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Siumt,* "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Siusml,* "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Sikälamtak, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] *siki,* "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *sisook* rites.
Sikiliktmm: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Siqulq,* "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikwalxwlelax: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikwäldjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuax* man.
Siksum: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
Silias: Celebrated composer.
[226] *siltmaq:* Salmon-weir.
sinaxgme'ax: Sisook head-dress.
[827] *sinimits:* Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
[761] *si·nipodjaxstumax:* Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Simpteus: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[805] *Sinomwak,* "Time for the Use of Olachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[726] *Sinulkemitl,* "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinunukalälum: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

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sizs: Supernatural good luck.
[821] *nkmoos:* Fog.
[825] *nkn':* Pack-rat.
[828] *nlk:* Mind or mentality.
nlqsan: Place of lucky finds, such as a point where whales drift ashore.
nlxetlēltus: Cannibal recently returned from the land above.
Sēlilān-i: One of the first women to settle at *Sētlis* in the beginning of time.
[825] *nmd:* Mountain.
nmlk or *nmlkts:* Salmon, generic form.
nmqmnikhs: (Probably) viscera of an animal, *archaic.*
Sumsiutaaks: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[173] *nmsma:* Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be related by anyone.
Sumqus: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[822] *Sunk'lusam:* Bella Coola chief.
[828] *Sunlqominit:* Darkness, anthropomorphized.
nnqus: Anger.
nnx: Sun.
Sunxākila: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at *Alqālāsi* in the beginning of time.
Sunxālotla: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—*A'alk* name of a Kimsquit man.
4—*Sisook* name of a Kimsquit man.
Sunxan-a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.
[827] *nnxkt:* Mucus.
Sunxl, "Sunny": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
nqwlsiak: Game played with miniature spears.
[575] *nsook:* 1—Society intimately connected with chiefs.
2—Member of the society.
nsiutl: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a double-headed salmon.
Sunxakila: Shaman's name of a *Sixsl* woman.
nskiek': Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Tlitāplilān-a* to the one favoured.
[601] *nskum:* Father's sister or mother's sister (in either direct or indirect address).
[583] *nsmmuhs:* The ceremonial strength acquired by a child through the repurchase of its mother.
[431] *nsqe-si:* Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] *nsyunt':* Western dock (plant).
[824] *nsxwnwnulp:* Snowberry.
nxnqelus: Distribution of carpentry tasks prior to a potlatch.
[825] *nxsmmsta,* "Food Supply": Synonym for *sol'ekum,* ancestral hunting-ground.
shalk': Porcupine.
[824] *shal-uts:* Black huckleberry.
[821] *skalutsletz:* Eye-lashes of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be. 764 [301] [823] [766] [567] [775]

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they cleave four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, cleaving new trees every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones. 765 783 [775] 765 [302]

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or olachen. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person. [262] [828] [822]

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was 'the same as giving away the bones of the deceased.' 765 556

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to 773 171

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CHAPTER II

RELIGION

The Universe—Supernatural Beings—Supernatural Elements in Human Beings—Means of Propitiation

The Universe

ONE of the subjects about which Bella Coola philosophers pondered in former times, and about which definite information has come down to the present generation, is the universe. The young people, who have absorbed a certain amount of education from the white man, are scornful of the beliefs of their fathers, but it was possible to obtain the following information from a few of the older men and women. 772 [177]

They say that the earth is circular and flat, like an island. What it rests upon is problematical, though the assumption is that it is water. The world is kept from capsizing by the supernatural being, *Sninia*, who lives amid the ice in the far north; he grasps a rope to which the earth is fastened, and he keeps it steady by maintaining a tension on the rope to hold the world against his feet. Long, long ago *Sninia* was seen by human beings, but in later years no one has penetrated to his distant home and the Bella Coola have little regard for him. It was in the distant past, also, that human beings discovered the earth to be round, after certain semi-supernatural men had made a circuit of it. The four corners of space have not the same importance to the Bella Coola as they have, for example, to the Indians of the Plains. It is only through questioning that the investigator learns that the East is regarded as the top of the world, the South is the sun at its zenith, the West is the bottom, and the North is nothing, merely the opposite to the south. These beliefs play little part in the lives of the people. [776] [823]

Above our earth stretches an inverted dome, its edges resting on those of the world. This dome, the sky, is called

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* 776 the top. He concluded that this must be the home of the woman. Before the door of her house, wherever it may be, there are miniature totem-poles which open their painted mouths and speak in the voice of the animal or bird portrayed. The writer did not hear that her home was in the land above [114] *Nusmāt·a*, as Boas (p. 28) states. At the present time knowledge of *Kāmai·ts* is so scanty that failure to confirm the previous observation is not surprising.

One or two passing remarks of elderly informants imply that *Kāmai·ts* may once have been more important to Bella Coola belief than she is now. One old man, already in his [775] dotage, stated that long ago the dead used to dwell in her house. Another declared that long ago prayers were addressed [782] to her, which is never done now. The word *kāmai·ts* is commonly used by the Bella Coola in a manner difficult to trans- [192] late. It serves as equivalent for "please" or "thank you," but has an underlying significance of a supernatural benison or appeal. It is not a word to be used in casual conversation; it is reserved for important occasions or times of emotional stress. The comparative unimportance of *Kāmai·ts* probably rests on the fact that she belongs merely to the realm of ancient history and has no sociological significance, even as the patron of a *kusiut* dancer.

772 Another supernatural being so far removed from this world
* 776 that he enters but little into the lives of the Bella Coola, is *Sninia*. He is the male being whom *Alqantām* sent down from above in the beginning of time to hold the earth in position, and who has since performed this duty. He lives among the ice of the far north, and has not been seen by mortals for many generations. He holds a rope fastened to the earth; when he is afraid that it has slipped slightly he takes a new grip and pulls the rope taut, pressing the world against the soles of his feet as he sits with legs extended, as a man would do to hold tight a kicking salmon. It is the tightening of the rope which
● [823] causes an earthquake. If *Sninia* should lose his grip entirely
575 the earth would capsize. He is patron for several *kusiut*
* 776 dancers.

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cut the organ until one of them brought a salalberry leaf, whereupon the monster, dreading its razor-like edge, withdrew. 539 776 *

The following stories illustrate, better than any description, the attitude of the Bella Coola towards these animals.

Not many years ago a certain *Qak'lis* was encamped with his wife and child in the Bay of the Thousand Islands, *Alnukwlâksv·s*, about two miles above Namu, one of the haunts of *boqs*. He heard a number of the creatures in the forest behind him and seized his gun, at the same time calling out to them to go away. Instead, the breaking of branches and beating upon tree-trunks came nearer. Becoming alarmed, he called out once more: "Go away, or you shall feel my power." They still approached and *Qak'lis* fired in the direction of the sounds. There followed a wild commotion in the forest, roars, grunts, pounding, and the breaking of branches. The hunter, now thoroughly alarmed, told his wife and child to embark in the canoe while he covered their retreat with his gun. He followed them without molestation, and anchored his craft not far from shore. The *boqs* could be heard plainly as they rushed to and fro on the beach, but only the vague outlines of their forms were visible in the darkness. Presently, though there was no wind, the canoe began to roll as if in a heavy sea. *Qak'lis* decided to flee to Restoration Bay, but before he had gone far his paddle struck the bottom, although he was in mid-channel. Looking up, he saw that the mountains were higher than usual; the *boqs* had, by their supernatural power, raised the whole area so that the water had been almost entirely drained away. They are the only supernatural beings with this power. *Qak'lis* jumped overboard into water which reached only to his knees, and towed his canoe to Restoration Bay, the *boqs* following him along the shore.[10] [823]

This is not the only occasion on which *boqs* have appeared near Restoration Bay. Within the life-time of the father of an informant, a chief set out with some friends from Kwatna, bound for Namu. They travelled overland to Restoration Bay, thence by canoe, making the journey without incident. When returning, they decided to gather clams on the rocky point of the bay. As the craft shot around the tip of the promontory, they saw a *boqs* gathering shell-fish. The paddlers backed their canoe behind some rocks whence they could

[10] One of the features which the Bella Coola consider most surprising about this incident is that he did not tread upon the fish which must have been driven into the shallows. [825]

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men to see these transformed beings habitually, but even now, or at any rate until a few years ago, shamans were able to lift the intervening veil. From accounts given by those who have had such experience, the Bella Coola believe that *Ałquntām* gave to birds and animals, as well as to humans, the boon of fire, and it is only the unworthiness of men that makes them unable to see the smoke rising from the houses of different creatures. In former times, fortunate hunters were able to do so, and consequently had phenomenal success. The smoke that ascends from the fires of different animals corresponds in colour to that of its owner; a mountain goat's is white, a beaver's, black, a squirrel's, red, a wolf's, gray, and so on. When a goat stamps the earth on a mountain, it rings hollow, as indeed it is to those animals, for their home is within; and when a hunter loses his quarry entirely, it is because the latter has entered its house. Shamans are sometimes able to hear the gatherings of animals under the peaks. Like human beings, they dance to the accompaniment of music, and in all respects behave like them. They have their times of joy and sorrow, of success and failure. When ill they are cured by their own shamans, grizzly bear, *sniniq*, and wolverine; these three also dance to welcome the dead. All animals and birds are like brothers, able to converse with each other and living harmoniously together in that other part of their life which only shamans have seen. Porcupine is the oldest, and a hunter always tries to kill one before passing to more important prey. The animals know about the actions of human beings and show their aversion to certain habits by refusing to allow themselves to be seen by anyone practising them. For example, they do not like people to drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked, and no hunter would dream of partaking of that food. Bella Coola mythology is full of accounts of human beings who, with supernatural aid, were able to penetrate to the homes of animals. Tales of this type would be unintelligible without understanding the attitude of the people to the animal and bird kingdoms.

776* 825 [756] [773] [823] [756] [224] [784] [224] [773] [538]

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and eagles whom he invites to devour it. In so doing, he does not address them by their usual names, but calls Wolf, *Ālkn-i-ɣexnim*, "The Devourer of Meat Which He Does Not Kill," that is, "The Biting Scavenger"; and Eagle, *Asaikaiyuts-maxnim*, "The Constant Eater," that is, "The One Who Eats before He Is Hungry." Next morning the flesh has been devoured and the hunter believes his guests have eaten it. Animals and birds, being supernatural, can hear the words of mortals and read their thoughts. The significance of these actions is that animals have the power to conceal themselves, so a hunter must gain their favour before he can hope to succeed. Belief in the efficacy of such customs as these is rapidly falling into decay and bear-meat is now often eaten, but the skull is carefully placed in an evergreen tree near where the animal is slain, so that it may come back to life.

Fish, likewise, are immortal. In autumn the streams are choked with dead and dying salmon, but the Bella Coola know that they are not really dead, they have merely shed their worthless blankets in accordance with *Ālquntäm*'s decrees. At that season of the year he causes the rivers to rise so that they will sweep away these useless and outworn cloaks.

Although the salmon, from the kindness of their hearts, allow human beings to feast on their blankets, yet they have certain likes and dislikes which are carefully observed. From the time the first spring salmon appear (I, pp. 759-762) until the rising of the July moon, women are not allowed to eat them or to go near the river. Men may eat the flesh, but instead of throwing the bones to dogs, they carefully return them to the river saying:

"Please come back tomorrow."

If this is inconvenient, bones can be thrown into the woods with impunity.

Salmon, like men and animals, live a human-like existence in their homes far beneath the surface of the ocean. They lack and desire earthly objects, especially pounded cedar-bark (see Appendix A) to use as sponges for their children, so the Bella Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

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539 of a woman, *Sekakmän·a*, who dwelt with her mother, a Gull. After a
825 meal, Raven lied to his hostess by telling her of the countless herring that lived at Kimsquit, and how happy he could make some of her relatives by taking them home with him. *Sekakmän·a* doubted the story and told one of her brothers to investigate Raven's canoe because, if the fish were plentiful at his home, some of the scales would certainly be in his craft. The herring youth looked inside the canoe, and was deceived by Raven's subterfuge. On receiving a favourable report, *Sekakmän·a* willingly gave Raven a large box filled with herring. Elated at his victory, Raven set out for home and threw his spoil into the water as he neared the beach at Kimsquit. The Kimsquit people knew of Raven's search for herring, and did not at first believe him when he reported his success, but the fish increased so rapidly that his claim was vindicated.

The herring so obtained were the progenitors of all that now live in the waters adjacent to Kimsquit.

262 One of the foods regarded by the Bella Coola as a luxury
824 is a foam-like whip prepared by beating up dried buffalo berries
539 in water. Raven is given the credit for introducing this to Bella Coola.

Long, long ago, *Sluxlekwaily*, a mountain in the Carrier country above Burnt Ridge, was a chief, possessing human characteristics. Buffalo berries flourished on his slopes, and he wanted to keep these for food for his guests. On one occasion he invited all the animals and birds, including Raven, to a feast and dance. His house was the interior of the mountain, and when all had assembled he carefully closed every opening so that none of the berries could escape. Raven determined to obtain some of this food for the Bella Coola, and accordingly used his power to force one of the guests to go outside. As soon as a door was opened to let him out, Raven seized some of the whip and flew away, scattering drops of it in his flight. Berries grew wherever the drops fell, and since that time everybody has been able to make this luxury. *Sluxlekwaily* was very angry, but could do nothing.

773 Though *Alquntäm* created the world, he did not make it perfect nor equip it with many of the conveniences possessed by men of the present generation. Raven, endowed both with imagination and tremendous power, was always seeking ways of improving conditions. In the beginning of time there were no mirrors, and if a man wanted to paint his face, or decorate
[778] himself for a dance, he was forced to rely on the assistance of
[823]

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a friend. Raven determined to supply this want for the benefit of the Kimsquit people. Accordingly he used a natural stone depression near the village as his chamber-pot, and the liquid reflected faces clearly. Ever since, any liquid, even rain-water, placed in that depression acts as a reflector. The place is called *Ănilxsaix*, "Where People Go," and it has been used as a mirror by the Kimsquit people and their guests for many generations. In this way, the renown of Raven spread to foreigners visiting Kimsquit. Another survival of this construction is the name *Nusqalät·a*, "Chamber-Pot," commonly applied as a nickname to the small daughters of Kimsquit chiefs. 773 778 823 [551]

One of Raven's inventions was the making of nettle-fibre olachen nets, an art which he taught spiders as well as men. In the beginning of time, Raven told two men to make a net according to a pattern which he showed them, and gave them some fibre. It was not sufficient, and when the workers asked for more, Raven told them to draw it from their own intestines. This they did, and ever since spiders have had the same ability. Another story describes how Raven saw an olachen net being made in one of the distant villages which he visited during his travels, learnt the details of its manufacture, and taught the Bella Coola on his return home. 773 [227] [825]

Many of Raven's exploits are well known, although not embodied in elaborate myths. For example, it is believed that in the beginning of time the ocean was to the east of Bella Coola and the land to the west. Drownings were frequent, so Raven altered the relative positions of land and sea. Most ocean dwellers followed the sea to its new home, but a number of mussels remained near their human friends. They are still to be found in the upper valley of Bella Coola River. These shell-fish, which are probably freshwater mussels, are said to be identical with those of the ocean, and are called by the same name. This is always mentioned as proof of the former presence of salt water in the upper Bella Coola valley. The occurrence of the shell-fish may be the origin of this theory. It might also be mentioned that the Bella Coola believe that a few years 773 823 [825]

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773 ago the tide came further up the rivers than at present and did
823 not recede so far. This statement was made by an intelligent old man who said that the change had taken place during his own life-time.

773 One of Raven's most important alterations to *Ăłquntăm*'s
833 intentions was with regard to the sexual act.

In the beginning of time, the organs of women were on the forehead, those of men on the palm of the hand, and intercourse was effected by a man rubbing his hand across a woman's brow. Raven feared that children would not result from this practice and accordingly altered the organs of both sexes to their present positions. In order to teach mankind the sexual act he then chose a woman and held intercourse with her, telling her that if the practice were carried out secretly and vigorously a child would be born. And nine months later the woman gave birth to an infant. Raven told the first inhabitants of the world that he wished them to have issue; they consequently held intercourse frequently and begat many children until their descendants filled the Bella Coola valley.

The attitude of the Bella Coola towards this story is identical with their beliefs concerning Raven as the cause of death. "Yes," they say, as they repeat the above story in answer to a question, "Raven taught our ancestors how to have children."

773 One side of their nature implicitly believes any story handed
[183] down from the distant past, but few today are sufficiently naïve actually to credit it. The more sophisticated frankly disbelieve, or pretend to do so. Doubt also exists with regard to
[829] Raven as originator of linguistic differences. The Bella Coola state that *Ăłquntăm* intended only one language for the whole world, but Raven thought that this would lead to trouble and used his power to teach the ancestors of every tribe their special speech.

Many inventions and beliefs are attributed to Raven without any accompanying myth. It is said that almost all geo-
[103] graphical names are those bestowed by him on places reached in his travels. It was Raven who taught men how to bait
[226] hooks on long lines to catch black cod; it was Raven who first

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instructed people about the significance of death omens; it was Raven who showed them the use of slings; and it was Raven who constructed secluded caves and ledges to serve as meeting-places for chiefs. 773 [622 823]

In brief, the Bella Coola regard Raven as an explorer, teacher, and inventor, whose power, obtained from *Ăłquntăm*, enabled him to construct and outwit his maker, but not to create. Much of his work was for the good of mankind, but much was evil and malicious, an aspect which belongs to mythology. Essentially human, Raven could have been included among anthropomorphic, as well as among zoomorphic beings. He differs from most of the supernatural ones in belonging entirely to the past, as his descendants have none of the first Raven's power. It is doubtful whether he still exists, but in any case he has long since ceased to take any interest in the affairs of the Bella Coola, who consider him only as a figure of mythology and ancient history. 773 776 [825]

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS OF THE VEGETABLE AND MINERAL KINGDOMS

Bella Coola beliefs concerning anthropomorphic and zoomorphic beings are relatively clear and exact; their appearance is known, their powers and functions recognized. The supernatural attributes of trees and plants are less definite. *Ăłquntăm* created the former in the beginning of time, and they were consequently able to talk and act like human beings at that distant period. Owing to the degeneration of man, mortals are no longer able to converse with trees, although the latter can still understand our remarks. In a vague way, the Bella Coola continue to think of trees as having human personalities, but so little is known of their powers, and they enter so seldom into contact or conflict with mortals, that they are practically ignored. 776 824

In an equally vague manner, Nature is regarded as a Mother, giving birth to the trees and plants. One of the *kusiut* dances portrays this birth of the flowers every spring (II, p. 196). [535 575]

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776 824 (II, p. 196). In this way the belief is kept before the eyes of the Bella Coola, but it is not a matter of prime importance in their lives. Rather contradictory is the concept that though each plant lack individual life, there is a supernatural mother of each species, corresponding in general terms to the Mother of Snakes described in the last section. As one informant expressed it:

"If there is no mother, how can a plant grow?"

These mothers are assumed to live beneath the ground. Occasionally, one of them has been discovered. Not many years ago, a number of women were collecting bracken roots when one which had been gathered began to turn into a snake. The women were alarmed and puzzled at this strange phenomenon. As they stood watching, the ground in front of them fell away as if there had been an earthquake, and they realized that the snake-root had been the mother of the plant. Without further fear they cooked and ate it.

776 823 Stones, too, and mountains were made by *Ätquntäm*; consequently they have supernatural abilities and can understand the words and actions of mortals. When a wise man passes close beneath a precipitous mountain he always says to it:

"Please make yourself firm."

Most mountains, when requested politely, refrain from sliding and killing those passing beneath.

539 776 823 In former days mountains in many cases rose to meet hunters, and sometimes turned completely over. The Bella Coola are not sure whether this was caused by the mountain itself, or by a *smuiq* within. Wise hunters carry ropes with them when they penetrate into deep valleys, and when they feel the first tipping of a mountain they leap for a convenient tree, grasp it with their legs, heads downwards, and tie themselves in that position. Slowly the mountain rises and turns over, but, if the ropes do not break, the hunters suffer no ill effects. After a varying interval the mountain returns to its [789] normal position. This reversal can be hastened if a man bites

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 539 776 823

his left cheek until the blood flows, takes also a mouthful of his own urine, and spits out the mixture.

The following instance of this belief was recorded. [789]

A Bella Coola chief and a number of followers were once at Kwatna where they had been gambling for stakes of mountain goat grease. Two of the men had lost their supply, so they went into the mountains between Kwatna and Restoration Bay to replenish it. They saw two goats, killed them, and at once two more appeared in the same place; these they also slew. When a fifth and sixth goat appeared and were likewise dispatched, one of the hunters tried to restrain his comrade, saying that such phenomenal success must be due to supernatural power which they should not abuse. They stopped firing, cut the grease from their quarry, and started on the return journey. Presently the mountain began to tilt upwards before their feet. They had no ropes, and almost in despair concealed themselves in a small rock shelter. Their dogs too felt the movement and barked in terror. Fortunately, the mountain did not rise more than a few feet and soon subsided, so that the men escaped. [525]

The attitude of the Bella Coola to supernatural powers of all kinds may be termed a doctrine of Opportunism. Supernatural beings abound and constantly play a part in the affairs of mortals. An alert and bold man can take advantage of these opportunities and obtain assistance, but he who hesitates is indeed lost. Certain types of assistance are most commonly granted to orphans and other unfortunates; accounts of these belong to the realm of mythology and will be described in a later chapter. On the whole the supernatural ones do not show discrimination in conferring boons, and the man who is quick to take advantage of them is the one to whom success comes. 776 [736]

Supernatural Elements in Human Beings

The Bella Coola believe that in the human body itself there are certain supernatural elements. Neither sticks nor stones can move, because they lack these attributes possessed by men and animals. Considering the firm belief of the Bella Coola in the omnipresence of the supernatural, it is not surprising that they should ascribe the phenomena of health and sickness, 774

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THE WASH-BASIN

A third supernatural element which must be in good condition if a Bella Coola is to prosper in life, is a *nuskelusta*, wash-basin. In the land above, *Ăłquntäm* has a large one filled with water which, having been constructed by himself, is replete with power. When a child is born, a small part of this receptacle, with its contents, is reserved for him; the supernatural artisans choose the actual section, but it is *Ăłquntäm* who gives them the ability to do so. A fortunate man, whose ventures are successful and to whom goods are attracted, is said to have a good wash-basin; whereas the ill-luck of an unfortunate person is attributed, among other reasons, to the small size of his supernatural vessel. The Bella Coola have no clear ideas about the connection between an individual and his wash-basin. Some state that it remains in the land above; others believe that its intangible essence comes to a child at birth and grows up with him, always near his body, as if it were the offspring of the basin in the land above. As long as it remains in motion the owner continues in good health and prosperity, but if it becomes sluggish he falls ill. Long ago, shamans knew how to reanimate a wash-basin, but since the time of the first people, when supernatural ability was common, this has been a lost art. Senile decay is attributed to listlessness of this possession.

River water, being a creation of *Ăłquntäm*, is akin to the water in his basin above. Boys are always advised to bathe in the river at dawn; the act is termed *äskelusam*, a word connected with *nuskelusta*. A prayer is uttered while washing. The combination of verbal appeal and the application of water strengthens the petitioner's wash-basin and so increases his chances for prosperity. Until a few years ago, this practice was almost universal. Water is always considered a strange substance, obviously a supernatural creation, and believed to be the chief means of sustenance for a child after being weaned.[80]

[80] This may be a mere rationalization.

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773 Shamans achieve much of their success through their ability
777 to put their wash-basins, both tangible (I, p. 560) and imma-
823 terial, in tune with *Ałquntäm*'s in the land above. One method
756 of treating a patient is by washing, with the idea that the water
[755] and vessel used have potency through association with those in the upper world. It is believed that in the distant past, shamans were even able to carry their patients to the land above and wash them in *Ałquntäm*'s own basin. Such feats
[551] are perpetuated in certain shamans' names, such as *Ałpälxe-loslaix*.

773 It may be said in conclusion that although the Bella Coola
777 have indefinite ideas concerning the exact form and functions of this last element, there is a firm belief that an individual's fortune in life depends upon the activity of spirit, tally post, and wash-basin. With regard to supernatural elements as a whole, it is clear that in spite of somewhat conflicting beliefs concerning the precise functions of each, they play an important part in the life of every Bella Coola.

Means of Propitiation

782 Some of the methods employed by the Bella Coola to gain the favour of the supernatural have already been mentioned, but the subject is sufficiently important to warrant a separate section. In view of the omnipresence of supernatural beings and powers, and their influence on the lives of mortals, it is not surprising that the propitiation of them is a vital factor in human life. The chief means are prayer, sacrifice, and the observance of ceremonial chastity.

Prayer

[776] Prayers are regularly addressed to *Ałquntäm* who, in this connection, is known as *Munakais* or *Tätä*, both meaning, "Father." A wise man or woman desiring success in hunting, in love affairs, in the acquisition of wealth, or in any activity whatsoever, is accustomed to ask *Munakais* to grant his desire. No ritual is required. The petitioner merely seeks a lonely

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place where he is not likely to be disturbed, and addresses the supreme god in a loud tone of voice, requesting his assistance. 782

Although prayers can be said at any time of the day, or at any season of the year, there are occasions when they are more potent than at other times. At dawn, for example, a wise young man is accustomed to go alone to the river to wash and pray. He enters the icy water, blows mucus over his hands, and rubs his body vigorously[21] either with a smooth pebble, or, if it can be obtained, with a stone taken from the stomach of a sea-lion.[22] As he scours himself, he asks *Mınakais* to grant him long life, power, success, and strength. On coming from the water, he repeats his request, and then washes himself again. This process is repeated four times, making eight prayers in all. A young man who does this habitually, and in other ways placates the supreme deity, is likely to have success, and may even be given supernatural assistance by one of the many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. The underlying belief is that *Ālquntäm* actually hears the words spoken and, pleased thereby, aids the petitioner either directly, or by strengthening the supernatural elements in his body. [783]

Mınakais has power over both rain and dry weather, and is petitioned for whichever is desired. When the sun is obscured by rain clouds, the Bella Coola pray: [821]

"Please clean your face, *Mınakais*," or,

"Please show us your face, we need you."

Before a man starts on a journey, either by canoe or on foot, he always asks help for his undertaking. [484]

"*Mınakais*," he prays, "Be with me," or "Go before me," or, "Give me what I want."

Corresponding to the importance of the occasion, prayers are always made before the departure of a hunting or war [224] [726] [785]

[21]Urine was formerly used for washing both the body and clothing. It was followed by the application of clean water, and undoubtedly had a religious significance; indeed, washing purely for cleanliness was not habitual until recently. [515]

[22]The Bella Coola state that stones are often found in the stomachs of sea-lions. One specimen, considered of great value, was seen; it was indistinguishable from a water-smoothed river pebble. [296] [823] [825]

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before their birth. When the mother of the twin described in the last paragraph was awaiting delivery in a temporary shelter in the woods, its roof fell, cutting her head. The old woman who mentioned this occurrence stated that both her grandmother, the Sockeye Salmon, and her sister, a Spring Salmon, though still unborn, were aware of the accident and remembered the comments of the midwife. 845

On account of their uncanny power, twins are considered weaklings and usually die young in spite of the care lavished upon them and the taboos observed by their parents.[2] A dead twin, instead of being buried, is put in a box which is placed in a tree far away from the village. Every year the river changes its course, eating into its banks in order to reach the tree containing the body, and this continues until it reaches its goal and sweeps away tree and coffin. 766 [823]

Childhood Instruction

When working in the field, an anthropologist almost inevitably concentrates upon ceremonials and other epochs in an individual's life, to the detriment of the daily routine which in Bella Coola, as everywhere else, is fundamentally important although it defies description on account of its intangibility. A child grows up in a large house, occupied by several families, in which there is little privacy. The parents provide food and clothing, but more distant relatives take a greater share of responsibility for this than do white people. When food is being given out, a child soon learns that he will be given some of it, and that he will have his portion in any distribution of presents. Furniture, bedding, and other necessities are reduced to a minimum, but a boy or girl is welcome to sleep with relatives should his own parents wish to go hunting or fishing. The sense of power possessed by a Bella Coola with many relations is largely intangible, but it has practical applications as 114 855 [867] [867]

[2] It is probable that the arduous life led by a twin and its parents during the first year after birth lessens its chances of survival. Needless to say, this explanation does not find favour with the Bella Coola.

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described, at death the shadow, the body, and a portion of the life, descend to the land below where existence is continued as a ghost. These wraiths are usually termed, *Kołkw"łmx*, "The Earthy Ones," though they prefer the name *Asiutänem*, "They Who Have Become Supernatural." They enter into the lives and actions of the Bella Coola in a way entirely different from that of the elements which go aloft at death. 775

The land of ghosts, immediately beneath the earth, is similar to it. There are trees and bushes, stones, grass, everything as on the surface of the world. There is a river, too, but it rises in the west and flows eastward, contrary to the course of the Bella Coola. The sun that shines below is green and unnatural, giving an ethereal light like that of the moon which, indeed, it is sometimes said to be. The seasons are the reverse of those on earth; when mortals are in midsummer, it is wintertime for ghosts. The fluff which human beings see falling from cottonwood trees reaches the land of ghosts as snow. All earthly springs rise from the river in the land below; they never freeze in winter because they come from a warm region, and the coldness of spring water in summer is the result of coming from a land where it is winter. With the exception of the peculiar light, the only essential difference between the land of ghosts and this world is that food is very scarce in the former; berries grow below, and it is supposed that there must be fish and animals there, but it is common knowledge that residents there are always hungry. 772 775 [823]

The life led by ghosts is similar to that of human beings. They occupy the same type of house as before death, dwell in the same kind of villages on the river bank, wear similar clothes, have similar likes and dislikes, require similar food, and even enjoy the same kind of dances. One old Bella Coola even stated that the ghosts are able to summon supernatural beings from *Nusmät-a* to their *kusiut* rites. It is generally believed that no work is done below, although several of the older people denied this. According to these individuals, a ghost can perform more rapidly and easily whatever tasks he had been 775

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Supernatural good fortune has also been obtained from the "Mothers" of certain plants. 777

Among the roots that are sought for when a man intends to give a potlatch are those of clover and of *okäl*, a grass which grows on flats near the sea. Once the aunt of an elderly (in 1923) Bella Coola woman dug up the Mother of *Okäl*, a root, thick as her thumb, but shaped like a woman. Perhaps the reason that she found it was because she was digging in the darkness, after the setting of the sun. The woman, ignorant of the proper procedure, did nothing, with the result that her hands became painfully swollen. If she had wrapped the root in a portion of her used clothing and kept it hidden for one year, without saying anything about her find, it would have brought her supernatural good luck. 824 [556] [753]

Another woman found an elderberry as large as a baseball, and shaped like the mask worn above the forehead by a member of the *sisaok* society. Her father, an old man skilled in such matters, wrapped the berry in his daughter's soiled clothing and kept it carefully hidden in her box. It brought her supernatural good luck because, no matter how much or how often she gave away presents, goods always came to her.

SUPERNATURAL GOOD LUCK FROM STONES

Stones are among the objects from which supernatural good luck can be obtained. A person who has long observed ceremonial chastity may be fortunate enough to hear what seems to be the weeping of a new-born infant, as he passes in his canoe beneath some steep ocean cliff. Then, if he watches, he will see a stone being born from a larger one at the level of the sea. If the observer takes the infant-stone, wraps it in his soiled clothing and stores it among his possessions, it will act as other bringers of supernatural good fortune by luring all kinds of valuables to the owner. In fact, such a stone is said to be so potent that if left in an empty box for some time, it will attract enough skins to fill the receptacle. 777 787* 823 [785]

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777 The last appearance of such a stone was in Dean Channel,
* 787 to the father of an elderly Bella Coola, who was too amazed
823 to take advantage of it. As far as could be ascertained, in 1922 there was only one stone which was regarded by the owner as having brought him good fortune. It had been obtained by one of his elderly relatives who died about 1906. This man had been walking beside the Bella Coola River one spring day when he happened to notice a woodpecker perched on one of the posts supporting an olachen net. Without taking his eyes from it, he idly stooped down and threw a pebble at the bird which flew to the bank, lit on a pile of stones, and became one of them. Realizing that here might be the means of obtaining supernatural good fortune, if properly handled, the man watched for some time, then went forward, picked up the stone, covered it with evergreen boughs and wrapped the whole in a strip torn from the white-man's shirt he was wearing. With the axe he was carrying he cut a recess in a tree, put the object in it and covered the hiding place with the original bark. He said nothing about it, but the stone brought him such good luck that he obtained large quantities of everything desirable.

777 In later years the man, after replacing the stone in the hole
823 of the tree, went away to Victoria; when he returned, years later, it was still there. By placing it in his box he again prospered in all his ventures. When an old man the owner presented the stone to a relative who still treasures it. It is red, about a foot in length, shaped somewhat like a human figure without arms or legs, but with a prominent navel opening. See Fig. 2. The owner has kept it for years, hiding it even from his wife and allowing no white man to see it. He had been perfectly willing to have photographs taken of most of his ceremonial objects, but declined to permit this to be done with his valued stone, and carefully hid it in a box after showing it. When he wished to use the transformed bird, it was wrapped in his old shirt, together with a small amount of money or what-

[123]

Fig. 2
Lucky Stone

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ever object was desired, and then set in a window of his house so that the sun could fall on one uncovered end. The owner firmly believes that this stone has brought him money on various occasions, and will do so again, though whether he expects the coins to be found inside of the wrapping, or merely to come to him in the course of trade is questionable. According to Bella Coola belief, they ought to appear beside the stone, but as this man attributes any good fortune to it, he never has any difficulty in proving its powers. 777 823

This stone is also used as a means of increasing the efficacy of prayer. When its owner washes ceremonially in the river before eating in the morning, he rubs it over his body as if it were soap and requests it to make him strong, make him well, grant him his desires, and so forth. [515] [789]

Shamanism

More important to the Bella Coola than any other manifestation of the supernatural is that power which makes an individual either an *ālukwala* or an *āskankots*. The former is a person who, owing to ability granted him by a supernatural being, is able to perform miraculous feats, especially in curing the sick; the latter is one with similar powers obtained from a ghost.[9] It is impossible to translate either of these terms accurately; the designation "shaman" is accordingly used in this monograph to describe both types of supernaturally enlowed individuals. The most common and most important method of obtaining such power is from a living supernatural being; a person receiving the boon in this manner will be termed "shaman," and one empowered by a ghost will be known as "shaman from the dead." 104 756* [787]* [788]

The Bella Coola believe that long ago men were so much more powerful than at present, and so close to the supernatural, that all were virtually shamans. The prowess and adventures 756* 773 538

[9]Ghosts are, of course, supernatural, but as the Bella Coola distinguish between shamans whose powers are derived from these two sources, it is accurate to follow their example.

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778 539 latch, and the only vacant spot was the central seat behind the fire. Retainer after retainer was sent after someone, until finally the wondering human heard a steady thump, thump, approaching. It was the Mesatche Nose *snusx*, travelling on his single arm, like a looper caterpillar, his head balanced precariously on top while the thump came every time that he brought his fist to the floor. On his entry, the paintings of fish and marine animals, with which the walls and boxes were covered, came to life and cavorted around as if mad, but when the chief took his seat behind the fire they returned to their pictorial form. From this experience the Bella Bella man obtained a *sisaok* name and myth.

778 (3) The Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel where the mysterious power is that of a snake.

(4) A ledge of rock projecting over the water at a point on the west side of Dean Channel about nine miles below Kimsquit.

(5) *Q̓apdxs*: On the south side of Burke Channel, a few miles above Kwatna Inlet.

(6) *Snuwals*: On South Bentinck Arm, at a spot where the water penetrates far under a ledge of rock.

(7) *Nukilā-xta*: On the east side of South Bentinck Arm, where an enormous spider has been changed to stone. The many colours of its body can be plainly seen amid the numerous holes in the vicinity.

(8) The Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.

778 539 823 103 (9) Mount *Nusqalst*, the highest mountain in the Bella Coola valley, belongs to the same category, since in the beginning of time it was a man.

He, *Nānalskwitl*, (which means "Too Heavy" in the sense of "so important") came to earth from above at Cape Mudge and decided to visit Bella Coola. He stalked through the land to the site of the present Mount *Nusqalst*, wearing a high hat around which crawled two snakes whose heads often crossed. From where he stood, he saw the lofty mountain *Xpis* in the Carrier country, and resolved to visit it. At that distant period this peak was a human being and from him *Nānalskwitl*

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obtained two wives, the name of one being *Ṫlisla*. He returned to Bella Coola with them.

Nänalskwitl knew that presently he was fated to become immobile, a seat of petrified power. Since he was able to select where this was to be, he chose the site of Mount *Nusqalst*, midway in the Bella Coola valley, as a convenient place to overlook the doings of men. Before he transformed himself into this mountain, he determined that he would have people visit him; accordingly he changed his axe, *Nuskmiḑuste*, which he carried concealed beneath his blanket, into *sqalst*, a stone much used for axes and adzes. Until the introduction of white man's tools his wish was gratified; people came from far and near to obtain the necessary material.

The human origin of the mountain is still remembered, since it is often spoken of by its chiefly names, *Nänalskwitl* and *Ṫlisla*, relics of its existence as a man. This story is regarded as an origin myth, and as such might have been included in vol. I, chap. vi.

This mountain is regarded with awe by the Bella Coola on account of its great height, but it seems to lack most of the characteristics ascribed to other places where power has been petrified.

(10) On one of the mountains above Cascade Inlet there used to be a stone eagle with outstretched wings which came to this earth with the first people, but was petrified one day when drying its wings after fishing. About 1860 part of its beak fell away. A change in the condition of any of these places had long been regarded as an omen of misfortune, so the epidemic of smallpox that soon after ravaged the coast was not unexpected.

(11) *Ällsmost*. An unidentified spot where a *snuaq* of the mountain was petrified. At this place there is a small pool which is the repository (II, p. 8) of a certain *kusiut* dancer.

(12) *ᵊxpkam*, "The Walker," the name both of a supernatural being and the spot where it is localized. This is not far from the glacier that lies near the junction of the trails from *Snuhli* and *Tällio*; it is the largest one in the vicinity of Bella Coola and is said to move its position. The being is in some way connected with it, hence the name.

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Bella Bella man was fishing when a salmon jumped into his canoe and died at once, without the usual flopping and struggling. The fisherman took it home and ate it, though his wife refused to touch it, as being uncanny. Presently the man's lower jaw became diseased and he lost his teeth. The salmon must have been a *sutaut*.[14]

The mere sight of a *sutaut* does not bring the misfortune which follows the killing of one by faulty means. On the other hand, if slain in the proper manner great good fortune will result. One method is to put a stick near it in the water, whereupon the fish will jump ashore and flop around, shedding its scales. The hunter should then kill it and, crouching down, say:

"I wish I had a salmberry leaf, or a piece of dead alder."

Both of these boys shown contrary signs. [illegible] hand behind him, whichever he has asked for will be there, though no one knows how it comes. Then he must cut the fish lengthwise into two parts, throw away the right half and the head, wrap the left in his cape,[15] and run from the spot, taking care to go neither up nor down hill. Soon a landslide will take place, sweeping away the ground on which he has stood, even though it be level. He must hide the half *sutaut* in a hole in a cedar tree for one year without saying anything about his treasure. During this period he must not hunt or embark on any other important enterprise.

When the year has elapsed he may tell the people of his experience and sell tiny fragments of the *sutaut* for large sums. The purchasers wrap these fragments in cedar-bark and with them dash fish-weirs and traps, thus attracting animals and fish. A man obtaining a *sutaut* in this way can show his children where it is concealed, and so transmit his power to them.

THE CATCHING OF A *SUTAUT*

Not many years ago, a certain *Oulstw-i* constructed an ocean salmon-trap below Kimsquit. One moonlight night he saw in it a white, gleaming salmon and at once jumped to the conclusion that it was a *sutaut*. Being a wild, reckless fellow, he determined to try to obtain supernatural good fortune from his prey, though he was ignorant of the proper procedure. Waiting until the receding tide had almost laid bare the floor of his pen, he leapt down from the weir and clubbed the salmon to death, heedless of the scales which it was shedding in all directions. Then *Oulstw-i* cut it

[14] It appears that the fisherman was a victim of pyorrhea, in consequence of which his teeth were extracted by a dentist, but the patient is convinced that his misfortunes are due to the salmon which entered his canoe.

[15] The left of anything is said to be more valuable than the right because when a man dreams it is the left side which is nearer the sun.

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[123]

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sons. At the Moon's invitation, *Xɛ̂mɛstaw-a* built his own fire in the house and settled there, never returning to earth.

On one occasion *Xɛ̂mɛstaw-a* attacked *Kɛ̂mai-ti*, the supernatural woman to whom all mortals are as slaves. She lived in some distant, uncertain part of the upper regions, or perhaps on this earth. He defeated her and pulled off her ears, but when he threw them into the water they caused it to boil and seethe so that his canoe was almost swamped. He threw out his supernatural salmon to quiet the waves and thus escaped. At that time the dead lived in *Kɛ̂mai-ti*'s house, and *Xɛ̂mɛstaw-a* rescued his deceased mother from near *Kɛ̂mai-ti*'s gigantic hat. Then he set fire to the woman's house and sent her down to this earth, where she was turned into stone.

THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED A BEAR[77]

Long, long ago, but after the first people had come to this earth, a woman who was out gathering berries lay down and slept on the ground. When she awoke she found that she had been lying on bear droppings and in her annoyance she cursed the one responsible for them. But bears have extraordinary powers of hearing, and the offender heard her remark and was angry. He assumed the form of a man and went to her, asking, with many profane expressions:

"What do you mean by swearing at my droppings? Defecate and I am certain you will find mine the better."

The woman did as she was bidden, while the bear-man watched her. Determined to outdo him, she managed to substitute some goat's grease for her own excrement without his observing her. When he saw it he admitted that he was out-matched and said:

"Come home with me."

[823] This she agreed to do. As mountains are really hollow, he lead the woman inside one, where she realized for the first time what her lover was, for he introduced her to his bear-wife. The two received the woman in a kindly fashion and prepared what they said was spring salmon, though in reality it was skunk cabbage. To the chagrin of her host, the guest refused it, whereupon he inquired what she would like. Looking around she saw some coho salmon which, at her request, was roasted for her; on this she made a hearty meal. That night she slept with the bear-man.

Meanwhile the woman's family was greatly alarmed at her long absence and searched the woods in vain for her. Her four brothers in particular sought diligently, but at length even they gave up in despair, concluding that she was dead. The morning following her introduction

[77] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 111.

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out that he wants someone to tie up his neck, and, after the usual delay, an uninitiated lad is brought forward for the purpose. The carpenters help him to manipulate the rope, and in reality do the actual tying although they disguise the fact. Then four or five *kukusiut* seize either end and begin to tug; X cries out as if in pain, the whistles sound, and the women drone. It is most impressive. Finally the head is pulled from the body and falls to the floor, while the apparently headless and lifeless body of X sinks down in the direction taken by the head. Blood and raw flesh are in evidence and the weeping of the women readily convinces non-members that they have watched the decapitation of the dancer. Sometimes the uninitiated themselves are allowed to pull the rope.

The ritual throughout the night is identical with that already described for the Stomach-Cutting dance. The spies guard the doors, refusing egress to all, the mourning women sing their songs, the puppets ascend to the land above and are inserted into X on their return. At intervals groups of the uninitiated are told to come forward; they circle the fire sunwise and see that X's head is lying apart from his body, with the blood and flesh and the severed neck visible. Towards dawn[11] hidden strings are fastened to the head and it is drawn slightly towards the body. One of the marshals calls out:

"It moves! It moves! Do you see it?" and a herald answers: "We see it move."

The slow movement is continued until the uninitiated, who make periodic inspections, are able to say that it has almost rejoined the trunk. As the first glimmer of light appears in the east, one of the carpenters bends over X and takes the opportunity, while he conceals the dancer's body with his own, to hide the false head beneath his blanket; at the same time X stretches his own head up from under his blanket. The subterfuge is not evident to the uninitiated.

[11] The passage of time at night is judged in villages on the coast by the height of the tide, or the movements of stars; the latter is also practised in the inland settlements. If the stars are hidden, an estimate is made by the number of fir logs burnt through during sunset.

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Whirlwind usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits this earth. He is patron for a *kusiut* who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary. 575* 796* 776 [821] [532]

THE DANCE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the grasp of *Sninia*. This being is patron for certain *kukusiut* and whenever a tremor occurs, his protégés call their associates and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is identical with that described for dancers whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The theme of the song is of the manner in which *Sninia* performs his function of holding the world. A call from *Sninia* may also come in the normal manner to one of his protégés during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, *Sninia* is patron to a *kusiut* named *Ätlibaläxlaix*. [823] [533] [551]

THE DANCE OF TIDE-MEASURER

The height to which the tides shall rise is decided by a male supernatural being, *Mintlato·snim*, "Tide-Measurer." He is patron of a *kusiut* named *Ṫsäl*, whose repository is near *Sätlia*. One of *Ṫsäl*'s ancestors brought the rite with him from above in the beginning of time. The songs used at the dance describe how Tide-Measurer uses a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of *nebusam* the uninitiated are told to go to their houses but, by peering round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the ocean, and thrust down to the bottom a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day. [823] [551] [778] [533]

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BULL-HEAD

Since any supernatural being can act as patron to *kusiut* dancers, and since all mammals and birds are, in a sense, super- [825]

533*

sialḱiyukiemisandax	*Tlaowika'lis*	*Ṫixilqilsumälsandax*
all, everywhere, know of	*Tlaowika'lis*(*ee*).	They(*ff*) crossed repeatedly

yas aldutewätsudax
to *Tsewat*(*gg*).

(a) The first four parts of this song were recorded as song VII D 7a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said to have been composed about 1870 for a chief whose son had been drowned. It was later used for a nephew of *Qowi*, and will henceforth be employed only by members of that family. [424]

(b) That is: Why has my son died?

(c) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.

(d) Referring to the dead son.

(e) That is: The supernatural being, the chief, has taken him. The reference is to the deceased's crest animal, a common rhetorical device in songs.

(f) An ancestor of the deceased and one of the first settlers of the world. He came down to Rivers Inlet.

(g) *Tlakwakila* is said to have widened, or even to have made, the principal river at Rivers Inlet. [773]

(h) *Tlakwakila* came in the form of a raven.

(i) Referring to *Qwinao*.

(j) It was impossible to obtain translations of these two subdivisions. *Qwinao*, now dead, will be irremovably connected with the scenes of his first ancestor.

(k) Meaning Raven.

(l) The mother of *Qwinao* who had died several years earlier.

(m) The theme now changes as if *Qowi* were addressing *Qwinao*.

(n) Referring to *Qwinao*.

(o) Refers to the supernatural beings who rouse the sun and moon and thus cause their light to shine on earth. Mention is made of these in *Qwinao*'s origin myth. [776] [821]

(p) The theme changes again from direct address to *Qwinao* to a description of what he will be doing owing to his ancestral history.

(q) That is: He will be in the form of one of the guardians of light when his life descends, at a memorial potlatch, to Rivers Inlet.

(r) That is: That was what *Waäkis* brought. *Waäkis*, another of *Qwinao*'s first ancestors, could not find a suitable place to settle in the beginning of time. After fruitless wandering, a whale emerged, vomited violently, and was changed to stone. The animal thus became Goose Island, and its vomit the rugged rocks at one end. *Waäkis* settled on that island. [773] [823]

(s) This song has three third parts.

(t) That is: The first people, with their shaman-like power, had just appeared.

(u) Referring to *ts-wnaisa*, another of *Qwinao*'s first ancestors, who also came to earth at Rivers Inlet.

(v) At that time the routes between different settlements had not been discovered.

(w) More specifically, the coarse, long breast feathers.

(x) *ts-wnaisa* used a supernatural canoe which frequently changed to eagle feathers. [773]

(y) Refers to Sea-lion Island where he and his descendants used to hunt.

(z) Refers to the Bella Bella; several of *Qwinao*'s relatives had married members of that tribe.

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(*h*) That is: I incorporate myself into.

(*i*) The reference is to another of *Sinuxetl*'s myths dealing with the coming to earth of *Hamcat* near Kimsquit. *Nunuǵsmāls* was the name of his house. 533*

(*j*) Referring to Goose Island once more.

(*k*) That is: Goose Island where our relatives, the Bella Bella, get their food, had just emerged and become visible. It was impossible to obtain a separate translation of these two subdivisions.

(*l*) Referring again to Goose Island. This small piece of land is shaped like a whale, and, as already described, it was originally one. *Ālquntām* bade the animal come to the surface to be changed to stone; then *Wāāks* settled there as soon as the water had dried from what had been its back. [773] [823]

(*m*) The literal translation of each subsection may be inaccurate.

Song Used for Yeālos of Kimsquit(*a*)

A *Yenseōsandax*	*wakwalsndatl*	*sāhxwaixisndai*	*disonx̄ʷsudai*
It is good(*b*);	our(*c*)?	has lifted	the sky(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Ḵāqwaxqwisandai*(*e*)	*disiutsudai*	*skāaiyaldumdai*
He was Raven(*f*),	the supernatural one	when he descended

dinulhwiktāsdai
the post(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Snuqwla·xlisndai*	*distālhmxdai*	*yeyālosdai*	*sālipliisdai*
He is bright(*h*),	the chief	*Yeālos*;	he carries

siāsxwilākleixs	*dilāliās·udai*
a unique	copper(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 47a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been composed over one hundred years ago and since used repeatedly.

(*b*) With the significance of: It is highly satisfactory.

(*c*) The meaning of this word is obscure. It refers to the crest of *Yeālos* with the added implication of a memorial. It applies to the memorial rite being given. [765] [152]

(*d*) When a chief dies, it is said that the people in their grief feel as if the sky were pressing them down. A memorial rite lessens their sorrow and lifts the burden.

(*e*) When this word was being sung for the phonograph, the singer erred and replaced it by part of the first word of the third part.

(*f*) That is: He was in the form of a raven. The reference is to one of the first ancestors of *Yeālos*.

(*g*) Meaning one of the posts which stretched between earth and sky in the beginning of time. [773]

(*h*) This refers to *Yeālos*. He was formerly weighed down with grief, but by giving a memorial rite he is like the sun as it shines out brilliantly from behind the clouds.

(*i*) A reference to a special kind of copper mentioned in the chief's origin myth.

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*539 into a mist which so utterly blinded and confused Lake-Swallower that he was forced to abandon the pursuit. Without further difficulty the four sisters reached home, where they were received with great rejoicing, especially when their friends heard of the dangers through which they had passed.

THE SUN'S CAPTOR

*539 821 Long, long ago, a woman was sitting on the ground with her back to the sun, who noticed her. He came down and rubbed his hand over her back, causing her to become pregnant, then went back to his station above. The child grew so rapidly that the woman bore a son before the usual period had elapsed. This little boy grew with phenomenal rapidity. One day he asked his mother if he might go up to see his father, and when she consented, he built a long ladder up which he climbed until he reached the land above. When the sun drew near, his son spoke to him, saying that his mother had allowed him to come up to see him, and suggesting that he bring her on a later visit. The father agreed and the boy descended to his mother on earth.

A few days later, when the lad and his mother climbed above, the sun disregarded them entirely, and continued his course without seeming to be aware of their presence. Angry at his father's callousness, the lad asked his mother to give him a pubic hair with which to make a noose to catch the sun.

"Don't be silly," she answered. "The great heat will burn it."

Her son persisted until she finally gave him a single hair from between her legs. This he rolled into a rope with a noose at the end, and hung it from a stick in the course of his father. When the sun came along he was fairly caught in the noose. Thus restrained, he could no longer shine on the earth; the people were filled with wonder, though they were rather thankful, as heretofore there had been perpetual summer.

"It is your son who has caught you," said the boy to his captive father. "You thought yourself too strong. The people down below do not want you to shine all the time; if I release you, you must hide yourself at regular intervals."

The sun agreed to do this. Then the lad untied the noose and the captive went off in his wonted path. To regulate his father's movements, [823] and to ensure his remaining at a safe distance during the winter, the lad raised high mountains at Kimsquit, Ulkatcho, and Leguc, which still limit the sun's course.

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*192 *Ältimän·a*, "Left Foot": *Snux* repository named from part of a supernatural creatur[illegible]

Ältimlaix: Kimsquit hunter living in the last century.

[825] *älxmutl:* Dentalium-shell.

älxwale'ax, "Not Finished": Said concerning a *kusiut* who dies between initiation and his first complete dance.

[292] [881] *älxwam:* Skull cap of grass and dentalium-shells worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.

älxwola: Guest, especially from afar, to a *kusiut* dance.

Älxwolämum: 1—Supernatural herald.
2—Assemblage of the people for ceremonies of different kinds, especially shamans' dances and guessing competitions in connection with the Mystery dance.
3—Kimsquit term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance.

älxwpaix, "A Surpassing": Said of cases where a wife's relatives have given more presents to the husband's than they have received in return.

[576] *ämät:* Place of concealment of a Mystery dancer's power.

[601] *ä'määlaykt:* Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for indirect address.

ämätax: Rightful location, especially the validated position of a chief in a house.

[415] *ämätuts:* Dishes carved with ancestral crest.

ämkpis: 1—Mouse.
2—Daughter of the first settlers at *Sätlia*.

[825] *äml:* Spring salmon.

ämlia: Spring salmon house.

Ämläklis: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.

Ämläklis: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of the Bella Coola River.

ämläämkum: 1—The allotment of work to *kukusiut* in the manufacture of masks and other requirements.
2—Hence, the time when such tasks are assigned, the second evening of a *kusiut* dance.

Änäbsullänämlaix, "The Resident Maker": Name given to the daughter of the first settlers at *Snuisli*.

[575] *änänuikx* or *siänuikx:* That which serves as pattern, picture, or model for a *kusiut* ritual.

änätsituti: Second night of a potlatch.

[226] *änäxwolait:* Artificial, pier-like structure built into a river for use in hand-net fishing.

Änilxsaix, "Where People Go": A reflecting pool created by Raven at Kimsquit.

Änokokwäls: Cave near Dean Channel.

Änolpundimut, "The Dancer Whose Only Noise-Making Instrument Is His Body": One of *Ttitcäplilän·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Äpo'likwolsaix: Supernatural woman who guards repositories.

Änotäkmots: 1—"The Open-Mouthed" (in the sense of open to suck forth sickness): One of *Ttitcäplilän·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.

[756] [823] *anuxom:* Swift running water.

anlhmstnänäm: 1—Ranks of ordinary inidividuals; this term is used to distinguish those who are being initiated into the *nusak* society.
2—Something supernatural seen when awake.

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Anudakanuts: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
ănukăldimut, "This Is to Make Straight Your Road": Said when a call is returned, or food thrown upon a fire for the dead.
Ănukao·lst, "Place of Big Stones in the River": Village at Kwatna.
Anukululsiaix: Woman immolated in a repository and hence become supernatural.
ayukiluk'a: Rainbow-coloured nose-ring worn by Death.
Anukiqaksaix: Supernatural name of Hawk. [825]
ayukitsuk': Short cord by which the fungus is held during the *kănăn·i* dance.
Anukkălsnam: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Anukpmaix, "The One that Fills the Rivers": Supernatural name of hump-back salmon.
anulkutl: Nose-ring. [301]
ănulunănk: Mourning song composed for a chief and, apparently, the singing of one. [533]
Ănulxwam: Place on the north-west side of Dean Channel, about nine miles from its head, where curative power is petrified. [778]
Anumnuiskmm: Supernatural beings who remind the supreme god of his *kusiut* duties.
Ănunitsektnum: *Supernatural being who restores those killed by the receipt of too* much power from *Ťlitcăplilan·a.*
ănunuqwn: Meeting of chiefs, *archaic.*
anuonai: Person who catches early olachen in a hand-net. [226]
anupospsam: Buoyant stones such as are found in a lake near the headwaters of the Bella Coola. [823]
Anuputsdilk: Supernatural being who regulates the height of tides in rivers.
ayuqpatlnum: To await, especially a supernatural being.
Apudpumlaix: Son of the first settlers at *Sătlia.*
Anudplalaix, "What Fills People": Name created by *Smooan* in the beginning of time with reference to his stores of salmon.
ayuqunusam: Silent waiting in darkness before a *kusiotem* dance.
Apudwutnikmm: Supernatural being who gives inspiration.
Anusaiksiutslaix: 1—Supernatural name of *susiutl.*
2—Method of killing practised by *susiutl.*
Anusaiksaixsaix·als: Name of a Bella Coola shaman.
Anu·sbuxăllnum: Name of a Kimsquit woman.
anunka'alxăkmu: The rare prerogative of changing from *kusiut* to *susook* rites on alternate nights. [424]
Ănuskiskmm, "The Saviour": One of *Ťlitcăplilan·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Ănuskumthm: One of the first men to settle at *Tăl·io* in the beginning of time.
ănuskuămnuy: Peculiar cry uttered by a *kusiut* scratcher.
Anuspunu·alx: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Anusg: Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.
anuspalwtsaix, "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts: Identical with *sxlanink*, q.v. [198]
Apuzyalsix: One of the first women to settle at *Sĭskitl* in the beginning of time.
Anutcklămdimut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
ănutxu: 1—Excavated house furnished with stepped platforms for guests.
2—Village at Kwatna. [342]

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Asklu: Village at Salmon House, on the upper Dean River.
ăskma: Position between two fires.
ăs·iatl: 1—Raised bed behind the fire used by a person seeking power, or by one who has been in contact with the supernatural.
2—Waterfall.[1] [823]
ăs·maius: To teach.
ăs·maiusămkit': Hereditary lore handed down secretly in a family. [424]
Ăsqămks: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
ăsqwxma: *Sisaok* song in slow time. [533]
ăstăkăn: 1—Box, *archaic*; hence, seat.
2—One of the nights of a potlatch, probably that on which a representation of the deceased appears.
ăstas: Rocky Mountain jay. [825]
ăshxwatl: Carved house post.
Ăstalnexkl: Wife of *Swaky*; both were changed to stone in the beginning of time.
ăsutcăxunk: That part of a house between fire and doorway.
Ăswinwinaiuts: Expedition of the supernatural being *Winwina* against berries and fish.
Ăs·gănam: *Smaoan*'s fish-dam in the beginning of time; the name has since been used by his descendants,
ăszmsăxts: Only sister in a family of several brothers. [601]
ăszʷ: Seals. [825]
ăsxwaltom: Steeping in medicinal smoke as a curative measure.
ăltăqulp: Fir. [755]
Ăltăt·iaitl: Evil male supernatural being.
ă·ima: 1—Death, not anthropomorphized. [824]
2—Dead.
ăimăkʷ: Kingfisher. [825]
ălsi: Fish-hook.
Ălthăm, "They of the Huge Jaws": Supernatural beings resident in the land above. [227]
ătskmos: *Kusiut* spy.
ătsqutl: *plural*, *ănătsqutl*; *vocative plural*, *ănătsqtaotl*:
1—Person who has not given a potlatch, a commoner.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Ăthk: *ustămy* village.
Ăpă: *Stuax* man mentioned in an ancient story.
ăpa·hendjut, "He Urinates Over Himself." The implication is that this is an indication of misfortune, hence the word really means *omen*. It is the Kimsquit variant of *ă·wendjut*. [787]
ă·wendjut: Omen of death.
Ăpat·i, "Occupied Mound": 1—Village at Kwatna.
2—Artificial mound at *Tăl·ia*.
3—Village on the Kimsquit River.
4—Island near Ocean Falls.
Ăpat·i nao Wawalnuks, "Place of Dogs": Locality near Ocean Falls where the dogs came to earth in the beginning of time.
apawa·i: Varied thrush. [825]

[1] The latter is a favourite place for obtaining power, the probable reason for the identity of the two terms.

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kulkamut: Generic term for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future bride. [431]
Kulslkakmidjut: Supernatural being whose stomach is cut in the land above. [584]
kumai·t: Good-bye. [576]
Kunkunälpstus, "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being *Wiwina.*
kusiotem: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular *kusiut* dances.
kusio·tem: Said to be identical with *sälukwalas,* the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor. [756]
kusiut: plural, kukusiut; vocative, kusioot; vocative plural, kukusioot:
1—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season. [575]
2—Member of the society.
3—"The Learned One": Designation occasionally applied to a supernatural being, especially a petrified one, or to a person having power to cure the sick. [756]
Kusiyot: Kimsquit female shaman living in the last century.
kuskao: Beloved one, especially a child; this is the vocative form of the word.
kusqiyum: Orphan.
Kwai'hila'yokwa: Woman dwelling at Fort Rupert in the beginning of time.
Kwa·sla: Smith Inlet.
Kwakwak'la: Supernatural name of Cormorant.
kwa·kwao·s: Merganser. [825]
Kwakwaosloti: Merganser canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Stux.*
kwakwa: Unidentified bird of which the note is an omen of death. [763]
Kwalais: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Kwalakmis: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Kwale·tstmut: Kusiut name of a male Green Bay Cannibal.
kwal·i·l: Smooth greenstone, "jadeite," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. [823]
kwals: Evergreen bough. [824]
Kwalsänl: Famous Bella Coola warrior.
kwaqwai: One of the sculpins.
Kwasta: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.
Kwat·iwal·a, "The Big One": Lustful male supernatural being.
Kwathnustia: Man who came to earth near *Stux* in the beginning of time.
Kwe·tsua: Kimsquit woman.
Kwilais: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
Kwitnoa: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Kwinoa: Kitkatla chief living in the last century.
Kwilaxlalx, "One Who Sits without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
Kwla: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nusqalst* chief; the word is a synonym for *Wikwen·ekwla.*
Kwllias Nuskämpta: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
kulwälsikän·aix: Lullaby. [533]
kwoi·yaix: Archaic expression used in a string figure.
kulix: 1—Pen or trap in the ocean for salmon. [226]
2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

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[825] *Lāklāklis:* Kimsquit man mentioned in ancient story.
lā·kts: Squirrel.
Laqwomais: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ḷomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
2—Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
[463] *Laxaiyao·k':* Name of a professional warrior; the word is said to have originated in Kitkatla but has remained for many generations in Kimsquit.
La'qix: Atnarko River, northern fork of the Bella Coola.
Lalāmsk: Sisaok name of a Kimsquit man.
Lalaimkila, "The Brusher Off [of Goats]": Professional name of one of the first settlers at *Snuiəli* in the beginning of time. This may be the same word as *Lalemkila.*
Lalemkila: Another name for *Twalālit,* the supernatural hunter. This may be the same word as *Lalaimkila.*
[825] *Lilitwumlaix:* 1—"The Beautifier": Supernatural name of Otter.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[886] *lipdjuditls:* Return in old age to the thoughts and actions of infancy, senile decay.
[426] *lisdjut:* To repay indebtedness of any kind, especially presents received at potlatches.
[583] *listiwadjut,* "A Paying": An arrangement by which a man's sons-in-law give him as "wife" an infant female relative by way of repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters.
listomax: Wrestling or shoving.
lilstom: Abbreviated Cannibal rite.
Lo·qwa·t: 1—Famous Bella Bella chief.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
lulusta: Mask.
luta: Tool for making vertical incisions in the bark of cedar trees.

Ł

Łākwakila: Tcawat man living in the beginning of time.
Łālaiuks: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.
[823] *łalia:* 1—Copper.
2—Unidentified town on the outer coast, mentioned in a story of the beginning of time.
3—Chief of this town.
Łāliaaiuts: Daughter of chief of the town of Copper.
Łāliaelotl: Copper canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Łāliāhs: Man's name, created by the first settlers at *Sātlia,* in the beginning of time.
Łāliākdja: Name taken for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Łāliāks: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Łāliāmx: Sisaok name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Ālqālāxl* in the beginning of time.
Łāliāxas, "The Copper One": One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

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nixobäxta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract. [424]

Nixpi: Expert supernatural dancer; to his associates he is a yearling mountain goat.

nmulg or *nmulgämut:* First complete dance given by a *kusiut* initiate.

nmmmk: Mammal, any kind. [825]

Nnixwanaix: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

Noäkila: 1—One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuisli* in the beginning of time.

Noäkynm: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Noamtäxaik: Name given to his grandson by one of the first settlers at *Siskiut* in the beginning of time.

nolcista: Kusiut prerogative as a Breaker; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.

nolgäkta: Sloping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kimsquit, *kusiut* masks are hung.

nommak: The making and use of hand nets for olachen.

Nonodjonöitem: 1—"The Adviser": One of the names of the supreme god. [622]
2—Chiefs of a village, collectively; virtually, "The Sages."

no'onätlim: 1—Ceremony at which *ksaok* names are validated in the eyes of the fellow-villagers. [553]
2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed. [796]

no'ondjut: Assemblage of the *kukusiut* to practise difficult rites.

No-qwna, "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": *Tlaiyäkum* name given to a deserting wife.

Nowakila: One of the names of Raven as chief.

nowlxikultum: Sentence of death passed by the *kukusiut* on one of their fellows as punishment for an error. [688]

nuaiyao: A loan, especially of an ancestral right. [426]

Nuäluimm: Synonym for *Noäkynm,* the supernatural being who brings the salmon.

Nu'oos, "Inhospitable": Name taken by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

nuäpsulta: Toilet-hole.

nuaska: Birth.

Nuculcäqos: Anthropomorphized evil cold wind. [821]

nudak-an: Rhetorical term of respect for aged dead. [769]

nudak-an du ilumsta: 1—High tide.
2—Long life. [823]

nudjiqosta: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold olachen-net post steady while being driven.

Nu'eymäj, "Place of Foul Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Nuk": 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.
2—River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.

Nuxkmälsaix: Synonym for *Sximsximlt,* an immoral supernatural woman.

nupal: The achievement of success against supernatural odds; the term is used with reference to the solutions of the riddles of the Mystery dance.

nuhämliwäxnum: Any non-sacred dance held at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season. [535]

Nukaoxa: An influential Kwakiutl chief.

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*192 *nulwinuts:* Synonym for *qomo·ts*, the large cone-shaped *nsask* whistle.
[534] *Nuixa·ktl:* Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nuixa·kwl: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nuiyytskwan·e, "Nearest River": River flowing from the north into the northern corner of the head of North Bentinck Arm. The Anglicized form is Necleetsconnay.
nu'xqulaix: Stone supernaturally born from another at sea level.
[823] *Nuwaisa·x: ustāmq* village.
Nuwāisalt, "The Mother of Dogs": Name given to a Bella Bella woman in an ancient story.
Nuxālk: Bella Coola valley.
[101] *Nuxālkmq:* Inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley.
Nuxem: Kusiut name of a *Stuix* man.
Nuxem: Name of a female composer.
Nuxkmālaix, "The Light Giver": One of the names of the supreme god.
nuxux: Light.
Nuxim: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Nuximātlaix: Qi'aqa name of a Kimsquit man.
Nuxmalmmān·a, "Stick-Breaker": Name taken by daughter of the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
[825] *nuxsānk:* Mountain goat with long hair on its chest.
nuxstimut, "The Silent Night": The hushed assemblage of *kukusiut* after departure of a Cannibal.
[227] *nuxtnutsta:* Cross-piece which holds open mouth of olachen net.
Nuxwlst: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
[585] [425] *nuxwolānkmm:* Public promise by the parents of bride and bridegroom on the wedding night that names will be provided for resultant children. This is combined with an oration of origin myths. The term is also used for a similar promise of rights to hunting grounds, although the granting of this is automatic.
[828] *Nuya:* Mountain near *Stuix*.
nuyālxikāmut: Person who wanders away from home in despondency.
Nuyel·alaix: One of the first women to settle at *Tāl·ia* in the beginning of time.
Nu'yen·ixim: Land of salmon.

O

o'alpum: Kimsquit term for *a'alk, archaic*.
'O·f': Kwatna lad mentioned in an ancient story.
[824] *okāl:* Grass with edible roots growing on tide-flats.
[262] *Okāomqs:* Valley pre-empted by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Olālimut: Herald who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
oly: 1—The *kusiut* peerogative of scratching.
2—Bad, *adjective*.
Olrān·i: Kusiut name of a *Stuxi* man.
Olliyaiya, "The Worthless One": Name assumed by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[825] *Oloālamut*, "The One that Changes Itself": Supernatural name of spring salmon.
[264] *'omātulā'*: Assemblage of the people for food of any kind.

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Saiutl: Thunder, anthropomorphized. 192*
Saiynăz: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man. [821]
salalsi: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property. [173]
sa·lkăltmm: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kusiut* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food. [431]
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal. [257]
sa·lpsta: Cannibalistic incubus.
sa·lpstmm: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day. [585]
sălskekdimut: Profession of *kusiut* executioner. [431]
salukwalas: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him. [463]
saml: Sockeye salmon. [825]
Sănoltymuhls Alquntem: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sanunumulsix: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land above.
Sănutlăm or *Sănutlămdimut:* One of the names of Mount *Nusfalst* as chief.
Sănuximăxuts, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Stuax* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
săhx; vocative, sătăi; vocative plural, săhxmu·ks: Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
sa·tla: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Sătlia: Village at point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Sătlyenuts: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Sa·lma: Death, anthropomorphized. [761]
salsits: Whetstone, *archaic.* [412]
Sa·tsk': 1—Kimsquit River.
2—Village near the mouth of the river. [101]
Sa·tshamg: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley.
satskwal·a: Raft.
Sa·shamăn·i: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
sawa: Pillow. [573]
sawadjut, "Pillowness": *Kusiut* ceremonial at which no call is present.
sayi, vocative, sayinas: Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family. [601]
Sayinas: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story.
sazham: Bracken. [824]
sazwănas: Tide flats. [823]
sakdjulk: Heart.
Salnulnam: That part of *Sens'* which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Samhall: Village on Rivers Inlet.
Samsiutăn·i: Part of a peculiar repository.
sannumlkdimut, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steelhead salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
sa'mtata, "Resting Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this. [805]
sankwalatem: Leader of musicians. [821]

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sa·qwa·t: String figure.
Saskwanuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sdjidji'is:* Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sekakmän·a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sekilaxt:* Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
sekima siälamkek: River net for salmon.
[822] *Setsalänl:* Echo.
Sexsexqälaix: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Sexsexqwalxelaoslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of of *Ttitcäplilän·a's* names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Siälxeläx:* Ancestral name created on earth by a *Qomqo·ts* man.
[825] *Siaqam,* "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[805] *sidäxsu:* One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
Sidakaos di Ano°likwolsaix, "The Coming of *Ano°likwolsaix*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
siusla: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Si'islalitl,* "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Si'iswai·stl, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *si'itlliukek:* Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of mar-
[431] riage is broached.
si'iqikim, "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Sinmt,* "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Sisämi,* "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Sikälamtak, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] *siki,* "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *susook* rites.
Sikiliktmm: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Siqulq,* "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikwalxwlekx: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikwäldjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Siknm: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
Silias: Celebrated composer.
[226] *siltmaq:* Salmon-weir.
sinaxyme'ax: *Susook* head-dress.
[827] *sininits:* Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
[761] *si·nipodjoxstmax:* Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Simpicus: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[805] *Sinemwak,* "Time for the Use of Olachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[726] *Sinulkemitl,* "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinunuktälätm: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

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Senq'mai: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man.
Sepios: *Kusiut* name of a *Tsimoil* man.
sołołcázmm: Scalp. [824]
soqwalakł': Gnarled projection of wood from a birch knot.
Spaixłaxymmán·a: Supernatural being who wakens his fellows in the morning.
Spanhzilnaix: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
spániesta: Temporary camping-place.
Spatcahłt, "The First Born": Name brought from Kitlobe to Kimsquit by a marriage in the beginning of time.
spałki: Star.
sphum, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud. [581]
spepandouts: The forcing upwards of water at high tide, through openings in the rocks at sea-level. [823]
sphłkłkmm: Person who pounds cedar-bark.
sphłkts: Tools for pounding cedar-bark, specifically the upper beater.
Sphłsinán·i: Region on the east side of Dean Channel, about one mile from its head, where supernatural power is localized. [778]
Spl'nnunsta: Island west of Namu.
spłx: 1—Pudenda.
2—Variety of *smmq* with female organs. [824]
spoxáhcua: Unidentified berry. [821]
S'łs', Cold Wind: A supernatural being.
Słskunsta: Meeting place of chiefs on rock ledge behind *Łomqo·ts*; the term is probably applied to any meeting place of chiefs.
sphła: War-knife used by Raven in the beginning of time.
sputy: Olachen. [825]
spux: Eagle down.
spuxdjut, "Eagle Down-ness": Rhetorical reference to a present for which no return is expected. [431]
spuxpux: Long, delicate feathers on an eagle's breast. [825]
Spuxpuxhełłaix: *Kusiut* name of a woman sent down near *Nuxłalst* in the beginning of time.
Spuxpuxyá'mpdimut: *Sisook* name of *Xisais* origin.
Spuxspuxta: *Sisook* name of a Kimsquit woman.
spił·a: Unidentified berry. [824]
spoult: Alder wood, dead and dried. [825]
sqałts: Spring salmon which have spawned.
sqali: Hunting ability. The term usually refers to the ability of the supernatural artisans to hunt, i.e., to kill, human beings.
sqałst or *sqałstust:* Stone, suitable for axes, found on Mount *Nuxłalst*. The name of the mountain is said to be derived from this. [316]
squma: 1—Chest. [103]*
2—Smoke cure for diseases of the chest.
Squml: Land of Ashes.
sqaxusts: First proposal of marriage if made by relatives of the man. [584]
sqels: River sand mixed with small pebbles.
Squtsds: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola River. [823]
sqenm: Flood.

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skaqalitw': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
Sxē-tizem: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
sxnqē': That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
Sxtisma: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being. [579]
2—Sleep, intangible *hasiat* prerogative.
sxiusnăm: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [585]
Sxqwasthstkwi, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]
sx-pē: Shadow.
sxtqowsa: Hammer, *archaic*. [412]
sxkso: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law. [601]
sxlamalqs: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other.
sxlsa: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
sxip: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
sxlks: 1—Caribou hide. [825]
2—Thong made of caribou hide.
sxnem: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
sxnsk: Caribou.
sxhm: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
Sxhmsila: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
sxhmsa or *sxhmstnăls*: Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
sxhmstaliktsa: Body.
sxhmstnăltsm: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Sxwaxwkinstu-a: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Sxwaxwkanam: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
sxka: Mountain goat grease. [824]
sxkăltya: Castor.
Sxlsiai, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Sxlsla: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
sxmăz: Octopus. [825]
Sxnakăles: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
sxqwarma: Red rock paint. [386]
sxla: Singer's baton.
sxalt: Text.
sxlo-pazz: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones. [823]
sxnin: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased.
Sxsa: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley. [764]
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
sxtsam: Dried dog salmon soaked in water. [262]
sxumsxlk: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
Sly', "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
sxlwalt: Black raspberry.
sxlstw: Ocean. [824]

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Thqumqumit: Name acquired in the beginning of time by a Rivers Inlet man from a sea-lion.

[825] *tlukuhlhut*: Sardine.

Tlitmoutshla, "The Walking One": Supernatural name of the water monsel.

Tlitmuts: Song sung during Cannibal dance while the performers run from house to house.

[825] *tlma*: Mountain goat sinew.

Tlola: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Snux* in the beginning of time.
2—Wife of Mount *Nuqhlit*, when in human form at the beginning of time.

Tlnuqhlitte-a: One of the nine supernatural siblings, a woman who brings aid to them in sickness and is thus the initiator of shamans.

[825] *tlnuts*: Sea-lion.

Tlmutadimut, "Be Like a Person": Instruction given to a stick in the beginning of time. This designation has since been used as an ancestral name.

[821] *tlul*: 1—Moon.
2—The zenith.

[825] *tlululp*: Virulent skin disease.

tlupte-i: Cormorant.

Tlupe-ai, "Small Mound": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Tluputs, "Malignant" or "Deformed": A supernatural being.

tlpe: 1—Gaff.
2—To cut wood for masks.

tlpamp: "Cut!" Call used on second day of *kuxlut* dances.

[823] *tlpapalum*: Small trickle that flows from rocks near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel. The term is probably applied to other similar rivulets.

[415] *tlulut*: Water-tight basket.

[824] *tmiua*: Water-washed stump with smoured, radiating roots.

Tnlqa: Region on the upper Kitlope River.

[482] *tnlcut*: Tump-line.

tuka: Navel.

[825] *Tuhuhl*: Raven's canoe in the beginning of time.

tuja: Mink.

tumidjut, "He of the Big Family": Term used to describe a man with many descendants.

[583] *tup-a*: Synonym for *dimdmumum*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. This term is perhaps used in Kimsquit alone.

[825] *tupinu*: 1—Fawn.
2—*Nuxlukamp* name of a Kimsquit woman.

Tpikuts: Star in the Great Bear.

[821] *tsaqh*: Lower of the two beaters used in the preparation of cedar-bark.

Tsemutlu, "Facing": Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, synonymous with *Talin*.

[291] *tsuhuh*: Hat with flat top and broad brim.

tsuiu: Stonecrop.

Tsuiulah: Kimsquit shaman mentioned in an ancient story.

Tsu-kuut: Bella Coola warrior living in the last century.

Tsulin: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Tsul: *Kuxlut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Tsumkum: Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.

tu-ut: Green barnacles on water-covered stones.

[825] *tulu*: Large woodpecker, species unidentified.

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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be. 764 [301] [323] [766] [567] [775]

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they cleave four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, cleaving new trees every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones. 765 783 [775] 765 [302]

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or olachen. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person. [262] [828] [822]

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was 'the same as giving away the house of the deceased.' 765 556

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to 773 171

772 who die a second death sink to the lowest world, from which there is no
[775] return.

The upper heaven is called Ata'xtl., or Sauxu'xak'a'la ti Sinx'(ais), or Sinxaus. Omq'o'mkilk'a. The deity ruling there is a woman who is called
[774] Qmu'ln, or Tsi'sinxaxts. ("our women"), or Ek'lyak'tsinx.a'n. ("afraid of nothing").

772 This heaven is described as a prairie without any trees. It is said that
776 in order to reach it one must go up the river from the house of the gods in the lower heaven. In another tradition it is said that in travelling from the lower heaven to the upper heaven one has to pass the rent in the sky which is called Tsi.ne'xtsa ti Sinx'(ais). The house of the supreme deity stands in the far east, and a gale is continually blowing over the open country, driving every thing towards the entrance of her house. Near the house, however, it is calm. In front of the house stands a post in the shape of a large winged monster, and its mouth is the entrance to the house. In front of the house-door there is gravel of three colors,—blue, black, and white. Behind the house is a salt-water pond in which the goddess bathes. In this pond lives the a'nax or xlaalaak'sam. This being sometimes descends to our world. Wherever it moves, the rocks burst, and slide down the sides of the mountains. It is described as a snake or a fish (see pp. 45, 66).

773 In the beginning of the world the mountains were of great height.
823 They were human beings who made the world uninhabitable. Qmu'ln made war upon the mountains. She vanquished them, and made them smaller than they used to be. During this fight she broke off the nose of the mountain Yelyula'ms., which is situated near Nu.l'a'l. Its face may be recognized even now; and the Indians say that when its name is called, it answers. There are two mountains near the head-waters of Bella Coola River. The one is called Sta.xa'ksal'i.; the other one, Ne'xts. The former had a fire, called Sxaxal'xinxts, burning in his house. This fire warned him of the approach of enemies. When Qmu'ln made war upon the mountains, the fire warned its master. Qmu'ln was coming down the river in her canoe, which is named "T'lkas." When she approached, he broke her canoe, and she returned to heaven. The canoe has been transformed into stone, and may be seen to this day at the foot of the mountain Sta.xa'ksal'i. It is said that Qmu'ln visits the earth every now and then. Her visits cause sickness and death. She is described as a great warrior.

772 In the centre of the lower heaven, which is called Sinx', stands the
776 house of the gods. This house is named Nsinx'a (the House of Myths), or Nuxl'ustaxal'xwa ("where man was created"), or Nuxl'xalaa'xwa ("the house from which people come down"), or Nsaqlaxal'xwa ("the house to which people go"). In front of the house stands a post called Nsaxal'xwa. It is painted with representations of all kinds of birds. A

have to put the firewood. This opening is called K'wa'ómots, that is, "mouth kept open by means of a wedge." Mamamalit'ela spoke: "The sky shall not burst again. This wedge shall keep its mouth open." The following ka'ómat song refers to these deities: — 776 821 [831]

> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
>
> ("My child, pushed like the sky when it broke
> On its K'wa'ómots of the sky, my child!
> Children are born, my child!
> On down in the mouth of the sky, my child!")

Our world is called A'ulkl'ts, or Qaulk'ts, that is, "the land below." It is an island swimming in the boundless ocean. In the far east a giant is sitting with legs apart, who is called Ax'ap'ilkomots. He holds a long stone bar in his outstretched hands. The earth is fastened to this stone bar by means of two stone ropes. Sometimes he gets tired, and moves his hands to take better hold of the stone bar. Then we have an earthquake; and the Bella Coola say, "Sawik'yaik'mots," that is, "he takes hold of our world." When he moves our earth westward, we have epidemics. When he moves it eastward, all sickness disappears. 772 776 823 [731] [755]

In the ocean lives a being called Sisaxa, who drinks every day swallows the water of the sea and gives it forth again. This is the cause of the tides. A mask representing this being appears in the ka'ómat ceremonial. He is represented as a human being, the face of which is painted with white stripes, which symbolize the various levels of the sea.

The world below us is the country of the ghosts (Ts'ek'a'ula'ma'). It is called Aiaxl'ómots. Descriptions of the ghosts' country are principally obtained from shamans who believe they have visited that country during a trance. According to the statement of an old woman who believed that as a little girl she had visited the country of the ghosts during a trance, the entrance to the country of the ghosts is through a hole situated in each house, between the doorway and the fireplace. The country of the ghosts stretches along the sandy banks of a large river. There is a hill behind their village, the base of which is covered with sharp stones. When it is summer here, it is winter there. When it is night here, it is day there. The ghosts do not walk on their feet, but on their heads. Their language is different from the one spoken on earth. The souls, on reaching the lower world, receive new names. The village of the ghosts is said to be surrounded by a fence. They have a dancing-house, in which they perform 772 775 [756] [762]

772 775 their kā'ima. It is just below the hearth-place of each village. The dancing-house is very large and long. It has four doors. The women stay on the floor of the house, while the men sit on an elevated platform. The houses have doors, but the ghosts who first reach the lower world enter the house through the smoke-hole. A rope ladder placed to the smoke-hole facilitates their entrance. Two men stand at the foot of the ladder. They are called Ānsa'ksmā'ti. For a person who has once entered the dancing-house there is no return to our earth. The souls are at liberty to return to the lower heaven, which they reach by ascending the rope ladder. Those who return to the lower heaven are sent back to our earth by the deities, to be born as children in the same family to which they belonged. Those who enter life in the country of the ghosts, and who do not return to heaven, die a second death, and then sink to the second lower world, from which there is no return.

I received another description from an old man. He stated that he reached the country in his sleep. He saw two trails,—one the trail of the living, one that of the dead. He followed the trail of the dead, and reached a village in which there was a dancing-house. The language of the ghosts differed from that of the living (see p. 41).

773 825 [illegible] The Bella Coola believe that in the far west is situated the land of the salmon, which is called Ma'lem. The salmon leave this country early in the spring every year, and ascend the rivers. They are believed to return to their own country in the fall. The following tradition is of importance, explaining the manner in which the salmon were first brought from their country to the rivers of our world:—

Once upon a time a man named Wī'wel'ne lived at Qī'ūmqēn. One day he was sitting in front of his house, looking at the river. He thought, "I wish fish would ascend this river." At that time not a single salmon visited Bella Coola River. Wī'wel'ne entered his house and lay down, thinking about the salmon. One night while he was asleep he dreamt that with the help of all the animals he had made use upon the salmon, that he had completed them, and that since that time the salmon had ascended Bella Coola River. When he awoke he invited all the animals to his house, and told them about his dream. They all came, and when they had entered he shut the door. Then he spoke: "My brothers, I have invited you to my house that you may hear what I wish to do. You shall help me to obtain what I desire." The Mink asked him in what they were to assist him; and he replied, "I want to go to Ma'lem. There is not a single fish in our river, and I dreamt that with your help I completed the fish. Let us make use upon them. I shall certainly take some shrew, and we will place them in the river." Mink answered, "I am glad that you are speaking,

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quantities of ducks and geese, and the inhabitants of the inland villages sometimes made hunting expeditions to the nesting places of wild-fowl in the lakes of the interior uplands. Although numbers of birds were sometimes killed in this way, they were never a steady article of diet. The same is true of grouse. Always plentiful, these birds were commonly killed, but never in large numbers. 223 [136] [262]

The basis of the food supply was fish. The river teemed with salmon, which enabled the country to support its relatively large population. Spring, sockeye, hump-back, dog, and coho salmon, all entered the river in thousands during the spring and summer, while the steel-head could be caught throughout the year. They were taken in weirs and their flesh smoked for winter use. Throughout the year, salmon was the principal article of diet. Second in importance was the olachen, a fish somewhat resembling a herring, which entered the river in great numbers during April or May. They were taken in purse-like nets,* allowed to rot for ten days or two weeks, and then boiled. The grease was skimmed off and kept indefinitely to be used as a relish for other foods. It was always a sign of poverty if a person were obliged to eat berries without olachen grease. Trout and bull-heads were found in the river, but were not sufficiently plentiful to be of importance. 226 262 [251] [252] [263] [237] [735] [556]

Although no form of agriculture was practised, the Bella Coola used vegetable food to a considerable extent. Berries were abundant; some were eaten raw, but many more were pounded into a pulpy mass and dried in the sun. Cakes prepared in this way kept indefinitely and formed one of the regular winter foods. The bark of the hemlock and cottonwood was eaten, as well as the roots of many plants. In recent years many of these have not been used, so that an investigator is apt to overlook their great importance in early times. Although useless for food, the cedar was the corner-stone of Bella Coola material culture. From its trunk were split out, with wedges, the wide planks which formed 262 [241] [251] [178] 124 322

*See Appendix A for a description of olachen fishing.

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their houses. Dishes, benches, cooking-boxes, cradles, totem-poles, canoes, all were carved from this wood. The bark was woven into baskets, and when dyed formed the most common ceremonial decoration.

Even within the forty miles of the river valley formerly occupied by the Bella Coola there are considerable variations in climate. At the mouth of the river the typical Pacific coast type is found, without great extremes of temperature and with much rain, especially in winter time. During winter, the moisture is precipitated as snow a few hundred feet above the valley, and the limit of the snow can be watched on the mountain slopes, rising or falling a few feet from day to day. Farther up the valley, the winters are colder and in many cases snow lies for weeks on the ground, and in the upper part of the Bella Coola area the winters are severe, although much more moderate than on the upper regions immediately to the east.

What has been the history of the inhabitants of this land? They believe that long, long ago, *Ālquntäm*, the supreme god, caused their first ancestors to be created in his house, *Nusmät·a*, in the land above, and sent them down to populate the Bella Coola valley. These first people came in groups of two or three, brothers and sisters, or occasionally man and wife, each group descending, in many cases in animal form, on a certain mountain and then making their home at its foot. They brought with them animals and fish, tools and houses, also the knowledge of ceremonial dances. In fact, they differed from the Bella Coola of the recent past only in having greater supernatural power. These first people increased with extraordinary rapidity, until each group grew into a village, bound together by a knowledge of their first ancestor. In course of time the occupants of certain villages combined, as some increased more rapidly than others, but on the whole each settlement maintained its character of being the descendants of one group of the first settlers of this world.

This mythological belief is a fair picture of Bella Coola life as it was when the first white man visited the valley. Mac-

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human wearer belongs to a sphere differing from that of supernatural animals and is dangerous to them. Consequently, if worn clothing be thrown on a fire it repels unpleasant visitors. Other powerful protections are false hellebore, and smoked salmon roe. A wise hunter always carries these and if he sees a dangerous creature such as a *snuuq*, he chews the two together and spits them towards the peril. Needless to say, if a kindly animal is seen, the hunter does not drive it away by these methods. Why false hellebore should be so effective is a matter of wonder to the Bella Coola themselves, for as a rule it is the human essence attached to objects which gives them their strength over the supernatural. Thus the most powerful of all charms are pads that have been used by women during their menses. If a woman travels on the ocean she is careful to carry some of them with her ready to repel any danger from the supernatural water beings."

776* 789 [824] [824] [841]

The manner in which the Bella Coola regard mythical animals and other evidences of the supernatural is illustrated by the following practice. Hunters always want to know the direction of the wind, and when the breeze is too slight to be discernible they blow upwards a small amount of eagle down, which is so light that the faintest breath of air will bear it down wind. What the logical white man considers a natural phenomenon, appears to the Bella Coola as miraculous; eagle down, stripped from the dead bird by human hands and stored for some time within a house, has become so humanized that it can conquer supernatural powers to indicate the direction of the wind.

776* 789 821 [224]

The mythical monsters already described are not the only animals regarded as supernatural by the Bella Coola. They believe that in the beginning *Ałquntăm* created men and beasts at the same time and in the same place, giving the former the greater share of power, but not exiling the latter to a different plane of existence. In those early days, the semi-supernatural

776* 825 773

"This matter will be described more fully in connection with Magic; see vol. I, chap. xi.

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539 of a woman, *Sekakmān·a*, who dwelt with her mother, a Gull. After a
825 meal, Raven lied to his hostess by telling her of the countless herring that lived at Kimsquit, and how happy he could make some of her relatives by taking them home with him. *Sekakmān·a* doubted the story and told one of her brothers to investigate Raven's canoe because, if the fish were plentiful at his home, some of the scales would certainly be in his craft. The herring youth looked inside the canoe, and was deceived by Raven's subterfuge. On receiving a favourable report, *Sekakmān·a* willingly gave Raven a large box filled with herring. Elated at his victory, Raven set out for home and threw his spoil into the water as he neared the beach at Kimsquit. The Kimsquit people knew of Raven's search for herring, and did not at first believe him when he reported his success, but the fish increased so rapidly that his claim was vindicated.

The herring so obtained were the progenitors of all that now live in the waters adjacent to Kimsquit.

262 One of the foods regarded by the Bella Coola as a luxury
824 is a foam-like whip prepared by beating up dried buffalo berries
539 in water. Raven is given the credit for introducing this to Bella Coola.

Long, long ago, *Sluilekwaily*, a mountain in the Carrier country above Burnt Ridge, was a chief, possessing human characteristics. Buffalo berries flourished on his slopes, and he wanted to keep these for food for his guests. On one occasion he invited all the animals and birds, including Raven, to a feast and dance. His house was the interior of the mountain, and when all had assembled he carefully closed every opening so that none of the berries could escape. Raven determined to obtain some of this food for the Bella Coola, and accordingly used his power to force one of the guests to go outside. As soon as a door was opened to let him out, Raven seized some of the whip and flew away, scattering drops of it in his flight. Berries grew wherever the drops fell, and since that time everybody has been able to make this luxury. *Sluilekwaily* was very angry, but could do nothing.

773 Though *Alquntām* created the world, he did not make it perfect nor equip it with many of the conveniences possessed by men of the present generation. Raven, endowed both with imagination and tremendous power, was always seeking ways of improving conditions. In the beginning of time there were no mirrors, and if a man wanted to paint his face, or decorate
[778] himself for a dance, he was forced to rely on the assistance of
[823]

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instructed people about the significance of death omens; it was Raven who showed them the use of slings; and it was Raven who constructed secluded caves and ledges to serve as meeting-places for chiefs. 773 [622] [823]

In brief, the Bella Coola regard Raven as an explorer, teacher, and inventor, whose power, obtained from *Ałquntām*, enabled him to construct and outwit his maker, but not to create. Much of his work was for the good of mankind, but much was evil and malicious, an aspect which belongs to mythology. Essentially human, Raven could have been included among anthropomorphic, as well as among zoomorphic beings. He differs from most of the supernatural ones in belonging entirely to the past, as his descendants have none of the first Raven's power. It is doubtful whether he still exists, but in any case he has long since ceased to take any interest in the affairs of the Bella Coola, who consider him only as a figure of mythology and ancient history. 773 776 [825]

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS OF THE VEGETABLE AND MINERAL KINGDOMS

Bella Coola beliefs concerning anthropomorphic and zoomorphic beings are relatively clear and exact; their appearance is known, their powers and functions recognized. The supernatural attributes of trees and plants are less definite. *Ałquntām* created the former in the beginning of time, and they were consequently able to talk and act like human beings at that distant period. Owing to the degeneration of man, mortals are no longer able to converse with trees, although the latter can still understand our remarks. In a vague way, the Bella Coola continue to think of trees as having human personalities, but so little is known of their powers, and they enter so seldom into contact or conflict with mortals, that they are practically ignored. 776 824

In an equally vague manner, Nature is regarded as a Mother, giving birth to the trees and plants. One of the *kusiut* dances portrays this birth of the flowers every spring (II, p. 46). [535] [575]

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776 824 (II, p. 196). In this way the belief is kept before the eyes of the Bella Coola, but it is not a matter of prime importance in their lives. Rather contradictory is the concept that though each plant lack individual life, there is a supernatural mother of each species, corresponding in general terms to the Mother of Snakes described in the last section. As one informant expressed it:

"If there is no mother, how can a plant grow?"

These mothers are assumed to live beneath the ground. Occasionally, one of them has been discovered. Not many years ago, a number of women were collecting bracken roots when one which had been gathered began to turn into a snake. The women were alarmed and puzzled at this strange phenomenon. As they stood watching, the ground in front of them fell away as if there had been an earthquake, and they realized that the snake-root had been the mother of the plant. Without further fear they cooked and ate it.

776 823 Stones, too, and mountains were made by *Ālquntām*; consequently they have supernatural abilities and can understand the words and actions of mortals. When a wise man passes close beneath a precipitous mountain he always says to it:

"Please make yourself firm."

Most mountains, when requested politely, refrain from sliding and killing those passing beneath.

539 776 823 In former days mountains in many cases rose to meet hunters, and sometimes turned completely over. The Bella Coola are not sure whether this was caused by the mountain itself, or by a *snuuq* within. Wise hunters carry ropes with them when they penetrate into deep valleys, and when they feel the first tipping of a mountain they leap for a convenient tree, grasp it with their legs, heads downwards, and tie themselves in that position. Slowly the mountain rises and turns over, but, if the ropes do not break, the hunters suffer no ill effects. After a varying interval the mountain returns to its [789] normal position. This reversal can be hastened if a man bites

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of a single family. Either is considered an almost certain means of stopping rain, but no one, even though aware of the method, can practise it with success unless he is a member of the family to which the method belongs. 782 424 821

One of these prayers, the property of a Kimsquit family, is addressed to *Xemxemālotła*. If the petitioner wishes to stop heavy rain, he goes to a quiet place in the woods and calls in a loud voice:

Aiye Xemxemālotłaq,[10]	*naqwidit*	*łłok*	*di sonqʷnudix*
Hail, *Xemxemālotła,*	open	the loftiest	of your heaven
shāxyuxamdu	*dji tlexwniqnu*		*tcim nānudjix.*
so that may look down	the cherished one		your child.

That is, "Expose the upper heaven so that your cherished child may look down."

It will be remembered that *Xemxemālotła* is the being who takes care of *Tłāqmā·ks* in the upper skyland. It is said that this prayer was learnt by the ancestors of an informant in the beginning of time and that a repetition of the exact words is enough to drive away the rain clouds between earth and the upper heaven. For many generations care was taken to teach some intelligent member of the family the correct formula, and the person so entrusted was expected to use his knowledge for the benefit of any of his relatives desiring fine weather. [776]

Another prayer prerogative of similar type was recorded from an old man who related what he had seen his grandfather do many years before. The two were once hunting when heavy rain threatened their success and drove them to the shelter of a projecting ledge. The grandfather, not having any cedar-bark with him, cut and dried some evergreen boughs which he gave to his grandson, telling him to light them and wave them over his, the grandfather's, head. When this had been done, the old man rushed out into the rain and in a loud voice asked some supernatural being, whose name was forgotten, to throw his eyes upon the rain clouds in order to dispel them. That night the petitioner neither drank water nor urinated, and the [824] [785]

[10] The vocative form.

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782 next day the weather was fine. This particular method of
424 praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the begin-
821 ning of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family.
[785] With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of
[177] customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grand-father of the man from whom the information was obtained.

SACRIFICE

782 It might be expected that a clear division should be made between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears
[824] dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

[824] If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any
[825] supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts
[261] of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire titbits of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*Wai, wai, wai,*" "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

[502] Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural
[133] powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Mesatche Nose,
[756]

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the point between Labouchere Channel and Bentinck Arm, there is danger from treacherous currents, so, when a shaman passes either of these places, he lays some food on the water and puffs eagle down into the air as he asks for help. If no shaman is in the canoe, this is done by the captain. 782 [133] [502] [756]

The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is *Ṫlitcāplilān·a*, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and gives power to shamans. Whenever a hunter kills an edible animal in the forest, he cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws them into his fire to gain her goodwill. Long, long ago, *Ṫlitcāplilān·a* appeared to a hunter, seized some of his quarry, and told him of her wishes with regard to presents; these have since been obeyed by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of a man absent in the mountains or at sea throw scraps of food on the fire and ask the protection of *Ṫlitcāplilān·a* for the one in danger. In this case, it is clear that objects thrown into flames are received and appreciated by *Ṫlitcāplilān·a*. [776] [224] [773]

Mınakais, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accompanies his words by blowing up into the air small particles of eagle down. Prayers in connection with the departure of war or hunting expeditions have already been mentioned, but before starting on any journey by canoe, the captain is careful to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and four of yellow cedar-bark. The blowing upwards of eagle down is a common accompaniment to all kinds of prayers, but, if none is available, cedar-bark can be used equally satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water, otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and considered valuable by *Ālqunām*, but they emphasize and accompany the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's sincerity. [776] [484] [824] [825]

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on presents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw 775 782

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pose should remain continent for several nights to increase his generative powers. He then selects a time for beginning the rite and on the second and fourth nights from that date sleeps with his wife, holding intercourse repeatedly and vigorously until he is utterly exhausted. Before dawn on the third and fifth days he must wash in the river or in some quiet stream. Then follow four nights of restraint, a further intercourse, and washing before dawn. The period is next increased to eight nights, then twelve, and finally sixteen, each with a similar contact and bathing. The nights of abstinence are thus forty in all, a lucky number. An unmarried man can obtain power in the same manner with the assistance of a female friend; it is the act itself that is vital, not the union of husband and wife.

At the present time, only two Bella Coola are said to know this particular type of ceremonial chastity, which they conceal carefully, even refusing offers to buy their knowledge. It is potent at any time, but especially if the periods of continence have been so arranged that they terminate at one of the solstices. Then, indeed, can a hunter set off with every prospect of success, knowing that the human taint disliked by animals has been removed, and been replaced by a ceremonial cleanliness pleasing to them. If the time terminates at the winter solstice, the hunter should set out immediately; if it ends in June, he must remain away from women after his final intercourse. In September or October, when ready to leave for the hunt, he must sleep beside his wife for the last four nights; each night he must place his leg between hers, and each morning the two must wash together. The best fortune of all is obtained by a man who observes this forty-night period for four successive years.

Another, and more common, count[24] is to observe continence for four nights, followed by intercourse. Immediately afterwards, the man should eat as much devil's club[25] as poi-

[24]The record of nights is kept by notches cut in a stick or by knots on a cord.
[25]Or false hellebore. This latter plant is thought to be so poisonous that the eating of even a twig an inch in length is fatal; a very small amount, however, all that is ever taken, acts as a powerful emetic.

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224 785 sible, selecting small twigs from which the bark and spines have been rubbed off. This acts as an emetic, so that before washing in the morning he has vomited from his stomach all [824] polluting matter, especially any human hair which animals [278] consider particularly unclean. Before dawn he goes to the [783] river and remains beneath the surface as long as possible, irrespective of the coldness of the water. Then he returns slowly to his house. Four nights later the same acts are repeated. These eight nights of continence are followed by two further periods, each of four nights, making a total of sixteen. Thus fortified, a hunter anticipates great success.

785 A person practising ceremonial chastity is in a condition peculiarly susceptible to disaster, and must observe certain restrictions. If, for example, anyone sees him as he returns from washing in the morning, the power which he has been accumulating so laboriously is lost. Owing to this belief, it is customary for a man to wash long before dawn and to come creeping into his house through a hole in the floor. He must always be the last to retire at night, the first to rise in the morning; and he must say nothing about what he is doing. Intercourse is, of course, absolutely forbidden except on the proper nights, and at other times he must not even put his arm around his wife. Failure to obey these restrictions destroys any advantage from [837] ceremonial chastity, while actual disaster follows should a man's wife misconduct herself with anyone else when he is using her for this purpose. If she is unfaithful, her husband is certain to be slain by an animal when hunting, or to slip and be killed on a mountain trail. Animals know all that human beings do [825] or think, and they punish anyone who is unable to perform ceremonial chastity fittingly. Behind these restrictions there 831 is undoubtedly the sentiment that intercourse, held duly and 785 properly at the right time, is not a mere desire of the flesh, but a ceremonial act. Indeed, when the Bella Coola speak of it in [833] connection with ceremonial chastity, they do not use the [195] common term, *e-m*, which has a coarse implication, but *xoldjat* which has a polite and almost sacred implication.

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292 whiskers over which is scattered eagle down. From the back
535 of the head-dress hang weasel skins. In Bella Bella it is said to
* 556 be customary for a skin to be added on every occasion when a
575 *nusek* is confined to the back-room. This may happen as many as fifteen times to the child of wealthy parents, and a few Bella Coola have adopted the practice of marking each with a skin.
[237] Usually, some six or nine are hung in two tiers, without consideration of the number of times the wearer has been in seclusion. The central figure of the forehead mask is a head with
[532] a hooked nose, the recurved hook being joined to the face itself. This figure does not vary with the wearer's ancestral myth, and no one knows what it represents. This design is
[177] said to have been introduced to Bella Coola from the north a
[237] few generations ago; before that time the head-dress consisted of a circular band of dyed cedar-bark, decorated with the tail
[824] feathers of one of the large woodpeckers. The Bella Coola call it simply, "forehead mask." Each initiate carries a hollow
[532] rattle, carved in the shape of a bird, which he holds in his right
[534] hand, belly uppermost. Long, long ago, when a dancer failed to do so, the rattle became alive and the bird flew away; hence, this rule has been obeyed ever since.

535 Each initiate takes up his station in some part of the house
* 556 behind the fire and dances to the beating of the sticks. The
575 left hand of each is clasped behind his back and in his right he holds the rattle and keeps it in constant motion by shaking his wrist. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a good dancer. Keeping the body stiff and the legs close together, he rises with slight jumps, barely altering his position on the floor. Sometimes he slowly turns around sunwise[17] in his series of jumps, at other times he does not alter his position. The head is bent from side to side and downwards at each jump, causing the eagle down to fly in all directions. *Nusek* assistants blow more of the material on to the head-dress at intervals (see Plate 16).[1]

[521] [17]The Bella Coola believe that the sun moves from east to south to west to
[796] north. Many ceremonial movements follow this direction, which will henceforth be described as sunwise.

[1] [See cut 116, facing p 219 - ANALYST]

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use his own discretion as to the design. At the top he always 211
places the bird or animal cloak in which his first ancestor, 556
traced patrilineally, came to this earth. Beneath this is the
cloak of his mother's first ancestor if it differs from his father's. 778
There are no fixed rules for other representations. Sometimes 532
a man wishes to display the cloaks of the first ancestors of his [773]
wife, or wives; more often, the designs are of creatures with
which his own ancestors came in contact after reaching this
earth.[4] One of the first settlers, *Smaoan* (I, p. 332), married
a Bella Bella woman from whom he obtained a ceremony connected with a whale, an animal which has often been used on the totem-poles of his descendants. The lower figures on totem-poles often represent creatures from which a recent ancestor of the chief obtained supernatural assistance. Consequently, the number of designs which may be used is legion, and the order of portrayal is immaterial. Moreover, Bella Coola art is not sufficiently realistic for designs to be easily recognized, nor is there standard conventionalization of little used animals; so it follows that the designs on totem-poles are often unidentifiable.[5] This is of little consequence, since their value rests neither upon the artistic skill exhibited, nor even upon their significance in connection with the owner's ancestral myth, but upon the goods expended to validate the display.

All Bella Coola totem-poles are carved from the trunks of [824]
huge cedars, with the wood cut away so that the designs stand
out in high relief. The carvers are allowed great latitude both [184]
in choice of form and colouring, hence there is wide variation

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[4]*Ainaxmlaix* is the term applied to animals with which ancestors came in contact, other than their cloaks. [825]

[5]This statement represents the layman's point of view, that is, of the Bella Coola who was not himself a carpenter-sculptor. It is probable that an expert would have greater facility in recognizing the conventionalized forms used by his associates, although the whole pattern of Bella Coola culture was opposed to extreme standardization. Unfortunately, wood-carving, in fact art work of every kind, had degenerated to such an extent that only one man with any recognized skill in that respect was still living when this study was made. He was both unreliable and uncooperative, so that it was impossible even to collect examples of his work, still less to record his interpretations of the designs of masks or other objects carved by his predecessors. [184] [182] [115]

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cedars that flourish on that part of the coast. Thanks to their supernatural power they were able to carry these easily. 529 A

Returned to *Smaiin-a* they built a dug-out canoe of birch(?), the outside of which, and also the paddles, they decorated with abalone-shells. The effect was very beautiful, and they named the canoe, *Ki'laislotl*. In this craft the six set out down the Bella Coola River. When still above *Stuix* they stopped to investigate a beating sound and found that it came from the house of *Oḑsmai*. The latter invited them to come in, using *Dudusong*ʷ's name, which he knew in some mysterious manner. When they entered they found that the beating sound was caused by their host's daughter, *Kānuslāliām*, who was sitting in the back-room, thumping a copper which she was holding as if it had been an infant. *Oḑsmai* was much impressed with his guests' canoe, and they with his. A trade was mutually agreeable, as a result of which the travellers obtained a copper canoe named *Ełłiaslotl*, fitted with copper paddles. *Dudusong*ʷ married *Kānuslāliām*, who embarked with him and his brothers and sisters. They had not gone far when they were hailed by the chief of a village, who also knew *Dudusong*ʷ's name.

"*Dudusong*ʷ," he called out, "your canoe is not much good; it has to be paddled or poled. Let us trade. You take my canoe, *Kwakwasslotl*,[31] it travels with its own power."

*Dudusong*ʷ was unwilling to part with *Ełłiaslotl*, but at last agreed. The seven now travelled rapidly in their merganser canoe to the coast, not stopping at the villages which they saw on the way. At the mouth of the Bella Coola River, *Dudusong*ʷ cast into the water one of the fish which *Ałqunātm* had given him; it became the progenitor of all the Bella Coola olachen. The travellers went thence to the head of South Bentinck Arm where *Dudusong*ʷ threw out another olachen, the forefather of all that now frequent this place. He repeated this at Rivers Inlet, at Smith Inlet, and at every fiord on the coast, wherefore olachen are plentiful in British Columbia at the present day. At *Ełłhsmł*, a town of which the location is uncertain, *Dudusong*ʷ was received as a benefactor and given the name *Ttłkwakila*. After visiting all the rivers on the coast *Łłtwi* and his party returned to Bella Coola, where they finally settled at *Stuix*. [825]

Throughout their travels they had carried the cedar trees with them, and they now planted them at *Stuix*. That is why fine cedars have flourished there since that date. The four brothers built a comfortable house and also constructed a salmon-weir in the river, which made them so prosperous that people came from far and near to pledge their daughters to the fishermen. They were able to give numerous potlatches and so display a totem-pole, the design of which *Ałqunātm* had shown to *Łłtwi* [824] [532]

[31] *Kwakwasslotl* is a merganser.

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CHAPTER VIII

DEATH

Death Rites—Memorial Rites—Fate of the Dead

Death Rites

DEATH is marked by even more complicated and prolonged rites than marriage. Like so many primitive peoples, the Bella Coola not only carry out elaborate rituals soon after the actual decease, but hold lengthy commemorative and mourning ceremonials in later years. As these require the co-operation of a large number of people, the death of an individual affects a wider circle than his own relatives, and the celebrations have, therefore, an important social as well as religious significance. 76 796 [182]

Omens of Death

It is not surprising that the Bella Coola, believing in the omnipresence of the supernatural, should consider various peculiar occurrences to be omens of death. One of the simplest of these is to hear the falling of a tree when there is neither wind nor other reason to account for it. Such a fall is audible only to the person whom it warns of approaching death, either to himself or to one of his relatives. A number of men may be in the forest together, when one of them hears the crash of a tree and notices that his companions are unaware of it; he realizes that this is an omen and protects himself by calling out: 763

"Let this evil react against whoever has been plotting evil against me."

The basis of this custom is the belief that someone has been practising black magic against the hearer, who, by this answer, is able to cause the sorcery to recoil upon the malefactor. Even more dangerous than to hear a falling tree, is to have one crash [954] [824]

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963 to earth close by. In the winter of 1921-2 three Bella Coola
[824] were almost crushed in this manner; within a year the deaths took place of the wife of one, the mother of the second, and the daughter of the third. This was considered definite confirmation of their belief.

963 When a chief dies, a supernatural woman, *Sk̓wanit-ăn-ă*,
776 "The Weeper," comes to earth to lament the loss. Crying piteously, she walks to and fro in the woods near the village where the death has taken place, but can be heard or seen only by a person in whose family there will soon be a fatality. This
[789] can be counteracted by going boldly to her and collecting some of the clotted mucus that drips from her nose as she weeps. If this is wrapped in the finder's clothing and stored for a year, it brings him good fortune and probably deflects the impending death, but to see "The Weeper" without knowledge of the proper procedure is to court disaster. A prominent Bella Coola woman died in June, 1922, and her son believed that he heard the lamentation of the supernatural visitor about six the next morning in the woods behind the missionary's house. He rushed forth to find her, but was unsuccessful. Within a few days, one of his nieces died, as was to be expected.

963 A comparatively common bird in Bella Coola is the
825 *k̓nakwaz*, which is about the size of a robin and dark, greenish brown.[1] Its whistle is frequently heard and no significance is attached to it, but it is an omen of death if a *k̓nakwaz* comes close to a house and chirps out, "*Ini-i.*" On the night of February 20, 1924, one called beneath the window of a man who was about to start on a journey in his motor-boat. Next morning, although the bird lay dead beside his house, he insisted on starting. He camped at Restoration Bay where he was awakened by a voice calling his name, but could see no one. This was probably an owl, a bird which often foretells disaster by calling the name of the person to whom it will occur. Even this did not deter him and within twenty-four hours his

[1] The bird could not be identified, although it belongs to fact, not mythology.

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put his granddaughter into the ground beside her grandmother but it may all be for the best."[18] 764 537

There is no doubt that condolences of this nature assist the mourning relatives to bear up under their grief. This fact was emphasized by several Bella Coola, and in addition the writer was able to observe it on several occasions. They readily respond to suggestions of any kind and undoubtedly derive comfort from the laudatory comments of influential chiefs.

Speeches of this general nature are always delivered as the grave is being filled in. Sometimes this work is finished before all who wish to do so have expressed themselves, sometimes the remarks are so short that they are ended before all the earth has been thrown back. When the hole has been filled to ground level, it is stamped down and the surplus earth scattered out of sight among the bushes, no mound being thrown up. 764

Great care is always taken to prevent the return of the ghost. In addition to the weighting with stones already described, other methods are used before the funeral party leaves the cemetery. Heavy boards are usually laid flat over the grave and rocks piled on these bar the way up from below. A further precaution is the setting upright of four stakes, one at each corner of the hole, and fastening ropes of cedar-bark between them along the east and west sides of the grave. The significance of this is not fully understood, except that the ghost cannot pass the strands. Four spruce saplings are cut and placed either between the grave and the village, or one on each side of the hole; their sharp needles form an effective barrier. 764 775 [824]

While these precautions are being taken, any clothing and utensils brought to the grave and not already consumed are thrown on the fire and allowed to blaze brightly. The ashes 764

[18] It was impossible to record these speeches verbatim at the time of their delivery. The writer was able to make notes, which were amplified by each speaker later telling him what he had said. Although lacking literal accuracy, the above may be considered essentially correct. [126]

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insane, a calamity unquestionably due to his recklessness in handling the earth where a supernatural one had trod. 777 787*

This point illustrates the danger of near approach to a *mätsqus*, a theme well exemplified in the stories in the next chapter. Such perils must be counteracted in diverse ways according to the traditions of different ancestral families. One common method is to seek a lonely spot in the woods and there hollow out a shelter beneath an overhanging rock or fallen tree-trunk where the person who has been exposed to danger must remain for four days, eating nothing and at intervals scrubbing his body with branches of devil's club, spruce, and other rough plants. These protect him from the evil effects of the monster. [761] 783 [824]

Similar in function to the *mätsqus*, and equally dangerous to the unwary, is the *susiutl*. The latter is supposed to have been created on this earth, at Bella Bella, in the beginning of time by *Yulätimut*. It was at first the canoe made by this carpenter, and then turned loose by him to range the mountains and fiords, as it has ever since, equally at home on land and in water, and in various forms. The following is a typical description of the manner in which a *susiutl* appeared in the past. 777 787* [773] [776] 539 777 787*

Long ago a man was hunting in the mountains when he saw a salmon, which changed in an instant to a fish-like monstrosity with two heads but no tail. He lunged at it with his stick, and in so doing started a slide which carried the salmon down the mountain. As this was taking place, the hunter said:

"Go down the mountain, salmon; I will get you at the bottom."

When he reached the foot of the new slide he saw the fish lying clear on the stones. He cut it up and slung it on a cedar-bark rope. Now this salmon was a *susiutl*, the first that had ever been seen, and the hunter obtained supernatural good luck from his experience. He also took the name of *Susiutl*, a designation which has been handed down until recently.

After this adventure many people hunted for the *susiutl*, and with fair success in early days, but now it cannot be found, 777 787*

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owing to the failure of hunters to observe ceremonial chastity. When obtained, a *sutaif* was cut into small pieces, one of which worn upon the person would make the flesh so hard that an arrow could not penetrate.

Sometimes the *sutaif* assumes the form of either a spring or a coho salmon. Not long ago a Bella Bella man, travelling in a canoe, ate one of these. Once devoured, it enlarged itself, made its way out by consuming the man's lower jaw, then jumped overboard and was lost.

The mere appearance of a *sutaif* does not necessarily bring misfortune to the beholder, even if he has not the necessary knowledge, or courage, to take advantage of it. The following is an instance.

On one occasion the father's father of a middle-aged Bella Coola was going upstream at the time the salmon were jumping, when, unknown to him, one leaped into the canoe behind him. His first knowledge of anything untoward came to him when the bow rose out of the water, and, looking around, he saw that this was caused by the weight of a green-covered stone lying in the bottom of his canoe; the salmon had vanished. The man threw overboard his fore-board with the stone on it. When he told his friends afterwards of his experience, they informed him that he had missed an opportunity for obtaining supernatural good fortune, as the "salmon" must have been a *sutaif*.

The *sutaif* can also be used as a charm. If a man, while in a pure condition through the observance of ceremonial chastity, eats a small portion of the flesh, it renders him proof against bullet or arrow. An intelligent Bella Coola stated that his father's brother had done so on one occasion, with the result that a bullet, fired by his wife's mother's father, fell harmless at his feet after striking him.

Medicine can also be obtained indirectly from a *sutaif*. When one of these fish-like creatures swims through a pond, wriggling as it goes, it frequently sheds some of its scales.

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These become lilies (of the species known as *lilikinaly* or [illegible], "The *mouth powers of the pond*") from the roots of which a tonic can be brewed. They can be collected by anyone, and the places where they grow are well known, but certain rules must be followed. Before reaching the pond the gatherer must find four spruce saplings, cut from each a bough projecting outward, and lay these two by two, beside the water, with a space between. After plucking the lily roots he must place them on the ground between the spruce branches and tie the whole into a bundle with strips of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. He must be careful to wind these wrappings clockwise. On arriving at the house where the tonic is to be prepared, the bundle must be thrown in through the smoke-vent, never carried through the door. After these precautions the medicine can be prepared with safety. The roots are cut into thin slices and boiled for four days; a sick person then drinks several cupsful of the brew, which is particularly good for the blood. This remedy is especially effective if the patient is observing ceremonial chastity. The person administering the potion sees to it that the one being treated conforms to certain regulations for forty days. He must not eat fresh meat, fresh salmon, or any food prepared by a widow or a ceremonial woman; he must not approach too closely a girl who is secluded following puberty, and he must observe absolute continence, not even sleeping with his wife. Death follows the breaking of any of these taboos.

Although supernatural good fortune is most frequently obtained from either a *nulmaut* or a *nuiatl*, it can be derived from other supernatural beings. In such cases the acquisition is seldom dangerous. The following tale describes the *gokin i*.

Long before the coming of the white man, but very long after the first people came to this earth, a certain Kimsquit man, *Wilmamil*, who was also called *O'mitil*, was erecting memorial posts on Mount Pugwidal when he heard on the upper slopes a peculiar cry which he recognized, from descriptions given him by the old people, as the cry of a *gokin i*.

Supernatural good fortune has also been obtained from the "Mother" of certain plants.

Among the roots that are sought for when a man intends to give a potlatch are those of clover and of *ohil*, a grass which grows on flats near the sea. Once the root of an elderly (in 1923) Bella Coola woman dug up the Mother of Ohil, a root, thick as her thumb, but shaped like a woman. Perhaps the reason that she found it was because she was digging in the darkness, after the setting of the sun. The woman, ignorant of the proper procedure, did nothing, with the result that her hands became painfully swollen. If she had wrapped the root in a portion of her used clothing and kept it hidden for one year, without saying anything about her find, it would have brought her supernatural good luck.

Another woman found an elderberry as large as a baseball, and shaped like the mask worn above the forehead by a member of the *nuxalk* society. Her father, an old man skilled in such matters, wrapped the berry in his daughter's soiled clothing and kept it carefully hidden in her box. It brought her supernatural good luck because, no matter how much or how often she gave away presents, goods always came to her.

SUPERNATURAL GOOD LUCK FROM STONES

Stones are among the objects from which supernatural good luck can be obtained. A person who has long observed ceremonial chastity may be fortunate enough to hear what seems to be the weeping of a new-born infant, as he passes in his canoe beneath some steep stone cliff. Then, if he watches, he will see a strange thing. Down drops a dripping stone on the shore of the sea. If the observer takes the infant-stone, wraps it in his soiled clothing and stores it among his possessions, it will act as other bringers of supernatural good fortune by luring all kinds of valuables to the owner. In fact, such a stone is said to be so potent that if left in an empty box for some time, it will answer enough skins to fill the receptacle.

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them that might escape. It is the sickness! The din increases; the leader works himself into a frenzy with his rapid gyrations, then he stills the noise as the shaman goes to the door. In dead silence, the more striking in contrast to the previous tumult, he partly opens his hands and puffs against them, as if blowing something out of the door, at the same time calling out, *hoip*. Again the beating of sticks breaks out, again it is stilled, and again the shaman blows forth the sickness. This is done four times. The shaman uses his own discretion whether to send the sickness through the door or the smoke-vent.

A variant of this method is for the functioning shaman to dance during the beating of sticks, before throwing himself on the patient. With chattering teeth and shaking rattle, he revolves meanwhile, his free arm bent at the elbow so that his wrist, which he shakes freely, is close to his chin; at intervals he calls out, *ewaiiwa*. It is a serious and important proceeding to the Bella Coola, and the effects are considered nullified if a dog barks during the stick-beating.

(c) Some powerful shamans cure by the use of dried and undried cedar-bark. A roll made of these two substances is placed among glowing embers until it is itself alive, when the shaman puts it in his mouth. After dancing for some time to the accompaniment of frenzied stick-beating, he heals forth the bark, still burning, and again puts it in the fire. This is done four times. Then he thrusts the burning bark into the patient's mouth, and leaves it there for some time before pulling it forth. This, too, is repeated four times. When finally drawn forth, it has extracted the sickness, which can then be thrown away by the throwing away of the bark. It seems clear that this cure is done by conjuring, but the writer was unable to learn the method employed, and was repeatedly assured that no sleight was used.

(d) One illness is caused by a person carelessly stepping on a dead salmon, such as dot the banks of the rivers in the summer. The fish, indignant, injects a sickness into the offender.

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THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

Causative Medicines

MEDICINES OF INFANCY

To Cause Tallness

As soon as the umbilical cord is cut, blow upon it and pull out; the infant will grow up to be tall and big.

The following medicines are applied four days after birth:

The infant is washed, formerly in a circular cedar or cottonwood basin, and the remedy pressed against its body while crying. Some families prefer to wait until the child is able to crawl.

To Cause Strength (three means)

(1) Collect four pieces of bark, each from a different tree where a grizzly bear has scratched. Place them in the infant's wash-bowl, then warm them at a fire and rub over his body. This ensures him the strength of a grizzly bear.

(2) Collect four water-smoothed, green stones from the river. Place them in the infant's wash-bowl, then warm them at a fire and rub over the body. After four days, return the stones to the river.

(3) Warm the body of an octopus, beaver, or wolverine in the smoke of a fire and gently press the carcass against an infant's body, saying:

"Please, may he be like you."

This provides the child with the strength of the animal called.

To Cause Long Life

Collect four pieces of wood which have been rolled hard and smooth in a landslide. Boil them in the infant's wash-bowl, cool, then re-warm them at a fire and rub them over the body. This makes him strong and healthy, able to endure all dangers and weaknesses even those caused by a sorcerer. The principle is that the child will be as hardy as the wood proved

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itself to be by withstanding the crushing weight of stone and 789
earth. An old Kimsquit man expressed the firm conviction 856
that his great age was the result of this treatment soon after 816
birth. [824]

To Cause Imperviousness to Cold

Kill a water ouzel, warm it at a fire, then press it against 789
every part of the infant's body. This makes him as heedless 825
of cold water as the bird. A merganser may be used in the 856
same way, or the foot of one be placed in the child's hand and
patted as his fingers clutch it.

To Cause a Quarrelsome Disposition

Burn the nest of wasps and rub the ashes on the infant's face.
He will become as bellicose and quick to resent injury as the [155]
insects. One old man who habitually beats his wife explains
that this is involuntary, since he was treated in this way when
a child. Fighting is no longer allowed, so the only person on
whom he can exercise his martial ardour is his wife. The woman
regards this treatment as a matter of course and the reason is
accepted as valid by her associates.

To Cause Success in Thieving

Kill a pack-rat, warm it at a fire, and rub the carcass lightly
over the infant's body. This will make him as successful a
thief as the animal. Other methods are to cut off a foot and
put this as the infant clutches it in his fingers, or to rub its
hands with the ashes of a burnt rat.

To Cause Success in Singing

Catch a live robin or *smamaxaxis* (probably one of the 533
thrushes), warm it at a fire, and rub it lightly against the in- 789
fant's throat, saying: 825
"May he be a singer like you." 856
Then release the bird, and the child will grow up a songster.
The following story is told of the power of the *smamaxaxis's* [539]
song:

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and back of the head, preventing a bulging appearance which is considered ugly, while the paintings ensure beauty of countenance. Cranial deformation has no supernatural sanction, though it is believed to have been carried out for generations. 304 789 856 [532] [826]

To Cause Leanness

Place pieces of caribou skin on an infant's wrists and ankles and leave them in position for several months. He will grow up lean and wiry, like the animal. 789 856 [825]

To Cause Left-handedness

Shake the left hand of an infant while lying in the cradle and he will be left-handed throughout life. To do this is considered a malevolent action.

To Cause the Hair to Grow (two means)

(1) Rub the infant's scalp with the eye of a *Hakwilt* (red cod?), freshly removed from the fish's head. [825]

(2) Boil stems of the swamp gooseberry in water and rub the mixture over the infant's scalp. [824]

Wise mothers always apply one or other of these remedies to their children.

To Cause Ability in Singing (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good singer to impart to him ability similar to his own. He takes his beating-stick, spits on it, and rubs it over the child's heart, saying: 533 789 856

"Please be a singer."

This is done only for male children. [533]

(2) Boil together herbs and a bear's bladder and smear the decoction on the infant's back. He must thenceforth wear around his neck for several months a small sack containing four blue grouse gall-bladders (possibly stones from the crop were meant). This gives the child the singing ability of the bird, but the significance of the bear bladder is unknown. [825]

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It is said that one man accidentally sucked when spitting on a toad, and swallowed the creature. It lived within his stomach for fifty years, causing no discomfort though its master could feel it moving, and its singing could be heard at intervals. This brought him no supernatural power, although he was enabled by it to live to a great age. When at last he died, the toad came hopping out of his throat and was carried respectfully to the river by his friends who covered the creature with eagle down and dyed and undyed cedar-bark. 789 825 886

Some of the rites already described with regard to animals and fish are similar in nature to this medicine.

To Cause Obesity 789

A medicine was formerly used by chiefs to make them fat and important-looking, but details of it have been forgotten. 826 622

To Cause Ability in Singing

Catch an *squaw-i* (varied thrush?) alive and pat it four times against the throat of the woman to whom it is desired to impart the art, saying: 583 789

"May she be a singer like you." 825

Release the bird and the woman will become a good singer.

This bird is considered by the Bella Coola to be the finest songster among British Columbia birds, and they say that many animals and fish, including even the halibut, gather to hear its singing.

To Cause Ability in Hunting 224

There is a poisonous plant which, when eaten, almost kills the eater. If he recovers, he is henceforth endowed with great ability as a hunter. The species could not be ascertained. 789 824

To Cause Change in Weather

If a cold wind is desired: Heat the penis of a mountain goat or beaver at a fire. 789 821

If rain is desired: Wash the penis of a large buck and throw it into the ocean or a river, saying: 825

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uninitiated are expelled, with the exception of the *nusuk* to whom, as guests, a meal is served. Then they too leave and the *kukuxiut* eat together. Finally, the singers strike up one of the dancer's songs, and he dances to it to end the evening's rites. 575* 796

The fourth day is *nakuam*, "That Which Is Opened." During the day the carpenters work to complete the masks, and towards dusk the house is again put in order. The *kukuxiut* are summoned again to practise the songs, if necessary, and always to arrange who shall wear the masks, a matter left to the marshals and the carpenters. Then the uninitiated are called in to see the masked figures and watch any dramatic representation. After their exclusion, the masks are burnt. Then the *kukuxiut* gather outside the dancer's house where his song is sung once more to send his call back above. Frequently another *kuxiut* now receives a call, so that the *nakuam* of one dancer is likewise the *kuxinow* for another. The *kukuxiut* assemble in the latter's house, but the uninitiated are not allowed to return to that from which they have been ejected until the platform-enclosure has been destroyed at the end of the season. [104] [532] [533] [532]

A word might be said about *kuxiut* paraphernalia, although much of this will have to be described in detail for special dances. Boas gives illustrations of a large number of *kuxiut* masks and gives such an admirable description of them that little need be added. They are carved from the solid wood, the larger of beech, the smaller of alder, and each carpenter endeavours to make a striking effigy of the being portrayed. *Kuxtlemalaic* is present at every dance and has become so well standardized that she can always be recognized. This is true, also, for Thunder, Echo, the *kaskas*, the Laughter, the Hermaphrodite, and a few other supernatural beings, but so much variation occurs in others that even a *kuxiut* of much experience cannot always tell what being is represented. The masks are painted, and sometimes the designs indicate the being, even though the carving fails to do so; variamilitude is 575* 796 532 [114] [124] [176]

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*575 not considered necessary. With few exceptions, hereafter to
746 be noted, *kwiat* masks are burnt at the conclusion of each
532 ceremony, a practice which probably originated in order to
[171] avoid the possibility of their being seen by the uninitiated. The Bella Coola state that this is one of the most striking differences between their rites and those of the Bella Bella.

*575 Next in importance to masks are whistles (see Plate 2).
746 The large, cone-shaped form used in *sisaok* ceremonial is re-
534 placed in *kwiat* dances by smaller type consisting of portions
[237] of wood glued together, which can be blown with ease from beneath a concealing blanket. Another type has bellows consisting of a mountain goat bladder, which is held beneath the arm-pit so that it can be worked invisibly. During the summer the whistles are kept by one individual, usually a
[422] marshal. Specific information concerning the ownership of these whistles could not be obtained; it appears that any *kwiat* can make one, or have one made for him by a skilled carpenter, and that their retention by one person during the summer is merely for convenience. They are freely lent to
[429] anyone for use in a ceremony.

*575 In some dances special objects are used in connection with
746 dramatic performances, such as bull-roarers, wooden repre-
532 sentations of animals, birds, or miniature human beings. One
[534] old man described a pipe formerly used at *Tāl'is*, which had
[534] a carved bowl as large as a tea-cup with three radiating stems.
[124] It was carved from a knotty excrescence on a beech bole. Little could be learned of its history, except that it was supposed to have been carved by a chief with the design of his crest and displayed much pride.

*575 The usual guests at a performance of the type just sum-
609 marized are the dancer's fellow-villagers and any strangers
746 who happen to be present in the town. Great as is the desire
[241] of the *kwiatsi* to impress their uninitiated tribesmen, they
[123] are still more eager to impress strangers, hence the presence of Carriers adds piquancy to the rites. The writer believes that his presence and interest encouraged the Bella Coola to

[See category 16, p84(B) ANALYCT]

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and the patron shifts his protection to the substitute. Non-members are told that the death was due to one of the many dangers connected with the society. 575* 766

It is said that, in former times, the *kukusiut* sometimes held a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discontinued. In 1922, however, memorial songs were sung for dead *kukusiut*, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to prohibition of the potlatch. 575* 769 533 177

The Ritual of Specific Dances

General Observations about the Dances

A detailed description of various *kusiut* dances can now be given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference between them that each will require a separate account, although considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning in connection with the first dance those features common to all. The initial performer is always he who has the prerogative of seeing the supernatural canoe which comes from the Land of the Salmon to visit *Nuxqalxwaista*. Several *kukusiut* have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so. Thenceforth there is no order for different dances; the marshals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does so without conflicting with another. The first dance described is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *kusiut* season. 575* 796* [424] [776]

The Dance of *Nuxkwaqa*[10]

The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the September moon is full there starts from the Land of the Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *Nuxkwaqa*, commanded by a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly 773 824 825

[10] Cf. Boas, p. 60.

[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

773 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 *Smaien-a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nuqulwaista* to await the coming of *Alquntăm*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nalwam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noăkynum* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[715 times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
[891 eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[787 that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that
[620 this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[776 patron was *Noăkynum*, but that the marshals requested him not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noăkynum*
575 is patron for several *kukuiat*, who are believed by the uninitiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
796 the *kuiat* dances begin.
[184

It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village, as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
[424 slight variations, if any. In *Tsumsit* the *kuiat* who has the
[55 [illegible]

Kimsquit, *Alaxiwnaxam*,* and in *Sisiutl*, *Xemtsum*. Although,

[115
[426
[578

*Details of this dance were learned from the father of [illegible], who intimated that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman referred to the handing of this designation by her father and said that the present user had failed to secure it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

*Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his person, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kuiat* names have significances of this type.

[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 in banning the rite if they do not think the dancer will be able
*796 to carry it out properly. When the call comes, the uninitiated
are at once expelled from the Cannibal's house; later he rushes
[424] to the graveyard and exhumes one of the meat-filled frames
previously buried. Non-members watch with horror as he
sinks his teeth in the "flesh." Closely guarded, he is then
taken to every house where, if they are bold, the uninitiated
peer forth from their bedrooms and watch his performance.
He carries part of the corpse in his arms and periodically sinks
his teeth in the repulsive mass. As usual, apparent attempts
are made to tie him to this earth, but in spite of them he escapes
to the upper regions where he remains for an unusually long
period. Great efforts are made to reduce him to a state of
[824] emaciation, for which purpose he drinks large amounts of
water in which cedar-wood has been boiled. When the Can-
nibal ultimately returns to earth, the cannibalistic incubus is
expelled and he at length becomes normal. When dancing, a
[535] corpse-eater constantly bends both hands towards the floor in
front of him and upwards, as though raising some heavy
object towards his face. Then his head sinks towards this,
only to be thrown quickly upwards and to one side, with a wild
expression in his eyes. The uninitiated are told that this re-
presents the manner in which he lifts a corpse towards his
mouth and bites, only to be revolted by its putrescence. He
has, they hear, no actual liking for human flesh, but his in-
cubus fills him with an irresistible craving for it. Frequently
[532] he wears on his blanket wooden representations of skulls (see
Plate 71), symbolic of the corpses devoured.

*575 Rarely, a corpse-eating Cannibal kills a slave and commands
*796 to devour his body as a means of impressing the uninitiated,[1]
but usually this is done only under the driving force of revenge
567 or jealousy. If a man hears that a near relative, slave of a
648 foreign tribe, has been killed, he often determines to wipe out
blood with blood. He consults a corpse-eating Cannibal, and

[1] Eating of corpses has long ceased among the Bella Coola; the present venue is used merely for convenience.

[See category 116, p 164(A) - ANALYST]

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*595 *796 realm above. The method of escape and the rites that occur during his absence do not differ from those previously described for other Cannibals, and the means taken to capture him on his return are likewise similar. But soon after dusk a rite occurs which has not been previously recorded. The *kukuxtat* assemble on the sidewalk outside X's house, each carrying a torch made of resinous wood, liberally smeared with gum and rendered more inflammable with frayed cedar-bark. X himself, well guarded, is escorted to the middle of the group, while a herald calls out that he is going to make what he has consumed fly upward. In his arms he carries what appears to the uninitiated, watching from a distance, to be a dead dog; in reality, it is a dog skin, stuffed with eagle down. Four times he turns around, uttering his cry of *ewe*, *ewe*, *ewe*, while his men call out *i*..... and the women drone. Then, in some way, the down-filled dog-skin is thrown upwards and disappears. One informant had seen this done in his youth, but was unaware of the method employed. The group then disperses and X is taken back to his own house.

[816] [124]

About midnight a herald goes to every house, summoning the *kukuxtat*, and especially the singers, to X's. They practise a new song for the Cannibal, and towards dawn it is sung as the "running song" previously described, accompanied by the weird *ewe*, *ewe*, *ewe*. At day-break, a *kuxtat*, chosen for the purpose because he is a fleet runner, pounds at the door of every house, and calls out:

"Come to eat dried salmon," and dashes on to the next.

Thus invited, the *kukuxtat* daily assemble in X's house for a meal.

For four days X remains crouched on his platform, except when, aroused to fury, he makes a tour of the village; and except when making his nightly circuit, during which the frightened uninitiated cover their heads with blankets, fearing that he will smell their breath and devour them. On the fourth day X is carried to the river and washed, in spite of his struggles. While this is taking place a number of *kukuxtat* visit

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has retired from sight. *Awi'kwalaxis* gives her customary dance, her head bent as if she constantly wished to rest it on someone's shoulder, and her opposite arm waving violently. After one circuit of the fire she withdraws from sight behind the matting. Then the marshals call the uninitiated to withdraw, and the growling Cannibals hurry them forth. The evening's ceremonials conclude in the usual way, except that the masks are not burnt.

575* 796* [776] [532]

The length of time required for the figures to appear and perform is so great that *sakaxaw* can seldom be completed on a single night. When the marshals decide that it is too late for further drawn, they can call a postponement at any time; the uninitiated are told to withdraw and the *Sakaxiw* disperse shortly afterwards. The following evening they are recalled and the ritual is carried on from the point where the break was made. In this account it has been assumed that it is possible to complete the display without postponement.

Four nights later everyone is called back once again. The *Sakaxiw* first take their places, and then the uninitiated are summoned. The ritual on this occasion is identical with that just described for *sakaxaw* with the same promenade of supernatural beings and the same explanations by *Awi'kwalaxis*. After the uninitiated depart the masks are burnt, two at a time, in the manner previously described, this being the last event in the Mystery Dance.

[532]

THE DANCE OF *W'ewaxa*

Nadlqwaxa is not, according to Bella Coola mythology, the only bringer of salmon to the river, nor is he the only one whose action has been dramatized as a *Sakaxiw* dance. A similar purveyor of fish is *W'ewaxa** who comes every year to Bella Coola. Boas (p. 58) has recorded the origin myth connected with the rite, and states that the movements of the dancers influence the duration of the *Sakaxiw* season; this observation was not confirmed. *W'ewaxa* is supposed to return from the

575* 796* 776 825 184 824

*Also called *Kwakwakwaxa*, "Who Brings Our Food."

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*575 *796 776 825 184 824 793 824 825 539

land of the salmon early in January, and it is owing to his successful raid that there is a plentiful supply of fish the following year. The fact that the Bella Coola attribute the same function to *Nuákynum* provides no difficulties to native philosophers.

"Different individuals have different stories," they say, and the fact that the two are contradictory is a matter of no consequence.

The incidents described in the following myth are always spoken of as having taken place long ago, and yet the coming of *Wiwaina* is an annual event, a confusion disconcerting to the investigator though not to the Bella Coola themselves.

Wiwaina[*] once led a raiding party against the salmon, whose home is far to the west, and against the herrin who live in a flat and warm country beyond even the land of salmon. His crew consisted of birds who are spoken of in the myth by unusual designations, said to be either their supernatural or their *kwáxa* names. One informant spoke of these beings as individuals, and only added that they were birds as an afterthought, while another emphasized their avian rather than their human characteristics. This is not surprising, considering that the story belongs to the distant past when birds and human beings were not as clearly differentiated as they now are. *Wiwaina*'s crew consisted of:

The Bald Eagle, *Tsáxwak*;

The Hawk (?) species, *Ínuhipakxnix*;

The Raven, *'Ínawaqtlaix*, "He Who Talks at Dawn and Wakens Everyone";

The Water Ouzel, *Thlémaxwtlíkha*, "The Walking One";

The Great Blue Heron, *Mnaxwtlíkn*, "Long Neck";

The Hermaphrodite, *Ale'yas*;

The Cormorant, *Kwakwá'la*, who joined the expedition at Bella Bella as a passenger;

Four lazy supernatural beings, *Kmaitlíl*.

The expedition was under the special protection of *Kulana*, a female supernatural shaman, who guided the canoe in which the raiders travelled by the force of her incantations as if it had been a compass. After a lengthy journey, the party reached the land of the salmon where the clouds obligingly dabbed low in the heavens so that the fish could not see their

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*A word etymologically connected with *wáwa*, the Bella Coola terms for raid.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of Winwina]

fore. Each of the crew captured a different kind of salmon which, in the myth, are referred to by their supernatural names. 773

The Bald Eagle captured the spring salmon, *Ohuldimut*, "The One that Changes Itself," a reference to the two forms in which this fish appears before and after spawning. 824 825

The Hawk captured the sockeye salmon, *Nuxuthentum*, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers." 534

The Raven captured the hump-back salmon, *Awatpamais*, "The One that Fills the Rivers."

The Water Ouzel captured the dog salmon, *Spaiulus*, "The Maker of Good Weather," a reference to the calm weather in August when this fish spawns.

The Great Blue Heron captured the coho salmon, *Kwayumtumilsin*, "The One that Makes Us Fat."

The Cormorant captured a variety of dog salmon, *Gulpas*, for the Bella Bella.

The Hermaphrodite was also successful and filled the enormous basket which he had brought for the purpose with a large number of berry captives.

As soon as the raiders had achieved their purpose they returned to Bella Coola and released their booty; since that time there has been an abundance of salmon in the river and of berries on the hills. The Cormorant left the canoe at Bella Bella and released the dog salmon there; that is why this variety of fish has since been plentiful at Bella Bella.

Several Bella Coola *Ankuciut* have a dance prerogative of which the above is origin myth. The details vary slightly, and some informants stated frankly that they had forgotten the names of the bird crew. The reasons given for the use of *Wiwuina* as patron likewise vary. According to one account, in the beginning of time *Alquntiw* placed the name *Nuxuxkumai* in a repository near the summit of the lofty Mount *Ep*, near *Stuie*. He had two reasons for so doing: he did not wish it to be defiled by passersby brushing dust into it with their feet, and he wished the owner of the name to be the first to see the return of *Wiwuina*. The repository is a small pond, which can move from place to place, but, being itself supernatural, is visible only to those who have purified themselves. Since that time whoever has had the name *Nuxuxkumai* has had the *hereat* prerogative of seeing *Wiwuina*. 424 773 778 [776]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of Winwina]

be. Once the first answer has been given, it is only a matter of a few minutes before some alert young man gives the successful reply. 575r 746r 825

"Yes," says the *ḋaxiat* holding the salmon. "It is a spring salmon, called *Oteddimat* by the supernatural beings. *Tsāḋmat* captured it."

The bearer goes once around the fire, still holding the salmon, while the *ḋaxiat* women drone and the sticks are pounded furiously. Four times during his circuit he tosses the fish in his arms as if it were jumping, and all the *ḋaxiat* call out *ya*····· *ha*·····, as they do when a salmon jumps in the river. He finally throws the fish on the central fire and the beating of sticks stops with almost startling suddenness. The same *ḋaxiat* next picks up the wooden representation of a sockeye salmon and the same procedure is carried out; it too is thrown on the fire when its species has been ascertained. In succession, imitations of hump-back, dog, and coho salmon are displayed and cast in the flames. It is seldom that the uninitiated realize that the fish are being shown in the order of their coming in the spring, and their consequent failure to answer promptly is a source of considerable secret amusement to the *ḋaxiat*. The Bella Bella dog salmon, held with its head downstream, is the last fish shown. The representation is always made long and lean, to the annoyance of the Bella Bella, and when the holder makes it jump, the people call out nothing but *ha*·····.

Soon after the last salmon has been burnt the displayer holds up the first bunch of "berries" and calls on the young uninitiated women to guess what kind is represented. 575r 746r

"If you guess right, you will find plenty of them next summer," he says. 824

Somewhat shyly the girls register their guesses, but the choice of berries is so great and the workmanship so poor that a considerable time often elapses before the correct answer is given. As soon as this is done, the exhibitor carries the fruit around the fire and throws them on the flames in the same

J: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of Winwine]

way as with the salmon, except that the jumping is omitted. The order of display is according to the time of ripening for each, but there is so much difference of opinion about this that no rigid order is maintained. The first shown is always the cow-parsnip, but after that there is no definite sequence. The following "berries" were shown at a dance not many years ago: cow-parsnip; *Ribes lacifloram*; wild gooseberry; tall bilberry; thin-leaved bilberry; blueberry; black huckleberry; red elderberry; dwarf bilberry; *Ribes leucoteum*; salalberry; Canadian buffalo berry; wild red raspberry; blackberry, *Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.; salmon-berry; black hawthorn; flowering juneberry; bunchberry; wild rose; red bearberry.

The informant was not certain that the above was the exact order in which the berries were shown on the occasion described. It is probable that it is approximately correct, however, since he added that the wild strawberry had also been shown, but as he could not remember its correct place he had omitted it. Other old men stated that the following food plants had been used at other *Winwine* dances: *ilk*, one of the *Fritillaria*, species undetermined; perennial clover; black raspberry; crabapple; cranberry; fern root; bracken root. Foods introduced by the white man were shown at a recent dance, including: potato, carrot, turnip, and a miniature can of preserved peaches, such as are commonly used in the manufacture of native wine.

Sometimes no one is able to guess the object represented, and when all have grown discouraged the exhibitor puts his ear against X's mouth. The uninitiated assume, of course, that the dancer's supernatural power makes it easy for him to tell the answer and that he is transmitting the information to the hearer who promptly gives it. If an uninitiated person should guess the correct response rapidly, it is taken for granted that she has found favour with the supernatural beings. When the last berry has been thrown on the fire, a *kwiat* stands up and starts a song describing the Hermaphrodite and his actions in the land above. The singer provides his own time by beating

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*575 *796 They dispute in this manner concerning the capture of every kind of salmon and even about the berries. *Ano'likwo-lsaic* keeps up a running stream of comments to the uninitiated.

"Listen to the stupid *Kāmālālkl*. That is what they did when they went with *W'inwina*. They spent most of their time sleeping, and the rest of it arguing. Don't you be such silly fools as they are. Watch what you are doing, and you may be fortunate enough to see me in the woods and become a *kusiut*."

As soon as the uninitiated have watched these beings for a time, they are expelled and the ritual ends in the usual manner.

763 776 In conclusion, a word may be said regarding the attitude of the Bella Coola to *W'inwina* and his canoe. Like all other supernatural manifestations it is capable of bringing good or evil to the beholder. An ancestor of every *W'inwina* dancer must have seen it and obtained it as patron, but it is a dangerous visitor none the less. Sometimes, at night, a hunter encamped on one of the fiords hears a grunting sound accompanied by short paddle strokes; if he calls out "*yaol*" loudly, no harm will come to him, but if he omits to do so he will soon die. One informant affirmed that within his lifetime a party of Kimsquit hunters were waiting for high tide when they heard the grunting. They failed to hail the craft and presently a sound reached them as if a number of paddles had been placed in the water to check the course of a canoe; in fact, the ripples splashed on the shore at their feet. In a few years they were all dead.

THE DANCE OF MOTHER-NATURE

*575 *796 *824 [184] [776] One of the most interesting of the Bella Coola dances is that portraying *Nuaaska*, who is virtually Mother-Nature, giving birth to the flowers and trees in the spring. The following account is of the manner in which *Kalāw-i*, a Kimsquit man, performed the rite. The ritual appears to be identical in Bella Coola, so only one account need be given, and the performer may be spoken of as X.

This dance can take place at any time during the ceremonial

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[The Dance of Mother-Nature]

season, subject to the usual consent of the marshals. No description need be given of the coming of the call and of the ritual of *lnxtāmem*. A large amount of wood is required, and on the night of *nusiutālsap* the many carpentry tasks are allotted. A large masked wooden figure is made to represent Mother-Nature herself, two more of the elderly women who attend her, and one of the inevitable *Ano'likwoksaix*. Besides, masks must be made of almost all the flowers and the trees, their number only limited by X's willingness to reward the carpenters. It is said that formerly as many as three hundred masks were sometimes ordered. 575* 796* 824 [532]

No detailed description is required for *qothm*, but the ritual on *nekusam* differs from that of all other dances. Early in the morning a number of *kukusuit* gather in X's house where the carpenters decide on two old women to wear masks representing hags of great age and ugliness. A number of *kukusiut* accompany them to the bottom house of the village where they call out: [532]

"We are in great trouble. Our daughter's child is long overdue. If you know of any good medicines, will you not give them to us for her?"

The *kukusiut* drone when they see and hear these supernatural visitors, and many of them give medicines to the old women to increase the realistic effect. This is repeated in every house of the village.

That night when all is ready, the uninitiated are called in and take their places in the two corners near the door. They see in the central position behind the fire a large wooden figure wearing the mask of a woman in the pangs of labour with enormously distended stomach. She is *Nawuska*, Mother-Nature, though the uninitiated do not know this as yet. She lies on some raised planking; slightly below her are two old women carrying sponges of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, as if they were midwives prepared to wash a new-born infant. Two matting enclosures have been constructed, one in each of the rear corners of the house, large enough to hide the per- [532] [844]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

*575 *796 *824 [532] [844]

formers who are chosen for their small stature. *Ant'ikwulnaix* stands up ready to explain as usual. One of the actors now comes forth from beneath Mother-Nature's stomach, as if born of her, wearing a mask surmounted by a carved stick representing the leaves of the willow. The actors handle the performer, as if washing a new-born child, and announce:

"It is a boy, Willow Leaves," just as a midwife might state the sex of an infant.

Willow Leaves dances around the fire, at intervals saying, "I am Willow Leaves."

Ant'ikwulnaix adds her comments: "Yes. There is Willow Leaves, see him."

The masked figure goes into the matting enclosure out of sight. The next plant to be born is Gooseberry, for whom the same procedure is carried out, before he, too, disappears. In succession, a few minutes apart, come Nettle, all kinds of Grass, and Western Skunk Cabbage. Each is washed and the sex announced; then the figure dances and *Ant'ikwulnaix* comments as before. A good dancer is always chosen for the next figure, Black Cottonwood, who is "born" in the same way, but instead of vanishing into the enclosure remains dancing to and fro on the upper, upstream, side of the house. After him comes "The Dancing Tree," the American Aspen. An agile man is likewise chosen for this part and he remains dancing back and forth on the lower, downstream, side. *Ant'ikwulnaix* announces, amid breathless interest: "The South Wind is coming."

*575 *796 824 532

This figure enters the house by the front door, wearing the mask of a handsome young man. He goes to *Nawaxaka* like a doctor called in to assist, and when he stands up, her face appears like that of a happy woman who has just given birth. The uninitiated do not realize that a new mask has been put on Mother-Nature while her face was hidden from their sight. The South Wind then retires to the lower side of the house, where he dances to and fro near Aspen, at intervals going up to his patient. In rushes the North Wind, but he is too late to assem-

2:McDermott E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NER McDermott NER

plish his design of destroying Mother-Nature in the act of delivery, and he remains dancing to and fro on the upper side of the house, not far from Black Cottonwood. The advent of the South Wind has helped Mother-Nature, so in close succession there follow masked figures, representing the plants, trees, and shrubs known to the Bella Coola. These first to appear, prior to the coming of the South Wind, have been early ones in the order of their showing signs of green; afterwards there is no fixed sequence, except to follow as closely as possible that of their appearance in the spring. When Black Hawthorn is being born there is great difficulty; he kicks, squirms, and cries, requiring the assistance of both attendants and the South Wind. As soon as his name is announced the meaning of the trouble becomes plain; it is because the fruit is bitter and causes griping in the stomach. The performance is a lengthy one; the same masks appear repeatedly, but the painted stick representing the flower or leaves is changed. Through the long period of their birth, the Willow, Aspen, North and South Winds continue their dancing, the North Wind trying at intervals to reach Mother-Nature, but always repulsed by the watchful South Wind. To the uninitiated it appears wonderful, perhaps miraculous, that so many beings can be hidden in so small an enclosure; in reality, no more than fifteen actors are used, they simply change their masks and reappear. The last masked figure represents After-birth, a man which does not appear until late in the season after all the other plants have come to life. Instead of going around the fire, this figure hides quickly by lying down out of sight.

The uninitiated are sometimes sent away at this point, at other times they are allowed to wait to hear the running of the whole ceremonial. X asks to stay hidden to act as crier. This man explains that we would have no food if the South Wind had not been able to drive away the North Wind because he hurt Mother-Nature as she gave birth to the plants, which form an important a part of the food supply. If not already repulsed, the uninitiated are sent out at this point and the

he took a sip of water, followed by another piece of dried fish, chewed it four times, and washed it down as before. This was four times repeated so that the provender consumed consisted of four morsels of salmon, each chewed four times, and four sips of water; it was most important that no more should be taken into the mouth than could be swallowed at a single gulp. Having eaten, the bow-man passed the food which he had taken from the store to the paddler behind him who ate and drank in the same manner, except that he chewed with the other side of his mouth, corresponding to the fact that he paddled on the other side of the canoe from the man in the bow. So the food and drink was passed down to the captain. If possible, he was required to eat whatever was left, though if there was too much, he threw the remains over his shoulder into the water. He was also expected to swallow whatever water was passed to him, but if there was too much he would lie back, his head projecting over the stern, and pour it out over his face so that it fell into the canoe. As the food and drink were completely consumed, so it was believed the enemy would be annihilated. If the bow-man had failed to take out enough salmon and water, the captain received none of it, since no second portion could be served.

Each captain took with him a supply of dyed and undyed cedar-bark which was stored in the bow of the canoe. During the course of the day, the party would land and the chief decide upon some decoration made by combining strands of the two colours of bark to serve as a distinguishing mark for members of the same canoe. He took out as much bark as he thought would suffice, and the bow-man was the first to don the symbol. The second paddler followed, and each in turn did the same in order of his position in the canoe. If too much had been taken, the captain had to wear collars of whatever was left over; if too little, he had to do without. Having thus arrayed themselves, the party continued until nightfall when a secluded spot was chosen for camping. Wood was collected and fires laid, but no light was ever struck and the warriors lay around the

but the Bulla Coolu do not consider this aspect and the children grow up in an atmosphere entirely lacking in reverence of speech. Some stories such a moral know, but they are recounted merely for entertainment. In the present time, no one knows who invented the stories; they have been handed down from dim antiquity and alterations or embellishments are considered improper, while the composition of new tales appears to be unknown.

Another pastime is smoking. Among some Indian tribes the practice has a definite religious significance, but this appears to be lacking among the Bulla Coolu. Most of the men enjoy either a pipe or cigarettes, and some of the women also indulge, but few carry the habit to excess. All the older people affirmed that their ancestors had smoked for generations. Tobacco was not grown, but kinnikinik, *mikie*[illegible], was used, and also a plant known as *bain*[illegible]. Another smoking mixture was bark of *kowanky*, roasted before a fire until dried and brown, and then crumbled between the hands. These materials have given place entirely to imported tobacco, and the white man's pipe has replaced the native one. The latter consisted of a gooseberry cane from which the pith had been extracted; sometimes a small bowl of elderberry wood was added, but often the mixture to be smoked was simply placed within the end of the hollow cane.

Adults, especially the men, are addicted to gambling. They are fond of placing stakes on a race or other trial of strength, and enjoy all kinds of games of chance. Some of the younger men have mastered a few of the simpler games of cards on which they spend a certain amount of time and money. The favourite gambling game, however, is one found in all parts of the coast, which is played with a pack of fifty-four unmarked sycamore sticks. The rules are complicated and no effort was made to learn more than the general principles. The pieces are divided among the eight or ten participants and concealed; then one player guesses in whose hand a certain marked stick is hidden. If he is successful, the others pay him a forfeit; if

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

fain, a tool consisting of a slightly bent stick with sharpened point, into the cut, and runs it upwards to make a vertical incision as high as she can reach. Going around to the other side of the tree, the woman makes another cutting of the same kind. Finally, she inserts her fingers at the bottom and pulls gently outwards, so that the bark is drawn off in a long covering which tapers to a point at the top. The other half section of the tree is similarly stripped; this treatment frequently kills saplings which can then be used for fire-wood. Although small trees are preferred, a woman sometimes collects her bark from a large tree by means of many vertical incisions.

The bark is taken home without further preparation. The woman carefully peels off and throws away the rough outer bark, leaving the smooth inner covering, *ispal*, which alone is valuable. If the weather is fine, this is dried in the sun for two or three days; otherwise, it is placed over a fire within the house. When all moisture has been removed, it is rolled up and kept for future use. The bark can be used for making baskets with no further treatment except splitting into bands of the proper width.

When pounded bark, such as is widely used for ceremonial purposes, is required, the woman prepares the necessary tools. Two small sticks, each about six inches in length and one-half inch in diameter, are used as crushers, *kiplin*, though the bark can, if necessary, be held in the hand. Two heavier sticks are required, each about two feet in length, six inches wide, and half an inch thick; one edge of each is rounded off, though not sharpened to a cutting surface. When all is ready, the woman crouches on the floor, with the lower heavier, *ipsaq*, held stationary before her on a box or other raised rest, and lays an end of the bark over the rounded edge. Taking the other, the upper heavier, *ejelim*, in her right hand, she strikes downwards so that its edge slides down the side of the stationary stick, bruising the fragments of bark. With her left hand she pushes the piece slightly further over the edge, and again the upper heavier falls. This is repeated time after time until the whole length is pulverized and softened. It is tiring work, but a woman accomplishes more in an hour than seems possible as her muscles become accustomed to the shearing motion. The bark becomes broken and frayed but no outside strength is sufficient to prevent it from falling apart. Then the woman brushes it with *dawiqa* to remove loose fragments and the work is done. This type of pounded cedar-bark is called *ilw'*.

Ilw' is usually dyed red before being used for ceremonial purposes and is then named *mal'*. In winter the dye is made from alder-bark with pieces of the wood scraped, but in summer only scrapings from the inner bark are used. Water is placed in a vessel, urine added, pieces of alder

2: McDowalls E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

APPENDIX C

GLOSSARY OF FLORA AND FAUNA

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THIS glossary does not give the scientific names of all the flora and fauna known to the Bella Coola, or even of all mentioned in this monograph, but only those of which the usual designations are ambiguous. In cases of the common mammals, no scientific terminology has been attempted, since the multiplicity of sub-species renders identification almost impossible, and the popular name is sufficient for general purposes. In regard to plants, a difficulty lies in the fact that Bella Coola nomenclature is not always entirely nonsense botanically. Two or more distinct forms, for example, may be grouped together on account of their similar use as food, and one name applied to them indiscriminately. Conversely, different names are sometimes given to various parts of the same tree, the roots, the bark, the leaves, and so on. These factors combine to complicate the study of either ethno-botany or ethno-zoology, and necessitate the collection of a large number of specimens. The late Mr. H. I. Smith has done so, and this glossary could not have been compiled without his assistance, though the writer is responsible for any errors in it.

924
925

Alder	*Alnus rubra* Bong.
Aspen, American	*Populus tremuloides* Michx.
Blackberry, Red	*Rubus spectabilis* (Pursh) Spreng.
Bilberry, Dwarf	*Vaccinium myrtillus* Michx.
Bilberry, Tall	*Vaccinium ovalifolium* Smith.
Bilberry, Thin leaved	*Vaccinium membranaceum* Dougl.
Birch	*Betula* sp.
Blackberry	*Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.
Blackfish—the Killer Whale.	
Blueberry	*Vaccinium parvifolium* Smith
Bracken	*Pteris aquilina* (L.) var. *lanuginosa* Bong.
Buffleberry, Canadian	*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.
Bunch-berry	*Cornus canadensis*, L.
Camas, Red	*Triglochin palustre* Nutt.
Camas, Yellow	*Chamaerapsis ovalis* var. *maximus* (Lindl.) Spreh.
Cherry, Pennsylvania	*Prunus pensylvanica* Linn.
Cod, Black	*Anoplopoma fimbria* Pallas.
Cod, Red Rock	*Sebastodes ruberrimus* Cramer.
Cottonwood	*Populus* sp.
Cottonwood, Black	*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.
Cow Parsnip	*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.
Cutthroat	*Salmo clarkii* Bong.
Cranberry	*Vaccinium oxycoccus* Ref.

2:McDowalth R-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellevoela NEB

E24
E25

Cow	*Carex rostrata*
Current	*Ribes hudsonia* Fernald
Devil's Club	*Fatsia horrida* (Ten.) B. and H.
Duck, Western	*Anas acuta-tzitzihoa* Wyeth
Dogbane, Spreading	*Apocynum androsaemifolium*, L.
Dog fish	*Squalus suckii* Girard
Duck, Harlequin	*Histrionicus histrionicus*
Duck, Mallard	*Anas platyrhynchos*
Eagle, Bald	*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*
Eagle, Golden	*Aquila chrysaetos*
Elderberry, Red	*Sambucus racemosa*, L.
Fern, sp	Fruit. *Aspidium spinulosum* Sw.
Fir	*Pseudotsuga mucronata* Rul.
Fir, White	*Abies grandis* Lindl.
Fungus, Shelf	*Polyporus officinalis* Fries
Goose, Canada	*Branta canadensis canadensis*
Goose, White-fronted	*Anser albifrons*
Gooseberry	*Ribes divaricatum* Dougl.
Gooseberry, Swamp	*Ribes lacustre* (Pers.) Poir.
Gooseberry, Wild	*Ribes divaricatum* Dougl.
Grouse, Blue	*Dendragapus obscurus*
Grouse, Spruce	*Canachites canadensis*
Gull	*Larus* sp.
Halibut	*Hippoglossus hippoglossus* Linn.
Hawthorn, Black	*Crataegus douglasii*, C. Douglas Lindl.
Hellebore, False	*Veratrum viride* Ait.
Hemlock	*Tsuga mertensiana* (Bong.) Sarg.
Heron, Great Blue	*Ardea herodias*
Herring	*Clupea pallasii* C. and V.
Huckleberry, Black	*Vaccinium ovatum*
Huckleberry, Rubies	*Gaylussacia ruby*
Insect	*Pontiliaria* sp.
Jay, Steller Mountain	*Perisoreus canadensis capitalis*
Jay, Steller	*Cyanocitta stelleri*
Juneberry, Flowering	*Amelanchier florida* Lindl.
Killer Whale	*Orca gladiator*
Kingfisher, Belted	*Ceryle alcyon*
Lark	*Otocoris* sp.
Magpie, Rocky Mountain	*Pica pica hudsonia* Sab.
Mallard	*Anas platyrhynchos*
Mallard, Red-headed	*Anas ruber*
Mosquito	*Culicidae* sp.
Mouse, Pack-rat	*Neotoma cinerea-rufescens*
Myrtle	*Vinca* Lindl. Wyeth
Oolichan	*Thaleichthys pacificus* Richardson
Owl, Horned	*Bubo virginianus*
Parsley	*Sanicula* sp.

For the distribution of this species the author is indebted to the late Judge Lundstedt, of the Oregon Supreme Court.

Fox	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Fuller	[illegible]
Raspberry, Black	[illegible]
Raspberry, Wild Red	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible], Wild	[illegible]
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*[192]
[422] *Alnachuk*: Name of amount received over that previously received as an honorarium payment.
Anaklikim: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Ainkiam: 1.—Supernatural beings who dress as the sun serves.
2.—Name of the supernatural woman, Ainkiam-a, the sun is ceremonially applied to the living herself. The sound is produced by hacks whistles.
Anaklalu: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
Anaklam: "The Coming of Fast Wonder," in the language of supernatural beings. The phenomena is semi-anthropomorphized.
Ainaxa: 1.—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2.—Ancient chief from whom the village is supposedly owned.
Aqaxcqamkim: Earlier name of a Bella Coola dance, the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
[801] *Aqamkim*: Supernatural beings who blacken the face of the sun or eclipse.
Aikamlu: 1.—One of the first women to settle on Dean's in the beginning of time.
2.—Daughter of an ancient chief mentioned in an ancient story.
Aualu: 1.—One of the designations of Kimsaqa, the supernatural supreme.
2.—Something, some inspiring influence.
[824] *Ahkaqa*: Being consisting of two long ropes with cross-sticks.
[824] *Ahnaklalu*: Seven horses.
Ahnaxa: Earlier name of a Bella Coola dance.
Ahnamaxa: Label.
Ahkalu: 1.—One of the first men to settle on Calvert Island in the beginning of time.
2.—One of the first men to settle on Pocomb in the beginning of time.
3.—One of the first men to settle on Ahnaxa in the beginning of time.
Ahkalaxa: Bella Coola supporting chieftain cult.
[796] *Ahkalaxamu*: Ritual connected or associate between the ahkamam of males for a potlatch, and the coming of a supernatural being on the first sunset (ahkalu qa?), plants, sand? fun. (Spirit).
Ahkalamu: Earlier name of a Bella Coola dance.
[399] *Ahm*: Third part of song.
Ahm: Phonetic equivalent of boys and girls in the forest.
[577] *Ah'ln*: Name of an imbecil man.
[72] *Ahnalaxa*: Supernatural man-eater, partner of Cannibalu.
Ahpaxlu: Drink decorated with shellfish shell used by one of the brothers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
Ahnaxlu: Supernatural female fairy-fisher resident in the land of the dead, spirit. Synonymy.
Ahnaklalu: One of the Thousand Islands near Vancouver.
Ahnamaxa: Earlier name of a Bella Coola dance.
Ahnalu: Cannibal.
[277] *Ahnalaxa*: Marriage with sister of a deceased wife, the word is ceremonially associated with the verb, *a kaqamk*.
Ahnaxa: Supernatural creature similar to a human being.
Ahlu: Supernatural woman, wife of Cold Wind and mother of Sun.
Ahnalu: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
[803] *Ahnalaxa*: The amalgamation of a name, during the period of engagement, from the father of the future bridegroom to the father of the future bride.
[579]
[579]

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Anahlik. Village near mouth of the Dean River.
Anahulim. Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Anaiyum with "Lakeside". Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Anaiyulim. Name obtained by an *Ilpalikl* man in the beginning of time.
Anaqulmum, "Spreading Up and For". One of *Tlitqayilim*-s's canoes and hence a transportation group in chieftainship.
Anaxilulim. Master name of a Bella Coola man.
Anaxlaim-s: 1.—Master name of a Bella Coola woman.
2.—"Left Hand". Name expulsatory named from part of a supernatural [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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Alpha: Village at Salmon House, on the upper Dean River.
ashes: Position between two fires.
a-tsit: 1—Raised bed behind the fire used by a person seeking power, or by one who has been in contact with the supernatural. [P28]
2—Wrenfish.[1]
a-tsitsi: To touch.
a-tsitsitsid[1]: Hereditary law handed down secretly in a family. [424]
Aqutsuka: One of Raven's Crow stones.
aqtqatsa: Sound sung in slow time. [588]
awalsa: 1—Sun, symbol, house, seat.
2—One of the nights of a potlatch, probably that on which a representation of the deceased appears.
awas: Rocky Mountain jay. [P25]
ayawatl: Carved house post.
Ababtsatl: Wife of *Sandy*; both were changed to stone in the beginning of time.
awatsatl: That part of a house between fire and doorway.
Awatsatsatsis: Expedition of the supernatural being *Winatsa* against herrin and fish.
A-ytsinsis: *Sawaw*'s fish-dam in the beginning of time; the name has since been used by his descendants.
aqwatsatsa: Only sister in a family of several brothers. [401]
aq'i: Seals. [P25]
aqwalsa: Swaying in mechanical motion as a conative measure.
alqaqsis: Fir. [P95]
Alta-tsatl: Evil male supernatural being. [P24]
a-lasa: 1—Death, not contemporaneous. [P25]
2—Dead. [P27]
alsatl[1]: Kingfisher.
ala: Fish-hook.
Alkasa, "Story of the Hugs Juan": Supernatural beings resident in the land above.
ankasa: Rocky spy.
anqlsat: *plural*, *dualqalsat*, *neutro plural*, *anqalqsat*.
1—Person who has not given a potlatch, a commoner.
2—Ancestral name of a Kitamaat woman.
Ahta: among village.
Ain: Bear man mentioned in an ancient story.
ayu-tsaqlat, "He Untwists Over Himself." The implication is that this is an indecent action of prostitutes, hence the word really means *anus*. It is the Kitamaat version of a comedian. [P27]
a-qualsa: Cause of death.
Ayu-i, "Occupied Island": 1—Village at Kowitsa.
2—Artificial mound at Falls.
3—Village on the Kitamaat River.
4—Island near Grass Falls.
Ayu-i near *Wanalsatsis*, "Place of Dogs": Locality near Grass Falls where the dogs came to earth in the beginning of time.
ayuwa-i: Varied decals. [P25]

[1] The latter is a formulaic phase for obtaining power, the probable reason for the identity of the two terms.

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[illegible]

[illegible]: Lowlifey were *Snow* where herring are plentiful.
[illegible]: Chief living at *Tal'a* in the beginning of time.

[illegible]

[illegible]: One of the [illegible] dances.
[illegible]: 1, four person singular.
[illegible]: Dancing eggs when brought into house ready for preparation as food.*

[illegible]

[illegible]: Supernatural animal.
[illegible]: One of the first women were *Snow* west of *Kwaxna* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: To guess, as done by the constituent as a Mystery dance.
[illegible] or [illegible]: Kwakiutl supernatural being.
[illegible]: Lamprey.
[illegible]: Kwakiutl name of a *Salish* man.
[illegible]: Abalone shell.
[illegible]: Influential Kwaxna woman who died about 1870.
[illegible]: Bell-capped hair worn by chiefs.
[illegible]: A Klamath company.
[illegible]: *Snow* was mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Supernatural, man-like creatures.

[illegible]

[illegible] *ts'ang'ts'ts'ang'ts'*: The sky, regarded as the lower side of a land inhabited by supernatural beings.
[illegible] shaw: 1.—"The Canoe," synonym for *Nadleyum*.
2.—The Sacred paraphrase of saying *Nadleyum*.
[illegible], "The Ever-Canoe": Synonym for *Nadleyum*.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who creates *Nadleyum*.
[illegible]: Supernatural dog salmon resident in the land above.
[illegible] of [illegible]: Niam's husband.
[illegible] of [illegible]: Kent's husband.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at *Bqaqlqal* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Kwakiutl name for Sacred Brother.*
[illegible]: Twined cedar-wood, as used for visiors.
[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: Sun, term used in direct address for sun which.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible], "The Sun Owner": Designation of the supernatural woman Kwaxna.
[illegible]: Collectives were applied to the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples of the mainland.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Chief of abalone-shell people on the lower Cross in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at *Snow* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at *Tal'a* in the beginning of time.

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*This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *s* sound.
*This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *s* sound.

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B

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[401]

C

D

[425]

E

[224]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[F24] [illegible]: Tree, probably birch.
[illegible]: One of the five men to settle on [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the five men to settle on [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Bella Bella remote mountains to an eastern city.

[illegible]: Kitamaat town.
[illegible]: Eastern name of a Bella Coola town.
[illegible]: The gathering of five men for food.
[illegible]: Three mentioned on their canoe by the [illegible] settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Kitamaat town mentioned in an eastern story.

[illegible]: Public section, previous to marriage, of a bride's ancestral myths in order to cause children to be born.
[illegible]: Ritual on the day before a marriage, initially the recital of myths by the bride's relatives, the dressing of embrace, the singing of songs of all kinds.

[illegible]: 1.—Mythical supernatural women.
2.—"Whale," an "Heads Tree," a cruel mythic brother.
[illegible]: 1.—One of the five men to settle on [illegible] in the beginning of time.
2.—One of the five men to settle on [illegible] in the beginning of time.
3.—Name of the five men who fell in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Two supernatural beings who accompanied [illegible].
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an origin myth of [illegible].
[illegible]: Eastern name of a Kitamaat town.
[illegible]: Whom brought to earth by five settlers: [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Kelp.
[illegible]: Fish hook.
[illegible]: Transformation.
[illegible]: 1.—Shell fungus.
2.—Eastern [illegible] in which a shell fungus is tied.
[illegible]: One of the five women to settle on [illegible] in beginning of time.
[illegible]: Ceremonial [illegible].
[illegible]: Mouth of a [illegible] shell in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Tree.
[illegible]: 1.—Daughter of the five settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
2.—Daughter of [illegible], one of the [illegible] in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Assemblage of the people for a meal of any kind.
[illegible]: One of the five men to settle on [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Supernatural horse-picket resident in the land of ghosts.
[illegible]: 1.—Stone-hook [illegible].
2.—Eastern numerous [illegible] and coral beads.
3.—Mountain on the [illegible] River.
[illegible]: Small name of a Kitamaat man.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story of [illegible].
[illegible]: The ending for shaman's power for a bell.
[illegible]: Golden eagle.
[illegible]: Dog, etc.

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[825]
[824]

Atsaxa: Tail.
Atsakiil: Arm.
Ax: Black bowlers.
Xaixa-i: *Xaixai* name of a Kwakiutl man.
Xaxalikw: Ancestral name of the wife of *Tsaxly* who was changed to stone in the beginning of time.
Axalil: Rapids.
Xapatakiut: Kitlala chief living in the beginning of time.
Axatly: 1—Marriage, properly arranged and legalized.
2—The actual wedding day.

[586]

Xawaiia-i: *Xaiai* name of a Kwakiutl woman.*
Ixlai: Bark basket for holding liquids.

[415]

Ixlawalajai: The seeking of assistance from a man who owns a curing repository.
Ixlawalawaw: Investment-present, i.e., one for which a return is expected.
Ixlaxin: Back room in which sacred initiation and others are concealed.
Ixlim: Women during ceremonies.
Ixlulu, "What Was Sent Down": Intangible possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first ancestors in the beginning of time.
Ixmayaix: Wooden tongs such as are used for lifting hot stones.
Ixlawalajai ala Iwanxiyaix: *Kaxlaxa* rite in which the performer appears to be drowned.

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[421]
[424]
[812]

Ixl-ala ne Ixl-ala, "The Guiser": One who has been initiated as a member of the *Ixalai* society but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through conventional knowledge or through successful participation in either a *Xaxalaxa* or a *Mamaxa* dance.

[575]

Ixlulu, "Hundred Incapable of Removing": Said of an uninitiated person who is alleged to have stumbled on a repository.
Ixlulaqa: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ixmiaw: The dancer waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one visitation, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability.
Ixlu, ixwalin, Ixlaqa: Grandmother.
Ixlu-iaxa-iw-i: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
Ixlunalal: Name given to their canoe by the first settlers at *Xaxa* in the beginning of time.
Ixlulaxamaxa, "The Wise One": One of Raven's names as chief.
Ixmalkim: One of the first women to settle at *Alqichal* in the beginning of time.
Ixmala: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ixmaw: 1—Cyst.
2—Enormous crab-like creature, alleged to be found far in the forest.

[756]
[601]
[825]

Ixpalas: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts.
Ixpi: Red elderberry.
Ixpim: Wooden implement used in the pounding of cedar bark.
Ixt: Underwhelmed place.
Ixtaw: To cause dried salmon.
Ixtamaxtlin: Supported, in the sense of held in place by physical assistance.
Ixtapaxi: Locality on Dean Channel, west of *Xaxalli*.
Ixtaw: Place on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

[824]
[413]
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*This name appears to be an entirely different word from *Xaixa-i*.

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Kilhaustmaw: The chosen that keeps a foolish man from success as a chief; the concept is semi-anthropomorphized.
Kimin: Fire ceremonial discharge.
Kitlo'o: enemy village.
Kitsin: Supernatural creature dwelling in the ocean.
[852] Kitsilakmut: Shaman who received power from ghosts.
Kmchmalkwaw: Bella Coola hunter.
Kmqhani, "Coyote": Bella Bella designation for the Dean River, whence the [108] mythical Kimsquit has been derived.
Kmskut: Nass River.
Kmlkut: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[825] Kmx: 1—Whale.
2—Accented name of a Tsi'is woman; this is said to be an exclusively feminine designation.
Kmx*nmx: 1—Name acquired by a Bella Bella man in the beginning of time.
2—Influential Kwaqa'a chief, who died about 1900.
[825] Kmx^m: Muskrat.
[824] kn: White fir (?).
Kmnx'o: Flowing.
Kmnxlut: Perception of biting smell.
Kmxm: Dried salmon.
Kmxmlut: Synonym for shadin: one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of symbol representations of the deceased. The word is derived from kmxm.
[825] Kmxhlkim: Porpoise.
[845] Kolmkmaw: Supernatural being who believes in no erotic morals.
[824] Ko'lo: Twin whose birth is attributed to salmon.
Ko'lmmx: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Kolulmx: Unidentified berry (strawberry?).
Kulmx: Supernatural female shaman who guided K'ymsiu.
Kul'mymkmy: Kaster name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Kulu'lmx, "Earthy Ones": Ghosts.
Kululmx: Land, region, earth.
[539] Kululo'o: Free part of song.
Kumil': Timber mountain about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.
[825] Kmqmxmxulkin, "The One Who Makes Us Fat": Supernatural name of salmon.
[765] Kwanmx: Goods distributed to validate songs used at a mourning ceremony when no representation of the deceased has been employed.
[578] Kwanmx: Insult offered to foreigners at potlatches concerning their manners or food.
[601] Kwmkwmlo or kwmkwmlo: Synonym for kilmkwmlo, [illegible] present.[1]
[42] Kwmxwmkmut: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[601] kulqul, mmlkn, kulqul: Grandfather.
Kulmkmulo: Kaster ceremonial at which foreigners are present.
Kulo: The construction of salmon weirs.

[1] This was the pronunciation of the word by the individual with an idiosyncratic r sound.

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Ambiwat: Gaselin term for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future bride. [431]

Kaskilakwilpa: Supernatural being whose stomach is cut in the head show. [584]

Kemo'o: Good-bye.

Kimkwantlutsa, "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being Wi'ooma. [576]

Sacalatsa: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular Kwakiutl dances.

Sacla-ma: Said to be identical with sakalamaka, the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor. [192]

Sayiqa: plural, Sakiqa; neuter, Sacaqa; neuter plural, Sakaqa:

1—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season. [375]

2—Member of the society.

3—"The Learned One": Designation occasionally applied to a supernatural being, especially a petrified one, or to a person having power to cure the sick. [192]

Sayiqa: Kitamaat female shaman living in the last century.

Sedjem: Beloved son, especially a child; this is the vocative form of the word.

Sedjemm: Orphan.

Sewi'lala'yakwa: Woman dwelling at Fort Rupert in the beginning of time.

Sewyala: Smith Inlet.

Sisaiaxid la: Supernatural name of Cormorant.

Sisa-ksa-a: Mungaman.

Sisaksaxalid: Mungaman name acquired by the Sisa section at Dawn. [825]

Sisaksaxa: Unidentified bird of which the sons is an omen of death. [763]

Sisalala: Xaxlat name of a Bella Coola man.

Sisalalaxa: Xaxlat name of a Bella Coola man.

Sisala-xamat: Xaxlat name of a male Green Bay Cannibal.

Sisal la-d: Smooth pyramidal, "pebble," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. [823]

Sisalk: Evergreen bough. [824]

Sisalxalid: Famous Bella Coola warrior.

Sisaqmat: One of the sculpins.

Sisaxa: Xaxlat name of a Kitamaat man.

Sisaxa-mal a, "The Big One": Lawful male supernatural being.

Sisaxlaxalas: Man who came to earth near Dawn in the beginning of time.

Sisa-xaxa: Kitamaat woman.

Sisilala: Kitamaat man mentioned in an ancient story.

Sisilaxa: One of the four men to settle at Sebassort Point in the beginning of time.

Sisilaxa: Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

Sisilalala, "One Who Has without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Sisala: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a Nootkan chief; the word is a synonym for Wi'ooma ceremonial.

Sisiklas Sisiklamplas: One of the nine supernatural siblings. [533]

Sisiqwalaxa-ala: Lullaby.

Sisal yaxa: Aesthetic expression used in a swing figure.

Sisala: 1—Pole or trap in the stream for salmon. [226]

2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

#192

Kaiskinuc: *Kwakiutl* name of a *Haisla* man.
Kaiyl'xinuc: *Kwakiutl* name of a Bella Coola man.
[124] kaqil: Inner bark of cedar.
Kaisskinuch, "A Stripping Off": The giving, on demand, by a marriage dancer of his clothing to a herald.
Kcumaqilaic: Supernatural name of Raven.
[128] kemaix, "Frenzied": Term applied to Cannibals and other destructive *Bakwisi* when in a state of madness.
kepcum: Occasional exclusion of all but the singers from a house where a shaman is performing.
Kemcumcumkim: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
Kemcumsum: *Kwakiutl* name, probably of *Kwakiutl* origin.

M

Mis'ulus: Female dancer mentioned in a Raven story.
Mislaxin: *Kwakiutl* name of a *Kimsquit* man.
[601] mama, mamim, mamam: Mother, term used by children.
Mamqum: Celebrated *Xenaxi* hunter.
[125] mam-aqa: Butterfly.
mam-ulus: Measuring worm.
[124] mam-ut: Fly, insect.
ma'mamim: Swamp gooseberry.
[601] mim: 1—Father, common term in indirect address.
2—Occasional designation for the supreme deity.
[614] mimalmuc: Simplicities.
mimmimulc: Elderly male relatives of same secondary family.
Mimmy*: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nalhas* in the beginning of time.
2—Form of the name *Dudzamy** when used by a male child.
Mimmy*'ses: Form of the name *Dudzamy** when used by a female child.
Mishkishlaxuk: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
Mishkqumuk: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[104] mi'kit: Measure of distance equal to the breadth of one thumb plus one finger.
[125] mi-ray': Toad.
mimqum: Supernatural giant toad.
mislim: Salmon eggs.
mu-mim: Old male sea-lion.
[125] mu-mimkim: Water monk.
Mugulaic: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Mkamilum, "Long Neck": One of the supernatural names of Great Blue Heron.
mumat: Co-husband in a polyandrous household.
mu'mmil: One of the gambols.
[124] muqual: Berry, black in colour.
Mumsmkinuc: Generic term for the four supernatural Carpenters.
musmkilly: Spruce.
Mul'ulis: One of the first men to settle at *Nalhas* in the beginning of time.
Mulkum: Land of salmon.
[224] Mul'uli: Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
mulu: Stick carried by hunters when penetrating into the mountains.
[124] mulu*: Red huckleberry.

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mimimqulq: Leaf of salalberry.
mis-mulqat: 1—Omen of misfortune, such as preceded the outbreak of smallpox, hence, [824]
2—Smallpox. [787]
mika: Type of sea-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.
mots, mostin, moss: Child. [601]
Mosskulu: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.
mul': Eucrete.
mumum, mumin, mumumin-i: Ancestral family, practically equivalent to *children* when used by an old person. [614]
munkwmusin: The commemoration of a chief's potlatches and other major ceremonies by means of plain posts erected near his grave. [211]
Mustin-cum, Tide-Measurer: A supernatural being. [764]
Mutsin: Man mentioned in a song.
Mulskilis: Supernatural being who gives potency to *nusut* rites.
nalkstu: Grandiloquent expression used by the *Sukaiut* with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives. [776]*
nalkinum: 1—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living. [775]
2—To visit, term used with reference to the coming of a masked representation of a dead person; the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.
nal': Pounded, dyed cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.
nalwalu: Head-ring of cedar-bark worn by *Sacrist* initiates in the upper Bella Coola valley.
naplu: Lice. [825]
napsulu: Adolescent youth.
nasmusk': Blue green.
nasmusklakinulu: Dentalium-shell ear-rings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion. [301]
nas: Hand net for catching sturgeon. [227]
nasklwhalum: Yellow cedar staves decorated with swan feathers such as is carried by a Mystery dancer.
nasmuss: Wrestling.
Nasnaw: Rivers Inlet man living in the last century.

N

Nate'ulwas: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Nil'ma: Bella Bella village; the Anglicized form is Numa.
nim: Grizzly bear. [825]
Nimamlu: Name received from Grizzly Bear by a Kimsquit man in the beginning of time.
Nimsil: *Earlier* name of a *Nuxalk* man.
Nimsilmi: One of the first men to settle at *Bella* in the beginning of time.
Nimsilmiil: One of the women of Mount *Nuxalk* as chief.
nin-lmut: Non-ceremonial weeping, usually individual, and always with real feeling. [827]
Nisu: Indeterminate locality in the distant east. [152]

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*192 *nā'pla:* Miniature copper ornament worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.
[301] *Nē-ti:* Bella Bella man living in the beginning of time.
nēnem: To dance.
[825] *nēnemda:* Those who dance at marriages.
nēnnu: Mallard duck.
[824] *nēnmunum:* Night of potlatch on which *nuxat* initiates appear for a short dance.
nexhi: Berries of Canadian buffalo berry.
[415] *nehimkts:* Thimble-like wooden dish.
'nemlāntsix: Ceremonial seating of chiefs according to their validated places in a house.
Nemutsis: Name acquired by a Rivers Inlet man from sea-lions in the beginning of time.
Nemulsts: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
'Nex-uēw-a: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Scratcher; the designation was derived from Rivers Inlet.
Ne-xle-s: Celebrated Kitkatla chief.
Ne-xwnhai: Influential Bella Coola chief.
[776] *Nēxulkhaix,* "The Resident": Supernatural being dwelling under rivers who punishes infractions of taboos concerning them.
[784] *nēxnem:* 1—Fourth day of a *kusiut* dance, on the evening of which masked figures appear.
2—Something exposed to view.
Nēqēqs: Old woman resident in Sea-lion's house in the beginning of time.
nēnek, "Little Dance": Term of grandiose humility.
nēnēnem: Gathering of the people for a non-sacred dance after the *kusiut* nēnem.
Nēnēr-mālōsix: 1—"The Dancer Near the Fire": One of *Tlēxpēlēx-a's* names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
2— *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Nēnēstlēmlaix: Kusiut name of a *Nusjalst* man.
nlēmlēmtem: One who has preserved a marriage song.
nlēnēlēmsk: The intangible strengthening that comes to a bridegroom as a result of the oration of his ancestral myths and the giving of presents to the bride's relatives when they first come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] *Nēlkēlaix:* Daughter of the first people who came down to Mount *Tnalsi* in the beginning of time.
[431] *nēlk'ctl:* Wooden ring used in a game.
[524] *Nēkēnk:* Place on Dean Channel, about three miles from the head, where the deer formed a colony soon after the beginning of time.
[825] *nēkpap':* Otter.
Nēllānk: Name of a certain spot where mountain goats are wont to congregate for mating.
Nēnitamlaix: 1—"The Restorer": One of *Tlēxpēlēx-a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—One of the first men to settle in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[556] *nēnem,* "Brought to Life": Term applied to a copper brought back from a cemetery and renamed.
Nēnmēlmut: Shaman's name derived from *Tlēxpēlēx-a.*
nēnēmēnu: "I have saved you."

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Nanuiqqymm: Woman endowed supernaturally by *Ana'Hmulcain* and serving as patron (?) to a *hactat* dancer.

[719] *nanulitsi:* Omen of death.

Nanutcumchmm, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Tsinqulitsa-a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nanuumlaia: 1—Man dwelling in *Kymsqum's* house.
2—*Kactat* name of a Kimsquit woman.

nanqim: The cry of *hi, hi,* uttered by Cannibals.

Nanuumay: *Kactat* name assumed by a *Sisaa* woman in the beginning of time.

[424] *nanqyaxum:* *Kactat* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and *qulaxum* is obscure.

Na'acumhamain, "The Widower": One of Raven's names as chief.

[535] *naqlacilal-ca:* Synonym for *ganaxum:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

Naqhanlikhan, "Hoodlously Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[302] *naqsa-cata:* The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.

naqsitsa-i: Medicine brewed in a skull.

Naqtymin, "Place of Much *Ganaxum*": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Naqyqmis: *Nacqual* name of a Kimsquit man.

Naqilaqalha-a: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[805] *naqnaxmy-ii ma xmy"ala:* One year.

[828] *naqsa:* Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.

naqsiil, "Empty House": House in which a *hactat* dance is taking place.

naqsilqat: The throwing of grease on a fire to heat, both literally and figuratively, a rival.

[821] *Naqsly":* 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.

[827] *naqsliista:* Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

naqsnaxmi: Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *hactatum* and other important *hactat* rites.

[777] *nay"xanxilim:* Unexpected stroke of good fortune.

Naqsilhamlaia: *Sisaak* name of a Kimsquit man.

[772] *Naqsililai:* Site of an ancient town on Schooner Pass.

Naqsilitsi: The upper heaven.

naqsma: Woman with thick pubic hair.

Naqsmalaqlaxa-i: A *Sisaa* repository.

Naxlqumtamain, "Where *Alqantsa* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[824] *naxmqtsa-cay:* Cottonwood buds.

Naxqaxla'ala, "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Sisaaa* in the beginning of time.

naxlkamy: Canoe-maker.

Naxlum: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Naqalai.*

[535] [869] *naxlakamp:* Children's dance which serves as training for *hactat* rites and to provide entertainment.

[192]
[534] *nuxlaxum*: Synonym for *gwa'ya*, the large cone-shaped wood whistle.
Nuxu-qut: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nuxu-lut: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nuhuyuhtsum-a, "Nuxum River": River flowing from the north into the northern corner of the head of North Bentinck Arm. The Anglicized form is Nuhumtsum-a.
[102]
[825] *na'nagulu*: Issue supposedly born from another at one level.
Nuxuxu-a: *xuxuxu* village.
Nuxulaxh, "The Mother of Dogs": Name given to a Bella Bella woman in an ancient story.
Nuxulk: Bella Coola valley.
[101] *Nuxulkmuq*: Inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley.
Nuyem: *Kwiat* name of a *Sisaa* man.
Nuyem: Name of a female companion.
Nuyehwalum, "The Light Giver": One of the women of the supreme god.
nuyem: Light.
Nuxlem: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Nuxlemlilum: *Ki'ago* name of a Kimsquit man.
Nuyemlumuxu-a, "Stick-Breaker": Name taken by daughter of the first settlers at *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
[825] *nuxulxwuk*: Mountain goat with long hair on its chest.
nuxulxwut, "The Silent Night": The hushed assemblage of *kukwiut* after departure of a Cannibal.
[227] *nuxlumuxlum*: Cross-piece which holds upon smooth of chicken net.
Nuxwulu: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
[585] *nuxwulukkum*: Public promise by the parents of bride and bridegroom on the wedding night that names will be provided for resultant children. This is combined with an section of origin myths. The term is also used for a similar promise of rights to hunting grounds, although the granting of this is extremely
[425] rare.
[828] *Nuyu*: Mountain near *Sisaa*.
nuyulukkum: Person who wanders away from home in desperadoery.
Nuyul-ulum: One of the first women to settle at *Tul-is* in the beginning of time.
Nu'yuu-lulum: Land of salmon.

O

o'ulgum: Kimsquit term for *o'ulk*, orchids.
O-ll: Kwatsa had mentioned in an ancient story.
[824] *olali*: Grass with edible roots growing on tide-flats.
[262] *Olijamiya*: Valley pre-empted by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Olijamuq: Herald who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
oly: 1—The *kwakiut* prerogative of everything.
2—*Bad*, adjective.
Olulu-i: *Kwakiut* name of a *Sisaa* man.
Olilyanjya, "The Worthless One": Name assumed by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[825] *Olulukmut*, "The One that Changes Itself": Supernatural name of spring salmon.
[264] *'omamlil'*: Assemblage of the people for feast of any kind.

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[illegible]: Goods obtained by a man's own exertions and forming the nucleus of his wealth for a potlatch.
[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: Kaxlan person.
[illegible]: Kwanqui man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Son of Raven in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the Kwanqui River in the beginning of time.
4—Twisted woman who died about 1905.
[illegible]: enemy village.
[illegible]: Kaxlan name of a Bella Coola Raxiaxa dancer.
[illegible]: 1—Ancestral name of a [illegible] man.
2—Celebrated Kwanqui hunter.
[illegible]: Any non-ancestral rite, especially an o'ult dance held subsequent to the Raxlan season.
[illegible]: Kaxlan name of a Kwanqui Raxiaxa dancer.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: The taking of food to another tribe for consumption honored.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who sleeps perpetually, literally, "The Sleepy One."
[illegible]: 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.
[illegible]: Skunk cabbage.
[illegible]: Supernatural being, herald of [illegible].
[illegible]: The stamping of sound sticks in unison, this being the final rite of initiation.
[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Temporary fish dam of interlocked branches.
[illegible]: Small mountain on south side of the Bella Coola valley behind [illegible].
[illegible]: Place near [illegible].
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: The leading woman of a bride to a groom during a wedding.
[illegible]: Hereditary tendency.
[illegible]: One made sick by witchcraft, especially a woman who suffers from this cause through disregard of abstinence taboos.
[illegible]: Variety of dog salmon found at Bella Bella.
[illegible]: Conferring of ceremonial names at a potlatch.
[illegible]: The performance of a Raxlan dance with supernatural dog salmon as patron.
[illegible], "Trading Place": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Distribution of strips of mountain goat skin at marriage.
[illegible]: "Where are you going?"
[illegible]: "Lake-Swallower": A mythical monster.
[illegible]: First night of a potlatch.
[illegible]: Third oldest brother or sister.
[illegible]: Name of Mink as chief.
[illegible]: One of the names of the supreme god.
[illegible]: Celebrated [illegible] warrior.

192 [illegible]: Pronounced as leaning ground consisting two vowels.
[illegible]: Kwaquitl fishermen.
[illegible]: Cannot found.
[illegible]: Synonym for Xenocaulidis, one of the nine supernatural siblings.

P

[415] [illegible]: Small wooden disk.
[illegible]: Lughan messenger of the dead.
[illegible]: Place on mainland opposite north end of Pamsquy Island.
[illegible] [93] [illegible]: Synonym for [illegible]. Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "food" received from them on many occasions.
[illegible]: Ancestral name of a Pleqhlit man.
[412] [illegible]: Bone needle.
[illegible]: Anything powerful and dreaded; the word is frequently applied, characteristically, to Cannibals.
[illegible]: Small stream rising north of the Bella Coola valley and east of the Nuskumsmuxwu; it flows into the head of South Bentinck Arm between the Nuskumsmuxwu and the Bella Coola.
[illegible]: Bella Coola man figuring in a story.
[illegible]: Dancing snake.
[illegible]: Dance-spirit.
[illegible] [125] [illegible]: One of the first men to write on [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Mosquito.
[illegible]: Name conferred by [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Victory of energy.
[illegible]: Celebrated Bella Coola chief who died about 1880.
[illegible]: Mountain Man, the point between Lekumkulum Channel and North Bentinck Arm.
[illegible] [324] [illegible]: Fyles halibut.
[411] [illegible]: Bow, weapon.
[illegible]: "Fyles Directly with a Crash," an where a dead tree thunders to earth. The term is used characteristically when referring to the death of an old and influential chief.
[195] [illegible]: Tree, probably birch, used for torches.
[372] [illegible]: Blacking of cheeks.
[325] [illegible]: Halibut.
[illegible]: Crabapple.
[324] [illegible]: Bunchberry.

Q

[528] [illegible]: Rivers Inlet man, living in the last century.
[illegible]: King stick in a gambling game.
[illegible]: Women's drawing cry uttered at the appearance of a masked dancer.
[illegible]: Uncommon term for the second day of a [illegible] dance, applied to the rites taking place during the day itself only.
[illegible]: Name conferred on the grandson of [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in a story.
[illegible]: 1—One of the first women to write on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
2—Celebrated Bella Bella chief.

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[illegible]: Name of death, generic term.
[illegible]: One of the heavens, probably raspberry.
[illegible]: Mother, term used by child.
[illegible]: Unknown Carrier chief.
[illegible]: 1—Village on west bank of the Nechacoonay, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea.
2—Mountain behind the village.
[illegible]: [illegible] name of a Kwakiutl man.
[illegible]: 1—Term used for spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish.
2—Term used by enemy to human beings, who are like salmon to them.
3—Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings.
[illegible]: "Bear Footmarks," i.e., something binding. The function of the "Bad Growing" and other protective grass with a wife which bind her to her husband.
[illegible]: Unidentified species of duck.
[illegible]: Kwakiutl term for "The Weaper," a female supernatural being.
[illegible]: Rarer name of a *Stuie* man.
[illegible]: [illegible] chief living near after the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Chief who came with the first settlers to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Carrier pronunciation of *Tsaqlo*, one of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Rarer with ability to produce a puppet-person, cf. [illegible].
[illegible]: Dance-[illegible].
[illegible]: Bird mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Deep-fish.
[illegible]: Rabbit.
[illegible]: Salmon-berry.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Unidentified plant.
[illegible]: Black cod.
[illegible], "A Wiping of the Feet upon the Ground of Chiefs": Term applied to a deadly insult offered to persons of importance.
[illegible]: Wooden armour.
[illegible]: 1—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Island off Rivers Inlet.
3—Island.
[illegible]: One of the names of Raven as chief.
[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Xishkat* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Unidentified migratory bird, black in colour.
[illegible]: Smooth River, near Bella Bella.
[illegible]: One of the *a'alit* dances.
[illegible], "Head": *Stuie* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
[illegible]: A verbal exposure of what should have remained concealed, such as comments upon the slave ancestry of a person whose blot in this respect has been covered over by lavish giving.
[illegible]: Presents distributed by a wife to strengthen her husband's seat, and thus prevent him from "wobbling."

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Saiaik: Thunder, anthropomorphized.
Saiyaim: *Kwakiutl* name of a Kimsquit man.
sakiki: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property.
sa-kimsaum: 1—Food distributed by the donee of a *feastat* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food.
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal.
sa-tlum: Consolidate bundles.
sa-tlumum: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
sdakhdimus: Profession of *feastat* entertainer.
sdakhdim: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him.
seal: Sockeye salmon.
Sinalkwanikin Ilanaxw: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sinmaxwakin: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of searching in the land above.
Sinsilkan or *Sinsilkadimus*: One of the names of Mount *Nadgate* as chief.
Sinsinimum, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Snaw* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sisu; *sisuim*, *sisiki*, *sisuim* plural, *sisuim-ki*: Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
si-tlu: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Sitlin: Village at point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Sitlpamu: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the south.
Si-tsu: Death, anthropomorphized.
sitsiki: Whatever, archaic.
Si-ut': 1—Kimsquit River.
2—Village near the mouth of the river.
Si-utsamp: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley.
sitsiwa'a: Raft.
Si-tsumtsa: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
sutsu: Pillow.
sumdjat, "Pillowcase": *Kwakiutl* ceremonial at which no call is present.
sxyi, *sxuim*, *sxyiim*: Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family.
Sxyiim: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story.
sxakum: Bracken.
sxumtsu: Tide flats.
sxkhjuk: Heart.
Sxlendum: That part of *Snaw*[illegible] which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Sxnkut: Village on Rivers Inlet.
Sxnsinta-i: Part of a peculiar repository.
sxwumkhdimus, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steelhead salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
sa'mtsu, "Resting Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this.
sxwlwlatsu: Leader of musicians.

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*192 [illegible]: Supernatural good luck.
[192] [illegible]: Fog.
[192] [illegible]: Pack-rat.
[illegible]: Wind or assembly.
[828] [illegible]: Place of lucky luck, such as a point where whales drift ashore.
[illegible]: Cannibal assembly removed from the land above.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[823] [illegible]: Mountain.
[illegible] or [illegible]: Salmon, generic form.
[illegible]: (Probable) viscera of an animal, eviscerate.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[178] [illegible]: Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be relished by anyone.
[illegible]: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[822] [illegible]: Bella Coola chief.
[illegible]: Darkness, anthropomorphized.
[828] [illegible]: Anger.
[illegible]: Sun.
[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—[illegible] name of a Kitamaat man.
4—Ancestral name of a Kitamaat man.
[illegible]: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.
[827] [illegible]: Marten.
[illegible], "Bonny": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Game played with miniature spears.
[575] [illegible]: 1—Sorcery intimately connected with chiefs.
2—Member of the society.
[illegible]: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a double-headed salmon.
[illegible]: Shaman's name of a dead woman.
[illegible]: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by [illegible] to the one [illegible].
[601] [illegible]: Father's sister or mother's sister (in either direct or indirect address).
[583] [illegible]: The ceremonial strength acquired by a child through the repurchase of its mother.
[431] [illegible]: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] [illegible]: Western dock (plant).
[824] [illegible]: Salmonberry.
[illegible]: Distribution of carpentry tasks prior to a potlatch.
[illegible], "Food Supply": Synonym for [illegible], ancestral hunting-ground.
[825] [illegible]: Porcupine.
[824] [illegible]: Black huckleberry.
[821] [illegible]: Eye-lashes of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

1924

dalt: Dentalium.
dehemmelin: To lament ceremonially, the term used to describe the women for a memorial potlatch. [824]
Dhaal, "Salmon": Ancestral name conferred by a *Sealskil* chief about 1840. [765]
gamish: Supernatural creature dwelling in water.
ghe: Arrow.
ghwen: Splinters projecting upwards from the hole of a broken tree-trunk. [824]
Ghaadgyaanee: One of the first women to settle at *Sealskil* in the beginning of time.
Ghaats: Chief of the spring salmon.
ghe'ennkee: Narrow strips of goat skin with wool attached, distributed at ceremonies. [515]
ghlaw: Shampoo. [135]
ghlawalyu, "The Cleaning": Ceremony when the first public presents are given to the family of a female with, following the commencement of lamentation. [584]
ghl: To sew, especially with the aid of a frontal heating of stitches. [431]
Ghwanaldi: Dance now mentioned in an ancient story.
ghwaa, "Come Evil": Call of invitation to a feastor dance in the upper Bella Coola valley.
ghwem: Cloud.
ghwn: Thick hide, either of moose or caribou. [825]
ghwn: Semi-circular knife used by women for cutting salmon. [412]
ghwnin, *ghwnnl*, or *ghwnlyn*: 1—Frontal heating of stitches for sewing purposes, especially when the garment is a member of a secret society. [755]
2—Final feastor rite at end of the ceremonial season.
ghwnin: To sew by means of the frontal pounding of stitches.
Ghwnl, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log": *ghwlt* name cleansed in the beginning of time.
Ghwnnlal: House used by a group of first settlers near *Ilnaa* in the beginning of time.
Ghwnnlaw: Daughter of the first settlers at *Nuqhalt* in the beginning of time.
gha'kwalu: Fungus.
ghkwnnlnin: 1—Bow made of strands of cedar-bark. [824]
2—Ancient name of sound hand-drum. [415]
ghq: Ceremonial designs carvedd on the exterior front wall of a house.
ghshl: Rum.
Ghshlmaw: Ancient name of a Kimsquit man.
ghwl: Wasp. [825]
Ghshmmnnin: Rock on shore of North Bentinck Arm where war trophies were washed. [727]
Ghqwshlal: Name of heads brought down by first settlers at *Sealskil* in the beginning of time; the term was also applied by them to one of their female relatives.
ghwl, *nnnlin*, *ghwn*: Parent-in-law or child-in-law. [601]
ghlqy: Suitable place in the river for setting chicken nets.
ghlnn: Game played with throwing stones.
ghwlnlt: Synonym for *yaawaa*, the tangible or intangible prerogative possessed by some *Sealskil* in addition to a dance rite. [824]
ghwnlnin: River sculpin. [825]

[192] *chaxum*: 1—Shamanic symbols.
2—Shooting song.
3—The walling of mourners at a grave.

[165] *Chaxum-ca-i*, "The Weeper": Female supernatural being whose appearance indicates the death of a chief.

chaxumkhaxum: Traditional hunter prerogative consisting of the right to sing of Indrawin a during hunting dances.

chaxum: Dance.

Chayo: Earlier name of a Bella Coola woman.

[214] *Cla-ki*: Whatcomm River, the southern fork of the Bella Coola.

clear: Long grass suitable for pasturage.

[252] *clight*: Standard spring salmon with the bone removed.

[254] *cloak*: Mass, adjective.

[254] *clowanqua*, "The One with Many Descendants": Term used to describe an elderly man with many children and grandchildren.

Cla: Man mentioned in an earlier story.

[401] *club*: Game, resembling a top-off-way, played with wooden hoops and spears.

[378] *clum*, *cumlin*, *clumnalin*: Grandchild, the respective indirect endearments.

clumnum: The imposition of sugh-dues on the heads of those quarrelling in public dance.

cla-u: Gall bladder.

clupum: 1—Breathing.
2—Sound of a sound whistle, referred to as the breathing of Mishlelin.

cnl: Chicken grouse.

Closhlowalin: 1—Ancient village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[378] 2—Place of petrified power at site of ancient village.
3—Semi-anthropomorphical being responsible for power in this locality.

Clyhm: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of every river.

cluwum: The voice.

[324] *cluxul*: Dried chinkerinchee.

cluxtula: 1—Shamanic power, as brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
[321] 2—Bella Coola women.

cluqum: Eclipse.

cnaxmalin: 1—One who keeps in touch with a wounded Cannibal.
[324] 2—One who has the inherited right to assist buried or sound dancers; this prerogative occurs in Kimsquit only.

Cmaxlelin: One of the names of the supreme god.

Cmaxlulin: One of the names of the supreme god.

Cmaxlu-u: 1—Synonym for *Shoshlowalin*, q.v.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

[424] *cmqlaxtu*: A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first people in the beginning of time.

cmtmtlulumulin: Debris from stream seen by squirrels.

Cmuxuu, "The First": One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

Cmuxuuxul: Man mentioned in an origin myth of a southern locality.

cnal-way, *cnalin*, *cnal-lway*: Friends.

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[illegible] A place of purified women, i.e., a locality where a supernatural being has been rendered tangible of seeing.
[illegible] Suggestion brought from above in the beginning of time.
[illegible] 1—Wheel.
2—Deadwood wound.
[illegible] One of the divisions.
[illegible] the wound, especially a bear, showing a kindly disposition towards man.
[illegible] Bears are (were mentioned) to an ancient story.
[illegible] 1—Gum.
2—Pieces of wax made by Raven in the beginning of time.
[illegible] Bears.
[illegible] One of the first men to settle on earth in the beginning of time.
[illegible] Voyaters receiving power direct from the supreme god.
[illegible] Worm or larva living under the green.
[illegible] Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible] Supernatural being who holds such a position.
[illegible] Supernatural woman who [illegible] those who suffer misfortune in the [illegible] of hunter class.
[illegible] Ancient name of a Bella Coola woman; it was obtained at *Tal'a* in the beginning of time.
[illegible] 1—Mythical monster.
2—Man living on Kimsquit in early times.
[illegible] Pieces of the sun, the barriers which cause it to retrace its course at the solstices.
[illegible] Variety of [illegible] living above tree line.
[illegible] Leader of thoughts, an invisible barrier within the door which prevents a man from carrying out a purpose by robbing him of his good intentions. The concept is anthropomorphized as a supernatural being.
[illegible] Island south-west of Bella Bella.
[illegible] One [illegible] the supreme god.
[illegible] "On the Point". Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[illegible] One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
[illegible] Commercial collar of hemlock bark, dyed cedar-bark, and undyed cedar-bark such as is given to *Dzunqulilla*. The word may refer to the throwing of this on the fire.
[illegible] Unidentified berry.
[illegible] Tag used by one of the sons of the supreme god.
[illegible] Supernatural being resident above who has the power of causing things to rise up and come to him.
[illegible] Part of house behind fire.
[illegible] Unidentified place.
[illegible] Place of wood, rolled hard and smooth in a landslide.
[illegible] Chief of supernatural dancers who accompany *Nestqunm*.
[illegible] Twin.
[illegible] 1—Cannibalistic supernatural woman, formerly resident in the supreme god's house.
2—Old woman resident in [illegible]'s house.
[illegible] Lovelily embroidery repository, of name received from Death.

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Sang"'mat: Kwakiutl name of a Sisaot man.
Sqmu: Kwakiutl name of a Tsimshian man.
sqlakwanum: Scalp.
sqmalsk': Gnarled projection of wood from a knob knot. [824]
Sqmichaqumaw-a: Supernatural being who wakens his fellows in the morning.
Sqmukulhaiu: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
sqmlaim: Temporary camping place.
Sqmulsh, "The First Born": Name brought from Kitlelas to Kimsquit by a marriage in the beginning of time.
sqalil: Bear.
sqalum, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud. [581]
sqayamlum: The forcing upwards of water at high tide, through openings in the rocks at sea-level. [825]
sqhlqhlum: Person who pounds cedar-bark.
sqhlim: Tools for pounding cedar-bark, specifically the upper beater.
Sqhlqhlum-i: Region on the east side of Dean Channel, about one mile from its head, where supernatural power is localized. [778]
Sq'owanim: Island west of Namu.
sqka: 1—Pudenda.
2—Variety of *smang* with female organs. [824]
sqmalkwa: Unidentified berry. [821]
S'qi', Cold Wind: A supernatural being.
Sqkamim: Meeting place of chiefs on rock ledge behind *Sqmqwy;* the term is probably applied to any meeting place of chiefs.
sqla: War-knife used by Raven in the beginning of time.
sqmiy: Ghetto. [825]
sqnu: Eagle down.
sqnuntjat, "Eagle Down-name": Rhetorical reference to a present for which no return is expected. [431]
sqnupaw: Long, delicate feathers on an eagle's breast. [825]
Sqnupanhaiim: *Kwakiutl* name of a woman sent down near *Nuqhalt* in the beginning of time.
Sqnupuyd'mpdimat: *Sisaot* name of *Xenis* origin.
Sqnupuma: *Sisaot* name of a Kimsquit woman.
sqtl-a: Unidentified berry. [824]
sqmik: Alder wood, dead and dried. [825]
sqtjiu: Spring salmon which have spawned.
squl: Hunting ability. The term usually refers to the ability of the supernatural artisans to hunt, i.e., to kill, human beings.
squlat or squlatmi: Stone, suitable for axes, found on Mount *Nuqhalt.* The name of the mountain is said to be derived from this. [316]
squma: 1—Chest. [103]
2—Smoke cure for diseases of the chest.
Squmi: Land of Ashes.
sqununtz: First proposal of marriage if made by relatives of the man. [584]
squla: River sand mixed with small pebbles.
Squtcla: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola River. [825]
squum: Flood.

[824] *qualiq*: Cedar roots.
qual: Sing.
qualaxlaxm: To use a sling.
[578] *qalc*: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slow economy.
[821] *qamamac*: Fleecy cloud.
[412] *qalak*: Muscle-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary food.
qlaxa: Massive conch.
Q'u'i: Land of Adam, alternative name for *Squaxl*.
qlo: Undivided herring.
[601] *qulqmac*: Distant relative of female sex, when referred to by men.
qulhulqlac: Long phallus.
Squaxl: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
qaxa: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
qayaqlq: Food distributed for carrying away on spoon.
[415] *qaqlc*: Large, flat, soft basket of broad strips of bark.
[431] *qlaxmac*: Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
qlaqlq: Maple.
[824] *qlaxa*: Sudden start that expels the spirit.
qaqpacal: Outer plank of cedar, canoe and back-covered on one side.
qamal: Love song or other non-ceremonial composition.
qamalaxa: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium*.
[533] *qamalxaxalaxa*: 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions to the foibles of someone present.
[825] 2—Singers who use this type of composition.
qamal xaxa: Large, unidentified bird.
[374] *Sqamlaxa*: Host: A supernatural being.
[825] *Sqaqlc*: *Kaxlac* name of a Bella Coola man.
qaxa'xaxa: Loon.
[262] *qaxl al*: Mountain goat marrow, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of preventing hunger.
Sxalqalaxam, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Five Sticks": *Ts'ali* name obtained in the beginning of time.
xaihaq; *plural*, *xaxihaq*; *vocative plural*, *xaxihaq*:
1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Sqaxlal* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Saxal* in the beginning of time.
4—Name created by *Smamac* for a grandson.
5—*Saxal* name of a Kimsquit man.
[601] *xaa*: Mother, term commonly used by an adult in indirect address.
[825] *xaadalaxam*: Bat.
xaadimac: Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
[601] *xaamamac*: Elderly female relatives of the same ancestral family as the speaker.
[614] *xlaalc*: Whetstone.
[412] *Xaalc*: Man mentioned in a story.
Xaqa': Mountain near *Ts'ala*.
xaqam, "What Is Hidden": The correct solution of the Mystery dance.
xaamac: Archaic term for chiefs, now used only rhetorically.
[824] *xlalc*: Cranberry.

APPENDIX D

chagalitlal: Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his ceremonies or carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
face-crazer: A short-legged person who tries to cross a rocky ocean of a strong figure.
gaqa[1]: That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
Gelkmen: 1—Sheep, a supernatural being. [578]
2—Sheep, intangible hunter perspective.
ckkwanam: Presents given to the man who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [585]
Gugumelkelwal, "Dark-Heads": A supernatural being. [431]
ia-pal: Shadow.
ioqamnay: Shamans, archaic. [412]
iskim: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law. [601]
ilamanaiq: Shaman's stick with power of life on one end and death on the other.
ilihm: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
ioqi: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
iskin: 1—Caribou hide. [825]
2—Thong made of caribou hide.
iskum: Chagatlal work under-back matting. [285]
iskuin: Caribou.
iskum: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
Ikkwanik: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
ikmatq or *ikmatqmiskin*: Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
ikmatqkiskum: Body.
ikmatqmiskum: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Ikmatqmiskinlatq: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Ikmatqmiskumam: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
iskin: Mountain goat grease. [824]
iskinlaqa: Castor.
Ikkwal, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Ikkin: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time. [825]
iomin: Octopus.
Ilimaskulu: One of Raven's female Crow relatives. [386]
iqmamam: Red rock paint.
iskin: Ginger's house.
iqualk: Tree.
iskin pass: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones. [823]
iscin: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
iscum: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley. [262]
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
iscinam: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
iskumcilc: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
ilq', "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
iskuskit: Black raspberry. [824]
iskim: Ocean.

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[illegible]: Supernatural children guarded by the homophonitis in the land above.
[illegible]: Name taken by a [illegible] man in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Place to return to river where a relative has just passed.
[illegible]: Name revealed upon death.
[illegible]: Dam.
[illegible]: Water-tight receptacle made from the internal organs of a memorial guest.
[illegible], "When Dosqin Away the Food": Food taken after the [illegible] relatives.
[illegible], "Feast": Preliminary pressure given to guests at a memorial potlatch.
[illegible], "Short-lived": Historical term used with reference to the death of a young child.
[illegible]: An adolescent girl, not yet subject to the full taboos of menstruation.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Y

[illegible]: Cave.
[illegible]: 1—Sun, in dance addition. As a courtesy title this is often used for hale [illegible] mentioned in the speeches.
2—Mountain [illegible].
[illegible]: 1—One of the five men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
2—One of the five men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Disorder of husband by his wife.
[illegible]: Dental file of a fish.
[illegible]: Heavy kind of copper.
[illegible]: Tournament between rival villages.
[illegible]: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Generic name applied to all villages on South Bentinck Arm.
[illegible]: Personal name embedded in a Haidah origin myth.
[illegible] pole, "The Breather": One of Tlenqidlim's totems and hence a dedicatory [illegible] given to shamans.
[illegible]: Place name mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: The leaving abroad of invitations to a memorial potlatch.
[illegible]: Forest consisting of dense underbrush between big trees.
[illegible]: Black-mottled cedar-bark pad.
[illegible]: 1—Bird totem.
2—Weapon, invisible to mortals, with which a wolf kills his prey.
[illegible], [illegible]: 1—Designation of supreme god used in prayer.
2—Father, term used by child.
[illegible]: Water-lily.
[illegible]: Land inherited by the Kwakiutl.
[illegible]: Leading chief of [illegible] and reputed founder of the village.
[illegible]: Bella Coola chief living in the last century.
[illegible]: Type of sea-going canoe with bow and stern identical.
[illegible]: 1—White-fronted goose.
2—Type of sea-going canoe named from the bird.
[illegible]: Husband (*[illegible]*: My husband).
[illegible]: River.
[illegible]: Chief who came to Cape Mudge in the beginning of time and later moved to Bella Coola.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[172] *Tsqamskuts*: Bella Bella chief mentioned in a semi-historical account.
[8-2] *Tsqatl*: Northern wife, possibly Haida.
tsqi: Dog salmon.
Tsqilkaq, "Where Dogs Are Skinned": Village on shore of Inlet Bentinck Arm west and south of the Nuhemamamq River.
tsqmaqa: Chief.
[601] *tsu*: 1—Daughter, in direct address. As a courtesy title this often used for girls mentioned in the speeches.
2—Feminine suffix.
Tsulmaskin: 1—One of the names of Mount Sleghalie as chief.
2—Man who descended to Mount Sleghalie in the beginning of time.
Tsulnuk: Supernatural name of bird eagle.
tsulnuskin: 1—Type of supernatural house brought down from above by several of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
2—One of the names of the supreme god's house.
[225] *tsulnuskuu*: White dog with black and red hair.
[244] *tsuli-ulukuu*: Pleasure walk.
tsuli^: Cedar-bark.
[411] *tsu-u*: Boiling spoon.
[825] *tsuu*: Snake.
Tsuqulsiq^: Mountain near the Dean River.
Tsuqu: One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean River in the beginning of time.
[826] *tsuxumqi*: Red cedar tree.
Tsuxum: Locality on mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island, probably Knight Inlet.
tsuxumsi-ula: Unidentified grass-like tuber.
Tsuyaqa: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
tsuyu: Underground house with entrance and flue combined.
Tsuyu: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
Tsuyuxsil: One of the first men to settle on Sleghalie in the beginning of time.
[825] *tsuyuxu*: Large clam-shell.
Tsuzulsin: Animal name of a *Sun'el* man.
Tsuzulkuu: Lad mentioned in an ancient story.
tsqqu: Fisher.
Tsuxumqlaqa, "The Sleep Giver": Name of a female shaman.
[601] *tsi yuu di ciuu*: Nephew's wife, term of indirect address.
tsi yuu di ciui: Uncle's wife, term of indirect address.
Tsuxsuil: Man mentioned in an ancient story of the upper Bella Coola valley.
Tsuku: Celebrated Kitkatla chief living in the last century.
Tsu'lsqu, "Sit of the Peak": Nickname given to a lad mentioned in an ancient story.
tsuuli: Valley.
Tsuuxil, "Where the River Covers the Stones": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Tsuqqulu: Locality on Finlayson Sound.
Tsuulsi: Mountain in the Carrier country.
tsuluxuuqlu: Unidentified hollow-stemmed plant.
Tsuluxuuqlu-ts, "Where There Is Much *tsuluxuuqlu*": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[824]

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Tsaiß: River on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
Tsapenaß: Mountain near Dean Channel.
Tsee-a: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
tsimo: To marry.
tsimoos: 1—Marriage in which the woman's relatives make the first proposal, especially one hurried owing to bereavement or other financial stringency in the man's family. [584]
2—Marriage without lengthy engagement.
tsiile: One having a voice like an eagle's.
tsqwestoman, "A Holding": The arrangement by which a man's son-in-law gives him as "wife" an infant female relative in repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters. [588]
tsuxa: Clover. [824]
tsuxile: Robin. [825]
tsuxuxu: Game played with bows and arrows. [411]
tsuxumia: Arrow. [412]
tsyte: Adze.
tsxumu: Stone maul without handle for driving fish-net stakes. [825]
tła: Black bear.
tłaiyałam: 1—One of the *a'ułt* dancers. [586]
2—Ceremonial hold to shame a deserting husband or wife.
3—Name taken by an early *tłaiyałam* dancer at Kitsequit. [825]
tłaxa: Seal.
Tłakwaił: Bella Bella woman married by *Smooa* of Kitsequit in the beginning of time.
Tłakwałile: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Łnłyai* in the beginning of time.
2—Name acquired by one of the first men to settle at *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
3—Ancestral name of a Kitsequit man.
Tłakwałilqwa: Woman dwelling on the coast south of Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
łałwaa-i: Knife of mountain goat bone. [412]
łałwaił: Red rock ond. The difference between this and *xaiag* is problematical. [825]
Tłałiałii: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tłałiał'łał': 1—Supernatural woman known to the people of Smith Inlet.
2—One of the first women to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tłas'łwaa: Servant to the supernatural being *Nałłłayał.*
Tłaawiła'łła: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tłapmał-ła: Supernatural woman resident in the land above. This word is said to be unrelated to *Tłapmł-ła,* although a common origin seems probable.
Tłapmł-ła: 1—Supernatural child resident in the land above.
2—Name acquired by a female child in the beginning of time. [824]
łłapint: Fir-bark.
łłapuqa: Correct term, in the language of Raven, for skull-cap worn by adolescent girls. See *ałwaam.*
łła'awała: The pouring, by a shaman, of grease from ten vessels on the fire as a means of curing the sick.
Tławaa: One of the first women to settle in the Dean valley in the beginning of time.

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Tsawaywatl: Name acquired in the beginning of time by a Kwakiutl man from a sea-lion.

[825] *Tsechaikhaut*: Sandfly.

Tsimaomitlin, "The Walking One": Supernatural name of the water canal.

Tsitsaqa: Song sung during Cannibal dance while the performers run from house to house.

[825] *Tsiwa*: Mountain goat clover.

Tsiyu: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ituna* in the beginning of time.
2—Wife of Mount *Nuqhalit*, where in human form at the beginning of time.

Tsiuqalitsa: One of the nine supernatural siblings, a woman who brings aid to those in sickness and is thus the initiator of shamans.

[825] *Tsiwin*: Sea-lion.

Tsuxunlitsut, "Be Like a Person": Instruction given to a stick in the beginning of time. This designation has since been used as an ancestral name.

[821] *tuk*: 1—Moon.
2—The month.

[825] *tukulp*: Verdant skin disease.

tupsa: Cormorant.

Tuqwal, "Small Mound": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Tuqwin, "Malignant" or "Defamer": A supernatural being.

tqa: 1—Gall.
2—To cut wood for masks.

[823] *tqamap*: "Cut!" Call used on second day of *kuxiut* dances.

tqaqalum: Small trickle that flows from rocks near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel. The term is probably applied to other similar streams.

[415] *tuku*: Water-tight basket.

[824] *tuma*: Water-washed stump with smoothed, radiating roots.

Twiqa: Region on the upper Kitlope River.

[482] *tutuxit*: Tump-line.

tuka: Novel.

[825] *Tsbaxbi*: Raven's canoe in the beginning of time.

tsqa: Mink.

tsuxiljut, "He of the Big Family": Term used to describe a man with many descendants.

[583] *tsqa*: Synonym for *skamamamum*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. This term is perhaps used in Kimsquit alone.

[825] *tsqiwa*: 1—Fawn.
2—*Nuxtakimy* name of a Kimsquit woman.

[821] *Tsqiwa*: Star in the Great Bear.

tsqaq: Lower of the two boxes used in the preparation of cedar-bark.

Tsqumaiu, "Facing": Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, synonymous with *Talio*.

[291] *tsuikut*: Hat with flat top and broad brim.

tsuiu: Stonecrop.

Tsulatik: Kimsquit shaman mentioned in an ancient story.

Tsu-hmai: Bella Coola warrior living in the last century.

Tsulitc: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Tsul: *Kuxiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Tsushmum: Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.

tu-ti: Green barnacles on water-covered stones.

[825] *tutu*: Large woodpecker, species unidentified.

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Ta'ala: Kitlope River.
Talhemkla: Eagle that perched on top of a post supporting the sky to the beginning of time. [825]
Ta'ma: Animal's entrails.
Ta'o: Note of the *tsaxtsaxa*, foretelling death. [763]
Tamamt: Cormorant, in Bella Bella language.
Tathkamm: Goods taken to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him. [516]
Tadwi: Rumsrutius Bay.
Tadle, bald eagle: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley. [431]
2—Bald eagle.
3—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Kimsquit* in the beginning of time. [825]
Ten: Novice, either *hamatsa* or *shaman*.
Tentmum or *Tentmin:* First night of a *hamatsa* dance.
tsisaldamut: 1—Heavy copper in *Kwaqutl*'s house.
2—Name obtained from them by a *Salish* man in the beginning of time.
Tsi'ldamut: Knotted rite in which the performer's head appears to be pulled off. [415]
Tsla: Closely woven basket of spruce roots.
Tsimpamin: Any act of an unclean nature which prevents a supernatural being from eating the purposum. [784]
Tsla: Presents distributed when a *naxnox* initiate dances. They are provided by the dancer "To Shield Our Eyes" from the *naxnox* and serve to recompense the carpenters and others who have assisted in the rite. [431]
Tsma: Bale. [465]
Tsma: Nettle. [824]
Tsemlaka: Woman resident in the far north in the beginning of time.
tsepdjat: The giving of presents to the servants and associates of the donor of a potlatch in return for being served with food in a rude manner. [431]
Tsperit: Small woodpecker, species unidentified. [824]
Tsqatka: Winter wren.
tsqmuk: Spawning sockeye salmon. [825]
Tsskitha: Intangible *hamtsa* prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the genitalia. [424]
Tsuthem: Prompter.
Tsemlaka: One of the first women to settle at *Snaskil* in the beginning of time.
Tsemklikh: One of the first men to settle at *Tsumsd* in the beginning of time.
Tsumsdp: Unidentified tree of which the bark was smoked. [824]
tsutskmap: To grasp firmly with both hands, *archaic*. [825]
tsutpin-i: Trout, *plural*.
tsutsi'ut'skmik: Ceremony resembling a potlatch given by a chief for the benefit of his fellow-villagers, especially during the year preceding his main rite.
tsuyu, "What Is Good": Synonym for *dzemsemsem*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]
Tsumi-ex: Synonym for *Nastelkinuxkm*: Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.
tsumsum: 1—Masked figure, usually in crest form, which appears to *naxnox* and *s'alt* initiates.
2—An appearance, that is, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.
Tsutkin: Supernatural hunter of mountain goats.

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Tsaskulmut: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

tsilkulmut, "A Coming up from Below into Plain Sight": Term used with reference to the obtaining of a call through the medium of Dark-Shade.

[424] *tsimut*, "Whence We Come": A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[103] *Tsuksis*: Old village near the head of Dean Channel, at the site of the present cannery on the opposite side of the fiord from Manitou Cannery.

Tsunqa-tsqim: Tree, inherited by owls, behind the supreme god's house.

tsuxwilkulut: Space in a house between central fire and row of chiefs seated behind it.

U

U'ulsmx, "What Is Wanted Is Lacking": Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Alqaitat* in the beginning of time.

W

Wa'ahu: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Qwaqwa'i* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Swalal* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwalat* in the beginning of time.
4—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
5—Name of the Kimsquit River as chief.
6—Based name of a Kimsquit man.

[825] *wai'a*: 1—Coho salmon.
2—Name acquired by a man from coho salmon.

Wa'ainum: Man who descended to the Clearwater River in the beginning of time.

Wa'ahimai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stuaz* in the beginning of time.
2—Fraser River.

Wa'awa: Village at Kwatna Inlet. This word is in the Bella Bella language.

Wa'ahimai: One of the first men to settle at *Stuaz* in the beginning of time.

[825] *wal-tsqis*: Lynx.

[586] *wakita'*: Woman who has deserted her husband.

wakmqamm: To express a desire concerning the disposal of one's goods after death.

wakiva: "I go."

[824] *wallitsmatsistsis*, "The Most Potent of the Pond": Water-lily.

Wanqi: Name of *Smaua*'s grandchild in the beginning of time.

Wanuy: 1—Rivers Inlet.
2—Collective term for the villages on its shores.

Wanuqlaia: *Nuxalkmq* name of a Kimsquit man.

Wawul-is: Celebrated shaman, central figure in an ancient tale.

Wayal-a: Tribal name of one of the Bella Bella-speaking groups.

Wa-pat: Mountain near *Stuaz*.

Wa'ula: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.

wazkaziatsis: Death in the house where a *kwiat* dance is taking place.

[593] *wez-uiz-iuatsis*: Mourning songs regarded as expressions of real, not ceremonial, grief.

[765] *wexuy*[w] *wexuikiqasit*: Synonym for *xuy*[w]: The sky.

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was probably deserted not many years ago. Probably a large town since it was a good fishing place. 361

(16) *Ṭsilkt*, "Bald Eagle": also on the north shore of the river, a little above the last-named. Probably washed away by a flood long ago, although traces of the salmon-weir were still visible recently. [226]

(17) *Nuqāxmāts*, "The Place of Much *qāxmāts*" (the fern *Asplenium cyclosorum*): on the north side of the river about one mile above the preceding. This large town is believed to have been deserted long ago, though, in apparent contradiction, traces of it are said to be still visible. [137]

*(18) *Snulsli*, "The Place of Dog Salmon": on the south bank, above the last-named, at a place where a small stream enters the Bella Coola River; this divided the town into two sections. It was long deserted and the river has carried away that part of the village below the creek. The name is derived from an enormous dog salmon which is believed to have been seen at long intervals in a waterfall near this spot, always with a water ouzel perched on its back. [825]

(19) *Oqmikmx:* on the lower end of the island near Hagenburg post office, eleven miles from the ocean. Although long deserted, traces of this village can still be seen. The meaning of the name is unknown.

*(20) *Nukils*, "The Place of the Whirlpool": on the south side of the river, eleven and a quarter miles from the sea. It was a village of moderate size, recently abandoned. The first occupant was said to have been *Ekamkila*, which means, "The First of All." [173]

*(21) *Ásán-ás-i*, "The Concave Town," so called because it spread around the shore of a bay scooped out by the Bella Coola: south side, slightly above the influx of the *Nusálum* River, thirteen and a quarter miles from the sea. It was deserted about 1880.

*(22) *Nusqalst*, "The Place of *Sqalstutl*": on the north side of the river, opposite the mountain of the same name. It also was deserted about 1880. *Sqalstutl* is a kind of stone suit- [316]

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805 "The Coming of *Ano'likwolsaix*."[3]

821 Fifth moon after the summer solstice: *ıuxsiıl*, "The Time for *Kusiut* Dances,"[4] or *Siqulxwaix di Siut*, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings."

Sixth moon after the summer solstice: *Siımt*, "Sits Down," that is, when the sun reaches the solstice.

First moon after the winter solstice: *Sxwolmgnam*, "What Sweeps Away Food," or *Sxlikl*, "Angry Moon."

Second moon after the winter solstice: *Ałoansdimut*, "Facing in Both Directions," that is, half the month belongs to winter and half to summer, or *Łamolis di Nusāxkāmg*, "The Potlatch of the *Nusāxkāmg*" (I, p. 289).

Third moon after the winter solstice: *Siaqam*, "When Herrings Spawn." These fish are said to have arrived on the [825] same day of this moon as the winter solstice in the December one.

Fourth moon after the winter solstice: *Sikulg*, "Time for Making Salmon Weirs."

Fifth moon after the winter solstice: *Sinomwak*, "Time for Making Hand-Nets for Olachen."

Sixth moon after the winter solstice: *Siıāml*, "Time for Eating Spring Salmon." It is in this month that the summer solstice occurs.

The chief difficulty experienced by the Bella Coola in computing time rests on the fact that each month is judged by the moon, whereas the main periods of the year depend upon the solstices. One old man, from whom much of this information was obtained, stated that trouble always came at the winter solstice when the month was divided into two sections. The above list is obviously incomplete and incoherent, but it was the best available.

Supernatural Beings

108 In any primitive community the social, religious, political, 771 and economic aspects of life are so interwoven that they

[3] See vol. II, p. 8 for a description of this mythical being.
[4] See vol. II, chap. 1, for a description of these dances.

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rate most of them, are carefully used in accordance with the functions of this supreme deity. As a Bella Coola has many names, corresponding to his membership in various societies, his professional prerogatives, his ancestral myths, and mere nicknames, so has *Ālquntām*, who is a superman, many names, according to his special functions. It would be unthinkable for a Bella Coola to pray to *Ālquntām*, yet it is common for him to pray to *Mīnakais* or *Tātā*, other names for the same being. The multiplicity of functions and designations approaches the point of obscuring the unity of *Ālquntām*, which in fact, some Bella Coola even deny. They state that *Sinxālotla*, *Mīnakais*, *Smaialotla*, and *Nuxekmālsaix* are one, but that *Ālquntām*, *Snusilkāls*, and *Nonodjonostem* are three distinct supernatural beings. This seeming confusion presents no difficulties to the Indian, since each family has its own myths in which such facts are recorded. He believes these, without questioning those of his neighbour, and it is even possible for an individual to believe two contradictory statements, if he happens to become the owner of two contradictory myths. Evidence collected in the field does not make clear whether the beliefs of the Bella Coola illustrate an incomplete transformation of a single deity into a number of minor ones, or whether they represent the almost complete fusion of a number of beings into one. Following the practice of the great majority of the Bella Coola, the supreme deity will be referred to as *Ālquntām*.

776* [551] [782] [424] [184] [771]

The most obvious attribute of *Ālquntām* is connected with the sun. He can enter it and use it as if it were his canoe. In form he resembles a man, and when he takes charge of the sun it appears as if the latter were a large, self-propelling, radiant boat with windows through which he looks forth. It is said that long ago he allowed mink to take charge of the sun, but the malicious animal ran it so close to earth that the intense heat killed almost all living creatures. When *Ālquntām* enters the sun he wears a cloak, on the lining of which are salmon; reversing this causes the rivers on earth to teem with salmon.

776* 821 [825]

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accordingly created four supernatural Carpenters. They in turn made a number of workers, *Ālqnathntutl nanuqomaxmuly*. These beings, endowed with enormous power by *Ālqantām*, chiselled from wood a number of human beings, the forefathers of mankind. Some men state that this was done by the four Carpenters, but the consensus of opinion seems to be that they were merely supervisors. No explanation is given of the means used by *Ālqantām* to give life to the beings thus created. The workers made not only human bodies, but constructed their mentality, including the speech. *Nuxmāt-a* contains a large number of rooms, in each of which a different set of Indians, with a different language, was manufactured; thus is explained the diversity of tongues among the people of British Columbia. The Carpenters did not confine their attention to men and women. Supernatural beings, animals, birds, trees, flowers, fish, mountains, rivers, perhaps even moon and stars, all were created almost simultaneously by them under the direction of *Ālqantām* in *Nuxmāt-a*. The sun alone was not made in this way. *Ālqantām* chose the proper plumage or fur for each bird and animal, which the Carpenters painted and carved according to his instructions. As they provided men with different languages, so they furnished the birds and beasts with their speech, which men can no longer understand. Each was given the necessary tools for existence on the earth below; sharp incisors to beaver, strong talons to eagle, a penetrating eye to heron, and so on. The Bella Coola do not regard birds and animals as being of a lower order than themselves, for all were created by the same power, at the same time; in many respects they consider that they belong to a higher plane than human beings. It would be too great a digression to include at this point a number of myths describing the creation, but these will be found in vol. I, chap. VI.

Mythology does not record in detail the sending down to this earth of trees and plants or of the forefathers of all other Indian tribes; but the manner in which the first Bella Coola arrived is clearly stated. Around the walls of *Nuxmāt-a* were

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the rescue of *Lwumxwamlix* they saw him being carried downstream to a salmon-weir about three hundred yards below. The trap was raised at once, but it was too late; the rash fisherman was dead. No one could give a name to the supernatural being who had caused his death; it was merely one of those dwelling under the river. [539] [761]

Whales, too, are sometimes observed in the rivers, but though they appear to resemble those of the ocean they are really their supernatural prototypes. [825]

These human-like dwellers beneath the water can, as in this case, cause death, but they are usually regarded as uncanny rather than dangerous. But there is one undersea being whom the Bella Coola regard with unmixed awe; he is *Q̓omoqwa* (see Plate 10), lord of the supernatural ones beneath the ocean, as *Alquntam* is lord of those dwelling above. He lives in an enormous house under the sea wherein the fish, the sea-mammals, and the sea-plants have their home. The Bella Coola believe that these beings can take human form at will,[15] and assume that their behaviour in *Q̓omoqwa*'s dwelling corresponds to that of human beings in the house of an earthly chief. In the beginning of time, when men were more powerful than in recent years, this house sometimes rose to the surface of the water and adventurous Bella Coola entered it on various occasions, leaving to their descendants tales of the wonders it contained. These accounts have become family myths and are described with others of similar type in Chap. VI, vol. I. Records of this kind vary greatly in detail; in fact, few agree more than in broad outline. Sometimes it is stated that denizens of the sea appear in *Q̓omoqwa*'s house in the flesh; other myths describe paintings of sea creatures around the walls and the manner in which these are brought to life by *Q̓omoqwa*. Irrespective of the exact details, it is clear that he is chief of the undersea beings who serve him and hunt for him, the blackfish being especially proficient in this respect. *Q̓omoqwa* resents any slight to his protégés and punishes any mortal who is unkind to them.

[761] 773 776* [424] [184]

*Bella Coola concepts concerning the transformability of men and animals will be described in the next section of this chapter.

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773 subject. He does not often appear to mankind, though every
* 776 Bella Coola knows of his existence.

Another supernatural craft is that of *Winwina*.[17] It, too,
[575] brings salmon and berries from their home in the extreme west. Knowledge of this canoe is limited to certain families who own stories connected with it, and it likewise serves as patron for *kusiut* dancers. Although both *Noākxnum* and *Winwina* can
[761] easily destroy human beings, they usually pay no attention to them, and have even been known to bestow supernatural power. *Winwina* will be described in greater detail in connection with *kusiut* dances.

The third canoe is termed *Winās di Sā·lldjo·ts*, "The War-Party of the Tide," or *Winās di Qala*, "The War-Party of the Ocean." Its home is among small islands in the ocean. It is a large canoe, manned by invisible submarine beings, who are able to drive it at tremendous speed wherever they wish. The members of the crew are not in themselves dangerous, but the craft is greatly feared because it always transports *Sxlo·xl'*. This supernatural creature is about the size of a seal, brown in colour, and of jelly-like substance; it lies in the boat immediately aft of the place from which water is bailed and constantly rolls to and fro, like an animated mass of repulsive jelly. Poison is constantly spreading from *Sxlo·xl'*, and anyone placed in the canoe soon becomes weak, begins to shake like *Sxlo·xl'*, and presently dies. This canoe is a source of danger to those with whom it may come in contact, and an even greater peril indirectly. The poison emanating from
773 *Sxlo·xl'* kills clams and mussels in the vicinity and renders
* 776 them unfit for food. In some cases they die at once, with
●825 open shells, and anyone finding them knows what has hap-
761 pened and does not eat them, but in other cases they live for a considerable period though saturated with the venom. If
[756] anyone eats these shellfish, he becomes flabby and jelly-like, and soon dies, unless a powerful shaman can conquer the
* 776 poison. Sometimes when a party is encamped on the shore
789

[17] Cf. Boas, p. 38.

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* 776 talons resembling, but larger than, those of an eagle. It has no tail. The great strength of these animals rests in the fact that their eyes revolve in their sockets, so that, when reversed, piercing beams shoot forth which strike senseless anyone on whom they fall. Having thus stunned its victim, the *snuniq* picks him up and stuffs him into a broad-mouthed basket, carried on the back. It is provided with spikes inclined inwards and downwards so that a person thrust within cannot climb out. Human beings are carried in this way to the beast's lair, a cave in the mountains, where they are devoured at leisure. Wolves always accompany *snuniq*; in fact, they [825] may almost be termed attendants upon them (see vol. II, chap. v). Like other supernatural creatures, *snuniq* are impervious [789] to most mortal weapons, but there is one method of overcoming them. If a hunter cut himself on the under side of his right leg so that the blood flows freely, and smears a bullet with this, it can kill a *snuniq*. Similar success is gained by biting the tongue and coating the bullet with blood so obtained.

Another animal which is rendered powerless by the same charm is the *boqs*. This beast somewhat resembles a man, its hands especially, and the region around the eyes being distinctly human. It walks on its hind legs, in a stooping posture, its long arms swinging below the knees; in height it is rather less than the average man. The entire body, except the face, is covered with long hair, the growth being most profuse on the chest which is large, corresponding to the great strength of the animal. The most peculiar feature of the animal is its penis, which is so long that it must be rolled up and carried in the arms when the creature is walking; it terrifies its enemies by striking tree-trunks and breaking branches with its un-
539 coiled organ. It is said that a woman was once drawing water
* 776 at the edge of a stream when a *boqs*, concealed on the other shore, extended its penis under the water to the further bank and held intercourse with her. The contact rendered her powerless, as if turned to stone; she could neither flee nor remove the organ. Her companions tried unsuccessfully to

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cut the organ until one of them brought a salalberry leaf, whereupon the monster, dreading its razor-like edge, withdrew.

The following stories illustrate, better than any description, the attitude of the Bella Coola towards these animals.

Not many years ago a certain *Qak'lis* was encamped with his wife and child in the Bay of the Thousand Islands, *Ałtukwłáksv·s*, about two miles above Namu, one of the haunts of *boqs*. He heard a number of the creatures in the forest behind him and seized his gun, at the same time calling out to them to go away. Instead, the breaking of branches and beating upon tree-trunks came nearer. Becoming alarmed, he called out once more: "Go away, or you shall feel my power." They still approached and *Qak'lis* fired in the direction of the sounds. There followed a wild commotion in the forest, roars, grunts, pounding, and the breaking of branches. The hunter, now thoroughly alarmed, told his wife and child to embark in the canoe while he covered their retreat with his gun. He followed them without molestation, and anchored his craft not far from shore. The *boqs* could be heard plainly as they rushed to and fro on the beach, but only the vague outlines of their forms were visible in the darkness. Presently, though there was no wind, the canoe began to roll as if in a heavy sea. *Qak'lis* decided to flee to Restoration Bay, but before he had gone far his paddle struck the bottom, although he was in mid-channel. Looking up, he saw that the mountains were higher than usual; the *boqs* had, by their supernatural power, raised the whole area so that the water had been almost entirely drained away. They are the only supernatural beings with this power. *Qak'lis* jumped overboard into water which reached only to his knees, and towed his canoe to Restoration Bay, the *boqs* following him along the shore.[19] [823]

This is not the only occasion on which *boqs* have appeared near Restoration Bay. Within the life-time of the father of an informant, a chief set out with some friends from Kwatna, bound for Namu. They travelled overland to Restoration Bay, thence by canoe, making the journey without incident. When returning, they decided to gather clams on the rocky point of the bay. As the craft shot around the tip of the promontory, they saw a *boqs* gathering shell-fish. The paddlers backed their canoe behind some rocks whence they could

[19]One of the features which the Bella Coola consider most surprising about this incident is that he did not tread upon the fish which must have been driven into the shallows. [825]

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been frightened at any time but nightfall increased their fears. 776*
Their dogs heard the sound and howled in dread. The woman 789
threw on their fire several soiled blankets, her only pair of
shoes, and some dry salmon, which all supernatural beings [825]
abhor. Then she and her husband fled home, waving lanterns
to and fro and firing musket shots in all directions. The birds
did not follow them, but they considered themselves fortunate
to reach Bella Coola unmolested.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural 776*
animals just described are fairly exact; they know their appearance, what to expect, and what to do if one is encountered. In addition to these, they assume the existence of monsters of indefinite form which they term *snusɣ*. Any supernatural creature, a *bāhnk'* for example, is spoken of as a *snusɣ* in [184]
general, not specific, classification. Consequently, what one Bella Coola may describe as a *snusɣ* is given a distinctive name by someone else with wider knowledge. As far as could be learnt, there is no designation other than *snusɣ* for creatures [825]
which move from the ocean in April to clear the way for salmon, and spend the summer in the lakes of the interior, or beneath the ice of glaciers. They can assume various forms, sometimes even human, though they usually appear as giant, hairless, bear-like creatures with short legs and brown skin. Their eyes are large, round, and glass-like. In whatever form these crea- 761
tures may appear, they are almost certain to bring disaster to 776*
the beholder. One of the haunts of *snusɣ* is beneath the glacier on Mount *Oqwan·i*, behind the small mountain which rises [778]
behind *Qomqo·ts*, on the south side of the Bella Coola River about half a mile from the sea. It is said that only a few years ago a white man, having heard of these creatures, went to that place with a number of Bella Coola. All the latter were able to hear the roaring of the beasts, louder than the whistle of a steamer, but the white man seemed deaf to it, though the power of the *snusɣ* had affected him, for he died on the way back to the village.

Other *snusɣ* are said to live near Kimsquit. The father of [778]

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kill him. The youth, learning of this decision, concluded that he might as well face the unknown peril of the lake as the certain death to be meted out by his fellows, so he asked them to allow him to go swimming in the lake to prove that something dangerous was there. They granted that request, as well as a further one, that he be sewn up in a tight-fitting suit of caribou-skin, and armed with a knife. 539 776*

"Now come with me," he said to his fellow-villagers when he was ready.

They waited on the shore while he swam out into the lake singing. Presently the crackling and sucking sound was heard, and soon the spectators were forced to clutch tree-trunks to keep themselves from being drawn into the lake, while their legs were blown out horizontally as the youth's had been on the previous occasion. When the wind subsided the swimmer had vanished.

He had been sucked into the stomach of a *sḱāmtsk* without being killed. Groping around, he found the corpse of the chief's son from which he cut the belt and put it on himself. Then he made his way to the neck of the monster, cut a hole through it, and dived out. The surface was so far up that he was at his last gasp when his head rose above it. He swam ashore and the evidence of the belt confirmed his story. The carcass of the *sḱāmtsk* floated to the surface not long afterwards.

In addition to the anthropomorphic beings already described as resident beneath the surface of the ocean, supernatural animal monsters also dwell there. One of the most dreaded is the *kdxta*, which suck wooden objects down to the bottom of the sea. It resembles pitch, and when once it comes in contact with a canoe, it cannot be removed. The Bella Coola attribute supernatural power to the octopus also, thus increasing the dread with which the animal would be regarded in any case. They believe that it is fond of gum and frequently comes to land to obtain it. It is said that the gum is never voided, but remains in a suck within the creature's stomach. One informant stated that within his mother's lifetime, a man walking near *Tāl·ie* heard a smacking sound, like someone chewing noisily. He knew what must be the cause, but idly decided to investigate. It was an octopus. The beast was clambering down from the tree, using two of its arms to help it. Not realizing his danger, the man allowed himself to be 776* [825] 539 776*

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539 seized and carried to the shore. He had thought that it would
* 776 be easy to free himself, but he found it impossible and was carried under the sea. He bit frantically at the enfolding arms, until he succeeded in freeing his own, with which he pushed up the beak of the octopus, thus killing it. He rose to the surface and returned home none the worse.

● [825] The Bella Coola do not profess to know all the animals of the world; and if they see a strange one, they assume it to be one known to their ancestors though unfamiliar to them.
539 Since any unknown animal is considered to have supernatural
761 power, due care must be exercised when one is seen. The fol-
* 776 lowing incident illustrates this point.

825 The mother's brother of an informant worked for some thirty years for a white man in Victoria. His employer once sent him to see a turtle which was confined in a pool in a basement preparatory to being killed for a banquet. As soon as he saw it, he said:

"My parents in Bella Coola told me of such a creature."

A few days before Christmas the turtle was cut up and displayed on four platters in the window of the store; the Bella Coola saw it, and thus learned that it had been killed. The same night a sore appeared on his wrist, and by the next day it was large and running. He said to his employer:

"In a few days I will be dead. Do not grieve for me. The sight of such supernatural creatures is too powerful for Indians; I survived one experience, but twice has been too much for me and I will die."

His employer wisely sent him to a white doctor who cured him, although the scar remained. Years later the man returned to Bella Coola where he displayed the mark as proof of his story. A few weeks later he died, and the Bella Coola are firmly convinced that his death was due to his having seen the turtle many years before.

* 776 Although the forests of British Columbia abound with
789 supernatural animals of enormous power, the attitude of the
[781] Bella Coola hunter who penetrates into lonely places is not one of constant fear. It is true that he may meet danger at any turn, but danger is part and parcel of human life, and he is by no means defenceless. He dreads the powers possessed by creatures of another plane, but they for their part dread certain human objects. Clothing which has been worn for so long that it has become steeped with the emanations of its

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human wearer belongs to a sphere differing from that of supernatural animals and is dangerous to them. Consequently, if worn clothing be thrown on a fire it repels unpleasant visitors. Other powerful protections are false hellebore, and smoked salmon roe. A wise hunter always carries these and if he sees a dangerous creature such as a *smnuq*, he chews the two together and spits them towards the peril. Needless to say, if a kindly animal is seen, the hunter does not drive it away by these methods. Why false hellebore should be so effective is a matter of wonder to the Bella Coola themselves, for as a rule it is the human essence attached to objects which gives them their strength over the supernatural. Thus the most powerful of all charms are pads that have been used by women during their menses. If a woman travels on the ocean she is careful to carry some of them with her ready to repel any danger from the supernatural water beings.[29]

776* 789 [824] [824] [841]

The manner in which the Bella Coola regard mythical animals and other evidences of the supernatural is illustrated by the following practice. Hunters always want to know the direction of the wind, and when the breeze is too slight to be discernible they blow upwards a small amount of eagle down, which is so light that the faintest breath of air will bear it down wind. What the logical white man considers a natural phenomenon, appears to the Bella Coola as miraculous; eagle down, stripped from the dead bird by human hands and stored for some time within a house, has become so humanized that it can conquer supernatural powers to indicate the direction of the wind.

776* 789 821 [224]

The mythical monsters already described are not the only animals regarded as supernatural by the Bella Coola. They believe that in the beginning *Ałquntäm* created men and beasts at the same time and in the same place, giving the former the greater share of power, but not exiling the latter to a different plane of existence. In those early days, the semi-supernatural

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[29]This matter will be described more fully in connection with Magic; see vol. I, chap. xi.

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* 776 forefathers of the Bella Coola had the ability to talk with
● 825 animals and birds. The men of today, who realize that such
[773] intercourse is not now possible, assume that they have degenerated from the golden age of their first ancestors. On the other hand, they see no reason to believe that beasts have undergone a similar change, and take it for granted that they have continued in the supernatural, or semi-supernatural state in which they were created by *Ałquntām*. It is true that man is stronger than most animals, but that does not affect the attitude with which the latter are regarded, for supernatural and powerful are not synonymous terms. *Ałquntām* decreed that they should serve as food for mankind, and they have since obeyed his command, but the Bella Coola do not consider themselves undisputed lords of creation. They fear *snusx̣*, *snuniq*, and other creatures of great power, but they know how to avoid them; similarly, deer and mountain goats fear men, but they are not entirely defenceless, because their speed and agility give them advantages corresponding to those of men in combat with beasts stronger than themselves. All living creatures use the weapons with which they are equipped. For example, when a mountain goat eludes a hunter by scaling a precipice too steep for its pursuer, the latter considers it has escaped through supernatural climbing ability; whereas the goat has merely used the power granted by *Ałquntām*. Like-
[789] wise, when a *snusx̣* or a *snuniq* is outwitted by the use of soiled clothing or smoked salmon roe, the means, unnatural to it, are natural to the human being employing them. Men and animals alike regard each other's weapons as supernatural.

In consequence of these beliefs, the attitude of the Bella Coola towards animals is fundamentally different from that of white men. They regard them as possessing human mentality, and even the ability to assume human form if they so desire. In fact, they believe that animals merely appear to them in the shape of beasts, but can change to human, or other form and behave accordingly whenever they wish to do
[756] so. The degeneration of mankind has made it impossible for

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men to see these transformed beings habitually, but even now, 776*
or at any rate until a few years ago, shamans were able to lift 825●
the intervening veil. From accounts given by those who have
had such experience, the Bella Coola believe that *Ałquntäm* [756]
gave to birds and animals, as well as to humans, the boon of [773]
fire, and it is only the unworthiness of men that makes them
unable to see the smoke rising from the houses of different
creatures. In former times, fortunate hunters were able to
do so, and consequently had phenomenal success. The smoke
that ascends from the fires of different animals corresponds in
colour to that of its owner; a mountain goat's is white, a
beaver's, black, a squirrel's, red, a wolf's, gray, and so on.
When a goat stamps the earth on a mountain, it rings hollow, [823]
as indeed it is to those animals, for their home is within; and
when a hunter loses his quarry entirely, it is because the latter
has entered its house. Shamans are sometimes able to hear [756]
the gatherings of animals under the peaks. Like human beings,
they dance to the accompaniment of music, and in all respects
behave like them. They have their times of joy and sorrow,
of success and failure. When ill they are cured by their own
shamans, grizzly bear, *sminq*, and wolverine; these three also
dance to welcome the dead. All animals and birds are like
brothers, able to converse with each other and living harmon-
iously together in that other part of their life which only
shamans have seen. Porcupine is the oldest, and a hunter [224]
always tries to kill one before passing to more important prey.
The animals know about the actions of human beings and [784]
show their aversion to certain habits by refusing to allow
themselves to be seen by anyone practising them. For example,
they do not like people to drink water in which dog salmon [224]
have been soaked, and no hunter would dream of partaking of
that food. Bella Coola mythology is full of accounts of human [773]
beings who, with supernatural aid, were able to penetrate to [538]
the homes of animals. Tales of this type would be unintellig-
ible without understanding the attitude of the people to the
animal and bird kingdoms.

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* 776 ●825 845 Fish, too, are regarded in the same light. Indeed, there is a particularly close affinity between men and salmon, for twins are born through the instrumentality of the latter. Just how this occurs no Bella Coola knows, but a twin and salmon are regarded almost as brothers. In days when men were more powerful than now, a twin was especially liked by animals. Through his connection with salmon, a *ko'la* (the term applied to a twin associated with a salmon) could understand the speech of birds, animals, and fish. In many instances he could also assume salmon form at will.

* 776 787 825 In view of beliefs of this kind it is not surprising that the Bella Coola attribute great powers even to beasts well known to them. In the story recorded in vol. I, p. 55, the War-Party of the Tides was summoned by the speaking of a dog. A belief persists that danger is always present when a dog acts in an unusual way, though this can be avoided by killing it at once. In July, 1922, a visit was made to an elderly Bella Coola early one morning. The man was in a state of absolute terror. The preceding night he had locked his pet dog outside his house to give warning if anyone approached, but when he awoke in the morning, it was curled up asleep as usual at the foot of his bed. There was no possible hole through which it could have entered, so it seemed to the owner that his dog must have transformed itself into some minute animal and made its way beneath the door. The only other explanation was that its master, hearing in his sleep the whimpering of his pet, had got out of bed to let it in, without remembering that he had done so. To the writer this seemed the probable explanation, especially when the old man admitted that he had been in the habit of walking in his sleep in his younger days, but the Bella Coola was not satisfied. He could not decide whether or not to kill the dog, a great favourite, but finally decided not to do so. The incident was mentioned to another informant, who was greatly worried and assumed it to be an omen of death to the dog's master. His only comfort lay in the fact

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that the animal had not spoken, a sure intimation of insanity and death unless it is killed immediately. 776* 787

A few years ago a dog gave warning to its master by placing its paws on his shoulders as he sat on the ground, and howling over his head. Such unusual behaviour should have convinced him of the necessity of killing his pet to avert some calamity, but he paid no attention to it. A few days later, it seemed to him that he saw the face of a friend appear at an uncurtained upper window where no human being could be. The next morning he found an axe, which he had long lost and supposed stolen, imbedded far up in a tree near his house. These three incidents all presaged disaster, and a few days later he shot and killed himself when crazed by drink. 825 [762]

The actions of wild animals are considered even more important. Not many years ago a famous Kimsquit hunter saw a bear and attempted to shoot it. He raised his musket and took careful aim, but was prevented from pulling the trigger. This should have warned him of the potency of the animal, and of the wisdom of avoiding the spot in future. The bear moved away without molesting him, but exactly one year later he was killed by a mountain goat at precisely the same place. No one knows which supernatural being had chosen to assume two forms in that locality.

The Bella Coola believe that animals, being supernatural, have powers and abilities which they conceal from the white man. Wolves do not kill their prey with their fangs, but with bird arrows which shamans alone can see; beaver do not cut with their teeth, but with crook-handled adzes. Even more striking is the virility of yearling mountain goats. An old Bella Coola described how he and another man were once hunting goats. His partner killed a fat yearling, which they laid on its back and skinned. The killer was about to dismember it, when the animal began to kick. First it shook one hind leg, then the other, then in succession each fore-leg, and lastly its head. Then the goat stood up and gave itself a shake, which caused the skin to return to its proper position, 776* 825

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and leapt away apparently uninjured. The Bella Coola say that yearling goats have very strong spirits (I, p. 94) which make possible such actions.

Though generally callous with regard to the sufferings of animals, the Bella Coola are usually careful not to kill more than they need; and knowledge of the supernatural power possessed by animals sometimes leads men to treat them with great consideration. For example, if a bull-head is caught in an olachen net in the river, the fisherman throws it back into the water, saying:

"I have saved you; please do the same for me."

The following incident, believed without question by the Bella Coola, shows the manner in which bull-heads help those who have often befriended them. About 1880 a Kimsquit fisherman, *Ăltakän·i*, fell into a rapids where he was in great danger of drowning. A bull-head, seeing his plight and mindful of former help, increased his size and shoved *Ăltakän·i* ashore with its nose.

"I have saved you, mortal," said the bull-head, as he did so.

The ability to increase in size is not restricted to fish, but is shared by small mammals and reptiles. Lizards, for instance, four feet in length, are said to live permanently in a pond about seven miles below Kimsquit; they are termed *qwalăs*.

Toads, too, can aid mortals. If a man see a snake devouring one of them he will, if he is wise, kill the snake and say to the toad:

"Please help me when I am in difficulties."

A toad never forgets its obligations and if that man should fall into a river when the toad is near, the latter will grow large enough to drag him forth.

Snakes are regarded with aversion and disgust. This may be in part due to the belief that they cook for *Ăltăt·iaistl* (I, p. 49), but more because these reptiles enter the stomachs of human beings. The Bella Coola believe that snakes are the offspring of a supernatural Mother of Snakes, a mythical being of dread powers. The following story illustrates their beliefs

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concerning the danger of near approach to this creature: 539

Ḱwilais was a man of mixed lineage, Kimsquit and *Ṗa·s*, near Newitte. With several companions he was gathering berries when he stepped into a hole and felt numerous tiny creatures crawling over his legs. Looking down, he saw that they were small snakes, that had just been hatched from a Mother of Snakes. He fled, terrified, pursued by the reptiles, which he managed to keep off to some extent by brushing behind him a branch of spiny swamp gooseberry, a known deterrent. When he had out-distanced the snakes he called his companions, told them of his adventure, and returned home. There he repeated the tale. Though *Ḱwilais* did not know it, many of the snakes had succeeded in entering his stomach. Presently he began to swell; his body became larger and larger until he was in danger of bursting. The reptiles within were breeding rapidly. Luckily, one of his fellow villagers knew the proper remedy. A raised bed was made for the sufferer about five feet from the ground where *Ḱwilais* stretched himself on a number of thorny branches, while his friends built a fire of devil's club and swamp gooseberry twigs so that he was fumigated in the smoke. Then, to give greater potency, they cast on the flames soiled clothing and pounded cedar-bark pads stained with menstrual blood; even this was of no avail, so finally a woman squeezed out into a vessel some of her menstrual blood which *Ḱwilais* drank. This killed the snakes. The patient began to vomit, emitting a mass of wriggling serpents, and at once began to grow thinner, soon regaining his normal condition. Had he not been able to eject the reptiles, he would have died.

776 * 825 ● 755 [789] [753] [841]

Ḱwilais was not the only one to have this unpleasant experience. Many others have suffered in the same way, but in no case has anyone been able to feel the snakes at the actual place or time of entry.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the power possessed by animals are clearly shown by their attitude with regard to killing them. Man is immortal, so are animals. *Ālquntām* decreed that beasts and birds should serve as food for mankind, but it is only their clothing, their worthless "blanket of flesh," as the Bella Coola express it, which they give to hunters. In the autumn leaves appear to die, but every spring they are reborn. Similarly, when an animal is slain, it merely discards its visible self while its spirit[21] ascends

825 775 224 [774]

[21] *Xumsnots*, see vol. I, p. 94.

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[775] to the land above whence, in course of time, it comes down to
[774] earth again to reanimate a new body."* Consequently, the success of a hunter does not indicate his mastery over an
[785] animal so much as the latter's good-will in allowing itself to be slain by one who has pleased him by ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), or by one who has been endowed with skill by some other supernatural being. Men are accordingly careful to obey the wishes of their quarry. Long ago, a mountain goat told a shaman that he and his friends liked soot, so a hunter who has killed one always smears two bands of ashes across its face from the right eye to the left side of the mouth. Another shaman was told by a bear never to use
[411] owl-feathered arrows since none of his fellows killed with such would return. Plumes of other birds have since been used, preferably those of mallard ducks. Sometimes the wishes of an animal require considerable ritual. For example, when a bear is killed, the carcass is stretched upon neatly arranged evergreen boughs and skinned. The hunter reverses the pelt so that the tail lies near the neck, with the whole hanging loosely over the body. He pats it four times, as if pressing the skin back into place, and says:

[789] "Please don't linger. Go home and return," or,

"Please come to me tomorrow. Tell your brothers, your sisters, your uncles, your aunts and your other relations to come to me."

Should this be omitted, the animal is likely to stand up, skinless, shake itself, causing the pelt to return to its place, and run away. Yearling mountain goats are especially prone to do this, as already mentioned. Even if an animal does not show its resentment by escaping in this way, it often refuses to return to earth unless the proper rites have been performed over its carcass.

[262] Bears have another aversion: they do not like to be eaten by men. So the hunter leaves the skinned body for wolves

[183] *There are doubters in Bella Coola as in every other community, and several of the older men express disbelief in the immortality of animals.

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and eagles whom he invites to devour it. In so doing, he does not address them by their usual names, but calls Wolf, *Alkin-i-gexnim*, "The Devourer of Meat Which He Does Not Kill," that is, "The Biting Scavenger"; and Eagle, *Asaikaiyuts-maxnim*, "The Constant Eater," that is, "The One Who Eats before He Is Hungry." Next morning the flesh has been devoured and the hunter believes his guests have eaten it. Animals and birds, being supernatural, can hear the words of mortals and read their thoughts. The significance of these actions is that animals have the power to conceal themselves, so a hunter must gain their favour before he can hope to succeed. Belief in the efficacy of such customs as these is rapidly falling into decay and bear meat is now often eaten, but the skull is carefully placed in an evergreen tree near where the animal is slain, so that it may come back to life.

Fish, likewise, are immortal. In autumn the streams are choked with dead and dying salmon, but the Bella Coola know that they are not really dead, they have merely shed their worthless blankets in accordance with *Alquntäm*'s decrees. At that season of the year he causes the rivers to rise so that they will sweep away these useless and outworn cloaks.

Although the salmon, from the kindness of their hearts, allow human beings to feast on their blankets, yet they have certain likes and dislikes which are carefully observed. From the time the first spring salmon appear (I, pp. 759-762) until the rising of the July moon, women are not allowed to eat them or to go near the river. Men may eat the flesh, but instead of throwing the bones to dogs, they carefully return them to the river saying:

"Please come back tomorrow."

If this is inconvenient, bones can be thrown into the woods with impunity.

Salmon, like men and animals, live a human-like existence in their homes far beneath the surface of the ocean. They lack and desire earthly objects, especially pounded cedar-bark (see Appendix A) to use as sponges for their children, so the Bella Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

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ancient history and fame of his family. It is a matter connected with the past, a matter of the mind, a source of pride to him to have such a possession, but a matter that does not affect his daily life. 211 424 773

So far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola crests consist of the following birds and animals: raven, bald eagle, grizzly bear, black bear, wolf, whale, blackfish, merganser, loon, *skämtsk*, possibly deer, and the mythical double-headed snake, *susiutl*. To these must be added the sun, because some of the original people came to earth in human form by sliding down his eye-lashes, the sun-beams; and *nuhnikta*, the posts which stretched from earth to the land above, down which a number of the first ancestors of mankind swarmed in human form. The Bella Coola believe that these posts are particularly common memorials among the tribes of the outer coast. According to some accounts it was these posts which supported the first sky until it fell. 825 [776] * [772] [829] [772]

A crest is connected almost exclusively with the distant past. A Bella Coola whose ancestor came to earth as a raven pays no attention to the ravens of the present time. The matter was approached from every possible angle and not the slightest sign of respect toward living specimens of a man's crest could be noticed. A query as to whether or not a man refrained from eating his crest was regarded as highly humorous. Nor is there any trace of fellowship between unrelated families even if they happen to have the same crest. The subject was broached repeatedly, until at last one informant smiled broadly and said: 424 779 825

"I know now what you want to find out, I can tell you all about it."

He recounted how the Kitkatla are, in his opinion, stupid enough to regard as brothers all those who have the same animal story even if they are members of different tribes. He said that when he was a young man at Victoria, where Indians from all parts of the coast used to meet, a Kitkatla had once asked him what was his animal. He was puzzled, but as the [648]

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000 Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

424 773 825 [556] Before leaving the subject of supernatural animals, a word must be said concerning the attitude of the Bella Coola to those in whose forms their first ancestors came to earth. If, for example, a man's first ancestor descended as a raven, this knowledge is a valuable possession of himself and his family. Indeed, the most treasured possessions of a Bella Coola are not the material objects collected by him through life, but the intangible rights wrapped up in his ancestral history. These are referred to under four names:

(1) *Smaiusta*, "Preserved Story"; the myth describing the coming to earth of a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(2) *Kolelta*, "What Was Sent Down"; the names and other possessions given by *Ālquntām* to a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(3) *Tsāmātl*, "Whence We Came"; the place to which a man's first ancestors came in the beginning of time, and the one from which they have since spread.

(4) *Qwathunta*.

Various *smaiusta* are recorded in vol. I, chap. VI, and the second and third terms are really part of the first, although to the Bella Coola they are psychologically distinct. *Qwathunta* is the word used for both the birds or animals chosen as cloaks by the first settlers, and also for creatures with which the early people came in contact. The nearest interpretation appears to be, "Crest." When a Bella Coola whose first ancestor came to earth as a raven portrays that bird, it serves as a visible mark of his intangible possession. In former days, if a man carved on stone so that his work and his name would never be forgotten, it was a *qwatlnskam*, a constant reminder of his greatness to generations then unborn. A *qwathunta*, therefore, combines the concept of *memorial* with that of *crest*, so that Bella Coola speak of the white man's memorials as *qwathunta*. In brief, a man regards the form assumed by his ancestor when coming to this earth as an emblem of the

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424 nearest answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the
779 Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the
825 narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the experience, and added that though he was quite willing to accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not
[582] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of exogamy.

211 Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet
424 they have some importance in the realm of social life. The
773 portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy
825 chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a
[532] design is impressed with the glories of the family history of
[556] the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of
[304] the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delineation is a memento of family history. For that reason a man is often tattooed* with his crest, that derived from his father's first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow. After the death of a chief a memorial-post is erected near his grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his
000 family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

[171] [184] *It is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal tribes but also the Carriers. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated themselves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with potlatches; in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the back-room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material; the second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath
[386] the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were baked for a long time and then ground into a powder. This keeps indefinitely and can be made ready for use by mixing with water. As far as could be learnt, any skilled craftsman might perform the operation.

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It is said, half
jocularly, that a man grows to resemble his ancestral cloak; 424
if, for example, one man's is the eagle, his hair turns white 773
early, whereas that of another with raven crest long preserves
its blackness. More definite, is the use as a signal for attack, of 825
a whistle imitating the cry of the leader's bird or animal. [726]
Finally, when a man whose crest is the raven hears one of these
birds calling, he cries out:

"Hello, *q̓watlʟntao* [the vocative form], it is as you say."

This custom is probably due to a belief in the ability of ravens to bear news.

On the whole the attitude of the Bella Coola towards living examples of their crests does not differ from that of mingled respect and superiority with which they regard other birds and animals.

THE RAVEN

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning Raven differ so 773
fundamentally from those respecting other birds and animals, 776*
that the subject must be treated separately. In the beginning 825
of time, when *Älquntäm* sent down the ancestors of the Bella Coola to this earth, he despatched Raven to be their guide and teacher. For this purpose Raven was given greater power than that granted to any other animal. He came to earth in avian form, then changed to a man, but his cloak did not float back to the land above as did those of the other first-comers. Instead, it remained in the world below where he could resume it at will. *Älquntäm* had instructed him to travel to all parts of the world, meaning the coast of British Columbia, in order to study the arts and crafts of the inhabitants and bring back to Bella Coola those which seemed desirable. On these explorations he used to assume raven form and set off in his canoe, *Tokuki*, which travelled without visible motive power at phenomenal speed Owing to the power that *Älquntäm* had given him, he could talk to the trees and the mountains, the birds, the animals, and the insects, as well as to the human beings he encountered on the coast.

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773 Raven, perhaps made conceited by this power, did not
* 776 always use it for good purposes. He learnt many new inven-
● 825 tions which he taught to the Bella Coola, but sometimes he
[538] indulged in adventures of an obscene nature. In fact, he was often too "smart." The Bella Coola relate many tales concerning his exploits. These are all mere stories, such as can be told by anyone, and they fall into two classes. One comprises humorous anecdotes, describing how Raven tried to show off, to outwit other birds and animals, and his consequent discomfiture. These belong to the realm of mythology and are recorded in vol. II, chap. v. In addition, there are stories describing the inventions and boons obtained by Raven; these are given in detail here as the only satisfactory means of illustrating the attitude of the Bella Coola towards Raven.

The first Raven, to whom *Ālquntām* granted such power, is not regarded as a bird, but essentially as a superman, with the kindly characteristics of a human being, and the weakness of a conceited individual who is always trying to display his prowess. The ordinary word used for a raven is *qwax*, but
[552] this first Raven is properly referred to by his titles as chief, *Nowakila*; *Sānuximāxots*, "The Light-Bringer"; *Kilalxamxwis*, "The Wise One"; *Nu'oxwatlamnaix*, "The Widener";[25] *Qunqwnm uldidā sxem*, "The Unlooser of Light";[26] *Qax·āxwsila*, *Qwai·lils*, and *Qpwi*. The Bella Coola do not explain what happened to this first *Nowakila*; he appears to have dropped out of existence, and his power has not been transmitted to his descendants, the ravens of today. They are regarded as birds, with but the slightest trace of their ancestor's greatness. The
[829] Bella Coola know of the beliefs of the Kitkatla concerning Raven, and say that in the north he is esteemed only a little less than the supreme deity himself. But in Bella Coola the exploits of Raven are always considered to be due to the power given him by *Ālquntām*, whose assistant he was, although he delighted to show his own prowess by outwitting his maker.

[25] Because he is supposed to have widened rivers for several of the first settlers.
[26] Owing to the manner in which Raven is supposed to have unveiled the sun.

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Raven, blinded by his grief, did not believe him, and responded angrily: 539 776*

"No, youare not my son. Why do you lie to me? Get out of this house." 761

Disgusted at this reception, *O'mistlmai* obeyed. Just as he was passing through the doorway, Raven noticed the tattoo marks on his legs, and realized that, in spite of the change in his appearance, the visitor was really his son. He called on him to return, but *O'mistlmai* paid no attention to his father's entreaties and sped far away. Raven's grief was beyond expression, but he could do nothing to repair the damage he had done. If it had not been for Raven's mistake, all mortals would return to life four days after death. [304]

The above myth is widely known among the Bella Coola, and is supposed to be historically accurate. At the same time, few people allow it to influence their thoughts with regard to death or its causes. It is a fact, but one that belongs to the realm of ancient history rather than to everyday experience. When a Bella Coola dies, his relatives, though they know that his death is due to the folly of Raven, tacitly overlook this, and do not feel bitterly towards Raven. Bella Coola beliefs and theology are not systematized, hence it is quite possible for a person to realize a certain fact, such as the cause of death, and yet disregard it entirely. Considering that absolute contradictions can be believed simultaneously, it is not difficult to picture the mental attitude of people who believe, and at the same time disregard their belief. 771 761 776*

One of Raven's spectacular, and at the same time, beneficial exploits was the bringing of sockeye salmon to the Bella Coola River.[37] 539 825

In the beginning of time, no sockeye salmon inhabited the rivers, and Raven determined to supply them. First he tried making wooden fish and throwing them into the water, but though he could animate them, they always died after jumping a few times. The reason for his failure, though he did not know it, was because he had omitted the small bone [774]

[37]This is an example of conflicting beliefs. In addition to assuming that salmon were sent down by *Alqunstm* to furnish food for mankind, and that Raven supplied them in the beginning of time, the Bella Coola also believe that they are brought each year both by *Nedkynum* and *Winwina*. [771]

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at the back of the neck; this is called *nulkälxita* by the Bella Coola and it is thought to be especially important since the spirit (I, p. 94) is located there. Somewhat discouraged by his lack of success, Raven sat holding his head in his hands, pondering. Finally, he decided that he would have to visit *Mitältawa*, the land of the salmon far beyond the western ocean.

His self-propelling canoe, *Tobunkl*, was soon made ready and Raven invited Mouse, a young woman, to accompany him. The two travelled without incident till they came to the flat land where the salmon had their homes. On the beach were myriads of canoes, each in reality the skin of a sockeye salmon. Raven had instructed Mouse to remain in his canoe, so when the sockeye salmon chief invited the two to his house only Raven accepted, though Mouse was urged most courteously to accompany him. Raven was conducted to the house, where his host threw his own daughter into the river. She changed into a sockeye salmon and swam to the beach; some of her father's servants cut her up and brought her to the house where she was cooked. The meal was set before the guest whom the chief instructed not to eat any of the bones. As he ate, Raven examined the salmon very carefully to see what had been lacking in his model, and soon discovered it to be the thin bone, shaped like a maple leaf, at the back of the neck. Seizing an opportunity when no one was looking, Raven secreted this bone against the palate of his mouth. When the meal was over and the guest had tied what was left of the food into a mat, someone collected all the bones and threw them into the river. Forthwith they became a sockeye salmon, which swam towards the shore. But after an instant, the fish began to behave peculiarly, swimming around madly in circles, and jumping in an aimless manner. Everyone agreed that a bone must have been lost, and they searched the house for it without success. They also examined Raven. Finally, one man thought of investigating the guest's mouth where they found the missing bone.

"Oh," said Raven, lying: "I did not know it was there."

As soon as the bone was thrown into the river the sockeye salmon became normal and swam quietly to the beach where it changed into the chief's daughter once more.

When the time came to leave, Raven asked the chief to tell his daughter to take his bundle of food to his canoe for him. Meanwhile Mouse had carried out Raven's instructions, which were to gnaw a hole in each of the sockeye salmon canoes. Raven entered *Tobunkl* before taking the parcel from the girl, and as he stepped in, the canoe was forced a little distance from the land so that she waded into the water to hand it to him. As she did so, he backed his canoe further out until

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she had to follow him into water up to her waist. Then Raven suddenly grasped her under the arms, hauled her into his craft, and fled. The sockeye salmon men cried out in anger and leapt into their canoes for pursuit, but one by one they sank; Mouse had done her work well. For a time the chase was close; in fact, the sockeye salmon nearly caught *Tobunkl* in North Bentinck Arm, but as danger threatened, Raven seized a pole and delivered several vigorous thrusts which sent the canoe beyond the reach of the already sinking pursuers. The gashes made in the rocks by his shoves are still visible near the site of the Bella Coola Cannery, as well as the pole which he threw ashore when he had finished with it; it became petrified and can still be seen immediately behind the manager's house. At the south of the Bella Coola River, Raven threw the chief's daughter into the water. Her descendants are the sockeye salmon which visit that stream; and it is due to his failure to capture more than one, that so few sockeyes come to this river.

539 825 [778]

Another version of this myth was collected from a Kimsquit man.

It describes how Raven went alone in *Tobunkl* to the land of the salmon, in the guise of an old man. He was courteously received at the home of *Skatpts*, chief of the salmon, who gave him a meal of that fish. Raven carefully watched to ascertain what he had omitted from his wooden model, and when he found out that it was the bone at the back of the neck, he secreted one in the palate of his mouth. Presently one of the salmon women became ill, and *Skatpts* said:

"Old man, you have hidden a bone."

The salmon searched Raven, but failed to find what he had hidden, and he was able to return to Kimsquit with it. He added this bone to one of his models, and it was at once able to swim strongly; in fact, it became a real salmon.

This fish was the ancestor of all steel-head salmon, which are still called *Samsamikdimut di Qwax*, "The Salmon-like Fish of Raven." They are not considered as valuable for food as other salmon. [262]

Another exploit accredited to Raven in the beginning of time was the bringing of herring to Kimsquit.

None of these fish then inhabited the rivers, and Raven determined to bring them to increase the food supplies of his people. A gull happened to catch a single herring far from shore and brought it to Raven, who smeared *Tobunkl* with its scales. Then he set out for the land of the herring beyond the western ocean. On arriving, Raven went to the home [772]

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539 825 of a woman, *Sekakmăn·a*, who dwelt with her mother, a Gull. After a meal, Raven lied to his hostess by telling her of the countless herring that lived at Kimsquit, and how happy he could make some of her relatives by taking them home with him. *Sekakmăn·a* doubted the story and told one of her brothers to investigate Raven's canoe because, if the fish were plentiful at his home, some of the scales would certainly be in his craft. The herring youth looked inside the canoe, and was deceived by Raven's subterfuge. On receiving a favourable report, *Sekakmăn·a* willingly gave Raven a large box filled with herring. Elated at his victory, Raven set out for home and threw his spoil into the water as he neared the beach at Kimsquit. The Kimsquit people knew of Raven's search for herring, and did not at first believe him when he reported his success, but the fish increased so rapidly that his claim was vindicated.

The herring so obtained were the progenitors of all that now live in the waters adjacent to Kimsquit.

262 824 539 One of the foods regarded by the Bella Coola as a luxury is a foam-like whip prepared by beating up dried buffalo berries in water. Raven is given the credit for introducing this to Bella Coola.

Long, long ago, *Sluxlekwailx*, a mountain in the Carrier country above Burnt Ridge, was a chief, possessing human characteristics. Buffalo berries flourished on his slopes, and he wanted to keep these for food for his guests. On one occasion he invited all the animals and birds, including Raven, to a feast and dance. His house was the interior of the mountain, and when all had assembled he carefully closed every opening so that none of the berries could escape. Raven determined to obtain some of this food for the Bella Coola, and accordingly used his power to force one of the guests to go outside. As soon as a door was opened to let him out, Raven seized some of the whip and flew away, scattering drops of it in his flight. Berries grew wherever the drops fell, and since that time everybody has been able to make this luxury. *Sluxlekwailx* was very angry, but could do nothing.

773 Though *Ăłquntăm* created the world, he did not make it perfect nor equip it with many of the conveniences possessed by men of the present generation. Raven, endowed both with imagination and tremendous power, was always seeking ways of improving conditions. In the beginning of time there were no mirrors, and if a man wanted to paint his face, or decorate [778 823] himself for a dance, he was forced to rely on the assistance of

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a friend. Raven determined to supply this want for the benefit of the Kimsquit people. Accordingly he used a natural stone depression near the village as his chamber-pot, and the liquid reflected faces clearly. Ever since, any liquid, even rain-water, placed in that depression acts as a reflector. The place is called *Ânilxsaix*, "Where People Go," and it has been used as a mirror by the Kimsquit people and their guests for many generations. In this way, the renown of Raven spread to foreigners visiting Kimsquit. Another survival of this construction is the name *Nusqalät·a*, "Chamber-Pot," commonly applied as a nickname to the small daughters of Kimsquit chiefs. 773 778 823 [551]

One of Raven's inventions was the making of nettle-fibre olachen nets, an art which he taught spiders as well as men. In the beginning of time, Raven told two men to make a net according to a pattern which he showed them, and gave them some fibre. It was not sufficient, and when the workers asked for more, Raven told them to draw it from their own intestines. This they did, and ever since spiders have had the same ability. Another story describes how Raven saw an olachen net being made in one of the distant villages which he visited during his travels, learnt the details of its manufacture, and taught the Bella Coola on his return home. 773 [227] [825]

Many of Raven's exploits are well known, although not embodied in elaborate myths. For example, it is believed that in the beginning of time the ocean was to the east of Bella Coola and the land to the west. Drownings were frequent, so Raven altered the relative positions of land and sea. Most ocean dwellers followed the sea to its new home, but a number of mussels remained near their human friends. They are still to be found in the upper valley of Bella Coola River. These shell-fish, which are probably freshwater mussels, are said to be identical with those of the ocean, and are called by the same name. This is always mentioned as proof of the former presence of salt water in the upper Bella Coola valley. The occurrence of the shell-fish may be the origin of this theory. It might also be mentioned that the Bella Coola believe that a few years 773 823 [825]

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instructed people about the significance of death omens; it was Raven who showed them the use of slings; and it was Raven who constructed secluded caves and ledges to serve as meeting-places for chiefs. 773 [622] [823]

In brief, the Bella Coola regard Raven as an explorer, teacher, and inventor, whose power, obtained from *Ałquntäm*, enabled him to construct and outwit his maker, but not to create. Much of his work was for the good of mankind, but much was evil and malicious, an aspect which belongs to mythology. Essentially human, Raven could have been included among anthropomorphic, as well as among zoomorphic beings. He differs from most of the supernatural ones in belonging entirely to the past, as his descendants have none of the first Raven's power. It is doubtful whether he still exists, but in any case he has long since ceased to take any interest in the affairs of the Bella Coola, who consider him only as a figure of mythology and ancient history. 773 776 [825]

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS OF THE VEGETABLE AND MINERAL KINGDOMS

Bella Coola beliefs concerning anthropomorphic and zoomorphic beings are relatively clear and exact; their appearance is known, their powers and functions recognized. The supernatural attributes of trees and plants are less definite. *Ałquntäm* created the former in the beginning of time, and they were consequently able to talk and act like human beings at that distant period. Owing to the degeneration of man, mortals are no longer able to converse with trees, although the latter can still understand our remarks. In a vague way, the Bella Coola continue to think of trees as having human personalities, but so little is known of their powers, and they enter so seldom into contact or conflict with mortals, that they are practically ignored. 776 824

In an equally vague manner, Nature is regarded as a Mother, giving birth to the trees and plants. One of the *kusiut* dances portrays this birth of the flowers every spring (II, p. 196). [535] [575]

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nection of these with one another and with the spirit, the mental director of the life, is a matter of advanced Bella Coola theology on which opinions differ. Only men of philosophical temperament even hazard an opinion on such matters, which are beyond the realm of daily routine. 761

When a man dies, his life leaves his body and the useless flesh begins to decay. At the same time the life is freed to travel as an intangible wraith, having the form and appearance of its dead owner. It visits all the places where he had been in the habit of going during life, irrespective of their distance from the scene of death. Sometimes it journeys to the locality where, in a dream, the mother of the deceased received her first intimation of pregnancy (I, p. 615). It wants to see former friends and sometimes makes its presence known to them by whistling. A person who hears this sound is saddened by the realization that one of his associates has passed away in some distant place. At other times, a man merely senses its presence and feels frightened without hearing or seeing anything to account for it. Very rarely, a dead person's life speaks to a dearly loved friend to inform him of his loss. During the existence of the body, spirit and life are closely associated, and the former sometimes accompanies the latter on its round of farewell visits before ascending to *Nusmät·a*. 761 775 [774]

After four days the life descends to the land below where it lives forever as a ghost. Some believe that it is the shadow which assumes this form, but the seeming contradiction is relatively unimportant since the life is essentially shadow-like. Ghosts have already been described in connection with supernatural bodies, and further information will be found in vol. I, chap. VIII.

At death, when the life as a whole becomes a ghost, its constituent parts likewise undergo transformation. The one situated in the feet remains with the corpse and disintegrates; that located in the legs enters a wolf and nothing more is known of its fate; no one knows what happens to the one situated in the body. The part in the throat, including the voice, enters [827] [825] [539]

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761 an owl, possibly one of those which normally roost on the tree
775 behind *Nusmät·a*. This element of a dead person occasionally
825 communicates with a living relative, as evidenced by the fol-
[539] lowing story.
[827]

A number of years ago a party of men and women camped for the night beside one of the rivers flowing into South Bentinck Arm. After supper, as they were resting by their fire, an owl kept hooting from a neighbouring tree. One of the men turned to a friend who had been making obscene remarks and, half in jest, warned him to be careful in case one of his relatives was listening. The foolish fellow looked at the owl and asked:

"Are you a relative of mine?"

There was no answer, but when he had repeated the question four times, the owl spoke:

"I am so-and-so," he said, naming the deceased grandfather of his questioner.

Consequent upon the belief that the voice of a dead person enters an owl, the bird is treated with considerable respect. It is improper to make fun of one, or to ask who it was when alive. Should a person do so, the owl answers with the interrogator's own name and he soon dies.

761 On the whole, the life does not affect the daily existence of the Bella Coola as profoundly as does the spirit. When they stop to ponder on the reason for some event, they readily admit the importance of the life with its constituent elements, but they are not always considering its activities and seeking to strengthen it. It is essentially a religious attribute, of greater moment to a man of imaginative and suggestible temperament than to one who carries on the daily routine without asking *why* and *wherefore*.

THE TALLY POST

773 In the beginning of time, when *Ăkquntăm* sent the first
777 people down to earth, he erected in *Nusmät·a* posts emblazoned with the bird or animal crest taken by each to serve as a memorial, or reminder, to him of the number of individuals existing

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place where he is not likely to be disturbed, and addresses the supreme god in a loud tone of voice, requesting his assistance. 782

Although prayers can be said at any time of the day, or at any season of the year, there are occasions when they are more potent than at other times. At dawn, for example, a wise young man is accustomed to go alone to the river to wash and pray. He enters the icy water, blows mucus over his hands, and rubs his body vigorously[21] either with a smooth pebble, or, if it can be obtained, with a stone taken from the stomach of a sea-lion.[22] As he scours himself, he asks *Mınakais* to grant him long life, power, success, and strength. On coming from the water, he repeats his request, and then washes himself again. This process is repeated four times, making eight prayers in all. A young man who does this habitually, and in other ways placates the supreme deity, is likely to have success, and may even be given supernatural assistance by one of the many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic creatures. The underlying belief is that *Älquntäm* actually hears the words spoken and, pleased thereby, aids the petitioner either directly, or by strengthening the supernatural elements in his body. [783]

Mınakais has power over both rain and dry weather, and is petitioned for whichever is desired. When the sun is obscured by rain clouds, the Bella Coola pray: [821]

"Please clean your face, *Mınakais*," or,

"Please show us your face, we need you."

Before a man starts on a journey, either by canoe or on foot, he always asks help for his undertaking. [484]

"*Mınakais*," he prays, "Be with me," or "Go before me," or, "Give me what I want."

Corresponding to the importance of the occasion, prayers are always made before the departure of a hunting or war [224] [726] [785]

[21] Urine was formerly used for washing both the body and clothing. It was followed by the application of clean water, and undoubtedly had a religious significance; indeed, washing purely for cleanliness was not habitual until recently. [515]

[22] The Bella Coola state that stones are often found in the stomachs of sea-lions. One specimen, considered of great value, was seen; it was indistinguishable from a water-smoothed river pebble. [296] [823] [825]

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782 party. Canoes always start soon after dawn, and each mem-
224 ber of the expedition is careful to pray before leaving, and also
726 to avoid eating in case food should in any way interfere
[785] with the success of the venture. Before reaching their destin-
ation, a chief in each canoe draws from a pouch some eagle down brought for the purpose, holds it before his mouth, and blows a little towards each of the four cardinal points, at the same time asking *Mınakais* to smile on the enterprise and grant a safe return. This does not guarantee success, but it is felt that any disaster which may occur would have been more serious if assistance had not been thus requested.

782 Although *Ałquntäm*, under the name of *Mınakais*, is the
776 one to whom prayers are most often addressed, petitions are sometimes made to other beings. In the beginning of time, when Raven had superabundant power, mortals frequently sought his assistance. At the present time, he is sometimes asked for aid, in the belief that he may still have some shreds of his former power, or be in a better position than men to intercede with *Mınakais*. If ravens croak when it is raining,
782 people may ask them to request the supreme being to stop the
776 rain; in such cases, a petitioner is careful to address a raven
●825 as *Nowakila*, his title as chief, rather than as *Qwax*. In cold
821 winter weather, a raven is sometimes caught alive, its head smeared with grease, and as it is released, the captor says:

"Please end the cold wind, *Nowakila*."

782 Prayers are also said half humorously, half seriously, on
[291] many occasions. When, for example, clothing has become too ragged for further use, it is thrown on a fire with the remark:

"Please come to me again, new."

The thrower does not actually believe that in so doing he is asking help from his clothing, but it gives him a certain sense of satisfaction thus to have expressed his desires.

782 The prayers above described can be said by anyone, at any
424 time; they are means of propitiation known to the whole
821 community. In addition, information was obtained about two prayers, each of which is the jealously guarded prerogative

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782 next day the weather was fine. This particular method of
424 praying had been learnt by one of his ancestors in the begin-
821 ning of time, and was afterwards transmitted in his family.
[785] With the coming of the white man and consequent decay of
[177] customs, it has not been exercised since the death of the grand-father of the man from whom the information was obtained.

SACRIFICE

782 It might be expected that a clear division should be made between the subjects of prayer and sacrifice, but in practice they merge into one another. A mountain goat hunter, when camped near a glacier which he knows to be the haunt of some dreaded supernatural being, asks help from him. He wears
[824] dyed and undyed cedar-bark decorations to make his request more ceremonious, and after the prayer throws them into the fire, saying:

"Please accept these, supernatural one," thus making an offering to supplement his verbal petition.

If he is even more cautious, or eager not to offend any
[824] supernatural being in the vicinity, he throws on the fire tufts
[825] of cedar-bark, eagle down, and scraps of food as well. Whether
[261] or not the objects thus destroyed by the flames reach the being to whom the request has been made, is a matter upon which the Bella Coola do not theorize; but the generosity and self-denial of the donor is appreciated, and a favour is often granted in return. A man who frequently hears in his dreams the voice of some supernatural being, knows that it is taking an interest in his doings and endeavours to propitiate it, by placing on a fire titbits of any food he has obtained, saying at the same time:

"*Wai, wai, wai,*" "More, more, more," that is, "May I receive more of the same."

A foolish person fails to show his appreciation of favours received, but a wise man never forgets to do so.

Likewise a person is careful to propitiate supernatural
[502] powers when in peril. Both at Kwatna and at Mesatche Nose,
[133]
[756]

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the point between Labouchere Channel and Bentinck Arm, there is danger from treacherous currents, so, when a shaman passes either of these places, he lays some food on the water and puffs eagle down into the air as he asks for help. If no shaman is in the canoe, this is done by the captain. 782 [133] [502] [756]

The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is *Ṫlitcäplilän·a*, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and gives power to shamans. Whenever a hunter kills an edible animal in the forest, he cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws them into his fire to gain her goodwill. Long, long ago, *Ṫlitcäplilän·a* appeared to a hunter, seized some of his quarry, and told him of her wishes with regard to presents; these have since been obeyed by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of a man absent in the mountains or at sea throw scraps of food on the fire and ask the protection of *Ṫlitcäplilän·a* for the one in danger. In this case, it is clear that objects thrown into flames are received and appreciated by *Ṫlitcäplilän·a*. [776] [224] [773]

Minakais, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accompanies his words by blowing up into the air small particles of eagle down. Prayers in connection with the departure of war or hunting expeditions have already been mentioned, but before starting on any journey by canoe, the captain is careful to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and four of yellow cedar-bark. The blowing upwards of eagle down is a common accompaniment to all kinds of prayers, but, if none is available, cedar-bark can be used equally satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water, otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and considered valuable by *Ałquntäm*, but they emphasize and accompany the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's sincerity. [776] [484] [824] [825]

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on presents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw 775 782

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539 who, in turn, would pass on the request so that it might reach each
831 member of the party. Not only is it contrary to custom for a commoner
785 to hold intercourse with a chief's wife, but it is unknown for a man to
ask another to sleep with his wife, so the youth was surprised and rather
[837] frightened. However, he acceded to the request, passed on the instruc-
tions, and washed. As he was bathing, a seal appeared in the surf beside
[622] him, and he was able to kill it easily. Each in turn behaved in the same
manner, washed, and then killed a seal. Next morning, when the chief
returned he was delighted that all had turned out in accordance with his
hopes. At the same time the wind dropped so that the party was able
to return home.

831 The power which had brought the seals within reach of the
785 men had been engendered in their own bodies by these ritual
acts after a rather lengthy period of continence. The Bella
Coola believe that such a procedure always increases their
strength and ability, therefore giving them a better chance to
gain favour from supernatural beings, and to take advantage
of opportunities offered. Hunters in particular are careful with
[224] regard to their marital life since animals know their acts and
825 thoughts, and hide from one who has not made himself "clean"
[783] by continence, its termination, and bathing. *Sxetsta* consists
of these three elements, but since continence is the most pro-
minent feature, the term may be translated as "ceremonial
chastity."

In its simplest form this comprises merely the three ele-
ments already mentioned. The longer the continence, the
greater the power engendered by its termination. A man who
has practised abstinence for a year has such strength within
himself that almost any good fortune may occur, and cases
are known in which it has been carried out for even longer
periods. More often, an individual practises ceremonial chas-
[184] tity in accordance with a family tradition. One old man gave
the following recipe and was most emphatic that it always
224 brought success in hunting and fishing; he added that on the
785 two occasions he had tried it, he had brought back a pheno-
menal number of skins.

A person planning to set out on an expedition for any pur-

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pose should remain continent for several nights to increase his generative powers. He then selects a time for beginning the rite and on the second and fourth nights from that date sleeps with his wife, holding intercourse repeatedly and vigorously until he is utterly exhausted. Before dawn on the third and fifth days he must wash in the river or in some quiet stream. Then follow four nights of restraint, a further intercourse, and washing before dawn. The period is next increased to eight nights, then twelve, and finally sixteen, each with a similar contact and bathing. The nights of abstinence are thus forty in all, a lucky number. An unmarried man can obtain power in the same manner with the assistance of a female friend; it is the act itself that is vital, not the union of husband and wife.

At the present time, only two Bella Coola are said to know this particular type of ceremonial chastity, which they conceal carefully, even refusing offers to buy their knowledge. It is potent at any time, but especially if the periods of continence have been so arranged that they terminate at one of the solstices. Then, indeed, can a hunter set off with every prospect of success, knowing that the human taint disliked by animals has been removed, and been replaced by a ceremonial cleanliness pleasing to them. If the time terminates at the winter solstice, the hunter should set out immediately; if it ends in June, he must remain away from women after his final intercourse. In September or October, when ready to leave for the hunt, he must sleep beside his wife for the last four nights; each night he must place his leg between hers, and each morning the two must wash together. The best fortune of all is obtained by a man who observes this forty-night period for four successive years.

Another, and more common, count[34] is to observe continence for four nights, followed by intercourse. Immediately afterwards, the man should eat as much devil's club[35] as pos-

[34]The record of nights is kept by notches cut in a stick or by knots on a cord.

[35]Or false hellebore. This latter plant is thought to be so poisonous that the eating of even a twig an inch in length is fatal; a very small amount, however, all that is ever taken, acts as a powerful emetic.

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224 785 sible, selecting small twigs from which the bark and spines have been rubbed off. This acts as an emetic, so that before washing in the morning he has vomited from his stomach all [824] polluting matter, especially any human hair which animals [278] consider particularly unclean. Before dawn he goes to the [783] river and remains beneath the surface as long as possible, irrespective of the coldness of the water. Then he returns slowly to his house. Four nights later the same acts are repeated. These eight nights of continence are followed by two further periods, each of four nights, making a total of sixteen. Thus fortified, a hunter anticipates great success.

785 A person practising ceremonial chastity is in a condition peculiarly susceptible to disaster, and must observe certain restrictions. If, for example, anyone sees him as he returns from washing in the morning, the power which he has been accumulating so laboriously is lost. Owing to this belief, it is customary for a man to wash long before dawn and to come creeping into his house through a hole in the floor. He must always be the last to retire at night, the first to rise in the morning; and he must say nothing about what he is doing. Intercourse is, of course, absolutely forbidden except on the proper nights, and at other times he must not even put his arm around his wife. Failure to obey these restrictions destroys any advantage from [837] ceremonial chastity, while actual disaster follows should a man's wife misconduct herself with anyone else when he is using her for this purpose. If she is unfaithful, her husband is certain to be slain by an animal when hunting, or to slip and be killed on a mountain trail. Animals know all that human beings do [825] or think, and they punish anyone who is unable to perform ceremonial chastity fittingly. Behind these restrictions there 831 is undoubtedly the sentiment that intercourse, held duly and 785 properly at the right time, is not a mere desire of the flesh, but a ceremonial act. Indeed, when the Bella Coola speak of it in [833] connection with ceremonial chastity, they do not use the [195] common term, *s·m*, which has a coarse implication, but *xoldjut* which has a polite and almost sacred implication.

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capped by the mask. If the *tutwinam* represents Wasp[14] or Grizzly Bear, he does not make a circuit and a fluent *sisaok* explains that to do so would be unsafe owing to the ferocity of these animals. When the song is ended, the figure passes into the back-room. After a short interval it reappears, recrosses the house, and leaves by the front door, to the accompaniment of increased whistling.

A few myths embody two *tutwinam*. In this case, a second figure presently enters and the same ritual is repeated for a second song. This usually differs, musically, from the first, being in three parts and with even more rapid time. More often, the second song is merely beaten out by the singers without the appearance of a *tutwinam* to supply an obvious source.

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This is the normal, but not the only practice with regard to a *tutwinam*. In some cases the figure does not appear until after the singing of the first song, and the uninitiated are told that it has been attracted by the music. In this case it passes into the back-room, later to reappear and leave by the front door. An announcement is made that it has brought a strange power, that Y has become peculiar, and that his name is now, for example, *Qwaqwasila*. A herald bears this news through the village. A second song is then sung in due course.

[776]

The *tutwinam* is difficult to classify among Bella Coola supernatural beings. It appears in the form of an ancestral crest, but the *sisaok* do not seem to have taught the uninitiated to regard it as Y's actual forefather. It remains as a supernatural embodiment of his crest, a materialization of an element of family history, and a motive for the use by Y of a mask representing the apparition. The uninitiated do not seek further; they have seen a wonderful sight and are content.

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Several of the older *sisaok* stated that the *tutwinam* concept was not indigenous to Bella Coola; it had been recently

[14]None of the first people came to earth as Wasps, but several received so much help from these insects that they are regarded as crests by the descendants of those whom they assisted.

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use his own discretion as to the design. At the top he always 211
places the bird or animal cloak in which his first ancestor, 556
traced patrilineally, came to this earth. Beneath this is the
cloak of his mother's first ancestor if it differs from his father's. 778
There are no fixed rules for other representations. Sometimes 532
a man wishes to display the cloaks of the first ancestors of his
wife, or wives; more often, the designs are of creatures with [773]
which his own ancestors came in contact after reaching this
earth.[4] One of the first settlers, *Smaoan* (I, p. 332), married
a Bella Bella woman from whom he obtained a ceremony connected with a whale, an animal which has often been used on the totem-poles of his descendants. The lower figures on totem-poles often represent creatures from which a recent ancestor of the chief obtained supernatural assistance. Consequently, the number of designs which may be used is legion, and the order of portrayal is immaterial. Moreover, Bella Coola art is not sufficiently realistic for designs to be easily recognized, nor is there standard conventionalization of little used animals; so it follows that the designs on totem-poles are often unidentifiable.[5] This is of little consequence, since their value rests neither upon the artistic skill exhibited, nor even upon their significance in connection with the owner's ancestral myth, but upon the goods expended to validate the display.

All Bella Coola totem-poles are carved from the trunks of [824]
huge cedars, with the wood cut away so that the designs stand
out in high relief. The carvers are allowed great latitude both [184]
in choice of form and colouring, hence there is wide variation

[4] *Mintsamlair* is the term applied to animals with which ancestors came in contact, other than their cloaks. [825]

[5] This statement represents the layman's point of view, that is, of the Bella Coola who was not himself a carpenter-sculptor. It is probable that an expert would have greater facility in recognizing the conventionalized forms used by his associates, although the whole pattern of Bella Coola culture was opposed to extreme standardization. Unfortunately, wood-carving, in fact art work of every kind, had degenerated to such an extent that only one man with any recognized skill in that respect was still living when this study was made. He was both unreliable and uncooperative, so that it was impossible even to collect examples of his work, still less to record his interpretations of the designs of masks or other objects carved by his predecessors. [184] [182] [115]

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a man, *ux-unaisa*, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience 424
to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it 463
has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this function. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the validation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary 551 693
ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but [773]
non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name *ux-unaisa* has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been en- 784
forced concerning the river: No refuse may be thrown in, 825
otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the 226
same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe
lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them [515]
from seeing the route. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes 841
is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the [562]
fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed [502]
must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose [765]
husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are considered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the 688
salmon and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the 693
offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringements, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river. The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

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539 to climb up to visit his grandfather. *Bo'estem* did not discourage him, so his son began the ascent and soon disappeared from sight. In course of time he reached the land above and made his way to his grandfather, *Ālqunstm*, who was delighted to see him. He told his visitor that he was weary of constantly carrying the sun's light, and asked him to relieve [821] him of the duty for a time. He mentioned that on previous occasions when his wife had acted as his substitute, she, being a woman, had been shy and had hidden herself behind clouds. The boy was willing to undertake the task and listened to his grandfather's instructions; in the morning he was to use only one fire stick, a little later, two, then three, and, finally, four at midday. In the afternoon he was to decrease the number in a manner corresponding to the morning's increase.[11]

Next day *Ālqunstm* went away for a holiday after entrusting his grandson with the precious fire sticks. As soon as he was alone, the malicious youth began to pile one after another on the fire, until people in the world far below were wakened at dawn by the suffocating warmth. *Bo'estem*'s son threw on log after log, each increasing the heat below. The earth began to sizzle, and finally burst into flames, and the water boiled in the rivers and ocean. *Sinxawa* had realized what must be the matter as soon as she felt the great heat, so she went outside and rubbed her hand over the planks on her house. Thus protected, those within survived, although all other human beings perished. Most of the animals [825] escaped by hiding, though the weasel failed to conceal the tip of its tail which was burnt black, a characteristic inherited by all weasels ever since. *Ālqunstm* felt the heat and hurried home.

"You have done great harm to mortals," he burst out angrily. "Henceforth you shall live on earth as a mink." [825]

Ālqunstm seized his grandson and cast him to earth in this guise.

539 The survivors of the catastrophe multiplied until the whole world 551 was repopulated from the single household. Each of them took an *a'alk* 575 name from the burning, and these have been transmitted from one to another of the descendants of each until this day. One of these, a *nuxwal* name, is *Stalqalaxam*, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks"; another, a *Hatqtkam*, *umukwulsaix*, "The Track of the Sun"; a third, *Shmi*, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log."

539 The following Kimsquit story[11] describes the obtaining of 575 an *a'alk* prerogative in the distant past.

[11]For another version of this tale, see Boas, p. 95.
[11]Related by Jim Pollard.

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Long ago, there lived in Kimsquit a young chief who was a great hunter. On one occasion, he was camping in a cave, *Anokokwāls*, on the mountains when not only its roof, but the dome of the sky as well, opened so that he was able to gaze into the upper regions of space. From this manifestation of the supernatural, he took for himself the name *Ālkwi*, "The Opening of the Upper Regions," and validated it by giving valuable presents. This name has been transmitted from generation to generation and was recently brought to the present owner by his wife. With it is the prerogative of distributing potlatch gifts outside the house since the first *Ālkwi* claimed that the sky itself was his only ceiling.

A few years after *Ālkwi* had had this experience, he and his three brothers left Kimsquit by canoe to hunt mountain goats at *Suxwālk*. To their surprise, a gull perched on the bow of their canoe; they did not scare it away, thinking it indicated a manifestation of the supernatural. At intervals it left its perch and circled around the canoe, but soon returned. As they neared the landing-place, the gull flew ashore and changed into a yearling mountain goat. *Ālkwi* told his brothers, of whom the second was named *Ālkexa* and the third *O'miāsl*, that he believed this to be a further visitation of the supernatural to himself and that he would investigate it, and later meet them at *Anokokwāls*.

Ālkwi leapt ashore and followed the yearling goat. Wherever the road was rough, his strange guide travelled slowly so that his human companion could follow him. At length they came to a deep chasm with sheer walls about six feet apart, and a ledge running along one side. *Ālkwi* followed the goat along this, until the animal leapt across the gorge, struck the face of the precipitous rock, and vanished. It was clear that he had passed into the interior of the mountain and the chief could hear the distant sound of a drum.

"I can die but once," he said to himself.

Then the brave hunter leapt across the chasm, struck the rock, and passed through it as if it had been tissue paper, to find himself in a vast cavern amid a large number of people. These were really animals who had gathered to await the coming of his guide, the yearling goat. The latter told him not to be afraid, that henceforth he would be under the protection of all animals and would not come to harm, no matter how often he hunted. With breathless interest, *Ālkwi* watched the performance of a *naqual* dance, for every yearling goat is a supernatural dancer of this type. The ceremony lasted throughout the night, and next morning he set out for *Anokokwāls*, not realizing that it was really a year since he had left his brothers.

Meanwhile, though the three brothers had almost despaired of their elder's safe return, they patiently remained at their post, and after a year were overjoyed to see smoke rising from *Anokokwāls*. They hurried

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variegated plumage. When everything was ready, *Ālquntām* sent a house, built like his own, and all that it contained down to *Snuhli* under the guidance of a man, to whom he had given his own name and his own power. This human *Ālquntām* tried to paint Raven, without being able to please the petulant fellow, until, becoming disgusted, he coated him a uniform black which Raven could not remove. Now all was finished, and when *Ālquntām* opened the door, out rushed the animals and the birds. In the press *Qao·ltaks*, the Duck, whose seat was on the left of the fire facing inwards, was stepped upon; that is why to this day the duck can only waddle awkwardly. Her neighbour, *Sqwal·ātin*, another species of duck, whose place was opposite *Qao·ltaks*, was not injured; consequently she can walk comfortably. 539* [825]

Among the animals released was Deer, who rushed down to the river, seized some sticks, thrust them up on his head where they grew into antlers which had hitherto been lacking. There was no fire in the world then, so Deer determined to obtain some from the house of *Ālquntām* above. He returned aloft and began to dance. *Ālquntām*, not recognizing the disguised Deer, watched the performer with interest. Suddenly the crafty one thrust his head down into the flames, transfixing some of the burning sticks on his antlers and rushed away, with *Ālquntām* in vain pursuit. This is the way fire was brought to the world. [825]

In course of time, the man, *Ālquntām*, amassed enough goods to give a potlatch, taking for himself the name *Ālquntāmaāks*, as the supreme god had decreed. When the guests had assembled Deer danced, but in his wild gyrations he kicked some of the visitors, wounding them. The irate *Ālquntāmaāks* chased him out of the house and told him never to return. The guests then gave presents to *Ālquntāmaāks*, to his heralds, and to those who had been injured by Deer.

Since that time whenever the owner of the name *Ālquntāmaāks* gives a potlatch he erects a house similar to that brought down by his first ancestor with a totem-pole showing a design of Raven. Included in the ritual is a presentation of presents similar to that carried out by the guests to the first *Ālquntāmaāks*; it is not clear whether this was originally done as a mark of goodwill or whether it was to shame the host on account of maltreatment of the guests. Belonging to this origin myth is the *nuiqual* name, *Taliokān·a*.

The inclusion of such explanatory details as this is a common feature of origin myths and illustrate the way in which traditions blend into narratives; in the old days they would not have been related at potlatches, but it seems wise to include them where necessary at the end of individual myths.

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cedars that flourish on that part of the coast. Thanks to their supernatural power they were able to carry these easily. 539*

Returned to *Smaian·a* they built a dug-out canoe of birch(?), the outside of which, and also the paddles, they decorated with abalone-shells. The effect was very beautiful, and they named the canoe, *Ki'laielotl*. In this craft the six set out down the Bella Coola River. When still above *Stuix* they stopped to investigate a beating sound and found that it came from the house of *Oǫsmai*. The latter invited them to come in, using *Dudusongʷ*'s name, which he knew in some mysterious manner. When they entered they found that the beating sound was caused by their host's daughter, *Kānustāliām*, who was sitting in the back-room, thumping a copper which she was holding as if it had been an infant. *Oǫsmai* was much impressed with his guests' canoe, and they with his. A trade was mutually agreeable, as a result of which the travellers obtained a copper canoe named *Łāliaelotl*, fitted with copper paddles. *Dudusongʷ* married *Kānustāliām*, who embarked with him and his brothers and sisters. They had not gone far when they were hailed by the chief of a village, who also knew *Dudusongʷ*'s name.

"*Dudusongʷ*," he called out, "your canoe is not much good; it has to be paddled or poled. Let us trade. You take my canoe, *Kwakwaoslotl*,[24] it travels with its own power."

Dudusongʷ was unwilling to part with *Łāliaelotl*, but at last agreed. The seven now travelled rapidly in their merganser canoe to the coast, not stopping at the villages which they saw on the way. At the mouth of the Bella Coola River, *Dudusongʷ* cast into the water one of the fish which *Ālquntām* had given him; it became the progenitor of all the Bella Coola olachen. The travellers went thence to the head of South Bentinck Arm where *Dudusongʷ* threw out another olachen, the forefather of all that now frequent this place. He repeated this at Rivers Inlet, at Smith Inlet, and at every fiord on the coast, wherefore olachen are plentiful in British Columbia at the present day. At *Łāliaml*, a town of which the location is uncertain, *Dudusongʷ* was received as a benefactor and given the name *Ťłākwakila*. After visiting all the rivers on the coast *Ālkwi* and his party returned to Bella Coola, where they finally settled at *Stuix*. [825]

Throughout their travels they had carried the cedar trees with them, and they now planted them at *Stuix*. That is why fine cedars have flourished there since that date. The four brothers built a comfortable house and also constructed a salmon-weir in the river, which made them so prosperous that people came from far and near to pledge their daughters to the fishermen. They were able to give numerous potlatches and so display a totem-pole, the design of which *Ālquntām* had shown to *Ālkwi* [824] [532]

[24] *Kwakwaos* is a merganser.

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their craft and set out on foot along the overland path to the head of South Bentinck Arm. 539*

Midway along this trail the travellers saw a house, called *Tcäkwalott* because it could lengthen itself at will. From this supernatural sight each of the five became a shaman. This house was a replica of the one above in which mankind was made and, like it, contained many rooms, in each of which lived an individual speaking a different language. *Äl·imlsaix* failed to understand them and in his annoyance scattered the speakers, who fled to different parts of the coast where each increased and perpetuated his own language. This is why the various coastal tribes have [829] their own tongues; if *Äl·imlsaix* had been able to understand them in *Tcäkwalott* there would be no diversity of speech now.

Various dances were taking place in the rooms within the house. There was a constant din from the large whistles used in *sisaok* ceremonial which sounded of their own accord and were continually answered by Echo. [424] Only at this place ~~and at~~ *Nusqalst* did Echo appear to the first people; [535] hence only the descendants of *Äl·imlsaix* and of the *Nusqalst* people have the right to portray him in their dances. *Äno°likwolsaix* (II, p. 8) stood near the door; when at last she called out, the *sisaok* whistles became silent as if in fear.

Continuing their journey the travellers reached *Täl·io*, at the head of South Bentinck Arm, where a solitary man, *Nusxemda*, was living. At this place *Ťlakwakilayekwa* gave birth to Raven, who was born as a boy with the legs of a raven. *Äl·imlsaix* named him *ixlqotlamsqwaxdjinas*. After a short sojourn at *Täl·io* they ascended the river, and presently *Äl·imlsaix* saw a female grizzly bear, whom he also invited to join the party as his sister. The bear accepted and he endeavoured to change the creature to a woman. He had fair success with the paws and face; that is why these parts of a bear are similar to those of men at the present day, but the beast's hairy hide defied his efforts and in disgust he told it to run away. Before banishing it, he bade the animal always show a friendly disposition to human beings, wherefore grizzly bears at *Täl·io* [825] have never been known to attack a person. The party proceeded up the river to Mount *Stap'*, where *Äl·imlsaix* found a repository (II, p. 8) through the discovery of which he became a Cannibal with the name *Smunkka°ks* and an eagle as incubus. From this point they returned to *Täl·io*, where they settled permanently.

Many of the names which occur in the myth are still in use. Mrs. 551 Schooner's designation as chief is *Ťlakwakilayekwa*, a name that can be used by either man or woman; in the former case the suffix *yekwa* is

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*539 829 special type of whistle. *Kaospokłānum* remained in this house until he had given four potlatches. Then he removed to *Āxst·i*, near *Tāl·io* River on South Bentinck Arm. His house still stands there, but it has become an island around which the clouds mass whenever a hostile raiding-party is approaching, so as to conceal from them their objective.

[197] From their long residence in this house *Tāl·io* people understand the language of their Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and other coastal neighbours better than do the Bella Coola.

FOURTH ORIGIN MYTH OF *Tāl·io*[28]

*539 Among the first people sent down to earth were four who landed at the river *Tcold*, on the mainland opposite Fort Rupert. Their names were: *Ninitsamlaix*, a man who became the leader of the group; *Nuyal·a-laix*, a woman; *Ānuskimethm*, a man; and another woman, *Snuxmethmān·a*. They met a wasp, which helped them by pointing out the proper road to follow and by killing evil things which barred their path. With this assistance they were able to reach *Tāl·io*, where they settled and where *Ninitsamlaix* plucked a number of twigs from the branches of a spruce tree near the ocean. These twigs became the people over whom he was chief.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nulał*[29]

In the beginning of time there came down to Mount *Swakx*, near the mouth of the Dean River, two brothers, *Xemcua* and *Sinuxstl*, their sister *Qākms*, and their herald *Qāqāᵃli*. *Xemcua* came as an eagle, but at once assumed human form; apparently the others had always been human. They moved down, and formed a settlement at *Nulał*, near the mouth of the Dean River. *Xemcua* had brought with him as a present from *Ālquntām*, some olachen, called by their supernatural name, *ālqexaiyen·a*, which he [825] threw into the water. They increased rapidly and became the ancestors of all the olachen at Kimsquit. Thus provided with food, the brothers prospered so that they were able to give many potlatches. In course of time *Qākms* was married to *Noākila*, a chief who had come to earth on the upper Dean River.

At one of their potlatches *Sinuxstl* performed a *llaiyākam* dance, as *Ālquntām* had instructed him to do before leaving *Nuxmāt·a*. Valuable

[28] Fragmentary version, related by Billy Pollard.

[29] For another version see Boas, p. 65. It was impossible to obtain this myth from any of the descendants of *Xemcua*; it is unlikely that the above is more than an outline.

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*539 the people of Kimsquit and the Dean River, and ever since then inter-
[582] marriages have been common.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Siwal·os*[45]

Soon after the first people had reached this earth *Älquntäm* feared that as they increased, they might quarrel about land tenure. Accordingly he sent down to *Siwal·os*, on the Dean River thirty-five miles from the sea, three brothers, *Älquntäm*, *ıyuyuyut*, and *Łäliäxsa*, a name in many
[551] cases used by women, with their sister *Sxape·tl*. He gave the oldest brother instructions to divide the land among the different villages. *Älquntäm* came in the guise of a mountain goat, but promptly sent his animal cloak back to the land above, before starting downstream. To the inhabitants of each town he allotted certain valleys in the vicinity to serve as hunting-grounds, and told the people that these, and only these, were to be theirs forever. After reaching the coast, he travelled down Dean Inlet as far as the Bella Bella country, likewise allotting land to the different settlements, and marking each boundary with a stick. After finishing his task, *Älquntäm* returned up the Dean River to his brothers. The three built a weir that spanned the river, and in it they caught so many steel-head salmon that the Carriers used to come from great distances to buy from them. *Sxape·tl* was married to a chief living on the lower part of the river, and her brothers, too, came below for their wives. *Älquntäm* ultimately moved to *Nusqäpts*, on the east side of the Dean River, twenty-five miles from the sea.

ıyuyuyut had come from above in the form of a deer. After taking
[825] off this cloak, he released it as an animal, which became the ancestor of all the deer near Kimsquit. They did not like *Siwal·os*, where it was very cold, so they moved to *Nihtcıks*, on Dean Inlet, about three miles below Kimsquit, and there built their town. Unfortunately, the snowfall was so heavy that they had much trouble in lighting their fires; sometimes as much as ten feet of snow fell in a single night.

"Please, *Łäliäxas*," said the deer, "don't keep falling on us."

In the language of men, *snow* is *kai*, and *Łäliäxas* means, "Copper One," but the language of deer is quite different. The snow, unmoved by their appeals, continued to fall, until at last the deer held a meeting and resolved to move away to the outer coast near Bella Bella, and never
[825] return again. They carried out this plan, and it is only within the last few years that some have come back, although for centuries none lived near Kimsquit.

[45]Related by Jim Pollard.

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ORIGIN MYTH OF *Äsklia*[46]

539*

In the beginning of time *Älquntäm* sent down to *Äsklia*, Salmon House on the Dean River, *Noäkila*, his younger brother *Tcaqos*, and their sister *Snulkänäls*, "Box," so named from a supernatural box in the land above. *Tcaqos* brought a caribou with him, and released it on earth.[47] With these people came as herald, The Wasp of Heaven, who later assumed human form and guided them. *Tcaqos* at once moved inland to the country of the Carrier Indians, where he remained,[48] taking the adapted name *Qäqos*.

Noäkila, unprovided with a house or clothing, was so lonely and unhappy that for four days he lay hungry, inert and despondent, alone with his sister. *Älquntäm* had promised to provide for his welfare, and, four days after *Noäkila*'s landing, sent down the four supernatural carpenters to help him. *Yulätimut* at once cheered his drooping spirits by building him a house, which was a replica of *Nusmät·a* itself. *Noäkila* asked the third carpenter, *Mätläbälitcak*, to provide him with food, and the latter, obedient to *Älquntäm*'s instructions, whittled a steel-head salmon from maple wood and put it into the river. The fish came to life, swam, and jumped for a short time, but soon died. The carpenter tried several times with the same result. Then Raven appeared and gave him the bone which every steel-head salmon has in the back of its neck. *Mätläbälitcak* put this bone in one of his wooden models, and when he had thrown it in the river it swam strongly and survived. This fish multiplied so rapidly that *Noäkila* and his sister were able to support themselves on this kind of salmon, which have been plentiful in the Dean River ever since. [825]

After a time *Noäkila* decided to visit the people dwelling on the ocean. He asked *Mätläbälitcak* for a canoe, and the carpenter made him one in the form of an enormous merganser, that travelled without visible motive power. At that time the Dean River disappeared beneath a huge boulder a short distance above the sea, but the craft shattered the rock and opened a channel.[49]

At the mouth of the Dean River *Noäkila* met *Xemcua* and married his sister *Qäkms*, using at this ceremony a wordless marriage song given him by *Älquntäm*. They had many children and ever since that time there have been intermarriages and friendly relations between the people of Salmon House and Kimsquit. [582]

[46]Related by Jim Pollard; for another version of this myth see Boas, p. 66.

[47]Its footprints can still be seen in the rocks near Salmon House.

[48]The obvious fact that the Carriers must already have been in the land does not strike the Bella Coola. They do not theorize on the subject, but if asked, reply that they too were sent down from above at the same time. [829]

[49]The canyon on this river marks the site of the obstruction.

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*539 [551] The names embodied in this myth are stilll in use. That of *Noākila* was validated at a potlatch during the winter of 1921, after being dormant since the death of the eighth *Noākila*, an old man, which had taken place some thirty years previously.[40] To illustrate this myth a representation is made of the merganser canoe, a specimen of which, obtained by Mr. Harlan I. Smith, is now in the National Museum, Ottawa.

According to another version of this myth, *Noākila* and his party came to earth at Anaham Lake, in the country of the Carriers, bringing with them the steel-head salmon. They first went to *Stuix*, but *Noākila* did not like the place, so released only a few of the fish. They returned to Anaham Lake, and from there went to Salmon House. They found this spot so desirable that they settled and set free their store of steel-head salmon. That is the reason why this fish is so plentiful in the Dean River, and so relatively rare in the Bella Coola. [825]

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Sä·ıtsk*'[41]

In the beginning of time *Älquntäm* constructed an abalone-shell covered post which reached from *Nusmät·a* to *Älwolsqämus*, a mountain near the Kimsquit River, not far from its mouth. To this place came from above two men, *Smaoan*, "The First One," and his younger brother, *Omqomkilıka*. The former flew down as an eagle, but the latter, in raven form, swarmed down the post, which vanished after he had reached the earth. *Smaoan* spread his wings, like a mother bird, to shelter his younger brother. *Älquntäm* had given *Omqomkilıka* a box containing sockeye salmon, with instructions to throw them into the ocean, where they would increase rapidly to serve as food for him and his elder brother. He also taught the two how to build a salmon-weir to catch the fish. The brothers climbed down the mountain-side to the mouth of the Kimsquit River, where *Omqomkilıka* became a man and sent back his raven cloak above. He then released the salmon as he had been instructed, and also another present from *Älquntäm*, a *mätsqus* (I, p. 525), which was to serve as bait not only for fish but also for wealth and goods.

Smaoan declined to assume human form immediately, so began to travel, and his younger brother, sad at being thus left alone, started to

[40]This was the only instance given of an approximation of the interval since the first peopling of the earth. The Bella Coola usually reply, "long, long ago," and have not questioned further. This myth was received from a reliable informant, but it is doubtful whether his statement concerning the "eighth" *Noākila* would find credence among most Bella Coola. Even if it should be the eighth, that would be of little value in estimating the period at which the Bella Coola believe the earth to have been populated, since names may remain dormant for generations. [173]

[41]Related by Jim Pollard.

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BB 539 BC * 539 BC BB [226] [825]

a person has been in contact with supernatural beings to enable him to enter.

Ailsamka told them everything, that her mother had failed to teach her how to cut up black cod, "so *Ḷomoqwa* sent blackfish to catch me so that I could be taught," she said. "You must be very careful to cut them up properly or trouble will come upon you."

The correct method, as taught by Raven, is to split the fish cleanly without severing the bones. *Ḷā·pxaok*'s daughter had erred by cutting the one which is equivalent in a fish to the human collar-bone. She told them of the fish that abounded in *Ḷomoqwa*'s house; of the red-fish, which disobeyed their mother by playing outside the house so that their stomachs were often forced out from their mouths[n] and they floated up to the surface; of *Ḷomoqwa* himself and his large hat; and of the other denizens of the underworld. The people listened attentively and ever after cut up black cod in the prescribed fashion, though if *Ailsamka* had not been carried off to *Ḷomoqwa*'s house Raven's teaching would undoubtedly have been forgotten.

Not long after his daughter's safe return *Ḷā·pxaok* gave a potlatch. He took for himself the name *Ḷomoqwa*, and at the same time reproduced in his own house as much as possible of what his daughter had described. Thus there were imitation fishes, especially the halibut, around the house, while the red-fish were shown as wooden models that could be drawn up to the roof by hidden strings representing the manner in which the fish float up to the surface of the ocean. *Ḷomoqwa*, himself, was shown wearing his large ball topped hat, of the type known as *biḷotl*.[n]

While *Ailsamka* was under the water *Ḷomoqwa* had shown her *sisaok* whistles, and at this potlatch they were used while the girl was concealed within the back-room as a *sisaok* initiate.

BC [177] [556]

This was the[n] origin of the *sisaok* ceremonial, which spread in time from the *isläms* people to the Bella Coola. The name *Ḷomoqwa* passed to one of *Ḷā·pxaok*'s descendants who, when he gave a potlatch, arranged

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BC BB

[n]The red-fish is an unidentified deep-sea fish which dies in shallow water through lack of pressure.

[424] [292] [532]

[n]This style was always worn by *Ḷomoqwa* and *Ālqunläm* and, as many of the first people obtained their power from one or other of these beings, the prerogative of using such hats at potlatches is quite common. They are made of cedar roots, are waterproof, and are usually painted with one of the wearer's ancestral crests. When either *Ḷomoqwa* or *Ālqunläm* is shown on a totem-pole he is displayed with one of these hats.

[n]It will be noted that the narrator tacitly assumes any origin recorded in his myth to be the sole, or authentic one.

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CHAPTER VII

BIRTH, ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE

Birth—Childhood Instruction—Puberty Rites—Marriage

Birth

It was impossible to obtain definite data on the fertility of Bella Coola women, or on the period elapsing between marriage and the birth of the first child. Sterility is rare, though by no means unknown; on the other hand, there are several families with as many as eight or nine children. The changed conditions which have followed the advent of the white man seem to have had little influence on the high birth-rate, although infant mortality has increased enormously. Within the last few years this has diminished, so that the Bella Coola are now holding their own. Children are always desired, and although methods of abortion and infanticide have been known for many years, neither practice seems to have been sufficiently common to have produced an appreciable effect on the population.

Pregnancy usually occurs during the year following marriage. Though its actual dependence upon coition is fully realized, yet the Bella Coola, religiously minded in this as in all other aspects of life, ascribe the condition to the four *Mesmesälänux* acting on the behest of *Älquntäm*. It is believed that the Carpenters carve out the child who is to be born in the same way that a human craftsman manufactures some complicated object. Most individuals do not theorize to any extent upon the course of biological development, but are content to assume that *Älquntäm* has made the coming birth possible.

During pregnancy the expectant mother must observe certain restrictions. If she chews gum, she will have a difficult delivery; if she eats salmon tails, the feet of the infant will appear before the head, and although skilled assistants can usually rotate a child, this is a painful process which should be avoided.

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843 be avoided. If she walks on a beaver dam, or dips her head
825 into a pool made by this animal, the birth of her infant will be blocked in the same way that the dam restrains a stream. This difficulty can be obviated, however, by dipping up the water with her hands instead of bending her head to the surface to drink. As far as possible, she must avoid being startled by
[774] small animals or reptiles; even if the excitement so caused is too slight to expel her own spirit, it may be sufficient to damage that of the foetus. Such dangers can be countered by means of magical rites (I, p. 720). Her husband is also subject to certain injunctions and prohibitions. If he eats beaver meat his wife's delivery will be difficult. He must preserve a small piece of the skin or an eye of every animal that he kills; a few
[846] days after birth the child is steeped in the smoke of a fire on which these articles have been thrown. This prevents injury from the father's quarry.[1]

A pregnant woman continues to reside in her own house, where her condition is a source of interest to her friends and relatives. There are no midwives with inheritable professional
844 prerogatives, but as the time for delivery draws near, arrange-
[424] ments are made for the mother or some other experienced female relative to be in attendance. It is quite proper for the husband to attend to this point, though it is customary for elderly female relations to do so, sometimes those of the wife, sometimes those of her husband. A woman who, having herself borne children, has assisted at many births with success, is often requested to be present, and it is taken as a matter of course that she will be rewarded for her services.

When the pains of labour begin, the patient leaves the house with her assistant or assistants. In summer the party goes to some lonely spot in the woods where a rude wind-break may have been erected; in winter, to a sheltered spot beneath a
[171] house. No man can be present, a point in which the Bella Coola state that their culture differs from that of the Kwakiutl. The midwife manipulates the infant so that the birth is made

[1]This rite is described in detail later (I, p. 720).

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further conceptions by wriggling her body on her haunches 842
immediately after the delivery of a child.

To the Bella Coola religious concepts of birth are as im- 826
portant as the physiological aspects. The blood discharged
at birth, and the mother from whom it has come, is *sxaiäx*, a 844
word difficult to translate. It is applied to a person or thing 783
which is taboo, and combines the significance of "uncanny," "abhorred," "to be avoided," "feared"; perhaps "unclean," in the biblical sense, is the best synonym. Essentially human, this blood is not only potent against supernatural beings, but is dangerous to man as well. For this reason a mother must never be delivered within a house. The smell of the unclean blood might kill all resident within, or at least prevent them receiving presents of any kind. Supernatural beings and inherent supernatural powers are alike repelled by it.

A recent mother is taboo and must exercise due precautions 845
to prevent her baneful influence from affecting her associates, but this power is most strongly present in one who has borne twins. Even younger people, sophisticated in most matters, shudder when speaking of twins; fortunately, double births are not common. They are attributed to the entry of a salmon [825]
into the body, so that a twin is half-salmon, half-human. Occasionally a woman who is pregnant with twins discovers [787]
her condition in a dream and avoids the perils of a multiple birth by calling upon a shaman to remove the spirit from one [756]
foetus so that the infant will be born dead and deformed. If this is not done, the two infants arrive in due course, to the horror and grief of parents and relatives. Though abhorred, [847]
no case is known of the killing of a twin at birth.

Instead of the two children being brought back to the village, word is sent to the father who must join his wife in the temporary shelter in the woods where delivery took place. For one year, they must not return home, and during this period must eat no salmon. Four times during the year they must shift from one shelter to another, each built on the bank of a small creek. The mother can draw water from this stream

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845 alone, and when she leaves it, it dries up immediately. When a year has elapsed, the parents return home with their children and the father resumes the ordinary routine of life. For three years more the mother must remain in the house, leaving it only at night through a hole in the floor. Above all else, she must keep away from the river; she cannot draw water from it, nor can she cut salmon on its bank. One instance is remem-
[753] bered in which the parents of twins failed to observe these restrictions; their legs became swollen and they soon died. In addition to punishment of the offenders in cases such as
[825] this, there is danger that if they fail to obey the customary taboos the salmon will be insulted and avoid the Bella Coola River.

[778] After four years a mother of twins resumes her normal life,
[787] but she is henceforth endowed with special powers. If she wishes to see anyone who is absent, she has only to think of the person, and in her dreams she will be able to see him. She must never try to start up a dying fire by blowing upon it, since to do so would cause a gale. When a person sets out on any kind of an expedition from the house in which a mother of twins is living, the latter must chew a little food and spit it out towards the departing guest, otherwise he will fail in his venture.

845 Twins themselves, being akin to salmon, have miraculous
825 ability to see their fish-kinsmen and read their thoughts. Bella Coola mythology contains many stories of the way in which twins could talk with, and change into, salmon. Such knowledge is not limited to tales of the distant past. An elderly Bella Coola described the manner in which her grandmother, a twin related to Sockeye Salmon, was consulted by a man who had been unlucky with his weir. Gazing down into the water, this woman saw that the fish were avoiding his dam because of the charred uprights used in its construction; when these were changed he was successful in his fishing.

845 Twins are believed to possess remarkable ability from earliest childhood, and even to remember incidents occurring

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855 well, and these are soon learnt by the child who is fortunate
[867] enough to have many kinsmen. Primarily, responsibility rests with the parents for the care and support of their offspring, but they have the advice, assistance, and material aid of their relatives. Nor are these limited to the near kindred of either father or mother; all members of the ancestral family take their part. Housemates, also, even if unrelated, take an interest in any child who shares their habitation, irrespective of his rank.

Much of the care bestowed on children is of a magical nature and must be reserved until a later chapter. Little boys
868 follow their fathers on hunting expeditions and so acquire knowledge by practical experience, as do girls from their mothers with regard to household tasks and feminine occupations.
867 Even small children are quick to notice the attention paid to the orders of chiefs, and carry out their commands without demur. A disobedient child is beaten or thrown into cold
861 water; the parents usually act in such cases, though a near relative does not hesitate to do so, especially if he is a chief.
857 Like all other children, Bella Coola boys and girls are fond of
867 stories and listen eagerly to the tales told in the long evenings by some old man or woman. Many of these are somewhat
538 obscene, but they serve to teach much ancient lore, and at the same time to emphasize many taboos and restrictions which are thus assimilated without definite schooling. They illus-
[626] trate the laws of morality, as does the public disapproval shown to anyone who infringes some point of etiquette or behaviour.
[825] If a child makes fun of a cat-fish or a bull-head, he is not told to stop doing so; instead, one of his elders tells him how, in the distant past, there was a famine, and advises him not to scoff at the fish which alone saved his ancestors from starvation at that time. If a rude little boy laughs at a maimed or deformed
[732] man, he is told of *Ăläläls*, a Bella Bella urchin who repeatedly mocked a one-eyed man and presently, himself, lost the sight of an eye.

867 "Don't laugh at cripples, blind people, or those who are
[735]

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867 imitation potlatches, but he cannot himself carry out a cere-
556 mony until he has reached manhood.

Puberty Rites

881 The change from childhood to adult age is, of course, more obvious with girls than with boys, and the former alone must observe strict taboos. Menstrual blood, like that which follows delivery, is unclean, especially that emitted at the first dis-
[784] charge. A woman who has just given birth is a *sxaiäx*; an adolescent girl, a *sxyexwi*, that is, "A Person Not Fully Tabooed"; the attitude with which the former is regarded is held, in a lesser extent, for the latter.

At the first indication, the girl asks a woman to inform her mother of her condition, and goes home immediately if she happens to be away at the time. Her parents at once make a small enclosure or bedroom of planks or matting in either of the front corners of the house, providing it with a trap-door and ladder by which she can leave without passing through the front door. There the girl must lie for four days, with legs close together and bent at the knees, never stretched out straight. She is not allowed to drink anything, and must eat sparingly; if she should consume much food, she would be greedy when an adult. When necessary for her to leave the enclosure, a woman must always accompany her. Her mother, or some other female relative, provides her with the usual soft cedar-bark pads. On the fifth day, she leaves her shelter early in the morning with one feminine friend and goes to a secluded pool back in the forest, where she washes for the first time. Then she runs rapidly through the woods, which has the effect of making her a strong woman. Should a girl fail to do this,
[753] she would be afflicted with an illness caused by the salmon, become blind, and die young.

784 For one year an adolescent girl is subject to many restric-
881 tions. Her near approach to the river would offend the salmon and cause them to avoid Bella Coola, so she is not allowed to
[825] draw water, or even to appear on the bank. She may not use

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the most *human* of all substances, and, therefore, a potent 826
protection against supernatural beings. It is valuable as a 841
defence against evil monsters, but it is equally deadly to 789
shamans and other human beings with supernatural powers.
In the distant past, Raven taught mankind that to sleep with a 834
menstruating woman would so blind a man that he would be 841
unsuccessful in hunting. The belief is that animals, knowing
everything that takes place, avoid one who is so unclean. One [773]
old man mentioned that he had failed to obey this injunction [825]
and considered his loss of virility as a punishment, overlooking
the fact that he was over seventy years of age.

The coming of adolescence in a boy is recognized by change 881
in voice and the other usual indications. He is neither taboo
nor unclean, and consequently does not have to undergo any
restrictions on his actions. There is no ceremony to mark the
entry of a youth into adult membership of the tribe; instead,
this comes gradually and puberty is no more than an indication of increasing age and strength.

Marriage

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola 581
regard the married state as the normal condition of man. 589
Anyone unwilling to wed is considered unnatural. Since the
number of the sexes is approximately equal, the only persons
forced to live alone are elderly widows and widowers, and those [732]
crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are
looked upon as unfortunate; in fact, they have failed in one
of the most fundamental of life's struggles. Man provides fish 581
and game, builds houses and canoes, while woman collects
berries, makes baskets, cooks, and performs the multitudinous [462]
small household tasks.

"Is it not to the benefit of each to marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is not a mere economic arrangement, nor is its
sole function to regulate relations between the sexes. Its most [858]
important feature is that it governs the status of the child.

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763 to earth close by. In the winter of 1921-2 three Bella Coola
[824] were almost crushed in this manner; within a year the deaths took place of the wife of one, the mother of the second, and the daughter of the third. This was considered definite confirmation of their belief.

763 When a chief dies, a supernatural woman, *Skwanāt·ān·ā*,
776 "The Weeper," comes to earth to lament the loss. Crying piteously, she walks to and fro in the woods near the village where the death has taken place, but can be heard or seen only by a person in whose family there will soon be a fatality. This
[789] can be counteracted by going boldly to her and collecting some of the clotted mucus that drips from her nose as she weeps. If this is wrapped in the finder's clothing and stored for a year, it brings him good fortune and probably deflects the impending death, but to see "The Weeper" without knowledge of the proper procedure is to court disaster. A prominent Bella Coola woman died in June, 1922, and her son believed that he heard the lamentation of the supernatural visitor about six the next morning in the woods behind the missionary's house. He rushed forth to find her, but was unsuccessful. Within a few days, one of his nieces died, as was to be expected.

763 A comparatively common bird in Bella Coola is the
825 *kwakwas*, which is about the size of a robin and dark, greenish brown.[1] Its whistle is frequently heard and no significance is attached to it, but it is an omen of death if a *kwakwas* comes close to a house and chirps out, "*lsi·t*." On the night of February 20, 1924, one called beneath the window of a man who was about to start on a journey in his motor-boat. Next morning, although the bird lay dead beside his house, he insisted on starting. He camped at Restoration Bay where he was awakened by a voice calling his name, but could see no one. This was probably an owl, a bird which often foretells disaster by calling the name of the person to whom it will occur. Even this did not deter him and within twenty-four hours his

[1]The bird could not be identified, although it belongs to fact, not mythology.

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boat caught fire, his goods were destroyed, and he, himself, 763
barely escaped. The Bella Coola regard coincidences of this 825
kind as confirmation of their beliefs.

As in the last instance, death does not always follow the hearing or seeing of an omen; it may simply presage some calamity. It is dangerous for a person to be addressed by a dog, although it is well known that dogs understand human speech and can talk if they desire. At the time of the writer's visit, it was a matter of general knowledge that a dog had spoken to a middle-aged Bella Coola woman a few years earlier. The animal was shot immediately, and the woman [158] never revealed what it had said, but in spite of these precautions she became insane and has never fully recovered.

The stone man, *Yuyulmxl*, near Kimsquit, who figures so 763
prominently in Bella Coola mythology, is another death omen. [773]
In early times, all who passed his station used to call out to him, and it was thought that those whom he failed to answer would die within a year. In that case, the voice was welcome, [825]
but the speech of an owl is still regarded with dread. If one of these birds utters the name of a dead person, the individual hearing it will soon die.

Besides these well-recognized omens, the Bella Coola be- 763
lieve that any peculiar visitation or hallucination is a probable 828
precursor of disaster. In many cases these fears are unjustified, but there are always sufficient accidents and misfortunes to corroborate their belief. An old Kimsquit man told of the manner in which his son had once come rushing into the house saying that he had seen a strange, black-faced creature. His father feared that it might have been *Sxaiaxwax*.

"Perhaps it was," continued the old man, "for my boy soon died."

Irrespective of the actual cause of death, about which the father is uncertain, he is convinced that he knew of its coming by his son's omen-apparition.

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764 while the relatives are preparing the body for disposal. For a child, these services are performed by the parents; for a married man whose parents are dead, by his brothers and other kindred; for a married woman, by her husband or the members of her own family. If she has borne no children, it is customary for her relatives to carry out the funeral rites, especially if she has been many times rebought from her husband. If such repayment has not been made, it is considered correct for a husband to bury his wife, although it is a point of honour for her relatives to reimburse him later for his expenditure. On the other hand, when children have been born and financial assistance mutually given and received several times, it is proper for the husband to perform the funeral rites, although he may receive assistance from his wife's kinsmen. There is no rigid ruling on the point, but bickerings seldom occur in connection with disposal of the dead. Members of the ancestral family are ready to assist in every case, both on account of the disgrace that would follow a niggardly funeral, and also as a means of displaying their wealth.

[614] [556]

The first essential is to wash the body, a rite performed by men for a man, by women for a woman. It is immaterial who does this though some of the relatives usually volunteer. Neither husband nor wife touches a dead consort, though it is said that long ago a man would hold intercourse with a deceased wife to indicate his excessive grief. The most influential member of the immediate family takes the lead in the various necessary acts, although there is always endless discussion and advice from members of the ancestral family and others interested. A nose-ring is placed in the septum of the corpse; if this is omitted, the body will not be able to dissolve into its elements but will range the earth as a walking phantom, causing injury to anyone who observes it. If the deceased has just eaten some of the first run of spring salmon or olachen, a shaman washes out his mouth with a sponge of undyed cedar-bark which he throws into the river. The essence of the salmon is thus extracted from the body; if

[839] [301] [975] [825]

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this rite is neglected no more salmon will come to the river. No precautions are necessary after the food has been digested. 764 [825]

Many men prepare their coffins before death. If this has not been done, a large, wooden box is provided by a kinsman of the deceased. The body is dressed in good clothing and bound into a squatting position, head between knees, hands clasped around shins, and the haunches just above the level of the soles of the feet. In this posture it is thrust into the coffin. Particularly if the corpse has been brought from some distance and *rigor mortis* has set in, it may be necessary to break the back-bone and even to crush the skull before the box can be closed. A stone is placed on the back of the neck, within the coffin, to prevent the ghost from returning to haunt the survivors. A little choice food is placed beside the body of a dearly loved child for nourishment during the journey to the next world. [763] [602] [795]

From this point onwards, the funeral rites differ according to the rank of the deceased. On the death of an influential *nuuk*, the senior members of that society meet as soon as possible to arrange the dramatization of the coming of *Malakila*. A *nuuk* son, brother, or other near relative is always present even if he has little importance in the affairs of the society. If the death has taken place during the night, the conference is held the following morning and the rites begin at noon. There may be delay until all have gathered, but about the middle of the first possible day two *nuuk* are sent up one of the mountains behind the village. They carry large, cone-shaped whistles which they blow twice. The sound is plainly audible in the village and all, whether or not members of the *nuuk* society, recognize that a supernatural being is drawing near. After a short interval, another whistle is blown by a *nuuk* concealed on the roof of the house in which the corpse is lying, and after another pause the same sound comes from within, beside the body itself. Most of the uninitiated know that this is the voice of *Malakila* (also called *Sisiutlwum*), 575 766 [796]

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and recompense to funeral assistants is usually deferred until 964
that time. Such was often true even in former years, although 431
poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the
express purpose of publicly rewarding those who had helped 556
to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony
of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and
was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any con- [575]
venient ceremony, such as a non-sacred *nusak* dance. As [796]
repeatedly mentioned, when the people have been called to-
gether for a ceremony, advantage is often taken of the gathering
to settle debts or to perform rites of an entirely different nature.
It is probable that the summoning of guests solely to witness
the payment of helpers was always unusual; at present it never
occurs. On those occasions when a body was buried in secret [766]
after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the crest, the
goods of the deceased were deposited as usual in the cemetery.
Those who carried them were the ones who had performed the
secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking
articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the
gifts as reward for the hidden rite without exposing the
subterfuge.

Another type of ceremonial taking place after a funeral is 764
the cleansing from the contamination of death of near relatives 783
of the deceased, and of those who have handled the corpse. If
spring salmon or olachen are running, pall-bearers must not go
near the river for ten days, or twenty according to some infor- [825]
mants, after taking a body to the grave. They have become
tainted with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the
river bank, would poison the salmon. Unwillingness to become
affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly,
friendless slave being carried out to the cemetery by some old
women who covered him with boards. The taint on grave-
diggers cannot be removed, but automatically lapses after ten
days.

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife
whose consort has passed away. It is believed that *Sá-lma* [776]

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place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death. 764 783

The above rite protects widower or widow, but does not alter the fact that for one year they are ceremonially "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the ocean. The one near Kimsquit is called *Sqlan'li*, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of which the bottoms are bent upwards; should this be omitted, when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will soon die. 765 [783] [825] [262] [484] [292] [761]

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should cut their hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; if this rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and [626] [302] [834] [587] [735]

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775 to a ghost, he informs a shaman of the fact and the latter
[756] notifies the relatives of the deceased. If no shaman is convenient, the shade does not hesitate to help himself. Invisible,
264 and armed with a barbed hook, he approaches a person who is
775 eating and pulls away a crumb which falls to the earth. Should the eater stoop to pick this up, the ghost, robbed of his booty,
753 beats the offender with his hook, causing toothache or sometimes a sharp pain in the head or stomach. Other ailments are caused by the ghosts hitting with invisible stones those who have offended them. Consequently, no one picks up a crumb which has fallen, since it is impossible to know whether it has
[827] been an accident or a seizure. Another indication of a ghost's
[782] hunger is loss of a tooth. The loser should throw it on a fire with an invitation to the dead to accept his offering.

775 The barrier between ghosts and human beings is considered to be little more than a wall of smoke, just too dense for ordinary eyes to penetrate. In early times intercommunication between the denizens of the two worlds was so easy that a doting mother was once allowed to tend her dead child on earth. Unfortunately, the woman's mother one day insisted on holding her grandchild, unaware that he was a ghost. Shocked at his appearance, the old woman dropped the child, much to the anger of the dead people.[44] Ever since that time it has been impossible for human beings to see and talk with
[538] their deceased kinsmen. Like so many Bella Coola stories, it is doubtful whether this one is regarded as more than an item of ancient history; it is considered to be a fact, but it is not one that enters into the daily thoughts of the people.

[725] Ghosts frequently come to their old homes at night where dogs can see them. If one of these animals begins to bark and gazes fixedly at a spot where nothing is to be seen, it is because a wraith is standing there and the dog's owner hopes that it will remain invisible. It is true that some individuals have
[754] received shamanistic power from a ghost, but more often a visitation is disastrous and to be avoided. A dead person often

[44] This story is recorded in detail later (I, p. 577).

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came wailing voices and at intervals an agonized face appeared at one of the many small openings in the surface of the sphere. The supreme being, for the chief was none other, told him that those within the ball were evil persons, those who had committed theft or murder during life. *Mǎmaiyu*, though innocent of these crimes, decided that he would be safer on earth and asked for the glass with the white liquid, which he hastily drained. The supreme deity inquired what present he would like as token of the visit, and he requested a beaver-axe, that is, one with a crooked handle such as beaver use.[a]

At the moment when *Mǎmaiyu* drank the white liquid, his brother saw his body move very slightly. He hastily warmed some mountain goat grease and with this rubbed his face and mouth. At first he was unable to speak, owing to his muscles having become rigid from the cold, but they loosened gradually so that he was able to recount his experiences. *Mǎmaiyu*'s axe, being of supernatural origin, was invisible to all human beings, but this did not affect its potency, and from that time onwards the owner could catch beaver as easily as other men could catch salmon.

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The information contained in this story does not correspond at all with Bella Coola beliefs concerning the fate of the dead. They tell it, and assume that such experiences are normal for dead *Xuxais*, though unknown to their own people.

[825]

[a] The Bella Coola know that beaver must have axes of this kind to accomplish their work, although white people, deceived by the invisibility of these, believe the animals use their teeth. *Mǎmaiyu* received an axe of this type.

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in his cape and cried himself to sleep. The next day *'Yeāxdji* once more tried his luck fishing, but again only landed four bull-heads, and again cried himself to sleep. It was the same on the third day and the fourth, and in the evening the hungry and disconsolate youth wept for a long time, his head wrapped in his cape. 539 787 *

Presently he felt someone kick his foot and heard a voice saying, "Stop crying! Get up!"

When the startled *'Yeāxdji* opened his eyes there was no one in sight. Concluding that he must have been mistaken, he again covered his eyes and went to sleep. But he was aroused in the same way, once more without being able to see his visitor. This time before he lay down he made a tiny slit in his cape so that while he pretended to be asleep he was really watching through the eye-hole. Soon he saw approaching a beautiful woman whose hair was worn in long braids as was the fashion of Fort Rupert women. Eagerly *'Yeāxdji* threw back his cape, but at his first movement she vanished. There was nothing to do but hope that she would return, so he again lay down with the opening opposite his eye. Once more the woman drew near, but this time the youth did not move, even when she kicked him and repeated her command not to cry.

"I see you," he answered, "don't run away."

The strange woman sat down without demur.

"Why did you throw away my children?" she asked. "They showed kindly feeling towards you in allowing themselves to be caught, and yet you rejected them angrily. None the less I have seen your misery and have come to help you. First I shall cure you."

When she had done this the woman continued, "I am going to give you supernatural power; when you want anything, just think of me and it will appear. I give you the chief's name, *Kaiusdiās*; when you give a potlatch you must carve me on the posts of your house. My name is Beaver."

Then the woman vanished. She was a beaver in human form, which all animals are able to assume at will, though few mortals have the ability to see them except as animals. [825]

'Yeāxdji decided to test his newly received power by wishing for a house. He thought of Beaver, and forthwith there stood a fine house before him. By merely thinking of his benefactress he was soon able to fill it with goods, blankets, mats, boxes, benches, cooking utensils, and food of all kinds, and on the beach he soon had a flotilla of canoes. The size of the establishment proved the prosperity of its owner.

Meanwhile *Ḳomo'sala* and those with him were in dire straits for food. One day the old slave woman who had befriended *'Yeāxdji* happened to be foraging not far from *Ḳwiyai* when she saw smoke rising from the place.

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"It seems as if you attracted the salmon like a magnet," said the father to his son. 777

The latter did not answer immediately, but later he said: 787 *

"You were right," and he told him what had happened. [539]

"You have obtained supernatural good luck," the old man replied simply. [226]

Following his son's instructions the father prepared canoes and boxes to bring back the flesh of the Mother of Snakes. They collected every scrap of it, which they preserved very carefully, and used small portions as bait to attract salmon to their weir with such success that they became wealthy.

Another supernatural being from whom supernatural good fortune may be obtained is *Skwanät·än·a*, "The Female Mourner." When a chief dies she comes to wail, wandering through the woods near the village, where sometimes she can be seen in the form of a weeping woman. As she cries, she ejects mucus from her nose, which solidifies into a glass-like substance about a foot in length. Anyone who sees her should take the transformed mucus, and wrap it in some article of his own clothing; it will bring him good fortune. About midnight of June 21, 1922, the infant daughter of a Bella Coola died, and about seven o'clock on the following morning the wailing was heard[1] in the woods behind the missionary's house. The brother of the dead child's father rushed off to try to find the weeping one. Luckily he did not succeed, because he did not know about collecting the mucus, and trouble would have come to him had he seen the supernatural being without knowing how to deal with it; in fact, even to hear *Skwanät·än·a* is considered an omen of death. [776] [776] [763]

It will be seen from the foregoing specific instances that supernatural good luck is usually obtained by the slaying of some powerful creature. But, since every living creature is endowed with superhuman power, it follows that any object obtained from a bird or an animal that has acted in a peculiar way may be the cause of supernatural good fortune if it be kept for one year in the manner previously described. Some- [825] [224]

[1] Since the Bella Coola believe that it was heard, the incident is recorded as a fact.

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* 756 like power, and will tell their son to try the same method. In
* 787 this way a descendant of shamans has a better chance to become one than anybody else. Another indication that a person is likely to become a shaman is to be wakened from sleep by a mouse. As he sits up, hastily, thinking that someone has called
[825] him, all that he sees is the disappearing rodent. Mice have a rather peculiar position in the eyes of the Bella Coola, since they believe that these animals regard themselves as superior to mankind.

"The food of mortals is our food," say the mice.

His parents now tell the boy that he is likely to become a shaman, and that he must accordingly take great care of himself. If he is an adult, he will begin to observe ceremonial
[785] chastity, and in any case will spend much time alone, avoiding the trivialities of life in the village, and will think little about mundane matters. At intervals he goes alone to the forest, especially to some spot beside a waterfall, the kind of place that supernatural beings frequent. Here he lies down, sometimes for several days, with evergreen boughs spread beneath and above him. These are clean and nullify the mortal odour so objectionable to supernatural beings, so that his chance of obtaining a visitation is increased. He does not know what may appear to him, but he carefully remembers his dreams[1] which, as his thoughts are centred on lofty subjects, are likewise about matters of importance. If his dream is sufficiently clear to warrant the term vision, the recipient should remain, fasting, for four days on the spot where it occurred, and should say nothing about it when he returns home. His strength increases with every vision, until at last, sometimes after a period of thirty years or more, he will obtain a real one and the power to cure a disease. Sometimes dreams come to him in the village, but they are more likely to occur in a secluded spot in the forest. It is impossible to obtain examples of these dreams
[178] since, for a long time, no one has been brave enough to seek

[828] [1]The Bella Coola do not differentiate between mental images that appear in sleep and visions seen during waking hours.

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Ninitsamlaix, "The Restorer." He is able to cure the sick even when at the point of death. 756*

Ănuskieknm, "The Saviour." He can rescue persons who have been injured by other supernatural beings. 776 787*

Nunutsnmikmem, "The One Who is Thought Of." Having powerful curing abilities, people think of him when ill.

Ănotäbäkmots, "The Open-Mouthed One." His mouth is always open to suck forth sickness.

Nuslkäkstämidjut, "He Whose Basin Is in His Own Body." A person who receives the ability to cure from this being does not use the customary basin.

Susiutl. It is said that many Rivers Inlet shamans have received their powers from this creature, which is accordingly well known to the Bella Coola in this connection, although few of their own people are said to have been benefited by it. 756* 787*

Since all animals are supernatural, it follows that any of them can cure the sick. Instances are remembered of this, in which the patient received a name differing slightly from that of his animal benefactor. Salmon, especially cohoes and early spring salmon, are extremely potent curers and many sick [825] people have received aid from them. It is recognized that the former are uncanny since they have the ability to hide themselves in insignificant streams. One man was cured by a tree [533] which gave him a yodel-like shaman's song, imitating the creaking and waving of its branches. More often, however, a supernatural animal merely speaks to a man without making him a shaman.

Two courses are open to the patient who has been cured by such a visitation. He may at once proclaim his powers, or he may say nothing about them in the hope of obtaining further revelations and further names. From a single experience he has received a certain amount of power, but the more he has, the greater this will be. If he decides not to wait, he at once calls the singers and repeats to them the words and tunes of the songs he has received. When later on he gives presents to [553] validate his shamanistic name, it becomes publicly recognized [556]

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them that might escape. It is the sickness! The din increases; the leader works himself into a frenzy with his rapid gyrations, then he stills the noise as the shaman goes to the door. In dead silence, the more striking in contrast to the previous tumult, he partly opens his hands and puffs against them, as if blowing something out of the door, at the same time calling out, *hoip*. Again the beating of sticks breaks out, again it is stilled, and again the shaman blows forth the sickness. This is done four times. The shaman uses his own discretion whether to send the sickness through the door or the smoke-vent. 755 756 * [535]

A variant of this method is for the functioning shaman to dance during the beating of sticks, before throwing himself on the patient. With chattering teeth and shaking rattle, he revolves sunwise, his free arm bent at the elbow so that his wrist, which he shakes freely, is close to his chin; at intervals he calls out, *snuaixwa*. It is a serious and important proceeding to the Bella Coola, and the effects are considered nullified if a dog barks during the stick-beating. [535]

(4) Some powerful shamans cure by the use of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. A roll made of these two substances is placed among glowing embers until it is itself afire, when the shaman puts it in his mouth. After dancing for some time to the accompaniment of frenzied stick-beating, he hauls forth the bark, still burning, and again puts it in the fire. This is done four times. Then he thrusts the burning bark into the patient's mouth, and leaves it there for some time before pulling it forth. This, too, is repeated four times. When finally drawn forth, it has attracted the sickness, which can then be thrown away by the throwing away of the bark. It seems clear that this must be done by conjuring, but the writer was unable to learn the method employed, and was repeatedly assured that no subterfuge was used. [824] [535]

(5) One illness is caused by a person carelessly stepping on a dead salmon, such as dot the banks of the rivers in the autumn. The fish, indignant, injects a sickness into the offender. [753] [825]

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755 offender. A shaman is able to diagnose the malady, and when
* 756 he has pulled it forth in the manner previously described, he
ties it up in a bundle of four pieces of dyed, and four of undyed,
[825] cedar-bark, sprinkles eagle down over the whole, and throws
it into the river. This not only causes the sickness to return
whence it has come, but placates the salmon who are glad to
receive the beautiful cedar-bark.

755 (6) Another method is by making a present to *Ṫlitcäp-*
* 756 *lilän·a*. The shaman prepares four collars of hemlock twigs,
782 wrapped around with alternate bands of dyed and undyed
cedar-bark, and with numerous cross-pieces of dyed cedar-
bark. When these are ready, all assemble to witness the
curing, and to assist the practitioner by beating sticks.
He first sets four basins, one at each corner of the fire, and
then proceeds to pull it apart, leaving a glowing expanse of
embers in the centre. The shaman throws on this bed pieces
of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, as well as eagle down, and
[789] walks through, between the two halves of the separated fire.
Several men stated that they had seen this done, but none
could give any information as to the method. If actually car-
ried out, the way in which the fire was prevented from burning
the shaman and the highly inflammable bark and eagle down
has been lost.

The shaman himself now guides the beating of sticks. When the tumult has reached its height he goes to the patient and places over his head one of the collars, passing it right down over his body, breaking the cross strings of dyed cedar-bark as he does so. The patient rises and the shaman picks up the collar from beneath his feet; his body has thus passed entirely through it. The sick man then revolves once, sunwise, while the shaman carries the collar once, sunwise, around the fire. He then stills the beating of sticks, which has been going on throughout, and casts the circlet on the fire. The same procedure is repeated with the three remaining collars. It is believed that these offerings reach *Ṫlitcäplilän·a* who, pleased to

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539 As he sang, smoke could be seen rising from behind the house; the youth could see that it came from Porcupine's fire, but the song explained * 756 that it was eagle down for their mortal guest. The singer repeated his 775 song; more smoke ascended from another place, which the lad saw was Mountain Goat's fire. The song was sung again and again, and at each repetition new smoke could be seen, from the fires of Deer, Black Bear, Whistler, Marten, Beaver, Wolverine, in fact from all animals except Grizzly Bear. The chief explained to his guest that whenever he wanted meat he could go hunting and would be able to see the smoke rising from the fires of various animals.[9]

"Tomorrow you will return home," he continued. "Your brothers (meaning the four wolves that had eaten him) will go with you to carry some presents."

Next morning [it was really a year later] the wolves tied up gifts of smoked meat in blankets woven of goat wool and sewn blankets of whistler, black bear, and marten. The meat, though a large quantity, was reduced to so small a compass that the four animals carried it without difficulty. The five travelled back to the spot where the two brothers had sat down to make their moccasins, and at that point the wolves returned to their home.

Now for the first time the lad remembered his brother, and began to weep bitterly, thinking that he must be dead. But presently he heard the sound of footsteps inside the cave through which the porcupine had guided him; they grew nearer, until the younger boy emerged. The elder was overjoyed, but his delight was turned to dismay when he saw that his brother's face was green and haggard, with a strange expression; that he had lost all the flesh from his body, and that his clothes, the same that he had worn when they parted company, were torn to tatters. His brother's appearance affected him so much that he fell down dead. The younger lad, however, had been made a shaman by the dead, so he quickly restored his brother. They exchanged experiences; the younger saying that the dead had given him the name *K̓ipdxs*. His appearance was vastly improved when he clad himself in a black bear blanket and two whistler cloaks brought by the other from the village of the wolves. The two returned home, entering the house secretly and lying down at once

[825] [9]To understand this the reader must remember the firm Bella Coola belief that all animals can assume different forms. To the ordinary person they appear as beasts, but in reality they lead lives resembling those of humans, having houses, fires, blankets, and other comforts. An individual who is able to see the smoke of [224] their fires will have no difficulty in finding the homes of the animals and hence will have great success in hunting. The only one this lad was to avoid was Grizzly Bear, who was so fierce that pursuing him would be dangerous.

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One day the supernatural one appeared, asking *Djusdju·sa* to prepare a large number of the sticks and rings and be ready to follow him on the morrow. *Djusdju·sa* complied and the next day set off with his benefactor. They followed a well-worn trail, but one which *Djusdju·sa* had never seen, although he had lived all his life in the vicinity. 539* 787*

"You must follow me carefully," said the supernatural one, "and watch especially when I disappear."

Before long *Djusdju·sa* saw a man with a big hat sitting at the side of the road beneath the shelter of a huge cedar.

"You are going to a very dangerous place," said the man, "but nothing will harm you if you are bold. Soon you will reach a stream with four boulders projecting above the water; jump across in four leaps from stone to stone and you will be all right, but if you slip, or if you set your foot on the river-bottom, you will die."

The trail led across a stream at the bottom of a canyon. The supernatural one crossed without delay and *Djusdju·sa* saw that there were four boulders rising from the surface of the water. Remembering the instructions, he jumped from stone to stone, nor, until he looked back from the farther shore, did he realize that what had seemed to be stones were really the heads of four *sḳāmtsk* which would have devoured him if he had slipped.

The supernatural one had waited on the farther shore to guide him to his own house, the Sun, where he accepted the sticks and rings which *Djusdju·sa* had been carrying. After spending a few days with his benefactor, *Djusdju·sa* returned home, where he built a new village and in time became wealthy owing to the salmon which he was able to catch by means of his supernatural shoes.

THE LAD WHO WAS HELPED BY MOUNTAIN GOAT

During a famine long ago, a certain family was on the verge of starvation. One of the sons set out with his bow and arrows, and near a waterfall on the south side of North Bentinck Arm, not far from its head, he saw a pure white bird, something like a gull, only much smaller. He shot at it but missed. It went only a short distance away, and the hunter shot again, unsuccessfully. The bird led him on for some distance; then it turned into a goat. More eagerly than before the boy discharged his arrow, but the animal was unharmed. Following his quarry, he presently found himself within the goat's house, where all the animals were seated according to rank, from the ground-hog at the bottom to the porcupine at the top. In accordance with the knowledge of the latter's rank gained on this occasion, men have since called Porcupine, *Qwat'-* [825]

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ma'ks, "The Eldest," and have spoken of him as the oldest of all animals. His goat-guide said:

"I am going to help you on account of your woes. Henceforth you will be able to see the smoke rising from the houses of the different animals."[3]

Thanks to the assistance thus vouchsafed to him, the lad was able to save his family from starvation.

THE FORTUNATE GLUTTON[4]

About four generations ago there was living in Bella Coola a young man who had a prodigious appetite. He used to eat everything, including vast quantities of rotten salmon eggs and other putrid foods until arms, face, and stomach all became fat, oily, and flabby, and he gave off an offensive smell. He was a chief and had married a chief's daughter, but she left him because of his grease and stench. Then he took another girl, who in turn deserted him. His parents arranged for him one marriage after another until he had become the husband of every available chief's daughter, but not one would stay with him because of his objectionable odour. Finally he wedded a poor girl who alone remained faithful and bore him a child. The glutton determined to improve his appearance. Accordingly, he obtained a large quantity of mountain goat grease and eagle feathers; then, taking these with him, he left the village and his family without saying where he was going, in fact, he did not know himself.

He went up the west bank of the Necleetsconnay River until it became a mere brook, then crossed over and returned down the east bank, strewing his path with eagle feathers. Then he went up the north bank of the Bella Coola River, penetrating every affluent coming from the north; in each case he went up the west bank, crossed the stream when it had become a rivulet and descended on the east side, all the time leaving behind him a trail of eagle feathers, and all the time eating nothing but the goat grease which he carried with him. When he had penetrated far into the upper reaches of the Bella Coola River, he crossed it and descended its south bank, investigating all tributaries as before. Near the Whitewater he heard a number of young girls singing happily, and a little below this place he came to his own village.

[3]As every Bella Coola knows, the animals appear in beast form to mortals only. They really have their own houses, dances, and other forms of activity in which they partake in human shape. Any one who is fortunate enough to obtain supernatural aid enabling him to see the smoke from their houses can easily locate them, and thus have phenomenal success in hunting.

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[4]For another version of this story see Boas, p. 108.

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to the bear-man's home she awoke, thinking she had slept but a single night, for she did not realize that a night to the supernatural ones is a year to mortals. Her bear-host asked which of her brothers she would prefer to see. 539* 756* 787*

"The eldest," she replied.

"No," responded the bear. "He is a shameless man who is wont to sleep with his wife at all periods."

"Then I should like to see my second brother," she said.

But again the bear refused, saying: "He spends all his time combing his wife's hair to make her appear beautiful. Choose your youngest brother; he is the best of the family."

To this she agreed, so the bear threw out his power and compelled the youngest brother to pass near the hiding-place. While they were still at a distance, the bear saw the man and his dog, whereat he pointed them out to the woman, who threw a snowball down the hillside for the dog to chase. After a fruitless pursuit it returned to its master. Another snowball was thrown, which again the dog failed to retrieve. When this was repeated four times the man concluded that a bear must be near.[28] He crawled up until he saw his sister, in the guise of a bear; he had even fixed an arrow on the string ready to shoot when she assumed human form and greeted him. He was delighted at finding his long-lost sister, and she was amazed at hearing that she had been absent for a year. She took her brother into the mountain to get her basket and pack her goods, but he was unable to see the town of the bears until she rubbed her hands over his eyes. Then it became visible to him also. They returned home together, where she recounted her marvellous adventures.

At that early period there was less distinction between men and animals than now exists; each understood the language of the other, but though bears have retained their original supernatural powers men have degenerated to such an extent that they can no longer communicate with animals.[29] It was true, men shot animals, but that was because *Ālquntăm* had allotted them to men as food. The bear had chosen the woman as his mate because she was still a virgin, and therefore not contaminated by too much of the essence of humanity. Through intercourse with this supernatural being she became a shaman, with a knowledge of the wishes of bears, even then not properly understood. Her continence, followed by intercourse with the bear, gave her insight into the mentality of the animal. Following her mate's instructions, she taught her youngest [825]

[28] The story fails to explain why.

[29] This interpolation in the myth was added by the narrator, without solicitation, as a natural explanation of the facts described.

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Causative Medicines

MEDICINES OF INFANCY

789 *To Cause Tallness*

As soon as the umbilical cord is cut, blow upon it and pull
856 it out; the infant will grow up to be tall and big.

The following medicines are applied four days after birth:

The infant is washed, formerly in a circular cedar or cottonwood basin, and the remedy pressed against its body while drying. Some families prefer to wait until the child is able to crawl.

To Cause Strength (three means)

[824] [825] (1) Collect four pieces of bark, each from a different tree where a grizzly bear has scratched. Place them in the infant's wash-bowl, then warm them at a fire and rub over his body. This ensures him the strength of a grizzly bear.

(2) Collect four water-smoothed, green stones from the river. Place them in the infant's wash-bowl, then warm them at a fire and rub over the body. After four days, return the stones to the river.

[825] (3) Warm the body of an octopus, beaver, or wolverine in the smoke of a fire and gently press the carcass against an infant's body, saying:

"Please, may he be like you."

This provides the child with the strength of the animal used.

To Cause Long Life

[886] [824] Collect four pieces of wood which have been rolled hard and smooth in a landslide. Boil them in the infant's wash-bowl, cool, then re-warm them at a fire and rub them over the body. This makes him strong and healthy, able to endure all dangers and weaknesses even those caused by a sorcerer. The principle is that the child will be as hardy as the wood proved

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itself to be by withstanding the crushing weight of stone and earth. An old Kimsquit man expressed the firm conviction that his great age was the result of this treatment soon after birth. 789 856 886 [824]

To Cause Imperviousness to Cold

Kill a water ouzel, warm it at a fire, then press it against every part of the infant's body. This makes him as heedless of cold water as the bird. A merganser may be used in the same way, or the foot of one be placed in the child's hand and patted as his fingers clutch it. 789 825 856

To Cause a Quarrelsome Disposition

Burn the nest of wasps and rub the ashes on the infant's face. He will become as bellicose and quick to resent injury as the insects. One old man who habitually beats his wife explains that this is involuntary, since he was treated in this way when a child. Fighting is no longer allowed, so the only person on whom he can exercise his martial ardour is his wife. The woman regards this treatment as a matter of course and the reason is accepted as valid by her associates. [155]

To Cause Success in Thieving

Kill a pack-rat, warm it at a fire, and rub the carcass lightly over the infant's body. This will make him as successful a thief as the animal. Other methods are to cut off a foot and pat this as the infant clutches it in his fingers, or to rub its hands with the ashes of a burnt rat.

To Cause Success in Singing

Catch a live robin or *smıxmıxaxls* (probably one of the thrushes), warm it at a fire, and rub it lightly against the infant's throat, saying: 533 789 825

"May he be a singer like you." 856

Then release the bird, and the child will grow up a songster. The following story is told of the power of the *smıxmıxaxls*'s song: [539]

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533 In the beginning of time it used to sing.

789 "I shall use a spoon and eat when the Bella Coola River has burst its bounds on account of the teeming salmon in it."

825 The people used to laugh as it repeated this song year after year, until the bird changed its note:

856 "I shall use a spoon and eat when all is cold and clear. Then there [539] will be Death instead of salmon in Bella Coola."

The next year the streams were so clear that no fish could be caught and the starving people asked the bird to return to its first song. When it did so, the water became murky so that it was possible to catch salmon once more.

The Bella Bella, not the Bella Coola, use the body of a blue jay to cause an infant to grow up with the ability to master difficult tunes in the same way that the bird has a variety of notes. The method of applying this medicine could not be learnt.

789 Most of the above medicines are well known and can be applied by any parent. If, however, a man has employed one 856 of them successfully on a number of occasions, he is often requested to use his ability for others. In such a case, the father of the benefited child is expected to reimburse his friend. [184] The application or non-application of such medicines is purely the concern of the child's family; they can use as many as they like, or none at all, according to their discretion.

The following medicines are used during the first year of life:

304 *To Cause Beauty*

789 Bandages of the softest undyed cedar-bark are prepared for infants of both sexes soon after birth. A woman who is a good 856 artist is requested to draw with charcoal two pictures on one 532 of the pieces of bark—of handsome men if the child is a boy, or of lovely women if a girl. An unmarked wrapping is fastened round the infant's head, then the painted one so arranged that one picture is over the forehead, the other over the occiput, and finally other plain bandages to cover the whole. These [826] are left in place for about one year. They flatten the forehead

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and back of the head, preventing a bulging appearance which is considered ugly, while the paintings ensure beauty of countenance. Cranial deformation has no supernatural sanction, though it is believed to have been carried out for generations. 304 789 856 [532] [826]

To Cause Leanness

Place pieces of caribou skin on an infant's wrists and ankles and leave them in position for several months. He will grow up lean and wiry, like the animal. 789 856

To Cause Left-handedness [825]

Shake the left hand of an infant while lying in the cradle and he will be left-handed throughout life. To do this is considered a malevolent action.

To Cause the Hair to Grow (two means)

(1) Rub the infant's scalp with the eye of a *Hakwik* (red cod?), freshly removed from the fish's head. [825]

(2) Boil stems of the swamp gooseberry in water and rub the mixture over the infant's scalp. [824]

Wise mothers always apply one or other of these remedies to their children.

To Cause Ability in Singing (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good singer to impart to him ability similar to his own. He takes his beating-stick, spits on it, and rubs it over the child's heart, saying: 533 789 856

"Please be a singer."

This is done only for male children. [858]

(2) Boil together herbs and a bear's bladder and smear the decoction on the infant's back. He must thenceforth wear around his neck for several months a small sack containing four blue grouse gall-bladders (possibly stones from the crop were meant). This gives the child the singing ability of the bird, but the significance of the bear bladder is unknown. [825]

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856 789 868 *To Cause Ability in Carpentry* (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good carpenter to impart to him ability similar to his own. He spits on his tools and rubs these over the child's heart, saying:

"Please be a carpenter."

This is done only for male children.

(2) Cut splinters from the tools of an expert carpenter, burn them, and rub the ashes over the child's hands. This is most efficacious when performed by the carpenter himself who says as he rubs:

"Please be a carpenter."

000 *To Cause Ability in Thieving*

Indians from the vicinity of Sitka are said to fasten a live mouse in an infant's clothing or tie one in the cradle. This causes the child to amass riches easily, but when practised by a Sitka man and woman who were slaves of the Bella Coola it was so potent that their son grew up to be an inveterate thief.

825 856 789 *To Cause Ability to See Beneath the Water*

When the infant is in the cradle, kill a gull, cut out its tongue, and rub this around inside the child's mouth. Strip the feathers and lay them so that the infant sleeps upon them. This gives him the same ability as the bird to see beneath the ocean and tell where fish are to be found. This was done not many years ago to a Bella Bella child whose ability was consequently so great that it frightened his friends.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

The Kitlobe achieve this by making a child sleep upon dog hair. No instance is remembered of this having actually been practised by the Bella Coola, although, being well known, there is no reason why it should not be used.

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To Cause Ability in Understanding the Speech of Ravens 825

It is well known that when ravens croak, they are really speaking, but their language is unintelligible except to one who has learnt it by means of a medicine. One of these is the following: 856 789

Catch a raven alive and cut a small piece of flesh from its body, beneath the left wing, taking care not to kill the bird. Release it, after having fed the morsel to the child. An infant so treated will grow up able to learn from ravens of the approach of raiding parties, storms, visitors, and all other news which they constantly circulate in their loud calling. It is said that the last person so endowed was the father of a Kimsquit man about forty years of age in 1922. His ability lasted throughout childhood but he lost it through infraction of a taboo.

The following medicines are used between the ages of one and two: 304

To Cause Long Life 789

One year after birth, holes are pierced through the lobes of the ears and the nasal septum. In the beginning of time, *Alquntăm* told the forefathers of the Bella Coola that if this were not done, the boy or girl would die young. 856 886

To Cause Ability in Hunting

When the umbilical cord of a female infant falls, her father places it within the knot-hole of a tree, where it is protected from rain but where it rots and is forgotten. A boy's is preserved with care. The parents wrap it in soft goat's wool and place it in the box where the father keeps his most cherished possessions; this causes the child to be careful, and to grow up with a tendency to treasure his acquisitions rather than to dispose heedlessly of them. As the first anniversary of his son's birth approaches, his father begins to observe ceremonial chastity, endeavouring to estimate the time so that its culmin- 846 856 789 [858] [785]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
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To Cause Strength

Place pieces of octopus flesh in the infant's bowl and wash him with these. This causes him to grow up with the strength of the animal.

825
856
789

To Cause Understanding of the Speech of Ravens

When a child is able to toddle, but has not learnt to talk, shut him in a box and turn this upside down. Leave him alone for four days and four nights, passing in what food is necessary during darkness.

Knowledge of this medicine was learnt from *ilhaz*, a female slave born near New Westminster who was owned by the maternal grandfather of the wife of the elderly Kimsquit man from whom this information was obtained. The slave's father had treated her in this way when an infant; while so confined she had not only learnt the language of ravens, but Cowichan, her own speech, as well. *ilhaz* used to tell the Kimsquit people of her ability, but few believed her, though she asserted that this was a well-known Cowichan method, and her captors had their own means of imparting the same ability to their children, as well as an ancient tradition of the practice she described. One day she informed her master that the ravens had told her of the near approach of a raiding-party. He summoned the chiefs, but they laughed at the warning and disregarded it. *ilhaz* received the same intimation for four days, and on the fourth the raiders appeared and she was vindicated.

The inversion of the box is due to the belief that ravens, when bringing news, turn over upon themselves like tumbler pigeons. The Bella Coola do not know whether the box must be so right as to hold the child upside down.

To Cause Ceremonial Intelligence

When a child is one or two years of age, paint on its back the picture of a black bear's gall-bladder. Leave this in position for four days, then wash it off secretly in a mountain stream. A child so treated will grow up with ability to perform

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1:b4c:Swanton E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

789 ceremonial dances without making mistakes. The Bella Bella
856 paint a representation of a wolf's bladder for the same purpose.

[592] The basis of this medicine is the belief that it is the gall-
[826] bladder which causes wildness and intelligent fear, and hence
[815] that anyone so treated will be careful not to make mistakes. A bird with a large bladder is thought to be difficult to approach, whereas a deer, which has a small one, or none at all, is often stupidly brave. This medicine is known only to the mem-
[424] bers of certain families and is used for the children of chiefs
[222] alone, since errors on the part of others is a matter of little importance.

MEDICINES OF CHILDHOOD

789 Some of the instruction given to boys and girls, and the
856 acts which they are enjoined to perform, are virtually religious,
791 and have accordingly been described in earlier chapters. For example, when a lad washes in the river before daybreak, scours himself with a smooth stone and prays to *Alqunkim*, he is carrying out what might with justice be called a religious act. If, however, he believes that mere washing is enough to compel some desire or end, it is magical. Different Bella Coola have different sentiments concerning the exact means by which this method causes the desired effect. To some it is unquestionably a true prayer, but in other families it is customary for a father to take his son, when he has reached about eight years of age, and wash him four times, to the accompaniment of the usual prayer. It is believed that this causes the lad to grow up powerful and active, constantly striving for success. This type of washing may be called magical.

789 In the following there is no element of uncertainty; they
856 belong unquestionably to the category described in the preceding section.

To Cause Apiky

The following medicine is frequently employed by fathers when their sons are first able to walk:

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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Kill a squirrel, clean it, wash the entrails carefully and leave them hanging in the sun to dry for four days, then tie them around the child's stomach for four days more. It is important that the infant should not break the string. On the fourth day, remove them and hang them in the doorway of the house. On this same day, another squirrel must be killed, treated as before, and its viscera allowed to dry for four days. The child wears these in the same way for four days, when they too are hung in the doorway. A third squirrel, and finally a fourth, is killed and made use of in precisely the same manner. When the final set of entrails has been hung up, the four are left suspended for four days, till the twenty-eighth after the killing of the first animal, when the father takes them to the forest and deposits them beneath some projecting rock where no water can penetrate and where they will dry and keep indefinitely. 825 789 856

This causes the child to grow up endowed, like the squirrel, with agility so that he can scale even precipitous mountains. This medicine is frequently used in conjunction with one for hunting ability.

To Cause Easy Delivery [845]

Place the foetus of a porcupine against the back of a girl's neck and allow it to drop to the ground. Pick it up, replace it, and let it fall again. This is repeated four times while the person says:

"Please, may she be like you and have no trouble in giving birth."

This medicine can be used at any time before puberty.

To Cause Bravery (four means)

(1) When a grizzly bear has been shot, a lad who wishes to make himself brave approaches it and thrusts his arm down the dying animal's throat. This kills it by choking. Then he rubs his hand over his heart and the back of his neck, the seat [874]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[774]

of the spirit, which imparts to himself the courage and strength of the animal he has just slain.

(2) When a grizzly bear has been killed and skinned, the bloody pelt is wrapped around a lad whose parents wish him to be brave. He is lashed in securely and the bundle, attached to a long rope, is thrown into the rapids. After a few minutes, it is drawn ashore, but immediately thrown in again. This is repeated four times. This medicine causes the child to have the courage of a grizzly bear. It is said that the first youth to whom this was applied rescued his mother from slavery among the Tsimshian.

This treatment is usually applied to boys of from three to five years of age.

(3) When a grizzly bear has been killed and skinned, two lads, whose parents wish them to be brave, are called. They are told to crouch on their hands and knees and while in this position the pelt is thrown over their backs. They crawl to and fro for a few minutes while dogs are encouraged to bark and growl at the "animal." The skin is then removed and the two sent to wash in the river. They are called back and the whole rite repeated a second time, followed by a third and a fourth application, with washing in every case. This gives them the bravery of grizzly bears.

This medicine can be used at any time before the holding of sexual intercourse.

(4) When an octopus has been killed, a lad is placed within the freshly removed skin. Those present say:

"Please, may he be like you, afraid of nothing."

The skin is removed and the lad sent to wash in the river. The rite is repeated four times which gives him the bravery of an octopus. Like the last, this medicine is not potent for one who has held sexual intercourse.

To Cause Ability in River Work

Fasten a boy in the freshly removed skin of a beaver and throw the bundle into the river. Lift it out when it has gone

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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beneath the surface, and throw it in a second time. Repeat 825
this four times. If the wrapping has been carefully fastened, 789
little water leaks in and the child suffers no discomfort. This
causes him to grow up confident and brave with regard 856
to canoeing and every kind of activity on the river. Like the
last medicine, this is not potent for one who has held sexual
intercourse. It cannot be applied to a girl since beaver are
unfavourable to women who must observe many taboos concerning them.

To Cause Modesty and Respect for One's Elders

When a boy is about six or eight years of age, his father 789
beats him lightly, four times, with a rope-end. This is done 856
in the early morning, then he takes his son to wash immediately. Four days later the beating and washing are repeated. From this time on, a parent should whip his son four times every fourth morning until he is old enough to marry. The force of the chastisements increases as the lad grows older, so that when he is about fourteen years of age, he is beaten with the full force of his parent's arm. It is a point of honour [152]
for a lad to endure his whippings without whimpering; one who shows the pain he is suffering is laughed at by his fellows and not allowed to wash with them. This medicine makes a child strong, manly, respectful to his elders, and, generally, the type of individual to whom supernatural beings are likely to show favour.

This practice has long been discontinued and it was impos- [178]
sible to learn whether or not it had ever been carried out with full vigour. Several of the older men stated that in their childhood they had been beaten periodically by their fathers, but none had had this last over a period of years. It was claimed that such had been the case in earlier times, but it seems almost certain that this type of chastisement could never have been carried out regularly. During the winter, for example, when dance dances were taking place, the whole community used to sleep late and it is improbable that a father rose every fourth

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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box during his absence. As soon as she had found the figures, she called in all the people, showed them her discovery, and suggested throwing them into the fire. Some objected, pointing out that if *Kälotl* had been using them, their destruction would cause his death. It was decided to test him, so no one told the lover that he had been found out, and he suspected nothing on his return. When he went into another house, *Kwa·tsua* placed the figures near the fire; immediately, *Kälotl* tried to lie down at the edge of the one near him, and was restrained only by some of the bystanders. This proved his guilt conclusively. *Kwa·tsua* washed the figures to destroy their power, which caused *Kälotl* to lose his desire to enter a fire, and at the same time destroyed the love of the two girls for him. 832

This medicine can be made only by a skilful carpenter; its real potency lies in the ingredients though the figures cause it to work more speedily.

To Strengthen Virility

This medicine is used by old men. 833

Catch a porcupine alive and cut out a quill from near its tail so that the blood flows freely. Prick the penis with the quill until the human blood mingles with the animal's. Potency follows at once. 886 825

To Cause Conception

A medicine was formerly known to cause a first conception, but it has been forgotten. A mother, however, who has just lost an infant, can ensure the birth of another by bringing a stone from the cemetery four days after her bereavement. If she leaves this beneath her bed for four nights, and then throws it away carelessly, anywhere, she will soon be pregnant. 842 789

To Prevent Conception

A medicine with this effect was formerly known but has been forgotten.

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842 *To Cause Birth of a Child of the Desired Sex*

789 If a boy is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her a miniature bow and arrows on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

If a girl is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her miniature tools used for beating cedar-bark on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

843 *To Cause Easy Delivery* (two means)

789 (1) The pregnant woman must boil stalks of stonecrop in water and drink freely of the decoction.

(2) A variant of the medicine already described can be applied during pregnancy. Strike the back of the woman with one or more porcupine embryos. The thrower must remain in concealment and the woman to be benefited must be unaware of what is about to be done.

853 *To Cause Increased Flow of Milk*

757 Heat pods of *Sedum Spathulifolium* (Hook) and apply them as a poultice to the breasts of the nursing mother.

MISCELLANEOUS MEDICINES USED BY ADULTS

461 *To Cause Energy*

789 Take the paw of a freshly killed beaver in one hand and pat it with the other, saying:

825 "Please, may I be like you."

This ensures that the man or woman will always work hard, like a beaver.

789 *To Cause Long Life*

Pick up a toad, spit on it four times, saying:

825 "May I be strong like you," and put it down carefully.

886 The basis of this medicine is the belief that toads are capable of resisting greater pressure than other animals. For example, if one is caught in an olachen net, it survives the crushing weight of fish and water and is alive when the net is emptied, though all other living animals so ensnared are killed.

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It is said that one man accidentally sucked when spitting on a toad, and swallowed the creature. It lived within his stomach for fifty years, causing no discomfort though its master could feel it moving, and its singing could be heard at intervals. This brought him no supernatural power, although he was enabled by it to live to a great age. When at last he died, the toad came hopping out of his throat and was carried respectfully to the river by his friends who covered the creature with eagle down and dyed and undyed cedar-bark. 789 825 886

Some of the rites already described with regard to animals and fish are similar in nature to this medicine.

To Cause Obesity 789

A medicine was formerly used by chiefs to make them fat and important-looking, but details of it have been forgotten. 826 622

To Cause Ability in Singing

Catch an *aqaxon·i* (varied thrush?) alive and pat it four times against the throat of the woman to whom it is desired to impart the art, saying: 533 789

"May she be a singer like you." 825

Release the bird and the woman will become a good singer.

This bird is considered by the Bella Coola to be the finest songster among British Columbia birds, and they say that many animals and fish, including even the halibut, gather to hear its singing.

To Cause Ability in Hunting 224

There is a poisonous plant which, when eaten, almost kills the eater. If he recovers, he is henceforth endowed with great ability as a hunter. The species could not be ascertained. 789 824

To Cause Change in Weather

If a cold wind is desired: Heat the penis of a mountain goat or beaver at a fire. 789 821

If rain is desired: Wash the penis of a large buck and throw it into the ocean or a river, saying: 825

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789 "Please, may it be as it was when you held intercourse."
821 The basis of these medicines is that mountain goats and
825 beaver mate in November when it is cold, and deer in October when it is rainy.

An old Kimsquit man mentioned that one winter he had been driven ashore by continuous cold winds and was on the verge of starving. He slew a buck and by using the medicine just described was able to bring rain with consequent lessening of wind so that he could continue his journey.

MALEVOLENT MEDICINES

754 *To Destroy the Benefits of Another's Ceremonial Chastity*
825 Place pieces of flesh from any recently skinned animal within a coffin from which the skeleton of an enemy has been removed, uttering at the same time the name of the person to be injured. This destroys the "cleanness" acquired by the observance of ceremonial chastity.[3]

To Cause Insanity in a Woman

Catch a squirrel alive and tie one of the woman's hairs around its stomach; then release the animal. As it runs violently through the forest, sometimes head upwards, sometimes head downwards, so will the brain of the person whose hair it is carrying begin to churn violently till madness ensues.

To Cause Ferocity in Grizzly Bears

Throw the body of a recently killed muskrat against a man's back. The next grizzly bear he encounters will be ferocious, and may kill him. Knowledge of this medicine was learnt by noticing that a number of men who had been struck in play with muskrats, were killed by grizzly bears. The potency of the act has since been recognized.

754 *To Cause Disease in a Malefactor*
727 A number of years ago, when three Bella Coola were killed

[3]This medicine was learnt from a rather unsatisfactory informant and was not confirmed by others.

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Preventive and Curative Medicines

Medicines of Infancy and Childhood

789 *To Counteract Dangers Incurred During Pregnancy* (two means)

774 (1) As already described (I, p. 96), there is always danger of
843 a person losing his spirit through a sudden start, causing invol-
825 untary contraction of the muscles, but pregnant women are especially liable to peril of this kind. Moreover, the unexpected appearance of a toad, rat, or mouse, though insufficient to harm an expectant mother, may suffice to startle the unborn child, or even to destroy his spirit. A woman carefully remembers all experiences of this kind and treats the injury while her infant is crying immediately after birth. If a toad has caused it, she catches one, decorates it with dyed cedar-bark, and places it on the child's stomach, then guides it so that it jumps up the chest to the neck. This is repeated four times. She then sets it down, unharmed on the ground, saying:

"You are the cause of the trouble, please go."

The same rite is carried out for all small mammals, reptiles, and even with birds which have startled a mother by their peculiar behaviour. In some families it is customary to post-
[846] pone the application of this medicine until four days after birth. There is considerable difference of opinion concerning the specific injury; some allege that the spirit of the creature enters the body and, if not counteracted, causes the child to be born sick and feeble.

843 (2) During his wife's pregnancy, a husband must preserve
825 a small portion of the skin of every animal killed. Four days
789 after birth, as the infant lies in its cradle, a small fire is built
[846] beneath and the pieces thrown thereon so that the child is steeped in the smoke. If this is neglected, the boy or girl will
[761] die during infancy, though the means by which the slain ani-
[774] mals accomplish this is not fully understood. Possibly, as in the last instance, their spirits have entered the body. Some hunters preserve an eye from every carcass instead of a piece

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of fur. Even at the present time, the death of a new-born child is usually attributed to omission of this precaution. 843 825

A Kimsquit man mentioned that he had once shot a marten during his wife's pregnancy, and had failed to preserve a piece of the skin. The bullet had passed through the head, making a hole in the cheek-bone beneath the eye. He thought no more of the incident until after the birth of a daughter with a blemish on her cheek in the same place as the wound on the marten's. The spot grew bigger, and the flesh began to mortify until the infant died a few weeks later. Her face resembled that of the animal and he is convinced that his loss was caused, in some way, by the marten. 789 [761]

To Cure Indigestion

Kill a raven, cut out a morsel of flesh from beneath its left wing, and then remove the heart. Place both in the infant's mouth and leave them there until wet with saliva. Replace them in the bird's body and tie a strip of dyed cedar-bark around its neck. Carry the carcass to some lonely spot in the mountains and hide it beneath a jutting rock where no water can penetrate. This cures the child. If, however, anyone should find the raven's body before the flesh has decayed, the patient would die. 755 [761]

This remedy, widely employed for small children, was used with success by an informant for his young daughter. It is not sufficiently potent for adults.

To Cure Crying

The Bella Coola consider that crying is not only unpleasant, but actively displeasing to the supernatural beings who permit it at death alone. Consequently, the persistent wailing of a child is likely to cause the death of a relative in order that the tears shed may have justification. Many stories illustrate this theme; in fact, to cry for no real reason is practically taboo. A mother quiets a fretting child by saying: 827 865 761 [784] [861]

"Do you want your father and me to die?"

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789 regard to two figurines prepared to cause love has been described.

755 In addition to these non-specialized medicines, the Bella Coola are acquainted with remedies for several specific ailments caused by supernatural beings. One of these, to cure a person in whose head a toad was formed, has already been described.

To Prevent Blindness

[753] Loss of sight is caused by a bat flying into a man's face, or
[825] by a raven's dropping falling upon him as he looks upward. After either accident, rub a feather from any bird in a raven's liver and draw it across the eyes. The person practising this
[785] cure must remain continent for one year or blindness will result.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Leg

If a man puts his foot in a hole so that he stumbles and falls, he will lose the use of that leg unless he counteracts the danger by placing a small stick upright in the cavity. In the summer of 1922 the writer noticed an old Bella Coola, with whom he was walking in the woods, break off a branch about two feet in length and place it in a hole where he had stumbled. He could give no explanation for his act, except that failure would cause him to lose the use of that leg.

To Prevent Paralysis of the Feet

If a person should happen to set his bare feet upon a dead wolf, he will lose the use of his lower limbs. The antidote to this has been forgotten within recent years, and patients are merely treated by shamans.

755 *To Prevent the Revenge of a Ghost*

775 The ghost of a murdered person usually tries to avenge himself on his killer, who can protect himself by obtaining a small piece from the body or clothing of his victim, a tuft of hair, a shred of cloth, or even a piece of earth from above his

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phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe. 784

FOOD TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN

262

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would derange the catamenia and cause profuse growth of hair. 562

Women of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do so would cause a difficult delivery. [841] [826]

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat toasted salmon until the sticks have been removed which held it in front of the fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded. [844] [845]

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when nearing the hunting or fishing-ground. 224 [226] [264]

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola. [171]

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness. [825] [753]

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the men remove only an eye, place it in a notched stick and set this under an over- [732]

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since each fisherman provided one when his box was filled. 226

No one is allowed to drink water immediately after eating 796
the first olachen of the spring, since to do so would cause a 574
flood. It is considered most improper for a child to cry soon
after partaking of this food; if he does so, he is quieted by [865]
having nettles stuffed into his mouth. As already described, if a person dies before the first fish have passed through his bowels, a shaman must wipe his lips with cedar-bark.

After the first meal of olachen, stakes for the nets can be 226
driven, and the restrictions become less exacting. Women are
not allowed to assist in fishing, but the men devote their full [562]
time to the task, working with zest and energy.[1] An abundant supply of olachen is a source of joy, and all listen eagerly for
the singing of the thrush, *smuxmuxaxts*, which signifies that the [825]
nets are full to bursting. Half jocularly, people invite the bird to come and eat, but his melody is interpreted as:

"I shall eat when the river is full."

RITES CONNECTED WITH THE FIRST SPRING SALMON[2]

Salmon is the most important article of Bella Coola diet 226
and the rites which accompany the earliest taking of the fish 796
are relatively complicated. [262]

When the first spring salmon have been caught, they are laid in the canoe with their heads all pointing eastward, upstream. The fisherman poles to shore, but instead of landing his catch, he fastens the salmon to a stake driven at the edge of the bank so that they remain in the water. A number of posts are usually placed in readiness, each decorated with alternate spirals of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with an eagle's tail. Each day one or two more fish may be caught, but all are left in the water until the first have become soft, thus giving sufficient time for the necessary preparations on shore. It is the duty of every owner of a salmon-weir to
build near its end a so-called Spring Salmon House, a shed-like [343]

[1] For a description of olachen fishing, see Appendix A.
[2] Cf. Boas, p. 71.

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"Someone is calling your name." 827

If a man stumbles without due cause, it is said: 481

"Someone has food ready for you."

When a man partly closes his hand, if a wrinkle-like fold 787 runs straight across the palm it indicates that he is a good 322 carpenter.

If a mouse nibbles even a single smoked salmon, the whole 825 boxful is thrown away immediately in case dung has been dropped within. It is believed that inadvertent chewing of [826] this is responsible for wearing down the teeth.

If a man throws a stone at a pregnant snake, the young ones may rush forth and enter the thrower's stomach. They remain [761] invisible, and no one knows how they enter, but death always results. Snakes are regarded with scorn and aversion, and the [756] only men who dare to handle them are shamans.

When a milk tooth is lost, anyone who happens to be present should pick it up, pass it four times around the child's 856 head, sunwise, and throw it away. No explanation of this 827 custom is known.[a]

[a] This is not the only custom practised at the loss of a tooth, cf. vol. I, p. 300.

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and the patron shifts his protection to the substitute. Non-members are told that the death was due to one of the many dangers connected with the society. 575* 766

It is said that, in former times, the *kukusiut* sometimes held a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discontinued. In 1922, however, memorial songs were sung for dead *kukusiut*, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to prohibition of the potlatch. 575* 769 533 177

The Ritual of Specific Dances

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE DANCES

A detailed description of various *kusiut* dances can now be given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference between them that each will require a separate account, although considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning in connection with the first dance those features common to all. The initial performer is always he who has the prerogative of seeing the supernatural canoe which comes from the Land of the Salmon to visit *Nusqulxwaista*. Several *kukusiut* have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so. Thenceforth there is no order for different dances; the marshals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does so without conflicting with another. The first dance described is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *kusiut* season. 575* 796* [424] [776]

THE DANCE OF *Noākynum*[14]

The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the September moon is full there starts from the Land of the Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *Noākynum*, commanded by a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly 773 824 825

[14]Cf. Boas, p. 40.

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[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

773 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 *Smaien·a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nusqulxwaista* to await the coming of *Ālīquntām*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nebusam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noākynim* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[785] times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
[831] eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[787] that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that
[626] this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[776] patron was *Noākynim*, but that the marshals requested him not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noākynim*
575 is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the uninitiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
796 the *kusiut* dances begin.
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It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village,
[424] as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
[551] slight variations, if any. In *Tsmoti* the *kusiut* who has the prerogative of seeing *Noākynim* is a certain *Qaxolāx·i*,[11] in Kimsquit, *Ātuskinwasam*,[12] and in *Slskistl*, *Xemtnim*. Although,

[115] [11]Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qaxolāx·i*, who intimated
[426] that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman
[578] referred to the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

[12]Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significances of this type.

attend every *kusiut* dance. Usually all *kukusiut* do so in any case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been blackened, it must be kept so during this period. At every *qothm* he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an uninitiated person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes to another housemate. Failure to obey this injunction was formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules apply to every dancer.

Alquntäm enters *Nusqulxwaista* at the winter solstice, and at that time calls come to those *kukusiut* of whom he is patron. It is uncertain whether or not this entails the regular ceremony of four nights' duration. On the entry of the supreme being, *Noäkynum* seizes his paddle (or pole?), returns to *Smaisn-a*, and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers compose a ninth song for him. The words describe how the departing *Noäkynum* empties a large number of olachen into the river.[11] X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after calls have come to other *kukusiut*.

It sometimes happens that no *kusiut* of whom *Noäkynum* is patron has enough food to give the lengthy dance just described, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper prerogative is asked by the marshals to see *Noäkynum* when at the mouth of the river; then, when he passes upstream four days later, a call can come to any *kusiut*. This abbreviated ceremony, termed *Imäätundjutqulxan*, is carried out in the manner described above, except that it is completed in four days with only two songs.

[11] Nuskynum is accordingly often called Nuskulxum.

[The Mystery Dance]

what are to be the correct answers? The marshals decide on these, but their judgment really depends on the four remembrancers who are able to tell whether any of the replies they suggest have already been given. When *Saiynâ:* performed, the answers chosen were: 575* 796*

Aimaltua, "The Coming of Foul Weather." This word is said to be in the language of the supernatural ones. The implication is that this phenomenon of nature is a manifestation of the will of the supreme deity. [821] [776]

Nuxpuxta Smaiaikila, "The Eagle Down *Smaiaikila*." This has the significance of "The Peace Giving *Smaiaikila*" since eagle down is a symbol of peace. [825]

Kitlmuntämem, "The Yawning Chasm." This is the mysterious crevasse which opens before a foolish man when he tries to gain success. In cases where a white man would attribute misfortune to lack of ability or to sheer bad luck, the Bella Coola say that this supernatural chasm has opened before him. It is especially applied to failure in the giving of potlatches. [777]

Scarcely less important than the choice of answers is the second consideration, who is to give them. The uninitiated have been taught that X cannot live unless his riddles are answered, and also that whoever succeeds in solving them can do so only through supernatural assistance. As in the case of a person who finds a repository, so must the one who solves the problem be made a *kusiut*. This is an opportunity for an influential man with a son of suitable age and character to have him initiated into the society, and an eager parent can always be found. He is told the proper answers, and instructed to whisper them to his son the following evening. It is impressed upon the father that this must be done only at the last minute, and that every precaution must be taken to prevent the young man from telling his friends that he has been prompted.

Other matters are arranged at the same time. A shaman must be in readiness to assist in binding the future member of the society to secrecy, and every detail is worked out with care. [756]

[The Mystery Dance]

* 575 with fatal results to his victims. The uninitiated listen and
* 796 are impressed as *Ano'likwolsaix* confirms and supplements what has just been told them.

532 After a short pause, the announcer cries, *O*·····,
796 which serves as an invitation and precedes the appearance of every supernatural being. *Snuuq* emerges, a man clad in a bear-skin blanket covered with evergreen tufts, and wearing a mask of which the eyes can be made to swing open or shut by the pulling of concealed cords. The monster does not speak; merely circles the fire, terrifying the beholders by his ferocious expression. When the figure has withdrawn, the announcer explains the significance.

The next to appear is a Deer, *Sno'elxults Ałquntäm*, "The Foolish Son of *Ałquntäm*." The skin and antlers of a real deer are worn by two men with sticks thrust down the legs to make the representation appear life-like. Two more performers with human masks follow, trying to catch the creature which frisks around the fire and avoids them by escaping back into the enclosure. The announcer informs the audience that this is no ordinary animal, it is a deer from the land above, the son of *Ałquntäm*. This mischievous creature is said frequently to
[578] destroy the back-room in his father's house, hence it is a mild term of reproach to call a person *Sno'elxults Ałquntäm*.

After the usual delay comes the Varied Thrush, an actor
• [825] with mask representing a bird. This is considered to be the finest bird songster; the Bella Coola say that all animals, including even mountain goats and halibut, gather to listen to its melody. The performer sings, then withdraws, and the announcer and *Ano'likwolsaix* explain who has just disappeared.

Next is Wolf, a man wearing a tail and the stuffed head of one of these animals. He circles the fire, howling like a wolf, the performer having been chosen for his ability to imitate that sound. The announcer tells the uninitiated that they have just seen a wolf from *Nusqulwaists*, and have listened to it howling for *Ałquntäm*; as usual, *Ano'likwolsaix* confirms his

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has retired from sight. *Ano'likwolsaix* gives her customary dance, her head bent as if she constantly wished to rest it on someone's shoulder, and her opposite arm waving violently. After one circuit of the fire she withdraws from sight behind the matting. Then the marshals tell the uninitiated to withdraw, and the growling Cannibals hurry them forth. The evening's ceremonials conclude in the usual way, except that the masks are not burnt.

The length of time required for the figures to appear and perform is so great that *nakusam* can seldom be completed on a single night. When the marshals decide that it is too late for further drama, they can call a postponement at any time; the uninitiated are told to withdraw and the *kukusiut* disperse shortly afterwards. The following evening they are recalled and the ritual is carried on from the point where the break was made. In this account it has been assumed that it is possible to complete the display without postponement.

Four nights later everyone is called back once again. The *kukusiut* first take their places, and then the uninitiated are summoned. The ritual on this occasion is identical with that just described for *nakusam* with the same promenade of supernatural beings and the same explanations by *Ano'likwolsaix*. After the uninitiated depart the masks are burnt, two at a time, in the manner previously described, this being the last event in the Mystery Dance.

THE DANCE OF *Wiwuna*

Noakgnum is not, according to Bella Coola mythology, the only bringer of salmon to the river, nor is he the only one whose action has been dramatized as a *kusiut* dance. A similar purveyor of fish is *Wiwuna*[a] who comes every year to Bella Coola. Boas (p. 38) has recorded the origin myth connected with the rite, and states that the movements of this being influence the duration of the *kusiut* season; this observation was not confirmed. *Wiwuna* is supposed to return from the

[a] Also called *Kaukuatlatat*, "What Brings Our Food."

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land of the salmon early in January, and it is owing to his successful raid that there is a plentiful supply of fish the following year. The fact that the Bella Coola attribute the same function to *Nuákpaw* provides no difficulties to native philosophers.

"Different individuals have different stories," they say, and the fact that the two are contradictory is a matter of no consequence.

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The incidents described in the following myth are always spoken of as having taken place long ago, and yet the coming of *Wiwaina* is an annual event, a confusion disconcerting to the investigator though not to the Bella Coola themselves.

Wiwaina[*] once led a raiding party against the salmon, whose home is far to the west, and against the herrings who live in a flat and warm country beyond even the land of salmon. His crew consisted of birds who are spoken of in the myth by unusual designations, said to be either their supernatural or their *hamat* names. One informant spoke of these beings as individuals, and only added that they were birds as an afterthought, while another emphasized their avian rather than their human characteristics. This is not surprising, considering that the story belongs to the distant past when birds and human beings were not as clearly differentiated as they now are. *Wiwaina*'s crew consisted of:

The Bald Eagle, *Tcíkwat*;
The Hawk (?) species, *Awáqinkwin*;
The Raven, *'Ináwaqkinin*, "He Who Talks at Dawn and Wakens Everyone";
The Water Ouzel, *Títtaxwatkiks*, "The Walking One";
The Great Blue Heron, *Maxwíllaw*, "Long Neck";
The Hummingbird, *Ala'yaw*;
The Cormorant, *Kwakwá'la*, who joined the expedition as Bella Bella as a passenger;
Four lazy supernatural beings, *Xmaíkhl*.

The expedition was under the special protection of *Kulaxa*, a female supernatural shaman, who guided the canoe in which the raiders travelled by the force of her intellect as if it had been a compass. After a lengthy journey, the party reached the land of the salmon where the clouds obligingly drifted low in the heavens so that the fish could not see their

[*] A word etymologically connected with wine, the Bella Coola have the raid.

[192]

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[The Dance of Winwina]

fish. Each of the crew captured a different kind of salmon which, in the myth, are referred to by their supernatural names. 993

The Bald Eagle captured the spring salmon, *Gbalálmus*, "The One that Changes Itself," a reference to the two forms in which this fish appears before and after spawning. 824 825

The Hawk captured the sockeye salmon, *Nawatlámmum*, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers." 534

The Raven captured the hump-back salmon, *Ánskhmain*, "The One that Fills the Rivers."

The Water Ouzel captured the dog salmon, *Sqaiáitus*, "The Maker of Good Weather," a reference to the calm weather in August when this fish spawns.

The Great Blue Heron captured the coho salmon, *Sqaqamaxwalain*, "The One that Makes Us Fat."

The Cormorant captured a variety of dog salmon, *Gúipus*, for the Bella Bella.

The Hermaphrodite was also successful and filled the enormous basket which he had brought for the purpose with a large number of heavy captives.

As soon as the raiders had achieved their purpose they returned to Bella Coola and released their booty; since that time there has been an abundance of salmon in the river and of berries on the hills. The Cormorant left the canoe at Bella Bella and released the dog salmon there; that is why this variety of fish has since been plentiful at Bella Bella.

Several Bella Coola *kukuxtas* have a dance prerogative of which the above is origin myth. The details vary slightly, and some informants stated frankly that they had forgotten the names of the bird crew. The reasons given for the use of *Wiwaina* as patron likewise vary. According to one account, in the beginning of time *Mqaxwáw* placed the name *Nawaxkwai* in a repository near the summit of the lofty Mount Ba, near *Sisaa*. He had two reasons for so doing: he did not wish it to be defiled by passersby brushing dust into it with their feet, and he wished the owner of the name to be the first to see the return of *Wiwaina*. The repository is a small pond, which can move from place to place, but, being itself supernatural, is visible only to those who have purified themselves. Since that time whoever has had the name *Nawaxkwai* has had the *kukuxt* prerogative of seeing *Wiwaina*. 824 993 998 [996]

A: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of Winwina]

*575 *946 532 kinds of salmon captured by *Winwina*. In their efforts to make realistic representations, the artisans often use the skins of steel-head salmon, the only variety obtainable in winter, stretched over wooden frames, and painted. Various women are asked to make imitations of berries captured by the Humpbackedfish. In each case X requests one woman to make a certain berry, root, or bark used for food, and so many are needed that he often becomes weary from constantly calling out his requirements. As on other occasions, the songs are practised, food is served, and the usual ceremonies occur.

The next morning, that of *qulow*, the carpenters, both men and women, start early at their work. The method of making the salmon has already been described, but a word should be said about the berries. They are made of dyed cedar-bark, undyed cedar-bark, and snow-berries, the only material available in winter. The workmanship varies enormously; some realistic articles are turned out, others are exceedingly crude. In the evening both *kukwiat* and uninitiated are summoned to X's house for the usual protracted ceremony of *qulow* night.

*575 *946 *525 *Nakawm* follows the next day. The wooden salmon and berries are placed in a convenient spot behind the fire, and in the evening X asks some one of the senior *kukwiat* to assist him in their display. Sometimes one of the marshals undertakes this duty, and at any rate they have to express their approval of the *dancer's* choice. The *kukwiat* are the first to assemble, and when the last details have been arranged the uninitiated are called in and seated at the canoe behind the fire. *The kukwiat chosen to assist X stands beside it, holding* the wooden spring salmon in his arms, its head upstream.

"What is it?" he asks the uninitiated. "If you recognize which salmon it is you will be successful in catching that kind next summer."

The uninitiated are thus urged to guess, but four of the *kukwiat* acts as a dancer, and it is often some little time before a plucky youth calls out which salmon he thinks it is

2:66 Cowalth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of Winning]

he. Once the first answer has been given, it is only a matter of a few minutes before some alert young man gives the successful reply.

"Yes," says the *tsaxiat* holding the salmon. "It is a spring salmon, called *Ohuldimat* by the supernatural beings. *Tsitsaat* captured it."

The bearer goes once around the fire, still holding the salmon, while the *tsakaxiat* women drum and the sticks are pounded furiously. Four times during his circuit he tosses the fish in his arms as if it were jumping, and all the *tsakaxiat* call out *ya*—— *ha*——, as they do when a salmon jumps in the river. He finally throws the fish on the central fire and the beating of sticks stops with almost startling suddenness. The same *tsaxiat* next picks up the wooden representation of a sockeye salmon and the same procedure is carried out; it too is thrown on the fire when its species has been ascertained. In succession, imitations of hump-back, dog, and coho salmon are displayed and cast in the flames. It is seldom that the uninitiated realize that the fish are being shown in the order of their coming in the spring, and their consequent failure to answer promptly is a source of considerable secret amusement to the *tsakaxiat*. The Bella Bella dog salmon, held with its head downstream, is the last fish shown. The representation is always made long and lean, to the annoyance of the Bella Bella, and when the holder makes it jump, the people call out nothing but *ha*——.

Soon after the last salmon has been burnt the displayer holds up the first bunch of "berries" and calls on the young uninitiated women to guess what kind is represented.

"*If you guess right, you will find plenty of them next summer*," he says.

Somewhat shyly the girls register their guesses, but the choice of berries is so great and the workmanship so poor that a considerable time often elapses before the correct answer is given. As soon as this is done, the exhibitor carries the fruit around the fire and throws them on the flames in the same

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[The Dance of Thunder]

verbal to physical arguments, and one occasion is remembered 575*
when the latter was shoved from a canoe into the river. 796*

In the evening the *kusiut* are first called in, to be followed by the uninitiated in due course. Thunder dances in the manner already described, though, if possible, with even more vigour and abandon than when he was only one of the performers in the Mystery dance. As recorded in that dance, he performs twice, on the second occasion carrying a rattle containing burning shred of cedar-bark. After each circuit of the central fire, Rainwater appears and drenches the audience, as rain accompanies a thunder-storm. The dramatic skill displayed is always impressive, and a touch of comic realism is added by the iterated remarks of *Tlogots* who does his utmost to believe Thunder. 776 [522]

The time-beater for the expert dancer, *Nixps*, appears after Rainwater. When the ceremonial is carried out with care, he wears a skull mask to show that he is a ghost who has come from the land below in answer to the call of *Alxwolitnem*. As he beats time he sings a wordless song of the dead. The skill of *Nixps* as a dancer is due to the fact that he is a yearling mountain goat among supernatural beings. The uninitiated look forward with eagerness to witnessing a remarkable dance, but after a few violent contortions the performer withdraws, followed by the musicians. [532] [533]

It would be needless repetition to enumerate all the supernatural beings who follow, so mention will be made only of those who are considered specially appropriate to the Thunder dance and who are accordingly shown on almost all occasions. Winter Wren is a masked figure which hops about in an agile manner similar to that of the bird on this earth, and Rabbit *Alxwolitnem* simulates the movements of an earthly rabbit. *Ana'lik-*[532]
ulnem explains to the uninitiated that Thunder would like to taste the flesh of mortals but that he is too big and too hot to approach them, so sends Mosquito as his messenger. The masked figure representing that insect carries a stick about one foot in length beneath his blanket, and runs around the house [825]

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[The Dance of the Murdered Slave]

*575 *796 women drone, then she leaves the house, ostensibly to return to her repository up the valley.

The singers at once begin to compose a new song, describing X's visitor and something of her history. The ritual that follows is that of the ordinary *lsuxtämem* and requires no special description. On the night of *nusiustälsap* a large number of [532] masks are ordered, including one series representing wasps, another of young lads, and still another of the latter with swollen faces. The only other part of the dance with a distinctive ritual is that of *nakusam*.

In the early evening the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to [532] inspect the enormous wasps' nest which the carpenters have [178] erected behind the fire. In recent years this has been made of canvas, taking the place of matting. Within are several stages, on which the defenders stand, each a *kusiut* wearing a wasp's mask and carrying a miniature bow and arrow. The attackers are other members of the society chosen for their small stature and armed with clubs and branches; each wears a boy's mask and each carries a second, representing the same individual with badly swollen face. Considerable time is required to perfect the arrangements and select the performers, but at last all is in readiness and the uninitiated are called in.

They marvel at the enormous wasps' nest and presently [714] witness an assault on it. The attackers, protected by armour, valiantly beat on the structure with clubs as they swing their [825] branches as if brushing away the angry insects; this is the way that boys normally attack a wasps' nest. The defenders discharge their arrows and at intervals one of the attackers calls out in pain and falls down, presently rising with badly swollen face. The uninitiated do not realize that he has slipped the second mask from beneath his blanket to his face. X stands at one side, throwing his arm with a sweeping motion in the direction of the combat, while *Ana'lätwalsair* gives her customary explanations. At last the nest is beaten down whereupon one of the Cannibals begins to growl and the uninitiated rush away. The ritual concludes in the usual way.

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*575 but the *kukusiut* all understand that later performances by
*796 those with the same name are only possible with the assistance of carpenters. This dance has not been carried out for so many years that the details have been forgotten.

THE DANCE OF THE BIRDS

*575 The Bella Coola notice that in autumn many of the birds
*796 disappear, to be seen no more until spring. Ignorant of a warmer climate to the south and of the causes of migration,
●825 they explain the phenomenon by saying that *Alquntäm* collects
[776] the birds in some mysterious place for the winter and releases them in the spring. It is believed that he does the same with supernatural birds in the land above. The setting free of the
[424] birds, which is in effect a scattering, is known as *nasquekstl*
[551] and is personified; he is the patron of a *kusiut* named *Qwete*. For the *nuhusam* of this man's dance a huge circular cage con-
[532] taining wooden birds is constructed. By means of a regular maze of hidden strings they are made to "fly," to the extreme amazement of the uninitiated. This is one of the most complicated *kusiut* rites. Contrary to the usual practice, no eagle down is used for fear that it might settle on the strings and betray their existence to the spectators.

THE DANCE OF DARKNESS AND SLEEP

*575 The patron of this dance is a being who has the power of
*796 bringing nightfall, and later, sleep. In accordance with his
776 double function, a dual personality is attributed to him. In
821 fact, he is almost two beings; as *Sneplamisit*, "Darkness," he
[513] causes night to come once every twenty-four hours, whereupon
[532] as *Stritema*, he brings sleep. His *kusiut* protégé displays on
[424] *nuhusam* figures with black painted masks, representing both phases of his patron.

THE DANCE OF THE WHIRLWIND

Whirlwinds, though of rare occurrence in British Columbia, are known to the Bella Coola who believe that they are caused by the being *Swalniarwanem*. Like all supernatural creatures,

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Whirlwind usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits this earth. He is patron for a *kuxiut* who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary.

575 * 796 * 776 [821] [532]

THE DANCE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the grasp of *Snimia*. This being is patron for certain *kukuxiut* and whenever a tremor occurs, his protégés call their associates and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is identical with that described for dancers whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The theme of the song is of the manner in which *Snimia* performs his function of holding the world. A call from *Snimia* may also come in the normal manner to one of his protégés during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, *Snimia* is patron to a *kuxiut* named *Ałłhałłałałais*.

[825] [533] [551]

THE DANCE OF TIDE-MEASURER

The height to which the tides shall rise is decided by a male supernatural being, *Mimłałałc-swm*, "Tide-Measurer." He is patron of a *kuxiut* named *Tsłł*, whose repository is near *Sałłc*. One of *Tsłł*'s ancestors brought the rite with him from above in the beginning of time. The songs used at the dance describe how Tide-Measurer uses a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of *sałłcum* the uninitiated are told to go to their houses but, by peering round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the ocean, and thrust down to the bottom a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day.

[825] [551] [776] [533]

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BULL-HEAD

Since any supernatural being can act as patron to *kuxiut* dancers, and since all mammals and birds are, in a sense, super-

[825] ●

*575 natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is
*796 usually added that the animal in question is the one resident
776 in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary
●825 river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to
[773] follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the
[821] stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed
[224] his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. As far as could be learnt, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who is patron for a certain *kwiat* is the head of a female herring. Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to
[532] doubt. For the *nuhwam* of her protégé, a number of masks representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are prepared. When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dakdakdwas*, the supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *kwiat* but the ritual of the dance, known as *cendwamnis*, was not obtained. The similarity between *Dakdakdwas* and *Dakdakdwaxwa*, those who await *Nakkpnas*, appears merely to be an accidental re-
[192] semblance in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning "to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

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THE DANCE OF *Almaphaikila*

In Kimsquit it is believed that *Ewi'Ukwalaik* has a husband, *Almaphaikila*, who is patron for several *kwiat* dancers. His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to

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where they settled. *Ilpaxnów* had given him the ability to kill mammals and birds by merely projecting his power at them, and in this way he obtained food for the whole party. He could also revive his victims with the aid of a peculiar stick bearing orchestra, consisting of spruce cones. These he arranged around a fire balanced on levers which he could move with his feet; as he pressed, the cones became animated and beat time feverishly. It was *Ilpaxnów* who had given him these non-human stick-beaters. *Nimkumlaxis* tried to turn mammals into men, but succeeded only with the eyes of the wolf, wherefore these organs appear human even today.

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Ilpaxnów gave *Nimkumlaxis* the prerogative of carrying out a *kusiai* dance, which has been performed in the same manner ever since by the owner of that name. His patrons, for he has four, are the supernatural Carpenters. *Nimkumlaxis* has the further prerogative of wearing, when dancing, a wooden head-piece over his forehead representing *q'ka*, probably one of the blackbirds. On the night of sunsown, when the uninitiated are called in, masked figures of the four Carpenters appear, each carrying a conventional specimen of his work. Boas (at end) illustrates the masks proper to these beings. *Ax'ilkumlaxis* is, as usual, in attendance and explains the significance of the apparitions.

[532]

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE DANCE OF *Nanaiuxpaw*[18]

There was once a middle-aged woman who had not been initiated into the ranks of the *kukwist*. She decided that she could gain this distinction only by seeing *Ax'ilkumlaxis* herself, so with this aim in view she set out to search for the supernatural one. First she pressented to the source of every creek entering South Bentinck Arm; then proceeded up the Nuskumcumcumy River to its very head, again visiting the head-waters of every affluent, and finally went up the Bella Coola River, as before, exploring each side stream. For a whole year she travelled without seeing anything supernatural.

At the source of the Clearwater she came to a lake on the other side of which she could see a single column of smoke. It ascended without twist, coil, or movement, as if it were solid, so she knew that it must have a supernatural origin. Heavily she skirted the shore, till she saw that the smoke was rising from a house made of evergreen boughs. Stealing nearer, she beheld *Ax'ilkumlaxis* herself within, working with a woman *Nanaiuxpaw*. *Ax'ilkumlaxis* was using rock crystals to strike the woman sunshine, and then reviving her; but all the time was causing *Nanaiuxpaw* to sink into the ground. Breathless with excitement the

[18] Related by Snowshoe Annie.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

*533 (*d*) A somewhat boastful reference to the power of the dancer's *tutwinam*.
(*e*) Another arrogant reference to the *tutwinam*.
[776] (*f*) In Bella Bella.
[424] (*g*) This is a Bella Bella being of whom little is known by the Bella Coola. The right to use him as *tutwinam* came from a remote ancestor.
(*h*) Presumably, the dancer's right to perform.

Fragment of a Song Used for Kaquix, a Kimsquit Man(a)

A Alqxmoxwin	*nuxlixwinmxmp*	*Sakxmxmxmtxu*
Protect your faces,	you quiet people!	Is always shooting arrows

kwhxtsiyadzlaix
my crest(*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

Axwuixu	*kxqlmxwxmdinit*
Don't do that,	they will cover us with valuables(*c*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 29b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to be an extremely ancient one, used by some of the earliest settlers; the tune is said to be entirely different from any recent *nuxalk* compositions.

[424] (*b*) The dancer's crest was the wasp, an insect which is believed to sting by the
[825] discharge of invisible, minute arrows. This admonition to the guests to hide their
[773] faces was, of course, a boasting reference to the goods which would be distributed at the approaching potlatch. None of the first settlers was sent down to earth as a wasp, but several, including *Nuxkilc*, were guided and assisted by these insects to such an extent that they have been regarded as crests.

[558] (*c*) It is customary, when quoting this song, to add this final remark. It is related
[424] that, many years ago, a Kimsquit man used his wasp prerogative, but was shamed at the potlatch by being inundated with goods from a rival. Since that time, none of his descendants has dared to use the right and the admonition against doing so has become almost proverbial.

Fragment of a Song Used for Nuqwilxmixix of Kimsquit(a)

A Qxxadjilxxwu	*skxlqlxlwililxi*	*Dilqwqlqlxxdxi*	*wxxxqxxtxlc*
We all go	to see(*b*).	He(*c*) informs us	of what he carries.

B and *C* No more of this song is remembered, though it was used at a potlatch about 1910.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 29b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louis Hall.
(*b*) Meaning: To gaze upon something supernatural.
(*c*) An unnamed supernatural being.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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(*a*) "The Beautifier." This is one of the appellations of the infant's patron, the otter, so-called because people adorn themselves whenever an Otter dance is given. 533*

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 16a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *hucist* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of *Lilitwumlain*, a female infant distantly related to *Xpemtsatsula*. [776]

(*c*) A reference to Otter, the neophyte's patron. The significance is that chiefs have an opportunity to display, "open," their generosity by lavish giving at every Otter dance. [556]

(*d*) The elaborate ritual of an Otter dance dispels grief. It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions.

(*e*) Referring to one of the dead man's ancestors. The theme changes, and is henceforth of the usual mourning pattern.

(*f*) Referring to the dead *Xpemtsatsula*.

(*g*) "The Loftiest." This is one of the many designations for *Nusqalt*, one of the dead man's crests.

(*h*) A reference to the expanding house described in the dead man's origin myth. [773]

(*i*) One of *Xpemtsatsula*'s names.

(*j*) This is another name for *Nusqalt*. The meaning of the whole part is: *Xpemtsatsula* sits down within the expandible house on Mount *Nusqalt*. There is the added implication that he seats himself as does his supernatural namesake in the land above.

Non-Ceremonial Songs

The Bella Coola are not an intensely musical people. Singing in unison is an essential feature of every ceremonial rite, [796]* but, when alone, an individual seldom bursts into melody from sheer *joie de vivre*. They have, however, a certain number of non-ceremonial songs, shorter and more diverse in theme than any of those previously recorded. The people themselves do not attempt to classify them, though they can conveniently be grouped in accordance with their themes. Some deal with [825] love, others are sung jocularly at sight of certain birds or mammals, while a third class can only be described as miscellaneous. Still others accompany stories and games; these are included in vol. II, chap. V, and appendix B.[1]

Love Songs

Men sometimes compose songs which they sing, unaccompanied, to their lady loves. Occasionally, too, the maker of a popular one will teach it to his friends who will serenade the 533* 882 424

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 548 to 567 - ANALYST]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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539*
226

Nuchlipuqutsuka	*ellkiyuxutsuki*	*ellkiyuxutsuki*
Swallow right down(c),	to your very tail,	to your very tail;

dixuxtwutshlen ilsis
why you cannot even break one of our hairs(d).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 9a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louis Hall.
(b) The vocative form is used.
(c) That is: Swallow the bait.
(d) A reference to the use of human hairs for fishlines. The lad is, of course, trying to "dare" the fish.

Fishing Song(a)

This is a song sung by lads as they splash in the water after minnows, trying to drive them ashore.

Wakdimtsa	*Wakdimtsa*
Who is your father?	Who is your father?

Spuskipulint	*dimtsa*	*spuskipulint*	*dimtsa*
"Rotten stomach"(b)	is your father!	"Rotten stomach"	is your father.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 30b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) It is uncertain whether this refers to any particular kind of fish, or is merely a general term of opprobrium.

Song Sung to a Cormorant(a)

539*
825

When a cormorant is seen near a canoe, the paddlers often sing the following song. The bird, delighted, is said to come near and dance around the craft.

Sxwiyumtlu	*dalkyuu ulsu*	*sxwiyumtlu*	*dalkyuu ulsu*
Dance,	cormorant,	dance,	cormorant(b).

Hawtsalt
Take the bait(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 34a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) This is the Bella Bella word for cormorant.
(c) The singer insisted on inserting this refrain after the song. It is really a lullaby and it is doubtful whether it normally accompanies the cormorant song.

[192]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

Song Sung to a Bat(a)

*533 825 When a bat is seen flitting around in the dusk, lads often greet it as follows:

Sinaskilitsw	*ushih*
Bat,	*ushih.*

These two words are repeated an indefinite number of times.

(a) Recorded on song VII D 10b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

MISCELLANEOUS SONGS

*533 525 177 Gambling games have always been popular among the Bella Coola, especially the one known as *lekal* which may be of European origin. Contestants sing as they play, but the songs, lacking words, consist merely of a series of meaningless ejaculations. The tunes, however, are remembered, and certain ones are considered to be the proper accompaniment to certain games. When a number of men are singing in unison, they follow the directions of a leader, but at other times the "words" vary according to individual taste. The tunes alone are important, and it is often remembered from what area they first came.[1]

*533 177 A few songs have been adopted from the Carriers and are sung from sheer delight in the rhythm, since the words are unintelligible. *The most popular is the following:*

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[1] A number of such tunes were obtained:

A Kitamaat *lekal* song, recorded on song VII D 20c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A gambling song said to have come from the West Coast of Vancouver Island, recorded on song VII D 19b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded on song VII D 14b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded on song VII D 20b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

A Bella Coola gambling song, recorded on song VII D 13b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

CHAPTER III

WARFARE*

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

721 648 PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was considerable warfare among the coastal tribes of British Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermination of one or other of the participants were unknown, but there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks. These were never as continuous as on the Plains, where martial achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast, but it appears probable that at least several villages of the Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless, [794] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were [558] even received as guests at some dances. At potlatches they might be subjected to insults, later to be avenged in the same manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and 724 friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who 825 have an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests themselves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter 778 to veer over to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was [578] considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling [677] a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads. In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in 721 summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food; consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was [575] at all common. Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were [682] not entirely forgotten; no *bella* canoe went to war and

*Whether having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

CHAPTER IV

GAMES

517 THE subject of games, lying on the border-line of social
121 customs, was one which was not fully investigated. The
[177] Bella Coola, like all other peoples, have a number of sports and pastimes and although the old diversions are being forgotten by the younger people, many of the old men and women are familiar with those played in their youth. As isolated customs these may be of small value, but games of all kinds often preserve ancient practices and, as providing useful clues to the spread of peoples or of culture, are worthy of investigation. Unfortunately, lack of time made it impossible to give the subject the attention it deserved, and the few games here described must not be considered an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

526 Though less fond of competitive sports than the Indians
[171] of the Plains, the Bella Coola enjoy canoe-racing and wrestling.
[628] The former appears to have been an ancient diversion; picked crews from different villages competed amid the encouraging shouts of their fellows, and even now the younger men are anxious to display their skill in this respect. Wrestling, which
[177] used to be common during all non-sacred gatherings, has almost entirely disappeared since the prohibition of the potlatch.

539 The favourite sedentary pastime, enjoyed equally by young
[517] and old, is the telling of stories. Those of a sacred nature, especially ancestral myths, are reserved of course for ceremonial occasions, but the older men and women remember
[825] many tales describing the exploits of birds and animals which are recounted again and again to the enjoyment of the listeners, although they may have heard the same recital fifty times. Children enjoy the companionship of some old story-teller and it is a common sight to see an old man or woman, surrounded by an eager group, explaining once more how Raven outwitted his rivals or was himself led into difficulties. Many of these
[867] stories are somewhat indecent; others appear brutally frank,

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

859 better than hunting birds and small animals with miniature bows and arrows, or snaring them in nooses of grass or string. Little girls make playhouses in which they cook wonderful meals of berries, with perhaps the addition of a wooden fish. On the whole, however, the children do not enter into play as boisterously as white boys and girls, nor do they seem to derive as much pleasure from it. In former times, when clothing was [152] scanty, small lads used to delight in picking nettles and beating [291] one another with the stinging branches; this must have caused considerable pain, but it was a point of honour not to cry out, and anyone, perhaps caught unaware, who showed discomfort, [524] was laughed at as a coward. Both boys and girls are fond of swinging, and even adult women sometimes find time to enjoy themselves by swaying to and fro at the end of a rope.

Young Bella Coola do not have as many toys as white children, and none of them is complex. Some girls have crude [575] wooden dolls, though elaborate figurines are reserved for use [231] in *kwiat* dances. Perhaps the most cherished plaything is a small puppy or, in recent years, a kitten, though the unfortunate animal is handled and mauled without consideration. A good carpenter may make for his son a wooden top or a bull-roarer, to the envy of his less fortunate friends. Both types of toys are said to be used in [575] *Nusmît-a* and at some *kwiat* dances the masked figures carry them to play with.

524 There is one game, *sloi*, which the salmon are • [825] said to delight to watch, and which is accordingly played by boys as soon as the first spring salmon have been disposed of with fitting rites. Each makes for himself, or is given by his father, a wooden spear with a projecting barb, fastened as shown in the accompanying sketch (see Fig. 1). A loop of branches is made and thrown into a pool of stagnant, or slow-moving water, on each side of which stands a rival group of competitors. At a signal, all throw their spears simultaneously, with the intention of passing them through the ring, so that the barb of each will

FIG. 1.
"Toy spears."

538 certain that his account is the only accurate one, and ridicules his rival, but as no social importance is attached to the tales, an error in narration is a matter of small moment. Probably there have been instances in which an individual possessing [556] much wealth has transformed a story into a family myth, but it was impossible to obtain a concrete illustration of this; it is thought that this may have been done in former years, though of course such would be absolutely contrary to custom.

Stories can be conveniently divided into two types:

[825] I. Those in which the principal character is a mammal or bird endowed with human intelligence.

II. Those in which the principal character is a human being.

[825] Many of the first type describe the adventures and mis-
[776] adventures of Raven. It must be remembered that the Bella Coola regard these stories as accurate statements of fact, and base their characterizations of many supernatural beings on their actions as recorded therein.

Raven Stories

*534

HOW RAVEN BECAME BLACK

When Raven was being prepared for his descent to earth, *Ăpănăw* told *MĂMĂLĂLĂ* to make him the prettiest of all the birds. When finished, he was adorned with many colours and was very handsome. But the vain Raven looked at himself and was not satisfied. First he asked that one arm might be changed, and when this was done as he desired, he asked for an alteration in one of his legs; and so on with nearly every part of his body. Finally, *Ăpănăw* became angry, and told some of his assistants to throw ashes all over him. This made Raven a uniform black, in which guise he was sent down to earth.

RAVEN AND WATER OUZEL[7]

As he was able to assume any form, Raven, once upon a time, took that of a herald and went to the home of Water Ouzel, who, having spread a fine cedar-mat for his guest, proceeded to prepare a meal. He brought

[7] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 93.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

hold up his legs to the heat again, but though he kept them there until they were badly burnt, no more grease came. Seal waited and waited, until, becoming angry, she picked up her pan and went home in disgust. 534*

RAVEN AND VARIED THRUSH[1]

Once upon a time Raven went to the home of Varied Thrush.

"I have come to call," he said.

Thrush, a woman, politely invited him to sit down for a meal. Then she took the box which she used for berry-picking, hung it on a projecting rafter outside the house, and began to sing; instantly a few berries appeared in the box. She sang four times, and when she had finished, the receptacle was full.[2] Thrush placed the food before her guest, and Raven ate heartily. When it was time to leave, he picked up the box with what he had not consumed, and invited his hostess to come and collect it the following day.

On the morrow Thrush went to Raven's house, where he invited her to sit down for a meal. Then he made a hole in a corner of the house, placed the same food-box beneath it, and began to sing, imitating his guest's song. A few salmon berries were deceived and entered the receptacle. Again Raven sang, but this time the berries recognized the deception and the box was filled, not with fruit, but guano. Thrush was very angry.

"You tried to steal my method of gathering berries," she burst out.

Then she picked up her box and went home, leaving Raven discomfited.

RAVEN AND BUCK[3]

Once upon a time, Raven went to the home of an old, large-antlered buck and asked:

"In what month do you get fat?"

"I grow fat when they put up the sticks to dry the salmon," replied Buck.

"That is peculiar," said Raven. "I get fat then too; our families must be related."

He said no more, but waited patiently for autumn.

When the sticks were set up for salmon drying, Raven went again to Buck's house and said:

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[1] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 93.

[2] The Bella Coola say that when this bird sings, flowers, berries, animals, and fish gather to listen to the melody.

[3] For another version of this story see Boas, p. 92.

[825]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

hers, which, with her supernatural power, she was able to do. She reluctantly granted his request, and Raven became very proud of his splendid locks. 539*

Next year, when Raven caught sockeye salmon he obeyed his wife's instructions by carefully hanging the fish up to dry without removing the heads. One day, however, his long hair became entangled with the teeth of a drying salmon, and in a fit of anger he wrenched off its head, throwing it outside the door. His wife was so vexed and grieved that she cried and cried until her face was swollen and Raven became frightened at her continued lamentation. After he had left the house, Sockeye Salmon told her sisters-in-law to make a fire and put on it all her personal possessions. She said that she intended to leave that night, and that the smoke would animate her husband's salmon, but not those caught by his sisters. When it was dark she carried out her threat. She whistled, and Raven's fish came to life; then she ran to the river, raised the edge of the water as if it had been a blanket and plunged beneath, followed by them.

Raven tried in vain to pursue, but lost both his wife and his salmon.

Animal Stories

Raven is more frequently endowed with human characteristics to serve as the central figure in stories than any other bird or mammal, but the following are examples of similar tales centring around other figures. ⁂ 538 825

MINK AND CAT-FISH[11]

539*

Once upon a time, long, long ago, before men and animals had grown so unlike one another, Mink went to the home of a Cat-Fish woman, who politely invited him to stay for a meal. When he had finished eating he said to his hostess:

"Are you afraid of anything?"

"No," she replied.

"Are you not afraid of Grizzly Bear?"

"No," answered the woman again.

Mink repeated his question with regard to Wolf, Black Bear, Wolverine, Cougar, and all the other fierce animals, but Cat-Fish assured him that she feared none of them. At length he asked:

"Are you afraid of Owl?"[12]

[11]There are no true cat-fish in Bella Coola; the species so designated is probably one of the sculpins. [136]

[12]He meant the western horned owl.

⁂ [See pp. 419-493. — ANALYST]

Z: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

from the anus and flew away. Grizzly Bear rolled around in agony till he died. 539

HOW MALLARD DUCK GOT HIS NAME

Mallard Duck married Merganser,* but soon tired of her and discarded her in favour of Red-Breasted Merganser. The incensed one began to swear at her successor, but at once Mallard Duck joined in the defence of Red-Breasted Merganser and insulted his former wife.

"*Nāx! Nāx! Nāx!*" he said as if he were vomiting, imitating what he claimed had been a common practice of Merganser. But the jibe was so often repeated that Mallard Duck received from it his own name, *Nāxnx*.

THE MISFORTUNES OF JAY

Rocky Mountain Jay was a Carrier, who lived long ago, far away in the interior mountains. One summer the snow did not melt from above his house so that his only connection with the open air continued to be a small passage for smoke and breath. Summer passed and autumn came, with the ripening of the berries, but still the snow remained and Jay kept indoors, thinking it still was winter. One day a little bird brought him a sprig of ripe berries, chiding him for his lassitude and folly in staying where winter reigned, when he could come out into autumn.

"All you have to do," said the visitor, "is to get ready and force yourself through the snow."

Jay took the advice and plunged out through the drift into autumn, carrying his bow and arrows. As he looked back at his house under the snow he thought to himself how much better it was to be out in the open.

He wandered through the woods till presently he saw Black Fox asleep. He sneaked up to him, arrow poised on string ready to shoot, when he heard a voice:

"Do not shoot, Jay," it said. "Blood will spoil the fur. Build a fence round Fox with only a narrow opening in it, where you can put a snare."

The voice came from his anus. It was as if he had two minds, one located in that part of his body. Jay followed the advice and built a fence of dry branches around sleeping Fox with only a narrow opening in which he set a snare. When this was ready he built a fire to awaken Fox and frighten him into the noose; but the fence flared up so that the startled Fox was able to jump to safety over the shattered barricade. Jay was so angry that he beat his anus.

*The species could not be identified. The Bella Coola term is *shalisti*.

[825]

2:McHowatt E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

Then she sat down to the meal with her husband, the routine being exactly as she had described it to her visitor. After they had finished eating, *Itsaa*'s wife told him of the day's happenings, how a woman, giving her name, had visited the camp and had asked a great many questions about him, including whether or not he observed ceremonial chastity, and other personal matters. 539

"What did you tell her?" *Itsaa* asked his wife.

"Oh, I answered her truthfully," she replied.

"You should never have done that!" *Itsaa* burst out in anger. "It was none of her business. Don't you know that you should never discuss a hunter's observance of ceremonial chastity? You have behaved very badly." 715 79

Itsaa had reason for his wrath, because no wife should ever discuss this matter, as in so doing she weakens or destroys her husband's power.

A few days afterward the evil woman again visited *Itsaa*'s camp, carrying concealed beneath her blanket a wooden club used for killing salmon. *Itsaa*'s wife did not see the approach of her hypocritical friend, who struck her on the head with the weapon and killed her. The murderess dragged her victim's body a short distance from the camp; with her copper knife she removed the skin and drew it over her own body, endeavouring in every way to make it fit. But *Itsaa*'s wife had been larger than the bad woman, who tried to remedy the difference in size by tying the excess in wrinkles around her hips. The greatest difficulty was about the eyes, where the skin hung in folds which the impostor sewed neatly to make less noticeable. When all was done the murderess scraped a hole in the soft ground and buried the body of her victim.

While awaiting the return of *Itsaa* the impostor busied herself in carrying out all the small household occupations, just as she had been told about them. Towards dusk *Itsaa* came back. He noticed that his wife looked peculiar and uneasy, but said nothing about it; they sat down together to the meal but the woman kept her eyes lowered, lest the loose skin about them might betray her. *Itsaa* wondered at that and also at her voice, which did not sound normal. At night the masquerader went first to bed, as a wife always does when her husband is observing ceremonial chastity. *Itsaa* followed shortly. In a few minutes an owl hooted:

"*Itsaa*'s wife has tied up a fold of skin round her hips."

Neither man nor woman spoke. Even at that distant period it was well known that the voice of a dead person passes into an owl, though only rarely can one communicate with the living. It was, in fact, the ghost with speaking from above the spot where her body lay. The murderess feared that *Itsaa* would put his arm around her waist, but the wise sewed because his observance of ceremonial chastity prevented him from doing so. 775 826

Z: McDowell: R-3 (1922-1924) 1948
NKA McDowell NKA

*534 farmers, how all their people had been murdered by an old woman who had sucked out their brains through their ears, and how she was even now pursuing them.

"I know about her," their host murmured.

This was the first inkling he had received of the crimes she had committed on earth.

Shortly afterwards *Swalqalqit* came along, panting and running on two walking sticks.

"I am tired," she said, but *Alpentine* said sourly:

"I know now about all the evil you have wrought on earth."

He took a whip and beat her unmercifully. When he had finished he opened his door, and saw her to tiny shreds which he threw outside, saying:

"Henceforth you shall be mosquitoes."

*[125] The fragments floated down to Kimsquit, where ever since there have been numerous mosquitoes. Then *Alpentine* said to the five:

"Don't be down-hearted about the loss of your friends. I will help you. Spend the night with me, but tomorrow, when I send you home, I will give you something to restore the dead."

Next morning after breakfast he gave the oldest youth a small quantity of what looked like water, a drop of which he told him to put into each ear, each nostril, and the mouth of every dead one, for restoration. They were then told to return to earth on the road by which they had come, which would be made easy for them. It was as he had said; thanks to *Alpentine's* care, they reached earth in two days and one night. As soon as they came to their village the oldest boy first restored his parents, afterwards all the other people; to them it seemed as if they had only been asleep; none of them realized he had been dead. The oldest boy became wealthy through presents given to him in gratitude by those he had restored.

THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED WOLF

Once upon a time there was a young girl who was secluded in the corner of her house following puberty. Growing weary of her imprisonment, she one day crept out through the hole in the floor to pick berries in the forest. There she met a handsome young man who made love to her; at first she spurned him but at length gave in, and, immediately afterwards, the youth suggested that she return with him to his home, saying she could go back when she so desired; to this she agreed. They soon reached his house within which was his father, Wolf, who wore a wolf blanket and had a wolf's tail, only his face was human. As the old man moved around the house his tail always went into the fire.

*539f 121 him how unhappy he was, because people on earth called him a beaver.

"Never mind, my son," said *Algonkin*. "Presently, I will let you do my work and then you will be more powerful than anyone on earth."

Then morning the father sent the lad off to set to sea, giving him the usual supply of bear. But the boy was so angry with the people on earth that he increased this supply, hoping to burn up the whole of them. Seeing some children on play, he swooped down to slay them; it became so hot that water boiled in the lakes and rivers and the whole race of mankind was caused to death. Most of the animals escaped by hiding in burrows, but not the black bear, who at that time had a white coat. It was brave black and has retained that colour ever since, while the grizzly was scorched to his present customs. The deer and the wapiti failed to hide their tails, both of which were burnt; that is why each has a black tip to this day.

[125] [125] *Algonkin*, angry at his son for killing everybody, restored all to life, and broke the malicious child into countless pieces which he threw down to earth in the form of mosquitoes.

Contemporary Stories

591 Disasters which occurred in the distant past provide themes for stories of a non-ceremonial nature.

THE FAMINE

*539f *Kilbo* was a Kimsquit man who made a practice of watching the sun; from its movements he was able to foretell the solstices and other coming events. One winter, long ago, the sun, instead of stopping at its usual place, continued far beyond its proper course. *Kilbo* was much worrie and prophesied strange changes, with famine; he called on the young men to weep, but instead they merely laughed at him. That summer, when there was plenty of fish, berries, and other foods, the people jeered at the prophet. For four years there was the same plentiful harvesting and collecting, but in the fifth came a great change. It failed to become warm in April, the berries flowered, but the constant cold wind prevented their buds from opening. Few fish ascend the river, and even they could not be caught because the water remained so clear. The same conditions prevailed for four years until the people were starving; their only food was porcupine and mountain goat, with a few coots caught on hook and line. About this time a Kimsquit man, *Tsalalil*, went goat-hunting behind his village, and one night after seeing his snares, lay down in a cave. He could not sleep, and presently heard the

[301] of the older people remember seeing in their youth another type, fabric, with a high casual grow; this may have been identical with the nuhu which others describe as having an elevated bow and a low stern. An entirely different craft was the nuhuwi'a, canoe from one of the grass, probably the white-footed grass. A strip of maple fastened along each side caught the water in moving, with a sound like that of the peculiar resting flight of the bird. The bow was often carved in the form of a bird's head and the stern in that of a tail to further the resemblance. No living Bella Coola claims to have seen one of these canoes, though some had heard of them from their grandparents. The large, open type of canoe made by the Haida was known to the Bella Coola, but not constructed by them. Sails were used on all seagoing canoes; they were usually of weaving, though skins sewn together were occasionally employed.

[301] [305] Canoes are occasionally lashed together. In several footer dances a wide platform for dancing is required, and the need is met by lashing planks crosswise over two canoes, near the bow and stern, thus fastening them together. Planking is laid on the two supports and a platform is constructed. Careful inquiries showed that this fastening was merely a temporary arrangement; the beams were not bound in any particular manner, nor was there any fixed distance between the craft. Sometimes the same expedient was used for voyages when the load was too heavy for two canoes separately, a device which is said to have been used more commonly by the tribes of the inner coast than the Bella Coola. Canoes lashed together are termed to canoe.

[301] [171] Rafts, nuhuwi'a, consisting of rough logs fastened together with cross-pieces, were commonly used on the lakes of the interior, and occasionally for river work when canoes were unavailable and there was no time to make them. Another expedient in similar emergencies was to make bark canoes, such as are still constructed by the Carrier. The Bella Coola regard the construction of these as definite copying, and do not profess to have as much skill as their neighbors whose canoes, it is said, can be folded for packing. There is a tradition that, many generations ago, a few clever Bella Coola learnt how to make skin canoes.

THE PREPARATION OF CRAB-APPLE

[314] [322] [324] [325] [326] Early spring is the time to uncolumi, that is, to gather the inner bark of the cedar. Men occasionally assist in the work, though this is really women's work. The worker selects a small cedar, choosing one about six inches in diameter, with smooth trunk and relatively free from knots. With a knife she makes a horizontal incision in the bark, reaching down from the ground, sometimes grubbing the sapling. Then she inserts her

S: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[String Figures]

524 Insert right hand from distal side into the loop hooked down by right index finger, releasing this finger in the process.

With tips of right thumb and index finger grasp left radial index finger string and left ulnar thumb string, taking care that the grasping fingers pass to the distal side of the (straight) left ulnar index finger-radial thumb string.

Fig. 6. "A Salmon-Trap."

Draw these two strings out to the right, allowing the original right hand loop to slip over them.

This completed figure represents a salmon-trap,[1] the opening pointing towards the left (Figure 6).

II. A WATER OUSEL

Opening 8 with middle fingers.

Bring middle fingers together, tip to tip; transfer right middle finger loop to left middle finger, and left middle finger loop to right middle finger, passing it over the loop just transferred.

Extend.

Insert left thumb into left middle finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop to the thumb, hooking it distal to the loop already held.

Insert left thumb into left little finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop to the thumb, hooking it distal to the two loops already held.

Insert left little finger into left thumb loops from proximal side, passing to radial side of the two proximal ulnar thumb strings, and to ulnar side of distal ulnar thumb string; hook this string down with little finger through thumb loops.

Insert left index finger into left thumb loops from distal side, passing to ulnar side of the two distal radial thumb strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb strings; turn index finger up away from manipulator, taking up the string on the dorsal aspect of the tip of the index finger.

Release left thumb.

Release right thumb and little finger.

Extend.

This completed figure (Figure 7) shows the bird ready to dive in search

[1] Some informants state that this figure represents the female genital organ.

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

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FIG. 5. "A Water Ouzel."

of the small fish, or salmon roe, on which it feeds. Wriggle the hands and the bird shakes, as it does when about to dive. The manipulator sings:

Makaw	*yaxet*	*mamamkkke*	*ah*	*mahimaqlt*
Dive	down,	Water Ouzel,	in	your salmon roe.

[825]

Release left little finger.

The bird dives; the remaining knot represents the radiating ripple that marks the spot where it vanished.

III. A COFFIN

Place string over left thumb and index finger, and right thumb.

With left middle, ring, and little fingers hook down left radial thumb string and left ulnar index finger string.

With right middle, ring, and little fingers hook down right radial and ulnar thumb strings.

Bring right hand to radial side of left hand, to its dorsal aspect.

With right index finger take up from proximal side string which passes across dorsal aspect of left thumb and index finger.

Extend, taking care not to lift string from left thumb or index finger.

Release middle, ring, and little fingers of both hands.

There is now a straight string passing between the radial sides of the two thumbs, and another straight string between the radial sides of the two index fingers, while the string passing from ulnar side of left thumb to ulnar side of right index finger crosses to the radial side of the string passing from ulnar side of right thumb to ulnar side of left index finger (Figure 6).

This cumsaw opening will be referred to henceforth as BELLA COOLA OPENING.

Insert middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger string.

FIG. 6. "Bella Coola Opening."

2; McDowelth K-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

524 wrapping radial thumb string around tips of index fingers, and allowing original index finger loops to slip off.

Release thumbs.

There is now a St. Andrew's Cross in the center of the figure. With each thumb take up the upper arm of the cross nearest to it from the proximal side.

Release index fingers.

Transfer loop hooked down by ring and little fingers of each hand to little fingers of each hand, without allowing direction of loop.

FIG. 8. "A Rabbit."

Insert index fingers into little finger loops from distal side, hand them towards mediolateral to proximal side of radial little finger strings, alternate thumb strings, and radial thumb strings; then hand them up and away from mediolateral to distal side of radial thumb string, and to proximal side of the straight string which crosses the figure forming a loop between ulnar thumb string and radial little finger string of each hand. Hook this string on index fingers and return, taking it up on the dorsal aspect of index fingers.

Release thumbs.

[P45] The loops just released represent the ears of the rabbit. With thumbs press the ears through little finger loops and shove with middle fingers, thereby making the figure appear more life-like (Figure 9).

91. THE LONG PENIS OF RAVEN

524 Bella Coola opening.

F81 Insert middle, ring and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

With thumbs take up radial index finger strings from proximal side and remove through thumb loops, allowing original thumb loops to slip off.

Insert middle fingers into thumb loops from proximal side and take up all the backs of middle fingers the strings passing across the palmar aspect of thumbs, returning thumbs to normal position.

With hook of left middle finger grip right middle finger loop and release right middle finger.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bulletin-Cole NEB

524
[125]

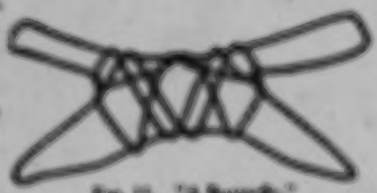

FIG. 11. "A Butterfly."

chumb string, thus taking up distal radial chumb string on the backs of index fingers.

Release chumbs.

This shows the butterfly with wings extended, the head being the complicated network of strings in the upper center of the figure (Figure 11).

To untangle the string—to make the butterfly vanish—with chumbs hook down palmar string and release index and little fingers.

VIII. THE FIRE-SEEKER

Bella Coola opening.

Insert middle, ring, and little fingers of each hand into index finger loops and hook down radial index finger string.

Pass index fingers to distal side of radial chumb string, and middle fingers to proximal side of radial chumb string, clutching this string between tips of these fingers.

Remove through index finger loops, allowing these loops to slip off.

Release chumbs.

With chumbs take up silver index finger string from proximal side.

Release index fingers.

Bring chumbs together, tip to tip, and consider right chumb loop to left chumb.

Bring ring and little fingers of each hand together, tip to tip, to radial side of left chumb loops, and consider loop hooked down by left ring and little fingers to hook of right ring and little fingers.

With left index, middle, ring, and little fingers hook down left silver chumb strings.

Release left chumb.

Insert right index and middle fingers from proximal side into loops hooked down on right ring and little fingers, thus widening this loop.

Turn palms of hands towards manipulator, with hands pointing upwards, that is, so that the fingers would point upwards if they were not bent over to hook down strings.

"Remove right hand counter-clockwise, and left hand clockwise, through ninety degrees, causing a triangle to appear in the center of the figure (Figure 12).

This triangle represents the person to whom *Sempen-ski*, "The Fire-Seeker," applies for glowing embers. Another person should take the part of *Sempen-ski* by inserting a finger through the central triangle. The following dialogue takes place:

524 With middle fingers take up about thumb string from proximal side and return through index finger loops.

Insert ring fingers into middle finger loops from proximal side.

Bend middle and ring fingers towards manipulator, to distal side of index finger loops, passing middle fingers to distal side of radial thumb string, and ring fingers to proximal side of radial thumb string. Grasp radial thumb string between tips of these fingers and return through middle finger loops, thus wrapping the string as grasped around the tips of middle fingers.

Release index fingers.

Release little fingers.

Bring thumbs together, tip to tip, and consider right thumb loop to left thumb.

Insert right index finger into right middle finger loop from proximal side and consider this loop, releasing middle finger.

Rotate right hand clockwise through 180 degrees, so that the loop formerly held on index finger is now held on back of same finger, but has not been twisted.

With right middle finger hook down, outward, the string which passes from about side of right index finger to radial side of left middle finger.

With right ring finger hook down left radial middle finger string.

Release left middle finger.

Pass left index, ring, and middle fingers into left thumb loops from proximal side and hook down these loops.

Release left thumb.

This shows the "Toad" string crossed, head facing to left, ready to jump (Figure 11).

[1.25]

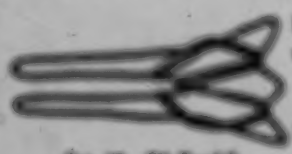

Fig. 11. "A Toad"

Pass left thumb into loops hooked down by left index, ring, and middle fingers from distal side.

The left thumb represents a stick.

The manipulator then carries on the following dialogue with the toad.

"Gakwanik? Where are you going?" (addressed to the toad).

"I should, I am going to get some huckleberries".

"Kakakwa? [illegible]? But how will you be able to reach up to them?"

"Ahachwanim, I am jump."

"What shall, the stick, Gale follow."

Z:\Mc\Dewath R-9 (1912-1924) 1968
MRS McDerrola NE6

In the manipulation says "Un shank" release right index and ring fingers and with a swinging motion the "road" can be made to jump towards the left, over the left shank. 524 [525]

A TOAD

(Second method of construction)

Hallo Cards spreading.

Insert middle, ring, and little fingers of each hand into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

With middle fingers take up silver shank strings from proximal side.

With middle fingers hook down silver index finger strings, allowing loops just taken up to slip off. The strings formerly hooked down by middle, ring, and little fingers are now held down by ring and little fingers.

Release index fingers.

Each silver shank string is held down by a loop. With index fingers take up silver shank strings from proximal side between loop and centre of figure.

With index fingers take up radial shank strings from distal side and return, allowing original index finger loops to slip off.

Release middle, ring, and little fingers.

Take up with mouth the straight radial index finger string in centre of figure.

Bring shanks together, tip to tip, and transfer right shank loop to left shank, releasing right shank.

Transfer right index finger loop to hook of right index by twisting finger without removing string, which throws original radial string on to silver side.

With right middle finger hook down string passing from mouth to left index finger between the mouth and the point where other strings cross.

Release mouth.

With right ring finger hook down left radial index finger string which runs straight across to right hand.

Release left index finger.

Insert left index, middle, and ring fingers into hooked down loop of left shank.

Release left shank.

Gently extend the figure by spreading the loop held on hooks of left fingers, at the same time manipulating it so that the loops held by right index, middle, and ring fingers are of approximately the same length. It is sometimes difficult to get a satisfactory figure.

The completed figure (Figure 17) represents a road spanning pre- [525]

524 [525] necessary to jumping. Release right index and ring fingers, and by means of a swinging movement with both hands the toad can be made to jump to the left, over the left thumb, which should be inserted into hooked down loops of left index, middle, and ring fingers from distal side.

XIV. CROSSING A RIVER

Place string as a simple loop over thumbs and index fingers.

With middle, ring, and little fingers hook down radial thumb string and ulnar index finger string.

With right index finger take up string passing dorsally across left thumb and index finger from proximal side.

With left index finger take up string passing dorsally across right thumb and index finger from distal side.

Extend, at the same time releasing middle, ring, and little fingers.

Pass left middle, ring, and little fingers proximal to left proximal index finger loop, and hook down left distal radial index finger string.

Pass right middle, ring, and little fingers proximal to both right index finger loops and hook down right ulnar thumb string—which is the same string as just hooked down by left middle, ring, and little fingers.

Pass left middle finger into left index finger loops from proximal side and hook down proximal radial index finger string.

Pass right middle finger into right index finger loops from proximal side and hook down both radial index finger strings.

Bend towards manipulator middle and index fingers of each hand, passing middle fingers to proximal side of the straight radial thumb string, and index fingers to distal side of same string. Grip this straight string between tips of middle and index fingers.

Turn middle and index fingers down and up away from manipulator, taking up radial thumb string on distal aspect of index fingers, and allowing original strings to slip off.

Release thumbs.

Extend gently.

* * * * A loop now crosses the centre of the figure from the angle formed by the junction of left ulnar index finger string with left radial little finger string, to the right pulmar string. With right thumb take up the radial string of this loop from distal side.

Insert left thumb into right thumb loop from proximal side and extend this loop on both thumbs.

With thumbs take up radial index finger strings from proximal side.

Narrow thumbs.

Release index fingers. * * * *

Z: McDowell: E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

524 ulnar side of distal ulnar thumb string; hook down this string through thumb loops.

Insert left index finger into left thumb loops from distal side, passing to ulnar side of the two distal radial index finger strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb string; bend index finger upwards and away from manipulator, taking up this proximal radial thumb string on dorsal aspect of index finger.

Release left thumb and extend.

There is now a diamond-shaped figure of two strands near the left hand; pass left thumb into this diamond away from manipulator and take up on its back the two strings forming the right lower side of the diamond.

Insert left index finger, with its loop, into left thumb loops from proximal side.

FIG. 19. "A Porcupine."

With tips of right thumb and index finger lift loop from left index finger, drawing this loop through left thumb loops.

Release left thumb and index finger.

Replace loop held between tips of right thumb and index finger on left thumb, without twisting.

Release right thumb and little finger.

Extend right middle finger loop by passing into it, from proximal side, all the digits of the right hand.

Extend and the porcupine appears (Figure 19). Its head is here downwards near the left hand, and its tail is the loop around the right radial thumb string.

525 The manipulator sings:

Ayaxtlakaw-iwa	*xayaxtlakaw!*	*xlakawaxaw-iwa*	*xlakaky-iwa*
Don't hurry away,	go easily!	where you go	to your home,

xlakaxlakiw
O porcupine!

XVI. AN OWLET'S NEST

Opening A with middle fingers.

Insert thumbs into middle finger loops from proximal side and transfer these loops to thumbs, keeping them distal, and at the same time releasing middle fingers.

[12] [13] Reproduced in using THE [illegible], National Museum of Canada, Ottawa, [illegible] Pubnoll. [illegible] from indicating children to a fundamental creation.

2:Mc:Dowalth E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bulletin NEA

Insert thumbs into little finger loops from proximal side and transfer these loops to thumbs, keeping the three loops in their proper order, and at the same time releasing little fingers. 524

Insert little fingers into thumb loops from proximal side, passing to radial side of proximal and middle ulnar thumb strings, and to ulnar side of distal ulnar thumb string, and hook down this string through thumb loops.

Insert index fingers into thumb loops from the distal side, passing to ulnar side of distal and middle proximal thumb strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb string; turn fingers up away from manipulator, taking up this string on tips of index fingers.

Release thumbs.

Each index finger loop is now crossed by two strings; one of these passes as a simple loop around the ulnar index finger string, whereas the other is wrapped around the same string; with the backs of thumbs take up the former string from the proximal side.

With right thumb take up left radial thumb string from proximal side.

Release left thumb.

With left thumb take up both right radial thumb strings from proximal side.

Pass thumbs into index finger loops from proximal side.

Nipsoka both thumb strings.

Release index fingers.

Insert index fingers into thumb loops from proximal side, taking up these loops.

Release thumbs.

The figure now consists of two triangles lying with two triangles between them, the base of each triangle (consisting of two strings) being vertical and parallel to the other; pass thumbs into their respective triangles, away from manipulator, and take up the bases on the backs of thumbs.

Bring thumbs together, tip to tip, and transfer right thumb loop to left thumb, and left thumb loop to right thumb, over the loop just transferred.

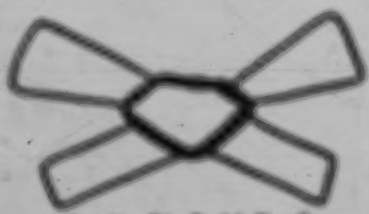

FIG. 58. "The Eagle's Claw."

With the tips of right thumb and middle finger grasp the left double thumb loop, remove from left thumb, rotate through 180 degrees anti-clockwise, and replace on left thumb.

Repeat for right double thumb loop.

[825]

534

Pass thumbs into index finger loops from proximal side.
Shoulder both proximal thumb strings.
Release index fingers.
Extend, and the Eagle's Nest appears (Figure 33).

[225]

XVII. THE CRIPPLE

Opening A with middle fingers.

Pass thumbs proximal to middle finger loops and take up radial little finger strings from proximal side.

With little fingers hook down silver middle finger strings, allowing original little finger loops to slip off.

Release middle fingers.

Extend loop hooked down on little fingers by passing into each the hooks of the ring and middle fingers.

With middle fingers hook down proximal silver thumb string, allowing the loop hooked down on middle, ring, and little fingers to slip off.

Transfer loop hooked down by middle fingers to hooks of little fingers, without twisting.

Insert index and middle fingers into hook thumb loops from the distal side and grasp the proximal radial thumb string between the tips of these fingers; hand upwards and away from manipulator taking up this string on tips of index fingers.

Release middle fingers.

Release thumbs.

A straight string now passes on the silver side of the central figure from one palmar string to the other; with thumbs take up this string from proximal side over each palmar string.

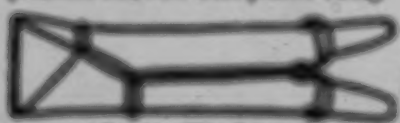

FIG. 33. "The Cripple."

With middle fingers hook down index finger loops, without releasing index fingers.

Place thumbs, tip to tip, with index fingers, and cross for each thumb loop to its respective index finger, placing over the loop originally on the index fingers, that is, so that each original thumb loop is now a proximal index finger loop.

With thumbs take up distal radial index finger string from proximal side.

Release middle fingers.

Release index fingers.

Extend hooked down loop of left little finger by passing into it the hooks of left index, middle, and ring fingers.

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524

Pass left middle finger distal to radial ring finger string and take up radial little finger string from proximal side.

Pass left index finger distal to radial middle finger string and take up radial ring finger string from proximal side.

With left thumb take up radial index finger string and radial middle finger string from proximal side, hooping the former distal.

With left index finger take up distal radial thumb string from proximal side.

Pass left middle finger distal to distal ulnar index finger string and take up proximal radial thumb string from proximal side.

Pass left ring finger distal to distal ulnar middle finger string and take up distal ulnar index finger string from proximal side.

Pass left little finger distal to distal ulnar ring finger string and take up distal ulnar middle finger string from proximal side.

Release thumb, at the same time pulling with the right hand and the figure disappears. There appears to be no story attached to this figure.

II. THE PATTERNING OF RAVEN'S FLIGHT[*]

Place string as a simple loop over left thumb with long, pendent loops hanging down on palmar aspect of left hand.

Pass right thumb and index finger from distal side into left thumb loop, at the same time hooking down the two pendent strings with right middle, ring, and little fingers.

Separate right thumb and index finger, turn right hand upwards, and clockwise, without releasing strings hooked down by right fingers. The left radial thumb string should now run straight across to ulnar side of right thumb, and thence across to distal aspect to radial side of thumb, from where it is hooked down by the three fingers of the right hand. The left ulnar thumb string should run straight across to ulnar side of right index finger, from where it is hooked down by the three fingers of the right hand. The distance between the hands should be about three inches; this must be maintained throughout the figure by allowing more string to pass through the hooked-down fingers of the right hand, as required.

[1949 1103]

[*] The already described, in the beginning of nine more of the five-corners in north Bound down from above as crows. It is assumed that the plumage of their little man born have attached to the reason to some way the "Raven-tail" that usual in this figure. On reaching north, these coverings were taken off without difficulty, as other represented in this design by the fully bearing of the non-physical underneath of springs. This figure was collected from a man whose first ancestor came to earth in a canoe, the descendants consequently stated that the pattern represented the specific heritage of the very forefather's plumage.

Z: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEB Bellacoola NEB

APPENDIX C

GLOSSARY OF FLORA AND FAUNA

824 825 828

THIS glossary does not give the scientific names of all the flora and fauna known to the Bella Coola, or even of all mentioned in this monograph, but only those of which the usual designations are ambiguous. In cases of the common mammals, no scientific terminology has been attempted, since the multiplicity of sub-species renders identification almost impossible, and the popular name is sufficient for general purposes. In regard to plants, a difficulty lies in the fact that Bella Coola nomenclature is not always strictly accurate botanically. Two or more distinct forms, for example, may be grouped together on account of their similar use as food, and one name applied to them indiscriminately. Conversely, different terms are sometimes given to various parts of the same tree, the roots, the bark, the leaves, and so on. These factors combine to complicate the study of either ethno-botany or ethno-zoology, and necessitate the collection of a large number of specimens. The late Mr. H. I. Smith has done so, and this glossary could not have been compiled without his assistance, though the writer is responsible for any errors in it.

824
825

Alder	*Alnus rubra* Bong.
Aspen, American	*Populus tremuloides* Michx.
Blackberry, Red	*Rubus nutkanus* (L.) Spreng.
Bilberry, Dwarf	*Vaccinium caespitosum* Michx.
Bilberry, Tall	*Vaccinium ovalifolium* Smith.
Bilberry, Thin leaved	*Vaccinium membranaceum* Dougl.
Birch	*Betula* sp.
Blackberry	*Rubus spectabilis* Pursh.
Blackfish—for Killer Whale.	
Blueberry	*Vaccinium parvifolium* Smith
Bracken	*Pteris aquilina* (L.) var. *lanuginosa* Bong.
Buffaloberry, Canadian	*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.
Bunch-berry	*Cornus canadensis*, L.
Cedar, Red	*Thuja gigantea* Nutt.
Cedar, Yellow	*Chamaecyparis nootkatensis* (Lamb.) Spach.
Clover, Perennial	*Trifolium fimbriatum* Lindl.
Cod, Black	*Anoplopoma fimbria* Pallas.
Cod, Red Rock	*Sebastodes ruberrimus* Cramer.
Cottonwood	*Fluderusvaw* sp.
Cottonwood, Black	*Populus trichocarpa* T. and G.
Cow Parsnip	*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.
Crabapple	*Pyrus diversifolia* Bong.
Cranberry	*Viburnum pauciflorum* Rad.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

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Cow	*Corvus caurinus*
Coyote	*Rhus laciniata* Pursh.
Devil's Club	*Fatsia horrida* (Ser.) R. and H.
Duck, Wooden	*Rumex occidentalis* Wats.
Dogbane, Spreading	*Apocynum androsaemifolium*, L.
Dog fish	*Squalus suckii* Girard
Duck, Harlequin	*Histrionicus histrionicus*
Duck, Mallard	*Anas platyrhynchos*
Eagle, Bald	*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*
Eagle, Golden	*Aquila chrysaetos*
Elderberry, Red	*Sambucus racemosa*, L.
Fern, sp.	Prob. *Aspidium spinulosum* Sw.
Fir	*Pseudotsuga mucronata* Rad.
Fir, White	*Abies grandis* Lindl.
Fungus, Shelf	*Polyporus glabratus* Fries.
Goose, Canada	*Branta canadensis canadensis*
Goose, White-fronted	*Anser albifrons*
Gooseberry	*Ribes bracteosum* Dougl.
Gooseberry, Swamp	*Ribes lacustre* (Pers.) Poir.
Gooseberry, Wild	*Ribes divaricatum* Dougl.
Grouse, Blue	*Dendragapus obscurus*
Grouse, Spruce	*Canachites canadensis*
Gull	*Larus* sp.
Halibut	*Hippoglossus hippoglossus* Linn.
Hawthorn, Black	*Crataegus douglasii*, C. Dougl. Lindl.
Hellebore, False	*Veratrum viride* Ait.
Hemlock	*Tsuga mertensiana* (Bong.) Sarg.
Heron, Great Blue	*Ardea herodias*
Herring	*Clupea pallasii* C. and V.
Huckleberry, Black	*Vaccinium ovalifolium*
Hummingbird, Rufous	*Selasphorus rufus*
Fritillaria	*Fritillaria* sp.
Jay, Rocky Mountain	*Perisoreus canadensis capitalis*
Jay, Steller	*Cyanocitta stelleri*
Jasmine, Flowering	*Jasminum florida* Lindl.
Killer Whale	*Orca gladiator*
Kingfisher, Belted	*Ceryle alcyon*
Lion	*Felis* sp.
Maple, Rocky Mountain	*Acer glabrum* Torr.
Mergansar	*Mergus americanus*
Merganser, Red-breasted	*Mergus serrator*
Mosquito	*Culicidae* sp.
Mussel, Fresh-water	*Margarita margaritifera*[1]
Mustela	*Mustela vulgaris* Wats.
Oystercatcher	*Haematopus bachmani* Richardson
Owl, Horned	*Bubo virginianus*
Paxley	*Gonorhinus* sp.

[1] For the identification of this species the writer is indebted to the late Judge Lockhart, of the Ontario Supreme Court.

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Pine	*Pinus ponderosa* Dougl.
Popular	*Populus tremuloides*
Pulse	*Lonicera ciliosa* or *Fraxinus oregonica*
Raspberry, Black	*Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.
Raspberry, Wild Red	*Rubus strigosus* Michx.
Rattan	*Cornus canus circinata*
Robin	*Planesticus migratorius propinquus*
Rose, Wild	*Rosa nutkana* Presl.
Salalberry	*Gaultheria Shallon* Pursh.
Salmon, Coho	*Oncorhynchus kisutch* Walbaum
Salmon, Dog	*Oncorhynchus keta* Walbaum
Salmon, Hump-back	*Oncorhynchus gorbuscha* Walbaum
Salmon, Sockeye	*Oncorhynchus nerka* Walbaum
Salmon, Spring	*Oncorhynchus tschawytscha* Walbaum
Salmon, Steel-head	*Salmo gairdneri* Richardson
Salmon-berry	*Rubus parviflorus* Nutt.
Sardine	*Sardinia caerula*
Skunk cabbage, Western	*Lysichiton kamtschatcense* (L.) Schott.
Snail	*Ariolimax columbianus*
Strawberry	*Fragaria* sp.
Spruce	*Picea sitchensis* (Bong.) Carr.
Spruce, Black	*Picea mariana* (Mill.) B.S.P.
Strawberry, Wild	*Fragaria* sp.
Swamp	*Salix spithulifolius* Hook.
Swan	*Olor* sp.
Thrush, Varied	*Turdus naevius*
Toad	*Bufo boreas boreas*
Water-lily	*Nymphaea polysepala* (Engelm.) Greene
Water Ouzel	*Cinclus mexicanus*
Willow	*Salix* sp.
Wren, Winter	*Nannus hiemalis pacificus*

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Alkhelsiwas: Supernatural being sent by *Sunsiwa* to meet *Nusiyum*.

alnipa-ai, "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will certainly give a potlatch to enter him on the perch to assist impersonate though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremoniously at every feast. [556]

Alskiwa: *Alskiwa*-shell covered stick used by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

Alskiwa-tsalkiwa: One of the first women to settle at *Tal'ts* in the beginning of time.

alsiwalk: Word of ceremonies meaning often repeated to *Sunsiwa* as complete term for the first night of a burial dance. [575]

alskaiwum, "A Dragging Arrow": An arrow drawn with a heavy load. The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being reprimanded. [425] [553]

alpiwa: Toasted food of any kind. [262]

Alsiwaumsa: Ancestral name of a *Sisaa* man.

alsiq': Performed, adjusted. [252]

alsiwaustin: Those who perform to assist marriage dances.

Alsnaskulaiu: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.

Al-tsaskuiu: One of the first men to settle at *Tal'ts* in the beginning of time. [575]

aliptalis, "Measures of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and bride prior to entering her house. [491]

alqualsin: Gifts given in secret, even after betrothal, by the father of the groom to the father of the future bride. [584]

alqualsin: Marshal.

alqlaskw-i: Immortal supernatural woman; synonym for *Aslaxsalaxsh*.

Alsnaskuaulin: One of the men who came to settle at Mount Tsaxis in the beginning of time.

Al-skiwa: Totem-pole erected by the first settlers at *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.

alskiwi: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]

alsiq: Accord song in first time. [593]

alsi: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [585]

Al'psaiu-ai: Daughter of the first settlers at *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.

alsaqlsa: Ancient dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

alsaiu: Synonym for *pasaqlqai*; one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]

alsaiu: 1—Night dance.

2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

alsi: Crown, impressive chapter.

Alsiwa: 1—One of *Sunsiwa*'s sons in the beginning of time.

2—One of the first women to settle at *Nuwaiti* in the beginning of time.

alsal-kaiu: Control sent behind the fire.

alskiulu: Harpoon with handle for pounding sticks for fish-nets. [442]

alskaiulu: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola. [585]

alskaiulu: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun.

Alsqlsqaum, "The Devourer of Most Killed by Another": Term used by humans to Wolf. [525]

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Ala: entry village.

Alaxqh, "Isle of the Tied-up Penis": Name given to a lad whose sex was disguised in infancy.

[426] *ałkumuałat*: Refusal to lend to an outsider a family prerogative such as the employment of marriage dancers.

[374] *ałnapałnumu*: Meal served when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an announcement of his coming potlatch.

Ałsełyumu: Name of a female shaman.

Ałtul, "The Opening of the Sky":
1—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Ituse* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of a *Snuhet* chief.

Ałtułułuin: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.

Ałtułułułuin: One of the first men to settle at *Ałłłłał* in the beginning of time.

[575] *ałłłuumu*: *Sunet* having the ability to enter the back-room and treat initiates concealed there. The function probably antedates the employment of *łut ałłłła*.

Ałłpaiu: Holders, supernatural beings who restrain supernatural Cannibals.

[583] *ałłuum*: Frenzied beating of sticks.

Ałuumułu: Wife of *Tsunałła*, the supernatural hunter.

Ałuułułułuu: Supernatural calendrical experts.

Ałuułułułła: Husband of *Ału'łłłułułuin*; he is known only in Kimsquit.

[575] *ałuułułułł*: *Kwiat* dance of mystery.

[574] *ałuułułułułuu*: Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning ceremony.

*ałuułułułuł

*192 *Ālximēwa*, "Left Foot": *Ilnax* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.

Ālximlaix: Kimsquit hunter living in the last century.

[825] *ālqmutl:* Dentalium-shell.

ālqmuk'aq, "Not Finished": Said concerning a *kusiut* who dies between initiation and his first complete dance.

[292 881] *ālxwam:* Skull cap of grass and dentalium-shells worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.

ālxwala: Guest, especially from afar, to a *kusiut* dance.

Ālxwalāmm: 1—Supernatural herald.
2—Assemblage of the people for ceremonies of different kinds, especially shamans' dances and guessing competitions in connection with the Mystery dance.
3—Kimsquit term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance.

ālxwlaix, "A Surpassing": Said of cases where a wife's relatives have given more presents to the husband's than they have received in return.

[576 601] *āmai:* Place of concealment of a Mystery dancer's power.

ā'mastāqlt: Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for indirect address.

āmātax: Rightful location, especially the validated position of a chief in a house.

[415] *āmātuts:* Dishes carved with ancestral crest.

āmkēli: 1—Mouse.
2—Daughter of the first settlers at *Sutlia*.

[825] *āml:* Spring salmon.

āmlu: Spring-salmon house.

Āmlāklis: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.

Āmlāklis: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of the Bella Coola River.

āmlāmlum: 1—The allotment of work to *kukusiut* in the manufacture of masks and other requirements.
2—Hence, the time when such tasks are assigned, the second evening of a *kusiut* dance.

Ānāxulānāmlaix, "The Resident Maker": Name given to the daughter of the first settlers at *Snāsli*.

[575] *ānāmsku* or *sānāmsku:* That which serves as pattern, picture, or model for a *kusiut* ritual.

ānāxāqutl: Second night of a potlatch.

[226] *ānāxwalatl:* Artificial, pier-like structure built into a river for use in hand-net fishing.

Āwilxaix, "Where People Go": A reflecting pool created by Raven at Kimsquit.

Ānokāxālāli: Cave near Dean Channel.

Ānolqmdimut, "The Dancer Whose Only Noise-Making Instrument Is His Body": One of *Tlitsplilān-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Āpā'lātwalaix: Supernatural woman who guards repositories.

Āpāxālāmots: 1—"The Open-Mouthed" (in the sense of open to suck forth sickness): One of *Tlitsplilān-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.

[756 823] *āsaxum:* Swift running water.

āsālmatuāsax: 1—Ranks of ordinary individuals; this term is used to distinguish those who are being initiated into the *Asōk* society.
2—Something supernatural seen when awake.

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Anukhtsuts: *Kwiat* name of a Kimsquit woman.
anukhtlimut, "This Is to Make Straight Your Road": Said when a call is returned, or food thrown upon a fire for the dead.
Anukwlat, "Place of Big Stones in the River": Village at Kwatna.
Anukhkhlais: Women immolated in a repository and hence become supernatural.
anukhlil': Rainbow-coloured nose-ring worn by Death.
Anukhpkmis: Supernatural name of Hawk.
anukhtal': Short cord by which the *hamps* is held during the *kwakwa'i* dance.
Anukhtimun: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Anukhmais, "The One that Fills the Rivers": Supernatural name of hump-back salmon.
anulkat: Nose-ring.
anulnatsk: Mourning song composed for a *chief* and, apparently, the singing of one.
Anulwum: Place on the north-west side of Dean Channel, about nine miles from its head, where curative power is petrified.
Anumatkum: Supernatural beings who remind the supreme god of his *kwiat* duties.
Anumitkum: Supernatural being who removes those killed by the receipt of too much power from *Nincplilwa*.
anunaym: Meeting of chiefs, *anulnat*.
anunal: Person who catches early eulachon in a hand-net.
anupsjum: Buoyant stones such as are found in a lake near the headwaters of the Bella Coola.
Anupumkilt: Supernatural being who regulates the height of tides in rivers.
anupsitum: To await, especially a supernatural being.
Anupunlaix: Son of the first settlers at *Sisilis*.
Anupinlaix, "What Fills People": Name created by *Smanu* in the beginning of time with reference to his stores of salmon.
anupsnum: Silent waiting in darkness before a *kwiatum* dance.
Anupuntikum: Supernatural being who gives inspiration.
Anusikhsiutsis: 1—Supernatural name of *nuiat*.
2—Method of killing practised by *nuiat*.
Anusikhsiusair-ais: Name of a Bella Coola shaman.
Anu-yhuutsum: Name of a Kimsquit woman.
anunkl'alsitum: The rare prerogative of changing from *kwiat* to *nuiat* rites on alternate nights.
Anuskitum, "The Saviour": One of *Nincplilwa*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Anuskmutsu: One of the first men to settle at *Tal-ts* in the beginning of time.
anuskumuy: Peculiar cry uttered by a *kwiat* scratcher.
Anuyuuar-ais: *Kwiat* name of a Kimsquit man.
Anuy: Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.
anuqulnutsis, "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts: Identical with *selsmat*, q.v.
Anuyinis: One of the first women to settle at *Sishiat* in the beginning of time.
Anutsktimutsut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
anutsu: 1—Excavated house furnished with stepped platforms for guests.
2—Village at Kwatna.

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Anuqlis: Village near mouth of the Dean River.
Anuhalim: Man one-armed in an ancient story.
Anutqum-yel, "Lakeside": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Anuxnalim: Name obtained by an *Ilqulaut* man in the beginning of time.
Anuqulnum, "Quivering To and Fro": One of Tlesquillim's names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Anuxtalim: *Kuxlat* name of a Bella Coola man.
Anuxtmo-a: 1—*Kuxlat* name of a Bella Coola woman.
2—"Left Hand": *Sisaa* expository named from part of a supernatural experience.

[431] [426] *anuqqy*: Term applied to the giving of a support, indicating that 100 per cent interest is expected in return.
Anuxlumulmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
[463] *anuxnilchow-ain*: *Kuxlat* profanities, at Kimsquit only, of throwing snake on the fire.
Anuxnulmuth, "The Moving House": One of the names of the supreme god's dwelling.
anuyus: 1—Owner of a puppet-person.
2—Synonym for *ulamamamum*, q.v.
Anuqulhalim: Supernatural being who rules *Ashaiut* of their thoughts at the Mystery dance.
Ao-ai: 1—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Ilqulaut* in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Bella chief.
aqa: Excreta.
Aqatl-a, "The Privy One": Name taken by a chief for himself in virtue of the remarks made about his habits.
Aqulnis: Scout name of a Kimsquit man.
[825] *aqum*: Herring eggs.
[824] *aqumulq*: Cormorant.
aqua: Type of sea-going canoe.
[825] *aqua*: Harlequin duck.
Aqulnyutmamum, "The Constant Eater": Term used by hunters to Eagle.
Aqu-ta-i, "Concave Town": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
aqumuuq: Canoes lashed together.
Ar-ao: Locality on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head, including the area beneath the surface of the water.
[601] *ar-cha-ti*: 1—Second oldest sibling.
2—Second part of song.
[775] *arintmum*: 1—"They Who Have Become Supernatural": Title conferred by ghosts.
2—Women living in the moon.
Ar-iumuq: Inhabitants of the village of *Arus*".
[424] *ar-mumulus*: Person with good memory commissioned to remember family prerogatives.
Arus", "At the Head": Village southwest of the head of South Bentinck Arm.
asbaiut: Totem-pole, *literally*, "Outside Post."
[752] *ashaiuts*: Shaman with power derived from ghosts.
Ashalumun: Ceremonial bathing at dawn.
[515] *Ashamalilain*: *Kuxlat* name of a Bella Coola woman.
Ashamlil: *Kuxlat* name of a Bella Coola man.

APPENDIX D

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Ayilim: Village on Salmon Houses, on the upper Dean River.
ainkum: Position between two fires.
ainkul: 1—Ruined land behind the fire used by a person seeking power, or by one who has been in contact with the supernatural.
2—Wasteful.[1] [823]
ainmiim: To vomit.
ainmiimmiid[1]: Hereditary has handed down recently to a family. [824]
Ayimdo: One of Raven's Crest names.
aiyiwan: Assent song to show time. [823]
aiskiim: 1—Bun, synkeitz, bannock, meat.
2—One of the nights of a potlatch, probably that on which a representative of the deceased appears.
aiyu: Rocky Mountain jay. [825]
ajiwanak: Curved house post.
Ahahcouit: Wife of *Sasdiq*; both were changed to stone in the beginning of time.
aaskuuit: That part of a house between fire and doorway.
Aaiyuuiniiniim: Expedition of the supernatural being *Wiwaiw* against herons and fish.
Ayiyuuu: *Swanson's* fish-dam in the beginning of time; the stones has since been used by his descendants.
aayuuiniim: Only sister in a family of several brothers.
ayl: Smile. [601]
ayuuskum: Stamping in medicinal smoke as a curative measure. [825]
ahiyuuiy: Fir. [755]
Ahiyuuiid: Evil male supernatural being. [824]
a'iiwa: 1—Death, not anthropomorphized. [825]
2—Dead. [827]
ainuit[1]: Kingfisher.
ajil: Fish-hook.
Ainkum, "Diety of the Huge Jaws": Supernatural beings resident in the land otters.
aiskiwa: Knotted spy.
aiuqhuit: plural, *aiuqhuit*, neutro plural, *aiuqhuit*.
1—Person who has not given a potlatch, a commoner.
2—Ancestral name of a Kitsumgalum woman.
Ajiki: unknown village.
Ayit: Bear was mentioned in an ancient story.
aya-hanjiut, "He Urinates Over Himself." The implication is that this is an indication of misfortune, hence the word really means omen. It is the Kitsumgalum variant of *a-ranjiut*. [787]
a-ranjiut: Omen of death.
Ayet-i, "Occupied Mound": 1—Village at Kwatsa.
2—Artificial mound at *Yal'in*.
3—Village on the Kitsumgalum River.
4—Island near Ocean Falls.
Ayet-i ion Wanduda, "Place of Dogs": Locality near Ocean Falls where the dogs come to earth in the beginning of time.
ayuuu-i: Varied thrush. [825]

[1] The latter is a favourite place for obtaining power, the probable reason for the identity of the two terms.

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[illegible]: Laughing man; those whose hearts are plentiful.
[illegible]: Chief living on *Tsi'o* in the beginning of time.

[illegible]

[illegible]: One of the *s'ulk* dances.
[illegible]: I, first person singular.
[illegible]: Having eggs which brought into house ready for preparation as food.

[illegible]

[illegible]: Supernatural animal.
[illegible]: One of the five women who dance man of *Kwanna* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: To guess, as done by the assistant at a Winter dance.
[illegible]: Supernatural being.
[illegible]: Longitude.
[illegible]: Central name of a *Sulia* man.
[illegible]: Shadow shell.
[illegible]: Influential *Kwanna* woman who died about 1870.
[illegible]: Rub-rapped but work by shells.
[illegible]: A Kitsaqut component.
[illegible]: Dance man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Supernatural, man-like creatures.

[illegible]

[illegible] *[illegible] [illegible]*: The sky, regarded as the lower side of a land inhabited by supernatural beings.
[illegible]: 1—"The Canoe," synonym for *Nuliyum*.
2—The burial paraphernalia of along *Nuliyum*.
[illegible], "The Ever-Canoe": Synonym for *Nuliyum*.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who owns *Nuliyum*.
[illegible]: Supernatural dog whose residence is the land above.
[illegible] *[illegible] [illegible]*: Mary's husband.
[illegible] *[illegible] [illegible]*: Ann's husband.
[illegible]: One of the five men to write at *Hagulsut* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Archaic term for Sacred Bowlers.[1]
[illegible]: Frayed cedar-wood, as used for tinder.
[illegible], plural, [illegible]: Boy, term used in dance address for an adult.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible] *[illegible]*, "The Sun Owner": Designation of the supernatural woman *Kwanna*.
[illegible]: Collective term applied to the *Kwakiutl*-speaking people of the mainland.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Chief of abalone-shell people on the lower Fraser in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the five men to write at *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: One of the five women to write at *Tsi'o* in the beginning of time.

[1] This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.
[illegible] This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.

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xwxtal, "The Time for Easter Rites": Fifth moon after the summer solstice.
xyaqyaqut: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ikaikai* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle on the lower Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—Secret name of a Kimsquit man.
xhlxhlik: One of the supernatural companions.
xlxnxwxnxwxn: The separation of a wife from her husband.
xnxtal: Synonym for *qwxnlut*, a present for which a return is not expected.
xwxwxnlut: Hereditary tendency.
xpxn: Secret name of a *Stuwx* man.
xrxkw: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *lxlwik* is problematical.
xwlxlkxm: One of the first men to settle at *Kemgaxa* in the beginning of time.
xwlkwxnw'xlxnxw xlxnxw xl xl: The entreating of a woman to a husband's care. This phrase is used by a wife's relatives when about to relinquish her on expressing their somewhat boastful sentiments concerning the relations owned into at marriage.
xpxn xlxlxwxnxlxlxlxlx: Sacrilege supernatural retribution.
xxlxlxlxx: 1—To strengthen, or to shore up.
2—Goods provided by a wife to strengthen her husband's position.
xxlxlxlxlxlx, "Different from All Others": Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
xxlxxxxx-i: Wife of North Wind, a supernatural being resident in a side valley of the upper Bella Coola.
xxlxlxxlxlxlxl: Supernatural aid granted to the unfortunate.
xxlxlxxxxxxxxxxxxx: Son of Raven and one of the first settlers at *Tsi'ix* in the beginning of time.
xxxxxxxxxxxxx, "The Track of the Sun": *Ala'k* name obtained in the beginning of time.
xxxxlxlxlxlxlx: Supernatural name of *xxlxlxl*.
xxxxxxxx, "Commander": 1—Said to be the word from which *Alqaxxxx* is derived.
2—One of the names of the supreme god.
xxlxlxxxxxx, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Sxxxxxx* in the beginning of time.
xxxxxxxxxxxxx: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
xxxxl-x: *Xxxlxl* name of a *Stuwx* man.
xxxlxxxxxx: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
xx-xxx-xxx: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Kemgaxa* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
xxxxxxxxxxx, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Sxxxxxx* in the beginning of time.
xxxxxxxx, "The Walker": Supernatural being resident in a glacier near the overland trail between *Sxxlxll* and *Tsi'ix*.

X

Xxx: 1—Snow.
2—Unidentified berry.
Xxxxxxlix: Name obtained from a supernatural being by a Bella Bella man.
Xxxxxxix: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
Xxxxx: Crow.
Xxxxxxx: Locality in the Bella Coola valley mentioned in an ancient story.

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[824] *tsi'talk*: Top, probably bush.
Tsitsukil: One of the first men to settle at *Sutcul* in the beginning of time.
Tsitsilus: One of the first men to settle at *Snaitli* in the beginning of time.
Tsilum: Bella Bella woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Tsitsul: Kitamaat man.
[222] *Tsiluem*: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.
[262] *tsilum*: The gathering of fish roes for food.
Tsiyumulkum: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Snaa* in the beginning of time.
Ts'lwa: Kitamaat man mentioned in an ancient story.
[585] *tsukuldlamu*: Public ceremony, previous to marriage, of the bride's ancestral myths in order to cause children to be born.
[842] *tsulpum*: Ritual on the day before a marriage, including the recital of myths by the bride's relatives, the choosing of ceremonies, and the singing of songs of all kinds.
[576] *Tsumi'u*: 1—Mysterious supernatural woman.
2—"Please," or "Thank You," a word inspiring lassitude.
Tsumlamy": 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuskum* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuqulci* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of the first sky that fell in the beginning of time.
Tsumlelbi: Lazy supernatural beings who accompanied *Nankynum*.
Tsumlqum: Man mentioned in an origin myth of *Ilgulnul*.
Tsumlululu: *Kwiat* name of a Kitamaat man.
Tsumtumy": Human brought to earth by first settlers at *Nuqulci* in the beginning of time.
[824] *tsuul*: Kelp.
[227] *tsumulu*: Cod bush.
tsumur: Tumination.
[824] *tsunlu-i*: 1—*Shell* lungan.
2—*Kwiat* dance in which a shell lungan is used.
Tsunlhu: One of the first women to settle at *Snaa* in the beginning of time.
tsu'ituut: Ceremonial crow.
Tsusuie: Herald of a *Tal'u* chief in the beginning of time.
tsuduu: Trap.
Tsusudulum: 1—Daughter of the first settlers at *Sidlis* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of *Ojpaul*, one of the first settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[264] *tsuilitu*: Assemblage of the people for a meal of any kind.
Tsuqululum: One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tsuwilsdjiw-a: Supernatural berry-picker resident in the land of ghosts.
[825] *tsijui*: 1—Hump-back salmon.
2—Convex transverse beam near front and rear of house.
3—Mountain on the Dean River.
Tsqaie: *Kwaki* name of a Kitamaat man.
Tsutsu: Man mentioned in an ancient story of Raven.
[752] *tsutsi*: The seeking for shaman's power by a lad.
[825] *tsumie*: Golden eagle.
tsulum: Top, toy.
[524]

Ketsiu: Tail.
Ketskit: Arm.
Ku: Black hawthorn.
Kuiu-i: Earlier name of a Kwanusis man.
Kunéhan: Ancestral name of the wife of *Swaliq* who was changed to snow in the beginning of time.
Kuuli: Rapids.
Kwanéhan: Kitkata chief living in the beginning of time.
Kwaliq: 1—Marriage, properly arranged and legalized.
2—The actual wedding day.
Kwanéhan-i: Earlier name of a Kwanusis woman.*
Lakt: Bark basket for holding liquids.
Lakwakéjan: The making of assistance from a man who owes a caring supernatural.
Lakwakéjanu: Investment property, i.e., one for which a return is expected.
Lakuu: Bark cups in which sacred substances and odors are concealed.
Lalu: Woman during menstruation.
Lalóu, "What Was Seen Down": Intangible possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
Lamajáu: Wooden wedge such as are used for lifting box stones.
Lakwakéjan ale kwanéjan: Earlier site to which the performer appears to be devoted.
Lel ate ne lel ate, "The Guiser": One who has been initiated as a member of the *Sacred society* but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through ceremonial knowledge or through successful participation in either a Sacrifice or a Mystery dance.
Lelóli, "Rendered Incapable of Returning": Said of an uninitiated person who is alleged to have stumbled on a repository.
Lelúnga: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Lemau: The dormant waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one visitation, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability.
Léju, uwatin, léjanu: Grandmother.
Lekt-tsaw-ni-i: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
Li'lanéhit: Name given to their canoe by the first settlers at *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.
Liskanawaxu, "The Wise One": One of Raven's names as chief.
Lisnéhan: One of the first women to settle at *Alqéhit* in the beginning of time.
Lisu'o-i: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Lomaw: 1—Crab.
2—Enormous crab-like creature, alleged to be found far in the forest.
Lúpdau: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts.
Lúji: Red elderberry.
Lúlu: Wooden tweezers used in the pounding of cedar-bark.
Lúu: Unidentified plant.
Lúwu: To toast dried salmon.
Malamanéju: Supported, in the sense of held in place by physical assistance.
Malqanati: Locality on Dean Channel, west of *Zawadi*.
Ma'ya: Place on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

*This name appears to be an entirely different word from *Kuiu-i*.

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APPENDIX D

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Aalhamer: Gaaqis were for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future bride. [431]

Kaishkinaqlan: Supernatural being whose research is set in the land above. [584]

Kaqqis: Gaaqis.

Kaskaqlaqwa, "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being *Wunsas*. [576]

Kaskasas: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular Kwakiutl dances.

Kaskwas: Said to be identical with *ulalamakis*, the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactors. [752]

Kaskil: *ginwal*, *kalaxtas*, *wanitis*, *kaskwa*, *wanitis ginwal*, *kalaxtas*.

1—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season. [575]

2—Member of the society.

3—"The Lowest One": Designation occasionally applied to a supernatural being, especially a cannibal one, or to a person having power to cure the sick. [752]

Kaskwa: Kwakiutl female shaman living in the last century.

Kaskwa: Relatedness, especially a child, this is the vocative form of the word.

Kaskwam: Orphan.

Kaskwikalaqlaka: Woman dwelling on Fort Rupert in the beginning of time.

Kaspale: South Sulia.

Kaskwal: Supernatural name of Cannonsun.

Kas-kasa: Mosquitoes. [825]

Kaskwanakil: Mosquitoes sucked by the first settlers at Nass. [763]

Kaskwas: Unidentified kind of which the name is an omen of death.

Kaskin: Rarlat name of a Bella Coola man.

Kaskinas: Rarlat name of a Bella Coola man.

Kaskinamat: Rarlat name of a male Green Bay Cannibal.

Kasd-ia-i: Smooth pavements, "jadeite," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. [823]

Kasis: Evergreen bough. [824]

Kaskasal: Famous Bella Coola warrior.

Kasqwal: One of the sculpins.

Kasstas: Rarlat name of a Kitsepsis man.

Kast-nad-a, "The Big One": Lustful male supernatural being.

Kastlaxalas: Man who came to earth near *Ziaxa* in the beginning of time.

Kas-tsam: Kitsepsis woman.

Katlaiis: Kitsepsis man mentioned in an ancient story.

Katlam: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.

Katlam: Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

Katlaskala, "One Who Has without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Katsis: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nuqalkilt* chief, the word is a synonym for *Wiwas* chiefs.

Katlilas Nuskinqas: One of the nine supernatural siblings. [533]

Kaskwalalas-ala: Lullaby.

Kaul-yala: Archaic expression used in a string figure.

Kaslu: 1—Pen or trap in the ocean for salmon. [226]

2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

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L

[825] *Lakhkhlu:* Kimsquit man mentioned in ancient story.
Lakiz: Squirrel.
Lapsumuis: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ḳwapsis* in the beginning of time.
2—Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
[463] *Lasnisyas'i:* Name of a professional warrior; the word is said to have originated in Kitkatla but has remained for many generations in Kimsquit.
La'pulu: Atnarko River, northern fork of the Bella Coola.
Lalamck: *Sunsk* name of a Kimsquit man.
Lalawhkila, "The Brother Of [of Gonts]": Professional name of one of the first settlers at *Snaldi* in the beginning of time. This may be the same word as *Lalawhkila.*
Lalawhkila: Another name for *Tsalakit,* the supernatural hunter. This may be the same word as *Lalawhkila.*
[825] *Lilimsulais:* 1—"The Breacher": Supernatural name of Otter.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[886] *Lilqudzilz:* Return in old age to the thoughts and actions of infancy, senile decay.
[426] *Lodjat:* To repay indebtedness of any kind, especially presents received at potlatches.
[583] *Lolimodjat,* "A Paying": An arrangement by which a man's son-in-law give him as "wife" an infant female relative by way of repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters.
Lomas: Wrestling or shoving.
Lilsem: Abbreviated Cannibal rite.
Lo'qwa: 1—Famous Bella Bella chief.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Lulumu: Mash.
Lulu: Tool for making vertical incisions in the bark of cedar trees.

Ł

Łakwakila: Tsesut man living in the beginning of time.
Łakiuks: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.
[823] *Łalla:* 1—Copper.
2—Unidentified town on the outer coast, mentioned in a story of the beginning of time.
3—Chief of this town.
Łaliasiuts: Daughter of chief of the town of Copper.
Łaliaslal: Copper canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Sisus* in the beginning of time.
Łaliaks: Man's name, created by the first settlers at *Sałlia,* in the beginning of time.
Łaliakdja: Name taken for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Łaliaks: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Łaliamg: Sisook name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Ałpałasi* in the beginning of time.
Łaliasas, "The Copper One": One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

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Kuhchaut: Earlier name of a Kwakiutl man.
Kulu'ximut: Earlier name of a Bella Coola man.
[824] *kupel*: Inner bark of cedar.
kusstimuk, "A Stripping Off": The giving, on demand, by a marriage dancer of his clothing to a herald.
Ku'xumpalaix: Supernatural name of Raven.
[828] *kwanis*, "Frenzied": Term applied to Cannibals and other destructive behavior when in a state of madness.
kwaus: Occasional exclusion of all but the singers from a house where a shamen is performing.
Kwaxumwalaix: Kitamgaix man mentioned in an ancient story.
Kwaxumuxu: Earlier name, probably of Kwakiutl origin.

M

Ma'ulus: Female dancer mentioned in a Raven story.
Malaxat: Earlier name of a *Kemgaix* man.
[601] *mama*, *mamie*, *mimmy*: Mother, term used by children.
Mamaiyu: Celebrated *Xenaix* hunter.
[825] *mam-aipa*: Butterfly.
mam-aika: Measuring worm.
[824] *mamu*: Fly, insect.
ma'mutsu: Swamp gooseberry.
[601] *mata*: 1—Father, common term in indirect address.
2—Occasional designation for the supreme deity.
[614] *matadimus*: Stepfather.
matamauk: Elderly male relatives of same unilateral family.
Matang[w]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuhlum* in the beginning of time.
2—Form of the name *Da'xang*[w] when used by a male child.
Matang[w]*-ma-a*: Form of the name *Dadaxang*[w] when used by a female child.
Matakilkuk: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[804] *Matlapcuuk*: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[825] *ma-lpi*: Measure of distance equal to the breadth of one thumb plus one finger.
ma-tuf: Toad.
matupu: Supernatural giant toad.
matuta: Salmon eggs.
ma-wuja: Old male sea-lion.
[825] *ma-xatkha*: Water ouzel.
Maqutsu: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[601] *Maxantilan*, "Long Neck": One of the supernatural names of Great Blue Heron.
maxat-i: Co-husband in a polyandrous household.
[824] *ma'xual-i*: One of the paralys.
mefal: Berry, black in colour.
Memestikma: Generic term for the four supernatural Carpenters.
memikelp: Spruce.
Mial'ula: One of the first men to settle at *Satla* in the beginning of time.
Mikhma: Land of salmon.
[224] *Mi'ala*: Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[824] *mi'a*: Stick carried by hunters when penetrating into the mountains.
milta[w]: Red huckleberry.

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mimmiqhalq: Leaf of salal berry.
mis-mulqat: 1—Dance of misfortune, such as preceded the outbreak of smallpox, hence.
2—Smallpox.
mitha: Type of sea-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.
mma, mmitta, mmim: Child.
Mmokula: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.
mnal': Known.
mnmnmi, mnmim, mnmnmim-i: Ancestral family, practically equivalent to children when used by an old person.
mo-ldimmum: The commemoration of a chief's patronches and other major ceremonies by means of place posts erected near his grave.
Mothim-mum, Tilla-Mumum: A supernatural being.
Mumlim: Man mentioned in a song.
Mithlilla: Supernatural being who gives potency to sacred rites.
mulkum: Grandiloquent expression used by the initiated with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives.
mulhulum: 1—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living.
2—To visit, term used with reference to the coming of a masked representation of a dead person; the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.
mul': Provided, dyed cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.
mulmulu: Head-ring of cedar-bark worn by dancer initiates in the upper Bella Coola valley.
mqala: Lice.
mqatsla: Adolescent youth.
mtimmulk': Blue grouse.
mumumlhkimulu: Dentalium-shell ear-rings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.
mu: Hand net for catching chinook.
mulqmulqalum: Yellow cedar stave decorated with swan feathers such as is carried by a Mystery dancer.
muximum: Wrestling.
Mutawa: Rivers Inlet man living in the last century.

N

Nain'ahwa: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Na'ma: Bella Bella village; the Anglicized form is Namu.
nam: Grizzly bear.
Nantalit: Name received from Grizzly Bear by a Kimsquit man in the beginning of time.
Nawit: *Kwiat* name of a *Nuxalk* man.
Nenaldmi: One of the first men to settle at *Ilmo* in the beginning of time.
Nenalelwith: One of the names of Mount *Nuxalk* as chief.
nin-lamt: Non-ceremonial weeping, usually individual, and always with real feeling.
Nass: Indeterminate locality in the distant east.

[183] *ai'ik*: Mountain copper ornament worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.
[301] *Ai-ai*: Bella Bella man living in the beginning of time.
amum: To dance.
[185] *amumalis*: Those who dance at marriages.
amum: Mallard duck.
[324] *amumnuxum*: Night of potlatch on which sacred initiates appear for a short dance.
amulis: Species of Canadian buffalo berry.
[415] *anahapitu*: Thimble-like wooden dish.
anaklakum: Ceremonial meeting of chiefs according to their validated places in a house.
Ananqulus: Name acquired by a Nuxalk Indian man from sea-lions in the beginning of time.
Ananulus: Professional name of a *hamat'sa* member.
Ana-nuxu-a: *Kaxlax* name of a Bella Coola horseflies; the designation was derived from Nuxalk Indian.
Ai-ula-a: Celebrated Kitkatla chief.
Ai-ximalus: Influential Bella Coola chief.
[770] *Ahkulakum*, "The Rainbow": Supernatural being dwelling under rivers who punishes infractions of taboos concerning them.
[784] *ankaum*: 1—Fourth day of a *hamat'sa* dance, on the evening of which masked figures appear.
2—Something exposed to view.
Aqqaw: Old woman resident in Sea-lion's house in the beginning of time.
asaxal, "Little Dance": Form of grandson humility.
asemkum: Gathering of the people for a non-sacred dance after the *hamat'sa* season.
Ananiz-mukumis: 1—"The Dancer Near the Fire": One of *Tlitqalitlas-a*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—*Kaxlax* name of a Bella Coola man.
Ananulinuis: *Kaxlax* name of a *Nuxalk* man.
atsalamim: One who has preserved a marriage song.
atsawalmuch: The intangible atmosphering that comes to a bridegroom as a result of the creation of his ancestral myths and the giving of presents to the bride's relatives when they first come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] [431] *Atsilkiliz*: Daughter of the first people who came down to Mount *Tsaxid* in the beginning of time.
[524] *atsiq'ual*: Wooden ring used in a game.
Atlaxis: Place on Dean Channel, about three miles from the head, where the dog formed a colony soon after the beginning of time.
[825] *atlapaya'*: Otter.
Atsilkat: Name of a certain spot where mountain goats are wont to congregate for mating.
Atsiamalais: 1—"The Restorer": One of *Tlitqalitlas-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—One of the first men to settle in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[556] *atsum*, "Brought to Life": Term applied to a copper brought back from a cemetery and renamed.
Atsumilmit: Shaman's name derived from *Tlitqalitlas-a*.
atsumlus: "I have saved you."

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wiwilaxa: Intraglith *hamat* prerogative consisting of the insertion of some object into the digestive tract.
Wuju: Expert supernatural dancer, so his successor he is a yearling mountain goat.
wunly ay wakalyakum: Free complete dance given by a *hamat* initiate.
wunwuil: Mammal, any kind.
Xamsamsin: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
Yaahlda: 1—One of the four seats to settle on the upper Dean to the beginning of time.
2—One of the five seats to settle on *Swaihl* to the beginning of time.
Yaakyawa: Supernatural being who brings the salmon.
Yaamsamsin: Name given to his grandson by one of the four settlers at *Xishsal* to the beginning of time.
yakwim: *Hamat* prerogative as a Bowdoin; this is said to be a Bella Bella term.
yakwim: Sleeping stick extending from floor to roof behind the fire on which, at Kitamaat, *hamat* masks are hung.
yawnak: The cooking and use of hand seats for chiefs.
Yaudjamaxum: 1—"The Adviser"; One of the names of the supreme god.
2—Chiefs of a village, collectively; verbally, "The Sages."
ya'nuxlim: 1—Ceremony at which noted women are validated in the eyes of the fellow-villagers.
2—Any ceremony at which all kinds of dances are performed.
ya'nuqlut: Assemblage of the *hahamat* to practice difficult rites.
Ya-ghum, "The One with Thick Pubic Hair": Phrytabus name given to a deserting wife.
Yawahlis: One of the names of Raven as chief.
yawahlishum: Sentence of death passed by the *hahamat* on one of their fellows as punishment for an error.
yawiyum: A loss, especially of an ancestral right.
Yaakyawa: Synonym for *Yaakyawa,* the supernatural being who brings the salmon.
Ya'ium, "Inhospitable": Name taken by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
yaqlyaku: Tobacco.
yaxcile: Birch.
Yaxdzaqu: Anthropomorphized evil cold wind.
yaxkl-ax: Rhetorical term of respect for aged dead.
yaxkl-ax da ilawax: 1—High tide.
2—Long life.
yaqlgaxu: Cross-piece tied to canoe to hold chicken-net post steady while being driven.
Ya'yaxsil, "Place of Foul Water": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Yeal": 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, on the east side.
2—River flowing into head of South Bentinck Arm from the east.
Yaxlamlamin: Synonym for *Xaxamlamlaml

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Nuxûqhelum: An influential Kwakiutl chief.
Nuxuxu: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.
nuqaxem: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a *hoxiut* who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an uninitiated person.
nuxûqmûl: Cream extracted from sockeye salmon heads.
[825] *Nuxûqûi:* Ancestral name of a *Tsaxo* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
[778] *nuxûla sta:* 1—Spider.
2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where curses are effected; the power is derived from a spider petrified there.
Nuxûl, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
Nuxûwizadjas, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[552] *Nuxûqumûl di mûsk',* "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.
Nutalomemum: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Nuxûymem's* departure to warn *hokaxiut* to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.
[356] 2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.
Nutalulsk, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[431] *nuxqum:* Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.
Nutilqalank, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.
Nutisqemenkta: One of the first women to settle at *Tal-io* in the beginning of time.
nutmkmankdas: Fastenings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.
Nutkiûl: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.
nutkmûkdas: Bonds used to fasten a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nutmkmankdas.*
[428] *nutmâstmax:* Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.
nutotsnik-sta, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *nusak* head-dress.
nutj: Landslide, such as is caused by *Tsutalkit* or *nsiatl.*
Nutqanlaix: Name given to their sister by the first settlers at *Nutqualt* in the beginning of time.
nutqunta, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a poultice which is thrown away after serving its purpose.
nutqutsa: House-posts nearest to front door.
nutsnikta: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
[426] *nutlsmamamum,* "Belt Goods": Goods borrowed during a potlatch by a donor who finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to fasten up his
[556] clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.
nutsadjim: Cry uttered by a *nusak* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *nusak* novices.
[342] *nutsinpailaix:* The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *nusak* novice.
nutswalkals: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.
numâlkals: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.
Numêm-ta, "Place of Flies": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

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nemu, nemtin, nemutsu: Member of same sex and same ancestral family as speaker. [601]

Nemitim: Supernatural being who comes with *Nestpum* to bring a call to the latter's protégé. [614]

Nemulkmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

nemil: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract. [826]
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.

nemomskin: Toilet-hole.

nenlutmun: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony. [465]

nenmkmmun: Exchange marriage. [583]

nenpkhitmun: Passenger.

Ne-nts: Place near *Nuliaz.*

Nentemlain: *Kuziut* name created by *uyuyuyut* at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

nenmui di mimu: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

nenmui ti mimu: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

Nenuno'ts, "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Nenukmunk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nenudjipum: Supernatural being who created repositories in the beginning of time.

Nenulunk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nenulpum: House occupied by the first settlers at *Nutsymit* in the beginning of time.

nenu-t'mimut: The use of potent medicines after seeing a giant toad.

nenulwutmun or *nenulwutitmut:* 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dyed cedar-bark to *Thitsplitz-a.* [782]
2—The making of offerings to ghosts by the casting of food on a fire. [775]

Nenumu-nk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nenunaithdimut: Male supernatural being who travels with *Nestpum,* takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.

Nenuaska: Mother Nature.

nenupp: Fisherman with inherited right to use of a salmon-weir or of a place for catching olachen. [424]

nenupmormly, "A Calling Back", or "A Seizing": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural artisans having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [226] [761]

Nenujemals, "Where Water Entered": House of one of the first groups of settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Nenuqualists: *Kuziut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nenuqualsleiqu-a: Professional name of a female droner.

Nenuqualsmun: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.

Nenushmai: *Kuziut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nenumonk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nenuzumulsk: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Nenutthemum, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [825]

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nuxlu: The visit to every house in the village by a Mystery dancer on receipt of his call.

nuxiual, plural, nuxuiual: Singer.

nuxi'tuklu: Quiver for carrying arrows. [415]

Nuximuxu: Mountain near *Axsu-ax-i.*

nuxiutsli or *nuxiutslup:* Second day of a *kuxiut* dance.

Nuxiuliuxikum: Synonym for *Tutwai-ai:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.

nuxkiuxtu: Repository.

nuxkli: Any unusual occurrence, regarded as an omen of death. [763]

Nuxkulaumuxu, "Whence Things Came Down": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

nuxlulutu: Wash-basin, especially the supernatural one that remains in the land above.

Nuxliapuk: 1—Supernatural being presiding over the Land of Ashes.
2—Locality on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, not far from the head.

Nuxmuxu: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tuxisi* in the beginning of time.

Nuxnuxiljuxtu: Axe carried in the beginning of time by the man who was later turned to stone as Mount *Nuxfulst.*

Nuxnuxsi: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tuxisi* in the beginning of time.

Nu'xlulukumu: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

nuxlutu: Wasps' nest. [825]

Nuxtuxlutuxlu: One of the first women to settle at *Snulili* in the beginning of time.

nuxtuxutu: House in which a memorial potlatch is being held.

Nu'xtum: Mountain on south side of lower Bella Coola.

Nuxtuxuxuxlum, "The Cherished One": Designation applied to one of the sons of *Alpuxtun.*

nuxtuxtu: House in which a potlatch is taking place.

nuxlumy: One who has gone to give potlatches in a new sphere; this rhetorical expression is commonly used when referring to a dead chief. [195]

nuxlulutu: Wash-basin used by a shaman when curing.

Nuxlulutumiljut, "He Whose Wash-Basin Is in His Own Body": One of *Tlisaplitu-a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans. [756]

nuxlumuxlutu: Enclosure behind fire in which *kuxiut* dancers are secluded.

nuxlumutu: Cleansing rites in connection with death. [764]

Nuxlutuxlumy: *Tsiyakum* name acquired by a Kimsquit man as a result of a supernatural experience.

Nuxmiuxui: 1—Eagle that perched on a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time.
2—Name, derived from that of the eagle, of one of the first men to settle at *Ilpuxu* in the beginning of time.

Nuxnu-a: 1—"Place of Stories": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxfulst* in the beginning of time.

Nuxnu-aiu-a, "Women of *Nuxnu-a*": Probably wife of *Alpuxtun.*

Nu'xulilu: Mountain on north side of lower Bella Coola.

Nuxulilumulu: Subterranean chamber in which rivers were confined in the beginning of time. [772]

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*192 *Nuxnannqlt:* Area around a spring near *Nuhmx.*
[198] *nuxnuxta:* Chamber-vessel in the language of supernatural beings.
Nuxwlxta: *Kuxiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Nuxkuxnuxta, "Place of Meeting": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nuxpunta Smalaitkila, "The Peace-Giving *Smalaitkila*": Designation of the supreme god with reference to the function of peace.
Nuxpaps: Skeena River.
Nuxpáts, "Place of Many Spring Salmon": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
nuxqalt-a: 1—Chamber-vessel.
2—Nickname of a Kimsquit child.
Nuxqalt, "Place of *Sqalt*": 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Mountain, the loftiest in the Bella Coola valley, near the village.
Nuxqat: *tsimy* village.
nuxqdjat: *Kuxiutem* rite in which the performer pretends to have his stomach cut.
nuxqlhutxta: Person fastened to the ground with roots.
[824] *nuxqo:* Person suffering from umbilical hernia.
[431] *nuxqodjuxnuxta:* Appurtenances for washing given by the donor of a potlatch to his guests.
Nuxqulxwaxta: House of the supreme god during the winter dances of the supernatural beings.
[825] *nuxqual:* 1—One of the *a'alt* dances.
2—Yearling mountain goat.
3—Man dwelling in *Xemoqwa's* house.
nuxqualsi: The alleged attraction of the spirit of an uninitiated person to a performer in the house where a *kuxiut* dance is taking place.
Nuxqulxwaxta: Variant of *Nuxqulxwaxta.*
Nuxqulxwalmikt Nutkymm: Supernatural dancer who comes in *Nutkymm's* canoe.
[198] *Nuxqustata,* "Kingfisher," in the language of supernatural beings: Ancestral name of a herald who came down to the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Nuxqustuxta, "The Making Place" (with reference to *qustuxata*): One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nuxqustu-i: 1—Man mentioned in an ancient story of Green Bay.
2—Man mentioned in an ancient story of *Stuxa.*
Nuxq'ulsi: Supernatural merry-maker or clown.
[825] *nuxqwskal:* The annual scattering of birds by the supreme god in the land above.
Nuxqut: Locality near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.
[583] *nuxqwutxnuxta,* "Washing Appurtenances": Term applied to presents given to a husband by his wife's relatives when rebuying her.
[431] *Nuxhlsta:* Locality near *Stuxa.*
nuxkumtlu, "Ground Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate *nuxsk* initiates with regard to the ground over which they will dance, or chiefs to the ground over which they will tread.
[556] *nuxkumtuxta,* "Seat Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate the seat of a chief or of a *nuxsk* dancer.
[431] *Nuxlitsq:* Herald of *Smaxqa* in the beginning of time.
Nuxkumtumuxta, "Place Where People Were Made": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nuxlukuqs: Carpenter.
nuxqumuxta: Smear of red paint.

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Nuxwin-ems, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago. 192*
nuxwinxts: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige. [578]
Nuxs: 1—Barren district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, *adjective*.
Nuxpelyip: *Tal-is* bird hunter.
Nuxpemds: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tal-is* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqaltal* in the beginning of time.
3—Ball of the universe which, when broken, released the sun. [772]
Nuxpemistn-a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Alqaltal* in the beginning of time.
Nuxsop: 1—(Probably) "The Place of Barrenness": Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
nuxt'ipsts: Repository, archaic term.
nuxwuu-ts nulnum: The assumption of a name upon earth. [431]
nuxwukmpsts, "Things to Sweep the Floor With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage. [585]
nuxwu-psts: Wooden dish used for washing an infant.
nuxwulkmtem: Abstinence from acts of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine. [415]
nulaxlem: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient. [785] [756]
Nulaxlaxw': Name of a celebrated shaman.
Nulem: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
Nulel, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
nulexymm: Alteration of a dance from *nuxsk* to *kustat*. [825]
nulkalcts: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck.
nulkalcmmm, "A Drying-Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband. [586]
nulkalcmm: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion. [431]
Nulkus, "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Nulkulel: Totem-pole of the first settlers at *Nuxpelyip* in the beginning of time. [845]
nulkumt: Parents of twins. [825]
nulsymm: Wolf.
Nulsthmis: Mythical house in the sky.
Nulsymmts: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nulxlem: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Thinqlilxw-a* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *nulaxlem*. [756]
nulxymm: A creation of new *kustat* names, such as is necessitated by a disaster, or at the will of a mighty chief. [553]
nulxtsalm: *Kustam* rite in which the performer pretends to swallow hot stones.
nulxwum: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to heralds by a person splashed in Otter dance. [431]
2—Presents given by guests at a potlatch to their host and his associates.
nulqsm, "The Fate Maker": Name given to a woman who paints upon the bandages used to produce cranial deformation in an infant. [856]
Nulsymall, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kimsquit village.
Nulsimts: *Kustat* name of a *Tsimsit* man.

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*192 *nuhuinuts*: Synonym for *qume-ts*, the large cone-shaped *nuxsá* whistle.
[534] *Nulya-kut*: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nulya-kut: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nulqpt-kwaw-a, "Nearest River": River flowing from the north into the northern corner of the head of North Bentinck Arm. The Anglicized form is Nuletta-conney.
ne'qaqulais: Stone supernaturally born from another at sea level.
[103] *Nuwaist-a*: *xtemq* village.
[823] *Nuwalait*, "The Mother of Dogs": Name given to a Bella Bella woman in an ancient story.
Nuyalk: Bella Coola valley.
Nuyálkmq: Inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley.
[101] *Nuyem*: *Kwiat* name of a *Stuxx* man.
Nuyem: Name of a female composer.
Nuyelmalais, "The Light Giver": One of the names of the supreme god.
nuyas: Light.
Nuzim: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Nuzimalais: *Ts'aqa* name of a Kimsquit man.
Nuqmalumaw-a, "Stick-Breaker": Name taken by daughter of the first settlers at *Stuxx* in the beginning of time.
[825] *nuxsáwak*: Mountain goat with long hair on its chest.
nuxsimut, "The Silent Night": The hushed assemblage of *kukwiat* after departure of a Cannibal.
[227] *nuxnuxtis*: Cross-piece which holds open mouth of *ulachen* net.
Nuxulit: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
[585] *nuxwulitlum*: Public promise by the parents of bride and bridegroom on the wedding night that names will be provided for resultant children. This is
[425] combined with an oration of origin myths. The term is also used for a similar promise of rights to hunting grounds, although the granting of this is automatic.
[828] *Nuya*: Mountain near *Stuxx*.
nuyálkhmut: Person who wanders away from home in dependency.
Nuyal-alais: One of the first women to settle at *Tal-is* in the beginning of time.
Nu'yas-ialm: Land of salmon.

O

o'alqum: Kimsquit term for *a'alk*, *archais*.
'O-ó': Kwatna lad mentioned in an ancient story.
[824] *okal*: Grass with edible roots growing on tide-flats.
[262] *Ólqumtq*: Valley pre-empted by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Ólqúmut: Herald who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
oly: 1—The *kwiat* prerogative of scratching.
2—Bad, *adjective*.
Olwa-i: *Kwiat* name of a *Stuxx* man.
Ollíyaiya, "The Worthless One": Name assumed by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[825] *Olnáhmut*, "The One that Changes Itself": Supernatural name of spring salmon.
[264] *'omstalil'*: Assemblage of the people for food of any kind.

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[illegible]: Goods obtained by a man's own exertions and forming the nucleus of his wealth for a potlatch. [556]
[illegible], plural, [illegible]: *Kusiut* patron.
[illegible]: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Son of Raven in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Sîskiut* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*?cimotl* woman who died about 1915.
[illegible]: village.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola *kusiotem* dancer.
[illegible]: 1—Ancestral name of a *Snuhili* man.
3—Celebrated Kimsquit hunter.
[illegible]: Any non-sacred rite, especially an *a'alk* dance held subsequent to the *kusiut* season.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit *kusiotem* dancer.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: The taking of food to another tribe for ceremonious bestowal.
[illegible]: Supernatural being who sleeps perpetually, literally, "The Sleepy One."
[illegible]: 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Celebrated Bella Coola warrior. [824]
[illegible]: Skunk cabbage.
[illegible]: Supernatural being, herald of *Älquntäm*.
[illegible]: The steeping of *sisook* novices in smoke, this being the final rite of initiation.
[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Sîskiut* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Temporary fish-dam of interlocked branches. [226]
[illegible]: Small mountain on south side of the Bella Coola valley behind *Qomqots*.
[illegible]: Place near *Stuix*.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: The leading across of a bride to a groom during a wedding. [585]
[illegible]: Hereditary tendency.
[illegible]: One made sick by salmon, especially a woman who suffers from this cause through disregard of adolescence taboos. [827]
[illegible]: Variety of dog salmon found at Bella Bella. [784]
[illegible]: Conferring of ancestral names at a potlatch. [825]
[illegible]: The performance of a *kusiut* dance with supernatural dog salmon as patron.
[illegible], "Trueces Place": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Distribution of strips of mountain goat skin at marriage. [585]
[illegible]: "Where are you going?"
[illegible], "Lake-Swallower": A mythical monster.
[illegible]: First night of a potlatch.
[illegible]: Third oldest brother or sister. [601]
[illegible]: Name of Mink as chief.
[illegible]: One of the names of the supreme god.
[illegible]: Celebrated *Wuyal-a* warrior.

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atsulta: Promontory on hunting ground extending into ocean.
Ovlxăn·i: Kimsquit fisherman.
Owiki: Calvert Island.
Oxłoxem: Synonym for *Xemxemălotla*, one of the nine supernatural siblings.

P

[415] *p̓ai·s:* Small wooden dish.
P̓aluăil: Legless messenger of the dead.
P̓a·s: Place on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
[585] [431] *p̓ăsutnm:* Synonym for *nup̓axsikel·im:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.
P̓ăscăcus: Ancestral name of a *Nusp̓alst* man.
[412] *p̓ăsulta:* Bone needle.
p̓ăxetla: Anything powerful and dreaded; the word is frequently applied, rhetorically, to Cannibals.
Pe·sib: Small stream rising north of the Bella Coola valley and east of the Necleetsconnay; it flows into the head of South Bentinck Arm between the Necleetsconnay and the Bella Coola.
Piqotla: Bella Coola man figuring in a story.
pilstl: Herring scales.
pinăxta: Dance-apron.
Pinqhla: One of the first men to settle at *Snuhili* in the beginning of time.
[825] *p̓kim·:* Mosquito.
Ponpoilotsdimut: Name assumed by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
po·qwais: Variety of *smuq.*
Potlus: Celebrated Bella Coola chief who died about 1880.
Po·isib: Mesatche Nose, the point between Labouchere Channel and North Bentinck Arm.
[824] *potsql:* False hellebore.
[411] *potstun:* Bow, weapon.
[195] *poyăx,* "Fallen Heavily with a Crash," as when a dead tree thunders to earth: The term is used rhetorically when referring to the death of an old and influential chief.
[372] *p̓seixl:* Tree, probably birch, used for torches.
[825] *p̓skun:* Meeting of chiefs.
[824] *p̓wi:* Halibut.
p̓x': Crabapple.
p̓xolt: Bunchberry.

Q

[525] *Qa'aklis:* Rivers Inlet man, living in the last century.
qai: King stick in a gambling game.
qainaxqualist: Women's droning cry uttered at the appearance of a masked dancer.
qai·nuxs: Uncommon term for the second day of a *kusiut* dance, applied to the rites taking place during the day itself only.
Qaiyu: Name conferred on the grandson of *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
Qak'lis: Man mentioned in a story.
Qakmo: 1—One of the first women to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
2—Celebrated Bella Bella chief.

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qalitu: Omen of death, generic term.
qalka: One of the berries, probably raspberry. [787]
qamá, vocative, qamao: Mother, term used by child.
Qamálsem: Celebrated Carrier chief. [824]
Qamux: 1—Village on west bank of the Necleetsconnay, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. [601]
2—Mountain behind the village.
Qámspoxtámem: *am'hl-a* name of a Kimsquit man.
qámxámila, vocative, qámxámilao: 1—Term used for spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish. [825]
2—Term used by *smmq* to human beings, who are like salmon to them.
3—Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings. [198]
qanxta, "Rope Fastenings," i.e., something binding: The function of the "Bed Covering" and other presents given with a wife which bind her to her husband. [585]
qas-lnks: Unidentified species of duck. [431]
Qeominouka: Kwakiutl term for "The Weeper," a female supernatural being.
Qepátus: *Kusiut* name of a *Stmx* man. [825]
Qi-pxook: *ustmq* chief living soon after the beginning of time.
*Qqát*li:* Herald who came with the first settlers to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Qéqos: Carrier pronunciation of *Tcaqos,* one of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
qáiaxm: *Kusiut* with ability to produce a puppet-patron, cf. *nunuyaxmm.*
qátitsta: Sweat-bath. [515]
Qálmus: Slave mentioned in an ancient story.
qátsy': Star-fish. [825]
qax: Rabbit.
qá-y: Salmon-berry. [824]
Qaxlowáls: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
qáxmáts: Unidentified plant. [825]
qahm: Black cod.
qam, "A Wiping of the Feet upon the Ground of Chiefs": Term applied to a deadly insult offered to persons of importance. [578]
qamta: Wooden armour. [714]
Qankist: 1—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Island off Rivers Inlet.
3—Island.
Qay-axwsila: One of the names of Raven as chief.
Qril: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Slskiut* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stmx* in the beginning of time.
qr-ka: Unidentified migratory bird, black in colour. [825]
Qeldjut: Scratch River, near Bella Bella.
qi'aqa: One of the *a'alt* dances.
Qiqia, "Head": *Stmx* repository named from part of a supernatural creature. [578]
qaskpályáxeslaixpnam: A verbal exposure of what should have remained concealed, such as comments upon the slave ancestry of a person whose blot in this respect has been covered over by lavish giving. [431]
qlshlitsta: Presents distributed by a wife to strengthen her husband's seat, and thus prevent him from "wobbling." [556]

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qmāthmelp: The dancing, by several of his associates, to "help" a *kusiut* performer.
Qnumi: Undefined locality in the Bella Bella area.
Qo: Mountain above *Stuax.*
[777] *qokān·i:* Supernatural bird, bringer of good luck.
[825] *Qolkaistl:* Locality near the head of Dean Channel.
qolon: 1—Beaver.
2—*Nustakamq* name of a Kimsquit man.
Qolosti: Man mentioned in a song.
Qolliaohmq: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuax* man with prerogative of biting himself.
qoludik: The location in a house taken by a wife when ceremonially seated behind her husband.
Qolkwelistl: Influential *Nusqalst* chief who died about 1910.
Qomāmakwala: Ancestral name of a *Stuax* chief; the designation may be of Kwakiutl origin.
Qomcwa: 1—One of the nine supernatural beings.
2—White person.
3—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.
qomniqwl: Clean, dry skull.
qomoqmai·s: Stump, in the language of Raven.
Qomoqwa: 1—Supernatural being, lord of the under-sea world.
2—Ancestral name of a *Qomqo·ts* man.
Qomo'sala: Man living in Bella Bella in early times.
Qomotla: Ancestral name of a *Tsimsil* woman.
[534] *qomo·ts:* Large, cone-shaped whistle used in *nasak* rites.
Qomqo·ts, "Salty?": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
qopai: To drift over, of smoke.
Qoqumpmān·a: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
[252] *qopta:* Framework of split sticks for toasting salmon.
[534] *qopta:* Drum.
Qoqmai: One of the first men to settle at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
Qoqyal: Bella Bella village.
qosa: Kwakiutl term for "eagle down" presents.
qothm: Third day of a *kusiut* dance.
Qotlnālas: Harbour on Labouchere Channel.
Qotlmalas: Settlement in the Carrier country.
[581] *qoinakm,* "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud.
[825] *qotsik:* Wolverine.
[567] *qolstilsis dimmas,* "A Washing to Free from Taint": Term applied to a ceremony to clear the path of the children when a husband has married a slave wife or *vice versa.*
Qowi: 1—One of the names of Raven as chief.
2—*Thaiyakam* name of a Kimsquit man.
3—*Susaak* name of a Kimsquit man.
Qoultanas: Supernatural woman from whom the Carpenters are said to have derived their skill in the beginning of time.
Qowolān·i: 1—*Kusiut* name of a *Tsimsil* man.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
[825] *qoxax:* White swan.

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qaxis, "Bed Covering": Term applied to the presents given as such to the party of a bridegroom when they enter the bride's house on a wedding day. [585]

ḳhamḳjut, "A Shaking of the Fingers": Rhetorical allusion to presents regarded as "Dust." [431]

ḳpaulikmum: To revolve sunwise. [195]

Ḳpaupaulikmumlaix, "The One Who Revolves Sunwise to Give Strength": One of *Thiteplilan-a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Ḳpḳalus: Place of petrified power near Kwatna. [778]

Ḳsxman: Village on the Skeena River.

ḳsoisut: Supernatural creature resembling a diminutive human being. [825]

ḳubut: Salmon liver.

ḳuks: Co-wife in a polygynous household. [575]

ḳulus, vocative, ḳulusis: Wife's brother, or sister's husband, man speaking.

ḳulwaix: Gathering of the supernatural beings for the performance of dances in the land above. [601]

ḳuma: Unidentified salt water fish, said to be called "Lard-fish" by white men. [825]

Ḳuqumum ul di dā Spem, "The Unlocser of Light": One of Raven's names as chief.

ḳupstānm: 1—The ability of a chief to sit down ceremonially in virtue of the goods distributed for his seat, the ground over which he walks, and other requirements.
2—The initial establishment of a youth as chief.

ḳuputālts: Stone axe. [412]

ḳus: Period of engagement.

Ḳuskila: Ḳumqo-ts man.

Ḳusi-lils: 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Ḳuistumlaix: Stuax man mentioned in an ancient story.

Ḳualxsān-j: Shaman's name of a *Stuax* woman.

Ḳuirwos, "Begrimed": Name of a copper often cast into fire.

ḳualts: Unidentified (and probably mythical) type of lizard, allegedly about four feet long, found near Dean Channel. [825]

ḳualm, vocative, ḳualim; plural, alḳualam: Eldest brother or sister. [601]

Ḳua'lems: Name, in the Bella Bella language, given to a wooden woman made by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

ḳualik: Gull. [825]

ḳual'ma'ks, "Eldest": Term of respectful address to Porcupine as senior of all animals.

Ḳualmalalim, "The Mover": Name given to their house by one of the first groups of settlers at *Tāl-io* in the beginning of time.

Ḳualna: Term from which the Anglicized "Kwatna" is derived: Generic name for the villages at Kwatna Harbour, Burke Channel. [103]*

Ḳumasa'ks: Chief living on the upper *Tsamat* in the beginning of time.

ḳuanā-xsta: Large box used for boiling olachen. [415]

Ḳuapa: Village south-west of the head of South Bentinck Arm.

Ḳuqmal: Place on Schooner Pass.

Ḳuqnasila: Sisaok name of a Bella Coola man.

ḳualuhum: Marks made to commemorate an event, such as carvings at chiefs' meeting-place, virtually a *memorial*. [211]

ḳualuxsam: Figure representing crest.

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[773] *qwalhnuta:* 1—Tally post, one of he supernatural elements possessed by all human beings.
[777] 2—Invisible supernaural element which constantly moves before the face.

qwalhnta; vocative, qwalhnatas, (rrely, qwalhnta): Crest.

[825] *qwax:* Raven.

qwax: Big old male mountain got.

Qwaxila: Qomqo-ts man living in he last century.

Qwaqlislis: Celebrated Kwakiutchief.

Qwaqwax-nemm: Name of a shaman who received his power from Raven.

[601] *Qwarnats:* One of the first men o settle at *Stusx* in the beginning of time.

qwarnam: Fourth oldest, or youngest, brother or sister.

qwa'sakts: Steller's jay.

Qwakil: Kimsquit woman.

[825] *qwane:* Woman's pubic hair.

qwata: Sea-lion cub.

[431] *qwem:* Those who are present an receive gifts when an announcement of a marriage is first made.

Qwets: Kusiut name of a Bella Cola man.

qwis-x'sem: A revelation, such a the sight of a supernatural being or object usually concealed.

[825] *qwilais:* Yearling seal.

qwimap: Word used in inviting o a marriage announcement.

Qwinso: Kimsquit man mentiond in an ancient story.

Qwiqwanoma: Kwakiutl supernaural being, said to be identical with *Ałqunłam.*

Qwislokik": *Nuxqual* name of a Kimsquit man.

Qwiyai: Bella Bella village west of Namu.

Qwul: Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.

Qulaiya: Professional female mariage droner who came down to Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Qulaxwa: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

Qulisil, "Place of Herbage": Vilage in the upper Bella Coola valley.

qunts: Inspiration, in the sense of the source of a *kusiut* dancer's power of thought.

[583] *Qwusalk:* Village west of Kwatna settled in the beginning of time.

qwuslandjut: Actual goods used for the repurchase of a wife.

[854] *Qwuyusditna:* Ancestral name of a Kimsquit chief.

qwusl: Cradle.

Qwu'nsk': *Kusiut* name of a Bell Coola woman.

Qwun-a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[581] *q"xila:* The noble and rightful sentiments engendered in both families by an elaborate marriage, either rel or fictitious. The word embodies the concepts of financial interdependence and of consequent mutual strength.

[195] *qwuskim:* The transference of activities to a new sphere; the term is used, rhetorically, when referring to the death of a skilled craftsman.

S

saiks: 1—Skeleton.
2—Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Saikuaio-sem: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

sai-mis ploks: The constant blinking of the eyes.

Saiutl: Thunder, anthropomorphized. 192*
Saixnäs: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man. [821]
salälsi: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property. [173]
sä·lhälsnum: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kusiut* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food. [431]
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal.
sä·lpsta: Cannibalistic incubus. [25]
sä·lpstnum: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day. [585]
sälskekdimut: Profession of *kusiut* executioner. [431]
sälukwalas: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him. [463]
säml: Sockeye salmon. [825]
Sänoltnmulsts Älquntäm: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sanunusmmlaix: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land above.
Sänutlkm or *Sänutlkmdimut:* One of the names of Mount *Nusqalst* as chief.
Sänuximäxots, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Stnux* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sähx; vocative, sätki; vocative plural, säthxwa·ki: Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
sä·tla: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Sätlia: Village at point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Sätlyenuts: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Sä·lma: Death, anthropomorphized. [761]
sälelts: Whetstone, *archaic.* [412]
Sä·tsk': 1—Kimsquit River.
2—Village near the mouth of the river. [101]
Sä·tskamg: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley.
satskwal·a: Raft.
Sä·thamnän·i: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
sawa: Pillow. [513]
sawadjut, "Pillowness": *Kusiut* ceremonial at which no call is present.
saqi, vocative, saqinas: Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family. [601]
Saqinas: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story.
säxkam: Bracken. [824]
säxwänas: Tide flats. [823]
sakdjulk: Heart.
Salwalosam: That part of *Sonx*[w] which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Samhetl: Village on Rivers Inlet.
Samsiutän·i: Part of a peculiar repository.
samsumlkdimut, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steelhead salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
sa'mtsta, "Resting Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this. [805]
sänkwolsäm: Leader of musicians. [821]

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sa-qua-t: String figure.
Saskwanuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sijidji'is:* Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sakakwa-a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sakiltst:* Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
[822] *sakima siakumtak:* River net for salmon.
Satsalank: Echo.
Saxuxtalais: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Saxuxtualyalaislaix, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Ttitcaplilta-a's* names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Sialxelax:* Ancestral name created on earth by a *Qomqo-ts* man.
Siapam, "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[825] *siddagsu:* One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
[805] *Siduhaos di Ano'likwalsaix,* "The Coming of *Ano'likwalsaix*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
siusala: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Sl'Islalil,* "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Sl'Iwai-sil, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *sl'illiulak:* Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of marriage is broached.
[431] *sl'Iylum,* "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Slum,* "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Slusami,* "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Silslumtak, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] *silki,* "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *sisaok* rites.
Sililiktum: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Siluly,* "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikwalwalsk: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikwaldjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuax* man.
Siknm: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
[226] *Silias:* Celebrated composer.
silmuq: Salmon-weir.
[827] *sinaqyme'ax:* *Sisaok* head-dress.
sinimits: Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
[761] *si-nipadjoxstumax:* Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Sinpacus: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[805] *Sinomwak,* "Time for the Use of Olachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[726] *Sinulkemil,* "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinunaklilum: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

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Sinuqyul: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Sinuximātl: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Sinax* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sio"mste: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative of imitating coitus. [424]

siqalqālosuts: Song sung by a *kusiotem* dancer on recovery from apparent death. [861]

siqkim: Regular beatings given to a male child.

Siqālyam, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

Siqaluxnām: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Siqulxwaix di Sisut, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

siqwaldjut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]

siqwsek: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage. [425]

sisusts: Departure to a new locality.

sisi, vocative, sisai: Father's brother or mother's brother. [601]

sisut: Paddle.

sisutsta: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

Sitlhmsta: One of the names of the supreme god.

Sitlling': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [778]

sisut, vocative, sisat: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being, "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qomo·ts*, the large *sisaek* whistle.
4—Killer whale. [825]
5—Song.
6—*Kusiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Siutan·l: Part of a peculiar repository.

Siutaqkila: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

siutulos: Wordless chorus. [533]

Siwal·es, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Siwid: Celebrated *Djoldānux* chief living in the last century.

sinliktam: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a despondent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]

Sigman·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sixsān·imutsta: Place where healing power is petrified.

Sixsixqutnam: Synonym for *Mulakila*, the supernatural being connected with *sisaek* rites.

sixwismaq: *Kusiut* dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, *ānānuskn*, for the user's protégé on earth.

sixwqāuksmk: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage. [584]

siwusil: Unmarried mother. [848]

siyentla: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *sientla* may be connected with this.

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*192 *sisa:* Supernatural good luck.
[821] *nkuoos:* Fog.
[825] *nsu':* Pack-rat.
[828] *nk:* Mind or mentality.
nkqan: Place of lucky finds, such as a point where whales drift ashore.
nkrotlcalrua: Cannibal recently returned from the land above.
Sillslan-i: One of the first women to settle at *Sätlis* in the beginning of time.
[825] *nmd:* Mountain.
nmlk or *nmlkts:* Salmon, generic form.
nmqmnikdu: (Probably) viscera of an animal, *archaic.*
Smsiutaäks: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[173] *nmsma:* Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be related by anyone.
Sumtus: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[822] *Sunl'luxum:* Bella Coola chief.
[828] *Sunqlominit:* Darkness, anthropomorphized.
nnqu: Anger.
nnx: Sun.
Sunxäkila: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at *Alqälxel* in the beginning of time.
Sunxälotla: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—*S'alk* name of a Kimsquit man.
4—*Susook* name of a Kimsquit man.
Sunxan-a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.
[827] *nnxkt:* Mucus.
Sunxl, "Sunny": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
nqwlaätk: Game played with miniature spears.
[575] *nsook:* 1—Society intimately connected with chiefs.
2—Member of the society.
nsiutl: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a double-headed salmon.
Sunxakila: Shaman's name of a *Sunxl* woman.
nskink': Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Tlitsplilan-a* to the one favoured.
[601] *nskum:* Father's sister or mother's sister (in either direct or indirect address).
[583] *nsmmlts:* The ceremonial strength acquired by a child through the repurchase of its mother.
[431] *nsqo-si:* Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] *nsyunk':* Western dock (plant).
[824] *nsxwatmaldp:* Snowberry.
nxnqoinu: Distribution of carpentry tasks prior to a potlatch.
[825] *nxmmsts,* "Food Supply": Synonym for *sel'olum,* ancestral hunting-ground.
shalk": Porcupine.
[824] *skal-uts:* Black huckleberry.
[821] *skalutslaix:* Eye-lashes of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

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shalt': Devil's-club.
shalnamadits: To lament ceremonially, the term used to describe the reason for a memorial potlatch. [824]
Shami, "Ashes": Ancestral name created for a *Swalili* chief about 1910. [765]
shamtsk: Supernatural creature dwelling in water.
shay: Anus.
shanm: Splinters projecting upwards from the bole of a broken tree-trunk. [824]
Shamolsyman-a: One of the first women to settle at *Swalili* in the beginning of time.
Shatpts: Chief of the spring salmon.
shatsamhm: Narrow strips of goat skin with wool attached, distributed at marriage. [585]
shelists: Merganser. [825]
shekwadjut, "The Opening": Ceremony when the first public presents are given to the family of a future wife, following the announcement of betrothal. [584]
shi: To cure, especially with the aid of a frenzied beating of sticks. [431]
Shimutsitl: *Stuax* man mentioned in an ancient story.
shinap, "Cure Ye!": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the upper Bella Coola valley.
shiwas: Cloud.
shma: Thick hide, either of moose or caribou. [825]
shma: Semi-circular knife used by women for cutting salmon. [412]
shmaix, shmanl, or *shmdjut:* 1—Frenzied beating of sticks for curing purposes, especially when the patient is a member of a secret society. [755]
2—Final *kusiut* rite at end of the ceremonial season.
shmim: To cure by means of the frenzied pounding of sticks.
Shmi, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log": *a'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
Shmnanl: House used by a group of first settlers near *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Shmnulan-a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Nusfalst* in the beginning of time.
shs'tcalx: Fungus. [824]
shsmaiasts: 1—Box made of strands of cedar-bark. [415]
2—Ancient name of *nasak* head-dress.
shsy: Ceremonial designs executed on the exterior front wall of a house.
shshl': Rose.
Shshlkwan-a: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. [825]
shsl: Wasp.
Shshmmasts: Rock on shore of North Bentinck Arm where war trophies were washed. [727]
Shwalsl: Name of house brought down by first settlers at *Slskisl* in the beginning of time; the term was also applied by them to one of their female relatives.
shsl, secatlw, shsai: Parent-in-law or child-in-law. [601]
shlay: Suitable place in the river for setting oolachen nets.
shlsa: Game played with throwing stones.
shusiut: Synonym for *yearman,* the tangible or intangible prerogative possessed by some *kukusiut* in addition to a dance rite. [424]
shuwakin: River sculpin. [825]

smā·tl: A place of petrified power, i.e., a locality where a supernatural being has been rendered incapable of moving. [778]
smātl ās skwatsta, "Petrified Name": Designation brought from above in the beginning of time.
smı·ks: 1—Mussel. [825]
2—Freshwater mussel.
smıxmıuxls: One of the thrushes.
smuqāmāts: An animal, especially a bear, showing a kindly disposition towards man.
Snākelt: Āsān·ān·i man mentioned in an ancient story.
snānik': 1—Gum.
2—Name of son made by Raven in the beginning of time.
snāx: Slave.
Snaxhākila: One of the first men to settle at *Sātlia* in the beginning of time.
snāxom: Visionary receiving power direct from the supreme god.
sniāndcuqs: Worm or larva living under the ocean.
Sniaxlikwan·a: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Sninia: Supernatural being who holds earth in position.
Snitsmān·a: Supernatural woman who restores those who suffer misfortune in the performance of *kusiut* rites.
Snmkkwkts: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola woman; it was obtained at *Tāl·ia* in the beginning of time.
smmq: 1—Mythical monster.
2—Man living at Kimsquit in early times.
smmqos di sonxwdai: Posts of the sun, the barriers which cause it to retrace its course at the solstices. [821]
smmqos wa smdās: Variety of *smmq* living above tree line.
Smtqwalmkaista: Stealer of thoughts, an invisible barrier within the door which prevents a man from carrying out a potlatch by robbing him of his good intentions. The concept is anthropomorphized as a supernatural being. [828]
Sno·abādāx: Island south-west of Bella Bella.
Sno'oinkıls Ālquntām: Deer son of the supreme god.
Sno'oniqwlx, "On the Point": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Snoqolqs: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
snu'aiyewa: Ceremonial collar of hemlock-bark, dyed cedar-bark, and undyed cedar-bark such as is given to *Ťlitcāplilān·a*. The word may refer to the throwing of this on the fire.
snudaxt'oq: Unidentified berry. [824]
snukālmāls: Top used by one of the sons of the supreme god.
Snukilmāls: Supernatural being resident above who has the power of causing things to curl up and come to him.
snukimāx: Part of house behind fire.
snukllaik: Unidentified plant. [824]
snulikuml: Piece of wood, rolled hard and smooth in a landslide.
Snulexwnimutik: Chief of supernatural singers who accompany *Nodkyam*.
snulwustlt: Twin.
Snulqulqāls: 1—Cannibalistic supernatural woman, formerly resident in the supreme god's house.
2—Old woman resident in *Qomoqwa's* house.
Snunua·lma: Locality containing repository of name received from Death.

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Sonq'mai: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuix* man.
Soptos: *Kusiut* name of a *Tsimoil* man.
sofolräxum: Scalp.
soqwalält': Gnarled projection of wood from a birch knot. [824]
Spaixpaxqmmän·a: Supernatural being who wakens his fellows in the morning.
Spänbällnaix: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
späniesta: Temporary camping-place.
Spätcaldt, "The First Born": Name brought from Kitlobe to Kimsquit by a marriage in the beginning of time.
spälkl: Star.
sphkm, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud. [581]
spependouts: The forcing upwards of water at high tide, through openings in the rocks at sea-level. [823]
sphkphkmm: Person who pounds cedar-bark.
sphkta: Tools for pounding cedar-bark, specifically the upper beater.
Sphpiqinän·i: Region on the east side of Dean Channel, about one mile from its head, where supernatural power is localized. [778]
Spi'xnunsta: Island west of Namu.
sphx: 1—Pudenda.
2—Variety of *smuq* with female organs. [824]
spoxälicua: Unidentified berry. [821]
S'ps', Cold Wind: A supernatural being.
Spskunsta: Meeting place of chiefs on rock ledge behind *Spmqo·ts*; the term is probably applied to any meeting place of chiefs.
sphla: War-knife used by Raven in the beginning of time.
sputy: Olachen. [825]
spux: Eagle down.
spuxdjut, "Eagle Down-ness": Rhetorical reference to a present for which no return is expected. [431]
spuxpux: Long, delicate feathers on an eagle's breast. [825]
Spuxpuxhällaix: *Kusiut* name of a woman sent down near *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
Spuxpuxqä'mpdimut: *Sisook* name of *Xuxais* origin.
Spuxspuxta: *Sisook* name of a Kimsquit woman.
sqäl·a: Unidentified berry. [824]
sqoolt: Alder wood, dead and dried. [825]
sqäpts: Spring salmon which have spawned.
sqali: Hunting ability. The term usually refers to the ability of the supernatural artisans to hunt, i.e., to kill, human beings.
sqalst or *sqalstutl:* Stone, suitable for axes, found on Mount *Nusqalst.* The name of the mountain is said to be derived from this. [316]
squma: 1—Chest. [103]*
2—Smoke cure for diseases of the chest.
Squml: Land of Ashes.
sqasusts: First proposal of marriage if made by relatives of the man. [584]
sqals: River sand mixed with small pebbles.
Sqatsdx: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola River. [823]
sqoum: Flood.

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[824] *sqedilp:* Cedar roots.
sqetl: Sling.
[578] *sqetlqtskm:* To use a sling.
sqili: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slave ancestry.
[821] *sqinamas:* Fleecy cloud.
sqiols: Muzzle-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary food.
[412] *sqma:* Wooden comb.
S'qa't: Land of Ashes, alternative term for *Sqami.*
sqo: Umbilical hernia.
[601] *sqolxmas:* Distant relative of female sex, when referred to by man.
sqolkisdjat: Long phallus.
Sqomali: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sqosa: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
sqoselg: Food distributed for carrying away as *sqosa.*
[415] *sqoli:* Large, flat, soft basket of broad strips of bark.
sqpmrax: Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
[431] *sqtelp:* Maple.
[824] *squm:* Sudden start that expels the spirit.
squpaitl: Outer plank of cedar, convex and bark-covered on one side.
sqwal: Love song or other non-ceremonial composition.
sqwalm: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium.*
[533] *sqwalxwalm:* 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions to the faults of someone present.
2—Singers who use this type of composition.
[825] *sqwal-ann:* Large, unidentified bird.
Sqwlahua: Heat: A supernatural being.
[374] *Sqwli:* *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[825] *sqwo'nn:* Loon.
stai-tl: Mountain goat marrow, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of preventing hunger.
[262] *Stalqalaxm,* "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks": *Talk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
stalhmq; plural, stalhmq; vocative plural, stalhamq:
1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqalasi* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Sinai* in the beginning of time.
4—Name created by *Smaxan* for a grandson.
5—*Sisaak* name of a Kimsquit man.
[601] *stan:* Mother, term commonly used by an adult in indirect address.
[825] *standabidam:* Bat.
standimut: Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
[601] *stanamamts:* Elderly female relatives of the same ancestral family as the speaker.
[614] *sleeli:* Whetstone.
Steets: Man mentioned in a story.
[412] *Stap':* Mountain near *Tal-io.*
stapam, "What Is Hidden": The correct solution of the Mystery dance.
stamamts: Archaic term for chiefs, now used only rhetorically.
[824] *sleli:* Cranberry.

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sk̓ᵊqalikw': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
Skē·tixem: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
skuq": That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
Sciltema: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being. [573]
2—Sleep, intangible *kusiut* prerogative.
sciusnām: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [585]
Sqemsthstkwi, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]
sq·pil: Shadow.
sqiqumas: Hammer, *archaic.* [412]
sqhas: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law. [601]
sliamālqs: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other.
stihus: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
stip: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
shikx: 1—Caribou hide. [825]
2—Thong made of caribou hide.
shxem: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
sitakt: Caribou.
sihms: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
Sihmsila: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
sihmsta or *sihmstānālas:* Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
sihmstaliktsta: Body.
sihmstānālasām: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Sikwuxwuhnimāx-a: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Sikwuxwuhanam: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
siska: Mountain goat grease. [824]
siskālya: Castor.
Siskial, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Slskla: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time. [825]
slsmas: Octopus.
Slsnakhlas: One of Raven's female Crow relatives. [386]
slsqmasma: Red rock paint.
slsta: Singer's baton.
slsulk: Text. [823]
slilc-qass: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones.
stuin: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
Stuas: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley. [262]
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
stutnm: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
shumsoiks: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
Sly', "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
sukwalt: Black raspberry. [824]
sulstu: Ocean.

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[825] *Sulukul:* Mountain on west side of the Kimsquit River.
susle-ul'tsku-kus: One of the river sculpins.
susshumk: To gather cedar-bark.
Szimána: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning
Sutal: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Sultulu, "Winter Trail": Locality, perhaps village, on the upper Kimsquit River.
[101] *Sutskinp:* Generic name of the inhabitants of the Dean valley.
Szewulk: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
Swuklu: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Swulg: Mountain at Kimsquit which was in human form in the beginning of time.
swulkumdimus: Meeting of the senior supernatural beings to discuss ceremonial matters at the winter solstice.
swulsta: Provender provided by the supreme god for the first settlers in the beginning of time.
swu'swu: Mud.
szuldz: Person or object which is taboo.
Szuiarmax: Evil supernatural being.
Spuidzus, "Maker of Good Weather": Supernatural name of dog salmon.
szukmem pli máns: Term of opprobrium applied to a child whose father drove away his mother.
spúkstu: Sorcerer's box.
Sus-lhutmáx-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
spás: Female lover, especially a paramour.
spámu: Male lover.
Spuje-ul: One of the first women to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
spem: The bursting forth of light.
[785] *sustsis:* Ceremonial chastity.
[831] *sustsudjut:* The state of practising ceremonial chastity.
sustsusai: Power engendered by ceremonial chastity.
spuk: 1—Sorcerer.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Spuhdjustáx-a: Part of a peculiar repository.
ssim: Cedar-bark cord.
Szimána: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Szimszimuk: Immoral supernatural woman.
su'ul': Afterbirth.
Sujustáx-a: Chief of the dogs in the beginning of time.
[838] *Sputs:* 1—Hermaphrodite, a supernatural being.
[761] 2—Man who performs woman's work.
szumánuts Ahl': Life, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
[821] *Sul'lul,* South Wind: A supernatural being.
[805] *Sulkl,* "Angry Moon": First moon after the winter solstice.
sulu-ul': Poisonous supernatural creature that travels with the War-Party of the Tides.
sulamuk: "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts. The word has two meanings:
[532] 1—Carved human figure set up by a shaman near the vessel of grease which is thrown on a fire.
2—Nickname bestowed on a man.

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Sqnqnsisûs: Supernatural children guarded by the hermaphrodite in the land above.
Sqsul: Name taken by a *Stnax* man in the beginning of time.
sxtsqmul: Place in stream or river where a salmon has just jumped.
sxwanâ·a: Name created upon earth.
sxwapânil: Deer.
sxwat: Water-tight receptacle made from the internal organs of a mountain goat.
Sxwahqnem, "What Sweeps Away the Food": First moon after the winter solstice.
sxwemqs, "Tears": Preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch.
sxw'lâmkis, "Short-lived": Rhetorical term used with reference to the death of a young chief.
sxyawi: An adolescent girl, not yet subject to the full taboos of womanhood.

[825] [415] [805] [431] [195]

T

lâbâlit: Cave.
lai: 1—Son, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for lads unrelated to the speaker.
2—Masculine suffix.
Taiakwala: 1—One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuhe·ll* in the beginning of time.
taiamtmak: Desertion of husband by his wife.
lain: Dorsal fin of a fish.
taitaing: Heavy kind of copper.
taitamax: Tournament between rival villages.
Tal·la: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Generic name applied to all villages on South Bentinck Arm.
Taliokûn·a: Nuxqual name embodied in a *Snuhli* origin myth.
Tamtamlo·pna, "The Breather": One of *Thixplilan·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Tamukus: Stnax man mentioned in an ancient story.
tapanamnum: The issuing abroad of invitations to a memorial potlatch.
laqtx: Forest consisting of dense underbrush between big trees.
laqul: Blood-stained cedar-bark pad.
ta·s: 1—Bird arrow.
2—Weapon, invisible to mortals, with which a wolf kills its prey.
Tats; tacatlu, Tâtse: 1—Designation of supreme god used in prayer.
2—Father, term used by child.
lalhamlp: Water-lily.
Ta·pe·ak: Land inhabited by the Kwakiutl.
Tashwum: Leading chief of *Alqalad* and reputed founder of the village.
Taqqlum: Bella Coola chief living in the last century.
lahu: Type of sea-going canoe with bow and stern identical.
tamtmâ·i: 1—White-fronted goose.
2—Type of sea-going canoe named from the bird.
lamat: Husband (*di tamatalai:* My husband).
tamaw': River.
Tamumuthi: Chief who came to Cape Mudge in the beginning of time and later moved to Bella Coola.

[601] [586] [825] [628] [101] [824] [601] [824] [825] [601]

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Tuqualsisla: Bella Bella chief mentioned in a semi-historical account.

[825] *Tusahl:* Northern tribe, possibly Haida.

Ipli: Dog salmon.

Tsisilhmy, "Whose Feet Are Shortened": Village on shore of North Bentinck Arm west and north of the Necleetsconnay River.

tspnpin-i: Owl.

[601] *tsai:* 1—Daughter, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for girls unrelated to the speaker.
2—Feminine suffix.

Tsakwaskis: 1—One of the names of Mount *Nusqalst* as chief.
2—Man who descended to Mount *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.

Tsakwak: Supernatural name of bald eagle.

tsakwalst: 1—Type of expansible house brought down from above by several of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
2—One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[825] *tsakulina:* White slug with black and red face.

[824] *tsikchakum:* Pleasure walk.

[411] *tsiit':* Cedar-bark.

tsi'n: Sealing spear.

[825] *tsan:* Snake.

Tsqalsk': Mountain near the Dean River.

Tsqos: One of the first men to settle on the upper Dean River in the beginning of time.

[824] *tsisisalp:* Red cedar tree.

Tsewat: Locality on mainland opposite the north end of Vancouver Island, *probably* Knight Inlet.

tsawanst-ala: Unidentified grape-like tuber.

Tsaltsup: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[342] *tsiba:* Underground house with entrance and flue combined.

Tsiba: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.

Tsiknust: One of the first men to settle at *Alpalsal* in the beginning of time.

[825] *tsiman-i:* Large clam-shell.

Tsimlaia: *Sisaak* name of a *Sisal* man.

Tsimtlaa: Lad mentioned in an ancient story.

tsipsa: Fisher.

[601] *Tsisendylaig,* "The Sleep Giver": Name of a female shaman.

tsi gwas di ents: Nephew's wife, term of indirect address.

tsi gwas di sisi: Uncle's wife, term of indirect address.

Tsiwosi: Man mentioned in an ancient story of the upper Bella Coola valley.

Tsiksa: Celebrated Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

Tsi'laiya, "He of the Penis": Nickname given to a lad mentioned in an ancient story.

tsmalk: Valley.

Tsmasi, "Where the River Covers the Stones": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Tsmpsik: Locality on Fitzhugh Sound.

[824] *Tsnalsi:* Mountain in the Carrier country.

tsnkwsnalp: Unidentified hollow-stemmed plant.

Tsnkwsnalya-ts, "Where There Is Much *tsnkwsnalp*": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

APPENDIX D

Tsukt: River on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
Tsepintl: Mountain near Dean Channel.
Tcwe·st: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
tslaos: To marry.
tslaosem: 1—Marriage in which the woman's relatives make the first proposal, especially one hurried owing to bereavement or other financial stringency in the man's family. [584]
2—Marriage without lengthy engagement.
tsilit: One having a voice like an eagle's.
hqwaistmam, "A Holding": The arrangement by which a man's sons-in-law give him as "wife" an infant female relative in repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters. [583]
hacus: Clover. [824]
hatala: Robin. [825]
hanuma: Game played with bows and arrows.
hamanta: Arrow. [411]
ayta: Adze.
hawema: Stone maul without handle for driving fish-net stakes. [412]
ila: Black bear.
Ilaiyakam: 1—One of the *a'alk* dances. [825]
2—Ceremonial held to shame a deserting husband or wife.
3—Name taken by an early *Ilaiyakam* dancer at Kimsquit. [586]
Ilakan: Snail.
Tlakwaitl: Bella Bella woman married by *Smaoan* of Kimsquit in the beginning of time. [825]
Tlakwakila: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.
2—Name acquired by one of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
3—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Tlakwakilayek'm: Woman dwelling on the coast south of Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
Ilakwa·i: Knife of mountain goat bone. [412]
Ilakwalk: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *uxlag* is problematical. [825]
Tlaliatlis: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tlaliak'lak': 1—Supernatural woman known to the people of Smith Inlet.
2—One of the first women to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tlao'kwas: Servant to the supernatural being *Nuxkiayat.*
Tlaowika'lis: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Tlaqmai·ks: Supernatural woman resident in the land above. This word is said to be unrelated to *Tlaqma·ks*, although a common origin seems probable.
Tlaqma·ks: 1—Supernatural child resident in the land above.
2—Name acquired by a female child in the beginning of time. [824]
Ilaqlas: Fir-bark.
Ilaqaqs: Correct term, in the language of Raven, for skull-cap worn by adolescent girls. See *ilawam.*
Ila'awala: The pouring, by a shaman, of grease from ten vessels on the fire as a means of curing the sick.
Tlawas: One of the first women to settle in the Dean valley in the beginning of time.

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Tlaxamymitl: Name acquired in the beginning of time by a Rivers Inlet man from a sea-lion.
[825] *tlcakndltotl:* Sardine.
Tlikmaxstakka, "The Walking One": Supernatural name of the water ouzel.
tlikmuts: Song sung during Cannibal dance while the performers run from house to house.
[825] *tlima:* Mountain goat sinew.
Tlisla: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
2—Wife of Mount *Nusqalst*, when in human form at the beginning of time.
Tlitcaplitan·a: One of the nine supernatural siblings, a woman who brings aid to those in sickness and is thus the initiator of shamans.
[825] *tlixin:* Sea-lion.
Tlmstadimut, "Be Like a Person": Instruction given to a stick in the beginning of time. This designation has since been used as an ancestral name.
[821] *tlok':* 1—Moon.
2—The zenith.
[825] *tlokly:* Virulent skin disease.
tlopan·i: Cormorant.
Tloqo·tl, "Small Mound": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Tloqots, "Maligner" or "Defamer": A supernatural being.
tlqa: 1—Gaff.
2—To cut wood for masks.
[823] *tlpanap:* "Cut!" Call used on second day of *kusiut* dances.
tlpapalam: Small trickle that flows from rocks near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel. The term is probably applied to other similar rivulets.
[415] *tlulai·:* Water-tight basket.
[824] *tmiax:* Water-washed stump with scoured, radiating roots.
Tniqo: Region on the upper Kitlobe River.
[482] *tmixsl:* Tump-line.
toka: Navel.
[825] *Tokntl:* Raven's canoe in the beginning of time.
tqa: Mink.
tomidjut, "He of the Big Family": Term used to describe a man with many descendants.
[583] *top·a:* Synonym for *ulxamamatmm*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. This term is perhaps used in Kimsquit alone.
[825] *tqpimaz:* 1—Fawn.
2—*Nustakamg* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[821] *Tqiksta:* Star in the Great Bear.
tqanq: Lower of the two beaters used in the preparation of cedar-bark.
Tqumatos, "Facing": Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, synonymous with *Talia*.
[291] *tsalkat:* Hat with flat top and broad brim.
tsaia: Stonecrop.
Tsaialid: Kimsquit shaman mentioned in an ancient story.
Tsa·kmal: Bella Coola warrior living in the last century.
Tsalits: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
Tsal: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Tsaslamem: Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.
tsa·ti: Green barnacles on water-covered stones.
[825] *tsiiax:* Large woodpecker, species unidentified.

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Ṭsi·dis: Kitlobe River.
Ṭsiłwakłs: Eagle that perched on top of a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time. [825]
Isima: Animal's entrails.
Isi·t: Note of the *kwakwa*, foretelling death. [763]
Isitsowi: Cormorant, in Bella Bella language.
Inkluxnam: Goods taken to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him. [586]
Ṭnkwi: Restoration Bay.
Ṭnłkt, bald eagle: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley. [431]
2—Bald eagle.
3—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time. [825]
Inx: Novice, either *kusiut* or shaman.
Inxstmem or *Inxstłaix:* First night of a *kusiut* dance.
Iskankdmut: 1—Heavy coppers in *Ḷemoqwa*'s house.
2—Name obtained from these by a *Sałlia* man in the beginning of time.
Iski·kdimut: Kusiotem rite in which the performer's head appears to be pulled off. [415]
Isla: Closely woven basket of spruce roots.
Islaqwaix: Any act of an unclean nature which prevents a supernatural being from seeing the perpetrator. [784]
Istla: Presents distributed when a *nusok* initiate dances. They are provided by the donor "To Shield Our Eyes" from the *tutwinam* and serve to recompense the carpenters and others who have assisted in the rite. [431]
Isma: Belt. [465]
Isna: Nettle. [824]
Ṭsmłłaks: Woman resident in the far north in the beginning of time.
Ispadjut: The giving of presents to the servants and associates of the donor of a potlatch in return for being served with food in a rude manner. [431]
Ispait: Small woodpecker, species unidentified. [824]
Isqaika: Winter wren.
Isqwalt: Spawning sockeye salmon. [825]
Isubilta: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the genitalia. [424]
Isulkm: Prompter.
Ṭsumłłaks: One of the first women to settle at *Snukoll* in the beginning of time.
Ṭsuskilak: One of the first men to settle at *Tsmoil* in the beginning of time. [824]
Isxwasly: Unidentified tree of which the bark was smoked. [825]
Isxlusag: To grasp firmly with both hands, *archaic.*
Isxpa·i: Trout, *plural.*
Isxs'ats'ikwik: Ceremony resembling a potlatch given by a chief for the benefit of his fellow-villagers, especially during the year preceding his main rite.
Isxya, "What Is Good": Synonym for *Ustamamtmm*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]
Ṭsmai·ox: Synonym for *Nusiłłaiwalkm:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.
Isxwinam: 1—Masked figure, usually in crest form, which appears to *nusok* and *a'alk* initiates.
2—An appearance, that is, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.
Ṭsałłit: Supernatural hunter of mountain goats.

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Twalosdimut: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

twikmdimut, "A Coming up from Below into Plain Sight": Term used with reference to the obtaining of a call through the medium of Dark-Shade.

[424] *tqamätl*, "Whence We Came": A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[103] *Tqultsik:* Old village near the head of Dean Channel, at the site of the present cannery on the opposite side of the fiord from Manitou Cannery.

Tqnqn·iaqim: Tree, inhabited by owls, behind the supreme god's house.

kwunikwalott: Space in a house between central fire and row of chiefs seated behind it.

U

U·sqäxus, "What Is Wanted Is Lacking": Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Alqälxl* in the beginning of time.

W

Wäkus: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuhili* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwlst* in the beginning of time.
4—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
5—Name of the Kimsquit River as chief.
6—*Sisook* name of a Kimsquit man.

[825] *wai·s:* 1—Cohoe salmon.
2—Name acquired by a man from cohoe salmon.

Waiuxnm: Man who descended to the Clearwater River in the beginning of time.

Wakitmai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stnux* in the beginning of time.
2—Fraser River.

Wakwas: Village at Kwatna Inlet. This word is in the Bella Bella language.

Walqkitmai: One of the first men to settle at *Stnux* in the beginning of time.

[825] *wal·äsqia:* Lynx.

[586] *walikw':* Woman who has deserted her husband.

wakmptnm: To express a desire concerning the disposal of one's goods after death.

walicinu: "I go."

[824] *walilikwätsälätsälats*, "The Most Potent of the Pond": Water-lily.

Wanql: Name of *Smaoan*'s grandchild in the beginning of time.

Wanuq: 1—Rivers Inlet.
2—Collective term for the villages on its shores.

Waoxqslaix: *Nusäxkämy* name of a Kimsquit man.

Waowal·is: Celebrated shaman, central figure in an ancient tale.

Waoyel·a: Tribal name of one of the Bella Bella-speaking groups.

Wa·put: Mountain near *Stnux*.

Wasila: *Kustut* name of a Bella Coola man.

waskustutaix: Death in the house where a *kustut* dance is taking place.

[533] *was·nän·imutsts:* Mourning songs regarded as expressions of real, not ceremonial, grief.

[765] *wasonq^w wawstkloqstil:* Synonym for *sonq^w*: The sky.

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Wat·as: *Xixais* woman living in the beginning of time.
wals: Dog. [825]
wawnlt: Dog, *archaic.*
wa·xsia: Cape of yellow cedar-bark. [291]
waxwaxtsia: Brother or sister of grandparent.
Wiakai: One of the first women to settle at *Snuiłli* in the beginning of time. [601]
Wiaqaii: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
Wikwan·ikwla: Synonym for *Kwla*: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nusḑalst* chief.
Wikwanutl: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
wina, vocative, winao: War-party.
Winās: Slave living at *Nusḑalst* several generations ago.
winās di ḑala, "War-Party of the Ocean," or *winās di sā·łldjo·ts,* "War-Party of the Tides": Supernatural being.
Winwina: Supernatural being who captured birds and fish for the benefit of mankind.
Winwintsmak: Supernatural being, perhaps identified with one of the warm winds.
winxta: Assistance rendered by the inhabitants of a town to a neighbouring settlement being attacked. [628]
Wipitpewakas: Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time. [726]
Wisamkilak: *Smaoan*'s daughter-in-law in the beginning of time.
Wi'talao: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Wiłslks: *Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Wixat: Man who travelled to the Skeena River in the beginning of time.
Wixon: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
wł·a: *Kusiut* dance in which the nine supernatural siblings are summoned to earth.
Wlẓ: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Wlx: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
wlẓ: Cripple.

X

Xaisqalał: Ancestral name of a *Tāl·io* man.
Xaiqts: Stream entering the Bella Coola from the north near *Nuitux.* [821]
Xai·utl: Continuous North Wind, anthropomorphized.
xak'loi·: Cry raised as each of the first spring salmon is brought ashore. [226]
Xalaiya: Step-daughter of Raven in the beginning of time.
xaqants: Great blue heron. [825]
Xat: Designation of a tribe, probably a branch of the Carriers, dwelling far to the south-east of the Bella Coola.
xāxaf': Canada goose.
xal·a: Root of *qāxmāts,* an unidentified plant.
Xekalus: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Xekwotsaw·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xelitmai: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
xem: The successive rising of the sun from day to day. This word, which is common in derivatives, appears usually to be pronounced *xem* after *s.* [821]
Xemena: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Snuiłli* in the beginning of time.

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Xemlaix: One of the first men to settle at *Ḷomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
Xemtmm: *Kusiut* name of a *Sl̓skistl* man.
Xemxemälotla: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Xemxemlaix: *Sisook* name brought from above in the beginning of time.
Xemxemtmm: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqälast* in the beginning of time.
[533] *xe·tla:* Boastful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.
Xadilkos: One of the first men to settle at *Qotinelos* in the beginning of time.
Xelässu: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman. The designation is of Bella Bella origin.
[825] *ʼsqus:* Marten.
[412] *xilis:* Stone axe.
xlxel: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
[203] *Ximpdimut:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximximlaix: *A'alk* man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximximoslaix: Celebrated female shaman.
[821] *ginginäs·i, plural, ginginäsoksi:* Little girl.
[517] *Xinginos:* 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.
Xitsis: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
Xiximä·a, "Right Foot": *Stuix* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
Xqis: Mountain in the Carrier country.
xumäuäs: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
xläxtum: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
xläni: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
[586] *Xlikwals:* Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
xlokw·imut: The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
[825] *Xmaxots:* Locality below *Nusḷalst.*
gmgmatsl: Minnows.
[601] *gnus:* Woman, or wife in indirect address (*kei gnuslaix:* My wife).
[614] *gnusläis:* Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
[423] *gnusdäm* or *nugnusdäm:* The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.
Xnutli: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
xokit: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
Xolärwosem: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[785] *xoldjut:* Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[831] *Xomtsla:* Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Xomxomqa: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
Xonqottm: Supernatural scoop-net fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
Xoqutlis: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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xoso: Kwakiutl term for presents distributed as "Eagle down."
ẓoto: Scoop-net for catching salmon in rivers.
ẓoẓpankuẓta: Head-dress of eagles' tails worn by *kusiut* dancers.
xwanetl: Spring water.
Xwantlo: Settlement in the Carrier country.
xwe·k': Cow parsnip.
Xwelbon: Name obtained in the beginning of time from the Skeena people in whose language it is said to mean *whale*.
Xwinxwitsakimlaix: Shaman who obtained his power from Thunder.
Xwisamkila: Daughter of a Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
xwlxwulla: Wrestling.
Xwodjen·i, "The Crash": Name taken by one of the first settlers at *Nulkax* in the beginning of time but long since changed to a *kusiut* designation.
xwonxwonim: 1—Hummingbird.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Äiqäläxl* in the beginning of time.
xwonxwontäl·aix: Puppet-patron in the form of a hummingbird.
xwopa·xts di siut: The concluding ritual of the *kusiut* season.
ẓwosän·i: Gambling game played with crabapple sticks.
Xwolxekmis, "The One Whose Work Has Failed": Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
xwpintmak: The desertion of her husband by a wife.

[227] [292] [824] [825] [525] [586]

Y

Yäkoths: Ancestral name of a *Stnux* man.
Yä·k"axwaxwa: Kimsquit man mentioned in an allegedly historical account.
yao: "Hello!" "Hail!" or "Greetings!"
ye·: Exclamation having the significance of, "May you have a safe passage," said when a corpse is drawn through the roof.
Yeälos: One of the first men to settle at *Nuisqwalt* in the beginning of time.
'Yeäxdji: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
yeaxmax: 1—Prerogative, tangible or intangible, which some *kukusint* possess in addition to a dance.
2—Similar prerogative formerly displayed in *nsaok* rites.
yeix: 1—Call, that is, that which impels a *kusiut* to dance.
2—*Kusiut* whistle.
Ye'mdjaloos: Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
yeotla: Term, implying both wealth and good fortune, applied to a man able to give a memorial potlatch soon after the death of a relative.
yeyä'timut: Presents given by a prospective bridegroom to his future father-in-law.
ye: Good, *adjective*.
yeki: Mountain goat.
Yel·äxlaix: Goose Island.
yehle: "All Right," cry used in a *kusiut* dance.
Yelhal·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Yelyalhuslaix: One of the first men to settle at *Äiqäläxl* in the beginning of time.
yelkulmem: Bringing down of a call by means of the rite of *sewadjut*.
yellailaixl: Presents given by the bride's relatives to the groom's when they enter her house on the wedding day.

[576] [431] [584] [825] [431] [585]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[728] *yuhmax:* Peace ceremony.
Yekshn: Bella Coola carpenter living in the last century.
yen·imut: Ceremonial error.
[534] *Yentsänl:* House of the first settlers at *Sätlia* in the beginning of time.
yet·en: Rattle.
[425] *yet·imm:* The sending back of a name to the family of its original owners through a return marriage, or the proposal to do so, made by the relatives of the wife.
[583] [554] *yetsalt*; *plural*, *yeetsält*; *vocative plural*, *yeetsalt:* A woman who has attained an honourable position through being many times repurchased from her husband; virtually, a female chief.
Yelıqwikaiya: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
Yexasila: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
yexdimut: Fire-holder carried by Thunder.
[825] *yexo'maitl:* Old, female sea-lion.
Yeşlin: Ancestral name of a *Sinxl* man.
Yexwomaitl: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Yulätimut: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[372] *yuhmta:* Sticks for making fire.
yuhalş: Promontory.
yu'pätl: The actual appearance of a performer at an *a'alk* dance during a potlatch.
Yuşwa·t: *ıstämş* village.
Yuyuhmşl: Stone on the shore of Dean Channel believed to have been a man a long time ago.
Yuyulk"mai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Äläältxl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuhöll* in the beginning of time.

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
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754 789 856 The beneficial purposes include: making a child grow up to be a good dancer, industrious, a swift berry picker, or a strong man; curing lung trouble; making the river erode where wanted; and two ways of stopping rain. The injurious purposes include: two ways of making a person grow up to be a thief; the causing of craziness and quarrelsomeness and the three ways of causing death.

754 789 824 825 The materials and actions used include: ashes of aspen leaves; a dead toad, used with hair, with a red cedar bark face wiper, and with lost pieces of thimble berry shoots which were accidentally dropped while being eater; ashes of a yellow jacket's nest; a living raven with phlegm; beaver paws, in two instances; a skin bracelet from a beaver's foreleg; a dead wood-rat; a dead mouse; a grizzly bear's skin; a living red squirrel with a bit of apron fringe; setting fire to a wood-rat's house; and poking an ant hill.

789 856 824 535 To make a person a good dancer the ashes of the burned leaves of the aspen or trembling poplar were said to be useful, but Joshua said this may have been a joke. The Bellacoola Indians say the leaves dance. They never say that they tremble. When a baby was born, if the parents talked about it and the father desired that the baby grow up to be a good dancer, the mother or father got the leaves, burned them and put the ashes on the baby's hands, knees and elbows. When telling of this Joshua held his hands with the finger tips up and moved them as the Bellacoola do in dancing. Both rich and poor men danced.

789 825 856 A baby girl would grow up to be industrious, it was believed, if the warm limbs of a recently dead beaver were applied to her. The Bellacoola apparently observed the great industry of the beaver.

To make a baby girl grow up to be a fast berry-picking woman, the ring of skin from between two cuts around a beaver's foreleg was put on her wrist and was left on until it wore off.

To make a boy grow up to be a strong man, a skin of the grizzly bear, was thrown over him, generally by his father.

755 825 For phlegm on the lungs, more permanent than a simple cold, the patient expectorated in something and some one secretly mixed the fresh phlegm with salmon eggs and put the mixture

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

out for the ravens to eat. This was done four times, and if a raven ate it, the patient recovered, according to Captain Schooner's belief. As the call of the raven sounds somewhat like a person affected with phlegm in the throat, this may be a case of sympathetic magic, at any rate it is one of witchcraft. 755 825 [754]

To make the river erode at a certain place in order to break a log jam, a beaver's foot was buried in each of several spots in the place. 789 825

A continuous rain would cease, and the sun would come out, it was said, if the people set fire to a wood-rat's house.

When it rained too much the Bellacoola Indians poked down an ant hill and said, "Give us warm sunshine." They believed this would bring results, but now that Joshua is a Christian he says he does not believe it and says it is useless play talk.

Bad boys or girls, but not adults, would take a dead mouse, warm it over a fire, and rub the warmed mouse on the hands of a baby. This made the baby steal when it grew up. The so-called stealing habits of the mouse were supposed to be transferred to the child. 754 856 825

The still warm body of a freshly killed wood-rat was used in the same way to make a baby, boy or girl, "crazy," and grow up to be a constant thief. The notorious habits of the wood-rat, as well as those of the mouse, were evidently well recognized by the Bellacoola.

To make people crazy, the red squirrel had to be properly used by a shaman and then it possessed strong power. One woman who had been made crazy in this way died in 1887. She did not like the shaman and he did not like her. He stole her apron. She was sorry. He took it into the forest and performed witchcraft because he wanted to spoil her life by making her crazy. He caught a red squirrel alive, possibly in a little basket. He had a box called a "bad box," in which he kept his things of evil power. He put some of the fringe of her apron around the red squirrel and let it run far away. The woman then became crazy and sometimes fell down, but part of the time she seemed well. My Indian informant, Joshua, had seen her. This example of sympathetic 754 756 825

3: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

754
756 magic probably originated from observing the many very erratic
825 and apparently purposeless movements of the red squirrel.

754 When one wished to cause the child of one's enemy to grow
825 up to be a quarrelsome person, a yellow jacket's nest was burned
856 and the ashes were rubbed on the face, hands, and arms of the child. When the child grew up, it was believed, he or she would fight with everyone. The yellow jacket's natural defense of it's nest is interpreted as quarrelsome, even by white people.

754 The toad was a powerful medicine for the bad box used in
825 witchcraft.

To make a man or woman die of craziness, one of the hairs of the person's head was put in the body cavity of a disemboweled toad.

[515] To make a person's face swell and superate until death came,
[825] the little pieces of softened red cedar bark used to clean the person's face were put in the body cavity of a disemboweled toad. The idea underlying this was probably the reproduction of the warts of the toad on the face of the person.

[824] To make a person die, a piece of the young shoot of a thimble berry, lost by that person while eating, was put in the mouth of a toad. Death was supposed to take place in half an hour.

754 One very old man, Judas by name, boasts of having killed seven people by means of his bad box used in witchcraft, especially of having caused the death of Mr. John Clayton, who was the first white man to remain long in this area, having kept the Hudson's Bay store at Bella Coola, and later a store of his own, but who died far away from Bella Coola in 1909.

Mrs. Samuel King who died in 1922 was said to have been poisoned by Willie Mack. Her father, Captain Schooner, was said to have stated that Willie would die in July on the anniversary of her death. Willie Mack died in the summer of 1923. Captain Schooner died a few days later. He was said to understand malevolent witchcraft thoroughly. It was said that people often cut off the collars of Willie Mack's shirts. Willie Mack's father was too great a chief so that people were ashamed, and consequently killed Willie by means of witchcraft with something in a bad box.

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
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Carrier NE7

of these data refer to insects, and may be of interest to entomologists, although my spelling of Indian words is very problematical, because some of the sounds I can neither hear nor make, and I am unable to record adequately many of those that I can hear. The data here given are preliminary to a complete working over of my notes, but are believed to be nearly complete.

Insects apparently were not so well observed by the Bellacoola as were useful mammals and plants, the stinger of the bumble-bee, for instance, being supposed to be in its mouth. Few insects had names, that is, mainly those which were used or which troubled the Indians. Insects were not used for food, and honey was unknown until after the coming of the white man. The head of the gad-fly was used as a pattern in painting designs, the nest of the yellow-jacket in sympathetic magic or witchcraft, and "fly spit" was said to be good for sores. They had a story about the bumble-bee.

Among the Ulkatcho also observation of insects was weaker than that of mammals and plants, and they apparently had names for only a few insects, those which troubled them. Ant lyon pits and its method of taking prey were known. Insects were of no use to the Ulkatcho whatever. An instance was observed of an Indian amusing himself with a buzzing fly held in his mouth. They employed smudges, fish oil, gum of the cottonwood, and blossoms of cow parsnip with oil to protect themselves from mosquitoes, black flies and no-see-ums, and smoke to protect foods from flies.

The Ant lyon, among the Ulkatcho, is called Kinnelkats. It is said to be numerous at Ulkatcho, but that it was useless and that there was no story about it. My informant voluntarily showed me the pits made by the larvae of this insect and, catching ants for the purpose, demonstrated its well-known method of taking its prey.

The grasshopper (*Orthoptera*), that makes a noise by rubbing its wings together when it flies, was called Telcus, among the Ulkatcho.

"Fly spit," that is the material surrounding a nymph of a spittle insect, also known as a frog hopper (*Cercopidae*), is said

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

B 825 757 by some old Bellacoola men to be good for sores, but my informant did not believe it.

C 825 Among the Ulkatcho it is numerous, but was not used, not even as a medicine.

B 825 A bumble-bee, identified as *Bombus appositus* Cresson, by Dr. H. J. Franklin, among the Bellacoola, was called Tikquanats or the large Skotl, Skotl being the name of three kinds of insects, a bumble-bee, a yellow jacket, and a hornet. It was not taken nor used, and was said to do no harm to people. My informant did not know whether it had a house or not. Neither did he know that it made honey until told so by white men. They say the bee took one of the prickers of the swamp gooseberry for a stinger, but my informant said he did not believe this. He thought it had a sting in its mouth, not in its tail, until I showed him. The Bellacoola have a story that a being considered by a little girl to be a man, but by an elder sister to be a bumble-bee, was once seen coming from the noonday sun. The little girl became blind, B [773] but her eyes appeared to be all right. Many thought she was made blind by too much sunlight when she looked at the man who was a bumble-bee.

C 825 226 Among the Ulkatcho, this bumble-bee was called Whultocho, *Whultto* being the name of a yellow jacket, and *cho* meaning large. *Whus* or *Whis* means pricker. The bumble-bee was not used as fish bait.

B 825 An insect, probably the hornet, is called Slow lowstl, by the Bellacoola, who say it has a little white on the tail and makes a small nest in a tree in July.

The yellow jacket among the Bellacoola was called Quolalaits (Clolaclaylaits) (Clolaclaylaits skotl) while all three kinds of insects, the bumble-bee, the yellow jacket and the hornet, were called Skotl. The yellow jacket was known to make a nest. The nest was used in sympathetic magic or witchcraft as follows: When one wished to cause the child of one's enemy to grow up to B be a quarrelsome person, the nest of the yellow-jacket was burned [754] and the ashes rubbed on the child. When the child grew up he or she would fight with everyone.

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

B 825 [103]

A fly which does not bite, perhaps the house fly among the Bellacoola, was called Mammish, and was said to lay its eggs on fish and fish eggs. The place called Numammish was so named because the people thought they saw flies and they said *mammish*, but when the supposed flies fell they were seen to be toads.

C 825

Among the Ulkatcho, this fly was called Asthuz, and was said to lay its eggs on salmon. To keep off flies of all kinds and mosquitoes the blossoms of the cow parsnip, *Heracleum lanatum* Michx, called Goosss in Ulkatcho, were put in oil of the eulachon fish or any kind of oil and the mixture was put on the body. Every food that was smoked was smoked so that flies would keep away from it. Flies were not used as fish bait.

C [824] [251] [226]

B 825

The Gad-fly, *Tabanus* sp.? probably *sonomensis* O. G. of the family *Tabanidae*, which is commonly called horsefly, is numerous when the horses come down to Bella Coola from the interior. Among the Bellacoola it is called Silt lay estl. It is said to lay its eggs in the backs of the caribou in July, and these hatch into "worms." The face and eyes, being pretty, were used long ago as a pattern for a picture which was painted on fine boxes. There was no story of this fly.

B [532]

C 825

Among the Ulkatcho, this gad-fly is called Clez co, and a smaller one is called Clez cho yaz, *yaz* signifying small. Once I was told that no medicine was used to keep off the gad-fly, but on another occasion that cottonwood gum with oil was used. Apparently for his own amusement, my Ulkatcho Indian informant held one of these flies by the abdomen inside his mouth and made it buzz.

C [824] [751]

B C 825

Two kinds of little black biting fly, horse fly (*Symphoromyia* sp.?) apparently considered as one, are called Skikpie estl in Bellacoola. They are called Clez cho yaz in Ulkatcho *yaz* signifying small.

The Black fly, *Simuliidae*, among the Bellacoola is called Ticos cosee and Alk co ok hotl.

Among the Ulkatcho it is called Whuchu, while Tsih is the name of black flies, mosquitoes, and no-see-ums. All these were kept off with a smoke smudge made with a fire of any kind of wood on which were put such things as green, wet, or rotten wood,

4: Smith E-5 (1920-1923) 1925
NE6 Bellacoola NE6
Carrier NE7

B
C
825

or grass. Black flies were sometimes kept off by putting oil of either salmon or trout on the face and hands. Cottonwood gum with oil was also used for this purpose.

The No-see-um among the Bellacoola is called Sleigh et el ke.

C
[753]

Among the Ulkatcho the no-see-um is called Whetlcatl and it is said that the bite of this little fly causes swelling and sicknesa. It was kept off in the same manner as the black fly.

Mosquitoes, *Culicidae*, among the Bellacoola, were called Pikim.

C
[824]
[751]

Among the Ulkatcho they were kept off with smoke in the same manner as the black fly, and with blossoms of the cow parsnip in oil in the same manner as flies. It is not clear if the gum of the cottonwood was or was not used for this purpose, as it was to keep off no-see-ums.

C
[226]

Among the Ulkatcho "worms" were not used as fish bait.

VICTORIA MEMORIAL MUSEUM,
OTTAWA, CANADA.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

844 fessional midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[846] near the room for a year (according to Nuak'zlu'sta, for ten days), else
[825] the salmon would take offence.

553 The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole
tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive
[852] small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member
[556] of the Kû'siût, when it is given its Kû'siût name. This ceremony takes
place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man
gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qē'mtsioa name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves
as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed
to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of
the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting pos-
ture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and
drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may
leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[292] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
[821] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that
if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may
pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for
a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[262] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She
[261] must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee,
1889, p. 838).

584 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his
friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His
[431] friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he
sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries
them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at
once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until
he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has
[527] been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding
the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast,
during which he states that he is to be married on the following day.
He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four
[302] women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and
accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and
585 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally
they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the
girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bride-
groom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[431] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn
gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes
presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he
has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest.
A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man.
At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to
give him his Sisau'kH secrets as soon as the pair have their first child.
[851] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents
may choose.

586 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-
money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy. 774 756 [828] [753] [828]

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Snq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Snq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself. 756 [776]

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: 'When an Awiky'ē'noq wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Mā'tem) who will initiate him. No Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way.' [171]

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek-'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 612), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called *snak*. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms. 753 755 754 [825]

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strown in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die. 682 754 [825]

I add here a few current beliefs:— 827

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry. [777]

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die. 825

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky. 763 777

WARS.

When a war party was organised the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their 726 714

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

776 the House of Myths, but who has given up his place in favor of Senx and
Alk'unta'm. These two might be called the rulers of mankind. In most
traditions they are described as trying to destroy man, notwithstanding the
fact that they are considered the creators of mankind. This peculiar charac-
773 teristic of these deities is clearly brought out in the traditions recorded on
776 pp. 78 ff. In one legend which I collected in 1890, Alk'unta'm's mother,
Nānusōmik·ēeqonē'm, is described as a Cannibal, who inserts her long
snout in the ears of man, and sucks out his brain. Eventually she was
transformed into the mosquito.[1] I did not hear her mentioned as one of the
deities residing in the House of Myths. According to the same tradition,
the salmon were obtained by a man who gambled with Alk'unta'm, the
stake being the salmon. Alk'unta'm lost, and the man took the salmon down
[825] from heaven. Another legend of the origin of the salmon is recorded on p. 38,
where it is told how the birds obtained the salmon. According to still another
tradition (p. 94), the Raven obtained the salmon by marrying a salmon girl.
In the tradition quoted above, Alk'unta'm also gives to man the power to cure
[755] disease by means of the water of life, which the shaman sprinkles on the
sick person.

776 A number of inferior deities live in the House of Myths. They might
be called the assistants of the principal deities. In order to understand their
[772] functions, it is necessary to state that the deities residing in the House
of Myths have particular charge of the religious winter ceremonial of the
[796] Bella Coola which is called kō'siut, and which corresponds to the ta'ētsa'eqa
of the Kwakiutl. I have described this ceremonial, and its importance in
[575] the social life of the Kwakiutl, in another paper.[2] The kō'siut is of equal
importance to an understanding of the social life and mythology of the
Bella Coola. It is sufficient to say at this place that the ceremonials per-
formed during the kō'siut are mostly dramatic representations of myths
[532] referring to the various deities, particularly to those of the House of Myths:
therefore masks representing these deities are used in the ceremonials.
Plates VII to XII[3] show a series of these masks. Figs. 1, 2, and 4 (Plate VII)
are Senx, Alk'unta'm, and Snālk'ulx·a'ls. The functions of many of the
575 inferior deities seem to refer solely to the kō'siut. These deities and their
776 functions are as follows: Slx·sēk·lial'x· (Plate VII, Fig. 6) ordains the death
of man and animals. According to one statement that I received, there are
four deities of this name in the House of Myths. It is his particular duty
to kill those who transgress the laws of the kō'siut. This deity is men-
tioned by Jacobsen, who calls him Sek-seik Kallai.[4] Nusnē'neq'als (Plate
VII, Fig. 7), or the Snēnē'lq of the House of Myths, sits by himself in one

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 843.
[2] Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, pp. 311–738.
[3] Drawings by Mr. Rudolph Weber.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 588.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

772 775 their ka'siut. It is just below the burial-place of each village. The dancing-house is very large and long. It has four fires. The women stay on the floor of the house, while the men sit on an elevated platform. The houses have doors, but the ghosts who first reach the lower world enter the house through the smoke-hole. A rope ladder placed in the smoke-hole facilitates their entrance. Two men stand at the foot of the ladder. They are called Anoet.'axsai.ai'x'. For a person who has once entered the dancing-house there is no return to our earth. The souls are at liberty to return to the lower heaven, which they reach by ascending the rope ladder. Those who return to the lower heaven are sent back to our earth by the deities, to be born as children in the same family to which they belonged. Those who enjoy life in the country of the ghosts, and who do not return to heaven, die a second death, and then sink to the second lower world, from which there is no return.

I received another description from an old man. He stated that he reached the country in his canoe. He saw two trails,—one the trail of the living, one that of the dead. He followed the trail of the dead, and reached a village in which there was a dancing-house. The language of the ghosts differed from that of the living (see p. 42).

773 ●825 [823] The Bella Coola believe that in the far west is situated the land of the salmon, which is called Mia'ltoa. The salmon leave this country early in the spring every year, and ascend the rivers. They are believed to return to their own country in the fall. The following tradition is of importance, explaining the manner in which the salmon were first brought from their country to the rivers of our world:—

Once upon a time a man named Winwt'na lived at Q'o'mqōtis. One day he was sitting in front of his house, looking at the river. He thought, "I wish fish would ascend this river." At that time not a single salmon visited Bella Coola River. Winwt'na entered his house and lay down, thinking about the salmon. One night while he was asleep he dreamt that with the help of all the animals he had made war upon the salmon, that he had vanquished them, and that since that time the salmon had ascended Bella Coola River. When he awoke he invited all the animals to his house, and told them about his dream. They all came, and when they had entered he shut the door. Then he spoke: "My brothers, I have invited you to my house that you may hear what I wish to do. You shall help me to obtain what I desire." The Mink asked him in what they were to assist him; and he replied, "I want to go to Mia'ltoa. There is not a single fish in our river, and I dreamt that with your help I vanquished the fish. Let us make war upon them. I shall certainly take some slaves, and we will place them in this river." Mink retorted, "I am glad that you are speaking,

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825

in regard to this matter. I asked my father the Sun (see Chap. V) to give us salmon, and I think he gave you the dream which you told us."

All the birds agreed, and they resolved to start as soon as possible. Then Winwr'na asked Masmasala'nix to build a canoe. The latter complied with his request, and made a self-moving canoe, to which he gave the names "Winaiotstuls" and "Kunkunu'qstuls." In the third moon after the winter solstice the canoe was completed, and Winwr'na started, accompanied by the clouds, the birds, and by all the animals. The Hermaphrodite was sitting in the stern of the canoe. They went down the fiord; and when they passed the village of Bella Bella, they saw the Cormorant sitting on the beach, who asked to be taken along as a passenger. They travelled westward for a long time, and finally they reached the country of the Salmon. They saw that there were no trees. The country was a vast prairie. A large sun was shining in the sky. Soon they descried the village of the Salmon. They sent out the Raven as a spy. When he returned, he told them that in the evening the Salmon were in the habit of playing on the beach. Mink suggested that this would be the best time for carrying some of them away. Then the Crane (according to another version, the Hawk) said, "I shall carry away the Sockeye Salmon." The Wren said, "I shall carry away the Humpback Salmon." The Kingfisher (according to another version, the Crane) said, "I shall carry away the Dog Salmon." The Raven said, "I shall carry away the Silver Salmon." The Fish-Hawk said, "I shall carry away the Olachen and the Salmon Trout." The Cloud said, "I shall carry away the Spring Salmon." Finally the Cormorant said, "I am only a passenger, and I will take whatever I can get." The Mink remarked, "I will not say what I am going to carry away; I only want to tell you that you must each take one male and one female. Now start. You are invisible to the Salmon. When you approach them, they will not be able to see you, just as we cannot see the ghosts, even when they are walking by our side." They left Winwr'na to guard the canoe. Then all the birds and the Mink took each one male and one female child of the various kinds of fish. When they carried them off, the children fainted, as though their souls had been taken away. Their bodies remained at the place where they had been playing. The Salmon did not see their captors, and did not know why the children were fainting. The birds returned to the canoe, carrying the fish. Then Winwr'na said, "Let us go on and see what is beyond the country of the Salmon." Soon they arrived at a place called Qualc'nia (this name is not quite certain), in which vast numbers of berries were growing. Here the Hermaphrodite went ashore, and picked all kinds of berries, which she carried into the canoe. Then they returned home. For seven months they had said in the country of the Salmon. They reached the coast shortly after the winter solstice (?). When they passed Bella Bella, the Cormorant

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773 825 said, "This is my house. I will go ashore here." He went, and took along the Salmon which he had captured. Ever since that time there are salmon at Bella Bella. The others travelled on, and came to the mouth of Bella Coola River. Then they threw all the various kinds of fish into the water. The Salmon jumped, and began to ascend the river. Then Wiewi'qa arose in his canoe and told each at what season he was to arrive. He scattered the berries over the mountains and through the valleys, and told them at what season to ripen. After he had done so, he invited his companions into his house, and gave them a feast.

773 825 192 In this tradition the birds and animals are not called by their ordinary names, but by mythical names. These names are as follows:—

ENGLISH.	ORDINARY NAME.	MYTHICAL NAME.
Spring salmon	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sockeye salmon	[illegible]	[illegible] ("very long")
Humpback salmon	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dog salmon	[illegible]	[illegible] ("[illegible] weather")
Silver salmon	[illegible]	[illegible] ("[illegible]")
Salmon (sp.?)	——	[illegible]
Cloud	[illegible]	[illegible] ("long hand")
Hawk (?)	[illegible]	[illegible] ("looking down into water")
Wren	[illegible]	[illegible] ("jumper")
Crane	[illegible]	[illegible]
Raven	[illegible]	[illegible] ("rising early")
Cormorant	[illegible]	[illegible]
Horned owl	[illegible]	[illegible]

773 According to the belief of the Bella Coola, Wiewi'qa's canoe arrives from the country of the Salmon every year. It stays in the country of the Bella Coola for nine months, and then returns to the country of the Salmon. At the moment when it leaves, another canoe, which is named "Ni'ah'xam" or "Nanah'ni'lanam," which brings the ka'ulat ceremonial, arrives from the country S'anik!pa'lus. The canoe reaches a distant point of land before the departure of the canoe of the Salmon. After four days it reaches a nearer point of land. Four days more, and it is seen at the point of land nearest to the mouth of Bella Coola River. Another four days, and it reaches the mouth of the river. The Indians believe that there is a house named Sa'ana.tanuk at this place. A post is standing in the water in front of the house. It is called Sautsualaxtanna'ah. In the house live three men who are named Naqaqanna'a, A'nanagilis, and Tla'ah'a'nanam. The canoe is tied up in front of this house. As soon as it arrives, the ka'ulat ceremonial begins. At the head-waters of Bella Coola River, forming the watershed between Bute Inlet and Bentinck Arm, is a mountain called

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They had hit a stone, and their points were broken. He staid there some time, and when it was nearly dark he returned home. Before he reached his house, he cut his own belly and took out some of the fat from his intestines. He cut it in five pieces, and replaced his intestines. He put the fat into his quiver. When he reached his house, he hung the quiver up outside, and entered. He imitated everything the Lynx had done. When it grew dark, he told his wife to fetch his quiver. She brought it, and he told her to open it and to feed his children. She took the fat out, placed it on a stick, and put it near the fire; and as soon as it grew warm, the Raven cried, "Tsu! Don't put it so near the fire. I feel sick when you do so." He jumped up took hold of the fat, and put it back in his belly. The Lynx said, "Formerly I fed your children, but you were the first not to treat me properly. You did not give any food to my children." Then the Lynx took some fat, and flung one piece to each of the Raven's children. He cut some meat and gave it to them also. Then the Raven said, "I will give you one of my children, that it may grow up in company with yours." 539 776

It is said that the former spirit Tsu'lus,'t was killed at one time by an Indian who took his place. This tale is recorded in Chap. IV. It belongs to the tribe of the village Nuxat'q'l. A similar tradition is told of Astas,[1] by which name the Carriers call the Raven, their principal culture hero. Many traditions referring to Astas are common to the Carriers, the Bella Coola, and the Awi'k'enax of Rivers Inlet. 713 776 [171]

The Bella Coola believe that a being called K'tsus is the father of all mountain-goats. When a hunter meets him, he thinks he sees a kid. Then he should close his eyes and open them again. If the animal is K'tsus, it will appear in its real shape as a buck of enormous size. The hunter should then ascend the mountain. If he should descend, he would fall and die. 776 825

The thunder-storm is produced by the Thunder-bird, who lives on the mountains, in the company of a number of spirits, who are considered his particular friends. The Thunder-bird himself is represented by a black mask with red nostrils. The nose is strongly curved, the forehead bulges forward, and the chin protrudes almost as far forward as the nose (Plate XI, Fig. 1). His herald is called Ax.ala'xnaxm (Plate XI, Fig. 2). His face is painted with orange and blue stripes, and he carries a speaker's staff, which is painted with spirals of the same color. He watches the door of the Thunder-bird's house. In his house live the Rabbit (Plate XI, Fig. 3); the Owl, who is considered the rival of the Thunder-bird (Plate XI, Fig. 4); the Mountain, c.i'qas (Plate XI, Fig. 5); the Raindrop (Plate XI, Fig. 6). 776 [821] [532] [575]

[1] Vorläufiges über Mythen transkribiert für Anthropologie. Fähnrich und Tsimshian, etc., p. [illegible]

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as easy as possible. Women seldom experience difficulty and 844
suffer, on the whole, less than do white mothers. It is believed
that *Sxaiarwax*, though invisible, is present on every occasion; [776]
the rendering of assistance at childbirth is his one kindly act.

The umbilical cord was formerly cut with a mussel shell, [177]
but for many years the use of a metal knife has been customary.
The after-birth usually comes away easily, but if there is delay, [845]
hot ashes are placed around the feet and at the back of the
woman to accelerate its expulsion. It is immediately buried
or placed beneath a large tree in the forest; if burnt, the infant
will always be weakly. While one of the assistants disposes of
it, another washes the new-born child. The cloths and dishes
used for this purpose are burnt; failure to do so is believed to [826]
cause the child to become blind through a white film forming
over the eyeballs. Then the mother and midwives return to
the house with the infant, who is a source of tremendous in-
terest to the community. It is proper for the father to recom-
pense the attendants at once, in accordance with their skill
and his generosity. A woman who has had several children
often assists the daughter of a friend, then, as she gains more
experience, her reputation grows and her help is more com-
monly sought. At the time of this study, 1922, the sum of [465]
$2.50 was considered suitable recompense for a fairly pro-
ficient midwife.

A new-born child takes the breast readily and a mother 853
would be considered harsh indeed if she failed to suckle her
infant whenever it cried, since scientific hours for feeding are
not known. A child is wrapped in a shawl or a blanket and 854
carried by the mother wherever she goes; when in the house
it sprawls contentedly on the floor, unhampered by clothing.
When the umbilical cord falls, it is preserved by the mother. [846]
Soon after birth, the parents make provision for their child's
welfare by magical means (I, p. 700). The heavy infantile
death-rate of the Bella Coola cannot be attributed to lack of [165]
love or care on the part of parents, but the attention lavished is
commonly not of the kind that assists a weakly child to survive
the perils of infancy.

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further conceptions by wriggling her body on her haunches 842
immediately after the delivery of a child.

To the Bella Coola religious concepts of birth are as im- 826
portant as the physiological aspects. The blood discharged
at birth, and the mother from whom it has come, is *sxaiäx*, a 844
word difficult to translate. It is applied to a person or thing 783
which is taboo, and combines the significance of "uncanny," "abhorred," "to be avoided," "feared"; perhaps "unclean," in the biblical sense, is the best synonym. Essentially human, this blood is not only potent against supernatural beings, but is dangerous to man as well. For this reason a mother must never be delivered within a house. The smell of the unclean blood might kill all resident within, or at least prevent them receiving presents of any kind. Supernatural beings and inherent supernatural powers are alike repelled by it.

A recent mother is taboo and must exercise due precautions 845
to prevent her baneful influence from affecting her associates, but this power is most strongly present in one who has borne twins. Even younger people, sophisticated in most matters, shudder when speaking of twins; fortunately, double births are not common. They are attributed to the entry of a salmon [825]
into the body, so that a twin is half-salmon, half-human. Occasionally a woman who is pregnant with twins discovers her condition in a dream and avoids the perils of a multiple [787]
birth by calling upon a shaman to remove the spirit from one [756]
foetus so that the infant will be born dead and deformed. If this is not done, the two infants arrive in due course, to the horror and grief of parents and relatives. Though abhorred, [847]
no case is known of the killing of a twin at birth.

Instead of the two children being brought back to the village, word is sent to the father who must join his wife in the temporary shelter in the woods where delivery took place. For one year, they must not return home, and during this period must eat no salmon. Four times during the year they must shift from one shelter to another, each built on the bank of a small creek. The mother can draw water from this stream

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881 bundle of four macaroni-shaped shells, probably *Dentalium*,
[301] which are said to have been imported from the north in early
[439] times. These marks serve to indicate the position of the girl,
who is both feared and respected, possessed of supernatural
[789] power, and yet baneful. Many Bella Coola stories describe
how adolescent girls have been able to vanquish supernatural
[538] beings; perhaps the most striking of these is the manner in
which they once saved mankind when the sun came too close to
the earth. At the end of a year, or eleven months according to one old woman, the seclusion is terminated, and the girl resumes her normal activities. The first time she goes to the river she must throw on the water four pieces of dyed, and four pieces of undyed cedar-bark. This is especially important if the salmon are running at the time, although no explanation of this ritual is given.

582 The resumption of her freedom indicates that a girl has
556 reached marriageable age. Chiefs sometimes confine their
daughters for even longer than a year, and usually delay their
882 marriages for several years to demonstrate their importance;
but this is not necessary, nor is it practised by other than wealthy individuals. It is not uncommon for a girl to wed before her year is out; in that case her restrictions automatically
[554] lapse. Chiefs never allow such a curtailment for their daughters; to do so would diminish the prestige of the latter, and be detrimental to the status of their children when they marry
836 and have families. Illicit intercourse with a secluded adoles-
883 cent is considered not only illegal but disgusting as well. Be-
tween the period of confinement and marriage, intercourse is
[881] prohibited and guarded against by the parents of a girl, but is not considered filthy and seems to have been fairly common in former times with the daughters of poor people and slaves. This sometimes took place before the first menstruation in spite of the disapproval with which this was regarded.

●826 Although the menstrual blood which appears at the first
discharge is considered more baneful than that emitted on later
841 occasions, it is always regarded as uncanny or unclean. It is
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the most *human* of all substances, and, therefore, a potent 826
protection against supernatural beings. It is valuable as a 841
defence against evil monsters, but it is equally deadly to 789
shamans and other human beings with supernatural powers.
In the distant past, Raven taught mankind that to sleep with a 834
menstruating woman would so blind a man that he would be 841
unsuccessful in hunting. The belief is that animals, knowing [773]
everything that takes place, avoid one who is so unclean. One [825]
old man mentioned that he had failed to obey this injunction
and considered his loss of virility as a punishment, overlooking
the fact that he was over seventy years of age.

The coming of adolescence in a boy is recognized by change 881
in voice and the other usual indications. He is neither taboo
nor unclean, and consequently does not have to undergo any
restrictions on his actions. There is no ceremony to mark the
entry of a youth into adult membership of the tribe; instead,
this comes gradually and puberty is no more than an indi-
cation of increasing age and strength.

Marriage

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola 581
regard the married state as the normal condition of man. 589
Anyone unwilling to wed is considered unnatural. Since the
number of the sexes is approximately equal, the only persons [732]
forced to live alone are elderly widows and widowers, and those
crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are
looked upon as unfortunate; in fact, they have failed in one
of the most fundamental of life's struggles. Man provides fish 581
and game, builds houses and canoes, while woman collects [462]
berries, makes baskets, cooks, and performs the multitudinous
small household tasks.

"Is it not to the benefit of each to marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is not a mere economic arrangement, nor is its
sole function to regulate relations between the sexes. Its most [858]
important feature is that it governs the status of the child.

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in a kind of a cave. He here unties the rope, dives into the water and out through a narrow passage to the open fiord where he is picked up by a waiting canoe. 778 755

If he is to recover, he feels as he dives the scraping of some rough-skinned animal against his side. No one knows what this is, perhaps a fish about seventy yards in length which was seen near the place about 1905. If a person is too ill to make the dive unaided, a stick is forced through the entrance from the fiord, with a rope attached. The patient, who has been lowered to the ledge from the upper air, is then tied firmly to the stick and hauled out. Before leaving, shreds of his clothing are always left at the mouth of the cave in payment to its supernatural occupant for his assistance. [787] *

The method of curing at the spot, *Ăłłssmos*, differs from those previously described since it is only the man whose repository (II, p. 8) is there who is able to exercise the power. Patients whose flesh has become rotten are carried to the place and he scrubs their bodies, in the water, with various prickly bushes. This man is not a shaman, his power rests solely on the fact that this curing place is his repository. [756]

At *uxsekam* the virulent skin disease *łłokilx* can be cured.[17] This is caused by a morsel of cohoe salmon or fern root passing from the mouth up into the head, instead of down into the stomach. The Bella Coola have only slight knowledge of anatomy, and by "head" probably mean the passage connecting mouth and nose. In this spot the food becomes a frog egg, hatches into a tadpole, and finally transforms into a frog. If a shaman is called on immediately, he can remove the frog by thrusting his finger up the nasal passage and banging down on the patient's head, but if he delays, the ears and nose become clogged, the hair falls, and the flesh on arms and body wastes away until the skin is shrivelled. Then the only hope is to visit *uxsekam*. [753] [826] [753] [756]

Friends of the sufferer carry him to the spot and place him in an ice cavern, roofed by the glacier itself, and then retire to

[17] In its earlier stages it can be treated elsewhere.

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533 In the beginning of time it used to sing.

789 "I shall use a spoon and eat when the Bella Coola River has burst its bounds on account of the teeming salmon in it."

825 The people used to laugh as it repeated this song year after year, until the bird changed its note:

856 "I shall use a spoon and eat when all is cold and clear. Then there [539] will be Death instead of salmon in Bella Coola."

The next year the streams were so clear that no fish could be caught and the starving people asked the bird to return to its first song. When it did so, the water became murky so that it was possible to catch salmon once more.

The Bella Bella, not the Bella Coola, use the body of a blue jay to cause an infant to grow up with the ability to master difficult tunes in the same way that the bird has a variety of notes. The method of applying this medicine could not be learnt.

789 Most of the above medicines are well known and can be applied by any parent. If, however, a man has employed one 856 of them successfully on a number of occasions, he is often requested to use his ability for others. In such a case, the father of the benefited child is expected to reimburse his friend. [184] The application or non-application of such medicines is purely the concern of the child's family; they can use as many as they like, or none at all, according to their discretion.

The following medicines are used during the first year of life:

304 *To Cause Beauty*

789 Bandages of the softest undyed cedar-bark are prepared for infants of both sexes soon after birth. A woman who is a good 856 artist is requested to draw with charcoal two pictures on one 532 of the pieces of bark—of handsome men if the child is a boy, or of lovely women if a girl. An unmarked wrapping is fastened round the infant's head, then the painted one so arranged that one picture is over the forehead, the other over the occiput, and finally other plain bandages to cover the whole. These [826] are left in place for about one year. They flatten the forehead

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and back of the head, preventing a bulging appearance which is considered ugly, while the paintings ensure beauty of countenance. Cranial deformation has no supernatural sanction, though it is believed to have been carried out for generations. 304 789 856 [532] [826]

To Cause Leanness

Place pieces of caribou skin on an infant's wrists and ankles and leave them in position for several months. He will grow up lean and wiry, like the animal. 789 856

To Cause Left-handedness [825]

Shake the left hand of an infant while lying in the cradle and he will be left-handed throughout life. To do this is considered a malevolent action.

To Cause the Hair to Grow (two means)

(1) Rub the infant's scalp with the eye of a *Hakwik* (red cod?), freshly removed from the fish's head. [825]

(2) Boil stems of the swamp gooseberry in water and rub the mixture over the infant's scalp. [824]

Wise mothers always apply one or other of these remedies to their children.

To Cause Ability in Singing (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good singer to impart to him ability similar to his own. He takes his beating-stick, spits on it, and rubs it over the child's heart, saying: 533 789 856

"Please be a singer."

This is done only for male children. [858]

(2) Boil together herbs and a bear's bladder and smear the decoction on the infant's back. He must thenceforth wear around his neck for several months a small sack containing four blue grouse gall-bladders (possibly stones from the crop were meant). This gives the child the singing ability of the bird, but the significance of the bear bladder is unknown. [825]

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789 ceremonial dances without making mistakes. The Bella Bella
856 paint a representation of a wolf's bladder for the same purpose.
[532] The basis of this medicine is the belief that it is the gall-
[826] bladder which causes wildness and intelligent fear, and hence
[825] that anyone so treated will be careful not to make mistakes. A bird with a large bladder is thought to be difficult to approach, whereas a deer, which has a small one, or none at all, is often stupidly brave. This medicine is known only to the mem-
[424] bers of certain families and is used for the children of chiefs
[622] alone, since errors on the part of others is a matter of little importance.

MEDICINES OF CHILDHOOD

789 Some of the instruction given to boys and girls, and the
856 acts which they are enjoined to perform, are virtually religious, and have accordingly been described in earlier chapters. For
771 example, when a lad washes in the river before daybreak, scours himself with a smooth stone and prays to *Ałquntām*, he is carrying out what might with justice be called a religious act. If, however, he believes that mere washing is enough to compel some desire or end, it is magical. Different Bella Coola have different sentiments concerning the exact means by which this method causes the desired effect. To some it is unquestionably a true prayer, but in other families it is customary for a father to take his son, when he has reached about eight years of age, and wash him four times, to the accompaniment of the usual prayer. It is believed that this causes the lad to grow up powerful and active, constantly striving for success. This type of washing may be called magical.

789 In the following there is no element of uncertainty; they
856 belong unquestionably to the category described in the preceding section.

To Cause Agility

The following medicine is frequently employed by fathers when their sons are first able to walk:

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It is said that one man accidentally sucked when spitting on a toad, and swallowed the creature. It lived within his stomach for fifty years, causing no discomfort though its master could feel it moving, and its singing could be heard at intervals. This brought him no supernatural power, although he was enabled by it to live to a great age. When at last he died, the toad came hopping out of his throat and was carried respectfully to the river by his friends who covered the creature with eagle down and dyed and undyed cedar-bark. 789 825 886

Some of the rites already described with regard to animals and fish are similar in nature to this medicine.

To Cause Obesity 789

A medicine was formerly used by chiefs to make them fat and important-looking, but details of it have been forgotten. 826 622

To Cause Ability in Singing

Catch an *axuxon·i* (varied thrush?) alive and pat it four times against the throat of the woman to whom it is desired to impart the art, saying: 533 789

"May she be a singer like you." 825

Release the bird and the woman will become a good singer.

This bird is considered by the Bella Coola to be the finest songster among British Columbia birds, and they say that many animals and fish, including even the halibut, gather to hear its singing.

To Cause Ability in Hunting 224

There is a poisonous plant which, when eaten, almost kills the eater. If he recovers, he is henceforth endowed with great ability as a hunter. The species could not be ascertained. 789 824

To Cause Change in Weather

If a cold wind is desired: Heat the penis of a mountain goat or beaver at a fire. 789 821

If rain is desired: Wash the penis of a large buck and throw it into the ocean or a river, saying: 825

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phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe. 784

FOOD TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN

262

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would derange the catamenia and cause profuse growth of hair. 562

Women of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do so would cause a difficult delivery. [841] [826]

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat toasted salmon until the sticks have been removed which held it in front of the fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded. [844] [845]

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when nearing the hunting or fishing-ground. 224 [226] [264]

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola. [171]

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness. [825] [753]

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the men remove only an eye, place it in a notched stick and set this under an over- [732]

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"Someone is calling your name." 827

If a man stumbles without due cause, it is said: 481

"Someone has food ready for you."

When a man partly closes his hand, if a wrinkle-like fold 787
runs straight across the palm it indicates that he is a good 322
carpenter.

If a mouse nibbles even a single smoked salmon, the whole 825
boxful is thrown away immediately in case dung has been
dropped within. It is believed that inadvertent chewing of [826]
this is responsible for wearing down the teeth.

If a man throws a stone at a pregnant snake, the young ones
may rush forth and enter the thrower's stomach. They remain [761]
invisible, and no one knows how they enter, but death always
results. Snakes are regarded with scorn and aversion, and the [756]
only men who dare to handle them are shamans.

When a milk tooth is lost, anyone who happens to be pre- 856
sent should pick it up, pass it four times around the child's 827
head, sunwise, and throw it away. No explanation of this
custom is known.[19]

[19]This is not the only custom practised at the loss of a tooth, cf. vol. I, p. 500.

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[The Scratch Dance]

*575 *796 On the following evening, *nebusam*, when the uninitiated have been called in, they see *Älquntäm* standing in the centre of the space behind the fire, wearing a large mask and a blanket decorated with tufts of dyed cedar-bark. *Ano°likwolsaix* moves to and fro as she gives her customary explanations, which are echoed by the heralds. The masked representation of *Sno'olxults Älquntäm* rushes back and forth behind the fire, waving his arms to and fro as if he had an uncontrollable impulse to scratch someone. The four masked Holders move with him, as if to restrain him from dashing among the uninitiated.

"See!" says *Ano°likwolsaix*. "That is what they do in the land above."

After gazing upon these wonders for some time, the uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* perform a dramatic act. As many as possible crowd around *Sno'olxults Älquntäm*, pressing with their hands against the back of his neck, the seat of [826] the spirit, calling *koip*, in an effort to soothe him. This is done four times, without avail; he remains as wild as ever. Then one of the marshals removes the mask, and the same methods are used to try to soothe the wearer. But still they are of no avail. The mask is replaced, and *Sno'olxults Älquntäm* rushes forth, with the four Holders in close attendance, and followed by a large number of *kukusiut*. Starting at the lowest house, he enters each in turn, dashing around the fire and startling the uninitiated in the same manner that X had done, but not actually scratching anyone. Non-members cower in terror at this invasion of their houses by a supernatural being. On the return to X's home, *Sno'olxults Älquntäm* is pacified by the frenzied beating of sticks. The masks [532] are burnt in due course, after which the *kukusiut* assemble on the sidewalk outside X's house to sing one of his songs and thus further the return of his call to the land above. Sometimes X himself wears the mask of *Sno'olxults Älquntäm*, more [834] often it is entrusted to another *kusiut*, but the wearer must

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142 sally used but the older people state that beards were by no
144 means rare in former times. Careful inquiries were made
[302] concerning the ancestry of a man, about seventy years of age in 1922, whose curly beard suggests that he must be a half-breed, as indeed he is assumed to be by the white settlers of the valley. His father was *Potles*, the most influential chief of recent years, his mother was herself the daughter of an important chief. None of the older men had ever heard the slightest rumour of faithlessness on her part. There were white
[648] traders on the coast at the time of his birth, and intercourse with
[567] slave women and others of low family was not uncommon, but
[622] it would have been difficult for a chief's wife to misconduct herself, and still more difficult for her to conceal all knowledge of it in view of the open life which prevailed at that period. Moreover, it is said that *Potles* himself had a similar beard, as did also the parents of several men who in 1922 were fifty or sixty years of age.

142 Although the possibility of white mixture cannot be over-
144 looked in the case of this one individual, one must not dis-
826 regard the opinion of the people themselves on hairiness in
[302] general. They are proud of it and regard beards and moustaches as marks of virility given to them by *Älquntäm*; baldness and lack of facial hair are considered a sign of weakness. They aver that their fathers and grandfathers were even more hirsute than they. Furthermore, they point out with pride
[186] that this is a difference between themselves and the tribes of the interior, who are, as they say in scorn, "hairless like Chinamen." Finally, it is noteworthy that the hair on the head of many Bella Coola is wavy, or even curly (see Plate 20), instead of straight as among the majority of Indian tribes.[2]

Character

181 It is an almost impossible task to describe briefly the characteristics of a people. Those of the Bella Coola have

[2]This characteristic has led the writer to wonder if it could possibly have been caused by Ainu mixture.

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 192*

numao, vocative, numaotao: Member of same sex and same ancestral family as speaker. [601]

Numätlam: Supernatural being who comes with *Noätqnum* to bring a call to the latter's protégé. [614]

Numeisämut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

numitl: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract. [826]
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.

numinmnktis: Toilet-hole.

numlutsnam: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony. [465]

numnälsmtmax: Exchange marriage. [583]

numpälotlimm: Passenger.

Nu·mts: Place near *Nulleax.*

Nunäxmälaix: Kusiut name created by *usynuyut* at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

nunmaoi di mänao: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

nunmaoi tci stänao: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

Nunuaax'as, "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Nunuäsmusek: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunudjiqmm: Supernatural being who created repositories in the beginning of time.

Nunulnusek: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunulqänem: House occupied by the first settlers at *Nutsqwalt* in the beginning of time.

nunu·l'stimut: The use of potent medicines after seeing a giant toad.

nunulxwotstmm or *nunulxwotstimut:* 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dyed cedar-bark to *Tlitcäplilän·a.* [782]
2—The making of offerings to ghosts by the casting of food on a fire. [775]

Nunumu·sek: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nununaixikdimut: Male supernatural being who travels with *Noätqnum,* takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.

Nunuska: Mother Nature.

nunupy: Fisherman with inherited right to use of a salmon-weir or of a place for catching olachen. [424]

nunuqomaxmly, "A Calling Back", or "A Seizing": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural artisans having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [226] [761]

Nunuqsmäls, "Where Water Entered": House of one of the first groups of settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Nunuqualaiuts: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunuqwelslaiqen·a: Professional name of a female droner.

Nunuqwiutmm: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.

Nunuskmai: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunusmaouk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunuxwmolek: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Nunutäkentmm, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [825]

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*192 *Nusnäxungkt:* Area around a spring near *Nulleax.*
[198] *nusnutsta:* Chamber-vessel in the language of supernatural beings.
Nusnutsta: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Nusp̓skunsta, "Place of Meeting": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nuspuxta Smaiaikila, "The Peace-Giving *Smaiaikila*": Designation of the supreme god with reference to the function of peace.
Nusqäps: Skeena River.
Nusqäpts, "Place of Many Spring Salmon": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
nusqälät·a: 1—Chamber-vessel.
2—Nickname of a Kimsquit child.
Nusq̓alst, "Place of *Sq̓alst*": 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Mountain, the loftiest in the Bella Coola valley, near the village.
Nusqatl: ustämg village.
nusq̓djot: Kusiotem rite in which the performer pretends to have his stomach cut.
nusqilbutsäx: Person fastened to the ground with roots.
[826] *nusq̓o:* Person suffering from umbilical hernia.
nus'qodjusmsta: Appurtenances for washing given by the donor of a pótlatch to his guests.
[431] *Nusqulxwaista:* House of the supreme god during the winter dances of the supernatural beings.
nusqwal: 1—One of the *a'alk* dances.
[825] 2—Yearling mountain goat.
3—Man dwelling in *Qomoqwa*'s house.
nusqwalxi: The alleged attraction of the spirit of an uninitiated person to a performer in the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place.
Nusqwalxwaista: Variant of *Nusqulxwaista.*
Nusqwalxwalmikt Noäkymm: Supernatural dancer who comes in *Noäkymm*'s canoe.
[198] *Nusqwalsix,* "Kingfisher," in the language of supernatural beings: Ancestral name of a herald who came down to the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Nusq̓wathnaista, "The Making Place" (with reference to *q̓wathnusta*): One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nusqwaxlän·i: 1—Man mentioned in an ancient story of Green Bay.
2—Man mentioned in an ancient story of *Stuax.*
Nusq̓"los: Supernatural merry-maker or clown.
[825] *nusqwekstl:* The annual scattering of birds by the supreme god in the land above.
Nusq̓ul: Locality near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.
[583] *nusqwotsonmsta,* "Washing Appurtenances": Term applied to presents given to a husband by his wife's relatives when rebuying her.
[431] *Nusulsta:* Locality near *Stuay.*
nusluxemälta, "Ground Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate *nsaok* initiates with regard to the ground over which they will dance, or
[556] chiefs to the ground over which they will tread.
[431] *nusluxemästa,* "Seat Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate the seat of a chief or of a *nsaok* dancer.
Nusliuq: Herald of *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
Nusllumnämmsta, "Place Where People Were Made": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nusloksqs: Carpenter.
nusloqwasmär·a: Smear of red paint.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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773 what cause this divergence is due. Mythology and religion are so closely
[171] connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Bilqula is Snq, the sun-god (compare *sûnq*, sun).
773 The rays of the sun are his eyelashes. When prayed to he is called
776 Tâat'au. In praying the Bilqula look heavenward. I obtained the following formulas: *Atlkun itlô'tlnq, Tâat'au*, 'Look on us where we are
[782] going, Tâat'au;' and *Tâat'au, atlkmaltnomdô'tlq*, 'Take care of us, Tâat'an.'
[539] Snq is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and does not interfere with the actions and thoughts of men. These are given by Masmasalâ'niq. According to the tradition of the Bilqula, before the liberation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is nowadays, four deities lived on the earth: Masmasalâ'niq, Yula'timot, Matlapê'eqoek, and Itl'itlu'lak. The raven wished to obtain the sun, but he was unable to liberate it. Then he went to these deities and asked their help. They ascended to the sky, and tore the curtain, which up to that time had been expanded between heaven and earth, hiding the heavenly orbs. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The raven ascended to heaven through the rift made by Masmasalâ'niq, and found there a beautiful prairie country in which all the birds lived. Masmasalâ'niq and his brothers painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his arts. The raven was not content with the sun, and resolved to try and find a better one. He flew to the house of a great chief, who kept the *nusqê'mta* (*nu-ta*=place of, *sqêm*=the day is dawning). The *nusqê'mta* was a small round receptacle closed all around like an egg. The chief guarded it jealously, and kept it suspended from one of the rafters of his house. The raven knew that he could not obtain it by sheer force, and resorted to a ruse. He assumed the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and let himself drop into the pond from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pond, swallowed the leaf, and thus became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the raven himself. The old chief loved the boy dearly, and allowed him to play with the *nusqê'mta*. This was what he desired. He ran out of the house, broke it, and flew away in the shape of a raven.

After the sun had thus been obtained Masmasalâ'niq said: 'Let us make man.' He made the image of a man out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Matlapê'eqoek and Itl'itlu'lak tried likewise to carve human figures and to give them life, but they failed. Finally, Yula'timot carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in each country, and they became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Masmasalâ'niq gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to catch salmon, to build houses. He made rivers everywhere, that man should have water to drink, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by man.

The Bilqula believe that Masmasalâ'niq and his brothers still continue to give new ideas to man. They say that any new design of painting or
[176] carving, or any other new invention made by a member of their tribe, has been given to him by Masmasalâ'niq.

The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been referred to above.

774 The soul is believed to dwell in the nape. It is similar in shape to a
[826] bird inclosed in an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies
[761] away its owner must die. Shamans are able to see and to recover souls.
[756]

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years ago a chief, when hunting, sat down to rest. While he 774
sat a slide plunged down the mountain-side and swept away the ground where he would have been if he had not stopped. The Bella Coola know that such a fortunate escape is no accident, as foolish white men believe, but is the result of an active spirit. Sometimes it can convey only symbolic hints of what is to happen. An old Kimsquit man told how his lower eyelids once became sore and his stomach began to heave. This [827] [787]
occurs with sobbing, so he knew that ill-fortune was before him and was not surprised at the death of his son. A thoughtful person pays great attention to indications such as these, knowing that his spirit is always striving to pierce the future and obtain information for him, however indefinite. The importance of the supernatural to the Bella Coola can be judged from the fact that they attribute every action and thought to an element of this nature.

Mentality, *nlk*, though caused by the spirit, is somewhat 774
vaguely regarded as a separate entity. It comprises two parts, 828
one constantly urging to good deeds, particularly to activity in ritual matters, the other to evil. No one knows the appearance, if any, of human mentality. Some of the thoughtful older men hazard the opinion that every tree has mentality, whereas others say that it has a spirit. In former times especially, as one was falling, the cutters could occasionally see a dark object somewhat resembling an otter flash away and disappear. Not until then was the tree actually dead. Even the old people do not profess to know anything definite about mentality, which is important only as an attribute of the spirit. In indefinite 774
association with it, too, is breath, *sininits*, provided by *Alqantăm* [761]
for everyone at birth. The word signifies more than [827]
the material act of breathing, it denotes the actual physical state of being alive, a condition "lent" by *Alqantăm* to mortals. The connection of these two elements with the spirit is unequivocal, though their exact relationship is indefinite.

If the spirit moves far from its proper position at the back [753]
of the neck, the owner falls ill; if it leaves him, his condition [755]

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It is the life that suffers,
761 whenever the skin is broken. Any wound may prove dan-
[752] gerous, but particularly one that cuts either of the invisible
[827] lines along which vitality flows from the little finger to the
little toe. An injury to one of these channels spreads rapidly
and is in many cases fatal.

761 It is generally considered that a person dies if his life leaves
his body. In contradiction to this, though the discrepancy
774 seems of slight importance to the Bella Coola, is the belief that
it ascends at the winter solstice to the gathering of the super-
natural beings in *Nuxmálc* to greet *Alquntám*. It is common
knowledge that some part of the human body does this, but
there is diversity of opinion regarding which it may be. Some
say it is the spirit, but the consensus of opinion is that it is the
life. If it is successful and receives presents in the land above,
its owner will prosper on earth; if it is unfortunate, he will be
the same; if it falls in the crush as the guests hurry forth to
escape the heat of *Alquntám*'s entry, he will die. By dreams
761 a man learns the fortune of his supernatural representative,
787 and from them he can judge what is in store for him during the
coming year and receive intimations concerning birth and
death, secret society matters and, in fact, every phase of
human activity, since all are decided at the meeting of *Alquntám*
and his associates. Dreams are considered to be especially
important at this season of the year (I, p. 608) and information
obtained from them may, perhaps, be the origin of the present
firm conviction that some portion of the body actually ascends.
[182] Bella Coola beliefs have so broken down in recent years that
lack of unanimity concerning the specific part is not surprising,
nor does it alter the importance of this conviction. No attempt
is made to explain how an individual can remain alive during
the annual absence of his life.

761 Although the life is so ethereal, it really consists of four
intangible elements which unite to form the immaterial whole.
One of these parts, including the voice, is located in the throat,
another in the trunk, a third in the legs, and a fourth in the
feet; the body is thus divided into four quarters. The con-

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nection of these with one another and with the spirit, the mental director of the life, is a matter of advanced Bella Coola theology on which opinions differ. Only men of philosophical temperament even hazard an opinion on such matters, which are beyond the realm of daily routine. 961

When a man dies, his life leaves his body and the useless flesh begins to decay. At the same time the life is freed to travel as an intangible wraith, having the form and appearance of its dead owner. It visits all the places where he had been in the habit of going during life, irrespective of their distance from the scene of death. Sometimes it journeys to the locality where, in a dream, the mother of the deceased received her first intimation of pregnancy (I, p. 615). It wants to see former friends and sometimes makes its presence known to them by whistling. A person who hears this sound is saddened by the realization that one of his associates has passed away in some distant place. At other times, a man merely senses its presence and feels frightened without hearing or seeing anything to account for it. Very rarely, a dead person's life speaks to a dearly loved friend to inform him of his loss. During the existence of the body, spirit and life are closely associated, and the former sometimes accompanies the latter on its round of farewell visits before ascending to *Nuxmit-a*. 961 795 [774]

After four days the life descends to the land below where it lives forever as a ghost. Some believe that it is the shadow which assumes this form, but the seeming contradiction is relatively unimportant since the life is essentially shadow-like. Ghosts have already been described in connection with supernatural bodies, and further information will be found in vol. I, chap. VIII.

At death, when the life as a whole becomes a ghost, its constituent parts likewise undergo transformation. The one situated in the feet remains with the corpse and disintegrates; that located in the legs enters a wolf and nothing more is known of its fate; no one knows what happens to the one situated in the body. The part in the throat, including the voice, enters [527] [525] [534]

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961 an owl, possibly one of those which normally roost on the tree
775 behind *Nuxmit-a*. This element of a dead person occasionally
825 communicates with a living relative, as evidenced by the fol-
[534] lowing story.
[827]

A number of years ago a party of men and women camped for the night beside one of the rivers flowing into South Bentinck Arm. After supper, as they were resting by their fire, an owl kept hooting from a neighbouring tree. One of the men turned to a friend who had been making obscene remarks and, half in jest, warned him to be careful in case one of his relatives was listening. The foolish fellow looked at the owl and asked:

"Are you a relative of mine?"

There was no answer, but when he had repeated the question four times, the owl spoke:

"I am so-and-so," he said, naming the deceased grandfather of his questioner.

Consequent upon the belief that the voice of a dead person enters an owl, the bird is treated with considerable respect. It is improper to make fun of one, or to ask who it was when alive. Should a person do so, the owl answers with the interrogator's own name and he soon dies.

961 On the whole, the life does not affect the daily existence of the Bella Coola as profoundly as does the spirit. When they stop to ponder on the reason for some event, they readily admit the importance of the life with its constituent elements, but they are not always considering its activities and seeking to strengthen it. It is essentially a religious attribute, of greater moment to a man of imaginative and suggestible temperament than to one who carries on the daily routine without asking *why* and *wherefore*.

THE TALLY POST

773 In the beginning of time, when *Siyustim* sent the first
777 people down to earth, he erected in *Nuxmit-a* posts emblazoned with the bird or animal crest taken by each to serve as a memorial, or reminder, to him of the number of individuals existing

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614 The recent decay of Bella Coola culture may have destroyed
[182] traces of more definite obligations with respect to the ancestral family, but all the evidence indicates that it has always been a fluid unit. Its very lack of functions makes it difficult to
[128] discuss, and the above account was pieced together from scraps of information collected from many different people at various times; yet, intangible though it be, it is a very real unit to the Bella Coola and pervades their life. Each individual knows those to whom he is related. In many cases the exact kinship is lost, but it is remembered that a man from such-and-such a village married a woman from another village, and it is proved from the use by their descendants of names from the same origin myth. The concept of physical strength imparted by a closely akin ancestry is always present and gives a person the real "power" in the village founded by those first ancestors
614 of his. For the ancestral family is usually thought of in terms
621 of villages. A man belongs to the village where his first ancestor came to earth, though he is equally a member of other towns into which his ancestors may have married. A
[554] man without ancestry, without *sel'alam*, is a miserable creature; he has no home in this world, or, theoretically, in the world to come. The ancestral family is a unit essentially held together by the ties of sentiment and pride of ancestry.

614 In addition to the above social elements of the ancestral
827 family, it is felt that all its members have certain tendencies. If one of the first ancestors had a certain physical peculiarity, or met with a particular kind of fortune, either good or bad, his descendants are more likely to experience the same than any other people. These tendencies may skip many generations, and may be inherited either through the mother or the father. In fact, Bella Coola belief on this point closely agrees with modern knowledge of heredity; the term for such an inheritable tendency is *xalaxlim* or *xalaxwaqlat*. Such characteristics are:

(1) Proficiency in using tools;
(2) Ability as a hunter;

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(3) The bearing of exceptionally well-behaved children; 614
(4) The bearing of exceptionally naughty children; 827
(5) Disposition to steal;
(6) Uncontrollable sexual desires;
(7) Sudden death, that is, members of certain ancestral families are less apt than others to die of disease or old age;
(8) Death by drowning. One informant, in whose family this is a tendency, has twice been thrown into the water and barely escaped. He fully expects to meet his fate in this manner;
(9) Insanity (not a common malady); [158]
(10) Dribbling at the mouth with increasing age;
(11) Liability to contract the skin disease known as *łoqałx*. 614
With regard to the transmission of this disease the surprising 827
information was received that if a relative of a sufferer should 753
drink from the same bucket or use the same spoon as the 177
patient, he is likely to contract the disease, whereas another person can use them with impunity. This statement may be based on a knowledge of germs learnt from the white man, and warped by a belief in inheritable tendencies, although it is amazing that the theory of germs could have reached the elderly Bella Coola. Possibly this statement is a relic of an old belief in the transmissability of disease through contact, but it is more reasonable to ascribe it to white influence.

In a later chapter an account is given of certain occupa- 614
tional abilities, including that of carpentry, which must be 827
confirmed and validated by presents. The above are quite different; they are either present or absent without any action on the part of the individual.

The Village Community

The village community referred to in the preceding section 614
consists, fundamentally, of the descendants, traced in the 621
patrilineal line, of the reputed first settlers to occupy a site. Since a Bella Coola always describes himself as a native of such-and-such a town, it follows that the village community

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775 to a ghost, he informs a shaman of the fact and the latter
[756] notifies the relatives of the deceased. If no shaman is convenient, the shade does not hesitate to help himself. Invisible,
264 and armed with a barbed hook, he approaches a person who is
775 eating and pulls away a crumb which falls to the earth. Should the eater stoop to pick this up, the ghost, robbed of his booty,
753 beats the offender with his hook, causing toothache or sometimes a sharp pain in the head or stomach. Other ailments are caused by the ghosts hitting with invisible stones those who have offended them. Consequently, no one picks up a crumb which has fallen, since it is impossible to know whether it has
[827] been an accident or a seizure. Another indication of a ghost's
[782] hunger is loss of a tooth. The loser should throw it on a fire with an invitation to the dead to accept his offering.

775 The barrier between ghosts and human beings is considered to be little more than a wall of smoke, just too dense for ordinary eyes to penetrate. In early times intercommunication between the denizens of the two worlds was so easy that a doting mother was once allowed to tend her dead child on earth. Unfortunately, the woman's mother one day insisted on holding her grandchild, unaware that he was a ghost. Shocked at his appearance, the old woman dropped the child, much to the anger of the dead people.[44] Ever since that time it has been impossible for human beings to see and talk with
[538] their deceased kinsmen. Like so many Bella Coola stories, it is doubtful whether this one is regarded as more than an item of ancient history; it is considered to be a fact, but it is not one that enters into the daily thoughts of the people.

[825] Ghosts frequently come to their old homes at night where dogs can see them. If one of these animals begins to bark and gazes fixedly at a spot where nothing is to be seen, it is because a wraith is standing there and the dog's owner hopes that it will remain invisible. It is true that some individuals have
[754] received shamanistic power from a ghost, but more often a visitation is disastrous and to be avoided. A dead person often

[44] This story is recorded in detail later (I, p. 577).

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of fur. Even at the present time, the death of a new-born child is usually attributed to omission of this precaution. 843 825

A Kimsquit man mentioned that he had once shot a marten during his wife's pregnancy, and had failed to preserve a piece of the skin. The bullet had passed through the head, making a hole in the cheek-bone beneath the eye. He thought no more of the incident until after the birth of a daughter with a blemish on her cheek in the same place as the wound on the marten's. The spot grew bigger, and the flesh began to mortify until the infant died a few weeks later. Her face resembled that of the animal and he is convinced that his loss was caused, in some way, by the marten. 789 [761]

To Cure Indigestion

Kill a raven, cut out a morsel of flesh from beneath its left wing, and then remove the heart. Place both in the infant's mouth and leave them there until wet with saliva. Replace them in the bird's body and tie a strip of dyed cedar-bark around its neck. Carry the carcass to some lonely spot in the mountains and hide it beneath a jutting rock where no water can penetrate. This cures the child. If, however, anyone should find the raven's body before the flesh has decayed, the patient would die. 755 [761]

This remedy, widely employed for small children, was used with success by an informant for his young daughter. It is not sufficiently potent for adults.

To Cure Crying

The Bella Coola consider that crying is not only unpleasant, but actively displeasing to the supernatural beings who permit it at death alone. Consequently, the persistent wailing of a child is likely to cause the death of a relative in order that the tears shed may have justification. Many stories illustrate this theme; in fact, to cry for no real reason is practically taboo. A mother quiets a fretting child by saying: 827 865 761 [784] [861]

"Do you want your father and me to die?"

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827 If the father dies, she beats her son or daughter, adding:
865 "Cry now. See what you did."
[761] Henceforth the child restrains himself, but usually drastic steps are taken to reform an infant before his weeping causes any such misfortune. The parents of a petulant child request aid from a man of even temperament to cure him. The person undertaking the task prepares a large basket, watches until he notices the youngster crying and displaying bad temper, then seizes the offender, thrusts him into the basket and hangs it in the doorway, free to move with every stir of the child shut within.

"Cry as much as you like now," he says. "If you become hoarse like a heron you will turn into one of those birds."

This threat is based on an ancient story describing how a child to whom this was done changed into a heron and flapped away in bird form. Sometimes the man says that the same will happen to the child, or simply that he will be able to fly like a heron. All day he is left suspended, no one heeding his sobbing and howling, but in the evening he is taken down, petted, and told not to be naughty again. This medicine always cures a petulant child who can thenceforth be held to ridicule by being reminded that he is "A Basket Boy." The same remedy is often employed for a quarrelsome brother and sister who are shut up together.

865 *To Cure Disobedience and Rudeness*

861 If a child is persistently rude and disobedient to his parents, they request the assistance of a man of even temperament to cure him. The person selected must be one who is never angry, and who attends to his own business in a placid, quiet manner. The mother and father discuss who is best fitted by character to help their erring child and then ask his aid, promising a suitable recompense. If the man accepts the task, he waits till he notices the child crying peevishly. Running to him, he holds the youngster firmly and, in spite of this strug-

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is spoken of in the Chinook jargon as a *mesatche box*, that is, a "dirty," "unclean," or "repulsive" box, and this term is one which is mentioned whenever an unexpected death takes place, or whenever a coastal Indian is accused of loitering around a deserted camp or of stealing into another's house. The belief is not limited to the Bella Coola, but has formed the basis for criminal cases all over the coast of British Columbia. It is difficult to find words sufficiently strong to express the disgust, loathing, and fear with which the Bella Coola regard a person suspected of sorcery. 754 171 [554]

Ability in this respect carries with it certain prohibitions. A sorcerer would lose his power if he should wash or blow his nose except when about to commit murder. The one old Bella Coola now thought to be a sorcerer never washes; he knows that if he did so, he would be immediately accused of plotting someone's death. This man is greatly feared, as he is said to have a collection of spittle from every member of the tribe; efforts have been made to break into his house and steal this, but it has never been found. He takes credit for the death of at least one white man in the valley. A peculiar impediment suffered by all sorcerers is a prohibition against turning around, although no one knows why doing so should deprive them of their strength. The explanation may be that their power would recoil upon themselves, a concept well illustrated by the following incident: 754 [515] [827]

When the first Christian Bella Coola left the old village to settle near the mission station, they were regarded with dislike and suspicion by their fellow-tribesmen. One day, one of them happened to follow a path through the woods which led her to a rude shelter in which was a bundle. Hastily summoning her fellows, they opened it and found an article of clothing belonging to each Christian. The man who told this incident described his fear at finding a dirty shirt of his own among the others. They felt that the garments had been collected by a young man who claimed to be a shaman, but whom they suspected to be merely the accomplice of a sorcerer, and this was soon proved to be the case. He was insufficiently trained; instead of touching the patient's body with his stick, he used to suck wherever the pain was located and then

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226 manner, and was definitely stated to be the case by one well-
796 informed old man. It is clear, however, that every spring
salmon was landed with the cry of *xak'loi·*, taken to the Spring
[424] Salmon House, and cut up by the men until the time when
women were allowed near the river. Another old man stated
[574] that the feast took place at night and that only the heads and
[251] refuse of the first catch were eaten, the remainder being dried
for the winter. Women of child-bearing age were not allowed
[562] on the river bank, and were rigorously excluded from the
Spring Salmon House until the time when the sun's shadow reached a diagonal scar on the slope of one of the mountains on the north side of North Bentinck Arm. This occurs about August. From that time onwards, there was no calling of *xak'loi·*, and women, except those who were taboo, could cut salmon freely on the bank. It was even stated that refuse of salmon could be thrown into the river after that time. No one knows the origin of this seasonal prohibition, or why it should end when the sun reaches a certain point, but it was faithfully observed in former times.

In Kimsquit similar rites were carried out, the chief variation being that the bodies of four swans were placed in the Spring Salmon House and the fish laid with these at intervals in the line. Moreover, the youth used to bite the back of each salmon as he presented it with the cedar-bark streamer. The same regulations with regard to drinking water, and crying after eating, were enforced for spring salmon as for olachen.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

372 The following miscellaneous beliefs and customs cannot be assigned to any special aspect of Bella Coola life:

If a spark from a fire jumps out and lights on a person's hand, it is said:

"The fire wants to give you [the person on whom the brand has fallen] food."

● 827 If a man sneezes repeatedly, it is said:

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"Someone is calling your name." 827

If a man stumbles without due cause, it is said: 481
"Someone has food ready for you."

When a man partly closes his hand, if a wrinkle-like fold 787
runs straight across the palm it indicates that he is a good 322
carpenter.

If a mouse nibbles even a single smoked salmon, the whole 825
boxful is thrown away immediately in case dung has been
dropped within. It is believed that inadvertent chewing of [826]
this is responsible for wearing down the teeth.

If a man throws a stone at a pregnant snake, the young ones
may rush forth and enter the thrower's stomach. They remain [761]
invisible, and no one knows how they enter, but death always
results. Snakes are regarded with scorn and aversion, and the [756]
only men who dare to handle them are shamans.

When a milk tooth is lost, anyone who happens to be pre- 856
sent should pick it up, pass it four times around the child's 827
head, sunwise, and throw it away. No explanation of this
custom is known.[10]

[10]This is not the only custom practised at the loss of a tooth, cf. vol. I, p. 500.

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is now sufficiently tamed so that he can lie down and rest, and thenceforth the nocturnal raids on the village are discontinued. 575* 796*

X remains concealed on the platform, supposedly without eating, for four days. On the fourth day occurs the ceremony of washing. Early in the morning a herald goes to every house in the village asking for urine and grease extracted from the heads of sockeye salmon. The *kukusiut* gather in X's house, to which full chamber-vessels and pots of grease have been taken. No uninitiated are allowed to be present, but from adjacent houses they hear sounds of furious struggling, combined with growling. Presently they see a number of *kukusiut* carrying X, smeared with liquid, to the river. Some informants state that he is actually covered with urine and fish-oil, others that these are merely emptied within the house and water poured over X, that their collection is merely to deceive the uninitiated. At any rate he is taken to the river, where, in spite of his shrieks, kicks, and struggles, he is four times doused by his guardians. Often he seizes stones from the bed of the stream and hurls them at his captors, sometimes bruising them severely. This washing assists in the restoration of X to sanity. He is taken four times to every house in the village, no longer growling and struggling, and a herald announces that he will dance that evening. 787

Soon after dusk the *kukusiut* are summoned and they practise the four songs composed for X. Then the uninitiated are called in. As his songs are sung, X dances in the usual *kusiut* style, but more violently than most, and growling at intervals. The women drone and his four guardians stand close by, spitting into his ears to soothe him.[49] This is done by calling *hoip* loudly close to his head, so that a spray of fine saliva is ejected over him. After dancing, X sits down once more and a marshal calls out that food is to be given to him; he is supposed to have eaten nothing but morsels of human flesh since his departure for the upper world. The women are sent [827] [562]

[49]Spitting also occurs frequently in connection with curing by means of the frenzied beating of sticks.

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(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 55, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tāl'io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. 533*

(*b*) So many of *Yexthn*'s ancestors had been drowned that he considered such a fate to be an inheritable tendency and mourned accordingly. This song was composed for a memorial potlatch held after the drowning of three of his sons. [761] [827] [195]

(*c*) *Xem* means, literally, the successive rising of the sun from day to day; it has therefore, the significance of: The span of life is shortening.

(*d*) This wail replaces the usual wordless chorus.

(*e*) Raven. This is one of his rarely used chief's names.

(*f*) The reference is to an incident related about Raven in the beginning of time. He made, and gave life to a son who was his chief joy and delight. *Alquntām* wondered what the creature might be and sent down one of his eagle-like supernatural birds to seize him. Raven, ignorant of the reason for his son's loss and with no idea that he was being carefully guarded, was absolutely disconsolate. The myth is recorded in vol. I, p. 83. [773]

Shaman Songs

In contrast to the carefully prepared and logically worded mourning songs, many of those used by shamans are extremely incoherent. This is natural in view of the belief, already described, that the words and tune are given to a sick person at the time that he is cured. Those who recover from an illness are convinced that they must have received a supernatural visitation, and at once begin to ponder on the song brought to them at that time. A person of imaginative temperament easily persuades himself that the words which begin to form in his mind were actually brought by an agent, and, having thus deluded himself, it is easy for him to convince others. The coherence of the text thus depends upon the ability of the patient, a factor which explains the extreme lack of skill in many compositions. The examples here given are, perhaps, unusually complete. 533* 756 [753]

Song Used by Ninitsamlaix(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A Wāsumlwalhnumqudu	*skāninitsumlaiyas*
In the beginning(*c*)	the life-giving power(*d*) was made;
yao diaī'aiyaltul	*aldānālsiwanudai*
that is what we have given	within them(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (*f*)

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ɪxxiut, "The Time for *Kusiut* Rites": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]
ɪyɪyɪyut: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ałqałxł* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle on the lower Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Sxaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
ɪłłułułk: One of the supernatural carpenters.
ɪłsamanumnm: The repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]
ɪnsiak': Synonym for *ɪpuxdjut*, a present for which a return is not expected. [431]
ɪwaxsmxdjut: Hereditary tendency.
ɪqem: Kusiut name of a *Stuix* man. [827]
ɪrias: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *łłakułk* is problematical.
ɪnłłołum: One of the first men to settle at *Łomqo·ts* in the beginning of time. [825]
ɪnłłłiwatem'xiamet·al·ał': The entrusting of a woman to a husband's care. This phrase is used by a wife's relatives when about to rebuy her as expressing their somewhat boastful sentiments concerning the relations entered into at marriage. [583]
ɪqɪw·abałwadjutłaix: Sterile supernatural visitation. [787]
ɪrkłuta: 1—To strengthen, or to shore up.
2—Goods provided by a wife to strengthen her husband's position. [556]
ɪsłłłmłq, "Different from All Others": Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
ɪsłwman·i: Wife of North Wind, a supernatural being resident in a side valley of the upper Bella Coola.
ɪsłokwaladjut: Supernatural aid granted to the unfortunate.
ɪsłqotłamsqmaxdjinas: Son of Raven and one of the first settlers at *Tał·io* in the beginning of time.
ɪsnukwwałsaix, "The Track of the Sun": *A'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
ɪsnułkamłaix: Supernatural name of *ɪsiutł.*
ɪsqunłam, "Commander":1—Said to be the word from which *Ałqunłam* is derived.
2—One of the names of the supreme god.
ɪsłłikmasaix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
ɪswappatsdjut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
ɪswał·a: Kusiut name of a *Stuix* man.
ɪswimała: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
ɪs·wunaisa: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Łomqo·ts* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
ɪsyałyatsaix, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
ɪsyałam, "The Walker": Supernatural being resident in a glacier near the overland trail between *Snułdł* and *Tał·io*.

K

kai: 1—Snow. [821]
2—Unidentified berry. [824]
Kaiusdiłs: Name obtained from a supernatural being by a Bella Bella man.
Kałamił: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
łakas: Crow. [825]
Kałoła: Locality in the Bella Coola valley mentioned in an ancient story.

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mixmixłulp: Leaf of salalberry.
mla·wadjut: 1—Omen of misfortune, such as preceded the outbreak of smallpox, hence, [824]
2—Smallpox. [787]
mlka: Type of sea-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.
mna, vocative, mnae: Child. [601]
Mnakais: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.
mnk': Excreta.
mnmnts, vocative, mnmntsān·i: Ancestral family, practically equivalent to *children* when used by an old person. [614]
mnskānmnts: The commemoration of a chief's potlatches and other major ceremonies by means of plain posts erected near his grave. [211]
Mnstlsto·mm, Tide-Measurer: A supernatural being. [764]
Mstnlos: Man mentioned in a song.
Mstlakila: Supernatural being who gives potency to *nsask* rites.
mthtsts: Grandiloquent expression used by the *kukusiut* with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives. [776]*
mtlkłsām: 1—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living. [775]
2—To visit, term used with reference to the coming of a masked representation of a dead person; the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.
mok': Pounded, dyed cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.
mokwuks: Head-ring of cedar-bark worn by *kusiut* initiates in the upper Bella Coola valley.
moqla: Lice. [825]
moqnila: Adolescent youth.
mormorkł': Blue grouse.
mormoułłokānda: Dentalium-shell ear-rings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion. [301]
mu: Hand net for catching olachen. [227]
mudemhokstn: Yellow cedar stave decorated with swan feathers such as is carried by a Mystery dancer.
mustmax: Wrestling.
Mutan·a: Rivers Inlet man living in the last century.

N

Nain'alwas: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Nā'mu: Bella Bella village; the Anglicized form is Namu.
nāw·: Grizzly bear. [825]
Nānātlis: Name received from Grizzly Bear by a Kimsquit man in the beginning of time.
Nānātl: *Kusiut* name of a *Nuxłalt* man.
Nānātlsnā: One of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
Nānālkmitł: One of the names of Mount *Nuxłalt* as chief.
nāw·łmut: Non-ceremonial weeping, usually individual, and always with real feeling. [827]
Nass: Indeterminate locality in the distant east. [152]

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Nunutcuxynam: Woman endowed supernaturally by *Ano'likwolsaix* and serving as patron (?) to a *kusiut* dancer.

[787] *nunulliuts:* Omen of death.

Nunutsmmkmem, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Ṫlitcāplilān·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nunuxemlaix: 1—Man dwelling in *Ḷomoqwa*'s house.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.

nunuxim: The cry of *hi, hi,* uttered by Cannibals.

Nunuxmeux: *Kusiut* name assumed by a *Stuix* woman in the beginning of time.

[424] *nunuyaxwum:* *Kusiut* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and *qālāxum* is obscure.

Nu'oxwatlamnaix, "The Widener": One of Raven's names as chief.

[585] *nupāxsikel·um:* Synonym for *pāsutnm:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

Nupliāhlsikān, "Heedlessly Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[302] *nuḷao·axta:* The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.

nuqāxlām·i: Medicine brewed in a skull.

Nuqāxmāts, "Place of Much *Ḷāxmāts*": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nuqenqāmis: *Nusqual* name of a Kimsquit man.

Nuqiliaxailen·a: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[805] *nuḷmusme·tl wa songʷ'als:* One year.

[828] *nuqom:* Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.

nuḷpik, "Empty House": House in which a *kusiut* dance is taking place.

nuḷsdjut: The throwing of grease on a fire to heat, both literally and figuratively, a rival.

[821] *Nuḷsilʷ':* 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.

[827] *nuqlitsta:* Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

nuqwaxots: Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *kusiotem* and other important *kusiut* rites.

[777] *nuqʷantnikim:* Unexpected stroke of good fortune.

Nuqwikumlaix: *Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.

[772] *Nuqwdlax:* Site of an ancient town on Schooner Pass.

Nuqwliāls: The upper heaven.

nuṗuna: Woman with thick pubic hair.

Nuqwxulioḷlsān·i: A *Stuix* repository.

Nusālquntāmsta, "Where *Ālquntām* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[824] *nusāmqwa·nay:* Cottonwood buds.

Nusāpānis'sta, "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Smaaan* in the beginning of time.

nusāllemy: Canoe-maker.

Nusālnm: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Nusḷalst.*

[535] [869] *nusāxhāmy:* Children's dance which serves as training for *kusiut* rites and to provide entertainment.

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omätuslaix: Goods obtained by a man's own exertions and forming the nucleus of his wealth for a potlatch. [556]
omätuts, plural, älomätuts: Kusiut patron.
O'miätl: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
O'mielkx: One of the first women to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
O'miätlmai: Son of Raven in the beginning of time.
Omqomkikka: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Siskiut* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Tsmotl* woman who died about 1915.
'Omllom: ustämq village.
Omqut: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola *kusiotem* dancer.
Onikutl: 1—Ancestral name of a *Snulsli* man.
2—Celebrated Kimsquit hunter.
'onikwatl: Any non-sacred rite, especially an *a'alk* dance held subsequent to the *kusiut* season.
Onixwalicus: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit *kusiotem* dancer.
Omqwak: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
onostlpstmm: The taking of food to another tribe for ceremonious bestowal.
Onstcitoma: Supernatural being who sleeps perpetually, literally, "The Sleepy One."
Oqmikmq: 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.
o'qok: Skunk cabbage. [824]
Oqolikts: Supernatural being, herald of *Älquntäm.*
oqpt: The steeping of *nsaok* novices in smoke, this being the final rite of initiation.
Oqsmai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nusqalst* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Siskiut* in the beginning of time.
oqla: Temporary fish-dam of interlocked branches. [226]
Oqwan·i: Small mountain on south side of the Bella Coola valley behind *Qomqo·ts.*
O·qwi·: Place near *Stuix.*
'Oqwalikämut: One of the first men to settle at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.
oqxälemsk': The leading across of a bride to a groom during a wedding. [585]
osälodäm: Hereditary tendency.
osdukän: One made sick by salmon, especially a woman who suffers from this cause through disregard of adolescence taboos. [827]
osipax: Variety of dog salmon found at Bella Bella. [784]
o·nmtdiqiawaix: Conferring of ancestral names at a potlatch.
osnämunaix: The performance of a *kusiut* dance with supernatural dog salmon as patron. [825]
Ossqpamq, "Treless Place": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
osqälim: Distribution of strips of mountain goat skin at marriage. [585]
ostämnäks: "Where are you going?"
Ostcilikq', "Lake-Swallower": A mythical monster.
oshwallaix: First night of a potlatch.
olitk: Third eldest brother or sister. [601]
Oltuqu: Name of Mink as chief.
O·lhk di Stalamq: One of the names of the supreme god.
Olowa: Celebrated *Wayal·a* warrior.

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sa-qua-t: String figure.
Saskwanuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sdjidji'is:* Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sekakmaw-a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sekilayt:* Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
sekima siskumtsk: River net for salmon.
[822] *Sutsalani:* Echo.
Sexuxpalsis: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Sexuxpualyalsalsis, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Tlisxpalsis-a's* names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Sialselsis:* Ancestral name created on earth by a *Xemqe-ts* man.
[825] *Siaqam*, "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[805] *sidaqsin:* One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
Sidakaas di Ana'likwalsis, "The Coming of *Ana'likwalsis*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
siwala: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Si'ishlil*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Si'iwai-sil, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *si'illiukk:* Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of marriage is broached.
[431] *si'ipikm*, "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Sâmt*, "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Sâqtmi*, "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Sikalamtsk, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] *sili*, "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *nuaut* rites.
Siklikimm: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Siqulq*, "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikualwalsk: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikuldjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuax* man.
Sikum: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
[226] *Silas:* Celebrated composer.
silmaq: Salmon-weir.
[827] *sinaqpmu'ax:* *Suaxt* head-drum.
sinisis: Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
[961] *si-nipadjaxtmax:* Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Sinpiaus: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[805] *Sinowuk*, "Time for the Use of Oïachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[726] *Sinulkamid*, "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinwuhlilim: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

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*192 *ciya:* Supernatural good luck.
[82] *nhaxs:* Fog.
[825] *nhe':* Pack-rat.
nik: Mind or mentality.
[828] *nipon:* Place of lucky finds, such as a point where whales drift ashore.
nlcuthalmu: Cannibal recently returned from the land above.
Sillaxa-i: One of the first women to settle at *Sillis* in the beginning of time.
nmd: Mountain.
[825] *nmlt* or *nmlhs:* Salmon, generic form.
nmlmmikhs: (Probably) viscera of an animal, *archaic.*
Snulutaxhs: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[173] *nmma:* Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be related by anyone.
Snmtu: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[822] *Snel'lhamu:* Bella Coola chief.
Snulumint: Darkness, anthropomorphized.
[828] *nnlu:* Anger.
nnu: Sun.
Snuxhila: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at *Sillaxa* in the beginning of time.
Snuxhlu: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—*Alt* name of a Kimsquit man.
4—*Snuxl* name of a Kimsquit man.
Snuxwa: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.
[827] *nsuk:* Moxus.
Snxl, "Sunny": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
nqulsitk: Game played with miniature spears.
[575] *nsuk:* 1—Society intimately connected with chiefs.
2—Member of the society.
nxint: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a double-headed salmon.
Snuxuhila: Shaman's name of a *Snxl* woman.
nxlel': Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Ninqhlaxa* to the one favoured.
[601] *nxlum:* Father's sister or mother's sister (in either direct or indirect address).
[583] *nxmuhs:* The ceremonial strength acquired by a child through the repurchase of its mother.
[431] *nxpwi:* Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] *nxpwl':* Western dock (plant).
[824] *nlcwmumlhs:* Snowberry.
nxuqulsiu: Distribution of carpentry tasks prior to a potlatch.
[825] *nxumuta,* "Food Supply": Synonym for *cal'ulum,* ancestral hunting-ground.
chalt': Porcupine.
[824] *chal'ulu:* Black huckleberry.
[821] *chlutchlu:* Eye-lashes of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swooms it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy.

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Sēq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Sēq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself.

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: 'When an Awiky'ō'noq wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Ma'tsis) who will initiate him. No Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way.'

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 612), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called *sink*. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms.

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die.

I add here a few current beliefs:—

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry.

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die.

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky.

WARS.

When a war party was organized the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their

Ichiki Dwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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838 woman who dressed as a man and used to hunt successfully,
[171] though she was married. Such practices are said to have been not uncommon among the Haida. The women were considered bold and independent, but the Bella Coola of today know little
*[776] about them, and are not even certain that *Spatz* is responsible for a female assuming the actions of a male. It will be readily understood that he is not regarded with much awe, nor does he influence their daily lives.

*776 Another supernatural being, uninfluential though resident
[822] upon earth, is Echo, *Sawalitel*, "The Voice Repeater." The Bella Coola regard him as a male being, in human form, and recognize his presence whenever sounds reverberate. He figures in mythology, occasionally appears as a masked figure at
[575] *Sacred* or *Secret* dances, but has neither helped nor harmed human beings for so many generations that he is accordingly neglected.

*776 A supernatural being from whom many Bella Coola have
787 had unpleasant visitations is *Sîkmcile*, the cause of nightmares.
● 828 He is a man-like creature with black face and an enormous head which he constantly scratches. His home is in *Nacmâ·a*, but he frequently descends to this world and frightens sleepers. If a person scratches his head while asleep it is because he has just seen *Sîkmcile* doing so, and if he walks in his sleep it is to escape this supernatural visitor. A sleep-walker is usually aroused by having a bucket of water thrown over him. A
[951] person frequently troubled by *Sîkmcile* can avoid him by painting a black circle around each eye before going to sleep.

*776 With the exception of *Sîpuntên*, the supernatural beings thus far described play little part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They believe in their existence, but do not expect to meet them, and do not believe that they exercise much influence on the course of their daily life. Supernatural beings of this ineffective type are exceptional. A man goes into remote parts of the
781 mountains, or even into little frequented areas around his
*776 village, with mingled fear lest he encounter an actively malicious being, and hope that he may meet a benevolent one. More-

1:14c:Dewolfe X-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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one at Restoration Bay. He had reached the point where he needed help to turn the craft over, and one day, returning to his work, he heard the sound of many voices. He tarried for a few minutes, and when he reached his canoe it had been turned over as he desired.

On that occasion the beings who assisted the canoe-maker appear to have had definite form, and certainly to have displayed physical strength, but this extreme anthropomorphizing is unusual with respect to the assistance given to carpenters. The construction of a canoe is an arduous and difficult work; the person who has made one is regarded by his fellows with respect mixed with envy, and it is tacitly assumed that he must have received more than human assistance. Considering the number of anthropomorphic beings known to the Bella Coola, it is not surprising that some individuals should assume that the successful carpenter must have had assistance from one of them, but to other Bella Coola the explanation would be in the intangible help vouchsafed to him by some kind of supernatural power.

Similar intangible power is believed to be evident in a person's thoughts. If a man receives either good or evil from a comrade it is his duty and privilege to repay. He intends to do so, but only a good man can carry out the resolution. What a white man would attribute to forgetfulness, procrastination, or laziness, the Bella Coola say is caused by the intervention of *Ts̓aqwalukulaxa*, who steals away his thoughts. It is doubtful whether this being is considered to have any definite form; rather he is a barrier, normally situated within the doorway of every house. The ideas of a strong man are able to surmount the obstacle, but *Ts̓aqwalukulaxa* obstructs those of a weakling, and directs him to matters of no importance.

Another intangible supernatural being is that which devours firewood. The Bella Coola say that no matter how well a fire may be provided with fuel when a person sits down to a meal, it is certain to be either out, or nearly so, when he has finished eating. The natural explanation does not satisfy

Lillie Dewolfe E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[774] of thought, of success and failure and of life itself, to powers of another sphere. Their ideas are not clearly crystallized on this subject, but in the following section an attempt has been made to give a fair picture, gleaned from many informants, of the supernatural parts of the human body.

THE SPIRIT

The most important part of the human body is the *sumdmdz*, spirit. This is small, but of great power, since it belongs to the world of the supernatural; in fact, the spirit of a man is not mortal, but *sint*. Everyone, man or woman, rich or poor, chief or slave, has one; without it, life would be impossible. When a child is born, his parents supply him with food and care, and *Sqawsiw* provides the even more necessary invisible elements, including the spirit. It resides in the back of the neck and resembles a thin bone shaped like a maple-leaf. Salmon have similar ones, but with them the bone is visible, [756] whereas only shamans can see it in human beings. The spirit in a new-born infant is weak and powerless, but it increases in strength with the body. If a man prospers in his ventures and has success in life, it is due, not to his own efforts, but to the activity of his spirit. When a man acquires wealth with little [556] labour, he knows that his spirit has been constantly trembling at the back of his neck; when he is unfortunate, that it has becomes inert or sluggish. It is the cause of dreams, which are [777] desired as means of foretelling the future. Some Bella Coola believe that in sleep it leaves the body and travels, unrestrained by any barrier, to the scene of the dreams; others, that it causes the images to appear. During waking hours the spirit [725] formulates every thought, no matter how trifling. When a man remembers that he left his fire with insufficient fuel and hurries home to rectify the omission, it is this element which has brought the need to his mind; when he thinks of a distant place, his spirit is responsible for the thought and some men even believe that it has travelled there. Sometimes an active one can give warning, as in the following instance. A few

1:bk:Dorsey E-5 (1922-1924)948
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years ago a chief, when hunting, sat down to rest. While he 774
sat a slide plunged down the mountain-side and swept away the ground where he would have been if he had not stopped. The Bella Coola know that such a fortunate escape is no accident, as foolish white men believe, but is the result of an active spirit. Sometimes it can convey only symbolic hints of what is to happen. An old Kimsquit man told how his lower eyelids once became sore and his stomach began to heave. This [827] [787]
occurs with sobbing, so he knew that ill-fortune was before him and was not surprised at the death of his son. A thoughtful person pays great attention to indications such as these, knowing that his spirit is always striving to pierce the future and obtain information for him, however indefinite. The importance of the supernatural to the Bella Coola can be judged from the fact that they attribute every action and thought to an element of this nature.

Mentality, *nil*, though caused by the spirit, is somewhat 774
vaguely regarded as a separate entity. It comprises two parts, 828
one constantly urging to good deeds, particularly to activity in ritual matters, the other to evil. No one knows the appearance, if any, of human mentality. Some of the thoughtful older men hazard the opinion that every tree has mentality, whereas others say that it has a spirit. In former times especially, as one was falling, the cutters could occasionally see a dark object somewhat resembling an otter flash away and disappear. Not until then was the tree actually dead. Even the old people do not profess to know anything definite about mentality, which is important only as an attribute of the spirit. In indefinite 774
association with it, too, is breath, *sinimis*, provided by *Ilquanim* [761]
quanim for everyone at birth. The word signifies more than [827]
the material act of breathing, it denotes the actual physical state of being alive, a condition "lost" by *Ilquanim* to mortals. The connection of these two elements with the spirit is unexplained, though their exact relationship is indefinite.

If the spirit moves far from its proper position at the back of the neck, the owner falls ill; if it leaves him, his condition [153] [155]

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that tally posts have mentality, and suggested that it might be these which attend the gathering of the supernatural beings at the winter solstice instead of an element from the human body itself.

One elderly Bella Coola, of philosophical temperament, described *q̓wałnusta* in terms far removed from the accounts of tally posts. According to him, every individual receives this supernatural possession at birth, and it remains with him, in close association with his body, throughout life. It stays in front of his face, invisible, yet having substance, and constantly shaking from side to side. If a man fails to receive a present at a potlatch, it is because his *q̓wałnusta* has ceased to move. When stationary it is not transparent, and not only hides its owner from the donor's sight, but acts as a barrier to his thoughts. The same man stated that this element can leave the body, can be seen by shamans, and that it is the one which ascends at the winter solstice to *Nusmāt-a*. At death it is believed to accompany the spirit and the life to the land above.

There seems no reason to doubt that the concept of tally posts is an ancient belief. Nor does the application of the term *q̓wałnusta* to another immaterial possession of quite another type destroy this probability. It must be remembered that within the last eighty years the Bella Coola have suffered not only from the tremendous upheaval caused by the coming of the white man, but have been reduced to a mere fraction of their former numerical strength by various epidemics. These factors have led to the partial forgetting of ancient beliefs, with consequent confusion. It is probable that the use of the same term for the tally post, intimately connected with an individual's life although situated in the land above, and for an invisible and intangible possession which goes in front of him, is due to this recent decay of ancient convictions. If this be true, it merely means that in former times the Bella Coola had yet another supernatural element to govern and influence their lives.

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426 hence repayment or non-repayment does not affect the stand-
*556 ing of the debtor in the community. The giver expects no
return, but should he come to financial straits he would have
[558] no hesitation in asking aid from the Bella Bella chief. He
expects, moreover, that the latter will contribute to the ex-
penses of his funeral. This would be optional, as repayment
of a non-ceremonial present concerns the donor and recipient
alone, without effect on the status of either in the community.
In this instance, if the old man had died soon after his son, his
debts would not have been paid, since there were surviving no
immediate relatives. Sons or other near kinsmen always settle
the debts of dead parents out of family pride, but it is con-
sidered most improper for the creditors to think about re-
[558] payment. By giving they have shown their power, the ques-
tion of return is the concern of the family of the deceased
recipient.

Very rarely does the donor of a potlatch fail to return his
investment presents except through oversight. In spite of
every precaution, errors occur, and these are said to be caused
either by a supernatural being, itself invisible, rising between
[776] the donor and his guest, hiding the latter, or by *Snuqwalnkaista* stealing away his thoughts. Unless the donor wishes
[578] to insult a guest, he will give him presents later on, and that
ends the matter. But if he does not do so, the slighted man
426 may return the insult, and thus feuds are often generated that
*556 may lead to war between tribes. About 1860 it is said
648 that a conflict between the people of Bella Bella and Rivers
Inlet was caused in that way. In the autumn of 1921, a Bella
Coola chief insisted on dancing at a Bella Bella potlatch, al-
though it was commonly known he did not have the necessary
goods for distribution to validate his dance. The hosts waxed
sarcastic, taunts were answered by taunts, and only the pre-
sence of some white men prevented bloodshed. Relations
between the two tribes are still strained as a result of this
incident. The Bella Coola chief was subject to spells of
[828] insanity, and danced during one of these. According to the

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Bella Coola, the Bella Bella should have taken this into account, along with the man's generosity on previous occasions, and overlooked his remissness. 426 556 * [648] [828]

Cases have been known of a "stupid" man endeavouring to increase his prestige by giving many potlatches when unable to pay his debts. Such a one is laughed at for his stinginess, which is not the attribute of a chief, and is given only small presents. [558]

It must be clearly understood that debts publicly incurred, in other words investment presents received at any ceremony, must be publicly returned, if the debtor is to gain the public esteem granted to one who pays back with interest. But everyone cannot give a potlatch; hence any young man desirous of returning his obligations, and of rising in public favour, can do so at a potlatch given by somebody else. Guests are present from abroad, so his discharge of indebtedness is made known farther afield than if he had done so at a local gathering, and the donor has the additional satisfaction of being able to give to these strangers. Sometimes as many as ten young men will ask X for permission to pay their debts at his potlatch. Such is never refused, because it means more ceremonial, and greater interest, which indirectly increase X's prestige. A young man who has been taken to a foreign potlatch as an adherent of a guest always receives presents, and if he repays these with interest his name begins to become known, especially as his return payments are unexpected. It is thus that a man whose chiefly name (or names) has been dormant for generations, can begin to restore it. Thanks to presents he gives at X's potlatch, he will in return receive large gifts, until finally he is able to give a potlatch himself. After X has paid his own indebtedness the debts of others are settled. In each case the speaker announces the amount received on such and such an occasion and the amount returned. Thus all present are able to estimate the generosity of the payer, a chiefly attribute. When a young man plans to give his first potlatch it is customary for the older chiefs of his village to advise whether he has

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boat caught fire, his goods were destroyed, and he, himself, 763
barely escaped. The Bella Coola regard coincidences of this 825
kind as confirmation of their beliefs.

As in the last instance, death does not always follow the hearing or seeing of an omen; it may simply presage some calamity. It is dangerous for a person to be addressed by a dog, although it is well known that dogs understand human speech and can talk if they desire. At the time of the writer's visit, it was a matter of general knowledge that a dog had spoken to a middle-aged Bella Coola woman a few years earlier. The animal was shot immediately, and the woman never revealed what it had said, but in spite of these pre- [158]
cautions she became insane and has never fully recovered.

The stone man, *Yuyulmyl*, near Kimsquit, who figures so 763
prominently in Bella Coola mythology, is another death omen. [773]
In early times, all who passed his station used to call out to him, and it was thought that those whom he failed to answer would die within a year. In that case, the voice was welcome, [825]
but the speech of an owl is still regarded with dread. If one of these birds utters the name of a dead person, the individual hearing it will soon die.

Besides these well-recognized omens, the Bella Coola be- 763
lieve that any peculiar visitation or hallucination is a probable 828
precursor of disaster. In many cases these fears are unjustified, but there are always sufficient accidents and misfortunes to corroborate their belief. An old Kimsquit man told of the manner in which his son had once come rushing into the house saying that he had seen a strange, black-faced creature. His father feared that it might have been *Sxalarwax*.

"Perhaps it was," continued the old man, "for my boy soon died."

Irrespective of the actual cause of death, about which the father is uncertain, he is convinced that he knew of its coming by his son's omen-apparition.

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CHAPTER IX

RELATIONS WITH THE SUPERNATURAL

Introductory—Sterile Apparitions—Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate—Supernatural Good Luck—Shamanism—Direct Revelations from the Supreme God—Power Localized in Certain Spots—Dreams

INTRODUCTORY

THE aspects of Bella Coola life thus far described have been principally of a nature which might be experienced by any member of the community. On the other hand, contact with supernatural beings is a privilege granted to individuals without respect to rank; even arduous appeal cannot assure it. The few to whom signal favours are granted acquire a position of importance totally different from that of chiefs. The Bella Coola are firmly convinced that supernatural beings abound in the mountains and forests of British Columbia, and that every activity of human life is governed by them. Not only do these creatures include monsters of the imagination, but birds, animals, and fish; even the activities of the human mind are considered to be beyond the scope of normal life. Ancient stories describing the actions of strange creatures and conversations between man and animals are accepted as truthful accounts, so that it seems obvious to the Bella Coola that his ancestors were more powerful than he is today. Never considering the possibility of errors in his stories, he accepts the alternative hypothesis that mankind has sadly degenerated from the golden age. Nevertheless, he assumes that the beings have not altered, and consequently hopes to encounter them on every occasion. Moreover, this firm background of belief makes it easy for him to recognize supernatural influence in events which a white man would consider to be natural. It is impossible to over-emphasize this concept.

787* [554] 787* 776 [828] [538] 981

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* 787 Dances portraying supernatural beings, carried out with [535] full vigour until a few years ago, further fostered belief in [781] them among participants and uninitiated alike. Consequently, many of the young and middle-aged men claim to have seen visions similar to those of their elders. The incident already described (I, p. 30) of the stump which was thought to be a grizzly bear is a case in point. On another occasion a young man mentioned casually that a few evenings before he had seen a headless man walking along the road and that, wishing to view the monstrosity more clearly, he had tried unsuccessfully to strike a match. The reason was obvious to him; the power of the supernatural visitor prevented the match from lighting. The man, who was undoubtedly convinced of the apparition, may have seen something, perhaps a whorl of fog, somewhat resembling a headless body. A white man would have con- [154] sidered such a sight impossible and absurd, whereas the Bella Coola felt little surprise at the appearance of such a creature and promptly accepted it for what it seemed to be.

[828] Mental activities as well as optical illusions are likewise ascribed to supernatural agency. These include profound agitations of the mind, and even what a white man would consider a passing thought. For instance, one morning when about to start work, a certain man stated that he would have good fortune during the day, that a dream had foretold it. At the time he was moving to a new house and needed help to shift a heavy stove. During the course of the day a number of white men happened to pass by and stopped to speak to him; the stove was mentioned, they offered to move it for him, and did so easily and quickly.

"There you are," said the man, "I told you I was going to have good fortune today."

On another occasion the same man claimed to have felt that misfortune had happened to him and soon learnt that one of his sons had been arrested on a charge of drunkenness and disorderly conduct. The man affirmed that he had this premonition before being aware of its cause.

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The explanation of these manifestations of the supernormal, 787 *
for such they are considered to be, lies in the conviction that 811
every activity of the mind is due to supernatural causation, 828
the functioning of the spirit. In the round of daily life there
are always good and bad incidents; the person who wakes 774
expecting to meet one or other before nightfall recognizes the
fulfilment of his premonition in some small occurrence, and
narrates it to his fellows as proof of what he had told them in
the morning. In case of some major event, such as death or
disaster, the Bella Coola assume that some previous indication
must have been given. Looking back after the event, a man
easily persuades himself that he "felt" a warning, and is more
than ever convinced that his spirit, the cause of his thoughts, 774
has supernatural ability.

Conviction in the near presence of the supernatural has had 177
somewhat surprising results with regard to Christian Bella 787 *
Coola. A man converted in middle life carries all the fervour
and realism of the old religion with him to the new, and feels 781
thoroughly familiar with the atmosphere of the Old Testament. 797
Visitations, such as therein described, are similar to those
experienced by his fathers and himself, and he scorns the white
man who questions their literal accuracy. He continues to
hear the voices of supernatural beings, and to interpret mental 828
pictures as visions, but he ascribes them to the beings of the
white man's religion. The following is a rather striking illustration of this point:

A number of years ago a devout Christian, who may be 159
designated X, was a patient in the hospital at Bella Bella. In
the same ward was a young Bella Bella lad whose sickness 177
refused to yield to treatment. X, becoming interested in his 787 *
neighbour, began to ponder about his condition, until presently
he felt convinced that the sufferer would be better by seven 781
o'clock the following morning, and told him so. A marked 797
improvement was noticeable by the time predicted, but the
white doctor foolishly (according to X) gave his patient some

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though they may be to the white man. It is hoped that the preceding illustrations, drawn from recent times, will explain the mental attitude of the Bella Coola better than incidents from folk-lore of the distant past. 787 *

Disregarding thoughts which, since they are caused by the spiritual elements of the human body, are ever present, relations with the supernatural may be divided into the following categories: [828] [774]

(1) Appearance of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. Strictly speaking, every fleeting sight of a supernatural being belongs to this category, but it will be convenient to describe only experiences of a peculiar kind, such as the Bella Coola call *ułun-abālawadjutlaix*. Usually manifestations of the supernatural have certain effects; consequently, there are relatively few incidents of this kind recorded.

(2) Supernatural aid vouchsafed to a man or a woman in distress. There are many tales illustrating this, which are told and retold to the children. In most cases the assistance is given to one who has undeservedly, according to Bella Coola concepts, fallen into misfortune.

(3) Supernatural good luck. This may be obtained by anyone, and consists of the acquisition of a supernatural object to attract, not only fish and animals, as if it were a potent bait, but money and goods as well. [777] [224] [226]

(4) Acquisition of shamanistic power, with or without the ability to cure the sick. This may be received from one of two sources: [756]

(*a*) *Ťłitcāplilān-a* or some other supernatural being.

(*b*) Ghosts, which are likewise supernatural. [775]

(5) Obtaining prophetic powers direct from the supreme god. There are few instances of this, and none that is ascribed to a remote period. It is possible that all examples of this kind can be attributed to indirect Christian influence. [177]

(6) Obtaining power from a supernatural being localized in a particular spot. This usually takes the form of succour when [756]

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* 756 like power, and will tell their son to try the same method. In
* 787 this way a descendant of shamans has a better chance to become one than anybody else. Another indication that a person is likely to become a shaman is to be wakened from sleep by a mouse. As he sits up, hastily, thinking that someone has called
[825] him, all that he sees is the disappearing rodent. Mice have a rather peculiar position in the eyes of the Bella Coola, since they believe that these animals regard themselves as superior to mankind.

"The food of mortals is our food," say the mice.

His parents now tell the boy that he is likely to become a shaman, and that he must accordingly take great care of himself. If he is an adult, he will begin to observe ceremonial
[785] chastity, and in any case will spend much time alone, avoiding the trivialities of life in the village, and will think little about mundane matters. At intervals he goes alone to the forest, especially to some spot beside a waterfall, the kind of place that supernatural beings frequent. Here he lies down, sometimes for several days, with evergreen boughs spread beneath and above him. These are clean and nullify the mortal odour so objectionable to supernatural beings, so that his chance of obtaining a visitation is increased. He does not know what may appear to him, but he carefully remembers his dreams[1] which, as his thoughts are centred on lofty subjects, are likewise about matters of importance. If his dream is sufficiently clear to warrant the term vision, the recipient should remain, fasting, for four days on the spot where it occurred, and should say nothing about it when he returns home. His strength increases with every vision, until at last, sometimes after a period of thirty years or more, he will obtain a real one and the power to cure a disease. Sometimes dreams come to him in the village, but they are more likely to occur in a secluded spot in the forest. It is impossible to obtain examples of these dreams
[178] since, for a long time, no one has been brave enough to seek

[828] [1]The Bella Coola do not differentiate between mental images that appear in dreams and visions seen during waking hours.

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* 756 shaman from the dead once visited the land of ghosts and
775 learnt their needs. They informed him that food and clothing
787 thrown on the ground did not reach them, and that in order to do so it must be cast on the fire. Instead of journeying to the land of the dead some shamans receive their powers from ghosts who ascend to this earth, as the following account describes.

539 Within the lifetime of an elderly Bella Coola informant, a certain
* 756 woman, *Sîkwalwhlûr* by name, left her house one evening for a few
775 minutes. When she came back she was crazy. Her face was green, her
787 mouth and face distorted and twisted, she could only whistle when she tried to talk, and kept endeavouring to walk on her hands. Taking her
[828] blankets, she went through the motions of washing them, but instead of using water, she dragged them to and fro through the ashes of the central fire, until, utterly exhausted, she lay down. By these symptoms it was recognised that a ghost had stricken her with madness, and several
[755] shamans of the dead were called upon for help. For a long time their efforts were fruitless. Then one of them obtained some stained menstrual pads. While another conducted the frantic beating of sticks, the leading practitioner waved one of the pads through the smoke of the central fire and laid it, with hemlock bark and dyed cedar-bark, on the patient's face. After leaving it there a few moments, he took it off and, while the beating of sticks was stilled, threw it out the door. When this had been done four times the woman was restored to sanity. Later on she said she had seen the ghost of a certain *Triowûl*, a man recently deceased. Emerging from her trance she found herself in her house surrounded by numerous people and the shaman working over her. If he had not been able to cure her, she would have died; in fact, it was impossible to discover whether the Bella Coola regarded this woman as having been cured of an illness, or as having been restored from the dead.

Sîkwalwhlûr called for the singers to whom she sang four songs, relating what she had seen. They described how she stood by a fire in the land below, where the sun travelled from west to east, and where everything differed from this earth, though reminiscent of it. The singers learnt the songs, and it was to their music that the woman danced on later occasions. She was able ever afterwards not only to cure maladies caused by ghosts but to talk with them. For this purpose she was in the habit of lying down at night in the graveyard, looking down into the land of the dead which was open to her, and conversing with the inhabitants in a strange whistling language which the living could hear, but could not

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159 in his sleep, and hopes that it will grant him specific super-
* 787 natural power. He realizes that he could increase the prob-
ability of obtaining this by ceremonial chastity, and believes
[785] that it would come to him if he went alone to the woods and
lay fasting for some time. Another means would be to con-
[797] centrate his thoughts upon the desired end, but X is too good
a Christian to do so; he is in the unhappy position of knowing
too much of two religions to be able to practise either unre-
servedly. Such experiences are not likely to occur to any but
a man of high-strung, imaginative temperament, to whom
dreams and mental excitements appear especially vivid. X is
intensely religious, so that it is easy for him to interpret every
phenomenon in terms of the supernatural. It will be noted
that most of the dreams just described took place when he was
sick, precisely the time when hallucinations are to be expected.
They were more coherent than those of most Bella Coola,
though the difference is one of degree rather than of kind.

* 787 Most dreams are comparatively simple, and the informa-
tion received in them is intelligible. They come to all, irre-
spective of rank or prerogative. Nevertheless, it is believed
[828] that an inheritable tendency runs in some families; this does
not mean that all members of such a group dream constantly,
[821] but they are more likely to do so than others. Those occurring
at the winter solstice are more carefully observed than at other
[773] times, since it is then that the supernatural beings decide events
for the coming year and a man's spirit may be able to inform
[777] him of what has been decided. Consequently, as soon as
Alqaxtáin enters *Nacwáta*, wise men separate from their wives
[785] and concentrate on dreaming, hoping to learn what is in store
for them. For instance, if a man sees himself seated before a
large pile of goods, he knows that he will have the good fortune
to do this during the coming year; on the other hand, if he
foresees ill luck, it means that he will be unfortunate. Another
[821] time when dreams are especially desired is before the summer
[224] solstice when hunters in particular observe ceremonial chas-
[785] tity. This purification not only increases the likelihood of such

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*539 *787 hand, as if it had been a blow from a feather, and wrenched it from his opponent. Another of the brothers likewise struck at him with a pole, but again *Qwinas* seized it from his grasp. Then he stretched out one hand, caught the holder of the stick by the neck, and squeezed until the man's head parted from his body. In the same manner *Qwinas* killed two more of the brothers, allowing only one of them to escape. His bear friends had been in the vicinity, but help from them was not required.

Qwinas finished the construction of his olachen-weirs and then went back to his aunt's house. The brother who had escaped had already brought tidings of what had occurred, and the old woman, fearful of the consequences, angrily asked *Qwinas* why he had done such a thing. He quickly quieted her by reminding her that it was she who had led him to think of revenge by telling him of the reason of his father's murder.

Qwinas remained quietly at home for the rest of that summer and the ensuing winter, but early in the spring he began to build an enormous salmon-weir. The fame of his strength had spread far and near among the coastal people so that many of them came to assist him. The weir was rapidly finished and was a great success. With the wealth of salmon obtained, *Qwinas* was able to give numerous potlatches and took for himself the name *Łáliákdja*. In course of time he married the daughter of *ułyuyut*.

Qwinas was a great inventor. The next winter he made a net for olachen, which he used with great success in the spring. It was the first time that this had ever been done and the pattern he used has since been copied by the Kimsquit people. The following winter his aunt, acting on his instructions, made the first small salmon-net. Not only are the invention of these two useful articles ascribed to *Qwinas*, but also the first use of the bow and arrow, as well as other valuable appliances. After a long life he died, but he is still remembered for his achievements.[11]

A NEGLECTED OPPORTUNITY

[828] A few Bella Coola believe that supernatural experiences of the foregoing type tend to occur in certain families, although not with sufficient frequency to be called an inheritable characteristic. A middle-aged man who held this belief gave the following account of a personal encounter.

His father had obtained power from a black bear, and once when hunting he himself saw a track of which three footprints were those of a

[124] [11]The above differs from the usual tales of this category in that the participants are well known. In consequence their descendants take a family pride in it and tend to add it to the ancestral myth of the first *Smooan*, perhaps improperly. Probably it is a tale that members of a certain family have sought to ascribe to their own ancestors.

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154 who has been "cured" of an illness, recovers; the man whose
771 death has been "caused" by magic, dies. An average white
789 man would consider such statements to be erroneous, but they not only figure in stories and beliefs, but some of them have been actually observed by the writer. The explanation lies in the susceptibility of the Bella Coola to suggestion. The conviction that he is to die so weakens a man that death often results; belief that he is to recover, aids a sick person to throw off the malady. This sentiment, intelligible in case of disease, is equally applicable in other matters. The child who has been [868] endowed with carpentry skill grows up with the conviction to assist his labours. Moreover, his relatives and friends are also aware of it, and he receives every opportunity to practise, so that the outcome desired is often the consequence of the act. 789 Though the Bella Coola do not appreciate that psychological
• 828 and sociological factors may be the real cause of the result, they realize the importance of the power of thought. For [771] example, if a group of people is unanimous in wishing some end, or expects some event to happen, it is believed that their thoughts are strong enough to bring about its occurrence. The following examples illustrate this point:

It is said that when the white man first came to British Columbia, a tribe of Indians was living in a secluded valley, far to the south. As more and more settlers arrived, the occupants were driven from their homes and forced into the barren [787] mountains. One night, *Alquntám* came in a vision to one of the natives, saying:

"I see what you desire; you want the white men to withdraw. You, yourself, are helpless. But if all your fellows wish the same, the white men will depart."

The man told all his friends and they agreed to concentrate the next night on their wish to expel the white man. A few failed to do so, and nothing happened. The second night there was the same lack of unanimity. The desire to drive away the intruders grew stronger in course of time, until one night this was the centre of the thoughts of all; next morning the white

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men had vanished. It is possible that in this particular case there was a belief that *Alqunăm* granted the wish when convinced that all had the same desire, but this element is often entirely lacking.

Belief in the power of thought is a concept which the investigator constantly meets in Bella Coola at the present day. For example, in 1921 a government official working in the valley, purchased a representation of a merganser which had been used in a ceremonial.[9] Although this should have been destroyed after use, no difficulty would have been raised if the transaction had remained a secret. Unfortunately, the buyer allowed the object to be seen by several Bella Coola and by some Carriers. This caused indignation throughout the community and news of it reached the Bella Bella, who concluded that the vendor would suffer disaster for allowing a secret object to be seen by the despised Indians of the interior. Within a year, his wife died. The Bella Bella believed that his sin had brought its own punishment, but the Bella Coola, who knew the details of the sale and did not consider the exposure of the article to have been the fault of the seller, attributed it to the power of the thoughts of the Bella Bella. They all expected that he would be punished; therefore he was punished; the expectation was sufficient to effect its own fulfilment. This incident was too fresh in the minds of several men to allow them to sell ceremonial objects to the writer.

The most common form taken by this conviction is with regard to death; if it is believed that a man will die, he is almost certain to do so. In June, 1922, a woman died in Bella Coola and her father claimed that she had been murdered by a certain man either with material poison or by magical means. He took no direct steps in revenge but stated emphatically that the man whom he suspected would die within a year. The threatened man knew of this, and more than once said that he

[9] The artifact, now in the National Museum of Canada, consists of a cloth and wood representation of a merganser canoe such as was used by *Hamats* in the beginning of time.

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754 would probably fall a victim. He became ill in May, 1923,
961 and, though treated by a white doctor, grew steadily worse
789 until he died in the latter part of June, three weeks after the
828 year had elapsed. All the Bella Coola firmly believe that this
[622] was due to the power of thought. The father of the woman was a powerful chief whose thoughts were accordingly potent, and some consider that his concentrated desires and expectations were enough to kill the accused, while others believe that his expressed statements convinced others of the result, and that it was their combined thought that caused the death. It usually requires the thoughts of more than one individual to lead to this effect. The doctor who attended this man stated that his patient had shown symptoms of melancholy and resignation during his last sickness; it seems clear that the expectation of death must have lessened his chance of recovery.

771 A prominent theme in Bella Coola folk-lore is the belief
954 that a person cannot long survive who has made himself un-
828 popular. It is sometimes stated that a magical means was
[538] employed to remove him, and this was no doubt often the case; a person who learns that a "medicine" had been employed to kill him is in no fit mental condition to counteract the power of suggestion, particularly if he knows that others are aware of what has been done. His death is regarded as proof of the efficacy of the means employed and the belief of others grows stronger. As already stated, this conviction still survives. When this ethnological investigation was being conducted, a
[648] point under discussion was whether or not the Kimsquit people should be allowed to live in Bella Coola. One chief took the lead in objecting and everyone expected that, having thus roused the ire of would-be immigrants, he would die. He did so soon afterwards, and it is universally believed that it was caused by the concentration of the hostile thoughts of the Kimsquit. Sim-
[784] ilarly, the potency of taboos is increased by the fact that since time immemorial the thoughts of everyone have been opposed to any infraction. Consequently, an offender is liable to punishment both for breaking an injunction and because he

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has gone contrary to something about which there has been universal agreement for generations. 771 754

To understand Bella Coola medicines it is, therefore, necessary to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practise them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to those effecting death, but is equally true with regard to all medicines, whether curative or causative. 828 [784] [755]

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of medicines. Knowledge of most remedies has been handed down for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type can be practised by any member of the group to which it belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment, but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction that only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship of some medicines, but these are indicated whenever possible. 424 755 757 [614] [465] [614] [425]

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757 *For Head-ache*

Tie around the forehead a piece of dyed cedar-bark, undyed cedar-bark, or other similar material. No herbal remedy is known.

For Eye Trouble

Moisten the finger with saliva and rub the eyes with it.

For Baldness (two means)

(1) Boil cottonwood buds in water, causing the gum to exude. Skim this from the surface, mix with fresh olachen grease or oil obtained from sockeye salmon, and rub on the scalp.

(2) Rub on the scalp oil from olachen, dog-fish, or any kind of salmon. The best is grease from the liver (?) of a dog-fish, obtained by hanging the organ before a fire and collecting the drops which exude.

For Skin Irritation

Rub dog-fish liver oil on the rash or itching part.

755 *For Excessive Dreaming and Nightmares* (two means)
828

(1) Burn dried salmon beneath the bed of the person afflicted.

(2) Lie in a canoe which has been chiselled out to the right thickness but has not been widened and hardened by smoke. A mat is laid across for this purpose and the smoke directed beneath, thoroughly fumigating anyone lying within. An informant was so treated as a young man when he was greatly troubled by nightmares in which he used to see a huge head which so terrified him that he would leave his bed to rush around the house shrieking and tearing his hair. This medicine cured his trouble.

757 *For Canker*

Pound up a snail and rub on the sore spot within the mouth.

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that the proximity of such intensely human articles is enough to counteract and render powerless anything of a superhuman nature. Likewise, when a certain woman came in contact with the War-Party of the Tides and began to exhibit symptoms of insanity, she was cured by drinking water in which other women had squeezed out their menstrual pads. Another defence is the burning of dried salmon, fumigation from which is particularly effective for one who suffers from nightmares. Other remedies already mentioned are to cut the right leg and smear a bullet with the resultant blood in order to kill a *cuang*, and to lacerate the inside of the mouth and spit to withstand a capsizing mountain.

The medicine most commonly taken is false hellebore, the use of which was learnt by some ancient shaman. At dusk a hunter should eat a small twig of it, raw; it draws from his stomach everything injurious, particularly women's hairs, which are abhorred by animals, and ensures him success on the morrow. If he takes too much of it, he becomes ill and must swallow the antidote, mountain goat grease or marrow. He should also carry twigs of the plant with him, ready either to swallow or throw in the direction of any dreaded supernatural being whom he may encounter. Eagle down and dried salmon roe are sometimes similarly used.

The powers of a person who has obtained supernatural ability, whether or not he is a shaman, can be destroyed by similar means. For example, a lad treated so that he understands the speech of ravens, will lose his ability if he eats food cooked or prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has lost her husband within the last year, or if he passes through the hole in the floor used by an adolescent girl. The last Bella Coola with this skill was deadened to the meaning of the birds' crooking by tying near his sister one night for warmth, since her mere proximity was enough to nullify his power. This aspect of medicine merges with taboos. So, too, the power of an object can be destroyed by washing; an instance of this is

Ayamlim enters and confers on *Sacsac* matters with *Sacsacklaix*, his assistant in affairs connected with his functions as leader of the supernatural *Sacsac*.[1] This being acts as announcer and intermediary with *Ayamlim*, but himself lacks the power of initiating matters. The two discuss whether or not it is advisable to allow mortal *Sacsac* to perform certain dances of the type known as *Sacsac* (II, p. 118), and if so, they transmit the necessary power to the earthly dancer who has the proper prerogative, thus enabling him to give a graphic representation of what is done in the upper land.

This is the manner of the *Sacsac* dances. Each portrays a performance given by one of the supernatural beings in the house above, or some other aspect of his activities. Each earthly dancer has as patron a supernatural being, usually the one who carries out the dance of which his own is a model, and between patron and protégé there exists a relationship by means of which the latter receives the power necessary to perform. To do so, the uninitiated believe that he must receive a *pus*, which can be translated as "call," from his associate above. Moreover, not only is each patron a supernatural being, but each is guided by *Ayamlim* in the performance of the *Sacsac* rites in the land above, which indirectly increases the prestige of the protégé.

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[1] The differences of belief of individual Bella Coola, dependent upon family traditions, is nowhere shown with greater clearness than in the meeting of the leaders of the supernatural dances. It is clear that the Bella Coola have no uniformity of belief, even in what might be regarded as fundamental concepts. One informant, well versed in *Sacsac* matters, asserted that there are five supernatural leaders, *Ayamlim* and his assistants, *Sacsacklaix*, *Sacsacqlaix*, *Sacsacklaix*, and *Sacsacklaix*. Others were equally emphatic that *Ayamlim* is the *Sacsac* name of the supreme deity, and that *Sacsacklaix*, *Sacsacklaix*, and *Sacsacklaix*, are merely other designations for the same deity with regard to different functions. The belief has been inferred during the monograph, for designating the supreme deity as *Ayamlim*, one name by which he is known with respect to the *Sacsac* powers. These two opinions are not so basically different as appears at first sight. A man is considered as having two, or more, personalities with respect to different class as which he is called by different names. Since the supreme deity is regarded as a magician, who functions in diverse manners, it is not difficult to understand how there are sometimes ascribed to different individuals, and sometimes to the one under different names.

their faces. In spite of what he may have seen, the lad cannot rid himself of the supernatural fears with which he has been involved from childhood, and the experience is mortifying to a degree. It may be that he has seen some of the whistles, and thereby knows that the strange sounds are made by men, not by supernatural beings. In this case he is shown their mechanism in detail, and warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells others of his knowledge. Fear impels him to silence, and at the same time he realizes that what he has discovered has placed him in a superior position to that of his former associates. He feels, too, that he has been admitted into the ranks of the society in which his father, grandfather, and ancestors have distinguished themselves, and that it would be desecration to make light of what they have held sacred. Finally, an initiate does not at first grasp the fact that all the cries are deceptions, and by the time that this is apparent to him he has become so thoroughly a part of the organization that he has no thought of betraying his associates, upsetting a vital part of the complicated fabric of Bella Coola life, and exposing himself to ruin and death. A logical white man might think these considerations insufficient, but the existence of the society proves that the varied motives operate so strongly that a young man does keep silence. Some informants state that hypnotism was formerly used to ensure obedience.

The *Sisiutl* are always ready to deal with an emergency such as sometimes occurs in spite of every precaution. It is remembered that about one hundred and fifty years ago during a dance at the village of *Nuqulmate*, a figure, representing one of the supernatural beings, lost the misfortune to drop his mask, the vestige by which it was *sisiutl* having worn through. The house was crowded with uninitiated to whom the deception at once became apparent. For a moment there was wild confusion, but the senior *Sisiutl* rose to the occasion and closed the door, allowing no uninitiated person to leave. Then a *Sisiutl* was sent out with a whistle which he sounded as if the supernatural being of which it was the voice was growing

[illegible]

[illegible] 575*
[illegible] 576*
[illegible] 34
[illegible] 228

they are prohibitive; he must not sleep with his wife for four days.

Like a Cannibal, X is liable to frenzy for the rest of the commercial season. During this period he remains secluded within his house, and the uninitiated willingly avoid him, believing him to be mentally deranged. He attends every dancer dance, where his brown madness helps to frighten the uninitiated. If strangers from Kitnaqun or *Tal'a* visit Bella Coola, he at once becomes frenzied, rushes to the beach and screeches them, precisely as a Cannibal would do; in this case he must be pacified in the same manner. A Screecher always serves goods to unexpected screeched foreigners. If it is the first time that X has danced, he must remain secluded for the following summer, and give his ceremony the next winter. During the warm months he remains within the back-room of his house, and though some of the uninitiated know of his presence, still believing him mad they do not intrude upon his privacy. The coming of foreigners during this period enrices him to frenzy and he screeches them, irrespective of the time of year.

It might be mentioned that some Screecher names are indicative of the dancer's function, and others, such as "The Cause of Fear," have reference to his process. [illegible]

THE BREAKER DANCE

When a Bella Coola speaks of the four which dancer dances 575*
[illegible] 576*
[illegible] 34
[illegible] 181
[illegible] 555

cause the uninitiated, he almost invariably cites in order the Cannibal, Screech, and Breaker dances. Unlike with these three prerogatives have no more privileges than other members of the society, nor are they considered superior in rank, but similarity in their functions leads to an almost automatic association. If questioned further, a Bella Coola will usually say that he regards the Cannibal dance to be first, with the Screech and Breaker equal, but less important. Breakers share with Cannibals and Screechers the prerogatives of not blackening their faces, of having as theme for their songs the land

[illegible] 302
[illegible] 555
[illegible] 264

[The Breaker Dance]

X is one of the few *kukusiut* having the prerogative of supernatural singers. The evening's ceremony concludes in the usual fashion.

Until the departure of his call, X is liable to fits of frenzy and at on both *qatlem* and *nuluxam* he often visits every house and breaks utensils, though his guardians appear to be making great effort to restrain him. Breakers, irrespective of their usual prerogative, are enabled to act in any unusual manner they desire, and strive to excel in peculiar behaviour. A favorite trick is to smear themselves with excrement, either in imitation. It is difficult to over-estimate the enormous prestige which such actions call forth in the eyes of the uninitiated, to whom it appears that the coming of a call entirely alters the mentality of the recipient, a belief which the *kukusiut* make every effort to maintain. Nothing further need be said of other *qatlem* or the preliminaries of *nuluxam*, both of which follow the usual pattern.

When the uninitiated are admitted to X's house on *nuluxam* evening, they are filled with wonder at the sight of the masked singers, of *Sisnultymulsk Alqumim*, and of the four supernatural Breakers who move wildly to and fro as the songs are sung, as if only the eagle down which the *kukusiut* blow upon them restrains them from destroying property. The fluent *Sisnultymulsk* makes the most of her opportunity to describe the wonders which are before their eyes. Then the uninitiated are told that it will be safer for them to withdraw, and hurry out. Presently they are startled to hear the sound of people moving, and the four supernatural Breakers, followed by all the *kukusiut*, leave the house and proceed to the lowest one in the village. Around the fire go the masked four, picking up stones and hurling them at any destructible property. Most houses contain a number of stones which have been used in boiling liquids, so that there is no lack of missiles. *Kukusiut* who are wise take care to hide or remove valuable property before this inroad begins, since the wearers of the masks take advantage of the opportunity to destroy the goods of those

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Ła'ełimut: *Kwakiutl* name of a *Nuxalk* man.
Łała'ełimut: *Kwakiutl* name of a Bella Coola man.
[824] *łaqal*: Inner bark of cedar.
łaxałmut, "A Stripping Off": The giving, on demand, by a marriage dancer of his clothing to a herald.
'Łexwmqałała: Supernatural name of Raven.
[828] *łemeis*, "Frenzied": Term applied to Cannibals and other destructive *łaxałmut* when in a state of madness.
łpexw: Occasional exclusion of all but the singers from a house where a dance is performing.
łqwexwmałała: Kitamqat man mentioned in an ancient story.
łxwcatmen: *Kwakiutl* name, probably of *Kwakiutl* origin.

M

Ma'ełus: Female dancer mentioned in a Raven story.
Mełkulus: *Kwakiutl* name of a *Kitamqat* man.
[601] *mama*, *mamin*, *mamen*: Mother, term used by children.
Mamaqa: Celebrated *Xenaxa* hunter.
[825] *mam-alpa*: Butterfly.
mam-alka: Measuring worm.
mam-a: Fly, insect.
[824] *ma'mamin*: Swamp gooseberry.
[601] *mia*: 1—Father, common term in indirect address.
2—Occasional designation for the supreme deity.
mi-ełimut: Storyteller.
[614] *mimmimuk*: Elderly male relatives of same ancestral family.
Mimmy[m]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nałkuz* in the beginning of time.
2—Form of the name *Dadamy*[m] when used by a male child.
Mimmy[m] *ma-a*: Form of the name *Dadamy*[m] when used by a female child.
Mimmimkmuk: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
Mimpamuk: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[804] *mi-łqi*: Measure of distance equal to the breadth of one thumb plus one finger.
[825] *mi-ną'*: Toad.
minqaqa: Supernatural giant toad.
miskin, Salmon eggs.
mu-mała: Old male sea-lion.
mu-mimkin: Water weasel.
Mqamuxw: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[601] *Mucumkim*, "Long Neck": One of the supernatural names of Great Blue Heron.
muqmuqi: Co-husband in a polyandrous household.
[824] *mu'mmi-i*: One of the parsleys.
muqłał: Berry, black in colour.
Mumamkimuk: Generic term for the four supernatural Carpenters.
mumimkin: Spruce.
Mu'ułu: One of the first men to settle at *Nałkuz* in the beginning of time.
Mułkuz: Land of salmon.
[824] *Mu'ulu*: Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
mułu-a: Stick carried by hunters when penetrating into the mountains.
[824] *mułu*[m]: Red huckleberry.

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Nuxuxuyuxuw: Women endowed supernaturally by *Ana'Sinalcain* and serving as patron (?) to a *hactat* dancer.

[719] nuxulitsi: Omen of death.

Nuxutcumdmum, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Tsinqulitsa*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nuxuxmdsin: 1—Man dwelling in *Kimsquit*'s house.
2—*Hactat* name of a Kimsquit woman.

nuxuyim: The cry of *hi, hi*, uttered by Cannibals.

Nuxuxmuxu: *Hactat* name assumed by a *Dzaxe* woman in the beginning of time.

[424] nuxuyaxmin: *Hactat* with right to display a puppet-person. The difference, if any, between this and *yaitsum* is obscure.

Nu'uxmdsamuxu, "The Widower": One of *Kwaxa*'s names as chief.

[535] nuxlaxcilal'an: Synonym for *ginaxum*: Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

Nuqlaxcilalan, "Shoulderly Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[302] nuqlaxcum: The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.

nuqulalaxa: Medicine brewed in a shell.

Nuqlaymin, "Place of Much Spawn": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nuqnqamin: *Hocqual* name of a Kimsquit man.

Nuqlilqualaxa: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[305] nuqlaxcum'al'an'ulc: One year.

[528] nuqum: Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogatives.

nuqlal, "Empty House": House in which a *hactat* dance is taking place.

nuqlalqat: The throwing of grease on a fire to burn, both literally and figuratively, a chief.

[821] Nuqlaly": 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.

[827] nuqulitsu: Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

nuqumsum: Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *hactatum* and other important *hactat* rites.

[777] nuq'nuxulitsu: Unexpected stroke of good fortune.

Nuqsmdsalin: *Ducal* name of a Kimsquit man.

[772] Nuqualin: Site of an ancient town on Johnson Pass.

Nuqulalu: The upper heavens.

nuqlaxu: Women with thick pubic hair.

Nuqumdsalaxa: A *Dzaxe* ancestress.

Nuqlaqumdsamin, "Where *Nuqumdsin* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[828] nuqlaqum'anqu: Contracted body.

Nuqlaqum'an, "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Dzaxe* in the beginning of time.

nuqlaqum: Cane-cutter.

Nuqlaxa: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Nuqlali*.

[535] nuqlalaqum: Children's dance which serves as training for *hactat* rites and to provide entertainment.

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#142 [534] [103] [823] [101] [825] [227] [585] [425] [828] [824] [262] [825] [264]

[illegible]: Synonym for *gamo'o*, the large cone-shaped sound whistle.
[illegible]: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
[illegible]: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
[illegible]: "Thorny River"; River flowing from the north into the northern corner of the head of North Bentinck Arm. The Anglicized form is Nalbeno-cosmy.
[illegible]: Stone supernaturally born from another at sea level.
[illegible]: Grassy village.
[illegible], "The Mother of Dogs": Name given to a Bella Bella woman in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Earlier name of a *Stam* man.
[illegible]: Name of a female ancestress.
[illegible], "The Light Giver": One of the names of the supreme god.
[illegible]: Light.
[illegible]: Earlier name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
[illegible]: Ritual name of a Kimsquit man.
[illegible]: "Grub-Breaker": Name taken by daughter of the first settlers at *Stam* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Mountain goat with long hair on its chest.
[illegible], "The Silent Night": The hushed assemblage of Indians after departure of a Cannibal.
[illegible]: Cross-piece which holds upper mouth of shaman's net.
[illegible]: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
[illegible]: Public promise by the parents of bride and bridegroom on the wedding night that names will be provided for southern children. This is combined with an exchange of origin myths. The term is also used for a similar promise of rights to hunting grounds, although the granting of this is now secret.
[illegible]: Mountain goat *Stam*.
[illegible]: Person who wanders away from home to disappearance.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at *Tal'ai* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Level of salmon.

[illegible]: Kimsquit name for *c'ish*, eulachon.
[illegible]: Known but mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Grass with edible roots growing on tide flats.
[illegible]: Valley pre-emptied by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Herald who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: 1—The factor prerequisite of something.
2—Bad, adjective.
[illegible]: Earlier name of a *Sand* man.
[illegible], "The Worthless One": Name assumed by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[illegible], "The One that Changes Itself": Supposed name of spring salmon.
[illegible]: Assemblage of the people for food of any kind.

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Kimsquit: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.
Kwaxilaxil: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Dzoo* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—Earlier name of a Bella Coola woman.
ol'ncite: Intangible further prerogative of initiating voices. [424]
oldjidzkwate: Song sung by a *Sacrium* dancer on recovery from apparent death.
ollitte: Regular beatings given to a male child. [861]
Opitlum, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]
Papakwate: Rain after storm, unfamiliarmyphical. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]
Papakwate ol Ziet, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]
repudiate: Term of repudiation applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial duties. [626]
repudi: Outright removal of a prerogative or marriage. [425]
retate: Departure to a new locality. [601]
rit, rusatin, ritat: Father's brother or mother's brother. [501]
rital: Public. [778]
rigatate: Dangerous power such as is present at various powdered places.
Sikkatate: One of the names of the supreme god.
Sitilkq'i: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.
ziet, tsatin, ziet: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for power, the large sound whistle. [825]
4—Killer whale.
5—Song.
6—Earlier name of one of the first men to settle on Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Sisiutl: Part of a peculiar repository.
Skaxaxilis: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior. [538]
sumatin: Wordless chorus.
Tsatlin, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
Tsisil: Celebrated *Tsilhqotin* chief living in the last century.
ulcilitate: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a dependent person. [928]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]
Xpaxoo w: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Earlier name of a Bella Coola woman.
zinte tsaxtin: Place where healing power is purified.
Zinzinkwate: Synonym for *Sikkatate*, the supernatural being connected with sound cloth.
zinzinkwq: Earlier dance or object used in the land claim which serves as pertain to social, economic, for the man's prestige as well.
zinzinkwate: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public ceremony of a forthcoming marriage. [574]
zinzuk: Unwanted marriage. [848]
zipatin: To perform the services of a herald to a woman, especially the proper direction of all chiefly class. The word *zinzin* may be connected with this.

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[192] [illegible]: Supposed good luck.
[192] [illegible]: Fog.
[192] [illegible]: Pack-rat.
[192] [illegible]: Mind or mentality.
[192] [illegible]: Place of lucky finds, and as a point where whales drift ashore.
[illegible]: Cannibal monsty returned from the land above.
Ilillelo'a: One of the first women to settle at *Xalla* in the beginning of time.
[192] [illegible]: Mountain.
[illegible] or [illegible]: Salmon, generic form.
[illegible]: (Probably) vision of an animal, *orthair*.
[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[179] [illegible]: Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be related by women.
[illegible]: Women mentioned in an ancient story.
[192] [illegible]: Bella Coola chief.
[illegible]: Darkness, anthropomorphized.
[192] [illegible]: Anger.
[illegible]: Sun.
[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at *Xlyaklaal* in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—Full name of a Lemequit man.
4—Short name of a Lemequit man.
[illegible]: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.
[127] [illegible]: Moon.
[illegible]: "Sunset": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Cross placed with ancestors spears.
[375] [illegible]: 1—Factors intimately connected with chiefs.
2—Member of the winter.
[illegible]: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a double-headed salmon.
[illegible]: Moon's name of a *local* woman.
[illegible]: Property, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Nintpilite'a* to the one [illegible].
[illegible]: Father's sister or mother's sister (in either direct or indirect address).
[illegible]: The ceremonial enough acquired by a child through the repurchase of [illegible].
[illegible]: Property given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
[illegible]: Western dock (plant).
[illegible]: Sacrifices.
[illegible]: Distribution of company tasks prior to a potlatch.
[illegible]: "Food Supply": Synonym for *ut'ulum*, ancestral hunting-ground.
[illegible]: Pumpkin.
[illegible]: Black huckleberry.
[illegible]: Eye-balls of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

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xnā'ā: A place of petrified power, i.e., a locality where a supernatural being has been rendered incapable of moving. [778]

xnāā'ā: xlnaxta, "Petrified Name": Designation brought from above in the beginning of time.

xnē'ā: 1—Mussel. [825]
2—Freshwater mussel.

xnaxnanak: One of the thrushes.

xnapānāx: An animal, especially a bear, showing a kindly disposition towards man.

Xnāhāk: Ānāx-ānā man mentioned in an ancient story.

xnāxā'k': 1—Gum.
2—Name of son made by Raven in the beginning of time.

xnāy: Slave.

Xnaqhāhila: One of the first men to settle at *Ānāla* in the beginning of time.

xnāyam: Visionary receiving power direct from the supreme god.

xnāxnāwqa: Worm or larva living under the ocean.

Xnāxlāhnaw'a: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.

Xnāxla: Supernatural being who holds earth in position.

Xnāxnāw'a: Supernatural woman who restores those who suffer misfortune in the performance of *kaxlax* rites.

Xnāxlā'ha: *Kaxlax* name of a Bella Coola woman; it was obtained at *Tā'ā'a* in the beginning of time.

xnāxq: 1—Mythical monster.
2—Man living at Kimsquit in early times.

xnāqax dī xnq'ālāx: Posts of the sun, the barriers which cause it to retrace its course at the solstices. [821]

xnāqax ne xnālā: Variety of *xnāxq* living above tree line.

Xnāyānlāxāxta: Stealer of thoughts, an invisible barrier within the door which prevents a man from carrying out a potlatch by robbing him of his good intentions. The concept is anthropomorphized as a supernatural being. [828]

Xne-ālāhāy: Island south-west of Bella Bella.

Xne'ālāla: Ālqantem: Deer son of the supreme god.

Xne'xnāyānla, "On the Point": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Xnāqāqa: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

xne'ālpāna: Ceremonial collar of hemlock bark, dyed cedar-bark, and undyed cedar-bark such as is given to *Pīnāqāhāw'a.* The word may refer to the throwing of this on the fire.

xnāqāx'ā: Unidentified berry. [824]

xnāxlānāla: Top used by one of the sons of the supreme god.

Xnāxlānāla: Supernatural being resident above who has the power of causing things to rust up and come to him.

xnāxlānāy: Part of house behind fire.

xnāxlāla: Unidentified plant. [824]

xnāxlānā: Piece of wood, rolled hard and smooth in a lookhole.

Xnāxnānānāk: Chief of supernatural singers who accompany *Nāxāyam.*

xnāxnānā: Twin.

Xnāqāqāla: 1—Cannibalistic supernatural woman, formerly resident in the supreme god's house.
2—Old woman resident in *Ānāqam's* house.

Xnāxnā-lāx: Locality containing repository of name received from Death.

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shapalíla': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
ska'cuum: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
snap': That part of a house on either side of the central fire. [579]
Sxúmus: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being.
2—Sleep, intangible *hacket* prerogative. [585]
sxúxwum: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding.
Sxpumkúlwai, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]
sx-pit: Shadow.
sxpyems: Hammer, archaic. [412]
sxúus: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law. [601]
Sxúmulay: Shaman's witch with power of life at one end and death at the other.
sxúus: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
sxip: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
skála: 1—Caribou hide. [825]
2—Thong made of caribou hide.
skaúm: Chequer-work under-back matting. [285]
skaúk: Caribou.
skmis: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
Skmúsis: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
skuum or *skmuumáis*: Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
skmuuskúum: Body.
skmuuskúum: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Skwu-wakúnte-a: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Skwu-wakúnum: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
skúa: Mountain goat grease. [824]
skúlqua: Canoe.
Skúsal, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Skúla: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
skwúx: Grouse. [825]
Skwúskúsis: One of Raven's female Crow relatives. [386]
skyaqwum: Red rock paint.
slúa: Singer's house.
slwúk: Tree. [829]
slúa-qum: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones.
snáis: 1—Memorial post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near graves to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
Snaw: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley. [262]
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
snawm: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
snúwulis: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
Sóq', "Salmon-Dripping-through-the-Rock": A supernatural being.
sokúsis: Black raspberry. [824]
sokwu: Grass.

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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The ornaments of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned outward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The ranks of the deceased are buried. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, blankets, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the column. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by as many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be.

764 [365] [324] [144] [567] [775]

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they shower four small trees and wump through the shells, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, showing new trees every day. Meanwhile they cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is buried. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning smirch their cheeks with shells or stones.

765 783 [775] 765 [302]

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to comb or cut whence for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or chickens. Widows and widowers cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person.

[362] [326] [323]

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. At this assembly he stages a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was "the same as giving away the house of the deceased."

765 556

Religion and Superstition.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to

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By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman knows its hovering wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy.

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Sun. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Sun will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to seek out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself.

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: "When an Ats'ika'i'ang wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountains where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Hi'tsas) who will initiate him. So Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way."

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ch'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 112), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called yuck. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is enclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms.

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the life closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die.

I will have a few current beliefs —

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about me.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry.

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die.

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky.

Wars.

When a war party was expected the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and adorned their

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accordingly created four supernatural Carpenters. They in 993
turn made a number of workers, *Alquathutail nanuqumamuly*. 996
These beings, endowed with enormous power by *Alquntám*, chiselled from wood a number of human beings, the forefathers of mankind. Some men state that this was done by the four Carpenters, but the consensus of opinion seems to be that they were merely supervisors. No explanation is given of the means used by *Alquntám* to give life to the beings thus created. The workers made not only human bodies, but constructed their mentality, including the speech. *Nuxmálc* contains a large number of rooms, in each of which a different set of Indians, with a different language, was manufactured; thus is explained [829] the diversity of tongues among the people of British Columbia. The Carpenters did not confine their attention to men and women. Supernatural beings, animals, birds, trees, flowers, fish, mountains, rivers, perhaps even moon and stars, all were created almost simultaneously by them under the direction of *Alquntám* in *Nuxmálc*. The sun alone was not made in this way. *Alquntám* chose the proper plumage or fur for each bird 993
and animal, which the Carpenters painted and carved accord- 996
ing to his instructions. As they provided men with different 825
languages, so they furnished the birds and beasts with their speech, which men can no longer understand. Each was given the necessary tools for existence on the earth below; sharp incisors to beaver, strong talons to eagle, a penetrating eye to heron, and so on. The Bella Coola do not regard birds and animals as being of a lower order than themselves, for all were created by the same power, at the same time; in many respects they consider that they belong to a higher plane than human beings. It would be too great a digression to include at this point a number of myths describing the creation, but these will be found in vol. I, chap. vi.

Mythology does not record in detail the sending down to 993
this earth of trees and plants or of the forefathers of all other Indian tribes; but the manner in which the first Bella Coola arrived is clearly stated. Around the walls of *Nuxmálc* were

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Sasq have been heard as recently as 1924 according to popular belief. In January of that year a number of young Bella Coola were returning home in a motor-boat from Ocean Falls. They camped for the night on Burke Channel, and were alarmed to hear a crashing of bushes and a beating on tree-trunks. Thoroughly frightened, they directed the beams of several electric torches in the direction of the sounds without avail and at last started the engine of their motor-boat, the noise of which frightened the *Sasq* away. 539 776

An animal somewhat similar to the *Sasq* is the *Ałółwic*. The Bella Coola state that long, long ago, there lived as human beings near Port John on Evans Arm, King Island. They were a strange people, with peculiar rites including the worship of fire. Their neighbours, the Bella Bella, from whom they differed entirely, determined to destroy the *Ałółwic*. A massacre took place, and only a few survivors escaped to an island in one of the lakes in the interior of King Island. Here, in course of generations, they grew hairy and lost their human characteristics; it is said that a few paintings made by them are still visible there. Not many years ago some Bella Coola saw what may have been the last surviving *Ałółwic*. Two hairy creatures were observed fishing from a skin boat on Burke Channel. As soon as they realized that they were observed they dashed ashore, broke up the framework of their canoe, and plunged into the forest carrying its skin covering. Nothing more seems to be known concerning them, nor do they appear ever to have granted supernatural assistance to anyone. 776 829

Another supernatural creature is the *Ałkałł'*. It somewhat resembles a cow, although its legs are shorter and its body, which is white and hairless, is heavier. In spite of its awkward build, this animal can move so rapidly as to catch birds and animals with its tongue, which can be shot forth to a tremendous length. Various incidents are related concerning *Ałkałł'*. One of its characteristics is that it causes gales. The country where one lives is invariably denuded of underbrush and even pebbles; everything movable is blown away, leaving only trees 776

[821] [778]

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ancient history and fame of his family. It is a matter con- 211
nected with the past, a matter of the mind, a source of pride 424
to him to have such a possession, but a matter that does not 999
affect his daily life. 825

So far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola crests consist of
the following birds and animals: raven, bald eagle, grizzly
bear, black bear, wolf, whale, blackfish, merganser, loon,
sk̓ómstd, possibly deer, and the mythical double-headed snake,
nsiatl. To these must be added the sun, because some of the [996]
original people came to earth in human form by sliding down
his eye-lashes, the sun-beams; and *nuhwíkta*, the posts which
stretched from earth to the land above, down which a number [992]
of the first ancestors of mankind swarmed in human form.
The Bella Coola believe that these posts are particularly [829]
common memorials among the tribes of the outer coast. Ac-
cording to some accounts it was these posts which supported [992]
the first sky until it fell.

A crest is connected almost exclusively with the distant 424
past. A Bella Coola whose ancestor came to earth as a raven 999
pays no attention to the ravens of the present time. The 825
matter was approached from every possible angle and not the
slightest sign of respect toward living specimens of a man's
crest could be noticed. A query as to whether or not a man
refrained from eating his crest was regarded as highly hun-
orous. Nor is there any trace of fellowship between unre-
lated families even if they happen to have the same crest. The
subject was broached repeatedly, until at last one informant
smiled broadly and said:

"*I know now what you want to find out, I can tell you all about it.*"

He responded how the Kitkatla are, in his opinion, stupid
enough to regard as brothers all those who have the same
animal story even if they are members of different tribes. He
said that when he was a young man at Victoria, where Indians [648]
from all parts of the coast used to meet, a Kitkatla had once
asked him what was his animal. He was puzzled, but as the

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Raven, perhaps made conceited by this power, did not always use it for good purposes. He learnt many new inventions which he taught to the Bella Coola, but sometimes he indulged in adventures of an obscene nature. In fact, he was often too "smart." The Bella Coola relate many tales concerning his exploits. These are all mere stories, such as can be told by anyone, and they fall into two classes. One comprises humorous anecdotes, describing how Raven tried to show off, to outwit other birds and animals, and his consequent discomfiture. These belong to the realm of mythology and are recorded in vol. II, chap. v. In addition, there are stories describing the inventions and boons obtained by Raven; these are given in detail here as the only satisfactory means of illustrating the attitude of the Bella Coola towards Raven.

The first Raven, to whom *Ẑipuxtów* granted such power, is not regarded as a bird, but essentially as a superman, with the kindly characteristics of a human being, and the weakness of a conceited individual who is always trying to display his prowess. The ordinary word used for a raven is *qwac*, but this first Raven is properly referred to by his titles as chief, *Nemskile*; *Ẑdzaxtmdzots*, "The Light-Bringer"; *Kitsdzawsmx*, "The Wise One"; *Ne'cwathamnaix*, "The Widower";* *Xaxpaxnaw sdzîdî cyem*, "The Unknower of Light";* *Xsa-dzwstle*, *Xsai-dîs*, and *Xsai*. The Bella Coola do not explain what happened to this first *Nemskile*; he appears to have dropped out of existence, and his power has not been transmitted to his descendants, the ravens of today. They are regarded as birds, with but the slightest trace of their ancestor's greatness. The Bella Coola know of the beliefs of the Kitkatla concerning Raven, and say that in the north he is esteemed only a little less than the supreme deity himself. But in Bella Coola the exploits of Raven are always considered to be due to the power given him by *Ẑipuxtów*, whose assistant he was, although he delighted to show his own prowess by outwitting his maker.

*Because he is supposed to have widowed divers for several of the first settlers.
*Owing to the manner in which Raven is supposed to have unveiled the sun.

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773 ago the tide came further up the rivers than at present and did
823 not recede so far. This statement was made by an intelligent old man who said that the change had taken place during his own life-time.

773 One of Raven's most important alterations to *Ālqantăm*'s
833 intentions was with regard to the sexual act.

In the beginning of time, the organs of women were on the forehead, those of men on the palm of the hand, and intercourse was effected by a man rubbing his hand across a woman's brow. Raven feared that children would not result from this practice and accordingly altered the organs of both sexes to their present positions. In order to teach mankind the sexual act he then chose a woman and held intercourse with her, telling her that if the practice were carried out secretly and vigorously a child would be born. And nine months later the woman gave birth to an infant. Raven told the first inhabitants of the world that he wished them to have issue; they consequently held intercourse frequently and begat many children until their descendants filled the Bella Coola valley.

The attitude of the Bella Coola towards this story is identical with their beliefs concerning Raven as the cause of death.

"Yes," they say, as they repeat the above story in answer to a question, "Raven taught our ancestors how to have children."

One side of their nature implicitly believes any story handed
773 down from the distant past, but few today are sufficiently naive
[183] actually to credit it. The more sophisticated frankly disbelieve, or pretend to do so. Doubt also exists with regard to
[129] Raven as originator of linguistic differences. The Bella Coola state that *Ālqantăm* intended only one language for the whole world, but Raven thought that this would lead to trouble and used his power to teach the ancestors of every tribe their special speech.

Many inventions and beliefs are attributed to Raven without any accompanying myth. It is said that almost all geo-
[103] graphical names are those bestowed by him on places reached in his travels. It was Raven who taught men how to bait
[226] hooks on long lines to catch black cod; it was Raven who first

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CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Ancestral Family—The Village Community—The Family—Kinship Terms—Slaves

As in other communities, the social, religious, and economic aspects of Bella Coola life are interdependent, but there is an added complexity in the influence of mythological concepts. This not only complicates investigation in the field, but it also renders a logical description of their customs difficult. Some reference to practices recorded in detail in later chapters is unavoidable. 128 182

In many communities, ethnologists have been able to begin with the social organization of the people. Among the Bella Coola, this is impossible, since their religious beliefs colour every aspect of their life, and these must be understood by anyone who wishes to comprehend their culture as a whole. In this chapter, too, it is necessary to commence with a description of that aspect of mythology which serves as the cohesive bond to one of the social units, the ancestral family.

Ancestral Family

As recorded in the last chapter, it is believed that in the beginning of time *Alquntăm* caused the first men and women to be created in his house above and sent them down to populate the earth. They came in groups of two, three, four, or more, brothers and sisters, or more rarely man and wife, to different parts of the Bella Coola valley. They brought with them tools, houses, clothing, even sustenance in the shape of fish and animals. More important, from the point of view of social organization, they brought with them names and ceremonial prerogatives. In fact, the Bella Coola believe that their culture was created by *Alquntăm* in the distant past, and has not been the result of slow growth. It is true that there 773 [829]

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773 have been many changes. Raven, the culture hero, taught
829 the early settlers many useful arts, and they were themselves so powerful that they were able to create ceremonial and other prerogatives in a manner impossible to their descendants. Moreover, the people realize that they have been influenced by neighbouring tribes since that time, but in spite of these additions, they believe that their life is patterned on that of their earliest forbears.

[181] As a group, the Bella Coola are philosophers. They demand a reason for everything, though once a reason has been given, and accepted, they think no more about the matter. The elaboration of Bella Coola mythology may be due in part to their desire to explain their social organization; but without question these myths, now accepted as facts, have had a great influence on the lives of the people. In fact the social structure of the tribe has tended to conform to the myths.

621 It is believed that each group of first people formed a village
773 community, and pre-empted hunting-grounds in the vicinity. These usually consisted of small valleys opening from the main
[361] Bella Coola River, tracts which could thus be easily defined.
[226] Each group also took possession of a suitable part of the river for a salmon-weir, or, if located on the coast, a convenient place for an ocean fish-trap. In course of time the first people married, of necessity with members of other villages. According
[591] to mythology, and equally according to modern practice, the women usually moved to the villages of their husbands. When
773 a child was born, it naturally grew up to share in the hunting-grounds of its father's village. Moreover, the father was able to bestow on his child various ceremonial dances; the concepts of some he had brought with him from above, others he had formulated on this earth. It is assumed that all the first people were mighty chiefs, able to initiate rites in a way that few modern men have been able to equal. But the mothers of these children, the first born on this earth, did not surrender the privileges of their own villages at marriage. Consequently, their children were of almost as much interest to the brothers

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the Germans it would have been moral and proper according to Bella Coola ethics, but to take land was unheard of.

Since land is only valued for hunting or collecting purposes, it is not divided into small areas. Any man can build his house as will near the village. It is said that at Kitlobe the crab-apple trees are the property of different unrelated families, themselves members of different tribes, but this is unknown in Bella Coola. It may be mentioned that the Bella Coola somewhat naively assume that all other coastal tribes have unrelated families similar to their own, although they recognize that some of them also have a clan system which has no counterpart in their social organization. Since the concentration of the tribe on a small reserve and the beginning of agriculture, a system of individual ownership of cultivated land has sprung up. It is realized that if a man clears and cultivates a field, the produce is his own, and he can will this land to whomsoever he pleases. Likewise a man who rings a tree to kill it for firewood is the sole owner. The Bella Coola regard uncultivated land in the reserve as being at the disposal of anyone, a concept which appears not to have been taught them by any white administrator. Its origin seems rather to lie in the old belief that any unpeopled land, far removed from a village, can be used by anyone. It is recognized that the reserve cannot be considered as a *ca'xlem* belonging to any unrelated group, hence it is free to all. One corner of it, however, includes the lower part of a side-valley formerly used by the people of *Tsmoil*. An old man, whose unrelated family lived in that village for generations, has set his bear-traps in this corner of the reserve for a number of years without interference from other hunters, who go far afield with their traps. Even within the limits of the reserve it is felt that this man has the prime right to that area for the use of himself and his family.

Theoretically an unrelated family may die out. Several instances were received of old men who, believing themselves to be the sole survivors of their family, bequeathed their names

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owners to their dog, and had distributed presents to validate the bestowal. Consequently, the animal is a chief (see Plate 11) and can do as he likes. When it dies it will be mourned as a chief. Moreover, a number of people have returned the presents which they received at the time the dog was made a chief, and this money is kept by the women and her husband, to be used when they perform the rite of mourning for the dog at death.

When this is possible, in the present degenerate days, it is not difficult to understand how, formerly, a great chief felt himself above the restrictions that kindred lesser men. The last great Bella Coola chief was *Pielic*, who died between 1850 and 1860. His influence and power were so great that he was a virtual ruler, during anything. If he requested a young man to take his food box home and the youth was slow to obey, *Pielic* had no hesitation in killing him on the spot. Such great power, though unusual, is intelligible to the Bella Coola, since *Pielic* gave far more potlatches than any of his contemporaries. Other chiefs have been known to attempt a similar arbitrary use of power, but have failed, since their prestige was not great enough to justify it. The fame of a mighty chief spreads up and down the coast, and protects him and the members of his family from being ambushed and slain in any sporadic foray. During an actual fight, however, a chief had to take his chances with the rest, but the comparative immunity was a great advantage.

The Bella Coola recognize the fundamental differences between their own concepts about chieftainship and those of other coastal tribes with whom they come in contact. This point was mentioned in the course of conversation by several men. The most powerful chief known to them was Tsilson, who, they say, was virtual monarch of the Kitkatla. None of his subjects could go hunting without his permission, and he had rights to a certain share of their booty. At any ceremony presents had first to be given to him, and if he were slighted in this respect, he would kill the offender. It is be-

[19] [20] [21] [22] [23] [24] [25] [26] [27] [28] [29] [30] [31] [32] [33] [34] [35] [36] [37] [38] [39] [40] [41] [42] [43] [44] [45] [46] [47] [48] [49] [50] [51] [52] [53] [54] [55] [56] [57] [58] [59] [60] [61] [62] [63] [64] [65] [66] [67] [68] [69] [70]

lieved that all the Kitkatla chiefs were powerful, but Tsakis was the greatest of all. It is said that one of his prerogatives was to exercise *jus primae noctis* whenever a Kitkatla was married. Without question, some of this chief's powers have become exaggerated in transmission, some the less they show that the Bella Coola realize the great importance of the northern chiefs. Concerning their nearer neighbours, the Bella Bella, the Bella Coola understand the way in which the members of a family combine to help their chief in the giving of presents. They say that the Bella Bella consider the Bella Coola practice of each one endeavouring to make himself a chief to be foolish in the extreme. Such is also said to be the opinion among the Kwakiutl, who support their conviction that in Bella Coola all are chiefs, from the fact that flowing mists under the moon of all, whereas in Fort Rupert, their home, such occurs only beneath the moon of chiefs.

Corresponding to the extreme paucity of functions possessed by Bella Coola chiefs, their prerogatives are likewise scanty. Indeed, they take their titleheld seats only during certain rites of the secret society connected with chiefs, as potlatches, and at ceremonial meals. These last occur whenever a deer or seal is killed, the latter is considered a great delicacy.[1] Anyone can kill a seal, but it would be unbecoming for a Bella Coola to share its flesh with his immediate family only. The animal is cleaned, the hole made by bullet or spear carefully plugged, and the carcass boiled whole in a large box. Meanwhile a herald (*t.p. tsq*) summons the chiefs to the house where the successful hunter lives. If the meal is to consist mainly of one small seal, only a few chiefs are invited, those of greatest influence through their possession of "young" seats. When several seals have been killed, the number invited is correspondingly larger, but no woman may partake unless she marks

[1] This is said to have been a personal prerogative, not shared by all chiefs, and requiring validation by valuable presents.

[2] Such seats of the city described in this paragraph were in the present time, in fact, the ceremonies of and seats for chiefs which had disappeared towards the close of the last century.

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THE PROFESSION OF CARPENTER

As with singers, there are many carpenters who ply their trade without the advantage of an ancestral prerogative. They, also, may be expert and receive credit for their skill, but they can never achieve quite the distinction that comes to a man who has been made a carpenter by the distribution of presents. The latter may be as clumsy with tools that no one would ever trust him to make a canoe, or even a mask; but he is, socially, a carpenter, whereas a skilled artisan lacking a prerogative is admired for his ability but has no foundation of social esteem. In transmitting a professional carpenter's name, however, an effort is always made to give it to a youth with a bent in that direction. [553]

The most esteemed carpenters are those who can make canoes, a trade which requires no special prerogative. In the beginning of time, Tsalémut was the canoe-maker *par excellence*; he material many of the first people, and no one can have a professional prerogative as carpenter unless this supernatural being appears in his ancestral myth. The Bella Coola ascribe the skill of the Bella Bella in carpentry to the fact that Tsalémut married a Bella Bella woman in the early period of the world and that many of that tribe are his descendants. In the old days, before the coming of the white men, carpenters were always respected as esteemed members of the community. Chiefs always came for them, and they received abundant food as every ceremonial. Name the less, they were not wealthy, and only in recent years, since the Bella Coola have realized the value put upon good craftsmanship by the white men, has it become customary to give valuable presents to carpenters. Ceremonially, they have considerable influence, since the carpenter who makes a mask usually decides who shall wear it and takes charge of the fitting and adjustment. He is also held responsible for any accident such as its falling when in use or for mechanical defects. [554] [124] [777] [332]

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as at that time it was all semi-darkness, faintly illuminated by what resembled pale moonlight. He remembered that he had seen the sun in *Sqamsim*'s house, enclosed in a kind of a sack, and he determined to steal it. So he again assumed the form of a raven and flew back aloft. Without allowing himself to be seen, he changed himself into a grain of dust and placed himself in a cup from which *Sqamsim*'s daughter, *Sqamsa*, was about to drink. Noticing the speck of dirt, she blew it away. Then he changed to a hemlock needle, floating on the surface of the liquid, but she lifted it off. Undiscouraged, Raven became wood which she drank down, enabling him to enter her body. *Sqamsa* was greatly surprised to find herself pregnant, and so was her father. In course of time a boy was born, really Raven, though she knew it not. He grew with phenomenal rapidity, and within a few weeks was crawling around on the floor and, like a spoilt child, crying for playthings. Whatever his mother or grandmother gave him, he threw aside after a few minutes and cried the more; he was a fractious child. Looking up, Raven pretended to notice for the first time the sun, dimly glimmering from within its container as it hung from the roof of his grandfather's house. He cried and cried, almost choking himself; nothing would satisfy him, so at last his indulgent grandfather gave him the shining object though he was careful to seal the floor with soft bark. The happy child rolled the dimly glowing ball around on the soft covering for some time, but when the door was opened, he crawled outside with it, leave the container against the door-post, assumed raven form once more, and flew away, croaking derisively. Thus human beings received the boon of sunlight. Raven flew back to earth and again became *Kitsilas*.

SECOND CRAZIE MYTH OF *Tsalalí**

Long, long ago, there were no people on this earth; they were all in *Nuxalk*-a where different languages were made. Then *Sqamsim* gave life to the occupants of his house and sent them down to earth. A man, unbeliever, stretched from the land above to this world, and down this crawled five brothers, *Xemsem*, *Tsyalt*'*mut*, *Pauplala*, *Wistlas*, and *Nakilla*. *Pauplala*, who was to part on night, brought with him an chicken and a hammer for driving stakes used for blankets nets, and *Xemsem* and *Tsyalt*'*mut* brought a painted mat which they used as ceremonial gatherings. About the same time four sisters came to earth as Stars, far to the east. Their names were *Wistlas*, who was without legs; *Tsaxilala*; *Skamlqamin-a*; and *Nachmulchlala*. *Pauplala* exerted his power of thought to make them come to Bella Coola. The first

*Related by Captain Schooner.

#534 #532 before he came to this world. It was a large pole and stood across the sidewalk from the house, not being pierced by the doorway. At the base was a grizzly bear, with paws wrapped around it as if desirous of climbing after the food which could be seen higher up. Immediately above the bear was an eagle's nest with four fledglings standing amid their broken eggshells and crowing their necks eagerly upwards to greet the mother eagle flying back with a salmon. At the top of the pole was a bird, *Tsaxamalu*, representing the container in which the sun was enclosed; it was this that Raven broke to release light to mortals. The name of the pole was *Si-ikhal*.*

[531] The names contained in this myth are still in use. *Kimilkw* was the inventor of it; her usual song deals with *Imaxa* a seal, since the salmon enter Bella Coola River in hopes of reaching this place, salmon are used in the decorations of her house. The name *Dzilxoxoq*[a] varies, it becomes *Ikhoxoq*[a] when applied to a youth, and *Ikhoxoq*[a] as a for a girl.

FOURTH INDIAN MYTH OF *Sisiutl*[b]

#534 Long, long ago there was in a mysterious place far to the east and far above this world, a very large house, *Nakalkhaxis*, in which dwelt together all people, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, Carriers, and the sun. In it there lived too, all kinds of birds, including the thrush who taught each to sing. [124] The chief of the house, *Sikhoa* by name, lived there too and gave to each tribe its special language. One day he decided to visit the earth, and dived from his house downwards, becoming the sun. In this guise he came to earth on Mount *Nayu*, near *Ocus*, where he became a man and built for himself a house which was a copy of *Nakalkhaxis*, and to which he gave the same name. *Sikhoa* became prosperous and gave many potlatches.

FRAGMENT OF A *Sisiutl* MYTH[b]

In the beginning of time, *Ayamalus*, in guise of the sun, came down to earth a number of brothers with their sun sister. Their names have been forgotten except that of the eldest son, *Tsimkamalu*, who had brought with him a beaver as provender. He released the animal, which made

[#24 #55] *He is commonly the sun; there is no connection between this sun-pole and the adventures of *Sisiutl*. The person using this name has the right to use these designs as a part of his myth, exactly as the right to sustain the adventures of his ancestor belongs to him.

[a] Phonetically written, without correctness.

[b] Related by Jackson Sleeny.

Schoolcraft, H. R. (1822-1824)[illegible]
NEA Bulletin NEA

their craft and set out on foot along the overland path to the head of South Bonnick Aun. 534

Midway along this trail the travellers saw a house, called *Tishmaiki* because it could lengthen itself at will. From this supernatural sight each of the five became a shaman. This house was a replica of the sun above to which sacrifice was made and, like it, contained many rooms, in each of which lived an individual speaking a different language. *Ai-mainu* failed to understand them and in his amazement covered the speakers, who fled to different parts of the room where each recovered and perpetuated his own language. This is why the various coastal tribes have their own tongues; if *Ai-mainu* had been able to understand them in *Tishmaiki* there would be no diversity of speech now. [524]

Various forces were taking place in the room within the house. There was a constant fire from the large whistle and a small ceremonial which accompanied of their own accord and were continually measured by Eshu. Only at this place and at *Pachiki Ad* Eshu appears to the four peoples; hence only the descendants of *Ai-mainu* and of the *Pachiki* people have the right to portray him in their dances. *Ind'Mainu* (II, p. 6) stood near the door, when as he the called out, the sacred whistle became silent as if in fear. [524] [525]

Continuing their journey the travellers reached *Tiki-ia*, at the head of South Bonnick Aun, where a military man, *Nazumdi*, was living. At this place *Tishmaiki-yadim* gave birth to Raven, who was born as a boy with the legs of a raven. *Ai-mainu* named him *ulpiskwanaqiliwa*. After a short sojourn at *Tiki-ia* they ascended the river, and presently *Ai-mainu* saw a female grizzly bear, whom he also invited to join the party as his sister. The bear accepted and he endeavored to change the creature to a woman. He had his success with the paws and face, that is why these parts of a bear are similar to those of man at the present day, but the bear's hairy hide dulled his efforts and in disgust he told it to run away. Before banishing it, he bade the animal always show a friendly disposition to human beings, wherefore grizzly bears at *Tiki-ia* have never been known to attack a person. The party proceeded up the river to Mount *Sagi*, where *Ai-mainu* found a repository (II, p. 6) through the discovery of which he became a Conshal with the name *Ismaiki'ia* and so ought to medicine. From this point they returned to *Tiki-ia*, where they settled permanently. [525]

Many of the names which occur in this myth are still in use. Mrs. Schoolcraft's designation as chief in *Tishmaiki-yadim*, a name that can be used by either men or women, in the forms *ana* the *nilla yaim* is 551

THREE ORIGIN MYTHS OF *Tlel-ol*[*]

Long, long ago, when the first people came to earth it was very different from now. There were no trees on the mountains, all were bare and had the rock and forms than at present. There was no sun, since it was contained in a mountain, a light container, within *Ilgumtor*'s house. Raven desired to get the sun for this world, so he went to the house and asked *Ilgumtor* for it. The supreme being refused and allowed Raven only to play with it on the floor. Raven, not only to be satisfied with this, waited his opportunity to open the door and throw out the sun, breaking the container as he did so. In this way it was obtained for mankind.

Since this time *Ilgumtor* sent down to the head of Rivers Inlet a man, *Kwoyiltlemem*, and a woman, *Nuyiltqamlas*. At this time the only clothing worn was made of yellow cedar-bark and animal skins. The couple began children, who in turn married and had offspring, but *Kwoyiltlemem* did not grow old. Near the settlement there was a lake, on the shore of which his grandchildren often played, in spite of constant danger from a *tqamsit* which lived in it, and which had, in fact, caused to several victims. This *tqamsit* was a creature as big as a house, which could rise at will to the water at will and was able to suck in its victims through its mouth-door. *Kwoyiltlemem* realized that *Ilgumtor* had given him power to slay this evil monster. Accordingly, he boldly entered the water and succeeded in passing into the interior of the beast through an opening in the side, even he would have perished if he had read the door-door, which was likewise the mouth. Inside was a chief, whose name was *Tqamsit*, like that of his house, he wore a huge hat with animals running around the brim. *Kwoyiltlemem* asked *Tqamsit* whence he had obtained all the many wonderful things hanging on the wall.

"If you are brave," the chief replied, "you will be able to get rid only my possessions, but my house and my canoe as well."

So it transpired. *Kwoyiltlemem* consented to come close to *Tqamsit*'s house and smashed some wonderful paintings on its walls, then summoned the people to come and see them. First came he did this, using the house for his pedestal, then he left.

He set out for the north shore of North Bentinck Arm where two sides from to land. As he travelled a crow walked along the road before him, carrying a copper in each hand and calling out the road he should follow. On the site selected he built a house, Tsimmshill, so large that the front door was invisible from the back-room. Within there lived the members of the different second tribes: Port Rupert Indians, Rivers Inlet people, Bella Bella, Kitamaat, and Bella Coola, each group of which said to

*Related by Robert Dawn.

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special cups of whistle. Everybodies remained in this house until he had given four potlatches. Then he removed to *Ape'i*, near *Tal'is* River on South Bentinck Arm. The house still stands there, but it has become an island around which the clouds were whenever a hostile raiding-party is approaching, so as to conceal from them their objective.

From their long residence in this house *Tal'is* people understand the language of their Bella Bella, Fort Rupert, and other coastal neighbours better than do the Bella Coola.

[illegible] OF *Tal'is*[illegible]

Among the first people sent down to earth were four who landed at the river *Tsaiq*, on the mainland opposite Fort Rupert. Their names were *Hiskwamlaiq*, a man who became the leader of the group; *Nayd'a-laiq*, a woman; *Sneskwalim*, a man; and another woman, *Sneqwaqlaiq'a*. They met a man, which helped them by pointing out the proper road to follow and by telling evil things which barred their path. With this assistance they were able to reach *Tal'is*, where they settled and where *Hiskwamlaiq* plucked a number of twigs from the branches of a spruce tree near the water. These twigs became the people over whom he was chief.

[illegible] OF *Nalal*[illegible]

In the beginning of time there came down to Mount *Saaiq*, near the mouth of the Dean River, two brothers, *Sewaw* and *Sinaqal*, their sister *Kalaw*, and their brother *Qaqa*[illegible]. *Sewaw* came as an eagle, but at once assumed human form; apparently the clans had always been human. They moved down, and formed a settlement at *Nalal*, near the mouth of the Dean River. *Sewaw* had brought with him as a present from *Alqaw'ala*, some chickens, called by their supposed name, *Alqaw'ala'a*, which he threw into the water. They increased rapidly and became the ancestors of all the chickens on Kimsquit. Thus provided with food, the brothers prospered so that they were able to give many potlatches. In course of time *Kalaw* was married to *Nalaiq*, a chief who had come to earth on the upper Dean River.

In one of their potlatches *Sinaqal* performed a *Sa'yalaw* dance, as *Alqaw'ala* had instructed him to do before leaving *Nawait'a*. Valuable

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[illegible] variant version, related to Mike Orland.

[illegible] another version see Boas, p. [illegible]. It was impossible to obtain this myth from any of the descendants of *Nalaiq*; it is unlikely that the clans is more than an outline.

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ORIGIN MYTH OF *Ackha*[a]

In the beginning of time *Algumtin* sent down to *Ackha*, Salmon House on the Dean River, *Nuhkhla*, his younger brother *Tsaqlos*, and their sister *Swalkinalis*, "Box," so named from a supernatural box in the land above. *Tsaqlos* brought a cariboo with him, and released it on earth.[b] With these people came as herald, The Wasp of Heaven, who later summed human form and guided them. *Tsaqlos* at once moved inland to the country of the Carrier Indians, where he remained,[c] taking the adopted name *Sqlqo*.

Nuhkhla, unprovided with a house or clothing, was so lonely and unhappy that for four days he lay hungry, inert and dependent, alone with his sister. *Algumtin* had promised to provide for his welfare, and, four days after *Nuhkhla*'s landing, sent down the four supernatural carpenters to help him. *Tsilaimat* at once charmed his drooping spirits by building him a house, which was a replica of *Nuxwatz a tsulil*. *Nuhkhla* asked the third carpenter, *Mistakhlaxal*, to provide him with food, and the latter, obedient to *Algumtin*'s instructions, whittled a small-headed salmon from maple wood and put it into the river. The fish came to life, swam, and jumped for a short time, but soon died. The carpenter tried several times with the same result. Then Raven appeared and gave him the bone which every small-headed salmon has in the back of its neck. *Mistakhlaxal* put this bone in one of his wooden models, and when he had thrown it in the river it swam strongly and survived. This fish multiplied so rapidly that *Nuhkhla* and his sister were able to support themselves on this kind of salmon, which have been plentiful in the Dean River ever since.

After a time *Nuhkhla* decided to visit the people dwelling on the ocean. He asked *Mistakhlaxal* for a canoe, and the carpenter made him one in the form of an enormous mosquito, that travelled without visible motive power. At that time the Dean River disappeared beneath a huge boulder a short distance above the sea, but the craft shattered the rock and opened a channel.[d]

At the mouth of the Dean River *Nuhkhla* met *Kimsquit* and married his sister *Sylaxa*, using at this ceremony a wooden marriage song given him by *Algumtin*. They had many children and ever since that time there have been intermarriages and friendly relations between the people of Salmon House and Kimsquit.

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[a]Related by Jim Pollard, for another version of this myth see Boas, p. 66.

[b]The footprints can still be seen in the rocks near Salmon House.

[c]The obvious fact that the Carriers must already have been in the land from ancient times the Bella Coola. They do not elsewhere on the subject, but it seems reply that they too were sent down from above at the same time.

[d]The canyon on this river marks the site of the observation.

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Other people had come down to earth at the same time as Xaxa-a, and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of Gee Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, so returned, and laughed heavily to find her made of rotten wood. They kicked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they seated themselves in her place, worked diligently at the blanket and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and left themselves.

Soon Xaxa-a returned. He endowed the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that she had burnt her hand, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. At this the two girls who were hiding burst out laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to Xaxa-a that he choose one of them for his wife; he agreed, selected the elder and married her. He built a house on a hilltop where they lived and to which he called people from far and near where he gave a potlatch.

Sound Origin Myths

As already stated, many sound names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the sound origin myth is the same as the ancestral myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or taken it from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were obtained which deal solely with the acquisition of a sound prerogative. No doubt this is chiefly to be explained by the fact that most sound rites have been derived from the Bella Bella.

THE ORIGIN OF THE *Sound* NAME, *Spearpoint-repellent*[*]

About 1840, a party of *Kwakiutl* Indians[*] spared the winter in Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg on

[*]Related by Jackson Mountain.

[*]We were impossible to identify this tribe. According to the Bella Coola they are also in the Cowichan, but have adopted the use of stone-points, further down

L.McDermott R-1 (1912-1924) 1948
NBS McDermott MSS

*534 that he was unable to return home. A young Bella Coola
Lag woman charitably took the injured man into her house, but
434 though she tended him with care, the injury did not heal
properly, and he was crippled for life. He used to work around
the house at light chores, but was unable to perform any hard
work, and was virtually adopted into the family, though, lack-
ing land in Bella Coola, he could never acquire any real status
there. After remaining for more than five years the cripple
became ill, and realized that he was about to die. In gratitude
to the woman who had sheltered him, he asked her to use his
sacred name, Spaxpaxsi-mqalwat, for one of her children, if
she ever had any. Soon afterwards, the stranger died. The
woman's family paid for his burial, and it was recognized that
the name, with myth attached, belonged to them. In later
years it was duly validated with presents at a potlatch, for the
benefit of her son from whom this account was obtained.

The myth is as follows:

*534 Long, long ago, a number of the sons of chiefs were playing on the
shore of Owen Lake, not far from a village. One of them, happening to
look upwards, was surprised to see drifting down from a great height a
spaxpax, one of the long feathers which grow on the upper leg of an eagle.
They idly wondered who would get it, and passed close together, ready
to struggle, lay-like, for the prize, but it eluded their upreached hands,
and fell on the head of one of the boys. Then, to the amazement of all, he
was lifted from the ground, as if the feather had been a magnet drawing
him aloft. One of his friends seized his ankles and tried to pull him down,
but in vain; moreover, he found that he could not release his grasp. A
third had grasped the feet of the would-be rescuer, but he, too, was lifted
from the ground. One after another tried to pull down his friends, but
none could do so, until finally all the lads were drawn aloft by the feather,
each holding the legs of the one above him. Nothing was ever heard of
their fate.

A few years later the father of the boy on whom the feather had fallen
gave a potlatch, at which he used this event as a sacred theme for one of
his surviving children. A mask representing the son was used in the
belief that this supernatural being alone could have caused such an event,
and the name acquired through intermarriage with the coastal people of the
Skeena River. This house is said to be far to the north of Owen Lake, but, as
no Bella Coola has visited there, this reliability can be placed on this account.

[534]

57/ Confidently believing that he has descended from ancestors
[58] who came to this earth in the beginning of time, a Bella Coola wishes to have his children firmly established in the path of his forbears. This can be accomplished only with the aid of a suitable mother. It follows that marriage is not primarily a matter of affection, but of the ancestral eligibility of the contracting parties.

CHOICE OF MATE

56 Since the initiative for marriage is taken by the man in
58/ almost all cases, it will be convenient and proper to describe the factors which enter into the search for a wife, remembering that the concerns govern the decision of the woman and her relatives. The choice of the woman who is to be the mother of the children who will carry on the traditions of the ancestral family is a matter of too great importance to be entrusted to any young person. Accordingly, while their son is yet a child, his parents often discuss who would be a suitable wife for him. They view the matter from a strictly business standpoint.
58/ Proud of their own ancient lineage, they would not demean themselves by allowing their son to marry a girl who could not trace her ancestry back to the first people, or with one whose forbears had disgraced themselves by marriage with slaves. Instead, it is a matter of pride for parents to have as daughter-in-law the child of a powerful chief. Nor can they choose a
58/2 woman too closely related to their son. Marriage with a sister, an aunt, a niece, or any first cousin is strictly prohibited. No reason for these laws could be obtained; the Bella Coola consider that it would be "indecent" or unclean so to marry, but have theorized no further about the matter. An adopted child is regarded in the same light as an own child. The Bella Coola
[57] know, and are amused by, the regulation of marriage according
58/ to totem among the northern tribes, but practise nothing of
[70] this same nature themselves. In fact, marriages usually take place among those who are descended from one ancestor and who have, accordingly, the same crest, though the significance

dancers on it. One earlier philosophic old man suggested that 764
in this way the soul could easily return to *Nyambi*-*a*. It is
possible that this means of disposal was carried out in former
times, but no informant had actually seen it practised. The 764
Bulu Coulu state that cremation is carried out by the Kibiko* 829
and the Cavinas. On the morning after a burning, young men
of the former tribe rush to the spot and smear their faces with
the semi-charred bones, amid much shouting. The Cavinas
are said to stand with their bodies inclined over the burning
corpse and to smear on their faces any grease resulted from it.
The accuracy of these statements is very doubtful, and can
have no bearing on the reported practice of cremation among
the Bulu Coulu.

The bodies of rich or poor, chiefs, commoners, or slaves, all 766
are buried in a similar manner though with differences in the
complexity of ritual. Nor is any different method practised
for criminals, murdered people, or those committing suicide.
It is believed that in case of self-destruction the body cannot 762
separate into its elements and reach *Nyambi*-*a*; that part 775
which becomes the ghost is able to go to the land below, but
neither spirit nor life can second. According to one man, who
says, however, have been affected by Christian influence, this
is because *Mpambe* decrees the length of life and any willful
shortening is insulting to him. Suicide is rare among the Bulu
Coulu and four cases only were heard of. One woman killed
herself in shame at having accidentally set fire to a village,
another because her husband was unduly jealous, and two men
through bladder stricture.

On the whole, Bulu Coulu methods for disposal of the dead 777
have altered but little since the coming of the white man. The 764
change from sub-aerial exposure to interment was probably
not due to foreign influence although the introduction of metal
shovels has facilitated the digging of graves and probably
hastened the movement. A change in posture has, however,
taken place. In former times, a corpse was always buried

*Or one or present, or been within the memory of elderly people.

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539 775 hurry back. After so short a visit as they thought polite, they asked to be ferried back across the river and retraced their steps to the cave where they had slept the previous night. It was dusk by this time and they lay down to sleep. During the night the cave retained an itself once more, and in the morning they were delighted to find themselves in the mountains above the Dean River.

This was the first time that anyone had penetrated to the land of ghosts, and the friends of the four brothers were intensely interested in the account of their experiences. It was October at the time, but they explained that it was late winter in the land below. No one knows why or how the four brothers had received the power to pass into the land of ghosts, although it is assumed that *Sqaxtiw* must have granted them the boon.

A Kitlake Story of a Descent to the Land of Ghosts

179 539 775 The following story was related by an elderly man who had heard it about ten years previously from three Christian Kitlake who had been his fellow-passengers on a steamship between Vancouver and Bella Coola. It is not a Bella Coola story, although it has been circulated among members of the tribe as an interesting tale. The facts recorded in it do not agree entirely with their beliefs, but that is a matter of no [829] consequence to the Bella Coola who, having their own knowledge, consider it quite natural that the other tribes should have other concepts.

539 775 About one year before the story was told, a Kitlake woman had died, leaving her husband and one grown-up daughter to mourn her. The husband refused to be comforted, and used to fall into a paroxysm of weeping whenever he saw any of his wife's clothing or goods. About a week after her funeral he took her clothing to the cemetery intending to burn it, but instead sat down on the ground to weep. Presently he noticed a passage beside him, down which he crawled until he came to a flat, rich land more prosperous than this world, where he wandered along aimlessly till he heard the sound of singing and hid himself behind a clump of bushes. There seemed to be five or six groups of people in different sections of the country, and the song was taken up in succession by each group. When he had remained in his hiding-place for some time, two people in new, white clothes passed so close to him that he could hear the rustling of their garments. He recognized one of the

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 203 sively when the villages in which the dances are taking place are adjacent or separated by such a short distance that envoys cannot meet or return.

*575 177 829 [848] A word may be said about the attitude of the Bella Coola to the dances of other coastal tribes. They know that the Bella Bella, Rivers Inlet, Kwakiutl, and Kitkatla people have *hamat'sa* societies, but until recently their members were considered to be uninitiated, as Bella Coola were when they visited foreign tribes.* A few years ago the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, and Rivers Inlet people decided that their rites were sufficiently akin to permit membership in one tribe to carry with it membership in the others:

"We have now one repository," they say.

This development is due to ease of communication and diminution of population in the three tribes. None the less, the Bella Coola recognize differences between their own rites and those of their neighbours. They say that no other tribe [171] has repositories; also that in the other tribes the *hamat'sa* society is more intimately connected with the chiefs, in fact, that in Bella Bella and Fort Rupert the Cannibals are the chiefs, whereas in Bella Coola even a poor man, uninfluential in every other respect, can be one.

*575 177 [796] Theorization is out of place in a descriptive monograph such as this, but the writer gives it as his personal opinion that the Bella Coola have adopted much, if not all, of the *hamat'sa* ceremonial from other coastal tribes, though they have profoundly altered it in respect to certain ancient beliefs connected with localized guardian spirits and the patrons of ancestral families. He further believes that it will be found that this Bella Coola technique has in its turn affected the Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet Indians. There seems little doubt that the [171] Bella Coola are correct in saying that the society is more important among them than among their neighbours, and the [796] writer finds that dances and rituals of different types have certainly been adapted to the *hamat'sa* pattern of the Bella Coola.

* Except a few individuals who had inherited foreign prerogatives.

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CHAPTER VI

THE MAN HIMSELF

Physique — Character

Physique

142 IN central British Columbia there are two types of Indian; 144 one represented by the Carriers and Chilkotin of the interior, the other, by the coastal peoples. The first are relatively slight of build with graceful carriage, and thin, rather delicate-featured faces. The younger people, particularly, are lithe and handsome, resembling bronze statues. On the other hand, individuals of the second type are characterized by stocky, heavy physique, with thick-set, powerful bodies, muscular arms and legs; their faces have wide mouths and prominent cheek-bones and noses (see Plate 13). Undoubtedly the Bella Coola belong with these latter.[1] No measurements were taken to substantiate this statement, but the general affinities of the tribe are obvious. Stature, build, physiognomy, and especially that intangible impression of heaviness, unite to demonstrate even to one with slight knowledge of British Columbia Indians that he is dealing with a people who are predominantly of the coastal type. Of course there are individuals of the interior type, but they are decidedly in the minority (see Plates 14 and 15). The Bella Coola claim that they can [824] distinguish a coastal man from one of the interior people, and that every coastal tribe has its own peculiarities sufficiently marked to be recognizable on sight. Probably no white observer can make this fine distinction, though the difference between the two main types is clearly apparent.

142 Judged by white standards the Bella Coola are far from 145 prepossessing in appearance. Even the children are plain and stolid, with little if any of the grace and appeal of childhood.

[1] Cf. Boas, p. 36.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

773 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 *Smaien-a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nasqalrnaista* to await the coming of *Alqustém*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nalusam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noákynum* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[785] times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
[831] eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[787] that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that
[620] this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[776] patron was *Noákynum*, but that the marshals requested him not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noákynum* is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the uninitiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
575
796 the *kusiut* dances begin.
[184] It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village,
[424] as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
[551] slight variations, if any. In *Tsimsit* the *kusiut* who has the prerogative of seeing *Noákynum* is a certain *Qaxelán-i*,[19] in Kimsquit, *Alxkiwnasam*,[20] and in *Slskiatl*, *Xemtsum*. Although,

[115] [19]Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qaxelán-i*, who intimated
[426] that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman
[578] claimed to the bestowing of this designation by her father and said that the present user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

[20]Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significances of this type.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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775 small particles of food on a fire; these become large when they
782 reach the land below and nourish the ghosts. An individual making an offering of this kind says:

"*Ănukăldimut kuskso*," "This is to make straight your road, beloved one."

[756] The needs and desires of ghosts have been made known to mortals through visits paid by shamans to the land below, and by the coming of ghosts to this world. It is, therefore, realized that food placed on the ground does not reach the [372] land below, but that morsels thrown on a fire sink through into the abode of ghosts. Offerings to the dead are not made [753] with the hope of receiving favours from them, but rather to provide beloved relatives with necessary food and to prevent them from showing displeasure by causing stomach-aches and other ailments.

782 Other instances, both of prayer and of sacrifice, will be recorded in connection with various myths. The salient feature is that the Bella Coola are able to gain, by such means, the favour of supernatural beings, a factor which plays an important part in their daily life. In addition, they have a [789] large number of practices based on sympathetic magic. No absolutely rigid boundary line can be drawn between the latter and religion proper, but there is a fairly clear division between rites such as those just described, in which propitiation is the important element, and others in which the desired end follows the mere performance of a certain act. Customs of this last type will be reserved for later consideration (vol. I, chap. xi).

THE OBSERVANCE OF CEREMONIAL CHASTITY

●831 In addition to prayer and sacrifice, the Bella Coola have
785 yet another means of obtaining the goodwill of supernatural beings, and at the same time of strengthening their own supernatural attributes so that good fortune is likely to occur. This is by the practice of *sxetsts*, ceremonial chastity, of which the basis is that a man must not hold intercourse except after certain periods of continence. To understand this, it is neces-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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sary to understand the attitude of the Bella Coola to the sexual act itself. Although it is a normal part of life (for no one would voluntarily abstain from all contact) yet the union of man and woman does not lack import, since its very humanness distinguishes those who practise it in the eyes of supernatural beings, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic. Those who indulge excessively become so over-charged with this characteristic that their undertakings are certain to fail, whereas those who remain continent for a considerable period are so freed from the contagion of mankind that they become almost supernatural themselves and always succeed in their ventures. If, after a period of restraint, a man holds intercourse, this essentially human act adds typical human strength to that accumulated by chastity. Chastity alone gives power; but chastity consummated by intercourse at the proper period increases that power enormously. This somewhat complicated [184] belief is accepted without question by every Bella Coola, playing an important part in their lives, even in their present degraded condition. The following story illustrates the point rather clearly:

A party of Kingcome Inlet people had been present at a ceremonial at Smith Inlet. While returning home, one canoe, containing a chief, his wife, and eighteen or twenty commoners, was caught by an unexpected south wind and driven on the rocky islet, *Iwa-ahddip*, where the lighthouse now stands. The occupants managed to reach shore and to save their canoe. The islet was barren, but they made a rude shelter of boughs in which they lived while the storm continued. Every day the chief sent out the young men to hunt seals, and every day they returned empty-handed. The little food they had with them on landing was now exhausted and they were starving. One night, when they were almost famished, the chief said to his wife:

"The youths have done their best. Now that death is before us I want to create a kindly feeling. I am going out, probably to die during the night, and I want you to allow each young man to sleep with you. [187] It is a strange request but our condition is unusual, and the story of your shame will never be known, because we shall soon all be dead."

The wife acquiesced. The chief then told one of the young commoners to lie with her, and afterwards to tell a comrade to do likewise,

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539 who, in turn, would pass on the request so that it might reach each
831 member of the party. Not only is it contrary to custom for a commoner
785 to hold intercourse with a chief's wife, but it is unknown for a man to
[187] ask another to sleep with his wife, so the youth was surprised and rather
[222] frightened. However, he acceded to the request, passed on the instructions, and washed. As he was bathing, a seal appeared in the surf beside him, and he was able to kill it easily. Each in turn behaved in the same manner, washed, and then killed a seal. Next morning, when the chief returned he was delighted that all had turned out in accordance with his hopes. At the same time the wind dropped so that the party was able to return home.

831 The power which had brought the seals within reach of the
785 men had been engendered in their own bodies by these ritual acts after a rather lengthy period of continence. The Bella Coola believe that such a procedure always increases their strength and ability, therefore giving them a better chance to gain favour from supernatural beings, and to take advantage of opportunities offered. Hunters in particular are careful with
[224] regard to their marital life since animals know their acts and
[825] thoughts, and hide from one who has not made himself "clean"
[789] by continence, its termination, and bathing. *Sestste* consists of these three elements, but since continence is the most prominent feature, the term may be translated as "ceremonial chastity."

In its simplest form this comprises merely the three elements already mentioned. The longer the continence, the greater the power engendered by its termination. A man who has practised abstinence for a year has such strength within himself that almost any good fortune may occur, and cases are known in which it has been carried out for even longer periods. More often, an individual practises ceremonial chas-
[184] tity in accordance with a family tradition. One old man gave
224 the following recipe and was most emphatic that it always
785 brought success in hunting and fishing; he added that on the two occasions he had tried it, he had brought back a phenomenal number of skins.

A person planning to set out on an expedition for any pur-

224 985 [824] 278 [189] ebbs, selecting small twigs from which the bark and spines have been rubbed off. This acts as an emetic, so that before washing in the morning he has vomited from his stomach all polluting matter, especially any human hair which animals consider particularly unclean. Before dawn he goes to the river and remains beneath the surface as long as possible, irrespective of the coldness of the water. Then he returns slowly to his house. Four nights later the same acts are repeated. These eight nights of continence are followed by two further periods, each of four nights, making a total of sixteen. Thus fortified, a hunter anticipates great success.

985 A person practising ceremonial chastity is in a condition peculiarly susceptible to disaster, and must observe certain restrictions. If, for example, anyone sees him as he returns from washing in the morning, the power which he has been accumulating so laboriously is lost. Owing to this belief, it is customary for a man to wash long before dawn and to come creeping into his house through a hole in the floor. He must always be the last to retire at night, the first to rise in the morning; and he must say nothing about what he is doing. Intercourse is, of course, absolutely forbidden except on the proper nights, and at other times he must not even put his arm around his wife. Failure to obey these restrictions destroys any advantage from [837] ceremonial chastity, while actual disaster follows should a man's wife misconduct herself with anyone else when he is using her for this purpose. If she is unfaithful, her husband is certain to be slain by an animal when hunting, or to slip and be killed on a mountain trail. Animals know all that human beings do [825] or think, and they punish anyone who is unable to perform ceremonial chastity fittingly. Behind these restrictions there • 831 is undoubtedly the sentiment that intercourse, held duly and 985 properly at the right time, is not a mere desire of the flesh, but a ceremonial act. Indeed, when the Bella Coola speak of it in [833] connection with ceremonial chastity, they do not use the [195] common term, *e-m*, which has a coarse implication, but *nalijut* which has a polite and almost sacred implication.

Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only men to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *Sacrée* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Hpamtsin* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the more force engendered in a man's body by lengthy absti-

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once was enough to kill an enemy, as if his spirit had been driven from his body by a sudden start. Even in recent times it is said that individuals who have observed ceremonial chastity have been able to perform miraculous feats. A few years ago a Bella Bella man lost two sons and was trying to get enough money to buy a tombstone for them. With this in view, he observed chastity for almost a year. Then he went seal hunting, and had killed a large number of the animals when, standing up in his boat, the sail blew against him so that he was thrown overboard. But he was so strong that he simply walked on the surface of the water and re-entered his boat, none the worse for his mishap. The men who cited this instance stated that a number of Bella Bella had seen the occurrence and could vouch for it.

Ceremonial chastity is not a matter about which the Bella Coola are willing to talk. It concerns both their religious and family life, in neither of which are strangers welcome. But when an investigator becomes on friendly terms, and gains some understanding of the inner lives of the people, he begins to realize its importance. Ceremonial chastity is not only potent in itself, but it is also the favourite means by which a man can cleanse himself of the impurities of human existence so that he finds favour with the supernatural.

NBS Bellacoola NBS

blankets" for the child. The advantages to the donors were that they had an opportunity of showing their dignity, and it would always be a mark of pride for the child to be able to boast of the way in which she had been "held." 556 608 858

Ceremonial marriage clearly demonstrates two strong Bella Coola characteristics; namely, the desire publicly to enter into financial undertakings to demonstrate the wealth of the contracting party, and the desire to increase the prestige of children by means of this wealth expended indirectly on their behalf.

EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

Although the Bella Coola do not regard marriage primarily as a means of regulating relations between the sexes, yet the connection between the two is sufficiently close to warrant description in this chapter. A man considers intercourse as one of the normal phenomena of life: by marrying he has exclusive rights to his wife, but few moral restraints deter him from anyone else to whom he can gain access without infringing the prerogatives of some other husband. Moreover, sexual intercourse is not regarded solely as a gratification of desires; it has a significance which can be described, not inaptly, as holy. As already explained, two favourite methods of obtaining success in any undertaking are by preserving lengthy continence or by observing ceremonial chastity. If a young unmarried man or widower should wish to make use of this latter means, he is compelled to have relations with a woman to whom he has no just claims. This is universally recognized, nor is there the slightest odium attached to the man. The only essential is that he neither violate another's wife, nor force a young girl against her will. 581 831 837

At the present time there is great laxity in Bella Coola, a condition which makes it difficult to judge the state of affairs in former times. Every effort was made to obtain satisfactory evidence, and the following was verified and re-verified with the older men. [128]

A wife, properly married with full ceremony, was usually 837 839

[The Ghost Dance]

*575 *796 [781] X's, where he is soothed by the four times repeated frenzied beating of sticks and his call received whence it came.

During the rest of the ceremonial season X becomes mad at intervals and displays his insanity by rushing to every house and throwing dirt and sand. His *kukuxtat* escort is always with him, and the procedure is identical with that already [424] recorded. X makes no recompense for the damage inflicted, so it is probable that his fellows do not regard his dance as an unmitigated pleasure, but nothing can be done to deter him from exercising his prerogative.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CHARMER

*575 Although the Bella Coola are probably as moral as members *796 of any other tribe, they enjoy humour of an obscene nature, 796 and a dance which never fails to provide entertainment is that of the Supernatural Charmer. The patron of this is *Sximsximult*, [522] a beautiful, unmarried, feminine being who is also termed [881] *Alipuin i* and *Nuxkmálaic*. She is thought to disregard the efforts of her supernatural relatives to restrain her, and comes to this earth where she bestows her favours not only on human beings, but on animals. Her protégé at Kimsquit is a young [537] man, *Lálaiak*, at Bella Coola, a young woman, *Kuxláxmi*; [562] like all other *kwiat* names these can be used either by men or [424] women. It is said that *Lálaiak*'s prerogative is derived from the experience of an ancestor in past ages, whereas that of *Kuxláxmi* was initiated three generations ago by a very powerful chief. The ritual in each case is identical, so the dancer [538] can be referred to as X. Each has the prerogative of singing [532] not only of *Sximsximult*, but also of the being known as *Wiwinmuk*. Many masks are required at the *nakuam* of either of these beings, so it is customary for X to perform with respect to *Sximsximult* one year, and to *Wiwinmuk* at the next or a subsequent ceremonial season, though the actual songs always refer to both patrons.

*796 When X wishes to dance he consults the marshals, obtains *575 their consent, and then makes final arrangements on, normally,

575 each wearing the mask of a man and each with the clothing
796 and distinctive marks of a particular tribe: Tsimshian, Haida,
[532] Bella Bella, Rivers Inlet, China Hat, Kitimat, Fort Rupert,
Smith Inlet, Cowichan, and as many more as X has wished,
not forgetting Bella Coola itself. On at least one occasion
representations of a white man and of a Chinaman were used.
Sometimes instead of one, there are two of each tribe. Each
figure pretends to be pursuing *Szimszimdt* and keeps up a
running fire of complaints:

"She left me for a worthless man; oh! how unhappy I am,"
says one, and another adds:

"Alas, I enjoyed her only once."

Each uses his own imagination in making comments, frequently drawing on personal experiences with faithless women. *Ano'kwulsais* explains everything, and the heralds echo the remarks. *Szimszimdt* looks around for a handsome young *Sacial* woman and says to her:

"How many men have known you?"

The heralds repeat the question and tell the woman not to
be bashful, but to speak the truth. It is considered excessively
[522] [531] funny for her to answer a number in the hundreds, even more
than the tale of *Szimszimdt's* lovers. This is a time when
obscene remarks are allowed and, indeed, expected. A short
distance behind the hurrying procession of those who have
loved *Szimszimdt* and are still allured by her, comes a super-
[532] natural being disguised under the mask of an old man. He is
her father, who keeps giving her good advice and begging her
to forsake her evil ways, but she pays no attention to him.
575 Finally, just as she is about to leave, there enters an old, old
796 man with white hair and a wrinkled face; he totters in leaning
heavily upon a stick and calling to the woman to wait for him.
522 She heeds him not, but goes out of the house while he staggers
feebly around the fire, voicing his complaints and his appeals.
Ano'kwulsais explains that he is *Sinpatsu*, who fell under the
spell of *Szimszimdt* long ago in his youth, and for whom her
beauty had such a fatal attraction that he has followed her

[The Dance of the Supernatural Lover]

her house while the singers compose a new song. The theme is of her person, the young male being, *K'uat-tsal'a*, "The Big One." It describes how he came from above and went far and near over the earth in lustful pursuit of women, how each woman fell in love with her suitor so that she followed him in all his wanderings, how Loon befriended him, and how he exchanged his blanket for a covering of abalone shells. [575] [796] [533] [796]

On *nootsalaqp* when the *hadzaxiu* or usual go to the house, they bring back not only wood for masks but also the mask of a large cedar tree, at which the carpenters work during the two succeeding days. On *nakwem* a parade occurs of the supernatural beings similar to that in the dance of the Supernatural Charmer, but the masked figures represent women, not men, of the different coastal tribes. *K'uat-tsal'a* leads the procession and pays no more attention to his mistresses than did *Sainuxtsalt* to her would-be lovers. There is the same humor for local remarks, of which *K'uat-tsal'a* takes full advantage when he calls the attention of the young men to his following, and asks them how many mistresses each has had. [534] [531] [525]

In the evening the uninitiated are called to X's house where the first object they see is the tree-trunk, converted by the carpenters into an enormous bird. Wooden wings and a loon's head have been provided and the whole is painted in imitation of a loon's plumage. *K'uat-tsal'a* is in evidence, wearing a bird disguise. Presently a matting enclosure in one of the rear corners of the house is thrown open, and the uninitiated see the throng of his mistresses who rush forth, almost coming to blows in their eagerness to reach their suitor. *Ax'ithwulaxis* stands on one side and explains the significance. After the mock combat has lasted for a few minutes, a Cannibal begins to growl and the uninitiated hurry out. The ceremonial then concludes in the usual manner. [535]

This dance differs from all other *hamat* rites in one respect, since the call can come to X several times during a single ceremonial season. Of course there is no compulsion; she uses her own discretion as to whether she dance more than once, [424]

Swanton, R. B. (1902-1924) ms
MS Bellacoola MS4

directions. Then the joyful owner was able to draw back her 424
crystal and the sick woman at once recovered. 575 *

Another prerogative of the same nature is *kuhilis*. As the 796 *
kukusiut are gathering and before the main ceremonial of the
evening, the man or woman with this prerogative can display 787
it if he so desires. He stands up, stamps, then bends down
and begins to beat with a stick on the floor; the singers, who
know what is to take place, quickly join in. This serves to
concentrate the performer's power, consisting of the ability to
scratch the external genital organs. The sticks continue to
sound as the performer moves about the house, acting in
accordance with his right, and at the same time rolling his eyes
and licking his lips. Choosing either man or woman as he
desires, he calls out his name, and the person addressed must
come forward to take his hands. The power is thus trans-
mitted and the one so chosen begins to scratch, with the same
accompaniment of rolling eyes and licking lips.

"It is sweet," he cries.

The power is then returned to the owner, who later passes
it to another victim, until the marshals decide it is time to
proceed to the main rites of the evening. The use of this pre- [522]
rogative is a source of never-ending amusement to the *kukusiut*.
The only explanation given of this somewhat peculiar ability [776]
is that it is practised by the supernatural beings in the land
above. Like every other *kusiut* rite, it can be performed only
by a person who owns a name in which it is embodied.

Sis'nuts, the third of these prerogatives, is to imitate the 424
action of holding sexual intercourse. Like the last, its use is 575 *
limited to the house in which a dance is taking place, and can 796 *
be carried out only while the audience is waiting for the main
ceremony. The performer, man or woman, stands up with a 787
rope pressed close across his stomach, held with hands clenched
at the hips. It is said that in this position nothing can pass 831 ●
behind him. The singers and other *kukusiut* begin to beat 522
time to concentrate the actor's power as he stamps around in
a crouching posture, crying *hoip* and shaking his hips. Pre-

Z: 36: Swanton E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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424 sonstly he begins to grunt, and calls the name of either a man
*575 or a woman. The person so designated must take the per-
*796 former's hands, thus assimilating his power, and in his turn
787 begins to shake and grunt, amid the laughter of all. Presently
*831 the "gift" is returned, and later passed to another recipient.
522 Sometimes a modest woman shakes her head instead of her
[776] hips, to the intense amusement of the audience. After some
time the owner draws his power to himself and the main cere-
mony of the evening proceeds. It is said that the supernatural
beings above perform *sis'mots*.

The Death of a *Kusiut*

*575 A detailed description of *kusiut* dances and ritual has now
766 been given, but certain special features still remain. One of
*796 these is the method of disposal of the body of a dead member
787 of the society. In dances which are completed in four days,
there is little likelihood of the performer's death, but this is
by no means uncommon during the long seclusion of a Can-
nibal for example. In this case there is no wailing, and the
death is concealed from the uninitiated, sometimes even a wife
being kept in ignorance of her husband's decease. A mask
representing the patron of the dead man is hung in the house
behind the fire as a constant reminder of what must be done.
From the ceremonial point of view, the serious aspect lies in
the fact that a call has come which has not been sent back, and
which cannot be sent back by the receiver. The marshals
discuss the matter and agree that it must pass to some *kusiut*,
a near relative of the deceased, who is informed of the decision
and does not dare refuse, even if he should wish to do so. After
a delay of two or three days, the body is taken secretly to the
grave and buried, while the *kukusiut* sing the dead person's
song. This causes the call to shift to the chosen relative who
completes the ceremony in due course. In the case of a
Cannibal, for example, a considerable amount of time is al-
lowed to elapse, and meanwhile the uninitiated are told that
the *kukusiut* are still waiting and watching for his return.

Then she sat down to the meal with her husband, the courses being exactly as she had described it to her visitor. After they had finished eating, *Sinaz*'s wife told him of the day's happenings, how a woman, giving her name, had visited the camp and had asked a great many questions about him, including whether or not he observed ceremonial chastity, and other personal matters. 539*

"What did you tell her?" *Sinaz* asked his wife.

"Oh, I answered her truthfully," she replied.

"You should never have done that!" *Sinaz* burst out in anger. "It was none of her business. Don't you know that you should never discuss a hunter's observance of ceremonial chastity? You have behaved very badly." [715 731]

Sinaz had reason for his wrath, because no wife should ever discuss this matter, as in so doing she weakens or destroys her husband's power.

A few days afterward the evil woman again visited *Sinaz*'s camp, carrying concealed beneath her blanket a wooden club used for killing salmon. *Sinaz*'s wife did not see the approach of her hypocritical friend, who struck her on the head with the weapon and killed her. The murderess dragged her victim's body a short distance from the camp; with her copper knife she removed the skin and drew it over her own body, endeavoring in every way to make it fit. But the wife of *Sinaz* had been larger than the bad woman, who tried to remedy the difference in size by tying the excess in wrinkles around her hips. The greatest difficulty was about the eyes, where the skin hung in folds which the impostor sewed neatly to make less noticeable. When all was done the murderess scraped a hole in the soft ground and buried the body of her victim.

While awaiting the return of *Sinaz* the impostor busied herself in carrying out all the small household occupations, just as she had been told about them. Towards dusk *Sinaz* came back. He noticed that his wife looked peculiar and uneasy, but said nothing about it; they sat down together to the meal but the woman kept her eyes lowered, lest the loose skin about them might betray her. *Sinaz* wondered at that and also at her voice, which did not sound normal. At night the masquerader went first to bed, as a wife always does when her husband is observing ceremonial chastity. *Sinaz* followed shortly. In a few minutes an owl hooted:

"*Sinaz*'s wife has tied up a fold of skin round her hips."

Neither man nor woman spoke. Even at that distant period it was well known that the voice of a dead person passes into an owl, though only rarely can one communicate with the living. It was, in fact, the slain wife speaking from above the spot where her body lay. The murderess feared that *Sinaz* would put his arm around her waist, but she was saved because his observance of ceremonial chastity prevented him from doing so. [775 825]

group. The moral code is not concerned with animals. The life of the Bella Coola would be unbearable to most white people, yet they find it far from unpleasant. They sigh at present conditions, but there is much to amuse them notwithstanding. If several people are talking together, one is sure to hear bursts of laughter every few minutes. It takes little to interest them; a story they have heard a hundred times, the troubles of a neighbour with his wife, the eccentricity of a white man, the stupidity of the investigator, any of these is enough to cause a hearty laugh. When collecting information, it was constantly necessary to joke with them; the most feeble witticism was enough, but they lost interest in the work unless kept smiling. Their sense of humour is not refined; jests about sexual matters are common and are enjoyed alike by men, women, and children. It is not that their tastes are perverted, but rather that they have no reticence in discussing this topic, so they find it easy to see the ludicrous aspects of a subject which is ever near the surface in their minds. They have no hesitation in poking fun at their friends; a successful practical joke, such as hiding the writer's tobacco, is enough to fill them with amusement. If the victim shows temporary resentment, the glee of his friends is complete, and shrieks of laughter usually terminate the trick.

Unless the white man who comes to live among the Bella Coola is unusually broad-minded, he is at first repelled by the dirt and untidiness prevailing everywhere; even the people themselves seem unnatural. He finds it difficult to realize the sincerity of their religious beliefs, and the manner in which these influence their daily lives is hard to grasp. The potlatch system appears so grotesque that it seems to reflect a psychology diametrically opposed to his own. The force of public opinion on personal conduct is almost incomprehensible. Gradually, however, he begins to understand the reasons underlying Bella Coola life. The potlatch becomes intelligible when regarded as a means of achieving fame; constant attention to supernatural beings is natural considering the firm conviction

[String Figures]

524 Insert right hand from distal side into the loop hooked down by right index finger, releasing this finger in the process.

With tips of right thumb and index finger grasp left radial index finger string and left ulnar thumb string, taking care that the grasping fingers pass to the distal side of the (crossight) left ulnar index finger-radial thumb string.

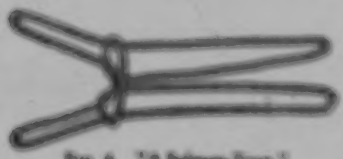

FIG. 6. "A Salmon Trap."

Draw these two strings out to the right, allowing the original right hand loop to slip over them.

This completed figure represents a salmon-trap,[1] the opening pointing towards the left (Figure 6).

11. A WATER HOLE.

Opening A with middle fingers.

Bring middle fingers together, tip to tip; transfer right middle finger loop to left middle finger, and left middle finger loop to right middle finger, passing it over the loop just transferred.

Extend.

Insert left thumb into left middle finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop to the thumb, keeping it distal to the loop already held.

Insert left thumb into left little finger loop from proximal side and transfer this loop to the thumb, keeping it distal to the two loops already held.

Insert left little finger into left thumb loops from proximal side, passing to radial side of the two proximal ulnar thumb strings, and to ulnar side of distal ulnar thumb string; hook this string down with little finger through thumb loops.

Insert left index finger into left thumb loops from distal side, passing to ulnar side of the two distal radial thumb strings, and to radial side of proximal radial thumb strings; turn index finger up away from manipulator, taking up this string on the dorsal aspect of the tip of the index finger.

Release left thumb.

Release right thumb and little finger.

Extend.

[825] This completed figure (Figure 5) shows the bird ready to dive in search

[831] [1] Some informants state that this figure represents the female genital organs.

524 wrapping radial thumb string around tips of index fingers, and allowing original index finger loops to slip off.

Release thumbs.

There is now a St. Andrew's Cross in the centre of the figure. With each thumb take up the upper arm of the cross nearest to it from the proximal side.

Release index fingers.

Transfer loop hooked down by ring and little fingers of each hand to little fingers of each hand, without showing direction of loop.

FIG. 9. "A Rabbit."

Insert index fingers into little finger loops from distal side, hand them towards manipulator to proximal side of radial little finger strings, ulnar thumb strings, and radial thumb strings; then bend them up and away from manipulator to distal side of radial thumb string, and to proximal side of the straight string which crosses the figure forming a loop between ulnar thumb string and radial little finger string of each hand. Hook this string on index fingers and return, taking it up on the dorsal aspect of index fingers.

Release thumbs.

[525] The loops just released represent the ears of the rabbit. With thumbs press the ears through little finger loops and elevate with middle fingers, thereby making the figure appear more life-like (Figure 9).

VI. THE LONG PENIS OF RAVEN

524 Bella Coola opening.

● 831 Insert middle, ring and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

With thumbs take up radial index finger strings from proximal side and return through thumb loops, allowing original thumb loops to slip off.

Insert middle fingers into thumb loops from proximal side and take up on the backs of middle fingers the strings passing across the palmar aspect of thumbs, returning thence to normal position.

With hook of left middle finger grip right middle finger loop and release right middle finger.

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With hook of right middle finger grip left middle finger loop and lift this loop from left middle finger. 524 831

Release thumbs and extend.

Pass thumbs to proximal side of index finger loops into hooked down middle finger loops from distal side and pick up radial middle finger strings.

Release index fingers but do not extend.

The long pendant loops represent the penis. Lift the figure and bend the head so that both loops can be taken into the mouth, where they can be moistened so that they will hang close together.

Gently separate the middle fingers which are hooking down loops; this causes the penis to become erect (Figure 10). It is difficult to prevent the loops from falling apart, as they always do unless well moistened.

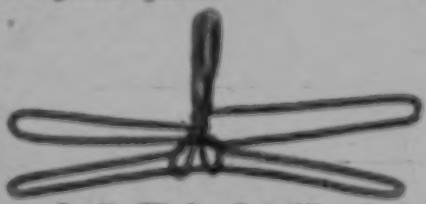

FIG. 10. "The Long Penis of Raven."

The two lozenges which appear in the central base of the figure represent Raven's testicles.

This figure is also called, more simply, the penis.

VII. A BUTTERFLY

Position I.

With thumbs take up ulnar little finger strings from distal side. 524

With middle fingers take up palmar strings as in Opening A.

Pass thumbs to proximal side of index finger loops and take up radial little finger string from proximal side.

With little fingers hook down ulnar middle finger strings, allowing original little finger string to slip off.

Pass hooks of ring fingers into loops hooked down by little fingers from proximal side.

With ring fingers hook down proximal ulnar thumb strings, returning through loops hooked down by little fingers.

Release little fingers.

With little fingers hook down the loop hooked down by the ring fingers.

Release ring fingers.

Release middle fingers.

Pass index fingers into thumb loops from distal side, then bend upwards towards manipulator to radial side of proximal radial thumb string and to ulnar side of distal radial thumb string, then bend down and upwards away from manipulator, and keeping to distal side of both ulnar

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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524 Two loops now pass around ulnar little finger string, radial little finger string, and ulnar middle finger string of each hand, with the "apex" of each loop at the angle formed by the crossing of radial middle finger string and ulnar thumb string. In each case the open aspect of the loop is parallel to the palmar aspect of the hand. With the mouth, or the help of an assistant, insert a thin stick, about six inches in length, between the right middle and ring fingers from the dorsal aspect of the hand, through the loop nearest the right hand, then through the other loop, and out between the middle and ring fingers of the left hand. The stick should project an equal distance behind the dorsal aspect of each hand.

Release middle fingers.

Gently extend.

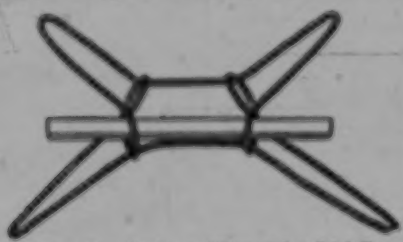

FIG. 13. "A Tug-of-War with a Stick."

The two loops tighten on the stick (Figure 13), and as the hands are separated the two "boys," that is, the loops extending from the radial thumb string to ulnar little finger string, are seen tugging at the stick. Continue separating the hands, and the winner draws the stick from his opponent's grasp and carries it away either to the right or to the left.

X. A MAN AND A WOMAN

524 831 Form the string into a double loop, so that each string or loop normally single is now double; such a string or loop will be described as single throughout. The figure can be done equally well with a string of half the ordinary length.

Bella Coola opening.

Insert middle, ring, and little fingers into index finger loops from proximal side and hook down radial index finger strings.

Pass left index finger to ulnar side of right ulnar index finger string and hook down right ulnar index finger string.

Release right index finger, but do not draw tight.

Pass right index finger to ulnar side of left ulnar index finger strings and hook down the two left ulnar index finger strings, but do not draw tight.

Each index finger is now hooking down two strings.

Pass index fingers to palmar side of ulnar thumb string, and by bending index fingers outwards, take up this string on the dorsal aspect of each, allowing the two strings hooked down by index fingers to slip off.

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Extend.

Insert middle fingers into index finger loops from proximal side. 524

Pass middle fingers to proximal side of radial thumb strings, and index fingers to distal side of radial thumb strings, holding this string between the tips of these fingers; bend index and middle fingers up and away from manipulator, taking up radial thumb strings on dorsal aspect of the tips of index fingers, and allowing the original loops to slip off. 831

Release middle fingers.

Release thumbs.

This shows a man and a woman standing up, facing one another (Figure 14). By pressing radial ring finger strings, with thumbs, away from manipulator, the figures can be made to come together in an embrace.

FIG. 14. "A Man and a Woman."

XI. *Kwoi-yaix*[1] 524

Bella Coola opening.

*Pass thumbs proximal to index finger loops and take up ulnar index finger string on their backs.

Release index fingers.

Hook down distal ulnar thumb strings with middle, ring, and little fingers.

Pass index fingers into thumb loops from distal side, to radial side of distal ulnar thumb string, and to the ulnar side of proximal ulnar thumb string, thence to distal side of proximal radial thumb string; bend index fingers down and up, away from manipulator, taking up this string on their dorsal aspects.

Release thumbs.

Pass thumbs into the loop hooked down by middle, ring, and little fingers of each hand from the distal side, and transfer this loop to the thumbs.*

Extend with backs of hands towards manipulator.

FIG. 15. "*Kwoi-yaix.*"

[1]This is archaic Bella Coola, the meaning of which has been forgotten.

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[825] *Sukskl:* Mountain on west side of the Kimsquit River.
sxsle-ol'xtsus-kus: One of the river sculpins.
sxsskmls: To gather cedar-bark.
Sximsna: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning
Sxtal: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
[101] *Sxthsto,* "Winter Trail": Locality, perhaps village, on the upper Kimsquit River.
Sxtskmg: Generic name of the inhabitants of the Dean valley.
Sxwult: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
Sxwstks: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Sxwky: Mountain at Kimsquit which was in human form in the beginning of time.
sxwlitsmdimut: Meeting of the senior supernatural beings to discuss ceremonial matters at the winter solstice.
sxwlsts: Provender provided by the supreme god for the first settlers in the beginning of time.
sxw'xmu: Mud.
sxwists: Person or object which is taboo.
Sxwisxwus: Evil supernatural being.
Sxwlitsmu, "Maker of Good Weather": Supernatural name of dog salmon.
sxkkmem pli mus: Term of opprobrium applied to a child whose father drove away his mother.
sxpkists: Sorcerer's box.
Sxu-lutsmtu-u: Part of a peculiar repository.
sxpin: Female lover, especially a paramour.
sxpiuu: Male lover.
Sxpkr-ti: One of the first women to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
sxpm: The bursting forth of light.
[785] *sxstsis:* Ceremonial chastity.
[831] *sxstsmdjut:* The state of practising ceremonial chastity.
sxstsmsi: Power engendered by ceremonial chastity.
sxsk: 1—Sorcerer.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Sxlsjitstu-u: Part of a peculiar repository.
sxim: Cedar-bark cord.
Sximsna: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Sximsimuk: Immoral supernatural woman.
sxlil': Afterbirth.
Sxlystsu-u: Chief of the dogs in the beginning of time.
[838] *Sxmis:* 1—Hermaphrodite, a supernatural being.
2—Man who performs woman's work.
[761] *sxmmtmots kkl':* Life, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
[821] *Sxl'kul,* South Wind: A supernatural being.
[805] *Sxlkl,* "Angry Moon": First moon after the winter solstice.
sxlu-ul': Poisonous supernatural creature that travels with the War-Party of the Tides.
sxlumuk: "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts. The word has two meanings:
[532] 1—Carved human figure set up by a shaman near the vessel of grease which is thrown on a fire.
2—Nickname bestowed on a man.

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Xemlaix: One of the first men to settle at *Xemqo-ts* in the beginning of time.
Xemtum: *Kuxlat* name of a *Sisklat* man.
Xemxemtlatla: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
Xemxemlaix: *Sisaak* name brought from above in the beginning of time.
Xemxemtum: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Sisklat* in the beginning of time.
[533] *xetla:* Boastful type of song used by chiefs in war expeditions and at potlatches.
Xetilbs: One of the first men to settle at *Xetulab* in the beginning of time.
Xeltcu: *Kuxlat* name of a Kimoquit woman. The designation is of Bella Bella origin.
[825] *xgus:* Marten.
[412] *xii:* Stone axe.
xnlnd: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
[203] *Ximpdimut:* Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximmmlaix: *A'alk* man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ximmmslaix: Celebrated female shaman.
[821] *gnqnnts-i, plural, gnqnntsksi:* Little girl.
[517] *Xinqnus:* 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.
Xnaix: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
Xnimdu-a, "Right Foot": *Stuxx* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
Xqsis: Mountain in the Carrier country.
nsmtnuts: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
sklatum: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
sklal: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
[586] *Sklimuls:* Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
sklu-imut: The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
[825] *Xmaxts:* Locality below *Nuxqalz.*
gnqmatsl: Minnows.
[601] *gnus:* Woman, or wife in indirect address (*ki gnuslaix:* My wife).
[614] *gnustum:* Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
[423] *gnusdum or nuqnusdum:* The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.
Xnulk: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
sulkt: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
Xulxwcum: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[785] *sulkjut:* Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[891] *Xumtsk:* Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Xumxumqs: Ancestral name of a *Stuxx* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
Xnqnstm: Supernatural scoop-net fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
Xqnulk: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.

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789 it in. He seizes as it swims ashore and throws it back once more. This is repeated four times and causes the animal to 231 have no fear of water.

In former times great attention was paid to the training of young dogs.

MEDICINES PERTAINING TO LOVE, MARRIAGE, AND CHILDBIRTH

832 *To Cause Love*

This medicine is applied by women to men, and by men to women.

Obtain a hair of the person whose love is sought, place with it one of the wooer's, and tie the two in a strip of birch-bark together with a morsel of octopus skin. This causes intense desire between the two. This medicine is usually personally applied by amorous youths.

A similar usage is to wear the two hairs next the stomach, hidden by a belt. Men, especially, do this to cause love on the part of girls whom they admire. An old Bella Coola mentioned that he had once had occasion to investigate the box of a Kimsquit man within which he found the tip of a land otter's tail, split, and containing two small tufts of hair, one the owner's, the other, his wife's. This ensured lasting devotion between the two.

To Cause Love for Oneself

A few years ago a certain *Kälotl* of Kimsquit used the following medicine to attract two sisters:

He made two figures, one representing a male, and the other a female. To each he tied birch-bark, octopus-skin, a few of his own hairs, and some obtained from the girls. Each figure was provided with sexual organs, and he placed them in position for sexual intercourse. This caused the two girls to desire *Kälotl* so madly that they almost became demented in their infatuation. Their mother, *Kwa·tsua*, suspected that *Kälotl* had been using something of the kind and searched his

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box during his absence. As soon as she had found the figures, she called in all the people, showed them her discovery, and suggested throwing them into the fire. Some objected, pointing out that if *Kälotl* had been using them, their destruction would cause his death. It was decided to test him, so no one told the lover that he had been found out, and he suspected nothing on his return. When he went into another house, *Kwa·tsua* placed the figures near the fire; immediately, *Kälotl* tried to lie down at the edge of the one near him, and was restrained only by some of the bystanders. This proved his guilt conclusively. *Kwa·tsua* washed the figures to destroy their power, which caused *Kälotl* to lose his desire to enter a fire, and at the same time destroyed the love of the two girls for him. 832

This medicine can be made only by a skilful carpenter; its real potency lies in the ingredients though the figures cause it to work more speedily.

To Strengthen Virility

This medicine is used by old men. 833

Catch a porcupine alive and cut out a quill from near its tail so that the blood flows freely. Prick the penis with the quill until the human blood mingles with the animal's. Potency follows at once. 886 825

To Cause Conception

A medicine was formerly known to cause a first conception, but it has been forgotten. A mother, however, who has just lost an infant, can ensure the birth of another by bringing a stone from the cemetery four days after her bereavement. If she leaves this beneath her bed for four nights, and then throws it away carelessly, anywhere, she will soon be pregnant. 842 789

To Prevent Conception

A medicine with this effect was formerly known but has been forgotten.

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(*a*) "The Beautifier." This is one of the appellations of the infant's patron, the otter, so-called because people adorn themselves whenever an Otter dance is given. 533*

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 16a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of *Lilitwumlaix*, a female infant distantly related to *Ḷomānakwala*. [776]

(*c*) A reference to Otter, the neophyte's patron. The significance is that chiefs have an opportunity to display, "open," their generosity by lavish giving at every Otter dance. [556]

(*d*) The elaborate ritual of an Otter dance dispels grief. It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions.

(*e*) Referring to one of the dead man's ancestors. The theme changes, and is henceforth of the usual mourning pattern.

(*f*) Referring to the dead *Ḷomānakwala*.

(*g*) "The Loftiest." This is one of the many designations for *Nusḳalst*, one of the dead man's crests.

(*h*) A reference to the expanding house described in the dead man's origin myth. [773]

(*i*) One of *Ḷomānakwala*'s names.

(*j*) This is another name for *Nusḳalst*. The meaning of the whole part is: *Ḷomānakwala* sits down within the expansible house on Mount *Nusḳalst*. There is the added implication that he seats himself as does his supernatural namesake in the land above.

Non-Ceremonial Songs

The Bella Coola are not an intensely musical people. Singing in unison is an essential feature of every ceremonial rite, [796] x but, when alone, an individual seldom bursts into melody from sheer *joie de vivre*. They have, however, a certain number of non-ceremonial songs, shorter and more diverse in theme than any of those previously recorded. The people themselves do not attempt to classify them, though they can conveniently be grouped in accordance with their themes. Some deal with [825] love, others are sung jocularly at sight of certain birds or mammals, while a third class can only be described as miscellaneous. Still others accompany stories and games; these are included in vol. II, chap. V, and appendix B.

Love Songs

Men sometimes compose songs which they sing, unaccompanied, to their lady loves. Occasionally, too, the maker of a popular one will teach it to his friends who will serenade the 533* 832● 424

[See cat. 116, pp. 543 to 567 - ANALYST]

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woman, he taking the leading part. Such songs are not private property. Women, likewise, compose songs about men, though these are usually of a mocking nature and are sung only by a group of girls when on a picnic or fern-gathering expedition.

Man's Love Song(a)

Källäpnoälte	*oltaseyo·ngwte*	*maxmillämmste*	*shäkwnnsdjinu*
If you went(b)	to *Song*[w],	I would become a star,	I would capture you.

Källäpnoälte	*oltusulstudux*	*suslot·lämmste*	*shäkwnnsdjinu*
If you went	to the ocean,	I would become a bull-head(?)	I would capture you.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 33c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This is said to be an ancient Bella Coola love song.

(b) The vertical lines indicate merely the end of a word group, not a clear subdivision as in ceremonial songs in which the services of an announcer are required.

Man's Love Song(a)

Källäpnualtuq'	*oläkoluhmpao*	*sewäskwaqwaiyials*
If you should go	to the land	of the bull-head,

almäkwanmste	*shämokmtcinu*	*shäislixudjinu*
I would change myself to a kingfisher,	I would dive down,	I would eat you.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 33a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The singer composed this song about 1900.

Man's Love Song(a)

Saiyulsumldinitsqwsokoks	*aiyel·a*	*naiyel·a*
?	*aiyel·a(b)*	*naiyel·a(c)*

Sänusukkomänläl·atsl	*aldjudjudjx*	*aiyel·a*	*naiyel·a*
?	her	*aiyel·a*	*naiyel·a*

W'ar·äyr·aqoyualeis	*naiyel·a*
?	*naiyel·a*

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sk̓ᵊpalkw': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
Ska-tsxem: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
sqaq": That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
Sxitema: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being. [513]
2—Sleep, intangible *kusiut* prerogative.
sxiusnam: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [585]
Ṣtqwastustkwi, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]
st-pil: Shadow.
stiqwmas: Hammer, *archaic.* [412]
stekes: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law.
sliamaiks: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other. [601]
stihu: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
stiḳ: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
shiks: 1—Caribou hide. [825]
2—Thong made of caribou hide.
shesu: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
siłaxlt: Caribou.
sihms: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
Sihmsila: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
sihmss or *sihmsstuałas:* Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
sihmstaliktsta: Body.
sihmsstuałasam: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Sikwaxwakimaw-a: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Sikwaxwakanam: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
siks: Mountain goat grease. [824]
sikalya: Castor.
Sikkul, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Sikla: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
sisma: Octopus. [825]
Sisaklas: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
siqmasma: Red rock paint. [386]
sisla: Singer's baton.
siułk: Text.
sile-pass: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones. [823]
stsin: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
Stsas: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley. [262]
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
stutsum: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
stutsaik: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
Sly', "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
sulmlt: Black raspberry. [824]
sulstu: Ocean.

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773 ago the tide came further up the rivers than at present and did
823 not recede so far. This statement was made by an intelligent old man who said that the change had taken place during his own life-time.

773 One of Raven's most important alterations to *Ālquntäm*'s
833 intentions was with regard to the sexual act.

In the beginning of time, the organs of women were on the forehead, those of men on the palm of the hand, and intercourse was effected by a man rubbing his hand across a woman's brow. Raven feared that children would not result from this practice and accordingly altered the organs of both sexes to their present positions. In order to teach mankind the sexual act he then chose a woman and held intercourse with her, telling her that if the practice were carried out secretly and vigorously a child would be born. And nine months later the woman gave birth to an infant. Raven told the first inhabitants of the world that he wished them to have issue; they consequently held intercourse frequently and begat many children until their descendants filled the Bella Coola valley.

The attitude of the Bella Coola towards this story is identical with their beliefs concerning Raven as the cause of death. "Yes," they say, as they repeat the above story in answer to a question, "Raven taught our ancestors how to have children."

773 One side of their nature implicitly believes any story handed
[183] down from the distant past, but few today are sufficiently naïve actually to credit it. The more sophisticated frankly disbelieve, or pretend to do so. Doubt also exists with regard to
[829] Raven as originator of linguistic differences. The Bella Coola state that *Ālquntäm* intended only one language for the whole world, but Raven thought that this would lead to trouble and used his power to teach the ancestors of every tribe their special speech.

Many inventions and beliefs are attributed to Raven without any accompanying myth. It is said that almost all geo-
[103] graphical names are those bestowed by him on places reached in his travels. It was Raven who taught men how to bait
[226] hooks on long lines to catch black cod; it was Raven who first

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224 785 sible, selecting small twigs from which the bark and spines have been rubbed off. This acts as an emetic, so that before washing in the morning he has vomited from his stomach all [824] polluting matter, especially any human hair which animals [278] consider particularly unclean. Before dawn he goes to the [783] river and remains beneath the surface as long as possible, irrespective of the coldness of the water. Then he returns slowly to his house. Four nights later the same acts are repeated. These eight nights of continence are followed by two further periods, each of four nights, making a total of sixteen. Thus fortified, a hunter anticipates great success.

785 A person practising ceremonial chastity is in a condition peculiarly susceptible to disaster, and must observe certain restrictions. If, for example, anyone sees him as he returns from washing in the morning, the power which he has been accumulating so laboriously is lost. Owing to this belief, it is customary for a man to wash long before dawn and to come creeping into his house through a hole in the floor. He must always be the last to retire at night, the first to rise in the morning; and he must say nothing about what he is doing. Intercourse is, of course, absolutely forbidden except on the proper nights, and at other times he must not even put his arm around his wife. Failure to obey these restrictions destroys any advantage from [837] ceremonial chastity, while actual disaster follows should a man's wife misconduct herself with anyone else when he is using her for this purpose. If she is unfaithful, her husband is certain to be slain by an animal when hunting, or to slip and be killed on a mountain trail. Animals know all that human beings do [825] or think, and they punish anyone who is unable to perform ceremonial chastity fittingly. Behind these restrictions there 831 is undoubtedly the sentiment that intercourse, held duly and 785 properly at the right time, is not a mere desire of the flesh, but a ceremonial act. Indeed, when the Bella Coola speak of it in [833] connection with ceremonial chastity, they do not use the [195] common term, *e·m*, which has a coarse implication, but *xoldjut* which has a polite and almost sacred implication.

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tiful, of which they planned to collect a supply. In the course of their journey *Dudusongʷ* saw a man who, when he drew near, turned into a piece of hanging moss. A little later he again saw a figure, but on approaching it became a tree. *Dudusongʷ* and his wife walked on and presently the former once more beheld a man; this time the apparition changed to a fir tree. It was evident to *Dudusongʷ* that a supernatural being had manifested itself to him, and he told his wife that they must return. On reaching home he related his experience and gave a shaman's dance. 539 756* 787

From this experience he had received the power of curing. He could see disease when it was invisible to all others, and could summon it to himself, where it was harmless, thus restoring the patient to health. He made for himself a rattle, shaped like a bird; this had the ability of dancing of its own accord, and would catch people's hair in its opening and closing beak. The sick were brought to *Dudusongʷ* from all over the valley. One day he travelled by canoe down to *Sinxl* where he found many of the villagers seriously ill. His arrival was quite fortuitous, for he was unaware of the epidemic that was raging. The inhabitants sought his help, so he landed and cured them. He entered the house of a woman who claimed to be ill, and took the sickness upon himself, but no sooner had he left than he fell down stricken. He demanded to be taken home in his canoe, but he only lived two days after his return. The woman had been in pain from her menses; it was this that he had taken upon himself and caused his death. 539 756* [761] [783] [841]

In consequence of the danger attached to the vocation, many people try to avoid becoming shamans, though if *Ťitcäplilän-a* should appear to a man when ill, he cannot escape the power. The usual method of prevention is for a man to hold intercourse with his wife from below, so that her flesh, impure through its liability to menses, can form a barrier to the coming of supernatural power. One who wishes to escape always sleeps on the left of his wife, whereas if he is seeking shaman's power he sleeps on the right. Another method of avoidance is to use the hole in the floor which serves as exit and entrance to the house of a girl secluded following adolescence. 756* [787] [833] [513]

Since the power of a shaman is obtained by a personal experience, and lacks both form and substance, it cannot be transmitted and disappears at the owner's death. As has been

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box during his absence. As soon as she had found the figures, she called in all the people, showed them her discovery, and suggested throwing them into the fire. Some objected, pointing out that if *Kälotl* had been using them, their destruction would cause his death. It was decided to test him, so no one told the lover that he had been found out, and he suspected nothing on his return. When he went into another house, *Kwa·tsua* placed the figures near the fire; immediately, *Kälotl* tried to lie down at the edge of the one near him, and was restrained only by some of the bystanders. This proved his guilt conclusively. *Kwa·tsua* washed the figures to destroy their power, which caused *Kälotl* to lose his desire to enter a fire, and at the same time destroyed the love of the two girls for him. 832

This medicine can be made only by a skilful carpenter; its real potency lies in the ingredients though the figures cause it to work more speedily.

To Strengthen Virility

This medicine is used by old men. 833

Catch a porcupine alive and cut out a quill from near its tail so that the blood flows freely. Prick the penis with the quill until the human blood mingles with the animal's. Potency follows at once. 886 825

To Cause Conception

A medicine was formerly known to cause a first conception, but it has been forgotten. A mother, however, who has just lost an infant, can ensure the birth of another by bringing a stone from the cemetery four days after her bereavement. If she leaves this beneath her bed for four nights, and then throws it away carelessly, anywhere, she will soon be pregnant. 842 789

To Prevent Conception

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the most *human* of all substances, and, therefore, a potent 826
protection against supernatural beings. It is valuable as a 841
defence against evil monsters, but it is equally deadly to 789
shamans and other human beings with supernatural powers.
In the distant past, Raven taught mankind that to sleep with a 834
menstruating woman would so blind a man that he would be 841
unsuccessful in hunting. The belief is that animals, knowing
everything that takes place, avoid one who is so unclean. One [773]
old man mentioned that he had failed to obey this injunction [825]
and considered his loss of virility as a punishment, overlooking
the fact that he was over seventy years of age.

The coming of adolescence in a boy is recognized by change 881
in voice and the other usual indications. He is neither taboo
nor unclean, and consequently does not have to undergo any
restrictions on his actions. There is no ceremony to mark the
entry of a youth into adult membership of the tribe; instead,
this comes gradually and puberty is no more than an indication of increasing age and strength.

Marriage

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola 581
regard the married state as the normal condition of man. 589
Anyone unwilling to wed is considered unnatural. Since the
number of the sexes is approximately equal, the only persons
forced to live alone are elderly widows and widowers, and those [732]
crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are
looked upon as unfortunate; in fact, they have failed in one
of the most fundamental of life's struggles. Man provides fish 581
and game, builds houses and canoes, while woman collects
berries, makes baskets, cooks, and performs the multitudinous [462]
small household tasks.

"Is it not to the benefit of each to marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is not a mere economic arrangement, nor is its
sole function to regulate relations between the sexes. Its most
important feature is that it governs the status of the child. [858]

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to force his attentions on a slave woman if she objected, 836
although her refusal would be most unusual on account of his [567]
prestige. There were no professional prostitutes; a man [548]
usually gave a small present to a girl from whom he had received favours, and she was expected to give him a little, dainty basket filled with undyed cedar-bark to use as a sponge. Such relations appear always to have been of common occurrence. Today, as formerly, a man's morality is considered to 836
be his own affair; laxity may lower his prestige, but no law is 522
broken, and his neighbours laugh and chaff him about it. In fact, sexual matters are discussed with the greatest freedom, and a person who has been caught is mocked mercilessly. When visiting a foreign tribe, a man sometimes lives with a [648]
woman and, on parting, composes and sings a song describing her charms. One man did this after living with a Kitlobe woman, and on his return to Bella Coola found that some of his fellows had learnt it in some unexplained manner; they used to sing it to him, much to their amusement, in part to his own, and somewhat to the annoyance of his wife. This perhaps illustrates rather clearly the attitude of the Bella Coola to an infraction of morality—where no marriage rite has been broken; it is amusing rather than disgusting. There 836
are no times when the moral code ceases to function. At pot-
latches, and also at *kusiut* dances, there appears always to [834]
have been a certain amount of laxity, although this was strictly prohibited within the house where the ceremony was taking place. Such behaviour is due to the excitement and stimulus of a large gathering, not to anything connected with the rites themselves.

Perverted sexual desires, like other matters connected with 839
the relations of the sexes, are regarded as concerning the individual alone. Sodomy appears to be unknown. Intercourse 836
by pre-adolescents is held to be disgusting, but carries with it
no social ostracism. Incestuous union, however, is mildly anti- 835
social; it exposes the offender to secret contempt, but does not
interfere with his attainment of whatever position his wealth 556

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place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death. 764 783

The above rite protects widower or widow, but does not alter the fact that for one year they are ceremonially "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the ocean. The one near Kimsquit is called *Sqlan'li*, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of which the bottoms are bent upwards; should this be omitted, when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will soon die. 765 [783] [825] [262] [484] [292] [761]

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should cut their hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; if this rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and [626] [302] [834] [587] [735]

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These become lilies (of the species known as *lälkänelp* or *walilikwätsälätsälats*, "The most potent of the pond") from the roots of which a tonic can be brewed. They can be collected by anyone, and the places where they grow are well known, but certain rules must be followed. Before reaching the pond the gatherer must find four spruce saplings, cut from each a bough projecting eastward, and lay these two by two, beside the water, with a space between. After plucking the lily roots he must place them on the ground between the spruce branches and tie the whole into a bundle with strips of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. He must be careful to wind these wrappings clockwise. On arriving at the house where the tonic is to be prepared, the bundle must be thrown in through the smoke-vent, never carried through the door. After these precautions the medicine can be prepared with safety. The roots are cut into thin slices and boiled for four days; a sick person then drinks several cupsful of the brew, which is particularly good for the blood. This remedy is especially effective if the patient is observing ceremonial chastity. The person administering the potion sees to it that the one being treated conforms to certain regulations for forty days. He must not eat fresh meat, fresh salmon, or any food prepared by a widow or a catamenial woman; he must not approach too closely a girl who is secluded following puberty, and he must observe absolute continence, not even sleeping with his wife. Death follows the breaking of any of these taboos.

Although supernatural good fortune is most frequently obtained from either a *mätsqus* or a *ssiutl*, it can be derived from other supernatural beings. In such cases the acquisition is seldom dangerous. The following tale describes the *qokän·i*.

Long before the coming of the white man, but very long after the first people came to this earth, a certain Kimsquit man, *Wikwanutl*, who was also called *O'miätl*, was snaring mountain goats on Mount *Tcepinäil* when he heard on the upper slopes a peculiar cry which he recognized, from descriptions given him by the old people, as the note of a *qokän·i*.

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attend every *kusiut* dance. Usually all *kukusiut* do so in any case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been blackened, it must be kept so during this period. At every *qothm* he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an uninitiated person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes to another housemate. Failure to obey this injunction was formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules apply to every dancer.

Alquntäm enters *Nusqulxwaista* at the winter solstice, and at that time calls come to those *kukusiut* of whom he is patron. It is uncertain whether or not this entails the regular ceremony of four nights' duration. On the entry of the supreme being, *Noäkxnum* seizes his paddle (or pole?), returns to *Smaien·a*, and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers compose a ninth song for him. The words describe how the departing *Noäkxnum* empties a large number of olachen into the river.[11] X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after calls have come to other *kukusiut*.

It sometimes happens that no *kusiut* of whom *Noäkxnum* is patron has enough food to give the lengthy dance just described, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper prerogative is asked by the marshals to see *Noäkxnum* when at the mouth of the river; then, when he passes upstream four days later, a call can come to any *kusiut*. This abbreviated ceremony, termed *Imältwidjutqwlsan*, is carried out in the manner described above, except that it is completed in four days with only two songs.

[11] *Noäkxnum* is accordingly often called *Nuälulxnum*.

[The Scratch Dance]

*575 *796 On the following evening, *nebusam*, when the uninitiated have been called in, they see *Ālquntām* standing in the centre of the space behind the fire, wearing a large mask and a blanket decorated with tufts of dyed cedar-bark. *Ānoºlikwolsaix* moves to and fro as she gives her customary explanations, which are echoed by the heralds. The masked representation of *Sno'olxults Ālquntām* rushes back and forth behind the fire, waving his arms to and fro as if he had an uncontrollable impulse to scratch someone. The four masked Holders move with him, as if to restrain him from dashing among the uninitiated.

"See!" says *Ānoºlikwolsaix*. "That is what they do in the land above."

After gazing upon these wonders for some time, the uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* perform a dramatic act. As many as possible crowd around *Sno'olxults Ālquntām*, pressing with their hands against the back of his neck, the seat of [826] the spirit, calling *hoip*, in an effort to soothe him. This is done four times, without avail; he remains as wild as ever. Then one of the marshals removes the mask, and the same methods are used to try to soothe the wearer. But still they are of no avail. The mask is replaced, and *Sno'olxults Ālquntām* rushes forth, with the four Holders in close attendance, and followed by a large number of *kukusiut*. Starting at the lowest house, he enters each in turn, dashing around the fire and startling the uninitiated in the same manner that X had done, but not actually scratching anyone. Non-members cower in terror at this invasion of their houses by a supernatural being. On the return to X's home, *Sno'olxults Ālquntām* is pacified by the frenzied beating of sticks. The masks [532] are burnt in due course, after which the *kukusiut* assemble on the sidewalk outside X's house to sing one of his songs and thus further the return of his call to the land above. Sometimes X himself wears the mask of *Sno'olxults Ālquntām*, more [834] often it is entrusted to another *kusiut*, but the wearer must

[The Scratch Dance]

obey one prohibition; he must not sleep with his wife for four days. 575* 796*

Like a Cannibal, X is liable to frenzy for the rest of the ceremonial season. During this period he remains secluded within his house, and the uninitiated willingly avoid him believing him to be mentally deranged. He attends every *kusiut* dance, where his latent madness helps to frighten the uninitiated. If strangers from Kimsquit or *Täl·io* visit Bella Coola, he at once becomes frenzied, rushes to the beach and scratches them, precisely as a Cannibal would do; in this case he must be pacified in the same manner. A Scratcher always saves goods to recompense scratched foreigners. If it is the first time that X has danced, he must remain secluded for the following summer, and give his ceremony the next winter. During the warm months he remains within the back-room of his house, and though some of the uninitiated know of his presence, still believing him mad they do not intrude upon his privacy. The coming of foreigners during this period excites him to frenzy and he scratches them, irrespective of the time of year. [834] [828]

It might be mentioned that some Scratcher names are indicative of the dancer's function, and others, such as "The Cause of Fear," have reference to his prowess. [551]

THE BREAKER DANCE

When a Bella Coola speaks of the fear which *kusiut* dances cause the uninitiated, he almost invariably cites in order the Cannibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances. *Kukusiut* with these three prerogatives have no more privileges than other members of the society, nor are they considered superior in rank, but similarity in their functions leads to an almost automatic association. If questioned further, a Bella Coola will usually say that he regards the Cannibal dance to be first, with the Scratch and Breaker equal, but less important. Breakers share with Cannibals and Scratchers the prerogatives of not blackening their faces; of having as theme for their songs the land 575* 796* 424 [781] [554] [302] [533] [264]

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[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

* 575 The singers have also composed a song for each of the *ănuyex*
* 796 and these too must be practised, while the men dance or remain
533 still as they think fit. Since no uninitiated are present the affair is purely a rehearsal. The words of each of these songs is of the manner in which the patron helped X to survive his ordeal. By this time it is late and the *kukusiut* disperse after the usual meal and admonitions of the marshals.

* 575 The next day, *qothm*, the carpenters assemble early in the
* 796 morning to start work. Since X is entitled to portray any of
532 the supernatural beings who are companions of his patron in the land above, it follows that there is wide variation in his choice of masks to be manufactured. The principal supernatural beings are always shown, and any animals, since all are supernatural, can likewise be displayed. As usual, a few *kukusiut* are invited at midday to share the meal provided for the carpenters. The number of masks to be provided is often so great that two days or more are necessary for their completion, in which case no ceremony takes place on the night
[533] which would normally be *qothm*; the *kukusiut* merely gather and again practise their songs.

* 575 But the day after is *qothm*. At dusk the *kukusiut* are called
* 796 in for a final rehearsal of the songs, and then a summons is sent
[515] to the uninitiated, who have been washing and beautifying
[532] themselves in eager anticipation. In Kimsquit it is customary
[184] to hang some of the masks on a sloping pole behind the fire and the sight of these amazes the non-members. First the singers
[781] beat out the song of one of the women mourners and she dances in time to it, while the heralds near the door keep up a steady
[535] stream of remarks, encouraging the woman to perform yet
[834] more strenuously and to have no modesty about shaking her breasts. Then another of the women dances, followed in succession by the third and fourth if that is the number who sang the mourning songs. Next the *ănuyex* perform, each in succession accompanying the song composed for him. Now comes the central feature of the evening, the performance of X himself. As the singers strike up the shaman's song which he is

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cases though an infant in arms, though uninitiated, can be brought to dances by its mother; distinctions between rich and poor, slave and freeman, become of slight importance; all that really matters is whether a person is or is not a *kusiut*. Membership in the society seems to the uninitiated the most desirable thing in life, although their fears are always so strong that they never cease to dread actual admission. The feeling of class consciousness which exists in a somewhat mild form at other seasons of the year, gives place to a powerful sentiment of superiority on the part of members of the society over those who are not so fortunate. Even the respect normally shown to chiefs is submerged since they, too, are subject to the rule of the marshals.

575* 796* 182 571 [781]

Apart entirely from this attitude of superiority and inferiority, is the bond of fellowship engendered among members of the society by the rites. Whatever happens, the uninitiated *must* be deceived. Moreover, the psychological effect of gathering nightly in a body for a specific purpose is tremendous. Night after night they eat together; night after night they listen to the words of the marshals, who impress on them the need for co-operation and secrecy, who hold before them the good example set by their fellows who have carried out rites successfully, who emphasize the fact that they are doing as their fathers did. The ceremonial import is of greatest consequence at all these gatherings, but when the uninitiated have withdrawn the *kukusiut* relax somewhat and enjoy themselves. The food itself is always of the best and some of the usual restrictions are removed. It is, for example, the only time that women are allowed to eat the flesh of seals. If this delicacy is provided the marshals enjoy the tidbits, but after Cannibals, novices, and others have received preferential treatment, the remainder is distributed to all and sundry.

[262] [562] [264]

It has been stated by some writers, especially those unfamiliar with the significance of native ceremonial life, that the dances of the coastal tribes are orgies of immorality. This point was investigated with care and it may be stated posi-

575* 796* 577 273 834

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*575 tively that such is not the case among the Bella Coola. At
*796 the present time both drunkenness and vice are rampant, but
577 neither of these practices is apparent on the nights when dances
273 are taking place. The writer was present at many *kusiut* dances, in each case attended by practically every resident,
[834] and during them he saw only two drunken men. With regard to these, the sentiment of the influential members of the society was one of regret that the marshals could no longer exercise their prerogatives and punish the offenders. As several Bella Coola expressed it:

"Our dances are sacred and ceremonial, a drunken man spoils them."

As a rule they do not regard drunkenness as a serious vice, if a vice at all, hence this attitude was illuminating. It is more
*575 difficult to speak with certainty about morality; no breaches
*796 of it could have occurred at the ceremonies witnessed, nor was
577 there any evidence that the excitement led to any licentious
834 actions. On the whole, the dances are desirable since they provide a source of tremendous interest and importance. Vice flourishes with lassitude and boredom; anything that stimulates the people reduces it, and when the Bella Coola are engaged in ceremonial rites, the sentiment of the seniors of the community is strongly opposed to anything that interferes with the solemnity of the occasion.

There is no reason to suppose that these factors were not present in former times, more potent than now when belief in the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* has passed away. The whole question of sexual morality at *kusiut* dances was investigated with considerable care.

One point emphasized by all Bella Coola was that no *kusiut* was allowed to have relations with an uninitiated person, whether his wife or not, during the period that his face was blackened and he was wearing a ceremonial collar. The reason for this prohibition seems to have been one not of morality, but of the necessity for preserving the dignity and secrecy of
[688] the *kusiut* society. An offender was punished by being struck

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by a marshal with a billet of firewood; such a blow was never repeated and might or might not cause death. The woman with whom the member had misdemeaned himself was either initiated at once or killed if her relatives could not provide a name and prerogative. 575* 796* 577 834

Restrictions between members of the society were less severe. Particularly during the long nights of *lsuxtämem* and *nusiutälsap*, when only *kukusiut* were present and when men and women, often scantily clad, were closely associated, there seems to have been a certain amount of immorality. It was by no means a time of licence, nor was laxity encouraged by the marshals; intercourse between members of the society did not conflict with *kusiut* regulations, and was accordingly a matter that concerned the individuals alone. [688]

Relations between the actual dancers and members of the other sex were formerly governed by strict rules, rigidly enforced by the marshals. After the coming of a call, a man could hold intercourse with a *kusiut*, provided that he did so in his own home, but in no other. But after *nebusam*, when he left his house, continence was demanded until the end of the season and the burning of the enclosure-platform. The only exception to this rule was that if a second dancer received a call in the same house, the restrictions placed on the first were raised while the call was actually upon the second; that is, between *lsuxtämem* and *nebusam*. After that both were subject to strict continence, unless a third call came to the same dwelling. The Bella Coola of today offer no explanation for this law, save that disregard of it was displeasing to the supernatural beings. An offender in this case was likewise punished by being struck once by a marshal. [688]

The religious aspects of the dances, as exemplified by the attitude of the Bella Coola to the masked figures and other phenomena, was described in the early part of this chapter, but additional observations may now be made. The writer realizes that the reader must find it difficult to understand how the uninitiated can be deluded into thinking that masked 575* 796* 781

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575 to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one
[785] morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all
[787] his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone
[152] whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the
[774] body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try
[756] for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the ƐlaxŌ'ʟa dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large
[292] head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark.
[301] Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the S'ä'ʟpsta (fig. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that
[532] of BaxbakuälanuXsi'waē of the Kwakiutl. Some ƐlaxŌ'ʟa do not
[171] bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and
[266] devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The ƐlaxŌ'ʟa has to observe a number of regulations.
[525] For four years after his initiation he must not
[834] gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

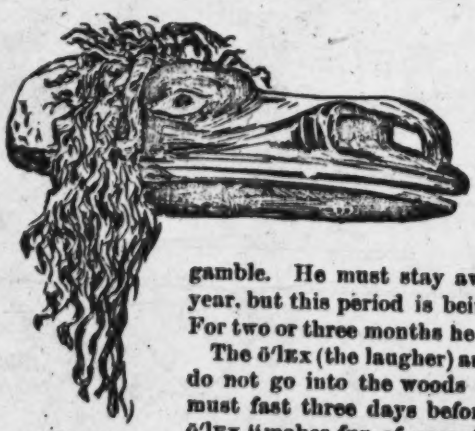

Fig. 200.
MASK OF THE S'Ä'ʟPSTA.
Bi'kula.
Cat. No. 19909, U. S. N. M.
Collected by F. Boas.

The Ō'ʟEx (the laugher) and the dä'tia (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The Ō'ʟEx "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The dä'tia carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The Ō'ʟEx and the dä'tia, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

575 If a person transgresses the laws of the kū'siut, for instance, when
688 the ƐlaxŌ'ʟa gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in
[692] council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing
575 to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the sub-
688 stitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted
754 to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing dis-
756 ease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around

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597 736 Ignorant of his ancestral names, and lacking the means to validate them even if someone should tell them to him, owning no hunting-grounds, the unfortunate infant is little better than a slave. This is almost unthinkable except in the extremely rare contingency of a child being left without relatives.

Although public opinion does not impel kindly treatment to orphans left without kindred, yet many Bella Coola have charitable dispositions and it is not unknown for a family to adopt and tend an infant without reason or hope of reward. One old man mentioned how his mother and a Chilkotin child had been born on the same day when a party of the latter had been encamped near *Nusqalst*. A few days later they left for the interior, abandoning the infant. The grandfather of the old man chanced to pass their camp while the ashes of their fire were still warm and found the baby, whom he brought back, to be a brother to his own daughter. His wife suckled the two, giving each a breast, and treating the foundling as her own. When the boy grew into manhood, he went back to his own people, but never forgot his adopted parents. Forty years later he visited Bella Coola, bringing with him his own wife and family. The old man who related this incident recalled the manner in which the Chilkotin had instructed his children to regard him as their brother.

597 [768] Children are not the only persons to be adopted. On the death of an adult his relatives may "adopt to replace" someone who has a striking facial resemblance to the deceased. Thus, some time after the death of his sister, a certain man was in Bella Bella and saw a Bella Bella woman who closely resembled her. He desired to adopt her, and since he was a man of importance, his wish was granted. To legalize the transaction [431] he distributed valuable presents among the Bella Bella. A person so adopted does not usually change his abode, nor does [601] he lose membership in his own family; instead, he becomes a [835] member of two, with full rights to names and prerogatives in both, is addressed with the same kinship terms as if related by blood, and is likewise considered a member of the family as far as incest rules are concerned.

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595 556 two, but only one of great importance could hope to aspire to more, while the case of *Potles* was considered to be unique and highly desirable.

595 578 A chief's wives always lived in the same house, and it is said that disputes were frequent. *Potles* endeavoured to prevent jealousy by providing each woman with a special bedroom and sleeping for a single night with each in order. One informant had two wives when a young man, and he found that the only way to avoid constant bickering was by sleeping in one bed, between them. The evidence seems clear that plurality of wives was usually the cause of considerable friction, though this never deterred a man from taking a second wife if he could. The only special rule of incest in [835] [582] this regard was that two sisters could not be married at the same time.

595 183 626 In answer to questions about polyandry, two men told of a licentious woman who had two feeble-minded husbands between whom she used to sleep. The whole affair was considered disgusting, but public opinion did not ostracize the offenders since a person's marital affairs were considered to concern the individual only. It was accordingly assumed that 595 556 the institution of true polyandry did not exist, when, unexpectedly, information was volunteered about its occurrence in the families of influential men. A very powerful chief, if his only child was a daughter, quite frequently married her simultaneously to the sons of other chiefs. She was thus considered most fortunate, since only a wealthy man could provide for a daughter in this way, and expend the large quantities of goods necessary to ensure her proper marriage in each case. The husbands were never brothers, and seldom related, since the ambitious parent wished to ally his daughter with different ancestral families for the benefit of any resultant children. The joint wife was accustomed to live for a number of months in the home of one of her husbands, with her other husbands forming part of his household. She would then move to the house of another, who assumed the leadership of the group,

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to force his attentions on a slave woman if she objected, 836
although her refusal would be most unusual on account of his [567]
prestige. There were no professional prostitutes; a man [548]
usually gave a small present to a girl from whom he had received favours, and she was expected to give him a little, dainty basket filled with undyed cedar-bark to use as a sponge. Such relations appear always to have been of common occurrence. Today, as formerly, a man's morality is considered to 836
be his own affair; laxity may lower his prestige, but no law is 522
broken, and his neighbours laugh and chaff him about it. In fact, sexual matters are discussed with the greatest freedom, and a person who has been caught is mocked mercilessly. When visiting a foreign tribe, a man sometimes lives with a [648]
woman and, on parting, composes and sings a song describing her charms. One man did this after living with a Kitlobe woman, and on his return to Bella Coola found that some of his fellows had learnt it in some unexplained manner; they used to sing it to him, much to their amusement, in part to his own, and somewhat to the annoyance of his wife. This perhaps illustrates rather clearly the attitude of the Bella Coola to an infraction of morality—where no marriage rite has been broken; it is amusing rather than disgusting. There 836
are no times when the moral code ceases to function. At pot-
latches, and also at *kusiut* dances, there appears always to [834]
have been a certain amount of laxity, although this was strictly prohibited within the house where the ceremony was taking place. Such behaviour is due to the excitement and stimulus of a large gathering, not to anything connected with the rites themselves.

Perverted sexual desires, like other matters connected with 839
the relations of the sexes, are regarded as concerning the individual alone. Sodomy appears to be unknown. Intercourse 836
by pre-adolescents is held to be disgusting, but carries with it
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social; it exposes the offender to secret contempt, but does not
interfere with his attainment of whatever position his wealth 556

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835 and influence may have won for him. One or two instances
556 are known of contact between parent and child, a matter in which it is the duty of no one to interfere; if a person thus flouts public opinion, it is his own affair.

In view of the firmness of the marriage bond and the ab-
648 sence of professional prostitutes, it is difficult to explain the
167 wholesale exodus of Bella Coola women to Victoria in the last century. In some peculiar manner this came to be regarded as socially proper. The daughters both of chiefs and commoners trooped off for a varying period of months or years
[164] and those who returned brought back venereal diseases which appear to have been unknown before that date. Few of them bore children afterwards, a factor of prime importance in estimating the reasons for the decline of the Bella Coola. The motives which led the women to the city seem to have been: (1) the desire for wealth; (2) the influence of strong liquor; (3) the lure of a strange environment; (4) the attraction of the white men, on account of their higher culture.

It is fortunate for the Bella Coola that this fatal custom has ceased to be considered estimable, although the harm already done may be irremediable.

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pose should remain continent for several nights to increase his 224
generative powers. He then selects a time for beginning the 785
rite and on the second and fourth nights from that date sleeps with his wife, holding intercourse repeatedly and vigorously until he is utterly exhausted. Before dawn on the third and fifth days he must wash in the river or in some quiet stream. Then follow four nights of restraint, a further intercourse, and washing before dawn. The period is next increased to eight nights, then twelve, and finally sixteen, each with a similar contact and bathing. The nights of abstinence are thus forty [801]
in all, a lucky number. An unmarried man can obtain power [836]
in the same manner with the assistance of a female friend; it is the act itself that is vital, not the union of husband and wife.

At the present time, only two Bella Coola are said to know [184]
this particular type of ceremonial chastity, which they conceal carefully, even refusing offers to buy their knowledge. It is potent at any time, but especially if the periods of continence have been so arranged that they terminate at one of the solstices. Then, indeed, can a hunter set off with every prospect [825]
of success, knowing that the human taint disliked by animals [783]
has been removed, and been replaced by a ceremonial cleanliness pleasing to them. If the time terminates at the winter solstice, the hunter should set out immediately; if it ends in June, he must remain away from women after his final intercourse. In September or October, when ready to leave for the hunt, he must sleep beside his wife for the last four nights; each night he must place his leg between hers, and each morning the two must wash together. The best fortune of all is obtained by a man who observes this forty-night period for four successive years.

Another, and more common, count[24] is to observe contin- [824]
ence for four nights, followed by intercourse. Immediately [278]
afterwards, the man should eat as much devil's club[25] as poi- [211]

[24]The record of nights is kept by notches cut in a stick or by knots on a cord.
[25]Or false hellebore. This latter plant is thought to be so poisonous that the eating of even a twig an inch in length is fatal; a very small amount, however, all that is ever taken, acts as a powerful emetic.

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881 bundle of four macaroni-shaped shells, probably *Dentalium*,
[301] which are said to have been imported from the north in early
[439] times. These marks serve to indicate the position of the girl,
who is both feared and respected, possessed of supernatural
[789] power, and yet baneful. Many Bella Coola stories describe
how adolescent girls have been able to vanquish supernatural
[538] beings; perhaps the most striking of these is the manner in
which they once saved mankind when the sun came too close to
the earth. At the end of a year, or eleven months according to one old woman, the seclusion is terminated, and the girl resumes her normal activities. The first time she goes to the river she must throw on the water four pieces of dyed, and four pieces of undyed cedar-bark. This is especially important if the salmon are running at the time, although no explanation of this ritual is given.

582 The resumption of her freedom indicates that a girl has
556 reached marriageable age. Chiefs sometimes confine their
daughters for even longer than a year, and usually delay their
882 marriages for several years to demonstrate their importance;
but this is not necessary, nor is it practised by other than wealthy individuals. It is not uncommon for a girl to wed before her year is out; in that case her restrictions automatically
[554] lapse. Chiefs never allow such a curtailment for their daughters; to do so would diminish the prestige of the latter, and be detrimental to the status of their children when they marry
●836 and have families. Illicit intercourse with a secluded adoles-
883 cent is considered not only illegal but disgusting as well. Be-
tween the period of confinement and marriage, intercourse is
[881] prohibited and guarded against by the parents of a girl, but is not considered filthy and seems to have been fairly common in former times with the daughters of poor people and slaves. This sometimes took place before the first menstruation in spite of the disapproval with which this was regarded.

826 Although the menstrual blood which appears at the first
discharge is considered more baneful than that emitted on later
841 occasions, it is always regarded as uncanny or unclean. It is
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than the presents just given by X's relatives, though occasionally they may exceed them. Y's father, or a herald, or an eloquent friend on his behalf, speaks to the following effect: 583 584

"Be bold. Henceforth you will have to work a very long time for us. We will let you know when we need your services."

The significance of this speech lies in the fact that X, and to a certain extent his relatives, are expected to perform almost menial tasks for Y's father during the period of engagement, which has now been duly ratified. X's father and his followers now leave Y's house. It is immaterial whether or not X and Y themselves have been present. It is important that this formal acknowledgment of the engagement should take place during the day; otherwise any children resulting from the marriage could be shamed by having it said to them: "Your parents were not married in the open light of day." [858]

For a varying length of time X now acts almost as a servant to Y's father. He does not live with her family, but he cuts wood, draws water, and performs other menial tasks. Whenever a member of X's family gives a ceremony, he takes care to give lavish presents to Y's relatives. If it is impossible to hold a sacred rite, X's father is at least expected to invite Y's family to a ceremonial feast, and also to share with them any game that he may kill. Meanwhile, X and Y are not subject to any restrictions as to seeing each other. In theory if they should cohabit it would "spoil" the engagement, but in most cases when this occurs, as it often does, the matter is simply hushed up. [836]

Children whose parents were long engaged are said to be "heavy"; their entry into life having been prepared with careful thought and due ceremony, so that their limbs are clear to travel with success to the position of chief. When such a child is born, the relatives are eager to call their fellow-villagers to confer a name soon after birth, and the infant starts life with this advantage. There is no specific length of time for engagements; if X and Y are the children of influential chiefs, the 584 [858] [553]

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837 faithful and cases of rape were either unknown or very rare.
[839] The daughters of chiefs, too, were guarded with great care and
622 any effort to seduce one of them would be punished by her
836 father. The parents of a girl used to watch her carefully, and the opportunity for immorality was not great in the days when everyone went to bed at sundown except on the occasion of a ceremonial dance. As one informant described it:

"The daughters of chiefs used to be looked after as if they were in boxes, cherished and guarded by their parents and relatives. No one would dream of molesting them. And a chief's daughter used to be proud and look after herself. Nowadays, girls don't care, and everything has become degraded."

[586] If the daughter of a chief did demean herself, the parents lost interest in her, as one who was spoilt. It was always assumed that a girl of rank was a virgin at marriage, and if it was discovered that she had been living an immoral life, her husband in many cases returned her in disgrace to her parents who, equally shamed, were expected to send back to him the goods he had expended for their daughter. Loss of virtue was
622 judged only from indirect information. If the daughter of a
848 chief was found pregnant before marriage, she was almost ostracized by her family. No ceremonial marriage could be arranged for her, and the child could not be cleansed from the stigma of illegitimacy.

836 On the other hand, it appears certain that there was a good
567 deal of intercourse in the old days between chiefs and slave women, or even between slaves and the daughters of chiefs.
[431] In the latter case the woman was often cast aside by her relatives though they sometimes yielded to the inevitable and tried to wash away the disgrace with gifts. At the same time, public opinion was unfavourable to a man who consorted with many women, or to a woman who allowed herself to be at the disposal of many men. Any regular union of masters with their slave women for the deliberate purpose of having children was unknown. A girl's consent was always necessary, given either personally or through an intermediary. Even a chief hesitated

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to force his attentions on a slave woman if she objected, 836
although her refusal would be most unusual on account of his [567]
prestige. There were no professional prostitutes; a man [548]
usually gave a small present to a girl from whom he had received favours, and she was expected to give him a little, dainty basket filled with undyed cedar-bark to use as a sponge. Such relations appear always to have been of common occurrence. Today, as formerly, a man's morality is considered to 836
be his own affair; laxity may lower his prestige, but no law is 522
broken, and his neighbours laugh and chaff him about it. In fact, sexual matters are discussed with the greatest freedom, and a person who has been caught is mocked mercilessly. When visiting a foreign tribe, a man sometimes lives with a [648]
woman and, on parting, composes and sings a song describing her charms. One man did this after living with a Kitlobe woman, and on his return to Bella Coola found that some of his fellows had learnt it in some unexplained manner; they used to sing it to him, much to their amusement, in part to his own, and somewhat to the annoyance of his wife. This perhaps illustrates rather clearly the attitude of the Bella Coola to an infraction of morality—where no marriage rite has been broken; it is amusing rather than disgusting. There 836
are no times when the moral code ceases to function. At pot-
latches, and also at *kusiut* dances, there appears always to [834]
have been a certain amount of laxity, although this was strictly prohibited within the house where the ceremony was taking place. Such behaviour is due to the excitement and stimulus of a large gathering, not to anything connected with the rites themselves.

Perverted sexual desires, like other matters connected with 839
the relations of the sexes, are regarded as concerning the individual alone. Sodomy appears to be unknown. Intercourse 836
by pre-adolescents is held to be disgusting, but carries with it
no social ostracism. Incestuous union, however, is mildly anti- 835
social; it exposes the offender to secret contempt, but does not
interfere with his attainment of whatever position his wealth 556

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sary to understand the attitude of the Bella Coola to the sexual act itself. Although it is a normal part of life (for no one would voluntarily abstain from all contact) yet the union of man and woman does not lack import, since its very humanness distinguishes those who practise it in the eyes of supernatural beings, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic. Those who indulge excessively become so over-charged with this characteristic that their undertakings are certain to fail, whereas those who remain continent for a considerable period are so freed from the contagion of mankind that they become almost supernatural themselves and always succeed in their ventures. If, after a period of restraint, a man holds intercourse, this essentially human act adds typical human strength to that accumulated by chastity. Chastity alone gives power; but chastity consummated by intercourse at the proper period increases that power enormously. This somewhat complicated belief is accepted without question by every Bella Coola, playing an important part in their lives, even in their present degraded condition. The following story illustrates the point rather clearly:

831 785 [184] 539 831 785

A party of Kingcome Inlet people had been present at a ceremonial at Smith Inlet. While returning home, one canoe, containing a chief, his wife, and eighteen or twenty commoners, was caught by an unexpected south wind and driven on the rocky islet, *Sno·aldděy*, where the lighthouse now stands. The occupants managed to reach shore and to save their canoe. The islet was barren, but they made a rude shelter of boughs in which they lived while the storm continued. Every day the chief sent out the young men to hunt seals, and every day they returned empty-handed. The little food they had with them on landing was now exhausted and they were starving. One night, when they were almost famished, the chief said to his wife:

"The youths have done their best. Now that death is before us I want to create a kindly feeling. I am going out, probably to die during the night, and I want you to allow each young man to sleep with you. It is a strange request but our condition is unusual, and the story of your shame will never be known, because we shall soon all be dead."

[837]

The wife acquiesced. The chief then told one of the young commoners to lie with her, and afterwards to tell a comrade to do likewise,

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539 who, in turn, would pass on the request so that it might reach each
831 member of the party. Not only is it contrary to custom for a commoner
785 to hold intercourse with a chief's wife, but it is unknown for a man to ask another to sleep with his wife, so the youth was surprised and rather
[837] frightened. However, he acceded to the request, passed on the instructions, and washed. As he was bathing, a seal appeared in the surf beside
[622] him, and he was able to kill it easily. Each in turn behaved in the same manner, washed, and then killed a seal. Next morning, when the chief returned he was delighted that all had turned out in accordance with his hopes. At the same time the wind dropped so that the party was able to return home.

831 The power which had brought the seals within reach of the
785 men had been engendered in their own bodies by these ritual acts after a rather lengthy period of continence. The Bella Coola believe that such a procedure always increases their strength and ability, therefore giving them a better chance to gain favour from supernatural beings, and to take advantage of opportunities offered. Hunters in particular are careful with
[224] regard to their marital life since animals know their acts and
[825] thoughts, and hide from one who has not made himself "clean"
[783] by continence, its termination, and bathing. *Sxetsta* consists of these three elements, but since continence is the most prominent feature, the term may be translated as "ceremonial chastity."

In its simplest form this comprises merely the three elements already mentioned. The longer the continence, the greater the power engendered by its termination. A man who has practised abstinence for a year has such strength within himself that almost any good fortune may occur, and cases are known in which it has been carried out for even longer periods. More often, an individual practises ceremonial chas-
[184] tity in accordance with a family tradition. One old man gave the following recipe and was most emphatic that it always
224 brought success in hunting and fishing; he added that on the
785 two occasions he had tried it, he had brought back a phenomenal number of skins.

A person planning to set out on an expedition for any pur-

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224 785 sible, selecting small twigs from which the bark and spines have been rubbed off. This acts as an emetic, so that before washing in the morning he has vomited from his stomach all [824] polluting matter, especially any human hair which animals [278] consider particularly unclean. Before dawn he goes to the [783] river and remains beneath the surface as long as possible, irrespective of the coldness of the water. Then he returns slowly to his house. Four nights later the same acts are repeated. These eight nights of continence are followed by two further periods, each of four nights, making a total of sixteen. Thus fortified, a hunter anticipates great success.

785 A person practising ceremonial chastity is in a condition peculiarly susceptible to disaster, and must observe certain restrictions. If, for example, anyone sees him as he returns from washing in the morning, the power which he has been accumulating so laboriously is lost. Owing to this belief, it is customary for a man to wash long before dawn and to come creeping into his house through a hole in the floor. He must always be the last to retire at night, the first to rise in the morning; and he must say nothing about what he is doing. Intercourse is, of course, absolutely forbidden except on the proper nights, and at other times he must not even put his arm around his wife. Failure to obey these restrictions destroys any advantage from [837] ceremonial chastity, while actual disaster follows should a man's wife misconduct herself with anyone else when he is using her for this purpose. If she is unfaithful, her husband is certain to be slain by an animal when hunting, or to slip and be killed on a mountain trail. Animals know all that human beings do [825] or think, and they punish anyone who is unable to perform ceremonial chastity fittingly. Behind these restrictions there 831 is undoubtedly the sentiment that intercourse, held duly and 785 properly at the right time, is not a mere desire of the flesh, but a ceremonial act. Indeed, when the Bella Coola speak of it in [833] connection with ceremonial chastity, they do not use the [195] common term, *s-m*, which has a coarse implication, but *xoldjut* which has a polite and almost sacred implication.

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[567] friends, a further cause for their preferential treatment. A [727] Bella Coola who had been enslaved and ransomed had to [783] undergo a cleansing ceremony to remove the taint of slavery before he could take part in the ceremonies of the community. It was impossible to learn the details of this rite.

[624] A master had complete power over a slave, unaffected by the force of public opinion, since the affairs of a slave, being without relatives, were of no consequence to anyone. Accordingly, the lot of a slave depended on the character of his master, and on his own ability and industry. An industrious slave was valued; such an one would not be traded or sold except through dire necessity, and in course of years he became, as far as actual treatment was concerned, one of the [424] family. Many masters gave their slaves *kusiat*[44] dance pre- [431] rogatives, expending large sums for the purpose. In such a case the slave might become an influential member of the community, though the fact that he was not free was never forgotten. On the other hand, a master had not the slightest compunction about beating a lazy slave, and could kill him if he so desired. None of the present Bella Coola has heard of such a case; it was considered more sensible to sell or give away an unsatisfactory slave. It was accepted as a matter of course that a master should provide his slaves with food and clothing, since anything produced or obtained by one belonged to him. A slave-owner had full rights to his female slaves, [837] and unquestionably exercised them. The only restraints were the jealousy of his own wife, or wives, and the feeling that it was undignified for a free man to demean himself. It was impossible to learn with even approximate accuracy to what extent intercourse took place between masters and slaves. Probably not a great deal, though there was considerable freedom of relations between slave women and the young men of the community, unrestrained by the pride of chieftainship. When a slave had been faithful for a number of years and had [582] become almost a member of the family, his master would try

[44] Dance privileges (I, p. 180) were more rarely given.

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593 slave, and this is believed to have occurred on one occasion
567 to the daughter of a chief.

432 Once, many hundred years ago, the daughter of a Bella Coola chief
L48 was married to the son of *Taxlexwam*, a Bella Bella chief, living at *Qoqoyd*. At the marriage, in Bella Coola, valuable presents were given by both families, and the girl went to live in Bella Bella with her husband. Some ten years later, *Taxlexwam* gave a large potlatch to which he had invited guests from all parts of the coast. As in duty bound, his daughter-in-law's relatives gave a certain amount of goods to rebuy her. They were not wealthy, so that the contribution was of small value. *Taxlexwam* had expected a larger present, and now found himself unable even to repay his debts to those who had assembled. He did not immediately show his resentment, but soon afterwards sold his daughter-in-law as slave to a Kitkatla chief. The Bella Coola were justly indignant, but could not make up their minds what to do in such an unprecedented case. The girl ultimately escaped and made her way home after lengthy wanderings (II, p. 505).

•837 A husband demands faithfulness on the part of his wife, though he himself is often rather lax. Illicit intercourse is regarded, not as a deadly sin, but as an infringement of the husband's prerogatives. But if a woman should bear a child at a time when it was impossible for the husband to have been the father, due to absence, he would probably accept it as his
[586] own and do no more than administer a beating, though some jealous men would divorce a wife for this. Bella Coola sentiment on such matters varies with the individual; it is universally considered to be a matter that concerns the husband
[184] alone and he can do as he thinks fit. The daughters of chiefs are usually faithful to their husbands, whereas those of poorer persons, unrestrained by the valuables expended at their mar-
[L82] riages, are more lax. If the husband should catch an adulterer, he can, if bold, slay him on the spot and the exaction of blood revenge would be uncalled for. Usually a fight ends the matter, though the offender's family may give presents to the aggrieved husband, and his wife's relatives may also make donations to atone for their daughter's failings. A husband does not share his wife with anyone, and a question as to the lending of a wife

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to a guest was regarded as amusing. In recent years, however, 837
some husbands have made a practice of renting their wives to [48]
white men. This is not considered creditable, but the Bella 548
Coola do not strongly condemn breaches of the moral code, [183]
which are regarded as the affair of the husband alone. There is said to be a Bella Bella custom by which a wife takes as recognized paramour one of the friends of her husband who is thought not only to know of this but to receive the presents which the lover gives his wife. The two continue to be friends and often hunt together; in fact, their mutual interest in the woman is a bond between them. No trace of this practice [171]
could be found in Bella Coola.

POLYGAMY

It has thus far been assumed that the Bella Coola are 595
monogamous, an assumption correct only since the period of 556
white dominance. Previous to that time it was quite common [177]
for wealthy men to have three, four, or more wives. *Potlas*, the important chief so often mentioned, had nine, ten, or eleven, the exact number is not known. A man wishing to take a second wife could do so in the manner already described, although the period of engagement was usually much shorter, and working for his parents-in-law was not expected. The reason for this was obvious to the Bella Coola. None but a chief of importance could afford more than a single wife, and such an one could not be expected to demean himself by working for anyone else. Besides, parents were glad to have their daughters married to a great chief, so willingly omitted the customary period of servitude. Few attained the distinction of having several wives. As far as could be learnt, [162]
the number of the sexes seems always to have been about equal, in itself a check to polygyny in a community where practically every adult had a wife. A number of males were always slain in war, and it is to be assumed that polygyny was made possible only through the surplus of women thus caused. The great majority of men had a single wife, some chiefs had

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ceremony, they can part at discretion without anyone being affected. 586

When a wife runs away and seeks refuge with another man, her husband sometimes tries to kill his rival, but frequently both families endeavour to heal the breach amicably. Some of her relatives, particularly those who played an influential part in the marriage, first ask the husband whether or not he is willing to take her back. If the answer is in the affirmative, they next try to persuade her to return. Every argument is used, in many cases combined with threats against her seducer, and the intermediaries often succeed. But she must never go back without presents, "to dry with fire the water that has entered the marriage." Her husband invites all his fellow-villagers to his house to a ceremony which is said "to uproot the house [of trouble]." The singers are in attendance and sing in succession many *kusiut* songs, followed by *susook* songs, and to each the owner of the song dances, but since the supernatural beings are not present, the affair is of a non-sacred nature. The goods received from the family of the erring wife are distributed and the matter is at an end. Those who persuaded the wife to return are especially rewarded. 837 [796] [431]

If the faithless wife should refuse to return, or if she should bear a child to her lover, reconciliation is not possible. Then it is incumbent on the woman's relatives to return to the husband as much goods as he has expended, with additions if they wish to uphold their own reputation. If the husband is clearly to blame, or if he is the deserting partner, his wife's family are not required to return the gifts they have received. There is no judicial tribunal of any kind, the force of public opinion alone impels restitution if the offender wishes to maintain his reputation in the community. Acting on this principle, the relatives of a deserted wife sometimes restore to her husband's family the presents they have received, thereby demonstrating their nobility and at the same time shaming the offender. 586 837 [626]

Formerly there was an elaborate ceremony to shame the [796] [626]

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husband or wife who destroyed a marriage by deserting his, or her, partner for a lover. One informant, aged about seventy, twice took part in this rite when a young man, but probably did not know the full details of it. He stated that it followed a divorce of two persons who had been married with full ceremony, whereas another, slightly younger informant, who remembered having seen the ceremony once when a mere lad, believed that it was only in the families of commoners. It appears certain that the rite has not been practised since about 1880, consequently there is an element of doubt as to the actual details, and even as to whether it was an affair of chiefs or commoners. It is probable that it was among the former.

When a woman deserted her husband one of the leading chiefs would take this opportunity of giving a ceremony of the type known as *łłaiyäkam*.[10] After consulting with his fellows to ensure that no one had any objections, and rarely including the deserted husband, he summoned the singers to his house. He would tell them his plans, and they would prepare the songs for the occasion. Five or six were always composed, with an effort to include as many foul remarks and allusions as possible, particularly with regard to the organs of the woman and her lover.

The singers spent about a week composing the songs, and meanwhile the chief who was giving the ceremony prepared food and made other necessary arrangements. When these were ready, the donor invited to his house all the members of the *sisaok* and *kusiut* societies for a rehearsal. The singers sang over the airs for the instruction of the guests. They were always worded as if it were the deserted husband speaking in foul terms of his ex-wife. The theme of one was:

"My wife has pudenda like those of a black bear."

The guests joined in the singing and also supplied foul themes by calling out observations about the organs of women in general, and of the deserting wife in particular. The singers

[10] The relation of this to the *a'alk* dance of the same name is obscure, cf. I, p. 279.

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tried to incorporate as many of these as possible, so that the rite soon became a chorus of obscenities. The songs were sung and resung until all present were familiar with them, then the donor of the rite distributed food and all departed. 586 626 837 796

The following afternoon everyone, including those uninitiated into either society, were invited to the donor's house. Probably the only absentees from the village were the deserting wife and her lover, while guests from neighbouring settlements were often in attendance. On this occasion, for the first time, the deserted husband used to take the leading part. When the singers struck up the tune of the first song, he used to appear, supported by four or five assistants. His face was blackened with soot, he wore a lynx-skin belt, and above his head was fashioned some insulting object, usually a representation of the female organs made of wood, cedar-bark and berries, as realistic as possible. As the singers sang, aided by those who had learnt the songs on the previous day, the husband danced, moving his body so that the ornament on top of his head was shaken suggestively. Meanwhile the spectators kept calling out filthy epithets of any kind on his ex-wife and her lover. Sometimes the dancer was able to insert some obscene remarks into the display. On one occasion, for example, he pulled some lynx fur from his belt and threw it in the face of a *Täl·io* man who happened to be present, and who had once seduced a married woman and accordingly been the butt of a similar rite, with the remark: [302] [292]

"All *Täl·io* women have hairy pudenda like that."

The guests were invited to suggest foul nick-names for the man with whom the dancer's wife had eloped. One of these was adopted by general agreement of opinion, and the man was commonly called by it henceforth. Two names so created were: [551]

Skulsos, "The One Whose Face is Wrinkled like a Woman's Organs," and,

Emoisaik, "The One Who Cohabited Publicly."

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586 One very old man is still, 1923, commonly called by this
626 last designation, much to his annoyance.

When the songs had been sung, each accompanied by the
● 837 dancing of the deserted husband, the donor of the ceremony
796 distributed food and the guests departed. The only advantage
[556] to the giver of the rite was that it enabled him to show his wealth in an apparently disinterested fashion by gifts of food. Usually he was a friend of the aggrieved husband.

When a husband deserted his wife, the other women of the village used to perform an exactly similar ceremony. The same type of songs were composed, and during their singing the deserted wife used to dance, wearing above her head
[292] representations of a penis and testicles. By means of hidden strings she was able to cause the former to become erect.

On other occasions the ceremony was varied by an announcer asking the offended party about the appearance of the deserter. There followed a minute and highly coloured description about the unpleasantness of his genital organs, a description which was swiftly incorporated into the songs.

It can be taken as a matter of course that the above description is little more than an outline of the Bella Coola ceremony of shaming. In spite of its deficiencies, it is important, as evidence of the former sentiment with regard to divorce. Obscene though the ceremony must have been, both in acting and in the free use of personalities, it must have been a powerful deterrent to divorce.[11] Indeed it would be difficult to imagine a stronger one in a community where a man's position is judged by public opinion and where his greatest aversion is to public ridicule. It is unfortunate that we shall probably never know whether the rite was associated with chiefs or commoners.

CEREMONIAL MARRIAGE

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556 Since marriage gains much of its importance from the complicated business transactions between the two families, with

[848] [11] A similar rite was occasionally carried out for unmarried mothers.

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blankets" for the child. The advantages to the donors were that they had an opportunity of showing their dignity, and it would always be a mark of pride for the child to be able to boast of the way in which she had been "held." 556 608 858

Ceremonial marriage clearly demonstrates two strong Bella Coola characteristics; namely, the desire publicly to enter into financial undertakings to demonstrate the wealth of the contracting party, and the desire to increase the prestige of children by means of this wealth expended indirectly on their behalf.

EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

Although the Bella Coola do not regard marriage primarily as a means of regulating relations between the sexes, yet the connection between the two is sufficiently close to warrant description in this chapter. A man considers intercourse as one of the normal phenomena of life: by marrying he has exclusive rights to his wife, but few moral restraints deter him from anyone else to whom he can gain access without infringing the prerogatives of some other husband. Moreover, sexual intercourse is not regarded solely as a gratification of desires; it has a significance which can be described, not inaptly, as holy. As already explained, two favourite methods of obtaining success in any undertaking are by preserving lengthy continence or by observing ceremonial chastity. If a young unmarried man or widower should wish to make use of this latter means, he is compelled to have relations with a woman to whom he has no just claims. This is universally recognized, nor is there the slightest odium attached to the man. The only essential is that he neither violate another's wife, nor force a young girl against her will. 581 831 837

At the present time there is great laxity in Bella Coola, a condition which makes it difficult to judge the state of affairs in former times. Every effort was made to obtain satisfactory evidence, and the following was verified and re-verified with the older men. [128]

A wife, properly married with full ceremony, was usually 837 839

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837 [839] 622 836 faithful and cases of rape were either unknown or very rare. The daughters of chiefs, too, were guarded with great care and any effort to seduce one of them would be punished by her father. The parents of a girl used to watch her carefully, and the opportunity for immorality was not great in the days when everyone went to bed at sundown except on the occasion of a ceremonial dance. As one informant described it:

"The daughters of chiefs used to be looked after as if they were in boxes, cherished and guarded by their parents and relatives. No one would dream of molesting them. And a chief's daughter used to be proud and look after herself. Nowadays, girls don't care, and everything has become degraded."

[586] If the daughter of a chief did demean herself, the parents lost interest in her, as one who was spoilt. It was always assumed that a girl of rank was a virgin at marriage, and if it was discovered that she had been living an immoral life, her husband in many cases returned her in disgrace to her parents who, equally shamed, were expected to send back to him the goods he had expended for their daughter. Loss of virtue was 622 848 judged only from indirect information. If the daughter of a chief was found pregnant before marriage, she was almost ostracized by her family. No ceremonial marriage could be arranged for her, and the child could not be cleansed from the stigma of illegitimacy.

836 567 On the other hand, it appears certain that there was a good deal of intercourse in the old days between chiefs and slave women, or even between slaves and the daughters of chiefs. [431] In the latter case the woman was often cast aside by her relatives though they sometimes yielded to the inevitable and tried to wash away the disgrace with gifts. At the same time, public opinion was unfavourable to a man who consorted with many women, or to a woman who allowed herself to be at the disposal of many men. Any regular union of masters with their slave women for the deliberate purpose of having children was unknown. A girl's consent was always necessary, given either personally or through an intermediary. Even a chief hesitated

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One." An informant, wishing to emphasize the care lavished on this being, pointed to a photograph from an illustrated paper of Princess Mary, Viscountess Lascelles, bending over her infant. He remarked that this was the kind of attention shown by *Xemxemälotla* to his charge. 776 *

Of slightly greater importance is the hermaphrodite, *Sgunts*. He resides in the land above, and spends most of his time outside the walls of *Nusmät·a*, acting as guardian to a number of young girls, the children of various supernatural beings. On many occasions he has descended to this world and has been seen by mortals, who recognize him by his peculiar nasal voice, intermediate between that of a man and a woman. It is supposed that human hermaphrodites have been affected in some mysterious way by their supernatural prototype. 776 * 838 ● 838

Several informants stated that they had heard of hermaphrodites among other tribes, and thought that such existed among their own people in early times, but the term is usually applied, without physiological significance, to two types of individual supposedly affected by *Sgunts*. Several cases are alleged of a male infant changing to a female on being washed and brought into the house. One of these, a girl about twelve years of age, was living in Bella Coola in 1923. The basis for these accounts is certainly error concerning the sex of a new-born child. The second class consists of those who desire to perform the work of the opposite sex. For example, if a boy shows an aptitude for woman's work, the parents, realizing that he wants to be a girl, dress and treat him accordingly. One informant knew of a Kimsquit boy, two Bella Bella, and several Kitimat to whom this had occurred. Henceforth they dressed as women, but in due course they took wives whom they helped in all feminine tasks. Another informant knew of two cases of the kind in which the men did not marry and were believed to have an aversion to women. One instance is known of a Kitimat woman who, having assumed man's costume and occupations, refused either to marry or to have anything to do with her own sex. Another case is of a Carrier 171 838

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838 woman who dressed as a man and used to hunt successfully,
[171] though she was married. Such practices are said to have been not uncommon among the Haida. The women were considered bold and independent, but the Bella Coola of today know little
*[776] about them, and are not even certain that *Sqants* is responsible for a female assuming the actions of a male. It will be readily understood that he is not regarded with much awe, nor does he influence their daily lives.

*776 Another supernatural being, uninfluential though resident
[822] upon earth, is Echo, *Setsaläni*, "The Voice Repeater." The Bella Coola regard him as a male being, in human form, and recognize his presence whenever sounds reverberate. He figures in mythology, occasionally appears as a masked figure at
[575] *kusiut* or *susaok* dances, but has neither helped nor harmed human beings for so many generations that he is accordingly neglected.

*776 A supernatural being from whom many Bella Coola have
787 had unpleasant visitations is *Sllumsila*, the cause of nightmares.
828 He is a man-like creature with black face and an enormous head which he constantly scratches. His home is in *Nusmät·a*, but he frequently descends to this world and frightens sleepers. If a person scratches his head while asleep it is because he has just seen *Sllumsila* doing so, and if he walks in his sleep it is to escape this supernatural visitor. A sleep-walker is usually aroused by having a bucket of water thrown over him. A
[751] person frequently troubled by *Sllumsila* can avoid him by painting a black circle around each eye before going to sleep.

*776 With the exception of *Älquntäm*, the supernatural beings thus far described play little part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They believe in their existence, but do not expect to meet them, and do not believe that they exercise much influence on the course of their daily life. Supernatural beings of this ineffective type are exceptional. A man goes into remote parts of the
781 mountains, or even into little frequented areas around his
*776 village, with mingled fear lest he encounter an actively malicious being, and hope that he may meet a benevolent one. More-

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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *kusiut* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Ałquntärn* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy abstin-

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[825] *Sulukst:* Mountain on west side of the Kimsquit River.
susloʼtʼtskwa·kwa: One of the river sculpins.
susukmis: To gather cedar-bark.
Sximäna: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning
Sutäl: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Sulkulta, "Winter Trail": Locality, perhaps village, on the upper Kimsquit River.
[101] *Sutshmy:* Generic name of the inhabitants of the Dean valley.
Suxwalk: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
Swaäkis: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Swaky: Mountain at Kimsquit which was in human form in the beginning of time.
swaläxmdimut: Meeting of the senior supernatural beings to discuss ceremonial matters at the winter solstice.
swalxta: Provender provided by the supreme god for the first settlers in the beginning of time.
swaʼxwa: Mud.
sxaiäx: Person or object which is taboo.
Sxaiaxwax: Evil supernatural being.
Sgaiahwa, "Maker of Good Weather": Supernatural name of dog salmon.
sxäkmem gdi mäns: Term of opprobrium applied to a child whose father drove away his mother.
sgäksta: Sorcerer's box.
Sxa·hutsmän·a: Part of a peculiar repository.
sgän: Female lover, especially a paramour.
sgäxm: Male lover.
Sgaḃ·tl: One of the first women to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
sgem: The bursting forth of light.
[785] *sxetsta:* Ceremonial chastity.
[831] *sxetstadjut:* The state of practising ceremonial chastity.
sxetstanai: Power engendered by ceremonial chastity.
sgek: 1—Sorcerer.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Sgekgädjutän·a: Part of a peculiar repository.
sxim: Cedar-bark cord.
Sximäna: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Sximsximult: Immoral supernatural woman.
gxʼlʼ: Afterbirth.
Sgiyutän·a: Chief of the dogs in the beginning of time.
[838] *Sgunts:* 1—Hermaphrodite, a supernatural being.
2—Man who performs woman's work.
[761] *sxumänots kkʼ:* Life, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
[821] *Sukʼlat,* South Wind: A supernatural being.
[805] *Sulkl,* "Angry Moon": First moon after the winter solstice.
sxlo·xʼ: Poisonous supernatural creature that travels with the War-Party of the Tides.
sxlanak: "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts. The word has two meanings:
[532] 1—Carved human figure set up by a shaman near the vessel of grease which is thrown on a fire.
2—Nickname bestowed on a man.

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blankets" for the child. The advantages to the donors were that they had an opportunity of showing their dignity, and it would always be a mark of pride for the child to be able to boast of the way in which she had been "held." 556 608 858

Ceremonial marriage clearly demonstrates two strong Bella Coola characteristics; namely, the desire publicly to enter into financial undertakings to demonstrate the wealth of the contracting party, and the desire to increase the prestige of children by means of this wealth expended indirectly on their behalf.

EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

Although the Bella Coola do not regard marriage primarily as a means of regulating relations between the sexes, yet the connection between the two is sufficiently close to warrant description in this chapter. A man considers intercourse as one of the normal phenomena of life: by marrying he has exclusive rights to his wife, but few moral restraints deter him from anyone else to whom he can gain access without infringing the prerogatives of some other husband. Moreover, sexual intercourse is not regarded solely as a gratification of desires; it has a significance which can be described, not inaptly, as holy. As already explained, two favourite methods of obtaining success in any undertaking are by preserving lengthy continence or by observing ceremonial chastity. If a young unmarried man or widower should wish to make use of this latter means, he is compelled to have relations with a woman to whom he has no just claims. This is universally recognized, nor is there the slightest odium attached to the man. The only essential is that he neither violate another's wife, nor force a young girl against her will. 581 831 837

At the present time there is great laxity in Bella Coola, a condition which makes it difficult to judge the state of affairs in former times. Every effort was made to obtain satisfactory evidence, and the following was verified and re-verified with the older men. [128]

A wife, properly married with full ceremony, was usually 837 839

837 faithful and cases of rape were either unknown or very rare.
[839] The daughters of chiefs, too, were guarded with great care and
622 any effort to seduce one of them would be punished by her
836 father. The parents of a girl used to watch her carefully, and the opportunity for immorality was not great in the days when everyone went to bed at sundown except on the occasion of a ceremonial dance. As one informant described it:

"The daughters of chiefs used to be looked after as if they were in boxes, cherished and guarded by their parents and relatives. No one would dream of molesting them. And a chief's daughter used to be proud and look after herself. Nowadays, girls don't care, and everything has become degraded."

If the daughter of a chief did demean herself, the parents
[586] lost interest in her, as one who was spoilt. It was always assumed that a girl of rank was a virgin at marriage, and if it was discovered that she had been living an immoral life, her husband in many cases returned her in disgrace to her parents who, equally shamed, were expected to send back to him the goods he had expended for their daughter. Loss of virtue was
622 judged only from indirect information. If the daughter of a
848 chief was found pregnant before marriage, she was almost ostracized by her family. No ceremonial marriage could be arranged for her, and the child could not be cleansed from the stigma of illegitimacy.

836 On the other hand, it appears certain that there was a good
567 deal of intercourse in the old days between chiefs and slave women, or even between slaves and the daughters of chiefs.
[431] In the latter case the woman was often cast aside by her relatives though they sometimes yielded to the inevitable and tried to wash away the disgrace with gifts. At the same time, public opinion was unfavourable to a man who consorted with many women, or to a woman who allowed herself to be at the disposal of many men. Any regular union of masters with their slave women for the deliberate purpose of having children was unknown. A girl's consent was always necessary, given either personally or through an intermediary. Even a chief hesitated

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to force his attentions on a slave woman if she objected, 836
although her refusal would be most unusual on account of his [567]
prestige. There were no professional prostitutes; a man [548]
usually gave a small present to a girl from whom he had received favours, and she was expected to give him a little, dainty basket filled with undyed cedar-bark to use as a sponge. Such relations appear always to have been of common occurrence. Today, as formerly, a man's morality is considered to 836
be his own affair; laxity may lower his prestige, but no law is 522
broken, and his neighbours laugh and chaff him about it. In fact, sexual matters are discussed with the greatest freedom, and a person who has been caught is mocked mercilessly. When visiting a foreign tribe, a man sometimes lives with a [648]
woman and, on parting, composes and sings a song describing her charms. One man did this after living with a Kitlobe woman, and on his return to Bella Coola found that some of his fellows had learnt it in some unexplained manner; they used to sing it to him, much to their amusement, in part to his own, and somewhat to the annoyance of his wife. This perhaps illustrates rather clearly the attitude of the Bella Coola to an infraction of morality—where no marriage rite has been broken; it is amusing rather than disgusting. There 836
are no times when the moral code ceases to function. At pot-
latches, and also at *kusiut* dances, there appears always to [834]
have been a certain amount of laxity, although this was strictly prohibited within the house where the ceremony was taking place. Such behaviour is due to the excitement and stimulus of a large gathering, not to anything connected with the rites themselves.

Perverted sexual desires, like other matters connected with 839
the relations of the sexes, are regarded as concerning the individual alone. Sodomy appears to be unknown. Intercourse 836
by pre-adolescents is held to be disgusting, but carries with it
no social ostracism. Incestuous union, however, is mildly anti- 835
social; it exposes the offender to secret contempt, but does not
interfere with his attainment of whatever position his wealth 556

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764 while the relatives are preparing the body for disposal. For a child, these services are performed by the parents; for a married man whose parents are dead, by his brothers and other kindred; for a married woman, by her husband or the members of her own family. If she has borne no children, it is customary for her relatives to carry out the funeral rites, especially if she has been many times rebought from her husband. If such repayment has not been made, it is considered correct for a husband to bury his wife, although it is a point of honour for her relatives to reimburse him later for his expenditure. On the other hand, when children have been born and financial assistance mutually given and received several times, it is proper for the husband to perform the funeral rites, although he may receive assistance from his wife's kinsmen. There is no rigid ruling on the point, but bickerings seldom occur in connection with disposal of the dead. Members of the ancestral family are ready to assist in every case, both on account of the disgrace that would follow a niggardly funeral, and also as a means of displaying their wealth. [614] [556]

The first essential is to wash the body, a rite performed by men for a man, by women for a woman. It is immaterial who does this though some of the relatives usually volunteer. Neither husband nor wife touches a dead consort, though it is said that long ago a man would hold intercourse with a deceased wife to indicate his excessive grief. The most influential member of the immediate family takes the lead in the various necessary acts, although there is always endless discussion and advice from members of the ancestral family and others interested. A nose-ring is placed in the septum of the corpse; if this is omitted, the body will not be able to dissolve into its elements but will range the earth as a walking phantom, causing injury to anyone who observes it. If the deceased has just eaten some of the first run of spring salmon or olachen, a shaman washes out his mouth with a sponge of undyed cedar-bark which he throws into the river. The essence of the salmon is thus extracted from the body; if [839] [301] [975] [825]

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human wearer belongs to a sphere differing from that of supernatural animals and is dangerous to them. Consequently, if worn clothing be thrown on a fire it repels unpleasant visitors. Other powerful protections are false hellebore, and smoked salmon roe. A wise hunter always carries these and if he sees a dangerous creature such as a *smnuq*, he chews the two together and spits them towards the peril. Needless to say, if a kindly animal is seen, the hunter does not drive it away by these methods. Why false hellebore should be so effective is a matter of wonder to the Bella Coola themselves, for as a rule it is the human essence attached to objects which gives them their strength over the supernatural. Thus the most powerful of all charms are pads that have been used by women during their menses. If a woman travels on the ocean she is careful to carry some of them with her ready to repel any danger from the supernatural water beings.[a]

776* 789 [824] [824] [841]

The manner in which the Bella Coola regard mythical animals and other evidences of the supernatural is illustrated by the following practice. Hunters always want to know the direction of the wind, and when the breeze is too slight to be discernible they blow upwards a small amount of eagle down, which is so light that the faintest breath of air will bear it down wind. What the logical white man considers a natural phenomenon, appears to the Bella Coola as miraculous; eagle down, stripped from the dead bird by human hands and stored for some time within a house, has become so humanized that it can conquer supernatural powers to indicate the direction of the wind.

776* 789 821 [224]

The mythical monsters already described are not the only animals regarded as supernatural by the Bella Coola. They believe that in the beginning *Alquntăm* created men and beasts at the same time and in the same place, giving the former the greater share of power, but not exiling the latter to a different plane of existence. In those early days, the semi-supernatural

776* 825 773

[a] This matter will be described more fully in connection with Magic; see vol. I, chap. xx.

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concerning the danger of near approach to this creature: 539

Kwilais was a man of mixed lineage, Kimsquit and *Pas*, near 776
Newitte. With several companions he was gathering berries when he 825
stepped into a hole and felt numerous tiny creatures crawling over his 755
legs. Looking down, he saw that they were small snakes, that had just been hatched from a Mother of Snakes. He fled, terrified, pursued by the reptiles, which he managed to keep off to some extent by brushing [789]
behind him a branch of spiny swamp gooseberry, a known deterrent. When he had out-distanced the snakes he called his companions, told them of his adventure, and returned home. There he repeated the tale. Though *Kwilais* did not know it, many of the snakes had succeeded in entering his stomach. Presently he began to swell; his body became [753]
larger and larger until he was in danger of bursting. The reptiles within were breeding rapidly. Luckily, one of his fellow villagers knew the proper remedy. A raised bed was made for the sufferer about five feet from the ground where *Kwilais* stretched himself on a number of thorny branches, while his friends built a fire of devil's club and swamp gooseberry twigs so that he was fumigated in the smoke. Then, to give greater potency, they cast on the flames soiled clothing and pounded [841]
cedar-bark pads stained with menstrual blood; even this was of no avail, so finally a woman squeezed out into a vessel some of her menstrual blood which *Kwilais* drank. This killed the snakes. The patient began to vomit, emitting a mass of wriggling serpents, and at once began to grow thinner, soon regaining his normal condition. Had he not been able to eject the reptiles, he would have died.

Kwilais was not the only one to have this unpleasant experience. Many others have suffered in the same way, but in no case has anyone been able to feel the snakes at the actual place or time of entry.

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the power pos- 825
sessed by animals are clearly shown by their attitude with 775
regard to killing them. Man is immortal, so are animals. 224
Alqantēm decreed that beasts and birds should serve as food for mankind, but it *is* only their clothing, their worthless "blanket of flesh," as the Bella Coola express it, which they give to hunters. In the autumn leaves appear to die, but every spring they are reborn. Similarly, when an animal is slain, it merely discards its visible self while its spirit* ascends [774]

*Kwatsmaik, see vol. I, p. 98.

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There now remains only the necessity of removing from the house itself the supernatural power with which it is firmly believed to have been impregnated throughout the many weeks of the ceremony. Should this not be done, it would be so strong that only *sisesk* could thenceforth live in it, and no *kusiut* rite could be performed therein. One of the senior chiefs, acting on X's behalf, requests as many *siki* as are present to go to the back-room. At the same time a drum is beaten slowly. The *siki* call out loudly, in unison, *hoip* four times. The whistles sound from the back-room with ever-lessening intensity, as if the supernatural being, whose voice they are, were going away. It is said that this practice has been comparatively recently adopted from Rivers Inlet: there used to be nothing of the kind. The *siki* re-emerge, and one of them stands behind the fire with his stick which he beats on the floor and calls on the audience to shout with him, "*hi* . . . ." This is done four times. It serves to purify the house from the supernatural power with which it has been saturated. The people then disperse, without food.

Goods from the general store are reserved to pay these men for their services, and also for cleansing the initiates from the powers with which they have been imbued, a rite that takes place the following morning in the presence of several *siki* alone. The initiates are brought from the back-room and seated in a close circle between the door and the fire.* A foreign *siki* is chosen by X to perform the actual cleansing rite. He has been asked beforehand and has come provided with a long pole and some soiled clothing. It is immaterial whose this is, provided that it has been in contact with a human body; the most potent articles are catamenial cedar-bark pads.

The *siki* covers the young men with a large cedar-bark mat. Then he fastens the clothing or pads to his pole and holds the end in the fire until they are smouldering. Then he swings it four times over the heads of the initiates and throws the stick

*Behind the fire according to some informants.

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a man, *ux-unaisa*, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience 424
to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it 463
has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this func- 551
tion. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the valid- 693
ation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary
ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but [793]
non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required
by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name *ux-unaisa*
has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been en- 784
forced concerning the river: No refuse may be thrown in, 825
otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the 226
same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe
lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them [515]
from seeing the route. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes 841
is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the [562]
fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the
bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to
drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical
period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can
be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed [502]
must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose
husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at [765]
the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of
the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be
deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would
smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the
upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are con-
sidered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the 688
salmon and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the 693
offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringe-
ments, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river.
The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be
swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

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881 bundle of four macaroni-shaped shells, probably *Dentalium*,
[301] which are said to have been imported from the north in early
[439] times. These marks serve to indicate the position of the girl,
who is both feared and respected, possessed of supernatural
[789] power, and yet baneful. Many Bella Coola stories describe
how adolescent girls have been able to vanquish supernatural
[538] beings; perhaps the most striking of these is the manner in
which they once saved mankind when the sun came too close to
the earth. At the end of a year, or eleven months according to one old woman, the seclusion is terminated, and the girl resumes her normal activities. The first time she goes to the river she must throw on the water four pieces of dyed, and four pieces of undyed cedar-bark. This is especially important if the salmon are running at the time, although no explanation of this ritual is given.

582 The resumption of her freedom indicates that a girl has
556 reached marriageable age. Chiefs sometimes confine their
daughters for even longer than a year, and usually delay their
882 marriages for several years to demonstrate their importance;
but this is not necessary, nor is it practised by other than
wealthy individuals. It is not uncommon for a girl to wed
before her year is out; in that case her restrictions automatically
[554] lapse. Chiefs never allow such a curtailment for their daughters; to do so would diminish the prestige of the latter, and be detrimental to the status of their children when they marry
836 and have families. Illicit intercourse with a secluded adoles-
883 cent is considered not only illegal but disgusting as well. Be-
tween the period of confinement and marriage, intercourse is
[881] prohibited and guarded against by the parents of a girl, but is not considered filthy and seems to have been fairly common in former times with the daughters of poor people and slaves. This sometimes took place before the first menstruation in spite of the disapproval with which this was regarded.

826 Although the menstrual blood which appears at the first
discharge is considered more baneful than that emitted on later
841 occasions, it is always regarded as uncanny or unclean. It is
789

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the most *human* of all substances, and, therefore, a potent 826
protection against supernatural beings. It is valuable as a 841
defence against evil monsters, but it is equally deadly to 789
shamans and other human beings with supernatural powers.
In the distant past, Raven taught mankind that to sleep with a 834
menstruating woman would so blind a man that he would be 841
unsuccessful in hunting. The belief is that animals, knowing [773]
everything that takes place, avoid one who is so unclean. One [825]
old man mentioned that he had failed to obey this injunction
and considered his loss of virility as a punishment, overlooking
the fact that he was over seventy years of age.

The coming of adolescence in a boy is recognized by change 881
in voice and the other usual indications. He is neither taboo
nor unclean, and consequently does not have to undergo any
restrictions on his actions. There is no ceremony to mark the
entry of a youth into adult membership of the tribe; instead,
this comes gradually and puberty is no more than an indi-
cation of increasing age and strength.

Marriage

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola 581
regard the married state as the normal condition of man. 589
Anyone unwilling to wed is considered unnatural. Since the
number of the sexes is approximately equal, the only persons
forced to live alone are elderly widows and widowers, and those [732]
crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are
looked upon as unfortunate; in fact, they have failed in one
of the most fundamental of life's struggles. Man provides fish 581
and game, builds houses and canoes, while woman collects
berries, makes baskets, cooks, and performs the multitudinous [462]
small household tasks.

"Is it not to the benefit of each to marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is not a mere economic arrangement, nor is its
sole function to regulate relations between the sexes. Its most [858]
important feature is that it governs the status of the child.

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764 comes and sits on the coffin during every funeral, seeking further victims. Death has so contaminated a widow or widower
783 that she or he will fall an easy prey unless ceremonially puri-
[776] fied. No special acts are carried out between interment and the burning of goods four days later, but the following four days must be spent in a small shelter of branches behind the village, hidden from sight in the forest. Within this the man or woman lies on the ground with legs close together and bent
[841] at the knees, in the same position as a girl during the four days after her first menstruation. A male friend accompanies a widower; a female, a widow. This companion keeps a fire burning and administers to the comfort of the patient, for such a bereaved person is considered to be. Every evening the two return home and leave again the following morning. On one of these days, the companion scours the woods east of the village to find four spruce saplings growing within sight of each other in an east to west direction. To this place he leads the survivor on the morning after the fourth day of concealment[11] in the shelter. He bends down the top of the western sapling and ties it into a loop with a rope composed of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. The widower, or widow, crawls through this opening to the east and then makes a circle, sunwise, around the sapling. Passing to the next one, the same procedure is repeated, and so in succession for the third and fourth, each being left tied into a loop. There are at least two variations in this rite: Instead of passing through four saplings, some individuals choose to crawl four times through a single one, with a sunwise circuit intervening in every case. If the survivor be a member of a family in which it is customary to use four saplings, and if the friend cannot find four in proper alignment, he cuts a number of spruce branches and sets them upright, butts in the ground, leaving a small hole between them. Four sets of these are arranged, as substitutes for four saplings, and the crawling through takes

[11]There is variation in the exact time for this rite. Some individuals practise it on the fifth day after death and omit the waiting in the shelter.

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These become lilies (of the species known as *lälkänelp* or *walilikwätsälätsäläts*, "The most potent of the pond") from the roots of which a tonic can be brewed. They can be collected by anyone, and the places where they grow are well known, but certain rules must be followed. Before reaching the pond the gatherer must find four spruce saplings, cut from each a bough projecting eastward, and lay these two by two, beside the water, with a space between. After plucking the lily roots he must place them on the ground between the spruce branches and tie the whole into a bundle with strips of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. He must be careful to wind these wrappings clockwise. On arriving at the house where the tonic is to be prepared, the bundle must be thrown in through the smoke-vent, never carried through the door. After these precautions the medicine can be prepared with safety. The roots are cut into thin slices and boiled for four days; a sick person then drinks several cupsful of the brew, which is particularly good for the blood. This remedy is especially effective if the patient is observing ceremonial chastity. The person administering the potion sees to it that the one being treated conforms to certain regulations for forty days. He must not eat fresh meat, fresh salmon, or any food prepared by a widow or a catamenial woman; he must not approach too closely a girl who is secluded following puberty, and he must observe absolute continence, not even sleeping with his wife. Death follows the breaking of any of these taboos.

Although supernatural good fortune is most frequently obtained from either a *mätsqus* or a *sisiutl*, it can be derived from other supernatural beings. In such cases the acquisition is seldom dangerous. The following tale describes the *qokän·i*.

Long before the coming of the white man, but very long after the first people came to this earth, a certain Kimsquit man, *Wikwanutl*, who was also called *O'miätl*, was snaring mountain goats on Mount *Teopinätl* when he heard on the upper slopes a peculiar cry which he recognized; from descriptions given him by the old people, as the note of a *qokän·i*.

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* 756 and heard her utter the name that was to be his, as a shaman,
* 787 *Nitsumdimut*. He began to shake his hands as if dancing, for he was too feeble to do more, and began to sing the song. His mother at once called in the singers who listened, learning it for future use. The man is firmly convinced that if his mother had not thus called in the singers so speedily he would, after four days, have received another vision, and with it real shamanistic power. As it is, he is a shaman, since he was cured when at the point of death by *Ṭlitcäplitän-a* and received a name and song from her, but he is unable himself to effect cures. As soon as the singers had departed, his mother at once began to make for him a collar formed of alternate bands of dyed, and
[292] undyed, cedar-bark. This is the distinctive decoration worn constantly by a shaman for a certain period after receiving his powers, and at all times when dancing. Within a few days all the inhabitants of the village were called in and the man's
[553] family distributed presents, thus validating his shamanistic
[554] name. Such presents are not returnable; "they have become nothing" for the designation. Thus accredited, a shaman is in a position to start curing, if his song has contained a reference to a basin, otherwise, as in the present case, he is merely a shaman in a social sense, not professionally. There is thought to be actually within the new shaman's body, some peculiar
[292] power which is too potent to allow him to mix with others. Accordingly he wears the distinctive collar, which serves as a
[841] warning to menstruating women and others who are unclean to remain at a distance, and he spends much of his time alone in the forest. This continues until the next *kusiut* dance season when the coming to him of a *yeux* (II, p. 6) frees him from restraint, since the one supernatural power drives out the other. If the shaman himself is unwilling to have a *yeux*, it is sufficient if one comes to a son, or other near relative.

A shaman who has been told by his supernatural visitor to use a basin instructs a carpenter to make one for him. The design depends either on the owner's wish, or on that of his benefactor if the latter has decreed specifically.

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them renders it more likely that they will grant his requests. 756*
Therefore, a shaman is usually called upon to perform the following rites: 782

(1) Washing the mouth of a person who has died without voiding from his body the first salmon or olachen of the season (I, p. 436). [764]

(2) Asking assistance for the complicated rites of the potlatch (I, p. 192). [556]

(3) Request for assistance before starting on a journey, by puffing eagle down into the air (I, p. 106). [484]

(4) Request for aid by means of placing food on the water and blowing eagle down into the air at Mesatche Nose and Kwatna (I, p. 109).

In fact a supplication to any supernatural being can be made with greater prospect of success by a shaman than by any other person.

The Power of Shamans

As has been said, a shaman actually has power within himself, and this is so strong that it may be a source of danger to others. If a man should pass behind one so endowed when the latter is eating, his spirit would be drawn from his body into the shaman's mouth, which would close with a click, crushing the spirit and killing the man. This is quite involuntary on the part of the shaman. It happened more than once among the early inhabitants, and since that time people have been very careful not to pass behind an eating shaman; this taboo was still in force until about 1885. A shaman, too, is said to be able to recall a spirit which has left its body, and thus caused illness. It is believed by some that shamans can see the position of a person's tally post, and so judge the length of his life. These examples show the varying beliefs of different Bella Coola concerning the powers of shamans. 756* [761] [264] [178] [755]

But the force within the shaman is really more dangerous to its possessor than to others. As certain "unclean" objects are able to subdue supernatural beings, so do these same ob- 756* 783 841

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*.756 jects have power over shamans. A shaman must never sleep
783 beside his wife during her menses, must never eat food pre-
pared by a menstruating woman, by one who has recently
●.841 washed a new-born infant, by a girl during the period of seclu-
sion following puberty, or by a widow or widower during the
year that follows the death of his partner. If a shaman's nose
bleeds when he is dancing it is because a menstruating woman
is present in the house; he at once asks the offender to with-
draw, after which the bleeding stops. Moreover, he must
[755] never cure a woman during her periods. A wise shaman prac-
[785] tises ceremonial chastity frequently. In view of the lack of
cleanliness ascribed to menstrual blood, it is perhaps surprising
that a woman can become a shaman while still of child-bearing
age. This is rare, and only occurs when a woman is the last
survivor of a family. The Bella Coola themselves consider it
to be peculiar, only explicable on the ground that anything is
possible to the supernatural beings, even the disregarding of
feminine "uncleanness." Usually, female shamans are past
the age of child-bearing; if not, they observe absolute chastity.

*756 Even inadvertent breaking of one of these rules causes
death. This is not regarded as a punishment inflicted by
761 *Ṭlitcāplilān·a*; it is merely the inevitable consequence of the
supernatural power within the shaman having come in contact
with what is not clean. As a shaman is considered to be im-
mune against all ordinary ailments, his death is always attri-
buted to the breaking of a taboo. Frequently the death of a
shaman is accompanied by some convulsion of nature. One
female shaman, for example, told the people of her village to
keep their children within doors, since a supernatural being
was coming for her. Soon it became dark; there were four
loud claps of thunder, at the fourth of which she fell dead.

539 The following was related as an instance of the danger to
*756 a shaman of coming in contact with an unclean woman.

[783] The son of the first man to come to earth at *Nulleax* was, like his
[841] father, named *Dudusongʷ*. One April he and his wife went upstream to
[787] *Xwantlo*, a place in the country of the Carriers where milk-weed is plen-

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tiful, of which they planned to collect a supply. In the course of their journey *Dudusongʷ'* saw a man who, when he drew near, turned into a piece of hanging moss. A little later he again saw a figure, but on approaching it became a tree. *Dudusongʷ'* and his wife walked on and presently the former once more beheld a man; this time the apparition changed to a fir tree. It was evident to *Dudusongʷ'* that a supernatural being had manifested itself to him, and he told his wife that they must return. On reaching home he related his experience and gave a shaman's dance. 539 756* 787

From this experience he had received the power of curing. He could see disease when it was invisible to all others, and could summon it to himself, where it was harmless, thus restoring the patient to health. He made for himself a rattle, shaped like a bird; this had the ability of dancing of its own accord, and would catch people's hair in its opening and closing beak. The sick were brought to *Dudusongʷ'* from all over the valley. One day he travelled by canoe down to *Sinxl* where he found many of the villagers seriously ill. His arrival was quite fortuitous, for he was unaware of the epidemic that was raging. The inhabitants sought his help, so he landed and cured them. He entered the house of a woman who claimed to be ill, and took the sickness upon himself, but no sooner had he left than he fell down stricken. He demanded to be taken home in his canoe, but he only lived two days after his return. The woman had been in pain from her menses; it was this that he had taken upon himself and caused his death. 539 756* [761] [783] [841]

In consequence of the danger attached to the vocation, many people try to avoid becoming shamans, though if *Ťlitcäplilän·a* should appear to a man when ill, he cannot escape the power. The usual method of prevention is for a man to hold intercourse with his wife from below, so that her flesh, impure through its liability to menses, can form a barrier to the coming of supernatural power. One who wishes to escape always sleeps on the left of his wife, whereas if he is seeking shaman's power he sleeps on the right. Another method of avoidance is to use the hole in the floor which serves as exit and entrance to the house of a girl secluded following adolescence. 756* [787] [833] [513]

Since the power of a shaman is obtained by a personal experience, and lacks both form and substance, it cannot be transmitted and disappears at the owner's death. As has been

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phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet 784
and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe.

FOOD TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN

262
Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would derange 562
the catamenia and cause profuse growth of hair.

Women of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do [841] [826]
so would cause a difficult delivery.

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat toasted salmon [844]
until the sticks have been removed which held it in front of the [845]
fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded.

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning 224
if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is [226]
customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when [264]
nearing the hunting or fishing-ground.

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a [171]
custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola.

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not [825]
to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down [753]
each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness.

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull [732]
or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the men remove only an eye, place it in a notched stick and set this under an over-

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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751 Women wear tight anklets 'to prevent
the calves of their legs from slipping down.' During their monthly
641 periods women place soft cedar-bark in the vagina. The bark is afterwards
624 burnt in the woods. The smoke of this fire is believed to be poisonous.

It is evident that the culture of the Bilqula is very greatly influenced
177 by that of the Kwakiutl. The secret societies and the potlatch ceremonies
551 are almost a copy of those of the Heiltsuk'. This influence has been so
556 deep that names of even deities and of the mythical ancestors of certain
575 gentes are purely Kwakiutl words, or have at least Kwakiutl endings. Thus
776 the name Aiumkl'likya (see p. 413) is purely Kwakiutl, meaning 'good all
771 over the world.' K'ōmk'omkl'likya is also a Kwakiutl word, meaning
'the rich one of the world.' The chief's name, Mā'lakyilatl (see p. 409)
belongs to the same class of Kwakiutl names. On the other hand, the
religious ideas of the Bilqula are very curiously developed, and apparently
but slightly influenced by their neighbours. The whole Masmasalā'niq
tradition is peculiar to them, but has been partly adopted by the Awiky'-
ō'noq, with whom the Bilqula have intermarried.

[pp. 425-449 not processed]

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CHAPTER VII

BIRTH, ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE

Birth—Childhood Instruction—Puberty Rites—Marriage

Birth

IT was impossible to obtain definite data on the fertility of Bella Coola women, or on the period elapsing between marriage and the birth of the first child. Sterility is rare, though by no means unknown; on the other hand, there are several families with as many as eight or nine children. The changed conditions which have followed the advent of the white man seem to have had little influence on the high birth-rate, although infant mortality has increased enormously. Within the last few years this has diminished, so that the Bella Coola are now holding their own. Children are always desired, and although methods of abortion and infanticide have been known for many years, neither practice seems to have been sufficiently common to have produced an appreciable effect on the population.

Pregnancy usually occurs during the year following marriage. Though its actual dependence upon coition is fully realized, yet the Bella Coola, religiously minded in this as in all other aspects of life, ascribe the condition to the four *Mesmesälänux* acting on the behest of *Älquntäm*. It is believed that the Carpenters carve out the child who is to be born in the same way that a human craftsman manufactures some complicated object. Most individuals do not theorize to any extent upon the course of biological development, but are content to assume that *Älquntäm* has made the coming birth possible.

During pregnancy the expectant mother must observe certain restrictions. If she chews gum, she will have a difficult delivery; if she eats salmon tails, the feet of the infant will appear before the head, and although skilled assistants can usually rotate a child, this is a painful process which should be avoided.

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000 the perils of infancy. During this period, the mother observes
846 various magical taboos to ensure the welfare of her offspring,
237 and endeavours to strengthen herself by rubbing her own body with non-odoriferous oils obtained from dog-fish, geese, or fresh
853 olachen. Soft pounded salmon and water are added to an infant's diet as soon as possible, though nourishment from the breast frequently continues until a child is two, or even three
862 years of age. It is not uncommon to delay weaning until the mother is again pregnant, when the child is deterred by the application of soot to the breasts. Marital relations are recom-
846 menced as soon as the mother is strong enough; there is no specified period of abstinence, nor does it matter whether or not the woman is lactative.

845 Occasionally, an infant is born with teeth; such an one is thought to be the reincarnation of a dead ancestor, though no one knows which. A similar belief is held respecting a child with dimples in the lobes of its ears; these are regarded as remnants of the holes pierced for ear-rings. A child that cries in the womb is said to have great intellect.

847 In former times infanticide was practised for various reasons. If a woman died in giving birth, it was customary for her mother to kill the child unless one of her relatives was able to suckle the motherless infant who was then given to her. It was not unknown for the mother of a large family to ask the midwife to kill the child in order to avoid an addition to her responsibilities. An unmarried girl who became pregnant
[848] often went alone to the forest, delivered herself without assistance, and killed her infant. This was considered to be the kindest act, since an illegitimate child was said to be, "Like a Dog." In some cases the prospective mother requested a friend to cause abortion by kneading the stomach and uterus, a method said to be effective and seldom fatal. How to do
[195] so is common knowledge, but to practise it is considered disgraceful, and the term *ixwotl*, applied to such an one, is among the most foul of Bella Coola opprobriums. It is believed that
842 a woman who has had several children can in some way prevent

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further conceptions by wriggling her body on her haunches immediately after the delivery of a child. 842

To the Bella Coola religious concepts of birth are as important as the physiological aspects. The blood discharged at birth, and the mother from whom it has come, is *sxaiäx*, a word difficult to translate. It is applied to a person or thing which is taboo, and combines the significance of "uncanny," "abhorred," "to be avoided," "feared"; perhaps "unclean," in the biblical sense, is the best synonym. Essentially human, this blood is not only potent against supernatural beings, but is dangerous to man as well. For this reason a mother must never be delivered within a house. The smell of the unclean blood might kill all resident within, or at least prevent them receiving presents of any kind. Supernatural beings and inherent supernatural powers are alike repelled by it. 826 844 783

A recent mother is taboo and must exercise due precautions to prevent her baneful influence from affecting her associates, but this power is most strongly present in one who has borne twins. Even younger people, sophisticated in most matters, shudder when speaking of twins; fortunately, double births are not common. They are attributed to the entry of a salmon into the body, so that a twin is half-salmon, half-human. Occasionally a woman who is pregnant with twins discovers her condition in a dream and avoids the perils of a multiple birth by calling upon a shaman to remove the spirit from one foetus so that the infant will be born dead and deformed. If this is not done, the two infants arrive in due course, to the horror and grief of parents and relatives. Though abhorred, no case is known of the killing of a twin at birth. 845 [825] [787] [756] [847]

Instead of the two children being brought back to the village, word is sent to the father who must join his wife in the temporary shelter in the woods where delivery took place. For one year, they must not return home, and during this period must eat no salmon. Four times during the year they must shift from one shelter to another, each built on the bank of a small creek. The mother can draw water from this stream

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box during his absence. As soon as she had found the figures, she called in all the people, showed them her discovery, and suggested throwing them into the fire. Some objected, pointing out that if *Kälotl* had been using them, their destruction would cause his death. It was decided to test him, so no one told the lover that he had been found out, and he suspected nothing on his return. When he went into another house, *Kus-tsus* placed the figures near the fire; immediately, *Kälotl* tried to lie down at the edge of the one near him, and was restrained only by some of the bystanders. This proved his guilt conclusively. *Kus-tsus* washed the figures to destroy their power, which caused *Kälotl* to lose his desire to enter a fire, and at the same time destroyed the love of the two girls for him. 832

This medicine can be made only by a skilful carpenter; its real potency lies in the ingredients though the figures cause it to work more speedily.

To Strengthen Virility

This medicine is used by old men. 833

Catch a porcupine alive and cut out a quill from near its tail so that the blood flows freely. Prick the penis with the quill until the human blood mingles with the animal's. Potency follows at once. 886 825

To Cause Conception

A medicine was formerly known to cause a first conception, but it has been forgotten. A mother, however, who has just lost an infant, can ensure the birth of another by bringing a stone from the cemetery four days after her bereavement. If she leaves this beneath her bed for four nights, and then throws it away carelessly, anywhere, she will soon be pregnant. 842 789

To Prevent Conception

A medicine with this effect was formerly known but has been forgotten.

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842 789 *To Cause Birth of a Child of the Desired Sex*

If a boy is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her a miniature bow and arrows on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

If a girl is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her miniature tools used for beating cedar-bark on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

843 789 *To Cause Easy Delivery* (two means)

(1) The pregnant woman must boil stalks of stonecrop in water and drink freely of the decoction.

(2) A variant of the medicine already described can be applied during pregnancy. Strike the back of the woman with one or more porcupine embryos. The thrower must remain in concealment and the woman to be benefited must be unaware of what is about to be done.

853 757 *To Cause Increased Flow of Milk*

Heat pods of *Sedum Spathulifolium* (Hook) and apply them as a poultice to the breasts of the nursing mother.

MISCELLANEOUS MEDICINES USED BY ADULTS

461 789 825 *To Cause Energy*

Take the paw of a freshly killed beaver in one hand and pat it with the other, saying:

"Please, may I be like you."

This ensures that the man or woman will always work hard, like a beaver.

789 825 886 *To Cause Long Life*

Pick up a toad, spit on it four times, saying:

"May I be strong like you," and put it down carefully.

The basis of this medicine is the belief that toads are capable of resisting greater pressure than other animals. For example, if one is caught in an olachen net, it survives the crushing weight of fish and water and is alive when the net is emptied, though all other living animals so ensnared are killed.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*192
[824] *kat'nlh:* Tree, probably birch.
Kalaskt': One of the first men to settle at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.
Kaliahs: One of the first men to settle at *Snulili* in the beginning of time.
Kalhm: Bella Bella woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Kalul: Kimsquit man.
[222] *Kalqum:* *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[262] *kalqum:* The gathering of fern root for food.
Kalqmakmm: Name conferred on their sister by the first settlers at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
Ka'lax-a: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[585] *kalmhlhmsta:* Public oration, previous to marriage, of the bride's ancestral myths in order to cause children to be born.
[842] *kalqwm:* Ritual on the day before a marriage, including the oration of myths by the bride's relatives, the choosing of assistants, and the singing of songs of all kinds.
[576] *Kamai-ts:* 1—Mysterious supernatural woman.
2—"Please," or "Thank You," a word implying benison.
*Kamalsmq*w*:* 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nulkax* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nusdalst* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of the first sky that fell in the beginning of time.
Kamalslhl: Lazy supernatural beings who accompanied *Nookymm.*
Kamalqwax: Man mentioned in an origin myth of *Alqalaxl.*
Kamatslaks: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
*Kamatsemq*w*:* House brought to earth by first settlers at *Nusdalst* in the beginning of time.
[824] *kamk':* Kelp.
[227] *kamola:* Cod hook.
kamut: Termination.
[824] *kanan-i:* 1—Shelf fungus.
2—*Kusiut* dance in which a shelf fungus is used.
Kanilks: One of the first women to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.
kan-imut: Ceremonial error.
Kamaia: Herald of a *Tal-is* chief in the beginning of time.
kanhas: Trap.
Kannalaam: 1—Daughter of the first settlers at *Sitlia* in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of *Ojmai*, one of the first settlers in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[264] *kaolikta:* Assemblage of the people for a meal of any kind.
Kaospoklamm: One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
Kawikudjan-a: Supernatural berry-picker resident in the land of ghosts.
[825] *kajai:* 1—Hump-back salmon.
2—Convex transverse beam near front and rear of house.
3—Mountain on the Dean River.
Kapaix: *Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kastna: Man mentioned in an ancient story of Raven.
[756] *kasiut:* The seeking for shaman's power by a lad.
[825] *kasmia:* Golden eagle.
kathm: Top, toy.
[524]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)900 NEB Bellacoola NEB

corner of the house. He prevents those who are not initiated in the secrets of the kt'sint from approaching the house. The Sutsu'q is a fabulous monster, the peculiarities of which are described in a number of traditions (see pp. 83 ff.). S'ants.a'mun.a'k (Plate VII, Figs. 12 and 13) is a boy who performs kt'sint dances all the time. When the deities resolve to send a new dance down to our world, it is conveyed by S'ants.a'mun.a'k. It is the office of another deity to sing, accompanying the kt'sint dances of the gods (Plate VII, Fig. 3). Anuqst'o'tsem is a deity in regard to whose functions I have not been able to obtain detailed information. It is said that he intervenes on behalf of man when Sunx and Ats.k'untx'm threaten to punish him. There are two goddesses in the house who also intervene in favor of man when the principal deities threaten him with death and sickness. Their names are Sutsma'sa (Plate VII, Fig. 9) and Ats.ila'sxa (Plate VII, Figs. 10 and 11). They wake man after sleep. Without their help, nobody could wake from sleep. Ats.ila'sxa is at the same time the guardian of the moon. Every month she restores the moon to her full size, and she cleans her face after an eclipse. The moon is called A'ts.'ts.g'ila (Plate X, Fig. 10). The eclipse is produced by several deities called Aiq'ut'yunsam, which means "painting the face black" (Plate X, Figs. 4-6). It is believed that at this time the moon performs one of the most sacred ceremonies of the kt'sint, which are thought to be very dangerous to the performer. The black paint with which her face is covered is supposed to be a protection against these dangers. Ats.ila'sxa cleans off the paint after the dance has been completed. According to Jacobsen,[1] the Indians say that during an eclipse the moon (Ewkla-hel'-killa) paints her face black. The same deities are believed to paint and to clean the faces of human kt'sint dancers. Sutsma'sa and Ats.ila'sxa also resuscitate those who are killed by the dangerous performances of the kt'sint.

While the functions of the beings enumerated here are mostly concerned with the kt'sint, others are more immediately concerned with the affairs of the world. Important among these is K'a'a'a'k'ni'm (Plate VII, Fig. 5). Sunx is the creator of man, but his work is supplemented by that of the god K'a'a'a'k'ni'm. When Sunx creates a new-born child, K'a'a'a'k'ni'm gives the child its individual features. Before children are born, the goddess named Nutx'qumalal'x' or Stsmtsma'lutsa Sunxalil'm.ata places them in a cradle and rocks them. After she ceases rocking them, the children are sent down to our world. She also rocks the young of all animals; and when she stops, Sunx sends them down to our world to be born. At the same time he ordains that their skins and their flesh shall serve for clothing and food for man. Nutx'qumalal'x' might therefore be called the deity

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1892, p. 102.

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[772] having charge of the birth of all animal beings. While she is rocking the
[842] cradle, she sings,—

[639]

"[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]"

Another deity living in the House of Myths is the mother of flowers, called Nuxt'mage (Plate X, Figs. 7 and 8), the daughter of Sxukpa'ts'ets. It seems that this last name means "going to the right." This evidently refers to the fact that the sun is believed to move on his path towards the west,
[821] face forward, and consequently during the spring months towards the sky moving towards the right; so that Sxukpa'ts'ets, moving to the right, means at the same time the springtime, when the sun is moving up the sky. This is the time when flowers begin to sprout. Every spring Nuxt'mage gives birth to all the plants in the order in which they begin to appear. A shaman is called to her aid by two old women who assist her (Plate X, Figs. 9 and 11).

Every year, at the time of the winter solstice, the deities determine who shall die during the coming year. Two beings called Kakimal'ts, the tsal'mem are placed on the ends of a long plank, which is supported at its centre, and swings like a seesaw. There all the men and all the animals
[761] are called to stand near the ends of the plank. Where one of the swinging beings falls down from the plank, the person standing near it will die sooner than the one standing at the opposite end. The deities have a messenger called Nanxkal'tsiks (that means "long ear"), who carries all the news from our earth up to the House of Myths. Ack'uxtl'a has two children,—the deer, who is called Snxt'kcatlu Ack'uxtl'a, that is, "the foolish son of Ack'uxtl'a" (Plate VII, Fig. 8), and xtsaxwi'a Ack'uxtl'a. I have not been able to learn any thing in regard to the functions of these two beings.

While Sasa and Ack'uxtl'a are principally concerned with the fate of mankind, they do not personally interfere with the doings of man. Their daughter are carried out by four brothers, who are called collectively Mamamal'ala or Cmak'ulaxmen (Plate VIII, Figs. 1–4). These brothers are Mamqal'tsaik ("the one who finishes his work by chopping wood"), Tsal'
[772] tlmen ("the one who finishes his work by rubbing wood"), Mamlqal'tsaik ("the one who finishes his work by cutting wood"), and K'ka'lak'. They have a sister called xVqamlks. These four brothers live in an elevated room in the rear of the House of Myths. They are engaged in carving and painting. It is said that they gave man his arm. They taught him to build canoes, to make bows, to build houses, and to carve in wood and to

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CHAPTER VII

BIRTH, ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE

Birth—Childhood Instruction—Puberty Rites—Marriage

Birth

IT was impossible to obtain definite data on the fertility of Bella Coola women, or on the period elapsing between marriage and the birth of the first child. Sterility is rare, though by no means unknown; on the other hand, there are several families with as many as eight or nine children. The changed conditions which have followed the advent of the white man seem to have had little influence on the high birth-rate, although infant mortality has increased enormously. Within the last few years this has diminished, so that the Bella Coola are now holding their own. Children are always desired, and although methods of abortion and infanticide have been known for many years, neither practice seems to have been sufficiently common to have produced an appreciable effect on the population.

Pregnancy usually occurs during the year following marriage. Though its actual dependence upon coition is fully realized, yet the Bella Coola, religiously minded in this as in all other aspects of life, ascribe the condition to the four *Mamaxalidzoa* acting on the behest of *Alpaxoiw*. It is believed that the Carpenters carve out the child who is to be born in the same way that a human craftsman manufactures some complicated object. Most individuals do not theorize to any extent upon the course of biological development, but are content to assume that *Alpaxoiw* has made the coming birth possible.

During pregnancy the expectant mother must observe certain restrictions. If she chews gum, she will have a difficult delivery; if she eats salmon tails, the feet of the infant will appear before the head, and although skilled assistants can usually extract a child, this is a painful process which should be avoided.

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843 be avoided. If she walks on a beaver dam, or dips her head
825 into a pool made by this animal, the birth of her infant will be blocked in the same way that the dam restrains a stream. This difficulty can be obviated, however, by dipping up the water with her hands instead of bending her head to the surface to drink. As far as possible, she must avoid being startled by
[774] small animals or reptiles; even if the excitement so caused is too slight to expel her own spirit, it may be sufficient to damage that of the foetus. Such dangers can be countered by means of magical rites (I, p. 700). Her husband is also subject to certain injunctions and prohibitions. If he eats beaver meat his wife's delivery will be difficult. He must preserve a small piece of the skin or an eye of every animal that he kills; a few
[841] days after birth the child is steeped in the smoke of a fire on which these articles have been thrown. This prevents injury from the father's quarry.[1]

A pregnant woman continues to reside in her own house, where her condition is a source of interest to her friends and relatives. There are no midwives with inheritable professional
844 prerogatives, but as the time for delivery draws near, arrange-
[424] ments are made for the mother or some other experienced female relative to be in attendance. It is quite proper for the husband to attend to this point, though it is customary for elderly female relations to do so, sometimes those of the wife, sometimes those of her husband. A woman who, having herself borne children, has assisted at many births with success, is often requested to be present, and it is taken as a matter of course that she will be rewarded for her services.

When the pains of labour begin, the patient leaves the house with her assistant or assistants. In summer the party goes to some lonely spot in the woods where a rude wind-break may have been erected; in winter, to a sheltered spot beneath a house. No man can be present, a point in which the Bella
[771] Coola state that their culture differs from that of the Kwakiutl. The midwife manipulates the infant so that the birth is made

[1] This rite is described in detail later (I, p. 700).

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served ceremonial chastity and was, therefore, in a good position to receive premonitions of this kind. The next day, as they were paddling down the river, they came upon some treacherous ice. Forewarned, they hastily abandoned their canoe, one side of which was soon broken in the way *Ṫsälits* had described; if they had continued their journey they would certainly have been drowned. 787 *

The dreams thus far recorded have all been capable of simple explanation; in fact, their meaning is obvious, either visually or audibly. In addition, there are a number of types considered to be symbolic by the Bella Coola. There are no professional interpreters, but it is believed that in ancient times shamans learnt the significance of certain images and this knowledge has since been transmitted from generation to generation. [791] [756]

One type indicates a coming birth. If a woman dreams that she travels to some distant spot, under the ocean or into the mountains, and there takes something in her hand, it signifies that she will soon bear a male child; on the other hand, if she picks up some small object when gathering berries, a daughter will be born. A Kimsquit informant stated that before his birth, his mother dreamt that she had gone far under the mouth of the Dean River to the vicinity of *Ḷomoqua*'s house, where she had taken up a child. From this she knew she was pregnant and he was born in due course. If the scene of the dream is in the mountains, it means that the child will be a good hunter; if under water, that he will be a successful fisherman, as it proved in this case. There is a vague belief that death takes place either near the spot where the mother received indication of conception, or that the life and spirit of the deceased visit the place before setting out on their journey back from generation to generation. The old man from whom this information was obtained expects to meet death by drowning, though he is himself uncertain whether his premonition is due to his mother's dream or to the fact that there has been a tendency for this to occur in his family. 787 * 843 787 * [761] [775]

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* 787 If a woman dreams that she has caught two salmon, two small birds, or is holding two infants, the birth of twins is ●843 foretold. This type of explanation is obvious; in fact, these examples lie on the border-line between direct and symbolic interpretations.

* 787 Another indication of approaching pregnancy is for a woman to dream of a dead relative; this means that the latter 843 will soon be re-born. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned 775 that some fifty years earlier his mother dreamt that her dead mother came to her, saying that she was lonesome and wished to return. Soon afterwards she conceived, and the daughter born was considered to be the reincarnation of her own grand- [553] mother whose names she was promptly given. At the present time, this informant addresses his sister as sister, though he states that as a child he was taught to call her grandmother. As already mentioned, if a new-born infant is a reincarnation, the fact can often be recognized by holes or dimples in the ears, relics of previous borings for rings. Unless such a birth has been foretold in a dream, it is impossible to learn whom the child re-embodies.

* 787 A dream of frequent occurrence in Bella Coola is the return of the sleeper to the scenes and activities of his childhood. [761] This always signifies a long life. Strangely enough, to dream of being nailed in one's coffin and carried to the grave is translated conversely, and likewise indicates a long life. It is re- [731] membered that there were many dreams of fire before the outbreak of the smallpox epidemic, so it has since been assumed that such presage an outbreak of this disease.

* 787 The only dreams of which the interpretations are wholly 224 symbolic are those experienced by hunters. The Bella Coola explain this by saying that hunters always observe ceremonial [785] chastity and their spirits are, therefore, in a receptive condition to supernatural impressions. When a man has set his traps, he is able to tell from his dreams whether or not any animals have been caught:

To dream that a canoe has been upset in the river and that

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Kill a squirrel, clean it, wash the entrails carefully and leave them hanging in the sun to dry for four days, then tie them around the child's stomach for four days more. It is important that the infant should not break the string. On the fourth day, remove them and hang them in the doorway of the house. On this same day, another squirrel must be killed, treated as before, and its viscera allowed to dry for four days. The child wears these in the same way for four days, when they too are hung in the doorway. A third squirrel, and finally a fourth, is killed and made use of in precisely the same manner. When the final set of entrails has been hung up, the four are left suspended for four days, till the twenty-eighth after the killing of the first animal, when the father takes them to the forest and deposits them beneath some projecting rock where no water can penetrate and where they will dry and keep indefinitely. 825 789 856

This causes the child to grow up endowed, like the squirrel, with agility so that he can scale even precipitous mountains. This medicine is frequently used in conjunction with one for hunting ability.

To Cause Easy Delivery [843]

Place the foetus of a porcupine against the back of a girl's neck and allow it to drop to the ground. Pick it up, replace it, and let it fall again. This is repeated four times while the person says:

"Please, may she be like you and have no trouble in giving birth."

This medicine can be used at any time before puberty.

To Cause Bravery (four means)

(1) When a grizzly bear has been shot, a lad who wishes to make himself brave approaches it and thrusts his arm down the dying animal's throat. This kills it by choking. Then he rubs his hand over his heart and the back of his neck, the seat [774]

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842 789 *To Cause Birth of a Child of the Desired Sex*

If a boy is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her a miniature bow and arrows on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

If a girl is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her miniature tools used for beating cedar-bark on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

● 843 789 *To Cause Easy Delivery* (two means)

(1) The pregnant woman must boil stalks of stonecrop in water and drink freely of the decoction.

(2) A variant of the medicine already described can be applied during pregnancy. Strike the back of the woman with one or more porcupine embryos. The thrower must remain in concealment and the woman to be benefited must be unaware of what is about to be done.

853 757 *To Cause Increased Flow of Milk*

Heat pods of *Sedum Spathulifolium* (Hook) and apply them as a poultice to the breasts of the nursing mother.

MISCELLANEOUS MEDICINES USED BY ADULTS

461 789 825 *To Cause Energy*

Take the paw of a freshly killed beaver in one hand and pat it with the other, saying:

"Please, may I be like you."

This ensures that the man or woman will always work hard, like a beaver.

789 825 886 *To Cause Long Life*

Pick up a toad, spit on it four times, saying:

"May I be strong like you," and put it down carefully.

The basis of this medicine is the belief that toads are capable of resisting greater pressure than other animals. For example, if one is caught in an olachen net, it survives the crushing weight of fish and water and is alive when the net is emptied, though all other living animals so enshared are killed.

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Preventive and Curative Medicines

MEDICINES OF INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

789 *To Counteract Dangers Incurred During Pregnancy* (two means)

774 (1) As already described (I, p. 96), there is always danger of a person losing his spirit through a sudden start, causing involuntary contraction of the muscles, but pregnant women are especially liable to peril of this kind. Moreover, the unexpected appearance of a toad, rat, or mouse, though insufficient to harm an expectant mother, may suffice to startle the unborn child, or even to destroy his spirit. A woman carefully remembers all experiences of this kind and treats the injury while her infant is crying immediately after birth. If a toad has caused it, she catches one, decorates it with dyed cedar-bark, and places it on the child's stomach, then guides it so that it jumps up the chest to the neck. This is repeated four times. She then sets it down, unharmed on the ground, saying:

843 825

"You are the cause of the trouble, please go."

The same rite is carried out for all small mammals, reptiles, and even with birds which have startled a mother by their peculiar behaviour. In some families it is customary to postpone the application of this medicine until four days after birth. There is considerable difference of opinion concerning the specific injury; some allege that the spirit of the creature enters the body and, if not counteracted, causes the child to be born sick and feeble.

[846]

843 (2) During his wife's pregnancy, a husband must preserve a small portion of the skin of every animal killed. Four days after birth, as the infant lies in its cradle, a small fire is built beneath and the pieces thrown thereon so that the child is steeped in the smoke. If this is neglected, the boy or girl will die during infancy, though the means by which the slain animals accomplish this is not fully understood. Possibly, as in the last instance, their spirits have entered the body. Some hunters preserve an eye from every carcass instead of a piece

825 789 [846] [761] [774]

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of fur. Even at the present time, the death of a new-born child is usually attributed to omission of this precaution. 843 825

A Kimsquit man mentioned that he had once shot a marten during his wife's pregnancy, and had failed to preserve a piece of the skin. The bullet had passed through the head, making a hole in the cheek-bone beneath the eye. He thought no more of the incident until after the birth of a daughter with a blemish on her cheek in the same place as the wound on the marten's. The spot grew bigger, and the flesh began to mortify until the infant died a few weeks later. Her face resembled that of the animal and he is convinced that his loss was caused, in some way, by the marten. 789 [761]

To Cure Indigestion

Kill a raven, cut out a morsel of flesh from beneath its left wing, and then remove the heart. Place both in the infant's mouth and leave them there until wet with saliva. Replace them in the bird's body and tie a strip of dyed cedar-bark around its neck. Carry the carcass to some lonely spot in the mountains and hide it beneath a jutting rock where no water can penetrate. This cures the child. If, however, anyone should find the raven's body before the flesh has decayed, the patient would die. 755 [761]

This remedy, widely employed for small children, was used with success by an informant for his young daughter. It is not sufficiently potent for adults.

To Cure Crying

The Bella Coola consider that crying is not only unpleasant, but actively displeasing to the supernatural beings who permit it at death alone. Consequently, the persistent wailing of a child is likely to cause the death of a relative in order that the tears shed may have justification. Many stories illustrate this theme; in fact, to cry for no real reason is practically taboo. A mother quiets a fretting child by saying: 827 865 761 [784] [861]

"Do you want your father and me to die?"

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easy for *Sxaiaxwax* to gain control over them, and the sleeper wakes to find that he has been bleeding profusely and death is inevitable. This occurred to a man whose experiences are described in vol. I, chap. IX. 776* [761]

Although *Sxaiaxwax* is usually a curse to mortals, he can also do good. Occasionally he makes a man a shaman, and in many cases he helps a woman in childbirth. Such beneficent acts are not sufficient to counterbalance his evil deeds, and he remains one of the most dreaded of Bella Coola supernatural beings, a monster whose machinations make camping in a strange place a dangerous undertaking, and who is as likely to strike down rich or poor, young or old. [756] [844] [484]

Less feared than *Sxaiaxwax*, because he appears less frequently, is *Allät·iaistl*. The Bella Coola speak of this being with trepidation, but little definite information could be obtained concerning him. He has human form and sometimes comes at dusk to cause death by carrying away a man's spirit." The home of this creature appears to be beneath the earth rather than in *Nusmät·a*. [761] [774]

A third dreaded being who, like the two preceding, usually lives on this earth and only visits in *Nusmät·a*, is *Sä·lma*, "The Death Dealer." He, too, appears in human form and can be distinguished by the nose-ring which he always wears. Sudden death in the forest is always attributed to "The Death Dealer." If a man is engulfed by a slide, or killed by a falling tree, it is because this malevolent being has entered the slide or tree. Some Bella Coola say that he is responsible for animals who kill hunters. He rarely carries out his designs with the aid of sickness, nor is death by drowning often attributed to him, but for all other fatal disasters he must take the blame. While a corpse is resting in a coffin awaiting burial, *Sä·lma* invariably sits on the cover, though none can see him. Instances are known in which even this monster has acted in a kindly manner. 776* 761

The supernatural beings thus far described are usually 776*

*See vol. I, pp. 94-7.

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843 be avoided. If she walks on a beaver dam, or dips her head
825 into a pool made by this animal, the birth of her infant will be blocked in the same way that the dam restrains a stream. This difficulty can be obviated, however, by dipping up the water with her hands instead of bending her head to the surface to drink. As far as possible, she must avoid being startled by
[774] small animals or reptiles; even if the excitement so caused is too slight to expel her own spirit, it may be sufficient to damage that of the foetus. Such dangers can be countered by means of magical rites (I, p. 720). Her husband is also subject to certain injunctions and prohibitions. If he eats beaver meat his wife's delivery will be difficult. He must preserve a small piece of the skin or an eye of every animal that he kills; a few
[846] days after birth the child is steeped in the smoke of a fire on which these articles have been thrown. This prevents injury from the father's quarry.[1]

A pregnant woman continues to reside in her own house, where her condition is a source of interest to her friends and relatives. There are no midwives with inheritable professional
844 prerogatives, but as the time for delivery draws near, arrange-
[424] ments are made for the mother or some other experienced female relative to be in attendance. It is quite proper for the husband to attend to this point, though it is customary for elderly female relations to do so, sometimes those of the wife, sometimes those of her husband. A woman who, having herself borne children, has assisted at many births with success, is often requested to be present, and it is taken as a matter of course that she will be rewarded for her services.

When the pains of labour begin, the patient leaves the house with her assistant or assistants. In summer the party goes to some lonely spot in the woods where a rude wind-break may have been erected; in winter, to a sheltered spot beneath a
[171] house. No man can be present, a point in which the Bella Coola state that their culture differs from that of the Kwakiutl. The midwife manipulates the infant so that the birth is made

[1] This rite is described in detail later (I, p. 720).

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as easy as possible. Women seldom experience difficulty and 844
suffer, on the whole, less than do white mothers. It is believed [776]
that *Sxaiaxwax*, though invisible, is present on every occasion; the rendering of assistance at childbirth is his one kindly act.

The umbilical cord was formerly cut with a mussel shell, [177]
but for many years the use of a metal knife has been customary. The after-birth usually comes away easily, but if there is delay, [845]
hot ashes are placed around the feet and at the back of the woman to accelerate its expulsion. It is immediately buried or placed beneath a large tree in the forest; if burnt, the infant will always be weakly. While one of the assistants disposes of it, another washes the new-born child. The cloths and dishes used for this purpose are burnt; failure to do so is believed to [826]
cause the child to become blind through a white film forming over the eyeballs. Then the mother and midwives return to the house with the infant, who is a source of tremendous interest to the community. It is proper for the father to recompense the attendants at once, in accordance with their skill and his generosity. A woman who has had several children often assists the daughter of a friend, then, as she gains more experience, her reputation grows and her help is more commonly sought. At the time of this study, 1922, the sum of [465]
$2.50 was considered suitable recompense for a fairly proficient midwife.

A new-born child takes the breast readily and a mother 853
would be considered harsh indeed if she failed to suckle her infant whenever it cried, since scientific hours for feeding are not known. A child is wrapped in a shawl or a blanket and 854
carried by the mother wherever she goes; when in the house it sprawls contentedly on the floor, unhampered by clothing. [846]
When the umbilical cord falls, it is preserved by the mother. Soon after birth, the parents make provision for their child's welfare by magical means (I, p. 700). The heavy infantile death-rate of the Bella Coola cannot be attributed to lack of [165]
love or care on the part of parents, but the attention lavished is commonly not of the kind that assists a weakly child to survive the perils of infancy.

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further conceptions by wriggling her body on her haunches immediately after the delivery of a child. 842

To the Bella Coola religious concepts of birth are as important as the physiological aspects. The blood discharged at birth, and the mother from whom it has come, is *sxaiäx*, a word difficult to translate. It is applied to a person or thing which is taboo, and combines the significance of "uncanny," "abhorred," "to be avoided," "feared"; perhaps "unclean," in the biblical sense, is the best synonym. Essentially human, this blood is not only potent against supernatural beings, but is dangerous to man as well. For this reason a mother must never be delivered within a house. The smell of the unclean blood might kill all resident within, or at least prevent them receiving presents of any kind. Supernatural beings and inherent supernatural powers are alike repelled by it. 826 844 783

A recent mother is taboo and must exercise due precautions to prevent her baneful influence from affecting her associates, but this power is most strongly present in one who has borne twins. Even younger people, sophisticated in most matters, shudder when speaking of twins; fortunately, double births are not common. They are attributed to the entry of a salmon into the body, so that a twin is half-salmon, half-human. Occasionally a woman who is pregnant with twins discovers her condition in a dream and avoids the perils of a multiple birth by calling upon a shaman to remove the spirit from one foetus so that the infant will be born dead and deformed. If this is not done, the two infants arrive in due course, to the horror and grief of parents and relatives. Though abhorred, no case is known of the killing of a twin at birth. 845 [825] [787] [756] [847]

Instead of the two children being brought back to the village, word is sent to the father who must join his wife in the temporary shelter in the woods where delivery took place. For one year, they must not return home, and during this period must eat no salmon. Four times during the year they must shift from one shelter to another, each built on the bank of a small creek. The mother can draw water from this stream

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phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe. 784

FOOD TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN

262

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would derange the catamenia and cause profuse growth of hair. 562

Women of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do so would cause a difficult delivery. [841] [826]

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat toasted salmon until the sticks have been removed which held it in front of the fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded. [844] [845]

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when nearing the hunting or fishing-ground. 224 [226] [264]

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola. [171]

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness. [825] [753]

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the men remove only an eye, place it in a notched stick and set this under an over- [732]

[the Dance of Mother-Nature]

season, subject to the usual consent of the marshals. No description need be given of the coming of the call and of the ritual of *lsxtämem*. A large amount of wood is required, and on the night of *nusiutälsap* the many carpentry tasks are allotted. A large masked wooden figure is made to represent Mother-Nature herself, two more of the elderly women who attend her, and one of the inevitable *Ano'likwolsaix*. Besides, masks must be made of almost all the flowers and the trees, their number only limited by X's willingness to reward the carpenters. It is said that formerly as many as three hundred masks were sometimes ordered. 575* 796* 824 [532]

No detailed description is required for *qothm*, but the ritual on *nakusam* differs from that of all other dances. Early in the morning a number of *kukusuit* gather in X's house where the carpenters decide on two old women to wear masks representing hags of great age and ugliness. A number of *kukusiut* accompany them to the bottom house of the village where they call out: [532]

"We are in great trouble. Our daughter's child is long overdue. If you know of any good medicines, will you not give them to us for her?"

The *kukusiut* drone when they see and hear these supernatural visitors, and many of them give medicines to the old women to increase the realistic effect. This is repeated in every house of the village.

That night when all is ready, the uninitiated are called in and take their places in the two corners near the door. They see in the central position behind the fire a large wooden figure wearing the mask of a woman in the pangs of labour with enormously distended stomach. She is *Nuwuska*, Mother-Nature, though the uninitiated do not know this as yet. She lies on some raised planking; slightly below her are two old women carrying sponges of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, as if they were midwives prepared to wash a new-born infant. Two matting enclosures have been constructed, one in each of the rear corners of the house, large enough to hide the per- [532] [844]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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*575 *796 824 [532] [844] formers who are chosen for their small stature. *Ano'likwolsaix* stands up ready to explain as usual. One of the actors now comes forth from beneath Mother-Nature's stomach, as if born of her, wearing a mask surmounted by a carved stick representing the leaves of the willow. The nurses handle the performer, as if washing a new-born child, and announce:

"It is a boy, Willow Leaves," just as a midwife might state the sex of an infant.

Willow Leaves dances around the fire, at intervals saying, "I am Willow Leaves."

Ano'likwolsaix adds her comments: "Yes. There is Willow Leaves, see him."

The masked figure goes into the matting enclosure out of sight. The next plant to be born is Gooseberry, for whom the same procedure is carried out, before he, too, disappears. In succession, a few minutes apart, come Nettle, all kinds of Grass, and Western Skunk Cabbage. Each is washed and the sex announced; then the figure dances and *Ano'likwolsaix* comments as before. A good dancer is always chosen for the next figure, Black Cottonwood, who is "born" in the same way, but instead of vanishing into the enclosure remains dancing to and fro on the upper, upstream, side of the house. After him comes "The Dancing Tree," the American Aspen. An agile man is likewise chosen for this part and he remains dancing back and forth on the lower, downstream, side. *Ano'likwolsaix* announces, amid breathless interest: "The South Wind is coming."

*575 *796 824 532 This figure enters the house by the front door, wearing the mask of a handsome young man. He goes to *Nawuxska* like a doctor called in to assist, and when he stands up, her face appears like that of a happy woman who has just given birth. The uninitiated do not realize that a new mask has been put on Mother-Nature while her face was hidden from their sight. The South Wind then retires to the lower side of the house, where he dances to and fro near Aspen, at intervals going up to his patient. In rushes the North Wind, but he is too late to accom-

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he cannot catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the tlaqō'lla dances clothed in a bear-skin and wearing a large headring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red and white cedar-bark. Some tlaqō'lla do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon, or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also eat corpses. The tlaqō'lla has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house. 575 [774] [156] [292] [301]

The Ō'tsq (= the laugher) and the Dā'lia (= the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The Ō'tsq 'makes fun of everything' and scratches people with his nails. The Dā'lia carries stones and sticks, and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day he pays for it at night when he dances. The Ō'tsq and the Dā'lia must stay for one month, after they have danced, in their houses. [785]

If a person transgresses the laws of the Kū'sōlā, for instance when the tlaqō'lla gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person decides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offence has been proved he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing, and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared, and the substitute is killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is entrusted to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him, or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger-nail, around the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender he will fall sick. Blood collects in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the Kū'sōlā are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklet of red cedar-bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others the thunder-bird and his servant Athpalā'tsnem, who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and a staff with red and blue spiral lines, appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Qō'mtsina and his brothers and his sister (see p. 412), Mamamalā'niq and his fellows, the raven and the Hanqō'mta, and many others. 575 532 796 [776]

Customs regarding Birth, Puberty, Marriage, and Death.

When the time of delivery approaches, the woman leaves the house and resorts to a small hut built for the purpose. She is assisted by pro- 844

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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844 fessional midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
[846] the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[825] near the room for a year (according to Nusk'slu'sta, for ten days), else the salmon would take offence.

553 The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole
[852] tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive
[556] small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member of the Kū'siūt, when it is given its Kū'siūt name. This ceremony takes place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qō'mtaloa name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[292] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
[821] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for
[262] a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[261] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee, 1889, p. 838).

584 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his
[431] friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until
[527] he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four
[302] women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and
585 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[431] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his Sisa'ku secrets as soon as the pair have their first child.
[851] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

586 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

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Fish, too, are regarded in the same light. Indeed, there is a particularly close affinity between man and salmon, for twins are born through the instrumentality of the latter. Just how this occurs no Bella Coola knows, but a twin and salmon are regarded almost as brothers. In days when men were more powerful than now, a twin was especially liked by animals. Through his connection with salmon, a *ts'ie* (the term applied to a twin associated with a salmon) could understand the speech of birds, animals, and fish. In many instances he could also assume salmon form at will.

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In view of beliefs of this kind it is not surprising that the Bella Coola attribute great powers even to beasts well known to them. In the story recorded in vol. I, p. 55, the War-Party of the Tides was summoned by the speaking of a dog. A belief persists that danger is always present when a dog acts in an unusual way, though this can be avoided by killing it at once. In July, 1921, a visit was made to an elderly Bella Coola early one morning. The man was in a state of absolute terror. The preceding night he had locked his pet dog outside his house to give warning if anyone approached, but when he awoke in the morning, it was curled up asleep as usual at the foot of his bed. There was no possible hole through which it could have entered, so it seemed to the owner that his dog must have transformed itself into some minute animal and made its way beneath the door. The only other explanation was that his master, hearing in his sleep the whimpering of his pet, had got out of bed to let it in, without remembering that he had done so. To the writer this seemed the probable explanation, especially when the old man admitted that he had been in the habit of walking in his sleep in his younger days, but the Bella Coola was not satisfied. He could not decide whether or not to kill the dog, a great favourite, but finally decided not to do so. The incident was mentioned to another informant, who was greatly worried and assumed it to be an omen of death to the dog's master. His only comfort lay in the fact

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CHAPTER VII

BIRTH, ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE

Birth—Childhood Instruction—Puberty Rites—Marriage

Birth

IT was impossible to obtain definite data on the fertility of Bella Coola women, or on the period elapsing between marriage and the birth of the first child. Sterility is rare, though by no means unknown; on the other hand, there are several families with as many as eight or nine children. The changed conditions which have followed the advent of the white men seem to have had little influence on the high birth-rate, although infant mortality has increased enormously. Within the last few years this has diminished, so that the Bella Coola are now holding their own. Children are always desired, and although methods of abortion and infanticide have been known for many years, neither practice seems to have been sufficiently common to have produced an appreciable effect on the population.

Pregnancy usually occurs during the year following marriage. Though its actual dependence upon coition is fully realized, yet the Bella Coola, religiously minded in this as in all other aspects of life, ascribe the condition to the first *Mamanilitsa* acting on the labour of *Alpaxnim*. It is believed that the Carpenters carve out the child who is to be born in the same way that a human craftsman manufactures some complicated object. Most individuals do not theorize to any extent upon the course of biological development, but are content to assume that *Alpaxnim* has made the coming birth possible.

During pregnancy the expectant mother must observe certain restrictions. If she chews gum, she will have a difficult delivery; if she eats salmon tails, the face of the infant will appear before the head, and although skilled midwives can usually rotate a child, this is a painful process which should be avoided.

as easy as possible. Women seldom experience difficulty and suffer, on the whole, less than do white mothers. It is believed that *Sisiutlemas*, though invisible, is present on every occasion, the rendering of assistance at childbirth is his one kindly act.

The umbilical cord was formerly cut with a mussel shell, but for many years the use of a metal knife has been customary. The after-birth usually comes away easily, but if there is delay hot ashes are placed around the feet and at the back of the woman to accelerate its expulsion. It is immediately buried or placed beneath a large tree in the forest; if burnt, the infant will always be weakly. While one of the assistants disposes of it, another washes the new-born child. The cloths and dishes used for this purpose are burnt; failure to do so is believed to cause the child to become blind through a white film forming over the eyeballs. Then the mother and midwives return to the house with the infant, who is a source of tremendous interest to the community. It is proper for the father to recompense the attendants at once, in accordance with their skill and his generosity. A woman who has had several children often assists the daughter of a friend, then, as she gains more experience, her reputation grows and her help is more commonly sought. At the time of this study, 1918, the sum of $5.50 was considered suitable recompense for a fairly proficient midwife.

A new-born child takes the breast readily and a mother would be considered harsh indeed if she failed to suckle her infant whenever it cried, since scientific hours for feeding are not known. A child is wrapped in a shawl or a blanket and carried by the mother wherever she goes; when in the house it *sprawls commonly on the floor, unhampered by clothing.* When the umbilical cord falls, it is preserved by the mother. Soon after birth, the parents make provision for their child's welfare by magical means (I, p. 700). The heavy infantile death-rate of the Bella Coola cannot be attributed to lack of love or care on the part of parents, but the attention lavished is commonly not of the kind that assists a weakly child to survive the perils of infancy.

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the perils of infancy. During this period, the mother observes various magical taboos to ensure the welfare of her offspring, and endeavours to strengthen herself by rubbing her own body with non-odoriferous oils obtained from dog-fish, geese, or fresh eulachon. Soft pounded salmon and water are added to an infant's diet as soon as possible, though nourishment from the breast frequently continues until a child is two, or even three years of age. It is not uncommon to delay weaning until the mother is again pregnant, when the child is deterred by the application of soot to the breasts. Marital relations are recommenced as soon as the mother is strong enough; there is no specified period of abstinence, nor does it matter whether or not the woman is lactative.

Occasionally, an infant is born with teeth; such an one is thought to be the reincarnation of a dead ancestor, though no one knows which. A similar belief is held respecting a child with dimples in the lobes of its ears; these are regarded as memento of the hole pierced for ear-rings. A child that cries in the womb is said to have great intellect.

In former times infanticide was practised for various reasons. If a woman died in giving birth, it was customary for her mother to kill the child unless one of her relatives was able to nurse the motherless infant who was then given to her. It was not unknown for the mother of a large family to ask the midwife to kill the child in order to avoid an addition to her responsibilities. An unwarried girl who became pregnant when away alone in the forest, delivered herself without assistance, and killed her infant. This was considered to be the kinder act, since an illegitimate child was said to be, "Like a Dog." In some cases the prospective mother requested a friend to cause abortion by kneading the stomach and uterus, a method said to be effective and seldom fatal. How to do so is common knowledge, but to practise it is considered disgraceful, and the term *cowal*, applied to such an act, is among the most foul of Bella Coola opprobriums. It is believed that a woman who has had several children can in some way prevent

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further conceptions by wriggling her body on her haunches immediately after the delivery of a child. 842

To the Bella Coola religious concepts of birth are as important as the physiological aspects. The blood discharged at birth, and the mother from whom it has come, is *xnaiâx*, a word difficult to translate. It is applied to a person or thing which is taboo, and combines the significance of "uncanny," "abhorred," "to be avoided," "feared"; perhaps "unclean," in the biblical sense, is the best synonym. Essentially human, this blood is not only potent against supernatural beings, but is dangerous to man as well. For this reason a mother must never be delivered within a house. The smell of the unclean blood might kill all resident within, or at least prevent them receiving presents of any kind. Supernatural beings and inherent supernatural powers are alike repelled by it. 826 844 783

A recent mother is taboo and must exercise due precautions to prevent her baneful influence from affecting her associates, but this power is most strongly present in one who has borne twins. Even younger people, sophisticated in most matters, shudder when speaking of twins; fortunately, double births are not common. They are attributed to the entry of a salmon into the body, so that a twin is half-salmon, half-human. Occasionally a woman who is pregnant with twins discovers her condition in a dream and avoids the perils of a multiple birth by calling upon a shaman to remove the spirit from one fœtus so that the infant will be born dead and deformed. If this is not done, the two infants arrive in due course, to the horror and grief of parents and relatives. Though abhorred, no case is known of the killing of a twin at birth. 845 [825] [787] [756] [847]

Instead of the two children being brought back to the village, word is sent to the father who must join his wife in the temporary shelter in the woods where delivery took place. For one year, they must not return home, and during this period must eat no salmon. Four times during the year they must shift from one shelter to another, each built on the bank of a small creek. The mother can draw water from this stream

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845 alone, and when she leaves it, it dries up immediately. When a year has elapsed, the parents return home with their children and the father resumes the ordinary routine of life. For three years more the mother must remain in the house, leaving it only at night through a hole in the floor. Above all else, she must keep away from the river; she cannot draw water from it, nor can she cut salmon on its bank. One instance is remembered in which the parents of twins failed to observe these [753] restrictions; their legs became swollen and they soon died. In addition to punishment of the offenders in cases such as [825] this, there is danger that if they fail to obey the customary taboos the salmon will be insulted and avoid the Bella Coola River.

After four years a mother of twins resumes her normal life, [778] but she is henceforth endowed with special powers. If she [787] wishes to see anyone who is absent, she has only to think of the person, and in her dreams she will be able to see him. She must never try to start up a dying fire by blowing upon it, since to do so would cause a gale. When a person sets out on any kind of an expedition from the house in which a mother of twins is living, the latter must chew a little food and spit it out towards the departing guest, otherwise he will fail in his venture.

845 Twins themselves, being akin to salmon, have miraculous 825 ability to see their fish-kinsmen and read their thoughts. Bella Coola mythology contains many stories of the way in which twins could talk with, and change into, salmon. Such knowledge is not limited to tales of the distant past. An elderly Bella Coola described the manner in which her grandmother, a twin related to Sockeye Salmon, was consulted by a man who had been unlucky with his weir. Gazing down into the water, this woman saw that the fish were avoiding his dam because of the charred uprights used in its construction; when these were changed he was successful in his fishing.

845 Twins are believed to possess remarkable ability from earliest childhood, and even to remember incidents occurring

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before their birth. When the mother of the twin described in the last paragraph was awaiting delivery in a temporary shelter in the woods, its roof fell, cutting her head. The old woman who mentioned this occurrence stated that both her grandmother, the Sockeye Salmon, and her sister, a Spring Salmon, though still unborn, were aware of the accident and remembered the comments of the midwife. 845

On account of their uncanny power, twins are considered weaklings and usually die young in spite of the care lavished upon them and the taboos observed by their parents.[5] A dead twin, instead of being buried, is put in a box which is placed in a tree far away from the village. Every year the river changes its course, eating into its banks in order to reach the tree containing the body, and this continues until it reaches its goal and sweeps away tree and coffin. 966 [923]

Childhood Instruction

When working in the field, an anthropologist almost inevitably concentrates upon ceremonials and other epochs in an individual's life, to the detriment of the daily routine which in Bella Coola, as everywhere else, is fundamentally important although it defies description on account of its intangibility. A child grows up in a large house, occupied by several families, in which there is little privacy. The parents provide food and clothing, but more distant relatives take a greater share of responsibility for this than do white people. When food is being given out, a child soon learns that he will be given some of it, and that he will have his portion in any distribution of presents. Furniture, bedding, and other necessities are reduced to a minimum, but a boy or girl is welcome to sleep with relatives should his own parents wish to go hunting or fishing. The sense of power possessed by a Bella Coola with many relations is largely intangible, but it has practical applications as 114 855 [867] [867]

[5] It is probable that the unhappy life led by a twin and its parents during the first year after birth lessens its chances of survival. Needless to say, this explanation does not find favour with the Bella Coola.

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964 are never disturbed, being considered, in some vague way, "bad." The tools used for digging the grave are left standing upright in the loose earth, an action for which no explanation can be given by the Bella Coola. When these various rites have been performed, the funeral party returns to the village and disperses.

966 845 964 198 At present, interment is the customary method for disposing of the bodies of all except twins, whose bodies are placed in trees. Formerly, other means were sometimes employed, as they still are occasionally. Instead of inhumation, a coffin was frequently placed on a scaffold close behind the deceased's house. Whenever another relative died, planks were laid across, above the first box, and the new one deposited on these, so that in time the scaffold grew to resemble a house-like structure with many compartments. In the last century a certain shaman, *Atkwakoo* by name, is said to have pointed out that corpses were frequently carried off by wolves, *cuscus*, and other animals. For this reason he persuaded the people to inter their dead.

964 Somewhat similar to this practice was the placing of corpses in trees. Until the last few years this was sometimes done with poor children; formerly, it was not unknown even for chiefs. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that the coffin containing the body of his grandfather, a chief, was placed in the crotch of a tree where no rain could penetrate. This means of disposal was probably never habitual. Even at the present time, the corpse of a dearly loved child is occasionally placed above, instead of under the ground. If the parents desire to do this, they erect in the cemetery a carved figure of one of their crests and deposit the coffin on top of it. This is, of course, a graphic representation of the deceased's origin myth and symbolizes the way in which the dead person has become associated with it.

According to several of the older men, cremation was practised by the Bella Coola for some time after the first settlement of the earth. A fire was built outside the house and the body

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accustomed to do when alive; but the workmanship is shadowy and unsubstantial, sometimes even transparent. Ghosts do not act like human beings, but usually walk backwards, sometimes even on their heads, and spend much of their time playing a game resembling football with large, globular objects made of some light substance. They communicate with one another both by whistling and in a language which resembles the attempts at speech made by a tongueless person. Some individuals believe that there is a supreme chief in the land of ghosts, *Ałłó ʔaiał*, sent down like Pluto to preside over the shades. He figures in certain stories describing descents to the lower world; but many Bella Coola know nothing of his existence below, although it furnishes a plausible explanation for his coming by night to molest human beings. Like *Sisiutlas* he causes blood to rush forth from the mouth and genitals of anyone whom he seizes; death follows, and a new victim has been acquired for his kingdom. The more common belief is that the villages of ghosts have chiefs like those of human beings. It is thought, indefinitely, that after a long period of time the ghosts die, and some of them may then return to this world as infants. A child born with dimples in its ears, which are regarded as indications of previous borings for rings, is welcomed as the reincarnation of some unknown ancestor.

At death, the ghost does not immediately appear in the land below, but remains for four days within the back-room of a house corresponding in style to an ordinary Bella Coola dwelling. It is believed that one of these large houses is beneath every village* and that the dead pass straight down through the earth into it. Meanwhile the goods, burnt at the grave during the funeral, as well as those deposited beside it, have fallen through the ground and notified the ghosts that a newcomer has arrived. The wraiths assemble from all directions and fight over the articles, some of which are obtained by the one who owned them during life. On the fourth

*There may be one large house, extending beneath the world like *Nuxalk* a-dawx; it was impossible to obtain definite information on this point.

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#534 #756 #787 winds to cease. The three frozen brothers fell back to the floor where *Ka'laiáxts* revived them. Then he sent out two of them to bring in the boy they had buried. When they returned, the mother overwhelmed them with her gratitude and gave them many presents, even offering to become the wife of *Ka'laiáxts*, who, however, declined to accept her.

THE FOUR BROTHERS
(*Third Version*)

[345] Once upon a time four brothers, one of whom was a twin and could accordingly change to a salmon, had friction with their family, and decided to go away from home. As they followed the trail along the bank of the river they saw a man spearing salmon on the opposite bank. He wore what appeared to be a transparent object, like an eyeglass, in front of one eye. The brothers watched him for some time and were amazed at his dexterity; with every thrust of his spear he impaled a salmon.

"I can transform myself into a salmon," said the twin.

The others did not believe him and replied:

"If you can, go and get the head of that wonderful spear."

"All right," answered the twin, and went down the river bank, out of sight. Presently the three brothers saw a large, beautifully marked salmon jumping in the river as it made its way upstream.

"Perhaps it is he after all," they said.

The salmon darted past the fisherman, who made a thrust at it and missed. He pulled in his harpoon and as he refitted the head he said, carefully:

"I don't know what can be the matter. I have never missed before."

Meanwhile the salmon-man had unobtrusively gone downstream, keeping close to the bank where his brothers were watching. Then he went up, jumping as before, and again the fisherman struck and missed. Once more he dipped downstream, and on his third ascent he repassed close to the fisherman, who failed as before, and was, therefore, much vexed. Once again the twin went below but he allowed himself to be struck when he passed upwards the fourth time. Instantly a commotion arose. The water gurgled and boiled as the fish struggled; the fisherman could barely hold his grip, and was unable to land what he had caught. After a few minutes the salmon-boy drew his knife and severed the line, causing the fisherman to fall into the river. He clambered ashore and pulled in his rope as he watched the water for another sight of the strong fish, but it had disappeared. When, instead of the harpoon-head on which he depended for sustenance, he found only a cut line, the loss was so severe that, weeping bitterly, he went home and told his wife and

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(3) Pound bark and wood of the black hawthorn in water and drink the brew. 757

(4) The following medicine must be prepared by the patient himself. It is not generally known, but the woman from whom the information was obtained claimed that it had been used with success by her brother.

Obtain a human bone, or a piece of a coffin, and burn it secretly in the forest at some distance from the village. Mix the ashes with dog-fish oil. After preparing the medicine the patient must remain alone in the woods for four days. He can then return home and rub the mixture on his genital organs to reduce the swelling. The sufferer must remain continent for one year or the disease will return with increased malignancy.

It was impossible to learn which types of venereal disease are believed to be curable by these medicines. Nor could definite information be obtained concerning the length of time that the Bella Coola have suffered from these maladies. Most of the old people affirmed that they were unknown before the coming of the white man, although one elderly woman was emphatic in stating that they had experienced them for many generations. 164

For Difficult Delivery (three means) 757

(1) The usual remedy, which has been described already, is to apply hot ashes to the woman's feet as soon as the pangs of delivery are felt. 845

(2) If delivery has been delayed beyond the usual time, it can be accelerated by giving the woman a morsel of the testicle of a beaver mixed with water. This causes the infant to be born at once.

(3) In case of extremely protracted delivery, a husband can help his wife by urinating upon her head.

For Breast Trouble 757

The cure for a pain in a woman's breast is to make a deep incision so that the blood flows freely.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe. 784

FOOD TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN

262

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would derange the catamenia and cause profuse growth of hair. 562

Women of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do so would cause a difficult delivery. [841] [826]

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat toasted salmon until the sticks have been removed which held it in front of the fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded. [844] [845]

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when nearing the hunting or fishing-ground. 224 [226] [264]

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola. [171]

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness. [725] [759]

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the men remove only an eye, place it in a notched stick and set this under an over- [752]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Kilmaximow: The chosen that keeps a foolish man from success as a chief; the concept is semi-anthropomorphized.
Kitsin: First ceremonial discharge.
Kitlo'o: ceiling village.
Kitsu: Supernatural creature dwelling in the woods.
[852] Kitsukkmut: Shamans who received power from ghosts.
Kmelmulcutsin: Bella Coola hunter.
[108] Kmqhmt, "Coyote": Bella Bella designation for the Dean River, whence the anglicized Kimsquit has been derived.
Kmlaut: Nass River.
[825] Kmlhut: Kimsquit was mentioned in an ancient story.
Kmo: 1—Whale.
2—Ancestral name of a Tsi'o woman; this is said to be an exclusively feminine designation.
Kmo*yaus: 1—Name acquired by a Bella Bella man in the beginning of time.
2—Influential Kimsquit chief, who died about 1900.
[825] Ko'o*: Hookum.
[824] Ko: White fir (?).
Koa'o: Hearing.
Koadjat: Prerogative of being consult.
Koam: Dried salmon.
Koamdjat: Synonym for *skadis*: one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of masked representations of the deceased. The word is derived from *koam*.
[825] Kokokkum: Porpoise.
[845] Kokoskum: Supernatural being who believes in an erotic woman.
[824] Ko'lo: Twin whose birth is attributed to salmon.
Ko'lomm: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Kolokum: Unidentified berry (strawberry?).
Kolsim: Supernatural female shaman who guided *Ki'mutsin*.
Kol tsiyokmy: Earlier name of a Bella Coola Canoeist.
Kolto'kmo, "Earthy Oven": Oliman.
Kolukmy: Land, region, earth.
[539] Kolulo'o: First part of song.
Komel: Trudeau mountain about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.
[825] Kmqmtcumkulsin, "The One Who Makes Us Fat": Supernatural name of white salmon.
[765] Kpa'omm: Goods distributed to validate songs used at a mourning ceremony when no representation of the deceased has been employed.
[578] Kpa'omm: Goods offered to foreigners at potlatches concerning their measure of food.
[600] Kpomkamin or Kpomkamim: Synonym for *kilmkamim*, invitation present.*
[42] Kpomomkmoy: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[601] Kpkpi, mentin, kpkpi: Gonorrhea.
Kpkpkmin: Earlier ceremonial at which foreigners are present.
Kpko: The construction of salmon weirs.

*This was the pronunciation of the word by the individual with an illusory *mein* r sound.

APPENDIX D

[92*]
[378]

Nawate *ang*, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kinnapit man long ago.
nawetcim: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige.
Nam: 1—Bawas district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, adjective.
Nanabig: Tal in bird heaven.
Nanpemb: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tal* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Hagabai* in the beginning of time.
3—Ball of the universe which, when broken, released the sun.

[772]

Nanwemcim a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Hagabai* in the beginning of time.
Nanap: 1—(Probably) "The Place of Bereavement", Village on Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle on Green Bay in the beginning of time.
nawi'ghan: Expectancy, without term.
nawmen ni nainum: The consumption of a name upon earth.

[431]
[535]

nawmenkapalin, "Things to Sweep the Door With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage.
nawmyjim: Wooden dish used for washing an infant.

[415]

nawnibimam: Abstinence from acts of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine.

[765]

nebiche: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient.

[756]

Nebnebwi: Name of a celebrated shaman.
Nebow: Bells Bells village and undeveloped area in the vicinity.
Nebil, "Canyon": 1—Duck River.
2—Village on the lower Duck River.
nebinyam: Alteration of a dance from round to factor.

[825]

nebiskim: Bone in the back of a animal's neck.

[516]

nebishimam, "A Drying Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband.

[491]

nebishimam: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion.
Nebiwi, "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bells Gaels valley.
Nebnigi: Totem-gods of the first settlers at *Nagabi* in the beginning of time.
nebnebik: Reserve of rocks.

[845]
[825]

nenjamen: Wall.
Nebkibinin: Mythical house in the sky.
Nebnapnik: One of the rooms of the supreme god's house.
necnibim: Powers, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Nanapabo* or a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *nebiche*.

[756]

nebinjamen: A species of new factor totem, such as is manifested by a dream or on the will of a mighty chief.

[555]

nebinimbin: Ceremony rite in which the performer pretends to swallow his totem.
[illegible]
nebinimim: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to bereaved by a person unlinked in Other dance.

[431]

2—Presents given by guests or a patriarch to their host and his mem-
ers.
nebiqam, "The Face Maker": Name given to a woman who points upon the head upon and to produce mental deformities in an infant.

[856]

Nebnebik, "Place of Many Spreading Sockeye Salmon": Kinnapit village.
Nebimim: Earlier name of a Pottawatomi man.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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843 be avoided. If she walks on a beaver dam, or dips her head
825 into a pool made by this animal, the birth of her infant will be blocked in the same way that the dam restrains a stream. This difficulty can be obviated, however, by dipping up the water with her hands instead of bending her head to the surface to drink. As far as possible, she must avoid being startled by
[774] small animals or reptiles; even if the excitement so caused is too slight to expel her own spirit, it may be sufficient to damage that of the foetus. Such dangers can be countered by means of magical rites (I, p. 720). Her husband is also subject to certain injunctions and prohibitions. If he eats beaver meat his wife's delivery will be difficult. He must preserve a small
[842] piece of the skin or an eye of every animal that he kills; a few days after birth the child is steeped in the smoke of a fire on which these articles have been thrown. This prevents injury from the father's quarry.[1]

A pregnant woman continues to reside in her own house, where her condition is a source of interest to her friends and relatives. There are no midwives with inheritable professional
844 prerogatives, but as the time for delivery draws near, arrange-
[424] ments are made for the mother or some other experienced female relative to be in attendance. It is quite proper for the husband to attend to this point, though it is customary for elderly female relations to do so, sometimes those of the wife, sometimes those of her husband. A woman who, having herself borne children, has assisted at many births with success, is often requested to be present, and it is taken as a matter of course that she will be rewarded for her services.

When the pains of labour begin, the patient leaves the house with her assistant or assistants. In summer the party goes to some lonely spot in the woods where a rude wind-break may have been erected; in winter, to a sheltered spot beneath a
[171] house. No man can be present, a point in which the Bella Coola state that their culture differs from that of the Kwakiutl. The midwife manipulates the infant so that the birth is made

[1] This rite is described in detail later (I, p. 720).

as easy as possible. Women seldom experience difficulty and suffer, on the whole, less than do white mothers. It is believed that *Snaiarmax*, though invisible, is present on every occasion; the rendering of assistance at childbirth is his one kindly act.

The umbilical cord was formerly cut with a mussel shell, but for many years the use of a metal knife has been customary. The after-birth usually comes away easily, but if there is delay hot ashes are placed around the feet and at the back of the woman to accelerate its expulsion. It is immediately buried or placed beneath a large tree in the forest; if burnt, the infant will always be weakly. While one of the assistants disposes of it, another washes the new-born child. The cloths and dishes used for this purpose are burnt; failure to do so is believed to cause the child to become blind through a white film forming over the eyeballs. Then the mother and midwives return to the house with the infant, who is a source of tremendous interest to the community. It is proper for the father to recompense the attendants at once, in accordance with their skill and his generosity. A woman who has had several children often assists the daughter of a friend, then, as she gains more experience, her reputation grows and her help is more commonly sought. At the time of this study, 1922, the sum of $1.50 was considered suitable recompense for a fairly proficient midwife.

A new-born child takes the breast readily and a mother would be considered harsh indeed if she failed to suckle her infant whenever it cried, since scientific hours for feeding are not known. A child is wrapped in a shawl or a blanket and carried by the mother wherever she goes; when in the house it sprawls contentedly on the floor, unhampered by clothing. When the umbilical cord falls, it is preserved by the mother. Soon after birth, the parents make provision for their child's welfare by magical means (I, p. 700). The heavy infantile death-rate of the Bella Coola cannot be attributed to lack of love or care on the part of parents, but the attention lavished is commonly not of the kind that assists a weakly child to survive the perils of infancy.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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the perils of infancy. During this period, the mother observes various magical taboos to ensure the welfare of her offspring, and endeavours to strengthen herself by rubbing her own body with non-odoriferous oils obtained from dog-fish, geese, or fresh olachen. Soft pounded salmon and water are added to an infant's diet as soon as possible, though nourishment from the breast frequently continues until a child is two, or even three years of age. It is not uncommon to delay weaning until the mother is again pregnant, when the child is deterred by the application of soot to the breasts. Marital relations are recommenced as soon as the mother is strong enough; there is no specified period of abstinence, nor does it matter whether or not the woman is lactative.

Occasionally, an infant is born with teeth; such an one is thought to be the reincarnation of a dead ancestor, though no one knows which. A similar belief is held respecting a child with dimples in the holes of its ears; these are regarded as remnants of the holes pierced for ear-rings. A child that cries in the womb is said to have great intellect.

In former times infanticide was practised for various reasons. If a woman died in giving birth, it was customary for her mother to kill the child unless one of her relatives was able to suckle the motherless infant who was then given to her. It was not unknown for the mother of a large family to ask the midwife to kill the child in order to avoid an addition to her responsibilities. An unmarried girl who became pregnant often went alone to the forest, delivered herself without assistance, and killed her infant. This was considered to be the kindest act, since an illegitimate child was said to be, "Like a Dog." In some cases the prospective mother requested a friend to cause abortion by kneading the stomach and uterus, a method said to be effective and seldom fatal. How to do so is common knowledge, but to practise it is considered disgraceful, and the term *tawat*, applied to such an one, is among the most foul of Bella Coola opprobriums. It is believed that a woman who has had several children can in some way prevent

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)#948
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To Cause Ability in Understanding the Speech of Ravens: 825

It is well known that when ravens croak, they are really 856
speaking, but their language is unintelligible except to one who 789
has learnt it by means of a medicine. One of these is the following:

Catch a raven alive and cut a small piece of flesh from its body, beneath the left wing, taking care not to kill the bird. Release it, after having fed the morsel to the child. An infant so treated will grow up able to learn from ravens of the approach of raiding parties, storms, visitors, and all other news which they constantly circulate in their loud calling. It is said that the last person so endowed was the father of a Kimsquit man about forty years of age in 1922. His ability lasted throughout childhood but he lost it through infraction of a taboo.

The following medicines are used between the ages of one and two: 304

To Cause Long Life 789

One year after birth, holes are pierced through the lobes of 856
the ears and the nasal septum. In the beginning of time, 886
Alquntim told the forefathers of the Bella Coola that if this were not done, the boy or girl would die young.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

When the umbilical cord of a female infant falls, her father 846
places it within the knot-hole of a tree, where it is protected 856
from rain but where it rots and is forgotten. A boy's is pre- 789
served with care. The parents wrap it in soft goat's wool and
place it in the box where the father keeps his most cherished [858]
possessions; this causes the child to be careful, and to grow up with a tendency to treasure his acquisitions rather than to dispose heedlessly of them. As the first anniversary of his [715]
son's birth approaches, his father begins to observe ceremonial chastity, endeavouring to estimate the time so that its culmin-

1/McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

846 ating point shall be one year after the birth. Early on the
856 morning of this day, he takes the umbilical cord and goes far
789 into the mountains until he finds a place where the grass is
[715] matted and the earth packed, showing that a mountain goat has slept there. He digs a hole, inserts the cord in it, and covers it with stones, praying as he does so:

"Please, father! May my son be skilful, may he be successful in hunting mountain goats."

This has the effect of showing the child where these animals are to be found. The father then returns home.

Four days later he goes back to the same spot, digs up the umbilical cord, brings it home and hangs it in the doorway of the house. Should this be omitted, the child would have an intense longing to hunt in the mountains and would leave home at the first opportunity, but would be unable to return. The cord is left suspended for four days, then taken to the forest and deposited under an overhanging rock where no water can penetrate. It dries in course of time but no further attention is paid to it.

[868] A child so treated begins to hunt birds and squirrels when he is eight or ten years of age, and later follows mountain goats with obsidian-pointed arrows. This medicine has been handed
[424] down in certain families for generations. If a parent, not possessing the prerogative, wishes to have it applied to his child, he requests one who is entitled to use it to perform with his son's umbilical cord in the manner just described. He is later paid for his assistance.

A similar, though simpler medicine is for the father to take the fallen umbilical cord to the mountains immediately and bury it beneath stones where a mountain goat has been lying. Four days later he returns to the spot, digs up the cord, and brings it home, thus ensuring that the child will have no fear of the mountains and will be a successful hunter of mountain goats. In such cases it is customary for the mother to preserve her son's cord during his childhood so that he will not become careless.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Preventive and Curative Medicines

Medicines of Infancy and Childhood

789 *To Counteract Dangers Incurred During Pregnancy* (two means)

774 (1) As already described (I, p. 96), there is always danger of
843 a person losing his spirit through a sudden start, causing invol-
825 untary contraction of the muscles, but pregnant women are especially liable to peril of this kind. Moreover, the unexpected appearance of a toad, rat, or mouse, though insufficient to harm an expectant mother, may suffice to startle the unborn child, or even to destroy his spirit. A woman carefully remembers all experiences of this kind and treats the injury while her infant is crying immediately after birth. If a toad has caused it, she catches one, decorates it with dyed cedar-bark, and places it on the child's stomach, then guides it so that it jumps up the chest to the neck. This is repeated four times. She then sets it down, unharmed on the ground, saying:

"You are the cause of the trouble, please go."

The same rite is carried out for all small mammals, reptiles, and even with birds which have startled a mother by their peculiar behaviour. In some families it is customary to postpone the application of this medicine until four days after birth. There is considerable difference of opinion concerning the specific injury; some allege that the spirit of the creature enters the body and, if not counteracted, causes the child to be born sick and feeble.

[846]

843 (2) During his wife's pregnancy, a husband must preserve
825 a small portion of the skin of every animal killed. Four days
789 after birth, as the infant lies in its cradle, a small fire is built
[846] beneath and the pieces thrown thereon so that the child is
[761] steeped in the smoke. If this is neglected, the boy or girl will
[774] die during infancy, though the means by which the slain animals accomplish this is not fully understood. Possibly, as in the last instance, their spirits have entered the body. Some hunters preserve an eye from every carcass instead of a piece

6:Boas K-S (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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[544] [545] [546] [547] [548] [549] [550] [551] [552] [553] [554] [555] [556] [557] [558] [559] [560] [561] [562] [563] [564] [565] [566]

be made more powerful by magical means or the ritual acts of relatives. Although these often entail great labour and expense, parents seldom neglect their duty; in fact, care for their children is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics, though the methods used are so foreign to the white man that he has difficulty in realizing their meaning. The hope of both parents is to have children to carry on their names; infanticide is unknown and the death of an infant is mourned almost as much as that of an adult. Sterility and impotency are frequent causes for divorce.

At the present time there is a high birth-rate in Bella Coola, although the heavy infant mortality prevents any appreciable increase in the population. In the old days, it is said, there were always large families, though much confidence cannot be placed in this statement. In families where there are several children, the first-born, whether boy or girl, assumes an important position. His or her influence, as eldest, is naturally considerable, and the parents foster this through the vague feeling that it is proper for the eldest to be the most important in the family. In adult years, and after marriage, the influence of the eldest of a family continues to have considerable weight with younger brothers and sisters.

If a man is poor he cannot hope to have more than one wife, and his family circle will be limited to their children, and perhaps to elderly parents. On the other hand, a wealthy and powerful man usually has a larger family. Not only may he have several wives, but his aged relatives, and those of his wife, look to him for support and assistance. Such are usually welcome to live in his house; they lend what aid they can in collecting food, and it gratifies a man's pride and sense of power to be closely surrounded by a large family. The Bella Coola are, on the whole, considerate to their aged relatives.*

* This is not true of the present. During the winter of 1922-3 a feeble old man, living alone, was often in actual want of food. Neither and dependent, of a more dependent kinsmen, none of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were employed, would take him into their homes. Commenting on this man's lot, several informants pointed out that, in the old days, such a man could have found

CHAPTER [illegible]

BIRTH, ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE

Birth—Childhood Instruction—Puberty Rites—Marriage

Birth

IT was impossible to obtain definite data on the fertility of Bella Coola women, or on the period elapsing between marriage and the birth of the first child. Sterility is rare, though by no means unknown; on the other hand, there are several families with as many as eight or nine children. The changed conditions which have followed the advent of the white race seem to have had little influence on the high birth-rate, although infant mortality has increased enormously. Within the last few years this has diminished, so that the Bella Coola are now holding their own. Children are always desired, and although methods of abortion and infanticide have been known for many years, neither practice seems to have been sufficiently common to have produced an appreciable effect on the population.

Pregnancy usually occurs during the year following marriage. Though its actual dependence upon coition is fully realized, yet the Bella Coola, religiously minded in this as in all other aspects of life, ascribe the condition to the four *Mamaxalilmat* acting on the labour of *Sqamaxin*. It is believed that the Carpenters carve out the child who is to be born in the same way that a human craftsman manufactures some complicated object. These individuals do not theorize to any extent upon the course of biological development, but are content to assume that *Sqamaxin* has made the coming birth possible.

During pregnancy the expectant mother must observe certain restrictions. If she chews gum, she will have a difficult delivery; if she eats salmon tails, the hair of the infant will appear before the head, and although skilled midwives can usually extract a child, this is a painful process which should be avoided.

1:Mc:Dwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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further conceptions by wriggling her body on her haunches immediately after the delivery of a child. 842

To the Bella Coola religious concepts of birth are as important as the physiological aspects. The blood discharged at birth, and the mother from whom it has come, is *cuxúx*, a word difficult to translate. It is applied to a person or thing which is taboo, and combines the significance of "uncanny," "abhorred," "to be avoided," "feared"; perhaps "unclean," in the biblical sense, is the best synonym. Essentially human, this blood is not only potent against supernatural beings, but is dangerous to man as well. For this reason a mother must never be delivered within a house. The smell of the unclean blood might kill all resident within, or at least prevent them receiving presents of any kind. Supernatural beings and inherent supernatural powers are alike repelled by it. 826 844 789

A recent mother is taboo and must exercise due precautions to prevent her baneful influence from affecting her associates, but this power is most strongly present in one who has borne twins. Even younger people, sophisticated in most matters, shudder when speaking of twins; fortunately, double births are not common. They are attributed to the entry of a salmon into the body, so that a twin is half-salmon, half-human. Occasionally a woman who is pregnant with twins discovers her condition in a dream and avoids the perils of a multiple birth by calling upon a shaman to remove the spirit from one foetus so that the infant will be born dead and delivered. If this is not done, the two infants arrive in due course, to the horror and grief of parents and relatives. Though abhorred, no case is known of the killing of a twin at birth. 845 [825] [819] [752] [847]

Instead of the two children being brought back to the village, word is sent to the father who must join his wife in the temporary shelter in the woods where delivery took place. For one year, they must not return home, and during this period must eat no salmon. Four times during the year they must shift from one shelter to another, each built on the bank of a small creek. The mother can draw water from this stream

1:34:Swanton E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

the perils of infancy. During this period, the mother observes various magical taboos to ensure the welfare of her offspring, and endeavours to strengthen herself by rubbing her own body with non-odoriferous oils obtained from dog-fish, geese, or fresh eulachon. Soft pounded salmon and water are added to an infant's diet as soon as possible, though nourishment from the breast frequently continues until a child is two, or even three years of age. It is not uncommon to delay weaning until the mother is again pregnant, when the child is deserted by the application of soot to the breasts. Marital relations are recommenced as soon as the mother is strong enough; there is no specified period of abstinence, nor does it matter whether or not the woman is lactative.

Occasionally, an infant is born with teeth; such an one is thought to be the reincarnation of a dead ancestor, though no one knows which. A similar belief is held respecting a child with dimples in the lobes of its ears; these are regarded as remnants of the holes pierced for ear-rings. A child that cries in the womb is said to have great intellect.

In former times infanticide was practised for various reasons. If a woman died in giving birth, it was customary for her mother to kill the child unless one of her relations was able to suckle the motherless infant who was then given to her. It was not unknown for the mother of a large family to ask the midwife to kill the child in order to avoid an addition to her responsibilities. An unmarried girl who became pregnant often went alone to the forest, delivered herself without assistance, and killed her infant. This was considered to be the kindest act, since an illegitimate child was said to be, "Like a Dog." In some cases the prospective mother requested a friend to cause abortion by kneading the stomach and uterus, a method said to be effective and seldom fatal. How to do so is common knowledge, but to practise it is considered disgraceful, and the term *sewaul*, applied to such an one, is among the most foul of Bella Coola opprobriums. It is believed that a woman who has had several children can in some way prevent

1:14:Dawson R-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES DeGeorge NES

and that his mother stated that all her ancestors had done likewise.

Another instance of advice conveyed in this manner was told by a Kimsquit man who related that a number of years ago a pregnant woman had dreamed that *Mpanzim* appeared to her and told her not to destroy what she would presently bear. In due course she was delivered, but the infant was a repulsive cripple, blind and deformed. Remembering the admonition, the mother refused to slay her child as many of her friends advised. Soon it was apparent that he was supernaturally endowed; as proof of this he repeated comments which had been made to his mother within a few minutes of his birth. As he grew older he developed shamanistic powers so that he was able to converse with the dead, the only instance known of this ability being granted from birth. He also had wonderful talent as a singer and, though he must have died about 1850, the Bella Coola still remember his skill in this respect. He would unquestionably have been killed but for his mother's warning.

Instead of imparting verbal information, dreams frequently foretell the future by means of images of events about to happen. For example, if a man dreams of owning large numbers of pelts, it signifies that he will have success in hunting, and he starts for his trap-line without delay. So, too, warnings are conveyed. A number of years ago a slave woman of *Sawl*, who was not a member of the *Sacrat* society, dreamt that she saw herself bitten in many places and lying covered with blood. Within a few days she met a Cannibal dancer (II, p. 70), who was supposed to have vanished into the land above; he killed her and lacerated her body, as she had seen. A Kimsquit man told of a similar instance that happened to a member of the party with which he had been hunting a number of years previously. One night he was wakened by one of his companions, *Tsilkis*, calling out that he was afraid because he had dreamt that one side of their canoe was decayed. The hunters were impressed, because they knew he had long ob-

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[93]
[584]

[821]

[543]

[illegible]: "Come and eat"; Invitation to the Indian to assemble to a performer's house.
[illegible]: Whose house.
[illegible]: Whose.
[illegible]: Whose.
[illegible]: 1—Presents, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's relatives when the latter visit his house on the wedding day.
2—Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's relatives prior to her marriage.
[illegible]: "The Opening Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders"; field of the equipment by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's relatives.
[illegible]: 1—Receiving rank.
2—The destruction of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.
[illegible]: One of the names of the supreme god.
[illegible]: Invitation, by pressure on the foot, to a chief to go to the meeting place.
[illegible]: The employment of hundred with feasting.
[illegible]: Bear Springs on South Bentinck Arm.
[illegible]: "The Chasing"; Synonym for [illegible], q.v., this is a Kimsquit town only.
[illegible]: Extreme rite to which the performer appears to be heavy to death.
[illegible]: The casting of lucky stones on the fire.
[illegible]: "Up from the River"; Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
[illegible]: Abortion.
[illegible]: "Disappointed"; said of the supernatural beings called by a wife's dancer who never has been the potlatch.

[illegible]: Slave from the lower Fraser sold to Kimsquit during the last century.
[illegible]: Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.
[illegible]: Child-brother or half-sister.
[illegible]: 1—Wife.
2—Slave, term used by old persons to direct children to which.
3—Husband.
[illegible]: Male relative of same concerned family.
[illegible]: Woman who performs man's work.
[illegible]: Single brother to a family with several sisters.
[illegible]: Small box, especially one, term used to indicate children.
[illegible]: "Washing Clothes"; Presents given by the relatives of the future bride to the relatives of the future bridegroom at the first announcement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.
[illegible]: Last meal of the marriage, semi-religiously-[illegible].
[illegible]: Bella Bella term for the sibling.
[illegible]: Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

the period of infancy. During this period, the mother observes various magical taboos to ensure the welfare of her offspring, and endeavours to strengthen herself by rubbing her own body with non-odoriferous oils obtained from dog-fish, geese, or fresh eulachon. Soft pounded salmon and water are added to an infant's diet as soon as possible, though nourishment from the breast frequently continues until a child is two, or even three years of age. It is not uncommon to delay weaning until the mother is again pregnant, when the child is deterred by the application of soot to the breasts. Marital relations are recommenced as soon as the mother is strong enough; there is no specified period of abstinence, nor does it matter whether or not the woman is lactative.

Occasionally, an infant is born with teeth; such an one is thought to be the reincarnation of a dead ancestor, though no one knows which. A similar belief is held respecting a child with dimples in the lobes of its ears; these are regarded as memorials of the holes pierced for ear-rings. A child that cries in the womb is said to have great intellect.

In former times infanticide was practised for various reasons. If a woman died in giving birth, it was customary for her mother to kill the child unless one of her relatives was able to suckle the motherless infant who was then given to her. It was not unknown for the mother of a large family to ask the midwife to kill the child in order to avoid an addition to her responsibilities. An unmarried girl who became pregnant often went alone to the forest, delivered herself without assistance, and killed her infant. This was considered to be the kindest act, since an illegitimate child was said to be, "Like a Dog." In some cases the prospective mother requested a friend to cause abortion by kneading the stomach and uterus, a method said to be effective and seldom fatal. How to do so is common knowledge, but to practise it is considered disgraceful, and the term *cawatl*, applied to such an one, is among the most foul of Bella Coola opprobriums. It is believed that a woman who has had several children can in some way prevent

1:McIlwraith K-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

536 One very old man is still, 1913, commonly called by this
626 last designation, much to his annoyance.

When the songs had been sung, each accompanied by the
837 dancing of the deserted husband, the dance of the ceremony
796 distributed food and the guests departed. The only advantage
[556] to the giver of the rite was that it enabled him to show his wealth in an apparently disinterested fashion by gifts of food. Usually he was a friend of the aggrieved husband.

When a husband deserted his wife, the other women of the village used to perform an exactly similar ceremony. The same type of songs were composed, and during their singing the deserted wife used to dance, wearing above her head
[292] representations of a penis and testicles. By means of hidden strings she was able to cause the former to become erect.

On other occasions the ceremony was varied by an announcer asking the offended party about the appearance of the deserter. There followed a minute and highly coloured description about the unpleasantness of his genital organs, a description which was swiftly incorporated into the songs.

It can be taken as a matter of course that the above description is little more than an outline of the Bella Coola ceremony of shaming. In spite of its deficiencies, it is important, as evidence of the former sentiment with regard to divorce. Obscene though the ceremony must have been, both in acting and in the free use of personalities, it must have been a powerful deterrent to divorce.* Indeed it would be difficult to imagine a stronger one in a community where a man's position is judged by public opinion and where his greatest aversion is to public ridicule. It is unfortunate that we shall probably never know whether the rite was associated with chiefs or commoners.

CEREMONIAL MARRIAGE

511 Since marriage gains much of its importance from the com-
552 plicated business transactions between the two families, with

[848] * In another site was occasionally carried out the ceremonial marriage.

1:36:Dorsey:Bh. E.-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

Faithful and cases of rape were either unknown or very rare. The daughters of chiefs, too, were guarded with great care and any effort to seduce one of them would be punished by her father. The parents of a girl used to watch her carefully, and the opportunity for immorality was not great in the days when everyone went to bed at sundown except on the occasion of a ceremonial dance. As one informant described it:

"The daughters of chiefs used to be looked after as if they were in boxes, cherished and guarded by their parents and relatives. No one would dream of molesting them. And a chief's daughter used to be proud and look after herself. Nowadays, girls don't care, and everything has become degraded."

If the daughter of a chief did demean herself, the parents lost interest in her, as one who was spoilt. It was always assumed that a girl of rank was a virgin at marriage, and if it was discovered that she had been living an immoral life, her husband in many cases returned her in disgrace to her parents who, equally shamed, were expected to send back to him the goods he had expended for their daughter. Loss of virtue was judged only from indirect information. If the daughter of a chief was found pregnant before marriage, she was almost ostracized by her family. No ceremonial marriage could be arranged for her, and the child could not be cleansed from the stigma of illegitimacy.

On the other hand, it appears certain that there was a good deal of intercourse in the old days between chiefs and slave women, or even between slaves and the daughters of chiefs. In the latter case the woman was often cast aside by her relatives though they sometimes yielded to the inevitable and tried to wash away the disgrace with gifts. At the same time, public opinion was unfavourable to a man who consorted with many women, or to a woman who allowed herself to be at the disposal of many men. Any regular union of masters with their slave women for the deliberate purpose of having children was unknown. A girl's consent was always necessary, given either personally or through an intermediary. Even a chief hesitated

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] 533*
you are the prey of wolfhounds, | you commerced mother, | you are spilled, you [illegible] 576
[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] 578
who pretend to be [illegible]. | Aiaiya Aiaiy(?)! | Yumsum I am ashamed, | [illegible] I am [illegible].

[illegible]

3 [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Exactly similar | in the little boy's name | to that of the round-headed

[illegible] | Aiaiya Aiaiy! | Yumsum I am ashamed, | [illegible] I am [illegible].

[illegible]

4 The third part, if it was sung, has been forgotten.

(a) This differs from other Bella Coola songs in that [illegible] was commerced mother, not a brother-wife. She was held up to scorn by the men of Winnipeg and the song composed for her by a certain Bella Coola. [946]
(b) Recorded by Mrs. D. Ida, National Museum of Canada, singer, Jim Pelkey.
(c) It is said that women, even of chiefly blood, used to endeavour to increase their importance in the eyes of their children by boasting, falsely, of ancestral history. [554]
(d) A word of opprobrium, difficult to translate. It is said to imply slow memory, but is more probably a mere epithet, referring to the female organs. [195]
(e) This is addressed to women in general.
(f) An expression of pain or sorrow, used under all circumstances. [192]
(g) The theme is here changed as if it were from herself speaking. This is a common device in all kinds of songs.
(h) [illegible] was supposed to be the father of Sun's child.

Mourning Songs

Mourning songs excel all other Bella Coola compositions in length, complexity, and wealth of detail. Especially those composed for mighty chiefs contain numerous references to the ancestral history of the deceased and mention incidents referred to in origin myths, a source of pride to the survivors and of envy to those who listen. 533* [765] [766]

[illegible]

1 [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Why has my son been [illegible]? Tears, ye who are [illegible] of foreign [illegible]!

APPENDIX D

[illegible]

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle in the Dove River valley in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: 1—"Right Hand": Wives of a Dove repository derived from a superpersonal consciousness.
2—Earlier name of a Bella Coola woman.

[illegible]: Intangible social prerogative of including others. [illegible]

[illegible]: Being sung by a Bella Coola woman on Memory from apparent death. [illegible]

[illegible]: Regular meetings given to a male child. [illegible]

[illegible]: "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [illegible]

[illegible]: Rule after moons, unfragmentarylized. The possibility exists to rule that moons after visitors thereby. [illegible]

[illegible]: "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [illegible]

[illegible]: Form of superstition applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [illegible]

[illegible]: Outright honoured of a prerogative or marriage. [illegible]

[illegible]: Dependent on a new location. [illegible]

[illegible]: Father's brother or mother's brother. [illegible]

[illegible]: Tunnels. [illegible]

[illegible]: Dangerous power such as is present at various possible places. [illegible]

[illegible]: One of the moons of the summer gall. [illegible]

[illegible]: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [illegible]

[illegible]: 1—Pure supernatural being, the significance being "Unusual".
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for power, the large wood whistle.
4—Other whistle.
5—Song.
6—Earlier name of one of the first men to settle on Kimsquit in the beginning of time. [illegible]

[illegible]: Part of a possible repository. [illegible]

[illegible]: Contrived Bella Coola member. [illegible]

[illegible]: Wooden shovel. [illegible]

[illegible]: "Where Grass Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River. [illegible]

[illegible]: Contrived Qualicum chief living in the late century. [illegible]

[illegible]: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made for a desperation purpose. [illegible]
2—Individual making such a journey. [illegible]

[illegible]: 1—Daughter of the repository gall.
2—Earlier name of a Bella Coola woman. [illegible]

[illegible]: Place where healing power is purchased. [illegible]

[illegible]: Synonym for [illegible], the supernatural being associated with small [illegible]. [illegible]

[illegible]: Earlier figure or object used in the first dance which serves as protection or shield, especially for the man's genital or anus. [illegible]

[illegible]: Actual goods used for the "Opening" the first public ceremonies [illegible] of a forthcoming marriage. [illegible]

[illegible]: Unmarried mother. [illegible]

[illegible]: To perform the services of a herald to a woman, especially the proper direction of all details thus. The word [illegible] may be connected with this. [illegible]

[illegible] 614
[illegible] 532
[illegible] 423
[illegible] 556
[illegible] [567]
[illegible] [568]
[illegible] [115]
[illegible] 641
[illegible] 424
[illegible] 551
[illegible] 556
[illegible] 575
[illegible] 424
[illegible] 575
[illegible] 614
[illegible] [626]
[illegible] 556
[illegible] 426
[illegible] 575
[illegible] 773
[illegible] 776

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
NES Bellacoola NES

every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises promptly. The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are followed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the kl'ulat these deities make their appearance, and are represented by masks. Xo'nielem and Xmaxmalil'ua wear the design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xo'nielem by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xmaxmalil'ua has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin. Alemkl'ila and Alemalil'ua wear the design of the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second masks. The fifth Q'ema(mak)'ila and Q'o'nielem have designs representing stars, both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is Qala'ewa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kalil'ilas (who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue. The ninth, A'lemi'k, wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called L'ilas'q'ilil.ilas (the eater), the sister of the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with grease. The figures in several legends as standing previous and personal by the people whom she has visited.

The sisa'k', which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of the class, is presided over by a being that lives in the sea. A man who had gone out hunting met the sisa'k' and was instructed by him in the secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he commenced to enter. Then he danced the sisa'k' and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with tails of sea-lion skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sea. Ever since that time the Di'ituls dance the sisa'k'. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each class its secrets. Each class has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the sisa'k' only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are the sacred possessions of each class. All class, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a class are shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the various class, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the class to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, can not become sisa'k'. A person can not take a new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nank'ila'ula, the Indian, to whom I

1:McDowalth E-5 (1922-1924)948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

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in dances. In front of most houses rises a short totem-pole,* either pierced for the doorway, or standing on the opposite side of the sidewalk. [211] [771]

The Family

It is probably no exaggeration to say that in every part of the world the most important social unit is the family. It certainly is among the Bella Coola, yet its lack of definite social obligations makes it difficult to define. Reduced to minimum size, the family consists of a man, his wife, or wives, and his children. Such a unit occupies one of the bedrooms of a large house, and it is to such a family that an infant automatically belongs at birth. Disregarding for the moment ceremonial obligations, which are shared by others, it is the father and mother who are responsible largely for the upbringing of the child. Such education as he receives comes from them, with the assistance of members of the ancestral family. This is chiefly imitative; a boy, as he increases in strength, follows his father on hunting expeditions or fishing. The mother teaches her daughters how to make baskets, and they follow her when she gathers berries, or when she cooks and performs household duties. The Bella Coola are fond of children, in many cases to the extent of over-indulging them, and they grow up amid the open life of the large houses, absorbing information of all kinds without being aware of so doing.

594 [151] 594 868 855 861

Only two kinds of functional training need be mentioned. A wise father carefully trains his sons to remember their debts (I, p. 369), and the method of teaching ancient myths has already been described; otherwise there is little direct instruction. On the other hand, parents devote great care to furnishing their children with every possible means of strengthening their supernatural elements on which success depends. These can

594 869

*Since the Bella Coola believe that totem-poles were used by their ancestors in early times, they are included in this description of a village, without reference to their development in post-European times. This account is compiled from descriptions given by elderly informants; it is inevitable, therefore, that changes due to European contact may be included. [177]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

with the others, including the one who had just been leader, as followers. It is said that there was rarely friction among the joint husbands, since each realized that his turn would come as head of the household, and meanwhile the wife endeavoured to share her favours indiscriminately. The children were considered equally the offspring of each husband, thus automatically acquiring membership in several ancestral families. Such were regarded as indeed fortunate, provided with every potential means of assistance in the struggle of life. 595 556 [851]

Recognizing its importance, every effort was made to verify this information. Further questioning elicited the statement that the informant had never seen a case of this, though he asserted that when a young man he had often heard of it and that the custom had then only recently died out. Another old man and an elderly woman confirmed the above statement almost word for word, and each added that it was well known when they were young, though they had never actually seen it in practice. One man believed that the custom had formerly prevailed in several parts of the coast, and said that he had heard of its occurrence among the "Kwatrine" people near Newitte. Considering the reliability of his informants, the writer gives as his personal belief that the institution of polyandry among the daughters of chiefs occurred in Bella Coola not many years ago. Knowledge of the term of address for co-husband, already given, is strong evidence in support of this view. 128 595 556

DISCREDITABLE MARRIAGES

Since it has been assumed that Y is the daughter of a chief, properly married with due formality, it is necessary to digress still further from the account of her relations with X to describe connections of a less creditable nature. The most common of these was with slaves. Though frowned upon by all Bella Coola ethics, such alliances, of a permanent nature, do not appear to have been rare. In some cases it was a man who thus demeaned himself, in some a woman. Since no slave could provide the goods necessary for an elaborate wedding, the 567 588

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

614 The gens Spatsâ'tlt have breakers painted on the house-front, and use
532 in dances the mask of a large kind of whale (k·'ruts), of the crow, and of
342 the black bear.

The gens Tumqoâ'akyas use the mask of Ônxstaitô'ma (=the sleeper) and the eagle.

The gens Tl'ak·nemô'ot of the Nusk·'x'lstxmx use the moon (fig. 2).

The gens Ialo'stimôt of the Tâlio'mx use the raven, robin (*aist'a'qoud*), eagle, whale, the bird *t'ôstiala* (genus?), and *s'allsâ'ots*, the flood-tide. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the wasp'nts suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. 420).

The highest gens of Nôtl'x'l has the name Smô'xa (=the north wind). He has the mountain Sawâ'kxx surmounted by a mackerel sky, and with clouds on its sides, painted on his house-front (fig. 3). Another object belonging to his crest represents waves.

614 The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the deci-
● 851 sion being left to the choice of the parents.

Secret Societies and the Potlatch.

171 The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Bilqula
575 are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the Sisan'kx, and the Kâ'sôt. The Sisan'kx corresponds to the Tlôola'qa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the Kâ'sôt to the Ts'êtsâ'êk·a. The Bilqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine
556 brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Qê'mtslos, to whose
773 care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful
777

Fig. 4.—Mask representing Qê'mtslos.

Fig. 5.—Mask representing Qêmqêmalâ'otla.

[532]
[575]

house in the far east, and arises él él every morning when the sun rises. He has to take care that the sun rises properly. The first six of these deities

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

844 fessional midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[846] near the room for a year (according to Nusk'sin'eta, for ten days), else
[825] the salmon would take offence.

553 The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole
tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive
[852] small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member
[556] of the Kû'siût, when it is given its Kû'siût name. This ceremony takes
place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man
gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qû'mteioa name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves
as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed
to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of
the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting pos-
ture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and
drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may
leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[292] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
[821] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that
if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may
pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for
a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[262] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She
[261] must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee,
1889, p. 838).

584 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his
friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His
[431] friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he
sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries
them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at
once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until
he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has
[527] been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding
the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast,
during which he states that he is to be married on the following day.
He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four
[302] women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and
accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and
585 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally
they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the
girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bride-
groom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn
[431] gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes
presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he
has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest.
A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man.
At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to
give him his Sisna'kn secrets as soon as the pair have their first child.
[851] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents
may choose.

586 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-
money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

174 177 716 [195] words of Kwakiutl derivation will become clear by a glance at the following list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin:—

c'ukuula = shaman.
Ala' = speaker.
E'mank'in (p. 94) (Kwakiutl, Ha'mank'in) = the greatest chief.
Hun'hun (p. 102) = a fabulous bird.
x'E'qoq'ila = the copper maker.
x'E'qoqilla = sister of Hamamak'ula (the reading, the designation "woman" in Kwakiutl).
Lagamal' = mythological name of chief.
Mil'ak'ilas.
Mouna'i (p. 98).
Nu'hua = the country of the salmon (p. 98) (Kwakiutl, nu') = salmon.
Na'ulila (pp. 44, 60).
O'mank'in (p. 70) = the god O'mank.
O'mamanak (p. 70).
Oma'mank'ila (Kwakiutl, O'ma'ma'mank'ila) = the traditional sun.
Pa'ium.
Qoalanala'ia (p. 40).
Q'ana'qen (p. 70) = the wealthy man.
Q'E'nagilla (p. 44) = rich or opposite side of river.
Q'E'nanaxa (p. 44) = wealthy or south of river.
Sana'yilila (p. 14) = the one who must be worshipped.
u'ulas = a fabulous fish or snake (pp. 18, 44, 98).
Sacrapil'ula (p. 14).
Ta'ipanu (p. 98) = the loon.
Ta'ua'ua (p. 98) = wolf.
Ya'a'k'ianat (p. 70) = the greatest chief.

174 177 424 614 [521] With these names and customs the clan traditions must have found their way to the Bella Coola, but their social organization differed fundamentally from that of the Bella Bella branch of the Kwakiutl. While the latter, owing to intimate contact with the northern tribes, had adopted the four-clan system with prevalent maternal descent, the Bella Coola were still distinctly divided into village communities that were not exogamic. It seems very likely that the jealousy with which the ownership of a clan tradition was guarded by the Coast tribes was very early introduced among the Bella Coola. Two means were available for preventing outsiders from acquiring the traditions. Among the Coast tribes with prevailing maternal institutions, among whom a limited number of clans existed, the ordinary law of inheritance was sufficient to retain the tradition inside of the clan. Not so among the Bella Coola. If their organization at an early time was similar to that of the Coast Salish, it is likely that the child was counted as well a member of the father's as of the mother's family, although the young woman generally moved to the village occupied by her husband. If the child belonged to the families of both parents, it had the right to use the tradition of either family; and consequently in the course of a few generations, the traditions acquired by each family would have spread practically over the whole tribe. There were only two methods possible to avoid this result. The one was to prevent marriages outside the village community; and this method would seem to have been most natural for a tribe organized in village communities, members of which were allowed to intermarry. The other method would have been to regulate the laws of inheritance in such a way that the child had to

174 182 424 614 [591] [851] [621]

of the father or the mother. In June, 1922, a Bella Coola girl had reached the age of about six months without having received a name. There was much adverse criticism about the parsimony of her father's father and her mother's father, who were held equally to blame, but who had really been deterred by fear of the law prohibiting the potlatch. 612 614 553

As a child grows older he is helped in the performance of ceremonial rites by his parents and by their brothers and sisters. In this, too, it is considered a mark of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his ancestral family, he has no hesitation in favouring the children of either a brother or sister, since, like his own, they are all members of the same ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit* it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children; not that there is any lack of knowledge of the real father, but rather as a mark of respect and family feeling displayed by a man to his sister. Moreover, in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is most improper for a name which a man has raised to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much goods to be passed to his own son; it should go to a distant relative. When a father validates a name for his child it should be one long dormant. 593 604 852 [558] [614] [553]

One aspect of the manner in which the family merges imperceptibly into the ancestral family can be seen in the inheritance of names. When a man calls his relatives together to make his will he is guided in the choice of recipients by the characteristics of his children. An able son receives much from his father, but lazy children are slighted without hesitation. This is particularly true of names with which are bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whereas, as previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the importance depends 593 614 428 553

*According to an intelligent Bella Coola informant, a Bella Bella pays greater attention to the children of his brothers and sisters than to his own offspring, and the same man expressed the opinion that the Kimsquit practice was due to Bella Bella influence. Kimsquit informants denied this, though emphasizing the important part taken by an uncle in obtaining prerogatives for his sisters' children, in some cases to the detriment of his own, which is rare in Bella Coola. [184] [177]

ceremony. This can be described here, since, although not closely associated with the potlatch, it serves to teach children the principles of present-giving and hospitalities. February is the proper month for naming-ceremonies, although preliminary arrangements are made early in the winter. A chief who has a son or daughter about ten or twelve years of age may decide to use some of his food, and a small part of his wealth, for the benefit of the child. With the assistance of his relatives, the father begins making large numbers of toy canoes, miniature bows and arrows, small baskets, and models of all other types of articles commonly given away at potlatches. The manufacture of these requires several months, but towards the end of January they are nearly ready.

A name must then be chosen for the child. Since a naming-ceremony dance is a humorous, non-sacred affair, a naming-ceremony name is not embedded in a myth, but is drawn from some story. Occasionally, parents decide on a new one, but more often the designation selected is one used for the same purpose by a grandparent of the child. There is no rivalry with regard to names of this type, and one of them can be re-used without asking consent of the last incumbent, although permission would never be refused. There must be a song with each name and the grandparents and other elderly relatives teach this to a number of boys who are to act as singers. The words may have been remembered from a previous occasion; if not, a simple theme is composed by one of the old people having some reference to the name about to be conferred. For example, one appellation of this type is *Tsimsa*, Fawn, and the accompanying words are:

"We hear that Deer has borne a child."

Another name is *Kolos*, Beaver, and the song: "Be of good cheer, the Beaver is coming."

A third song is, "Go outside under the house like a dog."

Occasionally a small incident in an ancestral myth is used. The teaching of the song to the juvenile singers is a source of constant merriment; the parents and grandparents are the

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852 principal instructors, aided by the professional musicians.
867 Boys are always willing to act as singers for the practice they
[533] receive, and the gifts they will acquire. Other lads are chosen to act as heralds, an effort being made in each case to pick those likely to pursue these professions.

[196] The day finally selected for the ceremony is in February, on a date when nothing of importance is taking place. The juvenile heralds summon the child guests, who have been invited in accordance with the rules governing a potlatch, especial care being taken to omit none to whom the child donor is indebted. His father carefully instructs him in this matter, thus impressing on his son's mind one of the fundamental points of Bella Coola life. In the late afternoon, when all have
[535] assembled, the boy singers beat out the donor's song and he dances to it. It may be in the nature of a *nuseé*, *a'alé*, or *kusiut* dance, according to the wishes of his parents. In many cases, one of the grandparents or some other old relative likewise dances to the song, using whatever style he chooses. There is no ceremonial significance to the ceremony and all enjoy themselves immensely, especially the adult guests. After
[553] the dancing, the new name is announced and presents are given to the guests. The father of the young donor carefully instructs him as to the scale of his gifts, emphasizing the necessity of rewarding the singers and heralds, and of repaying with interest those children from whom he has received favours. In this way, the ceremony serves as a practical example of how to conduct a potlatch. The parents of the donor always provide some tasty food for the occasion, and this is distributed after
[556] the gifts have been handed round. The necessity for food and presents makes it impossible for any but the children of chiefs to enjoy this training.

After the ceremony, the children parade up and down the sidewalk in front of the houses, singing boisterously. The performance has been for their benefit and they wish to "show off." One night completes the affair, but the following afternoon another child may summon his comrades to a similar

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ceremony. The child sings first beat out the song of the present donor, then that of his predecessor, to which the latter dances once again. If food is plentiful, *nuxúkáwy* ceremonies may be carried out every day for several weeks, or a year or two may elapse without one. A child's song is remembered from year to year and he dances whenever it is beaten out. The name acquired in this way is used semi-jocularly by a lad's comrades. After marriage, it is considered unfitting for a youth to be concerned with *nuxúkáwy* and he normally becomes an *a'ell*.

Ceremonies of this kind have been discontinued for many years and it was impossible to obtain detailed accounts. The main features are clear: they served to instruct children in the methods of present-giving. According to one informant, there were two types of *nuxúkáwy* ceremonial; one of the humorous pattern above described in which, however, food alone was given away, and another in which miniature presents were distributed. This man believed that the latter was only possible for the children of wealthy chiefs, and that on such occasions the themes consisted of small incidents in the family myth. In either case, the importance of ceremonial can be judged from the manner in which it was impressed upon mere children.

[533] [177] Meanwhile the rest of the population was sitting near the coffin. They were no special dress or other mark of grief. Samuel King and some of his relatives had brought bundles containing Jessie's clothing, pots, pans, and other personal possessions, which they set down near the coffin. About two o'clock the band gathered and began to play, the favourite selection being "Annie Laurie." This went on for some time after the return of the chiefs from Captain Schooner's house. They had decided that *Tilla* Jenny, one of Captain Schooner's distant relatives, should carry the fire in front of the body. When all was ready she lit a bundle of rags, placed it in a pot, and set off for the cemetery, followed by all in a straggling and orderless procession. Some strong young men bore the coffin, for Jessie must have weighed over two hundred pounds; some brought tools for digging the grave; others took the bundles of clothing. There was no fixed allotment of tasks; a man or woman carried anything or nothing according to his or her wish.

The cemetery is situated about fifty yards behind the old village of *Nuxqa'a*. The heavy timber has all been cut away and second growth has sprung up everywhere except around the newer graves. Captain Schooner had decided that his daughter should be buried near several of her relatives, and it was to this spot that Jenny led the procession. She set the pot down near the site of the grave, and the coffin likewise was placed on the ground nearby. Captain Schooner, Jim Pollard, and a few of the other old men chose the exact situation and a number of the young men began to dig. Jenny, and other women, added pieces of Jessie's clothing to the fire so that a constant small blaze was kept up. As the grave was being dug [533] the band performed at intervals, while the women sat wailing near the fire. Other men and women were seated on the ground or walking around idly near the grave, talking but seldom laughing, while the Carriers were a little farther away. [52] Children were playing around. The grave was dug about five feet deep, in shape corresponding to the coffin, but orientation

[illegible] (1922-1924) 1948
[illegible]

elder Bella Coola, asking him to announce that he, Schooner, with Dan and George, was going to hold a memorial potlatch that evening to which all were invited. Robert is not a hereditary chief but undertook this duty owing to the absence of qualified hereditary chiefs. Meanwhile the grave had been filled in and the people began to drift away as it rose to ground level. Their attitude throughout had resembled that of white people at a funeral, and the hilariousness that characterizes so many Bella Coola gatherings was entirely absent except among the playing children. By 4.30 P.M. all had left the scene.

In view of the large number of guests expected it had been decided to hold the memorial potlatch, not in one of the old-fashioned houses, but in the village hall, built according to the white man's style of architecture and illuminated with swinging gasoline lamps. This is a large, rectangular building, undivided by partitions, with a stage at one end and a door at the other. About 6.30 P.M. the singers, Nebuchadnezzar, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Alec Davis, Kimsquit Alec, and Robert Hood, gathered at the hall and seated themselves below the stage. Billy Pollard had prepared a mourning song during the day, Kimsquit Alec another, and it was decided to use two others that were well known to all. The singers sat and practised these four for some time, while at intervals various Bella Coola strolled in, listened for a few minutes, then walked out again. Anyone was allowed to do so, but few availed themselves of the opportunity. Meanwhile Captain Schooner had brought $10 worth of rice, raisins, and condensed milk which he placed beside a large iron cauldron outside the front door. Jim To-Morrow, a Bella Coola of no great intelligence, volunteered to act as cook and soon had a fire blazing and the food boiling.

About 8.00 P.M. the people began to assemble, bringing their own plates and other utensils. After considerable delay and chatter, the guests took their places in the hall, seating themselves regardless of rank on benches ranged along the two side walls and massed at the rear. By mutual consent a portion of the single row of benches along the left wall was reserved

for the Carrion and other foreigners. The cook began to ladle the rice into basins provided by Captain Schooner; these were taken by some of the younger men who poured helpings into the dishes of the guests. Spoons had been forgotten, and there was delay until these were provided by slivers split from a block of wood for the purpose. Contrary to ancient usage, no attempt was made to serve food to the guests in order of their rank. Men, women, and children were sitting everywhere, the infants kept moving around and crying continually throughout the performance, but no one seemed to be disturbed thereby.

When everyone had eaten, Nebuchadnezzar, who had been sitting facing the other singers, knelt on the floor to attract attention and then rose to speak. He asked the help of all to make the ceremony a success, and thus assuage the grief of the bereaved relatives.

Joe Williams and his daughter had taken their places on the right-hand side of the hall and had requested Willie Mack, a fluent speaker and influential chief, to assist them in announcing the financial transactions. They spread a blanket on the floor on which the bills were counted, and beside this Willie knelt. Joe gave him a sum of money, which was counted and re-counted; Willie then held it up in the vain hope that it could be seen by everyone in the hall. He announced the amount, also that it was to ransom (the divorced) Mrs. George Nelson from her late husband, and that it would "make clean the place where she sat." A young man delivered the money to George who added it to the general stock for later distribution. Next a copper was produced, held up, and presented to him for the same purpose. Meanwhile Joe, assisted by his mother and other relatives, had been counting the money which they proposed to give to Captain Schooner in settlement of the previously contracted debt. One hundred and fifty dollars were produced and handed to Willie Mack, who held them up and announced that it was in return for the $100 given by Captain Schooner on a previous occasion to Joe Williams, his wife, his son, his daughter, his mother, and his stepfather. The bills

G:Boas E-1 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NEG Bellacoola NEG

[94] traditional authorities. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go near the ocean for a year (according to Nuk'ulc'ata, for ten days), else the salmon would take offence.

[95] The child is now given its first name. On this occasion the whole tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member of the Kl'ulut, when it is given its Kl'ulut name. This ceremony takes place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qi'ulaiwa name.

[96] When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet [97] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat, [98] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose her senses, or her cough would be transformed into a long hook. She [99] must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee, 1887, p. 63).

[100] If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his [101] friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such case the young man may repeat the same ceremony until he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has [102] been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and [103] accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and [104] four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been [105] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his tlaxa'ix secrets as soon as the pair have their first child. [106] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

[107] In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

1:36 Swanton R-5 (1922-1924)1948
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suffer, on the whole, less than do white mothers. It is believed
that *Sasiawma*, though invisible, is present on every occasion [796]
the rendering of assistance at childbirth is his one kindly act.

The umbilical cord was formerly cut with a mussel shell, [797]
but for many years the use of a metal knife has been customary.
The after-birth usually comes away easily, but if there is delay [845]
hot ashes are placed around the feet and at the back of the
woman to accelerate its expulsion. It is immediately buried
or placed beneath a large tree in the forest; if burnt, the infant
will always be weakly. While one of the assistants disposes of
it, another washes the new-born child. The cloths and dishes
used for this purpose are burnt; failure to do so is believed to [846]
cause the child to become blind through a white film forming
over the eyeballs. Then the mother and midwives return to
the house with the infant, who is a source of tremendous in-
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A new-born child takes the breast readily and a mother 853
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carried by the mother wherever she goes; when in the house
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When the umbilical cord falls, it is preserved by the mother. [846]
Soon after birth, the parents make provision for their child's
welfare by magical means (I, p. 700). The heavy infantile
death-rate of the Bella Coola cannot be attributed to lack of [165]
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the perils of infancy. During this period, the mother observes various magical taboos to ensure the welfare of her offspring, and endeavours to strengthen herself by rubbing her own body with non-odoriferous oils obtained from dog-fish, geese, or fresh eulachon. Soft pounded salmon and water are added to an infant's diet as soon as possible, though nourishment from the breast frequently continues until a child is two, or even three years of age. It is not uncommon to delay weaning until the mother is again pregnant, when the child is deserted by the application of soot to the breasts. Marital relations are recommenced as soon as the mother is strong enough; there is no specified period of abstinence, nor does it matter whether or not the woman is lactative.

Occasionally, an infant is born with teeth; such an one is thought to be the reincarnation of a dead ancestor, though no one knows which. A similar belief is held respecting a child with dimples in the lobes of its ears; these are regarded as remnants of the holes pierced for ear-rings. A child that cries in the womb is said to have great intellect.

In former times infanticide was practised for various reasons. If a woman died in giving birth, it was customary for her mother to kill the child unless one of her relatives was able to suckle the motherless infant who was then given to her. It was not unknown for the mother of a large family to ask the midwife to kill the child in order to avoid an addition to her responsibilities. An unmarried girl who became pregnant often went alone to the forest, delivered herself without assistance, and killed her infant. This was considered to be the kindest act, since an illegitimate child was said to be, "Like a Dog." In some cases the prospective mother requested a friend to cause abortion by kneading the stomach and uterus, a method said to be effective and seldom fatal. How to do so is common knowledge, but to practise it is considered disgraceful, and the term *ixwust*, applied to such an one, is among the most foul of Bella Coola opprobriums. It is believed that a woman who has had several children can in some way prevent

842 *To Cause Birth of a Child of the Desired Sex*
789 If a boy is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her a miniature bow and arrows on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

If a girl is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her miniature tools used for beating cedar-bark on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

848 *To Cause Easy Delivery* (two means)
789 (1) The pregnant woman must boil stalks of *xnamnmp* in water and drink freely of the decoction.

(2) A variant of the medicine already described can be applied during pregnancy. Strike the back of the woman with one or more porcupine embryos. The thrower must remain in concealment and the woman to be benefited must be unaware of what is about to be done.

853 *To Cause Increased Flow of Milk*
757 Heat pods of *Sadaw Ipankdjadaw* (Hook) and apply them as a poultice to the breasts of the nursing mother.

MISCELLANEOUS MEDICINES USED BY ADULTS

461 *To Cause Energy*
789 Take the paw of a freshly killed beaver in one hand and put it with the other, saying:
825 "Please, may I be like you."

This ensures that the man or woman will always work hard, like a beaver.

789 *To Cause Long Life*
Pick up a toad, spit on it four times, saying:
825 "May I be strong like you," and put it down carefully.
886 The basis of this medicine is the belief that toads are capable of resisting greater pressure than other animals. For example, if one is caught in an olachen net, it survives the crushing weight of fish and water and is alive when the net is emptied, though all other living animals so enmeshed are killed.

Fr. Smith E-1 [illegible] NEA Bellevale NEA
Carver NEA
Tolmhan NE15

RANUNCULACEAE, BUTTERCUP FAMILY

B
T
137
757

Anemone quinquefolia Pers. (A. multifida Poir.), Wood-Flower

Folk Cooks: Not used.

Southern Carrier: Plant, except roots, boiled and decoction taken internally for any sickness. Leaves of crushed leaves tried for cold in the head or lungs; for this purpose leaves sometimes placed in water and heated.

Gibbons: Handfuls eaten in sweat bath for rheumatism. A decoction of the plant sometimes used for the same purpose.

Thalictrum pseudoflavum Hort., False Meadow Rue

B
T
137
757

Folk Cooks: Roots pounded in a little water, and to resulting mass, covered with a little soft bark of the red or yellow cedar, applied as a poultice to boils and left on for half a day or a day. Said to promote suppuration and opening of the boil, but to cause such intense burning that it could not be applied to children. Considered too strong than the tall buttercup (page 57), but, like it, preferred to the cow parsnip (page 61), which was used in the same way.

Thalictrum occidentale Gray, Meadow Rue

Gibbons: A small piece of the root chewed, and some of the juice swallowed, for headache, eye trouble, and sore legs. Loosened phlegm and possibly accelerated the circulation of the blood.

Ranunculus acris L., Tall Buttercup

Folk Cooks: Roots used as a poultice for boils in the same way as those of the false bugbane (page 57), but considered stronger and better.

CRUCIFERAE, MUSTARD FAMILY

T
[752]

Sisymbrium officinale Eng., A Hedge Mustard

Gibbons: Mashed and applied to bad cuts.

CRASSULACEAE, ORPINE FAMILY

B
[853]

Cotyledon spathulifolium Hook., Stonecrop

Folk Cooks: Leaves of the plant before it blossomed eaten to start the flow of milk. Said to take effect in one day. Leaves warmed and applied externally for the same purpose.

SAXIFRAGACEAE, SAXIFRAGE FAMILY

B
137
757

Ribes bracteosum Dougl., Blue Currant

Folk Cooks: See tideland spruce, page 51.

Ribes laxiflorum Pursh. var., Currant

Folk Cooks: Roots boiled in a very small box with hot stones and the weak decoction used each day for washing the eyes when filled with matter.

See also lady fern (page 48).

Southern Carrier: Not used.

C
[757]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

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1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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855 rebuked. They grow up in the open environment of the
[861] houses, absorbing more of their lore by watching and imitat-
ing than by actual instruction. Their care devolves chiefly
[854] on the mother, although at any ceremony the father will be
seen arriving with the baby in his arms, while his wife leads
another child. Nurses are unknown and the parents take
their children with them on all occasions; if it is necessary
for a mother to be absent on some arduous toil, her child will
be entrusted to a grandmother or other elderly relative.
606 There are no avoidances between the young people and their
parents-in-law.

602 The obligation of present-giving does not stop with the
431 marriage ceremony. Whenever X gives a *kusiut* dance or other
ceremony, Y's relatives are expected to contribute. It is felt
that the weight of the presents given them during the period
of engagement and at the wedding has become too heavy, and
they throw this off by lavish giving. No count is kept of the
value of gifts bestowed or received, though it is known that
the family of the woman loses financially in the end. The father
of many daughters is regarded as an unfortunate individual,
who is always poor and overworked through the necessity of
[554] providing for them. By so doing, however, he increases his
own prestige, and the Bella Coola have the happy sentiment
that such a man manages to get along some way; perhaps
necessity rouses his ambition. Likewise X's relatives contri-
bute to any ritual carried out by Y's father. If, for example,
one of his wife's relatives dies, X and his friends may wish to
contribute towards the funeral expenses. In fact, any cere-
monial serves as an excuse for relatives by marriage to donate
[556] goods and thus demonstrate publicly their influence, impor-
tance, and generosity.

602 The concept of mutual help between families who have
476 intermarried is one that lasts for generations. In 1922 there
was in Bella Coola an old Kimsquit man who had left home
some forty years earlier and had since lived in Smith Inlet
where he married and had a boy. On the death of his wife, this

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

* 539 tune, remembering what the latter had told him the previous evening.
* 756 He feared to follow his friend's track, and, as night came on, closed the
* 787 tent and went to sleep, with the dog beside him. When it was quite dark he was wakened by the sound of footsteps and the tapping of a stick, and concluded that his partner was returning. The tent-flap was untied, as if by a person entering, but *Alyimlaix* could see nothing, so he kicked the dog to waken it and the animal began to bark furiously. At length he heard the steps withdraw and grow fainter as they climbed the mountain. Then *Alyimlaix* realized that his friend was dead, and that it was his life, [775] flashing round to visit his companions, which had come to him. Terrified, he lay awake all night with a blazing fire, and fled the next morning.

Alyimlaix chanced to meet several canoes soon after he had quitted his camp, and when he had told his story, their occupants turned back to hunt for *Nuuazwmolsk*. About eighteen men searched all that day unsuccessfully, but a few days later another party found the corpse of the missing hunter. Presumably he had fired at the goat, though whether he struck it or not was not known, and the animal had charged. A wound in *Nuuazwmolsk*'s groin showed where one of the horns had pierced him, and the two had rolled together to death over a precipice, the bodies becoming slightly separated in the fall.

Even if *Nuuazwmolsk* had struck the goat it would not have availed him, since he was doomed to death. Not only had he taken great risks in hunting within one year of his previous experience, but his wife had been careless during his absence. He had long practised continence, and [785] thereby was in a clean condition such as is approved by animals, and [961] other supernatural beings, but this very condition rendered him peculiarly susceptible to any breaking of taboos by his wife. She had so far forgotten herself as to indulge in swinging when he was on the mountain, so that his death was inevitable. *Nuuazwmolsk*'s relatives were very angry and prophesied that she would soon die. They were right, though whether her death was caused by a sorcerer, or by the accumulative power of their thoughts, is a matter no one can determine.

THE *Tlāqmā·ks*

In the beginning of time, when *Alqantīn* sent down *Kālālas* to this earth, he used his own initiative and travelled to the east for abalone-shell and to the west for copper. On returning to his settlement, he determined to try to lure to it a supernatural being, of whose existence he was aware from his previous life in the land above. Accordingly, he fashioned some of the copper into jingling bangles, which he fastened to [177] the ropes of his infant's cradle. Before the introduction of white men's [854] cradles, the Bella Coola were accustomed to tie a child in a cloth and

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suspend the bundle by ropes from a stick which projected horizontally from the wall. It was to these ropes that *Kā'lāk'ī* tied the bangles, so that they jingled with every movement of the child.

Ālqanātm heard this peculiar noise from his house in the land above and sent a *Ilāqmā-ks*, a diminutive supernatural being of human form, which lives on air, to investigate. The creature perched on the cradle rope where *Kā'lāk'ī* saw it. Owing to his former life in the land above he knew what it was, and how to deal with it, so he quickly threw over it a blanket which he had frequently used.[11] This brought him supernatural good fortune. He concealed the *Ilāqmā-ks* for safety in an old chequer-work root sack, and left it lying on the floor.

Wealth flowed in upon him so that he was able to give a potlatch every year. At one of them he gave his infant daughter, the occupant of the cradle, the name *Ālāqmā-ks*, which has been handed down from generation to generation, and has recently been given to a Bella Bella child. *Kā'lāk'ī*'s prosperity roused the jealousy of his fellows so that they murdered him, but his children still had the *Ilāqmā-ks* and they continued to prosper. At last their enemies slew them too, sparing only one small boy.

This orphan led a precarious existence. He was refused admission to what had been his father's house and was forced to live in the space between the floor and the ground below, while his food was taken from the refuse heaps. In time he grew to young manhood, frequently brooding on the fate of his relatives and hoping for revenge. One day he crossed the river, ascended a mountain, and found there a large cave, where he lay down to sleep, wrapped in a bear-skin. A supernatural being came to him.

"I have watched your woes," said the stranger, "and I will help you if you are brave. You must accompany me to my land. The road is dangerous, and if you should lose me it would be disastrous to you, so keep close."

They took a difficult path down through the earth to the land of the dead below.

"I will keep you here for a night and teach you," said the supernatural one as he gave the boy a stick in which was power.

"You must take this," he said, "and go at night to your father's house. Throw the stick at one of those who killed your father. It will rebound to you, after leaving your enemy dead without a mark on his body. Do this every night, killing only one man at a time, until you have slain all the murderers, but be careful not to harm anyone else."

Although he had not at first revealed himself, the being from whom

[11] A new one would have been useless.

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[773] ɸwalnaxa: 1—Tally post, one of the supernatural elements possessed by all human beings.

[777] 2—Invisible supernatural element which constantly moves before the face.

ɸwalnaxa; incorr., ɸwalnaxsa, (rarely, ɸwalnxa): Crest.

[825] ɸwax: Raven.

ɸwax: Big old male mountain goat.

ɸwaxila: ɸompɛ:s man living in the last century.

ɸwaqhlalis: Celebrated Kwakiutl chief.

ɸwaqwax-nanam: Name of a shaman who received his power from Raven.

ɸwarnats: One of the first men to settle at *Stuax* in the beginning of time.

[601] ɸwarnaw: Fourth oldest, or youngest, brother or sister.

ɸwa'yakks: Steller's jay.

ɸwakit: Kimsquit woman.

[825] ɸwana: Woman's pubic hair.

ɸwats: Sea-lion cub.

[431] ɸwem: Those who are present and receive gifts when an announcement of a marriage is first made.

ɸwets: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.

ɸwia'xem: A revelation, such as the sight of a supernatural being or object usually concealed.

[825] ɸwiaki: Yearling seal.

ɸwimap: Word used in inviting to a marriage announcement.

ɸwinas: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

ɸwiqnaxaxna: Kwakiutl supernatural being, said to be identical with *ɸyunxm*.

ɸwistaklit": *Nuxqual* name of a Kimsquit man.

ɸwiyai: Bella Bella village west of Namu.

ɸwl: Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.

ɸwla(ya): Professional female marriage drumer who came down to Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

ɸwlaxwaa: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

ɸwlisil, "Place of Herbage": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.

ɸwnia: Inspiration, in the sense of the source of a *hamatsa* dancer's power of thought.

[583] ɸwsalt: Village west of Kwatna, settled in the beginning of time.

ɸwshanɸsit: Actual goods used for the repurchase of a wife.

ɸwyaxitna: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit chief.

[854] ɸwtal: Cradle.

ɸwu'nat': *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola woman.

ɸwu-a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[581] ɸ"xila: The noble and rightful sentiments engendered in both families by an elaborate marriage, either real or fictitious. The word embodies the concepts of financial interdependence and of consequent mutual strength.

[195] ɸwnkim: The transference of activities to a new sphere; the term is used, rhetorically, when referring to the death of a skilled craftsman.

S

saik: 1—Skeleton.

2—Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Saikwaiv-xem: *Kwiat* name of a Bella Coola man.

sai-mis ɸlaiq: The constant blinking of the eyes.

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in dances. In front of most houses rises a short totem-pole,* either pierced for the doorway, or standing on the opposite side of the sidewalk. [211] [778]

The Family

It is probably no exaggeration to say that in every part of the world the most important social unit is the family. It certainly is among the Bella Coola, yet its lack of definite social obligations makes it difficult to define. Reduced to minimum size, the family consists of a man, his wife, or wives, and his children. Such a unit occupies one of the bedrooms of a large house, and it is to such a family that an infant automatically belongs at birth. Disregarding for the moment ceremonial obligations, which are shared by others, it is the father and mother who are responsible largely for the upbringing of the child. Such education as he receives comes from them, with the assistance of members of the ancestral family. This is chiefly imitative; a boy, as he increases in strength, follows his father on hunting expeditions or fishing. The mother teaches her daughters how to make baskets, and they follow her when she gathers berries, or when she cooks and performs household duties. The Bella Coola are fond of children, in many cases to the extent of over-indulging them, and they grow up amid the open life of the large houses, absorbing information of all kinds without being aware of so doing.

594 [851] 594 868 855 861

Only two kinds of functional training need be mentioned. A wise father carefully trains his sons to remember their debts (I, p. 369), and the method of teaching ancient myths has already been described; otherwise there is little direct instruction. On the other hand, parents devote great care to furnishing their children with every possible means of strengthening their supernatural elements on which success depends. These can

594 869

*Since the Bella Coola believe that totem-poles were used by their ancestors in early times, they are included in this description of a village, without reference to their development in post-European times. This account is compiled from descriptions given by elderly informants; it is inevitable, therefore, that changes due to European contact may be included. [177]

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before their birth. When the mother of the twin described in the last paragraph was awaiting delivery in a temporary shelter in the woods, its roof fell, cutting her head. The old woman who mentioned this occurrence stated that both her grandmother, the Sockeye Salmon, and her sister, a Spring Salmon, though still unborn, were aware of the accident and remembered the comments of the midwife. 845

On account of their uncanny power, twins are considered weaklings and usually die young in spite of the care lavished upon them and the taboos observed by their parents.[2] A dead twin, instead of being buried, is put in a box which is placed in a tree far away from the village. Every year the river changes its course, eating into its banks in order to reach the tree containing the body, and this continues until it reaches its goal and sweeps away tree and coffin. 766 [823]

Childhood Instruction

When working in the field, an anthropologist almost inevitably concentrates upon ceremonials and other epochs in an individual's life, to the detriment of the daily routine which in Bella Coola, as everywhere else, is fundamentally important although it defies description on account of its intangibility. A child grows up in a large house, occupied by several families, in which there is little privacy. The parents provide food and clothing, but more distant relatives take a greater share of responsibility for this than do white people. When food is being given out, a child soon learns that he will be given some of it, and that he will have his portion in any distribution of presents. Furniture, bedding, and other necessities are reduced to a minimum, but a boy or girl is welcome to sleep with relatives should his own parents wish to go hunting or fishing. The sense of power possessed by a Bella Coola with many relations is largely intangible, but it has practical applications as 114 855 [867] [867]

[2] It is probable that the arduous life led by a twin and its parents during the first year after birth lessens its chances of survival. Needless to say, this explanation does not find favour with the Bella Coola.

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855 well, and these are soon learnt by the child who is fortunate
[867] enough to have many kinsmen. Primarily, responsibility rests with the parents for the care and support of their offspring, but they have the advice, assistance, and material aid of their relatives. Nor are these limited to the near kindred of either father or mother; all members of the ancestral family take their part. Housemates, also, even if unrelated, take an interest in any child who shares their habitation, irrespective of his rank.

Much of the care bestowed on children is of a magical nature and must be reserved until a later chapter. Little boys
868 follow their fathers on hunting expeditions and so acquire knowledge by practical experience, as do girls from their mothers with regard to household tasks and feminine occupations.
867 Even small children are quick to notice the attention paid to the orders of chiefs, and carry out their commands without demur. A disobedient child is beaten or thrown into cold
861 water; the parents usually act in such cases, though a hear relative does not hesitate to do so, especially if he is a chief.
857 Like all other children, Bella Coola boys and girls are fond of
867 stories and listen eagerly to the tales told in the long evenings by some old man or woman. Many of these are somewhat
538 obscene, but they serve to teach much ancient lore, and at the same time to emphasize many taboos and restrictions which are thus assimilated without definite schooling. They illus-
[626] trate the laws of morality, as does the public disapproval shown to anyone who infringes some point of etiquette or behaviour.
[825] If a child makes fun of a cat-fish or a bull-head, he is not told to stop doing so; instead, one of his elders tells him how, in the distant past, there was a famine, and advises him not to scoff at the fish which alone saved his ancestors from starvation at that time. If a rude little boy laughs at a maimed or deformed
[732] man, he is told of *Ałałałs*, a Bella Bella urchin who repeatedly mocked a one-eyed man and presently, himself, lost the sight of an eye.

867 "Don't laugh at cripples, blind people, or those who are
[735]

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thus boast that she has three sets of teeth, but as the practice has not found favour in Bella Coola, it is little to her advantage.[8] 585 [177]

These complicated marriage rites are necessary to satisfy the pride of the two families in their origin myths, and the need to establish the resultant children in the paths of their ancestors. Among slaves or others who lack ancestral prerogatives, marriage is an affair of slight worth. Such persons simply live together with little ceremony, though they always try to give at least a feast so that there may be witnesses of the transaction. It is immaterial whether or not they marry their own relatives, since no ancestral prerogatives are to be transmitted. [556] [567] [581]

MARRIED LIFE

Y usually lives in the house of X's father, though economic circumstances may compel her husband to live in her home. If the parents are very wealthy, a house may be built for the young people, but usually their home is one of the bedrooms in the house of X's father; this patrilocal residence exposes Y not only to good advice from her mother-in-law, but often to caustic criticism. The married life of X and Y does not differ materially from that of other young couples in any part of the world, and is accordingly difficult to describe. Although love rarely enters into the original choice of a mate, a serviceable substitute is found in the mutual respect for each other's ancestry, and the knowledge of the importance of the rites performed with the aid of each other's elderly relatives. The young people realize that marriage affects the families of both, and accordingly accept it as a matter of course. The Bella Coola are fond of children. Their birth is a matter of sincere rejoicing, partly because it binds the two families more closely together, but parental affection is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics. The parents usually spoil their children; infants, especially, are never chastised and rarely 591 [556] 593 855 [861]

[8] The board used on this occasion was purchased for the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

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855 rebuked. They grow up in the open environment of the
[861] houses, absorbing more of their lore by watching and imitat-
[854] ing than by actual instruction. Their care devolves chiefly on the mother, although at any ceremony the father will be seen arriving with the baby in his arms, while his wife leads another child. Nurses are unknown and the parents take their children with them on all occasions; if it is necessary for a mother to be absent on some arduous toil, her child will be entrusted to a grandmother or other elderly relative.
606 There are no avoidances between the young people and their parents-in-law.

602 The obligation of present-giving does not stop with the
431 marriage ceremony. Whenever X gives a *kusiut* dance or other ceremony, Y's relatives are expected to contribute. It is felt that the weight of the presents given them during the period of engagement and at the wedding has become too heavy, and they throw this off by lavish giving. No count is kept of the value of gifts bestowed or received, though it is known that the family of the woman lose financially in the end. The father of many daughters is regarded as an unfortunate individual, who is always poor and overworked through the necessity of
[554] providing for them. By so doing, however, he increases his own prestige, and the Bella Coola have the happy sentiment that such a man manages to get along some way; perhaps necessity rouses his ambition. Likewise X's relatives contribute to any ritual carried out by Y's father. If, for example, one of his wife's relatives dies, X and his friends may wish to contribute towards the funeral expenses. In fact, any cere-
[556] monial serves as an excuse for relatives by marriage to donate goods and thus demonstrate publicly their influence, importance, and generosity.

602 The concept of mutual help between families who have
476 intermarried is one that lasts for generations. In 1922 there was in Bella Coola an old Kimsquit man who had left home some forty years earlier and had since lived in Smith Inlet where he married and had a boy. On the death of his wife, this

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757 the science of medicine. The Bella Coola are familiar with
789 many acts which cause definite results. To place a new-born girl in contact with the representation of a beautiful woman
[856] so that she may grow up to be like her, seems false science,
[752] magic, to the white man; whereas the application of splints and gum to a fractured limb is a medical treatment, crude perhaps, but definitely scientific. The two are identical to the Bella Coola. They do not ask *why* or *how* a result follows, they merely know that it *does*. Such lore has been handed down from time immemorial; it is steeped in the sanctity of antiquity and hallowed by the knowledge that their ancestors have done the same for generations. All such acts may be described as "medicines," for so they appear to those who practise them. To separate them into magical and scientific categories would misrepresent the native point of view; the only division that can be made is between those that cause, and those that prevent or cure. Even in this there is some overlap. A medicine that cures a child from crying likewise causes him to be placid and amiable; so, too, medicines of a preventive nature comprise elements of both types. The principle governing most of these is sympathetic magic, a concept which, if put in words to the Bella Coola, would be regarded as logical and scientific. The second important class of medi-
[755] cines consists of objects, either herbal or derived from the human body, which are believed to have such abundant power that they are effective against ailments of supernatural origin, or against supernatural beings themselves. Some of these have already been mentioned in connection with the attitude of the Bella Coola towards these beings of the earth, sky, and water.

754 Most curative medicines are used by the practitioner on himself; most causative, on someone else. The latter are either
755 social or anti-social, depending upon whether the result is
789 benevolent or malevolent. Shamans frequently use magical means in curing the sick and are highly regarded by the community, but medicines of the same kind may be used to kill

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Causative Medicines

MEDICINES OF INFANCY

789 *To Cause Tallness*

856 As soon as the umbilical cord is cut, blow upon it and pull it out; the infant will grow up to be tall and big.

The following medicines are applied four days after birth:

The infant is washed, formerly in a circular cedar or cottonwood basin, and the remedy pressed against its body while drying. Some families prefer to wait until the child is able to crawl.

To Cause Strength (three means)

[824] [825] (1) Collect four pieces of bark, each from a different tree where a grizzly bear has scratched. Place them in the infant's wash-bowl, then warm them at a fire and rub over his body. This ensures him the strength of a grizzly bear.

(2) Collect four water-smoothed, green stones from the river. Place them in the infant's wash-bowl, then warm them at a fire and rub over the body. After four days, return the stones to the river.

[825] (3) Warm the body of an octopus, beaver, or wolverine in the smoke of a fire and gently press the carcass against an infant's body, saying:

"Please, may he be like you."

This provides the child with the strength of the animal used.

To Cause Long Life

[886] [824] Collect four pieces of wood which have been rolled hard and smooth in a landslide. Boil them in the infant's wash-bowl, cool, then re-warm them at a fire and rub them over the body. This makes him strong and healthy, able to endure all dangers and weaknesses even those caused by a sorcerer. The principle is that the child will be as hardy as the wood proved

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itself to be by withstanding the crushing weight of stone and earth. An old Kimsquit man expressed the firm conviction that his great age was the result of this treatment soon after birth. 789 856 886 [824]

To Cause Imperviousness to Cold

Kill a water ouzel, warm it at a fire, then press it against every part of the infant's body. This makes him as heedless of cold water as the bird. A merganser may be used in the same way, or the foot of one be placed in the child's hand and patted as his fingers clutch it. 789 825 856

To Cause a Quarrelsome Disposition

Burn the nest of wasps and rub the ashes on the infant's face. He will become as bellicose and quick to resent injury as the insects. One old man who habitually beats his wife explains that this is involuntary, since he was treated in this way when a child. Fighting is no longer allowed, so the only person on whom he can exercise his martial ardour is his wife. The woman regards this treatment as a matter of course and the reason is accepted as valid by her associates. [155]

To Cause Success in Thieving

Kill a pack-rat, warm it at a fire, and rub the carcass lightly over the infant's body. This will make him as successful a thief as the animal. Other methods are to cut off a foot and pat this as the infant clutches it in his fingers, or to rub its hands with the ashes of a burnt rat.

To Cause Success in Singing

Catch a live robin or *smıxmıxaxls* (probably one of the thrushes), warm it at a fire, and rub it lightly against the infant's throat, saying: 533 789 825

"May he be a singer like you." 856

Then release the bird, and the child will grow up a songster. The following story is told of the power of the *smıxmıxaxls*'s song: [539]

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533 In the beginning of time it used to sing.

789 "I shall use a spoon and eat when the Bella Coola River has burst its bounds on account of the teeming salmon in it."

825 The people used to laugh as it repeated this song year after year,

856 until the bird changed its note:

[539] "I shall use a spoon and eat when all is cold and clear. Then there will be Death instead of salmon in Bella Coola."

The next year the streams were so clear that no fish could be caught and the starving people asked the bird to return to its first song. When it did so, the water became murky so that it was possible to catch salmon once more.

The Bella Bella, not the Bella Coola, use the body of a blue jay to cause an infant to grow up with the ability to master difficult tunes in the same way that the bird has a variety of notes. The method of applying this medicine could not be learnt.

789 Most of the above medicines are well known and can be applied by any parent. If, however, a man has employed one 856 of them successfully on a number of occasions, he is often requested to use his ability for others. In such a case, the father of the benefited child is expected to reimburse his friend. [184] The application or non-application of such medicines is purely the concern of the child's family; they can use as many as they like, or none at all, according to their discretion.

The following medicines are used during the first year of life:

304 *To Cause Beauty*

789 Bandages of the softest undyed cedar-bark are prepared for infants of both sexes soon after birth. A woman who is a good 856 artist is requested to draw with charcoal two pictures on one 532 of the pieces of bark—of handsome men if the child is a boy, or of lovely women if a girl. An unmarked wrapping is fastened round the infant's head, then the painted one so arranged that one picture is over the forehead, the other over the occiput, and finally other plain bandages to cover the whole. These [826] are left in place for about one year. They flatten the forehead

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and back of the head, preventing a bulging appearance which is considered ugly, while the paintings ensure beauty of countenance. Cranial deformation has no supernatural sanction, though it is believed to have been carried out for generations. 304 789 856 [532] [826]

To Cause Leanness

Place pieces of caribou skin on an infant's wrists and ankles and leave them in position for several months. He will grow up lean and wiry, like the animal. 789 856 [825]

To Cause Left-handedness

Shake the left hand of an infant while lying in the cradle and he will be left-handed throughout life. To do this is considered a malevolent action.

To Cause the Hair to Grow (two means)

(1) Rub the infant's scalp with the eye of a *Łakwułk* (red cod?), freshly removed from the fish's head. [825]

(2) Boil stems of the swamp gooseberry in water and rub the mixture over the infant's scalp. [824]

Wise mothers always apply one or other of these remedies to their children.

To Cause Ability in Singing (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good singer to impart to him ability similar to his own. He takes his beating-stick, spits on it, and rubs it over the child's heart, saying: 533 789 856

"Please be a singer."

This is done only for male children. [868]

(2) Boil together herbs and a bear's bladder and smear the decoction on the infant's back. He must thenceforth wear around his neck for several months a small sack containing four blue grouse gall-bladders (possibly stones from the crop were meant). This gives the child the singing ability of the bird, but the significance of the bear bladder is unknown. [825]

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856 789 868 *To Cause Ability in Carpentry* (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good carpenter to impart to him ability similar to his own. He spits on his tools and rubs these over the child's heart, saying:

"Please be a carpenter."

This is done only for male children.

(2) Cut splinters from the tools of an expert carpenter, burn them, and rub the ashes over the child's hands. This is most efficacious when performed by the carpenter himself who says as he rubs:

"Please be a carpenter."

000 *To Cause Ability in Thieving*

Indians from the vicinity of Sitka are said to fasten a live mouse in an infant's clothing or tie one in the cradle. This causes the child to amass riches easily, but when practised by a Sitka man and woman who were slaves of the Bella Coola it was so potent that their son grew up to be an inveterate thief.

875 856 789 *To Cause Ability to See Beneath the Water*

When the infant is in the cradle, kill a gull, cut out its tongue, and rub this around inside the child's mouth. Strip the feathers and lay them so that the infant sleeps upon them. This gives him the same ability as the bird to see beneath the ocean and tell where fish are to be found. This was done not many years ago to a Bella Bella child whose ability was consequently so great that it frightened his friends.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

The Kitlobe achieve this by making a child sleep upon dog hair. No instance is remembered of this having actually been practised by the Bella Coola, although, being well known, there is no reason why it should not be used.

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To Cause Ability in Understanding the Speech of Ravens 825

It is well known that when ravens croak, they are really 856
speaking, but their language is unintelligible except to one who 789
has learnt it by means of a medicine. One of these is the following:

Catch a raven alive and cut a small piece of flesh from its body, beneath the left wing, taking care not to kill the bird. Release it, after having fed the morsel to the child. An infant so treated will grow up able to learn from ravens of the approach of raiding parties, storms, visitors, and all other news which they constantly circulate in their loud calling. It is said that the last person so endowed was the father of a Kimsquit man about forty years of age in 1922. His ability lasted throughout childhood but he lost it through infraction of a taboo.

The following medicines are used between the ages of one and two: 304

To Cause Long Life 789

One year after birth, holes are pierced through the lobes of 856
the ears and the nasal septum. In the beginning of time, 886
Alquntäm told the forefathers of the Bella Coola that if this were not done, the boy or girl would die young.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

When the umbilical cord of a female infant falls, her father 846
places it within the knot-hole of a tree, where it is protected 856
from rain but where it rots and is forgotten. A boy's is pre- 789
served with care. The parents wrap it in soft goat's wool and
place it in the box where the father keeps his most cherished [858]
possessions; this causes the child to be careful, and to grow up with a tendency to treasure his acquisitions rather than to dispose heedlessly of them. As the first anniversary of his
son's birth approaches, his father begins to observe ceremonial [785]
chastity, endeavouring to estimate the time so that its culmin-

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846 ating point shall be one year after the birth. Early on the
856 morning of this day, he takes the umbilical cord and goes far
789 into the mountains until he finds a place where the grass is
[785] matted and the earth packed, showing that a mountain goat has slept there. He digs a hole, inserts the cord in it, and covers it with stones, praying as he does so:

"Please, father! May my son be skilful, may he be successful in hunting mountain goats."

This has the effect of showing the child where these animals are to be found. The father then returns home.

Four days later he goes back to the same spot, digs up the umbilical cord, brings it home and hangs it in the doorway of the house. Should this be omitted, the child would have an intense longing to hunt in the mountains and would leave home at the first opportunity, but would be unable to return. The cord is left suspended for four days, then taken to the forest and deposited under an overhanging rock where no water can penetrate. It dries in course of time but no further attention is paid to it.

[868] A child so treated begins to hunt birds and squirrels when he is eight or ten years of age, and later follows mountain goats with obsidian-pointed arrows. This medicine has been handed
[424] down in certain families for generations. If a parent, not possessing the prerogative, wishes to have it applied to his child, he requests one who is entitled to use it to perform with his son's umbilical cord in the manner just described. He is later paid for his assistance.

A similar, though simpler medicine is for the father to take the fallen umbilical cord to the mountains immediately and bury it beneath stones where a mountain goat has been lying. Four days later he returns to the spot, digs up the cord, and brings it home, thus ensuring that the child will have no fear of the mountains and will be a successful hunter of mountain goats. In such cases it is customary for the mother to preserve her son's cord during his childhood so that he will not become careless.

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To Cause Strength

Place pieces of octopus flesh in the infant's bowl and wash him with these. This causes him to grow up with the strength of the animal. 825 856 789

To Cause Understanding of the Speech of Ravens

When a child is able to toddle, but has not learnt to talk, shut him in a box and turn this upside down. Leave him alone for four days and four nights, passing in what food is necessary during darkness.

Knowledge of this medicine was learnt from *ilkas*, a female slave born near New Westminster who was owned by the maternal grandfather of the wife of the elderly Kimsquit man from whom this information was obtained. The slave's father had treated her in this way when an infant; while so confined she had not only learnt the language of ravens, but Cowichan, her own speech, as well. *ilkas* used to tell the Kimsquit people of her ability, but few believed her, though she asserted that this was a well-known Cowichan method, and her captors had their own means of imparting the same ability to their children, as well as an ancient tradition of the practice she described. One day she informed her master that the ravens had told her of the near approach of a raiding-party. He summoned the chiefs, but they laughed at the warning and disregarded it. *ilkas* received the same intimation for four days, and on the fourth the raiders appeared and she was vindicated.

The inversion of the box is due to the belief that ravens, when bringing news, turn over upon themselves like tumbler pigeons. The Bella Coola do not know whether the box must be so tight as to hold the child upside down.

To Cause Ceremonial Intelligence

When a child is one or two years of age, paint on its back the picture of a black bear's gall-bladder. Leave this in position for four days, then wash it off secretly in a mountain stream. A child so treated will grow up with ability to perform 856 789 532

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789 ceremonial dances without making mistakes. The Bella Bella
856 paint a representation of a wolf's bladder for the same purpose.
[532] The basis of this medicine is the belief that it is the gall-
[826] bladder which causes wildness and intelligent fear, and hence
that anyone so treated will be careful not to make mistakes.
[825] A bird with a large bladder is thought to be difficult to approach, whereas a deer, which has a small one, or none at all, is often stupidly brave. This medicine is known only to the mem-
[424] bers of certain families and is used for the children of chiefs
[622] alone, since errors on the part of others is a matter of little importance.

MEDICINES OF CHILDHOOD

789 Some of the instruction given to boys and girls, and the
856 acts which they are enjoined to perform, are virtually religious,
and have accordingly been described in earlier chapters. For
771 example, when a lad washes in the river before daybreak, scours himself with a smooth stone and prays to *Alquntäm*, he is carrying out what might with justice be called a religious act. If, however, he believes that mere washing is enough to compel some desire or end, it is magical. Different Bella Coola have different sentiments concerning the exact means by which this method causes the desired effect. To some it is unquestionably a true prayer, but in other families it is customary for a father to take his son, when he has reached about eight years of age, and wash him four times, to the accompaniment of the usual prayer. It is believed that this causes the lad to grow up powerful and active, constantly striving for success. This type of washing may be called magical.

789 In the following there is no element of uncertainty; they
856 belong unquestionably to the category described in the preceding section.

To Cause Agility

The following medicine is frequently employed by fathers when their sons are first able to walk:

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Kill a squirrel, clean it, wash the entrails carefully and leave them hanging in the sun to dry for four days, then tie them around the child's stomach for four days more. It is important that the infant should not break the string. On the fourth day, remove them and hang them in the doorway of the house. On this same day, another squirrel must be killed, treated as before, and its viscera allowed to dry for four days. The child wears these in the same way for four days, when they too are hung in the doorway. A third squirrel, and finally a fourth, is killed and made use of in precisely the same manner. When the final set of entrails has been hung up, the four are left suspended for four days, till the twenty-eighth after the killing of the first animal, when the father takes them to the forest and deposits them beneath some projecting rock where no water can penetrate and where they will dry and keep indefinitely. 825 789 856

This causes the child to grow up endowed, like the squirrel, with agility so that he can scale even precipitous mountains. This medicine is frequently used in conjunction with one for hunting ability.

To Cause Easy Delivery [843]

Place the foetus of a porcupine against the back of a girl's neck and allow it to drop to the ground. Pick it up, replace it, and let it fall again. This is repeated four times while the person says:

"Please, may she be like you and have no trouble in giving birth."

This medicine can be used at any time before puberty.

To Cause Bravery (four means)

(1) When a grizzly bear has been shot, a lad who wishes to make himself brave approaches it and thrusts his arm down the dying animal's throat. This kills it by choking. Then he rubs his hand over his heart and the back of his neck, the seat [774]

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825 789 856 [774]

of the spirit, which imparts to himself the courage and strength of the animal he has just slain.

(2) When a grizzly bear has been killed and skinned, the bloody pelt is wrapped around a lad whose parents wish him to be brave. He is lashed in securely and the bundle, attached to a long rope, is thrown into the rapids. After a few minutes, it is drawn ashore, but immediately thrown in again. This is repeated four times. This medicine causes the child to have the courage of a grizzly bear. It is said that the first youth to whom this was applied rescued his mother from slavery among the Tsimshian.

This treatment is usually applied to boys of from three to five years of age.

(3) When a grizzly bear has been killed and skinned, two lads, whose parents wish them to be brave, are called. They are told to crouch on their hands and knees and while in this position the pelt is thrown over their backs. They crawl to and fro for a few minutes while dogs are encouraged to bark and growl at the "animal." The skin is then removed and the two sent to wash in the river. They are called back and the whole rite repeated a second time, followed by a third and a fourth application, with washing in every case. This gives them the bravery of grizzly bears.

This medicine can be used at any time before the holding of sexual intercourse.

(4) When an octopus has been killed, a lad is placed within the freshly removed skin. Those present say:

"Please, may he be like you, afraid of nothing."

The skin is removed and the lad sent to wash in the river. The rite is repeated four times which gives him the bravery of an octopus. Like the last, this medicine is not potent for one who has held sexual intercourse.

To Cause Ability in River Work

Fasten a boy in the freshly removed skin of a beaver and throw the bundle into the river. Lift it out when it has gone

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beneath the surface, and throw it in a second time. Repeat this four times. If the wrapping has been carefully fastened, little water leaks in and the child suffers no discomfort. This causes him to grow up confident and brave with regard to canoeing and every kind of activity on the river. Like the last medicine, this is not potent for one who has held sexual intercourse. It cannot be applied to a girl since beaver are unfavourable to women who must observe many taboos concerning them. 825 789 856

To Cause Modesty and Respect for One's Elders

When a boy is about six or eight years of age, his father beats him lightly, four times, with a rope-end. This is done in the early morning, then he takes his son to wash immediately. Four days later the beating and washing are repeated. From this time on, a parent should whip his son four times every fourth morning until he is old enough to marry. The force of the chastisements increases as the lad grows older, so that when he is about fourteen years of age, he is beaten with the full force of his parent's arm. It is a point of honour for a lad to endure his whippings without whimpering; one who shows the pain he is suffering is laughed at by his fellows and not allowed to wash with them. This medicine makes a child strong, manly, respectful to his elders, and, generally, the type of individual to whom supernatural beings are likely to show favour. 789 856 [152]

This practice has long been discontinued and it was impossible to learn whether or not it had ever been carried out with full vigour. Several of the older men stated that in their childhood they had been beaten periodically by their fathers, but none had had this last over a period of years. It was claimed that such had been the case in earlier times, but it seems almost certain that this type of chastisement could never have been carried out regularly. During the winter, for example, when *kusiut* dances were taking place, the whole community used to sleep late and it is improbable that a father rose every fourth [178]

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789 morning to whip his son. It is clear, however, that such was
856 regarded as proper by anyone practising this medicine, even though few did so regularly.

MEDICINES APPLIED TO YOUNG DOGS

789 *To Cause Ability in Hunting*

231 When a bear has been killed and the first incision made for skinning it, take a puppy, force its head inside the opening, and rub it to and fro. Throw the animal into the river and when it has swum ashore, repeat the rite. If this act is repeated four times, the dog will grow up to be a good hunter.

To Cause Ability in Hunting Beaver

Wrap the puppy in the freshly removed skin of a beaver and throw it into the river to the accompaniment of hand-clapping from as many as happen to be present. After submersion for a few moments, remove the bundle and throw it in again. Repeat this twice more. This makes the dog grow up unafraid of water and, accordingly, useful in hunting beaver.

To Cause Disregard of Musket Shots

Lay some black powder at the nose of a sleeping puppy and ignite it. The dog will grow up without fear of musket shots.

To Cause Keen Scent

Slit any kind of salmon so that the liver is exposed and hold the puppy with its nose immediately over this. Make an incision in the tip so that the blood flows freely on to the organ of the salmon. Hold the animal until flies have gathered from all directions to feast upon the fish and fresh blood.

The dog will grow up with the ability to locate game in any direction, just as flies gather wherever there is blood. He will also have their ability to travel without requiring a path. One
[424] old man stated that this medicine was the property of an ancestral family, and should be used when a puppy is one month old.

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"Someone is calling your name." 827

If a man stumbles without due cause, it is said: 481
"Someone has food ready for you."

When a man partly closes his hand, if a wrinkle-like fold 787
runs straight across the palm it indicates that he is a good 322
carpenter.

If a mouse nibbles even a single smoked salmon, the whole 825
boxful is thrown away immediately in case dung has been
dropped within. It is believed that inadvertent chewing of [826]
this is responsible for wearing down the teeth.

If a man throws a stone at a pregnant snake, the young ones
may rush forth and enter the thrower's stomach. They remain [761]
invisible, and no one knows how they enter, but death always
results. Snakes are regarded with scorn and aversion, and the [756]
only men who dare to handle them are shamans.

When a milk tooth is lost, anyone who happens to be pre- 856
sent should pick it up, pass it four times around the child's 827
head, sunwise, and throw it away. No explanation of this
custom is known.[10]

[10] This is not the only custom practised at the loss of a tooth, cf. vol. I, p. 500.

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E

ełxza or *ełxzał·i:* Medicine; generic term for all remedies of a magical or medicinal nature. [278]
e·m: Coitus, term in common usage.
emts: Nephew or niece. [601]

ł

łłmals: Ancestral name of a *Snuile·tł* man.
'ełłałän·a: Daughter of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
ełłałłaikila: Moon, semi-anthropomorphized.

H

hai·ɔlakila: 1—Bella Bella term, commonly used in Bella Coola, for *sisaok* official
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
haidäl: Type of sea-going canoe used by the Haida; the word may be a corruption from English.
Hai·le·kela: Man who descended to the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
Hän·o: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
haohao: Mythical, supernatural bird. [825]
Hamcıt: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwlst* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Ẓwiyai* in the beginning of time.
hɔli: Penis.
hoip: Call used by members of the *kasiut* society to strengthen their fellow-members.

I

ikw': Pounded cedar-bark, undyed. [824]
ilaix: Zigzag course up or down a mountain slope.
Ilaiẓäl: *Twalałłit*'s dog.
Iliimai·s: One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
ildustas dia sxim: Bandage of undyed cedar-bark placed around an infant's head to produce cranial deformation. [856]
ildutsam, Bandages: Term applied to presents distributed as validation for the bitings of a self-Cannibal. [431]
ilk: One of the *fritillariae*.
imałłndjutqwłsan: Abbreviated rite of *Noäkymm* dance.
imänta: Nest.
I'mäsilak: *Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Imimałłnaix, "The Mooter": Male supernatural child who fattens *Noäkymm*'s craft.
ipamp, "Hold Him Down": Cry used in Cannibal dances.
ipa—ł—l, "Accept": Said to spring salmon during the ritual connected with the first taking of these fish. [226]
ipałzsutsmm: Alleged singing of a *sisaok* initiate's song by the supernatural being, *Mułakila*.
ipo'le·smm: Reduction of the value of an investment-present by immediate return of part of it. [426]
i·płs: Moss. [824]
ismłnusamkdim: Polyandry.

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Nuswin·ämx, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

nuswinäsla: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige. [578]

Nusx: 1—Barren district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, *adjective.*

Nusxalxiq: Tal·io bird hunter.

Nusxemda: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tąl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqäläxl* in the beginning of time.
3—Ball of the universe which, when broken, released the sun. [772]

Nusxemtaiän·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Alqäläxl* in the beginning of time.

Nusxeq: 1—(Probably) "The Place of Barrenness": Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.

nusxi'ipsta: Repository, archaic term.

nusxwan·ä·nutnam: The assumption of a name upon earth. [431]

nusxwohmxelta, "Things to Sweep the Floor With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage. [585]

nusxwo·ąsta: Wooden dish used for washing an infant. [415]

nusxwiläntom: Abstinence from acts of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine. [785]

nulaikim: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient. [756]

Nuisodaxw': Name of a celebrated shaman.

Nulam: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.

Nulsl, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.

nuicuxmm: Alteration of a dance from *susook* to *kusiut.* [825]

nuikälxita: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck.

nuilälälsmtmm, "A Drying-Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband. [586]

nuilälälsmam: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion. [431]

Nulleax, "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.

Nuthoqel: Totem-pole of the first settlers at *Nusqalit* in the beginning of time.

nuthunält: Parents of twins. [845]

nutsaqmax: Wolf. [825]

Nulsäthmais: Mythical house in the sky.

Nulsaymäls: One of the names of the supreme god's house.

nutsiakem: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Tlitcaplilän·a* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *nulaikim.* [756]

nulsiaynam: A creation of new *kusiut* names, such as is necessitated by a disaster, or at the will of a mighty chief. [553]

nulsiäxlm: Kusiotem rite in which the performer pretends to swallow hot stones.

nulskexwam: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to heralds by a person splashed in Otter dance. [431]
2—Presents given by guests at a potlatch to their host and his associates.

nulsqosa, "The Face Maker": Name given to a woman who paints upon the bandages used to produce cranial deformation in an infant. [856]

Nutsqmäli, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kimsquit village.

Nulwimäx: Kusiut name of a *Tsimsili* man.

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754 The beneficial purposes include: making a child grow up to
789 be a good dancer, industrious, a swift berry picker, or a strong
man; curing lung trouble; making the river erode where wanted;
856 and two ways of stopping rain. The injurious purposes include:
two ways of making a person grow up to be a thief; the causing
of craziness and quarrelsomeness and the three ways of causing
death.

754 The materials and actions used include: ashes of aspen leaves;
789 a dead toad, used with hair, with a red cedar bark face wiper,
and with lost pieces of thimble berry shoots which were acciden-
824 tally dropped while being eaten; ashes of a yellow jacket's nest;
825 a living raven with phlegm; beaver paws, in two instances; a skin
bracelet from a beaver's foreleg; a dead wood-rat; a dead mouse;
a grizzly bear's skin; a living red squirrel with a bit of apron
fringe; setting fire to a wood-rat's house; and poking an ant hill.

789 To make a person a good dancer the ashes of the burned leaves
of the aspen or trembling poplar were said to be useful, but
856 Joshua said this may have been a joke. The Bellacoola Indians
824 say the leaves dance. They never say that they tremble. When
535 a baby was born, if the parents talked about it and the father
desired that the baby grow up to be a good dancer, the mother
or father got the leaves, burned them and put the ashes on the
baby's hands, knees and elbows. When telling of this Joshua
held his hands with the finger tips up and moved them as the
Bellacoola do in dancing. Both rich and poor men danced.

789 A baby girl would grow up to be industrious, it was believed,
825 if the warm limbs of a recently dead beaver were applied to her.
856 The Bellacoola apparently observed the great industry of the
beaver.

To make a baby girl grow up to be a fast berry-picking woman, the ring of skin from between two cuts around a beaver's foreleg was put on her wrist and was left on until it wore off.

To make a boy grow up to be a strong man, a skin of the grizzly bear, was thrown over him, generally by his father.

755 For phlegm on the lungs, more permanent than a simple cold,
825 the patient expectorated in something and some one secretly
mixed the fresh phlegm with salmon eggs and put the mixture

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out for the ravens to eat. This was done four times, and if a raven ate it, the patient recovered, according to Captain Schooner's belief. As the call of the raven sounds somewhat like a person affected with phlegm in the throat, this may be a case of sympathetic magic, at any rate it is one of witchcraft. 755 825 [754]

To make the river erode at a certain place in order to break a log jam, a beaver's foot was buried in each of several spots in the place. 789 825

A continuous rain would cease, and the sun would come out, it was said, if the people set fire to a wood-rat's house.

When it rained too much the Bellacoola Indians poked down an ant hill and said, "Give us warm sunshine." They believed this would bring results, but now that Joshua is a Christian he says he does not believe it and says it is useless play talk.

Bad boys or girls, but not adults, would take a dead mouse, warm it over a fire, and rub the warmed mouse on the hands of a baby. This made the baby steal when it grew up. The so-called stealing habits of the mouse were supposed to be transferred to the child. 754 856 825

The still warm body of a freshly killed wood-rat was used in the same way to make a baby, boy or girl, "crazy," and grow up to be a constant thief. The notorious habits of the wood-rat, as well as those of the mouse, were evidently well recognized by the Bellacoola.

To make people crazy, the red squirrel had to be properly used by a shaman and then it possessed strong power. One woman who had been made crazy in this way died in 1887. She did not like the shaman and he did not like her. He stole her apron. She was sorry. He took it into the forest and performed witchcraft because he wanted to spoil her life by making her crazy. He caught a red squirrel alive, possibly in a little basket. He had a box called a "bad box," in which he kept his things of evil power. He put some of the fringe of her apron around the red squirrel and let it run far away. The woman then became crazy and sometimes fell down, but part of the time she seemed well. My Indian informant, Joshua, had seen her. This example of sympathetic 754 756 825

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754
756 magic probably originated from observng the many very erratic
825 and apparently purposeless movements of the red squirrel.

754 When one wished to cause the child of one's enemy to grow
825 up to be a quarrelsome person, a yellowjacket's nest was burned
856 and the ashes were rubbed on the face hands, and arms of the child. When the child grew up, it was believed, he or she would fight with everyone. The yellow jacke's natural defense of it's nest is interpreted as quarrelsome, even by white people.

754 The toad was a powerful medicine for the bad box used in
825 witchcraft.

To make a man or woman die of caziness, one of the hairs of the person's head was put in the bodycavity of a disemboweled toad.

[515] To make a person's face swell and siperate until death came,
[825] the little pieces of softened red cedar bark used to clean the person's face were put in the body cavity of a disemboweled toad. The idea underlying this was probably the reproduction of the warts of the toad on the face of the person.

[824] To make a person die, a piece of the young shoot of a thimble berry, lost by that person while eating, was put in the mouth of a toad. Death was supposed to take place in half an hour.

754 One very old man, Judas by name boasts of having killed seven people by means of his bad box used in witchcraft, especially of having caused the death of Mr. John Clayton, who was the first white man to remain long in this area, having kept the Hudson's Bay store at Bella Coola, and later a store of his own, but who died far away from Bella Coola in 1909.

Mrs. Samuel King who died in 1922 was said to have been poisoned by Willie Mack. Her father, Captain Schooner, was said to have stated that Willie would die in July on the anniversary of her death. Willie Mack died in the summer of 1923. Captain Schooner died a few days later. He was said to understand malevolent witchcraft thoroughly. It was said that people often cut off the collars of Willie Mack's shirts. Willie Mack's father was too great a chief so that people were ashamed, and consequently killed Willie by means of witchcraft with something in a bad box.

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855 well, and these are soon learnt by the child who is fortunate
[867] enough to have many kinsmen. Primarily, responsibility rests with the parents for the care and support of their offspring, but they have the advice, assistance, and material aid of their relatives. Nor are these limited to the near kindred of either father or mother; all members of the ancestral family take their part. Housemates, also, even if unrelated, take an interest in any child who shares their habitation, irrespective of his rank.

Much of the care bestowed on children is of a magical nature and must be reserved until a later chapter. Little boys
868 follow their fathers on hunting expeditions and so acquire knowledge by practical experience, as do girls from their mothers with regard to household tasks and feminine occupations.
867 Even small children are quick to notice the attention paid to the orders of chiefs, and carry out their commands without demur. A disobedient child is beaten or thrown into cold
861 water; the parents usually act in such cases, though a near relative does not hesitate to do so, especially if he is a chief.
857 Like all other children, Bella Coola boys and girls are fond of
867 stories and listen eagerly to the tales told in the long evenings by some old man or woman. Many of these are somewhat
538 obscene, but they serve to teach much ancient lore, and at the same time to emphasize many taboos and restrictions which are thus assimilated without definite schooling. They illus-
[626] trate the laws of morality, as does the public disapproval shown to anyone who infringes some point of etiquette or behaviour.
[825] If a child makes fun of a cat-fish or a bull-head, he is not told to stop doing so; instead, one of his elders tells him how, in the distant past, there was a famine, and advises him not to scoff at the fish which alone saved his ancestors from starvation at that time. If a rude little boy laughs at a maimed or deformed
[732] man, he is told of *Ałäläls*, a Bella Bella urchin who repeatedly mocked a one-eyed man and presently, himself, lost the sight of an eye.

867 "Don't laugh at cripples, blind people, or those who are
[735]

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in former times. *Sklsa* might almost be called the Bella Coola national game, although it is now (1923) seldom played. 526 [172]

A game with somewhat similar rules is *sqwlaiäk*, played with small wooden spears tipped with bone. When a number of men or boys decide to play, they choose two captains who in turn select their teams; any number can take part, provided that the sides are equal, but five each is usual. There is a special name for each player according to his position, and he bets against the corresponding member of the other team. A mark is set up, and one of the captains throws his spear, so that it will stick upright in the ground as near the target as possible. The rival leader endeavours to beat this, and if he fails, his second man throws, and each in succession until one comes closer to the goal than the rival captain. Then the latter's number two tries to beat the last thrower, followed by those on his own side until one succeeds or till all have thrown. The game thus ends when all of one side have thrown unsuccessfully. The winning side is, of course, the one to which belongs the player whose throw is nearest the target. Each member of the losing team pays his wager to his adversary and a second round is begun. 526 525

The sport is now rarely indulged in, but in former times games used to continue all day, and valuables were lost in the gambling which was considered to be a necessary part of it. Men used to observe ceremonial chastity to increase their chances of success and the expert was regarded with admiration by younger lads. The crack team of a village often used to visit other towns to compete against their representatives, and the games were contested amid frenzied excitement on the part of the supporters. This occasionally led to serious fighting. [785] [554] [628] [578]

Another sport of a similar type is archery; a mark is set up and each competitor tries to lodge his arrow as close to it as possible. This game has now entirely lost favour, the young men preferring a type of football played without strict attention to rules, but with great energy. 526

Bella Coola children, too, have their games and recreations, many of them of an imitative nature. Little boys enjoy nothing 857

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857 better than hunting birds and small animals with miniature bows and arrows, or snaring them in nooses of grass or string. Little girls make playhouses in which they cook wonderful meals of berries, with perhaps the addition of a wooden fish. On the whole, however, the children do not enter into play as boisterously as white boys and girls, nor do they seem to derive as much pleasure from it. In former times, when clothing was [152] scanty, small lads used to delight in picking nettles and beating [291] one another with the stinging branches; this must have caused considerable pain, but it was a point of honour not to cry out, and anyone, perhaps caught unaware, who showed discomfort, [526] was laughed at as a coward. Both boys and girls are fond of swinging, and even adult women sometimes find time to enjoy themselves by swaying to and fro at the end of a rope.

Young Bella Coola do not have as many toys as white children, and none of them is complex. Some girls have crude [575] wooden dolls, though elaborate figurines are reserved for use [231] in *kusiut* dances. Perhaps the most cherished plaything is a small puppy or, in recent years, a kitten, though the unfortunate animal is handled and mauled without consideration. A good carpenter may make for his son a wooden top or a bull-roarer, to the envy of his less fortunate friends. Both types of toys are said to be used in [575] *Nusmät·a* and at some *kusiut* dances the masked figures carry them to play with.

526 There is one game, *sleli*, which the salmon are [825] said to delight to watch, and which is accordingly played by boys as soon as the first spring salmon have been disposed of with fitting rites. Each makes for himself, or is given by his father, a wooden spear with a projecting barb, fastened as shown in the accompanying sketch (see Fig. 2). A loop of branches is made and thrown into a pool of stagnant, or slow-moving water, on each side of which stands a rival group of competitors. At a signal, all throw their spears simultaneously, with the intention of passing them through the ring, so that the barb of each will

FIG. 2. "Toy spear."

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*556 Although guests from different tribes are sometimes invited
574 to other ceremonials, it is at potlatches that they are essential.
Since the validity of such transactions as marriages, divorces,
[203] or the assumption of professional prerogatives depends on the
presence of witnesses, and since the importance of such a rite
depends on the number of witnesses, a man is always eager to
carry out any public performance at a potlatch when he is sure
of the attention of foreigners, and the consequent wider dif-
fusion of knowledge of what he has done. The man who has
invited guests is usually willing to allow others to perform at
his potlatch, since it increases the complexity and importance
[184] of the affair. It follows that no two potlatches are alike; one
will contain features entirely lacking in another. Moreover,
the wealth of the donor determines how many rites he himself
will cause to be performed. The fundamental concept of the
potlatch is the inviting of guests from abroad to witness rites
[769] in connection with an ancestral myth, especially the return of
a recently deceased relative of the donor to visit the living.

*556 At any important potlatch the following rites are carried
796 out, and in the account of the ritual it will be assumed that
these alone are taking place. If the reader bears this summary
in mind, he is less likely to be confused by the complication of
rites.

(1) The return of a dead ancestor to visit the living.

[575] (2) The initiation of young men or women into the *sisaok*
[553] society. This includes the validation of a *sisaok* name for each,
and a period of seclusion in the back-room. The initiates may
either be relatives of the donor of the potlatch, or young persons
whose relatives are taking the opportunity to carry out the
rite in the presence of foreigners. Some of the initiates may
already be members of the society, undergoing a further period
of seclusion in order to increase their status by a further dis-
tribution of presents.

[554] (3) The payment by the wife of the donor and her family
[858] of goods to "rebuy" her from her husband. This is a legal
[583] fiction, though necessary to maintain the status of the children.

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the most *human* of all substances, and, therefore, a potent 826
protection against supernatural beings. It is valuable as a 841
defence against evil monsters, but it is equally deadly to 789
shamans and other human beings with supernatural powers.
In the distant past, Raven taught mankind that to sleep with a 834
menstruating woman would so blind a man that he would be 841
unsuccessful in hunting. The belief is that animals, knowing [773]
everything that takes place, avoid one who is so unclean. One [825]
old man mentioned that he had failed to obey this injunction
and considered his loss of virility as a punishment, overlooking
the fact that he was over seventy years of age.

The coming of adolescence in a boy is recognized by change 881
in voice and the other usual indications. He is neither taboo
nor unclean, and consequently does not have to undergo any
restrictions on his actions. There is no ceremony to mark the
entry of a youth into adult membership of the tribe; instead,
this comes gradually and puberty is no more than an indi-
cation of increasing age and strength.

Marriage

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola 581
regard the married state as the normal condition of man.
Anyone unwilling to wed is considered unnatural. Since the 589
number of the sexes is approximately equal, the only persons
forced to live alone are elderly widows and widowers, and those [732]
crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are
looked upon as unfortunate; in fact, they have failed in one
of the most fundamental of life's struggles. Man provides fish 581
and game, builds houses and canoes, while woman collects
berries, makes baskets, cooks, and performs the multitudinous [462]
small household tasks.

"Is it not to the benefit of each to marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is not a mere economic arrangement, nor is its
sole function to regulate relations between the sexes. Its most
important feature is that it governs the status of the child. [858]

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581 Confidently believing that he has descended from ancestors
[858] who came to this earth in the beginning of time, a Bella Coola wishes to have his children firmly established in the path of his forbears. This can be accomplished only with the aid of a suitable mother. It follows that marriage is not primarily a matter of affection, but of the ancestral eligibility of the contracting parties.

CHOICE OF MATE

584 Since the initiative for marriage is taken by the man in
581 almost all cases, it will be convenient and proper to describe the factors which enter into the search for a wife, remembering that the converse govern the decision of the woman and her relatives. The choice of the woman who is to be the mother of the children who will carry on the traditions of the ancestral family is a matter of too great importance to be entrusted to any young person. Accordingly, while their son is yet a child, his parents often discuss who would be a suitable wife for him. They view the matter from a strictly business standpoint.
581 Proud of their own ancient lineage, they would not demean themselves by allowing their son to marry a girl who could not trace her ancestry back to the first people, or with one whose forbears had disgraced themselves by marriage with slaves. Instead, it is a matter of pride for parents to have as daughter-in-law the child of a powerful chief. Nor can they choose a
582 woman too closely related to their son. Marriage with a sister, an aunt, a niece, or any first cousin is strictly prohibited. No reason for these laws could be obtained; the Bella Coola consider that it would be "indecent" or unclean so to marry, but have theorized no further about the matter. An adopted child
[597] is regarded in the same light as an own child. The Bella Coola
829 know, and are amused by, the regulation of marriage according
[171] to crests among the northern tribes, but practise nothing of the same nature themselves. In fact, marriages usually take place among those who are descended from one ancestor and who have, accordingly, the same crest, though the significance

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556 584 [535] [575]

dances in time to it. Using their own discretion, the musicians proceed to beat out the time for *kusiut* after *kusiut*, and each performs. In like fashion they then beat out the tune of one *susaok* after another, and each member of that society gives his dance. Since none of the supernatural beings is present, the affair is non-sacred. The singers consult with the host as to the number of songs to be used. When they stop at last, X's father, aided by his younger relatives, gives valuable presents [583] of food. No mention of the coming marriage is made, but the rite gives the donor an opportunity of displaying his generosity as a chief and indirectly increases the importance of the wedding because the value of the food will later be remembered in connection with it.

If X's father is very wealthy, he may recall the people for several nights, always providing the same type of entertainment, and always giving food. He uses his own judgment as to the number of such entertainments, but at that which he decides shall be the last, he announces:

"Tomorrow we shall go to Y's father's house."

If X's father does not wish to give away such large quantities of food he may omit the dancing in his own house and make this announcement at a potlatch, a *kusiut* dance,[1] or any other public gathering. But the more elaborate the ceremonial, the greater is the importance of the marriage in the eyes of the Bella Coola, which in turn increases the strength of the children [858] who may result from it.

583 584

On the morning after this declaration, X's father calls to his house those whom he wishes to be witnesses of the alliance that has been planned. These include as many of his relatives and those of his wife as he desires, and often intimate friends. These individuals comprise the group interested, on behalf of X, in the marriage; they provide the goods which are given for him, and receive the presents from the corresponding group of Y's relatives. Anyone having the necessary financial ability

[1]This is probably a recent innovation.

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than the presents just given by X's relatives, though occasionally they may exceed them. Y's father, or a herald, or an eloquent friend on his behalf, speaks to the following effect: 583 584

"Be bold. Henceforth you will have to work a very long time for us. We will let you know when we need your services."

The significance of this speech lies in the fact that X, and to a certain extent his relatives, are expected to perform almost menial tasks for Y's father during the period of engagement, which has now been duly ratified. X's father and his followers now leave Y's house. It is immaterial whether or not X and Y themselves have been present. It is important that this formal acknowledgment of the engagement should take place during the day; otherwise any children resulting from the marriage could be shamed by having it said to them: "Your parents were not married in the open light of day." [858]

For a varying length of time X now acts almost as a servant to Y's father. He does not live with her family, but he cuts wood, draws water, and performs other menial tasks. Whenever a member of X's family gives a ceremony, he takes care to give lavish presents to Y's relatives. If it is impossible to hold a sacred rite, X's father is at least expected to invite Y's family to a ceremonial feast, and also to share with them any game that he may kill. Meanwhile, X and Y are not subject to any restrictions as to seeing each other. In theory if they should cohabit it would "spoil" the engagement, but in most cases when this occurs, as it often does, the matter is simply hushed up. [836]

Children whose parents were long engaged are said to be "heavy"; their entry into life having been prepared with careful thought and due ceremony, so that their limbs are clear to travel with success to the position of chief. When such a child is born, the relatives are eager to call their fellow-villagers to confer a name soon after birth, and the infant starts life with this advantage. There is no specific length of time for engagements; if X and Y are the children of influential chiefs, the 584 [858] [553]

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584 as soon as possible. Though strictly legal, and commonly practised even long ago, this is not considered a desirable preliminary, since the children lack the strength which would have been theirs if their parents had been long engaged. In recent 178 years the custom of short engagements has become popular, 584 though the older Bella Coola feel resentment, saying that the woman is simply "bought" with goods or money at the actual wedding. The return of such sums in due course does not compensate for the omission of the lengthy period of engagement. A few years ago a powerful chief even "bought" husbands for his grand-daughters. His influence was so great that by bestowing large sums on the families of the youths they accepted the young women as wives. The girls in question were desirable in every way, according to Bella Coola standards, but by marrying without a long engagement and suitable presents the husbands, and their families, failed to live up to the dignity of their ancestry. These are breakings down of the ancient rites, and as such are lamented by the older people.

583 Sometimes, despite the wishes of their parents, a boy and 584 girl announce their desire to marry by living together. After much storming, the parents usually decide to make the best of a bad business by performing the marriage rites as soon as possible and by lavish expenditure on them to lessen the impediment placed against the future offspring by lack of long engagement of their parents. But such a child can never be [858] called an *ālqim*, which has the significance of something good that has long been sought for, such as a smoothed-grained tree that carpenters like. It will thus be seen that the marriage ceremony must be carried out, irrespective of whether or not it has been preceded by a lengthy period of engagement in which the first proposal was made by the boy's family, by a shorter one in which the girl's family took the initiative, or by no period of engagement whatever. These rites can now be described.

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588 mate object. Bella Coola financiers are always seeking to
556 arrange such undertakings; the potlatch is the culminating point, but the same principle pervades their whole life.

It is to the advantage of the intending donor of a potlatch to become the fictitious husband of as many children as possible. Accordingly he sometimes take the initial step, as is customary for the relatives of the husband in real marriage, but not in ceremonial. In such a case it is necessary for him to offer some inducement, perhaps in the form of one of the few women's names brought to earth in the beginning of time. He approaches a suitable father-in-law, suggesting that at a fictitious marriage he would be willing to give his wife a noble woman's name. If this is agreeable, the rite is carried out accordingly. The wife is in many cases a son of the person to
[551] whom the proposal was made; he duly receives a woman's name, the only circumstance under which this is possible. The actual designation will probably be returned through many repurchasings, but the boy has reached an enviable position. In later years he can always silence a person with whom he is quarrelling by saying:

"I need not answer you. You cannot even approach my body, so thickly am I padded with the goods which my father used when he rebought me."

556 Another business transaction of a similar nature is the
608 giving of a small infant to an old person to "hold." This ap-
858 pears to be uncommon, and the only instance about which information was available occurred under the following circumstances:

A man and a woman were married with full ceremony and the best of feelings prevailed between the two families. The wife was several times rebought until she and her relatives had fully maintained their dignity, in fact the relations of the husband felt that they were being out-shone. Then the wife's father died. To mark their sympathy, the husband's family gave the widow one of her daughter's children to "hold." Valuable non-returnable presents were transmitted as "soft

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blankets" for the child. The advantages to the donors were that they had an opportunity of showing their dignity, and it would always be a mark of pride for the child to be able to boast of the way in which she had been "held." 556 608 858

Ceremonial marriage clearly demonstrates two strong Bella Coola characteristics; namely, the desire publicly to enter into financial undertakings to demonstrate the wealth of the contracting party, and the desire to increase the prestige of children by means of this wealth expended indirectly on their behalf.

EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

Although the Bella Coola do not regard marriage primarily as a means of regulating relations between the sexes, yet the connection between the two is sufficiently close to warrant description in this chapter. A man considers intercourse as one of the normal phenomena of life: by marrying he has exclusive rights to his wife, but few moral restraints deter him from anyone else to whom he can gain access without infringing the prerogatives of some other husband. Moreover, sexual intercourse is not regarded solely as a gratification of desires; it has a significance which can be described, not inaptly, as holy. As already explained, two favourite methods of obtaining success in any undertaking are by preserving lengthy continence or by observing ceremonial chastity. If a young unmarried man or widower should wish to make use of this latter means, he is compelled to have relations with a woman to whom he has no just claims. This is universally recognized, nor is there the slightest odium attached to the man. The only essential is that he neither violate another's wife, nor force a young girl against her will. 551 831 897

At the present time there is great laxity in Bella Coola, a condition which makes it difficult to judge the state of affairs in former times. Every effort was made to obtain satisfactory evidence, and the following was verified and re-verified with the older men. [128]

A wife, properly married with full ceremony, was usually 837 839

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and back of the head, preventing a bulging appearance which is considered ugly, while the paintings ensure beauty of countenance. Cranial deformation has no supernatural sanction, though it is believed to have been carried out for generations. 304 789 856 [532] [826]

To Cause Leanness

Place pieces of caribou skin on an infant's wrists and ankles and leave them in position for several months. He will grow up lean and wiry, like the animal. 789 856 [825]

To Cause Left-handedness

Shake the left hand of an infant while lying in the cradle and he will be left-handed throughout life. To do this is considered a malevolent action.

To Cause the Hair to Grow (two means)

(1) Rub the infant's scalp with the eye of a *Hakmlk* (red cod?), freshly removed from the fish's head. [825]

(2) Boil stems of the swamp gooseberry in water and rub the mixture over the infant's scalp. [824]

Wise mothers always apply one or other of these remedies to their children.

To Cause Ability in Singing (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good singer to impart to him ability similar to his own. He takes his beating-stick, spits on it, and rubs it over the child's heart, saying: 533 789 856

"Please be a singer."

This is done only for male children. [858]

(2) Boil together herbs and a bear's bladder and smear the decoction on the infant's back. He must thenceforth wear around his neck for several months a small sack containing four blue grouse gall-bladders (possibly stones from the crop were meant). This gives the child the singing ability of the bird, but the significance of the bear bladder is unknown. [825]

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To Cause Ability in Understanding the Speech of Ravens 825

It is well known that when ravens croak, they are really 856
speaking, but their language is unintelligible except to one who 789
has learnt it by means of a medicine. One of these is the following:

Catch a raven alive and cut a small piece of flesh from its body, beneath the left wing, taking care not to kill the bird. Release it, after having fed the morsel to the child. An infant so treated will grow up able to learn from ravens of the approach of raiding parties, storms, visitors, and all other news which they constantly circulate in their loud calling. It is said that the last person so endowed was the father of a Kimsquit man about forty years of age in 1922. His ability lasted throughout childhood but he lost it through infraction of a taboo.

The following medicines are used between the ages of one and two: 304

To Cause Long Life 789

One year after birth, holes are pierced through the lobes of 856
the ears and the nasal septum. In the beginning of time, 886
Alqwtäm told the forefathers of the Bella Coola that if this were not done, the boy or girl would die young.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

When the umbilical cord of a female infant falls, her father 846
places it within the knot-hole of a tree, where it is protected 856
from rain but where it rots and is forgotten. A boy's is pre- 789
served with care. The parents wrap it in soft goat's wool and
place it in the box where the father keeps his most cherished [858]
possessions; this causes the child to be careful, and to grow up with a tendency to treasure his acquisitions rather than to dispose heedlessly of them. As the first anniversary of his
son's birth approaches, his father begins to observe ceremonial [785]
chastity, endeavouring to estimate the time so that its culmin-

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in dances. In front of most houses rises a short totem-pole,[9] either pierced for the doorway, or standing on the opposite side of the sidewalk. [211] [778]

The Family

It is probably no exaggeration to say that in every part of the world the most important social unit is the family. It certainly is among the Bella Coola, yet its lack of definite social obligations makes it difficult to define. Reduced to minimum size, the family consists of a man, his wife, or wives, and his children. Such a unit occupies one of the bedrooms of a large house, and it is to such a family that an infant automatically belongs at birth. Disregarding for the moment ceremonial obligations, which are shared by others, it is the father and mother who are responsible largely for the upbringing of the child. Such education as he receives comes from them, with the assistance of members of the ancestral family. This is chiefly imitative; a boy, as he increases in strength, follows his father on hunting expeditions or fishing. The mother teaches her daughters how to make baskets, and they follow her when she gathers berries, or when she cooks and performs household duties. The Bella Coola are fond of children, in many cases to the extent of over-indulging them, and they grow up amid the open life of the large houses, absorbing information of all kinds without being aware of so doing.

594 [851] 594 868 855 861

Only two kinds of functional training need be mentioned. A wise father carefully trains his sons to remember their debts (I, p. 369), and the method of teaching ancient myths has already been described; otherwise there is little direct instruction. On the other hand, parents devote great care to furnishing their children with every possible means of strengthening their supernatural elements on which success depends. These can

594 869

[9]Since the Bella Coola believe that totem-poles were used by their ancestors in early times, they are included in this description of a village, without reference to their development in post-European times. This account is compiled from descriptions given by elderly informants; it is inevitable, therefore, that changes due to European contact may be included. [177]

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855 well, and these are soon learnt by the child who is fortunate
[867] enough to have many kinsmen. Primarily, responsibility rests with the parents for the care and support of their offspring, but they have the advice, assistance, and material aid of their relatives. Nor are these limited to the near kindred of either father or mother; all members of the ancestral family take their part. Housemates, also, even if unrelated, take an interest in any child who shares their habitation, irrespective of his rank.

Much of the care bestowed on children is of a magical nature and must be reserved until a later chapter. Little boys
868 follow their fathers on hunting expeditions and so acquire knowledge by practical experience, as do girls from their mothers with regard to household tasks and feminine occupations.
867 Even small children are quick to notice the attention paid to the orders of chiefs, and carry out their commands without demur. A disobedient child is beaten or thrown into cold
861 water; the parents usually act in such cases, though a near relative does not hesitate to do so, especially if he is a chief.
857 Like all other children, Bella Coola boys and girls are fond of
867 stories and listen eagerly to the tales told in the long evenings by some old man or woman. Many of these are somewhat
538 obscene, but they serve to teach much ancient lore, and at the same time to emphasize many taboos and restrictions which are thus assimilated without definite schooling. They illus-
[626] trate the laws of morality, as does the public disapproval shown to anyone who infringes some point of etiquette or behaviour.
[825] If a child makes fun of a cat-fish or a bull-head, he is not told to stop doing so; instead, one of his elders tells him how, in the distant past, there was a famine, and advises him not to scoff at the fish which alone saved his ancestors from starvation at that time. If a rude little boy laughs at a maimed or deformed
[732] man, he is told of *Ałäläls*, a Bella Bella urchin who repeatedly mocked a one-eyed man and presently, himself, lost the sight of an eye.

867 "Don't laugh at cripples, blind people, or those who are
[735]

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poverty-stricken," say the elders. "If you do, you will become like them yourself." 867 [735]

As a boy grows older, his father insists that he wash, pray, and practise other ritual acts likely to win approval from supernatural beings. He is frequently beaten to inure him to hardship. By the time a youth is eleven or twelve years of age he has become fully acquainted with the principles of the potlatch system and a wise parent teaches him to remember debts. Taking his son to some quiet spot in the woods, he makes a small bundle of cedar twigs, for example, and tells him: 869 861 211 867

"So-and-so at Bella Bella gave you fifteen beaver skins. When you see this bundle you must think of those skins."

Then he takes another bunch, perhaps of spruce twigs, to represent a present from a Rivers Inlet chief. A bundle of nettle fibre may stand for a Kimsquit debt; one ornamented with a tuft of undyed cedar-bark, a gift from a *Täl·io* chief; a solid piece of alder stem, a local debt; another section of alder stem with a notch in it, another local debt, and so on. The son is expected to listen attentively, and to repeat after his father what each represents. Then the pupil turns his back and the instructor alters the positions of the bundles. His father tells him to look at them and repeat what each signifies. This is repeated time after time until a boy becomes familiar with remembering debts by means of symbols. In later years, if he becomes a chief, he will use this method for bearing his indebtedness in mind. No system of standardized signs has been evolved, each individual merely designates what he wishes by a mark which he alone can recognize.

A child grows up in the community, absorbing information and lore without conscious effort, learning the activities which he will later practise, fearing the supernatural beings that are dreaded by his parents, marvelling at the power of those endowed with supernatural ability, and generally fitting himself for the struggle of life. If his parents are wealthy, he may be fortunate enough to be given a *susook* name and to partake in 867 [556]

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thus boast that she has three sets of teeth, but as the practice has not found favour in Bella Coola, it is little to her advantage.[8] 585 [177]

These complicated marriage rites are necessary to satisfy the pride of the two families in their origin myths, and the need to establish the resultant children in the paths of their ancestors. Among slaves or others who lack ancestral prerogatives, marriage is an affair of slight worth. Such persons simply live together with little ceremony, though they always try to give at least a feast so that there may be witnesses of the transaction. It is immaterial whether or not they marry their own relatives, since no ancestral prerogatives are to be transmitted. [556] [567] [581]

MARRIED LIFE

Y usually lives in the house of X's father, though economic circumstances may compel her husband to live in her home. If the parents are very wealthy, a house may be built for the young people, but usually their home is one of the bedrooms in the house of X's father; this patrilocal residence exposes Y not only to good advice from her mother-in-law, but often to caustic criticism. The married life of X and Y does not differ materially from that of other young couples in any part of the world, and is accordingly difficult to describe. Although love rarely enters into the original choice of a mate, a serviceable substitute is found in the mutual respect for each other's ancestry, and the knowledge of the importance of the rites performed with the aid of each other's elderly relatives. The young people realize that marriage affects the families of both, and accordingly accept it as a matter of course. The Bella Coola are fond of children. Their birth is a matter of sincere rejoicing, partly because it binds the two families more closely together, but parental affection is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics. The parents usually spoil their children; infants, especially, are never chastised and rarely 591 [556] 593 855 [861]

[8]The board used on this occasion was purchased for the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

855 rebuked. They grow up in the open environment of the
[861] houses, absorbing more of their lore by watching and imitat-
[854] ing than by actual instruction. Their care devolves chiefly on the mother, although at any ceremony the father will be seen arriving with the baby in his arms, while his wife leads another child. Nurses are unknown and the parents take their children with them on all occasions; if it is necessary for a mother to be absent on some arduous toil, her child will be entrusted to a grandmother or other elderly relative. There are no avoidances between the young people and their
606 parents-in-law.

The obligation of present-giving does not stop with the
602 marriage ceremony. Whenever X gives a *kusiut* dance or other
431 ceremony, Y's relatives are expected to contribute. It is felt that the weight of the presents given them during the period of engagement and at the wedding has become too heavy, and they throw this off by lavish giving. No count is kept of the value of gifts bestowed or received, though it is known that the family of the woman loses financially in the end. The father of many daughters is regarded as an unfortunate individual, who is always poor and overworked through the necessity of
[554] providing for them. By so doing, however, he increases his own prestige, and the Bella Coola have the happy sentiment that such a man manages to get along some way; perhaps necessity rouses his ambition. Likewise X's relatives contribute to any ritual carried out by Y's father. If, for example, one of his wife's relatives dies, X and his friends may wish to contribute towards the funeral expenses. In fact, any cere-
[556] monial serves as an excuse for relatives by marriage to donate goods and thus demonstrate publicly their influence, importance, and generosity.

602 The concept of mutual help between families who have intermarried is one that lasts for generations. In 1922 there
476 was in Bella Coola an old Kimsquit man who had left home some forty years earlier and had since lived in Smith Inlet where he married and had a boy. On the death of his wife, this

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of fur. Even at the present time, the death of a new-born 843
child is usually attributed to omission of this precaution. 825

A Kimsquit man mentioned that he had once shot a marten 789
during his wife's pregnancy, and had failed to preserve a piece
of the skin. The bullet had passed through the head, making [761]
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This threat is based on an ancient story describing how a child to whom this was done changed into a heron and flapped away in bird form. Sometimes the man says that the same will happen to the child, or simply that he will be able to fly like a heron. All day he is left suspended, no one heeding his sobbing and howling, but in the evening he is taken down, petted, and told not to be naughty again. This medicine always cures a petulant child who can thenceforth be held to ridicule by being reminded that he is "A Basket Boy." The same remedy is often employed for a quarrelsome brother and sister who are shut up together.

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To Cure Disobedience and Laziness 461

Parents whose child exhibits these bad qualities also ask help of a man of good character. If he accepts the task, he provides himself with a bone needle and waits until he hears the child refuse to perform some simple task. Then, with a rush, he throws the offender on his stomach and supposits the needle until the blood flows freely. He then releases the frightened child who usually slinks away to bed for the rest of the day. When the bleeding has ceased, the quiet person cuts chips from the canoe of an energetic man and rubs them on the wound, saying: 865 861

"Please, may you be like the canoe, always active and doing whatever is expected of you."

An old Kimsquit man recalled vividly the application of this medicine to him when he refused to fetch water for his mother. He was about eleven years of age at the time and asserted that it had greatly improved his behaviour.

MEDICINES FOR ORDINARY DISEASES

For Sprains and Bruises 752

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For Swollen Neck

Cut off small pieces of a thoroughly smoked bear's heart, pound in water, and drink the mixture. 757

APPENDIX D

Sinuxetl: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Sinuximètl: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Stuix* repository derived from a supernatural creature.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sio°mstа: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative of imitating coitus. [424]

sipàlxàlosuts: Song sung by a *kusiotem* dancer on recovery from apparent death. [861]

sipkim: Regular beatings given to a male child.

Siqàlxam, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

Siqalusnàm: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Siqulxwaix di Siut, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

siqwaldjut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]

siqwsek: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage. [425]

sisasts: Departure to a new locality.

sisi, vocative, sisai: Father's brother or mother's brother. [601]

sisut: Paddle.

sisutsta: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

Sithmsta: One of the names of the supreme god.

Sitlliuq': Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [778]

siut, vocative, siaot: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being, "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for *qomo·ts*, the large *sisaok* whistle.
4—Killer whale. [825]
5—Song.
6—*Kusiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Siutan·i: Part of a peculiar repository.

Siutamkila: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

siutnàlos: Wordless chorus. [533]

Siwal·os, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Siwid: Celebrated *Djoldàmx* chief living in the last century.

sixdiktam: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a despondent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]

Sixman·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

sixsàn·imutsta: Place where healing power is petrified.

Sixsixqutnam: Synonym for *Mstlakila*, the supernatural being connected with *sisaok* rites.

sixwismaq: *Kusiut* dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, *àndnuskx*, for the user's protégé on earth.

sixwopàxkmak: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public announcement of a forthcoming marriage. [584]

sixwotl: Unmarried mother. [848]

siyeutla: To perform the services of a herald to a master, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *sieatla* may be connected with this.

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THE WASH-BASIN

A third supernatural element which must be in good condition if a Bella Coola is to prosper in life, is a *nuskelusta*, wash-basin. In the land above, *Ałquntäm* has a large one filled with water which, having been constructed by himself, is replete with power. When a child is born, a small part of this receptacle, with its contents, is reserved for him; the supernatural artisans choose the actual section, but it is *Ałquntäm* who gives them the ability to do so. A fortunate man, whose ventures are successful and to whom goods are attracted, is said to have a good wash-basin; whereas the ill-luck of an unfortunate person is attributed, among other reasons, to the small size of his supernatural vessel. The Bella Coola have no clear ideas about the connection between an individual and his wash-basin. Some state that it remains in the land above; others believe that its intangible essence comes to a child at birth and grows up with him, always near his body, as if it were the offspring of the basin in the land above. As long as it remains in motion the owner continues in good health and prosperity, but if it becomes sluggish he falls ill. Long ago, shamans knew how to reanimate a wash-basin, but since the time of the first people, when supernatural ability was common, this has been a lost art. Senile decay is attributed to listlessness of this possession.

River water, being a creation of *Ałquntäm*, is akin to the water in his basin above. Boys are always advised to bathe in the river at dawn; the act is termed *äskelusam*, a word connected with *nuskelusta*. A prayer is uttered while washing. The combination of verbal appeal and the application of water strengthens the petitioner's wash-basin and so increases his chances for prosperity. Until a few years ago, this practice was almost universal. Water is always considered a strange substance, obviously a supernatural creation, and believed to be the chief means of sustenance for a child after being weaned.[50]

[50] This may be a mere rationalization.

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000 the perils of infancy. During this period, the mother observes
846 various magical taboos to ensure the welfare of her offspring,
237 and endeavours to strengthen herself by rubbing her own body with non-odoriferous oils obtained from dog-fish, geese, or fresh
853 olachen. Soft pounded salmon and water are added to an infant's diet as soon as possible, though nourishment from the breast frequently continues until a child is two, or even three
●862 years of age. It is not uncommon to delay weaning until the mother is again pregnant, when the child is deterred by the application of soot to the breasts. Marital relations are recom-
846 menced as soon as the mother is strong enough; there is no specified period of abstinence, nor does it matter whether or not the woman is lactative.

845 Occasionally, an infant is born with teeth; such an one is thought to be the reincarnation of a dead ancestor, though no one knows which. A similar belief is held respecting a child with dimples in the lobes of its ears; these are regarded as remnants of the holes pierced for ear-rings. A child that cries in the womb is said to have great intellect.

847 In former times infanticide was practised for various reasons. If a woman died in giving birth, it was customary for her mother to kill the child unless one of her relatives was able to suckle the motherless infant who was then given to her. It was not unknown for the mother of a large family to ask the midwife to kill the child in order to avoid an addition to her responsibilities. An unmarried girl who became pregnant
[848] often went alone to the forest, delivered herself without assistance, and killed her infant. This was considered to be the kindest act, since an illegitimate child was said to be, "Like a Dog." In some cases the prospective mother requested a friend to cause abortion by kneading the stomach and uterus, a method said to be effective and seldom fatal. How to do
[195] so is common knowledge, but to practise it is considered disgraceful, and the term *ixwotl*, applied to such an one, is among
842 the most foul of Bella Coola opprobriums. It is believed that a woman who has had several children can in some way prevent

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of fur. Even at the present time, the death of a new-born child is usually attributed to omission of this precaution. 843 825

A Kimsquit man mentioned that he had once shot a marten during his wife's pregnancy, and had failed to preserve a piece of the skin. The bullet had passed through the head, making a hole in the cheek-bone beneath the eye. He thought no more of the incident until after the birth of a daughter with a blemish on her cheek in the same place as the wound on the marten's. The spot grew bigger, and the flesh began to mortify until the infant died a few weeks later. Her face resembled that of the animal and he is convinced that his loss was caused, in some way, by the marten. 789 [761]

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since each fisherman provided one when his box was filled. 226

No one is allowed to drink water immediately after eating the first olachen of the spring, since to do so would cause a flood. It is considered most improper for a child to cry soon after partaking of this food; if he does so, he is quieted by having nettles stuffed into his mouth. As already described, if a person dies before the first fish have passed through his bowels, a shaman must wipe his lips with cedar-bark. 796 574 [865]

After the first meal of olachen, stakes for the nets can be driven, and the restrictions become less exacting. Women are not allowed to assist in fishing, but the men devote their full time to the task, working with zest and energy.[1] An abundant supply of olachen is a source of joy, and all listen eagerly for the singing of the thrush, *smamsmash*, which signifies that the nets are full to bursting. Half jocularly, people invite the bird to come and eat, but his melody is interpreted as: 226 [562] [825]

"*I shall eat when the river is full.*"

RITES CONNECTED WITH THE FIRST SPRING SALMON[2]

Salmon is the most important article of Bella Coola diet and the rites which accompany the earliest taking of the fish are relatively complicated. 226 796 [262]

When the first spring salmon have been caught, they are laid in the canoe with their heads all pointing eastward, upstream. The fisherman poles to shore, but instead of landing his catch, he fastens the salmon to a stake driven at the edge of the bank so that they remain in the water. A number of posts are usually placed in readiness, each decorated with alternate spirals of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with an eagle's tail. Each day one or two more fish may be caught, but all are left in the water until the first have become soft, thus giving sufficient time for the necessary preparations on shore. It is the duty of every owner of a salmon-weir to build near its end a so-called Spring Salmon House, a shed-like [343]

[1] For a description of olachen fishing, see Appendix A.
[2] Cf. Boas, p. 78.

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* 552 465 skill shown by those who assisted, as well as the generosity of X, regulates the disbursements.

The following presents of money were given at a potlatch held about 1890, and were considered reasonable.

For painting two designs[a] on the front outside wall of the house	$ 40.00
For the erection of four upright posts, supporting the walls and roof of the house	30.00
For each longitudinal beam with painting	20.00
For each cross-beam, without painting	10.00
For the planking of the side walls[b]	100.00
For painting the rear wall of house, which is also the outside wall of the back-room[c]	40.00

[485] An average totem-pole would cost perhaps $150, but the prices varied greatly with size, complexity of design, and skill displayed.

426 *556 The next distribution is of goods to repay debts which X has incurred at previous potlatches, that is, to return "investment presents" then received (I, p. 232). This is known as *hisdjut*, "repay," and the word is applied to all kinds of repayments, including revenge. One of a chief's difficulties is to remember his indebtedness. He may have been a guest at twenty potlatches, and at each has received presents varying in value, not only from different donors, but from other people associated with them. To keep these accurately in mind is [267] hard but essential, and parents carefully train their children to do so.

As previously mentioned, the Bella Coola have no fixed scale of interest on debts. Careful inquiries made on that point disclosed the idea to be entirely foreign. The greater the interest, the greater does the donor show himself to be. If, for example, X received an investment present of one hundred blankets from a Bella Bella chief ten years previously,

[532] [342] [a] These two are painted, that on the left of the central door on entering passways X's father's crest, that on the right his mother's.

[b] Four men would work together on this task.

[c] Two men would work together at this, the choice of designs corresponding to those of the outside front.

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rite, *nuxāxkāmy*. This can be described here, since, although not closely associated with the potlatch, it serves to teach children the principles of present-giving and indebtedness. February is the proper month for *nuxāxkāmy*, although preliminary arrangements are made early in the winter. A chief who has a son or daughter about ten or twelve years of age may decide to use some of his food, and a small part of his wealth, for the benefit of the child. With the assistance of his relatives, the father begins making large numbers of toy canoes, miniature bows and arrows, small baskets, and models of all other types of articles commonly given away at potlatches. The manufacture of these requires several months, but towards the end of January they are nearly ready.

A name must then be chosen for the child. Since a *nuxāxkāmy* dance is a humorous, non-sacred affair, a *nuxāxkāmy* name is not embodied in a myth, but is drawn from some story. Occasionally, parents decide on a new one, but more often the designation selected is one used for the same purpose by a grandparent of the child. There is no rivalry with regard to names of this type, and one of them can be re-used without asking consent of the last incumbent, although permission would never be refused. There must be a song with each name and the grandparents and other elderly relatives teach this to a number of boys who are to act as singers. The words may have been remembered from a previous occasion; if not, a simple theme is composed by one of the old people having some reference to the name about to be conferred. For example, one appellation of this type is *Tepīmar*, Fawn, and the accompanying words are:

"We hear that Deer has borne a child."

Another name is *Qalew*, Beaver, and the song: "Be of good cheer, the Beaver is coming."

A third song is, "Go outside under the house like a dog."

Occasionally a small incident in an ancestral myth is used. The teaching of the song to the juvenile singers is a source of constant merriment; the parents and grandparents are the

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852 principal instructors, aided by the professional musicians.
867 Boys are always willing to act as singers for the practice they
[533] receive, and the gifts they will acquire. Other lads are chosen to act as heralds, an effort being made in each case to pick those likely to pursue these professions.

[196] The day finally selected for the ceremony is in February, on a date when nothing of importance is taking place. The juvenile heralds summon the child guests, who have been invited in accordance with the rules governing a potlatch, especial care being taken to omit none to whom the child donor is indebted. His father carefully instructs him in this matter, thus impressing on his son's mind one of the fundamental points of Bella Coola life. In the late afternoon, when all have
[535] assembled, the boy singers beat out the donor's song and he dances to it. It may be in the nature of a *susaok*, *a'alk*, or *kusiut* dance, according to the wishes of his parents. In many cases, one of the grandparents or some other old relative likewise dances to the song, using whatever style he chooses. There is no ceremonial significance to the ceremony and all enjoy themselves immensely, especially the adult guests. After
[553] the dancing, the new name is announced and presents are given to the guests. The father of the young donor carefully instructs him as to the scale of his gifts, emphasizing the necessity of rewarding the singers and heralds, and of repaying with interest those children from whom he has received favours. In this way, the ceremony serves as a practical example of how to conduct a potlatch. The parents of the donor always provide some tasty food for the occasion, and this is distributed after
[554] the gifts have been handed round. The necessity for food and presents makes it impossible for any but the children of chiefs to enjoy this training.

After the ceremony, the children parade up and down the sidewalk in front of the houses, singing boisterously. The performance has been for their benefit and they wish to "show off." One night completes the affair, but the following afternoon another child may summon his comrades to a similar

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ceremony. The child singers first beat out the song of the present donor, then that of his predecessor, to which the latter dances once again. If food is plentiful, *nusäxkämx* ceremonies may be carried out every day for several weeks, or a year or two may elapse without one. A child's song is remembered from year to year and he dances whenever it is beaten out. The name acquired in this way is used semi-jocularly by a lad's comrades. After marriage, it is considered unfitting for a youth to be concerned with *nusäxkämx* and he normally becomes an *a'alk*.

Ceremonies of this kind have been discontinued for many years and it was impossible to obtain detailed accounts. The main features are clear: they served to instruct children in the methods of present-giving. According to one informant, there were two types of *nusäxkämx* ceremonial; one of the humorous pattern above described in which, however, food alone was given away, and another in which miniature presents were distributed. This man believed that the latter was only possible for the children of wealthy chiefs, and that on such occasions the themes consisted of small incidents in the family myth. In either case, the importance of ceremonial can be judged from the manner in which it was impressed upon mere children.

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before their birth. When the mother of the twin described in the last paragraph was awaiting delivery in a temporary shelter in the woods, its roof fell, cutting her head. The old woman who mentioned this occurrence stated that both her grandmother, the Sockeye Salmon, and her sister, a Spring Salmon, though still unborn, were aware of the accident and remembered the comments of the midwife. 845

On account of their uncanny power, twins are considered weaklings and usually die young in spite of the care lavished upon them and the taboos observed by their parents.[3] A dead twin, instead of being buried, is put in a box which is placed in a tree far away from the village. Every year the river changes its course, eating into its banks in order to reach the tree containing the body, and this continues until it reaches its goal and sweeps away tree and coffin. 766 [823]

Childhood Instruction

When working in the field, an anthropologist almost inevitably concentrates upon ceremonials and other epochs in an individual's life, to the detriment of the daily routine which in Bella Coola, as everywhere else, is fundamentally important although it defies description on account of its intangibility. A child grows up in a large house, occupied by several families, in which there is little privacy. The parents provide food and clothing, but more distant relatives take a greater share of responsibility for this than do white people. When food is being given out, a child soon learns that he will be given some of it, and that he will have his portion in any distribution of presents. Furniture, bedding, and other necessities are reduced to a minimum, but a boy or girl is welcome to sleep with relatives should his own parents wish to go hunting or fishing. The sense of power possessed by a Bella Coola with many relations is largely intangible, but it has practical applications as 114 855 [867] [867]

[3] It is probable that the arduous life led by a twin and its parents during the first year after birth lessens its chances of survival. Needless to say, this explanation does not find favour with the Bella Coola.

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855 well, and these are soon learnt by the child who is fortunate
[867] enough to have many kinsmen. Primarily, responsibility rests with the parents for the care and support of their offspring, but they have the advice, assistance, and material aid of their relatives. Nor are these limited to the near kindred of either father or mother; all members of the ancestral family take their part. Housemates, also, even if unrelated, take an interest in any child who shares their habitation, irrespective of his rank.

Much of the care bestowed on children is of a magical nature and must be reserved until a later chapter. Little boys
868 follow their fathers on hunting expeditions and so acquire knowledge by practical experience, as do girls from their mothers with regard to household tasks and feminine occupations.
867 Even small children are quick to notice the attention paid to the orders of chiefs, and carry out their commands without demur. A disobedient child is beaten or thrown into cold
861 water; the parents usually act in such cases, though a near relative does not hesitate to do so, especially if he is a chief.
857 Like all other children, Bella Coola boys and girls are fond of
867 stories and listen eagerly to the tales told in the long evenings by some old man or woman. Many of these are somewhat
538 obscene, but they serve to teach much ancient lore, and at the same time to emphasize many taboos and restrictions which are thus assimilated without definite schooling. They illus-
[626] trate the laws of morality, as does the public disapproval shown to anyone who infringes some point of etiquette or behaviour.
[825] If a child makes fun of a cat-fish or a bull-head, he is not told to stop doing so; instead, one of his elders tells him how, in the distant past, there was a famine, and advises him not to scoff at the fish which alone saved his ancestors from starvation at that time. If a rude little boy laughs at a maimed or deformed
[732] man, he is told of *Ałałals*, a Bella Bella urchin who repeatedly mocked a one-eyed man and presently, himself, lost the sight of an eye.

867 "Don't laugh at cripples, blind people, or those who are
[735]

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poverty-stricken," say the elders. "If you do, you will become like them yourself." 867

As a boy grows older, his father insists that he wash, pray, and practise other ritual acts likely to win approval from supernatural beings. He is frequently beaten to inure him to hardship. By the time a youth is eleven or twelve years of age he has become fully acquainted with the principles of the potlatch system and a wise parent teaches him to remember debts. Taking his son to some quiet spot in the woods, he makes a small bundle of cedar twigs, for example, and tells him: [735] [869] [861] 211 867

"So-and-so at Bella Bella gave you fifteen beaver skins. When you see this bundle you must think of those skins."

Then he takes another bunch, perhaps of spruce twigs, to represent a present from a Rivers Inlet chief. A bundle of nettle fibre may stand for a Kimsquit debt; one ornamented with a tuft of undyed cedar-bark, a gift from a *Tal·io* chief; a solid piece of alder stem, a local debt; another section of alder stem with a notch in it, another local debt, and so on. The son is expected to listen attentively, and to repeat after his father what each represents. Then the pupil turns his back and the instructor alters the positions of the bundles. His father tells him to look at them and repeat what each signifies. This is repeated time after time until a boy becomes familiar with remembering debts by means of symbols. In later years, if he becomes a chief, he will use this method for bearing his indebtedness in mind. No system of standardized signs has been evolved, each individual merely designates what he wishes by a mark which he alone can recognize.

A child grows up in the community, absorbing information and lore without conscious effort, learning the activities which he will later practise, fearing the supernatural beings that are dreaded by his parents, marvelling at the power of those endowed with supernatural ability, and generally fitting himself for the struggle of life. If his parents are wealthy, he may be fortunate enough to be given a *susaok* name and to partake in 867 [556]

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867 imitation potlatches, but he cannot himself carry out a cere-
556 mony until he has reached manhood.

Puberty Rites

881 The change from childhood to adult age is, of course, more obvious with girls than with boys, and the former alone must observe strict taboos. Menstrual blood, like that which follows delivery, is unclean, especially that emitted at the first dis-
[784] charge. A woman who has just given birth is a *sxaiäx*; an adolescent girl, a *sxyaxwi*, that is, "A Person Not Fully Tabooed"; the attitude with which the former is regarded is held, in a lesser extent, for the latter.

At the first indication, the girl asks a woman to inform her mother of her condition, and goes home immediately if she happens to be away at the time. Her parents at once make a small enclosure or bedroom of planks or matting in either of the front corners of the house, providing it with a trap-door and ladder by which she can leave without passing through the front door. There the girl must lie for four days, with legs close together and bent at the knees, never stretched out straight. She is not allowed to drink anything, and must eat sparingly; if she should consume much food, she would be greedy when an adult. When necessary for her to leave the enclosure, a woman must always accompany her. Her mother, or some other female relative, provides her with the usual soft cedar-bark pads. On the fifth day, she leaves her shelter early in the morning with one feminine friend and goes to a secluded pool back in the forest, where she washes for the first time. Then she runs rapidly through the woods, which has the effect of making her a strong woman. Should a girl fail to do this,
[753] she would be afflicted with an illness caused by the salmon, become blind, and die young.

784 For one year an adolescent girl is subject to many restric-
881 tions. Her near approach to the river would offend the salmon and cause them to avoid Bella Coola, so she is not allowed to
[825] draw water, or even to appear on the bank. She may not use

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the front-door facing the river, but has to leave the house 784
through the trap beneath the enclosure where she sleeps. The 881
Bella Coola consider it unthinkable for a girl to disregard these prohibitions, but if this should happen, she would be chased home by her parents, by the Guardian of the River, or, in fact, by any elderly member of the community. The strongest [761]
reason for respecting these regulations is the belief that disobedience brings death; no one knows how it is inflicted, but a careless girl soon dies. During this period[4] she cannot eat [262]
fresh salmon, though she is allowed them if they have been smoked for four or five days. Her scanty meals are brought to her in the enclosure where she is virtually a prisoner. It is true [783]
that she can leave it and wander in the woods, but her comrades avoid her as being in an unclean condition of which they are afraid, and she is barred from taking part in all activities by the river which constitute so large a part of the life of the Bella Coola. A girl cannot pick berries during this time, as no [222]
more would grow in the valley which she had thus defiled; she must not touch anyone, nor allow anyone to touch her; she [513]
must not pass in front of a man; she must go to bed before everyone else in the house, and be the last to arise. The danger [867]
of breaking some taboo is so great that it is safer for a girl to remain within her enclosure where her mother, and other old women, gather to tell her the many things which it is fitting for an adult woman to know. This seclusion is not pleasant, but it unquestionably serves to emphasize the importance of married life to which it is a prelude. The writer remembers an occasion when a Bella Coola family was eating tasty fresh salmon while one of the daughters, who had recently reached adolescence, watched enviously. Her grandfather rose and gave the child an orange, remarking that in his youth little girls did not receive such dainties to ameliorate their lot.

Adolescent girls wear certain distinctive articles of clothing 881
and ornaments. The most noticeable is a skull-cap bound [292]
with grass; this is the only time in a woman's life that a hat is [301]
worn. She also wears ear-rings, each consisting of a neat [439]

[4] [ie - one year after puberty - ANALYST]

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CHAPTER IV

GAMES

517 THE subject of games, lying on the border-line of social
121 customs, was one which was not fully investigated. The
[177] Bella Coola, like all other peoples, have a number of sports and pastimes and although the old diversions are being forgotten by the younger people, many of the old men and women are familiar with those played in their youth. As isolated customs these may be of small value, but games of all kinds often preserve ancient practices and, as providing useful clues to the spread of peoples or of culture, are worthy of investigation. Unfortunately, lack of time made it impossible to give the subject the attention it deserved, and the few games here described must not be considered an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

526 Though less fond of competitive sports than the Indians
[171] of the Plains, the Bella Coola enjoy canoe-racing and wrestling.
[628] The former appears to have been an ancient diversion; picked crews from different villages competed amid the encouraging shouts of their fellows, and even now the younger men are anxious to display their skill in this respect. Wrestling, which
[177] used to be common during all non-sacred gatherings, has almost entirely disappeared since the prohibition of the potlatch.

538 The favourite sedentary pastime, enjoyed equally by young
[517] and old, is the telling of stories. Those of a sacred nature, especially ancestral myths, are reserved of course for ceremonial occasions, but the older men and women remember
[825] many tales describing the exploits of birds and animals which are recounted again and again to the enjoyment of the listeners, although they may have heard the same recital fifty times. Children enjoy the companionship of some old story-teller and it is a common sight to see an old man or woman, surrounded by an eager group, explaining once more how Raven outwitted his rivals or was himself led into difficulties. Many of these
[867] stories are somewhat indecent; others appear brutally frank,

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but the Bella Coola do not consider this aspect and the children grow up in an atmosphere entirely lacking in restraint of speech. Some stories teach a moral lesson, but they are recounted merely for entertainment. At the present time, no one knows who invented the stories; they have been handed down from dim antiquity and alterations or embellishments are considered improper, while the composition of new tales appears to be unknown.

Another pastime is smoking. Among some Indian tribes the practice has a definite religious significance, but this appears to be lacking among the Bella Coola. Most of the men enjoy either a pipe or cigarettes, and some of the women also indulge, but few carry the habit to excess. All the older people affirmed that their ancestors had smoked for generations. Tobacco was not grown, but kinnikinick, *milix*ʷ', was used, and also a plant known as *lsaix*'. Another smoking mixture was bark of *lsxwatelp*, toasted before a fire until dried and brown, and then crumbled between the hands. These materials have given place entirely to imported tobacco, and the white man's pipe has replaced the native one. The latter consisted of a gooseberry cane from which the pith had been extracted; sometimes a small bowl of elderberry wood was added, but often the mixture to be smoked was simply placed within the end of the hollow stem.

Adults, especially the men, are addicted to gambling. They are fond of placing stakes on a race or other trial of strength, and enjoy all kinds of games of chance. Some of the younger men have mastered a few of the simpler games of cards on which they spend a certain amount of time and money. The favourite gambling game, however, is one found in all parts of the coast, which is played with a pack of fifty-four smoothed crabapple sticks. The rules are complicated and no effort was made to learn more than the general principles. The pieces are divided among the eight or ten contestants and concealed; then one player guesses in whose hand a certain marked stick is hidden. If he is successful, the others pay him a forfeit; if

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in dances. In front of most houses rises a short totem-pole,[9] either pierced for the doorway, or standing on the opposite side of the sidewalk. [211] [778]

The Family

It is probably no exaggeration to say that in every part of the world the most important social unit is the family. It certainly is among the Bella Coola, yet its lack of definite social obligations makes it difficult to define. Reduced to minimum size, the family consists of a man, his wife, or wives, and his children. Such a unit occupies one of the bedrooms of a large house, and it is to such a family that an infant automatically belongs at birth. Disregarding for the moment ceremonial obligations, which are shared by others, it is the father and mother who are *responsible largely for the upbringing of the* child. Such education as he receives comes from them, with the assistance of members of the ancestral family. This is chiefly imitative; a boy, as he increases in strength, follows his father on hunting expeditions or fishing. The mother teaches her daughters how to make baskets, and they follow her when she gathers berries, or when she cooks and performs household duties. The Bella Coola are fond of children, in many cases to the extent of over-indulging them, and they grow up amid the open life of the large houses, absorbing information of all kinds without being aware of so doing.

594 [851] 594 868 855 861

Only two kinds of functional training need be mentioned. A wise father carefully trains his sons to remember their debts (I, p. 369), and the method of teaching ancient myths has already been described; otherwise there is little direct instruction. On the other hand, parents devote great care to furnishing their children with every possible means of strengthening their supernatural elements on which success depends. These can

594 869

[9] Since the Bella Coola believe that totem-poles were used by their ancestors in early times, they are included in this description of a village, without reference to their development in post-European times. This account is compiled from descriptions given by elderly informants; it is inevitable, therefore, that changes due to European contact may be included. [177]

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855 well, and these are soon learnt by the child who is fortunate
[867] enough to have many kinsmen. Primarily, responsibility rests with the parents for the care and support of their offspring, but they have the advice, assistance, and material aid of their relatives. Nor are these limited to the near kindred of either father or mother; all members of the ancestral family take their part. Housemates, also, even if unrelated, take an interest in any child who shares their habitation, irrespective of his rank.

Much of the care bestowed on children is of a magical nature and must be reserved until a later chapter. Little boys
868 follow their fathers on hunting expeditions and so acquire knowledge by practical experience, as do girls from their mothers with regard to household tasks and feminine occupations.
867 Even small children are quick to notice the attention paid to the orders of chiefs, and carry out their commands without demur. A disobedient child is beaten or thrown into cold
861 water; the parents usually act in such cases, though a near relative does not hesitate to do so, especially if he is a chief.
857 Like all other children, Bella Coola boys and girls are fond of stories and listen eagerly to the tales told in the long evenings
867 by some old man or woman. Many of these are somewhat
538 obscene, but they serve to teach much ancient lore, and at the same time to emphasize many taboos and restrictions which are thus assimilated without definite schooling. They illus-
[626] trate the laws of morality, as does the public disapproval shown to anyone who infringes some point of etiquette or behaviour.
[825] If a child makes fun of a cat-fish or a bull-head, he is not told to stop doing so; instead, one of his elders tells him how, in the distant past, there was a famine, and advises him not to scoff at the fish which alone saved his ancestors from starvation at that time. If a rude little boy laughs at a maimed or deformed
[732] man, he is told of *Ałałałs*, a Bella Bella urchin who repeatedly mocked a one-eyed man and presently, himself, lost the sight of an eye.

867 "Don't laugh at cripples, blind people, or those who are
[735]

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154 who has been "cured" of an illness, recovers; the man whose
771 death has been "caused" by magic, dies. An average white
789 man would consider such statements to be erroneous, but they not only figure in stories and beliefs, but some of them have been actually observed by the writer. The explanation lies in the susceptibility of the Bella Coola to suggestion. The conviction that he is to die so weakens a man that death often results; belief that he is to recover, aids a sick person to throw off the malady. This sentiment, intelligible in case of disease, is equally applicable in other matters. The child who has been [868] endowed with carpentry skill grows up with the conviction to assist his labours. Moreover, his relatives and friends are also aware of it, and he receives every opportunity to practise, so that the outcome desired is often the consequence of the act.
789 Though the Bella Coola do not appreciate that psychological
828 and sociological factors may be the real cause of the result, they realize the importance of the power of thought. For [771] example, if a group of people is unanimous in wishing some end, or expects some event to happen, it is believed that their thoughts are strong enough to bring about its occurrence. The following examples illustrate this point:

It is said that when the white man first came to British Columbia, a tribe of Indians was living in a secluded valley, far to the south. As more and more settlers arrived, the occupants were driven from their homes and forced into the barren [787] mountains. One night, *Ałquntām* came in a vision to one of the natives, saying:

"I see what you desire; you want the white men to withdraw. You, yourself, are helpless. But if all your fellows wish the same, the white men will depart."

The man told all his friends and they agreed to concentrate the next night on their wish to expel the white man. A few failed to do so, and nothing happened. The second night there was the same lack of unanimity. The desire to drive away the intruders grew stronger in course of time, until one night this was the centre of the thoughts of all; next morning the white

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856 789 868 *To Cause Ability in Carpentry* (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently request a good carpenter to impart to him ability similar to his own. He spits on his tools and rubs these over the child's heart, saying:

"Please be a carpenter."

This is done only for male children.

(2) Cut splinters from the tools of an expert carpenter, burn them, and rub the ashes over the child's hands. This is most efficacious when performed by the carpenter himself who says as he rubs:

"Please be a carpenter."

000 *To Cause Ability in Thieving*

Indians from the vicinity of Sitka are said to fasten a live mouse in an infant's clothing or tie one in the cradle. This causes the child to amass riches easily, but when practised by a Sitka man and woman who were slaves of the Bella Coola it was so potent that their son grew up to be an inveterate thief.

825 856 789 *To Cause Ability to See Beneath the Water*

When the infant is in the cradle, kill a gull, cut out its tongue, and rub this around inside the child's mouth. Strip the feathers and lay them so that the infant sleeps upon them. This gives him the same ability as the bird to see beneath the ocean and tell where fish are to be found. This was done not many years ago to a Bella Bella child whose ability was consequently so great that it frightened his friends.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

The Kitlobe achieve this by making a child sleep upon dog hair. No instance is remembered of this having actually been practised by the Bella Coola, although, being well known, there is no reason why it should not be used.

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846 ating point shall be one year after the birth. Early on the
856 morning of this day, he takes the umbilical cord and goes far
789 into the mountains until he finds a place where the grass is
[785] matted and the earth packed, showing that a mountain goat has slept there. He digs a hole, inserts the cord in it, and covers it with stones, praying as he does so:

"Please, father! May my son be skilful, may he be successful in hunting mountain goats."

This has the effect of showing the child where these animals are to be found. The father then returns home.

Four days later he goes back to the same spot, digs up the umbilical cord, brings it home and hangs it in the doorway of the house. Should this be omitted, the child would have an intense longing to hunt in the mountains and would leave home at the first opportunity, but would be unable to return. The cord is left suspended for four days, then taken to the forest and deposited under an overhanging rock where no water can penetrate. It dries in course of time but no further attention is paid to it.

[868] A child so treated begins to hunt birds and squirrels when he is eight or ten years of age, and later follows mountain goats with obsidian-pointed arrows. This medicine has been handed [424] down in certain families for generations. If a parent, not possessing the prerogative, wishes to have it applied to his child, he requests one who is entitled to use it to perform with his son's umbilical cord in the manner just described. He is later paid for his assistance.

A similar, though simpler medicine is for the father to take the fallen umbilical cord to the mountains immediately and bury it beneath stones where a mountain goat has been lying. Four days later he returns to the spot, digs up the cord, and brings it home, thus ensuring that the child will have no fear of the mountains and will be a successful hunter of mountain goats. In such cases it is customary for the mother to preserve her son's cord during his childhood so that he will not become careless.

APPENDIX B

STRING FIGURES

THE only form of pastime which it was practical to investigate in any detail was the construction of string figures. These seem to have no ceremonial or religious significance; they are made for recreation only, and it was found easy to learn a number while paving the way for other kinds of research. In fact, interest in them was one of the ways in which the writer became friends with a number of Bella Coola. As is to be expected, some individuals are more proficient in constructing complicated string figures than others, the old women being particularly adept. During the long delays which occur in all the dances it is a common sight to see an old crone teaching a group of young girls the figures which she herself learnt when young. Some men remember a number from childhood, but the making of designs with string is regarded as more fitting for girls and women. Songs accompany many of the figures, and the singing of these is considered an essential part of the construction. It was stated that many more figures were known long ago; in fact, several of those here recorded were only obtained after repeated efforts on the part of an old woman to reconstruct those which she had been shown when a child. No attempt was made to learn all the Bella Coola figures; a larger number could doubtless have been collected, but those here described are the ones most commonly made.

The nomenclature used is that described by Miss Haddon,[1] in itself following the method used by Rivers and Haddon. It will be assumed that the reader is familiar with this, including the meaning of the terms, "Opening A," "Position 1," and "Navaho." A string about four feet long will be found most convenient for making the Bella Coola figures.

1. A SALMON-TRAP

Double the loop; two strands now take the place of the usual one, but these will be referred to as a single string or loop. The figure can be made equally well with a string one-half the usual length.

Place string as a simple loop over left thumb and index finger and the right hand.

With right index finger hook down the string passing dorsally across left thumb and index finger and draw out to right, allowing right hand loop to slip over this hooked-down string.

[1] K. Haddon, *Cat's Cradles from Many Lands* (London, 1912).

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428 influence of a chief is usually sufficient to settle claims as to
553 which of his brothers shall receive which name. Even if none
of them is a chief, some one of them is certain to have greater
[578] influence than the others. If a dead man has no sons, his
daughters can assume his names, which they may transmit to
their children. Failing both sons and daughters, a man's
brothers and sisters are his heirs, as usual, the one of influence
being the one who really arranges matters.* None the less, it
[614] must be emphasized that if the members of the immediate
family are slow to validate a dead man's names, they may be
taken by any member of the ancestral family.

463 In former days it was customary to create a "remem-
brancer" to preserve the ancestral myth. The older and more
•869 influential members of the ancestral family would choose an
[614] intelligent young relative to whom to relate the myth in great
detail. One informant described how her mother, the last offi-
cial "remembrancer," had been instructed by her grandfather.
The old man had been accustomed to take his granddaughter,
a girl about twelve years of age, to bed with him, and whisper
to her the myth, with his hand pressed over her mouth to pre-
vent escape of his words. At the conclusion of the recitation
[789] he always spat in her ears to make the words stick. The mem-
bers of the ancestral family, recognizing that the "remem-
brancer" was the person best acquainted with the myth, were
wont to consult him or her about it, and, of course, about the
[553] names embodied in it. A "remembrancer" had no authority
to decree who should receive names, but appeals were often
made to him, and a tactful individual was frequently able to
settle disputes.

578 Considering the extreme fluidity of the whole system it is
428 surprising that quarrels are not more common. These are
614 limited by the system of wills, through which a man bequeaths
his most valuable personal property, especially his intangible
553 property in *dadai* name-prerogatives (II, p. 1). Ancestral

* Mr. Ha grants that the same principle governs the disposal of houses and gardens on the reserve.

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in dances. In front of most houses rises a short totem-pole,* either placed for the doorway, or standing on the opposite side of the sidewalk.

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594 be made more powerful by magical means or the ritual acts of
●869 relatives. Although these often entail great labour and expense, parents seldom neglect their duty; in fact, care for their children is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics, though the methods used are so foreign to the white man that he has difficulty in realizing their meaning. The hope of both [847] parents is to have children to carry on their names; infanticide is unknown and the death of an infant is mourned almost as [586] much as that of an adult. Sterility and impotency are frequent causes for divorce.

163 At the present time there is a high birth-rate in Bella Coola, although the heavy infant mortality prevents any ap- [165] preciable increase in the population. In the old days, it is said, there were always large families, though much confidence cannot be placed in this statement. In families where there are 593 several children, the first-born, whether boy or girl, assumes an important position. His or her influence, as eldest, is naturally considerable, and the parents foster this through the vague feeling that it is proper for the eldest to be the most important in the family. In adult years, and after marriage, the influence of the eldest of a family continues to have considerable weight with younger brothers and sisters.

592 If a man is poor he cannot hope to have more than one wife, 556 and his family circle will be limited to their children, and per- [595] haps to elderly parents. On the other hand, a wealthy and [602] powerful man usually has a larger family. Not only may he have several wives, but his aged relatives, and those of his wife, look to him for support and assistance. Such are usually welcome to live in his house; they lend what aid they can in collecting food, and it gratifies a man's pride and sense of power to be closely surrounded by a large family. The Bella [888] Coola are, on the whole, considerate to their aged relatives.*

[198] *This is not true of the present. During the winter of 1923-4 a feeble old man, being alone, was often in actual want of food. Children and dependent, of a more dependent himself, some of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were neighbors, would take him into their houses. Commenting on this man's lot, several informants pointed out how, in the old days, such a case could have found

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poverty-stricken," say the elders. "If you do, you will become like them yourself." 867

As a boy grows older, his father insists that he wash, pray, and practise other ritual acts likely to win approval from supernatural beings. He is frequently beaten to inure him to hardship. By the time a youth is eleven or twelve years of age he has become fully acquainted with the principles of the potlatch system and a wise parent teaches him to remember debts. Taking his son to some quiet spot in the woods, he makes a small bundle of cedar twigs, for example, and tells him: [935] 869 [861] 211 867

"So-and-so at Bella Bella gave you fifteen beaver skins. When you see this bundle you must think of those skins."

Then he takes another bunch, perhaps of spruce twigs, to represent a present from a Rivers Inlet chief. A bundle of nettle fibre may stand for a Kimsquit debt; one ornamented with a tuft of undyed cedar-bark, a gift from a *Tsi'is* chief; a solid piece of alder stem, a local debt; another section of alder stem with a notch in it, another local debt, and so on. The son is expected to listen attentively, and to repeat after his father what each represents. Then the pupil turns his back and the instructor alters the positions of the bundles. His father tells him to look at them and repeat what each signifies. This is repeated time after time until a boy becomes familiar with remembering debts by means of symbols. In later years, if he becomes a chief, he will use this method for bearing his indebtedness in mind. No system of standardized signs has been evolved, each individual merely designates what he wishes by a mark which he alone can recognize.

A child grows up in the community, absorbing information and lore without conscious effort, learning the activities which he will later practise, fearing the supernatural beings that are dreaded by his parents, marvelling at the power of those endowed with supernatural ability, and generally fitting himself for the struggle of life. If his parents are wealthy, he may be fortunate enough to be given a noble name and to partake in 869 [556]

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occupants of the canoe, heard a roaring noise and saw a fish-weir, similar to those used by the Bella Coola, stretching across Burke Channel, which is about a mile and a half wide at this point. They went close to the beach and a brave man cut a passage through the obstacle. A similar trap was once seen stretching across South Bentinck Arm. 787 * 539

An unusual apparition may be regarded as an omen of death. For example, not many years ago a young half-breed saw a motor-boat moored to the bank of North Bentinck Arm with an eagle seated in the stern. He ran his own motor-boat towards it, but as he approached the eagle became a man. Then as he drew still nearer, never taking his eyes off the other boat, it, with its occupant, sank beneath the water, without leaving so much as a ripple. On relating the incident to his father, the latter recognized it as an omen of death. Six months later the half-breed's sister died, thus confirming her father's prognostication. 787 * 763 [811]

Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate

Experiences such as have been cited in the last section are regarded as of possible, and not infrequent occurrence at the present time. On the other hand, supernatural aid granted to those in misfortune, though it is the theme of many stories, is not considered as likely to happen now. The Bella Coola believe the narratives to be chronicles of actual events, and base their conceptions of many supernatural beings on their characteristics as therein described. There is no ceremonial significance attached to any of these stories; they may be, and are told by anyone, frequently for entertainment. Unquestionably, there is a feeling that the moral brought out in such tales is of value in educating the young people, though this point is never emphasized. 787 * 538 [869]

Supernatural aid granted to an unfortunate person is termed *ulhkwulqu*. Power so obtained cannot be transmitted by the recipient, although memory of the experience is 787 * [575] [535]

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tense throughout this chapter, and to assume the presence of a number of young men and women ignorant of the significance of the rites. Formerly, the *kukusiut* often had difficulty in impressing the uninitiated with their prowess, and feuds with the *a'alk* were common.

Although membership in the *kusiut* society depends on an ancestral prerogative, it is essentially a democratic institution. A certain amount of wealth is necessary to validate a *kusiut* prerogative, but nothing comparable to that required for a potlatch; in fact, poor men are often persons of great importance within the ranks of the society. Nor are the prerogatives considered to be as valuable as ancestral rights, so that slaves are often admitted as *kukusiut* by their masters. An important *kusiut* is not esteemed by the community in the same way as the donor of many potlatches; in short, membership in the society brings limited ceremonial and semi-religious advantage, not social prestige of a public nature.

Powers and Functions of the Society

Any secret society can be viewed from the standpoints of a member, and of a non-member. The scope of the *kusiut* organization can be most clearly outlined by describing first what an uninitiated person knows about it. From his infancy, parents impress upon a child the supernatural powers of the *kukusiut* and the dangers attached to their rites. Such instruction is perhaps strongest where one, or both, is not a member. They then voice their own fears, and do not merely deceive for the good of the society. Steeped as every child is in a firm belief of the near presence of the supernatural, he readily believes what he is told. He learns, for example, that if, without special invitation, he dares enter the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place—at any time during the four days or more that it lasts—his spirit will be drawn from him. This is sufficient to deter him from prying too closely into the rites. Strangely enough, there seem always to have been differences in teaching with respect to this deception. It is believed that if a non-

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Nuuxtuqqnam: Woman endowed supernaturally by *Anu'lituulsaix* and serving as patron (?) to a *kuxiut* dancer.

[787] *nuuxliut:* Omen of death.

Nuuxtumulmum, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Ttitsqlitsa-a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nuuxumlaix: 1—Man dwelling in *Qemoqme*'s house.
2—*Kuxiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.

nuuqim: The cry of *hi, hi,* uttered by Cannibals.

Nuuxmmqs: *Kuxiut* name assumed by a *Stuxe* woman in the beginning of time.

[424] *nuuqumum:* *Kuxiut* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and *qhlxum* is obscure.

Nu'uxwuhumuix, "The Widener": One of Raven's names as chief.

[585] *nuhuxtihl-um:* Synonym for *huxtum:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

Nuphuxlsikin, "Heedlessly Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[302] *nuqu-ccts:* The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.

nuqtulsu-i: Medicine brewed in a skull.

Nuqtymtt, "Place of Much *Qtymtt*": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nuqwqtmis: *Nuqwul* name of a Kimsquit man.

Nuqilkqulsu-a: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[805] *nuqmuxw-it ne xwq'nlu:* One year.

[828] *nuqum:* Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.

nuqsil, "Empty House": House in which a *kuxiut* dance is taking place.

nuqsiut: The throwing of grease on a fire to heat, both literally and figuratively, a rival.

[821] *Nuqtuly':* 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.

[827] *nuqulitsu:* Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

nuqwuuu: Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *kuxiutum* and other important *kuxiut* rites.

[777] *nuq'nuxlihin:* Unexpected stroke of good fortune.

Nuqwhumlaix: *Kuxiut* name of a Kimsquit man.

[772] *Nuqwlum:* Site of an ancient town on Schooner Pass.

Nuqulsis: The upper heaven.

nuqwu: Woman with thick pubic hair.

Nuqwuulqlsu-i: A *Stuxe* cemetery.

Nuxtlqwuxtmuts, "Where *Nqumtim* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[824] *nuxtuqwu-ccq:* Cottonwood bark.

Nuxtqwuit'nu, "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Smuxu* in the beginning of time.

nuxtlumq: Canoe-maker.

Nuxlum: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Nuqlsis.*

[535] *nuxtuktmq:* Children's dance which serves as training for *kuxiut* rites and to provide entertainment.

[869]

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133 the neighbouring Carriers, but Chilkotin as well sometimes
484 descended to the valley. On the coast, though the dense under-
[648] brush prevented travel along the shore, the long fiords, shel-
[501] tered from the open Pacific, were ideal for the use of canoes.[10]
Comparatively lengthy journeys were neither difficult nor
648 uncommon. The *Tāl·io* people were usually on amicable
terms with the inhabitants of Rivers Inlet, and the Kimsquit
with the Kitlobe. The Bella Coola were accustomed to attend
[574] potlatches at Alert Bay and Fort Rupert,[11] Knight's Inlet,
and Bute Inlet, receiving their hosts, in turn, at Bella Coola.
On the other hand, there was little friendly intercourse with
the northern tribes, of which the Kitkatla especially were dread-
ed by the residents of the central coast. Until recent years the
Bella Coola had no direct knowledge of other Salish-speaking
peoples, although some of the Chilkotin told them of a tribe
living far to the south, in the interior, whom they encountered
in some of their wanderings and used to term *Nuxālkmx*, recog-
nizing the similarity between their language and that of the
[197] Bella Coola. A few years ago several Bella Coola attended a
[871] boarding-school and were amazed to find that many of their
words were understood by fellow-students from Chilliwack.

648 To sum up: The Bella Coola were in close contact with
177 the neighbouring coastal tribes, with the members of which
they felt themselves to have cultural affinities. They recognize
that they have received many ceremonial rites from their
neighbours, and must have adopted other elements of culture
which they now consider indigenous. It is probable that cer-
tain Bella Coola customs must likewise have been transmitted
to other tribes, but such lie without the scope of this mono-
graph. The outlying villages were in close contact with foreign
neighbours, and tended to assimilate elements of their culture,
[101] but, on the whole, the Bella Coola present a tribal unity with
distinctive local customs, falling within the general pattern of
coastal culture.

[10] For types of canoes, see Appendix A.
[11] The principal Kwakiutl villages.

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867 imitation potlatches, but he cannot himself carry out a cere-
556 mony until he has reached manhood.

Puberty Rites

●881 The change from childhood to adult age is, of course, more obvious with girls than with boys, and the former alone must observe strict taboos. Menstrual blood, like that which follows delivery, is unclean, especially that emitted at the first dis-
[784] charge. A woman who has just given birth is a *sxaiāx*; an adolescent girl, a *sxyexwi*, that is, "A Person Not Fully Tabooed"; the attitude with which the former is regarded is held, in a lesser extent, for the latter.

At the first indication, the girl asks a woman to inform her mother of her condition, and goes home immediately if she happens to be away at the time. Her parents at once make a small enclosure or bedroom of planks or matting in either of the front corners of the house, providing it with a trap-door and ladder by which she can leave without passing through the front door. There the girl must lie for four days, with legs close together and bent at the knees, never stretched out straight. She is not allowed to drink anything, and must eat sparingly; if she should consume much food, she would be greedy when an adult. When necessary for her to leave the enclosure, a woman must always accompany her. Her mother, or some other female relative, provides her with the usual soft cedar-bark pads. On the fifth day, she leaves her shelter early in the morning with one feminine friend and goes to a secluded pool back in the forest, where she washes for the first time. Then she runs rapidly through the woods, which has the effect of making her a strong woman. Should a girl fail to do this,
[753] she would be afflicted with an illness caused by the salmon, become blind, and die young.

784 For one year an adolescent girl is subject to many restric-
881 tions. Her near approach to the river would offend the salmon and cause them to avoid Bella Coola, so she is not allowed to
[825] draw water, or even to appear on the bank. She may not use

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the front-door facing the river, but has to leave the house 784
through the trap beneath the enclosure where she sleeps. The 881
Bella Coola consider it unthinkable for a girl to disregard these prohibitions, but if this should happen, she would be chased home by her parents, by the Guardian of the River, or, in fact, by any elderly member of the community. The strongest [761]
reason for respecting these regulations is the belief that disobedience brings death; no one knows how it is inflicted, but a careless girl soon dies. During this period, she cannot eat [262]
fresh salmon, though she is allowed them if they have been smoked for four or five days. Her scanty meals are brought to her in the enclosure where she is virtually a prisoner. It is true [783]
that she can leave it and wander in the woods, but her comrades avoid her as being in an unclean condition of which they are afraid, and she is barred from taking part in all activities by the river which constitute so large a part of the life of the Bella Coola. A girl cannot pick berries during this time, as no [222]
more would grow in the valley which she had thus defiled; she must not touch anyone, nor allow anyone to touch her; she [513]
must not pass in front of a man; she must go to bed before everyone else in the house, and be the last to arise. The danger [867]
of breaking some taboo is so great that it is safer for a girl to remain within her enclosure where her mother, and other old women, gather to tell her the many things which it is fitting for an adult woman to know. This seclusion is not pleasant, but it unquestionably serves to emphasize the importance of married life to which it is a prelude. The writer remembers an occasion when a Bella Coola family was eating tasty fresh salmon while one of the daughters, who had recently reached adolescence, watched enviously. Her grandfather rose and gave the child an orange, remarking that in his youth little girls did not receive such dainties to ameliorate their lot.

Adolescent girls wear certain distinctive articles of clothing 881
and ornaments. The most noticeable is a skull-cap bound [292]
with grass; this is the only time in a woman's life that a hat is [301]
worn. She also wears ear-rings, each consisting of a neat [439]

1/4 [ie - one year after puberty - ANALYST]

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881 bundle of four macaroni-shaped shells, probably *Dentalium*,
[301] which are said to have been imported from the north in early
[439] times. These marks serve to indicate the position of the girl,
who is both feared and respected, possessed of supernatural
[789] power, and yet baneful. Many Bella Coola stories describe
how adolescent girls have been able to vanquish supernatural
[538] beings; perhaps the most striking of these is the manner in
which they once saved mankind when the sun came too close to
the earth. At the end of a year, or eleven months according to one old woman, the seclusion is terminated, and the girl resumes her normal activities. The first time she goes to the river she must throw on the water four pieces of dyed, and four pieces of undyed cedar-bark. This is especially important if the salmon are running at the time, although no explanation of this ritual is given.

582 The resumption of her freedom indicates that a girl has
556 reached marriageable age. Chiefs sometimes confine their
daughters for even longer than a year, and usually delay their
882 marriages for several years to demonstrate their importance;
but this is not necessary, nor is it practised by other than
wealthy individuals. It is not uncommon for a girl to wed
before her year is out; in that case her restrictions automatically
[554] lapse. Chiefs never allow such a curtailment for their daughters; to do so would diminish the prestige of the latter, and be detrimental to the status of their children when they marry
826 and have families. Illicit intercourse with a secluded adoles-
883 cent is considered not only illegal but disgusting as well. Be-
tween the period of confinement and marriage, intercourse is
[881] prohibited and guarded against by the parents of a girl, but is not considered filthy and seems to have been fairly common in former times with the daughters of poor people and slaves. This sometimes took place before the first menstruation in spite of the disapproval with which this was regarded.

826 Although the menstrual blood which appears at the first
discharge is considered more baneful than that emitted on later
841 occasions, it is always regarded as uncanny or unclean. It is
789

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the most *kuman* of all substances, and, therefore, a potent protection against supernatural beings. It is valuable as a defence against evil monsters, but it is equally deadly to shamans and other human beings with supernatural powers. In the distant past, Raven taught mankind that to sleep with a menstruating woman would so blind a man that he would be unsuccessful in hunting. The belief is that animals, knowing everything that takes place, avoid one who is so unclean. One old man mentioned that he had failed to obey this injunction and considered his loss of virility as a punishment, overlooking the fact that he was over seventy years of age.

The coming of adolescence in a boy is recognized by change in voice and the other usual indications. He is neither taboo nor unclean, and consequently does not have to undergo any restrictions on his actions. There is no ceremony to mark the entry of a youth into adult membership of the tribe; instead, this comes gradually and puberty is no more than an indication of increasing age and strength.

Marriage

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola regard the married state as the normal condition of man. Anyone unwilling to wed is considered unnatural. Since the number of the sexes is approximately equal, the only persons forced to live alone are elderly widows and widowers, and those crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are looked upon as unfortunate; in fact, they have failed in one of the most fundamental of life's struggles. Man provides fish and game, builds houses and canoes, while woman collects berries, makes baskets, cooks, and performs the multitudinous small household tasks.

"Is it not to the benefit of each to marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is not a mere economic arrangement, nor is its sole function to regulate relations between the sexes. Its most important feature is that it governs the status of the child.

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*192 *Ksimsa*, "Left Foot": Stone repository named from part of a supernatural creature.

Kyimlaic: Kimsquit hunter living in the last century.

[825] *skymuk*: Dentalium-shell.

skymel, sg., "Not Finished": Said concerning a *hamatsa* who dies between initiation and his first complete dance.

[592 881] *s'ronem*: Skull cap of grass and dentalium-shells worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.

skwala: Guest, especially from afar, to a *hamatsa* dance.

Skwalmaxum: 1—Supernatural herald.

2—Assemblage of the people for ceremonies of different kinds, especially shamans' dances and gaming competitions in connection with the Mystery dance.

3—Kimsquit term for the first night of a *hamatsa* dance.

skwalsin, "A Surpassing": Said of cases where a wife's relatives have given more presents to the husband's than they have received in return.

[576 601] *smax*: Place of concealment of a Mystery dancer's power.

s'maxlaqk: Old people, especially persons; this is a polite term for indirect address.

smetmet: Rightful location, especially the validated position of a chief in a house.

[415] *smetqin*: Dishes carved with ancestral crest.

smilqi: 1—Moon.

2—Daughter of the first settlers at *Xalia*.

[825] *smi*: Spring salmon.

smiha: Spring salmon house.

Smiskilic: Professional name of a *hamatsa* marshal.

Smoklic: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of the Bella Coola River.

smlimskas: 1—The allotment of work to *hamatsa* in the manufacture of masks and other requirements.

2—Phase, the time when such tasks are assigned, the second evening of a *hamatsa* dance.

Snaxwlaxwmkin, "The Resident Maker": Name given to the daughter of the first settlers at *Xaxli*.

[575] *snemelu* or *sinmelu*: That which serves as pattern, picture, or model for a *hamatsa* ritual.

snenqlwi: Second night of a potlatch.

[226] *snewmkin*: Artificial, pier-like structure built into a river for use in hand-net fishing.

Sniltcoin, "Where People Go": A subterranean pool created by Raven at Kimsquit.

Snokwlamin: Cave near Dean Channel.

Snokwulmut, "The Dancer Whose Only Noise-Making Instrument Is His Body": One of *Tlaqulilas-a's* names and hence a designation given to *hamatsa*.

Sno'Xlwalmin: Supernatural woman who guards superiorities.

Snuxlaxum: 1—"The Open-Mouthed" (in the sense of open to ridicule); forth nickname. One of *Tlaqulilas-a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.

[752 829] 2—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.

soqum: Swift running water.

sulhamaxum: 1—Ranks of ordinary individuals; this term is used to distinguish those who are being initiated into the secret society.

2—Disturbing supernatural man who awaks.

844 fessional midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
[846] the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[825] near the room for a year (according to Nusk'zlu'sta, for ten days), else the salmon would take offence.

553 The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole
[852] tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive
[556] small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member of the Kû'siût, when it is given its Kû'siût name. This ceremony takes place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qê'mtsica name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[292] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
[821] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[262] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She
[261] must not chew gum or eat snow (see *Fifth Report of Committee*, 1889, p. 838).

584 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his
[431] friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until
[527] he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four
[302] women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and
585 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[431] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his Sisna'ka secrets as soon as the pair have their first child.
[851] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

586 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

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Ala: uaway village.
Ala cuk, "He of the Tied-up Penis": Name given to a lad whose sex was disguised in infancy.
[426] *alakumulal*: Refusal to lend to an outsider a family prerogative such as the employment of marriage dancers.
[574] *alaqulcuum*: Meal served when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an announcement of his coming potlatch.
Alaciyaxtem: Name of a female shaman.
Alaci, "The Opening of the Sky":
1—One of the first men to settle at *Kimsquit* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Ituce* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of a *Snaile* chief.
Alakulcluic: *Kactat* name of a Bella Coola town.
Alakumulcluic: One of the first men to settle at *Alakul* in the beginning of time.
[575] *alimucum*: Sound having the ability to enter the back-room and treat initiates concealed there. The function probably antedates the employment of *kai ulalile*.
Alipaiac: Hobbes, supernatural beings who restrain supernatural Cannibals.
[592] *allicum*: Forceful beating of sticks.
Almucum: Wife of *Tsaulalic*, the supernatural hunter.
Almuckilum: Supernatural calendrical experts.
Almuqulcilic: Husband of *Ala'Alamulmic*; he is known only in Kimsquit.
[575] *almulcluk*: *Kactat* dance of mystery.
[574] *almulcumum*: Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning ceremony.
almulcumumqu: Call used by heralds when summoning to a mourning ceremony.
[425] *almumulic*: The "Dragging Across" of a name, crest, or other intangible prerogative from wife to husband either at marriage or later at a repurchasing of the wife.
[578] *almum*: To drag a heavy burden.
[862] *almulm ac*: Cranberries mixed with chicken grease.
almucim: Visit to his repository by a *kactat* initiate.
[821] *Almuculmut*, "Facing Both Ways": Second moon after the winter solstice.
alulqumuq, "The Accustom Time": Hushed assemblage of the *kakactat* after departure of a Cannibal.
[577] *alumkulum*: Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.
Alqulcluic: 1—Supernatural being who revives mortals.
2—Name received by a shaman from this being.

alu: Food.
[425] *alumum*, "Food Supplier": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage.
Alqulcul, "Smokehole": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[756] *alqmic*: Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in alternate strands.
[582] *alqumik*: Guarded, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.
[825] *Alqumiyac*: Supernatural name of witches, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
Alqumqilcul, "A Gloom Downwards": Name given to an *Alqulcul* man in the beginning of time.

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Pre-
* 556 sently the guests assemble, those who are ~~usual~~ wearing on
[575] their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership
[237] in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled,
[292] the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners,
[554] slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair. It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by
[203] the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial gain.

264 A number of young lads, friends or relatives of X, distribute
* 556 the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no
[883] standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests; otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in
[578] this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its reward.

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* 556 Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a
[537] fluent friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech, extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general
[425] outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may
[424] be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with
[532] certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name.

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881 bundle of four macaroni-shaped shells, probably *Dentalium*,
[301] which are said to have been imported from the north in early
434 times. These marks serve to indicate the position of the girl,
who is both feared and respected, possessed of supernatural
[989] power, and yet baneful. Many Bella Coola stories describe
how adolescent girls have been able to vanquish supernatural
[536] beings; perhaps the most striking of these is the manner in
which they once saved mankind when the sun came too close to
the earth. At the end of a year, or eleven months according to one old woman, the seclusion is terminated, and the girl resumes her normal activities. The first time she goes to the river she must throw on the water four pieces of dyed, and four pieces of undyed cedar-bark. This is especially important if the salmon are running at the time, although no explanation of this ritual is given.

582 The resumption of her freedom indicates that a girl has
556 reached marriageable age. Chiefs sometimes confine their
daughters for even longer than a year, and usually delay their
882 marriages for several years to demonstrate their importance;
but this is not necessary, nor is it practised by other than wealthy individuals. It is not uncommon for a girl to wed before her year is out; in that case her restrictions automatically
[554] lapse. Chiefs never allow such a curtailment for their daughters; to do so would diminish the prestige of the latter, and be detrimental to the status of their children when they marry
886 and have families. Illicit intercourse with a secluded adoles-
•883 cent is considered not only illegal but disgusting as well. Be-
tween the period of confinement and marriage, intercourse is
[881] prohibited and guarded against by the parents of a girl, but is not considered filthy and seems to have been fairly common in former times with the daughters of poor people and slaves. This sometimes took place before the first menstruation in spite of the disapproval with which this was regarded.

826 Although the menstrual blood which appears at the first
841 discharge is considered more baneful than that emitted on later
occasions, it is always regarded as uncanny or unclean. It is
989

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ceremony. The child sings first best out the song of the present donor, then that of his predecessor, to which the latter dances once again. If food is plentiful, wanikiddy ceremonies may be carried out every day for several weeks, or a year or two may elapse without one. A child's song is remembered from year to year and he dances whenever it is heard out. The name acquired in this way is used semi-jocularly by a lad's comrades. After marriage, it is considered unfeeling for a youth to be concerned with wanikiddy and he normally becomes an o'ult.

Ceremonies of this kind have been discontinued for many years and it was impossible to obtain detailed accounts. The main features are clear: they served to instruct children in the methods of present-giving. According to one informant, there were two types of wanikiddy ceremonial; one of the humorous pattern above described in which, however, food alone was given away, and another in which miniature presents were distributed. This man believed that the latter was only possible for the children of wealthy chiefs, and that on such occasions the dances consisted of small incidents in the family myth. In other cases, the importance of ceremonial can be judged from the manner in which it was impressed upon mere children.

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THE WASH-BASIN

A third supernatural element which must be in good condition if a Bella Coola is to prosper in life, is a *nuxlaxta*, wash-basin. In the land above, *Alqantám* has a large one filled with water which, having been constructed by himself, is replete with power. When a child is born, a small part of this receptacle, with its contents, is reserved for him; the supernatural artisans choose the actual section, but it is *Alqantám* who gives them the ability to do so. A fortunate man, whose ventures are successful and to whom goods are attracted, is said to have a good wash-basin; whereas the ill-luck of an unfortunate person is attributed, among other reasons, to the small size of his supernatural vessel. The Bella Coola have no clear ideas about the connection between an individual and his wash-basin. Some say that it remains in the land above; others believe that its intangible essence comes to a child at birth and grows up with him, always near his body, as if it were the offspring of the basin in the land above. As long as it remains in motion the owner continues in good health and prosperity, but if it becomes sluggish he falls ill. Long ago, shamans knew how to reanimate a wash-basin, but since the time of the first people, when supernatural ability was common, this has been a lost art. Senile decay is attributed to fatiguing of this possession.

River water, being a creation of *Alqantám*, is akin to the water in his basin above. Boys are always advised to bathe in the river at dawn; the act is termed *xúlaxum*, a word connected with *nuxlaxta*. A prayer is uttered while washing. The combination of verbal appeal and the application of water strengthens the petitioner's wash-basin and so increases his chances for prosperity. Until a few years ago, this practice was almost universal. Water is always considered a strange substance, obviously a supernatural creation, and believed to be the chief means of sustenance for a child after being weaned.*

*This may be a recent misconception.

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Causative Medicines

Medicines of Infancy

789 *To Cause Tallness*

856 As soon as the umbilical cord is cut, blow upon it and pull it out; the infant will grow up to be tall and big.

The following medicines are applied four days after birth:

The infant is washed, formerly in a circular cedar or cottonwood basin, and the remedy pressed against its body while drying. Some families prefer to wait until the child is able to crawl.

To Cause Strength (three means)

[824] [825] (1) Collect four pieces of bark, each from a different tree where a grizzly bear has scratched. Place them in the infant's wash-bowl, then warm them at a fire and rub over his body. This ensures him the strength of a grizzly bear.

(2) Collect four water-smoothed, green stones from the river. Place them in the infant's wash-bowl, then warm them at a fire and rub over the body. After four days, return the stones to the river.

[825] (3) Warm the body of an octopus, beaver, or wolverine in the smoke of a fire and gently press the carcass against an infant's body, saying:

"Please, may he be like you."

This provides the child with the strength of the animal used.

To Cause Long Life

[816] [824] Collect four pieces of wood which have been rolled hard and smooth in a landslide. Boil them in the infant's wash-bowl, cool, then re-warm them at a fire and rub them over the body. This makes him strong and healthy, able to endure all dangers and weaknesses even those caused by a sorcerer. The principle is that the child will be as hardy as the wood proved

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itself to be by withstanding the crushing weight of stone and earth. An old Kimsquit man expressed the firm conviction that his great age was the result of this treatment soon after birth. 789 856 886 [824]

To Cause Imperviousness to Cold

Kill a water ousel, warm it at a fire, then press it against every part of the infant's body. This makes him as hardiness of cold water as the bird. A merganser may be used in the same way, or the foot of one be placed in the child's hand and pressed as his fingers clutch it. 789 825 856

To Cause a Quarrelsome Disposition

Burn the nest of wasps and rub the ashes on the infant's face. He will become as belligerent and quick to resent injury as the insects. One old man who habitually beats his wife explains that this is involuntary, since he was treated in this way when a child. Fighting is no longer allowed, so the only person on whom he can exercise his martial ardour is his wife. The woman regards this treatment as a matter of course and the reason is accepted as valid by her associates. [155]

To Cause Success in Thieving

Kill a pack-rat, warm it at a fire, and rub the carcass lightly over the infant's body. This will make him as successful a thief as the animal. Other methods are to cut off a foot and put this as the infant clutches it in his fingers, or to rub its hands with the ashes of a burnt rat.

To Cause Success in Singing

Catch a live robin or *swamwamh* (probably one of the thrushes), warm it at a fire, and rub it lightly against the infant's throat, saying: 533 789 825

"May he be a singer like you." 856

Then release the bird, and the child will grow up a songster. The following story is told of the power of the *swamwamh*'s song: [539]

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To Cause Ability in Understanding the Speech of Ravens 125

It is well known that when ravens croak, they are really 856
speaking, but their language is unintelligible except to one who 789
has learnt it by means of a medicine. One of these is the following:

Catch a raven alive and cut a small piece of flesh from its body, beneath the left wing, taking care not to kill the bird. Release it, after having fed the morsel to the child. An infant so treated will grow up able to learn from ravens of the approach of raiding parties, storms, visitors, and all other news which they constantly circulate in their loud calling. It is said that the last person so endowed was the father of a Kimsquit man about forty years of age in 1911. His ability lasted throughout childhood but he lost it through infraction of a taboo.

The following medicines are used between the ages of one and two: 304

To Cause Long Life 789

One year after birth, holes are pierced through the lobes of 856
the ears and the nasal septum. In the beginning of time, 886
Alpaxnim told the forefathers of the Bella Coola that if this were not done, the boy or girl would die young.

To Cause Ability in Hunting

When the umbilical cord of a female infant falls, her father 846
places it within the knot-hole of a tree, where it is protected 856
from rain but where it rots and is forgotten. A boy's is pre- 789
served with care. The parents wrap it in soft goat's wool and [858]
place it in the box where the father keeps his most cherished possessions; this causes the child to be careful, and to grow up with a tendency to treasure his acquisitions rather than to dispose heedlessly of them. As the first anniversary of his [715]
son's birth approaches, his father begins to observe ceremonial chastity, endeavouring to estimate the time so that its culmin-

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bers during his absence. As soon as she had found the figures, she called in all the people, showed them her discovery, and suggested throwing them into the fire. Some objected, pointing out that if *Kâlat* had been using them, their destruction would cause his death. It was decided to test him, so no one told the lover that he had been found out, and he suspected nothing on his return. When he went into another house, *Xwe-tsus* placed the figures near the fire; immediately, *Kâlat* tried to lie down at the edge of the one near him, and was restrained only by some of the bystanders. This proved his guilt conclusively. *Xwe-tsus* washed the figures to destroy their power, which caused *Kâlat* to lose his desire to enter a fire, and at the same time destroyed the love of the two girls for him. 132

This medicine can be made only by a skilled carpenter; its real potency lies in the ingredients though the figures cause it to work more speedily.

To Strengthen Virility

This medicine is used by old men. 133

Catch a porcupine alive and cut out a quill from near its tail so that the blood flows freely. Prick the penis with the quill until the human blood mingles with the animal's. Potency follows at once. 126 125

To Cause Conception

A medicine was formerly known to cause a first conception, but it has been forgotten. A mother, however, who has just lost an infant, can ensure the birth of another by bringing a stone from the cemetery four days after her bereavement. If she leaves this beneath her bed for four nights, and then throws it away carelessly, anywhere, she will soon be pregnant. 142 119

To Prevent Conception

A medicine with this effect was formerly known but has been forgotten.

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842 *To Cause Birth of a Child of the Desired Sex*
789 If a boy is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her a miniature bow and arrows on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

If a girl is desired: The pregnant woman must have prepared for her miniature tools used for beating cedar-bark on which she sleeps for four nights and then throws into the fire.

848 *To Cause Easy Delivery* (two means)
789 (1) The pregnant woman must boil stalks of stonecrop in water and drink freely of the decoction.

(2) A variant of the medicine already described can be applied during pregnancy. Strike the back of the woman with one or more porcupine embryos. The thrower must remain in concealment and the woman to be benefited must be unaware of what is about to be done.

853 *To Cause Increased Flow of Milk*
957 Heat pods of *Sudum Spatkalhlaw* (Hook) and apply them as a poultice to the breasts of the nursing mother.

MISCELLANEOUS MEDICINES USED BY ADULTS

461 *To Cause Energy*
789 Take the paw of a freshly killed beaver in one hand and put it with the other, saying:
825 "Pleasa, may I be like you."

This ensures that the man or woman will always work hard, like a beaver.

789 *To Cause Long Life*
Pick up a stone, spit on it four times, saying:
825 "May I be strong like you," and put it down carefully.
886 The basis of this medicine is the belief that toads are capable of enduring greater pressure than other animals. For example, if one is caught in an oicchen net, it survives the crushing weight of fish and water and is alive when the net is emptied, though all other living animals so enmeshed are killed.

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It is said that one man accidentally sucked when spitting on a toad, and swallowed the creature. It lived within his stomach for fifty years, causing no discomfort though its master could feel it moving, and its singing could be heard at intervals. This brought him no supernatural power, although he was enabled by it to live to a great age. When at last he died, the toad came hopping out of his throat and was carried respectfully to the river by his friends who covered the creature with eagle down and dyed and undyed cedar-bark. 789 825 886

Some of the rites already described with regard to animals and fish are similar in nature to this medicine.

To Cause Obesity 789

A medicine was formerly used by chiefs to make them fat and important-looking, but details of it have been forgotten. 826 622

To Cause Ability in Singing

Catch an *apasen i* (varied thrush?) alive and pat it four times against the throat of the woman to whom it is desired to impart the art, saying: 533 789

"May she be a singer like you." 825

Release the bird and the woman will become a good singer.

This bird is considered by the Bella Coola to be the finest songster among British Columbia birds, and they say that many animals and fish, including even the halibut, gather to hear its singing.

To Cause Ability in Hunting 224

There is a poisonous plant which, when eaten, almost kills the eater. If he recovers, he is henceforth endowed with great ability as a hunter. The species could not be ascertained. 789 824

To Cause Change in Weather

If a cold wind is desired: Heat the penis of a mountain goat or beaver at a fire. 789 821

If rain is desired: Wash the penis of a large buck and throw it into the ocean or a river, saying: 825

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As they grow older the plainness of feature is more pronounced, 142 145
accompanied by increasing heaviness of body (see Plate 16). Many of the adults are corpulent and move with slow, awkward 481
gait. As a rule the men have great strength and are capable 147
of prolonged and arduous exertion, particularly in paddling; in fact, constant use of canoes may have developed this powerful, ungainly build. Few are good walkers or packers; such, if they are found, usually belong to the lighter interior type. Among the grown people the face, though unbeautiful, often has 142
a kindly expression, even becoming attractive in laughter or 145
when a friendly grin spreads from ear to ear. With advancing age the prominent nose seems to grow larger, frequently becoming almost aquiline (see Plate 17). Many of the older people assert that this was even more common in former times. In time the face becomes lined with wrinkles and the body appears to shrink (see Plate 18). The teeth are in many cases worn down to the gums; this seems to cause no discomfort [194]
though an old person cannot utter the glottal stops and velar sounds with which the language abounds without emitting a fine spray of saliva. They are absolutely unable to pronounce several of the Bella Coola words, while the constant spitting is a disagreeable feature of their conversation, particularly to [124]
an investigator striving, often vainly, to record sounds accurately. The deep wrinkles of old women give them a benign "grandmotherly" expression, which makes them more attractive in extreme age than in youth (see Plate 19). Senile decay is 886
so frequent that the return to infancy in mind as well as in 145
physical powers is regarded as normal.

Among the coastal tribes hair on the face is not uncommon, 142
but in this characteristic the Bella Coola are pre'eminent. 144
Nearly all the men have sparse moustaches, at least; many
have a heavy growth, and several are full-bearded. That this 302
was due to white mixture was assumed at first, but no evidence could be found to support this view. There are a number of half-breeds in the community but they are no more hirsute than the full-blooded Indians. Razors are now almost univer-

#192

L

[825] *Lekletlic*: Kimsquit man mentioned in ancient story.
Le'ko: Squirrel.
Lequemaic: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Qemqemc* in the beginning of time.
2—Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
[463] *Lewelpem-t'*: Name of a professional warrior; the word is said to have originated in Kitkatla but has remained for many generations in Kimsquit.
Le'qulc: Atnarko River, northern fork of the Bella Coola.
Lelbuck: *Bamd* name of a Kimsquit man.
Lelcwtcla, "The Brother Of [of Gooni]": Professional name of one of the first settlers at *Dadali* in the beginning of time. This may be the same word as *Lelcwtcla*.
Lelcwtcla: Another name for *Tsadalic*, the supernatural hunter. This may be the same word as *Lelcwtcla*.
[825] *Lelcwtcla*: 1—"The Beautiful": Supernatural name of Orca.
[886] 2—*Kwiot* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[426] *Lelqulc*: Return in old age to the thoughts and actions of infancy, senile decay.
[583] *Lelqu*: To repay indebtedness of any kind, especially presents received at potlatches.
Lelqumelqu, "A Paying": An arrangement by which a man's son-in-law gives him as "wife" an infant female relative by way of repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters.
Lemmac: Wrestling or shoving.
Lemm: Abbreviated Cannibal rite.
Lempuc: 1—Famous Bella Bella chief.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Lelcoto: Moth.
Lem: Tool for making vertical incisions in the back of cedar trees.

A

Lelmetcla: Former man living in the beginning of time.
Lelmelc: *Kwiot* name of a Kimsquit man.
[825] *Lelqu*: 1—Copper.
2—Unidentified town on the outer coast, mentioned in a story of the beginning of time.
3—Chief of this town.
Lelmeiem: Daughter of chief of the town of Copper.
Lelmelel: Copper name acquired by the first settlers at *Ilaqu* in the beginning of time.
Lelkiler: Man's name, created by the first settlers at *Ielfin*, in the beginning of time.
Lelkielqu: Name taken for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Lelulc: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Lelcwy: *Lemd* name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Ilqulcd* in the beginning of time.
Lelmem, "The Copper One": One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

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124 where I was working. Before I left, this medley contained so much Bella Coola that it was unintelligible to white people who knew Chinook alone.

Activities in the canneries would have interfered seriously with my work during the summer of 1922 if two men had not been confined to the village, Captain Schooner owing to an injured wrist, and Jim Pollard by the illness of his wife. These two men were willing to work half a day spinn without jealousy. Each was intensely proud of the traditions of his people and, realizing that their culture was passing away, was glad to assist in making it permanent in writing. An intimacy sprang up between Captain Schooner (see Plate 3) and myself culminating in my adoption, a circumstance which established my improved my position in the community. In this way I was enabled to collect a large amount of material before July when it was necessary for me to leave for the east.

In September, 1923, when I returned to Bella Coola, I found that Captain Schooner had died a few months before, respected alike by white men and Indians. With the aid of others with whom I had made contact it was possible to elicit much new information, as well as to clear up many obscure points. The previous summer I had been so overwhelmed with material that I had no time to collate it in the field and the gaps only became apparent after a year's study. The men were so busy hunting and laying in stocks of fire-wood, however, that I found it difficult to arrange regular hours of work, but this was a trifle compared with the initial difficulties of my first trip. In October, when the Bella Coola began to prepare for the winter dances, they had to appoint a successor to Captain Schooner, who had played a leading part in their production. Having been adopted by him, it was suggested that I take his place, a proposition which I readily accepted. This admitted me to the ranks of the old men, and I imagine that my interest encouraged them to hold more ceremonials than they had done for several years. In former times, a number of the older men used to devote much time and thought to the composing, re-

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membering, and rendering of songs; in 1923 it was found that Jim Pollard (see Plate 4) alone had a sufficiently accurate memory to act as announcer. As more and more men wished to perform, he found himself unable to keep the texts in order, and asked me to join the choir as prompter. I held this position for the rest of the winter, taking a full part in every ceremony. Although the old customs had broken down enormously, this actual participation enabled me to understand the winter dances in a manner impossible from mere description. Later on, phonographic records were made of many of the songs used, thus preserving specimens of the fast disappearing music.

My intimate association with the Bella Coola enabled me to collect the material here presented which, having been verified and reverified, I have every reason to believe is correct. Nevertheless, it has one serious defect owing to the lack of acuteness of my ear. I found it almost impossible to differentiate certain sounds; in fact, I sometimes recorded the same word with different spellings. Consequently, I cannot guarantee the accuracy of the native terms used in this monograph. Moreover, I was entirely unable to analyze proper names, which would have been of great value in understanding the attributes of supernatural beings.

When writing up field notes, the realization of my own inefficiency in the recording of sounds tempted me to rely upon the spelling of Boas whenever possible. After considerable hesitation, I rejected this course for the following reason. Ethnological work falls into two categories, descriptive and comparative. This monograph is of the former type, based on actual work in the field and the inclusion of any material from another source would destroy its originality. I believe that a descriptive work should consist exclusively of the author's own research, and I have adhered to this principle in spite of the advantages which would have followed the use of Boas' linguistic terms. For the same reason no attempt has been made to compare the customs and beliefs of the Bella Coola with those of other tribes, although this would undoubtedly have shed

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APPENDIX B

STRING FIGURES

THE only form of pastime which it was practical to investigate in any detail was the construction of string figures. These seem to have no ceremonial or religious significance; they are made for recreation only, and it was found easy to learn a number while paving the way for other kinds of research. In fact, interest in them was one of the ways in which the writer became friends with a number of Bella Coola. As is to be expected, some individuals are more proficient in constructing complicated string figures than others, the old women being particularly adept. During the long delays which occur in all the dances it is a common sight to see an old crone teaching a group of young girls the figures which she herself learned when young. Some men remember a number from childhood, but the making of designs with string is regarded as more fitting for girls and women. Songs accompany many of the figures, and the singing of these is considered an essential part of the construction. It was stated that many more figures were known long ago; in fact, several of those here recorded were only obtained after repeated efforts on the part of an old woman to reconstruct those which she had been shown when a child. No attempt was made to learn all the Bella Coola figures; a larger number could doubtless have been collected, but those here described are the ones most commonly made.

The nomenclature used is that described by Miss Haddon,[1] in itself following the method used by Rivers and Haddon. It is to be assumed that the reader is familiar with this, including the meaning of the terms, "Opening A," "Position I," and "Hawaiian." A string about four feet long will be found most convenient for making the Bella Coola figures.

1. A SALMON-TRAP

Double the loop; two strands now take the place of the usual one, but these will be referred to as a single string or loop. The figure can be made equally well with a string one-half the usual length.

Place string as a simple loop over left thumb and index finger and the right hand.

With right index finger hook down the string passing dorsally across left thumb and index finger and draw out to right, allowing right hand loop to slip over this hooked-down string.

[1] K. Haddon, *Cat's Cradle from Many Lands* (London, 1911).

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594 be made more powerful by magical means or the ritual acts of
869 relatives. Although these often entail great labour and expense, parents seldom neglect their duty; in fact, care for their children is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics, though the methods used are so foreign to the white man that he has difficulty in realizing their meaning. The hope of both
[847] parents is to have children to carry on their names; infanticide is unknown and the death of an infant is mourned almost as
[586] much as that of an adult. Sterility and impotency are frequent causes for divorce.

163 At the present time there is a high birth-rate in Bella
[165] Coola, although the heavy infant mortality prevents any appreciable increase in the population. In the old days, it is said, there were always large families, though much confidence cannot be placed in this statement. In families where there are
593 several children, the first-born, whether boy or girl, assumes an important position. His or her influence, as eldest, is naturally considerable, and the parents foster this through the vague feeling that it is proper for the eldest to be the most important in the family. In adult years, and after marriage, the influence of the eldest of a family continues to have considerable weight with younger brothers and sisters.

592 If a man is poor he cannot hope to have more than one wife,
556 and his family circle will be limited to their children, and perhaps to elderly parents. On the other hand, a wealthy and
[595] powerful man usually has a larger family. Not only may he
[602] have several wives, but his aged relatives, and those of his wife, look to him for support and assistance. Such are usually welcome to live in his house; they lend what aid they can in collecting food, and it gratifies a man's pride and sense of power to be closely surrounded by a large family. The Bella
[848] Coola are, on the whole, considerate to their aged relatives.[14]

[178] [14]This is not true of the present. During the winter of 1923-4 a feeble old man, living alone, was often in actual want of food. Disliked and despised, of a morose disposition himself, none of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were nephews, would take him into their homes. Commenting on this man's fate, several informants pointed out how, in the old days, such a case could have found

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The married sons of a chief usually live in his house, and if he is very powerful the husbands of his daughters may also reside with him. Such a man is at the zenith of power, surrounded by a close group, formed of elderly relatives, of children and grandchildren. Connections by marriage are also added to the family group. At the present time, for example, one Bella Coola man is looking after his brother's widow, and it is felt that she is a member of his family. 592 556 622 602

Another way in which a rich man can increase the size of his family is by adoption. Parents who have lost an infant may adopt the child of some member of the ancestral family of either father or mother. The matter is usually arranged soon after birth, and the transfer takes place immediately after weaning. The real parents are willing since they know that the adopting parents will be able to validate valuable prerogatives and names for the child, which they themselves are unable to do. This desire for their child's welfare overrules parental love. In such cases the real father or mother can likewise bestow names and other prerogatives on the child, who really becomes a member of two families. This is often done by an old couple whose own children have married and moved away, and who thus find themselves lonely. It is considered disgraceful for parents to allow their children to be adopted by anyone not a member of their ancestral family, since that would be an admission of inability to bring up a child in the path of his ancestors. 556 597 614 [888]

"Your father was not strong," could be said to such a child as a reproach.

In the case of an orphan some wealthy relative is almost always ready to adopt him. Consequently, as he grows up, he receives his full share of the ancestral origin myth, and the names embodied therein, so that the loss of his own parents is of little consequence in the course of life. Occasionally a child is not adopted by relatives, and then his fate is indeed hard. 736 597

shelter in the house of any chief, and shared in the food which was being distributed at the almost continuous ceremonial feasts. Now, each family lives alone and no one feels any responsibility for this old man. [178]

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Father (*continued*)....	*mán* Term used, rarely, by an adult of either sex; *ttitso* is more common. *Mán* is often used by an adult when speaking to any old man as a courtesy title.	*mán* Used by an adult.
Mother's husband....	*ttitso* Terms used by small children.	*ttitso*
	mán Used by adult; more commonly *ttitso*.	*mándimat* Used by adult.
Mother.....	*mámas* Used by baby.	*mámat* Used by baby.
	gómas Used by small child.	*gómat* Used by small child.
	ttitn Used by adults of either sex with same limitations as *mán*.	*ttitn*
Father's wife.....	*mámas* or *gómas* Used by small children.	*mámat* or *gómat*
	ttitn Used by adults, more commonly *gómas*.	*ttitndimat* Used by adults.
	The application to step-parents of the terms usually limited to the real parents is merely a mark of endearment, without social significance.	
Parent of either sex...	*ttipmalaipely* These terms are used for a parent of either sex when old and feeble. Their use is a mark of courtesy and implies respect for those with wide knowledge of family history.	*ttmaxlaipk*
Father's brother.....	*ttini*, or by name, or *ttipmalaipely*	*ttini*
Mother's brother.....	" " "	"
Father's sister.....	*xukum* " "	*xukum*
Mother's sister.....	" " "	"
	If the family contains more distant relatives of the generation preceding that of the speaker, for example, a father's father's brother's son, or a mother's mother's brother's daughter, the terms *ttini* and *xukum* may be applied in courtesy to these individuals.	
Father's father.....	*hakpai*, or more commonly, *ttitso*	*hakpi*
Mother's father.....	" " " "	"
Father's mother.....	*hipaas* " " *gómas*	*hipa*
Mother's mother.....	" " " "	"
	Especially when living together, children usually address their grandparents by the terms properly applied to parents.	

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nuu: Kwakiutl name for powers distributed on "Eagle down."
pata: Scoop-net for catching salmon in creek.
pepaxtaqin: Head-dress of eagles' tails worn by *hamat'sa* dancers.
pnamal: Spring water.
Pungula: Settlement in the Carrier country.
sac-I: Cow parsnip.
Tsadlos: Name obtained in the beginning of time from the Sisutsa people in whose language it is said to mean whale.
Tsisemtsakodzis: Shaman who obtained his power from Thunder.
Tsisemkila: Daughter of a Kitlala chief living in the beginning of time.
tsulmulu: Wounding.
Tsuljac-i, "The Creek": Name taken by one of the first settlers at Hallaw in the beginning of time but long since changed to a *hamat'sa* designation.
tsuxwuxwu: 1—Shamaningkind.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Hagaitsl* in the beginning of time. [825]
tsuxwuxwul-ala: Puppet-person in the form of a hamaningkind.
tsuqla-ala ek ziat: The concluding ritual of the *hamat'sa* season.
tsuqla-i: Gambling game played with cottonwoods sticks. [525]
Tsudzlaxi, "The One Whose Work Has Failed": Professional name of a *hamat'sa* novitiat.
tsulumul: The desertion of her husband by a wife. [576]

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Tidadu: Ancestral name of a *Sisau* man.
Ti-i"*xwaxwa*: Kitamgatt man mentioned in an allegedly historical account. [574]
tsu: "Hello!" "Hail!" or "Greetings!"
tu-i: Exclamation having the significance of, "May you have a safe passage," said when a corpse is drawn through the roof.
Tidzlo: One of the first men to settle at *Hakgwaat* in the beginning of time.
Tlaudji: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
tsuxwu: 1—Prerogative, tangible or intangible, which some *hahamat'sa* possess in addition to a dance.
2—Similar prerogative formerly displayed in a used rites.
tsuc: 1—Call, that is, that which impels a *hamat'sa* to dance.
2—Eagle whistle.
Ti'mulidzlac: Man sent down west of Kwatsa in the beginning of time.
tsudu: Term, implying both wealth and good fortune, applied to a man able to give a memorial potlatch soon after the death of a relative.
tsyal-imaat: Presents given by a prospective bridegroom to his future father-in-law. [431]
tsu: Good, adjective. [584]
tsuk: Mountain goat. [825]
Ti'mdzlalo: Grown island.
tsuk: "All Right," cry used in a *hamat'sa* dance.
Tsilal-a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Ti'yulbudzlac: One of the first men to settle at *Hagaitsl* in the beginning of time.
tsilulaxwu: Bringing down of a call by means of the rite of *xwaqlat*.
tsilulaxial: Presents given by the bride's relatives to the groom's when they come for house on the wedding day. [431]
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The beneficial purposes include: making a child grow up to be a good dancer, industrious, a swift berry picker, or a strong man; curing long trouble; making the river crude where wanted; and two ways of stopping rain. The injurious purposes include: two ways of making a person grow up to be a thief, the causing of crookedness and quarrelsomeness and the three ways of causing death.

The materials and actions used include: sides of aspen leaves; a dead toad, used with hair, with a red color back face wiper, and with hair pieces of thimble berry shoots which were accidentally dropped while being eaten; sides of a yellow jacket's nest; a living raven with pilings; beaver paws, in two instances; a skin bracelet from a beaver's leading; a dead wood rat; a dead mouse; a grizzly bear's skin; a living owl squirrel with a bit of aspen fringe; setting fire to a wood-rat's house; and poking an ant hill.

To make a person a good dancer the sides of the burned leaves of the aspen or trembling poplar were said to be useful, but Jackson said this may have been a joke. The Bellacoola Indians say the leaves dance. They never say that they tremble. When a baby was born, if the parents talked about it and the father desired that the baby grow up to be a good dancer, the mother or father got the leaves, burned them and put the ashes on the baby's hands, knees and elbows. When talking of this Jackson held his hands with the finger tips up and moved them as the Bellacoola do in dancing. Both rich and poor were dancers.

A baby girl would grow up to be industrious, it was believed, if the warm flesh of a recently dead beaver were applied to her. The Bellacoola apparently observed the great industry of the beaver.

To make a baby girl grow up to be a fast berry-picking woman, the ring of skin from between two ribs around a beaver's leading was put on her wrist and was left on until it wore off.

To make a boy grow up to be a strong man, a skin of the grizzly bear, was thrown over him, generally by his father.

For pilings on the large, more permanent fans a simple rule, the patient experimented in something and some one recently mixed the fresh pilings with salmon eggs and put the mixture

[illegible]

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